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10 ORIENTATION--information especially likely to be needed by users of a file as a frame of reference for understanding the materials classified elsewhere; organization of the file, special coding decisions, and evaluation of the file.

GUIDE TO THE FX10 BUSHMEN FILE

[This file is concerned with the Bushmen who are today confined principally to the Central and Northern Kalahari Desert and adjacent districts in the Union of South Africa. They are a short, brownish-yellow people, with certain peculiar and distinctive racial characteristics. They live generally in small nomadic bands which lead a hunting and collecting existence. They speak a "click" language of the Khoisan linguistic stock. The file concentrates on the Kung (! kung) Bushmen, embracing the Agau, Nogau, and ǂkungau tribes, which belong to the Northern Branch of the Bushman subfamily of the Khoisan linguistic stock. Information on the Auen and Heikum Bushmen is also included in some of the sources processed. The Kung were selected as the sample group because they are much less acculturated than other Bushmen groups. Subheads are used throughout the file to indicate which group is under consideration in each source.

The file includes 16 sources, three of which are translations from the German (2: Kaufamnn, 3: Lebzelter, and 4: Werner). 9: Thomas and 16: Lee are the largest sources, but six articles by the ethnologist Lorna Marshall (1, 5, 6, 12, 13 and 15) with the volume by Lee form the basis of the file. 16: Lee is a monograph of Kung subsistence ecology based on fieldwork in 1963-1965. Each of the articles by Lorna Marshall, who did fieldwork among the Kung between 1950 and 1961, focuses on a different aspect of the culture, except for 15: Marshall which is a cultural summary, which should probably be read first. 1: Marshall addresses Kung marriage, 5: Marshall the kin terminological system, 6: Marshall power and weather beliefs, 12: Marshall social control

and relief of tensions, and 13: Marshall religious beliefs. These detailed sources are complemented by 9: Thomas, a travel book which gives a good feeling for Gikwe and Kung social relationships. Among the earlier sources (i.e., those whose field date precedes 1920), 2: Kaufmann (on the Auen) gives a good general ethnographic survey of Bushmen culture; 3: Lebzelter also surveys Bushmen culture, including the Kung and Nogau; 4: Werner analyzes Heikum and Kung physical anthropology and culture; and 8: Fourie gives a general summary account of Bushmen culture. 7: Story is a general ethnobotany of the Bushmen; 10: Bleek discusses kin terminology and linguistics, and 11: Marshall (John Marshall) is a good account of Kung foodgetting. 14: Willet is a general bibliography of the Bushmen, covering three centuries of publications. This a generally good file for comparative purposes, with most of the categories having data available. More information should be available in the future when the results of the Harvard University expeditions of the 1950s and 1960s are fully published. Researchers should be specific when making comparisons because of the differences in acculturation between the various Bushmen bands. The file was processed between 1960 and 1973.]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

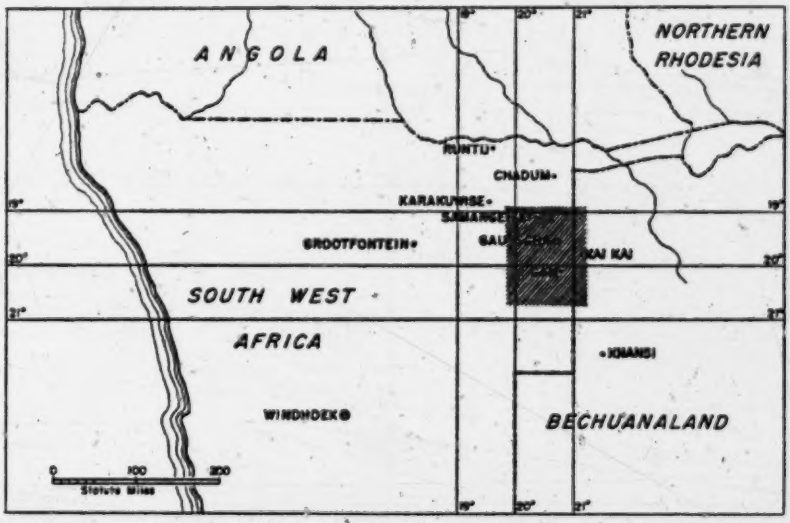
MARRIAGE AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

101 BECAUSE within the area we indicate by shading on the map[1] the /Kung Bushmen intermarry among themselves, by custom and preference, members of the Harvard Peabody Smithsonian Kalahari Expeditions needed a convenient way of referring to that area as a unit and arbitrarily called it the region of Nyae Nyae.

Nyae Nyae is a corruption of the /Kung name //Nua/ei. The name Nyae Nyae refers 131 strictly to a group of pans in South West Africa (S.W.A.) centred approximately at Gautscha Pan at about 19°48′30″ S, 20°34′36″ E. We extend the application of the name to an area around the pans of about 10,000 square miles, lying for the most part

[102]



Map of portions of South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Angola. The shading marks the Nyae Nyae region.

in S.W.A. but reaching some miles over the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate (B.P.). There are no strictly conceived boundaries around the area. We can only vaguely define it by saying that it does not include Karakuwise to the west or Chadum to the north. It does not, we think, reach eastward much farther than Kai Kai, or southward much beyond Blaubush Pan (40 or 50 miles south of Gam).

101 We establish the periphery of the region on the basis of statements made by 582 /Kung informants in the interior. They say that they intermarry among the bands [131] which live within the area we describe and do not customarily marry with other

[1] The sketch-map here provided is based on the [102] National Geographic *Map of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula*, March 1950, and the *Times Atlas of the World*, Vol. IV. The orientation of Gautscha is taken from the S.W.A. Surveyor-General's map dated at Windhoek 7:11:35.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

101 Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung
582 whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

619 The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the
[648] territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.
648

162 About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28
[621] bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants
[177] other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

621 My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the
[114] years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

[162] FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

601 /Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1]
[595] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and
[596] extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal
[611] residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally,
[614] There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the
[835] incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

621 As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous
582 unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[113] [1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

but there might very likely be some between whom marriage would be permissible, such as, for instance, a man and his WiSi or his widowed BrWi. 621 582

The /Kung have no unit within which endogamy is absolutely required. Those of the Nyae Nyae region almost all marry among themselves within the region, not because a formulated social rule definitely prohibits their marrying outside but because they almost never go out. They do not like strange places, strange situations, or strange persons, and have no way of feeding themselves where they cannot depend on receiving food from relatives or friends and, in strange country, either do not know where the wild foods grow or might not be allowed to gather them if they found any. Nevertheless, a few Nyae Nyae /Kung have married other /Kung outside the region, and one /Kung woman we know is married outside her own race, with acceptance and ease of relations all around among her people and his, to a Chwana man at Gam, near the southern border of the region. We think in all probability there must be other mixed marriages along the Bechuanaland border which we do not know about, but we are safe in saying that among the Nyae Nyae /Kung such marriages are rare. [648]

Prolonged intermarriage within the region has woven these people together and much visiting among kin develops acquaintanceships and friendships which unite the whole Nyae Nyae /Kung population. They feel themselves to be an in-group and express this feeling in the words *ju /ɔ̃assi*.[1] *Ju* means 'person' or 'persons'; 571 619 621

[1] S. Passarge puts the phrase on his map in *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari* (Berlin, 1907, Dietrich Reimer, p. 19), spelling it *Sw'gnassi*. He places it on the line of 20° S., slightly to the east of 20° E., near what we call the centre of the Nyae Nyae region, in the area designated on his and other maps as the Kaukau Veld. He places the phrase as if it were the name of a Bushman group, like Heikom, Naron, or some other, He places the name *'Kung* somewhat to the north-west. That is the name we spell */Kung*, which D. Bleek (*A Bushman Dictionary*, American Oriental Society, 1956, p. 447) records as */Kũ*, */Ku* or */Kuŋ* (person, Bushman).

Passarge places the name *'Kung* once more at about 23° S. as the name of another Bushman group. In sound the name is the same or very, very like the name of the more northerly group. Miss Bleek refers to this group as being popularly called 'Koon'. L. F. Maingard distinguishes between the two by spelling the name of the southerly group */Kɜ̃*. The /Kɜ̃ are to be found in B.P., in and south of Okwa. Whereas the /Kung language has four clicks (symbolized now as dental /, alveolar ≠, alveolar palatal /, lateral //), the /Kɜ̃ language is very different and has a fifth click, that of the southern Bushman language groups, the labial ⊙. The phrase *ju /ɔ̃assi* has nothing to do with the /Kɜ̃.

Maingard in 'Three Bushman Languages' (*African Studies*, 16/1, 1957, p. 37) uses the phrase as the name of a dialect of /Kung—'. . . *dyu/ʔɔ̃ã:si* (Northern Group, a dialect of /khũ, partly in South West Africa and partly in the Bechuanaland Protectorate)'. Bleek (op. cit., p. 334) does not record the phrase in /Kung (her northern Group II), but gives it in Auen (N I) and says it means 'Bushman'. She spells it *ju /mwasi*. [101]

We think that the phrase *ju /ɔ̃assi*, which we started spelling in this way because we did not know any better and continue because it is simples, can be applied to groups of varying size and definition, on a variety of bases, when the in-group quality in comparison with the out-group is to be expressed in some way. When we asked what they call themselves, our /Kung informants often replied '*ju /ɔ̃assi*' as though the phrase might be coextensive with Bushman as distinguished from non-Bushman (Europeans, */ku*, whom the /Kung also call 'red people', i.e. *ju gau*; or Bantu, whom the /Kung call *ju dzo*, 'black people' or */gema* (or */koma?*),' animals without hooves'). They also use *ju /ɔ̃assi* when one might expect them to say '/Kung' as distinguished from other Bushman language groups, or when they distinguish themselves from other /Kung outside their region. They said that the Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south were *ju dole* and they know that the Bushmen at Karakuwise, Nuregas, and Chadum speak /Kung but said they were *ju dole* nevertheless. I had the impression that it was the out-group quality in the phrase (strange and therefore potentially harmful) which was being expressed when they applied it as above and claimed that the Makaukau were a murderous people who have a medicine so deadly that you die if you but glance at it, and that those Nuregas /Kung put poison into the pipes they give you to smoke. One's friend or relative can also be *ju dole* if one is displeased with him.

Isaak Utuhile (a Chwana chief under Queen Moremi, in Kubi, B.P.) said that in the phrase *ju /ɔ̃assi*

/135 cont./

144 (Ngamiland): "I should like to observe briefly that the Kalahari
197 Bushmen are low in my estimation, both in respect to their language and to their appearance; I was able to confirm an extremely close relationship with the Nama [Hottentot], but in an old dialect no longer spoken today."

Since I lack the knowledge for making anthropological
141 measurements, I shall confine myself to /136/ presenting several ǂAuin types as I observed them. They may not be without value for comparative purposes.

I should like to add that in measuring physical height I obtained the following results:

Adult men (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.51 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.62	meters
Minimum height	1.47	meters

Adult women (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.45 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.53	meters
Minimum height	1.38	meters

A. Geography and Statistics

The ǂAuin, as they call themselves and as they are known to
131 the neighboring Bushmen tribes, inhabit that part of the central Kalahari which is more or less immediately bounded by the watering places Rietfontein, Ganab, Gam, Sidonitzaub, Otjiamangombe, Tjumda, Epukiro, Oas, Stampriet, Rooigrauwater, and Habakobis. Their territory lies for the greater part within the boundaries of the German protectorate. The adjoining sketch indicates as accurately as possible the geographic location, as well as the approximate territory of the neighboring Bushmen tribes. The
101 Hottentot designate the ǂAuin as ǂAu-San (Schinz), the inhabitants of the Chanse Veld as ǂAukwé (Passarge), the Betschuana [Tswana] as Makaukau. The approximate number of Auin (1),

[104]

1. For the sake of simplicity I shall from now on omit the initial mark ǂ, which indicates the click.

2: Kaufmann--6 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Auen

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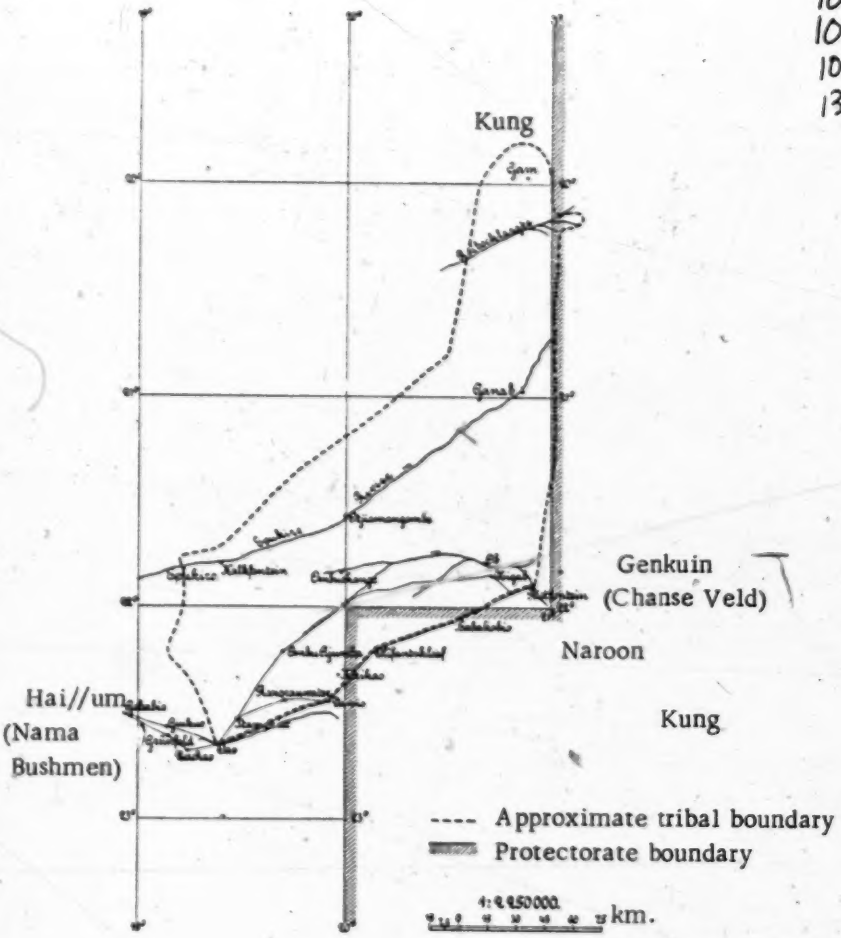
102
103
131



Map of the Auin Region

ANGOLA !KUNG WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD

[6 cont.]

105 In their religious ideas, the moon plays the chief role. The new moon is supposed to be a child or a man; the full moon, a woman. They also say that the moon is the older sister, and the sun, the younger sister. Besides the moon, Huwe and //Gaua appear as mythical personages. Instead of Huwe, they also say //Nwa-se, "little new moon." Bleek believes that Huwe is the spirit of the forest, who causes the growth of trees and grass and thus also the growth of game, therefore determining the success or failure of the hunt. Whether or not Huwe is worshiped could not be determined. It is interesting to note what is said concerning //Gaua: "//Gaua is another being. The people from Ngami Lake give the word three meanings: dream, ghost, spirit. Among the Angola Bushmen it is used sometimes for ghost, and sometimes more impersonally. A woman said: When a person dies, a ghost (//Gaua) comes from his grave, which can be seen by the medicine men." Thunder and lightning come from //Gaua. The person struck by lightning becomes a star in the sky. The stars are the campfires of //Gaua. The Bushmen are supposed to be the children of //Gaua. He is a man who lives in the forest, and his home is a hole in the ground. An informant explained that //Gaua is equivalent to Ndjambi (god). There are two kinds of medicine men: those who can see the spirits, conduct the boys' initiations, and do the tattooing, while the second kind cures the sick.

Chapter 2

The Bushmen of the Western Otjimpolo Veld

122 In Shandi, among the eastern Ukuanjama [Kuanyama], I was able to establish contact with the Bushmen through the kindness of the Resident, Mr. Eaddes, and of the native pastor, Paulus.
101 In part, these Bushmen were genuine !Kung, who said they were the same as those from Karakowisa, with whom, however, a fruitful understanding was impossible; and in part they were people who called themselves !Kung, but, judging by their language and customs, are southern Bushmen of Amboland. They themselves say that their fathers came from Ongandjera. The following

[6 cont.]

101 account refers only to the latter.

821 [7] The sky is designated by them as !nanu áiba Éroba Kharésa ("rain house of god").

776 For god they have the expressions "Erob" and "χ'amab"
775 only "Erob" is used in prayers. χ'amab (1) has been preserved

1. χ indicates a very low gutteral click, for which I know of no notation.

in χ'amá //gu Khe = "people who are with god," in other words, the souls of the deceased in heaven. Everyone goes there, the good as well as the bad. Erob has no wife and no children. A human being has only one soul (!gau-ba). This soul goes to the heavenly house and remains there "until Erob makes new people from it." Here is a belief in the transmigration of souls, which, it must be admitted, is not thought through any further.

No spirits of the dead remain on earth. There are little
776 bush spirits, the gangorob; they are harmless and do nothing. There are no evil little spirits. They supposedly know nothing about Heiseb and /Nawa.

136 The supply of game is ample in the tall dry forests of the Otjimpolo Veld. There are also fish in the rainy season. The
[825] Bushmen call them "shiba" (Ovambo: oshi or ochi); in other words, originally they had no word for them.

224 The Bushmen are helpless against the lion (χ'oréba).
[825] They leave a region as soon as lions make it unsafe. "There is no point in hunting them."

The leopard (χ'nába) is hunted with dogs (ariba). The
[439] chiefs of Amboland pay a good price for the skin, since little princes and princesses are not carried in a litter made of cowhide, but in a leopard skin. The jackal (≠Khai-eba) and the Löffelhund (//arúba) [a fox-like wild dog of the subfamily Octocyoninae] are hunted with enthusiasm. "Aruba" probably corresponds to N. //arob = striped jackal.

Wild dogs, "Khere," !nube (N. !goub) are preferably
[825] avoided. No notice is taken of the hyena, ≠Khai-lasa (N. ≠heirab),
[262] and it is not eaten. When they come near the camp, it is not a
[767] good sign.

[9 cont.]

805 shauba, cold season (N. sáob).

!kn-aba, hot season (N. !nái, warm).

535 Among dances, an ostrich and an ape dance were mentioned to me.

123 The studies, which began so promisingly, came to an end because I was evidently unable to present the village chief with enough presents. One evening a boy appeared and told me that the Bushmen had "had to go hunting." I continued to wait a number of days for the !Kung called by Mr. Eaddes. The messengers returned with the news that they had found no one. Another Sunday coat for the village mayor and some yellow money for the Bushmen, and priceless material could have been obtained.

[107] Chapter 3

The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of the Ondonga [Ndonga]

173 According to their tradition, these Bushmen came from Herero country. Hence they represent the connecting link between the "Saan" in the Gobabis district and the Hei//om [Heikum] of the north. The people as a whole designate themselves as Daman = the wealthy. The horde around Oshigambo calls itself //Huru-Khái. They call their dialect Cháraba. I do not believe that they live far in the interior of the Otjimpolo Veld. They have an enormous respect for the !Kung. The outermost cattle posts of the Ondonga probably coincide pretty much with the boundaries of their territory. A number of them are Bantuized and have small physiques. The others engage in hunting and supply the black farmers with the flesh of wild game, hides, ostrich egg beads, and poison. They serve as beaters on the great hunts of Chief Martin. At the court they count for nothing. The farmers like to see them. Little acts of assistance, a sack of berries or veldkost, soften the heart of the black housewife, so that here, as in Uukualuthi [among the Kualuthi?], there are a number of do-nothings who are nonetheless gladly received.

101 131 172 142 439 648

[13 cont.]

Chapter 4

The Bushmen of Ukuambi

115 At an outpost of the Finnish Ukuambi Mission, where I undertook anthropological measurements, I encountered a Bushman from the hordes that live on the northern bank of the Etosha Pan and stand in a loose dependent relationship partly with Ipumbo, partly with Shanika. I was able to converse with him only a few hours.

101 These Bushmen in Ukuambi, as well as at other places, belong to the Ezimo of the Akuanambua. They themselves are [614] divided into a number of exogamous kin groups. My informant belonged to the clan Ari-Ari. The tribe calls itself Akese or Kere and comes from the region between Okaukuejo and Outjo. Today this tribal organization is broken up. The following names -- formerly independent hordes which now live mixed together -- were mentioned to me: /Aru-Kwe, Ashuche, Asécha, !Kuru-Kwei, A !Kha-ta-bé, A-Hei-tére, A !gnuri.

648 Insofar as these Bushmen do not already lead the life of the Bantu farmers, they are hunters, spies, and occasionally also executioners for the chiefs. They manufacture ostrich egg beads [+39] and poison. For twelve good ostrich eggs they receive a fat ox. The Ovambo have quite a peculiar outlook in this respect. They spurn the perfectly good eggs of their hens. The ordinarily somewhat "disreputable" ostrich eggs are purchased for dear money as a delicacy.

611 The sons belong to the family of the father, the daughters to that of the mother. The men are not allowed to eat hares, 262 but the women and children do. The eating of hyenas and boa constrictors is prohibited to all.

776 Concerning their religious conceptions I was able to discover the following: In the sky dwells the great captain !Khuwa, which means the same as Huwe. In answer to the question about God, however, he stated that this was Erob, which naturally coincides with the name for God, Ellob, of the Rhenish Mission. The name !Khuwa only occurred casually in the conversation. He was unable to give a clear answer to my question as to whether

[13 cont.]

776 !Khuwa and Erob were the same. In any case, the expression Ellob used by these people comes from Outjo, where there are a number of Christian Bushmen.

!Khuwa lives in the heavenly house χ'ain !nao gároba.
[772] The people in heaven eat only large flies, !Khu !Khua-i. The figure /Nawas is unknown. The evil antagonist of Huwe, //Gauab, is also absent. These Bushmen, however, have the same doctrine
[774] of the two souls as the !Kung of the east.

775 When someone dies, he becomes the property of !Khuwa; he is a !Khunga. The actual soul, χ'aobe, goes to the heavenly house, remains there, and does nothing but eat large flies. From the bodies of the dead [14] arise the //gauá-i, which run around in the bush and stir up trouble. They correspond to the akwapungu
[171] and azizi of the Ovambo. "But the actual souls of the Ovambo and the Bushmen go different ways; those of the Ovambo go under the earth where they have their fields and herds, but those of the Bushmen go up." Since the missionary Mr. Kylves expressed the desire to make some detailed studies of the Bushmen himself, I gladly left this attractive field of study to my kind host.

197 Finally, a number of words indicate that these people
192 are to be included in the Hei//om-Nama group, a point which
[101] is very striking with respect to the !Kung elments in their world view.

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Sun	shoreba	sóres
Moon	!háwa	//khab(*)
Stars	/nāmirō-i	/gamiros
Dome of the sky	shorche	≠kanis
Earth	/huwa	!hub-eib
Lightning	/harabé	náwab
Thunder	!nau	!gurub(*)
Rain	≠nanuba	/awib(*)
Lion	χ'amba	χ'ami
Leopard	!kui-oba	!arub(*)
Large bird	anite	--
Dog	arib	arib
Boa constrictor	!aoba	--
Zebra	χorebe	--

[16 cont.]

[134] 137 saturation and ground water, is a dry forest of a different type which corresponds to Warburg's lowland forest and, in contrast to the light dry forest of the looser sand, is distinguished by a relatively high density. -- The dry forest steppe occupies the largest areas of the !Kung Veld, and [17] lowland forest and grass steppe form only modest enclaves in it. Within the dry forest, at those places where the nature of the terrain makes possible the accumulation and preservation of relatively significant quantities of water or ground humidity, there are individual trees that are to be regarded as remnants of a former compact lowland forest, and the floristic composition of such forest islands leads to the conclusion that the entire region, with the exception of the primary grass steppes, whose floor probably never displayed taller vegetation because of its sterility, was once covered by a lush lowland forest as is preserved in its finest form at present in the northern Kalahari and in the 'rain forest' of Victoria Falls."

101 [131] By the !Kung Bushmen in the narrower sense, who are divided into a northern group and an eastern group, I refer to those people who are located north of the police zone and south of the Okovanggo in the effluent region of the Omuramba u Owambo at the Löwenomuramba and on both sides of the lower and central Omuramba u Omatako. The groups in the source region of the Omuramba u Owambo have been studied by me in 174 greater detail. In former times, the !Kung undoubtedly lived much farther south and west. It is not improbable that they left the Grootfontein plain and the Otawi mountains under the pressure of the Hei//om, who in turn were forced out of the central region by the Herero. On the other side they undoubtedly gained space toward the south, for according to reports from the pre-war period, the Nogau were settled in the Sand Veld all the way to the vicinity of Otjituo, whereas today they have retreated 144 behind Alexeck. The racial composition of the !Kung Bushmen allows one to make a conclusion about their history. Among them we find a larger number of Europoid types than among the surrounding Bantu tribes. In addition, Austroloid influence is

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself, who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year 1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and smoke it' " (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions
13) of this tribe:

"The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

[20 cont.]

101 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposed-
131 ly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are
[648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the
[631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief, the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notorious Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-
[197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do
[342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in
[301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh
[827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron
[411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations
[114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

[64 cont.]

600 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib
769 Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu
[774] doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the
[825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals,
[824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe
[776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at
551 her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say
602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo
105 delta, J. Seiner reports:
101 "The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting.
[563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe
[144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease.
AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY.

OKOVONGGO BUSHMEN
NOGAU

[65 cont.]

000 and racial mixture is progressing rapidly. The Bugakwe live in
105 five villages with 220 persons in the western Okovanggo Valley
[161] down from the Mahango ford and are in bondage to Libebe, with
101 whom, however, they frequently have quarrels over the amount
131 of deliveries; on the occasion of one such dispute in June, 1905, a Mambukuschu was killed by an arrow. The Garikwe live in
[161] eight villages with 430 souls in eastern Ärmellande from the Paliba Swamp to the beginning of the valley, while the Goekwe live in southern Ärmellande west of the river course. Concerning
[161] the latter, I found only a winter village with 90 souls, and that north of the mouth of the Namassere on a river island.

"The Goekwe might well be identical with Passarge's Gokwe, whose territory extends from the western edge of the Tauche swampland deep into the Kaukau Veld; the Tschorilo Mountains belong to them. During the rainy season the Tannekwe undertake hunting expeditions in the neighboring steppes. The Hukwe, whose
[161] number I estimate at at least 600, are less racially mixed than the Tannekwe, but likewise live in settled villages, from which during the dry season they swarm out in family groups to gather or hunt in the forest steppe as the need arises."

Chapter 8

The Nogau Bushmen of Epukiro

101 During my stay in the mission station of Epukiro, I had an opportunity for closer contact with the Bushmen who live in a kind of symbiosis with the Betschuana (2). They call themselves Nogau,

[113] 2. I have given a detailed report on the Europeanized Betschuana village of Epukiro in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 65 (1933).

specifically ǂno /gna !khou, that is, people who live by the water.
101 They are farther north of the Omuhamba Epukiro toward Alexeck.
131 North of them are the Gai-kwe, and the !Kung are farther east and

[65 cont.]

101 north. Beyond this there is a great river and many black people
131 (Okawango). They know only the Herero as their western neighbors. In other words, they came much later than the latter. Unquestionably as recently as 20 years ago some people of this group were still settled along the central Omurambo Omatako, where F. Seiner reports them from Otjituo and Nuragas. The Naron live south of them, and to the southeast the ≠Auin. In the southwest, at least formerly, there were Bushmen of the Hei//om group and /Gowanin (Sand Kaffir). Probably these Hei//om were the people formerly designated as Saan. Nogau, ≠Auin, and Naron actually belong to
[101] the Kalahari group. Throughout the farm zone which formerly
[175] extended to the English frontier, the tribal units were more or less
648 destroyed, and there arose a mixed Bushman population which constantly replenished its numbers from the free tribes. On the other hand, however, Bushmen from the farm zone always went back to the bush, partly of their own free will and partly in flight from the police. In the Gobabis district the boundary of the police zone coincides with the land boundary. The relationships between the Whites and the Hereros on the one hand, and the Bushmen on the other, are therefore [66] very tense. A few years ago,
175 648 after the Bushmen had been prohibited from hunting big game, they rebelled and declared a feud against the magistrate in Gobabis by shooting some arrows against the door of his house one night. The magistrate, Van Rynefeldt, wanted to hunt them down in the bush, but was struck by a poisoned arrow shot from ambush and died. A great roundup of Bushmen was organized and many of them were taken to the prison in Gobabis, where a number of them died as a
[178] result of the vitamin-poor diet. Since then the Bushmen in this region have again chosen a chief and represent a modest power. As a result of these conditions, it was much more difficult to gain
123 their confidence than in the north. In this respect, P. Watterott and the village mayor of Epukiro, Franz Arenat, were especially helpful to me. These Bushmen are of special interest since there
198 is a special women's language among them. It is called Hee-aziba he auseashu. It is in part also spoken by the children and is characterized by having many words that have no clicks. It was only with great difficulty that I was able to take down a few words, for example:

/241/

000 Anthropological, Ethnological, and Ethnographic Observations concerning the Heikum and Kung Bushmen (1), with an apdix on the languages of these Bushman Tribes (2).

1. Presented at the session of November 18, 1905 /of the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte/.

121 2. The linguistic notes on the language of the Heikum Bushmen were gathered on the Omuramba Omatako, while the linguistic notes concerning the Kung Bushmen were taken down in a Kung settlement on the northern edge of the Kaukau Veld, approximately 15 kilometers west of Dobe.

A stay of several months in the vicinity of a Bushman settlement near Otjomavare, a watering place on the Omuramba ua omatako, about 50 kilometers south of Grootfontein and 120 kilometers northeast of Waterberg, gave me the opportunity to make a series of observations on the Bushmen, which, I believe, in part presents new information and in part complements and confirms what is already known. My first concern was to determine the size of the Bushmen, who are traditionally known as abnormally small, by obtaining absolute measurements. A closer acquaintance with this interesting people then led me to make further investigations that will be of interest to the ethnologist and the ethnographer.

I had to manufacture in part the instruments needed for making the anthropological measurements, but I hope that this circumstance has not diminished the accuracy of the results.

101 The Bushmen concerned call themselves "Heikum" people, a
[194] name in which the 'k' is to be replaced by the click indicated in
the Nama language by //. Thirty-one adults and eight children
124 were measured.

Of the adults 14 are men and 17 women.

128 I shall first present the average values of the absolute measurements, and then a number of proportional figures and indices.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE !KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THE Peabody Harvard Kalahari Expedition, under the leadership of Laurence K. Marshall, has made four field trips between 1950 and 1955 into the Kalahari Desert in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate to find and study Bushmen who were living in their own way, and not working for white farmers or for Negroes. The last of the four expeditions, that of 1955, was sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution as well as by the Peabody Museum of Harvard. 121 122

Our principal study was made with the /Kung Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. The Nyae Nyae region extends about 150 miles north and south, about 100 miles east and west, and is centred approximately at Gautscha Pan, which is located at *c.* 19° 48′ 30″ S. and 20° 34′ 36″ E. on the map of a survey of the area by the Administration of South West Africa dated 7.11.1935. The Nyae Nyae region is separated from the farmed areas of South West Africa by a stretch of waterless, uninhabited country over 100 miles wide. 131

We chose the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region for concentrated study because they are the least acculturated Bushmen we found.[1] They are non-literate, nomadic hunters and gatherers, with no agriculture or domesticated animals. They are completely [121] 105 177
self-reliant

[1] On the expeditions we travelled extensively in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The groups of Bushmen we encountered were, in addition to the /Kung of Nyae Nyae, /Kung outside the Nyae Nyae region at Karakuwise, Nuragas, Khadum, and at water holes south of Gum in South West Africa, and at Kai Kai, Kubi and other places along the western border of Bechuanaland, where Chwana and Herero have cattle posts; Makaukau and Naron near Ghanzi, B. P.; /Kõ at Okwa and at Barachu, about 50 and 100 miles south of Ghanzi respectively; /Gikwe about 100 miles south-east of Ghanzi in the trackless sandy plain that lies between Ghanzi and Molepolole, where during the dry season there is no water; and //Ganakwe still farther south, below Chukudu. We studied the kinship terminology of the /Kõ and /Gikwe; Professor L. F. Maingard, for a time a member of the 1955 expedition, studied the /Kõ language, which has the labial (fifth) click of the southern group. [101]

Professor I. Schapera and Miss D. F. Bleek, in their Bushman studies, record information on these groups. For more data on the various names by which the groups are known and the areas in which they were found and the language groups into which Miss Bleek's studies place them, see especially Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 31 ff., and Bleek, D. F., 'The Distribution of Bushman Languages in South Africa', *Festschrift Meinhof*, pp. 55 ff.

'Africa', the Journal of the International African Institute, is published by the Institute, but except where otherwise stated the writers of the articles are responsible for the opinions expressed.

[p. 1]

173 Of migration of the Bushmen from elsewhere no mention is made in local native traditions. The Hottentots, Hereros and Ovambos state that on their arrival the Bushmen were found in occupation and that the latter must have been living here ever since the creation of man. The Bushmen likewise believe that their present tribal divisions and dis- [173 82] tribution have been in existence since the very beginning of things when each tribe had its origin in a "first big Bushman" and a "first big Bushwoman" of its own by whom were handed down to their descendants the practices and customs still peculiar to and the territory still occupied by their respective tribes. Each of the existing tribes with its constituent elements is consequently looked upon as having been "born" in and having been in occupation of the same area from time immemorial. Although claiming descent [174 53] from the aboriginal race they have lost all knowledge of the arts of painting and engraving. The rock paintings and carvings left by their ancestors are considered to be the works not of man but of the "devil."

174 The view that the present day Bushmen are composed of the remnants of their race driven back by the advance of stronger invading races from the north and south is not borne out by evidence arising out of recent investigations into the life and customs of this primitive people.

Distribution.

101 With the exception of a few isolated remnants on the north 131 bank of the Orange River and along the edge of the Namib desert, the Bushmen are confined entirely to the Kalahari along the eastern and north-eastern borders and to the northern portions of the territory which adjoin Ovamboland.

The Bushmen of the Kalahari region consist of three main divisions, each speaking a language of its own, viz.: the *|Nu-||ẽin* or *|Nu-sau* in the south, the *Ngami* Bushmen in the centre and the *Kaukau* Bushmen in the north.

The *||Nu-||ẽin* inhabit those portions of the Gobabis, Gibeon and Aroab districts which lie to the east of the Elephant and Auob rivers. The northern limit of their distribution is formed by a line running roughly from Naunas across Oas to the Elephant's River, crossing the Nosob a short distance below the junction of the Black and White Nosob Rivers.

The *Ngami* Bushmen are composed of a good many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In South West Africa they are represented by only a few groups of the *||Aikwe* tribe. These groups are known as the *Naron* and are distributed along the banks of the Chapman River as far as Oas.

The *Kaukau* Bushmen inhabit the greater portion of the Omaheke, including a part of the Kaukauveld and the

Oschimpoloveld. On the east they extend into the Bechuana- /01
land Protectorate and on the north into Angola. Among /31
them are included the *†Aukwe* or *‡Ao-//ĕin* in the south between Sandfontein and */Gam*, the *Ssu-‡gnassi* to the north-east and the *‡Küng* to the northwest.

Next in importance and numbers to the Bushmen of the /01
Kalahari are the *Hei-//om* living in the vicinity of the /31
Etosha Pan and on the outskirts of Ovamboland in the Groot- /77
fontein and Outjo districts. They are generally believed to [174]
have resulted from the interbreeding of Hottentots with a now extinct tribe of Bushmen which originally inhabited the greater portion of the present Damaraland and Ovamboland. Their manner of life is still that of Bushmen but, unlike their [197]
neighbours of the Kalahari, they have no language of their own and speak a Nama dialect. Except among the groups in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organisation has disappeared almost completely. The groups living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture. In Eastern Ovamboland they are known by the Ovambo as *Ovachwagga;* in north-western Ovamboland they call themselves *Ovambo* Bushmen but are referred to by the Ukuanyama as *Wakeddi* or *Ovakeddi*. Both *Ovachwagga* and *Ovakeddi*, especially the [582]
latter, are being rapidly absorbed into the *Ovambo* through intermarriage. The *Ovachwagga* speak both the Ovambo and [191
Hottentot languages. Among the *Ovakeddi*, on the other /97]
hand, only the older members of the various groups still have a knowledge of the latter language. Of the groups along the banks of and immediately to the north of the Ovambo Omuramba very little is known. To the west they are in contact with the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha region; to the north with the Ovambo and to the east with */Kung* of the Oschimpoloveld or northern Omaheke. The *Hei-//om* of the remaining portions of Grootfontein and Outjo and of the districts of Otjiwarongo and Gobabis are scattered about on farms and are living in close association with Hottentots and Klip Kaffirs with whom they show various degrees of intermixture. In Gobabis there is only a small remnant, known locally also as the *Nama* or *Kakuja* Bushmen on account of the extent to which they have interbred with these races and the neighbouring tribes of the Kalahari.

Of the tribes which were left in Namaqualand during the /01
latter half of the last century only a few individuals have /31
survived. The */Geinin* of the Namib between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//Obanen* of the Huns Mountains, and the */Koma-san* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateau have disappeared completely. The */Huinin* are represented by a few groups at the southern extremity of the */Huib* plateau and adjacent part of the Namib. The */Ganin* of the Nauwkloof Mountains have likewise become almost totally extinct.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

greatly esteemed and is gathered from the crust of the pan in 317
moist balls. Bushmen sprinkle the surface with water in order to roll up just the first layer where the salt lies. When the salt balls dry, Bushmen crumble them into their food, preferring [263] salt to all sweet things and honey. Once when we asked some of the Gautscha people what they called themselves they replied with this phrase: "We are a salty people, who come [101] from a salty place."

In the dry season, two hundred people came to Gautscha 731
and lived in the bushes at the edge of the pan. This was an 361
enormous number for any area to support, but all had indisputable rights to be there, for either their fathers had drunk at Gautscha or they had relatives whose fathers had; by the rather complicated system, any Bushman may drink water and gather veld food wherever his parents had a right to do so, or may live with either his parents, his brothers or sisters, or his wife at any place where the relative of his choice has rights. There was water but not much food at Gautscha, and 731
all the people got thin and very hungry and sat around their fires at night with sweat pouring from their bodies but with nothing to eat; to make matters worse, one man coming for a visit proved to be ill and gave his disease to everyone. It was a disease that caused vomiting, high fevers, chest pains, [164] and nosebleeds of great intensity—a woman whom I tried to cure bled all one morning with blood squirting from her nostrils, pouring down over her arms and hands and dripping from her elbows, making a dark pool on the ground. The disease struck all the people, from the youngest infants to the oldest grandparents, and all the people lay for days scattered all over the ground, too ill to move. We did everything we could, of course; we provided food and medicine, firewood and water, and took turns staying up all night to nurse the people. As it happened, everyone got better within fourteen

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Hunting is mankind's oldest—and least rewarding—way of life. Among its last practitioners are the Kalahari Bushmen

Part I

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A PEOPLE, small of stature, few in numbers, calling themselves "!Kung," but who are called "Bushmen" by others, live today in a tremendous depression, half-a-continent wide and sunken in the southern African plateau—by name, the Kalahari Desert Basin. They live on the huge floor of this Basin, near one of its imperceptible sides. It is an open land—large to the point of vagueness, under a limitless sky. There is a word used frequently by the other inhabitants of this Basin—mostly black-skinned peoples—to define the different cultural groups now living there. The word is "nation." One speaks of the Herero nation, the Chuana nations, the Okavango nations. To follow this usage, one would speak of the !Kung nation of *Nyae Nyae*—one among several Bushmen nations. [The prefix, (!), indicates one of the so-

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WORLDLY GOODS of a !Kung family are arrayed, *above*, preparatory to moving camp. The number of belongings cannot exceed family's carrying capacity.

[p. 4]

101 called "clicks" that mark the speech of the Bushmen. Distinction is made between four classes of "click": the dental (/), lateral (//), palatal (≠), and alveolar (!)—ED.]

But "nation" is a new word, recently arisen in the vocabulary of a country whose people are struggling to define themselves in present times. The !Kung, who know who they are, do not yet need it. For, besides !Kung, which they use rarely, they call themselves *Dzu/oassi*. *Dzu/oassi* can be interpreted as "the people" in opposition to "the animals," for example, or as "the perfect people," or, indeed, as "the only people."

Unlike other nations, the Bushmen practice no agriculture, domesticate no animals. They are hunting and gathering peoples. But all the nations
133 —Bushmen, Bantu and white alike—who live in the Kalahari Basin must

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

/KUNG BUSHMAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS[1]

LORNA MARSHALL

MY purpose in this paper is to describe some of the religious beliefs held currently by the /Kung Bushmen of the interior bands of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. I shall limit the paper to a description of their concepts of the gods, the problem of evil, supplication, the spirits of the dead, and the ceremonial curing dance, but leave for another paper a more detailed account of medicine men, how they become medicine men, and more about their practices and beliefs. We gathered the information which I present principally on our expeditions of 1952–3 and 1955.

Schapera traces considerable borrowing in the past by the Bushmen from Hottentots and Bergdama.[2] I did not have opportunity to trace, to any significant extent, possible present-day borrowing or exchange of ideas, and can only report that contact, and therefore opportunity for exchange, takes place between the interior bands of /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region and the Tswana and Herero on the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung have contact also, but much less frequently, with Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south and through them to some extent with Naron in the Ghanzi region of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae occasionally see /Kung to the north of their region, who in turn see the Okavango and Ovambo tribes. Although the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not enough contact with white people before we came to absorb any Christian ideas directly from them, and no Christian missionary has been in the interior of the region, an influence of Christianity cannot be precluded because the Tswana do have contact with Christianity. Our own highly valued interpreter, Kernel Ledimo, who grew up near the border and spoke Bushman from his childhood, had been educated in an Anglican mission school. Although there has been contact with people who have Christian ideas, I do not recognize with certainty any Christian elements among /Kung beliefs.

One is left to wonder if the change in the concept of the nature of the gods, particularly in that of the great god, which appears when one compares the old tales with current concepts, was brought about entirely by the philosophical and logical powers of the /Kung themselves and by their adjustment to emotional needs, or whether influences from without played some part. I hope that the research of others may throw light on this point.

I should like to mention a few of the well-known Bushman beliefs, recorded in the past, which the present Nyae Nyae /Kung do *not* have and then proceed to a more systematic description of beliefs which they hold at present.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung have various beliefs and lore about the sun and moon, Canopus, the Pleiades, and other stars, and they have the well-known myth of the moon and the hare; but they do not attribute active divinity to the heavenly bodies, which are 'just stars', they say in effect, and we did not find that they either fear

[1] We are grateful for a grant towards the publication of this long article.

[2] I. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, London: Routledge, 1930. Reference is particularly to chapter vii.

14: Willet Y-4 (no date) 1965 FX10 Bushmen FX10

PREFACE

The Bushmen of Southern Africa are today represented by scattered groups of hunters on the plains of the Kalahari and on the farms of South West Africa and Angola. They are a unique and mysterious people and have attracted the attention of numerous writers since the early settlers at the Cape first made contact with the Sonquas. In this Bibliography an attempt has been made to list most aspects of the culture of the Bushmen. A bibliography on rock art was compiled in 1947, thus only a few items appear on this subject. Those included are of interest because they suggest some facet of culture or culture history. Some items are predominently of a physical anthropological nature but contain sufficient ethnological information to justify their inclusion.

The items are arranged in alphabetical order under broad subject headings and an Author-Title index has been provided. The section entitled History, was included because it was felt that the earliest references to Bushmen at the Cape and later in the interior, are of interest, in creating a picture of the life and customs of the extinct groups of Bushmen. The history of the tragic clashes between the Bushmen and other races which led to their extinction in most of Southern Africa, is traced in such historical works as J. Sutherland, Memoir respecting the Kaffirs Hottentots and Boshemans of South Africa and Donald Moodie, The Record

The main body of the bibliography is devoted to the ethnology of the Bushmen and here are included items by authors, some of whom are not ethnologists but whose work is of sufficient value to allow its inclusion in this section. The items included in the small section entitled Bushman Folklore, include popularised versions of the work of Dorothea Bleek and Lucy C. Lloyd. The section on Linguistics is purely restricted to works available in Johannesburg and no attempt has been made to obtain works by the Portuguese students of the Bushmen or other foreign linguistic studies. This can therefore claim to be no more than a token coverage of a field, in which a vast amount of work has been and still is, being done. The section entitled General, contains work not sufficiently scientific to be included under Ethnology, yet of interest, often because of their excellent illustrations. This section begins with works published after 1900 and works of a similar nature published before this date, appear in History.

Sources. Mendelssohn, South African Bibliography provided some of the older items. Many of the older periodical references were traced through the bibliography in - I. Schapera, Khoisan Peoples of South Africa and the Johannesburg Public Library's Index to South African Periodicals was also used. A list of periodical abbreviations indicates the sources consulted. Periodical titles were written out in full when they appeared only once.

Brief annotations are given in some cases. Page references and an indication of contents, have been provided for some of the older items which do not contain an index.

My sincere thanks are due to Prof. L.F. Maingard, Prof. M.G. Marwick, and Mr. G. B. Silberbauer for their valuable advice, to Prof. Manuel Guerreiro for kindly sending material on the Portuguese contribution to Bushman Studies, of which I could include only a very small number, and to Prof. P.V. Tobias for so kinily allowing me access to his bibliography on cards in the Anatomy Department.

23. MENTZEL, O.F.
A complete and authentic geographical and topographical description of the famous and (all things considered) remarkable, African, Cape of Good Hope... translated from the original German by G.V. Marais and Dr. T. Hodge. Rev. and ed. by H. J. Mandelbrote. Cape Town, 1944. originally published in 1787. Part 3 vol. 2 of German ed. 113

p. 260-263 The Bushmen of the Cape Province
p. 308-309, 330, 332, 334 Battles between Bushman and settlers described

24. MOFFAT, Robert
Missionary Labours and scenes in Southern Africa. London, 1842. 624 p. illus.

p. 6-14 Origin and history of the Bushmen
p. 49-64 History of Kitchener's mission to the Bushman. This section includes a description of their way of life.

25. MOODIE, Donald and PHILIP, John
Correspondence between Donald Moodie, Esq. compiler and editor of the Cape Records and the Rev. John Philip D.D. relative to the production for publication of alleged "official authority" for the statement that in the year 1774 the whole race of Bushmen or Hottentots who had not submitted to servitude was ordered to be seized or extirpated. Cape Town. n.d. 76 p.

26. MOODIE, Donald, comp.
The record: or a series of official papers relative to the condition and treatment of the native tribes of South Africa. Cape Town, 1960.
Bushmen also known as Soaqua, Obiqua, Soeswa, Strandloopers, Vischman, Waterman. [101]

27. MOSSOP. E.E. ed.
The journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779) with an English translation by A.W. van der Horst, and The journals of Jacobus Coetsé Janse (1760) and William van Reenen (1791) with an English translation by Dr. E.E. Mossop. Cape Town, 1935.
In these journals Bushmen are referred to as: Chaboup, Thabock, Thaboeba and Sangomonka. The journals contain numerous references to the Bushmen, their hunting methods and social customs. [101]

28. PRINGLE, Thomas
Narrative of a residence in South Africa. London, 1834. 116 p.

p. 77-80 Pringle believed the Bushman to have originally been a pastoral people. Commandos against them described. [104]

29. SHAW, Barnabas
Memorials of Southern Africa by Barnabas Shaw, Wesleyan missionary resident in the country nearly twenty years. London, 1834. 346 p.

p. 27-33 Bushmen customs and appearance

14: Willet Y-4 (no date) 1965 FX10 Bushmen FX10

37. TRANSACTIONS of the London Missionary Society Vol. 1. From its institution in the year 1795 to the end of the year 1802. 113

p. 325-341 Mission to the Bushman. Gives a description of their way of life but none of their beliefs

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung
Africa F1

B
A
102
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131
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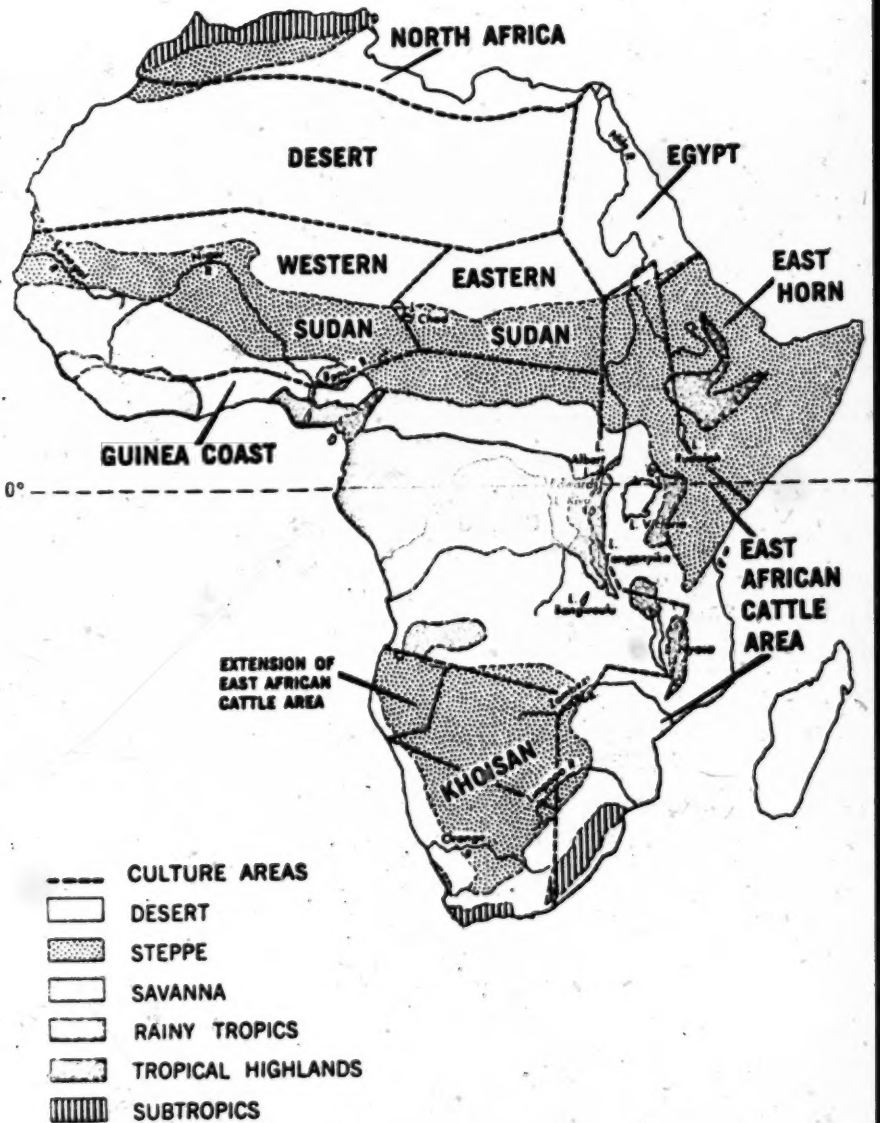
AFRICA: CULTURE AREAS AND VEGETATIONAL ZONES



[Front Map 1]
[p. i]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung
Africa F1

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AFRICA: TRIBAL LOCATIONS AND POLITICAL BOUNDARIES, 1964

TRIBAL GROUPS

1. AFIKPO IBO
2. BANTU TIRIKI
3. GANDA
4. HAUSA
5. JIE
6. KPELLE
7. !KUNG BUSHMEN
8. MBUTI PYGMIES
9. NORTHERN PASTORAL SOMALI
10. PASTORAL FULANI
11. RWANDA
12. SUKU
13. SWAZI
14. TIV
15. YORUBA

[Front Map 2]
[p. ii]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

7

THE !KUNG BUSHMEN OF THE KALAHARI DESERT

about the chapter

For the anthropologist, the Bushmen are one of the world's most intriguing peoples, as they are virtually unique physically, linguistically, and culturally. The physical anthropologist cannot place the Bushmen in any one of the recognized major racial groupings: Caucasoid, Mongoloid, or Negroid. Similarly, linguists have placed their language in a category, Khoisan, apart from other African language families. The velar "clicks" that characterize Khoisan languages are apparently found nowhere in the world outside of Africa.

The culture of the Bushmen shows the imprint of their harsh and barren desert habitat, and, as Marshall points out, the ethos of their culture is dominated by the quest for survival. Many Bushman cultural institutions are molded by certain ecological constants: water, the location of water holes, water-storing plants, and other edible wild plants, the movements of game. The size of the band, the daily cycle of labor, the low incidence of polygyny, are all aspects of culture marked in this way. Certain other Bushman institutions, however, are not simply cultural creations passively molded by habitat; rather, they give the Bushmen better than even odds to defy the limitations which their habitat imposes. Such culture patterns are their skillful hunting techniques, their institutionalized patterns of sharing, and their strong striving for cooperation and harmony. Few cultures give the observer such a rich opportunity to study the two-way interaction between habitat and culture.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

/2/ Marshall shows how specific customs reflect the dominant quest for water, and she portrays the feeling of Bushman culture as well as providing an ethnologist's construct. In this configurational model focusing on ethos, she indicates how derived themes or postulates, such /7/ as the stress on cooperation, relate to the most basic theme. Comparison of the !Kung Bushmen with the Mbuti Pygmies, the other foraging group represented in this book, reveals that even though these groups occupy very different habitats some features of their cultures are similar. These include not only elements of technology, for example, the use of poisoned arrows, but themes such as the stress on cooperation and the minimizing of intragroup conflicts, features that are a functional requisite for the close, face-to-face relationships in a foraging /2/ band. Thus a study of the Bushmen offers insight into what may be minimal and hence universal features of the foraging band as a culture type.

Bushman culture is also of interest to those concerned with African culture history, for archaeological remains of societies with a similar material culture have been discovered scattered over a much wider region of the eastern part of the continent than the Bushmen now occupy. Many anthropologists feel that the bearers of these early cultures were Bushmen, or Bushmanlike in racial type. An understanding of Bushman culture gives us insight into the cultural and behavioral setting to which the mute artifacts may have belonged.

about the author

/14 Lorna Marshall lives in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and, with mem- [10] bers of her family, has conducted several expeditions to the Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa (1951, 1952–1953, 1955, 1959, 1961), of Bechuanaland Protectorate (1955, 1961), and of southeast Angola (1959). She received her M.A. from Radcliffe College in 1928. Her writings include "The Kin Terminology System of the !Kung Bushmen" (1957), "N!ow" (1957), "Marriage among the !Kung Bushmen" (1959), "!Kung Bushman Bands" (1960), "Sharing, Talking and Giving: Relief of Social Tensions among !Kung Bushmen" (1961), and "!Kung Bushman Religious Beliefs" (1962).

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

LORNA MARSHALL · *The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert*[1]

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION · The Bushmen live in those parts of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa that lie in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate, in South West Africa, and in southeastern Angola. A few additional remnants of Bushman groups still exist in Northern Rhodesia and at Lake Chrissie in South Africa. In the past Bushmen had a much wider distribution.[2]

Many Bushmen live among, and some work for, the Bantu-speaking tribes in settlements where sufficient water resources have been developed to support cattle, and some Bushmen work for white farmers in the Ghanzi area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in South West Africa. However, many still live in small, independent, nomadic groups, widely dispersed in the vast areas of the desert.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise population count of the Bushmen, but a recent estimate gathered from various contemporary sources (Tobias 1956) indicates that in 1955 there were 55,531 Bushmen.[3] These figures are higher than any previously propounded (cf. Schapera 1939) and come as a surprise to many.

The Bushmen are linked with the Hottentots, a southern African people who resemble them physically and with whom they have linguistic affiliations, but who are a pastoral people with a more complex social structure. Bushmen and Hottentots together are called the *Khoisan* peoples, a coined term combining the Hottentots' term for themselves (*Khoi*) and their name for the Bushmen (*San*). The Khoisan peoples have been referred to as a distinct race (Murdock 1959: 8) or, as Howells puts it, "a major racial variety of man" (1959:306). The obscurity of their origins and racial affinities are in themselves subjects in which research continues and interesting postulations engage the attention of scientists in various fields.[4]

PHYSICAL FEATURES · The physical features of the Bushmen have drawn much attention from anthropologists. Bushmen are of small stature (adult males average approximately five feet two inches) WITH YELLOWISH BROWN SKIN THAT BECOMES HEAVILY WRINKLED IN OLD AGE.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

182 A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties
312 which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters
[161] them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival,
[648] for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been
134 comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

137 Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again
[222] to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage
[224] organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre
[262] content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

224 Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not
[411] necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

● 101 LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bush-
197 men cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking
[829] Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local group-
[184] ings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within them-
[621] selves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band
[622] composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

101 The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a
131 group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ǒassi* and who live in the
[197] Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48′30″ S, 181
20°34′36″ E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but 131
extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and
Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch [123]
of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In [162]
it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and [648]
9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of
about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the [882]
region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and
preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north [192]
and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen- [829]
speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung 181
Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is sur- 182
vival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in
their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring
food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the [621]
mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their [578]
social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals
within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between [628]
bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on [771]
survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the
sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region 433
have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we re- 262
fer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkōs*. The game the hunters of
a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired,
but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know 222
more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several 262
species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen
suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad
for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets.
Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this re-
gion as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman
groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any
water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are
the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-
resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these;
doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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585
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A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

342
[283]

digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

372
[594]
[213]

The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

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621
[162]
[101]
[372]

The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

361
221

The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

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324

ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

[p. 256]

553 602 835 [601] properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, 619 in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling 553 of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin 601 terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen— 602 sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [101] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ŏassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ŏassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 [613] [622] INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

[423] There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A consider- 768 able amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

582 648 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

584 First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

101 Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a
142 satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical
144 type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included, and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland
197 would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non-
121 Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West
224 Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A
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464 strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting
648 and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many
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233 thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

114 A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by
197 the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963). He has demonstrated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

101 In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is
[114] adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956). Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

101 non-Bantu, click-speaking peoples with a tradition of hunting and gathering in their recent past. Thus we may define Bushmen as members of tribes who are acknowledged to be "sarwa" by themselves and others. The term "sarwa" thus includes peoples of varying physical type and economy, and of four distinct linguistic stocks within the click family of languages. The one characteristic common to them all is the tradition of hunting and gathering. The economic and linguistic divisions will be elaborated below.

Numbers and distribution

161 114 The Bushmen are numerically stronger than has been generally supposed. Estimates such as Schapera's 7,000-7,500 (1930), Keith's 6,000 (1948), and Coon's "few hundred" (1955) are far too low. Despite Tobias' careful estimate of 55,000 living Bushmen (1957), the older misconceptions still persist. As recently as 1963, Bohannan estimated the numbers of living Bushmen in the hundreds (Bohannan 1963:213).

161 127 The author's estimate, based on data available in 1964, shows a total figure rather smaller than that of Tobias' 55,000. It is estimated that there are about 44,100 Bushmen alive today. This figure is based on published sources and unofficial government estimates for Bechuanaland. For South West Africa, the figures are adapted from the Odendaal Commission Report (Republic of South Africa, 1964). For Angola,

197 c. -ŋ/huki; also known as ɸkhomani (Doke 1936) and //n-!ke (Bleek 1929). A very small group now confined to the Gemsbok Park.

The numerical strength of the various Tshu-khwe and Bush languages are estimated as follows:

Xũ (Kwengo)	2,000
Shua (Danisin etc.)	3,000
//gabake (Hiechware etc.)	10,000
Deti (Tletle)	2,000
Nharo (/gwi, //gana etc.)	9,000
Bush A (!Kung)	13,000
Bush B (ɸhũa)	1,600
Bush C (ŋ/huki)	50
TOTAL	40,650

The remaining 3,450 Bushmen of the estimated total of 44,100 include over 3,000 Hai//om (Heikum) in South West Africa. These people speak a dialect of Nama Hottentot and have a tradition of hunting and gathering although only a small proportion do so today. Also included in the remainder are a small group of people around Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal. They are locally known as Batwa and number less than one hundred. Westphal includes them as his Bush D language and calls them "//xegwi." (See also Lanham and Hallowes 1956; Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955).

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16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

The !Kung Bushmen

101 131 162 The !Kung are the most numerous of the surviving Bushman tribes. Of the estimated total of 13,000, about 3,000 live in Angola, 2,000 in Bechuanaland, and 8,000 in South West Africa. The !Kung occupy a remarkably large area. Their country extends from north to south for a distance of 500 miles, and from east to west for a distance of 300 miles (see Map 5).

101 197 553 19 Two criteria clearly distinguish the !Kung from all other Bushman peoples: their language and their unique system of personal naming. The !Kung language has phonological features in common with adjacent Tshu-khwe and Hottentot languages, such as the four click system and the strong glottal releases. However, the vocabulary and grammar of !Kung sets it apart from the other click languages. A lexicostatistic comparison of !Kung and Nharo showed a low incidence of cognates (11.5%). [114] [193] The grammar of !Kung has yet to be adequately described, but none of the preliminary work by Doke (1925), Bleek (1929), Maingard (1957), and Westphal (1962, 1963:244) has been able to demonstrate a genetic relationship of !Kung grammar to the grammars of the other click languages.

There are no semi-!Kung languages (although the vocabulary of the southern dialect has been influenced by contact with Nharo) and therefore a native speaker of !Kung is immediately identified as a member of the !Kung tribe. This holds

551 553 the south to the Okavango River on the north. The !Kung name-relationship was first described by Lorna Marshall (1957:3ff) for the Bushmen at /Gauša Pan, South West Africa. It was found in 1964 that !Kung farm workers as far away as Gobabis, South West Africa, two hundred miles south of /Gauša, possessed the same repertoire of personal names, the same rules of name inheritance, and the same method for fictively linking unrelated individuals through the name relationship.

From the scanty evidence available on the Angola !Kung (Bleek 1928), it appears that the name relationship is not operative there. However, in Bechuanaland and South West Africa the presence of the institution is a reliable criterion for determining whether a Bushman is !Kung.[1]

101 131 162 There are three geographical divisions of the !Kung Bushmen. The northern group, numbering about 4,000, live in Angola and the far northern districts of South West Africa. The central group, numbering about 7,000, extend from the western margin of the Okavango Swamp in Bechuanaland as far as the farms of the Grootfontein district of South West Africa. [241] The southern group (c. 2,000) are confined to the farms of the

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[1]Unpublished evidence on the southern ǂhũa Bushmen indicates that they possess a system of fictive kinship based on personal names, but the repertoire of names appears to be entirely different from that of the !Kung Bushmen (Heinz, Westphal, personal communications).

101 Ghanzi and Gobabis Districts and their immediate northern
131
162 hinterland. All three divisions speak mutually intelligible
[241] dialects of !Kung but only the central and southern divisions
[197] have the institution of the name relationship.
[551]
[184] The northern division peoples call themselves "!kũ"
101 meaning "people" (Bleek, 1928:106) and many ethnographers have adopted this as the general appelation for the tribe. There has been a bewildering variety of spellings of this name[1] and it is urgent that one standard form be chosen. It is recommended that !Kung be adopted as the standard appelation for the tribe, following the lead of Fourie (1928:83) and Marshall (1957, 1959, 1960, 1962, etc.). This is not the most phonetically accurate of the alternatives, but the controversy over spelling is an academic one because the majority of the "!Kung" do not recognize this as their tribal appelation at all!

The central division "!Kung" call themselves "zũ/wãsi" (zũ = "people"; /wã = "proper" or "true"; si = plural suffix). This translates as "the proper people" or "the true people". It also has the connotation of "just folks" which Elizabeth Marshall Thomas has appropriately rendered as "The Harmless People" (1959). Bushmen of the study area objected to the

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[1] At least fourteen different spellings are in the literature including: Kung, !Kũ, !Kun, Chung, //Khun, ≠Kũng, ʗhũ, !xũ, !Khũ, :un, !Kung.

101 appelation "!Kung". They said it was a term of opprobrium used of them by the Bantu.

The southern division !Kung were the first of the tribe to appear in the ethnographic literature. They are described by Baines (1864) and Chapman (1868) as "Ma'kow'kow". Later workers have called them ≠Auin (Kaufmann 1910), //kau//en (Bleek 1928), ≠Ao-//ɛ̃in (Fourie 1928), Makaukau, and Auen (Schapera 1930). All these forms appear to be corruptions of the name ≠d"au//ae, which is currently in use among the Bushmen of the Ghanzi District. This is the Nharo name for the !Kung Bushmen; it means literally "north side" and reflects the fact that the !Kung have traditionally been the northern neighbors of the Nharo. The !Kung commonly apply this label to themselves, saying "we are the ≠d"au//ae (north side) people".

[197] Since all three groups, calling themselves !Kũ, zũ/wãsi,
[184] and ≠d"au//ae, respectively, speak dialects of the same language, and since the latter two groups maintain a sense of ethnic identity through the name relation it is recommended that the name !Kung be adopted as the tribal appelation. It is the easiest of the three names to pronounce and it has had the widest currency in the literature.

[184] Of the three geographical divisions of !Kung, full time
[224] independent hunters and gatherers are found only among the
[222] central group.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

Chapter I

THE COUNTRY OF THE KHOISAN

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By the year 1652, when the establishment of the pioneer Dutch settlement at Table Bay laid the foundations for the present political dominance of the white man in the country, Africa south of the Zambesi River was already inhabited by a considerable number of different native peoples. On the basis of racial, linguistic and cultural distinctions, these native inhabitants are customarily classified into four separate groups, known respectively as the Bushmen, the Hottentots, the Bergdama, and the Bantu.

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The Bushmen, at one time spread over almost the whole of South Africa, are to-day confined principally to the Central and Northern Kalahari Desert and adjacent districts. They are a short, brownish-yellow people, with certain peculiar and distinctive racial characteristics; they all speak languages of a uniform and easily recognizable type, phonetically remarkable especially for the great prevalence of "click" consonants; and they live in small nomadic bands which lead a purely hunting and collecting existence, practising neither agriculture nor pastoralism.

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The Hottentots formerly occupied most of the western half of the region, but are now found chiefly in the southern parts of South-West Africa. They are closely allied to the Bushmen in race, and their languages are of a somewhat similar type, although in both respects certain differences are also observable. They are, however, a predominantly pastoral people, keeping cattle and sheep, and live in larger communities with a more complex system of social organization.

The Bergdama, also inhabiting South-West Africa, are racially a true negro people, different in appearance from both the Bushmen and the Hottentots. They all, however, speak the language of the Nama division of Hottentots, to whom they have long been in subjection. Like the Bushmen they live in very small nomadic groups and derive their subsistence primarily from hunting and collecting, although some of them also keep goats.

The Bantu, finally, although historically the most recent native people settling in South Africa, are now spread over the whole country

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

superior to those of the other native peoples that they have been able to preserve much of their original cohesion and culture, and in many cases to offer a strong resistance to the disintegrating effects of contact with European civilization.

The present work deals with those two groups of natives who have suffered most at the hands of the European settlers: the Bushmen and the Hottentots. In spite of the far-reaching differences between them, they have in common several features, not only of race and language, but also of culture, especially religion, which justify their being treated together. These common features by no means render invalid the distinctions upon which is based the customary classification of these peoples into two separate groups. They are significant enough, however, to permit of both groups being regarded as constituting to some extent a larger ethnic unit, which, it is important to note, is clearly differentiated from the Bergdama on the one hand and the Bantu on the other. The term *Khoisan*, recently coined by Schultze to denote the racial stock to which the Bushmen and the Hottentots belong,[1] has therefore been accepted here as a convenient generic name for these two peoples. The necessity for such a generic name will perhaps be seen more clearly when the racial history of each people has been considered.

Topography: General Features

The Khoisan peoples at the present time live almost entirely in the western and central portions of South Africa. The main political areas within whose borders they are found are the Territory of South-West Africa, formerly a German colony, but now administered under mandate by the Union of South Africa; Bechuanaland Protectorate, administered directly by Great Britain through the High Commissioner for South Africa; and the central and western districts of the Union, principally in the Cape of Good Hope. The Bushmen formerly extended further east into Southern Rhodesia and over the rest of the Union, but have virtually disappeared from those parts.

The territory over which the two peoples are now scattered presents a solid land mass, covering an area of approximately 915,000 square

[1] L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, p. 211. The term is compounded of the names *Khoi-Khoin*, by which the Hottentots call themselves, and *San*, applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen. The latter have no collective name of their own.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

extent by racial intermixture with other native peoples. In the Eastern and Central Kalahari, moreover, as well as in Angola, most of them are also in a state of servitude to the Bantu peoples among whom they live. Large bands of relatively independent Bushmen are now found only in the North-Western Kalahari and the adjoining districts of South-West Africa, especially in the Omaheke, Kaukauveld, and Ghansiveld. 162

Tribal Divisions

The Bushmen are divided into many different groups, each with its own distinctive language or dialect, and with a name. These groups will be spoken of here as tribes. The Bushmen do not appear to have any general or collective names for themselves. Such names have, however, been applied to them by most of the other inhabitants of South Africa. The Hottentots term them all *San*. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but Hahn interprets it as "aborigines, or settlers proper".[1] The names *Sunqua*, *Saunqua*, *Sonqua*, etc., by which the Bushmen are often referred to in the early records of the Cape, are merely verbal variations of its masc. plur. form *Sa(n)qua*. The Bantu peoples know the Bushmen by a variety of names, the most common of which are all cognate forms of the same root—*BaTwa* or *AbaTwa* (Zulu-Xosa), *BaRwa* (Suto), *MaSarwa* (Chwana), *OvaTwa* (Herero), etc. The meaning of this root has not been satisfactorily determined. A common interpretation is "people of the south", but this is not universally accepted; a more plausible alternative, perhaps, is "people of the wilderness". The name *Bushmen* itself goes back to the earliest Dutch settlers at the Cape, and is found as far back as 1685 in the Cape Records, where it occurs in several variations of its Dutch form—*Bosjesmans*, *Bosmanekens*, *Bosiesmans*, etc. It has now become generally adopted in ethnological literature and there seems no good reason why it should not be retained. 101 [619]

The languages of all the Bushmen tribes are of the same general structure, and can be regarded as belonging to one language family. They vary, however, in certain details of phonetics and especially of grammar and vocabulary, which permit of their classification into three main groups. To these the names Southern, Northern, and Central Groups respectively have been applied by Miss D. F. Bleek, 197 619

[1] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 1881, p. 3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Chapter IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Tribe and Hunting Band

All the Bushmen in their native condition lead a nomadic hunting 222
and collecting life, roaming about in search of the game and wild 224
vegetable foods upon which they depend for their existence. The [182]
conditions of their subsistence necessarily prevent them from banding
together permanently in any considerable numbers. Wherever they 621
still retain to any marked degree their original mode of life and
organization they are found scattered over the land in small separate
communities.[1] Each such community will be spoken of here as a
hunting band. The members of a band share a common life, they see
one another constantly, they co-operate in many ways, and they are
all as a rule friendly and on fairly intimate terms. Each band also [619]
has occasional relations with other neighbouring bands, through
intermarriage and trade, and visitors may pass from one to another.
On the other hand, there are often quarrels between neighbouring [628]
bands, which may result in a prolonged state of feud and even lead
directly to warfare.

The various bands among the Heikum are generally referred to 621
among each other by a name which indicates either the locality in 101
which they live, or describes some physical or other characteristic
of the band itself or of its locality. The *se-khoin*, for example, are the
people of the *seb* or plain; the */gom-khoin* the people who eat the

[1] The social organization of the Bushmen is one of the least-known aspects of their culture, and sadly needs careful and detailed investigation. The most reliable sources of information refer almost exclusively to the North-Western tribes: Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 1907; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910); (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.* 21 (1927); *idem, The Naron*, 1928; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928); L. Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. SW. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6); *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, 1928. The relevant literature on the other tribes is for the most part fragmentary, although some valuable data on the Namib Bushmen are given by Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), and by Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910). Where no special reference is made to any particular tribe the analysis given above must therefore be regarded as applying especially to the North-Western tribes, who are also the only Bushmen still leading a fairly independent life. [114]

621 101 *!gom* or omungete nut; and the *xom-khoin* the people who *xom* or scrape together, the name indicating their method of collecting salt on the Etosha Pan, along whose southern border they live.[1] How the bands are named in the other tribes is not clearly stated. In the [114] literature they are spoken of as a rule in terms of the locality they inhabit, but no indication is given whether this is also the name by which they call themselves and are known to their neighbours.

619 101 These hunting bands are grouped into what are here called "tribes". A tribe consists of a number of neighbouring bands, the members of which all speak what they themselves regard as one language. Each tribe has its own distinctive name. In the Southern and Central linguistic groups this usually ends in the word *!ke* or *kwe* respectively, i.e. "people"; but in most cases the meaning of the name itself has not been recorded or can no longer be determined. The few tribal names which can be interpreted seem to refer to some general characteristic of the people themselves or of the country which they inhabit. The *//ŋ !ke*, for example, are the "home people"; the *!tanneckwe* the "river people"; the *Hiechwara* the "people of the open country", and the *!o !kũ* the "forest people", while the *!kũ* (*Kung*) are simply "people", or, as they would interpret the name "Bushmen". The *Hei-//om*, again, derive their name from the [177] Hottentot words *heis*, tree or bush, and *//om*, to sleep, and are therefore the "tree-sleeping people", i.e. those who sleep under trees; while the term *Naron*, by which the *//aikwe* now sometimes speak of themselves, appears to have been applied to them originally by the Auen and to mean "people who are insignificant".

619 [197] The tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group. It has no social solidarity, and is of very little, if any, importance in regulating social life. There appears to be no tribal organization among the Bushmen, nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all the members of the tribe, nor is collective action ever taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. The tribe in fact is merely a loose aggregate of independent hunting bands which have a common language and name.

621 The band, and not the tribe, is the real political body among the Bushmen. Each band is autonomous, leading its own life independently of the others. Its affairs are as a rule regulated by the [623] skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men in general. In [622] the North-Western tribes, however, each band has also a chief, whose

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933

FX13 Hottentot

Bushmen FX10

South Nguni

The woman, partly through submissiveness to her husband, partly because equally curious to see strange people of a different garb, started out on the journey after a day or two of preparation, dressed in her best garments. She had an escort of thirty or forty Chainouquas for company and for protection against others, especially against the Kochoquas, with whom the Chainouquas were then at war. But while on the way she was attacked unawares by the Kochoquas in a big wood and killed. Her ornamentation, valuables and garments were all trodden under foot, and her escort put to flight. Leaving behind two or three men, they made for the Cape and Chaihantimo, to whom they reported the news of the tragedy. Thereupon he departed instantly to his own country with his people, in order to revenge himself in war against the Kochoquas for this outrage; but he was far too weak in numbers against them.[37])

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SONQUAS.

The Sonquas[38]) are a people dwelling in massive mountainous country. They number several thousands, and are very small in size, both men and women. They have no cattle, but live by shooting rock-rabbits[38a]) with the bow and arrow, which they use with remarkable skill. The rock-rabbits have their retreats under the rocks, on top of which they come to bask and play about during the heat of the day; the Sonquas then hit and shoot them down in great numbers with their arrows. They also go out hunting

[101] [161] 224

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flight and returned to the great chief of the Chainuquas, who is said with his army to have gone to Chobona to ask for justice in the face of this insult, and assistance to revenge it" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 92-3; D., Dec. 31, 1658). Chaihantima appeared again at the Fort in 1661, when van Riebeeck drily remarks: "this is the same who had told us such stories about his wife having been brought up at the court of the Chobonas, having worn many jewels, and afterwards been killed by the Cochoquas. Though he still adheres to them, we can no longer believe him" (D., Aug. 3, 1661).

[38]) Sonqua, Souqua, Sanqua, etc., is the name applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen, and according to Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 3) is derived from the root *sa* (plur. *san*), meaning "aborigines or settlers proper". It is significant that van Riebeeck does not mention them at all in the list of tribes prepared for his successor, although they figure often enough in his journal. He says of them: "They are robbers, subject to none, and depending upon their arrows and assagays, treacherously robbing their neighbours of their cattle and their wives" (D., Oct. 31, 1657); and again: "The Soaquas, a tribe without cattle, dwelling beyond, among the mountains of Africa, and mostly robbers" (D., Nov. 8, 1660). 101

[38a]) *Hyrax capensis*, still commonly known in S. Africa as "dassies."

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

MARRIAGE AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

101 BECAUSE within the area we indicate by shading on the map[1] the /Kung Bushmen intermarry among themselves, by custom and preference, members of the Harvard Peabody Smithsonian Kalahari Expeditions needed a convenient way of referring to that area as a unit and arbitrarily called it the region of Nyae Nyae.

Nyae Nyae is a corruption of the /Kung name //Nua/ei. The name Nyae Nyae refers
131 strictly to a group of pans in South West Africa (S.W.A.) centred approximately at Gautscha Pan at about 19°48′30″ S, 20°34′36″ E. We extend the application of the name to an area around the pans of about 10,000 square miles, lying for the most part

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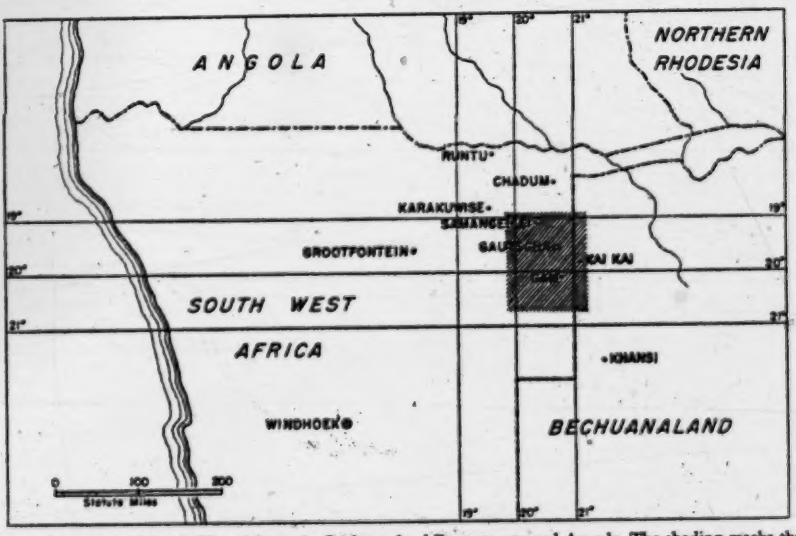

Map of portions of South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Angola. The shading marks the Nyae Nyae region.

in S.W.A. but reaching some miles over the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate (B.P.). There are no strictly conceived boundaries around the area. We can only vaguely define it by saying that it does not include Karakuwise to the west or Chadum to the north. It does not, we think, reach eastward much farther than Kai Kai, or southward much beyond Blaubush Pan (40 or 50 miles south of Gam).

101 We establish the periphery of the region on the basis of statements made by
582 /Kung informants in the interior. They say that they intermarry among the bands
[131] which live within the area we describe and do not customarily marry with other

[1] The sketch-map here provided is based on the
[102] National Geographic *Map of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula*, March 1950, and the *Times Atlas of the World*, Vol. IV. The orientation of Gautscha is taken from the S.W.A. Surveyor-General's map dated at Windhoek 7:11:35.

2: Kaufmann--6 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Auen

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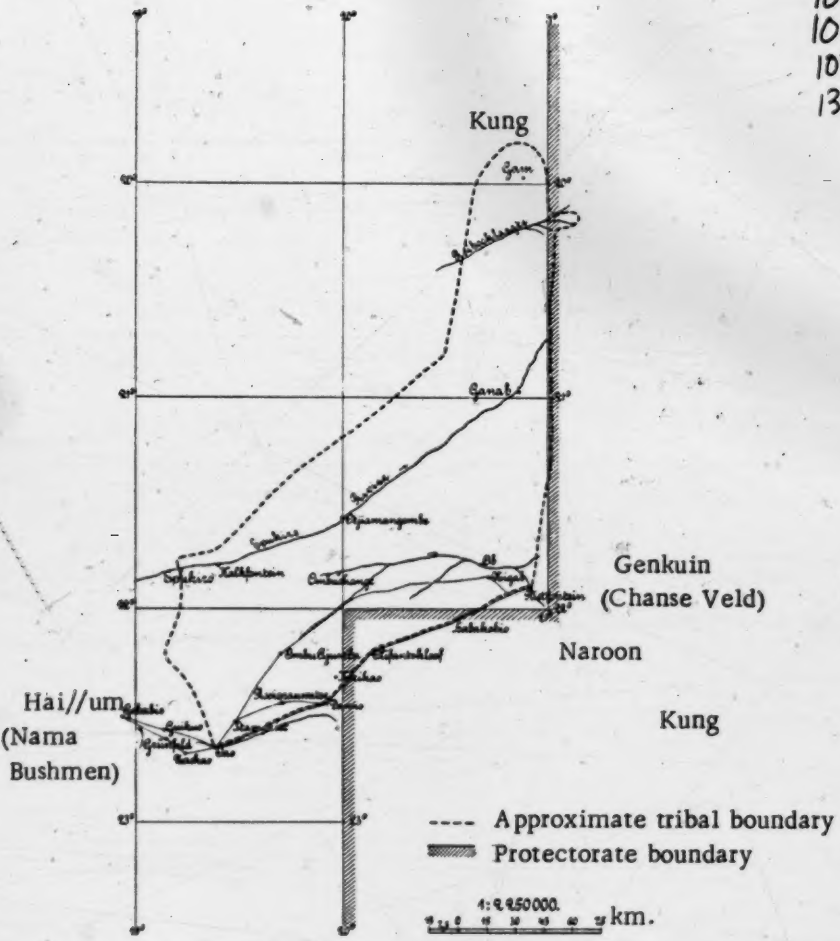

Map of the Auin Region

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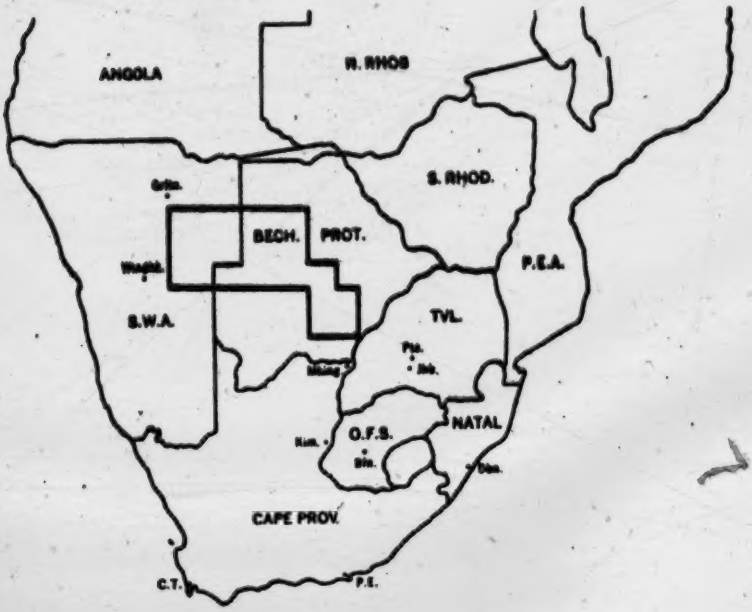

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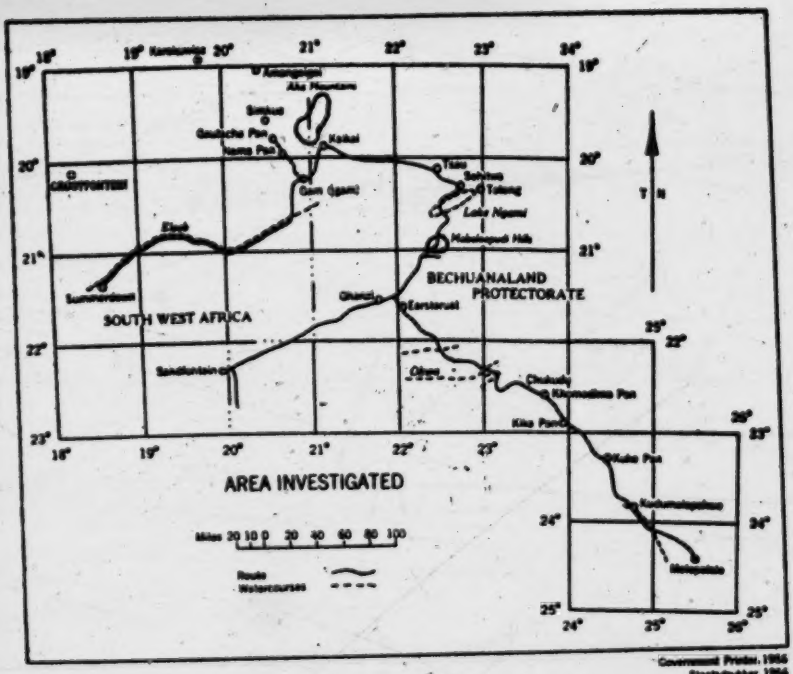

GENERAL AND DETAILED MAPS
OF THE AREA COVERED IN THIS STUDY.

[p. 3]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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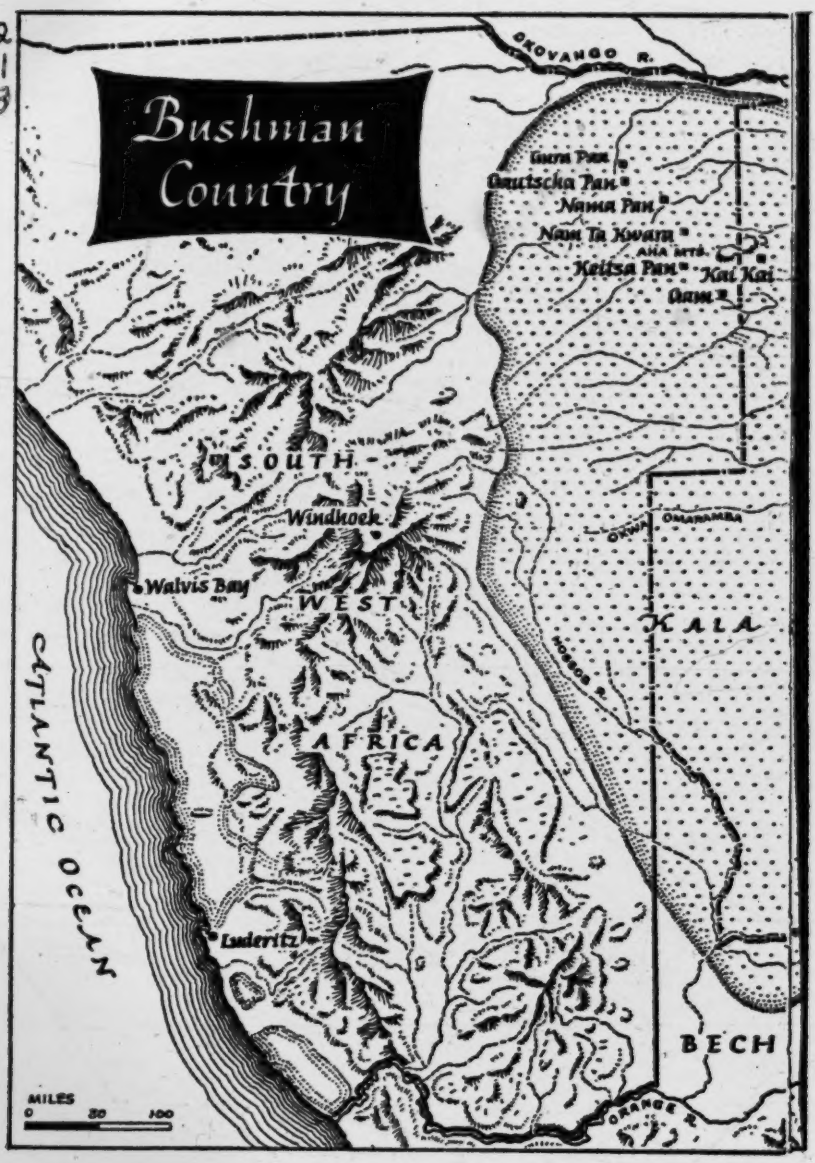

[p. xii]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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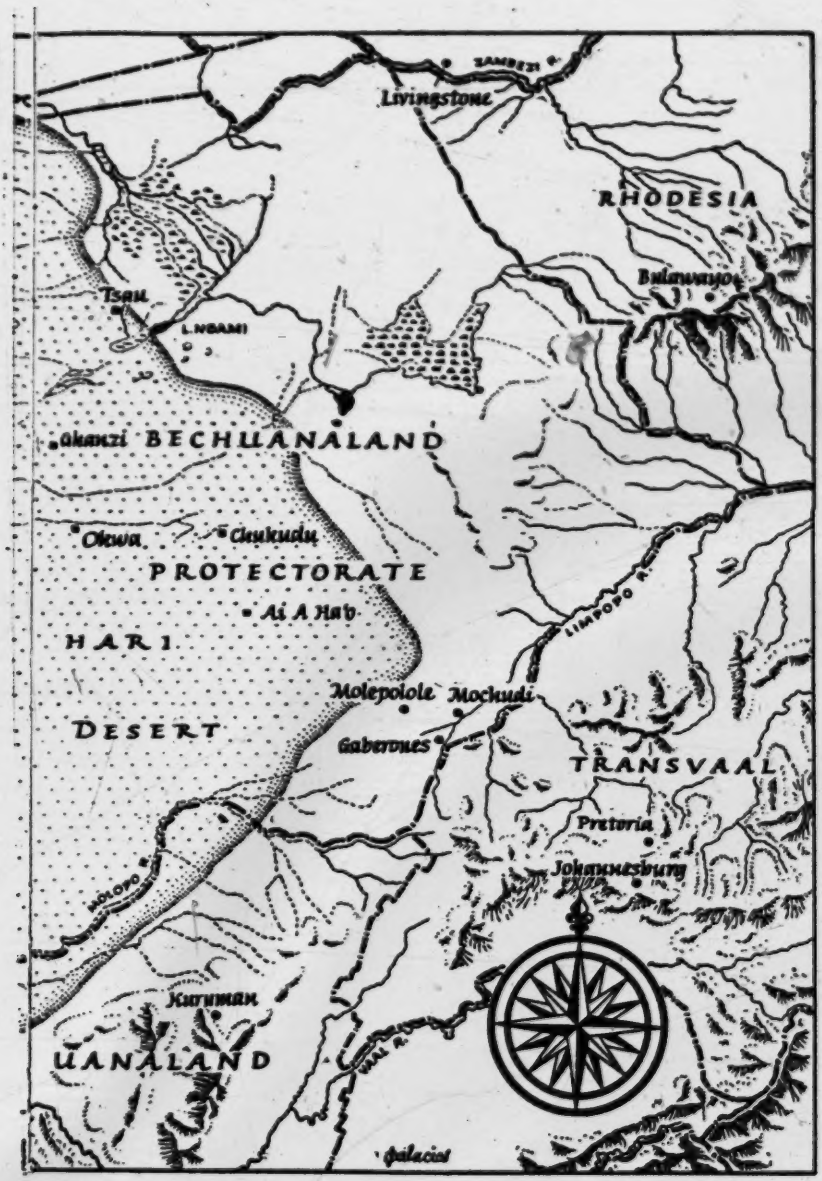

[p. xiii]

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15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung
Africa F1

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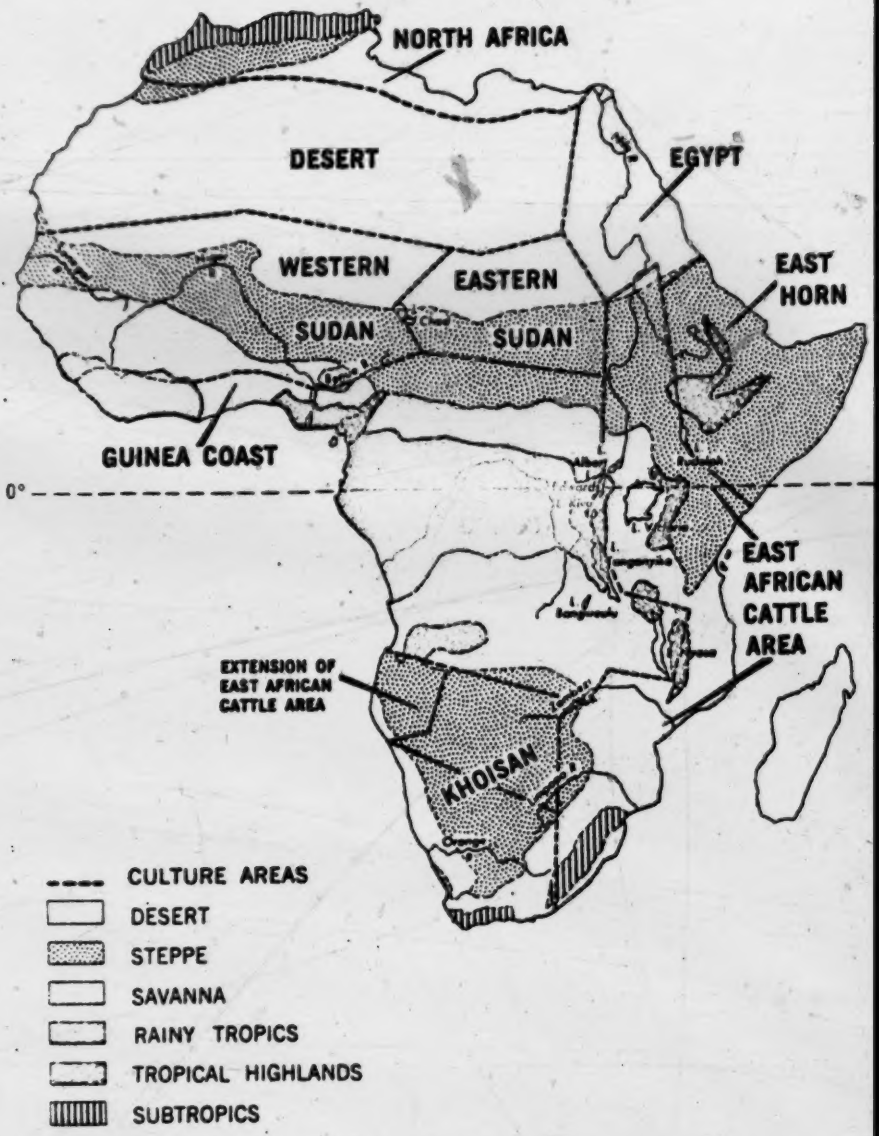
AFRICA: CULTURE AREAS AND VEGETATIONAL ZONES



[Front Map 1]
[p. i]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung
Africa F1

B
A
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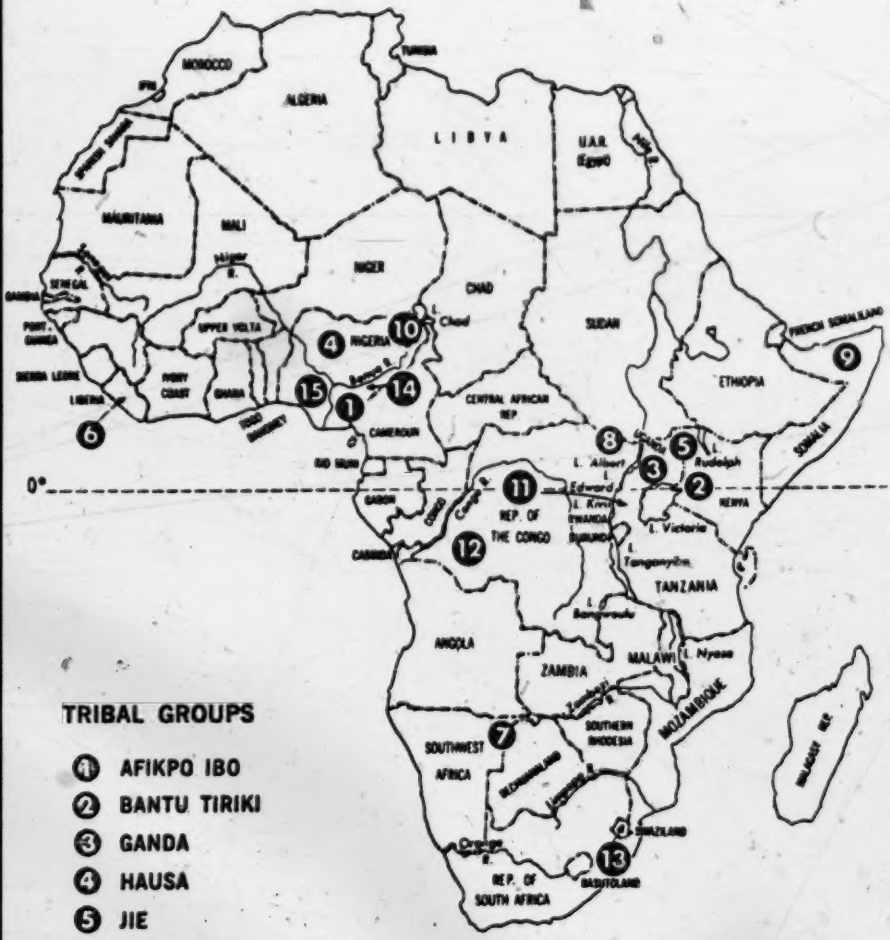
101
131

AFRICA: TRIBAL LOCATIONS AND POLITICAL BOUNDARIES, 1964

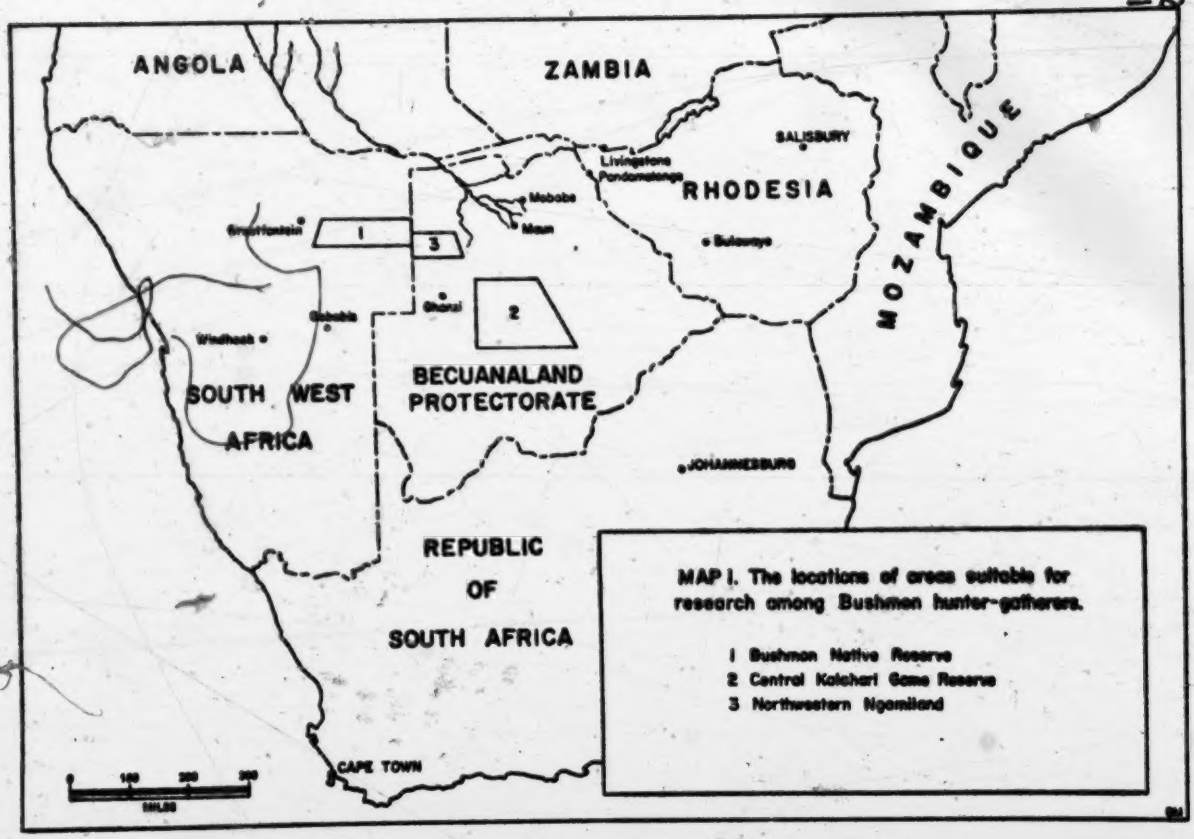


TRIBAL GROUPS

1. AFIKPO IBO
2. BANTU TIRIKI
3. GANDA
4. HAUSA
5. JIE
6. KPELLE
7. !KUNG BUSHMEN
8. MBUTI PYGMIES
9. NORTHERN PASTORAL SOMALI
10. PASTORAL FULANI
11. RWANDA
12. SUKU
13. SWAZI
14. TIV
15. YORUBA

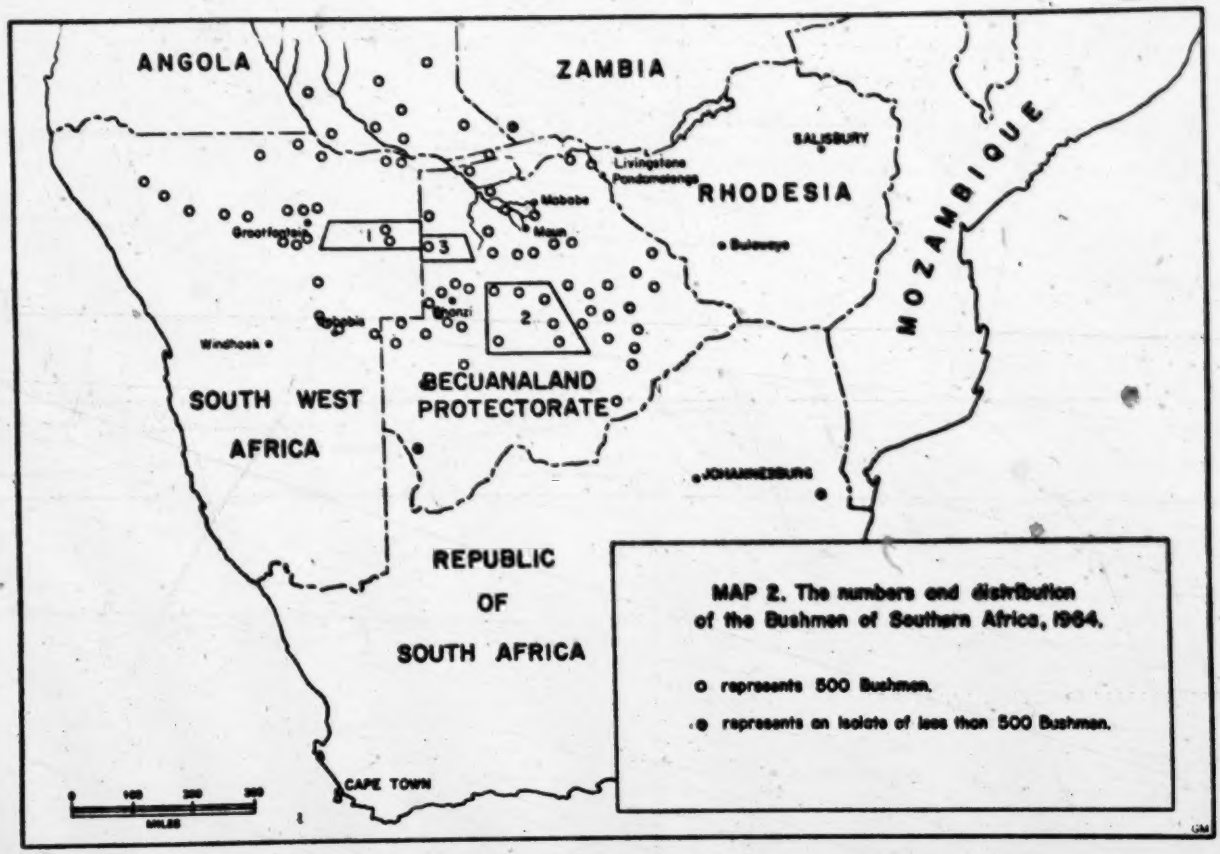
[Front Map 2]
[p. ii]

• 102
131



MAP I. The locations of areas suitable for research among Bushmen hunter-gatherers.

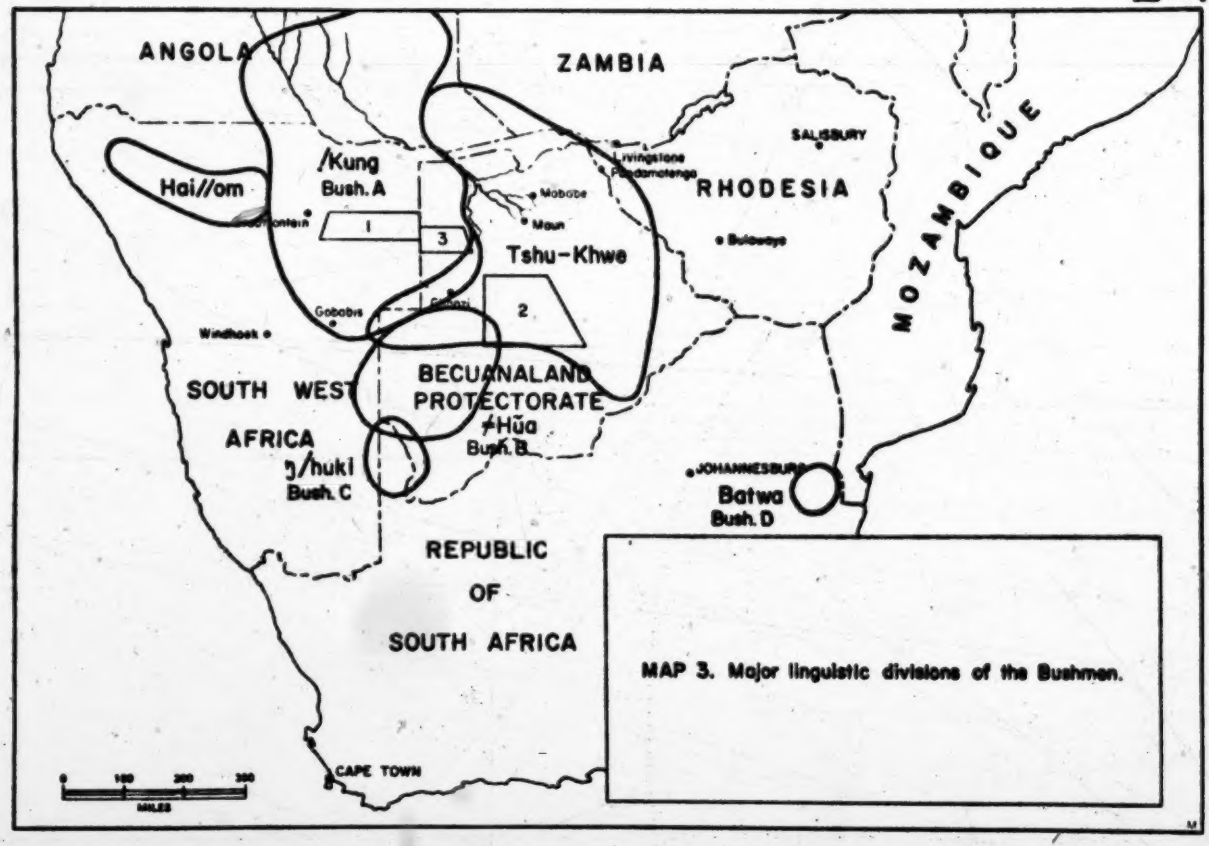
1 Bushman Native Reserve
2 Central Kalahari Game Reserve
3 Northwestern Ngamiland



MAP 2. The numbers and distribution of the Bushmen of Southern Africa, 1964.

o represents 500 Bushmen.

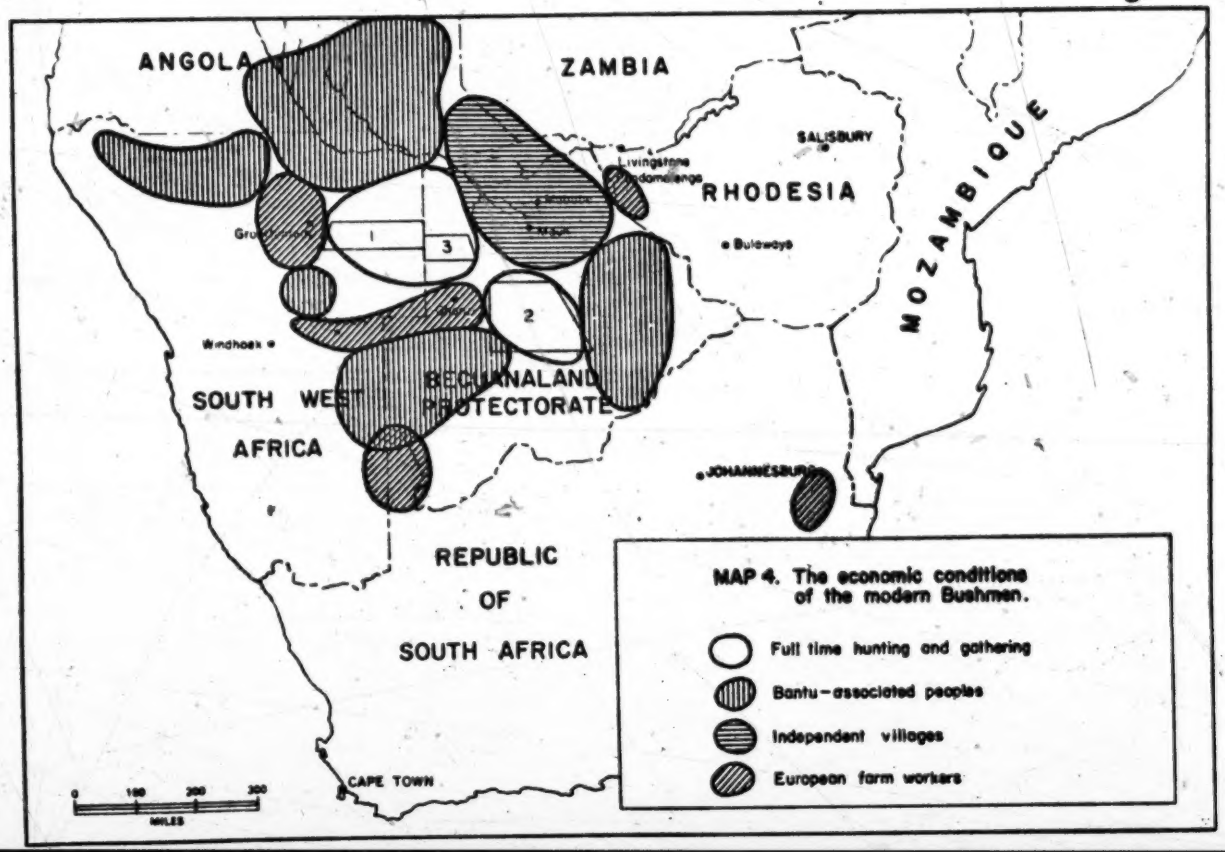
• represents an isolate of less than 500 Bushmen.



MAP 3. Major linguistic divisions of the Bushmen.

102
131
199

• 102
131
433


ANGOLA
ZAMBIA
SALISBURY
Livingstone
Ndola
RHODESIA
Bulawayo
MOZAMBIQUE
Windhoek
SOUTH WEST
AFRICA
BECHUANALAND
PROTECTORATE
JOHANNESBURG
REPUBLIC
OF
SOUTH AFRICA
CAPE TOWN
1
2
3
0 100 200 300
MILES
MAP 4. The economic conditions of the modern Bushmen.
Full time hunting and gathering
Bantu-associated peoples
Independent villages
European farm workers

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

102
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197
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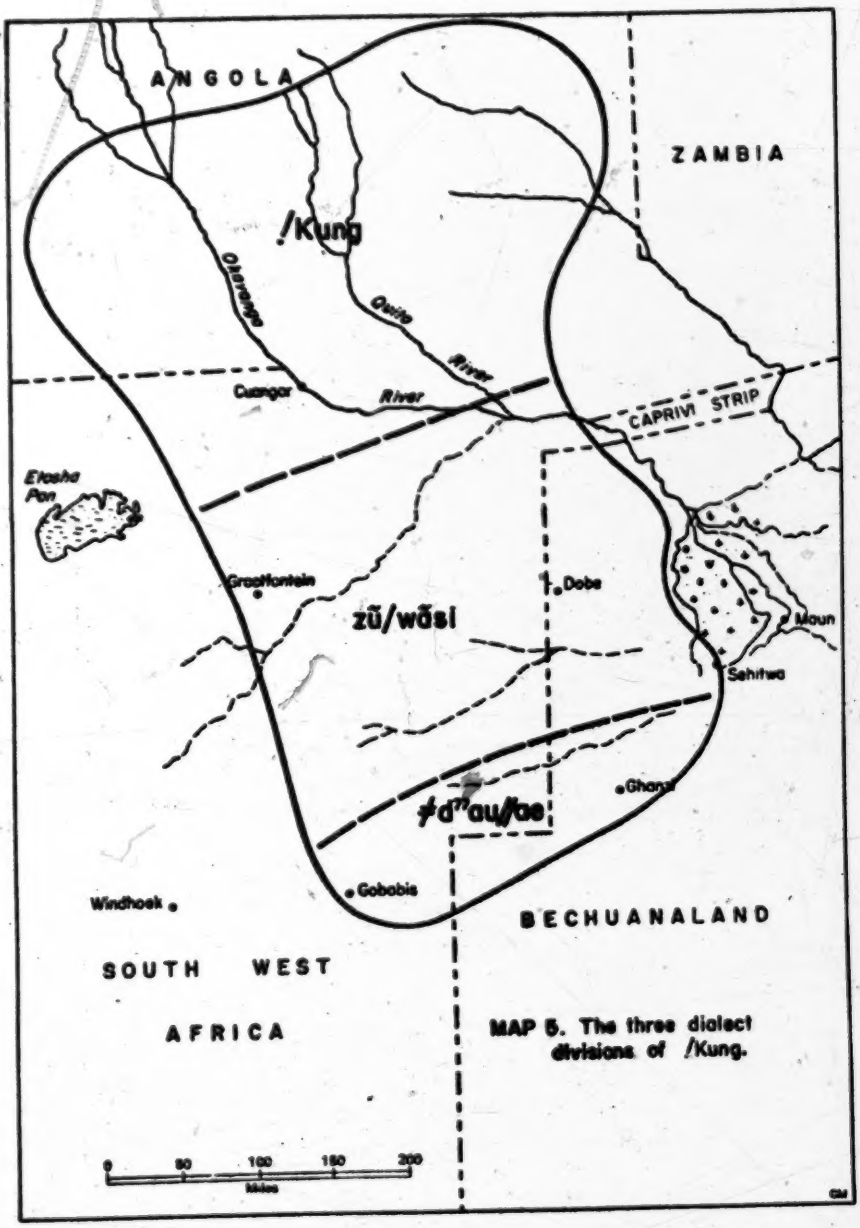

MAP 5. The three dialect divisions of /Kung.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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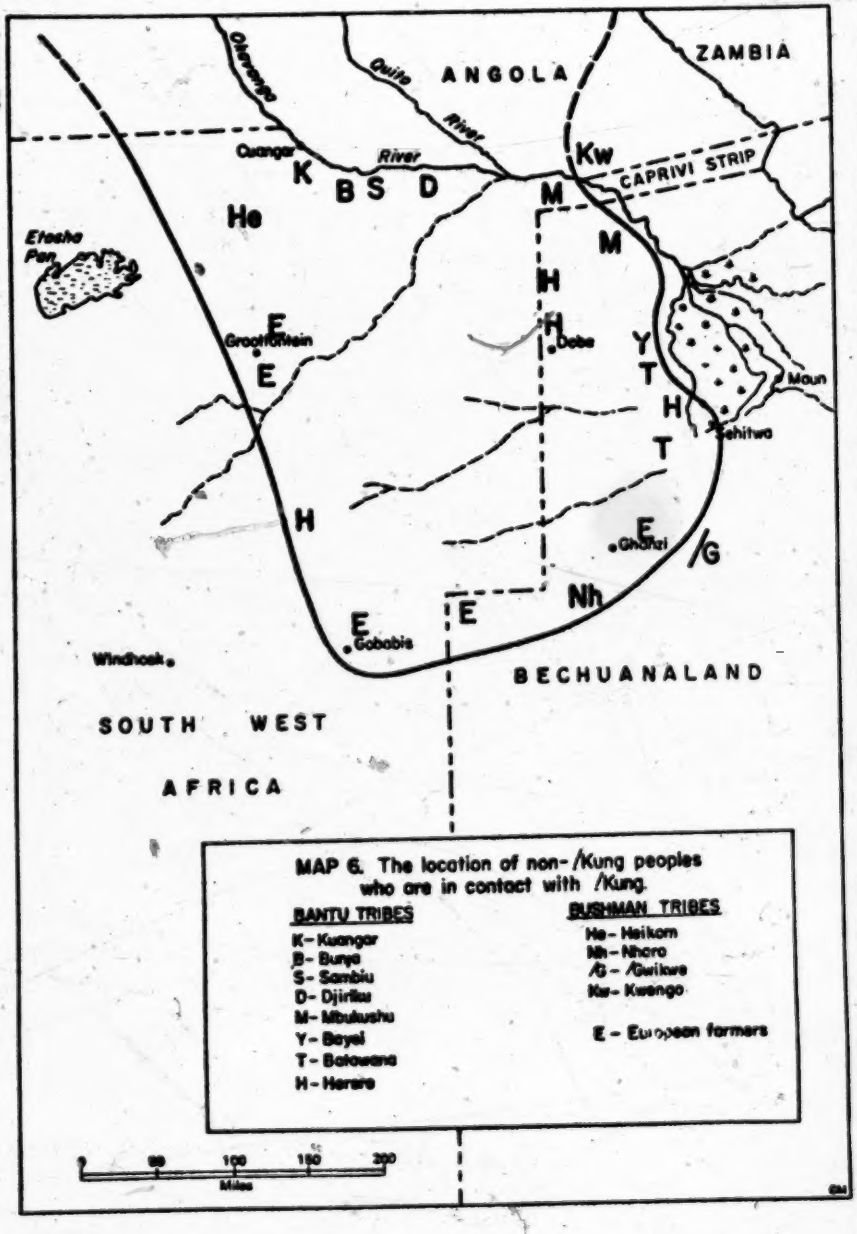

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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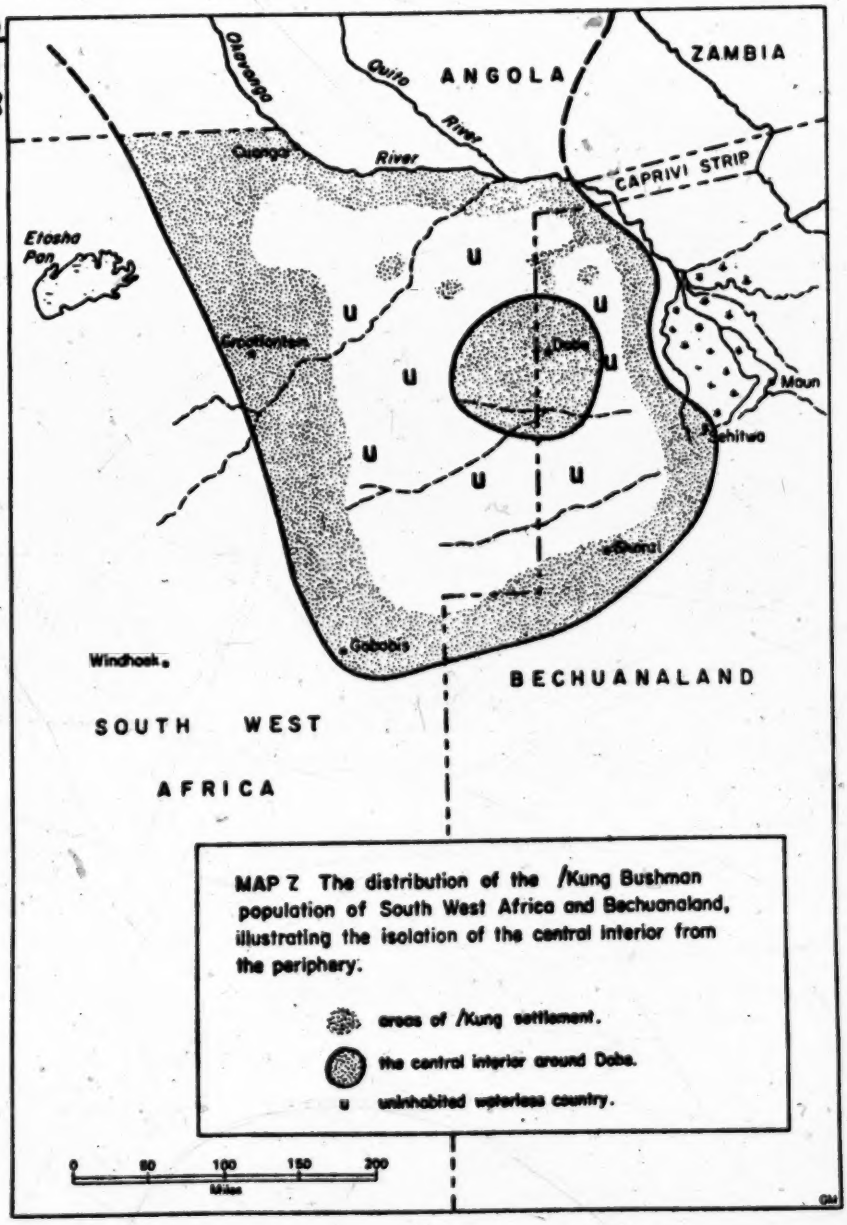

MAP 7 The distribution of the /Kung Bushman population of South West Africa and Bechuanaland, illustrating the isolation of the central interior from the periphery.

areas of /Kung settlement.

the central interior around Dobe.

u uninhabited waterless country.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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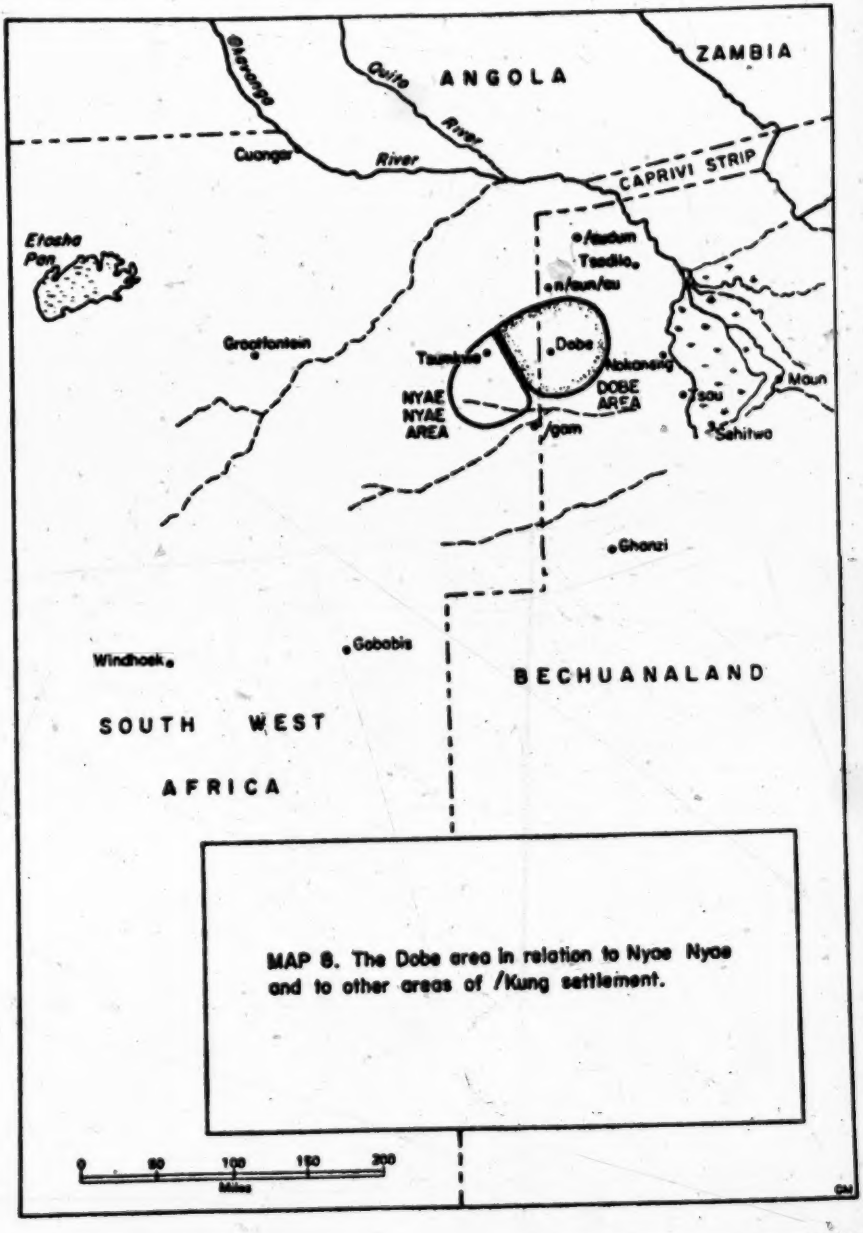
131
361



MAP 8. The Dobe area in relation to Nyae Nyae and to other areas of /Kung settlement.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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167
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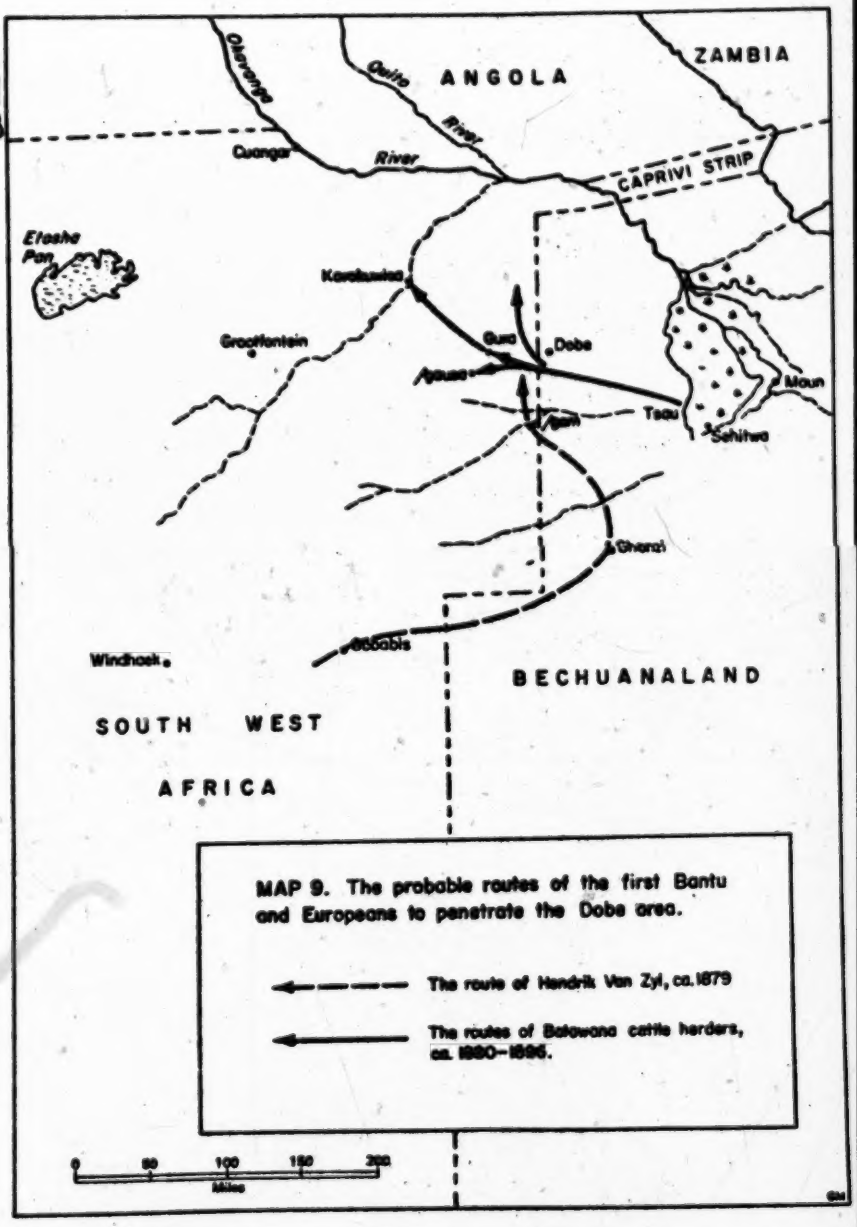

MAP 9. The probable routes of the first Bantu and Europeans to penetrate the Dobe area.

The route of Hendrik Van Zyl, ca. 1879

The routes of Batswana cattle herders, ca. 1880–1896.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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175
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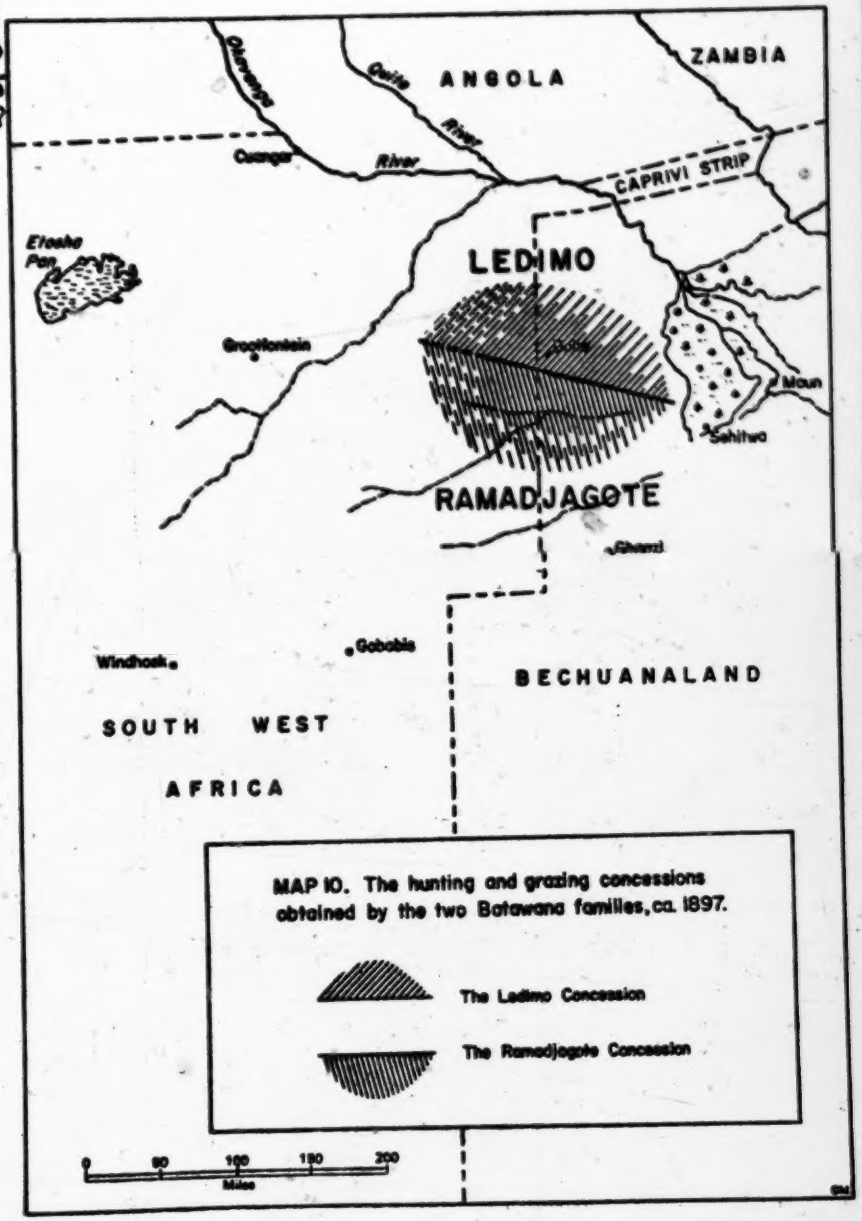

MAP 10. The hunting and grazing concessions obtained by the two Batawana families, ca. 1897.

The Ledimo Concession

The Ramadjagote Concession

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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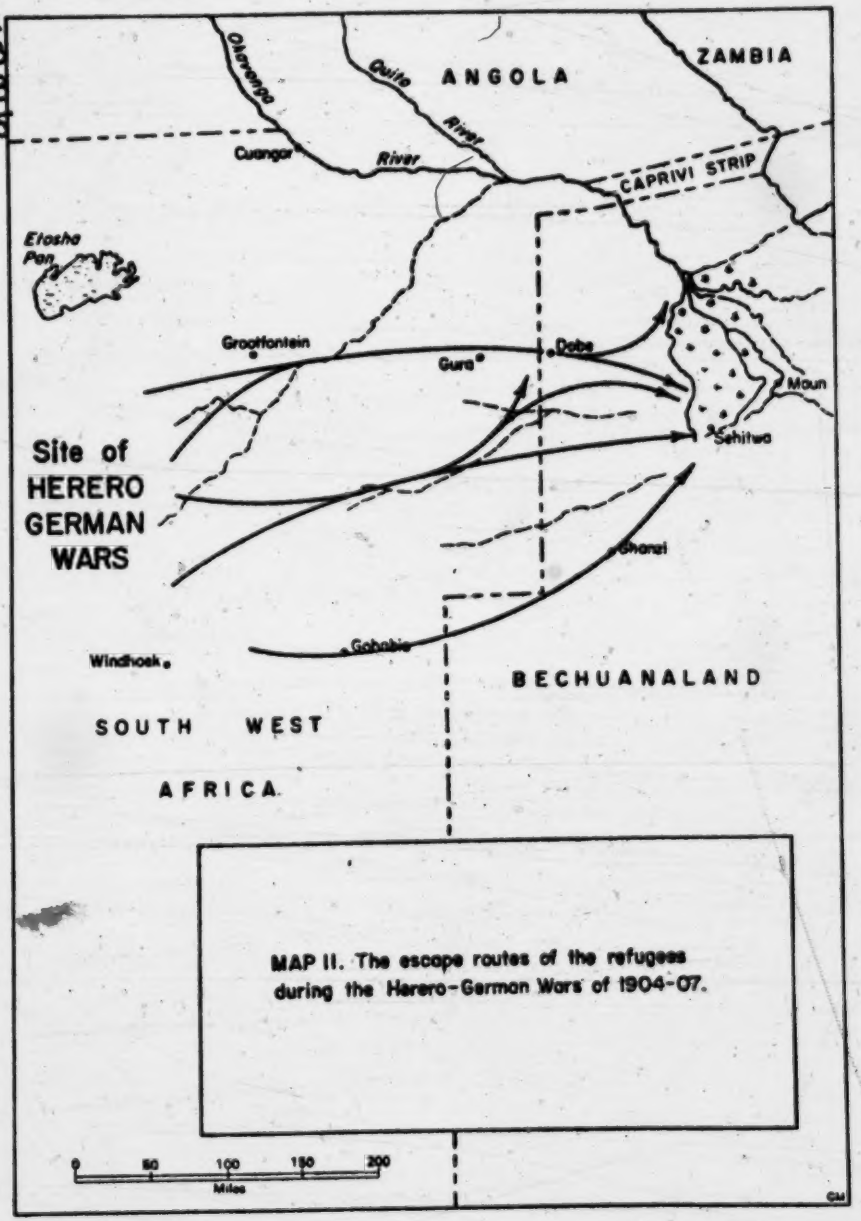

MAP II. The escape routes of the refugees during the Herero-German Wars of 1904-07.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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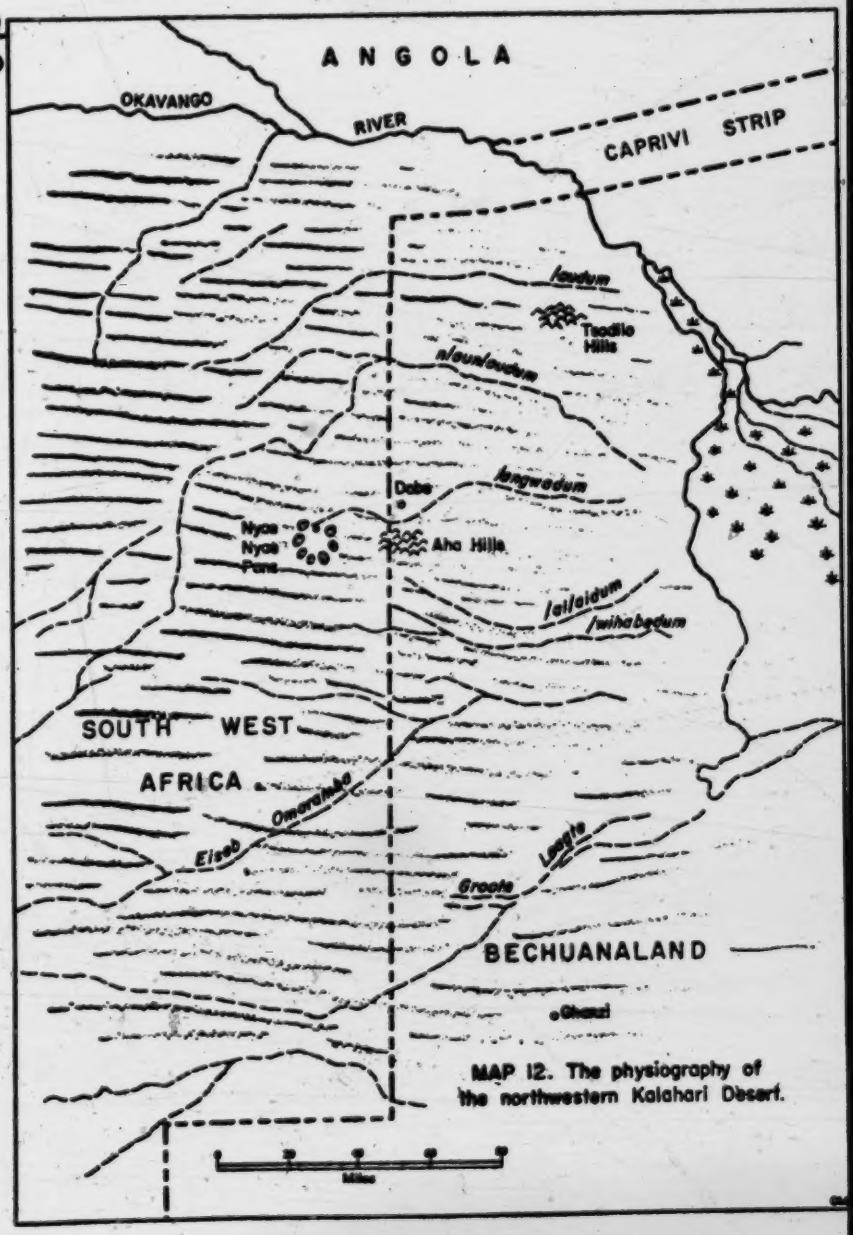

MAP 12. The physiography of the northwestern Kalahari Desert.

102
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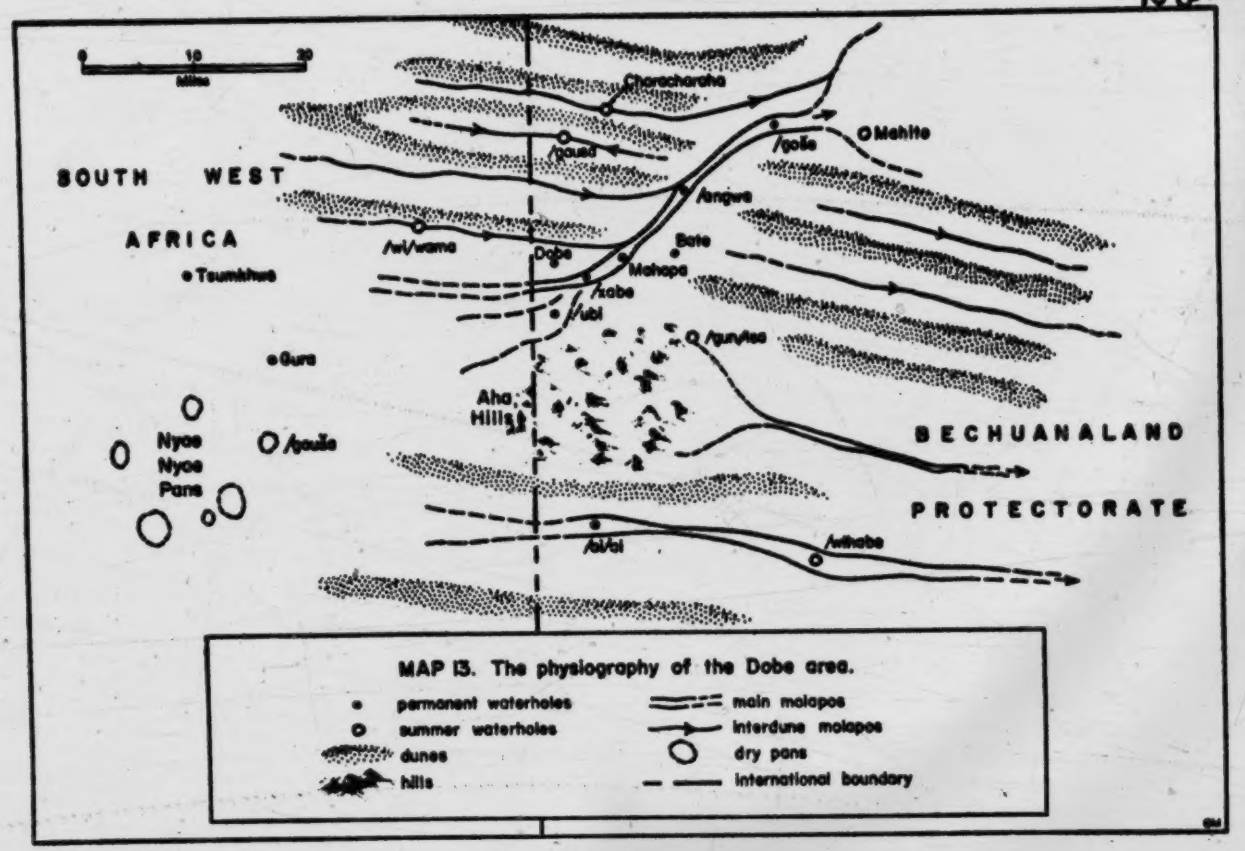
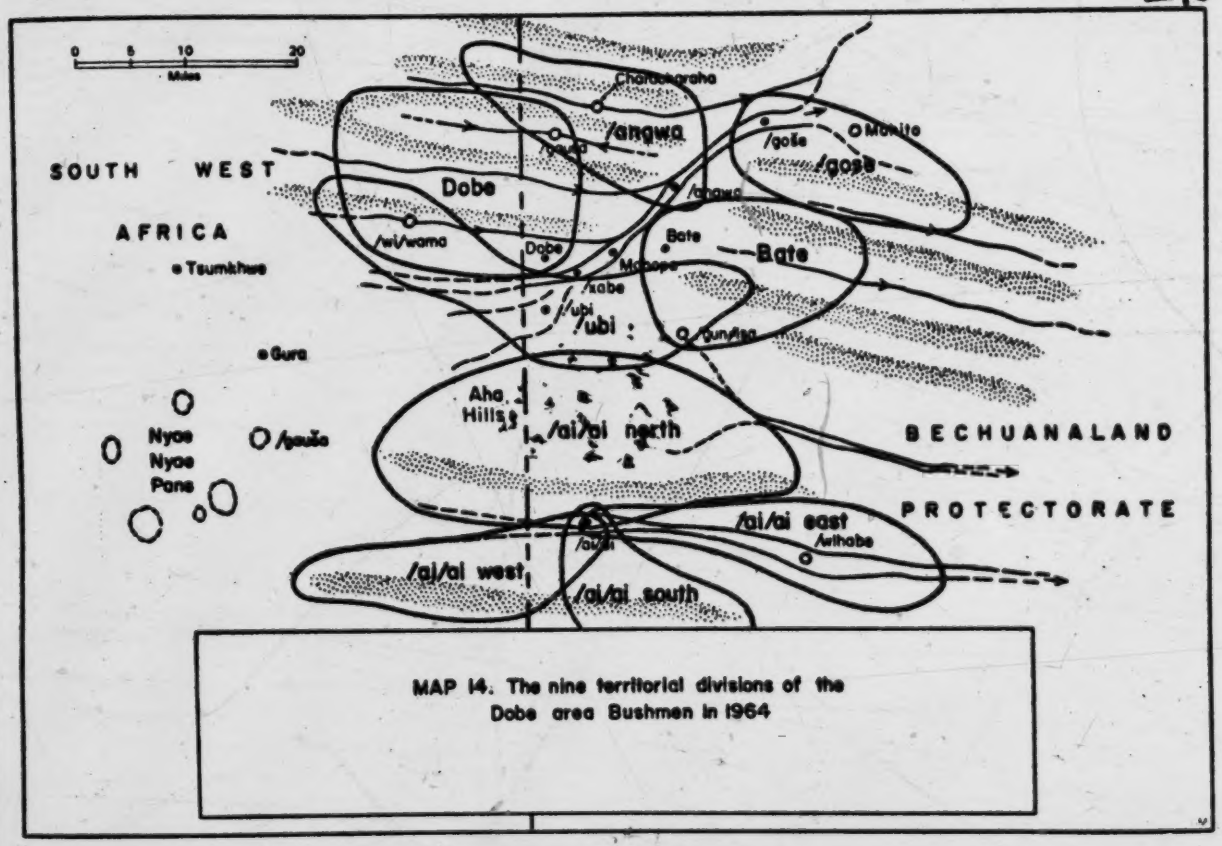
312



MAP 13. The physiography of the Dobe area.

- permanent waterholes
- summer waterholes
- dunes
- hills
- main molapos
- interdune molapos
- dry pans
- international boundary



MAP 14. The nine territorial divisions of the Dobe area Bushmen in 1964

• 102
361

● 102
311
312
361
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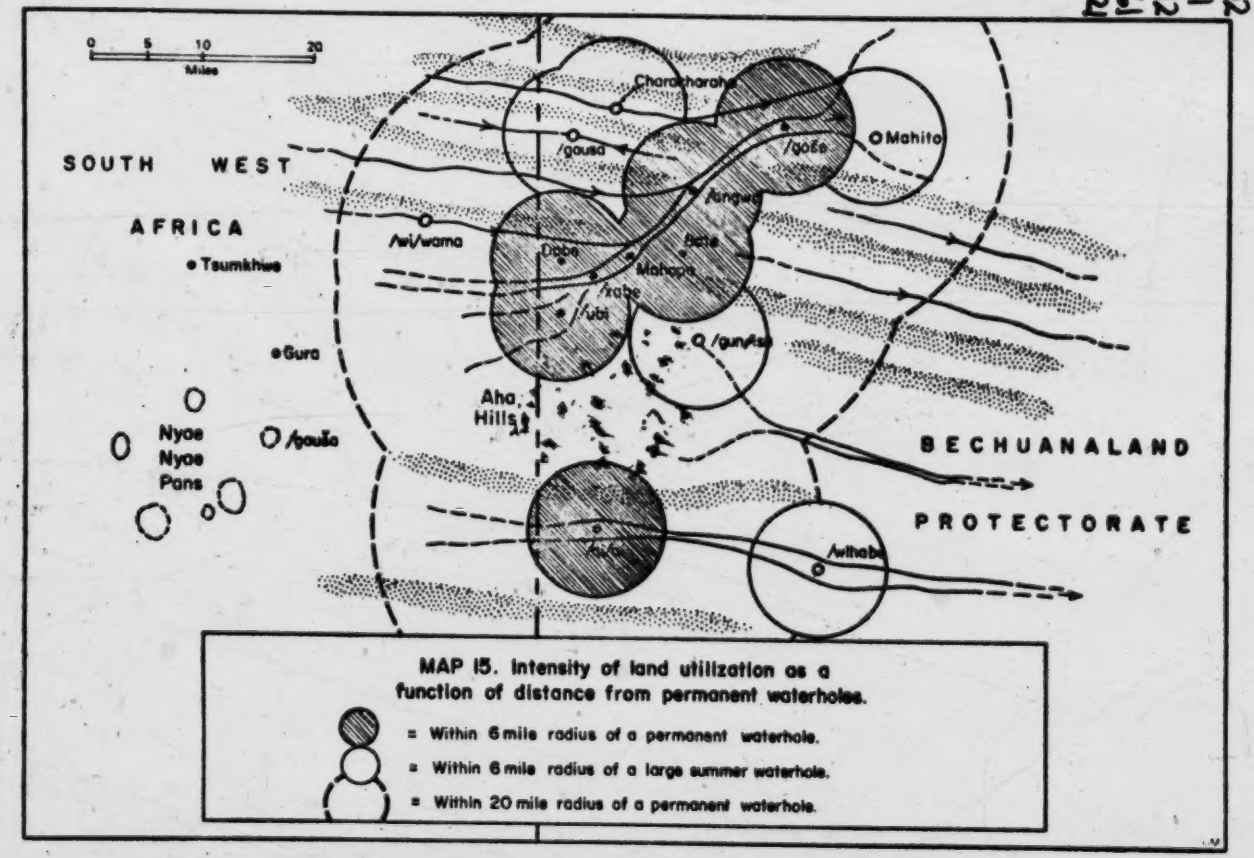

MAP 15. Intensity of land utilization as a function of distance from permanent waterholes.

= Within 6 mile radius of a permanent waterhole.

= Within 6 mile radius of a large summer waterhole.

= Within 20 mile radius of a permanent waterhole.

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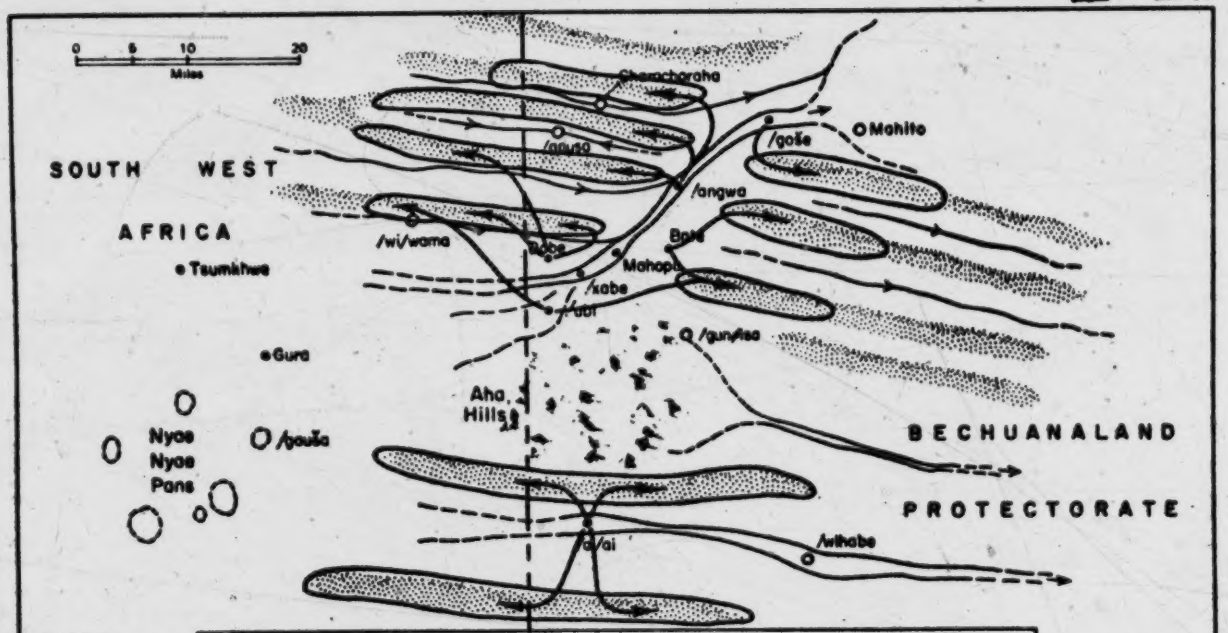
341
311
824



MAP 16. The mongongo nut forests intensively utilized by the Dobe area Bushmen.

= Mongongo nut forests.

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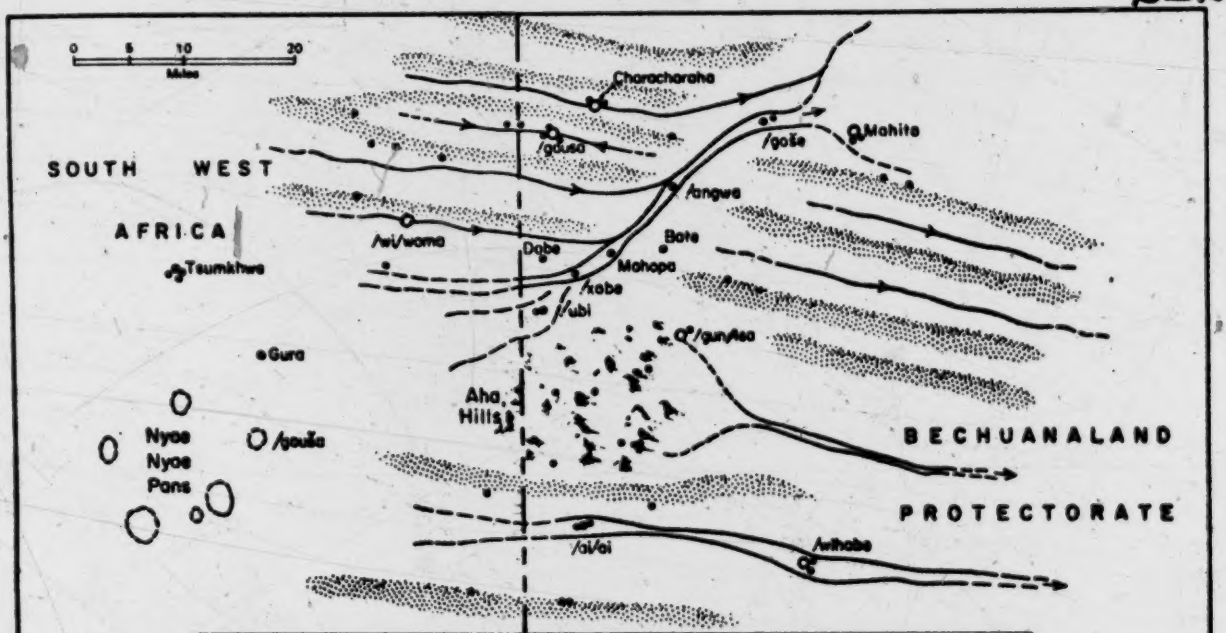
162



MAP 17. The distribution of the Bushman population in December, 1963.

• = 10 Bushmen

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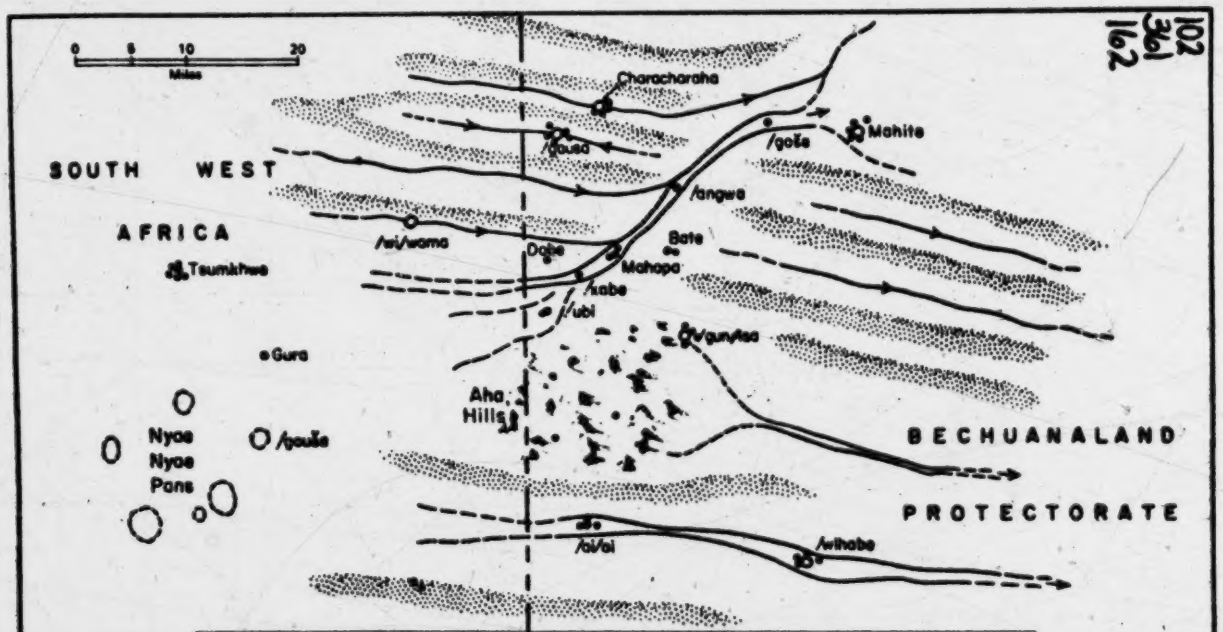

MAP 18. The distribution of the Bushman population in March, 1964.

• = 10 Bushmen

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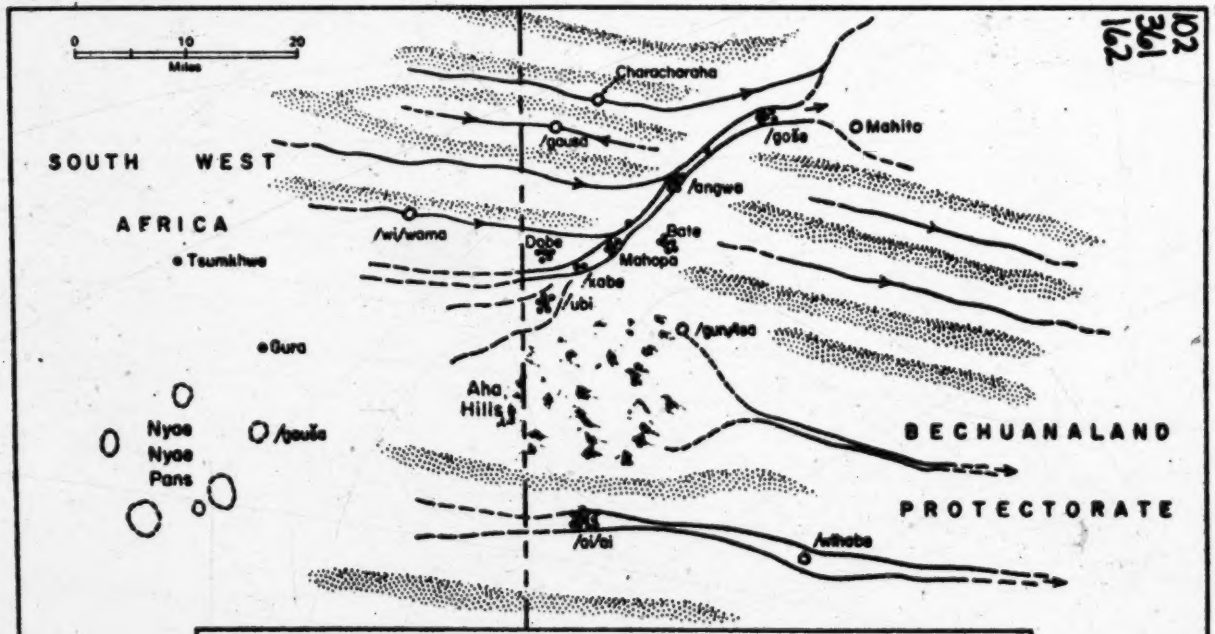

MAP 19. The distribution of the Bushman population in July, 1964.

• = 10 Bushmen.

2: Schapera
HB HB HB
102 103, 133

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Map II "The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa," has been reproduced for the files in the following manner:

IIA	IIB	IIC
IID	IIE	IIF

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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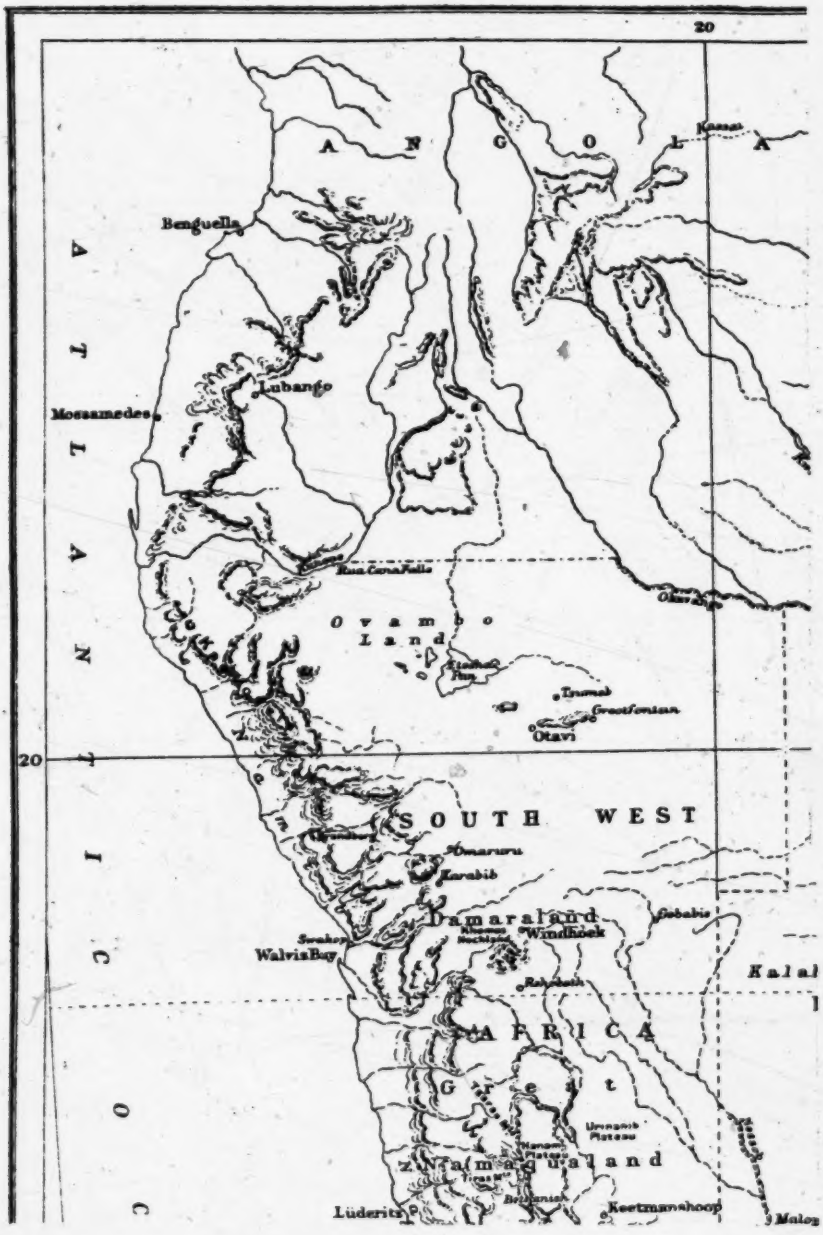

[FACING P. 146
MAP II A]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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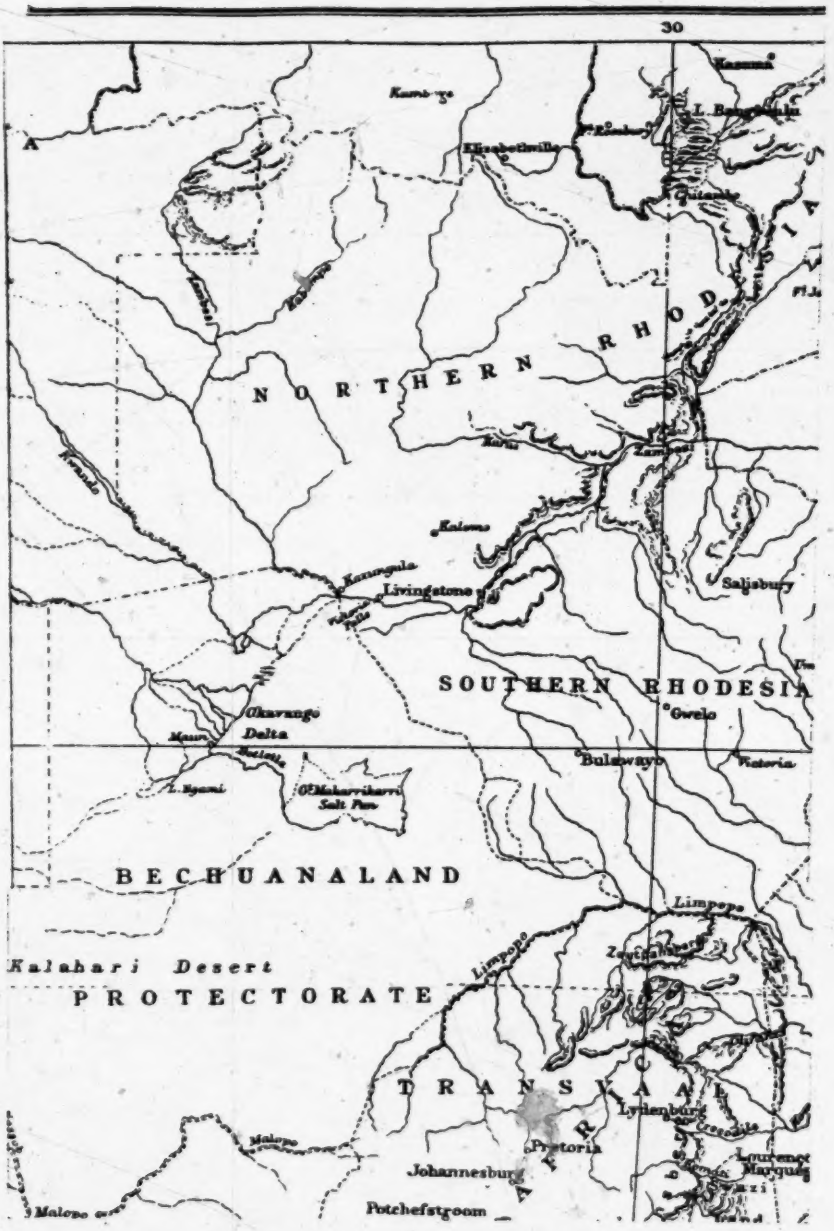

[FACING p. 446
MAP II B]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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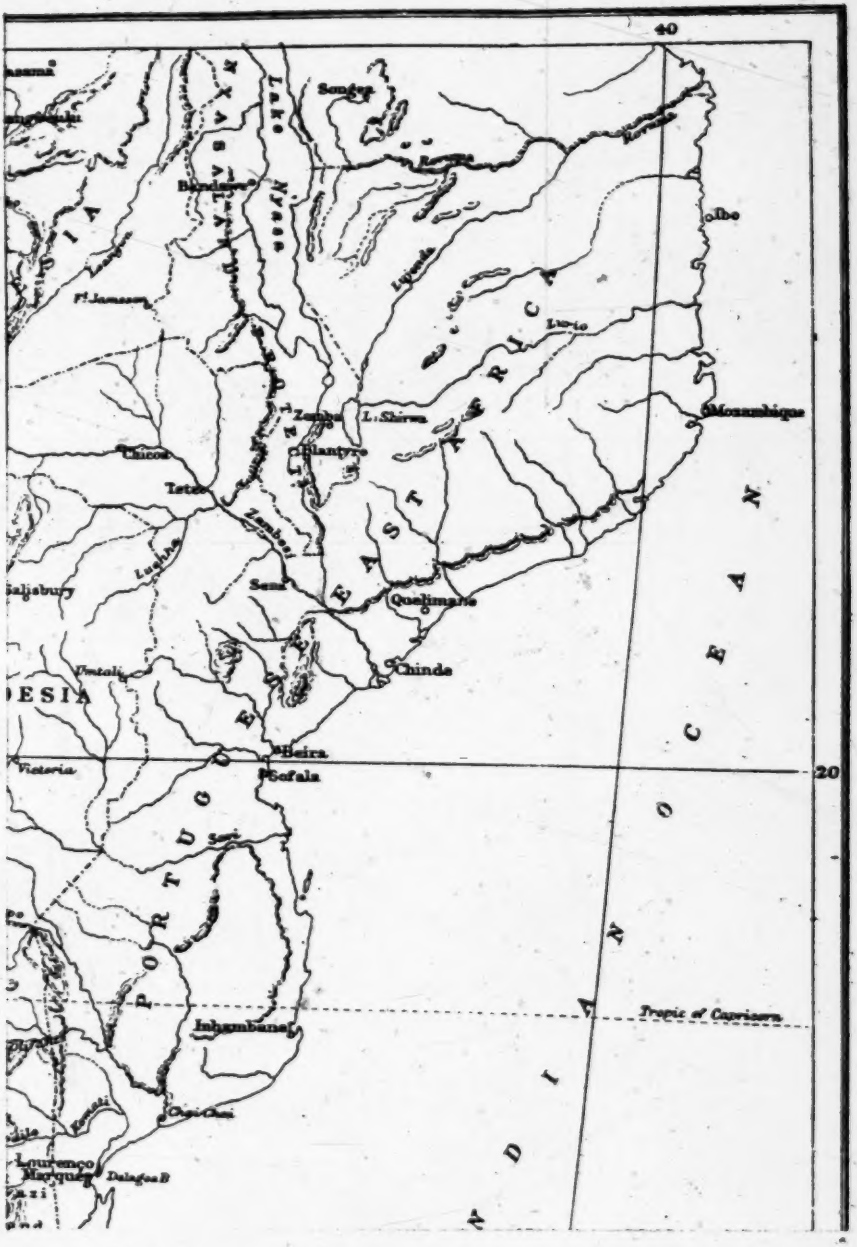

[FACING p. 446
MAP II C]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

FX13 Hottentot

Bushmen FX10

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133

[PACING p. 446
MAP II D]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

FX13 Hottentot

Bushmen FX10

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[FACING p. 446
MAP II E]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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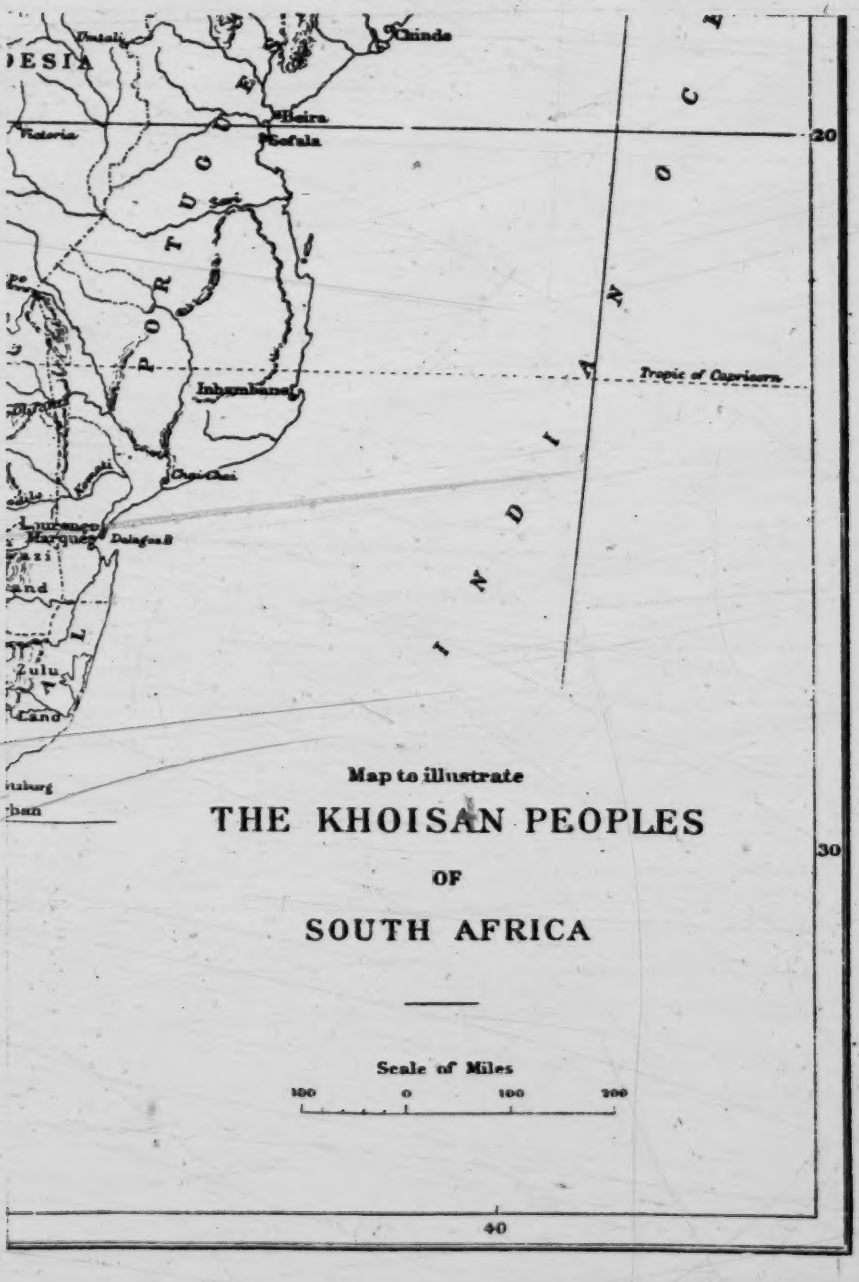

[FACING p. 446
MAP II F]

2: Kaufmann--6 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Auen

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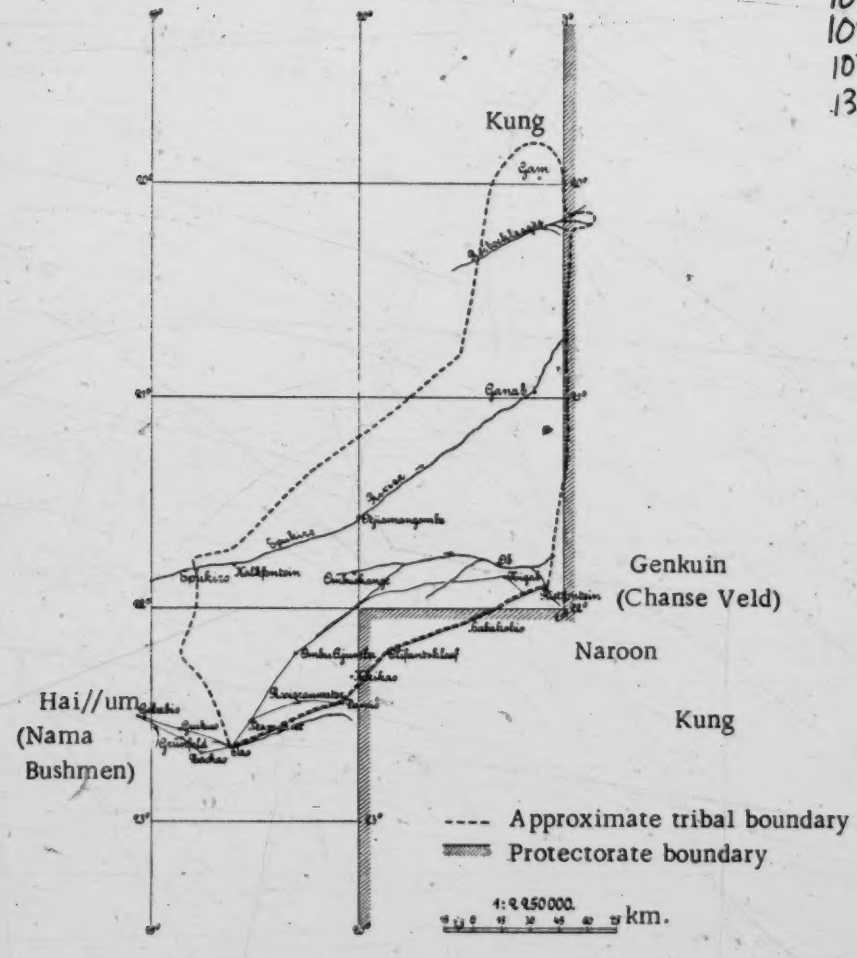

Map of the Auin Region

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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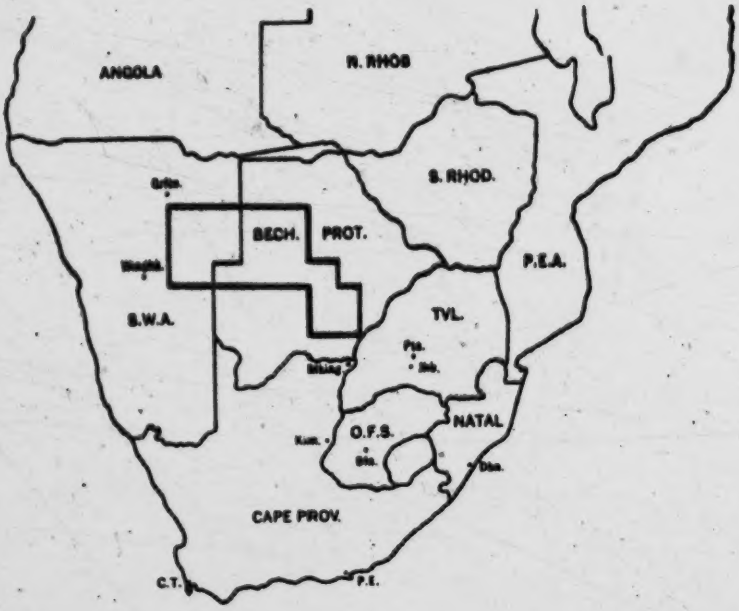

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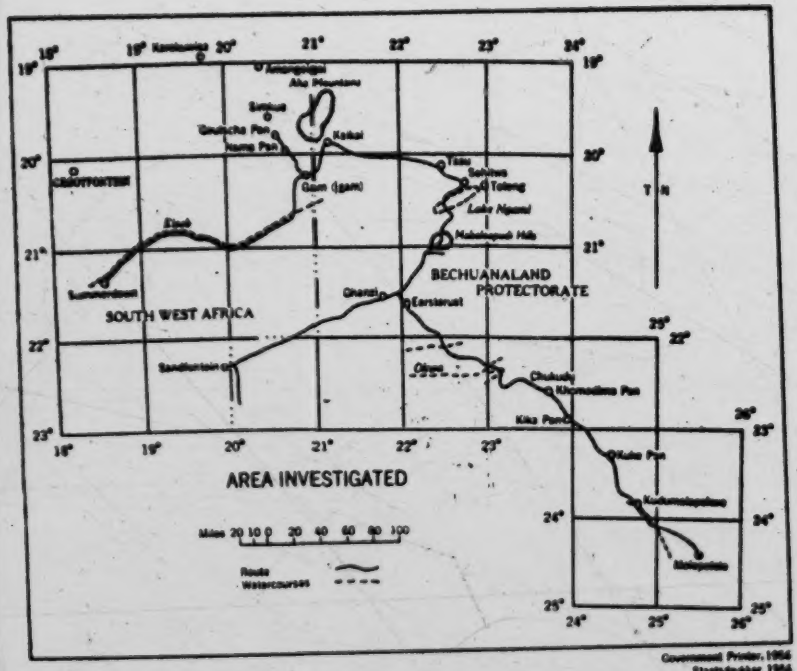

Government Printer, 1956
Staatsdrukker, 1956

GENERAL AND DETAILED MAPS
OF THE AREA COVERED IN THIS STUDY.

[p. 3]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

TABLE 6

361
312
• 103

The number of camps and the number of territories based on each of the permanent waterholes in the Dobe area.

Name of Waterhole	No. of Independent Camps	No. of Territories
1. :goše	4	1
2. :angwa	1	1
3. Bate	1	1
4. Mahopa	0	0
5. :xabe	0	0
6. :ubi	1	1
7. Dobe	2	1
8. /ai/ai	5	4
	14[1]	9

[1]The 15th independent group had its permanent waterhole at Tsumkhwe, outside the Dobe area.

312 824 222 The net effect of this effort is that an individual must drink much more than the minimum daily requirement of 72 ounces of water. In fact, men who were living on Fockea roots, were observed to dig out between 15 and 20 of the roots per day. The quantity of water provided by these roots is estimated at 150-300 ounces, part of which went to provide water for the children of the camp.

222 484 312 A description of one Fockea trip, in which the author participated, will serve to illustrate some of the difficulties of living away from standing water.

[123] This trip began on 6 November and ended on 16 November, 1964. The group consisted of 12 Bushmen (plus the author); there were three men, four women, and five children. One of the young women gave birth during her stay so the returning group consisted of 13 Bushmen.

November 6 - This group (minus one of the men who came out the following day) set out from the Dobe waterhole at 10:00 [103] a.m. They spent the day walking to a nut forest named !wi/wama which was situated eleven miles west of Dobe. The original plan was to remain there for five days.

[481] The pace was leisurely to suit the three older children [855] (ages 12, 8, 6 respectively) who went on foot and the young [843] woman who was in the terminal month of her pregnancy. On the way we stopped at intervals to eat seven different species of

2: Schapera
HB HB HB
102, 103, 133

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Map II "The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa," has been reproduced for the files in the following manner:

IIA	IIB	IIC
IID	IIE	IIF

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

102
● 103
133

[FACING P. 146
MAP II A]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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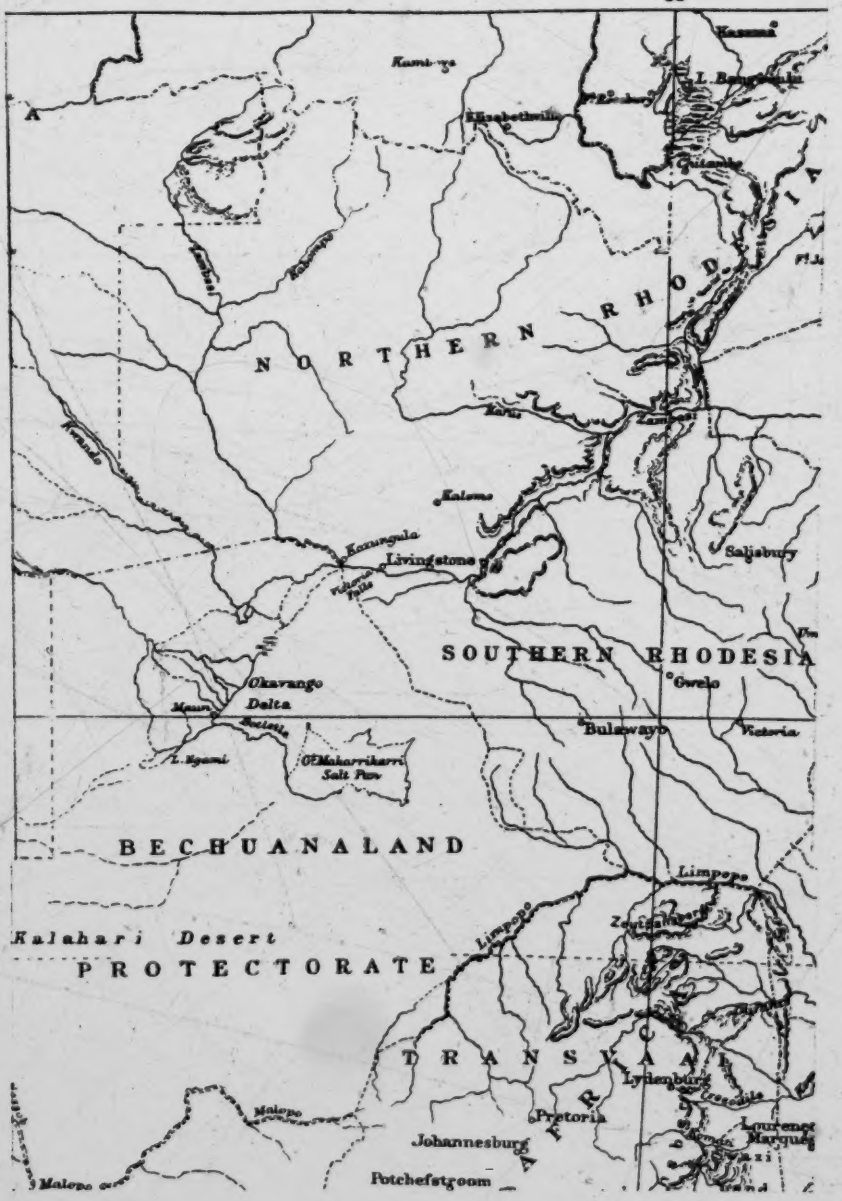
133



[FACING p. 446
MAP II B]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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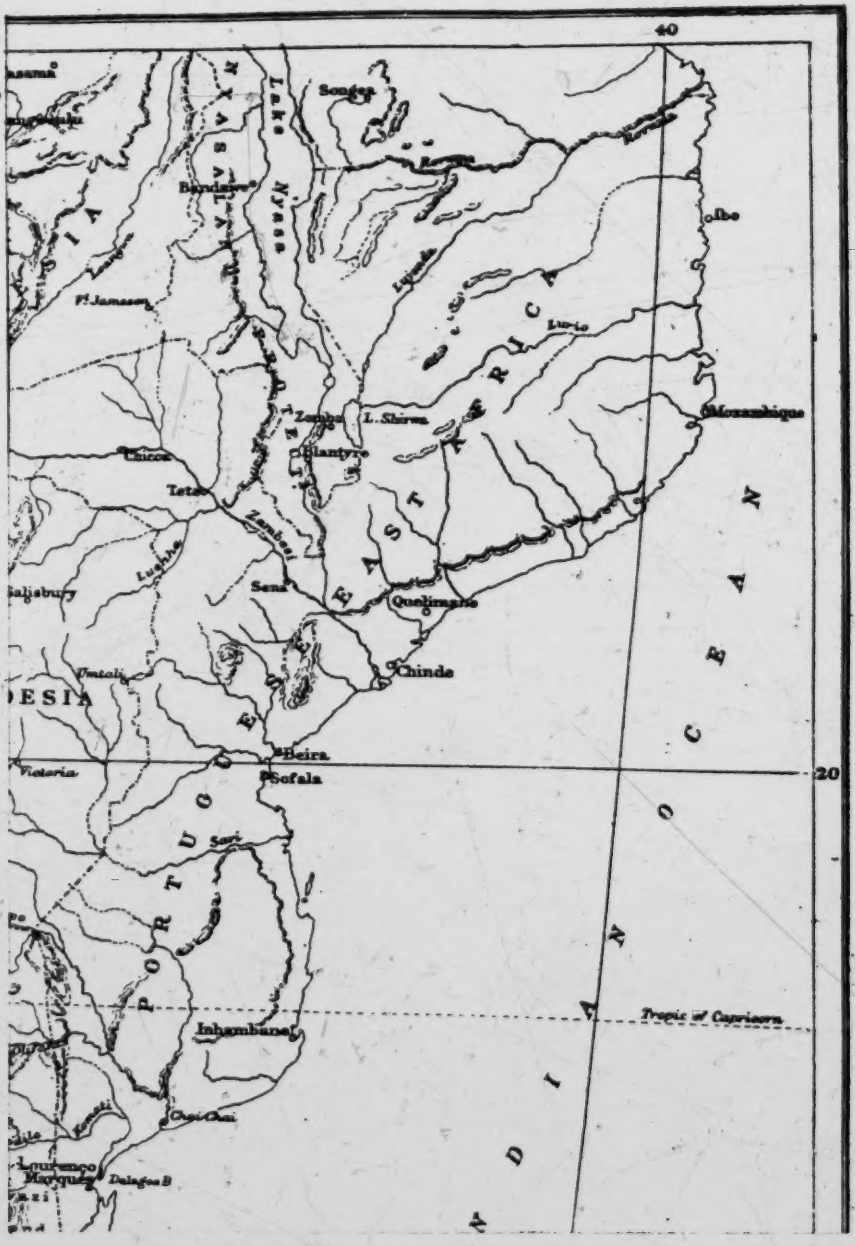

[FACING p. 446
MAP II C]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

FX13 Hottentot

Bushmen FX10

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133

[FACING P. 446
MAP II D]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

102
103
133

[FACING p. 446
MAP II E]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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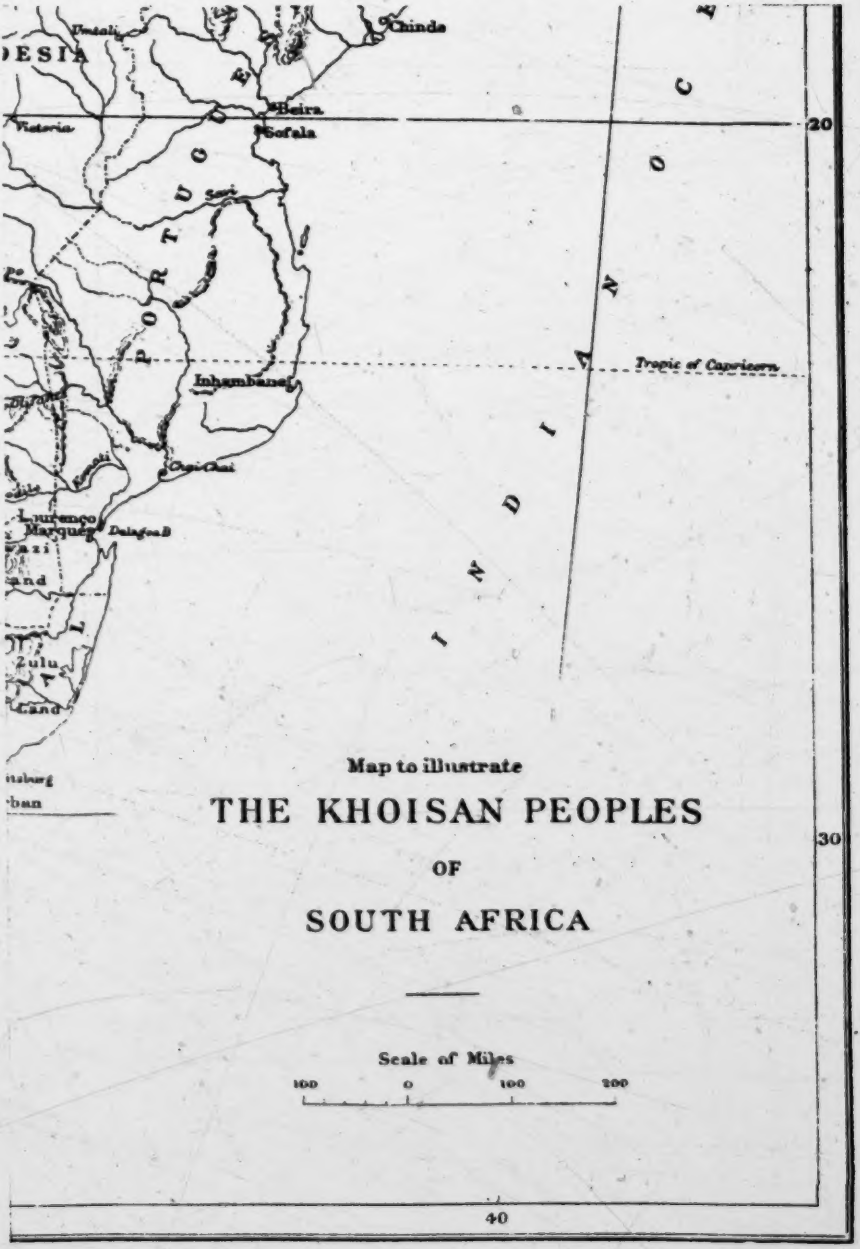

[FACING p. 446
MAP II F]

/135 cont./

144 (Ngamiland): "I should like to observe briefly that the Kalahari
197 Bushmen are low in my estimation, both in respect to their language and to their appearance; I was able to confirm an extremely close relationship with the Nama [Hottentot], but in an old dialect no longer spoken today."

Since I lack the knowledge for making anthropological
141 measurements, I shall confine myself to /136/ presenting several ≠Auin types as I observed them. They may not be without value for comparative purposes.

I should like to add that in measuring physical height I obtained the following results:

Adult men (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.51 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.62	meters
Minimum height	1.47	meters

Adult women (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.45 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.53	meters
Minimum height	1.38	meters

A. Geography and Statistics

The ≠Auin, as they call themselves and as they are known to
131 the neighboring Bushmen tribes, inhabit that part of the central Kalahari which is more or less immediately bounded by the watering places Rietfontein, Ganab, Gam, Sidonitzaub, Otjiamangombe, Tjumda, Epukiro, Oas, Stampriet, Rooigrauwater, and Habakobis. Their territory lies for the greater part within the boundaries of the German protectorate. The adjoining sketch indicates as accurately as possible the geographic location, as well as the approximate territory of the neighboring Bushmen tribes. The
101 Hottentot designate the ≠Auin as ≠Au-San (Schinz), the inhabitants of the Chanse Veld as ≠Aukwě (Passarge), the Betschuana [Tswana] as Makaukau. The approximate number of Auin (1),

[104]

1. For the sake of simplicity I shall from now on omit the initial mark ≠, which indicates the click.

[54 cont.]

171 of various religions have found entry here. Among the Bushmen
177 tribes I visited there is the common belief in a supreme good be-
171 ing, whose name varies. The people described here [55] call the
176 supreme being X'u, "the lord" or "the great captain" (1). It is

[782]

1. According to Vedder, the supreme being is Huwe (Tsumeb). When the first veld fruits ripen, an offering is brought before sunrise. A freshly broken twig is inserted into a piece of wood with a hole bored through it. The people are seated in a circle, and the eldest passes around a tobacco or dacha pipe made out of a tubular bone.

the same expression that the Cape Hottentot used in speaking to the German traveler Kolbe, with the same significance and pronunciation 705 (2). The name could not have come from the[1]

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2. J. Schapera (The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, 1930) has critically referred to my observations on this point. In this connection I must note: the "great captain" among the eastern !Kung may rightfully be designated as "supreme being." I have already given his characteristics in my earlier publications.

[104]
[194]

The spelling is correctly X'u. I use X' to designate a click that is even lower than "!". It is also found in other words, such as X'Ame = lion. Since not all publishers provide this character, I have sometimes been forced to write "Khu" or "Chu." This word, which the !Kung, too, translate as "lord" or "great captain," was already found, as Schapera indicates, among the Cape Hottentot in 1705 as Khourou = "Supreme Ruler" and "Great Chief" or "Great Captain"; Kolbe gives a quite analogous citation a little later, and Hahn reports of one old Nama, "The people say,

1 [CONTINUES ON p. 108 - ANALYST]

/259 cont./

342 are filled with grass. The door is a hole scarcely a meter high;
[354] immediately behind it the fire burns almost continuously, so that, at least for the European, crawling into the hut presents considerable difficulties. Since the Bushmen are often forced to
[361] move their settlements because of the lack of veld food or because of the water conditions, they not infrequently content themselves with incomplete huts, which are not closed to form a full circle, but represent only a part, a segment of a hut, as it were, and give only scant protection against the sun.

For the rest, it is astonishing how hardened these practically
147 naked Bushmen are against the cold of the night which during the cold season is very sharp -- not infrequently below O° [centigrade].
[513] Unclothed except for the loincloth, they calmly go to sleep on the cold ground near a small fire, exposed to the icy night air, a thought that gives chills to Europeans, who are unable to sleep without three woolen blankets on such nights.

Concerning the much discussed racial position of the Bush-
144 men, I have already remarked above -- at least concerning the Heikum and Kung -- that their descent from the Hottentots, as is frequently asserted, seems doubtful to me. The Bushmen's smaller size, of course, can be accounted for by the debilitation of the race through centuries-long unfavorable living conditions. What argues against the notion of racial affinity, however, is the anthropological fact that steatopygia is not to be found among the Heikum and Kung women, /260/ and, in addition, the lan-
197 guage is totally different.

I attempted to collect a sample of the vocabulary and some grammatical characteristics of the language of the Heikum on the Omatako and of the Kung in the Kaukau Veld, which I present below. In doing this, it became evident that the languages of the Heikum and Kung are merely dialectically differentiated, while they seem to have almost no relationship to the Nama language. The click sounds, to be sure, are almost the same as
[194] those in the Hottentot language; hence, / designates the dental click, // the lateral click, ! the cerebral [retroflex] click, and
[104] ≠ the palatal click. By ⁝ I designate the sharp opening of the glottis in speaking the initial vowel, which frequently occurs between a consonant and a vowel or between two vowels of the same word, and which does not occur in this fashion in the Nama.

There were more species of grass, and, particularly on the dunes, more of trees and shrubs. The fauna was also richer for there were buffalo and elephant and many waterfowl in addition to the animals found in the Kalahari.

The Bushman languages represented in this paper are classified according to Bleek's *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages* (1929). They are !h3:, the closely interrelated ||ganakwe, |gikwe and Naron, and Auen (see also Bleek, 1928: 60-64).

!h3: is a member of the southern group, in which the lip click is found, and a dialect of what Bleek calls |nu||en, S6 in her system of classification. Bleek's spelling is !k3:, but I heard the click aspirated. It is spoken in the neighbourhood of Lehututu, which is 150 miles south of Ghanzi.

||ganakwe is spoken to the east of Ghanzi, and has been studied by Maingard (1957).

The centre of the |gikwe language appears to be in the country to the south-east of Ghanzi. It is a member of Bleek's Central group, closely allied to Naron and easily understood by Naron speakers although many words are different. A curious feature of the phonetics is the occurrence of the ejective lateral explosive followed immediately by the velar glottal affricate (see Cole, 1955: 23 and Beach 1938: 222-223). The first sound is not mentioned in any papers that I have seen on the Bushman languages.

Naron is Bleek's C2. There is an error which is liable to confuse one on page 3 of her publication, where the languages of the Naron and Masarwa of Tati have been transposed. Naron should be under C2 and the Masarwa language under C1. A grammatical sketch of Naron is given in Bleek's paper of 1928.

Auen, Bleek's N1, is the eastern form of the !khû linguistic group and is spoken round Gautscha Pan. It was studied by Maingard when he was a member of this same expedition and an account of it is given in his paper of 1957. In this paper I refer to it as Eastern !khû.

The work done in the Kalahari was done through interpreters, and much of that in the northern area likewise, except towards the end of the expedition when through closer contact with the Bushmen for a longer time than in the south, I was able to acquire a smattering of the Eastern !khû language, enough to ask straightforward questions and to understand straightforward replies. The phonetics of the Bushman languages are a study in themselves, and I do not claim that my spellings and indications of the tones are exact. In the orthography I have followed Bleek (1929) with the following exceptions:—

1. I have placed the n first when it is combined with a click. It has been the convention to place the n after the click in the written Khoisan languages, the argument being that the n and the click are pronounced simultaneously (Meinhof, 1909: 5). To my ear the n is the first sound in the combination.
2. Bleek does not mention the voiced h, which sometimes follows a nasalised click. I have accordingly followed Doke (1936: 448) and used the symbol ɦ.

For easy reference, the symbols I have used are listed at the end of this introductory chapter.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

The following are the approximate values of the letters and symbols used in the spelling of the Bushman names. They have been taken from Bleek's paper of 1929, pages 12-14. 104 194

b, d, h, k, l, m, n, r, s, w, z	as in English.
k', t'	as above, but with glottal closure.
g	as in *get*.
j	as in *yet*.
k'	the velar glottal affricate.
x	as German *ch*.
ŋ	as in *sing*.
ʃ	as in *ship*.
ʒ	as in vision.
ɽ	the flapped retroflex consonant.
ǀ	the dental click.
ǃ	the palato-alveolar click.
ǁ	the lateral click.
ǂ	the alveolar click.
ʘ	the lip click.
a:	as in *hard*.
a	the same sound shortened.
ɑ	the same sound produced far back in the throat.
e	as in *air*.
e:	as in *say*.
ɛ	as in *met*.
i	as in *hit*.
i:	as in *me*.
ɔ:	as in *haul*.
ɔ	the same sound shortened.
o	as in *notice*.
u	as in *put*.
?	the glottal stop.
~	over a letter denotes nasal pronunciation.
'	over a letter denotes accentuation of the syllable.

The middle tone is not marked, the high tone is marked by a dash above the line preceding the syllable, the low tone by one below the line, as ¯ha, ₋ha; rising and falling tones are marked ʼha and ˏha.

The voiced h is written ɦ.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Note

THE spelling of Bushman words and names is at best a rough approximation. Most Bushman words and names have clicks in them, usually clicks acting as consonant sounds. For the purpose of simplicity, the clicks have been omitted.

[p. 2]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

NOTE ON BUSHMAN ORTHOGRAPHY

By D. F. Bleek

IN writing the article on "Bushman Terms of Relationship" appearing in this issue of *Bantu Studies*, I have tried to follow the phonetic script of the International Phonetic Association, as far as I understand it, except for denoting clicks. For these I should be willing to use the symbols chosen by Mr. Doke for Zulu clicks, were they adequate for expressing all the click combinations found in Bushman; but they are not. 104 114 194

Had Mr. Doke seen fit to adopt one symbol for each implosive sound, regardless of the accompanying breathed sound, I could have used these symbols for three of the Bushman clicks. But unfortunately Mr. Doke has not followed that course, but has chosen three symbols for each implosive sound denoting a combination of the implosive sound with the sound made by the expulsion of the breath.

Every click has a double closure, one made by the front or tip of the tongue against the teeth, alveolar, or palate, or of the lips together, the other by the back of the tongue against the velum, as Mr. Doke has shown in his admirable experiments. In making the click alone, only the front closure is audibly released, the back closure might stay in position, for all we know, no breath being emitted from the lungs. We cannot call that click either unvoiced, voiced, or nasal. But in speaking, this implosive sound is accompanied or followed by breathed sounds. The back closure being in the position for "k" or "g", if the air is pressed against that closure while the click is made, it will produce a slight "k" or "g" sound in rushing out. These sound combinations are called by Mr. Doke and others unvoiced and voiced clicks. If the uvula is lowered while making the click, a nasal sound is produced.

For these three combinations Mr. Doke provides symbols. All three are found in Bushman, the first in very many examples; but there are words in which not the slightest "k" or "g" sound is audible with the click, the back release is silent. In others the back release is silent, but an aspirate follows before the vowel. Again, there may be a treble closure: front of tongue, back of

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

104 tongue, and glottis. The front of the tongue is released first, 114 making a click, then the back is exploded, making a sort of glottal 194 plosive. The fricative "x" may also be combined with the click. For these clicks or combinations of sound there is no provision in Mr. Doke's system, so to avoid confusion I have followed the old custom of all writers on Bushman and Hottentot, and used a sign for the click alone, expressing the other sounds by their ordinary symbols.

104 This may best be shown by examples. We find the dental or 194 alveolar click in the following combinations :—

Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
ǀa	to fight		
ǀka	to leave	ʗa	ca
ǀkha	stick	ʗha	c'a
ǀha	husband		
ǀxã	to shoot		
ǀk'a	river bed		
ǀga	hippopotamus	ɣa	gca
ǀna	head	ŋa	nca

The retroflex plosive click is found in the following combinations :—

Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
ǃa	along		
ǃkã	to await	ʠa	qa
ǃkhau	bee	ʠhau	q'au
ǃham	first		
ǃxa̧	sister-in-law's husband		
ǃk'ae	to skin		
ǃgã	frog	ɢa	gqa
ǃna	winter	ɲa	nqa

These combinations can be found with the retroflex fricative click, which corresponds more or less to the lateral click of Bantu. Bushmen do not make this click with the tongue against the teeth or side of the mouth, but place it in about the same position as for the last click, only they release it gently, as in making the dental click. I give as examples :—

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
ǁa	to go		
ǁka	wet	ʒa	xa
ǁkhā	lion	ʒha	
ǁhagen	to equal		
ǁxā	again		
ǁk'ạ ǀkwi	son's father-in-law		
ǁga	night	ʒa	gxa
ǁna	there	ŋa	nxa

\ below the line indicates a low intonation.

The same combinations can be found with the alveolar plosive click, which is made as the retroflex plosive click, only with the tongue pressure very far forward, almost on the teeth. For example :—

Bushman spelling.	English.
ǂabbakn	to burn
ǂkā	bare
ǂkhàra	wingfeather
ǂhau	to jump
ǂxamma	to fetch
ǂk'anna	to call
ǂgabbetn	to throw
ǂna	to forget

The fifth click, found only in Southern Bushman, is made by pressing the lips together and then sucking the air in. It is found in the following combinations :—

⊙pwa little, ⊙bu to rain gently, ⊙ho tree, ⊙mwainya to kiss.

In his "Notes on a problem in the mechanism of Zulu clicks", Mr. Doke speaks as if no "k" sound were heard in what he calls the "unvoiced" clicks. I think most people hear a very slight "k". Colonials, in using Zulu or Kafir names, very often omit the click and say the rest of the word as they hear it. They always get a "k" sound, *Cetywayo* becomes **Ketywayo**, *X'osa* becomes **Khosa**, and so forth. I do not know of any Bantu names with clicks that have turned into words beginning with a vowel on the lips of Colonials.

On the other hand Hottentot place names, when adopted by Colonials and stripped of their clicks, sometimes become words

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

000 beginning with "k", such as *Kakamas*, *Karakhois*, from ǂkakamas, ǂkarakhois; and sometimes turn into words beginning with a vowel, as *Aus*, *Abiam*, *Oas*, from ǂaus, ǂabiam, ǂoas.

Moreover, by speaking of "unvoiced" clicks, Mr. Doke shows 104 that he is thinking of the expulsion of breath from the lungs, not 114 merely of the implosive phone, the click proper. In spite of my 194 disagreeing with him on this point, I would adopt his symbols, were they adequate for Bushman transcription. As it is, I stick to the old signs long identified with the Hottentot and Bushman clicks, and sufficing for all purposes, rather than inventing a whole row of new symbols.

000 To Dr. Beech I tender hearty thanks for his kind help in explaining the phonetic script of the I.P.A., which would otherwise have remained a closed book to me. I only hope that this attempt at Bushman transcription may be clear to other students.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

776 171 The name *Hishe*, Schapera tells us, is used by the Naron and Auen.[1] He thinks it may be a corruption of *Heitsi Eibib*, a mythical hero of the Hottentots.[2] As this name is not reported for other /Kung groups by Miss Bleek, Vedder, or Lebzelter, it is possible that it has been borrowed by the Nyae Nyae /Kung from the Auen. The Auen (also called Makaukau) live immediately south of the Nyae Nyae region.[3]

The name *Hawe* is reported for Miss Lloyd's /Kung informants from Lake Ngami by Miss Bleek, for the /Kung at Tsumeb by Vedder, and for the eastern Kalahari group by Dornan, but not for the Auen or Naron, who said to Miss Bleek, as Schapera tells us,[4] that 'he [*Hawe*] was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the "captain" of the white people'.

The name *Kxo* is something of a puzzle. I spelt it this way because I thought I heard both the *k* and the velar fricative sound *x*, as distinct from the name *Ko*.[5] I believe now that what I heard as *Kxo* is the name which Schapera tells us is spelt both *Xu* and *//Khu* by Lebzelter.[6] Lebzelter's account of *Xu* given him by the group he calls the eastern /Kung accords so closely with the Nyae Nyae /Kung's account of *Hishe—Hawe—Kxo* that I feel certain that *Xu* and *Kxo* are conceptually the same being.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung did not have the name (or title) */kkuba*, the Hottentot word for 'master', which Schapera tells us the Auen and Naron were beginning to borrow from the Nama when Miss Bleek worked with the Auen at Sandfontein.[7] Nor did they have *Thora* which Dornan heard among Bushmen of the eastern Kalahari.[8] And none of the informants we worked with knew the name *Erob* recorded by Lebzelter among the /Kung in the Oschimpoloveld. Schapera tells us that this name came from the Hebrew *Elohim*, a name used by missionaries among the Nama for 'God'.[9]

776 I shall have more to say about *//Gaowa* and *≠Gaolna* presently. The remaining three names, */Gara*, *Gani ga*, and *≠Gaishi ≠gai*, do not appear in the accounts of Bushman religion which Schapera analysed. I struggled to ascertain that they were names, not terms, titles, or descriptive phrases. So far, my evidence leads me to consider them names, but I could not trace their origin. My informants had no idea

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 182.

[2] Ibid., pp. 191, 374.

[3] For the location and extent of the Nyae Nyae region see Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Bands', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960, pp. 325–7.

[104 114] [4] Schapera, op. cit., p. 183.

[5] Some /Kung informants, /Ti/kay among them, claimed they did not know the name *Ko*. Others told us that *Ko* is a god of other people, a different god, not *≠Gaolna* or *//Gaowa*. They said, for example, that the white man's god is *Ko*. One informant said, in effect, that, even though *Ko* was a god of other people, he could kill anybody—white men, black men, and Bushmen. One is interested to note that *Ko* was the name of the female mantis god of the Bushmen of Basutoland, reported by Arbousset, as Schapera tells us (ibid., p. 181).

[6] 'Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*) or *Xuwa*, "the Lord" or "the great captain", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Hawa* or *Ha'a*.' (Ibid., p. 183.)

Bushman languages present so many difficulties to those who are not experts in them—difficulties in recognizing the clicks and in sorting out variations in pronunciation between individuals even of the same group, as well as variations that are probably imposed by the position of the words in the sentence and by other grammatical configurations, &c.—that such discrepancies as *Kxo*, *Xu*, and *//Khu* are relatively slight. Fully aware of my own inadequacy in the language, I usually assume when I differ from another observer that the other is right and I am wrong. However, I cannot simply adopt another's rendering of the word without knowing if the discrepancy is due to dialectal differences or to my ignorance or what, and so must stick to my own approximations.

[7] Schapera, op. cit., pp. 182–3.

[8] Ibid., p. 183.

[9] Ibid., p. 190.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

where the names came from ('The old people told us that he gave himself these names', they said) and I do not have sufficient relevant comparative material to throw possible light on the question. Informants said that *≠Gaoʃna* was the oldest of the names of God and that */Gara* was the next oldest. 776

The Names of the Lesser God

The great god named the lesser god by giving him all of his own 'divine' names but not his human name, *≠Gaoʃna*. 553 776

Having been named for the great god, the lesser god is the great god's namesake, his *!gnma* (*!gn* is name, *ma* is small or younger), and the great god is the *!gnʃna* (*!na* means old, older, or big).

The concept of the namesake, and of the relationship between the *!gnʃna* and the *!gnma*, is an important one in the /Kung kinship system.[1] */Gnʃna* and *!gnma* are always of the same sex, /Kung names being sex-linked. One shares in some mystical way the entity of the person for whom one is named. Incest taboos require that one must not marry the parent or offspring of one's *!gnʃna* or *!gnma*. Behaviour between a *!gnʃna* and a *!gnma* is as open and free from formal restrictions as any in /Kung society. They have the joking relationship. Only the usual respect of the young for the old is expected.

The opposite conditions exist between parent and child. A man must not name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Parent and offspring do not have the joking relationship.

It was interesting to me to find the great and lesser god in the *!gnʃna–!gnma* relationship rather than the father–son relationship, as it offers some evidence that the concept of the two gods is not influenced by the Christian concept of God, the father, and Jesus, the son. Also one comes to see that the father-son relationship would not serve the Bushmen as well as the *!gnʃna–!gnma* relationship in explaining the problem of evil, for a son would not present as sharp a duality, but, according to human standards, would express respect, obedience, deference, propriety, and assistance, which is not *in total* the function of the lesser god. 776 [177 773]

The Names of the Wives of the Gods

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe that *≠Gaoʃna* gave all his own 'divine' names to both of the wives; *di*, the suffix which means 'female' is added: *Hishedi*, *Hnwedi*, *Kxodi*, */Garadi*, *Gani gadi*, *≠Gaishi ≠gaidi*, *||Gaiwadi*.

≠Gaoʃna, the great god's human name, is not applied to the wives, men's names never being given to women. One would say instead *≠Gaoʃna a tsan*, '*≠Gaoʃna* his wife'. [553]

Each wife has a human name as well. The elder one, who usually lives alone with *≠Gaoʃna*, is named *Khwovaʃna*, Old Khwova. The younger one is *||Gow*. (*||Gow* rhymes with *how*. The *ao* sound in the men's names Gao, ≠Gao, and /Gao I use arbitrarily and mean by it a slightly shorter, more closed sound, like the *ou* in *ouch*.) We knew only two women named ||Gow but knew many Khwovas. [104] [553]

The wives of the gods may be referred to or addressed by a respect term, used [576]

[1] Cf. Lorna Marshall, 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, no. 1, Jan. 1957, pp. 1–23.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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821
[539]

O gallopers,
O gallopers,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it
821 to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other magicians have a similar power over the wind, */khwe*, and are protected by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind
[773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears the form of a bird.[1]

773 Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we
776 meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from
[184] those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object
[794] of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed that *'Kaang* (i.e. */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, *'Kue-'akeng-*
[761] *'teng*, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives
[821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put
[825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine
796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood"
535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant,
[773] Qing, described as follows: "*Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the song of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it, and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night.
[786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[104] [2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol c represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds.

[5 cont.]

172 the Oldoway race as one of its carriers, the presence of a Eurafrican racial element from oldest times on may be regarded as certain also for South Africa. The carriers of this hand-ax industry, who, I am convinced, already carried on a kind of plant cultivation and were tied essentially to the forested zones, were later followed by a group of peoples and races with definite flake industries. Among these we may include the Katanga race and the other Australiform finds. A new wave of Eurafrican racial elements was brought by the carriers of the blade industries of the
174 Middle Stone Age of South Africa. Even today we are still unable to determine when the Bushman races adopted a Stone Age industry or even when they entered the country. Just as racially
[144] the Bushman incorporated remnants of all the preceding races or
[154] those that at one time existed side by side with them (Europoid -- Australiform), so their culture, varying from tribe to tribe, likewise constitutes a unity only in its optimal adaptation to the conditions of the environment. In its individual traits, on the other hand, it represents a residual culture whose stability depends on a selection intentionally and purposively carried out, and which resulted from foreign cultures from the Old Stone Age up to the present.

Chapter 1

The Bushmen of Angola

105 We are indebted to D. F. Bleek (1) for most of the data

[113] 1. D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," Bantu Studies, Vol. III, No. 2, 1928 Johannesburg. Further, Archiv für Anthropologie, 1930.

concerning the Angola Bushmen. The Bushmen are !Kung. The men are 159.3 (145.5-170) centimeters tall, the women 148.8 (135-161.3) centimeters. They live between the Msuma in the north, the Lomba in the south, and between Okawango and the

[5 cont.]

105 Ninde. They have stopped collecting veldkost and confine themselves to hunting, exchanging the products for vegetables and the like from the Mabunda [Bunda] and Luchazi, with whom they have a dependent relationship. Their time divisions are the same as those among the !Kung in the south.

The Angola Bushmen have two or three wives. Some of the married couples were cousins.

Each household has a number of calabashes, a few baskets, and a clay pot. Wooden pestles are used for pounding the grain, as in the south.

Among the Bushmen of Kunzumbia, the ear lobes and nasal septum are pierced. All adult men have tattooing on the forehead with vertical lines between the eyes. Furthermore, on the arm and chest they wear so-called "flesh marks" (2) [6] to

[117] 2. These are also found in Ongandjera and along the Natakanako Pan.

record the big game they have killed. The women, too, are tattooed. As weapons, besides bows and arrows, they have the kirri and a short knife. Spears are rare. Ironware, of course, is obtained in trade from the Bantu for the most part, although the Bushmen in Musombu already have their own forge.

[114] The rain dance is described by Bleek just as I have witnessed it. The women and girls stand in a group on one side, singing and clapping their hands, while the men also sing, but do not clap, and perform rhythmic movements with the upper part of the body and arms. They sing:

//nwa-se //kabama //gu a i-i New moon, come out, give us water
//nwa-se tatana //gu a i-i New moon, thunder water down for us
//nwa-se tala u//gu a i-i New moon, throw water down for us.

For the boys' initiation, the candidates withdraw into the forest with three medicine men for a month. There they dance at night, and occasionally the spirit Huwe appears at the dance. There is also a girl's initiation, and at that time another spirit, //Gaua, is supposed to lead the dance. The tattooing of the girls is done in his honor.

ANGOLA !KUNG WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD

[6 cont.]

105 In their religious ideas, the moon plays the chief role. The new moon is supposed to be a child or a man; the full moon, a woman. They also say that the moon is the older sister, and the sun, the younger sister. Besides the moon, Huwe and //Gaua appear as mythical personages. Instead of Huwe, they also say //Nwa-se, "little new moon." Bleek believes that Huwe is the spirit of the forest, who causes the growth of trees and grass and thus also the growth of game, therefore determining the success or failure of the hunt. Whether or not Huwe is worshiped could not be determined. It is interesting to note what is said concerning //Gaua: "//Gaua is another being. The people from Ngami Lake give the word three meanings: dream, ghost, spirit. Among the Angola Bushmen it is used sometimes for ghost, and sometimes more impersonally. A woman said: When a person dies, a ghost (//Gaua) comes from his grave, which can be seen by the medicine men." Thunder and lightning come from //Gaua. The person struck by lightning becomes a star in the sky. The stars are the campfires of //Gaua. The Bushmen are supposed to be the children of //Gaua. He is a man who lives in the forest, and his home is a hole in the ground. An informant explained that //Gaua is equivalent to Ndjambi (god). There are two kinds of medicine men: those who can see the spirits, conduct the boys' initiations, and do the tattooing, while the second kind cures the sick.

Chapter 2

The Bushmen of the Western Otjimpolo Veld

122 In Shandi, among the eastern Ukuanjama [Kuanyama], I was able to establish contact with the Bushmen through the kindness of the Resident, Mr. Eaddes, and of the native pastor, Paulus.
101 In part, these Bushmen were genuine !Kung, who said they were the same as those from Karakowisa, with whom, however, a fruitful understanding was impossible; and in part they were people who called themselves !Kung, but, judging by their language and customs, are southern Bushmen of Amboland. They themselves say that their fathers came from Ongandjera. The following

[753] 157 [23 cont.] THE SICK BUSHMEN LIE SILENT AND patient, but a case of illness in a village upsets all its members, partly out of compassion, and partly out of fear of the spirits of sickness. The modes of conduct that I have described already permit certain conclusions concerning the structure of the psychological personality among the Bushmen. It is certainly impossible to compare the mental set of an intellectualized, highly domesticated European with that of these primitive hunters. There is absolutely no difference, however, between the simple European and the natives in their conception of life and their manner of reacting to environmental influences. As I have already explained in another place, we may speak of a law of inertia in cultural development (1). The primitive man is perfectly aware, perhaps

105 182

1. V. Lebzelter, "Persönlichkeit und Weltanschauung bei den Eingeborenen Südwestafrikas Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Leogesellschaft, 1932.

instinctively, perhaps by tradition, that the quantity of energy possessed by every individual is limited and that each expenditure of energy means wear on the life machine and, hence, the shortening of life. The individual, therefore, strives to attain, with the least possible expenditure of energy, what to his mind represents an optimal adaptation to the conditions of life, and to maintain this state of adaptation with the least possible expenditure of energy. The great difference between European civilization and many primitive cultures, including that of the Bushmen, lies in the fact that European culture as a whole finds itself in an unstable condition, which makes the attainment of an optimal state of adaptation possible to only a few of its members. Bushman culture, on the other hand, represents an optimal state of adaptation that can be automatically attained by each individual Bushman. In its way, therefore, it is more perfect than ours. No other people and no other race, given the same technical means and the same environmental conditions, could achieve a better adaptation. One can even speak of such an adaptation with respect to the spiritual culture. The life of the Bushman is made secure in this life

[23 cont.]

105 and in the beyond by his traditional conceptions, and the preserva-
182 tion of this adaptation, in the spiritual as well as in the material realm, is achieved by means of a strict selection of all the cultural goods offered from the outside. This selection is consciously carried out. Put briefly: the Bushmen have hitherto refused higher
[177] economic forms not because they do not possess the ability to handle them, but because they did not want to adopt them. If the material preconditions collapse, then they adopt, step by step or all at once, totally different ways of life, as is shown by their Bantuization in Ovamboland and probably also by the formation of the Hottentot people through the adoption of livestock raising on the part of a number of Bushman tribes. Their average intelli-
[153] gence is no less than that of any other race. Every Bushman knows
[184] the entire spiritual heritage of his tribe.

Of the same Bushmen, F. Schinz (2) says:

[113] 2. F. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Leipzig, 1891.

181 "The Bushman is always faithful to his master and will follow him anywhere without pay; one need not worry about leaving him alone at the wagon and will rarely have to reprimand him for dishonesty. All travelers and hunters unanimously praise
[593] the great affection that exists between parents and children, which goes so far that the father or mother will sacrifice themselves in order to save their child. I was told [24] by the hunter L. that at the Okovanggo he once witnessed a scene in which a young Bushman, who was one of the members of the hunting expedition, was in danger of being trampled to death by an angry elephant that stormed toward him. At the last moment when his paralyzed companions had already given the boy up for lost, his father sprang forth and flung his throwing club at the forehead of the enormous animal. The elephant now turned against his new attacher and furiously crushed him under his feet, giving the son the opportunity to flee."

[114] My observations are fully in accord with those of Dornan (1)

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

MASARWA
OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

600 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib
769 Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu
[774] doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the
[825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals,
[824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe
[776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at
551 her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say
602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo
●105 delta, J. Seiner reports:
101 "The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting.
[563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe
[144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease, AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY.

[65 cont.]

and racial mixture is progressing rapidly. The Bugakwe live in five villages with 220 persons in the western Okovanggo Valley down from the Mahango ford and are in bondage to Libebe, with whom, however, they frequently have quarrels over the amount of deliveries; on the occasion of one such dispute in June, 1905, a Mambukuschu was killed by an arrow. The Garikwe live in eight villages with 430 souls in eastern Ärmellande from the Paliba Swamp to the beginning of the valley, while the Goekwe live in southern Ärmellande west of the river course. Concerning the latter, I found only a winter village with 90 souls, and that north of the mouth of the Namassere on a river island.

"The Goekwe might well be identical with Passarge's Gokwe, whose territory extends from the western edge of the Tauche swampland deep into the Kaukau Veld; the Tschorilo Mountains belong to them. During the rainy season the Tannekwe undertake hunting expeditions in the neighboring steppes. The Hukwe, whose number I estimate at at least 600, are less racially mixed than the Tannekwe, but likewise live in settled villages, from which during the dry season they swarm out in family groups to gather or hunt in the forest steppe as the need arises."

Chapter 8

The Nogau Bushmen of Epukiro

During my stay in the mission station of Epukiro, I had an opportunity for closer contact with the Bushmen who live in a kind of symbiosis with the Betschuana (2). They call themselves Nogau,

2. I have given a detailed report on the Europeanized Betschuana village of Epukiro in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 65 (1933).

specifically ≠no /gna !khou, that is, people who live by the water. They are farther north of the Omuramba Epukiro toward Alexeck. North of them are the Gai-kwe, and the !Kung are farther east and

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE !KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THE Peabody Harvard Kalahari Expedition, under the leadership of Laurence K. Marshall, has made four field trips between 1950 and 1955 into the Kalahari Desert in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate to find and study Bushmen who were living in their own way, and not working for white farmers or for Negroes. The last of the four expeditions, that of 1955, was sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution as well as by the Peabody Museum of Harvard. 121 122

Our principal study was made with the /Kung Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. The Nyae Nyae region extends about 150 miles north and south, about 100 miles east and west, and is centred approximately at Gautscha Pan, which is located at *c.* 19° 48′ 30″ S. and 20° 34′ 36″ E. on the map of a survey of the area by the Administration of South West Africa dated 7.11.1935. The Nyae Nyae region is separated from the farmed areas of South West Africa by a stretch of waterless, uninhabited country over 100 miles wide. 131

We chose the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region for concentrated study because they are the least acculturated Bushmen we found.[1] They are non-literate, nomadic hunters and gatherers, with no agriculture or domesticated animals. They are completely self-reliant [121] 105 177

[1] On the expeditions we travelled extensively in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The groups of Bushmen we encountered were, in addition to the /Kung of Nyae Nyae, /Kung outside the Nyae Nyae region at Karakuwise, Nuragas, Khadum, and at water holes south of Gum in South West Africa, and at Kai Kai, Kubi and other places along the western border of Bechuanaland, where Chwana and Herero have cattle posts; Makaukau and Naron near Ghanzi, B. P.; /Kõ at Okwa and at Barachu, about 50 and 100 miles south of Ghanzi respectively; /Gikwe about 100 miles south-east of Ghanzi in the trackless sandy plain that lies between Ghanzi and Molepolole, where during the dry season there is no water; and //Ganakwe still farther south, below Chukudu. We studied the kinship terminology of the /Kõ and /Gikwe; Professor L. F. Maingard, for a time a member of the 1955 expedition, studied the /Kõ language, which has the labial (fifth) click of the southern group. [101]

Professor I. Schapera and Miss D. F. Bleek, in their Bushman studies, record information on these groups. For more data on the various names by which the groups are known and the areas in which they were found and the language groups into which Miss Bleek's studies place them, see especially Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 31 ff., and Bleek, D. F., 'The Distribution of Bushman Languages in South Africa', *Festschrift Meinhof*, pp. 55 ff.

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128 Diagrams will be given to illustrate the homonymous method of applying terms,
601 but they do not illustrate a typical family. No Bushman family we know has as many
162 living children as in Diagram 4. Bushmen are completely nomadic and must carry
105 their young children and all their possessions, walking seventy or eighty miles or
847 more as they move from one wild crop of roots or nuts to another. They limit, by infanticide, the number of infants to those they can carry and care for. ≠Toma, one of our informants, helping me one day to construct one of these hypothetical illustrations, laughed and said, 'Who is this who has so many children? Is it an ostrich?'

Diagram 2

601 In this illustration ego's */gu/na* is his FaFa. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the So and Da of his */gu/na*. They and ego use the adjacent generational terms, *tsu* and *//ga*, for each other.

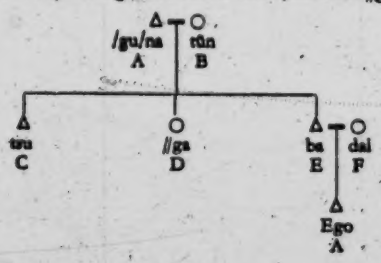
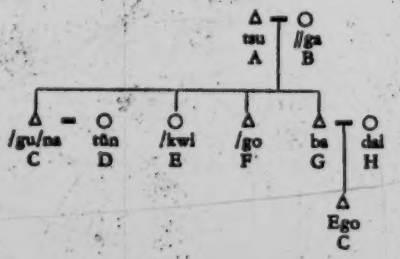


Diagram 3

Here ego is named for his FaBr. In this case ego's FaFa is ego's */gu/na*'s Fa and ego's FaMo is his */gu/na*'s Mo; *tsu* and *//ga* are the terms used. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the Br and Si of ego's */gu/na*; the sibling terms are used. Ego applies the term *tũn* to the wife of his */gu/na*.



Diagrams 2 and 3 illustrate ego's application of terms to members of his */gu/na*'s family. Letters represent names. A person who is designated by the same letter as a person in a generation above him has been named for that person. The naming is customary and correct as far as it goes. Some of the children would be named for their mother's parents or siblings, but, as those persons would be ego's affines, until the affinal terms are given this aspect of the illustrations will be postponed.

There is a secondary application of the terms originally applied by ego to members of his */gu/na*'s nuclear family and spouse. Ego applies terms to persons who are named for the latter, and continues during his lifetime applying to persons descending from

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

method had been established. The /Kõ and /Gikwe have not incorporated the belief into their terminological systems except in a very limited way. The /Kung, however, have done so, and appear to have adapted it as logically as possible to the generational method. They apply it only to somewhat distant relationships, namely, grandparents, grandchildren, collaterals, secondary affines, and name-relatives. They do not apply it in the close biological relationships of parent, offspring or sibling or in the primary affinal relationships. Consistency is maintained by the rule that a child must not be named for a parent.

We think that the term *!gu!na* came into the system with the homonymous method and that perhaps it used originally to be applied only to the person for whom ego is named. It is not strictly a kinship term, being composed of translateable words, ' big or old name '. We think it may have been superimposed upon *tun!ga* (which probably comes from the same root as *tũn*). *Tun!ga* may originally have been applied to grandfather, man-speaking as well as woman-speaking, and later *!gu!na* may have become associated with grandfather because so many men are named for their grandfathers. If this is so, an anomalous situation remains unresolved. *Tun!ga* is applied to consanguineous kin and affines and allows joking, woman-speaking. Man-speaking, it is applied only to affines and prohibits joking. If it was originally the term for grandfather, man-speaking, we reason that it should allow joking, and we cannot explain this anomaly.

Whatever may be the answer to these questions, the /Kung have put to good use the belief that persons who have the same name partake of each other's entities. This belief has given them the name-relationship.

It is our impression that the practice of applying terms to name-relatives has appealed to the /Kung and that they have developed it to the full. The /Kung apply a kinship term to every /Kung they meet or almost everyone. /Qui was the only informant who worked with us on this subject who had ever met a /Kung Bushman for whom he had no kinship term. He had met four who came from a distance and whose names were not among those commonly used in the Nyae Nyae region. Ta//ne was one of the names. Gao, who was present, told /Qui that he had a *tsu* named Ta//ne, and he and /Qui nodded together in agreement that they would find a way for /Qui to give Ta//ne a term should they meet again. We know two men who used the term *!go* for each other because each of them had a brother named Dam. The system seems to have been flexible and expansive in the application of terms to name-relatives.

The /Kung are small of stature and non-aggressive. They are timid and apprehensive of strangers. Their word for stranger is *ju dole*. *Ju* means person, *dole* means strange or harmful—one word for both concepts, in the /Kung language, as though they were a single concept. The /Kung have no social organization larger than the band of kin who live together but they have utilized the name-relationship to supply the cohesive factor which is supplied in other societies by various social structures. When a /Kung meets a stranger and finds that he has the same name as one of his kin and bestows a kinship term upon him, he is reassured and feels a sense of belonging.

Gao, the brother of /U, went on an errand for us to Khadum. Khadum is about 115 miles north of Gautscha and about 40 miles north of Chô/ana where we were staying at the time. He had never been to Khadum before, and the /Kung Bushmen who lived

N/OW

LORNA MARSHALL

N/ow[1] is a belief concerning rain and cold which is held by the /Kung Bushmen in the region around Nyae Nyae in South West Africa.

About ten inches of rain falls in an average year in this part of the Kalahari Desert and sinks into the deep sands. There is no run-off in streams and there are few water holes. The rain is sufficient to support a covering vegetation of grass, shrubs, and scrubby trees. The vegetation includes numerous edible roots, tubers, leaves, fruits, and nuts, for which the Afrikaans language provides the convenient word *veldkos*.

The /Kung, the only inhabitants of the interior of this particular region, are nomadic hunters and gatherers. If the rains are poor and the veldkos dry and sparse, the people suffer. Rain, they say, is life-giving; sun is death-giving.

Summer is the season of the 'big rains' in the western Kalahari. 'Little rains'—a few scant showers—may fall in September, October, and November. The 'big rains' begin in late December or January and continue into March. The summer storms are awesome. Every day the winds drive monstrous clouds around the sky, which domes a horizon as flat as the sea. They breed the storms. Lightning streaks from them. Thunder roars and rumbles. The earth sucks in their deluges, hissing.

The /Kung say that thin clouds which give no rain are male. They call them */now*.[2] The big rain clouds are female. White ones they call *//ga kwe disi*—*//ga* means cloud or rain, *disi* means females.[3] The enormous grey clouds with rain pouring from them the /Kung call */kwesi* (zebras), because they are so fleet and, though a person may think he is far from the rain, it comes swiftly and is on him. We have seen Bushmen, caught without shelter in the storms, shivering so that their teeth chattered, saying they could perish in such rain.

Rain itself is male and female, */ga /go* and */ga di*. The men one day drew in the sand the spoor of male and female rain. Male rain spoor was made with all five fingers held stiffly and plunged deeply into the sand, to make big holes. Male rain breaks the trees and beats down the fruits, the men told us. It is (like) a fight, and may kill a person. Thunder and lightning accompany it, and sometimes hail. Female rain has tiny drops and does not spoil anything; it beautifies the trees and the grass and makes the veldkos grow. Its spoor was made by smoothing out a place in the sand and covering it closely with tiny dots. Gao said a person (anyone) may speak to the rain, saying, 'You are doing very well', or, 'Fall silently. Don't make such a noise. Don't be

[1] We wish to thank both Dr. Mary Douglas and Professor I. Schapera for reading the manuscript about *n/ow* and for making several helpful suggestions.

[2] The /Kung language has four clicks: / is the symbol for the dental click, ≠ for the alveolar, / for the alveolar palatal, and // for the lateral.

[3] We did not know how to translate *kwe*, which occurs very often. It seemed sometimes to be a sort of article and we did not work on it especially. We regret not having done so because Miss Bleek, in her *Bushman Dictionary* (American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1956), records in the Auen or //K"au-//en language, which she says is very like the /Kung and which she places south of the /Kung, the phrase */ga -k"wisi*, meaning rain's hair or cloud. In /Kung */ga* and *//ga* both mean rain. We now wonder if *kwe* should be *kwi* and if it means hair in the phrase *//ga kwe disi*.

609 pering in the grass near by. You can tell by these werfs that
621 there are Bushmen in an area, and also by their footprints on narrow trails which they share with the game and which run all through the desert. You may find footprints or you [312] may see a little pile of white ash, the fire that a Bushman kindled where he spent the night. Otherwise, to find them you must depend on luck or on the fact that the Bushmen of an area may have heard something good about you and will not be too afraid.

105 Culturally and historically, the Bushmen are an interesting people, for they and the Hottentots, who belong to the same racial and language groups, are the earliest human inhabitants still living in southern Africa. There are now from thirty [161] to fifty thousand Bushmen, who are divided into several language groups. Their languages are related to each other and [197] to the Hottentot language, and are in what is known as the Khoisan language group, made up of most of the click languages spoken in South Africa. A click language has sharp pops and clicks made with the tongue in various parts of the mouth, combined with an implosion of the breath, very diffi- [194] cult to understand, harder still to pronounce, as the slightest mistake may change the meaning of a word entirely. For example, the work *//kx'a*, which in one of the Bushman languages means *mangetti*, a certain kind of nut-bearing tree, is pronounced by making a lateral click for which the tongue is pulled sharply away from the sides of the mouth, producing the click one makes when calling a horse, followed by a scraped *k* turning to a g, followed by a glottal stop—a slight pause or tiny choking sound made as the back of the tongue stops the breath—which is followed at last by the vowel. To make a mistake is easy, and that is why non-Bushmen have a hard time learning the language, and why, when they do learn, they are often misunderstood.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

The Bushmen are one of the most primitive peoples living 105
on earth. Although most of their groups own some metal objects, Bushmen do not smelt or forge metal, but get it in trade [325
from their Bantu neighbors. They use soft metal in the mak- 439]
ing of a few tools such as knives, arrowheads, and little axes, cold-hammering the metal into shape themselves. Bushmen make the other tools they use from wood and bone, grass and fiber, the things of the veld. They dig roots and pick berries [222]
to eat because they have no crops. The desert is too dry for anything but desert plants to grow naturally, and Bushmen, who quickly consume all the wild food available in one place, cannot stay anywhere long enough to tend crops or wait for them to grow.

There is not enough water to water livestock, and for this [231]
reason Bushmen have no domestic animals. Most of their groups do not even have dogs. Instead of herding, Bushmen hunt wild antelope with tiny arrows, sometimes made of soft, [224
traded metal, sometimes made of bone, and poisoned with a 278]
terrible poison extracted from a certain grub, a poison which affects the nervous system of a creature and which is so deadly that an antelope shot early in the morning with a single arrow well placed in the body dies within the day. Hunting is very difficult, for travel in the veld is thirsty and rigorous and the antelope are clever, but as often as not the Bushmen hunters shoot one and then they use it all. Most of the meat is dried [251]
to preserve it, causing it to last at least a few weeks, but sooner or later every last bite of it is eaten, even the mucous lining of the nostrils and the gristle inside the ears. They [262]
sometimes eat the hide, sometimes work it into leather to use for clothing, and if the antelope bones are not all [281]
cracked for the marrow, pieces are worked into arrow points to shoot another antelope.

In order to live as they do, Bushmen must travel through 105 361

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

105 the veld, changing their abode every few days in search of
361 food. Because of their way of life, they do not need villages to live in, so they rarely bother to build strong scherms, making small domes of grass for themselves instead, just a little shade for their heads, grass which the wind soon blows away. Sometimes they do not even bother with this, but push little sticks into the ground to mark their places. They sleep beside the sticks and arrange their few possessions around them, symbols of their homes.

105 Although Bushmen are a roaming people and therefore
361 seem to be homeless and vague about their country, each
823 group of them has a very specific territory which that group
[621] alone may use, and they respect their boundaries rigidly. Each group also knows its own territory very well; although it may be several hundred square miles in area, the people who live there know every bush and stone, every convolution of the ground, and have usually named every place in it where a certain kind of veld food may grow, even if that place is only a few yards in diameter, or where there is only a patch of tall arrow grass or a bee tree, and in this way each group of people knows many hundred places by name. Even if you are traveling randomly with Bushmen and ask at any time on the journey for the name of the place where you happen to be standing, they will probably be able to tell you. They themselves always like to know exactly where they are.

105 The social structure of Bushmen is not complicated. They
621 have no chiefs or kings, only headmen who in function are virtually indistinguishable from the people they lead, and sometimes a band will not even have a headman. A leader is not really necessary, however, because the Bushmen roam about together in small family bands rarely numbering more than twenty people. A band may consist of an old man and his wife, their daughters, the daughters' husbands, perhaps an

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

unmarried son or two, and their daughters' children. Bush- 105
men are polygynous, and a man is allowed by custom to have 621
as many wives as he can afford, depending on how well he [595]
hunts—usually a man can afford only one wife, sometimes two (often a pair of sisters), and once we heard of a man with four wives. For this reason there are often more women than men in a band.

The immediate family, a man, his wife, or wives, and chil- 105
dren, is the only solid social unit; otherwise the small bands 592
are always breaking up and recombining with other small 621
bands as the structures of single families change, through marriages, divorces, deaths, or as the family decides to pay a prolonged visit to a different group of relatives.

Any Bushman will either be related by blood or marriage 105
or will be acquainted with all the other Bushmen in his area 602
but this is as far as Bushmen go in their affinities. They do 609
not recognize as their own people strange Bushmen who speak the same language; in fact, they suspect and fear them as they do any stranger.

We have visited four of the Bushman language groups, two 114-
of which we stayed with for long periods of time. In 1951, 131
after a survey expedition to learn where Bushmen could be found, we went into the Nyae Nyae area of South-West Africa, close to the border of Bechuanaland, to look for Kung Bushmen. We found a band living near a waterhole, as it was June, the drought of the year, and we stayed with them for four months. At first only a few Bushmen were there, but as [609
the news spread that we were friendly, more and more peo- 276]
ple came to visit us and receive presents of tobacco and salt, for Bushmen love to smoke but rarely have tobacco, which they get in trade. Also, most of the Bushmen had never seen a European before, none had ever seen a European woman, and they came by dozens to sit together in a cluster

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

133 open and tilting, but the low hills and the forests veiled the great sweep of country, and the sun, the moon, and the horizon.

105 As soon as we were there we felt very familiar, very at 184 home. We knew quite a lot about Kung Bushmen, who in ways are different from Gikwe Bushmen—as the country is not as harsh, the Kung are a little grander, living together in larger numbers because they have veld food more abundantly, a little more extravagant with their time and their possessions. They build themselves grass huts or scherms, at least during the rains, and though they know vast sections of their country perfectly, being quite sure of the whereabouts of game and certain of the whereabouts of different types of veld food, they do not have to memorize the whereabouts of each root individually and store this information in their minds for future seasons, as the Gikwe do. The Kung are diligent and powerful hunters, although in some respects their country is harder to hunt in than the land of the Gikwe, more overgrown with brush and trees. But the Kung have metal-tipped arrows and complicated poison, and the men make a point of hunting often and well because their people love meat.

312 We knew their rolling veld with its baobab trees and hidden waters, for in Nyae Nyae the people do not have to scrape roots and suck melons, but are the possessors of deep waterholes where they can drink clear water almost all year long. We knew which stalks among the grass blades marked edible roots, and where game antelope might be found.

823 We knew not only the veld but the beings that live in the 776 sky above it, and knew the beings under the earth and in the four directions. We knew where the great god lives in the east with his tree and his medicine smoke with which he makes spirits of the dead from dead people. We knew his names, for

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

Brother and sister are the only relations who are forbidden to marry, and by this, real brother and sister are meant, the children of one father and mother, not cousins. I never heard a title for any cousin, however related, though several were present Cousins sometimes marry, but more often a bride from a distance is procured. 582

A pair of sisters have a very close relationship. They are generally chums, and help each other with their babies. A child calls its mother's sister its "little mother". In speaking of the occasional bigamy found among the **Naron** in contrast to other Bushman tribes, an old man said to me: 593 [601] [604] 595

"A man may take a second wife, if he wishes. If they agree well, they live in one hut; if not, each makes herself a hut. A man had better take his wife's younger sister as his second wife; then they do not quarrel, but live in one hut."

Ikka in **Ikaihe** "maternal aunt" may be derived from **Ikai** "together". **Ho** used as a verb means "to marry", also "to give birth to children". **Ti kweba** and **ti kwesa** mean simply "my man", "my woman"; they are more often used than **hoba** and **hosha**. 196 601

A widow may marry her late husband's brother, but need not do so. She is quite at liberty to marry any other man. If she remarries, her husband is expected to look after her children; otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. The widow may stay near her husband's people, or return to her own people, as she pleases. 587 [604]

Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, are very fond of adopting a grandchild. They will half adopt one, even during both parents' lifetime. The grandmother is generally the person who teaches a child to speak. 597 603 [868]

In concluding these notes on the tables of relationship, I should like to say that I know they are very incomplete. At the time of my stay among the **Ikau Ien** and **Naron** I had not realized the importance of this side of native life; nor apparently had my aunt, Dr. Lloyd, whose work I rely on for the **Ixam** and **Ikáŋ** tables. Still, I think sufficient has been collected to show the general trend of Bushman family ties. 114

One must always remember, that people depending on nature for their entire food supply, can only exist in very small, widely scattered groups. Families cannot be large. Drought and famine 105 161

[Text continues on page 70]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

105 [161] keep the numbers down. No one has a large number of uncles and aunts, or cousins. There is not a large public, whose opinion would enforce keeping laws strictly. Individual liberty is therefore far greater than can be the case with any tribe with large numbers living in crowded villages. Extremes meet, and we find in the most primitive society a family life far nearer our own than in many intermediate stages. The woman is her husband's partner rather than his property. The family consists of parents and children, and breaks up with the parents' death. There are no chiefs: society is ruled not by law, but by custom interpreted by individual sense of fitness. A very few things are felt to be wrong, everything else is permitted. The Bushman is first and last a lover of liberty.

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Identification

The Auen (//k'au//en) are a Bushman tribe. Their language belongs to the Northern division of the Bushman branch of the Khoisan or Click linguistic family.

Basic Economy

The economy is based primarily and about equally on hunting and gathering. There is no agriculture or animal husbandry.

Sex Division of Labor

The men hunt. The women gather.

Property

Each band owns collectively a definite hunting territory.
Inheritance is patrilineal--by ElSo.

Social Stratification

Both slavery and class stratification are absent.

Marriage

A bride-price is lacking. A groom gives gifts of gamé, etc., to the bride's parents--a sort of bride-service--over a period of about a year.

Polygyny is common, but monogamy prevails near Rietfontein. Each co-wife has a separate hut.

Family

The polygynous family is the normal residential unit; or perhaps the nuclear family.

Residence

The matri-patrilocal rule prevails. A man resides with his wife's band for some time, even until the birth of the first child, but then removes to his own band.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

There is a definite tendency toward local exogamy.

105

Cousin marriages are permitted.

Descent is bilateral. Unilinear kin groups are absent.

Kinship Terminology

Fa--ba. Mo--tai. Ch--!hã. Br--tsĩ. Si--tsitsi. Hu--!kwã. Wi--dzou.

Avuncular terms are basically bifurcate collateral, nepotic terms lineal.

Cousin terms are of Eskimo type.

Settlement Pattern

The Auen live in migratory bands. The typical dwelling is a windbreak consisting of a few branches stuck in the ground in a semicircle, tied at the top with twigs, and roofed with grass.

Community Organization

Socially, a band approximates the structure of a patri-deme.

Local Government

Each band has a headman, who is a war leader but exercises only slight authority.

State

There is no political integration above the local level.

Warfare

The Auen are warlike.

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105

Identification

The Heikum [Hei-//om] include various groups of Bushmen adjacent to or interspersed among the Ambo, and much mixed with and acculturated to the latter. They speak Nama Hottentot rather than Bushman.

Basic Economy

Hunting and gathering only except where Bantuized, with vegetable food rather more important than game. The Daman group, adjacent to the Ambo cultivate a little and tend a few goats.

Sex Division of Labor

The men hunt; the women gather. Among the Daman, the women keep gardens and boys tend goats.

Marriage

No true bride-price; the groom makes small presents to the bride's parents. Among the Daman the groom provides a few goats or an ox for the wedding feast.

Polygyny is general. The co-wives may or may not be related. Each wife has her own hut.

Family

Presumably polygynous families are the norm.

Residence

Initial matrilocal residence for a few months. On taking a second wife, a man sets up a household of his own. Permanent residence is patrilocal (perhaps neolocal).

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Local exogamy prevails.

Fourie says marriage is forbidden with a sister, a niece, and any first cousin. For the Daman, Lebzelter reports marriage permitted with any cousin except FaSiCh; this dubious. For the Bushmen in the western Ambo country, Lebzelter reports marriage permitted with FaSiDa, forbidden with MoSiDa, probably forbidden with FaBrDa and MoBrDa.

Bilateral descent is probable. Fourie reports that there are no unilinear restrictions on marriage.

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Kinship Terminology

[Terms by Werner and Lebzelter, the latter in brackets; Lebzelter's terms are for the Bushmen deep in western Ambo territory.]

Fa--ombā [//khum-khe]. So--daba !oma [a χ'oroh-khe]. Da--ďaba !tsauma [χ'ams-khe]. Mo--mdei [//khums]. Br--tsng [!gasab]. Si--tsau tsng [di !gas-khe]. Hu--tschu n!o [aubā]. Wi--tsau [tarás].

GrFa--omba n!ā ("old Fa"). GrMo--tschau !ā ("old woman"). FaBr--[di khoáb-khe]. MoSi, FaBrDa, MoBrDa, BrWi, WiSi--[//khum khoás]. FaSi--[di-khoaba].

FaBrSo--[awób !garis-khe]. MoBrSo--[!góa khoaba].

Settlement Pattern

Migratory bands. Huts pitched in a circle around a large tree, with a sacred fire nearby. The band wanders seasonally, but has a permanent camp site near a main water source. The hut is a semicircle of branches planted in the ground and covered with grass. Werner mentions dome-shaped, grass-covered huts.

Community Organization

The band includes people related in various ways to the headman. One sketched by Fourie included huts of sisters, of brothers, of daughters, and of other band members. Lebzelter speaks of exogamous "Sippen."

Local Government

Each band has its own territory and headman. Lebzelter reports succession by ElSiElSo, but Schapera doubts this unless as a result of Ambo influence.

State

No political organization above the band level.

Warfare

There are blood feuds over trespass, theft, and adultery.

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Identification

The Hiechware (Masarwa, Tati) inhabit Bechuanaland, the Kalahari Desert, and adjacent Southern Rhodesia. They live mainly among the Tswana, who employ them as hunters, trappers, and herders. Their huts are made of branches stuck in the ground in a semicircle, laced or tied together at the top, and covered with grass or skins (occasionally with mats). They speak a Khoisan language of the Central division.

Basic Economy

Hunters and gatherers. No agriculture is practiced, nor are any domestic animals kept: Fishing is done where possible.

Sex Division of Labor

Men hunt and fish; women do most of the gathering.

Marriage

No bride-price. A groom catches a large animal and presents it to bride's Fa. Postmarital bride-service is performed.

Monogamy predominates, but some polygyny occurs.

Family

The isolated nuclear family is the norm.

Residence

A groom resides for 2-3 years with his WiFa, doing postmarital bride-service. Thereafter residence is inferentially patrilocal.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Local exogamy apparently is not prescribed. "A man can take another woman of the same clan, but she must not have the same totem as himself."

The Hiechware have "totems" (presumably patrilineally inherited), especially where they are in closest contact with the dominant Tswana tribes, from whom unilinear descent has presumably been borrowed. Comparative Bushman data indicates that unilinear descent is not aboriginal.

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Kinship Terminology

Fa--bae. Mo--mae (mara or mashe for "my Mo"). Br--chwaho. Br(w.s.)--gweke. Si (w.s.)--gweke. So or Ch--/gwa. Da--//gai /kwa. Hu or Wi--//gaicho.

Avoidance of WiMo.

Settlement Pattern

Nomadic bands, which are small, rarely numbering more than 4 families.

Community Organization

The band is not a kin-community, for "In the same clan there might be several different totem families."

State

There are no tribal organization or paramount chiefs. The Hiechware are mostly dependents of the Tswana.

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•105

Identification

The Kung (!kung) Bushmen, embracing the Agau, Nogau, and /kungau tribes, belong to the Northern branch of the Bushman subfamily of the Khoisan linguistic stock. They are closely akin to the Auen. Wilhelm estimates their population as between 3,000 and 4,000. Men average 155-160 centimeters in stature, women 140-150.

Basic Economy

Agriculture and animal husbandry are lacking. Subsistence depends primarily on hunting (with poisoned arrows) and gathering (of roots, termites, etc.). There is a very little fishing.

Sex Division of Labor

Hunting is done by men alone, gathering largely by women.

Property

Each band has its own territory, which is collectively owned.

Wilhelm reports patrilineal inheritance, with the ElSo as chief heir. Older sources, however, say that most of a man's possessions are buried with him but that his brother inherits his bow and arrows.

Social Stratification

Slavery and social classes are absent.

Marriage

Infant betrothal is common. Premarital license not permitted. Few gifts are exchanged, and there is no bride-price or other property transaction, but postmarital bride-service is required. Girls marry before puberty, boys much later, when they have become hunters.

Wife lending occurs, but there are no licensed sex relationships. The first wife has a slightly higher status. Sororate and levirate are preferential, but secondary unions are forbidden with a parent- or child-in-law, the spouse of an avuncular or nepotic relative, BrWiMo, SoWiSi, WiBrWi, HuSiHu.

Family

The household unit is a nuclear family.

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Residence

A newly married couple live with the bride's family for a year or more, shifting to the groom's band after the birth of the first child.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Local exogamy prevails.

There are exogamous kindreds, embracing ascendants, descendants, siblings of parents, children of siblings, and first, second, and third cousins.

Descent is bilateral. Except for exogamous bands (patri-demes) there are no unilinear kin groups. For the Kung of Otjimpoland, Lebzelter reports that marriage is forbidden into the band of either parent.

Kinship Terminology [terms from Marshall except B for Bleek, L for Lebzelter, W for Werner]

Fa--ba [also B], mba [L], omba [W]. Mo--dai, tai [B], medei [W], aiya [address], aje [L]. ElBr--!go, //kò [B]. YoBr, YoSi--tsi, sing [B], tsng [W]. ElSi--!kwi, //khuî [B]. So--!ha, //ha [B]. Da--≠khai, ≠xe [B]. Hu--!hoa, !kao [B], tschu n!o [W]. Wi--tsau, zau [B], tschau [W].

FaBr, MoBr, MoSiHu, FaSiHu--tsu, tsung [B], mzu [L]. MoSi, FaSi--//ga. BrSo, SiSo, HuBrCh, WiBrCh--tsuma (der.), txu //gama [B]. GrFa(m.s.), elder male cousin--!gu!na, !ku/nue [B]. GrFa(w.s.)--tun!ga. GrMo--ton. GrSo--!guma, gama //ge [B]. GrDa--toma. GrSo(w.s.)--tun!gama, txu//gama [B]. WiFa, HuFa, DaHu--≠tum, ≠kum [B]. WiMo, HuMo, SoWi--/utsu.

Grandparental terms used for all cousins. The kinship system is thus of Eskimo type. This is, however, obscured by the naming pattern [see special sheets]. All relationships are associated with permissible joking on sexual matters or with the prohibition of such joking [see special sheets].

Settlement Pattern

The Kung live in migratory bands, which average about 25 persons. In temporary camps they erect their huts in a circle or semicircle around a dancing place. Dwellings are round in ground plan and

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hemispherical or conical in shape, consisting of boughs set in the ground in a circle, tied together at the top, and covered with grass.

Community Organization

The band is a patri-deme. Genital mutilations are inferentially absent.

Local Government

Each band has an old man as a leader. Lebzelter alone reports that headship is hereditary from Fa to So and is associated with tending a sacred fire.

State

There is no political integration above the local level.

Warfare

Interband feuds occur, but there has been no war for a century. The Kung feud with the Heikum.

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105

Identification

The Namib Bushmen include the following tribes: /geinin, //obanen, /koma, ≠ganin, /huinin. They all speak the Nama Hottentot language.

Basic Economy

Exclusively hunters and gatherers. Wander in Namib desert in wet season; stay in mountains in dry season. Practice no agriculture or animal husbandry.

Sex Division of Labor

The men hunt; the women gather.

Property

Waterholes and specific territories are collective band property.
Inheritance by widow; after her death by ElSo.

Social Stratification

War captives kept as semi-slaves. No noble class. Schmidt says no slavery.

Marriage

Presents of game, skins, etc. to girl's parents, but no true bride-price.

Trenk and Lebzelter report strict monogamy. Seydel reports polygyny; Schmidt reports limited polygyny with never more than 2 wives (in one hut).

Family

Nuclear family the norm.

Residence

Patrilocality prevails.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

No rule of local exogamy.
Marriage permitted with first cousins; forbidden with siblings.

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The "sibs" reported by some authors are probably only bands (Schapera).

Kinship Terminology

Fa, WiFa, HuFa--dadáb. Mo, WiMo, HuMo--mamas. Grandfather--//naob.

Settlement Pattern

Migratory bands. Dwellings chiefly caves and rock shelters; some rude huts.

Community Organization

Bands include related families (Schmidt); Lebzelter remarks on supra-family bands.

Local Government

Hereditary local headmen. Succession by any son selected by household heads.

State

No paramount chiefs or political organization transcending the band.

Warfare

Cattle stealing reported.

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105

Identification

The Naron (//aikwe), with whom are included the Tsaukwe, Tsonokwe, ǂamkwe, and !giŋkwe, belong to the Central Bushman division of the Khoisan linguistic stock.

Basic Economy

The Naron are hunters and gatherers without agriculture or animal husbandry. Their staple foods are game and wild vegetables. They even had no dogs originally.

Sex Division of Labor

The men hunt; the women gather.

Property

Each band has its own collective territory, which any member can exploit.

A man's personal possessions are buried with him.

Social Stratification

There is no slavery or significant social stratification.

Marriage

Marriage is nominally by capture, but almost always there is a preliminary arrangement with the girl's family involving presents of large game.

Limited and preferably sororal polygyny prevails. Co-wives live in one hut if they agree well; otherwise in separate huts.

Family

The nuclear family is the residential norm.

Residence

Matri-patrilocal residence prevails. The young couple normally resides with the groom's family for a few months, then with the bride's family until the birth of the first child, thereafter permanently in the groom's band. Permanent matrilocal residence occurs in some instances.

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Kin Groups and Exogamy

Local exogamy is the rule.

Marriage is permitted with any first cousin, though such unions are infrequent.

Descent is bilateral.

Kinship Terminology [Bleek]

Fa--//kub, auba. Mo--//kusha. So--//kuba. Da--kusha. Hu--hoba. Wi--hosha.

Bifurcate collateral avuncular and nepotic terms.

Settlement Pattern

The Naron live in migratory bands. Huts are constructed of branches set in the ground in a semicircle with the tops bent and tied together and thatched with grass.

Community Organization

The band is apparently a patri-deme in structure.

Local Government

There are local headmen, normally succeeded by a son.

State

There is no political integration above the level of the band.

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105

Identification

The Xam (Cape Bushmen, /xam) are a Bushman tribe speaking a language of the Southern division of the Bushman branch of the Khoisan or Click linguistic family.

Basic Economy

Subsistence is achieved primarily by hunting and gathering, supplemented by some fishing. Agriculture is lacking, and the dog is the only domesticated animal.

Sex Division of Labor

Hunting is done by men, gathering by women.

Social Stratification

Slavery and differentiated social classes are lacking.

Marriage

A true consideration is lacking. Marriage is arranged by gifts, especially game secured for the wedding feast. There is postmarital matrilocal bride-service.

Limited polygyny prevails. Bleek reports monogamy, but the early sources clearly indicate that some polygyny occurred.

Family

The normal residential unit is apparently an independent nuclear family.

Residence

Residence is initially matrilocal, with bride-service, for a considerable period. Permanent residence is apparently optionally matrilocal or patrilocal.

Kin Groups and Exogamy

Marriage is permitted with any first cousin, but such unions are infrequent.

Descent is bilateral. Unilinear kin groups are absent.

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Kinship Terminology

Fa--oa. Mo--xoa. So--Θpwɔŋ. ˜Da--Θpwaxai. Br--//kã. Si--//kaxai. Hu--/ha. Wi--/aiti.

Avuncular terms are apparently bifurcate collateral. Nepotic terms are descriptive and thus bifurcate collateral.

Cousin terminology is probably, though not certainly, of Hawaiian type.

Settlement Pattern

The Xam live in migratory bands. Though caves and rock shelters are often used, the typical habitation is a simple windbreak of branches stuck in the ground in a semicircle and covered with grass or grass mats.

Local Government

Each band has a nominal headman, inferentially with little authority.

State

There is no political organization above the local level.

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Chapter I

THE COUNTRY OF THE KHOISAN

H
B
101

By the year 1652, when the establishment of the pioneer Dutch settlement at Table Bay laid the foundations for the present political dominance of the white man in the country, Africa south of the Zambesi River was already inhabited by a considerable number of different native peoples. On the basis of racial, linguistic and cultural distinctions, these native inhabitants are customarily classified into four separate groups, known respectively as the Bushmen, the Hottentots, the Bergdama, and the Bantu.

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The Bushmen, at one time spread over almost the whole of South Africa, are to-day confined principally to the Central and Northern Kalahari Desert and adjacent districts. They are a short, brownish-yellow people, with certain peculiar and distinctive racial characteristics; they all speak languages of a uniform and easily recognizable type, phonetically remarkable especially for the great prevalence of "click" consonants; and they live in small nomadic bands which lead a purely hunting and collecting existence, practising neither agriculture nor pastoralism.

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The Hottentots formerly occupied most of the western half of the region, but are now found chiefly in the southern parts of South-West Africa. They are closely allied to the Bushmen in race, and their languages are of a somewhat similar type, although in both respects certain differences are also observable. They are, however, a predominantly pastoral people, keeping cattle and sheep, and live in larger communities with a more complex system of social organization.

The Bergdama, also inhabiting South-West Africa, are racially a true negro people, different in appearance from both the Bushmen and the Hottentots. They all, however, speak the language of the Nama division of Hottentots, to whom they have long been in subjection. Like the Bushmen they live in very small nomadic groups and derive their subsistence primarily from hunting and collecting, although some of them also keep goats.

The Bantu, finally, although historically the most recent native people settling in South Africa, are now spread over the whole country

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Environment and Culture

The possibilities of exploitation this region offers to people lacking the highly-developed technical equipment of modern European civilization vary considerably. The ways in which the Bushmen and Hottentots utilize the natural resources of their surroundings will be discussed in some detail in later chapters. Here a rapid survey may be made of the factors conditioning the distribution and mode of life generally of the natives inhabiting the country.[1]

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The most important consideration naturally is water. Animal and plant life are there in sufficient quantity to support human existence, provided a supply of water is near. Man in his primitive condition is dependent entirely on surface water for the satisfaction of his needs, for he has not the means now possessed by civilized man for getting at the water in the depths below. The amount of surface water therefore determines the density of population in any one area, and the water available in a given area, together with the density of the vegetation, determines the number and size of the settlements in that area.

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The character of the country, moreover, limits at once the types of culture that can become indigenous there. South Africa even under modern conditions can only carry on agriculture in certain parts, and most of the country could never support a primitive population of pure agriculturists. It is only in the well-watered districts to the north and east and along the south coast that native agriculture has been developed to any extent. On the other hand, there is an abundant fauna and a sufficiency of vegetable life to afford good subsistence to men. The type of culture then that we would *a priori* expect to find here would be one based largely on hunting and collecting. This is exactly what we do find. The abundance of game formerly existing in South Africa makes it readily comprehensible that hunting at one time played a great role in all parts of the country, and therefore that hunting peoples were distributed all over its surface. All the native peoples of South Africa, whatever other means of subsistence they have, rely to some extent at least for food on the products of the chase and on the edible bulbs and roots of the veld.

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A country, however, which can support great numbers of buck

[1] For special discussions of the South African environment in relation to man, cf. Passarge, op. cit., pp. 162–75; *idem*, "Die Grundlinien im ethnographischen Bilde der Kalahari-Region," *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 20–36, 68–88; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), pp. 14–28.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

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and other grass and herb-eating animals will also support other species of these animals, provided that conditions such as the absence of the tsetse fly and other pests are favourable. Hence we also find pastoral tribes, who have come in from other regions bringing with them great herds of cattle and immense flocks of sheep and goats. One important point must, however, be noticed. Country which, under modern farming conditions, will only carry a small herd of cattle, sheep, and goats, used formerly to carry large herds of well-fed antelopes and zebras. The explanation is that each wild species is specially adapted to living on certain bushes or plants, and that many natural foodstuffs useless to farm stock were made use of by one species or another of wild game. It must also be remembered that the wild game was not restricted by farm boundaries; it was free to shift its ground according to the seasons and the supplies of food and water. For the same reasons a nomadic life was imposed on the native tribes keeping domestic animals, although nowadays with the extension of the European settlements the areas over which free movement is possible have become greatly restricted.

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Viewed in this light, the natural regions of South Africa which have been described above are seen to differ widely in their value for culture. Certain parts of the country, such as the Namib desert strip and the interior of Bushmanland, are largely uninhabitable. The rainfall in both is exceedingly slight, and there is practically no surface water all the year round. In parts of the Namib, however, the river-courses from the mountains of the South-West African plateau periodically carry water, which is dammed up in a few places by rocky outcrops in the river beds, and above all there is the *!naras* melon, whose fruit is sufficiently succulent to provide a substitute for water. Agriculture is completely out of the question. The thin scattered population which the region can support is forced to lead a nomadic hunting life, although in the east, towards the borders of the plateau, the grass which flourishes during the rainy season occasionally permits of pastoralism.

The greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari lacks surface water during the dry season only. The water supply at other times is generally sufficient to permit of temporary settlements, although the porous sand covering of the surface absorbs all the rainfall, so that except in the pans and other waterholes the standing water rapidly disappears. The region is sparsely inhabited, and mostly by nomadic peoples. Agriculture is again impossible, save in a few tracts to the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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east, where the soil is more favourable, but the rainfall is too uncertain to enable grain to be grown with a reasonable prospect of success. The abundance of grass in many parts, especially during the rainy season, affords good pasture to cattle, but the region is above all an excellent hunting ground, and formerly at least it was extraordinarily rich in game. Hence its inhabitants are in the first place hunting peoples, and their life is conditioned by the movements of the game. At the beginning of the rainy season the animals wander out of the permanently-watered regions encircling the desert into its sandy plains, where water is found only in pans, pools, and waterholes. The hunters follow them. As the dry season sets in and the water in the pans begins to shrink, part of the game returns to the watered regions, part of it, however, continues to live in the plains on the *tsama* melons and other succulent plants—and the hunters do the same.

In the well-watered Northern Kalahari three great streams, the Okavango, Kwando, and Zambesi, overflow on to the flat land, in some parts continuously, in others periodically, and thus give rise to an extensive region of swamps. This marshy region is excellent hunting and fishing ground. Its population, more numerous and densely settled than in the rest of the Kalahari, is therefore primarily concerned with these two pursuits. The natives indeed are actually forced to resort in part to fishing, since for motives of security they live mainly on the small islands between the swamps and the rivers. The periodic rise of the rivers annually floods wide stretches of the country, resulting in displacements and wanderings of the game. Consequently, the natives also must roam, partly because their habitations are flooded out, partly because they must follow the animals. Both agriculture and pastoralism are also carried out in parts of the country. The cattle pasture in the sandveld away from the swamps, while the marshy region can only be used for the cultivation of crops, since for wide stretches it is infested by the tsetse.

The upland regions encircling the Kalahari basin on the south-east, south, and west, have for the most part a scanty rainfall. The permanent settlement of this belt during the dry season is therefore restricted to the scattered waterholes, which occur in river beds, on mountain slopes or in depressions on the hard soil. Waterless stretches from 40 to 100 miles in extent are no rarity, so that the settlements are frequently distributed far apart over the land. Here, as in other regions of South Africa, hunting must depend on the movements of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

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the game. In the more arid parts the animals in the dry season concentrate in vast numbers about the rivers and waterholes and pans, to disperse widely as soon as the rains make life possible elsewhere. The same features of alternate concentration and dispersal can be observed in the life of the purely hunting tribes. The pastoral resources are on the whole excellent, there being no lack of grass or edible shrubs even during the dry season, and consequently cattle-keeping peoples are able to lead a favoured existence in these uplands. Agriculture is also practised to some extent, but is confined to the scattered alluvial tracts. As a means of subsistence it is rendered precarious by the frequent droughts which characterize the region. These often exercise a harmful effect on pastoralism as well, partly because of the ensuing lack of water, but mainly because the pasture is completely destroyed in many parts of the country. The plateaus of the Orange Free State, Cape Province, and Southern Bechuanaland are especially exposed to such catastrophes, but they are often enough marked in South-West Africa also, particularly in Great Namaqualand.

Further east and along the south coast the rainfall is high enough to place cultivation on a safe footing, while the country, where it is not covered with bush or forest, is composed of extensive grass flats which can be used as pasture land. Consequently, both agriculture and pastoralism are equally developed, the former being carried out on a far greater scale than in other parts of South Africa. Here, therefore, we find the most thickly settled zones, and the population is mainly sedentary, even although the pastoral tribes must still to some extent lead a nomadic life.

Migration Routes

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The geographical situation of South Africa has an obvious bearing upon the racial history of the country. Cut off by vast uninterrupted stretches of water from ready access on the west, south, and east, its most direct link with other regions is overland to the north. In the north-west the great forest regions of the Congo impose an effective barrier upon extensive human migrations, so that it is principally from the north-east that invading peoples have been able to enter the country.[1] The East African highlands are connected with the south by a favourable route passing between the escarpments in the east with their sharp descent to the fertile but fever-stricken coastlands,

[1] Cf. Passarge, *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 32–3; *idem*, *Südafrika*, pp. 163–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape. B H 144

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron. B H 193 194 197

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail. B H 105

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and B H 144 174

1: Marshall, Lorna. Marriage Among !Kung Bushmen. Africa, Vol. 29, pp. 335-364. London: International African Institute, 1959.

4 plates; map.

HRAF copy

/This is a study of marriage among the Kung based on field work undertaken in 1952-53 as a member of the Harvard Peabody-Smithsonian Kalahari Expeditions. The author, an ethnologist, provides information on marriage regulations and incest taboos, betrothal practices and marriage ceremonies. Brief statements on Kung culture, the status of women and materials on divorce are also included. Case materials are used to illustrate the general statements made by the author. -- Analyst/

Field dates: 1952-1953
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: E-5
Processed in 1960

2: Kaufmann, Hans. Die ǂAuin. Ein Beitrag zur Buschmannforschung [The Auen. A Contribution to the Study of the Bushmen]. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, Vol. 23, pp. 135-160. Berlin, 1910.

Yale: S27f 0231 23 [HRAF Ms.; pp. 1-75]

[Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Richard Neuse]

/This account is a general source on Bushmen culture. The author, a government official stationed in Auen territory, has attempted to cover a wide range of culture elements and although the detail offered is slight, the number of aspects of Bushmen life gone into is considerable. There are data on material culture, economic life, and property, marriage, law, war, chieftainship, games, puberty rites, child-birth, sickness and death, medical practices, etc.--Analyst/

Field date: 1908
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1961

3: Lebzelter, Viktor. Eingeborenenkulturen in Südwest- und Südafrika [Native Cultures in Southwest and South Africa], Vol. 2. Leipzig: Karl W. Hiersemann, 1934.

Pp. x, 306; 26 end plates, 111 text illustrations, 3 indexes. [HRAF Ms. Pp. iii, 168]

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Richard Neuse.

/Chapters 9-14 on the Bushmen, pp. 80-105, and subsequent sections on the Bergdama, Herero, the Tribes of Amboland, and the tribes of the Southeast, pp. 106-300, have not been translated. This source contains information on various aspects of the culture of several Bushmen groups, especially the !Kung and the Nogau of Epukiro. The author, Curator at the Natural History Museum in Vienna, writes with a special awareness of relations among the different tribes and of the Bushmen with non-Bushmen tribes and whites; thus he frequently indicates possible acculturative history and difficulties of rapport due to antagonisms. --Analyst/

Field date: 1926-1928
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1961

4: Werner, H. Anthropologische, ethnologische und ethnographische Beobachtungen uber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute, nebst einem Anhang uber die Sprachen dieser Buschmannstämme [Anthropological, Ethnological and Ethnographic Observations concerning the Heikum and Kung Bushmen, with an appendix on the languages of these Bushmen Tribes]. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 38, pp. 241-268. Berlin: Berlin Society for Anthropology, Ethnology and Prehistory, 1906.

Yale: Nk10 Z37 v. 38 [HRAF Ms.: pp. 1-35]

Translated from the German for the Human Relations Area Files by Richard Neuse.

/This account presents information on the physical characteristics of the Heikum Bushmen and offers additional materials on the culture of both Heikum and Kung groups. The cultural characteristics discussed include dance and music, diet, clothing, ornaments and amulets, utensils, weapons, tools and houses. In addition there is a 10 page vocabulary list which compares Heikum, Kung and Nama terms and also offers some information on grammar. The author did field work in the area. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1900
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Physician-5
Processed in 1961

5: Marshall, Lorna. The Kin Terminology System of the !Kung Bushmen. Africa, Vol. 27, pp. 1-25. London: International African Institute, 1957.

Yale: Bk2 10 27

/This source deals with the kinship system of the Kung. The author discusses the principles underlying their kinship system, gives the terms used for various categories of kinsmen, and offers an interpretation of joking relations. In addition some material is provided on marriage regulations and on the importance of kinship for social solidarity. The author, an ethnologist, did field work in this area. -- Analyst/

Fieldate: 1950-1955
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

6: Marshall, Lorna. N!ow. Africa, Vol. 27, pp. 232-240. London: International African Institute, 1957.

Yale: BK2 10 27

/In this article the author describes some Bushmen beliefs regarding rain and cold and the powers vested in animals and humans which influence weather. A brief discussion of some of the rites and practices which are used to influence rain is also given along with some information on climate and seasonal variation. The author, an ethnologist, did field work among the Kung. --Analyst/

Field date: 1950-1955
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1961

7: Story, R. Some Plants Used by the Bushmen in Obtaining Food or Water. Botanical Survey Memoir No. 30. Pretoria: Union of South Africa, Department of Agriculture, Division of Botany, 1958.

Pp. 115; foreword by R.A. Dyer; 2 maps; 62 photographs; bibliography; index.

University of Chicago: QR396 .A3 No. 30.

/This work is essentially a botanical report of the flora of the Kalahari region. It is related to Bushmen culture only in so far as the author limits the specimens described to those used by the Bushmen and gives very brief, sometimes incidental, information on the cultural use of the plants. The descriptions with the photographs give as complete as possible a basis for identifying the plants, but the cultural information is scanty. The particular group of Bushmen associated with the use of any plant is indicated by the author when known; often the use is general. Plants or their parts which are referred to as "edible" must be presumed to be so

7: Story, R.

by the Bushmen, although in some cases it is apparent the author is referring to the possibility rather than the actuality of usage. Native terms for the plants are presented in every case but marked only for category 137, Flora. --Analyst/

Field date: 1955
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Botanist - 5
Processed in 1961

111 FX10 Bushmen

8: Fourie, L. The Bushmen of South West Africa. In, The Native Tribes of South West Africa, pp. 79-105, Cape Town: Cape Times Limited, 1928.

10 plates; bibliography.

Yale: Nkd84 928t

/The author of this account of the Bushmen was the Medical Officer for South West Africa ca. 1920. In this article he gives a general account of Bushmen culture dealing with their origins, the location and population of different tribes, the band organization, some details on settlements, houses, etc. There is also material on marriage, childbirth, economic activities, dancing and games, and magico-religious beliefs and practices of the Bushmen. While the article is short and therefore limited in the amount of detail given, it is a good general account. -- Analyst/

Field date: ca. 1920
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Physician - 5
Processed in 1961

9: Thomas, Elizabeth Marshall. The Harmless People. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959.

Pp. xiii, 267; 16 plates; 1 map; 2 charts.

Harvard: Afr 8678 106.

/This source is a popular account of an expedition to the Kalahari Desert in 1955. It concentrates on the life of two groups of Bushmen, the Gikwe and the Kung. The author gives a general description of the culture of these slightly differing groups, the Gikwe living in a more arid environment than the Kung, concentrating on the food quest which is the main interest of these marginal people. The book concentrates on the personal relationships between the author and the various members of the families and bands, singling out individuals for fairly detailed description. In this way, the reader gets a good idea of the normal daily round of the people, although little detail is given about various aspects of the culture, particularly in the areas of social organization and material culture. For such detailed studies, the researcher should see other sources in this file, such as 1: Marshall and 5: Marshall. --Analyst/

Field date: 1951-1955
Analyst: Timothy J. O'Leary

Evaluation: Traveler - 5
Processed in 1961

10: Bleek, D.F. Bushmen Terms of Relationship, and Note on Bushmen Orthography. Bantu Studies, Vol. 2, pp. 57-74. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press, 1924.

Yale: Nkd 74 B228 v.1-2

/This source consists of two articles, the first dealing with kinship terminology, the second with the phonetics and orthography of the Bushmen language. In the kinship article the author gives the terms used by Southern or Cape Colony Bushmen, Northern or Auen and Kung groups, and Central or Naron Bushmen. In addition he discusses the derivation of some of the terms and offers a few brief statements on grammar. The second article offers some critical comments on the orthography suggested by Doke. The author states his preference for older writers' transcriptions of clicks which the author follows in his own kinship charts. The article is based on field work undertaken with the Bushmen. --Analyst/

Field date: No date
Analyst: Betty Potash

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1961

11: Marshall, John. Man as a Hunter. Natural History, Vol. 72, pp. 291-309, 376-395. New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1958.

Yale: S9 099 67

/Repaginated. HRAF pagination 1-89./

/This source was written by an anthropologist with considerable experience among the Bushmen. While it contains some background material of a general and an historical nature, it deals primarily with the adaptation of the Bushmen to their environment, particularly in the realm of food-getting. Fifty photographs add to the value of the source. Due to technical difficulties, the source has been re-paginated for the file. --Analyst.

Field date: 1950-1955
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1961

12: Marshall, Lorna. Sharing, talking, and giving: relief of social tensions among ! Kung Bushmen. Africa, 31 (1961): 231-249. London, International African Institute, 1961.

HRAF copy.

[This article is a well-detailed account of some of the methods by which the ! Kung manage to control antagonisms encountered in their daily interpersonal relations. The principal means discussed are through conversations, gifts, and cooperative sharing of the proceeds from hunting, the main food-producing activity. Because these aspects of ! Kung behaviour are closely interrelated with many facets of their culture, much information on other subjects is included as incidental to the author's presentation. Some are: kin relationships, social control, ethics and etiquette, hunting techniques, jewelry, trade activities, and concepts of property. An appendix listing ! Kung material artifacts is a useful addition. This source contains a greater amount and variety of data than its length would indicate. -- Analyst]

Field date: 1951-1959
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

13: Marshall, Lorna. !Kung Bushman Religious Beliefs. Africa, Vol. 32, pp. 221-252. London: International African Institute, 1962.

15 photographs.

HRAF copy.

[This paper describes some of the religious beliefs of the !Kung Bushmen of the interior bands of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. The article concentrates on the concepts of the gods and the spirits of the dead. The author points out changes in the concept of the Great God by comparing texts of old tales with current beliefs. Also included are a discussion of man's relations with the gods (the source of good and evil; supplication, etc.) and a description of the ceremonial curing dance. Comparisons with other Bushmen groups are made throughout. Some information is included on the medicine men. --Analyst]

Field date: 1952-1955 Evaluation: Ethnologist-5

Analyst: Joan Steffens Processed in 1963

14: Willett, Shelagh M. The Bushman: A Select Bibliography 1652-1962. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, Department of Bibliography, Librarianship and Typography, 1965.

Pp. ii, 38 (duplicated).

Yale: Xn 60 A5 +965W.

[This comprehensive and fairly inclusive, partially annotated, bibliography of English and foreign language sources on South African Bushmen society and culture was compiled by a South African librarian, whose entries here range over a 300 year period. While the bulk of the references are on general features of Bushmen ethnography, there is useful coverage of their history, folklore, and languages. This bibliography is not exhaustive since the author did not include all foreign language sources, nor those of doubtful scientific value.]

Field date: not applicable
Analyst: Gilbert Winer

Evaluation: Librarian-4
Processed in 1967

15: Marshall, Lorna. The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert. In James L. Gibbs, Jr., editor, Peoples of Africa, pp. 243-278. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965.

5 photographs; 2 maps; bibliography.

Yale: N kd74965G. DLC: DT15.G53. DLC card no.: 65-10276.

[This summary article on the !Kung Bushmen was written by a cultural anthropologist especially for this volume. The authenticity of her descriptions derives from a decade of field research experience among the Bushmen. Due to its recency and comprehensiveness the reader should examine this source prior to consulting other specific material in the Bushmen file. The author's theoretical outlook is ecological--using data on Bushmen environmental adaptations, resource potentials of their habitats, population-settlement sizes and distributions in order to develop some functional generalizations about the relations between Bushmen subsistence economy and the nature of their sociopolitical institutions, implying that the level of productivity sets limits to the sociocultural forms that arise. Stress is put on the significance of kinship reciprocity and its relations to foodgathering and seasonal movements, extensive regional kinship bonds, and the egalitarian political structure. Her ethnographic description is excellent, especially her notations on the religious-ritual complex, life cycle and socialization, the kinship basis of headmanship and group leadership, and material culture and technology. Also found are brief interpretations of Bushmen historical origins and affinities, the kinship correlates of the naming relationship in uniting the bands,

15: Marshall, Lorna.

the family cycle, and the effects of acculturation. The introductory comments on pp. 241-242 were written by the editor, James L. Gibbs, Jr. Footnotes at the end of the article may be found in category 116, pp. 273-276. The footnotes have been marked for the categories to which they specifically pertain.]

Field date: 1951-1961
Analyst: Gilbert Winer

Evaluation: Cultural Anthropologist-5
Processed in 1967

16: Lee, Richard Barry. Subsistence ecology of !Kung Bushmen. Dissertation (Anthropology)--University of California (Berkeley), 1965. University Microfilms, Microfilm, No. 66-3636. Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, 1966 [1971].

12, 209 l.; 19 maps; 7 tables; 3 figures; bibliography.

HRAF copy.

[The data presented in this thesis are based primarily on the author's field work in the Dobe area of Bechuanaland. On the basis of detailed observations made during a two years stay among these Bushmen, he came to the conclusion that Bushmen economy is far above the starvation level. Except for a relatively short time of the year when the water supply is low, Bushmen are able to gain sufficient food from their environment without strenuous efforts. Gathering of plants, especially a certain kind of nut, is of main importance for food provision. Hunting is of very secondary importance. The author also presents valuable demographic data and gives short descriptions of relations between Bushmen, Bantu and White farmers.]

Field date: 1963-1965
Analysts: Sigrid Khera, marker
Sarah Bridges, checker

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1972-1973

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

101 Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung
582 whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

619 The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the
[648] territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

648 About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28
162 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of
[621] burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants
[177] other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

621 My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the
[114] years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

[162] FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

601 /Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1]
[595] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and
[596] extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal
[611] residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally,
[614] There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins
[835] are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

621 As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous
582 unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[113] [1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

585 then come with us when we leave tomorrow to gather *tsi*. He will hunt from that
[159] place and get us some meat.'
[183] The ritual elements in the wedding ceremony, in so far as we observed, were as follows: (1) carrying the bride so that her feet do not touch the ground; (2) covering her head so that the sun does not shine upon it; (3) waiting till the sun has set before taking her to the wedding scherm; (4) the fact that the scherm is specially built and set apart from the others; (5) anointing with fat; (6) painting a design on the forehead and cheeks with powdered red stone; (7) lighting the wedding fire with brands from the fires of the bride's and groom's parents.

585 Apart from the third and seventh, all these elements occur also in the Ceremony of
881 the First Menstruation, a more elaborate and prolonged ceremony from which the
[174] /Kung wedding ceremony undoubtedly derives. The design on the face is the same; the girl's feet must not touch the ground from the instant her first menstruation begins to the end of the period, when she is washed and anointed with both eland or other fat and the oil of the *tsi* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch).[1] When the girl is taken to her special scherm or moved out of it to urinate or defecate she is carried on the back of a kinswoman. A kaross over her head shields her from the sun whether she is sitting in the scherm or being carried out.

Our endeavour to bring to light the meaning of the ritual elements yielded little. The meaning or origin of the design on the face, I was convinced, was not withheld but lost to memory, lore or myth. 'It is our custom' was all the people could tell me.

About the ritual of the feet not touching the ground, the custom frequently
[171] observed by divine kings and menstruating girls, the /Kung had no more illumination. They think that the carrying is the overcoming of the girl's symbolized modesty about going to the arms of her bridegroom, which she should properly feign even if she is eager to go, and her reluctance to separate from her own family: I think that when the attendants take hold of the bride and groom by the arm and pull them a little they symbolize the overcoming of reluctance and modesty and perhaps there is even a vestige of bride capture in that gesture, but of the feet not touching the ground the meaning is lost. Obviously, however, in this society the bride is equated to the
[174] menstruating girl. In the past the girl's wedding and her first menstruation may have been celebrated at one time.

The /Kung say that the sun is death-giving. When the three months of life-
585 giving rains are past, the sun dries up the water pools. It kills the fresh leaves and
821 fruits, dries the roots and berries, and would scorch the people if they did not find shade and dig shallow pits and lie in them covered lightly with sand which they have moistened with their urine for coolness. They pity the morning star, the *kuli |gaishay*, which crosses the sky all day ahead of the sun, has no branches to carry for shade and
593 cannot turn aside to rest under a tree. The sun is a 'death thing' and the bride
585 is shielded from it.
602 The most important element of behaviour with respect to kinship in the wedding

[113] [1] Robert Story, *Some Plants Used by the Bushmen in Obtaining Food and Water*, Department of Agriculture, Division of Botany, Union of South Africa, Botanical Survey, Memoir No. 30, 1958, p. 25. Dr. Story was a member of the 1955 and 1957 expeditions. We gratefully acknowledge whatever botanical identifications we mention as his.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

logical father, as well as his mother's husband, should do something nice for him. 159
Perhaps when he receives his first assegai his begetter will give it, for that is a very 848
proud thing—but we do not know what the future holds for these people or where they will be by then.

The dominance of men

Wives are much desired by the young men, who usually wait for years for their 562
infant fiancées to grow up, and by men who want second wives, and by widowers. [581]
/Kung women are not only precious as mates, they are the food-gatherers and supply [222]
more of the daily food than the men do. Hunting[1] is very arduous in the Kalahari and [462]
the hunters succeed in bringing a big meat animal to the werf only about once or [224]
twice a month. Meanwhile women have dug roots and gathered berries and the other wild plant foods to feed their families every day. /Kung women in their two roles make a very great contribution.

In /Kung society, however, the magnitude of their contribution does not make women dominant. There are factors which bring the men forward clearly into dominance and leadership.

The primary factor is undoubtedly strength. /Kung men are small and slender, [142]
but they are wiry and vigorous. With their strength they carry and protect the very 147
life of their people. When they swing their weapons and implements and their small children on to their shoulders and stride out in front of the women, the image seems to reveal, as vividly as if a great artist had painted it, how the laden following women are borne up by the strength of their men and take heart from them.

Another factor which brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and 462
its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is only drudgery in digging and 562
picking in the hot sun and trudging back in the early evening to the werf with heavy [222]
roots and berries and babies all sagging in the pouches of their karosses, a small dead tree or two on one shoulder for the night fire, possibly another child astride the other shoulder. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh [262]
and are not very satisfying. There is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving [262]
for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally [224]
the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once, when an eland had been killed and the hunters were sighted [152]
with the meat on their backs, moving in a dark, lumpy, bobbing line in the golden grass, we heard the sound of voices in the werf rising in volume and pitch like the hum of excited bees. Some people ran toward the hunters, others crowded together at the edge of the werf, some danced up and down, the children squealed and ran about, the boys grappled and tussled together. The motion and sound had the effect of a vibration. Another time a young man who was said to be the best hunter in the region (/Qui Hunter we called him, his people called him Short /Qui), had been 462
charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. 562
He knelt facing the creature till it was within close range and shot an arrow straight 224

[1] John Marshall has described /Kung hunting in his film, *The Hunters*, Peabody Museum Film Study Center, Harvard University, and in 'Man as Hunter', *Natural History*, the magazine of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, vol. lxvii, No. 6, June, and No. 7, August, 1958. [113]

[5 cont.]

173 the Oldoway race as one of its carriers, the presence of a Eurafrican racial element from oldest times on may be regarded as certain also for South Africa. The carriers of this hand-ax industry, who, I am convinced, already carried on a kind of plant cultivation and were tied essentially to the forested zones, were later followed by a group of peoples and races with definite flake industries. Among these we may include the Katanga race and the other Australiform finds. A new wave of Eurafrican racial elements was brought by the carriers of the blade industries of the
174 Middle Stone Age of South Africa. Even today we are still unable to determine when the Bushman races adopted a Stone Age industry or even when they entered the country. Just as racially
[144] the Bushman incorporated remnants of all the preceding races or
[184] those that at one time existed side by side with them (Europoid -- Australiform), so their culture, varying from tribe to tribe, likewise constitutes a unity only in its optimal adaptation to the conditions of the environment. In its individual traits, on the other hand, it represents a residual culture whose stability depends on a selection intentionally and purposively carried out, and which resulted from foreign cultures from the Old Stone Age up to the present.

Chapter 1

The Bushmen of Angola

105 We are indebted to D. F. Bleek (1) for most of the data

[113] 1. D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," Bantu Studies, Vol. III, No. 2, 1928 Johannesburg. Further, Archiv für Anthropologie, 1930.

concerning the Angola Bushmen. The Bushmen are !Kung. The men are 159.3 (145.5-170) centimeters tall, the women 148.8 (135-161.3) centimeters. They live between the Msuma in the north, the Lomba in the south, and between Okawango and the

[16 cont.]

[131] the one hand, to the Okovanggo and the regions inhabited by the Bamangwato [Ngwato] west of Ngami Lake on the other hand, are inhabited by the tribes of the !Kung group.

Seiner (2) supplies the following apt division of this zone:

[113] 2. Mitteilungen aus Deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1914.

"The !Kung Veld forms the part of the Omaheke belonging to the northern Kalahari and is located between the Okovanggo (from Kagere to 19° southern latitude), the Kaukau Veld, the Sand Veld, the Karst Veld, the Etosha Pan, and the Otjimpolo Veld. -- The Kaukau Veld (according to Passarge, a plateau) is located between the Kung Veld, the Okovanggo, the Okovanggo basin, and the Sand Veld district. As the western boundary, in other words, toward the Sand Veld, the line Bogara -- Debra -- Blue Bush Pan in the western tip of the Okovanggo basin, close to the German border, should be adopted. The northern Sand Veld, through which I have traveled, can be delimited on the west by the line Nuragas -- Otjituo and by the valley of the Omatako from Otjituo to Okahitua; on the south by the line Okahitua -- Okosondusu -- Otjosonjou -- Epata -- Epukiro -- Rietfontein-East; on the east by the border zone of the Chanse Veld, the Okovanggo basin, and the Kaukau Veld. For the
[137] northern boundary toward the Kung Veld, the factors of climate and plant geography must be taken into consideration, since there is no natural boundary here; the line Bogara -- Kanovlei -- Nuragas approximately forms the northern boundary of the Kalahari bush of the central Kalahari, which is sharply differentiated from the dry forest of the northern Kalahari. -- The loose,
[134] deep, leached steppe sand bears for the most part a tall, light xerophytic dry forest, usually with no underbrush and with deciduous trees that, as a result of the quantities of water stored in their root stalks and trunks, bear green leaves during the greater part of the dry season, and in part even bear blossoms and fruit during this season; this dry forest is a formation of relatively recent date. The vegetation of the firm, gray-humus,
[134] loamy river sand, or of the looser sand with ample ground

[17 cont.]

144 obvious, and the southern Bushman race, that is, the one that displays the characteristics generally ascribed to the Bushmen as a whole, is found to be pure only to a modest degree which in-
137 creases toward the south. In the north, the !Kung Bushmen are
184 decidedly forest people, whereas in the Sand Veld they inhabit the shadeless low bush. The surface of the region consists of
134 areas of whitish sand, red toward the east and north, which is
137 streaked with strips of surface chalk. Along the Omuramba Omatako and parallel to it there are pseudo-dunes running north-northeast -- south-southwest and covered with dense thorn bushes. On the more clayey soils in the vicinity of the Omurambas [perhaps a local term for "rivers"] there is denser tropical dry forest. A reminder of more humid times is provided by three or four giant baobab trees that are dying.

Ludwig Zukowsky (1) reports on the fauna and flora:

[113]

1. "Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Säugetiere Deutschsüdwestafrikas [Contribution to the Knowledge of the Mammals of German Southwest Africa], " Archiv für Naturgeschichte, Vol. 90, No. 1, Part A, 1924.

137 "The Kung Veldt, a large deciduous broad-leaf forest
[136] region, bounded in the north by the Okovanggo, in the east by this river's flood area, in the south by the Dusche and Schadum, and in the west by the lower course of the Omuramba u'Omatako, is regarded by J.H. Wilhelm as a special faunal region, since here the most striking representatives of the Sand Veld, oryx, oribi, bubalis, guevei [blue duiker], and canis are absent and in their place new forms appear, such as damaliscus, schaeffia [?], and hippotragus. Red sand dominates the entire region, which is covered with sereng [Burkea africana], red bean trees [Copaifera coleosperma], mokussi (Baikiaca plurijuga), yellowwood [Terminalia sericea], dolf [Therocarpus erinaceus], and wild orange trees (Strychnos schumanniana). During the rainy season, when the trees are covered with leaves, the deciduous forest that covers the entire region remotely resembles a younger German beech forest. The chief tree is the sereng (Burkea africana) with its accompanying tree, the mokussi

/19 cont./

162 In the age group of five to ten years, the number re-
165 mains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number
[123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

/20/ Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in

[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman
[131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief
133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika /Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa/, Berlin, 1906.

648 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample
621 water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and
622

[23 cont.]

105 and in the beyond by his traditional conceptions, and the preserva-
182 tion of this adaptation, in the spiritual as well as in the material realm, is achieved by means of a strict selection of all the cultural goods offered from the outside. This selection is consciously carried out. Put briefly: the Bushmen have hitherto refused higher
[177] economic forms not because they do not possess the ability to handle them, but because they did not want to adopt them. If the material preconditions collapse, then they adopt, step by step or all at once, totally different ways of life, as is shown by their Bantuization in Ovamboland and probably also by the formation of the Hottentot people through the adoption of livestock raising on the part of a number of Bushman tribes. Their average intelli-
[153] gence is no less than that of any other race. Every Bushman knows
[184] the entire spiritual heritage of his tribe.

Of the same Bushmen, F. Schinz (2) says:

[113] 2. F. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Leipzig, 1891.

181 "The Bushman is always faithful to his master and will follow him anywhere without pay; one need not worry about leaving him alone at the wagon and will rarely have to reprimand him for dishonesty. All travelers and hunters unanimously praise
[593] the great affection that exists between parents and children, which goes so far that the father or mother will sacrifice themselves in order to save their child. I was told [24] by the hunter L. that at the Okovanggo he once witnessed a scene in which a young Bushman, who was one of the members of the hunting expedition, was in danger of being trampled to death by an angry elephant that stormed toward him. At the last moment when his paralyzed companions had already given the boy up for lost, his father sprang forth and flung his throwing club at the forehead of the enormous animal. The elephant now turned against his new attacher and furiously crushed him under his feet, giving the son the opportunity to flee."

[114] My observations are fully in accord with those of Dornan (1)

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

[24 cont.]

000 they had never seen any. A certain dry humor spiced their con-
522 versation. I once said to a Bushman: "If you tell me this, you
161 will get whatever you want." He answered: "Good, I shall speak
157 and you will give me your automobile." Their imagination is
123 very poor; in this respect they are much too accurate as observers of nature. Once a young Bushman woman with two children came to me and wanted to buy some sugar. I said to her: "I won't sell you anything, but you will get the sugar if you tell me some children's stories, for example, about animals." After some hesi-
[538] tation she began the story of Arri, the guinea hen. It was no fairy tale, but a detailed account concerning this important food bird. She even imitated the calls of the guinea hen, "for example, when someone comes and there is danger, then they say, 'gannana he gannana he,' but when they are alone and enjoying themselves, then they go 'gi gi gi.'" The children had to imi-
[861] tate this until they were able to mimic the sound accurately. Then it was the turn of the sand hen, which says, "gi ganna gi ganna"; then the ostrich, which goes, "hmm, hmm, hmm"; then the gum bird [Harzvogel], which says, "hai-dschi, hai-dschi," and the owl, "mhm, m."

3. Posture, Movement, Stamina

516 As a result of his marked lordosis, the Bushman never assumes a posture that would conform to our military ideal; he almost always stands with his stomach somewhat protruding.

481 The way the Bushmen run is very peculiar and would justify detailed study. [25] The run is really a continuous fast walk, in which the legs are kicked forward, but the lower thighs are never brought back high, as is the case with our runners. The body is held as straight as possible, and the head up, not forward (1).

[113] 1. E. v. Eickstedt (Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit [Ethnology and History of Mankind], p. 556) states: "The foot is put in a peculiar transverse position, which makes the track in the sand easily

[27 cont.]

221 Bushmen shrink to miserable skeletons. Many of them at this
[648] time! run to the Blacks or Whites in order to earn something. In
[731] dry years no attention is paid to the kin group boundaries. All
[423] gather around the few water holes that are still open. As soon as the rain begins, conditions start to improve; the people start moving out in various directions, not to meet again until several months later at the time of the veldkost harvest here and there.

7. The Course of Life

584 I shall render in literal translation the account that my informant gave of the way a young man courts a girl:

If a young man wants to marry a girl, he must first speak to her and say: "I love you and want to marry you." If the girl is willing, she says first: "You must wait." Then she goes to her parents and asks them whether they have heard that the boy has spoken to her. The parents then ask whether the girl wants to marry the man. [28] If the girl says, "Yes," then the parents say, "He wants you; he has seen that you are good and hard-working; you may marry." If, however, the young man has thought the matter over and takes back his words, the girl goes to her parents once more, and the boy to his. The latter say: "You wanted it this way; nothing can be done about it." In case the girl definitely gives her consent, however, the young man brings all kinds of little presents and gives them to his future bride, who takes them to her parents. The parents-in-law must now in turn give presents. With the exchange of presents, the
[583] marriage is regarded as legally concluded.

[114] 224 584 [113] The hunting test described by Passarge (1) and others is not

1. Passarge, Die Buschmänner der Kalahari, 1907.

the rule. Some vain girls demand it, and sometimes young men will voluntarily go through with it in order to beat his rivals. This hunting test is carried out in the following manner. The boy goes hunting without weapons and pursues the game (as a rule,

1 [i.e. The hot season -- Analyst]

[28 cont.]

224 a gemsbok) until it is tired and then drives it to the vicinity of
584 the hut of his intended. The pursuit of such a large antelope is not as difficult as it looks, for these ruminants are seized with serious cramps if they are not given time to settle down to ruminate. In other words, the pursuit of such a large antelope simply involves continually disturbing the animal for a long period of time. Then the young man calls to the people and asks them for weapons. All of them leap up, and the girl, too, stands up and watches as her people run with the spears. The hunter kills the game before her eyes. Then they bring the meat and cook it, and the girl says: "That is a courageous hunter; I want to marry
584 him." It is not unusual, however, for a young man to marry far away from his relatives, without having asked for the consent of his parents. In that case, the young woman must stay with her parents while the husband returns home and reports the marriage to his parents. The latter say: "How can you do this, when we don't know whether it will turn out all right?" The husband, however, says: "I have already done it, and I am merely telling you." Thereupon the parents answer: "Well, it's all right."
[591] Then the husband returns to his young wife, or to her kin group and brings his wife and child to his own kin group, where they are received. According to Vedder (Tsumeb), the young man sends a messenger with a piece of game to the father of the girl of his choice. If the father accepts the game, the betrothal is regarded
583 as concluded. As soon as the youth moves to the encampment of
591 his father-in-law, the marriage is regarded as concluded. He
[585] must work for a year for his father-in-law and deliver all hunting spoils to him, but he may not enter the hut of his parents-in-law. Once the first child is born, he moves with wife and child to his kin group.

585 Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report on the conclusion of a
535

[113] 2. Von Zastrow and Vedder, "Die Buschmänner," p. 417, in Schultze-Ewarth, Das Eingeborenenrecht, Vol. II.

marriage:

"There is much dancing. The animal dances have a pervasive erotic element. In one of the first dances the bridegroom

[29 cont.]

553 The custom of spitting is undoubtedly original, not a substitute
852 for well water."

551 The father gives his newborn child a name. The boys usually receive animal names, commonly that of the [illegible]ndfather, and the girls, plant names. Albinos are unknown among [illegible] !Kung
[142] tribes visited by me, but a horde of Bushmen with red eyes is supposed to live in the eastern Sand Veld in the region of the
[845] Dussidum. I have never seen twins; they are probably done away
853 with. The children are breast fed for a long time; older infants learn to squeeze the milk out of the breast with their fingers or pull with their teeth on the leathery nipples. The assertion of
847 other travelers that the women kill their children if they are born
[114] before the previous child has been weaned is allegedly not true of the kin groups visited by me. On the other hand, Vedder (1)

[113] 1. "Zur Vorgeschichte der eingeborenen Völkerschaften von Südwestafrika. I. Die Buschmänner [On the Prehistory of the Native Tribes of Southwest Africa]," by V. Vedder, Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society, Vol. I, p. 10, 1925-1926, Windhoek, 1927. -- Cf. also Von Zastrow and H. Vedder, op. cit., p. 414.

reports:

"I must mention one other custom which likewise considerably contributes, and may have contributed in prehistoric times, to the Bushmen being so few in number. Custom demands that a child born when the older child of the same mother is not yet three years old be buried alive. This is a gruesome custom. I spoke about it with a racially pure Bushman. My remonstrances did not convince him at all. He explained: 'We Bushmen are poor people. We have no goats and no cows to give our children milk. If the woman brings two children into the world within a period of three years, we don't know what the older child is supposed to live on if the newborn child uses up the mother's milk. It cannot live on the hard veldkost or on tough meat. The teeth are not yet strong enough. If we let the newborn

[30 cont.] VON ZASTROW
113 and Vedder (1) report further:

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Buschmänner, pp. 412-413.

843 "It is absolutely against the rules to do anything by word or
754 deed to the pregnant woman that might make her angry. Her evil eye in this period is especially dangerous; her angry word or her curse has an even worse effect. Sores, illness, protracted suffering, and death are the consequences of the evil eye or the curse of a pregnant woman.

844 "It is customary to sever the umbilical cord with an instrument only when the blood no longer pulsates. The umbilical cord is not tied off. The afterbirth must be carefully and secretly buried. The life of the child would be greatly endangered if an animal found it or if a feared sorcerer could appropriate a piece of it."

881 As soon as the girls have their first menstruation (/n) (2),

2. Female genitalia (/n-i).

a celebration takes place, but in this tribe I was unable to learn any of the details. On this occasion, the women dance, clap their hands, and sing, "giriri, giriri, giriri, uhu, giriri uhu," and so forth.

Men may not be present at this celebration. In a Hei//om horde neighboring the !Kung, spirits are appealed to in all directions on the occasion of this celebration, so that the girl, as an adult, will find veldkost everywhere.

The existence of a true initiation for boys is denied (3).

[114] 3. On this point I was either misunderstood
[124] or told a falsehood.

There is merely a kind of testing; an older man goes with the candidate or candidates on a hunting expedition. Under the supervision of the older person, the candidate must kill a specimen of large game. The animal is then brought to the sacred fire, at which the

[34 cont.]

312 Concerning other water-containing trees, F. Seiner re-
624 ports:

"The water-containing trees always have two or more trunks, and the source of the water is to be sought up where the branches fork. If the saddle formed where the branches separate shows a hole, a hollow area is traced in the adjoining part of the trunk, which may contain up to 60 liters of water. The water is obtained by tying, Bushman fashion, a small bundle of dry grass, or better still, a handkerchief, to the tip of a stick and inserting it in the hollow. When the stick is drawn out, the water drips

Fig. 1. !Kung at a Bushman Well.

from the saturated bundle or cloth, which is pressed out over a cup. [Fig. 2 appears here.]

[35] "The most important water roots are the Asclepiadacea Fockea damarana Schltr. (ehoe), the Leguminosa

[532]
[224]

Fig. 2. //Gauab drives the game toward the hunters (from
●[113] Kühn and Obermann, Buschmannkunst [Bushman Art]).

[35 cont.]

312 824 Dolichos seineri Harms (eona), and the Convolvulacea Ipomoea seineri Pilger (eawa); the enormous tubers of the latter two may weigh up to 150 kilograms. Considerably more important for the natives than these 'water roots' is the Curcurbitacea Citrullus naudinianus Hook. (orura of the Herero; gab of the Hottentot); without their juicy gourds, which occur in great quantities and for the most part are edible, most of the central Kalahari would be impassable during the dry season, even for the Bushmen."

Further, F. Galton (1) reports:

● (113) 1. F. Galton, Tropisches Südafrika, p. 101.

312 825 "In practice, the first hopeful sign when people are looking around for water is a flight of guinea fowl; next, following the habits of the land, each tree is carefully examined until a parrot is sighted, an object visible even at a great distance because the bird likes to sit on the uppermost branches. A parrot is rarely more than half an hour away from water, and the same applies to baboons. If one proceeds with careful observation and takes a probable direction, he will see doves flying about; then little birds are found in all the bushes, and they are close to it."

10. The Veldkost

222 776 Just as //Gauab accompanies the hunter on the chase, he is also the companion of the women who go to look for veldkost. If //Gauab takes delight in a woman, he will break the bones of an animal, killing it, and will lead the woman to it. If, however, //Gauab is angry at a woman and she finds no veldkost, then she becomes angry, gets up early in the morning, abuses //Gauab, and then takes medicine and washes her face so that //Gauab will not recognize her. Then she goes into the veld and finds something. [782] //Gauab receives no offerings from the veldkost. The celebration 222 of the first fruits of the veld described by Vedder is no longer held. [887] The oldest woman is brought to eat samples of each type of veldkost that is brought home for the first time in the year. Then the second oldest woman takes a taste, and so on down the line.

[58 cont.]

775 From there they make their rounds. They always return to their
769 graves. Hence, a Bushman always makes a detour around a grave. He does not point at a grave with his finger, and he does not call to a companion: 'There is a grave!' A great detour is made around the area where there is a grave. When a Bushman unexpectedly passes a grave, he puts a stone on it. That is a greeting for the dead person. In so doing, one makes the grave more secure against wild animals."

769 From the region of Foxhof I have the following informa-
775 tion to add:

"The Gauab that arises from the flesh of the corpse remains seated by the grave. When a relative passes by and the Gauab is sitting out in the open, the Gauab thinks: I know this person well; why is he passing by here without giving me any water. Then the Gauab becomes angry and makes him sick. Then when the doctors sing, they recognize what the trouble is and say: Today you passed by the grave of N. and did not give anything. Tomorrow morning very early you must take water and an ostrich egg and place them by the grave. Such a Gauab also
775 goes hunting, kills game, makes a fire, cuts open the game,
787 takes the fat, and brings it to the doctors while they are singing. The Gauab, whom the other people cannot see, sits down at
[756] some distance from the dancers. The doctor sees him, however, and goes to the Gauab. The latter tells him where the game lies, and the doctor tells this to the other people, who fetch the game and praise the Gauab.

775 "The stars are the campfires of the Gauab.

"The Gauana take the souls that they have stolen to their village and then back to the grave. The people often hear a voice in the veld; this is the Gauab calling, and on their way they find a piece of dead game. When the Gauab is out hunting and has gone too far from his grave, he must sleep in a tree. Some of the souls stolen by the Gauab are brought to the captain of the Gauana. The souls that are taken there again become actual persons up above with the captain of the rain. The others, however, are the little Gauab who go hunting here."

[114] The observations made by Bleek (3) 50 years ago seem to
776 be especially significant.

3. W. H. J. Bleek and L.C.Lloyd,

[113]

[58 cont.]

[113] Specimens of Bushmen Folklore, London, 1910-11, pp. 10-13.

776 be especially significant. The !Kung at that time told of a being called /Chue, who transforms itself in turn into various fruit trees and veldkost plants, into a Herero, etc. One day he transformed himself into a //gui tree, his wife ate of it, the tree disappeared, and /Chue changed into a fly. Another time he even became a waterhole, then again a gecko; at night [59] he always changes back into a little human being. The Herero look for him, but cannot find him. /Chue then makes a fire and dies. His father sees this and then moves to his homeland on a large mountain called //Noa. We shall probably not go wrong if we identify this /Chue with Huwe. This Huwe, as is known, is sometimes equated with the great captain X'u. In this old setting he also has distinct traits of Heiseb.

782 The !Kung who were W.H.J. Bleek's informants were also familiar with a prayer song addressed to the new moon. In ac-
[534] companiment, they blew on trumpets made of antelope horns. (Bleek-Lloyd, ibid., p. 15.)

787 The old !Kung called the prophesy sticks /Chu, which evidently is the same name again as that of the great captain and is in agreement with Dornan's report concerning the Masarwa that Modimo himself spoke from the prophesy sticks.

755 Vedder reports that in case of illness a messenger is sent
769 to an ancestor's grave and prays: A dsi-dsi mi !hâ tí /X'ai-a? (Why is my son ill?) ǂnu /kôa (to live in health).

774 While my informants denied the presence of any animistic
825 conceptions, the old !Kung believe that certain snakes, lizards,
775 and antelope found in the vicinity of graves represent spirits of the
171 dead (1), as they do among the Bantu.

1. W.H.J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd, ibid., p. 430.

Chapter 7

The Bushmen of the North

114 Our best information concerning the Masarwa comes from Dornan (1) and Holub (2). In what follows an outline sketch will

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygrines and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

2. Holub, Die Masarwa.

be given of the culture of this tribe, based upon these two authors.

342 According to Dornan, the Masarwa once preferred to live in caves, where their ancestors had made paintings. The Bushmen in the Wankie and Ngami districts have plaited mats of grass [285] or reed, with which they cover their windscreens. Sometimes they make a kind of roof covered with grass; otherwise they have ordinary windscreens.

[532]
[172]

Fig. 21a. Representation of a Curing Scene. In the background, the female doctor who serves as oracle. (Eastern Cape Province. From J. P. Johnson, The Prehistoric Period in [113] South Africa, 1910.)

322 For the wood of the bow the Masarwa use very straight 411 little tree trunks. After the bark is removed, they are tied to a straight tree and left to dry. The wood is then given its final drying over the fire and is placed in water so that it will not splinter. The middle of the bow is also commonly wound with tendons. The bow is often greased and never unstrung. The finished bow is smoothed with a rough stone.

[62 cont.]

293 Like the prehistoric Bushmen, these people, too, wear forehead bands, into which the arrows are stuck during the hunt.

726 Dornan (p. 139) reports that the Kalahari Bushmen hold
754 dances before the start of a war, and on these occasions they shoot little poisoned arrows from equally small bows in the direction of the enemy or of the sun. They believe that in so doing they are killing the shadow spirit of the enemy. They do not like to give these miniature bows and arrows to anyone because they are afraid that they might come into the possession of their enemies and thus bring about their own deaths.

226 Fishing is still quite well developed among the Masarwa people. Stone walls are sometimes built in the river, in which weir-baskets are set, or they sit in the river bed next to one another with weir-baskets, while women and children drive the fish toward them. In smaller waterholes, grass and brush are piled up on one side. Then the Bushmen step into the water and push the grass wall ahead of them, thus driving the fish into a corner. Individual fish are also speared with the assagai. According to Hodson, the best fishermen are the Bakoba Bushmen on the Okovanggo. They have harpoons and rush nets that are drawn diagonally across the river.

278 G. A. Farini (3) had an opportunity to observe the

• [113] 3. G. A. Farini, Durch die Kalahariwüste [Through the Kalahari Desert], Leipzig, 1886.

manufacture of arrow poison in the Chanse Veld. The men gathered at a certain place; women were not allowed to be present. The sap was removed from about 30 to 40 poisonous bulbs by means
[535] of successive incisions and was collected in a pan. As each incision was made, the Bushmen danced in a circle, making a kind of grunt. Then a hyena hide was spread out with the hair side down, and on it was spread the contents of the bags that contained the dried heads of poisonous snakes, as well as two pieces of reed approximately 15 centimeters long. Then a number of freshly killed poisonous snakes were brought. The poison sacs were removed amidst singing and the clapping of hands. Meanwhile the pan containing the poison had been put on the fire and was boiling;

[63 cont.]

764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

●[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not; in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] [174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [173] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

MASARWA
OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

600 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib
769 Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu
[774] doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the
[825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals,
[824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe
[776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at
551 her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say
602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo
105 delta, J. Seiner reports:
101 "The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting.
[563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe
[144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease,
AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY,

[65 cont.]

000 and racial mixture is progressing rapidly. The Bugakwe live in
105 five villages with 220 persons in the western Okovanggo Valley
[161] down from the Mahango ford and are in bondage to Libebe, with
101
131 whom, however, they frequently have quarrels over the amount of deliveries; on the occasion of one such dispute in June, 1905, a Mambukuschu was killed by an arrow. The Garikwe live in
[161] eight villages with 430 souls in eastern Ärmellande from the Paliba Swamp to the beginning of the valley, while the Goekwe live in southern Ärmellande west of the river course. Concerning
[161] the latter, I found only a winter village with 90 souls, and that north of the mouth of the Namassere on a river island.

"The Goekwe might well be identical with Passarge's Gokwe, whose territory extends from the western edge of the Tauche swampland deep into the Kaukau Veld; the Tschorilo Mountains belong to them. During the rainy season the Tannekwe undertake hunting expeditions in the neighboring steppes. The Hukwe, whose
[161] number I estimate at at least 600, are less racially mixed than the Tannekwe, but likewise live in settled villages, from which during the dry season they swarm out in family groups to gather or hunt in the forest steppe as the need arises."

Chapter 8

The Nogau Bushmen of Epukiro

101 During my stay in the mission station of Epukiro, I had an opportunity for closer contact with the Bushmen who live in a kind of symbiosis with the Betschuana (2). They call themselves Nogau,

[113] 2. I have given a detailed report on the Europeanized Betschuana village of Epukiro in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 65 (1933).

specifically ≠no /gna !khou, that is, people who live by the water.
101 They are farther north of the Omuramba Epukiro toward Alexeck.
131 North of them are the Gai-kwe, and the !Kung are farther east and

[68 cont.]

142 Racially, these Bushmen are smaller and lighter in color than
144 those of the north and show the admixtures of the southern Bushman race to a much greater degree. There is constant coming and go-
648 ing in this region. Seiner (1) reports the following:

[113]

1. J. Seiner, "Der Verbindungsweg zwischen Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika und der Betschuanalandeisenbahn [The Line of Communication between German Southwest Africa and the Bechuanaland Railway]," Globus, Vol. 96, 1910.

"The Bushmen from around Rietfontein are friendly to the Germans and repeatedly supplied the station garrison with effective help against the Herero and Ovambandjeru passing through. At the time of my stay in January and February, 1907, there was a small village of the Au-nin, who belong to Passarge's Kaukau people, one kilometer north of the barracks, and a village of the Ai-khoe, whom Passarge includes among the Ngami people, one and a half kilometers southwest of the station. The Bushmen of the latter village were subject to the Au-nin, who called them Naru (subordinates, slaves). Since in June, 1908, Dr. Pöch found only Au-nin in Rietfontein, it would seem that the Ai-khoe, in the meantime had emigrated or were driven out by the Au-nin."

To some extent all these tribes represent a cultural unit. A
[184] 114 fine study by First Lieutenant Kaufmann (2) is available for the

[113]

2. Kaufmann, "Die ǂAu-in, "Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1910.

ǂAuin, and one by D.F.Bleek (3) for the Naron. I shall now compare

[113]

3. D.F.Bleek, "The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari," Publications of the School of African Life and Language, Cambridge, 1928.

these tribes with one another, and it is to be understood that only the data concerning the Nogau are my own.

[75 cont.]

9. Hunting

224 Even today the western Kalahari has fairly abundant game, and life can be maintained at least to some extent by hunting. Before going to hunt, a tamana fruit (tse) is rubbed on the face. They also try to absorb the powers of the game by means of inoculation. For example, when a duiker has been killed, little pieces of the heart and ear are charred. This animal charcoal is then rubbed into an incision on the upper arm. Both in war and
[202] hunting, people communicate by means of smoke signals. The chief hunting weapon [76] is the bow with the poisoned arrow.
278 The poison (1) is obtained from the cocoons of a beetle larva that

[113]

1. Lewin has devoted several studies to Bushman poisons ("Pfeilgifte der Buschmänner [Arrow Poisons of the Bushmen]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 44, 1912).

"When I was permitted to examine the first arrows armed with poison that Lichtenstein had brought home from his journey in the year 1806 and which are kept in the Museum for Ethnology here, I was able to establish that there is alkaloid in the poison, which initially had stimulating, and later paralyzing effects on spine and brain. Because of the small quantity of the material, nothing further could be determined, except for a curious color reaction that the alkaloid isolated from the poison produced with concentrated sulphuric acid.

"I have now succeeded in producing from the bulb of Haemanthus toxicarius, the 'poison bulb' of the old Dutch colonists, the most active ingredient, an alkaloid which chemically and toxically

[76 cont.]

278

corresponds to the active ingredient of the poison taken from the arrow. I gave it the name Haemanthin.

"After the subcutaneous injection of animals with the water soluble albumin isolated from Blepharida larvae six to seven milimeters long, disturbances of movement set in fairly rapidly. Food is no longer taken. It makes doves vomit, and, like rabbits, they also get diarrhea. They become quiet, they huddle motionless, and their eyelids, which for a time move almost ceaselessly, finally are affected by the lethargy or inability to move. The eyes are closed. The animals then fall into a sleep-like state and perish, but commonly only after many hours of difficult breathing. Dissection shows changes in the kidney."

A survey of the poisonous plants of South Africa has been supplied by J. M. Watt. In South Africa over five hundred species are used as medicinal plants, and 150 are regarded as dangerous poisonous plants. Most of the poisonous plants known to date have an effect like digitalis. The old arrow-poison plants of the Bushmen, Acokanthera venenata and A. spectabilis, which have been examined in greater detail by Moir, Lewis, and Curson, also belong to this category. It is striking that the poison has an extraordinary chemical and physical stability. For poisoning per os, Boweia volubilis is commonly used by the natives.

[137]

Literature: J.M.Watt, M.B., "The Present Position of our Knowledge of South African Medicinal and poisonous Plants,"

●[113]

[68 cont.]

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144 those of the north and show the admixtures of the southern Bushman race to a much greater degree. There is constant coming and go-
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AUIN
NARON
NOGAU
HEI//OM

[76 cont.]

●113

South African Journal of Science, Vol. 25, 1928.

J. Moir, J.S.A., Chemical Institute, VII, 1924, p. 28.

J. Moir and J. Lewis, J.S.A., Chemical Institute, VIII, 1925, p. 11.

H. H. Curson, Some Little-known South African Poisonous Plants and their Effects in Stock. Thesis for Diploma of F.R.C.V.S., 1926.

278 lives on the roots of an acacia. The Bushman carries several of these cocoons around with him, like cartridges, in an antelope horn. If the arrow tip is to be poisoned, a fire is made, some of the acacia resin that the Bushman always carries is smeared on the arrow tip, and then a cocoon is broken and its contents rubbed on the tip. On one occasion one of my Bushmen had overlooked a small wound on his thumb, through which the poison penetrated into his blood stream. The penetration of the poison was not very painful; he merely had a feeling "as though warm water was penetrating into his flesh." The arm was considerably swollen for a week. The others made numerous incisions and scarifications with glowing sticks on him in order to save him. [752] [262] The flesh of the animal killed in this way is eaten raw, poisonous.

278 Von François (2) reports that the Hei//om of this region

[113] 2. Von François, "Reiseberichte Windhuk-Gobabis [Travel Report, Windhoek-Gobabis]," Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, V., 1892.

prepare their poison from the milky sap of the Apocynacea adenium Boehmianum. When exposed to the sun, it first becomes violet and then black. It is kept in little leather sacks and in case of need is warmed and mixed with the sap of the Habas root and applied to the arrow tips with flat sticks. These Bushmen still [411] used grooved stones to direct the arrow shaft.

7 AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[78 cont.]

000 it with the fingers. [Fig. 29 appears here.]

224 [79] The lion is neither eaten nor hunted. The jackal and
262 leopard are eaten, as is the liver of the latter. Baboons are not
825 eaten, because they were formerly Bushmen.

304 The line of tattooing between the eyebrows make people
302 into leopards among the Nogau. The Naron smear themselves with red and black color. The other incisions and tattooing are made purely for adornment.

825 Among the Naron, millepedes are regarded as creatures
756 of Hise, and only doctors may touch them and make medicine of them. Among the Nogau and ǂAuin there are magical bones
787 that are used to predict the future. The Naron also believe that
[172] the rock engravings stem from //gauwa.

Among the Auin it is forbidden to eat hyena flesh, and
262 likewise the flesh of the shabrack jackal because it is a dog.

The following important data supplied by Gentz (1) should

224
[114]
[113]

1. "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften [Some Contributions to Knowledge of the Southwest African Tribes]," Globus, Vol. 83, 1903.

be added:

"I have repeatedly found Bushman arrows on which the point, usually made of bone (for the most part ostrich bone), was made of wood. The game sling, reproduced in Figure 29, is constructed as follows: A strong string, four to five millimeters thick, which at one end terminates in a simple loop, is fastened at the other end to a flexible young tree or branch that is bent far over. A small, thinner string with a transverse stick is attached at the loop end. The string is placed around a small post driven into the ground at an angle, and it is prevented from slipping off by means of a flat piece of wood buried under the ground and planted against the free end of the transverse stick; the sling is placed in a circle on the ground over the flat piece of wood. The game, which follows its customary track to the

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

test this factor and eventually we learned that there are two aspects to the /Kung system of kin terminology. In one terms are applied according to the biological position of the persons; in the other terms are applied because persons are classified with others by having the same names, in ways this paper will explain. The factor of the name has resulted in kin terms being applied by persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, but who are considered to be related through the factor of the name in what we call the name-relationship.

Miss Bleek in her paper on 'Bushman Terms of Relationship'[1] has recorded /Kung terms. Students of the subject interested in comparing her paper with this will find them in agreement to a considerable extent, but Miss Bleek's paper does not go so deeply into the terminology as this does nor does it bring out the significance of the factor of the name.[2]

Our material on /Kung kin terminology is presented in two parts. (I) The first part (A) deals with terms applied to consanguineous kin, and explains the factor of the name and the way the application of terms is extended through the factor of the name to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, in what we call the name-relationship; and (B) deals with terms applied to affines. (II) The second part deals with certain aspects of behaviour related to kin terminology, touching briefly upon marriage prohibitions and preferences from the point of view of terminology. It deals more fully with the joking relationship, an aspect of behaviour which relates closely to terminological categories. The paper finally touches upon the way the name-relationship serves as an amalgamating factor within a whole region among people who have no larger organized social units than autonomous bands, small ones of 10–15 persons up to large ones of 40–60 persons, composed of consanguineous kin and their affines.

Space does not permit here a description of the composition of bands, but we hope in a future publication to give data on the family and bands, on hunting and veldkos territories, marriage, residence, settlement patterns, and on the behaviour among kin in forming hunting and gathering parties, arrow-lending, meat-sharing, gift-giving, &c.

[1] D. F. Bleek, 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 57–70.

[2] Miss Bleek (ibid.) sometimes gives the descriptive phrase in place of, or in addition to, the term, as if we should say father's brother or mother's brother instead of uncle. For instance, *he sin* is a descriptive phrase meaning father's younger brother or younger sister. There are differences of spelling. We should like to follow Miss Bleek's spelling, but we put down as best we could what we heard and cannot change over to her spelling because in the different areas the Bushmen's pronunciation may possibly have varied slightly. There are some terms given by Miss Bleek which we did not hear in the Nyae Nyae region. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae do not use the term *tsau* for Br. We did not hear *||ge*, nor *soin||ge*, nor *tsa* as a prefix to *sin*. Otherwise the terms we record are recognizable as the same terms which Miss Bleek records. Miss Bleek, on the other hand, does not record all the terms which we record as used in the Nyae Nyae area. The principal difference lies, we think, in her not taking into account the factor of the name. We think she had an inkling of there being such a factor among the /Kung she worked with, for she says they had a word */ku* which she thought meant 'kinsman' or 'namesake'. In any case, she does not show all the terms which in the Nyae Nyae region might be applied to grandparents, grandchildren and collaterals on both the paternal and maternal sides. A detailed comparison of the papers would show several examples, but one will suffice to illustrate the point. Miss Bleek records the terms for FaBr, *tsu*, and MoBr, *tsau||ge*, giving the impression that the /Kung system makes a terminological distinction between the paternal and maternal siblings, whereas we found that in the Nyae Nyae area both terms, *tsu* and *tsau||ge*, might be used for either FaBr or MoBr, and, besides, that the sibling term, elder Br, might also be used for FaBr or MoBr, as will be explained.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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PERIODICAL ABBREVIATIONS

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Afr. - Africa: journal of the International Institute of African languages and Culture. London.
Afr. Mthly - African Monthly. Grahamstown (ceased publication in 1910)
Afr. Stud. - African Studies: Quarterly journal devoted to the study of African administration, cultures and languages (being the continuation of Bantu Studies which ended with vol. XV, 1941) University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
Anthrop. - Anthropos: revue internationale d'ethnologie et de linguistique. Fribourg.
L'Anthrop - L'Anthropologie. Paris.
Archiv für Anth. - Archiv für Anthropologie: Zeitschrift für Naturgeschichte und Urgeschichte der Menschen. Braunschweig.
B. Stud. - Bantu Studies: a journal dedicated to the scientific study of Bantu, Hottentot and Bushmen now African Studies. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
Bol. Soc. Geog. de Lisboa - Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa. Lisbon.
Fort Hare Pap. - Fort Hare Papers. University of Fort Hare, Alice.
Geog. - Geografia: revue d'informations et d'actualites geographiques sous l'egide de la società de geographie.
Globus - Globus: illustrierte Zeitschrift für Landes- und Völkerkunde; merged into Petermanns Mitteilungen. Brunswick.
Huisge. - Huisgenoot: gelllustreerde weekblad. Cape Town.
Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst. - Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. London.
Man - Man: a monthly record of anthropological science. London.
Mitt. deuts. Schutz. - Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, mit Benutzung amtlicher Quelle. Berlin.
Mitt. anth. Gesel in Wien. - Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Vienna.
Nada - Nada, the Southern Rhodesian Native Affairs Department Annual. Salisbury.
Petermanns Mitt. - Petermanns Mitteilungen. Brunswick.
Rhod. Sc. Ass. Proc. - Rhodesian Scientific Association proceedings. Salisbury.
S. Afr. Geog. Jour. - South African Geographical journal. Johannesburg.
S. Afr. Jour. Sci. - South African journal of science. Johannesburg.
S.A.M.A.B. - South African museums bulletin, Cape Town.
Sc. et vie. - Science et vie. Paris.
Socio. - Sociologus: Zeitschrift für empirische Sociologie, sozialpsychologische und ethnologische Forschung. Berlin.
Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Afr. - Transactions of the Royal Society of S. Africa supersedes Transactions of the Philosophical Society of S. Africa. Cape Town.
Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc. - Transactions of the South African Philosophical Society, Cape Town.
Umschau - Umschau in Wissenschaft und Technik. Frankfurt am Main.
Z. für Eingeb-spr - Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen, now Afrika und Uberseo. Hamburg.
Z. für Ethn. - Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin.
Z. für Kol. Spr. - Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen.

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PREFACE

The Bushmen of Southern Africa are today represented by scattered groups of hunters on the plains of the Kalahari and on the farms of South West Africa and Angola. They are a unique and mysterious people and have attracted the attention of numerous writers since the early settlers at the Cape first made contact with the Sonquas. In this Bibliography an attempt has been made to list most aspects of the culture of the Bushmen. A bibliography on rock art was compiled in 1947, thus only a few items appear on this subject. Those included are of interest because they suggest some facet of culture or culture history. Some items are predominently of a physical anthropological nature but contain sufficient ethnological information to justify their inclusion.

The items are arranged in alphabetical order under broad subject headings and an Author-Title index has been provided. The section entitled History, was included because it was felt that the earliest references to Bushmen at the Cape and later in the interior, are of interest, in creating a picture of the life and customs of the extinct groups of Bushmen. The history of the tragic clashes between the Bushmen and other races which led to their extinction in most of Southern Africa, is traced in such historical works as J. Sutherland, Memoir respecting the Kaffirs Hottentots and Boshemans of South Africa and Donald Moodie, The Record

The main body of the bibliography is devoted to the ethnology of the Bushmen and here are included items by authors, some of whom are not ethnologists but whose work is of sufficient value to allow its inclusion in this section. The items included in the small section entitled Bushman Folklore, include popularised versions of the work of Dorothea Bleek and Lucy C. Lloyd. The section on Linguistics is purely restricted to works available in Johannesburg and no attempt has been made to obtain works by the Portuguese students of the Bushmen or other foreign linguistic studies. This can therefore claim to be no more than a token coverage of a field, in which a vast amount of work has been and still is, being done. The section entitled General, contains work not sufficiently scientific to be included under Ethnology, yet of interest, often because of their excellent illustrations. This section begins with works published after 1900 and works of a similar nature published before this date, appear in History.

Sources. Mendelssohn, South African Bibliography provided some of the older items. Many of the older periodical references were traced through the bibliography in - I. Schapera, Khoisan Peoples of South Africa and the Johannesburg Public Library's Index to South African Periodicals was also used. A list of periodical abbreviations indicates the sources consulted. Periodical titles were written out in full when they appeared only once.

Brief annotations are given in some cases. Page references and an indication of contents, have been provided for some of the older items which do not contain an index.

My sincere thanks are due to Prof. L.F. Maingard, Prof. M.G. Marwick, and Mr. G. B. Silberbauer for their valuable advice, to Prof. Manuel Guerreiro for kindly sending material on the Portuguese contribution to Bushman Studies, of which I could include only a very small number, and to Prof. P.V. Tobias for so kinily allowing me access to his bibliography on cards in the Anatomy Department.

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p. 241-242 Bushman encampment
Encounter with a group of Bushmen
p. 281-292 Hunting, poison, clothing etc.
Vol. 2 p. 18-25 Dress, customs etc, a Bushman dance
p. 113-118 Belief about a peculiar snake: conversation with a Bushman
p. 123-125 Bushman religious beliefs
p. 114-147 Ostrich hunting in disguise
p. 227-228 Bushman beliefs about snakes

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p. 341-348 Collecting honey, making of tsamma "beer".

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622 562 refer to one woman as a "headman"), nor does her husband. A headman's daughter, as it were, holds the place until her son is born to fill it. Primogeniture would be in force: the eldest daughter's son would take precedence over a younger daughter's son. If a daughter's husband is an effective person by nature, he could lead the band and perform the functions of headman indefinitely. The band, on the other hand, might find it more advantageous not to wait for a son to be born to the headman's daughter but to realign itself under another headman. Within the proper frame of kinship this is a voluntary matter.

782 539 (11) I paraphrase some of the prayers as follows:

"You have created me and given me power to walk about and hunt. Why do you lead me in the wrong way so that I find no animals?"

"Give rain, *!Nau*, wet the earth. Let there be veldkos. We are starving because we have to stay by the water hole where there is no more veldkos. You have favored some people with rain. Will you not favor us?"

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1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

101 Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung
582 whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

619 The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the
[648] territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

648 About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28
162 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of
[621] burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants
[177] other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

621 My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the
[114] years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

[162] FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

601 /Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1]
[595] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and
[596] extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal
[611] residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally,
[614] There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the
[835] incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

621 As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous
582 unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[113] [1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

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122 The following work was carried out by order of the Command of the Northern District of the Protectorate Forces as the result of a suggestion from the Museum for Ethnology in Berlin.

114 After I had spent the months of August, September, and October of 1908 making the necessary observations, I was called away from Rietfontein (North) and thus out of the region of the ≠Auin [Auen]. This interruption of my studies, which had scarcely begun,

/135 cont./

114 accounts for the incompleteness and gaps in my data, defects which make themselves felt particularly in the last chapter. Thus, I could neither do the important section on linguistics nor make a collection of ethnological materials.

The observations and researches that I did undertake were repeatedly tested for their correctness to the best of my abilities. The possibility of error, of course, is nevertheless admitted without reservation.

Aminuis, August, 1908. Kaufmann.

General Observations

144 It is my conviction that the #Auin, as well as all other Kalahari Bushmen, do not represent a homogeneous race, but rather a people or, better still, several peoples who have lost their original character through mixture with one another and above all with peoples of other races (Bantu). At any rate, a number of Bergdamara [Bergdama] or Herero decidedly gives a stronger impression of derivation from the same mold than do the same number of Bushmen.

197 The linguistic differentiation of the individual tribes is sometimes so great that mutual intelligibility is impossible.

171 182 The apparent cultural homogeneity is probably based on the uniformity of the landscape that everywhere surrounds them and on the living conditions (Kalahari culture).

144 171 There is no doubt that an intimate relationship of some kind exists between the Hottentot and Bushmen. It may be that the Bushmen are degenerate Hottentot with some admixture of foreign blood, or, on the other hand, that the Hottentot are Bushmen with foreign admixture who have emancipated themselves from the Kalahari culture.

[114] 144 197 I believe I shall not be guilty of an indiscretion if I report that the ethnographer Dr. Pöch shares this view with me. In a private communication he writes to me from Kamelpan

/136 cont./ The approximate number of Auin,
162 naturally in the form of the very roughest estimate, is apparent from the following compilation:

There reside in the region of

Oas	about 300	persons
Dawis	" 150	"
Stampriet	" 250	"
Rooigrauwater	" 50	"
Korikas	" 150	"
Olifantskloof	" 200	"
Habakobis	" 100	"
Rietfontein	" 200	"
Tjumda	" 100	"
Go	" 150	"
Sidonitzaub	" 1,000	"
Karasburg	" 100	"
Epukiro	" 100	"
Ganab	" 100	"
Gam	" 100	"
Total	about 3,000	persons

[114] In my opinion the number of Bushmen living in the Kalahari (not only the Auin) has been consistently underestimated.

I wrote these lines in October, 1908. Today, in other words,
165 not yet a year later, I am forced to change my opinion, since
161 the malaria of the last rainy season has taken many victims and has decimated the Auin as well as the other tribes. According to the figures provided, I consider myself justified in suggesting that of the Auin estimated above at 3,000, only about half at most remain.

It is impossible to obtain more precise statistics since the
648 Bushmen successfully evade any kind of control. Even the administration of the protectorate takes account of this fact by dispensing from the outset with any registration or the like by the Kalahari Bushmen.

No special racial layers are to be distinguished among the
144 Auin, although it is doubtless true that certain individuals can be shown to have more Negro blood than others.

[1] Introduction

121 The purpose of my expedition, on which I was accompanied by my wife, Maria Lebzelter-Grammetbauer, was to study the anthropology and ethnology of the native tribes, especially of the Bushmen, as well as the archeology of South Africa. The original plan came from Professor Father Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D.
122 Repeated generous stipends from His Holiness Pope Pius XI made possible the continuation of the expedition, which was fostered with tireless zeal by Father Schmidt. The Austrian Government, by means of special administrative measures, made it possible for me to set out on this journey. Furthermore, the editor of Anthropos, Professor Father W. Koppers, repeatedly lent considerable support to the expeditionary fund. The Research Grant Board in Johannesburg granted me -- although for purely anthropological purposes -- a single subvention of 50 pounds.

114 I have already described the program and execution of my South African expedition in the first volume of this work. Here, before presenting the ethnological results, I should like to portray in rough outline how these results were arrived at. I must state in advance that there was a space of only three weeks between the time when the measures taken by the Austrian authorities made it certain that I could leave my homeland and my actual departure. Hence, a [122] more detailed study of the native languages was out of the question. The conditions under which a person today can do ethnological field work are fundamentally different from those of the pioneering era. [797] Through the activity of the missions, there is growing up among all [177] tribes, except for the Bushmen, a stratum of intelligent individuals who, if not in this generation, certainly in the next, will take over the research among their own people. I recall a lawyer's clerk in Natal (Swazi) who had acquired a pamphlet of ethnological lectures from Johannesburg and had learned it by heart. When he turned to a White ethnologist, in order to begin the practical work, the latter assured him that just as a race horse could not be used for plowing, so an ox could not be used for racing. Meanwhile, however, a number of very creditable works by natives have
115 already appeared in print. In my investigations I have always used native schoolteachers who had a command not only of the

[3 cont.]

123 the sum of the ethnological results obtained in each case is a func-
124 tion of the amount of "yellow" money that in each instance was available to me.

000 The results of my work, together with the space available to me, determined the size and content of this book. For the prehistoric cultures, I refer the reader to the first volume.

114 My original intention of giving a survey of those tribes
128 among whom I was unable to do research had to be abandoned in view of the amount of space placed at my disposal. I intend to do this in the final section of the third volume, where, along with the anthropological findings, an over-all survey of the cultural and racial history of South Africa is to be presented. I have
[127] referred to the literature at some length only in the accounts on the Bushmen tribes of South Africa. In particular the officers of the Imperial German Colonial Force performed extremely valuable pioneering work in this area. Their accounts, given with military exactitude, are unsurpassable and represent ethnological sources of the first rank.

126 Wherever I did not carry out the observations myself but wrote down the translations of my native interpreters, I have left them unchanged. Hence, I hope that the reader will not hold against me the stylistic defects that appear here and there. The native words for the most part were written down by my interpreters. I would have been happy if it had been possible for me to have all the texts checked by competent experts. This was impossible. I therefore request indulgence in case there are any errors in the linguistic transcription. At any rate, these people wrote their mother tongue. [Page 4 blank.]

[5] The Bushmen Tribes

172 In terms of geological eras, South Africa has undoubtedly been inhabited for as long a time as the other parts of the Old World. Naturally, the first cultures we know are those that possessed a stone industry. Among these the hand-ax industry, which is also the oldest elsewhere, is likewise widespread in South and Southwest Africa. Since Reck has most recently established

[5 cont.]

105 Ninde. They have stopped collecting veldkost and confine themselves to hunting, exchanging the products for vegetables and the like from the Mabunda [Bunda] and Luchazi, with whom they have a dependent relationship. Their time divisions are the same as those among the !Kung in the south.

The Angola Bushmen have two or three wives. Some of the married couples were cousins.

Each household has a number of calabashes, a few baskets, and a clay pot. Wooden pestles are used for pounding the grain, as in the south.

Among the Bushmen of Kunzumbia, the ear lobes and nasal septum are pierced. All adult men have tattooing on the forehead with vertical lines between the eyes. Furthermore, on the arm and chest they wear so-called "flesh marks" (2) [6] to

[171] 2. These are also found in Ongandjera and along the Natakanako Pan.

record the big game they have killed. The women, too, are tattooed. As weapons, besides bows and arrows, they have the kirri and a short knife. Spears are rare. Ironware, of course, is obtained in trade from the Bantu for the most part, although the Bushmen in Musombu already have their own forge.

[114] The rain dance is described by Bleek just as I have witnessed it. The women and girls stand in a group on one side, singing and clapping their hands, while the men also sing, but do not clap, and perform rhythmic movements with the upper part of the body and arms. They sing:

//nwa-se //kabama //gu a i-i New moon, come out, give us water
//nwa-se tatana //gu a i-i New moon, thunder water down for us
//nwa-se tala u//gu a i-i New moon, throw water down for us.

For the boys' initiation, the candidates withdraw into the forest with three medicine men for a month. There they dance at night, and occasionally the spirit Huwe appears at the dance. There is also a girl's initiation, and at that time another spirit, //Gaua, is supposed to lead the dance. The tattooing of the girls is done in his honor.

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself, who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year 1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and smoke it' " (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions
131 of this tribe:

"The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

[20 cont.]

101 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposed-
131 ly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are
[648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the
[631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief, the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notorious Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-
[197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do
[342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in
[301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh
[827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron
[411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations
[114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

/22 cont./

181
648

appropriated a number of little trees and planted them in front of his house. On one occasion when he was in town with his Bushmen, the original owner of the trees declared that in the afternoon he was going to see about it. The Bushmen heard this and disappeared. When the two Whites came to the farm, the little trees had disappeared. The Bushmen had run ahead and had hurriedly removed them on their own initiative.

181 The Bushmen are at all times courageous and steadfast people, characteristics which, indeed, their very way of life would produce.

831 The Bushmen strictly avoid talking about sexual matters
[864] in the presence of women and children. Just as in general they are a people without imagination, they do not have any form of the more subtle erotic phantasies.

The endless obscene stories that one hears from the Blacks as soon as he has gained their confidence are unknown among the Bushmen.

The sexual element is absent in their religious cele-
[535] brations, but it finds expression in many of their dances, which imitate the love play of animals.

834 On the whole, their sense of modesty cannot be denied, even though, naturally, they do not have such decent forms of conduct as the genteel Bantu, among whom it is regarded as extremely improper to look at the breasts of the women. The
[516] girls and women never sit in the typical squatting position, but rather sit on the ground with the legs crossed.

(576) Although the life of the Bushmen within the encampment is openly in view, those principles that we regard as natural tact are nonetheless observed.

[514] The Bushman performs his necessities at all times out of sight of the others, and love scenes are never enacted in public.

● 114 It is naturally very difficult to learn anything more
124 precise concerning the more intimate details of sexual life

[22 cont.]

114 without compromising oneself. Only old people are suitable
124 informants, since they are no longer eager for renown.

831 In view of the hard life that the people lead, sexuality, naturally, is not excessively developed. Perverse manipulations are evidently unknown, since my informants did not even understand questions on this subject.

833 Normal sexual intercourse is usually performed in the bush during the time between the evening meal and the rising
271 of the moon. Long periods of thirst result in almost total im-
147 potence.

157 Despite all the formality, they have an unbridled
578 temperament which frequently expresses itself in violent emotional explosions over trivial affairs, which then may easily lead to serious consequences since the poisoned arrow is always at hand. For example, I was told the following story: A Bushman worked on a farm for quite a long time and, with his belly fat from eating maize, came to visit his thin companions. His brother made fun of him for being so fat, saying that he could not run any more, whereupon the fat one retorted: "Just the same, I'll live longer than you." After this brief exchange of words, the scrawny brother stabbed the fat one. -- A film com-
157 pany once wanted to make a film among the !Kung who are
648 settled behind Keibeb; the film was to be called: "When the First Whites Came into the Land." The chief of this horde had a [23] pair of old German military trousers as an emblem of his office and when he was requested to take them off, he responded with the declaration that he would take off his trousers only if the White did the same, whereupon he received a box on the ears that put him and his companions in such a rage that the film company preferred to depart in order to avoid a catastrophe.
157 That they can also be quick at repartee is shown by the following story which was repeatedly told to me by Europeans: A Bushman had been accused of poaching. The magistrate asked him: "Don't you know that these animals belong to the king (royal game)?" The Bushman answered: "I saw no 'brand' (property mark)."

As a chief or family head, the Bushman is bossy and
[593] unyielding, which is understandable in view of the rigidity of his whole conception of life. The sick Bushmen lie silent and

[23 cont.]

105 and in the beyond by his traditional conceptions, and the preserva-
182 tion of this adaptation, in the spiritual as well as in the material realm, is achieved by means of a strict selection of all the cultural goods offered from the outside. This selection is consciously carried out. Put briefly: the Bushmen have hitherto refused higher
[177] economic forms not because they do not possess the ability to handle them, but because they did not want to adopt them. If the material preconditions collapse, then they adopt, step by step or all at once, totally different ways of life, as is shown by their Bantuization in Ovamboland and probably also by the formation of the Hottentot people through the adoption of livestock raising on the part of a number of Bushman tribes. Their average intelli-
[153] gence is no less than that of any other race. Every Bushman knows
[184] the entire spiritual heritage of his tribe.

Of the same Bushmen, F. Schinz (2) says:

[113] 2. F. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Leipzig, 1891.

181 "The Bushman is always faithful to his master and will follow him anywhere without pay; one need not worry about leaving him alone at the wagon and will rarely have to reprimand him for dishonesty. All travelers and hunters unanimously praise
[593] the great affection that exists between parents and children, which goes so far that the father or mother will sacrifice themselves in order to save their child. I was told [24] by the hunter L. that at the Okovanggo he once witnessed a scene in which a young Bushman, who was one of the members of the hunting expedition, was in danger of being trampled to death by an angry elephant that stormed toward him. At the last moment when his paralyzed companions had already given the boy up for lost, his father sprang forth and flung his throwing club at the forehead of the enormous animal. The elephant now turned against his new attacher and furiously crushed him under his feet, giving the son the opportunity to flee."

[114] My observations are fully in accord with those of Dornan (1)

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

[27 cont.]

221 Bushmen shrink to miserable skeletons. Many of them at this
[648] time[1] run to the Blacks or Whites in order to earn something. In
[731] dry years no attention is paid to the kin group boundaries. All
[423] gather around the few water holes that are still open. As soon as the rain begins, conditions start to improve; the people start moving out in various directions, not to meet again until several months later at the time of the veldkost harvest here and there.

7. The Course of Life

584 I shall render in literal translation the account that my informant gave of the way a young man courts a girl:

If a young man wants to marry a girl, he must first speak to her and say: "I love you and want to marry you." If the girl is willing, she says first: "You must wait." Then she goes to her parents and asks them whether they have heard that the boy has spoken to her. The parents then ask whether the girl wants to marry the man. [28] If the girl says, "Yes," then the parents say, "He wants you; he has seen that you are good and hard-working; you may marry." If, however, the young man has thought the matter over and takes back his words, the girl goes to her parents once more, and the boy to his. The latter say: "You wanted it this way; nothing can be done about it." In case the girl definitely gives her consent, however, the young man brings all kinds of little presents and gives them to his future bride, who takes them to her parents. The parents-in-law must now in turn give presents. With the exchange of presents, the
[583] marriage is regarded as legally concluded.

●[114] The hunting test described by Passarge (1) and others is not
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584
[113]

1. Passarge, Die Buschmänner der Kalahari, 1907.

the rule. Some vain girls demand it, and sometimes young men will voluntarily go through with it in order to beat his rivals. This hunting test is carried out in the following manner. The boy goes hunting without weapons and pursues the game (as a rule,

1 [i.e. The hot season -- Analyst]

[29 cont.]

553 The custom of spitting is undoubtedly original, not a substitute
852 for well water."

551 The father gives his newborn child a name. The boys usually receive animal names, commonly that of the grandfather, and the girls, plant names. Albinos are unknown among the !Kung
[142] tribes visited by me, but a horde of Bushmen with red eyes is supposed to live in the eastern Sand Veld in the region of the
[845] Dussidum. I have never seen twins; they are probably done away with. The children are breast fed for a long time; older infants
853 learn to squeeze the milk out of the breast with their fingers or pull with their teeth on the leathery nipples. The assertion of
847 other travelers that the women kill their children if they are born
[114] before the previous child has been weaned is allegedly not true of the kin groups visited by me. On the other hand, Vedder (1)

[113] 1. "Zur Vorgeschichte der eingeborenen Völkerschaften von Südwestafrika. I. Die Buschmänner [On the Prehistory of the Native Tribes of Southwest Africa]," by V. Vedder, Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society, Vol. I, p. 10, 1925-1926, Windhoek, 1927. -- Cf. also Von Zastrow and H. Vedder, op. cit., p. 414.

reports:

"I must mention one other custom which likewise considerably contributes, and may have contributed in prehistoric times, to the Bushmen being so few in number. Custom demands that a child born when the older child of the same mother is not yet three years old be buried alive. This is a gruesome custom. I spoke about it with a racially pure Bushman. My remonstrances did not convince him at all. He explained: 'We Bushmen are poor people. We have no goats and no cows to give our children milk. If the woman brings two children into the world within a period of three years, we don't know what the older child is supposed to live on if the newborn child uses up the mother's milk. It cannot live on the hard veldkost or on tough meat. The teeth are not yet strong enough. If we let the newborn

[30 cont.] VON ZASTROW
113 and Vedder (1) report further:
1

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Buschmänner, pp. 412-413.

843 "It is absolutely against the rules to do anything by word or
754 deed to the pregnant woman that might make her angry. Her evil eye in this period is especially dangerous; her angry word or her curse has an even worse effect. Sores, illness, protracted suffering, and death are the consequences of the evil eye or the curse of a pregnant woman.

844 "It is customary to sever the umbilical cord with an instrument only when the blood no longer pulsates. The umbilical cord is not tied off. The afterbirth must be carefully and secretly buried. The life of the child would be greatly endangered if an animal found it or if a feared sorcerer could appropriate a piece of it."

881 As soon as the girls have their first menstruation (/n) (2),

2. Female genitalia (/n-i).

a celebration takes place, but in this tribe I was unable to learn any of the details. On this occasion, the women dance, clap their hands, and sing, "giriri, giriri, giriri, uhu, giriri uhu," and so forth.

Men may not be present at this celebration. In a Hei//om horde neighboring the !Kung, spirits are appealed to in all directions on the occasion of this celebration, so that the girl, as an adult, will find veldkost everywhere.

The existence of a true initiation for boys is denied (3).

[114]
[124]

3. On this point I was either misunderstood or told a falsehood.

There is merely a kind of testing; an older man goes with the candidate or candidates on a hunting expedition. Under the supervision of the older person, the candidate must kill a specimen of large game. The animal is then brought to the sacred fire, at which the

[50 cont.]

751 concerning the witch doctors:

756 [51] "The sorcerer can protect himself against the malignant spirits of evil deceased persons. After all, he can see them and knows the means for defending himself against them. The ordinary Bushman has no eye for them, but he has a means of keeping them at arm's length. In a small leather bag about as long as a finger [411] he keeps a bow carved out of horn and numerous horn arrows stuck in a shaft of sour grass [Cyperaceae]. If he has occasion to fear evil spirits, he shoots these miniature arrows in all directions with his miniature bow. Now the evil spirits cannot get at him.

"Since in addition he has the belief that an object merely thrown in the direction of a hated person in some mysterious fashion enters that person's body and gravely harms him, he likewise uses his miniature bow to keep a pursuer or enemy off his neck by shooting an arrow, with a curse, in the direction where he imagines his enemy to be, even when he knows that this person is miles away from him."

Whereas I myself and the highly experienced J. Lunkenbein 411 regard these Bushman revolvers as harmless magical instruments, [114] Seiner has a different opinion:

"The 'revolver' is a definite instrument of murder carried hidden in the modesty apron. The bow is ten centimeters long, the arrows are from ten to 12 centimeters long, and with the former they are put in a little bag adorned with beads. In addition it should be noted that the arrows, which are wrapped crosswise with little bands of tendon, are poisoned by being smeared with [278] little bits from the body of the arrow poison caterpillar. The Bushman ordinarily crushes a few of the caterpillars, which are available only in December and January, living on a few Commiphora shrubs (Commiphora dinteri, C. seineri) or as pupa at the roots under the ground, in a bone vessel with a little wooden stick that is always in the quivers; then he smears the arrow with some sticky stuff, such as wax or resin, whereupon he brushes the arrow with the viscous, slimy caterpillar mass, which, after drying, covers the arrow as a more or less thick brown crust. Up to a distance of seven meters it is possible to puncture the skin, drawing blood, with this miniature arrow; if the arrow tip were not blunt but pointed, like the one placed in the grass shaft, the arrow would

[54 cont.]

171 of various religions have found entry here. Among the Bushmen
177 tribes I visited there is the common belief in a supreme good be-
171 ing, whose name varies. The people described here [55] call the
176 supreme being X'u, "the lord" or "the great captain" (1). It is

[782]

1. According to Vedder, the supreme being is Huwe (Tsumeb). When the first veld fruits ripen, an offering is brought before sunrise. A freshly broken twig is inserted into a piece of wood with a hole bored through it. The people are seated in a circle, and the eldest passes around a tobacco or dacha pipe made out of a tubular bone.

the same expression that the Cape Hottentot used in speaking to the German traveler Kolbe, with the same significance and pronunciation 705 (2). The name could not have come from the

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2. J. Schapera (The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, 1930) has critically referred to my observations on this point. In this connection I must note: the "great captain" among the eastern !Kung may rightfully be designated as "supreme being." I have already given his characteristics in my earlier publications.

[104]
[194]

The spelling is correctly X'u. I use X' to designate a click that is even lower than "!". It is also found in other words, such as X'Ame = lion. Since not all publishers provide this character, I have sometimes been forced to write "Khu" or "Chu." This word, which the !Kung, too, translate as "lord" or "great captain," was already found, as Schapera indicates, among the Cape Hottentot in 1705 as Khourou = "Supreme Ruler" and "Great Chief" or "Great Captain"; Kolbe gives a quite analogous citation a little later, and Hahn reports of one old Nama, "The people say,

[CONTINUES ON p. 108 - ANALYST]

[55 cont.]

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if it is thundering, the Lord (Khub, i.e., Tsui//Goab) is speaking; he is scolding them" [cited in English], Schapera, ibid., p. 381.

The belief in a great captain was therefore common to the !Kung Bushmen and the Cape Hottentot, and the great age of the reports from the Cape exclude the possibility that missionary influence was at work here. Just as among the !Kung, this belief is apparently of very great antiquity among Miss Bleek's Naron and not simply taken over from the Christian Hottentot. In Ovamboland the concept X'u merges with Huwe, and I believe that J. Schapera, too, regards Huwe, Chuwe, and X'u as identical. The fact that the eastern !Kung have the belief in a supreme being was not discovered by me; rather, this discovery was made as early as 1910 by H. Vedder.

[174]

Everyone must be struck by the fact that there is substantial agreement between the reports concerning the heavenly house that I took down among the eastern !Kung and the data that H. Vedder supplies concerning the /Gamab of the Honigkaffir of the Otavi mountains. To be sure, these regions are also close to each other geographically. The question now arises: did the !Kung take this doctrine over from the Honigkaffir, as Schapera appears to assume, or is the reverse the case? Among the Bergdama of the central region, where I was able to carry out extensive studies, especially in the reservation of Okombahe, there is scarcely anything of these conceptions of the Honigkaffir. The Bergdama are a Negro tribe that has completely lost its original culture and language and for a long

[55 cont.]

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time had a dependent relationship with the Bushmen, whose quite miserable imitators they had in part become. Even today Bergdama who want to become witch doctors go from Windhoek and Okombahe to the !Kung in order to learn there. If the conceptions of the Honigkaffir reported by H. Vedder were indeed ancient Negro cultural traditions, then it should surely be possible to find parallels and, at least in the names referring to the beyond, traces of the old language. Almost always among the Bantu the world of the beyond lies under the earth, whereas among the Khoisan it is in the sky. For all these reasons, I draw the conclusion that the Honigkaffir have taken over the doctrine of /Gamab from
[177] the !Kung. The expression Erob or Elotse, which is to be found among several Bushman tribes, undoubtedly goes back to Christian Hottentot influence. The two-fold names of the supreme being among various groups in Ovamboland, on the other hand, allows one to conclude that here only one new name for a well-known conception found entry, and,
[824] to be sure, with such intensity that the Hei//om, at the Etosha Pan, for example, name their most important medicinal root the Erob root. Moreover, just as among the Honigkaffir, among the Hei//om of the Etosha Pan, too, it is /Gamab who sends thunder and lightning and who kills people with shooting stars. J. Schapera recognizes that the conception of Huwe, Thora, and the mantis as creator, as the giver of rain and success in hunting, and as the protector of human beings is common to all Bushmen (ibid., p. 195) and also has its analogue among the Hottentot. He seems to regard this being as a rain god, however.

[55 cont.]

114 171 776 [775] //Gaua, whose name varies, stands opposite him as an antagonist who does harm to human beings. Schapera believes that the original designation //Gaua stood for the spirits of the dead. This is largely correct. My researches in various places, however, show that all kinds of noncorporeal beings are understood by the term //Gaua, in other words, spirits in our sense, and immaterial forces of all kind. The great captain, of course, is regarded as actually corporeal by the !Kung. P. W. Schmidt, on the other hand, has regarded this //Gaua as the original god in heaven. A comparison of the facts of the history of religion may support this view.

114 776 771 If I understand Schapera correctly, we agree that a benign high deity is indeed present among the Bushmen, but one that he does not want to designate as the supreme being. I maintain, however, that this being must be so designated in accordance with general usage. [174] The peoples of the Khoisan group, according to the evidence of the prehistoric finds, have an active history behind them; the most diverse races live on in them, and their culture in its optimal adaptation to environmental conditions is to be regarded as a residual culture. It is therefore self-evident that their world view should have a syncretistic character, especially since religious ideas are cultural elements with definite tendencies to diffuse widely. Like all human beings, the Bushmen and other primitives have thoughts that are fundamentally the same as ours. [773] Even the Bushman has a distinct need to discover causality, but this need is felt less with regard to causal or conditional explanations for given conditions and more with regard

[55 cont.]

114 776 771 773 to processes. Hence, among the primitives we find carefully thought out conceptions concerning the origin of the world of animals, human beings, and plants more rarely than a clear answer to the question concerning the originator of the actual processes, that is, of rain, storms, sickness, death, and, generally, good and bad fortune in human life. This originator is conceived as either a human-like being above the clouds or ancestral spirits. The religious need or the need for protection is also generally oriented in terms of 114 these two conceptions. The greater the significance accorded to the benign ancestral spirits 771 776 and the extent to which they can be influenced by magical practices, the smaller the significance of the heavenly being conceived as a general causa officiens. J. Schapera will doubtless agree with me whan I say that, in contrast to the Bantu, the need for a causal explanation and the religious need for protection are oriented around Thora, Huwe, /Gamab, and others, and that among the Bushmen this heavenly being therefore plays the role that we impute to a "good supreme being." By way of a critique of the Bushmen's conceptions it should be emphasized that the Bushmen, like all primitives, systematize their religious conceptions only to the extent that this is necessary for the satisfaction of their religious and causal-explanatory needs. We shall thus encounter varying degrees of consistency in the world picture from group to group, even from individual to individual, and no investigator will be able to discover a thoroughly organized system of Bushman religion since such does not exist. Whatever I could get from my

3: Lebzelter--119 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
MASARWA

[62]

Chapter 7

The Bushmen of the North

114 Our best information concerning the Masarwa comes from Dornan (1) and Holub (2). In what follows an outline sketch will

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygrines and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

2. Holub, Die Masarwa.

be given of the culture of this tribe, based upon these two authors.

342 According to Dornan, the Masarwa once preferred to live in caves, where their ancestors had made paintings. The Bushmen in the Wankie and Ngami districts have plaited mats of grass [285] or reed, with which they cover their windscreens. Sometimes they make a kind of roof covered with grass; otherwise they have ordinary windscreens.

[532]
[172]

Fig. 21a. Representation of a Curing Scene. In the background, the female doctor who serves as oracle. (Eastern Cape Province. From J. P. Johnson, The Prehistoric Period in [113] South Africa, 1910.)

322 For the wood of the bow the Masarwa use very straight 411 little tree trunks. After the bark is removed, they are tied to a straight tree and left to dry. The wood is then given its final drying over the fire and is placed in water so that it will not splinter. The middle of the bow is also commonly wound with tendons. The bow is often greased and never unstrung. The finished bow is smoothed with a rough stone.

[58 cont.]

775 From there they make their rounds. They always return to their
769 graves. Hence, a Bushman always makes a detour around a grave. He does not point at a grave with his finger, and he does not call to a companion: 'There is a grave!' A great detour is made around the area where there is a grave. When a Bushman unexpectedly passes a grave, he puts a stone on it. That is a greeting for the dead person. In so doing, one makes the grave more secure against wild animals."

769 From the region of Foxhof I have the following informa-
775 tion to add:

"The Gauab that arises from the flesh of the corpse remains seated by the grave. When a relative passes by and the Gauab is sitting out in the open, the Gauab thinks: 'I know this person well; why is he passing by here without giving me any water. Then the Gauab becomes angry and makes him sick. Then when the doctors sing, they recognize what the trouble is and say: Today you passed by the grave of N. and did not give anything. Tomorrow morning very early you must take water and an ostrich egg and place them by the grave. Such a Gauab also
775 goes hunting, kills game, makes a fire, cuts open the game,
787 takes the fat, and brings it to the doctors while they are singing.
[756] The Gauab, whom the other people cannot see, sits down at some distance from the dancers. The doctor sees him, however, and goes to the Gauab. The latter tells him where the game lies, and the doctor tells this to the other people, who fetch the game and praise the Gauab.

775 "The stars are the campfires of the Gauab.

"The Gauana take the souls that they have stolen to their village and then back to the grave. The people often hear a voice in the veld; this is the Gauab calling, and on their way they find a piece of dead game. When the Gauab is out hunting and has gone too far from his grave, he must sleep in a tree. Some of the souls stolen by the Gauab are brought to the captain of the Gauana. The souls that are taken there again become actual persons up above with the captain of the rain. The others, however, are the little Gauab who go hunting here."

[114] The observations made by Bleek (3) 50 years ago seem to
776 be especially significant.

3. W. H. J. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd,

[113]

[55 cont.] WHATEVER I COULD GET FROM MY
114 individual informants I took down with the
771 exactness of a trained scientist, faithful to
776 the letter and with due regard for all pre-
[124] cautions. From these notations I have drawn the inevitable conclusion that a benign supreme being is a reality in their world picture.

776 surrounding Hei//om tribes, [56] for they use the word Somseb.
171 We should sooner think of Huwe. Huwe or Hue was what the !Kung Bushmen of Tsumeb examined by Vedder called the supreme being. I also know the expression Chuwa from the Bushmen of Ukuambi. This supreme being is conceived of in human form;
776 it looks like a Bushman and also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky
772 in a house that has two floors; his wife, whose name is unknown, lives on the lower floor, as well as many children. The souls
[775] of the deceased live on the upper floor. "The house" (it is supposed to be similar to, but not entirely like a Bushman windscreen) "is hairy on the outside, like a caterpillar." There are various things up there, but only a single house, namely, that of the captain. Honey, crickets, and fat flies are there in great abundance. The great captain lives on them. In addition, there are a great many butterflies. The following are regarded as the
776 functions of this supreme being.

1. In the opinion of some, the great captain made the sun, moon, and everything. In the opinion of others, the highest of the spirits, /Nawa, did this.

2. The great captain calls the doctors to their calling and gives them supernatural power.

3. He is the lord of the rain and the lightning.

4. Through the highest of the spirits he sends luck on the hunt or on the search for veldkost.

5. When someone thinks or speaks ill of him, he punishes
[688] him with lightning. He is not concerned about the other activities of his Bushman children, however, unless someone swears falsely.
695 The Kung have a regular oath, and one of my informants reported
776 the following to me:

When a group goes hunting and one of the participants is

[68 cont.]

1. Birth and Childhood

844 Among the ≠Auin, the husband of a woman in childbed slings the string of his bow around her stomach, but he is not present at the birth itself. The cord is severed with the tip of a reed splinter.

Among the Naron and Nogau, the delivery proceeds as it does
844 among the !Kung; an old woman usually provides assistance, however.

Twins (Hoi-holi) are not desired; among the Nogau one of
845 them is killed.

Among the Nogau, the father gives the child its name.
553] There the child has its umbilical cord severed by means of a
844 sharp quartz splinter. A woman in childbed may not eat blood and head meat. Until the child is able to sit up, the husband
[833] may not cohabit with the mother. The latter custom is also found among the Betschuana. Nogau children are not allowed to eat
262 the flesh of the wildcat and of two birds (tsugnussi and /gui).
●[114] Kaufmann has made some observations concerning children's
524 games; Bleek also provides some data:

Among the ≠Auin little bows and arrows serve as children's toys. The same applies to the Naron and Nagau [sic]. Stilts
[481] are known among the Auin and are used by men and boys. Con-
524 cerning children's games among the Naron, Miss Bleek reports:

The Game of the Big Water Snake

A boy crawls on his stomach to a small pile of sand which is supposed to represent the waterhole. At some distance from it, the children sit in a row, one behind the other, in such a way that each one sits between the legs of the one behind him; he puts his hands on the shoulder of the person in front of him. The biggest child [69] always sits at the front, the smallest at the back. They sing a song that in part is no longer intelligible. (Probably in the children's language.) This big "snake" now moves very slowly around the waterhole, while the water snake from time to time throws sand on it; then the others withdraw. At the end the snake catches one from the row and "eats it." I

[74 cont.]

773 him. They go to their huts which are under the horizon in the
821 west. At night or during the day, respectively, they go back to their huts in the east; one can hear them but cannot see them."

114 Kaufmann was unable to discover anything concrete con-
776 cerning the high gods of the ≠Auin. Concerning the Naron, Bleek
776 relates that a curious mixture of religious conceptions has come about. A central position is occupied by Hise or Hyesa, who is designated as !Khuba or !X'uba by the adult men. The old people knew nothing about this. The Nama designate !Khub as master or lord, and this word is used by a number of missionaries for Christ. These elders maintain that this concept has been adopted
[177] from the Nama. Formerly they only knew Hise, who lived in the east. Hise is evidently the same as Heitsi Aibib (literally, "the first tree").

The Naron relate that in olden times both the trees and the
773 animals were human beings who were transformed by Hise into their present shapes. Then Hise called the chiefs of the Whites and Blacks and said to them: "Take cows and goats and live with them." But to the first chiefs of the Bushmen he said: "Take the antelopes and live on them; make traps and hunt and live in the bush."

The expression Huwu or Huwuba is known and is supposed to
776 designate the great captain of the men in the north. The details given by Miss Bleek concerning //Gauwa are interesting. In the opinion of the Naron and ≠Auin, //Gauwa is the spirit of a de-
[775] ceased person. Medicine men can also see these spirits; the
[776] women can only hear them. Many a woman declared that only men who had gone through the initiation ceremony and who have two scars between the eyebrows can become //Gauwa. A strong, howling wind is also designated as //Gauwa, however. A few individuals also believe in a chief spirit by this name, who lives near Hise in the east and to whose house the spirits return by day. Some designate //Gauwa as the younger brother of Hise; others identify him with the latter.

The Naron put both masculine and feminine endings on the word Hise. Among the ≠Auin he appears during their dances at

[78 cont.]

it with the fingers. [Fig. 29 appears here.]

[79] The lion is neither eaten nor hunted. The jackal and leopard are eaten, as is the liver of the latter. Baboons are not eaten, because they were formerly Bushmen.

The line of tattooing between the eyebrows make people into leopards among the Nogau. The Naron smear themselves with red and black color. The other incisions and tattooing are made purely for adornment.

Among the Naron, millepedes are regarded as creatures of Hise, and only doctors may touch them and make medicine of them. Among the Nogau and ǂAuin there are magical bones that are used to predict the future. The Naron also believe that the rock engravings stem from //gauwa.

Among the Auin it is forbidden to eat hyena flesh, and likewise the flesh of the shabrack jackal because it is a dog.

The following important data supplied by Gentz (1) should

1. "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften [Some Contributions to Knowledge of the Southwest African Tribes]," Globus, Vol. 83, 1903.

be added:

"I have repeatedly found Bushman arrows on which the point, usually made of bone (for the most part ostrich bone), was made of wood. The game sling, reproduced in Figure 29, is constructed as follows: A strong string, four to five millimeters thick, which at one end terminates in a simple loop, is fastened at the other end to a flexible young tree or branch that is bent far over. A small, thinner string with a transverse stick is attached at the loop end. The string is placed around a small post driven into the ground at an angle, and it is prevented from slipping off by means of a flat piece of wood buried under the ground and planted against the free end of the transverse stick; the sling is placed in a circle on the ground over the flat piece of wood. The game, which follows its customary track to the

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

test this factor and eventually we learned that there are two aspects to the /Kung system of kin terminology. In one terms are applied according to the biological position of the persons; in the other terms are applied because persons are classified with others by having the same names, in ways this paper will explain. The factor of the name has resulted in kin terms being applied by persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, but who are considered to be related through the factor of the name in what we call the name-relationship.

Miss Bleek in her paper on 'Bushman Terms of Relationship'[1] has recorded /Kung terms. Students of the subject interested in comparing her paper with this will find them in agreement to a considerable extent, but Miss Bleek's paper does not go so deeply into the terminology as this does nor does it bring out the significance of the factor of the name.[2]

Our material on /Kung kin terminology is presented in two parts. (I) The first part (A) deals with terms applied to consanguineous kin, and explains the factor of the name and the way the application of terms is extended through the factor of the name to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, in what we call the name-relationship; and (B) deals with terms applied to affines. (II) The second part deals with certain aspects of behaviour related to kin terminology, touching briefly upon marriage prohibitions and preferences from the point of view of terminology. It deals more fully with the joking relationship, an aspect of behaviour which relates closely to terminological categories. The paper finally touches upon the way the name-relationship serves as an amalgamating factor within a whole region among people who have no larger organized social units than autonomous bands, small ones of 10–15 persons up to large ones of 40–60 persons, composed of consanguineous kin and their affines.

Space does not permit here a description of the composition of bands, but we hope in a future publication to give data on the family and bands, on hunting and veldkos territories, marriage, residence, settlement patterns, and on the behaviour among kin in forming hunting and gathering parties, arrow-lending, meat-sharing, gift-giving, &c.

[1] D. F. Bleek, 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 57–70.

[2] Miss Bleek (ibid.) sometimes gives the descriptive phrase in place of, or in addition to, the term, as if we should say father's brother or mother's brother instead of uncle. For instance, *ha siy* is a descriptive phrase meaning father's younger brother or younger sister. There are differences of spelling. We should like to follow Miss Bleek's spelling, but we put down as best we could what we heard and cannot change over to her spelling because in the different areas the Bushmen's pronunciation may possibly have varied slightly. There are some terms given by Miss Bleek which we did not hear in the Nyae Nyae region. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae do not use the term *tsau* for Br. We did not hear *||ge*, nor *soiy||ge*, nor *tsa* as a prefix to *siy*. Otherwise the terms we record are recognizable as the same terms which Miss Bleek records. Miss Bleek, on the other hand, does not record all the terms which we record as used in the Nyae Nyae area. The principal difference lies, we think, in her not taking into account the factor of the name. We think she had an inkling of there being such a factor among the /Kung she worked with, for she says they had a word */ku* which she thought meant 'kinsman' or 'namesake'. In any case, she does not show all the terms which in the Nyae Nyae region might be applied to grandparents, grandchildren and collaterals on both the paternal and maternal sides. A detailed comparison of the papers would show several examples, but one will suffice to illustrate the point. Miss Bleek records the terms for FaBr, *tsu*, and MoBr, *tsau||ga*, giving the impression that the /Kung system makes a terminological distinction between the paternal and maternal siblings, whereas we found that in the Nyae Nyae area both terms, *tsu* and *tsau||ga*, might be used for either FaBr or MoBr, and, besides, that the sibling term, elder Br, might also be used for FaBr or MoBr, as will be explained.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Here are the parent–child terms:[1]

Fa	ba (b^ha)[2]
Mo	dai[3] (t^hai)
Mo (voc.)	aiya (āiya)
So	/ha (ŋ/^ha)
Da	≠khai (ŋ≠kxai)

601

These terms are subject to no modification. They are used by a person for no other relatives than his biological parents or offspring and no other terms can be applied in these relationships.

Sibling terms are as follows:

elder Br	/go (/o)
elder Si	/kwi (/kwi)
younger Br or Si	tsī (tsī)

The above terms are used for both full and half siblings. These terms are fixed to the sibling relationship in the sense that no other terms replace them under any condition; but, unlike the parent–child terms which are applied to no other relationship, the sibling terms are under certain circumstances extended to other relationships than that of biological sibling.

The generational terms are as follows:

Applied to males	*Applied to females*
tsu (tsū)	//ga (g//^ha)
/gu/na (/uŋ/^ha)	tūn (txūŋ)
tun/ga w.s. (txuŋ.g/a) alternate to /gu/na	

The terms are reciprocal. If a male ego applies the term *tsu* to a man, he is termed *tsu* by that man. Or, if a male ego terms a woman *//ga*, she terms him *tsu*. It is the same with the */gu/na–tūn* pair.

The above statements are subject to the qualification that, when using these terms, the older person invariably uses a diminutive form for the younger person. We shall list the diminutives here, and then, to avoid being cumbersome, omit them henceforth throughout the text. The diminutive is expressed by adding the suffix *ma*,

[1] The spelling of the Bushman terms used in this paper is an approximation. We represented the Bushman sounds as we heard them as nearly as we could without using symbols except for the clicks. The four clicks are symbolized as follows: dental /, alveolar ≠, alveolar palatal /, and lateral //.

[2] Mr. Ernst Westphal of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, when he visited our expedition at Gautscha Pan, took down the terms in phonetic symbols as /Kung informants pronounced them. We give his symbols in parentheses the first time the term is given. We wish to express our gratitude to him.

[3] Mr. Westphal spells the term for Mo with a *t* (t^hai), as does Miss Bleek (*tai*). Professor Clement M. Doke, in his outline of the phonetics of the language of the /Kung, *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 130–65, on p. 150 spells it *?ai*. We feel apologetic about insisting on *dai*, but we thought we heard the voiced sound *d*. We wondered if the *d* derived from *di* which means female and occurs in the term *di/gama* which is applied to persons who have the same name as one's mother (cf. p. 9).

128
194
114

553 7. Names are occasionally changed.
[551] 8. Nicknames are in common use. They are usually descriptive of physical characteristics, such as Gow Umbilicus or Gow Beard.

553 601 It must be kept in mind, as the description of the homonymous method of applying terms proceeds, that the /Kung distinguish between being named for, and having the same name as, a person. When one is named for someone, one is brought into the kinship constellation of that person. Merely fortuitously having the same name as someone does not do this to the same degree. We shall at first limit the description to situations where one is *named for* another.

A child is, as we have said, never named for a parent, nor is a child named for a sibling (though they may have the same name). In these categories of relationship, therefore, the homonymous method of applying terms is not operative. In other categories of relationship, however, when a person is named for another, he is, with respect to ego, terminologically taken out of his biological category and classified in the category of the person for whom he is named. Ego applies a term to him according to his homonymous classification.

There are three categories, with respect to ego, into which persons may be classified by their names. (1) The parent–child category: Although ego is never named for his parent, some of his relatives will be. (Some of his nephews and nieces, for example, would certainly be named for ego's Fa or Mo.) When this occurs, ego applies a term to that person which classifies the person with the parent of ego's for whom he or she was named. The terms are *tsu* applied to males, *||ga* applied to females. The terms *ba* and *dai* are applied, as we have said, only to the biological parents. The terms *tsu* and *||ga* are the terms applied to persons in generations adjacent to ego's (i.e. his parents' generation, cf. Diagram 1, p. 6), and are the terms used to classify persons terminologically in the parent category. The same terms would be used for persons named for ego's offspring who again would be terminologically classified as in adjacent generations with respect to ego. (2) The sibling category: If a person is named for ego's sibling, ego classifies him or her terminologically with that sibling and applies the sibling term, i.e. *!go* (elder Br), *!kwi* (elder Si) or *tsī* (younger Br or younger Si). (3) Ego's category: We consider that the third category is basically ego's category and that it includes persons who are classified by name or generation with ego. Persons may be classified in this category by being named for ego, or for ego's spouse, who is of the same terminological generation as ego. The person for whom ego is named and the spouse of that person are in this category. The way people are classified within it will be brought out as the description proceeds, but more information must first be given about the terms associated with it, namely: *!gu!na* (*tun!ga* w.s.) and *tũn*.

The term *!gu!na*, unlike any of the other terms, so far as we know, is a translateable word. *!Gu*[1] means name, *!na* means big or old. The diminutive which derives from the term is *!guma*, small or young name. As terms *!gu!na* and *!guma* always occur modified with the augmentative or diminutive suffix, never simply as *!gu*, the word for name.

[114 194] [1] This is undoubtedly the word which Miss Bleek heard as *!ku* (cf. 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', p. 62). It seemed to us particularly difficult to determine, when a word began with the alveolar palatal click, whether the consonant release was voiced or unvoiced. We have two opinions here, Miss Bleek's *!ku* and our *!gu*. Mr. Westphal hears no consonant, i.e. *!ũ*.

553 ego or his kin or affines. We shall refer to this aspect of the kinship system as the
601 name-relationship.

Among name-relatives, as among consanguineous relatives, it is the biologically older person who classifies the younger with respect to his (the older's) kinship constellation, using the diminutive form of the term for the younger person. The younger person reciprocates.

551 One of the factors in the name-relationship is an ancestral list of names to which
553 terms are linked. Each /Kung has his own individual list to learn, taught to him by his parents and his *!gu!na*. No one could tell us exactly how the list is compiled, but
601 the theory which lies behind the list is that there were among ego's forbears persons whose names required certain terms. (One surmises they were great-grandparents and their siblings and the siblings of grandparents, &c. or perhaps still earlier generations.) Name-relatives who have these names may have had some distant consanguineous connexions. Ego no longer knows, but the old people knew, and in following their teaching ego knows he is following his proper homonymous pattern. Every informant had such a list and told us what term he linked with every name we knew. Some had more than one term linked with a name. ≠Toma used the term *tũn* for women named Khwova who came from the Gum region and */kwi* for Khwovas from the north. His parents, he said, told him to do this.

553 There is a system of applying terms to name-relatives. Ego is in the place of first
601 priority in the sense that invariably the term *!gu!na* is applied to any name-relative having the same name as himself. Furthermore, ego applies terms to the Fa, Mo, So, Da, sibling and spouse of a *!gu!na* who is a name-relative having the same name as himself, as he does in the case of the person for whom he is named. However, this is carried no further. He does not apply terms to persons named for these name-relatives and he does not apply terms to the nuclear family and spouse of a person he terms *!gu!na* unless the *!gu!na* has the same name as himself.

The term *tsu* is invariably applied to any male name-relative who has the same name as ego's Fa, *||ga* or *di!guma* to any female name-relative with the same name as ego's Mo.

[114 There are gaps in our knowledge at this point; confusion in the data was not re-
551] solved. We think, but are not certain, that next in order comes the ancestral list, taking precedence over siblings, children and spouses as a source of terms to apply to name-relatives. We think the terms applied to name-relatives derive mainly from the ascending generations, except *!gu!na*, applied to persons with the same name as ego's. To illustrate, take a man named Bo. Unless Bo is ego's name, or the name of ego's Fa, ego would use for Bo the term which was linked to the name Bo on his ancestral list. We think that, even if Bo were the name of ego's Br or the Hu of a female ego, the sibling or spouse term would not take precedence over the term linked with the name Bo on the ancestral list. We are certain that the ancestral list does take precedence over ego's children as a source of terms for name-relatives.

We have been assuming that the name occurs on the ancestral list. If a person
[551] should come along whose name was not on his ancestral list, but was the same as one of ego's consanguineous kin or affines, ego would apply the term to that person which he applies to the consanguineous kin or affine. (In the case of an affine ego would use a kin term corresponding to the affinal term, not the affinal

N/OW

LORNA MARSHALL

N/ow[1] is a belief concerning rain and cold which is held by the /Kung Bushmen in the region around Nyae Nyae in South West Africa.

About ten inches of rain falls in an average year in this part of the Kalahari Desert and sinks into the deep sands. There is no run-off in streams and there are few water holes. The rain is sufficient to support a covering vegetation of grass, shrubs, and scrubby trees. The vegetation includes numerous edible roots, tubers, leaves, fruits, and nuts, for which the Afrikaans language provides the convenient word *veldkos*.

The /Kung, the only inhabitants of the interior of this particular region, are nomadic hunters and gatherers. If the rains are poor and the veldkos dry and sparse, the people suffer. Rain, they say, is life-giving; sun is death-giving.

Summer is the season of the 'big rains' in the western Kalahari. 'Little rains'—a few scant showers—may fall in September, October, and November. The 'big rains' begin in late December or January and continue into March. The summer storms are awesome. Every day the winds drive monstrous clouds around the sky, which domes a horizon as flat as the sea. They breed the storms. Lightning streaks from them. Thunder roars and rumbles. The earth sucks in their deluges, hissing.

The /Kung say that thin clouds which give no rain are male. They call them */now*.[2] The big rain clouds are female. White ones they call *//ga kwe disi*—*//ga* means cloud or rain, *disi* means females.[3] The enormous grey clouds with rain pouring from them the /Kung call */kwesi* (zebras), because they are so fleet and, though a person may think he is far from the rain, it comes swiftly and is on him. We have seen Bushmen, caught without shelter in the storms, shivering so that their teeth chattered, saying they could perish in such rain.

Rain itself is male and female, */ga /go* and */ga di*. The men one day drew in the sand the spoor of male and female rain. Male rain spoor was made with all five fingers held stiffly and plunged deeply into the sand, to make big holes. Male rain breaks the trees and beats down the fruits, the men told us. It is (like) a fight, and may kill a person. Thunder and lightning accompany it, and sometimes hail. Female rain has tiny drops and does not spoil anything; it beautifies the trees and the grass and makes the veldkos grow. Its spoor was made by smoothing out a place in the sand and covering it closely with tiny dots. Gao said a person (anyone) may speak to the rain, saying, 'You are doing very well', or, 'Fall silently. Don't make such a noise. Don't be

[1] We wish to thank both Dr. Mary Douglas and Professor I. Schapera for reading the manuscript about *n/ow* and for making several helpful suggestions.

[2] The /Kung language has four clicks: / is the symbol for the dental click, ≠ for the alveolar, / for the alveolar palatal, and // for the lateral.

[3] We did not know how to translate *kwe*, which occurs very oft[illegible]. It seemed sometimes to be a sort of article [illegible] not work on it especially. We regret not having done so because Miss Bleek, in her *Bushman Dictionary* (American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1956), records in the Auen or //K''au-//en language, which she says is very like the /Kung and which she places south of the /Kung, the phrase */ga -k''wisi*, meaning rain's hair or cloud. In /Kung */ga* and *//ga* both mean rain. We now wonder if *kwe* should be *kwi* and if it means hair in the phrase *//ga kwe disi*.

821 171 192 similar to the /Kung word *n/ow* in sound but refers to a different belief. In the /Kung belief, *n/ow* influences rain. The Hottentot concept of */nau* supposes a state of being which exists when people are in periods of crisis in their lives. Professor Schapera[1] says of the state of */nau*, summarizing Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis:

> All periods of crisis in the life of a Hottentot involve his separation from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis is exposed to danger on every side; he must retire from contact with other people, and take special care of himself. But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things upon which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence he is secluded, and must abstain scrupulously from his usual tasks.
>
> Such a person is said to be */nau*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay into that group of his people already possessing the new characteristic he has acquired, in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more.

Remarried persons or persons newly widowed are examples.

171 796 821 Mrs. Hoernlé records a rain ceremony of the Hottentots which has several elements in common with the /Kung belief about *n/ow*. The Hottentot ceremony is called the *guri≠ab* (yearly killing).[2] Professor Schapera's[3] description of the *guri≠ab*, which follows, is, as he says, based mainly on Mrs. Hoernlé's account.

> . . . It [the ceremony] is held, if possible, on the banks of a stream, and if there is no stream near by, then a trench is dug to simulate one. When the old men judge that the summer rains are due (about November or December), they tell the chief that it is time to hold the yearly feast, and he sends word to all the outlying families, and decides the time and spot for the ceremony.
>
> Each family contributes according to its means, all bringing milk, and those who can, some female animal, a cow or a ewe, which must be pregnant. The feast cannot be held at all without one pregnant animal. . . . fires are lit to cook the meat for the feast. In addition a fire is lit on the banks of the stream for the special part of the ceremony. The animals are killed and cut up very carefully, so as to preserve intact the uteri, which are kept till after the feast. Eating apparently goes on most of the time until all the food is finished.
>
> When the fire at the riverside is ready, and a channel has been made to the river or stream, the old men of the tribe who are good at prophesying take the uteri, hold them over the fire and pierce them with sticks so that the uterine fluid flows directly through the fire and down the river. At the same time milk in plenty and fat from the animals are thrown on the fire, so that liquid really flows, and great clouds of smoke rise into the sky. Meanwhile all the people round gather together in a great tribal dance, calling on *Tsui ‖Goab* to send the rain in plenty, to make the ground soft and the grass green, so that they may have plenty of food for the year.

The uterine fluid, the fire and clouds of smoke rising into the sky, and the association of the ceremony with rain are the elements in the Hottentot belief which are similar to the elements in the /Kung Bushman belief of *n/ow*. But, though there are these interesting common elements, the /Kung concept differs largely from the Hottentot *guri≠ab*.

[1] Schapera, I., *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 256–7.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., 'A Hottentot Rain Ceremony', *Bantu Studies*, i, No. 2 (May 1922), pp. 3–4.

[3] Schapera, op. cit., p. 379.

X137 There were more species of grass, and, particularly on the dunes, more of
136 trees and shrubs. The fauna was also richer for there were buffalo and elephant and many waterfowl in addition to the animals found in the Kalahari.

197 . The Bushman languages represented in this paper are classified
[128] according to Bleek's *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages* (1929). They are !h3:, the closely interrelated ||ganakwe, |gikwe and Naron, and Auen (see also Bleek, 1928: 60-64).

!h3: is a member of the southern group, in which the lip click is
[194] found, and a dialect of what Bleek calls |nu||en, S6 in her system of classification. Bleek's spelling is !k3:, but I heard the click aspirated. It is spoken in the neighbourhood of Lehututu, which is 150 miles south of Ghanzi.

||ganakwe is spoken to the east of Ghanzi, and has been studied by Maingard (1957).

The centre of the |gikwe language appears to be in the country to the south-east of Ghanzi. It is a member of Bleek's Central group, closely allied to Naron and easily understood by Naron speakers although many
[194] words are different. A curious feature of the phonetics is the occurrence of the ejective lateral explosive followed immediately by the velar glottal affricate (see Cole, 1955: 23 and Beach 1938: 222-223). The first sound is not mentioned in any papers that I have seen on the Bushman languages.

[114] Naron is Bleek's C2. There is an error which is liable to confuse one on page 3 of her publication, where the languages of the Naron and Masarwa of Tati have been transposed. Naron should be under C2 and the Masarwa language under C1. A grammatical sketch of Naron is given in Bleek's paper of 1928.

Auen, Bleek's N1, is the eastern form of the !khû linguistic group and is spoken round Gautscha Pan. It was studied by Maingard when he was a member of this same expedition and an account of it is given in his paper of 1957. In this paper I refer to it as Eastern !khû.

124 The work done in the Kalahari was done through interpreters, and much of that in the northern area likewise, except towards the end of the expedition when through closer contact with the Bushmen for a longer time than in the south, I was able to acquire a smattering of the Eastern !khû language, enough to ask straightforward questions and to understand straightforward replies. The phonetics of the Bushman languages are a study in themselves, and I do not claim that my spellings and indications
104 of the tones are exact. In the orthography I have followed Bleek (1929)
194 with the following exceptions:—

1. I have placed the n first when it is combined with a click. It has been the convention to place the n after the click in the written Khoisan languages, the argument being that the n and the click are pronounced simultaneously (Meinhof, 1909: 5). To my ear the n is the first sound in the combination.
2. Bleek does not mention the voiced h, which sometimes follows a nasalised click. I have accordingly followed Doke (1936: 448) and used the symbol ɦ.

For easy reference, the symbols I have used are listed at the end of this introductory chapter.

As the spellings of the Bushman names on my herbarium specimens are from field notes, they are often different from the spellings given in this paper, which was done after I had had the opportunity of consulting the authors I have mentioned. It will be noticed that many of the plants do not have the full set of Bushman names. The main reason is that we were not in contact with the Eastern !khû speakers until we had passed Ghanzi, and lost contact successively with the |gikwe, ||ganakwe and !h5: speakers as the expedition drew to a close. Other reasons are that my field notes were sometimes inadequate, that I forgot to ask, and that some plants appeared restricted to certain areas and were not known to all the groups of Bushmen. 128 [184]

As the expedition was during the winter when most of the plants were in poor condition, very little photography was done in the field. Most of the photographs are from plants which were sent back to Pretoria and cultivated there, or from plants which grow naturally in the Transvaal. In this paper the plants and photographs are arranged according to de Dalla Torre and Harms (1900-1907). Specimen numbers are in brackets. 126 [128]

There is little doubt that the plants discussed here represent only a fraction of those used, for we covered a very small part of the area over which the Bushmen range, and this when probably most of the annuals were dead, when some foods were out of season and when the above ground parts of many bulbous and tuberous plants had withered and disappeared so that the plants themselves could not be found. 114

Because of poor yield, poor quality, difficulty in harvesting or lack of flavour, not many of the Bushman food plants would be worth cultivating in their present form for the use of civilised people, but they offer a large field to the plant breeder. The most promising have been noted accordingly in the text. 000

There were few bones around the Bushman encampments, but this does not necessarily mean that there is a scarcity of meat in their diet, for the bones might have been removed by porcupines (Alexander, 1956; Dart, 1957) or eaten by hyaenas. A more reliable indication was the scantiness of the Bushmen's skin coverings. There are sharp frosts in the Kalahari and sometimes bitter winds, and one may argue that the Bushmen would provide themselves with sufficient skins if they had a regular supply of meat, although admittedly they eat skins after charring them on the coals and pounding them in a mortar. Vegetable refuse from former meals and fresh vegetable food, however, were found at all the Bushman encampments, and additional gatherings were the permanent chore of the women and children and of the men to a lesser degree. The insanitary condition of the surroundings also provided unmistakable evidence that the bulk of their food was of vegetable origin. 262 [291] [132] [364]

Their knowledge of field botany was astonishingly good. It has to be, otherwise they would have no chance of survival in their arid country. Fragments of stem, dead leaves, and other small clues of this nature, after being unerringly identified, were all the Bushmen needed to find many of the storage organs they were seeking. Differences which escaped me would enable them to distinguish between edible and harmful plants, and they had a thorough knowledge of the areas and habitats in which their food plants grew. They must have an influence on the distribution of plants, 824 137X

137 spreading some like the Grewias and the melons whose seeds pass through the alimentary canal apparently unharmed and reducing others like the Eulophias and Vignas which have edible underground storage organs. It is perhaps significant that, with two exceptions, the edible members of the family Asclepiadaceae were rarely found. In this paper there are 11, from Raphionacme to Fockea inclusive—nearly all important food plants with underground storage organs. The two commoner exceptions were *Sarcostemma viminale* which is sometimes poisonous and *Pentarrhinum insipidum* which has edible leaves and fruits but an inedible perennial root.

146 I am not qualified to speak on the health of the Bushmen, but it is apparent even to the layman that they are very unlikely to suffer from any deficiency disease while on their natural diet. When they are recruited for labour and fed on an unbalanced diet their health will be undermined and they will be less able to resist the rigours of their normal life when their contracts expire.

114 Their study by serious workers is to be encouraged for it should lead to their stability as a race and the enrichment of our knowledge, but contacts with irresponsible strangers is unfortunate and observations like the following by Brown (1954: 130) are valueless and regrettable:—

> "They are wonderful runners. When I chased one with the clanging of a bell he set off at a good bat into the distance, and kept it up until out of sight."

122 During the three months in which the field work was done, the expenses of my transport and keep were met from the funds of the expedition, and this I gratefully acknowledge. Dr. R. A. Dyer, Chief of the Division of Botany, gave me the opportunity of joining the expedition, and all facilities for working up the results of the field work. Most of the determinations were done by my colleagues in the Division of Botany, and of them Miss I. C. Verdoorn, author of *Edible Wild Fruits of the Transvaal*, read through the typescript and gave me valuable advice. Dr. L. E. Codd deserves special thanks for the way he saw to the growing of the considerable quantities of roots, bulbs and seeds sent from the Kalahari. I thank Mr. L. K. Marshall, who led the expedition, and the members of it, for their interest and kindness, also Kernel Ledimo, a fluent speaker of the Eastern !khũ language, who was always ready to translate or to pilot me through its little-known and fascinating grammar and phonetics. My notes on the Bushman languages were kindly checked by Prof. L. F. Maingard, and the ethnological literature was supplied mainly by Dr. N. J. van Warmelo of the Department of Native Affairs. I am indebted to Messrs. Midgeley, Martin and Scholtz of the Bechuanaland Administration for hospitality and for enabling me to see parts of the territory that I should not otherwise have seen. My thanks would not be complete without mention of the Bushmen whose knowledge is the foundation of this paper. The information was seldom reluctantly given—usually cheerfully and with humour, and always with intelligence.

X137 year. They produce an erect and robust plant with bright green leaves and numerous spreading underground rhizomes on which more bulbs are borne a few inches below the surface. Some stolons are produced above ground as well, from among the leaves. They afterwards turn downwards, entering the soil close to the parent plant and thereafter behaving in all respects like the rhizomes. The flowering stalk is three-angled and unjointed, with a cluster of compact, spiky inflorescences at the top, some on slender secondary stalks and some almost sessile. The parent plant is in a sense annual, for both it and the bulb producing it wither at the onset of winter, but the fresh bulbs which have been produced form new plants, and the species is capable of spreading very rapidly by this means. The bulbs are rounded, half an inch in diameter with a sharp point at the top, and covered with several papery brown layers which may be removed to expose a pale nut-like body.

Sedges usually favour damp places, but this species seemed equally at home in seepy areas and well-drained ones, and in the sandy country near Nama Pan it was common nearly everywhere, sometimes scattered among the grasses but more often in patches. Its range is from Cape Town to the Mediterranean, and it occurs in Australia also.

262 The bulbs are edible, and seemed to be a fairly important food of the northern Bushmen. The taste is sweetish and they have a crisp tex-
252 ture and a cloudy, very slightly astringent juice. Light roasting improves
222 the flavour. They are easily gathered by scratching away the top layer of soil, and their presence is often shown by the disturbed soil where they grow, for they are a favourite food with many birds and small animals, which scratch and burrow to find them. According to the *Flora Capensis* the plant "has been for nearly a century cultivated in Europe".

X137 *Hyphaene ventricosa* Kirk (5301).

Eastern !khū Bushman !hani and !heni

This palm is bushy when young, but loses its bushy habit as it matures, forming a long clean stem 40 feet in height with a crown of leaves at the top and often with a slight swelling near the middle. The leaf has a strong woody rhachis up to six feet long, slightly hollowed above and rounded below, with a row of sharp hooked spines at intervals of an inch or so along each margin. At its tip it bears the leafy part which is two feet across and folded like a fan. The fruits, a little smaller than a tennis-ball, are covered with a glossy brown papery skin, and are borne in clusters.

Old an half-decayed fruits were found in the neighbourhood of Nama Pan, presumably where they had been discarded by Bushmen, but the palm trees themselves were not seen in this area. Only one specimen was found, 20 miles to the north-east. It was immature and had neither flowers nor fruits. According to available records, it was growing near the southern limit of its range, which extends to northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo.

262 There is a quarter-inch edible mealy layer immediately underlying the
114 skin of the fruit. It is fibrous and dry but sweetish, with a pleasant flavour, and may be gnawed off the hard inner shell into which it merges.
[272] The kernel in the centre of the mature fruit is hard and bony and inedible,
[252] but Chapman (1868:II:73) states that the milk of the young fruit may be used like that of the coconut, and that the whole of the young fruit may be EATEN AFTER BOILING, "PULP, RIND, AND ALL."

be eaten after boiling, "pulp, rind and all". Dinter (1912:21-22) says also that the Bushmen use the heart of the palm as a green vegetable, and that a sweet sap may be tapped from the upper part of the stem and fermented to make an alcoholic drink. He gives the yield of fruits from one palm as between 20 and 50 kilograms (48 to 120 lb.). His reference to the heart of the palm is obscure, but Chapman (1868:I:55-56), who is more explicit, says that this is the core of the young trunk. 262 114 [273]

Aloe rubrolutea Schinz (5135). 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman n|oru

This species was in full bloom in early August, and made a striking show with its spikes of brick-red flowers. The plants formed rosettes of leaves 12 inches across, producing a slender erect five-foot flowering stalk. Among the hundreds of speciments seen there were none arborescent, although elsewhere arborescent forms are common (Reynolds 1950: 328). Those seen at Nama Pan were similar in habit to *Aloe zebrina*.

Aloe rubrolutea was seen only on the rocky outcrops near Nama Pan and Gam, growing in patches of an acre or so, but it has a wide distribution extending from South West Africa through the Bechuanaland Protectorate to the northern Transvaal and Portuguese East Africa.

The flowers are stripped off the flowering stalk and pounded to make a spinach-like vegetable. Although the Bushmen said that they did not eat the leaves, they were tasted raw and boiled and were found to be juicy and not unpleasant, and to have no harmful effects. They would be a good source of water in an emergency. 252 262

Aloe zebrina Bak. (4995). 137X

!hɔ: Bushman..... !ganja
!ganakwe Bushman n||oru
|gikwe Bushman... n||uru
Naron Bushman... n||oru

The plant forms a rosette of rigid dark green leaves which have pale transverse bands and numerous sharp teeth along the margins. It may have a stem 30 centimetres long (Reynolds, 1950: 282), but those seen on the expedition were stemless. The flowering stalks were three or four feet high. The sap in the epidermis of the leaves is greenish-yellow. It oozes out of the vessels fairly quickly if a leaf is cut across, and hardens and changes colour on exposure to the air, becoming brown and glassy. The bulk of the sap, which is in the inner part of the leaf, is colourless and translucent, and does not ooze out if the leaf is cut.

Only one small clump of this Aloe was seen, on deep sand about 80 miles directly south-east of Ghanzi. It is, however, recorded from Angola and South West Africa and across the continent to the east.

The Bushmen stated that the leaves were a good source of water. One of these plants was sent to Pretoria and grew well in cultivation. On being tested, the leaves proved extremely unpleasant, not because of any bad taste but because their sap is in the form of a thick, revolting slime. Boiling or roasting did nothing towards making them more palatable. Either the Bushmen were confusing this Aloe with another species, or it 262 312 824

262 271 824 [114] is eaten only when they are in the greatest need. Reynolds (1950: 285), quoting W. B. Hooker, states that its flowers may be eaten after boiling, but I did not think of asking the Bushmen about this, and they did not volunteer any information.

X137 *Dipcadi* sp. (5163, 5307).

!hɔ: Bushman.....	n!ɓom
Naron Bushman.....	n!ɔm
Eastern !khû Bushman	n!umʃé:

Although the above-ground parts had been killed by frost, enough remained for the plant to be identified as a species of Dipcadi. The bulbs were two inches below the surface of the soil, in appearance like a small onion. They were planted in Pretoria, but although they were still alive two years after being collected, they had failed to produce leaves or flowers up to the time this report was written.

Specimens were collected at Nama Pan, in parkland on sandy soil. As the plant was recognised and named by one of the southern !hɔ: Bushmen who was with us, it probably extends into the Kalahari well south of Ghanzi.

[262] The bulbs are edible after cooking.

Scilla sp. near *Scilla lancifolia* Bak. (5190) Photograph 5.

Eastern !khû Bushman tû

This plant has a rounded two-inch bulb covered with a thick layer of dark brown papery scales. In the summer it produces three or four spreading leaves, usually six inches long but up to 10, and one and a half inches wide at the widest part. They are thin but fleshy, strap-shaped (but in section widely V-shaped near the base), and light green, sometimes faintly mottled with darker green. The inflorescence is four inches long and the flowers small and not conspicuous, with purple stamens and a recurved perianth.

It was common in shallow sand overlying rock near Gautscha Pan and Nama Pan but was not easy to find because the leaves and inflorescences had been frosted, and blown away by the wind by the time the expedition had reached those parts. A number of bulbs collected there produced leaves and flowers in Pretoria the following summer, and it was from these plants that the notes were made.

[252 262] The bulb is edible after roasting but I have not tried it personally.

It would be dangerous to experiment with plants like this if what the Bushmen say is true, for it could be easily confused with another species which has an inedible bulb. The inedible species (No. 5181) is shown in photograph 6 and may be distinguished by its longer bulb and longer leaves (10 inches long and over, and two inches wide at the widest part). They have a translucent fringed margin, are pointed, narrowly V-shaped in section and more numerous, about 12 to a plant. In addition, the

Pollichia campestris Ait. (4963, 5040) Photograph 15. 137/x

A small grey-green bush with much-branched slender soft stems, fairly compact when growing in the open but usually found as a semi-scrambler up to four feet high. The leaves arise in tufts of about three, the tufts being opposite each other and at intervals of anything up to an inch along the stem. They are lanceolate and usually under half an inch long. The plant bears what at first sight appear to be fleshy translucent fruits like small white or yellowish mulberries, but which are actually parts of the flowers.

This is a widespread plant throughout Africa, and was seen at intervals all along the route taken by the expedition.

The fleshy parts of the flowers are edible and sweet, with a queer earthy flavour, and are loosely attached so that they may be easily collected by pulling the stems through the hands. The plant, however, did not appear common enough to be of importance as a food. [262]

Boscia albitrunca (Burch.) Gilg and Benedict (4998, 5208) Photograph 16.

!h5: Bushman.....	≠hun
ǂganakwe Bushman...	n|ßu-ni
|gikwe Bushman.....	n|ßu-ni
Naron Bushman.....	n|ßu-ni
Eastern !khû Bushman	zâ

This is a rather variable tree, sometimes with erect branches and sometimes with a spreading crown, usually bearing many thin twigs with much dead wood among them. The bark is sometimes loose, dark and coarsely fissured and sometimes white and flaky. The species was also often seen in the form of a many-stemmed shrub about four feet high. It is evergreen, and did not seem to be at all affected by the heavy frosts that were experienced in the central Kalahari. The leaves arise singly or in bunches of four or five from small knobs on the twigs, and are leathery and about one inch long and a third as wide. Although the flowers are small and inconspicuous as individuals, they are borne in masses towards the tips of the twigs and make quite a show. In the Cape and the Transvaal at least the tree appears to be sporadic in its flowering. The fruits are borne on half-inch jointed stalks, and are half an inch in diameter, pale-skinned and translucent, with several large stones surrounded by a thin, watery pulp.

The tree was scattered evenly throughout the country from Molepolole to Ghanzi and Gautscha Pan, and has been recorded from the Cape Province northwards to the tropics. It occurred singly, occasionally in open communities, but it was never seen to form thickets.

The fruits are eaten by the Bushmen, but they do not make pleasant eating, for the pulp has a rather slimy texture and a sickly-sweet taste. [262]

Sim (1907: 123) refers to a meal which is prepared from the roots by drying and beating them. The resulting meal is then sifted to remove the fibres and may be made into a porridge. There are reports of gastro-intestinal disturbances after the eating of Boscia roots, but the reports have not been confirmed, and Steyn (1934: 561) fed large quantities to a rabbit without ill effects. It is suspected that people are susceptible only when they are not accustomed to this food. The Bushmen were not asked about their use of the roots, and did not volunteer any information. [252] [114 124]

The older trees are often hollow, and form natural reservoirs for rain water which is tapped by the Bushmen. (See Adansonia.) 312 824

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

X137 *Coccinia sessilifolia* (Sond.) Cogn. (5167) Photograph 62.

Eastern !khû Bushman ¯k'!:dwa

A vine with many slender stems and bluish-green sessile leaves, deeply and irregularly lobed but usually less so than those of *Coccinia rehmannii*. The are covered with tiny raised scales on the upper surface, which sometimes show through on the lower surface as dots, and although hairs are present they are nearly all confined to the margins and too small to be seen by the naked eye. The tendrils are produced at the base of the leaves. Male and female flowers are borne on different plants. They are superficially alike, and similar to those of *Coccinia rehmannii*. The fruits are ovoid, three inches long and one in diameter, and are bright red when ripe. The leaves drop during the winter, and the vines also wither and disintegrate, but fresh ones arise in the spring from a perennial tuber weighing up to 25 pounds or so and similar in all respects to the tuber of *Coccinia rehmannii*.

Although the plant has a wide distribution on a variety of soils in the Cape Province, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, it was not seen on the expedition until Nama Pan was reached, where it was growing under the shelter of trees in sand. Two tubers, which happened to be male and female respectively, were sent to Pretoria, and flowers and fruits were produced in the summer of 1955-56.

262 252 Both tuber and fruit are edible. The tuber, which is prepared by roasting or boiling, is fibrous and rather tasteless. The fruits may be eaten raw when ripe, and although sweet are without much flavour. They are best used for food when gathered green and cooked as a vegetable. Their texture is then fairly firm and their flavour like that of Asparagus. [136] An added advantage of using them green is that one avoids the larva of a certain fly which, in Pretoria at any rate, often heavily infests the more mature fruit.

● 114 X137 It is of interest to note that although there is a record in the National Herbarium that birds eat the fruit and that the tubers are dug out and eaten by buck, there is no record of the fact that the plant is eaten by human beings. On the contrary, the information on one specimen is "Fruit is very poisonous to children" and on another "Toxic".

the black sky blazes with stars. In winter the icy wind, pour- 132
ing steadily across the continent from the Antarctic, blows all night long.

There are only three months of rain in the whole year, and 132
these begin in December, ending the hottest season when the 137
air is as tight and dry as a drum skin. Under the rain—which is sometimes torrential, drenching the earth, making rivers down the sides of trees, sometimes an easy land rain that blows into the long grass like a mist—the heat and drought melt away and the grass turns green at the roots. Soon the trees flower, and in the low places the dry dust becomes sucking mud. Towering clouds, miles away, widen the horizon, and all the bushes which stretch in an unchanging expanse over dune after dune now blossom and bear white or red or violet flowers. But the season is short, and the plants bud, flower, and fruit very quickly; in March the drought creeps in, just as the veld fruits ripen and scatter their seeds.

When the rains stop, the open water is the first to dry, 132
making slippery mud and then caked white earth. By June only little soaks of waterholes remain, hidden deep in the earth, covered with long grass. These, which are miles apart, dry up by August, and then travel in the veld is nearly impossible. Because of this, large areas of the Kalahari remain unexplored.

We have crossed this desert three times, my family and I, 114
on three expeditions, which usually numbered between ten and fourteen people and included my father, my mother, my brother, and myself, as well as several other Europeans who were linguists, zoologists, botanists, or archaeologists, sent by universities of the Union of South Africa, England, or the United States, as well as four or five Bantu men—several interpreters, a cook, and a mechanic—who were the staff. We usually traveled in four big trucks and a jeep, and had to carry

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

114 all our food and water, gasoline, and equipment in supplies to last us for several months. We crossed great drought areas, once crossing four hundred miles of the central desert of Bechuanaland where there was no water at all, and once traveling every day for two weeks into an unmapped part of the desert of South-West Africa, close to the Bechuanaland border, where we found a waterhole and refilled our empty [12] drums. All this was for the purpose of filming and studying the life and customs of the people of the Kalahari, who are called the Bushmen.

142 Bushmen are a naked, hungry people, slight of build and yellow-skinned; the only feature they have in common with their large-boned, darker-skinned neighbors, the Negro or Bantu tribes living at the edges of the Bushmen's territory, is their peppercorn curly hair. Otherwise, Bushmen are very like the Asian peoples, often having Mongolian eyefolds and rather broad, flat faces with almost no noses at all. Because of the dust, perspiration, and the blazing sun, their skins darken to a copper brown, but under their arms where sweat has washed the dust away the yellow skin shows. Bushman babies, in fact, are born pale pink, often with a dark, pigmented area at the base of their spines which Kung Bushmen [826] call "the jar"—because, they say, the mother carries her baby and her water jar together in the pouch of her garment—but which we know as the Mongolian Spot.

Physically, the Bushmen are a handsome people, though short of stature—a man being a few inches over and a woman a few inches under five feet—and a little swaybacked of carriage, which makes their bellies stick out. They are handsome 481 because of the extreme grace in their way of moving, which is 142 strong and deft and lithe; and to watch a Bushman walking or simply picking up something from the ground is like

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

unmarried son or two, and their daughters' children. Bush- 105
men are polygynous, and a man is allowed by custom to have 621
as many wives as he can afford, depending on how well he [575]
hunts—usually a man can afford only one wife, sometimes two (often a pair of sisters), and once we heard of a man with four wives. For this reason there are often more women than men in a band.

The immediate family, a man, his wife, or wives, and chil- 105
dren, is the only solid social unit; otherwise the small bands 592
are always breaking up and recombining with other small 621
bands as the structures of single families change, through marriages, divorces, deaths, or as the family decides to pay a prolonged visit to a different group of relatives.

Any Bushman will either be related by blood or marriage 105
or will be acquainted with all the other Bushmen in his area 602
but this is as far as Bushmen go in their affinities. They do 609
not recognize as their own people strange Bushmen who speak the same language; in fact, they suspect and fear them as they do any stranger.

We have visited four of the Bushman language groups, two 114
of which we stayed with for long periods of time. In 1951, 131
after a survey expedition to learn where Bushmen could be found, we went into the Nyae Nyae area of South-West Africa, close to the border of Bechuanaland, to look for Kung Bushmen. We found a band living near a waterhole, as it was June, the drought of the year, and we stayed with them for four months. At first only a few Bushmen were there, but as [609
the news spread that we were friendly, more and more peo- 276]
ple came to visit us and receive presents of tobacco and salt, for Bushmen love to smoke but rarely have tobacco, which they get in trade. Also, most of the Bushmen had never seen a European before, none had ever seen a European woman, and they came by dozens to sit together in a cluster

114-131 at a distance to observe my mother and me. By the end of our stay we had become friendly with them, and in 1952 we visited them again. We found them waiting confidently for us, living beside the track our trucks had made, as we had told them that we would come back if we were able, and this time we stayed with them for a year. In August 1955 we returned to them again, but before we did so we spent four months in Bechuanaland. We lived one month with a group of Naron and Kō Bushmen at a place called Okwa (the two groups were mixed together because their territories happen to meet at that place), and almost two months with Gikwe Bushmen in the four-hundred-mile stretch of empty desert between Ghanzi, near the border of South-West Africa, and Molepolole, near the border of the Transvaal. Ghanzi is a small town with a post office and a store, the center of a group of rather extensive European farms. Molepolole is a great Bantu village of the Bakwena (Crocodile) Bechuana people, where a Chuana chieftain lives. The other month we spent traveling to the Gikwe, because they are very remote.

174 Nobody knows where the Bushmen originated, from what racial stocks they came, or when they came to Africa. But here and there throughout southern Africa, in mountain caves and on sheltered rocks, paintings and engravings are found which are known to have been made centuries ago, and are believed to have been made by Bushmen. It is hard to say for certain that Bushmen made the paintings because, to my [531] knowledge, Bushmen do not paint on rocks or in caves now. However, Kung Bushmen do scratch designs on the bark of trees and on their ostrich eggshells. During each expedition I asked Bushmen to paint for me with paints and paper which I provided. Though none of the Bushmen we met had ever

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

CHAPTER TWO

The Road

AFTER we left Chukudu, a tiny village of Bantu people, the last marked place on the map of Bechuanaland between Molepolole in the east and Ghanzi far in the west, we had no path to follow. We took a course out over the veld set by a Bushman, Gishe, who rode in the jeep at the head of our convoy of four trucks and, remembering the land from his childhood—for he was a Gikwe Bushman—pointed the way.

That was in winter, the last of June 1955, and there were fifteen of us on the expedition, a larger group than we had traveled with before. Besides my father, my mother, my bother John, and myself, there were three South Africans with us, who were Dr. Robert Story, of the Division of Botany in the Department of Agriculture at Pretoria; Theunis Berger, once a health officer of the government of the Bechuanaland Protectorate; and Cass Kruger, a mechanic. There were two other Americans—Daniel Blitz, an expert in sound-recording and photography, and William Donnellan, a doctor. There was also a staff of six African and colored men, who were Philip Hameva, the cook; Ledimo, an interpreter who spoke English, Afrikaans, Herero, Sechuana (his native

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

114 language), and Kung; Simon, a mechanic's helper; William Camm, also an interpreter who spoke Afrikaans, some English, and Gikwe; and Gishe and Dabe, two Gikwe Bushmen who lived on Theunis's farm.

We were looking for Gikwe Bushmen, as we had heard that there were some who lived in the area. We hoped that if we found some, Gishe or Dabe might discover a relative and enable us to make friends.

133 We traveled for many days, all day long, for, not knowing
137 where the Bushmen were, we hoped to come across some of them somewhere, or find a trace or track that might show us in what direction they had gone. We did not find anyone, though, and we saw nothing but the series of long, broad plains that dipped and tilted ever so little; we would find ourselves down in a wide, shallow bowl of grass, then at the rim of the bowl, where we would see the next plain rolling for miles away. Occasionally we came to an acacia forest, but mostly the country was open grassland with tiny thorn bushes down in the grass to catch us. Because it was June, the beginning of the dry season, there were many veld fires, and although we never came upon any, every day we saw their smoke, gray and misty on the horizon, all around us in a ring.
136 Sometimes we saw a small herd of game running far away from us, raising a little cloud of dust. We saw gemsbok, handsome, large, beige antelope, striped black on their sides, white-bellied, with long, straight horns. We saw gray, tousled wildebeest with curved horns like the horns of cattle. Once we surprised a herd of three eland, a bull and his two wives, which had been eating behind a clump of bushes. They threw up their heads when they saw us, eyes catching the sun and shining pale green like fires. They wheeled, hoofs scraping, and ran, their red bodies swaying, their heads held high

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

A NOTE ABOUT THE AUTHOR

ELIZABETH MARSHALL THOMAS *was born in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1931. She went to Shady Hill School, Abbott Academy, and then Smith College, from which she transferred to Radcliffe College, where she was graduated in 1954. She accompanied three expeditions that went to South Africa to make anthropological studies and films in 1951, in 1952–3, and in 1955. She won the* Mademoiselle *College Fiction Contest in 1952 with a short story, "The Hill People," which was later reprinted in Martha Foley's* Best American Short Stories of 1953. *She lives in New York City with her husband and daughter.* The Harmless People *is her first book.*

114

[p. 266(A)]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

Brother and sister are the only relations who are forbidden to marry, and by this, real brother and sister are meant, the children of one father and mother, not cousins. I never heard a title for any cousin, however related, though several were present Cousins sometimes marry, but more often a bride from a distance is procured. 582

A pair of sisters have a very close relationship. They are generally chums, and help each other with their babies. A child calls its mother's sister its "little mother". In speaking of the occasional bigamy found among the **Naron** in contrast to other Bushman tribes, an old man said to me: 593 [601] [604] 595

"A man may take a second wife, if he wishes. If they agree well, they live in one hut; if not, each makes herself a hut. A man had better take his wife's younger sister as his second wife; then they do not quarrel, but live in one hut."

ǁka in **ǁkashe** "maternal aunt" may be derived from **ǁkai** "together". **Ho** used as a verb means "to marry", also "to give birth to children". **Ti kweba** and **ti kwesa** mean simply "my man", "my woman"; they are more often used than **hoba** and **hosha**. 196 601

A widow may marry her late husband's brother, but need not do so. She is quite at liberty to marry any other man. If she remarries, her husband is expected to look after her children; otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. The widow may stay near her husband's people, or return to her own people, as she pleases. 587 [604]

Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, are very fond of adopting a grandchild. They will half adopt one, even during both parents' lifetime. The grandmother is generally the person who teaches a child to speak. 597 603 [868]

In concluding these notes on the tables of relationship, I should like to say that I know they are very incomplete. At the time of my stay among the **ǁkau ǁen** and **Naron** I had not realized the importance of this side of native life; nor apparently had my aunt, Dr. Lloyd, whose work I rely on for the **ǂxam** and **ǃkuŋ** tables. Still, I think sufficient has been collected to show the general trend of Bushman family ties. 114

One must always remember, that people depending on nature for their entire food supply, can only exist in very small, widely scattered groups. Families cannot be large. Drought and famine 105 161

[Text continues on page 70]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

NOTE ON BUSHMAN ORTHOGRAPHY

By D. F. Bleek

IN writing the article on "Bushman Terms of Relationship" appearing in this issue of *Bantu Studies*, I have tried to follow the phonetic script of the International Phonetic Association, as far as I understand it, except for denoting clicks. For these I should be willing to use the symbols chosen by Mr. Doke for Zulu clicks, were they adequate for expressing all the click combinations found in Bushman; but they are not. 104 114 194

Had Mr. Doke seen fit to adopt one symbol for each implosive sound, regardless of the accompanying breathed sound, I could have used these symbols for three of the Bushman clicks. But unfortunately Mr. Doke has not followed that course, but has chosen three symbols for each implosive sound denoting a combination of the implosive sound with the sound made by the expulsion of the breath.

Every click has a double closure, one made by the front or tip of the tongue against the teeth, alveolar, or palate, or of the lips together, the other by the back of the tongue against the velum, as Mr. Doke has shown in his admirable experiments. In making the click alone, only the front closure is audibly released, the back closure might stay in position, for all we know, no breath being emitted from the lungs. We cannot call that click either unvoiced, voiced, or nasal. But in speaking, this implosive sound is accompanied or followed by breathed sounds. The back closure being in the position for "k" or "g", if the air is pressed against that closure while the click is made, it will produce a slight "k" or "g" sound in rushing out. These sound combinations are called by Mr. Doke and others unvoiced and voiced clicks. If the uvula is lowered while making the click, a nasal sound is produced.

For these three combinations Mr. Doke provides symbols. All three are found in Bushman, the first in very many examples; but there are words in which not the slightest "k" or "g" sound is audible with the click, the back release is silent. In others the back release is silent, but an aspirate follows before the vowel. Again, there may be a treble closure: front of tongue, back of

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

104 tongue, and glottis. The front of the tongue is released first,
114 making a click, then the back is exploded, making a sort of glottal
194 plosive. The fricative "x" may also be combined with the click. For these clicks or combinations of sound there is no provision in Mr. Doke's system, so to avoid confusion I have followed the old custom of all writers on Bushman and Hottentot, and used a sign for the click alone, expressing the other sounds by their ordinary symbols.

104 This may best be shown by examples. We find the dental or
194 alveolar click in the following combinations:—

Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
ǀa	to fight		
ǀka	to leave	ʒa	ca
ǀkha	stick	ʒha	c'a
ǀha	husband		
ǀxã	to shoot		
ǀk'a	river bed		
ǀga	hippopotamus	ɣa	gca
ǀna	head	ɳa	nca

The retroflex plosive click is found in the following combinations:—

Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
ǃa	along		
ǃkã	to await	ʗa	qa
ǃkhau	bee	ʗhau	q'au
ǃham	first		
ǃxa	sister-in-law's husband		
ǃk'ao	to skin		
ǃgã	frog	ɢa	gqa
ǃna	winter	ɲa	nqa

These combinations can be found with the retroflex fricative click, which corresponds more or less to the lateral click of Bantu. Bushmen do not make this click with the tongue against the teeth or side of the mouth, but place it in about the same position as for the last click, only they release it gently, as in making the dental click. I give as examples:—

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
ǁa	to go		
ǁka	wet	ʒa	xa
ǁkhā	lion	ʒha	
ǁhagen	to equal		
ǁxā	again		
ǁk'ą ǀkwi	son's father-in-law		
ǁga	night	ʒwa	gxa
ǁna	there	ǁa	nxa

\ below the line indicates a low intonation.

The same combinations can be found with the alveolar plosive click, which is made as the retroflex plosive click, only with the tongue pressure very far forward, almost on the teeth. For example :—

Bushman spelling.	English.
ǂabbakn	to burn
ǂkā	bare
ǂkhàra	wingfeather
ǂhau	to jump
ǂxamma	to fetch
ǂk'anna	to call
ǂgabbetn	to throw
ǂna	to forget

The fifth click, found only in Southern Bushman, is made by pressing the lips together and then sucking the air in. It is found in the following combinations :—

⊙pwa little, ⊙bu to rain gently, ⊙ho tree, ⊙mwainya to kiss.

In his "Notes on a problem in the mechanism of Zulu clicks", Mr. Doke speaks as if no "k" sound were heard in what he calls the "unvoiced" clicks. I think most people hear a very slight "k". Colonials, in using Zulu or Kafir names, very often omit the click and say the rest of the word as they hear it. They always get a "k" sound, *Cetywayo* becomes **Ketywayo**, *X'osa* becomes **Khosa**, and so forth. I do not know of any Bantu names with clicks that have turned into words beginning with a vowel on the lips of Colonials.

On the other hand Hottentot place names, when adopted by Colonials and stripped of their clicks, sometimes become words

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

000 beginning with "k", such as *Kakamas*, *Karakhois*, from ǂkakamas, ǂkarakhois; and sometimes turn into words beginning with a vowel, as *Aus*, *Abiam*, *Oas*, from ǂaus, ǂabiam, ǂoas.

Moreover, by speaking of "unvoiced" clicks, Mr. Doke shows 104 that he is thinking of the expulsion of breath from the lungs, not 114 merely of the implosive phone, the click proper. In spite of my 194 disagreeing with him on this point, I would adopt his symbols, were they adequate for Bushman transcription. As it is, I stick to the old signs long identified with the Hottentot and Bushman clicks, and sufficing for all purposes, rather than inventing a whole row of new symbols.

000 To Dr. Beech I tender hearty thanks for his kind help in explaining the phonetic script of the I.P.A., which would otherwise have remained a closed book to me. I only hope that this attempt at Bushman transcription may be clear to other students.

114

JOHN MARSHALL is one of a family that has been studying the Bushmen for nearly a decade, in expeditions to South West Africa by the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

222 !Kung women, who are slender-armed and do this monotonous work to the end of their lives. All roots—a major food—are gathered in identical fashion. The implement for this is a digging stick—made usually by a woman's husband from any of a number of hardwoods: the bark is peeled from a branch, a point is whittled sharp. Women, squatting, dig narrow holes in the earth with these sticks, and tug until the root they have reached comes free. Berries are picked—high ones jostled down with sticks and sought for carefully among the grass stems. Nuts are collected on the ground.

[412]

224 SMALL ANIMALS, such as tortoises and even grasshoppers, are sometimes captured by the women and brought home in the evening—such small creatures are also considered *veldkos*. The women, too, will kill snakes, even puff adders. When they see a puff adder, they gather around it in a little crowd, their high laughter tinkling while they drop large, heavy things on its flat head.

222 461 Averaged over a year, women gather on four or five days of each week—the number of days depending

[p. 41]

●114

MR. MARSHALL has participated in all six expeditions to the Kalahari by Harvard's Peabody Museum. Two of the expeditions were in association with the Smithsonian Institution.

224 with the heat and exertion, the portly animals suffer a kind of stroke and have to take to the shade to recover. There, puffing and dizzy, the exhausted elands can be butchered by the deep-breathing hunters.

[223] The trap is a spring-pole snare, of which exists a small version for birds and a larger version for small bucks. Such trapping is usually practiced only by young boys, and even they seem to do it rarely, so that what could amount to an important food source is neglected by the !Kung. The men would rather be gone after the big game, absorbed in the heat and chance of hunting,

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

SHARING, TALKING, AND GIVING: RELIEF OF SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THIS paper describes customs, practised by the /Kung Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region of South Africa, which help them to avoid situations that are likely to arouse ill will and hostility among individuals within the bands and between bands. Two customs which seem to be especially helpful and which I describe in detail are meat-sharing and gift-giving. I mention also the /Kung habits of talking, aspects of their good manners, their borrowing and lending, and their not stealing.[1] 121

The common human needs for co-operation and companionship are particularly apparent among the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Independent living, outside the band structure,[2] does not exist for individuals. Nuclear families do not live alone. The arduous hunting-gathering life would be impossible without the co-operation and companionship of a larger group. Moreover, in this society the ownership of the resources of food and water is organized through the headmen of bands, and individuals have rights to these resources by being members of a band connected to the headman by some near or remote kin or affinal bond. The /Kung are also extremely dependent emotionally on the sense of belonging and on companionship. Their need to avoid loneliness, I think, is actually visible in the way families cluster together in their werfs and in the way people sit, often touching someone else, shoulder against shoulder, ankle across ankle. Comfort and security for them lie in belonging to their group, free from hostility or rejection. 601 423 622 602 571

Their security and comfort must be achieved side by side with self-interest and much jealous watchfulness. Altruism, kindness, sympathy, or genuine generosity were not qualities which I observed often in their behaviour. However, these qualities were not entirely lacking, especially between parents and offspring, between siblings and between spouses. One mother carried her sick adult daughter on her back for three days in searing summer heat for us to give her medicine. /Naoka carried her lame son, Lame ≠Gao, for years. Gau clucked and fussed over his second wife, Khuan//a, when she was sick. When /U had a baby, her sister, Di/ai, gathered veldkos for her for five days. On the other hand, people do not generally help each other. They laugh when the lame man, Kham, falls down and do not help him up. /U's jealous eyes were like those of a viper when we gave more attention to her husband, ≠Toma, than to her because he was much more ill. And, in the extreme, there is the report from the 1958 expedition of an instance of callous indifference in one band and the probable abandonment of a dying old childless woman, an old aunt, when her sister, with whom she lived, had died. 578 593

Occasions when tempers have got out of control are remembered with awe. The 578 606

[1] This description of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region is based on observations made during our several expeditions between 1951 and 1959. Changes in the conditions under which the /Kung live are to be expected, and how these changes will affect the practice of the customs here described we do not know.

[2] Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Band Organization', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960. [114]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

to the /Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae /Kung eat hearty meals of meat when they have been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount. They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger.

The /Kung are quite conscious of the value of meat-sharing and they talk about it, especially about the benefit of the mutual obligation it entails. The idea of sharing is deeply implanted and very successfully imposes its restraints. To keep meat without sharing is one of the things that just is not done.

Gift-giving

The custom of gift-giving comes, in my opinion, second only to meat-sharing in aiding the /Kung to avoid jealousy and ill will and to develop friendly relations. /Kung society puts considerable emphasis on gift-giving. Everything a person has may have been given to him and may be passed on to others in time. The /Kung make their artifacts, on the whole, of durable material and take good care of them. They last for generations and move in a slow eddy among the people. The dealings are only between individuals, but they are numerous and provide occasion, perhaps more than any one other activity does, for visits which bring whole bands into polite encounter.

We gave cowrie shells as parting gifts in 1951 to the women in ≠Toma's band, the band which first sponsored us and with which we stayed and did our consistent work, wherever they were, on each expedition. We had carefully observed that there were no cowrie shells among /Kung ornaments before we gave them. Ours were bought from a New York shell dealer, perhaps to the confusion of future archaeologists. We gave to each woman enough for a short necklace, one large brown shell and twenty smaller grey ones. In 1952 there was hardly a cowrie shell to be found in Band 1. They appeared, not as whole necklaces, but in ones and twos in people's ornaments to the edges of the region.

The /Kung have not developed special objects to use as gifts. Nor have they invested ordinary objects with special gift significance. What they give each other are the common artifacts and materials of everyday life (see Appendix). Some objects are more highly valued than others as gifts, as one would expect. I gathered that relative scarcity of material was a factor and that objects were appreciated for their beauty, workmanship, and appropriate size (a wide headband is better than a narrow one). People took an interest in remembering to whom an object had been given in the recent past, but the /Kung, who are present-oriented, do not place special value upon antiquity as such or systematically hold the distant past in mind.

The /Kung decorate their artifacts very little (they have developed music and dancing, not the plastic or pictorial arts), but they delight in ornaments with which to adorn themselves. The intrinsic beauty, the meaningfulness, and the relief to the monotony of yellow-brown skin and grey-brown leather karosses are all valued.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

/KUNG BUSHMAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS[1]

LORNA MARSHALL

MY purpose in this paper is to describe some of the religious beliefs held currently by the /Kung Bushmen of the interior bands of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. I shall limit the paper to a description of their concepts of the gods, the problem of evil, supplication, the spirits of the dead, and the ceremonial curing dance, but leave for another paper a more detailed account of medicine men, how they become medicine men, and more about their practices and beliefs. We gathered the information which I present principally on our expeditions of 1952–3 and 1955.

Schapera traces considerable borrowing in the past by the Bushmen from Hottentots and Bergdama.[2] I did not have opportunity to trace, to any significant extent, possible present-day borrowing or exchange of ideas, and can only report that contact, and therefore opportunity for exchange, takes place between the interior bands of /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region and the Tswana and Herero on the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung have contact also, but much less frequently, with Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south and through them to some extent with Naron in the Ghanzi region of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae occasionally see /Kung to the north of their region, who in turn see the Okavango and Ovambo tribes. Although the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not enough contact with white people before we came to absorb any Christian ideas directly from them, and no Christian missionary has been in the interior of the region, an influence of Christianity cannot be precluded because the Tswana do have contact with Christianity. Our own highly valued interpreter, Kernel Ledimo, who grew up near the border and spoke Bushman from his childhood, had been educated in an Anglican mission school. Although there has been contact with people who have Christian ideas, I do not recognize with certainty any Christian elements among /Kung beliefs.

One is left to wonder if the change in the concept of the nature of the gods, particularly in that of the great god, which appears when one compares the old tales with current concepts, was brought about entirely by the philosophical and logical powers of the /Kung themselves and by their adjustment to emotional needs, or whether influences from without played some part. I hope that the research of others may throw light on this point.

I should like to mention a few of the well-known Bushman beliefs, recorded in the past, which the present Nyae Nyae /Kung do *not* have and then proceed to a more systematic description of beliefs which they hold at present.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung have various beliefs and lore about the sun and moon, Canopus, the Pleiades, and other stars, and they have the well-known myth of the moon and the hare; but they do not attribute active divinity to the heavenly bodies, which are 'just stars', they say in effect, and we did not find that they either fear

[1] We are grateful for a grant towards the publication of this long article.

[2] I. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, London: Routledge, 1930. Reference is particularly to chapter vii.

776 171 The name *Hishe*, Schapera tells us, is used by the Naron and Auen.[1] He thinks it may be a corruption of *Heitsi Eibib*, a mythical hero of the Hottentots.[2] As this name is not reported for other /Kung groups by Miss Bleek, Vedder, or Lebzelter, it is possible that it has been borrowed by the Nyae Nyae /Kung from the Auen. The Auen (also called Makaukau) live immediately south of the Nyae Nyae region.[3]

The name *Hawe* is reported for Miss Lloyd's /Kung informants from Lake Ngami by Miss Bleek, for the /Kung at Tsumeb by Vedder, and for the eastern Kalahari group by Dornan, but not for the Auen or Naron, who said to Miss Bleek, as Schapera tells us,[4] that 'he [*Hawe*] was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the "captain" of the white people'.

The name *Kxo* is something of a puzzle. I spelt it this way because I thought I heard both the *k* and the velar fricative sound *x*, as distinct from the name *Ko*.[5] I believe now that what I heard as *Kxo* is the name which Schapera tells us is spelt both *Xu* and *||Khu* by Lebzelter.[6] Lebzelter's account of *Xu* given him by the group he calls the eastern /Kung accords so closely with the Nyae Nyae /Kung's account of *Hishe—Hawe—Kxo* that I feel certain that *Xu* and *Kxo* are conceptually the same being.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung did not have the name (or title) */khuba*, the Hottentot word for 'master', which Schapera tells us the Auen and Naron were beginning to borrow from the Nama when Miss Bleek worked with the Auen at Sandfontein.[7] Nor did they have *Thora* which Dornan heard among Bushmen of the eastern Kalahari.[8] And none of the informants we worked with knew the name *Erob* recorded by Lebzelter among the /Kung in the Oschimpoloveld. Schapera tells us that this name came from the Hebrew *Elohim*, a name used by missionaries among the Nama for 'God'.[9]

776 I shall have more to say about *||Gauwa* and *≠Gaolna* presently. The remaining three names, */Gara*, *Gani ga*, and *≠Gaishi ≠gai*, do not appear in the accounts of Bushman religion which Schapera analysed. I struggled to ascertain that they were names, not terms, titles, or descriptive phrases. So far, my evidence leads me to consider them names, but I could not trace their origin. My informants had no idea

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 182.

[2] Ibid., pp. 191, 374.

[3] For the location and extent of the Nyae Nyae region see Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Bands', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960, pp. 325–7.

[104 114]

[4] Schapera, op. cit., p. 183.

[5] Some /Kung informants, /Ti/kay among them, claimed they did not know the name *Ko*. Others told us that *Ko* is a god of other people, a different god, not *≠Gaolna* or *||Gauwa*. They said, for example, that the white man's god is *Ko*. One informant said, in effect, that, even though *Ko* was a god of other people, he could kill anybody—white men, black men, and Bushmen. One is interested to note that *Ko* was the name of the female mantis god of the Bushmen of Basutoland, reported by Arbousset, as Schapera tells us (ibid., p. 181).

[6] 'Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *||Khu*) or *Xuwa*, "the Lord" or "the great captain", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Hawa* or *Ha'o*.' (Ibid., p. 183.)

Bushman languages present so many difficulties to those who are not experts in them—difficulties in recognizing the clicks and in sorting out variations in pronunciation between individuals even of the same group, as well as variations that are probably imposed by the position of the words in the sentence and by other grammatical configurations, &c.—that such discrepancies as *Kxo*, *Xu*, and *||Khu* are relatively slight. Fully aware of my own inadequacy in the language, I usually assume when I differ from another observer that the other is right and I am wrong. However, I cannot simply adopt another's rendering of the word without knowing if the discrepancy is due to dialectal differences or to my ignorance or what, and so must stick to my own approximations.

[7] Schapera, op. cit., pp. 182–3.

[8] Ibid., p. 183.

[9] Ibid., p. 190.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

et la famine. Tous les deux expriment leur contentement ou leur mécontentement avec les gens, suivant leurs caprices.

Le grand dieu est omnipotent et a le pouvoir de commander chaque action des hommes, des animaux et des éléments. Le petit dieu est censé lui obéir et exécuter ses ordres.

En dernière analyse, le grand dieu est fondamentalement responsable, mais le petit dieu est capable d'une action indépendante et parfois il favorise une personne avec laquelle le grand dieu est mécontent, et, ainsi, fâche le grand dieu qui peut punir cette personne même de mort. Mais les /Kung disent que le grand dieu n'est jamais trop mécontent, car autrement il ne resterait personne vivant sur la terre. Ils adressent des prières sans formalités aux deux dieux en tant qu'individus, notamment au grand dieu, et sollicitent leur bienveillance.

Les /Kung croient que lorsque les gens meurent ils deviennent des esprits, *//gumasi*, qui sont emportés au ciel où ils vivent avec le grand dieu. Il leur accorde l'immortalité et ils deviennent ses serviteurs, lesquels transmettent ses faveurs ou l'infortune aux hommes.

La seule manifestation religieuse à laquelle le peuple se livre de concert est la danse cérémoniale de guérison. Le grand dieu a donné une forte médecine curative qui réside dans la musique de la danse et dans les corps des guérisseurs. Au cours de la danse, cette médecine est évoquée non seulement afin de guérir quelqu'un qui est effectivement malade, mais également dans le but de chasser le mal éventuel et de protéger les gens. Les /Kung expliquent le fait que parfois la médecine ne guérit pas en disant que le grand dieu permet à la médecine d'agir ou non, suivant sa volonté.

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[114] LORNA MARSHALL (Mrs. Laurence K. Marshall) has carried out fieldwork among the /Kung Bushmen in South West Africa and the /Gikwe and /Ko Bushmen in the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland; has published several articles in *Africa* on various aspects of Bushman life.

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[For an annotated bibliography of the Bushmen, see 14: Willett, this file, category 113.]

14: Willet Y-4 (no date) 1965 FX10 Bushmen FX10

PREFACE

The Bushmen of Southern Africa are today represented by scattered groups of hunters on the plains of the Kalahari and on the farms of South West Africa and Angola. They are a unique and mysterious people and have attracted the attention of numerous writers since the early settlers at the Cape first made contact with the Sonquas. In this Bibliography an attempt has been made to list most aspects of the culture of the Bushmen. A bibliography on rock art was compiled in 1947, thus only a few items appear on this subject. Those included are of interest because they suggest some facet of culture or culture history. Some items are predominently of a physical anthropological nature but contain sufficient ethnological information to justify their inclusion.

The items are arranged in alphabetical order under broad subject headings and an Author-Title index has been provided. The section entitled History, was included because it was felt that the earliest references to Bushmen at the Cape and later in the interior, are of interest, in creating a picture of the life and customs of the extinct groups of Bushmen. The history of the tragic clashes between the Bushmen and other races which led to their extinction in most of Southern Africa, is traced in such historical works as J. Sutherland, Memoir respecting the Kaffirs Hottentots and Bosjemans of South Africa and Donald Moodie, The Record

The main body of the bibliography is devoted to the ethnology of the Bushmen and here are included items by authors, some of whom are not ethnologists but whose work is of sufficient value to allow its inclusion in this section. The items included in the small section entitled Bushman Folklore, include popularised versions of the work of Dorothea Bleek and Lucy C. Lloyd. The section on Linguistics is purely restricted to works available in Johannesburg and no attempt has been made to obtain works by the Portuguese students of the Bushmen or other foreign linguistic studies. This can therefore claim to be no more than a token coverage of a field, in which a vast amount of work has been and still is, being done. The section entitled General, contains work not sufficiently scientific to be included under Ethnology, yet of interest, often because of their excellent illustrations. This section begins with works published after 1900 and works of a similar nature published before this date, appear in History.

Sources. Mendelssohn, South African Bibliography provided some of the older items. Many of the older periodical references were traced through the bibliography in - I. Schapera, Khoisan Peoples of South Africa and the Johannesburg Public Library's Index to South African Periodicals was also used. A list of periodical abbreviations indicates the sources consulted. Periodical titles were written out in full when they appeared only once.

Brief annotations are given in some cases. Page references and an indication of contents, have been provided for some of the older items which do not contain an index.

My sincere thanks are due to Prof. L.F. Maingard, Prof. M.G. Marwick, and Mr. G. B. Silberbauer for their valuable advice, to Prof. Manuel Guerreiro for kindly sending material on the Portuguese contribution to Bushman Studies, of which I could include only a very small number, and to Prof. P.V. Tobias for so kinily allowing me access to his bibliography on cards in the Anatomy Department.

93. INGENROTH, Wilhelm
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94. JOYCE, J.W
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95. KAUFMANN, Hans
Die Buin ein Beitrag zur Buschmannforschung. illus.

Mitt. deuts. Schuts. 23(3): 135-160. 1910.

(A detailed account with excellent illustrations and sketches of weapons and information on Bushman music, dancing, religion, medicine, counting and other aspects of their social structure). [A]

96. KIRBY, P.
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97. KÖHLER, O.
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98. LAIDLER, P.W.
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99. LAIDLER, P.W.
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S. Afr. Jour. Sci. 26: 758-786. Dec. 1929.

100. LAIDLER, P.W.
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101. LASCH, Richard, KRICKEBERG, Walter and HABERLANDT, Artur
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Vol. 1. p. 604-610 Bushman

102. LEBZELTER, Viktor
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Afr. 7(1): 70-81. June 1934.

103. LEBZELTER, Viktor
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104. LEBZELTER, Viktor
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p.5-106 Bushmen

(Deals with Angola Bushmen. ! Kung, Kei//om, Lake Chrissie, S.W.A. Historical references to Basutoland and Transkei Bushmen; a thorough study of social life and customs, beliefs etc. Excellent photographs of various Bushman types, their weapons and utensils). [101] [114]

105. LEWIN, Louis
Neue Untersuchungen über die Pfeilgifte der Buschmänner

Z. für Ethn. 44: 831-837

(Deals largely with the poisons used).

106. LOGIE, A.C.
Preliminary notes on some Bushman arrows from South West Africa. illus.

S. Afr. Jour. Sci. 32: 553-559. Nov. 1935.

107 LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY REPORT
The Masarwa (Bushmen) report of an enquiry by the South African District committee of the L.M.S. 1935. 33 p.

108. LUKKENBEIN, A.
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Arch. für Anth. N.F. 19: 173-177. 1923

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15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

/2/ Marshall shows how specific customs reflect the dominant quest for water, and she portrays the feeling of Bushman culture as well as providing an ethnologist's construct. In this configurational model focusing on ethos, she indicates how derived themes or postulates, such /7/ as the stress on cooperation, relate to the most basic theme. Comparison of the !Kung Bushmen with the Mbuti Pygmies, the other foraging group represented in this book, reveals that even though these groups occupy very different habitats some features of their cultures are similar. These include not only elements of technology, for example, the use of poisoned arrows, but themes such as the stress on cooperation and the minimizing of intragroup conflicts, features that are a functional requisite for the close, face-to-face relationships in a foraging /2/ band. Thus a study of the Bushmen offers insight into what may be minimal and hence universal features of the foraging band as a culture type.

Bushman culture is also of interest to those concerned with African culture history, for archaeological remains of societies with a similar material culture have been discovered scattered over a much wider region of the eastern part of the continent than the Bushmen now occupy. Many anthropologists feel that the bearers of these early cultures were Bushmen, or Bushmanlike in racial type. An understanding of Bushman culture gives us insight into the cultural and behavioral setting to which the mute artifacts may have belonged.

about the author

/14 [10] Lorna Marshall lives in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and, with members of her family, has conducted several expeditions to the Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa (1951, 1952–1953, 1955, 1959, 1961), of Bechuanaland Protectorate (1955, 1961), and of southeast Angola (1959). She received her M.A. from Radcliffe College in 1928. Her writings include "The Kin Terminology System of the !Kung Bushmen" (1957), "N!ow" (1957), "Marriage among the !Kung Bushmen" (1959), "!Kung Bushman Bands" (1960), "Sharing, Talking and Giving: Relief of Social Tensions among !Kung Bushmen" (1961), and "!Kung Bushman Religious Beliefs" (1962).

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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guages, some now virtually extinct, were characterized by a fifth click made 194
with the lips, called the kiss click (⊙). In addition to clicks, the Bushman 197
languages have tones: high, middle, low, rising, and falling. Oswin Köhler [114]
has given special attention to tone as well as to other features in his study
of Bushman languages, especially Barakwenga (Köhler 1962).

Each of the large divisions of the Bushman languages—the northern, 197
central, and southern divisions (see Bleek 1956)—differs markedly from the
others. Within each group are several languages, sometimes resembling each
other enough to be considered merely dialects of the same language, but
more often differing so widely as to be distinct, mutually quite unintelligible
languages. The !Kung described in this chapter (Köhler's and Westphal's
!Xû) belong to the northern group.

HABITAT • The Kalahari Desert, some 1200 miles long, with a mean high 133
altitude of about 3000 feet, forms part of the great plateau of southern
Africa. It is a basin in form, covered with wind-blown sands, sometimes red, [134]
sometimes white, to a depth of 300 to 400 feet. The underlying rock crops
out rarely in ridges and a few low hills.

Stamp (1953:78) classifies the Kalahari as a semidesert. Its conditions 132
are not the most extreme. Our expeditions recorded daytime air temperatures
in the shade up to 115° F. and sand temperatures in the sun up to 140° F. In
winter the temperature at night falls below freezing but for most of the year
the nights are temperate. Although they seem acclimated to the heat, the [147]
Bushmen appear to find the colder temperatures very uncomfortable and
shiver violently if they are away from their fires when the cold south winds
blow.[5]

The rainfall, which comes in summer thunderstorms—6 to 10 inches, in- 137
creasing in the better-watered parts toward the north, according to Welling- [132]
ton (1955:61)—though slight, is sufficient to sustain a varied drought-
resistant vegetation, and the country is covered with grass, brush, and scant
small trees. In the northern and northwestern parts, the trees are more [824]
numerous and taller and include shivi groves and nut-bearing mangetti—
important sources of food to the Bushmen. And in all the areas of the desert
that Bushmen inhabit are found edible plants, in scant, far-apart patches per-
haps, but existing. The vegetation, furthermore, provides material for fires, 824
shelter, weapons, implements, tanning, poison for arrows, and juices (for ex-
ample tsama melons, on which these people can live when there is no water).
In short, this desert provides the things that make life possible; otherwise
the Bushmen would be dead or somewhere else.

The desert is a forceful shaper of the outlines of Bushman culture, and 182
both the possibilities it permits and the limitations it imposes have been mean- [114]
ingfully summarized by Robert Story in a personal communication:

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope.

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera

174 [172] 1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at 177 the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or 131 exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

131 (3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as 162 listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

144 (4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into cate- [114] gories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

114 147 (5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been published by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

224 126 (6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

553 602 121 (7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

PREFACE

[p. i]

114 The Bushmen of southern Africa have long held a fascination for anthropologists because of their unusual language, culture and physical type. Physical anthropologists have been intrigued by the apparently unique morphological adaptations of the Bushmen (such as steatopygia and the tablier) and the problem of the racial status of the Bushmen (Broom 1941, Coon 1955, 1962, Dart 1937, DeVilliers 1961, Tobias 1961, 1964). Linguists have focussed attention on the unique click languages of the Bushmen (W.H.I. Bleek and Lloyd 1911, D.F. Bleek 1929, 1956, Vedder 1910-11, Maingard 1957, Westphal 1963).

It is curious, in light of this interest, that, until recent years, professional investigations of Bushman sociology and ecology have been conspicuously lacking in the literature. In 1930, Schapera summarized the information then available on Bushmen. His sources consisted mainly of the accounts of early travellers such as Barrow (1801-04), Burchell (1822-24), Baines (1864), and Chapman (1868), as well as the reports of administrators in the German South West African government such as Werner (1906), Seiner (1913), and Passarge (1905, 1907).

With the exception of Bleek's monograph on the Nharo (1928b), which discussed social organization, all of Schapera's

114 sources consisted of fragments of information or were based on the memory ethnography of highly acculturated Bushmen. J.H. Wilhelm's account of !Kung social structure is perhaps the best of the early research, but this study, written in 1917, was not published until 1953 and therefore was not available to Schapera. In spite of the works of Bleek (1928b) and Wilhelm (1953), our information on the social organization and economy of Bushmen at the turn of the century is extremely sparse. Thus the students of Bushman culture have had no baseline study available to them such as the classic researches of Spencer and Gillen (1899, 1904, etc.) on the Australian aborigines.

Schapera's task in his classic, "The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa" (1930), was to salvage the ethnographic facts of a dying way of life. The tone of his book is set by the statement: "There seems little doubt that the Bushmen are steadily dying out as a race. What relentless persecution at the hands of other peoples has not achieved is being slowly accomplished by disease and racial intermixture. Racially pure Bushmen are already in a minority and their ultimate absorption by their neighbors is probably inevitable." (1930:40).

This point of view prevailed for the twenty years following the publication of "The Khoisan Peoples" and was

114 manifested by a virtual absence of sociological research among the Bushmen during the 1930's and 40's.

It was not until the 1950's that it became apparent that Schapera's obituary on the Bushmen was premature. We owe this realization to the recent research and writing of Mr. and Mrs. Laurence K. Marshall and Professor Phillip V. Tobias. The Marshalls began their investigations of Bushman life in 1951.
[161] In the interior of the northwestern Kalahari they found over 1,000 Bushmen organized into hunting and gathering bands. This was, and is, a full-scale viable way of life of a type that was believed no longer to exist. Professor Tobias, after visiting the Kalahari with the Panhard-Capricorn Expedition of 1950, was led to believe that the numbers of surviving Bushmen had
[161] been vastly underestimated. His subsequent research (1956, 1957) showed that there were over 50,000 living Bushmen and that thousands of the Bushmen were living as hunter-gatherers.
[121]. Due to the stimulus of the Marshalls and Tobias, anthropologists realized that excellent research opportunities among the Bushmen had been overlooked, simply because of the mistaken notion that the hunting and gathering way of life had ceased to
121 exist. Thus in recent years the style of Bushman research has been transformed from a salvage operation to the study of viable ongoing social and economic systems; and with the acquisition of new data has come a basic reorientation of our

121 view of the Bushmen. The present study is a contribution to this reorientation and, as such, has implications, not only for Bushman studies, but for the study of hunters and gatherers in general.

The study of subsistence ecology focusses attention on those aspects of the man/environment relation which pertain to the getting of food. Since there are populations of Bushmen available which still maintain a full-time, year-round, hunting and gathering way of life, an investigation of subsistence ecology can be founded on a firm empirical basis. The investigator does not have to rely on the memory of informants concerning conditions no longer in existence.

121 Another recent study - of the subsistence activities of
• 114 Australian aborigines in Arnhem Land (McCarthy and McArthur 1960)
171 - offers an instructive contrast to the present study. Both studies are concerned with the subsistence ecology of hunter-gatherers. The difference lies in the fact that the Australian groups studied spent the greater part of each year living on mission stations where they ate European foods. Consequently, the Australian scientists could observe traditional food getting for two week periods that were bracketed by periods of residence on the mission stations. The Bushman study, on the other hand, is a continuous record of hunting and gathering
121 activities extending over a fifteen month period. The Dobe area
222 Bushmen were hunting and gathering for the simple reason that
224

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

122 It is a great pleasure to be able to thank at least some of the people and institutions who have made possible this study of the Kalahari Bushmen. The research was supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation to Dr. Irven Devore for "Studies in the Evolution of Human Behavior". This grant was administered by Harvard University. [114] The government of the Bechuanaland Protectorate was kind enough to issue a research permit to Dr. Devore and me for the period 1963-65. The Directors of the Livingstone Museum[1], Livingstone Zambia allowed us to use the museum as a base of operations during the study period, and graciously placed the clerical and research facilities of the museum at our disposal.

000 I am grateful for the initial encouragement and continuing guidance of my undergraduate and graduate teachers, particularly Professors Ronald Cohen[2], Robert C. Dailey, and J. Norman Emerson at the University of Toronto; and Professors Sherwood L. Washburn and J. Desmond Clark at the University of California, Berkeley.

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1. formerly the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum.
2. at present at Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

121 (George Silberbauer) was already conducting research among the Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

After DeVore's return to Harvard in September, the author surveyed the Ngamiland situation and found that the Bushman population in the northwestern sector satisfied our research requirements.

161 312 621 224 222 648 In October, 1963, there were about 430 Bushmen living at nine waterholes in the !Kangwa administrative district. Over 70% of these people were organized into bands and depended on hunting and gathering for their subsistence. Although some 340 Bantu lived in the district they had not established a lord-client relationship over the Bushmen. This feudal type of social system exists elsewhere in the Kalahari but not in 114 the !Kangwa district. The author was the first white person to live in the district. The Marshall expeditions had touched the western edge of the district but had centered their research at /Gautscha, a camp about 40 miles west of our area.

The main field station was set up at Dobe, a small waterhole in Bechuanaland, two miles east of the Bechuanaland - South West Africa border. The author conducted research here for twelve months, except for intervals of work elsewhere in the Kalahari and study periods in Livingstone, Johannesburg, Windhoek and Capetown.

In October, 1964, Irven and Nancy DeVore joined the author

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

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I. INTRODUCTION

121 This dissertation is a report on the results of a field
• 114 investigation of Kalahari Bushmen in 1963-64. The research
122 was supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation
121 entitled: Studies in the Evolution of Human Behavior. The section of the research proposal devoted to Bushmen outlined five major areas of investigation:

1. Census
2. Demography
3. Subsistence
4. Social organization
5. Settlement patterns

The data obtained in the areas of census and subsistence are presented here. Further data on demography, social organization and settlement patterns are summarized here and will be expanded in subsequent publications.

The Bushman research project was conceived to answer a need on the part of archeologists and other students of human evolution for accurate, quantitative information on the subsistence and society of a contemporary hunting and gathering people. It was hoped that such a study would generate new insights on cultural evolution and aid in the task of interpreting archeological materials. The primary task was to define the properties of a hunting and gathering way of life.

121 This statement was then to be employed as a basis for comparison with other living hunting and gathering societies and the generalizations so derived were to be used as a baseline for the reconstruction of the properties of societies and economies of earlier populations of man.

Of the three stages in this research scheme, description, comparison and reconstruction, only the first stage is presented in this dissertation viz the description of the subsistence of one hunting and gathering people.

The Kalahari Bushman study began in August 1963, when Irven DeVore and the author made a reconnaissance of the northern Kalahari Desert to look for a suitable study site. The research goals required a population as isolated and traditionally oriented as possible. Three locations were considered (see Map 1).

1. The Bushman Native Reserve, South West Africa
2. The Central Kalahari Game Reserve, Bechuanaland
3. Northwestern Ngamiland

[114] South West Africa proved to be out of the question. For political reasons foreign scientists are not being permitted to work among the indigenous peoples. The British colonial government of Bechuanaland, on the other hand, has encouraged social scientists from abroad to come and work among the tribes. Our decision to work in northwestern Ngamiland was dictated by the fact that a government-appointed anthropologist

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4]

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TABLE 1

Periods of Research, Camps and Seasons of the Kalahari Bushman Study

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Period	Location	Season
1963		
August	on survey, northern Kalahari	winter, cool dry
October-December	Dobe	end of hot dry, small rains, main rains
1964		
January-February	Tsodilo	main rains
late February-end April	Dobe	end rains, onset of winter dry
early May	Tsodilo	onset of winter dry
mid June	on survey, southern Kalahari	winter cold dry
late June-early September	Dobe area	winter cold dry
September	Kuli-Ghanzi	spring hot dry
late October-December	Dobe area	end of hot dry, small rains
1965		
early January	Dobe-Maun	small rains

114 and we worked jointly at Dobe until the study terminated on January 8, 1965. The study dates and places are summarized in Table 1.

A note on orthography

197 The linguistic status of the !Kung Bushmen will be dis-
194 cussed in Chapter II. As there is still no general agreement among linguists on the phonemes of the !Kung language, a brief list of phonemes is offered here to facilitate the pronounciation of Bushman words used in the text.[1]

Vowels

1. i - as in English "fit, feet"
2. e - as in English "fate, fed"
3. ə - as in English "the, but"
4. u - as in English "book, boor"
5. o - as in English "bore, ball"
6. a - as in English "bat, bar"

Dipthongs

7. au - as in "cow, now, thou"
8. ai - as in "by, sky, bite"
9. ei - close to "bay, bait"
10. iu - no English equivalent; falls between "see" and "Sue"

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[1] A phonemic analysis of !Kung is in preparation and will be presented elsewhere. The present listing is oversimplified.

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

101 Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a 142 satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical 144 type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included, and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland 197 would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non- 121 Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West 224 Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A 222 strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting 461 648 and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many 241 thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or 233 practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

• 114 A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by 197 the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963). He has demonstrated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

101 In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is [114] adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956). Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

101 non-Bantu, click-speaking peoples with a tradition of hunting and gathering in their recent past. Thus we may define Bushmen as members of tribes who are acknowledged to be "sarwa" by themselves and others. The term "sarwa" thus includes peoples of varying physical type and economy, and of four distinct linguistic stocks within the click family of languages. The one characteristic common to them all is the tradition of hunting and gathering. The economic and linguistic divisions will be elaborated below.

Numbers and distribution

161 The Bushmen are numerically stronger than has been
• 114 generally supposed. Estimates such as Schapera's 7,000-7,500 (1930), Keith's 6,000 (1948), and Coon's "few hundred" (1955) are far too low. Despite Tobias' careful estimate of 55,000 living Bushmen (1957), the older misconceptions still persist. As recently as 1963, Bohannan estimated the numbers of living Bushmen in the hundreds (Bohannan 1963:213).

161 The author's estimate, based on data available in 1964,
127 shows a total figure rather smaller than that of Tobias' 55,000. It is estimated that there are about 44,100 Bushmen alive today. This figure is based on published sources and unofficial government estimates for Bechuanaland. For South West Africa, the figures are adapted from the Odendaal Commission Report (Republic of South Africa, 1964). For Angola,

Languages

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• 114 Due to the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963), the classification and geography of the click languages has been put on a firmer footing. The author's observations confirm Westphal's scheme in its essentials, but differ on certain details.

197 Among the peoples called Sarwa there are two major linguistic subdivisions:

1. A group of genetically related languages which collectively and individually are related to the Nama and Korana dialects of Hottentot. These languages are called by Westphal Tshu-khwe and were formerly known as the Central group of Bushmen languages.

2. Three languages which are distinct from the Hottentot-related group and distinct from one another. These Westphal calls "Bush A, B, and C." Bush A used to be known as Northern Bushman, Bush B and C as Southern Bushman.

The distribution of these languages is plotted on Map 3, p. 16.

Tshu-khwe - Five related languages are distinguished here. It appears that adjacent dialects are mutually intelligible, but speakers of languages that are geographically separated cannot understand each other.

The five languages are:

XŨ - known as Kwengo in Barotseland, Hukwe in the Eastern

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

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Caprivi, and Bukakwe in the Western Caprivi; also found in southeastern Angola.

Shua - the major click language of the Panda-ma-tenga area; also includes Danisin and other dialects of the Mababe area.

//gabake - Hiechware and Ganade are included here; spoken at Panda-ma-tenga, Nata and possibly in the Wankie area; very closely related to Shua.

Deti - the language of the Tete or Tletle people who live along the Botlete River; not mutually intelligible with //gabake although they are genetically related.

Nharo - the main click language spoken on the Ghanzi Farms; there are several important related dialects: N/hai, spoken in the Lake Ngami area,[1] //gana of Central Bechuanaland, and /Gwi of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

197 • 114 For a more complete catalogue of dialects, the reader is referred to Westphal (1963:248ff). His use of the term Hottentot to apply to the above peoples who are ethnically Bushmen is unfortunate, since he has not demonstrated that the Tshu-khwe peoples are, in fact, derived from the Hottentot. It is more likely that both are derived from a common

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[1] Westphal considers this as a separate language. I found it to be only a dialect of Nharo.

197 [114] proto-Hottentot, proto-Bushman ancestor.

Bush - Unlike the five Tshu-khwe languages, the three Bush languages cannot, on the basis of accepted linguistic procedures, be shown to be genetically related. The author, in an attempt to replicate Westphal's vocabulary comparisons, made a lexicostatistic trial on two languages: Bush A (!Kung), and Nharo (a Tshu-khwe language). The percentage of cognates was 11.5% but no rules of regularized sound shifts could be demonstrated between the two languages. Therefore the possibility is strong that the incidence of cognates is fortuitous or due to borrowing. The same low order of cognation was found when Bush A was lexicostatistically compared with Bush B.

The three Bush languages are:

A. !Kung; the subject of this dissertation. Also known in the literature as Kung, !xũ, Auen, Kaukau, and //au//ei; !Kung speakers extend from the Ghanzi farms in the south through western Bechuanaland and northeastern South West Africa, north into Angola.

B. ɸhũa; also known as Magong, !xõ (not to be confused with !xũ), !xoŋ, ɘwaɘwani.[1] These people live south of Ghanzi farms and extend into the Kalahari Gemsbok Game Reserve of South Africa.

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[1] ɘ is the symbol for the 5th Bushman click, known as the kiss click. This click is confined to Bush B, C and D languages and therefore not considered in the linguistic sketch of Chapter I.

197 C. -ŋ/huki; also known as ≠khomani (Doke 1936) and //n-!ke (Bleek 1929). A very small group now confined to the Gemsbok Park.

The numerical strength of the various Tshu-khwe and Bush languages are estimated as follows:

Xũ (Kwengo)	2,000
Shua (Danisin etc.)	3,000
//gabake (Hiechware etc.)	10,000
Deti (Tletle)	2,000
Nharo (/gwi, //gana etc.)	9,000
Bush A (!Kung)	13,000
Bush B (≠hũa)	1,600
Bush C (ŋ/huki)	50
TOTAL	40,650

The remaining 3,450 Bushmen of the estimated total of 44,100 include over 3,000 Hai//om (Heikum) in South West Africa. These people speak a dialect of Nama Hottentot and have a tradition of hunting and gathering although only a small proportion do so today. Also included in the remainder are a small group of people around Lake Chrissie in the [101] Eastern Transvaal. They are locally known as Batwa and number [114] less than one hundred. Westphal includes them as his Bush D language and calls them "//xegwi." (See also Lanham and Hallowes 1956; Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955).

The economic position

114 224 222 161 Tobias erred when he estimated that in 1956, 35,000 of the 55,000 Bushmen "lead a hunting and food-gathering life, barely removed from that of the late Upper Palaeolithic or of the South African Later Stone Age." (1957:33). The first comment concerns the numbers of Bushmen still hunting; the second the "primitiveness" of the modern Bushmen hunters.

162 131 464 648 224 Of the 15,000 Bushmen in South West Africa at least 9,500 are working on European farms. An additional 3,000 are either working for Bantu agriculturalists or practicing agriculture and stock-keeping themselves. (Republic of South Africa 1964:29,41). This leaves 2,500 as hunter-gatherers in South West Africa.

In Bechuanaland an estimated 16,300 Bushmen work on European farms or Bantu cattle posts. A further 2,000 are practicing a mixed agricultural and hunting way of life. The remaining 6,100 lead a hunting and gathering way of life. The main concentrations of the latter are in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (3,000) and in western Ngamiland (1,600).

The Batwa of the Lake Chrissie area have been working on European farms for nearly a century (Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955:3). The Bushmen in the Gemsbok Park are a major tourist attraction, but may do some hunting.

In Rhodesia, the Bushmen in the Wankie area are all

162 working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in
131 Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield
464 as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen
648 of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life.
224 (Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated at 200.

161 This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of
162 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty
224 percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more
222 reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely
[114] that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

162 The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial
224 and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-
222 gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most
178 isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with
184 their European and Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of
[221] the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend
[648] part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent
[312] to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share
[464] their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the
[233] young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds on a contract basis.

000 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

The !Kung Bushmen

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162 The !Kung are the most numerous of the surviving Bushman tribes. Of the estimated total of 13,000, about 3,000 live in Angola, 2,000 in Bechuanaland, and 8,000 in South West Africa. The !Kung occupy a remarkably large area. Their country extends from north to south for a distance of 500 miles, and from east to west for a distance of 300 miles (see Map 5).

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553 Two criteria clearly distinguish the !Kung from all other Bushman peoples: their language and their unique system of
19 personal naming. The !Kung language has phonological features in common with adjacent Tshu-khwe and Hottentot languages, such as the four click system and the strong glottal releases. However, the vocabulary and grammar of !Kung sets it apart from the other click languages. A lexicostatistic comparison of !Kung and Nharo showed a low incidence of cognates (11.5%).
[114] The grammar of !Kung has yet to be adequately described, but
[193] none of the preliminary work by Doke (1925), Bleek (1929), Maingard (1957), and Westphal (1962, 1963:244) has been able to demonstrate a genetic relationship of !Kung grammar to the grammars of the other click languages.

There are no semi-!Kung languages (although the vocabulary of the southern dialect has been influenced by contact with Nharo) and therefore a native speaker of !Kung is immediately identified as a member of the !Kung tribe. This holds

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[162]

this area is waterless and uninhabited. In the center is a ring of pans and a series of waterholes which support at present a population of 1,200 !Kung Bushmen. They occupy an area of about 3,500 square miles (70 miles from east to west x 50 miles from north to south). This central complex of water sources is surrounded by a belt of waterless, uninhabited country that varies in width from sixty miles, on the east and north, to over one hundred miles on the west and south. Access to the interior is limited. One line of wells links Tsumkwe in the interior with Grootfontein on the west.

[491] Two rarely used motor tracks join the interior with the Okavango swamp to the east. A police patrol road cut in 1954-55 runs from south to north along the B.P./S.W.A. border. The maximum vehicle speed obtainable on these tracks is 20 mph [177] and trucks pass through about once a month. The difficulty of the terrain, the lack of farming potential, and the scarcity of water have deterred European and Bantu penetration of the area.

[114] The distinction between periphery and interior has been applied to the country of the central !Kung by John Marshall (1957) and Lorna Marshall (1960:327ff). The present usage differs from that of the Marshalls. They applied the term "interior" to the Nyae Nyae ring of pans and regarded the waterholes at /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa as peripheral. Since

III. THE DOBE AREA: ITS PEOPLES AND HISTORY

[13] Dobe, a small waterhole on the South West Africa/
[114] Bechuanaland border, ninety miles west of Nokaneng, B.P., was the location of the author's main field camp. The term, "Dobe area", as used in this report refers to the country
[312] within a thirty mile radius of the Dobe well. This includes the eleven permanent waterholes which support the entire population of Bushmen and Bantu in the Bechuanaland sector
[224] of the !Kung interior. The Dobe area also includes a large
[222] tract of ground in South West Africa where Bechuanaland Bushmen traditionally go to hunt and gather. It does not include the Nyae Nyae pans, /gam and Tsumkwe in South West Africa, or the more distant waterholes at n!aun!au, at !ǂudum, or at Tsodilo Hills in Bechuanaland (see Map 8).

Dobe is not the cultural or administrative center of the settlements of the interior !Kung. On the contrary, Dobe is the most isolated of the waterholes on the Bechuanaland side. The term "Dobe area" is applied here simply as a matter of convenience.

To reach the Dobe area by truck, one drives west from the Batawana town of Nokaneng which is situated on the western edge of the Okavango swamps. After traversing uninhabited country for 67 miles the traveller arrives at

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

IV. THE ENVIRONMENT

131 The area under consideration is a tract of land in Bechuanaland and South West Africa. The boundaries are the Okavango River on the north and east, the Ghanzi Farms on the south, and the edge of the South West African Escarpment on the west. The area thus defined (excluding transitional zones on the edges) is c. 160 miles x 160 miles = 25,600 sq. miles.

133 The area is characterized by a series of fixed dunes running parallel to each other 5-50 miles in length oriented approximately W 10° N / E 10° S. In the spaces between the dunes, 1-5 miles in width, are basins or molapos. "Molapo" is a Sechuana word meaning dry river bed. It is used throughout the thesis when referring to the longitudinal depressions between the dunes as well as the more deeply incised river valleys that do not conform to the parallel
• [114] patterning of the dunes. "Molapo" is the Sechuana equivalent of "omaramba", a Herero word used by J. Marshall (1957), Story (1958), and others.

The combination of basin and dune forms a remarkably uniform pattern from north to south. At several points the landscape is incised by deeper drainage systems that expose the bedrock. The molapo dune pattern is also interrupted by

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146 totalling 36 lbs. This meat (490 lbs.) went to feed a camp of 42 people (exclusive of visitors).

A rough calculation of the weight of meat per person per day through this 28-day period gives a figure of 6-2/3 oz. of meat. The daily intake of vegetable foods per person during the same period can be estimated at 24 oz. (of mongongo nuts and various roots). Therefore a reasonable estimate of the ratio of meat to vegetables in the diet of this camp is 25%-75%.

This ratio is based on observations at one camp during [114] one season only. It can be said, however, that George Silberbauer, Laurence and Lorna Marshall, and the author are in general agreement that meat comprises between 20% and 40% by weight of the Bushman diet (Silberbauer, 1965:28; Marshalls, personal communication).

5. Late Winter

221 There is a well-defined break point in the winter subsistence cycle between the early period (May, June and July) of relative abundance and the late winter and spring period 221 of increasing food scarcity (August-September). Through the 222 early winter the Bushmen concentrate on the mongongo nut groves 462 that are within a day's walk of permanent water. Groups of women go out once every three or four days, fill their karosses with nuts and return to the camp in the evening. The men

16; Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

IX. FOOD, WORK AND LAND USE AMONG THE !KUNG BUSHMEN

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An observer planning to live with Bushmen is led to expect - from the ethnographic literature - that the Bushmen lead an arduous and exacting way of life, in which the problem of getting food is an overwhelming daily concern. Furthermore I had been told, by local Europeans, that the Bushmen were extremely shy and difficult to find, and that they were always on the move in their endless quest for game. Therefore I was unprepared for the situation in the Dobe area when I first arrived there at the end of the dry season of 1963; for camped at every waterhole were dozens of Bushmen who offered the outsider a hearty welcome and who were seemingly unconcerned by the problem of finding food.

During the course of the study, it became apparent that the Bushman subsistence was more substantial and secure than had been previously supposed. In the foregoing chapters the properties of their hunting and gathering way of life have been described. It will be appropriate, in this final chapter, to review the lines of evidence that bear on the probler of how such a carefree and secure existence is possible in a society of hunter-gatherers living in a harsh, semi-desert environment.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Chapter IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Tribe and Hunting Band

All the Bushmen in their native condition lead a nomadic hunting 222
and collecting life, roaming about in search of the game and wild 224
vegetable foods upon which they depend for their existence. The [182]
conditions of their subsistence necessarily prevent them from banding
together permanently in any considerable numbers. Wherever they 621
still retain to any marked degree their original mode of life and
organization they are found scattered over the land in small separate
communities.[1] Each such community will be spoken of here as a
hunting band. The members of a band share a common life, they see
one another constantly, they co-operate in many ways, and they are
all as a rule friendly and on fairly intimate terms. Each band also [619]
has occasional relations with other neighbouring bands, through
intermarriage and trade, and visitors may pass from one to another.
On the other hand, there are often quarrels between neighbouring [628]
bands, which may result in a prolonged state of feud and even lead
directly to warfare.

The various bands among the Heikum are generally referred to 621
among each other by a name which indicates either the locality in 101
which they live, or describes some physical or other characteristic
of the band itself or of its locality. The *se-khoin*, for example, are the
people of the *seb* or plain; the */gom-khoin* the people who eat the

[1] The social organization of the Bushmen is one of the least-known aspects of their culture, and sadly needs careful and detailed investigation. The most reliable sources of information refer almost exclusively to the North-Western tribes: Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 1907; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910); (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.* 21 (1927); *idem, The Naron*, 1928; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928); L. Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. SW. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6); *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, 1928. The relevant literature on the other tribes is for the most part fragmentary, although some valuable data on the Namib Bushmen are given by Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), and by Trenk, "Die Buschkute der Namib," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910). Where no special reference is made to any particular tribe the analysis given above must therefore be regarded as applying especially to the North-Western tribes, who are also the only Bushmen still leading a fairly independent life. [114]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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621 101 *lgom* or omungete nut; and the *xom-khoin* the people who *xom* or scrape together, the name indicating their method of collecting salt on the Etosha Pan, along whose southern border they live.[1] How the bands are named in the other tribes is not clearly stated. In the [114] literature they are spoken of as a rule in terms of the locality they inhabit, but no indication is given whether this is also the name by which they call themselves and are known to their neighbours.

619 101 These hunting bands are grouped into what are here called "tribes". A tribe consists of a number of neighbouring bands, the members of which all speak what they themselves regard as one language. Each tribe has its own distinctive name. In the Southern and Central linguistic groups this usually ends in the word */ke* or *kwe* respectively, i.e. "people"; but in most cases the meaning of the name itself has not been recorded or can no longer be determined. The few tribal names which can be interpreted seem to refer to some general characteristic of the people themselves or of the country which they inhabit. The *//ŋ /ke*, for example, are the "home people"; the */tannekwe* the "river people"; the *Hiechware* the "people of the open country", and the */o /kũ* the "forest people", while the */kũ* (*Kung*) are simply "people", or, as they would interpret the name "Bushmen". The *Hei-//om*, again, derive their name from the [177] Hottentot words *heis*, tree or bush, and *//om*, to sleep, and are therefore the "tree-sleeping people", i.e. those who sleep under trees; while the term *Naron*, by which the *//aikwe* now sometimes speak of themselves, appears to have been applied to them originally by the Auen and to mean "people who are insignificant".

619 The tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group. It has no social [197] solidarity, and is of very little, if any, importance in regulating social life. There appears to be no tribal organization among the Bushmen, nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all the members of the tribe, nor is collective action ever taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. The tribe in fact is merely a loose aggregate of independent hunting bands which have a common language and name.

621 The band, and not the tribe, is the real political body among the Bushmen. Each band is autonomous, leading its own life independently of the others. Its affairs are as a rule regulated by the [623] skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men in general. In [622] the North-Western tribes, however, each band has also a chief, whose

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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114 131 621 There is unfortunately no reliable information available as to the extent of territory occupied by the band. The only writer to touch on this question is Seiner, who estimates that in the Grootfontein district in the north-east of South-West Africa the average hunting territory covers about 700 sq. km.[1] This figure, however, cannot be regarded even as approximate, for it is based on what is almost certainly an excessive estimate of the total Bushman population in that district.

Size of the Band

162 621 The number of people who make up a band varies from tribe to tribe, and even within the tribe itself, although it is never considerable. Some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen speak of bands containing from one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons,[2] but groups much smaller in size are also mentioned.[3] Certainly in more recent times the number of families living together seldom exceeded three or four.[4] The remnants of the Namib Bushmen now also live in very small groups of only a few persons,[5] and so do the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, where a band rarely has more than about twenty members.[6] Elsewhere Dornan states that he has seldom seen more than six or seven families together at a time, all told about thirty persons, and this was in a camp at permanent water.[7] The !O Kung in Angola are also found living together in very small bands. The largest group met by Miss Bleek consisted of sixteen men and fifteen women; everywhere else little parties were seen of from two to six men, with their wives and families.[8]

621 648 [177] In considering these figures it must be remembered that the Cape Bushmen were already being persecuted and dispersed, and their organization disintegrated, by their more powerful neighbours at the time when they came under observation, while the Namib Bushmen are now almost extinct and live in very unfavourable country. Whether they were formerly banded together in larger numbers there is no means of telling. The Hiechware and the !O Kung, again,

[1] Seiner, loc. cit.
[2] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 53.
[3] Burchell, op. cit., i, 456; Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 48; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 144.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii.
[5] Trenk, op. cit., 166; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Range, *Landeskunde . . . des Namalandes*, 73.
[6] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 90.
[7] Ibid., 130.
[8] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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are the serfs of the interdwelling Bantu, and the conditions under which they live do not, therefore, permit of their association in large groups. 621 648

In the tribes to the north-west who still retain to some extent their own mode of life and organization the communities are on the whole somewhat larger, although the numbers fluctuate a good deal. 162 621 In the Kaukauveld Passarge frequently saw bands of up to thirty persons, and in the Mahuraveld of between twenty and twenty-five persons.[1] Among the Naron, again, Miss Bleek speaks of a camp containing from sixty to eighty persons,[2] while among the Auen, according to Kaufmann, up to thirty families, i.e. about one hundred persons, may be found camping together.[3] Both writers agree, however, in stating that the numbers may at times be considerably less. Müller visited eight camps of Bushmen in the Kaukauveld, and the figures given by him show that in six of them the population ranged between thirty and seventy, while the remaining two had one hundred and fifty and two hundred inhabitants respectively.[4] Seiner, again, states that the bands of the Kung average fifty persons, although he mentions two encampments in the vicinity of Karakuwisa which were considerably larger[5]; while among the Tannekwe he found five encampments of Bugakwe, whose population he estimates altogether as two hundred and twenty, eight of Garikwe containing all told about four hundred and thirty persons, and one of Gokwe with ninety.[6]

Not too much weight can be laid on the actual figures given, as for the most part they are based on what are obviously rough estimates, not accurate observations. There seems little doubt, however, that among the North-Western tribes the bands are on the whole more considerable than in any of the other tribes, and the average given by von François[7] of between fifty to sixty persons to a band may be taken as fairly representative, although as we have seen the numbers fluctuate a good deal. [114]

Part of the difficulty in obtaining accurate information about the size of the band lies in the fact that the families composing it are not always found living together in one encampment. Within the 166 361 621

[1] *Die Buschmänner*, 9, 10. [2] *The Naron*, 4. [3] "Die Auin," 136.
[4] "Erkundungsritt in das Kaukauveld," 530. The actual figures are: 150, 40, 70, 70, 200, 30, 50, and 30.
[5] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303, 302.
[6] "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 104.
[7] *Nama und Damara*, 234.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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obvious from the fact that although several chiefs were present, there was no common supreme chief.[1] Such gatherings are only temporary in nature, and produced by some special circumstance. They cannot therefore be regarded as indicative of the normal groupings of the Bushmen. 361 619 621 [622]

Social Structure of the Band

Within the band the only division is into families. The family among the Bushmen consists of a man and his wife or wives, together with their dependent children. It is a unit of outstanding importance in their social and economic life. The members of a family usually live together in one hut; the children until they are mature remain under the direct control of their parents, are nourished and are educated by them; husband and wife jointly contribute to the maintenance of their household, and the domestic tasks and industries are apportioned between them according to fixed custom. The family, moreover, has much freedom of movement, and, as already mentioned, single families will often roam about separately for a while within the territory of their band. 592 [595]

The relationship between the different families constituting a band is seldom defined clearly by the various observers. In particular the information available about the kinship organization of the Bushmen is very inadequate. Miss Bleek has recently published lists of relationship terms for each of the three main linguistic groups defined by her.[2] From these it appears that among all the Bushmen there are, in addition to various descriptive terms of relationship, also certain terms applied not to individuals but to whole groups of different relatives, while still others are used reciprocally between people standing in a particular relationship to each other. Relationship terms of the last two types, when found in other societies, are usually indicative of a definite organization of the community on the basis of kinship; and it is probable therefore that some such organization exists among the Bushmen as well. Unfortunately the lists given by Miss Bleek appear to be drawn from vocabulary sources rather than from an actual study of kinship itself, and cannot therefore be used with any degree of confidence. In any case they throw 114 601 602 621 114 601 114 602

[1] Op. cit., 138, 155. It should be mentioned here that the figures given by Kaufmann are, as a rule, far in excess of those given by other writers of about the same time and on the same district (e.g. Müller, German official estimate), and cannot therefore be accepted without question. [114]

[2] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1924), 57–70.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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114 but little light on the social organization of the people, since the
602 information given about the rights and duties regulating the conduct towards one another of people related either by consanguinity or through marriage is somewhat meagre. But they suggest at least that there is much in the social life of the Bushmen which could be revealed by a careful study of the usages connected with kinship.

There is some evidence, however, to show that among the Cape
621 and Namib Bushmen, who as we have seen live in very small groups, the members of such a group are as a rule all related either by consanguinity or through marriage. Of the Cape Bushmen, for example, Miss Bleek says elsewhere: "They live in small family groups, and have no chiefs. . . . Three or four huts stand together. In one is the father, in others his married children. At most eight or ten huts of connections were dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, but this is an institution of later days . . . (at marriage)
[591] sometimes the young couple build their hut near the bridegroom's father, sometimes near the bride's. They seem to keep the family groups fairly even."[1] The accounts given by Trenk and especially
[114] by Seydel of the social structure of the band among the Namib Bushmen are not nearly so definite, but on the whole seem to indicate a similar principle of grouping.[2]

This is also found among the !O Kung of Angola, where again the local groups are very small. The details given by Miss Bleek bring out very clearly the structure of these groups[3]: "The families living together are nearly always related; in two cases the men were brothers-in-law, in the first the sister of one man was the wife of the other, in the second the wives were half-sisters. A cousin of the wives and an aunt resided with them. At another place I found a father with his second wife and small children, a grown-up son with wife and children, and a grown-up daughter whose husband was temporarily absent. The next lot were uncle and nephews, then a mother with married daughter, with a nephew and step-son of the mother's. The last lot encountered, the horde on the Mushumbo, consisted of an old man with two sons, several grandsons both in the male and female line, a son-in-law and nephews and great-nephews, mostly brother's descendants. He introduced himself as the 'father'
[888] of them all. Chiefs are non-existent, but deference is paid to the

[1] *The Mantis and his Friends*, pp. viii, ix.
[2] Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," 168, 170; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.
[3] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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184 while of the Aikwe (Naron) Passarge says that a man wishing to marry
582 must select his bride from another band, since marriage within the
621 band is not permitted.[1] A few cases were found by Miss Bleek among the Naron at Sandfontein in which both husband and wife were from one village. The fact, however, that such marriages were regarded by the people as being against the general rule indicates that here, too, the tendency is to insist on marriage outside the band.[2]

After marriage the wife generally goes to live with her husband's
591 people, although the young couple may remain for some time with
183 the wife's parents before finally settling at the husband's home.[3] As a rule, therefore, marriage is patrilocal. Among the Naron, however, this rule is not always strictly observed, although it is recognized. "Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parent's home and stay there until the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so."[4] Passarge
114 indeed, goes so far as to assert of this tribe that the man definitely
591 joins the family of his wife, and becomes a member of their band[5]—a fact which he interprets elsewhere as denoting that the Bushmen are a matrilineal people.[6] It is far more probable, however, that he was misled by the custom of temporary matrilocal marriage than that the condition he describes is the normal rule. There is no other evidence to support his statement that the Bushmen have matrilineal institutions.

In fact the prevailing rule in these tribes that marriage should be exogamous and patrilocal suggests rather the possibility that
621 the families constituting the band may be related to one another in the male line. The only definite statement to this effect is about the Heikum, of whom we are told by Fourie that a band consists of the

[1] Op. cit., 105 [2] *The Naron*, 34.
[3] Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Vedder, loc. cit.; Fourie, op. cit., 93; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," (14).
[4] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66; cf. *idem*, *The Naron*, 34.
[5] Op. cit., 106: "Der Mann schliesst sich der Familie seiner Frau an und wird ein Mitglied der anderen Sippe."
[6] *Südafrika*, p. 252: "Jeder Stamm setzt sich aus Sippen zusammen, die bis zum heutigen Tage die matriarchalische Organisation beibehalten haben. Das geht daraus hervor, dass der Mann bei der Heirat zu der Horde der Frau übergeht."

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

male relatives of the chief with their wives and families.[1] The relationship to one another of the families in the bands of the other North-Western tribes is not indicated by our authorities. It is reasonable, however, to expect that most of them at least will be similarly connected, since as a rule married sons with their wives and children will remain together in the same band as their father, while married daughters will leave it to join the bands of their husbands. Moreover, in case of divorce the children remain with their father, and although unweaned children must go with their mother, they can be claimed later by him if he likes.[2]

Dornan says that "the Bushmen of the Kalahari are divided into many small clans",[3] but the term "clan", as used by him, applies sometimes to what has here been called a tribe, and sometimes to a hunting band. He speaks also of exogamous "totemic families" and "totemic clans" among the Hiechware and adjoining tribes, but admits that here the occurrence of this "totemism" is the result of Bantu influence.[4] There is no evidence yet that definitely goes to show the existence of totemism among any of the other Bushman peoples.

Nor, as far as can be seen at present, is there any real clan organization among the Bushmen.[5] The bands of the Cape and Namib Bushmen and of the !O Kung are certainly not clans, while the little we know of the social structure of the band among the North-Western Bushmen does not in itself justify our regarding them as such. There is also nothing at all to indicate the existence of a clan organization cutting across the system of grouping into hunting bands.

It must again be emphasized, however, that our knowledge of the social organization of the Bushmen is fragmentary, and that there are many questions relating to the structure of the band about which no adequate information is available. We are nowhere told clearly, for instance, how membership of the band is determined among the North-Western Bushmen.[6] In general it would seem that children

[1] Op. cit., 86. [2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 34; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 67. [4] Op. cit., 161; cf. 68, 128.
[5] The *clan* is commonly defined as "an exogamous, unilateral group of persons all the members of which are held to be related to one another and bound together by a common tie. This tie may be a belief in common descent from some ancestor, real or mythical, it may be the common possession of a totem, or the common habitation of a village or district" (*Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 5th ed., p. 55). A patrilineal clan is one of which membership is determined by descent traced through the male line, i.e. a person belongs to the clan of his father and his clansmen are related to him primarily through his father. A matrilineal clan is one in which descent is similarly traced through the mother.
[6] Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung (op. cit.), says curtly (p. 114) that a boy belongs to the family of his father, a girl to that of her mother ("Die Knaben gehoren zur Sippe des Vaters, die Mädchen zu der der Mutter"). This statement is at variance with all so far known about the Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed before it can be accepted as accurate.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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361 [606] exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes." Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent [882] young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young men; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of married people. The dancing place is to the west within the circle.

"The large tree (*!heis*) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved 361 as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women 562 are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely, [622] the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for kindling the principal fire (*!ou-|ais*) or for other menial purposes when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this *!heis*. Under [372] it is made the first fire (*!hei-|ais*) on the establishment of a new [224] *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed in the chase."[1]

● 114 Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the 361 only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. "Where several families live together," he says, "the huts are ranged in a circle, the head of the group ("Dorfälteste") living in the east."[3]

592 Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they [595] get on well; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share [882] a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree, and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with [589] a boy; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone, are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

342 The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52. [2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4-5; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 51; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

372 by him by means of the *hei-doros*. The new */ou-/ais* now serves to
622 supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gaus* (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case only in
361 times of drought when the game has moved far afield and great
221 difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos. Further, people
672 driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes
622 allowed to live some distance away from the *//gaus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the */ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.

"Persistent ill-health among the members of the community or diffi-
622 culty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase may cause the
372 *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the */ou-/ais*, are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new */ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the *hei-doros* and applies *!norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it has been."

"The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire,"
114 Fourie goes on to say, "is met with among all the organized primitive
372 groups" of Bushmen in South-West Africa. The only previous
622 information hinting at observances of this kind is found in a curt statement by Kaufmann that among the Auen the "captain" of a village sees to it that the fire does not go out. But he adds that there is no "sacred" fire, and attributes the guarding of the fire against extinction to the practical inconveniences of the method employed in making it.[1] Quite recently, however, Lebzelter has reported the occurrence of similar observances among the Kung, although his remarks on the subject are very scanty. He states merely that the Kung, like the Bergdama, have the sacred fire round which only the men may sit. "When the camp is moved," he concludes, "the head of the group takes with him a brand from this fire"[2]—presumably to use it for

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 139; "Der 'Kapitän' (Aichab) der Werft achtet darauf, dass das Feuer nicht ausgeht. Ein 'heiliges' Feuer ist nicht vorhanden. Die Bewahrung des Feuers vor dem Verlöschen geschieht lediglich aus praktischen Gründe, da das Feuerquirlen immerhin ziemlich anstrengend ist."

[2] "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 14: "Wie die Honigkaffern haben auch die !Kuh das Sochafeuer. Es ist dies das heilige Feuer, bei dem nur die Männer sein dürfen. Wenn die Werft übersiedelt, dann nimmt das Werftoberhaupt einen Feuerbrand mit Sochafeuer mit."

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lighting a new fire at the next encampment, although this is a practice which, as we have just seen, Fourie explicitly denies for the Heikum. 372 622 [114]

There is no indication at all in the available literature that similar usages relating to fire are found among the rest of the Bushmen, nor [184] is there any further evidence of their occurrence among the tribes mentioned above. On the other hand the sacred fire also plays a very conspicuous part in the social and ritual life of the OvaHerero, 171 OvaMbo, and Bergdama, all of them close neighbours of the Bushmen 372 tribes among whom it is found, and with the last two of whom the Heikum at least have intermixed considerably. It is probable therefore that the special observances relating to fire among the Heikum and the Kung may represent borrowed elements of culture; but much [177] fuller information is needed about them before this can be definitely asserted. Whatever their origin, however, these usages now obviously play an important part in the social life of the people. In particular, the fact that at the present time the chief of the band has certain ex- [622] clusive functions in connection with fire is of outstanding significance in the whole sphere of public life, and one which cannot be dismissed merely because it may be due to the effects of contact with other peoples. To this point we shall have to return when discussing the political institutions of the Bushmen.

Special Usages relating to Food

There is not much information available about food taboos, but 262 it appears that, in some of the tribes at least, certain foods are forbidden 825 to persons at different stages of life. In the texts obtained by Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen there are preserved the details of some of the food taboos prevalent among this people. Thus little children were not allowed to eat the heart of the jackal (on account of this animal's great timidity), certain portions of the ostrich, or the tip of the springbok's tail; a menstruating girl might not eat game [841] killed by the young men, lest she bring them ill luck—she had to eat only game taken by her father; a certain kind of tortoise was forbidden to young unmarried men and women, for fear of arousing [821] the wrath of the rain; women were not allowed to eat the flesh of the lynx; the tail of the porcupine was forbidden to certain (unspecified) persons; while all refrained from eating a certain small 262 portion of the flesh of the hare.[1] The published information relating [114]

[1] L. C. Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, cf. references in Index, s.v. "Food—not to be eaten."

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262 to these taboos is unfortunately so fragmentary that little can be
[114] gathered of the ideas underlying them. Several of them are
[821] undoubtedly connected with wider ritual observances, e.g. the taboo
[821] imposed on menstruating girls, and again that associated with a
certain belief about the rain; but of the others no full explanation is
[773] available, although the taboo on the portion of the hare may possibly
[761] be linked up with the Bushman myth of the origin of death, in which
[825] the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the
promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon.

Among the Naron, again, "It does not seem," says Miss Bleek,[1] "as if many taboos in the food line still existed. Paauw meat and ostrich eggs are chiefly given to old men as the greatest delicacies. Some say young children, or girls till they have had their first baby, are not to eat steenbok, lest they remain small, but others tell me that all meat is eaten by everyone. Honey touched by a baboon must not be eaten, or you will die." Among the Auen, young girls and boys apparently may not eat game at all, otherwise they will remain thin; while water
[841] and food collected by a menstruating woman may be partaken of only by herself and old people—it "makes others weak".[2]

About the Heikum we have far more information on this point,
224 thanks to the excellent description given by Fourie of certain
[114] of their hunting observances.[3] The details he gives throw such a wealth of new light upon this aspect of Bushman life that they may be quoted in full. "After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *//gaus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals.
224 The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout
252 for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is
[462] skinned by the men. The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the
[281] purpose, is cut into sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then removed to the *//gaus* by the men who may occasionally be
[462] assisted by the women. On arrival at the *//gaus* all the meat is laid

[1] *The Naron*, 7.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140, 157.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 100–2; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 54–6.

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224 animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu*
262 (youths) is known as */om-//gani*, and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles,
224 etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at
252 the *axarogudi ǂgaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the
262 animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the */heis* or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him, and if he eats any other part, e.g. the *ǂkoms*, he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions of about two finger-breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis*
[574] may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *ǂnoe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-//gani*,
[264] under which is included the *ǂkoms*. The latter may be eaten only under the */heis*. After it has been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is
[841] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *ǂkoms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib*, and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

"A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat killed by
224 the members of an outlying *//gaus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to
262 taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the
622 *//gaus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *//gaus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he visits a *//gaus* for this purpose he kindles the */hei-/ais* with
[372] fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own."

114 Apart from the light it throws upon certain functions of the chief,
224 this account illustrates admirably both the existence of special ritual observances in regard to game killed in the chase, and the fact that
[622] food obtained in this way is shared among all the people present at the encampment. This latter feature has also been noted by other writers on the different Bushman tribes,[1] and it can safely be asserted

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 55; Kaufmann, op. cit., 155–6 D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, pp. viii–ix; *idem*, *The Naron*, 16.

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that among the Bushmen all game is shared out among the members of the band. To what extent the same elaborate rules of division exist in the other tribes is difficult to determine. The only other indication of similar practices is found in the texts obtained by Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen. Only a selection of these have so far been published, and the information contained in them is rather fragmentary. But it appears that women, for example, were not permitted to eat the meat of the shoulder blades, lest the men subsequently prove unsuccessful in hunting; that the man who shot the animal might not take part in cutting it up; and the bones which were left over had to be carefully put aside in certain special ways.[1] Obviously such usages hint at an elaborate procedure in regard to the cutting up, distribution, and treatment of the meat; and one can only regret that all the details relating to them have not yet been made available.

Narcotics

As narcotics the Bushmen use chiefly tobacco and dagga (*Cannabis sativa*), the latter a herb with marked intoxicating effects. All grown-up people, and even small children, smoke tobacco when they can get it. They do not cultivate it themselves, although a few men among the Auen and the Naron are said to have made slight efforts to grow tobacco and dagga after the manner of their Bantu and Bergdama neighbours.[2] Almost all the tobacco used by the Bushmen is imported through trade or obtained by service with other peoples, and they are always extremely keen to acquire it.

In the north-west their pipes (Plate XI) are generally tubes of serpentine, some 3 inches long and rather wider at one end than at the other, which are cut and hollowed out with the iron spear point or with a knife, or even with a small stone drill. The hollow shin bones of small buck are also sometimes used, but nowadays the most prevalent form of pipe is an empty cartridge-case! Pipes consisting of an antelope horn were largely used by the Cape Bushmen. Near the point of the horn was made a hole, into which was inserted a reed tube, and on top of this was fitted an elongated clay bowl to hold the tobacco. When these pipes were used, some water was put into the horn, the mouth applied to the large orifice of the horn, and the

[1] Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 271 sqq.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 18; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148–9.

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276 smoke sucked through the water by deep breaths into the lungs. A somewhat similar form of pipe is found among the Heikum and the Kung, but apparently water is not used here in smoking. Further [171] east, among the Hiechware, a method of ground-smoking is found similar to that obtaining among the neighbouring Bantu peoples. A small hole is made in the ground, into which the man puts the tobacco; he then inserts his pipe-stick through a small tunnel and smokes.[1]

Dagga is mixed with tobacco or smoked by itself whenever obtainable. The habit is said seriously to affect those addicted to it, both physically and morally. When taken in slight quantities the [164] herb has no visible ill-effects, but excessive indulgence is most deleterious to the health, and if persisted in sometimes causes mental aberration and frenzy.

273 Few of the Bushmen know how to make any kind of liquor themselves. The only exception, perhaps, are the Namib Bushmen, who, [171] after the manner of their Hottentot neighbours, brew a kind of mead out of honey. They are very partial to this drink, which plays an essential part in all their festivities.[2] The other Bushmen in general also do not seem to trade for any liquor, although they all appreciate alcohol and native beer when it is given to them. The Hiechware, [439] however, are said to be excessively fond of native beer, which they obtain by barter from the BeChwana; and, according to Dornan, they contrive to get drunk whenever they can.[3] Drunkenness as a rule is very exceptional among the rest of the Bushmen.

Sexual Life and Marriage

Conditions and Forms of Marriage

114 There is very little information about the relations of the sexes before marriage. Either the subject is not mentioned at all by our 836 authorities, or it is curtly dismissed in a short sentence. Kaufmann, for instance, reports of the Auen merely that prenuptial intercourse hardly ever seems to occur[4]; Lebzelter writes of the Kung that chastity is insisted upon before marriage[5]; while, on the other hand, all Miss Bleek has to say in this connection about the Naron is that

[1] Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 164 sq.; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 131; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 257; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 122–3.
[2] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 168; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 504.
[3] Op. cit., 121. [4] Op. cit., 156. [5] Op. cit., (16).

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the women told her "a girl may do as she pleases, but a married woman may not".[1] And again Dornan writes of the Hiechware: "Sexual intercourse by the lovers before marriage, though looked upon as wrong, is very often indulged in."[2] Vague generalizations such as these really tell us next to nothing about the nature of sexual life before marriage; they simply ignore the many important sociological problems connected with the whole question of courtship and selection, social attitude towards prenuptial unchastity, legitimacy, and marriage. 114 836

Similarly Trenk says that the girls among the Namib Bushmen are generally virgins when they enter into marriage, because most of them marry soon after puberty.[3] But that premarital unchastity does actually occur is shown by his statement in another context that the children born to an unmarried woman are taken over and looked after by the man she subsequently marries, although as soon as they grow up they must be returned to their real father.[4] This implies that physiological paternity is acknowledged by these Bushmen, and that marriage is not necessary to legalize the status of children. The latter implication at least is at variance with what is known of other Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed. Among the Heikum, for example, abortion is sometimes practised by unmarried women who are pregnant, or, when "illegitimate" (i.e. prenuptial) births occur, the children are usually buried alive.[5] Here, therefore, marriage would seem to be an essential preliminary to the right to procreate and rear children, and therefore to the foundation of the family. [582] 848 [842] [847] [581]

A family is constituted by a union between one man and one or more women, this union being legalized by marriage. The Cape Bushmen are now said to be monogamous,[6] but polygynous marriages also have been recorded by earlier writers.[7] The Namib Bushmen, according to Trenk, are monogamous; Seydel, on the other hand, curtly remarks that both polygyny and polyandry occur![8] There is no other mention of polyandry among any of the Bushmen, and the statement can hardly be accepted as accurate without full confirmation. The more northerly tribes all permit polygyny, although the frequency of such marriages varies. Among the Naron at Sandfontein monogamy 595 [114]

[1] Op. cit., 32. [2] Op. cit., 128. [3] Op. cit., 169. [4] Ibid., 168.
[5] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.
[6] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, ix; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 62.
[7] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, i, 30; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 95.
[8] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505: "Vielmännerei und Vielweiberei wird beobachtet."

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595 is the rule, but a second wife is not considered wrong; it is thought better for a man in such a case to marry the younger sister of his first wife, then the two will not quarrel.[1] Further east in this tribe three or four wives are not infrequent, and actually a man often marries the sisters and "cousins" of his first wife.[2] The Auen at Rietfontein all have only one wife, "because of the scarcity of food," while those at Gam on the average have two, and sometimes even five wives. The wife first married holds a higher social position than the rest, which may, however, says Kaufmann, be due merely to her greater age.[3] Among the Kung a second wife may be taken, if the first consents; but owing to the difficulty of providing for more than one wife, adds Lebzelter, polygynous marriages are extremely rare.[4] Of the Heikum, again, Fourie tells us that each man as a rule has two wives, who may or may not be related. The second wife is married some time after the first, who is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over her. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife, and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation.[5] Polygynous marriages are also found among the !O Kung of Angola and among the Hiechware, but are here said to be comparatively rare.[6]

The occurrence of such marriages implies a numerical [114] preponderance of women, or else that some of the men must remain [162] bachelors; but unfortunately in no instance are figures given to show the proportion of men and women, or even of monogamous and polygynous marriages, within the band. The motives for polygyny are also not clearly defined. We are told, however, that [622] chiefs among the Naron mostly had two wives,[7] so that here it may be [554] partly associated with rank; while among the Auen, and probably also among the Heikum, the second wife is often not taken until the first is old and past child-bearing. A similar statement is made by Barrow about the Cape Bushmen.[8] In such cases naturally only the older men have more than one wife.

The Cape and the Namib Bushmen, as previously mentioned, are 582 said to forbid marriage only between own brother and sister, parent and child; and so do the !O Kung of Angola. Beyond this no special prohibition or injunction appears to exist. Among the Heikum, on the other hand, the range of forbidden relatives is extended to include all cousins and nieces; while in all the North-Western tribes, including

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34. [2] Passarge, op. cit., 106. [3] Op. cit., 157. [4] Op. cit., 13–14.
[5] Op. cit., 92. [6] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112; Dornan, op. cit., 124.
[7] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37. [8] Loc. cit.

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584 The account given by Fourie of the Heikum marriage ceremonies
[114] is fuller than most of the others, and may be quoted for the sake of the details it contains.[1] "A young man eligible for marriage is known as a */gari-khoib*. When he desires to marry he first speaks about the matter to his best friend (*/hosab*), who then approaches the parents of the prospective bride. The latter will reply: 'We are poor, we cannot afford to give our daughter away.' Thereupon the */hosab* returns to the suitor and tells him to go and speak to the mother himself. The suitor then proceeds to the *//gaus* of the girl's mother, taking his bow and arrows with him. On arrival at her hut he sits down some distance away and says 'I want your daughter'. The mother replies, 'We are too poor to give our daughter away,' to which the suitor responds, 'I have come myself to speak to you. If you die, I will bury you, if your husband dies I will bury him,' thereby implying that he has become one of the family and prepared to share their sorrows and sufferings. The mother then replies, 'You are right, you may take her. I will do as you say and see whether you will carry out your
585 promises,' and taking his bow and arrows, proceeds to her daughter's hut (*/gari-khois oms*) and places them in the hut. Then, without speaking to her daughter, she returns to her own hut. The daughter knows to whom the bow and arrows belong. The suitor goes to the girl's hut towards dusk but does not speak to her. Being still shy and afraid of men, she may run away, but does not go to her mother's hut as she is afraid of being punished. He remains in the */gari-khois oms*, sleeping in it at night and hunting during the day. If, after two or three days, she does not come back he returns to his *//gaus* and, after obtaining some beadwork from his mother and sister, presents it to his mother-in-law through his sister. He returns to his bride's hut in the meantime. The mother-in-law must accept the present (*//ama-xun*) as the marriage was completed when she took his bow and arrows and placed them in her daughter's hut. Towards midnight the mother takes her daughter to the */gari-khois oms*, and, if necessary, removes her there by force. The bride and bridegroom do not speak to each other, nor, under normal circumstances, are the presents sent to her mother until they have slept together. After the marriage has been consummated the husband goes out hunting to obtain an animal for the */gu-ʃa-ʃnab*, or the dance after an animal was killed for the purpose of making a wife's leather skirt. The young
591 couple continue to live in the */gari-khois oms* for some months before

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 59–60; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 93.

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837 with the woman who becomes his wife; at the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with women, whether 684 married or unmarried, other than his wife or wives. Marital infidelity appears to be severely condemned by all the Bushmen. Among the Naron, for example, a man who catches his wife misconducting herself tries to kill her lover and beats her, but he generally does not drive her away if she has children.[1] Marital fidelity among the Auen is said to be fairly well maintained. When adultery does occur, the adulterer is, if possible, killed, while the wife is more or less severely beaten, according to the temper of the husband; she is apparently never killed. Kauffman adds that there nevertheless appears to [548] exist a form of prostitution in which a married woman offers herself to different men for gifts, although if this comes to the notice of the husband he will drive her away. Our author finds it difficult to reconcile this with the blood vengeance exercised in case of adultery, but adds the explanation given him by the people, that "if a woman is intimate with many men, the husband can hardly wage 'war' with them all".[2] Of the Kung Lebzelter says merely that the adulterer is killed, and the guilty wife thrashed.[3] Among the Namib Bushmen, again, an adulterer can either be killed or forced to pay compensation. We are not told, however, the circumstances under which one alternative is exercised rather than the other, nor in what the compensation consists. The wife is sent away, and the adulterer, if unmarried, is then expected to marry her. If she is pregnant the child [848] must be reared by him, and sent back when grown up to the original husband.[4]

114 684 In all these cases, it will be noticed, we have to deal with generalized statements. In no instance is any concrete illustration given of what actually took place in such cases of adultery as may have come under the observation of our authorities. It is not possible, therefore, to decide how much truth really underlies the statements that the adulterer is generally killed. It is evident, however, that the sexual prerogatives conferred by marriage are jealously guarded. Unfortunately almost all the information bearing on this point refers

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 34; cf. Passarge, op. cit., 106.
[2] Op. cit., 136, 137.
[3] Op. cit., 14.
[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168. Seydel (op. cit., 105) states that while formerly blood vengeance was invariably exercised in case of adultery, nowadays the reaction has been toned down, and the guilty party ("der schuldige Teil") is merely threshed very severely ("halbtot") with a stick!

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only to the treatment of women and their paramours; nothing is said of the wife's remedies when her husband is unfaithful. 114 684

Besides this sexual relation between husband and wife, there is also the economic relation. The two share the same hut, and take their meals in common. It is the duty of the wife to build the hut, to provide the vegetable food, the firewood and water, and to cook the meals; while it is the duty of the husband to provide game for himself and his wife, to make her clothes and certain of her utensils. The economic burden of the woman has led some writers to depreciate her status, but on the whole it would seem that the women are the companions of their husbands, not their servants, and will often take their own way, in spite of the man's wishes. The position of the wife within the household is, in fact, hardly inferior to that of her husband, who, it is said, is often enough henpecked by her![1] 581 [264] [462] 562 593

In addition to establishing this special relationship between husband and wife, marriage leads also to the formation of further special relationships, especially with the parents-in-law. After marriage, as we have seen, the young couple may remain for some time with the wife's parents before finally taking up their residence in the husband's group. Among the Kung and the neighbouring tribes to the east the husband has during this period of temporary matrilocal residence to hunt for his parents-in-law and to supply them in this way with animal food. If he neglects to do this, says Vedder, his wife may be taken away from him.[2] We thus get a special economic relationship between a man and his wife's parents, based directly upon the fact of his marriage. Probably something similar exists among the other Bushman tribes having temporary matrilocal residence, but no concrete information is available about them in this connection. 591 606 [583]

Among almost all the Bushmen, moreover, marriage further creates a special form of etiquette between a man and his parents-in-law, and in some cases between a woman and her husband's parents. Thus among the Kung the husband has to avoid his mother-in-law, the wife apparently also her father-in-law. The wife's parents do not enter the hut of the young couple, nor again may the husband enter their hut. The game which he kills for his father-in-law he lays down in front of the latter's hut.[3] Similarly among the Naron a man is not 606

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; Chapman, op. cit., i, 291; Lebzelter, op. cit., 14. For an unsympathetic account of the wife's status, cf. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 122.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 8; Chapman, op. cit., i, 258.
[3] Vedder, loc. cit.; Chapman, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 63.

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606 supposed to speak to his wife's mother, nor a woman to her husband's father. Of the former Miss Bleek had personal evidence, since her [114] Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. Actually it seems that sitting near or consorting together is avoided, rather than the actual addressing of the person concerned.[1] So, too, among the Auen a man avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit together with her. If he approaches a fire in order to sit there, she gets up and goes away; if he wants to speak to her, he must do so from a distance.[2] Among the Heikum, again, as we have seen, a young couple who are visiting the wife's parents will erect their hut on the opposite side of the camp, so that the husband may not be too near his parents-in-law. He neither looks at nor speaks to his wife's mother, nor will he mention her name or enter her hut even in case of sickness or during her absence. When she is away and he wishes to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never [60] refer to each other by name, but always as "my son-in-law" or "my mother-in-law". The son-in-law also does not associate with his father-in-law, but avoids him in the same way. Should they meet accidentally, they may exchange greetings, but no general conversation will take place, nor will they look each other in the face.[3] A similar avoidance of the parents-in-law among the Cape Bushmen is indicated in one of the texts obtained by Bleek and Lloyd, but no details are given.[4]

Dissolution of Marriage

586 The duration of married life varies. Among the Naron, says Miss Bleek, "One sees couples who have grown old together, on the other hand one hears of cases of desertion on either side. If there are no children, no one worries about it. If there are youngsters, the relations try to bring the parents to reason." Where separation does take place, the children belong to the father; an unweaned child must go with the mother, but the father can claim it later if he likes. [587] People who have separated are not ostracized, but both parties generally marry again.[5] No indication is given of the grounds for separation. Among the Auen divorce is rare, and only takes place

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 64; *idem*, *Naron*, 32.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 156.
[3] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 93–4.
[4] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 58.
[5] *Naron*, 34.

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when the wife is too old; she may then simply be sent back to her 586
people. Generally, however, she stays with her husband, who then
takes a second wife, younger and more active. The children of a [595]
divorced woman remain with their father, and are brought up by his new wife.[1] Among the Heikum separation of husband and wife may take place under various circumstances, as when the woman is childless, but this, says Fourie, is entirely a matter for adjustment between them. The wife on separation returns to her own group; the present made to her mother at marriage is not returned to the husband. The children are looked upon as belonging to the father, but if husband and wife should separate the girls, according to Fourie, are taken by the father and the sons by the mother.[2] This statement runs counter to those given above about what happens in the other [114] ●
North-Western tribes under similar circumstances, and is almost certainly inaccurate.

Among the Namib Bushmen divorce may result only from barrenness or adultery, and is at the discretion of the husband. If he decides to separate from his wife, he brings her back to her parents. The mature children remain with him, while the youngsters who have to go with their mother also come to him when grown up. After divorce both parties are at liberty to marry again as soon as they wish.[3]

Marriage is, of course, also dissolved by the death of either husband 587
or wife. As a rule the survivor may remarry. Among the Bushmen
of Basutoland, however, a widow is said to have found it difficult [589]
to get a second husband, owing perhaps, writes Arbousset,[4] to the [754]
popular belief that most of the deaths which occurred were due to [761]
witchcraft rather than disease. On the other hand, great attention was paid to her in the camp, where no piece of game was ever eaten without her having a share.

Further north this fear of marriage with a widow is not found. [184]
Among the Naron she may, if she likes, marry her late husband's
brother, but need not necessarily do so; she is quite at liberty to marry another man. If she remarries, and if young enough most
widows do so, her new husband is expected to look after the children; [736]
otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. An unmarried widow may stay near her late husband's people, or return to her own
group, as she pleases.[5] Widows among the Auen may also marry 587

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157.
[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 60.
[3] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 305.
[4] Op. cit. (English trans.), 364.
[5] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 67.

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184 During her seclusion a row of small parallel cuts, which are all
304 blackened with ashes, is made on her face, or arms, or legs by her
881 father or a male magician. Miss Bleek is convinced that these cuts are partly for ornament, but adds that there also appears to be a
[776] religious element present, as one woman informant said that *//gäüa*, a supernatural personage, leads this dance, and that the cuts are made in his honour.[1] Both the scarifications and the presence of a supernatural being are foreign to the puberty ceremonies for girls in other Bushman tribes; but, as will be seen shortly, both occur (in somewhat different form) in the puberty ceremonies for boys among the North-Western tribes.

184 In all the ceremonies so far described, girls are required to pass
881 through the rites individually as soon as they have their first period. Among the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, however, it appears from the very fragmentary data supplied by Dornan that girls are initiated in groups. The central feature of the ceremony, as described
[304] by him, is an operation performed on each of the girls, which consists in the "perforation of the clitoris" (*sic*) with a stone knife, the operators being the older women.[2] If this information be correct,
[177] we have here a ceremony in every way distinct from those of the other Bushmen, and one which can only be regarded as having been borrowed from the neighbouring BeChwana, whose puberty ceremonies for girls are of a somewhat similar nature.

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

881 Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after reaching the age of puberty, and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in hunting, especially in the pursuit of big game. Among the North-Western tribes this ceremony is carried out in a secluded spot in the bush, near which no woman may come.[3] Here all the eligible big boys from several neighbouring encampments are taken
[756] by the old men, with a couple of magicians in charge; and here they remain for about a month, living together in a big hut or enclosure. During the first few days they are roughly handled and half-starved;

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122.
[2] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 159.
[3] Passarge, op. cit., 100–1; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23–5; *idem*,
[114] "Buschmänner von Angola," 122; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 51; Fourie, op. cit., 91–2. Passarge states that the ceremony takes place during the dry season, i.e. at the coldest time of the year; Fourie, on the other hand, that it is always held during the rainy season, when food is plentiful. The other writers do not mention the time of year.

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304 The only other Bushman people among whom the occurrence of
881 initiation rites for boys is definitely recorded are the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari. Here the main element seems to be circumcision. "The boys," according to Dornan,[1] "are operated on at the age of twelve years, all those of the same age being taken together once a year, as with them puberty comes on at an early age . . . (Then follows a description of the operation: the foreskin of the boy is seized by the operator, who pulls it forward over the gland as far as it will stretch, and then cuts it off close with one slash of a stone knife.) . . . They
881 are treated with considerable care for two or three weeks afterwards, and are fed upon meat . . . They are instructed in the traditional lore of the people, the religious observances and into the mysteries of generation. They are carefully informed that intercourse of
[834] uncircumcized people is that of the beasts of the field, that in short it is fornication, as well as a good deal that will not bear to be put into print."

114 Although, as already mentioned, Dornan regards circumcision
304 as an original Bushman custom, there can be little doubt that the
177 Hiechware have taken it over from the BeChwana among whom they live. They are the only Bushman people among whom this practice is
184 asserted to occur, while its absence from other Bushman tribes is explicitly affirmed by all writers. Consequently the puberty rites in the form described by Dornan must be regarded as introduced elements of culture. It is conceivable that the boys' puberty rites among the North-Western tribes should also be attributed to Bantu influence, since nothing similar to them appears to exist in the south. But in several of their details, especially in the introduction of the tribal deities and in the form of mutilation these rites differ considerably from the corresponding rites of the neighbouring South-Western and South-Central Bantu, while on the other hand they are intimately connected with both the economic activities and the religious beliefs of the Bushmen. It is difficult therefore to imagine their having been borrowed, unless it is conceded that they have undergone considerable modification in the process of adaptation. But whether borrowed or not—and the possibility of borrowing, although difficult to establish, is not entirely eliminated—these rites clearly separate the North-Western tribes from their Southern relatives in at least one important feature of culture.

[1] Op. cit., 158–60.

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278 transported. When wanted for use, the insect inside is rubbed to powder on a half tortoise-shell, then mixed with the juice obtained either from the spiked cucumber (*Citrullus caffer*) or from the 'hakdoorn' (*Zizyphus mucronata*). They heat the cucumber root in the ashes, knock it on the ground, then wring out the liquid it contains. The bark of the 'hakdoorn' is chewed, and the juice spat into the dish of poison. This juice is clear, bitter, and sticky and adheres to the arrow point, on to which it is dabbed with a flattened stick after being mixed with the poison. The poisonous matter becomes very hard and dry and is apt to fly off into the eyes if the arrow is carelessly handled. Bushmen always warn one of this and say the eyes become much inflamed if even a tiny grain of dried poison gets into them." Any mixture left over is wound round a stick and carried with the arrows in the long bag; presumably it must be heated again if it is to be put on to further arrow-heads.[1]

114 There does not appear to be any sort of ceremonial attaching to the process of preparing the poison, nor is the work of doing so the 278 function of any particular person. There are, indeed, one or two hints at something of this kind, but nothing which can be regarded as fully reliable.[2] All our principal authorities state that in general any man who needs poison prepares it for himself when he wants it.[3]

224 None of the Bushman poisons is instantaneous in its effect, although as a rule the smaller the animal the quicker the action. Generally 278 the wounded animal runs on as if unhurt, and the hunter follows on its spoor until he finds the dead body; sometimes this is within half an hour, sometimes many hours elapse before the poison proves effective, and often enough it is not till the next day that he can obtain his meat. That the poison is fatal once it gets to the blood, cannot be doubted. Once the arrow pierces the skin of the animal the Bushman has no fear that it may escape him; it may travel perhaps forty or more miles after being wounded, but its progress becomes slower and weaker, until finally it falls down dead.

411 In addition to bows and arrows, the Northern tribes also make use in hunting of throwing-sticks ("knob kirris") and spears. The former is a round-headed stick of hard wood, usually *Acacia*, about [412] two feet in length, and pointed at the lower end to serve also as a digging-stick. It is used for knocking down birds and small mammals,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 14.
[2] These statements are summarised by Schapera, op. cit., 206.
[3] In addition to the references given by Schapera, loc. cit.; cf. Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 54.

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and in minor quarrels it is the weapon of offence or defence. The 411
spears have long wooden shafts and an iron head about six inches long. The latter is obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu, [439]
but the spear itself is made by the Bushmen. For the shaft they pierce the end of a stick, then heat the tang of the iron head in the fire and insert it, binding the joint tightly with sinew.[1] Relatively few of the men possess these spears, and as they do not appear ever to have been [177]
used by the Southern Bushmen they can safely be regarded as weapons borrowed from the Bantu.

Methods of Hunting

The Bushmen, as already indicated, have a variety of devices for 224
catching game, the particular method employed being determined by the nature of the intended prey and the season of the year.[2] In some cases the animals are run down on foot. In this manner, for instance, small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, and even big game such as the gemsbok, are hunted during the "big rainy season" (late summer), when the ground, sodden with moisture, impedes the progress of the animals and causes them to fall an easy prey to the hunter, who on overtaking his quarry kills it with the kirri or the spear. This method cannot be employed for small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor, but in the hot part of the dry season young buck are easily caught in this way, as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. Many varieties of big game, such as the wildebeest and zebra, are also run down in the hot dry season. After a herd of game has been located, one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly, never once being allowed to rest, until it is exhausted and brought to bay, when the hunter comes up and kills it with the spear.

Burrowing animals, such as the spring hare (jerboa) and anteater, are caught in their holes by means of a long barbed stick. This is poked down the hole into the animal's flesh, either to drag it out or to transfix it while another man digs down to it. Snakes are sometimes caught in the same manner. The man who pulls out the snake runs fast, dragging it after him, while others throw kirris and spears at it; this cannot be done in grass or the snake may escape. Steenbok,

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 14; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4, 152; Gretschel, op. cit., 102–3.

[2] The fullest descriptions of the hunting life and methods of the Bushmen are given by Stow, op. cit., 80–94; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 667–8; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 45 sqq. (an exceptionally detailed and graphic account); Kaufmann, op. cit., 144–7; Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 94 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 15–16; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 99 sqq. [114]

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of boys at the puberty ceremonies are also said to have the function of making them "see better" in hunting.[1] Seydel briefly mentions the existence of similar practices among the Namib Bushmen. Cuts are made on the forehead or upper arm of a man in order that he may have better fortune in hunting. These cuts are made by a near relative of his, such as father, brother, or wife, and are given only to adults.[2] 224 304

There is no record of such scarifications among the Cape Bushmen, although here also a well-developed ritual existed in connection with hunting life. Unfortunately, only fragments of this have been recorded. They show that there were certain special precautions to be observed before going out on the hunt, and especially during that critical period when the game has been wounded but not yet taken. Thus, when an animal has been wounded, the flesh of the swift springbok may not be eaten by the hunter, as this would give strength to the movements of the wounded buck; he should rather eat the flesh of a slow-moving animal, especially of such as would strengthen the action of the poison. The moon must not be looked upon when following the spoor, lest the animal run too far—a belief also held by the Naron. The hunter's shadow, again, must not be allowed to fall upon game which lies dying; certain (unspecified) rules have to be observed when an eland has been shot; the bones of the dead animal must be treated in a certain way; Bushman girls perform special ceremonies, in order that their father's dogs may hunt well, while certain cuts must be made upon the bow when a baboon or hyena has been killed. Unfortunate shots are believed to be due to such causes as the children at home playing on a man's bed, and are also ascribed to the remissness of wives, while there even appears to be a belief that unsuccessful hunting may forebode evil to the hunter. Also it is held that after the death of a companion the hunters will be unlucky in springbok hunting, and certain (unspecified) remedial measures are resorted to.[3] [184] 224 [114]

Beliefs of a somewhat similar nature are found among the Heikum. As we have already seen, the meat of an animal killed with the bow and arrow is subject to minutely-prescribed rules of division and preparation. Moreover, a man who shoots an eland or giraffe must, on

[1] Chapman, op. cit., i, 56, 76, 81, 159; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 246; Passarge, op. cit., 108–9; Vedder, op. cit., 9; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 50, 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 114–15; *idem*, *Naron*, 11.

[2] "Aus der Namib," 505.

[3] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 19; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15–16, 19, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 66 sqq., 270 sqq.

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finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this ever-present problem. 182 312 823

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially the *Inaras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season. In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then carefully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and resume their normal hunting life.[1] 312 [685] [824] [271] [221]

Industries and Trade

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are essentially domestic.[2] 511

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes 322 [342] [411] [412]

[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 51; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 297; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 51, 70–1, and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 671–3; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293–4.

[2] The most comprehensive account of Bushman industries is to be found in Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 89–113, pl. xxiii–xxix, which relates chiefly to the Auen; cf. also van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 62–80; Passarge, op. cit., 81–94; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 297–301; Kaufmann, op. cit., 152–3; Schultze, op. cit., 658 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschileute," 257; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 8–18 *passim*; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 103. [114]

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made by themselves, and metal pots, spear heads, knives, trade beads, 438
etc., which they obtain through the Heikum from the OvaKwangari 439
and MaMbukushu further north. The Naron to the east trade their skins, and formerly also ivory and ostrich feathers, with the BaTawana to the north-east for tobacco and millet. Ostrich egg-shell beads are bartered to the Bantu by all the Bushman tribes. The Koon at Naosanabis in the south, a branch of the /nu//en, are known to make them especially well, and their beads are always in great demand, passing through the Naron and the Auen to the Bantu tribes further north and east, who pay highly for them. For a chain of these beads passing round the waist the MaMbukushu, for example, give a large basket of millet, the BaTawana a large roll of tobacco, the OvaMbo an iron spear head, and so on. The Naron also trade their skins to Europeans and BeChwana for tobacco, dagga, or trade goods, and the latter, again, they pass on to the Auen.

The extensive scale on which this trade is carried out would seem to imply the existence of regulated trading communications between the different tribes. Unfortunately, there is extremely little information bearing on this point. Markets are apparently not held, the transfer [443]
of goods, as far as can be determined, being effected almost entirely through special trading visits from one group to another. Kaufmann 437
describes the way in which such trading visits are conducted among the Auen. A small number of men and women go to the camp of the band with whom they wish to trade, laying down their weapons beforehand. Permission to enter is then given, and the barter proceeds. He adds that even if two bands are at enmity, as often happens, [114] ●
women will, nevertheless, go from one to the other in order to trade. This statement, however, needs to be confirmed. Passarge also suggests that the Bantu tribes of this region probably send periodical trading caravans to the different Bushman tribes, and quotes as an illustration the fact that in former times at least the OvaMbo would, with the permission of the Bushmen, go on special trading visits to obtain copper in the Otavi district of South-West Africa.

Property and Inheritance

The economic life of the band, although in effect it approaches a 421
sort of communism, is really based on the notion of private property.[1] The only thing owned in common is the land, and even here, as we 423

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 155–6; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 504; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36, 16; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13, 16.

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among the Namib Bushmen the victim may take back not only the 627
stolen property, but also all the thief's possessions. That blood 685
vengeance is actually exercised in case of theft appears from the following incident recorded by Miss Bleek. An Auen man had a good 628
deal of tobacco, most of which he hid in a tree. Returning later he 685
found the tobacco gone, and human footprints round the tree. He followed the spoor to one of a cluster of huts, where he saw a Bushman sitting at the fire cutting the stolen tobacco. Although he had only a spear with him, he darted up and stabbed the thief to death. The man's wife, intervening, was also stabbed. Then the assailant tried to escape, but was shot in the side by a poisoned arrow from the group round the next fire. He succeeded in reaching his home, but died of the poison a few days later. Similarly, in the waterless regions of the Namib Desert, men on the hunt often store up supplies of water in ostrich egg-shells and also of meat. Another person coming upon this supply may take from it, but must follow the spoor of the owner, tell him about it, and recompense him. If this is not done the owner, when he discovers the loss, will follow the spoor of the thief until he finds him and will then kill him if he can.

Here, according to Trenk, homicide in case of theft and adultery 114
is apparently not regarded as murder, but as punishment, and the 628
relatives of the deceased may not take blood vengeance. But, as 682
shown in the instance quoted from Miss Bleek, among other Bushmen [184]
homicide, whether deliberate or accidental, leads inevitably to blood vengeance, the relatives of the dead man combining to kill the murderer. This appears also from another instance recorded by 627
Knudsen.[1] A Bushman, not far from Bethanie in South-West Africa, 682
shot another in the leg with an arrow during a honey beer drinking-bout. The wounded man revenged himself on the spot by shooting his assailant in the heart and killing him. The dead man's brother pursued the killer, who fled, but could not overtake him, and so returned to the camp, where he met the man's wife carrying a child. He tore it from her, threw it up in the air and caught it on the point of his spear. The mother saved herself by fleeing, but two other women

still living, she may be handed over to them and they all have to leave the camp. Should the father be dead and the mother alive, the thief is still taken and given back to the latter, after the stolen property has been recovered. But, if she is an old offender, the mother is said to give her, through a son, to another person, to be burned to death. These facts, obtained from a single young informant, need, however, to be confirmed. The deliberate burning to death of people, for whatever reason, is not reported of any of the other Bushmen.

[1] Quoted in Moritz, "Die älteren Reiseberichte über Deutsch-Südwestafrika," *Mitt. deutz. Schutzgeb.*, xxix (1916), 154.

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judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury 622
resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. 692
The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a [695]
decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band.
Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the 681
relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kirri or by stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property, assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but self-defence is in no way penalized.

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is 114
difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these 692
Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is 681
no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama [171]
Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, [184]
to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the other Bushman tribes.

Relations with Other Bands

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Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting 621
territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married [591]
man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also [574]
frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from [438]
one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also find the members of several different bands assembled together for a while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

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619 621 Bushmen from all parts of the Ghansiveld, even from different tribes, owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again [221] [423] Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

114 619 621 All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery, however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys' [881] puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement [574] that in the months of March and April different bands come together for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and 726 obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several 619 Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band, 621 although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

578 619 621 628 On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife-stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially [685] is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who 648 encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen,
685

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 137.
[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 13.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 134.
[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 154; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 13; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," [illegible].

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campaign is brought to an end among the Auen by agreement, The 628
unarmed negotiators passing freely between the two groups, and an 727
indemnity is paid to the victors in the form of women, material 728
objects, and food. There is no information relating to peace-making
in other tribes, and even Kaufmann's statement about the Auen lacks [114]
corroboration.

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766 others are usually abandoned before they die, and the whole camp wanders in the bush.[1]

888 There is also the well-authenticated fact that old people are sometimes deliberately abandoned. When drought and scarcity force the Bushmen to a long hurried march, some old man or woman may be too feeble to keep up with them. They then make a screen of bushes all round the old person, provide a good supply of firewood and a little food and water if possible, and push on, leaving him behind. Should game and water be found within a couple of days' march, some young fellow is sent hurrying back with supplies. Otherwise they do not come near the place again, knowing that the end must have come and hyenas dealt with the remains. This abandonment of the aged has often been characterized as an inhuman trait in the Bushmen; but when the life of the whole band depends upon rapid movement it is difficult to see how they could act otherwise. Anyone who falls out and dies on such a march will have to [766] go unburied too, and probably the same fate overtakes those killed [727] in war.[2]

● 114 Where burial does take place it follows almost immediately after the death. The descriptions available of the actual funeral ceremonies 764 of the Bushmen are far from being exhaustive, and naturally vary somewhat in detail, but a certain degree of uniformity may be noted. The information relating to the Southern tribes is fragmentary. Skeletons of these Bushmen are found buried both in caves and in graves out in the open, but of the customs associated with burial we have very little record. The fullest description is that given by Arbousset of the Basutoland Bushmen. He states that a dead 764 person first has his head anointed with red powder (*buchu*), mixed with melted fat. The corpse is then rudely perfumed (*grossièrement parfumée*), and laid on its side in an oblong grave, to which all the relatives and friends hasten to make their lamentations. They come even from the neighbouring villages to see and examine the body, which is then taken out of the grave; and everybody redoubles his cries and lamentations. At last they throw into the grave the hut of the dead person, and burn it above him. The grave is then filled in with earth to the level of the ground, but no heap of stones is [768] piled above it. The funeral over, the band leaves the place for a

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 158.
[2] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 122; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 110–11; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 14.

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year or two, during which the dead person is never spoken of but 768
with veneration and tears.[1]

Several details in this account—the anointing, perfuming, and 114 ●
examination of the body, as well as the burning of the hut—are not 764
met with in the descriptions of other independent observers, who as a rule remark merely that the corpse is buried with all its possessions and the place then deserted.[2] On the other hand, it is certain that many of the Southern Bushmen heaped stones on the graves of their dead. This custom may have originated merely from the desire to protect the body from the ravages of hyenas and other wild animals. It has, however, sometimes been given a religious significance owing to the fact, recorded by several of the older observers, that passing [769] natives would always add a branch or a stone to the heap. It is 114 unfortunately not always possible to gather whether the natives 764 referred to were Bushmen or Hottentots. The latter certainly have 769 various practices and beliefs connected with these grave heaps, of 171 which the usage just mentioned is one of the most common, but there is no fully reliable evidence of anything similar being observed by the Southern Bushmen.

In excavated graves the corpse is sometimes found lying on its 764 left side, with one or two large flat stones placed directly upon it. The interest attaching to these "burial stones" lies in the fact that in a few cases, in association with cave burials along the south coast, [532] they have been found with figures of human beings painted upon them in the typical Bushman style. It would be unprofitable to speculate upon the significance of such stones, as there is no record of any Bushmen having explained them to our authorities; but that they were related to some definite belief can hardly be doubted.[3]

The Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, as a rule bury a dead person on the morning following his death, and in any case not before the death has been confirmed by the nearest neighbours. [763] The relatives of the dead man and the neighbours accompany the corpse to the grave, uttering or singing a funeral dirge. The grave

[1] *Voyage d'Exploration au . . . Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 303–4.
[2] Campbell, *Missionary Travels in S. Africa*, 440; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 289; Fritsch, *Drei Jahre in Südafrika*, 242. The account given by Hahn (op. cit., 121) is obviously derived from Arbousset; that in Stow (op. cit., 126–9) from Arbousset, Campbell and Sparrman. The English translation of Arbousset (p. 365) renders "grossièrement parfumée" as "coarsely embalmed", which, as it is repeated in Stow, may have given rise to some misconception. There is nothing in the nature of real embalming among the Bushmen.
[3] Fritsch, loc. cit.; Haughton, in *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, xiii, 105–6; FitzSimons, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 501, 541.

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764 often done, as they dislike touching or interfering in any way with a corpse, owing to the fear of bad luck." After the funeral 765 they usually indulge in a funeral feast, then desert the locality, and [768] never mention the dead person's name afterwards. "That they are much affected by death is certain, for they often weep at such times, especially if the deceased be a person of some importance, and bitterly lament his departure from amongst them." Signs of mourning are infrequent. Sometimes they paint their faces with white and black stripes as a sign that they have had a death in their encampment; and Dornan adds that he has heard of their painting the whole body with red and white stripes, but has never himself seen any thus decorated.[1]

Beliefs Concerning the Dead

All the accounts given above are admittedly inadequate. They 114 agree, however, in stating that the dead person is buried in a con- 764 tracted position with all his possessions, and in implying the absence 768 of any elaborate and prolonged funeral ceremony and rites of mourning. No attempt appears to have been made to ascertain what explanation the Bushmen themselves have to offer for burying the dead person with all his possessions, except only in the case of the Kung, of whom we are told by Lebzelter that their reason for placing these objects in the grave is not that the dead person may be able to use them in the future world, but because people do not want to make any further use of objects belonging to a person whom they loved while he was alive.[2]

All the descriptions of the funeral ceremonies of the Bushmen [769] point also to a vague fear of the dead person, expressed most forcibly in the fact that after the funeral the place is abandoned and perhaps never revisited. What belief underlies this fear, and what the Bushmen 775 hold to be the fate of the dead, are not always easy to determine. Stow mentions the belief, reported to him of some Southern Bushmen, that at some undefined spot on the banks of the Orange River there is a place called *'too'ga*, to which after death they will all go; and [304] that to ensure a safe journey there they all cut off the joint of the little finger of one hand. "This they consider is a guarantee that they will be able to arrive there without difficulty, and that upon their arrival they will be feasted with locusts and honey, while those who have neglected this rite will have to travel there upon their

[1] Dornan, op. cit., 144–6. [2] Op. cit., 14.

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heads, beset the entire distance with all kinds of imaginary obstacles 775
and difficulties; and even after all their labour on arriving at the desired destination they will have nothing but flies to live upon." This belief that after a time the dead arise and go to a land where there is an abundance of good food is likewise recorded by Campbell [114] and by Miss Currle, neither of whom, however, is a specially trustworthy authority. The Bushman informants of Dr. Bleek also spoke of "the place to which the Bushmen go after death", but unfortunately the details given by them have not yet been published. We are unable, therefore, to tell if their ideas of a future life were in any way similar to those reported by Stow and the other writers.[1]

On the other hand, these Bushman informants also had a variety 821
of interesting beliefs linking up death with the phenomena of Nature. 761
The stars, they said, know the time when a Bushman dies, and the 775
fall of one announces, to those who are not aware of it, that something bad has happened. When, after this, a "hammerkop" (*Scopus umbretta*, the "lightning bird" of other South African tribes) flies, [825] calling out, over the camp, the people know that someone belonging to them has died. When rain is accompanied by lightning, girls who are out in the open become killed by the lightning and are converted into stars, while those who are taken away by the rain become beautiful water-flowers, which will not allow themselves to be plucked [824] and disappear when approached. Such flowers must be let alone. Hence the rule that young unmarried women and girls must hide themselves from the rain. The Moon, again, is hollow (in its first quarter) because it is carrying people who are dead. The human heart is believed to fall down after death in the form of a shooting star; the hair of a dead person is changed into clouds, while his gall appears again as a green colour in the sky, and so forth. Dead 775
people may also come in their own forms as apparitions to their relatives and friends, even in waking life. There seems, however, to be no evil portent in this; nor, indeed, does there seem to be any noticeable fear of dead persons on the whole, although we are told that the names of those who are dead must not be uttered by children at night.[2]

The Namib Bushmen, on the other hand, seem to fear dead people greatly, and, as we have seen, the thickened *dawes* sap placed in the [764]

[1] Stow, op. cit., 129; Campbell, *Second Journey in S. Africa*, i, 29; Currle, "Bushmen of Namaqualand," 117; Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 19.
[2] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 25; Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365–71, 389–401.

775 hands of the corpse at burial is meant to conciliate his soul. Trenk
[764] says they believe only in an "evil spirit", which they fear, but he
[776] throws no light upon the nature of this spirit. He adds, however, that, according to them, the souls of the dead fly about in the air and also speak to people, yet remain unseen, except by children, to whom they often show themselves in ghostlike animal forms of oxen, horses, or gemsbok.[1]

761 Of the tribes further north our information is somewhat more precise. Kaufmann, as we have seen, maintains that the Auen distinguish between those who die "good deaths" and those who die "bad deaths", and he adds that the latter are feared also after death. This distinction was not found by Miss Bleek among the Naron at Sandfontein, but is also reported by Fourie of the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron groups of the same district. He says
764 they believe in a "good being" named */khutse* and a "bad being"
775 named *Gaua*. People who die a "good death" are said to go to
[776] */khutse*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaua*. The former have a
[761] good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress. A deceased person is believed to move about in the form of a ghost at night. "*Buchu* is accordingly sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy, so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver, and arrows of the deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost returning to look for them." These usages are no doubt part of
[114] the funeral ceremony, but the context in which they are described does not make this clear.[2]

775 The word *Gaua*, or, more correctly, *//gāũa* or *//gāuwa*, which
[192] Fourie interprets as a "bad being" or "Satan", is, according to
[776] Miss Bleek, also used by the Auen and Naron in the sense of a "person
[114] who has died". Her male informants said that all people who die
[791] become *//gāuwa*, and the magicians can see them. The women, however, affirmed that only men who have been cut between the eyebrows (at the puberty ceremonies) become *//gāuwa*, and only such men can see them, though women sometimes hear them. "They evidently mean ghosts," comments Miss Bleek, "and have much the same vague fear of them as European peasants have. The ghosts

[1] "Buschleute der Namib," 168. [2] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

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walk at night and people are afraid of them, but they do not expect 775
real harm from them. If seen, the apparitions resemble people."[1]

The same word was given three meanings by some Kung youths [192]
from near Lake Ngami—"dream, ghost, spirit." It is met with again among the !O Kung of Angola, by whom it is sometimes used for "ghost", sometimes more impersonally. Miss Bleek was told by one of her female informants that when a person dies there rises from the grave the ghost, *//gāũa*, which can be seen by magicians. This woman claimed to be a magician, and said that she and her co- [789]
workers could conjure up *//gāũa* by dancing and singing. In what form he appeared and whether she looked on the apparition as the spirit of the departed, or as some other spirit, she did not say. Another woman's death was described as follows: "She died, became a ghost, people saw the ghost, it went away and stayed in the bush."[2]

A good deal of new information on this subject is contained in [114]
the reports recently published by Lebzelter on his researches among the Kung and the Heikum.[3] The Eastern Kung, he says, believe that the vital principle ("Lebensprinzip") of a man is his soul, *xa*, which is immortal. When a man dies, this soul is fetched by the spirits, *//Gauab*, whose hearth fires are the stars, and is taken by them [776]
to the sky hut ("Himmelshaus") of the "great captain" *Xu*. This hut has two storeys, in the upper of which dwell the souls of all people, including even those of the whites. They do nothing there and also eat nothing. The body is buried, but after a few days the flesh becomes "alive" and then disappears: out of it has arisen the *//gauab* of the dead person, in the form of a smaller image or "shade" which issues from the grave, hunts, eats, and drinks just as in life, and when tired goes to sleep in its house, the grave. These shades cannot enter into or transform themselves into stones, plants, or animals; apparently they retain the human form only. The Kung of the Oschimpoloveld, again, believe that every man has a soul, */gau-ba*, which after death comes into the "house of God" (*Erob*) in the sky. Dead people are therefore now the people who are with "God", and after a while "God" again makes living beings out of them.

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul, *darish*, goes up [776]
into the sky to */Gamab*, a "demiurge", who places the heart in cold water and eats it.

[1] *The Naron*, 26.
[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123, 124.
[3] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khun," 409–12 *passim*; *idem*, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 14.

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spirit remains active about the place, and they do not want to offend it."[1] 775 769

The conflicting accounts of Dornan's informants as to the fate of the dead can be harmonized if we assume, in the light of Lebzelter's statements about the Kung and the Heikum, that these Eastern Kalahari Bushmen also distinguish between the soul and the ghost; but since there is nothing in Dornan's remarks to indicate definitely the existence of such a distinction, the assumption here made must be regarded as purely speculative. It will be noticed, further, that he describes here the practice of throwing a small stone on the grave in order to appease the spirit of the dead person. This practice, as we have already noted, has sometimes been said to exist among the Southern Bushmen also. Unfortunately it is not always possible to determine how far Dornan has recorded what are actually his own observations, for much in his book has obviously been inspired by the accounts of earlier writers on the Bushmen generally. What he has to say here must therefore also be received with caution, and cannot without further inquiry be accepted as an independent confirmation. 114 775 769 [184]

It appears on the whole that, among all the Bushmen, people are believed to continue their existence after death, sometimes in their own form, sometimes in another form, and may even manifest themselves to the living. There is also a vague, ill-defined fear of the dead person's haunting the living, but it would seem that as a rule no great harm is expected from this, although, as we shall see later, most of the North-Western tribes attribute sickness to the spirits of the dead. Another fact that emerges very prominently is the apparent absence of any organized cult of the dead as such—there seems to be nothing in the way of ancestor-worship, nor of any other form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated. The only concrete mention there is of dead people being prayed to refers to the Cape Bushmen. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that his father asked a certain dead magician for rain, which speedily followed; while another mentioned a prayer addressed by his mother to a dead magician who had power over game, in order that her husband's hunting might prove more fortunate.[2] The details given in both instances are too scanty to afford much basis for speculation, but can hardly be interpreted as implying more than that in certain cases dead magicians would be 775 [753] [769] 114 184 769 789

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 147–8. [2] *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 22.

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114 184 769 789 [775] asked to make use of the special powers they had possessed in life and apparently still retained, just as they would be approached when alive. The main conclusion to be drawn, in fact, is that these Bushmen do not regard dead people as wholly severed from the world of the living. There is certainly nothing here to warrant the assumption of any regular organized worship of the dead.

Worship of Heavenly Bodies

782 821 [794] Religious cult among the Cape Bushmen centres largely in the worship of the Heavenly Bodies, and especially of the Moon. Prayers directed by them to the Moon have been recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd, but unfortunately the details given are far too [114] scanty to throw much light upon the nature of the worship. One account, indeed, indicates that when the New Moon first appears every man prays to it, and Orpen also mentions having seen Bushmen throw sand in the air and shout out on seeing the crescent moon when it first appeared, but there is nothing else to suggest any special form of rite. The prayers themselves are chiefly prayers for food, and one of them, just lately published by Miss Bleek,[1] may be quoted as illustrating the form of invocation. It is spoken with raised right hand :—

539 782 821

Ho, my hand is this,
I shoot a springbok with my hand
By an arrow.

I lie down,
I will early kill a springbok
To-morrow.

Ho, Moon lying there,
Let me kill a springbok
To-morrow,
Let me eat a springbok;
With this arrow
Let me shoot a springbok
With this arrow;
Let me eat a springbok,
Let me eat filling my body
In the night which is here,
Let me fill my body.

Ho Moon lying there,
I dig out ants' food
To-morrow,
Let me eat it.

Ho Moon lying there,
I kill an ostrich to-morrow
With this arrow.

[1] "Bushman Folklore," *Africa*, ii (1929), 306.

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or other worship directed to these bodies.[1] How far the absence of moon worship must be attributed to the fact that these Bushmen have long been exposed to Bantu influence is difficult to say. In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the other Bushman tribes, however, as well as the fact that the Hiechware have certainly been considerably influenced by the BeChwana, this seems the most reasonable suggestion; although, as already noted, Dornan cannot be regarded as a fully reliable authority. 821 [782] [177] [114]

The evidence on the whole shows quite definitely that worship of the heavenly bodies, and especially of the Moon, exists among the Bushmen. In all the instances noted, the New Moon is prayed to; in the case of the Cape Bushmen for food, although the details of the ceremony are not available, while among the Naron, Auen, and !O Kung there is a special ceremony at which it is invoked for rain. There is nothing to suggest that the Moon is conceived of as a supreme deity, or that it forms the object of an elaborate cult. At the same time the prayers and ceremonies noted clearly constitute an act of worship. They must therefore be regarded as part of the Bushman religion. The prayers and usages relating to the sun and the stars among the Cape Bushmen suggest a wider sidereal worship, which the scanty details from the Northern tribes would seem to bear out; but the worship of the Moon seems to be by far the most prominent. 821 771 782 [776]

Supernatural Beings

In other aspects of religion and mythology there appears to be a good deal of variation in details among the different Bushmen tribes. The most prominent figure in the mythology of the Cape Bushmen is the Mantis, round whom a whole cycle of myths has been formed. Besides his own proper name, */kaggen*, he possesses several others, as does also his wife, whose most usual name, however, is */huntu!katt!katten*, the Dassie or Rock Rabbit (*Hyrax capensis*). They have three children, a daughter, of whom there is no further mention; a son, */gaunu-ts'axau* (*!gaunu* is the name of a certain star, and *ts'axau* means "eye"), who in one of the tales is killed by baboons, and restored to life again by the Mantis; and another son, */kaggen-ɔpwa*, the young Mantis, who also figures in one of the tales, where his likeness to his father is commented upon. Besides his own children the Mantis has an adopted daughter, */xo*, the Porcupine. 773 776 [184] [825] [825]

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 163.

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Ko('ngo), as

776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are
[787] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while
[224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is
[782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with
[756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant,
[791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians, who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded
[773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do
[184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his special protection.

Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis.
184 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to
776 Miss Lloyd several tales about */xwe*, a little personage not identified with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a variety of things. */xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

776 The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about *Hishe* or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys'
[881] puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people, bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans.
[756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws
[114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the
177 idea of */khuba* or */xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba"). This is the
776

[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32-3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 301, 305-6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404-13.

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Nama word for "master, lord", and has been used by some 177
missionaries for "God". The Naron and Auen were vague as to 776
the nature of */khuba*. The old men did not know of him; the middle-aged men said *Hishe* was */khuba*; while some of the younger people said he was the sky, others that he dwelt in the sky; they prayed to him to let them live long and to make them well when ill. Women who when young had been kidnapped and held as slaves by Nama chiefs were very fluent on the subject of */khuba*; the others, [648] remarks Miss Bleek, had evidently picked up the word without [567] attaching any clear meaning to it, beyond that it was some sort of deity and that it was "good to pray to it". The same word (given by him in its vocative form */khutse*) was also found among the partly-disorganized groups of these Bushmen by Fourie, who translates it "God".

A few of Miss Bleek's informants further mentioned *Huwu* or 776
Huwuba, but they did not know much about him—he was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the [177] "captain" of the white people.[1]

Huwu or *Hu'e* figures very prominently among the Kung, however. [184] Miss Lloyd's young informants from near Lake Ngami only once mentioned him. They began the tale of the Moon and the Hare [773] with the words, *Huwe* made all things; and in explanation said, *Huwe* made all things to eat (i.e. all animals that are eaten), and *Huwe* is a man.[2] Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, much further west, speaks of *Huwe* as a "good being", to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things. They pray to [792] him for food, as we have already seen, at a special ceremony held [796] once a year when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen, and they also in case of sickness call upon him to restore them to [755] health.[3]

Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*)[4] or *Xuwa*,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 24–6; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.
[3] "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.
[4] It may be mentioned here that Lebzelter is inconsistent in the orthography he employs: */Kuś* is elsewhere written *//Khun*, *//gauab* alternates with */gauab*, *gagorob* with *//gau //gorob*, and so on. [114]

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everywhere he is regarded as the creator of all things, including mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.[1] 184 776 [821] [782] [224]

The ǀO Kung in Angola did not mention *Erob* or *Xuwa*, but spoke again of *Huwe*. Here, as we have seen, *Huwe* occasionally appears at the boys' puberty ceremonies and dances with the initiates, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double guise as man and woman. In the prayer to the New Moon his name may also be substituted for *//nwa-se*, but apart from this substitution there is no evidence of worship directed towards him. He is further said to appear to people in dreams.[2] Of the attributes found by Lebzelter for the "supreme being" among the Kung and the Heikum no mention at all is made by Miss Bleek. [787]

Huwe appears again among the Bushmen of the Eastern Kalahari. They believe, according to Dornan, in a spirit which they variously call *Dǂimo*, *Thora*, and *Huwe*. *Dǂimo* is a corruption of the Chwana word *Modimo*, nowadays generally rendered "God", and is, says Dornan, "largely used by the tame Bushmen with the same signification." *Thora* and *Huwe* are the regular Bushman words. *Huwe* is here spoken of as the good spirit who wards off disease, gives plenty, and protects the Bushmen from danger. When any danger threatens, they will call upon him; Dornan mentions having once heard some Bushmen of the Sansokwe River sing over and over again the words *Huwe ka hume ie ie*, *Huwe* come to our aid ie ie. More often, however, they speak of *Thora*. They say he made all things, but they are not sure where he dwells, or if he is a person. According to Dornan they look upon him as the Great One, who is over all things, who sends rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting. They often use *Thora* to ensure success in hunting; when, e.g. they have killed an animal they will praise him for bringing it under their arrows. This statement Dornan seems to have derived [177] [782] 114 776 224 [821]

[1] Lebzelter, op. cit., 410–12; cf. Schmidt, "Die alten Buschmann-Religion," 197, summarizing Lebzelter's data.

[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 94; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122, 123.

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114 776 [224] from Chapman, who records that once when some Bushmen were with him and he had killed a rhinoceros they threw some dust on its tail and spat in its eyes before they touched it, muttering meanwhile "some gibberish" to *Thora*, while on another occasion when he had killed some elephants a similar performance was again enacted by his Bushman attendants.

The distinction between *Thora* and *Huwe* is not quite clear from Dornan's account. In one place he seems to imply that the two words refer to the same conception. Elsewhere, however, he remarks: "Huwe seems an inferior kind of spirit to Thora, for at times the latter is invoked to come to his aid, as if the former were not powerful enough to defend himself and his children. Some Bushmen near the Tuli River sang the following words, in an agitated and melancholy [539] voice: 'Thora ba Huwe i-e i-e, Thora come to the help of Huwe [782] i-e i-e,' ad lib." From their attributes, however, it seems that the two conceptions *Thora* and *Huwe* are substantially the same. In all probability the name *Huwe* has drifted in from the west, which would explain why it is sometimes substituted for *Thora*, sometimes found alongside it.[1]

192 821 In addition to this being variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Erob*, *Thora*, etc., all the Northern Bushmen also speak of *//gauwa* (*Gaua*, [776] *//gaua*, *//gauab*, etc.). This word, as we have already seen, is used [184] by the North-Western Bushmen for "a person who has died", or [775] more precisely, as appears in certain cases, for the ghost of a dead person. It is, however, also used with a much wider application. Among the Naron and Auen at Sandfontein the wind is called *//gauwa* when it is strong and howls. One of the Naron tales recorded by Miss Bleek speaks of the wind as a man going about, and of *//gauwa* as a bird accompanying him. "*//gauwa* says: 'I make the wind and thus go.'" Some of the people seemed to believe in a supreme 192 776 *//gauwa*, a being who lives in the east near *Hishe*, to whose house the ghosts repair by day. They said he was *Hishe's* younger brother, 114 while others said *//gauwa* was *Hishe*. Miss Bleek affirms that no ideas of good or bad qualities are connected with either of these beings, nor are they prayed to. Fourie, however, speaks of *Gaua* among the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron as a "bad being" or "Satan", to whom people dying a "bad death" are said to go,

[1] Dornan, op. cit., 148–50; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 386, 81. The translation given by Dornan of the prayer in which *Thora* is asked to come to the aid of *Huwe* cannot be relied upon. In another place (*J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1917, p. 53) he renders the same words: "God leave (us) alone ie ie!"

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while those dying a "good death" go to *!khutse* (*!khuba*). "About the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say "*//gaua* thunders", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: "*//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndzambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God"); "we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to *//gaua*."[2]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain" *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds.

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4.

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184 776 Bushmen of the Orange Free State, where, as we have seen, Campbell [192] mentions that the spirits attendant upon *Ko* (the Mantis) are called *Gauna*, and that after *Ko* has disappeared from the dance in which she was taking part, "her nymphs" also come and dance for a while. Nothing more is said about them, however.[1]

114 776 The problem now arises as to the real nature of these beings. The information relating to them is sometimes vague, sometimes inconsistent, and at all times obviously inadequate. No interpretation of their nature can therefore be regarded as fully reliable until it has been confirmed by a much more careful and detailed study in the field than has yet been made of the beliefs and usages connected with them. Moreover, as we shall see subsequently, the conception 171 776 of *//gaua* also figures prominently among the Hottentots and Bergdama, whose religious beliefs and practices in general offer other features of resemblance to those of the Bushmen. A comparison of the Bushman concepts on the one hand and those of the Hottentots and Bergdama on the other, may thus succeed in throwing further light upon the problem, the final consideration of which may therefore be delayed until the religions of these peoples have also been passed in review.

177 776 Certain points arise, however, which may at once be dealt with. The notions of *!khuba* among the Naron and Auen, and of *Dʒimo* among the Hiechware, may be set aside in the attempt to ascertain the real nature of Bushman religious conceptions. They have admittedly been taken over from other peoples, the former from the Nama, the latter from the BeChwana. *Erob*, mentioned by Lebzelter [797] as the name for the "Supreme Being" among the Western Kung and certain of the Heikum, is simply a corruption of the word *Elob*, from the Hebrew *Elohim*, which has been used by many missionaries among the Nama as a translation for "God".[2] Its occurrence among these Bushmen is therefore an obvious indication of Christian influence, entering either directly through the missionaries or, more probably, through contact with the Nama; and in this connection it must be remembered that almost all the Heikum now speak only

[1] *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 31–2.

[2] Pater Schmidt, in accepting Lebzelter's data as convincing evidence for the existence of a Supreme Being among the Bushmen, remarks about *Erob* ("Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 397, n. 4): "Wenn er christlichen Ursprungs sein soll, von Elob, aus Elohim, so darf man fragen, warum das Inlaut -*l* in *r* übergegangen wäre." To this it may be replied that the sound *l* does not occur at all in Nama, save in a few words taken over from European languages, and that in most borrowed words where it does occur the Nama form of the word replaces it by *r*. The transmutation of *Elob* into *Erob* therefore follows a definite law of phonetic change in Nama. Cf. on this point Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, pp. 18–19.

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Nama. Nama influence is seen also in the word *Heiseb* found among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga. This is one of the names applied to the mythical hero more commonly known as *Heitsi Eibib*, who figures so prominently in the religious system of the Nama. Its absence from the other Bushman tribes is clearly suggestive, although the name *Hishe* found among the Naron and Auen may possibly be a corruption of it. The various current interpretations of *//gaua* as " the evil being ", " the devil " or " Satan " must likewise be dismissed as alien to native Bushman ideas. The word has been widely used by missionaries among the Nama for " Devil ", and there can be little doubt that it is ultimately from this source that such interpretations have been derived. 177 776 [184] [797]

All these direct symptoms of borrowing from other peoples show clearly that the religious conceptions of the Northern Bushmen as recorded above can by no means be regarded as untainted by foreign influences. The final interpretation of these conceptions will therefore have to take into account the religious ideas of the neighbouring peoples as well, especially of the Nama, in order that a full basis for discussion may be obtained. This is all the more necessary since the information relating to them as now held by the Bushmen is hardly sufficient to enable us to determine satisfactorily the full meaning attached to them by the people, to determine, that is, what part they really play in native life. For the moment, however, it may be of service if we attempt to reduce to some order the various accounts given by our authorities of these conceptions. 177 771

A general survey of the attributes said to be vested in the different beings figuring in the religion and mythology of the Northern Bushmen seems to show that on the whole we have to deal with two main conceptions. There is in the first place the conception known variously to the North-Western Bushmen as *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Xuwa*, *Hishe*, or *Erob*, and to the North-Eastern Bushmen as *Thora* or *Huwe*. By Lebzelter, whose account cannot be entirely freed from a suspicion of prejudice in favour of the monotheistic doctrine associated with the name of Pater W. Schmidt and his school of disciples, *Xu* or *Erob* is spoken of as an anthropomorphic " supreme good being " dwelling in a house in the sky, where he receives the souls of the dead. He is regarded as the creator; he controls the rain and its associated phenomena of thunder and lightning, and punishes evil-doers with lightning; he sends good fortune in hunting and in the collection of veldkos, is prayed to before and after hunting, and is 776 [184] [114] [821] [224] [782] [756]

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776 honoured with certain ritual observances connected with the chase;
[782] he is also prayed to for rain, before travel, and in case of illness;
[224] and finally it is from him that the magicians obtain their special
[756] powers. By the Eastern Kung he is said to have a wife and many children; among the other Kung and the Heikum he figures alone.

Few of these attributes are mentioned by Miss Bleek in her remarks
184 upon *Hishe* among the Naron and Auen, and upon *Huwe* among the
776 !O !Kung. But there are certain points of agreement. *Hishe* dwells in
[775] a house in the east, to which the ghosts of the dead repair by day;
[224] he is regarded as the creator, and as the protector of game and hunting. On the other hand *Hishe-Huwe*, sometimes alone, sometimes in double
[881] guise as man and woman, sometimes "followed by children like
[114] baboons", figures prominently in the boys' puberty ceremonies, which are not referred to at all by Lebzelter. At the same time, since these ceremonies certainly have much to do with hunting, their association with *Hishe-Huwe* is not inconsistent with his character as protector of the game and hunting, although of course it is hardly likely that this provides the only explanation for his figuring in them. Nor
[782] is he ever prayed to among these tribes, save where the name *Huwe* is substituted by the !O !Kung for *//nwa-se*, the New Moon, in the prayer for rain. Most of the prayers for food and rain, however, are directed to the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon.

A closer agreement with Lebzelter's account is provided by Dornan's
[114] discussion of *Thora-Huwe* among the North-Eastern Bushmen. *Thora* is here said to be the creator who is over all things, he sends
[821] rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting, certain
[224] hunting observances are directed towards him, he wards off disease,
[753] and protects the Bushmen from danger.

It is possible also to find a connection in certain respects between *Huwe* and the conception of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen. Among the Cape Bushmen, it is true, the Mantis is primarily a mythological character, the central figure of an elaborate series of myths relating to him and his "family". He is never worshipped, but on
[782] the other hand, like *Huwe*, he has creative powers, and is also said to
[825] have made certain bucks and to protect them. Mention is further made by these Bushmen of an afterworld to which go the spirits
[775] of the dead, but there is nothing at all to link this up with the Mantis, just as there is nothing to link up the afterworld of the North-Eastern Bushmen with *Thora*. The resemblance between the Mantis and *Huwe* is far more noticeable among the Bushmen of Basutoland.

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makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people 184
by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, 776
/nawa or the chief of the *//gauab* figures as the creator, and, as the [821]
executive of *Xu*, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is [224]
honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success; [782]
he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems [753]
extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of *Huwe* [178]
on the one hand and of *//gaua* on the other have been blended or
confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make
this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explana- 114
tion may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek 178
and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies 776
for boys: according to the former, it is *Hishe* who figures in the 881
special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled [184]
by *Gaua*. *//gaua*, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's
puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar
confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do
the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a
suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that
one of Miss Bleek's informants identified *//gaua* with *Ndzambi*,
the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for
"God", while another spoke of *//gaua* as the "father" of the
Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of *Huwe*, *Thora*, or 184
the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the 776
source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food [224]
gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; [753]
and with the conception of *//gaua* first as the ghosts of the dead [821]
and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness [775]
and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder,
lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an
interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the
possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples;
it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from
the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions
common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

Magic and Magicians

In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the 756
mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

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756 supernatural powers, or who are able to control, either for social purposes or for their own ends, the spiritual forces upon which the social welfare depends. There is no English word which adequately describes them, but such persons may be loosely termed magicians.

Among the Cape Bushmen, these magicians, who might be of either sex, were called */gixa* (plural, */giten*). There is unfortunately [114] no information available as to how they acquired their powers, nor have we any clear description of the part they played in the life of the community. A few details about them may, however, be gathered from the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd. Some magicians were [821] rainmakers, who went out to catch the rain bull and lead it over the land bringing rain. Others, again, had special powers over particular [825] game animals, such as the springbok or the ostrich. Some magicians were able to assume and go about in the form of animals such as the lion, springbok, jackal, or a little bird; others, even when asleep, knew what was going about at night, and took care of the people, defending them from evil magicians. For some magicians could [757] cause illness by shooting with invisible arrows, and the patients would die, even though doctored; while some were said to eat the flesh of the dead. When a magician died an earthquake took place, [823] and his heart fell, as a shooting star, out of the sky into a waterhole. His powers, however, he continued to possess even after death, [775] for there are mentioned several occasions on which a dead rainmaker was asked to send rain or a game magician to give success in hunting.[1]

These beliefs, fragmentary as they are, show definitely that the magicians were held to possess supernatural powers, which they might use for good or evil; but, apart perhaps from the making of rain, there is nothing to link them up with any cult or public ceremony, or to indicate that they ever played the part of priests.

[184] Among the Naron and Auen, however, the magicians, as we have seen, function at the puberty ceremonies. They introduce *Hishe* [881] into the dances, and make the cuts between the eyebrows of the boys. [793] Among the Naron they are also the priests, who pray to the New Moon for rain; while among the Auen they make rain by sprinkling [821] on the ground a kind of red earth, which they fetch from afar and carry about with them. The magicians, both male and female, are

Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 18; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 22.

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by *Gaua* 'on the other side' into the use of the small magic quiver. 773
Tji-Tji had killed a gemsbok. *Gaua* arrived on the scene and said, 'I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep here.' After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-Tji* remarked to *Gaua*, 'Give me that stuff (*//ai*).' The latter replied, 'If I give you the *//ai*, what will you pay me?' *Tji-Tji* answered, 'I will give you the horns.' *Gaua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *//ai* and before departing taught *Tji-Tji* the *//ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic."

The small magic quiver and arrows to which reference is here 754 114 411 756 made are no doubt the miniature weapons found among all the North-Western tribes. In a set seen by the writer the bow, made of a piece of bone, was barely 10 cm. long, and the arrows, for which sharp thorns were used, were small in proportion. Similar arrows [184] described by other writers consisted of a stalk of grass about 6 cm. long and a head of bone or hard wood about 4 cm. long. This head was sharpened at the end inserted into the grass stalk, while the protruding end was blunted.[1]

The range of these arrows is of course very limited, and different suggestions have been put forward as to their use. They are certainly not children's toys, as these miniature bows and arrows are used only by men, who carry them concealed about their persons. From various descriptions it appears that in some cases the arrows are definitely poisoned, and consequently among Germans the name "Bushman revolver" has become applied to these miniature sets. It is claimed that they are used as real weapons and that the poison on the arrow is strong enough to bring about the death of anybody struck by it. On the other hand, Miss Bleek says that among the Naron they are not poisoned, but are used by magicians who quarrel among themselves to settle their differences. "A medicine man wishing to destroy another, comes up close and shoots at the opponent's kaross with one of these arrows, blunt end foremost. The missile falls harmlessly to the ground, but the victim dies of the magic."[2] This statement is supported by the report of a case tried at Windhoek in 1912, where it was maintained, inter alia, that a poisoned arrow of this kind had been used against the accused. In the evidence, however, it was stated by several witnesses that these

[1] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," 116–17, and references.
[2] *Naron*, 28.

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114 arrows are not poisoned but are used for "witchcraft", and "if
411 they are shot in the direction of an enemy, be he 100 kilos or more
754 away, witchcraft will bring about his death".[1] The myth recorded
756 by Fourie also lends support to the idea that these arrows are used for magical purposes. It is possible, too, that something similar is implied in the statement, mentioned above, that among the Cape Bushmen magicians caused illness by shooting with invisible arrows, but it should be noted that no such weapons as those here described have yet been found among them.

789 Apart from the special magic practised by magicians and associated with them, there are among all the Bushmen various usages and beliefs of a nature which may be generally termed magical, and which
224 are apparently common property. Many of the hunting observances
787 already described fall into this category. So, too, does divination. Among the Cape Bushmen this occurs principally in the form of
[184] beliefs in the efficacy of omens, of which there are a great number with diverse significations. They say they feel in their bodies that certain things are going to happen; there is a kind of beating of the flesh which tells them things. Those who are stupid do not understand these teachings and disobey them, with the result that they get into trouble, are killed by a lion, and so on. These beatings tell those who understand them which way not to go, and which arrow it is better not to use, and also warn them when people are coming. They inform the hunter when game is close at hand, tell people where they can find the person for whom they are in search, i.e. which way to go, and so on.[2]

184 In the more northerly tribes is found the use of pieces of wood, leather or bone as divining bones or dice. These are usually four
787 in number, and roughly triangular in shape, two of them being broad, the other two longer and thinner. The former are called male, the latter female. In the Eastern Kalahari they are usually each marked in a special way and named, but this is not found further west. The bones may be owned and used by anyone, not only by magicians. They are used in a very crude manner: the inquirer goes on throwing them on to his kaross until he gets a favourable answer. Such bones are frequently found among the Northern and Central Kalahari Bushmen, and occasionally among those dwelling on the southern

[1] *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cd. 9146), 1918, p. 172.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17–18; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 330–9.

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borders of the Desert, but are unknown to the Cape Bushmen and 184
those of Griqualand West. Dornan maintains that they are original 787
elements in the culture of the Bushmen, from whom they have been 114
taken over by the Bantu. All the evidence, however, points in 177
the other direction, for among the Bantu the use of divining bones 787
of several different types is not only widespread, but also developed into an elaborate system of interpretation, while the way the Bushmen handle them shows that they do not know much about them. Moreover, it is found that the frequency of their use by the Bushmen coincides with the extent to which any tribe has been exposed to Bantu influence.[1]

Other minor beliefs and practices of the Bushmen are mentioned 751
by writers on particular tribes, but consideration of them must be [184]
omitted in a general survey such as this. It may be noted, however, that among the Northern tribes amulets are often worn to ward off disease and other evils, while among all the Bushmen charms of various [777]
kinds are also carried to ensure good luck. Bad dreams are also 787
regarded as evil omens, and precautions taken to counteract them. 789
Among the Cape Bushmen, for instance, when a woman had had a bad dream, she banished it by plunging a stone into the fire, at the same time saying a spell. If she neglected to do this, the dream would accompany her when she went out to seek ants' larvae and prevent her from finding any. The Naron, in the same way, when they have had bad dreams put a bit of burning charcoal on the ground and pour water on it, then the bad dream flies away with the steam. Or, [755]
when a man is ill and *Hishe* sends bad dreams, he takes a stick after the sun has arisen, plants it in the ground between his knees, burns *buchu* and snuffs it, and recovers.[2]

[1] Werner, "Heikum und Kungbuschleute," 256; Kaufmann, "Auin," 159, Dornan, "Divination and Divining Bones," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 505–7; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 155–8; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28–9; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies*, 10–11.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 29.

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shoulders, or holding his arms out behind her, without touching her. 535
In other dances the men dance round alone, then approach the line of singers, holding out their arms. The courting motive is clear, 535
though not indecently expressed."[1] Stow, however, describes 831
certain dances of the Southern Bushmen which he stigmatizes as lascivious and orgiastic, and in which, he says, "the women appear to have offered themselves up to sexual congress."[2] There are several suggestions also that the eland bull dance, as well as various others [114]
imitating the sexual life of animals, may assume a pronouncedly erotic character, but these suggestions are conveyed as a rule by our authorities in the form of generalized statements obviously based on hearsay, and lack concrete illustration.

Most of the dances appear to be based on episodes in the lives of 535
wild animals; the dancers imitate the animals, and go through the 825
actions characteristic of them. Several of these dances, observed by Fourie among the Heikum, may serve to illustrate their general character. In the Jackal and Wolf dance, in which only the men take part, a hyena is represented feeding on a carcase and keeping off a couple of hungry jackals. Every now and again, as the latter attempt to approach too close to the carcass, the hyena scares them off and they jump out of the way. The Horse dance is likewise danced by men only, who go round quickly in a circle, while the women clap their hands in imitation of the sound made by a galloping horse. The Gemsbok dance, again, represents a gemsbok bull, cow, and calf being chased by two men with three or four dogs. The bull and cow carry horns but the calf does not. The buck lead and are followed by the men and dogs, who dance to and fro on the flanks until the animals are brought to bay. Then the men pretend to shoot, bows and arrows being represented by sticks, and one of the buck goes down wounded, while the others make off pursued by some of the dogs. The wounded animal fights in realistic fashion, sweeping at both men and dogs with its horns. The dance is continued until all the animals have been accounted for.[3]

Among the Southern Bushmen the dancers often made themselves up to represent various animals, birds, and imaginary monsters, with the aid of either paint or the skins, heads, and horns of the objects to be represented. In many of their dances "they were so dressed as to represent a particular animal, when the dance was called by its name; such was the *t'Gorlo'ka*, the *Man-nia*, or Baboon dance, in

[1] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit. [2] Stow, op. cit., 115, 118–19. [3] Op. cit., 96.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

systems.[1] This grouping appears to have been formulated by him without taking into consideration the numerous specimens of the art found in the south-west Cape, and in South-West Africa, and can therefore scarcely be regarded as definitive, but it provides a most useful basis for the archæological study of the paintings and engravings. 172 532 184 [114]

In Southern Rhodesia, according to him, there are three distinct series of paintings, which when found in superposition always occur in the same order. The oldest series are usually coloured a uniform flat red or yellow, occasionally found in outline only, and the figures are "nicely drawn". Certain paintings in a dark brownish-red are slightly more modern, and the style perhaps more developed, but they belong to the same series. The middle series are all in dark claret, and quite different from anything before, not only in colour, but also in style. There is a certain angularity about the figures; the paintings have clean, sharp outlines; the curves and angles of horns and bodies are well and finely drawn, and the style is vigorous and attractive. Finally we get paintings in earthy yellow, white, and the beginnings of polychrome. The style of art is quite different again and much less attractive, the animal figures heavier, the bodies less shapely, and the legs stiffer.

In the Central group the paintings are much more varied, and seem more modern than those in Southern Rhodesia. They are distinguished by wonderful developments of polychrome and the frequent occurrence of elaborate scenes of battles, dances, etc., such as are not found in Southern Rhodesia. Superposition is of much less importance, but it was noted that wherever paintings comparable in colour and style to the 'dark claret' series of Rhodesia occurred in superposition with any other colours or styles they were always undermost and therefore oldest. The rock engravings, which are most frequently met with in the central districts of the Orange Free State and the adjoining northern parts of the Cape lying immediately to the west, also belong to this art group. Its distribution coincides with that of the Upper Smithfield Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, and the paintings and engravings are always found associated with implements of this Industry.

The Southern art group, again, is invariably associated with the Wilton Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, which, like the Upper Smithfield Industry, is definitely of Bushman origin. The paintings are here totally dissimilar from and far inferior to those

[1] Op. cit., 116–19.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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Knowledge of Disease and Doctoring

164 The Bushmen in their own environment and leading their own mode of life seem on the whole to be a healthy and hardy people. Those communities in the north which have not been much in contact with civilization are said to be remarkably free from infectious, contagious, and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons, when malaria becomes unduly prevalent, the incidence of disease is very small amongst them. Malaria, however, carries off many victims, for the Bushmen do not seem able to withstand it better than other peoples. Kaufmann, as we have seen, records that in 1909 the mortality caused by it was especially high, whole villages dying out, so that the numbers of the Auen were reduced to less than half. Seiner, another trustworthy observer, states that [114] among the Kung fully 20 per cent of the deaths that occur, especially of children, may be attributed to it; and it is officially recorded that in the years 1917, 1923, and 1925 "large numbers" of Bushmen died from it along the north-eastern and eastern borders of South-West Africa. Smallpox, typhoid, dysentery, and phthisis are also mentioned as occurring in these parts, the latter being promoted by [276] excessive indulgence in tobacco and dagga smoking. Where contact [177] with other peoples is frequent, syphilis is often found, as well as measles, influenza, whooping-cough, scarlet fever, and other European diseases. European clothing and dwellings have a bad effect upon the Bushmen. They are particularly susceptible to pulmonary affections when removed from their natural surroundings, and a considerable number of those who have suffered from bronchitis, pneumonia, etc., subsequently succumb to tuberculosis. When [648] imprisoned, as many of them are in South-West Africa for cattle stealing or breaking the game laws, they rapidly decline in strength and die in great numbers, however kindly treated by the gaol authorities.[1]

753 Sickness in most instances is attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the person affected, to evil magic exercised against him by other persons, to the malicious interference of the ghosts of dead people who send the "spirits of disease" into 000 the patient's body, or to some similar supernatural cause. Treatment

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 139; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293; Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 140–4; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29–30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 91; *Official Year Book of S.A.*, No. 8, pp. 983–6 *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Treatment

is administered by relatives or friends, or in cases of acute and prolonged illness by a magician well versed in medical practices, who is 755
paid for his services. In cases of the latter kind a very common method employed is massage, leading up to the extraction of foreign bodies (" disease-poisons ", " spirits of disease ", etc.) believed to have been introduced into the patient and thus causing his illness. When the " doctor " feels that the foreign body has been brought near enough to the surface by his treatment, he sucks the part affected and then, with a retching sound, triumphantly spits out the object he is supposed to have sucked from the patient's body. Stones, pieces of bark, small bones, etc., are thus extracted from the affected part of the patient, who in consequence is cured ![1] Lebzelter records also that, while the " doctor " is busy performing this cure, the relatives [782]
and friends standing round pray to the " supreme being " to make the patient well again ; and, as we have seen, the use of prayers in case of severe illness is mentioned by several other writers as well.[2]

More practical forms of treatment are also found, however.[3] Herbs 757
and roots of various kinds are extensively employed as medicines. 278
Sometimes they are burned to ashes which are then rubbed into small cuts made in the patient's body, sometimes they are boiled and given as a decoction. How far they actually do have curative effects is difficult to say, as no special study appears to have been made of their pharmacological properties, nor, save in a few instances, have they even been identified. But Dornan mentions that " for blackwater they use a plant called qilika (*Anacoampseros rhodesica*) by the Matabele ; [824]
dysentery *Monsonia ovata*, and *Euclea lanceolata* ; for various other diseases, *Cannabis sativa*, *Solanum nigrum*, *Lippia asperifolia* (malaria), *Cratalaria burkeana*, *Pterocarpus angolensis*, *Datura stramonium*, *Indigofera senegalensis*, and *Bauhinea reticulata* ".[4] Burns, open 752
sores, headaches, etc., are treated by rubbing medicated ointments on the part affected. Chapman describes another method of treatment undergone by himself. " Having a frightful headache from the heat of the sun, I resort to my usual Bushman remedy, at the expense of having my forehead ornamented with blisters dotted all over it the next morning. April [his Bushman guide] has a root

[1] A good eyewitness account of this treatment is given by Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika* ; 340–1 ; cf. also D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29. [114]
[2] " Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 411 ; cf. pp. 183 sq. above.
[3] Nolte, " Krankheiten und Heilmittel der Nama und Buschmänner," *D. Kol-Ztg.*, 1886, p. 629 sq. ; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 159, 282–3 ; ii, 74, 182 ; Kaufmann, loc. cit. ; Dornan, loc. cit. ; Vedder, " Grammatik der !Kõ-Buschmannsprache," 8–9 ; Fourie, loc. cit.
[4] Op. cit., 142.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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752 which he puts into the fire, and brands me all over the forehead, heating it again and again. It is the heat of the fire that gives the relief, not the root, nor any of his genuflexions over me."[1] Surgical practice seems to be limited to incisions made in the skin, but Vedder notes that cupping is also employed among the Kung. Incisions are made in the patient's skin and covered with the horn of an animal, through which the blood is then sucked out.[2]

The existence of specific antidotes for arrow poisoning is reported 278 by several of the older writers, but their statements lack confirmation. 752 The effects of such a wound, as far as can be ascertained, are almost [114] invariably fatal.[3] The Naron also have no antidote for snake poison, the effects of which they try to counteract by tying the snake skin round the bite. Kaufmann, however, records that among the Auen the magician makes out of the black mamba, which he alone may eat, an antidote supposed to act against all snake bites except that of the mamba itself. He dries and powders the lungs, gall, and liver, as well as the poison in the fangs, and mixes this powder with the fat of the snake. The salve thus made is rubbed into the wound, which is first sucked out. At the same time several deep cuts are made in the upper arm, from which blood is allowed to stream freely.[4] There is nothing [114] in Kaufmann's account to indicate whether this information is based on personal observation or merely upon hearsay, so that it must be received with caution. Chapman, a careful observer whose hunting expeditions brought him into frequent close contact with the Bushmen in the North-West Kalahari, describes another form of antidote with which he himself saw the Bushmen cure themselves of snake bite. This is a creeping tendrilous plant, called "eokam" by the Bushmen, but unfortunately not identified by him. About eight or ten of its seeds, either eaten or taken as a decoction, act as an emetic. The dose is repeated about three times, when the patient is cured. "They also tattoo and scarify their bodies, and make an incision near the wound, which they suck with some of the root, chewed, in their mouths. This is evidently to prevent the poison acting upon the gums in case of bleeding. The sucking out of the poison is not necessary, but is done by way of precaution. Bushmen having a bit of this root on their necks laugh at snake-bites."[5]

751 Other writers mention that "doctors" sometimes render themselves

[1] Op. cit., ii, 182. [2] Loc. cit.
[3] The question is discussed by Schapera, "Bushman Arrow Poisons," 212–13.
[4] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 19; Kaufmann, op. cit., 159. [5] Op. cit., ii, 74.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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immune to the effects of snake and scorpion poison.[1] One of these 751
animals is killed, and its poison, diluted with water and urine, is rubbed in small quantities into small cuts made in the skin, or the poison sacs are pulped and boiled, and then swallowed in small doses. Schinz records an experiment made by himself on a Bushman doctor claiming this immunity.[2] He selected twelve scorpions and placed [114]
them, by means of forceps, on different parts of the man's body—hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. Almost all of them stung the flesh deeply once or twice, in every instance causing a large drop of white matter to appear; then they crawled about leisurely, but made no further attempts at stinging. "The old man maintained that he felt no pain, and I have no reason to distrust him, as he would hardly have allowed himself to be stung by scorpions on the most sensitive parts of his body, merely to satisfy my curiosity, if the poison would have had any effects on him; even a full hour after our attempt the spots where he had been stung showed not the slightest change." This experiment seems therefore to show that there may be some foundation to the claim of immunity. The inoculation was apparently made in this case during the apprenticeship [756]
of the "doctor", under the direction of his master. Our main authorities on the Bushmen do not mention this practice at all, but I have myself spoken to several detribalized Bushmen and Nama in Little Namaqualand who claimed a similar immunity. Unfortunately I neglected to inquire further into the matter, beyond ascertaining the means of immunization.

Knowledge of Times and Seasons

In their system of time-reckoning the Bushmen make use chiefly 805
of meteorological elements, based on recurrent changes in wind and weather, and of astronomical elements, based on observations of the sun, stars, and moon. Their larger divisions of time are the [221]
seasons, which, owing to their effect on the food supply and on the [182]
movements of the people, assume a pronounced importance in Bushman life. The division of the seasons is established by the rainfall. [13]
The Cape Bushmen distinguished four seasons, rendered by Bleek [184]
and Lloyd in the English equivalents of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but the exact meaning of the native terms is not given.

[1] Campbell, *Journey in S. Africa*, 441; Thompson, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 399; Cornell, *The Glamour of Prospecting*, 232.
[2] Op. cit., 395–6.

[1] Introduction

121 The purpose of my expedition, on which I was accompanied by my wife, Maria Lebzelter-Grammetbauer, was to study the anthropology and ethnology of the native tribes, especially of the Bushmen, as well as the archeology of South Africa. The original plan came from Professor Father Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D.
122 Repeated generous stipends from His Holiness Pope Pius XI made possible the continuation of the expedition, which was fostered with tireless zeal by Father Schmidt. The Austrian Government, by means of special administrative measures, made it possible for me to set out on this journey. Furthermore, the editor of Anthropos, Professor Father W. Koppers, repeatedly lent considerable support to the expeditionary fund. The Research Grant Board in Johannesburg granted me -- although for purely anthropological purposes -- a single subvention of 50 pounds.

114 I have already described the program and execution of my South African expedition in the first volume of this work. Here, before presenting the ethnological results, I should like to portray in rough outline how these results were arrived at. I must state in advance that there was a space of only three weeks between the time when the measures taken by the Austrian authorities made it certain that I could leave my homeland and my actual departure. Hence, a
[122] more detailed study of the native languages was out of the question. The conditions under which a person today can do ethnological field work are fundamentally different from those of the pioneering era.
[197] Through the activity of the missions, there is growing up among all
[177] tribes, except for the Bushmen, a stratum of intelligent individuals who, if not in this generation, certainly in the next, will take over
000 the research among their own people. I recall a lawyer's clerk in Natal (Swazi) who had acquired a pamphlet of ethnological lectures from Johannesburg and had learned it by heart. When he turned to a White ethnologist, in order to begin the practical work, the latter assured him that just as a race horse could not be used for plowing, so an ox could not be used for racing. Meanwhile, however, a number of very creditable works by natives have
115 already appeared in print. In my investigations I have always used native schoolteachers who had a command not only of the

[1 cont.]

●115 German or English language, spoken and written, but also of their native tongue in grammar and phonetics.

000 Among the Zulu and Swazi I made my studies more as the occasion arose. Here I was indebted in particular to Father Andreas Ngidi in Inkamana, Princess Maris Dhlamini in Mbabane, and the Italian missionaries in Swaziland for my data. My travels were aided predominantly by the missions. Whereas in the diocese of the Catholic missions of Zululand and Marianhill the main emphasis of the work was upon anthropological and prehistoric matters, in Southwest Africa ethnological studies were the special [121] task of the expedition. Through the kindness of the provicar, 115 Father Schleipen of the Catholic Mission in Windhoek, the schoolteacher Alois Kheibeb was assigned to me, with whose help I came in contact with the old Dama. At the [2] Catholic Mission in Okombahe, Father Bachmann introduced me to the brother of Chief Gottlieb Horeseb, who came with a few other people to tell me stories. In Grootfontein it was Father Jaeger who placed his Dama schoolteacher, Nikolaus Horeseb, at my disposal. I then further succeeded in obtaining a very intelligent !Kung woman, Katiti, who was married to a Hei//om, and this made it possible for me to have verbal contact with the !Kung. In Ovamboland I was able to rely on the generous support of the Finnish Evangelical Mission. Through the help of Mr. Leuch I engaged a respected man from Oshigambo, Erastus Mbumba, who had been a clerk in Swakopmund for 13 years and who spoke superb German. The Bushmen informants in Ovamboland spoke Ovambo. In Epukiro the mission superior, Father Watterott, O.M.J., placed at my disposal the village headman, Franz Arenat, who in turn established contact for me with the Nogau Bushmen. The interpreters [124] have to be paid well. To all those who helped me in my work, I should like at this point to express my heartfelt thanks.

123 In order to achieve genuine success in the ethnological field, it is necessary to gain the confidence and sympathy of the natives and to instill in them the conviction that one has no evil intentions toward them or would want to make them look ridiculous; money alone does not suffice. The relationship between the 648 Whites and Coloreds is of such a kind that the native from the 576 outset faces the White with the greatest distrust. The natives are basically a courteous people, and among themselves they live

[13 cont.]

Chapter 4

The Bushmen of Ukuambi

115 At an outpost of the Finnish Ukuambi Mission, where I undertook anthropological measurements, I encountered a Bushman from the hordes that live on the northern bank of the Etosha Pan and stand in a loose dependent relationship partly with Ipumbo, partly with Shanika. I was able to converse with him only a few hours.

101 These Bushmen in Ukuambi, as well as at other places, belong to the Ezimo of the Akuanambua. They themselves are [614] divided into a number of exogamous kin groups. My informant belonged to the clan Ari-Ari. The tribe calls itself Akese or Kere and comes from the region between Okaukuejo and Outjo. Today this tribal organization is broken up. The following names -- formerly independent hordes which now live mixed together -- were mentioned to me: /Aru-Kwe, Ashuche, Asécha, !Kuru-Kwei, A !Kha-ta-bé, A-Hei-tére, A !gnuri.

648 Insofar as these Bushmen do not already lead the life of the Bantu farmers, they are hunters, spies, and occasionally also executioners for the chiefs. They manufacture ostrich egg beads [+39] and poison. For twelve good ostrich eggs they receive a fat ox. The Ovambo have quite a peculiar outlook in this respect. They spurn the perfectly good eggs of their hens. The ordinarily somewhat "disreputable" ostrich eggs are purchased for dear money as a delicacy.

611 The sons belong to the family of the father, the daughters to that of the mother. The men are not allowed to eat hares, 262 but the women and children do. The eating of hyenas and boa constrictors is prohibited to all.

776 Concerning their religious conceptions I was able to discover the following: In the sky dwells the great captain !Khuwa, which means the same as Huwe. In answer to the question about God, however, he stated that this was Erob, which naturally coincides with the name for God, Ellob, of the Rhenish Mission. The name !Khuwa only occurred casually in the conversation. He was unable to give a clear answer to my question as to whether

AKUANAMBUA
UUKUALUTHI

[14 cont.]

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197

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Elephant	≠koá-ba	≠koáb
Hare	!kai-éba	!kàirab
Man	áure ba	áob
Woman	taréshа, taréqueta	taris
Child	/koá ruba	/gob
Encampment	//gaun-kwá	//gāus
Head	tanába	tanas
Eye	mu-i	mus
Ears	/gai-i	//noub
Mouth	am-ba	ams
Teeth	//gu-i	//gu-ĩ
Tongue	tamba	nami(*)
Nose	/kui-ba	/guis
Hand	!koam-ba	!omi
Foot	/gai-i	/eis
Ground	/kawa	khas
Arrow	/kaau-i	/ab(*)
Poison	!khore-ai	!gab, !gurub
Palm tree	/haiba	--

Of 29 words only six roots (*) show no relationship with Nama.

Chapter 5

The Bushmen of Uukualuthi

115
[177]

In all Uukualuthi, Uonkolonkathi, and Ombarantu, there are, reportedly, only two Bushmen left who understand the old language. Both of them are good-for-nothing loafers who go from one beer pot to another. Thanks to the kind offices of the missionary, Mrs. Aarni, Chief Moala made one of these men available to me. To be sure, he could not hold out for very long, and during the few days that he devoted to us, he was rarely sober. We had to limit our conversations to the forenoon. What I learned from him is a dying way of life that no longer has any continuity. The man faced the situation with the cheerful resignation of the CHRONIC, GOOD-NATURED IMBIBER...

648 self-reliant. No European farms or institutions such as hospitals, schools, missions, trading posts, labour-recruiting or tax-collecting offices have been established in the Nyae Nyae region. The first government official to go into the region, Mr. Claude McIntyre, Senior Welfare Officer of the Administration of South West Africa, came with our first expedition to Gautscha Pan in 1951. The contact of the /Kung of this region with the neighbouring Bantu-speaking Negro tribes consists of occasional trading trips or visits to their Bushman relatives who are working for Chwana or Herero in western Bechuanaland.

123 We lived for seventeen months with the /Kung of Nyae Nyae; for six weeks in 1951, for fourteen consecutive months in 1952–3, for six weeks again in 1955.

●115 During this time we had several interpreters. We wish to express our gratitude particularly to two, Ngani and Kernel Ledimo, who had an exceptionally intelligent grasp of our purposes and problems and whose work was patient and precise. Ngani (this is his own preferred spelling of his name) is a Heikum Bushman who lived for many years with Mr. Courtney Clark in Grootfontein. Among the nine languages Ngani speaks are /Kung and English. Kernel Ledimo is a Chwana of the Batwana tribe who grew up among /Kung Bushmen on his father's cattle posts and was educated in an English school in Bechuanaland.

121 184 We made the kinship terminology of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region a subject of special study. Our investigation of the /Kõ and /Gikwe kinship terminology shows that there is not one system common to all Bushman groups. This paper deals only with the /Kung system.

124 Our method of study was first to take genealogies of the members of six bands, comprising about 175 persons. This took a good deal of time but was rewarding as a background which helped us to place in their web of relationships most of the 600 [123] /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region whom we came eventually to know by sight or name as we travelled about or as they visited us.

124 601 After we had gathered the genealogical material we began to ask people what kinship terms they used for each other. We asked many informants, going over and over the same questions. The terms for parents, offspring, and siblings were easily learned. But the terms for grandparents, grandchildren, and all collaterals threw us into confusion. For each grandparent or grandchild, of either sex, we found that a person might use one of two terms (and one of these has an alternate); and a person might use one of three terms for each collateral, with an alternate, a diminutive, and a distinction man-speaking and woman-speaking to complicate matters. The same term might be applied to relatives on either the paternal or maternal side. We did not know for some time what factor determined, for instance, whether a person applied the term *a* or *b* to his FaFa or MoFa or the term *a*, *b*, or *c* to his FaBr, MoBr or some other collateral. When we asked we were usually told, 'It is our custom', but one informant gravely explained that 'God created people and told them what terms to use for each other. Parents have taught their children ever since what terms to use.' It was ≠Toma, perhaps our most intelligent informant, who at last figured out what it was we did not understand and told us what he had assumed everyone knew, that the term 'followed the name'. In other words there is a factor, which we finally called the factor of the name, which under certain circumstances determines what term the individual uses. We began afresh to gather information to understand and

137 spreading some like the Grewias and the melons whose seeds pass through the alimentary canal apparently unharmed and reducing others like the Eulophias and Vignas which have edible underground storage organs. It is perhaps significant that, with two exceptions, the edible members of the family Asclepiadaceae were rarely found. In this paper there are 11, from Raphionacme to Fockea inclusive—nearly all important food plants with underground storage organs. The two commoner exceptions were *Sarcostemma viminale* which is sometimes poisonous and *Pentarrhinum insipidum* which has edible leaves and fruits but an inedible perennial root.

146 I am not qualified to speak on the health of the Bushmen, but it is apparent even to the layman that they are very unlikely to suffer from any deficiency disease while on their natural diet. When they are recruited for labour and fed on an unbalanced diet their health will be undermined and they will be less able to resist the rigours of their normal life when their contracts expire.

114 Their study by serious workers is to be encouraged for it should lead to their stability as a race and the enrichment of our knowledge, but contacts with irresponsible strangers is unfortunate and observations like the following by Brown (1954: 130) are valueless and regrettable:—

> "They are wonderful runners. When I chased one with the clanging of a bell he set off at a good bat into the distance, and kept it up until out of sight."

122 During the three months in which the field work was done, the expenses of my transport and keep were met from the funds of the expedition, and this I gratefully acknowledge. Dr. R. A. Dyer, Chief of the Division of Botany, gave me the opportunity of joining the expedition, and all facilities for working up the results of the field work. Most of the determinations were done by my colleagues in the Division of Botany, and of them Miss I. C. Verdoorn, author of *Edible Wild Fruits of the Transvaal*, read through the typescript and gave me valuable advice. Dr. L. E. Codd deserves special thanks for the way he saw to the growing of the considerable quantities of roots, bulbs and seeds sent from the Kalahari. 000 I thank Mr. L. K. Marshall, who led the expedition, and the members of it, [115] for their interest and kindness, also Kernel Ledimo, a fluent speaker of the Eastern !khũ language, who was always ready to translate or to pilot me through its little-known and fascinating grammar and phonetics. My notes on the Bushman languages were kindly checked by Prof. L. F. Maingard, and the ethnological literature was supplied mainly by Dr. N. J. van Warmelo of the Department of Native Affairs. I am indebted to Messrs. Midgeley, Martin and Scholtz of the Bechuanaland Administration for hospitality and for enabling me to see parts of the territory that I should not otherwise have seen. My thanks would not be complete without mention of the Bushmen whose knowledge is the foundation of this paper. [124] The information was seldom reluctantly given—usually cheerfully and with humour, and always with intelligence.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

776 throes, his thrashing and writhing limbs gouged out the omurambas,[1] the putrefaction of his body became the rivers, and his black hair became the rain clouds. But the /Kung, it seems, always thought of their protagonist as man-like in size and appearance. The old ≠*Gao/na* was man-like. ≠*Gao/na*, the great god of the east, is also man-like. He has the power to change himself into the forms of animals or objects and sometimes does so, but in his own form he is a man. The people say he is 'the tallest of the Bushmen'. His bearing, as the people at present imagine him, suggests [115] to me the Tswana or white men, or the tall aggressive Herero. Gao Medicine, Gao Beard, Old Demi, ≠Toma, /Qui, and /Ti/kay told us from time to time how they imagine ≠*Gao/na* to be. He has a big head. He has black hair, but it is long, not twisted and knotted like the Bushman peppercorn, and he has a long beard and hair on his chest (not at all like Bushmen, whose beards and body hair are sparse). Gao Medicine thinks that ≠*Gao/na*'s skin is reddish in colour, */ga*, like Europeans, but others claimed that it is the colour of Bushman skin in its light tones, *gau*. ≠*Gao/na* wears European clothes and a hat. His pants and shirt are white. 'He is the great god and has power over all these things, so he possesses them.' He has a horse and rides everywhere across the earth and sky. You can sometimes hear the sound of his horse's hooves passing overhead. Especially when it rains he goes about a great deal and you can see the tracks of his horse. They are like those of the Hereros' horses, not exceptional in size or form. He has a gun and when he starts out, for instance to visit his */guma* in the west, he shoots it off to let the people know he is passing through, and shoots again when he returns. The shots can be heard by everybody. The bullet which he shoots is named */guri*.

≠*Gao/na* hunts for his own food with his gun or with his bow and arrows, as he pleases. Some informants think that he hunts animals on earth and that he eats earthly veldkos, but has his own supplies of these foods. Others were vague about what kind of food he eats. They know that he and the lesser god and the *//gauwasi* are all very fond of earthly honey and take it whenever they find it. The people all believe that the gods never lack food.

If ≠*Gao/na* hears his name spoken in the daytime and is displeased, he comes down on his horse at sunset and beats stiff dry hides with a stick or snaps an eland-hide reim[2] to make a noise like thunder to frighten all the people.

The majority of our informants held the above beliefs about ≠*Gao/na*, telling us these details from time to time as we sat in groups. Some informants, however, held a different opinion. Several who were working with Robert Dyson in 1951 claimed that ≠*Gao/na* never came to earth. Their old people had told them this, they said. All concurred in the belief that he does not come to the medicine dances.

≠*Gao/na* lives in a house at the place where the sun rises in the eastern sky. Near the house is a great tree—one tree. The /Kung fear the tree and the house, they say. The lesser god in the west lives beside two trees, and these two trees have names. I was repeatedly told that the one tree of the great god in the east had no name. Perhaps, however, it has and the name is one which is really taboo. The tree is associated with the spirits of the dead, as I shall mention later. ≠*Gao/na*'s house has two stories. It is long, made of stone, with a shining roof of corrugated iron. There

[1] Ancient watercourses, now usually dry.
[2] A pliable strip or thong used for twisting into ropes.

Gam when four bands danced together. Demi was the smallest Bushman we had 776
seen in the region. He was bedecked with many beads and walked with a prance like 756
a bantam cock. He had seen *//Gauwa* in the darkness, he told us. He had confronted him and driven him off with imprecations and sticks. I asked him to tell me what *//Gauwa* looked like. *//Gauwa* is as big as a mouse and has legs like a mouse, he promptly told me, showing me a pipe about four inches long to demonstrate *//Gauwa*'s size. (Demi did not say *//Gauwa* was a mouse; he said ' as big as '.) *//Gauwa* is covered all over with short yellow hairs. This bright, prancing little man had seen a little god. None of the other medicine men saw *//Gauwa* as small as that.

Gao Scarf sees *//Gauwa* regularly. He is like a man in form, but not such as we. He is about two and a half feet tall. (Gao demonstrated with a stick.) He has yellow hair over his whole body. He does not speak as we speak. He says, ' *hu hu hu* ', like the medicine men when they are performing a ceremony, but softly. Only medicine men hear him and understand him.

Another Gao said that *//Gauwa* is about a foot tall and the colour of a wart hog. He has the form of a man.

When Gao Medicine is in trance, he often sees *//Gauwa*. He is a being about the height of a guinea-fowl, grey in colour like the bark of the ubiquitous camelthorn tree. But to Gao, *//Gauwa* is not clearly visible; he is like a mist.

/Ti/kay claimed to me that he was ' young in medicine ' and had never seen *//Gauwa*, as he had claimed that he had never seen *≠Gao/na*. This was an engaging torsion of the truth. I myself had many times seen /Ti/kay appear to confront *//Gauwa* during his curing. /Ti/kay was to me the most spectacular of all the medicine men in performing the ceremony. He did not fear to scream into the shadows, ' *Nonabe!* You have brought a bad medicine. It is going to kill someone. Take it back.' The people, I am sure, did not believe that he was ' young in medicine ' and that he did not see *//Gauwa* when the other medicine men did. /Ti/kay, as I think is apparent even [115 ●
in these brief accounts of him, was something of a deviant. I believe that he contra- 156]
dicted other informants because his nature habitually drove him to oppose others and that, at the same time, he deliberately and rationally tried to deceive me and lead me astray, first for one reason, then another. He was jealous of our harmonious relations with *≠*Toma and Gao Medicine. We were pleased and grateful to them when they would work with us and he refused, and this made him spiteful. Also, due to some influence which we do not know about, he may actually believe some of the things he told us, such as that *//Gauwa* lives in the east instead of the west. We were never certain about him.

The *//Gauwasi*

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe strongly and vividly in the existence of spirits of 775
the dead, the *//gauwasi*, who live immortal lives in the sky with *≠Gao/na*, doing his bidding. The *//gauwasi* come to earth and enter into the affairs of men when *≠Gao/na* so commands them. The /Kung fear them, pray to them to invoke their mercy or sympathy, exhort them in anger. The concept of having special relations with their [769]
own ancestors or of worshipping ancestors is lacking.

The people claim that they fear to speak of the *//gauwasi* lest they call attention to themselves or offend the spirits. They say it is a ' death thing to speak of them much ',

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

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[Title page]

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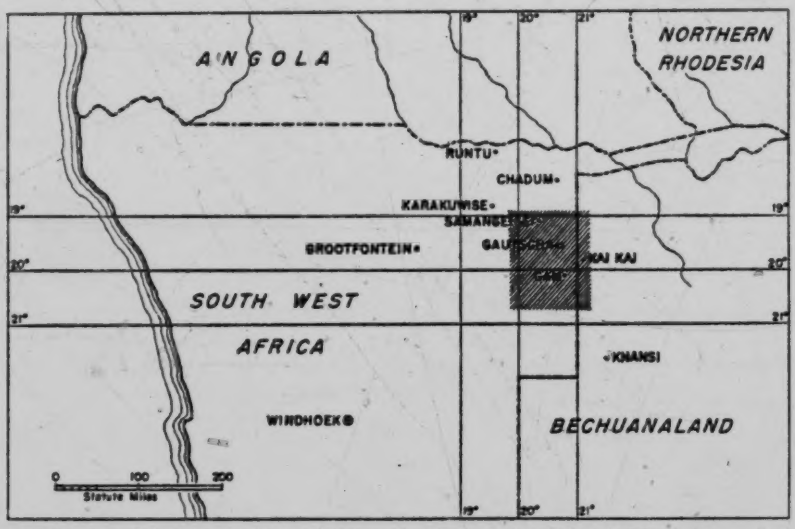
MARRIAGE AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

101 BECAUSE within the area we indicate by shading on the map[1] the /Kung Bushmen intermarry among themselves, by custom and preference, members of the Harvard Peabody Smithsonian Kalahari Expeditions needed a convenient way of referring to that area as a unit and arbitrarily called it the region of Nyae Nyae.

Nyae Nyae is a corruption of the /Kung name //Nua/ei. The name Nyae Nyae refers
131 strictly to a group of pans in South West Africa (S.W.A.) centred approximately at Gautscha Pan at about 19°48′30″ S, 20°34′36″ E. We extend the application of the name to an area around the pans of about 10,000 square miles, lying for the most part

[102]



Map of portions of South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Angola. The shading marks the Nyae Nyae region.

in S.W.A. but reaching some miles over the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate (B.P.). There are no strictly conceived boundaries around the area. We can only vaguely define it by saying that it does not include Karakuwise to the west or Chadum to the north. It does not, we think, reach eastward much farther than Kai Kai, or southward much beyond Blaubush Pan (40 or 50 miles south of Gam).

101 We establish the periphery of the region on the basis of statements made by
582 /Kung informants in the interior. They say that they intermarry among the bands
[131] which live within the area we describe and do not customarily marry with other

[1] The sketch-map here provided is based on the
[102] National Geographic *Map of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula*, March 1950, and the *Times Atlas of the World*, Vol. IV. The orientation of Gautscha is taken from the S.W.A. Surveyor-General's map dated at Windhoek 7:11:35.

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101 Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung
582 whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

619 The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the
[648] territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

648 About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28
162 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of
[621] burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants
[177] other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

621 My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the
[114] years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

[162] FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

601 /Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1]
[595] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and
[596] extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal
[611] residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally,
[614] There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the
[835] incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

621 As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous
582 unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[113] [1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

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but there might very likely be some between whom marriage would be permissible, such as, for instance, a man and his WiSi or his widowed BrWi. 621 582

The /Kung have no unit within which endogamy is absolutely required. Those of the Nyae Nyae region almost all marry among themselves within the region, not because a formulated social rule definitely prohibits their marrying outside but because they almost never go out. They do not like strange places, strange situations, or strange persons, and have no way of feeding themselves where they cannot depend on receiving food from relatives or friends and, in strange country, either do not know where the wild foods grow or might not be allowed to gather them if they found any. Nevertheless, a few Nyae Nyae /Kung have married other /Kung outside the region, and one /Kung woman we know is married outside her own race, with acceptance and ease of relations all around among her people and his, to a Chwana man at Gam, near the southern border of the region. We think in all probability there must be other mixed marriages along the Bechuanaland border which we do not know about, but we are safe in saying that among the Nyae Nyae /Kung such marriages are rare. [648]

Prolonged intermarriage within the region has woven these people together and much visiting among kin develops acquaintanceships and friendships which unite the whole Nyae Nyae /Kung population. They feel themselves to be an in-group and express this feeling in the words *ju |ŏassi*.[1] *Ju* means 'person' or 'persons'; 571 619 621

[1] S. Passarge puts the phrase on his map in *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari* (Berlin, 1907, Dietrich Reimer, p. 19), spelling it *Sw'gnassi*. He places it on the line of 20° S., slightly to the east of 20° E., near what we call the centre of the Nyae Nyae region, in the area designated on his and other maps as the Kaukau Veld. He places the phrase as if it were the name of a Bushman group, like Heikom, Naron, or some other, He places the name *'Kung* somewhat to the north-west. That is the name we spell */Kung*, which D. Bleek (*A Bushman Dictionary*, American Oriental Society, 1956, p. 447) records as */Kũ*, */Ku* or */Kuy* (person, Bushman).

Passarge places the name *'Kung* once more at about 23° S. as the name of another Bushman group. In sound the name is the same or very, very like the name of the more northerly group. Miss Bleek refers to this group as being popularly called 'Koon'. L. F. Maingard distinguishes between the two by spelling the name of the southerly group */Kõ*. The */Kõ* are to be found in B.P., in and south of Okwa. Whereas the /Kung language has four clicks (symbolized now as dental /, alveolar ≠, alveolar palatal /, lateral //), the */Kõ* language is very different and has a fifth click, that of the southern Bushman language groups, the labial ⊙. The phrase *ju |ŏassi* has nothing to do with the */Kõ*.

Maingard in 'Three Bushman Languages' (*African Studies*, 16/1, 1957, p. 37) uses the phrase as the name of a dialect of /Kung—'. . . *dyu/ŏã:si* (Northern Group, a dialect of /khũ, partly in South West Africa and partly in the Bechuanaland Protectorate)'. Bleek (op. cit., p. 354) does not record the phrase in /Kung (her northern Group II), but gives it in Auen (N I) and says it means 'Bushman'. She spells it *ju |nwasi*.

We think that the phrase *ju |ŏassi*, which we started spelling in this way because we did not know any better and continue because it is simpler, can be applied to groups of varying size and definition, on a variety of bases, when the in-group quality in comparison with the out-group is to be expressed in some way. When we asked what they call themselves, our /Kung informants often replied '*ju |ŏassi*' as though the phrase might be coextensive with Bushman as distinguished from non-Bushman (Europeans, */ku*, whom the /Kung also call 'red people', i.e. *ju gau*; or Bantu, whom the /Kung call *ju dao*, 'black people' or */goma* (or */komaʔ*), 'animals without hooves'). They also use *ju |ŏassi* when one might expect them to say '/Kung' as distinguished from other Bushman language groups, or when they distinguish themselves from other /Kung outside their region. They said that the Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south were *ju dole* and they know that the Bushmen at Karakuwise, Nuregas, and Chadum speak /Kung but said they were *ju dole* nevertheless. I had the impression that it was the out-group quality in the phrase (strange and therefore potentially harmful) which was being expressed when they applied it as above and claimed that the Makaukau were a murderous people who have a medicine so deadly that you die if you but glance at it, and that those Nuregas /Kung put poison into the pipes they give you to smoke. One's friend or relative can also be *ju dole* if one is displeased with him. [101]

Isaak Utuhile (a Chwana chief under Queen Moremi, in Kubi, B.P.) said that in the phrase *ju |ŏassi*

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571 we were unable to find a precise translation of */õassi* but think it connotes the *we* as
619 distinct from the *they* and has an overtone of something good and safe. The phrase is
621 an opposite of *ju dole*. *Dole* means strange or harmful or bad—evidently synonyms to the /Kung.

602 Because there were so many kinship ties among the people and because they have
621 a system (the name relationship—to be mentioned later) by which they apply kin
[608] terms to persons who are not consanguineous relatives or affines, I wondered for a time if we should find that the people who call themselves *ju /õassi* comprised a kin group of the type which Murdock calls a deme.[1] A deme is bilateral and endogamous, Murdock says, 'comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite the members'. Though the Nyae Nyae region has the elements of a deme, I am convinced that it does not constitute, strictly speaking, an organized kin group of this type, of which the people are conscious as a social form. The endogamy of the region is customary and preferred, but not required by a social rule, and it is not from the group of people as a whole who are *ju /õassi* that social regulation derives.

Marriage regulations: the incest taboo and its expression in avoidances

582 Marriages are forbidden in /Kung social organization on one basis only. That
835 basis is incest. In common with nearly all mankind (excepting, of course, the Pharaohs and a few other rare examples), the /Kung incest taboo prohibits marriage or sexual relations between Fa and Da, Mo and So, Br and Si. The incest taboo is extended beyond the nuclear family to certain additional categories of persons, and marriage with them is also rigorously forbidden by /Kung social law.

[842] The /Kung did not express the belief that in-breeding *per se* produces inferior offspring and must for that reason be avoided. Although they believe that in conception the semen unites with menstrual blood, their language does not use the image of blood as ours does. They do not think of relatives as having the same blood or any
[827] physical substance in common, actually or by way of figure of speech to represent inheritable characteristics, in so far as we know, and do not think that common inheritance is somehow what makes it wrong to marry close kin.

The thought that incest has been avoided by mankind because it would be exceedingly disruptive to the internal cohesion of the nuclear family comes to the mind of the analyst of social forms but not to the minds of /Kung informants. And no mention was made of the obvious social advantage of marrying outside the nuclear family and thereby weaving a supporting web of kinship with many other families and bands.

The /Kung feel a deep, internalized, pervading horror of incest which they do not try to explain. Incest with parent, offspring, or sibling is unthinkable. 'Only dogs do that—not men.' 'It would be madness (*di*).' 'It would be dangerous, like going up to a lion.' Many refused to speak with me about such 'bad things'.

571 the Bushmen were saying of themselves, in effect,
619 'We are not animals, we are human beings', a con-
621 notation we did not discover in the thinking of the /Kung themselves. Ledimo, our chief interpreter, also a Chwana, said the phrase had the connotation of 'perfect persons' and that 'clean' and 'empty' were aspects of the word */õassi*, he thought. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas paraphrased it in the title of her book, *The Harmless People* (Knopf, New York; Martin Secker & Warburg, London, 1959).

[1] Murdock, op. cit., pp. 62–63.

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The /Kung extend the incest taboo to certain categories of persons outside the nuclear family because they hold that the relationships resemble the relationships of the nuclear family and that it would therefore be incestuous to unite them in marriage. A man will say explicitly that he must not marry this or that woman because it would be 'like' marrying his mother, daughter, or sister. 582 835

The sexual constraints required between persons to whom the immediate or the extended incest taboo applies find expression in the marriage regulations and, in a secondary way, I believe, in certain avoidances which express constraint, namely: (1) Sexual joking and sexual insults, which are permitted between persons who have the joking relationship and must be avoided by others. (2) A sitting taboo. The same persons who must avoid sexual joking must also avoid sitting close to each other or to each other's family fires—with two exceptions, namely: (*a*) parents and offspring, who must never make sexual jokes but who do not at any age observe the sitting taboo; and (*b*) all young children, including siblings. The /Kung believe that the persons who must observe the sitting taboo should not allow their genital organs to touch the same spot. No great distance need separate these persons when they sit. About 18 inches is a minimum but is sufficient. The taboo is applied without sex differentiation: men must not sit near men or women, or women near women or men if they do not have the joking relationship. (3)With the exception of siblings of any age, the same persons who avoid joking avoid using each other's names in direct address. They use a kin term instead or the men may use a respect term for each other—*/nau*, 'old man'. (4) Brothers and sisters do not sit near each other when they reach adolescence and, after marriage, when they have dwelling-places of their own, do not enter each other's scherms (shelters). (5) Parents and SoWi and DaHu, in addition to observing the joking, sitting, and name avoidances, do not enter each other's scherms and do not speak to each other in the first few years of their affinal relationship. They are the only persons in /Kung society who must avoid speaking together. After three children have been born, this avoidance is eased somewhat. In-laws may then speak occasionally; once in two or three days would be considered permissible. This interesting avoidance, so varied in intensity and so widely spread in human societies, appears in /Kung society to afford whatever benefits it has without imposing great hardship at any time. A daughter-in-law may lean her scherm upon her husband's parents' scherm and build her fire only about four or five feet away, and what she wants to say to her parents-in-law she says aloud to her husband or child and her parents-in-law overhear and respond in like manner. A son-in-law also could communicate in this way. I think only a /Kung or an informed observer would know that the in-laws were not speaking directly to each other. 602 835 [593] [593] 606

The symbolism or expression of sexual constraint which underlies the joking and sitting avoidances is also observable in the modesty of these people. I believe that their modesty is not obedience to a specific taboo, like the sitting taboo, but is a more general response to being constantly in the presence of persons to whom the incest taboo applies, before whom any expression of sex would be improper. The general demeanour of the /Kung is modest. The dancing, if it gives any expression at all to sexuality or eroticism, conveys it with such restraint and delicacy as to be in extreme contrast to the dancing of the neighbouring Bantu tribes. Both men and women among the /Kung are exceedingly modest about exposing their genital 834 [831]

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834 organs and, though the women's breasts are naked (breasts are associated with
[831] nursing, not sex), the women would not expose their buttocks, which are definitely associated with sex, as the position for sexual intercourse is for the man to be at the back of the woman. When they urinate or defecate, men, women, and all but young
[514] children who are not yet toilet trained go away from the werf and squat behind bushes or in the tall grass out of sight.

The persons who express in the avoidances the sexual constraint required by the
602 incest taboo are none the less free to engage in other activities of life together. Whether or not they must avoid joking and sitting near each other, whether or not
835 they may marry, they may talk (except with SoWi or DaHu), hunt, share meat, share the water-hole, gather plant foods, cook, eat, make journeys, visit, exchange gifts, and, if they wish, huddle their scherms and fires together. And, although they must not direct sexual jokes or insults to each other, they may laugh as heartily when they overhear the jokes as relatives do who have the joking relationship together.

Because it is interesting to compare the pattern of the joking relationship with the pattern of marriage regulation, I have indicated it when I list the various categories of persons with whom marriage is forbidden or allowed.

Extension of the incest taboo to four categories

Marriage regulations, patterned upon the incest taboo as it applies in the relation-
582 ships of the nuclear family, and extended to certain other relationships because they
835 are considered to be like those of the nuclear family, forbid ego's marriage with four categories of persons, as follows: (1) members of the nuclear family and certain other consanguineous relatives; (2) certain affines; (3) step-parents, stepchildren, stepbrothers, stepsisters, and the close kin of ego's father's wife other than his mother (for example, ego's mother's co-wife's sister, who is 'like' his MoSi; (4) certain name relatives.

Category 1: ego's consanguineous relatives with whom marriage is forbidden

582 In Fig. 2 are listed the consanguineous relatives whom a /Kung must not marry.
602 The terms applied to them are given in their basic form only, all complicating
835 factors being omitted as they have no bearing on marriage regulations. The term which ego applies to the male in a given category appears first; the term applied to females follows. The joking status is indicated by 'yes' if ego has the joking relationship with the given category of relatives, 'no' if he has not.

The /Kung use the expression 'We are one people' when they refer to certain consanguineous relatives—e.g. any lineal kin and the close collaterals listed in Fig. 2—but they do not consider siblings of grandparents, fourth cousins or still more remote collaterals as being of 'one people' with themselves. The /Kung, who are capable of being pushed to logical conclusions by an interrogator, say that they recognize a degree of consanguinity among such collaterals but spoke of them as
[553] 'those people'. 'Those people would name their children for their own people', they said, for example. 'We name our children for our people.'

I made considerable effort to determine whether or not I should include third
[605] cousins as within 'one people'. Many of the informants from whom we gathered genealogical data did not know the names of their third cousins, but, when we estab-

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lished the definition, with sticks and diagrams in the sand and the names of some actual people, ≠Toma, the leader of the band we lived with, insisted that third cousins were ' one's own people '. We ' red people ' might marry our own third cousins, he said, but Bushmen would know that they were one people and should not marry.

FIG. 2. *Consanguineous relatives whom ego must not marry*

	Male	*Female*	*Joking*
Great-grandparents	*tsu*	*||ga*	no
Grandparents	*/gu!na*	*tŭn*	yes
Parents	*ba*	*dai*	no
Siblings of parents	*tsu*	*||ga*	no
Siblings	*/go*	*/kwi*	yes, same sex no, opp. sex
Cousins, 1st, 2nd, 3rd	*/gu!na*	*tŭn*	yes
Offspring	*/ha*	*≠ khai*	no
Nephews, nieces	*tsu*	*||ga*	no
Grandchildren	*/gu!na*	*tŭn*	yes
Great-grandchildren	*tsu*	*||ga*	no

The kin who are likened, by being of the same generation, to his parents, to his offspring, and to his siblings, are those to whom a /Kung feels the marriage regulations are particularly directed. Siblings of parents are ' like ' parents, cousins are ' like ' siblings, nephews and nieces are ' like ' offspring. Marriage with all these is rigorously forbidden.

Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren is also forbidden but is not a concern. Age and consanguinity combine to push the very thought virtually out of mind. To the /Kung it seemed utterly ridiculous of me to inquire even about the collaterals in these generations. ' Those old people are already dead ', said someone. ' It will be for my grandson to mind the rules when the young children grow up ', said ≠Toma in effect. ' It is not my wish to marry a baby.'

Category 2: affines

The second category of persons to whom the incest taboo is extended is composed of certain affines. Their affinal relationship is considered to be indissoluble once it is established, and ego's marriage with them is prohibited, even though the person through whom the affinal relationship with ego is brought about be dead or divorced. The thought of incestuous relations with at least some of these affines (especially parents of spouse and spouses of offspring) is as horrifying to a /Kung as if they were members of his nuclear family. We learned of no instances of the taboo being broken among them.

The affines with whom marriage is forbidden, who correspond terminologically with ego's parents' generation, ego's own and that of his offspring, are listed in Fig. 3. Joking is allowed or not as it is with ego's kin in these generations.

Parents of ego's SoWi and DaHu are terminologically of ego's generation and he may joke with them but he must not marry them, for that would make his So and SoWi or Da and DaHu stepbrother and stepsister to each other, which would be most awkward.

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582 Why marriage is prohibited with HuBrSo and WiSiDa was explained by ≠Toma.
602 Marriages with HuBr or WiSi are highly preferred marriages. This makes ≠Toma
835 'feel like' his WiSiHu, he said, even though he is not married to her, and, as a result, his WiSiDa seems to him like his own daughter.

FIG. 3. *Affines*

[601]

Marriage forbidden	*Male*	*Female*	*Joking*
Parents of ego's spouse	*≠tum*	*|utsu*	
Spouses of FaBr, FaSi, MoBr, MoSi	*tru*	*||ga*	no
SiHuFa w.s., BrWiMo m.s.	*tru*	*||ga*	
(Ego's generation terminologically)			
Parents of SoWi, DaHu	*/umba*	*/undai*	yes
Spouses of So and Da	*≠tum*	*|utsu*	no
HuBrSo, WiSiDa	*tru*	*||ga*	

Marriage with a BrWiMo or SiHuFa seems improper to the /Kung because a
[587] man's marriage with his BrWi is highly preferred, as is a woman's with a SiHu (should the death of the spouse or divorce make their marriage possible), and the parents of these affines therefore seem 'like' parents of the spouse.

In the sibling category among affines ego is prohibited from marrying only WiBrWi or HuSiHu. The reason for this prohibition appears to lie in the consistency of the joking pattern, about which three more points must be made. First, throughout

FIG. 4. *Marriage forbidden with WiBrWi, HuSiHu*

Male ego		*Female ego*	
	Joking		*Joking*
Br and BrWi	yes	Br and BrWi	no
Si and SiHu	no	Si and SiHu	yes
WiSi and WiSiHu	yes	HuBr and HuBrWi	yes
WiBr and WiBrWi	no	HuSi and HuSiHu	no

the whole system (except among remote name relatives), ego maintains the same joking status with *both* members of a married couple, for example, with FaBr and FaBrWi, WiSi and WiSiHu, &c. Secondly, in the differentiation of sex between siblings among ego's affines with respect to the joking relationship, the point of reference is the spouse. Ego has the joking relationship with his own spouse and with the sibling of his spouse who is the same sex as his spouse. He avoids joking with his spouse's sibling whose sex is opposite to his spouse. Thirdly, among affines in the sibling category the extended incest taboo and the avoidances coincide. Sex permitting, if ego may joke he may marry, and if he avoids joking he is prohibited from marrying. As we list ego's siblings and affines in Fig. 4 we see that WiBrWi and HuSiHu are the only ones whose sex is opposite to ego's, making marriage possible, but with whom ego is constrained from joking because he does not joke with his WiBr or HuSi, according the same joking status to both members of a married couple.

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Categories 3 and 4: step-parents, &c; name relatives 582

The third category to which the incest taboo is extended, step-parents, &c., needs 835
no elucidation.

The fourth category, certain name relatives, should be further described. The 553
name relationship, described in the paper on kin terminology,[1] is connected with a 608
system of naming children. The /Kung have no surnames. A /Kung father invariably names his first-born son or daughter for his parent of the same sex; usually the second-born for the parent of the child's mother; subsequent children for his own sibling or the sibling of the child's mother or the spouses of those siblings. He never names a child for himself or for the child's mother. Because this pattern of naming exists, the /Kung feel that if two non-consanguineous persons have the same name, they are likely to have had consanguineous connexions in the forgotten past, and from this concept the /Kung have developed what we called their name relationship. In a system too complex to summarize here they apply kin terms to persons on the basis of their names.

The names have passed from family to family, through intermarriage in the region, and from generation to generation, to such an extent that every /Kung of [619] the region whom we interrogated on the subject had a kin term for every other /Kung, except for one man who had once met four /Kung from afar for whom he had no terms. This had made him uneasy.

The /Kung welcome the sense of belonging to an in-group which the name rela- 553
tionship affords them. They welcome also the fact that they know how to behave with 602
people with respect to the avoidances. They fear (*koa*) to make a mistake about joking 608
and sitting, they say, and feel secure in righteousness and propriety when they know what behaviour is correct and conform to it. The kin terms sort out the whole /Kung population of the region for them. They avoid joking with name relatives whose names classify them with kin or affines of the generation of parents, or with offspring or with a sibling of opposite sex or with great-grandparents. They may joke with name relatives whose names classify them with grandparents, a sibling of the same sex, or the spouse. (Cf. Figs. 2 and 3.)

The incest taboo is extended to name relatives. If ego is forbidden to marry them 553
because of the way their names classify them, he also does not joke with them. But, 582
as we shall see when we consider approved marriages, the system does not maintain 608
perfect consistency between joking and marriage among name relatives, and it does 835
not follow that if ego must not joke he therefore must not marry. The incest taboo is extended specifically to the following name relatives: (1) anyone who has the name of ego's parent or offspring; (2) the parent, offspring or sibling of opposite sex of anyone who has the same name as ego, (3) anyone who has the same name as ego's spouse's parent or his offspring's spouse. ≠Toma explained that it would 'sound as though' one had married his parent, child, or one of these close affines.

Deviations from the rules 183

The /Kung conform strictly to their marriage regulations in the first two cate- 582
gories, kindred and affines. None of the persons whose genealogical records we 835
605

[1] Marshall, op. cit., pp. 13–15, 22–23.

183 gathered (about 175) had married lineal kin or collaterals, at least through first cousins.
582 However, informants told about two /Kung men in B.P. who had married their
835 cousins; we could not find out which type of cousins. What was interesting was the
605 attitude of the informants. They said the men should not have done this, but there was no talk of madness or danger or expressions of horror such as we had observed when incest was spoken of at other times. No punishments, social or divine, had been meted out, according to the informants. Some said they thought it was not too bad a thing for a man to do, especially if the woman were a FaSiDa, who is not, they said, so much like your sister as a MoSiDa. I believe that the anomaly of the system's allowing joking with cousins, although it prohibits marriage, mitigates, in all probability, the force of the incest taboo and accounts to some extent for the tolerance towards the breakers of this rule.

How much deviation there is in marrying second and third cousins we do not
[124] know. We soon gave up trying to gather data on relatives more remote than first cousins because informants so often did not know the names and we could not rely on the information.

582 One account came to our ears of a man who had violated the incest taboo with his
627 stepdaughter. He was /Gunda Legs, the MoBr of old Gau of Band 1, and he lived with Band 9. He is dead now. What he did was so outside the good and the normal
684 that it could be accounted for only by madness. He had drunk the milk of a young
835 gemsbok doe, the people told us, and this is what had made him mad. Something
159 came from his forehead and went in and out, a sort of swelling. After that he fell in love with his stepdaughter, ≠Nisa, and married her, and both she and her mother
[753] were his wives at the same time. The people 'laughed at him' so much because he had made such a horrifying 'mistake' that he took his stepdaughter and lived apart from his band—the only instance we know of a man and woman living alone. They had a son, ≠Toma, who died young. When /Gunda's madness waned he sometimes came back to his people; he would go again when his madness returned. People said they did not understand why ≠Nisa went with him. They mocked at her, said that she was *dole*, 'bad', and that it was 'nonsense' to fall in love with one's stepfather. Our informants laughed uneasily when they told about it as they laugh when they
[154] tell of vultures eating their meat or of being chased by fierce bees when they try to take a honeycomb. There came to my mind a penetrating remark made by //Kushay, the wife of /Qui in Band 1, which might, I thought, be applied to ≠Nisa. //Kushay had said, 'When a Bushman girl goes against the customs of her people and people talk about her and say she is bad, she is very unhappy. She would hear the people talking and be ashamed and would come to them angry—angry because she is ashamed', or, I thought, go away because she is ashamed.

Deviations occur in the fourth category. Two men we met had married women
183 with the same names as their mothers. A man named /Ti/kay married the daughter of
553 another /Ti/kay, and there were other such instances. /Qui, the husband of the above
582 //Kushay in Band 1, said he proposed to do this himself. The girl's family had flatly
608 refused, but he was going to keep on trying. ≠Toma said he would not do this but
835 he sees some people doing these things. There are not enough women whom a man may properly marry, he said, and he would be in favour of changing the marriage prohibitions among name relatives so that a man need avoid only ugly women.

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Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with 602
three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made.

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu/na* and *tŭn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *||ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a 182
touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and con- 183
sistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society 582
tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many cate- 593
gories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship 602
as soon as marriage takes place.

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly 587
approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is 768
expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines.

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. 583
This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one 619
marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units
have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, [584]
as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened.

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in 595
which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power 554
or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, 556
but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give
them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries [422]
his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women [482]

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[482] 559 556 595 [422] [431] in the pouches of their karosses along with their babies. This puts a strict limit upon any desire to possess great quantities of property in movables. Furthermore, gift-giving keeps all personal property moving in a current through the region and no one possesses very much more than another. The determining factors in obtaining more than one wife are apt to be the personalities of the individuals and the man's ability to hunt. 'Women love meat', we were told, and like their husbands to be good hunters.

595 The number of wives a man may have is not regulated by social rules but by his ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. None of the nine polygynists in the band had more than two. However, we heard of a man named Gao, now dead, who had had four wives all at one time. He had been a fabulous hunter and maker of arrows and was the father of the /Ti/kay who is the husband of two sisters, /Naoka and /Nai, in Band 9.

Only two of the nine pairs of co-wives had traceable consanguineous relationship. The above /Ti/kay's wives were sisters—the only ones—and, in Band 10, Old ≠Gao's younger wife, /Ghia, was the BrDa of his older wife, Bau.

[601] */Kui*, sister, is the term which co-wives apply to each other, unless they have the same name, in which case they term each other */gu/na*. The /Kung, though they do not institutionalize the sororate, say it is a good idea to marry sisters because they are not so likely to be jealous of each other as other women. /Ti/kay's wives, who appeared to live in harmony and affection and to support each other, provided an example of the validity of this opinion.

Marriage to the same man gives co-wives the joking relationship, and they do not observe the sitting or the name avoidance, though they may have avoided each other before marriage.

[342] /Kung co-wives share one scherm and one family fire. The scherm, the little shelter of branches and grass which the women build, a half hemisphere in shape, is only 3 to 4 ft. wide on the open side, about 3 ft. deep at the centre, perhaps 4 to 5 ft. high at the peak. In it and in front of it, beside their one fire, the two wives live, share their man, share the food they gather, share the work of fetching water and wood, nurse each other's babies, and co-operate in whatever degree of harmony their spirits can attain.

513 Husbands and wives may sleep separately or lie close together, side by side, or feet to feet. The woman holds her infant in her arms. Young children sleep near by bundled together, two or three in one kaross. Girls at about seven or eight go to sleep with a grandmother or a widowed friend or relative. The boys of the band, beginning at the same age, all sleep at a boys' fire.

[595] [821] /Ti/kay (Band 9), husband of the two attractive sisters, sees to it that his wives lie close to him, especially on cold nights, one on each side. Sleeping thus they were like the three stars of Orion which we call the Belt, but which the /Kung say are three zebras, two females with a male between them.

513 833 It is under such conditions that the /Kung usually have sexual intercourse—at night, in their sleeping place. They cover themselves with their karosses and are very discreet. The position is to lie on the side, the man at the back of the woman. Men pull the labia of the women before intercourse. The wives of /Ti/kay told me that they took pleasure in intercourse. I asked them if they had orgasms. We had

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considerable difficulty with the interpretation, but I believe they finally understood 513
what I was trying to say. They did, they said, and added that one sleeps very well 833
afterwards.

Co-wives attain varying degrees of harmony. The expression of jealousy, especially 595
loud wrangling, upsets everybody, as all expression of discord does. Women are 578
trained by group approval to mould their conduct to acceptance. But often painful 626
jealousy does beset them, and the tensions are there, though to some extent hidden.

/Aha, wife of a young /Ti/kay in Band 13 at Gam, and still a young woman herself, 159
had with her fierce jealousy driven /Khoa, the pretty young second wife, wailing 595
into the night, back to her family's scherm. /Ti/kay used to sit for hours upon hours
singing soft, sad, sweet laments for /Khoa, but she did not return to live with
him.

The behaviour of /Naoka and Di/ai, the wives of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1, was more typical. Both women were approaching middle age, Di/ai somewhat younger than /Naoka. /Naoka had two married daughters and a teen-age son when Gao married Di/ai. The two women obviously disliked each other, but managed to preserve a decent semblance of harmony by self-control, silence, avoiding each other as much as possible in the small space they live in by their fire, and by separating often—going with different groups of relatives and friends to gather wild plant foods, to fetch water, or to visit.

A few men said that the jealousy of co-wives could be so unbearable that they 595
would not marry a second wife, but one said it made him feel good to have two
women fighting over him. Most of the men said they wanted more than one wife.
They pitied Laurence Marshall because the laws of his land forbade his having [186]
several, which they considered him rich enough to afford. One said he would not
live where there were such nonsensical rules.

The first wife is considered to have a somewhat more highly esteemed and dominant position. She is supposed to have the right to tell a second wife what to do, and a young second wife should fetch water and wood for the older wife, but I never saw this done.

No property or other material advantage is given a first wife and no important social advantages accrue. For instance, headmanship is inherited by the headman's [672]
eldest son by whichever wife he may be borne, and being the mother of a headman
does not place a woman above other mothers of sons.

It appeared to me that first wives were often at a disadvantage. Among the people we knew, the husbands favoured their younger, second wives with two exceptions: /Ti/kay of Band 9 favoured his first wife, the elder sister, and Gao, the headman of Band 2, favoured his first wife. Both were good-tempered, intelligent, able women. They appeared to take care of the young girls who were their co-wives, rather than to be served in any way by them. Other older first wives seemed sometimes to be dejected. One told me her husband always took the young second wife with him and, to her deep humiliation, sometimes left her, the first wife, to stay for a time with one or another family in the band, although she said to him, 'Why do you shame me so?'

None of the /Kung women informants expressed enthusiasm for polygyny. Each 185
wanted a husband to herself. They did not expound the social advantage which 595

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185 polygyny affords women—that none remain long without the support of a husband.
595 They just said they did not want to be second wives, nor did they want their husbands to take second wives, and protests and quarrels attended a husband's proposal to do so.

Marriage by capture

583 Marriage by capture was spoken of fairly frequently by the /Kung in conversation. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas and I questioned a number of informants about it and we are convinced that wives are not actually acquired by this means at present. Perhaps they were in the past. The /Kung are a present-oriented people who make
[181] no concerted or consistent effort to retain their history and teach it to their children, and we obtained no significant data on their past customs. Nowadays the idea of capturing wives appears to be enjoyed by the men as a fantasy. The remarks of one /Gaishay illustrate what I mean. He weighs, at a good guess, about ninety pounds and looks like a miniature Mephistopheles. With a gleam he told me that if he wanted to take another wife he would go to her werf, seize her, throw her over his shoulder and run off with her. That is the way Bushmen do, he said, and he wished I could see him do so. I also wished that I could.

Arrangements for marriage

584 First marriages are arranged by the parents of the bride and groom, and second marriages also if the couple are still young. Adults, when both have been married before, may contract subsequent marriages themselves.

Although there is a slight paternal emphasis in this society which recognizes
[611] bilateral descent, and the father names all his children, his authority is not clearly
[593] dominant over the mother's in the choice of a mate for their child. By and large, it appears that the father and mother talk things over and come to agreement. If they do not agree, it appears that the strength of personality of one or the other, the opinions of relatives, and various circumstances have weight in the decision.

Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may take the initiative and go to the other parents with the proposal. A go-between is not required, though it is possible that a friend will sometimes act as such. The parents visit and talk, and, if they all agree, the arrangement is thereby settled upon. They normally give each other gifts in honour of the occasion.

Property does not enter much into the consideration of the parents in arranging marriages for their children. No property settlement is made, no bride-price paid, no dower given, though at the time of the wedding a few gifts are exchanged.

Food and water must, one imagines, weigh in the parents' thinking when a marriage is being arranged, and may sometimes be a determining factor. However, there is a considerable amount of equalization in these supplies. Veldkos[1] and water-holes
423 are not owned by individuals but by headmen for their bands, in a way I shall describe in a paper on bands. In the Nyae Nyae region each band has access to a supply, else the people would be dead or somewhere else, and things balance out in

[1] *Veldkos* (field food) is an Afrikaans word used to refer to any kind of wild plant material which people gather to eat. Edible fruits, seeds, roots, tubers, leaves, all are included.

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1. Women return in the evening after the day's digging and gathering of wild roots and berries

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2. A husband, wife, and their son at their family fire cooking their supper of two wild roots which the wife brought. Her genital apron is a fine one ornamented with beads

[p. 348-A]

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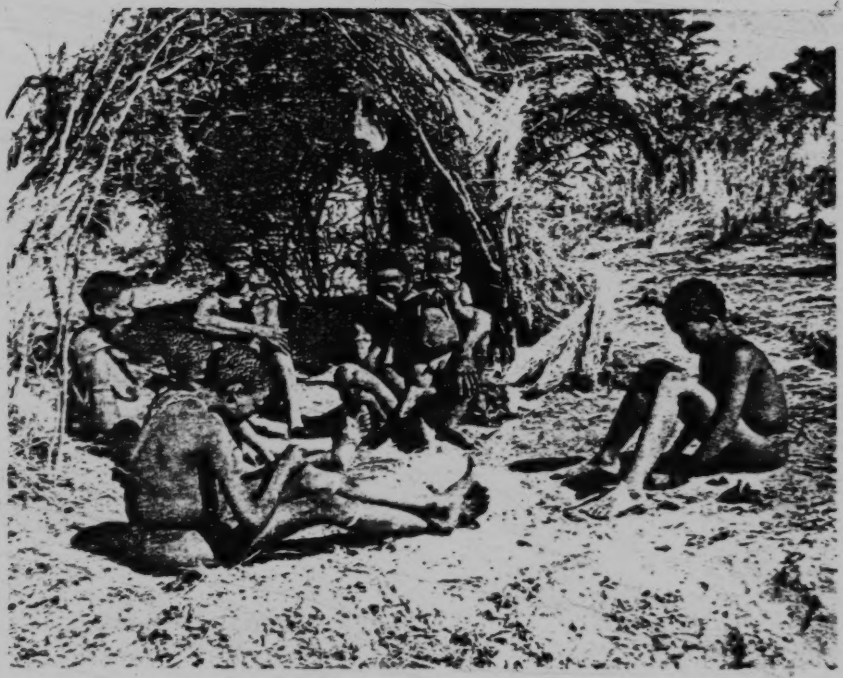

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3. Gau (centre) with his two wives in front of their scherm. The younger second wife, Khuan//a, holds her son in her arms. The three boys in front are the sons of Be, the first wife, at Gau's right

4. /Ti/kay in the best of moods

[p. 348-B]

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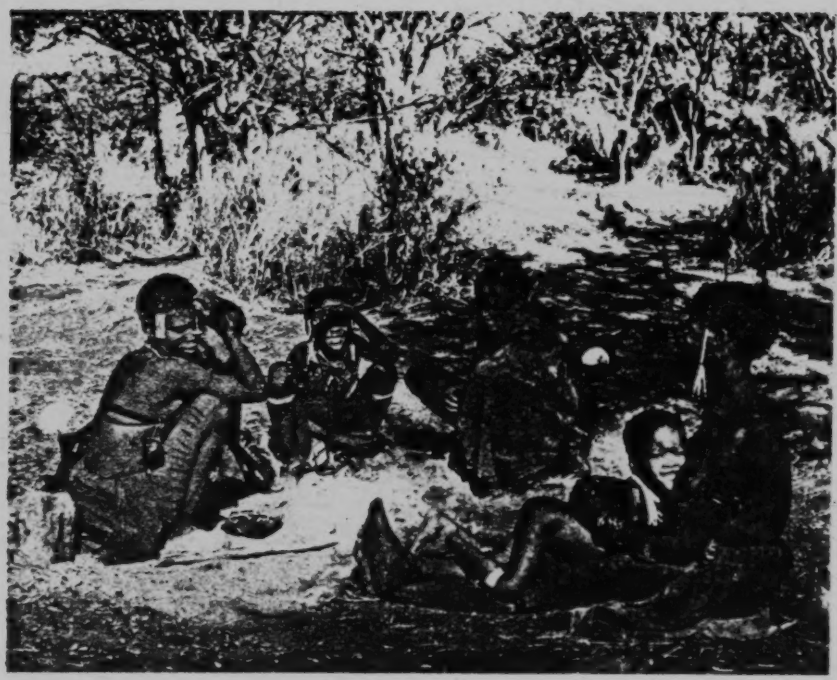

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5. The two wives of /Ti/kay sit at their family fire, /Naoka the elder sister to the left, /Nai the younger, with her son on her lap, to the right. Between them are Bau, /Naoka's daughter, already married for two years, and /Goishay, their old mother

6. /Nai, the young bride, the morning after the wedding. showing the design painted on her face by her mother with powdered red stone and fat

[p. 348-C]

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7. The wedding scherm, the morning after the wedding. To the right are /Gunda, the bridegroom, and one of the boys who attended him, playing the //guashi. /Nai is to the left with her two attendants beside her. Tsamgao has gone to sit by the girls instead of remaining on the men's side

8. ≠Toma the leader

[p. 348-D]

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various ways. The affine who marries into the band, as long as he lives with the band, has a right to the water, to the hunting, and to the gathering of the wild foods, as members born to the band have. 423

I think that primarily the values and assets that parents seek in choosing mates for their children have to do with the kind of security which is attained through human responses and relations. Friends may want their children to marry because they know and trust each other. Or a family may want to increase its kinship bonds—and thereby its security—with certain bands for any number of reasons—among them could be food, water, or a desire to have supporting friends in a certain area—and, like the crowned heads of Europe, the /Kung may deliberately seek to establish alliances through marriages. 581 185

Merging with such desires and to be balanced with them are the characteristics of the families concerned. The /Kung want their boys and girls to marry into upstanding families, among people who are ' able to feed themselves ', who are ' not lazy and not thin '. They do not want ' far-hearted ' in-laws who are not generous in food-sharing and gift-giving. /U, ≠Toma's wife, said she would take particular note of their generosity in giving bead ornaments to their children. She would not want a daughter of hers to marry among people who were stingy in that. Proper observance of the avoidances and other social regulations is an asset in in-laws, for they can then be assumed to have taught their children how to behave properly. 185 577 581

The individual's characteristics are also a concern. Parents of boys hope the girls to whom their sons are engaged will grow up to be good-looking, because, they say, a man takes pride in a beautiful wife. Xama, the mother of Gao, the headman of Band 2, said she had wanted for her son a light-skinned girl with good teeth who was not too thin and not too tall. But most important of all is a sweet temper, she said. A mother hopes, she said, that the girl will not be lazy or wander about visiting at night at other people's fires ' like a bitch '. The girl should observe the avoidances and the menstruation and other taboos, and in every way behave as a well brought up girl should. However, since the girls are engaged when they are very young, I suppose the parents of the boys can only watch them grow and hope. 185 581 826

Girls would not want a man ' as tall as a giraffe ', we were told. They would seek a smaller husband. /U's first husband, from whom she was divorced, is so tall (almost six feet) that people laugh and say, ' Did his mother have a dream with a *//gaua* (a spirit)? '

The girls themselves, all twitters and giggles, told me what they admire in the boys. They like a good hunter like /Gunda; and they like handsome teeth and a wide smile like young Tsamgao's; and straight, slender legs like //Ao's; and a fluid, swift walk like /Gao's; and they hate a big black belly like Gao's—the middle-aged medicine man in a band distant from Gautscha, to whom the young /Doin was married.

The parents of a girl want the boy to be responsible, kind to their daughter and, above all, a good provider—which means a good hunter. They want him to make his arrows straight, to shoot swiftly and accurately, to be able to run down an eland, and, most of all, they want a son-in-law whose heart says to him, ' Why am I sitting lazily here in the werf? Why do I not get up and go hunting? ' and who, in obedience to his heart, and the group's desire, and the magic which has been rubbed into his scarifications in the Ceremony of the First Killing, gets up and goes. [304] [881]

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584 Boys are always considerably older than girls before their parents betroth them.
[805] We never knew the precise age of a /Kung because they reckon time from one season to the next, not in years, and do not keep track of a person's age by any measurement. Boys appear to be usually around twelve to fourteen or fifteen before they are
[868] betrothed. At this age their fathers begin to take them on the long hard hunts for the
[883] big animals which supply the people's meat and begin their serious hunting training.

As to girls, wives are in such demand in this polygynous society that the parents of boys have their eyes upon every girl baby and may say to the parents of an unborn infant, 'If it is a girl, let us have her for our son.' It seems to be more usual, however, to betroth the girls when they are about two to five or six. The boys wait patiently for long years for their fiancées to grow up.

We wondered what would happen if, when the time at last came for the marriage, the boy or girl should refuse the parents' choice. It appears that they seldom do. A boy is usually too eager to get a wife. To refuse the betrothed might mean he would have to wait for years and years again for a girl baby to grow up. The girls are usually too young to protest but it sometimes happens that one does. /Kung
593 parents are exceedingly protective and permissive with their children, and delight
855 in them, especially in their infancy. I have sometimes seen an older child scolded or
861 snapped at by an impatient mother but I never saw a child severely punished. No hard work and few, if any, regular chores are demanded of dependent children. The same protectiveness and permissiveness were apparent in parents' lenience with respect to their girls' betrothals. They complied with the girls' wishes.

The marriage may take place when the parents agree. The age of the young people
582 varies greatly. For the girl, there are no definite age or other requirements. The girl need not, for instance, show physical signs of maturity. When the important Ceremony of First Menstruation is performed, the girl may have been married for years. Bau, who was married to Tsamgao in 1951, did not have her first child for six years. /Nai was married to /Gunda in May 1953. She menstruated for the first time in March 1959. To be married as young as that is not at all unusual, but we have known several girls to be somewhat older.

The parents explain that when the girls marry young they 'get used to' their
582 husbands. I am sure there is a great deal in this and I am sure it strongly affects the
593 relations of husbands and wives, but I had insufficient opportunity to observe eight- or nine-year-old brides with teen-age husbands, and insufficient means, through interpreters, to grasp the nature of their relationship. What is the young husband like to a girl child? The friendly, gentle old man, Demi, said to me, 'They enjoy their youth together.'

593 The young couples are expected not to have sexual intercourse till the girls are 'big
834 enough', informants said, and the boys must not force the girls. If a girl complained to her parents and the parents took her back and sent the young husband away, he might have to wait for years again for another bride to grow up. The /Kung are
[123] prevented by their incest taboos and their modesty from speaking freely about sex and I learned nothing about the actual sexual practices of the young couples. /Nai and her young husband, /Gunda, had only one good kaross between them; they slept
513 together bundled in it, feet to feet. Bau and Tsamgao slept quite apart—at different
593 fires—when we observed them in 1952. In 1953 they slept at their own fire, apart, she

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inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. 513 593
Individual adjustments are made.

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the will to hunt, good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt. It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness. 582 224 884 [304]

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of hunting is ceremonially linked with marriage. At the time of the wedding, the boy must bring to his bride's parents an animal that he himself has killed. The animal he brings must not be eaten by the bride. 585 224

A boy who never killed any large meat animal would not be given a wife, informants said. This was why the strange old deviant, /Gaishay, had remained a bachelor. For reasons no one understood he could not hunt; he gathered veldkos like a woman. Gossip had it that twice he had tried to drag a woman against her will into his scherm but had not succeeded. Informants remarked, 'Women like meat.' They do, but there is far more to it than that. 582 589 [462]

As John Marshall shows in his film, *The Hunters*, the primary sources of physical life, sex and food, are involved. In /Kung concept they are linked together, and, as they pertain to men, their duality is lifted to oneness in the being of the man, who is the sexually powerful male and the provider, the hunter. Power as a man and a male and worthiness and dignity are associated with hunting and not with the failure to hunt. 562 828 224

Since they are related, both the sexual and the hunting powers of the young man can be captured at once with a bride. For the first several years of marriage the boy goes to live with his bride's parents, or her people, should her parents be dead, to hunt for them. The parents of girls speak constantly of wanting their sons-in-law to provide them with food as though it were an obsession. 'We are old', they say, or 'We shall soon be old [whether this is actually true or not]; we need a young man to hunt for us'; 'our daughter's husband must get us something to eat'; 'we need karosses'; 'we want meat'—these are their refrains. 583 [591] [606]

Another value the /Kung place upon the boy's hunting during his bride-service appears in their belief that if the husband hunts for his wife and feeds her while she is still a growing child she becomes the more his. Food seems to be a main concern in bride-service, but the people also say that they want to be sure that the boy measures up in every way and will take good care of their daughter, and that the girl will have time to get used to her husband. [581] [593]

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588 One of the most rigid social rules the /Kung have, besides the incest taboo within the nuclear family and its extension, is the giving of bride-service. We heard of no [591] deviation from it. A boy or man of any age, a headman or headman's son, an important medicine man, all go to live with their brides' parents or other relatives in first marriages and subsequent marriages, whatever the age of the bride.

The duration of bride-service is indefinite. Informants told us a man must stay with his wife's people until three children have been born. If he goes when the girl is eight or nine, she may not have her first child for possibly seven or eight or more years. It is safe to say that ten years of bride-service are not unusual. It is long enough for the boy's youth to have turned to manhood and for him to be looked upon as an able, responsible head of his family. After his bride-service is fulfilled a man may [591] remain with his wife's band or may return with his wife and children to his own.

The Wedding of /Nai and /Gunda

159 /Nai was a pretty little girl, we think about eight years old, or so, with a quick responsive smile, when she was married on 22 May 1953, at Gautscha. The bride- [582] groom, /Gunda, was about sixteen, we judged, and the people said he was the best young hunter among the boys of the territory.

/Nai belonged to Band 1, /Gunda to Band 2. Both of these bands belong to the [621] water-hole at Gautscha and were encamped there at the time, about 100 feet apart. We lived with Band 1.

/Nai's mother, Di/ai, had divorced her former husband, Gumtsa, the father of /Nai, and was now the second wife of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1. /Gunda's mother, Khuan//a, had divorced /Gunda's father, Bo. Khuan//a was now the second wife of Gau in Band 2. Both Gumtsa and Bo were living far from Gautscha.

159 The two mothers had betrothed their children some time previously. We heard 584 that Di/ai had had her eye on the strong young /Gunda, saying, 'We must get this boy for /Nai so he will take care of her and we can get enough to eat, also karosses', [581] and had gone to Khuan//a to propose the betrothal. Khuan//a had said, 'Yes, this is very good.' The mothers exchanged gifts. Khuan//a gave to Di/ai a necklace of five strings of ostrich egg shell beads which reached to the umbilicus (shorter strings would have been inappropriate) and Di/ai gave other beads and copper wire ornaments to Khuan//a.

Gumtsa, /Nai's father, heard about the betrothal. He had hoped to arrange a marriage between /Nai and someone of his choice at Kubi where he lived. One day in November 1952 he came to Gautscha to complain, he said, that he had not been consulted and to protest against the betrothal and take /Nai to Kubi with him. Tension [578] rose. /Nai cried and looked very frightened. The members of both Bands 1 and 2, though they had no theoretical authority in the matter, all expressed themselves [628] poured torrents of talk over the affair, mostly supporting Di/ai in her stoutest refusal to yield /Nai, saying that Gumtsa had not fed /Nai, had not so much as given her a gift, and should not now come and interfere in her betrothal. After four days of this Gumtsa gave up and went home.

159 Meanwhile the affair, like a spoon stirring in a pot, brought to light another ten- 584 sion. Some of /Nai's relatives began to express disapproval of her betrothal, not 578 because they wanted her to go with the father but because they were angry with

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Khuan//a, the mother of the bridegroom. They claimed that Khuan//a was stingy— and worse. /Nai's stepfather, Gao, had given a present of beads to one of his relatives. A knife which was gradually making its way to him as a return gift had been diverted by Khuan//a to one of her relatives. Khuan//a, some claimed, was 'like that!' /Nai's MoSi, /U, the wife of ≠Toma, said in a voice that could be heard across the werf that Khuan//a had 'borrowed' a coal from her fire one day without asking. At this, Khuan//a had with quiet dignity risen from her fire place and walked off to the waterhole. /U also said, but in a low voice, that Khuan//a, while she was still married to Bo, had been sleeping in the bushes with Gau till the people said to Gau 'What are you doing with Khuan//a?' She then left Bo and married Gau, although they were distant relatives, in some way we never could trace, who should not marry. Gau loved Khuan//a so much, /U sniffed, that he spoiled her and let her have power over his belongings. /U had no doubt but that Gau would soon find himself very poor. /U disapproved of /Nai's marriage to the son of such a woman but said that she would reconsider her position if the knife which had been diverted by Khuan//a were now given to Gao, as had been expected. 159 578 584

It never was, but gifts of ostrich egg shell beads and a blanket were given and Gao declared himself satisfied. /Nai's mother wanted the marriage so much she was ready to overlook the matter of the knife and they all started again in peace.

Nothing more happened about /Nai's wedding until the morning of 21 May 1953, when we noticed the two mothers together building the wedding scherm. They had placed it between the two werfs about twenty-five feet from the fire of the bride's family. The scherm was slightly larger and more nearly round and much more carefully built than the usual skimpy structures. 159 585

Next morning /Nai's mother asked me if I would bring the wood for the bride's fire. I knew it was because her back ached, not to honour me, but I felt honoured anyway and brought the wood. [123]

All that day /Nai sat at a short distance from her family's fire, the fire that each family keeps burning in front of the scherm for cooking and for light and warmth at night. The fire-light is more of a house to the Bushmen than the scherm is. /Nai was covered, head and all, with a big gemsbok kaross of her mother's. She wore her usual beads, but no special regalia brightened the sombre grey-brown of the old kaross. [354]

Just as the sun was setting, without speaking to her mother and stepfather, /Nai walked alone over to another fire, seven or eight yards away, the big kaross still pulled over her head and trailing behind her. She went to this fire because it was the fire beside which she had recently been sleeping with her mother's widowed cousin, since she had reached the age when girls and boys leave off sleeping beside their parents. Her old great-uncle was there. She sat down opposite him. He paid no particular attention to her and they did not speak. [591]

By then the sun had sunk below the horizon. /Nai uncovered her head but kept the kaross tied around her waist and over one shoulder in the way karosses are customarily worn.

Presently two girls came to /Nai. They had waited till twilight was deepening into darkness because people sleep at night and a wedding is a 'night-thing'. One was ≠Nisa, /Nai's stepfather's daughter by his first wife. The other was Xama from

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159 Band 2. She was /Nai's second cousin (MoFaBrSoDa) and the first cousin once
585 removed of the groom (MoSiDaDa). The attendants were not selected for their precise relationship to the bride. They were the only young kinswomen present in the two bands. The girls sat down and chatted with /Nai for a moment and then stood up and, giggling and chattering, took /Nai by the arms. /Nai drew back. Then Xama pulled /Nai's arms over her shoulders, bent and took /Nai on to her back so that her feet did not touch the ground. Xama carried /Nai in this position to the wedding scherm, laid her down inside, to the left of the opening as one entered, in the dark shadow, and covered her over with the kaross. There /Nai remained. We did not see her again that night.

It is the custom for the parents to take brands from their own fires to light the wedding fire of the bride and groom. Presumably this was done, though I did not see it. When the girls arrived the fire was burning and a young man, a cousin of the groom, was tending it. The two girls sat down by the fire on the women's side.

562 /Kung men and women must sit on opposite sides of the fire.[1] They believe that if
834 male and female genital organs should touch the same spot on the ground the man's
352 hunting powers would be vitiated and the woman would get a sickness in her genito-urinary tract, not an ordinary, human, communicable disease but a magical one. The woman's side is to the left as one faces the entrance to the scherm, the men's to the right. The fire is always in front of the entrance if the scherm is built, but, more often than not, if the weather is good, or the people are travelling and staying
[342] only one night, or the wife is lazy, she hangs the family belongings in a bush and does not build a scherm. Then it is the custom to thrust two upright sticks into the ground to represent the entrance, so that the family may orient itself.

In the werf of Band 2, about twenty or thirty yards to the west, a group of boys had
159 come to /Gunda to attend him. They were all the young boys of the werf who
585 were approximately his age, two cousins (MoSiSo) and four of the sons of /Gunda's stepfather by his first wife. The boys made a show of catching /Gunda and held him by the arms for a moment, laughing and talking. Then they formed a line with /Gunda following at the end, walked to the wedding fire, and sat down on the men's

[1] This taboo reveals the association which, I
224 believe, the /Kung make between the hunting power
833 of men and the male sexual principle. Both must be protected, and sexual activity must be controlled and constrained lest the life-giving and food-producing force of men be weakened or drained away. During the period of a hunt a man must not have sexual intercourse—that is, while the man is looking for game and, after he has shot his little poisoned arrow into the animal, while he is tracking it for miles and waiting and watching for days till it dies of the poison. A hunt usually demands many days and nights of effort and privation.

[783] Too frequent indulgence in sexual intercourse with one's wife, even when no hunt is in progress, is
[841] believed to diminish a man's hunting power. Some men believed that once in five nights was best; others thought once in three nights was all right. Men who have the joking relationship constantly play upon the theme of excess, taunting each other: 'You do not know hunting, you know women', 'You cannot leave your wife long enough to hunt.'

The /Kung are less strict about another taboo. A woman is supposed not to touch a man's hunting gear at any time, because this would lessen his power to hunt. But I have often seen women touch assegais and quivers. Indeed it has sometimes been urgently necessary to do so when the children got hold of them, as, for instance, when the three-year-old ≠Gao, agile as a flea, took after us with his father's assegai, infuriated with us for some sudden notion of his own. There is a medicine called *gow gowna*, made from a plant, which may be rubbed on the weapons to purify them if they are touched by women, but I never saw this done and doubted if anyone bothered with it. The effect of a woman's touching the hunting gear is much stronger if she is menstruating. I assume they are more careful then.

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side. /Gunda sat behind the line of boys, in a deep shadow, to show that he was 159
' ashamed ' and respected (feared, *koa*) the wedding scherm. 585

One of the boys began to play, not their ceremonial music or special wedding music, but songs of the *//guashi*, as they call them, the little wordless melodies these [533] people compose about happenings in their lives, about pleasures or distress, about their moods. They play and sing these melodies for hours upon hours in the afternoons when they are resting or in the evenings by their fires, and they played for hours that night at the wedding fire.

Soon young guests began to arrive, the children of both werfs with whom /Nai played, all of them younger than the boys who attended /Gunda and the girls who carried /Nai. The youngest guest was the ubiquitous three-year-old boy who never missed anything. No adults came.

One boy brought four mangetti nuts with him and roasted, cracked, and ate them himself. That was all that appeared by way of a feast. Di/ai said that they would like to have given the children something to eat but there was nothing in the werf that night. Even though the others had had something to eat, the bride and groom would have had to abstain. They must not talk or eat, to show they are ' ashamed '. The young guests seemed to enjoy themselves, nevertheless, and were still singing and chatting when I left at midnight.

Soon after sunrise the following morning—/Gunda had already departed—/Nai's mother went to the wedding scherm and sat down beside the embers of the night's fire. /Nai stood shivering beside her in her little genital apron and the duiker skin [291] which women wear around their buttocks and up between their legs, but stripped of her kaross. The mother had brought a little fat (eland fat, if they had it, would be [825] used) and a bit of powdered red stone, one of the red earths (*|gam !gai gwoie*), mixed with fat. She rubbed /Nai all over with the fat, and drew a line on her forehead and [302] a circular design on her cheeks with the red powder mixed with fat. Over in werf 2, Gao, Nai's stepfather, presented /Gunda with a blanket.

This completed the wedding ceremony.

/Nai was a lively child who loved the dancing and singing games the girls play. 159
She often danced alone, tapping her bare feet on a stone in rapid rhythm or making a 462
game of printing a design in the sand with tiny steps. She liked babies and as often as not had her infant half-brother or some very small cousin tied to her back. That morning she appeared to turn into a housewife as though it were her next blithe step. When the women went to gather veldkos, she put on her own little duiker skin [222] kaross, took her digging-stick and went with them. At the end of the day, when they returned in the slanting sunset light, she had two big roots. She went straight to her own fire, blew on the embers, added wood, and sat down. Three ostrich egg shells [415] full of water and her digging-stick were her household goods. These she arranged beside the scherm. /Gunda came and sat down opposite her. She smiled at him and set the roots in the ashes to cook.

It has been said in talks with informants that the bridegroom must bring an 159
antelope which he himself has killed to the parents of the bride before the wedding, 183
but no animal had been brought; there had not been a scrap of meat in the werf for 585
days. I asked Di/ai about this. ' Oh, that,' she said in effect. ' Yes, he should give me an antelope, but we thought we would have the wedding first and that /Gunda would

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585 [159] [183] then come with us when we leave tomorrow to gather *tsi*. He will hunt from that place and get us some meat.'

The ritual elements in the wedding ceremony, in so far as we observed, were as follows: (1) carrying the bride so that her feet do not touch the ground; (2) covering her head so that the sun does not shine upon it; (3) waiting till the sun has set before taking her to the wedding scherm; (4) the fact that the scherm is specially built and set apart from the others; (5) anointing with fat; (6) painting a design on the forehead and cheeks with powdered red stone; (7) lighting the wedding fire with brands from the fires of the bride's and groom's parents.

585 881 [174] Apart from the third and seventh, all these elements occur also in the Ceremony of the First Menstruation, a more elaborate and prolonged ceremony from which the /Kung wedding ceremony undoubtedly derives. The design on the face is the same; the girl's feet must not touch the ground from the instant her first menstruation begins to the end of the period, when she is washed and anointed with both eland or other fat and the oil of the *tsi* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch).[1] When the girl is taken to her special scherm or moved out of it to urinate or defecate she is carried on the back of a kinswoman. A kaross over her head shields her from the sun whether she is sitting in the scherm or being carried out.

Our endeavour to bring to light the meaning of the ritual elements yielded little. The meaning or origin of the design on the face, I was convinced, was not withheld but lost to memory, lore or myth. 'It is our custom' was all the people could tell me.

[171] About the ritual of the feet not touching the ground, the custom frequently observed by divine kings and menstruating girls, the /Kung had no more illumination. They think that the carrying is the overcoming of the girl's symbolized modesty about going to the arms of her bridegroom, which she should properly feign even if she is eager to go, and her reluctance to separate from her own family: I think that when the attendants take hold of the bride and groom by the arm and pull them a little they symbolize the overcoming of reluctance and modesty and perhaps there is even a vestige of bride capture in that gesture, but of the feet not touching the ground the meaning is lost. Obviously, however, in this society the bride is equated to the menstruating girl. In the past the girl's wedding and her first menstruation may have [174] been celebrated at one time.

The /Kung say that the sun is death-giving. When the three months of life-giving rains are past, the sun dries up the water pools. It kills the fresh leaves and 585 821 fruits, dries the roots and berries, and would scorch the people if they did not find shade and dig shallow pits and lie in them covered lightly with sand which they have moistened with their urine for coolness. They pity the morning star, the *kuli |gaishay*, which crosses the sky all day ahead of the sun, has no branches to carry for shade and cannot turn aside to rest under a tree. The sun is a 'death thing' and the bride 593 585 is shielded from it.

602 The most important element of behaviour with respect to kinship in the wedding

[113] [1] Robert Story, *Some Plants Used by the Bushmen in Obtaining Food and Water*, Department of Agriculture, Division of Botany, Union of South Africa, Botanical Survey, Memoir No. 30, 1958, p. 25. Dr. Story was a member of the 1955 and 1957 expeditions. We gratefully acknowledge whatever botanical identifications we mention as his.

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ceremony is the avoidance of the parents, which is symbolic of the incest taboo. Any (preferably young) kinswoman who is tall enough and strong enough, whether she herself is married or not, and whether or not she has the joking relation with the bride, may carry the bride; and any may attend her. Only the mother absolutely must not do so. Likewise the groom's father must not attend him. Neither pair of parents go to sit by the wedding fire, for they must not sit near their son's wife or daughter's husband, nor speak to them. Guests of mature years might go and sit by the wedding fire only if they have the joking relationship with both the bride and the groom. Very young guests, such as we saw at /Nai's and /Gunda's fire, may go, whether they joke or not with the bride and groom, because the avoidances are not stringently observed with young children.

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Termination of marriage and remarriage

Widows and widowers are not avoided in any special way because of their widowhood. 589 768

If her husband dies, a young widow usually returns to her own parents or lives with one of her own siblings, but, if her people are dead, or if it is her preference, she may stay on with her deceased husband's people. It is the duty of her HuBr to hunt for her if she needs his support. [736 607]

Several possibilities are open to a young widower: rarely he might stay with his deceased wife's parents or siblings; more likely he would return to his own parents or siblings; and, when he marries again, he goes into matrilocal residence with the new bride. In any case, a man is responsible for his wife's parents and young siblings, and, if they depended on him for support, he would take them with him. They would be likely to prefer, however, to live with an adult son, daughter, or sibling of their own if they had any. [587 736]

Old widowers or widows whose own parents are dead usually live with either a son or daughter, or perhaps with their own sibling—as they wish.

The surviving spouse is free to marry again within the regulations of the extended incest taboo, which applies to all marriages. 587 885

Parents would arrange the subsequent marriage of a widowed boy or girl. Adults may make their own arrangements directly. My impression was that persons might be considered fully adult somewhere in their middle or late twenties.

An adult man takes the initiative and asks the woman to marry him. Robert Dyson in the 1951 expedition learned that one way for a man to ask a woman to marry him is to present her with a bow and arrow. If she accepts it she indicates her willingness to consider his suit.

No restriction of time is put upon the remarriage of a widower, but a widow should not remarry until one rainy season has passed. She is then considered 'clean' and may marry again. ≠Toma said, 'The rain washes (*||num*) the death away from the widow.' *||Num* is the gesture of wiping a dish with one finger and then licking the finger. /Ti/kay of Band 9 said that some men wait for a rainy season to pass, but that others would be pleased the husband was dead and, without waiting, say, 'This is my chance.' One interpreter understood that the widow had to take off her kaross and spend a night out, letting the rain fall on her, but ≠Toma said this was not what 587 589

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587 was meant. That would be very uncomfortable, he said. It would make her shiver and
589 might make her sick. The rainy season's passing is what cleanses the woman. When
[783] she is about to go to her new husband she prepares herself by washing in the ordinary way.

Unless a woman is quite old she does not remain long unmarried. One man said, 'Even if a widow is thick and tall, but is a good woman, some man will want her.' Widows may marry as second wives of married men, or they may marry widowers, divorced men, or bachelors. The two young widows and the two divorced women who were unmarried in 1953, had remarried by 1955. Only the very old widows remain unmarried.

There are so few unmarried women that widowers have difficulty in finding wives. The young widowed musician, /Gao, was an example. After his first wife's death he had married the daughter of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, when she was approximately ten or eleven years old, about the age of his own son, and was patiently waiting for her to grow up. Only one of the old widowers had succeeded in finding a wife by 1957.

736 The children of a widowed parent are kept by that parent. A widower may leave
768 his children with a woman relative, but they remain his. Orphaned children go to live with relatives. There is a tendency to feel that the boys belong eventually to the
[611] father's side of the family, the girls to the mother's. This concept came to our attention several times, but we did not find it to be a rigid social rule. The relative who
[604] is expected to take the children if they are young is the MoSi. But the FaSi might be nearer or more able for one reason or another to take them and might do so. FaBr would be the relative most likely to take half-grown boys, but again MoBr might be the one. Failing these, some other relative would take them. When it came to arrang-
[584] ing marriages for orphaned children, informants said that the father's elder brother would have the most authority; a stepfather or stepmother has none.

[597] Adoption does not exist in /Kung society.

Divorce may terminate a marriage. The couple may divorce without formality,
586 by mutual consent or by one spouse simply leaving the other. The /Kung word for ending a marriage in this way is *!kao joo*. I use the word 'divorce' for convenience, although no legal action takes place. No religious dispensation is involved, no permission or action on the part of the headman or group is required. If parents of a very young couple withheld consent this might influence the couple, but the parents' consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties, for there is no dowry or bride-price to be resolved. The only property a /Kung owns
[422] personally consists of movables, and these are never owned in common by man and wife. Every artifact down to a single bead belongs to an individual, who takes his property with him in case of divorce.

Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way. They are free to remarry without restrictions.

Divorce is never obligatory and the grounds are not formalized; the desire of the couple concerned is the determining factor. A condition such as sterility, for example, or a wrongdoing such as adultery, might or might not lead to divorce, depending on how the couple felt about it. Mistreatment or failure to provide would certainly be considered justification for divorce, should they ever occur, but justifica-

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tion is not necessary. 'A wife can get tired of loving her husband', we were told, 586
'and just tell him to go away.'

We learned about seven divorces only in our sample. The middle-aged Khuan//a, the mother of the bridegroom, /Gunda, had left her first husband to marry her lover. Another middle-aged woman left her husband because he was on the point of marrying a second wife. Jealousy between the two young wives at Gam, lamented in song by the young husband, had been the cause of the third. The whims of young girls caused others. A girl named /Ungka, married to a considerably older man, hated him though he was good to her and gave her oil and ornaments for her hair. She cut off her hair and threw it, ornaments and all, into the fire. She thrust her head into the ashes and made herself filthy. In another instance, the girl took offence the first night of her marriage and left her young husband next day, to his painful chagrin. The [587]
lenient and patient parents of these girls arranged other marriages. Di/ai, the mother of the bride /Nai, and now the wife of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, was divorced from two former husbands in her youth. And /U, her sister, while still very young had been persuaded by ≠Toma to leave her tall young husband from Gam and to marry him.

Our data on frequency of divorce are too scant to be significant. We have merely the impression that there seems to be some tendency for couples to separate while they are young and in whatever adolescent turbulence the /Kung experience, but that, on the other hand, there is considerable stability in marriage once a compatible mate is found. At least, no divorces occurred between 1952 and 1959 in eight of the bands of our sample. We lack data on the others.

Young children of divorced parents remain with the mother. As they grow to adolescence the girls usually stay with their mothers, the boys may go to their fathers or stay with their mothers or spend some time with each.

Although the /Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it. Divorce is untoward, disruptive; it can cause trouble. Anything other than peace and [181]
harmony in human relations makes the /Kung uneasy.

Extra-marital sexual relations

Murdock points out that 'Our own culture includes a blanket taboo against 171
fornication, an over-all prohibition of all sexual intercourse outside of the marital relationship.'[1] He goes on to say that our society is highly aberrant in this and that 'from available evidence [however] it seems unlikely that a general prohibition of sex relations outside of marriage occurs in as many as five per cent of the peoples of the earth'.[2]

/Kung society has an over-all prohibition against any sexual relations outside of 837
marriage with one exception. It makes no requirements such as sexual hospitality or *jus primae noctis*. It makes no provision for sexual access to certain categories of kin or affines outside of marriage, such as BrWi. Premarital unchastity, unchastity of [836]
widows, and prostitution are not among their social conventions. But */kamheri*, though not required, is either fully permitted or tolerated as not a very bad thing; I never reached certainty as to which of these attitudes the society adopted.

/Kamheri means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided

[1] Murdock, op. cit., p. 263. [2] Ibid., p. 264.

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Kung

837 the wives consent. This is regarded as a concern of the couples involved rather than a concern of society as a whole. One man said, 'If you want to sleep with someone's wife, you get him to sleep with yours, then neither of you goes after the other with poisoned arrows.'

[572] The word */kamheri* was used by //Ao, one of the young hunters, to express his deep feeling of friendship for John Marshall. 'We are such friends that we are */kamheri*', he said, but, as John had no wife to exchange, this remark had its funny side which delighted the men.

No actual instance of */kamheri* came to our attention and we failed in finding out if it is now practised. One man in Gam lent his first wife to a unmarried friend, one of the gossips told us, because he was in love with his second and did not care any longer for the first, but this was a mere deviation from the rules, not an instance of */kamheri*.

We heard of several irregular sexual unions in addition to the above. Rape did not appear in stories or gossip. Fornication must be very rare because there is practically no one to fornicate with. Almost all females are married except very young girls and leathery old grandmothers. Adultery is the usual form for irregular unions to take. Adultery, however, is sharply limited by several deterrents. One deterrent is 684 the incest taboo, of course, which forbids extra-marital sexual relations as rigorously 837 as it does marriage with persons to whom the taboo is extended. The same internalized sanctions induce obedience to this rule as to the marriage regulations. The same gradation of feeling probably exists, and we expect that people comply strictly within the kindred and among close affines and are no doubt less strict with name relatives.

Ease of divorce must exert a modifying influence on adulterous unions. If a [586] married couple really want to change mates, nothing need deter them but the general difficulty of extricating themselves from the web of responsibilities which marriage entails.

In a sense, the impossibility of maintaining secrecy exerts a control over extra-151 marital relations. There is no privacy in a /Kung werf and the vast veld is not a cover. 153 The very life of these people depends on their being trained from childhood to look sharply at things and to take into their attention what they see, for they must 182 observe the most minute marks on vegetation to distinguish from the matted grasses the almost hair-thin brown vine stems that come up from the edible roots. Hunters memorize visual impressions and are able to follow the tracks of an individual animal in the midst of a large herd in a way that seems to us miraculous. It may be a week after a hunt that they return to recover an arrow that missed, miles from the werf, remembering where it lay in the vast monotonous sameness of grass and bush. They register every person's footprints in their minds, more vividly I am sure than we do faces, and read in the sand who walked where and how long ago.

185 The /Kung value control of anger, upholding self-control as an ideal, giving it group and individual approval and training for it. Despite this, volatile tempers 578 sometimes flare and burst out of all control. And always at hand are the little poisoned [411] arrows. They are formidable weapons. There is no antidote for the poison; at least our /Kung informants said they know none and told us of tragic deaths from the poison which would have been averted had they had an antidote.

684 Adultery, so exceedingly provocative of anger and vengeance, could be very

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

dangerous under these conditions. Anger turns upon the adulterer. We were never told about a woman being killed or even very severely punished, but a husband is considered to be quite within his rights by /Kung rules of conduct if he kills a man who sleeps with his wife. However, the adulterer may fight back. With poisoned arrows both men might be killed. Fighting is so dangerous it is feared by the /Kung with a pervading dread. 684

Nevertheless, although prudence counsels against it and anxiety attends it, adultery does occur. During the years from 1951 to 1958, five instances in our sample came to our knowledge. When it did occur, the most clearly observable behaviour was the attempt on the part of related persons and other members of the band to help resolve the situation in order to avoid fighting and discord, for fighting, like fire, may spread and consume much before it is quenched. [627] [578]

A husband and a young widower had quarrelled and almost fought over the attentions of the young widower to the wife. The fight had been averted by the husband running away. He came to Gautscha where we were with Band 1. When I saw him handling his weapons, his face contorted with emotion, visions possessed me of the two men, both angry and afraid, shooting each other in nervous self-defence, writhing, bleeding, and dying in agony, and I was as filled with the fear of fighting as any Bushman. But before sundown that day the affair was resolved in the following fashion. A relative of the young widower undertook to use his influence and went and brought the young widower and the wife to Gautscha. The relative had two motives. He wanted peace, as everybody does, and he wanted no disgrace in his family which the affair would bring, for the young widower and the wife were sexually taboo, albeit in the mildest and most extended way. He was an able man and he succeeded. The pair agreed to his behests. When they arrived at Gautscha the wife went directly to her husband and, to our suprise, in a few minutes they left the werf with their child and came over to our camp, where they settled themselves right in our cleared camp space. Presently the young widower came too, with his three children, and settled himself beside the others. Under our wings they had less fear of each other's flares of temper and tensions relaxed. In a day or so the young widower left. Peace prevailed. The wife was still with her husband in 1958. The young widower was taken by the B.P. authorities, we heard, for killing a man in another quarrel over a woman. 159 684 627 578

When John Marshall was with Band 1 in 1957–8, ≠Gao Lame, the unmarried young headman, took to sleeping with /Ghia, the second wife of Old ≠Gao, headman of Band 10. Nobody seemed to expect a great deal of /Ghia, who was thought not to have very good sense, and she was not blamed nearly so much as ≠Gao Lame. His family railed at him quite openly. 'People get killed doing that', said /U, his sister (≠Toma's wife). ≠Gao Lame eventually stopped sleeping with /Ghia. John thought the group's expressed opinion really did influence him. Furthermore, ≠Gao decided it would be best to go to Old ≠Gao and say he was sorry. Old ≠Gao said ≠Gao Lame was right to come directly to him and that they should not fight. He gave /Ghia a mild thrashing instead. Then /Ti/kay of Band 9, who was /Ghia's MoBr, roused up the whole affair by claiming that when ≠Gao Lame 'insulted' /Ghia he also insulted him—/Ti/kay. /Ti/kay, the husband of the two charming sisters, an intense and vital man, especially gifted in performing the curing ceremonies

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 as a medicine man, although in a cool moment he could speak eloquently and philo-
627 sophically about the evils of fighting, was an erratic person, self-centred, frightfully
684 jealous, shrewd to see that no one got more than he, quick to take offence. Gao, the
578 medicine man in Band 1, husband of ≠Gao Lame's older sister, Di/ai, shouted out that /Ti/kay was a trouble-maker not to leave well enough alone. /Ti/kay thereupon foully insulted Gao Medicine, who shouted back that /Ti/kay was not fit to be a headman. /Ti/kay, now in a rage, called out that Gao lied to his own arrows. John said that some of the people flattened down on the ground or got behind things at this point. But two of /Ti/kay's half-sisters, who were present, threw themselves on him, pulled him away, and sat down beside him, holding his arms. He quieted down and Gao Medicine also sat down and was quiet. As the tempers cooled, peace took hold once more and, John says, the affair did not flare up again, at least during the remaining weeks he was there.

In some societies it would be incumbent upon kin such as MoBr or SiHu to feign anger and make a show of fighting to satisfy the conventions of honour. We observed no episodes which raised this question other than the above. John was strongly of the opinion that the emotions were genuine and that /Ti/kay's temper, which we had all experienced two or three times before, had released itself once more, but that once more a fight had been averted because people wanted peace and harmony most of all.

Illegitimacy

There were no illegitimate children in our sample in the years 1952–3 and we
848 discovered no social norms established with respect to illegitimacy. Girls are usually
851 married before they are old enough to have children. But, we asked, what would happen if a girl had a baby before she was married? People said the parents would go to the father of the child and say he must marry their daughter. Did they know anyone who had done this? No.

Suppose that a child were conceived in adultery and it were known with certainty that the father was not the woman's husband, what would happen to that child? we asked. The baby would be kept by its mother, of course. After they had talked things over among themselves, one informant said, and others agreed, that they thought, if the woman's husband fed the child for years while it grew, he would be justified in keeping the child and the biological father should not try to take the child away.

159 There is such a child now in Band 9. In 1955 or 1956 white farmers came
848 into the Nyae Nyae region and illegally recruited some /Kung families. These families tried to run away from the farms some time later. They told us that they were followed by two white men and a white woman on horseback with guns, led by a 'tame' Bushman tracker. These people forced the /Kung to return to the farm by threats and pointed guns. In the fracas some of the /Kung got away. Husbands and wives were separated. When the S.W.A. authorities learned on which farm these /Kung families were, they acted promptly to restore them to their bands, and fined the farmer, but two years had passed. One girl had had a child by one of the /Kung men. Once they were all restored to Nyae Nyae, the girl went back to her own husband with her baby boy, and was with him in 1958. The people said the baby's bio-

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

logical father, as well as his mother's husband, should do something nice for him. 159
Perhaps when he receives his first assegai his begetter will give it, for that is a very 848
proud thing—but we do not know what the future holds for these people or where they will be by then.

The dominance of men

Wives are much desired by the young men, who usually wait for years for their 562
infant fiancées to grow up, and by men who want second wives, and by widowers. [581]
/Kung women are not only precious as mates, they are the food-gatherers and supply [222]
more of the daily food than the men do. Hunting[1] is very arduous in the Kalahari and [462]
the hunters succeed in bringing a big meat animal to the werf only about once or [224]
twice a month. Meanwhile women have dug roots and gathered berries and the other wild plant foods to feed their families every day. /Kung women in their two roles make a very great contribution.

In /Kung society, however, the magnitude of their contribution does not make women dominant. There are factors which bring the men forward clearly into dominance and leadership.

The primary factor is undoubtedly strength. /Kung men are small and slender, [142]
but they are wiry and vigorous. With their strength they carry and protect the very 147
life of their people. When they swing their weapons and implements and their small children on to their shoulders and stride out in front of the women, the image seems to reveal, as vividly as if a great artist had painted it, how the laden following women are borne up by the strength of their men and take heart from them.

Another factor which brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and 462
its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is only drudgery in digging and 562
picking in the hot sun and trudging back in the early evening to the werf with heavy [222]
roots and berries and babies all sagging in the pouches of their karosses, a small dead tree or two on one shoulder for the night fire, possibly another child astride the other shoulder. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh [262]
and are not very satisfying. There is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving [262]
for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally [224]
the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once, when an eland had been killed and the hunters were sighted [152]
with the meat on their backs, moving in a dark, lumpy, bobbing line in the golden grass, we heard the sound of voices in the werf rising in volume and pitch like the hum of excited bees. Some people ran toward the hunters, others crowded together at the edge of the werf, some danced up and down, the children squealed and ran about, the boys grappled and tussled together. The motion and sound had the effect of a vibration. Another time a young man who was said to be the best hunter in the region (/Qui Hunter we called him, his people called him Short /Qui), had been 462
charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. 562
He knelt facing the creature till it was within close range and shot an arrow straight 224

[1] John Marshall has described /Kung hunting in his film, *The Hunters*, Peabody Museum Film Study Center, Harvard University, and in 'Man as Hunter', *Natural History*, the magazine of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, vol. lxvii, No. 6, June, and No. 7, August, 1958. [113]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

562 into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by
[462] /Qui's wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes
[224] and the women, some of the plumes in their hair, danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of /Kung men and the way it should be.

By comparison with the men, the women are considerably more circumscribed in
157 knowledge, less ready for new experience, more suspicious and apprehensive of
562 strangers. They draw back and seem on the whole somewhat timid. The men protect them in many ways. They would not let the women ride with us in the truck, for instance, unless some of the men were with them.

The women expect the dependent role. They have their say in conversation but do not take part in the serious conclaves of the men, saying often, ' The men know these things. We do not know. The men must decide. ' And one woman said, 'A man can do everything—shoot and make fire. ' /Kung women are encouraged to be compliant by the fact that, in their love of peace, the /Kung like quiet, modest, gentle women. Overbearing, strident, demanding, or nagging women would disturb not only their own husbands but the whole werf. Disapproval of anyone's behaviour
[626] is expressed by the group in talk, and also by songs, such as the song of *The Two Baus*, which was composed about two loudly quarrelsome co-wives. When the two Baus heard this song strummed on the *||guashi* or hummed here and there in the shadows of the werf at night, they mended their ways.

Though the /Kung like gentleness and compliance in women, their society does
562 not impose extreme forms of obedience or subservience upon them and women are not ill treated. One man told Laurence Marshall that if he wanted to go somewhere and his wife wanted to go somewhere else he might have to talk, talk, talk, talk, talk, talk to persuade her.

We once saw a woman strike her husband on the head with her digging-stick in
562 a fit of frustration because he had coerced her to go with him when she wanted to
593 remain visiting her parents. He had coerced her swiftly and decisively by snatching her baby from her arms and walking ahead with it. In a flash the wife ran a few steps and hit him, then she went around in a circle, stamping her feet in great, high stamps like an enraged samurai in a Japanese print, then she followed her husband. I personally never saw a /Kung man hit a woman. This is not to say no /Kung ever did, but it is far from common.

The dominance of the /Kung men is more protective and life-giving than crushing to the women. On the whole a good balance seems to be attained and there is a notable freedom from quarrelling between husbands and wives. The instances of strife that we have mentioned are exceptional breaks in the usual peace of their well-adjusted human relations.

2: Kaufmann G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Auen

000 The Auen, a Contribution to the Study of the Bushmen
[Die ≠Auin, ein Beitrag zur Buschmannforschung]

Hans Kaufmann

Berlin: 1910
Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten
Vol. 23, pp. 135-160

Translated from the German by Richard Neuse

Human Relations Area Files
1961
[Title page]

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122 The following work was carried out by order of the Command of the Northern District of the Protectorate Forces as the result of a suggestion from the Museum for Ethnology in Berlin.

After I had spent the months of August, September, and 114 October of 1908 making the necessary observations, I was called away from Rietfontein (North) and thus out of the region of the ≠Auin [Auen]. This interruption of my studies, which had scarcely begun,

/135 cont./

114 accounts for the incompleteness and gaps in my data, defects which make themselves felt particularly in the last chapter. Thus, I could neither do the important section on linguistics nor make a collection of ethnological materials.

The observations and researches that I did undertake were repeatedly tested for their correctness to the best of my abilities. The possibility of error, of course, is nevertheless admitted without reservation.

Aminuis, August, 1908. Kaufmann.

General Observations

144 It is my conviction that the ǂAuin, as well as all other Kalahari Bushmen, do not represent a homogeneous race, but rather a people or, better still, several peoples who have lost their original character through mixture with one another and above all with peoples of other races (Bantu). At any rate, a number of Bergdamara [Bergdama] or Herero decidedly gives a stronger impression of derivation from the same mold than do the same number of Bushmen.

197 The linguistic differentiation of the individual tribes is sometimes so great that mutual intelligibility is impossible.

171 182 The apparent cultural homogeneity is probably based on the uniformity of the landscape that everywhere surrounds them and on the living conditions (Kalahari culture).

144 171 There is no doubt that an intimate relationship of some kind exists between the Hottentot and Bushmen. It may be that the Bushmen are degenerate Hottentot with some admixture of foreign blood, or, on the other hand, that the Hottentot are Bushmen with foreign admixture who have emancipated themselves from the Kalahari culture.

[114] 144 197 I believe I shall not be guilty of an indiscretion if I report that the ethnographer Dr. Pöch shares this view with me. In a private communication he writes to me from Kamelpan

/135 cont./

144 (Ngamiland): "I should like to observe briefly that the Kalahari
197 Bushmen are low in my estimation, both in respect to their language and to their appearance; I was able to confirm an extremely close relationship with the Nama [Hottentot], but in an old dialect no longer spoken today."

Since I lack the knowledge for making anthropological
141 measurements, I shall confine myself to /136/ presenting several ≠Auin types as I observed them. They may not be without value for comparative purposes.

I should like to add that in measuring physical height I obtained the following results:

Adult men (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.51 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.62	meters
Minimum height	1.47	meters

Adult women (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.45 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.53	meters
Minimum height	1.38	meters

A. Geography and Statistics

The ≠Auin, as they call themselves and as they are known to
131 the neighboring Bushmen tribes, inhabit that part of the central Kalahari which is more or less immediately bounded by the watering places Rietfontein, Ganab, Gam, Sidonitzaub, Otjiamangombe, Tjumda, Epukiro, Oas, Stampriet, Rooigrauwater, and Habakobis. Their territory lies for the greater part within the boundaries of the German protectorate. The adjoining sketch indicates as accurately as possible the geographic location, as well as the approximate territory of the neighboring Bushmen tribes. The
101 Hottentot designate the ≠Auin as ≠Au-San (Schinz), the inhabitants of the Chanse Veld as ≠Aukwé (Passarge), the Betschuana [Tswana] as Makaukau. The approximate number of Auin (1),

[104]

1. For the sake of simplicity I shall from now on omit the initial mark ++, which indicates the click.

/136 cont./ The approximate number of Auin,
162 naturally in the form of the very roughest estimate, is apparent from the following compilation:

There reside in the region of

Oas	about 300	persons
Dawis	" 150	"
Stampriet	" 250	"
Rooigrauwater	" 50	"
Korikas	" 150	"
Olifantskloof	" 200	"
Habakobis	" 100	"
Rietfontein	" 200	"
Tjumda	" 100	"
Go	" 150	"
Sidonitzaub	" 1,000	"
Karasburg	" 100	"
Epukiro	" 100	"
Ganab	" 100	"
Gam	" 100	"
Total	about 3,000	persons

[114] In my opinion the number of Bushmen living in the Kalahari (not only the Auin) has been consistently underestimated.

I wrote these lines in October, 1908. Today, in other words,
165 not yet a year later, I am forced to change my opinion, since
161 the malaria of the last rainy season has taken many victims and has decimated the Auin as well as the other tribes. According to the figures provided, I consider myself justified in suggesting that of the Auin estimated above at 3,000, only about half at most remain.

It is impossible to obtain more precise statistics since the
648 Bushmen successfully evade any kind of control. Even the administration of the protectorate takes account of this fact by dispensing from the outset with any registration or the like by the Kalahari Bushmen.

No special racial layers are to be distinguished among the
144 Auin, although it is doubtless true that certain individuals can be shown to have more Negro blood than others.

/136 cont./

142 The tribe at Gam in particular consists almost exclusively of comparatively large people who, even after a thorough washing, display a decidedly darker coloration than the other Auin.

162 According to my observations, there is something like one to two women for each man, and from two to three children for each woman.

162 847 [862] In this connection I would like to mention that newborn children are always killed if the mother is still nursing a child, which continues until about the third year of life. The killing is done immediately after birth by the mother, who buries the newborn child alive. The father has nothing to do with it. Since marital [853] intercourse continues during the nursing period and since this period lasts for about three years, it follows that approximately every third child is reared while those born in the meantime are killed without exception. This might well be a principal factor in the unquestionable decline in the population.

592 595 Since each woman has her special windscreen (hut), the man lives alternately with one and then another of his wives; the latter in turn have their children living with them, and it therefore follows that about three to four persons occupy each hut.

221 361 The size of the settlements (villages) is quite indefinite and changes according to the circumstances. During the dry season a settlement is formed usually by one to two families, whereas during the period of ample veld food, in other words, toward the end and shortly after /137/ [map appears here] /138/ the rainy season, sometimes up to 30 families join together to form a "village." In April, 1908, about 400 men were living in a settlement near Sidonitzaub. If their dependents are included, one will arrive at a figure of at least 1,000 persons.

[701] All the men are armed warriors.

161 As has already been noted, one can clearly observe a decrease in the population, which, judging by its rapid progress, can be designated as swiftly approaching extinction. Aside from infanti- [136] cide and malaria, the decrease of wild game may also be given as a reason for the population decline, since this decrease makes food more difficult to obtain. Older Auin state that in former times attacks by lions caused heavy losses.

[Text continues on page 7]

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Auen

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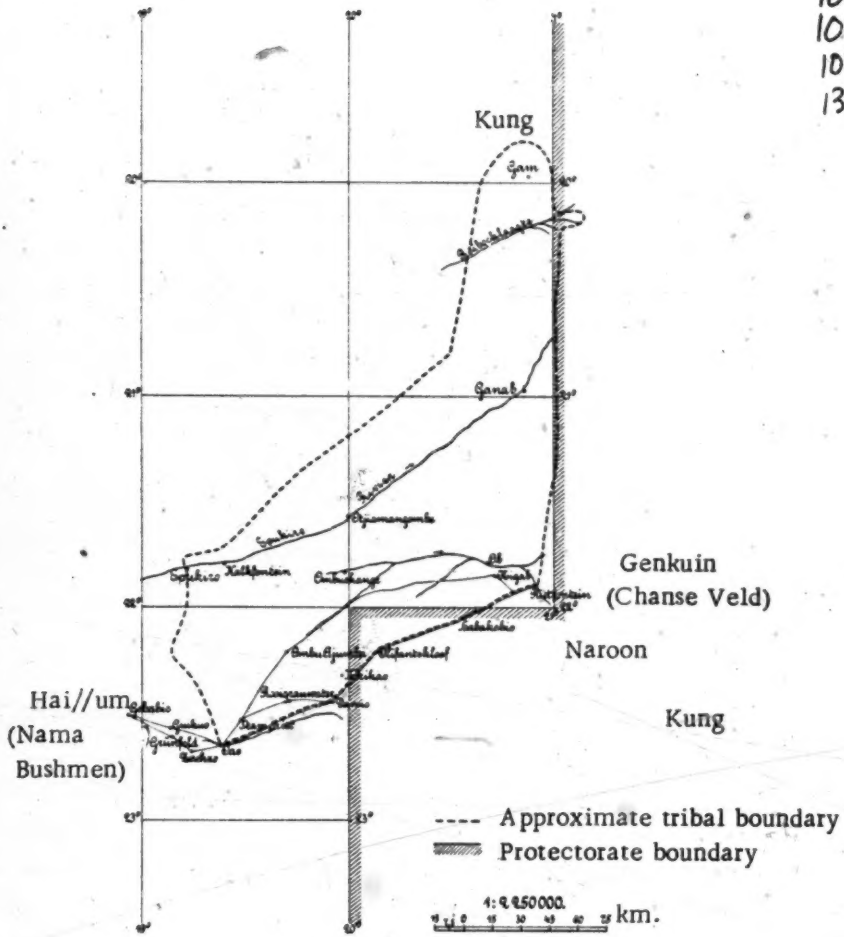

Map of the Auin Region

/138 cont./

177 Since contact with the Whites was established, wars have
721 apparently declined considerably, but even today they exact a decidedly heavy toll.

22 The Auin is at the lowest stage of human development; he is exclusively a collector and hunter.

This way of life is dictated to him by the nature of his en-
133 vironment. This part of the Kalahari, where the watering places
137 are sometimes 100 kilometers apart and very limited in number,
182 does not permit livestock raising, especially also since the tschama [sometimes spelled tsama, a kind of melon] enjoyed by the cattle is comparatively rare.

In the Auin region the plain dominates the landscape.
133 Primary rocks rise up here and there only along the river banks. So-called dunes give the landscape a gently hilly character, especially in the vicinity of the rivers (dry river beds which carry water only after violent rains). The ground cover alternates be-
137 tween grass, shrub, and tree steppe and dense undergrowth. The
132 amount of precipitation is very small; the lack of sufficient statistical data makes it impossible to give a more precise estimate.

B. Dwellings and Furnishings

342 The typical form of the dwelling is the windscreen, in other words, the most primitive form of human habitation, which scarcely deserves the designation "hut." Its construction is completed in a few minutes. A few twigs are stuck loosely into the ground at the thicker end in a semicircle and propped against each other at the branching end. I have never seen the supports firmly fastened to one another, although I have examined several hundred huts. Grass is thrown on the framework, and the construction is finished. During the dry season the structures are usually built even more hastily and sometimes consist merely of a few bundles of grass that have been thrown loosely between the twigs of a living bush. The entire structure is often scarcely a meter high and has no roof. It is thus a genuine windscreen, intended to protect its inhabitants from drafts while they are lying down.

If the settlement remains at a particular place for only a few days, the people content themselves with the shadow of some

/138 cont./

342 bushes and dispense altogether with any construction.

Tree houses are unknown. In any case, they would be possible only in the Kaukau Veld (baobab), since in the Auin region proper the trees are too weak for this purpose.

Each woman has her own windscreen. If she does not have one, she will live under a special bush.

[882] Young girls and young unmarried men sometimes live in special "girls' houses" or "bachelors' houses," separated according to sex.

34 Any kind of special buildings, like meeting houses, storage rooms, and so forth, are unknown.

514 There is little neatness in the vicinity of the huts. Special toilets do not exist. The sole consideration with regard to evacuation is to be hidden from sight. One finds great accumulations of feces away from the main direction of the wind. The practice of burying excrement, common among the Herero, apparently does not occur.

768 The pontok (windscreen) is by no means a valuable possession. After the owner's death the entire horde leaves the locality. Hence any question about the inheritance of the hut is an empty one.

342 There is no door, and it would not be easy to attach one, considering the construction of the hut. In this connection it should be mentioned that things are left carelessly lying around in the settlements, even when all the people are absent. In any 685 case a theft would be paid for with the death of the thief. Since [151] the Bushman knows the footprints of every person in the region, the culprit would always be found. In this respect the Bushman operates as reliably as the best police dog.

352 They lie upon grass covered with a few tanned hides. There 513 are no other household furnishings.

/139/ C. Food

372 The doro (fire-making instrument) (Fig. 1) consists of two round sticks of the Burkea africana. Several round, flat hollows

[Text continues on page 10]

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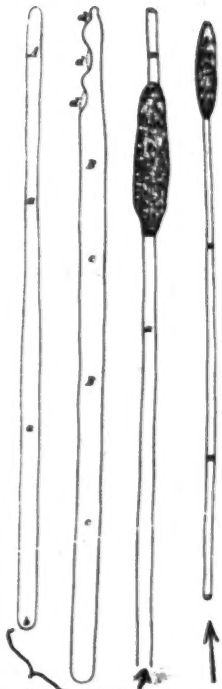


Fig. 1. Doro (fire sticks)
A. Twirling stick
aa, Long part
b, Rounded end to be put in bored holes
B, Stick with bored holes
cc, Long part
ddd, Bored holes

Fig. 1 Fig. 2 Fig. 3

Fig. 2. Stick with tree resin to glue the wrapping on the arrow
a, Stick
b, Tree resin

Fig. 3. Stick with arrow poison
a, Stick
b, Spindle of poison, which is wrapped

1/2 natural size
[as shown in original text]

/139 cont./

372 are made in one of the sticks, and the rounded end of the other stick fits into them. [Figs. 1, 2, and 3 appear here.]

The first stick is placed on the ground and held down with both feet. The other stick is placed with its round end in one of the hollows, and it is twirled as rapidly as possible between the flat palms of the hands. As can be seen in the picture Photo. 19), the hands slide downward during this process, and frequently a second man immediately starts at the top when the hands of the first operator have moved all the way down. A kind of tinder of thoroughly dried birds' nests (weaver bird?) is placed around the bored hole. The fine dust from the twirling begins to smoulder after a few minutes, and the tinder is then fanned to a flame by blowing with the mouth.

[622] The "captain" (aichab) of the settlement sees to it that the fire does not go out. A "sacred" fire does not exist. Keeping the fire from going out is a matter of sheer practicality since twirling to make fire is, after all, fairly strenuous.

354 A few stones, which, incidentally, are not found everywhere in the Kalahari, represent the hearth. In rainy weather cooking is done inside the windscreen.

462 The woman does the cooking while the children help her. In exceptional cases the paterfamilias may busy himself at the cooking fire.

On occasion all the members of a family will go out to get water and wood. Construction of the house is purely woman's work. Bachelors' huts are likewise built by the women of the horde.

415 439 Wooden cooking pots exist. Supposedly they are obtained through barter from the Ambo.

322 415 [439] The Auin either carves primitive spoons out of wood himself, or he obtains them through barter from the region of the Ngami [Lake Ngami?]. Frequently special artists at carving are to be found among the older men. The upper, concave part of a

415 [321] small turtle shell, whose lower, flat side has been cut off, often serves as a spoon.

These shells are also used as drinking vessels, and, along with hollowed-out tschama, they are the only drinking vessels that I found.

/139 cont./

412 Mortars are made of wood and have a stone floor. Their
322 construction is extremely laborious. A block of wood is buried in the ground, stamped down, and then hollowed out with the iron point of the lance or a knife. For this purpose, the iron is sometimes heated. Fire is not used. The wooden pestle is furnished with a stone at one end. The stone on the floor of the
[381] mortar is cemented with tree resin.

[373] Burning branches are used as a kind of torch, but only briefly in the vicinity of the fire.

Photograph 18 illustrates the shape of the mortar and the pestle. The mortar is made of soft wood hollowed out with a lance point. Fire is not used to hollow it out (see above).

Household utensils. Two flat stones to pound hard veld
415 fruit. Spoons crudely carved out of wood. Wooden pot or empty ostrich eggs /140/ with a round hole as water containers. Fre-
[531] quently some kind of decoration is applied. Digging stick
[412] pointed at one end.

Ornamentation. Unfortunately I did not have time to ob-
301 tain more precise data concerning ornamentation. Ornaments
531 are attached to many objects and consist of such things as ostrich eggs and pipe plugs (which are worn on a string around the neck).

Generally speaking, the Auin has three meals a day (morn-
264 ing, afternoon, and evening). If he has enough food, however, he may eat all day long, with the necessary intervals, and, if it is not too cold, even during the night.

There is no special menu. Whatever is available is eaten.
262 The hyena is not eaten because it "devours corpses." The leopard is supposedly not eaten by all the people. The reason for this is unknown to me. The shabrack jackal is frequently spurned because it "is a dog." On the other hand, they like to eat the silver jackal, because it "does not eat vermin."

[858] Young girls who have not yet menstruated and boys before
[882] they have reached adulthood may not eat game meat because if they did, they would "remain skinny."

I have never observed any traces of cannibalism. Further-
266 more, I was told by old, experienced natives of other races (Klipp Kaffir) that they had never heard of Bushmen eating human flesh.

/140 cont./

266 I spoke with a number of elderly Auin about this, and they were by no means indignant at the suggestion. Their reasoning was approximately the following: "Our parents never told us one should eat human flesh. If other old people were to enjoy it, then we could do it also."

In view of the low cultural level of the Bushmen, the absence of anthropophagy is, in my opinion, very striking.

D. Ornaments and Hairdressing

301 The following ornaments were observed.

Among men:

Neck ring, a thin wooden ring made from the so-called rosinkis bush and tied together to form a circle, decorated with lines scratched on it. Arm rings. Three to 20 simple braided rings (see Photos. 3 and 4). The iron beads probably come from [439] the eastern Kaffir tribes. The rings are made from the web of a [237] tree spider (Stegodyphus dumicola Pocock?). A number of strings are bunched together in a ball, and this is "noodled" with the flat of the hand on the upper thigh into strings of the approximate thickness of a knitting needle. The strings are then wound together in pairs and the ring is closed by "noodling together."

Rings around the wrists. The same rings as those worn on the upper arm. In addition, simple rings three to five millimeters wide, made of game leather, as well as individual rings made of [439] iron or copper wire. The latter are said to have been bartered from Batauana.

Lower leg. Some men and women wear one or two leather rings directly below the knee on one or both legs. These leather rings are somewhat wider than the leather rings around the wrists (see Photos. 12 and 14).

Among women:

Head ornaments. Various combinations of chains of ostrich egg shells, as shown in Photograph 20. Sometimes only a piece of such a Molentza chain is braided into the hair of the forehead (see Photo. 36, woman dancing on the left). I also found this ornament on one man.

/140 cont./

301 Earrings of Molentza chain; necklaces of glass beads. Rings on arms, wrists, and legs as among the men.

[756] The "Bushman doctor" wears special ornaments that other people are not permitted to wear. Unfortunately, I was not able to obtain any of these ornaments.

[882] Girls, it is said, do not start wearing ornaments until after their first menses.

[796] All the ornaments are worn for dances and ceremonies. The headdress of the women in Photograph 20 is worn only on special festive occasions.

302 [756] [301] The "doctor" has his head shaved smooth. I did not notice a special hairdress. The men frequently stick individual loose ostrich feathers in the hair, while the women like to braid brass or iron beads into the hair. In addition, the women use a kind of pomade made of various pulverized plant parts which are combined with fat from antelope skin.

Men sometimes cut their head-hair with a knife or a piece of glass.

There is no differentiation in hair style between girls and married women.

[386] The hair is frequently dyed with a mixture of fat and red clay. I am uncertain, however, whether or not this is a means of making the hair fall out in places. On the other hand, in that case there would probably have to be another ingredient /141/ in this mixture that I was unable to discover.

In case a beard is present, which does not occur often, it is neither cut nor removed in any other way.

[142] Pubic hair is sparse and is sometimes shaved off (with a piece of glass). It is said that women have no pubic hair at all.

E. Artificial Deformities

A kind of cosmetic of a reddish-brown color is used by the women.

It consists of a mixture of fat and red clay (see Section D above) and is manufactured by the women themselves.

[535] This cosmetic is regarded solely as a means of beautification and is used especially at festivals (dances).

/141 cont./

302 Men and boys do not use this cosmetic, nor do old women, but only young women and girls.

The mixture is applied in circles on the cheeks (see Photo. 20, woman farthest to the left), but it is also rubbed on the body in any other place possible, such as on the arms or belly. Frequently the entire body is greased with it.

Among men a kind of black grease is used. This has "a pleasant odor," at least according to Bushman notions. It is [756] manufactured by the "doctor." The men smear it under and on the nose. It is questionable whether it is more a means of beautification or of enjoyment.

All male Auin have a green line over the root of the nose, 304 and usually also a crossbar under and at right angles to it. The crossbar is usually not colored (cf. Fig. 4).

Both lines consist of innumerable small transverse cuts. There are almost always two to four deep, especially conspicuous scars in the longer line. The length of the longitudinal line is usually from 2.5 to 3.5 centimeters, and that of the crossbar from one to 1.5 centimeters. Sometimes the longitudinal line is considerably longer and extends to the hairline. In the case of one Auin about 20 years old, no forehead tattoo was observed. In answer to questioning he replied that "it would be done later." On the other hand, I found a forehead tattoo on a quite undeveloped girl who [881] was at most eight years old. Hence it would seem that the tattoo is not connected with sexual maturity, an impression which the Auin themselves confirmed. One woman had two parallel longitudinal lines; another had two lines on each cheek, which in size and execution were like the vertical forehead line. Both were Auin by birth; in other words, they had not married into the tribe.

[177] According to the statements of the Auin, the forehead tattoo was copied from the Betschuana.

The forehead tattoo is called gi. Evidently no special significance is attached to it. Incidentally, I have seen the same tattoo among all the other Bushmen tribes. [Fig. 4 appears here.]

As a tool for making the countless little transverse incisions [412] that constitute the forehead tattoo, any sharpened little piece of iron may be used. I was unable to determine the pigment used to produce the green color, which is indelible.

304

Fig. 4. Forehead Tattoo.
One-third natural size [as shown in the original text].

a, Longitudinal line
b, Crossbar
} Both formed by countless small incisions which are indicated by the lines.

c, Deeper and longer incisions in the crossbar.

Usually green pigment is rubbed into the tattoo.

Boys and girls are tattooed at about 12 to 14 years of age (also earlier and later) and, of course, by the "doctor" or by the "woman doctor." Special ceremonies or the like are not observed on this occasion, but the operation is performed in the bush away from the settlement. As many young people as possible come from several settlements to be tattooed, but in any case this is only for practical reasons. On this occasion
527 festivities are also held, that is, eating and dancing, but these festivities are only indirectly connected with the tattooing. Whenever several /142/ Bushmen are together, if they have

/142 cont./

527 ample food, they always "celebrate."

The tattoo artist receives no special fee; he is simply pro-
304 vided with food and shelter.

When the forehead tattoo is applied, the patient lies on his back with his head slightly raised. The skin of the forehead above the root of the nose is folded together and drawn up by a man using his thumbs and index fingers. The tattoo artist then makes the little transverse incisions in this fold of skin.

Among men, decorative scars take the place of a hunt record.
[224] For each piece of big game that a man has killed, he wears a horizontal decorative scar, on the right upper arm for male game and on the left upper arm for female game.
[858] Only boys, not men, have scars made for small game (duiker, ibex). Older successful hunters finally dispense altogether with having scars made, after they have enough of them to display.

These decorative scars are made in a manner similar to that used for the forehead tattoo. Sweat (blood) from the killed ani-
[237] mal is always rubbed into them, and usually also the green pigment. The hunting scars are made by any one of the older men. The length of the scars is approximately one-half to one centimeter, the breadth approximately one-quarter to one-half centimeter.

Decorative Scars (or Tattooing) among Women

Green decorative scars on the upper thigh and buttocks up to the waist are worn by all women. These scars can be seen in Photograph 14.

[887] The scars are made in the same way as the forehead tattoo, except that older women make them.

Further investigation was impossible since the Bushmen are very suspicious regarding their women. I am quite content to have succeeded in taking at least one photograph which illustrates these decorative scars tolerably well.

Men and women pierce their earlobes in precisely the same way as is customary among us.

Circumcision is not practiced.

According to statements of the Auin, the labia minora are sometimes clipped.

/142 cont./

304 Also, in rare cases the labia minora are supposedly stretched by pulling them with the hand.

F. Clothing

291 The clothing of the Auin can be seen in Photographs 25 and 26.

Men's Clothing

a) Cap made of hide (jackal, jumping hare, Erdmännchen [field mouse?], cat).

a[1]) War cap made of the hide of the aardwolf (see also Photo. 21), only worn in war.

b) Loincloths, always made of ibex hide. A string runs from the loincloth back through the buttock crease and is fastened tightly to the hip band from which the loincloth is suspended in front. The entire contraption has somewhat the same effect as a suspensory in that the scrotum is raised somewhat (see Photos. 9-11).

c) Cloak, always made of ibex hide.

[415] d) Collecting bag, always made of ibex hide.

In addition, one often sees sandals made of the hide of a large antelope, or sandals for running (see Fig. 5). [Fig. 5 appears here.]

Further, there is a kind of fan consisting of a jackal tail [293] fastened to the end of a stick, as well as gaiters made of antelope skin. The latter are /143/ worn by men and women, particularly in thorny terrain. In shape they resemble the Greek greaves.

Women's Clothing (see Photos. 27 and 28)

a) Head ornament. On less festive occasions, a cap styled like the men's peace cap is often worn instead of the head ornament. Usually the head is uncovered on top.

b) Modesty apron. As can be seen in Photographs 12 to 14, this consists of a bundle of leather strips suspended from a string

[Text continues on page 19]

Fig. 5. Sandals

Fig. 5a

Fig. 5b

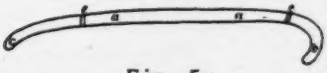


Fig. 5c

Fig. 5a. A sandal for running, viewed from below: a, flat part; b, tip bent under; c, back part bent under; d, edges bent under; e, holes for the thong fastenings.

Fig. 5b. Fastening of the sandal.

Fig. 5c. Side view of a sandal for running: a, flat part; b, tip; c, back; e, holes for the thongs.

The sandals for running are attached under the ball of the foot and in size exactly fit it. The entire sandal is bent downward in such a way that it increases the thrust of the body when the foot pushes in running. It is made of very hard gemsbok leather.

/143 cont./

291 around the hip. The modesty apron with ostrich egg shell ornaments shown in Photograph 12 on the woman farthest to the left is supposed to have been traded from Makoba [the Koba?]. I have never seen a back apron.

c) Cloak of duiker or ibex hide. This always covers the buttocks.

d) Collecting bag (like the men's bag).

f) Digging stick.

Children's Clothing (see Photo. 22)

Girls: modesty apron and cloak.

Boys: loincloth and cloak. A collecting bag is carried by
[415] both boys and girls.

The children receive the loincloth or modesty apron when they are about five years old.

The articles of clothing are sewed. Holes are drilled with
294 an iron awl, made of any little piece of iron picked up somewhere,
[412] or with a bone splinter. The sewing is done by drawing animal tendons through the holes.

123 When I photographed some Auin women in the nude (1), I had
834

1. I am fully aware that the following is not to be regarded as a "denial of the sense of shame." I have mentioned the matter here simply because I could not fit it in elsewhere.

to take care that all the Auin men, who incidentally, had given their consent, were removed. Several Whites and Herero, on the other hand, were allowed to remain.

G. Weapons (see Photos. 25 and 26)

411
[412] f) Digging stick, also used for beating and as a throwing club.

g) Bow and arrows.

h) Throwing lance.

/143 cont./

411 All the weapons are both tools for warfare and for hunting,
and in a sense they are also used for sport since contests are fought
[526] with them. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

Fig. 6. Lance Points. One-half natural size [as shown in original text].

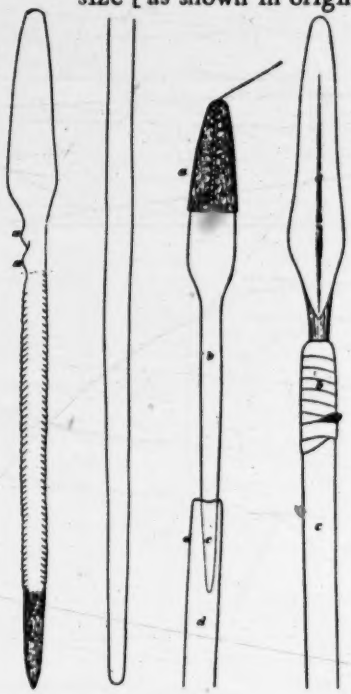


Fig. 6a Fig. 6b Fig. 6c Fig. 6d

[831] Fig. 6a. Iron point: a a, barbs. This is a "male" point; the barbs are the "testicles." The other lance points are "women," because they have no testicles (that is, barbs).

Fig. 6b. Lower end of a lance shaft, showing the tapering of a shaft at the lower end.

Fig. 6c. Iron point attached to the shaft: a, cover of sewed leather; b, iron part; c, iron part that is inserted in the shaft; d, wooden shaft.

Fig. 6d. Upper end of a spear: a, iron point; b, wrapping at

/143 cont./

411 the upper end of the shaft (strips of leather or neck tendons of a large antelope); c, shaft.

/144/ With the exception of the iron point of the throwing lances, all the weapons are manufactured by the Auin themselves.
[439] The lance points reach the interior of the Kalahari from Lake Ngami through trade.

411 The lance point (see Fig. 6) is the Bushman's most valuable
435 possession. One hardly ever sees such points in a settlement, even if he comes unannounced, but only the shafts that go with them. In this respect the Bushman is so suspicious that even within the settlement he always hides the points, usually by burying them.

[422] Every adult Auin possesses one or more spears.

The iron point is inserted into the wooden shaft somewhat
411 loosely so that it can easily be taken out. The upper end of the shaft is wrapped with a strip of antelope skin or antelope neck tendons. The point also serves as a tool for handwork in place of a knife.

When the lance is carried, for which a leather strap like a
[482] rifle sling is used, it is commonly protected by a small leather cover (Photo. 25i). [Fig. 7 appears here.]

The manner of holding the bow and arrow when shooting seems to be fairly arbitrary. I have recorded the most common methods pictorially (see Photos. 29 to 32).

The bowstring is made of animal tendons twisted together. The strings were always pushed up on one side and fastened at the other (see Figs. 7a and 7b).

Composite bows do not exist.

The arrows are made exclusively from reeds which merely need to have grown straight to supply the ready-made arrow shaft. At the upper end, where the loose arrowhead is inserted, and at the bottom, where a simple, ordinary notch is made, the shaft is always wrapped with a flat, narrow grass band. Sometimes places in the middle of the shaft are wrapped. The length of the arrow shaft varies between 48 and 52 centimeters.

Feathered arrows do not occur.

The art of making arrows and arrowheads is a common posses-
411 sion of all adult Auin. There are no special arrow makers.
463 An exception to this is the manufacture of iron arrowheads, which is practiced only by some individuals, usually older persons.

/144 cont./

411

Fig. 7. Ends of the Bow. One-half natural size [as shown in original text].

Fig. 7a. End with the Bowstring Drawn Up: a, bow; b wrapping of tendons; c, string which is drawn up with a simple noose.

Fig. 7b. End with Bowstring Fastened: a, wood of the bow; b b, wrapping; b, support for the string; c, bowstring; c^1, noose which draws up tightly.

Fig. 7a

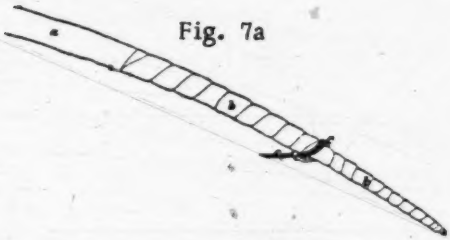


Fig. 7b

The arrowhead is a work of art carried out with the most meticulous care.

The bone arrowhead is supposedly made from ostrich bones. I am unable to name the tools used.

By means of the drawings in Figure 8 I have tried to give as graphic a picture as possible of the arrows and arrowheads.

Usually the arrows are carried together with the bow in a

/144 cont./

411 quiver. Sometimes the arrows are in a special quiver made of
[237] eland horn or bark, which is closed off at both ends with a leather cover (see Photos. 29 and 32).

The Auin almost always carries in his quiver a small container like the arrow quiver of eland horn or bark just described, in which he keeps arrowheads, poison, and other small necessities for shooting.

The notched end of the arrow is pulled toward the chest when the bow is drawn.

714 The war cap is to be regarded as the sole battle ornament. It is made of aardwolf hide (see Photo. 21).

H. Hunting and Agriculture

224 Hunting is done both individually and in groups.

Hunting dogs are to be found in occasional, isolated instances,
[231] but then they are usually obtained from the Kaffir or Betschuana.
[439] The Auin maintain, however, that they know how to train hunting dogs. Collars and the like are not customary.

/145/ [Fig. 8 appears here.]

[422] I was unable to discover whether marks of ownership are applied to weapons and the like. On the other hand, I noticed that people immediately recognize their possessions.

There are no closed seasons on hunting.

The Auin prepares a kind of dried meat. Pieces of meat of any
251 length and width are cut very thin (almost transparent) and are dried on trees in the sun. This dried mass, as hard as wood and inedible to a European, keeps for weeks during the dry season. There must be an almost unlimited surplus of meat available, how-
[264] ever, if the Auin is to decide to preserve some, since he is accustomed to stuff himself to the point of unconsciousness. I have seen a single Bushman, without any help, consume a fully grown Klipbok weighing about six kilograms.

224 Undoubtedly there are especially industrious and impassioned huntsmen, as well as the opposite. I found some people who were absolutely useless on the hunt.

[Text continues on page 25]

Fig. 8. Arrows and Arrowheads.
One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].

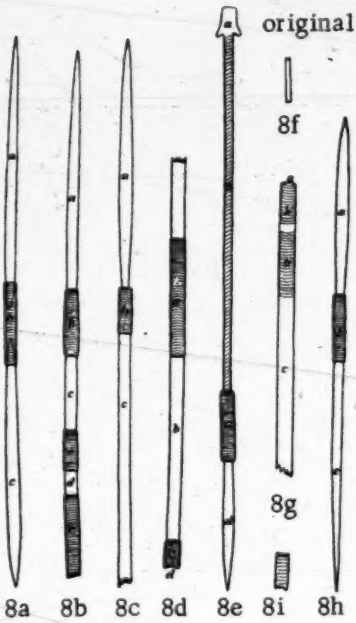


Fig. 8a shows the connection between the ends of the two points: a, bone spindle covered with a layer of poison; b, reed connection which is wrapped with a strip of grass; c, bone spindle without poison that is inserted in the shaft.

Fig. 8b. Upper end of an arrow shaft with poisoned point inserted: a, poisoned point; b, unwrapped reed connecting piece; c, bone spindle to be inserted; d, arrow shaft; e e, wrappings for the shaft (grass).

Fig. 8c. Arrow with bone point inserted: a, bone spindle; b, wrapping of the upper shaft; c, shaft.

Fig. 8d. Lower end of an arrow: a, wrapping; b, shaft; c, wraping; d, notch.

Fig. 8e. Poison arrow with iron point: a, sharp point with barbs (unpoisoned); b, iron part wrapped with strips of grass (presumably the poison does not stick to the iron); c, connecting reed; d, bone spindle to be inserted.

Fig. 8f. Strip of grass for wrapping.

Fig. 8g. Upper end of an arrow shaft: a, opening; b b, wrapping; c, reed.

Fig. 8h. Bone point: a, spindle to be inserted; b, connecting piece; c, poisoned point.

Fig. 8i. Notched end of an arrow.

/145 cont./

224 The main method of hunting is to stalk the game with bow and poisoned arrow. It is unnecessary, I believe, to emphasize that the Auin, like every Bushman, is an unsurpassed master of this art. He usually shoots at a distance of only a few paces. This manner of hunting is applicable to almost every type of game.

In the following I shall describe how the Auin customarily kill the main types of game. I have omitted stalking in those cases where it is naturally also a secondary method of hunting.

Gemsbok and wildebeest. The Bushman stays on the track for days on end and does not give the animal any rest. Finally he hunts it down to finish it off. A large tree branch with many twigs is thrust between the gemsbok's horns. While the gemsbok tries to rid itself of the branch, the Bushman severs its posterior flexing sinews or throws his spear at its shoulder blade.

Overtaking a gemsbok on foot sounds very much like a hunter's exaggeration, but the physiological explanation is that the Bushman simply does not allow the animal any rest for digestion and ruminating. After several hours an inflammation of the stomach sets in, which makes the animal almost incapable of movement.

The other large animals, such as the giraffe, eland, hartebeest, ostrich, and the springbok, cannot be approached in this way, and for them the Bushman confines himself to stalking. The small /146/ bucks can only be finished off when they are mired in wet ground.

[223] Guinea fowl are stealthily approached and killed by stones or a stick thrown at them.

The aardvark is dug out. The Bushman, however, tackles this laborious job only if the aardvark cannot go too deep, in other words, if it is suspected that rocky subsoil lies below the sand. For this purpose he uses a spade (obtained from the Whites) [177] which is usually the common property of the settlement. How he could accomplish it without a spade is unclear to me, since the aardvark digs about as rapidly as a practiced workman with a spade.

The porcupine and the anteater are likewise dug out.

Hares are hunted by throwing sticks at them. Hunting them, however, is said to be only rarely successful. Usually a small

/146 cont./

224 pitfall is put on the trail. I have never seen larger pitfalls for big game in the Auin region.

The jumping hare is held fast in its burrow (not pulled out!) [171] and pressed against the end of it with the well-known angling [411] stick of the South Africans, which among the Auin displays no special characteristics. A vertical hole is then dug from above, and the animal is taken out.

Hyrax. The exits of the burrow are blocked and then an opening is made (that is, dug in from the top).

Leopards are hunted only when several keen dogs are available. The animal is then covered by the dogs and killed with spears by several Bushmen. Without dogs, the Bushman dispenses with this sport, which every expert will understand.

The cheetah is pursued on foot by several people until it is exhausted and then killed with clubs and spears.

Hyenas are not hunted. They are smoked out only when a brood with young animals has been found in a hole in the ground, and the asphyxiated animals are then dug out.

The aardwolf is suffocated in his burrow by smoke and then dug out.

The jackal is not hunted since the Bushman supposedly does not get it anyway.

The wild dog (Lycaon pictus) is not hunted. I believe that in case of an encounter between the two the Bushman himself would usually constitute the game.

In isolated cases the skin of an ostrich, with a stick placed [237] in the neck, is used as a mask. The hunter slips into the skin after he has colored his legs with chalky soil. This mask is used [223] for hunting ostriches as well as other types of game.

The Bushman is unable to make other masks since he cannot [281] soften the skins of larger animals without changing their natural appearance. At the same time, the Auin described other masks to me so accurately that I could not doubt that their manufacture and use was known to them.

The characteristic sound of the young springbok, duiker, and klipbok is imitated with the lips while the nose is held with the index and middle finger.

The frightened scream of the young gemsbok and wildebeest is likewise imitated.

/146 cont./

223 In addition, hiding places are set up near ostrich nests in order to note the time when the young animals creep out of the egg. If the Auin wants to kill the ostrich hen in her nest, he waits for a moment when the hen has left the nest and sticks an arrow into the ground between the eggs, with the poisoned point upward. When the hen sits down to hatch her eggs, the poisoned point pierces her body and she dies after a few seconds. This perfidious form of hunting is the reason that one encounters many more ostrich cocks than hens in the Kalahari.

224 Hunting drives are used for gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, and springbok.

Hunting by fire is unknown.

The following animals are caught with snares: ibex, giant [223] bustard, duiker, ostrich, guinea fowl, Koran [?], aardvark, jumping hare, ground squirrel, sand grouse, Greek partridge, smaller species of cat, and small antelopes.

A snare is matter-of-course for animals that inhabit caves, for example, the aardvark. It is placed around the entrance and fastened to a tree. The animal then draws the snare up tight when it goes in or out of the cave.

223 224 For fowl and small bucks, long, special trails which the animals are forced to use are constructed of thorny shrubbery and provided with narrow openings. If the animal tries to go through the opening, its neck is caught in a snare. Bait, of course, is not necessary. Such special trails, of which I have seen specimens as long as 1,000 meters, by no means constitute an impassable corral; rather, they are constructed of very low branches, loosely lying next to one another, which the game could jump over without any difficulty. Generally, however, the animal ambles along such /147/ a trail until it finds a convenient opening.

223 Ostriches, giant bustards, Korane, guinea fowl, sand grouse, and Greek partridges are caught by means of the spring trap. A little tree, whose strength depends upon the game to be caught (for the ostrich, naturally, it has to be fairly strong), is bent down to the ground and held by means of a string. The string ends in a noose which is fastened to the ground with wooden pegs. Bait (usually a ball of resin) is put in the middle of the circle formed by the noose. By means of a simple connection, the

/147 cont./

223 noose is released when the animal takes the bait, and at the same time the gallows springs back and pulls the animal up in the air by its neck. Concerning the material used to make the noose, see page 41. The arrowheads of the Auin are generally
411 poisoned. I have also found arrows which had only a single unpoisoned bone point. These are used for sport, perhaps also for killing small birds.

Manufacture of the arrow poison. Burkea africana (firewood
278 of the Bushmen) is inhabited during the rainy season by a beetle (or a species of termite?) which toward the end of the rainy season pupates in the soil under the tree. The larvae are dug up, killed, dried in the sun, and rubbed between stones.

Roots of the thorny tschamma (Cucumis heptactylus Naud.) are laid on red-hot coals, taken out warm, and the bitter sap pressed out. This sap is mixed with the poisonous paste, and the resulting dirty, reddish-brown preparation represents the finished arrow poison. The poison is applied to the arrow point in a layer several millimeters thick and dries there.

The Bushmen greatly fear their own arrow poison and always
278 carry the poisoned point hidden in the shaft. The poisoned end
411 is exposed only just before it is to be used. The layer of poison on the iron points, which because of their width cannot be concealed in the arrow shaft, is always wrapped with bast which is not taken off until the arrow is to be used. All Auin can make arrow poison and readily demonstrate the process.

224 The decorative scars described on page 16 are to be regarded
304 as hunting trophies.

The hunters supposedly tell exaggerated tales. Quarrels on
521 these occasions sometimes end in bloodshed.
578

The only domestic animal is the dog.
[231]

The Bushman doctor is supposed to let blood for healing pur-
757 poses. For instance, in the case of a man who could not run well, bloody incisions were made in his upper thigh. On the other hand, I do not know whether this procedure can be described as "bloodletting." Scars from such incisions were shown to me several times.

413 The surgical instrument is a little sharpened piece of iron.

/147 cont./

241 Agriculture is unknown. Only accidentally grown food plants are known.

In order to promote the growth of the veld crop, the Bushman
222 burns off the grass. A Bergdamara with whom I rode across a
311 burning grass veld said to me: "The Bushman is making his garden."

462 Work of the men:

Hunting
Occasional veld crop gathering
Collecting wood
Fetching water
Preparing hides
Making clothes
Making weapons and mortars
Making strings
Making fire by twirling

Work of the women:

Hut construction
Cooking
Veld crop collecting
Maintaining the fire
Getting wood
Getting water
Making women's clothes

The only "agricultural implement" is a digging stick
412 (see Fig. 9).

For one who is not a botanist it is impossible to describe in
222 intelligible terms, even roughly, the numerous wild food plants of the Auin. The collection of specimens must take the place of a description. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to make such a collection.

For the person who is familiar with the Southwest African veld crops, I shall give a list of some food plants, which, however, is by no means exhaustive.

Tschamma
Spiny tschamma
Ontjes of the Boers
Water tubers
So-called "wild potatoes"

/147 cont./

222 Rosinkis of the Boers
So-called "wild cucumbers"
Mushrooms which grow on termite hills

251 The veld crop that has been gathered is kept in the huts in
[415] little sacks made of duiker or ibex leather.

/148/ The Auin also stores small caches of provisions by burying sacks of veld crops; he likewise buries tschamma or ostrich egg shells filled with water. In the tops of large trees one often finds, aside from animal hides, provisions of veld crops which are kept there. [Fig. 9 appears here.]

423 Land is held in common, that is, it is the common property of a horde consisting of several families. The game in this territory, as well as the wood and the veld crops, is exclusively for the use of the members of the community that holds the land. The watering places that are to be found there are available for general use, but only if water is abundant. If water is scarce, the local group that holds the land has exclusive right to it.

361 The local groups sometimes live at considerable distances
423 from one another so that the same land is used by several settle-
621 ments. The settlements, after all, do not consist of a fixed number of families, but rather of those who are gathered together in fortuitous groupings as the occasion arises. Whatever the accidental composition of the settlements may be, their members always move within a definite area, and it is always the members of the same larger horde who form the settlements.

423 Friendly hordes permit tracking, that is, game that has been
619 wounded on the land of one horde may be pursued on the territory of a friendly horde. A part of the booty is allotted to the "landowner" within whose territory the game is killed. A definite
[685] agreement is required in each case since the Bushman attacks on sight any strange Bushman on his family's terrain.

628 Blood vengeance is not sought for a violation of territory if the local groups are especially friendly. The offender is driven off and, in addition, just as in Prussia, his "firearms" and booty are confiscated. The policing of the terrain is done by each Bushman on his communal land.

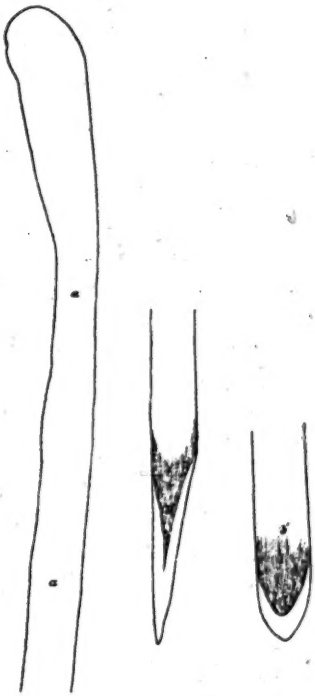
If women are caught trespassing, they are taken prisoner and
[721] led to the settlement of the owners of the terrain. This frequently leads to war if the women are harmed sexually during their captivity.

[Text continues on page 32]

/148 cont./

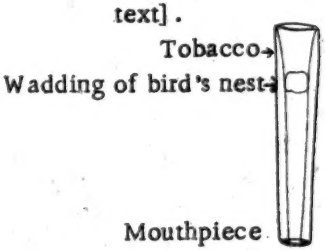
412

Fig. 9. Digging Stick. One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].



[276] a, stick; b, point for digging; b^1, the same viewed from the side.

Fig. 10. Tobacco Pipe (cross-section). One-half natural size [as shown in original text].



/148 cont./

628 captivity. Blood vengeance is exacted by the Bushmen for
684 adultery under all circumstances.

J. Luxuries

276 Tobacco, which is exclusively an imported product, is
[439] greatly coveted. A pipe of tobacco is the Auin's greatest pleasure. [Fig. 10 appears here.]

Taking snuff is unknown.

Everybody smokes, including little children.

The Auin manufacture a tobacco pipe (see Fig. 10) from a
324 soft red stone (serpentine) which supposedly is found only at the watering place Korikas. Indeed, immediately above the source, one does find a kind of modest quarry there.

/149/ A fragment of this stone is conically hollowed out with a lance point or an iron knife and then shaved down on the outside toward the hollow until the wall is about two to four millimeters thick. This pipe resembles an ordinary conical cigar
276 tip. A wadding made from the nest of the weaver bird (?) prevents the tobacco from falling out.

Occasionally one will also see a pipe plug or cleaner which usually is made of rosinkis wood without the bark and is attrac-
[531] tively decorated with a kind of pyrography. The decoration consists of lines and dots scratched in with a red-hot needle. The hairline precision of the lines is particularly striking.

The pipe plug (see Fig. 11) is worn around the neck on a chain of glass beads or on a leather belt (see also Photo. 1, the second man from the right).

The Auin only occasionally receives tobacco, either from
[439] the Whites when he performs services for them as a messenger,
[648] guide, and the like, or from Kaffirs employed by Whites, who exchange it for veld food.

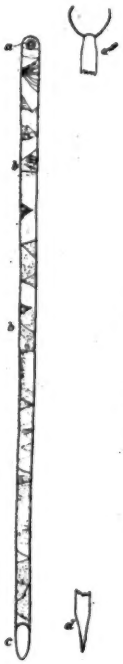
Hemp or dacha of the Kaffirs (haium of the Auin).

Hemp is smoked in the ordinary tobacco pipes with equal passion by men and women.

I did not see anyone who had become ill from smoking hemp. The Auin themselves were only aware that its enjoyment sometimes produces nausea.

276
531

Fig. 11. Pipe Plug. One-half natural size [as shown in the original].



An example of Auin decoration.

The design is scratched on the wood with a needle; the dots are pricked in.

a, hole for a string
a^1, side view
b b, long part
c, point
d, side view of the point

The Bushman second from the right in Photo. 1 is wearing the pipe plug around his neck.

276
439

The hemp is cultivated by the Kaffir in Oas, by the Betschuana in Chanse Veld, and probably also by White farmers. The Auin acquire it through barter.

249

The Auin maintain, furthermore, that they are capable of growing hemp themselves. This "cultivation" is done in the following manner: in soft sandy soil a circular area, 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter, is surrounded by a little dam a few centimeters high. Using one finger, ten to 15 holes are made in the area surrounded by the dam, and a hemp seed is placed in each hole. The "seedbed" is then kept well under water.

/149 cont./

249 The Auin have copied this procedure from the Bergdamara of
[177] Oas.
[273] The process of fermentation is unknown.
[i.e., of growing hemp.-Analyst]

K. Toys, Games, Sport

524 Little bows and arrows serve as children's toys.

A Chinese puzzle game is played by young and old, men and women alike. I have chosen the above designation because of the nature of the game.

The partners sit opposite each other in a crouch.

Both tap their thighs with both hands in rhythmic alternation and at the same time murmur meaningless inarticulate sounds.

One partner then suddenly extends his right or left hand toward the other or makes some other kind of motion with his hand. The point, now, is that the opponent must immediately extend the same hand or respond to the given motion with a similar one; in short, he must not allow himself to be confused. [Fig. 11 appears here.]

If, for instance, the opponent motions with the wrong hand or makes any other mistake, his partner very briefly signals his advantage by making a throwing motion with his hand or by striking his right index finger on his left fist (intended to signify: "I am breaking his, that is, the opponent's, head in two"). The game is not interrupted by these rapid signals.

/150/ The entire game is played at a fairly rapid speed.

Sometimes several men sit across from one another and take turns in the matches. Even little boys take part in the game of the adults.

[171] The Herero and Bergdamara play a similar game. The Auin, however, maintain that it is an original Bushman game.

Prizes are not awarded. They play purely for the "glory."

525 Game of chance: this bears great resemblance to the Chinese puzzle game, except that the participants also tap the ground with their knees. The "killing," that is, defeat of the opponent, is indicated by a loud exclamation without interrupting the progress of the game. The stakes (for instance, tobacco, food)

/150 cont./

525 are placed between the players and taken by the winner, but since the luck often changes during a match, the same prize passes back and forth frequently.

I have seen this game played only by two men (not by women and children). One finds especially passionate players

524 among the Auin, in particular among older men.

535 Dancing game of the women (goei) (see Photos. 36 and 37).

I am in doubt as to whether I should classify this under games or dances.

A number of women line up along a tree trunk lying on the ground. All of them in rhythm alternately place the front part of first the right and then the left foot on the trunk. It proceeds in this fashion, slowly at first, then ever faster. If the women have their backs turned to the tree trunk, they place their heels on it in the same fashion.

Sometimes also two rows of women will face each other.

[533] Frequently, a kind of rhythmical singsong is also uttered by them.

The game is begun with everyone calling out //ai, meaning something like "let's go."

In some dances bucks' horns are tied in front of the forehead (eland bull dance). One can hardly designate these as true masked dances, however.

The Auin are acquainted with stilts, which are used by men

481 and boys. I might mention that I did not see any, but when I described them the Auin seemed to be very familiar with them.

526 Foot races (gâ).

The runners line up in a row, and at the word "gâ" they all run. The winner obtains a prize of food or of some useful object (for example, a knife).

Older people act as judges. Bloody quarrels are said to occur

[578] when the prizes are awarded.

Stick throwing (gai or albi).

Thin sticks of any length up to two meters and taken from the rosinkis bush are thrown forward with a whistling swing and from a running start (they are not flung like a spear, but grasped at one end). The object is to throw as far as possible. No prizes are offered; hence it is a real sport. Since it is fairly strenuous, this game, like all the others, incidentally, is played only when

/150 cont./

526 there is a good supply of food, in other words, only during the crop season (rainy season). Sometimes, also, a heap of sand about one and a half meters high is piled up and one must throw over it.

The game is played for hours by boys and men with great shouts of joy.

[171] [177] This sport[1] is likewise practiced by the Kaffir and Herero. The Auin state that it is not an original Bushman game.

Wrestling (see Photo. 34). This seems to have a somewhat more serious character, since the victor deals severely with the loser and has nothing to do with him for a long time. Nonetheless, the Bushmen designate it as a game.

Shooting with bow and arrow (unpoisoned arrow tip toward the front). The target is a tschama or any other soft object, in order to spare the arrow. One by one, the competitors shoot from the same place. The winner receives a prize (food, a knife, or the like).

Spear throwing. The target (tschama) is placed on a stick planted in the ground.

At a distance of 20 meters, only one throw out of 30, performed by six men, hit the target.

The target was an insert from a flour box.

Prizes are offered.

Riding (see Photo. 35). Two men form a "horse," the third "rides." (Gabi, "to ride.")

[1] [i.e., of stick throwing.-Analyst]

L. Music

534 Musical bows of various sizes made of "rosinkis wood" with animal tendons. The striker is made of any kind of wood.

I have a suspicion that the two Auin in Photograph 38 cheated a bit, because one of them has a shooting bow while the other has taken up any old stick. It is likely that just at that moment they had no proper musical bow at hand. At the same time, of course, it is true that one can make "music" on any strung bow. This music, by the way, is clearly audible to other people, not only to the player.

533 /151/ There are no special musicians. On the other hand, one does find certain individuals who clearly take more joy in

/151 cont./

533 music than others. I have observed a man who played his musical bow in every spare moment.

Rhythmic hand clapping accompanies singing.

534 237 Dance rattles (guri) are made of the cocoons of a night butterfly. These cocoons are strung on strings and dried. While the cocoons are still soft, little stones or pieces of ostrich egg shell are pressed into the inner cavity and the soft envelope is closed over them (see Photo. 39).

The rattles, when they are dried and hard, are strung and 535 fastened to the ankle. They are supposed to be used at all dances.

War dance (see Photos. 41 and 42).

The women sit or stand, clapping their hands and singing, while the men crouch or stand opposite them. One man slides out of the row on his knees toward the row of women and makes war-like gestures, as though he were evading an arrow, flinging a spear, etc.

One of the women thrusts out an arm and utters a brief, deep cry, thereby indicating that a spear has been thrown or an arrow shot. The man pretends he is wounded and screams. If he is "dead," he crawls back, and a new solo dancer takes his place. Women, too, are sometimes "dead" or "wounded."

Indecisive battles are indicated.

Here, too, there are very passionate dancers, both male and female, as well as those who have a special talent for mimicry.

The porcupine dance (see Photo. 40) is performed only by men. A number of men stand facing one another, stamp the ground rhythmically, and utter loud shouts. One of them is the "porcupine," which is beaten to death by another man or stabbed with a spear. Everything is indicated by motions.

Eland bull dance. I was unable to learn the nature of this dance, but apparently the rutting lust of the eland is imitated.

M. Means of Transportation

487 Bush paths are formed by the Bushmen on the main lines of traffic, for instance, from the settlement to water. When a 648 Bushman uses the pad (that is, the road of the Whites), he has an

/151 cont./

648 unusually good conscience. In this case he usually is engaged on a messenger's errand. As a messenger serving the Whites, he may even traverse the territory of a hostile group (always on the highway!), without anything happening to him. This is a concession which the Bushmen make to our superiority.

N. Trade, Money Substitutes, Weights and Measures

438 Trade between friendly groups or settlements is carried on by a fairly small troupe of men and women (a larger troupe would create the suspicion of hostile intentions) going to the settlement with which they want to trade and first laying aside their weapons. Then they ask for permission to enter the settlement.

[619] If two settlements are hostile to each other, which incidentally seems to be the normal state of affairs, women sometimes nevertheless go to the hostile village to trade. Trade is wholly barter.

Despite their primitive nature, these trade relations are territorially very extensive and are carried out through various intermediaries all the way from the Zambezi to the Orange River. It goes without saying that the Auin himself never goes that far.

It appears that in relation to other Bushman tribes the Auin is quite unproductive. For instance, the Kung manufactures the highly valued and profitable ostrich egg chains, and the Noroon [Naron] makes and trades hide clothing and bone arrow points, whereas the Auin appears to be exclusively an intermediary and in this way gains possession of the coveted objects.

I did not get the impression that the Auin trades goods with the express intention of exchanging them further. Rather, it seems that he first acquires the trade items for his own use and later exchanges them again when the opportunity presents itself.

The chief articles of exchange are: salt (from the Noroon), bow and arrow, points for the throwing spear (Makoba), wooden pots, wooden bowls, wooden spoons (apparently from the Ambo or Owakwanguari by way of the northern Hai//um [Heikum]), European store goods from the Aikwe [Naron] of the Chanse Veld.

Within the settlements the following articles are the chief

/151 cont./

438 objects of exchange: veld food, meat, articles of clothing, and utilitarian objects. It appears that barter is also carried out in a smaller circle. To the "child of the moment," something different is always preferred.

[443] Markets are not held.

The chains of ostrich egg shells have a certain fixed value [435] since they are highly coveted. A leaf [Platte] of tobacco likewise has a fixed value.

/152/ This means that under all circumstances, wherever [436] one goes, both tobacco and chains can be traded. Only in this sense is it possible to speak of money substitutes. I am convinced that with a sufficient number of tobacco leaves [Plattentabak] in one's pocket, and without any provisions, one can live by barter, that is, if the Bushman himself happens to have anything.

The only things that one might not be able to obtain from the Auin in exchange for tobacco are lance points.

The Auin is unacquainted with our custom of indicating 804 length with two fingers of one or both hands. Length is indicated by pointing with one finger to the index finger of the other hand or to a stick.

A "fathom" is indicated by extending both arms, in a manner similar to ours.

As a "dry measure" they use one or both cupped hands, the latter held close together.

Another dry measure is made by crooking the arm and filling the hollow between the arm and chest with a cloth, or both arms are crooked with the hands fastened together in front of the body and the hollow is filled with a cloth.

We also have the saying "an armful."

The hide cap is also used for measuring.

As rough as the measures are, they nonetheless appear to have a certain, though naturally quite inexact validity. I have observed how a Bushman exchanged "an armful" of veld food for tobacco. The owner of the tobacco did not deem the goods he received sufficient, and the other had to add "a handful."

Weights are estimated. Naturally, an object for comparison is always present.

Weights are estimated, as among us, by briefly lifting the weights to be compared, one after the other. Even the accompanying

/152 cont./

804 reflective and sly facial expression is exactly the same as ours.

O. Techniques

439 511 A definite domestic industry is present. Whatever the Auin really needs, he is able to manufacture for himself. All imported objects are luxury items. I make an exception in the case of the iron lance points, but I believe that if necessary the Bushman could even do without them.

463 The beginnings of a division of labor can be seen in the fact that only certain individuals practice the smith's trade, which, incidentally, does not extend to the manufacture of lance points.

323 Pottery is unknown.

439 Pots, supposedly from the Okovangga, are to be found sporadically. The Auin, however, is unable to repair such a vessel, as by puttying.

285 Rings of braided grass are manufactured. I myself have never seen them, since they are only made of young, but no longer green grass, in other words, shortly after the rainy season.

[294] It is said that at the same time of year certain special artists braid hat-like head coverings.

The grass rings and hats have only a limited durability, for in September and October there was none left for me to see.

[415] Sieves are made of parallel grass leaves joined together by thin strings. They are used to strain food.

"Kirris" are made with attractive decorations (Fig. 12).

413 531 A root stock with a knotty end is peeled and made smooth. A kind of pyrography is practiced on it by wrapping it, leaving bare spaces, with a long strip of the wet bark that was peeled off, and then placing the entire stick in red-hot coals. The unwrapped parts burn to a black color, while the other parts remain white.

I could not learn the purpose of these decorated sticks among the Auin. They use rough, pointed sticks for digging sticks. The kirris, therefore, seem to be luxury articles.

412 Iron knives, sharpened pieces of iron, or lance points are used as tools. As an example of pyrography, see the pipe plug, page 33.

/152 cont./

415 Mortars and pestles, as well as spoons of wood, are made (see Photo. 18).

[287] Painting and bark working are unknown.

171 281 The preparation of hides is the same as that practiced by the Hottentot, Herero, Bergdamara, and Betschuana. Hence, I shall dispense with a description of the process.

281 386 The women's cosmetic described above is used to dye clothing made of hides. The dye is rubbed on with the ball of the hand and is comparatively waterproof.

To be sure, it is questionable whether this process may be called "dyeing." The hides are already red from the tanning process, and the cosmetic scarcely changes the color. Perhaps it is better regarded as impregnation or greasing.

386 438 /153/ The colored stones that are pulverized and mixed with fat to make the cosmetic are dug up near Kaitsaub (45 kilometers south of Gobabis) by the Hai//um Bushmen residing there, and they constitute an article of trade. [Fig. 12 appears here.]

283 The beautiful and durable cordage of the Auin is made of the fiber of a wild agave. It looks so neat and clean that one might suspect its origin to have been in a European rope factory rather than in a Bushman settlement.

The cords are made in various strengths and are used for all kinds of purposes, mainly for the game snares.

Their manufacture is very simple and proceeds very rapidly. The leaf is softened by tapping with a wooden stick, and it is then placed on a firm base. One hand holds a pointed stick or a blunt knife firmly on the leaf, while the other hand draws the leaf against the vertically held knife and toward the body. After this has been repeated several times, the strong fibers remain and are then rolled together into cords of the thickness and length desired.

Industrial use of Bushman cordage does not seem impossible to me.

412 As a drill, the lance point or an iron knife is used, frequently red-hot.

325 Only pieces of iron found accidentally are worked. The extraction of iron from ore is unknown.

[372] Charcoal made from the giraffe acacia is the preferred fuel for ironworking.

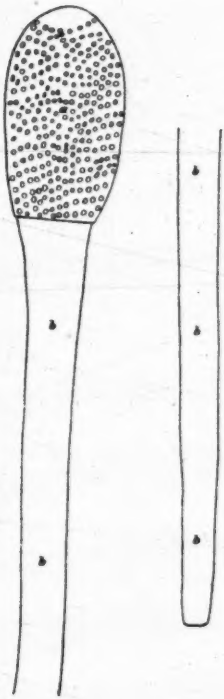
[Text continues on page 43]

/153 cont./

411
412

Fig. 12. Club. One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].

[177]

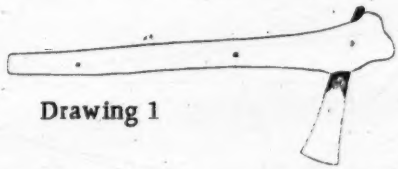


The club is an exceedingly rare imitation of a Makobe club and made by the Auin themselves.

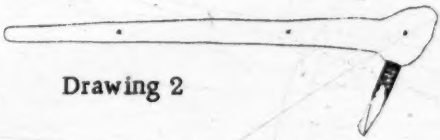
a, knob of the club, showing burned-on decoration.

b b, handle.

Fig. 13. Ax. One-quarter natural size [as shown in original text].



Drawing 1



Drawing 2

Drawing 1. Ax with perpendicular edge:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

Drawing 2. Ax with horizontal blade:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

[439] The iron blades are obtained in trade from Makoba.

/153 cont./

325 A jackal tail fastened to a stick is used to fan the fire.

[237] A hollow reed serves as a bellows, through which one blows with his mouth to fan the fire. Whether this actually suffices to bring the iron to a red heat, however, I am unable to say.

412 Two rocks take the place of hammer and anvil. Should iron tools, such as an ax or the like, happen to be available to the Auin, these are naturally preferred.

Two pieces of green wood roughly fastened together like pincers serve as tongs.

326 The smiths (only a few, usually older people know this trade) are respected, as is shown by the fact that they are "provided with food everywhere," which is apparently the way the Auin customarily express their special esteem. [Fig. 13 appears here.]

/154/ P. Political Conditions

721 The Auin, like all Bushmen, is very warlike. Every man and youth is a warrior and capable in the use of weapons.

[714] There is no declaration of war, but if a Bushman is wearing his cap of aardwolf hide, he is on the warpath (see Photo. 21).

Special training in the handling of weapons is unnecessary, since daily life forces the Auin to use his weapons constantly in hunting.

726 I myself have not witnessed any of their wars. A reliable Kaffir described an Auin campaign, in which he participated, as follows:

Several friendly settlements decided to join in an attack on another Auin settlement. They put on their war caps and after sundown marched off in the direction of the enemy. They halted in the vicinity of the enemy settlement and, without lighting a fire (this was during the cold season!), waited for morning. After sunrise, when it had become a little warmer, they surrounded the settlement and attacked it from all sides.

My informant related that the Auin had attacked with great determination and had primarily used the lance.

The attack was made with loud shrieks and cries; no special war cry was recognized.

/154 cont./

722 Women were not taken along on the expedition; the women of the settlement attacked immediately ran away.

[622] 701 In time of war the chiefs have general powers of command. Their authority is apparently no greater than in peacetime, when it is insignificant. Indeed, it is scarcely intelligible to us how a war can be carried on effectively under such circumstances.

[888] [756] Old people naturally have greater influence. The "doctor" is merely an accompanying warrior without special authority. Generally speaking, everyone for the most part does what he considers should be done; some co-operation is nevertheless apparent.

There is no fighting at night; at most they will march then.

726 619 Alliances are concluded, even between groups speaking different languages. For instance, men of different Auin settlements will ally themselves with a Naroon [Naron] settlement to attack another Auin settlement.

There is no political connection between all the Auin settlements. They form a single community only by virtue of their common language. For example, bitter hostility exists between the Auin of Gam and the Auin of Rietfontein, while the relations between the Rietfontein Auin and the Naroon settlements south of them are amicable. The two can communicate only through interpreters.

701 Young people who are staying in a given village for courtship participate without ado in the warlike undertakings of this village. I am unable to say what happens in case the undertaking is directed at the home settlement of the candidate for marriage.

Concerning the war dance and the accompanying song, see page 37.

727 Captured men are killed, and usually boys as well (because of the danger of blood vengeance).

Women and children are taken away, married, and completely assimilated into the group. Old women are killed. Objects that are useful are taken away; the rest is destroyed.

It is not worth the trouble to set fire to the windscreens.

728 Hostilities are officially concluded; unarmed negotiators appear to have safe conduct. War damages are paid in the form of food, tools, and women.

The description of the form of government is the most difficult chapter of this account.

/154 cont./

Every Auin adult can really do as he likes on the condition that
622 he does not offend against "good Bushman custom." On the other hand, he recognizes a chief, who, however, has as good as no authority at all. If, however, the chief has a rifle, for example, or if he is a very strong man, he has correspondingly greater influence. I have the impression that the chief acts more as a representative, a position which is of most importance in dealings with the Whites.

The chief has actual sovereign rights, like every other Bushman, only over his wives and children, and over the latter only while they are small.

No tribute or service is rendered, just as there are no external insignia of the chief's office.

The chief's office is hereditary in the male descent group. The office is not inherited until the candidate belongs among the men, that is, after schooling (see below) and after the killing of the first piece of big game. There is no proxy during the minority of the candidate. It works, even so!

/155/ The settlements unite and separate again depending
619 on the circumstances.

The chief of a horde, which is not always united in one
631 village, is called aichabn.

At a gathering of about 1,000 Auin, several chiefs were present. A common supreme chief was lacking.

Evidently it is old families of chiefs that possess these traces of authority. They constitute no special caste and do not belong to a foreign race.

Q. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

428 The oldest son is the heir of the insignificant legacy, which primarily consists of a few utilitarian objects and hides.

The widow inherits nothing, but she keeps the property she already owns. Younger sons and daughters inherit nothing.

628 Blood vengeance is the basic concept that gives the legal notions their distinctive character. The son is obligated to avenge his slain father; the brother avenges his brother. I was

/155 cont./

628 unable to learn whether these obligations also extend to more distant degrees of kinship.

If the murderer himself has died or cannot be reached, blood vengeance extends to his nearest male relatives.

The sons of a murdered man are obligated to take blood revenge as soon as they are grown.

The mother of the future avenger inculcates this duty in her [867] son as she rears him. As soon as the young man has killed the [884] first piece of game, his obligation goes into effect. He turns [602] to his kinsmen for help, which is immediately granted him. Similarly, the one who has reason to fear blood vengeance finds armed support among his relatives and fellow villagers. One can imagine what a maze of obligations for blood vengeance can arise from this situation.

619 It can happen that two settlements are "saddled" with so many obligations for vengeance that an encounter between mem-
628 bers of these settlements immediately leads to bloodshed. Perhaps this also helps to explain the fact that some villages within the Auin region have for many years been so hostile to one another that a boundary violation is punished by death on the spot.

Example: Auin from Rietfontein and Gam. It goes without saying that a mortal enmity more often exists between Bushmen of different languages, for instance, between Auin and Naroon, or Auin and Genkuin [Ginkwe]. An enmity of this kind evidently does not extend to the group as a whole; instead, it is doubtless always confined to a certain number of families and settlements.

The basis for the administration of justice is extensive and
628 energetic self-help. Any injustice inflicted is avenged by the injured party or his kinsmen with a beating or murder.

As an example of the kind of self-help and the complications resulting from it, I shall cite the following authenticated case. An old Auin from Olifantskluft was visiting his brother-in-law in Sidonitzaub. The host set a snare and caught a giant bustard which the guest found, took out of the snare, and began to consume. His host arrived on the scene and stabbed his brother-in-law in the stomach with his throwing spear. The murderer fled, but he was apprehended and shot by relatives of

/155 cont./

628 the slain man. Now, naturally, a blood feud exists between the settlements, which, incidentally, are related to each other directly and by marriage.

Furthermore, it is interesting that the Auin from
648 Sidonitzaub sent a messenger to me in Rietfontein, where I was
[123] station commander, and had him inquire whether I had any objection to their making "orlog" [Tr., probably from the Dutch word oorlog, "war"]. I conveyed to them that the affair was none of my business since the war would take place in British territory. Unfortunately I was transferred from Rietfontein shortly afterward and was therefore unable to witness the campaign as a "military correspondent." According to reliable reports, the war has been settled and three men were killed.

This inquiry addressed to me makes it clear that under the pressure of present conditions the "unfortunate child of the moment" does not always surrender immediately to the impulses of the moment.

It is scarcely possible to give even a rough picture of the
674 legal notions of the Auin.

There is no doubt that the Bushman possesses a very definite sense of justice, but I do not feel capable of comparing it intelligibly to our own conceptions of justice.

It is a little easier to indicate what the Bushman (Auin) regards as absolute injustice, such as murder, theft, adultery, violation of the family territory, and stealing water (the latter only if little water is available). At any rate, with extended investigation, the catalogue could be considerably enlarged.

Personal property includes the hut (though this is not an ob-
422 ject of value), weapons, clothing, utilitarian objects, hides, and ornaments.

It is true that the gathered veld crop, game that has been killed, and water that has been collected are also personal /156/ property, but these are subject to extensive communal use which becomes more limited only in case of famine or a water shortage.

The land of the horde is communal property, as are the
423 game, veld crop, wood, and water on the land, the latter with limitations.

When a Bushman has burned off a piece of land in order to

/156 cont./

423 foster the growth of the veld crop, he alone may lay claim to the yield of the burned veld. Others, even members of the same settlement, are not allowed to use it.

The territorial property of the individual hordes is precisely delimited, and the boundaries are known to everyone. Boundary markers naturally do not exist, but with his marvelous sense of place, the Bushman knows exactly, to the last bush, the extent of his territory.

565 Social distinctions do not exist, just as there are no servants or domestics.

576 They greet each other by extending hands in a manner that differs from our practice (see Photo. 43).

567 Slavery is unknown. Men who have been, captured in war
727 are killed; captured women are taken into the victorious group and accorded completely equal rights.

R. Marriage, Position of the Woman, Children

582 Men marry between the ages of about 16 and 18 years, girls between 13 and 16. Both sets of figures naturally are estimates.

584 The candidate for marriage addresses his suit to the girl's mother. If the latter is no longer alive, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is consulted only secondarily. The suitor brings his future in-laws presents in the form of game and veld food, sometimes over a period of more than a year.

If the affair proceeds smoothly, the man takes the girl to his hut after a time and the marriage is regarded as consummated.

If, in spite of the consent of her parents, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to express her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man will finally take the girl to his hut by force and have coitus with her. If she runs away, he brings her back. In this manner, her resistance seems to be gradually overcome.

684 If a man were to violate a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be killed.

585 No special ceremonies are observed to conclude the marriage. The marriage is considered consummated by coitus.

/156 cont./

584 The betrothal, which takes place immediately before the couple move into the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl's wrist, as can be seen in Photograph 44. Since, however, "betrothal" and "marriage" are separated only by the walk to the hut, the seizing of the bride's forearm may be regarded as concluding the marriage.

The seizing of the forearm is a fairly violent gesture, and on the way to the hut the bride allows herself in a certain sense to be dragged along. Could it be that this perhaps represents a vestige of an earlier custom of abducting the woman?

606 It is curious how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit down with her. If, for instance, he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law will go away. If he is absolutely forced to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.

163 I noted that most women had two or three children who were about two to three years apart (see p. 5).

591 The woman goes to the family or settlement of her husband, not the other way around. The fact that the young couple stays for some time in the settlement of the wife's parents, roughly until the first child is born, may have given rise to error. Later on, the couple always returns to the man's horde.

582 A man may not marry his own sister and likewise, naturally, neither his mother nor daughter. Other degrees of relationship constitute no absolute obstacle to marriage.

As a rule, however, one does not marry within his own family and, if possible, not even within his own horde. Preferably women are brought in from far away, often from groups speaking another language (Naroon, Genkuin, Hei-um [Heikum]).

851 The birth of a child does not necessitate a temporary separation of the marriage partners.

684 837 Marital fidelity seems to be observed to a fair extent. The adulterer is killed, and the wife is treated according to the temperament of the deceived husband, that is, she is given a more or less violent beating.

/156 cont./

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

/157/ Divorce rarely occurs, and then only when the woman
586 has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

In most cases, however, the woman remains with her hus-
[595] band even in old age, while he provides himself with one or two younger and stronger women.

The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

587 Widows are permitted to marry again after a certain time, as is also the case for divorced women.

589 There is no special dress for widows.

The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to
562 that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-
264 pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

[184] The Rietfontein Auin always have just one wife. The reason
595 for this is said to be that "little food" is available. The Auin from Gam, on the average, have two, sometimes five wives.

Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto de-
548 scribed, there are supposed to be prostitutes among the married
684 women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auin declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by
847 stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

/157 cont./

The water and food collected by menstruating women are
841 consumed only by the women themselves and old people; the younger ones "it makes weak."

593 The authority of the parents practically ceases as soon as
858 the children are in a position to provide food for themselves.

A child is named soon after birth by the grandfather or grand-
553 mother (whether on the paternal or the maternal side was not determined).

Boys reach puberty between 14 and 16 years of age and girls
145 between 13 and 15 years of age (estimates).

The declaration of a boy's maturity is a special event in the
881 life of the Bushman. Under the leadership of the "doctor," several youths from neighboring settlements march into the bush and live together there for some weeks on the veld crop. During this time they receive some sort of instruction in secret affairs. Young and old Auin alike, whom I interrogated separately, denied that this instruction pertains to sexual matters. To the question of what they did during their stay in the bush, I always received the answer: "They dance." They did, indeed, describe for me a kind of dance which decidedly has something childishly mysteri-
[535] ous about it. A boy seats himself "piggyback" on the back of another, and both wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier tramping with his feet as rapidly as possible without moving forward, while both of them utter a low "hu, hu" in as horrifying a manner as possible.

It is indeed difficult to imagine that this interesting occupation should last for weeks, interrupted only by sleeping and eating.

In addition, the young people seem to be treated quite badly in the course of this preparation and to receive little to eat; all of them concurred in the opinion that it is "miserable."

I learned through hints that the candidates for manhood play all kinds of tricks on neighboring villages during the night and play as "ghosts" a bit, as well as stealing food.

The actual attainment of manhood, after which the boys are
[884] warriors and are allowed to marry, is not solely dependent on attending the preparation, but also on the killing of the first piece of big game.

Tattooing is not connected with the official attainment of
[304] manhood

/157 cont./

881 manhood. In the case of girls no special preparation occurs. As soon as a girl has her first menstrual period, people from neighboring and friendly settlements assemble for a great celebration. The girl lies prone on the ground while old women form the orchestra near, singing and clapping their hands. The younger [535] women stamp /158/ along in goose step, their buttocks exposed. Individual men from time to time enter the circle and all of them imitate the movements and sounds of rutting animals. I believe that this is the eland bull dance. A girl may marry [582] only after the onset of the first menses.

S. Birth and Death

The birth takes place in the open air outside the settlement. 844 The woman sits on the ground with the upper part of her body propped up and her knees drawn up.

[845] Reviving apparently stillborn children by rubbing their limbs and bodies is practiced.

Old women assist at the birth. In difficult cases, for instance, when the woman is ill at the time of the birth, the "doctor" is called in.

The doctor, among other means that he employs, is supposed to relieve a difficult birth by performing a kind of sucking with his mouth at the vagina.

When he assists at a birth, the doctor murmurs magical formulas.

The umbilical cord is severed with the sharp edge of a reed splinter, never with any other object. Practical reasons for this could not be given: "It has always been so."

The man slings his bowstring around the body of the woman in labor. Then he goes away and during the birth stays in his hut.

I was unable to determine any symbolic significance in the use of the bowstring. The explanation was: "The birth is easier."

[846] The woman who has given birth is spared as long as a month after delivery and does not need to work.

The newborn child is wiped off with the nest of the weaver bird (?). In no case is water used.

/158 cont./

845 847 If twins are born, which apparently is very rare, one child is killed. When the twins are a boy and a girl, curiously enough it is the boy who is killed. The killing is done by the midwife or mother by burial immediately after birth.

852 A birth is celebrated by dancing, but only if enough food is on hand.

853 Nursing continues for two to three years.

A distinction is made between people who have died "well," 764 that is, easily and without a painful illness, and those who die [766] in great pain.

The former are buried in the bush near the surface in the vicinity of the settlement, and the settlement is moved.

766 The latter, whom the Bushman probably regards as possessed and fears even after death, are not buried at all since they are abandoned even before death, and the entire settlement flees.

In the case of a burial, it takes place immediately after 764 death.

The corpse is tied up in a crouched position, with the hands placed crosswise on the shoulders; the clothing is not removed.

The grave is not oriented with regard to any special direction; it is made as shallow and small as possible and is not provided with protective measures against predators.

The bow and the quiver with its contents are supposed to be hung on a stick planted into the ground over the head of the corpse. I present this with reservations, since I have never seen a grave marker of this kind.

People who have had a "good" death have died naturally; 761 the others were bewitched. I use this expression, since it seems to me to come closest to the conception of the Auin.

If an Auin has murdered another Bushman, he drags him 766 under a rosinkis bush and places him face downward on the ground.

The women of the settlement participate in the widow's 765 lament, which consists of howling and screaming. External signs of mourning are not worn.

/158 cont./

T. Religion, Cult, Mythology

756 The Bushman doctor conjures up rain by scattering on the
[789] ground a kind of red earth which he fetches from afar and carries about with him.

I regard the doctors, who take the place of sorcerers, as quite experienced people who have a considerable gift for observation. At the same time, they throw plenty of sand in their
[775] clients' eyes. The soul of the deceased does not die. The Bush-
[769] men have great fear of the dead and even of the place of death.

Illnesses that give rise to much pain and complaining on the
753 part of the sufferers are regarded as having been caused by a higher power (demons); others are regarded as natural illness.

The doctor practices exorcism by saying magical charms over
755 the sick person and finally, with the motion of a juggler, flinging to the ground a little piece of wood or the like which is supposed to have come from the body of the patient and to have caused the illness.

The only thing that I was able to establish concerning their
776 religious notions, despite weeks of fruitless endeavor, /159/ is that a higher power exists which may be harmful to men and may cause them to perish from serious illnesses. This higher power, which is feared, dwells "above." I could not get them to do more than point upward in the direction of the sky, except for the statement that the feared power is far beyond the treetops. [Fig. 14 appears here.]

The doctor is both physician and sorcerer. He is probably
756 also a priest, for whenever I asked questions concerning religion and the like, I was always referred to the doctor, who supposedly was informed about these matters.

Not every settlement has a doctor. Between Oas, Rietfontein, and Ganab (100 kilometers north of Rietfontein) there was supposedly only one.

The doctor has his head shaved smooth. In addition, he is said to wear ornaments that no other man may use.

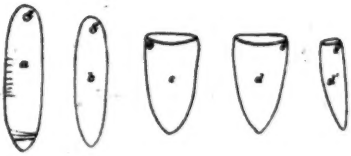
Boys who have been apprenticed to a doctor for many years may later, when they have become older, replace their master.

In the treatment of the sick, charlatanism seems to be mixed

[Text continues on page 56]

/159 cont./

787 Fig. 14. Prophecy Wood. One-half natural size
[as shown in the original text].



a, b, c, d, bits of wood of a set; d^1, side view of d; e e, holes for a string.

The prophecy wood consists of a set of four variously shaped bits of wood. These are thrown like our dice and the future can be predicted from their position, for example, whether hunting will be successful, or whether there will be a war.

An Auin maintained that from the prophecy wood he saw "an ox-wagon with two Whites approaching the settlement."
[791] The wood appears to belong to a dwindling group of persons who, like the "doctors," are cleverer than most people.

/159 cont./

756 with a considerable portion of actual experience and knowledge.

The doctors are paid for their efforts.

There are also female doctors.

[648] I have observed no sign of hostility toward Whites among these people. They know how to evade observation, however, even better than the ordinary Bushman, and that says a good deal.

Only the doctor may eat a certain kind of poisonous snake, apparently the so-called black mamba, which I regard as an older type of cobra.

U. Totemism

771 I was unable to observe any indications that might lead one to deduce the existence of totemism.

V. Medicine

755 A man who was suffering from headache had colored his forehead with a black grease that supposedly had curative powers and had wound a thin thong firmly around his head. Our household remedy of firmly squeezing the sides of the aching head with both hands was familiar to the Auin.

278 752 The Bushman doctor makes an antidote from the black mamba, which he alone may eat. This antidote is supposed to help against the bites of all snakes, except that of the mamba itself.

He dries and pulverizes the lungs, gall, and liver, as well as the poisonous fangs with the poison glands. This powder is stirred into a paste with the fat of the same snake, and the paste, so I was informed, is rubbed into the enlarged wound, which has first been sucked out.

At the same time, various deep incisions are made on the upper arm and chest, from which considerable blood flows.

278 Poisons that work internally are not manufactured. The Auin maintain, however, that the arrow poison also works internally.

The manufacture of arrow poison was described above.

/159 cont./

278 752 [411] Poisoned arrows shot into the chest and abdomen are described as unconditionally deadly. Arrow wounds on extremities, as well as very superficial ones, are supposed to be curable under certain circumstances if immediate help is provided.

[751] There is no inoculation against arrow poison.

[827] An older Auin suffering from badly inflamed eyes attributed this illness to an arrow wound he had received many years earlier. His statement, of course, cannot be verified.

165 Malaria is endemic and annually exacts many lives. The number of cases resulting in death was especially great in 1908-1909. Whole settlements are supposed to have died out. Epidemics were unknown even to the "oldest people."

Venereal diseases are blessings of civilization, but evidently not yet widespread.

731 Famine actually prevails every year toward the end of the dry season, especially if the preceding rainy season has been poor. During this time, almost all the Auin are emaciated to skeletons. Death by hunger is not supposed to /160/ occur. After all, the Bushman always finds something to eat, even if it is only grass seeds.

756 The so-called doctors decidedly possess great experience in medical matters, which, however, does not prevent them from practicing considerable charlatanism (see Section T).

W. Time Reckoning, Astonomy

805 The day is divided according to the position of the sun. Certain time segments are indicated with great exactitude according to the position of the sun. If one asks a Bushman, "How far is it to the watering place?" he will point to the place in the sky that the sun will have reached by the time one gets there.

The concept of the month is known (gnui, "month").

The relation of the solar year to lunar months is unknown.

The Auin divides up the year, for which, incidentally, he has no definite, but rather only a very vague concept, as follows:

/160 cont./

805 cold dry season,
warm dry season,
short rainy season,
rainy season.

Just as these various seasons of the year tend to be very irregular in the Kalahari, the Auin's division of the year also is quite variable.

821 There is only one designation, a collective name, for the starry sky.

173 I have not been able to detect any traces of a "history."

Only events going back at most two generations are transmitted as an oral tradition.

172 The Auin know nothing about the Bushman drawings.

At the watering place Kazupitzaub between Oas and Olifantskluft, in other words, in the Auin region, there are supposedly Bushman drawings on rock walls. The Auin call these drawings the "work of Satan." I should observe that this expression was given me by an interpreter who was unable to supply me with a better translation of the Bushman concept. In case I should once again go to this region, I shall report on this matter.

173 In their own opinion, the Auin have been living in the region they now occupy "as long as there have been human beings."

X. Counting and Calculating

802 Fingers and toes are used for counting.

Five is expressed by the word for hand, ten by two hands, 15 by two hands and one foot, 20 by two hands and two feet.

Among about 20 Rietfontein Auin, there was only one who could count beyond 20. I cannot say, however, whether this man may not have hit upon the idea through my suggestion. He counted up to 40.

/160 cont./

Conclusion

000 Should anyone intend to study the Auin more closely, he is urged to do so very soon.

In the near future the Auin will pay tribute to advancing civilization by surrendering their distinctive characteristics, or, what is even more probable according to what happened during the last occurrence of malaria, they will die out.

Auen

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[415]

Auin from Olifantskluft. Photo. 1.

Photo. 3.

Photo. 5

Auin from Rietfontein (North)

Auen

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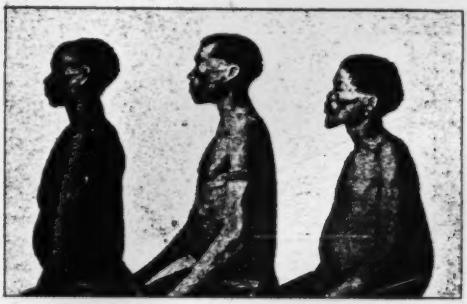
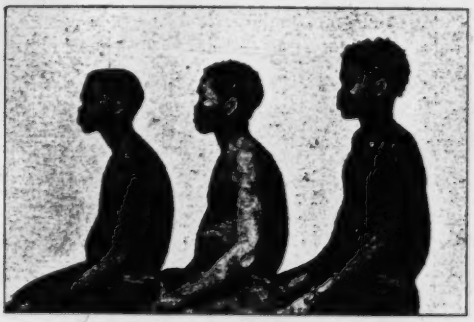
Photo. 2 [see Photo. 1]
ǂAuin from Olifantskluft

[301]



Age about 45 50 35 years
Photo. 4 [see Photo. 3]



Age about 17 25 22 years
Photo. 6 [see Photo. 5]
ǂAuin from Rietfontein (North)

Auen

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[301]

≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

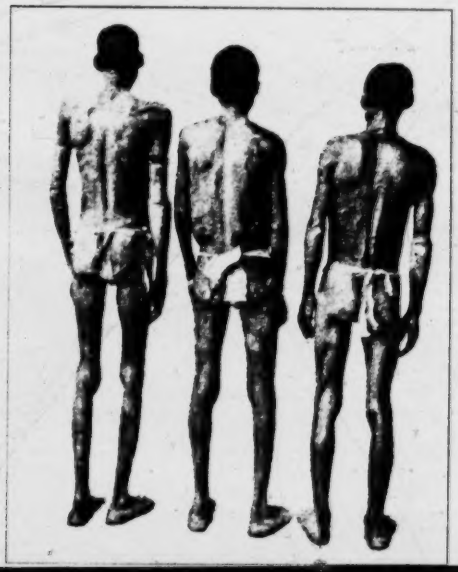
Photo. 7

≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Photo. 9

Photo. 11

≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)



Auen

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≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Age about 22 30 35 years

Photo. 8 [see Photo. 7]

≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Photo. 10 [see Photo. 9]

Photo. 12
≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)

Auen

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Photo. 13
ǂAuin from Rietfontein (North)

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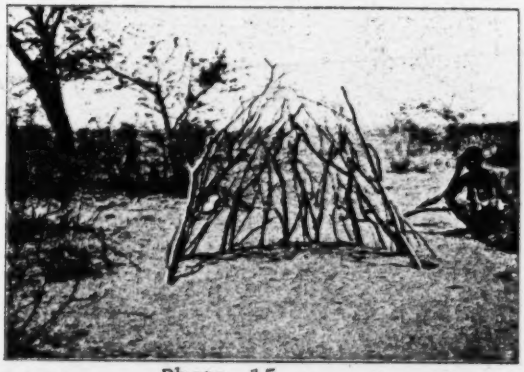

Photo. 15.
Framework of Windscreens.

Photo. 17.
Flimsy Wind-
screen in
the Dry
Season.

142

Auen

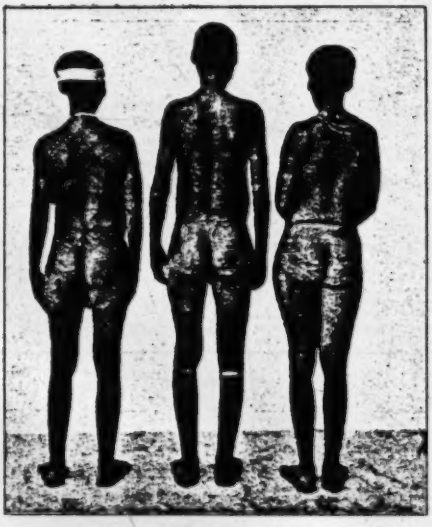

Photo. 14 [see Photo. 13]
≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)

342

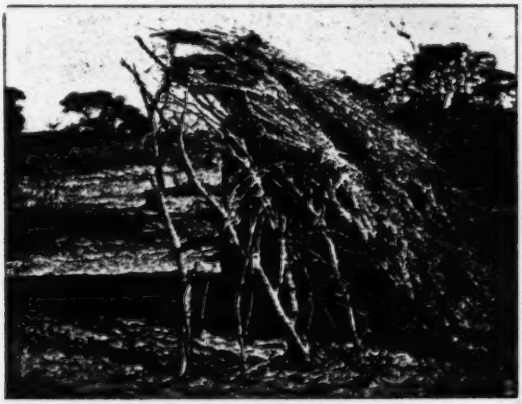

Photo. 16.
Windscreen Half-covered.

[415
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Photo. 18.
Windscreen (covered) and Mortar with Pestle.

372

Auen

Photo. 19.
Manipulation of Device for Firemaking.

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Photo. 21.
War Cap and Peace Cap.

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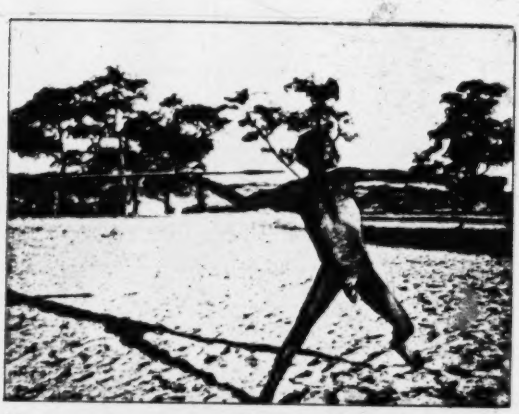

Photo. 23.
Throwing
Lance.

301

Auen

Photo. 20.
Chains of Ostrich Egg Shells as Ornaments.

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Photo. 22.
Children's Clothing.

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Photo. 24.
Use of the Digging Stick (digging up veld food).

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412

Auen

Clothing and Equipment.

Photo. 25.

a through d, see p. 20; e, quiver; f, digging stick; g, bow; h, throwing lance; i, cover for the lance point.

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Photo. 27. Clothing and Equipment.

Auen

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Clothing and Equipment.

Photo. 26 [see Photo. 25]

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Photo. 28 [see Photo. 27] Clothing and Equipment.

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Photo. 29.

Photo. 31.
Ways of Shooting Bows and Arrows.

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2: Kaufmann--71 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Auen

Photo. 30.

Photo. 32.
Ways of Shooting Bows and Arrows.

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Photo. 34.
Wrestling.

526

Auen

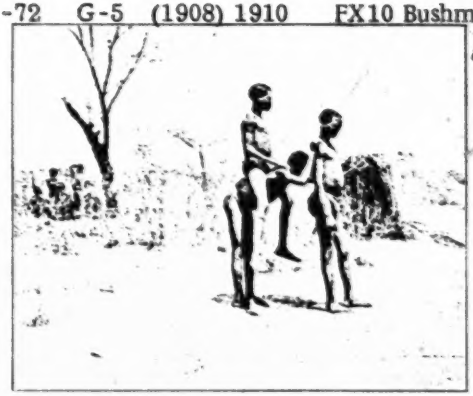

Photo. 35.
Riding.

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Photo. 37.
Dancing Game of the Women.

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Photo. 39.
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2: Kaufmann--73 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10

Auen

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Photo. 36.
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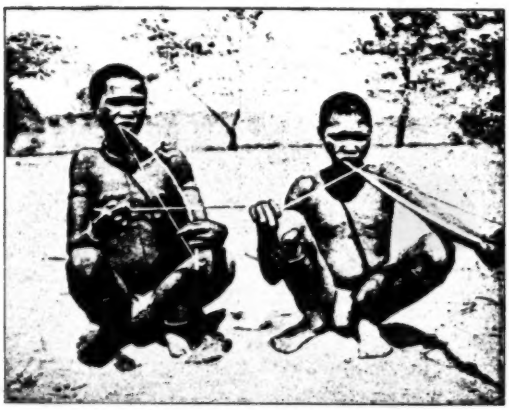

Photo. 38.
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Porcupine Dance.

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Photo. 41.
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Photo. 42.
War Dance.

2: Kaufmann--75 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Photo. 44.
Betrothal or Marriage.

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Photo. 43.
Extending the Hand in Greeting.

2: Kaufmann FX10 Bushmen

MITTEILUNGEN

AUS DEN

DEUTSCHEN SCHUTZGEBIETEN

MIT BENUTZUNG AMTLICHER QUELLEN HERAUSGEGEBEN VON

DR. FREIHERR VON DANCKELMAN

DREIUNDZWANZIGSTER BAND

BERLIN 1910
ERNST SIEGFRIED MITTLER UND SOHN, KÖNIGLICHE HOFBUCHHANDLUNG
KOCHSTRASSE 68–71

[TITLE PAGE]

Die ǂAuin.

Ein Beitrag zur Buschmannforschung

von

Hans Kaufmann,

Leutnant in der Schutztruppe für Deutsch-Südwestafrika.

Mit vier Tafeln (Nr. III bis VI), einer Kartenskizze und vierzehn Figuren im Text.

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Nachstehende Arbeit ist auf Befehl des Kommandos des Nordbezirks der Schutztruppe infolge einer Anregung des Museums für Völkerkunde in Berlin entstanden.

Nachdem ich mich während der Monate August, September und Oktober 1908 mit den notwendigen Beobachtungen eingehend beschäftigt hatte, wurde ich von Rietfontein (Nord) und damit aus dem Gebiet der ǂAuin abberufen. Auf diese Unterbrechung der kaum begonnenen Studien ist die Unvollständigkeit und Lückenhaftigkeit der Angaben zurückzuführen, die sich besonders in den letzten Kapiteln bemerkbar machen. So bin ich zu dem wichtigen Abschnitt über Linguistik überhaupt nicht gekommen, ebensowenig wie zur Anlage einer Sammlung von Ethnologica.

Die vorgenommenen Beobachtungen und Erkundigungen wurden nach besten Kräften mehrfach auf ihre Richtigkeit geprüft. Die Möglichkeit von Irrtümern wird natürlich trotzdem rückhaltlos zugegeben.

Aminuis, im August 1908. Kaufmann.

* * *

Allgemeines.

Nach meiner Überzeugung handelt es sich bei den ǂAuin wie bei allen andern Kalahari-Buschmännern nicht um eine einheitliche Rasse, sondern um ein Volk oder besser mehrere Völker, welche durch Vermischung untereinander und vor allem mit Völkern anderer Rassen (Bantu) den eigentlichen Typ verloren haben. Jedenfalls macht eine Anzahl Bergdamara oder Herero entschieden mehr den Eindruck, aus einem Guß zu stammen, als die gleiche Zahl Buschleute.

Die Verschiedenheit der Sprachen der einzelnen Stämme ist manchmal so groß, daß eine Verständigung ausgeschlossen ist.

Die anscheinende Einheitlichkeit in der Kultur ist wohl durch die Gleichartigkeit der sie allerseits umgebenden Landschaft und die Lebensverhältnisse begründet (Kalaharikultur).

Eine innige Verwandtschaft irgendwelcher Art zwischen Hottentotten und Buschleuten besteht zweifellos, sei es nun, daß die Buschleute degenerierte Hottentotten mit mehr oder weniger Einschlag fremden Blutes, oder umgekehrt, daß die Hottentotten von der Kalaharikultur emanzipierte Buschleute mit fremder Beimischung sind.

Ich glaube, keine Indiskretion zu begehen, wenn ich mitteile, daß der Ethnograph Dr. Pöch diese Ansicht mit mir teilt. In einem Privatbrief schreibt er mir aus Kamelpan (Ngamiland): „Kurz möchte ich noch bemerken, daß die Kalahari-Buschmänner in bezug auf ihre Sprache von mir auch eine ebenso schlechte Note erhalten wie auf ihr Aussehen: ich konnte eine kolossal nahe Verwandtschaft mit dem Nama feststellen, aber einen alten, heute nicht mehr gesprochenen Dialekt."

Da mir zu anthropologischen Messungen usw. die Vorkenntnisse fehlen, beschränke ich mich dar-

[p. 135]

auf, einige von mir aufgenommene ǂAuintypen zu bringen. Vielleicht sind sie als Vergleichsobjekte nicht ohne Wert.

Zufügen möchte ich noch, daß ich bei Messung der Körpergröße folgendes Resultat erhalten habe:

Erwachsene Männer (zwischen 20 und 40 Jahren)	
Durchschnitt	1.51 1/2 m
Größtes Maß	1.62 „
Kleinstes „	1.47 „
Erwachsene Frauen (zwischen 20 und 40 Jahren)	
Durchschnitt	1.45 1/2 m
Größtes Maß	1.53 „
Kleinstes „	1.38 „

A. Geographie und Statistik.

1-7.*) Die ǂAuin, wie sie sich selbst nennen und auch von den benachbarten Buschmannstämmen genannt werden, bewohnen jenen Teil der mittleren Kalahari, welcher etwa durch die Wasserstellen Rietfontein — Ganab — Gam — Sidonitzaub — Otjiamangombe — Tjumda — Epukiro — Oas — Stampriet — Rooigrauwater — Habakobis näher begrenzt wird. Ihr Gebiet befindet sich größtenteils innerhalb der Grenzen des deutschen Schutzgebietes. Nebenstehende Skizze gibt die geographische Lage nach Möglichkeit genau wieder, ebenso das ungefähre Gebiet der benachbarten Buschmannstämme. Die Hottentotten bezeichnen die ǂAuin als ǂAu-San (Schinz), die Bewohner des Chansefeldes als ǂAukwé (Passarge), die Betschuanen als Makaukau. Die ungefähre Anzahl der Auin,**) natürlich in Form allerrohester Schätzung, ergibt sich aus folgender Zusammenstellung:

Es wohnen in der Gegend von

Oas	etwa 300	Köpfe
Dawis	„ 150	„
Stampriet	„ 250	„
Rooigrauwater	„ 50	„
Korikas	„ 100	„
Olifantskloof	„ 200	„
Habakobis	„ 100	„
Rietfontein	„ 200	„
Tjumda	„ 100	„
Go	„ 150	„
Sidonitzaub	„ 1000	„
Kalkfontein	„ 100	„
Epukiro	„ 100	„
Ganab	„ 100	„
Gam	„ 100	„
zusammen	etwa 3000	Köpfe.

*) Die Ziffern sind Hinweise auf die „Anleitung" des Museums für Völkerkunde in Berlin.

**) Ich lasse der Einfachheit halber von nun an das Zeichen ǂ, welches den Schnalzlaut andeuten soll, fort.

Nach meiner Ansicht ist die Anzahl der in der Kalahari lebenden Buschleute (nicht nur die der Auin) stets unterschätzt worden.

Diese Zeilen schrieb ich im Oktober 1908. Heute, also noch nicht ein Jahr später, muß ich meine Ansicht ändern, da die Malaria der letzten Regenzeit ungeheure Opfer gefordert und die Auin ebenso wie die anderen Stämme dezimiert hat. Nach mitgeteilten Angaben halte ich mich für berechtigt, anzudeuten, daß von den oben auf 3000 geschätzten Auin höchstens noch etwa die Hälfte vorhanden ist.

Die Aufstellung einer genaueren Statistik ist nicht möglich, da sich die Buschleute mit Erfolg jeder Kontrolle zu entziehen wissen. Diesem trägt auch die Verwaltung des Schutzgebiets Rechnung, indem sie von vornherein auf jede Registrierung usw. der Kalahari-Buschleute verzichtet.

Besondere Bevölkerungsschichten innerhalb der 28.
Auin sind nicht zu unterscheiden, es sei denn,
daß man bei einzelnen Individuen zweifellos mehr 29.
als bei andern einen Einschlag von Negerblut
feststellen kann.

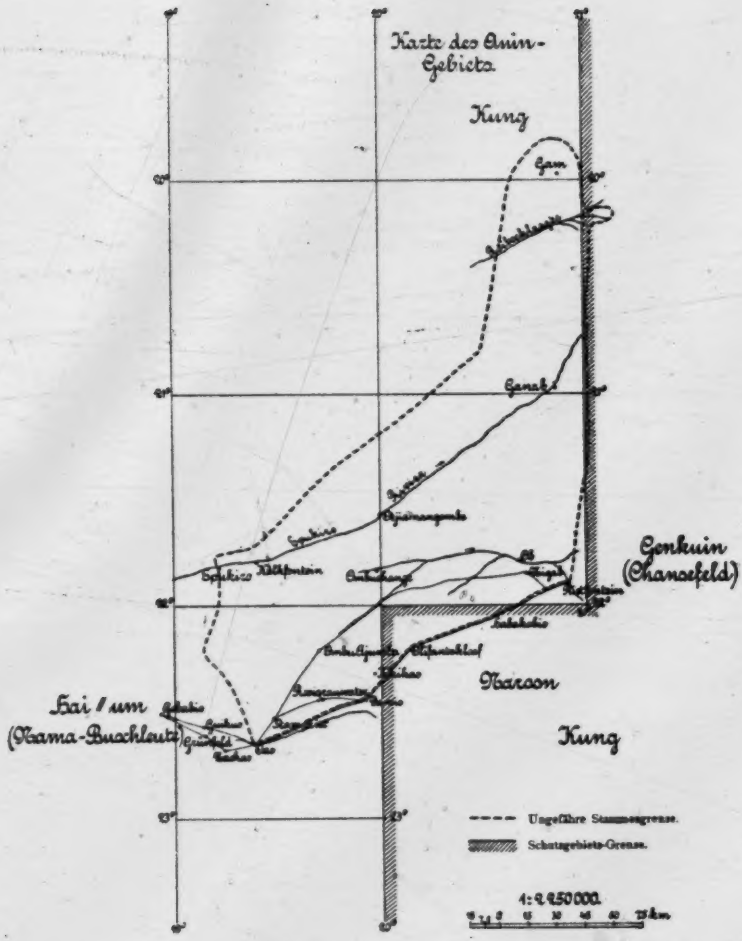
Besonders der Stamm bei Gam besteht fast 31.
durchweg aus verhältnismäßig großen Leuten, welche auch nach gründlicher Wäsche entschieden eine etwas dunklere Färbung aufweisen als die andern Auin.

Nach meiner Beobachtung kommen auf einen Mann etwa eine bis zwei Frauen und auf jede Frau zwei bis drei Kinder.

Hierbei möchte ich erwähnen, daß neugeborene Kinder stets getötet werden, wenn die Mutter noch ein Kind stillt, was etwa bis zum dritten Lebensjahre dauert. Die Tötung erfolgt gleich nach der Geburt durch die Mutter, welche das Neugeborene lebendig begräbt. Der Vater hat keinen Einfluß hierauf. Da der eheliche Verkehr während der Dauer des Stillens nicht unterbrochen wird, die Stillungsperiode aber etwa drei Jahre dauert, so folgt hieraus, daß etwa jedes dritte Kind aufgezogen wird, während die in der Zwischenzeit geborenen ohne Ausnahme getötet werden. Es dürfte dies wohl ein Hauptfaktor des zweifellosen Rückgangs der Bevölkerungsziffer sein.

Da jede Frau ihren besonderen Windschirm 10.
(Hütte) hat, der Mann aber abwechselnd bei seinen Frauen wohnt, und diese wieder ihre Kinder bei sich haben, so kommen auf jede Hütte etwa drei bis vier Personen.

Die Größe der Werften (Dörfer) ist ganz unbestimmt und je nach den Umständen veränderlich. Zur Trockenzeit bildet sich meist aus ein bis zwei Familien eine Niederlassung, während zur Zeit der reichlichen Feldkost, also gegen Ende und kurz nach


Karte des Omin-Gebiets.
Kung
Gonkuin (Chancefeld)
Naroon
Kung
Kai // um (Nama-Buschleute)
Ungefähre Stammesgrenze.
Schutzgebiets-Grenze.
1:9 250 000.

der Regenzeit, sich manchmal bis zu 30 Familien zu einem „Dorfe" zusammenschließen. Im April 1908 wohnten in einer Niederlassung bei Sidonitzaub etwa 400 Männer. Rechnet man ihren Anhang dazu, so kommen mindestens 1000 Personen zusammen.

14. Sämtliche Männer sind bewaffnet und Krieger.

22. Wie schon bemerkt, läßt sich eine deutliche Abnahme der Bevölkerung feststellen, welche man nach dem Riesentempo, in dem sie fortschreitet, als ein rapides Aussterben bezeichnen kann. Abgesehen von Kindesmord und Malaria kann man den Rückgang des Wildstandes als Grund der Bevölkerungsabnahme bezeichnen, da hierdurch die Ernährung erschwert wird. Ältere Auin geben an, daß in früheren Zeiten die Löwenplage große Opfer gefordert hat.

Die Kriege sind anscheinend seit der Berührung mit den Weißen sehr zurückgegangen, aber auch heute noch fordern sie entschieden zahlreiche Opfer.

26. Der Auin steht auf der niedrigsten Stufe der menschlichen Entwicklungsleiter: er ist lediglich
31. Sammler und Jäger.

29. Diese Lebensweise wird ihm von dem Charakter seines Landes vorgeschrieben. Dieser Teil der Kalahari, wo die Wasserstellen manchmal 100 km auseinanderliegen und in ihrer Zahl sehr beschränkt sind, lassen den Viehzüchter nicht entstehen, zumal auch die für Vieh genießbaren Tschamas verhältnismäßig wenig vertreten sind.

Im Auin-Gebiet überwiegt die Ebene im Landschaftsbilde, nur an den Rivierrändern tritt stellenweise das Urgestein zutage. Sogenannte Dünen verleihen dem Gelände vorzugsweise in der Nähe der Riviere (trockene, nur nach heftigen Regen wasserführende Flußbetten) einen leichthügeligen Charakter. Die Bodenbedeckung wechselt zwischen Gras-, Busch- und Baumsteppe und dichtem Buschwald. Die Menge der Niederschläge ist sehr gering; aus Mangel an genügendem statistischen Material ist eine genauere Angabe nicht möglich.

B. Wohnstätten und Einrichtung.

1. Die typische Form des Wohnhauses ist der Windschirm, also die primitivste Form der menschlichen Wohnung, welche die Bezeichnung Hütte kaum verdient. Ihr Bau ist in einigen Minuten vollendet. Einige Zweige werden mit dem dickeren Ende locker im Halbkreise in die Erde gesteckt und mit den Verästelungen gegeneinander gelehnt. Eine feste Verbindung der Streben untereinander habe ich nie gesehen, obwohl ich einige hundert Hütten daraufhin untersucht habe. Das Ganze wird mit Gras beworfen, und der Bau ist fertig. In der Trockenzeit werden die Bauten meist noch viel flüchtiger ausgeführt und bestehen manchmal nur aus einigen Grasbüscheln, welche zwischen die Zweige eines lebenden Busches lose hingeworfen sind. Der ganze Bau hat oft kaum die Höhe von 1 m und keine Bedachung. Es ist dieses dann ein wirklicher Windschirm, welcher seine Bewohner im Liegen vor Zugluft schützen soll.

Halt sich die Werft nur einige Tage an der betreffenden Stelle auf, so genügt der Schatten von einigen Büschen, und auf Bauten wird überhaupt verzichtet.

Häuser auf Bäumen sind unbekannt; sie würden auch nur im Kaukaufeld (Baobab) in Betracht kommen, da im eigentlichen Auin-Gebiet die Bäume zu schwach dazu sind.

Jede Frau hat ihren eigenen Windschirm. In 7.
Ermangelung dessen wohnt sie unter einem besonderen Busch.

Junge Mädchen und junge unverheiratete 8.
Männer bewohnen manchmal, nach Geschlechtern getrennt, besondere „Mädchen"- bzw. „Junggesellenhäuser".

Irgendwelche besondere Bauten, wie Versamm- 9 22.
lungshäuser, Vorratsräume usw. sind unbekannt.

Die Reinlichkeit in der Nähe der Hütten ist 23.
ziemlich gering. Besondere Abtritte sind nicht vorhanden. Die Entleerung geschieht lediglich mit Rücksicht auf Deckung gegen Sicht. Unter der Hauptwindrichtung findet man größere Fäkalienansammlungen. Das von den Hereros häufig geübte Eingraben der Exkremente geschieht anscheinend nicht.

Der Pontok (Windschirm) ist durchaus kein 26.
Wertobjekt. Nach dem Tode des Besitzers verläßt die ganze Horde den Ort. Daher ist die Frage der Erbschaft der Hütte gegenstandslos.

Ein Türverschluß ist nicht vorhanden, auch 31.
bei der Struktur der Hütte kaum anzubringen. Hierbei ist zu erwähnen, daß in den Werften, auch während alle Leute abwesend sind, die Sachen ohne Aufsicht herumliegen. Ein Diebstahl würde unter allen Umständen mit dem Tode des Diebes gesühnt werden. Da der Buschmann die Fußspur jedes Menschen der Gegend kennt, so würde der Täter stets zu ermitteln sein. Der Buschmann arbeitet in dieser Hinsicht so zuverlässig wie der beste Polizeihund.

Als Lagerstatt dient Gras, welches mit einigen gegerbten Fellen bedeckt ist. Andere Gegenstände zur Wohnungseinrichtung sind nicht vorhanden.

Zu: Kaufmann, Die ǂAuin. Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten, Band XXIII, 1910. Tafel III.

Bild 1.

Bild 2.

ǂAuin von Olifantskluft.

Bild 3.

Bild 4.

Bild 5.

Bild 6.

ǂAuin von Rietfontein (Nord).

[p. 138-A]

Bild 7.

Alter etwa 25. 50. 35 Jahre

Bild 8.

Bild 9.

Bild 10.

Bild 11.

Bild 12.

=Auin von Rietfontein (Nord).

[p. 138-B]

Bild 13.

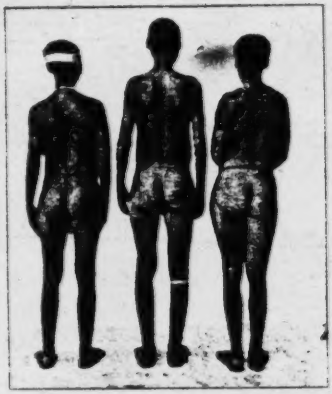


Bild 14.

Auin von Rietfontein (Nord).

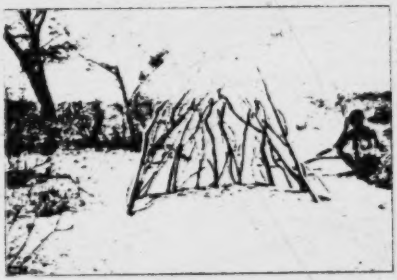


Bild 15. Gerüst.

Bild 16. Halb gedeckt.

Bild 17. Flüchtiger Windschirm in der Trockenzeit.

Bild 18. Windschirm (gedeckt) und Mörser mit Stößel.

Windschirme.

[p. 138-C]

Bild 19. Handhabung des Feuerzeuges.

Bild 20. Schmuck aus Ketten von Straußeneierschalen.

Bild 21. Kriegs- und Friedensmütze.

Bild 22. Kinderkleidung.

Bild 23. Handhabung der Wurflanze.

Bild 24. Handhabung des Gräbstocks (Feldkostgraben).

[p. 138-D]

Bild 25.

Bild 26.

a bis d siehe Text S. 143. e Köcher, f Grabstock, g Bogen, h Wurflanzen, i Schutzkappe für Lanzenspitze.

Bild 27.

Bild 28.

Bekleidung und Ausrüstung.

[p. 138-E]

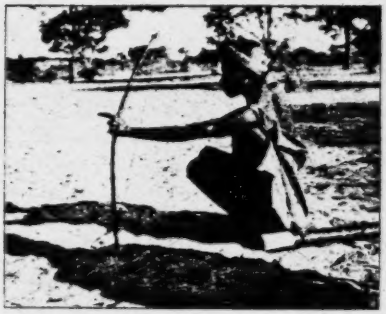


Bild 29.

Bild 30.

Bild 31.

Bild 32.

Anschlagsarten mit Bogen und Pfeil.

Bild 33. **Glucksspiel.**

Bild 34. **Ringkampf.**

[p. 138-F]

Bild 35. Ketten.

Bild 36. Tanzspiel der Weiber.

Bild 37. Tanzspiel der Weiber.

Bild 38. Musikbögen.

Bild 39. Tanzrasseln.

Bild 40. Stachelschweintanz.

[p. 138-G]

Bild 41. **Kriegstanz.**

Bild 42. **Kriegstanz.**

Bild 43. **Begrüßung durch Handreichen.**

Bild 44. **Verlobung oder Trauung.**

[p. 138-H]

Verlag der Königlichen Hofbuchhandlung von E. S. Mittler & Sohn in Berlin SW68.

C. Ernährung.

1. 2. 3. Das „Doro" (Feuerzeug) (Fig. 1) besteht aus zwei runden Stäben der Burkea Africana. Von diesen ist das eine mit einigen runden, flachen Aushöhlungen versehen, in welche das abgerundete Ende des anderen Stockes hineinpaßt.

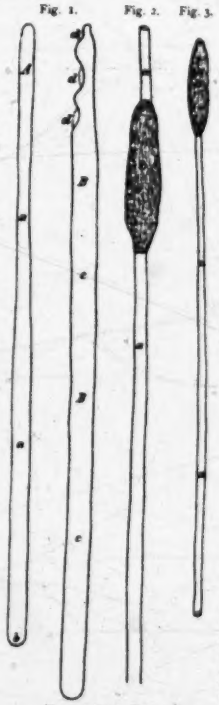


Fig. 1. Doro (Feuerholz).
A Stock, welcher gequirlt wird.
a a langer Teil.
b abgerundetes Ende, welches in die Bohrlöcher eingesetzt wird.
B Stock mit Bohrlöchern.
c c langer Teil.
d d d Bohrlöcher.

Fig. 2. Stäbchen mit Baumharz, welches zum Verkleben der Pfeilumwicklungen dient.
a Stäbchen.
b Baumharz.

Fig. 3. Stäbchen mit Pfeilgift.
a Stäbchen.
b Giftspindel, welche umwickelt ist.

1/2 natürlicher Größe.

Der erstere Stock wird auf den Boden gelegt und mit beiden Füßen festgehalten. Der andere wird mit dem runden Ende in eine der Aushöhlung gesetzt und in dieser zwischen den flachen Händen so rasch wie möglich gequirlt. Wie man auf dem Bilde (Bild 19) sieht, gleiten die Hände hierbei nach unten, und oft greift ein zweiter Mann sofort oben wieder zu, wenn der erste mit den Händen unten angekommen ist. Um das Bohrloch herum wird eine Art Zunder von gut getrockneten Vogelnestern (Webervogel?) gelegt. Das feine Bohrmehl fängt nach einigen Minuten an zu schwälen, und durch Blasen mit dem Munde facht man den Zunder zur Flamme an.

Der „Kapitän" (Aichab) der Werft achtet darauf, daß das Feuer nicht ausgeht. Ein „heiliges" 4.
Feuer ist nicht vorhanden. Die Bewahrung des Feuers vor dem Verlöschen geschieht lediglich aus praktischen Gründen, da das Feuerquirlen immerhin ziemlich anstrengend ist.

Die Stelle des Herdes vertreten einige Steine, 5.
die übrigens nicht überall in der Kalahari vorhanden sind. Bei Regenwetter wird im Windschirm gekocht.

Die Frau kocht, während die Kinder ihr 6.
helfen. In Ausnahmefällen kann man auch den pater familias am Kochfeuer tätig sehen.

Wasser und Holz wird gelegentlich von 7.
sämtlichen Familienmitgliedern herbeigeschafft. Der Hausbau ist lediglich Arbeit der Frau. Junggesellenhütten werden ebenfalls von Frauen der Horde ausgeführt.

Hölzerne Kochtöpfe sind vorhanden. An- 8.
geblich kommen sie durch Tauschhandel aus dem Ambolande.

Primitive Löffel stellt der Auin aus Holz selbst 11.
her oder erwirbt sie durch Tausch aus der Gegend des Ngami. Besondere Schnitzkünstler befinden sich öfter unter älteren Männern. Als Löffel dient oft der obere gewölbte Teil einer kleinen Schildkrötenschale, deren untere flache Seite abgeschnitten ist.

Diese finden auch als Trinkgefäße Verwen- 12.
dung und sind neben ausgehöhlten Tschamas das einzige von mir vorgefundene Trinkgefäß.

Mörser aus Holz mit Steinboden. Die Her- 13.
stellung ist äußerst mühsam. Ein Holzklotz wird in die Erde gegraben, festgestampft und mit der eisernen Lanzenspitze oder einem Messer ausgehöhlt. Das Eisen wird hierzu manchmal heiß gemacht. Feuer wird nicht verwendet. Der Stampfer aus Holz wird unten mit einem Stein versehen. Der Stein am Boden des Mörsers ist mit Baumharz festgekittet.

Brennende Äste werden nach Art einer Fackel 17.
verwendet, aber nur für kurze Zeit in der Nähe des Feuers.

Die Form des Mörsers und der Keule gibt 18.
Bild 18. Der Mörser wird aus weichem Holz mit der Lanzenspitze ausgebohrt. Feuer zum Aushöhlen wird nicht verwendet (s. oben).

Hausgerät. Zwei flache Steine zum Zer- 27.
klopfen von harten Feldfrüchten. Löffel roh aus Holz geschnitzt. Hölzerner Topf, leere Straußeneier

mit rundem Loch als Wasserbehälter. Oft ist eine Verzierung angebracht. Grabstock an einem Ende gespitzt.

48. Verzierungen. Leider bin ich nicht dazu gekommen, genauere Feststellungen über Verzierungen zu machen. Solche werden aber an vielen Gegenständen, wie Straußeneiern, Pfeifenstopfern (welche an Schnur um den Hals getragen werden), angebracht.

19. Im allgemeinen nimmt der Auin drei Mahlzeiten täglich zu sich (morgens, mittags und abends). Hat er aber genügende Kost, so ißt er den ganzen Tag mit den notwendigen Zwischenpausen, und wenn es nicht zu kalt ist, auch während der Nacht.

20. Ein besonderes Menu ist nicht erkennbar. Es wird gegessen, was gerade vorhanden ist.

21. Die Hyäne wird nicht verzehrt, weil sie „Leichen frißt". Der Leopard soll nicht von allen Leuten gegessen werden. Die Gründe hierfür sind mir nicht bekannt. Der Schabrackenschakal wird häufig verschmäht, weil er „ein Hund ist". Der Silberschakal dagegen wird gern gegessen, weil er „keinen Unrat frißt".

Junge Mädchen, die noch nicht die Regel gehabt haben, und nicht erwachsene Knaben dürfen kein Wildfleisch essen, weil sie dann „mager bleiben".

22. Spuren von Anthropophagie habe ich nie beobachten können. Auch von alten erfahrenen Eingeborenen anderer Rassen (Klippkaffern) wurde mir mitgeteilt, sie hätten nie davon gehört, daß Buschleute Menschenfleisch gegessen hatten.

Ich sprach mit einigen alten Auin hierüber, und diese waren durchaus nicht entrüstet bei dem Gedanken. Ihre Begründung war etwa folgende: „Unsere Eltern haben uns nie gesagt, daß man Menschenfleisch essen soll. Würden andre alte Leute es genießen, dann könnten wir es auch tun".

Bei der niedrigen Kulturstufe der Buschleute ist das Fehlen der Anthropophagie meiner Ansicht nach direkt auffallend.

D. Schmuck und Haartracht.

1. Es wurden folgende Schmuckgegenstände beobachtet.

Bei Männern:

Halsring, — dünner Holzring aus sogenanntem Rosinkisbusch, kreisförmig zusammengebunden — mit eingekratzten Strichen verziert. Armringe. 3 bis 20 einfache Schnurringe. Manchmal sind einzelne Eisen- oder Glasperlen auf die Ringe aufgezogen (s. Bild 3 u. 4). Die Eisenperlen stammen wohl von östlichen Kaffernstämmen. Die Ringe werden aus dem Gespinst einer Baumspinne (Stegodyphus dumicola Pocock?) hergestellt. Eine Anzahl Fäden werden zu einem Klumpen zusammengeballt und dieser auf dem Oberschenkel mit der flachen Hand zu Schnüren etwa von der Dicke einer Stricknadel „genudelt". Die Schnüre werden dann zu zweien zusammengedreht und der Ring wird durch „Zusammennudeln" geschlossen.

Ringe um Handgelenke. Dieselben Ringe wie die um den Oberarm getragenen. Außerdem 3 bis 5 mm breite einfache Ringe aus Wildleder sowie einzelne Ringe aus Eisen- und Kupferdraht. Letztere sind angeblich von Batauana eingetauscht.

Unterschenkel. Manche Männer und Frauen tragen 1 bis 2 Lederringe direkt unter dem Knie an einem oder beiden Beinen. Dieselben sind etwas breiter als die Lederringe um die Handgelenke (s. Bild 12 und 14).

Bei Frauen:

Kopfschmuck. Verschiedene Zusammenstellungen von Ketten aus Straußeneierschalen, wie sie Bild 20 zeigt. Manchmal findet sich auch nur ein Stückchen einer solchen Molentzakette in die Stirnhaare eingeflochten (s. Bild 36: tanzendes Weib links). Auch bei einem Mann habe ich diesen Schmuck gefunden.

Ohrringe von Molentzakette, Halsketten von Glasperlen. Arm-, Handgelenk- und Beinringe wie bei Männern.

Der „Buschmanndoktor" trägt besonderen 2.
Schmuck, den andere Leute nicht tragen dürfen. Ich bin eines solchen leider nicht habhaft geworden.

Mädchen tragen Schmuck angeblich erst nach 3.
Eintritt der ersten Regel.

Zu Tänzen und Feierlichkeiten wird aller 4.
Schmuck angelegt. Der Kopfschmuck der Frauen auf Bild 20 wird nur zu besonders feierlichen Gelegenheiten angelegt.

Der „Doktor" trägt den Kopf kahl ge- 17.
schoren. Eine besondere Haartracht ist mir nicht aufgefallen. Die Männer stecken oft einzelne lose Straußenfedern in die Haare, während die Frauen gern Glas- oder Eisenperlen hineinflechten. Außerdem wird eine Art Pomade von den Frauen angewendet, die aus verschiedenen pulverisierten Pflanzenteilen besteht, welche mit dem Schalenfett von Antilopen gebunden werden.

Männer scheren das Haupthaar zuweilen mit 18.
einem Messer oder einer Glasscherbe.

Ein Unterschied in der Haartracht zwischen 21.
Mädchen und verheirateten Frauen besteht nicht.

Die Haare werden häufig durch ein Gemisch 23.
von Fett und einer roten Erde gefärbt. Es ist mir jedoch zweifelhaft, ob dies nicht ein Mittel ist, um die Haare stellenweise ausgehen zu lassen. Allerdings müßte dann wohl noch ein anderer Bestandteil

in diesem Gemisch vorhanden sein, den ich nicht feststellen konnte.

24. 25. Falls Bart vorhanden ist, was nicht oft vorkommt, so wird er weder beschnitten noch sonst entfernt.

26. Schamhaare sind spärlich vorhanden und werden manchmal rasiert (Glasscherbe). Weiber haben angeblich überhaupt keine Schambehaarung.

E. Künstliche Verunstaltungen.

1. Eine Art Schminke von rotbrauner Farbe wird von den Weibern angewendet.

2. Sie besteht aus einer Mischung von Fett und roter Erde (s. D. 23) und wird von den Weibern selbst hergestellt.

3. Die Schminke gilt lediglich als Schönheitsmittel und wird besonders zu Festen (Tänzen) an-
4. gewendet.

5. 6. 7. Männer und Jünglinge benutzen die Schminke nicht, auch nicht alte Frauen, sondern nur junge Weiber und Mädchen.

8. Die Mischung wird auf den Wangen kreisförmig aufgetragen (s. Bild 20: Frau am weitesten links), aber auch an allen möglichen anderen Stellen des Körpers, wie auf Armen oder Unterleib, eingerieben. Häufig wird der ganze Körper auf diese Weise eingefettet.

9. Bei Männern ist eine Art Schmiere von schwarzer Farbe im Gebrauch, welche „wohlriechend", wenigstens nach Buschmannbegriffen, ist. Diese wird vom „Doktor" hergestellt. Die Männer schmieren sie unter und auf die Nase. Es ist zweifelhaft, ob sie mehr Schönheits- oder Genußmittel ist.

14. Alle männlichen Auin haben über der Nasenwurzel einen grünen Strich, meist auch einen senkrecht dazu stehenden Querstrich darunter. Der Querstrich ist meist nicht gefärbt (vgl. Fig. 4).

Beide Striche bestehen aus unzähligen kleinen Querschnitten. In dem großen Querstrich sind fast immer 2 bis 4 tiefe, besonders sichtbare Narben zu bemerken. Die Länge des Längsstrichs beträgt meistens 2,5 bis 3,5 cm, die des Querstrichs 1 bis 1,5 cm. Manchmal ist der Längsstrich bedeutend länger und reicht bis an die Stirnhaare heran. Bei einem etwa zwanzig Jahre alten Auin fand sich keine Stirntatuierung vor. Er antwortete auf Befragen, daß „es später noch gemacht würde". Anderseits fand ich bei einem höchstens acht Jahre alten, gänzlich unentwickelten Mädchen bereits die Stirntatuierung vor. Sie scheint demnach keinen Zusammenhang mit der Geschlechtsreife zu haben, wie auch die Auin selbst bestätigen. Eine Frau hatte zwei parallel laufende Längsstriche, eine andere auf jeder Wange je zwei Striche von Größe und Ausführung des senkrechten Stirnstrichs. Sie waren beide geborene Auin, also nicht in den Stamm hineingeheiratet.

Die Stirntatuierung soll nach Angabe der Auin von Betschuanen abgesehen sein.

Die Stirntatuierung heißt Gi. Eine besondere 16.
Bedeutung wird ihr anscheinend nicht beigelegt. Übrigens habe ich bei allen anderen Buschmannstämmen dieselbe Tatuierung gesehen.

Fig. 4. Stirntatuierung. 1/3 nat. Größe.

a Längsstrich } Beide werden gebildet durch unzähliges kleine Schnitte,
b Querstrich } welche durch die Striche angedeutet sind.
c tiefere und längere Einschnitte im Querstrich.

Meist ist in die Tatuierung grüner Farbstoff eingerieben.

Als Werkzeug zum Einritzen der unzähligen 17.
kleinen Querschnitte, die die Stirnzeichnung ausmachen, dient irgendein geschärftes, beliebiges Stückchen Eisen. Durch welchen Farbstoff die grüne Farbe, die unverwüstlich ist, hervorgerufen wird, habe ich nicht feststellen können.

Die Tatuierung wird bei Knaben und Mädchen 18-24.
etwa im Alter von 12 bis 14 Jahren (aber auch früher und später) vorgenommen, und zwar vom „Doktor" bzw. von der „Doktorfrau". Be- 32.
sondere Zeremonien usw. werden nicht beobachtet, jedoch wird die Operation abseits der Werft im Busch vorgenommen. Es kommen möglichst viel junge Leute von mehreren Werften zum Tatuieren zusammen, jedenfalls aber nur aus praktischen Gründen. Es werden auch Feste bei dieser Gelegenheit gefeiert, d. h. es wird gegessen und getanzt. Aber diese Feste hängen mit der Tatuierung nur mittelbar zusammen. Sind nämlich mehrere

Buschleute zusammen, und haben sie reichlich Kost, so „feiern" sie stets.

25. Der Ausführende erhält kein besonderes Honorar, er wird verpflegt.

Bei Herstellung der Stirntatuierung legt sich der Patient mit etwas erhöhtem Kopf auf den Rücken. Die Stirnhaut über der Nasenwurzel wird von einem Manne zwischen Daumen und Zeigefingern zusammengefaltet und hochgezogen. Der Operateur schneidet dann die kleinen Querschnitte in die entstandene Hautfalte hinein.

26. Ziernarben bei Männern vertreten die Stelle eines Schußbuches. Für jedes erlegte Stück Hochwild läßt sich der Mann eine horizontale Ziernarbe anbringen, und zwar für männliches Wild auf dem rechten, für weibliches Wild auf dem linken Oberarm. Für kleines Wild (Ducker, Steinbock) bringen sich nur Knaben Narben an, Männer nicht. Ältere erfolgreiche Jäger verzichten schließlich überhaupt auf die Narben, nachdem sie genügend aufzuweisen haben.

29. Diese Ziernarben werden in ähnlicher Weise hervorgebracht wie die Stirntatuierung. Stets wird Schweiß (Blut) von dem erlegten Tier hineingerieben, meist auch der grüne Farbstoff. Die Jagdnarben werden von beliebigen älteren Männern ausgeführt. Die Länge der Narben beträgt etwa $^1/_3$ bis 1 cm, die Breite etwa $^1/_4$ bis $^1/_2$ cm.

Ziernarben (oder Tatuierung) bei Frauen.

Bei allen Frauen finden sich auf Oberschenkel und Gesäß bis zur Taille breite, grüne Ziernarben vor, wie sie auf Bild 14 ersichtlich sind.

Diese werden in derselben Weise wie die Stirntatuierung ausgeführt, aber von alten Frauen.

Eine genauere Untersuchung war nicht möglich, da die Buschleute darin, was ihre Weiber angeht, sehr mißtrauisch sind. Ich bin recht zufrieden damit, daß es mir gelungen ist, wenigstens eine Aufnahme zu machen, welche die Ziernarben leidlich veranschaulicht.

34. Die Ohrläppchen werden bei Männern und Frauen genau in derselben Weise durchbohrt, wie es bei uns üblich ist.

79. Eine Beschneidung wird nicht vorgenommen.

101. Eine Kürzung der kleinen Schamlippe soll nach Angabe der Auin manchmal ausgeführt werden.

103. Ausdehnung der kleinen Schamlippen wird angeblich ebenfalls in seltenen Fällen vorgenommen, und zwar durch Langrecken mit der Hand.

F. Kleidung.

1. 7. 8. Die Bekleidung der Auin ist auf den Bildern 25 10. und 26 ersichtlich.

Männerkleidung.

a) Mütze aus Fell (Schakal, Springhase, Erdmännchen, Katze).

a[1]) Kriegsmütze aus Fell des Erdwolfes (s. auch Bild 21), welche nur im Kriege aufgesetzt wird.

b) Schamlappen, stets aus Steinbockfell. Vom Schamlappen aus wird eine Schnur nach hinten durch die Gesäßspalte durchgezogen und straff am Hüftband, von dem vorn der Schamlappen herabhängt, befestigt. Der ganze Apparat wirkt dadurch ähnlich wie ein Suspensorium, indem die Hoden etwas gehoben werden (s. Bilder 9 bis 11).

c) Mantel, stets aus Steinbockfell.

d) Sammelsack, stets aus Steinbockfell.

Außerdem sind oft vorhanden: Sandalen aus 18. dem Fell einer großen Antilope, oder Laufsandalen (s. Fig. 5).

Fig. 5. Sandalen.

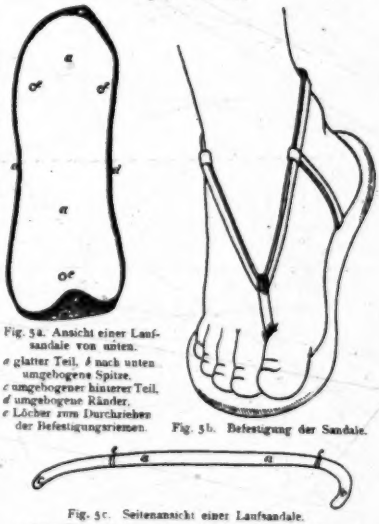


Fig. 5a. Ansicht einer Laufsandale von unten.
a glatter Teil, *b* nach unten umgebogene Spitze, *c* umgebogener hinterer Teil, *d* umgebogene Ränder, *e* Löcher zum Durchziehen der Befestigungsriemen.

Fig. 5b. Befestigung der Sandale.

Fig. 5c. Seitenansicht einer Laufsandale.
a glatter Teil, *b* Spitze, *c* hinteres Ende, *e* Löcher für Riemen.

Die Laufsandalen werden unter dem Fußballen befestigt und füllen ihrer Größe entsprechend diesen gerade aus. Die ganze Sandale ist so nach unten gebogen, daß sie beim Abstoßen des Fußes im Lauf die Schwingkraft des Körpers verstärkt. Sie besteht aus ganz hartem Gemsbockleder.

Eine Art Fächer, bestehend aus einem Schakalschwanz, der am Ende eines Stockes befestigt ist. Gamaschen aus Antilopenhaut. Letztere werden

von Männern und Frauen besonders im dornigen Gelände getragen. Dieselben ähneln in ihrer Form den griechischen Beinschienen.

Frauenbekleidung
(s. Bilder 27 und 28).

a) Kopfschmuck. An dessen Stelle wird bei weniger feierlichen Gelegenheiten oft eine Mütze nach Art der Friedensmütze der Männer getragen. meist ist der Kopf oben unbedeckt.

b) Schamschürze. Diese besteht, wie auf den Bildern 12 bis 14 ersichtlich, aus einem Bündel Lederstreifen, welche von einer Hüftschnur herabhängen. Die auf Bild 12 bei der Frau am weitesten links sichtbare Schamschürze mit Straußeneierschalen-Verzierung soll von Makoba eingetauscht sein. Eine hintere Schamschürze habe ich nie gesehen.

c) Mantel aus Ducker- oder Steinbockfell. Derselbe verdeckt stets das Gesäß.

d) Sammelsack (wie bei Männern).

f) Grabstock.

Kinderbekleidung
(s. Bild 22).

Mädchen: Schamschürze und Mantel.

Knaben: Schamlappen und Mantel. Sammelsack bei beiden vorhanden.

2. Die Kinder erhalten etwa im fünften Jahre den Schamlappen bzw. die Schamschürze.

9. Die Kleidungsstücke werden genäht. Es werden mit einem Eisenpfriemen, welcher aus irgendeinem gefundenen Eisenstückchen hergestellt wird, oder mit einem Knochensplitter Löcher gebohrt. Das Nähen erfolgt vermittelst Tiersehnen, welche durch die Löcher durchgezogen werden.

18. *) Als ich einige Auin-Frauen nackt photographierte, mußte ich dafür sorgen, daß sämtliche Auin-Männer, welche übrigens einverstanden waren, entfernt wurden. Mehrere Weiße und Hereros konnten jedoch zugegen bleiben.

G. Waffen.

1. Siehe Bilder 25 und 26:

f) Grabstock. Wird auch zum Schlagen und als Wurfkeule benutzt.

g) Bogen und Pfeile.

h) Wurflanze.

Sämtliche Waffen sind zugleich Kriegs- und Jagdgerät und werden auch gewissermaßen zu Sportzwecken benutzt, da Wettkämpfe damit ausgefochten werden. 2. 3.

Fig. 6. Lanzenspitzen. 1/2 nat. Größe.

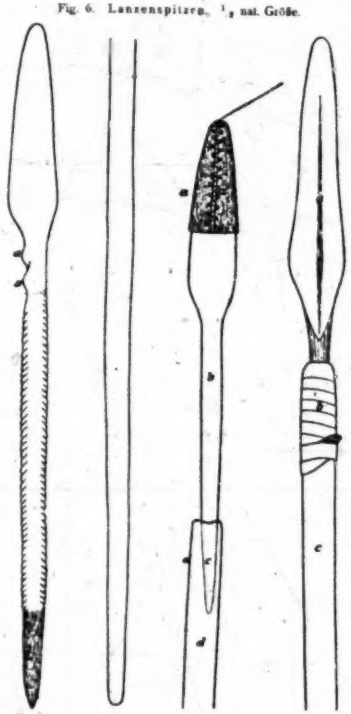


Fig. 6a Fig. 6b Fig. 6c Fig. 6d

Fig. 6a. Eisenspitze.

a a Widerhaken. Es ist dies eine »männliche« Lanzenspitze. Die Widerhaken sind die »Hoden«. Die anderen Lanzenspitzen sind »Weiber«, weil sie keine Hoden (d. h. Widerhaken) haben.

Fig. 6b. Unteres Ende eines Lanzenschaftes. Es soll die Verjüngung jedes Schaftes nach unten zu gezeigt werden.

Fig. 6c. Eisenspitze, welche in den Schaft eingesteckt ist.
a Kappe aus zusammengenähtem Leder.
b Eisenteil.
c Eisenteil, welcher in Schaft eingesteckt ist.
d Holzschaft.

Fig. 6d. Oberes Ende eines Speeres.

a Eisenspitze.
b Umwicklung des oberen Schaftendes (Lederstreifen oder Nackensehne einer großen Antilope).
c Schaft.

*) Ich weiß sehr wohl, daß Nachstehendes nicht als eine »Verleugnung des Schamgefühls« zu bezeichnen ist. Ich habe die Sache an dieser Stelle erwähnt, einfach, weil ich sie nirgend anders unterbringen konnte.

4. Mit Ausnahme der eisernen Spitzen der Wurflanzen werden sämtliche Waffen von den Auin selbst hergestellt. Die Lanzenspitzen gelangen durch Tauschhandel vom Ngamisee nach der inneren Kalahari.

Die Lanzenspitze (s. Fig. 6) ist der wertvollste Besitz des Buschmanns. Fast niemals wird man in einer Werft, auch wenn man sie überrascht, Lanzenspitzen vorfinden, sondern nur die dazugehörenden Schäfte. Der Buschmann ist in dieser Beziehung dermaßen mißtrauisch, daß er selbst innerhalb der Werft die Lanzenspitzen stets versteckt, meist vergräbt.

Jeder erwachsene Auin ist im Besitz von einem oder mehreren Speeren.

Die eiserne Lanzenspitze ist in den hölzernen Schaft, welcher am oberen Ende mit einem Streifen von Antilopenhaut oder Nackensehnen von Antilopen umwickelt ist, verhältnismäßig lose eingesteckt, so daß sie leicht herausgenommen werden kann. Die Lanzenspitze dient auch als Handwerkzeug an Stelle eines Messers.

Beim Tragen, was an einem nach Art eines Gewehrriemens verwendeten Lederstreifen geschieht, wird die Lanze oft durch eine kleine Lederkappe geschützt (Bild 251).

Figur 7. Bogenenden. 1/8 nat. Größe.

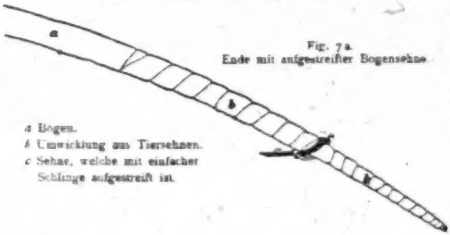


Fig. 7a.
Ende mit aufgestreifter Bogensehne.

a Bogen.
b Umwicklung aus Tiersehnen.
c Sehne, welche mit einfacher Schlinge aufgestreift ist.

Fig. 7b.
Ende mit befestigter Bogensehne.

a Bogenholz.
b b Umwicklung.
b' Widerlager für Sehne.
c Bogensehne.
c' Schlinge, welche festgezogen wird.

18. 29. Die Art, Bogen und Pfeil beim Schießen zu halten, scheint ziemlich willkürlich zu sein. Die gebräuchlichsten Methoden habe ich im Bilde festgehalten (s. Bilder 29 bis 32).

Die Bogensehne ist aus Tiersehnen zusammen- 20.
gedreht. Die Sehnen waren stets auf einer Seite aufgeschoben und an der anderen befestigt (s. Fig. 7a u. b).

Zusammengesetzte Bogen kommen nicht vor. 21.

Die Pfeile werden ausschließlich aus Schilf- 22.
rohr hergestellt, welches nur gerade gewachsen zu sein braucht, um den fertigen Pfeilschaft zu liefern. Am oberen Ende, wo die lose Spitze eingesteckt ist, und am Grunde, wo sich eine kunstlose, gewöhnliche Einkerbung befindet, ist der Schaft 26.
stets mit einem flachen, schmalen Grasbändchen umwickelt. Manchmal finden sich auch noch in der Mitte einige umwickelte Stellen. Die Länge des Pfeilschaftes schwankt zwischen 48 und 52 cm.

Befiederte Pfeile kommen nicht vor.

Die Herstellungskunst von Pfeilen und Pfeil- 23.
spitzen ist Gemeingut aller erwachsenen Auin. Besondere Pfeilmacher gibt es nicht.

Eine Ausnahme bildet die Herstellung der eisernen Pfeilspitzen, welche nur von einzelnen, meistens älteren Leuten ausgeübt wird.

Die Pfeilspitze ist ein mit sorgfältigstem Fleiß 25.
ausgeführtes Kunstwerk.

Die Knochenspitze wird angeblich aus Straußenknochen hergestellt. Welche Werkzeuge dabei verwendet werden, kann ich nicht angeben.

Vermittelst der Zeichnungen in Fig. 8 habe ich versucht, ein möglichst anschauliches Bild von Pfeilen und Pfeilspitzen zu geben.

Meist werden die Pfeile zusammen mit dem Bogen im Köcher lose getragen. Manchmal befinden sich die Pfeile in einem besonderen Köcher aus Elenhorn oder Holzrinde, welcher an beiden Enden mit einer Lederkappe verschlossen wird (s. Bilder 29 und 32).

Fast stets trägt der Auin im Köcher einen kleinen Behälter in Form des eben geschilderten Pfeilköchers aus Elenhorn oder Rinde, in dem sich Pfeilspitzen, Gift und anderer kleiner Schießbedarf befinden.

Das Kerbenende des Pfeiles wird beim Spannen 30.
des Bogens gegen die Brust gezogen.

Als einziger Kampfschmuck ist die Kriegs- 36.
mütze anzusehen, welche aus Erdwolffell (s. Bild 21) besteht.

H. Jagd und Ackerbau.

Man jagt sowohl einzeln als auch in Gesell- 1.
schaft.

Jagdhunde kommen ganz vereinzelt vor, sind 2.
dann aber meist von Kaffern oder Betschuanen bezogen. Die Auin behaupten aber, daß sie das Dressieren von Jagdhunden verstehen. Halsbänder usw. sind nicht gebräuchlich.

Figur 8. Pfeile und Pfeilspitzen. 1/3 nat. Größe.

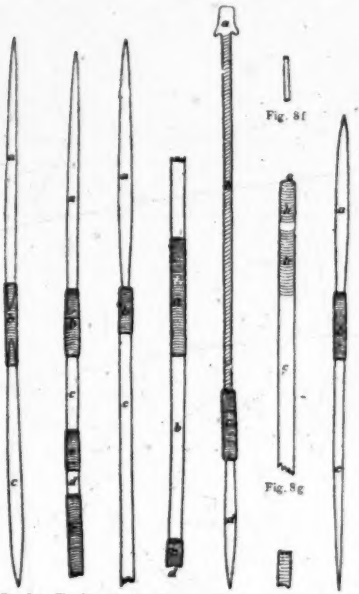


Fig. 8a Fig. 8b Fig. 8c Fig. 8d Fig. 8e Fig. 8i Fig. 8h

Fig. 8a zeigt die Verbindung zwischen den beiden Spitzenenden.
a Knochenspindel, welche mit Giftschicht überzogen wird.
b Verbindungsröhrchen aus Schilf, welches mit einem Grasstreifen umwickelt ist.
c Knochenspindel unvergiftet, die in den Pfeilschaft eingesteckt wird.

Fig. 8b. Oberes Ende eines Pfeilschaftes mit aufgesteckter vergifteter Spitze.
a Giftspitze.
b Verbindungsstück aus umwickeltem Schilfrohr.
c Knochenspindel zum Einstecken.
d Pfeilschaft.
e e Umwicklungen des Pfeilschaftes (welche aus Gras bestehen).

Fig. 8c. Pfeil mit eingesteckter Knochenspitze.
a Knochenspindel.
b Umwicklung des oberen Schaftendes. *c* Schaft.

Fig. 8d. Unteres Ende eines Pfeiles.
a Umwicklung. *c* Umwicklung. *b* Schaft. *d* Kerbe.

Fig. 8e. Giftpfeil mit Eisenspitze.
a Scharfe Spitze mit Widerhaken (unvergiftet).
b Eisenteil umwickelt mit Grasstreifen (vermutlich haftet das Gift nicht am Eisen).
c Verbindungsröhrchen.
d Knochenspindel zum Einstecken.

Fig. 8f. Grasstreifen zum Umwickeln.

Fig. 8g. Oberes Ende eines Pfeilschaftes.
a Mündung.
b b Umwicklung.
c Rohr.

Fig. 8h. Knochenspitze.
a Einsteckspindel.
b Verbindungsstück.
c Giftspitze.

Fig. 8i. Kerbenende eines Pfeiles.

Ob Eigentumszeichen an Waffen usw. angebracht sind, habe ich nicht ermitteln können, dagegen festgestellt, daß die Leute ihr Eigentum ohne weiteres sofort herauskennen. 3.

Schonzeiten gibt es nicht. 4.

Der Auin macht eine Art Dörrfleisch. Fleischstücke von beliebiger Länge und Breite werden ganz dünn (fast durchscheinend) geschnitten und auf Bäumen in der Sonne getrocknet. Die getrocknete, knüppelharte und für uns ungenießbare Masse hält sich in der Trockenzeit wochenlang. Es muß aber schon ein unendlicher Überfluß von Fleisch vorhanden sein, wenn sich der Auin zur Konservierung entschließen soll, da er sich bis zur Bewußtlosigkeit vollzustopfen pflegt. Ich habe es selbst erlebt, daß ein Buschmann einen ausgewachsenen Klippbock von etwa 6 kg Gewicht ohne Hilfe allein aufgegessen hat. 5.

Es gibt zweifellos besonders eifrige und passionierte Jäger, ebenso wie das Gegenteil. Ich habe einzelne Leute gefunden, die auf Jagd überhaupt nicht zu brauchen waren. 6.

Die Hauptjagdart ist die Pirsche mit Bogen und Giftpfeil. Ich glaube, es erübrigt sich zu betonen, daß der Auin wie jeder Buschmann ein unübertrefflicher Meister in dieser Kunst ist. Sein Schuß wird meist nur auf wenige Schritte abgegeben. Diese Jagdart ist auf beinahe jede Wildart anwendbar. 7.

Im folgenden werde ich zusammenstellen, auf welche Weise der Auin die Hauptwildarten zu erlegen pflegt. Die Erwähnung der Pirschjagd habe ich fortgelassen, wo sie nebenbei selbstverständlich auch angewendet wird.

Gemsbock und Wildebeest. Der Buschmann bleibt tagelang auf der Spur und läßt das Tier nicht zur Ruhe kommen. Schließlich jagt er es in einem finish Halali. Ein großer, verzweigter Baumast wird dem Gemsbock zwischen die Stangen geworfen. Während er sich damit beschäftigt, denselben loszuwerden, schneidet ihm der Buschmann die hinteren Beugesehnen durch oder wirft ihm den Speer aufs Blatt.

Dieses Einholen des Gemsbocks zu Fuß, welches stark nach Jägerlatein aussieht, findet seine physiologische Erklärung darin, daß der Buschmann dem Tier einfach keine Ruhe zum Verdauen und Wiederkauen läßt. Nach mehreren Stunden tritt dann eine Magenentzündung ein, die das Tier fast bewegungsunfähig macht.

Die anderen großen Tiere, wie Giraffe, Elen, Hartebeest, Strauß und Springbock, sind auf diese Weise nicht erreichbar, und bei ihnen beschränkt sich der Buschmann auf die Pirsche. Die kleinen

Böcke sind nur im nassen Boden, wenn sie tief einsinken, halali zu jagen. Sonst auch hier Pirsche.

Perlhühner werden angeschlichen und durch Werfen mit Steinen oder einem Stock erlegt.

Erdferkel wird ausgegraben. Der Buschmann macht sich an diese mühselige Arbeit doch nur heran, wenn das Erdferkel nicht allzu tief heruntergehen kann, also wenn unter dem Sand felsiger Untergrund zu vermuten ist. Er benutzt hierzu einen Spaten (von Weißen stammend), welcher meist im Besitze der Werft ist. Wie er es ohne einen solchen fertig bekommen sollte, ist mir nicht klar, da das Erdferkel etwa so schnell gräbt wie ein geübter Arbeiter mit Spaten.

Stachelschwein und Schuppentier werden ebenfalls ausgegraben.

Hase wird mit Stock geworfen. Die Jagd soll aber selten erfolgreich sein. Meist wird eine kleine Fallgrube auf dem Wechsel angelegt. Größere Fallgruben für Hochwild habe ich im Auin-Gebiet nie gesehen.

Springhase wird mit dem bekannten Angelstock der Südafrikaner, der bei den Auin nichts Besonderes aufweist, im Bau festgehalten (nicht etwa herausgezogen!) und gegen das Ende des Baues gedrückt. Dann wird von oben ein senkrechtes Loch gegraben und das Tier herausgenommen.

Klippschliefer. Die Ausgänge des Baues werden verstopft und dann ein Einschlag gemacht (d. h. von oben her hereingegraben).

Leopard wird nur gejagt, wenn mehrere scharfe Hunde vorhanden sind. Das Tier wird dann von diesen gedeckt, und von mehreren Buschleuten mit Speeren getötet. Ohne Hunde verzichtet der Buschmann auf dieses Weidwerk, was jeder Kenner verstehen wird.

Gepard wird zu Fuß von mehreren Leuten schlapp gehetzt und mit Knüppeln und Speeren erledigt.

Hyäne wird nicht gejagt. Nur wenn ein Geheck mit jungen Tieren in einer Erdhöhle gefunden ist, wird diese ausgeräuchert und die erstickten Tiere herausgegraben.

Erdwolf wird im Bau mit Rauch erstickt und ausgegraben.

Schakal wird nicht gejagt, da der Buschmann ihn angeblich doch nicht bekommt.

Wilder Hund (Lycaon pictus) wird ebenfalls nicht gejagt. Ich glaube, der Buschmann wird im Falle eines Zusammentreffens wohl meist selbst das Wild bilden.

9. Vereinzelt wird der Balg eines Straußes, in dessen Hals ein Stock gesteckt wird, als Maske verwendet. Der Jäger schlüpft in den Balg hinein, nachdem er seine Beine mit kalkhaltigem Boden grau gefärbt hat. Diese Maske wird auf Strauße wie auch auf andere Wildarten verwendet.

Andere Masken kann der Buschmann nicht herstellen, da er die Felle größerer Tiere nicht weich machen kann, ohne ihr natürliches Aussehen zu verändern. Gesehen habe ich eine solche Straußenmaske selbst nicht. Die Auin beschrieben sie mir aber so genau, daß ich nicht daran zweifeln konnte, daß Herstellung und Gebrauch ihnen bekannt war.

Der Fieplaut vom jungen Springbock, Ducker 10.
und Klippbock wird mit den Lippen nachgeahmt. Hierbei wird die Nase mit Zeige- und Mittelfinger zugehalten.

Ebenso wird das Angstgeschrei vom jungen Gemsbock und Wildebeest nachgeahmt.

Außerdem wird Ansitz bei Straußengelegen ausgeführt, um den Augenblick abzupassen, wo die jungen Tiere auschlüpfen. Will der Auin die Straußenhenne am Gelege zur Strecke bringen, so wartet er einen Moment ab, wo sich die Henne vom Nest entfernt hat und steckt einen Pfeil mit der vergifteten Spitze nach oben zwischen die Eier in die Erde. Wenn sich die Henne zum Brutgeschäft niedersetzt, so dringt ihr die Giftspitze in den Leib und sie verendet nach einigen Sekunden. Auf diese perfide Jagdart ist der Umstand zurückzuführen, daß man in der Kalahari unendlich viel mehr Straußenhähne als Hennen antrifft.

Treibjagden werden ausgeübt auf Gemsbock, 11.
Wildebeest, Hartebeest und Springbock.

Die Feuerjagd ist unbekannt.

Mit Schlingen werden gefangen: Steinbock, 12.
Riesentrappe, Ducker, Strauß, Perlhühner, Koran, Erdferkel, Springhase, Erdeichhorn, Sandhuhn, Steinhuhn, kleinere Katzenarten, kleine Antilopen.

Bei Tieren, welche Höhlen bewohnen, wie z. B. das Erdferkel, ist die Aufstellung der Schlinge gegeben. Dieselbe wird um den Eingang herumgelegt und an einem Baum festgebunden. Entweder beim Aus- oder Einfahren zieht dann das Tier die Schlinge zu.

Für Hühner und kleine Böcke werden lange Zwangswechsel aus Dorngestrüpp angelegt, welche mit engen Durchlässen versehen sind. Wenn das Tier den Durchlaß benutzen will, so gerät es mit dem Halse in die Schlinge, welche den Durchlaß umgibt. Ein Köder ist hierbei natürlich nicht erforderlich. Diese Zwangswechsel, deren ich bis zur Länge von 1000 m gesehen habe, bilden nicht etwa einen unpassierbaren „Kraal", sondern sind ganz niedrige, locker aneinander liegende Zweige, welche das Wild ohne weiteres überspringen kann. Das Wild hat aber die Gewohnheit, an solchen

Wechseln entlang zu trollen, bis es auf einen bequemen Durchgang trifft.

Strauße, Riesentrappen, Korane, Perl-, Sand- und Steinhühner werden mit dem Schwippgalgen gefangen. Ein Bäumchen, je nach dem Fangobjekt stark (beim Strauß natürlich muß es schon ein ziemlich kräftiger Baum sein), wird zur Erde gebogen und durch einen Strick in der Lage festgehalten. Der Strick endigt in einer Schlinge, welche auf dem Boden durch Holzpflöckchen festgelegt ist. Mitten in diesem durch die Schlinge gebildeten Kreise liegt ein Köder (meist eine Kugel von Baumharz). Durch eine einfache Verbindung wird infolge der Aufnahme des Köders die Schlinge frei, und mit ihr schwippt der Galgen zurück und reißt das Tier am Halse in die Höhe. Über das
25. Schlingenmaterial s. S. 153. Die Pfeilspitzen der Auin sind im allgemeinen vergiftet. Ich habe auch einzelne Pfeile vorgefunden, welche nur eine einzige, nicht vergiftete Knochenspitze hatten. Diese werden zu Sportzwecken, vielleicht auch zum Erlegen kleiner Vögel verwendet.

26. Herstellung des Pfeilgiftes. Burkea africana (Feuerholz des Buschmanns) wird in der Regenzeit von einem Käfer (oder Termitenart?) besucht, der sich gegen Ende der Regenzeit im Erdboden unter dem Baum verpuppt. Die Larven werden ausgegraben, getötet, an der Sonne getrocknet und zwischen Steinen gerieben.

Wurzeln der Dorntschammas (Cucumis heptactylus Naud.) werden in glühende Kohle gelegt, warm herausgenommen, und der bittere Saft wird ausgepreßt. Dieser Saft wird mit dem Giftbrei verrührt und ergibt eine schmutzig-rotbraune Schmiere, welche das fertige Pfeilgift darstellt. Das Gift wird in dicker Kruste von einigen Millimetern auf die Pfeilspitze aufgetragen und trocknet dort ein.

Die Buschleute fürchten ihr eignes Pfeilgift sehr und tragen die Giftspitze der Pfeile stets im Schaft verborgen. Erst unmittelbar vor dem Gebrauch wird die vergiftete Seite herausgesteckt. Die Giftschicht auf den Eisenspitzen, die sich ihrer Breite wegen nicht im Pfeilschaft verbergen lassen, ist stets mit Bast umwickelt, welcher erst beim Gebrauch abgenommen wird. Alle Auin können Pfeilgift herstellen und zeigen das Verfahren bereitwillig.

28. Als Jagdtrophäen sind die auf Seite 142 beschriebenen Ziernarben zu betrachten.

30. Jagerlatein soll vorkommen. Streitigkeiten hierbei finden manchmal blutigen Austrag.

32. Das einzige Haustier ist der Hund.

51. Der Buschmanndoktor soll Aderlaß zu Heilzwecken vornehmen. So z. B. wurden bei einem Manne, der nicht gut laufen konnte, blutige Einschnitte an den Oberschenkeln vorgenommen. Ich weiß allerdings nicht, ob man dies Verfahren als „Aderlaß" bezeichnen kann. Derartige Schnittnarben sind mehrfach gezeigt worden.

Das Instrumentarium besteht aus einem ge- 52.
schärften Stückchen Eisen.

Ackerbau ist unbekannt. Man kennt nur zu- 58.
fällig wachsende Nahrungspflanzen.

Um das Wachsen der Feldkost zu fördern, 71.
brennt der Buschmann das Gras ab. Ein Bergdamara, mit dem ich über ein brennendes Grasfeld ritt, sagte zu mir: „Der Buschmann macht seinen Garten".

Arbeit der Männer: 60.

- Jagd,
- Gelegentliches Feldkostsammeln,
- Holzsuchen,
- Wasserholen,
- Felle präparieren,
- Anfertigen der Kleider,
- Anfertigen der Waffen und Mörser,
- Anfertigen der Stricke,
- Feuerquirlen,

Arbeit der Frauen:

- Hüttenbau,
- Kochen,
- Feldkostsammeln,
- Feuer unterhalten,
- Holzholen,
- Wasserholen,
- Anfertigen der Weiberkleider.

Das einzige vorhandene „Ackergerät" ist der 61.
Grabstock (s. Figur 9).

Dem Nichtbotaniker ist es unmöglich, auch 65.
nur einigermaßen verständlich die zahlreichen wildwachsenden Nahrungspflanzen der Auin beschreiben zu können. Die Sammlung muß an Stelle der Beschreibung treten. Leider habe ich hierzu keine Gelegenheit gehabt.

Für denjenigen, der mit der südwestafrikanischen Feldkost Bescheid weiß, will ich einige Nahrungspflanzen aufzählen, womit diese allerdings keineswegs erschöpft sind.

- Tschammas,
- Stacheltschammas,
- Ontjes der Buren,
- Wasserwurzeln,
- sogenannte „wilde Kartoffel",
- Rosinkis der Buren,
- sogenannte „wilde Gurke",
- Pilze, welche an Termitenhaufen wachsen.

Gesammelte Feldkost wird in Stekchen aus 73.
Ducker- oder Steinbockleder in den Hütten aufbewahrt.

Der Auin legt auch im Felde kleine Vorratsmagazine an, indem er Säcke mit Feldkost eingräbt, ebenso vergräbt er Tschammäs oder mit Wasser gefüllte Straußeneierschalen. In Kronen großer Bäume findet man oft außer Tierfellen Vorräte von Feldkost aufbewahrt.

Fig. 9. Grabstock. 1/3 nat. Größe.

a Stock, *b* Grabspitze, *b'* dieselbe von der Seite gesehen.

76. Der Grundbesitz ist Gemeineigentum, das heißt, er gehört gemeinschaftlich einer Horde, die aus mehreren Familien besteht. Das auf diesem Grund vorkommende Wild, sowie das Holz und die Feldkost stehen ausschließlich zur Benutzung durch die Mitglieder der besitzenden Gemeinde. Darin vorhandene Wasserstellen stehen zur allgemeinen Benutzung, aber nur, wenn reichlich Wasser vorhanden ist. Wird das Wasser knapp, so hat der Grundeigentümer ausschließlich das Nutzungsrecht.

Die Grundbesitzer wohnen manchmal räumlich weit getrennt, so daß derselbe Grund und Boden von mehreren Werften ausgenutzt wird. Die Werften bestehen eben nicht aus einer ein für allemal feststehenden Anzahl von Familien, sondern finden sich von Fall zu Fall in beliebigen Gruppen zusammen. Wie aber auch die zufällige Zusammensetzung der Werften sein mag, immer bewegen sich die Angehörigen dieser Werften innerhalb eines ganz bestimmten Gebietes, und immer sind es die Angehörigen derselben größeren Horde, welche die Werften bilden.

Zwischen befreundeten Horden ist Jagdfolge erlaubt, d. h. ein auf dem Grund und Boden einer Horde angeschossenes Stück Wild kann auf das Gebiet der befreundeten Horde verfolgt werden. Von der Beute fällt ein Teil dem „Grundbesitzer", innerhalb dessen Gebiets das Wild zur Strecke kommt, zu. Bestimmte Verabredung ist in jedem Fall erforderlich, da der Buschmann jeden fremden Buschmann auf seinem Familiengebiet ohne weiteres attackiert.

Bei besonders befreundeten Stämmen ist die Ahndung einer Gebietsverletzung nicht blutig. Der Frevler wird verjagt, und außerdem werden ihm ganz wie in Preußen das „Schießgut" und die Beute konfisziert. Diese Flurpolizei übt jeder Buschmann auf seinem Gemeindeland aus.

Werden Weiber bei Bodenfrevel betroffen, so werden sie gefangen genommen und in die Werft der Bodeneigentümer geführt. Dies führt dann oft zum Kriege, wenn den Weibern bei ihrer Gefangenschaft in geschlechtlicher Beziehung ein Unglück passiert ist. Ehebruch rächt der Buschmann unter allen Umständen blutig.

J. Genußmittel.

Tabak, der nur als Einfuhrgut in Betracht kommt, ist äußerst begehrt. Eine Pfeife Tabak ist der höchste Genuß für den Auin. 1.

Tabak schnupfen ist unbekannt. 4.

Es raucht alles, vom kleinen Kinde angefangen. 6.

Figur 10. Tabakspfeife (Durchschnitt). 1/3 nat. Größe.

Die Auin verfertigen eine Tabakspfeife (s. Fig. 10) aus einem roten weichen Stein (Serpentin), der sich lediglich nur an der Wasserstelle Korikas vorfinden soll. Hier findet man unmittelbar über der Quelle auch tatsächlich eine Art von bescheidenem Steinbruch. 7.

Ein Bruchstück von diesem Stein wird mit der Lanzenspitze oder einem eisernen Messer konisch ausgebohrt und dann von außen her nach der Ausbohrung zu so dünn geschabt, daß die Wand etwa 2 bis 4 mm beträgt. Diese Pfeife ähnelt einer gewöhnlichen konischen Zigarrenspitze.

Ein Pfropfen aus dem Gewebe des Webervogels (?) verhindert den Tabak nach hinten zu fallen.

Vereinzelt sieht man noch einen Pfeifenstopfer oder Räumer, welcher meist aus Rosinkisholz ohne Rinde besteht und hübsch mit einer Art Brandmalerei verziert ist. Die Verzierung besteht aus Strichen und Punkten, welche mit einer glühenden Nadel eingeritzt sind. Auffallend ist die haarscharfe Richtung der Linien.

Der Pfeifenstopfer (s. Fig. 11) wird an einer Glasperlenkette oder einem Lederriemen um den Hals getragen (s. auch Bild 1 der zweite Mann von rechts).

8. Der Auin erhält den Tabak nur gelegentlich von Weißen, wenn er ihnen Dienste als Bote, Führer usw. leistet, oder von bei Weißen beschäftigten Kaffern, welche ihn gegen Feldkost eintauschen.

9. Hanf oder Dacha der Kaffern (Haium der Auin).

10. Hanf wird von Männern und Frauen gleichmäßig leidenschaftlich geraucht, und zwar aus den gewöhnlichen Tabakspfeifen.

11. Leute, welche durch Hanfgenuß erkrankt waren, habe ich nicht gesehen. Auch die Auin wußten nur, daß der Genuß manchmal Übelkeit hervorbringt.

12. Der Hanf wird von Kaffern in Oas und Betschuanen in Chansefeld, wohl auch von weißen Farmern angebaut und kommt durch Tauschhandel in den Besitz der Auin.

Die Auin behaupten übrigens, auch selbst Hanf anbauen zu können. Diese „Anbauung" geschieht folgendermaßen: Im weichen Sandboden wird eine kreisförmige Stelle von 30 bis 40 cm Durchmesser mit einem kleinen Damm von einigen Zentimetern Höhe umgeben und 10 bis 15 Löcher mit dem Finger in die vom Damm umgebene Stelle gemacht. In jedes Loch wird ein Hanfsamenkorn hineingesteckt. Die „Kultur" wird dann gut unter Wasser gehalten.

Das Verfahren haben die Auin den Bergdamara von Oas abgesehen.

Der Garungsprozeß ist unbekannt.

K. Spielzeug. Spiele, Sport.

4. Kleine Bogen und Pfeile dienen als Kinderspielzeug.

11. Vexierspiel, wird von jung und alt, Männern und Frauen durcheinander gespielt. Obige Bezeichnung habe ich nach dem Wesen des Spiels willkürlich gewählt.

Die Partner sitzen einander in Hockstellung gegenüber.

Beide klopfen sich gleichmäßig abwechselnd mit beiden Händen auf die Oberschenkel und murmeln dazu unartikulierte Laute ohne Bedeutung.

Der eine Partner streckt dann überraschend die rechte oder linke Hand gegen den andern aus oder macht irgendeine andere Bewegung mit der Hand. Es kommt nun darauf an, daß der Gegner dieselbe Hand sofort auch ausstreckt oder die entsprechende Bewegung mit einer ähnlichen beantwortet, kurz, sich nicht verblüffen läßt.

Figur 11. Pfeifenstopfer. 1/3 nat. Größe.

Beispiel für von Auin ausgeführte Verzierungen.

Die Zeichnungen sind auf dem Holz mit einer Nadel eingeritzt, die Punkte sind eingestochen.

a Loch zum Durchziehen einer Schnur.
a' Seitenansicht.
bb Larger Teil.
c Spitze.
d Seitenansicht der Spitze.

Der Buschmann an zweiter Stelle von rechts auf Bild 1 trägt den Pfeifenstopfer um den Hals.

Hat er die Bewegung z. B. mit der falschen Hand ausgeführt oder sonst einen Fehler gemacht, so markiert der Gegner seinen Vorteil ganz kurz dadurch, daß er eine wegwerfende Bewegung mit der Hand macht, oder mit dem rechten Zeigefinger auf seine linke Faust schlägt (soll bedeuten: „Ich schlage ihm, d. h. dem Gegner, den Kopf entzwei"). Unterbrochen wird das Spiel durch das rasche Markieren nicht.

Das Ganze spielt sich in einem ziemlich raschen Tempo ab.

Manchmal sitzen mehrere Männer einander gegenüber, die sich in den Partien ablösen. Auch kleine Jungen nehmen am Spiel der Großen teil.

Hereros und Bergdamara spielen ein ähnliches Spiel. Die Auin behaupten aber, es sei ein ursprüngliches Buschmannspiel.

Preise werden nicht ausgespielt. Es geht lediglich um die „Ehre".

Glücksspiel: Es hat große Ähnlichkeit mit dem Vexierspiel, nur daß die Teilnehmer außerdem noch mit den Knieen auf den Boden klopfen. Das „Töten", d. h. Besiegen des Gegners wird ohne Unterbrechung des Spiels durch lauten Ausruf angedeutet. Der ausgespielte Gegenstand (z. B. Tabak, Kost) liegt zwischen den Spielern und wird von dem Gewinner fortgenommen. Da die Wechselfälle innerhalb einer Partie aber zahlreich sind, so wandert derselbe Preis oft hin und her.

Ich habe dieses Spiel nur immer von zwei Männern (nicht Frauen und Kindern) spielen sehen. Man findet besonders passionierte Spieler bei den Auin, besonders unter älteren Männern.

Tanzspiel der Frauen (goei) (s. Bilder 36 u. 37).

Es ist mir zweifelhaft, ob ich dieses zu den Spielen oder Tänzen rechnen soll.

Einige Weiber stehen längs eines liegenden Baumstammes. Der rechte und linke Fuß wird abwechselnd taktmäßig je nach der Stellung mit dem vorderen Teil gleichzeitig von allen auf den Stamm aufgesetzt. So geht es fort, zuerst langsam, dann immer schneller. Stehen die Weiber mit dem Rücken gegen den Baumstamm, so wird die Hacke in derselben Weise aufgesetzt.

Manchmal stehen sich auch zwei Reihen Weiber dabei gegenüber. Es wird auch öfter eine Art taktmäßigen Singsanges dabei ausgestoßen.

Begonnen wird das Spiel auf den gleichmäßigen Ruf ‖ ai — etwa „jetzt los".

13. Gehörne von Böcken werden bei manchen Tänzen vor die Stirn gebunden (Elenbulltanz). Als eigentliche Maskentänze kann man sie aber wohl kaum bezeichnen.

14. Stelzen sind den Auin bekannt und werden von Männern und Knaben gebraucht. Gesehen habe ich übrigens keine, aber bei Beschreibung zeigten sich die Auin äußerst verständnisinnig.

18. Wettlaufen (Gâ).

Die Läufer bauen sich in einer Reihe auf, und auf „Gâ" läuft alles los. Der Sieger erhält einen Preis in Kost oder in Gestalt eines Gebrauchsgegenstandes (z. B. Messer).

Preisrichter sind ältere Leute. Blutige Streitigkeiten sollen bei Preiszuerkennung vorkommen.

Rutenwerfen (Gai oder Albi). 17.

Dünne Ruten beliebiger Länge bis zu 2 m vom Rosinkisbusch werden mit Anlauf in sausendem Schwunge vorwärts geworfen (nicht speerartig geschleudert, sondern an einem Ende gefaßt). Es kommt darauf an, möglichst weit zu werfen. Preise sind nicht ausgesetzt; es ist also ein echter Sport. Da die Sache ziemlich anstrengend ist, so wird das Spiel, wie übrigens alle andern auch, nur ausgeführt, wenn der Ernährungszustand ein guter ist, also zur Kostzeit (Regenzeit). Manchmal wird auch ein etwa $1^1/_2$ m hoher Sandhaufen aufgeworfen, welcher zu überwerfen ist.

Das Spiel wird stundenlang von Knaben und Männern unter großem Jubel betrieben.

Von Kaffern und Hereros wird dieser Sport ebenfalls ausgeübt. Die Auin geben an, daß es nicht ein ursprüngliches Buschmannspiel ist.

Ringen (s. Bild 34). Dieses scheint schon einen 21.
etwas ernsthafteren Charakter zu haben, da der Sieger den Unterliegenden schlecht behandelt und längere Zeit nicht mit ihm verkehrt. Die Buschleute bezeichnen es aber als Spiel.

Bogenschießen (unvergiftetes Pfeilspitzenende 23.
nach vorn). Ziel ist eine Tschamas oder sonst ein weicher Gegenstand, um die Pfeile zu schonen. Es wird einzeln von derselben Stelle geschossen. Anschlag stehend, knieend, sitzend, nicht liegend. Der Sieger erhält einen Preis (Kost, Messer pp.).

Speerwerfen. Das Ziel (Tschammas) wird auf einen Stock, der in die Erde gesteckt wird, aufgesetzt.

Auf 20 m traf unter 30 von 6 Mann ausgeführten Speerwürfen nur ein Wurf.

Ziel war ein Mehlkisteneinsatz.

Preise werden ausgesetzt.

Reiten (s. Bild 33). Zwei Männer bilden ein 27.
„Pferd", der dritte „reitet". (Gabi = reiten).

L. Musik.

Musikbogen von verschiedener Größe aus „Rosinkisholz" mit Tiersehne. Der Klöppel ist von beliebigem Holz.

Ich habe den Verdacht, daß die beiden Auin auf Bild 38 ein wenig gemogelt haben, denn der eine hat einen Schießbogen, während der andere einen beliebigen Zweig genommen hat. Sie werden wohl gerade keinen richtigen Musikbogen da gehabt haben. Allerdings kann man ja auf jedem gespannten Bogen „Musik" machen. Diese Musik ist übrigens auch für andere Leute recht vernehmlich, nicht nur für den Spieler.

6. Besondere Musiker gibt es nicht. Wohl aber findet man einzelne Leute, die an der Musik offensichtlich mehr Freude haben als andere. Ich habe einen Mann beobachtet, der in jeder freien Minute seinen Musikbogen benutzte.

9. Begleitung zum Gesang bildet taktmäßiges Händeklatschen.

13. Tanzrasseln (Guri) werden aus Kokons eines Nachtfalters angefertigt. Dieselben werden auf Schnüre gezogen und getrocknet. Solange die Kokons noch weich sind, werden kleine Steinchen oder Stückchen von Straußeneierschalen in den inneren Hohlraum hineingedrückt und die weiche Hülle darüber geschlossen (s. Bild 39).

Die hartgetrockneten Rasseln werden auf eine Schnur gezogen und am Unterschenkel befestigt. Sie sollen bei allen Tänzen Verwendung finden.

23. Kriegstanz (s. Bilder 41 und 42).

Die Weiber sitzen oder stehen klatschend und singend, die Männer hocken oder stehen gegenüber. Ein Mann rutscht auf den Knieen aus der Reihe heraus auf die Reihe der Weiber zu und deutet kriegerische Bewegungen an, wie Ausweichen vor einem Pfeil, Schleudern eines Speeres usw.

Eins der Weiber stößt einen Arm vor und einen tiefen kurzen Ruf aus und deutet hierdurch einen Speerwurf oder Pfeilschuß an. Der einzelne Mann markiert verwundet und schreit. Ist er „tot", kriecht er zurück, und ein neuer Solotänzer tritt für ihn ein. Auch Frauen sind manchmal „tot" oder „verwundet".

Unentschiedene Kämpfe werden angedeutet.

Es gibt auch hierbei ganz passionierte Tänzer und Tänzerinnen sowie solche, die ein besonderes Talent für Mimik haben.

24. Stachelschweintanz (s. Bild 40) wird nur von Männern getanzt. Einige Männer stehen einander gegenüber, stampfen taktmäßig auf den Boden und stoßen laute Rufe aus. Einer ist „Stachelschwein", welches von einem andern totgeschlagen oder mit dem Speer erstochen wird. Alles wird durch Bewegung angedeutet.

Elenbulltanz. In das Wesen dieses bekannten Tanzes habe ich nicht eindringen können, es scheint aber die Brunft des Elens dann nachgeahmt zu werden.

M. Transportmittel.

1. Buschpfade werden vom Buschmann in den Hauptverkehrsrichtungen, z. B. von der Werft zum Wasser, ausgetreten. Wenn ein Buschmann die Pad (d. h. den Weg der Weißen) benutzt, so hat er ein außergewöhnlich gutes Gewissen. In diesem Fall befindet er sich meist auf einem Botengang. Als Bote im Dienste von Weißen darf er auch feindliches Stammesgebiet (immer auf der großen Straße!) passieren, ohne daß ihm etwas geschieht. Es ist dies eine Konzession, die die Buschleute unserer Überlegenheit machen.

N. Handel, Geldsurrogate, Maße und Gewichte.

Zum Handeltreiben zwischen befreundeten 1.
Stämmen oder Werften begibt sich ein kleinerer Trupp Männer und Frauen (ein größerer Trupp würde Verdacht von Feindseligkeiten schaffen) zu der Werft, mit der gehandelt werden soll, und legt vorher die Waffen ab. Dann wird Erlaubnis zum Betreten der Werft eingeholt.

Befinden sich zwei Werften in Feindschaft, was übrigens der Normalzustand zu sein scheint, so gehen manchmal trotzdem Weiber zur feindschaftlichen Werft, um dort zu handeln. Es ist ein absoluter Tauschhandel.

Die Handelsbeziehungen sind trotz ihrer Urwüchsigkeit räumlich sehr ausgedehnt und erstrecken sich durch verschiedene Zwischenhändler vom Sambesi bis zum Oranje. Wohlverstanden kommt der Auin selbst niemals so weit herum.

Der Auin ist anscheinend im Verhältnis zu anderen Buschmannstämmen recht unproduktiv. Während z. B. der Kung die geschätzten und gut bezahlten Straußeneierketten anfertigt, der Noroon Fellkleider und Pfeilspitzen aus Knochen herstellt und verhandelt, scheint der Auin lediglich Zwischenhändler zu sein und gelangt auf diese Weise in den Besitz der begehrten Gegenstände.

Ich habe übrigens den Eindruck nicht gewonnen, daß der Auin Waren eintauscht mit der ausgesprochenen Absicht, dieselben weiter zu verhandeln. Vielmehr erwirbt er die Handelsobjekte zunächst für den eigenen Gebrauch, um sie später bei Gelegenheit wieder zu vertauschen.

Die hauptsächlichsten Tauschartikel sind: Salz 2. 3.
(kommt von Noroon), Pfeil und Bogen, Wurfspeerspitzen (Makoba), Holztöpfe, Holzschüsseln, Holzlöffel (kommen anscheinend von Ambos bzw. Owakwanguaris durch Vermittlung der nördlichen Hai ǁ um), europäische Storewaren von den Aikwe des Chansefeldes.

Innerhalb der Werften werden hauptsächlich 4.
getauscht: Feldkost, Fleisch, Kleidungsstücke, Gebrauchsgegenstände. Es scheint auch im engeren Kreis getauscht zu werden. Dem „Kind des Augenblicks" gefällt eben alle Augenblicke etwas anderes.

Märkte werden nicht abgehalten. 11.

Einen gewissen feststehenden Wert haben 12.
die Straußeneierschalenketten, da sie sehr begehrt sind. Eine Platte Tabak hat ebenfalls einen feststehenden Wert.

Dies will sagen, daß man unter allen Umständen, wo man auch hinkommt, beides los wird. Nur in diesem Sinne kann man von Geldsurrogaten sprechen. Ich bin überzeugt, daß man mit der genügenden Anzahl Plattentabak in der Tasche, ohne Proviant mitzunehmen, durch Tausch leben kann, d. h. wenn der Buschmann selbst gerade etwas hat.

Das einzige, was man vom Auin nicht unter allen Umständen gegen Tabak einhandeln kann, sind Lanzenspitzen.

26. Der Auin kennt nicht das bei uns gebräuchliche Angeben von Längenmaßen durch Aneinanderhalten von zwei Fingern einer oder beider Hände. Längen werden durch Anzeigen mit einem Finger auf dem Zeigefinger der anderen Hand oder auf einem Stock angegeben.

„Klafter" wird ähnlich wie bei uns durch Ausbreiten beider Arme angedeutet.

27. Als „Hohlmaß" gelten eine oder beide hohle Hände, letztere dicht nebeneinander gehalten.

Ein anderes Hohlmaß wird hergestellt, indem der Arm angewinkelt und die Höhlung zwischen Arm und Brust durch einen Lappen ausgefüllt wird; oder beide Arme werden vor den Leib mit geschlossenen Händen angewinkelt und die Höhlung wird mit einem Lappen ausgefüllt.

Bei uns sagt man auch „einen Arm voll".

Die Fellmütze dient ebenfalls zum Abmessen.

So roh die Maße sind, so haben sie doch anscheinend eine gewisse, natürlich ganz ungenaue Gültigkeit. Ich habe gesehen, wie ein Buschmann gegen Tabak „einen Arm voll" Feldkost einhandelte. Dem Tabakbesitzer erschien die erhaltene Ware nicht genügend, und der andere mußte noch „eine Hand voll" zugeben.

28. Gewicht wird geschatzt. Es wird natürlich immer ein Vergleichsobjekt vorhanden sein.

Die Schätzung wird in derselben Weise wie bei uns vorgenommen, indem die zu vergleichenden Gewichte kurz nacheinander etwas hochgehoben werden. Sogar der nachdenklich-schlaue Gesichtsausdruck dabei ist genau wie bei uns.

O. Technik.

1. Es ist eine ausgesprochene Hausindustrie vorhanden. Was der Auin wirklich notwendig hat, kann er auch selbst herstellen. Alle eingeführten Gegenstände sind Luxusartikel. Eine Einschränkung mache ich bei den eisernen Lanzenspitzen. Ich glaube aber, daß der Buschmann zur Not auch ohne diese auskommen kann.

2. Der Anfang einer Arbeitsteilung ist darin zu erblicken, daß nur ganz bestimmte einzelne Leute die Schmiedekunst ausüben, die sich übrigens nicht auf die Herstellung von Lanzenspitzen erstreckt.

Töpferei ist unbekannt. 3.

Töpfe, welche vom Okawango stammen sollen, sind vereinzelt vorhanden. Der Auin ist jedoch nicht in der Lage, eine Reparatur, wie z. B. Kitten, daran auszuführen.

Ringe von Grasgeflecht werden hergestellt. 9.
Ich habe sie nicht selbst gesehen, da sie nur aus jungem, aber nicht mehr grünem Gras hergestellt werden, also kurz nach der Regenzeit.

Angeblich sollen zur selben Jahreszeit von einzelnen besonderen Künstlern auch hutartige Kopfbedeckungen geflochten werden.

Grasringe und Hüte haben nur eine beschränkte Haltbarkeit, denn im September und Oktober konnten mir keine mehr gezeigt werden.

Siebe werden aus parallelen Grashalmen 14.
hergestellt, welche durch dünne Stricke miteinander verbunden sind. Sie dienen zum Durchsieben der Kost.

„Kirris" mit hübschen Verzierungen werden 17.
angefertigt (Fig. 12).

Ein Wurzelstock mit knotigem Ende wird geschält und geglättet. Eine Art Brandmalerei wird darauf ausgeführt, indem ein langer Streifen der abgeschälten, nassen Rinde unter Aussparung herumgewickelt und dann der ganze Stock in glühende Kohle gelegt wird. Die nicht umwickelten Teile brennen schwarz, während die anderen weiß bleiben.

Wozu die Auin diese verzierten Stöcke eigentlich gebrauchen, konnte ich nicht feststellen. Als Grabstöcke benutzen sie rohe, angespitzte Stöcke. Die Kirris scheinen demnach Luxusartikel zu sein.

Als Werkzeuge dienen eiserne Messer, geschärfte Eisenstücke oder Lanzenspitzen. Als Beispiel einer Brandmalerei siehe Pfeifenstopfer Seite 149.

Mörser und Stößel sowie Löffel aus Holz werden angefertigt (s. Bild 18).

Malerei und Herstellung von Rindestoffen sind 24-30.
unbekannt.

Die Bearbeitung von Fellen ist dieselbe, wie 31.
sie von Hottentotten, Hereros, Bergdamara und Betschuanen geübt wird. Ich verzichte daher auf eine Beschreibung.

Zum Färben von Kleidungsstücken aus Fell 32.
wird die früher beschriebene Schminke der Weiber angewendet. Die Farbe wird mit dem Handballen eingerieben und ist ziemlich regensicher.

Es ist allerdings zweifelhaft, ob man dieses Verfahren „Färben" nennen kann. Durch den Gerbungsprozeß sind die Felle sowieso schon rot, und die Schminke verändert die Farbe kaum. Vielleicht kann man es mehr als Imprägnieren bzw. Einfetten betrachten.

Die Farbsteine, deren Pulver zusammen mit Fett die Schminke ergibt, werden bei Kaitsaub (45 km südlich Gobabis) von den dortigen Hai || um = Buschleuten gegraben und bilden einen Handelsartikel.

Fig. 12. Keule. 1/3 nat. Größe.

34. Die wunderschönen und haltbaren Stricke der Auin werden aus der Faser einer wild wachsenden Agave angefertigt. Sie sehen so nett und sauber aus, daß man ihre Entstehung eher in einer europäischen Seilerei als in einer Buschmannwerft vermutet.

Die Stricke werden in verschiedenen Stärken hergestellt und zu allem möglichen verwendet, hauptsächlich zur Anfertigung von Wildschlingen.

Die Herstellung ist sehr einfach und geht äußerst rasch vonstatten.

Das Blatt wird mit einem Holzstock weich geklopft und dann auf eine feste Unterlage gelegt. Eine Hand setzt einen spitzen Stock oder ein stumpfes Messer auf das Blatt fest auf, während die andere Hand das Blatt gegen das senkrecht gehaltene Messer zum Körper hervorzieht. Nachdem dies mehrmals wiederholt ist, bleibt die feste Faser übrig, welche dann zu Stricken beliebiger Dicke und Länge zusammengerollt wird.

Eine industrielle Ausnutzung der Buschmannstricke scheint mir nicht unmöglich.

Als Bohrer wird die Lanzenspitze oder ein 44.
Eisenmesser verwendet, welche oft glühend gemacht werden.

Nur gelegentlich gefundene Eisenstücke kommen 53.
zur Bearbeitung. Die Gewinnung von Eisen aus Rohmaterial ist unbekannt.

Als Schmiedekohle wird vorzugsweise Holz- 54.
kohle von Giraffenakazie verwendet.

Ein an einem Stock befestigter Schakal- 53.
schwanz wird zur Erzeugung von Luftzug durch Fuchteln verwendet.

Als Blasebalg dient auch ein hohles Schilfrohr, durch welches das Feuer mit dem Munde angeblasen wird. Ob dies aber tatsächlich genügt, um Eisen glühend zu machen, kann ich nicht angeben.

Die Stelle von Hammer und Amboß ver- 52.
treten zwei Steine. Befinden sich Eisenwerkzeuge wie Beil usw. zufällig im Besitz des Auin, so werden sie natürlich vorgezogen.

Als Zange dienen zwei flüchtig zangenähnlich verbundene grüne Holzstücke.

Die Schmiede (nur einige meistens ältere 61.
Leute verstehen die Kunst) sind angesehen. Dies äußert sich darin, daß sie „überall Kost bekommen", wodurch die Auin anscheinend ihre besondere Hochachtung auszudrücken pflegen.

Figur 13. Beile. 1/4 nat. Größe.

Fig. 1. Beil mit senkrecht stehender Schneide.
a a Holzgriff. b Wurzelknoten. c Eisenspitze.

Fig. 2. Beil mit wagerecht stehender Klinge.
a'a Holzgriff. b Wurzelknoten. c Eisenspitze.
Die Eisenklingen sind von Makoba eingetauscht.

P. Politische Verhältnisse.

1. Der Auin ist, wie alle Buschleute, sehr kriegerisch. Jeder Mann und Jüngling ist waffenfähig und Krieger.

2. Kriegserklärung erfolgt nicht. Wenn aber ein Buschmann die Mütze aus Erdwolffell auf hat, so befindet er sich auf dem Kriegspfade (s. Bild 21).

3. Eine besondere Ausbildung in Waffenführung braucht nicht zu erfolgen, da das tägliche Leben ihn zur dauernden Verwendung seiner Waffen auf der Jagd zwingt.

4. Ich selbst habe keinen Krieg mitangesehen. Ein glaubwürdiger Kaffer schilderte mir einen mitgemachten Auin-Feldzug wie folgt:

Mehrere befreundete Werften kamen zusammen und beschlossen, eine andere Auin-Werft zu überfallen. Die Kriegsmütze wurde aufgesetzt und nach Sonnenuntergang in Richtung der feindlichen Werft abmarschiert. In der Nähe der letzteren wurde gehalten und, ohne Feuer anzuzünden (es war in der kalten Zeit!), der Morgen erwartet. Nach Sonnenaufgang, als es etwas wärmer geworden war, wurde die feindliche Werft umstellt und von allen Seiten überfallen.

Mein Gewährsmann erzählte, daß die Auin mit großem Schneid draufgegangen wären und sich in erster Linie der Lanze bedient hätten.

Der Überfall geschah unter lautem Schreien und Rufen; ein spezielles Kampfgeschrei war nicht herauszuerkennen.

5. Weiber wurden nicht mitgenommen; die Frauen der überfallenen Werft liefen sofort weg.

8. 9. Die Häuptlinge haben im Kriege allgemeine Befehlsbefugnisse. Ihre Autorität ist anscheinend nicht größer als im Frieden, wo sie verschwindend ist. Es ist allerdings für uns kaum verständlich, wie sich unter solchen Umständen ein glatter Verlauf eines Krieges gestalten kann. Alte Leute haben naturgemäß einen größeren Einfluß. Der „Doktor" ist lediglich Mitkämpfer ohne besondere Autorität. Im allgemeinen tut so ziemlich jeder, was er für gut hält; ein gewisses Zusammenarbeiten kommt schließlich doch heraus.

14. Bei Nacht wird nicht gekämpft, höchstens marschiert.

15. Bündnisse werden abgeschlossen, auch zwischen Stämmen verschiedener Sprachen. So z. B. verbanden sich Männer verschiedener Auin-Werften mit einer Naroon-Werft, um eine andere Auin-Werft zu überfallen.

Ein politischer Zusammenhang zwischen sämtlichen Auin-Werften ist nicht vorhanden. Die einzige Gemeinschaft bildet die gemeinsame Sprache. Bittere Feindschaft besteht z. B. zwischen den Auin von Gam und von Rietfontein, während das Verhältnis der Rietfonteiner Auin und der südlich davon wohnenden Naroon-Werften ein freundschaftliches ist. Verständigen können sich die beiden nur durch Dolmetscher.

Junge Leute, welche sich Freiens halber bei einer Werft aufhalten, nehmen an kriegerischen Unternehmungen dieser Werft ohne weiteres teil. Wie die Sache sich gestaltet, wenn sich die Unternehmungen gegen die Vaterwerft der Heiratskandidaten richtet, kann ich nicht angeben.

Kriegstanz mit begleitendem Gesang siehe S. 151. 16.

Gefangene Männer werden getötet, Knaben zumeist auch (Blutrachegefahr). 17.

Weiber und Mädchen werden mitgenommen, verheiratet und vollkommen in den Stamm aufgenommen. Alte Weiber werden getötet. Brauchbare erbeutete Gegenstände werden mitgenommen, der Rest wird zerstört.

Die Windschirme anzustecken lohnt nicht der Mühe.

Offizielle Friedensschlüsse finden statt; unbewaffnete Unterhändler scheinen freies Geleit zu haben. 18.

Kriegskosten in Gestalt von Kost, Gerätschaften und Frauen werden gezahlt.

Die Schilderung der Regierungsform ist so ziemlich das schwierigste Kapitel dieses Aufsatzes. 19. 21. 22.

Jeder erwachsene Auin kann eigentlich tun und lassen, was er will, vorausgesetzt, daß er nicht gegen die „gute Buschmannsitte" verstößt. Er erkennt anderseits aber auch wieder einen Häuptling an, welcher aber so gut wie nichts zu sagen hat. Hat der Häuptling aber z. B. ein Gewehr, oder ist er ein sehr starker Mann, so hat er einen entsprechend größeren Einfluß. Ich habe den Eindruck gewonnen, daß der Häuptling mehr eine repräsentative Stellung hat, die in erster Linie im Verkehr mit Weißen zum Ausdruck kommt.

Eigentliche Hoheitsrechte hat der Häuptling wie jeder andere Buschmann nur seinen Weibern und Kindern gegenüber, bei letzteren auch nur, solange sie klein sind.

Abgaben und Dienstleistungen gibt es nicht, ebensowenig wie äußere Abzeichen der Häuptlingswürde. 23. 24.

Die Häuptlingswürde ist im männlichen Stamm erblich. Das Erbe der Würde wird erst angetreten, wenn der Anwärter zu den Männern gehört, d. h. nach Schule (s. u.) und nach Erlegung des ersten Stücks Hochwild. Eine Stellvertretung während der Minderjährigkeit findet nicht statt. Es geht eben auch so! 32. 38. 42.

35. Die Werften (Dörfer) finden sich je nach Umständen zusammen und trennen sich wieder.

36. Der Häuptling einer Horde, die nicht immer in einem Dorf vereinigt ist, heißt Aichabn.

37. Bei einer Ansammlung von etwa 1000 Auin waren mehrere Häuptlinge vorhanden. Ein gemeinsames Oberhaupt fehlte.

45.46. Anscheinend sind es alte Häuptlingsfamilien, die diese Spuren einer Herrschaft innehaben. Sie bilden keine besondere Kaste und gehören keiner fremden Rasse an.

Q. Rechtspflege und soziale Verhältnisse.

1. Der älteste Sohn ist der Erbe des geringeren Nachlasses, der zunächst in einigen Gebrauchsgegenständen und Fellen besteht.

Die Witwe erbt nichts, behält aber ihr bisheriges Eigentum. Jüngere Söhne und Töchter erben nichts.

2. Die Blutrache ist der Grundbegriff, der den Rechtsanschauungen sein Gepräge verleiht. Der Sohn ist verpflichtet, den erschlagenen Vater zu rächen, der Bruder den Bruder. Ob sich diese Verpflichtungen auch auf entferntere Verwandtschaftsgrade erstreckt, konnte ich nicht ermitteln.

Ist der Mörder selbst verstorben oder nicht für den Richter erreichbar, so erstreckt sich die Blutrache auf dessen nächste männliche Verwandte.

Söhne, deren Vater ermordet wurde, sind zur Blutrache verpflichtet, sobald sie erwachsen sind.

Die Mutter des zukünftigen Bluträchers prägt während der Erziehung dem Sohne diese Pflicht ein. Sobald der Jüngling das erste Stück Wild erlegt hat, beginnt die Verpflichtung. Er wendet sich um Hilfe, die ohne weiteres gewährt wird, an seine Sippe. Ebenso findet derjenige, der Blutrache zu befürchten hat, Waffenunterstützung bei seinen Verwandten und Mitwerftbewohnern. Man kann sich denken, was für ein Rattenkönig von Blutracheverpflichtungen hieraus entstehen kann.

Es kann vorkommen, daß zwei Werften mit so viel gegenseitigen Racheverpflichtungen „hängen", daß ein Zusammentreffen zwischen Vertretern derselben ohne weiteres zu blutigen Tätlichkeiten führt. Hieraus läßt sich vielleicht auch erklären, daß manche Werften innerhalb des Auin-Gebietes seit vielen Jahren so verfeindet sind, daß eine Grenzverletzung ohne weiteres mit dem Tode bestraft wird.

Beispiel: Auin von Rietfontein und Gam. Selbstverständlich besteht noch öfter eine Todfeindschaft zwischen Buschleuten verschiedener Sprachen, wie z. B. zwischen Auin und Naroon, oder Auin und Genkuin. Auf den Stamm in seiner Gesamtheit erstreckt sich eine derartige Feindschaft anscheinend nicht, sondern ist wohl immer innerhalb einer bestimmten Anzahl von Familien und Werften begrenzt.

7. Die Grundlage der Rechtspflege bildet eine ausgiebige und energische Selbsthilfe. Zugefügtes Unrecht wird von dem leidenden Teil oder seiner Sippe durch Prügel oder Mord gerächt.

Als Beispiel für die Art der Selbsthilfe und die daraus entstehenden Weiterungen führe ich folgenden verbürgten Fall an: Ein alter Auin von Olifantskluft war bei seinem Schwager in Sidonitzaub zu Besuch. Der Gastgeber stellte eine Schlinge und fing eine Riesentrappe, welche der Gast fand, aus der Schlinge nahm und zu verzehren anfing. Der Gastgeber kam dazu und stach seinem Schwager den Wurfspeer in den Leib. Der Mörder floh, wurde aber von Verwandten des Erschlagenen eingeholt und erschossen. Jetzt herrscht natürlich Blutfehde zwischen den übrigens miteinander verwandten und verschwägerten Werften.

Interessant ist ferner der Umstand, daß die Auin von Sidonitzaub einen Boten zu mir nach Rietfontein, wo ich Stationschef war, schickten und mich fragen ließen, ob ich etwas dagegen hätte, wenn sie „Orlog" machten. Ich ließ ihnen sagen, daß mich die Sache nichts anginge, da der Krieg auf englischem Gebiet stattfinden würde. Leider wurde ich kurz darauf von Rietfontein versetzt, und so ist es mir nicht gelungen, dem Feldzuge als „Militärberichterstatter" beizuwohnen. Nach sicheren Nachrichten ist der Krieg inzwischen zum Austrag gekommen, wobei drei Mann gefallen sind.

Aus dieser Anfrage geht hervor, daß das „unglückselige Kind des Augenblicks" unter dem Druck der heutigen Verhältnisse sich nicht immer ohne weiteres den Eingebungen des Augenblicks überläßt.

3. Es ist kaum möglich, von den Rechtsanschauungen der Auin ein auch nur annähernd richtiges Bild zu geben.

Ohne Zweifel hat der Buschmann ein ganz bestimmtes Rechtsgefühl. Ich fühle mich aber nicht in der Lage, dieses mit unseren Rechtsanschauungen in einen verständlichen Vergleich zu bringen.

4. Etwas leichter ist es schon, anzugeben, was der Buschmann (Auin) für absolutes Unrecht hält, wie z. B. Mord, Diebstahl, Ehebruch, Verletzung des Familiengebietes, Wasserdiebstahl (letzteren nur, wenn wenig Wasser vorhanden ist). Jedenfalls läßt sich bei längerem Studium das Verzeichnis noch bedeutend erweitern.

5. Persönliches Eigentum sind Hütte (allerdings kein Wertobjekt), Waffen, Kleidung, Gebrauchsgegenstände, Felle, Schmuck.

Gesammelte Feldkost, erlegtes Wild und aufgesammeltes Wasser sind zwar auch persönliches

[p. 156]

Eigentum, unterliegen aber einem weitgehenden Kommunismus, der eine Einschränkung nur erleidet, wenn Hungersnot oder Wassermangel eintritt.

Gemeindeeigentum ist der Grundbesitz der Horde und darauf befindliches Wild, Feldkost, Holz und Wasser, letzteres mit Einschränkung.

Wenn ein Buschmann ein Stück Land abgebrannt hat, um das Wachsen der Feldkost darauf zu fördern, so hat er allein Anspruch auf die Erträge des Brandfeldes. Andere, auch Mitglieder derselben Werft, dürfen das Feld nicht benutzen.

Der Grundbesitz der einzelnen Horden ist genau abgegrenzt, und die Grenzen sind jedem bekannt. Grenzmarken existieren natürlich nicht, aber bei dem fabelhaften Ortssinn des Buschmanns weiß er ganz genau, bis zu welchem Busch, welchem Revier sein Gebiet reicht.

15. Standesunterschiede sind nicht vorhanden, ebensowenig wie es Diener oder Dienstboten gibt.

26. Begrüßung geschieht allgemein durch Handreichung, die von der bei uns geübten abweicht (s. Bild 43).

28. Sklaverei ist unbekannt. Kriegsgefangene Männer werden getötet, gefangene Frauen vollkommen gleichberechtigt in den Stamm des Siegers aufgenommen.

R. Ehe, Stellung der Frau, Kinder.

1. Männer heiraten etwa zwischen 16 und 18 Jahren, Mädchen zwischen 13 und 16. Beide Angaben beruhen natürlich auf ungefährer Schätzung.

2. 4. Die Werbung wird vom Ehekandidaten bei der Mutter des Mädchens angebracht. Ist diese nicht mehr am Leben, so vertreten die nächsten Verwandten (Vater, Onkel, Tante) deren Stelle. Der Vater wird erst an zweiter Stelle gefragt. Der Freier bringt den zukünftigen Schwiegereltern Geschenke in Gestalt von Wildbret und Feldkost, manchmal länger als ein Jahr hindurch.

Verläuft die Sache glatt, so führt er nach einiger Zeit das Mädchen in seine Hütte und die Ehe gilt als vollzogen.

Weigert sich das Mädchen trotz Einwilligung ihrer Eltern, den Mann zu heiraten (sie ist berechtigt, ihrem Willen Ausdruck zu verleihen und befolgt durchaus nicht immer den Wunsch der Eltern), so führt der Jüngling schließlich das Mädchen mit Gewalt in seine Hütte und vollzieht den Koitus gewaltsam. Läuft sie fort, so holt er sie wieder zurück. Auf diese Weise scheint der Widerstand allmählich überwunden zu werden.

Würde ein Mann ohne Einwilligung der Eltern einem Mädchen Gewalt antun, so würde er getötet werden.

Besondere Zeremonien bei der Eheschließung 3.
werden nicht vorgenommen. Die Ehe gilt durch den Koitus als vollzogen.

Das unmittelbar vor der Übersiedlung in den Pontok des Mannes vorgenommene Verlöbnis gilt als abgeschlossen, wenn der Mann das Mädchen, wie auf Bild 44 ersichtlich, um das Handgelenk faßt. Da „Verlobung" und „Hochzeit" aber zeitlich nur durch den Marsch nach der Hütte getrennt sind, so kann man das Umfassen des Unterarms der Braut als Vollziehung der Ehe betrachten.

Das Umfassen des Unterarmes geschieht ziemlich 6.
gewaltsam, und die Braut läßt sich beim Marsch nach der Hütte etwas ziehen. Sollte darin vielleicht ein Überbleibsel früheren Frauenraubs zu erblicken sein?

Eigenartig ist es, wie sich nach der Heirat das Verhältnis des Schwiegersohns zu seiner Schwiegermutter verändert. Der erstere vermeidet die Gesellschaft der Schwiegermutter und sitzt nicht mit ihr zusammen. Wenn er sich dem Lagerfeuer z. B. in der erkennbaren Absicht nähert, sich davor niederzusetzen, so geht die Schwiegermutter fort. Hat er notgedrungen mit ihr etwas zu besprechen, so schreien sie sich gegenseitig auf große Entfernungen an.

Vorehelicher Geschlechtsverkehr scheint kaum 7.
vorzukommen.

Ich habe zwei bis drei Kinder bei den meisten 11.
Frauen festgestellt, welche stets etwa zwei bis drei Jahre im Alter auseinander sind (s. S. 136).

Die Frau tritt zur Familie oder Werft des 13.
Gatten über, nicht umgekehrt. Zu Irrtümern mag Veranlassung gegeben haben, daß das junge Paar einige Zeit, etwa bis zur Geburt des ersten Kindes, bei der Werft der Eltern der Frau verbleibt. Später erfolgt immer Rückkehr zur Horde des Mannes.

Die eigene Schwester darf nicht geheiratet 15-19.
werden, ebenso natürlich nicht Mutter und Tochter. Andere Verwandtschaft bilden kein absolutes Hindernis.

Es ist aber die Regel, daß nicht innerhalb der eigenen Familie, auch möglichst nicht innerhalb der eigenen Horde geheiratet wird. Frauen werden mit Vorliebe weit hergeholt, oft von Stämmen anderer Sprache (Naroon, Genkuin, Hei-um).

Geburt eines Kindes bedingt keine zeitliche 25.
Trennung der Eheleute.

Die eheliche Treue scheint ziemlich gewahrt zu 27.
werden. Der Ehebrecher wird getötet, die Frau je nach Temperament des betrogenen Gatten behandelt, d. h. mit mehr oder weniger Prügel bedacht.

Ermordung der Frau wegen Ehebruch soll nicht vorkommen.

28. Ehescheidung tritt selten ein, und zwar nur, wenn die Frau gar zu alt geworden ist. Der Mann schickt sie dann einfach fort.

In den meisten Fällen bleibt sie aber auch im Alter bei ihrem Mann, welcher sich dann noch eine oder zwei jüngere Kräfte zulegt.

30. Die Kinder der geschiedenen oder verstorbenen Frau bleiben beim Vater und werden von der neuen Frau aufgezogen.

32. Witwen dürfen nach Verlauf einer gewissen Zeit wieder heiraten, ebenso geschiedene Frauen.

33. Eine Witwentracht besteht nicht.

35. Die Witwen wohnen in einer besonderen Hütte zusammen mit den jungen Mädchen.

17. Die Frau hat entschieden eine dem Manne ziemlich gleichberechtigte Stellung. Auch der Pantoffel wird oft ganz energisch geschwungen. Mahlzeiten werden in der Familie gemeinsam eingenommen.

38. Arbeitsteilung s. S. 147.

39. Die Rietfonteiner Auin haben durchweg nur eine Frau. Als Grund hierfür wird angegeben, daß „wenig Kost" vorhanden ist. Die Auin von Gam haben durchschnittlich zwei, manchmal fünf Frauen.

40. Jede Frau hat ihren besonderen Haushalt.

41. Die zuerst geheiratete Frau scheint eine Art Vorzugstellung einzunehmen. Es bleibt aber zweifelhaft, ob dies vielleicht nur dem höheren Alter zuzuschreiben ist.

47. So unwahrscheinlich es nach dem bisher Geschilderten klingt, so soll es doch auch Prostituierte unter den verheirateten Frauen geben, die für Geschenke gefällig sind. Wenn der Mann es erfährt, jagt er die Frau weg. Wie sich das mit der sonst geübten Blutrache verträgt, scheint mir nicht ganz klar. Die Auin erklärten mir, „wenn eine Frau sich mit vielen Männern einläßt, so kann der Mann doch nicht mit allen diesen Männern ‚Orlog' machen".

Es scheint dies anders beurteilt zu werden, als wenn eine Frau in einem speziellen Fall Ehebruch begeht.

51. Mittel zur Verhinderung der Konzeption sind unbekannt.

54. Künstlicher Abortus soll angeblich manchmal durch Treten auf den Leib der Schwangeren eingeleitet werden.

57. Über Kindesmord s. S. 136.

61. Der eheliche Verkehr wird erst im vorgerückten Stadium der Schwangerschaft unterbrochen.

62. Das Wasser und die Kost, welche von den Frauen während der menses geholt werden, wird nur von diesen selbst und alten Leuten genossen, jüngere „macht es schlapp".

66. Die Autorität der Eltern hört so ziemlich auf, wenn die Kinder in der Lage sind, sich selbst zu ernähren.

67. Die Namengebung erfolgt bald nach der Geburt durch Großvater oder Großmutter (ob väterlicher- oder mütterlicherseits war nicht festzustellen).

71. Die Geschlechtsreife tritt bei Knaben etwa zwischen 14 und 16, bei Mädchen zwischen 13 und 15 Jahren (ungefährer Schätzung) ein.

Die Reifeerklärung des Knaben ist ein besonderes Ereignis im Leben des Buschmanns. Mehrere Jünglinge von benachbarten Werften ziehen unter Leitung des „Doktors" in den Busch und leben hier einige Wochen gemeinschaftlich von Feldkost. Während dieser Zeit erhalten sie irgendwelche Unterweisung in geheimen Dingen. Daß diese Unterweisung sich auf das Geschlechtsleben bezieht, wurde von jungen und alten Auin, die ich unabhängig voneinander befragte, geleugnet. Auf die Frage, was bei diesem Leben im Busch eigentlich gemacht wird, erhielt ich immer die Antwort: „Es wird getanzt." Eine Art von Tanz wurde mir auch beschrieben, die entschieden etwas kindlich Geheimnisvolles an sich hat. Ein Junge setzt sich „Huckepack" auf den Rücken des andern, und beide hüllen sich in einen großen Fellmantel. Der Tanz besteht darin, daß der Träger so schnell als möglich ohne sich vorwärts zu bewegen, mit den Füßen auftrampelt, während beide dabei ein möglichst schauerliches, dumpfes „Hu, hu" ausstoßen.

Man kann sich allerdings kaum vorstellen, daß diese interessante Beschäftigung wochenlang, nur durch Schlafen und Essen unterbrochen, andauert.

Außerdem scheinen die jungen Leute bei dieser Vorbereitung ziemlich schlecht behandelt zu werden und wenig zu essen zu bekommen; denn alle stimmten in dem Urteil überein, daß es „übel" wäre.

Andeutungsweise erfuhr ich, daß die Mannbarkeitskandidaten den benachbarten Werften nächtlicherweile allen möglichen Schabernack zufügten und ein bischen „Gespenst" spielten, auch Nahrungsmittel entwendeten.

Die eigentliche Mannbarkeit, nach welcher die Knaben Krieger sind und heiraten dürfen, ist nicht allein von dem Besuch der Vorbereitung abhängig, sondern außerdem noch von der Erlegung des ersten Stückes Hochwild.

Die Tatuierung hängt nicht mit der Mannbarkeitserklärung zusammen. Bei Mädchen erfolgt keine besondere Vorbereitung. Sobald ein Mädchen die erste Regel hat, versammeln sich benachbarte und befreundete Werften zu einer größeren Feier. Das Mädchen liegt auf dem Boden, während alte Frauen mit Singen und Händeklatschen in ihrer Nähe die Kapelle bilden. Die jüngeren Weiber gehen stamp-

fend im Gänsemarsch vorwärts, wobei sie das Gesäß entblößt haben. Einzelne Männer treten von Zeit zu Zeit in den Reigen ein und alles ahmt die Bewegung und Laute brunstigen Wildes nach. Ich glaube, daß dies der Elenbullentanz ist. Erst nach Eintritt der ersten Regel ist das Mädchen heiratsfähig.

S. Geburt und Tod.

1. 2. Die Geburt geht im Freien außerhalb der Werft vor sich, während die Frau mit angelehntem Oberkörper und hochgezogenen Knieen am Boden sitzt.

3. Die Wiederbe'ebung scheintot geborener Kinder durch Reiben der Gliedmaßen und des Leibes ist bekannt.

4. Alte Frauen besorgen die Geburtshilfe. In schweren Fällen, z. B. wenn die Frau zur Zeit der Geburt krank ist, wird der „Doktor" zugezogen.

Dieser soll unter anderen Mitteln die schwere Geburt dadurch erleichtern, daß er mit dem Munde eine Art Ansaugen an der Scheide ausführt.

6. Zauberformeln werden vom Doktor bei Geburtshilfe gemurmelt.

7. Die Nabelschnur wird mit der scharfen Kante eines Schilfrohrsplitters durchgeschnitten, niemals mit einem andern Gegenstand. Praktische Gründe hierfür konnten nicht angegeben werden: „es war immer so."

8. Der Mann schlingt seine Bogensehne der Kreißenden um den Leib. Dann entfernt er sich und hält sich während der Geburt in seiner Hütte auf.

Eine symbolische Bedeutung der Verwendung der Bogensehne war nicht festzustellen. Die Erklärung war: „Die Geburt geht leichter."

9. Die Wöchnerin wird bis zu einem Monat nach der Geburt geschont und braucht nicht zu arbeiten.

10. Das Neugeborene wird mit dem Nest des Webervogels (?) abgewischt. Wasser wird in keinem Fall angewendet.

12. Bei Geburt von Zwillingen, welche anscheinend äußerst selten vorkommt, wird ein Kind getötet. Wenn es Knabe und Mädchen sind, wird merkwürdigerweise der Knabe getötet. Die Tötung wird gleich nach der Geburt von der Hebamme oder Mutter durch Begraben ausgeführt.

13. Geburt wird durch Tanz gefeiert, aber nur, wenn genug Kost vorhanden ist.

15. Gestillt wird zwei bis drei Jahre lang.

16. Es wird ein Unterschied gemacht zwischen Leuten die „gut", d. h. leicht und ohne schmerzhafte vorhergehende Krankheiten gestorben sind, und solchen, die unter großen Qualen sterben.

Erstere werden oberflächlich im Busch in der Nähe der Werft begraben und die Werft wird verlegt.

Letztere, welche der Buschmann wohl für besessen hält und auch nach dem Tode fürchtet, werden überhaupt nicht begraben, da man sie schon vor dem Tode verläßt und die ganze Werft fluchtartig das Feld räumt.

Falls begraben wird, so erfolgt es unmittelbar 17.
nach dem Tode.

Die Leiche wird in Hockstellung, Hände kreuz- 18.
weise auf die Schultern gelegt, zusammengeschnürt; die Kleidung behält der Tote an.

Das Grab wird ohne bestimmte Himmelsrichtung, so flach und klein wie möglich angelegt und nicht mit Schutzmaßregeln gegen Raubzeug versehen.

Bogen und Köcher mit Inhalt sollen an einem Stock aufgehängt werden, welcher über den Kopf der Leiche in den Boden gesteckt wird. Letzteres gebe ich mit Vorbehalt, da ich nie ein derartiges Grabmal gesehen habe.

Leute, die einen „guten" Tod gehabt haben, 22.
sind natürlich gestorben, die anderen sind behext worden. Ich gebrauche diesen Ausdruck, da er mir der Auffassung der Auin am nächsten zu kommen scheint.

Hat ein Auin einen anderen Buschmann ermordet, so schleppt er ihn unter einen Rosinkesbusch und legt ihn mit dem Gesicht nach unten auf den Erdboden.

Die Weiber der Werft beteiligen sich an der 23.
Totenklage der Witwe, welche in Heulen und Schreien besteht. Äußere Trauerabzeichen werden nicht angelegt.

T. Religion, Kultus, Mythologie.

Der Buschmanndoktor zaubert Regen herbei, 26.
indem er eine rote Erdart, die er von weit herholt und bei sich trägt, auf den Boden streut.

Ich halte die Doktoren, die an Stelle der Zauberer 27.
treten, für recht erfahrene Leute, die eine gute Portion Beobachtungsgabe besitzen. Dabei streuen sie ihren Klienten nebenbei reichlich Sand in die Augen. Die Seele der Toten stirbt nicht. Die 29.
Buschleute haben vor Verstorbenen und sogar vor dem Sterbeort große Furcht.

Krankheiten, die mit großen Schmerzen und 31.
Klagen seitens der Leidenden verbunden sind, gelten als durch höhere Macht (Dämonen) hervorgerufen, andere als natürliche Erkrankung.

Der Doktor exorziert, indem er den Kranken 33.
bespricht und schließlich mit einer Taschenspieler- 34.
bewegung ein Stückchen Holz usw. zu Boden schleudert, welches aus dem Körper des Kranken kommen und die Krankheit hervorgerufen haben soll.

Das einzige, was ich trotz wochenlanger ver- 69-76.
geblicher Bemühungen über religiöse Anschauungen

ermitteln konnte, ist, daß es eine höhere Macht gibt, die den Menschen schädlich sein und sie an schlimmen Krankheiten zugrunde gehen lassen kann. Diese höhere Macht, die gefürchtet wird, befindet sich „oben". Mehr als ein Hinaufdeuten in Richtung des Himmels konnte ich nicht erreichen, außer der Angabe, daß die gefürchtete Macht sich weit oberhalb der Baumkronen befindet.

Fig. 14. Prophezeiungshölzer. 1/3 nat. Größe.

a b c d Hölzchen eines Satzes. *d'* Seitenansicht von *d*. *e e* Löcher zum Aufziehen auf eine Schnur.

Die Prophezeiungshölzer bestehen aus einem Satz von vier verschieden geformten Hölzchen. Dieselben werden ähnlich wie unsere Würfel geworfen und aus der Lage wird dann die Zukunft vorausgesagt, z. B. ob die Jagd erfolgreich sein wird, oder ob es Krieg gibt.

Ein Auin behauptete, aus den Prophezeiungshölzern ersehen zu haben, daß „ein Ochsenwagen mit zwei Weißen sich der Werft nähere". Demnach scheinen die Hölzer zum Schwindelinventar von Leuten zu gehören, die, wie die „Doktoren", klüger sind als die große Masse.

78. Der Doktor ist Arzt und Zauberer. Priester ist er wohl auch, denn bei allen Fragen, welche sich auf Religion usw. bezogen, wurde ich immer auf den Doktor verwiesen, welcher angeblich darüber Bescheid wissen sollte.

Nicht jede Werft ist im Besitz eines Doktors. Zwischen Oas, Rietfontein und Ganab (100 km nördlich Rietfontein) war angeblich nur ein einziger vorhanden.

79. Der Doktor trägt den Schädel kahl rasiert. Außerdem soll er noch einige Schmuckstücke tragen, die kein anderer Mann anlegen darf.

80. Knaben, welche lange Jahre beim Doktor in der Lehre gewesen sind, können später, wenn sie ältere Leute geworden sind, ihren Meister ersetzen.

84. Bei der Krankenbehandlung scheint sich Schwindel mit einer gehörigen Portion tatsächlicher Erfahrungen und Kenntnisse zu mischen.

85. Für ihre Bemühungen werden die Doktoren bezahlt.

91. Es gibt auch weibliche Doktoren.

90. Von einer feindlichen Gesinnung dieser Leute gegen Weiße habe ich nichts bemerkt. Aber sie verstehen es noch besser als der gewöhnliche Buschmann, sich vor der Beobachtung zu „drücken", und das will viel sagen.

Der Doktor allein darf eine bestimmte Giftschlangenart essen, anscheinend die sogenannte schwarze Mamba, welche ich für eine Altersform der Cobra halte.

U. Totemismus.

Ich habe keine Anzeichen, welche auf das Vorhandensein von Totemismus schließen lassen, wahrnehmen können.

V. Medizin.

Ein Mann, der an Kopfschmerzen litt, hatte die 1.
Stirn mit einer angeblich heilsamen schwarzen Schmiere gefärbt und einen dünnen Riemen fest um den Kopf geschlungen. Unser Hausmittel, den schmerzenden Kopf seitlich mit beiden Händen fest zusammenzupressen, war den Auin bekannt.

Der Buschmanndoktor stellt aus der schwarzen 2.
Mamba, die er allein essen darf, ein Gegengift dar, welches gegen die Bisse aller Schlangen helfen soll, ausgenommen gegen den der Mamba selbst.

Er trocknet und pulverisiert die Lungen, Galle und Leber, sowie die Giftzähne mit Giftdrüsen. Dieses Pulver wird mit Fett derselben Schlange zu einer Schmiere verrührt, welche angeblich in die erweiterte Bißwunde, die vorher ausgesaugt worden ist, eingerieben wird.

Zugleich werden verschiedene tiefe Einschnitte am Oberarm und Brust gemacht, aus denen reichlich Blut abläuft.

Innerlich wirkende Gifte werden nicht hergestellt. Doch behaupten die Auin, daß das Pfeilgift auch innerlich wirken soll.

Die Herstellung des Pfeilgiftes wurde weiter 3.
oben beschrieben.

Giftige Pfeilschüsse in Brust und Leib werden als unbedingt tödlich bezeichnet. An Extremitäten sowie ganz oberflächlich sitzende Schüsse sollen unter Umständen heilbar sein, wenn sofort Hilfe geleistet wird.

Eine Schutzimpfung gegen Pfeilgift gibt es nicht.

Ein älterer Auin, welcher an stark entzündeten Augen litt, führte diese Erkrankung auf einen vor vielen Jahren erhaltenen Pfeilschuß zurück. Die Angabe ist natürlich unkontrollierbar.

Malaria ist endemisch und fordert jährlich viele 5.
Opfer. Besonders groß war die Anzahl der Todesfälle 1908/09. Ganze Werften sollen ausgestorben sein. Epidemien wurden auch von den „ältesten Leuten" nicht gekannt.

Geschlechtskrankheiten sind Segnungen der 6.
Kultur, aber anscheinend noch wenig verbreitet.

Hungersnot herrscht eigentlich in jedem Jahr 15.
gegen Ende der Trockenzeit, besonders wenn die vorhergehende Regenzeit schlecht gewesen ist. Zu dieser Zeit sind fast alle Auin zu Gerippe abgemagert. Tod durch Hunger soll angeblich nicht

vorkommen. Etwas zu essen, und wenn es Grassamen ist, findet der Buschmann schließlich immer.

16. Die sogenannten Doktoren verfügen entschieden über eine große Erfahrung in ärztlichen Dingen, was sie aber nicht hindert, außerdem reichlich in Schwindel zu machen (s. T. 27).

W. Zeitrechnung, Astronomie.

1. Der Tag wird nach dem Stand der Sonne eingeteilt.

2. Bestimmte Zeitabschnitte werden mit großer Genauigkeit nach dem Stand der Sonne angegeben. Wenn man einen Buschmann fragt: „Wie lange gehe ich bis zur der Wasserstelle?" so zeigt er die Stelle am Himmel, an der bis dahin die Sonne angelangt sein wird.

3. Der Begriff des Monats ist bekannt („gnui"— Monat).

5. Die Gleichung zwischen Sonnenjahr und Mondmonaten ist unbekannt.

6. Der Auin teilt das Jahr, für das er übrigens keinen bestimmten, sondern nur einen ganz ungefähren Begriff hat, ein in:

kalte trockene Zeit
warme trockene Zeit
kleine Regenzeit
Regenzeit.

Ebenso schwankend und unbestimmt, wie diese verschiedenen Jahreszeiten in der Kalahari einzusetzen pflegen, ebenso schwankend ist auch die Jahreseinteilung des Auin.

10.11. Es besteht nur eine Bezeichnung als Sammelname für den gestirnten Himmel.

12. Von einer „Geschichte" habe ich keine Spuren wahrnehmen können.

Nur Ereignisse, welche höchstens zwei Generationen zurückliegen, werden durch mündliche Mitteilung überliefert. 13.

Buschmannszeichnung kennen die Auin nicht. 14.

Bei der Wasserstelle Kazupitzaub zwischen Oas und Olifantskluft, also im Auin-Gebiet, sollen sich an Felswänden Buschmannszeichnungen befinden. Die Auin bezeichnen diese Zeichnungen als „Satanswerk". Ich bemerke, daß mir dieses Wort von einem Dolmetscher gesagt wurde, der mir keine bessere Übersetzung für den Buschmannsbegriff liefern konnte. Falls ich noch einmal in jene Gegend kommen sollte, werde ich darüber berichten.

Die Auin befinden sich in ihrem jetzigen Gebiet nach ihrer Ansicht: „solange es Menschen gibt". 19.

X. Zählen und Rechnen.

Finger und Zehen dienen zum Zählen. 1.

Fünf wird durch das Wort für Hand ausgedrückt, 10 für zwei Hände, 15 für zwei Hände und einen Fuß, 20 für zwei Hände und zwei Füße. 2.

Unter etwa 20 Rietfonteiner Auin befand sich nur einer, der über 20 hinaus zählen konnte. Ich kann aber nicht angeben, ob dieser nicht vielleicht erst durch mich darauf gebracht worden ist. Er zählte bis 40. 7.

Schluß.

Sollte man beabsichtigen, der Erforschung der Auin vermehrte Aufmerksamkeit zuzuwenden, so ist Eile geboten.

Die Auin werden der eindringenden Kultur sehr bald ihren Tribut durch Aufgabe ihrer Eigenart zollen, oder was nach den Erfahrungen der letzten Malariaperiode noch wahrscheinlicher ist, aussterben.

3: Lebzelter E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

000 Native Cultures in Southwest and South Africa
/Eingeborenenkulturen in Südwest-und Südafrika/.

by Viktor Lebzelter

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X. !Kung Types from the Otjimpolo Veld.

[1] Introduction

121 The purpose of my expedition, on which I was accompanied by my wife, Maria Lebzelter-Grammetbauer, was to study the anthropology and ethnology of the native tribes, especially of the Bushmen, as well as the archeology of South Africa. The original plan came from Professor Father Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D.
122 Repeated generous stipends from His Holiness Pope Pius XI made possible the continuation of the expedition, which was fostered with tireless zeal by Father Schmidt. The Austrian Government, by means of special administrative measures, made it possible for me to set out on this journey. Furthermore, the editor of Anthropos, Professor Father W. Koppers, repeatedly lent considerable support to the expeditionary fund. The Research Grant Board in Johannesburg granted me -- although for purely anthropological purposes -- a single subvention of 50 pounds.

114 I have already described the program and execution of my South African expedition in the first volume of this work. Here, before presenting the ethnological results, I should like to portray in rough outline how these results were arrived at. I must state in advance that there was a space of only three weeks between the time when the measures taken by the Austrian authorities made it certain that I could leave my homeland and my actual departure. Hence, a
[122] more detailed study of the native languages was out of the question. The conditions under which a person today can do ethnological field work are fundamentally different from those of the pioneering era.
[177] Through the activity of the missions, there is growing up among all
[177] tribes, except for the Bushmen, a stratum of intelligent individuals who, if not in this generation, certainly in the next, will take over
000 the research among their own people. I recall a lawyer's clerk in Natal (Swazi) who had acquired a pamphlet of ethnological lectures from Johannesburg and had learned it by heart. When he turned to a White ethnologist, in order to begin the practical work, the latter assured him that just as a race horse could not be used for plowing, so an ox could not be used for racing. Meanwhile, however, a number of very creditable works by natives have
115 already appeared in print. In my investigations I have always used native schoolteachers who had a command not only of the

[1 cont.]

115 German or English language, spoken and written, but also of their native tongue in grammar and phonetics.

000 Among the Zulu and Swazi I made my studies more as the occasion arose. Here I was indebted in particular to Father Andreas Ngidi in Inkamana, Princess Maris Dhlamini in Mbabane, and the Italian missionaries in Swaziland for my data. My travels were aided predominantly by the missions. Whereas in the diocese of the Catholic missions of Zululand and Marianhill the main emphasis of the work was upon anthropological and prehistoric matters, in Southwest Africa ethnological studies were the special [121] task of the expedition. Through the kindness of the provicar, 115 Father Schleipen of the Catholic Mission in Windhoek, the schoolteacher Alois Kheibeb was assigned to me, with whose help I came in contact with the old Dama. At the [2] Catholic Mission in Okombahe, Father Bachmann introduced me to the brother of Chief Gottlieb Horeseb, who came with a few other people to tell me stories. In Grootfontein it was Father Jaeger who placed his Dama schoolteacher, Nikolaus Horeseb, at my disposal. I then further succeeded in obtaining a very intelligent !Kung woman, Katiti, who was married to a Hei//om, and this made it possible for me to have verbal contact with the !Kung. In Ovamboland I was able to rely on the generous support of the Finnish Evangelical Mission. Through the help of Mr. Leuch I engaged a respected man from Oshigambo, Erastus Mbumba, who had been a clerk in Swakopmund for 13 years and who spoke superb German. The Bushmen informants in Ovamboland spoke Ovambo. In Epukiro the mission superior, Father Watterott, O.M.J., placed at my disposal the village headman, Franz Arenat, who in turn established contact for me with the Nogau Bushmen. The interpreters [124] have to be paid well. To all those who helped me in my work, I should like at this point to express my heartfelt thanks.

123 In order to achieve genuine success in the ethnological field, it is necessary to gain the confidence and sympathy of the natives and to instill in them the conviction that one has no evil intentions toward them or would want to make them look ridiculous; money alone does not suffice. The relationship between the 648 Whites and Coloreds is of such a kind that the native from the 576 outset faces the White with the greatest distrust. The natives are basically a courteous people, and among themselves they live

[2 cont.]

648 according to strictly regulated codes of conduct. No native would
576 say something unpleasant to another without cause. Modes of address such as are frequently heard among us, for example, "You don't look well, are you ill?" and similar amiable remarks, are out of the question. Each native expects to be treated in accordance with his social position. The natives cannot understand it when, say, a European traveler or missionary treats young people with extraordinary kindness; on the other hand, they find the casual treatment of older people and patresfamilias a sign of crude tactlessness. In Ovamboland, for example, the term of
123 respect for men is tati = "father." The ethnologist who treats
648 the grey-haired men of a native tribe as though they were old people of his own race who, in whatever position they may find themselves, have fulfilled their life's task and therefore deserve respect will have won half the battle. However simple and matter-of-course following this maxim might seem, in actual practice it turns out to be quite difficult in many cases. Quite aside from the fact that many a scholar sees in the native less a fellow human being than an object of study, the chief difficulty lies in the traditional forms of conduct that the Whites have adopted toward the natives. No native is allowed to sit on a chair in the company of Whites. In European houses there is usually a little bench in front of or behind the entrance door for black notables. The ordinary native is made to squat on the floor. It is maintained, not unjustly, to be sure, that this is the natives' original manner of sitting; nonetheless, the Black finds this manner of sitting a humiliation if it is forced upon him by the European. The native, in the view of the Europeans residing there, is simply an inferior kind of human being, with whom they do not even want to go to the same church, a circumstance that makes the task of many missionaries considerably more difficult. Should the traveler make a radical break with these customs and practices, he would have to forego the company and support of the Europeans, on whom he is, after all, dependent. Hence, an extraordinary measure of tact is required in order not to injure the pride of either the Whites or the natives. At the same time, it is true that among certain tribes, such as the Herero or the Ombarantu, the dislike of the Whites is so intense that useful

[2 cont.]

123 ethnological work among them, for the time being, is quite im-
648 possible. Even among the Bushmen the matter was by no means simple. Old Khame, who later became my good friend and informant, at first refused to help, saying: "Why should I open my heart to you, since I know very well that you are my enemy." The native also senses very accurately whether the respect one shows him is genuine. Finally, through the way he is treated, he suffers from inferiority complexes that make dealings [3] with him even more difficult. I have treated the natives as though they were Europeans, but naturally with due regard for the native forms of conduct, and in my relations with them I can say that I have been successful.

123 A single serious conflict with the natives can mean the end of an expedition. It is not just that the colonial authorities rightly grant permission to cross the police zone only to those people who have proved capable of getting along with the natives; another reason is the fact that the transmission of news among the
[203] natives is extraordinarily rapid. The news of my measurements in Walvis Bay reached the Otjiwarongo Reserve within 14 days, and from there it reached Otjituo in the extreme northeast in a week, not, as one might think, by postal communication, but through migratory Herero. Upon my arrival in Otjituo the people there were already acquainted with my intentions and my personality. The reader may possibly object to my actual accounts on the ground that I have succeeded in providing a fully rounded picture for only a very few tribes. I can truthfully say that there was a sincere intention to investigate the material thoroughly
[122] everywhere. I carried on the investigations among the individual tribes for as long as I had money available. It is impossible, after all, to depend entirely on a single informant; instead, several informants are needed in every case. Ethnological inquiries are practically the only situations in which the natives have the op-
123 portunity to lay down conditions. I can force the native to string
124 wire, to harvest maize, or to herd cattle as much as I want at the low price customary in the country, but I cannot force him to reveal his old tribal traditions. Not even the Bushmen wanted to take "brown money," but only "white" and "yellow." After I gained the confidence of the natives, as I can truthfully state,

[3 cont.]

123 the sum of the ethnological results obtained in each case is a func-
124 tion of the amount of "yellow" money that in each instance was available to me.

000 The results of my work, together with the space available to me, determined the size and content of this book. For the prehistoric cultures, I refer the reader to the first volume.

114 My original intention of giving a survey of those tribes
128 among whom I was unable to do research had to be abandoned in view of the amount of space placed at my disposal. I intend to do this in the final section of the third volume, where, along with the anthropological findings, an over-all survey of the cultural and racial history of South Africa is to be presented. I have
[127] referred to the literature at some length only in the accounts on the Bushmen tribes of South Africa. In particular the officers of the Imperial German Colonial Force performed extremely valuable pioneering work in this area. Their accounts, given with military exactitude, are unsurpassable and represent ethnological sources of the first rank.

126 Wherever I did not carry out the observations myself but wrote down the translations of my native interpreters, I have left them unchanged. Hence, I hope that the reader will not hold against me the stylistic defects that appear here and there. The native words for the most part were written down by my interpreters. I would have been happy if it had been possible for me to have all the texts checked by competent experts. This was impossible. I therefore request indulgence in case there are any errors in the linguistic transcription. At any rate, these people wrote their mother tongue. [Page 4 blank.]

[5] The Bushmen Tribes

172 In terms of geological eras, South Africa has undoubtedly been inhabited for as long a time as the other parts of the Old World. Naturally, the first cultures we know are those that possessed a stone industry. Among these the hand-ax industry, which is also the oldest elsewhere, is likewise widespread in South and Southwest Africa. Since Reck has most recently established

[5 cont.]

173 the Oldoway race as one of its carriers, the presence of a Eurafrican racial element from oldest times on may be regarded as certain also for South Africa. The carriers of this hand-ax industry, who, I am convinced, already carried on a kind of plant cultivation and were tied essentially to the forested zones, were later followed by a group of peoples and races with definite flake industries. Among these we may include the Katanga race and the other Australiform finds. A new wave of Eurafrican racial elements was brought by the carriers of the blade industries of the
174 Middle Stone Age of South Africa. Even today we are still unable to determine when the Bushman races adopted a Stone Age industry or even when they entered the country. Just as racially
[144] the Bushman incorporated remnants of all the preceding races or
[184] those that at one time existed side by side with them (Europoid -- Australiform), so their culture, varying from tribe to tribe, likewise constitutes a unity only in its optimal adaptation to the conditions of the environment. In its individual traits, on the other hand, it represents a residual culture whose stability depends on a selection intentionally and purposively carried out, and which resulted from foreign cultures from the Old Stone Age up to the present.

Chapter 1

The Bushmen of Angola

105 We are indebted to D. F. Bleek (1) for most of the data

[113] 1. D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola, " Bantu Studies, Vol. III, No. 2, 1928 Johannesburg. Further, Archiv für Anthropologie, 1930.

concerning the Angola Bushmen. The Bushmen are !Kung. The men are 159.3 (145.5-170) centimeters tall, the women 148.8 (135-161.3) centimeters. They live between the Msuma in the north, the Lomba in the south, and between Okawango and the

[5 cont.]

105 Ninde. They have stopped collecting veldkost and confine themselves to hunting, exchanging the products for vegetables and the like from the Mabunda [Bunda] and Luchazi, with whom they have a dependent relationship. Their time divisions are the same as those among the !Kung in the south.

The Angola Bushmen have two or three wives. Some of the married couples were cousins.

Each household has a number of calabashes, a few baskets, and a clay pot. Wooden pestles are used for pounding the grain, as in the south.

Among the Bushmen of Kunzumbia, the ear lobes and nasal septum are pierced. All adult men have tattooing on the forehead with vertical lines between the eyes. Furthermore, on the arm and chest they wear so-called "flesh marks" (2) [6] to

[171] 2. These are also found in Ongandjera and along the Natakanako Pan.

record the big game they have killed. The women, too, are tattooed. As weapons, besides bows and arrows, they have the kirri and a short knife. Spears are rare. Ironware, of course, is obtained in trade from the Bantu for the most part, although the Bushmen in Musombu already have their own forge.

[114] The rain dance is described by Bleek just as I have witnessed it. The women and girls stand in a group on one side, singing and clapping their hands, while the men also sing, but do not clap, and perform rhythmic movements with the upper part of the body and arms. They sing:

//nwa-se //kabama //gu a i-i New moon, come out, give us water
//nwa-se tatana //gu a i-i New moon, thunder water down for us
//nwa-se tala u//gu a i-i New moon, throw water down for us.

For the boys' initiation, the candidates withdraw into the forest with three medicine men for a month. There they dance at night, and occasionally the spirit Huwe appears at the dance. There is also a girl's initiation, and at that time another spirit, //Gaua, is supposed to lead the dance. The tattooing of the girls is done in his honor.

ANGOLA !KUNG WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD

[6 cont.]

105 In their religious ideas, the moon plays the chief role. The new moon is supposed to be a child or a man; the full moon, a woman. They also say that the moon is the older sister, and the sun, the younger sister. Besides the moon, Huwe and //Gaua appear as mythical personages. Instead of Huwe, they also say //Nwa-se, "little new moon." Bleek believes that Huwe is the spirit of the forest, who causes the growth of trees and grass and thus also the growth of game, therefore determining the success or failure of the hunt. Whether or not Huwe is worshiped could not be determined. It is interesting to note what is said concerning //Gaua: "//Gaua is another being. The people from Ngami Lake give the word three meanings: dream, ghost, spirit. Among the Angola Bushmen it is used sometimes for ghost, and sometimes more impersonally. A woman said: When a person dies, a ghost (//Gaua) comes from his grave, which can be seen by the medicine men." Thunder and lightning come from //Gaua. The person struck by lightning becomes a star in the sky. The stars are the campfires of //Gaua. The Bushmen are supposed to be the children of //Gaua. He is a man who lives in the forest, and his home is a hole in the ground. An informant explained that //Gaua is equivalent to Ndjambi (god). There are two kinds of medicine men: those who can see the spirits, conduct the boys' initiations, and do the tattooing, while the second kind cures the sick.

Chapter 2

The Bushmen of the Western Otjimpolo Veld

122 In Shandi, among the eastern Ukuanjama [Kuanyama], I was able to establish contact with the Bushmen through the kindness of the Resident, Mr. Eaddes, and of the native pastor, Paulus.
101 In part, these Bushmen were genuine !Kung, who said they were the same as those from Karakowisa, with whom, however, a fruitful understanding was impossible; and in part they were people who called themselves !Kung, but, judging by their language and customs, are southern Bushmen of Amboland. They themselves say that their fathers came from Ongandjera. The following

[6 cont.]

101 account refers only to the latter.

821 [7] The sky is designated by them as !nanu áiba Éroba Kharésa ("rain house of god").

776 For god they have the expressions "Erob" and "χ'amab"
775 only "Erob" is used in prayers. χ'amab (1) has been preserved

1. χ indicates a very low gutteral click, for which I know of no notation.

in χ'amá //gu Khe = "people who are with god," in other words, the souls of the deceased in heaven. Everyone goes there, the good as well as the bad. Erob has no wife and no children. A human being has only one soul (!gau-ba). This soul goes to the heavenly house and remains there "until Erob makes new people from it." Here is a belief in the transmigration of souls, which, it must be admitted, is not thought through any further.

No spirits of the dead remain on earth. There are little
776 bush spirits, the gangorob; they are harmless and do nothing. There are no evil little spirits. They supposedly know nothing about Heiseb and /Nawa.

136 The supply of game is ample in the tall dry forests of the Otjimpolo Veld. There are also fish in the rainy season. The
[825] Bushmen call them "shiba" (Ovambo: oshi or ochi); in other words, originally they had no word for them.

224 The Bushmen are helpless against the lion (χ'oréba).
[825] They leave a region as soon as lions make it unsafe. "There is no point in hunting them."

The leopard (χ'nába) is hunted with dogs (ariba). The
[439] chiefs of Amboland pay a good price for the skin, since little princes and princesses are not carried in a litter made of cowhide, but in a leopard skin. The jackal (≠Khai-eba) and the Löffelhund (//arúba) [a fox-like wild dog of the subfamily Octocyoninae] are hunted with enthusiasm. "Aruba" probably corresponds to N. //arob = striped jackal.

Wild dogs, "Khere," !nube (N. !goub) are preferably
[825] avoided. No notice is taken of the hyena, ≠Khai-lasa (N. ≠heirab),
[262] and it is not eaten. When they come near the camp, it is not a
[767] good sign.

[7 cont.]

222 825 The honey badger, !uisa (N. !ous), which leads to the bees, is followed ever so eagerly.

224 The common wild pig (gariba), the kudu (daub), the gemsbok χ'uaba (N. /gaib), and all the small antelopes are hunted. Pits are no longer known, although they used to dig them in former times.

If they decide to go hunting, sexual intercourse must be [834] avoided the night before. In the evening the hunters go into the forest and spend the night there. Before dawn they rise and pray:

[539] Pu, pu, Eró, /nari dsu /ari mate — God, tomorrow early we receive.

When a piece of game has been killed, one of the hunters cuts a piece of flesh from the animal's body and hands it to the leader of the hunt. This meat is called am-shái-khe. A fire is made, and this piece is placed on it. When it is roasted, the leader cuts off a piece and shouts:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, ha gore, ha gore — Erob, Erob, Erob, eat, eat
i Khe Khandi ô — With us flesh.

After a pause:

ha lĕ a lĕ ha góre o Khandi ô — Come! Come! Let us eat flesh.

Now the roasted flesh is consumed. Nothing is thrown away or left behind for Erob.

Then the game is cut up, and everyone goes home with his portion.

136 Snakes are not rare, although they are by no means as common as in the stony regions of the southwest.

The boa constrictor eats human beings; if it catches a Bushman, it starts to consume him at the legs!

132 821 731 In spite of the timber forest, the danger of drought is great. Erob sends rain. When there is a drought, the Bushmen dance and pray:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, /ga !goro — Erob, Erob, Erob, we are dying of thirst
/ga-wi -ma ta re — Water give us.

177 776 782 [8] It is very interesting to observe how in these certainly very ancient hunting and rain prayers the former old heathen gods' names Huwe and χ'amab were replaced by the Christian "Ellob."

I asked the people whether they knew any other prayers and received the following answer: "We know very well that

[8 cont.]

177 nothing can be done without Erob; we also pray to him whenever
776 somebody is ill, but we have no song for that, we do it in our
782 hearts." In these conceptions Christian influence is obvious.

881 They have no initiation for boys, but there is one for girls at the time of the first menstruation.

The girls' initiation is called "dorob."

At the onset of the menses, the girl becomes a "X'ába X'ábesa"; a special hut (omba) is built for her, where she is guarded by older women who feed her. The girl is allowed to eat anything, but nothing with her hands. When the menses end, a two-day festival begins, which terminates with a concluding dance. The candidate is seated in the center. Men and women go around
[534] her in a circle. The men blow on wooden trumpets. (These trumpets are made by the !Kung at only one place.) At the same time the drum is beaten (!guruba). At the conclusion, the women make "music." They clap their hands and sing:

[539] e-e-e-e-a-eje a jeja ni u u e . . .

Between times the drums and wooden trumpets sound.
539 Then the choral song of the men begins.

881 boro ai /i-he ≠hasa	Daughter my has become tall (just)
≠hau ge	Stand erect (tall)
/gai /ka uta (?) /noro-re	Good be now our little sunshine (1)

1. Literally: "Shine, you."

/ari ni tessa	Dance (2), sing, sue for her hand (3)

2. Literally: "Jump."

3. Literally: "Ask for!"

!goasa hi bare	People, be glad
Ti Komi !gǒǒ Kǒǒ...Kǒǒ... Kǒǒǒ	So, in this way, people, you should do it.

Then the dance begins anew.

[582] The engagement usually takes place long before the
585 girl's initiation. Hence the rule is that the wedding and the girl's
881

[8 cont.] HENCE THE RULE IS THAT THE WEDDING AND THE GIRLS
585 initiation coincide, and usually the girl moves to the village of
881A her first husband immediately after the completion of the festivi-
[591] ties.

584 When a man is courting, he must first attempt to obtain the consent of the girl. Once he has succeeded, he goes to the girl's parents. If they also give their consent, the engagement is settled. At this point, all communication is interrupted until the bridegroom appears and says to the girl's parents: "I want to have the wedding now." If the parents agree, they go to their relatives to spread the happy news. If the relatives object, they can still prevent the marriage. If they do not, the date of the wedding feast is fixed. In the bush, the bridegroom must bring the bride's parents a piece of big game. Usually people make matters
439 simpler for themselves. Either they have already earned a head
584 of cattle from a black farmer, and this stands ready in the farmer's
648 herd to be fetched for the wedding feast, or -- and this is more
452 common -- the Bushman will begin a begging tour around the black farmyards until someone gives him a cow as an advance on hides to be supplied later or on work to be performed.

452 And miraculously, this always succeeds. It is to be ex-
648 plained on various grounds. A black farmer, whose worst character traits include avarice and greed, would never give another Black who possesses nothing one of his dearly beloved cows on the strength of uncertain promises. And not unjustly. The next day the cow would have disappeared into the stomachs of the borrower and his friends, and on the day after that the borrower would have disappeared beyond the tribal boundaries. Repeatedly the Bushmen came to my camp too late. But from the Ukuanjama I always received the assurance: "The Bushmen will keep their word; they will certainly come if they are alive." In addition to this, of course, there is the symbiosis. Each village has its
[437] Bushmen. During the period of the harvest they suddenly appear
[9] and help with it. Between times they never miss a celebration, and at one time or another this one comes with hides and another with honey. And finally the chiefs of the Bushmen kin
[622] groups see to it that nothing happens to injure the reputation of
[674] the Bushmen. It is unheard of for these people to commit theft.

[9 cont.]

586 Up to the birth of the first child, the marriage is dis-
595 solvable, but not thereafter. Monogamy is the rule; where
596 there is polygamy, the first wife is the "head wife." The eldest
611 brother of the head wife is the family head. The boys belong to the family of the wife, and the daughters to the family of the father.

582 The strictest exogamy prevails. Son and daughter may marry neither into the father's kin group nor into the mother's
[587] kin group. On the other hand, a young widow is usually married by one of her brothers-in-law.

551 The following kin-group names were reported to me: !Nui-a, Dai, áben, orasi, Gombe, χ'am, χ'am-Kha.

805 The following times of the day are differentiated:

eruba, time before sunrise.

!khoasa, time of sunrise (N. khoa-am = to open, that is, the door for the sun is opened).

sorésa, "the sun shines."

sorésa ≠kam go, "the young sun goes," breakfast time. In effect, below the tropics one has the impression that the sun, after it has stood on the horizon for a while, moves toward the zenith with great speed.

sorésa !khoai go, "the sun goes back." Noon.

//gui-sa, "it declines (lies down)." Afternoon.

[512] ≠khai-am-go, "to rise and go." After hunting or searching for veldkost, the Bushmen usually take a rest before it is time to go home and start cooking (late afternoon).

≠kha-go, "to go through." (The sun goes through the gate of the night.) Dusk, sunset.

!khui-sa, to be evening.

dschu-ba, night (N. tsuχub).

821 These Bushmen have the idea that the old sun dies every night and a new, young sun appears the next morning. That the
[171] moon dies every month and is resurrected again is a notion so widespread in Africa that it is really unnecessary to make special mention of it.

805 The year begins when a new rainy season sets in.

//hauba, "storms rise." Rainy season.

[9 cont.]

805 shauba, cold season (N. sáob).

!kn-aba, hot season (N. !nái, warm).

535 Among dances, an ostrich and an ape dance were mentioned to me.

123 The studies, which began so promisingly, came to an end because I was evidently unable to present the village chief with enough presents. One evening a boy appeared and told me that the Bushmen had "had to go hunting." I continued to wait a number of days for the !Kung called by Mr. Eaddes. The messengers returned with the news that they had found no one. Another Sunday coat for the village mayor and some yellow money for the Bushmen, and priceless material could have been obtained.

[10] Chapter 3

The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of the Ondonga [Ndonga]

173 According to their tradition, these Bushmen came from Herero country. Hence they represent the connecting link between the "Saan" in the Gobabis district and the Hei//om [Heikum] of the north. The people as a whole designate themselves as Daman = the wealthy. The horde around Oshigambo calls itself //Huru-Khái. They call their dialect Cháraba. I do not believe that they live far in the interior of the Otjimpolo Veld. They have an enormous respect for the !Kung. The outermost cattle posts of the Ondonga probably coincide pretty much with the boundaries of their territory. A number of them are Bantuized and have small physiques. The others engage in hunting and supply the black farmers with the flesh of wild game, hides, ostrich egg beads, and poison. They serve as beaters on the great hunts of Chief Martin. At the court they count for nothing. The farmers like to see them. Little acts of assistance, a sack of berries or veldkost, soften the heart of the black housewife, so that here, as in Uukualuthi [among the Kualuthi?], there are a number of do-nothings who are nonetheless gladly received.

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123 Since I was able to become quite friendly with their "foreman," who possesses a small farm, I discovered some details concerning their outlook on life.

776 They believe in a supreme being which is not conceived of as a human being and which they call χ'amaba. Here we have H. Vedder's /Gamab of the Bergdama.

773 χ'amaba made everything, the sun, the moon, the stars, and also human beings. First he made the Whites, then the Blacks, and finally the Bushmen. They are unable to say how χ'amaba made human beings.

[372] The old Bushmen say that fire comes from the devil.
[776] Heiseb is the devil, according to them. Heiseb and the ostrich played together. The ostrich had the fire on his arm. While dancing the ostrich spread his wings, and Heiseb took the fire from him. Heiseb threw the fire brand behind him. There was a bush which started to burn. And there the people discovered the fire.

776 Heiseb is evil and only does evil. He is conceived as human in form. No one knows where he came from.

χ'amaba, on the other hand, is benevolent. People pray to him for help.

539 I took down the following prayers:

782 1. Prayer for rain: In olden times pieces of wood were
821 cut from the !Hawewa tree. It could not be felled. These pieces of wood were thrown into the fire, and as soon as the pungent smoke rose upward, the people sang in chorus:

χ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i a a God, give water to drink.
χ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i !hanusa God, give water rain,
anita(?) a a so that we may drink.

2. Prayer of thanks for rain: When the rain has finally come, a dance of joy is performed, and the following is sung:

χ'ámaba χ'ámaba χ'ámaba God, God, God
tūta tūta We have received, we have received
!hanusa /gam-i-i !hanusa /gam-i-i Rain water, rain water
tara ái /gam ái !hanusa tutasi We can drink, drink water, receive water.

[10 cont.]

539 χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!
[821]
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731 [11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They
[888] do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and
[758] the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune. Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own.
271 One must have experienced personally the feeling that overcomes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can drink again!

539 3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a
782 journey:
[484] χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

[755] 4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor performs his ceremonies.

χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai khaíra téve God, let our people rise again.

789 5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil: Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

821 They do not know anything to say about the sun (sorésa). The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

753 Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those
776 persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this, and there is no spirit of sickness.

776 There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the bush. They play tricks.

775 A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know
[756] what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

372 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in
881 the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other
184 hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not
585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the mar-
582 riage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A
595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 [12] A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

[12 cont.]

843 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-
262 buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut.
[553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are
[177] performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:
[539] //am ≠haiba, //am ≠haiba (?)
[782] The leader answers:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower
422 form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 The gathering of veldkost does not have the great signifi-
[184] cance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already
[462] commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd
[657] a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main
[233] OCCUPATION.

[12 cont.]

000 439 occupation. Even among the nomadic groups, however, meat, hides, and so forth are commonly traded for millet.

Also, the Blacks like to have veldkost on their table, [222] and the Bushmen, like our sponge and berry gatherers, use their knowledge to supply them and carry on petty trade with their veldkost, as well as with honey.

222 This is the reason that veldkost, which is either scarce 137 or not very tasty, is not gathered at all any more; indeed, the knowledge of its presence is even disappearing. We must also not forget that the black shepherd boys long ago acquired the knowledge of the Bushmen by observing them. As a result, the number of those interested has naturally climbed sharply, and the veldkost plants have become rare. The following kinds are still regularly gathered:

222 /airoba (ombimbo)	Sweetish, very starchy tubers, like large potatoes.
/érui (omauungá)	Galls on the leaves of the omsati tree.
≠gan-i (esarata)	Small fruit.
!Khui-i (oombi)	Dates.
!Korob-ke (oompali)	Bulbs at the roots of a liana.

251 Dried meat is made from kudu flesh, which in part is 439 kept and in part sold.

278 [13] Arrow poison is made from the sap of a tree (Euphorbiacea), !Khores-Ke. The Ondonga themselves make no [439] arrow poison, but buy it from the Bushmen for one to two sh per 752 portion. There is no medicine against arrow poison. Deep incisions are made at the place where the arrow entered, and after blood has flowed freely from the wound, it is sucked. In the case of snakebite the same procedure is followed, and some arrow poison is placed on the wound (!!!).

278 Our Bushmen denied any knowledge of poisons added to 609 food. Only the "evil Bushmen" in the east had such knowledge, they claimed. This statement scarcely deserves credence.

177 In clothing, dwellings, and weapons, as well as ornaments, not much that is original remains. The process of Bantuization is much further advanced in the material culture than in the spiritual culture. It is, after all, easier to part with clothing than with ideas.

[13 cont.]

Chapter 4

The Bushmen of Ukuambi

115 At an outpost of the Finnish Ukuambi Mission, where I undertook anthropological measurements, I encountered a Bushman from the hordes that live on the northern bank of the Etosha Pan and stand in a loose dependent relationship partly with Ipumbo, partly with Shanika. I was able to converse with him only a few hours.

101 These Bushmen in Ukuambi, as well as at other places, belong to the Ezimo of the Akuanambua. They themselves are [614] divided into a number of exogamous kin groups. My informant belonged to the clan Ari-Ari. The tribe calls itself Akese or Kere and comes from the region between Okaukuejo and Outjo. Today this tribal organization is broken up. The following names -- formerly independent hordes which now live mixed together -- were mentioned to me: /Aru-Kwe, Ashuche, Asécha, !Kuru-Kwei, A !Kha-ta-bé, A-Hei-tére, A !gnuri.

648 Insofar as these Bushmen do not already lead the life of the Bantu farmers, they are hunters, spies, and occasionally also executioners for the chiefs. They manufacture ostrich egg beads [+39] and poison. For twelve good ostrich eggs they receive a fat ox. The Ovambo have quite a peculiar outlook in this respect. They spurn the perfectly good eggs of their hens. The ordinarily somewhat "disreputable" ostrich eggs are purchased for dear money as a delicacy.

611 The sons belong to the family of the father, the daughters to that of the mother. The men are not allowed to eat hares, 262 but the women and children do. The eating of hyenas and boa constrictors is prohibited to all.

776 Concerning their religious conceptions I was able to discover the following: In the sky dwells the great captain !Khuwa, which means the same as Huwe. In answer to the question about God, however, he stated that this was Erob, which naturally coincides with the name for God, Ellob, of the Rhenish Mission. The name !Khuwa only occurred casually in the conversation. He was unable to give a clear answer to my question as to whether

[13 cont.]

776 !Khuwa and Erob were the same. In any case, the expression Ellob used by these people comes from Outjo, where there are a number of Christian Bushmen.

!Khuwa lives in the heavenly house χ'ain !nao gároba.
[772] The people in heaven eat only large flies, !Khu !Khua-i. The figure /Nawas is unknown. The evil antagonist of Huwe, //Gauab, is also absent. These Bushmen, however, have the same doctrine
[774] of the two souls as the !Kung of the east.

775 When someone dies, he becomes the property of !Khuwa; he is a !Khunga. The actual soul, χ'aobe, goes to the heavenly house, remains there, and does nothing but eat large flies. From the bodies of the dead [14] arise the //gauá-i, which run around in the bush and stir up trouble. They correspond to the akwapungu
[171] and azizi of the Ovambo. "But the actual souls of the Ovambo and the Bushmen go different ways; those of the Ovambo go under the earth where they have their fields and herds, but those of the Bushmen go up." Since the missionary Mr. Kylves expressed the desire to make some detailed studies of the Bushmen himself, I gladly left this attractive field of study to my kind host.

197 Finally, a number of words indicate that these people
192 are to be included in the Hei//om-Nama group, a point which
[101] is very striking with respect to the !Kung elments in their world view.

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Sun	shoreba	sóres
Moon	!háwa	//khab(*)
Stars	/nāmirō-i	/gamiros
Dome of the sky	shorche	≠kanis
Earth	/huwa	!hub-eib
Lightning	/harabé	náwab
Thunder	!nau	!gurub(*)
Rain	≠nanuba	/awib(*)
Lion	χ'amba	χ'ami
Leopard	!kui-oba	!arub(*)
Large bird	anite	--
Dog	arib	arib
Boa constrictor	!aoba	--
Zebra	χorebe	--

AKUANAMBUA
UUKUALUTHI

[14 cont.]

192
197

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Elephant	≠koá-ba	≠koáb
Hare	!kai-éba	!kàirab
Man	áure ba	áob
Woman	taréshа, taréqueta	taris
Child	/koá ruba	/gob
Encampment	//gaun-kwá	//gāus
Head	tanába	tanas
Eye	mu-i	mus
Ears	/gai-i	//noub
Mouth	am-ba	ams
Teeth	//gu-i	//gu-ĩ
Tongue	tamba	nami(*)
Nose	/kui-ba	/guis
Hand	!koam-ba	!omi
Foot	/gai-i	/eis
Ground	/kawa	khas
Arrow	/kaau-i	/ab(*)
Poison	!khore-ai	!gab, !gurub
Palm tree	/haiba	--

Of 29 words only six roots (*) show no relationship with Nama.

Chapter 5

The Bushmen of Uukualuthi

In all Uukualuthi, Uonkolonkathi, and Ombarantu, there
115 are, reportedly, only two Bushmen left who understand the old lan-
[177] guage. Both of them are good-for-nothing loafers who go from one beer pot to another. Thanks to the kind offices of the missionary, Mrs. Aarni, Chief Moala made one of these men available to me. To be sure, he could not hold out for very long, and during the few days that he devoted to us, he was rarely sober. We had to limit our conversations to the forenoon. What I learned from him is a dying way of life that no longer has any continuity. The man faced the situation with the cheerful resignation of the CHRONIC, GOOD-NATURED IMBIBER...

/14 cont./

000 chronic, good-natured imbiber . . .

776 In heaven there is one god, Erob. Lightning (dábara)
[821] and rain (!nanus) are sent by him. He calls heaven χ'ameiba. This word is very interesting. It can mean both "place of the /15/ souls (χ'a) " or "place of the χ'amab." The souls
[775] (um-ské) go to heaven after death. "This is what they say," said the man, "I haven't been there yet."

He did not know Gauab and Heiseb. Concerning other spirits, he said that people had mentioned them, but he did not believe in them. The spirits are supposedly called "gangarob."
756 The old Bushmen had neither doctors nor medicines against ill-
753 nesses. To my question about what made people ill, he responded with philosophical equanimity: "If one becomes ill, he is ill like an animal." He knew nothing about the sun (soris)
[821] and moon (χ'ab). A sacred fire is unknown to him.
[778]

224 Of greatest interest is his report, undoubtedly based
782 upon autopsy, concerning an initial offering at the hunt. I give the report in literal translation:

"Before people go out to the hunt, they meet at an omsati tree (//Khaia-aib). There a fire is made. Each hunter rips off a number of leaves, spits on them, and throws them into the fire as he shouts:

[539] Érob, Érob, áu tere! God, God, help us!

"When the game has been killed, one first cuts a piece each from the lung, liver, and stomach and throws each piece singly to the side, saying all the while:

Érob úre, Érob úre! God take, God take!

[539] "Then they start to eat."

This function is performed by the one who has killed the game.

881 The following was communicated to me concerning the
585 social organization:

There are initiation ceremonies. The celebration of the first menstruation originally coincided with the wedding. On the first day of menstruation the girl went into a pontok especially constructed for this purpose. Then there was dancing for two or three days, and after the cessation of the menses the girl went to

[15 cont.]

881 the man's encampment and took up married life. Nowadays the
585 first menstruation and wedding no longer always coincide.

584 The consent of the girl is absolutely necessary for the conclusion of the marriage. People often are betrothed already in childhood. Once the girl has grown up, that is, once she has become sexually mature, the suitor goes to the girl's parents. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to enter the encampments of their prospective parents-in-law. If father and mother agree, then they go to the grandparents to obtain their consent. Then oxen, wethers, and goats are collected for the feast. Then the suitor goes to his parents, who in turn consult the grandparents. In the bridegroom's house also livestock is now collected, or, as the case may be, begged or purchased.
585 Then a great feast begins. There is dancing, and long trumpets are blown.

During the wedding dance the men sing:
[539] "Huwi é haa -- huwi é taa -- huwi áni taa." (The girl has grown up.)
The women clap their hands and sing:
"Jee jeee ja! jee jeee ja!"

881 A boys' initiation in the true sense of the term is no longer held. When the boy has grown up, however, a celebration
852 is held and livestock is killed. Similarly, when a child has been born, a celebration takes place, at which wethers or sheep are slaughtered. It is striking that among these Bushmen a sheep usually takes the place of the goat.

551 The boy receives the father's name; the daughter, the mother's name. The children belong to the family of the woman,
611 and the oldest uncle, or oldest brother of the woman, is the head of the family. It is prohibited to marry the children of the
582 mother's sisters.

The kinship terms are as follows:

601

German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
Father	//khum-khe	//gub, dadab, eib
Mother	//khums	//gus, is
Son	a χ'oron-khe	/gōab/gōb
Daughter	χ'ams-khe	/gōas/gōs
Brother	!gasab	!gasab
Sister	di !gas-khe	!gasas

[16]

	German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
601	Son of father's brother	awób (1) !garis-khe	--

1. In this connection cf. !awi (N.): "To bear the first child."

Son of mother's brother	/góa khoaba	--
Daughter of father's brother	//khum khoás	--
Daughter of mother's brother	//khum khoás	--
Father's brother	di khoáb-khe	--
Mother's brother	khoes-khe-khoaba	--
Father's sister	di-khoaba	--
Mother's sister	//khum khoás	--
Sister-in-law	//khum khoas	--
Wife	tarás	--
Husband	aubā	--

Khoás (pronounced like quás) corresponds to Khois in Nama. Khoib, however, means man, human being, friend, and comparative Khoi X a-Khoin = blood relative.

//Khum Khoas therefore signifies 'blood-related mother," which is properly applied to mother's sisters and their daughters and to the daughters of father's brother, but curiously enough also [582] to the sisters-in-law, probably because there is also a marriage prohibition with respect to them. Father's sisters and their daughters do not have this title, and one may marry these cousins.

Chapter 6

The !Kung Bushmen

131 The whole enormous region between Ewale, Ukuanjama, Oondonga, the Umaramba u Owambo up to its source, and from there across the farm bush veld up to north of Otjituo, and the whole Sand Veld east of the Omuramba Omatako to Alexeck on

[16 cont.]

131 the one hand, to the Okovanggo and the regions inhabited by the Bamangwato [Ngwato] west of Ngami Lake on the other hand, are inhabited by the tribes of the !Kung group.

Seiner (2) supplies the following apt division of this zone:

[113] 2. Mitteilungen aus Deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1914.

"The !Kung Veld forms the part of the Omaheke belonging to the northern Kalahari and is located between the Okovanggo (from Kagere to 19° southern latitude), the Kaukau Veld, the Sand Veld, the Karst Veld, the Etosha Pan, and the Otjimpolo Veld. -- The Kaukau Veld (according to Passarge, a plateau) is located between the Kung Veld, the Okovanggo, the Okovanggo basin, and the Sand Veld district. As the western boundary, in other words, toward the Sand Veld, the line Bogara -- Debra -- Blue Bush Pan in the western tip of the Okovanggo basin, close to the German border, should be adopted. The northern Sand Veld, through which I have traveled, can be delimited on the west by the line Nuragas -- Otjituo and by the valley of the Omatako from Otjituo to Okahitua; on the south by the line Okahitua -- Okosondusu -- Otjosonjou -- Epata -- Epukiro -- Rietfontein-East; on the east by the border zone of the Chanse Veld, the Okovanggo basin, and the Kaukau Veld. For the
137 northern boundary toward the Kung Veld, the factors of climate and plant geography must be taken into consideration, since there is no natural boundary here; the line Bogara -- Kanovlei -- Nuragas approximately forms the northern boundary of the Kalahari bush of the central Kalahari, which is sharply differentiated from the dry forest of the northern Kalahari. -- The loose,
[134] deep, leached steppe sand bears for the most part a tall, light xerophytic dry forest, usually with no underbrush and with deciduous trees that, as a result of the quantities of water stored in their root stalks and trunks, bear green leaves during the greater part of the dry season, and in part even bear blossoms and fruit during this season; this dry forest is a formation of
[134] relatively recent date. The vegetation of the firm, gray-humus, loamy river sand, or of the looser sand with ample ground

[16 cont.]

[134] saturation and ground water, is a dry forest of a different type
137 which corresponds to Warburg's lowland forest and, in contrast to the light dry forest of the looser sand, is distinguished by a relatively high density. -- The dry forest steppe occupies the largest areas of the !Kung Veld, and [17] lowland forest and grass steppe form only modest enclaves in it. Within the dry forest, at those places where the nature of the terrain makes possible the accumulation and preservation of relatively significant quantities of water or ground humidity, there are individual trees that are to be regarded as remnants of a former compact lowland forest, and the floristic composition of such forest islands leads to the conclusion that the entire region, with the exception of the primary grass steppes, whose floor probably never displayed taller vegetation because of its sterility, was once covered by a lush lowland forest as is preserved in its finest form at present in the northern Kalahari and in the 'rain forest' of Victoria Falls."

101 By the !Kung Bushmen in the narrower sense, who are
[131] divided into a northern group and an eastern group, I refer to those people who are located north of the police zone and south of the Okovanggo in the effluent region of the Omuramba u Owambo at the Löwenomuramba and on both sides of the lower and central Omuramba u Omatako. The groups in the source region of the Omuramba u Owambo have been studied by me in
174 greater detail. In former times, the !Kung undoubtedly lived much farther south and west. It is not improbable that they left the Grootfontein plain and the Otawi mountains under the pressure of the Hei//om, who in turn were forced out of the central region by the Herero. On the other side they undoubtedly gained space toward the south, for according to reports from the pre-war period, the Nogau were settled in the Sand Veld all the way to the vicinity of Otjituo, whereas today they have retreated
144 behind Alexeck. The racial composition of the !Kung Bushmen allows one to make a conclusion about their history. Among them we find a larger number of Europoid types than among the surrounding Bantu tribes. In addition, Austroloid influence is

[17 cont.]

144 obvious, and the southern Bushman race, that is, the one that displays the characteristics generally ascribed to the Bushmen as a whole, is found to be pure only to a modest degree which in-
137 creases toward the south. In the north, the !Kung Bushmen are
184 decidedly forest people, whereas in the Sand Veld they inhabit the shadeless low bush. The surface of the region consists of
134 areas of whitish sand, red toward the east and north, which is
137 streaked with strips of surface chalk. Along the Omuramba Omatako and parallel to it there are pseudo-dunes running north-northeast -- south-southwest and covered with dense thorn bushes. On the more clayey soils in the vicinity of the Omurambas [perhaps a local term for "rivers"] there is denser tropical dry forest. A reminder of more humid times is provided by three or four giant baobab trees that are dying.

Ludwig Zukowsky (1) reports on the fauna and flora:

[113]

> 1. "Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Säugetiere Deutschsüdwestafrikas [Contribution to the Knowledge of the Mammals of German Southwest Africa]," Archiv für Naturgeschichte, Vol. 90, No. 1, Part A, 1924.

137 "The Kung Veldt, a large deciduous broad-leaf forest
[136] region, bounded in the north by the Okovanggo, in the east by this river's flood area, in the south by the Dusche and Schadum, and in the west by the lower course of the Omuramba u'Omatako, is regarded by J.H. Wilhelm as a special faunal region, since here the most striking representatives of the Sand Veld, oryx, oribi, bubalis, guevei [blue duiker], and canis are absent and in their place new forms appear, such as damaliscus, schaeffia [?], and hippotragus. Red sand dominates the entire region, which is covered with sereng [Burkea africana], red bean trees [Copaifera coleosperma], mokussi (Baikiaca plurijuga), yellowwood [Terminalia sericea], dolf [Therocarpus erinaceus], and wild orange trees (Strychnos schumanniana). During the rainy season, when the trees are covered with leaves, the deciduous forest that covers the entire region remotely resembles a younger German beech forest. The chief tree is the sereng (Burkea africana) with its accompanying tree, the mokussi

[17 cont.]

137 (Baikiaca plurijuga), which have particularly thick trunks along the banks (dunes) of the large Omurambas. Another common tree is the red bean tree (Copaifera coleosperma), the yellow-wood (Terminalia sericea), sometimes in tree form, but more commonly in bush form as underbrush. In the northern part the Greesappelboom (Parinarium mobola) appears here and there, and, individually over the entire veld, the rattle tree or the wild orange (Strychnos schumanniana) and the dolf (Therocarpus erinaceus). The dunes of the Omurambas are covered not only with mokussi, but also with camel thorn trees (Acacia giraffa), hackie bushes (Acacia detinens), and another thorn bush (Acacia spec.). Between the large Omurambas, which extend to the flood area (Kaudum and Schadum), and between the Okovanggo and the Kaudum, there is a number of sometimes recognizable, sometimes overgrown Omurambas, such as Tschakaue, Gani, and north and south of the Kaudum, Tschaudum and Kuatschadum. The island-like appearance of Hyphaena ventricosa at the watering place Tschaudum is worthy of mention, 500 to 1,000 specimens occurring as isolated trees, as in the Grootfontein plain.
[133] In the entire region there are many hackie thorn bush islands and salt pans which have open water or water half a meter deep and are usually overgrown with reeds (Phragmites). The pasture is bad, with the exception of the Omuramba beds, which, like the Kaudum, for example, have a very high water level 20 to 50 centimeters deep. Long, hard grass or low leafy bush [Author: perhaps related to Dichopetalum venenatum (Machau), which occurs sporadically] is to be found here, whereas Bushman grass and knawel grass occur only among the thorn bushes. In the underbrush area there are species of Grewia. During the rainy season the ground is [18] covered with prickly cucumbers (Citrullus nausimorus), and onkies (Cyperus usitatus) grow under the hackie bushes. In addition, there are a great number of shrubs that bear a tasty bush crop during the rainy season. The baobab tree (Adansonia digitata), whose first representatives appear north of Dowigna in the Kaukau Veld, the morula tree (Sclerocaria schweinfurthiana), the manquetti tree (Ricinodendron rautannei), and the hartekohl tree (Combretum primigenium) are absent.
133 Pans of brackish water are absent; in their stead there are ef-
135 florescences of salt at various places in the Kaudum and Schadum.

ooo

[18 cont.]

134 The ground is covered with red sand (fox sand), which in the thorn bush areas changes to a firm, grayish-yellow; perhaps argillaceous sand. Chalk cliffs and other rocks are completely lacking. The Kaudum bed is perpetually covered with dense green grass. The sand pans have humous sand; only in the northeast near Schamatura is a peat-like swampy soil to be found with red, strongly ferruginous water. Forest fires are the order of the day, but they do little damage to the tree growth."

133 South of the Omuramba u Owambo there is a fairly large
134 number of limestone pans, which in part still contain water but are mostly dried up. The land there is drying up rapidly, according to both the Bushmen and the Europeans. During the rainy season the clayey soils are swampy, and at that time the
[136] dense bush forest is filled with myriads of mosquitoes, and
[164] malaria claims its victims from all races. The unhealthy situa-
648 tion, the difficulty of getting workers, and the irregularity of the rainfall have led to the abandonment of most of the farms outside Grootfontein, so that the Bushmen have actually gained ground there. The !Kung Bushmen outside the police zone live entirely according to their old customs and traditions. The in-
[578] dividual kin groups are in part hostile to one another. A kind
[619] of hereditary feud exists with the Hei//om, who are often attacked because of the women. The !Kung live on good terms with the farms along the northern boundary (Duwib, Keitsas, Keibeb, Kuntsas, Neitsas, Foxhof). Many of them work there for
[464] certain periods of time, and quite a few permanently; in particular, they like to let women and children work on the farms.
[177] Mr. Cleark, the owner of Keibeb, has trained a large number of
[439] them to make charcoal. These Bushmen make the charcoal out in the wilderness and deliver it. It is then resold to the mottramite mine in Abenab. Until the establishment of the police zone, a perpetual state of war existed between the police and the Bushmen. There are constant battles between the Herero of Otjituo and the !Kung because of livestock thefts. The Herero attack the Bushmen on horseback and kill them from the saddle with the kirri.

The Bushmen, who are not accustomed to shooting at rapidly moving targets, usually come out the losers. Like the

[18 cont.]

648 Nogau, the !Kung who are settled in the Sand Veld east of the Omuramba u Omatako are more hostile toward the Whites, and the attitude of the Whites and natives on the farms is correspondingly hostile toward them. This attitude is explained by the fact that only in recent times the Bushmen were forced out of the region west of the Omuramba and now have considerably reduced the scant living space of their brothers east of the dry bed. The living conditions in this region are hopeless. The !Kung live in symbiosis with the tribes along the Okovanggo. Lacking a stable social organization, lacking fixed dwellings in the narrower sense, the Bushmen is much less manageable than, say, the black farmers. Making the tribe collectively responsible, which is the best protection for the European, cannot be used against the Bushmen, and the likelihood of seizing a Bushman who has committed a crime on the edge of the police zone or outside it is zero. One must keep this in mind in dealing with them. On the other hand, I had no bad experiences with them.

[19] The Biological Bases of Life

1. The Number

161 Seiner has estimated the number of the !Kung at about 12,000. Since then, the wars of 1914-15, as well as the steady deterioration of the water conditions, have strongly curbed any increase, so that their number has certainly not risen in the last 20 years.

621 The basic social unit is the essentially patriarchal family horde, which on the average consists of one or two old men, four to six adult men, an equal number of women capable of bearing children, and a number of old matrons, as well as the 221 children. Toward the end of the winter they assemble in great 621 numbers at the few remaining watering places; they then meet again when the first veldkost ripens at certain places, frequently several hundreds of them; and then, when summer sets in, they again move in small groups to their family terrain. As examples, 161 I shall give four hordes for which I was able to determine the

!KUNG

[19 cont.]

approximate ages of the members:

162

	Horde I	Horde II	Horde III	Horde IV
Men	9	7	4	10
Old men	--	--	4	1
Women of child-bearing age	10	12	13	9
Matrons	4	9	7	6
Infants	6	6	7	2
Small children:				
Boys 1-4 years old	2	3	8	3
Girls 1-4 years old	3	4	6	1
Children:				
Boys 5-10 years old	4	4	?	?
Girls 5-10 years old	3	2	?	?
Young men	5	--	?	?
Young women	5	3	?	?

The above table thus has reference to 44 women capable of bearing children and to 38 marriages, of which two are polygamous. Four are widows. In these 38 marriages, there are 15 infants, mostly under one year old. To the extent it could be determined, 12 women were pregnant, and about five of them had [842] older infants. It would seem, then, that nursing beyond one year [853] affords no practical protection against a new conception.

833 183 The rule among the Nog-au that cohabitation with the mother may be renewed only when the baby is able to sit is well known, but it is not particularly observed.

165 With these 15 infants there should accordingly be 45 small children from one to four years old; in actual fact, however, there are only 30 small children, which gives an infant mortality rate of 33 per cent. This rate is no higher than is to be expected among primitive tribes in malaria regions; in fact, it is lower than in some native locations, such as East London.

[19 cont.]

162 In the age group of five to ten years, the number re-
165 mains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number
[123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

[20] Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in
[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman
[131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief
133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika [Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa], Berlin, 1906.

648 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample
621 water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and
622

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself, who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year 1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and smoke it'." (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions
131 of this tribe:

"The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

[20 cont.]

101 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposed-
131 ly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are
[648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the
[631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief, the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notorious Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-
[197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do
[342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in
[301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh
[827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron
[411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations
[114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

[21 cont.]

157 them thought of asking a question about it. The Bushmen of
today at least do not believe that any kind of magic is concealed
[177] in the Europeans' machines. They learn to use European instru-
ments fairly quickly; in particular, they soon become familiar
with the rifle. Dornan reported that there was a large number
of improvised rifles that the Bushmen had adapted. In a new
environment, the Bushman is wholly self-possessed and coolly
observant. He is highly adaptable. The girls, of whom a num-
[648] ber are kept by farmers as concubines, are quite skillful at
housekeeping. In Ovamboland they quickly adopt the living
[177] habits and economic activities of the Bantu. An Ongandjera
Bushman acts as an instructor at the teacher's college in Oonipa.
He owns a small kraal that is well-maintained in Ovambo fashion
and, in addition, has built himself a round hut of tiles in which
[648] he keeps his "library." They seldom stay long on the farms, but
[147] probably in the main because the food does not agree with them.
609 The Bushmen are most distrustful of other people. Every armed
person whom they encounter is regarded from the outset as an
enemy. The Bushman is allowed to enter the regions of other tribes
only if he is unarmed. Even along the edge of the farm zone
the mutual distrust is so great that a Bushman who has been sent
to a farm as a messenger dares not leave the road, which is
regarded as a neutral zone, if another kin group has settled in
the vicinity. If two armed Bushmen who are strangers approach
each other, they disarm at first sight before they greet each
other. When a Bushman comes to a village or to a farmhouse,
he will put down his arms at a certain distance and sit down to
wait patiently, if need be for hours, until he is questioned. A
186 distinct sense of race is not apparent. Everything that does not
609 belong to one's own kin group is regarded as strange, even
hostile, except when common persecution causes a sense of
solidarity to spring up among all those who are persecuted. At
the same time, they very clearly possess a kind of sense of
humanity as a whole, that is, they do not believe that they are
the only people, and they are convinced, for example, that the
people of all races are received in the heavenly house. Their
602 conduct toward relatives is regulated by numerous customs, but
in general it is formal and almost ceremonial, even toward the
[593] wife and children. The Bushman is never importunate.
[157]

[21 cont.]

648 The Bushmen as a whole are despised by the other peoples, but in individual cases they are feared, and not least by the Whites. The Bushmen are familiar with this attitude and conduct themselves accordingly.

797 The Bushmen accept a foreign point of view only with
177 great difficulty, if at all. The mission, accordingly, can show no noteworthy success among them. On the other hand, they
157 usually grasp the intentions of others more quickly than the ordinarily more superficial Blacks. Consequently, they give brief and precise answers to the questions put to them. When asked questions that they do not want to answer, they remain silent. At the same time, in dealings with them one should note that they tire very quickly when they have to do mental work, and then they will not answer further questions, not because they do not want to, but because they are too tired.

181 The Bushmen are not generous. Nevertheless, allow-
[574 ing a stranger to partake of a meal, as well as giving him some
609 of the available water, is wholly matter-of-course with them.
[43] They very rarely, however, give any of their personal belongings, weapons, ornaments, hides, and so forth, as presents. If they themselves receive presents, they are obviously delighted.
181 It is true that they do not express their gratitude with words,
577 [22] but anyone who does the Bushmen a kindness may be sure that they will manifest their gratitude by deeds to the point of self-sacrifice.

To help a fellow human being who is in trouble is a moral obligation. There is a report of a prospector who lost his
[648 way in the bush forest and was then saved by the Bushmen, with whom he could not even converse; they took care of him for several days and finally put him on the right path.

Agreements and promises are kept unconditionally by the Bushman, although it is true that he usually arrives a little too late. Once, when an ox from the ox-cart of the Catholic mission had to be left behind on the way to the Okovanggo, it was put in the care of the Bushmen and they were to deliver it at the time of the next full moon. The people kept their word, and the ox was delivered, well-fed, at the specified time.

As a comrade, the Bushman is reliable and faithful (1).

181
648

1. A European had once illegally

/22 cont./

181
648

appropriated a number of little trees and planted them in front of his house. On one occasion when he was in town with his Bushmen, the original owner of the trees declared that in the afternoon he was going to see about it. The Bushmen heard this and disappeared. When the two Whites came to the farm, the little trees had disappeared. The Bushmen had run ahead and had hurriedly removed them on their own initiative.

181 The Bushmen are at all times courageous and steadfast people, characteristics which, indeed, their very way of life would produce.

831 The Bushmen strictly avoid talking about sexual matters
[864] in the presence of women and children. Just as in general they are a people without imagination, they do not have any form of the more subtle erotic phantasies.

The endless obscene stories that one hears from the Blacks as soon as he has gained their confidence are unknown among the Bushmen.

The sexual element is absent in their religious cele-
[535] brations, but it finds expression in many of their dances, which imitate the love play of animals.

834 On the whole, their sense of modesty cannot be denied, even though, naturally, they do not have such decent forms of conduct as the genteel Bantu, among whom it is regarded as extremely improper to look at the breasts of the women. The
[516] girls and women never sit in the typical squatting position, but rather sit on the ground with the legs crossed.

[576] Although the life of the Bushmen within the encampment is openly in view, those principles that we regard as natural tact are nonetheless observed.

[514] The Bushman performs his necessities at all times out of sight of the others, and love scenes are never enacted in public.

114 It is naturally very difficult to learn anything more
124 precise concerning the more intimate details of sexual life

[22 cont.]

114 without compromising oneself. Only old people are suitable
124 informants, since they are no longer eager for renown.

In view of the hard life that the people lead, sexuality,
831 naturally, is not excessively developed. Perverse manipulations are evidently unknown, since my informants did not even understand questions on this subject.

833 Normal sexual intercourse is usually performed in the bush during the time between the evening meal and the rising
271 of the moon. Long periods of thirst result in almost total im-
147 potence.

157 Despite all the formality, they have an unbridled
578 temperament which frequently expresses itself in violent emotional explosions over trivial affairs, which then may easily lead to serious consequences since the poisoned arrow is always at hand. For example, I was told the following story: A Bushman worked on a farm for quite a long time and, with his belly fat from eating maize, came to visit his thin companions. His brother made fun of him for being so fat, saying that he could not run any more, whereupon the fat one retorted: "Just the same, I'll live longer than you." After this brief exchange of words, the scrawny brother stabbed the fat one. -- A film com-
157 pany once wanted to make a film among the !Kung who are
648 settled behind Keibeb; the film was to be called: "When the First Whites Came into the Land." The chief of this horde had a [23] pair of old German military trousers as an emblem of his office and when he was requested to take them off, he responded with the declaration that he would take off his trousers only if the White did the same, whereupon he received a box on the ears that put him and his companions in such a rage that the film company preferred to depart in order to avoid a catastrophe.
157 That they can also be quick at repartee is shown by the following story which was repeatedly told to me by Europeans: A Bushman had been accused of poaching. The magistrate asked him: "Don't you know that these animals belong to the king (royal game)?" The Bushman answered: "I saw no 'brand' (property mark)."

As a chief or family head, the Bushman is bossy and
[593] unyielding, which is understandable in view of the rigidity of his whole conception of life. The sick Bushmen lie silent and

[753] 157 [23 cont.] THE SICK BUSHMEN LIE SILENT AND patient, but a case of illness in a village upsets all its members, partly out of compassion, and partly out of fear of the spirits of sickness. The modes of conduct that I have described already permit certain conclusions concerning the structure of the psychological personality among the Bushmen. It is certainly impossible to compare the mental set of an intellectualized, highly domesticated European with that of these primitive hunters. There is absolutely no difference, however, between the simple European and the natives in their conception of life and their manner of
105 reacting to environmental influences. As I have already explained
182 in another place, we may speak of a law of inertia in cultural development (1). The primitive man is perfectly aware, perhaps

1. V. Lebzelter, "Persönlichkeit und Weltanschauung bei den Eingeborenen Südwestafrikas Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Leogesellschaft, 1932.

instinctively, perhaps by tradition, that the quantity of energy possessed by every individual is limited and that each expenditure of energy means wear on the life machine and, hence, the shortening of life. The individual, therefore, strives to attain, with the least possible expenditure of energy, what to his mind represents an optimal adaptation to the conditions of life, and to maintain this state of adaptation with the least possible expenditure of energy. The great difference between European civilization and many primitive cultures, including that of the Bushmen, lies in the fact that European culture as a whole finds itself in an unstable condition, which makes the attainment of an optimal state of adaptation possible to only a few of its members. Bushman culture, on the other hand, represents an optimal state of adaptation that can be automatically attained by each individual Bushman. In its way, therefore, it is more perfect than ours. No other people and no other race, given the same technical means and the same environmental conditions, could achieve a better adaptation. One can even speak of such an adaptation with respect to the spiritual culture. The life of the Bushman is made secure in this life

[23 cont.]

105 and in the beyond by his traditional conceptions, and the preserva-
182 tion of this adaptation, in the spiritual as well as in the material realm, is achieved by means of a strict selection of all the cultural goods offered from the outside. This selection is consciously carried out. Put briefly: the Bushmen have hitherto refused higher
[177] economic forms not because they do not possess the ability to handle them, but because they did not want to adopt them. If the material preconditions collapse, then they adopt, step by step or all at once, totally different ways of life, as is shown by their Bantuization in Ovamboland and probably also by the formation of the Hottentot people through the adoption of livestock raising on the part of a number of Bushman tribes. Their average intelli-
[153] gence is no less than that of any other race. Every Bushman knows
[184] the entire spiritual heritage of his tribe.

Of the same Bushmen, F. Schinz (2) says:

[113] 2. F. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Leipzig, 1891.

181 "The Bushman is always faithful to his master and will follow him anywhere without pay; one need not worry about leaving him alone at the wagon and will rarely have to reprimand him for dishonesty. All travelers and hunters unanimously praise
[593] the great affection that exists between parents and children, which goes so far that the father or mother will sacrifice themselves in order to save their child. I was told [24] by the hunter L. that at the Okovanggo he once witnessed a scene in which a young Bushman, who was one of the members of the hunting expedition, was in danger of being trampled to death by an angry elephant that stormed toward him. At the last moment when his paralyzed companions had already given the boy up for lost, his father sprang forth and flung his throwing club at the forehead of the enormous animal. The elephant now turned against his new attacher and furiously crushed him under his feet, giving the son the opportunity to flee."

[114] My observations are fully in accord with those of Dornan (1)

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

[24 cont.]

181 He states:

181 593 "It has been asserted that the Bushmen have no feeling for one another. I have frequently heard it said that the mothers are cruel to their children and occasionally kill them when their burden becomes too great. As far as I can see, this is untrue. I have frequently seen Bushman mothers kiss their little ones, exactly as European women do, and when the children are ill, they go to all kinds of trouble. The fathers, it is true, are frequently gruff and rough, but never brutal to their children. The girls are usually seen in company with their mothers, the boys with the men. Between mother and daughter there is an intimate relationship of
181 trust. It has also been asserted that Bushmen are ungrateful; this is also quite untrue. They show their feeling of gratitude neither to one another nor to the Whites, but anyone who gains their trust through kindness can tell that they are indeed grateful. They show their gratitude not by words but by deeds. If someone is in need or in distress and a Bushman friend is in the vicinity, the latter will stay by him to the bitter end."

The !Kung Bushman in particular is much more a rational than a sentimental person. The extraordinary difficulty that he encounters in obtaining his livelihood makes him extremely independent in his thinking. It was surprising to see the sureness with
[124] which not only men but women, too, were able to act as interpreters. Whereas among the Bantu it is difficult to keep the conversation on the subject, the Bushman always sticks to the point. Even the tribal traditions, insofar as superstitious conceptions are concerned, are not safe from the skepticism of the individual. For instance, I once asked a number of Bushmen whether they hunt lions. They
[775] answered in the negative, and when I said that this was probably
[771] because the lions harbored the spirits of eminent deceased Bushmen, they laughed and said that this was just a tale of the Hei//om Bushmen and some Bushman doctors who had learned this from them. Other men of the same tribe, on the other hand, were firmly convinced that the spirits of great Bushmen doctors reside in the lions.

181 There are also many stories about bush spirits, especially in
771 the Otjimpolo Veld. My informants repeatedly observed, however, that they did not know whether there was any truth in them, because they had never seen any.

[24 cont.]

000 they had never seen any. A certain dry humor spiced their con-
522 versation. I once said to a Bushman: "If you tell me this, you
161 will get whatever you want." He answered: "Good, I shall speak
157 and you will give me your automobile." Their imagination is
123 very poor; in this respect they are much too accurate as observers of nature. Once a young Bushman woman with two children came to me and wanted to buy some sugar. I said to her: "I won't sell you anything, but you will get the sugar if you tell me some children's stories, for example, about animals." After some hesi-
[538] tation she began the story of Arri, the guinea hen. It was no fairy tale, but a detailed account concerning this important food bird. She even imitated the calls of the guinea hen, "for example, when someone comes and there is danger, then they say, 'gannana he gannana he,' but when they are alone and enjoying themselves, then they go 'gi gi gi.'" The children had to imi-
[861] tate this until they were able to mimic the sound accurately. Then it was the turn of the sand hen, which says, "gi ganna gi ganna"; then the ostrich, which goes, "hmm, hmm, hmm"; then the gum bird [Harzvogel], which says, "hai-dschi, hai-dschi," and the owl, "mhm, m."

3. Posture, Movement, Stamina

516 As a result of his marked lordosis, the Bushman never assumes a posture that would conform to our military ideal; he almost always stands with his stomach somewhat protruding.

481 The way the Bushmen run is very peculiar and would justify detailed study. [25] The run is really a continuous fast walk, in which the legs are kicked forward, but the lower thighs are never brought back high, as is the case with our runners. The body is held as straight as possible, and the head up, not forward (1).

[113] 1. E. v. Eickstedt (Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit [Ethnology and History of Mankind], p. 556) states: "The foot is put in a peculiar transverse position, which makes the track in the sand easily

[25 cont.]

481 recognizable -- a characteristic that during the old Bushman persecutions cost many thousands of these unfortunate and peculiar hominid creatures their miserable existence. The walk of the Sanides is also peculiar; they do not walk, they prance. Out of habit they always raise their knees and feet as though they were walking among the sharp grasses and thorn bushes of their homeland. This, like the swaying walk of sailors, is of course, a secondary, acquired characteristic, not a racial one."

I prefer, nevertheless, to regard the walk of the Bushmen as somewhat racially conditioned.

516 The sitting position of the Bushman is the squatting position that is practiced by so many primitive peoples and was probably at one time universal among mankind. At the same time, their position differs from that of the Blacks, insofar as the latter usually squat in such a way that the bones of the ischium do not touch the ground, whereas this is the case among the Bushmen. As a result, when they squat, they bend their backs quite far and must spread their legs apart.

513 When sleeping, the Bushman lies rolled up on his right or left side. The children all cuddle up to the mother to sleep.

147 The muscle power of the Bushmen is very weak. The dynamometric measurements that I carried out show that the pushing power of adult men is less than that of European working women; it only amounts to between 30 and 40 kilograms, whereas European women achieve approximately 60 kilograms, men engaged in light work average 80 kilograms, and European heavy workers and the smiths among us reach an average of 120 and more kilograms. Black heavy workers attain an average of only 80 kilograms. Thus, the Black on the average is twice as strong as a Bushman, and the White is three times as strong.

At the same time, there is no essential difference between the sexes among the Bushmen themselves.

[25 cont.]

147 481 Similarly, the strength displayed by the Bushmen in using the bow is by no means impressive. While their momentary efficiency is low, their endurance in marching is great. In 1916 when the farmer Schwarz in Neudesenberg (Keitsas) was sick with black water fever, the farmer's wife sent a Bushman to Grootfontein for a bottle of champagne. The man left in the forenoon and returned around midnight. The distance was at least 100 to 120 kilometers, for the highway, which has few detours, is 90 kilometers long. (Informant: Farmer Schwarz in Duwib.)

4. Physical Types and Constitution

142 The Bushmen are a distinctly human type of savage with very gracile bone structure. A group of them that I designate as South Khoin is the only form of human being adapted to desert life, or in any case is the form best adapted to it.

The type that has developed there can in no way be subsumed in our physical type schema. Since this same type to a considerable degree is also involved in the composition of the northern forest Bushmen, there are naturally a great many individuals whom we cannot classify at all in our sense. At any rate, however, we can -- and here I am anticipating some of my anthropological conclusions -- differentiate among both sexes of the !Kung a longitype and a brachytype. Especially among the women it is almost always possible to differentiate the "chubby youthful form" from the so-called future form.

In another place I have defended the view that the athletic type should be regarded as the true normal-type, and that this type has the innate ability to accumulate a moderate amount of fat. The muscular-respiratory type with a slighter development of the skeleton and musculature does not possess the ability for a great accumulation of fat, whereas the digestive type with slightly developed musculature has a great ability to accumulate fat.

[26] From the athletic type a continuous series leads through the respiratory and digestive forms to the tall-asthenic and short-asthenic types and from there to the decided weaklings.

[26 cont.]

142 The athletic type thus represents the best realization of the human type among the races.

Since, from the day of conception on, environmental influences are predominantly of a harmful nature, the average type finally arrived at is the type formed by the average harmful effects, which, on the one hand, are of a hereditary and constitutional nature, and, on the other hand, are conditional effects during the individual's lifetime. The more unfavorable the living conditions are, the greater will be the harmful effect coefficient, and the more the average physical type will approach the asthenic. Only environmental improvement, brought about by high civilization, permits athletic forms to develop in considerable numbers.

According to our schema, we may designate the Bushmen as asthenic on the average, and the best developed among them as respiratory. In the case of many male individuals, there is an [146] ability for considerable fat accumulation, and on the farms I encountered a number of Bushmen who had adapted themselves to a flour diet and had considerable body weight.

The digestive type thus certainly does occur among them, [146] even though we must keep in mind that the diet, which is rich in meat and poor in carbohydrates, counteracts its development.

5. The Course of the Day

805 The !Kung Bushmen divide the 24 hour day into seven seg-
[192] ments, which are:

/gam χ'ǎ-o-a, dawn.
/gam do di /gii, time of sunrise.
!nai /kho, (the sun) is in the middle.
ha ti ≠náu, (the sun) will go down.
χ'ǎ-o ti ≠náu, the sun is now asleep.
/gu gǎ djo-o, one can no longer see the people because it is dark.
!a ds ĩ, midnight.

512 The division of the day varies somewhat with the season of the year. With the exception of the so-called hot season,

[26 cont.]

512 from about August 20th to the end of December, the following daily routine is normally observed. Before dawn, it becomes very cold, the people wake up, and the boys stir up the fire and put on it the remains of the evening meal. The old people move closer to the fire and go on sleeping until the sun comes up. Then they have their breakfast, which consists of the remains of the [462] evening meal. The able men now go hunting. The women continue to sit around the fire for awhile and nurse their children. [462] At about 10 o'clock the women and children, as well as the girls, go out in a group to look for veldkost. Almost every woman [482] old enough to bear children carries a child on her back, while a second child often rides on her shoulders. The smaller boys stay at home and help the old people, who get up about an hour later [361] to fetch water. The huts are never located close to the water: 1. because people get sick close to the water; 2. because the lions come there; 3. because the game would be frightened away. The watering place itself is visited quite irregularly, because in disturbed times the enemy lurks there, and occasionally also the police. The male and female doctors go into the bush, usually not very far, alone or only with a disciple, to gather medicine. Around four o'clock in the afternoon the women come back and begin to cook. Around this time, too, the men begin to return with the spoils of the hunt. When the sun goes down, [264] they all sit by the fire and eat. Each family has its own fire. Then some will continue to chat for awhile, while others go to sleep, and gradually it becomes quiet.

[264] They do not eat at noon. From eleven to four o'clock the camp is deserted, and even the old people sleep somewhere in the forest. The hunters and the women collecting veldkost also [27] take a long midday rest during the hot afternoon hours. During the hot season, on the other hand, they set out soon after midnight to hunt and search for veldkost, because later in the day the sand is too hot to walk on.

6. The Divisions of the Year

805 The Bushmen reckon time according to full moons, for example, agreeing to meet after three or four full moons, and

[27 cont.]

805 the like, but they have only ten months. They name them after terrestrial phenomena.

!Kai dsáa	It is cold (winter)	June
gama /ēi	The grass burns	July-August
!hoá sori	It is hot	September-October
!u shē	The rain begins	November
≠khŏ shē	The trees bloom	December
/hō //gāi	It is raining	January
!Khan //gai	The veldkost is coming up	February
!nâ -mâ	The veldkost is ripe	March
ao rē //kum //kā	The rain is stopping	April
!hoá //gai	The year is at an end	May

They reckon also from harvest to harvest.

221 The most beautiful time in the life of the Bushman is March and April. Even those who live on the farms hurry into the wilderness at that time. At certain places where there are many fruit trees, such as the marula, the friendly kin groups gather from far and wide. Here the young men look for brides, and there is much dancing, because at this time the women are not tired from seeking veldkost which is now to be found everywhere. Hunting yields less at this time, since the game has water and pasture everywhere.

Soon, however, the leaves fall, the bush forest becomes red and yellow, the migratory birds fly northward, and then the first cold nights set in. Now the "Dsao" (spirits of sickness) come and (753) bring sickness to the chest. At the end of May and the beginning of July [sic] the first frosts set in. Now the Bushmen move to the watering places, which stay open for a long time. The nights now (374) become torture. Burns on the skin of the chest and abdomen oc- (513) cur frequently, because the Bushmen now lie very close to the fire to sleep. Around this time, some of the kin groups already begin to suffer distress, because the game moves to other regions where there is still some pasture. In July the grass is finally dry (224) enough so that it can be set afire. Now the entire steppe burns. The young grass again attracts the game; hunting improves. The hot season is the worst period; the resting places of the game are quite uncertain, veldkost becomes increasingly scant, and the

[27 cont.]

221 Bushmen shrink to miserable skeletons. Many of them at this
[648] time! run to the Blacks or Whites in order to earn something. In
[731] dry years no attention is paid to the kin group boundaries. All
[423] gather around the few water holes that are still open. As soon as the rain begins, conditions start to improve; the people start moving out in various directions, not to meet again until several months later at the time of the veldkost harvest here and there.

7. The Course of Life

584 I shall render in literal translation the account that my informant gave of the way a young man courts a girl:

If a young man wants to marry a girl, he must first speak to her and say: "I love you and want to marry you." If the girl is willing, she says first: "You must wait." Then she goes to her parents and asks them whether they have heard that the boy has spoken to her. The parents then ask whether the girl wants to marry the man. [28] If the girl says, "Yes," then the parents say, "He wants you; he has seen that you are good and hard-working; you may marry." If, however, the young man has thought the matter over and takes back his words, the girl goes to her parents once more, and the boy to his. The latter say: "You wanted it this way; nothing can be done about it." In case the girl definitely gives her consent, however, the young man brings all kinds of little presents and gives them to his future bride, who takes them to her parents. The parents-in-law must now in turn give presents. With the exchange of presents, the
[583] marriage is regarded as legally concluded.

[114] The hunting test described by Passarge (1) and others is not
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[113]

1. Passarge, Die Buschmänner der Kalahari, 1907.

the rule. Some vain girls demand it, and sometimes young men will voluntarily go through with it in order to beat his rivals. This hunting test is carried out in the following manner. The boy goes hunting without weapons and pursues the game (as a rule,

1 [i.e. The hot season -- Analyst]

[28 cont.]

224 a gemsbok) until it is tired and then drives it to the vicinity of
584 the hut of his intended. The pursuit of such a large antelope is not as difficult as it looks, for these ruminants are seized with serious cramps if they are not given time to settle down to ruminate. In other words, the pursuit of such a large antelope simply involves continually disturbing the animal for a long period of time. Then the young man calls to the people and asks them for weapons. All of them leap up, and the girl, too, stands up and watches as her people run with the spears. The hunter kills the game before her eyes. Then they bring the meat and cook it, and the girl says: "That is a courageous hunter; I want to marry
584 him." It is not unusual, however, for a young man to marry far away from his relatives, without having asked for the consent of his parents. In that case, the young woman must stay with her parents while the husband returns home and reports the marriage to his parents. The latter say: "How can you do this, when we don't know whether it will turn out all right?" The husband, however, says: "I have already done it, and I am merely telling you." Thereupon the parents answer: "Well, it's all right."
[591] Then the husband returns to his young wife, or to her kin group and brings his wife and child to his own kin group, where they are received. According to Vedder (Tsumeb), the young man sends a messenger with a piece of game to the father of the girl of his choice. If the father accepts the game, the betrothal is regarded
583 as concluded. As soon as the youth moves to the encampment of
591 his father-in-law, the marriage is regarded as concluded. He
[585] must work for a year for his father-in-law and deliver all hunting spoils to him, but he may not enter the hut of his parents-in-law. Once the first child is born, he moves with wife and child to his kin group.

585 Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report on the conclusion of a
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[113] 2. Von Zastrow and Vedder, "Die Buschmänner," p. 417, in Schultze-Ewarth, Das Eingeborenenrecht, Vol. II.

marriage:

"There is much dancing. The animal dances have a pervasive erotic element. In one of the first dances the bridegroom

[28 cont.]

535 makes his appearance as the bull of some animal species that the
585 two kin groups especially prize. He takes his place in the row of dancing men. Across from them the women have taken up their position in a long row and accompany the dance by stamping, singing, and clapping their hands. The bride stands among them. She is in no way distinguished from the other women and girls. After a few turns, the bridegroom steps out of the row of men, goes dancing toward the bride, seizes her, and dances back again. The bride then comes from the row of women, clapping her hands, stamping, and singing as she moves toward the bridegroom; without touching him, she turns back, keeping her face turned toward the bridegroom, and rejoins the row of female dancers. With this, the external formality of concluding the marriage in front of many witnesses is over.

583 "It is the young man's duty, however, to leave his paternal
591 kin group for a year and to work for his parents-in-law. This means that any spoils he gets from hunting must be left in his mother-in-law's hut. He, of course, gets his piece during the distribution of the meat, but he is not yet regarded as the actual provider for his young wife, who, as before, receives her share of the meat from her mother, although she searches for veldkost for herself and her husband.

(224) "As a hunter, the man eats only the flesh of the rump.
262 The women and children receive the legs and intestines. Children are not allowed to eat certain parts; for example, a child may
(825) not eat the heart of a jackal. The child would not become sick
(828) by doing so, but since the jackal is very cowardly, the child would also become cowardly.

591 [29] "After the first year of marriage with its obligatory service, the young wife follows her husband to the encampment where the man's father or his kin group resides.

845 "If the child is so weak that it probably will not live,
847 or if it has a physical defect, it is buried alive on the same day, with or without the consent of the father and mother.

553 "The name of the child is given by the father. This is
852 done a few days after birth. The father spits on the child's chest and calls it by name. Others sprinkle it with water from a well.

[29 cont.]

553 The custom of spitting is undoubtedly original, not a substitute
852 for well water."

551 The father gives his newborn child a name. The boys usually receive animal names, commonly that of the grandfather, and the girls, plant names. Albinos are unknown among the !Kung
[142] tribes visited by me, but a horde of Bushmen with red eyes is supposed to live in the eastern Sand Veld in the region of the
[845] Dussidum. I have never seen twins; they are probably done away
853 with. The children are breast fed for a long time; older infants learn to squeeze the milk out of the breast with their fingers or pull with their teeth on the leathery nipples. The assertion of
847 other travelers that the women kill their children if they are born
[114] before the previous child has been weaned is allegedly not true of the kin groups visited by me. On the other hand, Vedder (1)

[113] 1. "Zur Vorgeschichte der eingeborenen Völkerschaften von Südwestafrika. I. Die Buschmänner [On the Prehistory of the Native Tribes of Southwest Africa]," by V. Vedder, Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society, Vol. I, p. 10, 1925-1926, Windhoek, 1927. -- Cf. also Von Zastrow and H. Vedder, op. cit., p. 414.

reports:

"I must mention one other custom which likewise considerably contributes, and may have contributed in prehistoric times, to the Bushmen being so few in number. Custom demands that a child born when the older child of the same mother is not yet three years old be buried alive. This is a gruesome custom. I spoke about it with a racially pure Bushman. My remonstrances did not convince him at all. He explained: 'We Bushmen are poor people. We have no goats and no cows to give our children milk. If the woman brings two children into the world within a period of three years, we don't know what the older child is supposed to live on if the newborn child uses up the mother's milk. It cannot live on the hard veldkost or on tough meat. The teeth are not yet strong enough. If we let the newborn

[29 cont.]

847 child live, the older child would have to die. We are left with the choice of killing one of the children so that one can stay alive.' The explanation is absolutely convincing. There is the [593] added consideration that the Bushman mothers lose their maternal instincts when they see that a child is not thriving. I saw a six-month-old Bushman child, a really pitiful figure. The mother did not have sufficient food for her child. My wife offered to give the child the bottle. The proposal was joyfully accepted. For a few days, the child was brought at the specified times. It gladly took the bottle. But then the mother felt that her freedom was restricted. After all, she had to remain in the vicinity of the house for the sake of the child. She did not lack food at all. I provided for her. The desire for veldkost was too great, however, and the child was brought only in the morning and evening and received his meal. Naturally, no noticeable improvement could be observed. Hence, at an opportune occasion the mother disappeared, and when she reappeared, she was without the child. She and her friends had buried it alive."

853 Matters are certainly not always as hopeless as Vedder describes them. First of all, at a very early age the children are given pre-chewed veldkost, and, secondly, the women of the kin group help one another out with the breast feeding. During 854 the day the infant stays in a hide sack on the mother's back, and at night the children sleep at the mother's breast; the smallest lies directly at the breast, while during the cold season the others cuddle around the mother's legs. From earliest childhood, the 867 children are taught to honor the old people and not to take anything away from anyone. For the boys, the father soon carves a bow and arrow, for the girls a little digging stick. Nothing is said to little children when they take things, but once the boy has been given a bow, he may not touch anyone else's bow and arrow; otherwise he gets a beating. The boys greatly fear the women. 868 The bigger boys stay together by themselves and go hunting for 857 small game or accompany adults on the hunt for large game.

586 Marriage is absolutely indissoluble. Separation is also impossible, for outside the kin group the woman would perish in the wilderness. So far as I have observed, the relationship between 593 marriage partners is in general very good, and not uncommonly the

[29 cont.]

.593 men are strongly influenced by their wives. It practically never
[562] happens that a man beats his wife. Monogamy [30] is the rule.
595 I know of one single case of a man having two sisters as wives. It is true that certain marriage laws frequently force the men to marry considerably older girls. It is therefore understandable that in such circumstances the desire for a younger life's companion frequently arises, but the consent of the first wife is absolutely necessary. It is said: "He who has a good wife may have several; he who has a bad one must be content with her alone." The Bush-
842 men do not know any means of preventing pregnancy, and, accordingly, very soon after marriage the young wife will find herself
843 with child. The husband and his sisters-in-law must see to it that she eats no sour veld fruit, nothing sweet, and no fat meat. No one is allowed to walk behind the pregnant woman's back; no pot is supposed to be put on the fire until the woman has been rubbed with the soot of the pot; she is not supposed to sit where the other
844 people are, but must stay to one side. When the time for delivery approaches, she must step over the legs of her husband, who has rubbed medicine into incisions in his calves. When the woman feels that the birth pangs are beginning, she goes into the bush by herself and looks for veldkost. She is not supposed to sit down while doing so, because that would have harmful effects on the birth. Then she picks grass, prepares a place under a tree, puts her bag of veldkost to one side, and gives birth to the child in a squatting position, grasping a branch with her hands. Then she takes the child, severs the umbilical cord herself, puts it in her veldkost bag, and goes home with it. The cord is always severed with a quartz knife (as among the Dama). The umbilical cord (!nm) is buried. Only women who are unafraid and who have already given birth to one child follow this procedure. A woman who is giving birth for the first time and is afraid does not go into the veld, but stays at home. As soon as the pains begin, she weeps and goes out, sits down, and stands up again. Older women of the kin group accompany her, and in their presence the child is finally born inside the hut. The men may not be present. Children, too, may not look on, and if they creep up out of curiosity, they are soundly thrashed.
[845] If there are difficulties, the abdomen is massaged. Von Zastrow
002

[30 cont.] VON ZASTROW
113 and Vedder (1) report further:

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Buschmänner, pp. 412-413.

843 "It is absolutely against the rules to do anything by word or
754 deed to the pregnant woman that might make her angry. Her evil eye in this period is especially dangerous; her angry word or her curse has an even worse effect. Sores, illness, protracted suffering, and death are the consequences of the evil eye or the curse of a pregnant woman.

844 "It is customary to sever the umbilical cord with an instrument only when the blood no longer pulsates. The umbilical cord is not tied off. The afterbirth must be carefully and secretly buried. The life of the child would be greatly endangered if an animal found it or if a feared sorcerer could appropriate a piece of it."

881 As soon as the girls have their first menstruation (/n) (2),

2. Female genitalia (/n-i).

a celebration takes place, but in this tribe I was unable to learn any of the details. On this occasion, the women dance, clap their hands, and sing, "giriri, giriri, giriri, uhu, giriri uhu," and so forth.

Men may not be present at this celebration. In a Hei//om horde neighboring the !Kung, spirits are appealed to in all directions on the occasion of this celebration, so that the girl, as an adult, will find veldkost everywhere.

The existence of a true initiation for boys is denied (3).

[114] 3. On this point I was either misunderstood
[124] or told a falsehood.

There is merely a kind of testing; an older man goes with the candidate or candidates on a hunting expedition. Under the supervision of the older person, the candidate must kill a specimen of large game. The animal is then brought to the sacred fire, at which the

[30 cont.]

881 old people are seated. The young man may not eat any of the meat; he may only drink the soup, which is also rubbed on him. From now on he is regarded as an adult, a marriageable man;
582 584 his parents ask him whether he wants to be married. The boy commonly replies: "I am still weak and do not know whether I can take good care of her." Then the parents allow him to wait until he himself wants to marry. Von Zastrow and Vedder (p. 415) report the following concerning the boys' initiation:

881 [31] "On this occasion the boys are told how they must conduct themselves when they go out to seek a wife, and how they [867] must behave towards a mother-in-law. To sit down by an evening [584] fire next to an adult girl is tantamount to a marriage proposal, even if not a word is spoken. Under no circumstances may one [606] look at the mother-in-law. They also practice animal dances in the bush, the kind that are performed by the men later at joyous celebrations, and also in times of distress. Finally, the young [304] Bushman receives the tribal marking, a number of skin incisions on the cheek below the temple. Each tribe has a certain number of skin incisions. In order to make them stand out clearly even [386] after healing, pulverized charcoal is put into the incisions. As a result, the tribal marking later looks like a black streak on the yellow skin.

224 "There is nothing against applying another mark on the
304 future huntsman during this celebration, namely, the hunting
881 inoculation. This must be done by a man who has special powers and knowledge at his disposal. In order to sharpen the future hunter's eye for game generally and certain game in particular, it is necessary to make a deep incision between the eyes over the root of the nose, into which the practiced hand of the surgeon sprinkles a powder of dried and pulverized parts of all kinds of game.

"The inoculation may later be repeated several times if the hunter has no luck in hunting.

881 "A person who has received the tribal marking is now re-
884 garded as a Bush 'man'; he can make his own bow and arrows, like those of the old people, and go hunting with them. Also, the way is now open for him to found a family."

582 It practically never happens that a Bushman remains

[31 cont.]

582 unmarried. Marriage is concluded at an early age. The age that
165 Bushmen attain is not great. There are relatively few old people among them, although some of them, it is true, attain a very
593 high age. The children must obey their parents even when they are grown up and married.

888 The Bushmen indignantly denied that they kill the old people or expose them in the bush. If someone is old, weak, or ill, then they simply walk more slowly or leave the sick person behind with a companion. My informants did report to me that dur-
[731] ing periods of extreme thirst not only old people, but also women and children who were unable to move on were left behind. This happened only in desperate circumstances, when those who were half-dead from thirst could not be helped in any case and a stay would have resulted in death for the whole kin group. As soon
764 as someone has died, all the women and girls sit around the corpse and weep. There is no singing on this occasion. Then some of the men go and dig a grave in the bush, cut off medium-sized pieces of wood, and place these in the bottom of the grave as a foundation, over which is spread the hay that the deceased was lying on. Then all take the body to the grave and bury it in a crouched position with the back toward the sunrise. Every relative must give a few glass beads and ornaments if the deceased is a woman. This finery is placed around the neck of the deceased. The corpse is rubbed down with green aromatic powder and ocher and is wrapped in its hides and blankets. They either throw thorn on the covered grave or make a four-cornered gutter in the sand around the grave and posts are pounded into the gutter to make a fence. The grave is now in the center of the fence, like the living person in the center of his hut. A cup of water and some food are put near the head area. Deceased men have bows, arrows, and their hunting bag placed on the chest. Children are given their miniature bows. The Bushmen say that they give the bows and arrows not because the deceased needs them for hunting in the beyond, but because they do not want to use the effects of the deceased, whom they loved. According to Vedder (1), the dead

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Bushleute, pp. 420-421.

[31 cont.]

764 of the Bushmen are tied up in a crouched position and buried under termite hills.

"The corpse is usually lowered in such a way that it is received by a man standing in the grave. Aside from those who bring the corpse and dig the grave, no one goes to the interment. The corpse is buried either in a crouched posture or lying in a crouched position. In the case of the crouched posture, the face is eastward, and the elbows rest on the knees, while the hands are on either side of the head. In the case of the crouched position, the corpse is placed on the left side. The left hand is placed under the head, giving the appearance of a sleeping person. The face likewise looks toward the east.

766 [32] "Before their interment, feared men, such as sorcerers who had a malign influence and others who were feared in life, but not women, are firmly tied up with thongs of game hide in the crouched posture described above; then, in some cases, the spine is crushed with a stone or ax, as a result of which the head can be bent even lower and placed between the knees. Tied up in this fashion, they are thrown into a fissure in the earth, into an anteater's hole, or into a small cave."

8. The Hunt

423 It is well known that wherever the Bushmen live more or
224 less undisturbed, each kin group has its precisely defined hunting
[621] territory. Vedder believes that the engravings of game tracks indicate old boundaries, as do the stone heaps which are usually designated as Heiseb graves. In any case the question arises as to who actually established these boundaries. My informants stated unanimously that the division stems from the time when the Bushmen still had a supreme chief. There seems to be some authority, however, even today, since in the bush veld the boundary lines are drawn with reference to certain trees, which, in general do not have too long a life. The Bushmen move back and forth within their hunting territories. It sometimes happens that a young hunter is not thoroughly familiar with the boundaries or that wounded game crosses the boundary. In this case the hunter must

[32 cont.]

224 423 go to the kin group to whom this territory belongs and take the men to the animal. Then it will be carefully divided down the middle; the hunter gets one half, and the owners get the other half. Nevertheless, quarrels are common, because there is only one of certain organs, such as the heart, liver, etc. These con-
[184] ditions, however, exist only among the eastern !Kung. A Hei//om or a northern !Kung who is found hunting in the territory
224 of another tribe is regarded as an enemy. Boys' hunting is con-
[857] fined to lizards, tree rats, and other rodents. They ordinarily
[411] use the bird arrow, which is carved out of a piece of wood, but in contrast to the Ovambo, the older boys here already have
[223] poisoned arrows. Young and old pursue the hunting of birds with great enthusiasm; in particular guinea fowl, sand hens, grouse, and the Pau [?] insofar as it occurs in this region. These fowl
[262] and small bushbucks are the chief sources of the meat in the
[136] native diet. The forest region of the eastern !Kung is poor in large game. Zebras are almost entirely absent, as is the wildebeest; the giraffe is very rare. The eland, kudu, hartebeest, and especially the gemsbok are relatively more common. Hunting drives are organized to hunt the elephant or rhinoceros. First, the elephant is separated from the herd. As soon as it has been cornered, one Bushman after another springs forward and throws his spear. It is also possible to hunt the elephant with poisoned arrows; there is a number of thinner spots in the skin at the front legs, and the marksman places as many arrows there as possible. The elephant does not die; it merely becomes sick. The hunter rushes home to get some other men, who then go to look for the elephant with spears. Pitfalls are made in the vicinity of the watering places, and a pointed pole is placed inside them. The Bushmen along the Okovanggo also hunt the hippopotamus with pitfalls. The eastern !Kung maintain that in ancient times the hippopotamus was also found in their land. The sling trap is made
[223] in various sizes. The ostrich in particular is usually caught in such sling traps, which are provided with a piece of bone bleached by the sun. Small cats and the like are also caught with this trap. It is likewise placed on the trails of the bushbuck. Jackals and the like are caught by lying in wait for them as they come out of their dens and then beating them to death with the kirri.

[32 cont.]

222 Termites are captured in two ways. During the night holes are dug near the tall termite hills, and these holes are illuminated with wooden torches. A hide is placed on the floor of the hole, and soon so many termites are on it that the hide can be carried home. The second method is used to catch those termites that have no structures above ground, but have a network of corridors running horizontally immediately below the surface. A hole is dug deeper than the corridors, and the termites fall into it as they run frightened back and forth on their [33] horizontal paths. [821] This kind of termite serves as a weather prophet for the rain [787] doctor, since they construct the most openings facing upward when 224 a rainy year is in prospect. The lion was not hunted. In olden 262 times, only the old people ate the large game. The flesh of predatory animals is forbidden to all children; on the other hand, there is no prohibition against eating hare.

224 Naturally, the Bushmen are very anxious to have success in hunting. !Khu himself, the great captain, brings luck in hunting. He orders the supreme //Gauab (/Nawa) to direct the arrow. The doctors always pray to the great captain to send hunting luck, but there is no specific formula. They do this "quietly to themselves." An old prospector in Kalkfeld told me that he had seen the following among the !Kung Bushmen: "Before they go hunting, they draw the outline of the animal in the sand and with all kinds of ceremonies they shoot an arrow into the drawing. Where the figure is hit, the game will also be struck."

I shall now render fairly literally the course of a kudu hunt as it was described to me by a Bushman: "When I have found a kudu track, then we follow it very quietly and when we have found the place where the kudu ate, then one must be very careful. One person goes ahead, and the others follow. Now, when I see the kudu standing, I take out the poisoned arrow and shoot. Then I look to see what the kudu is doing or shoot once more; then I follow him to see whether the arrow will drop out; if the arrow falls out, I take it and see how deeply it penetrated into the kudu. Then I have to go back to the other hunters and state exactly how everything was. Then we go home. One should not run after the kudu, but must leave it alone. The person who

[33 cont.]

224 has done the shooting must go home immediately and may not speak, eat, or drink, for if the hunter speaks with others, the kudu will not be found for a long time, and if he drinks water, the poison will become watery and will not be effective, and if he eats, the kudu will remain quiet and the poison will not work effectively. The next morning very early we must set out on the trail. The kudu is already dead. The people carry the meat home. [782] Then it is put on the socha [sacred] fire. The //Gauab must be given some of the meat. Whoever does not do this will be punished by the //Gauab with serious illness, and the people will say: 'That is just. The //Gauab has given him the game, why does he give nothing for //Gauab?'" Here, therefore, a true primitial offering is involved.

It is interesting that the Ogowe bury arrows in the sand at various watering places, with the poisoned tip pointing upward; they do this in shady spots that game animals like to use as resting [202] places, and by certain signs, such as tying together blades of tall grass and the like, they set up warnings (Von Zastrow and Vedder).

When a Bushman horde of today is able to hunt down half a dozen large antelopes in a year, it can consider itself lucky.

The porcupine is also commonly hunted, as are the scaly anteater and the fat aardvark, which is very common but difficult to catch. Monkeys are very rare; on the other hand, tree rats make a desirable addition to the diet. The ostrich is not uncommon in open terrain, and ostrich eggs are greatly coveted. Occasionally a boa constrictor, which tastes like a fat fish, or an iguana may round out the menu.

136 Among the animals which are in any way dangerous to human beings, the lion should be mentioned in particular. They occur in great numbers, but rarely stay in one place for a long [165] period of time. A considerable number of Bushmen become their 262 victims, especially in the north. Lions, leopards, hyenas, and jackals are neither hunted nor eaten; the same is true concerning [753] birds of prey. Eating leopard meat produces fever and eczema, [825] while eating the flesh of birds of prey produces temporary blindness and symptoms of sickness similar to acute sausage poisoning.

Poisonous snakes are not eaten; they are much rarer here than in the stony regions of the central and southern areas, and they do not constitute a noteworthy danger.

[33 cont.]

136 Among the dangerous insects, the anopheles mosquito naturally comes first. It is present in enormous numbers during the [34] rainy season. In some places, small reddish-brown ticks are common. The Glossina [tsetse fly] seems to be absent; I encountered them only in the Kunene swamps. Among human parasites, bugs and fleas are practically unknown; on the other hand, lice are extraordinarily common, without being especially noticed by their owners.

9. The Water Supply

312 During the dry season, the water supply plays a decisive role. Every Bushman carries in his quiver the two reed tubes for the so-called Bushman well. It is by no means true, however, that the Bushmen are able to obtain water in this way at any time and place. It is only in places where some dampness is still visible [Fig. 1 appears here] that the earth is loosened with a digging stick, and then the reed, which, by inserting the parts into each other, may be over a meter long, is sunk into the ground. As the accompanying figure shows, the Bushman does not keep the drainage reed and the sucking reed in his mouth simultaneously. The representations which suggest this might well be completely false; instead, the Bushman has the sucking reed in the right-hand corner of his mouth, and as soon as he has his mouth full of water he lets it flow into the closed hollow of his left hand in which the drainage reed is placed. The water gained in this way is of course thoroughly mixed with saliva. It cannot be kept for any length of time.

312 824 Water reservoirs are also provided by the few baobab trees, which contain puddles of water in their interiors. An artful method is used in the Sand Veld. A palm tree is drilled halfway up its trunk; then the palm pith is scraped out as far as possible, and the opening is carefully sealed. The water rising from the roots gathers in this hollow and has a good taste.

Among the thirst-quenching roots, that of a liana (!góa) was named in particular.

[34 cont.]

312 Concerning other water-containing trees, F. Seiner re-
824 ports:

"The water-containing trees always have two or more trunks, and the source of the water is to be sought up where the branches fork. If the saddle formed where the branches separate shows a hole, a hollow area is traced in the adjoining part of the trunk, which may contain up to 60 liters of water. The water is obtained by tying, Bushman fashion, a small bundle of dry grass, or better still, a handkerchief, to the tip of a stick and inserting it in the hollow. When the stick is drawn out, the water drips

Fig. 1. !Kung at a Bushman Well.

from the saturated bundle or cloth, which is pressed out over a cup. [Fig. 2 appears here.]

[35] "The most important water roots are the Asclepiadacea Fockea damarana Schltr. (ehoe), the Leguminosa

[532]
[224]

Fig. 2. //Gauab drives the game toward the hunters (from
[113] Kühn and Obermann, Buschmannkunst [Bushman Art]).

[35 cont.]

312 824 Dolichos seineri Harms (eona), and the Convolvulacea Ipomoea seineri Pilger (eawa); the enormous tubers of the latter two may weigh up to 150 kilograms. Considerably more important for the natives than these 'water roots' is the Curcurbitacea Citrullus naudinianus Hook. (orura of the Herero; gab of the Hottentot); without their juicy gourds, which occur in great quantities and for the most part are edible, most of the central Kalahari would be impassable during the dry season, even for the Bushmen."

Further, F. Galton (1) reports:

[113] 1. F. Galton, Tropisches Südafrika, p. 101.

312 825 "In practice, the first hopeful sign when people are looking around for water is a flight of guinea fowl; next, following the habits of the land, each tree is carefully examined until a parrot is sighted, an object visible even at a great distance because the bird likes to sit on the uppermost branches. A parrot is rarely more than half an hour away from water, and the same applies to baboons. If one proceeds with careful observation and takes a probable direction, he will see doves flying about; then little birds are found in all the bushes, and they are close to it."

10. The Veldkost

222 776 Just as //Gauab accompanies the hunter on the chase, he is also the companion of the women who go to look for veldkost. If //Gauab takes delight in a woman, he will break the bones of an animal, killing it, and will lead the woman to it. If, however, //Gauab is angry at a woman and she finds no veldkost, then she becomes angry, gets up early in the morning, abuses //Gauab, and then takes medicine and washes her face so that //Gauab will not recognize her. Then she goes into the veld and finds something. [782] //Gauab receives no offerings from the veldkost. The celebration 222 of the first fruits of the veld described by Vedder is no longer held. [887] The oldest woman is brought to eat samples of each type of veldkost that is brought home for the first time in the year. Then the second oldest woman takes a taste, and so on down the line.

[35 cont.]

222 When all the old women have made their tests, then the children also get some, and the veldkost is, so to speak, made available for general consumption. When a woman has found a spot where
[423] there is a great deal of veldkost, she makes a sign at this spot, and then everything growing there belongs to her. No one will take any of it.

[262] There were and still are a whole assortment of types of
[888] socha veldkost reserved for the old people. [Fig. 3 appears here.]

11. Ergology

Fire

372 The Bushmen believe that there was a time when they had
773 no fire. The following legend tells how they obtained it: "The ostrich had a firebrand under his wing. He, the owl, and Heiseb played together. Then the ostrich took fright at the owl because he thought the owl had horns. He advised all of them to sleep for a little while. When the owl was asleep, he blew at it and saw that it merely had little tufts of feathers and no horns on its head. Thereupon he awakened the two others again and invited them to go on playing. Then Heiseb said: 'Dear ostrich, please wave your wings.' The ostrich did so, and as a result its firebrand fell to the ground. Heiseb picked it up and threw it to the fig tree, and since then man has had fire." -- The narrative probably comes from the legend-circle of the Hei//om Hottentot. Otherwise, Heiseb never appears in !Kung stories. Two pieces of wood from the
372 fig tree are still used occasionally to make fire. For the most part, the most popular devices for making fire are a striking iron and flint; matches are less [36] prized. A pair of fire sticks, the sucking reeds, a few poisoned arrows, and a bird arrow make up the permanent inventory of the quiver.

[36 cont.]

Dwellings

342 The dwelling of the Bushman consists of the simple windscreen, semicircular in form and about 150 centimeters high. On [177] several farms, however, even the Bushmen have taken to building beehive huts in the Herero manner. The windscreens in a settle- [361] ment more or less form a circle, and the socha fire is to be found [378] near the windscreen of the village chief. During warm nights the [372] Bushmen do not sleep under the windscreen but outside it. [513]

372

Fig. 3. Sticks for Firemaking, Kalahari Bushmen (Museum of Ethnology, Lurich).

[36 cont.]

Cooking and Cooking Utensils

354 Lumps of surface limestone are generally used as hearthstones.
412 Here and there, as a great rarity, one finds a pounding stone of quartzite.

To pound the veldkost, small mortars, carved out of wood, with conical or hemispherical bottoms are used. In case the mortars become damaged, holes are made on either side of the crack, and the flaw is drawn together with bast strips and also smeared over with resin. The shape of the pestle, which is from 50 centimeters to one meter long, is shown in Figure 7.

415 Originally these !Kung had no pots and probably had no
[352] way of boiling anything. The usual manner of preparing food even today is to roast and grill it on and between hot stones. Nowadays,
[439] every horde owns a number of pots acquired from the Okawango.
[482] These pots have bast or tendon plaiting around them, by which they are fastened when carried on the march. The Okawango people
[439] gladly exchange these water pots, which they have carried with them on the waterless stretch, for food from the Bushmen in the area between Karakowisa and Nuragas.

416 Small cast-iron tripods are a very popular article. A
417 longish, crudely carved stirring stick, as well as a piece of hardwood for arranging the fire, completes the inventory of the Bushman kitchen. Spoons are unknown.

Clothing

291 The clothing of the woman, as has already been repeatedly described, consists of a front apron and a back apron, made of soft leather, and a leather cloak something like a pelerine. Usually she also has a carrying hide for the baby. Generally, the child does
[854] not sit on her back, as among the Blacks, but on the side of her hip.
[415] In addition, the woman has the large veld bag in which she keeps the
[412] finds from her collecting. On the march, the woman is equipped with the simple digging stick, pointed at the bottom.

The men are clothed only with the modesty apron and in addition

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the 293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire 291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re- [123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having [124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in [412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess [325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in [439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that, [531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead embroidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich 301 egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are [321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence [556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are [462] [306] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of [302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to lengthen them.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

412

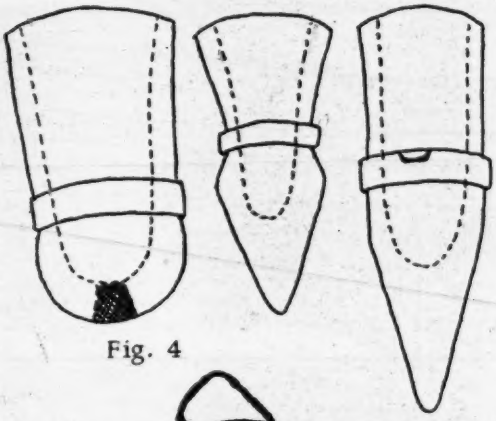

Fig. 4

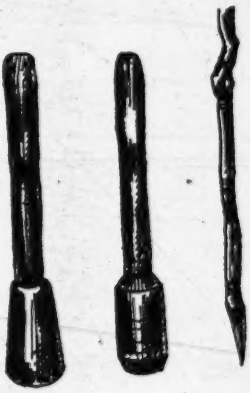

Fig. 7

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Fig. 5

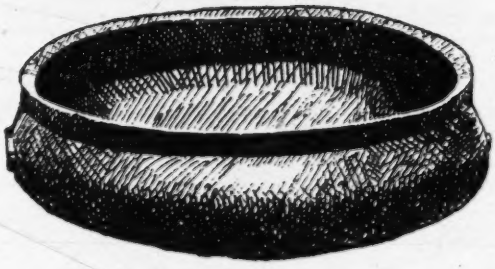

Fig. 6

Fig. 8

(Captions on following page.)

[38 cont.]

412 Fig. 4. Wooden Mortars of the !Kung. (1/4 natural size [as shown
415 in the original text]).

Fig. 5. Wooden Vessels of the !Kung.

Fig. 6. Large Wooden Bowl of the !Kung (probably imported from the north — Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 2158).

Fig. 7. Pestle and Digging Stick or the !Kung (greatly reduced).

Fig. 8. (1) Digging Stick with !Kwe; (2) Veld Hoe (Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 1278 and 1497).

301 lengthen them. Some people possess such a great number of these chains that they cover the entire forehead. Children often wear small rectangular pendants, and women have large, medallion-like round ones that are worn like a diadem in the middle of the forehead. Little chains of small ostrich egg beads up to five centimeters long are worn as ear pendants. Children are also given armbands and anklebands made of ostrich egg beads. Brass beads from ancient times are rare and are worn exclusively as hair pendants, as are copper beads. Glass beads are not greatly valued, and only blue ones are worn, if any. On the other hand, beads made from aromatic wood are common. Longer chains of alter-
[756] nating wood and ostrich egg beads and worn in the hair are insignia of the female doctors. The men have tight little leather straps
[827] at the wrists and ankles, which probably serve to strengthen the
[411] musculature in running and using the bow. In addition, they have a few armbands of brass or iron. Every man and woman wears a string around the neck, which has one or two appetite sticks (see
[777] below) and various talismans attached at the front. Finally, a little horn containing various kinds of medicine is worn around the neck by many of the men. The younger women and girls
[303] usually also possess a tortoise shell powder box of the kind described below for the Dama. Body painting is scarcely practiced;
[302] concerning tattooing, see page 56. The children occasionally wear armbands that they make themselves with grass or various fruits.

[38 cont.]

Weapons

411 The Bushman's chief weapons are the bow and arrows. The bow staff as a rule has a round transverse incision and tapers off slightly toward both ends. The !Kung of the Otjimpolo Veld, on the other hand, use palm wood like the Ovambo. There the wood of the bow is slightly convex on the outside and flat on the inside with squared sides. The string is made of leather, so that in the case of these bows the bow staff is more flexible than the string. A bow of the Otjimpolo Bushmen was 115 centimeters long and 13 centimeters high. The bows of the !Kung discussed here also have leather supports on both sides and commonly are

[291]
[531]

Fig. 9. Embroidered Front Apron of Leather (!Kung).

reinforced with sisal cord. The bows of the Hei//om seem to be differentiated from those of the !Kung primarily in [39] that the bow staff is flat on the outside and convex on the inside. In lieu of the leather strips, reinforcements of palm bast are also often used. The string, depending on the region, is a waxed plant fiber cord, animal tendon (kudu), or fine, twisted leather. The length is about 120 centimeters; the height, 20 centimeters. There are also much smaller bows, however, 95-110 centimeters long.

(283)

192 The wood of the !Kung bows is called !howa. The arrow
411 is made of wood. The shaft is called //gau; the feathering,

3: Lebzelter--72 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

[39 cont.]

192 sometimes radial and sometimes in rows, is called !khui. The
411 incision at the lower end of the arrow shaft is called /gei. The arrow points are usually little triangular iron plates (//khai). The entire tip, including the binding and the poisoned part, is called !hui. [Figs. 10 and 11 appear here.]

411 The arrows are 65 to 68 centimeters long. They are usu-
278 ally poisoned. The poison, which looks like dark wax, is smeared on little sticks and preserved in this way. It consists of five in-
[463] gredients, the most important of which is euphorbia sap. Only

[824]

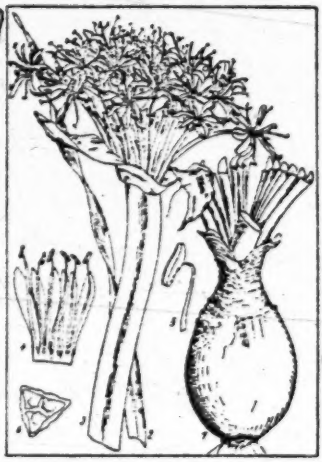

Fig. 10. Buphane disticha Herb., Plant Used for Arrow Poison by the !Kung (Medley Wood, Natal Plants, VI, 1912).

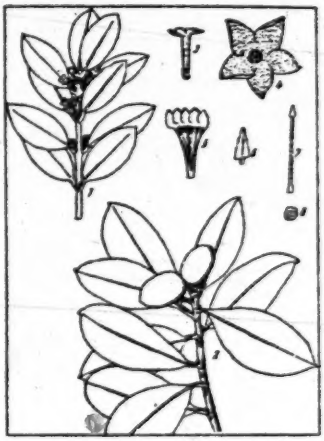

Fig. 11. Acocanthera venenata, Plant Used for Arrow Poison by the !Kung (Sim, The Forests and Forest Flora of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1907).

certain persons prepare the poison. They know that the plant poisons are not equally effective every year. Hence, a small bushbuck is shot first, then a larger animal (say, a leopard), and finally a gemsbok. Only when the proper results are obtained with all these animals is the poison traded.

411 The lances of the !Kung consist of a shaft about 160 centimeters long, which is greatly reduced in thickness toward the back end.

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire.

[40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by
[439] the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be-
[422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should
[304] be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out
177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked
415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are
278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen.
805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions;
211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary.
[614] To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so
[888] great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements
[623] between the chief and the other old men.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 25]

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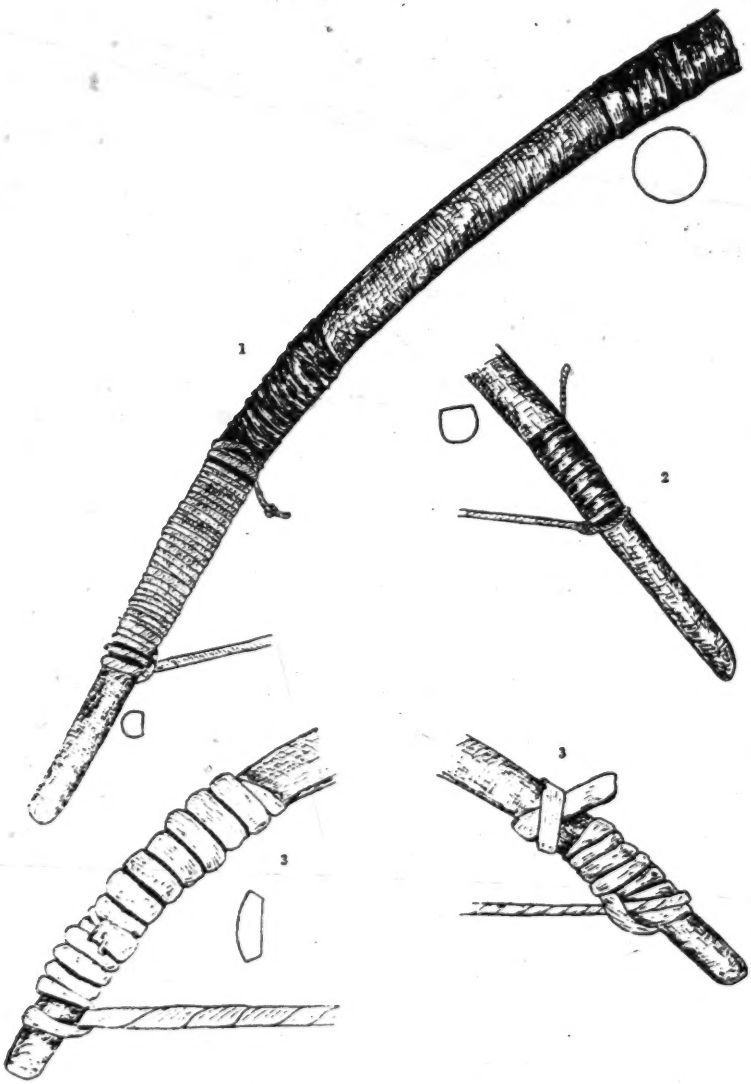

Fig. 12. Bows of the !Kung.

1. Keitsas.
2. Kuntsas.
3. Otjimpolo Veld.

[41 cont.]

622 between the chief and the other old men. When the village chief dies, it is not his eldest son, but the eldest son of his sister [Figs. 13 and 14 appear here] who takes over the village.

582 There are certain marriage prohibitions and requirements, which are illustrated by the following schema.

[534]

Fig. 13. Dance Drum of the !Kung (Kuntsas). (Greatly reduced.)

[805]
[211]

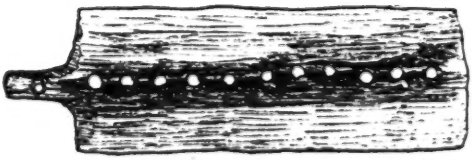

Fig. 14. Calendar Board of the !Kung (actual size [as shown in the original text]).

Father's brother X wife	Father X mother	Father's sister X husband
Brother--sister	A--sister	Cousin (male) -- cousin (female

If A is taken as an example, the children of his father's sister are his cousins. Marriage with these cousins is prohibited. On the other hand, A must marry the father's brother's daughter if she so desires. The man on his part, however, cannot force the

[41 cont.]

582 girl to marry him. Naturally, these sisters ordinarily do not remember their prerogative until they have failed to get another man whom they desire. Thus the young men are often forced to marry girls who are much older than themselves. If the wife 587 dies, the widower must marry a sister of his wife in case she agrees. [42] If, on the other hand, the man dies, the widow (589) must stay with the parents-in-law for about a year. It is illegal to marry the wife or the children of a deceased brother. The widow must marry a man from another kin group and move to his village (1). The boys belong to the father's kin group, the girls to 611 THE MOTHER'S KIN GROUP.

768
842
589
732
627

1. "The fate of many a young childless widow is much worse, however. A Bushman communicated the following concerning this matter: 'When a man dies and leaves behind a wife without children, and the brother-in-law refuses to accept his brother's bow and thereby his sister-in-law, she may return to her father's village. But this does not by any means always happen. As a woman who did not bear children she is not highly regarded. Her life has no significance. The men of the village talk about her case and designate one from their midst to destroy the useless life. This man will come to the widow's hut in the evening and will sit down across from her at her fire. He has a bow and arrow with him. The widow knows what is in store for her, but gives no sign. The two talk about trivial matters. After a while the man takes the bow in his hand and shoots an arrow through the heart of the woman sitting across from him. The unfortunate woman dies and is buried as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible. Blood vengeance on the part of the woman's kin group is not to be feared. After all, she did not bear any children.'" (Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 419.)

[42 cont.]

the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo. Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language. Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave immediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does. Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains seated there, while the women and children make themselves comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children, who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight organization and a common leader. When Captain Francois went beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a

2. He himself was a half-breed.

chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest chief I heard of was "X'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

[42 cont.]

178 He died when his successor, Amme, was still a small boy. Amme,
622 however, was unable [43] to learn much from his father; he was not a good chief, and he died while still young. Since then the !Kung Bushmen have not had a supreme chief. One of my informants, Doctor X'amme, claimed to be the great-grandson of the great chief of the same name.

The following from Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) should

1. Op. cit., pp. 412, 424.

be mentioned:

593 "The father is the chief of the family. All must respect
596 him. Children may not call him by name. -- The chief's posi-
622

[276]

Fig. 15. Dacha Pipe of the !Kung Bushmen (from the Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart, 29464).

tion is generally passed from father to son. If the son is not yet an adult when his father dies, the father's younger brother takes
423 his place. Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited
614 from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

"There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 100 kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

[43 cont.]

423 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's terri-
614 tory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them.
769 The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place.

13. Illnesses and Treatment

826 The anatomical knowledge of the Bushmen is quite extensive as a result of their way of life as hunters.

The heart is regarded as the seat of life, and the breath
[761] has some connection with the heart. Their surgical knowledge is
752 confined to the extraction of thorns by means of an awl-like in-
757 strument and to the relatively effective bandaging of hand and leg
278 fractures. Their supply of medicines, on the other hand, is very limited. In what follows, I shall list the common illnesses and their treatment.

Eye Inflammation

752 Both dry and exudative eye inflammations, caused by sand and irritating grass seeds, are extremely widespread, and blear eyes are the rule among older people. These diseases, however, are not nearly as grave among the !Kung living in the forest as, say, among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari or among those
[826] of Naukluft. Among the latter, blear eyes are even regarded as signs of beauty in young girls. Ordinary eye inflammations that pass in a short period of time mean nothing. They are treated by
[753] rubbing with fat. If the ailment lasts for a longer period of time, then //Gauab [Fig. 16 appears here] certainly had something to
[755] do with it; the doctor is called in and, after some treatment, produces a "little black medicine" from the eye.

[43 cont.]

732 Blindness in one eye is very common as the result of wounds inflicted by thorns. Among very old people I have also found blindness as the result of cataract. Here and there one also finds (648) Bushmen who in olden times had been captured by the Herero, who shot out their eyes with grass seed.

Ear Ailments

757 They are relatively rare. For an ordinary earache, leaves are stuffed into the ear "so that it will stay warm." The aching ear is likewise held over the fire, in which some medicine has been placed. If pus comes out of the ear, the ache stops and all

[413]

Fig. 16. Scratching Instrument. Iron leaf fastened to a little stick with resin and leather strips. (Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg; actual size [as shown in original text].)

(753) [44] is well. If //Gauab has put something in it, however, the pains become so strong that one can no longer sleep or hear. In (755) such cases one must call an especially powerful doctor, who draws out the spirits of sickness; otherwise the patient will die.

[44 cont.]

Toothache

142 I rarely saw irregularities in the position of the teeth, and
[515] never protruding or receding teeth. The only care given the teeth is the use of iron arrow points for toothpicks. The teeth are usually yellow, covered with dense layers of tartar, and because of the sand content of the vegetable diet, are quickly worn down
164 by chewing. Caries are extraordinarily common, but infections also occur through the exposure of the root canal as the teeth are
753 worn down. If a person has a severe toothache, //Gauab has stuck a needle into it, and the doctor must be called to get it out. If there is no general discomfort, however, then no dsao are there.
757 A little piece of wood is sharpened to a point at one end, held with the point against the root of the tooth, and then the tooth is knocked out with a stone. This instrument is called "oie."
147 Small children suffer considerable pain when they teethe; some-
753 times dsao (spirits of sickness) are also at work in this case. [Fig. 17 appears here.]

Sore Throat

753 A sore throat means that //Gauab has made a cord and is
755 drawing it tight around the patient's neck. The doctor must remove the cord from the patient; it is about 30 centimeters long and is like the trap cord (//kao); everyone can see it after the treatment.

Colds (X'ōā)

164 Grippe takes many victims among the Bushmen every year,
513 especially among those who are already tuberculous. In winter, colds are extraordinarily frequent, since the people lie almost naked around the fires. In the forest they are fairly well protected against the wind, but on the open plain the wind changes its direction at night while they are asleep, so that they not only catch cold but often receive severe burns around the stomach -- although this applies only to the men; the women sleep at a greater distance FROM THE FIRE.

[44 cont.]

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from the fire. As a cure for coughing and hoarseness, they chew the fibers of a sisal-like plant, which are twisted to make the trap cord. The plant is called kũi. It must be brought fresh from the forest. For chest pains, in recent times they have started drinking warm water to which much cooking salt is added.

[413] Fig. 17. !Kung Instrument for Knocking Out Teeth; actual size [as shown in original text].

Circulatory Diseases

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As among the Central African Pygmies, we find strong sinuosity of the arteria temporalis even among more youthful individuals. The heart quickly wears itself out as a result of the exhausting way of life and the great amount of running. The people try to increase its capabilities in every way possible. In order to stop the pounding of the heart and to run longer, they take the leaves of a tree with red fruit (in-gui). These leaves are chewed and swallowed. If this does no good, they chew the root of the ≠Na tree. If a person has a heart pain so that he cannot run, he takes roots of the Dormakar bush (!gu) and of the Hell bush (!gai !dsao), boils them both, and drinks the decoction. In case of angina pectoris, the skin of a boa constrictor is placed around the chest.

Gastrointestinal Disorders

753 [171] It is interesting to note that the doctrine of the importance of the liver and gall bladder in the origin of disease, which we find among all primitive and civilized peoples up to the humoral medicine of the previous century, is already present among the Bushmen. When the gall bladder is full, one becomes sick and [755] vomits gall. Then the region of the liver is massaged, just as is done in the case of liver pains. Enlargement of the liver as the [164] result of chronic malaria is common. The moon, which dies [821] every month, also has gall sickness, and moonlight is the juice of the gall bladder vomited by it. Moonlight and gall are known [164] by the same word (goo). Spleen tumor is especially common 757 among children. They have no medicine against splenalgia. 278 They have no medicine for inducing vomiting. It is induced by putting the finger or a feather into the mouth. To stop vomiting, one chews little twigs of the goro tree. The bitter wood of the liana (χ'áá-χ'áñ) is chewed for stomach-ache. In case of con- [753] stipation the doctor must practice magic, for it is assumed that [755] the dsao have tied the stool in the intestine, and the doctor must loosen and extract the cord, just as in the case of an inflammation of the throat. The patient may not eat anything and drink very little. In case of diarrhea, even the bleeding kind, the same medicine is taken as in the case of stomach-aches. Intestinal 147 worms are unknown. We already know from earlier reports that the 262 gastrointestinal tract of the Bushman can take all kinds of things that we cannot take. As the result of habituation from early childhood on, he can digest meat that has gone bad and the like, without any trouble (1). After a long period of hunger, he can consume

1. I myself witnessed a drastic example of this. I had brought a side of bacon from Swakopmund, which supposedly had been preserved for all eternity according to a special process. When I brought it out, it had a hideous smell, and in order to prevent the Bushmen from taking it and getting sick, I had it hung high on a tree. The

[45 cont.]

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> Bushmen stared longingly at the discolored lump of fat. Finally they sent a deputation to me, saying that they wanted the bacon for their dogs. The moment they received it, it was skillfully divided according to families and consumed in the course of a great feast, without any harmful effects.

enormous quantities, but such excesses as a rule are followed by an indisposition. The day after a major feast, almost all of them lie in the sun with stomach-ache and gripes. In other words, even a Bushman should not be credited with the impossible with regard to food; many things that seem repulsive to us, such as earthworms, lizards, thick grubs, mice, and the like, are in themselves not at all harmful to health, especially since the Bushman only eats them cooked or roasted. Bushmen who have grown up on the farms can take the same diet as the Whites or Blacks. On
147 the other hand, the wild Bushmen who have grown up on veldkost
262 and the flesh of wild animals cannot accustom themselves to the
648 work and prison diet of the Blacks. A term in jail of any great length means condemnation to a slow but sure death for most Bushmen. The prisoners show the symptoms of vitamin deficiency, become infirm, get edemata on their legs, dropsy, and unfailingly perish. In the initial stage severe sluggishness of the bowels sets in. Ample portions of fresh meat can keep the Bushman healthy even in imprisonment. The fact that Bushmen run away from the
[464] farms is based in most cases upon their inability to endure any
[146] longer the diet given them. The vitamin need of the Bushman who has grown up in the wilderness is undoubtedly much greater, and his longing for meat, which often appears pathological, can be explained as a physiological craving for vitamins.

Diseases of the Urogenital System

164 Catarrhs of the bladder occur; in such cases a flat stone
(755) is warmed in the fire and placed on the bladder region. Hematuria, evidently the result of nephritis, was twice treated by my friend

164 [45 cont.]
[753] Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The
[192] terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no
[302] means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is
[593] usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin
842 hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy
[757] is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine
[278] for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is
841 done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband
[757] and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on
853 the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least
[826] until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished
164 by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care.
[515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky
[278] sap of a plant called timba.
[757]

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams
[145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long;
302 the toenails are often fissured.

[46 cont.]

Infectious Diseases

164 The Bushmen are plagued by the two most dangerous chronic infectious diseases, tuberculosis and malaria. Leprosy is absent.

Malaria appears every year during the rainy season. Bisob
[757] roots are then thrown in the fire, and the smoke is inhaled. Small
[278] children more commonly die of it. I did not see any cases of black water fever or malarial cachexia.

Tuberculosis is the common cause of death among the
[165] Bushmen. I saw bone tuberculosis and swellings of the glands, as well as advanced cases of lung and throat tuberculosis. The poor people are helpless, and the frequent colds further the process in a dangerous fashion. As nomads living in small groups, they are generally spared the epidemics of the Whites and Blacks. Once an epidemic has made its appearance among them, however, they die in great numbers. It is interesting to note that the Bushmen are aware that contagious diseases exist. As such, however, they only know the above-mentioned skin disease (gari).

753 The other infectious general diseases are explained as an attack by many spirits of sickness upon the horde.

Assistance at Birth

844 When a young woman anticipates her first confinement, she remains near the huts because she is afraid. The older women cheer her up, and then a resting place is made of dried grass. The woman gives birth in a squatting position. In case of difficulties
[845] during delivery, the lower part of the body is massaged. Medicine or manual assistance to expedite the delivery is not given. The umbilical cord is cut off with a quartz knife and buried.

[47] Wounds and Injuries

752 The most dangerous injury a Bushman can receive is through a poisoned arrow. The poisoned arrow is cut out, a piece of wood is held in the fire until it glows, and then it is used to

[47 cont.]

752 burn the wounded person at many places on his body. When the poison smells the warmth, it gathers at these places; incisions are then made there, and the blood is sucked out by means of a cupping glass made of gemsbok horn. The wounded person may neither sit nor lie down; he must be walked about for twenty-four hours. After this time he either dies or is cured. The method helps only in rare cases.

Snakebite is the second great danger. If one makes an
751 incision in the lower part of the calf and rubs scrapings from a
824 bisob root into it, the snakes smell this and do not come out of
825 hiding. [Fig. 18 appears here.] When a person has to run great distances, bisob dust is mixed with fat and applied
752 to the legs. In case someone is nevertheless
(411) bitten by a snake, the treatment is analogous to that used for arrow wounds. Injuries to the feet caused by thorns are very common. Injuries that pass through the aponeurosis are regarded as deadly. They practically always become infected. Even though wound infections take a less malignant and a slower course than among Europeans, they nonetheless sometimes lead to death. The only medicine
(278) used is bisob powder scattered in the wound.

Fig. 18. Kirri of the !Kung.

756 Some doctors claimed to be immune
751 to snake and scorpion bites.

What Vedder observed among the Bergdama is reported in a similar manner by Schinz:

"With the intention of testing the latter characteristic, I one day persuaded an old sorcerer visiting us in Noi !as on Ngami Lake to undertake an experiment with 12 scorpions (Buthus randus Simon) picked out by myself and having an average length of eight centimeters. In order to prevent any possibility of deception, I put the animals on the various parts of his body with tweezers, on the hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. As a rule they then immediately and excitedly moved the long postabdomen back and forth and jabbed violently once or twice into the flesh of the guinea

[47 cont.]

756 pig concerned, at which time in each case a large drop of white
751 fluid escaped from the stinger. Finally they moved about quietly without making any further attempts to sting, but they did not in any way show the excited hurry to get off the Bushman's body that has been reported by individual writers. The old man claimed not to feel any pain, and I have no reason to distrust him since, after all, if the poison had had any kind of effect upon him, he would scarcely have allowed himself to be stung in the most sensitive parts of his body for the sake of my desire for knowledge. Even a full hour after our experiment, the parts that had been stung did not show the slightest alteration. The man declared that he had attained this extraordinary faculty as a boy in the 'school' of a sorcerer, where he had been urged to apply scorpion poison, which had been taken forcibly and thinned with water and urine, on small incisions, as well as to eat the poisonous stingers pounded to a mash and boiled; supposedly immunity against snakebite can be obtained in like manner."

14. The Doctors' Test

755 One afternoon the eldest of the horde outside Keibeb came
756 to me and told me that that night a great dance would take place,
796 first, because a three-year-old child had just been bitten by a small black snake, second, because many people were sick with fever, and third, because one of the men wanted to undergo the doctors' test. Such festivals take place only during the time of the full moon. Toward nine o'clock in the evening I was lured into the camp by wild noise. The people had made somewhat larger and more fires than usual. The mother with the child bitten by the snake was seated in the center of an open semicircle. The older women squatted around her. To one side of them in single file, one behind each other, stood the younger women and girls. Both the male [48] and female doctors were busy. The chief female doctor, Biri, was "personally" absent this evening. She was crouching off to one side in the darkness of the bush. /Nawa,
[787] the highest of the //Gauab, had taken possession of her and spoke through her mouth. Her hair ornaments, long chains of beads made

[48 cont.]

755 from ostrich egg shells, had been put on by her proxy, Dube, a
756 very intelligent young woman. The latter, standing at the end of
796 the semicircle of seated women, conducted the ceremony. She
[276] was in a very good mood and alternately smoked her Bushman
[554] pipe and my cigarettes. There is a kind of hierarchy among the women; those who were squatting were higher in rank than those who were standing. All the women clapped their hands and sang in a monotonous rhythm: ehe, ehe, ehe, ehe, etc. This, I was
[533] assured, was no song, but "music." Some hordes have bartered

[532]

Fig. 19. Sorcerer in a Bird Mask, Followed by Spirits of Sickness. (From Rock Paintings in South Africa. From Parts of the Eastern Province and Orange Free State. Copied by G. W. Stow. With an introduction and descriptive notes by Dorothea Bleek. London, Methuen, 1930.)

dance drums one and a half meters high from the Okawango, which on this occasion are played by men. [Fig. 19 appears
[184] here.] Among the Bushmen of the Sand Veld the female leader of the ceremony does not wear the ornaments of the chief female doctor; instead, the ornaments are hung on a tree. The position of the chief female doctor is not permanently held by one person; the chief doctor on occasion imparts supernatural powers to her.

755 The five doctors had taken off all their ornaments and
756 were naked except for the front apron. They put themselves
786 into an autohypnotic state by means of crowing, by producing
796

[48 cont.]

755 756 786 796 sounds similar to those of ventriloquists, and by certain muscle contractions. By pressing together the gluteal musculature of the buttocks and at the same time holding the knee joints as far apart as possible and pressing the legs together at the ankles, they eventually produced a tonic trembling cramp of the entire musculature of the lower extremity, in which they reeled back and forth. It is possible for anyone to put himself into an autohypnotic state in this way, as this author also learned from the doctors. Soon the rolled-up eyes indicated that the doctors were in a state of trance. They danced around one another, fell over one another, and lifted one another up. Some women also started making noise with the dance rattles. The Bushmen were now convinced that [787] /Nawa himself was dancing among the doctors, was visible to them, and spoke with them. At this point they say something [782] like prayers; they invoke the great spirit of the old Bushman who has killed many elephants; they call the spirits of the dead who have sent their little spirits of sickness over the living, and they especially beg /Nawa to transfer these little spirits of sickness to the doctors.

755 756 796 The doctors ran alternately to the bitten child and to those ill with fever who squatted around the fire, stroking the painful places, both from the armpits down to the soles and from the shoulders down to the fingertips. Occasionally they also sucked at the diseased spots or inhaled the breath from the mouths of the patients.

From time to time, the doctors performed these operations upon one another, first of all, as they said, in order to distribute the poisons of sickness equally among all the doctors, but also in order to obtain power from the other doctors. Thus "charged," the doctor then again ran to the patients to take their poison.

Now and then the chief doctor ran screaming around the [787] line of standing women and [49] disappeared into the bush in order to ask the chief female doctor about the will of /Nawa. After about an hour's dancing the chief doctor went to the bitten child. The child had been bitten on the back, and this was rubbed with fat and then medicine; then all the patients were again subjected to the treatment described above, and soon thereafter /Nawa an- [787] nounced through the mouth of the chief female doctor that the

[49 cont.]

[787] 755 756 796 child, and the other patients, too, would be cured. That ended the first part of the ceremony.

Now the doctors' test began. The others, with the exception of the women making music, participated only as spectators. The doctors went on dancing, often holding their arms stretched out to the sky, with the fingers spread apart, and then springing to the fire and holding their hands over it. Flinging the hands toward the sky is done to give some of the little spirits of sickness back to the chief spirit /Nawa, who passes up and down along a thread between heaven and earth. It is not a gesture of prayer. Similarly, holding the hands over the fire is intended to achieve the same result, because the "little spirits of sickness" do not like the fire and hence will go away. Meanwhile, they thank the great spirit for having saved the child. Then they prayed to /Nawa that he might concentrate all the little spirits of sickness on the doctors' candidate and kill him so that the people would be free [753] [761] of evil diseases, for the dying person takes the spirits of sickness with him. By brushing, rubbing, and blowing, the old doctors now transfer the spirits of sickness to the candidate. The latter is completely exhausted, collapses from time to time, is constantly lifted up again, and, staggering, he dances on, with foam appearing at his mouth. The other doctors taunt him: "You leopard, you lion, you elephant, you insurmountable mountain, you gigantically strong man, now you can't cope with the spirits of sickness we have given you." Once more the chief doctor runs to the former patient and transfers to the candidate any disease poison he may have gathered. This hellish spectacle lasted one and a half hours; then the chief doctor went to his oracle sitting in the bush and asserted that the candidate was too strong: we have concentrated all the little spirits of sickness upon him and prayed to the chief spirit that he might take (kill) him, but the candidate is stronger than the spirits of sickness. Nevertheless, the oracle commands: "Dance on." While this happened, a woman came out of the background -- in the half-dark I was unable to see whether or not it was the chief female doctor herself -- and busied herself around the cured child. She clapped her hands and beat her palms together, with the thumb sides in front of the child's face, and thus put even the child in a brief trance. The dancing continued until around midnight when the oracle finally declared that though the

[49 cont.]

755 756 796 chief spirit was not yet satisfied, she would appease him; the chief spirit would voluntarily take the little spirits of sickness away, even from the doctors. After these words the festival abruptly ended; the people went to their fires and lay down to sleep.

The candidate had passed his examination (1).

[184] 535 756 796

1. Burchell (in the translation by Hellwald, Völkerkunde [Ethnology], II, p. 519) has given a similar account from the south: "One foot remains stationary, while the other is in rapid and irregular motion without any definite change of position. The movement of the arms is so slight as to be negligible. At the same time the dancer sings without pause and keeps time with the movements. Occasionally he lowers his body and then suddenly raises it again, until finally he sinks to the ground exhausted, but still singing and rhythmically moving his body in time with the song of the spectators. Even though only one person dances at a time, the company present nonetheless also has something to do, etc."

756 786 789 796

When the excitement of the dance has reached its climax and the dancers have fallen into a kind of trance as a result of the continuous dance movement, the shrill singing, the drinking of coffee, and not least the tobacco smoke, which they keep in their mouths for minutes on end for the intoxicating effect, then the doctors, in order to demonstrate their resistance to fire, trample with bare feet on the red-hot embers taken from the campfire and spread out on the sand. In the case of a number of the younger ones, however, I believe that their resistance to fire was not quite as great as they would have one believe, and they carefully avoided the pieces that were

[49 cont.]

756 786 789 796 glowing all too brightly. On the other hand, I was surprised when on the occasion of such a religious dance the so-called great doctor -- after he had danced by himself long and continuously in visible ecstasy, so that in spite of the cool night and even though he was almost completely naked, the sweat ran down his entire body -- suddenly, with slow majestic steps, walked through the high flames of the fire and in so doing had to step on the burning logs with his bare feet.

753 776 [50] On a later occasion I discussed these procedures thoroughly and in detail with the chief doctor, Kasi, and with Dube and the other doctors. One of the most striking aspects of the entire ceremony is perhaps the absence of the mysterious and the magical. These little spirits of sickness are not magical creatures but, in the eyes of the Bushmen, commonplace realities. The Bushmen know very well that many illnesses are not caused by the spirits of sickness alone. If someone eats something that has gone bad, he will become ill and will be given an emetic. If someone is wounded by a shot, the wound will be treated. If the injured person has pains only in the wound and otherwise feels all right, then no spirit of sickness has entered into him. If he feels sick all over, however, then he is possessed by a spirit of sickness. These little spirits of sickness are called dsao; they are little yellow men with a fat belly and a little tail. They obey the other spirits, which, as described above, include the ordinary (775) spirits from the bodies of deceased persons, the spirits who live among the stars, and the chief spirit (/Nawa) himself. [Fig. 20 appears here.]

Finally, even the "great captain" can send the dsao directly over a person. /Nawa can do this with or without the consent of the "great captain"; the smaller spirits act on their own authority or at the command of these powers.

756 776 The doctors have their supernatural power directly from the "great capitain"; they are as powerful as /Nawa and stronger

[50 cont.]

756 than the smaller spirits. Their treatment is correspondingly suc-
776 cessful or unsuccessful. In other words, the doctors are vindicated in any case.

755 The treatment of illness thus follows two parallel paths:
757 one with natural means (medicines and the like), directed at the local symptoms of the ailment; and one with supernatural means, directed at the dsao that cause the feeling of sickness.

[756]
[796]
539 During the doctors' test the following song is sung:

[411]

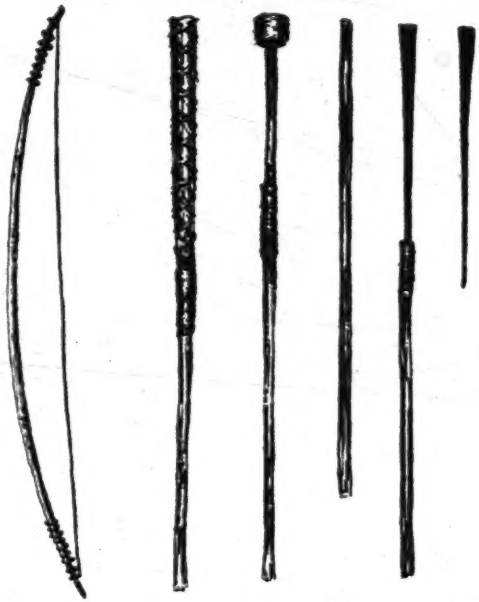

Fig. 20. Bushman Revolver of the !Kung (Foxhof; actual size [as shown in original text]).

e hehehe na ti //kau /goa dsao

During the treatment itself the following text is sung:

/o ma ga //goa ≠am /nai tha

He has no medicine yet, he must be thrown with the medicine.

751
756 Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) have the following to report

1. Die Buschmänner, p. 424.

[50 cont.]
751 concerning the witch doctors:
756 [51] "The sorcerer can protect himself against the malignant spirits of evil deceased persons. After all, he can see them and knows the means for defending himself against them. The ordinary Bushman has no eye for them, but he has a means of keeping them at arm's length. In a small leather bag about as long as a finger [411] he keeps a bow carved out of horn and numerous horn arrows stuck in a shaft of sour grass [Cyperaceae]. If he has occasion to fear evil spirits, he shoots these miniature arrows in all directions with his miniature bow. Now the evil spirits cannot get at him.

"Since in addition he has the belief that an object merely thrown in the direction of a hated person in some mysterious fashion enters that person's body and gravely harms him, he likewise uses his miniature bow to keep a pursuer or enemy off his neck by shooting an arrow, with a curse, in the direction where he imagines his enemy to be, even when he knows that this person is miles away from him."

Whereas I myself and the highly experienced J. Lunkenbein
411 regard these Bushman revolvers as harmless magical instruments,
[114] Seiner has a different opinion:

"The 'revolver' is a definite instrument of murder carried hidden in the modesty apron. The bow is ten centimeters long, the arrows are from ten to 12 centimeters long, and with the former they are put in a little bag adorned with beads. In addition it should be noted that the arrows, which are wrapped crosswise with little bands of tendon, are poisoned by being smeared with [278] little bits from the body of the arrow poison caterpillar. The Bushman ordinarily crushes a few of the caterpillars, which are available only in December and January, living on a few Commiphora shrubs (Commiphora dinteri, C. seineri) or as pupa at the roots under the ground, in a bone vessel with a little wooden stick that is always in the quivers; then he smears the arrow with some sticky stuff, such as wax or resin, whereupon he brushes the arrow with the viscous, slimy caterpillar mass, which, after drying, covers the arrow as a more or less thick brown crust. Up to a distance of seven meters it is possible to puncture the skin, drawing blood, with this miniature arrow; if the arrow tip were not blunt but pointed, like the one placed in the grass shaft, the arrow would

[51 cont.]

411 penetrate the flesh itself and introduce much more poison into the
751 wound. The Bushmen try to protect themselves against this treacherous, but apparently frequently used weapon by attempting to immunize themselves against the poison. During a period of from three to four weeks they make small incisions on the crown of the head, which they keep open in order to rub increasingly greater doses of poison into the wounds. The consequences are purportedly symptoms of a more or less serious nature, with fever and vomiting."

000

The Mandrake Root (1)

1. In this connection cf. Hans Bächtold-Stäubli, Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens [Dictionary of German Superstitions], Vol. I. The principal source for the medieval superstition is a passage from the history of the Judaic War by Flavius Josephus (born 37 A.D.). He writes (Bellum judaicum, VII, 6, 3; works translated by Cotta and Gförer, Philadelphia, 1838, p. 762): "The valley that encloses the city of Machärus on the northern side is called Baara and produces a root of the same name. It is flaming red and in the evening throws out red rays; it is very difficult to tear it out because it withdraws from the person approaching it and remains still only if one pours urine and blood flow (menstrual blood) on it. Even then death is certain to result from any contact unless the entire root is carried away in the hand. One can also get it in another way, namely: One digs around it in such a way that only a small part of the root remains hidden; then a dog is tied to it, and when the latter tries to follow the person who has tied him, he pulls

[51 cont.]

000 out the root, but dies on the spot as a sacrifice taking the place of the person who wants the plant. Once one has it, there is no longer any danger. People take so much trouble to get it because of its following peculiarity: the demons, that is to say, evil spirits of wicked human beings who enter into the living and kill them unless help is quickly given, are driven out by this plant as soon as one so much as brings it near the patient."

751 It comes from a little bush (/gui-sa). It does not occur in
754 the Bushman region visited by me, but farther to the north. It is
824 only found accidentally. When the doctor wanders through the
756 bush, he sometimes hears low talking. Soon he sees a track resembling that of a snake and showing traces of blood. The root walks upright on this track, like a stick. He may not attack it, because he would die immediately; instead he attempts to approach from the direction in which the magic root is walking, opens the medicine bag, and lets the little mandrake walk in. Then the bag is firmly closed and at home is hung on a tall tree. The mandrake may not be taken into the hut. Something like blood drips out of the bag. Early the next morning a great fire is made; women and children and everyone assemble, each one bringing his little buck horn to obtain from the doctor some of the medicine coming from the mandrake. The medicine is rubbed on the skin. Bushmen who live among the Whites may not take this medicine because they will become sick from it. -- The medicine or the magic that is given out by the mandrake has little effect on those who were treated in the manner described above, [52] but it has considerable effect in other cases. This medicine is used to kill enemies through magic at a distance. When a doctor goes to a horde that does not yet have this medicine, he carries the horn filled with it around his neck. Some of the mandrake's magic poison passes into anyone who looks at him.

754 When the doctor sits down, anyone who has looked at him keels over and dies unless he is helped. If this person is an enemy, the doctor simply goes away and does not trouble himself any

[52 cont.]

754 further. The belly of the unconscious person swells enormously.
755 When all other procedures have proved futile and someone remembers that this or that doctor has the magic medicine, he is called in, takes some of his bloodlike fluid from his horn, and first smears his own feet and then rubs the patient's feet and, above all, the patient's stomach in a circular massage. Gradually the swelling recedes, the patient gets up, sits down, and is cured.

This story, based upon the fact that there are roots with
648 bloodlike sap, became known by the farmers in a confused fashion and was the cause of the ridiculous fear of the secret poisons of the Bushmen that many farmers have.

15. The Elements

773 Heaven and earth, sun and moon, all was made by X'u,
821 the great captain, the supreme being. In the sun-scorched deserts inhabited by the Bushmen, the sun is no dispenser of mercy. During the hot season even the Bushman is forced to remain in the shade in the daytime, because the sand is so hot that he cannot walk on it.

The sun was a daughter of man. The Bushmen had seen her, and the men had to carry this daughter, but since she burned with such heat on their shoulders, the men had to frequently change places. When the shoulders of all the men were burned, they left the sun lying in the bush and did not take her to the huts. This is the place from which the sun rose. She is from the great captain.

When the sun sets, she sits down on the earth to eat. When it is to be day, one of her shoulderblades goes to the other side of the world where it appears as the sun. The sun's rays (/gam ǂnǂsn) are the arms of the sun. The eclipse of the sun (ʔǂkáo) is caused by the lions so that they can more easily eat human beings.

The Bushman becomes cheerful only when the cool of the evening arrives, and at the time of the full moon he celebrates his festivals. There is no question of moon worship, however, among the !Kung Bushmen I visited.

[52 cont.]

773 Concerning the moon, I was told: "The moon was also
821 carried by people. It was not as warm as the sun, but very heavy. So the men helped each other, and with great difficulty they brought it to the huts. The moon was a man. He said: 'I prefer to remain alone and do not wish to be among you.' Thereupon the Bushmen said: 'If you go alone into the desert, you will surely die.' But the moon did not obey, went out, and died. But then it woke up again and rose like the sun; therefore, like the latter, it is from the 'Great Captain.' When it disappears, it has died. When only one side of it is visible, then it is young. When it becomes smaller, then it is old. The color of the moon comes from its gall (/góo)."

The well-known story of the moon and the hare is told there as follows:

The moon once said to the hare: "I die and wake up again, you on earth should do the same." But the hare answered: "No, we cannot do that, we who are on earth, only you can do that because you are in the air, among us this is impossible; once we die, we do not wake up again." And the hare was right; it is still so today.

821 The eclipse of the moon, !nui dsao, is caused by the lions
[825] so that they can more easily steal into the Bushman huts.

[53] Comets, χ'u !gam, are stars of the great captain;
[777] they bring luck. When a shooting star, ≠gomma, falls, it is said,
[787] just as among us, that someone has died. The stars are the camp-
[775] fires of those spirits who at the command of the great captain come down and fetch the souls of the dying.

[823] Earthquakes, χ'áno !gee, are omens of sickness. The
[787] rainbow, !khâni !náo, indicates a good year for rain.

[782] What the Bushman begs and prays for is not sunshine but
[776] rain. The great captain alone dispenses rain.

Lightning and thunder are not beings in themselves, but are caused by rain. When someone is killed by lightning, it is said: "The rain has killed him." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder at a distance, the rain is saying: "Today I shall thunder over the whole earth." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder on various sides, the clouds are speaking to one another. And when they touch each other with their heads, the

[53 cont.]

821 rain comes down and the clouds extend over the whole world. The rain that has come down to earth does not stay there; the clouds again come forth from the earth. The rain obeys the great cap-
776 821 tain. In a storm the great captain knocks down the trees. If a person says something bad about him, however, punishment is not long in coming. X 'u says to the rain: "You must now go and kill him." And the rain goes and kills the man with lightning. But when the great captain says to the rain, "You must go now and punish him," then the lightning merely strikes the windscreen so that the whole thing collapses and the evildoer is thrown out.
[752] Then the people come running, rub the unconscious person with medicine, and burn his skin with red-hot pieces of wood until he comes to again.

Thus the angry great captain metes out punishment.

751 The Bushman concerned, however, is far from either pri-
[782] vately or publicly begging the great captain for forgiveness. He
823 821 is convinced that this would do no good. On the contrary, he puts his confidence in the following procedure: It is known that where lightning strikes quartz sand, so-called lightning tubes or fulgurites arise. This phenomenon has not remained hidden from the sharp eye of the Bushmen. My friends told me: There where lightning has struck one usually finds a stone called "rain tooth." The person brushed by lightning scratches his skin with this stone,
[224] rubs in medicine which is supposed to bring luck in hunting, and
[777] tries to hunt down a gemsbok. If he succeeds, he cooks the meat of the gemsbok with the rain tooth. If there is a second person in the horde who has previously been brushed by lightning, that person must eat the meat with him. Then medicine is made from this meat and other ingredients, and this is placed in the horn of a small bushbuck and carried around the neck by the person concerned.

751 When the "rain" comes again, he again goes to the hut
821 of the person struck, walks through the fire where the buck was cooked, takes a bone of the buck (these bones remain lying on the spot), and goes with it into the nearest tree. The bone cooks in the tree, and the scum comes out on the side and the fat below. When the rain has passed, the bone is again pulled out and cooked with gemsbok horn and duiker horn and flesh; then it is

[53 cont.]

751 burned to a tinder and pulverized to make a medicine. The per-
821 son struck now has incisions made on his tongue, forehead, cheeks, chest, and legs, into which fat is rubbed, and then this medicine is smeared on. Now, for the time being, he is safe from persecution by the rain.

16. Rain Magic

789 People turn directly to the great captain when they need
[756] rain. Not all doctors are able to procure rain, only the few who
796 enjoy the special favor of the great captain. Then a dance is organized, at which the doctors put themselves in the trance state described below. At the same time the following lament is repeated countless times:

[54]

[539] !garǎ̄ gurí dee oa ≠am	Why does it not rain?
X'uǎ dě ŋá /gaa !ǎi /gaa	Which lord is holding back the rain?
/gǎm khui hē	The sun is hot.
!kǔng-ná gurí /gǒá /gǒá	Will man live?
//gauǎna tani /gee ≠gǎo	Are the spirits bringing winter?
!kung /goá hǒǒ !koa !kung ō dshn-ǎ	Where is man supposed to drink?
//gaa /a //gõě !kung /ñ a //gõě	If it is so, can man only die of thirst?
!kunǎ //gõě ne oa	What can man do now?
Ha-!kung tam hā m tam ná /ñ gěě	We had better stay here because we have been abandoned!

756 Finally the great captain in heaven hears the lamenting.
789 The doctor runs from the dance place into the bush and sees that
787 a thin thread is let down from the sky. The doctor climbs up on
796 this thread. The great captain comes to meet him half way. As soon as the doctor sees the great captain, he throws a red powder (ocher with medicine) toward him. Now the great captain draws the doctor up and leads him to the heavenly house. In front of this house [Fig. 20 appears here] the doctor sees the spirits of
[775] his deceased colleagues who year in, year out, stand before the house.

[54 cont.]

756 house. The doctor then begins to pray: "Lord, help us, the chil-
789 dren are dying, we are dying of thirst and hunger." He prays and
787 begs until the captain says: "It is good, I shall send water so that
796 the children will have water and veldkost." Then the great captain again accompanies the doctor halfway down. As soon as the doctor is down below, he lets go of the thread which is immediately drawn up. Now the people dance and sing, for the rain has come:

[539] /gá-é dsó-jā /gaa	We rejoice now over the rain.
//ē gà djusā !kho ádshójа /ga	Then we rejoice all together.
//ē gā hin a /gaa /gaa	Then the rain comes.
da //goá dshn !gu da adschŏéa χ'u	Then the people praise the lord.

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Fig. 21. Spirits of the Dead and Rain Animal (from Bleek, Rock Paintings in South Africa etc., Pl. 58).

776 Another !Kung said to me: "The great captain in the sky
821 sends the rain and all that comes from above. If he does not want to, everything remains shut up. The rain is opened up above; a great vlei is there. I do not know the name of the great captain. The Hei//om call him Som-seb."

17. Religion

771 After a critical look at the sum of the conceptions determining
177 the religious life of the !Kung, one recognizes, as would naturally be expected in the case of such an ancient people, that the elements

[54 cont.]

171 of various religions have found entry here. Among the Bushmen
177 tribes I visited there is the common belief in a supreme good be-
171 ing, whose name varies. The people described here [55] call the
176 supreme being χ'u, "the lord" or "the great captain" (1). It is

[782]

1. According to Vedder, the supreme being is Huwe (Tsumeb). When the first veld fruits ripen, an offering is brought before sunrise. A freshly broken twig is inserted into a piece of wood with a hole bored through it. The people are seated in a circle, and the eldest passes around a tobacco or dacha pipe made out of a tubular bone.

the same expression that the Cape Hottentot used in speaking to the German traveler Kolbe, with the same significance and pronunciation 705 (2). The name could not have come from the

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2. J. Schapera (The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, 1930) has critically referred to my observations on this point. In this connection I must note: the "great captain" among the eastern !Kung may rightfully be designated as "supreme being." I have already given his characteristics in my earlier publications.

[104]
[194]

The spelling is correctly χ'u. I use χ' to designate a click that is even lower than "!". It is also found in other words, such as χ'Ame = lion. Since not all publishers provide this character, I have sometimes been forced to write "Khu" or "Chu." This word, which the !Kung, too, translate as "lord" or "great captain," was already found, as Schapera indicates, among the Cape Hottentot in 1705 as Khourou = "Supreme Ruler" and "Great Chief" or "Great Captain"; Kolbe gives a quite analogous citation a little later, and Hahn reports of one old Nama, "The people say,

[CONTINUES ON p. 108 - ANALYST]

[55 cont.]

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if it is thundering, the Lord (Khub, i.e., Tsui//Goab) is speaking; he is scolding them" [cited in English], Schapera, ibid., p. 381.

The belief in a great captain was therefore common to the !Kung Bushmen and the Cape Hottentot, and the great age of the reports from the Cape exclude the possibility that missionary influence was at work here. Just as among the !Kung, this belief is apparently of very great antiquity among Miss Bleek's Naron and not simply taken over from the Christian Hottentot. In Ovamboland the concept X'u merges with Huwe, and I believe that J. Schapera, too, regards Huwe, Chuwe, and X'u as identical. The fact that the eastern !Kung have the belief in a supreme being was not discovered by me; rather, this discovery was made as early as 1910 by H. Vedder.

[174]

Everyone must be struck by the fact that there is substantial agreement between the reports concerning the heavenly house that I took down among the eastern !Kung and the data that H. Vedder supplies concerning the /Gamab of the Honigkaffir of the Otavi mountains. To be sure, these regions are also close to each other geographically. The question now arises: did the !Kung take this doctrine over from the Honigkaffir, as Schapera appears to assume, or is the reverse the case? Among the Bergdama of the central region, where I was able to carry out extensive studies, especially in the reservation of Okombahe, there is scarcely anything of these conceptions of the Honigkaffir. The Bergdama are a Negro tribe that has completely lost its original culture and language and for a long

[55 cont.]

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time had a dependent relationship with the Bushmen, whose quite miserable imitators they had in part become. Even today Bergdama who want to become witch doctors go from Windhoek and Okombahe to the !Kung in order to learn there. If the conceptions of the Honigkaffir reported by H. Vedder were indeed ancient Negro cultural traditions, then it should surely be possible to find parallels and, at least in the names referring to the beyond, traces of the old language. Almost always among the Bantu the world of the beyond lies under the earth, whereas among the Khoisan it is in the sky. For all these reasons, I draw the conclusion that the Honigkaffir have taken over the doctrine of /Gamab from the !Kung. The expression Erob or Elotse, which is to be found among several Bushman tribes, undoubtedly goes back to Christian Hottentot influence. The two-fold names of the supreme being among various groups in Ovamboland, on the other hand, allows one to conclude that here only one new name for a well-known conception found entry, and, to be sure, with such intensity that the Hei//om, at the Etosha Pan, for example, name their most important medicinal root the Erob root. Moreover, just as among the Honigkaffir, among the Hei//om of the Etosha Pan, too, it is /Gamab who sends thunder and lightning and who kills people with shooting stars. J. Schapera recognizes that the conception of Huwe, Thora, and the mantis as creator, as the giver of rain and success in hunting, and as the protector of human beings is common to all Bushmen (ibid., p. 195) and also has its analogue among the Hottentot. He seems to regard this being as a rain god, however.

[177]

[824]

[55 cont.]

114 //Gaua, whose name varies, stands opposite
171 him as an antagonist who does harm to human
776 beings. Schapera believes that the original
[775] designation //Gaua stood for the spirits of the dead. This is largely correct. My researches in various places, however, show that all kinds of noncorporeal beings are understood by the term //Gaua, in other words, spirits in our sense, and immaterial forces of all kind. The great captain, of course, is regarded as actually corporeal by the !Kung. P. W. Schmidt, on the other hand, has regarded this //Gaua as the original god in heaven. A comparison of the facts of the history of religion may support this view.

114 If I understand Schapera correctly, we
776 agree that a benign high deity is indeed pres-
771 ent among the Bushmen, but one that he does not want to designate as the supreme being. I maintain, however, that this being must be so designated in accordance with general usage.
[174] The peoples of the Khoisan group, according to the evidence of the prehistoric finds, have an active history behind them; the most diverse races live on in them, and their culture in its optimal adaptation to environmental conditions is to be regarded as a residual culture. It is therefore self-evident that their world view should have a syncretistic character, especially since religious ideas are cultural elements with definite tendencies to diffuse widely. Like all human beings, the Bushmen and other primitives have thoughts that are fundamentally the same as ours.
[773] Even the Bushman has a distinct need to discover causality, but this need is felt less with regard to causal or conditional explanations for given conditions and more with regard

[55 cont.]

114 to processes. Hence, among the primitives
776 we find carefully thought out conceptions
771 concerning the origin of the world of ani-
773 mals, human beings, and plants more rarely than a clear answer to the question concerning the originator of the actual processes, that is, of rain, storms, sickness, death, and, generally, good and bad fortune in human life. This originator is conceived as either a human-like being above the clouds or ancestral spirits. The religious need or the need for protection is also generally oriented in terms of
114 these two conceptions. The greater the signifi-
771 cance accorded to the benign ancestral spirits
776 and the extent to which they can be influenced by magical practices, the smaller the significance of the heavenly being conceived as a general causa officiens. J. Schapera will doubtless agree with me whan I say that, in contrast to the Bantu, the need for a causal explanation and the religious need for protection are oriented around Thora, Huwe, /Gamab, and others, and that among the Bushmen this heavenly being therefore plays the role that we impute to a "good supreme being." By way of a critique of the Bushmen's conceptions it should be emphasized that the Bushmen, like all primitives, systematize their religious conceptions only to the extent that this is necessary for the satisfaction of their religious and causal-explanatory needs. We shall thus encounter varying degrees of consistency in the world picture from group to group, even from individual to individual, and no investigator will be able to discover a thoroughly organized system of Bushman religion since such does not exist. Whatever I could get from my

[55 cont.] WHATEVER I COULD GET FROM MY
114 individual informants I took down with the
771 exactness of a trained scientist, faithful to
776 the letter and with due regard for all pre-
[124] cautions. From these notations I have drawn the inevitable conclusion that a benign supreme being is a reality in their world picture.

776 surrounding Hei//om tribes, [56] for they use the word Somseb.
171 We should sooner think of Huwe. Huwe or Hue was what the !Kung Bushmen of Tsumeb examined by Vedder called the supreme being. I also know the expression Chuwa from the Bushmen of Ukuambi. This supreme being is conceived of in human form;
776 it looks like a Bushman and also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky
772 in a house that has two floors; his wife, whose name is unknown, lives on the lower floor, as well as many children. The souls
[775] of the deceased live on the upper floor. "The house" (it is supposed to be similar to, but not entirely like a Bushman windscreen) "is hairy on the outside, like a caterpillar." There are various things up there, but only a single house, namely, that of the captain. Honey, crickets, and fat flies are there in great abundance. The great captain lives on them. In addition, there are a great many butterflies. The following are regarded as the
776 functions of this supreme being:

1. In the opinion of some, the great captain made the sun, moon, and everything. In the opinion of others, the highest of the spirits, /Nawa, did this.

2. The great captain calls the doctors to their calling and gives them supernatural power.

3. He is the lord of the rain and the lightning.

4. Through the highest of the spirits he sends luck on the hunt or on the search for veldkost.

5. When someone thinks or speaks ill of him, he punishes
[688] him with lightning. He is not concerned about the other activities of his Bushman children, however, unless someone swears falsely.
695 The Kung have a regular oath, and one of my informants reported
776 the following to me:

When a group goes hunting and one of the participants is

[56 cont.]

695 not seen for the duration of the hunt, he is suspected of having
776 sneaked away. Then he swears by the great captain nu χu, and all believe him.

776 Ordinarily, however, the great captain has everything taken care of by the highest of the spirits and lesser spirits. The chief concern of the Bushmen, therefore, is to stay in the good graces of these spirits, but the great captain does offer protection against all evil spirits, and for that reason people turn to him
[782] with the following prayers in case of severe illness and before the start of a journey:

[57]

[539] χ'u, χ'u hũi mi, //kai tsao mi to 'oba !khu !gaise ≠ani u mĩ /nãna /ge a — Lord, Lord, help me, raise me. "the lord shall lead me well to the place,

!nore gana ti /ge a gana ti tsa /Nane /ã mi tsu (1) — where I am going, and he shall lead me back well, so that I come home safely."

1. Notation of the Dama interpreter.

[224] Before the hunt the doctors pray to the great captain for hunting luck. There is no doubt that the Bushmen conceive of this "great captain" as an all-powerful and at the same time benign being. His executive organ, as has been noted, is the highest of the Gauab. The latter is called "the Gauab" by the common people, but he has a name known only by the doctors, and saying it may have serious consequences. Since I finally
[123] had the honor to be regarded as an equal by the doctors, I learned his name. He is called /Nawa. They were unable to give me an interpretation of this name, but Miss Bleek, from dance songs of the Angola Kung, reports the word /Nwa-se, supposedly an abbreviation for Nwima-se = new moon. According to this, we
[174] might be able to see in this chief Gauab the high god of a lunar-
[771] mythological religion which has been superimposed as a foreign element upon the primitive monotheism of the χ'u or Huwe faith. As is always the case in such matters, the supreme being of the invading religion has been transformed into a more or less evil
[171] principle. It also functions as such in the belief of the Nama and

[57 cont.]

776 Dama, and the translation of Gauab as "devil" comes from this
[171] circle of ideas. A baptized !Kung in /Nuiseb also told me that the Bushmen had been made by the devil, for the latter, as the old doctors reported to me, had once said to things: "You shall
[773] be a kudu, you an eland, you a Bushman," etc., and so everything was. Among the !Kung Bushmen /Nawa is by no means always evil. He directly brings luck on the hunt, and a kind of primitial offering is sent to him in that small pieces of the flesh of the game are thrown into the fire.

/Nawa, however, usually also sends sickness, in part with, and in part without the consent of the great captain. /Nawa is neither in heaven nor on earth, but runs about on threads in the air, where the other small spirits also run about. Whether or not /Nawa
[821] has a wife is unknown. The wind has no role in the tall bush forest, but my experience among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari and the Namib indicates that /Nawa is also connected in some way with the wind, since his most personal appearance is in the violent wind spouts, and among the Naukluft Bushmen one is not supposed to speak ill of the wind because the Gauab would overturn the windscreen.

Aside from /Nawa, there is a whole host of other small spirits, such as those who are at the disposal of the great captain
[821] and /Nawa and live in the sky, where the stars are their campfires. They are the ones who steal the soul from human beings and take it to the great captain. Then there are those who, like /Nawa, run to and fro on threads stretching between heaven and earth. Very evil little spirits live in the water, and the forest and veld are peopled by the little Gauab. These, however, are only the
[775] flesh-born spirits of deceased human beings. And with this we come to

18. Doctrine of the Soul and Belief in Immortality

775 The life principle of human beings is the soul, cha. The
[774] same word also means heart. This cha is immortal. The Gauab who live among the stars take it to the great captain's house. The souls of all peoples, even those of the Whites, live there on the

[57 cont.]
second floor. They do nothing and they eat nothing. According 775
to other Bushmen tribes I visited, the great captain uses these cha
in order to make new human beings, but among my friends of the
bush veld, the dolce far niente on the second floor of the heavenly
house is the final goal of man. The souls of all, the good and
the wicked, come there. There is no punishment in the beyond.

[58] The body is buried in the earth. After a few days the flesh revives and then disappears. The Gauab of the deceased has arisen, comes out of the grave, goes hunting, eats and drinks, and as a shade leads a life similar to that during his lifetime. The grave is his house; the shade (1) goes to sleep there when it is

1. "Living corpse" would perhaps be better than "shade."

tired. These spirits cannot enter into stones, plants, or animals, or transform themselves into such. There is no trace of this true animism. The Gauab is rather a reduced version (since the skeleton remains in the grave) of the once living Bushman. He looks like a Bushman, but many of these Gauab are lame. They are generally malignant, and if someone walks past the grave and [753]
annoys them, they send the little spirits of sickness, who killed [776]
them during their lifetime. These spirits of sickness are thought of as little yellow men with big stomachs.

Among the !Kung Bushmen, then, we have a definite doctrine of two souls. Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report:

2. Die Buschmänner, p. 421.

"The /Oresen were wicked people. They died, but cannot have any rest. Their wickedness does not let them rest. They always want to inflict harm. This is the way that they behaved in life. This is also what they want to do after death. They torment people, frighten them, and try to kill them. When they have killed people, they eat their flesh. They come at night. The sorcerers can see the evil spirits. The sorcerers then warn the others who cannot see. The /Oresen live in the graves.

[58 cont.]

775 From there they make their rounds. They always return to their
769 graves. Hence, a Bushman always makes a detour around a grave. He does not point at a grave with his finger, and he does not call to a companion: 'There is a grave!' A great detour is made around the area where there is a grave. When a Bushman unexpectedly passes a grave, he puts a stone on it. That is a greeting for the dead person. In so doing, one makes the grave more secure against wild animals."

769 From the region of Foxhof I have the following informa-
775 tion to add:

"The Gauab that arises from the flesh of the corpse remains seated by the grave. When a relative passes by and the Gauab is sitting out in the open, the Gauab thinks: I know this person well; why is he passing by here without giving me any water. Then the Gauab becomes angry and makes him sick. Then when the doctors sing, they recognize what the trouble is and say: Today you passed by the grave of N. and did not give anything. Tomorrow morning very early you must take water and an ostrich egg and place them by the grave. Such a Gauab also
775 goes hunting, kills game, makes a fire, cuts open the game,
787 takes the fat, and brings it to the doctors while they are singing. The Gauab, whom the other people cannot see, sits down at
[756] some distance from the dancers. The doctor sees him, however, and goes to the Gauab. The latter tells him where the game lies, and the doctor tells this to the other people, who fetch the game and praise the Gauab.

775 "The stars are the campfires of the Gauab.

"The Gauana take the souls that they have stolen to their village and then back to the grave. The people often hear a voice in the veld; this is the Gauab calling, and on their way they find a piece of dead game. When the Gauab is out hunting and has gone too far from his grave, he must sleep in a tree. Some of the souls stolen by the Gauab are brought to the captain of the Gauana. The souls that are taken there again become actual persons up above with the captain of the rain. The others, however, are the little Gauab who go hunting here."

[114] The observations made by Bleek (3) 50 years ago seem to
776 be especially significant.

3. W. H. J. Bleek and L.C.Lloyd,

[113]

[58 cont.]

[113] Specimens of Bushmen Folklore, London, 1910-11, pp. 10-13.

776 be especially significant. The !Kung at that time told of a being called /Chue, who transforms itself in turn into various fruit trees and veldkost plants, into a Herero, etc. One day he transformed himself into a //gui tree, his wife ate of it, the tree disappeared, and /Chue changed into a fly. Another time he even became a waterhole, then again a gecko; at night [59] he always changes back into a little human being. The Herero look for him, but cannot find him. /Chue then makes a fire and dies. His father sees this and then moves to his homeland on a large mountain called //Noa. We shall probably not go wrong if we identify this /Chue with Huwe. This Huwe, as is known, is sometimes equated with the great captain X'u. In this old setting he also has distinct traits of Heiseb.

782 The !Kung who were W.H.J. Bleek's informants were also familiar with a prayer song addressed to the new moon. In ac-
[534] companiment, they blew on trumpets made of antelope horns. (Bleek-Lloyd, ibid., p. 15.)

787 The old !Kung called the prophesy sticks /Chu, which evidently is the same name again as that of the great captain and is in agreement with Dornan's report concerning the Masarwa that Modimo himself spoke from the prophesy sticks.

755 Vedder reports that in case of illness a messenger is sent
769 to an ancestor's grave and prays: A dsi-dsi mi !hâ tí /X'ai-a? (Why is my son ill?) ǂnu /kôa (to live in health).

774 While my informants denied the presence of any animistic
825 conceptions, the old !Kung believe that certain snakes, lizards,
775 and antelope found in the vicinity of graves represent spirits of the
171 dead (1), as they do among the Bantu.

1. W.H.J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd, ibid., p. 430.

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

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539 ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be — We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

χ'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa — Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe — Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

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769 Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

782
881 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are imp[illegible]ted in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

787
695
684 "If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

[59 cont.]

20. Law

671 The norms of natural law among the Bushmen are the
627 same as among us. The family head is at the same time the supreme judge. Since even the nearest kin group is regarded in a sense as a foreign state, however, the boundaries between law, war, and vengeance are exceedingly fluid. The domain of law, therefore, is actually confined to the family. Since the only
[681] punishment that can be effectively inflicted is the death penalty, it is rarely applied among married men, [60] for the judges and executioners must provide for the condemned man's survivors. In olden times the women condemned to death were burned or beaten to death with the kirri, and the men were killed with the poisoned arrow.

423 The right to personal possession of utilitarian objects, honey, and certain types of veldkost is strictly respected. The soil is common property of the kin group, as is any big game
[224] that is killed. If a wounded animal dies in the domain of the neighboring kin group, the hunter must go there and report it.
[578] The dead prey must then be divided. Since, however, there are some unpaired organs, fighting and killing easily arise concern-
[627] ing them. Blood vengeance is practiced, but can be resolved through negotiation.

423 "Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited
614 from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

[361] "There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 1,000 [sic] kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions, come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

769 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's terri-
614 tory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's

[60 cont.]

769 territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced
614 by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place (1).

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 434.

775 As has already been said, the Bushman does not believe
[626] in punishment after death. On the other hand, he is convinced that the evil that he himself has done will befall him or his dogs in the same way.

681 In former times banishment from the kin group was likewise
648 customary, and the exile would soon perish, since the Bushman
177 cannot survive by himself in the wilderness for any length of time. Nowadays, such individuals, just like those who were expelled from the Bantu tribes, move to land owned by Europeans and find work there. It is obvious that they do not help to improve the reputation of the Coloreds.

695 In cases of doubt, the Bushman swears by the great captain: nu X'u.

681 Instead of formal expulsion, the people may boycott out-
762 laws, who are thereby driven to such despair that they commonly commit suicide. Suicides also occur for other reasons.

21. Conflicts with Europeans

648 Before the police zone boundary was erected, the Bushmen found themselves in a latent state of war with their neighbors. Part of their list of sins will be cited here.

According to Toke, the !Kung near Keibeb in 1925 attacked eight Barotse [Lozi] and killed them, and purportedly ate them. Later, three Ovambo were attacked by surprise, killed,

[60 cont.]

648 and their brains eaten. (The latter report probably referred to the people of Karakowisa.) Concerning our !Kung, a farmer wrote at that time (1927):

"Lately, complaints about the slaughtering of cattle stolen by the Bushmen are increasing at a disquieting rate. Only in very rare cases can the culprits be brought to justice. It is true that the police make the greatest effort to do so, but success is rare. In the first place, a single white policeman with a native police assistant cannot do a great deal in view of the great mobility of the Bushmen. He will usually appear on the scene too late to be able to take up the prosecution successfully. The farmers concerned have made all kinds of proposals, which usually amount to the idea that the police and farmers should simultaneously set out after the wandering Bushmen. It would probably be best to draw a clear boundary line for the idle Bushmen, across which they may not pass into the territory inhabited by Whites. That the Bushman knows how to respect boundaries is apparent from the fact that he is careful not to enter the hunting territory of another kin group. Every Bushman caught within such a delimited territory inhabited by Whites [61] should without further ado be arrested and punished by forced labor, which, in view of his holy terror of any kind of work, would probably be most unpleasant to him.

"Under the conditions prevailing at the present time it is primarily the farmers bordering on Bushman territory who suffer to the extent that many of them are seriously considering giving up farming, because otherwise the last head of cattle will be slaughtered within the foreseeable future. The farmer, with his neighbors, should be allowed to follow the trails leading from fresh slaughtering places and, in serious cases, to fire on the Bushmen, just as the Bushman, after all, would use his bow and arrow. The Bushman recognizes no authority; hence he should be placed under extraordinary laws. When, as recently happened here, a strong police patrol spends almost a month to catch cattle thieves, and then the 12 accused, who doubtless were guilty of slaughtering the animals, all have to be acquitted because a witness for the Crown fails to support the case for the prosecution, then it is

[61 cont.]

648 clear that our laws are unsuitable for these Bushmen. One can readily understand that the injured farmer, who in a short period of time has had about 20 head of cattle stolen and eaten, will become desperate in view of the acquittal, since he can well imagine that as a result of the acquittal, the reasons for which the Bushmen do not understand anyway, the latter will be tempted to further acts of depredation."

From the Epukiro region another farmer reports:

"I live not far from the boundary of Bechuanaland. There are a great many vagrant Bushmen here, who are armed with poisoned arrows. These Bushmen frequently attack the cattle of the natives whenever it is any distance from the kraal. A few days ago Bushmen stole and killed two head of cattle belonging to a Herero kraal about six miles from our camp. The Herero followed the trail of the Bushmen and found them. The latter immediately made use of their bows, and one of the Herero was wounded by an arrow on the right side of his chest. The wound was inflicted about four o'clock in the afternoon; about one o'clock in the afternoon of the following day the wounded man died. As soon as my friend learned of the situation, he sent some permanganate of potash to the kraal with directions as to its use. But this seems to have arrived too late. One of the horses was slightly wounded in the head, but it appears to be nothing serious. I saw the corpse of the Herero early in the morning after his death; it was badly swollen and decomposed. The natives said that decomposition set in even before death. -- As will be remembered, three years ago the Gobabis magistrate, Mr. Reyneveldt, was wounded by Bushmen with a poisoned arrow in the same region and died shortly thereafter."

(These data are taken from the Windhuker Zeitung.) [Fig. 21a appears here.]

3: Lebzelter--119 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
MASARWA

[62]

Chapter 7

The Bushmen of the North

114 Our best information concerning the Masarwa comes from Dornan (1) and Holub (2). In what follows an outline sketch will

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygrines and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

2. Holub, Die Masarwa.

be given of the culture of this tribe, based upon these two authors.

342 According to Dornan, the Masarwa once preferred to live in caves, where their ancestors had made paintings. The Bushmen in the Wankie and Ngami districts have plaited mats of grass [285] or reed, with which they cover their windscreens. Sometimes they make a kind of roof covered with grass; otherwise they have ordinary windscreens.

[532]
[172]

Fig. 21a. Representation of a Curing Scene. In the background, the female doctor who serves as oracle. (Eastern Cape Province. From J. P. Johnson, The Prehistoric Period in [113] South Africa, 1910.)

322 For the wood of the bow the Masarwa use very straight 411 little tree trunks. After the bark is removed, they are tied to a straight tree and left to dry. The wood is then given its final drying over the fire and is placed in water so that it will not splinter. The middle of the bow is also commonly wound with tendons. The bow is often greased and never unstrung. The finished bow is smoothed with a rough stone.

[62 cont.]

293 Like the prehistoric Bushmen, these people, too, wear forehead bands, into which the arrows are stuck during the hunt.

726 Dornan (p. 139) reports that the Kalahari Bushmen hold
754 dances before the start of a war, and on these occasions they shoot little poisoned arrows from equally small bows in the direction of the enemy or of the sun. They believe that in so doing they are killing the shadow spirit of the enemy. They do not like to give these miniature bows and arrows to anyone because they are afraid that they might come into the possession of their enemies and thus bring about their own deaths.

226 Fishing is still quite well developed among the Masarwa people. Stone walls are sometimes built in the river, in which weir-baskets are set, or they sit in the river bed next to one another with weir-baskets, while women and children drive the fish toward them. In smaller waterholes, grass and brush are piled up on one side. Then the Bushmen step into the water and push the grass wall ahead of them, thus driving the fish into a corner. Individual fish are also speared with the assagai. According to Hodson, the best fishermen are the Bakoba Bushmen on the Okovanggo. They have harpoons and rush nets that are drawn diagonally across the river.

278 G. A. Farini (3) had an opportunity to observe the

[113] 3. G. A. Farini, Durch die Kalahariwüste [Through the Kalahari Desert], Leipzig, 1886.

manufacture of arrow poison in the Chanse Veld. The men gathered at a certain place; women were not allowed to be present. The sap was removed from about 30 to 40 poisonous bulbs by means
[535] of successive incisions and was collected in a pan. As each incision was made, the Bushmen danced in a circle, making a kind of grunt. Then a hyena hide was spread out with the hair side down, and on it was spread the contents of the bags that contained the dried heads of poisonous snakes, as well as two pieces of reed approximately 15 centimeters long. Then a number of freshly killed poisonous snakes were brought. The poison sacs were removed amidst singing and the clapping of hands. Meanwhile the pan containing the poison had been put on the fire and was boiling;

[62 cont.]

278 one person after another stepped up to the pan and threw his share of snake poison into it. Then the pan was removed from the fire. [535] The Bushmen now performed a new dance, in which they imitated the convulsions of animals dying from the poison. After another half hour the poison was clear, and when everyone had convinced himself that it was the right color, a red mineral powder was added and thoroughly stirred into it. Then poisonous spiders were taken out of the reeds and thrown into the [63] pan. These came from the Langen Mountain in the Cape Colony, in other words, had been brought from afar. When the mass had thickened somewhat more, the arrows were smeared with it and dried in the shade (ibid., p. 380).

595 These Bushmen, the M'Kabba, are monogamists.

563 Farini maintains (ibid., p. 171) that he met a black Pygmy who came from the tribe of the Kara-Kara north of Amboland (1).

1. At the mission station Urikualuthi I was told by the missionary, Mrs. Quarni, who has made most meritorious contributions to investigations of the country, that shortly before the war a number of black Pygmies who lived in the swamps along the Kunene had come to Chief Moala. She saw these people.

252 Concerning the food of the Bushmen, Dornan has the following to report: The Marsawa [sic] eat meat either roasted or grilled, rarely boiled, because they believe that the latter will 251 make them sick. The Bushmen of Basutoland cut the meat into tiny pieces, mixed it with fat, and then sewed it into hide sacks as preserved meat. As reserves in case of famine, the Kalahari Bushmen keep giraffe skins on tall trees. Veldkost is stored in turtle shells and ostrich eggs, as is water. The Basutoland Bushmen gathered grass seeds and stored them for times of hunger.

252 The tsama are prepared in the following manner: A hole is dug, and a fire is made in it. As soon as the soil is sufficiently

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
532 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
535
323 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
302 customary.

A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the
304 custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
(751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

[63 cont.]

764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not; in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] [174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [773] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

[64 cont.]

825 existence. The appearance of the ring-necked snake indicates
[187] misfortune.

Animistic conceptions are more pervasive in the world
774 picture of the Masarwa (2). According to Dornan, each thing is a

821 2. The Kalahari Bushmen (Dornan, op. cit., p. 165) have some knowledge of the stars. The Southern Cross is a giraffe, but the Cape Bushmen regard it as a group of lions. Some of the Bushmen regard the stars as animals or human beings who have gone up to the sky.

773 The following story is told: During the girls' initiation a girl who possessed magical powers nodded to some lions and they were immediately transformed into stars.

The Cape Bushmen told another story: During the girls' initiation a girl was quarreling with her mother because the latter refused to give her certain roots that may not be eaten at such times. The girl seized the roots and the ashes and threw them toward the sky. The roots became stars, the ashes became the Milky Way. -- Shooting stars signify misfortune.

774 kind of spirit. Human beings and animals can each transform
[825] themselves into the other. Individual doctors change into leopards, and many animals are regarded as other appearances of man, especially the springbok, the baboon, and a number of snakes. When a ring-necked snake approaches a village, it indicates
[177] death. Bantu influence is undoubtedly at work here.

The !Kung doctrine of two souls reappears in a different
[184] form among the Masarwa. The shadow of each thing, as well as
774 that of the human being, is its other soul. They believe that the
775 shadow soul remains in the vicinity of the grave, while the self walks in another place where it meets with the fathers. It is supposed to be warm there, and supposedly there is much game. In the beyond one acts the same as on this earth.

MASARWA
OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

000 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib
769 Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu
[774] doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the
[825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals,
[824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe
[776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at
551 her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say
602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo
105 delta, J. Seiner reports:
101 "The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting.
[563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe
[144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease,
AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY.

[65 cont.]

000 and racial mixture is progressing rapidly. The Bugakwe live in
105 five villages with 220 persons in the western Okovanggo Valley
[161] down from the Mahango ford and are in bondage to Libebe, with
101
131 whom, however, they frequently have quarrels over the amount of deliveries; on the occasion of one such dispute in June, 1905, a Mambukuschu was killed by an arrow. The Garikwe live in
[161] eight villages with 430 souls in eastern Ärmellande from the Paliba Swamp to the beginning of the valley, while the Goekwe live in southern Ärmellande west of the river course. Concerning
[161] the latter, I found only a winter village with 90 souls, and that north of the mouth of the Namassere on a river island.

"The Goekwe might well be identical with Passarge's Gokwe, whose territory extends from the western edge of the Tauche swampland deep into the Kaukau Veld; the Tschorilo Mountains belong to them. During the rainy season the Tannekwe undertake hunting expeditions in the neighboring steppes. The Hukwe, whose
[161] number I estimate at at least 600, are less racially mixed than the Tannekwe, but likewise live in settled villages, from which during the dry season they swarm out in family groups to gather or hunt in the forest steppe as the need arises."

Chapter 8

The Nogau Bushmen of Epukiro

During my stay in the mission station of Epukiro, I had an
101 opportunity for closer contact with the Bushmen who live in a kind of symbiosis with the Betschuana (2). They call themselves Nogau,

[113] 2. I have given a detailed report on the Europeanized Betschuana village of Epukiro in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 65 (1933).

specifically ǂno /gna !khou, that is, people who live by the water. They are farther north of the Omuramba Epukiro toward Alexeck.
101
131 North of them are the Gai-kwe, and the !Kung are farther east and

[65 cont.]
101 north. Beyond this there is a great river and many black people
131 (Okawango). They know only the Herero as their western neighbors. In other words, they came much later than the latter. Unquestionably as recently as 20 years ago some people of this group were still settled along the central Omurambo Omatako, where F. Seiner reports them from Otjituo and Nuragas. The Naron live south of them, and to the southeast the ≠Auin. In the southwest, at least formerly, there were Bushmen of the Hei//om group and /Gowanin (Sand Kaffir). Probably these Hei//om were the people formerly designated as Saan. Nogau, ≠Auin, and Naron actually belong to
[101] the Kalahari group. Throughout the farm zone which formerly
[175] extended to the English frontier, the tribal units were more or less
648 destroyed, and there arose a mixed Bushman population which constantly replenished its numbers from the free tribes. On the other hand, however, Bushmen from the farm zone always went back to the bush, partly of their own free will and partly in flight from the police. In the Gobabis district the boundary of the police zone coincides with the land boundary. The relationships between the Whites and the Hereros on the one hand, and the Bushmen on the other, are therefore [66] very tense. A few years ago,
175 after the Bushmen had been prohibited from hunting big game,
648 they rebelled and declared a feud against the magistrate in Gobabis by shooting some arrows against the door of his house one night. The magistrate, Van Rynefeldt, wanted to hunt them down in the bush, but was struck by a poisoned arrow shot from ambush and died. A great roundup of Bushmen was organized and many of them were taken to the prison in Gobabis, where a number of them died as a
[178] result of the vitamin-poor diet. Since then the Bushmen in this region have again chosen a chief and represent a modest power. As a result of these conditions, it was much more difficult to gain
123 their confidence than in the north. In this respect, P. Watterott and the village mayor of Epukiro, Franz Arenat, were especially helpful to me. These Bushmen are of special interest since there
198 is a special women's language among them. It is called Hee-aziba he auseashu. It is in part also spoken by the children and is characterized by having many words that have no clicks. It was only with great difficulty that I was able to take down a few words, for example:

3: Lebzelter--128 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
NOGAU

[66 cont.]

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
192 198 Evening	n !ŏn	áka uj	–
Shoulder	//kŏwi	schu !gnŏru	tuwi
Alone	n n/e	–	nŏ-e
Old	/gá	tsau !gna	X 'uwu
Dread	!goatschi	–	daŭ-tsi
Arm	//há	!gòm	X 'ùm
Armband	gama gama	–	gama gama
Ashes	do	–	dá dŏwa
Branch	!Khai ≠haŭsi	–	dá-i
Eye	/gá	–	schoŭ-dă
Ax	/i	–	–
Cheek	tsoŭ //á	/gám	–
Beard	tsi ≠khŏi	–	dschi-tũe
Stomach	≠gu	–	dŭb
Leg	//gŭm	/gowí	ju Tăm
Mountain	//khámi	//khawí	ŭ káshe
Bee	so schum	schŭm	schŭm-si
Bitter	//ga	//gà	dschi da

3: Lebzelter--129 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
NOGAU

[66 cont.]

192
198

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Leaf	dorá	dorà	dschi do-a
Blind	schóŭ	/ga	–
Flower	ngó	gó	tsi-gu
Blood	/a↘	/ao↘	/ou↘
Bride	tsaú	á	–
Bridegroom	≠gou ≠khán	≠gnom	–
Firewood	nda	–	da
Well [for water]	//ga	–	ha
Chest	//goá	/goá	dschi-tŭa
Chameleon	!nobésa'	–	nábasa
Thumb	//gaŭ goë	≠goŭ	dóŭ dŭm
Thorn	//gái	–	/gai
Thirst	măm /gám	/gam	tăm-du
Egg	dschi !nŭ	gó	dschi nŭ
Lizard	!górŭ	!gorŭ	dorŭb
Intestines	!gusi	ssi	–
Fever	//gái	≠gi	–
Finger	!goŭ	!gou	dóu

3: Lebzelter--130 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
NOGAU

[66 cont.]

192
198

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Flame	da tǎli	–	tarí
Flesh	//khá	//khá	thá
Fly	soa soá	–	doá doá
Flea	soa soa /né	–	doá
Wing	!kóhi	–	dschi tǔi
River	≠nõ	–	nõ
Woman	tsao! gná	!gn-ná	thấŭ
Poison	!óa	!o↘	–
Grass	//khei-si	//ei	ei-si
Hair	ñi !khói	!khoi	ikhoisi
Hand	!gaŭ !n	!gou	taúne
Neck	≠gai	–	rŭ-tè
Hard	≠khaŭ↘	–	dschi-tau
Hot	!khúi	–	ũ
Hunger	//kha-be	–	dawí
Porcupine	//gan↘	–	tam
Cold	//ga-ú	–	tse
Small	tsē ma	–	tsáma

3: Lebzelter--131 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
NOGAU

[66 cont.]

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
192 198 Bone	≠ǔ	–	ǔ
Leather	!noǔ	–	thấu
Liver	dschế	–	tē
Light [easy]	schứi	–	da-sii
Man	!hoấ	!hoấ	hoấ
Tired	≠oế	–	oe
Mouse	!hǔi	–	nui
Navel	nế	–	ne
Night	/gu	/ngǔ	du
New	se	–	dise
Ear	/hứi	–	m-hứi
Guinea fowl	a di	–	á-ni
Pipe	!khố	–	oh
Smoke	da schǔấ	–	dásua
[67] Rich	!gấǔcha	–	ti
Rib	≠khási	–	dấsi
Salt	dimí	–	diri
Shadow	!kha-di	–	khári
Bad	/khấǔ	–	!khä

[67 cont.]

192
198

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Beautiful	/hm	–	hm
Tobacco	shorŏ, schŏli	–	sŏ-re
Day	/gam ña	–	tai-khĕ
Forest	!goá	–	dain tu
Warm	//ŭ	–	tŭi
Road	//nǎma	–	nña
Water	!gŭ	–	du

[Fig. 22-23 appears here.]

211 [68] The accompanying figures show the incising on messenger staffs, in other words, a kind of picture writing. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., page 430, observed in this connection:

"Anyone who does not want to go to a friendly kin group
(202) himself, but sends a messenger instead, must give this messenger a messenger staff. It is about as thick as a thumb and bears numerous signs of leaves, worms, caterpillars, pictures of human beings and animals, and other figures. The figures look almost as though they were burned in, but they are made in quite a different fashion. The peeled stick is warmed in the fire, and in the upper layer of wood thus softened the drawings are pricked point by point with an awl or a sharp thorn. When a figure is finished, one uses the core of the ero plum, which, when roasted, is black and can be used as a kind of paint, like a firm mass of fat. The black, oily color is spread over the figure and soaks into the pricked holes. The superfluous color is then wiped off with a soft piece of hide. The Bushmen claim that every friendly kin group knows the different messenger staffs of the chiefs of other friendly kin groups and that forging messenger staffs is a hopeless and impossible undertaking."

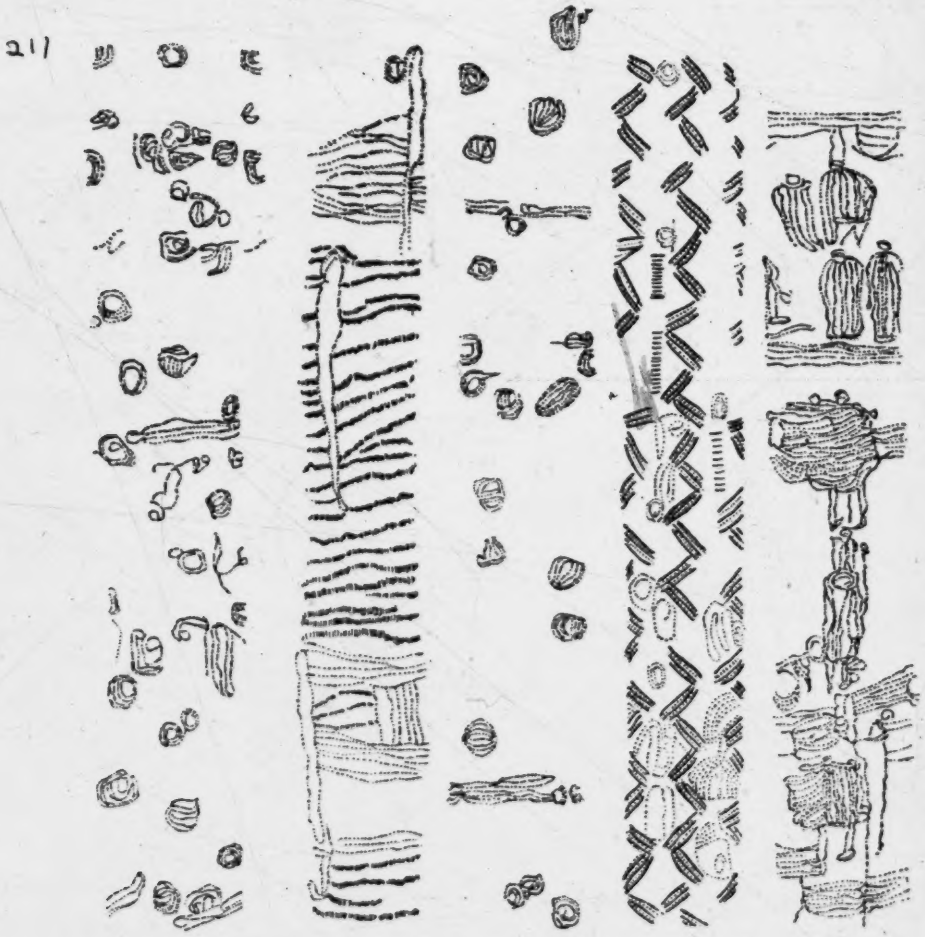

Fig. 22-23. The Incising Rolled off the Sticks of the Bushmen (Museum for Ethnology, Hamburg). Cf. also K. Weule, "Botenstäbe bei den Buschmännern. Eine südafrikanisch-australische Parallele [Messenger Staffs among the Bushmen. A South African-Australian Parallel]," Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde, Leipzig, Vol. 6, 1913-14.

[68 cont.]

142 Racially, these Bushmen are smaller and lighter in color than
144 those of the north and show the admixtures of the southern Bushman race to a much greater degree. There is constant coming and go-
648 ing in this region. Seiner (1) reports the following:

[113]

1. J. Seiner, "Der Verbindungsweg zwischen Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika und der Betschuanalandeisenbahn [The Line of Communication between German Southwest Africa and the Bechuanaland Railway]," Globus, Vol. 96, 1910.

"The Bushmen from around Rietfontein are friendly to the Germans and repeatedly supplied the station garrison with effective help against the Herero and Ovambandjeru passing through. At the time of my stay in January and February, 1907, there was a small village of the Au-nin, who belong to Passarge's Kaukau people, one kilometer north of the barracks, and a village of the Ai-khoe, whom Passarge includes among the Ngami people, one and a half kilometers southwest of the station. The Bushmen of the latter village were subject to the Au-nin, who called them Naru (subordinates, slaves). Since in June, 1908, Dr. Pöch found only Au-nin in Rietfontein, it would seem that the Ai-khoe, in the meantime had emigrated or were driven out by the Au-nin."

To some extent all these tribes represent a cultural unit. A
[184] 114 fine study by First Lieutenant Kaufmann (2) is available for the

[113]

2. Kaufmann, "Die ǂAu-in," Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1910.

ǂAuin, and one by D.F.Bleek (3) for the Naron. I shall now compare

[113]

3. D.F.Bleek, "The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari," Publications of the School of African Life and Language, Cambridge, 1928.

these tribes with one another, and it is to be understood that only the data concerning the Nogau are my own.

[68 cont.]

1. Birth and Childhood

844 Among the ≠Auin, the husband of a woman in childbed slings the string of his bow around her stomach, but he is not present at the birth itself. The cord is severed with the tip of a reed splinter.

844 Among the Naron and Nogau, the delivery proceeds as it does among the !Kung; an old woman usually provides assistance, however.

Twins (Hoi-holi) are not desired; among the Nogau one of them is killed.

845 Among the Nogau, the father gives the child its name.

553] 844 There the child has its umbilical cord severed by means of a sharp quartz splinter. A woman in childbed may not eat blood and head meat. Until the child is able to sit up, the husband

[833] may not cohabit with the mother. The latter custom is also found among the Betschuana. Nogau children are not allowed to eat

262 the flesh of the wildcat and of two birds (tsugnussi and /gui).

[114] Kaufmann has made some observations concerning children's

524 games; Bleek also provides some data:

Among the ≠Auin little bows and arrows serve as children's toys. The same applies to the Naron and Nagau [sic]. Stilts

[481] are known among the Auin and are used by men and boys. Con-

524 cerning children's games among the Naron, Miss Bleek reports:

The Game of the Big Water Snake

A boy crawls on his stomach to a small pile of sand which is supposed to represent the waterhole. At some distance from it, the children sit in a row, one behind the other, in such a way that each one sits between the legs of the one behind him; he puts his hands on the shoulder of the person in front of him. The biggest child [69] always sits at the front, the smallest at the back. They sing a song that in part is no longer intelligible. (Probably in the children's language.) This big "snake" now moves very slowly around the waterhole, while the water snake from time to time throws sand on it; then the others withdraw. At the end the snake catches one from the row and "eats it." I

[69 cont.] I
524 have observed an analogous game among the Betschuana children
[171] in Epukiro.

The Elephant-Ostrich Game

Again a pile of sand serves as a substitute for a waterhole. Two boys come as elephants and want to drink. Two others imitate ostriches and will not let the elephants get water.

The Oxen Game

Three or four boys represent the oxen. One is regarded as the owner; another wants to steal them. After a little struggle, he gradually succeeds in doing so. Once he has stolen all of them, the game
[532] is over. (Compare the "ox stealing" among the Bergdama from Okombahe.) [Fig. 24 appears here.]

Fig. 24. Magical Contact between Hunters and Game (Salt River Valley, Kaofeld). From H. Obermaier and H. Kühn, Buschmannkunst [Bushman Art].

[69 cont.]

The Bartering Game

524 It is exactly like analogous games in Europe.

The War Game

The boys stand in two rows facing each other and play at shooting arrows. The one shot at tries to protect himself. As soon as he becomes tired, he falls over as a "dead person." The game is played until only one is left.

The Bride-Stealing Game

Two young girls dance behind a bush. They are the brides. Two older girls with sticks follow their trail; they are the suitors who try to catch the two brides. When they have succeeded, two more girls representing the mothers appear, and they try to prevent the abduction of the brides. Finally, however, the brides are abducted anyway.

The Ball Game

The ball game is definitely a women's game, in which small girls and grandmothers alike participate. The players stand in two rows facing each other, and the ball, usually a round watermelon, is thrown from one row to the other.

2. The Boys' Initiation

881 Among the Nogau, the boys are initiated when they reach maturity. The boys' initiation is called Dschai-dschua.

The young man is not accepted into the community of men simply through marriage. He must first submit to the initiation, which proceeds as follows among the Nogau:

Under the leadership of an experienced elder and several

[69 cont.]
assistants, the boys go into the bush. On the first day two vertical incisions are made on the forehead; then they sing throughout the night and dance to the melody: "Ije, ije, aije, aije . . . oho, oho," etc.

881 [539]

On the morning of the second day, the incisions on the forehead are extended to the root of the nose and the hairline. On the afternoon of this day the elders call the youths together to look for veldkost. The elder loosens the roots with his digging stick, and as he does so the candidates place their hands on the arm doing the work. The boys must then dig the roots out of the ground with their hands, without the help of tools. "From now on they can look for veldkost themselves, for now they have been taught."

[304]

After this lesson they return to the place where the women are. [70] Food is prepared there for both the men and the candidates; the candidates are allowed to eat only veldkost, no meat. Then they dance, together with the women and girls, for a night and half a day.

In the afternoon the candidates go hunting. They must bag three animals: a small duiker, a guinea fowl, and a bullfrog. They take their prey and assemble with the older instructors at a remote place, the three kinds of meat are cooked together, the meat is eaten by the elders, and the bodies of the boys are washed all over with the soup. From now on they may eat the three animals, hitherto forbidden to them. Now they again dance and sing: "Oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu" (long drawn-out).

[262] [539]

ǂAuin: The candidates from neighboring villages go into the bush under the leadership of the doctor, and they live there on veldkost for a few weeks. During this time they receive instructions in secret matters. Kaufmann reports the following dance: A boy gets up on the back of another, and both of them wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier swinging from one leg to the other as rapidly as possible without moving forward, and both of them yell "hu, hu." They actually attain manhood, which gives them the right to marry, only through the hunting test. Tattooing is not connected with the declaration of manhood.

881 [535] [304]

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[70 cont.]

881 Among the Naron, on the other hand, they must first pass the hunting test before they are admitted to the boys' initiation. Ten or 12 candidates are taken into the bush and must live for a month on veldkost, which is sprinkled with a medicine by the doctor before it is eaten. Women are not allowed to come near the camp.

During one of the nocturnal dances, Hise appears, dances [776] around the circle, and is then driven away by the medicine man. (787) Some say Hise looks like a woman; others describe him as a be- 535 ing three feet tall, with a flat head, large eyes, black body, 881 wings and claws (one is reminded of the spirit bird Engororí, which appears at the initiation of the Ovambo, or of the Neida Gamaseb of the Bergdama).

Some old ǂAuin saw two beings, one male and one female, 787 who looked like lions but walked upright; they were followed by children who looked like baboons.

Evidently masked dances, are involved here. The younger 535 men no longer see this Hise; the doctors explain to them that he 881 came, but could only be seen by the medicine men.

A special dance for Hise is an imitation of a bird's movements. In olden times the people also danced in pairs, while they sang in refrain: "Ostrich stomach, Hise stomach, hu, hu, hu."

The /Di dance is likewise dedicated to Hise. At this dance the men wear the dance rattles described above, as is also done for profane dances, but in addition they wear white or black ostrich feathers.

3. The Girls' Initiation

Among the Nogau when a girl has her first menstruation, 881 there is a celebration. Throughout the first day the girl must stay [343] in a closed, arbor-like pontok especially constructed for her. She is only given something to drink, nothing to eat. The women gather from far and near and perform dances around this arbor. These festivities last for five days, and only one man is present as a leader of the ceremony. During these five days the girl is regarded as "poisonous" and may not touch anything, not even

[70 cont.]
her food, which is given to her by an old woman. On the sixth day
881 the girl goes looking for veldkost with an old woman, and, when she has returned, she herself makes the fire and cooks the food in the circle of her guests, for the first time officially independent.
(582) Girls may marry even before this ceremony.

[71] Among the ≠Auin the initiation is held for each girl
881 at the time of the first menstruation. The same is true among the Naron. The eland bull dance is performed every night during
881 the girl's period. Two old men attach real or wooden eland
535 horns to their heads and wait in the bush. Then the menstruating girl comes and sits down or lies down surrounded by old women, in the center of a circle of younger women who stage a dance. The two eland bulls soon appear and then quickly disappear again. The dance is very indecent. Among the Nussan, men masked as birds (!) take the place of the eland bulls.

796 Once a year, in autumn when the veldkost is harvested, there is a great festival. The day is called: "//gam gna she (the great day)." On this occasion food is prepared, and the Bushmen come from all sides. They dance and sing, but they are supposed to stay at home; no one may hunt, look for veldkost, or do any kind of work. [Fig. 25 appears here.]

4. Courtship, Wedding, and Marriage

If a young Bushman wants to marry, he does not go to the girl, but instead must speak with her parents; at the same time
584 the girl's consent to the marriage is necessary. Once this consent is given, presents are exchanged between the parents of the engaged couple, or a gemsbok is shot and divided between the two families. Immediately after the presents have been exchanged, preparations for the wedding are begun. If enough game, above all, a gemsbok, is at hand, they dance through the
[539] entire night and sing: "Ueeõ, ueeeõ, õ, eee, gueeõ, guueeõ," etc.

Then the young man takes his wife and moves to the horde
581 of his father. Great importance is attached to virginity before
[591] marriage. "It simply does not happen among us that a girl

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[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
[842] spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
843 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
845 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

[301
789
303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

≠Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
584 are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

[72 cont.] The SUITOR

584 brings his future parents-in-law presents in the form of game and
[583] veldkost, sometimes for more than a year. If matters go smoothly,
[585] he takes the girl to his hut after a while, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. If, in spite of her parents' consent, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to state her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man finally takes the girl forcibly into his hut. Should a man do vio-
684 lence to a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be

301

Fig. 26. Nagau Girl in Festive Finery of Ostrich Egg Beads (Girls' Initiation).

killed. There are no special ceremonies when the marriage is
585 concluded. The engagement, undertaken before the couple settles in the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl around her wrist. Since, however, the "engagement" and "wedding" are separated in time only by the walk to the hut, the grasping of the bride's lower arm may be regarded as concluding the marriage. [Fig. 26 appears here.] The seizing of the lower arm is done rather violently, and on the walk to the hut the bride allows herself to be dragged along to a certain extent.
606 It is curious to note how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids his mother-in-law's company and does not sit with her. For example, when he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law goes away. If it is absolutely necessary for him to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.
163 Kaufmann observed that most of the women had two or three

[72 cont.]

163 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
591 couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker. Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least nominally.

422 Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
685 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand, a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the individual's private property.

The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
628 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively
721 against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

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[73 cont.]

726 Before going to war, the body is smeared with a magic medicine (/num). If old enemies are involved, the attack is carried out by subterfuge and stealth. Otherwise the opponents face each other in open battle. Depending upon the degree of enmity, they shoot at each other with either poisoned or unpoisoned arrows. Commonly, however, a conference of the leaders takes place before the beginning of the battle, which leads to a peaceful dispersal of the combatants. The principles of natural morality are honored and recognized both within and outside the horde. It is regarded as bad to inflict harm on another person or not to assist him if he is in need, not because any kind of punishment is to be feared, but because this is what elders have taught.

6. The World Picture and Religion

821 The sun is a man and is called /gam or kha//ã̃, the hunter. The moon is a woman and is called !nui or /nauga, "the one who runs around."

773 821 Formerly the sun, the moon, and the hare lived together. One day Mrs. Moon and Mr. Hare were having a quarrel. The moon split open the hare's snout with an ax. The hare then scratched the moon's face. This is still visible today. When the sun came home, he became angry and said: "Now we have had enough of the earth; now we shall go up so that the hare will be alone. I shall burn him from above, and I shall become very hot so that during the day he cannot run about as he wants to." The moon replied: "That is a good idea; at night I shall go and bring the cold, so that the hare will freeze when he looks for his food."

Since that time, the sun and moon are in the firmanent.

The dome of the sky is the covering of the sun and moon. When the sun and moon went up to the sky, they had little sacks of resin with them. They threw them away. The grains of resin are now the stars.

When the sun, moon, and hare were still together, the sun said, "Men shall not die," and the moon agreed with him. But the hare said: "No, people must die, because I, too, must die."

776 821 Rain is made by sorcerers; these are called Gowa. They do

[73 cont.]

776 821 not die, but otherwise they are like people, except that they have black skin. When there is no rain, the Bushmen make a large [789] fire and throw into it a root, "he," and a male turtle. As soon [535] as it starts to rain, they dance, strike themselves on the thighs, [534] and sing: "Ehe, ehe, ehe, ije, ije, ije, ehe, ehe, ehe," etc. The sorcerers can transform themselves into lions.

The rain sorcerer lives on earth as other people do. The rainbow is the rain dog. The clouds are the rain hairs.

At the time of new moon, they say the moon is sleeping. During the night the sun runs back to the east.

Thunder and lightning are not made by the rain, but by Gauab who among these Bushmen has become a personification of evil. Lightning is called "Gauab's knife."

The dark night sky is the covering of the moon and sun. The dome of the sky is called /gna. My informants left it an open question as to whether the sun perhaps "might be the greatest," the one who has made everything. On the other hand, Khu is likewise regarded as the creator. He made heaven and earth, and he also made human beings live. Khu is not a human being; he is good, but nothing more is known about him. He does not interfere in the course of the world and of human life. To be sure, they say, "Khu is the greatest, and Gauab is the smallest," but nonetheless Gauab plays a larger role in their lives. He controls thunder and lightning, he races over the steppe as a destructive wind spout, visible to all, and he also kills people by tearing out their souls and making a little Gauab out of them. This little Gauab in turn runs about in the bush and does all kinds of evil things.

[74] There is a secret moon cult among the Naron. They 794 pray to the new moon for rain. In olden times certain stars, espe- 787 cially the morning star and the Southern Cross, which they call 821 "fire shoe," are also supposed to have been invoked. The story of 773 the moon and the hare is told in the following way: The moon 821 said: "People must die and arise again, just as I die and return again." But the hare contradicted her and said that people should remain dead. The moon then became angry and cut the hare's mouth with a hoe.

"The moon is an old man, and the sun a young girl, his wife. First the moon goes under the sky, and then the sun follows behind

[74 cont.]

773 him. They go to their huts which are under the horizon in the
8 21 west. At night or during the day, respectively, they go back to their huts in the east; one can hear them but cannot see them."

114 776 Kaufmann was unable to discover anything concrete concerning the high gods of the ≠Auin. Concerning the Naron, Bleek
776 relates that a curious mixture of religious conceptions has come about. A central position is occupied by Hise or Hyesa, who is designated as !Khuba or !Xuba by the adult men. The old people knew nothing about this. The Nama designate !Khub as master or lord, and this word is used by a number of missionaries for Christ. These elders maintain that this concept has been adopted
[177] from the Nama. Formerly they only knew Hise, who lived in the east. Hise is evidently the same as Heitsi Aibib (literally, "the first tree").

The Naron relate that in olden times both the trees and the
773 animals were human beings who were transformed by Hise into their present shapes. Then Hise called the chiefs of the Whites and Blacks and said to them: "Take cows and goats and live with them." But to the first chiefs of the Bushmen he said: "Take the antelopes and live on them; make traps and hunt and live in the bush."

The expression Huwu or Huwuba is known and is supposed to
776 designate the great captain of the men in the north. The details given by Miss Bleek concerning //Gauwa are interesting. In the opinion of the Naron and ≠Auin, //Gauwa is the spirit of a de-
[775] ceased person. Medicine men can also see these spirits; the
[787] women can only hear them. Many a woman declared that only men who had gone through the initiation ceremony and who have two scars between the eyebrows can become //Gauwa. A strong, howling wind is also designated as //Gauwa, however. A few individuals also believe in a chief spirit by this name, who lives near Hise in the east and to whose house the spirits return by day. Some designate //Gauwa as the younger brother of Hise; others identify him with the latter.

The Naron put both masculine and feminine endings on the word Hise. Among the ≠Auin he appears during their dances at

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NOGAU

[74 cont.]

776 one time as a man and at another time as a woman.

7. Medicine

The curing practices of the Nogau Bushmen are very primi-
759 tive. They have nothing for snakebite and nothing for arrow poison.

Eland fat is a universal medicine. For the common eye
278 inflammations this fat is smeared into the eye; for headaches warm eland fat is dripped into the ear; for a cold the nostrils and nose are smeared with eland fat.

Sickness comes either from the evil head Gauab or from
753 sorcerers. The ailment is caused by a little Gauab who has settled
[754] in the body. The more gravely ill a person is, the more Gauana have entered into him. The doctors are able to draw out these
755 spirits of sickness; they do it in a fashion analogous to that prac-
756 ticed by the !Kung. There are also female doctors.

The spirits of sickness are regarded here as much more ma-
753 terial than among the !Kung; such a Gauab looks like a human
776 being, but he may also appear as a lion, a wildebeest, or a snake. Once the Gauab has been drawn out of the body, it runs away and speaks to no one.

The sorcerers in particular like to transform themselves into
756 lions. Among the Bushmen farther north [75] it is supposedly
[825] the case that when they see a wildebeest in the bush, for example, it is not a wildebeest at all, but a Gauab. The doctors receive their power from the highest Gauab (/gaua //gaicha). He is the one who appears in the wind spouts. As among the Bantu, the doctors must go to school for several years with older colleagues.
[754] They are not only able to cure, but also to practice magic in the bad sense, in that they induce /Gaua //gaicha to make ill anyone whom they want to harm.

"Whoever wants to become a sorcerer must go to school with another witch doctor. When someone is struck by lightning, it is said that Gauab struck him down with his knife. Some then become great doctors and often speak with Gauab. Gauab also comes as a wind spout."

[75 cont.]

Among the Naron, according to Miss Bleek, the Bushman
754 revolver is also in use. The doctors fight one another with it.
411 Such an arrow is secretly shot at the opponent's kaross, and through the magic emanating from the arrow, the enemy falls sick and dies.

8. Death and Burial

The Nogau have the following conceptions: Death is
761 caused by Gauab, who steals the soul and makes a little Gauab of it. The dead person is buried immediately; there is no
764 dancing, only weeping. The corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on its side with the head toward the east. Only the sleeping blanket is placed in the grave; the weapons that were left behind are kept by the brothers. The food that the deceased was carrying with him is thrown on the grave. Then bushes are placed on it.

(775) In their opinion the soul of the deceased, which has been
769 transformed into a Gauab, wanders around near the grave; therefore they detour around it. When a Nogau Bushman passes the grave of a tribal member, he prays to him for help in hunting so that the children will grow fast and become fat. He says:

"I do not know how it will go with me
[539] With the food, how it will go with me with the food;
I do not know what I should do to get something to eat,
Let us eat and become big."

On the other hand, there is also the belief that the great
775 Gauab who kills a human being eats the heart or keeps it in cold water and finally makes a new Bushman of it. Among the Naron
764 the corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on his side with the face toward the east. These customs are by no means always observed, however, especially when the ground is hard.
769 The Naron do not fear the spirits of the dead, although the doctors
787 see them, as do those men "who have incisions between the eyebrows." As we know from the Nogau, this includes all who have taken part in the boys' initiation. Women can never see such spirits.

Among all three tribes, old people are exposed to die.

888

[75 cont.]

9. Hunting

224 Even today the western Kalahari has fairly abundant game, and life can be maintained at least to some extent by hunting. Before going to hunt, a tamana fruit (tse) is rubbed on the face. They also try to absorb the powers of the game by means of inoculation. For example, when a duiker has been killed, little pieces of the heart and ear are charred. This animal charcoal is then rubbed into an incision on the upper arm. Both in war and
[202] hunting, people communicate by means of smoke signals. The chief hunting weapon [76] is the bow with the poisoned arrow.
278 The poison (1) is obtained from the cocoons of a beetle larva that

[113]

1. Lewin has devoted several studies to Bushman poisons ("Pfeilgifte der Buschmänner [Arrow Poisons of the Bushmen]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 44, 1912).

"When I was permitted to examine the first arrows armed with poison that Lichtenstein had brought home from his journey in the year 1806 and which are kept in the Museum for Ethnology here, I was able to establish that there is alkaloid in the poison, which initially had stimulating, and later paralyzing effects on spine and brain. Because of the small quantity of the material, nothing further could be determined, except for a curious color reaction that the alkaloid isolated from the poison produced with concentrated sulphuric acid.

"I have now succeeded in producing from the bulb of Haemanthus toxicarius, the 'poison bulb' of the old Dutch colonists, the most active ingredient, an alkaloid which chemically and toxically

[76 cont.]

278

corresponds to the active ingredient of the poison taken from the arrow. I gave it the name Haemanthin.

"After the subcutaneous injection of animals with the water soluble albumin isolated from Blepharida larvae six to seven milimeters long, disturbances of movement set in fairly rapidly. Food is no longer taken. It makes doves vomit, and, like rabbits, they also get diarrhea. They become quiet, they huddle motionless, and their eyelids, which for a time move almost ceaselessly, finally are affected by the lethargy or inability to move. The eyes are closed. The animals then fall into a sleep-like state and perish, but commonly only after many hours of difficult breathing. Dissection shows changes in the kidney."

A survey of the poisonous plants of South Africa has been supplied by J. M. Watt. In South Africa over five hundred species are used as medicinal plants, and 150 are regarded as dangerous poisonous plants. Most of the poisonous plants known to date have an effect like digitalis. The old arrow-poison plants of the Bushmen, Acokanthera venenata and A. spectabilis, which have been examined in greater detail by Moir, Lewis, and Curson, also belong to this category. It is striking that the poison has an extraordinary chemical and physical stability. For poisoning per os, Boweia volubilis is commonly used by the natives.

[137]

Literature: J.M.Watt, M.B., "The Present Position of our Knowledge of South African Medicinal and poisonous Plants,"

[113]

AUIN
NARON
NOGAU
HEI//OM

[76 cont.]

113

South African Journal of Science, Vol. 25, 1928.

J. Moir, J.S.A., Chemical Institute, VII, 1924, p. 28.

J. Moir and J. Lewis, J.S.A., Chemical Institute, VIII, 1925, p. 11.

H. H. Curson, Some Little-known South African Poisonous Plants and their Effects in Stock. Thesis for Diploma of F.R.C.V.S., 1926.

278 lives on the roots of an acacia. The Bushman carries several of these cocoons around with him, like cartridges, in an antelope horn. If the arrow tip is to be poisoned, a fire is made, some of the acacia resin that the Bushman always carries is smeared on the arrow tip, and then a cocoon is broken and its contents rubbed on the tip. On one occasion one of my Bushmen had overlooked a small wound on his thumb, through which the poison penetrated into his blood stream. The penetration of the poison was not very painful; he merely had a feeling "as though warm water was penetrating into his flesh." The arm was considerably swollen for a week. The others made numerous incisions and scarifications with glowing sticks on him in order to save him. [752] [262] The flesh of the animal killed in this way is eaten raw, poisonous.

278 Von François (2) reports that the Hei//om of this region

[113]

2. Von François, "Reiseberichte Windhuk-Gobabis [Travel Report, Windhoek-Gobabis]," Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, V., 1892.

prepare their poison from the milky sap of the Apocynacea adenium Boehmianum. When exposed to the sun, it first becomes violet and then black. It is kept in little leather sacks and in case of need is warmed and mixed with the sap of the Habas root and applied to the arrow tips with flat sticks. These Bushmen still [411] used grooved stones to direct the arrow shaft.

[76 cont.]

411 The little bow (!naru) is made from the //ne bush and is
[192] much shorter than that of the !Kung. The arrow and the arrow point are called tschi. They have arrows with iron points like the !Kung, as well as others made of bone. The accompanying figures show the two types, which have already been sufficiently described by other authors. The arrow points found in older collections, on which the poison is applied not only at the tip but also in lines or dots of little lumps on the contact piece, are now no longer in use. The bows of the Naron are also small, and they likewise have two kinds of arrows. The arrow shafts are made of reed, which is used only in a few places. In addition, all these tribes have root-stock clubs. Spears (kuku) are bartered
[435] from the Ovambo in exchange for ostrich egg beads. Bleek
231 writes [77] of the Naron that formerly they had no dogs at all, and Kaufmann reports that the ≠Auin have very few dogs. The Nogau had all kinds of mongrels, but none of any peculiar strain. Two animal stories should be told in this connection:

539 1. A large bird killed a duiker. Then the hyena came and took the duiker. The hyena met the jackal. The jackal said: "Hyena, you should not go where you want to go, otherwise bad things will happen to you!" But the hyena went anyway, and the great bird (!gui) came and tied the hyena's feet together and made a fire by its feet. Since then the hyena has black legs and dares not kill anything living. But the jackal also went stealing, whereupon the great bird seized him and held him with his back to the fire; since then it has a black stripe across its back.

2. The lion came to the watering place; then the frog came out of the water and mocked the lion. The latter wanted to kill the frog, but only scratched it on its back; the frog quickly jumped into the water again, but since then it has black stripes on its back. [Fig. 27 appears here.]

10. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The clothing of the man consists of the cap, made from the hide of the jackal, the jumping hare, or the duiker, and the loincloth, sandals, and the hide bag. In general the clothing of these Bushmen is not essentially different from that of the Bushmen

[77 cont.]

291 [301] in the north, but they have far more ostrich egg pearls.

11. Weapons

The ≠Auin have the throwing lance; the digging stick is
411 occasionally also used for striking and as a throwing club. The
[439] lance points are bartered from Ngami Lake. The upper end of the shaft is bound with a strip of antelope skin or tendons. The shaft tapers off toward the end. The lance points are distinguished as male and female. The male points have blunt barbs. The points are often provided with a leather cap. The lance points also serve as a knife and universal instrument. The spear points are kept well hidden. Among the Naron, spears
411 439 are very rare today; they are obtained from Ovamboland in exchange for chains of ostrich egg beads. The same is true of the Nogau, who, however, obtain their spear points in part from the Ovambo and in part from the Okawango by way of the !Kung.

The bow of the ≠Auin is small;
411 the string is twisted out of animal
[283] tendons and is pushed up on one side and fastened on the other. The arrows are made of reed. At the bottom of the shaft there is a shallow notch, and the end is wound with grass. Similarly, we find a notch at the upper end where the point is inserted. The length of the arrow shaft is from 48 to 52 centimeters. The points are made either of iron or bone; in the latter case ostrich bones are used. The bone arrowhead is pointed at both ends, one of which is inserted

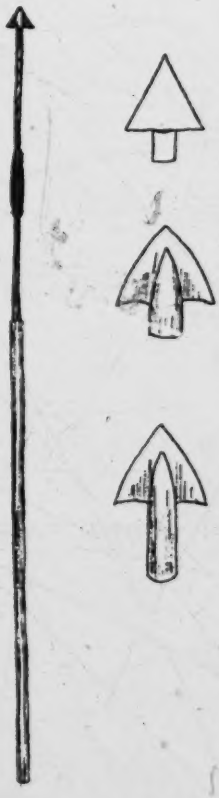

Fig. 27. Arrows of the Nogau.

[77 cont.]

411 into the reed shaft while the other is poisoned. In other cases, the short arrowhead is joined to a bone spindle by means of a connecting piece made of grass, and this bone spindle is in turn fixed into the shaft so that the arrow is tripartite. The arrows are either carried in the quiver already assembled, or the points [78] are kept in small containers of bark or horn closed off at both ends by leather caps. Three bows of the Nogau had lengths [411] of 89, 95, and 100 centimeters. Animal tendons are used.

The battle insigne of the ≠Auin is a war cap made from the [714] hide of the aardwolf. The bow of the Naron is made of Grevia 411 wood and is about a meter long. Not only tendons but also plant fibers are used for the bowstring. The plant strings are a surrogate that the Bushmen are forced to use today due to the lack of game. The bow itself is reinforced at the ends with a binding of tendons or leather.

The arrow shafts resemble those of the ≠Auin, as do the points. The iron points are not removable and are called male. The metal is obtained from the north and is worked cold by the [325] ≠Auin. The Naron themselves make no iron arrowheads. [Fig. 28 appears here.]

Whereas during Kaufmann's time the ≠Auin did not have the kirri, the Naron have it today; its lower end is sharpened to a point so that it can also be used as a digging stick. The Nogau, though not too commonly, have throwing clubs that [411] correspond to those of the Dama and Herero, but are more crudely worked.

Concerning the Naron, Bleek also mentions harpoons with long, composite shafts, which serve to get jumping hares and the like out of their holes. This tool will be described in greater detail under the Dama [untranslated].

Like all Bushmen, the Nogau make fire by rubbing two 372 sticks together. The female stick is called Dane-di, the male Dane-≠goa. Firemaking itself is designated as Dalisi, one of the many strange words without clicks that we find among the Nogau.

Bushman wells are likewise used and are called //a-si.

312 The girls have a toy (gai-dum) consisting of several sticks of various kinds, which they wear on the chest. They drum on 524 IT WITH THE FINGERS.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 155]

3: Lebzelter--155 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
NOGAU
[78]

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Fig. 28. Bows of the Nogau. (1/3 actual size [as shown in original text]).

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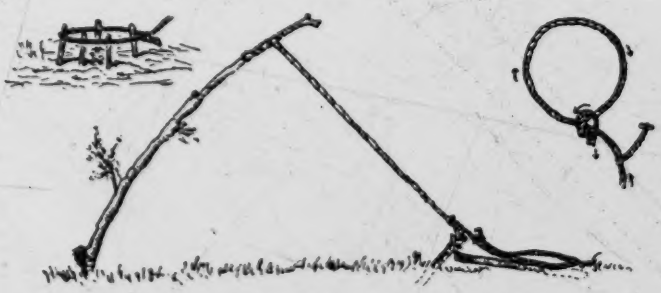

Fig. 29. Game Trap (from Gentz, Globus, Vol. 83, 1903).

[78 cont.]

000 it with the fingers. [Fig. 29 appears here.]

224 [79] The lion is neither eaten nor hunted. The jackal and
262 leopard are eaten, as is the liver of the latter. Baboons are not
825 eaten, because they were formerly Bushmen.

304 The line of tattooing between the eyebrows make people
302 into leopards among the Nogau. The Naron smear themselves with red and black color. The other incisions and tattooing are made purely for adornment.

825 Among the Naron, millepedes are regarded as creatures
756 of Hise, and only doctors may touch them and make medicine of them. Among the Nogau and ǂAuin there are magical bones
787 that are used to predict the future. The Naron also believe that
[172] the rock engravings stem from //gauwa.

Among the Auin it is forbidden to eat hyena flesh, and
262 likewise the flesh of the shabrack jackal because it is a dog.

The following important data supplied by Gentz (1) should

224
[114]
[113]

1. "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften [Some Contributions to Knowledge of the Southwest African Tribes]," Globus, Vol. 83, 1903.

be added:

"I have repeatedly found Bushman arrows on which the point, usually made of bone (for the most part ostrich bone), was made of wood. The game sling, reproduced in Figure 29, is constructed as follows: A strong string, four to five millimeters thick, which at one end terminates in a simple loop, is fastened at the other end to a flexible young tree or branch that is bent far over. A small, thinner string with a transverse stick is attached at the loop end. The string is placed around a small post driven into the ground at an angle, and it is prevented from slipping off by means of a flat piece of wood buried under the ground and planted against the free end of the transverse stick; the sling is placed in a circle on the ground over the flat piece of wood. The game, which follows its customary track to the

[79 cont.]

224 water or Brak (salt) place and is prevented from turning off the track by thorn branches placed on either side of the worn track, steps on the little stick lying just below the ground, which moves it out of position and releases the end of the little transverse stick. The string, having lost its hold, releases the bent tree, which snapping back, tightens the noose around the leg of the game and holds the animal imprisoned until the Bushman brutally kills it with a number of blows of his kirri, which is carved out of hard
223 wood. For various kinds of fowl, doves, etc., the Bushman prepares similar slings with thinner string, which are set up in the same way except that the sling is not placed on the ground but is held two or three centimeters above the ground by means of little sticks planted in a circle. In the center of the circle, on a little stick loosely covered with sand, there are a few maize kernels or berries. When the bird picks them up, he moves the little stick out of position and finds his neck in the sling. -- As household
415 implements among the Kalahari Bushmen, in addition to the hollow
237 ostrich eggs used to carry water, I found water sacks made from the inner peritoneum of an animal, not unlike a pig's bladder; these water sacks are closed with a short stick and leather string.
[312] The ostrich eggs also serve the Bushmen as artificial watering places in the dry stretches of the water-poor steppe regions, in which a number of them are hidden under the sand.

415 "Among the other household utensils of the Bushmen, I also found flat, wooden vessels, wooden mortars, and earthen pots of various sizes. The wooden vessels, which are completely different from those of the Herero, are, according to their own state-
[439] ments, obtained in trade from their northern neighbors. The earthen pots likewise are not made by the Bushmen themselves. In form they are somewhat reminiscent of the wooden Omeira pots of the Herero and, as a Herero half-breed declared and demon-
600 strated to me, are manufactured in the following manner. A lump of soft and thoroughly kneaded clay is spread out over the naked, moistened knee, so that first of all it assumes the form of the knee. The calf of the leg must be pressed to the thigh in order to obtain the correct shape. Then the clay is carefully taken off, and the shape of the vessel is improved and perfected by kneading it with the fingers. Finally simple decorations are scratched into it with a

[79 cont.]

wooden stick. The Herero are not acquainted with the potter's wheel; moreover, these native clay pots have already for the most part been supplanted among them by imported European iron pots."

3: Lebzelter--159 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

1. Advance into the Sand Veld.

2. Camp near Shandi in the Otjimpolo Veld.

3. On the high dunes of the Etosha Pan.

4. Under the Baobab Tree of Uukualuthi.

Plate I. Camping Places of the Expedition in the Southwest.

3: Lebzelter--160 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!K 006
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137
[342]

1. !Kung Huts in the Bush Veld.

2. Summer Landscape in the !Kung Veld.

3. The Omuramba u Omatako south of Otjituo.

4. Winter Landscape in the Sand Veld.

Plate II. Landscapes on the !Kung Veld.

3: Lebzelter--161 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

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Camp of the !Kung along the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

291
516

The author Negotiating with !Kung Bushmen in the Otjimpolo Veld.

Plate III. !Kung

3: Lebzelter--162 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

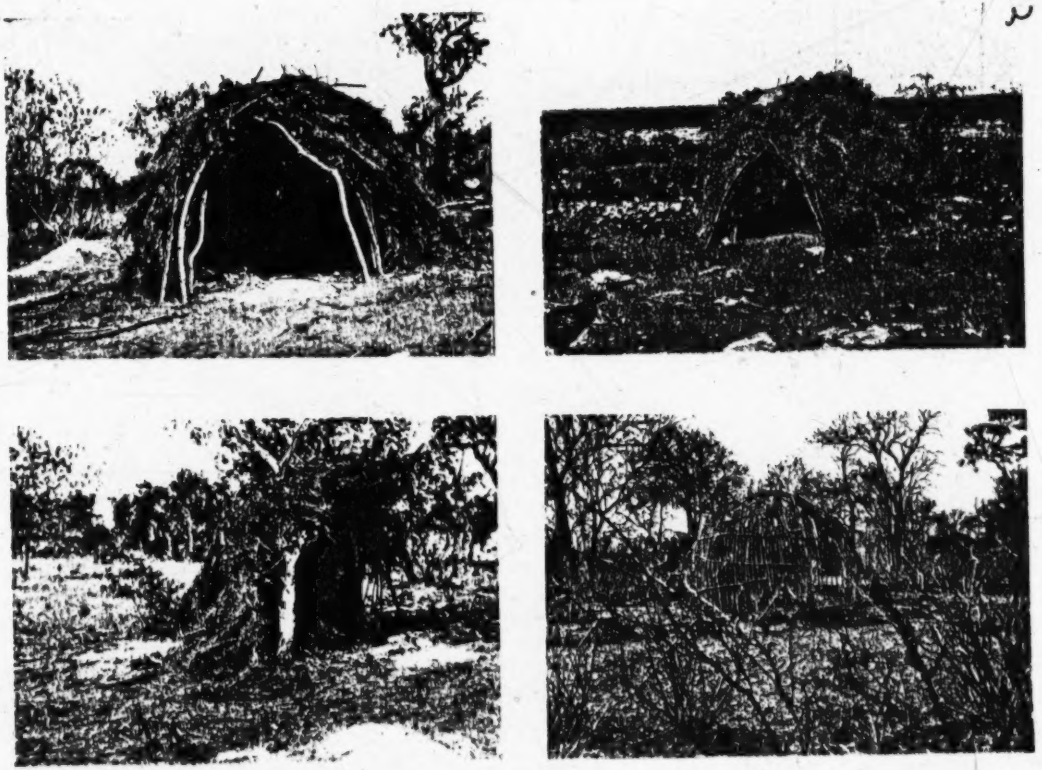

Plate IV. Windscreens and Huts of the !Kung.

3: Lebzelter--163 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

!KUNG

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[854]

Plate V. !Kung Bushmen from the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

3: Lebzelter--164 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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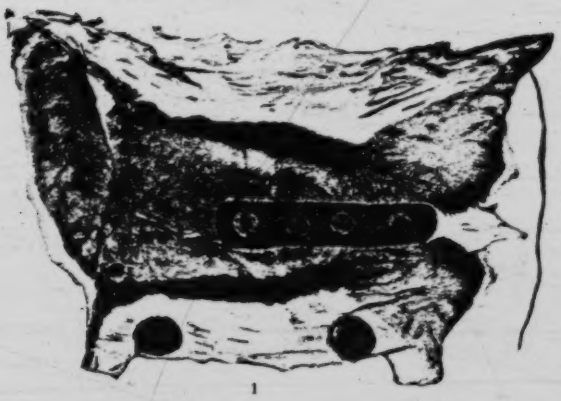

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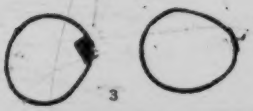

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Plate VI

1. Back Apron (Betschuana), 2. Neck Band (Bushmen), 3. Grass Armbands, 4. Fly Swatters (!Kung), 5. Hide Sack (Kaunas Hottentot), (Museum for Ethnology, Berlin).

6. Bushman Arrows (Cape Province ?) (Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart).

3: Lebzelter--165 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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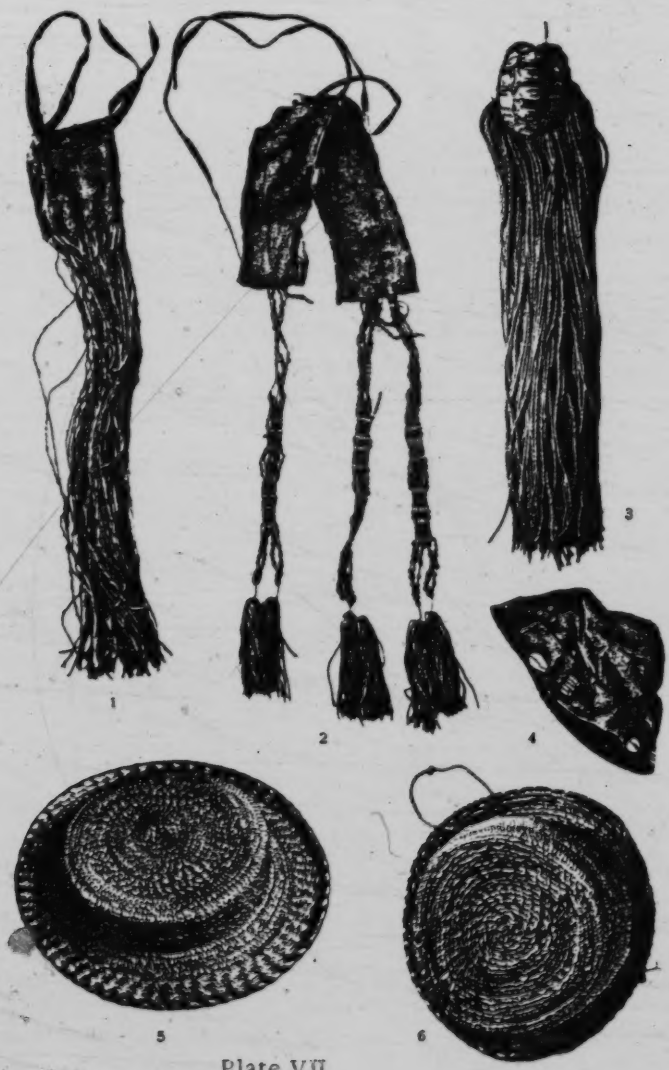

Plate VII

1. Apron for Little Girls (Nama and He//om)
2. Women's Apron (Region of Gobabis)
3. Perfume Box (Herero)
4-6. Bushman Caps and Straw Hats of the Bushmen (!Kung)
(1-4 and 6, Ethnology Museum, Berlin; 5. Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart)

3: Lebzelter--166 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

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Plate VIII. Children of the !Kung Bushmen.

3: Lebzelter--167 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

224

1. !Kung. Setting a Trap.

2. Ostrich in the Trap (!Kung; Sand Veld).

Plate IX.

3: Lebzelter--168 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

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Plate X. !Kung Types from the Otjimpolo Veld.

31 Lebzelter FX10 Bushmen

EINGEBORENENKULTUREN IN SÜDWEST- UND SÜDAFRIKA

WISSENSCHAFTLICHE ERGEBNISSE
EINER FORSCHUNGSREISE NACH
SÜD- UND SÜDWESTAFRIKA
IN DEN JAHREN 1926–1928

VON

VIKTOR LEBZELTER
KUSTOS AM NATURHISTORISCHEN
MUSEUM IN WIEN

MIT 111 TEXTABBILDUNGEN UND
36 LICHTDRUCKTAFELN

1934

VERLAG KARL W. HIERSEMANN / LEIPZIG

[Title page]

3: Lebzelter FX10 Bushmen

VORREDE

Nachdem ich im Jahre 1930 im ersten Bande dieses Werkes meine Beobachtungen und Schlußfolgerungen auf dem Gebiete der Vorgeschichte niedergelegt hatte, gebe ich in diesem Bande meine Aufnahmen bei den Eingeborenenstämmen, die ich auf längere Zeit besuchen konnte, wieder. Dieser Band möge als reines Quellenwerk angesehen werden. Ich hatte ursprünglich beabsichtigt, ein abgerundetes Bild aller Eingeborenenkulturen südlich des Kunene und Limpopo zu bieten. Ich mußte mich jedoch, mit Rücksicht auf den mir zur Verfügung stehenden Raum, auf meine eigenen Feststellungen beschränken. Im dritten Bande dieser Veröffentlichung hoffe ich Rassen- und Kulturgeschichte Südafrikas als eine organische Einheit darzustellen.

Ich bin dem Verlage Karl W. Hiersemann in Leipzig zu besonderem Dank verbunden, daß er trotz der schweren Zeitläufte es übernahm, diesen Band herauszubringen. Ich danke weiter der Deutschösterreichischen Wissenschaftshilfe, welche durch ihre wertvolle Unterstützung die Drucklegung förderte. Ich danke weiterhin den Direktionen der Völkerkundemuseen in Berlin, Hamburg, Stuttgart und Zürich für die gütige Überlassung von Bildmaterial.

Die Stämme, deren Kulturen ich schildern konnte, befinden sich alle im Zustande fortschreitender Europäisierung. Für die meisten derselben, nämlich die Stämme Südwestafrikas, erschien europäische Kultur und Zivilisation in deutscher Prägung, und darum darf ich hoffen, daß die Kulturen dieser Stämme, die durch Jahrzehnte unter deutscher Hoheit standen, gerade im deutschen Volke besonderes Interesse finden werden.

Der Verfasser

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VERZEICHNIS DER TAFELN

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EINLEITUNG

Zweck meiner Expedition, auf welcher ich von meiner Gattin, Maria Lebzelter-Grammetbauer, begleitet wurde, war das Studium der Anthropologie und Ethnologie der Eingeborenenstämme, besonders der Buschmänner, sowie der archäologischen Verhältnisse Südafrikas. Der ursprüngliche Plan stammt von Prof. P. Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, S. V. D. Wiederholte großherzige Spenden Sr. Heiligkeit Papst Pius XI. ermöglichten die Fortführung der von P. Schmidt mit nimmermüdem Eifer geförderten Expedition. Die österreichische Bundesverwaltung ermöglichte es mir durch besondere administrative Maßnahmen, die Reise anzutreten. Auch der Herausgeber des „Anthropos", Prof. P. W. Koppers, hat dem Expeditionsfonds wiederholte namhafte Unterstützungen zukommen lassen. Der Research Grant Board in Johannesburg bewilligte mir – allerdings für rein anthropologische Zwecke – eine einmalige Subvention von 50 Pfund.

Programm und Durchführung meiner südafrikanischen Expedition habe ich bereits im ersten Bande dieses Werkes niedergelegt. Hier, am Eingang in die Darstellung der ethnologischen Ergebnisse, möchte ich in großen Zügen schildern, wie sie zustande gekommen sind. Ich muß vorausschicken, daß zwischen dem Zeitpunkte, wo durch die Maßnahmen der österreichischen Behörden gesichert war, daß ich die Heimat verlassen konnte, und meiner Abreise nur ein Zeitraum von drei Wochen lag. Von einem eingehenderen Studium der Eingeborenensprachen konnte daher keine Rede sein. Die Bedingungen, unter welchen man heute ethnologisch im Felde arbeiten kann, sind grundsätzlich verschieden von jenen der Pionierzeit. Durch die Tätigkeit der Missionen wächst, von den Buschmännern abgesehen, bei allen Stämmen eine Intelligenzschicht heran, die wenn auch nicht in dieser Generation, so doch sicher in der nächsten die Erforschung des eigenen Volkes mit Erfolg in die Hand nehmen wird. Ich erinnere mich eines Advokaturschreibers in Natal (Swazi), der sich ein ethnologisches Vorlesungsheft aus Johannesburg beschafft hatte und dieses auswendig konnte. Als er sich an einen weißen Ethnologen wandte, um mit der praktischen Arbeit zu beginnen, versicherte ihm dieser, so wenig als ein Rennpferd zum Pflügen verwendet werden könnte, so wenig könnte ein Ochse zum Rennsport verwendet werden. Inzwischen sind aber doch bereits einige recht gute Arbeiten von Eingeborenen erschienen. Ich habe mich bei meinen Arbeiten durchweg eingeborener Schulmeister bedient, die nicht nur die deutsche oder englische Sprache in Wort und Schrift, sondern auch ihre Muttersprache in Grammatik und Phonetik beherrschten.

Bei den Zulu und Swazi habe ich mehr gelegentlich Studien gemacht. Hier war es insbesondere Pater Andreas Ngidi in Inkamana, Prinzessin Maria Dhlamini in Mbabane und die italienischen Missionare des Swazilandes, denen ich meine Angaben verdanke. Meine Reise stützte sich vorwiegend auf die Missionen. Während in den Vikariaten der katholischen Missionen von Zululand und Marianhill das Hauptgewicht der Arbeit auf anthropologischem und prähistorischem Gebiete lag, gehörten in Südwestafrika ethnologische Studien zu den speziellen Aufträgen der Expedition. Durch die Liebenswürdigkeit des Herrn Provikars P. Schleipen der katholischen Mission in Windhuk wurde mir der Schulmeister Alois Kheibeb zugeteilt, mit dessen Hilfe ich mit den alten Daman in Kontakt kam. Auf der

katholischen Mission in Okombahe führte mir P. Bachmann den Bruder des Häuptlings Gottlieb Horoseb zu, der mit ein paar anderen alten Leuten kam, um mir Geschichten zu erzählen. In Grootfontein war es P. Jaeger, der mir seinen Damaschulmeister Nikolaus Horoseb zur Verfügung stellte. Es gelang dann weiterhin, eine sehr intelligente !Kungfrau, Katiti, die mit einem Hei//om verheiratet war, zu gewinnen, und auf diese Weise war es möglich, mit den !Kung in sprachlichen Kontakt zu treten. Im Ovamboland konnte ich mich auf die großzügige Hilfe der finnisch-evangelischen Mission stützen. Durch die Vermittlung von Herrn Leuche engagierte ich einen angesehenen Mann aus Oshigambo, namens Erastus Mbumba, der 13 Jahre als Clerk in Swakopmund gewesen war und glänzend deutsch sprach. Die Buschmanngewährsmänner im Ovambolande sprachen Ovambo. In Epukiro stellte mir der Missionsobere P. Watterott, O. M. J., den Dorfschulzen Franz Arenat zur Verfügung, der seinerseits wieder den Kontakt mit den Nogau-Buschmännern herstellte. Die Dolmetscher müssen gut bezahlt werden. Allen, die mir bei meinen Arbeiten behilflich waren, sei an dieser Stelle herzlichst gedankt.

Um einen wirklichen Erfolg auf ethnologischem Gebiete zu erzielen, ist es notwendig, auch das Vertrauen und die Sympathie der Eingeborenen zu gewinnen und in ihnen die Überzeugung zu wecken, daß man nicht irgendwie Böses im Schilde führe oder sie lächerlich machen wolle; Geld allein genügt nicht. Das Verhältnis zwischen den Weißen und Farbigen ist ein solches, daß der Eingeborene von vornherein dem Weißen mit dem größten Mißtrauen gegenübersteht. Die Eingeborenen sind im Grunde genommen höfliche Leute und leben untereinander nach streng geregelten Umgangsformen. Kein Eingeborener wird einem anderen etwas Unangenehmes ohne Grund sagen. Anreden, etwa wie man sie bei uns häufig hört: „Sie sehen schlecht aus, Sie sind wohl krank?" u. ä. Liebenswürdigkeiten, sind ausgeschlossen. Jeder Eingeborene erwartet, daß er seiner sozialen Stellung entsprechend behandelt wird. Die Eingeborenen können es nicht verstehen, wenn etwa ein europäischer Reisender oder Missionar junge Leute außergewöhnlich liebenswürdig behandeln würde, dagegen empfinden sie die wegwerfende Behandlung älterer Leute und Familienväter als eine grobe Taktlosigkeit. So ist z. B. im Ovamboland die Respektanrede für Männer „Tati" = Vater. Der Ethnologe, der die ergrauten Männer eines Eingeborenenstammes so behandelt, als ob sie alte Leute der eigenen Rasse wären, die, mögen sie sich in welcher Stellung immer befinden, ihre Lebensaufgabe erfüllt haben und darum Achtung verdienen, wird gewonnenes Spiel haben. Aber so einfach und selbstverständlich es aussehen würde, nach dieser Maxime zu handeln, so schwierig ist es in vielen Fällen. Ich will ganz davon absehen, daß mancher Gelehrte in den Eingeborenen weniger Mitmenschen als Studienobjekte sieht, die Hauptschwierigkeit liegt in den eingebürgerten Umgangsformen der Weißen den Eingeborenen gegenüber. Kein Eingeborener darf auf einem Sessel in Gesellschaft der Weißen sitzen. In den europäischen Häusern befindet sich meist vor oder hinter der Eingangstür ein Bänkchen für schwarze Honoratioren. Der gewöhnliche Eingeborene hockt auf dem Boden. Man behauptet ja nicht mit Unrecht, daß dies die ursprüngliche Art des Sitzens bei ihnen ist, aber trotzdem empfindet der Schwarze diese Art, wenn sie ihm vom Europäer aufgezwungen wird, als eine Demütigung. Der Eingeborene ist nun eben in der Anschauung der dort lebenden Europäer eine Menschensorte minderer Art, mit der man nicht einmal dieselbe Kirche gleichzeitig besuchen will, was vielen Missionaren den Dienst sehr erschwert. Würde der Reisende mit diesen Sitten oder Gebräuchen radikal brechen, so würde er sich damit des Verkehrs und der Unterstützung der Europäer begeben, auf die er doch angewiesen ist. Es gehört also ein außerordentliches Maß von Takt dazu, um weder das Selbstgefühl der Weißen noch das der Eingeborenen zu verletzen. Bei manchen Stämmen, wie bei den Herero oder bei den Ombarantu, ist die Abneigung gegen die Weißen freilich so groß, daß nutzbringende ethnologische Arbeit derzeit ziemlich unmöglich ist. Aber auch bei den Buschmännern war die Sache keineswegs einfach. Der alte Khame, der später mein guter Freund und Gewährsmann wurde, lehnte zuerst die Mithilfe mit der Begründung ab: „Wie soll ich mein Herz aufmachen, wo ich doch weiß, daß du mein Feind bist." Der Eingeborene hat auch ein sehr gutes Empfinden dafür, ob die Achtung, die man ihm entgegenbringt, aufrichtig ist oder nicht. Er leidet schließlich bei der Behandlung, die ihm zuteil wird, auch an Minderwertigkeitskomplexen, die seine Behand-

3: Lebzelter FX10 Bushmen

lung noch schwieriger gestalten. Ich habe die Eingeborenen so behandelt, als ob sie Europäer wären, natürlich unter Berücksichtigung der eingeborenen Umgangsformen, und bin dabei gut gefahren.

Ein einziger ernstlicher Konflikt mit den Eingeborenen kann das Ende einer Expedition bedeuten. Nicht nur, daß die Kolonialbehörde richtigerweise die Erlaubnis zum Überschreiten der Polizeizone nur an jene Leute gibt, die erwiesenermaßen mit den Eingeborenen das Auskommen finden, ist auch die Nachrichtenübermittlung unter den Eingeborenen eine außerordentlich rasche. Die Kunde von meinen Messungen in Walfischbai kam in 14 Tagen in die Otjihorongo-Reserve und von dort in einer Woche nach Otjituo im äußersten Nordosten, nicht etwa durch Postverbindung, sondern durch herumwandernde Herero. Die Leute kannten in Otjituo bereits bei meiner Ankunft meine Absichten und meine Persönlichkeit. Man wird vielleicht an meinen Ausführungen beanstanden können, daß es nur bei ganz wenigen Stämmen gelang, ein abgerundetes Bild zu liefern. Ich kann wohl sagen, daß die inneren Voraussetzungen für eine völlige Durchdringung des Stoffes überall gegeben waren. Ich habe die Untersuchungen bei den einzelnen Stämmen so lange geführt, als ich Geld zur Verfügung hatte. Man kann sich ja nicht auf einen Gewährsmann stützen, sondern man braucht deren in jedem Falle mehrere. Ethnologische Erhebungen sind so ziemlich die einzige Möglichkeit für den Eingeborenen, wo er Bedingungen stellen kann. Ich kann ihn zwingen, zu dem landesüblichen, niedrigen Lohn Draht zu spannen, Mais zu ernten oder Vieh zu hüten, so wie ich es will. Nicht zwingen aber kann ich ihn, seine alten Stammestraditionen preiszugeben. Nicht einmal die Buschmänner wollten „braunes Geld" nehmen, sondern nur „weißes" und „gelbes". Nachdem ich das Vertrauen der Eingeborenen, wie ich wohl sagen kann, gewonnen habe, ist die Summe der jeweiligen ethnologischen Ergebnisse eine Funktion der mir jeweils zur Verfügung gestandenen Menge „gelben" Geldes.

Die Arbeitsergebnisse bedingen zusammen mit dem zur Verfügung stehenden Raum Umfang und Inhalt dieses Buches. Für die prähistorischen Kulturen sei auf den ersten Band verwiesen.

Meine ursprüngliche Absicht, von jenen Stämmen, bei welchen ich selbst keine Untersuchungen vornehmen konnte, eine übersichtliche Darstellung zu geben, mußte mit Rücksicht auf den zur Verfügung stehenden Raum unterbleiben. Ich gedenke dies in den Schlußabschnitten des III. Bandes zu tun, wo im Anschluß an die Darbietung der anthropologischen Befunde ein Gesamtüberblick über Kultur- und Rassengeschichte Südafrikas gegeben werden soll. Nur bei der Behandlung der Buschmannstämme Südwestafrikas habe ich die Literatur mehr herangezogen. Insbesondere die Offiziere der Kaiserlich Deutschen Schutztruppe haben auf diesem Gebiete wertvollste Pionierarbeit geleistet. Ihre mit militärischer Exaktheit gemachten Angaben sind unübertrefflich und ethnologische Quellen ersten Ranges.

Wo ich nicht selbst beobachtete, sondern die Übersetzungen meiner Eingeborenen-Dolmetscher niederschrieb, habe ich diese unverändert gelassen. Man möge mir also die stilistischen Mängel, die da und dort aufscheinen, nicht anlasten. Die Eingeborenenworte haben meistens meine Dolmetscher niedergeschrieben. Ich hätte mich gefreut, wenn es mir möglich gewesen wäre, alle Texte von berufenen Fachleuten überprüfen zu lassen. Dies war nicht möglich. Ich bitte also um Nachsicht, falls linguistische Schreibfehler unterliefen. Immerhin, diese Leute schrieben ihre Muttersprache.

DIE BUSCHMANNSTÄMME

Nach geologischen Zeiträumen betrachtet ist Südafrika wohl ebenso lange besiedelt wie die übrigen Teile der alten Welt. Wir kennen natürlich erst jene Kulturen, welche über eine Steinindustrie verfügten. Unter diesen ist die auch sonst älteste Faustkeilindustrie auch in Süd- und Südwestafrika weit verbreitet. Nachdem als einer ihrer Träger neuestens durch Reck die Oldowayrasse festgestellt wurde, kann auch für Südafrika das Vorhandensein eines eurafrikanischen Rasseneleme ntes von der ältesten Zeit an für gesichert gelten. Den Trägern dieser Faustkeilindustrie, die nach meiner Überzeugung bereits eine Art Pflanzenbau trieben und im wesentlichen an die Waldzonen gebunden waren, folgte späterhin eine Gruppe von Völkern und Rassen mit ausgesprochenen Abeplißindustrien; dahin dürfen wir die Katangarasse und die anderen australiformen Funde zählen. Einen neuen Schub eurafrikanischer Rasseneleme nte brachten die Träger der Klingenindustrien des mittleren Steinzeitalters Südafrikas. Wann die Buschmannrassen eine Steinzeitindustrie übernommen haben und wann sie überhaupt ins Land gekommen sind, können wir heute noch nicht feststellen. Wie die Buschmänner der Rasse nach Reste aller der vorhergegangenen oder neben ihnen einst existenten Rassen (europäide—australiforme) in sich aufgenommen haben, so ist ihre Kultur auch, variierend von Stamm zu Stamm, nur in ihrer optimalen Anpassung an die Daseinsbedingungen eine Einheit, in ihren Einzelzügen aber eine Restkultur, deren Bestand auf einer Auslese, die gewollt und zweckmäßig durchgeführt wurde, beruht, und die aus den Fremdkulturen von der Altsteinzeit bis in die Gegenwart erfolgte.

EBSTES KAPITEL

DIE BUSCHMÄNNER VON ANGOLA

Die meisten Angaben über die Angola-Buschmänner verdanken wir D. F. Bleek[1]. Die Buschmänner sind !Kung. Die Männer sind 159,3 (145,5—170) cm, die Frauen 148,8 (135—161,3) cm groß. Sie wohnen zwischen dem Mouma im Norden, dem Lomba im Süden und zwischen Okawango und dem Ninde. Sie haben das Sammeln von Feldkost eingestellt und beschränken sich auf die Jagd, für deren Erträgnisse sie Vegetabilien u. a. von den Mabunda und Luchazi, zu denen sie in einem Abhängigkeitsverhältnis stehen, eintauschen. Die Zeiteinteilung ist wie bei den !Kung im Süden.

Die Angola-Buschmänner haben zwei oder drei Weiber. Einige der Ehepaare waren Vettern.

Jeder Haushalt hat einige Kalebassen, ein paar Körbe und einen Tontopf. Holzstampfer zum Zerkleinern des Getreides sind wie im Süden üblich.

Bei den Buschmännern von Kunsumbia wird Durchbohrung der Ohrläppchen und Nasenscheidewand festgestellt. Tatauierung der Stirn mit senkrechten Streifen zwischen den Augen haben alle erwachsenen Männer. Ebenso tragen sie am Arm und auf der Brust sogenannte „Fleischmarken"[2]

[1] D. F. Bleek, Bushmen of Central Angola, Bantu Studies, Bd. III, Nr. 2. 1928. Johannesburg. Ferner Archiv für Anthropologie 1930.

[2] Auch in Ongandjera und an der Natakanakopfanne.

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zur Erinnerung an getötetes Großwild. Auch die Frauen sind tatauiert. Als Waffen besitzen sie außer Pfeil und Bogen noch den Kirri und ein kurzes Messer. Speere sind selten. Die Eisenwaren sind natürlich im wesentlichen von den Bantu eingehandelt, doch haben die Buschmänner in Musombu auch schon eine eigene Schmiede.

Den Regentanz schildert Bleek ebenso, wie ich ihn gesehen habe. Die Frauen und Mädchen stehen in einer Gruppe auf der einen Seite, singen und klatschen in die Hände, während die Männer auch singen, aber nicht klatschen und rhythmische Bewegungen mit dem Oberkörper und den Armen ausführen. Dazu wird gesungen:

//nwa-se //kabama //gu a i-i	Neumond, komm heraus, gib Wasser für uns
//nwa-se tatana //gu a i-i	Neumond, donnere herunter Wasser für uns
//nwa-se tala u//gu a i-i	Neumond, werfe herunter Wasser für uns.

Zur Jünglingsweihe ziehen sich die Kandidaten mit drei Medizinmännern auf einen Monat in den Wald zurück. Dort wird bei Nacht getanzt, und gelegentlich erscheint der Geist Huwe beim Tanze. Auch eine Mädchenweihe findet statt, und dabei soll ein anderer Geist //gaua den Tanz leiten. Auch die Tatauierung der Mädchen wird ihm zu Ehren vorgenommen.

Der Mond spielt in ihren religiösen Vorstellungen die Hauptrolle. Der Neumond soll ein Kind oder ein Mann sein, der Vollmond eine Frau. Sie sagen auch, daß der Mond die ältere Schwester, die Sonne die jüngere Schwester sei. Neben dem Monde erscheinen Huwe und //Gaua als mythische Personen. Statt Huwe sagen sie auch //Nwa-se, „kleiner Neumond". Bleek meint, daß Huwe der Geist des Waldes ist, der das Wachsen der Bäume und des Grases und damit auch das Gedeihen des Wildes verursacht und so auch Erfolg und Mißerfolg der Jagd bedingt. Eine Verehrung Huwes konnte nicht festgestellt werden. Interessant ist, was über //Gaua ausgesagt wird: „//Gaua ist ein anderes Wesen. Die Leute vom Ngami-See geben dem Wort drei Bedeutungen: Traum, Gespenst, Geist. Bei den Angola-Buschleuten wird es manchmal für Gespenst, manchmal mehr unpersönlich gebraucht. Eine Frau sagte: Wenn ein Mensch stirbt, dann kommt aus seinem Grab ein Gespenst (//Gaua) heraus, welches von den Medizinmännern gesehen werden kann." Donner und Blitz kommen von //Gaua. Wer vom Blitze erschlagen wird, der wird zu einem Stern am Himmel. Die Sterne sind die Lagerfeuer des //Gaua. Die Buschmänner sollen die Kinder des //Gaua sein. Er ist ein Mann, der im Walde lebt, und sein Haus ist eine Höhle in der Erde. Ein Informant erklärte, daß //Gaua soviel wie Ndjambi (Gott) sei. Es gibt zwei Arten von Medizinmännern, solche, die die Geister sehen können und die Jünglingsweihen durchführen und tatauieren, während die zweite Sorte die Krankenheilung betreibt.

ZWEITES KAPITEL

DIE BUSCHMÄNNER DES WESTLICHEN OTJIMPOLOFELDES

In Shandi, im östlichen Ukuanjama, konnte ich durch die Liebenswürdigkeit des Residenten Mr. Eaddes und des Eingeborenenpastors Paulus Kontakt mit Buschmännern bekommen. Es waren teils wirkliche !Kung, die sagten, sie seien dieselben wie jene von Karakowiss, mit denen jedoch eine brauchbare Verständigung nicht möglich war, teils waren es solche, die sich wohl als !Kung bezeichneten, nach Sprache und Sitte aber den südlichen Buschmännern des Ambolandes zuzuzählen sind. Sie selbst sagen, ihre Väter seien aus Ongandjera gekommen. Nur auf letztere beziehen sich die folgenden Angaben.

Den Himmel bezeichnen sie als !nanu áiba Êroba Kharésa („Regenhaus Gottes").

Für Gott haben sie die Ausdrücke „Erob" und „χ'amab". In Gebeten wird nur „Erob" gebraucht. χ'amab[1] hat sich erhalten in χ'amá //gu Khe = „Leute, die bei Gott sind", also die Seelen der Verstorbenen im Himmel. Dorthin kommen alle, die Guten wie die Bösen. Erob hat keine Frau und keine Kinder. Der Mensch hat nur eine Seele (!gau-ba). Die geht ins Himmelhaus und bleibt dort, „bis Erob neue Menschen daraus macht". Hier liegt ein allerdings kaum weiter durchdachter Glaube an Seelenwanderung vor.

Auf der Erde bleiben keine Totengeister zurück. Es gibt wohl Buschgeisterchen, die Gangorob, sie sind harmlos und tun nichts. Böse Geisterchen gibt es nicht. Von Heiseb und /Nawa wissen sie angeblich nichts.

Reich ist der Wildbestand in den hochstämmigen Trockenwäldern des Otjimpolofeldes. Auch Fische gibt es in der Regenzeit. Die Buschmänner nennen sie „shiba" (Ovambo: oshi oder ochi), haben also ursprünglich kein Wort dafür gehabt.

Dem Löwen (χ'oréba) stehen sie hilflos gegenüber. Man verläßt eine Gegend, sobald sie von Löwen unsicher gemacht wird. „Es hat keinen Zweck, sie zu jagen."

Der Leopard (χ'nába) wird mit Hunden (ariba) gejagt. Für das Fell zahlen die Häuptlinge des Ambolandes gute Preise; denn kleine Prinzen und Prinzessinnen werden nicht in einem Tragfell aus Kuhhaut getragen, sondern in einem Leopardenfell. Eifrig wird der Schakal (†Khai-eba) und der Löffelhund (//arúba) gejagt. „Aruba" entspricht wohl N. //arob = Streifenschakal.

Wilden Hunden „Kheré" !nube (N. !goub) weicht man am besten aus. Die Hyäne †Khai-laea (N. †heirab) wird nicht beachtet und nicht gegessen. Wenn sie in die Nähe der Werft kommt, ist das kein gutes Zeichen.

Um so eifriger folgt man dem Honigdachs luisa (N. !ous), der zu den Bienen führt.

Gejagt wird das häufige Wildschwein (gariba), das Kudu (daub), der Gemsbock χ'uaba (N. /gaib) und all die kleinen Antilopen. Fallgruben kennen sie nicht mehr. Früher hat es welche gegeben.

Wird eine Jagd beschlossen, so muß man schon die Nacht vorher Geschlechtsverkehr meiden; am Abend begeben sich die Jäger in den Wald und übernachten dort. Vor Morgengrauen erheben sie sich und bitten:

Pu, pu, Eró, /nari dau /ari mate	Gott, morgen früh wir bekommen.

Ist ein Stück Wild zur Strecke gebracht, dann schneidet einer der Jäger ein Stück Fleisch aus dem Körper des Tieres und übergibt es dem Anführer der Jagd. Dieses Fleisch heißt am-shái-khe. Es wird Feuer gemacht und dieses Stück daraufgelegt. Ist es gebraten, dann schneidet der Anführer ein Stück ab und ruft:

Ero, Ero, Ero, ha góre, ha góre	Erob Erob, Erob, essen, essen
i Khe Khandi ô	mit uns Fleisch.

Nach einer Pause:

ha lê a lê ha góre o Khandi ô	Kommt! Kommt! essen wir Fleisch.

Nun wird das gebratene Fleisch verzehrt. Weggeworfen oder zurückgelassen wird für Erob nichts. Sodann wird das Wild zerlegt, und jeder geht mit seinem Teil nach Hause.

Schlangen sind nicht selten, wenn auch lange nicht so häufig, wie in den steinigen Gebieten Südwests.

Die Riesenschlange frißt Menschen; wenn sie einen Buschmann erwischt, fängt sie bei den Beinen an, ihn aufzufressen!

Trotz des Hochwaldes ist die Durstgefahr groß. Erob schickt den Regen. Wenn Durstnot ist, wird getanzt und gebetet:

Êro, Êro, Êro, /ga !goro	Erob, Erob, Erob, wir verdursten
/ga-wi -ma ta re	Wasser gib uns.

[1] χ' bedeutet einen ganz tief angesetzten gutturalen Klix, für welchen ich kein Sigel kenne.

Es ist sehr interessant, festzustellen, wie in diesen sicher uralten Jagd- und Regengebeten die früheren altheidnischen Gottesnamen Huwe und χ'amab durch das christliche „Elloh" ersetzt wurde.

Ich fragte die Leute, ob sie noch andere Gebete wüßten, und erhielt die folgende Antwort: „Wir wissen genau, daß man nichts machen kann ohne Erob, wir bitten ihn auch, wenn jemand krank ist, aber wir haben keinen Gesang dafür, wir tun das im Herzen." In diesen Anschauungen ist wohl der christliche Einfluß eindeutig.

Eine Jünglingsweihe haben sie nicht, wohl aber eine Mädchenweihe zur Zeit der ersten Menstruation.

Die Mädchenweihe heißt „derob".

Das Mädchen wird bei Eintritt der Menses ein „χ'âba χ'âbesa", man baut ihm eine eigene Hütte (omba), wo es von älteren Frauen bewacht wird, die es füttern; es darf alles essen, aber nichts mit der Hand. Gehen die Menses zu Ende, so beginnt ein zweitägiges Fest, das mit einem Schlußtanz endet. Die Kandidatin sitzt in der Mitte. Männer und Frauen gehen im Kreis um sie. Die Männer blasen auf Holztrompeten. (Diese Trompeten werden nur an einer Stelle von den !Kung gemacht.) Dazu wird die Trommel geschlagen (!guruba). Am Schlusse machen die Frauen „Musik". Sie klatschen in die Hände und singen:

e-e-e-e-a-eje a jeja ni u u e...

Darzwischen tönen die Trommeln und Holztrompeten. Dann beginnt der Chorgesang der Männer.

boro ai /i-he ǂhasa	Tochter meine geworden groß (gerade)
ǂhau ge	Steh aufrecht (groß)
/gai /ka uta (?) /noro-re	Gut sei jetzt unser Sonnenscheinchen[1]
/ari ni tessa	Tanzt[2], singt, werbet um ihre Hand[3]
!goasa hi bare	Leute, freut euch
Ti Komi !gôâ Kôô ... Kôô ... Kôôô ..	So, auf diese Art, Leute, sollt ihr es machen.

Sodann beginnt der Tanz von neuem.

Die Verlobung erfolgt meist schon lange vor der Mädchenweihe. Die Regel ist daher, daß Hochzeit und Mädchenweihe zusammenfallen und das Mädchen sogleich nach Beendigung der Festlichkeiten auf die Werft ihres ursprünglichen Gatten zieht.

Geht ein Mann auf Freiersfüßen, so muß er zuerst das Jawort des Mädchens zu erhalten trachten. Ist das gelungen, so geht er zu den Eltern des Mädchens. Stimmen auch diese zu, so ist die Verlobung perfekt. Nun wird jeder Verkehr unterbrochen, bis der Bräutigam erscheint und zu den Eltern des Mädchens sagt: „Ich will jetzt Hochzeit machen." Sind die Eltern auch jetzt noch einverstanden, dann gehen sie zu ihren Verwandten, um ihnen die freudige Mitteilung zu machen. Diese können durch ihren Einspruch die Ehe noch verhindern. Tun sie es nicht, so wird das Hochzeitsfest angesetzt. Im Busch muß der Bräutigam den Brauteltern ein Stück Großwild bringen. Meistens machen sich die Leute die Sache leichter. Entweder sie haben sich bei einem schwarzen Bauern bereits ein Rind verdient, das nun in dessen Herde steht und für den Hochzeitsschmaus abgeholt wird, oder – und das ist das Häufigere – das Buschmännchen beginnt eine Bettelfahrt durch die schwarzen Höfe, bis ihm jemand als Vorschuß auf später zu liefernde Felle oder zu leistende Arbeiten eine Kuh gibt.

Und wunderbarerweise gelingt dies immer. Das erklärt sich aus verschiedenen Gründen. Nie würde ein schwarzer Bauer, zu dessen übelsten Charakterzügen Geiz und Habsucht gehören, einem anderen Schwarzen, der nichts hat, eines von seinen heißgeliebten Rindern auf unsichere Versprechungen hin geben. Und nicht mit Unrecht. Die Kuh wäre am nächsten Tag im Magen des Bittstellers und seiner Freunde verschwunden und der Bittsteller am übernächsten Tag jenseits der Stammesgrenze. Wiederholt kamen die Buschmänner zu spät zu meinem Lager. Aber immer erhielt ich von den Ukuanjama die Beruhigung: „Die Buschmänner halten Wort, sie kommen bestimmt, wenn sie leben." Dazu kommt natürlich die Symbiose. Jedes Dorf hat seine Buschmänner. Für die Zeit der Ernte tauchen

[1] Wörtlich: „Lichte, du". [2] Wörtlich: „Springst". [3] Wörtlich: „Fragst an!"

sie auf und helfen mit. Zwischendurch lassen sie kein Fest aus, und einmal kommt dieser mit Fellen, jener mit Honig. Und schließlich sehen die Sippenhäuptlinge der Buschmänner darauf, das nichts geschieht, was dem Ansehen der Buschmänner abträglich sein könnte. Daß diese Leute Diebereien begehen, ist unerhört.

Die Ehe ist bis zur Geburt des ersten Kindes trennbar, nachher nicht mehr. Monogamie ist die Regel; wo Polygamie herrscht, ist die erste Frau die „Hauptfrau". Der älteste Bruder der Hauptfrau ist das Familienoberhaupt. Die Knaben gehören zur Familie der Frau, die Töchter zur Familie des Vaters.

Es herrscht strengste Exogamie. Sohn und Tochter dürfen weder in die Sippe des Vaters, noch in die Sippe der Mutter heiraten. Dagegen wird eine junge Witwe meist von einem ihrer Schwäger geheiratet.

Folgende Sippennamen wurden mir mitgeteilt:

!Nui-a, Dai, χaben, χorasi, Gombe, χ'am, χ'am-Kha.

Folgende Tageszeiten werden unterschieden:

eruba ..... Zeit vor Sonnenaufgang.

!khoasa ..... Zeit des Sonnenaufganges (N. Khoa-am = öffnen, d. h. die Tür für die Sonne wird aufgemacht).

sorésa ..... „Sonne scheint".

sorésa ǂkam go „Junge Sonne geht", Frühstückszeit. Man hat in der Tat unter den Wendekreisen den Eindruck, als würde die Sonne, nachdem sie eine Zeit am Horizont gestanden, mit großer Geschwindigkeit dem Zenit zustreben.

sorésa !khoai go . „Sonne zurück geht". Mittagszeit.

//gui-sa ..... „Sie neigt sich (legt sich)". Nachmittag.

ǂkhai-am-go .... „Aufstehen und gehen".
Nach Jagd oder Feldkostsuche pflegt man Rast zu halten, ehe es Zeit wird nach Hause zu gehen und die Küche in Betrieb zu setzen (Spätnachmittag).

ǂkha-go ..... „Durchgehen". (Die Sonne geht durch das Tor der Nacht.) Dämmerung, Sonnenuntergang.

!khui-sa ..... Abend sein.

dachu-ba ..... Nacht (N. tsuχub).

Diese Buschleute haben die Vorstellung, daß die alte Sonne jede Nacht stirbt und eine neue junge Sonne am nächsten Morgen erscheint. Daß der Mond allmonatlich stirbt und wieder aufsteht, ist eine in Afrika so verbreitete Anschauung, daß es eigentlich unnötig wäre, dies besonders zu erwähnen.

Das Jahr beginnt mit dem Einsetzen einer neuen Regenzeit.

//hauba ..... „Gewitter steigen". = Regenzeit.
shauba ..... Kalte Zeit (N. sáob).
!kn-aba .... Heiße Zeit (N. !nái, warm).

An Tänzen wurde mir ein Straußen- und ein Affentanz genannt.

Die so aussichtsreich begonnenen Studien fanden dadurch ein Ende, daß ich dem Dorfhäuptling offenbar zu wenig schenken konnte. Eines Abends erschien ein Junge und teilte mir mit, die Buschmänner hätten „zur Jagd gehen müssen". Ich wartete dann noch einige Tage auf die von Mr. Eaddes gerufenen !Kung. Die Boten kehrten mit der Meldung zurück, sie hätten niemand gefunden. Noch ein Bratenrock für den Dorfschulzen und etwas gelbes Geld für die Buschmännchen, und unschätzbares Material wäre zu gewinnen gewesen.

3: Lebzelter FX10 Bushmen

DRITTES KAPITEL

DIE DAMAN-BUSCHLEUTE AUS DEM PALMBUSCH ÖSTLICH VON ONDONGA

Ihrer Tradition nach kommen diese Buschleute aus dem Hererolande. Sie stellen daher das Bindeglied zwischen den „Saan" im Gobabisdistrikt und Hei//om des Nordens dar. Das Volk als Ganzes bezeichnet sich als Daman — die Reichen. Die Horde um Oshigambo nennt sich //Haru-Khâi. Ihr Idiom nennen sie Châraba. Ich glaube nicht, daß sie weit ins Otjimpolofeld hinein wohnen. Vor den !Kung haben sie gewaltigen Respekt. Die äußersten Viehposten von Ondonga werden so ziemlich mit den Grenzen ihres Bereiches zusammenfallen. Einige von ihnen sind bantualisiert und haben kleine Anwesen. Die anderen obliegen der Jagd und liefern den schwarzen Bauern Wildfleisch, Felle, Straußeneiperlen und Gift. Sie stellen die Treiber bei den großen Jagden Chief Martins. Am Hofe gelten sie nichts. Die Bauern sehen sie nicht ungern. Kleine Hilfeleistungen, ein Sack Beeren oder Feldkost erweichen das Herz der schwarzen Hausfrau, so daß es hier wie in Uukualuthi auch einige Bummler gibt, die aber gern gesehen sind.

Da ich mich mit ihrem „Vormann", der einen kleinen Bauernhof besitzt, recht anfreunden konnte, habe ich Eingehenderes auch über ihre Weltanschauung erfahren.

Sie glauben an ein höchstes Wesen, das nicht als Mensch aufgefaßt wird und das sie χ'amaba nennen. Hier haben wir den /Gamab der Bergdama H. Vedders vor uns.

χ'amaba hat alles gemacht, die Sonne, den Mond, die Sterne und auch die Menschen. Zuerst hat er die Weißen gemacht, dann die Schwarzen, zum Schluß die Buschmänner. Wie χ'amaba die Menschen gemacht hat, wissen sie nicht zu sagen.

Die alten Buschleute sagen, das Feuer käme vom Teufel. Heiseb wird bei ihnen zum Teufel. Heiseb und der Strauß haben zusammen gespielt. Der Strauß hatte das Feuer auf seinem Arm. Der Strauß zog beim Tanzen die Flügel auseinander, und Heiseb nahm das Feuer heraus. Heiseb warf den Feuerbrand hinter sich. Dort war ein Busch, der zu brennen anfing. Und dort fanden auch die Menschen das Feuer.

Heiseb ist böse und tut nur Böses. Er wird in Menschengestalt gedacht. Wo er herkommt, weiß man nicht.

χ'amaba dagegen ist gütig. Man betet zu ihm um Hilfe.

Ich habe folgende Gebete aufgezeichnet:

1. Bittgebet um Regen: In alter Zeit schnitt man Stücke von Holz aus dem !Hawewa-Baum. Er durfte nicht gefällt werden. Diese Holzstücke warf man ins Feuer, und sobald der starkriechende Rauch zum Himmel aufstieg, sang man im Chor:

χ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i aa	Gott gib Wasser trinken.
χ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i !hanusa	Gott gib Wasser Regen,
anita(?) aa	damit wir trinken.

2. Dankgebet für Regen: Ist der Regen endlich gekommen, dann wird ein Freudentanz veranstaltet und gesungen:

χ'ámaba χ'ámaba χ'ámaba	Gott Gott Gott
tûta tûta	Wir haben bekommen, Wir haben bekommen
!hanusa /gam-i-i !hanusa /gam-i-i	Regen Wasser, Regen Wasser
tara ái /gam ái !hanusa tutasi	Wir können trinken, Wasser trinken, Regen bekommen.
χ'ámaba χ'ámaba χ'ámaba χ'ámaba	Gott Gott Gott Gott
/gami tara ái	Wasser wir können trinken!

In den wasserlosen Wildnissen des Palmbusches und des Otjimpolofeldes tritt der Dursttod auch an den entbehrungsgewohnten Buschmann oft genug heran. Sie leugnen nicht, daß es vorkommt, daß Alte und Kranke in der Wildnis zurückgelassen werden müssen. Aber ein solches Ereignis lebt als schweres Unglück im Gedächtnis der Leute lange fort. Wer die Kindesliebe und die Verehrung der Eltern und Alten bei den Buschmännern kennt, kann verstehen, was es für sie bedeutet, einen der ihrigen zurücklassen zu müssen. Man muß das Gefühl selbst gehabt haben, welches sich einstellt, wenn in Durst und Hitze der Körper keinen Schweiß mehr abgibt, die trockene Stirne sich brennend heiß anfühlt und leises Frösteln durch den Körper zieht, um diesen so naiv anmutenden Freudengesang zu verstehen, dessen Inhalt ist: Wir können wieder trinken!

3. Stoßgebet beim Antritt einer Reise:

χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve Gott reisen laß mich gut.

4. Chorgebet für einen Kranken: Wenn jemand schwer erkrankt ist, singen die Verwandten im Chor, während der Doktor seine Zeremonien macht.

χ'ámaba !khoé-wa /khai kháira tévo Gott Leute unsere aufstehen lasse.

5. Kein eigentliches Gebet, aber eine Beschwörungsformel spricht man für sich, wenn man einem Fremden begegnet, den man für böse hält:

Tshai Kwewa /Nawa!

Von der Sonne (sorden) wissen sie nichts zu sagen. Der Mond (χ'áwa) stirbt allmonatlich und wacht wieder auf.

Die Krankheiten schickt χ'amaba. Er schickt sie jenen Leuten, auf die er böse ist. Andere Geister spielen dabei keine Rolle. Auch Krankheitsgeister gibt es nicht.

Im Busch gibt es eine Menge Geisterchen, die /ga /ga hû. Sie machen Schabernack.

Der Mensch hat bloß eine Seele !gauba. Diese geht nach dem Tode in den Himmel. (!nanu-alba, Regenhaus?) Dort ist das Haus des χ'ámaba (/khauba). Wie es da oben aussieht, wissen nur die Doktoren. Die sprechen mit χ'ámaba.

„Totengeister bleiben keine auf der Welt, ich habe überhaupt noch keine Geister gesehen, und ich sage dir überhaupt nur das, was ich weiß. Die Leute reden noch vieles, aber sie wissen nichts." So schloß mein Gewährsmann seine Ausführungen über das Jenseits.

Ein heiliges Feuer kennen die Damanbuschleute nicht.

Eine Jünglingsweihe machen noch die !Kung im Osten. Sie wird bei den Daman nicht mehr abgehalten. Dagegen werden Mädchenweihen abgehalten, über deren Details mir die Auskunft verweigert wurde.

Die Eheschließung ist von der freien Zustimmung des Mädchens abhängig. Allerdings, auf Zureden der Eltern sagen die Mädchen immer ja. Hat dieses die Initiationszeremonien hinter sich, so naht sich bald ein Freier, um ihr zu sagen, „sie sei nun groß geworden und könnte eine Frau werden". Stimmt das Mädchen zu (nach Rücksprache mit ihren Eltern), so geht der Brautwerber zu seinen Eltern. Die künftigen Schwiegereltern fragt er nicht. Der Bräutigam muß zur Hochzeit einen fetten Ochsen bringen und einige Ziegen. Auch die Eltern der Braut schlachten. Die eigentliche Zeremonie besteht darin, daß der Bräutigam die Braut am ganzen Körper dick mit Fett, das mit rotem Ocker gemischt ist, einreibt, während die Männer dazu singen:

jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa bedeutet Hochzeit. Die Frauen und Mädchen klatschen dabei in die Hände.

Im Eherecht zeigt sich schon stark der bantuische Einfluß. So kann man auch kleine Mädchen schon „heiraten", die der Mann dann bei sich aufwachsen läßt, bis sie geschlechtsreif werden. Ein Mann kann so viele Frauen haben, als er will. Die erste Frau wird nicht gefragt, wenn sich der Gemahl weitere Gattinnen nehmen will. Meine diesbezügliche Frage wurde von der gelbbraunen Runde mit schallendem Gelächter quittiert.

Es ist möglich, eine Frau wegzuschicken, aber es gilt als ungehörig und unschicklich und wird von den Verwandten der Frau als Beleidigung empfunden.

Die Frau kann man sich suchen, wo man will, nur die Heirat mit Kindern der Geschwister des Vaters, insbesondere seiner Schwestern, ist verboten.

Die Tochter gehört zur Familie des Mannes, der Sohn zur Familie der Frau.

Die schwangere Frau darf keine „Ongaka" essen, ferner keine Buschböckchen (okapundja, //aribkha); Hasen darf sie essen.

Die Geburt erfolgt in der Hütte. Männer dürfen nicht anwesend sein. Sobald die Nabelschnur (//náčha) abgefallen ist, werden dem Kindchen die Haare abgeschnitten und vergraben. Dann wird das Kind aus der Hütte herausgetragen. Der Vater empfängt es und gibt ihm einen Namen, der ganz willkürlich gewählt wird.

Sobald der Tod eingetreten ist, wird der Leichnam entkleidet, in Felle oder Decken eingehüllt und in Streckstellung mit dem Kopf nach Westen auf die linke Seite ins Grab gelegt. Auf das geschlossene Grab wird Buschwerk gelegt. Die Leute kommen hin, um dort zu weinen. Opfer werden nicht gebracht.

Bei Antritt der Jagd werden gewisse Zeremonien ausgeführt, von denen ich glaube, daß sie zum Teil von den Owambo übernommen wurden.

Die Jäger treffen sich an einem bestimmten Platz im Walde (Khoá !Khuásha). Jeder Jäger bringt einen Zweig mit Omsatiblättern; diese werden auf eine Stelle zusammengeworfen (omsati-//khái-wa). Rundum wird ein Kreis in den Sand gezogen. Jeder Jäger tritt in den Kreis und auf die Blätter und sagt:

//am ǂhaiba, //am ǂhaiba (?)

Der Anführer antwortet:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Herr! Herr! Wir müssen jetzt zur Jagd!

Ist ein Stück Wild zur Strecke gebracht, dann schneidet der glückliche Schütze zunächst ein Stück Fleisch heraus, brät und ißt es, sodann verteilt er das Fleisch an die Mitjäger. Opfer werden keine gebracht.

Dieser Vorgang ist von höchstem Interesse. In der niederen Jagd der Urvölker ist der Einzeljäger unbestrittener Eigentümer des erlegten Wildes. Bei der höher organisierten Jagd, welche diese Buschmänner heute betreiben, wird durch diese Zeremonien das Eigentumsrecht des Einzelschützen nochmals unterstrichen, obwohl in der Folge der Schütze nicht mehr Fleisch bekommt als seine Gefährten.

Das Feldkostsammeln hat hier nicht jene hohe Bedeutung wie im Osten. Vielfach bestellen ja die Buschfrauen bereits ein kleines Hackfeld und hüten die Jungen einige Ziegen, während die Männer noch die Jagd im Hauptberuf ausüben. Aber auch bei den nomadisierenden Gruppen wird die Möglichkeit, gegen Fleisch, Felle usw. Hirse einzutauschen, reichlich benutzt.

Dazu kommt, daß die Schwarzen gerne auf ihrem Tisch Feldkost sehen, weshalb die Buschmänner, ähnlich wie unsere Schwämme- und Beerensammler, ihre Kenntnisse dazu benutzen und einen kleinen Handel mit ihrer Feldkost, aber auch mit Honig treiben.

Dies bedingt, daß Feldkost, die entweder in zu geringen Mengen vorkommt oder nicht schmackhaft ist, überhaupt nicht mehr gesammelt wird, ja sogar die Kenntnis von ihrem Vorhandensein dahinschwindet. Vergessen dürfen wir auch nicht, daß die schwarzen Hirtenjungen längst den Buschleuten ihre Kenntnisse abgeguckt haben. Dadurch ist die Zahl der Interessenten natürlich stark gestiegen, und die Feldkostpflanzen sind selten geworden. Folgende Sorten werden noch regelmäßig gesammelt:

/airoba (ombimbo) ..... Süßliche, stark mehlige Knollen von der Art großer Kartoffeln.
/érui (omauungá) ..... Gallen auf Blättern des Omsatibaumes.
ǂgan-i (esarata) ..... Kleine Früchte.
!Khuí-i (oombi)..... Datteln.
!Korob-ke (oompali) ..... Knollen an den Wurzeln einer Liane.

Aus Kudufleisch wird auch Trockenfleisch gemacht, teils aufbewahrt, teils verkauft.

Aus dem Saft eines Baumes (Euphorbiaceae) !Khores-Ke wird Pfeilgift gemacht. Die Ondonga machen selbst kein Pfeilgift, sondern kaufen es, die Portion zu 1–2 sh, von den Buschleuten. Gegen Pfeilgift hat man keine Medizin. An der Einschußstelle werden tiefe Einschnitte gemacht, man läßt die Wunde erst stark ausbluten und saugt sie dann aus. Bei Schlangenbiß wird ebenso verfahren und etwas Pfeilgift auf die Wunde gegeben(!!!).

Unsere Buschleute leugneten, Gifte zu kennen, die man den Speisen beimengt. Das hätten bloß die „bösen Buschmänner" im Osten. Glauben verdient diese Mitteilung kaum.

In Kleidung, Wohnung und Bewaffnung, ebenso im Schmuck ist nicht mehr viel Ursprüngliches vorhanden. Auf dem Gebiete der materiellen Kultur ist der Prozeß der Bantuisierung viel weiter vorgeschritten als auf dem der Geisteskultur. Man trennt sich eben leichter von Kleidern als von Ideen.

VIERTES KAPITEL

DIE BUSCHMÄNNER VON UKUAMBI

In einer Außenstation der finnischen Mission Ukuambi, wo ich anthropologische Messungen vornahm, traf ich einen Buschmann aus jenen Horden, die am Nordufer der Etoshapfanne wohnen und in einem lockeren Abhängigkeitsverhältnis teils zu Ipumbo, teils zu Shanika standen. Ich konnte mich nur wenige Stunden mit ihm unterhalten.

Diese Buschmänner gehören in Ukuambi ebenso wie an anderen Orten zum Eximo der Akuanambua. Sie selbst zerfallen in eine Anzahl von exogamen Sippen. Mein Gewährsmann gehörte zum Clan Ari-Ari. Der Stamm nennt sich Akese oder Kere und kommt aus der Gegend zwischen Okaukuejo und Outjo. Heute ist die Stammesorganisation zerbrochen. Folgende Namen – früher selbständige Horden –, die jetzt untereinander vermengt wohnen, wurden mir genannt: /Aru-Kwe, Ashuche, Aséha, !Kuru-Kwei, A !Kha-ta-bé, A-Hei-tére, A !gnuri.

Soweit diese Buschmänner nicht schon das Leben der Bantubauern führen, sind sie Jäger, Spione und gelegentlich auch Henker der Häuptlinge. Sie verfertigen Straußeneiperlen und Gift. Für 12 gute Straußeneier erhalten sie einen fetten Ochsen. Die Owambo sind da ganz eigener Meinung. Die guten Eier ihrer Hühner verschmähen sie. Die gewöhnlich etwas „anrüchigen" Straußeneier werden um teures Geld als Delikatesse gekauft.

Die Söhne gehören in die Familie des Vaters, die Töchter in die der Mutter. Den Männern ist verboten, Hasen zu essen, den Frauen und Kindern ist es gestattet. Der Genuß von Hyänen und Riesenschlangen ist allen verboten.

Über ihre religiösen Vorstellungen konnte ich in Erfahrung bringen: Am Himmel wohnt der große Kapitän !Khuwa, was dasselbe bedeutet wie Huwe. Die Frage nach Gott beantwortete er aber damit, daß er sagte, das sei Erob, was natürlich mit dem Gottesnamen Elloh der Rheinischen Mission zusammenfällt. Der Name !Khuwa fiel erst gelegentlich im Gespräch. Meine Frage, ob !Khuwa und Erob nun dasselbe bedeute, konnte er nicht eindeutig beantworten. Diese Leute haben den Ausdruck Ellob jedenfalls aus Outjo, wo es auch einige christliche Buschmänner gibt.

!Khuwa wohnt im Himmelshaus χ'ain !nao gároba. Die Leute im Himmel essen nur große Fliegen !Khu !Khua-i. Die Gestalt /Nawas ist unbekannt. Es fehlt auch der böse Gegenspieler Huwes, //Gauab. Doch haben diese Buschmänner die gleiche Zweiseelenlehre wie die !Kung des Ostens.

Wenn jemand stirbt, wird er Eigentum !Khuwas, er ist ein !Khunga. Die eigentliche Seele χ'áobe geht ins Himmelshaus, bleibt dort und tut nichts, als große Fliegen essen. Aus den Leibern der Toten

entstehen die //gauá-i, die im Busch herumlaufen und Unfug machen. Sie entsprechen den Akwapungu und Azizi der Ovambo. „Aber die eigentlichen Seelen der Ovambo und der Buschleute gehen verschiedene Wege; die der Ovambo gehen unter die Erde, wo sie ihre Felder und Herden haben, die der Buschmänner aber hinauf." Da Herr Missionar Kylves den Wunsch äußerte, selbst eingehende Studien über diese Buschmänner zu machen, habe ich gerne dieses lockende Arbeitsfeld meinem liebenswürdigen Gastgeber überlassen.

Nun noch einige Wortproben, die zeigen, daß diese Leute der Hei//om-Namangruppe zuzuzählen sind, was mit Rücksicht auf die !Kungelemente in ihrer Weltanschauung sehr auffällig ist.

Deutsch	Ukuambi-Buschmänner	Nama
Sonne	shoreba	sóres
Mond	!háwa	//khab(*)
Sterne	/nāmirō-i	/gamires
Himmelsgewölbe	shorche	ǂkanis
Erde	/huwa	!hub-eib
Blitz	/harabé	náwab
Donner	'nau	!gurub(*)
Regen	ǂnanuba	/awib(*)
Löwe	χ'amba	χ'ami
Leopard	!kui-oba	!arub(*)
Großer Vogel	anite	—
Hund	arib	arib
Riesenschlange	!aoba	—
Zebra	χorebe	—
Elefant	ǂkoá-ba	ǂkoáb
Hase	!kai-éba	!kàirab
Mann	áure ba	áob
Frau	taréba, taréqueta	taris
Kind	/koá ruba	/geb
Werft	//gaun-kwá	//gāus
Kopf	tanába	tanas
Auge	mu-i	mus
Ohren	/gai-i	//noub
Mund	am-ba	ams
Zähne	//gu-i	//gu-i
Zunge	tamba	nami(*)
Nase	/kui-ba	/guis
Hand	!koam-ba	!omi
Fuß	/gai-i	/eis
Bogen	/kawa	khas
Pfeil	/kaau-i	/ab(*)
Gift	!khore-ai	!gab, !gurub
Palme	/haiba	—

Von 29 Worten zeigen nur 6 Wurzeln (*) keine Verwandtschaft mit dem Nama.

FÜNFTES KAPITEL

DIE BUSCHMÄNNER VON UUKUALUTHI

In ganz Uukualuthi, Uonkolonkathi und Ombarantu gibt es angeblich nur noch 2 Buschmänner, die die alte Sprache verstehen. Beide sind nichtsnutzige Bummler, die von einem Biertopf zum anderen ziehen. Einen davon machte mir dank der Fürsprache der Frau Missionar Aarni der Häuptling Moala stellig. Freilich hielt er es nicht lange aus und war auch in den paar Tagen, wo er die Gnade hatte, sich uns zu widmen, selten nüchtern. Wir mußten unsere Unterhaltungen auf den Vormittag beschränken. Was ich von ihm erfuhr, ist sterbendes Volkstum, nichts Zusammenhängendes mehr. Der Mann stand den Dingen mit der fröhlichen Resignation des chronischen gutartigen Potators gegenüber . . .

Im Himmel gibt es einen Gott (Erob). Blitz (dábara) und Regen (!nanus) werden von ihm gesendet. Den Himmel nennt er χ'ameiba. Dieses Wort ist sehr interessant. Es kann sowohl „Platz der

Seelen (χ'a)" oder auch „Platz des χ'amab" heißen. Die Seelen (um-ské) kommen nach dem Tode in den Himmel. „Man sagt so", meinte der Mann, „ich war noch nicht dort."

Gauab und Heiseb kennt er nicht. Bezüglich sonstiger Geister meinte er, die Leute hätten davon erzählt, er glaube nicht daran. Die Geister sollen „gangarob" heißen. Die alten Buschmänner hätten weder Doktoren noch Mittel gegen Krankheiten gehabt. Auf meine Frage, wodurch denn die Menschen krank würden, antwortete er mit philosophischem Gleichmut: „Wenn man krank wird, wird man krank wie ein Tier." Von Sonne (soris) und Mond (χ'ab) weiß er nichts zu sagen. Ein heiliges Feuer ist ihm unbekannt.

Von höchstem Interesse ist sein zweifelsohne auf Autopsie beruhender Bericht über ein Primitialopfer bei der Jagd. Ich gebe den Bericht in wörtlicher Übersetzung:

„Ehe man zur Jagd aussieht, trifft man sich bei einem Omsati-Baum (//Khaia-eib). Dort macht man ein Feuer. Jeder Jäger rüttet einige Blätter ab, spukt darauf und wirft sie ins Feuer, dabei rufend:

Êroh, Êroh âu tere! Gott, Gott hilf uns!

Ist das Wild gefallen, so schneidet man erst je ein Stückchen von Lunge, Leber und Magen heraus und wirft jedes Stück einzeln zur Seite und spricht dabei:

Êroh ire, Êroh ûre! Gott nimm, Gott nimm!

Dann fängt man zu essen an."

Diese vorgenannte Funktion übt derjenige aus, welcher das Wild getroffen hat.

Bezüglich der sozialen Organisation wurde mir folgendes mitgeteilt:

Initiationszeremonien hat es gegeben. Das Fest der ersten Menstruation fiel mit der Hochzeit ursprünglich zusammen. Am ersten Menstruationstag kam das Mädchen in einen eigens für diesen Zweck gebauten Pontok. Dann wurde zwei bis drei Tage getanzt, und nach Abklingen der Menses begab sich das Mädchen zur Werft des Mannes und nahm das eheliche Leben auf. Jetzt fallen erste Menstruation und Hochzeit nicht mehr immer zusammen.

Die Zustimmung des Mädchens zur Eheschließung ist unbedingt nötig. Man verlobt sich oft schon im Kindesalter. Ist das Mädchen „groß", d. h. geschlechtsreif geworden, so begibt sich der Freier zu den Eltern des Mädchens. Weder die Braut noch der Bräutigam dürfen die Werften ihrer zukünftigen Schwiegereltern betreten. Sind Vater und Mutter einverstanden, dann gehen diese zu den Großeltern, um deren Zustimmung einzuholen. Dann werden Ochsen, Hammel und Ziegen für das Fest gesammelt. Sodann begibt sich der Freier zu seinen Eltern, die ihrerseits auch die Großeltern befragen. Auch im Hause des Bräutigams wird nun Vieh gesammelt bzw. erbettelt und gekauft. Dann beginnt ein großes Fest. Es wird getanzt und aus langen Trompeten geblasen.

Im Hochzeitsreigen singen die Männer:

„Huwi é haa – huwi é taa – huwi âni taa." (Das Mädchen ist groß geworden.)

Die Frauen klatschen in die Hände und singen:

„Jee jeee ja! jee jeee ja!"

Eine Jünglingsweihe im eigentlichen Sinne haben sie nicht mehr. Doch wird, wenn der Junge groß geworden ist, ein Fest gemacht und Vieh geschlachtet. Ebenso wird, wenn ein Kind geboren wird, ein Fest veranstaltet, bei dem Hammel oder Schafe geschlachtet werden. Auffallend ist, daß bei diesen Buschmännern an Stelle der Ziege gewöhnlich das Schaf tritt.

Der Junge bekommt den Namen vom Vater, die Tochter den Namen von der Mutter. Die Kinder gehören zur Familie der Frau und der älteste Onkel, oder älteste Bruder der Frau ist das Familienoberhaupt. Die Kinder von Mutters Schwestern darf man nicht heiraten.

Im folgenden gebe ich die Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen:

Deutsch	Ukualuithi-Buschmänner	Name	Deutsch	Ukualuithi-Buschmänner	Name
Vater	//khum-khe	/gub, dadab, eib	Tochter	χ'ams-khe	/gôas/gôa
			Bruder	!gasab	!gasab
Mutter	//khums	/gus, is	Schwester	di !gas-khe	!gasas
Sohn	a χ'oron-khe	//ôab/gôb			

Deutsch	Uukualuthi-Buschmänner	Nama	Deutsch	Uukualuthi-Buschmänner	Nama
Sohn von Vaters Bruder	awób[1] !garis-khe	—	Vaters Bruder .	di khoób-khe	—
Sohn von Mutters Bruder .	/góa khoaba..	—	Mutters Bruder	khoes-khe-khoaba	—
Tochter von Vaters Bruder ..	//khum khoás	—	Vaters Schwester	di-khoaba ...	—
Tochter von Mutters Bruder ..	//khum khoás	—	Mutters Schwester ...	//khum khoás	—
			Schwägerin	//khum khoas	—
			Frau.....	tarás	—
			Mann	subá	—

Khoás (gesprochen wie quás) entspricht Khoin in Naman. Khoib bedeutet aber Mann, Mensch, Freund, und Komparativ Khoiya-Khoin = Blutsverwandte.

//Khum Khoas bedeutet also „blutsverwandte Mutter", was richtig angewendet wird auf Mutters Schwestern und deren Töchter und auf die Töchter von Vaters Bruder, sonderbarerweise auch auf die Schwägerinnen, wohl deswegen, weil auch ihnen gegenüber Heiratsverbot besteht. Vaters Schwestern und deren Töchter führen diesen Titel nicht. Diese Basen darf man auch heiraten.

SECHSTES KAPITEL

DIE !KUNGBUSCHMÄNNER

Das ganze ungeheure Gebiet zwischen Ewale, Ukuanjama, Oondonga, dem Umaramba u Owambo bis zu seinem Ursprung und von da über die Farm Buschfeld bis nördlich Otjituo und das ganze Sandfeld östlich des Omuramba Omatako bis gegen Alexeck einerseits, dem Okawango und den Wohngebieten der Bamangwato westlich des Ngamisees andererseits wird von Stämmen der !Kunggruppe bewohnt.

Seiner[2] bringt folgende zutreffende Einteilung dieser Zone:

„Das !Kungfeld bildet den der Nordkalahari angehörenden Teil der Omaheke und liegt zwischen dem Okawango (von Kagere an bis zum 19° o. Br.), dem Kaukaufeld, dem Sandfeld, dem Karstfeld, der Etoshapfanne und dem Otjimpolofeld. – Das Kaukaufeld (nach Passarge eine Hochfläche) liegt zwischen dem Kungfeld, dem Okawango, dem Okawangobecken und der Sandfeldlandschaft. Als Westgrenze, also nach dem Sandfelde hin, sei die Linie Bogara—Debra—Blaubuschpfanne im Westzipfel des Okawangobeckens, dicht an der deutschen Grenze angenommen. – Das von mir bereiste nördliche Sandfeld läßt sich nach Westen begrenzen durch die Linie Nuragas—Otjituo und durch den Lauf des Omatakotales von Otjituo bis Okahitua, nach Süden durch die Linie Okahitua—Okosondusu—Otjosonjou—Epata—Epukiro—Riotfontein-Ost, nach Osten durch die Randzone des Chanesfeldes, Okawangobeckens und Kaukaufeldes. Für die nördliche Abgrenzung nach dem Kungfelde hin ist die Berücksichtigung klimatischer und pflanzengeographischer Verhältnisse nötig, da hier eine natürliche Abgrenzung fehlt; die Linie Bogara—Kanovlei—Nuragas bildet nämlich annähernd die Nordgrenze des Kalahari-Laubes der Mittel-Kalahari, der sich scharf vom Trockenwalde der Nord-Kalahari unterscheidet. – Der lockere, tiefe, ausgelaugte Steppensand trägt einen meist hochstämmigen, meist unterholzlosen, lichten xerophytischen Trockenwald mit laubabwerfenden Bäumen, die infolge der in ihren Wurzelstöcken und Stämmen aufgespeicherten Wassermengen während des größten Teiles der Trockenzeit grünes Laub tragen und teilweise sogar während derselben Blüten und Früchte treiben; dieser Trockenwald ist eine Bildung jüngeren Datums. Die Vegetation des festen, grauhumosen, lehmigen Flußsandes bzw. des lockeren Sandes mit reichlicher Grunddurchfeuchtung und Grundwasser ist ein andersgeartetes Trockenwald, der dem Niederungswalde Warburgs entspricht und sich im Gegensatze zum lichten Trockenwald des lockeren Sandes durch eine relativ große Dichtigkeit auszeichnet. – Die Trockenwaldsteppe nimmt die größten Flächen des !Kungfeldes ein, und

[1] Vgl. dazu !awi (N.): „Das erste Kind gebären."
[2] Mitteilungen aus D. Sch. Geb. 1914.

Niederungswald und Grassteppe bilden in ihm nur schmale Einlagerungen. Im Trockenwald finden sich an jenen Stellen, an denen die Beschaffenheit des Geländes die Ansammlung und Erhaltung von relativ bedeutenden Mengen Wassers oder Grundfeuchtigkeit ermöglicht, Baumindividuen vor, die als Reste eines früheren geschlossenen Niederungswaldes zu betrachten sind, und läßt die floristische Zusammensetzung solcher Waldinseln darauf schließen, daß das ganze Gebiet mit Ausnahme der primären Grassteppen, deren Boden infolge seiner Sterilität wohl nie eine höhere Vegetation aufwies, einst von einem üppigen Niederungswalde bedeckt war, wie er gegenwärtig in seiner schönsten Form in der Nord-Kalahari und im ‚Regenwalde' der Viktoriafälle erhalten ist."

Unter den !Kungbuschleuten in engerem Sinne, die in eine Nordgruppe und eine Ostgruppe zerfallen, verstehe ich jene, welche nördlich der Polizeizone und südlich des Okawango im Ausgangsgebiete des Omuramba u Owambo am Löwenomuramba und beiderseits des unteren und mittleren Omuramba u Omatako sitzen. Die Gruppen im Quellgebiete des Omuramba u Owambo habe ich genauer studiert. Früher saßen die !Kung zweifelsohne viel weiter nach Süden und Westen. Es ist nicht unwahrscheinlich, daß sie erst unter dem Drucke der Hei//om, die ihrerseits vor den Herero das Mittelland räumen mußten, die Grootfonteiner Ebene und die Otawiberge verlassen haben. Auf der anderen Seite haben sie zweifelsohne Raum nach Süden gewonnen, denn Berichte aus der Vorkriegszeit lassen die Nogau im Sandfelde bis in die Nähe von Otjituo sitzen, während diese heute bis hinter Alexeck zurückgewichen sind. Die rassenmäßige Zusammensetzung der !Kungbuschleute gestattet einen Rückschluß auf ihre Geschichte. Wir finden unter ihnen eine größere Zahl europäider Typen als bei den umgebenden Bantustämmchen. Daneben ist australoider Einfluß deutlich, und die Südbuschmannrasse, das ist jene, welche jene Merkmale aufweist, die gemeinhin den Buschmännern insgesamt zugeschrieben werden, findet sich rein nur in einem bescheidenen Prozentsatz, der nach Süden hin zunimmt. Die !Kungbuschmänner sind im Norden ausgesprochene Wahlleute, während sie im Sandfeld den schattenlosen niedrigen Busch bewohnen. Die Oberfläche des Gebietes besteht aus Zonen weißlichen, gegen Osten und Norden zu roten Sandes, der strichweise von Oberflächenkalkstreifen unterbrochen wird. Längs des Omuramba Omatako und parallel zu ihm streichen Pseudodünen in der Richtung Nord-Nordost—Süd-Südwest, die mit dichtem Dornbusch bestanden sind. Auf den mehr tonigen Böden in der Umgebung der Omuramben steht dichter tropischer Trockenwald. Die Erinnerung an feuchtere Zeiten bilden drei oder vier riesige absterbende Affenbrotbäume.

Ludwig Zukowsky[1] berichtet über Fauna und Flora:

„Das Kungfeld, ein großes Laubwaldgebiet, das im Norden von Okawango, im Osten von dessen Überschwemmungsgebiet, im Süden vom Dusche und Schadum und im Westen vom Unterlauf des Omuramba u'Omatako begrenzt wird, will J. H. Wilhelm als besonderes Tiergebiet aufgefaßt wissen, da hier die markantesten Vertreter des Sandfeldes, Oryx, Ourebia, Bubalis, Guevei und Canis fehlen und an ihre Stelle neue Formen treten, wie Damaliscus, Schaeffia und Hippotragus. Roter Sand beherrscht die ganze Gegend, welche mit Serengen, roten Bohnenbäumen, Mokussi (Baikiaea plurijuga), Gelbholz, Dolf und wilden Apfelsinenbäumen (Strychnos Schumanniana) bestanden ist. Der das ganze Gebiet bedeckende Laubwald ist zur Regenzeit, wenn die Bäume belaubt sind, entfernt einem jüngeren deutschen Buchenwald vergleichbar. Der Hauptbaum ist der Sereng (Burkea africana) mit seinem Begleitbaum, dem Mokussi (Baikiaea plurijuga), die besonders dichte Stämme an den Ufern (Dünen) der großen Omuramben bilden. Ein weiterer häufiger Baum ist der rote Bohnenbaum (Copaifera coleosperma), das Gelbholz (Terminalia sericea), manchmal in Baumform, aber häufiger in Buschform als Unterholz auftretend. Im nördlichen Teile kommt hin und wieder der Greesappelboom (Parinarium mobola) vor und vereinzelt im ganzen Veldt der Klapperbaum oder die wilde Apfelsine (Strychnos Schumanniana) und der Dolf (Therocarpus erinaceus). Die Dünen der Omuramben sind außer mit Mokussi auch mit Kameldornbäumen (Acacia giraffa), Hackiebusch (Acacia detinens) und einem anderen Dornbusch (Acacia spec.) bestanden. Zwischen den großen Omuramben, die das Überschwemmungsgebiet erreichen (Kaudum und Schadum), ferner zwischen Okawango und Kaudum befinden sich eine Menge bald mehr erkennbarer, bald verwachsener Omuramben, wie Tschakaue, Gani, nördlich des Kaudum und südlich davon Tschaudum und Kuatschadum. Erwähnenswert ist das inselartige Auftreten der Hyphaene ventricosa bei der Wasserstelle Tschaudum, die in Baumform, wie in der Grootfonteiner Fläche, in 500 bis 1000 Exemplaren isoliert auftritt. Im ganzen Gebiet liegen viele Hackiedornbusch-Inseln und Salzpfannen, die offenes oder einen halben Meter tiefes Wasser haben und meist mit Ried (Phragmites) bewachsen sind. Die Weide ist mit Ausnahme der Omurambabetten, die, wie z. B. der Kaudum, einen sehr hohen Wasserstand von 20—50 cm Tiefe haben, schlecht. Langes, hartes Gras oder niedriger Blätterbusch [vielleicht verwandt mit dem Dichopetalum venenatum (Machau), das hin und wieder auftritt] kommen hier vor, während nur in den Dornbüschen Buschmanngras und Knäuelgras auftritt. In dem Unterholzbestand finden sich Grewiaarten. Der Boden ist

[1] Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Säugetiere Deutschsüdwestafrikas. Arch. f. Naturgeschichte, 90. Jg., 1924. Abt. A, Heft 1.

3: Lebzelter FX10 Bushmen

nur Regenzeit mit Stachelkürbis (Citrullus Naudinianus) bedeckt, unter dem Hackienbusch wachsen Onkies (Cyperus usitatus). Außerdem kommen eine Menge Sträucher vor, die in der Regenzeit schmackhafte Beschkost tragen. Es fehlt der Affenbrotbaum (Adansonia digitata), dessen erste Vertreter nördlich von Dewigna im Kaukaufeld erscheinen, der Marulabaum (Sclerocarya Schweinfurthiana), der Mangettibaum (Rizinodendron Rautanenii) und der Hartekohlbaum (Combretum primigenium). Brackpfannen fehlen, dafür sind im Kaudum und Schadum an manchen Stellen Salzausblühungen. Der Boden ist mit rotem Sand (Fuchssand) bedeckt, der in den Dornbuschbeständen in festen, grangelben, vielleicht tonhaltigen Sand übergeht. Kalkklippen und sonstiges Gestein fehlt vollkommen. Das Kaudumbett ist mit grünem Gras dauernd dicht bestanden. Die Sandpfannen führen humosen Sand, nur im Nordosten bei Schematura ist ein torfartiger Moorboden mit rotem, stark eisenhaltigem Wasser zu finden. Waldbrände gehören zur Tagesordnung, schädigen aber wenig den Baumwuchs."

Südlich des Omuramba u Owambo finden sich in ziemlich großer Zahl Kalkpfannen, die zum Teil noch Wasser führen, zum größten Teil aber ausgetrocknet sind. Der Austrocknungsprozeß des Landes ist daselbst nach den Aussagen der Buschmänner wie der Europäer in raschem Fortschreiten begriffen. In der Regenzeit sind die tonigen Böden versumpft, und dann ist der dichte Buschwald mit Myriaden von Stechmücken erfüllt, und die Malaria fordert bei allen Rassen ihre Opfer. Die ungesunde Lage, die Schwierigkeit der Arbeiterbeschaffung und die Unregelmäßigkeit des Regenfalles haben bewirkt, daß der größte Teil der außer Grootfontein liegenden Farmen wieder verlassen wurde, so daß die Buschmänner dort tatsächlich Raum gewonnen haben. Die !Kungbuschmänner außerhalb der Polizeizone leben völlig nach ihren alten Sitten und Gebräuchen. Die einzelnen Sippen stehen sich zum Teil feindlich gegenüber. Eine Art Erbfehde besteht gegenüber den Hei//om, auf die häufig Überfälle der Weiber wegen gemacht werden. Mit den Farmen an der Nordgrenze (Duwib, Keitsas, Keibeb, Kuntsas, Neitsas, Foxhof) leben die !Kung in guten Beziehungen. Viele von ihnen arbeiten zeitweilig, manche dauernd dort: insbesondere Frauen und Kinder lassen sie gerne auf der Farm arbeiten. Mister Cleark, der Besitzer von Keibeb, hat eine größere Zahl von ihnen zum Holzkohlenbrennen angelernt. Diese Buschmänner machen draußen in der Wildnis die Holzkohle und liefern sie ab. Die Holzkohle wird dann an die Motramitmine in Abenab weiterverkauft. Bis zur Einrichtung der Polizeizone bestand ein fortwährender Krieg zwischen der Polizei und den Buschmännern. Zwischen den Herero von Otjituo und den !Kung kommt es immer wieder wegen der Viehdiebstähle zu Kämpfen. Die Herero attackieren die Buschmänner zu Pferde und erschlagen sie vom Sattel aus mit dem Kiri.

Die Buschmänner, welche nicht gewohnt sind, auf rasch bewegliche Ziele zu schießen, ziehen dabei meist den kürzeren. Die !Kung, die im Sandfeld östlich des Omuramba u Omatako sitzen, stehen ebenso wie die Nogau den Weißen feindlicher gegenüber, und dementsprechend ist auch die Haltung der Weißen und Farmeingeborenen. Ihre Erklärung findet diese Haltung darin, daß die Buschmänner aus dem Gebiete westlich Omuramba erst vor kurzer Zeit verdrängt wurden und nun den kargen Lebensraum ihrer Brüder östlich des Trockenbettes bedeutend einschränken. Die Lebensbedingungen in diesem Gebiete sind hoffnungslos. Mit den Stämmen am Okawango leben die !Kung in Symbiose. Ohne eine feste soziale Organisation, ohne feste Wohnsitze im engeren Sinne ist der Buschmann viel weniger greifbar als etwa die schwarzen Bauern. Die Kollektivhaftung des Stammes, welche den besten Schutz des Europäers bildet, läßt sich den Buschmännern gegenüber nicht anwenden, und die Wahrscheinlichkeit, einen Buschmannes, der am Rande der Polizeizone oder außerhalb derselben ein Verbrechen begangen hat, habhaft zu werden, ist gleich Null. Dies muß man sich im Verkehr mit ihnen vor Augen halten. Ich habe freilich mit ihnen keine schlechten Erfahrungen gemacht.

DIE BIOLOGISCHEN GRUNDLAGEN DES VOLKSLEBENS

1. DIE ZAHL

Seiner hat die Zahl der !Kung mit etwa 12000 angenommen. Seither haben sowohl die Kriege 1914/15, wie auch die fortdauernde Verschlechterung der Wasserverhältnisse die Vermehrung stark gehemmt, so daß ihre Zahl in den letzten zwanzig Jahren sicher nicht gestiegen ist.

Die soziale Grundlage des Volkes bildet die im wesentlichen patriarchalische Familienhorde, welche im Durchschnitt aus ein oder zwei alten Männern, vier bis sechs erwachsenen Männern, ebensoviel gebärfähigen Frauen und einigen alten Matronen besteht; dazu kommen dann die Kinder. Gegen Ende des Winters sammeln sie sich bei den wenigen übriggebliebenen Wasserstellen in großer Menge, versammeln sich dann von dort aus zur Zeit der ersten Feldkostreife an bestimmten Stellen oft zu mehreren Hundert, um sich bei Einsetzen des Sommers wiederum in kleinen Gruppen auf ihren Familiengrund zu begeben. Als Beispiel gebe ich vier Horden, deren ungefähre Altersgliederung ich feststellen konnte:

	Horde I	Horde II	Horde III	Horde IV
Männer	9	7	4	10
Greise	—	—	4	1
Frauen im gebärfähigen Alter	10	12	12	9
Matronen	4	9	7	6
Säuglinge	4	4	7	2
Kleinkinder:				
1–4jährige Knaben	2	3	8	3
1–4jährige Mädchen	3	4	4	1
Kinder:				
5–10jährige Knaben	4	4	?	?
5–10jährige Mädchen	3	2	?	?
Jugendliche Männer	5	—	?	?
Jugendliche Mädchen	3	3	?	?

Die vorliegende Tabelle bezieht sich also auf 44 gebärfähige Frauen und auf 38 Ehen, davon 2 polygame. 4 sind Witwen. Auf diese 38 Ehen kommen 15 Säuglinge, meist unter einem Jahr. Schwanger waren, soweit man sehen konnte, noch 12 Frauen, etwa 5 davon mit älteren Säuglingen. Es scheint demnach, daß das Stillen über ein Jahr hinaus keinen praktischen Schutz gegen eine neue Konzeption gewährt.

Die bei den Nog-au in Kraft stehende Vorschrift, die eine neuerliche Kohabitation mit der Mutter erst gestattet, wenn das Baby sitzen kann, ist wohl bekannt, wird aber nicht sonderlich beachtet.

Diesen 15 Säuglingen sollten 45 Kleinkinder von 1–4 Jahren entsprechen; tatsächlich sind aber nur 30 vorhanden, was einer Säuglingssterblichkeit von 33% entspricht. Sie ist nicht höher als bei Primitivstämmen in Malariagebieten zu erwarten, ist sogar niederer als in manchen Eingeborenenkohabitationen wie etwa in East London.

In der Altersklasse von 5–10 Jahren bleibt die Zahl gleich.

Die Sterblichkeit ist also sehr nieder, wie bei uns, ja noch niedriger, weil ja die gefährlichen Infektionskrankheiten des Kindesalters fehlen. Soweit die geringen hier gegebenen Zahlen einen Schluß gestatten, ist das Geschlechtsverhältnis 1:1. Wie das Geschlechtsverhältnis bei den Erwachsenen ist, läßt sich nicht sagen. Ein großer Teil der Männer verschwand bei meinem Eintreffen – hatten doch die meisten ein schlechtes Gewissen und wünschten weder metrisch noch photographisch festgehalten zu werden. Aber daß mit steigender Altersklasse der Frauenüberschuß steigt, ist wohl klar.

An grauhaarigen greisenhaften Individuen, die wohl über 60 Jahre alt sind, habe ich bei den vier hier angeführten Horden 4 Männer und 13 Weiber gezählt, also ein Verhältnis 1 : 3. Wie bei uns erreichen also auch dort die Frauen durchschnittlich ein höheres Alter.

C. v. François[1] schätzte auf seiner Reise zum Okawango 1891 die Bevölkerung des Gebietes auf 500 Honigkaffern und Hei//om, 2000 !Kung und 10000 Okawangos. Nördlich des Okawango, zwischen dem Kuando und Cuito sollte der Buschmannstamm der Wassecker wohnen. Er nennt den Häuptling der Nord-!Kung den besten Kenner des Landes, welcher ihm versicherte, daß die Wasserverhältnisse früher viel besser gewesen seien. Viele der jetzt trockenen Vleys hatten früher das ganze Jahr Wasser. Der Okaluombe (Apato) soll früher zum Ngami abgeflossen sein.

Theodor Leutwein[2] berichtet:

„Nördlich Grootfontein an dem wasserreichen Platz Gaub hatte sich noch eine Anzahl Kaffern und Buschmänner zu einer Werft zusammengetan und sich in einem Hererobastard namens Krüger ein Oberhaupt gegeben, das in seiner Würde bestätigt wurde" (s. S. 87). „In Naldeus stellte sich ein Buschmannvormann namens Arlitik vor, der ähnlich wie Krüger im Osten als Kapitän der Buschmänner des Westens anerkannt wurde" (S. 88).

„Bei der Reise des Hauptmanns Volkmann im Jahre 1903 zum Okawango leisteten die !Kung-Buschmänner weitgehende Hilfe. Volkmann beschreibt diese !Kung folgendermaßen: ‚Die Buschmänner, die fast unbekleidet sind, sind sehr empfindlich gegen die Kälte. Morgens hat jeder Buschmann ein brennendes Holzscheit in der Hand, das dicht vor die Brust gehalten wird. Die andere Hand liegt mit dicht an den Leib gepreßtem Oberarm auf der Schulter. Am Halteplatz wird das Holzscheit gleich zum Feuermachen benutzt. Geht ein Buschmann als Führer vor dem Pferde, so springt er mit unglaublicher Schnelligkeit bald hierhin bald dorthin, irgendeine Knolle oder Wurzel aus der Erde zu holen. Sehr beliebt sind auch verschiedene Beerenfrüchte, die an niederen Sträuchern wachsen. Als Tabakpfeife wird alles mögliche benutzt: Kudubörner, Kalebassen, ausgehöhlte Früchte des Strychnos, alte Patronenhülsen aus Metall usw. Am liebsten rauchen sie durch Wasser, das nie erneuert wird. Geht der Tabak aus, dann kochen sie die Rinde eines Baumes in dem dickflüssigen Tabakwasser, trocknen dann die Rinde, die etwas Tabakgeschmack annimmt, und rauchen sie'" (S. 180).

F. Seiner berichtet über die Einteilung dieser Stämme:

„Die Kung zerfallen nach unserer bisherigen Kenntnis in vier Gruppen. Die westliche scheint sich von der portugiesischen Grenze bei Kurinkuru längs des Weges über Tschitschib bis an den Omuramba u Owambo hinzuziehen und dann durch diesen, sowie im Osten durch die Linie Nuragas—Blockfontein begrenzt zu sein. Die östlich angrenzende Gruppe von Karakuwisa bewohnt in der Trockenzeit das Tal des Omuramba u Omatako von Karakuwisa bis Blockfontein, sowie in der Regenzeit die Steppen 100—150 km östlich und westlich des Omuramba und diesen selbst bis zur Kanovlei. Die südlichere Gruppe zieht sich von der letzteren im Omuramba bis annähernd Osondema entlang; wir wollen diese Nog-au, die bereits in der Mittel-Kalahari sitzen und kaum den Bastard-Buschleuten beigezählt werden können, Otjitnogruppe benennen. Im Gelände westlich des Omatakotales von Okanakasewa bis Omambonde hausen angeblich die Gam. Das schwerste Anklagematerial liegt gegen die westliche Gruppe vor, die nach Meinung des Bezirksamtes großenteils unter einem einzigen Oberhäuptling, dem berüchtigten Namagorub, stehen soll, und von den übrigen Buschleuten !Kung-au (d. h. !Kungleute) genannt wird. Von den Karakuwisa-Häuptlingen sind erwähnenswert Gnami und Ma, beide verkrüppelt, ferner die Führer der Einbrecher von Blockfontein, Gacha und dessen Bruder Tamburi; dem berüchtigten Namagorub kommt keiner an Einfluß gleich."

In den Urwäldern südlich des Otjimpolofeldes soll nach Vedder der Buschmannstamm der Masi-Keren wohnen. Diese verstehen nicht die !Kungsprache, wohnen gemeinsam in großen viereckigen Häusern und machen sich Einschnitte in den Oberschenkel, um besser laufen zu können. Ihre Pfeile haben große Eisenspitzen, die nicht vergiftet sind.

2. ZUR CHARAKTEROLOGIE

Die Buschmänner sind untereinander dem Charakter nach ebenso verschieden wie die Angehörigen irgendeines anderen Volkes. Schon die verschiedenen Habitustypen weisen darauf hin. Ich möchte Individualcharakteristiken bei der relativ kurzen Zeit, die ich mit den einzelnen zusammen war, keine übermäßige Bedeutung zubilligen. Der Charakter eines Volkes, wenn man von einem solchen sprechen

[1] Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.
[2] Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Berlin 1906.

kann, äußert sich in der durchschnittlichen konventionellen oder traditionellen Art des Reagierens unter verschiedenen Bedingungen, welche trotz der physisch bedingten Charakterunterschiede doch eine gewisse generelle Einheitlichkeit aufweist.

Da ich bei den anderen Buschmannstämmen weniger eingehende Beobachtungen machen konnte, bringe ich hier alles, was ich im Gegenstande beobachtet habe.

Neuen Eindrücken gegenüber verhält sich der Buschmann zunächst ziemlich uninteressiert. Die Neugier ist gering. Wohl haben einmal zwei !Kungbuschleute von mir eine eingehende Erklärung des Motors verlangt und geduldig angehört. Als ihnen einmal ein Amerikaner ein Grammophonkonzert gab, hörten sie dieses mit sichtlichem Wohlgefallen an, es fiel aber keinem ein, über das Wesen dieser Sache eine Frage zu stellen. Die Buschmänner von heute zumindestens glauben nicht, daß sich in den Maschinen der Europäer irgendeine Zauberei verberge. Europäische Instrumente lernen sie ziemlich rasch gebrauchen, insbesondere das Gewehr wird ihnen rasch vertraut. Dornan berichtet ja auch von einer großen Zahl improvisierter Gewehre, welche die Buschmänner adaptiert hatten. In neuer Umgebung ist der Buschmann seinem ganzen Wesen nach blasiert und kühl beobachtend. Anpassungsfähig ist er in hohem Grade. Die Buschmädchen, die manche Farmer zu Konkubinen haben, spielen ganz geschickt Hausfrau. Im Ovambolande nehmen sie rasch die Lebensgewohnheiten und die Wirtschaftsformen der Bantu an. Am Lehrerseminar in Oonipa ist ein Ongandjerabuschmann als Lehrer tätig. Er besitzt einen kleinen, nett gehaltenen Kraal nach Ovamboart und hat sich außerdem eine Ziegelrundhütte gebaut, in der er seine „Bibliothek" aufbewahrt. Auf den Farmen halten sie selten lange aus, hauptsächlich aber wohl, weil ihnen die Nahrung nicht bekommt. Anderen Menschen gegenüber sind die Buschmänner im höchsten Grade mißtrauisch. Jeder Bewaffnete, dem sie begegnen, gilt von vornherein als Feind. Fremde Stammesgebiete darf der Buschmann nur unbewaffnet betreten. Selbst am Rande der Farmzone ist das gegenseitige Mißtrauen so groß, daß ein Buschmann, der als Bote auf eine Farm geschickt wird, in derem Bereich eine andere Sippe sitzt, den Fahrweg, der als eine Art neutrale Zone gilt, nicht zu verlassen wagt. Nähern sich zwei fremde bewaffnete Buschleute einander, so legen sie zunächst auf Sichtweite die Waffen ab, um sich dann erst zu begrüßen. Kommt ein Buschmann zu einer Werft oder zu einem Farmhause, so legt er in einer gewissen Distanz die Waffen ab und setzt sich dann nieder und wartet geduldig, eventuell stundenlang, bis er gefragt wird. Ein ausgesprochenes Rassenempfinden ist nicht deutlich. Alles, was nicht zur eigenen Sippe gehört, wird als fremd, eventuell feindlich angesehen, es sei denn, daß gemeinsame Verfolgung ein Solidaritätsempfinden unter allen Verfolgten aufkeimen läßt. Dagegen haben sie ganz deutlich eine Art Menschheitsempfinden, d. h. sie glauben nicht, daß sie die eigentlichen Menschen sind, und sind z. B. überzeugt, daß im Himmelshause die Menschen aller Rassen Aufnahme finden. Das Verhalten den Verwandten gegenüber ist durch zahlreiche Sitten geregelt, im allgemeinen aber selbst der Frau und den Kindern gegenüber gemessen und fast zeremoniell. Aufdringlich ist der Buschmann niemals.

Von den übrigen Völkern werden die Buschmänner als Ganzes verachtet, im einzelnen aber gefürchtet, nicht zuletzt auch von den Weißen. Die Buschmänner kennen diese Einstellung und verhalten sich dementsprechend.

Auf fremde Ansichten gehen die Buschmänner schwer oder gar nicht ein. Die Mission hat bei ihnen auch keinen nennenswerten Erfolg zu verzeichnen. Dagegen erfassen sie durchschnittlich rascher die Absichten anderer als die gewöhnlich oberflächlicheren Schwarzen. Sie geben infolgedessen auf die an sie gestellten Fragen kurze und präzise Antworten. Bei Fragen, die sie nicht beantworten wollen, schweigen sie. Man muß allerdings im Verkehr mit ihnen beachten, daß sie bei geistiger Arbeit sehr rasch ermüden und dann keine Antwort mehr geben, nicht weil sie nicht wollen, sondern weil sie bereits zu müde sind.

Freigebig sind die Buschmänner nicht. Einen Fremden an der Mahlzeit teilnehmen zu lassen, sowie ihm auch von dem vorhandenen Wasser zu geben, ist allerdings eine glatte Selbstverständlichkeit. Von ihrem personellen Besitz an Waffen, Schmuck, Fellen usw. geben sie aber sehr selten etwas als Geschenk ab. Erhalten sie selbst Geschenke, so zeigen sie sich deutlich erfreut. Mit Worten wird

freilich der Dank nicht ausgedrückt, aber wer den Buschmännern Wohltaten erweist, kann sicher sein, daß sie ihm bis zur Selbstaufopferung Dankbarkeit durch die Tat beweisen werden.

Dem Mitmenschen, der in Not geraten ist, zu helfen, ist ein moralisches Gebot. Es wird von einem Prospektor berichtet, der sich im Buschwald verirrte und dann von den Buschmännern, mit denen er nicht einmal reden konnte, gerettet, tagelang verpflegt und schließlich auf den rechten Weg gebracht wurde.

Verabredungen und Versprechungen hält der Buschmann unbedingt ein, freilich kommt er meistens etwas zu spät. Als einmal der Ochsenwagen der katholischen Mission auf dem Wege zum Okawango einen Ochsen zurücklassen mußte, überließ man ihn den Buschmännern mit dem Bemerken, man würde ihn zur Zeit des nächsten Vollmondes abholen. Die Leute hielten Wort, und der Ochse wurde gut gefüttert terminmäßig abgeliefert.

Als Kamerad ist der Buschmann verläßlich und treu[1]. Die Buschmänner sind, was ja schon ihre Lebensweise mit sich bringt, durchwegs mutige und entschlossene Leute.

Die Buschmänner vermeiden es in Gegenwart der Frauen und Kinder streng, über sexuelle Dinge zu reden. Wie sie überhaupt ein Volk ohne jede Phantasie sind, fehlt ihnen auch jede subtilere erotische Phantasie.

Die endlosen obszönen Geschichten, die man von den Schwarzen zu hören bekommt, sobald man einmal ihr Vertrauter ist, sind bei den Buschmännern unbekannt.

Ihren religiösen Festen fehlt die sexuelle Note, wohl aber kommt diese bei vielen ihrer Tänze zum Ausdruck, die Liebesspiele von Tieren imitieren.

Im ganzen ist ihnen ja Schamhaftigkeit nicht abzusprechen, wenn sie natürlich auch keine solchen dezenten Umgangsformen haben wie vornehme Bantu, wo es als höchst unschicklich gilt, auf die Brüste der Frauen zu sehen, und wo die Mädchen niemals, ebensowenig wie die Frauen, die typische Hockerstellung einnehmen, sondern mit schräg aufeinandergelegten Beinen auf dem Boden sitzen.

Trotzdem sich das Leben der Buschmänner innerhalb der Werft vor aller Augen abspielt, werden doch jene Grundsätze eingehalten, die wir als natürlichen Takt betrachten.

Seine Bedürfnisse besorgt der Buschmann immer ungesehen von den anderen, und Liebesszenen werden niemals vor den übrigen gemacht.

Es ist natürlich sehr schwer, über das intimere Geschlechtsleben Genaueres zu erfahren, ohne sich dabei selbst bloßzustellen. Als Gewährsmänner kommen nur alte Leute in Frage, die nicht mehr renommierrichtig sind.

Bei dem harten Leben, das die Leute führen, ist die Sexualität natürlich nicht übermäßig entwickelt. Perverse Manipulationen sind offensichtlich unbekannt, da meine Gewährsmänner diesbezügliche Fragen überhaupt nicht verstanden.

Der normale Geschlechtsverkehr wird meist in der Zeit zwischen dem Abendessen und Mondaufgang im Busch vollzogen. Nach längeren Durstperioden tritt fast völlige Impotenz ein.

Trotz aller Gemessenheit haben sie ein ungezügeltes Temperament, das sich oft aus nichtigen Anlässen in schweren Affektausbrüchen äußert, die dann, da ja der Giftpfeil immer zur Hand ist, leicht üble Folgen haben können. So wurde mir folgende Geschichte erzählt: Ein Buschmann ging längere Zeit auf eine Farm arbeiten und kam mit einem prallen Maisbauch zu seinen mageren Gefährten. Sein Bruder verhöhnte ihn, weil er so dick sei, daß er nicht mehr laufen könne, worauf der Dicke replizierte: „Dafür werde ich länger leben als du." Der magere Bruder erstach nach diesem kurzen Wortwechsel den dicken. – Einmal wollte eine Filmgesellschaft bei den !Kung, die hinter Keibeb sitzen, einen Film drehen: „Als die ersten Weißen ins Land kamen." Nun hatte aber der Häuptling dieser Horde eine

[1] Ein Europäer hatte sich einmal einige Bäumchen widerrechtlich angeeignet und vor seinem Hause angepflanzt. Als derselbe nun einmal mit seinen Buschmännern in der Stadt weilte, erklärte der ursprüngliche Besitzer der Bäume, er werde am Nachmittag zu dem Betreffenden hinfahren. Die Buschmänner hörten dies und verschwanden. Als nun die beiden Weißen auf die Farm kamen, waren auch die Bäumchen verschwunden. Die Buschmänner waren vorausgelaufen und hatten sie aus eigener Initiative eiligst entfernt.

alte deutsche Militärhose als Abzeichen seiner Würde, und die Aufforderung, sie abzulegen, beantwortete er mit der Erklärung, er würde erst dann seine Hose ausziehen, wenn auch der Weiße dies täte; er faßte dafür eine Ohrfeige, die ihn und seine Gefährten in eine derartige Wut versetzte, daß die Filmgesellschaft es vorzog, abzureisen, um eine Katastrophe zu vermeiden. Daß sie auch schlagfertig sein können, erweist folgende Geschichte, die mir wiederholt von Europäern erzählt wurde: Ein Buschmann war wegen Jagdfrevel angeklagt. Der Magistrat fragte ihn: „Weißt du nicht, daß diese Tiere dem König gehören (royal game)?" Der Buschmann antwortete: „Ich habe keinen ‚Brand' (Eigentumsmarke) gesehen."

Als Häuptling oder Familienoberhaupt ist der Buschmann herrisch und unnachgiebig, was bei der Starrheit seiner ganzen Lebensauffassung verständlich ist. Die kranken Buschmänner liegen schweigend und geduldig da, doch zerstört ein Krankheitsfall in einer Werft die gute Stimmung bei allen Mitgliedern, teils aus Mitgefühl, teils aus Angst vor den Krankheitsgeistern. Die angeführten Verhaltungsweisen gestatten bereits Rückschlüsse auf die Struktur der psychologischen Persönlichkeit bei den Buschmännern. Es ist gewiß nicht möglich, die Geisteshaltung eines intellektualisierten, hochdomestizierten Europäers mit jener dieser primitiven Jäger zu vergleichen. Aber es besteht zwischen dem einfachen Europäer und den Eingeborenen prinzipiell kein Unterschied in der Lebensauffassung und in der Art, auf die Milieueinwirkungen zu reagieren. Wie ich an anderer Stelle schon ausgeführt habe, können wir von einem Trägheitsgesetz in der Kulturentwicklung[1] sprechen. Es ist dem Primitiven vielleicht instinktiv, vielleicht traditionell klar im Bewußtsein, daß das jedem Individuum innewohnende Energiequantum begrenzt ist und jeder Energieaufwand Abnützung der Lebensmaschine und damit Lebensverkürzung bedeutet. Das Individuum sucht daher mit dem geringstmöglichen Energieaufwand zu einer nach seinen Begriffen optimalen Anpassung an die Lebensbedingungen zu gelangen und diesen Anpassungszustand bei geringstem Energieaufwand beizubehalten. Der große Unterschied gegenüber der europäischen Zivilisation und vielen Primitivkulturen, auch jener der Buschmänner, besteht aber darin, daß die europäische Kultur als Ganzes sich in einem labilen Zustand befindet, die nur einem geringen Teil ihrer Träger die Erreichung eines optimalen Anpassungszustandes ermöglicht. Die Buschmannkultur stellt jedoch einen optimalen Anpassungszustand dar, der von jedem einzelnen Buschmann automatisch erreicht werden kann. Sie ist in ihrer Art also vollkommener als die unsrige. Kein anderes Volk und keine andere Rasse könnte bei den gleichen technischen Behelfen und den gleichen Milieubedingungen eine bessere Anpassung erzielen. Man kann jedoch auch in bezug auf die geistige Kultur von einer solchen Anpassung sprechen. Das Leben des Buschmannes ist durch seine traditionellen Vorstellungen im Diesseits und Jenseits festgelegt, und die Erhaltung der Anpassung sowohl auf geistigem wie materiellem Gebiete wird durch eine strenge Auslese aller von außen angebotenen Kulturgüter bewirkt. Diese Auslese erfolgt bewußt. Kurz gesagt: Die Buschmänner haben nicht deswegen höhere Wirtschaftsformen bisher abgelehnt, weil sie hierzu nicht die Fähigkeit besitzen, sondern weil sie sie nicht annehmen wollten. Brechen die materiellen Voraussetzungen zusammen, dann nehmen sie schrittweise oder auf einmal völlig andere Lebensformen an, wie ihre Bantuisierung im Owambolande und wohl auch die Bildung des Hottentottenvolkes durch Annahme der Viehzucht seitens einiger Buschmannstämme erweist. Ihre durchschnittliche Intelligenz ist nicht geringer als die irgendeiner anderen Rasse. Jeder Buschmann kennt den ganzen geistigen Besitz seines Stammes.

Von denselben Buschmännern sagt F. Schinz[2]:

„Der Buschmann ist seinem Herrn stets treu und folgt diesem ohne Bezahlung auch überall hin; man kann ihn unbesorgt allein beim Wagen zurücklassen und wird selten in den Fall kommen, ihn einer Unredlichkeit zeihen zu müssen. Von allen Reisenden und Jägern wird übereinstimmend die große zwischen Eltern und Kindern bestehende Anhänglichkeit gerühmt, die so weit geht, daß sich der Vater oder die Mutter, um ihr Kind zu retten, selbst preisgebrt. So erzählte mir

[1] V. Lebzelter, Persönlichkeit und Weltanschauung bei den Eingeborenen Südwestafrikas. Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Leopoldgesellschaft 1932.

[2] F. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Leipzig 1891.

der Jäger L., daß er einst am Okavango Zeuge gewesen sei, wie ein junger Buschmann, der im Gefolge des Jagdzuges war, Gefahr lief, von einem gereizten und heranstürmenden Elephanten zertreten zu werden. Im letzten Augenblick, als die erstarrten Gefährten den Jungen schon für unrettbar verloren halten, springt der Vater desselben hervor und schleudert die Wurfaxte dem gewaltigen Tier vor die Stirn; der Elephant wendet sich gegen seinen neuen Angreifer und zermalmt diesen mit Wut unter seinen Füßen, wodurch der Sohn Gelegenheit erhält zu entfliehen."

Meine Beobachtungen decken sich völlig mit jenen Dornans[1] über die Kalahari-Buschmänner, welcher ausführt:

„Es ist behauptet worden, daß die Buschmänner kein Gefühl füreinander hätten. Ich habe oft gehört, daß die Mütter grausam gegen ihre Kinder wären und sie gelegentlich töten, wenn ihnen ihre Last zu groß wird. Soweit ich sehen kann, ist das nicht wahr. Ich habe oft Buschmannmütter ihre Kleinen küssen sehen, genau wie die Europäerinnen tun, und wenn die Kinder krank sind, dann geben sie sich alle Mühe. Die Väter sind zwar oft schroff und grob, aber nie brutal zu den Kindern. Die Mädchen sieht man gewöhnlich in Gesellschaft der Mütter, die Jungen bei den Männern. Zwischen Mutter und Tochter besteht ein enges Vertrauensverhältnis. Es ist auch behauptet worden, die Buschmänner seien undankbar; auch das ist nicht wahr. Sie zeigen ihr Dankgefühl weder gegeneinander noch gegen die Weißen; aber wer durch freundliches Vorgehen ihr Vertrauen gewinnt, der kann sehen, daß sie dankbar sind. Sie zeigen ihre Dankbarkeit nicht durch Worte, sondern durch Taten. Wenn einer in Not oder Gefahr ist und ein Buschmannfreund ist in der Nähe, so wird er bei ihm durchhalten bis zum bitteren Ende."

Der !Kungbuschmann im besonderen ist weit mehr Verstandes- als Gemütsmensch. Die außerordentliche Schwierigkeit, sich den Lebensunterhalt zu verschaffen, macht ihn sehr selbständig in seinem Denken. Es war überraschend, mit welcher Sicherheit nicht nur Männer, sondern auch Frauen dolmetschen konnten; während es bei den Bantus schwierig ist, die Konversation bei der Sache zu halten, bleibt der Buschmann eigentlich immer sachlich. Selbst die Stammestraditionen, soweit sie sich auf ihre abergläubischen Vorstellungen beziehen, sind nicht vor der Skepsis des einzelnen bewahrt. So fragte ich einmal einige Buschleute, ob sie Löwen jagen. Sie verneinten dies, und als ich sagte, daß käme wohl daher, weil in den Löwen die Geister verstorbener großer Buschmänner seien, lachten sie und meinten, das sei bloß eine Erzählung der Hei//ombuschleute und einiger Buschmanndoktoren, die das von ihnen gelernt hätten. Andere Männer desselben Stammes waren aber fest überzeugt, daß in den Löwen die Geister großer Buschmanndoktoren hausten.

Viel wird auch, speziell im Otjimpolofelde, von Buschgeistern erzählt. Aber wiederholt bemerkten meine Gewährsmänner, sie wüßten nicht, ob das wahr sei, denn sie hätten noch keine gesehen. Ein gewisser trockener Humor würzte ihre Unterhaltung. So sagte ich einmal einem Buschmann: „Wenn du mir das sagst, dann bekommst du, was du willst." Er antwortete: „Gut, ich spreche und du gibst mir dein Automobil." Sehr traurig sieht es mit ihrer Phantasie aus. Dazu sind sie viel zu scharfe Naturbeobachter. Einmal kam eine junge Buschmannfrau mit 2 Kindern zu mir und wollte Zucker kaufen. Ich sagte ihr: „Verkauft wird nichts, aber du bekommst den Zucker, wenn du mir Kindergeschichten erzählst, z. B. von Tieren." Nach einigem Zögern begann sie die Geschichte von Arri, dem Perlhuhn. Aber das war kein Märchen, sondern eine ins Detail gehende Naturgeschichte dieses wichtigen Nahrungsvogels. Sie ahmte auch die Rufe des Perlhuhns nach, „z. B. wenn jemand kommt und Gefahr ist, dann sagen sie, gannana he gannana he, wenn sie aber unter sich sind und sich freuen, dann machen sie gi gi gi". Die Kinder mußten das nachmachen, bis sie den Laut gut imitieren konnten. Dann kam das Sandhuhn daran, das spricht: gi gänna gi ganna. Dann der Strauß, der macht: hmm, hmm, hmm, dann der Harzvogel, der spricht: hai-dschi, hai-dschi und die Eule: mhm, m.

3. HALTUNG, BEWEGUNG, AUSDAUER

Infolge seiner starken Lordose nimmt der Buschmann beim Stehen nie eine Haltung ein, die unserem militärischen Haltungsideal entsprechen würde; er steht so gut wie immer mit etwas vorgehaltenem Bauch.

Das Laufen der Buschmänner ist sehr eigentümlich und würde eine genaue Untersuchung mit

[1] Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari. London 1925.

Zeitlupe rechtfertigen. Ihr Lauf ist eigentlich ein andauernder Schnellschritt, bei dem zwar nach vorwärts ausgegriffen wird, jedoch die Unterschenkel niemals hoch nach rückwärts geschlagen werden, wie dies bei unseren Läufern der Fall ist. Der Rumpf wird hierbei möglichst aufrecht gehalten, der Kopf nach oben und nicht nach vorwärts[1].

Die Sitzstellung des Buschmannes ist die bei so vielen Primitivvölkern bekannte und wohl ursprünglich allgemein menschliche Hockerstellung. Es besteht allerdings insoweit ein Unterschied gegenüber den Schwarzen, als diese meist so hocken, daß die Sitzbeinknochen den Boden nicht berühren, während das bei den Buschmännern der Fall ist. Infolgedessen krümmen sie den Rücken beim Hocken ziemlich stark und müssen die Beine ziemlich weit auseinanderspreizen.

Der schlafende Buschmann liegt zusammengerollt auf der rechten oder der linken Seite. Die Kinder schmiegen sich beim Schlafen alle an die Mutter. Die Muskelkraft der Buschmänner ist sehr gering. Die Dynamometermessungen, die ich vorgenommen habe, zeigen, daß die Druckkraft erwachsener Männer geringer ist als die europäischer arbeitender Frauen; sie beträgt nur zwischen 30 und 40 kg, während europäische Frauen auf etwa 60 kg, leicht arbeitende Männer auf durchschnittlich 80 kg kommen und europäische Schwerarbeiter und die Schmiede bei uns 120 und mehr Kilogramm im Durchschnitt erreichen. Schwarze Schwerarbeiter erreichen im Durchschnitt auch bloß 80 kg. Es ist also der Schwarze durchschnittlich doppelt, der Weiße sogar dreimal so stark wie ein Buschmann.

Dagegen besteht kein wesentlicher Geschlechtsunterschied bei den Buschmännern selbst.

Auch die Kraftleistung beim Bogenschießen der Buschmänner ist keineswegs imponierend. So gering aber ihre momentane Leistungsfähigkeit ist, so groß ist ihre Ausdauer im Marschieren. Als im Jahre 1916 der Farmer Schwarz in Neudesenberg (Keitsas) an Schwarzwasserfieber erkrankte, schickte die Frau des Farmers einen Buschmann nach Grootfontein um eine Flasche Champagner. Der Mann ging am Vormittag weg und kehrte um Mitternacht zurück. Die Strecke betrug mindestens 100—120 km, denn die Fahrstraße, die wenig Umwege macht, ist 90 km lang. (Gewährsmann Farmer Schwarz in Duwib.)

4. HABITUSTYPEN UND KONSTITUTION

Die Buschmänner sind eine ausgesprochene menschliche Wildform mit sehr grazilem Knochenbau. Eine Gruppe von ihnen, die ich als Süd-Khoin bezeichne, ist die einzige und jedenfalls vollkommenste Anpassungsform des Menschen an das Wüstenleben.

Der dort herausgezüchtete Typus läßt sich in unser Habitustypenschema überhaupt nicht eingliedern. Da derselbe zu einem erklecklichen Prozentsatz auch an der Zusammensetzung der nördlichen Waldbuschleute beteiligt ist, gibt es natürlich sehr viele Individuen, die wir überhaupt nicht in unserem Sinne klassifizieren können. Jedenfalls können wir aber – ich nehme damit einiges von den anthropologischen Ergebnissen vorweg – bei beiden Geschlechtern der !Kung einen Longitypus und einen Brachytypus unterscheiden. Besonders bei den Frauen ist es so gut wie immer möglich, die „pralle Jugendform" von der sogenannten Zukunftsform zu unterscheiden.

Ich habe an anderer Stelle die Anschauung vertreten, daß als der eigentliche Normaltypus der athletische Typus anzusehen wäre, dem gleichzeitig die Fähigkeit zum mäßigen Fettansatz eingeboren ist. Der muskulär-respiratorische Typus besitzt bei geringerer Entwicklung des Skelettes und der Muskulatur nicht die Fähigkeit zum stärkeren Fettansatz, während der digestive Typus bei gering entwickelter Muskulatur starke Fähigkeit zum Fettansatz hat.

[1] E. v. Eickstedt (Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit, S. 356) sagt: „Dem Fuß wird eine besondere Querstellung zugeschrieben, die die Spur im Sand leicht kenntlich macht – ein Merkmal, das während der alten Buschmannketten vielen Tausenden dieser unglückseligen merkwürdigen Hominidengeschöpfe ihr elendes Dasein kostete. Eigentümlich ist auch der Gang der Sanidem: Sie gehen nicht, sie steigen. Stets heben sie gewohnheitsmäßig, wie zwischen den scharfen Gräsern und Dornbüschen ihrer Heimat, Knie und Füße beim Gehen empor. Das ist wie der schwankende Gang der Schiffer, natürlich ein sekundär erworbenes, kein eigentlich rassisches Merkmal."

Ich möchte das Gehen der Buschmänner doch als etwas rassenmäßig Bedingtes ansehen.

Vom athletischen Typus führt eine kontinuierliche Reihe durch die respiratorischen und digestiven Formen zu den lang- und kurzasthenischen Typen und von da zu den ausgesprochenen Kümmerlingen. Der athletische Typus stellt schon die vollkommenste Verwirklichung des in der rassenspezifischen Konstitution gegebenen Menschentypus dar.

Da die Milieuwirkungen vom Tage der Befruchtung an vorwiegend schädigender Natur sind, ist der schließlich erfaßbare Durchschnittstypus der Typus der durchschnittlichen, durch die Erbmasse bedingten konstitutionellen und der während des Individuallebens erfolgten konditionellen Schädigungen. Je schlechter die Lebensbedingungen sind, um so größer wird der Schädigungskoeffizient sein, um so mehr wird der Durchschnittshabitus dem asthenischen angeglichen. Erst die Milieuverbesserungen, die die Hochzivilisation hervorruft, läßt athletische Formen in großer Zahl ausreifen.

Die Buschmänner würden wir nach unserem Schema durchschnittlich als asthenisch, die bei entwickelten unter ihnen als respiratorisch bezeichnen dürfen. Bei vielen männlichen Individuen besteht die Fähigkeit zu bedeutendem Fettansatz, und ich habe auf Farmen auch einige Buschmänner getroffen, die sich an die Mehlnahrung angepaßt hatten und über einen recht bedeutenden Leibesumfang verfügten.

Der digestive Typus kommt unter ihnen also jedenfalls vor, wenn wir auch bedenken müssen, daß die fleischreiche kohlehydratarme Nahrung seiner Ausprägung entgegensteht.

5. DER TAGESVERLAUF

Die !Kungbuschleute teilen den 24stündigen Tag in 7 Abschnitte, diese sind:

/gam χ'á-o-a ..... Morgenrot.
/gam do di /gil .. Zeit des Sonnenaufganges.
!nâi` /kho ..... (Die Sonne) ist in der Mitte.
ha ti ʃ/náu ..... (Die Sonne) wird untergehen.
χ'á-o ti ʃ/náu .... Die Sonne schläft jetzt.
/gu gâ djo-e ..... Man kann die Leute nicht mehr sehen, weil es dunkel ist.
!a da ! ..... Mitternacht

Die Tageseinteilung ist nach der Jahreszeit etwas verschieden. Mit Ausnahme der sogenannten heißen Zeit, etwa 20. August bis Ende Dezember, wird mit ziemlicher Regelmäßigkeit die folgende Tagesordnung eingehalten: Ehe das Morgenrot am Himmel erscheint, wird es sehr kalt, die Leute wachen wieder auf, die Jungen schüren das Feuer auf und stellen die Reste der abendlichen Mahlzeit ans Feuer. Die Alten rücken näher ans Feuer und schlafen weiter, bis die Sonne herauskommt. Dann wird gefrühstückt, und zwar die Reste der Abendmahlzeit. Die kräftigen Männer gehen nunmehr zur Jagd. Die Frauen sitzen noch etwas herum und stillen die Kinder. Etwa um 10 Uhr rücken Frauen und Kinder sowie die Mädchen geschlossen aus zum Feldkostsuchen. Fast jedes Buschweib im gebärfähigen Alter trägt ein Kind auf dem Rücken, während ein zweites oft auf den Schultern reitet. – Die kleineren Knaben bleiben zu Hause und helfen den Alten, die etwa eine Stunde später aufbrechen, um Wasser zu holen. Die Hütten werden niemals unmittelbar beim Wasser angelegt, 1. weil man beim Wasser krank wird, 2. weil dort die Löwen hinkommen, 3. weil das Wild verscheucht würde. Die Wasserstelle selbst wird zu ganz unregelmäßigen Zeiten aufgesucht, denn dort lauert in unruhigen Zeiten der Feind und gelegentlich auch die Polizei. Die Doktoren und Doktorinnen gehen allein oder nur in Begleitung eines Schülers in den Busch, meist nicht sehr weit, um Medizin zu sammeln. Gegen 4 Uhr nachmittags kommen die Frauen zurück und beginnen zu kochen. Allmählich stellen sich nun auch die Männer mit der Jagdbeute ein. Wenn die Sonne untergeht, sitzt alles beim Feuer und ißt. Jede Familie hat ihr eigenes Feuer. Dann plaudern die einen noch, die anderen schlafen bereits, und allmählich wird es stille.

Mittags wird also nicht gegessen. In der Zeit von 11—4 Uhr ist der Lagerplatz leer, auch die Alten schlafen irgendwo im Walde. Übrigens machen auch die Jäger und die feldkostsuchenden Frauen

in den heißen Stunden eine ausgiebige Mittagsrast. In der eigentlichen heißen Zeit bricht man aber schon bald nach Mitternacht auf, um zu jagen und Feldkost zu suchen, weil später am Tage der Sand zu heiß ist, um darauf zu laufen.

6. DIE JAHRESEINTEILUNG

Die Buschmänner rechnen zwar auch nach Vollmonden, indem sie z. B. ausmachen, nach 3 oder 4 Vollmonden sich zu treffen usw., haben aber nur 10 Monate. Diese benennen sie nach terrestrischen Erscheinungen.

!Kai dsâa	Es ist kalt (Winter)	Juni
gama /ši	Das Gras brennt	Juli/August
!hoá ceri	Es ist heiß	September/Oktober
!u shê	Der Regen beginnt	November
ʃ'khô shê	Die Bäume blühen	Dezember
/hô //gâi	Es regnet	Jänner
!Khan //gai	Die Feldkost kommt heraus	Februar
!nâ'-mâ	Die Feldkost ist reif	März
ao ré //kum //ká ...	Der Regen hört auf	April
!hoá //gai	Das Jahr ist zu Ende	Mai

Sie rechnen also von Ernte zu Ernte.

Die schönste Zeit im Leben der Buschmänner sind März und April. Auch die auf den Farmen Lebenden eilen dann in die Wildnis. An bestimmten Plätzen, wo reiche Fruchtbäume, etwa die Marula stehen, kommen von weit und breit die befreundeten Sippen zusammen. Hier suchen sich die Jungen ihre Bräute aus, es wird viel getanzt, denn die Frauen sind in dieser Zeit nicht vom Feldkostsuchen müde, weil man diese nun überall findet. Die Jagd ist um diese Zeit weniger ergiebig, weil das Wild überall Wasser und Weide hat.

Aber bald fallen die Blätter, der Buschwald färbt sich rot und gelb, die Zugvögel ziehen nach Norden, und bald stellen sich die ersten kalten Nächte ein. Jetzt kommen die „Deso" (Krankheitsgeister) und machen die Brust krank. Ende Mai und anfangs Juli stellen sich die ersten Fröste ein. Jetzt ziehen die Buschleute zu den Wasserstellen, die lange offen bleiben. Die Nächte werden nun zur Qual. Es kommen häufig Verbrennungen auf der Brust- und Bauchhaut vor, weil sich die Buschleute nun enge ans Feuer schlafen legen. Um diese Zeit beginnen manche Sippen schon Mangel zu leiden, weil das Wild andere Gegenden aufsucht, wo noch etwas Weide ist. Im Juli ist endlich das Gras trocken genug, damit es angezündet werden kann. Nun brennt die ganze Steppe. Das junge Gras lockt das Wild wieder an; die Jagd wird besser. Die heiße Zeit ist die schlimmste Periode, die Standplätze des Wildes sind ganz unsicher, die Feldkost wird immer spärlicher, die Buschmänner magern jetzt zu erbärmlichen Skeletten ab. Viele laufen um diese Zeit zu den Schwarzen oder Weißen, um etwas zu verdienen. In trockenen Jahren nimmt man auf die Sippengrenzen keine Rücksicht mehr. Alle sammeln sich um die wenigen noch offenen Wasserlöcher an. Sobald der Regen anfängt, beginnen sich die Verhältnisse wieder zu bessern, man wandert auseinander, um sich erst nach Monaten zur Zeit der Feldkosternte da und dort wieder zu treffen.

7. DER LEBENSLAUF

Wie ein junger Mann ein Mädchen freit, gebe ich in wörtlicher Übersetzung meines Berichterstatters wieder:

Wenn ein junger Mann ein Mädchen heiraten will, dann muß er zuerst mit ihr sprechen und ihr sagen: „Ich habe dich lieb und will dich heiraten." Wenn das Mädchen will, dann sagt sie zuerst: „Du mußt warten." Dann geht sie zu ihren Eltern und fragt sie, ob sie schon gehört haben, daß der Junge mit ihr gesprochen habe. Dann fragen die Eltern, ob das Mädchen sich mit dem Manne verheiraten

will. Wenn das Mädchen sagt: „Ja", dann sagen die Eltern: „Er hat dich gewollt, er hat gesehen, daß du gut und fleißig bist, ihr könnt heiraten." Wenn aber der junge Mann sich die Sache überlegt und sein Wort zurücknimmt, dann geht das Mädchen nochmals zu ihren Eltern und der Junge zu den seinen. Die sagen: „Ihr habt es so gewollt, da kann man nichts machen." Falls aber das Mädchen endgültig ihre Zustimmung gibt, dann bringt der Junge allerhand kleine Geschenke und gibt sie seiner Braut, die sie ihren Eltern bringt. Die Schwiegereltern müssen nunmehr ihrerseits Geschenke machen. Mit dem Wechsel der Geschenke gilt die Ehe legaliter als geschlossen.

Die Jagdprobe, die Passarge[1] und andere beschreiben, ist nicht die Regel. Manche eitle Mädchen verlangen sie, und manchmal machen es auch die Jungen freiwillig, um Konkurrenten auszustechen. Diese Jagdprobe vollzieht sich dann folgender Art. Der Junge geht ohne Waffen auf die Jagd und hetzt ein Wild (in der Regel einen Gemsbock), bis er müde ist und treibt ihn dann in die Nähe der Hütte seiner Auserwählten. Das Hetzen einer solchen Großantilope ist nicht so schwierig, wie es aussieht. Diese Wiederkäuer werden nämlich von schweren Krämpfen befallen, wenn man ihnen nicht Zeit läßt, sich zum Wiederkauen niederzulassen. Das Hetzen einer solchen Großantilope läuft also letzten Endes auf ein langdauerndes Beunruhigen hinaus. Dann ruft er die Leute und bittet sie um Waffen. Alle springen auf und auch das Mädchen steht auf und sieht, wie ihre Leute mit den Spießen laufen. Der Jäger tötet das Wild vor ihren Augen. Dann bringen sie das Fleisch heran und kochen, das Mädchen aber sagt: „Das ist ein tapferer Jäger, den will ich heiraten." Nun kommt es aber nicht selten vor, daß ein junger Mann fernab von seinen Angehörigen heiratet, ohne daß er seine Eltern um Zustimmung gefragt hatte, dann muß die junge Frau zunächst bei ihren Eltern bleiben, der Ehemann kehrt in die Heimat zurück und meldet es seinen Eltern. Die sagen: „Wie kannst du das machen, wenn wir nicht wissen, ob es gut wird?" Der Ehemann aber sagt: „Ich habe es schon gemacht und sage es euch bloß." Da antworten die Eltern dann: „Nun, es ist gut." Da kehrt dann der Ehemann zu seiner jungen Frau bzw. deren Sippe zurück und bringt die Frau samt dem Kind zur eigenen Sippe, wo sie aufgenommen werden. Nach Vedder (Tsumeb) schickt der junge Mann dem Vater des Mädchens seiner Wahl ein Stück Wild durch einen Boten. Nimmt der Vater das Wild an, so gilt die Verlobung für geschlossen. Sobald der Junge in die Werft seines Schwiegervaters übersiedelt, gilt die Ehe für geschlossen. Er muß für diesen ein Jahr lang arbeiten und alle Jagdbeute abliefern, darf aber die Hütte seiner Schwiegereltern nicht betreten. Ist das erste Kind geboren, so zieht er mit Frau und Kind zu seiner Sippe.

v. Zastrow und Vedder[2] berichten über die Eheschließung:

„Es wird ausgiebig getanzt. Die Tiertänze haben durchgehend einen erotischen Zug. In einem der ersten Tänze tritt der Bräutigam als Bulle irgendeiner Tierart auf, die beiden Sippen besonders schätzenswert erschienen ist. Er befindet sich in der Reihe der tanzenden Männer. Ihnen gegenüber haben in langer Reihe die Frauen Aufstellung genommen, die den Tanz mit Stampfen, Singen und Klatschen in die Hände begleiten. Unter ihnen steht die Braut. Sie ist durch nichts von den anderen Frauen und Mädchen ausgezeichnet. Nach einigen Wendungen tritt der Bräutigam aus der Reihe der Männer hervor, geht tanzend auf die Braut zu, erfaßt sie und geht tanzend wieder zurück. Daraufhin geht aus der Reihe der Frauen die Braut händeklatschend, stampfend und singend auf den Bräutigam zu, ohne ihn zu berühren, wendet sich zurück, indem ihr Gesicht dem Bräutigam zugewandt bleibt, und tritt wieder in die Reihe der Tänzerinnen ein. Damit ist die äußere Formalität der Eheschließung vor vielen Zeugen zum Abschluß gekommen.

Es ist aber die Pflicht des jungen Mannes, ein Jahr lang die väterliche Sippe zu verlassen und für seine Schwiegereltern zu arbeiten. Das bedeutet für ihn, daß er jede Jagdbeute, deren er habhaft wird, hinter der Hütte seiner Schwiegermutter niederlegt. Natürlich erhält auch er bei der Fleischverteilung sein Stück. Aber er gilt noch nicht als eigentlicher Versorger seiner jungen Frau, die nach wie vor ihren Fleischanteil an der Jagdbeute von der Schwiegermutter erhält, daneben aber für sich und für ihren Mann Feldkost sucht.

Der Mann als Jäger ißt nur das Fleisch des Rumpfes. Den Frauen und Kindern aber stehen die Beine und Eingeweide zu. Gewisse Teile läßt man von den Kindern nicht essen; so z. B. darf ein Kind das Herz eines Schakals nicht essen. Das Kind würde dadurch zwar nicht krank werden. Da aber der Schakal sehr furchtsam ist, würde das Kind in einem solchen Fall auch furchtsam werden.

[1] Passarge, Die Buschmänner der Kalahari. 1907.

[2] v. Zastrow und Vedder, Die Buschmänner, l. c. S. 417 in Schultze-Ewerth: Das Eingeborenenrecht Bd. II.

Nachdem das erste Jahr der Ehe mit seiner Dienstpflicht um ist, folgt die junge Frau ihrem Manne zur Werft, wo der Vater oder die Sippe des Mannes wohnt.

Ist das Kind so schwächlich, daß es wahrscheinlich nicht aufgezogen werden kann, oder hat es einen körperlichen Fehler, so wird es am gleichen Tage mit oder ohne Einwilligung des Vaters und der Mutter lebendig begraben.

Der Name des Kindes wird vom Vater gegeben. Dies geschieht wenige Tage nach der Geburt. Der Vater speit auf die Brust des Kindes und ruft es dabei an. Andere benetzen es mit Wasser aus einer Quelle. Der Gebrauch des Speichels ist ohne Zweifel ursprünglich, nicht etwa Ersatz für Quellwasser."

Dem neugeborenen Kinde gibt der Vater einen Namen. Die Jungen bekommen meist Tiernamen, häufig den des Großvaters, die Mädchen Pflanzennamen. Albinos sind bei den von mir besuchten !Kungstämmen unbekannt, doch soll eine Horde von Buschmännern mit roten Augen im östlichen Sandfelde in der Gegend des Dussidum leben. Zwillinge habe ich nicht gesehen, sie werden wohl beseitigt. Die Kinder werden lange gestillt, ältere Säuglinge lernen mit den Fingern die Milch aus der Brust herausdrücken oder ziehen mit den Zähnen an den lederharten Warzen. Die Behauptung anderer Reisender, daß die Buschweiber ihre Kinder töten, wenn sie zur Welt kommen, ehe das frühere abgestillt ist, trifft für die von mir besuchten Sippen angeblich nicht zu. Dagegen berichtet Vedder[1]:

„Noch eines anderen Brauches muß ich Erwähnung tun, der ebenfalls sehr dazu beiträgt und in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit dazu beigetragen haben mag, daß die Buschmänner so wenig zahlreich sind. Die Sitte gebietet, daß ein Kind, das geboren wird, während das ältere Kind derselben Mutter noch nicht dreijährig ist, lebendig begraben wird. Das ist eine grausame Sitte. Ich sprach darüber mit einem reinrassigen Buschmann. Meine Vorhaltungen leuchteten ihm nicht im geringsten ein. Er führte aus: ‚Wir Buschmänner sind arme Leute. Wir haben keine Ziegen und haben keine Kühe, um unseren Kindern Milch geben zu können. Wenn nun das Weib innerhalb eines Zeitraumes von drei Jahren zwei Kinder zur Welt bringt, so wissen wir nicht, wovon das ältere Kind leben soll, wenn das neugeborene Kind die Muttermilch verbraucht. Von der harten Feldkost kann es nicht leben und vom zähen Fleisch auch nicht. Die Zähne sind noch nicht stark genug. Ließen wir das neugeborene Kind am Leben, so müßte das ältere Kind zugrunde gehen. Uns bleibt nur die Wahl, eines der Kinder zu töten, damit eins am Leben bleiben kann.' Die Darlegung leuchtet ohne weiteres ein. Dazu kommt, daß die Buschmannmütter ihre mütterlichen Triebe verlieren, wenn sie sehen, daß ein Kind nicht gedeiht. Ich sah ein halbjähriges Buschmannkind, eine wahre Jammergestalt. Die Mutter hatte für ihr Kind nicht genügend Nahrung. Meine Frau erbot sich, dem Kinde die Flasche zu geben. Der Vorschlag wurde mit Freuden aufgenommen. Einige Tage wurde das Kind zur festgesetzten Zeit gebracht. Es nahm die Flasche gern. Dann aber fühlte sich die Mutter in ihrer Freiheit beschränkt. Sie mußte ja um des Kindes willen in der Nähe des Hauses bleiben. An Nahrung fehlte es ihr in keiner Weise. Ich sorgte für sie. Aber das Verlangen nach Feldkost war zu groß. So wurde das Kind nur morgens und abends gebracht und erhielt seine Mahlzeit. Eine in die Augen fallende Besserung ließ sich natürlich nicht wahrnehmen. Bei einer günstigen Gelegenheit verschwand daher die Mutter, und als sie wieder erschien, war sie ohne Kind. Sie hatte es mit ihren Freundinnen lebendig begraben."

So hoffnungslos, wie Vedder die Dinge hier darstellt, sind sie nun gewiß nicht immer, denn erstens bekommen die Kinder schon in sehr frühem Alter vorgekauten Feldkostbrei und dann helfen sich auch die Frauen der Sippe beim Stillen gegenseitig aus. Der Säugling hält sich tagsüber im Rückenfell der Mutter auf, nachts schlafen die Kindlein an der Brust der Mutter, und zwar liegt das Kleinste unmittelbar an der Brust, während sich die anderen in der kalten Zeit um die Beine der Mutter lagern. Die Kinder werden von frühester Jugend an belehrt, die Alten zu ehren und niemandem etwas zu nehmen. Den Jungen schnitzt der Vater bald Bogen und Pfeil, den Mädchen einen kleinen Grabstock. Den kleinen Kindern sagt man nichts, wenn sie Dinge nehmen, die ihnen nicht gehören, erhält aber der Junge einmal einen Bogen, dann darf er Bogen und Pfeile von niemand anderem mehr berühren, sonst setzt es Prügel. Die Jungen haben eine große Angst vor den Frauen. Die größeren Jungen halten sich dann in Gesellschaft beisammen und machen auf Kleinwild Jagd oder sie begleiten die Erwachsenen bei der Großwildjagd.

Die Ehe ist absolut untrennbar. Es ist auch eine Trennung gar nicht möglich, denn außerhalb des Sippenverbandes würde die Frau in der Wildnis zugrunde gehen. Soweit ich gesehen habe, ist das Verhältnis zwischen den Ehegatten im allgemeinen sehr gut, und die Männer sind nicht selten stark unter dem Einfluß ihrer Frauen. Es kommt so gut wie nie vor, daß ein Mann seine Frau schlägt. Monogamie

[1] Zur Vorgeschichte der eingeborenen Völkerschaften von Südwestafrika. I. Die Buschmänner von V. Vedder, aus: Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society, Vol. I, p. 10, 1925—1926, Windhuk 1927. — Vgl. auch v. Zastrow und H. Vedder, l. c., S. 414.

ist die Regel. Ich kenne einen einzigen Fall, wo ein Mann zwei Schwestern zu Frauen hatte. Freilich zwingen bestimmte Ehegesetze oft die Männer, bedeutend ältere Mädchen zu heiraten. Es ist daher begreiflich, daß dann oft der Wunsch nach einer jüngeren Lebensgefährtin entsteht. Dazu ist jedoch die Zustimmung der ersten Frau unbedingt notwendig. Darum sagt man auch: „Wer eine gute Frau hat, kann mehrere Frauen haben, wer eine böse hat, muß mit ihr allein zufrieden sein." Die Buschmänner kennen keine Vorbeugungsmittel gegen Schwangerschaft und sehr bald nach der Ehe befindet sich auch die junge Frau schon in anderen Umständen. Der Ehemann und die Schwägerinnen müssen darauf sehen, daß sie keine sauren Feldfrüchte, nichts Süßes und auch kein fettes Fleisch ißt. Niemand darf hinter dem Rücken der Schwangeren vorbeigehen, beim Feuer soll kein Topf aufgestellt werden, bevor die Frau mit dem Ruß des Töpfes eingerieben ist; sie soll nicht herumsitzen, wo die anderen Leute sind, sondern sich abseits halten. Wenn die Geburt herannaht, dann muß sie über die Beine ihres Ehemannes steigen, der sich in Einschnitte der Waden Medizin eingerieben hat. Fühlt die Frau, daß die Wehen beginnen, dann geht sie allein in den Busch und sucht Feldkost. Sie soll sich dann nicht niedersetzen, weil das schädlich für die Geburt wäre. Dann rupft sie Gras aus, macht sich unter einem Baum ein Lager, legt ihre Feldkosttasche beiseite und gebärt das Kind, während sie sich in hockender Stellung befindet und sich mit den Händen an einen Ast anklammert. Dann nimmt sie das Kind, nabelt es selbst ab, packt es in ihren Feldkostbeutel und geht damit nach Hause. Die Abnabelung wird immer mit einem Quarzmesser vorgenommen (wie bei den Dama). Die Nabelschnur (!nú) wird vergraben. So handeln aber nur Frauen, die keine Angst haben und die schon ein Kind geboren haben. Die Erstgebärenden, welche Angst haben, gehen aber nicht aufs Feld hinaus, sondern bleiben zu Hause. Sobald die Wehen beginnen, weinen sie und gehen heraus, setzen sich nieder und stehen wieder auf. Ältere Frauen aus der Sippe begleiten sie und schließlich wird in deren Anwesenheit das Kind innerhalb der Hütte geboren. Die Männer dürfen nicht dabei sein. Auch die Kinder dürfen nicht zusehen, und wenn sie sich neugierig heranschleichen, werden sie verprügelt. Treten Schwierigkeiten ein, so massiert man den Unterleib. v. Zastrow und Vedder[1] berichten weiter:

„Es ist aber durchaus gegen die Ordnung, der Schwangeren durch Worte oder Handlungen etwas zuzufügen, das sie böse machen könnte. Ihr böser Blick ist in dieser Zeit besonders gefährlich; ihr böses Wort oder gar ihr Fluch wirkt noch schlimmer. Geschwüre, Krankheit, Siechtum, Tod sind die Folgen des bösen Blickes oder des Fluches einer Schwangeren.

Es ist Brauch, erst dann mit einem Instrument die Nabelschnur abzuschneiden, wenn das Blut nicht mehr pulsiert. Der Nabel wird nicht abgebunden. Die Nachgeburt muß sorgfältig und heimlich vergraben werden. Das Leben des Kindes käme in große Gefahr, wenn ein Tier sie fände, oder wenn gar ein gefürchteter Zauberer sich Stückchen davon aneignen könnte."

Sobald die Mädchen die erste Menstruation (/n)[2] bekommen, findet eine Festlichkeit statt, über deren Details ich bei diesem Stamm nichts erfahren konnte. Dabei tanzen die Frauen, klatschen in die Hände und singen: „giriri, giriri, giriri, uhu, giriri uhu usw."

Männer dürfen bei diesem Fest nicht anwesend sein. Bei einer den !Kung benachbarten Hei//om-Horde werden bei diesem Feste nach allen Richtungen Geister angerufen, damit das Mädchen, wenn es erwachsen ist, überall Feldkost findet.

Das Vorhandensein einer eigenen Jünglingsweihe wird geleugnet[3]. Es findet lediglich eine Art Prüfung statt, ein älterer Mann geht mit dem oder den Kandidaten auf die Jagd. Der Kandidat muß ein Stück Großwild unter Aufsicht der Alten zur Strecke bringen. Dieses geschossene Wild wird dann zum heiligen Feuer, an welchem die Alten sitzen, gebracht. Der junge Mann darf davon nichts essen, nur die Suppe darf er trinken. Mit dieser wird er auch eingerieben. Von jetzt an gilt er als Erwachsener, heiratsfähiger Mann, seine Eltern fragen ihn, ob er nicht schon heiraten will. Oft sagt der Junge aber: „Ich bin noch schwach und weiß nicht, ob ich sie gut pflegen kann." Dann lassen ihn die Eltern so lange warten, bis er selbst heiraten will. v. Zastrow und Vedder (S. 415) berichten über die Jugendweihe:

[1] v. Zastrow und Vedder, Die Buschmänner. S. 412, 413.

[2] Weibliches Genitale (/n-i).

[3] In diesem Punkte wurde ich entweder nicht verstanden oder angelogen.

„Hier wird dem Burschen gesagt, in welcher Weise sie sich zu verhalten haben, wenn er sie ausgehen, um eine Frau zu suchen. Wie sie sich einer Schwiegermutter gegenüber betragen müssen. Sich am Abend nur neben ein erwachsenes Mädchen zu setzen, ist gleichbedeutend mit einem Heiratsantrag, auch wenn kein Wort gesprochen wird. Eine Schwiegermutter darf unter keinen Umständen angesehen werden. Im Busch werden auch Tiertänze eingeübt, wie sie später bei fröhlichen Festen, aber auch in Zeiten der Not von den Männern aufgeführt werden. Hier erhält endlich der junge Buschmann das Stammeszeichen, das in einigen Hauteinschnitten auf der Wange unterhalb der Schläfe besteht. Jeder Stamm hat eine bestimmte Anzahl von Hauteinschnitten. Um diese nach der Verheilung noch deutlich hervortreten zu lassen, wird in die Einschnitte pulverisierte Kohle gestreut. Dadurch erscheint später das Stammeszeichen als schwarzer Strich auf der gelben Haut.

Nichts liegt im Wege, bei dieser Feier dem angehenden Jäger noch ein anderes Zeichen beizubringen, nämlich die Jagdimpfe. Es muß dies aber ein Mann tun, der über besondere Kräfte und Kenntnisse verfügt. Um nämlich das Auge des angehenden Jägers für das Wild überhaupt und für bestimmtes Wild insonderheit zu schärfen, ist es nötig, daß ihm zwischen den Augen über der Nasenwurzel ein tiefer Einschnitt gemacht wird, in den die kundige Hand des Operateurs ein Pulver streut, das aus getrocknesten und pulverisierten Körperteilen von allerlei Wild besteht.

Die Impfung kann später öfter wiederholt werden, wenn der Jäger kein Jagdglück hat.

Wer das Stammeszeichen erhalten hat, gilt nunmehr als Busch,mann', kann sich Bogen und Pfeile anfertigen, wie die Alten besitzen, und mit ihnen zur Jagd gehen. Es steht ihm auch der Weg zur Gründung einer Familie offen."

Es kommt so gut wie niemals vor, daß ein Buschmann unverheiratet bleibt. Die Eheschließung findet schon in noch jungen Jahren statt. Das Alter, welches die Buschmänner erreichen, ist nicht hoch. Es gibt relativ wenig alte Leute unter ihnen. Manche von ihnen erreichen allerdings ein sehr hohes Alter. Die Kinder müssen auch, wenn sie schon erwachsen und verheiratet sind, den Eltern gehorchen.

Die Buschmänner stellten mit Entrüstung in Abrede, daß sie die Alten töten oder im Busch aussetzen; wenn jemand alt, schwach oder krank ist, dann wandert man eben langsamer oder läßt den Kranken unter Begleitung zurück. Meine Gewährsmänner berichteten mir wohl, daß es in schweren Durstzeiten vorgekommen sei, daß man nicht nur Alte, sondern auch Frauen und Kinder, die nicht weiterkonnten, zurückließ. Aber das geschah nur in der Verzweiflung, weil man den Halbverdursteten ohnehin nicht helfen konnte und ein Aufenthalt den Untergang der ganzen Sippe herbeigeführt hätte. Sobald jemand gestorben ist, kommen alle Frauen und Mädchen zusammen, setzen sich um die Leiche und weinen. Gesungen wird nicht dabei. Dann gehen einige Männer und werfen im Busch ein Grab aus, kappen sodann mittelgroße Hölzer ab und legen diese als Unterlage auf den Boden des Grabes. Darauf wird dann das Heu ausgebreitet, auf welchem der Verstorbene zuletzt gelegen hat. Sodann bringen alle die Leiche zu Grabe und bestatten dieselbe als liegenden Hocker mit dem Rücken gegen Sonnenaufgang. Jeder Verwandte muß etwas Glasperlen und Schmuck hergeben, wenn der Verstorbene eine Frau ist. Dieser Schmuck wird der Toten um den Hals gelegt. Die Leiche wird mit grünem Parfümpulver und Ocker eingerieben und in ihre Felle und Decken eingehüllt. Auf das geschlossene Grab werden entweder Dornbüsche geworfen oder es wird im Sande eine viereckige Rinne rund um das Grab gezogen, und in die Rinne werden Pfähle eingerammt, so daß ein Zaun entsteht. Das Grab liegt jetzt in der Mitte der Umzäunung wie der Lebende in der Mitte seiner Hütte. In der Gegend des Kopfes wird ein Topf mit Wasser und etwas Nahrung hingestellt. Verstorbenen Männern werden Bogen, Pfeile und ihre Jagdtasche auf die Brust gelegt. Kindern gibt man ihren Miniaturbogen mit. Die Buschmänner sagen, daß sie Bogen und Pfeil nicht deswegen ins Grab mitgeben, weil der Verstorbene sie im Jenseits zur Jagd braucht, sondern weil man die Sachen des Verstorbenen, den man geliebt hat, nicht weiter verwenden will. Nach Vedder[1] werden die Toten der Buschmänner in Hockerstellung zusammengebunden und unter Termitenhügeln bestattet.

„Die Leiche wird gewöhnlich so hinabgelassen, daß sie von einem im Grabe stehenden Manne empfangen wird. Außer denen, die die Leiche bringen und das Grab graben, geht niemand mit zur Beerdigung. Die Leiche wird entweder in Hockerstellung oder in Hockerlage beerdigt. Bei der Hockerstellung wird das Gesicht nach Osten gerichtet und die Ellenbogen ruhen auf den Knien, während sich die Hände an beiden Seiten des Kopfes befinden. Bei der Hockerlage wird die Leiche auf die linke Seite gelegt. Die linke Hand liegt, wie bei einem Schlafenden, unter dem Kopfe. Das Gesicht sieht ebenfalls nach Osten.

[1] v. Zastrow und Vedder, Die Buschleute, S. 420, 421.

Geftrchtete Männer, nicht Frauen, etwa Zauberer, die einen verderblichen Einfluß hatten, und andere, die man im Leben fürchten mußte, werden vor der Beerdigung in der angegebenen Hockerstellung mit Riemen aus Wildfell fest zusammengeschnürt, sodann wird ihnen in manchen Fällen noch das Rückgrat mit einem Stein oder Beil zerschlagen, wodurch der Kopf sich noch tiefer neigen und zwischen die Knie bringen läßt. So zusammengeschnürt werden sie in eine Erdspalte, in das Loch eines Erdferkelweines, in eine kleine Höhle geworfen."

8. DIE JAGD

Es ist bekannt, daß dort, wo die Buschmänner mehr oder weniger ungestört sind, jede Sippe ihr genau umgrenztes Jagdgebiet hat. Vedder glaubt, daß die Gravierungen von Wildspuren alte Grenzen anzeigen und desgleichen auch die Steinhügel, die gewöhnlich als Heisebgräber bezeichnet werden. Wie dem auch sei, es erhebt sich die Frage, wer denn eigentlich diese Grenzen festgesetzt hat. Meine Gewährsleute sagten einstimmig, die Einteilung stamme noch aus der Zeit, wo die Buschmänner noch einen Oberkapitän hatten. Es scheint aber auch jetzt noch irgendeine Instanz zu geben, denn im Buschfeld sind ja die Grenzlinien nach bestimmten Bäumen gezogen, die ja im allgemeinen keine allzu lange Lebensdauer besitzen. Innerhalb ihres Jagdrevieres ziehen die Buschmänner hin und her. Nun kommt es vor, daß ein junger Jäger die Grenzen nicht genau kennt, oder daß das angeschossene Wild die Grenze überschreitet. In diesem Falle muß der Jäger zu der Sippe gehen, der dieses Gebiet gehört und kehrt dann mit Männern derselben zu der Jagdbeute zurück. Dann wird das Tier sorgfältig in der Medianlinie geteilt, der Jäger erhält die Hälfte und die Hälfte die Eigentümer. Trotzdem gibt es oft Streit, weil manche Organe, wie etwa das Herz, die Leber usw. nur einmal vorhanden sind. Diese Verhältnisse bestehen allerdings nur innerhalb der Gruppe der Ost-!Kung. Ein Hei//om oder ein Nord-!Kung, der in fremdem Stammesgebiet auf der Jagd angetroffen wird, wird als Feind angesehen. Die Jagd der Knaben beschränkt sich auf Eidechsen, Baumratten und andere Nager. Benutzt wird gewöhnlich der Vogelpfeil, welcher aus einem Stück Holz geschnitzt ist, doch haben im Gegensatz zu den Owambo hier schon die älteren Knaben Giftpfeile. Jung und alt obliegt mit Eifer der Vogeljagd; insbesondere der Jagd auf Perlhühner, Sandhühner, Rakelhühner und dem Pau, soweit dieser in dem Gebiete vorkommt. Diese Hühner und kleine Buschböckchen sind die Hauptfleischnahrung der Eingeborenen. Das Waldgebiet der Ost-!Kung ist arm an Großwild. Zebras fehlen so gut wie ganz, ebenso Wildebeester; die Giraffe ist sehr selten. Relativ häufiger sind das Eland, Kudu, Hartebeest und besonders der Gemsbock. Treibjagden werden veranstaltet, um Elefanten oder Nashörner zu jagen. Zunächst wird der Elefant von der Herde abgetrieben. Sobald man ihn in der Enge hat, springt ein Buschmann nach dem anderen vor und wirft den Speer. Man kann jedoch auch mit dem Giftpfeil den Elefanten jagen; seine Haut hat an den Vorderbeinen einige dünnere Stellen, und dort plaziert der Schütze soviel Pfeile als möglich. Der Elefant stirbt nicht, er wird bloß krank. Der Jäger eilt nach Hause und holt andere Männer, die dann mit den Speeren den Elefanten suchen gehen. Fallgruben mit einem spitzen Pflock darin werden in der Nähe der Wasserstellen gemacht. Mit Fallgruben jagen die Buschmänner am Okawango auch das Flußpferd. Die Ost-!Kung behaupten, daß in uralter Zeit auch in ihrem Lande Flußpferde vorgekommen seien. Die Schlingenfalle wird in verschiedenen Größen gemacht. Speziell der Strauß wird gewöhnlich in solchen Schlingenfallen gefangen, die man mit einem Stück von der Sonne gebleichter Knochen beschickt. Auch kleine Katzen u. dgl. werden mit der Falle gefangen. Auf die Wechsel der Buschböcke stellt man sie ebenfalls. Schakale u. dgl. fängt man, indem man ihnen beim Herauskommen aus ihrem Bau auflauert und sie dann mit dem Kirri erschlägt.

Termiten werden auf zweierlei Weise erbeutet. Bei den hohen Termitenhügeln werden nächtlicherweile Löcher gegraben, und diese Löcher werden mit Holzfackeln beleuchtet. Man legt auf den Boden des Loches ein Fell, und bald sind so viele Termiten darauf, daß man das Fell nach Hause tragen kann. Die zweite Methode wird beim Fang jener Termiten benützt, die keine oberirdischen Bauten haben, sondern unmittelbar unter der Oberfläche ein Netz horizontal verlaufender Gänge. Man macht dann ein Loch, das tiefer ist als die Gänge, und die Termiten fallen dann, wenn sie erschreckt auf ihren

horizontalen Wegen hin und her laufen, hinein. Diese Sorte von Termiten dient den Regendoktoren auch als Wetterprophet. Ist ein Regenjahr in Aussicht, so bauen sie die meisten nach oben gelegenen Öffnungen zu. Der Löwe wurde nicht gejagt. In alten Zeiten haben nur die alten Leute das Großwild gegessen. Raubtierfleisch ist allen Kindern verboten, dagegen besteht kein Verbot, den Hasen zu essen.

Natürlich sind die Buschmänner sehr darauf bedacht, sich des Jagdglückes zu versichern. Das Jagdglück bringt !Khu, der große Kapitän, selbst. Er befiehlt dem obersten //Gauab (/Nawa), den Pfeil zu lenken. Die Doktoren bitten immer den großen Kapitän, er möge Jagdglück schicken, aber sie haben hierfür keine bestimmte Formel. Sie tun das „still für sich". Ein alter Prospektor erzählte mir in Kalkfeld, er habe bei den !Kungbuschleuten folgendes gesehen: „Bevor sie auf die Jagd gehen, zeichnen sie den Umriß des Tieres in den Sand und unter allerhand Zeremonien schießen sie einen Pfeil auf die Zeichnung. Dort, wo die Figur getroffen wurde, wird auch das Wild getroffen werden."

Den Verlauf einer Kudujagd, wie sie mir ein Buschmann beschrieb, gebe ich nun nach seinen Angaben ziemlich wörtlich wieder: „Wenn ich eine Kuduspur gefunden habe, dann gehen wir ganz still auf ihr, und wenn wir den Platz gefunden haben, wo das Kudu gesessen hat, dann muß man ganz vorsichtig sein. Einer geht voran und die anderen folgen. Wenn ich nun das Kudu stehen sehe, dann nehme ich den Giftpfeil heraus und schieße. Dann sehe ich weiter, was das Kudu macht oder schieße noch einmal, dann folge ich ihm, um zu sehen, ob der Pfeil herausfällt; ist der Pfeil herausgefallen, dann nehme ich ihn und sehe, wie tief er in das Kudu eingedrungen ist. Dann muß ich zurückgehen zu den anderen Jägern und genau sagen, wie alles war. Dann gehen wir nach Hause. Man darf dem Kudu nicht nachlaufen, sondern muß es allein lassen. Der geschossen hat, muß gleich nach Hause gehen und darf nicht reden, nicht essen und nicht trinken, denn wenn der Schütze mit anderen spricht, wird man das Kudu lange nicht finden, und wenn er Wasser trinkt, wird das Gift wäßrig und kann nicht wirken, und wenn er ißt, wird das Kudu sitzenbleiben und das Gift wird nicht gut wirken. Am anderen Morgen ganz zeitig früh müssen wir auf die Spur gehen. Das Kudu ist schon tot. Die Leute tragen das Fleisch nach Hause. Dann wird es zum Sochafeuer gelegt. Man muß dem //Gauab etwas von dem Fleische geben. Wer das nicht tut, den wird der //Gauab mit schwerer Krankheit strafen, und die Leute werden sagen: „Das ist recht, der //Gauab hat ihm das Wild geschenkt, warum gibt er selbst nichts für //Gauab." Hier handelt es sich also um ein richtiges Primitialopfer.

Interessant ist die Erkundung, daß die Ogowe an verschiedenen Wasserstellen Pfeile mit der vergifteten Spitze nach oben an schattigen Plätzen, die vom Wilde mit Vorliebe als Lagerstellen benützt werden, in den Sand graben und durch bestimmte Zeichen, wie Verknotung der Halme hochstehender Gräser usw. Warnungszeichen aufstellen (v. Zastrow und Vedder).

Wenn eine Buschmannhorde heute im Jahre ein halbes Dutzend Großantilopen erjagen kann, darf sie vom Glück reden.

Häufig wird auch das Stachelschwein gejagt, das Schuppentier und gelegentlich das sehr häufige, aber schwer zu erlangende fette Erdferkel. Affen sind sehr selten; dagegen bilden Baumratten eine gern gewünschte Zugabe zur Nahrung. Der Strauß ist im offenen Gelände nicht selten, und Straußeneier werden sehr gesucht. Gelegentlich mag noch eine Riesenschlange, die wie ein fetter Fisch schmeckt, oder ein Leguan den Küchenzettel ergänzen.

Unter den Tieren, welche dem Menschen in irgendeiner Art gefährlich werden, sind besonders die Löwen zu nennen, die in großer Zahl vorkommen, aber sich selten an einem Platze lange aufhalten. Ihnen fallen besonders im Norden eine ganze Anzahl Buschmänner zum Opfer. Löwen, Leoparden, Hyänen und Schakale werden nicht gejagt und nicht gegessen, ebensowenig Raubvögel. Der Genuß des Leopardenfleisches ruft Fieber und Ekzeme hervor, während der des Raubvogelfleisches vorübergehende Erblindung und Krankheitssymptome erzeugt, die denen einer akuten Wurstvergiftung ähnlich sind.

Giftschlangen werden nicht gegessen; sie sind auch viel seltener als in den steinigen Gebieten der Mitte und des Südens und bilden keine nennenswerte Gefahr.

Unter den gefährlichen Insekten steht natürlich die Anopheles an erster Stelle, die während der

9

Regenzeit in ungeheuren Mengen vorkommt. An manchen Stellen sind kleine rothraune Zecken häufig. Die Glossina scheint zu fehlen; ich habe dahingehörige Tiere nur in den Kunenesümpfen angetroffen. Unter den menschlichen Parasiten sind Wanzen und Flöhe so gut wie unbekannt, dagegen Läuse außerordentlich häufig, ohne daß sie von ihren Besitzern besonders beachtet werden.

9. DIE WASSERVERSORGUNG

Die Wasserversorgung spielt während der trockenen Zeit eine entscheidende Rolle. Jeder Buschmann trägt in seinem Köcher die beiden Rohre aus Gras für den sogenannten Buschmannbrunnen mit sich. Es ist nun aber keineswegs richtig, daß die Buschmänner immer und überall auf diese Weise Wasser gewinnen können. Nur an solchen Stellen, wo noch etwas Feuchtigkeit sichtbar ist, wird die Erde mit dem Grabstock aufgelockert und dann das Rohr, welches durch ein Ineinanderstecken der Teile doch über einen Meter lang wird, in der Erde versenkt. Wie die nebenstehende Figur zeigt, arbeitet der Buschmann dabei nicht so, daß er das Abflußrohr und das Saugrohr gleichzeitig im Mund hält. Die dahingehenden Darstellungen dürften überhaupt falsch sein, vielmehr hat der Buschmann das Saugrohr im rechten Mundwinkel, und sobald er den Mund voll Wasser hat, läßt er das Wasser in die geschlossene linke Hohlhand fließen, und in dieser steckt das Abflußrohr. Das so gewonnene Wasser ist natürlich vollkommen mit Speichel verunreinigt. Es kann nicht längere Zeit aufbewahrt werden.

Fig. 1. IKung beim Buschmannbrunnen.

Wasserreservoirs sind auch die wenigen Affenbrotbäume, die in ihrem Innern Wasserpfützen enthalten. Eine kunstvolle Methode wird im Sandfeld angewendet. Eine Palme wird in der mittleren Höhe des Stammes angebohrt, dann das Palmmark, soweit es geht, herausgekratzt und die Öffnung dann sorgfältig verstopft. Das aus der Wurzel aufsteigende Wasser sammelt sich in dieser Höhle und hat einen guten Geschmack.

Unter den durststillenden Wurzeln wurde mir besonders die einer Liane (Igóa) genannt.

Über andere wasserhaltige Bäume berichtet F. Seiner:

„Die wasserhaltigen Bäume sind stets zwei- oder mehrstämmig, und der Sitz des Wassers ist oben an der Gabelungsstelle zu suchen. Zeigt der Sattel, den die Äste an ihrer Vereinigungsstelle bilden, ein Loch, so ist im angrenzenden Stammteile ein Hohlraum herausgewittert, der unter Umständen bis 60 Liter Wasser fassen kann. Man gewinnt das Wasser, indem man nach Buschmannart ein kleines Bündel trockenen Grases oder noch besser ein Taschentuch an die Spitze eines Stockes bindet und diesen in die Höhlung einführt. Zieht man ihn wieder heraus, so träufelt das Wasser vom vollgesogenen Bündel oder Tuch, das über einen Becher herausgepreßt wird.

Fig. 2. //Gaub treibt das Wild den Jägern zu (aus Kühn und Obermann: „Buschmannkunst").

Die wichtigsten Wasserwurzeln sind die Asclepiadacee Fockea damarana Schltr. (Khoe) sowie die Loganiacee Dalichos Solanei Harms (Kona) und die Convolvulacee Ipomoea Solanei Pilger (Kaws); die riesigen Knollen der beiden letzteren können bis 150 kg schwer werden. Ungleich wichtiger als diese ‚Wasserwurzeln' ist für die Eingeborenen die Cucurbitacee Citrullus naudinianus Hook. (Orura der Herero, Gab der Hottentotten), ohne deren massenhaft vorkommende, größtenteils genießbare, saftreiche Kürbisse in der Trockenzeit der größte Teil der Mittel-Kalahari selbst für die Buschleute unpassierbar wäre."

Ferner F. Galton[1]:

„In der Praxis ist, wenn man sich nach Wasser umsieht, das erste Zeichen, welches Hoffnung gibt, ein Flug Perlhühner, dann, der Weise des Landes folgend, wird jeder Baum sorgfältig geprüft, bis man einen Papagei sieht, was, weil der Vogel gern auf den allerobersten Zweigen sitzt, ein sogar in großer Entfernung sichtbarer Gegenstand ist. Ein Papagei ist selten weiter als eine halbe Stunde vom Wasser entfernt, und Paviane sind es auch nicht. Wenn man mit scharfer Beobachtung fortfährt und eine wahrscheinliche Richtung nimmt, sieht man Tauben herumfliegen, dann werden kleine Vögel in allen Gebüschen gefunden, und sie sind dicht dabei."

10. DIE FELDKOST

Wie der //Gaunab den Jäger auf seiner Jagd begleitet, so ist er auch der Gefährte der Frauen, die Feldkost suchen gehen. Wenn der //Gaunab an einer Frau Freude hat, dann bricht er einem Wild die Knochen, daß es umkommt, und führt die Frau zu dem Platze hin, wo es liegt. Ist aber der //Gaunab einer Frau ungnädig, so daß sie keine Feldkost findet, dann wird die Frau böse, steht zeitig in der Früh auf, beschimpft den //Gaunab, dann nimmt sie Medizin und wäscht sich das Gesicht, damit sie der //Gaunab nicht wiedererkennt. Dann geht sie ins Feld und findet etwas. Opfer bekommt der //Gaunab von der Feldkost keine. Das Fest der ersten Feldfrüchte, das Vedder beschreibt, ist nicht mehr im Gebrauch. Von jeder Feldkostsorte, die zum erstenmal im Jahre nach Hause gebracht wird, bringt man der ältesten Frau, und sie muß es essen. Dann kostet die zweite Alte und so der Reihe nach. Wenn alle alten Frauen probiert haben, dann erst bekommen auch die Kinder davon, und die Feldkost wird sozusagen zum allgemeinen Gebrauch freigegeben. Wenn eine Frau eine Stelle gefunden hat, wo sehr viel Feldkost ist, dann macht sie an der Stelle ein Zeichen, und dann gehört alles, was dort noch wächst, ihr. Und niemand anderes nimmt davon.

Es gab und gibt auch eine ganze Menge von Socha-Feldkostsorten, die für die Alten reserviert sind.

Fig. 3. Feuerhölzer der Kalahari-Buschmänner (Völkerkundemuseum Zürich).

11. ERGOLOGIE

DAS FEUER

Die Buschmänner glauben, daß es eine Zeit gegeben hat, wo sie noch kein Feuer hatten. Wie sie zum Feuer kamen, berichtet die folgende Sage: „Der Strauß hatte einen Feuerbrand unter seinem Flügel. Er, die Eule und Heiseb spielten miteinander. Da bekam der Strauß vor der Eule Angst, weil er glaubte, sie habe Hörner. Er riet allen, sie möchten ein bißchen schlafen. Als die Eule schlief, blies er sie an und sah, daß sie bloß Federbüschel und keine Hörner am Kopfe hatte. Da weckte er die beiden andern wieder auf und lud sie ein, weiterzuspielen. Da sagte Heiseb: ‚Lieber Strauß, winke doch mit deinem Flügel.' Dieser tat es, und dabei fiel ihm der Feuerbrand zu Boden. Den packte Heiseb und warf ihn zum Feigenbaum, seit demhat der Mensch das Feuer." – Die Erzählung stammt wohl aus dem Sagenkreis der Hei//om-Hottentotten. Heiseb kommt sonst niemals in !Kunggeschichten vor. Jetzt verwendet man zur Feuererzeugung noch gelegentlich die beiden Feuerhölzer aus Feigenholz. Am meisten beliebt sind Feuerzeuge mit Schlagring und Feuerstein, Zündhölzer werden weniger

[1] F. Galton, Tropisches Südafrika, S. 101.

geschätzt. Ein paar Feuerhölzer machen neben den Saugrohren, einigen Giftpfeilen und einem Vogelpfeil das ständige Inventar des Köchers aus.

BEHAUSUNGEN

Die Behausung des Buschmannes bildet der einfache Windschirm von halbkreisförmigem Umriß und etwa 150 cm Höhe. Auf manchen Farmen allerdings sind auch die Buschmänner bereits dazu übergegangen, Bienenkorbhütten nach Hererosart zu bauen. In der Siedlung liegen die Windschirme ungefähr in einem Kreise, und beim Windschirm des Werftoberhauptes befindet sich auch das Sochafeuer. In warmen Nächten schlafen die Buschmänner übrigens nicht im Windschirm, sondern außerhalb desselben.

KOCH- UND KÜCHENGERÄTE

Als Herdsteine dienen meist Brocken von Oberflächenkalk. Da und dort findet sich als seltene Rarität ein Klopfstein aus Quarzit.

Zum Zerstoßen der Feldkost dienen kleine holzgeschnitzte Mörser mit spitzkonischem oder halbkugelförmigem Boden. Falls sie schadhaft werden, macht man beiderseits des Sprunges Löcher und zieht den Spalt mit Bastatreifen zusammen, verschmiert ihn überdies mit Harz. Die Form des Stößels, der etwa 50 cm bis 1 m lang ist, zeigt Fig. 7.

Ursprünglich haben diese !Kung keine Töpfe gehabt und hatten wohl überhaupt keine Möglichkeit, zu kochen. Die gewöhnliche Zubereitungsart der Nahrungsmittel ist auch jetzt Rösten und Braten auf und zwischen heißen Steinen. Heute besitzt wohl jede Horde einige Töpfe vom Okawango, die mit einem Bast- oder Sehnengeflecht umgeben sind und auf dem Marsche, an diesem befestigt, getragen werden. Die Okawangoleute geben diese Wassertöpfe, die sie auf der Durststrecke mit sich geschleppt hatten, zwischen Karakowisa und Nuragas gerne gegen Nahrungsmittel an die Buschmänner ab.

Kleine gußeiserne Dreifüße sind ein sehr beliebter Artikel. Ein längliches, roh zugeschnittenes Umrührholz, sowie ein Stück hartes Holz zum Zurichten des Feuers vervollständigen das Inventar der Buschmannküche. Löffel sind unbekannt.

BEKLEIDUNG

Die Ausrüstung der Frau besteht, wie ja bereits wiederholt beschrieben wurde, aus einem Vorderschurz und einem Hinterschurz aus weichem Leder und einem Mantel aus Leder, ungefähr von der Form einer Pelerine. Gewöhnlich hat sie noch ein Tragfell für das Baby. Dieses sitzt freilich im allgemeinen nicht so wie bei den Schwarzen auf dem Rücken, sondern seitlich auf der Hüfte. Dazu kommt noch die große Feldtasche, in welcher sie die Ergebnisse ihrer Sammeltätigkeit aufbewahrt. Ausgerüstet ist die Frau auf dem Marsche mit dem einfachen, unten zugespitzten Grabstock.

Die Männer sind nur mit dem Schamschurz bekleidet und tragen außerdem die kurze Fellpelerine, mit der sie sich beim Schlafen zudecken. Im dornigen Terrain tragen sie vielfach Sandalen aus Elandsleder und auch Fellgamaschen. Während die Frauen immer barhaupt gehen, haben die Männer doch des öfteren eine Kopfbedeckung, teils runde Fellmützen, manchmal auch spitze Fellhütchen und selbstgefertigte Strohhüte. Am Oberarm tragen sie einen eng anschließenden Lederring, an welchem ein kleiner Beutel mit den wichtigsten Utensilien, das ist Feuerzeug, Pfeife, Tabak, etwas Geld und last not least innerhalb der Polizeizone der Paß, enthalten ist.

Europäische Decken wollen sie nicht. Diese fangen zu leicht Feuer, saugen sich in der Regenzeit mit Wasser voll, sind schwerer zu tragen und ein Hort der Läuse. Dagegen sind Kattunstoffe und Hemden sehr beliebt. Machte ich bei einer Horde Studien, so war der Effekt immer die Konfektionierung aller Gewährsleute. Am ersten Tag bekommt der Gewährsmann ein Hemd, am zweiten ein farbiges Lendentuch, dann ein Kopftuch, ein Feuerzeug, Tabak, etwas weißes Geld, und dann wird er krank und verschwindet, während ein anderer oder andere zur Ausstaffierung antreten. Der

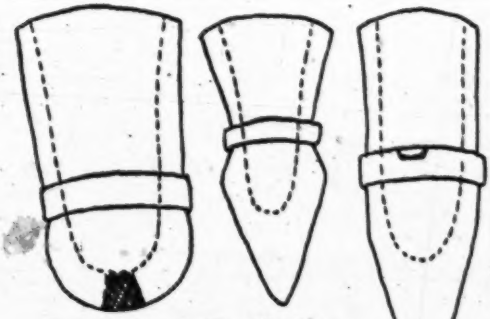

Fig. 4. Holzmörser der !Kung (½ n. Gr.).

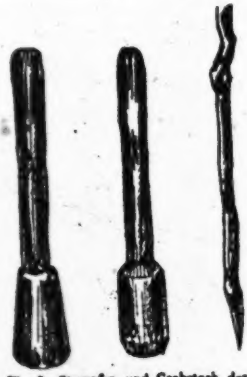

Fig. 7. Stampfer und Grabstock der !Kung (stark verkleinert).

Fig. 5. Holzgefäße der !Kung.

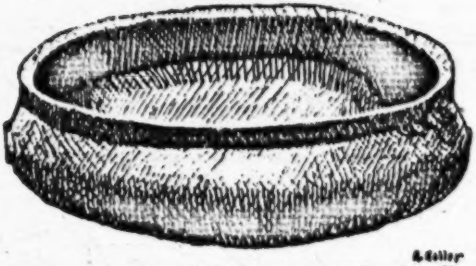

Fig. 6. Große Holzschüssel der !Kung (wahrscheinlich Import vom Norden. – Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. III. D. 3154).

Fig. 8. 1. Grabstock mit !Kwa. 2. Feldhacke (Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin. III. D. 1378 und 1497).

Besitz alter Uniformstücke gilt als Abzeichen höherer Stellung. Auf den Farmen kleiden sich die Buschfrauen, sobald sie können, nach Hereroart, tragen den hohen Turban und finden es sehr unschicklich, ihn abzunehmen. Nach europäischen Schuhen besteht ziemliche Nachfrage. Nichts fürchten nämlich die Buschmänner mehr als die Verletzung der Sohle durch die langen Dornen. Wie alle Völker, die heute scheinbar im Stadium einer Holz- oder Knochenkultur leben, besitzen auch die Buschmänner die drei wichtigsten Eisenwerkzeuge: die kurze Axt, von den Schwarzen eingehandelt, eine Ahle und ein Taschenmesser. Die ganz kleinen Kinder laufen nackt, später bekommen sie kleine Schürzchen, die bei den Mädchen oft mit Perlstickerei schön verziert sind. Außerordentliches Gewicht wird auf den Schmuck gelegt. Dieser besteht in erster Linie aus Straußeneiperlen. Einzelne !Kung sind Meister in der Herstellung derselben und bringen es durch den Handel damit zu einem gewissen Wohlstand. Diese Arbeit wird von den Männern gemacht. Auf Sehnen oder Bastschnüren werden die Perlen zu langen Ketten aufgereiht und um den Hals getragen. Kleine, aus 3–4 Gliedern bestehende Kettchen werden an einzelne Stirnhaarbüschel gebunden und ziehen diese dann in die Länge. Manche besitzen deren eine ganz große Anzahl, so daß sie die ganze Stirn bedecken. Kinder besitzen oft kleine viereckige und Frauen große runde, medaillonartige Anhänger, die gleich einem Diadem mitten auf der Stirn getragen werden. Kettchen aus kleinen Straußeneiperlen bis zu 5 cm Länge werden auch als Ohrgehänge getragen. Den Kindern gibt man auch Armbänder und Fußbänder aus Straußeneiperlen. Messingperlen aus alter Zeit sind selten und werden durchweg nur als Haranhänger getragen, ebenso solche aus Kupfer. Glasperlen sind wenig geschätzt und wenn überhaupt, so werden nur solche von blauer Farbe getragen. Häufig dagegen sind Holzperlen aus wohlriechendem Holz. Längere Kettchen, abwechselnd aus Holz und Straußeneiperlen, im Haar getragen, sind Abzeichen der Doktorinnen. Die Männer haben eng anliegende Lederriemchen am Hand- und Fußgelenk, die wohl zur Festigung der Muskulatur beim Laufen und Bogenschießen dienen. Außerdem wenig Armbänder aus Messing oder Eisen. Um den Hals trägt jeder Buschmann und auch jede Frau eine Schnur, an der vorne ein oder zwei Appetithölzchen (s. d.) und verschiedene Talismane befestigt sind. Schließlich tragen viele Männer um den Hals ein Hörnchen mit verschiedenartiger Medizin. Die jüngeren Buschmannfrauen und -mädchen besitzen meist auch die Schildkrötenpuderdose in derselben Art, wie sie weiter unten bei den Daman beschrieben wird. Körperbemalung wird kaum geübt, über die Tatauierung s. S. 31. Die Kinder tragen gelegentlich selbstgefertigte Armbänder aus Gras oder verschiedenen Früchten.

Fig. 9. Bestickter Vorderschurz aus Leder (!Kung).

WAFFEN

Die Hauptwaffe des Buschmanns sind Bogen und Pfeil. Der Bogenstab hat in der Regel einen runden Querschnitt und verjüngt sich mäßig nach beiden Enden. Die !Kung des Otjimpolofeldes verwenden dagegen gleich den Owambo Palmholz. Dort ist das Bogenholz außen leicht konvex, innen flach mit kantigen Seiten. Die Sehne ist aus Leder, so daß bei diesen Bogen der Bogenstab elastischer ist als die Sehne. Ein Bogen der Otjimpolobuschleute war 115 cm lang und 13 cm hoch. Auch die Bogen der hier besprochenen !Kung haben an beiden Seiten Widerlager aus Leder und oft Verstärkungen aus Sisalschnüren. Die Bogen der Hei//om scheinen von jenen der !Kung hauptsächlich dadurch unter-

schieden zu sein, daß bei ihnen der Bogenstab außen flach und innen konvex ist. Statt der Lederstreifen werden oft auch Verstärkungen aus Palmbast angefertigt. Die Sehne besteht je nach der Gegend aus einer gewachsten Pflanzenfaserschnur, aus Tiersehne (Kudu) oder feingedrehtem Leder. Länge etwa 120 cm, Höhe 30 cm. Doch gibt es auch viel kleinere Bogen mit 95–110 cm Länge.

Das Bogenholz der !Kung heißt !howa. Der Pfeil ist ein Holzpfeil, der Schaft heißt //gau, die Befiederung, bald radiär, bald Stegfiederung, !khui. Der Einschnitt am unteren Ende des Pfeilschaftes heißt /gei. Als Pfeilspitzen werden durchweg dreieckige Eisenplättchen (//khai) verwendet. Die ganze Spitze inklusive der Bindung und der vergifteten Partie heißt !hui.

Fig. 10. Boophane disticha Herb. Pfeilgiftpflanze der !Kung. (Ex Medley Wood. Natal Plants VI. 1912.)

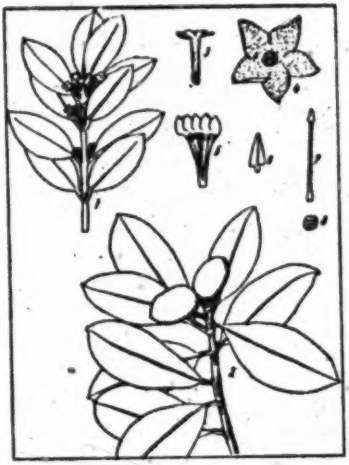

Fig. 11. Acocanthera venenata. Pfeilgiftpflanze der !Kung. (Ex Sim: The Forests and Forest Flora of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1907.)

Die Pfeile sind 65–68 cm lang. Meist werden sie vergiftet. Das Gift, welches wie dunkles Wachs aussieht, wird auf Stäbchen aufgeschmiert konserviert. Es besteht aus 5 Ingredienzien, deren wichtigste Euphorbiensaft ist. Es sind ganz bestimmte Leute, welche das Gift herstellen. Sie wissen auch, daß die Pflanzengifte nicht jedes Jahr gleich wirksam sind. Daher wird erst ein kleines Buschböckchen geschossen, dann ein größeres Tier (etwa ein Leopard) und schließlich ein Gemsbock. Erst wenn bei allen diesen Tieren der Erfolg vorschriftsmäßig eintritt, wird das Gift verhandelt.

Die Lanzen der !Kung bestehen aus einem etwa 160 cm langen Schaft, der gegen das hintere Ende zu stark verdünnt ist. Das Blatt wird aus einem viereckigen Eisenstück hergestellt, ist 30–40 cm lang und mit einem kurzen Ansatzstück in den Schaft eingelassen, der an dieser Stelle durch Eisendrahtgewinde verstärkt ist.

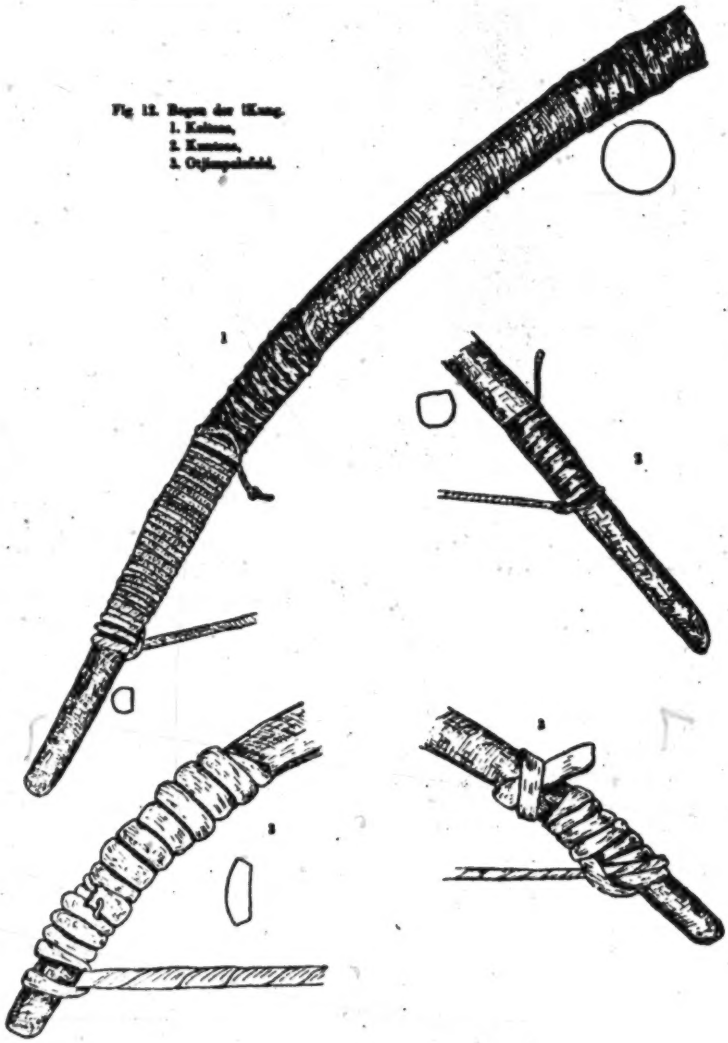

Fig. 12. Bogen der IKung.
1. Kaiuna,
2. Kamtsua,
3. Otjimpukufuhi.

MUSIKINSTRUMENTE

Große Tanztrommeln sind sehr beliebt, werden aber nicht selbst erzeugt, sondern von den Okawangos eingehandelt. Als ich einmal einem Straußeneiperlenhändler in der Gegend von Kuntsas eine solche Trommel abkaufte (sie gehört immer einer bestimmten Person, Kollektiveigentum an Gebrauchsgegenständen kennt der Buschmann nicht), bat er mich, ihm die Trommel noch bis zum Abend zu lassen, damit jeder Mann noch einmal trommeln könnte. Die Tanzrasseln aus Früchten sind nur mehr in ganz geringer Zahl vorhanden. Die !Kung sollen auch Holztrompeten besitzen, die bei bestimmten Anlässen Verwendung finden. Gesehen habe ich sie nicht.

Schließlich seien noch einige wenige besondere Gebrauchsgegenstände erwähnt. Die Doktoren besitzen zur Ausübung ihres Berufes Schröpfköpfe aus Antilopenhorn und abgestumpfte Hölzchen zum Zahnausschlagen. Gift und Medizinen werden heute in leeren Konservenbüchsen hergestellt und gekocht, wie überhaupt die Konservenbüchse und der Benzinbehälter aus Blech allmählich auch bei den Buschmännern die Universalgegenstände werden. Für bestimmte Fälle werden Botenhölzer oder Kalenderhölzer angefertigt, das sind Stäbchen oder Brettchen mit einer oder zwei Reihen Löchern. Sage ich dem Buschmann etwa, ich werde in 5 Monaten wiederkehren, so zieht er eine Schnur durch 5 dieser Löcher und verknotet sie. Bei jedem Vollmond wird die Schnur um 1 Loch zurückgezogen.

Fig. 13. Tanztrommel der !Kung (Kuntsas). (Stark verkleinert.)

12. SOZIALE ORGANISATION

Jede Sippe hat einen Häuptling, dessen Würde erblich ist. Freilich sind seine Machtbefugnisse nicht bedeutend, weil sich das ganze Leben sozusagen vor aller Augen abspielt und die Autorität der alten Männer so groß ist, daß die Beschlüsse, die gefaßt werden, im wesentlichen einer Übereinstimmung des Häuptlings und der übrigen Alten entspringen. Wenn das Werftoberhaupt stirbt, übernimmt nicht sein ältester Sohn, sondern der älteste Sohn der

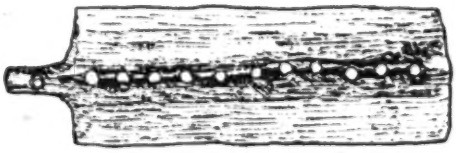

Fig. 14. Kalenderholz der !Kung (n. Gr.).

Schwester die Werft. Es bestehen bestimmte Heirats-Verbote und -Gebote, die durch das folgende Schema illustriert werden.

Vaterbruder × Frau	Vater × Mutter	Vaterschwester × Mann
Bruder—Schwester	A—Schwester	Kousin—Kousine.

Wenn A der Proband ist, dann sind die Kinder des Vaterbruders seine Geschwister, die Kinder der Vaterschwester aber Vettern. Eine Heirat zwischen diesen Vettern ist verboten. Dagegen muß A die eine Tochter des Vaterbruders heiraten, falls diese will. Der Mann seinerseits kann aber das Mädchen nicht zur Ehe zwingen. Natürlich erinnern sich diese Schwestern gewöhnlich erst dann ihrer Rechte, wenn sie einen anderen Mann, den sie sich gewünscht haben, nicht bekamen. So werden die jungen Leute oft gezwungen, Mädchen zu heiraten, die viel älter sind als sie selbst. Stirbt die Ehegattin, dann muß der Witwer eine Schwester seiner Frau heiraten, falls diese damit einverstanden ist.

Stirbt dagegen der Mann, dann muß die Witwe etwa ein Jahr bei den Schwiegereltern bleiben. Man darf nicht die Frau oder die Kinder des verstorbenen Bruders heiraten. Die Witwe muß ihren Mann von einer anderen Sippe bekommen und zieht auf dessen Werft[1]. Die Knaben gehören zur Sippe des Vaters, die Mädchen zur Sippe der Mutter. Zu den Aufgaben des Werftoberhauptes gehört auch die Hütung des Socha-Feuers. Socha heißt rein oder heilig oder Tabu. Speisen, die für bestimmte Altersklassen oder ein Geschlecht verboten sind, sind für diese „Socha". Das Wort „Socha" scheint mir entweder ein sehr altertümliches zu sein oder es ist ein Lehnwort aus einer anderen Sprache. Jeder Platz hat mindestens zwei Feuer. Das gewöhnliche, wo alle Platz nehmen können, und das Socha-Feuer, bei dem nur die Männer sein dürfen. Wenn die Werft übersiedelt, dann nimmt das Familienoberhaupt das Sochafeuer mit. Während des Marsches wird Feldkost gesammelt. An dem neuen Platze angekommen, macht das Familienoberhaupt unter einem hohen Baume mit dem Sochabrand ein neues Sochafeuer an und röstet die Feldkost. Die Jungen verlassen den Platz sogleich und gehen auf die Jagd, während die Frauen und Mädchen die Windschirme zusammenstellen. Was der Alte am Sochafeuer gebraten, soll er allein essen; er tut es auch gewöhnlich. Endlich kommt ein Bote und meldet, daß ein Stück Großwild zur Strecke gebracht ist. Stunden vergehen, der Alte sitzt stumpfsinnig da, während es sich Frauen und Kinder in dem neuen Windschirm bequem machen. Das Wild wird zum Sochafeuer gebracht, die Keulen und das Blattfleisch werden herausgeschnitten; das bekommen Frauen und Kinder. Diese dürfen niemals Fleisch vom Knochen essen. Alles übrige wird am Sochafeuer von den Männern verzehrt. Das Werftoberhaupt hat auch die Aufgabe, das Fest der ersten Feldfrüchte zu veranstalten. Es ist bei den von mir besuchten Horden nicht mehr im Gebrauche. Vedder hat es von den !Kung von Gaub beschrieben.

Fig. 15. Dachspfeife der !Kungbuschleute. (Aus dem Lindenmuseum Stuttgart. 29464.)

Als Oberleutnant Fischer 1908 von Namutoni zum Okawango ritt, hatten die Buschleute überall noch eine straffe Organisation und einen gemeinsamen Kapitän. Hauptmann François fand, als er zum erstenmal über Grootfontein hinausging, viele Unterstützung seitens des Oberhäuptlings der !Kungbuschleute. Es verdient vermerkt zu werden, daß die berühmten Kupferminen von Tsumeb, auf denen der Wohlstand Südwestafrikas zum großen Teil beruht, von einem Buschmannhäuptling[2] entdeckt wurden. Derzeit haben die Ost-!Kung keinen Oberhäuptling mehr. Die Nord-!Kung sollen noch einen besitzen. Der älteste Häuptling, von dem mir erzählt wurde, war „χ'amme", der Löwe. Er war ein großer Jäger. Er starb, als sein Nachfolger Amme noch ein kleiner Junge war. Amme konnte

[1] „Das Schicksal mancher jungen kinderlosen Witwe ist allerdings viel schlimmer. Ein Buschmann teilte darüber folgendes mit: ‚Wenn ein Mann stirbt und eine Frau ohne Kinder hinterläßt, der Schwager aber sich weigert, den Bogen seines Bruders und damit die Schwägerin anzunehmen, so kann sie zur Werft ihres Vaters zurückkehren. Dies geschieht aber keineswegs immer. Als Frau, die nicht gehört, wird sie nicht geachtet. Ihr Leben hat keine Bedeutung. Die Männer der Werft reden über den Fall und bestimmen einen aus ihrer Mitte, das unnütze Leben zu vernichten. Dieser Mann kommt dann abends zur Hütte der Witwe und setzt sich ihr gegenüber an ihr Feuer. Er hat Bogen und Pfeil bei sich. Die Witwe weiß, was ihr bevorsteht, läßt sich aber nichts merken. Beide reden miteinander über nebensächliche Dinge. Nach einer Weile nimmt der Mann seinen Bogen zur Hand und schießt einen Pfeil durch das Herz des ihm gegenübersitzenden Weibes. Die Unglückliche stirbt und wird möglichst bald und unauffällig verscharrt. Blutrache von seiten der Sippe dieses Weibes ist nicht zu befürchten. Sie hat ja keine Kinder geboren'." (Zastrow und Vedder, l. c. 419.)

[2] Dieser selbst war ein Bastard.

aber von seinem Vater nicht viel lernen, er war kein guter Häuptling und ist auch in jungen Jahren gestorben. Seitdem haben die !Kungbuschleute keinen Oberkapitän. Einer meiner Gewährsmänner, Doktor χ'amme, behauptete, der Urenkel des großen Häuptlings gleichen Namens zu sein.

Nach v. Zastrow und Vedder[1] wäre noch zu erwähnen:

„Der Vater ist das Oberhaupt der Familie. Alle haben ihn zu respektieren. Kinder dürfen ihn nicht mit seinem Namen rufen. — Die Häuptlingswürde erbt sich im allgemeinen vom Vater auf den Sohn weiter. Ist der Sohn beim Tode des Vaters noch unerwachsen, so tritt der jüngere Bruder des Vaters an dessen Stelle. Jede Sippe hat seit uralten Zeiten ein angestammtes Sippengebiet. Das Gebiet wird Gou genannt und dürfte sich mit dem deutschen Begriff Gau decken.

Es gibt Sippen, die Tagereisen weit auseinander liegen. So gehört der Landstrich nördlich des Omuramba-Owambo bei Kajou, wo der Mankettibaum (Rizinodendrum Bantanesi) vorkommt, einer Sippe, die für gewöhnlich über 100 km weit entfernt wohnt und nur dorthin kommt, wenn die ölhaltigen Früchte reif sind.

Sippen mit zwei Jagd- und Sammelgebieten entstehen auch durch Verschmelzung zweier Sippen, die so lange untereinander geheiratet haben, bis die Verschmelzung sich von selbst ergab.

Innerhalb des Gebietes der Sippe befinden sich die Gräber der Ahnen. Sie sind durch große Steinhaufen, die darauf gefügt sind, gekennzeichnet. Man hält die Ahnen für Wächter des Sippengebietes. Das Verlassen des Sippengebietes muß daher vom Häuptling oder einem Alten ohne besondere Feierlichkeiten am Ahnengrabe angekündigt werden; ebenso muß an diesem Orte Mitteilung gemacht werden, wenn die Sippe das Gebiet wieder bezieht."

Zum Eigentum der Sippe gehört außer dem Sippengebiet die Feldkost, das Jagdwild und vor allen Dingen die Wasserstelle.

13. KRANKHEITEN UND HEILBEHANDLUNG

Die anatomischen Kenntnisse der Buschleute sind bei ihrem Jägerleben verhältnismäßig groß.

Das Herz gilt als der Sitz des Lebens. Auch der Atem wird mit dem Herzen in irgendeinen Zusammenhang gebracht. Ihre chirurgischen Kenntnisse beschränken sich auf das Ausziehen von Dornen mit einem ahlenartigen Instrument und auf die relativ gute Bandagierung von Hand und Beinbrüchen. Ihr Medizinschatz dagegen ist sehr gering. Ich gebe nun im folgenden eine Aufzählung der gewöhnlichen Krankheiten und ihrer Behandlung.

Fig. 16. Kratzerartiges Instrument. Eisenblatt mit Harz und Lederstreifen an einem Stäbchen befestigt. (Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg; n. Gr.)

AUGENENTZÜNDUNG

Sowohl trockene wie exsudative Augenentzündungen, hervorgerufen durch Sand und reizende Grassamen, sind überaus verbreitet, und Triefäugigkeit ist bei älteren Leuten die Regel, doch sind diese Erkrankungen bei den im Walde lebenden !Kung lange nicht so schwer als etwa bei den Buschmännern der West-Kalahari oder bei denen der Naukluft. Bei letzteren gilt das Triefauge sogar als Schönheitszeichen bei jungen Mädchen. Gewöhnliche Augenentzündungen, die in kurzer Zeit vorübergehen, bedeuten nichts. Sie werden durch Einreiben mit Fett behandelt. Dauert die Erkrankung jedoch länger, dann hat der //Gaub sicher etwas hineingetan, man ruft den Doktor, und dieser produziert nach einiger Behandlung eine „kleine schwarze Medizin" aus dem Auge.

Einseitige Erblindung ist sehr häufig infolge von Verletzungen durch die Dornen. Bei ganz alten Leuten habe ich auch Erblindung durch grauen Star gefunden. Da und dort trifft man auch Buschleute, die in alter Zeit von den Hereros gefangen worden waren, die ihnen mit Grassamen die Augen ausgeschossen hatten.

OHRENERKRANKUNGEN

Sie sind verhältnismäßig selten. Bei gewöhnlichen Ohrenschmerzen stopft man Blätter ins Ohr, „damit es warm bleibt". Auch hält man das schmerzende Ohr übers Feuer, in welches man einige Medizin gegeben hat. Kommt Eiter aus dem Ohr heraus, dann hören die Schmerzen auf und alles

[1] l. c., S. 412, 424.

ist gut. Wenn aber der //Gaub etwas hineingegeben hat, dann werden die Schmerzen so stark, daß man nicht mehr schlafen kann, und man hört gar nicht mehr. In solchen Fällen muß man einen besonders mächtigen Doktor rufen, der die Krankheitsgeister herauszieht, sonst stirbt der Patient.

Fig. 17. !Kung-Instrument zum Zahnausschlagen; n. Cr.

ZAHNLEIDEN

Stellungsanomalien habe ich selten beobachtet, Prognaie oder Opisthognaie niemals. Die einzige Zahnpflege besteht darin, daß sie die eisernen Pfeilspitzen als Zahnstocher benutzen. Die Zähne sind daher meist gelb, mit dichten Lagen von Zahnstein bedeckt und werden bei dem Sandgehalt der vegetabilischen Nahrung sehr rasch abgekaut. Zahnkaries ist außerordentlich häufig, doch kommen Infektionen auch durch Eröffnung der Wurzelkanäle infolge Abkauung vor. Wenn man starke Zahnschmerzen hat, dann hat der //Gaub eine Nadel hineingesteckt, und man muß den Doktor rufen, damit er sie herausholt. Ist jedoch kein allgemeines Übelbefinden vorhanden, dann sind auch keine Dsao da. Man nimmt ein Stäbchen Holz, macht es an einem Ende spitz, hält es mit der Spitze auf die Wurzel des Zahnes und schlägt mittels eines Steines den Zahn heraus. Dieses Instrument heißt „oie". Die kleinen Kinder haben große Schmerzen, wenn sie zahnen, manchmal sind auch Dsao (Krankheitsgeister) dabei im Spiele.

HALSSCHMERZEN

Sie entstehen dadurch, daß der //Gaub einen Faden macht und damit dem Kranken den Hals zuschnürt. Der Doktor muß dem Kranken den Faden herunternehmen, er ist etwa 30 cm lang und von der Art der Falkenfäden (//Kao), jeder kann ihn nach der Behandlung sehen.

ERKÄLTUNGSKRANKHEITEN (χ'ôâ)

Die Grippe fordert alljährlich viele Opfer unter den Buschleuten, besonders unter jenen, die bereits tuberkulös infiziert sind. Erkältungen sind im Winter außerordentlich häufig, liegen die Leute doch fast nackt um die Feuer. Im Walde sind sie ja ziemlich windgeschützt, aber auf offener Fläche kommt noch hinzu, daß der Wind des Nachts umschlägt, während sie schlafen, so daß sie sich erkälten und außerdem oft schwere Verbrennungen in der Magengegend erleiden – allerdings nur die Männer, die Frauen liegen weiter entfernt vom Feuer. Gegen Husten und Heiserkeit kauen sie die Fasern einer sisalähnlichen Pflanze, aus der die Falkenfäden gedreht werden. Die Pflanze heißt kâi. Sie muß frisch aus dem Walde geholt werden. Gegen Brustschmerzen trinken sie neuerdings warmes Wasser, dem viel Kochsalz zugesetzt ist.

GEFÄSSERKRANKUNGEN

Ähnlich wie bei den zentralafrikanischen Pygmäen, finden wir schon bei jugendlicheren Individuen starke Schlängelung der Arteria temporalis. Das Herz nutzt sich bei der erschöpfenden Lebensweise und dem vielen Laufen rasch ab. Man sucht seine Leistungsfähigkeit auf alle mögliche Weise zu heben. Um Herzklopfen zu vertreiben und länger im Laufen auszuhalten, nehmen sie die Blätter eines Baumes mit roten Früchten (!n-gui). Diese werden gekaut und geschluckt. Nützt das nichts, dann kaut man die Wurzel des γ'Na-Baumes. Ist jemand auf dem Herzen krank, so daß er nicht laufen kann, dann nimmt man Wurzeln des Dornakarbusches (!gu) und des Hellbusches (!gai !dsao), kocht beides und trinkt den Absud. Bei Angina pectoris legt man die Haut einer Riesenschlange um die Brust.

MAGEN-DARMERKRANKUNGEN

Es ist interessant, daß die Lehre von der Bedeutung von Leber und Galle für die Krankheitsentstehung, die wir bei allen Natur- und Kulturvölkern bis in die Humoral-Medizin des vergangenen Jahrhunderts finden, schon bei den Buschmännern vorhanden ist. Wenn die Galle voll ist, wird man krank und erbricht Galle. Dann massiert man die Lebergegend ebenso wie bei Leberschmerzen. Lebervergrößerung infolge chronischer Malaria sind häufig. Auch der Mond, der allmonatlich stirbt, ist an der Galle krank, und das Mondlicht ist der von ihm erbrochene Gallensaft. Mondschein und Galle haben dasselbe Wort (goo). Milztumor ist besonders bei Kindern häufig. Eine Medizin gegen Milzstechen haben sie nicht. Um Erbrechen herbeizuführen, haben sie keine Medizin. Dies wird durch Einführen des Fingers oder einer Feder in den Mund herbeigeführt. Um Erbrechen zu stillen, kaut man Ästchen des Gorobaumes. Gegen Magenschmerzen kaut man das bittere Stammholz der Liane (χ'áá-χ'áß). Bei Verstopfung muß der Doktor zaubern. Man nimmt nämlich an, daß die Dsao den Stuhl im Darm festgebunden haben, und der Doktor muß den Faden losmachen und herausbringen, genau so wie bei der Halsentzündung. Der Patient darf nichts essen und nur wenig trinken. Bei Durchfall, auch bei blutigem, wird dieselbe Medizin genommen wie bei Magenschmerzen. Eingeweidewürmer sind ihnen nicht bekannt. Wir wissen schon aus vielen früheren Berichten, daß der Magen-Darm-Traktus des Buschmannes mancherlei verträgt, was wir nicht vertragen. Er kann etwas in Fäulnis übergegangenes Fleisch und dergleichen infolge Gewöhnung von früher Kindheit an ohne weiteres vertragen[1]. Er kann nach langem Hungern ungeheure Quantitäten vertilgen, aber solche Exzesse haben in der Regel eine Indisposition zur Folge. Am Tage nach einem größeren Schmause liegen fast alle mit Magenschmerzen und Bauchgrimmen in der Sonne. Man darf also auch einem Buschmann in bezug auf Ernährung nicht Unmögliches zutrauen; viele Dinge, die uns ekelerregend erscheinen, wie Regenwürmer, Eidechsen, dicke Raupen, Mäuse usw., sind an und für sich gar nicht gesundheitsschädlich, zumal sie ja der Buschmann nur in gekochtem oder gebratenem Zustand zu sich nimmt. Buschmänner, die auf den Farmen aufgewachsen sind, vertragen dieselbe Kost wie die Weißen oder Schwarzen. Dagegen können sich die bei Feldkost und Wildfleisch aufgewachsenen wilden Buschleute nicht an die Arbeiter- und Gefängniskost der Schwarzen gewöhnen. Bei den meisten der zu längerer Gefängnisstrafe verurteilten Buschmänner bedeutet dies eine Verurteilung zu langsamem, aber sicherem Hinsterben. Die Gefangenen erkranken unter den Erscheinungen einer Avitaminose, werden hinfällig, bekommen Ödeme an den Beinen, Hydrops und gehen unfehlbar zugrunde. Im Anfangsstadium stellt sich schwere Darmträgheit ein. Reichliche Zugaben von frischem Fleisch können den Buschmann auch in der Gefangenschaft gesund erhalten. Das Entlaufen der Buschmänner von den Farmen beruht in den meisten Fällen auf der Unmöglichkeit, die verabreichte Kost weiter zu ertragen. Das Vitaminbedürfnis des in der Wildnis aufgewachsenen Buschmannes ist zweifelsohne viel größer, und seine Sucht nach Fleisch, die oft fast krankhaft erscheint, kann als ein physiologischer Vitaminhunger erklärt werden.

ERKRANKUNGEN DES UROGENITAL-APPARATES

Blasenkatarrhe kommen vor, man wärmt dann einen flachen Stein im Feuer und legt ihn auf die Blase. Blutharnen, offenbar infolge von Nephritis, hat mein Freund Dr. Kasl zweimal behandelt. Die Leute sind gestorben. Es waren ganz böse Dsao dabei. Die Terminologie für die Beschreibung der äußeren Genitalien ist lange nicht so reichhaltig wie bei den Bantu. Die Schamhaare werden den Frauen meist von ihren Männern ausgezupft. Sie heißen darum Jungfrauenhaare. Der Zusammenhang

[1] Ein drastisches Beispiel dieser Art habe ich selber erlebt. Ich hatte von Swakopmund her eine Speckseite mitgebracht, die angeblich nach einem besonderen Verfahren für die Ewigkeit konserviert war. Als ich sie hervorzog, entwickelte sie einen abscheulichen Geruch, und damit sie die Buschmänner nicht nahmen und sich den Magen verderben, ließ ich sie hoch auf einen Baum aufhängen. Sehnsüchtig starrten die Buschmänner nach dem mißfarbenen Fettklumpen. Schließlich schickten sie mir eine Deputation, sie möchten den Speck für ihre Hunde haben. Kaum hatten sie ihn, wurde er kunstgerecht nach Familien verteilt und im Zug eines großen Festes ohne jeden Schaden vertilgt.

zwischen Kohabitation und Schwängerung ist bekannt. Impotenz und Unfruchtbarkeit kommen vor, man hat keine Medizin dagegen. Falls die Menstruation ausbleibt, wird nichts Besonderes unternommen. Die menstruierende Frau darf nur mit ihrem Ehemann zusammen essen und nicht überall herumkosten. Bei Menstruationsschmerzen legt man einen warmen Stein auf den Bauch. Die Kinder werden mindestens bis zur Geburt des nächsten Kindes gestillt. Die Brustwarzen zeichnen sich durch eine lederartige Festigkeit aus. Trotzdem kommen Mastitiden manchmal vor.

Die Behauptung, daß Geschlechtskrankheiten sehr verbreitet sind, ist nicht richtig. Den Buschmännern selbst sind sie als solche überhaupt nicht bekannt. Vereinzelt habe ich auf den Farmen Buschleute mit veralteten Gonorrhöen getroffen. Syphilis ist bei den wilden Buschmännern sehr selten.

HAUTKRANKHEITEN

Eine Hautpflege kennt der wilde Buschmann kaum. Da es sowohl an Wasser wie an Fett fehlt, wird die Haut, die sich in der Regel samtartig, weich, warm und trocken anfühlt, in der Trockenzeit rissig und es entstehen leicht Infektionen. Sehr weit verbreitet ist ein offenbar von einem Pilz hervorgerufenes chronisches Ekzem (gari). Gegen dieses verwendet man den Milchsaft einer Pflanze, die Timba heißt.

HAARKRANKHEITEN

Eine auch bei allen Bantu sehr verbreitete, gutartige Haarerkrankung, bei welcher in ungefähr kreisförmigen Flecken das Haar ausfällt, ist auch bei den Buschmännern vorhanden. Daneben kommt aber auch, wie bei den Buschmännern der Naukluft, der sogenannte Porzellankopf vor, bei welcher Krankheit der ganze Haarboden zerstört wird und die Glatze wie Porzellan glänzt. Ergrauen der Haare tritt relativ früh auf. Haarausfall ist selten, er vollzieht sich meist in Form der für Schizothyme charakteristischen Glatzenbildung. Die gewölbten Fingernägel werden ziemlich lang getragen, die Zehennägel sind oft zerklüftet.

INFEKTIONSKRANKHEITEN

Die Buschmänner werden von den zwei gefährlichsten chronischen Infektionskrankheiten, der Tuberkulose und der Malaria, bedrängt. Lepra fehlt.

Die Malaria tritt alljährlich in der Regenzeit auf. Dann wirft man die Bischwurzeln ins Feuer und atmet den Rauch ein. Kleine Kinder sterben öfter daran. Fälle von Schwarzwasserfieber oder Malariakachexie habe ich nicht beobachtet.

Die Tuberkulose ist die gewöhnliche Todesursache der Buschmänner. Ich sah sowohl Knochentuberkulose, Drüsenanschwellungen und fortgeschrittene Fälle von Lungen- und Kehlkopftuberkulose. Die armen Leute stehen dem vollkommen hilflos gegenüber, und die häufigen Erkältungen fördern die Prozesse in gefährlicher Weise. Als in kleinen Gruppen lebende Nomaden sind sie vor den Seuchen der Weißen und Schwarzen im allgemeinen verschont. Wird jedoch eine Seuche einmal eingeschleppt, dann sterben sie massenhaft dahin. Interessant ist, daß die Buschmänner wissen, daß es ansteckende Krankheiten gibt. Als solche ist ihnen allerdings nur die obenerwähnte Hautkrankheit (gari) bekannt.

Die anderen infektiösen Allgemeinerkrankungen werden mit dem Überfall vieler Krankheitsgeister auf die Horde erklärt.

GEBURTSHILFE

Sieht eine junge Buschfrau ihrer ersten Niederkunft entgegen, dann bleibt sie bei den Hütten, weil sie sich fürchtet. Die älteren Frauen reden ihr gut zu, dann wird aus trockenem Gras ein Lager gemacht, und das Kind wird in hockender Stellung geboren. Bei Geburtsschwierigkeiten wird der Unterleib massiert. Medizin wird nicht gegeben und manuelle geburtshilfliche Eingriffe werden nicht gemacht. Die Nabelschnur wird mit einem Quarzmesser abgeschnitten und eingegraben.

VERWUNDUNGEN UND VERLETZUNGEN

Die gefährlichste Verletzung, die ein Buschmann erhalten kann, ist die durch den Giftpfeil. Man schneidet den vergifteten Pfeil heraus, nimmt ein Stück Holz, macht es glühend und brennt den Verwundeten an vielen Stellen des Körpers. Wenn das Gift die Wärme riecht, dann kommt es an diesen Stellen zusammen, dort werden dann Einschnitte gemacht und das Blut mittels eines Schröpfkopfes aus Gemsbockhorn ausgesaugt. Der Verwundete darf sich weder niedersetzen noch niederlegen, er muß 24 Stunden lang herumgeführt werden. Nach dieser Zeit stirbt er oder er wird gesund. Die Methode hilft nur in seltenen Fällen.

Die zweite große Gefahr sind die Schlangenbisse. Wenn man Einschnitte in die Unterschenkel macht und von einer Bisobwurzel etwas abschabt und in die Einschnitte hineinreibt, dann riechen die Schlangen das und kommen nicht hervor. Wenn man aber auf weite Strecken laufen muß, dann verreibt man Bisobstaub mit Fett und salbt damit die Beine ein. Falls doch jemand von einer Schlange gebissen wird, so ist die Behandlung analog der bei Pfeilschußverletzungen. Sehr häufig sind Verletzungen der Füße durch Eintreten von Dornen. Verletzungen, die durch die Aponeurose gehen, werden als tödlich angesehen. Sie infizieren sich so gut wie immer. Nehmen die Wundinfektionen auch einen weniger bösartigen und langsameren Verlauf als bei den Europäern, so führen sie doch manchmal zum Tode. Die einzige Medizin, die verwendet wird, ist Bisobpulver, das man in die Wunden streut.

Fig. 18.
Kirri der !Kung.

Einige Doktoren behaupteten gegen Schlangen- und Skorpionbisse unempfindlich zu sein.

Was Vedder bei Bergdama beobachtete, berichtet in gleicher Weise Schinz:

„In der Absicht, die letztere Eigenschaft zu prüfen, bewog ich eines Tages einen uns in Nol las am Ngamisee besuchenden alten Zauberer, das Experiment mit 12 von mir selbst gesuchten, durchschnittlich 8 cm langen Skorpionen (Buthus caudax Simon) an sich selbst vorzunehmen. Um jeden Betrug auszuschließen, brachte ich die Tiere mittels einer Pinzette auf die verschiedenen Körperteile, Hände, Beine, Arme, Mund und Hoden des Mannes, in der Regel bewegten sie dann sofort das lange Postabdomen erregt hin und her und stachen ein- oder zweimal heftig in das Fleisch des betreffenden Versuchsindividuums, wobei dem Stachel jedesmal ein großer Tropfen weißer Flüssigkeit entwich; schließlich wanderten sie ruhig umher, ohne weitere Stechversuche zu machen, zeigten aber auch keineswegs jene aufgeregte Hast, vom Körper des Buschmannes herunterzukommen, wie dies von einzelnen Berichterstattern schon angegeben worden ist. Der Alte behauptete, keinen Schmerz zu empfinden, und ich habe keinen Grund, ihm zu mißtrauen, da er sich doch kaum meiner Willbegierde zuliebe von Skorpionen an den empfindlichsten Stellen des Körpers hätte stechen lassen, wenn das Gift von irgendeiner Wirkung auf ihn gewesen wäre; selbst eine volle Stunde nach unserem Versuche zeigten die gestochenen Stellen noch nicht die geringste Veränderung. Der Mann erklärte, diese eigentümliche Fähigkeit dadurch erlangt zu haben, daß er als Junge in der ‚Schule' bei einem Zauberer dazu angehalten worden sei, mit Wasser und Urin verdünntes, den Skorpionen gewaltsam entnommenes Gift in kleine Schnittwunden zu bringen sowie zu Brei gestampfte und eingekochte Giftstacheln zu genießen; in entsprechender Weise soll auch die Präservation gegen Schlangenbisse erworben werden können."

14. DIE DOKTORENPRÜFUNG

Eines Nachmittags kam der Älteste der Horde vor Keibeb zu mir und teilte mir mit, in der Nacht würde ein großer Tanz stattfinden, erstens weil ein dreijähriges Kind soeben von einer kleinen schwarzen Schlange gebissen worden sei, zweitens weil viele Leute fieberkrank seien und drittens endlich, weil einer der Männer die Doktorenprüfung machen wollte. Solche Feste finden immer nur in der Zeit des Vollmondes statt. Gegen 9 Uhr abends lockte mich wilder Lärm ins Lager. Die Leute hatten etwas größere und mehr Feuer angezündet, als es sonst üblich war. In der Mitte eines offenen Halbkreises saß die Mutter mit dem von der Schlange gebissenen Kind. Rund um sie hockten die älteren Frauen. Abseits davon standen in einer Reihe hintereinander jüngere Frauen und Mädchen. Sowohl die männ-

lichen wie die weiblichen Doktoren waren in Tätigkeit. Die Oberdoktorin Biri war diesen Abend „persönlich" abwesend. Sie hockte abseits in der Dunkelheit im Busch. Von ihr hatte /Nawa, der oberste der //Gaunbs, Besitz ergriffen und sprach durch ihren Mund. Ihren Haarschmuck, lange Perlenketten aus Straußeneischalen, hatte ihre Stellvertreterin Dubo, eine sehr intelligente junge Frau, angelegt. Diese leitete, am Ende des Halbkreises der sitzenden Frauen stehend, das Fest. Sie war sehr guter Dinge und rauchte abwechselnd ihre Buschmannpfeife und meine Zigaretten. Unter den Frauen besteht irgendeine Rangordnung, und zwar waren die hockenden Weiber höher im Range als die stehenden. Alle Weiber klatschten in die Hände und sangen dazu in monotonem Rhythmus: ehe, ehe, ehe, ehe usw. Das war, wie mir versichert wurde, kein Lied, sondern „Musik". Manche Herden haben sich von den Okawangos 1½ m hohe Tanztrommeln eingehandelt, die bei diesem Anlaß von Männern bearbeitet werden. Bei den Buschmännern des Sandfeldes trägt nicht die Festleiterin den Schmuck der Oberdoktorin, sondern der Schmuck wird an einen Baum gehängt. Die Würde der Oberdoktorin ist nicht dauernd an eine Person gebunden, sondern der Oberdoktor verleiht ihr fallweise übernatürliche Kräfte.

Fig. 19. Zauberer mit Vogelmaske und Krankheitsgeistern im Gefolge. (Aus Rock Paintings in South Africa. From Parts of the Eastern Provinces and Orange Free State. Copied by C. W. Stow. With an introduction and descriptive notes by Dorothea Bleek. London Methuen 1930.)

Die fünf Doktoren hatten allen Schmuck abgelegt und waren bis auf den Vorderschurz nackt. Sie setzten sich durch Krähen, durch Hervorbringen von Lauten ähnlich den Bauchrednern und durch bestimmte Muskelkontraktionen in einen autohypnotischen Zustand. Dadurch, daß sie die Gluteusmuskulatur der Hinterbacken zusammenpreßten, dabei die Kniegelenke möglichst weit auseinander hielten und die Beine bei den Knöcheln zusammenpreßten, erzeugten sie mit der Zeit einen tonischen Zitterkrampf der gesamten Muskulatur der unteren Extremität, in welchem sie hin und her torkelten. Auf diese Weise ist es jedermann möglich, sich in einen autohypnotischen Zustand zu versetzen, wie dies Verfasser auch von den Doktoren gelernt hat. Bald zeigten die verdrehten Augen, daß sich die Doktoren im Trancezustande befanden. Sie tanzten durcheinander, fielen übereinander und hoben einander wieder auf. Einige Weiber fingen auch mit den Tanzrasseln zu lärmen an. Nach der Überzeugung der Buschleute tanzte nun /Nawa selbst unter den Doktoren, ist diesen sichtbar und spricht mit ihnen. Dazu sprechen sie etwas wie Gebete, sie rufen den großen Geist des alten Buschmannes an, der viele Elefanten getötet hat, sie rufen die Geister der Toten, die ihre Krankheitsgeisterchen über die Lebenden gesendet haben, und sie bitten insbesondere /Nawa, er möge diese Krankheitsgeisterchen auf die Doktoren übertragen.

Die Doktoren liefen abwechselnd zu dem gebissenen Kind und zu den Fieberkranken, die ringsherum bei den Feuern hockten, und strichen ihnen über die schmerzenden Körperstellen, sowie von den Achselhöhlen bis zu den Sohlen und von den Schultern bis zu den Fingerspitzen nach abwärts. Gelegentlich saugten sie auch an den erkrankten Stellen oder sogen den Atem ein, der aus dem Munde der Kranken kam.

Von Zeit zu Zeit vollführten die Doktoren diese Operationen gegenseitig an sich aus, zunächst, um, wie sie sagten, die Krankheitsgifte gleichmäßig auf alle Doktoren zu verteilen, dann aber auch, um sich Kraft von den anderen Doktoren zu holen. So „geladen" lief dann der Doktor wieder zu den Patienten, um Gift zu übernehmen.

Dann und wann lief der Oberdoktor schreiend um die Reihe der stehenden Frauen herum und

verschwand im Busch, um sich bei der Oberdoktorin nach der Willensmeinung /Nawas zu erkundigen. Nach etwa einer Stunde Tanzens begab sich der Oberdoktor zu dem gebissenen Kinde. Der Rücken, wo sich die Bißstelle befand, wurde mit Fett und einer Medizin eingerieben, dann wurden nochmals alle Patienten der oben geschilderten Behandlung unterzogen, und bald darauf verkündete /Nawa durch den Mund der Oberdoktorin, das Kind und auch die anderen Patienten würden gesund werden. Damit war der erste Teil der Zeremonie beendigt.

Nun begann die Doktorenprüfung, an der sich die übrigen, mit Ausnahme der musizierenden Weiber, nur mehr als Zuschauer beteiligten. Die Doktoren tanzten weiter, oft mit gegen Himmel ausgestreckten Armen und gespreizten Fingern, dann wieder sprangen sie zum Feuer und hielten die Hände über das Feuer. Das Werfen der Hände gegen Himmel bezweckte, einen Teil der Krankheitsgeisterchen dem Obergeist /Nawa zurückzugeben, der auf einem Faden zwischen Himmel und Erde auf und ab geht. Eine Gebetsgebärde ist das nicht. Auch das Halten der Hände über dem Feuer bezweckt das gleiche, weil die „Krankheitsgeisterchen" das Feuer nicht gerne haben und weggehen. Währenddessen dankten sie dem großen Geiste, daß er das Kind gerettet habe. Dann aber baten sie /Nawa, er möge alle Krankheitsgeisterchen auf den Doktorenkandidaten vereinigen und diesen töten, damit die Leute von den bösen Krankheiten befreit werden; der Sterbende nimmt nämlich die Krankheitsgeister mit sich. Durch Bestreichen, Reiben und Anblasen übertragen nun die alten Doktoren die Krankheitsgeister auf den Kandidaten. Dieser ist total erschöpft, bricht von Zeit zu Zeit zusammen, wird immer wieder hoch gehoben und taumelnd tanzt er mit Schaum vor dem Munde weiter. Die anderen Doktoren verhöhnen ihn: „Du Leopard, du Löwe, du Elefant, du unübersteigbarer Berg, du riesenstarker Mann, jetzt wirst du nicht mit den Krankheitsgeistern fertig, die wir dir gegeben haben." Noch einmal läuft der Oberdoktor zu dem ehemaligen Patienten und überträgt das etwa noch gesammelte Krankheitsgift auf den Kandidaten. 1½ Stunden dauerte dieser Höllenspektakel, dann begab sich der Oberdoktor zu seinem im Busch sitzenden Orakel und versicherte, der Kandidat ist zu stark, wir haben alle Krankheitsgeisterchen auf ihn vereinigt und den Obergeist gebeten, er möge ihn holen (töten), aber der Kandidat ist stärker als die Krankheitsgeister. Durch das Orakel befiehlt: „Es wird weitergetanzt". Während dies geschah, kam aus dem Hintergrunde eine Frau – ich konnte in dem Halbdunkel nicht ausnehmen, ob es die Oberdoktorin selbst war – und machte sich an dem eben geheilten Kinde zu schaffen, sie klatschte mit den Händen und schlug die Handflächen mit den Daumenseiten vor dem Gesicht des Kindchens aneinander und versetzte dasselbe auch in eine kurze Verzückung. Indessen wurde weiter getanzt, bis gegen 12 Uhr nachts endlich das Orakel erklärte, der Obergeist sei zwar noch nicht zufrieden, aber sie werde ihn beruhigen; der Obergeist nehme freiwillig die Krankheitsgeisterchen auch von den Doktoren weg. Nach diesen Worten schloß das Fest augenblicklich, die Leute gingen zu ihren Feuern und legten sich schlafen.

Der Kandidat hatte seine Prüfung bestanden[1].

[1] Burchell hat (in der Übersetzung von Hellwald, Völkerkunde II, S. 319) eine ähnliche Schilderung aus dem Süden gegeben: „Ein Fuß bleibt stehen, während der andere schnell und regelmäßig in Bewegung gesetzt wird, aber keine besondere Ortsveränderung erleidet. Die Arme werden nur unbedeutend bewegt. Dabei singt der Tänzer unaufhörlich und hält stets Takt mit den Bewegungen. Zuweilen neigt er den Körper und erhebt ihn dann plötzlich wieder, bis er zuletzt ermüdet sich auf den Boden niederläßt, fortwährend aber singend und den Körper im Takt bewegend, den der Gesang der Zuschauer angibt. Denn wiewohl nur eine Person auf einmal tanzt, so hat doch auch die anwesende Gesellschaft dabei zu tun usw."

Wenn die Aufregung des Tanzes ihren Höhepunkt erreicht hat und die Tanzenden durch die anhaltende Tanzbewegung, den gellenden Gesang, den Kaffergenuß und nicht zum wenigsten durch den Tabakrauch, den sie, um sich zu berauschen, minutenlang im Munde behalten, in eine Art Taumel verfallen sind, dann trampeln die Doktoren, um ihre Feuerfestigkeit zu beweisen, mit den nackten Füßen auf den glühenden Holzkohlen herum, die sie zu diesem Zweck dem Lagerfeuer entnehmen und im Sande ausbreiten. Doch glaube ich bei manchen der jüngeren beobachtet zu haben, daß es mit ihrer Feuerfestigkeit nicht so weit her war, wie sie glauben machen wollten, und daß sie vorsichtig die allzu heiß glühenden Stücke vermieden. Überrascht war ich dagegen, als gelegentlich eines solchen religiösen Tanzes der angenannte Großdoktor — nachdem er lange und anhaltend in sichtbarer Verzückung allein getanzt hatte, so daß ihm, trotz der kühlen Nacht und trotzdem er fast unbekleidet war, der Schweiß am ganzen Körper herunterlief — plötzlich mit langsamen, gravitätischen Schritten durch das hochaufloderende Feuer schritt, wobei er mit den nackten Füßen auf die brennenden Holzkohlen treten mußte.

Ich habe diese ganzen Vorgänge mit dem Oberdoktor Kasi, mit Dube und den anderen Doktoren späterhin eingehend durchgesprochen. Am meisten mag bei der ganzen Zeremonie das Fehlen des Geheimnisvollen und Zauberhaften auffallen. Diese Krankheitsgeisterchen sind keine magischen Wesen, sondern in den Augen der Buschmänner banale Realitäten. Die Buschmänner wissen sehr genau, daß viele Krankheiten nicht allein durch die Krankheitsgeister hervorgerufen werden. Wenn jemand etwas Schlechtes ißt, dann wird er davon krank, und man gibt ihm Medizin zum Erbrechen. Wenn jemand durch einen Schuß verwundet wird, dann behandelt man die Wunde. Hat der Verletzte nur in der Wunde Schmerzen, fühlt sich sonst aber wohl, dann ist kein Krankheitsgeist in ihn gefahren. Fühlt er sich jedoch im ganzen krank, dann ist er von einem Krankheitsgeist besessen. Diese Krankheitsgeisterchen heißen Dsao, es sind kleine gelbe Männchen mit dickem Bauche und Schwänzchen. Sie gehorchen den übrigen Geistern. Von diesen gibt es, wie oben geschildert, die gewöhnlichen, die dem Körper der verstorbenen Menschen entstammen, die Geister, welche bei den Sternen wohnen, und den Obergeist (/Nawa) selbst.

Fig. 28. Buschmannrevolver der IKung. (Fexhof; n. Cr.)

Schließlich kann auch der „große Kapitän" die Dsao unmittelbar über einen Menschen senden. /Nawa kann dies tun mit oder ohne Zustimmung des „großen Kapitäns", die kleineren Geister eigenmächtig oder auf Befehl dieser Mächte.

Nun haben die Doktoren ihre übernatürliche Kraft unmittelbar vom „großen Kapitän", sie sind gleich stark wie /Nawa und stärker als die kleineren Geister. Ihre Behandlung ist dementsprechend erfolgreich oder erfolglos. Die Doktoren sind also auf alle Fälle gerechtfertigt.

Die Krankenbehandlung geht demnach zwei parallele Wege, einen mit natürlichen Mitteln (Medizinen und dergleichen), der sich gegen die lokalen Krankheitssymptome wendet, und einen mit übernatürlichen Mitteln, der gegen die Dsao gerichtet ist, die das Krankheitsgefühl hervorrufen.

Bei der Doktorenprüfung wird folgendes Lied gesungen:

e hehehe na ti //kau /goa dsao

Während der Behandlung selbst wird folgender Text gesungen:

/o ma ga //goa ǂam /nai tha

Er hat noch keine Medizin, er soll geworfen werden mit der Medizin.

v. Zastrow und Vedder[1] wissen über die Zauberdoktoren folgendes zu berichten:

[1] Die Buschmänner, l. c., S. 424.

„Der Zauberer kann sich vor den bösen Geistern der bösen Verstorbenen schützen. Er sieht sie ja und kennt die Mittel, um sich ihrer zu erwehren. Der gewöhnliche Buschmann aber hat keine Augen für sie. Er hat aber ein Mittel, um sie sich vom Leibe zu halten. In einem kleinen, fingerlangen Lederröchchen bewahrt er einen aus Horn geschnitzten Bogen mit zahlreichen Hornpfeilen auf, die in einem Schaft aus Sauergras stecken. Befällt ihn die Furcht vor bösen Geistern, so schießt er diese Miniaturpfeile mit seinem Miniaturbogen nach allen Himmelsrichtungen um sich herum ab. Nun können die bösen Geister nicht an ihn herankommen.

Da er außerdem noch den Glauben hat, daß ein auch nur in der Richtung auf eine gehaßte Person geworfener Gegenstand dieser in geheimnisvoller Weise in den Leib fährt und sie schwer schädigt, so gebraucht er ebenfalls seinen Miniaturbogen, um sich einen Verfolger oder Feind vom Halse zu halten, indem er mit einer Verwünschung einen Pfeil in die Richtung abschießt, wo er seinen Feind wähnt, auch wenn er diesen meilenweit von sich entfernt weiß."

Während ich und der sehr erfahrene J. Lankenbein diese Buschmannrevolver für harmlose Zauberinstrumente ansehen, ist Seiner anderer Meinung:

„Der ‚Revolver' ist ein ausgesprochenes Mordwaffenerdinstrument, das in der Schamschürze verborgen getragen wird. Der Bogen ist 10 cm lang, die Pfeile haben eine Länge von 10–12 cm und stecken nebst ersterem in einem mit Perlen verzierten Beutelchen. Dazu ist noch zu bemerken, daß die mit Schnenbändchen über Kreuz umwickelten Pfeile mit aufgeschmierten Körperteilchen der Pfeilgiftraupe vergiftet sind. Der Buschmann zerdrückt gewöhnlich einige der nur im Dezember und Januar erhältlichen, auf einigen Commiphora-Sträuchern (Commiphora Dinteri, C. Seineri) lebenden oder bereits an den Wurzeln unter der Erde verpuppten Raupen mit einem der stets in den Köchern befindlichen Holzstäbchen in einer Knochenschale, beschmiert den Pfeil dann mit einem klebrigen Stoff wie Wachs oder Harz, worauf er den Pfeil mit der zähen, schleimigen Raupenmasse überstreicht, die nach dem Trocknen als mehr oder minder dicke braune Kruste den Pfeil überzieht. Bis auf 7 m Entfernung ist es möglich, mit diesem Miniaturpfeil die Haut blutig zu ritzen; wäre das aufschlagende Pfeilende nicht stumpf, sondern spitz wie jenes, das im Grasschafte sitzt, so würde der Pfeil in das Fleisch selbst eindringen und in die Wunde viel mehr Gift einführen. Die Buschleute suchen sich gegen diese hinterlistige, aber anscheinend häufig angewandte Waffe zu schützen, indem sie sich gegen die Giftwirkung zu immunisieren suchen; sie bringen sich nämlich während einer Zeit von drei bis vier Wochen am Scheitel kleine Schnittwunden bei, die sie die ganze Zeit hindurch offenhalten, um in die Wunden in steigendem Grade Giftlarven zu verreiben. Die Folge sind angeblich Krankheitserscheinungen mehr oder minder schwerer Natur, mit Fieber und Übelkeiten."

DIE ALRAUNWURZEL[1]

Sie stammt von einem kleinen Busch (/gui-ea). Im Gebiete der von mir besuchten Buschmänner kommt sie nicht vor, sondern weiter im Norden. Man findet sie nur zufällig. Wenn der Doktor durch den Busch wandert, dann hört er manchmal leise sprechen. Er sieht bald eine Spur, die derjenigen einer Schlange gleicht und Blutspuren zeigt. Auf dieser Spur geht aufrecht wie ein Stock diese Wurzel. Er darf sie nicht angreifen, weil er sonst gleich sterben müßte, und sucht in die Wegrichtung der Zauberwurzel zu kommen, macht seinen Medizinbeutel auf und läßt das Alräunchen hineinlaufen. Dann wird der Beutel gut zugemacht und daheim auf einen hohen Baum gehangen. In die Hütte darf das Alräunchen nicht hereingebracht werden. Es tropft wie Blut aus der Tasche heraus. Früh am nächsten Morgen wird ein großes Feuer angemacht, Frauen und Kinder und alle kommen zusammen, jeder nimmt sein kleines Bockshorn mit und bekommt vom Doktor etwas von der vom Alräunchen stammenden Medizin. Die Medizin wird in die Haut eingerieben. Buschmänner, die bei den Weißen wohnen, dürfen diese Medizin nicht nehmen, weil sie davon krank werden. – Die Medizin bzw. der Zauber, der von dem Alräunchen ausgeht, hat geringe Wirkung bei denen, die auf die vorbeschriebene Weise be-

[1] Vgl. hierzu: Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens, Bd. I. Die Hauptquelle für den mittelalterlichen Aberglauben ist eine Stelle aus der Geschichte des Jüdischen Krieges von Flavius Josephus (geb. 37 n. Chr.). Er schreibt (Bellum judaicum VII, 6, 3; Werke übers. von Cotta und Gförer, Philadelphia 1838, S. 762): „Das Tal, welches die Stadt Machärus auf der Nordseite einschließt, heißt Baara und erzeugt eine Wurzel gleichen Namens. Sie ist flammend rot und wirft des Abends rote Strahlen aus; sie auszureißen ist sehr schwer, denn dem Nahenden entzieht sie sich und hält nur dann still, wenn man Urin und Blutfluß (Menstrualblut) darauffließt. Auch dann ist bei jeder Berührung der Tod gewiß, es trage denn einer die ganze Wurzel in der Tasche davon. Doch bekommt man sie auf andere Weise, und zwar so: Man umgräbt sie rings so, daß nur noch ein kleiner Rest der Wurzel unsichtbar ist; dann bindet man einen Hund daran, und wenn dieser dem Anbinder schnell folgen will, so reißt er die Wurzel aus, stirbt aber auf der Stelle als ein stellvertretendes Opfer dessen, der die Pflanze nehmen will. Hat man sie einmal, so ist keine Gefahr mehr. Man gibt sich aber soviel Mühe um sie wegen folgender Eigenschaften: Die Dämonen, d. h. böse Geister schlechter Menschen, welche in die Lebenden hineinfahren und sie töten, wenn nicht schnell Hilfe geleistet wird, werden von dieser Pflanze ausgetrieben, sobald man sie dem Kranken auch nur nahebringt."

handelt wurden, aber schwere Wirkungen bei den andern. Darum wird diese Medizin auch dann verwendet, um durch Fernwirker Feinde zu töten. Geht der Dokter zu einer Herde, die diese Medizin noch nicht hat, dann trägt er das Horn mit ihr um den Hals. Wer ihn ansieht, in den geht etwas von dem Zaubergift des Aktäuchens ein.

Setzt sich der Dokter nieder, dann fällt derjenige, der ihn gesehen hat, wie tot um und stirbt, wenn ihm nicht geholfen wird. Handelt es sich um Feinde, dann geht eben der Dokter wieder fort und kümmert sich nicht weiter. Dem Bewußtlosen schwillt der Bauch gewaltig an. Sind alle Prozeduren vergeblich geblieben und erinnert man sich, daß dieser oder jener Dokter die Zaubermedizin hat, dann ruft man ihn, er nimmt aus seinem Horn etwas von seiner blutähnlichen Flüssigkeit heraus, schmiert sich zuerst die eigenen Füße ein und reibt dann die Füße des Kranken und vor allem dessen Bauch in drehender Massage. Allmählich tritt die Schwellung zurück, der Kranke steht auf, setzt sich hin und ist gesund.

Diese Geschichte, die auf der Tatsache, daß es Wurzeln gibt, die einen blutähnlichen Saft haben, basiert, ist in unklarer Weise auch zur Kenntnis der Farmer gelangt und war die Ursache der lächerlichen Angst, die viele Farmer vor den geheimen Giften der Buschmänner haben.

15. DIE ELEMENTE

Himmel und Erde, Sonne und Mond, alles hat χ'u, der große Kapitän, das höchste Wesen, gemacht. In den sonnendurchglühten Wüsten, die die Buschmänner bewohnen, ist die Sonne keine Gnadenspenderin, wird es doch in der heißen Zeit so warm, daß auch der Buschmann tagsüber im Schatten bleibt, weil der Sand so heiß ist, daß man darüber nicht laufen kann.

Die Sonne war eine Menschentochter. Die Buschmänner hatten sie gesehen, und die Männer mußten diese Tochter tragen, aber da sie auf der Schulter heiß brannte, so mußten die Männer oft wechseln. Als aber die Schultern aller Männer verbrannt waren, da ließen sie die Sonne im Busch liegen und brachten sie nicht bis zu den Hütten. An dieser Stelle ist die Sonne aufgegangen. Sie ist vom großen Kapitän.

Wenn die Sonne untergeht, dann setzt sie sich auf die Erde, um zu essen. Wenn es Tag werden soll, dann geht ein Schulterblatt von ihr auf die andere Seite der Welt, wo es als Sonne herauskommt. Die Sonnenstrahlen (/gam †hâse) sind die Arme der Sonne. Die Sonnenfinsternis (†Kâe) machen die Löwen, damit sie die Menschen leichter fressen können.

Fröhlich wird auch der Buschmann erst, wenn die Abendkühle kommt, und in den Zeiten des Vollmondes feiert er seine Feste. Aber von Mondanbetung ist bei den von mir besuchten !Kung-Buschleuten keine Rede.

Vom Mond wurde mir erzählt: „Den Mond haben die Leute auch getragen. Er war nicht so warm wie die Sonne, aber sehr schwer. So haben sich die Männer geholfen und ihn mit großer Mühe zu den Hütten gebracht. Der Mond war ein Mann, er sagte: ‚Ich bleibe lieber allein und mag nicht bei euch sein.' Da sagten die Buschmänner: ‚Wenn du allein in die Wüste gehst, mußt du sterben.' Aber der Mond folgte nicht, ging hinaus und ist gestorben. Dann ist er aber wieder aufgewacht und wie die Sonne aufgegangen, darum ist er wie diese vom ‚Großen Kapitän'. Wenn er verschwindet, dann ist er gestorben. Wenn nur eine Seite von ihm zu sehen ist, dann ist er jung. Wenn er kleiner wird, dann ist er alt. Die Farbe des Mondes stammt von seiner Galle (/gâe)."

Die bekannte Geschichte vom Mond und vom Hasen wird dort auf folgende Weise erzählt:

Der Mond sagte einmal zum Hasen: „Ich sterbe und wache wieder auf, ihr auf der Erde sollt dasselbe tun." Der Hase aber antwortete: „Nein, das können wir nicht, die wir auf der Erde sind, das kannst nur du, weil du in der Luft bist, bei uns geht das nicht; wenn wir einmal sterben, so wachen wir nicht mehr auf." Und der Hase hat recht behalten, es ist bis heute so.

Die Mondesfinsternis !nui dase wird von den Löwen gemacht, damit sie leichter in die Buschmannhütten schleichen können.

Kometen, χ'u lgam, sind Sterne des großen Kapitäns, sie bringen Glück. Wenn eine Sternschnuppe, †gomma, fällt, dann sagt man, genau so wie bei uns, es stirbt jemand. Die Sterne nämlich sind die Lagerfeuer jener Geister, die auf Befehl des großen Kapitäns herabkommen und die Seelen der Sterbenden holen.

Erdbeben, χ'ãno lgwe, kündigen Krankheiten an. Der Regenbogen, !Khãsi lnõo, kündigt ein gutes Regenjahr an.

Was der Buschmann erfleht und erbittet, ist nicht Sonnenschein, sondern Regen. Über den Regen gebietet der große Kapitän allein.

Blitz und Donner sind keine eigenen Wesen, sondern die macht der Regen. Wenn jemand vom Blitz erschlagen wird, dann sagt man: „Der Regen hat ihn getötet." Wenn es in der Ferne blitzt und donnert, dann sagt der Regen: „Heute werde ich donnern auf der ganzen Erde." Wenn es auf verschiedenen Seiten blitzt und donnert, dann sprechen die Wolken miteinander. Und wenn sie mit ihren Köpfen sich berühren, dann kommt der Regen herunter, und die Wolken breiten sich über die ganze Welt aus. Der Regen, der auf die Erde heruntergekommen ist, bleibt nicht da, die Wolken kommen wieder aus der Erde heraus. Der Regen gehorcht dem großen Kapitän. Im Sturm reißt der große Kapitän die Bäume um. Aber wenn ein Mensch etwas Schlechtes gegen ihn sagt, dann bleibt die Strafe nicht aus. Denn χ'u sagt zum Regen: „Du selbst jetzt gehen und ihn töten." Und der Regen geht hin und tötet den Mann mit dem Blitz. Wenn aber der große Kapitän zum Regen sagt: „Du selbst jetzt gehen und ihn strafen", dann schlägt der Blitz bloß in den Windschirm ein, daß alles zusammenbricht und der Übeltäter herausgeworfen wird. Dann laufen die Leute hinzu, reiben den Bewußtlosen mit Medizin ein und brennen ihm mit glühenden Hölzchen die Haut, bis er wieder zu sich kommt.

So läßt der erzürnte große Kapitän strafen.

Der betroffene Buschmann ist nun aber weit entfernt, den großen Kapitän etwa im stillen oder öffentlich um Verzeihung zu bitten, er ist überzeugt, daß das nichts nützen würde. Er vertraut sich dagegen dem folgenden Verfahren an: Es ist bekannt, daß dort, wo der Blitz in Quarzsand fährt, die sogenannten Blitzröhren oder Fulgurite entstehen. Diese Tatsache ist auch dem scharfen Auge der Buschmänner nicht verborgen geblieben. Meine Freunde erzählten: Dort, wo der Blitz eingeschlagen hat, findet man gewöhnlich einen Stein, „Regenzahn" genannt. Mit diesem Stein ritzt sich der vom Blitz Gestreifte die Haut, reibt Medizin ein, die Jagdglück bringen soll, und sucht einen Gemsbock zu erjagen. Ist ihm das gelungen, dann kocht er Fleisch von dem Bock zusammen mit dem Regenzahn. Ist noch ein zweiter bei der Horde, der vom Blitz schon einmal gestreift wurde, dann muß dieser mit ihm zusammen das Fleisch essen. Dann wird Medizin gemacht aus diesem Fleisch und anderen Ingredienzien, und diese wird in das Horn eines kleinen Buschböckchens gegeben und von dem Betroffenen um den Hals getragen.

Wenn der „Regen" nun noch einmal kommt, dann geht er wieder zu der Hütte des Betroffenen, geht durch das Feuer, wo der Bock gekocht wurde, hindurch und reißt einen Knochen des Bockes (diese Knochen bleiben an Ort und Stelle liegen) mit sich und fährt mit ihm in den nächsten Baum. Der Knochen kocht in dem Baum, der Schaum kommt auf der Seite heraus und unten das Fett. Ist der Regen vorüber, dann wird der Knochen wieder herausgezogen und mit Gemsbockhorn und Duikerhorn und Fleisch eingekocht, verkohlt und zu einer Medizin verrieben. Dem Betroffenen werden nun Einschnitte auf der Zunge, der Stirn, den Wangen, der Brust und den Beinen gemacht, mit Fett eingerieben und diese Medizin hineingeschmiert. Nun ist er bis auf weiteres vor der Verfolgung durch den Regen sicher.

16. DER REGENZAUBER

Unmittelbar wendet man sich an den großen Kapitän, wenn man Regen braucht. Nicht alle Doktoren können den Regen herbeischaffen, nur einige wenige, die sich der besonderen Gunst des großen Kapitäns erfreuen. Dann wird ein Tanz veranstaltet, bei welchem sich die Doktoren in den unten geschilderten Trancezustand versetzen. Dazu wird der folgende Klagegesang unzählige Male wiederholt:

!gará guri dao oá †am	Warum regnet es nicht?
χ'uá dé ré /gaa !ái /gaa	Welcher Herr hält den Regen fest?
/gám khui hõ	Die Sonne ist heiß.
!hûng-uá guri /gõá /gõá	Wird der Mensch leben?
//gaudna tani /gao †gáo	Bringen die Geister den Winter?
!kung /goá hõõ !koá !kung ó dohn-ã	Wo soll der Mensch trinken?
//gaa /a //gõõ !kung /ã a //gõõ	Wenn es so ist, kann der Mensch nur verdursten!
!kunã //gõõ ao oa	Was kann der Mensch nun machen?
Ha-!kung tam hã m tam uá /ã gõõ	Wir bleiben besser hier, weil wir verlassen sind!

Schließlich hört der große Kapitän im Himmel den Jammer. Der Doktor läuft vom Tanzplatz weg in den Busch und sieht, wie ein dünner Faden vom Himmel herabgelassen wird. An diesem Faden klettert der Doktor hinauf. Der große Kapitän aber kommt ihm auf halbem Wege entgegen. Sobald der Doktor den großen Kapitän sieht, wirft er ihm ein rotes Pulver (Ocker mit Medizin) entgegen. Nun sieht der große Kapitän den Doktor hoch und führt ihn zum Himmelshaus. Vor demselben sieht

Fig. 20. Totengeister und Regentier (ex Bleek, Rock Paintings in South Africa etc., Tafel 16)

der Doktor die Geister seiner verstorbenen Kollegen, die jahraus, jahrein vor dem Hause stehen. Der Doktor fängt dann zu bitten an: „Herr, hilf uns, die Kinder sterben, wir verdursten und verhungern." Er bittet und bettelt so lange, bis der Kapitän sagt: „Es ist gut, ich werde Wasser schicken, damit die Kinder Wasser und Feldkost haben." Dann begleitet der große Kapitän wieder den Doktor bis zur Hälfte des Weges. Sobald der Doktor unten ist, läßt er den Faden los, welcher sogleich hochgezogen wird. Nun tanzen die Leute und singen; denn der Regen ist gekommen:

†gá-é dsõ-jã /gaa	Wir freuen uns jetzt über den Regen.
//ã gã djusã !ho ãdehõja /ga	Dann freuen wir uns alle zusammen.
//ã gã hin a /gaa /gaa	Dann kommt der Regen.
da //goá dohn !gu da adechõõa χ'ã	Dann loben die Leute den Herrn.

Ein anderer !Kung sagte mir: „Der große Kapitän im Himmel schickt den Regen und alles, was von oben kommt. Wenn er nicht will, bleibt alles zu. Der Regen wird oben aufgemacht, dort ist ein großes Vlej. Den Namen des großen Kapitäns kenne ich nicht. Die Hei//om nennen ihn Som-seb."

12. RELIGION

Überblickt man kritisch die Summe der Vorstellungen, welche das religiöse Leben der !Kung bestimmen, so erkennt man, daß, wie es bei einem so alten Volke ja nicht anders zu erwarten ist, die Elemente verschiedener Religionen Eingang gefunden haben. Allen Buschmannstämmen, die ich besucht habe, ist der Glaube an ein höchstes gutes Wesen gemeinsam, dessen Namen variiert. Die hier Beschrie-

bosen nennen das höchste Wesen χ'u, „den Herrn" oder „den großen Kapitän"[1]. Es ist derselbe Ausdruck, den die Kaphottentotten mit der gleichen Bedeutung und Aussprache 705 dem deutschen Reisenden Kolbe gegen über gebrauchten[2]. Von den umliegendenHoi//om-Stämmen kann der Name

[1] Nach Vedder ist (Tsumeb) Huwe das höchste Wesen. Wenn die ersten Feldfrüchte reifen, wird vor Sonnenaufgang ein Opfer dargebracht. In ein durchbohrtes Hals wird ein frisch gebrochener Zweig hineingesteckt. Die Leute sitzen im Kreis herum, und der älteste reicht eine aus einem Röhrenknochen gefertigte Tabak- oder Dachspfeife herum.

[2] Auf meine diesbezüglichen Beobachtungen ist J. Schapera (The Khoisan peoples of South Africa, 1930) kritisch zurückgekommen. Ich habe hierzu zu bemerken: Der „große Kapitän" bei den Ost-Kung kann mit Recht als „höchstes Wesen" bezeichnet werden. Seine Charakteristika habe ich bereits in meinen früheren Veröffentlichungen gegeben.

Die Schreibung lautet richtig χ'u. Mit χ' bezeichne ich einen Kika, der noch tiefer angesetzt ist als „!". Er findet sich auch in anderen Worten wie etwa χ'Ame = Löwe. Da nicht alle Redaktionen über die entsprechende Letter verfügen, habe ich manchmal auch Khu oder Chu schreiben müssen. Dieses Wort, das auch die !Kung mit „Herr" oder „großer Kapitän" übersetzen, findet sich bereits, wie Schapera anführt, 1705 als Khourou — „Supreme Ruler" und „Great Chief" oder „Großer Kapitän" bei den Kap-Hottentotten; ein ganz analoges Zitat bringt Kolbe wenig später und Hahn berichtet von einem alten Nama „The people say, if it is thundering, the Lord (Khub, i. e. Tsui//Goab) is speaking; he is scolding them", Schapera, l. c., S. 381.

Der Glaube an einen großen Kapitän ist also den !Kungbuschmännern und den Kap-Hottentotten gemeinsam gewesen, und das hohe Alter der Nachrichten vom Kap schließt es aus, daß hier ein missionarischer Einfluß wirksam war. Ebenso wie bei den !Kung ist auch bei den Naron der Mißbrauch dieser Glaube offenbar uralt, und nicht erst von den christlichen Hottentotten übernommen. Im Ovambolande verschwimmt der Begriff χ'u mit Huwe, und ich glaube, daß auch J. Schapera Huwe, Chuwe und χ'u für identisch hält. Daß die Ostkung den Glauben an ein höchstes Wesen haben, habe nicht ich entdeckt, sondern diese Entdeckung hat schon 1910 H. Vedder gemacht.

Es muß jedermann auffallen, daß zwischen den Berichten, die ich bei den Ostkung vom Himmelsheim aufgenommen habe und den Daten, die H. Vedder von dem /Gamab der Hottentotten der Otavibergbaubringt, eine weitgehende Übereinstimmung besteht. Auch örtlich liegen diese Gebiete ja auch nahe beieinander. Es fragt sich nun, haben die !Kung diese Lehre von den Hottentotten übernommen, was Schapera anzunehmen scheint, oder ist das Umgekehrte der Fall. Bei den Bergdama des Mittellandes, wo ich umfangreiche Studien, speziell im Reservat von Okombahe vornehmen konnte, ist von diesen Anschauungen der Hottentotten kaum etwas vorhanden. Die Bergdama sind ein Negervolkstamm, der seine ursprüngliche Kultur und Sprache vollkommen eingebüßt hat und der sich durch lange Zeit in einem Abhängigkeitsverhältnisse zu den Buschmännern befand, deren zum Teil recht stämmerhafte Nachkommen sie geworden sind. Noch heute gehen von Windhuk und Okombahe Bergdama, die Zauberdoktoren werden wollen, zu den !Kung, um dort zu lernen. Wären die von H. Vedder berichteten Auffassungen der Hottentotten urnegerisches Kulturgut, dann müßten sich doch Parallelen finden lassen, und dann wäre doch zu erwarten, daß sich zumindest in den Namen, die sich auf das Jenseits beziehen, Spuren der alten Sprache finden. Fast durchwegs liegt bei den Bantu die Welt des Jenseits unter der Erde, bei den Khoisan aber am Himmel. Aus allen diesen Gründen ziehe ich den Schluß, daß die Hottentotten die Lehre von /Gamab von den !Kung übernommen haben. Der Ausdruck Erub oder Elder, der sich bei manchen Buschmannstämmen findet, geht zweifellos auf christlich-hottentottischen Einfluß zurück. Die Doppelnamigkeit des höchsten Wesens aber bei verschiedenen Gruppen im Ovambolande läßt darauf schließen, daß hier doch nur ein neuer Name für eine altbekannte Vorstellung Eingang fand, und zwar mit solcher Intensität, daß z. B. die Hoi//om an der Etoshapfanne ihre wichtigste Heilwurzel Erubwurzel nennen. Übrigens ist es ebenso wie bei den Hottentotten bei den Hoi//om der Etoshapfanne-/Gamab, der Donner und Blitz schickt und der die Menschen durch Sternschnuppen tötet. J. Schapera kommt zu der Erkenntnis, daß die Vorstellung von Huwe, Thora und der Mantis als Schöpfer, als Spender des Regens und des Erfolges in der Jagd und als Beschützer der Menschen allen Buschmännern gemeinsam ist (l. c., S. 195) und auch bei den Hottentotten ihr Analogon hat. Doch scheint er dieses Wesen eher als einen Regengott anzusehen. Ihm steht als Gegenspieler, der den Menschen Böses tut, unter schwankendem Namen //Gaua gegenüber. Schapera meint, daß die ursprüngliche Bezeichnung //Gaua für die Geister der Toten galt. Dies ist zu einem guten Teile richtig. Meine an verschiedenen Orten gepflogenen Erhebungen ergaben aber, daß unter //Gaua alle möglichen, nichtkörperlichen Wesen verstanden werden, also Geister in unserem Sinne und immaterielle Kräfte aller Art. Der große Kapitän wird ja bei den !Kung im Grunde genommen körperlich gedacht. P. W. Schmidt hat nun aber diesen //Gaua als ursprünglichen Himmelsgott angesehen. Hierfür mögen vergleichende religionsgeschichtliche Tatsachen sprechen.

Wenn ich Schapera recht verstehe, so sind wir uns darüber einig, daß bei den Buschmännern ein guter Hochgott tatsächlich vorhanden ist, den er aber nicht als höchstes Wesen bezeichnen möchte. Ich halte aber daran fest, daß dieses Wesen nach dem gemeinen Sprachgebrauche so bezeichnet werden muß. Die Völker der Khoisangruppe haben nach dem Ausweise der prähistorischen Funde eine bewegte Geschichte hinter sich, in ihnen leben die verschiedensten Rassen fort, ihre Kultur ist in optimaler Anpassung an die Daseinsbedingungen als eine Restkultur

nicht stammen, denn diese gebrauchen hierfür das Wort Somsch. Eher wäre an Huwe zu denken. Huwe oder Hue nannten die !Kungbuschleute von Tsumeb, die Vedder untersuchte, das höchste Wesen. Von Buschleuten aus Ukuambi kenne ich auch den Ausdruck Chuwa. Dieses höchste Wesen wird menschlich gedacht, es sieht aus wie ein Buschmann und spricht auch Kung. Er wohnt im Himmel in einem Hause, das zwei Etagen hat, in der unteren Etage wohnt seine Frau, deren Namen unbekannt ist, ferner viele Kinder. In der oberen Etage wohnen die Seelen der Verstorbenen. „Das Haus" (es soll ähnlich, aber nicht ganz so wie ein Buschmannwindschirm sein) „ist außen haarig wie eine Raupe." Es gibt vielerlei dort oben, aber nur ein einziges Haus, nämlich das des Kapitäns. Honig, Heuschrecken und dicke Fliegen gibt es in Überfluß. Davon nährt sich der große Kapitän. Außerdem gibt es eine Menge Schmetterlinge. Als Funktionen dieses höchsten Wesens werden angesehen:

1. Nach der Meinung der einen hat der große Kapitän Sonne, Mond und alles gemacht. Nach der Meinung anderer hat der oberste der Geister /Nawa dies getan.

2. Der große Kapitän beruft die Doktoren zu ihrem Beruf und gibt ihnen übernatürliche Kraft.

3. Er ist der Herr über den Regen und über den Blitz.

4. Er schickt durch den obersten der Geister das Glück auf der Jagd oder beim Feldkostsuchen.

5. Wenn jemand schlecht über ihn denkt oder spricht, den straft er mit dem Blitze. Um das sonstige Tun und Lassen seiner Buschmannkinder kümmert er sich jedoch nicht. Es sei denn, daß jemand falsch schwört. Die Kung haben einen regelrechten Eid, und einer meiner Gewährsleute berichtete mir wie folgt:

Wenn eine Gruppe zur Jagd geht und einer von den Teilnehmern während der ganzen Dauer der Jagd nicht gesehen wird, so gerät er in Verdacht, sich verdrückt zu haben. Dann schwört er beim großen Kapitän nu'zu, und dann glauben ihm alle.

Für gewöhnlich läßt jedoch der große Kapitän alles durch den obersten der Geister und kleinere Geister besorgen. Die Hauptsorge der Buschleute ist es also, sich mit diesen Geistern gut zu stellen, doch bietet der große Kapitän Schutz gegen alle bösen Geister, und darum wendet man sich auch an ihn bei schwerer Krankheit und vor Antritt einer Reise mit folgenden Gebeten:

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anzusehen, und es ist darum selbstverständlich, daß ihre Weltanschauung synkretischen Charakter hat, zumal ja die religiösen Ideen Kulturelemente mit ausgesprochen diffuser Verbreitungstendenz sind. Wie alle Menschen haben auch die Buschmänner mit den anderen Primitiven ein im Grunde gleichartiges Denken mit uns. Auch der Buschmann hat ein ausgesprochenes Kausalbedürfnis. Dieses drängt jedoch weniger auf eine kausale oder konditionelle Begründung der gegebenen Zustände, wie auf die der Vorgänge. Daher werden wir bei den Primitiven seltener klar durchdachte Vorstellungen über den Ursprung der Welt der Tiere, Menschen und Pflanzen finden, als eine klare Beantwortung der Frage nach dem Verursacher der aktuellen Vorgänge, d. i. des Regens, des Gewitters, der Krankheit, des Todes, überhaupt von Unglück und Glück im menschlichen Leben. Dieser Verursacher ist entweder ein menschenähnlich gedachtes Wesen über den Wolken oder es sind die Ahnengeister. An diesen beiden Anschauungen orientiert sich im allgemeinen auch das religiöse Bedürfnis oder das Schutzbedürfnis. Eine je größere Bedeutung den guten Ahnengeistern und ihrer Beeinflußbarkeit durch magische Praktiken zukommt, eine um so geringere Bedeutung hat das als generelle Causa efficiens gedachte Himmelswesen. J. Schapera wird mir zweifelsohne zustimmen, wenn ich sage, daß im Gegensatz zu den Bantu das Kausalbedürfnis und das religiöse Schutzbedürfnis an Thora, Huwe, /Gamab u. a. orientiert ist und dieses Himmelswesen also bei den Buschmännern jene Rolle spielt, die wir einem „guten höchsten Wesen" zuschreiben. Zur Kritik der Anschauungen der Buschmänner sei hervorgehoben, daß die Buschmänner wie alle Primitiven ihre religiösen Vorstellungen nur soweit systematisieren, als dies zur Befriedigung ihres religiösen und Kausalbedürfnisses notwendig ist. Wir werden also eine von Gruppe zu Gruppe, ja von Individuum zu Individuum verschiedene Geschlossenheit des Weltbildes antreffen, und ein voll durchgebildetes System der Buschmannreligion wird kein Forscher entdecken können, weil ein solches nicht vorhanden ist. Was ich bei meinen einzelnen Gewährsmännern aufzeichnen konnte, habe ich mit der Exaktheit eines geschulten Naturforschers wahrheitsgetreu unter Berücksichtigung aller Kontrolle aufgezeichnet. Aus diesen Aufzeichnungen habe ich den zwingenden Schluß gezogen, daß ein gutes höchstes Wesen in ihrem Weltbilde real ist.

χ'u, χ'u hči mi, //kai tsao mi
toχ'obe ǂhu !gaise ǂ'ani u mi /nāna /ge a
!nore gana ti /ge a gana ti tse /Nane /ā mi tsu[1]

Herr, Herr hilf mir, habe mich.
„Der Herr soll mich gut führen nach dem Platze,
wo ich hingehe, und er soll mich gut zurückführen,
daß ich gesund nach Hause komme."

Vor der Jagd beten die Doktoren zum großen Kapitän um Jagdglück. Es ist schon kein Zweifel, daß sich die Buschmänner unter diesem „großen Kapitän" ein allmächtiges und zugleich gütiges Wesen vorstellen. Sein Exekutivorgan ist, wie schon bemerkt, der oberste der Gauabe. Dieser wird von den gewöhnlichen Leuten „der Gauab" genannt. Er hat aber einen Namen, den nur die Doktoren wissen und dessen Aussprechen üble Folgen haben kann. Da ich schließlich die Ehre hatte, von den Doktoren als ihresgleichen angesehen zu werden, so erfuhr ich ihn auch. Er heißt: /Nawa. Eine Deutung dieses Wortes konnte mir nicht gegeben werden. Nun bringt aber Miß Bleek aus Tanzliedern der Angola-Kung das Wort: /Nwa-se, das eine Abkürzung für Nwima-se = Neumond sein soll. Darnach könnten wir in diesem Obergauab vielleicht den Hochgott einer mondmythologischen Religion sehen, die sich als ein fremdes Element über den primitiven Monotheismus des χ'u- oder Huweglaubens gelegt hat. Wie in solchen Fällen immer, ist das höchste Wesen der eingedrungenen Religion in ein mehr oder weniger böses Prinzip verwandelt worden. Als solches fungiert es auch im Glauben der Nama und Dama, und aus diesem Ideenkreise stammte die Übersetzung des Gauab mit Teufel. Ein getaufter !Kung in /Nuiseb sagte mir auch, die Buschmänner hätte der Teufel gemacht, denn dieser habe, wie mir alte Doktoren berichteten, einmal zu den Dingen gesagt: „Du wirst ein Kudu, du ein Eland, du ein Buschmann" usw. und so ist alles geworden. Bei den !Kung-Buschleuten ist /Nawa keineswegs immer böse. Er bringt unmittelbar das Glück auf der Jagd, und ihm wird auch eine Art Primitialopfer dargebracht, indem kleine Stücke vom Fleische der Jagdbeute ins Feuer geworfen werden.

/Nawa schickt aber auch gewöhnlich die Krankheiten, teils mit, teils ohne Zustimmung des großen Kapitäns. /Nawa ist weder im Himmel noch auf der Erde, sondern er läuft auf Fäden in der Luft umher, wo auch die anderen kleinen Geister herumlaufen. Ob /Nawa eine Frau hat, ist nicht bekannt. Im hohen Buschwald spielt der Wind keine Rolle, aber meine Erfahrungen bei den Buschleuten der West-Kalahari und der Namib zeigen, daß /Nawa auch irgendwie mit dem Wind zusammengebracht wird, denn in den gewaltigen Windhosen tritt er höchstpersönlich in Erscheinung, und bei den Naukluft-Buschleuten soll man nicht schlecht über den Wind sprechen, weil sonst der Gauab den Windschirm umwirft.

Außer /Nawa gibt es noch ein Heer von anderen kleinen Geistern, und zwar a) solche, die zur Verfügung des großen Kapitäns und /Nawas stehen und am Himmel sitzen, wo die Sterne ihre Lagerfeuer sind. Sie sind es, die dem Menschen die Seele rauben und zum großen Kapitän bringen. Dann gibt es noch welche, die wie /Nawa auf Fäden, die zwischen Himmel und Erde gespannt sind, hin- und herlaufen. Ganz böse Geisterchen hausen im Wasser, und Wald und Flur sind von den kleinen Gauabe bevölkert. Diese sind aber nichts anderes als wie die fleischgeborenen Geister der verstorbenen Menschen. Damit kommen wir zu

18. SEELENLEHRE UND UNSTERBLICHKEITSGLAUBEN

Das Lebensprinzip des Menschen ist die Seele Cha. Dasselbe Wort bedeutet auch Herz. Diese Cha ist unsterblich, die Gauab, die bei den Sternen wohnen, bringen es zum Haus des großen Kapitäns. Dort wohnen in der zweiten Etage die Seelen aller Völker, sogar die der Weißen. Sie machen nichts und essen auch nichts. Bei anderen Buschmannstämmen, die ich besuchte, verwendet der große Kapitän diese Cha, um damit neue Menschen zu schaffen. Bei meinen Freunden aus dem Buschfeld ist jedoch das Dolce far niente in der zweiten Etage des Himmelshauses die letzte Bestimmung des Menschen. Dorthin kommen die Seelen aller, der Guten und der Bösen. Eine Vergeltung im Jenseits gibt es nicht.

[1] Niederschrift des Dama-Dolmetschers.

Der Körper aber wird zur Erde bestattet. Nach einigen Tagen wird das Fleisch lebendig und verschwindet dann. Der Gauab des Verstorbenen ist entstanden, kommt aus dem Grabe heraus, geht auf die Jagd, ißt und trinkt und führt als Schatten ein ähnliches Leben wie zu Lebzeiten. Das Grab ist sein Haus, dorthin geht der Schatten[1] schlafen, wenn er müde ist. Diese Geister können aber nicht in Steine, Pflanzen oder Tiere hineinfahren oder sich in solche verwandeln. Von diesem echten Animismus ist keine Spur vorhanden. Der Gauab ist vielmehr eine (um das im Grabe verbleibende Skelett) verkleinerte Ausgabe des einst lebenden Buschmannes. Er sieht ähnlich aus wie ein Buschmann, aber viele von diesen Gauab sind lahm. Sie sind im allgemeinen boshaft, und wenn jemand am Grabe vorbeigeht und sie ärgert, dann schicken sie die Krankheitsgeisterchen, die sie bei Lebzeiten einst selbst getötet haben. Diese Krankheitsgeister werden als kleine gelbe Männchen mit dickem Bauch gedacht.

Wir haben also bei den !Kung-Buschleuten eine ausgesprochene Zwei-Seelenlehre. v. Zastrow und Vedder[2] berichten:

„Die /Oresen sind böse Leute gewesen. Sie sind gestorben, können aber nicht zur Ruhe kommen. Ihre Bosheit läßt sie nicht ruhen. Immer noch wollen sie anderen Schaden zufügen. So haben sie im Leben gehandelt. So wollen sie auch noch nach dem Tode tun. Sie quälen die Menschen, erschrecken sie und suchen sie zu töten. Wenn sie Menschen getötet haben, so essen sie deren Fleisch. Sie kommen in der Nacht. Die Zauberer können die bösen Geister sehen. Die Zauberer warnen dann die anderen, die nichts sehen können. Die /Oresen wohnen in den Gräbern. Von da aus machen sie ihre Rundgänge. Zu ihren Gräbern kehren sie immer wieder zurück. Ein Buschmann geht daher einem Grabe immer aus dem Wege. Er weist auch nicht mit einem ausgestreckten Finger auf ein Grab. Er ruft auch nicht einem Gefährten zu: ‚Dort ist ein Grab!' Man geht in großem Bogen um die Gegend, wo ein Grab ist. Kommt ein Buschmann aber unvermutet an einem Grabe vorbei, so nimmt er einen Stein und legt ihn darauf. Das ist ein Gruß für den Toten. Man macht dadurch das Grab noch sicherer vor den wilden Tieren."

Aus der Gegend von Foxhof habe ich noch folgende Informationen nachzutragen:

„Der Gauab, der aus dem Fleisch des Leichnams entsteht, bleibt beim Grabe sitzen. Wenn nun ein Verwandter vorbeikommt und der Gauab sitzt im Freien, so denkt sich der Gauab: den Menschen kenne ich gut, warum geht er hier vorbei und gibt mir kein Wasser, dann wird der Gauab böse und macht ihn krank. Wenn nun die Doktoren singen, so erkennen sie, was los ist und sagen: Du bist heute bei dem Grab des N. vorbeigegangen und hast nichts gegeben. Daher mußt du morgen ganz in der Frühe Wasser nehmen und ein Straußenei damit beim Grabe hinstellen. So ein Gauab geht auch auf die Jagd, tötet ein Wild, macht sich Feuer, schneidet das Wild auf, nimmt Fett und bringt es zu den Doktoren, während sie singen. Der Gauab, den die anderen Leute nicht sehen können, setzt sich in ziemlicher Entfernung von den Tanzenden hin. Der Doktor sieht ihn aber und geht zum Gauab. Der sagt ihm, wo das Wild liegt, und der Doktor erzählt dies den übrigen Leuten, die holen das Wild und loben den Gauab.

Die Sterne sind die Lagerfeuer der Gauab.

Die Seelen, die die Gauana gestohlen haben, bringen sie auf ihre Werft und dann wieder ins Grab zurück. Die Leute hören im Felde oft eine Stimme, dann ruft der Gauab, und während sie gehen, finden sie ein totes Wild. Wenn der Gauab auf der Jagd ist und sich zuweit von seinem Grabhause entfernt hat, so muß er auf einem Baum schlafen. Die von den Gauaba gestohlenen Seelen werden zum Teil zu dem Kapitän der Gauana gebracht. Diese Seelen, die dahin gebracht werden, werden wieder wirkliche Menschen oben beim Kapitän des Regens. Die anderen aber sind die kleinen Gauaba, die hier auf die Jagd gehen."

Von besonderer Bedeutung erscheinen die Aufnahmen, die Bleek[3] vor 50 Jahren gemacht hat. Die !Kung erzählten damals von einem Wesen namens /Chue. Dasselbe verwandelt sich der Reihe nach in verschiedene Fruchtbäume und Feldkostpflanzen, in einen Herero usw. Eines Tages verwandelt es sich in einen //Gui-Baum, seine Frau ißt davon, der Baum verschwindet, und /Chue verwandelt sich in eine Fliege. Ein anderes Mal wird er sogar ein Wasserloch, dann wiederum ein Gecko, bei Nacht

[1] Besser als „Schatten" wäre vielleicht „lebender Leichnam".
[2] Die Buschmänner, l. c., S. 421.
[3] W. H. J. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, Specimens of Bushmen Folk lore. London 1910–11. S. 10–13.

verwandelt er sich immer wieder in einen kleinen Menschen. Die Herero suchen ihn, können ihn aber nicht finden. /Chue macht dann Feuer und stirbt. Sein Vater sieht dies und sieht dann in seine Helmet, die auf einem großen Berge namens //Noa liegt. Wir werden wohl nicht fehlgehen, wenn wir diesen /Chue mit Huwe identifizieren. Dieser Huwé wird aber dann bekanntermaßen gelegentlich dem großen Kapitän χ'u gleichgesetzt. Er trägt in dieser alten Fassung aber auch deutliche Züge des Heisob.

Die !Kung, welche W. H. J. Bleek zur Verfügung standen, kannten auch einen Bittgesang an den jungen Mond. Dazu bliesen sie auf Trompeten aus Antilopenhörnern. (Bleek-Lloyd, l. c., S. 15.)

Die alten !Kung nannten die Wahrsagehölzer selbst /Chu, was offenbar wieder derselbe Name wie der des großen Kapitäns ist und sich mit der Nachricht Dornans über die Masarwa deckt, daß Modimo selbst aus den Wahrsagehölzern spreche.

Vedder berichtet, daß im Krankheitsfall ein Bote zum Grabe eines Ahnen geschickt wird, der dort betet: A dai-dai mi lhâ ti /χ'ai-a? (Warum mein Sohn ist krank?) ǂnu /hôã (gesund leben).

Während meine Gewährsmänner das Vorhandensein jeglicher animistischer Vorstellung leugneten, glaubten die alten !Kung, daß gewisse Schlangen, Eidechsen und Antilopen, die in der Nähe von Gräbern angetroffen werden, ebenso wie bei den Bantu Totengeister darstellen[1].

19. TANZLIEDER

Einige wenige Tänze konnte ich aufnehmen:

1. Tanzlied bei der Hochzeit

se ga se /nuia khe e /goaro be	Wir singen vom Kinde. (Wiederholt sich.)

2. Pantomimischer Elandtanz

χ'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa	Läufer mit dem Pfeilgift im Leibe
ta-li !gowara //goe	Läufst du mit dickem Kopf.

Der Elefantentanz wird sonderbarerweise mit dem Refrain gesungen: „Das Owambomädchen geht zwischen den Männern herum."

Die !Kung haben auch ein Kampfspiel. Es bilden sich zwei Parteien, die sich auf ziemliche Entfernung in Front gegeneinander aufstellen und nunmehr mit Vogelpfeilen aufeinander schießen. Die Buschmänner haben eine ungeheure Fertigkeit darin, diesen Pfeilen auszuweichen.

Über die Hei//om bei Tsintsabis berichtet mir Farmer Friedrich bei Duwib: Wenn der Werftälteste stirbt, dann macht dessen Nachfolger einen Einschnitt auf seiner Stirn zwischen den Augenbrauen und spritzt das Blut gegen Osten, dann schneidet er sich in den kleinen Finger und spritzt das Blut nach Westen. Dies geschieht, damit der tote Häuptling im Jenseits dafür sorge, daß die Hinterbliebenen immer Feldkost haben.

Bei der Mädchenweihe werden die Geister des Ostens und Westens in Liedern angefleht, die junge Frau immer Feldkost finden zu lassen.

Hat der Mann nach mehrtägigem Jagdzuge Verdacht, daß die Frau ihm untreu geworden ist, so kann er durch ein ‚Ordal' den Tatbestand klären. Er nimmt eine harzige Wurzel, die wie eine Kerze mit heller Flamme brennt, stellt diese abends in den Eingang seiner, d. h. seiner Frau Hütte und beobachtet die Richtung, die die lange Flamme andeutet. Weist die Flamme in das Innere des Hauses, so ist Ehebruch während seiner Abwesenheit vorgekommen. Weist sie nach außen, so ist die Frau unschuldig."

20. DAS RECHT

Die Normen des natürlichen Rechtes sind bei den Buschmännern die gleichen wie bei uns. Das Familienoberhaupt ist zugleich der oberste Richter. Da aber bereits die nächste Sippe gewissermaßen als fremder Staat gilt, sind die Grenzen zwischen Recht, Krieg und Rache durchaus fließend. Der Rechtsbereich beschränkt sich also eigentlich auf die Familie. Da die einzige Strafe, die wirklich verhängt werden kann, nur die Todesstrafe ist, so wird sie bei verheirateten Männern nur selten ange-

[1] W. H. J. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, l. c., S. 430.

wendet, weil je Richter und Nachrichter für den Unterhalt der Hinterbliebenen des Verurteilten aufkommen müssen. In alter Zeit wurden die zum Tode verurteilten Frauen verbrannt oder mit dem Kirri erschlagen, die Männer mit dem Giftpfeil getötet.

Das Recht auf persönliches Eigentum an Gebrauchsgegenständen, Honig und bestimmten Feldkostsorten, wird streng geachtet. Der Boden ist gemeinsames Eigentum der Sippe, ebenso wie das erlegte Großwild. Verendet ein angeschossenes Wild im Bereich der Nachbarsippe, so muß der Jäger dorthin gehen und dies melden. Die erlegte Beute soll dann geteilt werden. Da es jedoch einige unpaare Organe gibt, so entsteht darüber leicht Streit und Totschlag. Blutrache wird geübt, kann jedoch durch Verhandlungen abgelöst werden.

Jede Sippe hat seit uralten Zeiten ein angestammtes Sippengebiet. Das Gebiet wird Gao genannt und dürfte sich mit dem deutschen Begriff „Gau" decken.

Es gibt Sippen, die Tagereisen weit auseinander liegen. So gehört der Landstrich nördlich des Omuramba-Ovambo bei Kajus, wo der Mankettibaum (Ricinodendrum Bantanenii) vorkommt, einer Sippe, die für gewöhnlich über 1000 km weit entfernt wohnt und nur dorthin kommt, wenn die ölhaltigen Früchte reif sind.

Sippen mit zwei Jagd- und Sammelgebieten entstehen auch durch Verschmelzung zweier Sippen, die so lange untereinander geheiratet haben, bis die Verschmelzung sich von selbst ergab.

„Innerhalb des Gebietes der Sippe befinden sich die Gräber der Ahnen. Sie sind durch große Steinhaufen, die darauf gelegt sind, gekennzeichnet. Man hält die Ahnen für Wächter des Sippengebietes. Das Verlassen des Sippengebietes muß daher vom Häuptling oder einem Alten ohne besondere Feierlichkeiten am Ahnengrabe angekündigt werden; ebenso muß an diesem Orte Mitteilung gemacht werden, wenn die Sippe das Gebiet wieder bezieht."

Zum Eigentum der Sippe gehört außer dem Sippengebiet die Feldkost, das Jagdwild und vor allen Dingen die Wasserstelle[1].

Der Buschmann glaubt, wie schon gesagt, nicht an eine Vergeltung im Jenseits. Dagegen ist er davon überzeugt, daß das Böse, welches er selbst getan, ihm oder seinen Hunden in der gleichen Weise widerfahren werde.

In früherer Zeit war das Vertreiben aus dem Sippenverband ebenfalls üblich und der Verbannte mußte bald zugrunde gehen, da der Buschmann auf sich allein gestellt auch nicht längere Zeit in der Wildnis leben kann. Heute ziehen solche Individuen genau so wie diejenigen, die aus den Stämmen der Bantu ausgeschieden wurden, in das Land der Europäer und finden dort Arbeit. Daß sie da nicht dazu beitragen, den Ruf der Farbigen zu heben, ist selbstverständlich.

In Zweifelsfällen schwört der Buschmann beim großen Kapitän: nu χ'u

Statt der formellen Verbannung übt man auch den Boykott an dem Verfemten, der dadurch oft so zur Verzweiflung getrieben wird, daß er Selbstmord begeht. Selbstmorde kommen auch aus anderen Gründen vor.

21. KONFLIKTE MIT DEN EUROPÄERN

Bevor die Polizeizonengrenze errichtet wurde, befanden sich die Buschmänner in einem latenten Kriegszustand mit ihren Nachbarn. Einiges aus ihren Sündenregistern sei angeführt.

Nach Toke überfielen die !Kung bei Keibeb 1925 8 Barotse und töteten sie und haben sie angeblich gefressen. Später wurden 3 Ovambo überfallen, umgebracht und das Gehirn gegessen. (Letztere Nachricht bezog sich wohl auf die Leute von Karakowisa.) Über unsere !Kung schrieb gleichzeitig (1927) ein Farmer:

„In letzter Zeit mehren sich die Klagen über das Schlachten von gestohlenem Vieh durch Buschleute in beunruhigender Weise. In den seltensten Fällen gelingt es, die Täter zur Bestrafung zu bringen. Zwar gibt sich die Polizei die größte Mühe, aber ein Erfolg ist selten. Zunächst kann ein einzelner weißer Polizist mit einem eingeborenen Polizeidiener den schnellbeweglichen Buschleuten gegenüber nicht viel ausrichten. Er wird auch meist zu spät eintreffen, um die Verfolgung erfolgreich aufnehmen zu können. Die betroffenen Farmer haben allerhand Vorschläge gemacht, die meist darauf hinauslaufen, daß Polizei und Farmer gleichzeitig den streifenden Buschleuten nachstellen sollten. Das Beste wäre wohl, den beschäftigungslosen Buschleuten eine deutliche Grenze zu ziehen, über die sie nicht in von Weißen bewohntes Gebiet übertreten dürfen. Daß der Buschmann Grenzen zu achten weiß, geht daraus hervor, daß er sich wohl hütet, in das Jagdgebiet einer anderen Sippe einzudringen. Jeder Buschmann, der innerhalb eines solchen von Weißen bewohnten, abgegrenzten

[1] Zastrow und Vedder, l. c., S. 434.

Gehöftes betroffen wird, sollte ohne weiteres verhaftet und mit Zwangsarbeit bestraft werden, die ihm bei seiner heiligen Scheu vor jeder Arbeit wohl am unangenehmsten sein wird.

Unter den heutigen Zuständen leiden hauptsächlich die Farmer, die an das Buschmanngebiet grenzen, in einer Weise, daß mancher sich ernstlich mit dem Gedanken trägt, die Farmerei aufzugeben, weil ihm sonst in absehbarer Zeit das letzte Stück Vieh geschlachtet sein wird. Man müßte dem Farmer erlauben, mit Nachbarn zusammen von frischen Schlachtplätzen führende Spuren zu verfolgen und im Ernstfalle auf die Buschleute zu schießen, wie es ja auch der Buschmann umgekehrt mit seinem Pfeil und Bogen tut. Der Buschmann erkennt keine Obrigkeit an, man sollte ihn darum unter Ausnahmegesetze stellen. Wenn, wie es kürzlich hier vorgekommen ist, eine starke Polizeistreife fast einen Monat unterwegs ist, um Viehräuber zu fangen, und dann die 12 Angeklagten, die zweifellos geschlachtet haben, sämtlich freigesprochen werden müssen, weil ein Kronzeuge nicht Stange hält, dann passen unsere Gesetze für diese Buschleute eben nicht. Man kann wohl verstehen, daß der geschädigte Farmer, dem in kurzer Zeit etwa 20 Stück Großvieh gestohlen und aufgefressen wurden, angesichts des Freispruches die Verzweiflung bekommt, kann er sich doch ausmalen, daß durch den Freispruch, dessen Gründe die Buschleute doch nicht verstehen, diese zu neuen Taten angeregt werden."

Aus der Epukirogegend berichtet ein anderer:

„Ich bin nicht weit von der Grenze des Betschuanenlandes. Es gibt hier viele herumstreichende Buschleute, die mit vergifteten Pfeilen bewaffnet sind. Diese Buschleute überfallen häufig das Vieh der Eingeborenen, wenn dieses sich etwas weiter von dem Kraal entfernt. Vor einigen Tagen stahlen und schlachteten Buschleute zwei Stück Großvieh, das zu einem Hererokraal gehörte, der ungefähr 6 Meilen von unserem Lager entfernt liegt. Die Herero folgten der Spur der Buschleute und fanden sie. Die letzteren machten sofort von ihren Bogen Gebrauch, und einer der Hereros wurde mit einem Pfeil in der rechten Brustseite verwundet. Die Verwundung erfolgte um ungefähr 4 Uhr nachmittags, am nächsten Tage um 1 Uhr nachmittags starb der Verwundete. Sobald mein Freund von der Sache erfuhr, sandte er etwas übermangansaures Kali in den Kraal mit der Anweisung, wie es zu gebrauchen sei. Doch scheint dieses zu spät eingetroffen zu sein. Eines der Pferde wurde am Kopf leicht verwundet, scheint jedoch keinerlei üble Folgen zu spüren. Ich sah die Leiche des Herero am frühen Morgen nach seinem Tode; sie war stark aufgeschwollen und verwest. Die Eingeborenen erzählten, daß die Verwesung bereits vor dem Tode eintrat. – Wie erinnerlich, wurde vor drei Jahren der Gobabiser Magistrat, Herr Reyneveldt, in derselben Gegend von Buschleuten mit einem Giftpfeil verwundet und starb kurze Zeit darauf."

(Diese Daten sind der „Windhuker Zeitung" entnommen.)

Fig. 21a. Darstellung einer Krankenheilung. Im Hintergrund die Doktorin, welche als Orakel dient. (Östl. Kapprovinz. Aus J. P. Johnson, The Prehistoric period in South Afrika. 1910)

SIEBENTES KAPITEL

DIE BUSCHMÄNNER DES NORDENS

Die besten Kenntnisse haben wir durch Dornan[1] und Holub[2] von den Masarwa, von deren Kultur im folgenden nach diesen beiden Autoren ein Abriß gegeben wird.

Nach Dornan wohnten die Masarwa einst mit Vorliebe in Höhlen, wo ihre Vorväter auch gemalt haben. Die Buschleute in den Distrikten Wankie und Ngami haben geflochtene Matten aus Gras oder Schilf, mit denen sie die Windschirme decken. Manchmal machen sie eine Art von Dach, das mit Gras gedeckt ist, sonst die gewöhnlichen Windschirme.

Für das Bogenholz verwenden die Masarwa ganz gerade Stämmchen, die entrindet und an einen geraden Baum angebunden werden, wo man sie teilweise trocknen läßt. Dann trocknet man das Bogenholz endgültig über Feuer und legt es auch in Wasser, damit es nicht splittert. Oft ist auch die Mitte des Bogens mit Sehnen umwunden. Der Bogen wird öfters eingefettet und niemals entspannt. Der fertige Bogen wird mit einem rauhen Stein geglättet.

Gleich den prähistorischen Buschmännern tragen auch sie Stirnbinden, in welche die Pfeile während der Jagd eingesteckt werden.

Dornan (S. 139) berichtet, daß die Kalahari-Buschmänner vor Beginn eines Krieges Tänze abhalten, bei welchen sie kleine vergiftete Pfeile von ebenso kleinen Bogen in der Richtung auf den Feind oder gegen die Sonne abschießen. Sie glauben, daß dadurch der Schattengeist des Feindes getötet würde. Sie geben diese kleinen Pfeile und Bogen nicht gerne her, weil sie fürchten, diese könnten in den Besitz ihrer Feinde übergehen und ihnen so Verderben bereiten.

Die Fischerei ist bei den Masarwaleuten noch recht ausgebildet. Teilweise werden Steinwälle in den Fluß hineingebaut, in die Reusen eingesetzt sind, oder sie setzen sich mit den Reusen nebeneinander in das Flußbett, während Frauen und Kinder ihnen die Fische zutreiben. In kleineren Wasserlöchern wird Gras und Gestrüpp an einer Seite aufgehäuft. Dann steigen die Buschmänner ins Wasser und schieben die Graswand vor sich her und treiben so die Fische in die Enge. Einzelne Fische werden auch mit dem Assagai gespießt. Nach Hodson sind die besten Fischer die Bakoba-Buschmänner am Okawango. Sie haben Binsennetze, die quer über die Flüsse gezogen werden und Harpunen.

G. A. Farini[3] hatte Gelegenheit, im Chansefeld die Erzeugung des Pfeilgiftes zu beobachten. Die Männer versammelten sich an einem bestimmten Platz; Frauen durften nicht anwesend sein. Etwa 30—40 gifthaltige Zwiebeln wurden durch allmähliche Einschnitte ihres Saftes beraubt und dieser in einem Topf gesammelt. Bei jedem Schnitt tanzten die Buschmänner in der Runde, wobei sie eine Art Grunzen ausstießen. Dann wurde ein Hyänenfell mit den Haaren nach unten ausgebreitet und darauf der Inhalt der Beutel, welche getrocknete Giftschlangenköpfe enthielten, nebst zwei Stückchen Schilfrohr von etwa 15 cm Länge ausgebreitet. Dann wurden einige frisch getötete Giftschlangen gebracht. Unter Gesang und Händeklatschen wurden die Giftblasen herauspräpariert. Inzwischen war der Gifttopf ans Feuer gestellt worden und kochte, dann trat einer nach dem andern zu dem Topf hin und warf seinen Anteil an Schlangengift hinein. Sodann wurde der Topf sogleich vom Feuer weggestellt. Die Buschmänner führten nunmehr einen neuen Tanz auf, in welchem sie die Zuckungen der an dem Gift sterbenden Tiere nachahmten. Nach einer weiteren halben Stunde war das Gift klar, und als sich alle überzeugt hatten, daß es die rechte Farbe habe, wurde ein rotes mineralisches Mehl beigesetzt und gut umgerührt. Dann wurden aus den Schilfrohren Giftspinnen herausgeholt und in den

[1] Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari. London 1925.
[2] Holub, Die Masarwa.
[3] G. A. Farini, Durch die Kalahariwüste. Leipzig 1886.

3: Lebaelter FX10 Bushmen

Topf geworfen. Diese stammten vom Langen Berg in der Kapkolonie, waren also von weit hergebracht. Als die Masse wieder etwas mehr eingedickt war, wurden die Pfeile damit beschmiert und im Schatten getrocknet (l. c., S. 380).

Diese Buschmänner, die M'Kabba, sind Monogamisten.

Farini behauptet (l. c., S. 171), einen schwarzen Zwerg getroffen zu haben, der vom Stamme der Kara-Kara nördlich des Ambolandes kam[1].

Über die Speisen der Buschmänner weiß Dornan folgendes zu berichten: Die Marsawa essen das Fleisch geröstet oder gebraten, selten gekocht, weil sie glauben, daß letzteres sie krank mache. Die Buschmänner des Basutolandes zerlegten das Fleisch in kleine Stückchen, mischten es mit Fett und nähten es dann als Konserven in Fellsäcke ein. Als Reserven für Hungerzeiten bewahren die Kalahari-Buschmänner Giraffenhäute auf hohen Bäumen auf. Feldkost wird in Schildkrötenschalen und Straußeneiern aufbewahrt, ebenso Wasser. Die Basutoland-Buschleute sammelten Grassamen und bewahrten sie für Hungerzeiten auf.

Die Tsamas werden folgendermaßen zubereitet: Es wird ein Loch gemacht und darin Feuer angelegt. Sobald der Boden hinlänglich heiß ist, werden Asche und Feuer herausgeworfen, die Melonen in den heißen Boden gelegt, die glühende Asche daraufgeworfen. Am nächsten Morgen sind die Tsama fertig.

Die größten Straußeneiperlen erzeugen die Masarwa.

Die Tanzmasken bestehen bei ihnen aus Schoten, Kokons, manchmal aber auch aus kleinen Fellbällen, die mit Klappersteinchen gefüllt sind. Sie kennen heute noch die Kunst der Töpferei. Körperbemalung weiß oder rot wird geübt.

Ein Buschmannstamm am Ngamisee soll die Sitte kennen, das letzte Glied des kleinen Fingers zu entfernen.

Dornan erwähnt folgende Medizinen der Masarwa: Gegen Schwarzwasserfieber: Anacampseros rhodesica; Ruhr: Monsonia ovata und Euclea lanceolata. Sonstige Medizinen: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

Die Masarwa behaupten, nur den Biß der Puffotter behandeln zu können. Der Körper der Lygosoma Sundervalli wird verkohlt und das Pulver in die Wunde gestreut. Jede Schlange wird getötet und ihr Kopf zerquetscht. Es gibt angeblich auch Impfungen gegen den Schlangenbiß.

Bei den Masarwa herrscht nach Dornan Monogamie. Geschlechtsverkehr vor der Ehe ist verpönt, auf Blutschande und Ehebruch steht die Todesstrafe. Zur Ehe ist in der Regel die Zustimmung des Mädchens erforderlich, im allgemeinen genügt es, wenn der Brautwerber dem Schwiegervater ein Stück Großwild präsentiert. Nur bei den Wankie-Buschmännern und denen von Bulalima wird die Jagdprobe geübt. Man kann ein Mädchen aus demselben Clan heiraten. Bei jenen Stämmen, die totemistisch beeinflußt sind, besteht zwischen den einzelnen Totems Heiratsverbot. Beschneidung wird geübt. Sobald die Knaben und Mädchen etwa 12 Jahre alt sind, findet die Beschneidung statt, bei welcher Steinmesser benützt werden. Bei den Mädchen wird die Klitoris mit einer Steinspitze durchbohrt. Geschlechtsverkehr zwischen den Unbeschnittenen ist streng verboten. Gelegentlich wird bei den Jünglingsweihen auch die Nasenscheidewand durchbohrt. Wie bei den Bantu wird jeder Todesfall auf Zauberei menschlicher Feinde zurückgeführt. In alter Zeit wurden die Toten angeblich in den Busch geworfen, heute werden sie teils in Hockerstellung in Termitenhügeln, teils in Felsspalten bestattet, häufig auch nach Betschuanenart in Seitennischengräbern. Den Männern werden die Waffen, den Frauen einige Straußeneier nebst Nahrung und Wasser mit ins Grab gegeben.

Nun zur Weltanschauung der Masarwa. Wie Dornan berichtet, ist Thora der ganz Große, welcher

[1] Auf der Missionsstation Urikuabothi teilte mir die um die Erforschung des Landes hochverdiente Frau Missionar Quarni mit, es seien kurz vor dem Kriege einige schwarze Zwerge, d.e in den Sümpfen am Kunene wohnten, zum Häuptling Moala gekommen. Sie hat diese Leute gesehen.

über allen Dingen ist. Er schickt den Regen und das Wild, Feldkost und Glück auf der Jagd. Sie rufen Thora oft an, um Glück auf der Jagd zu haben, und danken ihm, wenn sie solches gehabt haben[1].

Chapman berichtet, daß Buschmänner, die einmal ein Rhinoceros getötet hatten, etwas Staub auf den Schwanz und die Augen des Tieres streuten und dabei Dankesworte zu Thora murmelten.

Die Buschmänner sind sich nicht ganz darüber klar, ob Thora ein Geist ist oder nicht; auf jeden Fall haben sie großen Respekt vor ihm. Sie glauben, daß Thora alle Dinge macht, aber sie wissen nicht, wo er wohnt und ob er überhaupt eine Person ist. Die westlichen Stämme gebrauchen hauptsächlich das Wort Huwe. Aber auch die Tati kennen dieses Wort und halten Huwe für einen guten Geist, der die Krankheit fernhält, Überfluß an Nahrung gibt und die Buschmänner in Gefahren schützt. Sie rufen ihn in der Not an. Die Sansoque sagen, Huwe ka hume le le (Huwe komm und hilf uns). Huwe scheint aber schwächer als Thora zu sein und muß sich an ihn um Hilfe wenden. Ein Buschmannsgesang vom Thuli lautet: Tho-ra ba Hu-we le le (Thora komm Huwe zu Hilfe).

Bei vielen Buschmannstämmen und auch bei den Hottentotten kennt man auch ein böses Prinzip „Khauna", ein Begriff, der noch aus der Zeit stammt, als Buschmänner und Hottentotten noch ein Volk waren. Die Kalahari-Buschmänner sind übrigens nicht sicher, ob Thora oder Khauna die ersten Menschen gemacht hat.

Die Kalahari-Buschmänner glauben gelegentlich, daß Menschen und Tiere ihre Gestalt verwandeln könnten und so etwa ein Mensch als Leopard auftreten kann. Speziell Springböcke, Paviane und einige Schlangen halten sie für Menschen in einem anderen Stadium ihrer Daseins. Das Auftreten der Ringhalsschlange zeigt Unglück an.

Stärker mit animistischen Vorstellungen ist das Weltbild der Masarwa durchsetzt[2]. Nach Dornan ist jedes Ding eine Art Geist. Menschen und Tiere können sich ineinander verwandeln. Einzelne Doktoren verwandeln sich in Leoparden, und viele Tiere werden überhaupt für andere Erscheinungsformen des Menschen gehalten, besonders der Springbock, der Pavian und einige Schlangen. Wenn eine Ringhalsschlange in die Nähe eines Gehöftes kommt, so kündet sie den Tod an. Hier sind zweifellos Bantueinflüsse wirksam.

Die Zweiseelenlehre der !Kung kehrt in anderer Form bei den Masarwa wieder. Der Schatten jedes Dinges sowie auch der des Menschen ist seine andere Seele. Sie glauben nun, daß die Schattenseele in der Nähe des Grabes bleibe, während das Ich an einen anderen Platz ginge, wo es mit den Vätern zusammentäfe. Dort sei es warm und gäbe es viel Wild. Man tut im Jenseits das gleiche wie auf dieser Welt. Wie die Namib-Buschmänner werfen sie Steinchen auf das Grab und bitten dabei, der Geist des Toten möchte ihnen Glück bringen (Dornan, l. c., S. 146).

Auffassungen, die an die Gewissenslehre der Zulu anknüpfen, beziehen sich auf die Träume. Im Traum spricht das andere Ich mit dem Träumenden, und dieses kann gut oder böse sein. Das andere Ich kann von Feinden beeinflußt werden und so der Zwillingsseele Böses tun.

Nach Dornan haben die Bantu die Orakelhölzer von den Buschmännern übernommen. Jeder Masarwa trägt 4—5 Stück mit sich. Die weiblichen sind länger und schmaler als die männlichen. Sie werden aus den Hufen kleiner Säugetiere, aus Wildebeest-Knochen und Fruchtkernen gemacht. Die Namen der 4 Hölzer sind: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. Die Masarwa glauben, daß durch diese

[1] P. Schebesta, Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas. Anthropos XVIII/XIX, 1923/24.

[2] Die Kalahari-Buschmänner haben (Dornan, l. c., S. 165) einige Kenntnis von den Sternen. Das südliche Kreuz ist eine Giraffe, die Kap-Buschmänner aber hielten sie für eine Gruppe von Löwen. Einige Buschmänner halten die Sterne für Tiere oder Menschen, die zum Himmel hinaufgegangen sind.

Man erzählt auch folgende Geschichte: Ein Mädchen, das Zauberkräfte besaß, nickte während der Mädchenweihe auf einige Löwen und diese wurden sogleich in Sterne verwandelt.

Die Kap-Buschmänner erzählten eine andere Historie: Ein Mädchen zankte sich mit ihrer Mutter während der Zeit der Mädchenweihe, weil diese ihr bestimmte Wurzeln nicht zu essen geben wollte, deren Genuß zu dieser Zeit verboten ist. Das Mädchen ergriff die Wurzeln und die Asche und warf sie zum Himmel. Die Wurzeln wurden zu Sternen, die Asche zur Milchstraße. – Sternschnuppen bedeuten Unglück.

Knochen Thora und Huwe, vielleicht auch Khauma sprechen, und Mackenzie[1] sagt, die Buschmänner hätten diese Knochen als Morimo aa'me (Sachen von Gott) bezeichnet.

Auch das Schulterblatt des Springbocks wird von den Masarwa zum Wahrsagen benutzt.

Bei den Masarwa darf die Schwiegermutter den Schwiegersohn nicht sehen und seinen Namen nicht nennen. Die Gattin darf weder den Namen ihres Mannes noch die Namen seiner Verwandten aussprechen.

Über die Sumpfbuschmänner des Okawangodeltas schließlich berichtet J. Seiner:

„Die Tanzekwe besitzen Sommer- und Winterdörfer sowie Boote und Ziegen und treiben Ackerbau, Fischfang und Jagd. Letzteren Erwerbszweigen wenden sich die reinen Buschmänner zu, während die Bastards und die reinen Mambukuschu, die als Kinder geraubt und von den Buschmännern aufgezogen wurden, mit Ackerbau und untergeordneten Arbeiten sich abgeben.

Die Zahl der reinrassigen Buschmänner unter den Tanzekwe dürfte sich noch auf 60% der letzteren belaufen, doch ist sie infolge der geringen Vermehrung der echten Buschmänner, die durch Diebstahl von Mambukuschukindern auszugleichen versucht wird, in stetem Abnehmen begriffen und die Verbastardung schreitet rasch vorwärts. Die Bugakwe bewohnen in fünf Dörfern mit 220 Köpfen das westliche Okawangotal von der Mahangofurt abwärts und stehen in einem Hörigkeitsverhältnis zu Libebe, mit dem sie jedoch bezüglich der Höhe der Abgaben oft in Zwist geraten; bei einem solchen wurde im Juni 1905 ein Mambukuschu durch einen Pfeilschuß getötet. Die Gorkwe sitzen in acht Dörfern mit 430 Seelen im östlichen Ärmellande vom Palibasumpf bis zum Beginn des Tales, während die Gorkwe im südlichen Ärmellande westlich des Flußlaufes sich aufhalten. Ich fand von letzteren nur ein Winterdorf mit 90 Köpfen vor, und zwar nordöstlich der Mündung des Namasere auf einer Flußinsel.

Die Gorkwe dürften mit Passarges Gokwe identisch sein, deren Gebiet vom Westrande des Taurbesumpflandes tief in das Kaukaufeld reicht; ihnen gehören die Tschorilloberge. Die Tanzekwe unternehmen in der Regenzeit Jagden in die benachbarten Steppen. Die Hukwe, deren Zahl ich auf mindestens 600 schätze, sind weniger verbastardet als die Tanzekwe, leben aber ebenfalls in richtigen Dörfern, von denen aus sie in der Trockenzeit familienweise je nach Bedarf in die Waldsteppe zum Sammeln oder Jagen ausschwärmen."

ACHTES KAPITEL

DIE NOGAU-BUSCHMÄNNER VON EPUKIRO

Bei meinem Aufenthalte in der Missionsstation Epukiro hatte ich Gelegenheit, mit den Buschmännern in näheren Kontakt zu kommen, welche mit den Betschuanen[2] in einer gewissen Symbiose leben. Sie bezeichnen sich selbst als Nogau, im besonderen als ǂno /gna ikhou, d. i. Leute, die am Wasser wohnen. Sie sitzen mehr im Norden des Omuramba Epukiro gegen Alexeck zu. Nördlich von ihnen sitzen die Gai-kwe, mehr gegen Osten zu und im Norden die !Kung. Darüber hinaus ist ein großer Fluß und viele schwarze Leute (Okawango). Als ihre westlichen Nachbarn kennen sie nur die Herero. Sie sind also viel später hingekommen als diese. Zweifelsohne sind Leute dieser Gruppe noch vor 20 Jahren am mittleren Omuramba Omatako gesessen, wo sie F. Seiner von Otjituo und Nuragas meldet. Südlich von ihnen wohnen die Naron und südöstlich die ǂAuin. Im Südwesten wohnten, früher wenigstens, Buschleute der Hei//om-Gruppe und /Gowanin (Sandkaffern). Diese Hei//om sind es wohl, die früher als Saan bezeichnet wurden. Nogau, ǂAuin und Naron gehören eigentlich schon zur Kalahari-Gruppe. In der ganzen Farmzone, die sich früher bis zur englischen Grenze ausdehnte, wurden die Stammesverbände mehr oder weniger zerstört, und es entstand eine gemischte Buschmannbevölkerung, die von den freien Stämmen immer wieder Zulauf erhielt. Auf der anderen Seite sind aber immer wieder Buschleute aus der Farmzone, teils freiwillig, teils auf der Flucht vor der Polizei, in den Busch gegangen. Im Distrikte Gobabis fällt die Grenze der Polizeizone mit der Landesgrenze zusammen. Die Beziehungen zwischen den Weißen und Herero einerseits und den Buschmännern andererseits sind daher

[1] Ten years North of the Orange River, S. 136.

[2] Über das europäisierte Betschuanendorf Epukiro berichte ich ausführlich: Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Bd. 65 (1933).

sehr gespannte. Nachdem vor einigen Jahren den Buschmännern die Jagd auf Großwild verboten worden war, erhoben sie sich und sagten dem Magistrat in Gobabis Fehde an, indem sie eines Nachts einige Pfeile gegen die Türe seines Hauses abschossen. Der Magistrat von Rynefeldt wollte sie im Busch aufsuchen, wurde jedoch aus dem Hinterhalt mit einem Giftpfeil angeschossen und starb. Es wurde nun eine große Razzia gegen die Buschmänner veranstaltet, viele von ihnen wurden ins Gefängnis nach Gobabis gebracht, wo eine Anzahl infolge der vitaminarmen Kost zugrunde ging. Seither haben die Buschmänner sich in dieser Gegend wieder einen Oberhäuptling gewählt und stellen eine beschei-dene Macht dar. Infolge dieser Verhältnisse war es viel schwerer, ihr Vertrauen zu gewinnen, als im Norden. Hier waren mir insbesondere P. Watterott und der Dorfschulze von Epukiro, Franz Arenat, behilflich. Diese Buschmänner verdienen darum ein besonderes Interesse, weil es bei ihnen eine eigene Frauensprache gibt. Diese heißt: Hee-aziba ho auseashu. Sie wird zum Teil auch von den Kindern ge-sprochen und ist dadurch charakteristisch, daß sie viele Worte enthält, die keine Klixe haben. Ich konnte mit großer Mühe nur einige Worte aufzeichnen, z. B.:

	Männer-sprache	Frauen-sprache	Kinder-sprache
Abend	u lõn	áka uj	—
Achsel	//kówi	schu ǃgnóru	tuwi
allein	n n/o	—	nó-o
alt	/gá	tsau ǃgna	χ'uwu
Angst	ǃgostschi	—	dsú-tsi
Arm	//há	ǃgõm	χ'ám
Armband	gama gama	—	gama gama
Asche	do	—	dá dówa
Ast	ǃKhai ǂhaósi	—	dá-i
Auge	/gá	—	schoú-dã
Aut	/i	—	—
Backe	teou //á	/gám	—
Bart	tsi ǂkhói	—	dschi-tõe
Bauch	ǂgu	—	dúb
Bein	//gõm	/gowi	ju Tãm'
Berg	//khãmi	//khawi	ũ káshe
Biene	so schum	schãm	schãm-si
bitter	//ga'	//gã	dschi da
Blatt	dorã	dorã	dschi do-a
blind	schõõ	/ga	—
Blume	ngó	gó	tsi-gu
Blut	/a'	/ao'	/ou'
Braut	teaú	á	—
Bräutigam	ǂgou ǂkhán	ǂgnom	—
Brennhola	nda	—	da
Brunnen	//ga	—	ha
Brust	//goá	/goá	dschi-tõa
Chamäleon	ǃnobéa'	—	nábasa
Daumen	//gaú goõ	ǂgoõ	dõõ dãm
Dorn	//gãi	—	/gai
Durst	mãm /gám	/gam	tãm-du
Ei	dschi ǃnõ	gõ	dschi nõ
Eidechse	ǃgórõ	ǃgorõ	dorõb
Eingeweide	ǃgusi	usi	—

	Männer-sprache	Frauen-sprache	Kinder-sprache
Fieber	//gõi	ǂgi	—
Finger	ǃgoõ	ǃgou	dõu
Flamme	da tãli	—	tari
Fleisch	//khá	//kha	thá
Fliege	soa soá	—	doá doá
Floh	soa soa /ná	—	doá
Flügel	ǃkóhi	—	dschi tãi
Fluß	ǂnõ	—	nõ
Frau	tsaoi gná	ǃgu-ná	thõõ
Gift	lõa	lo'	—
Gras	//khei-si	//si	si-si
Haar	ãi ǃkhõi	ǃkhoi	ǃkhoisi
Hand	ǃgaõ ǃa	ǃgou	tadno
Hals	ǂgai	—	rõ-tõ
hart	ǂkhaõ'	—	dschi-tau
heiß	ǃkhõi	—	ũ
Hunger	//kha-be	—	dawi
Igel	//gan'	—	tam
Kalt	//ga-ũ	—	tao
klein	tõõ ma	—	tõõma
Knochen	ǂõ	—	ã
Leder	ǃnoõ	—	thõu
Leber	dschõ	—	tõ
leicht	schõi	—	da-oõ
Mann	ǃhoõ	ǃhoõ	hoõ
müde	ǂoõ	—	oõ
Maus	ǃhõi	—	nui
Nabel	nõ	—	no
Nacht	/gu	/ngõ	du
neu	se	—	dise
Ohr	/hõi	—	m-hõi
Perlhuhn	a di	—	ã-ui
Pfeife	ǃkhõ	—	oh
Rauch	da schõõ	—	dõõna

	Männersprache	Frauensprache	Kindersprache
reich	lgáócha	—	ti
Rippe	ʃ'khází	—	dási
Salz	dimí	—	diri
Schatten	ǂkha-di	—	khári
schlecht	ʃ'khá	—	ǂkhá
schön	/hm	—	hm

	Männersprache	Frauensprache	Kindersprache
Tabak	sheré, schéli	—	só-re
Tag	/gam ha	—	tai-khé
Wald	lgoé	—	daia tu
warm	//é	—	tái
Weg	//náma	—	nha
Wasser	lgú	—	du

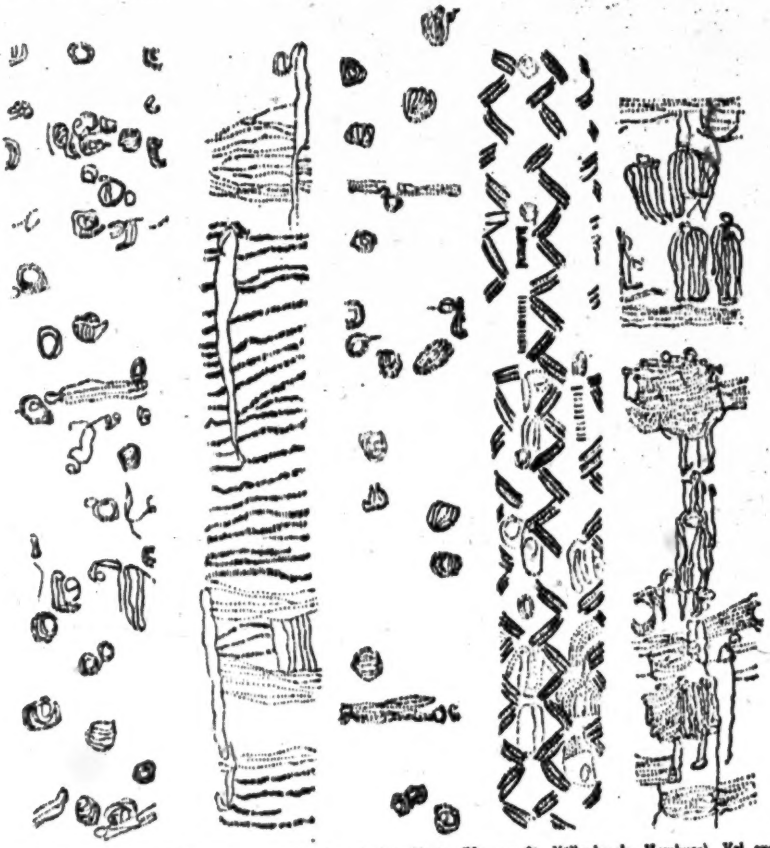


Fig. 22/23. Abrollung der Einritzungen auf Stöcken der Buschleute. (Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg). Vgl. auch K. Weule: Botenstäbe bei den Buschmännern. Eine südafrikanisch-australische Parallele. Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde, Leipzig. Bd. 6, 1913/14.

Die beistehenden Figuren bieten die Einritzungen auf Botenstäben dar, also wohl eine Art Bilderschrift. Von Zastrow und Vedder, l. c., S. 430, bemerken hierzu:

„Wer nicht selbst zu einer befreundeten Sippe gehen will, sondern einen Boten schickt, hat diesem Boten einen Botenstab mitzugeben. Dieser ist etwa von der Dicke eines Daumens und trägt zahlreiche Zeichen von Blättern, Würmern, Raupen, Bilder von Mäuschen und Tieren und sonstige Figuren. Die Figuren nehmen sich fast wie Brandmalerei aus, sind aber auf ganz andere Weise hergestellt. Der abgeschälte Stab wird im Feuer erwärmt, in dem so weichgewordenen Oberholz werden mit einem Pfriemen oder einem scharfen Dorn die Zeichnungen Pünktchen für Pünktchen eingestochen. Ist ein Zeichen fertig, so nimmt man den Kern der Ere-Pflaume, der in geröstetem Zustande schwarz ist und sich wie eine feste Fettmasse verstreichen läßt. Die schwarze, öhaltige Farbe dringt durch das Verstreichen in die eingestochenen Löcher ein. Mit einem geschmeidigen Stäbchen Wildfell wird sodann die überflüssige Farbe abgewischt. Buschmänner behaupten, daß jede befreundete Sippe die verschiedenen Botenstäbe der Häuptlinge anderer befreundeter Sippen kenne, und daß ein Fälschen der Botenstäbe unmöglich und unmöglich sei."

Der Rasse nach sind diese Buschmänner kleiner und heller als die des Nordens und enthalten in einem viel höheren Prozentsatz Beimengungen der Südbuschmannrasse. Es ist in diesem Gebiete ein fortwährendes Kommen und Gehen. Seiner[1] berichtet folgendes:

„Die Buschmänner der Umgebung von Rietfontein sind deutschfreundlich und leisteten der Stationsbesatzung wiederholt wirksame Hilfe gegen durchziehende Herero und Ovambandjera. Zur Zeit meines Aufenthaltes im Jänner und Februar 1907 lag eine kleine Werft der Au-ain, die zu Passarge Kaukauvolk gehören, 1 km nördlich der Kaserne und eine Werft der Al-khoe, die Passarge zum Ngamivolk rechnet, 1½ km südwestlich der Station. Die Buschmänner der zuletzt erwähnten Werft waren den Au-ain dienstbar und wurden von ihnen als Naru (Untergebene, Sklaven) bezeichnet. Da Dr. Pöch im Juni 1908 nur Au-ain in Rietfontein vorfand, so scheinen die Al-khoe mittlerweile ausgewandert oder von jenen vertrieben worden zu sein."

Bis zu einem gewissen Grade stellen alle diese Stämme eine kulturelle Einheit dar. Für die ǂAuin liegt eine schöne Studie von Oberleutnant Kaufmann[2], für die Naron von D. F. Bleek[3] vor. Wenn ich diese Stämme nunmehr miteinander vergleiche, so versteht sich, daß nur die Angaben über die Nogau von mir stammen.

1. GEBURT UND KINDHEIT

Bei den ǂAuin schlingt der Gatte der Kreißenden die Sehne seines Bogens um den Bauch, bei der Geburt selbst ist er nicht anwesend. Die Nabelschnur wird mit der Spitze eines Schilfrohrsplitters durchschnitten.

Bei den Naron und Nogau erfolgt die Entbindung wie bei den !Kung, doch leistet eine alte Frau meist Assistenz.

Zwillinge (Hol-holi) sind unerwünscht, bei den Nogau wird eines getötet.

Der Vater gibt bei den Nogau dem Kinde den Namen. Dort wird das Kind mit einem scharfen Quarzsplitter abgenabelt. Die Wöchnerinnen dürfen Blut und Kopffleisch nicht essen. Bis das Kind sitzen kann, darf der Ehemann der Mutter nicht beiwohnen. Dieselbe Sitte besteht auch bei den Betschuanen. Die Kinder der Nogau dürfen das Fleisch der Wildkatze und das zweier Vögel (tsugnussi und /gui) nicht essen. Kaufmann hat einige Angaben über Kinderspiele gemacht; auch Bleek bringt einige Data:

Bei den /[illegible] dienen kleine Bogen und Pfeile als Kinderspielzeug. Das gleiche gilt für die Naron und Nogau. Steinen sind bei den Auin bekannt und werden von Männern und Knaben benutzt. Über Kinderspiele der Naron berichtet Miß Bleek:

Das Spiel der großen Wasserschlange

Ein Junge kriecht auf dem Bauch zu einem kleinen Sandhaufen, der das Wasserloch darstellen soll. In einiger Distanz davon setzen sich die Kinder in eine Reihe, einer hinter dem anderen so, daß das folgende seinen Vordermann zwischen seinen Beinen sitzen hat; den Vordermann hält er mit den Händen an der Schulter. Der Größte

[1] J. Seiner, Der Verbindungsweg zwischen Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika und der Betschuanalandeisenbahn, Globus 96, 1910.

[2] Kaufmann, Die /Au-in. Mitt. a. d. dtsch. Schutzgeb. 1910.

[3] D. F. Bleek, The Naron, a Bushman tribe of the Central Kalahari. Publications of the school of African Life and language. Cambridge 1928.

ältest immer vorne, der Kleinste rückwärts. Dazu wird ein Lied gesungen, das zum Teil nicht mehr verständlich ist. (Wahrscheinlich Kindersprache.) Diese große „Schlange" bewegt sich nun um das Wasserloch, ganz langsam, während die Wasserschlange von Zeit zu Zeit Sand auf sie wirft; dann ziehen sich die anderen zurück. Zum Schluß fängt sich die Schlange einen aus der Reihe heraus und „frißt ihn". Ein analoges Spiel habe ich bei den Betschuanenkindern im Epukiro beobachtet.

Das Elefant-Strauß-Spiel

Wieder dient ein Sandhaufen als Kraals für ein Wasserloch. Zwei Jungen kommen als Elefanten und wollen trinken; zwei andere nimmen Strauße und wollen die Elefanten nicht zum Wasser lassen.

Das Ochsen-Spiel

Drei oder vier Jungen repräsentieren die Ochsen. Einer gilt als der Besitzer, der andere will sie stehlen. Unter kleinen Balgereien gelingt ihm dies allmählich. Hat er alle gestohlen, dann ist das Spiel zu Ende. (Man vergleiche hierzu das „Ochsenstehlen" bei den Bergdama von Okombahe.)

Das Tauschhandel-Spiel

Es gleicht völlig analogen Spielformen in Europa.

Das Kriegs-Spiel

In zwei Reihen stehen die Jungen einander gegenüber und markieren Pfeilschüsse. Derjenige, auf welchen gezielt wird, sucht sich zu decken. Sobald er müde wird, fällt er um als „Toter". Das Spiel wird so lange gespielt, bis nur einer übrigbleibt.

Das Brautraub-Spiel

Zwei junge Mädchen tanzen hinter einem Busch, das sind die Bräute. Zwei ältere Mädchen mit Stecken folgen ihrer Spur, das sind die Brautwerber, diese suchen die beiden Bräute zu fangen. Ist ihnen das gelungen, dann kommen noch zwei Mädchen, die die Mütter darstellen sollen und den Brautraub zu verhindern trachten. Schließlich werden die Bräute aber doch geraubt.

Das Ball-Spiel

Das Ballspiel ist ein ausgesprochenes Frauenspiel, an dem sich kleine Mädchen und Großmütter in gleicher Weise beteiligen. Die Spieler stehen in zwei Reihen einander gegenüber, und der Ball, gewöhnlich eine runde Wassermelone, wird von einer Reihe zur anderen geworfen.

Fig. 24. Magischer Kontakt zwischen Jäger und Wild (Salariverfal, Kaokofeld). Aus H. Obermaier und H. Kühn, Buschmannkunst.

2. DIE KNABENWEIHE

Zur Zeit der Reife finden dann bei den Nogau die Jugendweihen statt. Die Knabenweihe heißt Dschai-dschua.

Durch die Verheiratung wird der junge Mann noch nicht in die Gemeinschaft der Männer aufgenommen. Er muß sich erst der Weihe unterziehen. Diese verläuft bei den Nogau folgendermaßen:

Unter Führung eines erfahrenen Alten und mehrerer Gehilfen gehen die Jungen in den Busch. Am ersten Tage werden zwei Vertikalschnitte auf der Stirne gemacht, dann wird die ganze Nacht durch gesungen und getanzt nach der Melodie: „Ije, ije, aije, aije . . . oho, oho usw."

Am Morgen des zweiten Festtages werden die Einschnitte auf der Stirn bis zur Nasenwurzel und zur Haargrenze verlängert. Am Nachmittag dieses Tages rufen die Alten die Jungen zusammen, um Feldkost zu suchen. Der Alte lockert mit seinem Grabstock die Wurzeln und, während er dies tut, legen die Kandidaten ihre Hände auf den arbeitenden Arm. Die Jungen müssen dann ohne Zuhilfenahme von Werkzeugen mit den Händen die Wurzeln aus der Erde herausgraben. „Von nun an können sie selbst Feldkost suchen, denn nun hat man sie angelernt."

Nach dieser Handlung geht man wieder auf den Platz, wo die Frauen sind. Dort wird an einem

Platze zusammen für die Männer und die Kandidaten Kost gemacht, die Kandidaten dürfen nur Feldkost essen, kein Fleisch. Dann wird zusammen mit den Frauen und Mädchen eine Nacht und ein halber Tag getanzt.

Am Nachmittage gehen die Kandidaten wieder hinaus auf die Jagd. Drei Tiere müssen sie erbeuten: einen kleinen Duiker, ein Perlhuhn, einen Ochsenfrosch. Mit ihrer Beute versammeln sie sich mit den lehrenden Alten an einem abgelegenen Platz, die drei Fleischsorten werden zusammengekocht, das Fleisch essen die Alten, und mit der Suppe werden die Jungen am ganzen Körper gewaschen. Von nun an dürfen sie die drei Tiere essen, was ihnen bisher verboten war. Nun wird wieder getanzt und gesungen: „Oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu" (langgezogen).

/Auin: Die Kandidaten benachbarter Werften ziehen unter Leitung des Doktors in den Busch und leben hier einige Wochen gemeinschaftlich von Feldkost. Sie erhalten während dieser Zeit Weisungen in geheimen Dingen. Kaufmann berichtet von folgendem Tanz: ein Junge setzt sich rücklings auf den Rücken eines anderen und beide hüllen sich in einen großen Fellmantel. Der Tanz besteht darin, daß sich der Träger möglichst rasch von einem Bein auf das andere schwingt, ohne sich vorzubewegen, und beide hu, hu brüllen. Die eigentliche Mannbarkeit, welche ihnen das Recht zum Heiraten gibt, wird erst durch die Jagdprüfung erworben. Die Tatauierung hängt mit der Mannbarkeitserklärung nicht zusammen.

Bei den Naron allerdings müssen sie erst die Jagdprüfung machen, bevor sie zur Knabenweihe zugelassen werden. Zehn oder zwölf Kandidaten werden in den Busch genommen und müssen einen Monat von Feldkost leben, die vor dem Genuß vom Doktor mit einer Medizin bestreut wird. Frauen dürfen nicht in die Nähe des Lagers kommen.

Während einer dieser nächtlichen Tänze erscheint Hise und tanzt rund um den Kreis, dann wird er von dem Medizinmann vertrieben. Manche sagen, Hise sehe aus wie eine Frau, andere beschreiben ihn als ein drei Fuß hohes Wesen mit flachem Kopf, großen Augen, schwarzem Körper, Flügel und Klauen (man denke an den Geistervogel Engoroori, der bei der Initiation der Owambo erscheint, oder an den Neida Gamaseb der Bergdama).

Einige alte /Auin sahen zwei Wesen, ein männliches und ein weibliches, die wie Löwen aussahen, aber aufrecht gingen; sie waren von Kindern gefolgt, die wie Paviane aussahen.

Offensichtlich handelt es sich hier um Maskentänze. Die jüngeren Männer haben diesen Hise nicht mehr gesehen, ihnen erklärten die Doktoren, er sei gekommen, aber nur die Medizinmänner könnten ihn erblicken.

Ein besonderer Tanz für Hise besteht in der Nachahmung der Bewegung eines Vogels. In alter Zeit tanzte man auch zu zweit, wobei im Refrain gesungen wurde: „Straußenmagen, Hisemagen, hu, hu, hu".

Auch der /Di-Tanz ist Hise geweiht. Bei diesem Tanz tragen die Männer, wie auch sonst bei profanen Tänzen, die oben beschriebenen Tanzrasseln, aber außerdem weiße oder schwarze Straußenfedern.

3. DIE MÄDCHENWEIHE

Wenn bei den Nogau ein Mädchen die erste Menstruation bekommt, wird ein Fest gefeiert. Am ersten Tage muß das Mädchen den ganzen Tag über in einem eigens für sie errichteten laubhüttenartigen, geschlossenen Pontok bleiben. Es bekommt nur zu trinken, aber nichts zu essen. Die Frauen aus nah und fern kommen zusammen und führen um diese Laubhütte Tänze auf. Am zweiten Tage bekommt das Mädchen zu essen; 5 Tage hindurch dauern diese Festlichkeiten, bei denen nur ein einziger Mann als Festleiter zugegen ist. Das Mädchen gilt während dieser 5 Tage als „giftig" und darf nichts anrühren, auch ihre Nahrung nicht, welche ihr von einer alten Frau gereicht wird. Am sechsten Tage geht das Mädchen dann mit einer alten Frau Feldkost suchen, und zurückgekehrt, macht sie selbst Feuer und kocht im Kreise ihrer Gäste zum ersten Male offiziell selbständig. Es ist aber möglich, daß Mädchen schon heiraten, bevor sie diese Zeremonie durchgemacht haben.

Bei den †Aula wird für jedes Mädchen zur Zeit der ersten Menstruation die Mädchenweihe abgehalten. Das gleiche ist bei den Naron der Fall. Jede Nacht, solange die Periode des Mädchens dauert, wird der Elandbull-Tanz getanzt. Zwei alte Männer befestigen wirkliche oder aus Holz gefertigte Elandhörner auf ihrem Kopf und warten im Busche; dann kommt die menstruierende Mädchen und setzt oder legt sich, von alten Frauen umgeben, in die Mitte eines Kreises von jüngeren Frauen, welche einen Tanz aufführen. Die beiden Elandbullen kommen bald, bald verschwinden sie wieder. Der Tanz ist sehr indecent. Bei den Nuesan vertreten als Vögel (!) maskierte Männer die Elandbullen.

Einmal des Jahres, im Herbst, wenn viel Feldkost geerntet wird, ist ein großes Fest. Der Tag heißt: ‖//gam /gna sho (Der große Tag)". Da wird Nahrung vorbereitet und die Buschmänner kommen von allen Seiten zusammen. Es wird getanzt und gesungen, aber man muß zu Hause bleiben, niemand darf jagen, Feldkost suchen oder überhaupt etwas arbeiten.

4. BRAUTWERBUNG, HOCHZEIT UND EHE

Nogau: Will ein junger Buschmann heiraten, so darf er seinen Antrag nicht bei dem Mädchen anbringen, sondern muß mit deren Eltern sprechen, doch ist die Zustimmung des Mädchens zur Ehe notwendig. Ist diese erfolgt, dann werden Geschenke ausgetauscht zwischen den Eltern der Brautleute oder auch ein Gemsbock geschossen und auf beide Familien verteilt. Gleich nachdem die Geschenke ausgetauscht sind, beginnt man mit den Vorbereitungen zur Hochzeit. Ist genügend Wild, vor allem ein Gemsbock zur Stelle, dann wird die ganze Nacht hindurch getanzt und dazu gesungen: „Uooõ, uooõ, õ, ooo, guooõ, guooõ usw."

Fig. 25. Halskette mit Zauberhölzern und Parfümdose eines Mädchens (Nogau).

Dann nimmt der junge Mann seine Gattin und zieht mit ihr zur Horde seines Vaters. Großes Gewicht wird auf Jungfräulichkeit vor der Ehe gelegt. „Das kommt bei uns nicht vor, daß ein Mädchen vor der Ehe geschwängert wird", so versicherte mir wenigstens das Oberhaupt der Horde. Ebenso legt man auf Nachwuchs in der Ehe größten Wert. Während der Schwangerschaft bestehen keine Speiseverbote. Steht die Niederkunft bevor, dann versammeln sich alle Frauen der Horde. Falls Schwierigkeiten entstehen, wird keine Hilfe geleistet, sondern bloß eine Medizin verabreicht.

Der älteste Bruder des Vaters ist das Familienoberhaupt. Die Knaben gehören dem Vater, die Mädchen der Mutter und fallen auch in die betreffenden Familien. Die Bezeichnungen der nächsten Verwandtschaftsgrade sind: Vater: mba; Bruder des Vaters und Familienoberhaupt: mau; dessen Gattin: mama (die Kinder von Vaters Brüdern und Vaters Schwestern nennen sie Geschwister, und zwischen diesen besteht Heiratsverbot); Mutter: aje; Bruder der Mutter: mko; dessen Frau: tooo. Zum Unterschied von den !Kung besteht auch den Kindern der Mutterbrüder und Mutterschwestern gegenüber Heiratsverbot, innerhalb der einzelnen Sippen herrscht strenge Exogamie. Monogamie ist die Regel, doch darf man wie bei den !Kung mit Zustimmung der ersten Frau eine zweite nehmen. Die Ehe ist untrennbar. Für die Witwe sorgt die Familie der Frau, die mit den Kindern zu ihren Anverwandten zieht. Eine Verpflichtung des Schwagers, die verwitwete Schwägerin zu heiraten oder für sie zu sorgen, besteht nicht.

†Aula: Männer heiraten etwa zwischen 16 und 18 Jahren, Mädchen zwischen 13 und 16 Jahren. Beide Angaben beruhen natürlich auf ungefährer Schätzung. Die Werbung wird vom Ehekandidaten

bei der Mutter des Mädchens angebracht. Ist diese nicht mehr am Leben, so vertreten die nächsten Verwandten (Vater, Onkel, Tante) deren Stelle. Der Vater wird erst an zweiter Stelle gefragt. Der Freier bringt den zukünftigen Schwiegereltern Geschenke in Gestalt von Wildbret und Feldkost, manchmal länger als ein Jahr hindurch. Verläuft die Sache glatt, so führt er nach einiger Zeit das Mädchen in seine Hütte, und die Ehe gilt als vollzogen. Weigert sich das Mädchen trotz Einwilligung ihrer Eltern, den Mann zu heiraten (sie ist berechtigt, ihrem Willen Ausdruck zu verleihen, und befolgt durchaus nicht immer den Wunsch der Eltern), so führt der Jüngling das Mädchen schließlich mit Gewalt in seine Hütte. Würde ein Mann ohne Einwilligung der Eltern einem Mädchen Gewalt antun, so würde er getötet werden. Besondere Zeremonien bei der Eheschließung werden nicht vorgenommen. Das vor der Übersiedlung in den Pontok des Mannes vorgenommene Verlöbnis gilt als abgeschlossen, wenn der Mann das Mädchen um das Handgelenk faßt. Da „Verlobung" und „Hochzeit" aber zeitlich nur durch den Marsch nach der Hütte getrennt sind, so kann man das Umfassen des Unterarmes der Braut als Vollziehung der Ehe betrachten. Das Umfassen des Unterarmes geschieht ziemlich gewaltsam, und die Braut läßt sich beim Marsch nach der Hütte etwas ziehen. Eigenartig ist es, wie sich nach der Heirat das Verhältnis des Schwiegersohnes zu seiner Schwiegermutter verändert. Der erstere vermeidet die Gesellschaft seiner Schwiegermutter und sitzt nicht mit ihr zusammen. Wenn er sich dem Lagerfeuer zum Beispiel in der erkennbaren Absicht nähert, sich davor niederzusetzen, so geht die Schwiegermutter fort. Hat er notgedrungen mit ihr etwas zu besprechen, so schreien sie sich gegenseitig auf große Entfernungen an.

Fig. 26. Nogaumädchen im Festschmuck aus Straußeneierperlen (Mädchenweihe).

Vorehelicher Geschlechtsverkehr scheint kaum vorzukommen. Kaufmann hat zwei bis drei Kinder bei den meisten Frauen festgestellt, welche stets etwa 2 oder 3 Jahre auseinander sind.

Bei den Naron wird die Braut formell geraubt, das Wort „Heiraten" bedeutet soviel wie „Fangen". In Wirklichkeit aber gehen diesem Raub Verhandlungen voraus. Die Exogamie ist bei den Naron nur mehr auf die wirklichen Geschwister beschränkt. Nach der Hochzeit zieht das junge Paar zur Werft der Brauteltern und bleibt manchmal jahrelang dort. Bei den Naron kommt übrigens auch Kindesmord vor. Ansonsten hängen aber die Buschmänner mit großer Liebe an ihren Kindern.

5. STAAT UND RECHT

Bei den ǂAuin ist die Häuptlingswürde im Mannesstamme erblich. Das gleiche ist bei den Nogau der Fall. Bei den Naron gibt es eigentlich keine Häuptlinge mehr. Der letzte kam dadurch um seine Autorität, daß er sich vorwiegend als Arbeiter auf den Farmen aufhielt. Bleek glaubt, daß früher ein solcher Häuptling 30–50 Familien regierte. In letzter Zeit hatten alle diese Stämme wenigstens nominell einen Kriegshäuptling.

Bei allen drei Stämmen ist der Begriff des Privateigentums an Gebrauchsgegenständen sehr stark ausgeprägt, und auf Diebstahl steht die Todesstrafe. Jede Sippe ist Eigentümerin eines bestimmten Landstriches. Nicht überall sind in diesem ebenen Gebiete die Grenzmarken deutlich, so daß ein Überschreiten derselben nicht jene schweren Folgen hat wie im Norden. Wer dagegen ein Wild findet, das unter dem Pfeilgift verendet ist und welches er nicht selbst geschossen hat, der darf nichts davon nehmen. Das Feldkostsammeln ist überall gestattet. Wer dagegen einen Honigstock findet, macht dort ein Zeichen, und dieser ist nunmehr sein Privateigentum geworden. Bei den ǂAuin brennen die einzelnen Buschmänner Feldstücke ab, und alle Feldkost, die dort wächst, gilt als sein Privateigentum.

Die Fehden, die zwischen einzelnen Sippen bestehen, werden als Krieg bezeichnet; da aber eine Rechtsahndung praktisch nur gegenüber Angehörigen anderer Horden geübt wird, so bedeutet jede

Geltendmachung des Rechtes auch Krieg. Bei den Nogau wird der Krieg feierlich durch Boten angesagt.

Bevor man in den Krieg zieht, schmiert man sich mit einer Zaubermedizin den Körper ein (/num). Handelt es sich um alte Feinde, so wird der Überfall hinterlistig ausgeführt. Ansonsten stellen sich die Feinde zum offenen Kampf. Je nach dem Grade der Feindschaft wird entweder mit vergifteten oder unvergifteten Pfeilen aufeinander geschossen. Häufig aber findet vor Beginn des Kampfes noch eine Unterredung der Führer statt, die dazu führt, daß man in Frieden auseinander geht. Die Grundsätze der natürlichen Moral werden innerhalb und außerhalb der Horde geachtet und anerkannt. Es gilt als schlecht, einem anderen Menschen Böses zu tun oder ihm in der Not nicht beizustehen, nicht weil man irgendeine Strafe zu befürchten hätte, sondern weil es die Alten so gelehrt haben.

6. DAS WELTBILD UND DIE RELIGION

Die Sonne ist ein Mann und heißt /gam bzw. kha//a`, der Jäger. Der Mond ist eine Frau und heißt hui bzw. /nanga, „die Herumlaufende".

Früher haben die Sonne, der Mond und der Hase zusammen gewohnt. Eines Tages hatte Frau Mond und Herr Hase Streit. Der Mond hat dem Hasen mit einem Beil die Schnauze auseinander geschlagen. Der Hase hat den Mond dann im Gesicht zerkratzt. Das sieht man noch heute. Als die Sonne heimkam, wurde sie böse und sagte: „Jetzt haben wir genug von der Erde, jetzt gehen wir hinauf, damit der Hase allein bleibt. Von oben werde ich ihn brennen, und ich werde sehr heiß werden, damit er tags nicht herumlaufen kann, wie er will." Darauf erwiderte der Mond: „Es ist gut so, ich gehe nachts und bringe die Kälte, so daß der Hase friert, wenn er sein Futter sucht."

Seit dieser Zeit sind Sonne und Mond am Firmament.

Das Himmelsgewölbe besteht aus den Decken von Sonne und Mond. Als Sonne und Mond zum Himmel hinauf gingen, hatten sie Säckchen mit Harz bei sich. Die warfen sie weg. Diese Harzkörner sind die Sterne.

Als Sonne, Mond und Hase noch beisammen waren, da sagte die Sonne: „Die Menschen sollen nicht sterben", und der Mond stimmte ihr bei. Aber der Hase sagte: „Nein, die Menschen müssen sterben, weil ich auch sterben muß."

Der Regen wird von Zauberern gemacht, diese heißen Gowa. Sie sterben nicht, sind aber sonst wie andere Menschen, haben aber schwarze Haut. Wenn kein Regen kommt, dann machen die Buschmänner ein großes Feuer und werfen eine Wurzel „He" und eine männliche Schildkröte hinein. Sobald es zu regnen anfängt, dann tanzen sie und schlagen sich dabei auf die Schenkel und singen dazu: „Ehe, ehe, ehe, ije, ije, ije, ehe, ehe, ehe usw." Die Zauberer können sich in Löwen verwandeln.

Der Regenzauberer wohnt auf der Erde, wie andere Menschen wohnen. Der Regenbogen ist der Regenhund. Die Wolken sind die Regenhaare.

Wenn Neumond ist, dann sagen sie, der Mond schläft. Die Sonne läuft des Nachts wieder nach Osten zurück.

Donner und Blitz macht nicht der Regen, sondern Gauab, der bei diesen Buschleuten zu einer Personifikation des Bösen geworden ist. Der Blitz heißt: „Gauabs Messer".

Der dunkle Nachthimmel sind die Decken von Mond und Sonne. Das Himmelsgewölbe heißt /gna. Meine Gewährsmänner ließen die Frage offen, ob nicht vielleicht die Sonne „der Größte sei", welcher alles gemacht hat. Andererseits wird aber Khu ebenfalls als der Schöpfer angesehen. Er hat Himmel und Erde gemacht, und er macht auch die Menschen lebendig. Khu ist kein menschliches Wesen, er ist gut, aber Näheres weiß man nicht von ihm. Er greift auch nicht weiter in den Lauf der Welt und des Menschenlebens ein. Zwar sagen sie: „Khu ist der Größte und Gauab ist der Kleinste", aber Gauab spielt in ihrem Leben doch eine größere Rolle. Er gebietet über Donner und Blitz, er jagt, allen sichtbar, als zerstörende Windhose durch die Steppe, und er tötet die Menschen auch, indem er ihnen die Seele herausreißt und einen kleinen Gauab daraus macht, der seinerseits im Busch herumläuft und allerhand üble Dinge treibt.

Bei den Naron besteht im geheimen ein Mondkult. Man bittet den Neumond um Regen. In alter Zeit sollen auch bestimmte Sterne, besonders der Morgenstern und das südliche Kreuz, das sie Feuerschuh nennen, angerufen worden sein. Die Geschichte vom Mond und dem Hasen wird folgendermaßen erzählt: Der Mond sagte: „Die Leute sollen sterben und wieder aufstehen, wie ich sterbe und auch wiederum zurückkomme." Aber der Hase widersprach und meinte, die Leute sollten tot bleiben. Da wurde der Mond böse und zerschlug dem Hasen mit einer Hacke das Maul.

„Der Mond ist ein alter Mann und die Sonne ein junges Mädchen, seine Frau. Zuerst geht der Mond unter den Himmel, dann folgt die Sonne hinter ihm her. Sie gehen in ihre Hütten, die sich unter dem Horizont im Westen befinden. Bei Nacht bzw. bei Tag gehen sie zu ihren Hütten im Osten zurück; man kann sie hören, aber nicht sehen."

Kaufmann konnte über die Hochgötter der †Auin nichts Konkretes in Erfahrung bringen. Über die Naron erzählt Bleek, daß bei ihnen eine eigentümliche Mischung religiöser Vorstellung Platz gegriffen habe. Eine gewisse Zentralstellung nimmt bei ihnen Hise oder Hyoa ein, der von den erwachsenen Männern mit !Khuba oder ǂx'uba bezeichnet wird. Die alten Leute wußten nichts davon. !Khub bezeichnen die Nama als Meister oder Herr, und dieses Wort wird von manchen Missionaren für Christus gebraucht. Diese Alten behaupten, dieser Begriff sei von den Nama übernommen worden. Früher kannte man nur Hise, dieser wohnte im Osten. Hise ist offenbar dasselbe wie Heitsi Aibib (wörtlich „Der erste Baum").

Die Naron erzählen, daß in alter Zeit sowohl die Bäume wie die Tiere Menschen waren, die von Hise in ihre jetzige Gestalt verwandelt wurden. Dann rief Hise die Häuptlinge der Weißen und Schwarzen und sagte zu ihnen: „Nehmt Rinder und Ziegen und lebt mit ihnen." Zu den ersten Häuptlingen der Buschmänner aber sprach er: „Nehmt die Antilopen und lebt von ihnen, macht Fallen und jaget und lebet im Busch."

Der Ausdruck Huwu oder Huwuba ist bekannt und soll den großen Kapitän der Männer im Norden bezeichnen. Interessant sind die Ausführungen von Miß Bleek über //Gauwa. Nach der Meinung der Naron und †Auin ist //Gauwa der Geist eines verstorbenen Menschen. Medizinmänner können diese Geister auch sehen, die Weiber können sie nur hören. Manche Frauen erklärten, daß nur Männer, welche die Initiationszeremonie durchgemacht haben und die zwei Narben zwischen den Augenbrauen haben, //Gauwa werden können. Aber auch ein stärker, heulender Wind wird als //Gauwa bezeichnet. Einige Individuen glauben auch an einen Obergeist dieses Namens, der in der Nähe Hises im Osten wohnt, zu dessen Hause die Geister bei Tage zurückkehren. Manche bezeichnen //Gauwa als den jüngeren Bruder Hises, andere identifizieren ihn mit diesem.

Die Naron geben Hise bald männliche, bald weibliche Endungen. Bei den †Auin erscheint dieser während ihrer Tänze bald als Mann, bald als Frau.

7. MEDIZIN

Der Heilschatz der Nogau-Buschmänner ist sehr primitiv. Sie haben kein Mittel gegen Schlangenbiß und keines gegen das Pfeilgift.

Elandfett ist eine Universalmedizin. Bei den häufigen Augenentzündungen wird dieses Fett ins Auge geschmiert, bei Kopfschmerzen wird warmes Elandfett ins Ohr geträufelt, bei Schnupfen werden die Nasenlöcher und die Nase mit Elandfett eingeschmiert.

Die Krankheiten kommen entweder vom bösen Obergauab oder auch von Zauberern. Die Krankheit wird durch einen kleinen Gauab hervorgerufen, der sich im Körper festgesetzt hat. Je schwerer krank einer ist, um so mehr Gauana sind in ihn hineingefahren. Die Doktoren können diese Krankheitsgeister herausziehen, sie tun das in analoger Weise wie die !Kung. Auch Doktorinnen gibt es.

Die Krankheitsgeister werden hier viel materieller gedacht als bei den !Kung, so ein Gauab sieht aus wie ein Mensch, er kann aber auch als Löwe, als Wildebeest oder als Schlange erscheinen. Ist der Gauab aus dem Körper herausgezogen, dann läuft er weg und spricht mit niemandem.

Speziell die Zauberer verwandeln sich gerne in Löwen. Bei den Buschmännern weiter im Norden

soll es vorkommen, daß sie im Busch beispielsweise ein Wildebeest sehen; das ist aber gar kein Wildebeest, sondern ein Gaua. Die Doktoren erhalten ihre Kraft vom obersten Gaua (/gaua //gaicha). Es ist derselbe, der in der Windhose erscheint. Die Doktoren müssen ähnlich wie bei den Bantu bei älteren Fachkollegen mehrere Jahre in die Schule gehen. Sie können nicht nur heilen, sondern auch im bösen Sinne zaubern, indem sie /Gaua //gaicha bewegen, einen Menschen krank zu machen, dem sie schaden wollen.

„Wer Zauberer werden will, der muß bei einem anderen Zauberdoktor in die Schule gehen. Wenn jemand vom Blitz getroffen wird, so sagt man, Gaua hätte ihn mit seinem Messer geschlagen. Manche werden dann große Doktoren und sprechen viel mit Gaua. Gaua kommt auch als Windhose."

Bei den Naron ist nach Bleek auch der Buschmannrevolver im Gebrauch. Damit kämpfen die Doktoren untereinander. Man schießt heimlich einen solchen Pfeil auf den Kraal des Gegners, und durch den Zauber, der von dem Pfeil ausgeht, erkrankt der Feind und stirbt.

8. TOD UND BEGRÄBNIS

Bei den Nogau bestehen folgende Anschauungen: Der Tod wird dadurch herbeigeführt, daß Gaua die Seele stiehlt und einen kleinen Gaua daraus macht. Der Tote wird sogleich begraben, es wird nicht getanzt, sondern geweint. Die Leiche wird in Hockerstellung zusammengebunden und auf der Seite, mit dem Kopfe nach Osten, bestattet. Bloß die Schlafdecke wird mitgegeben, die hinterlassenen Waffen behalten die Brüder. Die Kost, die der Tote bei sich getragen hat, wird auf das Grab geworfen. Dann kommen Büsche darauf.

Nach ihrer Meinung treibt sich die in einen Gaua verwandelte Seele des Toten beim Grabe herum, darum sieht man von dannen. Kommt ein Nogau-Buschmann bei dem Grabe eines Stammesgenossen vorbei, dann bittet er ihn um Hilfe bei der Jagd, damit die Kinder schnell wachsen und dick werden. Er sagt:

„Ich weiß nicht, wie es mir gehen wird
Mit dem Essen, wie es mir gehen wird mit dem Essen;
Ich weiß nicht, was ich machen soll, daß ich etwas zu essen bekomme,
Laß uns essen und groß werden."

Allerdings besteht auch der Glaube, daß der große Gaua, der den Menschen tötet, dessen Herz frißt oder in kaltem Wasser aufhebt und schließlich einen neuen Buschmann daraus macht. Bei den Naron wird der Leichnam in Hockerstellung zusammengebunden und mit dem Gesicht nach Osten in Seitenlage bestattet. Am Tage nach dem Begräbnis streuen die Leidtragenden Buchupulver auf die Grabstätte. Diese Sitten werden aber keineswegs immer eingehalten, speziell dann, wenn der Boden hart ist. Die Naron fürchten die Geister der Verstorbenen nicht. Doch sehen die Doktoren die Totengeister und ebenso jene Männer, „die zwischen den Augenbrauen Einschnitte haben". Das sind, wie wir von den Nogau wissen, alle, welche die Jugendweihe mitgemacht haben. Frauen können solche Geister niemals sehen.

Bei allen drei Stämmen kommt es vor, daß alte Leute ausgesetzt werden.

9. DIE JAGD

Die West-Kalahari ist auch heute noch ziemlich wildreich, so daß der Lebensunterhalt durch die Jagd wenigstens einigermaßen erzielt werden kann. Vor der Jagd verreibt man eine Tamanafrucht (tse) im Gesicht. Sie suchen auch die Kräfte des Wildes durch Impfung in sich aufzunehmen. Wenn etwa ein Steinbock zur Strecke gebracht ist, dann nimmt man ein Stückchen Herz, einen Ausschnitt des Ohres und verkohlt diese. Man verreibt diese Tierkohle dann in den Einschnitt am Oberarm. Sowohl im Krieg als auch auf der Jagd verständigt man sich durch Rauchsignale. Die Hauptjagdwaffe

ist der Bogen mit dem Giftpfeil. Das Gift[1] wird aus den Kokons einer Käferlarve gewonnen, die auf den Wurzeln einer Akazie lebt. In einem Antilopenhorne trägt der Buschmann mehrere dieser Kokons wie Patronen mit sich. Soll die Pfeilspitze vergiftet werden, dann wird ein Feuer angemacht, etwas von dem Akazienharz, das der Buschmann immer bei sich trägt, auf der Pfeilspitze verschmiert und sodann ein Kokon zerbrochen und sein Inhalt auf der Pfeilspitze verrieben. Bei dieser Gelegenheit hatte einer meiner Buschleute eine kleine Wunde am Daumen, durch die das Gift eindrang, übersehen. Das Eindringen des Giftes war nicht sehr schmerzhaft, er hatte nur das Gefühl „als würde warmes Wasser in sein Fleisch eindringen". Der Arm war eine Woche lang dick geschwollen. Die anderen machten ihm zahlreiche Einschnitte und Skarifikationen mit glühenden Hölzchen, und so konnte er gerettet werden. Das Fleisch der so getöteten Tiere ist roh genossen, giftig.

v. François[2] berichtet, daß die Hei//om dieser Gegend ihr Gift aus dem Milchsafte der Apocynacee Adenium Boehmianum bereiten. Dieses wird an der Sonne zuerst violett und dann schwarz. Es wird in kleinen Ledersäckchen aufbewahrt und im Bedarfsfalle erwärmt und mit dem Safte der Habaswurzel vermengt und mit flachen Stäbchen auf die Pfeilspitzen gebracht. Diese Buschmänner bedienten sich noch gerillter Steine zum Richten des Pfeilschaftes.

Der kleine Bogen (!naru) wird aus dem //ne-Busch gemacht und ist viel kürzer als der der !Kung. Der Pfeil und die Pfeilspitze heißen tschi. Sie haben sowohl Pfeile mit Eisenspitzen wie die !Kung, wie auch solche aus Knochen. Die beigefügten Figuren mögen die beiden Typen erläutern, die von anderen Autoren bereits hinlänglich beschrieben wurden. Die in älteren Sammlungen befindlichen Pfeilspitzen, auf denen das Gift nicht nur an der Spitze, sondern auch auf dem Schaftstück in strich- oder punktförmigen Klümpchen aufgetragen ist, sind jetzt nicht mehr in Verwendung. Auch die Bogen der Naron sind klein, und auch sie haben zweierlei Pfeile. Die Pfeilschäfte sind aus Rohr, das nur an wenigen Stellen verwendet wird. Außerdem haben alle diese Stämme Wurzelstockkeulen. Speere (Kuku) werden von den Owambos gegen Straußeneierperlen eingehandelt. Bleek schreibt

[1] Lewis hat den Buschmanngiften mehrere Studien gewidmet (Pfeilgifte der Buschmänner. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Bd. 44. 1912.

„Als ich die ersten mit Gift bewehrten Pfeile, die Lichtenstein von seiner Reise im Jahre 1806 heimgebracht hatte, und die im hiesigen Museum für Völkerkunde aufbewahrt werden, untersuchen durfte, konnte ich feststellen, daß in dem Gifte Alkaloid sei, dem anfangs erregende, später lähmende Wirkungen auf Rückenmark und Gehirn zukamen. Wegen der Geringfügigkeit des Materiales war ich auf eine eigenartige Farbenreaktion, die das aus dem Gifte isolierte Alkaloid mit konzentrierter Schwefelsäure lieferte, nirbts weiter feststellbar.

Es ist mir nun gelungen, aus der Zwiebel von Haemanthus toxicarius, der „gift bul" der alten holländischen Kolonisten, das wirksamste Prinzip, ein Alkaloid, darzustellen, das chemisch und toxisch mit dem wirksamen Prinzip des von Pfeilen abgenommenen Giftes übereinstimmt. Ich gab ihm den Namen Haemanthin.

Nach der subkutanen Beibringung der aus den 6–7 mm langen Blepharida-Larven isolierten wasserlöslichen Eiweißkörper bei Tieren stellen sich die Bewegungsstörungen ziemlich schnell ein. Futter wird nicht mehr aufgenommen. Tauben bekommen danach Erbrechen und, gleichwie auch Kaninchen, Durchfälle. Sie werden ruhig, hocken bewegungslos, die Lider, die sich eine Zeitlang fast unaufhörlich bewegten, nehmen schließlich an der Schwerbeweglichkeit bzw. Bewegungsunfähigkeit teil. Die Augen sind geschlossen. Die Tiere verfallen dann in einen schlafartigen Zustand und gehen nach oft erst vielen Stunden unter Atmungsstörungen zugrunde. Bei der Sektion werden Veränderungen in der Niere gefunden."

Eine Übersicht über die Giftpflanzen Südafrikas hat J. M. Watt gegeben. Als Medizinalpflanzen werden in Südafrika über 500 Arten verwendet und 150 gelten als gefährliche Giftpflanzen. Die meisten der bisher bekannten Giftpflanzen haben eine Wirkung nach Art des Digitalis. Hierzu gehören ja auch die alten Pfeilgiftpflanzen der Buschmänner Acokanthera venenata und spectabilis, welche von Moir, Lewis und Curson genauer untersucht wurden. Auffällig ist, daß das Gift eine außerordentlich chemische und physikalische Stabilität hat. Zur Vergiftung per os wird von den Eingeborenen öfter Buwela vulgaris verwendet.

Literatur: J. M. Watt, M. B., The Present Position of our Knowledge of South African medicinal and poisonous Plants. South African Journal of Science, Vol. XXV, 1928.

J. Moir, J. S. A., Chem. Inst. 1924, VII, 28.

J. Moir, and J. Lewis, J. S. A., Chem. Inst. 1925, VIII, 11.

H. H. Curson, Some Little-known South African Poisonous Plants and their Effects in Stock. Thesis for Diploma of F. R. C. V. S., 1926.

[2] v. François, Reiseber. Windhuk-Gobabis, M. a. d. dtsch. Schutzg. V, 1892.

von den Naron, sie hätten früher überhaupt keine Hunde gehabt, und auch von den ǂAuin meldet Kaufmann, daß sie sehr wenig Hunde hätten. Die Nogau hatten allerhand Köter, aber keine originelle Rasse. In diesem Zusammenhang seien zwei Tiergeschichten erzählt:

1. Ein großer Vogel hat einen Steinbock getötet. Da kam die Hyäne und nahm den Steinbock. Die Hyäne begegnete dem Schakal. Der Schakal sagte: „Hyäne, du sollst nicht dorthin gehen, wo du hingehen willst, es wird dir sonst übel ergehen!" Die Hyäne ging aber doch, da kam der große Vogel (!gui) und band der Hyäne die Füße zusammen und machte bei den Füßen ein Feuer. Seitdem hat die Hyäne schwarze Beine und wagt nicht etwas Lebendes zu töten. Aber auch der Schakal ging stehlen, da packte ihn der große Vogel und hielt ihn mit dem Rücken über das Feuer, seitdem hat er einen schwarzen Streifen über den Rücken.

2. Der Löwe kam zur Wasserstelle, da kam der Frosch aus dem Wasser und verhöhnte den Löwen. Dieser wollte ihn töten, kratzte ihn aber nur auf dem Rücken; der Frosch sprang schnell wieder ins Wasser, aber seitdem hat er schwarze Streifen auf dem Rücken.

10. KLEIDUNG UND SCHMUCK

Die Kleidung des Mannes besteht aus der Mütze, aus dem Fell des Schakals, des Springhasen oder des Duikers, dem Lendenschurz, Sandalen und der Felltasche. Im allgemeinen unterscheidet sich die Kleidung dieser Buschmänner nicht wesentlich von der des Nordens. Nur besitzen sie weit mehr Straußeneiperlen als jene.

11. WAFFEN

Die ǂAuin besitzen die Wurflanze, der Grabstock wird gelegentlich auch zum Schlagen und als Wurfkeule benützt. Die Lanzenspitzen werden vom Ngami-See eingehandelt. Der Schaft ist am oberen Ende mit einem Streifen von Antilopenhaut oder Sehnen umwickelt. Der Schaft verjüngt sich gegen das Ende zu. Die Lanzenspitzen werden in männliche und weibliche eingeteilt. Die männlichen haben stumpfe Widerhaken. Die Spitze wird öfter mit einer Lederkappe versehen. Die Lanzenspitzen dienen zugleich als Messer und Universalinstrument. Die Speerspitzen werden gut versteckt gehalten. Bei den Naron sind Speere heute sehr selten, sie werden aus Owamboland im Tausche gegen Straußeneiperlenketten erworben. Das gleiche gilt von den Nogau, die allerdings die Speerspitzen teils von den Owambos, zum Teil auch auf dem Umwege über die !Kung vom Okawango beziehen.

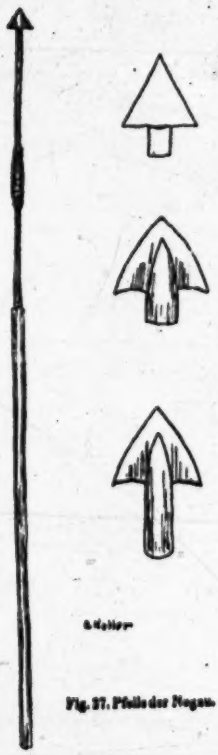


Fig. 27. Pfeile der Nogau.

Der Bogen der ǂAuin ist klein; die Sehne ist aus Tiersehnen gedreht und auf einer Seite aufgeschoben, auf der anderen befestigt. Die Pfeile werden aus Schilfrohr hergestellt. Am Grunde des Schaftes befindet sich eine flache Einkerbung, das Ende ist mit Gras umwunden. Ebenso finden wir am oberen Ende eine Einkerbung, wo die Spitze eingesteckt wird. Die Länge des Pfeilschaftes beträgt 48–52 cm. Die Spitzen sind entweder aus Eisen oder aus Bein, wozu Straußenknochen gebraucht werden. Die knöcherne Pfeilspitze geht in zwei Enden aus, deren eines in das Schaftrohr gesteckt wird, während das andere vergiftet ist. In anderen Fällen ist die kurze Pfeilspitze durch ein Verbindungsstück aus Gras mit einer Knochenspindel verbunden, die dann ihrerseits im Schaft fixiert wird, so daß der Pfeil dreiteilig ist. Die Pfeile werden entweder montiert im Köcher getragen, oder die Spitzen

werden in kleinen Behältern aus Rinde oder Horn aufbewahrt, die beiderseits durch Lederkappen verschlossen sind. Drei Bogen der Nogau hatten Längen von 89, 95 und 100 cm. Tiersehnen sind verwendet.

Der Kampfschild der †Auin ist eine Kriegsmütze aus dem Felle des Erdwolfs. Der Bogen der Naron ist aus dem Holze der Grevia gemacht und ca. ein Meter lang. Zur Bespannung werden nicht nur Sehnen, sondern auch Fasern aus dem Pflanzenreich verwendet. Die Pflanzenschnüre sind ein Surrogat, zu dessen Verwendung die Buschmänner heute durch den Wildmangel genötigt werden. Der Bogen selbst wird an seinen Enden durch Umwickelung mit Sehnen oder Leder verstärkt.

Fig. 28. Bogen der Nogau (½ n. Gr.).

Die Pfeilschäfte gleichen denen der †Auin, ebenso die Spitzen. Die Eisenspitzen sind nicht abnehmbar und werden männliche genannt. Das Metall wird aus dem Norden bezogen und auf kaltem Wege von den /Auin zubearbeitet. Die Naron selbst machen keine Eisenpfeilspitzen.

Während zu Kaufmanns Zeiten die /Auin noch keine Kirri hatten, besitzen die Naron heute solche, und zwar ist das untere Ende zugespitzt, damit man ihn auch als Grabstock verwenden kann. Die Nogau besitzen, wenn auch nicht häufig, Wurfkeulen, die denen der Damara und Herero entsprechen, jedoch roher gearbeitet sind.

Bleek erwähnt von den Naron auch die Harpunen mit langen, zusammengesetzten Schäften, die dazu dienen, Springhasen und dergleichen aus ihren Löchern herauszuholen. Dieses Werkzeug wird bei den Damara näher beschrieben werden.

Feuer machen die Nogau wie alle Buschmänner durch Reiben mit zwei Hölzern aneinander. Das weibliche Holz heißt Dane-di, das männliche Dane-/goa. Das Feuermachen selbst wird als Dalisi bezeichnet, eines der zahlreichen fremdartigen Worte, die wir bei den Nogau finden und die keine Klixe haben.

Buschmannbrunnen sind ebenfalls im Gebrauch und heißen //a-si.

Die Mädchen haben ein Spielzeug (gai-dum), das aus mehreren verschiedenartigen Hölzchen besteht, welches sie auf der Brust tragen. Sie klappern mit den Fingern darauf.

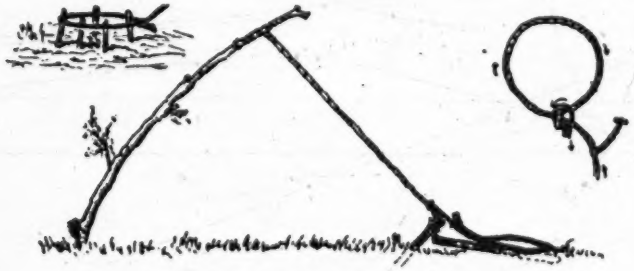


Fig. 29. Wildfalle. (Nach Gentz, Globus, Bd. 83, 1903.)

Der Löwe wird weder gegessen noch gejagt. Schakal und Leopard werden gegessen, vom letzteren auch die Leber. Paviane werden nicht gegessen, weil diese früher Buschmänner waren.

Die Strichtatauierung zwischen den Augenbrauen macht die Leute bei den Nogau zu Leoparden. Die Naron beschmieren sich mit roter und schwarzer Farbe. Die anderen Einritzungen und Tatauierungen werden bloß zu Verschönerungszwecken gemacht.

Bei den Naron werden die Tausendfüßer als Geschöpfe des Hise angesehen, und nur Doktoren dürfen sie anrühren und machen Medizin daraus. Bei den Nogau und †Auin gibt es Zauberknochen, die zur Vorhersagung der Zukunft dienen. Auch die Naron glauben, daß die Felsgravierungen von //gauwa stammen.

Bei den Auin ist es verboten, Hyänenfleisch zu essen und ebenso das Fleisch des Schabrakenschakals, weil dieser ein Hund ist.

Nachzutragen sind die folgenden wichtigen Angaben von Gents[1]:

„Ich habe wiederholt auch Buschmannpelle gefunden, an denen die sonst aus Knochen (meist Straußenknochen) gefertigte Spitze aus Holz bestand. Die Konstruktion der in Fig. 29 wiedergegebenen Wildschlinge ist folgende: Eine etwa 4–5 mm starke Schnur, die an einem Ende in eine einfache Schlinge ausläuft, wird mit dem anderen Ende an einem stark abwärtsgebogenen elastischen jungen Baum oder Zweig befestigt. An dem mit der Schlinge versehenen Ende der Schnur ist eine kleine dünnere Schnur mit einem Querhölzchen angebracht. Die Schnur wird um einen schräg in die Erde getriebenen kleinen Pflock gelegt und durch ein gegen das freie Ende des Querhölzchens gestemmtes, flaches, unter dem Boden eingegrabenes Holz, über welches die Schlinge kreisrund auf den Boden gelegt wird, am Abgleiten verhindert. Das Wild, das seiner gewohnten Bahn zur Wasser- oder Brak-(Sals)-Stelle folgt und durch abgeschlagene und zu beiden Seiten der ausgetretenen Bahn gelegte Dornzweige am Abbiegen von der Spur verhindert wird, tritt auf das dicht unter dem Boden liegende Stäbchen, das dadurch aus seiner Lage kommt und das Ende des kleinen Querhölzchens fahren läßt. Die Schnur, die nun ihren Halt verloren hat, läßt den umgebogenen Baum frei, der zurückschnellend die an dem Bein des Wildes seinen Halt findende Schlinge zuzieht und das Tier gefangen hält, bis der Buschmann es mit einer Anzahl Schläge seines aus hartem Holz geschnitzten Kirri auf grausame Weise vom Leben zum Tode fördert. Für die verschiedenen Hühnervögel, Tauben usw. fertigt der Buschmann ähnliche Schlingen aus dünnerer Schnur an, die ebenso aufgestellt werden, mit dem Unterschiede, daß hier die Schlinge nicht auf den Boden gelegt wird, sondern durch kleine, in einem Kreise in den Boden gesteckte Stäbchen etwa 2–3 cm über dem Boden gehalten wird. In die Mitte des Kreises, auf das lose mit Sand bedeckte Stäbchen, werden einige Maiskörner oder Beeren gelegt. Sobald der betreffende Vogel diese aufpickt, bringt er das Stäbchen aus seiner Lage und sitzt mit dem Hals in der Schlinge. — An Hausgeräten fand ich bei den Kalahari-Buschleuten außer den zum Wassertransport dienenden hohlen Straußeneiern noch aus dem inneren Bauchfell eines Tieres hergestellte, einer Schweinsblase nicht unähnliche Wasserräche, die an der Öffnung durch einen Holzknebel und Lederschnur verschlossen werden. Die Straußeneier dienen den Buschleuten auch zur Anlage künstlicher Wasserstellen in den Durststrecken der wasserarmen Steppengegenden, indem eine Anzahl derselben unter dem Sande verborgen wird.

An Hausgerät fand ich bei den Buschleuten noch flache, hölzerne Schüsseln, hölzerne Mörser und irdene Töpfe verschiedener Größe. Die Holzschüsseln, die in der Form vollständig verschieden sind von denen der Hereros, handeln sie nach ihrer eigenen Angabe von ihren nördlichen Nachbarn ein. Die irdenen Töpfe sind jedenfalls auch nicht von den Buschleuten selbst angefertigt. Sie erinnern in der Form etwas an die hölzernen Omeiratöpfe der Hereros und werden, wie mir ein Hererobastard erklärte und vormachte, folgendermaßen fabriziert. Ein Klumpen weichen und durchgekneteten Tons wird über das nackte, angefeuchtete Knie gestrichen, so daß er zunächst dessen Form annimmt. Dabei muß, um die richtige Form zu geben, der Unterschenkel dicht an den Oberschenkel gepreßt werden. Dann wird die Tonmasse vorsichtig abgestreift und die Form des Gefäßes durch Kneten mit den Fingern verbessert und vervollständigt. Schließlich werden mit einem Holzstäbchen einfache Verzierungen hineingeritzt. Eine Drehscheibe kennen die Hereros nicht, bei denen diese selbstgefertigten Tontöpfe außerdem schon meist durch eingeführte europäische Eisentöpfe verdrängt sind."

[1] Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften. Globus, Bd. 83. 1903.

3: Lebzelter

FX10 Bushmen

1. Vormarsch im Sandfeld

2. Lager bei Shandi im Otjimpolofeld

3. Auf der hohen Düne an der Etoshapfanne

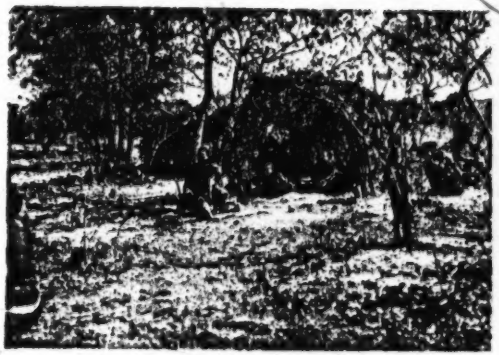
4. Unter dem Affenbrotbaum von Uukualuthi

TAFEL I. Lagerplätze der Expedition in Südwest.

[End plate I]

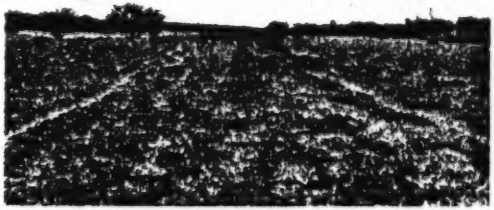
3: Lebzelter

FX10 Bushmen



1. ! Kunghütten im Buschfeld

2. Sommerlandschaft im ! Kungfeld



3. Der Omuramba u Omatako südlich Otjituo

4. Winterlandschaft im Sandfeld

TAFEL II. Landschaftsbilder aus dem ! Kungfeld.

[End plate II]

Lager der ! Kung am oberen Omuramba u Ovambo

Der Verfasser verhandelt mit ! Kungbuschleuten im Otjimpolofeld.

TAFEL III. ! Kung

[End plate III]

3: Lebzelter

FX10 Bushmen

[End plate IV]

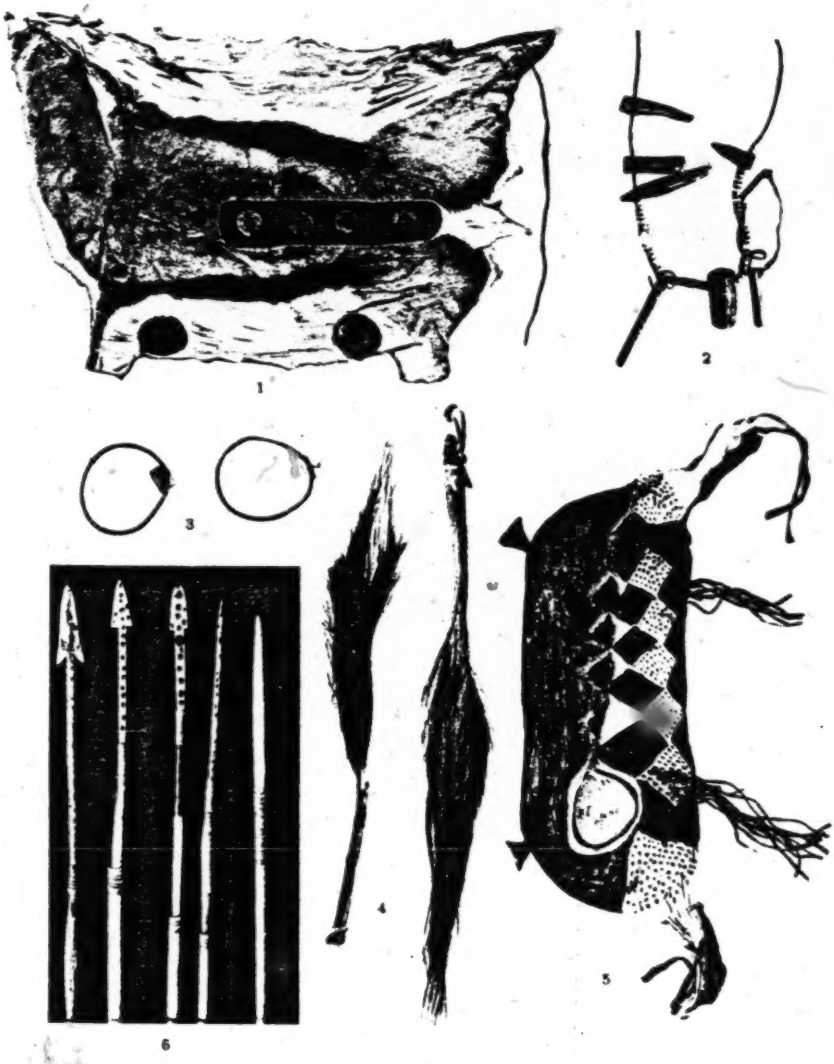
TAFEL IV. Windschirme und Hütten der ! Kung

3: Lebzelter

FX10 Bushmen

TAFEL V. ! Kungbuschleute vom oberen Omuramba u Ovambo.

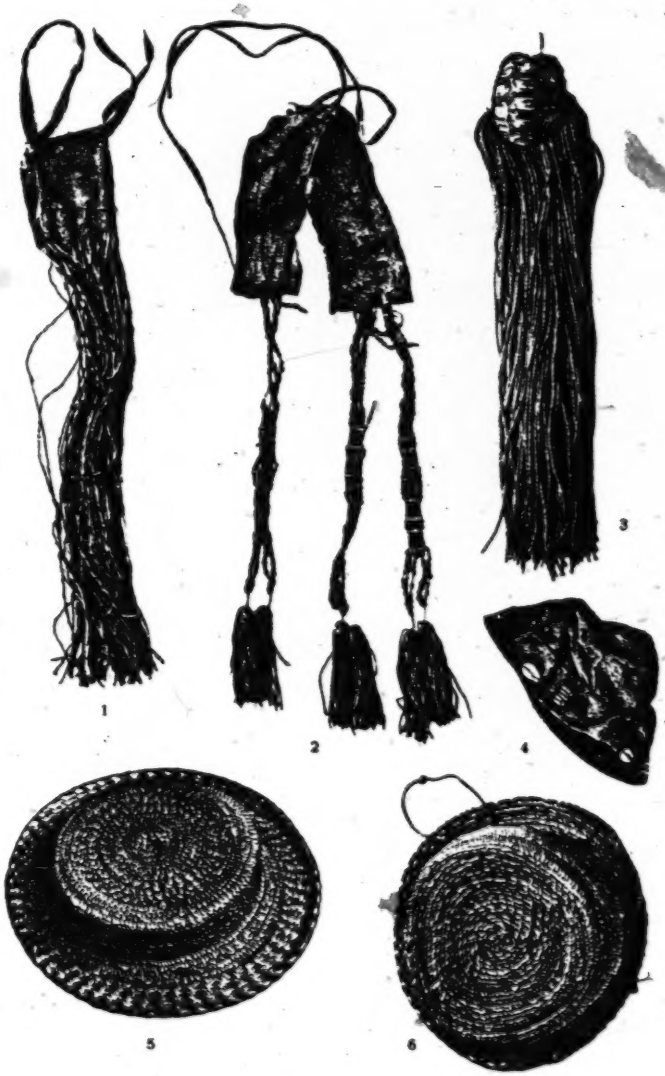
[End plate V]



TAFEL VI

1. Hinterschurz (Betschuanen), 2. Halsband (Buschmänner), 3. Grasarmbänder, 4. Fliegenwedel (!Kung), 5. Fellsack (Kaunashottentotten), (Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin).
6. Buschmann-Pfeile, (Kapprovinz?) (Lindenmuseum Stuttgart)

[End plate VI]



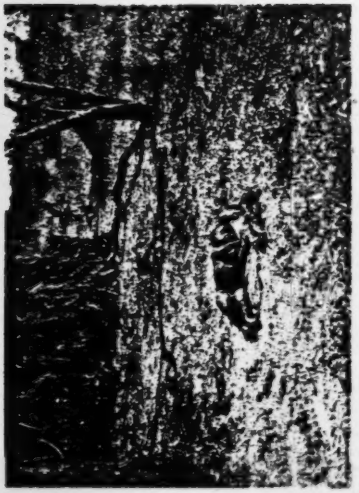
TAFEL VII.

1. Schürze für kleine Mädchen (Nama und Hei ‖om)
2. Frauenschurz (Gegend von Gobabis)
3. Parfümdose (Herero)
4—6 Buschmannmützen und Strohhüte der Buschmänner (!Kung)
(1—4, 6, Völkerkundemuseum Berlin, 5. Lindenmuseum Stuttgart).

[End plate VII]

3: Lebzelter

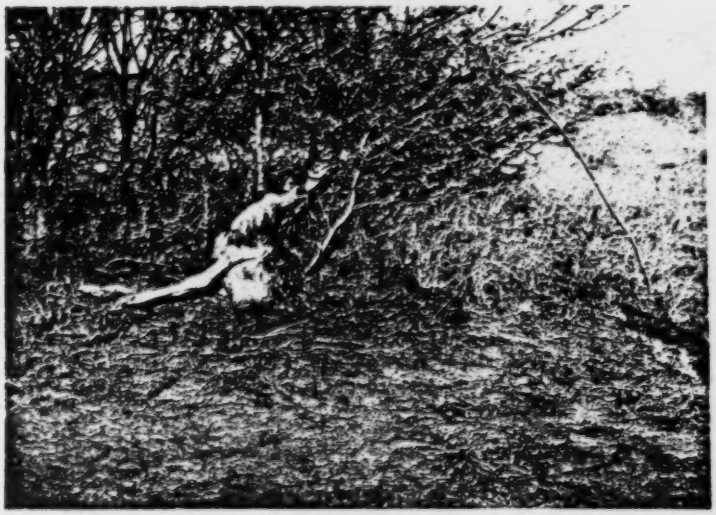
FX10 Bushmen



TAFEL VIII Kindertypen der ! Kung-Buschleute

[End plate VIII]

1. ! Kung. Beim Fallen stellen



2. Strauss in der Falle (! Kung; Sandfeld)

TAFEL IX.

[End plate IX]

3: Lebzelter FX10 Bushmen

TAFEL X. Typen der ! Kung aus dem Otjimpolofeld

[End plate X.]

4: Werner D-5 (ca.1900) 1906 FX10 Bushmen FX10

000 Anthropological, Ethnological, and Ethnographic Observations concerning the Heikum and Kung Bushmen, with an Appendix on the Languages of these Bushmen Tribes

[Anthropologische, ethnologische und ethnographische Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute, nebst einem Anhang über die Sprachen dieser Buschmannstämme]

H. Werner

Berlin: 1906
Zeitschrift für Ethnologie
Vol. 38, pp. 241-268

Translated from the German by Richard Neuse

Human Relations Area Files
1961

[Title page]

/241/

000 Anthropological, Ethnological, and Ethnographic Observations concerning the Heikum and Kung Bushmen (1), with an apdix on the languages of these Bushman Tribes (2).

1. Presented at the session of November 18, 1905 /of the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte/.

121 2. The linguistic notes on the language of the Heikum Bushmen were gathered on the Omuramba Omatako, while the linguistic notes concerning the Kung Bushmen were taken down in a Kung settlement on the northern edge of the Kaukau Veld, approximately 15 kilometers west of Dobe.

A stay of several months in the vicinity of a Bushman settlement near Otjomavare, a watering place on the Omuramba ua omatako, about 50 kilometers south of Grootfontein and 120 kilometers northeast of Waterberg, gave me the opportunity to make a series of observations on the Bushmen, which, I believe, in part presents new information and in part complements and confirms what is already known. My first concern was to determine the size of the Bushmen, who are traditionally known as abnormally small, by obtaining absolute measurements. A closer acquaintance with this interesting people then led me to make further investigations that will be of interest to the ethnologist and the ethnographer.

I had to manufacture in part the instruments needed for making the anthropological measurements, but I hope that this circumstance has not diminished the accuracy of the results.

101 The Bushmen concerned call themselves "Heikum" people, a
[194] name in which the 'k' is to be replaced by the click indicated in
124 the Nama language by //. Thirty-one adults and eight children were measured.

Of the adults 14 are men and 17 women.

128 I shall first present the average values of the absolute measurements, and then a number of proportional figures and indices.

/241 cont./

128 Tables giving all the /242/ measurements for each individual, are attached, as are forms for the observations concerning the descriptive characteristics of the individuals measured.

141 The average values for the adults measured are as follows:

	Men	Women
1. Body height	155.3	149.7
2. Height of the chin above the ground	135.7	130.6

[142] [291] [301] [342] [516]

Fig. 1. Heikum Bushmen. Men.

3. Height of the navel above the ground	93.2	90.4
4. Height of the upper edge of the symphysis above the ground	82.2	79.6
[Fig. 1 appears here.]		
5. Height of the acromion above the ground	130.5	124.9
6. Height of the elbow joint above the ground	99.9	96.5
7. Height of the projection of the radius above the ground	76.0	73.4

/242 cont./	Men	Women
141 8. Height of the tip of the Middle finger above the ground	59.0	56.8
9. Height of the ridge of the ilium above the ground	95.9	93.2
10. Height of the spine of the ilium above the ground	90.1	86.7
11. Height of the knee joint above the ground	43.3	41.2
12. Height of the inner ankle point above the ground	6.4	5.5
13. Height above the ground of the spinal process of the seventh neck vertebra	136.2	129.6
14. Width of the shoulders (acromion distance)	31.1	30.0
15. Distance between the two spines of the ilium	18.4	17.7
/243/		
16. Width between the two ridges of the ilium	21.9	20.9
17. Width between the trochanters	25.5	25.4
18. Circumference of the thorax at the level of the arm pits	76.1	69.3
19. Circumference of the waist	75.7	72.9
20. Circumference of the upper thigh	41.6	40.5
21. Circumference of the calf	28.6	26.5
22. Height of the crown of the head above the seat	77.0	75.6
23. Length of the skull	17.9	17.8
24. Width of the skull	13.6	13.1
[Fig. 2 appears here.]		
25. Diameter of the skull from the crown to the protuberance of the back of the head	16.3	15.7
26. Width between the projection of the two cheek bones	12.2	12.1
27. Width between the outer corners of the eyes	8.5	8.5

4: Werner--4 D-5 (ca. 1900) 1906 FX10 Bushmen FX10 Heikum

/243 cont./

	Men	Women
28. Width between the inner corners of the eyes	3.6	3.5
29. Width of the mouth	4.7	4.5
30. Width between the two jaw angles	9.5	8.8
31. Distance from the chin to the root of the nose	9.8	9.6

[291] [342]

Fig. 2. Heikum Bushmen. Women.

32. Distance from the chin to the hairline	16.6	15.9
33. Length of the nose	4.0	3.9
34. Width of the nose	4.1	3.8
/244/		
35. Distance from the chin to the tragus	13.3	12.3
36. Distance from the root of the nose to the tragus	11.7	11.3
37. Length of the thumb	5.1	5.1
38. Length of the middle finger	8.4	8.2
39. Width of the hand where the fingers join	6.8	6.5
40. Length of the foot	22.6	21.5

4: Werner--5 D-5 (ca. 1900) 1906 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Heikum

/244 cont./

141

	Men	Women
41. Width of the foot	8.4	7.7
42. Longitudinal curvature of the head	36.2	35.5
43. Horizontal circumference of the head	53.8	51.9
44. Vertical circumference of the head	28.9	28.3
45. Arm span	158.6	151.0

Proportional figures. Body length = 100.

I. Height of the navel above the ground	60.01	60.5
II. Height of the symphysis above the ground	52.9	53.1
III. Height of the crown of the head above the seat	49.54	50.5
IV. Height of the anterior superior ilium spine above the ground	58.02	57.92
V. Half the arm span	51.06	50.43
VI. Acromial width	20.03	20.04
VII. Width of the hip	16.42	16.91
VIII. Length of the arm	46.04	45.49
IX. Length of the upper arm	19.64	18.97
X. Length of the lower arm	15.45	15.45
XI. Length of the hand	10.95	11.09
XII. Length of the leg	55.12	54.91
XIII. Length of the upper leg	27.24	27.39
XIV. Length of the lower leg	23.76	23.85
XV. Height of the foot	4.12	3.67
XVI. Length of the foot	14.55	14.36
XVII. Circumference of the chest	49.0	46.3
XVIII. Circumference of the waist	48.68	48.69

/244 cont./

Indices

		Men	Women
141	I. Skull index	76.3	73.5
	II. Average index of the skulls of all adults measured	74.77	
	III. Physiognomic face index	76.44	76.1
	IV. Physiognomic nose index	102.5	97.44

147 [146] The state of nutrition of those examined may in general be called inadequate, and the amount of fat slight. Even among younger individuals the skin is strikingly slack and can be grasped in wide folds. One has the impression that there is a connection between this slackness of the skin and the extreme fluctuation in the saturation of the tissues, which is the rule since the Bushmen experience frequent and long-lasting thirsts. The men assured me that they could march without water for four days in great heat, a statement which surely deserves to be credited.

142 The skin color of all those examined, with the exception of two in whose case racial mixture is a possibility, is a brown of medium tone shading over into yellow.

The palms of the hand and soles of the feet are a lighter color, but do not show such a striking contrast with the back of the hand as is the case among the Bantu /245/ Negroes. The skin of the chest and abdomen has a slightly darker coloration than that of the face. Scars are very common, especially on the chest and abdomen, and [513] usually stem from burns to which the Bushmen readily expose themselves by sitting and sleeping near the open fire. These scars have a lighter tinge than the surrounding skin and look almost pure yellow.

The iris of all those examined is deep brown in color.

Compared with Europeans, the hair growth of the Bushmen is very modest. It is confined almost entirely to the skull; beards are found only on a few men and even then they are sparse. Hair elsewhere on the body, including the arm pits and pubic hair, is practically nonexistent.

The color of the hair on the head is a deep black. The individual hairs grow to a length of about four centimeters for men and about six centimeters for women. The hair is fine and curled in a spiral. The curvature radius of the spiral amounts to about two

/245 cont./

142 millimeters. Two or three hairs form a tight unit. A number of such units are clustered into a tuft that forms an almost impenetrable tangle of hair. The yellowish-brown skin of the head is visible between the tufts, so that the surface of the skull gives the impression of an area with black spots. Extensive variations are
302 to be found in the manner of dressing the hair, but all Bushmen from time to time have their head hair cut. The women commonly leave an edge of longer hair uncut and let it fall horizontally toward the back from the hairline on the forehead. Frequently also an oval area is shaved on the skull or on the edge of the forehead down to the ears.

145 I did not observe any loss of hair, even among old persons, but I did notice graying, not, however, to the same extent as among Europeans.

304 Tattooing is very popular among the Heikum Bushmen.

I found three types of tattooing:

1. An ornamental tattoo. This consists of parallel longitudinal incisions about one centimeter in length and arranged in rows. These rows of incisions are to be found predominantly on the face, on cheeks, temples, and foreheads, and especially among women they frequently radiate towards the middle of the face which, however, is left clear. The ornamental tattoo is also to be found on other parts of the body at any number of places, such as the chest, the abdomen, the upper arm, and the upper thigh. The incisions are quite superficial and give the appearance of fine black lines. The bluish-black coloration of the scars is achieved by rubbing charcoal into the freshly-made incisions.

2. Deeper incisions, which correspondingly leave heavier scars, form the forehead tattoo which is common to all Heikum Bushmen with no age or sex distinctions. The tattoo consists of several parallel vertical incisions about two centimeters in length between the eyebrows. As a result of this tattoo there is a number, usually five, of deep and closely adjoining folds between the eyebrows, giving even younger individuals an older appearance. In the case of older persons the base of the scars /246/ is raised by the formation of keloids, so that the region between the eyebrows has the appearance of a cock's comb.

/246 cont./

304 3. The third and most curious is a manner of tattooing which I should like to designate as the antelope tattoo, a kind of inoculation that I have seen in no other native African tribe. This type of tattoo is used only by males and consists of the following: [827] Through parallel incisions little pieces of antelope flesh, especially gemsbok flesh, are placed under the skin of male children, with the idea that the child thus inoculated will have the speed of the antelopes in running. The incisions are most commonly made on the buttocks, but they are also to be found on the chest, abdomen, and back.

757 One also commonly finds scars all over the body from bloodletting incisions "to draw off" illnesses.

Viewed from above, the head shows no peculiarities, although 142 dolichocephaly does not seem to me to be as marked among the Bushmen as it is among the Bantu Negroes. The protuberance at the back of the head is so little developed that it can scarcely be felt on most individuals.

The profile view of the face permits one to recognize a clear alveolar prognathy. In the case of most individuals the upper lip in the profile view extends beyond the tip of the nose. The edge of hair around the fairly straight forehead runs in an even curve from one ear to the other.

The bones of the eyebrow arches protrude sharply, while the forehead bulge is only slightly developed.

The cheekbones with the widely-projecting zygomatic arches form prominences jutting out sharply in the temporal and cheek region.

Most Bushmen show a striking prominence of the parotid gland 142 region, which in the case of some individuals swells out so that it 147 is actually hemispherical. I was unable to determine whether the swelling is caused more by hypertrophy of the parotid gland or by a particularly strong development of the chewing musculature. This swelling of the parotid gland region is, I believe, not a racial peculiarity of the Bushmen, but rather a consequence of their way of life which necessitates a root diet requiring very heavy use of the chewing apparatus. At any rate, I observed the same peculiarity among the Herero, who for a long time were dependent upon veld food.

/246 cont./

142 The Herero, like the Bushmen, give the use of veld food,
147 especially the onion known as unki, as the cause of this peculiarity.
171 The attached photographs illustrate the swelling in the case of a Bushman (Fig. 3) and a Herero (Fig. 4).

The nose is sharply set off from the forehead and strikingly
142 small. The bridge of the nose is so flat that in some cases one can scarcely speak of a bridge of the nose; the area between the cheekbones is an almost level surface. The tip /247/ of the nose is small and pointed slightly upward. The largest diameter of the nostrils runs diagonally. The lips are narrow in comparison with those of most Negroes; their color is almost exactly that of the surrounding skin of the face.

The teeth of the majority of individuals are in pretty good condition; among the 39 persons I examined, I found only 28 carious teeth. In comparison with a European, the extreme wear of the teeth is striking; it progresses with age and is so marked in old people that the teeth are worn down to the roots, again a consequence of the way of life dependent upon a root diet. The incisors very slightly point forward.

The Heikum do not have artificial deformities of the teeth.
304 Several of those examined displayed the well-known Herero
648 deformity (filing down the inner sides of the two central upper incisors and removal of the four lower incisors) [Figs. 3 and 4 appear here], which is explained by the fact that these Bushmen had been Herero slaves in their childhood and were marked in the Herero manner by their former masters.

The ear is of normal size; its outline is rounded, not bent at an
142 angle. The ear lobe is always joined to the head.

In spite of general gauntness, the marked development of the abdomen in most cases is striking, even among the adults.

The female breast is conical in the case of individuals who have not borne children; the region around the nipple is usually separated by a gentle furrow from the rest of the breast. The color of the nipple area is deep brown. The nipple is raised.

[304] Circumcision is not practiced by either men or women. Among the Heikum and Kung women I did not find the abnormally pronounced development of the buttocks, known as steatopygia, which
[144] is so common among Hottentot women. To my mind this is

/247 cont./

144 conclusive evidence /248/ against any notion of racial kinship between the Bushmen and the Hottentot.

The arms are thin and not very muscular; the hands are small
142 and very delicate. In contrast to the musculature of the arms, that of the legs is better developed. The arch of the foot is good; only in one case did I observe flat feet.

The big toe is pointed straight and shows neither a deviation

[291]
[301]
[516]

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

toward the median line of the foot nor one away from it.

In most cases the second toe extends farthest, but in two cases it was exceeded by the first toe. The second and first or second and third toe of some of the others examined extended the same distance. The following table gives more exact information on this matter:

/248 cont./

142

	Number of persons examined	Second toe extending farthest	First toe extending farthest	First and second toe extending farthest	Second and third toe extending farthest
Men	14	9	1	4	0
Women	17	11	0	3	3
Children	8	7	1	0	0
Total	39	27	2	7	3

I was also able to gather some data concerning physiological
151 conditions. By means of Snellen charts, I discovered very keen sight for all the persons examined. Threefold visual keenness was attained by all those examined, and some had even higher degrees, up to sixfold.

The ticking of a watch could be heard at a distance of three meters by most of those examined.

I have frequently observed yawning among Bushmen.

The gait of the Bushmen has something very characteristic
48/ about it; in walking, they raise the knees surprisingly high, a custom that is explained by the nature of the country. Because of the low and commonly thorny shrubs through which they travel with uncovered legs, they are forced to raise their legs quite high in walking, and they maintain this gait even when they are moving across ground that has no growth on it. In addition, the achievements of these small inhabitants of the bush on the march and in running are quite enormous.

Bushmen who had been sent out on patrols by the station
[147] covered a distance of 130 kilometers in less than 48 hours without displaying visible signs of fatigue. They followed the cavalry troop, which frequently broke into a trot, happily and without difficulty oh foot, trotting themselves whenever the troop accelerated its pace.

/249/ Extreme astonishment is expressed by opening the mouth
201 and eyes wide. I was able to observe this myself when I played a phonograph before the unsuspecting Bushmen. When the performance was over, the audience asked me whether the people who were in the apparatus and sang there also slept in it and received their food through the horn.

/249 cont./

To indicate affirmation the head is thrown back and the
201 eyebrows are raised.

Otherwise, the physiognomic changes of expression are essentially like those of Europeans. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Bushman's facial mobility is considerably greater than that of a European, and even quite weak emotions are expressed by lively gestures.

If I may be permitted, I should like to emphasize here a
194 peculiarity of voice among the Bushmen; among the women especially the voice seems to me abnormally high-pitched. In my opinion the speech of a Heikum woman is pitched several notes higher, on the average, than that of a Herero woman. Evidently this peculiarity is connected with the smallness of the larynx of the Heikum people.

The anthropometric figures presented above are doubtless much
141 smaller than comparable ones for the Herero, Nama, and
144 Bergdamara [Bergdama] living in the immediate vicinity of the Bushmen. Nonetheless, as regards smallness, the Heikum certainly do not approach the Pygmies of Central Africa. Whether further ethnological and ethnographic investigations will uncover kindred traits among these peoples remains to be shown by further research.
144 That the Bushmen represent an almost pure race is apparent from the fact that the skin color is the same for almost all individuals, and from the evident uniformity in the structure of the body, especially of the face. In addition, the other native tribes of Southwest Africa show a pronounced aversion to racial mixture with the despised Bushmen.

I come now to some ethnological and ethnographic observa-
535 tions which to me seem worthy of interest. I was especially
[171] interested in the dances of the Heikum, of which one, the //o //au, shows no similarity to any other native dance with which I have become acquainted in Southwest and East Africa.

The //o //au dance (in Kung language: //ooskê) is a men's dance in which a series of dueling runs by the performing dancers are represented (Figs. 5 and 6). Six men, three to a side in opposing pairs, kneel in an area about three meters square, with a free space between the two rows. In the middle of this free area there is a pile of veld food. The men kneel down, hunched very

/249 cont./

535 low, and at the same time sit on their heels. Two at a time fight out a "run," while the two other pairs are resting and watching. A run lasts for about two minutes; they change opponents in the runs in a certain order, so that each man gets to duel with each of the others.

/250/ A run goes as follows: in their hunched-over position the opponents look each other sharply in the eye as they bend far over as though looking for cover, and they do not take their eyes off each other even during the most violent movements of the arms. With the flat of their hands, the opponents now beat rhythmically and violently on the ground that has been loosened up in front of the players, a powerful blow being followed by a weaker one. At each blow the opponents utter a brief H'hm Hhe testifying to a high degree of physical and psychic tension. [Figs. 5 and 6 appear here.] The H'hm is the louder sound and is also accompanied by the stronger impact of the hands. At the same time motions of covering against the blow or thrust of the opponent are carried out. The face has an angry and at the same time wary expression, while the entire body is tensed to the utmost. After about two minutes have elapsed, one of the fighters makes a motion raising one arm and sinking down backwards, as though he had been struck or killed, while the opponent makes a gesture of triumph over the vanquished enemy.

/251/ The fighters are frequently covered with dirt, by the hands striking the loosened soil, but this does not disturb them in the tense observation of the opponent.

The point of the game is that supposedly one of the fighters has unjustly appropriated food which the other tries to take away from him in the duel. Even old men feeble with age play with great passion and exert all their strength. From time to time the women give water to the exhausted opponents to fortify them.

To be sure, the entire procedure reminds one of dogs or monkeys, furiously facing each other and growling, who are crouched to spring at each other and at the same time hop around in one spot on their front legs. Nonetheless, there is something attractive about it, in spite of the animal gestures and sounds, by virtue of its vivacity and of the emotions expressed by the faces.

533 Whereas the //o //au has no musical accompaniment, the
[535] other dances of the Heikum people are accompanied by a women's
Song.

/251 cont./

533 song. The melodies that I had an opportunity to observe were simple tone sequences which I vainly tried to arrange into a definite major or minor key such as is familiar to us. According to European concepts, the intervals are not pure. A common tonal sequence was the following, but in giving it I must

[535]

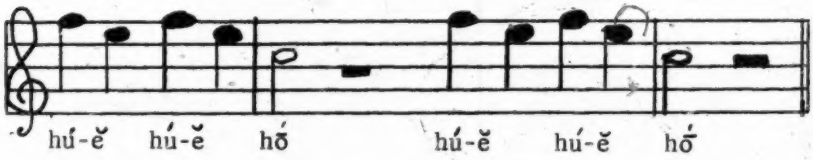
Fig. 5.

[535]

Fig. 6.

once more definitely stress that the intervals do not correspond precisely to those of our major key.

[539]

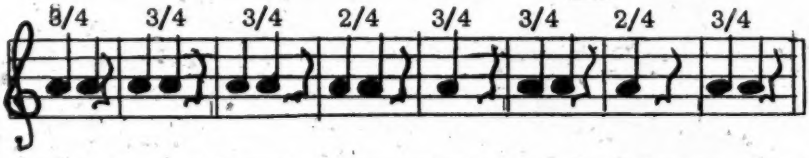


/251 cont./

533 Between the syllables hu and e a slight tremulo occurs, so that the entire song is reminiscent of yodeling. Instead of the sequence f-e-f-e-c, other tonal sequences were frequently sung, for instance, g-f-g-f-c or g-e-g-e-c. Even more complicated tonal sequences, reminiscent of our seventh chords, were not uncommon.

Singing is always accompanied by handclapping. The rhythm of the clapping is very curious; at any rate, it does not correspond to the feeling for musical rhythm that is familiar to Europeans. Two rhythms in particular have stayed in my memory, and I shall try to characterize them. The reader should think of a rhythm which, at least to my knowledge, does not exist in Aryan music, namely a 5/5 beat. Of the five fifths of this beat, they clap on the first, second, and fourth, while there are pauses on the third and fifth. The beat, in other words, would look as follows, if I designate the clapping sounds with ♩ and the pauses with 𝄽 :

Another clapping rhythm is the following, in which the three-quarter beat alternates with the two-quarter: /252/



535 Such a dance with musical accompaniment is the following, which I should like to designate as the pumpkin dance and which is reminiscent of a ball game frequently played by children in Germany. A number of women march at a rapid pace in goose step on a circular line, at the same time clapping rhythmically with their hands and singing. Among the Heikum the clapping is done [171] with the fingers spread apart, in contrast to the Herero, who clap with their fingers together. At the same time, a pumpkin [melon?] approximately the size of a child's head is thrown from one of the dancers to the other, and always backwards from the person in front to the person just behind her.

/252 cont./

535 The men standing around now attempt to catch the pumpkin as it flies through the air, and the women simulate great indignation when one of the men succeeds in doing so. This man then cuts up the pumpkin with a knife so that a new ball is required in order to continue the game.

Another dance, in which principally men participate, could be designated as the bird dance. The men dance in a circle, while the women stand around the circle, clap their hands, and [534] sing. The men wear dance bangles around their ankles, which are circlets of dried bean pods whose kernels rattle at every step and in this way strongly accentuate the dance rhythm. The steps of the dance are short, scarcely half a foot long, so that the progress of the dancers in the circle is quite slow. The vigor of the stepping or stamping on the ground alternates rhythmically. At the same time a number of symbolic gestures is performed. The most respected of the dancers has tied to his forehead a large eagle's beak decorated with glass and iron beads; he frequently makes a motion of hacking with the beak, and then, by slowly raising his arms, suggests the eagle's calm gliding in the air. Another dancer carries a bird's nest in his hand during the entire dance. At a certain stage, the dancers go through the motion of picking up fruit from the ground by bending down and making scooping motions in the air just above the ground. Shortly thereafter, some men dance towards the women and perform gestures as though they wanted to seize one of the women surrounding them.

535 Suddenly one of the dancers seems about to faint. A spectator
786 whom I questioned concerning the significance of this action told me that the Mukuru (Herero term for God) was in him. Other dancers, maintaining their dance step all the while, stand around the possessed person, try to help him, and cool him with fanning until he suddenly collapses with a piercing shriek. The bystanders catch him and carry him off to one side while the others go on dancing. The "doctor" now concerns himself with the unconscious [755] person; he blows twice in each ear and once on his forehead. Visibly, consciousness now returns and soon the one possessed is able to rise and dance again.

533 /253/ The musical accompaniment is supplied solely by the women; however, the dancing men are not entirely silent. Every

/253 cont./

533 once in a while, one of the dancers emits a loud yell, usually in a high falsetto, and sometimes a trill which likewise is pitched as high as possible, depending entirely on the individual's emotional state.

The clapping at a dance is audible over a great distance. One evening when I approached the station, I could hear the clapping of the dancing women at a distance of three kilometers.

The dances I have described seem to be widely distributed
535 among the Bushmen. At any rate, I found all three of them with
184 only slight variations among the Kung people residing in the Kaukau Veld.

Concerning the diet of the Heikum Bushmen I was able to dis-
262 cover the following. I should add my regret at this point that I lacked the necessary background for giving the botanical names of the veld crops.

The diet is predominantly vegetable; however, the Bushman is by no means a despiser of flesh. On the contrary, whenever he can have animal food, he will utilize it for his kitchen. In so doing, he is so unselective that one could say he eats everything he can lay his hands on. I have even seen Bushmen consume hyena flesh with great pleasure. The flesh is obtained partly by
224 hunting with bow and arrow, and partly with game traps. I shall discuss the hunting weapons later; here I only want to mention a game snare which I had the opportunity to observe in the Kaukau Veld. A snare twisted from plant bast had been placed on a game trail, drawn upwards by means of a flexible stalk stuck into the ground, and fastened to the ground by means of wooden hooks. When the game touches the snare, releasing it from the hooks, the flexible stalk pulls the snare up and shut. Game is also caught in traps. I was shown an iron hook fastened to a bamboo stick about five meters long, which was used to pull out game that had fallen into the pits.

The animals of the Bushman's hunting domain include all kinds of antelopes, from the giant eland to the tiny duiker, giraffes, hogs, hares, and, in the way of birds, predominantly guinea fowl.

The Bushman, however, finds objects to enrich his cuisine even among lower animals. In the realm of the amphibians he prefers

/253 cont./

224 the large bullfrog, whose bass voice resounds in all the puddles during the rainy season. The flesh of the frog is boiled with the
252 skin and bones, pounded to a paste in wooden vessels, and then eaten. Among the insects, grasshoppers and termites are used for
222 food. Both are roasted. In the brief time that they are winged, the termites are lured in such great numbers to a fire maintained for the purpose of catching them that it is an easy matter for the Bushman to collect a rich booty in a few hours. A special delicacy in the Bushman household is wild honey, which, as I was able to ascertain, is extremely tasty /254/ and is to be found in quantity on the Omuramba omatako as well as in the Kaukau Veld.

825 The bullfrog is called ntchei by the Bushmen (Herero: otjisume), the termite, /ui (Herero: othohumboli).

The vegetable diet naturally changes with the seasons and is
262 quite varied. I shall attempt to give a brief survey, though at
824 the same time I am aware that it can lay no claim to completeness.

1. The chamá or taba (Herero: omatanga). These are the roasted kernels of the Kaffir pumpkin [melon?], widely known here, which produce quite a tasty dish.

2. The //ǔni (Herero: omarunga); this is the Heikum Bushman name for the palm tree that is common in this region. The edible parts of the tree are the apple-sized fruit, whose skin has a sweetish taste reminiscent of St. John's bread, and the soft interior of the trunk. The latter is a whitish, soft, fibrous pulp, which the Bush-
[252] men prepare by cooking and pounding.

3. A species of white mushroom called naú by the Bushmen, majova by the Herero. The mushroom grows during the rainy season especially along the edges of termite hills; the diameter of its cap reaches about 20 centimeters. It is eaten raw as well as
[252] boiled. I do not know whether it is true that excessive eating of this mushroom has a detrimental effect on mental activity, as the Herero aver – ejova, plural majova, is the Herero word for stupid.

4. The unki, a well-known species of onion, about the size of a hazel nut, called //au by the Bushmen, is very common and forms an important part of the kitchen provisions, not only among the Bushmen, but also among the Herero.

[252] 5. The //guitcha of the Bushmen, ussessenga of the Herero,

/254 cont./

262 824 [252] is a tuberous fruit, eaten roasted, whose taste is reminiscent of potatoes.

6. A similar tuberous fruit is the ondubi of the Herero; the plant has rose-colored blossoms and long lanceolate leaves.

7. The árugu (Herero: omakungu), a type of cucumber. The plant is a climber whose fruits resemble our cucumbers; they reach the length of a finger and, when they ripen, become bright [252] red in color. They are roasted in ashes and eaten warm.

8. The //ániba (Herero: maramba), a small bush with a bean-like fruit, similar in appearance and taste to our broad beans.

9. The sng of the Kung Bushmen; this is a large climber with double-lobate leaves whose mighty root is greatly prized by the Bushmen as a water tuber. The fruit is the size of a walnut and consists of two cotyledons enclosed by a rind which in its fresh state is soft and becomes very hard when dry. Between the fruit and the rind there is a small quantity of a whitish, slimy fluid which keeps the interior of the rind /255/ lubricated. After re- [252] moval of the rind, the fruit is dried and roasted and then has the taste of the groundnut which is so common in East Africa. Its use has a distinctly laxative effect.

10. Like the Herero, the Bushmen are acquainted with other water tubers. The Herero word chue designates a smaller root with a very high water content, which has the shape and size of our beet.

11. The /a fruit of the Kung people is a nut slightly larger than the walnut, whose kernel, in a hard shell, tastes like our hazelnut. The hard inner shell is enclosed by a softer outer shell [252] which has a distinctively sweet taste and which the Bushmen boil to a sauce which in appearance and taste is distinctly reminiscent of applesauce.

291 There is not much to be said about the clothing of the Heikum. The men content themselves in most cases with a leather loincloth which is fastened in the back and front to a belt tied around the waist.

The women wear the same kind of leather cloth of slightly greater length around their loins and tie a second hide from one shoulder to the opposite hip.

/255 cont./

281 The hair is removed from the hides. After the skinning, the hides are stretched out on the ground for two days, exposed to the sun; then the hair is removed, and subsequently the juice of a red tuber is rubbed into the hides on the inside. After they have been prepared in this manner, they are buried in the ground for a longer period of time and are then ready for use.

Not infrequently the Bushmen wear sandals which they cut
291 from antelope hide in the simplest manner imaginable. A leather sole is fastened with three thongs to a leather ring lying over the instep and drawn tight below the ankle. One thong runs between the first and the second toe, while the two others run inside and outside the foot.

The children go about quite naked. Despite this sparseness
301 of clothing, the feeling for ornamentation finds full expression.

Many ornamental objects serve as amulets which are worn for a great variety of purposes. The women are more richly adorned than the men. Whereas the latter frequently content themselves with arm rings made of antelope leather, the women are usually overloaded with ornamental objects. One of the favorite women's ornaments is a necklace made of ostrich egg shells. The shells
[321] are worked into small, approximately penny-sized circular disks which are pierced in the middle and strung on a leather thong. Arm and leg rings are made of the same materials.

In place of the little ostrich egg disks, colored glass beads
[439] obtained in trade are frequently used for necklaces and arm rings. One sees many a woman walking along with a tortoise-shell box hanging on her chest, /256/ which is decorated with bead-studded leather strips and used as a container for tobacco.

Pierced pieces of root, distinguished by natural rings notched at regular intervals, are strung on leather thongs for necklaces.

224 I found the following ornamental objects which simultaneously
301 served the function of an amulet:

1. Little pieces of dried antelope flesh are worn on the chest in the belief that the wearer will not lack meat to eat so long as he wears these guarantees.

2. The same significance is attached to dried antelope ears which are worn in a small leather bag on the chest.

/256 cont./

224 3. A piece of root wood, called /un /gei, is pierced and
301 worn on a bast string on the chest. This little piece of root has
828 its distinctive story. When the Bushmen are hunting and want a clear eye to see game, they scrape a bit off its surface and rub the powdery scrapings between the eyes and from there upward across the middle of the forehead to the hairline. They believe that they can increase their keenness of vision by this procedure. An experiment that I made with the powder produced no change on the skin that was treated and naturally did not have any visible effect on my keenness of vision.

4. Little wooden sticks which are used as oracular instruments,
301 especially by the Kung people of the Kaukau Veld.
787 These are four wooden sticks which are strung on a string and worn on the chest. They are about as long as a finger and about two centimeters wide. Two of them are about as thick as a finger; the two others are only a few millimeters thick. One end of the sticks is cut off smooth, and the other pointed. These four sticks are questioned for all imaginable purposes. If the Bushman wants to know where game is, where he is to expect an enemy, or which route he is to take, he asks his sticks. He does so in the following manner. He spreads a piece of leather in front of him and crouches on the ground. Then he places all four sticks parallel and on top of one another in his left hand, the back of the hand being turned toward the ground. With a sudden jerk, accompanied by clicking the tongue, he throws the little sticks on the cloth; naturally, the sticks are scattered with their tips pointing in various directions. Depending on the matter at hand, each little stick signifies something special. When I had a Bushman captain in the Kaukau Veld consult his oracle concerning the fate of our patrol, one of the thick sticks in this throw signified the oxcart that accompanied the patrol. A lively argument concerning the significance of the sticks in a given case frequently arises between the consulter of the oracle and the spectator; finally, the view of the more respected of the two apparently wins out.

/257/ The clothing of the Kung people in the Kaukau Veld
184 is essentially the same as that of the Heikum on the Omuramba
291 ua omatako; even the ornaments do not show any great differences.
301 Nevertheless, I was struck by certain peculiarities of the Kaukau people that I did not find among the Heikum.

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301 people that I did not find among the Heikum. The Kung of the Kaukau Veld had rings braided from wildebeest tail hairs as arm and neck ornaments, and had made similar arm and leg rings from twisted grass. Furthermore they wore strings of twisted bast criss-crossed over the chest in considerable numbers. In addition, in the Kaukau Veld I found neck rings of dried and braided antelope tendons and, in larger numbers than among the Heikum, copper, [439] brass, and iron rings. The latter are obtained by the Kung Bushmen of the Kaukau Veld through trade with the Ovambo [Ambo] and Betschuana [Tswana] in exchange for ostrich eggs and antelope hides.

Like their clothing, the house furnishings of the Bushmen are 415 also very simple and quickly enumerated.

Wooden pans of various sizes, without handles, are generally found in every hut. For the pounding of food, the Bushmen use a cylindrical, mortar-like wooden vessel with thick walls and a [412] very strong bottom. A heavy staff about 30 centimeters long and four centimeters thick is used for pounding.

For chairs, they use wooden stools which by European standards 352 are absurdly small. They consist of two circular wooden disks scarcely the size of a hand and joined by two wooden rods. They stand about ten centimeters high.

There are plenty of axes in the villages. They consist of 412 small iron blades attached to thick wooden handles. The shape of the axe shows that the value of the iron necessitates frugal use of this valuable metal. The force of the blow, which in the case of European axes is produced by the weight of the iron part, is achieved by the Bushmen through a club-like enlargement of the wooden handle near the end of the axe. Side by side with axes that have a longitudinally-placed cutting edge, one also finds axes with a transverse cutting edge.

A common tool is the knife for removing hair from animal skins. This knife consists of a short, transverse iron blade imbedded in a wooden handle.

There are various kinds of tobacco pipes. The Bushmen, who 276 find a leaf tobacco in the bush throughout the year, are experts at making an improvised pipe bowl from a root tubercle in the shortest possible time. Large pipes made of the end of a kudu horn

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276 that has been cut off are very popular. The cut surface of the end of the horn is pressed to the mouth, and the smoke is sucked into the lungs in a deep draught. Very frequently simple cartridges are used as primitive, but nevertheless serviceable tobacco pipes.
[439] Clay pipes, which are not uncommon in the Kaukau Veld, are imported from the Betschuana.

415 /258/ A common kitchen utensil is a large, flat wooden spoon with a bent handle, which, however, is not used to place food in the mouth, but only to fill vessels. The Bushmen eat with
[264] their fingers; they drink their soups from the communal wooden bowl and polish up the rest with a crooked index finger and by licking it out with the tongue.

As pots they use pumpkin [mēlon?] vessels bound with leather
[482] thongs and carried over the shoulder on sticks.

As a special display object in many a hut one finds a large clay vessel with strong walls and decorated with white bands that
[439] have been notched into it. This vessel is imported from the Ovambo.

372 The tools for firemaking command special interest. The Bushman is acquainted with two, the dáni and the //oro.

The dáni (dǎ = fire) consists of two wooden sticks, each about 40 centimeters long. The rounded-off end of the one stick fits into a pan-like cavity at the end of the other stick. The edge of the pan is provided with a little opening through which the glowing wood that has been rubbed to tinder can be emptied onto a smooth stone during the fire-twirling. The Bushman can make fire with this tool in less than half a minute.

The other firemaking device known to the Bushmen is the
[439] //oro, a flint with striking ring and tinder box, imported from the Betschuana.

A tool that in addition to its use in leather working also serves
412 medical purposes is a pointed iron needle about 20 centimeters long and three millimeters thick, carried in a narrow leather sheath by almost every male Bushman. The needle is used with great skill
[752] for the removal of thorns from the skin, an operation which the Bushman naturally must frequently demand of his medicine man.

In addition to the above-mentioned hunting implements, the
482 game snare and game hook, I was shown a wooden staff, approximately one and a half meters long and worked with some skill, which is used for carrying game over the shoulder,

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000 which is used for carrying game over the shoulder.

411 Still to be mentioned are the weapons of the Bushmen. These are limited essentially to the bow and arrow. The bow consists of firm, flexible wood which tapers toward the ends.

[283] The bowstring is made by twisting together separated strands of gemsbok tendons.

The arrows have a very peculiar construction. The shaft is a piece of reed approximately 60 centimeters long, which is feathered at the lower end. A piece of eland bone, approximately 15 centimeters long, which has been sharpened to a point on both sides and carefully rounded by filing on stones, is inserted at the upper end of the shaft in such a manner that it can easily be taken out and reversed. The front end of the reed shaft, which is designed for the insertion of the bone arrowhead, /259/ is wrapped with bast in order to give it the necessary resistance. The two ends of the arrowhead are treated differently. The shorter and blunter tip is left free of poison and serves solely for hunting purposes. The
278 longer and more pointed end is covered with a brown, resin-like poisonous mass. It is very difficult to obtain any definite information from the Bushmen concerning the origin of this poison. They shyly evade questions about it.

I was able to ascertain only one fact, namely, that it is obtained by making incisions in the bark of a tree called chi (Herero: otjindombo). The arrowhead is dipped in the sap of the bark and
411 heated over the fire.

In addition to the bow and arrow, one also finds simple, unworked kirris, and -- at least among the Bushmen of the Kaukau Veld -- throwing spears with iron points that are obtained from the Ovambo in trade.

Arrow shafts and arrowheads are carried on the back in separate leather quivers.

They also use simple, feathered wooden arrows with pointed ends for fowl.

The dwellings are as simple as the whole way of life of the
342 Bushmen. The huts are only a little taller than a man and about three meters in diameter; they are set up by embedding sticks in the ground. These poles, which form the framework, are joined in the center, making a dome shape, and the interstices

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342 are filled with grass. The door is a hole scarcely a meter high;
[354] immediately behind it the fire burns almost continuously, so that, at least for the European, crawling into the hut presents considerable difficulties. Since the Bushmen are often forced to
[361] move their settlements because of the lack of veld food or because of the water conditions, they not infrequently content themselves with incomplete huts, which are not closed to form a full circle, but represent only a part, a segment of a hut, as it were, and give only scant protection against the sun.

For the rest, it is astonishing how hardened these practically
147 naked Bushmen are against the cold of the night which during the cold season is very sharp -- not infrequently below O° [centigrade]. Unclothed except for the loincloth, they calmly go to sleep on
[513] the cold ground near a small fire, exposed to the icy night air, a thought that gives chills to Europeans, who are unable to sleep without three woolen blankets on such nights.

Concerning the much discussed racial position of the Bush-
144 men, I have already remarked above -- at least concerning the Heikum and Kung -- that their descent from the Hottentots, as is frequently asserted, seems doubtful to me. The Bushmen's smaller size, of course, can be accounted for by the debilitation of the race through centuries-long unfavorable living conditions. What argues against the notion of racial affinity, however, is the anthropological fact that steatopygia is not to be found among the Heikum and Kung women, /260/ and, in addition, the lan-
197 guage is totally different.

I attempted to collect a sample of the vocabulary and some grammatical characteristics of the language of the Heikum on the Omatako and of the Kung in the Kaukau Veld, which I present below. In doing this, it became evident that the languages of the Heikum and Kung are merely dialectically differentiated, while they seem to have almost no relationship to the Nama language. The click sounds, to be sure, are almost the same as
[194] those in the Hottentot language; hence, / designates the dental click, // the lateral click, ! the cerebral [retroflex] click, and
[104] ≠ the palatal click. By ⁝ I designate the sharp opening of the glottis in speaking the initial vowel, which frequently occurs between a consonant and a vowel or between two vowels of the same word, and which does not occur in this fashion in the Nama.

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191 In addition to the Bushman language, the Heikum of the
182 Omatako also speak Nama, whereas the Kung of the Kaukau
133 Veld speak only their Bushman language. The reason for this is readily seen if one realizes that the Kaukau Veld is an oasis enclosed on all sides by the large waterless stretches of the Kalahari, and hence is visited only during the rainy season by a few Betschuana hunters, but otherwise is completely isolated. Most of the Bushmen whom we encountered in the Kaukau Veld had never seen a white man prior to our arrival.

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Word List and Grammatical Outline of the Heikum and Kung Language

1. Persons

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Human being	tschu	tschu	Khóib
Man	tschu n|ō (|o = männlich)*	tschu n|ō	áob
Woman	tsau	tschau	tarás
Son	daba |oma	daba |oma	|oab
Daughter	daba tsauma	daba tschauma	|oas
Brother	tsng	tsng	|gasab
My brother	mé tsng	me tsng	—
Sister	tsau tsng	tsau tsng	|gas
Father	ombá	ombā	dadáb
Mother	mdei	medei	máma
Grandfather	omba n|ā (n|a = alt)**	omba n|ā	aúda
Grandmother	tschau |á	tschau |á	aúmama
Master	gaucha	gaucha	gáob
Captain of a settlement	tschu gaucha	tschu gaucha	—
Servant	ǂēi	tschu nǂoa	|ān
Herero	Damá	Damá	Damán
Betschuana	Birin	ǂgabé	Birin
Ovambo	|ave	—	—

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*männlich, "male" **alt, "old"

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Heikum	Kung	Nama	English
Gobǎ	Gobǎ	|navén	Ovambo from the Okovanggo
Nama	|ǎ	Namán	Nama
|ung	|ung	—	White man
Hei ‖um	Hei ‖um	—	Heikum
|ung	|ung	—	Kung

2. Parts of the body

|nē	|nē	tanás	Head
|ang	|ang	|aus	Neck
tsóa	|oa	‖áib	Breast
|u	|u	‖umss	Abdomen
|um	|um	|nub	Leg
ǂǎ	ǂǎ	‖oab	Arm
|gau	|gau	|gunub	Finger
ǂei	ǂei	|gunus	Toe
daug	dang	ǂaren	Buttocks
|ō	|ō	|gaab	Back
|nē |oí	|nē |oi (head)	|ub	Hair
|ā	|ā	mus	Eye
tsch:ung	tsch:ung	ǂguis	Nose
tschik úi	tschik úi	|houms	Beard
tschik ǒ	tschik ǒ	amss	Lip
ntǎli	ntǎli	nami	Tongue
ts:au	ts:au	‖unss	Teeth
|ui	|ui	ǂgäiss	Ear
|um	|um	sonís	Navel
tá	tá	χäb	Penis
sumgó	sum gó	ǂarás	Testicles
ntχoá	|oá	‖oás	Knee
|uru	|uru	|unib	Elbow
|au	|au	|umi	Hand
|nō	|nō	kob	Skin
|u	|u	ǂob	Bone
|oi	|ai	‖unib	Fat
|ā	|ā	‖ani	Flesh
|n	|ng	|aub	Blood
|χai	|χai	|eisen	Ill

3. Animals

|ó	|ō	ǂkoab	Elephant
|ō |gó	|o |gó	aure ǂkoab	male
|ō dē	|o dı	tararé ǂkoas	female
ǂoá	ǂoá	|naib	Giraffe
ǂoa |gō	ǂoa |gō	|naib	male
ǂoa dē	ǂoa dı	tararé |nais	female

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English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Eland	|n	|n	|ani
Hartebeest	tz:ō	itz:ō	ǂǎnab
Wildebeest (gnu)	|ai	ǂnō	Gaub
Kudu	|óa	|óa	χaib
Duiker	|au	|u	|aub
Hog	|aru	|oa	dirib
Bird	tz:ába	ntχū	anin
Dog	ǂúi	ǂúi	arib
Lion	|eí	anteï	χam
Hyena	‖ui	‖ui	ǂirab

(The word //ui evidently arose onomatopoetically, since the cry of the hyena is a distinct "hui.")

Jackal	|iχa	—	|airib
Hare	|ai	|ai	|oab
Guinea fowl	ari	|nam	|inab
Ant	ǂu ǂu	|no |oani	ǂovirub
Horse	|nōé	|nōé	hab
Cattle	gummi	gummi	gumab
Bull	gummi |gō	gummi |gō	gumma |ōb
Ox	gummi tabiχa	gummi tabiχa	gumab
Cow	gummi dé	gummi dí	tararé gumas
Calf male	tzaume |ǫ	tzaume |ō	tsanob
female	tzaume de	tzaume dí	tsaurus
Plural male	tzaume |ōssen	—	—
female	tzaume dèssen	—	—
Feces	sang	si	χaub
Human tracks	tschu gussen	tschu gussen	daub

4. Weapons and Tools

Bow	|au	|au	khās
Arrow	‖au	‖au	|āb
Arrow feathers	|ui	|ui	|ambo
Arrow poison	k:augum	uma	|āb
Spear	|ú |u	|ú |u	|ei goab
Iron	|uri (Nama)	keie	|urib
Stool	|éisson	gacho	Stuhl (Dutch)
Hook for game traps	|ui	ǂang ǂang	—
Quiver	|guru	|guru	—
Leather loincloth of the men	sora	tsch:ora	—
Leather loincloth of the women	|u	|u	—

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Heikum	Kung	Nama	English
|ei	|ei	—	Shoulder hide of the women
‖ā	‖ā	|abas	Head covering
|oá	|ōé	‖arós	Shoe
réīma	rēima	ring (Dutch)	Ring
|ðu	|āuma	—	Awl for leather
|ei	|ı	|os	Axe
|ā	ǂei	goas	Knife
|á ts:u	ǂei tschu	goan ‖os	Cutting edge of a knife
da	|oá	|ein	Wood
|um	|um	|uis	Stone
ts:u	ts:u	‖aus	Settlement

5. Meteorological Concepts and Related Matters

|gam	|gam	sores	Sun
|ui	|ui	‖aab	Moon
|nq	|ng	|gamiros	Star
|á	|á	ǂoab	Wind
n |ga	|gā di |gam	|anub	Rain
n |ga	|ga di |gam	|anu ‖aib	Rainy season
|nui	|nui	‖aab	Month
kuli (nama)	kulika é	kuligu	Year
tschee (nama)	tschee	tzees	Day
|a |ang	|a |au	‖óaka	Morning
|uia (|ui =moon)	|ui	|oēs	Evening
|u	|u	tsúχub	Night
|u |n	|u di |n	tsuχub	Midnight
|gam kui	|aiu |ā	middag(Dutch)	Midday
a dagē ‖ang	kakē |gam dignau	netzees	Today
noi |uma	noi |uma	‖ari	Tomorrow
ama |gam nau	|gam dinau agaideń	‖ari	Yesterday
—	|gamga úndoa	aitzē	Day before yesterday
a |naussua	a |naussua	|audi	Cloud
k:ā	k:ā	|ovab	Sand
|ang	|ang	haiti	Tree
|ang nassi	|ang nassi	hei |ums	Bush
‖ai	‖ai	|ān	Grass

6. Diet and Related Matters

um	um	ǂun	Food
um	um	ǂun	To eat
natschng	natschng	ā	To drink
|:á	|:á	|ā	Hunger

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English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Thirst	ǀgam	ǀgam	‖ā
I am hungry	mē ǀ:ā	mē ǀ:ā	—
I am thirsty	mē ǀgam	mē ǀgam	—
Spoon	hei ǂgam	hei ǂgam	‖oab
Plate	ǀnu	ǀnu	ǀores
Pot	k:ō	k:ō	suss
Fire	ndā	ndā	ǀeis
Fire apparatus of stone	ǂoro (nama)	ǂoro (nama)	dorós
Fire apparatus of wood (twirling sticks)	dáni (ndā=Feuer)	dángl	—
To cook	ǀnoa	ǀnoa	sai
Meat	ǀā	ǀā	‖ani
Water	ǀu	ǀu	‖ami
Tobacco	maka (Herero)	maka (Herero)	Tabak(Dutch)
To smoke	χei	χ¹	ǂei
Give me something to eat	na χei	—	—
Pipe	ǀnō	ǀō	ǀos
Milk	gu	gu	dai
Egg	ǀu	tsch:unu	ǀuwus
Fat	ǀai	ǀai	‖unib
To roast	schang (nama)	ǀǎnussen	sang
Kind of nut (veld crop)	ǀō	ǀā	‖naun

(Described in the text under No. 11.)

7. Verbs

(The prefix haga- expressing the infinitive has been omitted.)

Sleep	ts:ā	ts:ǎ	‖um
Go	ū	ū	ǀung
Say	ǀnoa	ǀnoa	mi
Tell me	ǀnoa mē	ǀnoa mē	—
Make, do	ō	ō	di
See	hassé	hahoa	mo, go
Sit	ǀō	ǀō	ǂgu
Hit	ǂam	ǀū	ǂnau
Seize	ngū	gúa	ǀkō
Kill	ǀung	ǀá du	ǀam
Shoot (with bow)	tχā	ǀā	‖au
Rifle	ǀabu (nama)	ǀnoá	ǀabús
Run	ǀgā	ǀgá	ǀóē
Stand	n‖gá	ǀnu	mā
Laugh	tsi	tsi	āi
Hear	ts:ā	hats:ā	‖au
Smell	ǀu	ǀu	ǀaba

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Heikum	Kung	Nama	English
ga ˥n	ga ˥n	tzătză	Taste
nds:ō	ǀō	˥urib	Feel
˥óa	ǁāzo	ǁassen	Wash oneself
ǀabi (nama)	ha ˥uru	ǀabi	Ride
zχáni	demzam	ǂā	Dance
˥a ˥ń	˥a ˥ń	ǀaia ǂau	Enjoy oneself
dzn	ha ˥au	ǀā	Be sad
ǀnai	ǀnai	nā	Bite
me ǁei ǁei	—	˥ore	Request
ǀā	ǀāma	batale(Dutch)	Pay
ǁama (nama)	ǁama (nama)	ǁamá	Buy
ǀhei	ǀhei	ǀau	Cut
ǁn	ǁn	ǀei	Tie, fasten
kora	kora	oré	Untie, loosen

8. Adjectives

gats:ǎ	gats:ǎ	ǀei	Good
ga ˥au	ga ˥au	zua	Evil
tχā	goá	ǀham	Cowardly
ga ˥um (very)	˥um	isá	Beautiful
kui	dā	˥gam	Hot
ǀā	ǀá	ǀaib	Cold
tz:ǀ	ǀu (= water)	ǀa	Wet
ǀau	ǀu ǀé	ǂnasa	Dry
ze ˥au	˥au	ǀuli	White
˥ang	˥ang	ǀam	Green
ǂangssen	ǁdaun	ǀóa	Blue
dschō	dschō	ǂnaú	Black
ǀā	ǀā	ǀuni	Yellow
ǀaissen	ǀā	ǀabá	Red
ǀósse	ǀā?	ǀaisse	Rapid
auts:eá	aussehaú	ǀausse	Slow
ts:éma	ts:éma	subusse	Soft
ǀχǀ	ǀχǀ	ǀarisse	Loud
ǀχóa ǀχei	ǀχóa	ǂgausib	Healthy
ǀχai	ǀχai	ǀaissen	Sick
ǀgao	ǀgao	˥geissa	Strong
schui	˥χá	subu	Weak
ǀai oder ǀē	ǀē	ǁōb	Dead
ǀoa ǀē	ǀoa ǀē	odide	Alive
ǀang	ǀáo	gáro	Hard
kam	kam	tsau(ra)	Soft

9. Personal Pronouns

mē or mēhí	me	dita	I
tschoē é	tschoē é	saatz	You

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9. Personal Pronouns (cont.)

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
He	ǎhng	ǎhng	//eib
We	tschússe	tschússe	sáta
You	ts¦ǎ	ts¦ǎ	sado
They	ǎhng(?)	tschudi tsch¦ǎ	//ēin

10. Possessive Pronouns

My	mēhng	mēhng	ti
Your	tschoë ē (?)	atschi (?)	sa
His	ǎhng(?)	ǎhing(?)	//ēib
Our	tsu /ǎ	wesse tschisch hug(?)	—
Your	mi dsú	mi tsú	—
Their	i /ǎ	(?)	—

The forms followed by (?) could not be ascertained with certainty.

11. Interrogatives

When?	ǂum katewa	—	ma /b ai
Where?	kole wǎ	—	mǎ pa
How?	kole wǎ	—	mǎ pa
Why?	disse wǎ	—	dein /ǎroma
What?	atchissi	atchissi	táre

12. Plural Formation

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In Heikum, as in Kung, the plural is formed by affixing sen to the stem of the substantive; for example:

/ā eye, /oí hair,
/āsen eyes. /oísen hairs.

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13. Gender Differentiation

193 In order to differentiate gender, the Heikum and the Kung add to the substantive the syllable /ō for the masculine gender, and de or di for the feminine gender; for example:

eland antelope	/n
male	/n /ō
female	/n dē or /ndī

14. Conjugations

A. Present

In the present tense the form /ē di or a di intervenes between the personal pronoun and the verbal stem. tsía = to sleep.

English	Heikum	Kung
I sleep	mē /ē di tsǐǎ	mē /ē di tsǐǎ
You sleep	tschoë ē /ē di tsǐǎ	dschoë ē /ē di tsǐǎ
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He sleeps	ahng /ē di tsǐǎ or a di tsǐǎ	ahng /ē di tsǐǎ
We sleep	tschusse /ē di tsǐǎ	tschusse /ē di tsǐǎ
You sleep	tshǐǎ /ē di tsǐǎ	tschǐǎ /ē di tsǐǎ
They sleep	tschudi tschǐǎ tschu /ē di tsǐǎ	tschudi tschǐǎ tschu /e di tsǐǎ

B. Future

The future tense is formed by inserting the syllables /uma di between the personal pronoun and the verbal stem.

I shall sleep	mē /uma di tsǐǎ	me /uma di tsǐǎ
You will sleep	tschoë ē /uma di tsǐǎ	tschoë ē /uma di tsǐǎ etc.

C. Preterit

The Kung forms the preterit by inserting the syllables /eía di between the personal pronoun and the verbal stem; the Heikum

193 /267 cont./
insert the syllables na dō.

English	Heikum	Kung
I have slept	mē na do ts:ǂǎ	me /eia di ts:ǂǎ
You have slept	tschoē e na do ts a	tschoe e /eia di ts a

D. Imperative

The imperative is expressed by means of the verbal stem.

Sleep	ts:ǂǎ	ts:ǂǎ
Go	ū	ū

E. Infinitive

The infinitive is formed by attaching the prefix haga to the verbal stem.

To sleep	haga ts:ǂǎ	haga ts:ǂǎ
To go	haga u	haga u

15. Customary Phrases

192 What is your name	a /u	tschoe ē or a tschuē
What are you saying	atchissi a di koia	atchissi a di koia
Where is he?	ahng kolewa wa	—
Give me	na mē	na mē
What do you want	atchissi wa	atchiss 'a diū
Yes	ts:ing	—
No	koē	koē
Come here	oē	oē

/267 cont./

16. Numbers

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English	Heikum	Kung	Name
1	tschin ≠ē	tschin ≠ē	/ai
2	tschi dzá	tschidzá	/gam
3	tschin /ǎni	tschin /ǎni	/oná
4	unsicher	unsicher	hagá
/268/			
5	/gau	/gau (/gau = hand)	—

6-9 quite uncertain among the Heikum and Kung

10	/gau ≠eissen (finger) (toes)	/gau ≠eissen	—

Among the Heikum and Kung one can discover with certainty only the terms for 1, 2, 3, 5, and 10; all the other expressions are uncertain. It is noteworthy that 5 is designated by "hand," and 10 by "hand and toes."

Among the Heikum and Kung Bushmen the manner of counting on the fingers is the same.

To indicate 1, the little finger of the left hand is grasped with the index finger and thumb of the right hand and bent in the hollow of the hand; for 2, 3, and 4, the fourth, third, and second fingers of the left hand follow, and are bent in the hollow of the hand in the same manner. For 6, 7, 8, and 9, the same procedure is used with the right hand as was used with the left for 1, 2, 3, and 4. In order to indicate 10, the two hands, flat but slightly hollowed, are placed against each other with the palms together.

The Bushman likes to touch his lower lip briefly with the
201 tip of the little finger of his right hand before he goes through the motions of counting on his fingers.

It has proved impossible to determine whether in the language
194 of the Heikum or the Kung the change of pitch in the pronunciation of vowels plays a part as it does in the language of the Hottentots.

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

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[TITLE PAGE]

4: Werner FX10 Bushmen

I. Abhandlungen und Vorträge.

1. Anthropologische, ethnologische und ethnographische Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute.[1])

nebst einem Anhang über die Sprachen dieser Buschmannstämme.[2])

Von

H. Werner, Oberarzt in der Schutztruppe für Deutsch-Südwestafrika.

Übersendet vom K. Ober-Kommando der Schutztruppe.

Ein mehrere Monate währender Aufenthalt in der Nähe einer Buschmannwerft bei Otjomavare, einer am Omuramba ua omatako, etwa 50 *km* südlich von Grootfontein und 120 *km* nordöstlich von Waterberg gelegenen Wasserstelle, bot mir Gelegenheit zu einer Reihe von Beobachtungen an Buschleuten, die teils, wie ich glaube, Neues bringen, teils eine Ergänzung und Bestätigung von Bekanntem darstellen. Zunächst reizte es mich, durch Gewinnung absoluter Masse ein Urteil über die Grössenverhältnisse der als abnorm klein bekannten Buschleute zu erhalten, dann führte mich die nähere Bekanntschaft mit dem interessanten Völkchen zu weiteren Beobachtungen, die für den Ethnologen und den Ethnographen Interesse beanspruchen.

Die zu den anthropologischen Messungen erforderlichen Instrumente musste ich zum Teil mir selbst herstellen, doch hoffe ich, dass dieser Mangel der Genauigkeit der Ergebnisse keinen Eintrag getan hat.

Die Buschleute, um die es sich handelt, nennen sich „Heikum"leute, wobei das k durch den in der Namasprache mit || bezeichneten Schnalzlaut zu ersetzen ist. Gemessen wurden 31 Erwachsene und 8 Kinder.

Von den Erwachsenen sind 14 Männer und 17 Frauen.

Ich lasse zunächst die Durchschnittswerte der absoluten Masse folgen, dann einige Proportionszahlen und Indices. Tabellen, auf denen die ge-

1) Vorgelegt in der Sitzung vom 18. November 1905.

2) Die linguistischen Aufzeichnungen über die Sprache der Heikumbuschleute wurden in einer Heikumwerft bei Otjomavara am Omuramba Omatako gesammelt, während die sprachlichen Notizen über die Kungbuschleute in einer Kungwerft am Nordrande des Kaukaufeldes etwa 15 *km* westlich von Dobe aufgezeichnet wurden.

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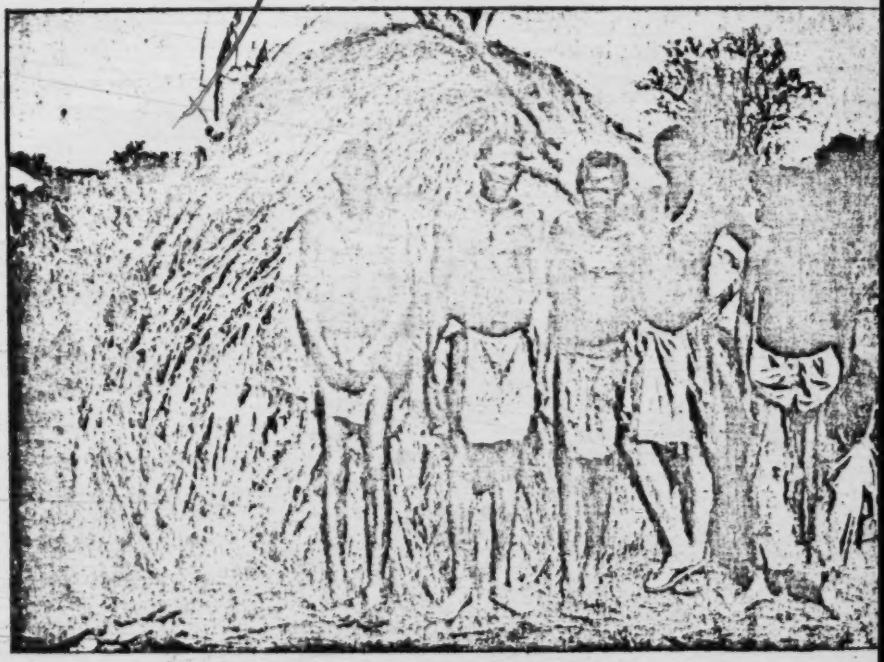
samten Masse jedes einzelnen Gemessenen verzeichnet sind, liegen bei, desgleichen Beobachtungsblätter für die auf die deskriptiven Merkmale der Gemessenen bezüglichen Beobachtungen.

Die Durchschnittswerte der gemessenen Erwachsenen sind folgende:

	Männer	Frauen
1. Körpergrösse	155,3	149,7
2. Höhe des Kinnrandes über dem Boden	135,7	130,6
3. „ „ Nabels über dem Boden	93,2	90,4
4. „ „ oberen Randes der Symphyse über dem Boden	82,2	79,6

Fig. 1.



Heikumbuschleute. Männer.

5. Höhe des acromion über dem Boden	130,5	124,9
6. „ „ Ellenbogengelenkes über dem Boden	99,9	96,5
7. „ „ Griffelfortsatzes des Radius über dem Boden	76,0	73,4
8. „ der Mittelfingerspitze über dem Boden	59,0	56,8
9. „ des Darmbeinkammes über dem Boden	95,9	93,2
10. „ „ Darmbeinstachels über dem Boden	90,1	86,7
11. „ „ Kniegelenks über dem Boden	43,3	41,2
12. „ der inneren Knöchelspitze über dem Boden	6,4	5,5
13. „ des Dornfortsatzes des siebenten Halswirbels über dem Boden	136,2	129,6
14. Breite der Schultern (Akromionsabstand)	31,1	30,0
15. Entfernung der beiden Darmbeinstacheln	18,4	17,7

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	Männer	Frauen
16. Breite zwischen den Darmbeinkämmen	21,9	20,9
17. „ „ „ Trochanteren	25,5	25,4
18. Thoraxumfang im Niveau der Achselhöhlen	76,1	69,3
19. Taillenumfang	75,7	72,9
20. Oberschenkelumfang	41,6	40,5
21. Wadenumfang	28,6	26,5
22. Höhe des Scheitels über der Sitzfläche	77,0	75,6
23. Schädellänge	17,9	17 8
24. Schädelbreite	13,6	13,1

Fig. 2

Heikumbuschleute. Weiber.

25. Schädeldurchmesser von der Glatze zur Hinterhauptsprotuberanz	16,3	15,7
26. Breite zwischen der Ausladung beider Jochbeine	12.2	12,1
27. „ „ den äusseren Augenwinkeln	8,5	8,5
28. „ „ „ inneren Augenwinkeln	3,6	3,5
29. „ des Mundes	4,7	4,5
30. „ zwischen beiden Kieferwinkeln	9,5	8,8
31. Entfernung vom Kinn zur Nasenwurzel	9,8	9,6
32. „ „ „ zum Haarwuchsbeginn	16,6	15,9
33. Länge der Nase	4,0	3,9
34. Breite der Nase	4,1	3,8

	Männer	Frauen
35. Entfernung vom Kinn zum tragus	13,8	12,8
36. „ von der Nasenwurzel zum tragus	11,7	11,8
37. Länge des Daumens	5,1	5,1
38. „ „ Mittelfingers	8,4	8,2
39. Breite der Hand am Ansatz der Finger	6,8	6,5
40. Länge des Fusses	22,6	21,5
41. Breite des Fusses	8,4	7,7
42. Längekopfbogen	36,2	35,5
43. Horizontaler Kopfumfang	53,8	51,9
44. Vertikaler Kopfumfang	28,9	28,8
45. Klafterweite	158,6	151,0
Proportionszahlen. Körperlänge = 100.		
I. Höhe des Nabels über dem Boden	60,01	60,5
II. „ der Symphyse über dem Boden	52,9	53,1
III. „ des Scheitels über der Sitzfläche	49,54	50,5
IV. „ der spina ilium anterior superior über dem Boden	58,02	57,92
V. Halbe Klafterweite	51,06	50,43
VI. Akromialbreite	20,08	20,04
VII. Hüftbreite	16,42	16,91
VIII. Armlänge	46,04	45,49
IX. Oberarmlänge	19,64	18,97
X. Unterarmlänge	15,45	15,45
XI. Handlänge	10,95	11,09
XII. Beinlänge	55,12	54,91
XIII. Oberschenkellänge	27,24	27,39
XIV. Unterschenkellänge	23,76	23,85
XV. Fusshöhe	4,12	3,67
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IV. „ Nasenindex	102,5	97,44

Der Ernährungszustand der Untersuchten ist im allgemeinen dürftig zu nennen, der Fettvorrat gering; die Haut ist auch bei jüngeren Individuen auffallend schlaff und lässt sich in weiten Falten abheben. Man hat den Eindruck, dass zwischen dieser Schlaffheit der Haut und dem extremen Schwanken der Flüssigkeitsdurchtränkung der Gewebe, wie es bei dem häufigen lange anhaltenden Dursten, dem die Buschleute ausgesetzt sind, die Regel ist, ein Zusammenhang besteht. Die Männer versicherten mir, sie könnten vier Tage lang bei grosser Hitze ohne Wasser marschieren, eine Angabe, der man wohl Glauben schenken darf.

Die Hautfarbe ist bei allen Untersuchten mit Ausnahme von zweien, bei denen eine Rassenmischung nicht ausgeschlossen ist, ein Braun von mittlerer Tontiefe ins Gelbe spielend.

Die Handteller und Fusssohlen sind heller gefärbt, bilden jedoch gegen den Handrücken keinen so auffallenden Kontrast wie beim Bantu-

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neger. Die Haut der Brust und des Bauches ist um eine Nuance dunkler gefärbt als die des Gesichts. Narben sind namentlich auf Brust und Bauch sehr häufig und rühren gewöhnlich von Brandwunden her, denen sich die Buschleute durch Sitzen und Einschlafen am offenen Feuer leicht aussetzen. Diese Narben sind heller tingiert als die Umgebung und sehen fast rein gelb aus.

Die Iris ist bei allen Untersuchten tief braun gefärbt.

Der Haarwuchs ist, verglichen mit dem des Europäers, sehr bescheiden; er ist fast ganz auf den Schädel beschränkt, Barthaar findet man nur bei einzelnen Männern und auch bei diesen nur sehr spärlich. Körper-, Achsel- und Schamhaar ist fast gar nicht vorhanden.

Die Farbe des Haupthaares ist tiefschwarz. Das einzelne Haar wird bei den Männern etwa 4, bei den Frauen gegen 6 *cm* lang; es ist fein und spiralig gerollt; der Krümmungsradius der Spirale beträgt etwa 2 *mm*. Je 2—3 Haare stehen in Gruppen dicht beisammen. Eine Anzahl solcher Gruppen vereinigt sich zu einem Büschel, der ein fast unentwirrbares Haargeflecht darstellt. Zwischen den Büscheln ist die braungelbe Kopfhaut sichtbar, so dass die Schädeloberfläche den Eindruck einer schwarz gefleckten Fläche macht. In der Haartracht zeigen sich weitgehende Verschiedenheiten, doch wird von allen Buschleuten das Kopfhaar von Zeit zu Zeit geschnitten; dabei lassen die Frauen häufig einen Kranz längerer Haare, der von der Stirnhaargrenze horizontal nach hinten verläuft, stehen. Häufig auch findet man eine ovale Stelle auf dem Scheitel oder den Stirnrand des Kopfhaares bis zu den Ohren hin ausrasiert.

Ausfall des Kopfhaares habe ich auch bei alten Personen nicht beobachtet, wohl aber Grauwerden, doch auch dieses nicht in so hohem Grade wie bei Europäern.

Die Tätowierung ist bei den Heikumbuschleuten sehr beliebt.

Ich habe drei Arten von Tätowierung vorgefunden:

1. Eine Schmucktätowierung. Dieselbe besteht in parallelgestellten Längsschnitten von etwa 1 *cm* Länge, die in Reihen angeordnet sind. Diese Schnittreihen finden sich namentlich im Gesicht auf Wangen, Schläfen und Stirn und verlaufen besonders bei Frauen häufig strahlenförmig auf die Gesichtsmitte zu, wobei jedoch die Gesichtsmitte selbst freigelassen wird. Sie findet sich aber auch auf der Haut des übrigen Körpers an beliebigen Stellen, auf Brust, Bauch, Oberarm und Oberschenkel. Die Schnitte sind ganz oberflächlich und erscheinen als feine schwarze Linien; die schwarzblaue Färbung der Narben wird durch Einreiben von Holzkohle in die frischen Schnitte erreicht.

2. Tiefere und dementsprechend stärkere Narben hinterlassende Schnitte bilden die Stirntätowierung, die allen Heikumbuschleuten ohne Unterschied des Alters und Geschlechts gemeinsam ist. Die Tätowierung besteht in mehreren senkrecht stehenden parallelen Schnitten von etwa 2 *cm* Länge zwischen den Augenbrauen. Durch diese Tätowierung entsteht eine Anzahl, gewöhnlich fünf, tiefer, nahe beieinander stehender Falten zwischen den Augenbrauen, die dem Gesicht auch jüngerer Individuen ein älteres Aussehen geben. Bei älteren Personen ist der Narben-

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grund durch Keloidbildung erhaben, so dass die Gegend zwischen den Augenbrauen ein hahnenkammähnliches Aussehen gewinnt.

3. Die dritte und merkwürdigste ist eine Tätowierungsart, die ich als Antilopentätowierung bezeichnen möchte, eine Impfungsform, wie ich sie noch bei keinem der afrikanischen Eingeborenenstämme gesehen habe. Sie findet sich nur bei männlichen Individuen und besteht in folgendem: Durch Parallelschnitte werden den männlichen Kindern kleine Stückchen Antilopenfleisch, besonders Gemsbockfleisch, unter die Haut gebracht in der Idee, dass auf diese Weise das so geimpfte Kind die Schnelligkeit der Antilopen im Laufen erhalte. Die Impfschnitte werden mit Vorliebe auf den Hinterbacken angebracht, finden sich jedoch auch auf Brust, Bauch und Rücken.

Häufig findet man an den verschiedensten Körperstellen auch Narben, welche von Schröpfschnitten zur „Ableitung" bei Krankheiten herrühren.

Der Kopf bietet in seiner Ansicht von oben keine Besonderheiten, doch scheint mir die Dolichocephalie bei den Buschleuten nicht so ausgesprochen zu sein wie bei den Bantunegern. Die Hinterhauptsprotuberanz ist sehr gering entwickelt, so dass sie bei den meisten Individuen kaum zu fühlen ist.

Die Profilansicht des Gesichtes lässt eine deutliche alveoläre Prognathie erkennen; bei den meisten Individuen überragt die Oberlippe in der Profilansicht die Nasenspitze. Die Haarumrandung der ziemlich steilen Stirn verläuft in gleichmässiger Biegung von einem Ohr zum andern.

Die knöchernen Augenbrauenbogen springen stark vor, während der Stirnglatzenwulst gering entwickelt ist.

Die Wangenbeine bilden mit den weit ausladenden Jochbögen stark über die Schläfen- und Wangengegend hervorragende Erhebungen.

Auffallend ist bei den meisten Buschleuten das deutliche Vorspringen der Ohrspeicheldrüsengegend, die sich bei manchen Individuen geradezu halbkugelartig vorwölbt. Ob diese Vorwölbung mehr durch eine Hypertrophie der Ohrspeicheldrüse oder durch besonders starke Entwicklung der Kaumuskulatur bedingt ist, vermochte ich nicht festzustellen. Diese Vorwölbung der Ohrspeicheldrüsengegend ist, wie ich glaube, nicht eine Rasseneigentümlichkeit der Buschleute, sondern eine Folge der Wurzelnahrung benötigenden Lebensweise, die eine sehr starke Inanspruchnahme des Kauapparates erfordert; wenigstens habe ich dieselbe Eigentümlichkeit auch bei Hereros beobachten können, die lange Zeit auf Feldkost angewiesen waren.

Hereros wie Buschleute bezeichnen als Ursache dieser Eigentümlichkeit den Genuss von Feldkost, insbesondere der als Unki bekannten Zwiebelart. Die beigefügten Photographien bringen die Vorwölbung bei einem Buschmann (Fig. 3) und bei einem Herero (Fig. 4) zur Darstellung.

Die Nase ist gegen die Stirn stark abgesetzt und von auffallender Kleinheit. Der Nasenrücken ist sehr flach, so dass man bisweilen von einem Nasenrücken kaum sprechen kann und eine fast ebene Fläche die Verbindung von einem Wangenbein zum andern herstellt. Die Nasen-

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spitze ist klein und etwas aufwärts gerichtet. Die Nasenlöcher sind mit ihrem grössten Durchmesser quergestellt.

Die Lippen sind, verglichen mit denen der meisten Neger, schmal; ihre Farbe gleicht fast genau der der umgebenden Gesichtshaut.

Die Zähne sind bei der Mehrzahl der Individuen in recht gutem Erhaltungszustand; kariös fand ich bei den sämtlichen 39 Untersuchten nur 28 Zähne. Auffallend ist bei einem Vergleich mit einem Europäergebiss die hochgradige, mit dem Alter zunehmende Abnutzung, die bei alten Individuen so stark ist, dass die Zähne bis auf die Wurzel abgekaut sind, auch eine Folge der auf Wurzelnahrung angewiesenen Lebensweise. Die Schneidezähne sind nur in ganz geringem Grade nach vorn gerichtet.

Künstliche Deformitäten der Zähne haben die Heikum nicht; wenn mehrere der Untersuchten die bekannte Hererodeformität (Abschleifen der Innenseiten der beiden mittleren oberen und Entfernen der vier

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

unteren Schneidezähne) zeigten, so erklärt sich dies daraus, dass diese Buschleute in ihrer Kindheit Hererosklaven gewesen und von ihren damaligen Herren nach Hererosart gekennzeichnet worden sind.

Das Ohr ist von normaler Grösse, die Umfangslinie ist gerundet, nicht winklig geknickt. Das Ohrläppchen ist stets angewachsen.

Am Rumpf fällt auch bei den Erwachsenen die meist starke Entwicklung des Bauches trotz sonstiger Magerkeit auf.

Die Frauenbrust ist bei Individuen, die nicht geboren haben, kegelförmig; die Gegend des Warzenhofes ist gewöhnlich durch eine seichte Furche von der übrigen Brust geschieden. Die Farbe des Warzenhofes ist tiefbraun. Die Brustwarze ist erhaben.

Beschneidung ist weder bei Männern noch Weibern üblich. Die als Steatopygie bezeichnete, bei den Hottentottenweibern so häufige abnorm starke Gesässentwicklung habe ich bei den Weibern der Heikum und Kung nicht gefunden, ein Umstand, der mir mit grosser Entschiedenheit

gegen die Rassenverwandtschaft der Buschleute mit den Hottentotten zu sprechen scheint.

Die Arme sind dünn und wenig muskelkräftig, die Hände klein und sehr zart. Im Gegensatz zur Armmuskulatur ist die der Beine besser entwickelt. Die Fusswölbung ist gut; Plattfuss habe ich nur in einem Falle gesehen.

Die grosse Zehe ist geradeaus gerichtet und weist weder eine Abweichung auf nach der Fussmittellinie zu, noch eine solche von dieser hinweg.

In den meisten Fällen ragt die zweite Zehe am weitesten hervor, doch wurde sie in zwei Fällen von der ersten überragt. Bei einigen andern Untersuchten waren zweite und erste oder zweite und dritte Zehe gleich weit hervorragend. Genaueren Aufschluss über diese Verhältnisse gibt die folgende Tabelle:

	Zahl der Untersuchten	Zweite Zehe am weitesten hervorragend	Erste Zehe am weitesten hervorragend	Erste und zweite Zehe am weitesten hervorragend	Zweite und dritte Zehe am weitesten hervorragend
Männer	14	9	1	4	0
Frauen	17	11	0	3	3
Kinder	8	7	1	0	0
Summe . .	39	27	2	7	3

Auch über physiologische Verhältnisse konnte ich einige Beobachtungen sammeln.

Bei allen Untersuchten fand ich vermittels Snellenscher Tafeln eine sehr grosse Sehschärfe. Dreifache Sehschärfe wurde von allen Untersuchten erreicht, bei einzelnen noch höhere Grade bis zu sechsfacher Sehschärfe.

Von den meisten Untersuchten wurde das Ticken einer Uhr in 3 *m* Entfernung vernommen.

Gähnen habe ich bei Buschleuten häufig beobachtet.

Der Gang der Buschleute hat etwas sehr charakteristisches; es werden nämlich dabei die Knie auffallend stark gehoben, eine Gewohnheit, die sich aus der Eigentümlichkeit des Geländes erklärt, in dem die Buschleute leben; sie sind durch das niedrige häufig dornige Buschwerk, durch welches sie sich mit unbekleideten Beinen fortbewegen, gezwungen, beim Gang die Beine stark zu heben und behalten diesen Gang auch bei, wenn sie über nicht bewachsenen Boden sich fortbewegen. Im übrigen sind die Marsch- und Laufleistungen dieser kleinen Buschbewohner ganz enorm.

Zu Patrouillengängen von der Station ausgesandte Buschleute legten innerhalb weniger als 48 Stunden eine Strecke von 130 *km* zurück, ohne sichtbare Zeichen von Ermüdung zu zeigen. Der oft trabenden Truppe folgten sie ohne Schwierigkeit und froher Laune zu Fuss, indem sie bei schnellerer Gangart sich ebenfalls in Trab setzten.

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Höchstes Erstaunen wird durch weites Öffnen des Mundes und der Augen kundgegeben. Ich konnte mich davon überzeugen, als ich vor den ahnungslosen Buschleuten ein Grammophon spielen liess; als die Vorführung zu Ende war, fragten mich die Zuhörer, ob denn die Leute, die in dem Apparat wären und sängen, auch darin schliefen und durch den Schalltrichter ihre Kost erhielten.

Zum Zeichen der Bejahung wird der Kopf unter gleichzeitigem Hochziehen der Augenbrauen zurückgeworfen.

Im übrigen stimmen die physiognomischen Ausdrucksveränderungen im wesentlichen mit denen der Europäer überein, doch lässt sich nicht verkennen, dass die Gesichtsbeweglichkeit des Buschmanns eine weit grössere ist als die des Europäers und dass schon ganz geringe Affekte lebhafte Gesten auslösen.

Es sei mir hier gestattet, eine Eigenart der Stimme der Buschleute hervorzuheben; dieselbe erscheint mir besonders bei den Frauen abnorm hoch zu sein; die Sprache eines Heikumweibes liegt nach meinem Dafürhalten um mehrere Töne im Durchschnitt höher als die eines Hereroweibes. Augenscheinlich hängt diese Eigentümlichkeit mit der Kleinheit des Kehlkopfes der Heikumleute zusammen.

Die eingangs gegebenen anthropometrischen Zahlen sind zweifellos weit geringer als die der in unmittelbarer Nachbarschaft der Buschleute wohnenden Hereros, Namas und Bergdamaras, doch reichen die Heikums, was Kleinheit anlangt, sicher nicht heran an die Zwergvölker Innerafrikas. Ob ein weiteres Studium ethnologischer und ethnographischer Verhältnisse diesen Völkern verwandte Züge aufdecken wird, muss weitere Forschung lehren. Dass es sich bei den Buschleuten um eine fast reine Rasse handelt, geht hervor aus der fast allen Individuen gleichen Hautfarbe und der sichtlichen Übereinstimmung in der Körper- und besonders in der Gesichtsbildung; zudem besteht bei den übrigen Eingeborenenstämmen Südwestafrikas eine ausgesprochene Abneigung gegen eine Rassenvermischung mit den verachteten Buschleuten.

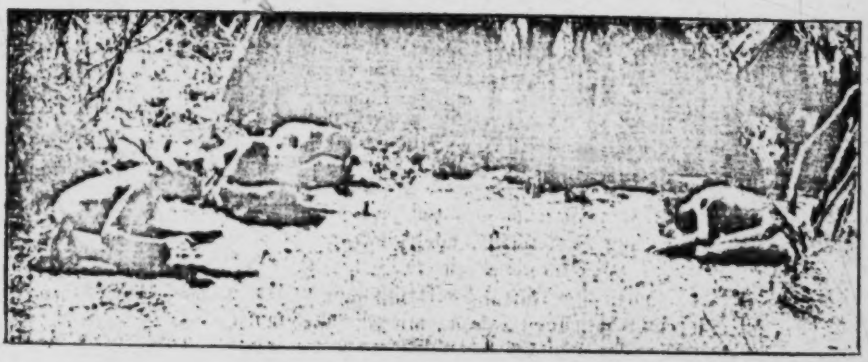
Ich komme nun zu einigen ethnologischen und ethnographischen Beobachtungen, die mir Interesse zu verdienen scheinen. Besonders angezogen haben mich die Tänze der Heikumleute, von denen einer, der ||o ||au, keinerlei Ähnlichkeit aufweist mit irgend einem mir sonst bekannt gewordenen Eingeborenentanz Südwest- und Ostafrikas.

Der ||o ||au-Tanz (Kungsprache: ||ooské) ist ein Männertanz, durch welchen eine Reihe von Duellgängen der beteiligten Tänzer zur Darstellung gebracht wird (Fig. 5 und 6). Sechs Männer, je drei einander gegenüber, knien auf einem Raum von etwa 3 *m* im Geviert, so dass der zwischen den beiden Reihen befindliche Raum frei bleibt. In der Mitte dieses freien Raumes liegt ein Haufen Feldkost. Die Männer knien tief niedergekauert und sitzen dabei auf den Fersen. Je zwei fechten einen „Gang" aus, während die beiden anderen Paare sich ausruhen und zuschauen. Ein Gang dauert etwa 2 Minuten; es wird in den Gängen zwischen den Kämpfenden in bestimmter Reihenfolge gewechselt, so dass jeder mit jedem zum Duell kommt.

Ein Gang besteht in folgendem: die Gegner sehen sich in ihrer zusammengekauerten Stellung weit vornübergebeugt wie Deckung suchend scharf in die Augen und wenden auch bei den heftigsten Bewegungen der Arme keinen Blick von einander; die Hände der Gegner schlagen nun im Takt, indem auf einen kräftigeren Schlag ein schwächerer folgt, mit kräftigem Ruck flach auf den vor den Spielenden aufgelockerten Boden, wobei die Kämpfenden bei jedem Aufschlag ein von hoher körperlicher

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.



und seelischer Anspannung zeugendes kurz vorgestossenes H'hm Hhe ertönen lassen; der stärkere Ton liegt dabei auf dem H'hm, das auch von dem stärkeren Aufschlag der Hände begleitet wird. Dabei werden die Bewegungen des Deckens gegen vom Gegner geführten Schlag oder Stoss ausgeführt. Das Gesicht hat einen zornigen und dabei lauernden Ausdruck, während der ganze Körper aufs höchste gespannt ist. Nach Verlauf von etwa 2 Minuten macht einer der Kämpfer eine Bewegung des Getroffen- oder Erschlagenseins, indem er einen Arm erhebt und nach hinten übersinkt, während der Gegner eine Geste des Triumphes über den besiegten Gegner macht.

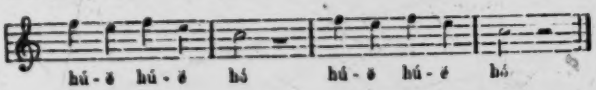
4: Werner FX10 Bushmen

Durch das Aufschlagen der Hände auf den aufgelockerten Boden werden die Kämpfenden häufig mit Sand überschüttet, was sie aber nicht in der gespannten Beobachtung des Gegners stört.

Der Sinn des Spieles ist angeblich der, dass einer der Kämpfenden sich unrechtmässig Kost angeeignet hat, die ihm der andere im Kampf abzunehmen trachtet. Selbst alterasschwache Greise spielen mit grosser Passion und äusserster Anspannung der Muskelkraft mit. Die Frauen reichen von Zeit zu Zeit den ermatteten Gegnern Wasser zur Stärkung.

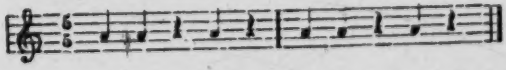
Der ganze Vorgang erinnert zwar an sich wütend gegenüberstehende und anknurrende Hunde oder Affen, die sich zum Ansprung zusammenkauern und dabei auf den Vorderbeinen kleine Sätze auf der Stelle machen, doch hat er trotz der tierischen Gesten und Laute etwas durch seine Lebhaftigkeit und durch den Affekt, der aus den Gesichtszügen spricht, Anziehendes.

Während der ||o ||au keine musikalische Begleitung hat, werden die anderen Tänze der Heikumleute von einem Frauengesang begleitet. Die Melodien, die ich zu beobachten Gelegenheit hatte, waren einfache Tonfolgen, die ich vergeblich in eine bestimmte uns geläufige Dur- oder Molltonart einzureihen versuchte; die Intervalle sind nach europäischen Begriffen nicht rein. Eine häufige Tonfolge war die folgende, wobei ich jedoch nochmals ausdrücklich betone, dass die Intervalle nicht genau denen unseres Durakkordes entsprechen.

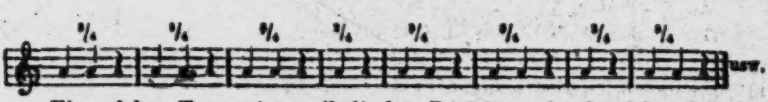


Zwischen den Silben hu und e findet ein leichtes Überschlagen der Stimme statt, so dass der ganze Gesang an ein Jodeln erinnert. Statt der Folge f e f e c wurden häufig andere Tonfolgen gesungen: so g f g f e oder g e g e c. Auch kompliziertere Tonfolgen, die an unsern Septimenakkord erinnern, waren nicht selten.

Der Gesang wird stets von Händeklatschen begleitet. Dabei ist der Rhythmus, in dem geklatscht wird, sehr eigenartig; jedenfalls entspricht er nicht dem uns Europäern geläufigen Gefühl für musikalischen Takt. Mir sind besonders zwei Rhythmen im Gedächtnis geblieben, die ich zu charakterisieren versuchen will. Man denke sich einen Takt, der in der arischen Musik allerdings meines Wissens nicht existiert, nämlich einen $^5/_4$-Takt. Von den fünf Fünfteln dieses Taktes wird auf das erste, zweite und vierte Fünftel geklatscht, während auf das dritte und fünfte Fünftel Pausen fallen. Der Takt würde also, wenn ich die Klatschgeräusche mit ♩, die Pausen mit 𝄽 bezeichne, so aussehen:



Ein anderer Klatschrhythmus ist der folgende, bei dem $^5/_4$- mit $^3/_4$-Takt wechseln:



Ein solcher Tanz mit musikalischer Begleitung ist der folgende, den ich als Kürbistanz bezeichnen möchte und der an ein in Deutschland von Kindern viel gespieltes Ballspiel erinnert. Eine Anzahl von Frauen geht in flottem Schritt im Gänsemarsch auf einer Kreislinie, dabei im Takt mit den Händen klatschend und singend. Das Klatschen geschieht bei den Heikums mit gespreizten Fingern im Gegensatz zu den Hereros, die mit aneinander gelegten Fingern klatschen. Dabei wird ein Kürbis von etwa Kinderkopfgrösse von einer der Tänzerin zur andern geworfen und zwar stets rückwärts vom Vordermann zum nächstfolgenden Hintermann.

Die umstehenden Männer bemühen sich nun, den Kürbis in der Luft abzufangen, und die scheinbare Entrüstung der tanzenden Frauen ist gross, wenn dies einem der Männer gelingt, der dann den Kürbis mit einem Messer zerschneidet, so dass ein neuer Ball zur Fortsetzung des Spieles genommen werden muss.

Ein anderer Tanz, an dem vornehmlich die Männer beteiligt sind, könnte mit dem Namen Vogeltanz bezeichnet werden. Die Männer tanzen im Kreise, die Frauen umstehen den Kreis, klatschen in die Hände und singen. Die Männer haben um die Knöchelgegend Tanzspangen gelegt; es sind dies Ketten von trockenen Bohnenschoten, deren Fruchtkerne bei jedem Schritt klappern und so den Tanzrhythmus scharf hervorheben. Die Tanzschritte sind kurz, kaum $^1/_2$ Fuss lang, so dass die Fortbewegung der Tanzenden im Kreise nur langsam vor sich geht. Die Stärke des Auftretens bezw. Aufstampfens auf den Boden wechselt im Rhythmus. Dabei wird eine Reihe symbolischer Gesten gemacht. Der angesehenste der Tänzer hat sich einen mit Glas- und Eisenperlen verzierten grossen Adlerschnabel vor die Stirn gebunden und macht häufig die Bewegung des Hackens mit dem Schnabel, dann wieder, indem er langsam die Arme erhebt, die Geste des ruhigen Schwebens des Adlers in der Luft. Ein anderer Tänzer trägt während des ganzen Tanzes ein Vogelnest in der Hand. In einer bestimmten Phase des Tanzes machen die Tänzer die Bewegung des Fruchtaufnehmens vom Boden, indem sie sich niederbücken und dicht über dem Boden in die Luft greifen; bald darauf tanzen einzelne auf die Frauen zu und machen die Bewegungen, als wollten sie eine der Umstehenden ergreifen.

Plötzlich wird einer der Tänzer scheinbar bewusstlos; ein Zuschauer, den ich nach der Bedeutung dieses Vorgangs fragte, sagte mir, der Mukuru (Hererobezeichnung für Gott) sei in ihm. Andere Tänzer umstehen, immer im Tanzschritt bleibend, den Besessenen, bemühen sich um ihn und fächeln ihm Kühlung zu, bis dieser plötzlich mit einem gellenden Schrei umsinkt. Die Umstehenden fangen ihn auf und tragen ihn bei Seite, während die andern weitertanzen. Der „Arzt“ nimmt sich jetzt des Bewusstlosen an; er pustet je zweimal in jedes Ohr und einmal auf die Stirn. Sichtlich kehrt jetzt das Bewusstsein wieder und bald ist der Besessene imstande, sich zu erheben und weiterzutanzen.

4: Werner FX10 Bushmen

Die musikalische Begleitung wird allein von den Frauen geliefert, doch verhalten sich auch die tanzenden Männer nicht ganz schweigsam; bisweilen stösst einer der Tänzer einen lauten Schrei, gewöhnlich in hoher Fistellage, aus, bisweilen einen ebenfalls in möglichst hoher Tonlage schwebenden Zungentriller, ganz wie es der Affekt dem Einzelnen eingibt.

Das Klatschen bei einem Tanz ist sehr weit hörbar; als ich mich eines Abends der Station näherte, hörte ich bereits auf 3 *km* Entfernung das Klatschen tanzender Frauen.

Die geschilderten Tänze scheinen unter den Buschleuten weite Verbreitung zu haben, wenigstens fand ich alle drei bei den im Kaukaufeld wohnenden Kungleuten mit nur geringen Abweichungen wieder.

Über die Ernährung der Heikumbuschleute konnte ich das Folgende in Erfahrung bringen, wobei ich bedauere, dass mir die nötigen Grundlagen zur botanischen Bestimmung der Feldkost fehlten.

Die Nahrung ist eine vorwiegend vegetabilische, doch ist der Buschmann durchaus kein Fleischverächter; im Gegenteil, wo er animalische Nahrung haben kann, nützt er sie für seine Küche aus. Er ist dabei so wenig wählerisch, dass man sagen kann, er isst alles Fleisch, dessen er habhaft werden kann; selbst Hyänenfleisch habe ich Buschleute mit grossem Behagen verzehren sehen. Das Fleisch wird beschafft teils durch Jagd mit Bogen und Pfeil, teils durch Wildfallen. Auf die Jagdwaffen werde ich später zu sprechen kommen, hier möchte ich nur eine Wildschlinge erwähnen, die ich im Kaukaufelde zu sehen Gelegenheit hatte. Auf einen Wildpfad war eine aus Pflanzenbast gedrehte Schlinge gelegt, welche durch einen in den Boden gesteckten federnden Stamm nach oben gezogen und am Boden durch Holzhaken festgehalten wurde. Wenn das Wild beim Berühren der Schlinge diese von den Haken abstreift, zieht der federnde Stamm die Schlinge nach oben zu. Auch in Gruben wird das Wild gefangen; mir wurde ein an einem etwa 5 *m* langen Bambusstabe befestigter Eisenhaken gezeigt, der dazu dient, das in die Gruben gefallene Wild herauszuziehen.

Die Tiere, die für den Buschmann in Betracht kommen, sind alle Arten von Antilopen, von dem riesigen Elan bis zum kleinen Deuker, Giraffen, Schweine, Hasen, von Geflügel namentlich Perlhühner.

Doch noch tiefer in der Tierreihe findet der Buschmann Objekte zur Bereicherung seiner Küche. Aus der Reihe der Amphibien bevorzugt er den grossen Ochsenfrosch, der zur Regenzeit in allen Tümpeln seinen Bass ertönen lässt. Das Fleisch des Frosches wird mit der Haut und den Knochen gekocht, in hölzernen Gefässen zu einem Brei gestampft und dann gegessen. Von Insekten werden die Heuschrecken und Termiten zu Speisen verwandt. Beide werden geröstet gegessen. Die Termiten werden in der kurzen Zeit, in der sie geflügelt sind, durch zum Zwecke ihres Fanges unterhaltene Feuer in so grossen Mengen angelockt, dass es den Buschleuten ein Leichtes ist, in wenigen Stunden eine reiche Beute zu sammeln. Eine besondere Delikatesse im Buschmannshaushalt ist der wilde Honig, der, wie ich mich selbst überzeugen konnte, sehr schmack-

haft ist, und am Omuramba omatako sowohl wie im Kaukaufelde viel gefunden wird.

Den Ochsenfrosch nennt der Heikumbuschmann ntchei (Herero: otjisume), die Termite |ui (Herero: othohumboli).

Die vegetabilische Nahrung wechselt natürlich nach den Jahreszeiten und ist sehr mannigfach. Ich will versuchen, eine kurze Übersicht zu geben, wobei ich mir klar bin, dass dieselbe keinen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit machen kann.

1. Die Chamá oder taba (Herero: omatanga). Es sind dies die gerösteten Kerne des hier allgemein bekannten Kaffernkürbis, die ein ganz wohlschmeckendes Gericht liefern.

2. Die ||üni (Herero: omarunga); mit diesem Namen bezeichnet der Heikumbuschmann die in hiesiger Gegend viel vorkommende Palme. Essbar sind von dieser sowohl die etwa apfelgrossen Früchte, deren Fruchtschale einen süsslichen, an Johannisbrod erinnernden Geschmack hat, als auch das weiche Innere des Stammes. Letzteres ist eine weissliche, weiche, von Fasern durchzogene Masse, die von den Buschleuten durch Kochen und Zerstampfen zur Nahrung hergerichtet wird.

3. Eine weisse Pilzart, von den Buschleuten naú, von den Hereros majova genannt; der Pilz wächst in der Regenzeit besonders an den Rändern von Termitenhaufen; der Durchmesser seines Tellers erreicht etwa 20 *cm*. Gegessen wird er in rohem und gekochtem Zustande. Ob tatsächlich überreicher Genuss dieses Pilzes, wie von den Hereros behauptet wird — ejova, plural majova, heisst auf Herero dumm — einen nachteiligen Einfluss auf die Geistestätigkeit übt, ist mir nicht bekannt.

4. Die Unki, eine sehr bekannte, etwa haselnussgrosse Zwiebelart, von den Buschleuten ||au genannt, die sehr häufig vorkommt und einen wichtigen Bestandteil der Küchenvorräte nicht nur der Buschleute, sondern auch der Hereros bildet.

5. Die ||guitcha der Buschleute, ussessenga der Hereros, eine im Geschmack an Kartoffeln erinnernde Knollenfrucht, die geröstet gegessen wird.

6. Eine ähnliche Wurzelknollenfrucht ist die ondubi der Hereros; die Pflanze hat rosafarbene Blüten und lange lanzettliche Blätter.

7. Die árugu (Herero: omakungu), eine Gurkenart. Die Pflanze ist ein Rankengewächs, dessen Früchte denen unserer Gurken gleichen; sie werden etwa fingerlang und nehmen, wenn sie reif sind, eine lebhafte rote Färbung an. Sie werden in Asche geröstet und warm gegessen.

8. Die ||ániba (Herero: maramba), ein kleiner Busch mit einer Bohnenfrucht, ähnlich im Aussehen und Geschmack unseren Saubohnen.

9. Die sng der Kungbuschleute; es ist dies ein grosses Rankengewächs mit doppelt gelappten Blättern, deren mächtige Wurzel von den Buschleuten als Wasserwurzel sehr geschätzt wird. Die Frucht hat die Grösse einer Wallnuss, sie besteht aus zwei Keimblättern, die von einer im frischen Zustand weichen, im trockenen sehr fest werdenden Schale umschlossen sind. Zwischen Frucht und Schale befindet sich eine geringe Menge einer weisslichen schleimigen Flüssigkeit, die das Schaleninnere

schlüpfrig erhält. Die Frucht wird nach Entfernung der Schale getrocknet und geröstet und hat dann den Geschmack der in Ostafrika häufigen Erdnuss. Ihr Genuss hat eine ausgesprochen abführende Wirkung.

10. Die Buschleute kennen ebenso wie die Hereros noch andere Wasserwurzeln; so bezeichnen die Letzteren eine kleinere sehr wasserreiche Wurzel, die die Gestalt und Grösse unserer Runkelrübe hat, mit chue.

11. Die |ŋ-Frucht der Kungleute ist eine Nuss von etwas mehr als Wallnussgrösse, deren in einer harten Schale liegender Kern wie unsere Haselnuss schmeckt. Die harte innere Schale ist noch von einer weicheren äusseren umschlossen, die ausgesprochen süss schmeckt und von den Buschleuten zu einem im Aussehen und Geschmack durchaus an Apfelmus erinnernden Brei gekocht wird.

Über die Kleidung der Heikum ist nicht allzuviel zu sagen.

Die Männer begnügen sich in den meisten Fällen mit einem ledernen Lendenlappen, der vorn und hinten an einem um die Taille gegürteten Riemen befestigt wird.

Die Frauen tragen einen ebensolchen etwas längeren Lederlappen um die Lenden, ein zweites Fell gürten sie sich von einer Schulter zur entgegengesetzten Hüfte.

Die Felle sind der Haare beraubt. Sie werden nach der Abhäutung zwei Tage lang auf dem Boden ausgespannt, der Sonne ausgesetzt, dann enthaart und auf der Innenseite mit einem roten Wurzelsaft eingerieben. So zubereitet werden sie auf längere Zeit in den Boden eingegraben und sind dann verwendungsfähig.

Nicht selten findet man bei den Buschleuten Sandalen, die sie sich in einfachster Weise aus Antiloponfell schneiden. Eine Ledersohle wird durch drei Verbindungsriemen an einem auf der Spannhöhe liegenden, unter den Knöcheln durchgezogenen Riemenring befestigt; von den Verbindungsriemen läuft einer zwischen erster und zweiter Zehe hindurch, während die beiden anderen an der Innen- und Aussenseite des Fusses angebracht sind.

Die Kinder gehen ganz nackt. Bei dieser Spärlichkeit der Kleidung kommt der Sinn für Schmuck doch voll zu seinem Rechte.

Vielen Schmuckgegenständen kommt die Bedeutung von Amuletten zu, die für die verschiedensten Zwecke getragen werden. Die Weiber sind reichlicher geschmückt als die Männer; während letztere sich häufig mit Armringen aus Antilopenleder begnügen, findet man die Frauen gewöhnlich überladen mit Schmuckgegenständen. Ein sehr beliebter Frauenschmuck sind Halsketten aus Straussneischale. Die Schale der Eier wird zu kleinen, etwa pfennigstückgrossen, in der Mitte durchbohrten, kreisrunden Plättchen verarbeitet und an einem Riemen aufgezogen. Aus demselben Material werden auch Arm- und Beinringe hergestellt.

An Stelle der Straussneiplättchen werden zu Halsketten und Armringen häufig erhandelte bunte Glasperlen verwendet. Viele Frauen sieht man mit einem auf der Brust hängenden Schildkrötenschalenkästchen ein-

hergehen, das mit perlenbesetzten Lederstreifen verziert ist und zur Aufbewahrung von Tabak dient.

Auch durchbohrte Wurzelstückchen, die durch natürliche regelmässig eingekerbte Ringe ausgezeichnet sind, werden zu Halsketten an Lederriemen aufgereiht.

Von Schmuckgegenständen, die gleichzeitig die Bedeutung eines Amuletts haben, habe ich die folgenden vorgefunden:

1. Stückchen getrockneten Antilopenfleisches werden auf der Brust getragen in dem Glauben, der Träger werde, so lange er diese Requisiten trage, keinen Mangel an Fleischkost haben.

2. Dieselbe Bedeutung haben getrocknete Antilopenohren, die in einem kleinen Lederbeutel auf der Brust getragen werden.

3. Ein Stück Wurzelholz, |un |gei genannt, wird durchbohrt an einem Bastfaden auf der Brust getragen. Mit diesem Wurzelstückchen hat es eine eigene Bewandnis. Die Buschleute schaben etwas von seiner Oberfläche, wenn sie auf Jagd sind und zum Erblicken von Wild ein helles Auge zu benötigen glauben, in Pulverform ab und streichen sich das Pulver zwischen die Augen und von da aufwärts über die Stirnmitte bis zur Haargrenze. Sie glauben durch diese Prozedur ihre Sehschärfe steigern zu können. Ein Versuch, den ich selbst mit dem Pulver machte, erzeugte auf der bestrichenen Hautpartie keinerlei Veränderungen, hatte natürlich auch auf die Sehschärfe keine ersichtliche Einwirkung.

4. Kleine hölzerne Stäbchen, die als Orakelinstrumente namentlich von den Kungleuten des Kaukaufeldes verwandt werden.

Es sind dies 4 Holzstäbchen, die auf der Brust an einem Faden aufgereiht getragen werden.

Sie haben etwa Fingerlänge und eine Breite von etwa 2 *cm*. Zwei davon sind etwa fingerdick, die beiden anderen nur wenige Millimeter stark; das eine Ende der Stäbchen ist glatt abgeschnitten das andere zugespitzt. Diese 4 Stäbchen werden befragt für alle möglichen Zwecke. Wenn der Buschmann wissen will, wo sich Wild befindet, wo er einen Feind zu erwarten hat, welchen Weg er einschlagen soll, so befragt er seine Stäbchen. Er macht dies in folgender Weise. Vor sich breitet er einen Lederlappen aus und kauert sich nieder. Nun legt er alle 4 Stäbchen parallel übereinander in die linke Hand, den Handrücken dem Boden zugewandt. Mit einem plötzlichen Ruck, begleitet von Zungenschnalzen, wirft er die Stäbchen auf den Lappen; natürlich springen die Stäbchen nach allen Seiten auseinander und weisen mit ihren Spitzen nach verschiedenen Richtungen. Nun bedeutet je nach dem vorliegenden Fall jedes Stäbchen etwas Besonderes. Als ich einen Buschmannkapitän im Kaukaufeld über das Schicksal unserer Patrouille orakeln liess, bedeutete in seinem Wurf eines von den dicken Stäbchen die Ochsenkarre, die die Patrouille mit sich führte. Über die Bedeutung der Stäbchen im einzelnen Falle erhebt sich zwischen dem Orakelsprecher und dem Zuschauer öfters eine lebhafte Auseinandersetzung, bei der schliesslich anscheinend der Angesehenere mit seiner Ansicht durchdringt.

4: Werner FX10 Bushmen

Die Kleidung der Kungleute im Kaukaufeld ist im wesentlichen dieselbe wie die der Heikum am omuramba ua omatako, auch der Schmuck weist keine grossen Verschiedenheiten auf, doch sind mir einige Besonderheiten der Kaukauleute aufgefallen, die ich bei den Heikum nicht gefunden habe. Die Kungs des Kaukaufeldes hatten als Arm- und Halsschmuck Ringe aus Wildebeestschwanzhaaren geflochten, desgleichen Arm- und Beinringe aus gedrehtem Gras; ferner trugen sie Stricke aus gedrehtem Bast in reichlicher Anzahl über der Brust gekreuzt; weiter fand ich im Kaukaufeld Halsringe aus getrockneten und geflochtenen Antilopensehnen, und, in grösserer Anzahl als bei den Heikum, Kupfer-, Messing- und Eisenringe. Die letzteren handeln die Kungbuschleute des Kaukaufeldes von den Ovambos und Betschuanen ein gegen Straussaneier und Antilopenfelle.

Wie die Kleidung so ist auch der Hausrat der Buschleute sehr einfach und bald aufgezählt.

Holzpfannen ohne Henkel von verschiedener Grösse findet man wohl in jeder Hütte. Zum Zerstampfen von Nahrungsmitteln bedienen sich die Buschleute eines zylindrischen mörserartigen Holzgefässes mit dicker Wandung und sehr starkem Boden. Zum Zerstampfen dient ein etwa 30 *cm* langer, 4 *cm* dicker Holzstab.

Als Stühle werden für Europäeransprüche lächerlich kleine Holzschemel verwandt; dieselben bestehen aus zwei kaum handgrossen, kreisrunden Holzplatten, welche durch 2 Holzstäbe verbunden sind, ihre Höhe beträgt etwa 10 *cm*.

Beile sind in den Werften reichlich vorhanden. Sie bestehen aus kleinen Eisenklingen an dicken Holzgriffen. Aus der Form der Beile ist erkennbar, wie der Wert des Eisens Sparsamkeit in der Verwendung dieses kostbaren Metalls nötig macht. Die Wucht des Schlages, die bei europäischen Beilen durch die Schwere des Eisenteiles erzeugt wird, erreicht der Buschmann durch keulenartige Verdickung des Holzstieles am Beilende. Man findet neben Beilen mit längsgestellter auch solche mit querstehender Klinge.

Ein häufig anzutreffendes Instrument ist ein Enthaarungsmesser für Tierhäute. Dasselbe besteht aus einer kurzen querstehenden Eisenklinge, die in einen Holzstiel eingelassen ist.

Als Tabakspfeifen dienen verschiedene Modelle. Die Buschleute, die einen Blättertabak jederzeit im Busch finden, verstehen es ausgezeichnet, sich in kürzester Zeit einen Pfeifenkopf aus einer Wurzelknolle zu improvisieren. Sehr beliebt sind grosse Pfeifen aus dem abgeschnittenen Ende eines Kuduhornes bestehend. Nahe der Spitze des Hornes befindet sich eine Öffnung, in welche eine den Tabak aufnehmende Metallhülse gesteckt wird. Die Schnittfläche des Hornendes wird an den Mund angepresst und der Rauch in tiefem Zuge in die Lunge eingesogen. Sehr häufig findet man auch einfache Patronenhülsen als zwar primitive aber verwendbare Tabakspfeifen. Tonpfeifen, die im Kaukaufelde nicht selten sind, werden von den Betschuanen importiert.

Ein häufig anzutreffendes Küchenrequisit ist ein grosser flacher Holzlöffel mit gebogenem Stiel, der jedoch nicht zum Einführen von Speisen in den Mund verwandt wird, sondern nur zur Füllung von Gefässen. Die Buschleute essen mit den Fingern, ihre Suppen trinken sie aus der gemeinsamen Holzschüssel und schlecken den Rest mit dem gekrümmten Zeigefinger und der Zunge aus.

Als Töpfe finden Kürbisgefässe, die mit Riemen umwunden und an Stöcken auf der Schulter getragen werden, Verwendung.

Als besonderer Luxusgegenstand findet sich in mancher Hütte ein grosser, starkwandiger und mit eingekerbten weissgefärbten Bändern verzierter Tontopf, der aus dem Ovambolande importiert worden ist.

Besonderes Interesse beanspruchen die Instrumente zum Feuermachen. Der Buschmann kennt deren zwei, das dáni und das ‖oro.

Das dáni (dá = Feuer) besteht aus zwei Holzstäben von je etwa 40 *cm* Länge. An einem Ende des einen befindet sich eine pfannenartige Vertiefung, in die das eine abgerundete Ende des anderen hineinpasst. Der Pfannenrand hat einen kleinen Ausschnitt, aus welchem die zu Zunder geriebene, glühende Holzmasse beim Feuerquirlen auf einen glatten Stein entleert wird. Der Buschmann vermag mit diesem Instrument in weniger als einer halben Minute Feuer zu machen.

Das andere dem Buschmann bekannte Feuerzeug ist das ‖oro, ein Feuerstein mit Schlagring und Zunderbüchse, das von den Betschuanen importiert wird.

Ein Instrument, das neben seinem Gebrauch für Lederarbeiten auch medizinischen Zwecken dient, ist eine spitze Eisennadel von etwa 20 *cm* Länge und 3 *mm* Stärke, die fast jeder männliche Buschmann in einem schmalen Lederfutteral bei sich führt. Die Nadel wird von den Buschleuten mit grosser Geschicklichkeit zur Entfernung von Dornen aus der Haut benutzt, eine Dienstleistung, die der Buschmann naturgemäss häufig von seinem Medizinmann in Anspruch nehmen muss.

Ausser den obenerwähnten Jagdgeräten, Wildschlinge und Wildhaken, wurde mir ein mit einiger Kunstfertigkeit bearbeiteter, etwa $1^1/_2$ *m* langer Holzstab gezeigt, der zum Tragen erlegten Wildes auf der Schulter verwandt wird.

Es erübrigt noch, der Waffen der Buschleute Erwähnung zu tun. Dieselben beschränken sich im wesentlichen auf Bogen und Pfeil. Der Bogen besteht aus festem, elastischem Holz, das sich nach den Enden zu verjüngt.

Die Bogensehne wird aus den ausgefaserten Strängen von Gemsbocksehnen gedreht.

Die Pfeile sind von ganz eigenartiger Beschaffenheit. Der Schaft besteht aus einem etwa 60 *cm* langen Stück Binsenrohr, das am unteren Ende gefiedert ist, in das obere Ende wird ein etwa 15 *cm* langes, nach beiden Seiten zugespitztes Elanknochenstück, das durch Schleifen auf Steinen sorgfältig gerundet ist, eingelassen, und zwar so, dass es leicht herausgenommen und umgekehrt wieder eingesetzt werden kann. Das vordere, zur Aufnahme der Knochenspitze bestimmte Ende des Binsen-

4: Werner FX10 Bushmen

schaftes ist mit Bast umwickelt, um ihm die nötige Widerstandskraft zu geben. Die beiden Enden der Knochenspitze erfahren nun eine verschiedenartige Behandlung. Die kürzere und stumpfere Spitze bleibt giftfrei und dient lediglich zu Jagdzwecken. Das längere und spitzere Ende ist mit einer braunen harzigen Giftmasse bestrichen. Über die Herkunft des Giftes ist es sehr schwer, von den Buschleuten etwas Sicheres zu erfahren, sie weichen darauf bezüglichen Fragen verlegen aus.

Ich habe nur das eine in Erfahrung bringen können, dass es von einem chi (Herero: otjindombo) genannten Baume durch Anritzen der Rinde gewonnen wird. Die in den Rindensaft eingetauchte Pfeilspitze wird über dem Feuer erhitzt.

Ausser dem Bogen und Pfeil findet man noch einfache unbearbeitete Kirris und — wenigstens bei den Buschleuten des Kaukaufeldes — Wurfspeere mit Eisenspitzen, die von den Ovambos erhandelt werden.

Pfeilschäfte und -spitzen werden in gesonderten Lederköchern auf dem Rücken getragen.

Zur Erlegung von Geflügel werden auch einfache, gefiederte Holzpfeile mit zugespitztem Ende verwandt.

So einfach wie das ganze Leben der Buschleute sind auch ihre Wohnungen. Sie bestehen nur aus wenig mehr als mannshohen, etwa 3 *m* im Durchmesser aufweisenden Hütten, welche durch Einlassen von Knüppeln in den Boden hergestellt werden. Diese das Gerüst bildenden Stangen vereinigen sich kuppelförmig in der Mitte, die Zwischenräume werden mit Gras gedichtet. Die Tür ist ein kaum meterhohes Loch; unmittelbar hinter derselben brennt fast ununterbrochen das Feuer, so dass das Hineinkriechen in die Hütte für den Europäer wenigstens mit Schwierigkeiten verbunden ist. Nicht selten begnügen sich die Buschleute, die ja wegen Mangels an Feldkost oder wegen der Wasserverhältnisse ihre Werften häufig zu verlegen gezwungen sind, mit der Herstellung unvollendeter Hütten, die nicht zu einem Kreis geschlossen sind, sondern nur einen Teil, gewissermassen ein Segment einer Hütte darstellen und nichts weiter als einen notdürftigen Sonnenschutz bewirken.

Im übrigen ist es erstaunlich, wie abgehärtet die so gut wie nackten Buschleute gegen die in der kalten Zeit sehr empfindliche Nachtkälte — nicht selten unter 0° — sind. An einem kleinen Feuer schlafen sie, abgesehen von ihrem Lendenlappen, unbekleidet ruhig auf dem kalten Boden, der eisigen Nachtluft ausgesetzt, ein Gedanke, der jedem Europäer, der in solchen Nächten nicht ohne drei Wolldecken schlafen kann, ein gelindes Zähneklappern verursacht.

Über die so häufig schon diskutierte Rassenstellung der Buschleute habe ich, wenigstens bezüglich der Heikum und Kung, bereits oben ausgeführt, dass mir die oft behauptete Hottentottenabstammung zweifelhaft erscheint. Die geringere Körpergrösse kann man allerdings mit der Verelendung der Rasse durch Jahrhunderte lang währende ungünstige Lebensbedingungen begründen. Gegen die Rasseverwandtschaft aber spricht die anthropologische Tatsache, dass bei den Heikum- und Kungfrauen

Steatopygie nicht zu finden ist und andererseits die völlige Verschiedenheit der Sprache.

Ich habe versucht, von der Sprache der Heikum am omatako und der Kung im Kaukaufeld eine Vokabelübersicht und einige grammatische Merkmale zu sammeln, die ich unten wiedergebe. Es hat sich dabei herausgestellt, dass die Sprachen der Heikum und Kung nur dialektisch verschieden sind, während sie zum Nama fast keine Verwandtschaft zu haben scheinen. Die Schnalzlaute allerdings sind fast dieselben wie in der Hottentottensprache; es bezeichnet also | den dentalen, || den lateralen, ! den cerebralen und ǂ den palatalen Schnalzlaut. Mit ⁝ bezeichne ich das scharfe Öffnen der Stimmritze im Vokalanlaut, das häufig zwischen einem Konsonanten und einem Vokal oder zwischen zwei Vokalen desselben Wortes liegt und das in dieser Weise im Nama nicht vorkommt.

Die Heikum des omatako sprechen neben der Buschmannsprache auch Nama, während die Kung des Kaukaufeldes nur ihre Buschmannsprache sprechen. Der Grund ist leicht ersichtlich, wenn man sich vergegenwärtigt, dass das Kaukaufeld eine allseitig durch die grossen wasserlosen Strecken der Kalahari umschlossene Oase ist, die nur in der Regenzeit von einigen jagenden Betschuanen besucht wird, sonst aber gänzlich abgeschlossen ist; die meisten der Buschleute, die wir im Kaukaufeld antrafen, hatten bis zu unserer Ankunft noch nie einen Weissen zu Gesicht bekommen.

Wortverzeichnis und grammatikalischer Abriss der Heikum- und Kungsprache.

1. Personen.

Deutsch	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Mensch	tschu	tschu	Khóib
Mann	tschu n|ô (|o = männlich)	tschu n|ô	áob
Frau	tsau	tschau	tarás
Sohn	daba |oma	daba |oma	|oab
Tochter	daba tsauma	daba tschauma	|oas
Bruder	tang	tang	|gasab
Mein Bruder	mé tang	me tang	—
Schwester	tsau tsng	tsau tang	|gas
Vater	ombá	ombā	dadáb
Mutter	mdei	medei	máma
Grossvater	omba n|ä (n|a = alt)	omba n|ä	aúda
Grossmutter	tschau |á	tschau |á	aúmama
Herr	gaucha	gaucha	gáob
Kapitän einer Werft	tschu gaucha	tschu gaucha	—
Diener	ǂëi	tschu nǂoa	|ān
Herero	Damá	Damá	Damáu
Betschuane	Birin	ǂgabé	Birin
Ovambo	|ave	—	—

Deutsch	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Ovambo vom Okowango	Gobá	Gobá	|navén
Nama	Nama	|á	Namán
Weisser	|ung	|ung	—
Heikum	Hei ‖um	Hei ‖um	—
Kung	|ung	|ung	—

2. Körperteile.

Kopf	|nê	|nê	tanás
Hals	|ang	|ang	|aus
Brust	taóa	|oa	‖áib
Bauch	|u	|u	‖umss
Bein	|um	|um	|nub
Arm	ǂá	ǂá	‖oab
Finger	|gau	|gau	|gunub
Zehe	ǂei	ǂei	|gunus
Gefäss	dang	dang	ǂaren
Rücken	|ô	|ô	|gaab
Haar	|nê |oí (Kopf)	|nê |oi	|ub
Auge	|ä	|ä	mus
Nase	tsch¦ung	tsch¦ung	ǂguis
Bart	tschik úi	tschik úi	|houms
Lippe	tschik ó	tschik ó	amss
Zunge	ntäli	ntäli	nami
Zähne	ta¦au	ta¦au	‖unss
Ohr	|ui	|ui	ǂgäiss
Nabel	|um	|um	sonís
Penis	tá	tá	χab
Hoden	sumgó	sum gó	ǂarás
Knie	ntχoá	|oá	‖oás
Ellenbogen	|uru	|uru	|unib
Hand	|au	|au	|umi
Haut	|nô	|nô	kob
Knochen	|u	|u	ǂob
Fett	|oi	|ai	‖unib
Fleisch	|ä	|ä	‖ani
Blut	|n	|ng	|aub
krank	|χai	|χai	|eisen

3. Tiere.

Elefant	|ô	|ô	ǂkoab
männlich	|ô |gó	|o |gó	aure ǂkoab
weiblich	|ô dê	|o dı	tararé ǂkoas
Giraffe	ǂoá	ǂoá	|naib
männlich	ǂoa |gô	ǂoa |go	|naib
weiblich	ǂoa dê	ǂoa dı	tararé |nais

Deutsch	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Elan	|n	|n	|ani
Hartebeest	tz:ō	itz:ō	ǂǎnab
Wildebeest (Gnu)	|ai	ǂnō	Gaub
Kudu	|óa	|óa	χaib
Deuker	|au	|u'	|aub
Schwein	aru	|oa	dirib
Vogel	tz:ába	ntχū	anin
Hund	ǂúi	ǂúi	arib
Löwe	|eí	antei	χam
Hyäne	‖ui	‖ui	ǂirab

(Das Wort ‖ui ist offenbar onomatopoetisch entstanden, da der Schrei der Hyäne ein ausgesprochenes hui ist.)

Schakal	|iχa	—	|airib
Hase	|ai	|ai	|oab
Perlhuhn	ari	nam	|inab
Ameise	ǂu ǂu	|no |oani	ǂovirub
Pferd	|nōé	nōé	hab
Rind	gummi	gummi	gumab
Bulle	gummi |gō	gummi |gō	gumma |ōb
Ochse	gummi tabiχa	gummi tabiχa	gumab
Kuh	gummi dé	gummi dí	tararé gumas
Kalb männlich	tzaume |ō	tzaume |ō	tsauob
weiblich	tzaume de	tzaume dí	tsaurus
Plural männlich	tzaume |ōssen	—	—
weiblich	tzaume déssen	—	—
Fäces	sang	si	χaub
Spur vom Menschen	tschu gussen	tschu gussen	daub

4. Waffen und Geräte.

Bogen	|au	|au	khāa
Pfeil	‖au	‖au	|ab
Pfeilfedern	|ui	|ui	|ambo
Pfeilgift	k:augum	uma	|āb
Speer	|ú |u	|ú |u	|ei goab
Eisen	|uri (Nama)	keie	|urib
Stuhl	|éisson	gacho	Stuhl (holländisch)
Angel für Wildgruben	|ui	ǂang ǂang	—
Köcher	|guru	|guru	—
Lendenleder der Männer	sora	tsch:ora	—
Lendenleder der Weiber	|u	|u'	—

Deutsch	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Schulterfell der Weiber	|ei	|ei	—
Kopfbedeckung	‖ā	‖ā	|abas
Schuh	|oá	|ōé	‖arós
Ring	réīma	rēima	ring (holländisch)
Ort für Leder	|ōu	|āuma	—
Beil	|ei	|ī	|oe
Messer	|ā	ǂei	goas
Messerscheide	|á tsiu	ǂei tschu	goan ‖os
Holz	da	|oá	'ein
Stein	|um	|um	|uis
Werft	tsiu	tsiu	‖aus

5. Meteorologische Begriffe und Verwandtes.

Sonne	|gam	|gam	sores
Mond	|ui	|ui	‖aab
Stern	|nq	|ng	|gamiros
Wind	|á	|á	ǂoab
Regen	n |ga	|gā di |gam	|anub
Regenzeit	n |ga	|ga di |gam	|anu ‖aib
Monat	|nui	|nui	‖aab
Jahr	kuli (nama)	kulika é	kuligu
Tag	tschee (nama)	tschee	tzees
morgens	|a |ang	|a |au	‖óaka
abends	|uia (|ui = Mond)	|ui	|oës
Nacht	|u	|u	tsúχub
Mitternacht	|u |n	|u di |n	tsuχub
Mittag	|gam kui	|aiu |ā	middag (holländisch)
heute	a dagē ‖ang	kakē |gam dignau	netzees
morgen	noi |uma	noi |uma	‖ari
gestern	ama |gam nau	|gam dinau agaideú	‖ari
vorgestern	—	|gamga úndoa	aitzé
Wolke	a |naussua	a |naussua	|audi
Sand	k|ā	k|a	|ovab
Baum	|ang	|ang	haiti
Busch	|ang nassi	|ang nassi	hei ums
Gras	‖ai	‖ai	|an

6. Nahrung und Verwandtes.

Speise	um	um	ǂun
essen	um	um	ǂun
trinken	natschng	natschng	a
Hunger	|á	|á	|ā

Deutsch	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Durst	|gam	|gam	‖ā
ich bin hungrig	me |ǃa	mē |ǃa	—
ich bin durstig	mē |gam	mē |gam	—
Löffel	hei ǂgam	hoi ǂgam	‖oab
Teller	|nu	|nu	|ores
Topf	kǃō	kǃō	suse
Feuer	ndā	ndā	|eis
Feuerzeug von Stein	ǂoro (nama)	ǂoro (nama)	dorós
Feuerzeug von Holz (Quirlhölzer)	dáni (nda = Feuer)	dángl	—
kochen	|noa	|noa	sai
Fleisch	|ā	|ā	‖ani
Wasser	|u	|u	‖ami
Tabak	maka (Herero)	maka (Herero)	Tabak (holländisch)
rauchen	χei	χi	ǂei
gib mir zu rauchen	na χei	—	—
Pfeife	|nō	|ō	|os
Milch	gu	gu	dai
Ei	|u	tschǃuuu	|uwus
Fett	|ai	|ai	‖unib
rösten	schang (nama)	|ǂnussen	sang
Nussart (Feldkost)	|ō	|ū	‖uaun

(im Text beschrieben unter Nr. 11.)

7. Verben.

(Das den Infinitiv ausdrückende Präfix haga- ist fortgelassen.)

schlafen	taǃā	taǃā	‖um
gehen	ū	ū	|ung
sagen	|noa	|noa	mi
sage mir	|noa mē	|noa mē	—
machen, tun	ō	ō	di
sehen	hassé	hahoa	mo, go
sitzen	|ō	|ō	ǂgū
schlagen	ǂam	|ū	ǂnau
ergreifen	ngū	gúa	|kō
töten	|ung	|á du	|am
schiessen (mit dem Bogen)	tχā	|ā	‖au
Gewehr	|abu (nama)	|noá	|abús
laufen	|gā	|gá	|óē
stehen	u‖gá	|nu	ma
lachen	tsi	tsi	āi
hören	taǃā	hatsǃā	‖au
riechen	|u	|u	|aba

Deutsch	Heikum	Kung	Nama
schmecken	ga|n	ga|n	tzätzä
fühlen	uda:ō	|ō	|urib
sich waschen	|óa	|äzo	‖assen
reiten	|abi (nama)	ha |uru	|abi
tanzen	zχáni	demzam	ǂä
sich freuen	|a|á	|a|á	|aia ǂau
traurig sein	dzn	ha |au	|a
beissen	|nai	|nai	nä
bitten	me ‖ei ‖ei	—	|ore
bezahlen	|ä	|äma	batale (holländisch)
kaufen	‖ama (nama)	‖ama (nama)	‖amá
schneiden	|hei	|hei	|au
festbinden	‖n	‖n	|ei
losbinden	kora	kora	ore

8. Adjektiva.

gut	gata:ä	gata:ä	|ei
böse	ga |au	ga |au	zua
feige	tχa	goá	|hum
schön	ga |um (sehr)	|um	isá
heiss	kui	dä	|gam
kalt	|ä	|ä	|aib
nass	tz:i	|u (= Wasser)	|a
trocken	|au	|u |é	ǂnasa
weiss	ze |au	|au	|uli
grün	|ang	|ang	|amr
blau	ǂangesen	‖daun	|óa
schwarz	dschō	dschō	ǂnaú
gelb	|ä	|a	|uni
rot	|aissen	|a	|abá
schnell	|ósse	|a?	|aisse
langsam	anta:eá	aussehaú	|ausse
leise	ta:éma	ta:éma	subusse
laut	|χi	|χi	|arisse
gesund	|χóa |χei	|χóa	ǂgausib
krank	|χai	|χai	|aisson
stark	|gao	|gao	|geissa
schwach	schui	|χá	subu
tot	|ai oder |é	|e	‖ōb
lebendig	|oa |é	|oa |e	odide
hart	|ang	|áo	gáro
weich	kam	kam	tsau(ra)

9. Pronomen personale.

ich	mē oder mehi	me	dita
du	tschoē ó	tschoē é	saatz

Deutsch	Heikum	Kung	Nama
er	ǎhng	ǎhng	‖ĕib
wir	tschússē	tschússē	sǎta
ihr	ta:ǂǎ	ta:ǂǎ	sado
sie	ǎhng(?)	tschudi tsch:ǂǎ	‖ĕin

10. Pronomen possessivum.

mein	méhng	méhing	ti
dein	tschoē ē(?)	atschi(?)	sa
sein	ǎhng(?)	ǎhing(?)	‖ĕib
unser	tsu |ǎ	wesse tschisch hug(?)	—
euer	mi dsú	mi tsú	—
ihr	i |á	(?)	—

Die mit (?) versehenen Formen sind nicht mit Sicherheit festzustellen.

11. Interrogativa.

wann?	ǂum katewa	—	ma |ub ai
wo?	kole wá	—	má pa
wie?	kole wá	—	mǎ pa
warum?	disse wá	—	dein |ǎroma
was?	atchíssi	atchíssi	táre

12. Pluralbildung.

Im Heikum wie im Kung wird der Plural durch Anhängung von sen an den Stamm des Substantivum gebildet, z. B.:

|a	Auge,	|oí	Haar,
|asen	Augen.	|oísen	Haare.

13. Geschlechtsunterscheidung.

Um das Geschlecht zu unterscheiden, fügt der Heikum und der Kung die Silben \|ō für das männliche, dē oder di für das weibliche Geschlecht dem Substantivum zu z. B.:

Elandantilope \|n
männlich \|n \|ō
weiblich \|n dē oder \|ndi.

14. Konjugation.

A. Präsens.

Im Präsens tritt zwischen pronomen personale und Verbalstamm die Form \|ē di oder a di. ta:a = schlafen,

Deutsch	Heikum	Kung
ich schlafe	mē |ē di ta:ǂǎ	mē |ē di ta:ǂǎ
du schläfst	tschoē ē |ē di ta:ǂǎ	dschoē ē |ē di ta:ǂǎ

Deutsch	Heikum	Kung
er schläft	ahng |ē di ta:ǂ̃ oder a di ta:ǂ̃	ahng |ē di ta:ǂ̃
wir schlafen	tachusse |ē di ta:ǂ̃	tachusse |ē di ta:ǂ̃
ihr schlaft	tah:ǂ̃ |ē di ta:ǂ̃	tach:ǂ̃ |ē di ta:ǂ̃
sie schlafen	tachudi tach:ǂ̃ tachu |ē di ta:ǂ̃	tachudi tach:ǂ̃ tachu |e di ta:ǂ̃.

B. Futurum.

Das Futurum wird gebildet durch Einfügung der Silben \|uma di zwischen pronomen personale und Verbalstamm.

ich werde schlafen	mē |uma di ta:ǂ̃	me |uma di ta:ǂ̃
du wirst schlafen	tachoē ē |uma di ta:ǂ̃	tachoē ē |uma di ta:ǂ̃ usw.

C. Präteritum.

Das Präteritum bildet der Kung durch Einfügen der Silben \|eia di, der Heikum durch Einfügen der Silben na dō zwischen pronomen personale und Verbalstamm.

ich habe geschlafen	mē na do ta:ǂ̃	me |eia di ta:ǂ̃
du hast geschlafen	tachoē ē na do ta:ǂ̃	tachoe ē |eia di ta:ǂ̃

D. Imperativ.

Der Imperativ wird durch den Verbalstamm ausgedrückt.

schlafe	ta:ǂ̃	ta:ǂ̃
gehe	u	u

E. Infinitiv.

Der Infinitiv wird gebildet durch Voransetzen des Präfixes haga vor den Verbalstamm.

schlafen	haga ta:ǂ̃	haga ta:ǂ̃
gehen	haga ú	haga ú

15. Gebräuchliche Wendungen.

wie heisst du?	u |u	tachoe ē oder a tachuē
was sagst du?	atchissi a di koia	atchissi a di koia
wo ist er?	ahng kolewa wá	—
gib mir	na mē	na mē
was willst du?	atchissi wa	atchiss 'a diú
ja	ta:ing	—
nein	koē	koē
komm her	oē	oē

16. Zahlworte.

Deutsch	Heikum	Kung	Nama
1	tachin ǂé	tachin ǂé	|ai
2	tachi dzá	tachidzá	|gam
3	tachin |ǂani	tachin |ǂani	|oná
4	unsicher	unsicher	hagá

Deutsch	Heikum	Kung	Nama
5	|gau	|gau (|gau = Hand)	—
6—9 bei Heikum und Kung durchaus unsicher			
10	|gau ǂeissen (Finger) (Zehen)	|gau ǂeissen	—

Bei Heikums und Kungs kann man mit Sicherheit nur die Bezeichnungen für 1, 2, 3, 5 und 10 erfahren, alle sonstigen Angaben sind unsicher. Bemerkenswert ist, dass 5 mit „Hand" und 10 mit „Hand und Zehen" bezeichnet wird.

Bei Heikum- und Kungbuschleuten ist die Art des Abzählens an den Fingern übereinstimmend.

Zur Bezeichnung von 1 wird der kleine Finger der linken Hand mit dem Zeigefinger und Daumen der rechten Hand erfasst und in die Hohlhand gebeugt; für 2, 3 und 4 folgen dann der vierte, dritte und zweite Finger der linken Hand, die in der gleichen Weise in die Hohlhand gebeugt werden. Um 5 zu bezeichnen, wird die linke Hand mit aneinandergelegten Fingern erhoben. Für 6, 7, 8 und 9 wird mit der rechten Hand in derselben Weise verfahren wie für 1, 2, 3 und 4 mit der linken Um 10 zu bezeichnen, werden die beiden flachen Hände leicht gehöhlt mit ihren Innenflächen aneinandergelegt.

Der Buschmann liebt es, vor Ausführung der Fingerzählbewegung mit der Spitze des kleinen Fingers der rechten Hand kurz die Unterlippe zu berühren.

Ob in der Sprache der Heikum oder Kung der Tonhöhenwechsel der Vokale, wie in der Hottentottensprache, eine Rolle spielt, ist nicht möglich gewesen festzustellen.

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THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE !KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THE Peabody Harvard Kalahari Expedition, under the leadership of Laurence K. Marshall, has made four field trips between 1950 and 1955 into the Kalahari Desert in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate to find and study Bushmen who were living in their own way, and not working for white farmers or for Negroes. The last of the four expeditions, that of 1955, was sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution as well as by the Peabody Museum of Harvard. 121 122

Our principal study was made with the /Kung Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. The Nyae Nyae region extends about 150 miles north and south, about 100 miles east and west, and is centred approximately at Gautscha Pan, which is located at *c.* 19° 48′ 30″ S. and 20° 34′ 36″ E. on the map of a survey of the area by the Administration of South West Africa dated 7.11.1935. The Nyae Nyae region is separated from the farmed areas of South West Africa by a stretch of waterless, uninhabited country over 100 miles wide. 131

We chose the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region for concentrated study because they are the least acculturated Bushmen we found.[1] They are non-literate, nomadic hunters and gatherers, with no agriculture or domesticated animals. They are completely self-reliant [121] 105 177

[1] On the expeditions we travelled extensively in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The groups of Bushmen we encountered were, in addition to the /Kung of Nyae Nyae, /Kung outside the Nyae Nyae region at Karakuwise, Nuragas, Khadum, and at water holes south of Gum in South West Africa, and at Kai Kai, Kubi and other places along the western border of Bechuanaland, where Chwana and Herero have cattle posts; Makaukau and Naron near Ghanzi, B. P.; /Kõ at Okwa and at Barachu, about 50 and 100 miles south of Ghanzi respectively; /Gikwe about 100 miles south-east of Ghanzi in the trackless sandy plain that lies between Ghanzi and Molepolole, where during the dry season there is no water; and //Ganakwe still farther south, below Chukudu. We studied the kinship terminology of the /Kõ and /Gikwe; Professor L. F. Maingard, for a time a member of the 1955 expedition, studied the /Kõ language, which has the labial (fifth) click of the southern group. [101]

Professor I. Schapera and Miss D. F. Bleek, in their Bushman studies, record information on these groups. For more data on the various names by which the groups are known and the areas in which they were found and the language groups into which Miss Bleek's studies place them, see especially Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 31 ff., and Bleek, D. F., 'The Distribution of Bushman Languages in South Africa', *Festschrift Meinhof*, pp. 55 ff.

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648 self-reliant. No European farms or institutions such as hospitals, schools, missions, trading posts, labour-recruiting or tax-collecting offices have been established in the Nyae Nyae region. The first government official to go into the region, Mr. Claude McIntyre, Senior Welfare Officer of the Administration of South West Africa, came with our first expedition to Gautscha Pan in 1951. The contact of the /Kung of this region with the neighbouring Bantu-speaking Negro tribes consists of occasional trading trips or visits to their Bushman relatives who are working for Chwana or Herero in western Bechuanaland.

123 We lived for seventeen months with the /Kung of Nyae Nyae; for six weeks in 1951, for fourteen consecutive months in 1952–3, for six weeks again in 1955.

During this time we had several interpreters. We wish to express our gratitude 115 particularly to two, Ngani and Kernel Ledimo, who had an exceptionally intelligent grasp of our purposes and problems and whose work was patient and precise. Ngani (this is his own preferred spelling of his name) is a Heikum Bushman who lived for many years with Mr. Courtney Clark in Grootfontein. Among the nine languages Ngani speaks are /Kung and English. Kernel Ledimo is a Chwana of the Batwana tribe who grew up among /Kung Bushmen on his father's cattle posts and was educated in an English school in Bechuanaland.

121 We made the kinship terminology of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region a subject 184 of special study. Our investigation of the /Kõ and /Gikwe kinship terminology shows that there is not one system common to all Bushman groups. This paper deals only with the /Kung system.

124 Our method of study was first to take genealogies of the members of six bands, comprising about 175 persons. This took a good deal of time but was rewarding as a background which helped us to place in their web of relationships most of the 600 [123] /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region whom we came eventually to know by sight or name as we travelled about or as they visited us.

124 After we had gathered the genealogical material we began to ask people what kinship terms they used for each other. We asked many informants, going over and 601 over the same questions. The terms for parents, offspring, and siblings were easily learned. But the terms for grandparents, grandchildren, and all collaterals threw us into confusion. For each grandparent or grandchild, of either sex, we found that a person might use one of two terms (and one of these has an alternate); and a person might use one of three terms for each collateral, with an alternate, a diminutive, and a distinction man-speaking and woman-speaking to complicate matters. The same term might be applied to relatives on either the paternal or maternal side. We did not know for some time what factor determined, for instance, whether a person applied the term *a* or *b* to his FaFa or MoFa or the term *a*, *b*, or *c* to his FaBr, MoBr or some other collateral. When we asked we were usually told, 'It is our custom', but one informant gravely explained that 'God created people and told them what terms to use for each other. Parents have taught their children ever since what terms to use.' It was ≠Toma, perhaps our most intelligent informant, who at last figured out what it was we did not understand and told us what he had assumed everyone knew, that the term 'followed the name'. In other words there is a factor, which we finally called the factor of the name, which under certain circumstances determines what term the individual uses. We began afresh to gather information to understand and

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test this factor and eventually we learned that there are two aspects to the /Kung system of kin terminology. In one terms are applied according to the biological position of the persons; in the other terms are applied because persons are classified with others by having the same names, in ways this paper will explain. The factor of the name has resulted in kin terms being applied by persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, but who are considered to be related through the factor of the name in what we call the name-relationship.

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Miss Bleek in her paper on 'Bushman Terms of Relationship'[1] has recorded /Kung terms. Students of the subject interested in comparing her paper with this will find them in agreement to a considerable extent, but Miss Bleek's paper does not go so deeply into the terminology as this does nor does it bring out the significance of the factor of the name.[2]

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Our material on /Kung kin terminology is presented in two parts. (I) The first part (A) deals with terms applied to consanguineous kin, and explains the factor of the name and the way the application of terms is extended through the factor of the name to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, in what we call the name-relationship; and (B) deals with terms applied to affines. (II) The second part deals with certain aspects of behaviour related to kin terminology, touching briefly upon marriage prohibitions and preferences from the point of view of terminology. It deals more fully with the joking relationship, an aspect of behaviour which relates closely to terminological categories. The paper finally touches upon the way the name-relationship serves as an amalgamating factor within a whole region among people who have no larger organized social units than autonomous bands, small ones of 10–15 persons up to large ones of 40–60 persons, composed of consanguineous kin and their affines.

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Space does not permit here a description of the composition of bands, but we hope in a future publication to give data on the family and bands, on hunting and veldkos territories, marriage, residence, settlement patterns, and on the behaviour among kin in forming hunting and gathering parties, arrow-lending, meat-sharing, gift-giving, &c.

[1] D. F. Bleek, 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 57–70.

[2] Miss Bleek (ibid.) sometimes gives the descriptive phrase in place of, or in addition to, the term, as if we should say father's brother or mother's brother instead of uncle. For instance, *ba siy* is a descriptive phrase meaning father's younger brother or younger sister. There are differences of spelling. We should like to follow Miss Bleek's spelling, but we put down as best we could what we heard and cannot change over to her spelling because in the different areas the Bushmen's pronunciation may possibly have varied slightly. There are some terms given by Miss Bleek which we did not hear in the Nyae Nyae region. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae do not use the term *tsau* for Br. We did not hear *||ge*, nor *soip||ge*, nor *tsa* as a prefix to *siy*. Otherwise the terms we record are recognizable as the same terms which Miss Bleek records. Miss Bleek, on the other hand, does not record all the terms which we record as used in the Nyae Nyae area. The principal difference lies, we think, in her not taking into account the factor of the name. We think she had an inkling of there being such a factor among the /Kung she worked with, for she says they had a word */ku* which she thought meant 'kinsman' or 'namesake'. In any case, she does not show all the terms which in the Nyae Nyae region might be applied to grandparents, grandchildren and collaterals on both the paternal and maternal sides. A detailed comparison of the papers would show several examples, but one will suffice to illustrate the point. Miss Bleek records the terms for FaBr, *tsu*, and MoBr, *tsau||ge*, giving the impression that the /Kung system makes a terminological distinction between the paternal and maternal siblings, whereas we found that in the Nyae Nyae area both terms, *tsu* and *tsau||ge*, might be used for either FaBr or MoBr, and, besides, that the sibling term, elder Br, might also be used for FaBr or MoBr, as will be explained.

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Part I: /Kung Kin Terminology

Some General Principles

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1. Terminologically no two persons may be simultaneously interrelated in more than one way. Persons may change their terminological relationship by marriage or, under some circumstances, by having their names changed, but when this occurs the former terminological relationship is supplanted by the latter.

2. Except in the relationship of Hu, Wi, DaHu, and WiFa, the relative biological age of any two persons applying kin terms to each other is almost invariably indicated. Either the terms *per se* imply relative age, as do the terms for biological father and son, or the term has a diminutive form which is applied by the older person to the younger.

3. The same terms are used both in address and in reference, except the term for Mo, which has a vocative form as well. In reference, but not in address, the possessive adjective precedes the term, as for instance *mi !ha*, my son. In address children usually double the terms; they say, for example, *tsu tsu*, 'uncle uncle'. The exception to this is the vocative form of the term for Mo which we did not hear doubled.

4. It is to be assumed that the terms are the same, man-speaking (m.s.) and woman-speaking (w.s.), unless the contrary is indicated.

5. In the description of the /Kung kinship system, when we use the English terms without designating relationships more specifically it is because our terminology fits the /Kung system. When we say grandparents we mean precisely to include FaFa, MoFa, FaMo, and MoMo. The terms uncle and aunt include siblings of both of ego's parents and the spouses of those siblings. The /Kung make no distinction between paternal and maternal cousins, nor between cross and parallel cousins, so one can conveniently use the term cousin to include FaBrSo, FaBrDa, FaSiSo, FaSiDa, MoBrSo, MoBrDa, MoSiSo, MoSiDa. When we use the terms nephew and niece we include BrSo, SiSo, BrDa, SiDa.

It will be useful for analytical purposes to distinguish two constellations of 'kin' terminology which we shall refer to as System A and System B. System A is applied to consanguineous kin and to persons classified with them by being named for and by having the same name as consanguineous kin and, in the case of spouses of collaterals, by being married to consanguineous kin. System B is applied to affines.

System A

We distinguish three categories of terms within System A. Category one comprises *parent–child terms*; category two, *sibling terms*; category three comprises two pairs of terms, with an alternate to one of the terms, woman-speaking, making five terms in all. We shall refer to the terms of category three as *generational terms*.[1]

[1] Professor Douglas Oliver, who kindly read and criticized the manuscript, helped us with many excellent suggestions for which we are most grateful. It was he who suggested, among other things, the designation 'generational terms' for this category, and pointed out the generational structure.

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Here are the parent–child terms:[1]

Fa	ba (b^ha)[2]
Mo	dai[3] (t^hai)
Mo (voc.)	aiya (āiya)
So	/ha (ŋ/^ha)
Da	≠khai (ŋ≠kxai)

These terms are subject to no modification. They are used by a person for no other relatives than his biological parents or offspring and no other terms can be applied in these relationships.

Sibling terms are as follows:

elder Br	/go (/o)
elder Si	/kwi (/kwi)
younger Br or Si	tsĩ (tsĩ)

The above terms are used for both full and half siblings. These terms are fixed to the sibling relationship in the sense that no other terms replace them under any condition; but, unlike the parent–child terms which are applied to no other relationship, the sibling terms are under certain circumstances extended to other relationships than that of biological sibling.

The generational terms are as follows:

Applied to males	*Applied to females*
tsu (tsũ)	//ga (g//^ha)
/gu/na (/uŋ/^ha)	tũn (txũŋ)
tun/ga w.s. (txuŋ.g/a) alternate to /gu/na	

The terms are reciprocal. If a male ego applies the term *tsu* to a man, he is termed *tsu* by that man. Or, if a male ego terms a woman *//ga*, she terms him *tsu*. It is the same with the */gu/na–tũn* pair.

The above statements are subject to the qualification that, when using these terms, the older person invariably uses a diminutive form for the younger person. We shall list the diminutives here, and then, to avoid being cumbersome, omit them henceforth throughout the text. The diminutive is expressed by adding the suffix *ma*,

[1] The spelling of the Bushman terms used in this paper is an approximation. We represented the Bushman sounds as we heard them as nearly as we could without using symbols except for the clicks. The four clicks are symbolized as follows: dental /, alveolar ≠, alveolar palatal /, and lateral //.

[2] Mr. Ernst Westphal of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, when he visited our expedition at Gautscha Pan, took down the terms in phonetic symbols as /Kung informants pronounced them. We give his symbols in parentheses the first time the term is given. We wish to express our gratitude to him.

[3] Mr. Westphal spells the term for Mo with a *t* (t^hai), as does Miss Bleek (*tai*). Professor Clement M. Doke, in his outline of the phonetics of the language of the /Kung, *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 130–65, on p. 150 spells it *ŧai*. We feel apologetic about insisting on *dai*, but we thought we heard the voiced sound *d*. We wondered if the *d* derived from *di* which means female and occurs in the term *di/guma* which is applied to persons who have the same name as one's mother (cf. p. 9).

601 'young' or 'small', to the term. In some instances the diminutives used man-speaking are derived from different terms from those used woman-speaking.

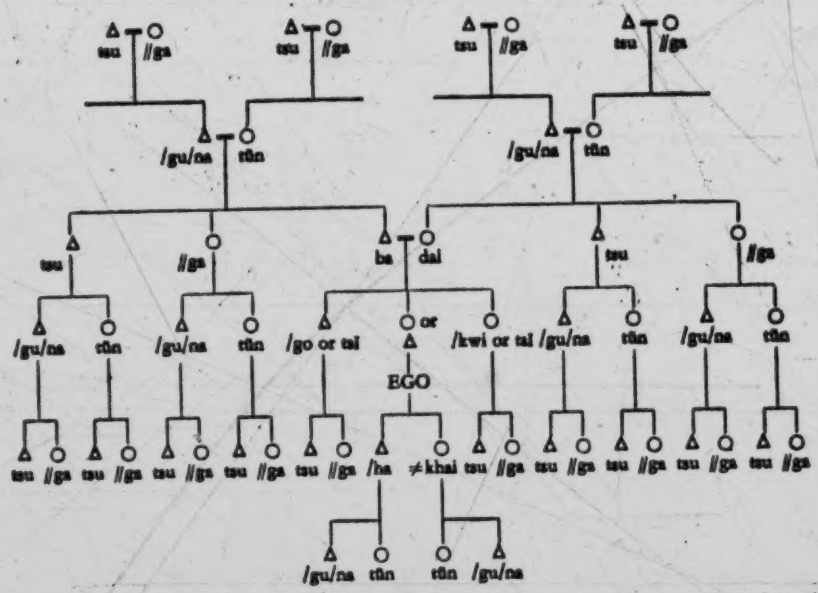
Term	*Diminutive*
Applied to males	
tsu	tsuma m.s. w.s. (tsûm^{h}a)
/gu/na	/guma m.s. (/ûm^{h}a) toma w.s. (txwōm^{h}a)
tun/ga w.s.	toma w.s.
Applied to females	
tūn	toma m.s. /guma w.s.
//ga	tsuma m.s. //gama w.s. (g//^{h}am^{h}a)

The generational terms may apply to all lineal kin and to all collateral kin save those related by parent-child or sibling ties.

Ego applies the terms */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.) and *tūn* to persons in his own generation and in generations alternate with his own; he applies *tsu* and *//ga* to persons in generations adjacent to his own or alternate with these latter.

Thus System A appears as in Diagram 1.

DIAGRAM 1



Terms for lineal and collateral relatives may be continued into the descending generations, alternating as in the ascending generations.

We have already stated that the generational terms *may* apply to all collateral kin 601
and to all lineal kin save those related by parent–child or sibling ties. Up to now we have been assuming, for the sake of orderly procedure, that a /Kung Bushman applies these terms, in the manner specified, to all consanguineous kin solely according to his *biological* position among them. This assumption is correct with respect to the parent–child and sibling relationships; in these instances the biological tie is the sole basis for classifying relatives. But for all other consanguineous relatives, as well as for many other persons besides, a factor other than the biological tie may determine the nature of the terminological relationship. We refer to *the factor of the name*.

The principle underlying the factor of the name is that persons who share the same name occupy identical positions in certain sectors of the kinship constellation we have called System A. Based on this principle, a method of classifying persons terminologically has been developed. We shall refer to this method as the *homonymous method*, and distinguish it from the *generational method* as set out in Diagram 1.

When it comes into conflict with the generational method, the homonymous method takes precedence. It has been developed and extended in the /Kung system more [184]
fully than in the /Gikwe and /Kõ systems, where it exists, but where it has remained minor, and is practised only among persons who do not have consanguineous or affinal ties. The /Kung, on the other hand, make wide use of the homonymous method.

The complicated system by which terms are applied in this method will be ex- 551
plained step by step, but first the customs followed by the /Kung in the naming of children will be described.

1. The /Kung have no surnames.

2. Names are sex-linked, hence men and women never have the same name.

3. Parent and child must not bear the same name in /Kung culture. The /Kung said it would be madness for a man to name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Our genealogies of about 175 /Kung show no deviation from this rule.

4. Children are always named for relatives, either consanguineous or affinal, 553
although they may bear the name of a non-related person as a second name. They are named for someone in the first or second ascending generation.

5. Fathers have the right to name both sons and daughters. A man invariably names his first-born son for his father (i.e. the child's FaFa) and his first-born daughter for his mother (i.e. the child's FaMo). If he has more than one wife, he names the first-born son and daughter of each wife for his father and mother respectively. Thus siblings, though they are not named for each other, often bear the same name, having been named for the same person. A man usually but not invariably names his second-born son for the child's MoFa and second-born daughter for her MoMo. Fifty-one per cent. of the /Kung in our records are named for their grandparents. Subsequent children are usually named for the siblings of their father or mother, or for the spouses of those siblings. Very rarely is a child named for other relatives. We have recorded two named for cousins of their parents. It is not their custom, /Kung informants told us, for them to name their children for the children's great-grandparents or for the siblings of the children's grandparents.

6. We have recorded about 46 men's names and about 41 women's names in use [551]
among the 600 people we know in the Nyae Nyae region.

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553 7. Names are occasionally changed.
[551] 8. Nicknames are in common use. They are usually descriptive of physical characteristics, such as Gow Umbilicus or Gow Beard.

553 601 It must be kept in mind, as the description of the homonymous method of applying terms proceeds, that the /Kung distinguish between being named for, and having the same name as, a person. When one is named for someone, one is brought into the kinship constellation of that person. Merely fortuitously having the same name as someone does not do this to the same degree. We shall at first limit the description to situations where one is *named for* another.

A child is, as we have said, never named for a parent, nor is a child named for a sibling (though they may have the same name). In these categories of relationship, therefore, the homonymous method of applying terms is not operative. In other categories of relationship, however, when a person is named for another, he is, with respect to ego, terminologically taken out of his biological category and classified in the category of the person for whom he is named. Ego applies a term to him according to his homonymous classification.

There are three categories, with respect to ego, into which persons may be classified by their names. (1) The parent–child category: Although ego is never named for his parent, some of his relatives will be. (Some of his nephews and nieces, for example, would certainly be named for ego's Fa or Mo.) When this occurs, ego applies a term to that person which classifies the person with the parent of ego's for whom he or she was named. The terms are *tsu* applied to males, *||ga* applied to females. The terms *ba* and *dai* are applied, as we have said, only to the biological parents. The terms *tsu* and *||ga* are the terms applied to persons in generations adjacent to ego's (i.e. his parents' generation, cf. Diagram 1, p. 6), and are the terms used to classify persons terminologically in the parent category. The same terms would be used for persons named for ego's offspring who again would be terminologically classified as in adjacent generations with respect to ego. (2) The sibling category: If a person is named for ego's sibling, ego classifies him or her terminologically with that sibling and applies the sibling term, i.e. *!go* (elder Br), *!kwi* (elder Si) or *tsī* (younger Br or younger Si). (3) Ego's category: We consider that the third category is basically ego's category and that it includes persons who are classified by name or generation with ego. Persons may be classified in this category by being named for ego, or for ego's spouse, who is of the same terminological generation as ego. The person for whom ego is named and the spouse of that person are in this category. The way people are classified within it will be brought out as the description proceeds, but more information must first be given about the terms associated with it, namely: *!gu!na* (*tun!ga* w.s.) and *tūn*.

The term *!gu!na*, unlike any of the other terms, so far as we know, is a translateable word. *!Gu*[1] means name, *!na* means big or old. The diminutive which derives from the term is *!guma*, small or young name. As terms *!gu!na* and *!guma* always occur modified with the augmentative or diminutive suffix, never simply as *!gu*, the word for name.

[114 194] [1] This is undoubtedly the word which Miss Bleek heard as *!ku* (cf. 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', p. 62). It seemed to us particularly difficult to determine, when a word began with the alveolar palatal click, whether the consonant release was voiced or unvoiced. We have two opinions here, Miss Bleek's *!ku* and our *!gu*. Mr. Westphal hears no consonant, i.e. *!ũ*.

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Another term is derived from *!gu*, i.e. *di!guma*. *Di* means female, *!guma* small or young name. *Di!guma* is applied, m.s. and w.s., only to women who have the same name as one's mother and is an alternate to *||ga* in this one sense.

When the generational method of applying terms was described we saw *!gu!na* applied, m.s. and w.s., in ego's generation and the generations of ego's grandfather and grandson, to males only. Woman-speaking, as a generational term *!gu!na* had an alternate, *tun!ga*, which was preferred. *Tũn* is the term applied to females associated with these generations.

When the homonymous method is used the term *!gu!na*, or its diminutive *!guma*, is applied by a male to a male, and by a female to a female. Ego applies the term to persons named for him and to the person for whom he is named. He also applies the term to persons who have the same name as himself, but who are not named for him, with two exceptions: (1) siblings, though they are not named for each other, frequently have the same name, being named for the same person. When this occurs the sibling terms are retained, taking precedence over the term *!gu!na*; and (2) in certain affinal relationships the affinal term is retained even though ego and the affine have the same name (see p. 16).

In addition the terms applied to persons named for ego's spouse are *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn*. The affinal terms for spouse are used only for ego's actual spouse. Persons named for the spouse, who is terminologically of ego's generation, have the generational terms applied to them which classify them with ego's generation.

The term *tũn* is applied to a woman who is the spouse of any male whom ego terms *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.). *Tun!ga* is the term applied to the spouse of a woman whom a female ego terms *!gu!na*.

Kin who are named for ego's parents or offspring, for his siblings, or for himself or his spouse constitute the basis but not the limit of classification of kin by the homonymous method. Other kin in ego's and in the *descending* generations are classified by ego into the same three categories if they have been named for the kin who were originally so classified. For example, ego applies the term *tsu* to A because A was named for ego's Fa, and he continues to apply the term *tsu* to persons who are named for A, and so forth.

To understand how the method works in the *ascending* generations we must look at the same three categories from another point of view, seeing ego classified with the person for whom he is named, i.e. his *!gu!na*. Ego's *!gu!na*'s parents use the term *tsu* (the 'adjacent' generational term) for a male ego, *||ga* for a female ego, because ego is named for their offspring. Ego's *!gu!na*'s So and Da use the terms *tsu* or *||ga* for ego because ego is named for their parent. Ego's *!gu!na*'s siblings apply a sibling term to ego because he is named for their sibling. And ego's *!gu!na*'s spouse uses the generational terms which place ego in the same generation as the spouse—i.e. *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn*, classifying ego with the spouse because he is named for the spouse. In each case ego reciprocates.

It will be more convenient to keep ego's point of view in our illustrations and to express the situation from ego's angle, stating that ego applies the term *tsu* or *||ga* to his *!gu!na*'s Fa, Mo, So, and Da; *!go*, *!kwi* or *tsĩ*, the sibling terms, to his *!gu!na*'s siblings; and *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn* to his *!gu!na*'s spouse.

Diagrams will be given to illustrate the homonymous method of applying terms,

19 THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE /KUNG BUSHMEN

128 Diagrams will be given to illustrate the homonymous method of applying terms,
601 but they do not illustrate a typical family. No Bushman family we know has as many
[162 living children as in Diagram 4. Bushmen are completely nomadic and must carry
05 their young children and all their possessions, walking seventy or eighty miles or
807] more as they move from one wild crop of roots or nuts to another. They limit, by infanticide, the number of infants to those they can carry and care for. ≠Toma, one of our informants, helping me one day to construct one of these hypothetical illustrations, laughed and said, 'Who is this who has so many children? Is it an ostrich?'

Diagram 2

601 In this illustration ego's *!gu/na* is his FaFa. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the So and Da of his *!gu/na*. They and ego use the adjacent generational terms, *tsu* and *//ga*, for each other.

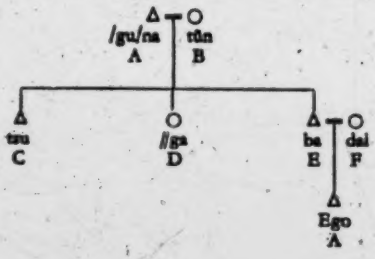
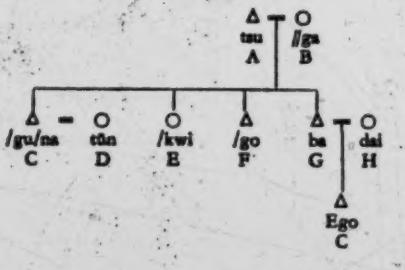


Diagram 3

Here ego is named for his FaBr. In this case ego's FaFa is ego's *!gu/na*'s Fa and ego's FaMo is his *!gu/na*'s Mo; *tsu* and *//ga* are the terms used. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the Br and Si of ego's *!gu/na*; the sibling terms are used. Ego applies the term *tũn* to the wife of his *!gu/na*.



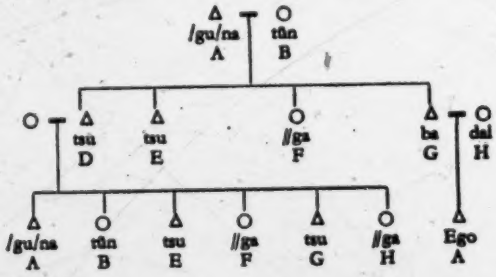
Diagrams 2 and 3 illustrate ego's application of terms to members of his *!gu/na*'s family. Letters represent names. A person who is designated by the same letter as a person in a generation above him has been named for that person. The naming is customary and correct as far as it goes. Some of the children would be named for their mother's parents or siblings, but, as those persons would be ego's affines, until the affinal terms are given this aspect of the illustrations will be postponed.

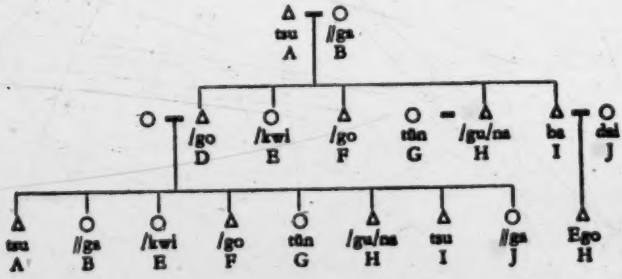
There is a secondary application of the terms originally applied by ego to members of his *!gu/na*'s nuclear family and spouse. Ego applies terms to persons who are named for the latter, and continues during his lifetime applying to persons descending from

his */gu/na*'s nuclear family the same terms that he applied to the persons for whom they were named. Diagram 4 illustrates this point.

DIAGRAM 4

Diagram 4 shows terms applied to cousins. In the first instance ego is named for his FaFa, in the second for his FaBr.





Diagrams 5 and 6 show how the homonymous method appears when ego applies terms to persons who are named for himself and his own parents, children, siblings, and spouse, and to the persons who are named for them.

We have been assuming up to this point in the illustrations that ego is named for someone on his father's side of the family. What has been said about the paternal side would be applicable to the maternal side if ego were named for someone on that side. We shall refer to either the paternal or maternal side as the *off-side* if it does not include the person for whom ego is named. Diagram 7 illustrates the application of terms on the off-side.

Unless a person is terminologically taken out of his biological generation through the factor of the name, the terms applied by the generational method are retained.

Grandparents on the off-side are always termed */gu/na* (or *tsu/ga* w.s.) and *tũn*, or, since they are biologically older, it is more precise to say that they apply the term */gu/na* or *tsu/ga* to a male ego, *tũn* to a female ego, and that ego reciprocates. These are the generational terms applied in the generational method, retained because ego is not named for the parent or child of his off-side grandparents, which would require the term *tsu* or *//ga* to be applied.

DIAGRAM 5

601 Diagram 5 shows what terms ego would apply to nephews and nieces, children of his brother D, if the children were named, as they customarily would be, for ego's Fa, Mo, and his siblings. The illustration also shows the terms and the names carried, linked together, into the descending generation. (We use two affinal terms here, BrWi, *tŭn*, and Wi, *tsau*. Cf. p. 16.)

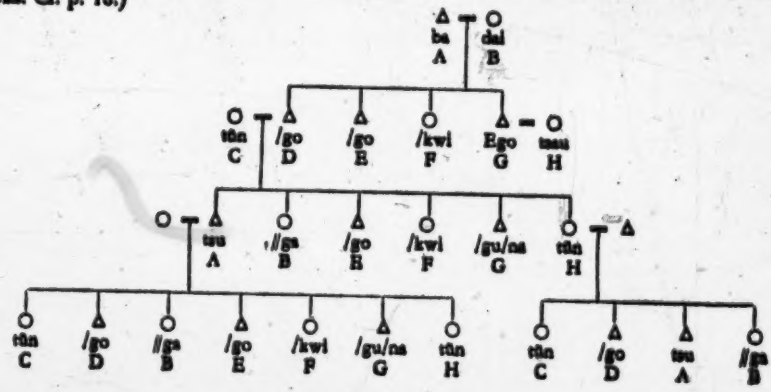


DIAGRAM 6

In Diagram 6 it is assumed, for variety, that ego is a woman. The illustration shows what terms she would apply to her grandchildren if they were named, as they customarily would have been named, by their Fa, ego's son C.

It can be seen in Diagram 6 how it is that grandparents and grandchildren do not fall into the sibling category with respect to each other and are never, therefore, termed */go* and */kwi*, but always */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.) and *tŭn* or *tsu* and *//ga*. For ego to use the sibling terms [553] for a grandchild, that child would have to be named for ego's Br or Si. This, the /Kung told us, is not their custom.

Ego, being a woman in this illustration, uses the term */gu/na* for her granddaughter A who is named for her. (We remind the reader that, for the sake of brevity, we are omitting diminutive forms. Actually */guna* is the form of the term used for the younger person.) Ego's grandson B is named for ego's husband. */Hoa* is the term for the actual husband. The term */gu/na* is used for someone named for one's husband.

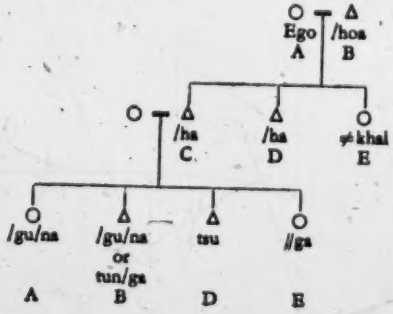
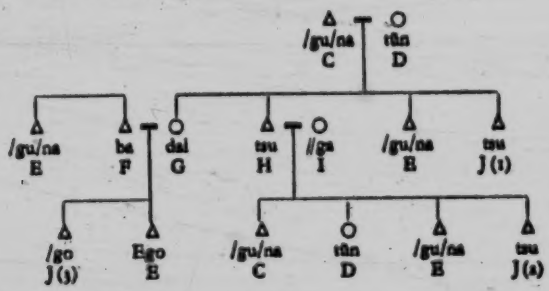


Diagram 7 assumes that ego's uncles H and J (1) retain the 'adjacent' generational term *tsu* for ego for the same reason, namely, that in this case the factor of the name requires no other. Ego's maternal uncle E applies the term */gu/na* to ego because he and ego have the same name. 601

Whereas ego applies the term */gu/na* to anyone either named for or having the same name as himself, in other relationships a distinction is made between being named for someone and merely having the same name. In Diagram 7 it is to be noted that, although ego has a brother named J (3), he does not apply the sibling terms to J (1) or J (2). J (1), assumed to be older than ego, established the term used between them, which is the 'adjacent' generational term *tsu*. As J (2) is named for J (1), not for ego's Br, ego uses the term *tsu* for J (2). He would use the sibling term for someone named for his brother. [553]

DIAGRAM 7

Ego is named for his FaBr E. This diagram shows terms applied to the side of the family which does not include the person for whom ego is named. Ego is assumed to be younger than his uncles and aunts and older than his cousins.



There is one further complexity which may beset the student of /Kung kin terminology in his effort to understand the principles upon which the application of terms is based. Names may be changed and, when they are, the person is reclassified and the kin terms applied to him or her are changed accordingly. One blazing hot day in the werft I heard old Hama call her little granddaughter *//gama* (diminutive of *//ga*). I felt the whole system, which had caused me so much difficulty and confusion, begin to swirl and dissolve into formlessness, for the child was named for old Hama and, if I understood the system at all, old Hama must call that child */guma* (diminutive of */gu/na*). I fanned myself with my helmet, kept my voice low and asked old Hama if I had heard correctly. 'Oh, yes,' she said. Little Hama's name had been changed, she told me. Her son Gao, the other day when his sister was visiting, had decided to give his sister's name to his daughter instead of old Hama's. Now she and her little granddaughter were *//ga* and *//gama* to each other. Old Hama said she was very disappointed. I was not. I took a deep breath and went on to the next task. 553 601

The Name-Relationship

In the /Kung kinship system, generational and sibling terms are applied to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties with ego if they have the same names as

553 ego or his kin or affines. We shall refer to this aspect of the kinship system as the
601 name-relationship.

Among name-relatives, as among consanguineous relatives, it is the biologically older person who classifies the younger with respect to his (the older's) kinship constellation, using the diminutive form of the term for the younger person. The younger person reciprocates.

551 One of the factors in the name-relationship is an ancestral list of names to which
553 terms are linked. Each /Kung has his own individual list to learn, taught to him by his parents and his *!gu!na*. No one could tell us exactly how the list is compiled, but
601 the theory which lies behind the list is that there were among ego's forbears persons whose names required certain terms. (One surmises they were great-grandparents and their siblings and the siblings of grandparents, &c. or perhaps still earlier generations.) Name-relatives who have these names may have had some distant consanguineous connexions. Ego no longer knows, but the old people knew, and in following their teaching ego knows he is following his proper homonymous pattern. Every informant had such a list and told us what term he linked with every name we knew. Some had more than one term linked with a name. ≠Toma used the term *tũn* for women named Khwova who came from the Gum region and *!kwi* for Khwovas from the north. His parents, he said, told him to do this.

553 There is a system of applying terms to name-relatives. Ego is in the place of first
601 priority in the sense that invariably the term *!gu!na* is applied to any name-relative having the same name as himself. Furthermore, ego applies terms to the Fa, Mo, So, Da, sibling and spouse of a *!gu!na* who is a name-relative having the same name as himself, as he does in the case of the person for whom he is named. However, this is carried no further. He does not apply terms to persons named for these name-relatives and he does not apply terms to the nuclear family and spouse of a person he terms *!gu!na* unless the *!gu!na* has the same name as himself.

The term *tsu* is invariably applied to any male name-relative who has the same name as ego's Fa, *||ga* or *di|guma* to any female name-relative with the same name as ego's Mo.

[114 There are gaps in our knowledge at this point; confusion in the data was not re-
551] solved. We think, but are not certain, that next in order comes the ancestral list, taking precedence over siblings, children and spouses as a source of terms to apply to name-relatives. We think the terms applied to name-relatives derive mainly from the ascending generations, except *!gu!na*, applied to persons with the same name as ego's. To illustrate, take a man named Bo. Unless Bo is ego's name, or the name of ego's Fa, ego would use for Bo the term which was linked to the name Bo on his ancestral list. We think that, even if Bo were the name of ego's Br or the Hu of a female ego, the sibling or spouse term would not take precedence over the term linked with the name Bo on the ancestral list. We are certain that the ancestral list does take precedence over ego's children as a source of terms for name-relatives.

We have been assuming that the name occurs on the ancestral list. If a person
[551] should come along whose name was not on his ancestral list, but was the same as one of ego's consanguineous kin or affines, ego would apply the term to that person which he applies to the consanguineous kin or affine. (In the case of an affine ego would use a kin term corresponding to the affinal term, not the affinal

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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term itself. Cf. System B, p. 16.) We know of no rule to prevent a name-relative being classified with any consanguineous kin or affine should his name not be on ego's ancestral list. 553 601

Supposing a name did not occur on ego's ancestral list but did occur several times among his contemporary consanguineous kin and affines, the question arises as to which kinsman or affine would be the one with whom ego would classify a person of that name. We have no precise data on this point, but we think that consanguinity takes precedence over affinity, or the near over the more distant relationship.

The spouses of kin are always paired terminologically with the kin (see p. 18), but this is not true of name-relatives. Ego establishes the name-relationship with each person of a married couple individually. It was in this connexion that we learnt of an aspect of the /Kung system which has not yet been mentioned.

Informants told us that ego may apply a term to the parents and children of an individual name-relative on the generational basis, if he has no term established by his ancestral list. If ego's term for a man is */gu/na* he may apply the term *tsu* to that man's Fa and So, observing the same alternation of the terms */gu/na* and *tsu* that is apparent in Diagram 1.

In this connexion informants told us furthermore that ' boys follow their fathers, girls follow their mothers ', meaning that a son is classified with respect to his father and a daughter with respect to her mother. Assuming that ego applies the term *tsū* to a woman, he could apply the term *||ga* to her Mo and Da. If ego applied the term *tsu* to that woman's Hu, he would use the term */gu/na* for her HuFa and for her So.

We think ego would use this method only if the parent or child of the name-relative had a name for which ego had no term. The /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region had so many name links that we did not observe people applying terms to parents and children of name-relatives in this manner.

There are a few additional terms to be mentioned. Co-wives of polygynous marriages use the terms */kwi*, elder Si, and *tsī*, younger Si, for each other, unless they have the same name, in which case they retain the term */gu/na*. 601 [595]

Step-father is *ba-tsu*, step-mother is *dai-||ga*, step-son is */ha-tsu*, and step-daughter is *≠khai-||ga*.

Mama is a word, heard often, which is not strictly a kinship term. It is applied m.s. and w.s. to any male or female when people wish to express pleasure, gratitude, or affection and it includes an element of respect. It is applied so frequently to grandparents that it becomes almost an alternate to the terms. [576]

System B

The second constellation of kin terms applies to affines. Whereas a person ' enters ' System A initially by way of biological ties and/or homonymy, he ' enters ' System B by way of marital ties—of himself, of his offspring and of his siblings. 601

We shall designate as ' primary ' certain affinal relationships which have a factor in common, namely: terms applied in these relationships are linked to the relationship, as the parent and child terms are linked to those relationships; nothing changes them. The method of homonymy is not practised. Furthermore, when a person comes into one of the primary affinal relationships with ego, ego drops whatever term he

601 previously used and adopts the term which is linked to the affinal relationship, even if the person has the same name as himself.

The primary affinal relationships comprise: the spouses of siblings; ego's spouse; the parents and siblings of ego's spouse, and the spouses of the latter; the spouses of ego's offspring and their parents.

Three pairs of terms are applied exclusively to affines: (1) */hoa* (man), Hu, and *tsau* (woman), Wi (these have no diminutives); (2) *≠tum* (≠ᵗum), dim. *≠tumma* (rare), and */utsu* (/'utsu), dim. */utsuma*; and (3) */umba* (ŋ/um.ba), dim. */umbama* and */undai* (ŋ/un.tʰai), dim. */undaima*. The diminutives are not always used among affines. The older person sometimes uses the term itself for the younger.

	Applied to males			*Applied to females*	
	Affinal term	*Term applied to kin named for affine*		*Affinal term*	*Term applied to kin named for affine*
		Ego's generation			
Hu	/hoa	/gu/na w.s. *or* tun/ga w.s.	Wi	tsau	tũn
SoWiFa, DaHuFa	/umba	/gu/na *or* tun/ga w.s.	SoWiMo, DaHuMo	/undai	tũn
		Generations adjacent to ego's			
HuFa, WiFa, DaHu	≠tum	tsu	HuMo, WiMo, SoWi	/utsu	//ga
		The sibling category			
SiHu	tun/ga m.s. tun/ga w.s.	tsu m.s. /gu/na w.s. *or* tun/ga w.s.	BrWi	tũn m.s. /utsu w.s.	tũn m.s. //ga w.s.
HuBr	tun/ga w.s.	/gu/na w.s. *or* tun/ga w.s.	HuBrWi	/kwi w.s.	/kwi w.s.
WiSiHu	/go m.s.	/go m.s.	WiSi	tũn m.s.	tũn m.s.
WiBr	tun/ga m.s.	tsu m.s.	WiBrWi	/utsu m.s.	//ga m.s.
HuSiHu	≠tum w.s.	tsu w.s.	HuSi	/utsu w.s.	//ga w.s.

The term *tun/ga* is applied exclusively to affines, man-speaking. Woman-speaking, *tun/ga* is used as a generational term, an alternate to */gu/na*, and is also applied to affines. (The diminutive of *tun/ga* is *tun/gama* m.s. and *toma* w.s.) The generational term *tũn* m.s., and the sibling terms are also used for affines.

Consanguineous kin of ego's may be named for any of the primary affines, for instance, his grandchildren for his SoWiFa or SoWiMo, &c. The exclusively affinal terms are not used for those consanguineous kin, but generational or sibling terms are used which correspond with the affinal terms. The reason for the correspondence between the terms will become apparent when we discuss the joking relationship later on (see pp. 19, 20). The terms are listed below. The siblings of spouses show a 'cross' and 'parallel' pattern. The sibling who is the same sex as ego's spouse corresponds to the */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.)–*tũn* category, the sibling of opposite sex corresponds to the *tsu*–*//ga* category. Spouses of ego's spouse's siblings correspond in the same way. An informant explained the use of the sibling term */go* for WiSiHu,

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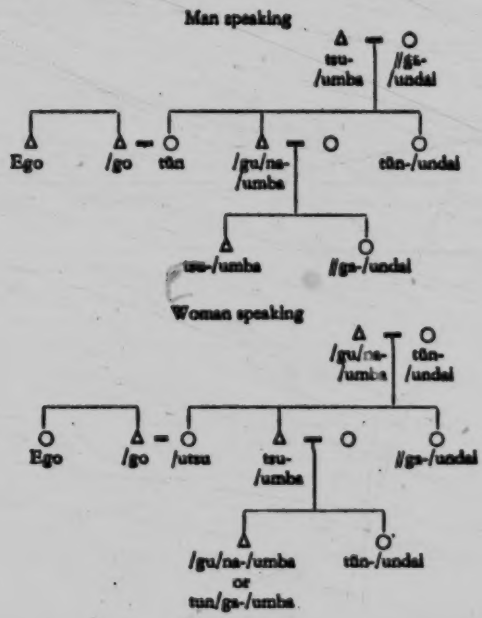
saying, 'That man and I married sisters. We are therefore like brothers.' The same analogy could be made for HuBrWi, */kwi*.

There is a group of affines we call 'secondary' to distinguish them from primary affines. They differ from primary affines in that terms are not linked to the relationship as terms are to the primary affines but, as in the case of collateral kin, terms may be applied by either the generational or the homonymous method.

Diagram 8

Diagram 8 illustrates the application of terms to secondary affines by the generational method. Ego's BrWi (*tũn* m.s., */utsu* w.s.) is the point of reference.



The secondary affines comprise the parents, children and siblings of primary affines who are not themselves primary affines, such as SoWiFa, or consanguineous kin, such as grandchildren.

The terms applied to secondary affines are the generational and sibling terms combined with the affinal terms */umba* and */undai*, i.e. *tsu-/umba* and *//ga-/undai*; */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.)-*/umba* and *tũn-/undai*; */go-/umba* and */kwi-/undai*; *tsĩ-/umba* and *tsĩ-/undai*. Though it is strictly correct to use the combined term, many people dropped one or the other part in addressing each other, especially */umba* or */undai* if speaking to children.

The homonymous method takes precedence and terms are applied to secondary affines in the same way as they are applied to name-relatives. In actual practice ego

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601 and most of the persons who eventually become his secondary affines would be name-relatives. They keep whatever term they had and add *!umba* or *!undai*. Theoretically, if they should not have a name-relationship they would fall back on the generational method.

When terms are applied to secondary affines by the generational method, the primary affine is the point of reference. Ego applies a term to the parent or child of the primary affine which is in the alternate generation terminologically to that of the primary affine. A term in the same generation terminologically as that of the primary affine is applied to the sibling of the primary affine. The list of terms on p. 16 shows the correspondence of the generational terms with the affinal terms. Diagram 8 (p. 17) illustrates this situation.

Consanguineous relatives of ego's may be named for secondary affines as well as primary affines. When they are, ego applies to them the same term which he applies to the secondary affine but drops *!umba* and *!undai*.

All relatives to whom the generational and sibling terms are applied, except name-relatives (see p. 15), have terms applied to their spouses by ego which are paired with the generational and sibling terms as listed below.

Generational or sibling term for males	*Spouse*	*Generational or sibling term for females*	*Spouse*
tsu	//ga or /utsu (//ga is preferred for FaBrWi or MoBrWi; /utsu is preferred in other relationships)	//ga or di/guma	tsu or tun/ga m.s. (tsu is preferred for FaSiHu and MoSiHu; tun/ga is preferred in other relationships)
/gu/na	tũn	tũn	/gu/nã or tun/ga w.s.
tun/ga w.s. when collateral when affine	tũn w.s. /kwi w.s.	/gu/na w.s.	tun/ga w.s.
/go or tsi	tũn m.s. /utsu w.s.	/kwi or tsi	tun/ga

Part II: Some Aspects of Behaviour as Related to Categories of Kin

Marriage

842 The /Kung know that biological descent is from the father and mother, believing that the father's semen unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form the child But their language does not emphasize the concept of blood as ours does. A 602 /Kung speaks of a person who has blood ties with himself as being of his own people, emphasizing the phrase in some way, as when we say ' very own '.

582 Marriage with any consanguineous kin is forbidden in /Kung culture. This pro-684 hibiton is quite strictly obeyed. The very thought of marriage with a parent, offspring or sibling is horrifying to the /Kung. They could hardly be brought to talk about such ' bad things '. They told us about a man who married a woman and her

daughter at the same time. Although he had blood ties with neither, this was analogous to marrying a daughter and it was thought the man must be mad to do so. Informants said specifically that /Kung do not marry uncles or aunts because they are 'like' parents. Cousins, they say, are 'like' siblings and nephews and nieces 'like' offspring. Marriage with any of these would be shocking. 582 684

In the genealogies of about 175 /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region there is no instance of marriage among any of the above-mentioned relatives. However, we heard of two first-cousin marriages among some distant /Kung. 582 [183]

A /Kung must not marry a person who has the same name as his parent. In the two instances we know where this rule was broken the people lied, admitting it only after someone else told us about it. A man must not marry a woman to whom he applies the term *|utsu* (this seems to be regarded as a particularly stringent prohibition), nor may a woman marry a man she terms *≠tum*. We know a man who broke this rule. His marriage with his *|utsu* caused a scandal which was still reverberating after two years. [553 183] [684]

The preferred marriage among /Kung is with a non-consanguineous name-relative whom ego terms *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn* m.s. SiHu and HuBr are both termed *tun!ga* w.s. and BrWi and WiSi are termed *tũn* m.s. These are considered desirable marriages, especially the sororate, but neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory. [587]

Marriages with persons termed *!umba* or *!undai* are not forbidden. Persons who use the terms *tsu* and *||ga* for each other may marry unless one has the name of the other's parent. Persons who use the sibling terms may marry. These marriages, though not forbidden, are not preferred.

There is no category of persons with whom sexual intercourse is permitted by /Kung custom except the spouse. If illicit sexual intercourse is indulged in, it is carefully concealed. 837

The Joking Relationship

The joking relationship is an important element in /Kung culture. It is in the foreground of people's minds. The /Kung never once mentioned the generational aspect of their kin terminology system but whenever kinship matters were discussed they spoke of the joking relationship. The /Kung do not train their children to know the precise genealogical position of collaterals,[1] but they teach them the term to use and the joking status of the term. Sometimes an informant would not know whether, for instance, a relative he termed *tsu* was his FaBr, his MoBr or who, but would say that his parents taught him to use that term for the relative and that he must not joke with him. 602 [867] 601 602

The joking relationship creates a dichotomy which divides consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives into two groups. Every kinship term is associated with a joking status and the culture either allows ego to joke or prohibits him from joking with every person to whom he applies a kinship term.

[1] As to lineal kin, all our informants knew the precise genealogical position and names of their grandparents and grandchildren but many did not know the names of their great-grandparents. (We did not meet any /Kung who had a great-grandchild.)

601 The sibling category is divided on the basis of sex. Ego jokes with a sibling of
602 the same sex as his own and is prohibited from joking with a sibling of opposite
[593] sex. This creates a 'cross' and 'parallel' pattern which is observed in the use of the terms, man-speaking and woman-speaking, among persons classified by name with siblings and among affines of the sibling category.

Sex is not the differentiating factor with respect to the joking relationship among groups of kin apart from siblings. All other consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives are grouped in the joking or non-joking dichotomy according to their categorical classification, as follows:

Ego has the joking relationship with anyone of either sex who is classified with himself or herself, to whom ego applies the term */gulna* (or *tunlga* w.s.) or *tũn*. Consanguineous kin may be so classified by generation (i.e. cousins) as shown in Diagram 1, or by the factor of the name, i.e. the person for whom ego is named or persons named for ego. Ego has the joking relationship with grandparents and grandchildren unless the factor of the name places ego terminologically in the other, non-joking, division. Among affines, ego has the joking relationship with his or her spouse, and
607 also with BrWi and WiSi, *tũn* m.s., and SiHu and HuBr, *tunlga* w.s., who are all considered suitable persons to marry. Ego may joke with affines termed */umba* and */undai*, who are in ego's generation terminologically as they are his offspring's spouses' parents. Persons named for any of the above affines would be termed */gulna* (or *tunlga* w.s.) or *tũn* by ego and ego could joke with them. He could joke also with any name-relatives to whom he applies these terms.

608 Joking is prohibited with parents and offspring of either sex and with anyone of either sex who is classified with them by being of the same generation, when the generational method of applying terms is used, or by being named for them, when the homonymous method of applying terms is used; or with name-relatives classified in this category. Joking is also prohibited with affines associated with this category, i.e. parents of spouse, and spouses of offspring. The terms which are associated with the non-joking status are the parent–child terms, and *tsu*, *||ga* or *dilguma*, and the affinal terms, *≠tum*, *tunlga* m.s. and */utsu*.

When informants were trying to explain the joking relationship to us they had an additional statement to make about the prohibition of joking. They said that, as they must not joke with their parents or offspring, in like manner they must not joke with a person and the offspring of that person. This concept is doubtless associated with the generational method of applying terms. It is not thought to be a contradiction or inconsistency to joke both with a person and the offspring of that person when the homonymous method of applying terms is followed. When a person is named for another his biological position is disregarded and he is terminologically classified with the person for whom he is named. The homonymous method is never applied nor the biological position disregarded in the nuclear family or among primary affines.

Joking, of course, is always reciprocal; if ego may joke with A, A may joke with ego. If B is named for A, the term which ego applies to B always has the same joking status as the term he applies to A. Ego's joking status is the same with both persons of a married couple (cf. p. 18), except in the case of name-relatives with whom he assumes his status individually (cf. p. 15).

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The following table gives the joking status of each term. 601 602

Consanguineal kin			*Affines*		
Ego's generation and alternate generations					
Joking permitted					
(Ego)			Hu	/hoa	
Anyone termed:	/gu/na		Wi	tsau	
	tun/ga	w.s.	DaHuFa, SoWiFa	/umba	
	tŭn		DaHuMo, SoWiMo	/undai	
			Anyone termed:	/gu/na-/umba	
				tun/ga-/umba	w.s.
				tŭn-/undai	
Generations adjacent to ego's					
Joking prohibited					
Fa	ba		HuFa, WiFa, DaHu	≠tum	
Mo	dai				
So	/ha		HuMo, WiMo, SoWi	/utsu	
Da	≠khai				
Anyone termed:	tsu		Anyone termed:	tsu-/umba	
	//ga			//ga-/undai	
	di/gum				
Ego's siblings of same sex as ego, ego's spouse's siblings of same sex as spouse, and the spouses of these siblings					
Joking permitted					
Elder Br	/go	m.s.	BrWi, WiSi	tŭn	m.s.
Younger Br	tsi	m.s.			
Elder Si	/kwi	w.s.	SiHu, HuBr	tun/ga	w.s.
Younger Si	tsi	w.s.			
Anyone termed:	/go	m.s.	WiSiHu	/go	m.s.
	/kwi	w.s.	HuBrWi	/kwi	w.s.
Any male termed:	tsi	m.s.			
Any female termed:	tsi	w.s.			
Ego's siblings of opposite sex, ego's spouse's siblings of opposite sex from spouse, and the spouses of these siblings					
Joking prohibited					
Elder Br	/go	w.s.	BrWi, HuSi	/utsu	w.s.
Younger Br	tsi	w.s.			
Elder Si	/kwi	m.s.	SiHu, WiBr	tun/ga	m.s.
Younger Si	tsi	m.s.			
Anyone termed:	/go	w.s.	HuSiHu	≠tum	w.s.
	/kwi	m.s.	WiBrWi	/utsu	m.s.
Any female termed:	tsi	m.s.			
Any male termed:	tsi	w.s.			

The jokes which are permitted among persons who have the joking relationship, 602 and which are avoided by others, are sexual jokes and insults. Anyone may make jokes that are not sexually tinged. Persons who have the joking relationship constantly use it and enjoy it. Men accuse each other of excessive preoccupation with sexual intercourse or of having genital organs of excessive size or abnormal condition (castration or circumcision). Men accuse women with whom they may joke of being

602 ugly, slovenly, or wanton. The women retaliate, perhaps accusing the men of being worthy only of castration or of unfaithful wives. We noticed that the /Kung do not call each other sons of bitches. They are not concerned with lineage.

602 It is not thought proper to make blatant or insulting sexual jokes with old persons. 888 The deference which is shown to aged persons is expressed by moderation, and the joking relationship between an old person and a considerably younger person, [603] especially between grandparents and grandchildren, becomes a cosy friendly intimacy without the sexual emphasis.

Though the /Kung enjoy the joking relationship, it was our impression that their 602 primary concern lay in the prohibition against joking. They said it would be 'madness' to joke with persons they should not joke with. When they meet strangers they do not dare to joke until they find out whether or not it is proper for them to do so. They gave us /Kung names. This placed us in the scheme of things and people could know what their status was with us.

The /Kung say they 'fear' (*koa*) to joke when they should not and they 'fear' (*koa*) the persons with whom joking is forbidden. The word *koa* is the same word that they use when they say they fear a lion or a mamba. They also use it to mean avoid. We think it holds the same combination of fear and respect that our word holds when we say we fear the Lord.

[828 A /Kung told us that joking was not only amusing but that it served a good pur- 865] pose in teaching people, young men especially, to hold their tempers and to have poise in their social relations. We thought that joking served a good purpose in [182 providing an outlet in laughter for aggression and various social restraints, but we [154 wondered if it had not primarily been developed as a response to restraints upon sexual intercourse. Incest must be a concern among a people who live in small bands 835] of consanguineous kin and close affines, bands which are isolated for the most part within their own territories except for more or less infrequent visits to other bands. The restraints which are considered to be good and necessary may be strengthened by the symbol of avoidance of sexual joking. Respect due to a parent has perhaps come to be associated with this symbol and this may account for joking being restricted with parents of both sexes. It seems that respect in general is not required between siblings; only sexual restraint is required and this is symbolized by the restriction in joking imposed on siblings of opposite sex, whereas ego may joke with a sibling of the same sex. It is possible that the culture allows joking between grandparents and grandchildren (with the rather few exceptions when the factor of the name intervenes to classify them in the non-joking category) because joking is associated with a welcome ease and intimacy of relationship and the great difference in age removes the necessity of symbolizing sexual restraint between them.

The Name-Relationship as a Factor in Social Consolidation

553 The /Kung believe that the name is somehow a part of the entity of a person and 601 that when one is named for a person one partakes of that person's entity in some way and in some degree. Informants could give us no further elucidation of this belief.

It seems evident that, when incorporated into the system of kinship terminology, [174] the belief has produced the homonymous method of applying terms. It is our conjecture that the homonymous method was added to the system after the generational method had been established.

method had been established. The /Kõ and /Gikwe have not incorporated the belief 553
into their terminological systems except in a very limited way. The /Kung, however, 601
have done so, and appear to have adapted it as logically as possible to the generational
method. They apply it only to somewhat distant relationships, namely, grandparents, [184]
grandchildren, collaterals, secondary affines, and name-relatives. They do not apply
it in the close biological relationships of parent, offspring or sibling or in the primary
affinal relationships. Consistency is maintained by the rule that a child must not be
named for a parent.

We think that the term *!gu!na* came into the system with the homonymous method 174
and that perhaps it used originally to be applied only to the person for whom ego is
named. It is not strictly a kinship term, being composed of translateable words, ' big 601
or old name '. We think it may have been superimposed upon *tun!ga* (which probably
comes from the same root as *tũn*). *Tun!ga* may originally have been applied to grandfather, man-speaking as well as woman-speaking, and later *!gu!na* may have become associated with grandfather because so many men are named for their grandfathers. If this is so, an anomalous situation remains unresolved. *Tun!ga* is applied to consanguineous kin and affines and allows joking, woman-speaking. Man-speaking, it is applied only to affines and prohibits joking. If it was originally the term for grandfather, man-speaking, we reason that it should allow joking, and we cannot explain this anomaly.

Whatever may be the answer to these questions, the /Kung have put to good use 553
the belief that persons who have the same name partake of each other's entities. This 601
belief has given them the name-relationship. 602

It is our impression that the practice of applying terms to name-relatives has appealed to the /Kung and that they have developed it to the full. The /Kung apply a kinship term to every /Kung they meet or almost everyone. /Qui was the only informant who worked with us on this subject who had ever met a /Kung Bushman for whom he had no kinship term. He had met four who came from a distance and whose names were not among those commonly used in the Nyae Nyae region. Ta//ne was one of the names. Gao, who was present, told /Qui that he had a *tsu* named Ta//ne, and he and /Qui nodded together in agreement that they would find a way for /Qui to give Ta//ne a term should they meet again. We know two men who used the term *!go* for each other because each of them had a brother named Dam. The system seems to have been flexible and expansive in the application of terms to name-relatives.

The /Kung are small of stature and non-aggressive. They are timid and apprehensive of strangers. Their word for stranger is *ju dole*. *Ju* means person, *dole* means 602
strange or harmful—one word for both concepts, in the /Kung language, as though 609
they were a single concept. The /Kung have no social organization larger than the [181
band of kin who live together but they have utilized the name-relationship to supply 105
the cohesive factor which is supplied in other societies by various social structures. 553
When a /Kung meets a stranger and finds that he has the same name as one of his kin 619]
and bestows a kinship term upon him, he is reassured and feels a sense of belonging.

Gao, the brother of /U, went on an errand for us to Khadum. Khadum is about 115 miles north of Gautscha and about 40 miles north of Cho/ana where we were staying at the time. He had never been to Khadum before, and the /Kung Bushmen who lived

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602 there at once called him *ju dole*. He was in haste to say that he had heard that the father of one of the people at Khadum had the same name as his father and that another had
609 a brother named Gao. 'Oh,' said the Khadum people, in effect, 'so you are Gao's *!gu!na*', and they took him to their fire and gave him a present of edible gum.

602 The name connexions of the /Kung of Nyae Nyae extend throughout the region. Thinking of Gautscha Pan as approximately the centre, the name connexions extend
619 about 80 miles to the south, and include the /Kung who live at Gum and at a few small water-holes south of Gum. To the north of Gautscha Pan they extend about 75
182 miles to Samangaigai, and about 100 miles to Cho/ana, and may be said now to touch upon Khadum, 115 miles from Gautscha Pan. The country to the west, between Gautscha Pan and the farmed area of South West Africa, is waterless and uninhabited. To the east the /Kung name connexions reach some 60 or 80 miles to the cattle posts of Chwana and Herero at Kai Kai and Kubi, where some /Kung work as herdsmen and others visit and trade. The /Kung who live in this region are not *ju dole* to each other. The name-relationship makes them feel they are one people.

619 But there are edges to this sense of being one people. At Karakuwise to the north-west, about 100 miles away from the centre of the Nyae Nyae area, and at Nuragas, about 200 miles away, there are /Kung Bushmen. Although none of the Nyae Nyae people have been there, the people of Nyae Nyae know that those people speak the same language. However, the Karakuwise and the Nuragas people are distant, and they are *ju dole*. The people of Nyae Nyae say that they hear that the people of Nuragas put a strange poison into the pipes they give you to smoke which makes you become as thin as a stick and then die. The people of Nyae Nyae do not know the names of the people at Nuragas.

Résumé

000 LA TERMINOLOGIE DE LA PARENTÉ CHEZ LES BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

Les Boschimans /Kung sont des chasseurs et des ramasseurs nomades, qui ont eu très peu de contacts avec d'autres tribus ou avec des Européens; ils vivent en petites bandes de parents consanguins et d'affins proches, qui sont, pour la plupart, isolés à l'intérieur de leurs propres territoires, sauf pour des visites plus ou moins rares par d'autres bandes. Le système /Kung de terminologie de parenté présente deux aspects: d'après l'un, les termes sont appliqués suivant la situation biologique des personnes; d'après l'autre, les personnes sont classées avec d'autres, du fait qu'elles ont les mêmes noms. Du point de vue terminologique, deux personnes quelconques ne peuvent être apparentées simultanément de plus d'une façon, bien qu'elles puissent changer leur rapport terminologique par le mariage, ou, parfois, par le changement de leurs noms. En général, les termes employés indiquent l'âge biologique relatif des personnes qui s'appliquent mutuellement des termes de parenté. Les mêmes termes sont utilisés en s'adressant à une personne et en y faisant allusion. Pour les besoins de l'analyse, on peut distinguer entre deux systèmes de terminologie de parenté: le système A s'applique à des parents consanguins et aux personnes classées avec eux, soit par suite d'un rapport entre leurs noms, soit parce qu'elles se sont mariées avec ces parents. Le système B s'applique aux affins. Il y a trois catégories de termes dans le système A, selon leur emploi entre: (1) père ou mère et enfant; (2) 'siblings' (enfants de mêmes père et mère), et (3) générations. Dans cette dernière catégorie, la personne plus âgée emploie invariablement une forme diminutive en s'adressant, ou en faisant allusion, à la personne

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plus jeune. Dans les rapports entre parent et enfant, et entre siblings, le lien biologique constitue la seule base de la classification, mais pour tous les autres parents consanguins, ainsi que pour bien d'autres personnes encore, le nom est le facteur qui peut déterminer la nature du rapport terminologique. Le principe fondamental de ce rapport est que les personnes qui partagent le même nom occupent des positions identiques dans certains secteurs du système A. Cette méthode de classification terminologique est connue sous le nom de la méthode *homonyme*, afin de la distinguer de la méthode des *générations*. Lorsque les deux méthodes sont en désaccord, la méthode homonyme prime sur l'autre. Les /Kung n'ont aucun nom de famille; les hommes et les femmes, ainsi que les pères et les enfants, n'ont jamais le même nom. On donne à un enfant le nom d'un de ses parents consanguins ou affins de la première ou de la deuxième génération ascendante. Donc, c'est la personne qui, du point de vue biologique, est la plus âgée, qui détermine le terme qui sera employé; à vrai dire, elle applique le terme à 'ego' (autrement dit au 'moi'), et ego fait de même. Les /Kung font une distinction entre le fait d'avoir reçu le nom d'une autre personne et celui de porter simplement le même nom qu'une autre personne. Quelqu'un à qui l'on donne le nom d'une autre personne est enlevé de sa catégorie biologique et est classé dans la catégorie de la personne dont il porte le nom.

Les personnes peuvent être classées à l'égard d'' ego ' dans trois catégories nominatives: père ou mère – enfant, sibling, et la catégorie d'ego; cette dernière catégorie comprend les personnes qui sont classées par nom ou par génération avec ego. Lorsque le nom d'une personne est changé, elle est reclassée et les termes de parenté qui lui sont appliqués sont modifiés en conséquence. Un facteur important dans le rapport des noms est une liste ancestrale de noms auxquels les termes sont liés. Le système B s'applique aux affins. Dès qu'une personne entre dans un des rapports affinaux primaires avec ego, ego abandonne le terme qu'il employait précédemment et adopte le terme qui est lié au rapport affinal, même si cette personne porte le même nom que lui. Les rapports affinaux primaires comprennent les épouses de siblings, l'épouse d'ego, le père et la mère et les siblings de l'épouse d'ego, etc. Les rapports affinaux secondaires comprennent les pères et mères, les enfants et les siblings d'affins primaires, qui ne sont pas, eux-mêmes, des affins primaires. Le mariage avec un parent consanguin, ou avec une personne qui porte le nom de son propre père ou mère, est défendu. Le mariage est contracté de préférence avec une personne qui est apparentée du fait qu'elle porte le même nom, mais qui n'est pas consanguine. Les rapports sexuels ne sont autorisés qu'avec son conjoint. La parenté à plaisanterie est importante et divise les parents consanguins, les affins et les personnes qui sont apparentées du fait qu'elles portent le même nom, en deux groupes. Un individu peut plaisanter, ou non, avec chaque personne à laquelle il applique un terme de parenté et le rapport est toujours réciproque. Les plaisanteries sont ordinairement de nature sexuelle ou injurieuse, mais on montre de la modération et du respect envers les personnes plus âgées. Le rapport, du fait de porter le même nom, constitue un facteur important dans le raffermissement social, car les /Kung appliquent un terme de parenté à chaque /Kung qu'ils rencontrent et les rapports, du fait de porter le même nom, s'étendent sur une région très large.

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[Title Page]

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N/OW

LORNA MARSHALL

N/ow[1] is a belief concerning rain and cold which is held by the /Kung Bushmen in the region around Nyae Nyae in South West Africa.

About ten inches of rain falls in an average year in this part of the Kalahari Desert and sinks into the deep sands. There is no run-off in streams and there are few water holes. The rain is sufficient to support a covering vegetation of grass, shrubs, and scrubby trees. The vegetation includes numerous edible roots, tubers, leaves, fruits, and nuts, for which the Afrikaans language provides the convenient word *veldkos*.

The /Kung, the only inhabitants of the interior of this particular region, are nomadic hunters and gatherers. If the rains are poor and the veldkos dry and sparse, the people suffer. Rain, they say, is life-giving; sun is death-giving.

Summer is the season of the 'big rains' in the western Kalahari. 'Little rains'—a few scant showers—may fall in September, October, and November. The 'big rains' begin in late December or January and continue into March. The summer storms are awesome. Every day the winds drive monstrous clouds around the sky, which domes a horizon as flat as the sea. They breed the storms. Lightning streaks from them. Thunder roars and rumbles. The earth sucks in their deluges, hissing.

The /Kung say that thin clouds which give no rain are male. They call them */now*.[2] The big rain clouds are female. White ones they call *//ga kwe disi*—*//ga* means cloud or rain, *disi* means females.[3] The enormous grey clouds with rain pouring from them the /Kung call */kwesi* (zebras), because they are so fleet and, though a person may think he is far from the rain, it comes swiftly and is on him. We have seen Bushmen, caught without shelter in the storms, shivering so that their teeth chattered, saying they could perish in such rain.

Rain itself is male and female, */ga /go* and */ga di*. The men one day drew in the sand the spoor of male and female rain. Male rain spoor was made with all five fingers held stiffly and plunged deeply into the sand, to make big holes. Male rain breaks the trees and beats down the fruits, the men told us. It is (like) a fight, and may kill a person. Thunder and lightning accompany it, and sometimes hail. Female rain has tiny drops and does not spoil anything; it beautifies the trees and the grass and makes the veldkos grow. Its spoor was made by smoothing out a place in the sand and covering it closely with tiny dots. Gao said a person (anyone) may speak to the rain, saying, 'You are doing very well', or, 'Fall silently. Don't make such a noise. Don't be

[1] We wish to thank both Dr. Mary Douglas and Professor I. Schapera for reading the manuscript about *n/ow* and for making several helpful suggestions.

[2] The /Kung language has four clicks: / is the symbol for the dental click, ≠ for the alveolar, / for the alveolar palatal, and // for the lateral.

[3] We did not know how to translate *kwe*, which occurs very often. It seemed sometimes to be a sort of article and we did not work on it especially. We regret not having done so because Miss Bleek, in her *Bushman Dictionary* (American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1956), records in the Auen or //K"au-//en language, which she says is very like the /Kung and which she places south of the /Kung, the phrase *//ga -k"wisi*, meaning rain's hair or cloud. In /Kung *//ga* and *//ga* both mean rain. We now wonder if *kwe* should be *kwi* and if it means hair in the phrase *//ga kwe disi*.

dangerous.' When they do they use the word *n/oi*. It is a word for gentle rain, and also a respect word. They use it for male rain when they are afraid of it and avoid its real name, */ga /go*.

The rains of the western Kalahari are local, falling from clouds which the winds herd. They may fill one pan and miss another. Laurence Marshall spent one whole night, tentless, in a drenching downpour, to find in the morning that a mile away no rain had fallen. But by and large the rains are sufficient in quantity and well enough dispersed to fill most of the water-holes, pans, and hollow trees, and to revive the growing things, so that the autumn months, which follow the rains, are good—the best of the year. Then the /Kung may travel anywhere within their territories to hunt and gather the fresh veldkos. The rains are life-giving.

Winter is the season of dryness. It is also the season of burning sun in the cloudless sky by day and freezing cold when the sun sets. Bitter winds catch up the sparks of the fires at night and whirl them in blazing streaks into the darkness. If water is left in an open bowl, it may be ice in the morning. By mid-winter, July, there has been no rain for three or four months. The pans and small water-holes are dry. Though there are still foods to be gathered, like the mangetti nuts in the northern forest, there is no water on the route, nor in the white sand dunes where the mangettis grow, and the people cannot carry enough in their ostrich-egg shells to go to the mangettis and return. In 7,500 square miles of the interior of the region around Nyae Nyae, there are only five water-holes which do not dry up in the winter and spring. The /Kung bands must gather around whatever permanent water-hole they belong to and restrict their hunting and gathering trips to conform one way or another to the problem of water. This region, incidentally, does not abound in tsama melons and, though there are succulent so-called ' water ' roots to be found, they seem not to be sufficient to support whole bands for long. The Nyae Nyae bands, it appears, cannot, or at least do not, base themselves for long periods away from their water-holes.

The spring months which follow the dry months of winter are the dangerous months. The sun is scorching. Fruits and leaves shrivel; the edible roots, stirred by the few tantalizing drops of the little rains, or just because it is spring, give up their juices to the first new shoots and are dry and bitter to eat. The people longingly await the rains, saying it is the sun which dries the water-holes and the plant foods. The /Kung of this region use one word for both sun and dryness, */kam*, and say the sun is death-giving.

In their beliefs about *n/ow*,[1] which they think influences the weather, as this paper will describe, they make an antithesis between rain and cold. This seems paradoxical when one experiences the devastating heat of the sun in September, October, and November, but the resolution of the paradox may lie in the fact that the hardships of the dry seasons begin with the rainless winter months and their bitterly cold nights, so that sun, dryness, cold and want become a complex which is in antithesis to rain and plenty. *N/ow* is called ' bad ' if it brings cold, ' good ' if it brings rain.

Mrs. Hoernlé[2] records a Hottentot belief called */nau*. The word appears to be

[1] We spell the /Kung word *n/ow* in this way because it rhymes with ' how '. We wish to distinguish it from another /Kung word, */nau*, which it closely resembles, but which has a slightly shorter, more closed sound. */Nau* means ' old man ', according to Miss Bleek's *Bushman Dictionary*. We heard it used as a term of respect in addressing old men.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., ' Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of */nau* among the Hottentots ', *Harvard African Studies*, ii (1918), pp. 71–77.

821 171 192 similar to the /Kung word *n/ow* in sound but refers to a different belief. In the /Kung belief, *n/ow* influences rain. The Hottentot concept of */nau* supposes a state of being which exists when people are in periods of crisis in their lives. Professor Schapera[1] says of the state of */nau*, summarizing Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis:

> All periods of crisis in the life of a Hottentot involve his separation from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis is exposed to danger on every side; he must retire from contact with other people, and take special care of himself. But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things upon which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence he is secluded, and must abstain scrupulously from his usual tasks.
>
> Such a person is said to be */nau*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay into that group of his people already possessing the new characteristic he has acquired, in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more.

Remarried persons or persons newly widowed are examples.

171 796 821 [114] Mrs. Hoernlé records a rain ceremony of the Hottentots which has several elements in common with the /Kung belief about *n/ow*. The Hottentot ceremony is called the *guri≠ab* (yearly killing).[2] Professor Schapera's[3] description of the *guri≠ab*, which follows, is, as he says, based mainly on Mrs. Hoernlé's account.

> . . . It [the ceremony] is held, if possible, on the banks of a stream, and if there is no stream near by, then a trench is dug to simulate one. When the old men judge that the summer rains are due (about November or December), they tell the chief that it is time to hold the yearly feast, and he sends word to all the outlying families, and decides the time and spot for the ceremony.
>
> Each family contributes according to its means, all bringing milk, and those who can, some female animal, a cow or a ewe, which must be pregnant. The feast cannot be held at all without one pregnant animal. . . . fires are lit to cook the meat for the feast. In addition a fire is lit on the banks of the stream for the special part of the ceremony. The animals are killed and cut up very carefully, so as to preserve intact the uteri, which are kept till after the feast. Eating apparently goes on most of the time until all the food is finished.
>
> When the fire at the riverside is ready, and a channel has been made to the river or stream, the old men of the tribe who are good at prophesying take the uteri, hold them over the fire and pierce them with sticks so that the uterine fluid flows directly through the fire and down the river. At the same time milk in plenty and fat from the animals are thrown on the fire, so that liquid really flows, and great clouds of smoke rise into the sky. Meanwhile all the people round gather together in a great tribal dance, calling on *Tsui ||Goab* to send the rain in plenty, to make the ground soft and the grass green, so that they may have plenty of food for the year.

The uterine fluid, the fire and clouds of smoke rising into the sky, and the association of the ceremony with rain are the elements in the Hottentot belief which are similar to the elements in the /Kung Bushman belief of *n/ow*. But, though there are these interesting common elements, the /Kung concept differs largely from the Hottentot *guri≠ab*.

[1] Schapera, I., *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 256–7.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., 'A Hottentot Rain Ceremony', *Bantu Studies*, I, No. 2 (May 1922), pp. 3–4.

[3] Schapera, op. cit., p. 379.

N/ow of the /Kung is something which influences weather, bringing rain if it is 821
'good' *n/ow*, or cold if it is 'bad' *n/ow*. Precisely what *n/ow* consists of was never made explicit. Nothing about it can be seen. One knows of its existence, the /Kung say, by observing its effects upon the weather.

N/ow exists in all human beings, the /Kung believe, and in certain big animals, 821
namely: giraffe, eland, gemsbok, kudu, hartebeest, and wildebeest. For the sake of 825
brevity I shall refer to these animals as the *n/ow* animals. Small animals do not have *n/ow*, according to the /Kung. We wanted to learn why, but the /Kung could only tell us that they were so created. Steenbok have positively no *n/ow* at all. Some informants claimed that duikers had none, others said that duikers' *n/ow* was undeveloped. Informants were also uncertain about springbok. There are very few springbok in the region and informants said they killed them so seldom that they had not observed whether or not they had *n/ow*. Possibly other large animals would be found to have *n/ow* if the question were further pursued.[1] There was no disagreement among /Kung 821
informants about other things; no other things have *n/ow*—not earth itself, nor vegetation nor other objects on earth; not water, clouds, rain, thunder or lightning, nor heavenly bodies. Not even the two Gods themselves have *n/ow* in them, neither [776]
the great one who lives in the eastern sky, nor his namesake (his */guma*) who lives in the western sky, both of whom bear the names Huwe, Hishi, and ≠Gao/na, our informants told us.

N/ow gets into a human being in the womb. Exactly how this happens informants 821
could not tell us. It was our impression that they were not hiding information, for 843
they seemed willing enough to talk about *n/ow* and said it was not dangerous or 827
harmful in any way to speak freely about it. We think they simply did not know. One informant said, 'The child gets the *n/ow* in the womb and is born with it.' Another said, 'The *n/ow* is created in the womb.' Another said, 'The great Creator gives the [776]
n/ow and taught the people to do the things they do about it. He made all things and made all things to be known.' The *n/ow* acquired in the womb remains in a person all his life.

Some persons get a 'good' rain-bringing *n/ow*, others get a 'bad' cold-bringing *n/ow*. When we wanted to learn how this happened we were told that 'When the mother's uterine fluid flows into the ground, it makes a *n/ow* in the child which brings rain or a *n/ow* which does not bring rain'.

The mother has no voluntary control over this, nor has anyone else; and there is nothing, like medicine or magic, spell or ceremony, which can be used to cause the *n/ow* to be one kind or the other. Furthermore, the child does not inherit a good or bad *n/ow* from his mother or father or any ancestors. The philosophy, lore, or belief about the question of what causes the *n/ow* to be one or the other kind, whatever it may have been in the past, seems not to be known now with clarity or detail.

Two verbs were used in connexion with *n/ow*: to *≠gani* and to *||ghui*. The /Kung 192
say that the mother has *≠gani*(ed) the child if it gets a good *n/ow* and has *||ghui*(ed) it if 827

[1] Miss Lucy Lloyd (*A Short Account of Further Bushman Material*, *Third Report*, London, 1889, p. 19) mentions that a Bushman informant, Dia/-kwain by name, who worked with her and with Dr. Bleek before his death, and who came from the Katkop Mountains, south of the Orange River, told her that 'A baboon, when killed, resembles a man, in "making cloud"'. No more information was given in the report, but the concept of 'making cloud' suggests that possibly the now extinct or almost extinct Cape Bushmen had a belief which may have resembled in some ways the concept of *n/ow*. [171]

192 it gets a bad *n/ow*. We heard the words used constantly in connexion with *n/ow* and
827 rain and cold, but know of the use of only one of them in another connexion. The /Kung say that a child '*//ghui*(s) its name' if its teeth come late. We do not know precisely how to translate the words and hope that a linguist will some time throw more light on them.

821 ≠Toma, one of our informants, pondering on the question of how the *n/ow*
827 comes to be of one kind or the other in a person, said he thought the child's position
843 in the womb and whether the child had long or short legs might have something to do with it, but he was not sure of this, and knew no more to tell us. A caul or a breech-birth does not make the *n/ow* good or bad, he thought. Other informants
[845 thought that severely deformed infants or twins might possibly be more likely than
847] others to get a bad *n/ow*, but they too were uncertain. (Possibly this is because deformed infants and the weaker one of twins are killed at birth by /Kung mothers, so there is little occasion to think about the *n/ow* of such children.)

821 It is discovered what kind of *n/ow* a child has by observing the weather at the time
787 of its birth or soon after. If it rains the people believe the *n/ow* of the child has brought the rain and are sure the *n/ow* is good. If water should freeze when the child was born or soon after, the child's *n/ow* would be known to be bad. Should the weather continue in its normal seasonal course and no great extreme or notable change occur, the child's *n/ow* will be thought to be probably of the rain-bringing or cold-bringing kind according to the type of weather which prevailed; but if the weather is extreme at the time of the birth there is a feeling of certainty about the kind of *n/ow* the child has acquired, as the /Kung believe the effect of the *n/ow* was clearly observable.

At death as well as at birth the *n/ow* of a human being influences the weather. A /Kung told us that his *n/ow* had brought heavy rain when he was born and that everyone knew he had a rain-bringing *n/ow*. He said his mother, who lived at some distance from where he lived, noticed the weather and, if rain came at an unusual time or was unusually heavy, she feared he had died and that his *n/ow* was causing the rain to come.

821 *N/ow* is said to exist in the bodies of human beings (presumably everywhere in
826 them). Informants mentioned it particularly as associated with uterine fluid at the
[827] time of birth and with the urine and hair of humans.

Hair is associated with clouds by the /Giwke Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with whom we worked in 1955. They have a myth, told to us by the
[773 old headman, Oukwane, which says that God, whose name there is Pisiboro, and who is their one God, tore the black, black hair from his head and threw it into the sky to make the rain clouds.

775 In *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*,[1] Dr. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd record a belief about
821 death, collected in 1875 in the Katkop dialect from the informant Dia/kwain, which
826 refers to hair and clouds. We quote the statement:

> The hair of our head will resemble clouds, when we die, when we in this manner make clouds. These things are those which resemble clouds; and we think that (they) are clouds. We, who do not know, we are those who think in this manner, that (they) are clouds. We, who know, when we see that they are like this, we know that (they) are a person's clouds; (that they) are the hair of his head. We, who know, we are those who think thus, while we feel that we seeing recognize the clouds, how the clouds do in this manner form themselves.

[1] Bleek, W. H. I., and Lloyd, L. C., *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911, pp. 399–401.

The same informant gave more information about 'making cloud'. He said:[1] 821
'And, our gall, when we die, sits in the sky; it sits green in the sky, when we are 826
dead.' His mother told him, Dia/kwain continued, 'that it (thus) happens to us if we 775
sit in the shade when the place is not particularly warm, when it is (only) moderately warm, (and) we feel that the summer seems as if it would be hot. We think: "Allow me to sit for a little in the shade under the bush; for the sun's eye is not a little hot; I will sit a little while in the shade"; (then) we make clouds; our liver goes out from the place where we are sitting in the shade, if the place is not hot. Therefore, we make clouds on account of it. For, when it is really summer, then we (may) sit in the shade.'

We do not know what connexion there may be between the concept of *n/ow* held at present by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae and the /Gikwe myth of Pisiboro's hair making the rain clouds, or the hair of the dead resembling clouds and becoming the dead person's clouds, as Dia/kwain told Dr. Bleek, or a person's gall 'sitting green in the sky', or a person making clouds because his liver goes out from the place where he is sitting in the shade if the place is not hot. We hope someone else may be able to throw more light on this. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae make so little point of teaching 869
old stories or lore to their children that much must be lost.

What the /Kung believe now, Demi told us, is that there is nothing about hair itself which affects the weather. It is the *n/ow* of the person which the hair 'gives'. As we understand it, some of the *n/ow* which is in a person is in the hair. When hair is burned in the fire, the *n/ow* is released into the air in the smell.[2] It goes into the sky and, Demi said, the rain 'fears' it. (*Koa*, the word 'to fear', means to respect, to avoid, as when something is taboo, and to be afraid of.) When a person's urine is burned, it also carries the *n/ow* of the person into the sky.

/Kung informants told us that it would be possible to use the *n/ow* of persons to 789
control the weather, should there be need. If the big rains were unusually late and the 791
people were suffering from the dryness, or if the rain storms were so frequent and 821
heavy that the people had much trouble hunting and gathering veldkos, or if a storm were especially frightening, they might try to start or stop the rain. A person known with certainty to have a rain-bringing *n/ow*, because the weather at his birth had given evidence of it, could be asked either to urinate in the fire or to burn some of his hair. The smell of his urine or hair would go up into the sky and influence the rain to come. A person with a cold-bringing *n/ow* could be asked to do the same to stop the rain, if this were wanted.

We have no observations on who would instigate the burning of urine or hair to 821
control the weather. We did not see it done. No one in a /Kung community is a 791
specialist in rain-making, nor has anyone special authority in making a decision about 123
the control of weather. The medicine men (*shamen*) have as their function the curing of the people, not the control of weather. It would be in keeping with the practice of the /Kung of this region, as we observed it in other connexions, for the group to 623
come to a consensus by talking the matter over informally as they sat by their fires, 821
and then for the parents or someone else to bid a child urinate in the fire. It seems to 789
us unlikely that an individual would make the decision entirely alone, without speaking

[1] Ibid., p. 399.
[2] Cf. a myth about the Rain Bull, which refers to the smell of burning horns, p. 239.

623 about it to others, unless it were a hunter caught in a storm alone in the veld; but
821 an individual, even without necessarily expressing a consensus, we think might say
789 to another, 'Why don't you burn some of your hair?', which would probably be enough to instigate the act. And, in all likelihood, it would be done with so little formality that the observer would not know anything was happening unless he knew what to watch for and were alerted.

[171 There was no ceremony regularly performed by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae to ensure
821] plentiful rain, like the Hottentots' *guri≠ab*. The Rain dance of the /Kung, which is
789] danced often, all through the year, is a medicine dance, among several others, such
535 as the Giraffe, Sun, Gemsbok, Honey, and Mamba dances. All these are 'strong'
776 things, the /Kung believe. The dances so named have 'strong' medicine music. They
755 are danced during the medicine men's ceremony to cure the sick and protect the people and drive away any of the *//ganasi*, the spirits of the dead, who might be lurking to bring some evil upon the people. The Rain dance has this as its purpose, not the control of weather.

One night when the Rain dance was being beautifully danced with a fine precision and vigour of clapping, singing, and stamping, which to us suggested fervour, we were watching it so intently that we had not noticed the sky. The first storm of the season had crept up behind us and suddenly burst over us like a bomb. We asked
[821] Gao if he believed the dance had brought the rain. He said that the rain was due to come. The dance had not brought it.

821 A *n/ow* animal, as well as a human, has either a good or a bad *n/ow*, but it seems
825 not to be known clearly how it gets the one or the other. Good or bad *n/ow* is not correlated with one sex or one species. One giraffe, for example, either male or female, may have the rain-bringing, another the cold-bringing kind.

It seems that long or short horns may have something to do with good or bad *n/ow*, not the long-hornedness of gemsbok as compared with the short-hornedness of giraffes, but, within the species, the comparative length of horn. But one kind of *n/ow* is not inherent in short-hornedness nor is the other kind in long-hornedness. It is not so simple as that. And informants did not know what association, if any, the short or long horns may have with ≠Toma's vague idea that the short or long legs of a child in the womb might have something to do with the child's *n/ow*.

When a hunter kills a *n/ow* animal, he either *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) it. Like the mother who *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) her child at birth, the hunter has no voluntary control over this and cannot tell which he has done unless the effect is observed in the weather. A hunter with good or bad *n/ow* may *≠gani* or *//ghui* an animal which has either good or bad *n/ow* and long or short horns. The precise nature of the interaction remains obscure, but hunters took an interest in telling about the kind of *n/ow* they thought they had, and gave instances of observing the effects of their killing various types of animals. If a man should kill a female kudu with short horns and the water should freeze that night, it would be evident that he had *//ghui*(ed) the animal. He would expect to continue to *//ghui* short-horned female kudus. However, although a man's *n/ow* remains constant throughout his life, the way it interacts with other factors may change, and after a time he may find he has begun to *≠gani* short-horned female kudus. We think the /Kung became a little tired of our finding this complicated.

One day in September the sun blazed in the clear sky. The heat beat down upon us.

A party of /Kung men had gone hunting towards the west. John, our son, was with 821
them. In the afternoon there appeared in the western sky three little white clouds, like 825
three powder-puffs in a neat row. They were the first clouds to be seen since the big rains had ended in March. We ran to each other, pointing them out. People felt happy. In the evening, when the hunters returned, ≠Toma came at once to me, before he put down his bow and quiver, and said that I could see for myself what it meant to ≠*gani* an animal. John had ≠*gani*(ed) the wildebeest he shot, and the clouds had appeared immediately above them. ≠Toma said this was what he had been trying all along to explain to me.

If a hunter knows with certainty that he has ≠*gani*(ed) or ||*ghui*(ed) an animal, as it 821
was known when John killed the wildebeest that he had ≠*gani*(ed) it, he may take the 825
horns and the scalp and forehead bone and hang them in a tree, remembering where 789
they are and whether they had been ≠*gani*(ed) or ||*ghui*(ed). If need should arise he could get the horns which were appropriate to the need and burn them in a specially made fire away from the cooking-fires. He would take a piece of the burning horn and point it to the sky saying '*goichi goichi goichi n/ow qui*'. This we were told is 'speaking *n/ow*'. The interpreters did not know and could not find out by questioning people what the words mean. We wonder if they are an archaic spell. The horns must be entirely consumed by the fire.

In *Bushman Folklore*[1] there is a reference to the burning of horns in a very interesting 773
myth about the Rain Bull, related to Dr. Bleek in 1878 by a Bushman from Strontbergen (30° S., 22° E.) whose dialect included the fifth click of the southern group, as the Katkop dialect does. In this myth a young woman cleverly saves herself from being carried away on the back of the Rain Bull to the water-pit where she would have been turned into a frog, and all of her people also would have become frogs. At the end of the myth the informant who related it said, 'The old women who had been out seeking food were those who came to burn horns, while they desired that the smell of the horns should go up, so that the Rain should not be angry with them.'

A hunter has another way of controlling the weather. To bring rain he would cut 789
the throat of an animal he had reason to believe he habitually ≠*gani*(ed), or to stop 821
rain, one he habitually ≠*ghui*(ed). The blood, which is ordinarily saved and eaten, 825
would be allowed to flow on to the ground. A giraffe is the best animal for blood- [262]
letting. The forms and colours of the clouds are like giraffes, the /Kung remarked. We asked if human beings cut themselves and used their blood to start or stop rain as they do their urine or hair. The /Kung said, No, they did not. That would be unnecessarily painful.

As far as we know the /Kung did not attempt to control the weather by these means 183
while we were with them, as they did not resort to burning urine or hair of persons. 789
Perhaps this was because the weather took its normal, expected, seasonal course. 821
Furthermore, we did not experience its most severe extremes for very long periods, [132]
and found it on the whole quite bearable. Or perhaps the concept of controlling weather by means of burning urine, hair or horns or letting blood, exists more in lore than in active practice. Or perhaps the long unchanging months do not stimulate the idea of actively attempting to control weather and the people content themselves with 789
explaining rather than controlling. They appeared in many instances to have the 821

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., pp. 193 ff.

6:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

789 attitude of accepting resignedly what befell. It seemed to be in keeping with their
821 habits of thought that Gao said to us, ' When Bara comes (the season of the rains) and the rains do not fall, we desire and wait.'

Résumé

LE N/OW

000 La *N/ow* est une croyance des Boschimans /Kung de la région autour de Nyae Nyae, dans l'Afrique Sud-ouest, touchant la pluie et le froid. Il tombe dix pouces environ de pluie au cours d'une année moyenne dans cette partie du désert du Kalahari, ce qui est suffisant pour maintenir une végétation de couverture comprenant de l'herbe, des arbustes et des arbrisseaux. Cette végétation, désignée *veldkos* en langue taal, comprend de nombreuses racines, feuilles, fruits et noix comestibles. Les /Kung, seuls habitants de l'intérieur de cette région, sont des nomades qui vivent de la chasse et de la cueillette. Ils ont à subir de grandes difficultés si les pluies sont insuffisantes et il en résulte que le veldkos est sec et épars. Ils disent que la pluie est vivifiante et que le soleil est mortel. Les grandes pluies tombent en été; elles commencent fin décembre ou en janvier et persistent jusqu'en mars; quelques averses rares tombent quelquefois au cours des mois de septembre, octobre et novembre. Les /Kung considèrent les nuages minces, qui ne donnent pas de pluie, comme étant du sexe masculin, et les gros nuages comme des femelles. La pluie elle-même est mâle ou femelle suivant la force avec laquelle elle tombe. Les mois d'automne qui suivent les pluies sont les meilleurs mois de l'année et les /Kung parcourent la région en faisant la chasse et la cueillette du veldkos nouveau. L'hiver est la saison sèche, avec un soleil brûlant pendant le jour et un froid glacial pendant la nuit; la plupart des mares se tarissent. Le *n/ow* est une chose qui influence les conditions atmosphériques et on l'appelle ' néfaste ' s'il apporte le froid et ' bon ' s'il apporte la pluie. Le *n/ow* n'est pas visible, mais on croit qu'il est présent dans tous les êtres humains et dans certains grands animaux; toutefois, il n'existe dans rien d'autre. Le bon ou le mauvais *n/ow* s'introduit dans un enfant avant sa naissance et il demeure chez cet individu pendant toute sa vie. Il n'y a aucun moyen de modifier l'espèce de *n/ow* qu'une personne possède et ce *n/ow* n'est pas héréditaire. L'espèce de *n/ow* est révélée en observant les conditions atmosphériques au moment de la naissance de l'enfant, ou peu de temps après. Le *n/ow* d'un être humain peut aussi influencer les conditions atmosphériques au moment de sa mort. Il existe dans le corps et il est associé avec le liquide utérin, l'urine, et la chevelure. L'association entre la chevelure et les nuages est constatée parmi d'autres tribus boschimans, mais le rapport n'est pas très clairement défini chez les /Kung. Ils croient qu'une partie du *n/ow* appartenant à un individu se trouve dans la chevelure et que lorsque les cheveux (ou l'urine) sont consumés dans le feu le *n/ow* est dégagé dans l'air avec l'odeur. Il monte au ciel et la pluie ' en a peur '. De cette façon, il deviendrait possible d'utiliser le *n/ow* des gens pour faire tomber ou arrêter la pluie. Étant donné que les /Kung n'ont pas de ' faiseurs de pluie ' officiels, ni de rites pour invoquer la pluie, la cérémonie aurait probablement lieu d'une façon officieuse, de manière à échapper à l'attention des observateurs. Les animaux peuvent également avoir un bon ou un mauvais *n/ow* mais le fait d'en posséder un n'a aucun rapport avec le sexe ou une espèce quelconque. Un chasseur peut tuer un animal, de façon à influer sur les conditions atmosphériques, mais, dans ce cas, c'est une question de chance et non pas de choix. Il peut également garder les cornes et les brûler, afin d'invoquer la pluie, ou trancher la gorge de l'animal en laissant le sang couler par terre. Cependant, les /Kung n'ont fait usage d'aucune de ces méthodes pendant le temps que l'auteur est resté parmi eux, sans doute parce que le temps a suivi son cours normal ou parce que les /Kung sont habitués à accepter ce qui advient.

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/Because this entire source is essentially a botanical report on the flora of the Bushmen region, data on flora will be found in category 116, pp. 4-8, 10-113/

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UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
DIVISION OF BOTANY

BOTANICAL SURVEY MEMOIR
No. 30

Some Plants Used by the Bushmen in Obtaining Food and Water

BY

R. STORY, D.Sc.
DIVISION OF BOTANY, PRETORIA.

1958

[TITLE PAGE]

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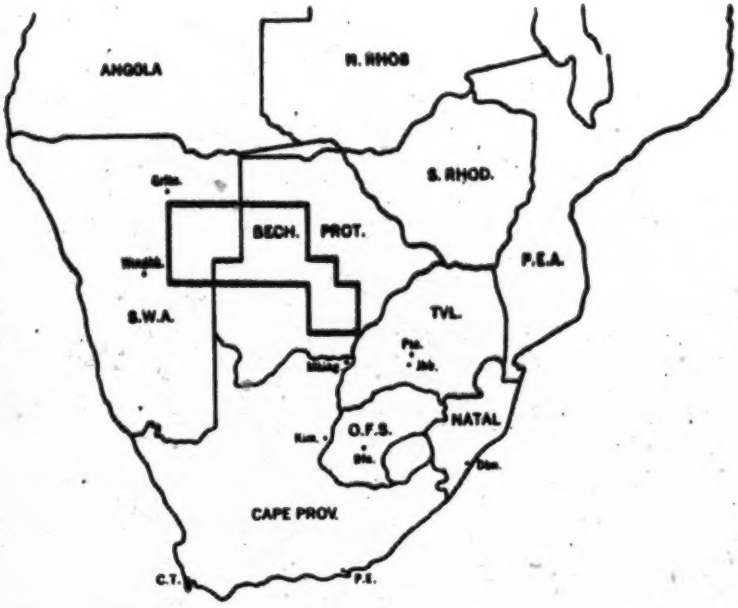

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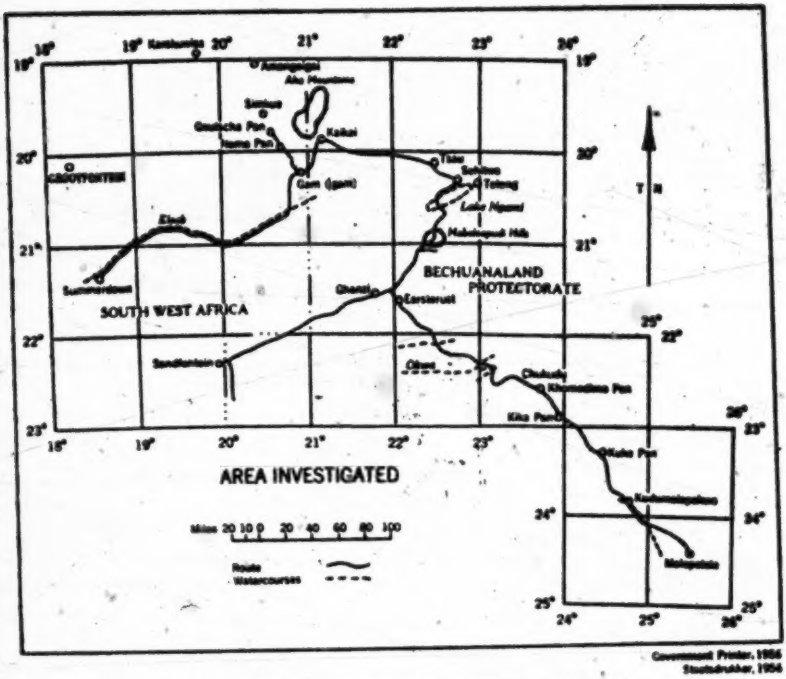

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GENERAL AND DETAILED MAPS
OF THE AREA COVERED IN THIS STUDY.

[p. 3]

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FOREWORD.

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The Kalahari is not a sandy desert in the sense that it is devoid of vegetation; it is the absence of surface water which makes the region such a hazard to human habitation. It is the last refuge of the Bushman. Primitive though he is, he survived in this inhospitable environment owing to his acute powers of perception and his fine appreciation of the gifts of nature. He is a skilled hunter with his bow and arrow and has an intimate knowledge of the natural resources of food and water. Dr. Story compliments him by saying that his knowledge was usually imparted cheerfully and with humour and "always with intelligence".

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The Division of Botany was grateful to accept the invitation for Dr. Story to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition of 1955. This was the fifth expedition of its kind and had as its objective the further documentation of the way of life of the Bushman. Dr. Story's assignment was to investigate the plants used by them in obtaining food and water.

It is inevitable that, with the advance of civilisation, the remnants of this interesting race will lose its intimate contact with nature and in the end its very identity. Wishing to complete their records before this happens the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody organisation, is, as we go to press, returning on yet another expedition. The Division of Botany is glad of this opportunity to continue the collection of data on the plants of economic importance to the Bushmen in the Kalahari.

The balance in nature between supply and demand is of endless interest to the ecologist. In times of plenty—when vegetation is abundant—the animal population increases: in times of poverty—when the vegetation is reduced by the prevailing climatic conditions—the animal population is reduced by the effects of hunger and thirst. So it is with the primitive human, who is dependent for his survival on the animal and plant life which surrounds him. Overpopulation at any time spells destruction for him at a later date. It is obvious too, that primitive man must have had a strong influence on the distribution and density of edible wild plants. Some will have become more widespread and others less numerous. More X C137 and more examples of rare species among the tuberous rooted *Asclepiadaceae* have come to light during the botanical exploration of southern Africa. It is felt that the edibility of these and some other tuberous rooted plants, in a large measure, accounts for their sparse distribution.

Dr. Story's observations support this view, and many other interesting facts are recorded in his preliminary report on the vegetable aspect of the Bushman's diet.

R. A. Dyer,
Chief: Division of Botany and
Director of Botanical Survey.

Pretoria,
October, 1957.

INTRODUCTION.

Early in 1955 the Chief of the Union Government Division of Botany 121
received a request through the British Museum for a botanist to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition, which in the winter of that year was to make a study of the Bushmen of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa. The duties of the botanist would be to investigate and report upon the plants used by the Bushmen in obtaining food and drink, and this task was assigned to me in my capacity as one of the Botanical Survey Officers of the Division of Botany.

I joined the expedition on 10th June at Molepolole, after it had been 122
some weeks in the field, and we thereafter travelled along the route shown on the map, reaching Windhoek on 2nd September.

There were two main areas of study, one in the country south of 133
Ghanzi and the other north of Ghanzi. The southern area, part of the Kalahari Desert, was remarkably uniform in every way. The surface [134]
was deep loose sand, gently undulating and with occasional shallow depressions of firm dark soil known as pans, which collect a little water after rain. We did not see a hill after leaving Molepolole until the Ghanzi area was reached, nor a stone, except for shelves of limestone in some of the pans. There was no permanent water in the 300 miles between [312]
Kudumalapshwe and the Ghanzi farms, but Khungwane waterhole and Khomodimo Pan had not yet dried up. Khungwane held one or two thousand gallons and Khomodimo contained a pond about thirty yards across and a foot or so deep. It provided a home, rather unexpectedly, [136]
for a coot (*Fulica cristata*) and a water-scorpion (one of the *Nepidae*). There are no records of the central Kalahari rainfall, but it would be [132]
between 18·5 and 19·6 inches, which are the mean annual figures for Ghanzi and Molepolole respectively. In spite of this low rainfall, and although we were there in the dry season, we found that the sand a few inches below the surface and down to at least three feet was damp enough to retain its form when squeezed in the hand. One specimen of a species 136
of Breviceps was found in the sand, a small burrowing frog which does not swim or jump and which passes through its tadpole stage in a mass of frothy material which surrounds the eggs. The commonest animals were the rodents whose burrows and tracks were in thousands along our route. The game included gemsbok, springbok, hartebees, eland, blue wildebees, giraffe and smaller antelopes and hares. Of the carnivora, lions, leopards, wild dogs, jackals and hyaenas were present. Ostriches and bustards were seen and occasional small birds of various species, but birds were on the whole poorly represented. The vegetation was mainly grassland, usually 137x
about four feet tall and mixed with many shrubs a little taller. Trees were seldom absent for more than a few miles at a stretch, and were scattered to form a parkland or in belts thick enough to hamper the progress of our lorries through them.

The northern area was much more varied, with the undulations 133
sometimes forming distinct rises and dales. Hills, however, were still absent, although there were occasional outcrops of limestone and other rock. The soils were for the most part fairly firm, but sandy nevertheless, [134]
and damp below the surface. From time to time we crossed zones of purer loose sand, slightly raised above the surrounding country and known as dunes. A number of permanent waterholes, groups of large pans and a rainfall estimated to be about 20 inches a year (Department of Transport [132]
1953) made this area better watered than the Kalahari, and better wooded. 137x

There were more species of grass, and, particularly on the dunes, more of trees and shrubs. The fauna was also richer for there were buffalo and elephant and many waterfowl in addition to the animals found in the Kalahari.

. The Bushman languages represented in this paper are classified according to Bleek's *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages* (1929). They are !h3:, the closely interrelated ||ganakwe, |gikwe and Naron, and Auen (see also Bleek, 1928: 60-64).

!h3: is a member of the southern group, in which the lip click is found, and a dialect of what Bleek calls |nu||en, S6 in her system of classification. Bleek's spelling is !k3:, but I heard the click aspirated. It is spoken in the neighbourhood of Lehututu, which is 150 miles south of Ghanzi.

||ganakwe is spoken to the east of Ghanzi, and has been studied by Maingard (1957).

The centre of the |gikwe language appears to be in the country to the south-east of Ghanzi. It is a member of Bleek's Central group, closely allied to Naron and easily understood by Naron speakers although many words are different. A curious feature of the phonetics is the occurrence of the ejective lateral explosive followed immediately by the velar glottal affricate (see Cole, 1955: 23 and Beach 1938: 222-223). The first sound is not mentioned in any papers that I have seen on the Bushman languages.

Naron is Bleek's C2. There is an error which is liable to confuse one on page 3 of her publication, where the languages of the Naron and Masarwa of Tati have been transposed. Naron should be under C2 and the Masarwa language under C1. A grammatical sketch of Naron is given in Bleek's paper of 1928.

Auen, Bleek's N1, is the eastern form of the !khû linguistic group and is spoken round Gautscha Pan. It was studied by Maingard when he was a member of this same expedition and an account of it is given in his paper of 1957. In this paper I refer to it as Eastern !khû.

The work done in the Kalahari was done through interpreters, and much of that in the northern area likewise, except towards the end of the expedition when through closer contact with the Bushmen for a longer time than in the south, I was able to acquire a smattering of the Eastern !khû language, enough to ask straightforward questions and to understand straightforward replies. The phonetics of the Bushman languages are a study in themselves, and I do not claim that my spellings and indications of the tones are exact. In the orthography I have followed Bleek (1929) with the following exceptions:—

1. I have placed the n first when it is combined with a click. It has been the convention to place the n after the click in the written Khoisan languages, the argument being that the n and the click are pronounced simultaneously (Meinhof, 1909: 5). To my ear the n is the first sound in the combination.
2. Bleek does not mention the voiced h, which sometimes follows a nasalised click. I have accordingly followed Doke (1936: 448) and used the symbol ɦ.

For easy reference, the symbols I have used are listed at the end of this introductory chapter.

As the spellings of the Bushman names on my herbarium specimens are from field notes, they are often different from the spellings given in this paper, which was done after I had had the opportunity of consulting the authors I have mentioned. It will be noticed that many of the plants do not have the full set of Bushman names. The main reason is that we were not in contact with the Eastern !khû speakers until we had passed Ghanzi, and lost contact successively with the |gikwe, ||ganakwe and !h5: speakers as the expedition drew to a close. Other reasons are that my field notes were sometimes inadequate, that I forgot to ask, and that some plants appeared restricted to certain areas and were not known to all the groups of Bushmen. 128 [184]

As the expedition was during the winter when most of the plants were in poor condition, very little photography was done in the field. Most of the photographs are from plants which were sent back to Pretoria and cultivated there, or from plants which grow naturally in the Transvaal. In this paper the plants and photographs are arranged according to de Dalla Torre and Harms (1900-1907). Specimen numbers are in brackets. 126 [128]

There is little doubt that the plants discussed here represent only a fraction of those used, for we covered a very small part of the area over which the Bushmen range, and this when probably most of the annuals were dead, when some foods were out of season and when the above ground parts of many bulbous and tuberous plants had withered and disappeared so that the plants themselves could not be found. 114

Because of poor yield, poor quality, difficulty in harvesting or lack of flavour, not many of the Bushman food plants would be worth cultivating in their present form for the use of civilised people, but they offer a large field to the plant breeder. The most promising have been noted accordingly in the text. 000

There were few bones around the Bushman encampments, but this does not necessarily mean that there is a scarcity of meat in their diet, for the bones might have been removed by porcupines (Alexander, 1956; Dart, 1957) or eaten by hyaenas. A more reliable indication was the scantiness of the Bushmen's skin coverings. There are sharp frosts in the Kalahari and sometimes bitter winds, and one may argue that the Bushmen would provide themselves with sufficient skins if they had a regular supply of meat, although admittedly they eat skins after charring them on the coals and pounding them in a mortar. Vegetable refuse from former meals and fresh vegetable food, however, were found at all the Bushman encampments, and additional gatherings were the permanent chore of the women and children and of the men to a lesser degree. The insanitary condition of the surroundings also provided unmistakable evidence that the bulk of their food was of vegetable origin. 262 [291] [132] [364]

Their knowledge of field botany was astonishingly good. It has to be, otherwise they would have no chance of survival in their arid country. Fragments of stem, dead leaves, and other small clues of this nature, after being unerringly identified, were all the Bushmen needed to find many of the storage organs they were seeking. Differences which escaped me would enable them to distinguish between edible and harmful plants, and they had a thorough knowledge of the areas and habitats in which their food plants grew. They must have an influence on the distribution of plants. 824 137X

137 spreading some like the Grewias and the melons whose seeds pass through the alimentary canal apparently unharmed and reducing others like the Eulophias and Vignas which have edible underground storage organs. It is perhaps significant that, with two exceptions, the edible members of the family Asclepiadaceae were rarely found. In this paper there are 11, from Raphionacme to Fockea inclusive—nearly all important food plants with underground storage organs. The two commoner exceptions were *Sarcostemma viminale* which is sometimes poisonous and *Pentarrhinum insipidum* which has edible leaves and fruits but an inedible perennial root.

146 I am not qualified to speak on the health of the Bushmen, but it is apparent even to the layman that they are very unlikely to suffer from any deficiency disease while on their natural diet. When they are recruited for labour and fed on an unbalanced diet their health will be undermined and they will be less able to resist the rigours of their normal life when their contracts expire.

114 Their study by serious workers is to be encouraged for it should lead to their stability as a race and the enrichment of our knowledge, but contacts with irresponsible strangers is unfortunate and observations like the following by Brown (1954: 130) are valueless and regrettable:—

> "They are wonderful runners. When I chased one with the clanging of a bell he set off at a good bat into the distance, and kept it up until out of sight."

122 During the three months in which the field work was done, the expenses of my transport and keep were met from the funds of the expedition, and this I gratefully acknowledge. Dr. R. A. Dyer, Chief of the Division of Botany, gave me the opportunity of joining the expedition, and all facilities for working up the results of the field work. Most of the determinations were done by my colleagues in the Division of Botany, and of them Miss I. C. Verdoorn, author of *Edible Wild Fruits of the Transvaal*, read through the typescript and gave me valuable advice. Dr. L. E. Codd deserves special thanks for the way he saw to the growing of the considerable quantities of roots, bulbs and seeds sent from the Kalahari. 000 I thank Mr. L. K. Marshall, who led the expedition, and the members of it, [115] for their interest and kindness, also Kernel Ledimo, a fluent speaker of the Eastern !khũ language, who was always ready to translate or to pilot me through its little-known and fascinating grammar and phonetics. My notes on the Bushman languages were kindly checked by Prof. L. F. Maingard, and the ethnological literature was supplied mainly by Dr. N. J. van Warmelo of the Department of Native Affairs. I am indebted to Messrs. Midgeley, Martin and Scholtz of the Bechuanaland Administration for hospitality and for enabling me to see parts of the territory that I should not otherwise have seen. My thanks would not be complete without mention of the Bushmen whose knowledge is the foundation of this paper. [124] The information was seldom reluctantly given—usually cheerfully and with humour, and always with intelligence.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

ORTHOGRAPHY.

The following are the approximate values of the letters and symbols used in the spelling of the Bushman names. They have been taken from Bleek's paper of 1929, pages 12-14. 104 194

b, d, h, k, l, m, n, r, s, w, z — as in English.
k', t' — as above, but with glottal closure.
g — as in *get*.
j — as in *yet*.
k' — the velar glottal affricate.
x — as German *ch*.
ŋ — as in *sing*.
ʃ — as in *ship*.
ʒ — as in vision.
ṭ — the flapped retroflex consonant.
| — the dental click.
! — the palato-alveolar click.
‖ — the lateral click.
ǂ — the alveolar click.
⊙ — the lip click.
a: — as in *hard*.
a — the same sound shortened.
ɑ — the same sound produced far back in the throat.
e — as in *air*.
e: — as in *say*.
ɛ — as in *met*.
i — as in *hit*.
i: — as in *me*.
ɔ: — as in *haul*.
ɔ — the same sound shortened.
o — as in *notice*.
u — as in *put*.
ʔ — the glottal stop.
~ — over a letter denotes nasal pronunciation.
' — over a letter denotes accentuation of the syllable.

The middle tone is not marked, the high tone is marked by a dash above the line preceding the syllable, the low tone by one below the line, as ¯ha, ₋ha; rising and falling tones are marked ʼha and ˌha.

The voiced h is written ɦ.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

SYNOPSIS AND DESCRIPTIONS.

128 The synopsis is intended as a guide only, and leads to groups of plants and usually not to species. The descriptions and photographs should make the final identification possible, but it should be remembered that there are many Bushman food plants which were not seen on the expedition and which are therefore not described in this paper.

I have taken for granted that the reader will realise that the measurements of plants and their organs vary, and for this reason I have usually given what I consider to be the average and have omitted most words like "approximately" and "about".

Technical terms have been avoided except for the following:—

Axil of leaf—the angle between the leaf and the stem;
glabrous—without hairs;
glaucous—bluish-green, or covered with a bloom;
pappus—a tuft of hairs on a seed;
perianth—petals and sepals;
rhizome—an underground stem;
tomentum—dense short hairs;
tuber—a roundish succulent underground stem.

UNDERGROUND PARTS EDIBLE.

137 262 Trees or shrubs	*Bauhinia macrantha.* *Boscia albitrunca.* *Commiphora* spp.
Prostrate runners	*Bauhinia esculenta.* *Cucumis* sp.
Climbers or scramblers:—	
Scramblers	*Ipomoea verbascoidea.*
Twiners	*Ceropegia* spp.
With tendrils	*Coccinia* spp. *Corallocarpus welwitschii.*
Fleshy finger-like angled erect stems	*Caralluma knobelii.* *Duvalia polita.* *Stapelia kwebersis*
Without chlorophyll	*Hydnora* sp. *Terfezia* sp
Wiry 12" stems	*Ipomoea* sp. *Raphionacme burkei.*
Monocotyledons (strap-shaped or grass-like leaves):—	
Bulb with papery coverings	*Dipcadi* sp. *Moriscus congestus.* *Scilla* sp.
Rounded storage organ without papery coverings	*Eulophia* spp. *Walleria* sp.
Horizontal rhizome	*Sansevieria scabrifolia.* *Typha capensis.*

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

137X
262

ABOVE-GROUND PARTS EDIBLE.

Trees shrubs or palms:—	
Thorny or spiny—	
Large fruits more than 1½" in diameter	*Hyphaene ventricosa.*
	Strychnos spp.
Small fruits less than 1½" in diameter	*Commiphora pyracanthoides.*
	Ximenia spp.
	Ziziphus mucronata.
Pods	*Acacia* spp.
Not thorny or spiny—	
Leaves compound—	
Stems more than 2' thick	*Adansonia digitata.*
	Ricinodendron rautanenii.
Stems less than 2' thick	*Burkea africana.*
	Lannea edulis.
	Rhus commiphoroides.
	Sclerocarya caffra.
Leaves simple—	
Fruits winged	*Combretum* spp.
	Terminalia sericea.
Fruits not winged—	
Leaves bilobed	*Bauhinia macrantha.*
Leaves not bilobed—	
Leaves hairy	*Dichapetalum cymosum.*
	Ehretia rigida.
	Grewia spp.
	Royena sericea.
	Strychnos cocculoides.
Leaves glabrous	*Boscia albitrunca.*
	Ochna pulchra.
Prostrate runners—	
Stems and leaves fleshy	*Talinum arnotii.*
Leaves bilobed	*Bauhinia esculenta.*
Fruits spiky	*Citrullus naudinianus.*
	Cucumis hookeri.
	Momordica balsamina.
Fruits smooth	*Citrullus vulgaris.*
Climbers or scramblers—	
No tendrils	*Pentarrhinum insipidum.*
	Pollichia campestris.
	Sarcostemma viminale.
Tendrils—	
Fruits spiky	*Cucumis metuliferus.*
	Momordica balsamina.
Fruits smooth	*Coccinia* spp.
	Corallocarpus spp.
Fleshy finger-like angled erect stems	*Caralluma knobelii.*
	Duvalia polita.
	Stapelia kwebensis.
Fleshy slender round erect stems	*Sarcostemma viminale.*
	Talinum arnotii.
Slender lax stems about 1' high	*Pollichia campestris.*
Stemless, with one soft leaf	*Ophioglossum sarcophyllum.*
Monocotyledons (strap-shaped leaves or fleshy leaves with spiny margin)	*Dipcadi* sp.
	Aloe spp.
	Typha capensis.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

X137 *Terfezia* spp. (5031, 5616) Photograph 1.

Naron Bushman..... ˌku-tsʼi
Eastern ǂkhû Bushman ˌtsu-tsʼɔ

In size, shape and colour these truffles resemble potatoes, but the skin is rough and they are not as heavy.

The genus Terfezia, which is allied to the European truffles, has been recorded from dry and sandy localities between the northern Cape Province and the Mediterranean region. There are 36 species, of which three are believed to occur in South West Africa and the Union. Some records are vague and incomplete, and cannot be checked. These southern species, all of which are edible, are not distinguishable except by microscopical examination. They may be found from April onwards to about July, when the season ends presumably through their disintergrating in the soil. Their presence depends upon the rainfall, as is shown by the following extract from a letter from Mr. G. Scholtz, of Ghanzi, whom I had asked to collect some for me. "Nature appears to be against you this year. I even offered five shillings per truffle, but according to the Bushmen (my offer was just laughed at) no rain, no truffles. And we certainly have had no rain, in fact the worst drought in Ghanzi's history."

It is uncertain whether they are root parasites or mycorrhizal fungi, and nothing definite is known as to the host plant favoured by any particular species. In the south-western Kalahari, near the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park, they are found in the dips between the sand dunes where *Aristida ciliata* is the dominant grass, but it has not yet been established whether they are connected with it or with some associated plant. Towards the Ghanzi area they were collected in a mixed grassveld of Aristida and Eragrostis species with scattered trees of *Acacia uncinata* and no *Aristida ciliata;* but here another species may have been involved.

222 The European truffles are usually collected with the aid of dogs or pigs, which can trace them by their scent, and rarely by two other methods. One of these is by observing where certain insects collect to lay their eggs, for their larvae feed on truffles and the eggs are laid near them. The other is to watch for cracks in the ground which the truffle sometimes causes as it grows. This is the method used in southern Africa. A good deal of practice is needed before it can be applied, for the cracks are slight, and are specially difficult to find where the surface has been disturbed by game or stock, or where they have been partly filled in by windblown sand, but matters are eased somewhat by the fact that there is seldom more than about three inches of sand covering the truffles and that they grow in patches.

252 They may be eaten boiled or roasted. The texture is like soft cheese.
262 They are not aromatic and the flavour is far inferior to that of the best European truffles.

Ophioglossum sarcophyllum Desv. (5142) Photograph 2.

X137 This unusual looking plant is one of the ferns. It is five inches high on the average, and somewhat fleshy, and consists of an erect stalk with a leaf-like undivided frond at the top. A thinner stalk which bears the spores rises from the mid-rib near the base of this frond.

A few specimens were collected at Gam, on damp sand which was moist from the run-off from adjacent rock outcrops. It is usually found in places like this, where the dampness is conserved, but after good rains its distribution is not restricted, except that it occurs more in the open and does not grow under dense bush. In favourable localities it is sometimes massed, and may be collected in quantity. It occurs throughout southern Africa. 137X

It is used by various Native tribes as a spinach, and may also be eaten raw. It tastes like lettuce but is slightly sweeter and lacks the crisp texture of lettuce. 262

Typha capensis Rohr. (5302) Photograph 3.

Eastern !khû Bushman dza-dza

A cosmopolitan and well-known plant, known in South Africa as the bull-rush, and easily recognisable from its inflorescence which forms a compact brown spike two feet or more in length at the tops of the five-foot flowering culms. This is in two parts, variously divided so that the lower may be equal to the upper, or shorter, or longer. The lower part consists of the female flowers and is sausage-shaped and brown, with the flowering culm running through its centre. Immediately above this is a spike of male flowers, similar except that it is more open and often yellowish from the masses of pollen it contains. The leaves are strap-shaped, usually an inch wide and six feet long, erect and fairly rigid and very slightly twisted along their length. It is a gregarious plant and always grows near water. 137X

A little was growing round a permanent spring at the edge of Gautscha Pan, and was the only patch seen during the trip.

The top (male) part of the inflorescence is eaten raw by the Bushmen. It has the rich and familiar flavour of bee-bread. Dinter (1912:17) states that the rhizome of this plant is the thickness of one's finger and about two feet long, and may after drying and husking be beaten to a reddish meal which is rich in starch and may be used in the same way as meal from cereals. I have tried the rhizome myself. It is heavy and succulent when fresh, and loses water slowly. When dry it has a puffy outer zone of tissue which may be stripped off to expose a hard central cylinder containing the reddish starch to which Dinter refers. As the starch does not crumble readily it is difficult to beat out, and it is full of fibres which may however easily be removed by sifting. It may be boiled to make a brown porridge of good quality except that it is more glutinous than any porridge normally used by us. 252 262

137X

Mariscus congestus C. B. Cl. (5166) Photograph 4.

Naron Bushman..... nlani
Eastern !khû Bushman !gewu

This plant is one of the sedges, a group closely related and similar to the grasses but distinguishable by certain rather subtle differences which most laymen as well as botanists are familiar with. One of the main ones is that their flowering stalks are usually three-angled and solid while those of the grasses are usually round and hollow. The species in question could not, in its withered winter condition, be named in the field, but bulbs which were collected grew well in cultivation and flowered in Pretoria that same

X137 year. They produce an erect and robust plant with bright green leaves and numerous spreading underground rhizomes on which more bulbs are borne a few inches below the surface. Some stolons are produced above ground as well, from among the leaves. They afterwards turn downwards, entering the soil close to the parent plant and thereafter behaving in all respects like the rhizomes. The flowering stalk is three-angled and unjointed, with a cluster of compact, spiky inflorescences at the top, some on slender secondary stalks and some almost sessile. The parent plant is in a sense annual, for both it and the bulb producing it wither at the onset of winter, but the fresh bulbs which have been produced form new plants, and the species is capable of spreading very rapidly by this means. The bulbs are rounded, half an inch in diameter with a sharp point at the top, and covered with several papery brown layers which may be removed to expose a pale nut-like body.

Sedges usually favour damp places, but this species seemed equally at home in seepy areas and well-drained ones, and in the sandy country near Nama Pan it was common nearly everywhere, sometimes scattered among the grasses but more often in patches. Its range is from Cape Town to the Mediterranean, and it occurs in Australia also.

262 The bulbs are edible, and seemed to be a fairly important food of the northern Bushmen. The taste is sweetish and they have a crisp tex-
252 ture and a cloudy, very slightly astringent juice. Light roasting improves
222 the flavour. They are easily gathered by scratching away the top layer of soil, and their presence is often shown by the disturbed soil where they grow, for they are a favourite food with many birds and small animals, which scratch and burrow to find them. According to the *Flora Capensis* the plant " has been for nearly a century cultivated in Europe ".

X137 *Hyphaene ventricosa* Kirk (5301).

Eastern !khû Bushman !hani and !heni

This palm is bushy when young, but loses its bushy habit as it matures, forming a long clean stem 40 feet in height with a crown of leaves at the top and often with a slight swelling near the middle. The leaf has a strong woody rhachis up to six feet long, slightly hollowed above and rounded below, with a row of sharp hooked spines at intervals of an inch or so along each margin. At its tip it bears the leafy part which is two feet across and folded like a fan. The fruits, a little smaller than a tennis-ball, are covered with a glossy brown papery skin, and are borne in clusters.

Old an half-decayed fruits were found in the neighbourhood of Nama Pan, presumably where they had been discarded by Bushmen, but the palm trees themselves were not seen in this area. Only one specimen was found, 20 miles to the north-east. It was immature and had neither flowers nor fruits. According to available records, it was growing near the southern limit of its range, which extends to northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo.

262 There is a quarter-inch edible mealy layer immediately underlying the
114 skin of the fruit. It is fibrous and dry but sweetish, with a pleasant flavour, and may be gnawed off the hard inner shell into which it merges.
[272] The kernel in the centre of the mature fruit is hard and bony and inedible,
[252] but Chapman (1868 : II : 73) states that the milk of the young fruit may be used like that of the coconut, and that the whole of the young fruit may " be EATEN AFTER BOILING, "PULP, RIND, AND ALL.

be eaten after boiling, "pulp, rind and all". Dinter (1912:21-22) says also that the Bushmen use the heart of the palm as a green vegetable, and that a sweet sap may be tapped from the upper part of the stem and fermented to make an alcoholic drink. He gives the yield of fruits from one palm as between 20 and 50 kilograms (48 to 120 lb.). His reference to the heart of the palm is obscure, but Chapman (1868:I:55-56), who is more explicit, says that this is the core of the young trunk. 262 114 [273]

Aloe rubrolutea Schinz (5135). 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman n||ɔru

This species was in full bloom in early August, and made a striking show with its spikes of brick-red flowers. The plants formed rosettes of leaves 12 inches across, producing a slender erect five-foot flowering stalk. Among the hundreds of speciments seen there were none arborescent, although elsewhere arborescent forms are common (Reynolds 1950: 328). Those seen at Nama Pan were similar in habit to *Aloe zebrina*.

Aloe rubrolutea was seen only on the rocky outcrops near Nama Pan and Gam, growing in patches of an acre or so, but it has a wide distribution extending from South West Africa through the Bechuanaland Protectorate to the northern Transvaal and Portuguese East Africa.

The flowers are stripped off the flowering stalk and pounded to make a spinach-like vegetable. Although the Bushmen said that they did not eat the leaves, they were tasted raw and boiled and were found to be juicy and not unpleasant, and to have no harmful effects. They would be a good source of water in an emergency. 252 262

Aloe zebrina Bak. (4995). 137X

!hɔ: Bushman..... !ganja
!ganakwe Bushman n||ɔru
!gikwe Bushman... n||uru
Naron Bushman... n||ɔru

The plant forms a rosette of rigid dark green leaves which have pale transverse bands and numerous sharp teeth along the margins. It may have a stem 30 centimetres long (Reynolds, 1950: 282), but those seen on the expedition were stemless. The flowering stalks were three or four feet high. The sap in the epidermis of the leaves is greenish-yellow. It oozes out of the vessels fairly quickly if a leaf is cut across, and hardens and changes colour on exposure to the air, becoming brown and glassy. The bulk of the sap, which is in the inner part of the leaf, is colourless and translucent, and does not ooze out if the leaf is cut.

Only one small clump of this Aloe was seen, on deep sand about 80 miles directly south-east of Ghanzi. It is, however, recorded from Angola and South West Africa and across the continent to the east.

The Bushmen stated that the leaves were a good source of water. One of these plants was sent to Pretoria and grew well in cultivation. On being tested, the leaves proved extremely unpleasant, not because of any bad taste but because their sap is in the form of a thick, revolting slime. Boiling or roasting did nothing towards making them more palatable. Either the Bushmen were confusing this Aloe with another species, or it 262 312 824

262 271 824 [114] is eaten only when they are in the greatest need. Reynolds (1950: 285), quoting W. B. Hooker, states that its flowers may be eaten after boiling, but I did not think of asking the Bushmen about this and they did not volunteer any information.

X137 *Dipcadi* sp. (5163, 5307).

!h5: Bushman..... n!ɔm
Naron Bushman..... n!ɔm
Eastern !khû Bushman n!umʃé:

Although the above-ground parts had been killed by frost, enough remained for the plant to be identified as a species of Dipcadi. The bulbs were two inches below the surface of the soil, in appearance like a small onion. They were planted in Pretoria, but although they were still alive two years after being collected, they had failed to produce leaves or flowers up to the time this report was written.

Specimens were collected at Nama Pan, in parkland on sandy soil. As the plant was recognised and named by one of the southern !h5: Bushmen who was with us, it probably extends into the Kalahari well south of Ghanzi.

[262] The bulbs are edible after cooking.

Scilla sp. near *Scilla lancifolia* Bak. (5190) Photograph 5.

Eastern !khû Bushman tû

This plant has a rounded two-inch bulb covered with a thick layer of dark brown papery scales. In the summer it produces three or four spreading leaves, usually six inches long but up to 10, and one and a half inches wide at the widest part. They are thin but fleshy, strap-shaped (but in section widely V-shaped near the base), and light green, sometimes faintly mottled with darker green. The inflorescence is four inches long and the flowers small and not conspicuous, with purple stamens and a recurved perianth.

It was common in shallow sand overlying rock near Gautscha Pan and Nama Pan but was not easy to find because the leaves and inflorescences had been frosted, and blown away by the wind by the time the expedition had reached those parts. A number of bulbs collected there produced leaves and flowers in Pretoria the following summer, and it was from these plants that the notes were made.

[252 262] The bulb is edible after roasting but I have not tried it personally.

It would be dangerous to experiment with plants like this if what the Bushmen say is true, for it could be easily confused with another species which has an inedible bulb. The inedible species (No. 5181) is shown in photograph 6 and may be distinguished by its longer bulb and longer leaves (10 inches long and over, and two inches wide at the widest part). They have a translucent fringed margin, are pointed, narrowly V-shaped in section and more numerous, about 12 to a plant. In addition, the

older leaves are marked at the base on the lower surface with narrow wavy black bands. Specimens were collected in sandy soil in open park-land near Nama Pan and flowered in Pretoria the following summer. The leaves and inflorescences, like those of the edible species, die back during the winter. 137x

Neither of the two species could be named in the National Herbarium, for the genus is not well documented and badly in need of revision.

Sansevieria scabrifolia Dinter (4951) Photograph 7.

!h5: Bushman.....	ɓa-ji
||ganakwe Bushman...	!gwi:
|gikwe Bushman.....	!gwi:
Naron Bushman.....	!gwi:
Eastern !khû Bushman	!hwi:

A stemless plant with bunches of stiff, erect, strap-like leaves 10 inches long and a little less than an inch wide, concave on the front or upper surface and rounded on the back, and without a midrib. They rise at intervals of a foot or so, and in tufts of up to a dozen, from a brown-skinned horizontal rhizome three inches below the ground, and are light green mottled with dark green. They are tough and fibrous rather than succulent, which is the term that has been used to describe the leaves of closely allied species. The plants may occur singly but are more often massed in communities 20 to 50 yards across. Those sent to Pretoria for growing have never thrived and never flowered, nor were they seen flowering in the field, but it is known that the inflorescence is spike-like along a 12-inch flowering stalk, and that it consists of crowded usually off-white flowers half an inch across. Flowering seems to occur rather rarely and sporadically in the genus as a whole.

This species was widespread and fairly frequent north and south of Ghanzi. It was not found in the open grassland but always among trees and scrub, though not necessarily shaded by them.

The rhizome is a useful source of water. It has a crisp, white fibrous flesh which is juicy and, although slightly bitter, not unpleasant. There are several species of Sansevieria growing in cultivation in Pretoria all alike in habit, and all have been tested. There is no perceptible difference in the taste or juiciness of any of them. 3 12 824

The leaf fibres of the plant described are used by the Bushmen in making a string of surprisingly good quality. 283 824

Wallera nutans Kirk (5311) Photograph 8.

Eastern !khû Bushman tʃû

The plants are about six inches high, with a slender erect central stem bearing paired light green grass-like leaves, strongly keeled and somewhat fleshy and faintly crystalline on the surface. Both the stem and the keel of the leaves are sparsely covered with short soft spines. Three or four strongly scented nodding flowers are borne, superficially very like potato flowers. There is a firm round storage organ a few inches below the surface of the ground, slightly larger than a golf ball and the colour of a new potato. 137x

M137 Two storage organs of this plant were found by the Bushmen near Nama Pan in August 1955. They lay dormant for a further 16 months after being planted in Pretoria, then both plants grew out and flowered within a few weeks of each other. The parts above ground disappear during the winter for they are very susceptible to frost.

[262] The storage organ is edible. It has a pasty texture and little taste if [252] eaten raw, but is improved by baking.

Eulophia sp. nearest *E. pillansii* Bol. (5279, 5304) Photograph 9.

Eastern !khû Bushman ≠gɔ?ɔ

An erect stemless plant with four or five spreading glabrous grass-like leaves half an inch wide and 11 inches long, prominently three-keeled on the back and grooved above, and fairly soft and lax. They rise in tufts, each one from a corm the size and shape of a slightly flattened golf ball with "eyes" on the upper surface and short stout roots below. The corms have a brown skin covering a white fairly firm flesh. They are often linked together five or six at a time, and are to be found an inch or two below the sand. The above-ground parts die back during the winter and usually disappear without trace before the next season's growth begins. The plant flowers after the new leaves appear and has the flowers arranged alternately in an open inflorescence at the end of a 12-inch flowering stalk. They are yellow and green, and about half an inch long.

A few corms were found by chance in two places near Nama Pan, in the shelter of small thickets. They flowered in Pretoria but could not be matched with any of the named specimens in the National Herbarium and the species may be undescribed.

[252] The corms are edible raw or roasted. They were peppery when tasted [262] in Pretoria, probably because they had been planted too near the surface and had become green through the action of the light. At Nama Pan they were mild and tasteless with a pasty texture.

Eulophia sp. (5213, 5306) Photograph 10.

Eastern !khû Bushman ≠gawu

The corms of this orchid are a little bigger and coarser than those of the other species of Eulophia (numbers 5279 and 5304) but are otherwise similar. The leaves are erect, somewhat curved, eight inches long and slightly more than half an inch wide, pale yellowish-green, rigid and firmly fleshy, with a channel running down the upper surface and a corresponding keel on the lower surface. This plant grew well but did not flower in cultivation in Pretoria and the species has not been determined.

It was found in the same locality as the other Eulophia and under similar conditions.

[262] The corms of the two species are used in the same way by the Bushmen, and cannot be distinguished by taste or texture.

Ximenia americana L. var. *microphylla* Welw. ex Oliv. (5061) Photograph 11.

!hɔ: Bushman.....	n≠ ?uri
!ganakwe Bushman...	n≠ ?uri
!gikwe Bushman.....	≠ɔti
Naron Bushman.....	n≠ ?uri

Very like the following species (*Ximenia caffra*), but except for the flowers glabrous throughout and with smaller glaucous leaves which tend to fold along the midrib and droop, giving it a rather unattractive look. Its fruits are lighter in colour, and smaller. The two species were often found growing together, but no evidence of hybridisation was seen.

It is recorded from South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, the Transvaal, Portuguese East Africa and Natal. On the expedition it was not seen north of the Ghanzi area but near Ghanzi and to the south it was widely scattered, and sometimes fairly common in small patches. 137

The fruits are edible, and the remarks on the fruits of *Ximenia caffra* apply to the fruits of this species also. Ripe fruits were found at Ghanzi in July, although fruiting is usually over by then. [824]

Ximenia caffra Sond. (4949) Photograph 12.

!h5: Bushman.....	n≠ ?uri
||ganakwe Bushman...	n≠ ?uri
gikwe Bushman.....	≠ɔti
Naron Bushman.....	n≠ ?uri

A stout or straggly evergreen bush or small tree, usually about six feet high, with soft brittle branches and knobby rough twigs which are densely leafy and sometimes end in a sharp spine. There are often spines in the axils of the leaves as well. The leaves are dark green and tend to curve backwards slightly, and they and the young twigs are softly hairy. The flowers appear in early summer. They are massed along the twigs and have four recurved green petals with conspicuous white hairs on the inside. The fruit is the size of a plum, and an attractive light red.

It probably occurs in Angola, for it has been recorded from northern South West Africa near the Angola border. It is also known from Northern and Southern Rhodesia, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, the Transvaal, Portuguese East Africa and Natal. Like the other species of *Ximenia*, it was not seen along the route of the expedition north of the Ghanzi area.

The fruit is edible. It has a bitter skin and a large stone, and a reddish pulp between them, pleasantly flavoured but astringent and sour, and particularly sour next to the stone. It is at its best when over-ripe, for it does not become soft and unpleasant as many fruits do, but dries out slightly, becoming wrinkled in the process and more mellow, with the flavour of a prune. The stone is rich in oil, but this is said to be very pungent (Marloth, 1913-1932: I: 165) and to contain a rubbery substance (Schweikerdt, 1937: 179-182). The Bushmen use it to anoint themselves but do not consider it edible. It has been tested in England for possible commercial uses, but it was decided that the oil was not worth extracting. [302 824]

Hydnora sp. (5162) Photograph 13.

Eastern !khũ Bushman ||hɔk ?am

This curious plant is parasitic on the roots of *Combretum hereroense*. It is almost completely subterranean and is without chlorophyll. There is very little of the plant until it produces its flowers and fruits, which are much larger than the vegetative parts. The fruits are buried a few inches deep and are the size and shape of a pomegranate, but have a dark roughened woody shell split by many fine irregular cracks. The inner skin which shows through is red until the fruit ripens, when it becomes white. If the fruit is cut open a large, slightly sticky mass of pin-head brownish seeds is exposed, embedded in a pasty matrix which fills the inside of the fruit but is separate from the shell. Flowering was over by the time the first specimens were seen, but it is known that the flowers of this genus have a smell of carrion and that they protrude above the ground, where they can be reached by the insects necessary to bring about their fertilisation. They have no petals or sepals in the usual sense, their

X137 place being taken by a few thick fleshy erect lobes, and from the woody remnants of old flowers in this particular species it could be seen that they had four lobes. The two species recorded from South West Africa are *Hydnora africana* and *Hydnora solmsiana*, parasitic respectively on species of Euphorbia and species of Acacia. Number 5162 is either a new species, or one of the known ones parasitic on a hitherto unrecorded host. The material collected was inadequate for specific determination, and the seeds which were planted did not germinate.

This Hydnora was seen only in the immediate neighbourhood of Nama Pan, where it appeared to be fairly frequent.

The host plant is a straggly shrub up to six feet high, with grayish woolly leaves an inch long. It has the characteristic four-winged fruits of the genus, and many remain on the twigs through the winter. It was not seen in the country to the south of Ghanzi, but was common from Ghanzi northwards, and is widely distributed in Portuguese East Africa, the Transvaal and Rhodesia. A glossy-leafed form of it is also known, but was not seen along the route of the expedition.

[262] The whole mass inside the Hydnora fruit is edible. It is astringent and slightly sweet, and is eaten raw. The fruits would be difficult to find if it were not that they are eaten by various animals. A litter of [222 824] half-eaten fruits and fragments of rind and shallow burrowings often show where the fruits have been excavated, and where more may be expected. They ripen about the end of August.

Talinum arnotii Hook. f. (5256) Photograph 14.

Eastern !khû Bushman ,!gwi-ja (stems and leaves)
≠k"arɔ (tuber)

During the winter there is seldom any sign of this plant above ground for the branches wither and die back with the first frosts. There is a perennial tuber a few inches underground, irregularly shaped and up to a pound in weight, crisp in texture and exuding a little cloudy astringent juice when injured. It has a brown skin and a reddish-brown zoned flesh. Although it is often eaten into hollows, presumably by rodents and insects, it is not eaten by the Bushmen. The stems appear in September and form a loose mat three feet in diameter on the surface of the ground. They are reddish-brown, prostrate and sappy, and the leaves are dull green and fleshy, channelled down the centre on the upper surface and with slightly crystalline appearance. The bright yellow flowers, which are produced in midsummer, are an inch across and quite showy, but open only in the heat of the day. They have two sepals and five petals. The flower-stalk starts bending when the flowers are mature, and by the time the fruits are fully formed it is curved sharply back. The fruits are the size of a small pea, shiny green and pointed at the tip, and covered by the withered remains of the perianth. They become yellow when ripe, with a papery shell and seeds the size of a pinhead.

The tubers of this plant were often unearthed in the more open parts round Nama Pan. I am doubtful whether it should be kept separate from *Talinum caffrum*, which is distributed from the Cape Province northwards to the Sudan and is very variable in its leaves and habit.

[262] The leaves and smaller branches of this species are used by the [252] Bushmen as a green vegetable. They are usually prepared by being pounded in a mortar to a paste which is dark green and slightly slimy and has a faintly acid taste with a flavour of lettuce.

Pollichia campestris Ait. (4963, 5040) Photograph 15. 137/x

A small grey-green bush with much-branched slender soft stems, fairly compact when growing in the open but usually found as a semi-scrambler up to four feet high. The leaves arise in tufts of about three, the tufts being opposite each other and at intervals of anything up to an inch along the stem. They are lanceolate and usually under half an inch long. The plant bears what at first sight appear to be fleshy translucent fruits like small white or yellowish mulberries, but which are actually parts of the flowers.

This is a widespread plant throughout Africa, and was seen at intervals all along the route taken by the expedition.

The fleshy parts of the flowers are edible and sweet, with a queer earthy flavour, and are loosely attached so that they may be easily collected by pulling the stems through the hands. The plant, however, did not appear common enough to be of importance as a food. [262]

Boscia albitrunca (Burch.) Gilg and Benedict (4998, 5208) Photograph 16.

!h3: Bushman.....	≠hun
!ganakwe Bushman...	n|ßu-ni
|gikwe Bushman.....	n|ßu-ni
Naron Bushman.....	n|ßu-ni
Eastern !khû Bushman	zâ

This is a rather variable tree, sometimes with erect branches and sometimes with a spreading crown, usually bearing many thin twigs with much dead wood among them. The bark is sometimes loose, dark and coarsely fissured and sometimes white and flaky. The species was also often seen in the form of a many-stemmed shrub about four feet high. It is evergreen, and did not seem to be at all affected by the heavy frosts that were experienced in the central Kalahari. The leaves arise singly or in bunches of four or five from small knobs on the twigs, and are leathery and about one inch long and a third as wide. Although the flowers are small and inconspicuous as individuals, they are borne in masses towards the tips of the twigs and make quite a show. In the Cape and the Transvaal at least the tree appears to be sporadic in its flowering. The fruits are borne on half-inch jointed stalks, and are half an inch in diameter, pale-skinned and translucent, with several large stones surrounded by a thin, watery pulp.

The tree was scattered evenly throughout the country from Molepolole to Ghanzi and Gautscha Pan, and has been recorded from the Cape Province northwards to the tropics. It occurred singly, occasionally in open communities, but it was never seen to form thickets.

The fruits are eaten by the Bushmen, but they do not make pleasant eating, for the pulp has a rather slimy texture and a sickly-sweet taste. [262]

Sim (1907:123) refers to a meal which is prepared from the roots by drying and beating them. The resulting meal is then sifted to remove the fibres and may be made into a porridge. There are reports of gastro-intestinal disturbances after the eating of Boscia roots, but the reports have not been confirmed, and Steyn (1934: 561) fed large quantities to a rabbit without ill effects. It is suspected that people are susceptible only when they are not accustomed to this food. The Bushmen were not asked about their use of the roots, and did not volunteer any information. [252] [114 124]

The older trees are often hollow, and form natural reservoirs for rain water which is tapped by the Bushmen. (See Adansonia.) 312 824

Acacia species.

X137 [262] The species of Acacia mentioned in this paper often exude edible gum from injuries on the stem. It is a safe assumption that the gum from species that are not mentioned would also be edible, for none are known to be poisonous. All African species have alternate bipinnate leaves of the pattern shown in the photograph of *Acacia heteracantha*, and all are thorny.

Acacia detinens Burch. (4947, 5070, 5206).

!h5: Bushman.....	‖wa
!ganakwe Bushman...	‖wa
ǂgikwe Bushman.....	‖k'uwa
Naron Bushman.....	‖wa
Eastern !khû Bushman	!gôû

A rigid shrub usually seven or eight feet high, with a smooth dark bark and paired hooked thorns a quarter of an inch long. It makes a bright show towards the end of August, for it is deciduous and the flowers appear in profusion before the new spring leaves. The flowers are scented and creamy, and massed in round heads up to half an inch across. The pods are flat and papery, two inches long and half an inch wide.

This was the most widespread of all the Acacias seen on the expedition, and was scattered all along the route. It is found in the northern Cape Province, the northern Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, South West Africa, Angola, and Northern and Southern Rhodesia.

[262] It produces an edible gum.

Acacia dulcis Marl. and Engl. (5042).

A semi-deciduous tree usually about 25 feet high, with a number of erect three-inch stems arising from a common rootstock, and with a pale papery bark which has a tendency to peal. The thorns are paired and strongly hooked, a quarter of an inch long, stout, sharp and numerous. The flowers are borne in pale yellow spikes, and the pods which follow are flat and papery.

Only a few specimens were seen along the route of the expedition, all of them within a radius of 40 miles or so of Ghanzi. The tree occurs in the north-eastern Transvaal, the northern Cape Province, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, South West Africa, Angola and Nyasaland.

[262] Its gum is said to be of a particularly good quality.

Acacia fleckii Schinz (4943, 5067, 5205).

Eastern !khû Bushman n≠ŋ

A semi-deciduous shrub from six to eight feet high, very similar to *Acacia dulcis*, with the same pale flaky bark and hooked thorns and the same type of flower and pod, but with a different habit and usually finer leaflets.

Except between the Mabeleapudi hills and Tsau, where it was not noted, it was plentiful all along the route of the expedition. Its range is from the northern Transvaal through the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa to Angola.

[262] It produces an edible gum.

Acacia giraffae Burch. (4945, 5069). 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman |ana

A tree, usually erect, with an umbrella-shaped crown and grayish foliage, darker green in the spring. Recognition is made easy by the gray woody pods, which are velvety on the surface and the size and shape of a flattened kidney, and which are to be found on and around the tree at all seasons. The flowers, which begin to appear in September, are scented and borne in small bright yellow heads, and the thorns are in pairs and stout. The bark is gray and fissured, and the crown rather dense, with much dead twiggy wood in it.

This tree was found all along the route between Molepolole and Gautscha Pan. As a rule it was scattered, but in one area, between Lake Ngami in the south and Tsau in the north, along the border of the Okavango swamps, it was the dominant tree. Some magnificent old specimens up to 30 feet in height were seen here. On the heavy sand between Molepolole and Ghanzi, however, it often occurred in the form of a shrub about six feet high. It is known from the northern Cape Province, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, South West Africa and Angola.

Its gum is edible, slightly astringent but quite good to eat when fresh and clear. It becomes discoloured at times and is then less palatable. [262]

Acacia heteracantha Burch. (5341) Photograph 17.

Eastern !khû Bushman |gali

This tree usually has an umbrella-shaped or flat crown and a delicate lacy appearance because of its slender twigs and fine leaflets. The flowers are borne in round white heads and produce small clusters of tightly curled pods. Like *Acacia uncinata* if has straight as well as hooked thorns.

It has been recorded from South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the northern parts of all four provinces of the Union, and extends as far north as Tanganyika, yet in spite of this wide distribution it was not seen between Molepolole and the Ghanzi area. There is at present no explanation for this strange gap in the centre of its distribution.

It produces an edible gum. [262]

Acacia uncinata Engl. (4950).

!hɔ: Bushman.....	!ɔla
||ganakwe Bushman...	'!û
|gikwe Bushman.....	'!û
Naron Bushman.....	'||gû
Eastern !khû Bushman	'|gû

A spreading 20 foot high tree, with a fissured bark and paired thorns, some of them straight and slender but most short and hooked. In this it resembles *Acacia heteracantha*, but its pods are straight and not curly as those of *Acacia heteracantha* are, and it is a stouter tree. The flowers are borne in round yellow heads half an inch in diameter.

There was no commoner Acacia than this from Molepolole to the Ghanzi area, but north of Ghanzi it became scarcer, and patchy in its distribution. It extends from the northern Cape Province through South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protcetorate to Angola.

[262] It furnishes the Bushmen not only with an edible gum, but also with
411 the material for making quivers. These are made from the lateral roots,
824 which are a foot or so below the surface. A suitably straight length is exposed and cut through, and after the cortex has been loosened by gently pounding it, it may be slipped off the woody central portion. The tube so obtained is then covered at one end with skin. The roots of this tree, like those of *Acacia giraffae*, have a most unpleasant smell when cut, something which is not apparent in the above-ground parts.

X137 ***Burkea africana*** **Hook. (5332) Photograph 18.**

Eastern Ikhû Bushman -Ik'u

An evergreen tree, with attractive drooping grayish compound leaves which are silvery when young. The tips of the youngest twigs are covered with a dense reddish pubescence, but this soon wears off and the older branches and the stem have a dark brown rough bark. The flowers are small but massed in showy hanging spikes six inches long and as thick as a pencil. They are cream-coloured and scented, and produce flat one-seeded or two-seeded pods two inches long. In the Transvaal the tree has a spreading crown. Beyond Tsau the habit was very different—the branches were ascending and shorter and gave the tree a slender appearance almost like a Lombardy poplar.

It is a widespread species in tropical Africa, extending from the Magaliesberg northwards to Abyssinia and Nigeria (Codd, 1951:61). Along the route of the expedition it was scattered from the south up to a point 171 miles from Molepolole, after which it was not seen again until 65 miles north-west of Tsau. It was found only on heavy sand, and beyond Tsau where sand and hard soil sometimes alternated at intervals of a mile or so the corresponding zones of Burkea were sharply defined. The central gap in its distribution is probably a climatic one, for there was deep sand in this area and conditions were apparently ideal for Burkea.

136 Burkea occasionally produces a little edible gum from injuries, but
262 it is more important indirectly because of being the host of at least two edible caterpillars, one being the larva of the moth *Nudaurelia bellina* Westwood. This caterpillar is in length and thickness slightly bigger than one's little finger. It is marked with black dots on a yellowish-green ground, with a black transverse band just below each segment and a row of stiff black bristles on each segment. It is recorded from South West Africa and is no doubt known to the Bushmen and eaten by them, but as the expedition passed through those parts too early in the season no specimens of the caterpillar were seen. The Bushmen did bring in the pupae of what they said was an edible caterpillar, and Mr. L. Vari of the Transvaal Museum was unable to distinguish them from the pupae of *Nudaurelia bellina*. One cannot, however, assume from this that they are in fact the same, for the pupae of different species in this group may be indistinguishable.

136 Another caterpillar found on Burkea and recorded also from South West Africa is the larva of the moth *Cirina forda* Westwood. It is black below and silvery or golden yellow above, with a line of black markings down the centre of the back. It is sparsely covered with long white hairs. Many other species of caterpillars have similar hairs which are extremely irritant, but these are quite harmless.

The following observations were made in the Transvaal near Pretoria, where infestation by *Cirina forda* is frequently so heavy that the affected trees may be readily recognised from a distance from the way in which the leaves are stripped. The caterpillar is prepared for food by being grasped by the head and squeezed through the thumb and forefinger of the free hand with a milking action. This clears out the bowel contents, and no further preparation is necessary before the boiling which follows. The head is rather hard and may be removed, but this is not necessary. After light boiling or roasting the caterpillars are dried in the sun and may be stored without deteriorating for several months. They are slightly oily but crisp in texture, with the smell and flavour of kippers. 252 [251]

Bauhinia esculenta Burch. (5160) Photographs 19 and 20. 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman tsi: (the seed)
n||ŋ (the storage organ)

This plant is a runner in open grassveld, with numerous slender vines up to 18 feet long, the youngest parts of them covered with a fine brown tomentum. They bear inch-long Y-shaped tendrils, but the plant is not a climber. The vines die back during the winter but do not disintegrate as readily as those of the Cucurbitaceae, and are conspicuous until the new runners are produced from the perennial underground stem. The leaves, which are soft and reddish-brown when young but turn leathery and glaucous as they grow older, are deeply bilobed, with a small spur between the lobes. The plant bears showy yellow flowers in December, and the pods ripen from April onwards. At first they are soft and reddish brown, then light green and, when ripe, brown and woody. They contain up to six flattened seeds about the size of one's thumb nail, consisting of a hard shell and a soft nutty edible inner part. The plant is easily seen because of the craters it forms where the soil is stony—craters a yard or more across, edged with a ring of stones which appear to have been forced to the surface by the stem beneath. The details of this crater formation, however, are not known.

This Bauhinia is curiously patchy in its distribution. Although it is plentiful in some places near Vryburg, it was not seen along the route of the expedition until a point 400 miles north of Vryburg, that is, 127 miles before Ghanzi was reached, and I have no record of it after leaving the Ghanzi area until the expedition crossed the border into South West Africa near Gam, after which it was again plentiful. It occurs in communities sometimes miles across, with the plants in these communities scattered 20 to 30 yards apart. On the expedition it was seen growing only on deep sand or where there were outcrops of limestone, and near Pretoria it has so far been seen only on the dolomite, but it has been grown successfully in Pretoria on neutral shaly soils. It has been recorded from the northern Cape Province, the western Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa.

Although the seeds are not pleasant to eat when raw, they are excellent after roasting, and analysis figures show that they are rich in protein and oil. The roasting should be carried out slowly, otherwise they may shatter with a rather disconcerting report, and to avoid this they are often roasted in sand, which probably gives a slower and more even heat. They may also be boiled to make a porridge or a drink. They will last through the winter in the field without spoiling but become scarce towards the spring, probably through being covered with wind-blown sand and being eaten by animals. 262 252 146

262 252 [222] The sappy young tuber makes a good vegetable after baking or boiling. Those dug up by the Bushmen were about two pounds in weight and would not have been more than a few seasons old, for it is known from specimens grown from seed in Pretoria that it takes about ten years for them to reach 30 pounds. Burchell (1824: 589) says that they are astringent, but on tasting the 30-pound one mentioned I did not find it so. It was, however, rather tough and leathery.

With breeding, this might become a useful plant of cultivation.

X137 *Bauhinia macrantha* Oliv. (4887) Photograph 21.

!h5: Bushman.....	ǂintɛ
!ganakwe Bushman...	n|an|hɛ
!gikwe Bushman.....	n≠an≠ɛ
Naron Bushman.....	n≠i≠ei
Eastern !khû Bushman	≠ŋ≠wa

This species is usually a rigid three-foot shrub, but grows up to six feet where protected from fire and is sometimes found as a weak scrambler with stems up to 12 feet in length. Dinter (1912: 28) records one in the form of a tree five metres high, but this is quite exceptional. It has thin rather wiry twigs, some slightly curled at the tips, and alternate bilobed leaves which are shed during the winter. The younger parts are minutely hairy, but soon become glabrous. The flowers are borne at the tips of the twigs and are pure white and showy, with a pleasant scent and crisped petals. The pods are four inches long and one inch broad and contain five or six irregularly-shaped flattened beans.

Bauhinia macrantha has been recorded from near Molepolole, but is probably localised or uncommon there, for on the expedition it was first seen 60 miles northwest of Molepolole. From there on it was common, although there were occasional gaps in its distribution. It forms communities in open sandy grassy country, usually with the tips of the bushes just showing above the grasses, and has been recorded from the Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, South West Africa, Rhodesia and Angola. It has grown well as a cultivated ornamental shrub as far south as Grahamstown.

252 262 The ripe beans are extracted from the pods, roasted peeled and pounded into a pleasant-tasting coarse rather gritty meal, edible without further preparation. The beans may also be used when they are green, but then it is more convenient to roast the whole pod so that it can more easily be opened. They are not eaten raw, for unless cooked they have a burning taste. The pods are easily opened when mature by bending them across the middle, when the two halves spring apart. The halves form spirals as they dry.

The importance of this species as a food plant was shown by the heaps of empty pods which were found at many Bushman shelters and Bakalahari villages. There is, however, a great deal of labour involved in preparing the meal, because although the beans have a thin shell and are thus easy to crack, it still takes about 1,500 of them to produce a pound of air-dry meal.

A note on one of Schoenfelder's specimens in the National Herbarium states that the root is also edible when roasted.

Like *Bauhinia esculenta*, this might be a useful cultivated plant if improved by breeding.

137X

Vigna dinteri Harms (5227, 5310) Photograph 22.

!hɔ: Bushman..... |iri
Naron Bushman..... |iri
Eastern !khû Bushman ʃa:

A leafy twiner which climbs through trees and shrubs to a height of six feet or so. It produces numerous slender stems like a runner bean, and the leaves too are similar, being alternate and made up of three pointed and often lobed leaflets two inches long and half as broad. The terminal leaflet has a stalk over a quarter of an inch long, but the side leaflets are very shortly stalked. There are two narrowly triangular stipules where the leaf-stalk joins the stem, an eighth of an inch long and fixed at the base. The whole plant is finely hairy, but less so on the upper surface of the leaves than on the lower. The flowers are also like those of the runner bean, creamy to brownish-yellow, and are borne several at a time on a stalk up to five inches long. The pods are three inches long, circular in section and less than a quarter of an inch in diameter, and the seeds are bean-shaped but small, the size of a match-head. On a branching system of roots nine inches below the surface of the soil are borne swellings the size of potatoes, but more regular in outline and without the lobing which is so common with potatoes. In shape they vary from spherical through ovoid to long and only slightly thickened, and arise apparently in no particular order, for very small ones and large ones may be found next to one another on the same root, the spacing between them ranging from a fraction of an inch to a foot. The axis of the root (which is usually a little less than a quarter of an inch thick) passes through the centre of the swellings. As the plants were seen during the winter, there was very little remaining of the leaves and stems, and I have no information as to their frequency. Only two specimens were found, both in the neighbourhood of Nama Pan, and both in fairly thick mixed scrub in sand. Because of their habit of growth, it is unlikely that they would be found in open grasslands. The root swellings were planted in Pretoria and produced vigorous plants which flowered and set seed normally. The swellings themselves, however, were found to have been heavily infested with eelworm in their new habitat, and when they were replanted no further plants were produced.

Vigna dinteri has seldom been collected, and, as far as I know, only in South West Africa, though it is very likely that it extends into Angola and the Bechuanaland Protectorate as well. The fact that it is known to the !hɔ: Bushmen indicates that it may extend into the central Kalahari.

The swellings on the roots are edible raw or cooked, and are a pleasant and satisfying food. When raw they have a flavour which has been likened to that of grean beans. This is fainter after cooking. [262] [252]

It would be worth while investigating this plant with a view to bringing it into cultivation.

Vigna triloba Walp. (5257).

Eastern !khû Bushman ga·ni

Although occasionally reported as a trailer in grasslands, the more usual form of this plant is a twiner very similar in habit to *Vigna dinteri*. It has the same type of trifoliolate leaf as well, but the leaflets may vary widely in different plants, being simple or lobed, hairy or almost glabrous, sometimes long and narrow and sometimes almost as broad as they are long. Some of the forms would be indistinguishable vegetatively from *Vigna dinteri* if it were not for a difference in the stipules. In *Vigna*

X137 *triloba* they are what is known as dorsifixed, that is they are fixed a little way up from the base so that the stipule is free at both ends. The flowers are the same size in the two species and have the same long stalk, but those of *Vigna triloba* are predominantly purple. They tend to open in the early morning and to close during the heat of the day.

Vigna triloba is reported from a variety of soils and is widespread through southern Africa, but it was not seen on the expedition until the Nama Pan area was reached.

262 It has a finger-thick tap-root which is edible after boiling or roasting, [252] although fibrous and slightly bitter. In mature plants it may extend downwards further than can conveniently be dug, but it is easily broken off. There appear to have been no previous records of its use as a food plant.

X137 *Commiphora pyracanthoides* Engl. (5137) Photograph 23.

Eastern !khû Bushman a|ro

A deciduous, rigid, twiggy two-foot shrub with spine-tipped twigs, branches that curve downwards, and a bark that is pale green and flaky on the older parts and grayish on the young twigs. The flowers are less than a quarter of an inch long and inconspicuous, and are borne in bunches on small knobs scattered along the twigs. Male and female flowers are on separate plants. The knobs also bear the leaves, which appear after the flowers and are glaucous, simple and finely serrate, and about three quarters of an inch long and half an inch wide. The fruits are "ovoid, about the size of a green pea, though reddish brown when ripe. When the fruits are ripe, the fleshy covering may be easily split apart in two halves exposing the black seed with a red aril covering it partly at the base and extending in four slender 'fingers', producing an intriguing pattern". (Codd, 1951:87.)

The species extends from South West Africa to the northern Transvaal, but was uncommon in the area round Nama Pan. One specimen collected there was grown in Pretoria. Leaves and flowers were obtained in the summer following, and from this material the determination was made possible.

[262] The plant exudes an edible gum from injuries and is a useful source 312 of water in an emergency, the water being in a sappy underground organ 824 which is like that of one of the following species of Commiphora, No. 4994. It is known as a water plant among the Bantu of the Transvaal as well.

X137 *Commiphora* spp. (4994 edible, 5030 inedible).

4994		5030	
!h3: Bushman..	dʒ̃ã	|gikwe Bushman	!ana
|gikwe Bushman	dʒ̃ã		
Naron Bushman	|uri		

Two species of Commiphora were collected in the Kalahari south of Ghanzi. They were completely deciduous rigid two-foot shrubs with many sharply-tipped twigs and a flaky bark. At first sight they were identical, and even close examination revealed no bigger difference than that one of them was a little more of a thicket than the other and slightly 824 grayer. The Bushmen, however, stated emphatically that the grayish one [278] was poisonous and the other not. They said also that the grayish one WAS THE HOST OF THE INSECT WHICH THEY USE FOR [825] MAKING THEIR ARROW POISON, AND THAT IT HAD HARDER ROOTS THAN THE OTHER.

was the host of the insect which they use for making their arrow poison, and that it had harder roots than the other. The fruits, flowers and leaves might have shown the difference clearly, but no trace of them could be found, and though plants were sent to the Transvaal for growing they failed to become established. 824

In spite of its unpromising appearance, the non-poisonous one is a useful source of water. This is in a sappy unbranched vertical underground part about an inch and a half thick. The Bushmen excavate down its length as deeply as they can reach, then break it off and withdraw it. They remove the thin outer skin and chew the remaining part, which is crisp and has a little tasteless sap. As a source of water it does not compare with the various species of Cucurbitaceae—weight for weight it contains far less, and the labour of digging it up is considerable. However, it must be a reliable standby when the Cucurbitaceae are not in fruit, and in the central Kalahari it is plentiful. In the southern part it is apparently absent, for it was not seen until 256 miles north-west of Molepolole. 312 824 [222] [271]

Dichapetalum cymosum (Hook.) Engl. 5109, 5266, 5338 Photograph 24. 137X

Eastern Ikhū Bushman ma-ī

This plant produces a number of slender erect woody stems up to 12 inches high, sparingly branched and often buried in the sand at the base. The leaves are four inches long, numerous, sessile, alternate, broader in the upper half where they are about one and a half inches across, and tapering at the base, with a stiff papery texture and with veins prominent above and below. They have a slight bloom on the upper surface and the younger leaves at least have a pair of narrow hairy stipules at the base. The younger parts of the plant are hairy, but the hairs wear off with age, and during the winter the leaves turn brown and hard and finally drop. The flowers are scented and have white petals forked at the end, but as they are small and nearly covered by the sepals, they are not conspicuous. The fruits are like a loquat, and may be brown or yellow. The have one or two big seeds covered by a little flesh.

Dichapetalum is distributed widely but patchily from the northern Transvaal through to Angola and Rhodesia. On the expedition it was seen for the first time between Tsau and Kaikai, and beyond that it was fairly frequent but scattered. It was usually in open situations, and seldom where there was dense tree growth.

Though the leaves are extremely poisonous, the flesh of the fruits is harmless and is eaten by the Bushmen. They emphasised that the flesh only could be used, and that the stone was poisonous. They did not mention the skin, but the following note on Schoenfelder's specimen 31, in the National Herbarium, indicates that it, too, is poisonous:— 262

> "Fruits like small yellow oranges are eaten peeled in great quantities by the Kung Bushmen. When still green can be eaten after baking in hot ash. Used like fruit, fresh. The peel of the fruit is stamped and mixed with other food to poison stealing dogs (Diriko)." [252] [278 824]

Marloth (1913-25: II: I: 120) and Engler (1912: 577) also refer to the edibility of the fruits.

There are four other plants of very similar appearance which could be confused with *Dichapetalum cymosum*, and although they were not collected on the expedition, their distribution does overlap. They are *Pachystigma pygmaeum*, *Pygmaeothamnus zeyheri*, *Parinari capense* and *Diospyros chamaethamnus*. The first two bear inedible fruits and may be 137X

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

X137 [262] distinguished by their having opposite leaves. The latter two bear edible fruits and like *Dichapetalum* have alternate leaves. The differences are that *Parinari capense* has leaves dark green above and covered with a white felt below, and that *Diospyros chamaethamnus* has no stipules.

Another species, *Dichapetalum venenatum*, has been described, but is in my opinion not specifically distinct from *Dichapetalum cymosum*.

Ricinodendron rautanenii Schinz (5336) Photograph 25.

Eastern !khũ Bushman ,!k'a:

The trees seen on the expedition were about 25 feet high and were then (at the end of August) quite bare, resembling slender baobabs, with similar but thinner stems, and smooth bark and stubby branches. Specimens collected elsewhere showed that the leaves are digitately compound, with about five leaflets and two prominent green glands at the top of the leaf-stalk. They are dark green above and pale below and covered with a pale to brownish powdery wool which is found on the young twigs and fruits also. The trees are either male or female. The small creamy flowers are borne in bunches towards the tips of the twigs and the female flowers give rise to reddish fruits the size of a small plum, consisting of a thin pulp surrounding a very hard nut. This is light coloured like an almond, thick and strong and marked all over with numerous small pores.

The only trees seen were on heavy sand near the banks of the Eiseb omuramba, 29 miles from Gam on the way to Windhoek, where they were dominant in a belt several miles wide. They formed a woodland, with the trees spaced about 25 yards apart. Herbarium records show that this is the usual mode of occurrence. The species has been recorded from South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa.

252 262 The pulp of the fruit is edible raw or stewed. It does not readily go bad, but in time it dries and shrivels and in this condition, turned hard and crumbly, is still a wholesome food, edible raw or cooked. The stone contains one or two firm white-fleshed kernels which are, like the pulp, edible raw or cooked. The tree is an important source of Bushman food because of the quality and quantity of its fruit and because the fruits remain good for a long time even without being stored. Those seen on the expedition were on the ground beneath the trees and were still perfectly good to eat. The tree is additionally useful in that it sometimes collects [312 824] and holds rain water in hollows in its trunk (see Adansonia).

X137 *Sclerocarya caffra* Sond. (5292) Photograph 26.

Eastern !khũ Bushman .gxi

A few mature specimens were seen, about 20 feet high, and a few young ones. The mature trees had a single clean bole with a flaking bark and a branching rounded crown, and were very different in appearance from the young ones which consisted of four or five thick and sappy unbranched stems about five feet high, with a smooth brown bark. This was in August, and all were quite leafless. The following description is taken from Codd (1951):— "The leaves are pinnate with three or four pairs of well-spaced leaflets and a terminal leaflet. The leaflets are oval, smooth, tapering to an abrupt point and are about one and a half inches long and one inch wide. Flowers are inconspicuous and are produced in small sprays just before the appearance of the young leaves, some trees

being predominantly male and others mainly fruit-bearing. The edible fruits are somewhat oblong in shape about the size of a small plum, consisting of a firm skin, pale yellow when ripe, enclosing a large hard kernel, to which adheres a soft whitish, fibrous flesh, with a sweet-acid refreshing flavour." 137X

These trees are recorded from tropical Africa southwards as far as Pretoria and Natal but they were not seen along the route of the expedition south of Nama Pan. They were growing in sandy soil in fairly thick mixed bush.

Sclerocarya is well known as a wild fruit-tree throughout this range, and the fruits are eaten by many different animals as well as by man. They fall when still immature, but ripen quickly on the ground and become strongly aromatic. The Bushmen make use of the fruit after the pulp has been eaten or has rotted away, for the stone which remains contains a little oily flesh with a pleasant nutty flavour. However, as the stone is very hard and makes up 90 per cent of the whole, the labour involved in smashing it and extracting the flesh is considerable. The Imperial Institute, which investigated the stones to see whether the oil could be produced on a commercial scale, concluded that such a scheme would not be worth while. 262

Lannea edulis (Sond.) Engl. var. *glabrescens* Engl. (5185) Photograph 27. 137X

Eastern Ikhû Bushman gaga-ʃe

A plant with a thick underground trunk, from the crown of which arise a number of thin stems a few inches high, bearing 12-inch compound leaves. The leaves seen in the field had all been killed by frost but had not fallen although it was at the end of winter. They had a stiff, papery texture and appeared completely glabrous to the naked eye, but a few stellate hairs could be seen along the veins when the leaf was put under the lens. The following notes on the fruits are taken from the pamphlet by Verdoorn (1938:22):— "The ovary has four erect styles the remains of which can be seen as four little points on the mature fruits. The fruit which is only about half an inch long, is scarlet until it ripens, at which stage it turns purplish black. There is only a small amount of flesh but it is juicy and pleasantly sour. The stone is just over a quarter of an inch long, oblong and laterally compressed with the surface somewhat pitted."

One specimen was found during the expedition, growing in open woodland on sandy soil near Nama Pan, but the Bushmen stated that it becomes more frequent towards the north. It is widespread through the northern Transvaal and occurs in Southern and Northern Rhodesia as well as the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa. The glabrous form is rarer than the form with hairy leaves.

It is quite well known throughout its range because of its edible fruits, but it appears to be a rather sporadic bearer. [262]

Rhus commiphoroides Engl. and Gilg (4889).

A semi-deciduous spreading shrub up to six feet in height with rigid branches and downy twigs, many of them spine-tipped. The leaves, which are also downy on both surfaces, are borne on a stalk a third of an inch long and consist of three obovate leaflets, toothed in the upper half and dull green. The minute flowers are greenish and inconspicuous and in lax sprays at the ends of the branches. The fruits are borne in clusters and are a quarter of an inch long and kidney-shaped. They are dry and have a papery brittle skin which is purple with glaucous bloom.

A137 The plant was uncommon along the route of the expedition although it has a wide distribution from the northern Cape and the Transvaal through the Bechuanaland Protectorate to South West Africa and Southern and Northern Rhodesia.

[262] The fruits are edible. They have a sour taste and a strong aroma and little more than that for they consist mainly of the skin and the stone.

[263] The leaves are sometimes used by the Bushmen for flavouring meat.

Ziziphus mucronata Willd. (4873, 5202) Photograph 28.

!h5: Bushman.....	le:i
ǂganakwe Bushman...	ˌǂaja
|gikwe Bushman.....	≠k"ero
Naron Bushman.....	≠k"aru
Eastern !khû Bushman	ˌn≠a:

A semi-deciduous shrub or tree up to 12 feet high, twiggy and profusely branched, with the older branches drooping at the ends to give it a rounded shape. As a rule it is very thorny, with the thorns in pairs, of which one is hooked and the other straight. Thornless specimens have been reported, but are rare, and none were seen along the route of the expedition. The plant has alternate dark green shiny toothed leaves, tapering to a point at the tip and with three or four prominent veins branching from near a rounded base. They are stalked, and glabrous or nearly so. The flowers are in small greenish clusters and are not conspicuous. The fruits are ripe in early winter, but the trees bear sporadically and the crop varies greatly in quantity in individual trees. The fruit is brown and a third of an inch in diameter, with a shiny brown papery skin surrounding a thin layer of rather dry, mealy substance and a large stone.

This tree is widespread from the Sudan to the Cape Province. It was uncommon on the deep Kalahari sand but fairly frequent in the hard soil round the edges of the pans, where it sometimes formed open communities.

[262] The mealy substance in the fruits is sweetish and is eaten by the Bushmen, but it is not pleasant even by their standards.

Grewia avellana Hiern (4959, 5269) Photograph 29.

!h5: Bushman.....	n!o≠udi
ǂganakwe Bushman...	n!o≠udi
|gikwe Bushman.....	ǂgam-tsa
Naron Bushman.....	dʒudʒubu
Eastern !khû Bushman	drwa:ma and zo:ma

Because of its habit, this one of the few Grewias distinct from the many which look alike. It occurs as a number of slender erect 18-inch stems in patches a yard across, bare in winter except where sheltered from the frost. It has also been recorded as a shrub four feet high. In summer the stems are leafy enough to trap the wind-blown sand, so that they are usually found growing up through a slight hummock. The leaves, borne on very short stalks and measuring one and a half inches by an inch, are alternate, serrate, roughly hairy, prominently veined and dull green. The flowers have narrow white petals and are half an inch across. The fruits are a shiny dark brown, half an inch in diameter and characteristically lobed, being known in Sechuana by a name which means *the buttocks of the queen*. Only a few specimens were found in fruit, which suggests that the season was over by the time the expedition started from Molepolole (mid June).

The plant was widely distributed along our route, sometimes in the open grassland and sometimes in the belts of woodland, but was not common. It has been recorded from Angola, South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Transvaal. 137X

The fruits are edible but not very palatable, for they consist of large stones and only a little pulp, sweet and slightly mucilaginous. Nevertheless, according to a note on one of Schoenfelder's specimens (Schoenfelder No. 8, in the National Herbarium) they are a staple food not only of the Bushmen but also of several Bantu tribes, and can be kept when thoroughly ripe. 262 [251]

Grewia flava DC. (4941, 5024) Photograph 30. 137X

!h5': Bushman.....	,n|a:
||ganakwe Bushman...	,k"um
|gikwe Bushman.....	,k"wam
Naron Bushman.....	,k"um
Eastern !khũ Bushman	,n|ŋ

A rigid shrub about five feet high with numerous erect straight stems, often branching below the soil and so appearing unconnected. They are softly hairy when young. Old stems have a smooth dark bark and are sometimes slightly angled. The serrate leaves, which are shed in winter, are dull gray-green above and covered with a fine silvery down below, and make an attractive background for the bright yellow flowers which come out in midsummer. The fruits are half an inch across, usually four-lobed, and brownish-yellow when ripe.

Grewia flava is known from the four provinces of the Union, and from South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. It occurred nearly everywhere along the route of the expedition and was one of the commonest shrubs of the central Kalahari, but only one of all the thousands of plants seen was in fruit.

The fruits have a little edible sweet pulp surrounding the seeds. They are an important Bushman food, not so much because of their quality as because of their abundance, and because they can be kept if they are first dried. They are then soaked in water or cooked before being eaten. 262 [251] [252]

Grewia flavescens Juss. (5053).

A lax deciduous shrub or scrambler up to 12 feet in height, with slender stems which often become four-angled in older specimens, and with leaves, flowers and fruits similar to those of *Grewia retinervis*. There was little of it fruiting, but whether the season was over or whether it is naturally not a heavy yielder is uncertain. 137X

This species has a wide distribution through tropical Africa. It was not seen south of Ghanzi, but was scattered from Ghanzi northwards to Gautscha Pan.

Its fruits are eaten by the Bushmen. As most of the Grewias were leafless and as there were more species towards the north, it became increasingly difficult to estimate the frequency of each when once the Ghanzi area had been passed, and nothing can be said as to the relative importance of the northern species in the Bushman diet. 262

X137 *Grewia retinervis* Burret (4875, 5066) Photograph 31.

!h5: Bushman.....	⊙b5:
‖ganakwe Bushman...	‖?ani
|gikwe Bushman.....	‖gani
Naron Bushman.....	‖gani
Eastern !khũ Bushman	!gwa

A straggly many-stemmed five-foot shrub, sometimes a weak scrambler up to 10 feet high. The stems are half an inch thick at the base, rounded and slightly woolly when young, slightly flattened and glabrous when old, and tough and pliant. Its leavers are alternate, pale green, one and a half inches long and an inch wide, ovate with a pointed tip, toothed, and roughly hairy to the touch. They wither and fall soon after being frosted, but if out of reach of the frost remain on the bushes at least until the end of July. The plant bears spreading yellow flowers half an inch wide, and fruits the size of a pea, with a papery brown skin enclosing a few large pips and some fibrous mealy material. *Grewia retinervis* is closely allied to *Grewia flavescens*, so much so that I doubt whether the two should be considered anything more than varieties of one species. The differences are that *Grewia flavescens* is usually taller, and not so conspicuously veined on the upper surface of the leaves. Mr. B. de Winter, of the National Herbarium, Pretoria, has observed also that its older stems are square in section and those of *Grewia retinervis* are flattened.

Grewia retinervis was scattered over most of the area covered by the expedition, and common in the central Kalahari, specially in open grassy country. It has been recorded from the northern Cape and the Transvaal as well as South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

262 The fruits are edible. They ripen in winter, and have a slightly sweet
[251 taste and a pleasant flavour. They may be stored after being dried, and
252] are then soaked or boiled before being eaten. The crop, if one may judge from the 1955 season, is abundant, and the amount fairly constant for all the bushes. The fruits form an important part of the Bushmen diet,
[146 although little of them appears digestible. The roughage is voided almost
147] unchanged, in enormous faecal masses up to two and a half inches in diameter.

824 The dry stems of this plant nearly always contain the tunnelings of
372 grubs, and the tunnellings are packed with their excreta in the form of a brown, pith-like substance which forms a useful tinder. The Bushmen split the stems down the centre, make a slight depression in the flat surface and use this as a socket for the fire-drill.

X137 *Grewia* sp. aff. *Grewia bicolor* Juss. (5056).

Eastern !khũ Bushman gamak'wɔ:

A slender shrub up to six feet high, with many sparingly branched stems. The leaves are one and a half inches by one inch, very finely toothed, dark green above and pale below, pointed at the tip and rounded at the base. Both surfaces are covered with a fine grayish felt which is thicker on the lower surface. Typical *Grewia bicolor* has wool on the lower surface only. The fruits are the size of a pea, and have a little flesh covering usually one big seed. No flowers were seen.

This is another of the plants with a distribution which begins in the Ghanzi area and extends northwards, and the remarks made as to the distribution and importance of *Grewia flavescens* apply here also.

[262] The fruits are edible.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

137X

Adansonia digitata L. Photograph 32.

Eastern !khũ Bushman ≠m

The Baobab, as it is commonly called, is shown in photograph 32. Its stem may have a circumference of up to 148 feet, and makes it quite unmistakable. In winter it is leafless but in summer it bears dense dark-green foliage. The flowers are pure white and up to six inches across, and the fruits, as described by Codd (1951: 120) are "oblong or egg-shaped, five to six inches or more in length and three to four inches in diameter, with a woody shell which is softly grey-velvety on the outside".

The southernmost specimens were seen in the neighbourhood of Ghanzi, and from there it occurred sporadically to Gautscha Pan, the furthest point north reached by the expedition. There were big gaps in its distribution and it was rare throughout, but in some parts of the Transvaal it occurs abundantly and may have an unbroken distribution over many square miles of country. It is widely distributed in the drier regions of north and south tropical Africa.

Inside the shell of the fruit is a white, pith-like substance which may be eaten raw, or ground up and stirred into water to make a drink, or boiled to make a porridge. It has an acid-sweet taste. The seeds which are embedded in the flesh are also edible and are eaten like nuts. In other parts of Africa they are prepared in a somewhat involved way which includes protracted boiling, fermenting and drying. There are several records of the fact that the young leaves make quite a good substitute for spinach, but as the expedition was during the winter and as the trees are deciduous, I cannot say whether the Bushmen know of this, nor whether the trees we saw were of the glabrous variety which is the one used for spinach. No seedlings were seen. It is known that the white shoot from the germinating seed can be used as a substitute for asparagus, and that the tender root of the very young Baobab is also edible (Dalziel, 1937: 113). The trees are often hollow, and like *Boscia albitrunca* and *Ricinodendron rautenii* may act as reservoirs for rain water which can be used in times of scarcity. The Bushmen reach it by fitting hollow grass stalks end to end to form a tube, and sucking it out. A further product of the Baobab is a large caterpillar which feeds upon the leaves and which is an important article of food aming the Natives of the northern Transvaal. It is recorded also from South West Africa, and is very likely known to and used by the Bushmen.

252 262 [272] 271 312 824 262 136 825

137X

Ochna pulchra Hook. (5273) Photograph 33.

Eastern !khũ Bushman !i and !e:i

A semi-deciduous tree with a clean but usually rather twisted bole which is white to light gray and has a peeling bark. The branches are bent and rigid and the wood brittle. They bear glossy light green alternate leaves which are almost sessile and usually entire, rarely with a very finely toothed margin. The tree has an attractive appearance even in winter, and the young leaves add to this in the spring for they range from pale green to reddish-brown. The flowers are borne in early summer, in showy scented bunches. They have yellow petals and a green calyx, which persists after the petals have fallen and turns bright red. The fruits are hard and green when immature but turn fleshy and black as they ripen. There are usually two or three, the size and shape of small beans, attached to a fleshy red swelling in the centre of the flower. The leaves have been suspected of causing poisoning in stock, but tests carried out on mammals have so far been inconclusive. (Uys and Thomas 1952, Steyn, 1949: 125.)

X137 *Ochna pulchra* is well known and widely distributed from the Transvaal to Northern Rhodesia and Angola. It was frequently seen in southern Bechuanaland and again in the north, but there was a gap between of about 200 miles where it was not recorded. Ghanzi was approximately in the centre of this gap. In the parts traversed by the expedition it was seen growing only on deep sand or in rocky soil.

252 262 The Bushmen stated that the ripe fruits when boiled in water yield a fat, which can be skimmed from the surface and used as food. This is confirmed by the notes on the specimen collected by E. B. W. Schoenfelder (number 28):—

> "Fruit when still green eaten after roasting in ash (Kung). When black and ripe cooked with water and the fat skimmed and preserved. The cooked fruit is eaten with pips (Kung and Diriko)."

X137 *Combretum apiculatum* Sond. Photograph 34.

Eastern !khû Bushman ||aja

A small tree or many-stemmed shrub, usually about 10 feet high in the drier areas. It has paired rather stiff pale green glabrous leaves with a varnished appearance, which turn yellow in the autumn and persist on the tree well into the winter before being shed. The flowers are small and greenish-yellow and would be insignificant except that they are numerous and massed at the ends of the twigs. The fruits have four papery wings and are about an inch in diameter.

Combretum apiculatum is widespread and often common, extending from Northern and Southern Rhodesia through the Bechuanaland Protectorate to South West Africa and through the northern Transvaal to Natal, but it was not seen along the route of the expedition until the Gautscha Pan area was reached, where it occurred sparingly.

[262] The Bushmen stated that it produces an edible gum. I have been able to confirm this in the Transvaal, but observed that the gum is produced only rarely.

Combretum coriaceum Schinz (5052, 5270, 5330).

Eastern !khû Bushman ≠gwa

An evergreen tree with paired stiff gray-green leaves. It is usually rather erect and in these parts seldom more than about 10 feet high, though it grows up to 30 feet under moister conditions in the northern Transvaal. The flowers appear towards the beginning of September. They are yellowish in colour and small, but crowded into showy little masses towards the tips of the twigs. The four-winged fruits are reddish-brown, and dry and papery.

It has been recorded from tropical Africa southwards to the Transvaal and Natal, but under a variety of names. Along the route from Molepolole to the north it was first seen 67 miles before Ghanzi. From there to Gautscha Pan it was fairly common except in the neighbourhood of Lake Ngami and the Okavango swamps.

[262] Although the tree produces an edible gum, it does so too rarely to be of importance as a food supply.

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Combretum imberbe Wawra (5204) Photograph 35. 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman ǂɔ

There were some magnificent specimens of this tree seen on the expedition, up to 40 feet in height, but the average was about 20 feet. It is rather sturdy as a rule, with a clean bole and light gray bark which is deeply fissured in all directions, and rigid branches and twigs. When young these are opposite or sub-opposite, straight, and often tipped with a hard spine, but as they grow older the spiny character is lost and the growth form becomes crooked so that the symmetry is masked. The tree has small opposite gray leaves an inch long and half as wide, and like the other species of Combretum it bears four-winged fruits and small inflorescences of yellowish flowers.

It was frequently seen in the Ghanzi area and to the north of Ghanzi, but not to the south, although it has been recorded from as far south as Vredefort in the Orange Free State. Its range is from Natal and the Transvaal through to tropical Africa.

It exudes an edible gum, but only rarely. [262]

Terminalia sericea Burch. Photograph 36.

Eastern !khû Bushman -dzɔ and za-ɔ

Sometimes a graceful, erect, 30-foot tree with horizontal branches and a dark gray fibrous bark, and sometimes a much-branched shrub two or three feet high. The twigs tend to curve upwards slightly and bear towards the tips bunches of soft alternate leaves three inches long and an inch wide, darker on the under surface and covered with a fine silvery down. The tree is seldom completely deciduous, and many of the fruits also remain on the twigs through the winter. They are reddish and consist of a flattened seed with a wide membranous margin which forms a wing and aids their distribution through the wind. The flowers are borne in creamy catkins and have a strong and rather offensive smell. Another characteristic feature is that the twigs often have walnut-sized galls round them.

This species was common all along the route of the expedition, and has a wide distribution from east and west tropical Africa to the northern parts of the Cape Province and the Transvaal. It is usually on deep sand, and usually in communtities.

It sometimes produces an edible gum from injuries in the stem. [262]

Royena sericea Bernh. (5018, 5249).

A many-stemmed deciduous shrub up to six feet high, with a dark bark and crooked branches. The dull green leaves are obovate, sometimes pointed, alternate, velvety when young, usually one inch by half an inch but sometimes much smaller, and they tend to be crowded towards the tips of the twigs. Its flowers are creamy, inconspicuous but scented, with the petals tightly furled in the bud. The fruits are half an inch long, ovoid and with a smooth skin which turns red when the fruits are ripe. They contain several large seeds and a little yellowish pulp.

This shrub was widely scattered north of the Ghanzi area and rarer still to the south, where only one small clump was found.

No information was obtained from the Bushmen about it, but the pulp of the fruits is known to be edible and would no doubt be used in an emergency. It is faintly sweet, and insipid. [262]

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X137 *Strychnos cocculoides* Bak. (4916) Photograph 37.

||ganakwe Bushman... ,|guwa

A 15-foot tree, erect and rather slender, sometimes unarmed and sometimes with very sharp paired curved thorns a little less than half an inch long. The leaves, which are also paired, are soft, minutely hairy and an inch and a half long and an inch wide with three prominent veins branching from near the base, one central and two near the margins. The old bark is dark gray, corky and deeply fissured, but the young twigs have a smooth bark densely covered with a fine down. The tree produces small greenish flowers massed into heads three quarters of an inch in diameter. The fruits are a little over a pound in weight and four inches in diameter, the size and shape of a gem squash, with the same type of hard rind, green when immature and turning pale brown when ripe. The seeds inside are embedded in a strongly aromatic pale pulp.

Strychnos cocculoides is recorded from the western Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Angola and central tropical Africa. On the expedition it was seen scattered through only one belt of heavy sand which began 136 miles north-west of Molepolole and ended 35 miles further on.

262 The fruits have an unusual and pleasant flavour, and according to a note on one of Schoenfelder's specimens in the National Herbarium the seeds may be eaten as well as the pulp. Galpin (1925: 22), who describes this tree under the name *Strychnos schumanniana*, states that the fruit may be picked green and ripened by burying it in sand. It will keep for several months without going bad. [251]

X137 *Strychnos pungens* Solered. (5447) Photograph 38.

An eight-foot bent evergreen tree with a spreading crown and paired hard shiny leaves with a sharp spine at the tip. It bears insignificant greenish flowers in compact small bunches in the axils of the leaves. The fruits and the veins in the leaves are similar to those of *Strychnos cocculoides*, and it has the same general distribution. Only one specimen was seen, near the northermost point reached by the expedition.

The fruits contain a pleasant edible pulp which is, however, not considered as good as that of *Strychnos cocculoides*. [262]

Raphionacme burkei N.E. Br. (4997) Photograph 39.

|h5: Bushman..... bi:
||ganakwe Bushman... bi:
|gikwe Bushman..... bi:
Naron Bushman..... bi:

Nearly all of the plant is six inches below ground, in the form of a rounded storage organ about five pounds in weight and six inches in diameter, slightly flattened on top. It has a brown skin, and is pale yellow inside with flecks of white latex on the cut surface. It is connected by a "neck" a little thicker than a pencil to the above-ground parts, which consists of a few sparingly-branched erect stems, slender but wiry, six inches high and bearing narrow grayish-green leaves. The flowers, which are borne in small clusters, are greenish and inconspicuous, the fruits slender, three inches long and as a rule in pairs. The stems exude a milky juice when injured. They are not easily seen even in summer, and in winter less so, for the leaves are shed and the stems die back.

By the spring there may be nothing left to mark the position of the plant. 137X
How extraordinarily observant the Bushmen are was well shown when they 824
were asked if they could find a specimen and demonstrate its use. One man guided the party for four miles across country featureless except for clumps of trees to a spot where he knew of one growing. It was found after a short search—nothing more than two or three small sticks among the grasses, with the bark shredding into white silky fibres.

Raphionacme burkei is found from South West Africa through the 137X
Bechuanaland Protectorate into the northern Transvaal and the northern Cape. Two specimens were seen in the central Kalahari, and the species was determined from one of them which was sent to Pretoria for cultivation and flowered there in the following summer.

It is a well-known source of water among the Bushmen of the Kala- 271
hari. They extract the water from the storage organ by planing a pile 312
of shavings off it with the edge of a split stick, and then squeezing the 824
shavings in the hand and allowing the water to run into the mouth. This rather roundabout way of doing things appears to be without good reason, because the flesh of the storage organ may be chewed without any ill effect. It is firm and crisp, slightly fibrous, and faintly bitter.

Pentarrhinum insipidum E. Mey. (5171, 5191) Photograph 40. 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman n!ɔ-ʃu and n!wa-ʃu

A leafy deciduous climber up to 10 feet high, and a vigorous grower which may completely cover the host tree. It has freely branching lax stems which are quite tough in spite of being only a matter of an eighth of an inch in thickness. They are covered with a fine white down which is just perceptible to the naked eye, and when broken they exude a little milky juice, so little that it is easily overlooked. At intervals of about five inches arise pairs of leaves, deeply cordate at the base, and with long stalks. In the younger stages they are minutely hairy but they become glabrous or nearly so as they grow older. The flowers rise in a group on a three-inch slender stalk from between the leaves. They are brownish with a yellow or white central portion, small and faintly scented. The fruits are occasionally produced in pairs but are more usually solitary. They are beaked, three inches long and half as wide, covered with blunt prickles, longitudinally wrinkled and dull green.

At Nama Pan this was a frequent climber among the trees, and it is widespread over southern Africa. It was not, however, seen in the country south of Ghanzi.

At maturity the fruits are hard and woody and packed with the fine 262
silky hairs that form the pappus of the seeds, but when green they are 252
softer and may be eaten raw or cooked as a vegetable, and may be stored for three weeks before they deteriorate. Their rather copious white latex is quite harmless. They have a crisp texture when raw and a pleasant flavour, nutty and faintly peppery. When boiled they are reminiscent of Asparagus. When the seeds inside have turned brown the fruit will be found too hard to make good eating. The leaves, too, may be eaten raw as a salad, and are used that way by some Transvaal Natives, but the Bushmen method of preparation is to pound them to a pulp in a wooden mortar.

Pentarrhinum insipidum grows well from seed and is a rapid producer 137X
of green material. It might be a useful fodder plant for domestic stock.

X137 *Sarcostemma viminale* R. Br. (4993, 5170) Photograph 41.

Eastern !khû Bushman |gubu|gubu

A leafless climber, reaching a height of 10 feet or so, with gray-green jointed branching stems as thick as a pencil and containing a large quantity of pure white latex. They bear yellowish strongly scented flowers, and fruits shaped like a slender carrot. The plant is occasionally found growing in the open, away from any support, in the form of a dense clump of ascending stems about three feet high.

It is widespread in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and through the drier parts of all four provinces of the Union.

262 There are records from the Cape Province, Natal and the Transvaal that the stems and fruits of this plant are eaten by the Natives, either cooked as a vegetable or raw as a salad, and I have eaten the raw stems in the Cape Province. They have no distinctive flavour. It is a dangerous plant to eat, for there is a poisonous strain of it which is not visibly distinguishable from the edible one (Dyer, 1937: 123), and which, if eaten in sufficient quantity, causes death after symptoms like those produced by strychnine. The Bushmen said that they never used it for food. I have no information as to its use or otherwise in the central Kalahari, where it also occurs. Presumably it would be safe for food where browsed by animals, which often happens and is easily seen.

X137 *Ceropegia tentaculata* N.E. Br. (5220) Photograph 42.

!h3: Bushman..... ||ala
Naron Bushman..... !?aru
Eastern !khû Bushman !ama

A twiner up to eight feet high, minutely hairy, with opposite almost fleshy leaves about an inch long rising at intervals of two to three inches. The flowers which are produced on short stalks in a group of half a dozen or so are three quarters of an inch long and tubular, with a swollen base and lobes at the top produced into slender threads. The fruits are paired, four inches long, very slender, gray and filled with seeds attached to a silky pappus. The plant has a tuber a few inches below the surface of the soil, the size of a flattened apple, with a distinct hollow at the top from which the stem rises and with a rounded base which produces many short and slender roots. It is the colour of a new potato.

Ceropegia tentaculata has seldom been collected, and is recorded only from South West Africa. One specimen was found growing in deep sand in the shelter of a thicket about twenty miles south-west of Nama Pan. As it was recognised and named by one of the !h3: Bushmen who was with the expedition in South West Africa, it probably occurs also in the Bechuanaland Protectorate in the southern Kalahari, which is the home of these people.

[252 262] The tuber is edible when roasted.

Ceropegia sp. near *Ceropegia leucotaenia* K. Schum. (5309) Photograph 43

Eastern !khû Bushman |gwi-ts'ou

The above-ground parts are pubescent, otherwise similar to those of *Ceropegia tentaculata*. The flowers also arise in groups but have a shorter tube, about half an inch long, with the processes of the lobes connected at the tips. The processes are dark brown and covered with slender hairs.

The plant has a shallow tuber which is about as big as a billiard ball but bell-shaped, with fine roots sprouting from the flattened base. It is similar in colour to the tuber of *Ceropegia tentaculata*. 137X

Only one specimen was collected, in the shelter of bushes on sandy loam near Nama Pan. It was cultivated in Pretoria and flowered in January, 1956.

The tuber is edible when roasted. [252 262]

Ceropegia sp. near *Ceropegia lugardae* N.E. Br. (5264) Photograph 44.

Eastern !khû Bushman n!wi:

In the above-ground parts the plant is like No. 5226 (*Ceropegia* sp. near *Ceropegia mozambicensis*), but it is more leafy and the flowers have a single instead of double swelling at the base. It has a similar bunch of pencil-shaped roots.

One specimen was collected in shallow sand overlying rock at Nama Pan. It flowered in cultivation at Pretoria at the end of March, 1956.

The roots are edible when roasted and in texture and flavour like those of No. 5226. [252 262]

Ceropegia sp. near *Ceropegia mozambicensis* Schltr. (5226) Photograph 45.

!h5: Bushman..... ,gu:_n||a
Naron Bushman..... ,gu:_n||a
Eastern !khû Bushman _n||ama

A twiner with very sparsely hairy stems and leaves similar to those of *Ceropegia tentaculata*. The differences are that the flowers are borne in pairs on a peduncle about one inch long, one flower maturing long before the other, and that the flowers have a double swelling at the base and at the top are broadly funnel-shaped, with erect folded dark brown broad lobes connected at the tips and edged with sparse hairs. The tube is greenish, spotted with purple. The stem arises from a bunch of pale fleshy roots about six inches below the surface of the soil, the size of pencils but tapering at the ends and constricted at the top so that they are easily broken off.

Only one specimen was seen. It was growing in the shelter of a thicket on deep sand about 20 miles south-west of Nama Pan. It flowered in cultivation in Pretoria in January 1956.

The roots are edible when roasted. They taste somewhat like a potato, but are firmer and have a flavour of their own. They have no fibre and the plant would be worth investigating for improvement and cultivation as a vegetable. [252 262]

Duvalia polita N.E. Br. (5187) Photograph 46.

Eastern !khû Bushman -da:daba

A sprawling succulent plant. The fleshy stems are glabrous, uniformly gray-green and four inches high, with usually six longitudinal rows of soft spines with a deep crease between each row. They rise from underground runners which are white and lack the distinct spininess of the stems. The corolla-lobes surround a prominent fleshy basal ring, and are dark brown, sometimes with vibratile hairs similar to those of *Caralluma knobelii* and sometimes irregularly flecked with yellowish-green. The

Y137 specific name, which means *polished*, refers to the shiny appearance of the corolla-lobes towards the base. The fruits, borne in pairs, are between a half and a quarter of an inch in thickness and six inches long, tapering at the end and containing numerous flattened seeds with a silky pappus.

Although it has a wide range across tropical and sub-tropical Africa, it is uncommon; and only one specimen was collected on the expedition, under the shelter of scrub at the edge of a rocky outcrop at Nama Pan.

[252 262 312] The stems are edible raw or roasted, but have a bitter taste. They are sappy enough to be a useful source of water.

Caralluma knobelii (Phill.) Phill. (5094, 4914) Photograph 47.

!h5: Bushman.....	-≠aberr
||ganakwe Bushman...	-da:daba
|gikwe Bushman.....	-da:daba
Naron Bushman.....	-da:daba
Eastern !khû Bushman	-da:daba

The plant consists of a number of stubby, succulent erect stems four inches in height and half an inch in diameter. They are glabrous and dull bluish-green, mottled faintly with a darker green and square in section, with four rows of sharp and fairly hard-tipped spines. They exude a clear greenish juice when cut. The flowers are white to greenish, with dark purple blotches and edged with sparse delicate knobbed hairs known as vibratile hairs because of the way they are moved about by even the gentlest breeze. The stems arise from underground runners which have the same form as the erect stems except that they are white, and more slender.

This species, which is known only from the Kalahari, was found in various places on deep sand between Molepolole and Ghanzi, but was nowhere common. It was in the shelter of trees and scrub, and was not seen in the open.

[252 262] The whole plant is edible raw or roasted, but the underground portions are better than those above ground, which tend to become bitter. They have a peculiar smoky flavour which is not unpleasant, and their [312] abundant juice makes them a useful source of water.

Stapelia kwebensis N. E. Br. (5140) Photograph 48.

Eastern !khû Bushman -da:daba

Similar in habit to *Caralluma knobelii*, but with dull green downy stems and rounded instead of sharp corners. The spines too are shorter and tipped with small erect leaves. It has dark brown flowers with slender lobes ridged on the upper surface and radiating out from a shallow central pit.

Only one specimen was collected on the expedition, on a rocky outcrop at Gam, but the species is widely distributed in South West Africa except in the extreme south and it is known from the northern Transvaal as well.

[252 262] The stems are edible, raw or roasted.

Fockea sp. (5136, 5236).

Eastern !khû Bushman '!xwa:

One of the two specimens collected was in the open among rubble at the edge of a sheet of rock at Gam, a plant with fleshy stems 12 inches high, and the only one of its kind seen in that vicinity. The other specimen was growing with several more in stony scrub-covered ground near Gautscha Pan, and appeared similar except that the stems were thicker and were twining to a height of several feet among the other bushes. The

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leaves drop during the winter, but a few were still to be seen, linear, paired, and about three inches long and half an inch wide, and there was one fruit, as long as the leaves and shaped like a small cigar. The stems rise from a brown-skinned underground storage organ which may be more than a foot in length and up to five inches in diameter. It is often oddly shaped if growing in rocky ground, as these all were, and has a rather spongy texture, a combination which makes it difficult to dig up without damage. Several were brought in at a Bushman encampment about 20 miles south-west of Nama Pan, but none of them were entire. The specimens I collected were lost in transit to Pretoria, and though they could be placed in the genus Fockea from what had been seen in the field, the species is unknown. 137X

The storage organ is eaten raw by the Bushmen. The flesh is white and rather flabby, with a faint but pleasant flavour of coconut ice. As well as being a food it is juicy enough to be a useful source of water. It could possibly be bred into a plant worth cultivating. [262] [312]

Ipomoea verbascoidea Choisy (5223, 5319) Photograph 49.

Eastern !khũ Bushman n!ɔru

Tubers and seeds of this species failed to grow in cultivation in Pretoria. The notes which follow were made partly from herbarium specimens, for the plants were quite leafless when they were seen in the field in August. They were conspicuous in spite of their bareness, because of the small pure white masses of wool in which the seeds were embedded. These masses were scattered along numerous slender twigs that arose from a group of sturdy, cane-like stems, half an inch thick and eight feet long or more. The stems are scramblers, or, if no trees are at hand, lax and spreading. They exude a little milky juice when cut. The stalked leaves are simple, rounded, and up to four inches across, and bear in their axils single large purple flowers of the typical Convolvulaceous (morning glory) type. The plant is covered with a white wool except on the upper surface of the leaves, where it is sparsely hairy.

Two plants were seen on the expedition, both in the neighbourhood of Nama Pan, and both on sand and among fairly dense mixed scrub. There are records of the species from South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Angola.

A note on one of the herbarium specimens states that the fruits are edible, but this was not mentioned by the Bushmen. They did however state that the storage organs were used as a source of water. These are six inches below the soil, sometimes partly exposed and partly eaten by animals. They are firm and juicy, and those seen were the size of a football, with a white flesh and a dark brown skin. The water may be extracted by chewing the flesh or by pounding it and squeezing the pulp. [262] 312 [271]

Ipomoea sp. (5179) Photograph 50.

Eastern !khũ Bushman !garubɛ 137X

A slender plant with three or four bluish-reen leaves up to three inches long, borne on a four-inch erect stalk and themselves erect, and deeply and narrowly lobed. There are usually three or four tubers to each plant. They are found at any depth down to nine inches, and are variously shaped but regular in outline, typically the size and shape of a large apple with a slight depression on top, where they are connected at intervals of

X137 a foot or so to an underground stem which branches and turns unexpectedly in various directions. They have a thick brown skin with a bronzy sheen, are slightly bitter to the taste and exude a little latex when the skin is broken. No flowers were seen in the field, and although specimens cultivated in Pretoria made good growth, they did not produce flowers. No fresh leaves were seen in the field either. They are evidently very susceptible to the cold, for it was noticed that the cultivated specimens dropped theirs before the first frosts.

Fragments of this plant which had been killed by frosts were scattered plentifully through the open grassy sandy areas near Nama Pan, and the tubers were often unearthed while other plants were being dug up.

[262] The Bushmen stated that they did not eat the tubers, but that they were eaten by buck.

The leaves of this plant cannot be distinguished from the leaves of *Ipomoea bolusiana*. *Ipomoea bolusiana* is known to have an edible tuber (Schinz, 1888: 271, Boss, 1934: 87), and from the available herbarium specimens and the literature it appears that it is single, and immediately below the surface of the ground. Because these two facts are in conflict with what was seen and what was reported by the Bushmen, it is doubtful whether the plant from Nama Pan is the same species.

Ehretia rigida (Thunb.) Druce Photograph 51.

!h3: Bushman.....	ǁga
ǁganakwe Bushman...	ǁgawu
ǂgikwe Bushman.....	ǁga
Naron Bushman.....	ǁga

A shrub, usually about six feet high, with a pale gray bark, a rigid, erect habit and a mass of branches, which in older plants spread out and turn downwards to give a "weepy" appearance. New growth is straight and smooth, and there is a very fine rusty wool on the youngest twigs. It contrasts strongly with the older growth, which is usually knobby and crooked and quite glabrous. The leaves are elliptic or obovate, stiff, minutely hairy and shortly stalked. They are scattered evenly along the new growth, but on the old growth they are crowded on dwarf shoots averaging an inch in length. Their dull green colour makes the plant rather unattractive, but it can become showy when the small blue or white flowers are out. The fruits are the size of a pea, soft and red when ripe and often with the withered remains of the style persisting.

Ehretia is found in all four provinces of the Union and in South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Rhodesia. It was scattered through the Kalahari south of Ghanzi but was not recorded in the north, and was never common and never gregarious.

[262] The fruits may be eaten raw when ripe, but are insipid, with a sickly-sweet taste and a faint and rather unpleasant flavour.

Rhigozum brevispinosum O.Ktze. (4946, 5255).

!h3: Bushman.....	ˌǁha:
ǁganakwe Bushman...	nǂɔ-ji
ǂgikwe Bushman.....	ˌt'a:
Naron Bushman.....	nǂɔ-ji

An erect, slender deciduous shrub up to 10 feet high, with opposite branches and opposite blunt spines which develop into branches like the spines of *Catophractes alexandri*. There is a small tuft of wool below each spine, from which is produced a bunch of six or eight leaves an

inch long and less than a quarter of an inch wide. No flowers were seen on the expedition, but from herbarium records it is known that they are yellow and tubular and produce papery pods two inches long and half an inch wide. The pods split down their centre when they are mature. 137X

This plant is known from the northern Cape, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, and was widespread and fairly frequent north and south of Ghanzi.

Although it is not an edible plant it is nevertheless a producer of food, for all the Bushman digging-sticks seen were made from it. The only preparation is that the bark is peeled off, the spines trimmed, and one of the ends cut at a slant. The stick is about four feet long. In sandy soils and for the type of digging usually required it is a more efficient tool than a spade. It may be made to loosen a narrow cylinder of earth, and this cylinder, if a little wider than the object sought, is all that is necessary. With a spade on the other hand it is usually impossible to avoid a funnel-shaped excavation which entails the removal of far more soil. 322 412 824

Catophractes alexandri D. Don (4893) Photograph 52. 137X

!h3: Bushman.....	n!ain!ai
!ganakwe Bushman...	!ga:!gaba
!gikwe Bushman.....	ga:giba:
Naron Bushman.....	n!ain!ai

A five-foot erect silvery bush with opposite leaves, some brightly coloured in the autumn and winter. They often bear slender sharp spines in their axils, which afterwards develop into branches and bear leaves and spines in their turn. The leaves and younger woody parts are covered with a dense white wool, but this afterwards disappears from the woody parts and they become a reddish brown. The flowers, which are about two inches long, are white, trumpet-shaped and showy, and produce a pod covered with short blunt prickles and up to three inches long, dark and woody when mature and splitting down the centre. The seeds have a circular membranous wing round them.

The plant is recorded from Angola, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Transvaal. It was fairly frequent south and north of Ghanzi, in patches down the banks of pans, on limestone, and occasionally also on slight slopes in sandy country.

Catophractes alexandri is not a food plant but deserves mention because of its importance in the preparation of food—it is used as a fire-drill together with *Grewia retinervis*, as is described in the notes on that species. 372 412 824

Corallocarpus sphaerocarpus Cogn. (5020, 5138, 5230) Photograph 53. 137X

|gikwe Bushman.....	|hurugu
Naron Bushman.....	|hɔrɔ
Eastern !khû Bushman	|hɔrɔ

A very variable plant creeping by means of tendrils over shrubs and low trees, and with sparse leaves, dissected or lobed and rough to the touch, rising in groups or singly from nodes on the rather sappy stem. The leaves are not flat even when perfectly fresh, but inrolled slightly at the margins as though they were beginning to wilt. Three or four sessile half-inch ovoid fruits are borne in a cluster at the nodes as well, which in

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

X137 older stems often form the points of characteristic zig-zags. The fruits are red when ripe and contain about five seeds. They open by means of a latitudinal break (circumscissile dehiscence) so that the skin at the end of the fruit comes off like a cap. The central jelly-like portion of the fruit, which has the seeds embedded in it, often remains behind when the cap is removed. The plant is deciduous, and the vine dies back if the winter is severe. It arises from a pale brown rootstock the size and shape of a large pear, which in the three specimens collected was partly above the level of the ground.

Its range is from the northern Cape Province, the Transvaal and Zululand through to Rhodesia and South West Africa. It was collected south of Ghanzi and again in the neighbourhood of Gautscha Pan, but was nowhere common. It is a woodland plant and does not occur in the grasslands.

[262 252] The fruits are sweetish and edible when ripe. The rootstock is bitter and is not eaten, but the stems and leaves are boiled to produce a spinach which is fairly palatable, but stringy. It is eaten also by certain Natives in the northern Transvaal.

Corallocarpus welwitschii (Naud.) Hook. f. (5315) Photograph 54.

Eastern !khû Bushman !gwara!ai

The fruits of this plant have a short but fairly distinct stalk, and its rootstock has a faint unpleasant smell when freshly dug. In all other respects it appears to be identical with *Corallocarpus sphaerocarpus*.

It has been recorded from the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, but so far not from the Union. The only specimen found on the expedition was growing in sand under trees at Nama Pan. It grew well in cultivation at Pretoria.

[262 252] There is no information on the edibility or otherwise of the vine, but the ripe fruits may be eaten raw. They are sickly sweet and flavourless. The Bushmen stated that the rootstock is edible after being cooked, but I found it too bitter to eat.

Momordica balsamina L. (4929, 4970, 5003) Photograph 55.

A climber over grass and low bushes or a runner over the ground, with sharply-lobed light green leaves about two inches across arising singly at intervals of a few inches along the numerous lax, slender stems. It has three-inch spiralling tendrils rising at the bases of the leaves. It is glabrous, with a soft, attractive look, but has a strongly unpleasant smell when bruised, The flowers are an inch across, pale yellow and after the usual Cucurbitaceous pattern as shown in the photograph of *Coccinia rehmannii*. The fruits, green when immature, are an attractive orange when ripe, one and a half inches long and an inch in diameter, with about ten longitudinal rows of short blunt prickles, and contain half a dozen seeds enveloped in a crimson pulp. The skin of the ripe fruit splits longitudinally and almost explosively when it is handled. The plant is an annual according to the *Flora Capensis*, but those in the Kalahari remained alive through the winter and put out fresh vines in the early spring to replace the frosted growth of the previous season.

It has been recorded from the four provinces of the Union and from Portuguese East Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, and although it was not noticed north of Ghanzi, it was widespread to the south.

The fruit, according to the label on one of the herbarium specimens, is " very poisonous ", but there appears to be no satisfactory proof of this. The Bechuana state that the crimson pulp round the seeds is edible, and I ate it without any harmful effects. It is sweetish but has a rather unpleasant slimy texture. [137A] [262]

Citrullus naudinianus (Sond.) Hook. f. (4983, 4984, 5272) Photograph 56.

!h3: Bushman.....	||gan
||ganakwe Bushman...	gã:
|gikwe Bushman.....	gã:
Naron Bushman.....	gã:
Eastern !khû Bushman	tʃa

This vine, commonly known as the Gemsbok komkommer, is a runner on the sand and not a climber. It has a tap-root the shape of a large carrot, which may be three inches or more in diameter at the top and three feet long, and which grows hard and woody with age. The younger roots are full of juice and intensely bitter, and cannot be eaten by human beings, although many showed signs of having been eaten by animals. The runners, which may reach a length of 30 feet, are stouter than those of the related *Cucumis hookeri* and No. 4895 (see page 50), and unlike them and those of *Citrullus vulgaris* are fairly frost-resistant. Many were still green during the heavy frosts experienced on the expedition, and were even putting out fresh leaves. They often have a zig-zag growth form and may root at the nodes. Apparently they die back after a few seasons, for live and dead runners were common. The leaves, borne on a one-inch or two-inch stalk, are dull green, lobed, very rough to the touch, and between two and four inches long. A stout slightly hooked tendril rises at the base of each leaf and is usually about as long as the leaf-stalk. The fruits vary in shape from ovoid to nearly spherical, and weigh about half a pound. The skin is covered with thick soft spines a quarter to half an inch long, and is pale yellow when the fruits are ripe. They can stand heavy frost without spoiling, and are eaten by many different animals.

The plant has been recorded from the sandy parts of the north-western Cape Province and Orange Free State, the Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, South West Africa, Angola and Northern and Southern Rhodesia. On the expedition the runners were common between Molepolole and Ghanzi but the fruits, in tens or in hundreds, were in patches sometimes many miles apart. The plants were not found on the firmer " pan " soils and were much less common north of Ghanzi.

The fruits have a thin rind containing numerous flattened white seeds embedded in a green translucent jelly-like flesh which may be eaten raw or roasted and has a distinctive, slightly rank flavour. The pips and skin are often roasted separately and pounded to make en edible meal. As a source of water this plant comes next in importance to *Citrullus vulgaris*, but like *Citrullus vulgaris* (and *Cucumis hookeri*) it cannot be depended upon where there have not previously been adequate rains, for the water in its perennial tap-root is not in itself enough to produce a crop of fruit. [262] [252] [312]

Citrullus naudinianus has possibilities as a cultivated plant.

X137 *Citrullus vulgaris* Schrad. (4937, 4999) Photograph 57.

!h5: Bushman.....	dam
!ganakwe Bushman...	n|an
|gikwe Bushman.....	n|an
Naron Bushman.....	n|a-!
Eastern !khû Bushman	_!'a_ma

This plant, one of the melons and commonly known as the tsama, has stout six-foot vines half an inch in diameter at the base and a quarter of an inch at the tip. They are covered rather densely with light brown hairs, which turn white and stiff with age. The vines are usually prostrate, but occasionally festoon themselves over grasses and low shrubs with the help of small Y-shaped tendrils, curly at the tips. The leaves are borne on two-inch stalks and are hairy on the ribs, dull green, rough to the touch and deeply lobed. Each plant produces male and female flowers. They are an inch in diameter and pale yellow, and the fruits which follow are rounded and up to six inches in diameter and six and a half pounds in weight. As many as 34, of all sizes, have been counted on one plant. The rind, densely hairy when young but later quite smooth, is dark green mottled longitudinally with light green, and contains a crisp, juicy, tasteless white flesh in which numerous flattened brown seeds are embedded. The melons can endure heavy frosts without becoming spoilt, but the rest of the plant is very susceptible. The frosts, however, merely hastens its death for it is in any case an annual.

This melon is indigenous to south-west Asia and the warm dry regions throughout Africa. The water-melon is merely an improved variety of the same species, which has been known in Egypt and Babylonia since the beginning of history (Marloth, 1913-1925: III: II: 205). The tsama was widespread but patchy along the route of the expedition, and areas of abundant melon alternated with long stretches where it was not seen. It was not confined to the sand but grew also on the hard soil of the pans.

262 The tsama is unquestionably the most important plant to the Bushmen
312 in this part of the Kalahari. They are known to use it as their sole source
824 of water for months on end and it is extremely doubtful whether they would be able to live permanently in the Kalahari without it. Its importance is
[184] shown by the fact that one group of Bushmen in the central Kalahari had
[244] a small patch of tsama which they had grown from seed, and the Bushmen are not as a rule agriculturalists. Nevertheless, the tsama is not an infallible standby, for the reasons given in the discussion on *Citrullus naudinianus*, and when the need arises the Bushmen can and must substitute more meagre but at the same time more reliable sources of water, for example from *Sansevieria scabrifolia*. When it is used for drinking-water
252 the melon is opened at the top like an egg and the central portion cut out
262 and eaten. The rest of the pulp is then mashed inside the rind with a
312 stick to a watery mass which is half drunk and half eaten, the pips being put aside and later roasted and pounded (without being peeled) to make an edible meal. The melons are sometimes roasted before being eaten, which adds a little flavour, and they may be cut up and mixed with meat to form a stew, which is conveniently cooked in the rind itself. Although no bitter specimens of the tsama were found along the route of the expedition, they do occur. Their flesh is poisonous and unfit for human consumption, but their seeds are free of poison and edible after roasting.

000 At some villages of Bakalahari (which are a Bantu tribe), the tsama is regularly cultivated. These and wild melons are collected and stored under shelter, and goats, horses, cattle and even dogs are kept with tsama as the main source of water. The livestock use the melon more economi-

cally than the Bantu and Bushmen do, for they eat the rind as well. Large animals, and this according to Livingstone (1857: 48) includes the carnivora, are able to broach the tsama rind unaided, but evidently the smaller animals do not find this easy, for many tsamas were seen with the marks of teeth on them, showing where animals had attempted unsuccessfully to reach the pulp inside. As for the rodents, whose burrows were [illegible] the thousand all through the central Kalahari, they are well [illegible] for making holes in the rind, and apparently have little difficulty, for hollowed-out tsamas were frequently seen.

Cucumis hookeri Naud. (5012, 5028, 5047) Photograph 58.

!h5: Bushman..... n≠ɔ?nu
Naron Bushman..... n≠ɔ?nu

An annual vine with slender straight stems up to six feet long, and a shallow spreading root system. It produces tendrils and may occasionally trail over low shrublets and tufts of grass, but normally it is a runner over the surface of the sand. All parts are covered with minute stiff white hairs, which are densest on the leaves, particularly on the under surface, and make them rough to the touch. They arise singly at intervals of up to four inches, vary from one to three inches in length, and are dark green with large rounded lobes, and stalks up to one and a half inches long. The tendrils arise at the base of the leaves. They are an inch long and are tightly curled at the tip. Both male and female flowers, borne on the same plant, are yellow and trumpet-shaped with triangular petals, and an inch in diameter. The fruits are the size of a hen's egg, brown with six or seven longitudinal lighter stripes and covered with soft but fairly stout prickles, the flesh being green, transparent and almost jelly-like, with the smell of cucumber.

This is a widespread species through the drier and sandier parts of the northern Cape, the Transvaal, Southern Rhodesia, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa. It was found all along the route of the expedition in the open grasslands, and sometimes in great abundance. The fruits were undamaged although the leaves and runners had been killed by frost by the time the expedition passed through the Kalahari.

The fruits have a slightly sour taste but are good to eat, and as they have none of the thick white layer of firm flesh which surrounds the pulp of the cultivated cucumber they contain proportionately more moisture and are a useful source of water. Bitter fruits are known to occur in some strains of this species and are to be avoided, not only because of their unpleasant taste but also because they are poisonous.

Cucumis metuliferus E. Mey. (5098) Photograph 59.

An annual climber over trees and shrubs with angled, sometimes almost winged 10-foot vines thickly covered with stiff brown hairs and bearing the leaves at intervals of three inches or so. The leaves, which are covered with similar hairs, have three or four rounded or acute lobes and small teeth along the margins. They are up to three inches long and arise from a two-inch stalk, at the base of which is a tightly-spiralling tendril. The flowers are trumpet-shaped, yellow and, including the small triangular petals, about an inch across. The immature fruits are dark green mottled with lighter green. They ripen during the winter and are then bright orange, five inches long and half as wide, and armed with hard and exceedingly sharp spines which can injure the skin if carelessly handled. They have a thin rind covering a green transparent flesh in which the seeds are embedded.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

X137 The plant is widely but scantily distributed through the northern and eastern Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, South West Africa and Rhodesia. One specimen was collected near Tsau.

Edible and bitter varieties of this cucumber are known, but there is no way of distinguishing them except by experiment. The specimen from Tsau had inedible fruits, not because of any noticeable bitterness but because of a most disgusting flavour which persisted in the mouth for an hour or so after a small piece had been tasted. Miss I. C. Verdoorn of the Division of Botany informs me also that the spines are soft on the fruits she has examined, and it is possible that No. 5098 is, because of its hard spines and bad taste, a distinct strain.

Cucumis metuliferus is cultivated in various countries under the name of Jelly Melon.

Cucumis sp. (4895, 4986, 5027, 5320) Photograph 60.

!h3: Bushman.....	n!am
!ganakwe Bushman...	umn|i
|gikwe Bushman.....	kwamn|i and !gam
Naron Bushman.....	h|am
Eastern !khû Bushman	huru and uru

A vine with slender prostrate straight stems about six feet long. The whole plant is rough to the touch from a covering of hairs similar to those of *Cucumis hookeri* and distributed in the same way, and it has the same type of tendrils and the same habit. In size, shape and spacing the leaves vary somewhat, but the margins appear to be consistently rather jagged. Male and female flowers are alike in size and shape, and yellow. They are borne on different plants. The fruits are extraordinarily like those of *Cucumis hookeri*, but they have about ten longitudinal gray stripes instead of six or seven, prickles tending to curl over more at the tips, and more of them, the proportion being about 324 to 186. The seeds, too, are bigger. The fruits tested were intensely bitter without exception. The roots of the many female plants investigated were pale brown, about two feet long and less than a quarter of an inch thick, and bore a thickened storage organ at the end which varied according to its age, being the size and shape of a short candle when young and like a large potato when old. The runners radiate out from a central root and in turn send down roots at intervals, and although the intervening parts wither and die during the winter the roots themselves appear perennial, and probably form new plants, for a root sent from the Kalahari grew into a flourishing plant in Pretoria the following season. As the vines had been frosted and had partly disintegrated when these plants were studied in the field, I could not establish whether the male plants had the same root system. This is, however, probable, because the same root system was found on many vines which were not bearing fruit.

This plant has seldom been collected and is apparently undescribed. It is represented in the National Herbarium by only three other specimens apart from those collected on the expedition. It was found in the central Kalahari (where it was sometimes abundant) and also in the north near Gautscha Pan, and, like *Cucumis hookeri*, in open grasslands. It was seen only on deep sand. No estimate of the relative abundance of this species and *Cucumis hookeri* can be made in the winter without careful investigation because of the similarity of the two when once their leaves have gone.

The storage organs[1] are firm but juicy and may be eaten raw or cooked. The flavour is pleasant, rather like that of a turnip, and if they are eaten raw they are a valuable source of water. They were an important article of food to the Bushmen we met in the central Kalahari, and the plant would be worth investigating with a view to cultivation after improvement through breeding. 262 [252 312]

Coccinia rehmannii Cogn. (4954, 5029). Photograph 61. 137X

!h3: Bushman.....	m⊗wajé:
!ganakwe Bushman...	!ga:
!gikwe Bushman.....	!ga:
Naron Bushman.....	!ga:
Eastern !khû Bushman	!ga:

A vine, climbing by means of tendrils to a height of six or eight feet, and bearing on half-inch petioles a dense growth of dark green leaves which are deeply and irregularly lobed and very variable in size and shape. They have a rough texture from minute scattered white hairs, more numerous on the upper surface and pointing forward. The stems are slender and angled, and bear a few of these hairs also. The plants are either male or female, and both male and female flowers are trumpet-shaped with short triangular petals, pale yellow and three quarters of an inch across. The fruits are three quarters of an inch long, with a bulbous base and a rather thick neck, green mottled with white when immature and red when they ripen in the autumn. The old stems die back during the winter and new ones are produced the following spring from a perennial tuber buried about four inches below the surface of the ground. The tuber tapers gradually when young, but thickens and assumes various shapes as it grows older, and the bark, from being smooth, becomes rough and fissured. It does not "bleed" if injured superficially, but from deep injuries it exudes a clear astringent mucilage.

Specimens on the expedition were found not in the open grasslands, but always growing in shelter under a bush or in a thicket It was midwinter and they were dormant, represented above ground by a few fragments of dry and leafless stringy stem among the twigs of the sheltering tree, and in consequence exceedingly difficult to find. Even after the presence of the plant had been established the finding of the tuber presented difficulties, for the connection with the vine overhead was often broken. The plant appeared to be occasional but widespread in the parts through which we travelled, and three tubers, all of which were successfully cultivated in Pretoria, were collected in different parts of the Kalahari. It is recorded also from the Cape Province, the Transvaal and South West Africa.

Besides providing food, the tubers are sappy enough to be a useful source of water, but they must be roasted first for they cannot be eaten raw. Older woodier tubers are best boiled, but even so the fibre is so tough that it is ejected after being chewed. At all stages the tubers are rather tasteless. They are known also to the Natives in some parts of the Transvaal, and eaten by them, but in this land of relative plenty they are not a popular food. The fruits also are edible, but rather sickly sweet and flavourless. Doubtless they are used by the Bushmen, but I failed to ask them. 252 262 312

1 [CUCUMIS; see CATEGORY 116, p.50 FOR description --ANALYST]

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

X137 *Coccinia sessilifolia* (Sond.) Cogn. (5167) Photograph 62.

Eastern !khû Bushman ¯k'!:dwa

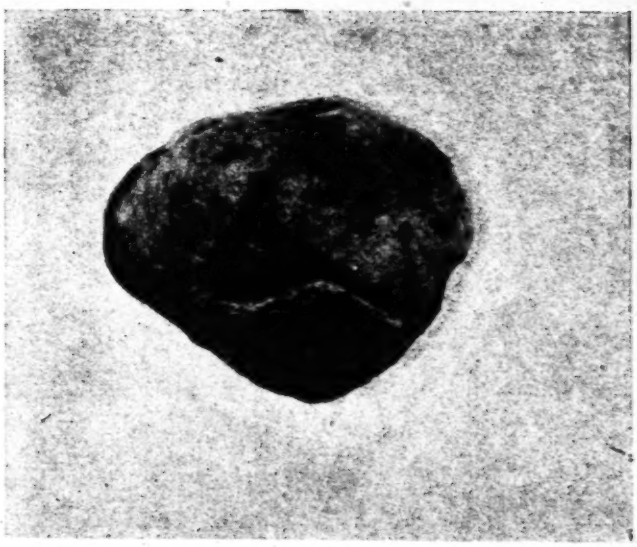
A vine with many slender stems and bluish-green sessile leaves, deeply and irregularly lobed but usually less so than those of *Coccinia rehmannii*. The are covered with tiny raised scales on the upper surface, which sometimes show through on the lower surface as dots, and although hairs are present they are nearly all confined to the margins and too small to be seen by the naked eye. The tendrils are produced at the base of the leaves. Male and female flowers are borne on different plants. They are superficially alike, and similar to those of *Coccinia rehmannii*. The fruits are ovoid, three inches long and one in diameter, and are bright red when ripe. The leaves drop during the winter, and the vines also wither and disintegrate, but fresh ones arise in the spring from a perennial tuber weighing up to 25 pounds or so and similar in all respects to the tuber of *Coccinia rehmannii*.

Although the plant has a wide distribution on a variety of soils in the Cape Province, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, it was not seen on the expedition until Nama Pan was reached, where it was growing under the shelter of trees in sand. Two tubers, which happened to be male and female respectively, were sent to Pretoria, and flowers and fruits were produced in the summer of 1955-56.

262 252 Both tuber and fruit are edible. The tuber, which is prepared by roasting or boiling, is fibrous and rather tasteless. The fruits may be eaten raw when ripe, and although sweet are without much flavour. They are best used for food when gathered green and cooked as a vegetable. Their texture is then fairly firm and their flavour like that of Asparagus. [136] An added advantage of using them green is that one avoids the larva of a certain fly which, in Pretoria at any rate, often heavily infests the more mature fruit.

114 X137 It is of interest to note that although there is a record in the National Herbarium that birds eat the fruit and that the tubers are dug out and eaten by buck, there is no record of the fact that the plant is eaten by human beings. On the contrary, the information on one specimen is "Fruit is very poisonous to children" and on another "Toxic".

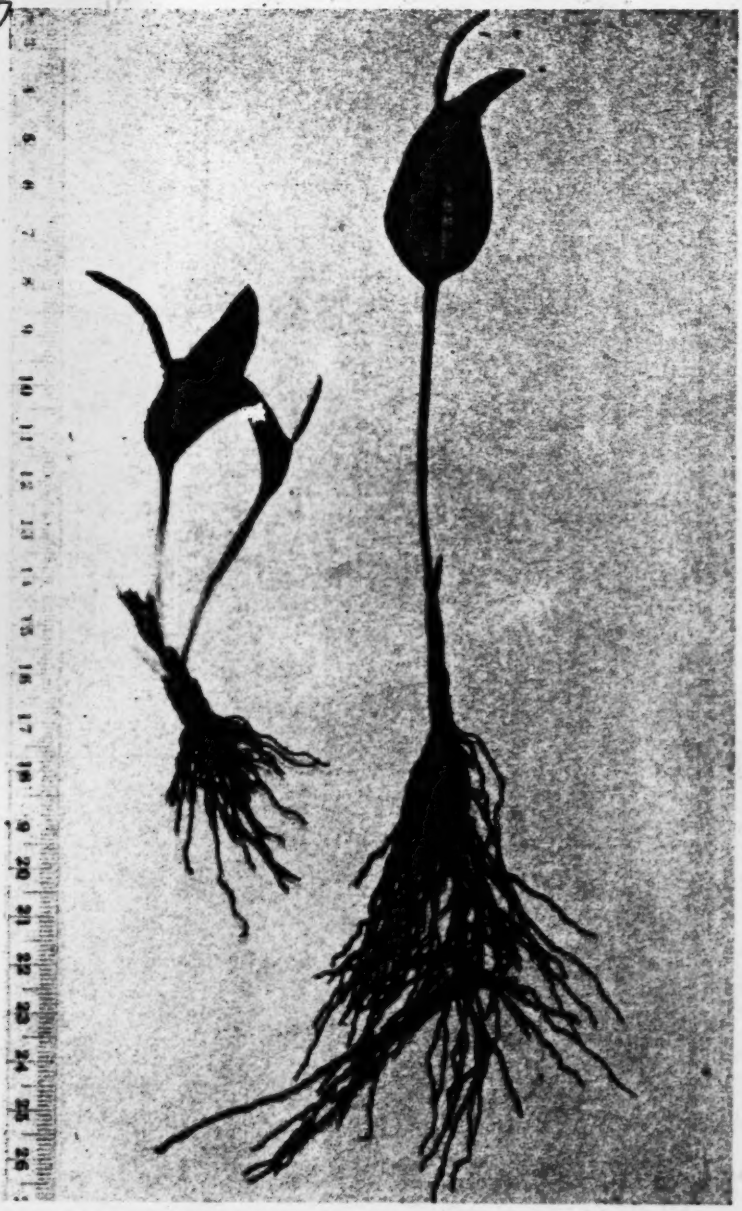
X137



1. *Terfezia* sp. [*Photo: King.*

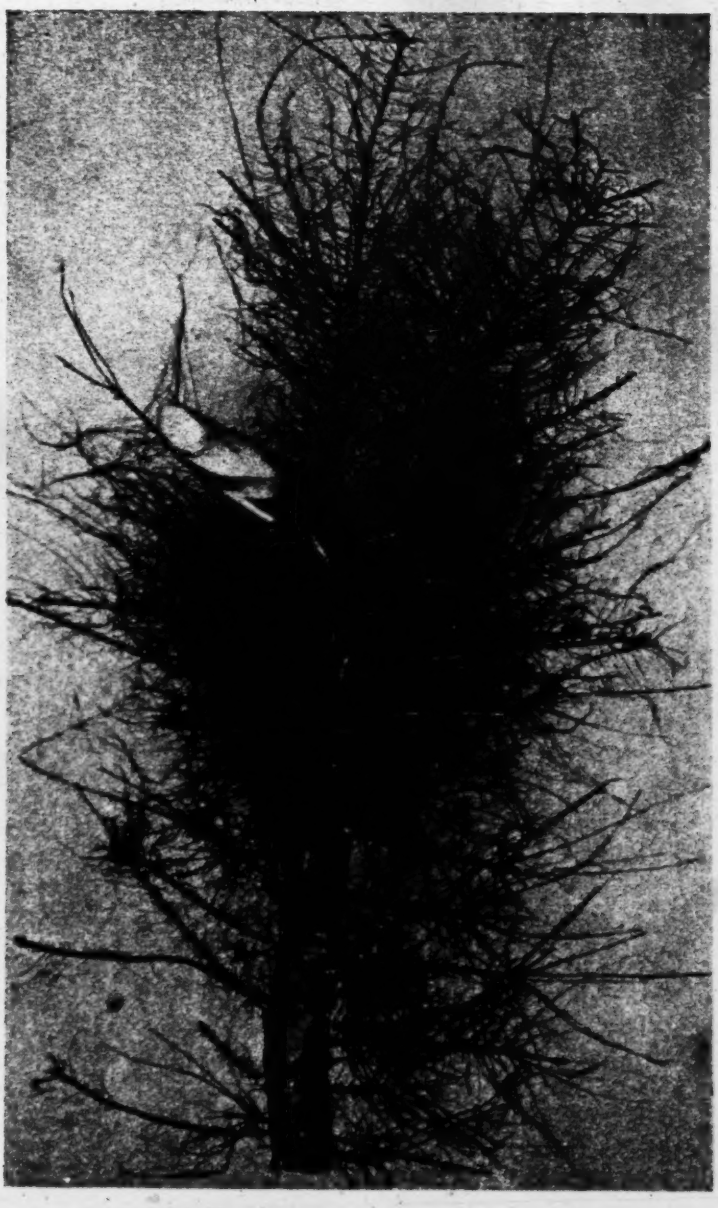
7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

x 137



2. *Ophioglossum sarcophyllum.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10



137X

3. *Typha capensis* — Half natural size. [*Photo: Reyburn.*

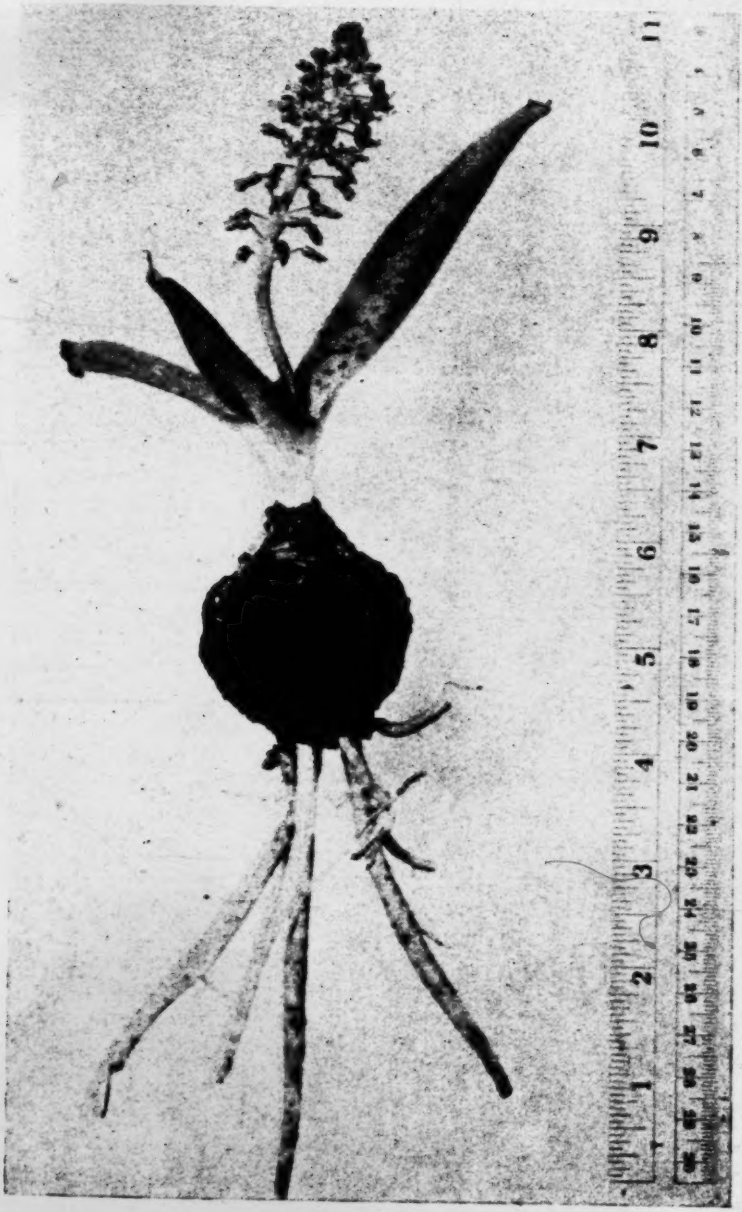
7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

X137

4. *Mariscus congestus.* [*Photo: Story.*

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

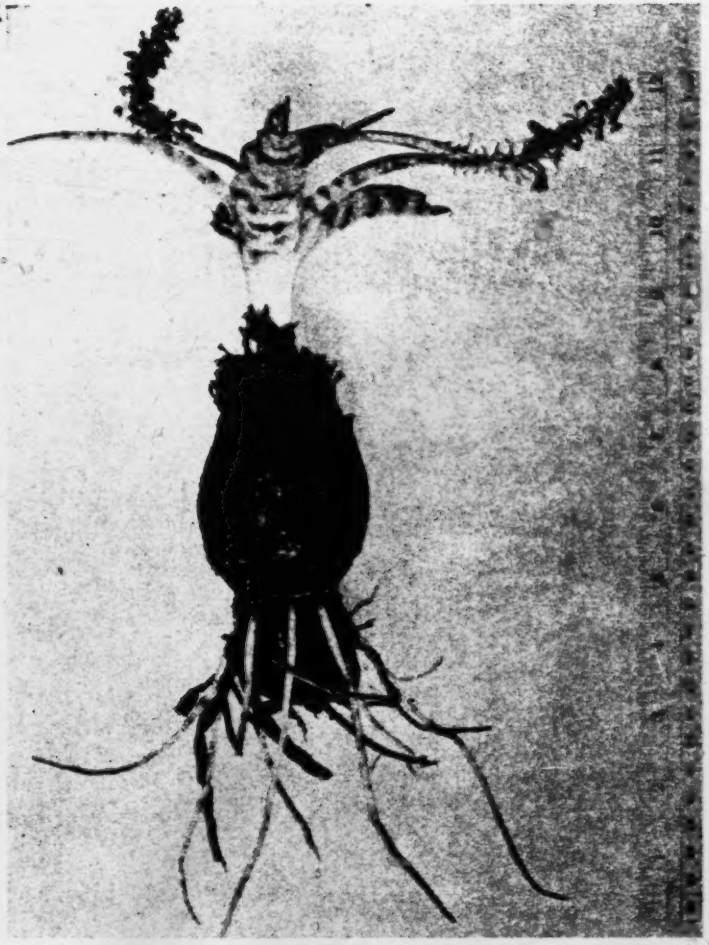
137X



5. *Scilla* sp. (5190) [*Photo: King.*

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

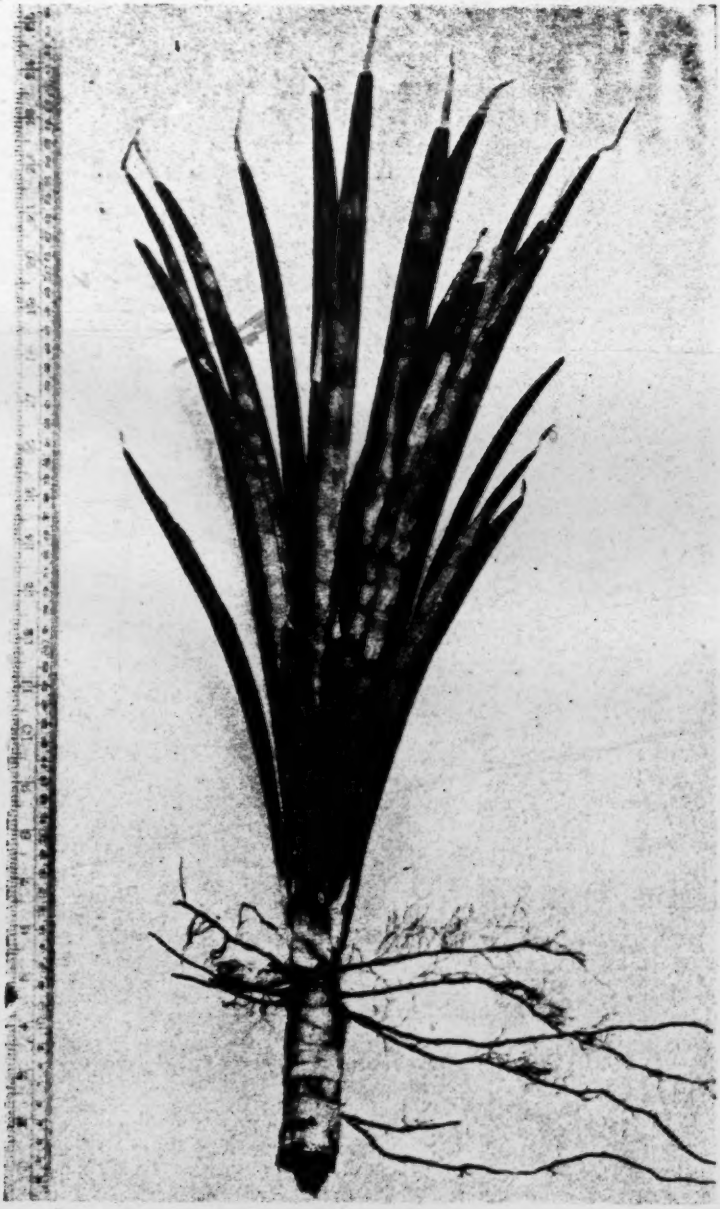
137X



6. *Scilla* sp. (5181) [*Photo: King.*

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

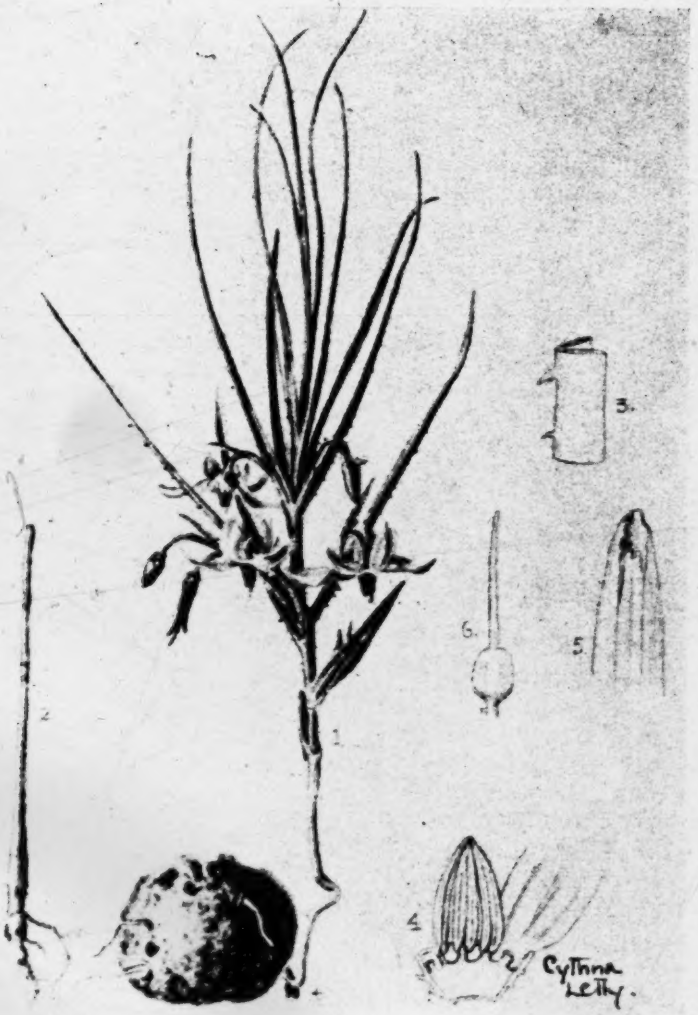
137X



7. *Sansevieria scabrifolia.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

137X



8. *Walleria* sp. [*Photo: King.*

137X

9. *Eulophia* sp. nearest *E. pillansii.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

X 137

10. *Eulophia* sp. No. 5213. [*Photo: Reyburn.*

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

137X

11. *Ximenia americana* var. *microphylla.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

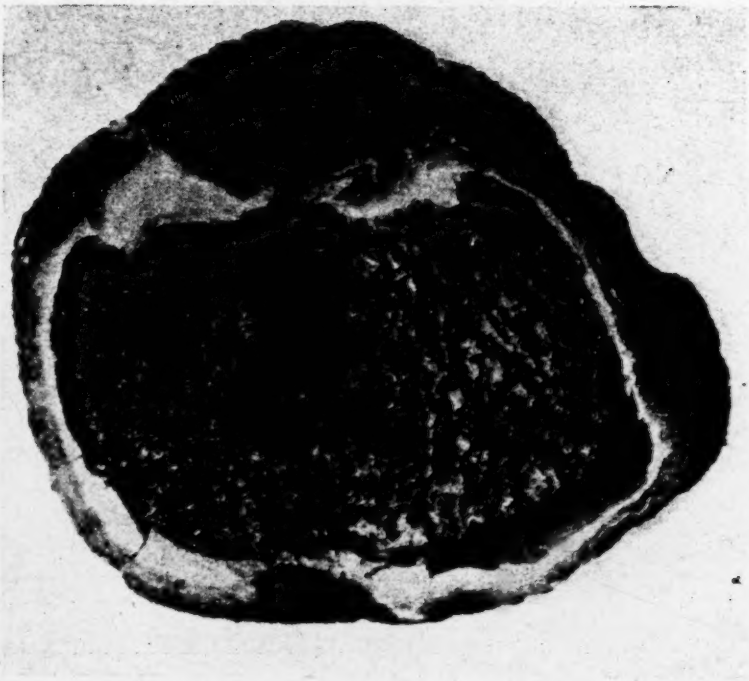
7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

X137

12. *Ximenia caffra.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

137X



13. *Hydnora* sp. — Natural size. [*Photo: King.*

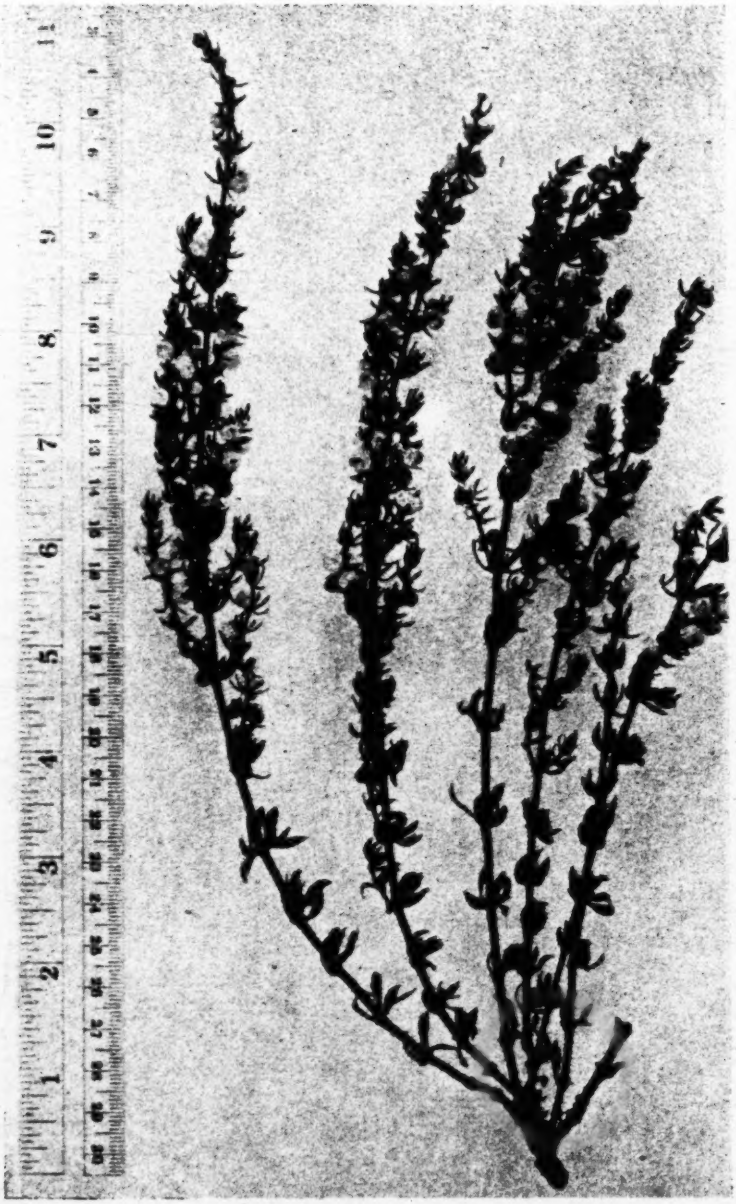
7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

x 137

14. *Talinum arnotii.* [*Photo: King.*

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

137X



15. *Pollichia campestris.* [*Photo: King.*

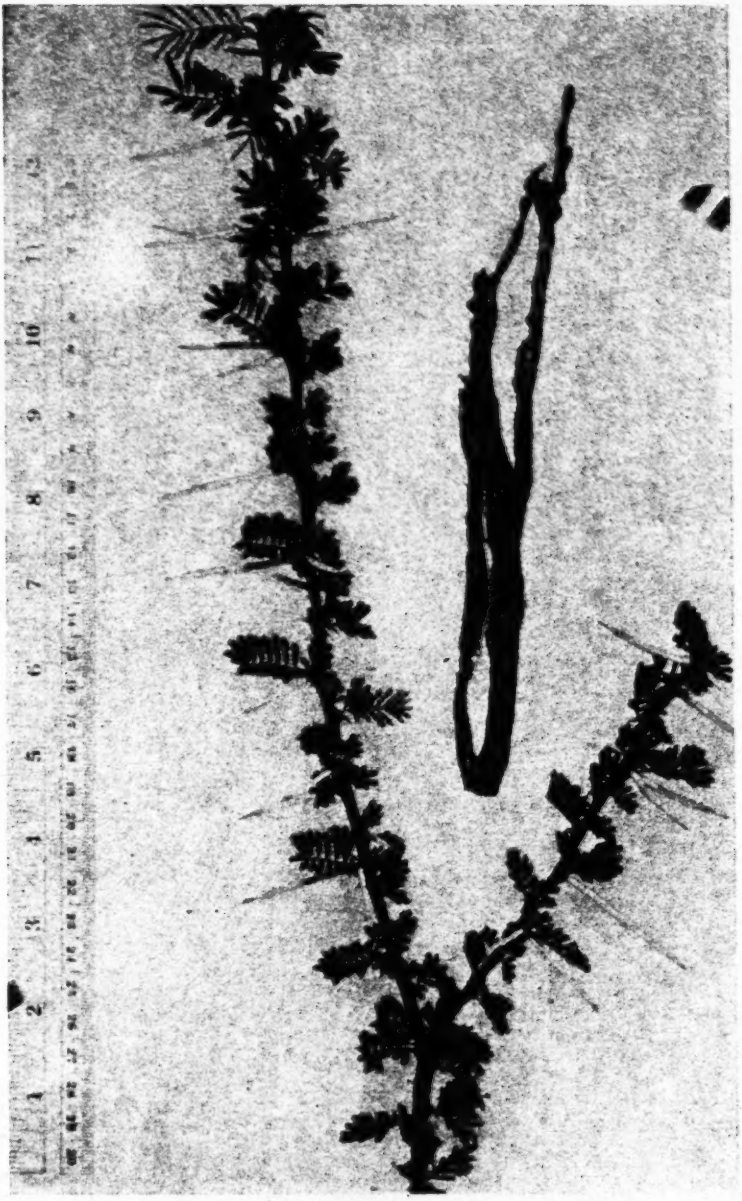
7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

X 137

16. *Boscia albitrunca.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

137X



17. *Acacia heteracantha.* [*Photo: King.*

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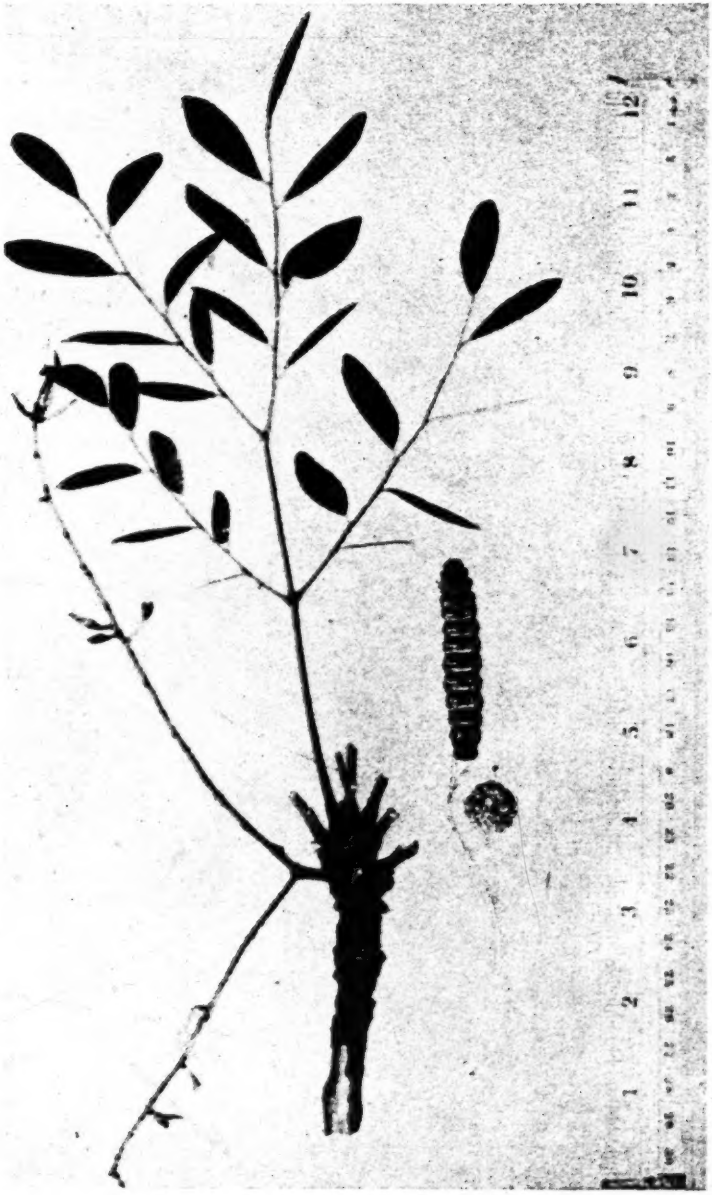

18. *Burkea africana* with edible caterpillar (*Cirina forda*). [*Photo: Reyburn.*

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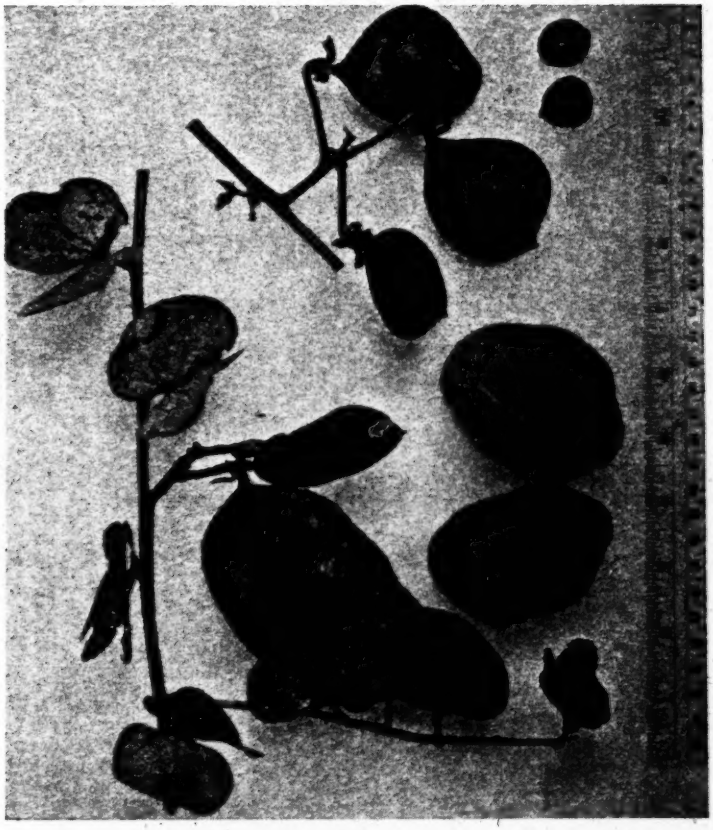

19. *Bauhinia esculenta.* [*Photo: King.*

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20. *Bauhinia esculenta.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

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21. *Bauhinia macrantha.* [*Photo: King.*

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22. *Vigna dinteri.* [*Photo: Story.*

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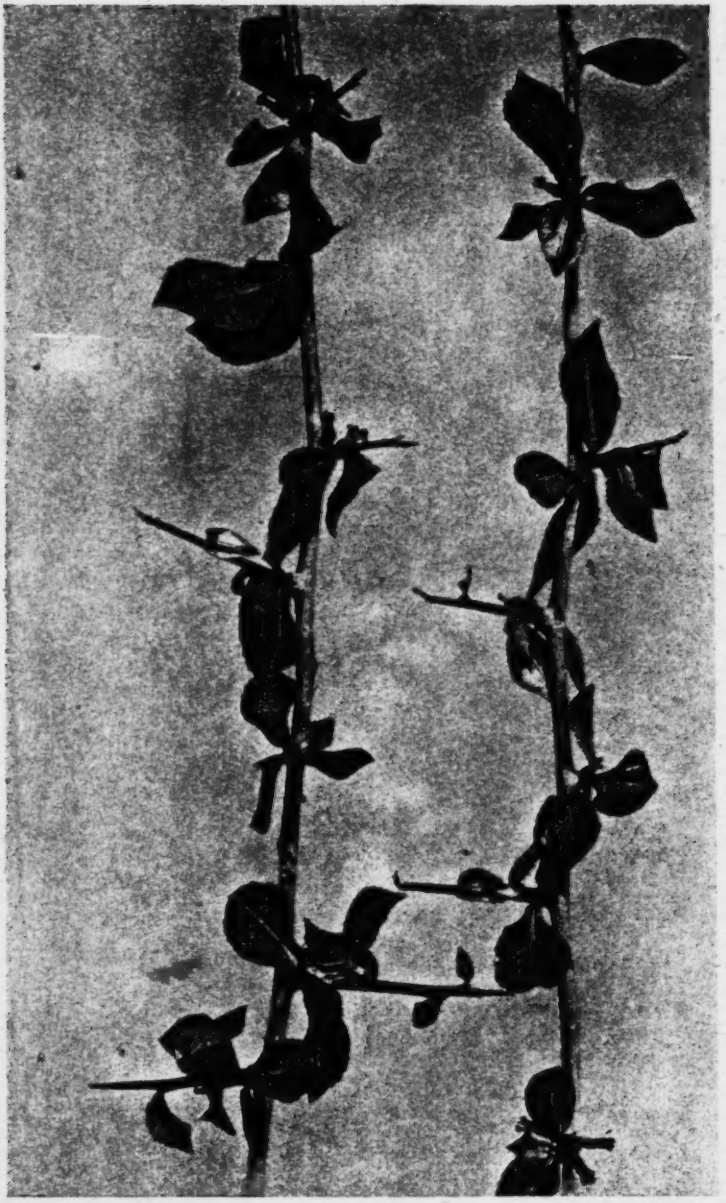

23. *Commiphora pyracanthoides.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

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24. *Dichapetalum cymosum* — Half natural size. [*Photo: King*

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25. *Ricinodendron rautanenii.* [*Photo: King.*

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6. *Sclerocarya caffra.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

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27. *Lannea edulis.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

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28. *Ziziphus mucronata.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

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29. *Grewia avellana.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

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30. *Grewia flava.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

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31. *Grewia retinervis.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

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32. *Adansonia digitata.* [*Photo: Dyer.*

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33. *Ochna pulchra.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

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34. *Combretum apiculatum.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

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35. *Combretum imberbe.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

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36. *Terminalia sericea.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

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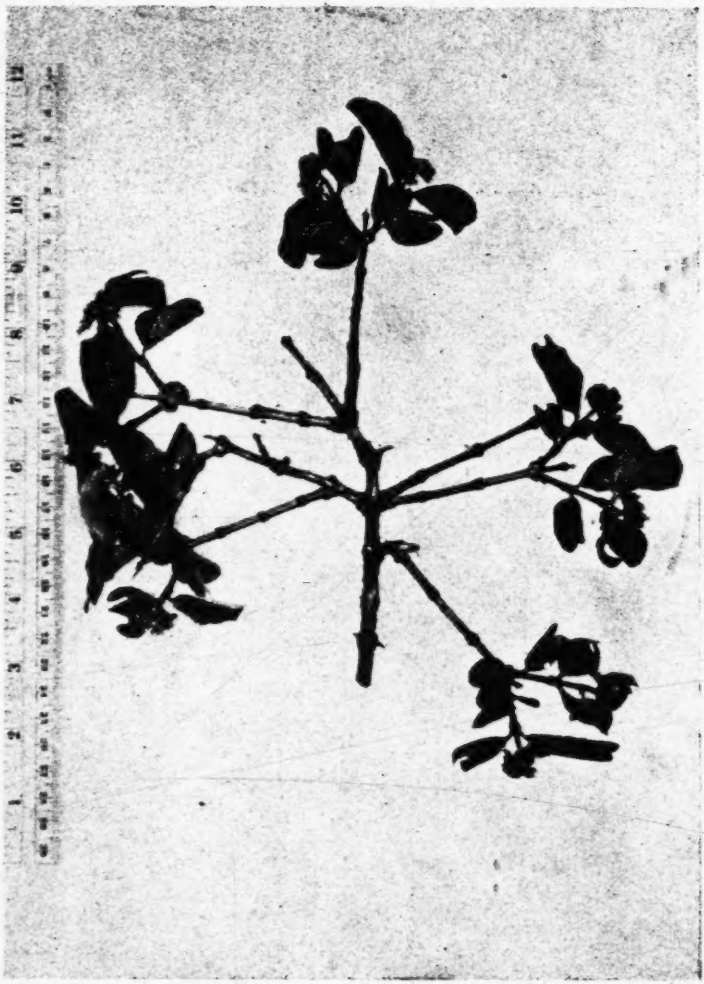

37. *Strychnos cocculoides.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

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38. *Strychnos pungens.* [*Photo: Reyburn*

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39 *Raphionacme burkei.* [*Photo: King*

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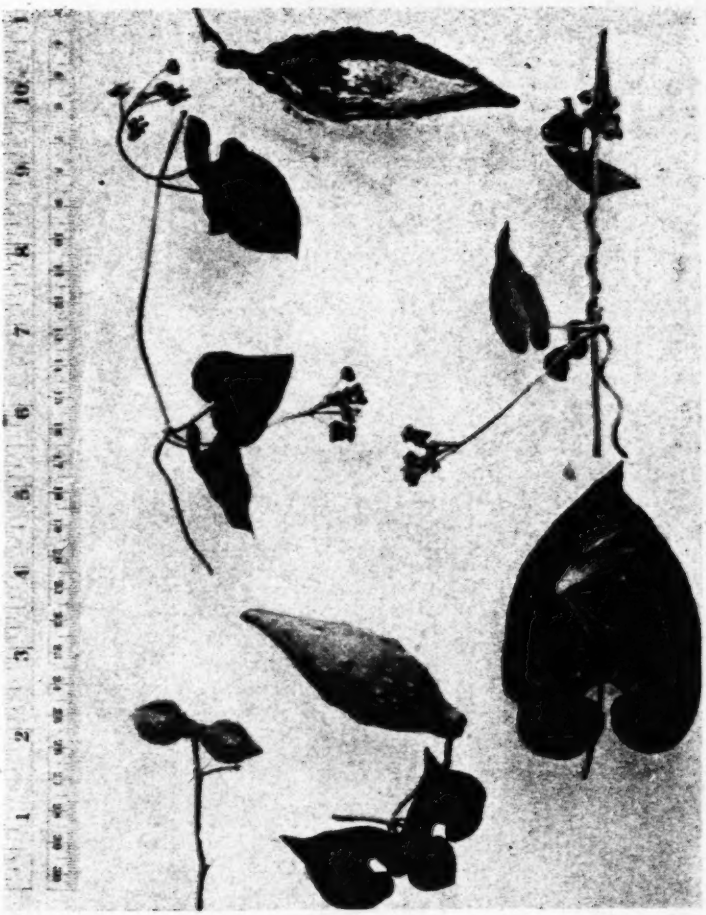

40. *Pentarrhinum insipidum.* [*Photo: King*

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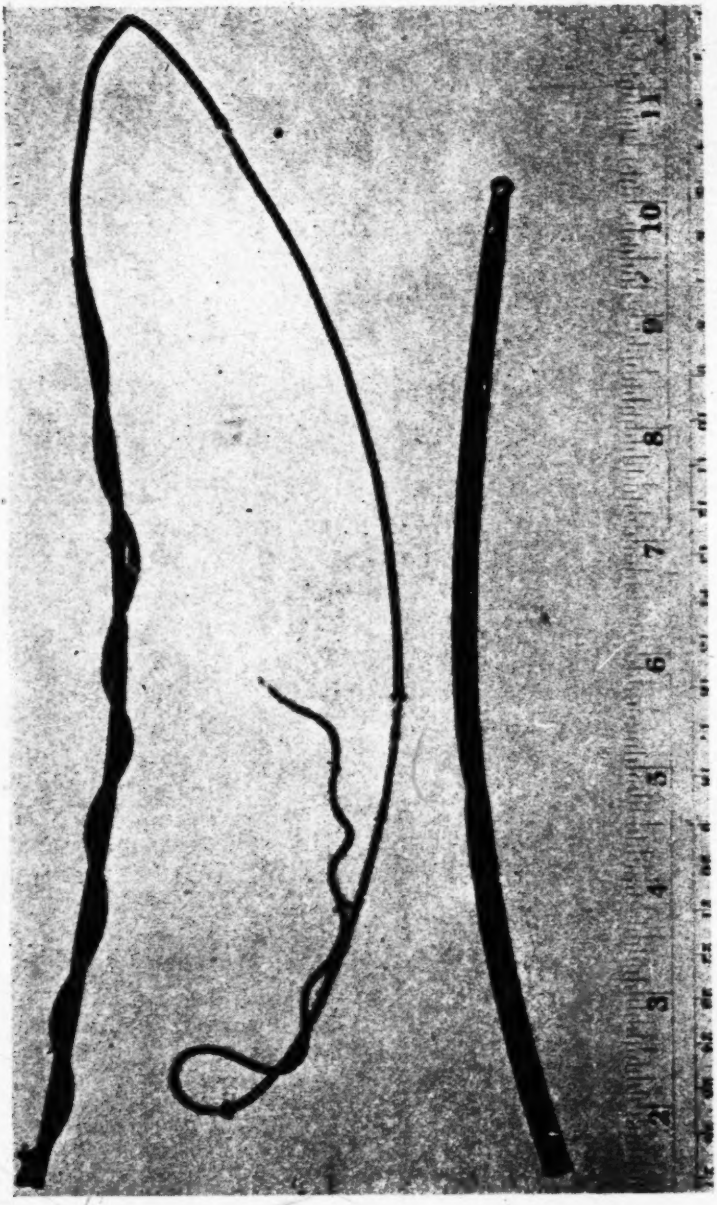

41. *Sarcostemma viminale.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

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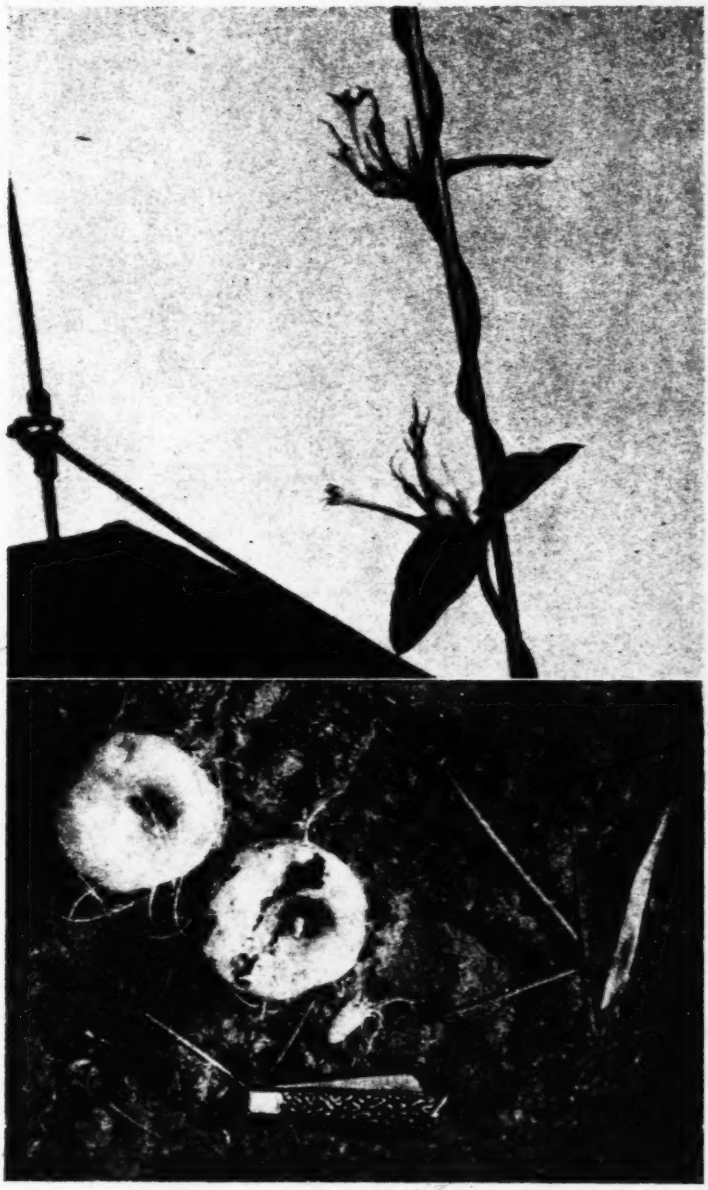

42. *Ceropegia tentaculata* — Flowers natural size. [*Photos: King and Story.*

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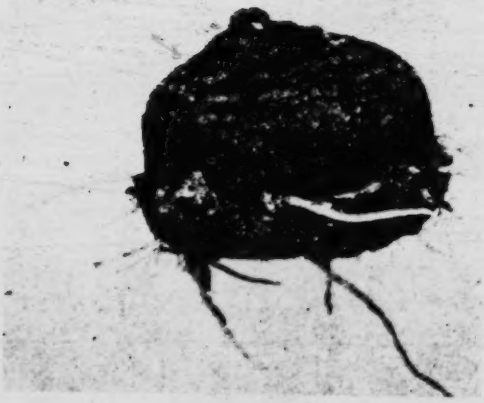

43. *Ceropegia* sp. near *Ceropegia leucotaenia* — Natural size.
[*Photos: King and Reyburn.*

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44. *Ceropegia* sp. near *Ceropegia lugardae* — Natrual size *Photo: King.*

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45. *Ceropegia* sp. near *Ceropegia mozambicensis* — Flower natural size.
[*Photos: King and Story.*

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46. *Duvalia polita* — Natural size. [*Photo: King.*

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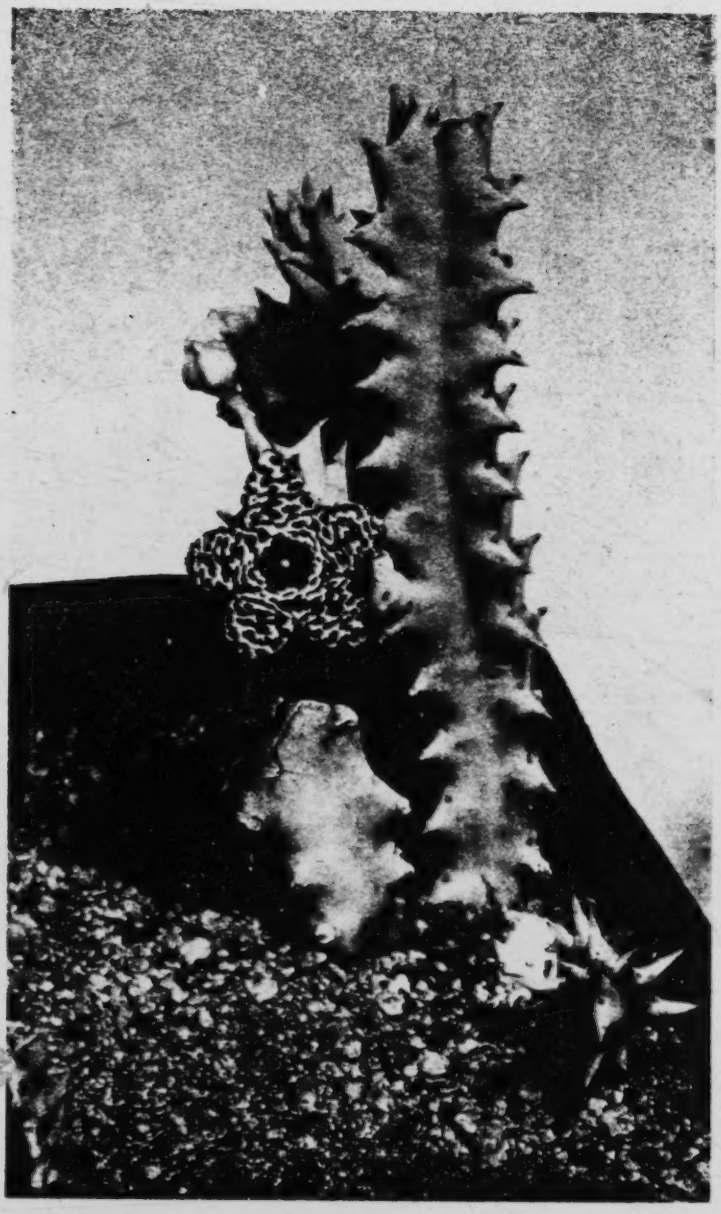

47. *Caralluma knobelii* — Natural size. [*Photo: King.*

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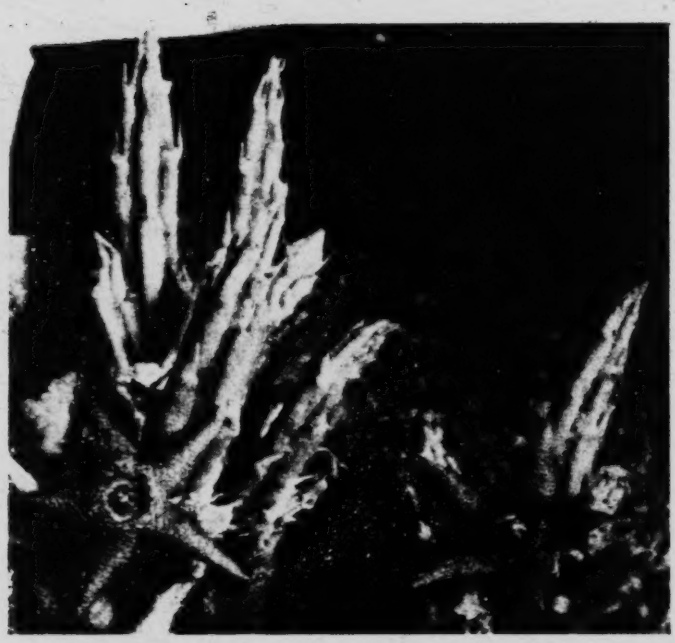

48. *Stapelia kwebensis* — Natural size. [*Photo: King.*

49. *Ipomoea verbascoidea.* [*Photo: Story.*

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50. *Ipomoea* sp. [*Photo: Reyburn.*

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51. *Ehretia rigida.* [*Photo: Rayburn.*

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52. *Catophractes alexandri.* [*Photo: Rayburn.*

53. *Corallocarpus sphaerocarpus.* [*Photo: King.*

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54. *Corallocarpus welwitschii.* [*Photo: King*

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55. *Momordica balsamina.* [Photo: King.

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56. *Citrullus naudinianus.* [*Photo: Reyburn.*

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57. *Citrullus vulgaris* — Two-thirds natural size. [*Photo: Reyburn.*

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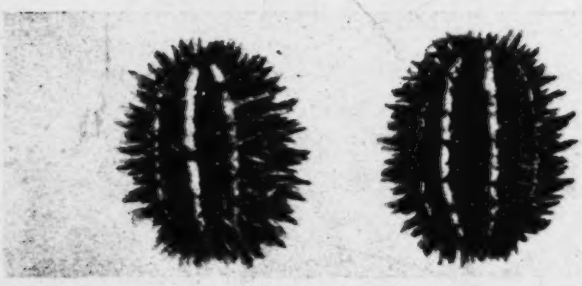
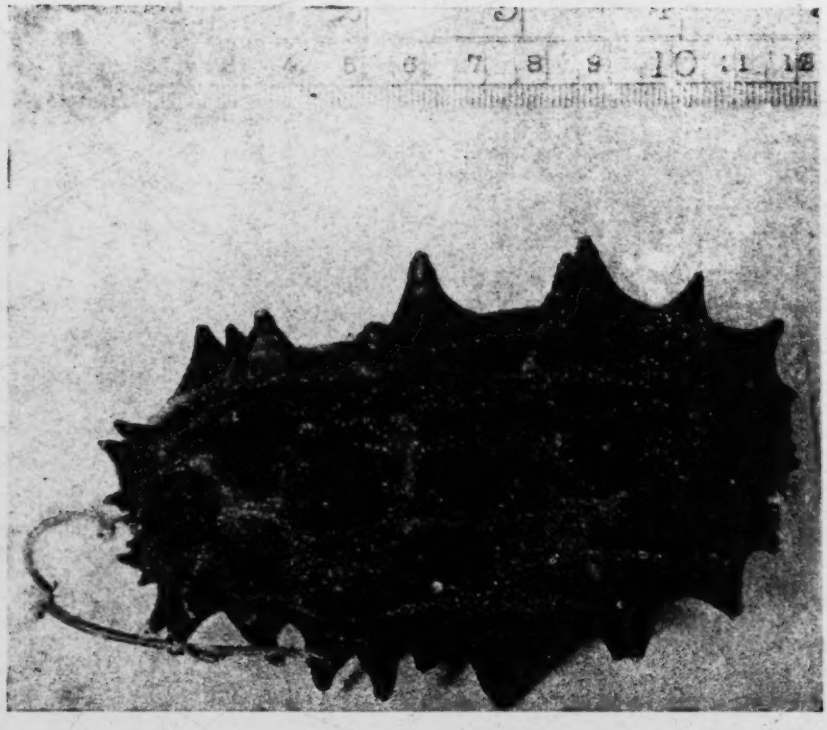


58. *Cucumis hookeri* — Natural size. [*Photo: King.*



59. *Cucumis metuliferus.* [*Photo: King*

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60. *Cucumis* sp. — Natural size. [*Photo: King.*

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61. *Coccinia rehmannii.* [*Photo: King.*

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62. *Coccinia sessilifolia* [*Photo: King.*

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Southwest Africa (Protectorate, 1919-

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THE

NATIVE TRIBES

OF

SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

[TITLE PAGE]

CAPE TOWN:
CAPE TIMES LIMITED.
1928.

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C.T.Ltd.—B4722.

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THE BUSHMEN OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

BY

L. FOURIE, M.B.E., M.B., F.Z.S., MEDICAL OFFICER TO THE ADMINISTRATION.

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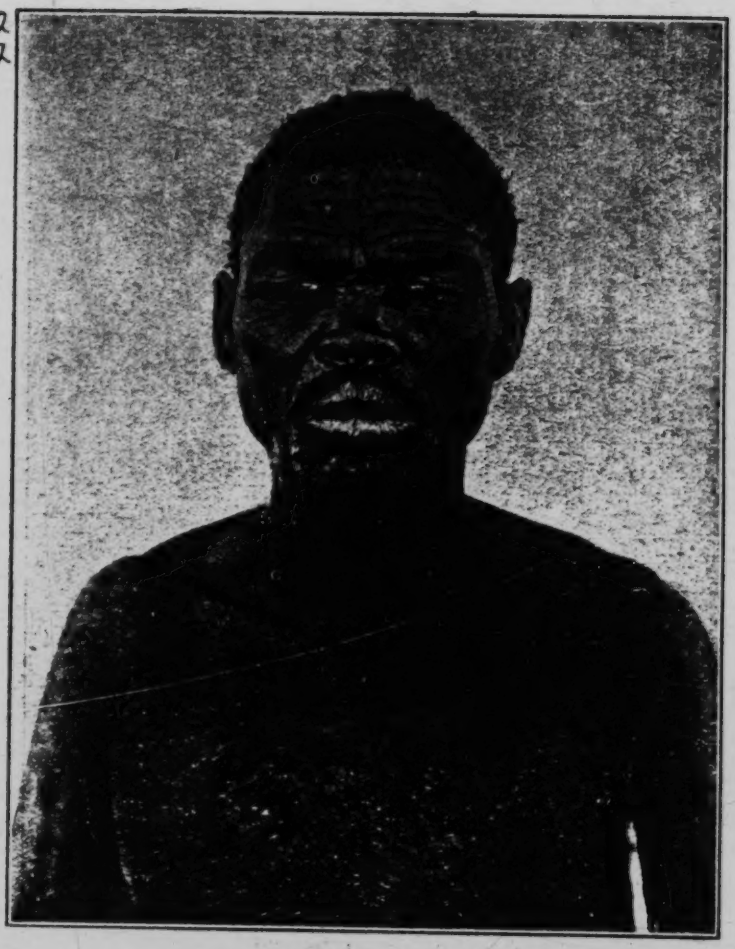

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Gobabis.

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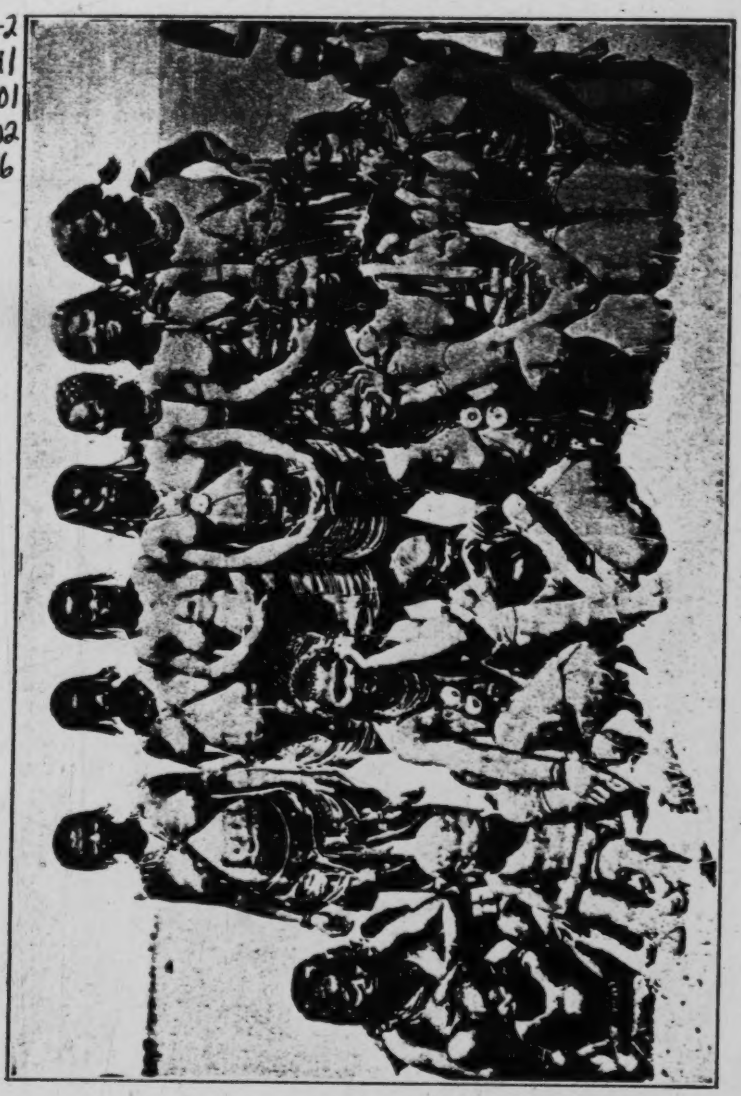

Wakeldi Women (Hei //om).
N.W. Ovamboland.

[FACING p. 81]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
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THE BUSHMEN OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

ORIGIN.

Evidence of a widespread primitive civilisation is met with in South West Africa as in other parts of Southern Africa. There would appear to be but little reason to doubt that some branch of the Bushman family was originally associated with that civilization and that the Bushmen of to-day are descended from the aboriginal inhabitants of this sub-continent. The place and period of origin of the latter still remain unsolved. By some authorities it is maintained that in the remote past migration proceeded northwards and southwards from Central Africa; by others that a slow movement of the Aurignacians took place from Europe into and across Africa down to the Cape. On this subject Professor Sollas writes as follows: "It would thus appear that mural drawings, paintings or engravings, having many features in common, may be traced from the Dordogne across the Pyrenees into Spain, and beyond the Mediterranean into Morocco, Algeria, Oran and Egypt, over the Sahara, past the Victoria Nyanza, and thence on through Rhodesia, the Transvaal, and Orangia, to the southernmost extremity of Africa.

If, as their unity in subject and treatment suggests, these are all the work of the Bushmen or related tribes, then they afford precisely the kind of evidence which our hypothesis demands, and some of the Aurignacian people have really, as we supposed, passed in a slow migration across the whole of the broad territory which intervenes between Dordogne and the Cape. That the movement was towards the south is shown by the fact that the drawings become increasingly younger as we proceed in that direction. In France they are of Upper Palaeolithic age, in the north of Africa Neolithic, and in the south they are recent. From this again it follows that the migration must have occupied a long interval of time, during which the earth experienced more than one change of climate, and some of the animals which the artists took a special pleasure in depicting, such as the mammoth and the ancient Bubalus, became extinct.

We owe our knowledge of this great migration to a fortunate accident: had the passion for art which possessed the Bushmen been less strong or less enduring, it would probably have remained unsuspected to all time. It would be strange indeed if this were the sole migration of its kind; the chances are that it is but one among others, some of which may not be beyond our power to discover."

173 Of migration of the Bushmen from elsewhere no mention is made in local native traditions. The Hottentots, Hereros and Ovambos state that on their arrival the Bushmen were found in occupation and that the latter must have been living here ever since the creation of man. The Bushmen likewise believe that their present tribal divisions and distribution have been in existence since the very beginning of things when each tribe had its origin in a "first big Bushman" and a "first big Bushwoman" of its own by whom were handed down to their descendants the practices and customs still peculiar to and the territory still occupied by their respective tribes. Each of the existing tribes with its constituent elements is consequently looked upon as having been "born" in and having been in occupation of the same area from time immemorial. Although claiming descent from the aboriginal race they have lost all knowledge of the arts of painting and engraving. The rock paintings and carvings left by their ancestors are considered to be the works not of man but of the "devil."

[773 829] [174] [53]

174 The view that the present day Bushmen are composed of the remnants of their race driven back by the advance of stronger invading races from the north and south is not borne out by evidence arising out of recent investigations into the life and customs of this primitive people.

Distribution.

101 131 With the exception of a few isolated remnants on the north bank of the Orange River and along the edge of the Namib desert, the Bushmen are confined entirely to the Kalahari along the eastern and north-eastern borders and to the northern portions of the territory which adjoin Ovamboland.

The Bushmen of the Kalahari region consist of three main divisions, each speaking a language of its own, viz.: the *|Nu-||ĕin* or *|Nu-san* in the south, the *Ngami* Bushmen in the centre and the *Kaukau* Bushmen in the north.

The *||Nu-||ĕin* inhabit those portions of the Gobabis, Gibeon and Aroab districts which lie to the east of the Elephant and Auob rivers. The northern limit of their distribution is formed by a line running roughly from Naunas across Oas to the Elephant's River, crossing the Nosob a short distance below the junction of the Black and White Nosob Rivers.

The *Ngami* Bushmen are composed of a good many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In South West Africa they are represented by only a few groups of the *||Aikwe* tribe. These groups are known as the *Naron* and are distributed along the banks of the Chapman River as far as Oas.

The *Kaukau* Bushmen inhabit the greater portion of the Omaheke, including a part of the Kaukauveld and the

Oschimpoloveld. On the east they extend into the Bechuana- /01
land Protectorate and on the north into Angola. Among /131
them are included the *‡Aukwe* or *‡Ao-//ĕin* in the south between Sandfontein and */Gam*, the *Ssu-‡gnassi* to the north-east and the *‡Kũng* to the northwest.

Next in importance and numbers to the Bushmen of the /01
Kalahari are the *Hei-//om* living in the vicinity of the /131
Etosha Pan and on the outskirts of Ovamboland in the Groot- /177
fontein and Outjo districts. They are generally believed to [174]
have resulted from the interbreeding of Hottentots with a now extinct tribe of Bushmen which originally inhabited the greater portion of the present Damaraland and Ovamboland. Their manner of life is still that of Bushmen but, unlike their [197]
neighbours of the Kalahari, they have no language of their own and speak a Nama dialect. Except among the groups in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organisation has disappeared almost completely. The groups living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture. In Eastern Ovamboland they are known by the Ovambo as *Ovachwagga;* in north-western Ovamboland they call themselves *Ovambo* Bushmen but are referred to by the Ukuanyama as *Wakeddi* or *Ovakeddi*. Both *Ovachwagga* and *Ovakeddi*, especially the [582]
latter, are being rapidly absorbed into the *Ovambo* through intermarriage. The *Ovachwagga* speak both the Ovambo and [191
Hottentot languages. Among the *Ovakeddi*, on the other /197]
hand, only the older members of the various groups still have a knowledge of the latter language. Of the groups along the banks of and immediately to the north of the Ovambo Omuramba very little is known. To the west they are in contact with the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha region; to the north with the Ovambo and to the east with */Kung* of the Oschimpoloveld or northern Omaheke. The *Hei-//om* of the remaining portions of Grootfontein and Outjo and of the districts of Otjiwarongo and Gobabis are scattered about on farms and are living in close association with Hottentots and Klip Kaffirs with whom they show various degrees of intermixture. In Gobabis there is only a small remnant, known locally also as the *Nama* or *Kakuja* Bushmen on account of the extent to which they have interbred with these races and the neighbouring tribes of the Kalahari.

Of the tribes which were left in Namaqualand during the /01
latter half of the last century only a few individuals have /131
survived. The */Geinin* of the Namib between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//Obanen* of the Huns Mountains, and the */Koma-san* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateau have disappeared completely. The */Huinin* are represented by a few groups at the southern extremity of the */Huib* plateau and adjacent part of the Namib. The */Ganin* of the Nauwkloof Mountains have likewise become almost totally extinct.

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Population.

161 The Bushmen are scattered over an area of approximately [3] 60,000 square miles. Of this area at least 50,000 square miles are practically unknown and otherwise uninhabited, being accessible with considerable difficulty only during the rainy season. It is extremely difficult, therefore, to arrive at a reliable conclusion as to their numbers. On a conservative basis they are estimated to number between 2,500 and 3,500, viz.:—

162

Kaukau Bushmen—	
!Kũng	500—800
Ssu-ǂgnassi	200—300
ǂAo-//ẽin	500—600
Ngami Bushmen—	
//Aikwe	50—75
/Nu-//ẽin	200—300
Hei-//om	1,000—1,500
/Huinin and /Geinin	75—100

Physical Characteristics.

144 With the exception of certain groups who are living in the more inaccessible portions of the Kalahari, most of the Bushmen show various degrees of intermixture with the Hottentots and Bantu. No uniform racial type is consequently met with among them. This fact is not to be wondered at when the various racial influences to which they have been exposed for centuries are taken into consideration. For geographical reasons the Bushmen in certain parts of the Kalahari did not suffer to the same extent from these influences as those who were in the line of migration of the invading races. Roughly speaking three characteristic types may be distinguished among them. The first, in which the Hottentot element would appear to be the dominant one, is seen among the *Hei-//ow*, *ǂAo-//ẽin* and *Naron* in the Gobabis district and among the remnants still met with on the borders of Namaqualand. The second type approximates that of the Bantu and is seen particularly among the *Hei-//om* who live on the outskirts of Ovamboland. In the third, still met with only in the Kalahari, bush characteristics are still apparently predominant. As reliable information is not available on this subject, to the investigation of which but little attention has been directed up to the present, further reference to it would not serve any useful purpose.

Social Organisation.

The Family Group.

619 Each of the language groups into which the Bushmen have been classified consist of several main sub-divisions. Though for the sake of convenience the latter will be referred to as "tribes" in this report, there is no evidence of any tribal

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
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organisation among them. The various so-called tribes bear 619
distinctive names, mostly of Bushmen or Hottentot origin, the significance of which is in most instances no longer known. Judging by the practice which still exists among the Bushmen they are in all probability descriptive either of the territory occupied by certain groups or of some physical or other characteristic of such territory or groups. Each tribe is composed of a number of family groups all of whom claim relationship to each other through a common tribal ancestor. Thus, for example, according to the traditions of the *ǂAo-||ēin* all the groups constituting that tribe are descended from a "first big *ǂAo-||ēin* Bushman." A similar belief likewise exists among other tribes. Nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all members of the tribe is met with among them, nor is collective action taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. Each family group 619
forms an independent unit by itself, possessing its own group 621
area and authority over and specific rights within such area only. In relation to other groups it is collectively responsible for the actions of each of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the groups concerned and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. On occasion, however, a weak group will seek and sometimes obtain assistance from a stronger one, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature. The most common causes of inter-group [628]
quarrels are trespass, theft and adultery. The ensuing conflicts generally assume the form of a blood feud which is continued until a more or less equal toll of life has been taken by both sides. Women are never killed intentionally during [727]
the course of these feuds but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women are made captive and taken in marriage. Further as far as can be ascertained under no circumstances will the victors deprive the vanquished of their territory or occupy such territory lest harm or disaster should overtake them. The more widely separated groups of the tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct personal contact with each other and generally live in such superstitious fear and dread of each other that the members of one will not undertake journeys into the territory of another, even when accompanied by Europeans. The [511]
group areas are separated from each other by neutral zones into which nobody will venture except during the course of visits. These zones are usually formed by belts of trees, open flats, water courses, etc. Territorial boundaries are observed [423]
in a most scrupulous manner even by closely related groups who are living on the most friendly terms with each other. Each family is inseparably united to its habitat and has a superstitious dread of any locality but its own. The result is that even the members of completely disorganised groups are loth to seek employment outside the boundaries of their ancestral territory.

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people.
[423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such,
621 by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-//om*, on the
[582 other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the
59] chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out
361 on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the
[184] *Hei-//om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial
[562] and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and
[882 boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away
342] from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also
[589] visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various
342 tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a
[462] husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations.
166 When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish
342 a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who
[622] deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated
[312] in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

distribution of the rainfall upon which it is mainly dependent 361
for its food supply.

The Group Fire.

All fire is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled 372
by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the [622]
community. Every man and woman knows how to use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in the werft as fire-making is a matter of serious import and the chief is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune. The first fire kindled in
a new camp is never allowed to die out. As an illustration 361
of this may be cited the practice as it exists among the 622
Hei-//om of the Etosha Pan. When among the latter it [768]
becomes necessary to move camp, as for example, after a 372
death has taken place, the whole community take up all their goods and chattels and, led by the *geikhoib* (chief), set off in search for a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. The chief then proceeds to the large tree (*//heis*) in the centre and kindles a fire underneath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *//norab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-//ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*//ou-ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-//ais* and the women may fetch fire from the *//ou-//ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-//ais* go out, as sometimes happens 372
during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except 622
by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the *//ou-//ais*. The *//ou-//ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-//ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such [619]
an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the *//heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new *//ou-//ais* kindled by him by means of the hei-doros.

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
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142
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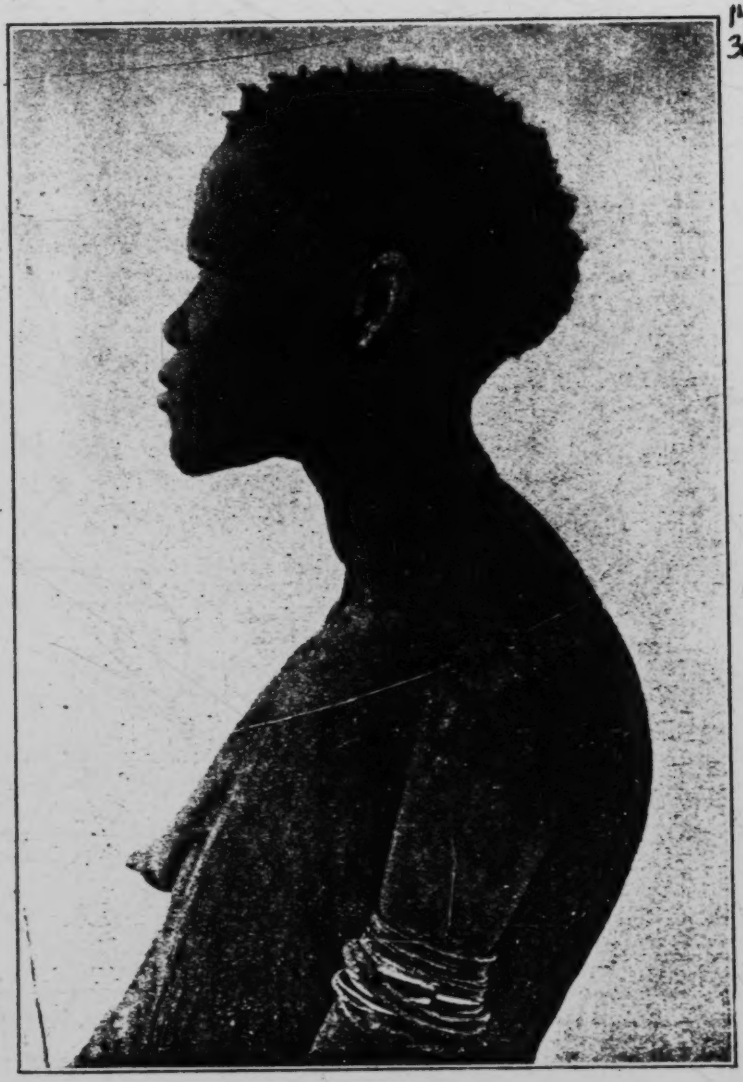

ǂAo //ein Bushwoman.
Epukiro.

[FACING p. 88A]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
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342
137

ǂAo /'ǂin Werf.

[p. 88 B]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
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142

ǂAo //ein Bushman.
Epukiro.

[p. 88 C]

372 *hei-doros*. The new *!ou-|ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *||gāus* (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case only in times of drought when the game have moved far afield and great difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos.
361 [132] 622

372 Further, people driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *||gāus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the *!ou-|ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.

372 Persistent ill-health among the members of the community or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the *!ou-|ais* are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new *!ou-|ais* in front of his hut with the hei-doros and applies *|norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it had been.
622 [751] 777

184 The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire is met with among all the organised primitive groups. Want of space and time does not permit, however, of a detailed account being given of the superstitions which have gathered about this custom among the various tribes.
372

Family Life.

593 Each family within the group occupies its own hut. Children sleep with their parents until they are strong enough to go about by themselves, when the boys join the others under the tree and the girls take up residence in the hut for unmarried girls.

512 The women rise early, light the fire and prepare the food for the morning meal which usually consists of veldkos. After having eaten, the men go out visiting or hunting or engage in some other occupation such as preparing skins, weapons, etc. The women accompany each other in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. When food is obtainable at no great distance they are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have to go far they may not reach home until late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they proceed to prepare food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water. The food is ready by the time the men arrive in the evening and the latter are able to partake of it without delay.

462 There is a sharp division of labour between the men and women of the group. The former do the hunting and snaring of game, prepare the weapons, skins for clothing, snares, fire-

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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301
516

Naron (//aikwe) Woman in Ceremonial Dress of Ostrich Shell Beadwork.
Sandfontein, Gobabis.

[FACING p. 89]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

sticks pipes, etc., and occasionally assist the women in 462
fetching wood and water. The women build the huts, collect veldkos and prepare the food, make the fire and keep it going, gather wood, fetch water and manufacture ostrich eggshell beads for ornaments, etc. The latter are also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Infants and young children accompany their mothers on 857
their daily excursions in search of food until they are old enough to look after themselves. From that time onwards 855
the mothers take practically no share in their education which, 871
in the case of girls, is entrusted entirely to an old woman who lives in the hut with the young girls, and in the case of boys, to their fathers.

Little girls, while still with their mothers, are taught to 868
love and respect the old woman and to seek her company of 897
their own accord. After taking up residence with her they accompany her daily into the veld and thus gradually come to learn from her all the duties which will ultimately devolve upon them. Boys sleep under the tree in the centre of the camp at night or in a hut specially set apart for them. Each morning they accompany their fathers into the veld. At first they are given little bows and wooden arrows with which to amuse themselves. Towards the eighth or ninth year each is provided by his father with a proper bow and three arrows which, however, are not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbuck or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veld craft.

Initiation Ceremonies.

Both boys and girls, on reaching a marriageable age, are 881
subjected to certain ceremonies before being admitted to full membership of the group. These ceremonies vary consider- [184]
ably among the various tribes.

The following is an account of the girls' initiation ceremony as practised among the *Hei-||om* group around the Etosha Pan. As young girls (*ǂkham-khoidi*) approach the age of puberty they are placed in a hut called *ǂkham-khoidi* or *oaxai-khoidi oms* in which they sleep at night. During the daytime they gather veldkos either by themselves or in company with the married women. Men, whether married or single, may not enter the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* nor may they speak to the *ǂkham-khoidi*. The latter may, however, speak and be spoken to by the *axarogu*, but only at a distance so that no conversation of an intimate nature is possible without being overheard by the grown-up people. A man may on occasion address a *ǂkham-khois* by saying, "you must grow up so that I may marry you," but she will not reply. When addressed by a man, say, in the veld, she runs away to her

881 companions saying, "I dare not speak to you." The married
[867 women visit the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* and instruct the inmates
868] in various domestic matters, *e.g.*, the way to clean and tidy their huts, to remain quiet when their husbands are cross, to prepare their husbands' food separately from their own, to pick up and beat the kudu skin on returning home in the evening so that the husband does not sleep on the previous day's dirt, etc. They further teach them to gather wood, to make the fire, to take away the ashes and so forth. At the onset of the first menstruation the girl tells her mother or, in case she has no mother, her best friend (*!hosas*), who then reports to one of the married women, not necessarily to the *gei-khois*. She is then isolated in a small round hut which is
[343] completely closed in except for a small entrance. It is known as the *!hawa-omi* (hut for waiting) and is situated close to the *ǂkham-khoidi oms*. She is required to remain inside the *!hawa-omi* and dare not show herself outside. No fire is made in the hut. She is fed by her mother or, in the absence of the latter, by another married woman. She is not visited by anybody except the person who feeds her. No medicine is given to her. Daily applications of *!gub*, a red powder obtained by pulverising the bark of a tree, and of the roasted and powdered fat-containing seed of the *ǂerob* tree are made to her hair by the attendant. She may be given veldkos, but
[262] is not allowed to partake of meat. No man, not even the girl's father, may pass close to the *!hawa-omi* or attempt to speak to her. She remains in the *!hawa-omi* as long as the flow lasts. When it has ceased she informs her mother or the woman who has been attending her. The latter tells the
535 other married women and they all prepare to dance the
881 *!hawa-ǂnab* (menstruation dance). This dance takes place during the day and men may not take part in it. They may, however, remain in the *!!gāus* while it is going on or enter it when returning from the veld. The *ǂkham-khoidi* are also excluded from it. The *!hawa-ǂnab* may be continued for three or four days. When the dance is about to begin an old woman, generally the *gei-khois*, holding a jackal tail duster, takes up a position some distance in front of the *!hawa-omi*, and, dancing in one spot as if marking time, shouts *Ki-ri-ri-ri-ri-ri* to waken the initiate and to summon the other women. The latter then emerge from their huts and, dancing as they come along, take up position behind the *!hawa-omi*. Two of them dance forward, passing one on each side of the little hut, towards its entrance and, as they reach the latter, the initiate comes out and the old woman stops shouting. After covering her whole head and face with a duiker skin kaross (*!gan-tab*), leaving only the eyes visible, each of the women takes an arm and, the other women coming into line from behind the hut, all dance towards the old woman who leads the way to the *!hura-ǂgab*. Here they dance, the feet being thrown out sideways, always abreast of each other, with the old woman leading. Men are not permitted to watch the
881 dance. When the dance is about to end they return her to

the *|hawa-omi* in a similar manner. The same procedure is gone through for three or four days in succession. On the last day, after the dancing has ceased, she is presented with various trinkets by the women who took part in the ceremony and, after she has been returned to the *|hawa-omi*, the *axarogu*, who are required to remain in the *||gāus* for the occasion, are summoned to pass in Indian file behind her hut. As they pass each presses his scrotum against her hand which is protruded through a very small opening made by her mother in the back of the hut and she touches it with forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the *axarogu* against [841 sexual disease (swelling of the testicles) which is caused by 751] treading on the place where a menstruating *!gari-khois* has urinated. If she does not touch the scrotum and such a lad should pass behind her while she has her periods, his testicles will become swollen. The same will happen if she were to tread on the urine of such a boy. When this happens the youth is said to be *!gou*. After all the *axarogu* have filed past and returned to their hut, an old woman enters the *|hawa-omi* and rubs her body down (*|u*) with a preparation of roots, the name and source of which could not be ascertained. Now two of the *ǂkham-khoidi* come forward and take her to fetch water. This is done at a run, the water being brought quickly and placed at the hut of the old woman who rubbed her down. Then two other *ǂkham-khoidi* take her to fetch wood. This is likewise done at a run and after the wood has been deposited the ceremony is over. She is now a woman and known as a *!gari-khois*. While the ceremony was in progress a new hut, which is known as the *!gari-khois* [882 *oms*, was built for her by her mother. In this she now takes up her residence until she marries.

The *ǂgari-khois* is now eligible to marry and she accompanies 883 the married women on their various excursions for food, wood, etc., and associates with them. The food collected during the four or five days following her transition to womanhood is eaten only by very old women, *e.g.*, the one who rubbed her down. After that any food gathered by her is shared with her mother. She may subsequently not go to the veld to [844 gather veldkos while she is menstruating, but must remain in the *||gāus*. On such occasions she is fed by her mother.

Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after 881 reaching the age of puberty and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in the pursuit of game, especially big game. The ceremony is in reality a test of their powers of endurance and of their skill in the chase. It is always [221 carried out during the rainy season when food is plentiful. All the eligible lads are removed to a spot some distance away from the werft and placed under the charge of one or more of the elders of the group. An enclosure is made round a big tree and in this they are required to live for the time being. They sleep in the enclosure and the elders around the fire which is made at its entrance. Women are not permitted to approach or communicate with them during the course of the

881 ceremony, which may last for a month or even longer. The latter, as practised among the *≠Ao-//ĕin*, consists of several stages. On the first day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the smoke of the "devil's" fire (*//gāua-da*) and are required to partake of the "devil's" urine (*//gāua-/kam*). The proceedings of the second day begin with dancing before daybreak. After sunrise and at sunset they are given a small quantity of *//nōun* (one of the staple vegetable foods of the Kalahari Bushmen) to eat and a little water to drink. During the day their bodies are blackened from head to foot with powdered roasted *//nōun*. After partaking of the evening meal they retire to rest without dancing. On the morning of the third day they start dancing at sunrise and dance without interruption and without food or water all day long until sunset, when they go to sleep. On the following morning before sunrise their hands are washed with water by the elders and they are given a little *//nōun* to eat. Thereafter they are taken to a pan of water and required to walk through it. The rest of the day is spent in collecting veldkos. In the evening they are introduced to the "Devil" and partake of honey brought by the latter. On the fifth day their bodies are cleansed with chewed roasted *//nōun* and they are permitted to move about the camp and partake of food. They may, however, not speak to young unmarried women. As they retire to rest at night their bows and arrows are handed to them by the elders. From now onwards each lad is taken separately and required to prove his skill in stalking and killing game with bow and arrow. [304] Each one who passes through the test in a satisfactory manner is tattooed with meat taken from the animals shot by him and then permitted to return to the werft.

Courtship and Marriage, Death, Etc.

582 Marriage within the group is forbidden and is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. As a rule men do not go far for wives and intermarriage takes place between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women. The southern groups among the Bushmen 184 595 of the Kalahari are monogamous but as one proceeds northwards polygamy is met with. Among the *Hei-//om*, for example, each man has two wives as a rule. The wives may or may not be related. The second wife is taken some time after the first. The wife taken first is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over the second wife. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation. Polygamy is rarely met with among the *≠Ao-//ĕin* and *Naron*. Exchange of wives

Exchange of wives
is practised among some of the Kalahari groups but not by 184 837
the *Hei-||om*.

Among the *Hei-||om* a young man eligible for marriage 584
is known as a *!gari-khoib*. When he desires to marry he first speaks about the matter to his best friend (*|hosab*) who then approaches the parents of the prospective bride. The latter will reply, "We are poor, we cannot afford to give our daughter away." Thereupon the *|hosab* returns to the suitor and tells him to go and speak to the mother himself. The suitor then proceeds to the *||gāus* of the girl's mother, taking his bow and arrows with him. On arrival at her hut he sits down some distance away and says, "I want your daughter." The mother replies, "We are too poor to give our daughter away," to which the suitor responds, "I have come myself to speak to you. If you die, I will bury you, if your husband dies I will bury him," thereby implying that he has become one of the family and prepared to share their sorrows and sufferings. The mother then replies, "You 584
are right, you may take her. I will do as you say and see 585
whether you will carry out your promises," and taking his bow and arrows, proceeds to her daughter's hut (*!gari-khois oms*) and places them in the hut. Then, without speaking to her daughter, she returns to her own hut. The daughter knows to whom the bow and arrows belong. The suitor goes to the girl's hut towards dusk but does not speak to her. Being still shy and afraid of men, she may run away but does not go to her mother's hut as she is afraid of being punished. He remains in the *!gari-khois oms*, sleeping in it at night and hunting during the day. If, after two or three days, she does not come back he returns to his *||gāus* and, after obtaining some beadwork from his mother and sister, presents it to his mother-in-law through his sister. He returns to his bride's hut in the meantime. The mother-in-law must accept the present (*||ama-xnn*) as the marriage was completed when she took his bow and arrows and placed them in her daughter's hut. Towards midnight the mother takes her daughter to the *!gari-khois oms* and, if necessary, removes her there by force. The bride and bridegroom do not speak to each other nor, under normal circumstances, are the presents sent to her mother by the bridegroom until they have slept together. After the marriage has been consummated the husband goes out hunting to obtain meat for the *!gu-ǂa-ǂnab* or the dance after an animal was killed for the purpose of making a wife's leather skirt. The young couple continue to live in the *!gari-khois oms* for some months before taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own *||gāus* his mother builds a hut for them.

Parent-in-law taboo is met with among all the tribes. The 606
son-in-law neither looks at nor speaks to his mother-in-law, nor will he mention her name or enter her hut even in case of sickness or during her absence. When, in the absence of

606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as " my son-in-law " or " my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidently they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

847 Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.

844 A pregnant woman is generally treated with great considera-
[88] tion. For the first confinement it is customary for her to return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-//om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the
846 infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner
848 it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies
165 follow in rapid succession during the course of married life
847 but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted
[845] the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five
[162] or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood. Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance
[593] is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among
553 the *Hei-//om* each child is generally given three names,
[55] namely a first name, a second name and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother and the second name by the

old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the 553
surname of the mother and girls that of the father. Thus
|Uirob Geirob |Geibeb married a woman *|Kao-tamas*
Gamanis |Harus and begot two sons, namely *||Otoab ǂGonab*
|Garub and *Gogob Gomob |Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras*
|Geibes. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the
father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is
added to the surname. Hence the names of *||Otoab* become
||Otoab ǂGonab |Garub |Geibemab. This practice offers a
means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose.
A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nick- 551
names are common and are given to children when quite
young. They are usually directed towards some physical
peculiarity, for example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face
and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often
retained throughout life.

The communities which have not been in contact with 164
civilization are remarkably free from infectious, contagious
and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons when
malaria becomes unduly prevalent the incidence of disease is
very small among them. Sickness is in most instances 753
attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on
the part of the affected person, to magical influences exercised
by other persons or, when unduly prevalent, to something
going wrong with the perpetual fire. Treatment is adminis- 757
tered by relatives and friends or in cases of acute or prolonged
illness by an elder or doctor who is well versed in magical
practice. Herbs of various descriptions are employed both
internally and externally through incisions in the skin.
Inunction with medicated ointments is also extensively resorted
to. Surgical procedures are limited to incisions into the skin.
Burial of the dead is carried out almost universally at present. 764
Among the more primitive groups, however, the corpse is left [784]
in the hut which is simply pressed down so as to cover it.
After a death has taken place the camp is deserted and not 768
occupied again. Old people who are no longer able to help 888
themselves are left in the werft with a supply of food and
water. The rest of the group then move off and do not
return to it again.

Dances and Games.

Dancing and games of various kinds enter very largely into 535
the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first
place among their social recreations. Some of the dances
such as the *tsei*, *hãigi-ho*, and *ge-!ni* among the *ǂAo-||ẽin*
and *Aikwe* and the *|hawa-ǂnab* among the *Hei-||om* would
appear to be of a religious nature, being danced only on
ceremonial occasions, for example, during the initiation cere-
monies. On the other hand dancing is often indulged in at
night for pure pleasure, especially in times of plenty. The

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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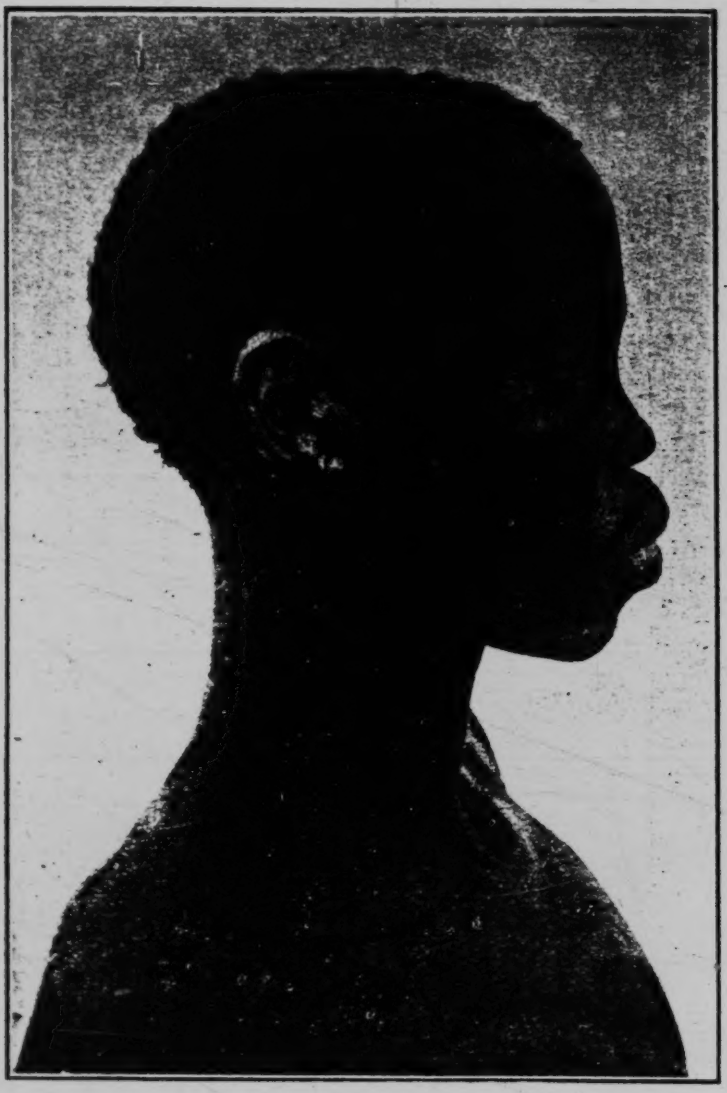

:Ao //ein Bushmán.
Epukiro.

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535 nature of the latter may be gathered from the following dances of the *|Koma-khoin*, *Xom-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin* groups of the Etosha Pan *Hei-||om*. The common dance among the *|Koma-khoin* is the *ǂgami-sab-ǂnab*. Rattles (*|gunu-gu*) are worn round the legs of the dancers. It is danced by men who go round in a circle in Indian file while the women chant and clap their hands. Women, however, may join in the dance one at a time. When this happens and she wants to return to her companions the men as a rule try to prevent her leaving the circle by dancing round her. The *Xom-khoin* also dance the *ǂgami-sab-ǂnab* but without rattles as they do not know how to make the latter. Among the *Hei-||om* of the Etosha region the *|gunu-gu* are used only by the *|Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*.

In the Jackal and Wolf dance (*|geirab tsi ǂhiras tsira ǂnab*) which is danced by men only, is represented an hyena, which is supposed to be feeding on a carcass, keeping off a couple of hungry jackals. Every now and again as the latter attempt to approach too close to the carcass the hyena scares them off and they jump out of the way.

The horse-dance (*ha-ǂnab*) is likewise danced by men only who go round quickly in a circle while the women clap their hands in imitation of the sound made by a galloping horse.

The *|gae-ǂnab* or gemsbuck dance represents a gemsbuck bull, cow and calf being chased by two men with three or four dogs. The bull and cow carry horns but the calf does not. The gemsbuck lead and are followed by the men and dogs, who dance to and fro on the flanks until the animals are brought at bay. Then the men pretend to shoot and one of the buck goes down wounded while the others make off pursued by some of the dogs. The wounded animal fights in realistic fashion, sweeping at both man and dogs with its horns. The dance is continued until all the animals have been accounted for. Bows and arrows are represented by sticks in this dance.

The Kudu dance (*dau-ba-ǂnab*) is danced by men among the *Xom-khoin* while the women chant and clap their hands. In it are represented various phases in the life of a herd of kudu. The hands of some of the dancers are held up to imitate the horns of the bulls. From time to time as it is in progress a couple of women join in the dancing for a short time. Among the *|Koma-khoin* it is danced by women.

173 There is a legend that in the olden days the Klipkaffirs
534 used to pay tribute daily in honey, öintjes, etc., to the *gei-*
535 *khoib* of the *|Koma-khoin*. When for any reason they defaulted for two or three days, the *gei-khoib*, accompanied by his young men, set out for the Klipkaffir encampment to investigate. As soon as the latter became aware of the approach of the *gei-khoib* they grasped everything on which they could lay hands and made for his *||gāus*. On the way

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
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≠Ao //ein Maiden.
Epukiro.

[FACING p.97

they hurriedly collected whatever veldkos they came across, 773
being closely followed by the *gei-khoib*. In the *ǂao-dama-* 539
ǂnab or dance of the Klipkaffirs who live on the mountain 535
tops, are depicted a couple of Klipkaffirs, carrying heavy loads and closely followed by the Bushmen armed with kirries. The Klipkaffirs are constantly glancing backwards as if anticipating a blow from a kirri. When they see any veldkos they squat down, hurriedly dig it up and place it in their bags. While on the way they are constantly being harassed and threatened with kirries by the pursuing Bushmen. The *ǂao-dama-ǂnab* originated with the Klipkaffirs to commemorate the time when they were held in bondage by the *|Koma-khoin* and was taught by them to the latter. It is also known to other groups, *e.g.*, the *Xom-khoin*, but is danced mainly by the *|Koma-khoin*.

The *Xom-khoin* have a dance in which are depicted the 535
antics of a group of vultures at the carcass of a zebra. It is confined to men only but the women chant and clap their hands. The carcass is represented by a person lying down. A giant vulture is at the carcass. As the others, who are standing close together some distance away, approach in a row flapping their wings, he raises his wings and makes a dart at them which causes them to stop suddenly and retreat. This dance is known as *man-toea tsi gei-aniti-ǂnab*.

Among all the remaining tribes dances of a similar description are met with, being based as a rule on episodes in the lives of wild animals. Thus the *ǂAo-||ein* and *Naron* have the turtle dove, duiker, porcupine, guineafowl, jackal and other dances. Games are played by grown-up people of both 524
sexes as well as by children. Among the *Hei-||om* the men play their games on an open place cleared of scrub outside the werft. The principal game is the *bies-||heib* which is played with a round tuber (*bies*). The players line up in two rows facing each other and the bies is rolled from one side to the other. As it approaches the opposite side each member of the latter in turn hurls a pointed stick, shaped like an assegaai (*hēi-heigu*) at it. If he misses, the *bies* is rolled to the now opposite side. If he should hit it the *bies* is left *in situ*, the sides cross over and it is rolled towards the winning side again. Those who have hit it have preference in hurling the *hei-heigu* at the *bies*. This game is played by the *|Koma-khoin* only.

Among the games played by the women of these communities may be mentioned the *goarab-|hurub* or white monkey game of the *Xom-khoin*. A white monkey was once seen by a woman who ran home and told the others. The part of the monkey is taken by a woman who stands with her hands covering the sides of her face, leaving only a small opening for peeping through. She sways her head from side to side. The other women form up in a row opposite to her. One goes forward to look at the monkey, gazes at it intently and, when the latter starts moving its head from side to side, beckons and calls to the others to come and see the wonderful

524 thing. This they do one by one, each in turn beckoning to the others to come and see.

In the *surus-/hurub* (game of the ringhals snake) one woman acts as the snake, standing with her hand and forearm raised above the forehead. As the other women approach her she hisses and strikes with the raised hand after the manner of a snake, causing them to scream and retire. This game is said to be founded on the experience of a woman into whose eyes a snake spat while she was trying to drive mice out of a shrub by means of her stick.

The following are a few examples of the games played by the *‡Ao-//ein* and *//Aikwe* of the Kalahari, viz.: *Children's*: [857] a man bartering goods from a trader; cock ostriches fighting with elephants which have come to drink at waterhole; a fight between two opposing groups, small bows and wooden arrows being used; a python lying in wait for and capturing its prey at a waterhole. *Men's*, the ostrich game; throwing the *isani*, in which a thin, short-feathered stick, weighted at one end by means of a large bean (bauhinea esculenta), is flung into the air and kept going by catching it on a stick in its descent and flinging it up again; throwing the stick, in which each player has a thin stick, about three feet long, which he flings forcibly on to the ground in such manner as to make it rise into the air and shoot away from him. *Women's*, catching the ball in which a melon or round tuber is used for the purpose; the capture of brides by young men, etc.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

Food Supply, Etc.

137 The source of the food supply varies very considerably in 184 different localities. In some it is derived mainly from the 268 vegetable, in others from the animal, kingdom. The Kalahari and northern parts of the territory are rich in both plant and animal life and the Bushmen inhabiting those parts consequently have a fairly well-balanced dietary. In the central and southern Kalahari the most important among the vegetable foods are the *tsamma* (citrullus vulgaris), öintjes (cyperis edulis Dtr.) and *//nōun* (Bauhinea esculenta). As one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, *e.g.*, the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuandi, omuve, etc. In addition to the above numerous varieties of edible roots, bulbs, tubers, berries, etc., appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season.

223 Among the *Hei-//om* the following ceremony is observed in connection with the collection of veldkos by the women. It is practised when the fruit of the *‡huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the *‡huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gāus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered

are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women 222
to the *||gāus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in
front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills
four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each
woman and places them under the *!heis*. Her husband now
kindles the *!hei|ais* and, after having applied *‡norab* and
dabas to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a
handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free
and both men and women may eat it. There is no name for
this ceremony, but the first fruit is called *!gao-ei-|un*.

Among insects, locusts, ants, scorpions, young bees and 262
honey are greatly relished. Frogs, lizards, snakes, etc., are
also eaten. In fact, all living animals are eaten with the
exception of the mole and the hyena, the former because its
winter larder of öintjes forms a valuable and easily obtainable
addition to the supplies of the Bushmen and the latter because
it eats human corpses.

The methods used in the pursuit of game vary according 221
to the season, the year being divided into a cold, dry season 224
(winter), a hot, dry season (spring and early summer), a
small, rainy season (September and October) and a big, rainy
season (January to April). Snaring is resorted to only during
the dry season in the case of such animals as guineafowl,
bustard, aardvark, ostrich and small game. Pitfalls are not
made use of except for hare and springhare as too much
work is entailed in making them. Springhare and snakes
are also caught by means of a long barbed stick which is
passed into the burrows, the animal being transfixed and then
dug out. During the big rainy season when the ground is
sodden with moisture small buck such as duiker and stembuck
are run down on foot and killed with a knob kirri. This
method is not applicable to small game during the dry season
owing to the difficulty in following the spoor. In the hot
weather, however, young buck are easily caught in this
manner as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. The
gemsbuck does not tire easily. It is run down, therefore,
only during the big rainy season when the soft ground impedes
its progress and causes it to be caught comparatively easily.
All other varieties of big game are run down in the hot, dry
season. After a herd of game has been located one or more
men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued
relentlessly until it is exhausted and brought at bay, when it
is killed with assegaai.

Bow and poisoned arrows are used all the year round. These 184
weapons differ considerably in character in various localities. 411
The Kalahari bow is small compared with that used by the
!Kūng of the Oschimpoloveld, and *Hei-||om* of the Etosha
Pan region; the arrow consists of a reed shaft, bone foreshaft
and bone or iron tip, whereas the latter use arrows with
feathered wooden shafts and iron tips only. The poison also 184
varies in different localities. In southern Namaqualand it 278
is constituted of a mixture of plant juice (euphorbia), snake
poison, scorpions and spiders; in the southern and central

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
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Wakeddi Bushmen (Hei //om).
N.W. Ovamboland.

[FACING p. 100]

184 Kalahari only insect poison is used, and further north and
278 north-west only plant poison.

324 All tribes observe certain customary practices in connection
[184] with the hunting of animals with bow and arrow. These vary considerably among the different tribes. The following is an account of the practice as met with among the *Hei-||om*. After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *||gāus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals. The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is skinned by the men.
252 The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the purpose, is cut into
[237] sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then removed to the *||gāus* by the men who may occasionally be assisted by the women. On arrival at the *||gāus* all the meat is laid on the ground under the *!hei*s either on sticks which were used in carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib*
224 (chief) now comes forward and if he finds that the *!hei-|ais*
622 (fire under the tree) has gone out he returns to his hut, brings
252 fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the meat in the meantime being hung on the *!hei*s (tree in centre of camp). After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men—the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and "tastes" (tsū-tsū) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as *≠koms*.

224 All meat killed with bow and arrow is *so.ra* and may not
262 be partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, however, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *so.ra* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *so.ra*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *so.ra* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

224

Snare for Small Game.

[FACING p. 101]

hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*‡ei-ti*). Her 224 262
portion is known as the *‡noe-di* and is the only meat which may be partaken of by women. The *‡noe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the *‡kham-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The *‡noe-di*, however, may not be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *//gāus*. It is not brought under the *!heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The *‡kham-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women [784] partake of any other meat than the *‡noe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *a.xarogu* (youths) is known as *!om-//gani* and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles, etc. It is prepared by the *a.xarogu* themselves over their own fire at the *a.xarogudi ‡gaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the *!heis* [252] or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *sa.ra* to him and if he [784] eats any other part, *e.g.*, the *‡koms* he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions about two finger breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis* may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khoib* receives her share from the *‡noe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-//gani*, under which is included the *‡koms*. The latter may be eaten only under the *!heis*. After it has [264] been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is [84] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *‡koms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib* and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat 224 622
killed by the members of an outlying *//gāus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the *//gāus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *//gāus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he

224 622 visits a *//gāus* for this purpose he kindles the *!kei-/ais* with fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own.

224 777 Any want of success in the chase is generally attributed to some chance incident. For example, a man, who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife had her periods, will not hunt again when she is in that condition nor will she eat any of the *ǂnoe-di* at such times. The meat of an animal [262] killed by a dog may not be eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating. This prohibition is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. If, however, an animal is killed with bow and arrow after having been brought at bay by a dog, the meat is *so.ra* and women may eat the *ǂnoe-di*. The remains of an animal killed by a lion are not *so.ra* and may be partaken of by all individuals. Care, however, is taken not to offend the lion which likewise observes certain practices after each kill. After having had his fill he buries the sacrum and haunchbones and covers them over with the dung (stomach contents) of the animal. If he should be unsuccessful in hunting his prey he returns to the spot of the last kill, digs up the buried parts and inters them in another place. This he does to restore his luck and if he should find that the bones have been taken away he will follow the person who removed them right into the *//gāus*.

184 224 262 784 *So.ra* applies only to meat killed with bow and arrow and as far as is known at present this practice exists among the *Xom-khoin*, *!Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*. Among these groups the meat of the following animals is *so.ra*, namely, steinbuck, duiker, springbuck, hartebeest, gemsbuck, kudu, wildebeest and giraffe. The eland, which is a comparatively rare visitor to the parts occupied by these groups is not killed at all by the *Xom-khoin* who believe that harm will befall any person who eats its meat. In other words the *Xom-khoin* consider the eland to be absolute *so.ra*. Among other groups the man who shoots an eland must, on returning to the *//gāus*, sleep under the *!heis* as intercourse with his wife will prevent the poison from killing the animal. The same applies to a person who shoots a giraffe.

412 The implements and utensils which are used in the collection and preparation of food are very few in number. Vegetable food is dug up with a sharpened stick, 2 to 5 feet in length.

252 Ō intjes, *//ñoun* and other similar plant foods are roasted in hot ashes covered with cinders. Ants (Bushman rice) are dealt with in a similar manner and then recovered again by means of a sieve of grass matting. Locusts are either roasted or boiled. Frogs, etc., are sometimes roasted over the fire on a wooden spit (braaistok) stuck into the ground. Birds, snakes, small antelope, etc., are prepared by placing them in a hollow made in the ashes with a flat paddle-shaped wooden scoop and covering them over with live coals. The meat of larger

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animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly 252
disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin
tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups [437]
use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roast-
ed plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or
porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on
a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of 264
wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make 415
wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or
tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some 184
purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except 262
by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it
comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are
generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild
Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the
case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not
suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and
eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco 237
pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game
on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups,
bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The *|Nu-||ĕin* [184]
and *||Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the
‡Ao-||ĕin and other tribes living to the north. Articles [438]
made by the former form an important medium of exchange.
The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows
and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it [482]
also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari
groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft
and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich
and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into
knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into
spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during
the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required
for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large [415]
animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for
collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich egg-
shells are used for carrying and storing water and for the [301
manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time 438]
form the most important article of barter among the *|Nu-||ĕin*, *Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-||om*. Among the most [184
northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red 278]
ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omura* tree, are the 438]
principal media of exchange.

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit [21]
me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious
beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive
communities are surrounded.

communities are surrounded. Except among the groups which have long been in contact with and largely influenced by other races belief in a supreme being would appear not to exist. The partly disorganised *ǂAo-//ēin* and *//Aikwe* groups of the Gobabis district believe in a good being named *!Khutse* or "God" and a bad being called *Gāua* or "Satan." About the nature, however, of these beings they have no idea nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them. People who die a "good death" are said to go to *!Khutse* and those dying a "bad death" to *Gāua*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress. Among the primitive groups a deceased person is believed to move about in the form of a ghost at night. *Buchu* (*tsā*) is accordingly sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver and arrows of the deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost returning to look for them. Every sphere of activity in life is influenced by some superstition or other which, as a rule, finds expression in certain avoidances or in ceremonial and other rites and practices. Examples of these have been given in connection with the subjects already discussed. It is unnecessary to allude to them any further.

Divination is widely practised and absolute faith is placed in the divining properties of the objects which are used for the purpose. The source from which these properties have been derived is attributed by some to their "first big Bushman," by others to *Gāua* ("satan"). Thus the Bushman *Tji-tji* is said to have been initiated by *Gāua* "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver. *Tji-tji* had killed a gemsbuck. *Gāua* arrived on the scene and said, "I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep here." After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-tji* remarked to *Gāua*, "Give me that stuff (*//ai*)." The latter replied, "If I give you the *//ai*, what will you pay me?" *Tji-tji* answered, "I will give you the horns." *Gāua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *//ai* and before departing taught *Tji-tji* the *//ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic.

In conclusion I desire to express my regret at having been unable to deal with the subject of this report in a comprehensive manner during the short time at my disposal. More detailed information on the Bushmen of this Territory is available, however, in the works mentioned in the bibliography.

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The Harmless People

[pi i]

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THE HARMLESS PEOPLE

by *Elizabeth Marshall Thomas*

NEW YORK ALFRED A. KNOPF
1959

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FIRST EDITION

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To Stephen

[p. v]

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PHOTOGRAPHS

000 *(All by the staff of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University)*

FOLLOWING PAGE 112

1 *The aloes and the spiny plants of the desert. Far away, on the horizon, two baobab trees are showing.*

2A *Gai was afraid of us at first. He listened carefully to everything we said, but he would not speak.*

2B *Even among her own people Tsetchwe was lonely, for in her band there was no young woman but herself.*

3 *Ukwane eats a tsama melon, the source of food and all water for Bushmen during the drought.*

4 *Tsama melons, on their vines, are almost hidden in the yellow grass, but Dasina and Twikwe find them.*

5A *Twikwe was a lanky old woman. She sometimes wound a medicine string around her belly to ward hunger away.*

5B *This is Gai's house, this bare sand under the branch of a tree.*

6 *He climbed to her shoulder and stood there triumphantly without holding on, gazing around like a child on a hill.*

7 *The jealous men from Okwa.*

8 *The people from Okwa camped right beside Ukwane; the two werfs were shaded by the same little tree.*

FOLLOWING PAGE 176

9A *Long reeds almost filled the waterhole at Gautscha.*

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9B *Alone at his fire, Ukwane plays a mood song.*

000

10A *I sometimes received presents of gum from trees, or soft, sweet caterpillars.*

10B *Toma the leader.*

11A *Crooked Kwi and his wife, who once had run away from him.*

11B *Dikai made a bow from a branch, an arrow from a reed, and gave them to her younger son.*

12A *Toma's son, the new owner of Short Kwi's crown of badger hair.*

12B *The young musician—the lonely, brooding man who played the guashi.*

13 *Beautiful Ungka's cousin, and the little girl who was content to follow her and be her handmaiden.*

14 *Beautiful Ungka, the lily of the field.*

15A *Tu made Norna clothes of ostrich-eggshell beads, an art taught to Bushmen by the gemsbok people.*

15B *The old man who had never shot a buck, who had never married, now almost blind, too thin, and without people.*

16A *The shining lake of Nama.*

16B *In the middle of the circle the great tree rose, pink-skinned and mighty, the claimer of two lives.*

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Gikwe

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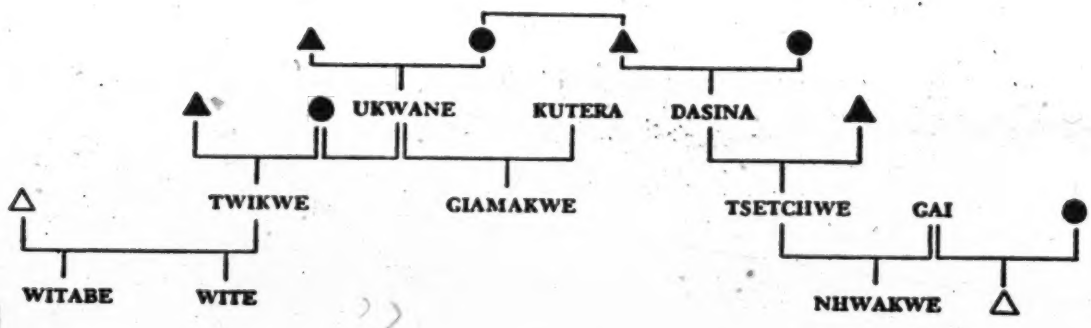
GIKWE

CHART OF UKWANE'S FAMILY



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KEY

= *marriage*
= *siblings*
△ = *man*
○ = *woman*
▲ = *dead man*
● = *dead woman*

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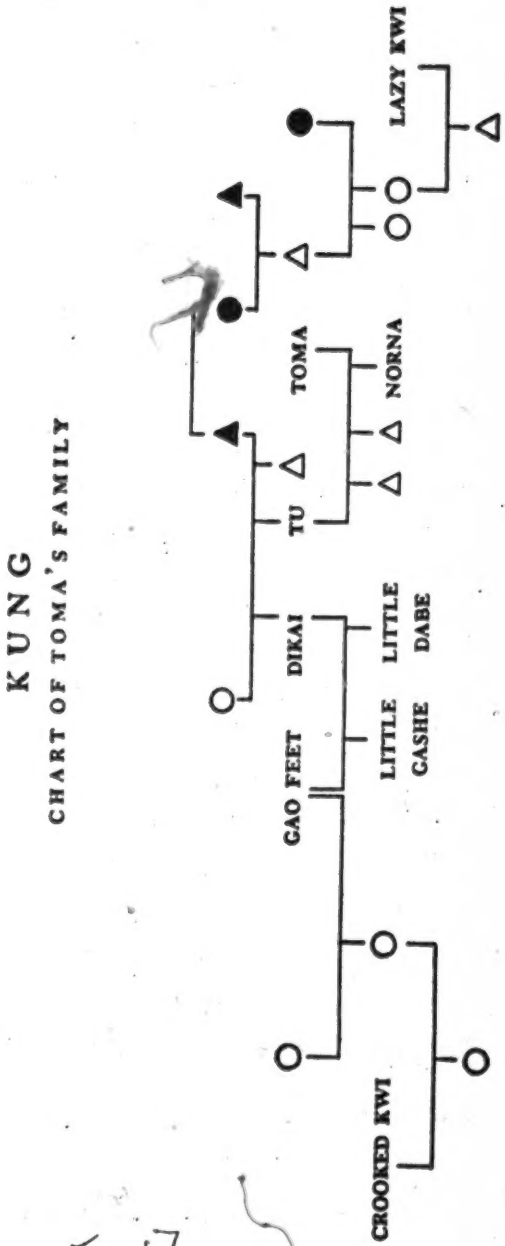
Kung

601



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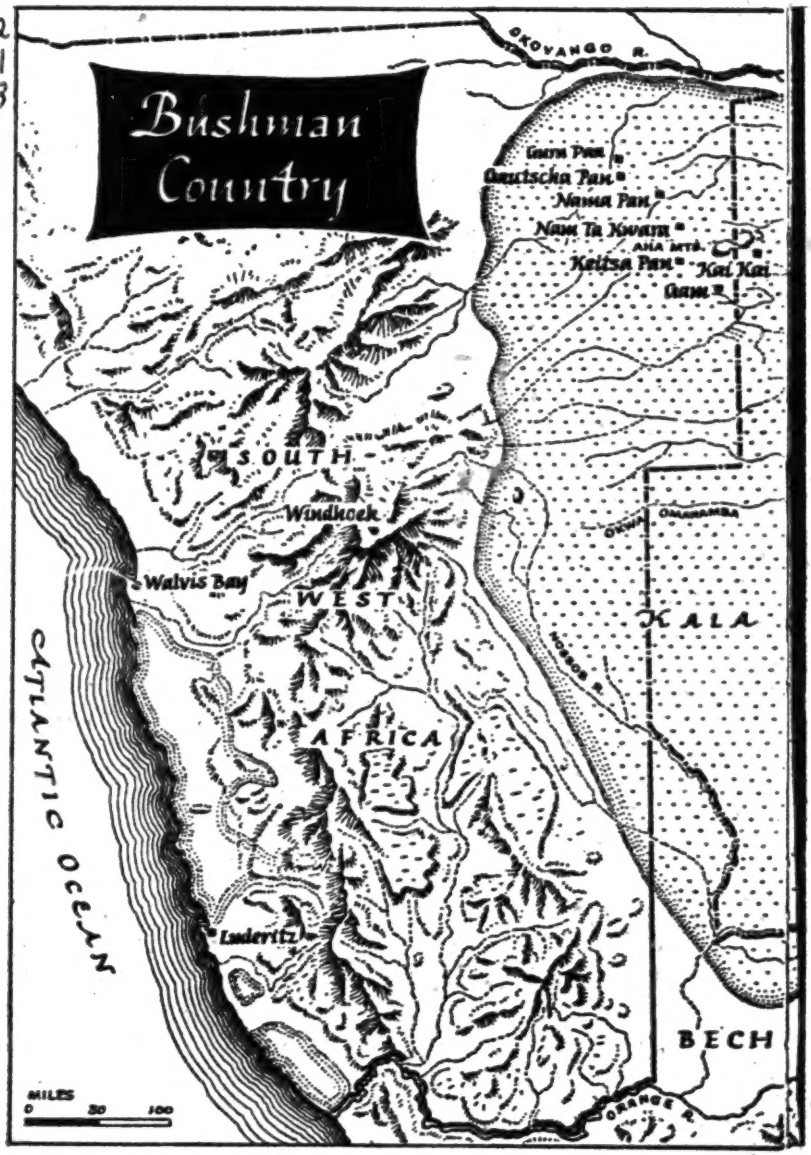

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Note

THE spelling of Bushman words and names is at best a rough approximation. Most Bushman words and names have clicks in them, usually clicks acting as consonant sounds. For the purpose of simplicity, the clicks have been omitted.

[p. 2]

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CHAPTER ONE

The Desert

THERE is a vast sweep of dry bush desert lying in South- 131
West Africa and western Bechuanaland, bordered in the 133
north by Lake Ngami and the Okovango River, in the south 137
by the Orange River, and in the west by the Damera Hills. It is the Kalahari Desert, part of a great inland table of southern Africa that slopes west toward the sea, all low sand dunes and great plains, flat, dry, and rolling one upon the other for thousands of miles, a hostile country of thirst and heat and thorns where the grass is harsh and often barbed and the stones hide scorpions.

From March to December, in the long drought of the year, 132
the sun bakes the desert to powdery dry leaves and dust. 137
There are no surface waters at all, no clouds for coolness, no tall trees for shade, but only low bushes and grass tufts; and among the grass tufts grow brown thistles, briers, the dry stalks of spiny weeds, all tangled into knots during the rains, now dry, tumbled, and dead.

The Kalahari would be very barren, very devoid of land- 137
marks, if it were not for the baobab trees, and even these grow far from each other, some areas having none. But where there

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137 is one it is the biggest thing in all the landscape, dominating all the veld, more impressive than any mountain. It can be as much as two hundred feet high and thirty feet in diameter. It has great, thick branches that sprout haphazardly from the sides of the trunk and reach like stretching arms into the sky. The bark is thin and smooth and rather pink, and sags in folds toward the base of the tree like the skin on an elephant's leg, which is why a baobab is sometimes called an elephant tree. Its trunk is soft and pulpy, like a carrot instead of wooden, and if you lean against it you find that it is warm from the sun and you expect to hear a great heart beating inside. In the spring, encouraged by moisture, these giants put out huge white flowers resembling gardenias, white as moons and fragrant, that face down toward the earth; during the [262] summer they bear alum-like dry fruits, shaped like pears, which can be eaten. In the Kalahari there is no need of hills. The great baobabs standing in the plains, the wind, and the seasons are enough.

132 Usually in the hot months only small winds blow, leaving a whisper of dry leaves and a ripple of grass as though a snake has gone by, but occasionally there is a windy day when all the low trees of the veld are in motion, swinging and dipping, and the grass blows forward and back. When there is no wind, heat accumulates in the air and rises in thick, shuddering waves that distort everything you see, the temperature rises to 120° Fahrenheit and more, and the air feels heavy, pressing against you, hard to breathe.

June and July are the months of winter. Then water left standing freezes at night, and with the first light of morning all the trees and grass leaves are brittle with frost. The days warm slowly to perhaps 80° at noon, but by night when the sun sets yellow and far, far away over the flat veld the cold creeps back, freezing the moisture from the dark air so that

the black sky blazes with stars. In winter the icy wind, pour- 132
ing steadily across the continent from the Antarctic, blows all night long.

There are only three months of rain in the whole year, and 132
these begin in December, ending the hottest season when the 137
air is as tight and dry as a drum skin. Under the rain—which is sometimes torrential, drenching the earth, making rivers down the sides of trees, sometimes an easy land rain that blows into the long grass like a mist—the heat and drought melt away and the grass turns green at the roots. Soon the trees flower, and in the low places the dry dust becomes sucking mud. Towering clouds, miles away, widen the horizon, and all the bushes which stretch in an unchanging expanse over dune after dune now blossom and bear white or red or violet flowers. But the season is short, and the plants bud, flower, and fruit very quickly; in March the drought creeps in, just as the veld fruits ripen and scatter their seeds.

When the rains stop, the open water is the first to dry, 132
making slippery mud and then caked white earth. By June only little soaks of waterholes remain, hidden deep in the earth, covered with long grass. These, which are miles apart, dry up by August, and then travel in the veld is nearly impossible. Because of this, large areas of the Kalahari remain unexplored.

We have crossed this desert three times, my family and I, 114
on three expeditions, which usually numbered between ten and fourteen people and included my father, my mother, my brother, and myself, as well as several other Europeans who were linguists, zoologists, botanists, or archaeologists, sent by universities of the Union of South Africa, England, or the United States, as well as four or five Bantu men—several interpreters, a cook, and a mechanic—who were the staff. We usually traveled in four big trucks and a jeep, and had to carry

114 all our food and water, gasoline, and equipment in supplies to last us for several months. We crossed great drought areas, once crossing four hundred miles of the central desert of Bechuanaland where there was no water at all, and once traveling every day for two weeks into an unmapped part of the desert of South-West Africa, close to the Bechuanaland border, where we found a waterhole and refilled our empty [12] drums. All this was for the purpose of filming and studying the life and customs of the people of the Kalahari, who are called the Bushmen.

142 Bushmen are a naked, hungry people, slight of build and yellow-skinned; the only feature they have in common with their large-boned, darker-skinned neighbors, the Negro or Bantu tribes living at the edges of the Bushmen's territory, is their peppercorn curly hair. Otherwise, Bushmen are very like the Asian peoples, often having Mongolian eyefolds and rather broad, flat faces with almost no noses at all. Because of the dust, perspiration, and the blazing sun, their skins darken to a copper brown, but under their arms where sweat has washed the dust away the yellow skin shows. Bushman babies, in fact, are born pale pink, often with a dark, pigmented area at the base of their spines which Kung Bushmen [826] call "the jar"—because, they say, the mother carries her baby and her water jar together in the pouch of her garment—but which we know as the Mongolian Spot.

Physically, the Bushmen are a handsome people, though short of stature—a man being a few inches over and a woman a few inches under five feet—and a little swaybacked of carriage, which makes their bellies stick out. They are handsome 481 because of the extreme grace in their way of moving, which is 142 strong and deft and lithe; and to watch a Bushman walking or simply picking up something from the ground is like

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, 142
and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff [46]
with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the
men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and
consequently they often seem younger than they are. They [194]
are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man 291
wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather
apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole
animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at [854 482 415 237]
the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride,
and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which
are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people;
they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though [515
they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair 302]
breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped
close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell
beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny [301]
bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear
leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several 609
months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find
them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe
that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the
grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and [342]
made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right 609
into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and 621
didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass until I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned, all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

609 pering in the grass near by. You can tell by these werfs that
621 there are Bushmen in an area, and also by their footprints on narrow trails which they share with the game and which run all through the desert. You may find footprints or you
[37] may see a little pile of white ash, the fire that a Bushman kindled where he spent the night. Otherwise, to find them you must depend on luck or on the fact that the Bushmen of an area may have heard something good about you and will not be too afraid.

105 Culturally and historically, the Bushmen are an interesting people, for they and the Hottentots, who belong to the same racial and language groups, are the earliest human inhabit-
[161] ants still living in southern Africa. There are now from thirty to fifty thousand Bushmen, who are divided into several lan-
[197] guage groups. Their languages are related to each other and to the Hottentot language, and are in what is known as the Khoisan language group, made up of most of the click languages spoken in South Africa. A click language has sharp pops and clicks made with the tongue in various parts of the mouth, combined with an implosion of the breath, very diffi-
[194] cult to understand, harder still to pronounce, as the slightest mistake may change the meaning of a word entirely. For example, the work *//kx'a*, which in one of the Bushman languages means *mangetti*, a certain kind of nut-bearing tree, is pronounced by making a lateral click for which the tongue is pulled sharply away from the sides of the mouth, producing the click one makes when calling a horse, followed by a scraped *k* turning to a g, followed by a glottal stop—a slight pause or tiny choking sound made as the back of the tongue stops the breath—which is followed at last by the vowel. To make a mistake is easy, and that is why non-Bushmen have a hard time learning the language, and why, when they do learn, they are often misunderstood.

The Bushmen are one of the most primitive peoples living 105
on earth. Although most of their groups own some metal objects, Bushmen do not smelt or forge metal, but get it in trade [325
from their Bantu neighbors. They use soft metal in the mak- 439]
ing of a few tools such as knives, arrowheads, and little axes, cold-hammering the metal into shape themselves. Bushmen make the other tools they use from wood and bone, grass and fiber, the things of the veld. They dig roots and pick berries [222]
to eat because they have no crops. The desert is too dry for anything but desert plants to grow naturally, and Bushmen, who quickly consume all the wild food available in one place, cannot stay anywhere long enough to tend crops or wait for them to grow.

There is not enough water to water livestock, and for this [231]
reason Bushmen have no domestic animals. Most of their groups do not even have dogs. Instead of herding, Bushmen hunt wild antelope with tiny arrows, sometimes made of soft, [224-
traded metal, sometimes made of bone, and poisoned with a 278]
terrible poison extracted from a certain grub, a poison which affects the nervous system of a creature and which is so deadly that an antelope shot early in the morning with a single arrow well placed in the body dies within the day. Hunting is very difficult, for travel in the veld is thirsty and rigorous and the antelope are clever, but as often as not the Bushmen hunters shoot one and then they use it all. Most of the meat is dried [251]
to preserve it, causing it to last at least a few weeks, but sooner or later every last bite of it is eaten, even the mucous lining of the nostrils and the gristle inside the ears. They [262]
sometimes eat the hide, sometimes work it into leather to use for clothing, and if the antelope bones are not all [281]
cracked for the marrow, pieces are worked into arrow points to shoot another antelope.

In order to live as they do, Bushmen must travel through 105
361

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105 361 the veld, changing their abode every few days in search of food. Because of their way of life, they do not need villages to live in, so they rarely bother to build strong scherms, making small domes of grass for themselves instead, just a little shade for their heads, grass which the wind soon blows away. Sometimes they do not even bother with this, but push little sticks into the ground to mark their places. They sleep beside the sticks and arrange their few possessions around them, symbols of their homes.

105 361 823 [621] Although Bushmen are a roaming people and therefore seem to be homeless and vague about their country, each group of them has a very specific territory which that group alone may use, and they respect their boundaries rigidly. Each group also knows its own territory very well; although it may be several hundred square miles in area, the people who live there know every bush and stone, every convolution of the ground, and have usually named every place in it where a certain kind of veld food may grow, even if that place is only a few yards in diameter, or where there is only a patch of tall arrow grass or a bee tree, and in this way each group of people knows many hundred places by name. Even if you are traveling randomly with Bushmen and ask at any time on the journey for the name of the place where you happen to be standing, they will probably be able to tell you. They themselves always like to know exactly where they are.

105 621 The social structure of Bushmen is not complicated. They have no chiefs or kings, only headmen who in function are virtually indistinguishable from the people they lead, and sometimes a band will not even have a headman. A leader is not really necessary, however, because the Bushmen roam about together in small family bands rarely numbering more than twenty people. A band may consist of an old man and his wife, their daughters, the daughters' husbands, perhaps an

unmarried son or two, and their daughters' children. Bush- 105
men are polygynous, and a man is allowed by custom to have 621
as many wives as he can afford, depending on how well he [595]
hunts—usually a man can afford only one wife, sometimes two (often a pair of sisters), and once we heard of a man with four wives. For this reason there are often more women than men in a band.

The immediate family, a man, his wife, or wives, and chil- 105
dren, is the only solid social unit; otherwise the small bands 592
are always breaking up and recombining with other small 621
bands as the structures of single families change, through marriages, divorces, deaths, or as the family decides to pay a prolonged visit to a different group of relatives.

Any Bushman will either be related by blood or marriage 105
or will be acquainted with all the other Bushmen in his area 602
but this is as far as Bushmen go in their affinities. They do 609
not recognize as their own people strange Bushmen who speak the same language; in fact, they suspect and fear them as they do any stranger.

We have visited four of the Bushman language groups, two 114-
of which we stayed with for long periods of time. In 1951, 131
after a survey expedition to learn where Bushmen could be found, we went into the Nyae Nyae area of South-West Africa, close to the border of Bechuanaland, to look for Kung Bushmen. We found a band living near a waterhole, as it was June, the drought of the year, and we stayed with them for four months. At first only a few Bushmen were there, but as [609
the news spread that we were friendly, more and more peo- 276]
ple came to visit us and receive presents of tobacco and salt, for Bushmen love to smoke but rarely have tobacco, which they get in trade. Also, most of the Bushmen had never seen a European before, none had ever seen a European woman, and they came by dozens to sit together in a cluster

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

114 at a distance to observe my mother and me. By the end of
131 our stay we had become friendly with them, and in 1952 we visited them again. We found them waiting confidently for us, living beside the track our trucks had made, as we had told them that we would come back if we were able, and this time we stayed with them for a year. In August 1955 we returned to them again, but before we did so we spent four months in Bechuanaland. We lived one month with a group of Naron and Kō Bushmen at a place called Okwa (the two groups were mixed together because their territories happen to meet at that place), and almost two months with Gikwe Bushmen in the four-hundred-mile stretch of empty desert between Ghanzi, near the border of South-West Africa, and Molepolole, near the border of the Transvaal. Ghanzi is a small town with a post office and a store, the center of a group of rather extensive European farms. Molepolole is a great Bantu village of the Bakwena (Crocodile) Bechuana people, where a Chuana chieftain lives. The other month we spent traveling to the Gikwe, because they are very remote.

174 Nobody knows where the Bushmen originated, from what racial stocks they came, or when they came to Africa. But here and there throughout southern Africa, in mountain caves and on sheltered rocks, paintings and engravings are found which are known to have been made centuries ago, and are believed to have been made by Bushmen. It is hard to say for certain that Bushmen made the paintings because, to my
[531] knowledge, Bushmen do not paint on rocks or in caves now. However, Kung Bushmen do scratch designs on the bark of trees and on their ostrich eggshells. During each expedition I asked Bushmen to paint for me with paints and paper which I provided. Though none of the Bushmen we met had ever

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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seen paintings, photographs, or drawings of any kind, the 174
paintings they made for me could be said to resemble the paintings and engravings on the rocks.

If there is a resemblance, it is not surprising. The Bushmen, together with the Hottentot peoples, are known to have lived in South Africa long before the Bantus came. At one time it all was theirs to roam in, all the riverbanks and all the grasslands, all the hills and valleys where cedar trees grow, from the Cape to Rhodesia, from Angola to Mozambique. But during the waves of the early Bantu migrations, when the taller, energetic Bantu people with their chiefs and kings, witch doctors and armies of soldiers, their metal spears and axes, shields and maces, came walking down from central Africa driving their great herds of cattle before them, the Bushmen yielded their land to the stronger newcomers, after a few struggles, surely, and most of them were either killed, enslaved, or driven farther and farther back into the most remote parts of the country, where the Bantu people and their livestock could not live. But the Bushmen are very tough and hardy, all sinew and wire, with not an extra ounce of flesh to [147]
carry, and possess great endurance of hunger and thirst, endurance to search through the grass roots all day looking for a vegetable to eat, or endurance to chase the antelope they shoot, which may take as many as four days to die and may walk as far as a hundred miles if the arrow was not particularly well placed. Bushmen are extremely observant, too, and 151
can follow the spoor of their wounded antelope over the hard- 174
est ground or recognize it among the spoor of a herd of other antelope of its kind, and if they miss the spoor and find it again, they know from individual characteristics of the footprint that it is their antelope and no other. Even a Bushman child walking along in the veld can tell his mother's footprints, can see at once the tiniest dry stalk among the grass

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

[151] that marks an edible root, or see a scorpion hidden in the dust
174 and jump over it. So Bushmen survive in the most rigorous places; they survive in the dense, mosquito-ridden papyrus
131 swamps of the Okovango River, steaming like a jungle and
133 dangerous with snakes and fever, where the River Bushmen
[184] live, the only Bushmen with plenty of water; they also survive on the vast, rolling steppes of central Bechuanaland, the territory of the Gikwe Bushmen, who for the nine dry months of the year have no water at all and do without it.

609 Besides the fact that Bushmen alone can live in the land
563 they occupy, there is another reason for their remoteness and
648 shyness. They are in many instances exploited by the Bantu farmers, and by a few of the European farmers, usually those who need free or almost free labor. Many Bantu farms and households have Bushman servants, or serfs, rather, as they usually come from the land on or near the farm, and when working they are paid nothing but are given food, tobacco,
464 and sometimes cast-off clothing as wages. Some European
648 farms in Bechuanaland and some in South-West Africa have Bushman laborers too, though most European farmers do not depend on Bushman labor. Those European farmers who do employ Bushmen usually pay wages, about ten shillings a month, plus a ration of food to each Bushman who is working, though not necessarily to his family, consisting of about a pound of cornmeal and a quart of milk a day, meat occasionally, and weekly a ration of tobacco. Perhaps the employer will add a set of clothing—that is, a pair of cast-off pants and a shirt—and perhaps a blanket every year, but occasionally they pay their labor in cast-off clothing and omit the ten shillings altogether.

648 European clothing is esteemed among Bushmen, for it is
291 symbolic to them of a people mightier than themselves, and
439

also because, made of cloth instead of leather, it is more cling- 648
ing, therefore warmer and more comfortable, and dries faster 291
when wet. It is sought after and desired, it is got through em- 439
ployment; yet, even so, Bushmen hesitate to seek employment because they believe that they will be badly treated (as they sometimes are) and they often find the customary wage and food ration to be inadequate for anyone who must support a family. Supposedly, the wives of Bushmen laborers are [222
free to look on the farmer's land for roots and berries, as they 465]
would if they were living in the veld; but, as it happens, after a few years the supply of wild food around a farm becomes exhausted.

The Bantu farmers, being as a rule much poorer than the 648
European farmers, are less generous to their Bushman serfs. 464
They also give a food ration of cornmeal and milk but almost never meat, for any meat that may come into the Bantu kraal is eaten by the Bantus unless it is the carcass of a hyena or a leopard which the Bantu masters have killed for the pelt. The Bantus say: "Our Bushman servants are like our children; they herd our cattle for us and we feed them. A child does not ask for wages when he helps with the family work."

Besides this, the Bantus badly cheat the Bushmen who come in from the veld to trade cured antelope hides for metal and tobacco, sometimes asking several hides, worth several pounds apiece, for enough tobacco to fill the palm of the Bushman's hand, or for a piece of wire long enough to make an arrowhead. All in all, it does not benefit the Bushmen to 609
live anywhere near Bantu or European settlements, and that 648
is why the Bushmen of the veld run and hide when they see Europeans coming, believing that they may be taken by force (as they sometimes are), and why they avoid going to a Bantu settlement except to trade for tobacco when they feel

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609 they must smoke, or when they are dying of thirst and must
648 come in to beg for water.

159 Once I talked with a young Bushman who had visited one
563 of our camps in Bechuanaland many times, who spoke Afri-
kaans, and whom I shall call Tami. I could speak a little
[191] Afrikaans, so he and I could talk together. He was in his early thirties and had been working for some time for European farmers. When I met him he was married, and as his wife had
[465] just had a baby, he felt that his ten-shilling-a-month wage was inadequate and he planned to move to another part of the country where he hoped to be paid more. As it is rather unusual for a Bushman to uproot himself from his own country, no matter how long he has been on a farm and away from his own people, I asked him where he had come from and how he had learned Afrikaans.

[153] "Oh," he said, "I learned Afrikaans in the places I have been. I have worked for white men since I was a young boy
[191] and I have always been fast to learn their languages. In the same way I have learned the languages of the black people."

"Where did you live before you worked for white people?" I asked.

"We lived not far from Nurigaas, at the edge of the police zone. I am a young person still, but I remember that Nurigaas was all wild then. We always lived there."

"With your parents?"

"Yes, until the police boys [1] took the old man my father."

I asked him what had happened, and he said: "We lived at the edge of the police zone, you know. We lived with
888 other Bushmen there, and my sister, she was there. My
159 mother's father was still alive then, but he was too old, he
563 couldn't even carry water, and my mother had to do every-

[1] Police boys are native policemen, usually Bantu.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

thing for him. She was his daughter, so she was glad to do it, [888] but my sister and I thought he was just an old man who sat 159 and coughed and spit. He didn't like the Europeans or the 563 black people either, and my father didn't either, and that is why we lived on the other side of the police zone. On one side were the police boys with camels—that was in the old days with the camel patrol [2]—and on the other side the lions and the Bushmen asked for your pass.

"One day my father went hunting and he was gone two [224] days. Then my sister said: 'He must have shot a giraffe.' A giraffe is royal game, you know, and you can go to jail if you kill one, only my father didn't know it then.

"Yes, and that day two police boys came on camels and a 159 white man on a camel. The police boys had a rifle and the 563 white policeman had a rifle and a little gun in his hand. They 625 had a Nurigaas Bushman walking with them, but he didn't come near us because he was ashamed. One police boy spoke the language of the Bushmen, and he said: 'Where is the old man who lives here?' and my mother pointed to my grandfather and she said: 'This is the one,' but the police boy said: 'Not that one, I want your husband. Where is he?' 'I don't know,' said my mother, but the police boy said: 'How can an old woman like you lie to me?' and my mother just covered up her face and said nothing. Then the police boy and the Nurigaas Bushman found my father's spoor off in the veld, and they all followed him with the police boy and the Nurigaas Bushman walking and the white man and the other police boy on the camels. Next morning they came back with my father, they had his hands tied behind and a rope around his neck and he was running behind the camel. His face was

[2] Until quite recently, the police who had occasion to go into the desert rode on camels because camels could endure desert conditions far better than horses, and could go through soft sand where trucks could not.

159 all thick, you know, and he had to hold his head back because
563 the rope was choking. My mother, she ran after the police
625 boys and called them to stop. She said: 'I will speak with the old man before he dies.' But the police boys had no time and they went off with the camels' heads going up and down and the old man running, running, running, behind.

"And my mother fell down in the dust and cried, and my sister did too, but I didn't, I watched my father instead because I didn't know when I would ever see him again. I told them so and I was right, because later a Bushman who came up from the south told us that they rode the camels through a river and my father was drowned. It was the rope around his neck that choked him, though. That is what happened, and I remember it all, but it happened a long time ago.

159 "After that, my mother wouldn't stay in the veld without a
563 man and she took us near the waterhole of Nurigaas because the veld was no place for us when my father was dead. But I
[571] would like to find that Nurigaas Bushman who followed my father's tracks.

"Then one day a European farmer came in his ox wagon and he said to my mother: 'Who will give me a boy for this pound of tobacco?' And my mother was afraid, so she took the tobacco and said to me: 'He wants you to go with him.' I cried, but the white man took me and put me in his ox wagon and gave my mother another cup of tobacco, but she told him she didn't want it and wanted me to come back. But the white man drove away and my mother ran along beside, crying. She said: 'Wait! Where will I get another boy when he is killed like my husband?' But the farmer didn't hear her. I got sick riding in the wagon and my bowels opened and I was ashamed because the farmer's Bushmen were riding in the wagon too, and they said: 'Why are you crying? Don't be afraid.' But I was afraid because my grandfather told me

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

that white people used to hunt Bushmen and wanted to kill 159
us for our land. The farmer took me to his farm and I pulled 563
weeds and watched his cattle. He gave me milk and corn- [465
meal, but I didn't like it. I told him milk was for babies and 262]
I wanted him to take me back to my country, but he laughed at me.

"He called me Goliath because I was so small. Goliath, come here. Goliath, watch my calves. And later he gave me a shirt to cover my body and then I went to work for another master, who gave me a goat, and then I worked for my [465]
last master, who paid me shillings. But I am leaving here too because in South-West Africa they pay better. I am a father now, you know."

The day Tami left, I walked over the veld toward a road to say good-by to him, and when I got halfway there I found that he had come halfway to say good-by to me. He was holding his goat by the horns, and behind him his wife, wearing a horrid rag of a European dress, was standing with the baby inside the front of the dress. I gave Tami a knife and his wife a scarf of mine, although I had nothing to give to the baby, and they said good-by to me and turned, Tami dragging the goat around, pretending to be very jaunty, and they set out walking toward the road that leads to South-West Africa.

Times have changed since Tami's father died. In those 648
days, to be sure, there was a great deal more friction between Bushmen and non-Bushmen than there is now because the Bushmen who lived near the farms of European or Bantu farmers quite often killed cattle. It is sometimes said that they did so because they were unable to distinguish between cattle and wild game, or that the cattle drove away the wild game so that the Bushmen would have had no meat if they had not killed the cattle, but I very much doubt that either of these things was true. Most probably, the Bushmen found

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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648 that hunting cattle was extremely easy, and also, very probably, they wanted to revenge themselves upon the owners of the cattle, whom they believed to be encroaching upon the [423] land they considered their own. Today, largely because the ownership of the land has been determined, many fewer cattle are killed by Bushmen.

566 Of course, it is quite against the law for any farmer to keep
687 Bushmen against their will and without recompense, but in the most remote outposts, on many farms, the laws cannot always be enforced. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate today,
657 and also, I believe, in South-West Africa, the governments
563 are trying to set wage scales and provide education for Bush-
566 men, something very difficult for these governments to do as the Bushmen represent only a small fragment of the population, pay no taxes whatever, of course, and are in great demand as laborers; but the only Bushmen who so far can benefit from this are those who already live on the more central farms. Most Bushmen live in the veld, many in almost unreachable parts of the desert, and these people are still being taken by farmers and made to work almost as slaves.

466 Usually Bushmen do not run away from their masters un-
566 less a very good chance presents itself, such as the master's departure for a time, in which case he may return to find that all his Bushmen have run. But to escape is not always easy; the Bantus usually ride after the escaping Bushmen and drag them back, sometimes beating them severely as well. We once learned of a Bushman who, trying to escape, was captured by his Bantu master and beaten to death, his potential labor being sacrificed to set an example for others.

A European farmer can sometimes get police help in recapturing his escaped Bushmen if the farmer has paid the Bushmen some wages in advance and is owed the Bushmen's labor. European farmers are also not always lenient with

Bushmen who try to escape. But to escape from any master is 466
by no means impossible; Bushmen are not locked up at night 566
or guarded during the day. Even the chain gangs of Bushmen
that you may see in European settlements (Bushmen living [687]
near the farms are put in jail occasionally for killing giraffes
or stealing cattle) are always straggling down a road with a
defenseless guard trailing far behind, and we often wondered
why Bushmen were so docile, so easy to exploit, allowing
themselves to be badly treated and taken away from their
homes. Some people, like Tami, have no choice because they
have forgotten the fine skills required to live in the veld and
would die there. Some young Bushmen find the promise of
European clothing and customs too alluring to resist and are
willing to give up their own ways and customs for a shirt or a
ragged dress. Perhaps others welcome the promise of food
every day, even though they find that on the farms they are
poorer than ever, having little enough food, and when their
leather clothes fall into rags they cannot hunt to get new ones.
Perhaps, too, they are surprised to find their Bantu or Euro-
pean masters not always as dangerous as they feared.

But these things are not true of everyone. Many servants
long for their homes; many veld Bushmen hide from Euro-
peans for fear they will be taken away, for they know that a
European does not have to force them to come with him,
only to persuade them, and since they are afraid of him they
hear themselves agreeing to go, and, shortly after, find them-
selves working on his farm, angry with themselves and filled
with remorse.

We learned two reasons for the submissiveness of Bush- 181
men. One reason is that it is not in their nature to fight, not
in their experience to deal with people other than themselves.
They would much rather run, hide, and wait until a menace
has passed than to defend themselves forcefully, quite unlike

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

181 the Bantus, who are staunch and brave and in the past have waged great wars. But Bushmen deplore and misunderstand bravery. The heroes of their legends are always little jackals who trick, lie, and narrowly escape, rather than larger, bolder [538] animals such as lions (who in the Kalahari are something of a master race). In the Bushmen's stories, lions are always being scalded, singed, duped, cuckolded, or killed.

181 Bushmen cannot afford to fight with each other and almost 182 never do because their only real weapon is their arrow poison, 578 422 for which there is no antidote. But even were they to disregard this danger, Bushmen would try not to fight because they have no mechanism in their culture for dealing with disagreements other than to remove the causes of the disagreements. Their hold on life is too tenuous to permit quarreling among themselves. A Bushman will go to any lengths to avoid making other Bushmen jealous of him, and for this reason the few possessions that Bushmen have are constantly circling among the members of their groups. No one cares to keep a particularly good knife too long, even though he may want it desperately, because he will become the object of envy; as he sits by himself polishing a fine edge on the blade he will hear the soft voices of the other men in his band saying: "Look at him there, admiring his knife while we have nothing." Soon somebody will ask him for his knife, for everybody would like to have it, and he will give it away. Their culture insists that they share with each other, and it has never happened that a Bushman failed to share objects, food, or water with the other members of his band, for without very rigid co-operation Bushmen could not survive the famines and droughts that the Kalahari offers them.

181 The other reason for their submissiveness is that Bushmen, 609 whose possessions are only sticks and bones, beads made of eggshell and fragments of leather, are overwhelmed by the

possessions of Bantus and Europeans—horses and cattle, 181
dogs, melon lands, medicines, rifles, boots, and trucks—as 609
well as their enormous size, heavy necks and arms, great beards, and roaring voices. Europeans are beyond the powers of Bushmen's imagination, more awesome in stature, in possessions, in might, than even the Bushmen's god, who can be [776]
cajoled, who hunts with a bow and arrow. Bushmen consider the Europeans and the Bantus to be superior beings. Bantus [648]
and Europeans consider the Bushmen to be inferior beings, and, without resisting, a Bushman always bows to a European or a Bantu person's will.

Once an old man, a veld Bushman, told us the story of the 283
reim and the grass fiber. A reim is a leather rope which the 539
Bantus make by skinning a cow with a long, spiraling cut that goes around and around the body so that the hide comes off all in one piece a few inches wide and many yards long, which is then stretched and cured, making a piece of leather useful for harnessing oxen or building a hut.

"In the earliest days," the old man said, "the Bushmen and 539
the non-Bushmen were all one nation, and the great god 773
came to earth and gave them a rope. Half the rope was made of reim and half was made of grass fiber. The great god told all the people to pull on the rope, and the non-Bushmen came away with the reim, but the Bushmen got only the grass fiber. After that, the non-Bushmen had cattle and reims and all those things, but the Bushmen had only the things that are in the veld. If this ever happened again," the old man said, "I would tell the Bushmen to make sure they got the reim half."

So the distinction between people was caused by the great 181
god, and the Bushmen, who want only to be left in peace, do 609
not compete in issues which they cannot win. They are only [773]
frightened by other peoples and hope to be spared their atten-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

181 tion. Kung Bushmen call all strangers *zhu dole*, which means
609 "stranger" but, literally, "dangerous person"; they call all non-Bushmen *zo si*, which means "animals without hooves," because, they say, non-Bushmen are angry and dangerous like lions and hyenas. But Kung Bushmen call themselves *zhu twa si*, the harmless people. *Twa* means "just" or "only," in the sense that you say: "It was just the wind" or "It is only me."

CHAPTER TWO

The Road

AFTER we left Chukudu, a tiny village of Bantu people, the last marked place on the map of Bechuanaland between Molepolole in the east and Ghanzi far in the west, we had no path to follow. We took a course out over the veld set by a Bushman, Gishe, who rode in the jeep at the head of our convoy of four trucks and, remembering the land from his childhood—for he was a Gikwe Bushman—pointed the way.

That was in winter, the last of June 1955, and there were fifteen of us on the expedition, a larger group than we had traveled with before. Besides my father, my mother, my bother John, and myself, there were three South Africans with us, who were Dr. Robert Story, of the Division of Botany in the Department of Agriculture at Pretoria; Theunis Berger, once a health officer of the government of the Bechuanaland Protectorate; and Cass Kruger, a mechanic. There were two other Americans—Daniel Blitz, an expert in sound-recording and photography, and William Donnellan, a doctor. There was also a staff of six African and colored men, who were Philip Hameva, the cook; Ledimo, an interpreter who spoke English, Afrikaans, Herero, Sechuana (his native

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

114 language), and Kung; Simon, a mechanic's helper; William Camm, also an interpreter who spoke Afrikaans, some English, and Gikwe; and Gishe and Dabe, two Gikwe Bushmen who lived on Theunis's farm.

We were looking for Gikwe Bushmen, as we had heard that there were some who lived in the area. We hoped that if we found some, Gishe or Dabe might discover a relative and enable us to make friends.

133 We traveled for many days, all day long, for, not knowing 137 where the Bushmen were, we hoped to come across some of them somewhere, or find a trace or track that might show us in what direction they had gone. We did not find anyone, though, and we saw nothing but the series of long, broad plains that dipped and tilted ever so little; we would find ourselves down in a wide, shallow bowl of grass, then at the rim of the bowl, where we would see the next plain rolling for miles away. Occasionally we came to an acacia forest, but mostly the country was open grassland with tiny thorn bushes down in the grass to catch us. Because it was June, the beginning of the dry season, there were many veld fires, and although we never came upon any, every day we saw their smoke, gray and misty on the horizon, all around us in a ring.

136 Sometimes we saw a small herd of game running far away from us, raising a little cloud of dust. We saw gemsbok, handsome, large, beige antelope, striped black on their sides, white-bellied, with long, straight horns. We saw gray, tousled wildebeest with curved horns like the horns of cattle. Once we surprised a herd of three eland, a bull and his two wives, which had been eating behind a clump of bushes. They threw up their heads when they saw us, eyes catching the sun and shining pale green like fires. They wheeled, hoofs scraping, and ran, their red bodies swaying, their heads held high

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

with their straight horns down on their backs; they neither 136
leaped nor galloped, but paced majestically away, the great folds of flesh from their chins to their chests swinging. The bull left a string of saliva hanging, shining in the air.

Once we even saw a giraffe, but miles, miles away from us, alone under the clear sky among the thorn trees on the horizon, and we could see its silhouetted head and long neck turned to watch us; it seemed very lonely, very small, and very far away on the yellow flats; when the noise of our trucks reached it, it was frightened and began to run, heaving itself up and down. It ran away from us for a long time and got even smaller but never out of sight. At last it reached the horizon.

Later we came to some soft sand in a little forest of low trees, where we found the footprints of a family of lions. Beside the great, splayed pads of the lion, bigger than the span of my hand, went the smaller, neater pads of the lioness with little ridges of dust between the toes, followed by the tiny prints of two almost newborn cubs with feet no bigger than the print of my thumb. The marks had been made less than an hour ago, so John, Theunis, Gishe, and I, who had been in the jeep and were a good distance ahead of the heavier, slower trucks, decided to follow a little way after the family to see what they had been doing. It was during the day and warm, and the lions had been doing nothing except resting in the shade. We found the furry prints of the chests of the adults, made in the shade of a bush, and the prints of two more tiny cubs which the parents must have been carrying. We believed that they were near us because we heard some creature breathing in a tangle of bushes not far away, and we decided not to follow them because the lioness might become anxious and charge. We had only wanted to see them and perhaps photograph them, but we had no rifle and decided it was too

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kgalagadi FV4

B 136 dangerous for us there, so we withdrew. We should have loved to see them, and we were sorry to leave their patch of
K bush.
131 We looked in the open ground near the lions' thicket for
361 signs of Bushmen, but we found none, so we went on over the flat plains and the next day we came to a long dip in the country, forested with small trees, the last place, said Theunis, where anyone except Bushmen lived. It was the rainy-season
K village of a few Bakalaharis, a Bantu people who years ago
221 lost all their cattle and went into the desert, where they live a life very much like the life of Bushmen except that they raise goats. During the rains they graze their goats at little posts of theirs, far away in the veld. We set off toward the village, planning to ask the people there if they knew of Bushmen
K farther on, but as we went over the ridge and down into the
166 valley we came upon all the villagers walking toward us, driv-
484 ing donkeys and herds of goats, a surprising sight in that lonely country. There were about sixty people in all, tall,
K dark-skinned Bakalahari men carrying bows and arrows, fol-
[141 482] lowed by their women, who carried heavy bundles on their backs, supported by tumplines around their foreheads, which made their eyes bulge and their lower jaws stick out. Among
B them walked their Bushman servants, old wrinkled men and
[357 482] women, young girls with their babies, lithe young hunters,
854 small, light-skinned, all carrying great loads of household goods belonging to the Bakalaharis, with the youngest Bushman children riding on top of the loads. Some of the Bush-
K man boys were driving herds of goats, some of the older Bush-
[492] man women drove herds of scrubby gray donkeys which were also heavily loaded with bundles of hides, sticks used to build
K houses, bags of belongings, and baby goats too young to walk.
484 We were surprised to see them and we stopped. Some of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen
Kgalagadi FV4

them stopped when they saw us, halting the donkeys; the rest, hot and feeling the weight of their bundles, walked by us in a long procession on either side, glancing at us but not stopping, anxious to get to their camping-place as soon as possible although it was only morning and they still had a long way to go. Their company did not follow a path, but spread out all through the bush in a dusty crowd, the adults walking silently, saving their energy. The children shouted, the goats bleated, and the skinny dogs whined and barked. K [487]

A Bushman woman driving a herd of goats almost walked over us, and a donkey driven by a child crowded against us, loaded with clusters of pottery jars that were strung together like melons on a vine, each of which contained a chicken, thrust in with its head down and its feet protruding from the mouth of the jar, the theory being that the chicken, finding itself upside down and so confined, gets confused and does not try to escape. Muffled squawks echoed from the chickens, an eerie sound. K [415 492 231]

One old man, a Bakalahari, came up to talk with us. He was very poorly dressed, in ragged shorts, and was very suspicious, perhaps assuming from our questions about Bushmen that we wanted his servants for laborers, and he stood apart from us and called out his answers to us, glancing out of the corners of his eyes at the people pouring by him, worrying perhaps that they would leave him behind. I was sitting on the ground listening to the conversation when I heard someone come up behind me, and I looked around to see a pair of long dark legs almost standing on me, then up into the shadow of a wide-brimmed hat which almost covered a young man's face. He had a beautiful body, clad in a pair of shorts, but of his face under the hat brim, only the eyes, dull white, showed clearly. The rest of his face had been eaten away by K 609 K [164]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen
Kgalagadi FV4

K 164 609 yaws into a mass of holes and pits, some large, some small, some around his nose showing black caves, the insides of his nasal passages, some, around his mouth, showing a tooth or two. The wide strap of his hat was arranged over his face to cover the hole where his nose had been. He spoke, a belch, for the insides of his mouth and throat were gone, and his voice was deep and echoing, like a voice in a cavern. It did not sound like the voice of a human being at all.

He stepped over me as if I weren't there and, shouldering the old man aside, told us that he was the headman of the village. The old man hurried on, and we asked the headman where all the villagers were going. He told us that they were moving back to Chukudu, their winter quarters, for the veld was particularly dry that year and they could no longer live there. We asked him if he knew of any Bushmen farther on in the desert, but he said that none were left. Lions, he told us, had eaten them all. This was impossible, of course, although it meant that he suspected us and did not wish to talk. The condition of his face made him self-conscious, for he kept arranging the strap of his hat over the holes, and didn't talk with us long, but lifted his hand in a salute and K 484 turned away, following his people up the path that they were leaving behind them, for the sharp feet of the donkeys and goats trampled a swathe through the grass.

We watched them go, and soon they were out of sight among the bushes. Only their heads showed, bobbing above the tops of the bushes; we saw the headman's hat—he had hurried and caught up. In a moment the procession had K 563 reached the rise of ground and there a group of young Bushman women, who were the last of the procession and were scattered all over the hillside waist-deep in the yellow grass, turned their heads to look back at us; like vixens they watched

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kgalagadi FV4

us over their slender shounders, neither smiling nor speaking, K 563
just watching with blank faces and great eyes.

We went on, and traveled for many days, breaking camp B
before dawn, stopping only for a minute for a bite at noon, 13
not stopping again until it was almost dark. We saw no people, no animals, but only the miles and miles of yellow-silver grass and black bushes, and saw the wind that blew across the country twisting the grass from silver to gold, gold to silver. It may have blown for thousands of miles before it touched us, perhaps blown over a Bushman werf tucked away somewhere, one point in the enormous, vast veld that ran all the way to Molepolole and all the way to Ghanzi, hundreds of miles to the south and north to the great river; the veld was just grass, occasionally marked by a little nameless pan, a little salt flat, or a few bushes or thorn trees; it was inhabited only by lonely birds, a few antelope in small herds, a few families of lions, a few Bushmen, as far apart from each other as the stars. The only sound there was made by the wind in the grass or the voices of a few birds singing, the only movement the slow turning of the sun, the moon, and the cold stars, very far away.

Every morning the sun rose straight up from the flat horizon, salmon red and in a haze of yellow, distorted by the haze into an oblong, and always gigantic, like a monster looming above the poor, dry, stumpy bushes of the veld.

As we went farther and farther into the desert we saw less B
and less game. The great herds that had once been there were 136
gone, perhaps because it was too dry, although the game antelope do not need to drink water, for they get enough moisture from the grass and roots they eat; perhaps because

136 the great veld fires had burned away the dry grass farther in the north, causing new green grass to spring up, luring the antelope to come there. We saw fires very near us and we wondered if the Bushmen had followed the game to the north.

361 609 One day we came to a tiny, low forest where we decided to camp for the night. As we searched among the little trees for firewood, we came upon three scherms, three little huts, built by Bushmen and abandoned very recently. The ashes of the fires were still warm. The people who lived there had surely heard us and had run away, leaving many of their possessions behind. We found a pot, burned black from use, a few white beads, a quiver with arrows, and a digging-stick, which is a branch a few feet long with the bark peeled off and the twigs trimmed away, sharpened at one end and used by Bushmen as a spade to break the hard ground when they dig roots. We then found footprints made by the people when they had rushed off in all directions; and later, as we followed the tracks, we even found the prints of hands and knees where someone had crawled hastily across an open place.

411 412 415 301

609 The discovery of these huts made us very hopeful, as we had traveled much farther than we had expected. We felt confident that Gishe, who had been born near our very campsite, would be able to track the people and find them, or that they would be plagued by curiosity and finally visit us. They did not, however; nor did they come back for their possessions, nor was Gishe able to find them. He had been living on a farm for many years and was no longer an expert tracker; and after the night dew had fallen during the evening that we found the werf, the tracks were old.

Of course, it was useless for us to wander around the veld hoping to stumble upon fresh tracks, although we tried the following day without success. We also sent Gishe to look for

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

the people, but all he did was set the veld on fire; he had been 609
careless when lighting his pipe. He had asked to have matches to start a fire in case a lion saw him, so that when we saw smoke rising from the direction he had taken, we ran to the spot, then had to run back again to save our trucks when the wind turned the fire toward our camp. After that, we were about to give up and move farther into the veld, thinking that the Bushmen had perhaps gone far away. We had only the water that we carried and we were wasting it by waiting; but in the evening, in the quiet, cold air, when some of us happened to be standing at the edge of camp, we heard an ax ringing as somebody chopped wood far away, the sound carried to us on the wind. It was surely the people; there is no other sound in the world exactly like an ax ringing, and we decided to wait a few more days.

We set up a permanent camp. We arranged our trucks, pitched our tents, and waited. The third night that we waited there, all scattered in our blankets over the ground, three lions walked among us as we slept, sniffed us, and watched us with their yellow eyes, although we didn't know until morning when we found their tracks.

The fourth night a veld fire passed us. We were awake then; we saw the bright flames leaping at the trees, smelled the smoke, and heard the fire roaring as the wind pushed it forward into the grass.

CHAPTER THREE

The Bushmen

ow ON THE morning of the fifth day, when we felt that we could wait no longer, Gishe guessed that we might find Bushmen farther ahead, and we decided to try. Breaking a track is such a slow and tedious process that my brother John, Theunis, Gishe, and I loaded one truck and set off in it, leaving the other people to load the other trucks and follow later, traveling faster in our tracks.

136 We rode west all morning, and at noon we came to an open pan where fine, soft grass as fine as hair was blowing, and we saw a lion there, a big male with a black, tangled mane growing all the way down his neck and ending between his shoulders. He had the muscled neck and shoulders and the wide, swelling jaw of male creatures, and when he raised his head to look at us we saw that he was old. His face was wrinkled and massive, and he looked straight at us with a direct, indifferent look, the blind gaze of cats. His paws were enormous, his fur was the color of gold, He seemed so huge and bright in the sunlight, his eyes so cold and pale, that he fascinated us the way a cat fascinates birds. At that moment he could have walked up to us and carried one of us away.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

Bushmen believe that certain famous sorcerers, once med- 754
icine men who chose to be poisoners and magicians instead 825
of healers, have taken the form of certain lions, which can always be distinguished from ordinary lions by their great size and their ability to float in the air. Also, Bushmen say, the [921]
eclipses of the moon are caused by lions, as on very bright nights a lion may cover the moon's face with a great paw, giving himself darkness for better hunting.

Usually, when a lion sees you, he skulks away or bounds 136
off in great, ungainly leaps, in clumsy dodges, making a fool of himself because he is frightened; but when one raises his head and looks right at you, then turns as this one did, and walks off without even looking back, you understand at once why Bushmen believe the things they do.

As the lion walked away into a thicket of acacia trees we climbed off the truck and followed him. It was rash of us, but we were not afraid of him. We wanted a photograph. However, he had disappeared, and as we were looking cautiously around among the trunks of little trees we heard a motor roaring, gears grinding; and finally, as we watched, the jeep arrived with Cass and Bob (Dr. Story), who told us to go back to camp as fast as we could. Two Bushmen had arrived.

We started back at once and got there late in the afternoon, 609
and there we found them, two small men, one old, one young, in silhouette as they squatted by the fire, turning as we came to look at us, very nervous and very ill at ease. They had been given food and tobacco—a blue cloud hung above their heads —and a bucket of water, but during the course of the afternoon they had drunk the bucket dry. As Theunis and Gishe, the only people who could have spoken to both them and us, had been away, the rest of the expedition had had to wait anxiously for our return, unable to communicate a single word.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

291 Both men were thin, brown-skinned, and wore nothing but loincloths, and they looked very out of place next to us, among our big trucks and boxes of equipment, squatting naked like two frogs against the long grass and reddening sky of their country. We sat by the fire to talk with them, and it was the old man who answered our questions. His name was [194 Ukwane, and he seemed very old, for he spoke with a hesi- 551] tant, cracked voice that faded into a whisper at the end of every phrase, and whenever some of us would leave or join the group at the fire he would stare intently at us, frowning, [164 leaning forward a little because he could barely see us, his eyes being filmed with cataracts, hazy blue.

142 Ukwane had great wrinkles lengthwise down his belly where his paunch had shrunk. His hands were knobbed and his shoulders stiff, yet his legs were as supple as a baby's, for [514 he sat crouched with his knees in the air and his heels tucked up tight against his buttocks. His skin looked old, too, like [303 old leather, hardened and black like a glove that has been left in the rain, and his curly hair was disheveled, uncut, untidy with pieces of straw.

609 Our questions frightened Ukwane, and often he was at a loss for something to reply. He thought we were policemen coming to look for some lost horses, for somehow a rumor had reached into the farthest corners of the veld that a European farmer had lost seven horses and all the people in the veld were afraid for their lives. The first thing he said was that he hadn't seen any horses and certainly hadn't taken them himself. He was too old, he said. We told him that we were not policemen and, besides, had never heard of the horses, but he was not reassured. He coughed and turned to the young man, who looked at us with nothing to say.

609 The young man was also very shy, but had a greater dignity 194 than Ukwane because of his cool, proud bearing. He said

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

very little, and when he did speak it was in a voice so soft that 609
it was almost inaudible. Also, he held his hand in front of his 194
mouth with a finger against his lips, which muffled his words so that only Ukwane could understand them. This was what the young man intended; he meant for the old man to speak for them both and only wanted to help him through tight spots in the conversation.

The young man told us his name, though, which was Gai. 609
Gai sat crouching too, like Ukwane, and kept self-consciously shifting his position, pretending to be unconcerned. He glanced at us out of the corners of his eyes and smiled skeptically from time to time, for although he did not know us and, as we learned later, had not seen Europeans before, therefore had no way of judging our remarks and our expressions, he was younger than Ukwane, and prouder, and was afraid of showing his naïveté, afraid of seeming to believe a lie or disbelieving something that everyone should know was true.

Gai was extremely handsome. In fact, he was one of the 142
most beautiful human beings I have ever seen, tall for a Bushman, his head shaved, showing a strong, domed skull. His face was strong, too, a little heavy of bone, with a big jaw which he carried thrust forward and up so that he looked at you from the bottom of his eyes, a reserved gaze. His body was smooth and brown, built compactly, the body itself long in proportion to the arms and legs. Like all Bushmen, he was narrow of shoulder and hip, with a deep chest and a large belly, and when seen from the side as his belly relaxed he seemed wider from front to back than he was from side to side, very like a hunting animal whose chest is deep but narrow. Gai was also well dressed, not with a strip of leather like 291
Ukwane, but with a beautifully designed, worked, and fringed loincloth with two wide tabs at the back which he could spread to sit on. He wore a band around his hips, too,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

291 as a belt for the loincloth, with a fringe of leather strips so long that when he sat down the fringe lay on the ground.

We asked them where they lived, and Ukwane, who was afraid to answer, said he was old and did not remember. Gai said they lived many days' journey to the east. We asked if the huts beside our camp belonged to them, and they said no, they had never seen them before, neither did they have the slightest idea how they came to be there.

60? We gave them some more tobacco as a gesture of our good faith and we told them that we had come from America, hundreds of days' travel and across a great body of water, but of course they had never heard of America or the ocean and thought we meant the Okovango River, and at that they didn't really believe us, although they were too polite to tell [194] us so. "Merica," they said softly, with a beautiful, curled *r*, almost a *d* or an *l*. We said that we had come to visit them and to give them presents. We said that we were the friends of many Bushmen in the west where we had lived for a year, and had been given Bushman names, so we weren't entirely strangers. We told them the names, which made them smile, because of course they weren't Gikwe names, but Gai and Ukwane softened a little with this and admitted that, after all, the huts were theirs.

Finally they told us that a few nights ago they had been sitting at their fires, the two men, their wives and children, and one other family, when they had heard the sound of our trucks, which had frightened them so that they had run off into the veld in all directions, taking nothing with them except the few possessions that had come first to hand. Ukwane, warming a little, said that he had been so terrified that he had crawled away on his hands and knees, afraid to show his head above the tops of the bushes.

Presently they had found each other again and had settled

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

into a new place, although now they had no scherms. For the 609
next days they had waited and listened, and when they had heard our truck leave they had assumed that we were gone, and had returned to get the rest of their things. Then they had noticed our trucks, and believing that they were surrounded and had fallen into our trap, they had come to surrender. Ukwane felt more relaxed and laughed at this, a [152]
warm, wheezy chuckle, showing a few teeth, slapping his chest and coughing from the smoke which he had been inhaling deeply. Seeing Ukwane, the rest of us laughed, too, but Gai only stiffened and smiled an icy smile. Behind his head the sun was setting, small and red, away over the edge of the flat plain, making all the little, distant trees against it look black and very lonely; and the new moon followed after into the salmon light, a heavy crescent flat on its back and bow-shaped, yellow and malevolent like the smile.

Before they went to sleep that night, the two men accepted a second bucketful of water as a present. The bucket they would return, but the water was for them alone, an enormous [271]
present in the desert, for which they were very grateful. They began to drink from it, scooping the water up with their hands and, later, lifting the bucket to drink from its rim. After that they lay down, naked as they were on the bare 513
ground, close to the fire, with their knees bent, letting as much skin as possible be exposed to the heat. The warm smoke and ashes blew over them and they went to sleep on their sides as Bushmen always must, with one ear on the ground but with the other up and listening, to hear what comes along. Because it was cold they woke up often, and every time they woke they drank, so in the morning only the bottom of the pail had water in it, frozen into a circle of ice.

The next day the two men agreed to take some of us to 609
their werf, and we drove off with Ukwane in the jeep and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 Gai on the hood to point the way. From his higher position he noticed the long horns of a gemsbok in the grass and he signaled for the jeep to stop. Then he, John, and Theunis, taking a rifle, slipped out of the jeep and ran off after it, bent over and crouched so low that only their backs showed, as the backs of animals would, gliding above the grass. The gemsbok saw them and ran away toward a patch of heavy bush in the plain, the great V of horns a crown over its head. The men ran after, standing now, and in an hour they came back to where Ukwane and I were waiting, lying on our stomachs under the jeep to be in shade, saying that they had killed it. We drove to the spot where the gemsbok, a female, lay and brought her with us, a present to offer the other Bushmen.

361 We drove for several hours and at last we came to a wide plain, grown over heavily with small trees of slender trunks, with a few short branches sprouting leaves, like fence posts. Gai directed us to one of the smaller trees in the center of the plain and told us to stop. He climbed down and looked [231] [276] around over the veld, then bent and picked up a small pipe, a piece of the leg bone of an antelope. He asked us for a match, lit his pipe, and smoked it.

At last we noticed on the other side of the tree two shallow depressions scooped in the sand and lined with grass, like [513] the shallow, scooped nests of shore birds on a beach—the homes of the families, where the people could lie curled up [132] just below the surface of the plain to let the cold night wind which blows across the veld pass over them.

Other than the depressions, except for a small pile of brown, twisted bean shells, no sign would show that people lived there. Later we saw another scooped pit and a stick thrust upright in the ground beside it, right at our feet, which [4-23] was Gai's place; the stick was to mark the spot, although Gai

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GIKwe

could have found his shallow pit at any time of the day or night.

Nobody was there; everyone had run away. We sat down and waited while Gai put his hands to his mouth and shouted, trying to summon the people back again. When nobody came or even answered him, he flung his pipe to the ground and marched off to find them among the bushes, alternately shouting to his hidden relatives and muttering to himself, for they might be far away and the day was getting warm.

We sat in the middle ground between the depressions so that we wouldn't risk stepping on or crushing anybody's hidden things, for, without knowing it, a European can in a moment trample through a Bushman's cache, breaking the delicate bone or wooden objects, bending the reed arrows, or crushing eggshell beads. Also, among certain groups of Bushmen, every fire has a man's side and a woman's side, determined by the position of the fire as you face the doorway of the scherm, the man's side being on the right, the woman's on the left. If a man sits on the woman's side, or where a woman has been sitting, he will become impotent and will also lose his power to hunt, and if a woman sits where a man has been sitting, she will get a disease in her vagina. Something intangible, invisible, but dangerously powerful, remains on the ground. We did not know which side was which of this werf's fires, or even for sure where the fires were; we did not even know that the Gikwe had this custom, for we had learned it from Kung Bushmen, but we knew that if they did they would not welcome our contaminating their ground. We would have liked to look around, but the best thing we could do was to keep our big boots and our bodies away from their delicate, fragile, almost invisible community.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 In a short time we heard a rustle in the veld, and a young
854 woman who seemed to be in her early twenties stepped from the bushes. She was, Ukwane said, Gai's wife, and on her hip she carried a baby, a naked three-year-old who looked at us from his wide eyes fearlessly, then, realizing that we were strangers, buried his face in his mother's arm. His mother stroked him calmly and came toward us smiling and nodding her head graciously, although a little pulse was hammering in the V of her throat. We learned later that she had been sitting in the bushes very near us, and when she had seen her husband go by she had assumed that everything was all right and had come to greet us, not bothering to answer his cries.

142 She was a short, sturdy woman with round arms, long thighs, and short calves. She had a rather large belly and square, strong shoulders, and she wore a very tattered cape
291 or kaross over her back, with a small leather apron around her hips. She had no ornaments except a row of blue scars over
304 her eyes, a decoration, and she had allowed her hair to be-
302 come disheveled, long, and a little tangled, hanging down
184 over her ears in tight spirals, instead of having shaved it off as most Bushman women do. All this gave her a very matter-of-fact air, which was not deceiving, for she saw in a glance that we were harmless and, looking us over, sat down at once beside me.

304 Her baby pulled, twisted, and tugged at her, and from the way he behaved I judged that he kept her too busy to be for-
[854] ever cutting her hair or making bead ornaments. Besides, she told us later, if she wore ornaments, the baby pulled them off. She had her row of scars, though, delicate and arching over her brow, making her eyes seem wider; as well as a row of striped scars along her thighs. These, say Bushmen, are made to imitate the beauty of zebras, and many women wear them, having been decorated when they were still young. It

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

is a painful procedure. The cuts are made on the thighs and 304
forehead with a knife or ax blade, then charcoal is rubbed in, but the woman told us later that in her case it had been worth the pain and trouble because, she said, she was extremely ugly and had been made more beautiful.

Her baby's name was Nhwakwe, she told me, and after 551 276
that we were at a loss for conversation. I offered her a ciga- [609]
rette, which she declined, indicating that it made her cough. I was surprised, for she was the only Bushman I had ever met, man, woman, or child, who did not smoke.

Presently she smiled, pressed her hand to her chest, and 551
said: "Tsetchwe." It was her name. 609

"Elizabeth," I said, pointing to myself.

"Nisabe," she answered, pronouncing after me and inclining her head graciously. She looked me over carefully without really staring, which to Bushmen is rude. Then, having surely suspected that I was a woman, she put her hand on my breast gravely, and, finding that I was, she gravely touched her own breast. Many Bushmen do this; to them all Europeans look the same.

"*Tsau si*" (women), she said.

Then after a moment's pause, Tsetchwe began to teach me 609
a few words, the names of a few objects around us, grass, 222
rock, bean shell, so that we could have a conversation later. As she talked she took a handful of the beans out of her kaross, broke them open, and began to eat them. This is a [137]
wonderful, bitter bean, shaped like a lima bean, which grows
on tiny bushes in patches throughout the Kalahari. When you [261]
eat these beans they burn your tongue, throat, and stomach, but they take away hunger and thirst. Besides the beans in her kaross, Tsetchwe, who began unloading, brought out a large, edible root which she had dug up—she must have been gathering food before we came—and put it in the shade of a

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 bush beside her fireplace. Also, she brought out six round
222 green melons which are called *tsama* melons, and which, during the autumn, provide the only liquid available for all the Bushmen in the desert, and for all the game antelope be-
[271 sides. Under the green rind a tsama is very like a watermelon,
312] filled with small oval seeds and very watery in texture, but is itself pale green and smaller, the size of a small cantaloupe.
[516 Tsetchwe placed one between her feet and, gripping it firmly with her strong toes, chopped a hole in the top of it with her digging-stick; then, lifting the cap away like the lid of a jack-
271 o'-lantern, she mashed the pulp inside until it was liquid. She put the melon to her mouth and, tipping her head back, drank from it, using her long digging-stick to help push the pulp into her mouth, working it like an enormous chopstick, making a watery noise as she sucked. When Tsetchwe had collected a mouthful of seeds she put the melon down, took an old, dry tsama melon rind from her kaross, and spat the seeds into it to save them, for they can be roasted and eaten like nuts when they are dry. Tsetchwe drank all the liquid in
[264 the rind and seemed refreshed as she cast the empty rind over her shoulder and brushed off her mouth and hands.

609 At last Gai strode back into the werf, followed at a distance
621 by a group of three small boys and, much farther, by three old women who stood waist-deep in bushes, close together like three antelope, craning their necks to see us.

609 When they noticed Tsetchwe and Ukwane, they came for-
276 ward with more confidence, accepted tobacco, and, squatting
621 immediately, began to smoke. It had been months, Ukwane said, since they had used their last tobacco, had been reduced to smoking leaves, and they were very happy to have the tobacco we had give them. Bushmen love to smoke. They say
[261 that tobacco, as well as the wild beans, takes away hunger and thirst, and, besides that, it makes their hearts glad. One

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

of the old women, Dasina, who was Tsetchwe's mother, inhaled too deeply and began to faint. Tsetchwe half turned her mother so that everyone would not see her, and, putting an arm around her for support, let the old woman lean on her shoulder. Our interpreter laughed, and Tsetchwe turned to glare. Tsetchwe's back was exactly like her mother's, broad but curved in at the waist, the old woman's a little bloated but Tsetchwe's young and strong. 609 276 621

Another old woman was smoking, too, puffing on a short, wide pipe cut from a leg bone of some large antelope, so big that she had to stuff one end with grass to keep the tobacco inside. She almost unhinged her jaw each time she puffed. She would inhale and spit, cough, and inhale again without a sign of dizziness, and when she saw Dasina faint she too laughed out loudly. Her name, she told us, was Twikwe.

Twikwe was skinny and tall as a man, with long, lanky arms that she flung about in the air, gesturing, and long legs that jerked when she walked. She wore only a short piece of leather that reached from her waist to her thighs, and we could see that she was wrinkled from head to foot, her skin hanging in long, vertical wrinkles down her thighs and belly, like an old apple that has dried. She talked incessantly and loudly, always opening and closing her mouth, and she joked, for Ukwane and the young boys near her laughed at everything she said. She was telling how her husband had outdistanced her as they were running away and was surely running still. Every now and then she stopped her talk to shout out to him, jeering, saying that he was depriving himself of tobacco and should come back; then everyone would listen, but no sound came from him, no answer. He never did come back, and in the weeks we were there we never saw him. Perhaps he was running away from Twikwe, for we later learned that he was living in a valley with his other wife. 142 156 593 621 [596]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

142 The third old woman was Ukwane's wife, and her name
621 was Kutera. She was the oldest of the four women by many years, and much the frailest; her arms and legs were spindly, and she was so thin that her slender bones stuck out. She moved slowly, feebly, and spoke in a high, thin voice like the piping of a little bird. She didn't even have the big belly that Bushmen usually have; instead, her belly clung to her backbone and she looked like a little, dry bird skeleton, ready to splinter or be blown away.

The other members of the group were the three young boys. One, Giamakwe, about eleven years old, was the son of Ukwane's old age, and the other two, Wite and Witabe, about ten and fourteen, were the sons of Twikwe and the man who ran away. All were extremely thin, with arms and legs like matchsticks, and each wore a tiny rag of a loincloth that had been cast off by someone else and cut down to their sizes—just tokens of modesty, as the boys were not covered up at all. But they were very gay and active; their shyness of
857 621 us vanished immediately and was replaced by excitement; they whirled and spun like dervishes when they saw the gemsbok, played leapfrog, jounced each other, and ran circles around the werf, followed by the baby, Nhwakwe, who chased them like a puppy and could not keep up. He would tire from time to time, fall into his mother's lap to nurse, and then, refreshed, would rush headlong after the three boys again. He never did catch them, but this did not make him angry or make him cry.

224 When everyone was present, looking hungrily at the gemsbok on the jeep with a swarm of redheaded flies already at its mouth, Gai and Ukwane got their knives and rolled the gemsbok to the ground. She fell with a hard bounce, a thump as her legs or her long horns struck, and a huff as gas rushed from her open mouth. She lay stiffly, looking awkward with

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

her hind leg raised, looking wild with her cocoa-colored mane 224
that stood stiff and straight along the bowed crest of her neck, wild with her great horns sharp enough to prick your finger, and her pale, half-open eyes.

Gai squatted beside her and began to stroke her udder. He 224-
squeezed a teat and milk squirted into his palm, and as he 272
licked it off, Ukwane squatted beside him. The gemsbok was big enough for both men to squat at her udder milking, Ukwane under her lifted thigh. I was told that when the men had first followed her, they had come upon a gemsbok calf wedged high up in the fork of a tree. A leopard had killed it and left it there, and as the men tried to climb the tree to pull it down, robbing the leopard, the mother gemsbok had reappeared and challenged them, so they had killed her instead. That is why her udder was filled with milk. Her beige hide, we noticed, had been raked by the leopard's claws.

Almost everyone came by with a palm outstretched for a squirt of milk. Ukwane called for me to come, too, and, stroking the milk veins in her udder the way one does when milking a cow, he milked a white stream into my palm which I licked away. The milk was strong and rank and gamy, not at all like the mild, sweet-tasting milk of cows. It smelled like the intestines, too, perhaps because the animal was dead, perhaps because the odor of intestines and the milk both came from the strong, harsh grass of the country. Yet it was liquid, and the Bushmen milked her dry.

Afterward, Gai and Ukwane butchered her, Gai preparing 224-
himself by casually sharpening his knife on her narrow, heart- 237
shaped hoof. Always working so that her wounded side was up, they cut her skin free, not spilling a drop of blood. Near the carcass they dug a shallow pit, which they lined with the skin, hair side down, and as blood would well up into the cuts they made butchering, they would collect it and place it in

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

221 this bowl. The carcass itself, now red and pink and white,
237 they rolled onto a bed of leaves and branches to keep it clean and cut off the front and hind legs of the upper side, forming a bowl of the carcass so that no liquid would escape. They pulled out the intestine, cleaning each length carefully, first squeezing out all fecal matter, then turning the intestine inside out over a stick and scraping it clean. A lot of liquid ran from the intestines, which was saved with the blood in the bowl of the body.

224 Next, the two men removed the rumen, the first stomach
237
272 of ruminant animals, where the grass they bolt hurriedly is kept in quantities to be coughed up and chewed thoroughly when the animal is lying in the shade. Ukwane lifted the rumen out carefully, like a great water sack that might burst suddenly, and hurried with it to the pit lined with the skin. There he slit it and water gushed out, every drop saved by the skin. Ukwane and Gai removed handfuls of the contents, a yellow, pulpy mass of partially digested grass, and they squeezed each handful dry into bowls, tsama-melon rinds, and ostrich-egg water-containers that the women had brought forward. They did not mind two great white worms that were discovered living in the rumen, for as soon as enough water was collected, the people all had a long, satisfying drink. Some was pressed on me by Tsetchwe; I could not bring myself to drink it, but I did taste it and found that it was not too unpleasant, although it also tasted strongly as intestines smell. It was fresh, however, it was only the liquid from grass, and I thought that if I had no other water I too could drink the water of rumen.

Also, the people drank the blood, scooping it out in handfuls to their faces. Soon they were stained with it; the three old women looked very savage, and Gishe, our interpreter,

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

asked Ukwane for some, which Ukwane gave him. Gishe said: 224
"I have been living among Europeans for a long time, but I 237 272
remember now who I am."

From the body of that gemsbok the Bushmen bailed out 251
several bucketfuls of liquid, enough to supply them for almost a week. They cut the meat into strips which they would dry in the sun and use as they needed them, also enough for a week or perhaps even longer, as there were only a few people and the gemsbok was almost as big as a cow.

Tsetchwe had built a tiny fire beneath a tsama melon, an 252
empty melon with the top cut away, and when she received [224
her share of the meat—for any animal is divided at once by a 422]
rigid system of rules, some meat given to each person rather than kept as a communal supply or portioned to families—she cut a small piece and stuffed it into the melon, where melon juice, heated through the rind, was boiling now. It cooked like meat in a stew, and when it was done Tsetchwe emptied the melon into a bowl, fanned it to cool it, and then 264
ate some, putting a strip of meat into her mouth and hacking off a bite with her husband's knife. She was ravenously hungry and she ate almost all, while her baby, lying in her [253]
lap, nursed from her breast. The last piece she saved for him; she put one end of it into his mouth and, as he bit down, flashed the great knife under his nose to cut him a small enough morsel.

The gemsbok had vanished. All that remained from the 224
butchering was the pile of squeezed, dry grass from the ru- 422
men and a few lumps of feces that the redheaded flies buzzed over. The meat, bones, head, hide, and brushlike tail all now [237]
belonged to people, and all the people had carried their portions away. Gai owned two hind legs and a front leg, Tsetchwe had meat from the back, Ukwane had the other front

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

224 422 leg, his wife had one of the feet and the stomach, the young boys had lengths of intestine. Twikwe had received the head and Dasina the udder.

It seems very unequal when you watch Bushmen divide a kill, yet it is their system, and in the end no person eats more than any other. That day Ukwane gave Gai still another piece because Gai was his relation, Gai gave meat to Dasina because she was his wife's mother. After the meat had been divided again in this way and cooked, the cooked food was shared. No one, of course, contested Gai's large share, because he had been the hunter and by their law that much belonged to him. No one doubted that he would share his large amount with others, and they were not wrong, of course; he did. It is not the amount eaten by any person but the formal ownership of every part that matters to Bushmen.

It was already evening and the sun sat on the flat veld like an enormous, flaming mountain. It sank, and its orange color was echoed in the three families' fires as the people warmed themselves and cooked their meat.

224 857 The following day the three young boys, feeling vigorous with all the meat they had eaten, went out to play in the veld and came back at noon with a tortoise, a lizard, and a tiny rabbit, a baby one that they had been able to run down. The young boys would have had to divide any substantial game with the adults, but since these animals were so small the boys were allowed to keep them. Small animals are divided among the children and cooked for them by one of their parents.

Wite carried in the rabbit, still alive, across his shoulders, pretending that it was very heavy and that he was tired and worn, as though he were a hunter carrying home a buck. When he threw the rabbit down, a soft ball of gray fur with

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

the innocent eyes of a baby and pretty, drop-shaped ears that 224 857
were pink inside, it rushed at him and bit his finger. A dire fate awaited it; Ukwane caught it and pinched its throat.

The tortoise was given to Nhwakwe, the baby, as the spoils of a hunt are always shared, and Gai, his father, took it to 252
roast it for him.

First, Gai scooped a shallow pit in the sand in front of his sleeping-place, which he filled with burning sticks. Beside him, old Twikwe held the tortoise on its back, but the tortoise urinated brown urine and Twikwe let it stand up. It stood looking at the flames, blinking its hard black eyes, then started to walk away. But Twikwe caught it again and held it, idly turning it over and over while she talked with Gai about other things, about smoke they had noticed on the southern horizon which Gai said was Bushmen's smoke. Gai said he planned to go to see the people some day soon, and as he spoke he took the tortoise from Twikwe and laid it on its back, where it rested with its feet out and its neck bent, in the position that would be correct, if it were standing. Gai took a burning stick from the fire and set it against the tortoise's belly. The tortoise kicked violently and jerked its head, urinating profuse amounts of the brown urine which ran over Gai's hand, but the heat had its effect, the two hard, central plates on the shell of the belly peeled back, and Gai thrust his hand inside. The smoldering shell reeked and the tortoise struggled violently, but Gai slit the belly with his knife and pulled out the intestine.

The tortoise by now had retreated part way into its shell, trying to hide there, gazing out from between its front knees. Gai reached the heart, which was still beating, and flipped it onto the ground, where it jerked violently for a moment, almost jumping, then relaxed to a more spasmodic beating, all by itself and dusty, now ignored. Gai pinched the gall away

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

252 from the yellow liver and threw that away, but he left the liver and the surrounding fat because he meant for that to be eaten.

The baby, Nhwakwe, who owned the tortoise, came to sit by his father, leaning on Gai's leg and watching, looking smiling into the belly of the tortoise. A tortoise is such a slow tough creature that its body can function although its heart is gone. Nhwakwe put his wrists to his forehead to [524] imitate in a most charming manner the way in which the tortoise was trying to hide. Nhwake looked just like the tortoise.

Gai frowned with concentration and worked with his mouth open, pulled down at the corners. When the intestines were removed, Gai stuffed the cavity with green leaves of the [263] kind that "make your gums numb," say the Bushmen, added for flavor, I believe. The tortoise at this retreated far into its shell with its legs pulled in tightly, and Gai heated the doors again to curl them down. Then he packed the opening with grass and the tortoise's dung, capped it with a tsama-melon cap, and put the tortoise into the oven that was prepared for it like a shallow little grave which the tortoise just fitted, a final agony, for the tortoise once more kicked and struggled as Gai raked hot coals over it. The steam escaping from the moist flesh caused the ashes to bubble and boil, and it was over; the meat was in the pot.

Gai flung the intestines away and sat down near his wife to smoke, and I, who wished that they could at least have killed 539 [776] the tortoise first, thought of the story of Pishiboro and one of his wives, an elephant. Pishiboro is one of the names of God.

One night, when Pishiboro and his younger brother were sleeping, the elephant wife took them both and rolled them between her thighs, which caused them great discomfort. The younger brother said to Pishiboro: "Let us go away now

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GiKwe

while it is dark. This wife of yours may want to kill us with her attention." So they got up and slipped away. Next morning, when they were far away from Pishiboro's house, the younger brother looked back and saw the elephant wife coming after them. "Run on," he said to Pishiboro, "and I will stay behind and talk with her." So Pishiboro ran on and the younger brother waited. When the elephant wife came up, the younger brother said to her: "I see that you have a big louse in your flesh there. Let me take it out for you." The elephant wife agreed to let him, and Pishiboro's younger brother took a long thorn and pricked the elephant wife on her chest, right under her beads. 539

"Oh, you are hurting me," said the elephant wife.

"Don't flinch," said Pishiboro's younger brother. "This louse is very deep in your flesh." With that the younger brother pierced her heart and she fell dead.

The younger brother then built a fire, cut off the breast of the elephant wife, and roasted it. When it was cooked he sat up on the body of the elephant wife to eat it, and it was there that Pishiboro, returning to see what had happened, noticed him sitting way up over the tops of the bushes. "Ah, can it be," thought Pishiboro, "that my younger brother has killed my wife and is sitting on her body?" When Pishiboro ran forward he found that his worst suspicion was absolutely true.

Pishiboro was wildly angry, but his younger brother handed him some of the roasted breast, which presently Pishiboro ate. The younger brother looked down at Pishiboro and said in a voice filled with scorn: "Oh, you fool. You lazy man. You were married to meat and you thought it was a wife." Pishiboro saw that this was true, so he sharpened his knife and helped his younger brother with the skinning.

. . .

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GiKwe

152 The Bushmen as well as the gods ignore the suffering of animals. When they opened the pit and took out the tortoise
264 several hours later it did look delicious, and the meat, which came easily off the small, thick bones, smelled delicious brewed in the green leaves, and the thin young boys smiled happily and brought their tsama rinds to be filled from the mortar where Gai put the pieces he had picked off and had pounded to make them even and small.

262 While there was gemsbok meat and tortoise meat, the rabbit was not worth eating, and it hung from the tree, where it dried, like a little husk, to be moistened again and eaten when nothing else was left. It swung in the breeze like a leaf, like a tiny, eerie ornament.

252 The lizard was eaten that evening by the three young boys,
264 who built a fire of their own, where they sat like hunters back from a hunt; with the red light of the fire on their thin faces, making their eyes bright, they roasted the lizard in the coals and ate it, and pulled its tiny bones out of their teeth.

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER FOUR

The Fire

AFTER a long talk with Gai and Ukwane we found that, because of a shortage of melons and roots, they did not like to live at the place where we found them, which was called Gu Nu, and they were planning to move. We asked them if they would mind our coming with them when they did move, and they, with great aplomb, showing no surprise at what must have seemed a strange request, said politely that they would not mind at all. We had good relations with them by that time and had already been living near them for several days. 166 648

As we would be asking them to spend time talking with us, we agreed to give them food, water, and firewood to make up for what they might gather if we were not taking their time, as well as salt and tobacco to make their hearts glad. It seemed to be a good arrangement, and they were as pleased as we.

Soon after that, when Ukwane had decided where to go, we packed up our camp, they packed up theirs, and we put everything on the trucks and drove away. The Bushmen all rode with us except the two oldest women, Kutera and Dasina, who said they were too tired to ride and preferred to walk. They did, too, taking with them all their possessions as 481 482

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

481 well as great loads of melons, all of which we offered again
482 and again to carry for them, but because, they said, they might want to stop for the night or just refresh themselves along the way, they would not part with their bundles.

The place we went to was called Ai a ha'o; it was the pan where we had seen the lion. It took us almost all day to drive there, and shortly after we arrived Dasina and Kutera joined us, having traveled almost as fast as we. Those two old women must have walked at four or five miles an hour all the way, over veld so rough that the trucks couldn't go much faster.

342 Before dark, the Bushman women had built a werf, a clear-
361 ing of grass for each family with a shallow pit to sleep in and a place for the fire, all four clearings under the branches of a single tree which would give them shade in the daytime. On
353 the branches each person hung whatever there was to hang, quivers, skin bags, or aprons, and these things swung in the cold wind. The women gathered firewood and lit their fires,
757 and Dasina asked Twikwe to stand on her stomach because
562 she was tired from her long walk and wanted a massage. Before they went to sleep the men and the three young boys
574 walked to our camp, about fifty feet away, to say good-night,
577 but the women stayed at home because at night all Bushmen women stay at home. A woman does not even leave her fire to go to her neighbor's fire three feet away because people will say that she doesn't like to stay home; she speaks loudly to her neighbor instead. Bushmen are a rather conservative peo-
[181] ple, and they are very moral in that they keep their own rules.

574 The smoke in the west that Gai had seen when he roasted the tortoise intrigued him very much. Again and again he said that it was people's smoke, and one morning he said he wanted to go over to it, to look for the man who was Wita-

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

be's father, Twikwe's husband, the man who had run away 574
for good when we had come. Gai and Ukwane both believed that he could be found, and as they regretted his missing the meat, the salt, the tobacco, and the water that they themselves were enjoying, they suggested that we look for him in a certain omaramba—a shallow valley like a dry river bed—called the Okwa Omaramba.

One morning John, Bob, William, Gai, Witabe, and I set out in the jeep to find him. We were loaded heavily because we were planning to stay the night, the Okwa being far and the terrain rough. All three little boys wanted terribly to go, but Gai felt that they would be a nuisance and chose only Witabe since we were going for his father. Wite pointed out that the man was his father, too, but Gai didn't listen. As we were leaving, the two boys ran beside us, using the last minute to beg to come, but Gai still would not listen or weaken, and the two boys saw that it was no use, lost heart, and dropped behind.

It was a fearfully hot day, with lots of dust and sticking grass seeds, the jeep was overcrowded and overloaded, and I had to hold the rifle between my knees and the camera in my arms to cradle them from banging against each other and on the sides of the jeep. My head cracked against the knees of the people behind me, and everyone was sticky, hot, and very uncomfortable.

We drove until we came to plains that only Gai had seen before, and there the terrain was so rough that Gai and Witabe decided to get out and walk in front to find the easiest way. We would all gladly have done this, but some of us had to stay in the jeep to protect our possessions. Soon Gai and Witabe were far ahead, and we crept behind them for most of the day. 574

Gai walked first, Witabe behind him, as Bushmen always 481

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

574
[481] walk in single file, and they seemed very small, naked, and far away under the burned, pure sky, moving toward some remote destination where they hoped to find a man who had been walking away from them for almost a month, perhaps at some nameless little pan lost somewhere in the countryside, perhaps in a nameless bend of the omaramba. As they walked they zigzagged, avoiding small obstacles such as stones or thorn bushes, very incongruous with the enormity of the sky and the plains. The bow on Gai's shoulder made a bold upward curve.

A tree appeared on the horizon, and they veered toward it. When they reached it they sat in its shade, two shadows in the yellow grass, and a puff of smoke rose as they lit their pipes. We caught up to them and found Gai digging for a [222] *torabe* vegetable. He reached into the hole he had made and dragged it from its roots, brushed the dirt away, and chopped it into six pieces, giving one to each of us. We ate that for lunch. It was bitter and moist, firm as an apple and pleasant because it was wet. As we sat there we noticed the smoke of three veld fires which had suddenly risen, perhaps stirred by the wind far away, two small ones in the north and east, one large one in the south, its smoke reaching up to the sky first in little tendrils, then billowing in great clouds like the clouds in the sky but browner.

Gai and Witabe stood up, brushing sand from their legs, and walked into the sunlight again, turning toward the larger fire. Bushmen often set the veld alight to signal to each other, [201] but they do not send messages; a fire simply shows other people where they are, and even this is vague, as fires are sometimes set by natural causes.

137 After traveling several hours over the plains, we came to a little forest in a valley. A fire had been through there and had burned all the yellow grass from the ground, leaving black

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

ashes and little black, charred thorn bushes, but the flames 137
had not touched the leaves on the trees. These remained yellow-green, orange, and silver, tangled and confused above the black, breaking away from the branches when the wind blew and falling like autumn leaves in New England. The whole valley would have been very like New England except that there were leopards in the forest; as we looked around we found a leopard's tracks. We rested in the shade on the side 224
of the valley, and as we sat quietly we heard the sound of hoofs in the valley below, and we saw through the bushes the dark backs of a herd of wildebeest, walking along in single file, first the cows, then the larger bulls, their curved cow horns making them look for all the world like a herd of small, dark cattle.

Gai was on his feet in an instant, his bow in his hand, and, like a leopard springing, he jumped past us and ran, silent and half crouching, through the bushes beside them, but he had no arrow, and when he got near enough to shoot he had to stand up and shoot a grass blade after them, partly for practice, as a Bushman hunter will never miss a chance to practice his aim, but partly because Gai was still too young to be able to resist making them run. They threw up their heads, snorting like horses, and galloped away, leaving behind them a great cloud of dust. Gai ran after, his heels [46]
pounding, and was gone in a few great perfect strides, as if a hawk had left us with a few stiff beats of its wings.

Witabe, too, was completely absorbed. Although he did not run after the wildebeests, he got to his feet and gazed after them, unconsciously making a gesture with his hand representing the head and horns of a wildebeest. He moved his hand in time with their running, saying softly: "Huh, huh, boo. Huh, huh, boo," the sound of their breath and grunting as they ran.

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

731 Later Gai came walking back and we went on toward the fire. We were going, said Gai, to a place where there was a big rock in the Okwa Omaramba, the place where he was born. On the way the ground was smoother, and Gai and Witabe rode in the jeep, and as we went the smoke got thicker, and at the end of the afternoon we saw orange flames above the tops of the bushes. Gai said that we were almost there, and all the men got out of the jeep to walk to the veld fire, leaving me to drive through alone. We were very near. We could feel the heat, and judged that the fire was larger than we had expected. Suddenly the bushes in front of us were caught by the fire and flamed up like tinder, causing me to drive the jeep away and causing the men to step back suddenly, but while I retreated they simply waited for the fire to reach some low grass, and when it did they stepped over it calmly and went on. I found a place where the fire was out, where the jeep could pass, and went safely onto the burned area. Witabe came to find me and showed me a knoll that had not burned and was not sooty, where the others had decided to camp. We left our jeep on some bare sand and unrolled our blankets under the trees.

From our knoll we saw that all the omaramba was in flames. From a fire which had started somewhere to the east of us, a great ring had spread and was now burning around us in an enormous circle. The gap where we had entered had closed again, and the fire surrounded us on our hilltop like a wall, with flames higher than our heads.

The bushes and grass had been consumed at once, but in its path the fire had left great trees in flames, with fires in the trunks that echoed like great chimneys, or fires in the upper branches that flamed like crowns of burning hair. As the trunks burned through, the trees would fall.

The orange sun set into the orange fire, hanging above the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

flames for a moment like a flame itself, then slipping down 731
behind the fire, made the rising smoke a great, soft, purple cloud. As the sky darkened, the flames around us seemed brighter and more yellow, and farther away we saw a thousand smaller fires burning, each in a tuft of grass or in a tree.

After we had eaten we sat watching our burning wall move away from us, listening to the cries of birds, day birds chased from their branches by the fire, night birds flying through the smoke to catch insects that were trying to escape. All the air stank with an oily odor given off by the burning trees—not at all the pleasant smell of burning wood, but a deathly odor, the smell of a forest being destroyed.

When we lay down in our blankets to sleep we found that even the ground was warm, and as soot and ashes drifted over us we lay awake and listened. Once during the night we heard something large run past us. A little later, farther away, we heard the sharp roar of a lion who must have tried to cross a patch of burned ground and had singed his soft paws. We heard his slow footsteps as he tested the earth carefully, then a grunt as he was scorched again. It made him cross, for he walked in a huge half-circle around us with a growl running steadily in his throat. I had thought that the Bush- [152
men were asleep, but they had also heard him and they 522]
laughed. Now and then, during the night, the burned trees crashed around us, and as our fiery wall moved slowly away, the rising smoke was gray in its yellow light, the stars were all obscured.

Before dawn in the morning the crescent of the new moon 132
rose, the tiniest sliver in the chilly air, followed by the salmon band of light, redder than usual because of the smoke. The wind must have blown a good deal of the fire back on itself because much of it was out, leaving a cloud of smoke hanging

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

132 above the earth in a layer. We were crouching at a fire we had built, warming our hands against the cold, when the sun came up. We heard birds singing in the fresh air as if nothing
512 had happened, then the sound of faint pounding far away, a mortar being struck with a pestle. Soon we heard a second mortar join the first as another woman began breakfast for her family, and we knew that two women meant perhaps six people, therefore a band.

276 Gai stood up and stretched his legs, then took a tiny coal from our fire between his thumb and finger and dropped it into his pipe, inhaling deeply and holding the smoke in his lungs while he handed the pipe to Witabe, who also puffed and returned the pipe, when at last Gai exhaled, spat, and scooped the pipe through the sand, extinguishing the fire and saving the rest of the tobacco. He stuck the pipe in his belt,
[482]
481 flung his great kaross over his chest to warm his belly, and strode off in the direction of the sound, the ragged edges of his great cape swinging at his ankles as his strong feet carried him away. He walked under a burned log that had partly fallen and was braced up by another tree, and as he did the white ashes blew from it and the light of dawn shone through the ash like light through a flurry of snow.

731 Later in the day, when we had eaten cornmeal for breakfast, while we waited for Gai to come back, we went down to the flats below our hilltop to inspect the damage of the fire. The land below our camp was in utter desolation, startling and ruined, a desert of ash. We found only the orange sand and black ashes still in the shape of the grass blades that made them, black ashes below burned bushes still in the shape of the leaves that made them, and, on the ground, flat, perfect skeletons of vines, just in the shape of the vines that made them but black, in powder, disintegrating into dust when the wind touched them. All around us lay the smolder-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

ing great carcasses of fallen trees, some with the leaves on the 731
top still green, that were filling the air with the smell of their wood burning. The ground was still warm to walk on, but all the bushes, all the little succulents, all the vines that marked the water roots were gone; no snake or lizard or animal was there, all were burned or had gone; we saw only animal tracks half filled with ashes, and a few birds come to eat dead insects. We saw a pair of secretary birds and later a pair of [136]
paouw, huge gray birds that walk more than they fly, wandering through the ruins looking for dead reptiles.

As we walked, fine black powder rose to dust our legs, and now and then, off through the standing tree trunks and between the fallen trees' great upflung roots, little whirlwinds crossed back and forth, raising the dust in spiraled pillars. [321
Bushmen say that whirlwinds show the presence of the spir- 775]
its of the dead.

Witabe's eyes searched over the ground, and when he saw 222
a small mound of earth he walked up to it and punctured it 262
with his toe. Out rushed a horde of ants, which had been safe in their tunnels when the fire passed and now began at once to repair their damaged mound. Witabe crouched among them and began to pick and eat them, selecting the soldier ants, ones with large heads and heavy jaws. He bit off the abdomens, tossing the heads away. Presently he offered some to us, as I had feared he would; as everyone else ate one, I did also, and found that it was not too unpleasant but sour and very watery, very like a blackberry before it is ripe. The workers, I am told, are tasteless, but the fighters are considered a near-delicacy; mine opened her jaws wide to fight my thumb before I ate her.

Later in the day, when the sun in the sky, the still burning 481
trees, and the fire-warmed sand made the air on the flats un- 487
bearably hot, we turned back to camp for the shade of our

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481 trees, and on our way we found a path where before there
487 had been none. We followed it, it led to camp, and at its end we found Gai and eighteen other Bushmen, whose feet as they had walked in single file had worn a track. As we ap-
609 proached, the eighteen strangers drew back and together, the women behind the men, babies in their arms, and watched us hostilely. Gai persuaded them to sit down, which they did, all together, and when we asked them if they were hungry they said yes, so we gave them a drink of water and set a big pot of cornmeal to cook on our fire. We gave them each tobacco, which they smoked while they waited for the cornmeal to cook.

621 In that band there were six men, five of them in their thir-
162 ties, five women who seemed much younger, and one woman
596 who was very old. There were also three young boys and three babies, two girls and a boy. We guessed from the looks of the people—and later found that we were right—that the band was a small extended family. The old woman seemed to be the key figure of the band, for with her were her two sons and three daughters, their wives and husbands, and their children. The sixth man—a boy, really—did not seem to belong in this tightly woven group, for he was not married, being too young; he seemed too young to be the child of the old woman, though too old to be her grandchild, and I wondered who he was. Witabe's father was not there, and on that trip we did not find him.

142 The three sisters of the band were all arrestingly beautiful. They looked alike, with very fine faces, slender features, large eyes, and they all wore handsome white bead ornaments. Heavy eyelids, set off by the pronounced, delicate bones of their faces, made them look of uncertain race, or like houris, and their slender bodies with skins slightly wrinkled made them seem of uncertain age. Perhaps the sun had made the

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wrinkles, perhaps they were older than they seemed. They 142
glared coldly at us with jealous, narrowed eyes and held their heads back like three cobras, quite unlike their brothers' wives, young girls, unmistakably Bushman, who did not look at us at all.

The men seemed very big and heavy, with a lot of muscle and fat on their bones for Bushmen. Gai came right out and asked them how it was they looked so well, and they answered with the usual Bushman pessimism: "We have some meat here but we have no water. We may look well, but we are hungry."

Gai sat down beside them with his back to them, and as 264
he talked he pulled his breakfast, which was a biscuit that we had brought with us, out of his hunting-bag. He took a big bite, causing the eyes of all the newcomers to open. "Gai is a great captain now," said William, the interpreter, in Afrikaans. "There he is eating European food." The man who sat next to Gai and who seemed to be the oldest began to laugh a hard, humorless laugh, stretching out his hand at once for the biscuit. Gai sighed and went on eating indifferently, but the man, who could hardly contain his envy, laughed his long, dry laugh again, edging crablike closer to Gai until his outstretched hand was almost at Gai's mouth. Gai broke off the largest part of the biscuit at last and handed it inconspicuously under his left arm to the man, who had a bite, passed it to the other men, who also had a bite and in turn gave it finally to the women, who each ate a morsel very suspiciously. The man beside Gai laughed on and on, watching Gai from half-closed eyes, but Gai, who had a great deal of self-possession, did not seem disturbed.

Presently the smell of the cornmeal cooking filled the air, 000
and the sound of its bubbling in the pot caused the man to stop his laughing and everyone else to talk pleasantly at last.

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533 534 The young, unmarried man took a small musical instrument out of his hunting-bag, borrowed a dry tsama rind from one of the women, and, setting the instrument on the hollow rind, began to play. He filled the air with sweet, soft music, full of resonance and open, minor chords, even of rhythm and timbre as a music box would be.

The instrument itself was made of a small, flat piece of wood four or five inches square, with eleven metal prongs attached to it, arranged in two rows across two bridges. The melon rind acted as a resonator for the prongs, which were of different sizes and, when plucked, vibrated and rang like bells, in a scale which was not the octave and which I have never heard before. The name of the instrument is *te k'na*, and I believe that it is not native to Bushmen but traded from the Bantu people. Many Bushmen have them, though: Bushmen like music of any kind.

264 Soon the cornmeal was ready and we served it to the visitors on pieces of bark, in bowls formed from halves of tortoise shells, in tsama rinds. Bushmen have very little liquid food that does not come in its own natural container, and therefore they do not provide themselves with bowls. The [415 177] bowls they do have, carved from wood—an art learned from the Bantu people—are constantly in use as containers for small, loose objects, such as seeds or unstrung beads. Since the cornmeal was hot and runny, the people had some difficulty eating it with their fingers, but they got it down, the women hesitating a long time, watching the men, before they [609 538] dared to try it. I think they were afraid it would harm them, as I have heard many Bushman stories of strangers who poison tobacco or food. When they had eaten their servings and 264 609 found that they did not die, they had more, a morsel at a 578 time. We might have presented the pot to let the people help themselves, but by now we knew better. Bushmen expect

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each other to share, yet in strange situations they sometimes 264
distrust each other, and it was always better for us to assume 609
the blame for any inequality, real or fancied, than to make 578
people quarrel. Bushmen are very quick to blame; yet also in their hearts they want everything to work out smoothly, and are therefore also quick to forgive, especially strangers who know no better.

Although he was hungry, Gai refused to eat, preferring to play the te k'na instrument while watching the food vanish into the mouths of others rather than arouse more jealousy. That day he ate nothing but the bite of biscuit in the morning and a root at night. When the pot was empty, the man who had been laughing seized it and scraped its sides with a stick, eating and dividing the burned, hard crust. The newcomers acted badly, but this would not have been so if Gai had not arrived with us.

The sun was in the zenith, and we felt we had to go in order to be in camp before night. We were faced with the problem of what to tell the newcomers. They would surely want to come with us, but our supplies would not sustain eighteen more people, and if they came they would disrupt the harmony with their jealousies. Ukwane and Gai would be forced to share what we gave them, which was only enough for themselves and their families. No one would have enough, yet no one would leave; so before we left we explained to the newcomers that we could not take them with us because we did not have enough food to feed them or enough water for them to drink. "We hear you," they said.

We were about to leave when Gai came forward with his 609
arm around the shoulders of the young, unmarried man and said that we had to bring this boy with us. We said that we would. "Because he is my son," Gai added.

We were very surprised, for they seemed to be almost the

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604 same age, yet we learned later that it was so. We asked the boy to come into the jeep, which he did, watched by the others. We gave everyone a present of a large handful of tobacco, and drove over the burned grass, more crowded even than we had been before.

522 On the way home we saw and shot a springbok, as there was no meat left in camp. The bullet hit the springbok in the stomach and partly eviscerated him, causing him to jump and kick before he finally died. The Bushmen thought that this was terribly funny and they laughed, slapping their thighs and kicking their heels to imitate the springbok, showing no pity at all, but then they regard animals with great detatchment. When the springbok died we tied him to the front of the jeep and drove on. The radiator boiled all the way, causing the body to decompose. Drops of blood and drops of moisture from the springbok blew back over us, mixed with the reek of decay and with a cloud of flies which we drove too slowly to escape, and which, spattered as we were, became very attracted to us. Only the Bushmen remained in good spirits, as they were pleased to see the meat and pleased with the amusement the springbok had given them.

522 224 On the way we saw an enormous hole in the earth, dug by an aardvark months ago. We stopped, and the Bushmen on their hands and knees crawled into it until all three were out of sight. After a while they backed out, one by one, reported that it was a very big hole indeed, and got back into the jeep. But before we could drive away Witabe jumped out again. He had noticed a mound of grass which looked like a haystack, it was so big, as high as a man's knees and as broad as it was tall. It was, said Gai, built by a mouse, a kind of nest, and at Witabe's request he got on top of it and jumped up and down to frighten out whatever lived inside. He was right: presently a mouse did come rushing out to vanish im-

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mediately down a hole. Gai continued treading in the half- 522
hearted hope of another mouse, with a disappointed, intent 224
expression on his face because the first had escaped him. Witabe, on the jeep, suddenly thought the whole performance so funny that he burst into laughter and laughed until he didn't make a sound, until tears ran out of his eyes and onto his belly, until he could hardly breathe, all to see Gai, the sole support of eleven people, the great hunter and provider, treading on top of a straw pile to chase away a mouse.

Gai was a little abashed and he stopped treading, but he did put his hand into the nest and pulled out the mouse's bed, a little ball of finer grass mixed with the mouse's own fur. Gai pulled it apart to show how it was made. We saw the mouse again when Witabe poked it out of the hole with a stick, but it ran back in at once, this time for good, so we went on, leaving the mouse with his home in a shambles and his soft bed gone.

We got back to camp late in the afternoon, and Tsetchwe 854
was so glad to see us that she threw her arms around me and held up her baby for me to kiss. She and I were the only young women for miles around, so there was a bond between us. She often gave me her baby to mind—not an easy job because Nhwakwe was as innocent as he was bold, and I had once taken him from under the wheels of a truck that was about to move. I had carried him to the werf for safety, but he hadn't stayed long; in a short time we had seen the grass moving at the edge of camp and Nhwakwe had appeared once more, this time dragging a toy, having walked the long distance all by himself and having navigated purely by a sense of direction, for the thick grass was high above his head.

Tsetchwe did not kiss her husband or even greet him, as 576
Bushmen are accustomed to short absences from each other 593
and it is not the custom for men and women to kiss. They

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576 show affection openly only to people of the same sex and
593 to their children. Tsetchwe looked at Gai, though, and she smiled.

124 . Twikwe greeted us by smiling her wry smile and saying:
825 "So."

262 The springbok was thrown to the ground, but before it could go into the pot, Bill Donnellan, the doctor, came over to the werf to dissect it, this being an opportunity to find what the Bushmen thought about the systems of the body and what they knew about anatomy.

Gai agreed to tell what he knew, so the springbok was dragged to a sandy spot and a small fire was built—just two crossed sticks with one or two coals and a tiny flame, yet it warmed us, as the evening was becoming very cold. All the people sat around to watch as Bill opened the belly of the springbok and rolled it onto its back. He pointed to the diaphragm and asked what it was. Gai told him the name. "What is it for?" Bill asked.

"We eat it."

"Is it for anything else?"

"We don't know. We just eat it."

"What about the liver?"

"We eat the liver."

"Does the liver do anything for the springbok?"

"It stays there and then we kill him and eat it."

"And what about the stomach?"

"We Bushmen eat the stomach, too, and all the things in the springbok."

"Doesn't the stomach do anything for the springbok?"

"Yes, he eats grass which goes in there and makes him fat, and then we eat the fat."

124 Unwilling to give up easily, Bill passed on to the urogenital
825 system, which is, after all, exterior and which anyone should

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know, but Gai became embarassed and said gravely that 124 825
Pishiboro put that system there for reproduction and he alone knew how it worked.

Ukwane then said that he would explain instead, because 221
he was an old man. Gai could not speak of sex in front of 831
women because it was both improper and dangerous and 784 826
would weaken his power to hunt, but Ukwane was too old 888
for hunting and, besides, was past the age when many of the 124
tabus concerning sex applied to him. Old Bushmen understand everything better anyway, young Bushmen say.

Ukwane knew a great deal. He named every major part, 124
inside and out, of the animal, even naming the major veins 825
and arteries that lead to and from the heart. We were not surprised to find that Bushmen, who prefer to be specific rather than general when dealing with minute things, distinguish more exterior parts of the body then we do. They have names, for example, for the inside of the elbow and the back of the knee. The *leg* of an animal means the hind leg, the front leg is the *arm*, and these are called by the same names as the arm and leg of human beings. Birds, too, fly with their arms and land on their legs, but I never could discover what insects do.

Ukwane went on to explain the various systems of the body, saying in the case of the urogenital system that liquid, which was "the little springboks," ran from the testicles into the kidneys, then down again and out the penis. He stuck to this version, too, even when Bill suggested that it might be otherwise. This does not mean that Bushmen think that urine [842]
causes conception, for they recognize the role of semen, believing that it unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form a child.

Ukwane understood the course of food and water through 124
the digestive system, but said that food and water spread out 827

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124 like sweat to all the body.He did not understand what the
827 lungs did, or that air went into them, or that air went through the trachea. Breathing, said Ukwane, is air going down into the stomach, where it makes belches. Ukwane did not know about the circulation of the blood, believing that blood ebbs and flows, nor did he recognize pulses in the body except the pulse at the V of the throat, noticeable in people who wear little clothing, which is known as "the place of the heart."

124 The cold night had come, and Ukwane in the frosty grass
826 was shivering, yet he sat for an hour keeping his patience, putting his hands into the cold blood of the springbok to trace veins to their source, prefacing all his answers with positive, qualifying remarks. "I am an old man," he would say, "and I know that the diaphragm separates the heart and lungs from the stomach," or "I am Ukwane, and I know that when the heart is gone the animal cannot live, or a person either, because the heart is that animal's life."

857 As the disection and the conversation went on, the three
526 young boys, joined occasionally by Nhwakwe, the baby, played games all the time, creeping in between the adults to warm themselves by the fire and by the heat of bodies when they could stand the cold no longer. If you wear no clothing your skin is sensitive to very slight changes of temperature, and even the warmth of someone sitting beside you or the heat radiated by a few coals makes a lot of difference. When the young boys were thawed they would again leap into the darkness to play some more. They played a game of horse and rider, in which one boy would leap astride another boy and ride without holding on while the other boy would stagger forward as fast as he could. In a moment, both would fall, jump up again, hitch up their loincloths, and resume the game, only this time the horse would jump on the back of

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the rider. Sometimes two boys would make the horse, one boy 857
holding the wrists of another boy in front of him while a 526
third boy would ride, and these horses, reinforced, were much more successful, traveling farther at faster speeds. Now and then, as we talked by the fire, one of these little phantom creatures would rush silently by us in the dark, its dark rider in silhouette against the sky.

As we talked, we heard music, very sweet, sad music, as 533
though a music box were playing, coming to us from a little distance away. It was Gai's older son, the boy who had come back with us, playing the te k'na to himself. Thus we discovered that Gai had not fared as badly as it had seemed he did in his meeting with the strange Bushmen, for the te k'na had belonged to the man who had laughed at him. All the Bushmen at the fire, who loved music, stopped their talk to listen, and even the young boys were charmed from their game, for they moved silently toward him and crouched in the cold grass to listen, too. Soon they stood up to dance, a usual Bushman dance of men, taking small, pounding steps, [535]
moving in a circle. They danced very well, with freedom and with great precision, but they were too excited to dance for 857
long and instead began to play a dancing game called "Os- 526
trich," performed by two boys dancing forward to face each 535
other. As one either crouches or bends double from the hips, the other, who in the game is called the ostrich, swings his leg over the first boy's back without missing a beat in the rhythm. The boy who bent jumps backward as another boy steps in to take his place. This is repeated again and again, accompanied by spoken, rhythmic sounds: he he *hi*, hehe he *hi*, and the whole game is very fast and vigorous, requiring great practice and co-ordination, as the body movements, which often include the slapping of the elbows against the ribs, are sometimes at counterpoint to the spoken rhythm.

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857 The game represents ostriches, perhaps ostriches fighting or
526 mating.
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The game was intoxicating. The boys danced so fast, so perfectly, and made their rhythm so vigorous and free, that Gai, who had been sitting quietly listening to Ukwane, could stand it no longer. Throwing his great cape around himself, he suddenly leaped to his feet and sprang among the little boys, scattering them like a hawk among sparrows, towering over their heads as he began to dance. He stamped, bent, straightened, and swung his long leg over the little boys' backs, dancing with far more abandon, not as precisely as they, but madly; he took our breath away.

He wore his great kaross backward, flung across his chest, and when he stood still waiting for his turn to leap forward and crouch he was as motionless and dignified as a tribune standing, and when he danced the great wings of his kaross swung like the cape of a bullfighter, masculine, open, and free. He was a wonderful sight, and the old people watching him smiled, and the little boys dancing under his long legs and under the wings of his cape looked up at him and laughed with pleasure because he was playing their game.

Gai was a man of great dignity and for him the dance was not altogether a success, for when the young boys tried to swing their legs over his back they generally kicked him in the rear or in the face. Soon he tired of it and came back to the fire to sit by Ukwane, but he was too excited to stay
524 quiet long and in a moment he tore off his cape and, calling
593 Ukwane and his oldest son, he began another rhythmic game,
533 called "Kaross." This is played by several men or boys who rub the kaross between their hands in the way that they rub it to soften or cure it, only they rub more vigorously and accompany themselves with several very rhythmic, very gay, fast songs, sung in falsetto, to imitate the falsetto singing of

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women because, say the men, women's voices are admirably 533
beautiful.

Twikwe and Tsetchwe sat side by side, their legs straight [516]
out in front of them, the soles of their feet lit by the fire. 535
They sang gaily and clapped their hands while the baby 562
Nhwakwe walked up and down on Tsetchwe's leg, balancing himself like a child who is walking on a railing, then climbed to her shoulder and stood there triumphantly without holding on, gazing around like a child on a hill. He looked utterly astonished when Tsetchwe suddenly swept him to the ground and, flinging off her cape, jumped to her feet and began to dance. Everyone was astonished. Women almost never dance, although they are quite welcome to, but least of all Tsetchwe, a very conscientious mother and wife.

Tsetchwe's dance was extremely lively and extremely gay, and everyone except Nhwakwe looked up at her happily. She sang and waved her arms with great abandon, and danced her gay dance right behind the men, just for once flinging motherhood to the four winds and dancing right over her baby, who came trotting sadly after her, holding up his arms to be carried. In a moment the baby gave up and went to the lap of his grandmother, frowning as his mother danced happily by him again. When Tsetchwe finally got tired and flung herself down on the ground he ran to her and nursed immediately to reassure himself. She held him loosely in one arm as she coughed from exertion and laughed, with a pleased, shy expression on her face that said: this is what I used to do when I was younger.

When the people were tired of dancing they still seemed 821
to feel like talking, and as the moon was down and the stars showed clearly we asked Ukwane to tell us something about the sky, and we pointed to several stars to learn their names.

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821 But Ukwane said that he had been talking and singing all evening and his voice was hoarse from telling about the inside of the springbok (which by now was partly cooked and eaten). He was, in fact, too hoarse to answer questions and would rather tell a story if he had to talk. We said that
539 we would like to hear a story, and the Bushmen said that they would also like to hear some stories, so Ukwane told the last part of the story of Pishiboro and his elephant wife.

In the morning, after the elephant wife had frightened Pishiboro and his younger brother, before she had followed them away, she had told her elephant parents that she had married a man whose people might eat her, and that they should give up hope of ever seeing her again. Pishiboro knew that she had spoken with her parents, and while he was sitting upon her body with his brother, eating the breast, he looked around anxiously for he knew not what. Soon some elephant beetles came up to eat the uterus, for the elephant wife was pregnant, and when Pishiboro saw this he became very alarmed that the fetus would be eaten and he asked his brother to chase the beetles away. But the brother did not, and when Pishiboro was looking the other way, seeming to have forgotten, the brother cut open the womb, and the fetus came out.

"Oh, you foolish man," said Pishiboro. "I told you not to do that. You are lazy and stupid, and now the fetus will go to the elephant's parents and say what we have done."

Pishiboro then asked his brother to dig a hole to catch the fluid from the womb, but when the brother went to do this the fluid flowed past him. Pishiboro scrambled to dig another hole, but the fluid flowed past him, too, and only a little was caught. Pishiboro and his brother drank it.

The large part of the fluid went on until it came to the

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scherm of the elephant's father. It went in the front and out 539
the back, and then came to the scherm of the elephant's brother, and when the father and mother of the elephant saw the fluid they knew it was from the womb of their daughter, and all the elephants gathered together to go and kill the people.

Meanwhile, Pishiboro's brother thought until he thought of a plan. He then went off alone and, finding an anthill, asked the anthill to open itself, which it did. He prepared many anthills in this way, and then returned to Pishiboro, who was cutting up the meat, but told him nothing of his plans.

After a while the brother, who had been watching the direction taken by the fluid very carefully, saw the elephants coming, and he told Pishiboro to go to the anthill which he had prepared, but when Pishiboro got there and asked the anthill to open, it did not, and presently, when the elephants were very near, the brother found Pishiboro standing there helplessly. The brother then said to the anthill: "Please open, so that this fool can go inside," and the anthill opened and Pishiboro went inside. The brother waited for the elephants alone.

When the elephants came, two of them tried to stab Pishiboro's brother with a knife, but the brother flew up onto their shoulders and they fell dead. In this way he killed them all, all except one old, old elephant which he did not want to kill because it was so old and useless. Instead, he asked the anthill to open again so that Pishiboro could come out and kill it for him. Pishiboro came out and farted on the elephant three times and the old elephant was not affected, but when the brother farted once, the elephant fell dead.

Then Pishiboro's brother sang this song:

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539 *My brother is older, but he kills only little things.*
I am younger, but I kill big things.

And that was the end of the story. Everyone asked Ukwane to tell more, so he told many. One of them interested us particularly because of its vague similarity to one of our own. It is the story of how carnal knowledge came to Pishiboro, for although he had two human wives (or perhaps goddesses, as he himself was god), he did not know what to do with them.

Pishiboro was digging a hole. When he had finished he told his wives to go to look at it while he went hunting in a different direction, but instead the two wives went to get tsama melons. They found one melon, brought it home, and, taking out the seeds, were grinding them to powder when Pishiboro arrived. The two wives had taken their own genital organs and had mixed these with the melon seeds which they were grinding. Pishiboro ate the mixture, which he thought was very nice, and he jumped to his feet and asked his wives where they got such nice meat.

"Oh," they said, "we told you when you left that you were going in the wrong direction. You should have come to the hole with us because when we got there we found a baby giraffe inside, but we could not get it out, so we cut pieces off its feet, and this was the meat you found so good."

They slept, and the next day they all went to the hole. The two wives had, in the meantime, defecated into the hole until it was full. When Pishiboro leaned over it to look for the giraffe, they toppled him in; then, laughing and shrieking, they ran away and climbed into a camel-thorn tree.

From the depth of his hole, Pishiboro looked up at his wives in the tree, and as he looked it came to him what

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wives were for, and he climbed up the tree and possessed 539
them, and they conceived, and when the children were born they dropped from the tree like fruit.

Then the whole family came down, and as they were walking away Pishiboro found a night adder's home. Only the baby snakes were there; the parents had gone out. The Pishiboro family laughed at the baby snakes because they had such ugly faces, and when they had laughed all they could they went home to their scherm. That night the baby snakes told their mother what had happened, and in the morning, when Pishiboro returned for another laugh, the baby snakes were dancing and the mother snake was hiding in a little hole she had made. Pishiboro, too, began to dance, and when he danced by the hole the mother snake jumped out and bit him, and although he ran away the poison was working in him, and soon he was ill and in great pain.

The omarambas, the dry valleys in the land, are furrows that Pishiboro made on his way home because he suffered so much, and the hills at the sides of the omarambas were made by his kicking feet.

Pishiboro died from the snake bite, and now all the water that flows in the rivers in the north, all the rain, and all the water that collects in pools is the rottenness of Pishiboro, liquid made as his dead body began to decay.

After that, Ukwane stopped telling stories. He brightened 224
the fire by adding a stick, and the light showed everyone's face. Firelight does not dispel darkness. It just shows things in the darkness while the darkness is still there. Behind Ukwane's back we saw the shapes of the young boys bending over something, and we asked Ukwane what they were about. He told us that they were setting a snare for a mouse, a

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224 mouse which had troubled the people greatly by chewing their karosses and biting holes in their melons, which made the melons dry.

We looked at the snare. It was made of a tiny sinew cord tied to the bending branch of a bush with a noose on the free end spread open with tiny sticks pushed in a circle into the ground, one of which was a trigger, baited with a melon seed. The ground was swept clean, and melon seeds were scattered around alluringly.

The young boys then went back to the werf and lay down on the ground, naked in the frost, as the older people lay nearer the fires. Tsetchwe and Gai lay side by side, the baby in Tsetchwe's arms, and everyone went to sleep for the night, and we went home.

In the morning, even before the sun rose, we went back to the werf to see if the mouse had been captured. We found the young boys already at the snare, standing in the cold grass with their arms hugged against their chests for warmth. They looked discouraged, and we saw that the snare was dangling helpless and empty. The cord was bitten through, all the tsama seeds were gone, and the earth was printed confidently with the prints of the mouse's feet.

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CHAPTER FIVE

Gai and Ukwane

At our camp in Ai a ha'o I had a small tent not high 136
enough to stand in, tied to a very small thorn tree. The tent was made of ragged, waterproof fabric which billowed in and out when the wind blew, and when lit from the inside by a candle at night looked luminous, pale green, like an aquarium or a lantern on the moon. The tent was a shade from the blazing sun at noon and a shelter from the wind, and through the thin canvas I could hear the creatures that passed at night—hares and small buck that made the long grass rustle, and occasionally small predatory animals, such as jackals, whose footsteps make a sound and which sometimes call [192]
"*tsa, tsa,*" their sad, loud cry that means in Gikwe "water, water."

Whenever an animal called, someone would surely answer 524
it. People do this for fun, a hobby, answering every animal 825
except the lion. In the Kalahari it is considered safer to let the lion have the last word.

I had luckily pitched my tent in the sun, and during the 123
long cold period that followed our arrival at Ai a ha'o I was the only person who was warm because the tent kept out the

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123 wind and held the sun-warmed air inside itself like an oven. The three young Bushman boys found this out quickly, and early in the morning when the sun came up they would crouch outside, shivering and naked, and whisper "Nisabe, Nisabe" until I opened the door to let them in. The four of us filled the tent entirely, but when I would leave for breakfast they would stay behind, looking in my mirror and leafing through my notes. I gave them crayons and paper and asked them to draw, but they wrote instead, wiggly little lines that looked for all the world like handwriting, complete with dotted *i*'s. Once, when I looked in to see if they had drawn anything, they showed me a page of my notes which had a smudge and a tiny rip in one corner. They had not torn it, for they were more careful and precise than cats—in fact, I had done it myself—but they were upset over the destruction of property, and when I told them it was nothing important, perfectly all right, they were not pleased. I seemed to them lavish and wanton; I should have repaired it or at least shown that I was sad.

132 512 One morning in early July they came to my tent before sunrise and I woke up when I heard their teeth chattering. Before I had the door completely open they had all popped in, and when I went outside, wearing a sweater, a coat, and mittens, I found that it was surely the coldest day of the year. A strong south wind was blowing, straight from the Antarctic, scattering our fire, whose smoke and heat blew down the wind, and even standing in the smoke we could not get warm. In our pails the water was frozen into solid ice, and we saw our breath in clouds around our heads.

We went to the werf through grass white with frost to see how the Bushmen were faring and found them all awake, crouched over the coals of their little fires. Tsetchwe and Gai sat side by side, Gai all wrapped in his big kaross which cov-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe

ered him entirely so that only his head and toes were show- 132
ing, Tsetchwe in her small, ragged kaross which covered only 512
her back, leaving her legs, belly, and shoulders bare. Near them sat Ukwane and Kutera, bundled up together in Ukwane's tattered kaross in front of a handful of embers on a small pile of white ash, Kutera having been too tired to gather much firewood the night before. Dasina sat by herself at another very small fire with the baby, stark naked, standing on her lap. He alone did not seem to mind the cold, for he smiled at us cheerfully when we came by. The others hardly looked up.

They had burned all their firewood the night before, and now it was too cold to go for more, or even to go for food, so they sat cold, hungry, thirsty, and even tired, since they had been too cold to sleep during the night. They were waiting, as they had waited all night, with infinite patience, infinite endurance, for noonday, when the sun would give a little warmth; but the sky was overcast, and even at noon the sun would still be far away.

Twikwe stood up to poke her fire and the Antarctic wind howled along the ground, blowing her little kaross back from her shoulders and leaving her naked except for her apron whipping around her legs, and her string of beads. The icy wind made the branches over her head rattle, made her breath blow back like smoke and her eyes stream with tears. She sat down again, downwind from the fire, wiped her eyes, and, wrapping her lanky arms around her legs, put her head on her knees and waited. It was six o'clock in the morning; they had six hours to go.

A little later I crossed the flat pan of Ai a ha'o to look for 136
firewood in the plains on the opposite side. When I got there I saw a hawk in a tree, a hawk with a fine red beak and handsome gray feathers. He had gnarled, stalky legs and he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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136 stood on his branch with the legs wide apart, bracing himself against the wind. When I got near he dropped from his branch and let the wind carry him away, and I saw that he had been watching a colony of ground squirrels close by which had not seen him and did not see me. They, too, were miserable with the cold, for they walked around slowly as they looked for seeds to eat. I sat down to watch them, which they noticed, and some of them stood up to watch me. Their fur was oddly greenish and it blew in the wind showing little patches of white. They had long fat bellies, long heavy thighs, and little feet, and when they stood up they, too, kept their legs wide apart and braced. As they peered at me I heard on the wind almost inaudibly high, soft whistles, their cries of warning to each other. They decided I was dangerous and vanished down their holes.

123 I came back to the werf with some wood, which I gave to the Bushmen. They reached out their hands for it and put it on their fires, but they didn't say a word. Later, in our camp, we put all the wood we had on one great fire, where the Bushmen joined us and where we spent the morning making and drinking cocoa. We even put up a white canvas, and, lying between it and the fire, we were fairly warm.

423 Ukwane used that occasion to tell us something about his
621 life and his relatives, his former wives, the children he had
602 fathered and where they lived. Most of this centered around
159 melon rights, or who could live in which areas, for if a person is born in a certain area he or she has a right to eat the melons that grow there and all the veld food. It is perhaps this factor that explains in part why the Gikwe bands are composed the way they are; a man may eat the melons wherever his wife can and wherever his father and mother could, so that every Bushman has in this way some kind of rights in many places. Gai, for example, ate melons at Ai a ha'o be-

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cause his wife's mother was born there, as well as at his own 423
birthplace, the Okwa Omaramba, where we had found the 621
eighteen Bushmen, who after all were not strangers but 602
closely related to Gai and Ukwane and an extension of Uk- 159
wane's band.

Ukwane himself had had three wives, and he and his first 586
wife had been divorced, which Bushmen do by announcing 587
the divorce and separating. There is no ceremony connected 159
with divorce, and no difficulty, as there is no ceremony connected with any marriage but the first. After a divorce a Bushman man may take up residence with another woman whom he prefers.

Without the visible evidence of ceremonies, however, it 837
is hard for non-Bushmen to recognize what is happening, as 159
occasionally Bushmen live together for short periods without being married, or commit adultery. But in cases such as these there is someone who does not want the union to be permanent, either the man or the woman, or perhaps his or her children; perhaps even the man and woman are tabu relatives, and unless everyone concerned is more or less in accord, the union does not take place. Among Bushmen, incest and [684]
adultery are strongly condemned.

Once, among Kung Bushmen we lived with, a woman ran 837
away from her husband to take up with another man. She 593
had considered marrying him, and they ran off one night to his family to live permanently. When her husband found out, he got so wildly angry, taking up his spear and sharpening it, [578]
that the headman of the band set off after the elopers to preserve the peace. My brother and I went with him, and at noon we found the lovers resting in the shade.

The headman talked with the elopers and told them how they were bringing shame on both their families, and how the woman's husband was violently upset. By this time the

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837 woman had begun to regret her act, and as her children,
593 whom she had brought with her, were crying for their father, she agreed to return. She then explained her reason for leaving; her husband, who had until recently been a serf Bushman, could not hunt well and was not able to clothe her. She was a handsome woman, but her kaross showed that what she said was true—the only garment that she had had to wear on the day of her elopement was tattered and old. She also explained how she and her lover had passed the night, she sleeping on one side of the fire, he on the other, with the children between. She put straws on the ground, a straw for each person, to show how it was, and we believed her.

The whole affair seemed to center itself around raiment, for though the woman was poorly dressed with what her husband had given her, the beads and ornaments that she had made for herself were fine and white. Her children, too, were poorly clothed with leather, but they also wore white beads, and her lover, the man who had attracted her so much that she committed an unconscionable act, was dressed beautifully in a soft new leather loincloth, sewed finely and worked with white beads. I myself was adorned with the story, for when we came upon the spot where the lovers were resting I found that I had a pen but no paper and so wrote everything that happened on my arms and legs.

When we got home, the woman's husband took her back and was very glad to have her. No one ever mentioned the affair again.

586 In the same band there was another man, about forty years
595 old, who took a beautiful young girl not yet twenty as his second wife. His first wife, also forty and the mother of three, was very jealous and bothered the beautiful girl until the girl, who did not love the husband anyway, ran away from

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him and back to her parents. The husband was enraged and 586 set off after her, but when he finally found her his anger had 595 been replaced by longing and he pleaded with her, reasoned with her parents, and plied them with the meat of an entire eland he had shot, asking for her to return. But she would not, her parents would not make her, and finally she drove him away with these words: "I don't want an old husband like you, you man with a big black belly."

Thereafter, the marriage was recognized by everyone as dissolved. The husband was sadly disappointed, but the two women, at least, were pleased.

Both Kung and Gikwe Bushmen permit divorce, condemn 593 adultery. We saw very little marital strife among the Kung [586 with whom we lived for over a year, and none among the 837] Gikwe. Even so, many Bushmen over thirty years old in both groups had previously been widowed or divorced. Death and strife take too many people; a Bushman cannot really expect his first marriage to last him all his life.

Ukwane's second wife had been a widow, the mother of 159 Twikwe, and when that woman had died Twikwe had lived 587 on with Ukwane. His third wife was Kutera, and their only living child was Gaiamakwe. Ukwane had another son still living at Chukudu, the Bakalahari settlement, who was surely one of the Bushmen servants in that long procession of Bakalahari villagers we had seen moving to winter quarters. We told Ukwane about this migration and Ukwane said he was sorry to hear it because he had hoped very much to see his son again before he died and many seasons might pass now before the son would come.

Kutera herself had been married twice before, once to a Bakalahari, once to a Bushman named Gainaho, and last to Ukwane, to whom she had been married about fifteen years.

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582 Even Gai had been married once before, when he was in his teens, to a wife not yet eleven, as most Bushmen marry at a very early age. A Bushman girl can be betrothed before she is weaned, while she still lies on her back and waves her tiny feet. When she is eight or nine she marries and her young husband, who is probably in his late teens, comes to live all or part of the time with her family. He will not have intercourse with her until she reaches puberty—she must pass her first menstruation and her breasts must show. They then [591 885] live together as man and wife, always with her family, as Bushmen are matrilocal until the couple has borne three children, the sign of adulthood, or, if they are not so blessed, until they reach the age when most people have three children. Then, if they wish, they may live with the husband's family.

It is said that when a man raises his wife, feeds her, and cares for her, the two enjoy their youth together, she is the more his, and a more stable marriage results than if she were allowed to grow up wild and free and perhaps make a hasty choice of too young a husband (one of her own age) in the passion of her adolescence. An early marriage also ensures that the girl will be a first wife, a more desirable and authoritative position than that of a second, or co-wife. The girl's parents benefit from an early union as well, for the young man hunts for them and the meat he kills goes to their band.

This system may be good for women, but it is hard on young men, who often must endure desire for years and years, waiting all through their teens and early twenties before they can possess their wives. One young man among the Kung Bushmen had been thirty when his wife had died, and he had found no one else to marry except an infant girl. When we knew him he had been waiting five years for his wife to grow up, and at that time she was only about seven (younger than his son, who was about eleven); and when he

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thought that he would have to wait at least four years more 562
for her, he would get into such a passion of desire that he
would have to send his wife away for a time, lest he forget
himself and break one of the most stringent rules. Bushmen [833
believe that it harms a girl terribly to be possessed before she 834]
is mature. It might even drive her mad.

Bushmen have no real solution for this problem, as there 548
are no prostitutes and only in a few bands are there promiscu- 588
ous women. Homosexuality is not permitted either; the 838
young men just have to get used to being tempted constantly
but never gratified.

Gai had raised his young wife, and when she reached pu- 593
berty he had possessed her and she had borne him a son. This 587
was the young man Gai had found at Okwa. Shortly after
that his young wife had died and Gai then had married Tse-
tchwe, whose young fiancé had been taken away by a farmer
to work on a farm. Gai and Tsetchwe had borne two chil-
dren. Only one was still alive; this was Nhwakwe.

When we asked about the residence and about the parents 159
of Gai, an argument arose. Gai lived with Ukwane because
his wife wanted to live with her mother, Dasina, and Dasina
lived with Ukwane because she and Ukwane were relatives,
sharing a common grandparent. Gai himself, said Ukwane,
was conceived by a Bushman mother and a Bushman father
named Gwena, but Gwena had died while Gai was still in
the womb. When that had happened, Gai's mother had gone [582]
to Chukudu to marry a Bakalahari man. She and the Bakala-
hari had then moved to the big rock in the Okwa Omaramba,
where Gai was born. This was Ukwane's side of the story.

Gai had been listening, and when Ukwane had finished,
Gai raised himself up on his elbow to say that Ukwane was 159
quite mistaken, for the Bakalahari was his real father. An ar-
gument dragged on, the old people insisting that Ukwane was

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159 right, saying that Gai may have *thought* the Bakalahari was his real father, but that Ukwane knew better. I expect that Ukwane was right at that, for Gai certainly looked like a Bushman.

But whether father or stepfather, Gai said, the Bakalahari kept sending messages to Gai with Bushmen who might be passing through Ai a ha'o telling him to come back to Chukudu (probably to work), but Gai never did. Gai was too clever.

512 At noon the sun had warmed the air a little, although there was still an edge of frost, and the women got up and walked [313] off together into the veld to search for wood. In an hour or so they came back heavily loaded, Tsetchwe with her kaross [482 bulging with melons, perhaps twenty in all, a great load of 854] wood on top of them piled higher than her head, and Nhwakwe riding on top of it all. Even in the cold air she perspired, and as her load must have weighed almost a hundred pounds, she walked leaning forward.

By night the cold had deepened. The Bushman boys came [513] out of my tent and went home for dinner, then lay by the fires to sleep when the adults curled up in the shallow pits. The moon rose, a frosty circle, hard as a coin, and before we went to sleep that night we heard a jackal calling "tsa," out on the plains.

"Tsa," called one of the Bushmen, answering him.

"Tsa!" the jackal replied.

821 In the morning we were very pleased to find that the cold had broken. We woke up to find the sun just rising, and on the other edge the moon just sinking down, lustrous and pale in a current of balmy air coming warm from the equator. In the east, only the planets showed of all the stars; one of them,

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"Walks-Before-the-Sun," was just starting its journey across 821
the sky. This planet, which we call the morning star and which is a different one from time to time, rises just before the sun and walks all day across the sky looking for shade. Every day, say Bushmen, the sun overtakes it and scorches it, and though people walking can cut branches from trees to [273]
put up over their heads as parasols, the poor star finds no branches in the sky.

Over the moon the Firewood Star was sinking too. This is a real star, the star by which the Bushmen, when they see it rising, can tell if they have enough firewood to last the night.

When the sun was up, when the moon and all the stars 281
were gone, we went as usual to the werf, where we found 237
Ukwane curing fox skins with urine, the only liquid he had. It was not fresh urine either; it was rank, saved for days by all the people, collected in tsama rinds. We had noticed a stench, but we had not known what it was. To be certain, we asked Ukwane, and he said: "Water."

"What water?" we asked, knowing there was none.

"The water that all the people in the Kalahari have to use."

"Is it urine?"

"Yes, it is," he said.

The skins were from five Delalandes or long-eared foxes which Ukwane had snared three seasons ago. He had stretched and scraped the skins but had not cured them because until now he had not had the time. A few days ago he had told his people to begin saving urine so that he could cure and soften the hides. They had, and he now poured urine onto each skin, letting it soak, then rubbed the skin hard between his hands. He repeated this process again and again, 281
working one skin at a time, and before long the skins were moist all through, and when they were dry they were as soft as chamois. Ukwane said that he was going to trade the soft

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281 skins with Bakalahari people for tobacco when we had gone and when the tobacco we had given him had all been used. We asked how much he would get and he measured an imaginary pile in the palm of his hand—not much for four or five days' work, although the skins of Delalandes foxes are quite small.

136 There were Delalandes foxes living not far from Ai a ha'o, a colony of them, for they always live together. I saw them often and they were charming creatures, fuzzy with huge ears and black stockings. I have always admired them, for although they have no defenses, can neither run fast nor fight, they are not afraid to go mousing far from their burrows. Then, when they are surprised by a menace, they have to run home, and they start off all together and run and run, humping on and on at an even pace, neither speeding nor slacking, until long after you first saw them they disappear into their holes. They are humble creatures, but persistent and brave. One member of our expedition hunted them for months with rifle and shotgun, trying to get a specimen for a museum in the United States, but I am glad to say he never succeeded. Ukwane caught them, though, the easy way. He set five snares for them at five mouse-runs in the grass; five foxes strangled in the snares, and Ukwane came around the following day to gather them up.

123 We filmed Ukwane working the skins. Then we found the
825 shoulder blade of the gemsbok we had shot weeks ago still
321 lying in the werf and we asked Gai to make an arrowhead out
411 of it so we could film that, too. It was the right kind of bone, the kind that Bushmen use. The small antelope and even some of the larger ones, such as springbok and wildebeest, have bones which are too fragile to penetrate another antelope's heavy hide. Gai agreed to make the arrow; he broke off the scapular spine and pushed it into a fresh tsama melon to

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let it soak. When it was moist all the way through he called to us and we then filmed him making the arrow. 123 825 321 411

We took a long time setting up the cameras, reading light meters, focusing the lenses, and finally took a picture with the still camera. To our astonishment, when the shutter clicked Gai let out a great huff of breath. One of the interpreters must have told him at some time to be absolutely still, and he had begun holding his breath when he had first seen the camera. We thanked him and told him he need never do it again, but we laughed and he was embarrassed.

Always, Bushmen were wonderful people to film. They were totally unselfconscious, never looked at the camera, and, furthermore, had infinite patience. They would stop what they were doing, wait, start again and repeat what they had done before, making each repeated action seem miraculously as if it were being done for the first time. But on this occasion Gai got bored. He had a quiverful of arrows anyway, and while he waited for us to load the camera the arrow he was working got brittle and dry. When this happened he had to suck it until it was moist again, then whittle some more.

He made the foreshaft of the arrow first, chopping with his knife to hack the rough shape of it, pausing occasionally to hone the knife blade on the tough sole of his foot, then cocking his head and squinting down the blade to see the edge. He then carefully whittled the head, leaving a tiny spine up the middle for strength but shaving the edges so thin that you could see light through them. As he worked, though, he yawned and sighed with boredom and now and then he would pause to sing a nonsense song, "bibibi di bo," by flapping his lower lip with his finger.

When the arrowhead was finished he fitted it into a reed shaft exactly the right size and bound it in place with a bit of fine sinew which he had also sucked to moisten. Then he

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411 123 825 321 turned the arrow over and over, sighting down its length to see if it was straight. It was.

123 411 825 278 Gai then surprised us somewhat by taking from his hunting-bag twelve round nut-like tiny shells which we recognized as the cocoons or pupa cases of the poison grubs, the source of poison for the Bushmen's deadly little arrows. Gai said he would poison his arrow, a process which he seemed to find more interesting than making it, and we said we would be very glad to see. We wondered where he had got the grubs, for he and Ukwane had both told us that there were no poison grubs anywhere near Ai a ha'o, and he said he had received them from the people whom we had met in the Okwa Omaramba, as they had plenty there.

825 278 We regretted very much that we had never seen a tree or shrub that houses the poison grubs of the Gikwe, and that we had never been able to catch one of the adults of the beetle that in its pupa stage is poisonous. Gai said that his grubs came from between the roots of a bush, called in Gikwe simply a poison bush. We do not know if the grubs are the same as the grubs used by Kung Bushmen, which live among the roots of a tree, called by the Kung a poison tree, called by us marula kaffra. The grubs of the Kung are from the beetle *diamphidia simplex*, which lays its eggs on the leaves of the tree. Once, all in one afternoon at a single tree of Kung Bushmen, I was shown by a young hunter the yellow eggs on a leaf, the young larvae just hatched, which the hunter said crawl down the tree under the bark to pupate in the earth among the roots, and the pupae of this beetle.

It has always amazed me that the Bushmen ever discovered these beetles, which are only one species among thousands in South Africa, and which the Bushmen say are poisonous only in their pupa stage. The pupae themselves are

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enclosed in the tiny brown pupa casings with brittle shells 825
like eggshells, exactly the color of the earth around them, and 278
are found only among the roots of certain trees and bushes. Nothing edible grows among the roots, and although the marula kaffra has edible nuts that drop and are gathered from the surface of the ground, there would be no likely reason for Bushmen to be digging there. Bushmen do eat certain bee- [262]
tles, certain ants, and certain caterpillars, which, they say, are sweet as honey, but even if a Bushman were to eat a poison beetle he would not die (unless he had a cracked lip or an ulcer) because the poison works only in the blood stream, and even the black meat of an antelope taken from the site of the arrow wound can be eaten with impunity.

Only people who pay the closest attention to every tiny object and who investigate all its possibilities could ever have discovered a thing like this.

I not only do not know if the beetles used by the Kung are the same kind as those used by the Gikwe; I also do not know if the Kung use only one kind, for I have seen Kung Bushmen take two kinds of pupa from the roots of the same tree, from cocoons that appeared to be exactly alike. Even the Kung do not know, when they see a cocoon, which kind it is. One kind of pupa is small and pure yellow with a black head, a thorax, an abdomen, and six small legs. The other kind is larger, fatter, and orange, with no noticeable body sections such as thorax and abdomen, but more like a caterpillar, the same all the way down. The yellow pupae, the Bushmen say, are males, with sacks of poison only under their front legs. To get the poison Bushmen pull off a leg and squeeze out a single drop, discarding the rest of the body. The orange pupae are said to be females, with poison throughout the entire body. To get poison from these, Bushmen tap the grub all over to

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825 mash the insides, then pull off the head and squeeze the in-
278 sides out like toothpaste from a tube. Both kinds of poison are equally good, they say.

Perhaps the two types of pupae are the pupae of two different kinds of beetles. Perhaps they are from the same beetle but in different stages of development. Perhaps they really are males and females, as Bushmen are often scientifically
[821] accurate, but, as Bushmen also have male and female rain clouds, perhaps not.

[439] Kung Bushmen, who use metal arrows obtained by trading
824 animal skins for wire with the Bantus, have a complicated
825 system of poisoning in which they use several ingredients for
278 the poison paste. One of these is a binding fluid, used because the pure poison squeezed from the grub will not adhere well to metal but must be made binding and sticky. The binding material comes from the bark of a tree. They chew
[415 the bark thoroughly and spit the mash into a little mortar
237] made from the knee bone of an antelope, a nice little cup, into which the Bushmen have squeezed the milky juice of sansevieria plants, got by wringing the heavy, thick leaves. This juice has an irritating effect when it is dissolved in a wound and causes the antelope to rub and scratch its wounded spot against a tree, which stimulates circulation in the area, which carries the poison more quickly through the body, which hastens death.

The paste in the mortar is thoroughly mixed, then smeared with a straw on the foreshaft of arrows, never on the head, for if the sharp edges of the head were poisoned any child might accidentally nick himself and die. When the arrow is poisoned it is propped up by a fire and the poison is allowed to dry into a shiny dark paste, to be melted again by the
411 moisture and warmth of an antelope's flank.
825
278 Gai had stored his poison cocoons in a tiny bag inside his

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hunting-bag, and when he came to poison his arrow he took them all out and felt them, shook them, to see if they were fresh. Then he took his arrow, his cocoons, and a scrap of leather he had been saving which was so thin and ragged it had very little use, and, moving all these things to a place in the grass far away from the werf, he sat down to work. He did not work in the werf because a drop of poison might be spilled and months later would still be dangerous. 411 825 278

Gai first spread out his rag as a work table and arranged his cocoons upon it. Then he called Witabe, who was watching from the werf, and asked for a fire, which Witabe brought in the form of a few sticks in one hand and a live coal from one of the werf fires in the bare palm of his other hand.

At last Gai was ready and his fire burning. After inspecting his fingers carefully for cracks in the skin and telling us to sit upwind from him so that no drops of poison would blow on us, he scratched open one of the cocoons. The shell was as brittle as a little seed pod. It opened easily and Gai fished inside carefully with a straw, dragging out the grub, which struggled feebly with one slight, almost imperceptible convulsion and then lay alive but motionless, curled in a U on the palm of Gai's hand. The cocoon was small and the grub must have filled it entirely, for, once outside, the grub seemed twice as large as its casing. It was a yellow one, like the kind the Kung call males, but I cannot say for certain that it was exactly the same.

Gai laid it across his thumbnail and tapped it gently, mixing the insides. Then he twisted off the head, squeezed the body, forced the paste inside onto the shaft of his arrow, and smeared it evenly with his straw. Gikwe Bushmen do not have to use a binding fluid, for their bone arrows hold the poison very well.

After the foreshaft was coated evenly all around with the

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411 poison of several grubs, Gai dried the arrow by the fire, then
825 coated the foreshaft again. In all, he used ten grubs, all that
278 he had except two which were found to be shriveled and dead. The last coating he did not smear; pulling off the grub's head, he dotted the arrow with little spots of poison. He did not poison the arrowhead but only the foreshaft.

When the arrow was finished and the poison dried to lacquer on the shaft, Gai carefully collected all the cocoons and all the grub skins and burned them in the fire, keeping out of the smoke. He then called for a fresh tsama melon, which Witabe brought him and which he used to wash his hands. At last he put his arrow in his quiver and lit his pipe. He was through.

411 While we were there with the camera set up and loaded
184 we asked Gai to demonstrate for us the way he would shoot a bow, which he did, and we were surprised to see that the Gikwe, who use bows of the same size and shape and arrows of the same size as the Kung's, have a different arrow release. The Kung grip the arrow between the thumb and the side of the forefinger as they draw back on the string, but Gai gripped it between the first two fingers, holding his thumb back. He said that all other Gikwe do the same.

283 Ukane called to us from the werf and said that since we were here he would show us how a Gikwe Bushman makes a string. We went over to him, and he did make a string for us by pulling the tough fibers out of aloes and rolling them together on his thigh, leaving just enough fiber unwound at the end to splice with the next rolled section. The string was so strong that when he jerked it between his hands it neither broke nor raveled. It took him only a few minutes to make it,
[286] and he said that when he had many such strings he would tie them together to make himself a net.

As he worked, for the sake of efficiency, he held the fibers

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

in a fold of his belly and held the finished end of the cord be- 283
tween his toes. Then, as he finished a section, he would pull with his toe, moving the cord into a new position while with his hand he removed a new tuft of fibers from his belly. It was very efficient. The cord almost finished itself. It seemed to me then that this use of a belly fold might once have given someone the idea of a vice or clamp, or the pulling foot the idea of a pedal.

The day turned out to be a very eventful one. In the after- 136
noon someone discovered that a large snake had occupied a hole right next to our camp. We all went to see the track, and found it so fresh and so enormous that we shook the Bushmen from their afternoon naps to tell us what we had found. Ukwane came alone, saying that he would know as well as anyone, and after looking at the track for a moment and following it out into the veld a way, he returned to say that the snake was still in the hole.

From the size of the track, which was as wide as the rut of a cartwheel, we could see for ourselves that the snake was about fourteen feet long, and from the straightness of the track, from the fact that it had no parallel scratches on its sides which would mark it as the track of a python, Ukwane could tell that it was made by a mamba, the deadliest snake in all Africa, second-deadliest in all the world, a snake that can travel almost as fast as a horse can run and whose poison will kill an adult human being in ten minutes or so.

The snake had come only that morning, perhaps attracted by a colony of bushy little rats that lived around our camp, and induced to move by the warm sun, which must have set his great length in motion out on the veld somewhere.

The members of our expedition felt that something should be done, so while my father brought a shotgun, Ledimo, the interpreter, lit a fire near the hole, then lit gasoline-soaked

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

136 rags in the fire and pushed them burning into the back door of the burrow, hoping to drive the snake out the front. Nothing happened, and the tension naturally rose; and as the snake was fourteen feet long, everyone began to edge backward.

At that moment Gai arrived on the scene, still sleepy from his nap, balancing his spear over his shoulder. The sun shone on the blade. Gai walked through the circle of people straight up to the hole and, crouching, pushed the spear inside.

"What are you going to do?" we asked, and Gai looked back over his shoulder with eyes more black and cool and deadly even than the mamba.

"Eat him," he said.

But though Gai worked his spear in the front door of the burrow, then in the back door, for almost twenty minutes, he never felt the snake and we never saw it. Soon Gai gave up and walked away, disgusted and cheated of his meal, followed by Ukwane, and for the rest of the afternoon we avoided going near the hole. But in the evening, when we returned to inspect it, we found another wide track winding out into the veld. The snake, disturbed, had gone.

That night we all stayed close to our fires, in our circles of light, and kept out of the dark veld where the snake might be mousing, lying quiet in the grass where one of us might step on him.

Quite late that night, while we were still sitting quietly enjoying the warm air, we heard the growl of a large deep-throated creature right next to our camp, answered in a moment by the growl of a second creature very near the first. The growl rose into a sort of cry, higher and higher, and broke with a sighing, tentative note. It was a hyena crying to another hyena, a female and a male. The might air was moon-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

less, close and tropical, and their crying made a ghostly 136
sound as they answered each other, two specters in the veld, their green eyes searching, and presently they were close together, growling now and panting, snapping their long teeth. They closed, each one's growls muffled in the other's dark fur, and we heard the male hyena's growling quiver as he shook the female, the sound of a dog worrying a bird. They were so occupied with each other that they did not notice or did not mind being very near our camp; if there had been a moon we could have seen them easily, but the sky was overcast and black. We heard their footsteps shuffle in the dry grass and presently we heard them move away. They must have gone in different directions, for one of them, a little later, called alone, was not answered, and called again; we heard the other calling finally, a hesitant, tentative crying, faint and far away.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER SIX

Veld Food

132 271 137 WITH the warm air came a series of long, fat clouds sailing from the north like slow dirigibles, some of them showering down a few drops of rain. We were amazed to see rain in winter, the dry season, something we had not seen before, and we asked Ukwane about it. He said that it was not unusual for rain to come in the wintertime but very hard on the people of the desert, as it fools the wild vegetables from which the Bushmen get their water.

There are many kinds of wild roots which can be eaten in winter, and each is marked among the grass blades by an almost invisible dry thread of a vine. The roots are swollen with liquid by which the plants preserve their life during the drought. When the plants feel the onset of spring, warm air and raindrops, the dry vines suck moisture out of the watery roots, turn green, and put out tiny leaves, and in this way, if the false spring lasts, the roots are soon sucked dry entirely. Bushmen cannot get enough water from eating the vines and leaves. The plants do not bear fruit until summer; the spring-season vegetables, such as little onions, pods like pea pods,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

and leafy green vegetables that taste like rhubarb, have not 132 271 grown in yet; and so the Bushmen must go thirsty. People 137 have died of thirst in these false seasons.

Gathering veld food is the work of the Bushman women, 222 and I used to go with them quite often on their trips. We [462] sometimes stayed in the veld all day eating roots instead of drinking water. One day my brother came along to film the gathering of veld food, and as we were getting ready to leave, Gai also joined us. It is customary for Bushmen never to let a group of their women go anywhere with a Bantu or a European man unless a Bushman man goes with them to protect them. Gai sauntered along behind us in his role of guardian, quite unhampered, as he had nothing with him but his loincloth. Dasina, Twikwe, and Tsetchwe walked in front, each with a digging-stick thrust in her belt like an enormous knife, each wearing a heavy cape, and Tsetchwe carrying her baby, who rode, carefree and swinging his feet, on her shoulder. John and I walked in the middle of the procession, and at the end came the three young boys, who did not stay in single file but ran all over the veld, ran circles around us, and shouted to each other happily. [609]

We walked across the pan of Ai a ha'o through the fine, [137] soft grass, which left tiny, barbed seeds sticking to our legs. We walked through the brush on the opposite side and then over a wide plain, where we saw a herd of wildebeest. No one was armed, and when the wildebeest saw us, put down their heads, and ran, we could only watch helplessly as all that meat galloped away.

We walked until we came to a patch of tsama melons, perhaps twenty of them lying together, shiny, smooth, and green in the grass. The vine that once had nourished them had dried away and already some of the melons were turning yellow, overripe, ready to open and release their seeds.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

222 The women stopped and began to gather up the green melons, Twikwe picking them with a mechanical, stereotyped gesture. She first slipped her hand under a melon; then, twisting her elbow, she lifted the melon and held it pinched between the heel of her hand and her forearm, and with a scoop slipped it into the pocket of her kaross on the side. In a moment the side of her kaross was full, and she stood erect for an instant, looked at the sky, shifted her weight, and suddenly the melons rolled to the back of her kaross, leaving the side free for more. She was very efficient. In a moment she had a load. I was a little surprised at her, however, for now she would have to carry the melons with her all day whereas she might have gathered them on the way home. But Bushman women do not seem to mind this.

The women left behind the yellow melons which would have been bitter and rotten, touching them disappointedly with their toes instead. The false spring was hastening the time when all the melons would be gone, forcing the Bush-
222 men to eat roots as a staple diet, not as desirable because of
824 the uses that tsama melons have. Melons are eaten as both
[252] food and water, their pulp is added to meat which needs liquid for boiling, their seeds are roasted and eaten or ground into powder and used as flour, their rinds serve as mixing-
[415] bowls, as containers for small, loose objects, as cooking-pots with or without the pulp inside, as urine-containers for curing hides, as targets for the children's shooting practice, as children's drums, as resonators for musical instruments, and all this amounts to a serious loss for Bushmen when the melons rot or dry.

222 We went on until we were about two miles from camp. We were going to an almost imperceptible small hill, a place, said Twikwe, where a great deal of veld food grew. On the way a moving shadow caught our attention, and we looked up

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

On the way a moving shadow caught our attention, and we looked up to see a white-breasted, black-winged vulture sailing not far above our heads, not stirring himself but riding the drafts and currents of the air. He was looking at us with hard eyes, his red face turned to look down, and suddenly he closed his great wings under his body, sweeping them down so far that the long wing feathers brushed together four feet under his belly. Then his wings swept up again and bore him on. I had never seen a vulture do that before. He did it only once, then made a circle all around us, looking down at us, his eyes cool in their red wrinkles; he rose higher and higher and soon he was gone. All over Africa the sky is full of vultures, but so high that you can seldom see them; any time you look up with binoculars, however, you will probably be able to see one sailing, waiting up there for a disaster.

We were going particularly to look for *bi*, a fibrous, watery root that is the mainstay of the Bushmen's diet during the hot season when the melons are gone. From the end of August, when the spring begins, the heat increases in intensity until December and January, when the rains come, relieving the drought. During this hot, dry season the sand reflects the sun until the air all over the veld shudders and dances, until human beings and animals alike gasp for air and water. This is the hardest season of all for the Bushmen, yet most of them remain alive by going into the veld early in the morning in the cooler light of dawn to gather bi. The bi they find is brought back to the werf before the sun is hot; it is scraped, and the scrapings are squeezed dry. The people drink the juice they squeeze. Then they dig shallow pits like graves for themselves in the shade. They urinate on the bi scrapings and line the pits with the now moist pulp, then lie in the pits and spend the day letting the moisture evaporating from the urine preserve the moisture in their bodies. They lie still all day and at dusk go into the veld again to gather food, perhaps a few

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

222 roots or cucumbers, returning to their werf before it is utterly dark, for in the hot season the big snakes, too, move only at night, the mambas and the cobras out of their holes.

By the end of the season the Gikwe are emaciated from hunger and thirst, and it is because of this season that the Gikwe hear the jackals on the plains cry "Water, water."

222 When we reached the little hill Twikwe had mentioned
137 we found no bi root, but we found other kinds of veld food: a bush with red berries, several kinds of roots, and a spiny cucumber not three inches long, round and bristling with its spines like a sea urchin, handsome in its light-brown, yellow-striped skin. The young boys found five of these cucumbers lying in a crooked row on the sand, all put there by a vine which had mostly dried and shriveled away. We picked them and ate them. They have a watery green flesh which looks just like the flesh of a cucumber as we know it but which is sweet.

Witabe, noting the direction of the vine by the way it had deposited its cucumbers, traced it to its source and found a bit of it left above the ground, below the branches of a white-thorn bush. He said there would be an edible root there, and when he dug, there was.

Meanwhile, Gai had found a solid, stiff vine like a stalk among the roots of a gray bush which was the home of a small flock of birds. Just for fun, Gai chased the birds out; they would have gone anyway, but, frightened by him, they flew like little pellets in every direction, leaving behind a pale, soft grass nest blowing in the wind. Gai sat down facing the bush with the branch shadows all over him and dug with a digging-stick in the sand between his legs. The branches around his head got in his way, tickling his ears, causing him to slash impatiently at them with his digging-stick, and when

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

this did no good he endured the nuisance for a moment, then 222
flung himself down on his back, put up his long legs like a 137
fighting cock, and kicked the branches down.

He dug out a great deal of earth, throwing it behind him, and finally uncovered a *ga* root, big and dark with a warty surface all covered with lumps like a toad or a stone; a fascinating thing, for although it was large and nondescript, brownish gray in brown-gray sand, marked only by an old dry vine, it was life itself to Bushmen, bitter but quite moist even in the hottest season. Tsetchwe put the root in her kaross and we went off, Gai generously carrying the baby, taking him from Tsetchwe by the forearm and swinging him up to his shoul- [854]
der. The baby rode astride Gai's neck with the soft kaross he wore draped over Gai's head. From the rear they were an apparition, as this made the baby's head, not much higher than Gai's, look like a tiny head on a man's tall, slender body.

We wanted very much to find a bi root, and while Gai, the baby, and my brother went off to look for one I waited behind with the women. We rested in a small circle in the dim shade of the grass, which, when we were sitting, came high above our heads so that all we could see was a circle of sky and, in the circle, the ragged, waxing moon. It had risen luxuriously in the daytime and was a pale, large crescent, pearl-colored in the sun. The moon is a root with a climbing [821]
stalk, a vine. It can be eaten.

Giamakwe began to urinate right in our midst, crouching 514
and pulling his loincloth aside. Although the adults are slightly inhibited about this, the children are not, sometimes simply turning aside to urinate as one might turn aside to cough. Presently the young boys got up and ran away, and when they did Tsetchwe herself got to her feet, stepped aside, and urinated also, standing up but leaning forward. Bushman

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

514 women sometimes do this, but Bushman men crouch to urinate. "It is our law," they say.

264 222 While the women rested they had refreshed themselves with one of Twikwe's melons which Twikwe chopped for them by holding the melon between the soles of both feet and mashing its pulp with her digging-stick, which she held in both hands. Then they got up from their grass nest, sharpened their digging-sticks with Twikwe's knife, and set out to begin the search for food. They each chose a different direction and soon they were out of sight. I followed Twikwe to see 222 481 what she would find, hurrying to keep up as she trampled ahead of me on those spindly, awkward legs of hers, which she kicked out with each step in a walk like the walk of a clown. She kept her back straight, for it was still early and the load in her kaross was light.

222 As I could not speak many words of Gikwe, she didn't even try to talk, but paused from time to time instead to show me things. Once she crouched among the branches of a thorn bush and beckoned to me to show me a tiny vine winding around the bush's trunk. I nodded. It marked an edible root. She pinched the base of the vine where there was a faint touch of green, then, grasping her digging-stick, began to dig. The ground was quite hard, but she dug rapidly, her slender back curved as she squatted over the hole and the muscles of her thin arms swelling. After a long time she threw down her digging-stick and tugged at something in the bottom of the hole. She sat back, and in her hands was a huge stone, which she heaved aside.

"Look," she said, and I crawled beside her into the bush. She had made a hole three feet deep, a foot across, and at the bottom, dim in shadow, lay an immense gray root wedged securely between two stones. "Ga," she said. She ripped the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

severed vine from the bush it clung to and tossed it into the 222
sunlight. "Look," she said again, assuming that I would now recognize a ga vine when I saw one; but although I examined it closely, it still looked like any other vine to me.

Again she bent over the hole, leaning over so far that her [516]
head came between her knees, and grasped the huge root with both hands. She tugged so hard that I heard her joints crack, but the root was wedged and she couldn't move it. She took up her digging-stick again, panting now, and struck the rocks, and the point of her digging-stick splintered.

"Ai," she said, exasperated, sitting back on her heels to [516]
carve a new point with her knife. She bent again, pried at the rocks, pried at the root, but it was useless, she couldn't move it. Then she relaxed, resting for a moment as she rubbed her sore shoulders before she got to her feet and walked away, beckoning with her head for me to follow. We would leave it.

We wandered about haphazardly for a time, looking for a vine, and presently I saw one twisted around some grass blades, binding them together in a tuft. I pointed it out to her, but she smiled and shook her head, turning her hands [201]
palm upward in the gesture for nothing. She meant that it was a useless species of vine, marking nothing below. Later, as we walked along, she laughed. Twikwe was charmed by the mistakes the members of our expedition made, for they were always elementary and, to her, very diverting.

Keeping her eyes on the ground, Twikwe noticed a tiny crack in the sand. She scooped at it with the point of her digging-stick, tipped out a truffle, and picked it up almost without stopping. As we walked on she broke it in half, put half in her kaross, and offered half to me. I ate it. It was light brown and had a delicious, salty flavor. Truffles grow an inch

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

222 or so below hard-surfaced ground and have no leaf nor stalk nor vine to show where they are, only the tiny crack made by the truffle swelling, which the Bushmen notice.

137 We had crossed a barren stretch of plain where only grass
222 was growing and were in another patch of low bushes where veld food also grew. The great plains of the Kalahari may seem undiversified, but really they are divided into countless little patches, some barren, some fertile, depending probably on the soil. In this veld-food patch Twikwe found another vine tangled in the lower branches of a thorn bush and she crawled in after it and began to dig. The thorns around her head, all smooth and shining white like jewels, were tickling her, but, unlike Gai, she delicately put up just one hand and picked off the very thorns that pricked her.

222 She resumed her digging and after perhaps twenty minutes as she followed down the vine she uncovered another ga root also wedged among stones. This ga was not as large as the other one, nor was it wedged as tightly, and when she grasped it, arched her back, and tugged, clenching her teeth and straining her thin arms, the rocks suddenly gave way and the ga flew loose, sending Twikwe crashing back among the thorns. She wiped the perspiration from her forehead with her thumb before she crawled out of the bush, dragging her root and her digging-stick. I noticed that the root was very wrinkled, as if it had shrunk. Twikwe struck at it with the point of her digging-stick, chipping out a fragment, which she put in her mouth. Then she spat, stood up, and walked away from it. When I, too, tasted it to see what was the matter I found that it was flaccid, dry, and very bitter, quite inedible. I looked inside the bush and saw that its vine had begun to turn a little green.

We went on, and passed a few dry melons on our way, yellow and empty, perhaps bitten by an antelope some time

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

ago. I kicked at one of them and a gray lizard ran out, straight 222
and fast as an arrow. Then it turned around and ran back in again, having no place else to go.

Soon Twikwe found a third root and, after digging it out and tasting it, found it quite acceptable; putting it in her kaross, she went on to find a fourth. We found old, dry holes where Bushman women had dug out roots seasons ago, a few dry vines with bitter, useless roots below, and three more roots that proved to be edible, as well as two more melons, a few spiny cucumbers, a handful of berries from a tiny bush, and one more truffle. This would feed Twikwe and her two sons for one or two days, or perhaps would be shared with Ukwane and Kutera because Kutera, that day, had not [476] felt well enough to gather food of her own. Bushmen help each other, each Bushman woman contributing to the support of her own family and perhaps to the well-being of some very old people as well.

When Twikwe considered that she had enough, we turned back to find the others, and presently we came to the plain where we had left them. Twikwe called, and was answered by three or four voices very near by. Then, right in front of us as if from nowhere, the three boys, Tsetchwe, and Dasina appeared standing, having been crouching in the long grass. Twikwe and I joined them, and the Bushmen passed Twikwe's pipe, the short, wide antelope bone stuffed with tobacco. When it was passed to me I puffed it, too, but it was so strong and rank that it made me dizzy.

Soon we heard a wail, a sad crying out in the veld, and it was Gai and John returning with Nhwakwe, who had begun to miss his mother or want to go home. Gai looked cross and walked rapidly with his little burden riding on his shoulder, and even John seemed somewhat annoyed because of the noise and because they had not found a bi root. When they

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

222came up to us Gai swung Nhwakwe down, dangling him by the arm as he handed him to Tsetchwe, who took him at once and let him nurse. Bushman babies do not like to go for veld food because the sun is hot, there is nothing to eat except the raw roots, and there is nobody to play with, yet they do not like to be left at home alone either. This is a constant and insoluble problem for Bushman mothers.

After asking Gai more questions and, at his suggestion, roaming from one point to another over the veld in search of a bi, it came to John and me that he did not want to show us where one was growing. We understood this, for the bi roots of the veld are naturally limited and if we took one when the Bushmen did not need it, it would not be there when they did. We assured Gai that we did not want to eat it, only to see its vine, and at last he remembered, he said, where one was, far out in the veld and on the way to Okwa. But we were not discouraged and set off in that direction, and after a while we found it far away but not as far as Gai had said. It took us an hour to reach it, but we had traveled slowly because the women had stopped to gather melons along the way.

When we came to the center of an enormous plain with no tree or bush to mark the place, Gai stopped and, glancing [201] around for a moment, pointed suddenly with his toe. After trying hard to see, we noticed a tiny shred of a vine wound around a grass blade; no part of the vine still touched the ground, as the vine had dried and parts of it had blown away. Gai had known where the bi was, he told us, because he had walked by it months ago in the last rainy season when the vine was still green, and he had remembered. He had assumed that it was still there because only his own people used the territory around it and if one of them had taken it he would have heard. Bushmen talk all the time about such things. He had had it in his mind to come back and get it

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

137

The aloes and the spiny plants of the desert. Far away, on the horizon, two baobab trees are showing.

[p. 112(A)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Gai was afraid of us at first. He listened carefully to everything we said, but he would not speak.

Even among her own people Tsetchwe was lonely, for in her band there was no young woman but herself.

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[P. 112(B)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Ukwane eats a tsama melon, the source of food and all water for Bushmen during the drought.

[p. 112(c)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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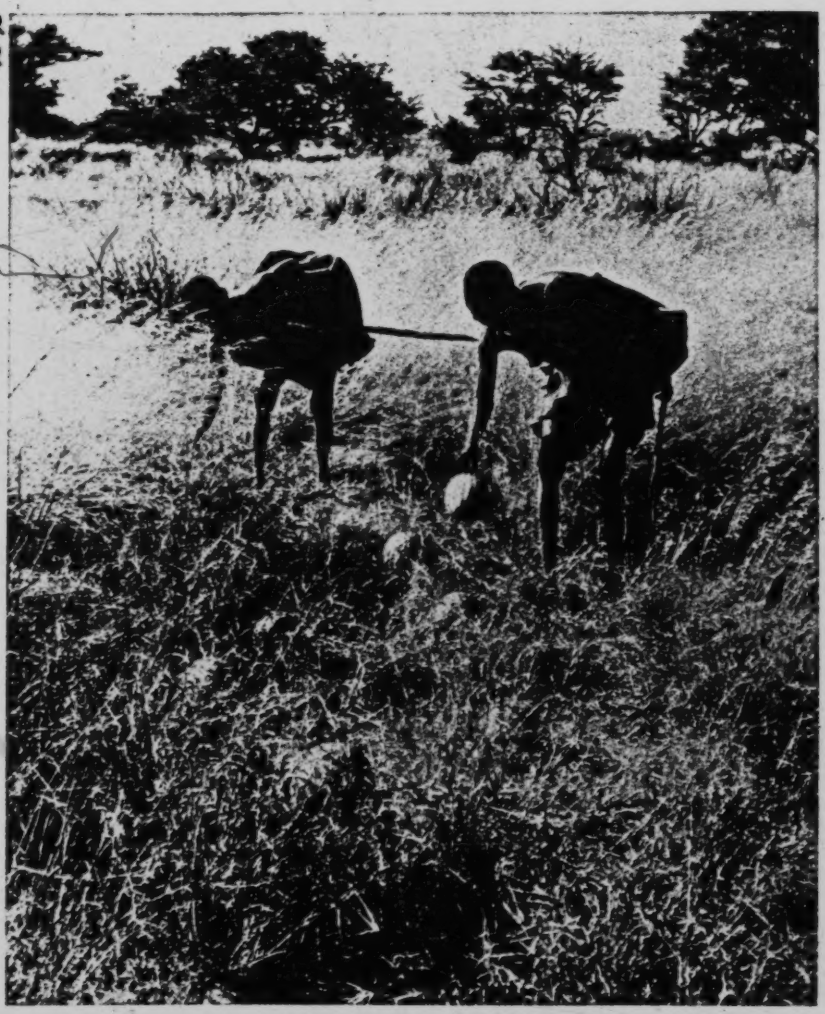

Tsama melons, on their vines, are almost hidden in the yellow grass, but Dasina and Twikwe find them.

[p. 112 (D)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Twikwe was a lanky old woman. She sometimes wound a medicine string around her belly to ward hunger away.

This is Gai's house, this bare sand under the branch of a tree.

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[p. 112(E)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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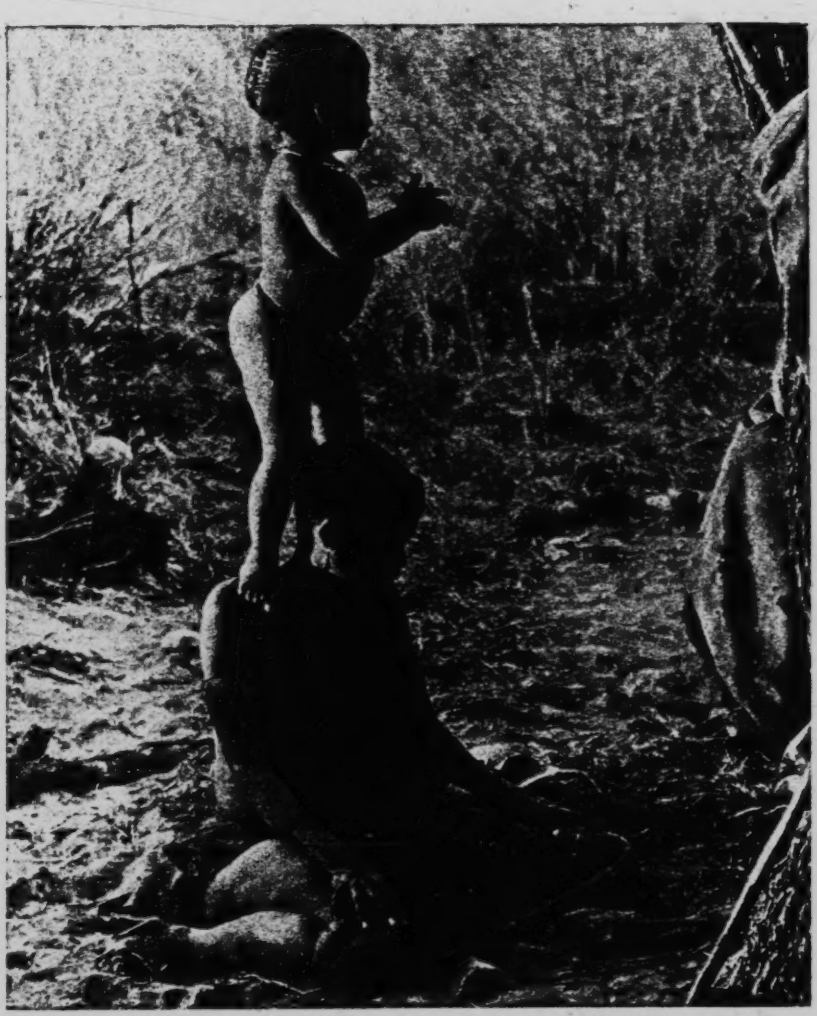

He climbed to her shoulder and stood there triumphantly without holding on, gazing around like a child on a hill.

[p. 112 (F)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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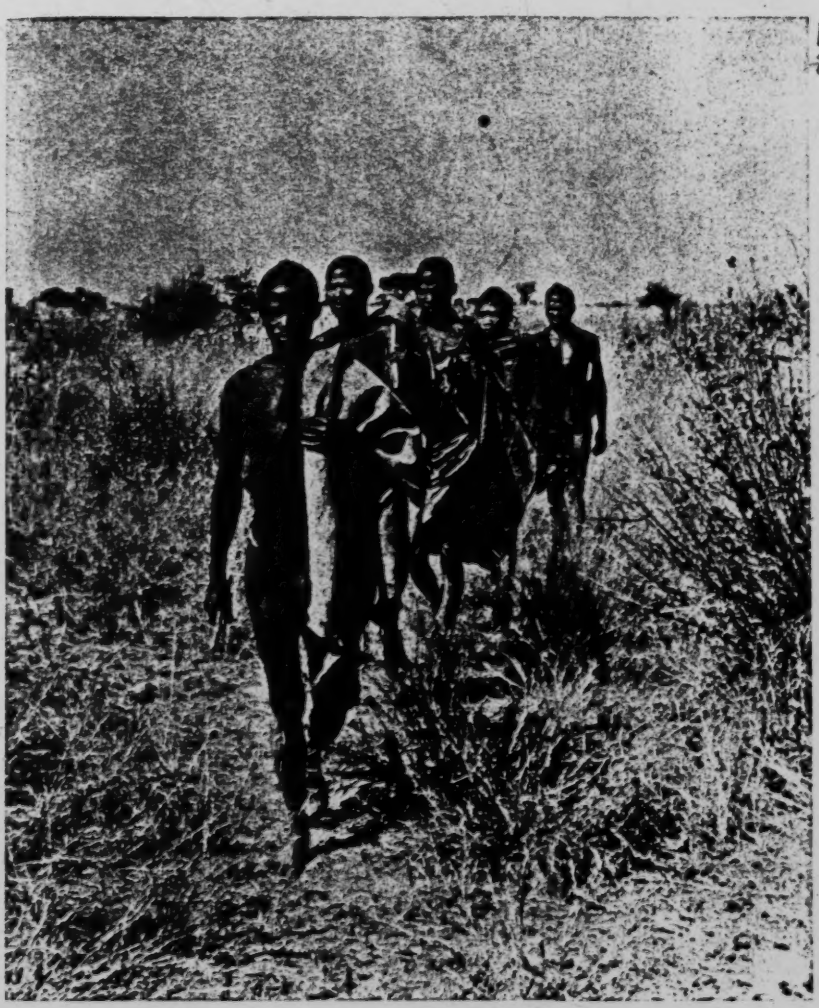

The jealous men from Okwa.

[p. 112(G)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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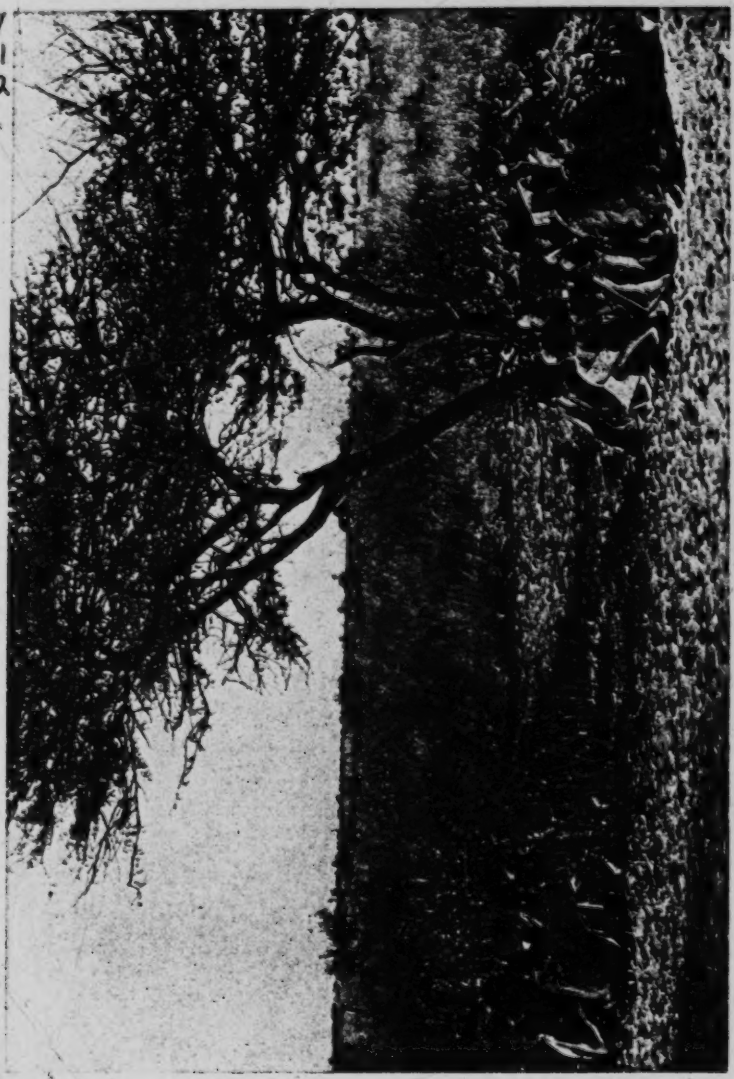

The people from Okwa camped right beside Ukwane; the two werfs were shaded by the same little tree.

[p. 112 (H)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

when the tsama melons were gone, but now, perhaps when he 222
saw its vine there and thought about it under the ground, he changed his mind. Squatting near the vine and digging with his hands, he soon had exposed it, two feet down and dark in shadow. He seized it and tore it from the earth.

It was shaped like a monstrous beet, with its vine coming from the top like a little stalk and its root bristling from the bottom like a tassel. It had a hard, bark-like crust and it was gray and hairy. Gai held it daintily by its vine, and, as dirt was still dropping off it he slapped and brushed it to clean it; then he held it high above the big cavity it had filled, looked at it with a rather satisfied smile, and said what nice water it would be.

We went home then, walking again in single file in a [481]
straight course over the veld, veering only once toward a [313]
fallen tree, where the women stopped to gather firewood. The [482]
women, walking first, were heavily loaded now with melons, roots, and firewood, Tsetchwe loaded most heavily of all because the baby rode on her shoulder. The women used their digging-sticks as canes because their knees were bending, and [481]
walked quickly, trying to get home as soon as possible. After the women came the young boys carrying nothing, and last of all came Gai, holding his bi by its tassel of root. Before long he hurried and caught up to Tsetchwe, and once again he took a turn with Nhwakwe, swinging him from Tsetchwe's shoulders to his own, where Nhwakwe rode happily, his tiny hands pressed over his father's eyes.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER SEVEN

Mood Songs

000 WHEN we came to the pan of Ai a ha'o we found a small veld fire burning just at its edge on the opposite side and we noticed someone standing near it, partly obscured by the smoke. We called out to see who it was and a cracked voice answered: "Ukwane." He came over to us and told us he was looking for the piece of string that he had made which must have dropped out of his hunting-bag. He had been searching patiently over the ground all afternoon, but I did not see how he could hope to find it with all the smoke and with his hazy eyes that were almost blind. He decided to go home with us and fell in step beside us. We were hurrying because of the women's heavy loads and because of the fire, which by now was putting up a cloud of boiling, brown smoke that streaked out with the wind, making a long pathway above us that reached from the fire to the sun. Birds were being chased from
136 the bushes, still singing because they always sing in the afternoon, and insects from the grass.

578 We went past the fire and soon it crossed our track behind
621 us and went harmlessly into the west. As we walked, Ukwane
574 told us that during the afternoon the band of seventeen Bush-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

men whom we had met at Okwa had arrived and were plan- 578
ning to live beside us, as life at Okwa was getting very hard. 621
The veld, said Ukwane, was beginning to dry, a condition 574
that we had noticed, which was showing itself in the scarcity of roots and in the rotten, bitter melons. But we suspected that jealousy as much as anything else had brought the seventeen people to Ai a ha'o, the fear that Ukwane's band was feasting while they were being deprived.

At camp we found only three men of the visiting band, as the others were waiting somewhere in the veld, and the members of our expedition, who were trying to find a place for the visitors to camp. The three men were looking stonily around, seeing nothing that seemed agreeable. They had first been offered a grove of trees right by our camp, but they had refused this because of the mamba which they had heard about from Ukwane and which they believed might still be near. One spot after another failed to suit them, and finally they dropped their skin bags of belongings under a pair of small trees very close to Ukwane's werf. Ukwane welcomed them, of course, but I think he felt that difficulties would arise with them living so close and always watching.

One of the men went to summon the others of his band, who had been resting in a patch of heavy thorn bushes not far from our camp, and they came, carrying their youngest children and their bags of belongings, followed by their children old enough to walk by themselves. One of these was a toddling youngster who hadn't been walking long and who surely had been carried for most of the journey. The others were three young boys of about the same ages as the boys of 621
Ukwane's band; when they saw where they were going to be 857
living, they abandoned their parents with a great shout and, 574
running to Ukwane's werf, started a game of horse and rider with the three boys of Ukwane's band. The Gikwe bands

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

574 do not meet very often, and when they do the children play
621 together day and night. All the young boys were extremely
857 happy to see each other and expressed their joy by starting their game at once, wasting neither time nor breath to say hello. Before the adults of the visiting band had set their bundles on the ground two little horses with their riders had run past, the riders trying to unseat each other.

574 They played all afternoon and into the evening while the
621 adults went about the business of setting up a camp. I went
361 to the new werf to watch and found that the women had stored away their belongings, stuffing some of their bundles among the tree roots, hanging others from the branches, and were now clearing grass, each woman clearing a small circle for her family. Soon five circles were formed, not quite touching, all sheltered by the branches and all in the space of a few square feet. I helped one woman pull grass, for she was clearing it tuft by tuft, pulling it up with her hands, and as I did this I felt something cold and firm in the grass I was holding, and, looking down, I saw that I was holding an asp. I dropped it, one of the Bushman men ran up to kill it, and one of the
[203] women lifted it between her fingers and placed it in her kaross. Later it would be cooked and eaten by a child.

224 That same afternoon, some of the members of our expedi-
574 tion went hunting and shot a gemsbok, which was brought back to camp and given to Ukwane to divide. This was, perhaps, a great mistake on our part, for Ukwane gave the entire carcass to the newcomers except for the head, one foot, and a little of the liquid from the rumen, which he kept for his own people. Twikwe dug a pit in the veld and roasted the head in it, and that night, while the newcomers were still butchering, drying, and cooking their larger share, the mem-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

bers of Ukwane's band cut little strips from the cheeks of the 224 574 gemsbok and sustained themselves with that.

An atmosphere of tension and strain pervaded over the 574 whole werf. The Okwa people had arrived primed with jeal- 578 ousy, and had surely accused Ukwane of selfishness; the false spring, the dry conditions at Okwa had surely given their jealousy momentum. By giving most of the gemsbok to the newcomers, Ukwane had done all he could, for he had shown with his immediate generosity, and with the magnitude of his gesture, that they had nothing to fear from him. Of course, the members of his own band were as jealous of the newcomers as the newcomers were of them, but Ukwane surely felt that the internal struggles of his own band, easier to cope with, would be forgotten sooner.

The tension showed itself in struggles over food. Twikwe 262 made a soup from a bone of the foot, mixing it in the rind of 578 one of the melons she had gathered, and when it was cooked 152 she drank it herself out of the tsama rind, watched all the time by her son Wite. When she could stand his hungry eyes no longer, she put her bowl on the ground so that both of them could scoop up the broth with tortoise shells. After they had eaten part of it, Twikwe decided that it was time to pass the bowl to Kutera, who sat a little distance from them, eating nothing, looking very scrawny and trying not to watch. Twikwe started to do so; then, remembering her son, who was still hungry, she reached behind her for a second tsama rind, a little one, which she would fill for him. In this way she would, of course, have none left for herself, but she preferred to share. Adults are used to hunger, and it seems that the older Bushmen become, the less they mind deprivation. Children are different, and as their needs are considered more pressing than the adults', they are accustomed to receiving

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

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578
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[261]

more. Twikwe herself had among her possessions a fiber string, which, she said, she kept to wind around her belly when she was very hungry for the purpose of warding the hunger away.

Wite was tired and cross, and his patience was worn thin by hunger, and when he saw what his mother was doing he realized that he would have less food than he had expected. He lost his temper, shrieked at Twikwe, and tried to keep her from reaching the little rind so that she would have no container to give him a smaller share in—a very Bushman-like thing to do, instead of trying to snatch the large, full rind, perhaps—and the two of them struggled, each tugging at the little rind and each exclaiming wildly. The old woman won the struggle and filled the rind with soup, using her tortoise shell as a spoon, hindered once again by Wite, who snatched the spoon away, still trying to prevent her filling the small rind for him. Twikwe struggled for the spoon, and, seeing that he was going to lose it, Wite quickly ladled an extra spoonful into the little rind and sat back resigned while Twikwe thrust the little rind toward him. He took it finally and sat sulkily, not eating, but with his lips pressed against the side of the rind, his eyes hard and shining, staring at nothing over the top. Twikwe handed the larger share to Kutera, who pretended not to have noticed the struggle and who thanked Twikwe in an ingratiating way.

There was another struggle over food that evening, started as a malicious joke by Gai. When Gai saw Wite with a strip of meat from the gemsbok's cheek he snatched it out of Wite's hand and pretended to eat it. When Wite, tried beyond endurance, burst into tears and flew at Gai, Gai ran away and really did eat the meat, chewing as he ran, keeping just out of Wite's reach. The chase ended under a tree, where Gai, seizing a branch, grappled Wite with his legs and swung

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

him off the ground. Wite did not resist, but swung limp and 262 578 resigned, and when Gai released him he started to walk away. 152 Gai had eaten all the meat except one morsel, and this he tossed to Wite, who picked it up from the ground and ate it apathetically.

Only the baby set a good example. I had picked him up and 262 was carrying him when the three young boys of Ukwane's band noticed that he was mouthing something and holding something else in his hand. For a joke they extended their palms, telling him to share what he had in his hand, and he gave it readily. It was only the crackly skin that flakes off bones when they are roasted, quite flavorless, impossible to chew; Nhwakwe was only playing with it and the boys only pretended to take a bite, then threw it away. But either the baby didn't see them reject it or didn't care because in a moment he made them another present, the meat that he had been holding in his mouth. The young boys didn't see where he got it and they were about to eat it when Nhwakwe opened his mouth to smile and they noticed. They threw it down, but the baby spat some onto his finger and offered it to them anyway, and when they didn't take it he smeared it on their chests.

After the unhappy hour of eating, the people of Ukwane's band, their appetites dulled even though their bellies were not full, seemed more relaxed and the young boys went off to join the boys from the visiting band. The youngsters were 572 857 always friends. The tensions suffered by all the members of 152 both the bands did not affect their enjoyment of each other.

That evening the boys sat down near one of the fires to 578 talk, and they told each other all the things that had happened since they last had met, perhaps a year before. Most of 522 152 the incidents had happened fairly recently and most amounted to anecdotes about the other members of the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

578 bands, who at the time were barely out of earshot. One story
522 concerned Dasina, how she had fainted from smoking too
152 much the day we had come, and to show exactly what had happened, Wite and Witabe acted the scene, Wite taking the part of Dasina and fainting on Witabe's shoulder while the other boys laughed. Bushmen's jokes and stories are usually funny at the expense of a person, an animal, or the god Pishiboro, maliciousness being one way in which Bushmen rid themselves of their resentments.

536 Somewhat later Wite and Giamakwe acted for the others
831 the scene of the hyena's mating, as they imagined it or knew
825 it to be, for the night it had happened only the sound had reached us and the hyenas had not been seen. Giamakwe took the part of the male hyena, Wite took the part of the female. First they walked together on all fours and rubbed faces, and then Giamakwe climbed on Wite's back, emitting a lonesome howl just like the howl we had heard. It was not meant to be funny, and the other boys watched it calmly, treating the mating of hyenas as a matter of course. All in all, it was a majestic imitation, with snarls and growls, then mounting and pretending to copulate with shivering and ecstasy, then more growls, until finally the male fell away exhausted and curled up on his side, whereupon the female attacked him. It took a long time from start to finish, the Bushman boys being so literal that they not only gave a precise rendition of the event but took exactly the amount of time that the hyenas had taken.

574 The adults had not watched the children but were visiting quietly with each other, some of the men from the Okwa band having come to Ukwane's werf to sit at the fires. Very late at night, when the Firewood Star was rising and the Zebra Stars of Orion were just setting foot upon the earth, the visitors got up to go.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

We had stayed up to watch the children's games and also to 821
observe Orion setting, for the Bushmen tell a story of the 538
stars in Orion which takes place in the sky every night at certain seasons and we wanted to see it for ourselves. The story is simply that the god, who at the time the story takes place is standing on one of the Magellan clouds, shoots an arrow at three zebras. The arrow is Orion's sword, the zebras are the three stars of Orion's belt, the star in the center being a male zebra and the two stars flanking him his wives. The arrow falls short, as one can see, and presently, as the constellation touches the horizon, the zebras step upon the earth, first a female, then the male, then the other female. It is slow and deliberate, and that night we saw it plainly. The zebras vanished into the brush at the horizon, but the arrow was still there.

When the constellation had gone, when many of the peo- 533
ple were asleep and we were about to leave the werf, Ukwane 534
took out his hunting-bow and, setting one tip on a dry melon shell, he began to tap the string with a reed, making a sound. Soon he played a song, humming a melody and playing an accompaniment on his bow.

He sat alone at his fire, his wife a tiny heap under her 533
kaross and fast asleep some distance away. He was squatting, [516]
his eyes on the embers of his fire, holding one end of the bow with his toes. With the fingers of one hand he touched the string, making different notes, and when he wanted to change the pitch he turned his head slightly, catching the other end of the string with his chin.

His song was a mood piece, as are all Bushman songs except the medicine songs. It was a song of pure music without words, a song composed to express a feeling the composer had had, a mood, or an emotion. The mood songs do have names or titles, but these only tell the subject of the piece,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

533 the minute incident that may have inspired the composition. Ukwane had composed this song himself, and from time to time he sang the words "bitter melons."

We stopped to listen, caught in the net of music which Ukwane had cast into the air, for it was a soft, sad song that he hummed and played, a song in a minor key to wring your heart, to make you think of places far away and make you feel like crying. Ukwane was so dark that he could hardly be seen against the black veld, and all that showed clearly was the yellow reed tapping and his filmed blue eyes. When he finished the song he put down his bow. We asked him what [534] the song was about and he told us: "If you are walking in the veld, and you remember where a field of melons was growing and you go there and find them but when you taste them they are bitter, so you can't eat them, you leave them, that is what this song is about."

We asked him to play another song and he obliged, playing a shorter, rhythmic one called "Pass on the Other Side," beautiful to our ears but not as beautiful as "Bitter Melons," a song Ukwane had composed when he had been humiliated. He had come into a werf where the people were sitting in a circle taking turns smoking a pipe, and Ukwane, who had wanted to smoke very badly, had seated himself beside the person who was smoking, hoping to be next in turn, but that person passed the pipe by Ukwane, and Ukwane did not receive it until all the others had smoked first. He had felt so badly to be treated in this way that he had gone for a walk in the veld, and while walking he had composed the song.

He sang one more song, which was called "A Song of Shouting," a song about his wife's brother who had lost his way in the veld near Ukwane's werf, and had shouted, expecting someone in the werf to answer him, to give him the direction, but no one had bothered to call to him. That night

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

Ukane had asked his wife if her brother had returned. She 533
had answered "Yes," and Ukwane had composed the song about it out of guilt and sorrow.

"A Song of Shouting" was beautiful, too. When Ukwane had explained it to us and we had asked him to sing some more, he smiled at us and said that he was tired. But the day of jealousies, the fact that he had not found his piece of string, and the subject of his songs had put him in a mood, and presently he began to tell us what was in his heart.

He said that he was old and blind, and that he and his 533
wife could no longer support one another but had to depend 888
on Tsetchwe and Gai. Even Twikwe and Dasina were old and would not be strong much longer, and if Gai should leave them, perhaps to go to his Bakalahari father, the old people would perish surely.

Hearing Ukwane's cracked voice saying these sad things, his wife got up from her bed and sat beside him in silence. Soon Twikwe and Dasina joined him, too, so all the old people were there, crouching near the fire, their eyes gazing over its light out into the darkness.

Presently Dasina said: "It is bad to die because when you die you are all alone," and after being silent for a moment Ukwane told us how various members of his band, once a large one, had died, reducing their number to the hardy few who lived with him now. Both his father and his mother had died of thirst, and his children, his young nieces and nephews, [731
and his grandchildren had all died in an epidemic of smallpox 165]
three years before. That had been a horrifying season, and in the hottest time, when the sun was drying them all and the ground was too hot to walk on, the smallpox had come, and pox had got into people's mouths so that they could not eat, and the children had all died one morning and their young mothers had died before night.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
G!Kwe

888 The old people, the survivors, had not expected to outlive
764 their children and grandchildren, and then they had to bury
731 them; they had scooped shallow graves for them and had placed their bodies inside, then had covered the graves with branches. The old people had then lived by the graves for months to mourn and to protect the corpses from marauding animals. It had been a ghastly season, a season of carnage, and the old people did not like to think about it even now. We watched their sad faces when they spoke of it and saw that these old people themselves felt death very near, foreseeing the day when Gai would leave them, when the melons would dry, when they would starve.

Suddenly, unnoticed into the midst of this discussion came the baby Nhwakwe, having been awakened by the voices, his eyes still filled with sleep, to put an empty vegetable husk on the head of his grandmother, Dasina. She was too de-
[158] pressed to notice, though, and presently the husk fell off and Nhwakwe stumbled back to his sleeping-place, secure between his father and his mother, as though perhaps he had not fully awakened at all.

888 Dasina was speaking. She said again: "To die is bad, but
761 in the end we all die anyway," and Ukwane said he did not expect to live another season. Then he asked us when we would have to leave. We told him that we were leaving in a very few days, and he said he was sorry to hear it, but if we liked he would come back to our country with us to tell us everything he knew about the customs of the Gikwe. We told
609 him sadly that this would not be possible, and he said that in that case he would live out his life beside our track, waiting for the day when we would return. We told him not to do even that, for European farmers would surely follow our tracks into the desert looking for Bushmen to take as servants.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

"I hear you," said Ukwane, "but I would still like to go with 609
you to your country."

We told him then that we lived so far away and over so much water that if he went there he could never get back, and we said that even if he did go he might find that the longing of his heart to be back among his own people would be worse to suffer, harder to bear, than even hunger and thirst. "That is true," he said. "Perhaps."

That night we had, of course, not wanted to ask about the 761
customs and beliefs of Gikwe Bushmen concerning death; we wanted very much to know, but that night the people were grieved and with Bushmen death is always a bad subject. Another day, however, Ukwane and Dasina did tell us their funeral customs, which were similar to those of the 764
Kung, though not as elaborate. We learned that the Gikwe 184
dig a grave with digging-sticks, then bind the body with the arms crossed over the chest, the knees raised and bound, the ankles tied together, and the head resting on the fists, which are drawn up to the chin. The body is then wrapped in an old kaross and placed in a sitting position in the grave, braced upright by a forked stick. Each person present throws a handful of earth into the grave to "make the person remember them" and also to make the spirit go peacefully away. The grave is then filled up and covered with thorn branches to protect the dead person from wild animals, for a hyena will sometimes unearth a corpse.

While performing a funeral, and from the time of the fu- 764
neral on, the Bushmen always stay upwind from a grave, for 775
after death the spirit blows down the wind and will be harmful to the living. Gikwe Bushmen remain by a grave for at least three months—three moons, or longer—before they

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
Gikwe

764 move away because they cannot bear to leave the dead per-
775 son, because they want to make sure that animals do not spoil his body, and because, said Ukwane, "He is our person, whom we love. We do not want to leave until we have given up hope."

764 We learned one other thing, and that was that the Gikwe
775 put a medicine power, a fragrant brown powder made of an
789 herb called *sasa*, in the norstrils of the dead person, and
824 sprinkled his body with sasa before the burial. This, said Ukwane, is done to ensure heavy rain in the rainy season, but also it may well have to do with protecting the living from the spirit of the dead. We did not learn more about this because Bushmen will talk about any subject you may name except the subject of the spirits of the dead. The Kung respect and fear spirits more than any other thing, and only after a year of trying did we learn about them; the Gikwe seem to feel the same way, and for that reason we did not expect to learn very much. We did find, however, that the spirits
775 of the dead are called, at least sometimes, the *kwe be ha ki* (person who is not here), and that these spirits travel in the
[82] wind—not in open, blowing wind, but in whirlwinds; that is why the Gikwe Bushmen avoid whirlwinds, because a spirit might be there to carry them away. Once a whirlwind passing through our camp uprooted a tent and carried it spinning to the sky. Possibly, explained the Bushmen, a spirit of the dead thought that there was a person inside, although sometimes the spirits cause only mischief.

764 With the Kung, the funeral customs are very much the
184 same as those of the Gikwe. The body is folded into a sitting position and bound, but the head is bowed down to the knees. Beads and a kaross ornament the body, which is also lowered into the grave and buried upright, but thereafter the custom

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

differs from that of the Gikwe. The Kung, after filling in the 764
grave and protecting it with stones or thorn branches, break 184
the scherm of the dead person down over the grave, shatter all or most of his possessions, and strew the fragments over the grave together with sasa powder. Last, they kindle a fire in front of the now destroyed scherm and bend a reed, which they thrust into the ground, so that the grave, the fire, and the pointing reed make a line toward the place where the person who is now dead was born.

The Kung then abandon the grave immediately and for- 775
ever, for when darkness falls the spirit blows down the wind and remains near its grave for an indefinite time. Whenever the Kung pass near the grave they blow sasa toward it to ensure their safety.

The Kung are so afraid of the spirits of the dead that they do not feel it necessary to remain as guardians of the grave, or even until they have "given up hope." Occasionally their custom proves unfortunate, as it has happened that the buried person rose from his grave and followed his people to their new camp. We ourselves knew a Kung Bushman who had died, been buried, and was resurrected; he clambered out of his grave at night, followed his band to their new camp, and rejoined his family to live out a happy life. It must happen rather often that people are mistaken for dead and buried accidentally—often enough, at least, to necessitate a word in the language, for those people who do revive and manage to dig out of their shallow graves are called the *twi*.

The spirit that does not become a twi does not remain alone by the grave forever, but is found by the great god in his wanderings over the veld and is taken to his home in the east. There it is hung in a tree and smoked in a medicine smoke until it becomes a *gaua*, a spirit of the dead, and can serve the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

T15 great god as a messenger to bring disease and death to people, or to lead them to game and honey, depending on the great god's whim.

The Kung do not consider the gauas to be either happy or sad in their roles after life, but lonely and neutral, roaming above the veld either singly or in twos, on little paths of theirs, little invisible threads like spider webs, that run through the air. Whenever Bushmen have their great night-time medicine dances, the gauas are present, just out of sight in the dark among the trees, and whenever there is a ring around the moon the Bushmen know that the gauas them-
[821] selves are dancing, for the moon is their dance fire, the ring is the circle made by their dancing feet.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Dancers

When Bushmen dance their medicine dances, the medicine 535
begins to work in the bodies of the medicine men. Medicine 756
is warmed to potency as the exercise of dancing warms the shaman's body, and by the heat of the fire that the shaman dances around. The medicine purges evil and cures a sickness that is known to the Gikwe as "star sickness," a mysterious, magic sickness that has no tangible symptoms but together with evil is brought to people by the spirits of the dead. You can tell that powerful curing medicine is at work during one of these dances because the medicine men fall into trance, shudder and shriek and roll their eyes up into their heads, fall into the fire or wash their faces with flaming coals and are not burned, and when they rub their fire-warmed hands on you to cure you their hands are hot and dry and flutter like moths, and presently the star sickness leaves you, enters the bodies of the medicine men, and is shrieked into the air, hurled back to the spirits of the dead who brought it.

There are many types of medicine at work in the Kalahari, 756
and every band among the Gikwe, Kung, or any Bushman 825
nation possesses certain of these. Some bands, for instance,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

756 have the giraffe, rain, and gemsbok medicine. Others might
825 have the ratel, fire, and gemsbok medicine. Ukwane's band had the sun, dove, and gemsbok medicine. Almost every band has the gemsbok medicine, for magically the gemsbok are very important animals, obvious from the black medicine markings on a gemsbok's face.

756 The medicine songs are songs without words and are given
533 to both Kung and Gikwe Bushmen by the great god who
776 sends his messengers, the spirits of the dead, to a sleeping
775 person. The spirits of the dead teach the person a medicine song in a dream, and when the person awakens he teaches the song to the other members of his band.

At dances, women sing the medicine songs, men dance and use the medicine to cure people, for almost all men are made medicine men when they are in their late teens, after they have been initiated into manhood, having shot their first buck. They are made medicine men by older medicine men, and although any Bushman man may become a medicine man, only certain of them find that they have strong healing power, and these are the ones who practice, who fall into trance at dances and chase evil from their people. Ukwane himself had been one of these. None of the people he cured ever died, he said, but as he grew old his powers seemed to leave him, so now he did not practice any more. In his band Gai became the strong healer.

756 Of course, a medicine dance is a great affair, for it usually
535 takes place at night and lasts all night into the morning. Everyone in the band takes part, every young boy old enough to walk may dance, every young girl may sing with the women, and women themselves may dance if they feel inclined. People talk, eat, and smoke between dances, or go off to bed to sleep for a while, so, all in all, dances are social af-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

fairs as well as important curing ceremonies and might be called informal rituals, for everyone has a good time. 756 535

Underlying the gaiety and informality of a dance, however, is deep magic, taken very seriously by everyone, for using this magic is the way in which the Bushmen protect themselves from the dark forces in themselves and their country, the only way in which they can protect their lives from the evil of dissension, from thirst and starvation, from disease and death. In their dances the Bushmen defy the great god himself and his ominous messengers, the spirits of the dead.

To have a dance, the women sit in a circle with their babies asleep on their backs and sing the medicine songs in several parts with falsetto voices, clapping their hands in a sharp, staccato rhythm at counterpoint to the rhythm of their voices. Behind their backs the men dance one behind the other, circling slowly around, taking very short, pounding steps which are again at counterpoint to both the rhythms of the singing and the clapping. Now and then the men sing, too, in [534] their deeper voices, and their dance rattles—rattles made from dry cocoons strung together with sinew cords and tied to their legs—add a sharp, high clatter like the sound of shaken gourds, very well timed because the men step accurately. A Bushman dance is an infinitely complicated pattern of voices and rhythm, an orchestra of bodies, making music that is infinitely varied and always precise.

It is with great care and effort that this perfection is achieved, for the people learn the songs and dances when they are children and work for perfection in skill and timing all their lives. Even the dance rattles are carefully tended, hung 534 from tree branches to preserve their dryness, their sharp sound, and a great deal of labor goes into their making. Gai's pair of rattles, which swung in the wind from the branch that

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

534 shaded his dwelling, had about sixty cocoons on each rattle of the pair, and in each cocoon, from which the pupa had been carefully extracted and the cocoon closed up again, there were from ten to twenty fragments of ostrich eggshell, each fragment chipped to a uniform size and round. Each pair of rattles, of course, is expected to last a lifetime and more, and I'm sure that Gai's rattles were older than he.

621 The day before we left, Ukwane's band and the visitors
578 from Okwa decided that since they were all together and in
756
533 sufficient number, they would hold a dance. Perhaps it would purge the bad season or relieve the strain of jealousies they felt toward each other. Dances are usually held at night, but this time, out of consideration for us, they agreed to hold it during the day so that we could film it. We found a place which would be suitable for filming, helped gather sufficient wood because there would have to be a fire, no matter how hot the day was, and as we did all this the six young boys got more and more excited, tried on dance rattles, danced tight little circles around each other and tugged at the elbows of the adults, urging them to start.

756 Some of the women wanted to sing, others felt too hot, too
535 tired, but the men walked among them encouraging them all.
533 A dance is long, hot work for women, the pleasure of dancing being mostly for the men. At last Twikwe and Dasina went to the spot chosen for the dance and, sitting side by side at the fire, their backs to everybody, sang a few bars and began to talk, then sang a little more, joined now by Tsetchwe, who sat beside them and began to sing in earnest. All three of them looked so small down in the grass and set up such a loud noise singing—for in order to interest the other women they were shricking the song at the top of their voices—that they seemed like three tree frogs or three cicadas, hard to notice in the landscape but putting forth earsplitting songs.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

At last a few more women joined the singers and the sing- 756
ing mounted, the voices took on several parts. At last the 535
men began to join, dancing toward the circle in twos and 533
threes, moaning the song in their throats, leaning on long staffs, their coming heralded by the dry, loud staccato of their rattles.

The men came from different directions, and they stood so tall and danced so strongly, with their muscles standing out on their necks, that their coming was like the coming of bull antelope, they were so radiant of strength and tension, they were so lithe and male. They came together out of the trees and, without the slightest change of pace, arranged themselves around the dance circle, wheeling slowly, one after the other, and the dance began.

The air was hot, the sun was shining strongly, the fire was 786
sending a shuddering cloud of heat around the dancers, and 756
as the dancers moved almost imperceptibly faster and faster, 535
Gai suddenly flung his arms into the air and with a piercing shriek crashed to the ground. He landed stiffly with a bounce, his head cracking. On the ground he writhed and groaned, and Ukwane pulled him by the arms to remove his body from the dance circle.

Gai was in deep trance. Ukwane was ministering to Gai's body because Gai's spirit had rushed away.

Bushmen say that when the medicine in a medicine man 774
becomes stimulated by a dance, warmed by the fire and by 756
the heat of the man's body, the man's spirit may leave him, 535
causing his body to fall because there is nothing there to hold it up, and fly into the veld, where it seeks out the evil that is troubling people. Some medicine men in this way have seen the spirits of the dead, some have seen the great god. At another dance we once attended, one man's spirit rushed into the veld, where it came upon a pride of lions that had been

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

774 troubling the people by their constant presence and by their
756 deafening roars at night. The man's spirit spoke with the
535 lions, defied them, and ordered them away, and the lions did go; they troubled the people no longer.

786 When the spirit returns, the medicine man comes to him-
756 self, as Gai did presently. He stood up and ran into the veld,
535 gaining speed as he went. Far out in the veld he screamed, a shriek of definace, then turned and charged back toward the dance fire. He passed through the dance like a wind through dry leaves; the people ducked aside and shrank away from his feet, then settled together when he had gone by. Gai shrieked again, turned himself, and rushed back, charging bull-like toward the fire again; this time Ukwane seized his arms and though Gai plowed forward, Ukwane hung on, dragging behind with all his weight, until at last Gai fell headlong into the dance fire and his hair burst into flames.

Ukwane snatched him out and slapped out the fire in his hair, and Gai, his mouth open and his eyes quite wild, sparks still falling from his head like stars, strained against Ukwane's hands. At last he broke away.

786 In a moment he bent slowly over the fire and washed his
756 hands in the flames, then went to one of the women in the
535 circle of singers and, placing one hand on her chest, the other
783 on her back, shuddered and groaned as he sucked the evil from her, then straightened suddenly and shrieked the evil into the air. In this way Gai cured all the people, followed as he went by Ukwane, who now held Gai's arm to keep him upright. Before long, Gai had fallen again exhausted and was dragged by the ankles to a place in the shade.

786 I looked at him and saw that his eyes were closed, his eye-
756 lids puffed, and thought he seemed unconscious. His breath
535 came rasping through his mouth and nose, and his pulse, showing in "the heart's place," seemed very quick. But he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

was all right; no one paid any attention to him as they would have had he not been well. His baby came to watch him, though, and gazed down into his swollen face. 786 756 535

It was very hot. The dancers and the women singing steamed with perspiration, first becoming gold in color, then ash white as dust stuck to them. Soon the women felt that they had sung enough, their feelings showing clearly in the diminished vigor of their songs, until finally the singing faded out entirely and the dance stopped. The men complained, but the women would sing no more and presently everyone had drifted away, leaving only the children wheeling slowly around the track worn by the dancers' feet, dancing soberly, carefully, without music, and Gai, who now lay prone and forgotten in the dust, in the shade of a little tree.

Hours later, when even the children had wandered back to the werfs and had joined their parents, who were tired from the exercise and were taking afternoon naps, Gai came to himself once more; he sat up and wiped his face, got slowly to his feet, and walked slowly home to sleep, next to his wife beside their fire.

All the Bushmen were asleep but Twikwe. Some people 513 lay on their backs with their arms shading their eyes, their mouths open, some on their bellies, their arms and legs sprawled. All the young boys except Giamakwe lay like puppies, tangled together in a knot of arms and legs, for even in sleep they would not be parted. Giamakwe slept at a little distance from the others on his side with his body bent backward into a U, his head almost touching his buttocks, as limp and supple as a young snake or a young cat that drapes over your hand. Even Nhwakwe was fast asleep, lying on his belly and using as his couch his father's body, his head on his father's chest. Both were deep in slumber, Nhwakwe snoring

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

513 a loud baby snore, saliva from his open mouth moistening Gai's dark skin, but Gai absolutely silent in the fast, still sleep of a hunter. Only Twikwe was not sleeping. She lay on her belly with her chin propped up with one hand as she built a precarious little toy hut out of strips of bark, carefully, the way one builds a card house. When I came by to look at the people she looked at me with her amused, wise-woman's eyes.

515 In the afternoon the young boys naturally woke up first, as they were so entwined that the movement of one was bound to wake the others, and began sleepily to delouse each other, taking turns in pairs, one lying with his head in his partner's lap while his partner searched through his hair, catching and biting the lice he found. Then they cut each other's hair with a razor blade they had got from someone in our expedition, cutting away certain tufts of hair and leaving certain others until patterns on each head were formed, ranging from scalplocks to rather fine designs. One boy had only two tufts left on his entire scalp, one on each side, like a pair of horns; another boy had an egg-shaped pattern of tufts but with two holes of bare scalp showing so that when he bent his head he accidentally presented an oval face with a pair of staring eyes. All the patterns were supposed to be geometric, never intentionally having fantastic or representative designs. Wite's head was shaved entirely, his partner having shown no imagination at all; and his bare head made his ears seem even larger and more pointed, his face more elfin even than before.

It was a gray, hazy afternoon. Below the fine overcast were clusters of little white clouds all grouped together like white flowers. In the west a greak cloudbank was gathering, an ominous sign.

Later, when the young boys had dispersed to play horse and

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

Later, when the young boys had dispersed to play horse and rider, Ukwane took his bow and played a few songs. He 533 played "Bitter Melons" again, and "A Song of Shouting," and one other song about Kutera, his wife. Both the last song and its subject were very simple, the song itself having only three or four notes and a gentle rhythm. It was composed by Ukwane one chilly night because he had asked Kutera to gather firewood during the afternoon, but she had refused. That night Ukwane had been cold because there was no fire.

Ukwane sang and played in the shade of a tree, and over his head the birds in the branches were also singing. Everything seemed very peaceful, very quiet under the hazy sky; the west wind moved the grass, yellow as young wheat, and blew the sounds of people speaking, the sounds of the young boys playing, and the fragrance of the great veld over us. The strain among the people seemed to have gone; they had held a dance together, their children were playing calmly; there was, for a time, enough to eat, as the gemsbok had not yet been quite devoured; and all these things seemed to relax the people, allowing them to see each other in more favorable lights. Their naps and their soft singing showed their relaxation, and we were glad, for we had become so fond of Ukwane and his people that we did not like to think of them abandoned by the Okwa people or involved in strife.

We were loading our trucks because we planned to leave before dawn. At the end of the afternoon all the Bushmen had drifted into our camp to watch us, and Tsetchwe helped 752 me pack. I cut my finger on the sharp edge of a box and when she saw me trying to wipe the blood away she told me to wait, so I did, and when the blood was dry she scratched it all off with a stick.

We gave her presents, and presents to all the people there. 609 We gave blankets to the people in Ukwane's band, long 123 strings of white beads to everyone, metal to makes knives or

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 spearheads, tobacco and pipes, salt and candy and all the
123 water their containers would hold, all they could drink, and even enough water to wash in, for we had enough to take us to a waterhole a few hundred miles away where we could fill our drums. They did wash. Gai washed his whole body and
[142] emerged a shining gold. The others washed their arms and
[834] faces, modesty preventing their washing the rest, leaving them with golden arms and oval golden masks.

Tsetchwe was pleased with her presents—she hung her white beads in her hair and wrapped herself in the blanket, which, she said, was far softer than leather and which would not get stiff in the rain—but she did not seem happy. She spent the evening sitting beside me, for though we could not talk much with each other I knew that she liked me. "I will cry when you are gone," she said.

576 The two horses, formed by the six young boys, came pranc-
526 ing by, the riders riding loosely, the front feet of the horses galloping but the hind feet, because of the heavy load, trotting up and down. One horse disintegrated in front of us and the young boys who had formed it came forward slowly. The rider, a young boy from Okwa, seemed to want to ask me something. He was very shy, but finally he mustered his courage. "Are you a woman?" he said.

576 Ordinarily, he would have been too polite to ask a personal question, something which Bushmen almost never do because to them asking questions implies distrust, but it may be that on the day before our departure he had found his curiosity impossible to resist. Tsetchwe frowned at him, but I said: "Yes, I am."

The horse had been arguing with the rider, and the two boys who had been the front and hind legs seemed quite triumphant. "We told you so," one said.

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

A great thunderhead was rising in the west which would 123
probably disperse before morning, and the sun set into it, turning the whole horizon a pale and delicate rose. We built up our fires and at the werf the Bushmen built up their fires and when it was dark our fragment of the veld was rather gay with firelight. A huge star, Fomalhaut, appeared in the southeast, as it did every evening. Tonight it looked as big as the moon and blue in the haze, but very dim, getting smaller and brighter as it rose.

Ukwane played his songs for us and said again that he would wait for our return, living beside our track, and if his son should come to visit him he would wait no longer but would follow our track to find us again somewhere.

We told him that under no conditions should he do any of this, for he would never be able to find us and we would probably never come back. He nodded, and we believed that he would not wait, but then again perhaps he did. Perhaps he is there now.

We got up before dawn in the morning and stamped out our fires and threw our bedrolls on top of the trucks. When it came, it was the pinkest dawn that I have ever seen and when the morning wind rose we shivered. I found a few coals left in a fire and tried to warm my hands, and when Wite saw what I was doing he crouched beside me and showed me how to pick up just one coal, roll it between the palms, and then hold the warm palms against the face. I tried it and of [147]
course was burned, but Wite patiently did it again and again, hoping that I would learn. His palms were flat and calloused almost as thickly as the soles of his feet. Twikwe, Tsetchwe, and Nhwakwe came to sit beside us and we waited together in silence until the trucks were ready. When I got up to go

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

123 When I got up to go they got up too and Twikwe shook my hand and kissed me [529] with a great smack, doing at this moment what she had seen Europeans do, not what Bushmen do, for they just wave calmly at each other, if that. But Tsetchwe turned her back to me and would not say good-by. Even among her own people she was lonely, for in her band there was no young woman but herself.

We climbed into our trucks and started the motors. Ukwane called out to us with great sincerity to wish us rain on our journey, a very generous wish, for though his people might suffer from it, it would cool the air and we might even be able to collect enough for a drink. We thanked him, of course, and he repeated his wish again. The trucks started to move and when they did Tsetchwe waved at last, and, lifting her baby to her hip, she waved his hand too, and so we left, and drove away in the direction opposite the one we had come from, over the plains, flatter and wider and longer here than we had ever seen, sloping miles and miles away to tiny trees on the horizon which were farther away than anything we had ever seen before except distant mountains, the earth from a plane, or stars. At noon, many miles from Ai a ha'o, we saw great herds of game, thousands of animals grazing together, and we regretted that the Bushmen were not near the game, or the game not near the Bushmen, for the people could have been feasting, and then we passed through the game into empty plains again, where we saw nothing but grass except once when we saw a plant very like a tumbleweed which leaped over the ground and then was caught by the wind and lifted higher and higher into the sky up against the clouds. It made us sad to see it flying there, the only moving thing in all the country. "It is the plane to America," the interpreter said.

In the evening when we camped, the sun set into a little

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

dome of its own pink light, and in front of this minute sunset we saw whirlwinds crossing. Later, when the darkness came, we even saw a ring around the moon with red at its outer rim, and on the following day it did rain, something that happens only rarely in the month of July. [132]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

CHAPTER NINE

Peoples of the Veld and Sky

133 AFTER many days, during which we crossed the rest of the great central desert of Bechuanaland, we came to a strip of fertile country which is in both Bechuanaland and South-West Africa and is owned to a large extent by the Chuana people, who have great cattle ranches, vast areas of grazing-land, and rather small villages. In this fertile land is Lake Ngami, a flat marsh or even a dry pan at most seasons, but when we sat it, it was filled with water, something that had not happened since Livingstone was there.

The country had changed greatly since we left the central desert. In the fertile land there were forests, thorn thickets, even little hills. At some places there were vast grasslands with grass higher than the hoods of our trucks, but in other places livestock had eaten away everything, cattle having devoured the grass, goats having chewed the leaves from the bushes. We saw five or six great herds of cattle grazing on the flat land surrounding Lake Ngami, where the grass was short
133 and green and looked kept, like a park. There were perhaps a
137 thousand cattle in each herd, and mixed with the cattle were herds of springbok, a few ostriches, and marabou storks. It

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

was pastoral Africa, for the path we followed was marked 133
with the hoofs and dung of the cattle, tracked by the huge 137
ox-drawn, forked log sledges of the Chuana farmers, and now and then patterned with the footprints of a jackal, a hyena, or even a leopard or a lion, for although there are great herds the country itself is wild.

Lake Ngami was an enormous, shining expanse of water 133
a few square miles in area and very shallow everywhere. We got out of our trucks and went to the water to rest our eyes with so much luxury and we found that the water was warm, full of brow duckweed, and swarmed with innumerable tiny flies. Ducks and geese were swimming, storks and flamingos were wading at the edges, and while we were looking the largest herd of cattle that we had ever seen came to the lake to drink. There were hundreds upon hundreds of them drifting toward the lake, and the noise of their hoofs was like the sound of a tornado, a great waterfall, thunderous and mighty. A Chuana was riding among them and it took him nearly an hour, traveling in a straight line, to pass through the herd, the cattle parting a little as he came to let him by. He rode on and on, and when we left he was still riding, still among the cattle, and still not out of sight.

We left Lake Ngami and its vast pastoral lands and went on until we were away from the Bantu farmlands, over the border of Bechuanaland into the Kalahari Desert of South-West Africa, which at that place is called the Nyae Nyae area. This country we knew very well, for it was here that we had lived a year among Kung Bushmen, and although it was a desert it was also totally unlike the great barren steppes of central Bechuanaland, as it was quite rolling, marked by large forests of small trees, by little rolling hills, by omarambas, and by pans, which in the rains were shallow lakes and in the drought were clay flats. The land was still very

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

133 open and tilting, but the low hills and the forests veiled the great sweep of country, and the sun, the moon, and the horizon.

105 As soon as we were there we felt very familiar, very at
184 home. We knew quite a lot about Kung Bushmen, who in ways are different from Gikwe Bushmen—as the country is not as harsh, the Kung are a little grander, living together in larger numbers because they have veld food more abundantly, a little more extravagant with their time and their possessions. They build themselves grass huts or scherms, at least during the rains, and though they know vast sections of their country perfectly, being quite sure of the whereabouts of game and certain of the whereabouts of different types of veld food, they do not have to memorize the whereabouts of each root individually and store this information in their minds for future seasons, as the Gikwe do. The Kung are diligent and powerful hunters, although in some respects their country is harder to hunt in than the land of the Gikwe, more overgrown with brush and trees. But the Kung have metal-tipped arrows and complicated poison, and the men make a point of hunting often and well because their people love meat.

312 We knew their rolling veld with its baobab trees and hidden waters, for in Nyae Nyae the people do not have to scrape roots and suck melons, but are the possessors of deep waterholes where they can drink clear water almost all year long. We knew which stalks among the grass blades marked edible roots, and where game antelope might be found.

823 We knew not only the veld but the beings that live in the
776 sky above it, and knew the beings under the earth and in the four directions. We knew where the great god lives in the east with his tree and his medicine smoke with which he makes spirits of the dead from dead people. We knew his names, for

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Kung

besides his usual, everyday name, Gao Na—which means 823 776
Big Gao, Gao being simply a man's name—he has many other hidden, secret names that may never, never be spoken during the light of day but only at night and only then at dances. Some of these names are Haishi, Gao ha, Nao, and Gara, and if he hears one of these names being called he will come to see who called it. He does not like to be disturbed during the day, he does not like the hot sun, and if a person bothers him during the day he will make that person sick. He is called at dances and cursed for the things he does to people, and some medicine men have even seen him when they were in trace; he appeared once as a yellow mouse, once as a gray man the size of a mouse, and once as a cloud of mist, although these are not his usual forms; usually he is the size and shape of a man, but, the Bushmen say, because he is wild he is always seen far away.

We knew of his wife, whose name is Khoana, a Kung Bushman woman's name, but who is also called the "Mother of Bees," and we knew of the being who lives in the west, whose name is also Gao Na and who is both the namesake and the servant of the great god, bringing good and evil to people as the great god chooses. This god of the west can also do things to people on his own initiative, and people sometimes say that evil comes when the two gods disagree.

There is one more figure, another being who has no place, such as the east or west; another god whose relation to the gods of the east and west has not been formed. His name is Gaua; he is called by the same name as the gaua si, the spirits of the dead, and though to the Kung today his identity has become vague, we felt that he well might be an older, primal figure, a god whose being has been now infused with the gods of the east and west. Today the great god of the east is sometimes called Gaua, called by the old god's name, and

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Kung

823 when he is, it is because he has brought evil, sickness, catas-
776 trophe, or death.

The old god still exists, the Bushmen know him, but his presence is diffusing; he, the old power of evil, is becoming faint, his entity obscure.

821 In the west live the *kwa kwa kwara* (knee knee nothing),
716 the people with no knees. These people have no knee joints,
823 but must stand up always. At night when the sun sets, the people with no knees catch it and kill it, for the sun is meat. They put it in a pot, and when it is cooked they tell their children to run off and play, and when the children are gone the people with no knees eat it. When the children come back, the people with no knees pick their teeth and give what they remove to the children, and then the people with no knees take the shoulder blade of the sun and throw it back into the east again, where a new sun grows and rises in the morning. If a tall man throws it you are aware of nothing, but if a short man throws it you can hear it whirring overhead. We knew a Kung Bushman man who, said he, had been to the west and had visited the people with no knees. He had been very interested to see them and very curious to know how they slept at night, for he did not imagine that they could lie down, so when darkness came he had watched and waited, and, just as he had suspected, when they had finished the sun they did not lie down but leaned against forks of the trees, where they rested, propped.

825 In the north is a great river, the Okovango, and Bantu peo-
776 ple live there. In the south live the gemsbok people, who are not ordinary gemsbok but beings in gemsbok form. It was these beings who taught the Bushmen how to make ostrich-eggshell beads, for when making a bead the gemsbok people use their long horns to bore the hole in the center. The gemsbok people often wear strings of beads around their necks.

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The gemsbok people look just like gemsbok. When Bushmen 825
are hunting they must be very careful not to mistake these 776
people for ordinary gemsbok, because if a hunter should shoot a gemsbok person even by accident he would get very sick and die. But such accidents are rare, for if a group of gemsbok people are out grazing and notice that a Bushman hunter is drawing his bow at them, they will say to him: "Do not shoot us, we are not gemsbok," and the hunter will naturally leave them alone.

Under the world is another world just like this one, with 772
trees and omarambas, hills and pans, a sun and a moon, Bushmen, Bantus, and Europeans just like the people here, and the bottom of our world is that world's sky. There is no other connection between our world and the lower world except possibly through certain deep waterholes, for it was through a waterhole that the great god climbed from that world when he first came here.

Over the world, of course, is the sky, and there is nothing 821
above that. The sun, which is not only meat but a death-giving agent because it burns the veld and dries up the waterholes, is a male, and the moon when it is full is female. A crescent moon, called *nui ma ze* (moon small new), is male, and so are the great destructive thunderheads that bring hailstorms or electric storms which break down dwellings and flatten the grass. The soft gray clouds that carry land rains which blow like mists into the plants of the veld and make them grow are female. The rain of male and female clouds is itself male or female, depending on the cloud's gender or on whether the rain is creative or destructive, but if you can't tell from the rain as it falls you can tell from its footprints, for male rain leaves sharp, pierced marks in the dust and female rain leaves wide, soft splashes. And as for the stars, they are called by some the eyes of dead people and by others are

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

said to be ant lions which at night rise from the bottoms of their little traps of sand.

Since we had lived a year in Nyae Nyae we knew the round of the seasons, which Kung Bushmen say are six in number. We came there in July, in winter and the start of the drought, the coldest season. August was bitterly cold and also dry, but in September the air began to get warmer and heralded the next season, called "little winds before the rain," a season of whirlwinds, drought, and clouds of dust. In October, suddenly and presenting a startling sight, a thorn tree near our camp turned quite green and the heat began to be intense. This was the start of the springtime, the dryest, hottest time of all the year and a time of starvation, for the water in the waterholes gets very low until only a little remains on the bottoms and the wild roots push sap into their vines so that the vines turn green and sprout but the roots themselves are shriveled. This was the worst season of the year for the people. Before this, during the winter, the large extended band that we had gone to visit was separated into little family groups that were scattered through the veld, living at little waterholes that did not keep their water all year long. During the dry season the water in these waterholes vanished, causing the small family bands to gather at the last sure waterhole of the area, a waterhole called Gautscha, which was beside a huge flat pan called Gautscha Pan.

There was one rather large band that always lived at Gautscha and numbered some forty people, who divided themselves into sometimes three, sometimes four family groups. They thought themselves lucky to live there, for Gautscha was considered to be a sort of paradise, where the waterhole was cool and deep, and (it was said) game gathered at all times to lick the salt, for Gautscha was a salt pan. It was the salt that made Gautscha most desirable, because salt is

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

greatly esteemed and is gathered from the crust of the pan in 317
moist balls. Bushmen sprinkle the surface with water in order
to roll up just the first layer where the salt lies. When the salt
balls dry, Bushmen crumble them into their food, preferring [265]
salt to all sweet things and honey. Once when we asked some
of the Gautscha people what they called themselves they re-
plied with this phrase: "We are a salty people, who come [101]
from a salty place."

In the dry season, two hundred people came to Gautscha 731
and lived in the bushes at the edge of the pan. This was an 361
enormous number for any area to support, but all had indis-
putable rights to be there, for either their fathers had drunk
at Gautscha or they had relatives whose fathers had; by the
rather complicated system, any Bushman may drink water
and gather veld food wherever his parents had a right to do
so, or may live with either his parents, his brothers or sisters,
or his wife at any place where the relative of his choice has
rights. There was water but not much food at Gautscha, and 731
all the people got thin and very hungry and sat around their
fires at night with sweat pouring from their bodies but with
nothing to eat; to make matters worse, one man coming for
a visit proved to be ill and gave his disease to everyone. It
was a disease that caused vomiting, high fevers, chest pains, [164]
and nosebleeds of great intensity—a woman whom I tried to
cure bled all one morning with blood squirting from her nos-
trils, pouring down over her arms and hands and dripping
from her elbows, making a dark pool on the ground. The dis-
ease struck all the people, from the youngest infants to the
oldest grandparents, and all the people lay for days scattered
all over the ground, too ill to move. We did everything we
could, of course; we provided food and medicine, firewood
and water, and took turns staying up all night to nurse the
people. As it happened, everyone got better within fourteen

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731 days, although not all were completely cured, and many, feeling that their luck was very bad at Gautscha, decided to take
361 their chances at other places in the veld where, although there was no water, there were watery roots that could be scraped for moisture. One day many of the people walked away in single file, taking their belongings and carrying on their backs their relatives still too sick to travel, leaving Gautscha Pan deserted except for the three small family bands who made their permanent home there.

764 One day when we were traveling in the veld about twenty
888 miles from Gautscha we came upon an old man lying on his face on the sand in an open place. He was a member of one of the bands at Gautscha that tried to escape bad luck, and, thinking he was hurt, we stopped at once. But he was not hurt; when we came near him he did not get up, but turned his face away from us and lay as if dazed, pressing one hand to his forehead. We knew him; he was the only Bushman of any nation we had ever met or even heard of who had never
[582 881 162] married, this because Bushman men must shoot a buck and undergo initiation before they can marry, which he had never done. Instead he lived with his sister, who took care of him and provided him with food, and who had been very ill during the plague at Gautscha. As we looked at him the headman of that band stepped out of the bushes and told us that the old man was not ill but grieving for his sister, who lay dead in a grove of thorn trees a little way beyond. The old man, who had been alone with his sister when she died, had been too weak from the illness to bury her, and had only been able to hide her body under a pile of stones. When the other members of the band had returned to the grove after a day or so of veld food-gathering, it had been too late, to dangerous because of the now roaming spirit, for them to assist

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the old man with a funeral, and they had had to abandon his 764 888
sister's body as it was.

The headman lifted the old man from the ground and we saw that he had not been weeping but had only been lying inert and helpless, powerless now to keep himself erect. On our truck he lay just where we put him, motionless, prone, all the way back. We passed the grove where his sister lay, a grove of high white trees with red beans on their branches, and the old man did not turn his head to look.

After that, the situation for the people who remained at 361
Gautscha got better because the summer came. Great cloud- 132
banks like mountains formed at the horizon, dispersed themselves in brown haze, and formed again, getting larger day by day. Some of the bands who had left Gautscha began to return and once again the countryside was populous, the air filled with the murmur of voices and the smell of smoke from the many fires. Some of the men went hunting and shot a giraffe, so there was lots of meat for a while.

One day some of us went to a place called Kubi Pan to see a cheetah that was supposed to live there, but instead we saw a flock of guinea fowl walking along in single file as people do, raising a cloud of dust. Two of them began to fight because it was their mating season. When we got to Kubi it was evening and the clouds on the horizon were very thick, and just when the sun set into them the full moon rose on the other side, causing a balance of the two great bodies over the earth.

It seemed to be an auspicious night. On the way home we 789
felt something electric in the air and when we got to Gau- 535
tscha the moon had risen high and pale in the clouds and we found that the Bushmen were dancing the rain dance. Everyone was there, the women all singing and the men wheeling

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789 in a circle around the dance fire, the clouds of dust rising un-
535 der their feet making them look like specters in the eerie light between the fire and the moon. The dance was very powerful. The men wheeled faster, the singing mounted in pitch. A medicine man coming from a far werf and singing as he came sprang among the dancers like a leopard, soft-footed and fine, and as he looked around him for a moment before beginning to dance, the moon behind his head filled a white ostrich feather in his hair with light. He smiled to himself, then, dancing suddenly, led the other dancers in a serpentine track through the circle of women, over the fire, and out the other side. The wind blew hard along the ground, and the smoke and fire streamed into the veld. The singing was very hard, very fast, and as the dancers swung around the circle dancing harder and faster, it suddenly began to rain.

It was like a miracle. It was the first rain of the year. First, there were just a few drops, but soon it was raining steadily in gusts behind the wind, causing the dancers to relax a little but to continue their dancing without paying attention to the fact that they were drenched. A bolt of lightning illuminated the veld for miles around with a blue-green light not of this world, showing all the trees and bushes stark and rain-lashed in the grass, then a blast of thunder as the light went out which struck us deaf as the lightning had struck us blind. For a moment it was black and still except for the lashing rain, and in the silence we heard a lion roaring far out in the veld, answered by another lion which was a little nearer, and then a peal of thunder shook them silent, drowning even their great voices.

132 The people had not danced to bring the rain; they had
[789] known that rain was coming and had danced to use its strong medicine. It rained all night, the rain so drenching and torrential that it put out the dance fire and drove the dancers

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into their scherms, and in the morning there was a lake of 132
shining water on the pan and lilies growing everywhere, where only their dry leaves had been before.

After that the rain came often. Some weeks it rained a lit- 132
tle every day, some weeks the rain became torrential and flat- 136
tened the Bushmen's grass scherms, but it made the veld rich and green, with flowers everywhere and all kinds of fruit, which grew on trees and stalks and bushes. The pan became the home of shore birds, marabou storks and flamingos. Leopards and lions drank there, game antelope waded through it, leaving deep tracks in the mud, and the Bushman children [515
sometimes danced in the shallows, their feet making flashing, 142]
rhythmic splashes, or bathed themselves until their skins were shining gold.

One night I went to the werf with a lantern and suddenly found myself beset by insects flying all around me, attracted by the light. It was the mating flight of white ants, which had come out of the ground in great numbers and now filled the air. The Bushman men were away on a hunting trip, un- [222
fortunately, but the women came to the light as quickly as 262]
the ants and began at once to catch them and stuff them into their mouths, saying "*gurico gum*" as they did so, *gurico* being the name of the ants and *gum* the word used for candy, for sweet gum that oozes from the trees, and for sweet caterpillars. Much faster than the women could eat, more and more ants came flying in a swarm as thick as a blizzard and already the ground was white with wings, for the ants, throwing themselves to the earth, would drop their wings instantly and begin to mate with each other in twos, in threes, even forming in great circles that turned as the ants ran scurrying to keep their positions, each one mounted with its forefeet on the back of the ant before it, pushed on by the ant behind. Sometimes an ant would fail to shed its wings and, finding

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that the great trains dragging hampered its mating, would twist and thrash and struggle, squeezing the wings between its thorax and abdomen, which did break off the wings but left the stubs. More and more ants were flying to the light and their circles were growing bigger and bigger until we couldn't move without stepping on them, but the women, getting more excited and moving very quickly, as if responding to the pace and the excitement of the ants, scooped them up and ate them as fast as they landed, spitting out the silver wings as one would spit out chaff. Over our heads a few night birds and many bats were flying, catching and eating the ants before they reached the ground, and around our feet huge pink hunting-spiders rushed in and out of the swarm, dragging the ants from their acts of copulation and carrying them away to eat them in the dark.

Before long the flight had ended. Only a few late-coming ants bumped against the light, the night birds and bats were gone, and the spiders had run away. Nothing was left but the white wings like petals all over the ground and the wings that were caught in people's throats or stuck to their faces. The women, quite composed now, brushed themselves off, and one of them sang a song:

Gurico gum, ah
Ah, ah.

I noticed that each woman had managed to save a little bag or vegetable husk full of ants for her husband. These they put away.

That was in the late spring, a fertile season full of promise, and when it was over the best season of the year began, called the Veld Food Season, which starts some time in March. The big rains have ended, the air is warm but not hot, the veld is filled with water, game, fruit, roots, and

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green-leafed vegetables, and sometimes many of the people 361
of the large extended bands come together to live, to hold 621
important ceremonies which require many people, and to enjoy each other's company. Sometimes they separate into very small bands because they can now go anywhere they wish, each family going to the part of the veld where the type of food grows that the family most enjoys. There is water every- 312
where, in small seasonal waterholes, in shallow salt pans, in hollow trees, and the people thrive and grow quite fat. One
of their favorite foods, one that grows in great abundance at 222 262
this season, is a ground nut called *tsi*, which grows on a trailing vine and is so fat that if you leave a kernel of it on a piece of paper it will leave a greasy stain. Tsi is regarded by the Kung Bushmen as a very powerful food, one of the pow- [778]
erful veld foods in which there is a special essence, something mysterious and magic which gives them a life force all their own so that it would be dangerous to eat them during the year if this life force were not first subdued or not first integrated with the life force of the people. These foods are 778
the mainstays of the Bushmen's diet, and are fat; and every 789
year people in their child-bearing years, when they consider themselves subject to harm, protect themselves against these foods by a ritual act.

The act of protection is called *choa*, and it is interesting because it differs from the protective rituals performed by agricultural peoples to save their crops or animals from harm, or to cause their increase. The Bushmen choa themselves not [842]
to protect their fertility, for decrease in the number of children is not a problem to them, but to make sure that they, the young adults and mainstays of the community, will not get thin and starve.

Those whom Bushmen call "old people," adults who have 789
had three children, are expected to protect themselves and 885
also to protect young people of the same sex.

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789 also to protect young people of the same sex. The choa ceremonies are performed in the Veld Food Season for each of the powerful veld foods as they ripen. The ceremony itself is simple; in order to choa tsi, for example, an old woman simply chews a mouthful of tsi with a few bites of a root called *shasha* if shasha is available or any one of certain other permissible roots if shasha is not, and spits the resulting paste into her palms. If she is choaing herself she washes her hands in the paste; if she is choaing a younger woman she rubs the paste on the young woman's arms and chest. It is an important ceremony, for no young person would think of eating tsi without it, but it is at the same time a casual, household ceremony, done without fuss or audience; oftener than not, it will be performed in the morning before breakfast, say, or when the woman is resting for a moment in the veld, ceasing her digging to drink a sip of water. It is a powerful ceremony, though, for the woman choaed may then eat tsi in safety for a whole year, until the next season when it ripens again.

731 That year, in the Veld Food Season, there was a tragedy and also a wedding. The tragedy took place late one afternoon when a baby girl, playing house with a real fire, burned down her grandfather's grass scherm, thus destroying everything her grandparents owned, everything they had made over a lifetime. The two old people had been very industrious and the wife a prolific maker of ostrich-eggshell beads.

At the start of the blaze a great crowd of people gathered, arriving just in time to see the baby girl run out of the scherm as it collapsed in flames behind her. She ran straight to her [262] mother and sat at her feet, ignoring the great crowd of people and placidly eating one of her grandfather's leather sandals which she had rescued from the fire and which, she found, had been cooked to a turn. No one was angry with the child,

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everyone was thankful that she had not been hurt. The people 731
remarked at the size and the intensity of the fire and shook their heads at the destruction, each one telling someone else where he had been when he first had seen the blaze. They asked each other why no one put the fire out, as no one did, and soon the scherm was a heap of white ash and the old couple who owned it ruined materially, too old to start again.

A few weeks after that, two children were married. The 582
groom was about sixteen and the bride was eight. It was con- 835
sidered to be an excellent match, as the bride was pretty and the groom was already becoming famous as a hunter. But even in these auspicious circumstances complications and involved negotiations arose, until, for a while, people began to think that no wedding would take place. The bride's aunt [578]
disliked the groom's mother, and recalled an old scandal that had shadowed the family for years. The groom's mother had divorced the groom's father long ago to marry her present husband, which in itself was altogether usual, but it came out that the man and woman had maintained an adulterous relationship before the divorce and furthermore were tabu relatives, which made their union incestuous—not as severely so as marriage between parent and child or brother and sister, but incestuous nevertheless—and it caused a scandal that reverberated throughout all of Nyae Nyae. The two were middle-aged when they married, and they had clung sol- [593]
idly together through the storm of scandal and disapproval, for it was truly a marriage of love.

The little girl did not want to be a bride. When we asked 584
her how she felt about her wedding she hid her face in her hands and said that she was still a young child, too young to get married.

All in all, only the groom's family behaved well, showing patience and forbearance until at last the wedding took place.

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584 One day the young man killed a little buck and, according to custom, gave most of it to his bride's parents, thus proving that he hunted well and would provide for them and their daughter. With this the engagement was sealed. Shortly after-
585 ward the mothers of the bride and groom built a scherm for the young couple which they furnished with wood and water and enlivened with a fire, kindled by brands from their own fires. Very early the following day the bride's mother adorned
[301 822 831] the bride, washing her, hanging white bead ornaments from her hair, rubbing her clothing with red, sweet-smelling powder, a symbol to Bushmen of beauty. Then, sitting her upon one large kaross, they covered her with another and left her to spend the day motionless, waiting for evening, when the union would take place.

788 It is common in Bushman ceremonies for a person at a transitional moment of life to be raised from the ground and hidden from the sun, as though suspended between earth and sky. Young people on the day of their first marriage are protected in this way; so are newborn babies, and so are girls
[84] on the day of their first menstruation. At a funeral, too, the body before burial is covered and raised from the ground, and perhaps all this is because a person is especially susceptible to damage at times of life when change is taking place, when, perhaps, a person is as delicate and fragile as a new moth emerged from a cocoon.

585 Because the sun brings death, no ceremony or part of any
[821 761] ceremony is performed when the sun is strong; but when evening came and the sun itself was dying, the groom was led to his new home by his three brothers, who took him by the hands and pulled him there, forced him, for custom demanded that he show reluctance. The bride, according to custom, refused to go to her husband and had to be picked up by another little girl and carried to him. In the drama of re-

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luctance the bride struggled while the other girl caught her. 585
She lifted the bride and carried her on her shoulders, not upright as a figure of triumph but wrapped in the kaross and motionless, like a dead little animal, then put her shrouded body on the floor of the new scherm and left her there to lie quietly while the wedding guests arrived. Again according to custom, the groom seemed to take no notice of his new bride; the people in the werf paid no attention, and, in fact, all the people went about their business in such a matter-of-fact way that an observer would think that nothing had happened although the young people were now married, the wedding had taken place.

The parents of the couple could not attend the wedding, [551]
for the young bride and groom were so tabu to them at this 784
time that they could not even mention their names. In fact, no older person could attend, and the guests who came were all children, three-year-olds to teen-agers, who sat by the young couple's fire decorously, the boys on the man's side, the girls on the woman's, and talked quietly for twenty minutes or so, the youngest guests leaving when their bedtimes came. That was all. In the morning the little girl and her young husband were anointed with fat by their mothers, and they lived together from that day on.

A month later the bride's mother, who was herself a young 844
woman, bore another child, her second daughter. We were at her werf at the time, sitting in the shade. That day the young woman had not gone out for veld food, but was lying propped up on her elbow in front of her scherm when suddenly, without telling anyone what was happening, she stood up and walked into the bushes, only to come back some time later with her baby in the fold of her kaross. We might not [854]
have known what had happened except that she was smiling a sure, sweet smile because she was pleased with herself. Her

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844belly was flatter, and a tiny foot with a pink sole and curled toes stuck out from her kaross.

Day or night, whether or not the bush is dangerous with lions or with spirits of the dead, Bushman women give birth alone, crouching out in the veld somewhere. A woman will not tell anybody where she is going or ask anybody's help because it is the law of Bushmen never to do so, unless a girl is bearing her first child, in which case her mother may help her, or unless the birth is extremely difficult, in which case a woman may ask the help of her mother or another woman. The young woman was only fifty feet from the werf when she bore her daughter, but no one heard her because it is their law that a woman in labor may clench her teeth, may let her tears come or bite her hands until blood flows, but she may never cry out to show her agony. Bushmen say a woman must never show that she is afriad of pain or childbirth, and that is why a woman goes alone, or why a young girl goes only with her mother, for then if she shows her pain and fear, only her mother will know.

When labor starts, the woman does not say what is happening, but lies down quietly in the werf, her face arranged to show nothing, and waits until the pains are very strong and very close together, though not so strong that she will be unable to walk, and then she goes by herself to the veld, to a place she may have chosen ahead of time and perhaps prepared with a bed of grass. If she has not prepared a place, she gathers what grass she can find and, making a little mound of it, crouches above it so that the baby is born onto something soft. Unless the birth is very arduous and someone else is with the woman, the baby is not helped out or pulled, and when it comes the woman saws its cord off with a stick

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and wipes it clean with grass. Then the mother collects the 844
stained grass, the placenta, and the bloody sand and covers
them all with stones or branches, marking the spot with a
tuft of grass stuck up in a bush so that no man will step on [784
or over the place, for the ground where a child has been born 778]
is tainted with a power so strong that any man infected with
it would lose an aspect of his masculinity, would lose his
power to hunt. The woman does not bury the placenta, for if [842]
she did she would lose her ability to bear more children.

The moment of birth is a very important one for the child and for the mother; it is at this moment that the child acquires a power, or an essence, over which he has no control, although he can make use of it. It will last him all his life; it is a supernatural essence that forever after connects the person born with certain forces in the world around him: with weather, with childbearing, with the great game ante- 778
lope, and with death, and this essence is called the *now*.

There are two kinds of *now*, a rainy or cold one and a hot or dry one. If a person has a wet *now* and burns his hair in a fire or urinates in a fire, the person's *now* is said to make the weather turn cold (if it is the dry season) or bring rain (if it is the rainy season). If a person has a dry *now* and burns hair or urinates in a fire, the *now* is said to stop a cold spell or a bad storm. When a person dies, too, the weather changes violently according to the person's *now*. After a [761]
death, scorching droughts or devastating storms are sure to follow.

We knew a Bushman woman at Gautscha whose young 778
son was living not with her but far away with the family of 821
his infant wife, and once, when a rainstorm came so violently that branches were splintered from the trees and water ran in torrents like waterfalls over the rocks beside the pan, the woman began to pine and grieve for her son, who, she felt

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778 sure, was dead. At last a visitor came from her son's band
821 who assured her that her son was safe and well, and she knew then that the storm was not for his *now*, loose in the air, but possibly for the *now* of someone else, though when she heard the news it did not matter to her who might have died, for she was happy.

The effect of *now* is simple when a person dies, or when a person burns his hair or urinates to change the weather. With childbearing for women and with killing the great antelope for men (as the great antelope also have *now*, although the [825] small ones do not) the *now* has a larger, more complex effect. In these cases the *now* of the hunter interacts with the *now* of the antelope, the *now* of the woman interacts with the *now* of the child newly born, and when the blood of the antelope falls upon the ground as the antelope is killed, when the fluid of the womb falls upon the ground at the child's birth, the interaction of *nows* takes place, and this brings a change in the weather. In this way a mother may bring rain or drought when she bears a child, a hunter may bring rain or drought when he kills an antelope, no matter what kind of *now* the mother or the hunter may have. The mother or the hunter can only watch the weather to see what has taken place.

Now is intangible, mystic, and diffuse, and Bushmen themselves do not fully understand its workings. They do not know how or why *now* changes weather but only that it does. They watch the changes carefully, though, and by observing have discovered the limits of their own *nows*. When the fluid from a mother's womb falls upon the ground the child's *now* is determined, and it is partly for this reason that birth is such a mighty thing.

844 Birth is usually joyous. Bushmen of all ages adore their children and grandchildren, placing a child's health and

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wishes uppermost in their minds. Orphans are eagerly adopted 844
by their aunts or grandparents, and a newborn baby is wel- [736]
comed as though it were the first baby the werf had ever seen. Sometimes, though, a baby is born that cannot be supported, and if this happens the baby is destroyed. If a woman bears a child that is crippled or badly deformed, she is expected to destroy it, and if the season is very hard and she already has a baby under a year old depending on her milk, she is forced to kill her newborn child. Bushman women can hardly bear this, but they do.

If a woman knows that she must kill her baby, she braces herself for this as best she can, and when the time comes to do it she must act immediately, must take advantage of the moment after birth before the infant has "come to life," that moment between the time the baby is born and the time her love for the baby wells up in her so that the act would be impossible forever after. She must think of the child she has already and act quickly, before she hears her infant's voice, before the baby moves or waves its feet; she must not look at it for long or hold it, but must have a shallow grave ready for it and must put it in at once and cover it and never think of it again. In times of extreme deprivation she can do this, or she can wait to watch both her children die. All this is very hard, and Bushmen, who have no mechanical form of con- [842
traception and know no way to cause miscarriage or abortion, 833]
prefer to abstain from intercourse for long periods rather than to suffer such pain.

We knew one woman who had been forced to destroy a baby to save an older child, and we knew one woman who had borne a crippled child and had been persuaded to destroy it by her mother, who had been present at the birth. Such things are very rare, though, and this is fortunate.

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844 When the young woman came back to the werf with her baby she sat down and calmly washed the blood from her legs with water from an ostrich eggshell. Then she lay on her side to rest with her baby beside her, and covered the baby from the sun with a corner of her kaross. She put her nipple in the baby's mouth and let her try to nurse. The young woman still said nothing to anyone, but she did open her kaross to show the baby, and one by one we all came by to [145] look at her, and she was not brown, not gold, but pink as a pink rose, and her head was shaped perfectly. At the bottom of her spine was a Mongolian Spot, dark and triangular, and her hair, which she shed later, was finely curled and soft as eider down.

The father had been away, but he came home a little later and sat stolidly down on the man's side of the fire, his hands on his knees. He pronounced the baby's name softly to himself. Later, when he had no audience, he slipped his finger into the baby's hand. Of course the baby grasped it strongly, and the father smiled.

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CHAPTER TEN

Beautiful Ungka and Lazy Kwi

For two days we drove our trucks through the scrub forests 648
of Nyae Nyae and on the third day we came to a water pan not far from the village of Gam. In 1953 we had lived at Gam a short time; it was the cattle post of a very wealthy Chuana farmer. This farmer lived at Tsau, a large Bantu town several days' travel from Gam, but he had cattle posts with herders all through the country, keeping only fragments of his great herd at each one. Two Chuana families guarded his cattle at Gam. The village had once been the home of about a hundred Bushmen, but when the Chuanas had taken it, many of the Bushmen had been made serfs and they and their families now worked for the Chuanas, tending the herds.

The little pan near Gam was full of blue water, and was [133]
surrounded by yellow-leafed trees. We found two ostriches be- 136
side it. The ostriches stared mutely at us first, very wide between the eyes and square at the jaw, until it came to them that we were not ostriches; and with that they rushed headlong away, flapping their ostrich-feathered wings, working their naked thighs and knees like pistons, wildly out of control. They had an air of old people with tough, gray, varicose-veined legs, wearing nothing to hide their nakedness but lit-

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136 tle feather boas around their waists, which were the wings.

As we left the pan a boar got up from the grass where he was lying and ran before us, a warthog with a heavy neck and red bristle of a mane, with curved tusks and with his tail stiff up in the air like a banner, trotting like a horse. He held his head high and ran away proudly, and he was old and very massive for a pig.

Not long after that we saw the two thatched rooftops of the village of Gam. A feather of smoke was rising over the rooftops, and soon we were there.

648 609 The people must have heard our trucks. A small crowd was standing in the bushes, the people watching apprehensively as we came up. Mostly they were Bushmen, naked and smooth and brown, but here and there we saw a Bushman man wearing a ragged shirt or a woman in an old, filthy dress. In the crowd, towering over the Bushmen, were the Chuanas, a woman and a man, the woman dressed in a turban and a long dress, the man in shorts and a jacket. These two were the cattle-keepers. When our trucks stopped, the woman recognized us and, clapping her hands together, ran forward to meet us, followed at once by several Bushmen who also recognized us, and after that the crowd broke and all ran forward, the tense looks of apprehension gone, for if all the Bushmen had not known us they had heard of us and knew who we were. In a moment we found ourselves in the center of the crowd as all the Bushmen who knew us threw their gentle arms around us, touching us so lightly that it was like being embraced by moths. All those who did not know us crowded to look at our faces, and everyone talked at once until our ears rang. The Chuana couple, both more reserved, held back until the others had greeted us and then came forward to shake our hands.

621 When the excitement had died a little and everyone had a

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chance to look at everyone else and see who was there, we 621
found among the Bushmen one entire band, six people, who once had lived at Gautscha. These were an old man, his two daughters, his son, his grandson, and his son-in-law, a man 551
named Lazy Kwi. Because Kung Bushmen have relatively few names in use, resulting in the fact that many, many people have the same name—one man we knew had two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama, called after his mother, whose name was also Xama—they distinguish their various Xamas and Kwis with nicknames.

Lazy Kwi was a kind, warmhearted man, devoted to his family, and was named Lazy, an insulting name, only because he was not a good hunter. He was heavy-footed, there- 224
fore noisy, and not an excellent shot; but he was a good trap- 262
per and got meat for his family by snaring birds and lizards. But because he did not hunt he never owned large shares of meat and ate only what came to him by the Bushmen's system of dividing, which put him in the role of poor relation and sometimes forced him to eat what others would not touch. Once he had suppressed his pride and eaten a badger. Although the other Bushmen had turned up their noses at this rank meat, he had said: "I am the badger-eating man," laughing off their scorn to hide his shame. He had eaten it sadly, and the sweet taste of it had sickened him and had made him vomit and retch for the rest of the day. Luckily for 224 [41]
his family, his father-in-law made beautiful arrows and in the hunting system of Bushmen the man who gives or lends the arrow with which a buck is shot is automatically the owner of a large share of the meat. His father-in-law often lent arrows and often got meat. In fact, the old man had a domi- 888
nant voice in the running of the family, for though old men 621
may be aged and consumptive, those younger than they do what they say. Far from being derogatory, "Old" is a term of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

888 621 respect. In his family, the old man decided where the band would live.

157 Lazy Kwi's sister-in-law was called "the old woman." Her name referred not to her age but to her bearing and her personality, for she was outspoken, positive, and sure, qualities that are seldom found in young Bushmen.

609 She was not at all surprised to see us. She took my ear to turn my head, and kissed me on the cheek. Lazy Kwi laughed when he greeted us, showing a gap in his mouth where a tooth was missing, and called me his wife, a joke among Bushman men, who pretend they will marry any woman who is not a tabu relative. His baby hugged my legs and showed a huge white smile, then held up his arms to be lifted. He had grown so that I could hardly get him off the ground.

586 159 Many Bushmen who greeted us had been at Gam when we had lived there, and among them was a young girl whose name was Ungka, a very common name; as she had no distinguishing nickname, we called her Beautiful Ungka, for so she was. She was probably the most beautiful girl in all Nyae Nyae, and even though she was only sixteen years old she already had a flaming past. When she was ten she was married to a man much older than herself, but, young as she was, she knew what she wanted, and because the old man filled her with loathing she cut off all her hair and all her ornaments, rubbed ashes on her face until she was filthy, and swore she would stay that way until her marriage was dissolved. Of course it wasn't long before her husband and her parents complied with her wishes and she became single once again.

583 159 When she was about thirteen she attracted the attention of another much older man who was already married but who became so inflamed by her beauty that he begged her parents to give her to him as a second wife. This time her parents consulted with her, entreating her to marry him as

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

she was getting older every day and already developing a rep- 583
utation for shrewishness, but Beautiful Ungka flatly refused. 159
When her admirer heard of this he felt he could not live without her and he asked his wife to kidnap her for him, but his wife, far older than Beautiful Ungka and quite possibly jealous, would not, so nothing remained for her admirer but to kidnap her himself. This he did, planning carefully, and one night when everybody was asleep he stole quietly to Beautiful Ungka's scherm, lifted her bodily from the side of her grandmother, and bore her away on his shoulder. The grandmother awoke and set up an outcry; but Beautiful Ungka, a girl of remarkable self-possession and composure, didn't kick or struggle because she knew she wouldn't stay with her captor long. When her kidnapper reached home, masculine and forceful, he flung Beautiful Ungka down in the back of his scherm on the far side of his wife "to show," said the Bushmen, "that he wasn't afraid of his wife or anybody," and Beautiful Ungka lay still, as if subdued, until she heard that her captor and his wife were asleep. Then she got up, stepped over them, and walked home. That was the end of that episode.

Every day she became more beautiful. Her parents tried 159
hard to marry her to a steady young man, and as she would 585
have none of her suitors, they chose a second husband for [584]
her, this time a young and presentable man in his twenties who had quite a number of worldly goods got by working at Gam for the Chuanas. So Beautiful Ungka, now fourteen, was married again. By now she had menstruated and was old 159
enough for intercourse, but although she lived with her 593
young husband she wouldn't let him touch her and he was driven to despair. He did everything for her, requiring no work from her at all—his relatives helped feed him—and once he walked forty miles, from Gam, where he was living, to

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 Gautscha, where we were, to ask for medicines from us that
593 would relieve headaches that Beautiful Ungka had, then forty miles back again to bring her what we gave him. And yet she would not love him; she told him the medicines didn't help her at all (which was probably true) and she asked to go back to her parents. But her parents, wanting her to try harder to stay married, wouldn't rescue her, and her husband was pleased. After that her husband borrowed a donkey from the Chuanas to bring her to us at Gautscha, hoping that we could cure her with pills, not of her headaches but of her moods. She rode all the way while he walked leading the donkey, and when they arrived she said she would not live with him but with others of her relatives instead. Public opinion prevailed in this case and Beautiful Ungka was finally forced to stay with him. While he went the forty miles back to Gam to return the donkey, Beautiful Ungka got a relative of hers to build a scherm for them, and when her husband came back they lived in it together.

One night in this scherm, when Beautiful Ungka's husband was sleeping and she was lying reluctantly beside him, he must have dreamed of her, for he tried to possess her in his sleep. Beautiful Ungka, malicious girl that she was, sprang from her bed and rushed about the werf in the darkness screaming as loud as she was able, calling him dirty and filthy and at the same time telling all the startled people what had taken place. Her husband was ridiculed for days, and Beautiful Ungka used the event as an excuse to separate, for shortly after that her parents came to live with her, saddened and defeated, and her husband was sent away. But the young man loved her still and would walk miles to visit her, for they were still married, only to be sent back wherever he had come from as soon as he arrived.

159 All that can be said is that she was extremely handsome.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

When we met her at Gam we noticed that she had begun to 159
walk like a beauty, proudly and aloof, but she was only sixteen and soon her reserve broke and she was very friendly, happy to see us, and we noticed then that her husband was not with her and was nowhere to be found. In fact, as we looked at all the faces, we saw that many people who should 609
have been there were not. We asked for this person and that 648
person, and the two Chuanas, instead of answering, invited us to their house where we could talk. My mother, my brother, myself, and Ledimo, the interpreter, who had been with us before and had been almost suffocated by the demonstration of affection he had received, walked to the village of Gam while the rest of the expedition went on to make camp.

The village of Gam was more peaceful than ever. We first went through a tiny gate in the high fence of cut thorn bushes which surrounded the village, put up to keep the cattle safe from the lions and other wild creatures at night, then past the ten or fifteen Bushman scherms that housed serf Bushmen, to the central part of the village where the Bantu houses were. There had been two; now there were three, but one was unfinished, and this was a large square dwelling with a window and a door. The other two houses—occupied by the two Chuana couples—were round, built of mud plaster, and had great thatched roofs but no windows, only doors. A thorn bush had been pulled into one of the doors, intended to keep the dogs and goats of the village from walking inside, a sign that the owners planned to be away for a long time. Gourds with milk in them hung from the roofpole of the other house; leaning against the wall was a basket of souring *muhengo* grain. The Chuana woman was brewing beer. A goat had been butchered and skinned and hung from a tree by one hind foot, and the sunlight shone red through it like sunlight shining through an ear.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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648 609 The Chuana man went into the house and brought out two chairs made of poles and thongs in imitation of European chairs but much smaller. He and my mother sat in these while John, Ledimo, the Chuana woman, and I, being young people, sat on the clay ground. Presently the Chuana man began to speak, saying he hoped we had come well.

My mother asked for his cattle, how they were, and his goats, if they had increased, how the rains and crops had been, and if he had heard about the water in Lake Ngami, which he had. My mother said: "Time must have stood still here. No one looks a bit older."

"Yes," he said. "We get sick sometimes, but we have not changed."

But things had changed; it came out that their son, the other Chuana couple, two entire bands of Bushmen whom we had known at Gautscha, and many Bushmen from Gam, including the husband of Beautiful Ungka, had been taken away by Europeans to work on the farms. Three times European farmers had come, having followed in the tire tracks we ourselves had left behind the last time. They came all the way to Gam, where they had found the Bushmen, no longer shy of Europeans, and had "offered to take them for a ride on their trucks but had promised to bring them back." The Bushmen had believed them, had gone for the ride, and of course were never seen again. That is why Gam seemed so peaceful, so empty, and the people so lonesome and sad. The worst of it was that families had been separated, both between Gam and the farms and between different farms.

One group of farmers had taken some young Bushman children who had been playing in the veld. When the mothers had called their children and had got no answer, then had looked in the veld and found their children gone, they had walked in the tracks the trucks had left to follow their chil-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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dren to the farms. The mothers and the children had never 648 609
returned.

The farmer who had taken the Chuana couple's son had offered him food and clothes but no wages. When his mother had refused to let him go, the farmer had told her that she herself would have to leave Gam and move to Bechuanaland (there has always been a dispute about the border between the two countries, which affects the Chuana people who try to move across). The woman, assuming that the farmer was a government official, had been too frightened by this threat to prevent her son from leaving. She had been building a large new house, even planning to put a pane of glass in the little window, but she had been too discouraged to finish it, believing that she would have to leave it soon.

It was extremely sad to sit there talking about such things. The Chuana man held his head in his hands and his wife was almost crying, and it seemed very empty and lonely there on the hot gray ground with flies all around us in the air and birds flying above.

When we went back to our camp it was already dark and 372
we found that Lazy Kwi, his wife, and all her family had moved in beside us to be near us. They seemed rather cheerful because they were all together, and they expressed their optimism by burning an entire log. This is prodigal for Bushmen, who usually burn just one small stick at a time, or at most the end of a small log, letting the fire work up the log by inches. The people sat with their legs stretched out, allowing the fire to warm them, and in the firelight their skins seemed blood red, all except Lazy Kwi, whose skin was as dark as the night. Lazy Kwi was always changing color. When 302
we first had met him we had thought he must be the darkest-skinned Bushman anywhere, but this was only so because he had rubbed himself all over with medicine paste and the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

302 accumulating dust had turned him black. When the rains came that year he had scrubbed himself with sand and water and had turned paler than the palest gold. No one had recog-
[142] nized him for a minute and then people had made fun of him, so he had let his coating accumulate again.

361 That night the old man, Lazy Kwi's father-in-law, decided that his band would move with us to Nama, a pan near Gautscha Pan, for he and Lazy Kwi believed that if we went there they could help us find more bands of Bushmen whom we had known. No one, he said, was living at Gautscha this season and the people who belonged there were scattered through the veld because the rains had been so good that there was food and water everywhere. We said that we would
222 leave in the morning to begin the search, but the old man hesitated to agree and finally told us that in the morning he had planned to rob a bee tree, but after that he would be free to go. As he had hoped, the following morning we went with him on his trip for wild honey.

The bee tree was in a little forest about two miles from Gam, a forest filled with tiny yellow leaves and tiny seed pods blowing from the trees and scattered all through the grass, which in places had been plowed up by a wild pig rooting for bulbs. Because it was early in the morning and frosty, turtle doves were singing and the clear air was filled with their voices. Honey is always gathered at the coldest time of day, for then the bees are dull and stupid and it takes them a long time to collect their wits. The old man and Lazy Kwi cleared some grass and lit a tiny fire; then, squatting beside it, they warmed their hands, waiting for it to burn well, for they would use its smoke to numb the bees. Lazy Kwi's wife and
222 her sister had come too; they did not join the men by the fire
271 but walked off in the bush, gathering sour berries for their breakfast. The women in their wanderings found a hollow

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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tree, and, looking inside it, found that it was filled with rain 222 271
water. They told the rest of us, who went to get a drink. It was just a dead and blasted tree full of murky water, but, standing in front of it, Lazy Kwi began to fumble in his hunting-bag for his drinking-straw. He slipped the straw into a crack in the bark, drank, and held the straw for the next person. The straw was a reed with a hollow center and very hard to drink from, I found when my turn came to take a sip, for it was badly cracked. It was all one could do to suck hard enough to moisten one's tongue, the water was stagnant, and the reed tasted strongly of the inside of Lazy Kwi's hunting-bag, but everyone drank, and when they had enough they returned to the fire. Something must have reminded Lazy [64-8]
Kwi of the European farmers on the way, for he announced naïvely: "They did not give me a shirt to put on my body."

When the fire was burning well the two men went to the 222
bee tree. It too was dead, taller than the others in the forest and quite conspicuous. Lazi Kwi knocked on it with his ax and it gave forth a hollow sound. Then Lazy Kwi picked a straw and poked it into a tiny hole in the wood, and when he withdrew it there was honey on it and two bees. One bee detached itself and stung Lazy Kwi on the ribs and Lazy Kwi shook his skin like a dog. His father-in-law came forward with a smoking branch and held this near the hole. He blew smoke inside and the bees began to moan, low and ominously, the moan mounting in volume as Lazy Kwi chopped a piece from the tree above the hive. Four or five bees flew out of their hole; one flew at me and stung my face. The sting felt like a blow and in a moment the side of my face was numb and swollen. Lazy Kwi saw what had happened and he [752]
scratched the sting out with his fingernail. The old man by now had chopped away a large section of the tree and the bees poured down from the opening like water from a tap, but

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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222 the smoke had confused them and they did not sting, although they flew everywhere looking for us. The old man turned his back, hunched his head between his shoulders, and hid from them as one would hide if one were being pelted with stones. When the swarm had dispersed a little he finished the opening. The Bushmen say that when bees are disturbed they are vicious only at first. After a while they become disorganized and confused and they fly about but do not sting you. When you smoke bees you must be careful not [778 to burn them or smoke them too much because they are 825] magic creatures with medicine to control fire, and if you harm them they will cause fire to burn you. A young boy whom we knew once burned some bees, and that night, when he was asleep by the fire, the fire sought him out and burned the skin of his belly, touching him only and no one else.

Lazy Kwi and the old man did the work perfectly. They were not stung badly, the tree was open, and no bees were seriously harmed. Inside the tree we could see the brown combs hanging and the bees as thick as fur around them. Lazy Kwi took out the combs and put them in a wooden bowl, licking his fingers afterward, and before we went back we ate some of the honey. There were two kinds, old honey and new honey, and the new honey was pale yellow and very [262] sweet and mild, winter honey made from the small, dry flowers of the veld. The old honey was much sweeter and strong enough to burn your mouth. Before we left, the old man [515] and Lazy Kwi carefully wiped their hands and arms with grass, for they were covered with honey and things were beginning to stick to them. Then we went back to camp and in the afternoon we packed to go on toward Gautscha Pan.

415 Lazy Kwi packed a skin bag full of tsi nuts and the seeds 482 [222] of baobab fruit, alum-like powdery stones that ripen at the start of the dry season. The old man had a huge net bag filled

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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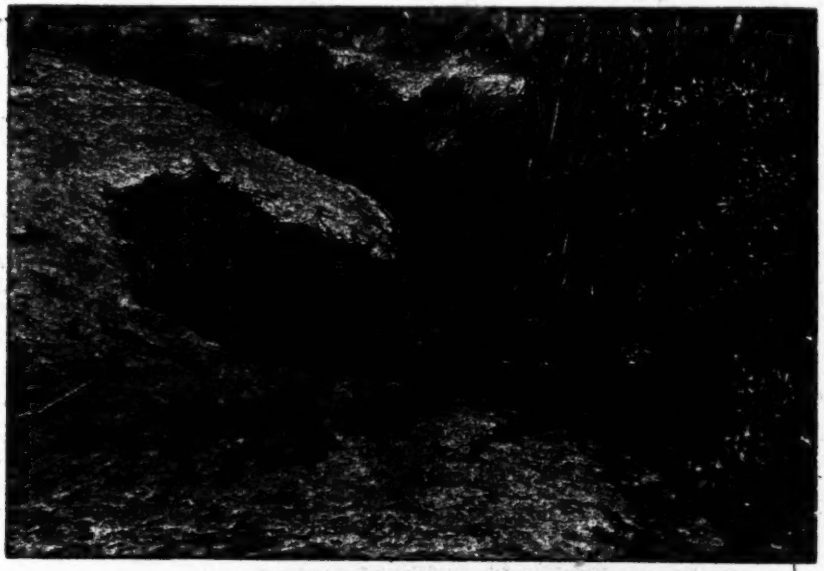

Long reeds almost filled the waterhole at Gautscha.

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Alone at his fire, Ukwane plays a mood song.

[p. 176(A)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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I sometimes received presents of gum from trees, or soft, sweet caterpillars.

Toma the leader.

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[p. 176(B)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Crooked Kwi and his wife, who once had run away from him.

Dikai made a bow from a branch, an arrow from a reed, and gave them to her younger son.

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[p. 176(C)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Toma's son, the new owner of Short Kwi's crown of badger hair.

The young musician—the lonely, brooding man who played the guashi.

[p. 176(D)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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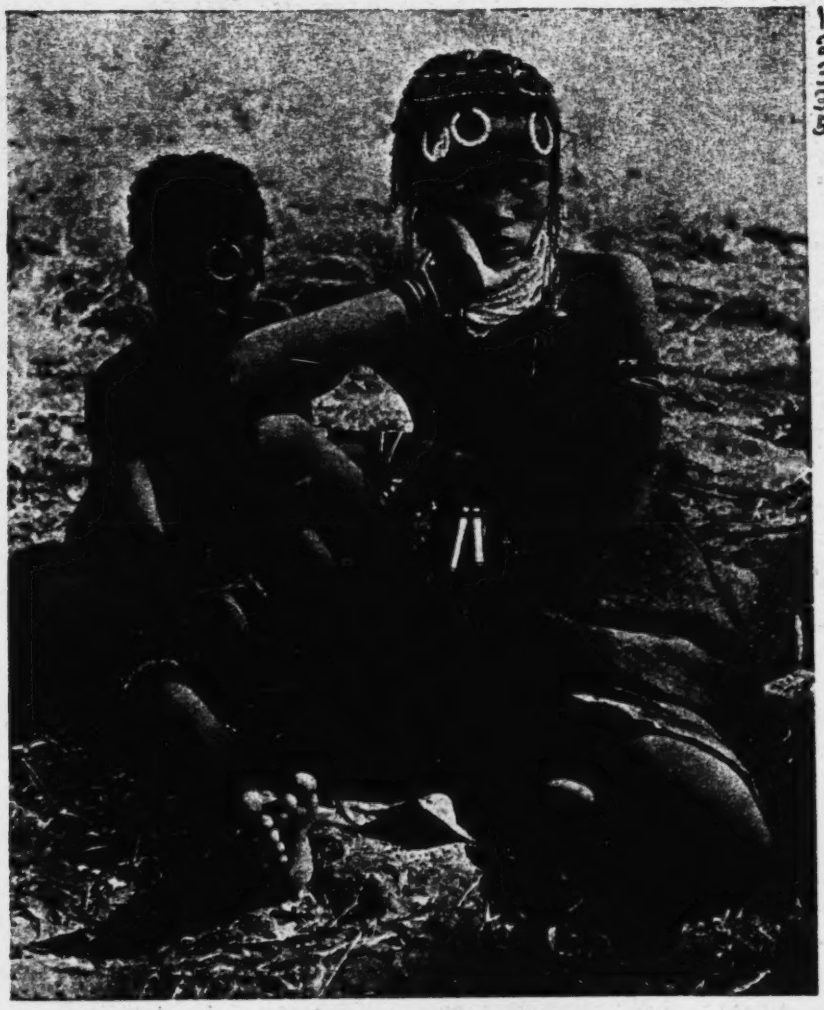

Beautiful Ungka's cousin, and the little girl who was content to follow her and be her handmaiden.

[p. 176(E)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Beautiful Ungka, the lily of the field.

[p. 176 (F)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

The old man who had never shot a buck, who had never married, now almost blind, too thin, and without people.

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Tu made Noma clothes of ostrich-eggshell beads, an art taught to Bushmen by the gemsbok people.

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[p. 176 (G)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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The shining lake of Nama.

In the middle of the circle the great tree rose, pink-skinned and mighty, the claimer of two lives.

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[p. 176 (H)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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with his possessions—bowls, fire sticks with which the Bushmen kindle fires, skins, and little bags of food.

Just before we left, the Chuana woman came to say good-by and I gave her some tea and a bottle of perfume that was given to me when I left America. My mother gave her a silk scarf and some bars of scented soap, and the woman, overwhelmed, sat down on the ground with these things in her lap and with the aid of the interpreter she started to thank us, but then she said: "Too much thanks is like a curse. I sit here with my delights."

After that we climbed on the trucks and drove away, looking back to see the sky of evening and the dry hills around Gam, and the Chuana woman still sitting on the ground waving to us. In back of her, a group of serf Bushman women were thoughtfully carrying away the firewood we had left behind.

Many miles from Gam we camped for the night and all the sky in the west was hazy red with the flat-topped thorn trees blue below it, and suddenly through the haze a herd of giraffes ran from a thicket near us into the open plain. There were nine giraffes and eight were females, all strung out in a line with their strong legs slowly opening, then bunching as they ran and their heads on their long necks stretching out and back, out and back. Behind the females ran the bull, an enormous creature half again as tall as they were, half again as broad, mighty and ponderous as he reached his long legs forward to overtake his wives.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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CHAPTER ELEVEN

Toma the Leader

374 It was very cold and the wind blew all night long, sweeping the haze from the sky and leaving the brilliant hard white moon. In the bitter hour before morning we were all too cold to sleep, so we got up, finding that the Bushmen had risen before us and were crouched shivering on the ground between the small fires, partly sheltered by the grass.

133 When the sun rose the air got a little warmer and shortly
137 after dawn we moved away from the camping-place, on toward Nama. We went through little forests, over slanting plains bordered with trees, past an outcrop of rock where I once had seen a leopard lying on his side, sunning his white belly, past a graceful tree which was one of the trees where the people of Nyae Nyae got their poison. At noon we reached Nama Pan.

Nama was a grassy field in the center of a scrub forest, and in the field was a great rock slide, basin-shaped, which now was filled with crystal water, and around the water was a beach of sand six inches wide. Around this beach the green grass grew, very dark, almost rotten with the water, the rich earth, and the sunlight.

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9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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It used to be that no one lived at Nama Pan, although 133
there was a deep waterhole brimming with water always, 136
even when the lake was gone, and fruit in the bushes around the shore, and plenty of game. It had been an empty and unwholesome paradise abandoned in the veld at the time I once visited it with a band of hunters and women who went there in search of food. It was just before the heavy rains, when all the veld was blooming, and the hunters picked the sweet gum that oozed from the trees with the tips of their spears. The women gathered karu plants, little green fruits that look like cucumbers hanging on vines like grape vines, and that day one of the children saw a ratel, a honey badger, which the hunters speared. This was the badger that no one would eat but Lazy Kwi, the one that made him vomit. At that time the pan itself was empty of water and the dark, rank grass was growing where the water now stood. As we approached the pan a crowd of vultures moved in the grass, ran clumsily toward us, and launched themselves into the air. They heaved their great wings and rose higher and higher and soon a column of vultures hung above the pan, the highest ones almost invisible, the strong wings of the near ones beating the air just over our heads. A shower of feces came spattering down.

When the vultures saw that we were staying they flew gradually higher and higher until they were lost in the air and we walked over the dark grass tampled flat by them toward the waterhole which stood in the center of the pan. On the way we found a vulture egg among the droppings, small and pink and newly laid, for it was covered with a thin coat of slime, as though it had slipped out of a vulture accidentally when she was frightened and hurrying to fly.

A stench hung over the pan which got stronger as we neared the waterhole, a dark cavern in the grass. The stench

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

133 was coming from it, and though the adult Bushmen knew
136 what to expect and didn't waste time investigating, only pausing for a moment at the brink to glance inside, then going on, the children stopped to gaze and I stopped with them. The sides of the well overhung the water in a lip about four feet high. The water itself was the color of clay, and on its smooth surface a hairy back and a pair of pointed ears were floating, the back and ears of a drowned hyena floating on its belly with its nose pointing straight to the bottom. White maggots crept from one ear to the other and the rotting smell rose from the corpse. Obviously, the hyena had been thirsty and when trying to drink had fallen in and drowned. A little boy who was watching the hyena, fascinated, began to howl faintly, "Mmm//ao, mmm//ao," the way a hyena howls, but putting a click in it the way Bushmen usually do, and then for my benefit acted the scene as it must have taken place. He rolled out his tongue and edged his hand toward the lip of the well, then jerked away, staring at the water with yearning eyes and saying: "No, I can't reach it. Yes, I must." He edged his hand toward the lip again, then shrieked "Ai! Ai!", waved his arms, pawed the air as the hyena had pawed the sides of the well, twisted his head from side to side, eyes starting, then closed his eyes and let his head roll back, his face calm and his lips parted, turning his hands limply, palms up. "Finished," he said.

"Yes," I said. "Too bad."

[262] "Oh, hyenas are worthless animals," he said. He meant that they were not good to eat. Then he ran off and after a short time came back with a long stick, which he pushed into the water. "Help me stir," he said, so I did, and presently the carcasses of two wild dogs and a vulture bobbed to the surface, rolled over slowly, legs in the air, and sank again. "You see?" he said triumphantly. "Many things die here."

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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The water was darker now and roiled, and the stench was 222
stronger. We went on after the Bushman women to find gum in the trees and then went home, and after that I had not been back to Nama.

Since then, the heavy rains had come three times, filling 312
the waterhole and the lake and washing away the putrescence, leaving only the white bones sunk in the bottom of the well. Now the water of the lake seemed very pure indeed, with the ripples that the wind made shining like mica in the sun, and so clear that we could see every blade of grass and ice-cold stone on the bottom. Lazy Kwi and his family climbed [271]
down from the truck and squatted at the edge of the water to drink, scooping up water in their cupped hands. As they drank, Lazy Kwi found some Bushman footprints on the little shore which were many days old, just dents in the hard sand, but after glancing at them once or twice he said they were the footprints of strangers, a man barefoot, a woman in sandals, and a barefoot child, on their way to a place called Naru Ni, somewhere in the west. I don't know how he could tell all this, but I believe that he was right. Bushmen are always right when it comes to tracks, but also it is very unusual for Bushmen to travel through country that is not theirs, as these three must have been doing or Lazy Kwi would have known them. Naturally, we were very curious to know who they were and what they were doing, but their footprints told Lazy Kwi no more than that, and we never learned.

These were the only footprints that we found, but Lazy Kwi still believed that some of the people we had known at Gautscha in 1953 might be living there, especially Toma, the headman, for he had been there when Lazy Kwi had heard of him last.

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9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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159 Toma the headman, sometimes known as Male Toma, an [55] honorary name, sometimes known as Toma the Short, so-called because of his stocky build, was a famous person, and once had been a serf. He was born of serf parents at Gam, and as a boy had worked for the Chuanas, drawing their water and herding their cattle and goats.

672 When Toma was a boy, his father was murdered by a 682 child, the result of a terrible accident which took place one 159 day when Toma's father was arguing with the father of a boy named Gao. Gao, who couldn't have been more than ten years old, became upset and angry when he heard his father quarreling and, taking his father's weapons, shot Toma's father in the chest with a poisoned arrow. The old man was helped to the shade, the arrow was drawn out and the wound sucked, but as there is no antidote for arrow poison the old man lived only for the rest of the day and by night he was dead.

Oddly enough, the crime was connected with the old man and not with Gao, the young murderer, for ever after that day the old man was referred to as Tsámko Bone Arrow, [55] while Gao in later years became known as Gao Wild Pig, after a pig he had killed which was in some way remarkable.

159 Toma flourished as a young man and became an excellent hunter with tireless legs, tireless eyes, and a deadly aim, and it was said of him that he never returned from a hunt without having killed at least a wildebeest, if not something larger. Hence, the people connected with him ate a great deal of meat and his popularity grew. He once said of himself: "From the day I was born I was born for meat."

159 When Toma was in his late teens, some say, his powers 622 in hunting attracted the attention of the headman of Gau- 591 tscha Pan, who offered Toma the hand of his daughter, Tu, in marriage. Toma accepted, went to live with his wife's peo-

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ple, according to custom, and, when the old headman died, 159
took over the leadership of the people in the area. He was 622
not the true headman—his position would not be inherited 591
by his son, for headmanship is passed only from father to son—but he was recognized as headman while he lived and it was a great honor to him that this was so.

Tu's brother was the rightful headman of Gautscha, but 622
he had abdicated to live with his wife's people in the north. Her elder sister's husband, a man named Gao Big Feet, also had a right to the leadership in that his wife, Dikai, was older than Tu. But neither ever contested Toma's position as leader, for it was not a position which Toma held by force or pressure but simply by his wisdom and ability, and people prospered under him. No Bushman wants prominence, but [431]
Toma went further than most in avoiding prominence; he had almost no possessions and gave away everything that came into his hands. He was diplomatic, for in exchange for his self-imposed poverty he won the respect and following of all the people there. He enjoyed his position, and, being [578]
strangely free from the normal strains and jealousies of Bushmen, he saw justice clearly and hence he led his people well. At Gautscha his werf had been right beside the werf of his father's murderer, for Toma was friendly even with him.

Toma had a short, stocky body and a shock of tangled 142
hair. He was strong, too, and very co-ordinated, so that every 159
motion he made was quick and controlled, and not a gesture 622
of his was wasted. As a result of this enormous and uncon- [151]
scious control, accidents almost never happened to him. His face was broad, lined with many deep wrinkles at the corners of his eyes and mouth as though from smiling, though it was not from smiling that he got them but from years of squinting at the sun. His expression was usually dark and wondering, his forehead drawn intently into a frown, but

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142 159 sometimes he would abandon his gravity and laugh a high, 622 reaching laugh that one could hear from far away, a laugh that came from his very soul, or, as Bushmen say, from his stomach. He listened diplomatically and intently whenever 159 153 he was spoken to, staring at the gound, and had a habit of echoing, in a loud falsetto voice, the important phrases of every sentence he was told.

"We went to Keitsa Pan," someone might say to him.

"To Keitsa," Toma would reply.

". . . and we slept there, but the blind flies were very bad . . ."

"Oh, bad, bad . . ."

". . . but in the morning we saw two porcupines . . ."

". . . yes, porcupines . . ."

". . . and we killed them there. We made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry."

159 Toma was considered to be very fortunate in his marriage. 142 Of course it was through his wife, Tu, that he gained the leadership of the Gautscha people, his life free in the veld rather than in serfdom, and his two young sons, but besides all this his wife was beautiful, having a smooth face and great, clear eyes like a cat. Also, she was five feet tall, considered to be a very desirable height, and although no Bushman has ever been too fat, Tu was not too thin and her arms and legs were round. She had soft blue scars curving on her fore- [304] head which made her eyes seem to lift at the corners, and blue scars on her thighs that showed when she walked. Her 159 chief virtues, in the eyes of Bushmen, were that she deco- 577 rated herself with ornaments in her hair and kept her hands [515 and face washed, thus demonstrating that she cared what she 301] looked like, rather than letting herself go now that she was married. To show that she observed propriety, cared what

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people thought of her, she didn't leave her fire at night to go 159
visiting, even to the scherm right next to hers. Rather, if she 577
had something to say, she would shout it across the werf.

Her deference to appearances and public opinion seemed 159
to make up for her faults, for she was considered to be al- 157
most a model personality in spite of her extremely jealous 593
and vindictive moods which caused her to accuse others, quite unreasonably, of selfishness, greed, and other such things. Her husband and sons were not excepted, but this was something that Toma had learned to ignore. He would simply shrug his shoulders if she railed at him, pretend he didn't hear if she railed at others.

When she didn't assault her family with her tongue she 159
sometimes harmed them actively. Very often she would lie 593
sullen with narrowed eyes in front of her scherm watching the other women walk out to the veld in the morning on their way to dig veld food, and on these days her husband and sons would eat nothing unless, driven by hunger, they went to the veld themselves, the three of them together, to dig up a few roots and eat them raw. Tu herself did not experience hunger as a result of these moods, for she would have saved herself a morsel from the day before. It was her right to do this: among Bushmen every root is owned by its digger and is shared only at its owner's wish.

Toma might ask but would never command Tu to feed her family, for as he had learned to ignore her biting tongue he had learned to accept her moods. This was his way, appeasing her, and because Toma wanted peace perhaps as much as he wanted Tu, he pampered her.

This was not always so. One day gossiping people told us 159
that early in their marriage Toma shot a fat kudu and Tu 578
said: "Don't cook all the meat because my mother will be 593
coming to visit us."

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159 Toma remarked that the meat was there for any use, but
578 Tu misunderstood him and, thinking that he denied meat to
593
152 her and to her mother, she flew into a rage, attacked Toma, and gave him a nasty bite on his arm. Toma lost his temper entirely and pinched her cheeks together until his fingers met in her mouth. His anger had come now, the people said, and he threw her into the fire, saying: "She is a woman. Why does she make me so angry? Shall I take a stick?"

A small crowd had gathered, and, as usual, the family quarrel became a public affair. Several people helped Tu out of the fire, found her barely scorched, but her cousin seized Toma and began to shake him. This enraged Toma so much that he caught the cousin around the waist and threw him into the onlooking crowd. The people said: "We must stop Toma because if he is so angry he may kill someone," and with that they led the cousin out of Toma's sight.

Toma shouted after: "If you do that again, we will get our arrows and fight to the death. Stop here. I am very angry. Do not make me more angry."

One of the men who had helped Tu said to the cousin: "I took his wife from the fire. You, her cousin, almost got killed for the way you went at Toma. If you want to help people, don't get angry with them. Keep calm. Don't increase anger as you did with Toma." With these sage words the incident was over.

159 The people said: "After that everyone knew how angry
593 Toma could be, so from that day on he never had another fight." Everyone honored and respected him, everyone except his wife.

But Tu had certain redeeming qualities. When she was in a good mood she was charming. She would smile at everyone, speak in a light voice instead of the low, menacing voice that

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she used when she was angry, a cat growling, and would be 159
affectionate to Toma and her sons. Very often, when she was 593
happy, she would dance a light, short dance to a song that she sang herself.

Tu had borne four children, four sons, to Toma, but the 163
first two sons had died. One of these had died at birth, "had died in the veld without a name," said Toma. The oldest living children, born after the others were dead, were a boy of about eight years old and a boy of five. While we were there in 1953, Tu bore her first daughter, a strawberry of a baby 553
who was named for two people—named first for Toma's sis- 123
ter, but also Norna for my mother; her name is Lorna, but Bushmen have trouble with the *l*. In order to fit us into their society, the Bushmen had given us names and niches in the kinship of Toma's family. My father was named for Toma's father, my mother was named for Toma's mother, my brother was named Toma for Toma, and I was called Dikai for Tu's sister. Toma therefore named his daughter for the person who was named for his mother—not at all unusual, as it often happens that a child may bear the names of two of its relations.

Now, hoping to find Toma once again, we started the truck 361
motors, fired a rifle, called and called, in case he might be living far from the water, but no sound came from the great veld to answer us and we began to search in the bush around the pan for signs that might show us where he was. We found two empty scherms built in the rainy season, their grass thatches gray with weather, their little piles of fire ashes sunk into the ground, and near these scherms we found the skull of a bird and the shoulder blade of an antelope, all white, bleached, and dry. Farther on we saw a tree where the woven grass nests of weaver birds were hanging empty, swinging

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361 with the wind, which made us think of the empty scherms, and still farther we found one more empty dwelling, the tiny grass nest of a mouse that hung on a bush, from a thorn.

We went around and around the pan in three huge circles, occasionally calling Toma's name, and when at last we were sure that no one was there we went back to the pan and sat in the shade of some bushes to think. Lazy Kwi sat with his chin in his hands, gazing into the sunlit veld. He was sure, he said, that no one lived at Gautscha Pan, so there was no use going there. Toma and his family had not lived at Nama for a whole season and since wind and rain had erased all traces of their passing we could not tell where they had gone. Lazy Kwi thought for a long time and at last he said that he had heard from the Bantu people at Gam that Toma had been indentured by Bantu people at another cattle post called Kai Kai, near Gam, and had been set to work minding a herd of goats. Lazy Kwi had not believed that this could have happened, but now he said that it was possible and in that case Toma would have to live not far from Kai Kai, somewhere in the veld but not too far from water. And there was such a place, said Lazy Kwi, but in the east and far from Nama Pan.

It was early afternoon, so hot that even the insects of the veld were silent. We decided to leave at once in order to reach the waterhole that Lazy Kwi had mentioned before night. We put a little meat, some water, and our blankets in the jeep, and my brother and I, Lazy Kwi and Ledimo, the interpreter, got ready to go, leaving the others to make a camp.

855 Before we left, Lazy Kwi took leave of his family, then got
593 his bag of tsi beans and baobab seeds from his wife and put a handful or two into another bag which he would take with him, leaving the larger share with her. When his little son saw what he was doing and realized that his father was preparing

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to go, he began to cry, saying: "Father, Father," and when 855
Lazy Kwi hesitated a moment, then said he was going any- 593
way, the little boy picked up a handful of stones and threw one at him. This amused Lazy Kwi's wife, who smiled and tried halfheartedly to take the stones away, but it angered [861]
Lazy Kwi, who caught his son by the arm and boxed his ears. That made the little boy so furious that he had a tantrum; he screamed and cried and arched his back to draw away from his mother, who tried to pick him up, both mother and child doing exactly what they had done when the little boy was a baby and no doubt had been doing ever since. His mother al- [862]
ways did have a terrible time managing him, and he was still nursing although he was now five or six years old. Before his father left, his mother had managed to mollify him somewhat, and she sat on the ground, letting him sit on her leg to nurse. He drank from one breast and held the other in his hand as he glared over his mother's shoulder at his father, who was already in the jeep.

We drove all afternoon, going fast because the ground was 133
hard and not too bumpy, and the plains of Nyae Nyae seemed even longer, even wider than the plains of Ai a ha'o, being more slanted. We saw the Aha Mountains, a series of large rock outcrops quite separate from each other, blunt-ended like drumlins, which the Bushmen call "The Knife's Back." They appeared on the horizon shortly after we left Nama, distant and blue over the yellow veld, so surprising to see in that flat country that we stopped to look at them. They seemed so misty and far, so infinitely alluring, that we longed to go there. When we drove on, they stayed as relatively fixed as the moon would, which showed how far away they were. Lazy Kwi said that once on a clear day he had seen them from the top of the Gautscha baobab.

We reached the waterhole at the end of the afternoon, a

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133 shallow well between two rocks and hidden in a thicket, but we saw no sign of goats or people, only the tracks of wild animals around the waterhole and down a lonely little path that led there, and we wondered what had happened to the goats and Toma. Perhaps he had become a renegade, hiding from the Bantus, on the run with his family; perhaps he now was wearing a goatskin and cracking the bones of his charges out in the veld somewhere.

On the eastern horizon we saw the smoke of a veld fire which Lazy Kwi said might have been lit by Toma and we drove toward it and reached it just before the sun went down. We found a way through the wall of flames and found what we thought was the source of the fire, but the burned area was very large and it was hard to be sure. It was almost dark then, very cold, and when we came to a clump of bushes we stopped the jeep and walked about, gathering dead wood that lay near by. The camp was on a rise and we could see about for miles. In the north rose the brown backs of the Aha Mountains, and on the other side the land fell away, down and down, until all the trees were obscured, then beyond that until the horizon looked like the sea, just a blue line, darker and a little hazier than the sky.

It was very quiet and lonely there except for a few birds that flew high and far above us calling, and we called Toma's name again and again and our voices rang in the cold air, but we did not get an answer. Lazy Kwi, naked and barefoot in the frost, walked over the plain with his arms hugged against his chest for warmth and called more: "Toma . . . Toma," a little annoyed as he was tired, then waited, called again: "Toma . . . my brother . . . brother . . ." and as his 136 voice died away no answer came; but a koorhan, a dark bird the size of a chicken, flew out of a clump of bushes far away and rose cackling up to the sky, where we saw it, black and clumsy, before it dropped to the earth again.

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clumsy, before it dropped to the earth again. The last pale 133
light faded on the horizon and for a minute the sky looked like the cold sky over tundra or over an icy sea before the empty veld turned dark.

To clear the grass from our camping-site we lit a little grass fire, being too tired to pull up every blade of grass by hand, and the little flames seemed so cheerful and warm that we felt better right away. We made a cooking-fire and cooked our meat, then unrolled our blankets to lie upon, and we found that because the wind had died our cooking-fire shed so much heat that we were as warm as we would have been in a shelter.

We made coffee and talked all evening, and unnoticeably 133
our fire burned very low and we got colder, the night seemed 648
darker and in the dark the koorhan began to call again, and when we looked far over the veld for the light of another fire but saw none it came to us that Toma might have been taken by the farmers after all. We talked for a while about that, but then Lazy Kwi said he believed that Toma was somewhere not very far away but was too clever to show himself. After our last expedition had left Nyae Nyae the last time, Lazy Kwi told us, Toma had waited months, whole seasons, for us to come back and when he had heard the trucks of the farmers he had gone to them, thinking it was us. "Now he is angry. Now he is too clever to make that mistake again," said Lazy Kwi.

That did seem possible, so we stood up and shouted 123
Toma's name again; but even at night, when sound carries best, we heard only our echo, distant and diffuse, and at last we built up our fire and got ready to sleep. The night was perfectly quiet. No sound came from the wind or animals, only the sparks snapping from our fire, which burned for a while but soon died to embers and the smoke rose white and ghostly into the dark.

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123 As we lay in our blankets, before we went to sleep, Lazy Kwi told us a story, told us something that had happened to him and to Toma while we had been away.

224 After Toma had mistaken the trucks of the farmers for our trucks, the rains had come. After the rains, when the veld was lush and tropical, when Gautscha Pan was full of water and succulent reeds, several herds of animals that do not ordinarily live in the desert had migrated south from the swamps and marshes of the Okovango River to eat the sweet grass of the pans. A herd of elephants had come and gone by, but some small herds of buffalo had come and these had stayed in the veld of Nyae Nyae, living among the pans.

One day the buffalo had come to Gautscha, and Toma, crouching on a limb of the baobab tree, had seen them wallowing in the pan and had taken his bow and arrow and, running fast and silently, had circled behind them, then had crept toward them, and from the reeds at the edge of the pan had shot a big male. The herd had bolted and Toma, after having inspected the tracks so that he would know his wounded bull when he saw its track again, had gone home. He had waited a day and a half, longer than usual because of the danger, and when the time had passed, returned with Lazy Kwi to the spot where the buffalo had been wounded. There he and Lazy Kwi had taken up the trail. The buffalo had separated from its herd and the two men had followed it silently, carefully, aware of the danger, avoiding the trail when it led through bushes. When, that night, they had not found the buffalo but knew from the freshness and pattern of the tracks that it was near and restless, they had waited in the veld, eating nothing themselves so that the buffalo would not eat and gain strength, remaining awake, moving around so that they would not get stiff but remaining silent so that the

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buffalo, not hearing them, would relax, lie down, and itself 224
get stiff and sore. In the morning the two men had found where the buffalo had slept, also a damp spot of its urine with black flecks in it (which I believe were flecks of blood) and Toma had pushed a poison arrow into the spot of urine so that the buffalo would be unable to urinate again, unable to rid itself of more poison.

The men had followed the buffalo's track for three days, knowing from its footprints that it was getting weaker, staggering, and in the morning of the fourth day they had come over a rise of ground and had seen it far ahead of them, lying on its side as if dead. The two men wisely had not gone up to it, but had squatted where they were to watch it, remaining this way for most of the day, and when the buffalo had not even flicked its tail or heaved its sides in breathing, Toma had considered it safe enough to approach. He had done this cautiously, very carefully, balancing his long spear in his hand, but just as Toma had stood near the buffalo, spear poised for the stab that would kill it surely, the buffalo had lurched to its feet, had chased Toma, and had tossed him on its horns.

The great boss, the heavy mass of horn on the buffalo's 752
forehead, had cracked Toma's ribs and one curved horn had hooked in Toma's side, passing through his body and out his back. Toma had lain unconscious and Lazy Kwi had carried [482]
him home; later, other hunters of Toma's band had found the buffalo truly dead, partly eaten by vultures, and had taken the meat; but nothing, no medicines or cures that the Bushmen had used, had helped Toma, and the people had expected him to die.

Gautscha was the country of Toma's wife, and when Toma 752
had realized how sick he was he had wanted to return to his 648
own people, the people of Gam. Lazy Kwi and another man

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had carried him there and it was there that the second group of farmers had found him, unable to escape or to resist, and they had taken him away. His wife was still waiting at Gautscha and Lazy Kwi had returned there to tell her that her husband had gone.

At the farm, though, Toma's luck had begun to turn. The farmer had gradually managed to heal his wounds with medicine and treatment, and by the start of the dry season Toma had felt quite well. One night, when the veld was quiet and dark, Toma had thanked the farmer in his heart, had gathered all the Bushmen on the farm together, and had led the people over the veld, all the way back to Nyae Nyae. It had been a long walk, a long way, but Toma had managed. Now, said Lazy Kwi, Toma's wound ached on cold days and sometimes his vision was blurry, but he was pleased with himself and pleased to be back in his own country.

Lazy Kwi was pleased with him too, and he smiled when he finished the story.

When the first light of morning came, the air was so cold that our breath made clouds. We got up, fed the fire, and cooked the remainder of last night's meat, then drove off in the jeep again, for in that early light we had seen the smoke of three veld fires on the horizon, one in the south, two in the west, perhaps kindled by Bushmen during the night, perhaps revived by the wind from old embers, and we planned to make a circle to investigate them all.

On the way we found a bee tree that had been raided for its honey and we believed that Toma had done it, although the break was old and the bees were gone away; but after looking at it a moment Lazy Kwi remembered that he had done it himself during the last rains. He remembered too that there had been very little honey and that he had got stung, and

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since that was all he remembered we went on again to the source of the first of the three fires.

It was there that we found Toma. He had been there all the time, only a few miles from where we had camped, and when he heard our jeep coming he watched us over the top of a bush before showing himself to see first who we were.

We saw him when he ran toward us. He was quite far off and we saw first his dark figure detach itself from the bush and run with long, swinging strides toward our jeep. He waved his arms and we knew at once that this, at last, was Toma. Before he reached us a second figure appeared from behind another bush and ran beside him, and we knew from the disjointed stride that this second man was Gao Big Feet, Toma's brother-in-law. We turned our jeep toward them and soon we met and the two men embraced us and laughed and said that they had known we would come back someday, and then they climbed in the jeep and took us to their werf, stopping first to get their spears and quivers, which they had left in the bushes, for no Bushman, no matter how excited, ever greets people with his weapons on his back because this might be taken as a sign that he was quarrelsome, looking for a fight.

Their werf was in a tiny thicket of thorn trees at the edge of the plain, screened in front by bushes, carefully concealed, but on a rise of ground where a man standing could easily scan the surrounding plain without being seen himself. There Toma and Gao Feet could observe the movements of the antelope that crossed the plains below them, waiting patient in the dappled shade of their trees' broad leaves as lions do. The two families stood in front of their bushes to meet us and they, too, embraced us and they all climbed in the jeep to do this, then climbed out again and stood back to see how we were.

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361 We got out and sat with them in their werf to talk before deciding what we would do next. Looking around, we saw that only the two families lived here, for there were only two sleeping-places, set, for the sake of a little privacy, on the opposite sides of one of the scrawny trees. The women had not built huts, but had scooped little hollows for themselves and their husbands which they had lined with soft grass bedding, and had put up two arching sticks at each of these hollows to mark the place where the door would be if a scherm had been there, for the Kung as well as the Gikwe need a sense of place. In fact, the Kung need it even more, for without their grass and marking-sticks the Kung feel homeless. Their sleeping hollows were like the soft grass nests of pheasants, hidden in the leaves.

276 The Bushmen all lit pipes and passed them—each pipe
576 reached everybody, everybody shared and smoked, and the pipes circled slowly for an hour or more until the tobacco was gone. There was a brass pipe made of an old cartridge, a bone one, a horn one, and last of all a copper one that tasted very bad. The Bushmen cracked roasted tsi nuts and passed the fat little kernels around to each other, offering them on the
609 palms of their hands. My brother told Toma that he had missed tsi because there was none in America.

"What?" said Toma. "No tsi? Why didn't you plant some?"

"The soil is a little strong for it," said John.

"So."

"But tsi is good."

"No good," said Toma sadly. "I used to be fat. Now I am thin." He stuck out his leg and slapped at it. "Where is my fat?" he said.

He did not seem to be thinner than he used to be, though; he had only a scar on his belly and a scar on his back where

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the buffalo's horn had wounded him. Otherwise, he looked 609
very well. All the people seemed well, especially the children.
Toma's oldest son wore a crown of badger skin with the long 291
hair standing up on it, and two safety pins that we had given 177
him, which he wore as earrings in his pierced ears. With all 301
this he looked bold as a pirate. His brother was nearly as big
as he was, and his sister, Norna, now three, was a slender,
graceful child who regarded the world with dark, wondering
eyes.

Norna's sixteen-year-old uncle, Tu's brother, was there too. 481
He was a lame boy; he had been crippled in one leg since 732
childhood and could hobble only with the help of a long stick.
People had despaired of him, believing that he would never
be able to hunt and therefore never marry or inherit the head-
manship of Gautscha Pan, but when we saw him now and
looked at him closely we noticed a fine row of scars between 881
his eyes and on his arms and chest and we knew that he had 364
hunted and killed an antelope and had been scarified in his
initiation. We had planned on this trip to give him presents
of all kinds, to make him rich, so that he could marry whether
he could hunt or not, but we saw now that this would not be
necessary. When he knew that we had noticed his scars he
told us in great detail the story of the hunt. He told us how he
had gone out with a group of hunters, how he had first seen [224]
the two horns of a kudu above a clump of bushes, how he had
silently hobbled near it, propped himself on his crutch, and
shot it with a poisoned arrow. The arrow had penetrated
deeply and the lame boy had returned to tell the others. They
had followed it with him for a day and in the evening had
found it dead. It was the lame boy's kudu, though; he shot it,
and to Bushmen that is the important thing. He was scarified [884]
with a paste made of the kudu's meat, and ever after that he
was a man.

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224 Toma's son said that he, too, had shot a buck during the
866 last rainy season, but while the hunters were following it a
857 rainstorm had come up and had washed the tracks away, forcing them to abandon the hunt, although for days they had searched the sky for the column of vultures that would show where the buck had fallen. Lions must have got it, said Toma, and eaten it in one night, and this was a great shame, for younger boys than his son had already proven themselves. The boy shrugged his shoulders at these words. He had been the first person we had met when we first had come to Gautscha Pan, and we had seen him in the veld, a naked child hardly more than an infant, standing in grass that came over his head with a toy bow and a wooden arrow in his hand. He was far from home, all by himself, but he had stood up to talk with us so boldly that our interpreter, vastly amused, had asked him what he would do if he met a lion, and with great self-possession Toma's son had said: "If he let me alone, I would let him go, but if he came for me, then we would fight."

Young Bushman boys do not always seem anxious to become adults. Like his son, in Toma's opinion, they prefer to play at hunting because as soon as they know how to hunt they have to, and hunting, say adult Bushmen, is very hard work. We felt, though, that it wouldn't be long before his son did succeed in killing an animal. Besides playing at hunting as a child he used to hunt beetles, moths, and large caterpillars by shooting them with thorns; but he was twelve now and seemed to have left his childhood behind, for while we talked his younger brother and sister played in the sand but he sat quietly with the men and listened.

163 Gao Big Feet and his wife, Dikai, Tu's sister, had had a
164 second baby, a little boy named Dabe ma, Little Dabe. Their first child, Little Gashe, now four, was blind in one eye, pos-

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sibly as the result of a very prevalent eye disease. He had been 163
blind when we knew him as a baby; now his infected eye had 164
shrunk away, leaving a socket. As I watched him, I noticed that his good eye had become infected too and bothered him; he had developed a habit of turning his head from side to side, squinting with his good eye, trying to see depth or judge distance, and also a habit of rubbing both eyes with his knuckles. When Dikai saw me watching him she pointed to her own eyes, then to Dabe's, to show that she and Dabe, too, had the infection, and when I said that I would give her medicine when we got back to Nama she nodded. "I was waiting for you to come," she said.

Hearing me speak of medicine, Little Gashe glared at me 164
balefully. I had treated his eyes before and perhaps he remembered that the medicine was painful, or perhaps he was afraid that I would harm his eyes. He scrambled into his mother's lap to nurse and, facing toward her for safety, glared at me over her shoulder. Little Dabe, seeing this, climbed into Dikai's lap too and she had to nurse them both, one on [862]
each knee, at each breast. Her lap became a battlefield. They kicked and pushed and got in each other's way.

Dikai and her two boys were only half of Gao Feet's fam- 595
ily, for he had another wife, his first wife, who had a daughter and a grandchild. We were not surprised that these people were not with Gao Feet; his two wives did not get along well. Since Dikai was young and pretty, Gao Feet spent his time with her. We asked Gao Feet where his first wife was, and he told us that she was living with her daughter's family and with Dikai's mother in a dry forest not far away where tsi was growing. We asked for other people, the other members of 621
Toma's large band, and Toma told us that they were well, living far away in a mangetti forest. Naturally, Toma's family had not seen this group for some time because of the dis-

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621 tance, but Toma said now that he would take us to see them
someday soon because he believed that we would be able to
help them; one man in their band, a man called Short Kwi, or
sometimes Kwi the Hunter, had been bitten in the leg by a
puff adder and was very badly hurt. We got the impression
159 that he had been bitten recently and, hoping that we might
621 draw the poison from the wound, we said that we would leave
752 at once. But Toma said that it had happened during the last
rainy season, so there was no use hurrying; other Bushmen
had cut the wound and had sucked the poison, saving Short
Kwi's life, but his leg was so badly hurt that he couldn't use
it. It had turned black, said Toma, and black liquid ran out
at the wound. We thought then that there would be nothing
we could do to help; but perhaps rumor had exaggerated the
misfortune, and so we told Toma that we would certainly go
to do what we could.

224 Short Kwi came from a famous family; he was the younger
159 brother of the man who murdered Toma's father, but Short
Kwi was famous in his own right, famous as a hunter. He
often killed more game in a year than many other men kill in
their lives, a great hunter among a hunting people. The other
Bushmen told stories about him—about the time he had
killed four wildebeests in a herd of many, about the time he
had killed an eland, a wildebeest, and a wild pig all in one
day. It was his technique of hunting to be relentless in his
pursuit; therefore, if he shot an animal and suspected others
to be in the vicinity he would let the wounded animal run
where it would while he hunted on and shot another, and
another, and when all were as good as dead he would rest,
then return to pick up the trail of the one that he felt would
die the soonest. He almost never lost an animal, for his eyes
[151] were sharp and he could follow a cold trail over hard ground
and even over stones; he could tell from fallen leaves whether

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the wind or passing feet had disarranged them; and the meat 224 159 that resulted from his prolific hunting was never wasted, for 151 he would bring other hunters to help him dry it, then carry it [251 476] off to a werf somewhere to share with others.

He knew the habits of animals from the ways of the largest 159 antelope all the way down to the smallest species of mice; in 825 fact, he must have known animals very well, for he could always find them. He knew when he was in danger and when he was safe, and he was as brave as he was careful. Once, Short 159 Kwi, John, and two other hunters were tracking a bull wilde- 224 beest that one of the hunters had shot. They came upon it 157 lying down, surrounded by a very large pride of lions. There were twenty or thirty lions in all, having got there first and claiming the wildebeest as their own, for the bushes were full of lions walking back and forth, watching several other lions brave the fallen wildebeest, still able to protect itself with its horns. The braver lions were standing near the wildebeest, obviously steeling themselves for the attack, when the hunters arrived. The Bushmen had followed the wildebeest's trail through thorns and over the parching desert and were not to be deprived, and, speaking softly to the lions, they said: "We know you are strong, Big Lions, we know you are brave, but this meat is ours and you must give it back to us."

Even after these words the lions did not give ground. Their round eyes watched the hunters and they began to growl, and the four men, quite unarmed except for their arrows and a spear (to use a spear would have been folly), said respectfully: "Great Lions, Old Lions, this meat belongs to us," and then advanced on the lions, throwing little stones and clods of dirt. The lions in the bushes began to back away, while the braver lions stood their ground until a clod struck one of them, causing him to huff and run back a little. At this, the courage of the other lions broke and they all turned and

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159 224 157 scrambled for the safety of their companions, by now quite far away.

The hunters, victorious in this battle of nerves, had the bull wildebeest all to themselves, but now found that they could not approach it either. Having fended off the lions (it thought), it now tried to lunge to its feet to fend off the men. Short Kwi borrowed the spear from its owner and hurled it into the wildebeest's neck, where it stuck fast. Now they had no weapon at all. Their arrows would be useless. The sticks and stones they threw at the spear did not dislodge it and all their efforts to retrieve it by creeping up on the wildebeest from behind did not succeed, for as soon as one of them would edge near enough to touch the spear the wildebeest would toss its horns so quickly that the man would have to jump back, grazed. At last, while one of the men distracted the wildebeest from the front, Short Kwi backed off and rushed at it, jumped over it, and, as he passed over its back, jerked the spear free. The bull lunged and the curved horns hooked upward, but too late. Short Kwi was gone. Wanting a picture, John asked Short Kwi to do it again, but Short Kwi shook his head. "This time he will remember," Short Kwi said, and dispatched the bull by hurling the spear into its throat.

159 224 593 823 Sometimes, as on these occasions, Short Kwi hunted with others, but mostly he hunted alone. He knew every bush and stone in the area of thousands of square miles that he ranged over, and he lived for hunting. Caring more for this, his passion, than for society, he often hunted as he did when we had first heard of him, alone in the veld with only his wife—a young woman who was intelligent and gay and almost pretty, to whom Short Kwi was devoted—his baby daughter, and his mother-in-law.

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We had met him for the first time at Gautscha. He had 159 come in from the veld one night to visit his brother, and we 224 had met him in the morning. Short Kwi was a young, small man, shorter than his wife and so slender that he looked almost like a child. With long, light feet that took him everywhere, with heavy thighs but light calves like the thin shanks [142] of a greyhound, and with a narrow, deep chest and lungs that never winded, he was obviously built for hunting. In the rainy season when the veld was soft and muddy he often hunted with only a spear and ran the great antelopes down, for though their hooves sunk and split in the mud, causing them eventually to tire, Short Kwi never tired and his strong legs bore him after them relentlessly, sweeping him down the long plains like a wind of death.

His life in the veld seemed lonely, but I doubt that it was; he had his wife, who adored him, for company in the evenings, and although she may have missed companionship more than he did, they were both shy, both quiet, and it may [573] be that they both enjoyed their life apart. Short Kwi hunted most of the time. He would hunt on and on and when word would reach the large band of his wife's family that he had killed, the band would go out to where the animal was, dry the meat, and eat it. When there was enough meat Short Kwi would rest, would relax in the sun, would talk with his wife or make himself a new skin bag or garment, and when word would reach him that all the meat was gone he would move again. The men of his wife's family hunted too, of course, but never as successfully as he, yet his great ability set [578 him so far apart from ordinary mortals that for once the 557] Bushmen forgot their jealousy and agreed that he was the best hunter the Kalahari had ever known.

It is a custom among Bushman hunters to cut strips of skin 301 224

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301 from the foreheads of the antelope they kill and fashion them
224 into bracelets which their wives wear on their arms. Short Kwi's wife and daughter wore dozens of these; their arms were covered and heavy with them. Short Kwi himself wore
[291 no ornament of any kind, nothing except a crown of badger
431] hair which he owned for a while but later gave to Toma, the very crown that Toma's son now wore.

752 One day, said Toma, Short Kwi had been walking in the
224 veld and had failed to watch where he was going. He had
159 stepped on the tail of a puff adder, which had risen up and bitten his leg, just below the knee. It was a rare and terrible accident; in all the time we had been in the Kalahari we had known of only two people besides Short Kwi who had been harmed by snakes—a young boy bitten by a mamba who had died the day he was bitten, and a young woman who had been pulled into a waterhole by a water python and had drowned. Usually, snakes move away when you come near them, or if they don't, you can usually see them; but you can't walk with your eyes on the ground all the time, especially if you are hunting, as Short Kwi had been. His misfortune was regarded as a horrible accident and it was felt that the spirits of the dead were to blame. They had led Short Kwi down the very path the puff adder had chosen, and perhaps had even placed the snake where his foot was sure to fall. Toma and Goa Feet were very depressed to think of it. Although the talk turned to other things, Gao Feet mentioned the accident again and again; everything seemed to remind him of it. At last Toma said to us: "Perhaps you can help him hunt again. Since he was bitten his people have had no meat."

648 Toma told us that he had been with Short Kwi near Nama
609 Pan when the third group of white farmers had arrived. The farmers had looked at Short Kwi and had offered to cut his leg off for him then and there. This had frightened the Bush-

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men so badly that they had fled in all directions into the veld and the white farmers had not recruited any labor. We wondered how Short Kwi had managed his escape and Toma told us that his brothers-in-law had helped him. They had carried him on their backs to a far place, taking turns.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

The Grove

674 LATE in the afternoon of the day we met Toma, we decided
685 to find the rest of his band—his wife's mother and the other part of Gao Feet's family. There were now nine adults and five children all intending to ride in the jeep and we were very crowded, but to relieve this condition as much as possible Toma left some of his possessions behind. He left a large, dry hide, scraped but not yet cured, rolled up and thrust in the branches of a tree, and a skin bag stuffed full of bedding grass under a bush. Someday he would return for them, perhaps when a season or two had passed, when he would be roaming near that spot again. Bushmen commonly leave their things anywhere they wish, for the things are never touched by others; theft is so unknown that Bushmen do not even forbid it, having no need for tabus or laws against that which never happens.

576 When Tu was in the jeep, wedged in tightly between others with her youngest children in her lap, she gave the werf that she was leaving one last glance and noticed the bag of grass that Toma had left behind. It was her bed too, after all, and when she saw it she pushed aside her children, pushed aside

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the people who crowded her in, and, clambering out of the 576
jeep, ran back to retrieve it. It was an enormous bundle, but she dragged it to the jeep and tried to stuff it in, paying no attention at all to the others who insisted loudly that there was no room. She finally got it in, climbed in after it, and sat on it to squash it down. She completely ignored a lofty glance from her husband, a reproach for her impoliteness, and searched through her clothing for her pipe and her flint, with which 593
she struck a light and smoked. In a sense, she and Toma were mismated, for the idea that she would have fewer things, less conveniences than someone else seemed to haunt Tu, while Toma seemed possessed with the fear that he would have more. When Tu took, Toma gave away.

We drove down the plain, leaving the nests in the forest be- 484
hind ourselves forever, toward the eastern horizon, which was blue and shimmering in the heat of the late afternoon. We were too crowded and too jostled to talk much, everyone preferring to crouch quietly and ignore discomfort, except Tu, higher than the others on her bag of grass, who seemed very cheerful indeed and talked on and on. We stopped several times along the way—in fact, we had hardly started before Tu plucked at John's shoulder and asked him to wait. She had seen a gemsbok cucumber growing on a vine in the grass and wanted to pick it, so John stopped the jeep. Tu climbed out and found several, which she tossed in, letting them roll about freely on the floor. We were about to start again when Dikai also saw some cucumbers and we had to wait while she gathered those, and no sooner had we driven on again, the little cucumbers rolling against our ankles and prickling us with their spines, than Little Dabe vomited and we had to wait a third time while Dikai cleaned him up with a tuft of grass.

Toma sighed. Men plan to spend several days traveling

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484 with their families on trips that would take them only hours if they were traveling alone. We stopped a fourth time in the middle of the vast plain, for John had seen a shattered ostrich egg on the ground and wanted to let the Bushmen gather it to make beads. Toma motioned him to drive on. The egg, he thought, belonged to a man named Crooked Kwi, who had left it there one season and would return for it someday soon. Toma had heard of this event from Crooked Kwi [457] himself when they had seen each other last, and, observing that the shell fragments were gathered into a pile, he supposed that this must be the very egg that Crooked Kwi had mentioned. It was just where Crooked Kwi had said it would be, too.

361 We left the eggshells behind in the immense plain and went on our way toward the eastern rim. When we got there we found the rest of Gao Feet's family—his older and uglier first wife, his old mother-in-law, his first wife's daughter, and his daughter's husband, none other than Crooked Kwi himself. These people were living in a most beautiful glade of thorn bushes that were growing thickly together among tall trees, their branches arching just over people's heads. A fire had cleared out all the grass and leaves, leaving just the brown earth and the gray lace of branches; the people were brown and their things were brown and white and the ashes of their fires were gray in the little hollows on the ground, for these people, too, had built no scherms. Tu got right out of the [252] jeep and went straight to a fire, where she began to crack some of her tsi nuts between a stick and a stone.

608 The rest of us exchanged greetings and the old woman,
551 Dikai's mother, embraced me. "You are my daughter. I bore you," she said. When I had first come to Gautscha Pan I had been named Dikai for her daughter, and among the Kung one is strongly identified with the person one is named for; as the

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namesake of Dikai, I had acquired her set of relationships and 608
was expected to follow the rules that applied to her. I could 551
act in a familiar way with those people whom she treated familiarly and was expected to avoid those whom she avoided. I called Dikai "Big Name," the term usually applied in such a relationship, she called me "Little Name," her nephews called me "Aunt," her mother called me "Daughter," and often her husband, Gao Feet, with roars of laughter, would say he would marry me someday.

We sat down in the werf in the delicate shade of the arching 281
branches and Dikai's mother produced a bag full of tsi nuts, 415
which the people began to roast and eat. The bag was made 252
of the entire skin of a duiker—a little nocturnal antelope no bigger than a small dog—turned inside out with the legs tied together as handles, the neck tied off as the bottom of the bag and the rump open as the top. When it was full of tsi it was solid and formed and looked eerily like a little, headless duiker.

When the day was over and the sky was getting dark I 512
made a camp for myself a few feet from the werf. The Bush- 609
man children helped me pull the grass. We built a fire in our clearing and I cooked some beans and tsi nuts that Dikai's mother had given me for myself and the children, and as Bushmen from the werf began to come over I cooked more and more. There wasn't much—the Bushmen had only half a day's supply and we hadn't expected to be away from camp so long. Everyone had a little, though, and afterward we filled ourselves up with water and we smoked. It was very cold. Be- 513
fore the night was over, the water we had in our water pail had turned to ice. On nights such as this the Bushmen prefer to sit up and talk, to keep their minds off the fact that the air is cold and they are naked and hungry, rather than to try to sleep; they wait to sleep the following day, warm in the sun.

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513 That night it was so cold that no one wanted to leave the fire and when finally everyone was at my camp, settled close to each other, side by side, with their bellies warmed by the heat and their shoulders covered by their capes, their backs
521 turned against the enormous veld where the cold wind blew and where the dark was coming, they began to entertain themselves with conversation, their favorite pastime.

516 The adults held their elbows on their raised knees and cupped their hands under their chins to cast little shadows into their eyes, for in this way they could see clearly over the bright fire. Close to the fire even the children were not cold. The older children sat up like the adults, although they were naked and the adults had capes, and the younger children slept in their parents' arms, warm between the fire and their parents' skin.

136 Before the darkness had come totally I left the fire to look through the little forest for wood, and as soon as I was off among the trees a way I was quite alone; I could not see the firelight and the voices did not reach me, and as I walked around in the frost and the gloom I could hear my footsteps crackling the grass. When I stopped walking to pick up an icy stick I could still hear the grass crackling, and when I looked around I saw, not too far away, a pair of mongooses, a male and a female, with five little ones. They were eating seeds from the pods of a plant and when they saw me they ran, all in an orderly line, and when they were gone the forest seemed very empty, for I could see through the trees to the desolate plains beyond, and up through the branches to the sky, where stars were showing, far away. A partridge rose in front of me—I had chased it from its bed. I could hear it calling as it flew, lost out in the veld now, and when I had a
313 bundle of sticks I found my way home.

372 Dikai had been out for sticks in the opposite direction and

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when we looked at the pile we had, we judged that we had 313 372
enough for the night, but we burned only one at a time to save them.

For a while, sitting at the fire, everyone was quite gay. The 521
adults began to talk about food they had gathered and eaten and Toma's children asked me to tell them a story. "A true story," they said. Casting about in my mind for a story that would amuse them, I remembered a night when we were camped on our way to the Gikwe Bushmen in Bechuanaland and six lions had come into our camp. Someone in our party had shot at them and had wounded two of them, and then we had followed the wounded ones on foot through the darkness, a dangerous business, had finally found one and killed it, and had found the other one dead in the morning. I tried to say all this in Kung, but though I could understand quite a bit of it and could speak on some subjects, this time I found that my vocabulary was lacking; all I could say was "We killed two lions," a terse statement, and though the children were looking at me wide-eyed, I couldn't go on and had to get John to finish the story. "Ah," said the children when the story was told, not nearly as impressed as I had thought they would be, but then I myself had seen their father walk through a valley where several lions were roaring, at night, alone, armed only with a spear, depending on his wits for safety and on the fact that lions have a musky odor. He had been in our camp on one side of the valley when he had heard the lions roaring, and had slipped across among them in order to be with his wife and children, asleep on the other side.

Crooked Kwi, his wife, and his daughter had all turned 374
away from the fire to warm their backs. They sat in a row, Kwi first, then the baby, then his wife. They were relaxed and they had let their heads tilt back to look at the sky. Crooked 555
Kwi and his wife were very young, and, being one of the few

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555 men between their adolescence and their thirties in the entire area and not an excellent hunter, Crooked Kwi was sometimes a figure of ridicule. He was nicknamed Crooked because of the way he walked, the Bushmen said, although I could never see why, and now, tonight, the men began to taunt him. For a while Crooked Kwi just looked idly over his shoulder at the men and smiled.

"Why did your wife run away from you?" Lazy Kwi asked finally. This went too far; his wife really had run away from him once with another man, and Crooked Kwi had been grieved and humiliated. His wife had been persuaded to return to him, but the incident had not helped Crooked Kwi's position as a figure of fun. Now, when he was reminded of it, he turned his head away. Bushmen can be quite cruel with their joking.

521 Perhaps to turn the conversation to other things Toma reminded me of a time I had driven him and some other Bushmen in a truck and had bounced them quite badly. He told me that the Bushmen had agreed that women should leave trucks alone. "Your husband would drive if you were married. Why aren't you married?" he said.

I said it was because I was too young (I was twenty-three), intending this as a joke because Bushmen, even old grandfathers, always say they are too young when they are at a loss for an answer. "Oh no," said Toma. "You are old enough now. Even the last time you were here you said you were going to be married. How is it that you are still alone?"

"Well," I said, "I *will* someday."

"Yes, that is what you told me last time and here you are again." I couldn't think of a thing to say, and Toma added: "Well, never mind. Your father will help you, just as I will help Norna here when she is a little older."

At these words Norna lifted her head from her mother's

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lap and looked drowsily at her father. "Ehe," said Toma, 521
pointing at her, pleased that she still remembered her European name.

The talk returned to food and hunting and Toma remembered an eland the people had eaten which Short Kwi had killed, and this reminded everyone of the puff-adder bite, and Gao Feet, who had seen Short Kwi, began to describe the wound. He stammered and repeated whole phrases again and [191 158]
again, but finally he finished and those who had not seen Short Kwi drew in their breath and seemed very depressed. Short Kwi had been sick a year and had not died, but the flesh had gone from the calf of his leg, said Gao, the skin had gone from his foot, his foot was curled and the bones were showing. The wound stank, too, said Gao, and at this Tu said she didn't think she could bear to see him. Her children were asleep around her and she looked very sad, but by now all the faces lit by the fire were depressed and sad, and soon after that people began to go home, carrying their sleeping children. The night was almost over, the Southern Cross lay on its side and the Firewood Star was high over our heads. Last to leave was the old woman, Dikai's mother, who got stiffly to her feet and waved good-night to us.

"Good night, Old Grandmother," I said. [608]

She turned her head to face me. "You should call me Mother. I embraced you when you came," she said.

Quite far away a fire at the werf flared up, the center point 593
between two tall trees whose branches formed a delicate, pointed arch lit from below, showing the fire's brown owner sitting with his back to us, his elbows on his knees, perhaps gazing into the flames. It was Crooked Kwi, and he seemed very small beneath the high trees but very bright in the firelight and, somehow, very important. In a moment his wife walked into the firelight and sat beside him and they sat to-

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513 gether without speaking and then his wife lay down and he lay down and their fire began to die. Soon all the werf was dark.

513 In the morning, in the salmon dawn, the first light, we woke up to find doves singing and a fresh, warm wind blowing. It was easy to sleep now, and the people slept for hours, rolling away from their piles of ashes as the day warmed, until they lay curled or sprawled in all parts of the werf with Toma's son, by chance, asleep in the center, flat on his belly with his head in the curve of his arm, relaxed and strong and breathing deeply.

222 At noon the adults began to get up. The women went into
[252] the forest behind their werf for sticks to burn and a few roots to eat, and when they had built up their fires they roasted the roots and shared them with their families. Toma said that we would go back to Nama Pan right away, but his wife and the other women wanted to gather tsi; it was very abundant right beside the forest and they hated to leave all that food just lying there. "Perhaps other people will come here and eat it," said Tu, so Toma changed his mind and everyone took bags, nets, skins, anything that could be used as a container, and they spent the afternoon gathering tsi. They got mountains of it. There was plenty in the patch that they had chosen and with all of them picking the nuts from among the round leaves of the tsi plants they filled every bag, skin, and net that they had. They gathered almost three hundred pounds. The women felt so happy that they were singing a gay, light song in three or four parts. When the people had picked all they
431 could find, when every possible bag was full, they said they were ready to go to Nama, but when we brought the jeep and began to load it they were already busy with their endless preoccupation, that of giving and receiving, and had already

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begun to give each other presents of tsi. Bushmen feel a great 431
need to give and receive food, perhaps to cement relationships with each other, perhaps to prove and strengthen their dependence upon each other; because the opportunity to do this does not occur unless huge quantities of food are at hand, Bushmen always exchange presents of the foods that come in huge quantities, these being the meat of game antelope, tsi nuts, and the nuts of the mangetti trees, which at certain seasons are scattered abundantly all through the mangetti forests.

As we waited by the jeep Dikai gave a huge sack of tsi to her mother. Her mother gave another sack to Gao Feet's first wife, and Gao Feet gave a sack to Dikai. Later, during the days that followed, the tsi was distributed again, this time in smaller quantities, small piles or small bagfuls, after that in handfuls, and, last, in very small quantities of cooked tsi which people would share as they were eating. All this was very hard to trace, especially for us while we waited and loaded the jeep, for the large sacks were not handed around but rather were tossed into the jeep one on top of the other while the transactions went on vocally.

There is a further complicating factor in food distribution. 432
The owner of the bag which is full of tsi or mangettis is the 431
owner of all the nuts inside, no matter who gathered the nuts, just as the owner of an arrow, whether man or woman, is the owner of the largest share of the buck killed by the arrow, no matter who shot the buck. This is a practical arrangement, since all three of these important foods, oftener than not, are very far from the waterholes where the bands would be living. Usually, Bushmen have to travel for several days over water- 484
less, scorching veld to reach tsi fields or mangetti forests, then 482
have to carry their heavy loads back again to water. These 422
journeys are too hard for young children, old people, cripples, 431

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484 women who are pregnant, or people who are ill. In fact, the
482 long journeys for the two kinds of nuts are undertaken only
422
431 by strong adults, who therefore must gather for all those who stay behind. The system of Bushmen in these matters ensures that everybody gets enough. As it turned out, that afternoon we found that both Tu and Lazy Kwi had filled bags belonging to Lazy Kwi's wife, the bag that Lazy Kwi filled being the only one he had with him, and in this way his wife, who wasn't there and who so far knew nothing of her windfall, owned two bags of food which she would probably share with Lazy Kwi, who actually, that day, owned none.

At last, when many bags had changed hands, when everything movable including Tu's bag of grass—which she had emptied, tying the grass into a bundle with a strip of bark in order to free the bag for tsi—had been loaded into the jeep,
484 the people began to climb in and the jeep sank down on its springs, groaning dangerously as each person got on it and found a place to sit. When finally everyone was on and the springs still had not broken we drove away with extreme caution, barely moving when we came to bumps, with Toma and Gao Feet sitting on the hood and pointing the way to Nama.

522 As we crept along Toma told a lion story concerning some Bantu people at Kai Kai who tried to rid themselves of three lions that were attacking their cattle. As his story was extremely funny, his voice was often drowned out by the laughter of the others. He spoke so fast we could not understand him, but his wife laughed until she cried. Toma told the funniest parts of the story two or three times.

271 Just before we got to Nama, when the shadows of the bushes reached far over the veld and the western sky was blood red, thick with smoke, we reached a tiny waterhole

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with empty veld around it, veld without veld food, without 271
tracks of game, and we stopped to drink. The waterhole's
name was Nam Ta Kwara (Here Is Nothing). Crooked Kwi
was the only one who was thirsty, so he climbed alone out of
the jeep, the hunting-bow on his shoulder arching over his [516]
head, and walked to the water's edge, where he crouched on
the white sand all pocked by the tiny feet of birds to dip up
water in one long hand and drink it out of his palm. With his
body bent easily, his back arched, he was so graceful and lithe
that he looked like a serpent or an otter and I wondered again
why his name was Crooked Kwi. A white moth touched the
surface of the water to drink beside him, and afterward a
wasp.

Behind Kwi's head the smoke in the north and west was so
thick it seemed that all the Belgian Congo and Angola were
in flames, and the sun was swallowed by the smoke, and a
gray, soft darkness fell long before the sun had really set.

When we got near Nama Pan it was dark and we saw our 574
camp by its fires, but greatly expanded now as there were per-
haps twenty fires where before there had been three. It
looked like the camp of an army, for there were fires all over
the rise above the pan, arranged in little groups, cluster by
cluster, each fire casting light on the branches of a little tree
or bush. These were the fires of Bushmen who had come in
our absence and at the sight of them the Bushmen in the jeep
put up their heads to see who the newcomers were.

At camp many people had got to their feet and were stand-
ing silhouetted by their fires as they peered into the dark; they
had undoubtedly been listening to the sound of our jeep for
hours, and when we stopped there was a crowd already wait-
ing. The people who had been riding, relieved to have arrived
at last, climbed out stretching to greet them. The children
were taken out, yawning sleepily, the youngest ones whining

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574 by now, cranky from the long ride; the bundles of tsi were unloaded, the bundles of belongings, and Tu's grass bed. Lazy
361 Kwi went off to find his wife and family, but the others, all
574 Toma's people, looked around for a place to live and finally chose a tall tree, where they dropped their bundles and began to clear grass. In a very short time the werf was ready, fires were lit, tsi was roasting, and several of the Bushmen who had watched us come had gathered there to see if they should have a share of the tsi. Of course everybody got some and then sat down to eat it, burying the nuts in the hot ashes and scooping them out again with a stick when they were done.
[252 Dikai gave some tsi to me and said that I could use her fire, a
576] courtesy, so I buried the nuts in the ashes and when I thought they were done I poked for them with a stick but I couldn't find them. Pretty soon they began to explode with loud reports and puffs of gray ashes which showed where they were, but of course then it was too late. You might as well throw them away if you forget where they are, the Bushmen say.

252 Some of the newcomers were eating giraffe hide, roasting great pieces of it, dried and thick and curling; they passed chunks of it around and it looked like the soles of shoes, all that remained of a giraffe hunted long ago. When it was roasted the people put it in a wooden mortar and pounded it into powder, and then licked the powder off their palms. Again, Dikai gave some to me and I found that it was salty and not unpleasant, tasting like bacon.

201 Gao Feet plucked my elbow and when I turned to him he
576 pointed at Dikai, sitting on the other side of the fire. He had pointed his lips at her, pushing his lips forward and gesturing with his chin because Bushmen think it is rude to point with the finger. "She wants to tell you what is in her heart," he
604 said. I looked at Dikai and she passed her hand over her two sons' eyes, first Little Gashe, then Little Dabe, as they slept

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beside her, and I remembered the eye medicine I had prom- 609
ised to her, so I nodded and went to get it, but when I returned with it I found that she had mistakenly awakened her sons and they now crouched behind her, peering out at me, their small faces distorted with distrust and apprehension. I held out my hand to Little Gashe, but he retired completely behind his mother, pushing Little Dabe out the other side, so I held out my hand to Little Dabe, causing him to shrink back, pushing Little Gashe. Finally Dikai stood up and left them both exposed, and then Gao Feet held Little Gashe, Dikai held Little Dabe, and I put the medicine in as quickly 603
as possible, but both children had tantrums of rage and arched their backs, and as soon as they were released they would have nothing further to do with their parents, but went to sleep at their grandmother's fire instead, on the opposite side of the werf. The light was very dim, only the stars were showing and the fires had died, and these two forlorn children made two red little shapes as they lay down at their grandmother's fire; their skins reflected the red glow of coals, for they lay right in the ashes for warmth; they had forsaken their parents' karosses and there was no room for them under their grandmother's—another child was sleeping there.

Gao Feet gave up trying to urge them to come home and at 595
last he, too, lay down to sleep, snug between his two wives, 574
who were resting, not sleeping, for whenever someone at one of the other fires said something of interest, one or the other of them would put up her head and remark upon it. Tu slept alone with her children, for Toma had gone visiting, and one by one the people at Tu's fire moved away toward their own werfs, calling to each other in the dark. At last only a few 521
voices were heard at one of the werfs; they seemed very gay and very lighthearted, all talking at once, and now and then Toma's voice was heard above them all. Hearing him, Tu

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521 lifted her head and her face showed in the firelight; her eyes shone quite yellow and she looked dangerous, like a leopard, as she glared in the direction of his voice.

361 On my way home I passed Lazy Kwi's house, which his
342 wife had started in his absence, and as she had planned a large scherm and had already built the framework, many large branches stuck upright in the ground, but had not yet covered it with grass, I could see Lazy Kwi inside. He was between me and his fire, and in silhouette against the red light he looked like a creature in a cage, for he was peering through the lattice of branches to see who was passing by. I stopped
252 to show who I was, and noticed a bird roasting by his fire, a little duck which must have been snared by Lazy Kwi's old father-in-law. It was plucked and trussed and tied to a stick which was pushed into the ground so that the duck hung over the coals. It looked about done to me, so I asked Lazy Kwi, who was obviously alone with it, awake only to tend it, if it wasn't ready, and Lazy Kwi looked first at me, then at the
[805 duck, then up at the sky, and shook his head. He was timing
82] it by a star, he explained, and the star had risen but wasn't high enough yet, so I said good-night and went home and left him in his lattice; and just before I went to sleep I heard great shouts of laughter, for Toma had found someone who hadn't heard the lion story and was telling it again.

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Short Kwi the Hunter

THERE were about forty people who had moved in beside us at our camp by Nama Pan, having settled overnight into seven werfs, each concealed from the others in the privacy of the grass and forming a community that was superimposed on ours, for the werfs, each a little clearing containing several grass nests or several scherms symbolized by sticks thrust in the ground, surrounded us on all sides and life went on as if we weren't there. People walked back and forth through our camp on their way to patches of veld food or to the water pan, and soon little paths appeared which we had not made.

Mostly, the people were Bushmen from Gam who had left there right after we did and had walked along after us, taking their time, sleeping one night on the way. They had brought all their children and old people, all their belongings, and evidently planned to stay. Even the Chuana woman had come, riding her donkey, followed on foot by two of her Bushman servants, and she had made herself a camp quite far away from us to prevent the donkey from annoying us with its brays.

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621 The other werfs were much nearer us, as the people wanted
574 to keep an eye on each other, to see that we gave food or presents to all when we gave to one, but also because they enjoyed being together and wanted to be able to visit each other quickly at any time at all. Next to our camp on one side was Lazy Kwi's werf, and on the other side lived Toma with his wife and Gao Feet with his wives. At the far end of their werf lived Crooked Kwi with his wife and the old grandmother. They were between our camp and the pan, and beside their werf ran a pathway, the way used by the people on the other side of us to reach the water.

593 On the other side of the path, in the shade of a tree, lived one more small band, the band of a young man of perhaps thirty, who lived with his twelve-year-old son and his eight-
[582] year-old wife, whom he was nourishing while waiting for her to grow. These young people had chosen their spot because
[591] the little girl was Gao Feet's daughter by his first wife and was still so young that she wanted to live near her mother. She was a sad little girl with a grave face and troubled, wondering eyes; in fact, all these young people were very grave and sad—the young man's first wife had died and he now had no one to care for him because the little girl, his new wife, spent a great deal of time with her mother and he was left alone. The son was lonely too, having no mother and no one to care for him except his sad young father. His father was too troubled, too preoccupied, to be a companion to him, his little stepmother was too young, and he spent most of his time sitting on a rise of ground overlooking the werf where he lived, watching other people going by.

[142] The little girl took after her mother, Gao Feet's ugly wife, but her two men, her husband and her stepson, were a family
533 of great beauty. Both had wide, grave eyes and golden skins, and both were musicians, but the young father himself was

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an Orpheus. He owned a *guashi*, a stringed instrument which 533
he had made, and he carried his guashi wherever he went. As he plucked the strings, playing chords with his long fingers, he would hum the notes of a song that were not the same notes that his fingers were playing; he wove two themes and made a web of music, the guashi playing an intricate accompaniment while he sang a melody.

The guashi was made of a hollowed log about a foot long 534
with a wooden lid fixed over it, forming a sounding-chamber. At one end of the log, five wands were fixed which held five sinew strings that reached from the tips of the wands to the opposite end of the log. Anyone but a Bushman finds it hard to play a guashi, for the strings are always slipping out of tune and the position one plays it in is awkward. The guashi is set on the ground and the player squats before it, holding it steady with his feet or the edges of his hands; but the sound is beautiful, sometimes full, sometimes thin, and makes very deep and various music, for Bushmen, their music being by 533
far their greatest art, are not given to whistles or clear, shrill sounds—all their instruments make blurred and vibrant music with a richness in every note. Their compositions, too, are never simple, not even the music of their musical games, but always mixed, always subtle, partly gay but partly sad.

The songs and rhythms of the Kung are in no way as precise as those of the Gikwe, but the effect of Kung songs is deeper and, as the songs are freer, more impassioned. Like the songs of the Gikwe, the Kung songs are mood pieces. Because the guashi is made of mangetti wood, the songs are called "mangetti songs." The young man who owned the guashi knew many of these, but there were four that he sang very often, all wistful and quite sad, sometimes touched with irony. One of them was called "The Stump," a song about a man lost in the veld and wandering until at last he saw

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another Bushman, and because he was so happy to see someone and imagined the two of them passing the night together talking by a fire, he waved and called and ran up to the other Bushman. But when he got there he found that he had been mistaken—what he had thought was a man had been only a stump.

A second song was about two jealous co-wives, and the song, more ironic than sad, was composed by the husband to ridicule them. The names of these two women were Nunkwe and Aite, which sound for all the world like Gikwe names, as perhaps they were, and we wondered how far this song had traveled, by how many ears and mouths, before it found itself at Nama Pan.

The third song was called "*Chiviba*," a song composed by a young man who had brought veld food to his people in a chiviba, a basket made of branches. His people laughed at him and said that he was lazy not to have a bag to carry the veld food in, but nevertheless they were not too proud to eat what he had brought. The fourth song was called "*Ka Te Te*," the song of the redwing partridge. The redwing partridge is most strongly tabued as food, may never be eaten, and *ka te te* is an imitation of its cry. The song was composed by a man who heard a redwing partridge making a sound in the evening and knew that the sound foretold a misfortune or a death.

Because the young man who owned the guashi was lonely and brooding, it was natural that he should play. The other people loved to hear him and often when he played several people, usually men, would gather to lie in the shade near him or sit beside him with their chins on their raised knees and listen, sometimes singing softly as he sang, very harmoniously, but paying no attention, just singing in their own way within a set harmony, dreaming and soft, and although the young man played for his own ears, not theirs, he could infect

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them with his moods and when he stopped playing and they 533
went away, they, too, were brooding.

Many young people had come to Nama, and together they 857
made Nama very gay. The boys played a game with wands, 526
throwing the wands at a hummock of ground and watching
them bounce off and sail into the grass on the other side, the
nearest that Bushmen come to a competitive game, for the
young boys like to see whose wand goes the farthest.

The girls played a singing game with a melon. They would
stand in a row that formed a half-circle dancing in place while
the girl at one end would spring into the middle of the circle
and toss a melon to the girl next to her in line. The game is
accompanied by a rapid, intricate song of several parts sung [533]
in falsetto voices, as pretty to hear as the game is pretty to see,
for the girls dance with their arms and heads as well as with
their feet, like the dancers of Bali.

At that time there were only two adolescent unmarried 882
girls at Nama. One of these was Beautiful Ungka, the other
was her cousin, and they both lived with the cousin's parents
at one of the werfs of the people from Gam. They were both
extremely beautiful and they were lilies of the field. Since
they were their parents' only children, they had no younger
brothers or sisters to mind, and did nothing at all from one [572]
day to the next but adorn and amuse themselves, and this
they did together, for they were the best of friends. They were
straight and slender, with pale-gold skin not yet darkened and [142]
weathered by the sun of the veld, and they had flat bellies and
high, small breasts. Beautiful Ungka had nipples like knobs,
rounded like balls. Both girls wore ornamented aprons, soft
leather capes—the best that there is. Many bead ornaments 302
hung from their hair and swung when they walked, and al-
most hid their handsome faces.

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572 A sound and a fragrance accompanied them wherever they
882 went; the sound was the sound of their ornaments clanking
574 like crockery, dry and dull, and the fragrance was heavy and
[303] sweet, the perfume of the leaves of *sa* and the wood of *tchambuti*, which Bushman women grind to powder and rub on their bodies. We would always hear these two girls coming, for they talked loudly, and a moment later we would see them appear around a bend in the path, one in front of the other, heads high and eyes cast downward, as light and long as two Egyptian sacred cats. Usually they were followed by a homely little girl years younger than they were, a forlorn little creature who would run errands for them and was content to trot after them and be their handmaiden, and usually they were on their way to visit a friend of theirs, a young married girl who was visiting at Toma's werf. When the two beauties would arrive to visit her, their married friend would stop whatever she was doing and the three of them would sit together in some shady spot to string beads or weave blossoms into crowns which they would wear, the blossoms fetched by the handmaiden, who searched the veld for aloes, the only flowers blooming in that season.

882 While they were stringing beads or weaving blossoms, a
572 group of young boys would gather to play the wand game, and
857 now and then, of course, a wand would land among the girls and the boys would jostle each other to retrieve it. The girl of Toma's werf treated these happenings with gaiety, for she was responsive and kind, but the other two wouldn't even turn their heads to see. Beautiful Ungka had been married, after all, and kidnapped, and widowed and divorced; grown men had fought over her and it was natural that the jostling of young boys would seem trivial. She would laugh behind her hand at them, though, then pull a long face when they would turn around to see.

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Those were two willful girls, too beautiful, too proud, too 882
much admired, but the young boys couldn't do enough for 572 857
them. It was one of their admirers who cleared the grass for the werf that the cousin's parents were building, and though the two girls teased and ridiculed the boy all the while, snickering contemptuously at him from behind their swinging beads, he worked on happily until not a blade of grass remained.

But Beautiful Ungka and her cousin were not as sophisti- 883
cated as they thought they were, really, for when they would 526
hear the music of the melon game they would abandon their poise and decorum to run for the sound, arms waving, ornaments and clothing streaming out behind, and when they found the game they had been hearing they would jump into the middle of it and play with abandon, singing loudly and dancing fast for fun. Also, Beautiful Ungka could spit through her teeth like a man. She could draw back her head and spit ten feet and she did this often, smiling scornfully, an astonishing accomplishment for such a handsome girl. Her cousin used to try it too; she could spit a little way but not nearly as far as Beautiful Ungka.

After all, they were only sixteen. There is a Bushman mood 533
song with these words: 539

I am tired and old and without people,
I wish I could marry a young girl.

There were so many great fires around Nama that the sky 132
was dark with their smoke, and when the sun rose in the morning, one day shortly after we had got there, we could not even see it until it was far above the horizon and then it appeared red and enormous, murky. In the west two new fires had sprung up, perhaps lit by Bushmen to show where they were

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or perhaps kindled by the wind from old embers, and their new smoke rose white against the sulphurous sky. The dawn was warm, the north wind blew and, though the smoke it carried stung our eyes, it carried too the sound of insect voices and frog voices from the pan. These songs and cries of creatures made the air seem alive, the veld large, quite different from the deathly quiet dawns of frost.

We were getting ready to look for Short Kwi and his people, and that morning we packed a truck. Everyone felt apprehensive, and at Toma's werf Gao Feet, a medicine man, was throwing oracle discs to see what would happen. He crouched in front of his kaross, which he had spread to throw the discs on, and beside him sat Toma and several other men, their lips pressed against their hands, absorbed, watching. We watched over his shoulder; at a distance, for oracle discs are men's business, the women were standing up to see.

Gao Feet had five discs made of antelope hide, which he would shake in his hands and then drop upon the kaross. When they fell in certain positions, they would tell him certain things. Before he would throw them, though, he would assign identity to them; if he was wondering where people were he would call them men and women, or name them after people he wanted to see, and if he was trying to predict the outcome of a hunt he would call them kudu or gemsbok or wildebeest, male and female, then would see in which direction game could be found, and how far away. Sometimes, too, he would call one disc a hyena and then, if this disc fell upon the disc that was the wounded antelope, he would know that hunting that day would be useless; the hunters would never find their prey.

Sometimes he threw them with a particular question in mind and sometimes, as this morning, he named them and then threw them just to see what would turn up. Perhaps he

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felt uneasy with no specific worry in mind. He did ask them 787
one specific question, though; he wanted to know where an outbreak of diarrhea that everyone had got came from, and when Tu's brother, the lame boy, who was watching, heard what was asked, he said that our cameras had sent the diarrhea, and the people almost choked themselves laughing at that. Toma laughed until he cried. "We do not really believe this," he said through his tears, looking over his shoulder at us lest we should be uneasy, "we are only joking."

Toma, Gao Feet, and Lazy Kwi took turns throwing the discs and presently the discs told them that the diarrhea "came from the fires, from people to the east." I don't know how to interpret this, but perhaps the Bushmen meant that the disease blew down the wind. The discs also foretold that someone in the west would kill a buck, that visitors were coming, and that some Europeans and some Bushmen would sit at a fire to talk. Later all these things came true. Because the oracle discs predict conservatively, their predictions often come true.

Toma lost interest in them and told everybody how he had 521
been walking home the evening before and had heard a voice which had sounded to him like the voice of a European speaking English, but when he had investigated he had found a Bushman man sitting alone in a clump of bushes practicing the sounds of English, possibly hoping to speak it, and Toma's audience all thought that was very funny and they talked on and on about it. Incidents like this are talked about forever by Bushmen, who drag them out infinitely, remembering every detail, savoring them to the fullest. This is because very little happens outside of routine. (We once asked [538
some Bushmen if they ever made up stories to tell and they, 577]
a little righteously, said no, they did not, because Bushmen do not care to hear about things that are not true.) Then the

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521 young boys began to speak sounds that were for all the world like the sounds of English, with flat, almost nasal tones, perfect in cadence and inflection, and the people laughed again.

000 Because it was getting close to noon and the sun, now only veiled by the smoke, was burning over our heads, we decided to start our search for Short Kwi. After Toma, Toma's son, Gao Feet, and Lazy Kwi decided to go with us and the others decided to stay at home, we got on the truck and drove away, lurching over the stones at the edge of camp and out to the wild veld, to the west, where the soft wind was blowing and the horizon seemed dim because of the smoke. Ledimo, the interpreter, came too, and my brother and myself, and that night we slept in the veld, not even bothering to build a fire, but eating a few handfuls of cold food and sleeping in our blankets around the truck. The following afternoon we reached the werf of Short Kwi and his people. This werf, too, was hidden in the bushes and if the men of the band hadn't come out into the plain to meet us we might have gone by it,
361 for Toma himself hadn't known exactly where it was. They came out because they knew it would be us they were meeting, for, they explained later, the European farmers couldn't possibly have found them there.

Six men and several young boys suddenly stepped from the bushes and appeared in front of our truck, all of them brown and naked and waving wildly to us, and the truck stopped so fast that those of us on top were nearly thrown off, and we all climbed down to greet them.

591 Three of the men were brothers, the brothers-in-law of
602 Short Kwi, for their old mother had a strong hold on her family and kept them all beside her. Her sons and her daughters all lived with her; the sons at least might have been expected to live with the families of their wives, but they had never left her and they were here with her now. They stood

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together in front of the truck and when we climbed down 591 602 they embraced us.

We went on toward the werf with these men and boys 609 clinging to the sides of the truck and laughing loudly at those 576 among them who were raked by thorn branches that the truck drove through, and at the edge of the werf we saw the women standing all together, waving and calling to us, and we stopped again and they too embraced us and kissed me, and the little children gravely shook my hand.

Short Kwi's mother-in-law was there with a wide and toothless smile, her face all wrinkled like a little shriveled pear, and many other people, among them the old man who had never shot a buck and whose sister had died in the forest; he now was nobody's close relative and we noticed he had lost an eye and seemed even more malevolent and sad. He greeted us distantly, but the others were enthusiastic. The little children tried to climb on me and finally someone put a baby in my arms. The baby bit me, but he meant me no harm, for when he bit I felt the sharp edge of a new tooth coming, which probably itched.

We passed through the bushes and came into the werf, 361 where the people had obviously been living for a long time, judging by the size of the ash heaps at the fires and the depth of the nests that people had dug for themselves. Looking around, it came to us that many people whom we had expected to see were not there, Short Kwi for one, and his wife. When we asked for them, Short Kwi's brother-in-law said that he would take us to see him presently. When we asked for the others who were missing—among them the man with 648 two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama—we were told that these people had all been taken by the farmers and had never been seen again. We were very sad to hear it, for many of them were too old to have to do the heavy

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648 work required on the farms, and also because certain members of the families were still here and now these families were broken forever.

164 On our way to see Short Kwi, the brother-in-law led us to the far end of the werf, behind a clump of bushes, to the scherm where Short Kwi lived. We saw him there, sitting with his wife and little daughter by the ashes of their fire, side by side, and we caught our breath at the sight of him. He looked tiny, no bigger than a child, and his flesh had wasted away so that his pale skin stretched tightly over all his bones. His leg was hidden by a blanket, his hands were as thin and fragile as a girl's, and his eyes were huge. He looked up at us when we came and smiled wanly, wryly, and his wife and daughter looked up at us and his wife also smiled wanly, but his daughter did not smile at all. The first thing Short Kwi did was to rearrange the blanket over his foot to hide his toes, but not before we had seen them, dry and black, dead entirely like the toes of a mummy. His leg was the first thing in his mind, but this was natural; we reminded him of better days.

302 824 We sat down at his fire to talk, all of us who had come from Nama and most of the people from his werf, and his wife gave those of us from Nama a palmful of sa, the finely powdered yellow-green leaves that smell halfway between roses and sage. We crossed our faces with it, sprinkling a stripe up the bridge of our noses to our foreheads and another stripe across our cheeks. It smelled very nice, a sweet present to give to someone who has arrived from a long journey. Hours later it was still fragrant and we could smell it, faintly, for days.

164 We asked Short Kwi to show us his leg and as he started to unwind the blanket the Bushmen from Nama leaned forward, fascinated, but the other Bushmen did not look because they had seen it before. Short Kwi drew back the blan-

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ket and revealed a tiny, skinny stick that was his leg wrapped 164
in some kind of rag, bound by a thong that tied the calf to the healthy thigh above, with the black foot showing below, and then he slowly and carefully unwound the thong and then the rag and opened it.

For once the people of Nama had not exaggerated a misfortune. The leg was even worse than they had described, all dead and black at the ankle, and above that, rotted away down to the bone, which was gray now, but while the foot was rotting and dry, the leg was rotting and wet and oozing a little black slime or juice. It was gangrene. A faint stench rose. Those of us who had not seen it had to look away, and Short Kwi, perceiving this, looked calmly down at the ground, at his ruined black leg, and he wrapped the rag around it again, tied his calf to his thigh with the thong, and covered it all with the blanket.

Short Kwi's wife had watched the whole thing with calmness and composure, her hands in her lap, and when the leg [301 415]
was covered she opened one of her hands, revealing a palmful of little white beads, which she began to drop, one by one, into a tiny bag she wore around her neck. With her head bent to see the mouth of the bag she looked very girlish and young; someone said something unusual, an unfamiliar word, and Short Kwi glanced at his wife to see if she had heard it but saw instead what she was doing, and he looked at her with such a deep look of adoration and affection that I wondered how it was she didn't feel it and look up. The word was the word for European doctor, *docteri*, which is not part of the usual vocabulary. Short Kwi's wife had not understood it and when she had finished dropping the beads into the bag she whispered to ask her husband what it meant. He answered her softly, in a masculine, affectionate way, and the other people chimed in, so for a moment everyone was speaking except

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164 Short Kwi's wife, who looked around at them all gravely, listening, and when they had finished she nodded her head. "A medicine man of Europeans," they said.

"So," said she.

We talked about the foot for a while, for although he had covered it we could still see the toes. The people of the werf described how Short Kwi was bitten and everyone claimed credit for his part in saving Short Kwi's life. One man had killed the snake, another had cut the fang punctures, and others had given advice at the time and later. The leg had [752] swelled enormously and the medicine men had cut the swollen skin to let blood; the scars of this still showed on the healthy thigh above the blanket. All the people seemed very depressed when talking about it, though; for one reason, they ate meat less often, but also they truly admired him and did not seem to enjoy watching the disaster. Toma asked Short Kwi how he felt and Short Kwi said he thought that his leg had seemed to be getting a little better during the last few days.

582 It was almost evening, and we heard voices singing in the veld. Two women and a young girl were coming home from a trip for veld food. These three were also very happy to see us and the little girl kissed me but not the men, then asked for her mother, who lived at Nama and whom she had not seen for seasons, and we told her that her mother was well. The girl had been newly married and she was as pretty as she could be, with lots of beads, and with long ornaments of tsi nuts hanging beside her face. She wore a fine kaross which [291] she had rubbed with red powder, often a sign to men that a [822] girl is menstruating, as perhaps she was, that men may be [224] careful not to touch her and endanger their powers to hunt. [841] 784 Marriage seemed to have agreed with her. She looked very

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happy. She was only ten, but already she had lost her childish belly, although her breasts had not yet begun to grow.

Now everyone was in the werf and people had begun to go back to their fires, leaving Short Kwi alone. When most people were gone, Short Kwi's brother-in-law squatted beside him and, taking his injured leg, began laboriously to help him move toward the veld, toward a little pathway that we had not noticed before. Short Kwi's wife had cleared the path; it led to a place in the veld where Short Kwi could urinate, and slowly, painfully, Short Kwi and his brother-in-law moved down it, the brother-in-law duckwalking, carrying the bad leg while Short Kwi—he who once could run great elands down—edged himself forward on his buttocks, using his hands to brace himself and his good leg to pull himself along.

We were not at his fire when he got back, but we could see him through the trees, inching, and then, when Short Kwi was alone with his wife and daughter, we could watch him sitting by his fire, looking idly around. He was like a wild goose with pinioned wings, squatting there before his fire, watching the sky, the veld, and other people come and go.

Those of us from Nama made a camp apart from the werf, through long grass as high as our chests, inside a little glade of thorn trees. We cleared some of the grass and built a fire, and even then the Bushmen could not stop talking about Short Kwi, although they tried to change the subject; they spoke of him creeping along on his buttocks, even this impossible without someone to help, and all because he had failed to notice an adder that was waiting in his path. Of course, the Bushmen said, he was lucky to be alive. I felt that he was luckier than they supposed, because of his wife, that quiet, gracious, gentle, pretty woman, and his grave little daughter, the image of her mother. The people felt, said

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593 Toma, that Short Kwi's wife would leave him now for a better man, but she had not and was not going to. He was, after all, the same husband, only sadder.

Later in the night we went back to talk with Short Kwi once more, to tell him that we thought he could be helped to walk again, but not that we thought his leg would have to come off, for we did not want to frighten him. Our plan was to drive him to Windhoek, the capital of South-West Africa, where he could go to a hospital and perhaps be fitted with an artificial leg. We planned eventually to tell him this, but gradually. The long grass was wet with dew when we pushed through it this time, and we were drenched. Short Kwi was still sitting where we had seen him, still beside his wife, not speaking. When we asked him if he would come with us because we believed he could be helped, he smiled such a heartbreaking smile of pure happiness that we felt sickened because we knew what he thought. His wife looked at him and smiled and then they both looked up at us and their smiles faded and their faces fell and I think that when they saw us they knew we couldn't restore his leg to him.

151 Early in the morning when the sky became light, misty yellow—for the sun was still swallowed by smoke—we broke camp and made a comfortable bed for Short Kwi on top of the truck, then went to the werf to get him. He and his brother-in-law were just creeping back on the path from the veld, but Short Kwi's belongings were ready, tied up in bundles by his wife. We waited a long time while Short Kwi made his way toward us, sweat standing out on his forehead although the air was cool, but, oddly, even his slow and painful creeping seemed graceful. It did not have the heaving awkwardness of movement that one associates with injured human beings, but rather the liquidity and co-ordination of a

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three-legged dog. This morning, though, he did not look at 151
anyone and seemed more silent even than he had been before.

The men made a carriage of their arms and lifted Short 482
Kwi to the top of the truck, and in the process one of them 151
lost his footing so that Short Kwi was jounced, which must have hurt him although he did not show it, Bushmen being very good at concealing pain or despair. His wife climbed on to help make him comfortable and to receive their bundles, which were being handed up, and at the sight of this his baby 152
began to cry without a sound, slow tears rolling down her cheeks and dropping to the ground. I lifted the baby and tried to play with her, jumping a little and smiling to make her smile, although of course I could not cheer her, and when Short Kwi's wife looked over the truck's side the baby twisted away from me and held up her arms.

When Short Kwi was ready we asked who would come 224
with us, and most of his relatives decided to wait and join us 857
later because one of the young boys, a child of twelve or so, 866
had shot his first buck two days before and as the buck had still not been found, the people did not want to leave it. Toma's son himself wanted to remain because, it turned out, the buck had been shot with an arrow which he had given to another boy, who in turn had given it to the young hunter, and Toma's son, as original owner of the arrow, wanted his rightful share of the meat. When Toma said that his son could wait if he wanted but that we couldn't wait for him, his son turned to some other little boys who stood near him and began discussing the possibility of his joining the search for the animal. It was very interesting to see this conversation, these adult dealings beginning among the ten- and twelve-year-olds, these new, young hunters, these small figures of hope and strength, and we waited a long time while

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224 Toma's son rubbed his head with his tough little fingers to
857 make up his mind. Finally he left his friends and climbed on
866 the truck. Home was too far to walk to, he said, and he was going to forfeit. As we drove away, his friends ran after us, shouting that they would bring him his share if they were able.

151 We reached Nama Pan late in the afternoon. Toma and
152 Gao Feet cleared a werf for Short Kwi, and when he was
757 settled comfortably with his back against a tree and with soft grass and blankets arranged all around him he said softly, just to himself and anyone else who might be listening, that during the night his leg had fallen off. After he said this he began to cry, and Gao Feet slowly crouched beside him, unwound the blanket slowly, and untied the bark, then gently lifted the knee away from the calf, which remained on the ground, just like the leg of a mummy. When the calf had fallen off, Short Kwi had pushed the two pieces back together again. Short Kwi was crying and biting his hand and his wife was crying, and Toma and Gao Feet stood beside him for a minute looking, the expression on their faces as dark as night.
766 Then they picked up the leg and carried it away to the veld, where they buried it in a hole, exactly as if it were a person, they were so sad.

152 Later, when we had dressed the stump, Toma and Gao Feet came back to sit with Short Kwi and talk with him. Gao Feet told about a Bantu man he had seen far in the north who had been injured in a mine accident and had been fitted with a false foot. Short Kwi could have one too, Gao said; but Toma said, almost too depressed to speak: "What does it matter? He is a cripple now."

521 Then the men went away and left Short Kwi to rest, and
758 during the evening the children and young people were talk-

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ing happily, but all the adults in all the werfs were too de- 521 758
pressed and sad. Finally, one by one, the men went back again to Short Kwi, who by now had rallied and was sitting up, surely having been through the worst of it the night before, and talked to him about the antelopes he had killed and about the time he killed a wildebeest, an eland, and a wild pig all in one day.

It has been said that Bushmen abandon cripples or people 888 734
who are old or sick and cannot travel. This is not true.

Far into the night, people who could not sleep sat up and 521
talked at each other's fires. We heard the guashi being played, 533
its long strings sounding in repetitious little songs of four or five notes which themselves were played over and over, for the guashi was being passed from hand to hand, played idly by people who just wanted something to do.

It was a warm night. The frogs in the pan were croaking 521
and the north wind blew the cooking-fires around. Later, 574
when the moon rose and made a blood-red fire all its own, the people began to go home. Toma and Gao Feet and their sons stopping to visit us on their way; they walked silently up to our fire from the darkness and dropped to their haunches one after the other, and sat quietly, their grave faces tilted back, hands shading their eyes. Toma's son wore the crown of badger hair, which moved in the wind a little. Presently the men and their sons stood up again one at a time and walked on, as silently on their bare feet as they had come. We heard the low voices of other people who were passing, then saw fires flare up at the werfs, and much later, when the wind had died and even the frogs were silent, we knew that some of the people were dreaming, for they groaned in their sleep.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The Sun Dance

578 431 EARLY in the morning, when the sun was rising red into the smoke and the sky was bright, we heard a woman quarreling at Short Kwi's werf. Her voice was strident, harsh, and loud, and carried well above the ordinary sounds of morning—children talking, firewood breaking as limbs were snapped for the breakfast fires—and, solicitous of Short Kwi, for today was the day he was going to Windhoek, we went over to see.

We saw a startling sight. Many people had got there before us, hearing the quarrel and being moved to go there out of curiosity, and it seemed as if everyone had already taken sides, for the people had arranged themselves in two groups facing each other and were fighting. The speaker, the woman whose voice had awakened us, was an old woman who lived at one of the farthest werfs, and her opponent, the person whom she was berating, was Gao Feet. These two sat on their haunches on opposite sides of Short Kwi's fire, leaning toward each other, glaring sourly. Arranged behind them were all the others. The larger group by far, including Toma, Tu, Dikai, and Lazy Kwi, crouched behind Gao Feet. Short Kwi him-

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self, on Gao Feet's side, was sitting propped on the blankets 578
we had given him to keep him warm in case of shock, feeling 431
better and obviously taking an interest, for the matter was clearly close to everybody's heart. In fact, everyone was so interested in the quarrel that no one looked up when we came, for the people all sat with their ears pricked, waiting for a chance to speak. They, too, were glaring, deadly earnest, as though the argument were for their lives. Now and then someone would contribute a word or two, but for the most part the old woman did the talking. She looked bitter as gall; her eyes were burning and she hissed like a goose; she was accusing Gao Feet of having failed to give her a present of tsi nuts when he had come to Nama. Gao Feet was rubbing his face and it began to look as if he were losing. He said, obviously having said it before, that he had brought only a few. The woman said, also not for the first time, that she had expected him to give her a present and now he was refusing to do so. It was her right, she said, her due. Toma edged himself forward until he was beside Gao Feet, his friend and brother-in-law, and together they tried to pacify her, telling her that really Gao Feet had none to give, but her eyes burned so fiercely and the people behind her glared so that Toma and Gao Feet lost conviction and before long they fell silent again, defeated by themselves, for what they had tried to say was true. Finally the argument centered itself at its probable source, a gift given to Gao Feet's father by the woman's father which had not completed itself in an exchange. The woman's father, now long dead, could not receive it, Gao Feet's father, living far away at another pan at the farthest end of Nyae Nyae, could not give it unless he moved to 431
Nama, so it was up to Gao Feet to assume responsibility. 867

Throughout the two crowds, children were sitting wide- 869
eyed and open-eared. Things like this are remembered and 578

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431 talked about always; Bushman children listen for hours to
867 discussions of this kind and thereby know the history of every
869 object, every exchange between their families, before they are
578 ten or twelve years old. A debt unpaid is a sword against the debtor, to be used against him any time, for any reason. Jealousy and spite had surely preyed on the old woman's mind when she had started this discussion, for she had got up to seek out Gao Feet very early, just at dawn.

578 In the end, the argument was concluded and the crowd
609 scattered by us when we told Short Kwi that we were ready to take him to the hospital in Windhoek if he would go. He said he would, and the people, glaring bitterly at him, at each other, and at us, stood up and went to their scherms, saying to the other members of their families what they would have said to their opponents if they had had a chance.

Soon Short Kwi's werf was nearly empty. The only people who remained were Short Kwi, his family, ourselves, Toma, and Gao Feet. These two talked together, vindicating themselves, and then, before long and before we had a chance to discuss our plans to move Short Kwi, some of the people who had been on Gao Feet's side in the argument came back and crouched beside us stolidly, waiting to hear what might now be said. Jealousy had been aroused.

609 Because of the long journey and Short Kwi's condition, we thought that it would be best for him to leave at once, but his wife spoke out against this, saying that the rest of her family, probably at this moment on their way here, would be heartbroken to find them gone. She would like to wait for them, she said, to say good-by. Gao Feet agreed with her. He added that if her mother were to come and find her gone the old woman would cry and cry for days, but Toma shook his head. "Perhaps Short Kwi can be helped," he said. "Perhaps

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he had better go anyway. The old woman will just have to609
cry."

Short Kwi's wife began to put her things in a skin bag. She seemed to be resigned. Short Kwi did not say a word, but he smiled, and he seemed to be in good spirits, ready for whatever might happen to him.

Short Kwi's wife called her daughter and when her daugh-301
ter came she took one of the child's arms; another woman609
took the other, and together they stripped off every ornament the daughter wore, every bead string in her hair, every band of antelope skin on her arms, the great wealth of them that once had shown how Short Kwi had hunted, and they did it quickly, cutting some and pulling others although it hurt the little girl and she cried sadly. The two women piled the ornaments in a mound which grew higher and higher, to be left with Tu for safekeeping. Perhaps Short Kwi was resigned to leaving, but we thought then that his wife was not.

When the little girl's arms were stripped completely Short609
Kwi's wife let her go free to rub the pale stripes that the bands had left and to wipe away her own tears. Short Kwi's wife then stood up to ask us to feed her mother when she came. We said we would.

Everything had happened so quickly that we hadn't had a chance to think or plan, and when we looked at Short Kwi and his wife now and pictured them in the streets of Windhoek, we knew we had to do something, so my mother and I and our interpreter, Ledimo, took Short Kwi's wife aside so that no one would be embarrassed and told her everything we could imagine that she would have to know in order to take care of herself and Short Kwi in the city; we racked our brains and started with the simplest things. We taught her how to open a safety pin; we told her how to find a toilet and

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609drew a picture for her of what a toilet would look like; we told her where she could get water and how to turn a tap, how to handle menstruation when she was alone in the city in the clothes of a European, without the absorbent leather strip that Bushman women use. We told her, in order that she might not seem strange and perhaps be the object of ridicule, to wash very often and to let her hair grow, for she had recently shaved the top of her head like a monk, very decorative among Bushman women. We told her that the traffic in the city streets could kill her, that she must be extremely careful, and we did not even venture into the subject of money, for she had never heard of such a thing and, although we could have taught her the denomination of coins, we could not think how to explain the system to her, how to tell her that Europeans keep tiny discs which possess a value beyond themselves, for Bushmen have no tokens of exchange.

We told her what clothes people wore, both men and women, from the inside out, that she must clothe herself and cover her breasts always or be stared at, which is abhorrent to Bushmen, and then at last we tried to tell her what a city was, what it would look like, what buildings were made of and what they were.

At the end we told her to remember everything we said, for very few Europeans or Bantus can speak the Kung language. This was her last chance to learn. She would hereafter be unable to ask.

After that we took her to our tents and dressed her, stripping her as she had stripped her daughter and giving her a set of clothing put together from what we had. I gave her a dress which I had brought with me to wear if ever, in our travels, I should need one. It was cotton and required very little ironing; she could wash it at night and wear it dry and quite smooth in the morning. It fitted her and became her—it was

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pink and made her skin look gold. My mother gave her under- 609
clothes and a bright bathrobe which my mother found hastily in our bundle of cloth that we intended to give away as gifts, the bathrobe intended to be cut into pieces as scarves for children, for we ourselves had no need of bathrobes in the desert. Short Kwi's wife could wear it while the pink dress dried. We sent a set of clothing out to Short Kwi, robbing my father and brother, and last of all we quickly made a little red dress for the daughter from more of our gift cloth, fitting it on her as she stood there, for we heard the truck motor starting and knew that we had very little time. All this we did in less than two hours.

When we came out of the tent we found ourselves in the middle of a crowd of women crouched together in a mass. Tu and Dikai were at the front, nearest to us, for they had been looking under the tent flap to see what we were giving Short [578]
Kwi's wife and wondering, no doubt, if they would get the same. They glared at us when we came out, and Tu was yellow-eyed.

The truck was ready, Short Kwi was braced with grass and blankets comfortably on top. His wife tried uneasily to join him, her new skirt binding her legs badly, for the apron worn by Bushman women is supple and free, and falls between the legs when the woman is in motion. People boosted her; she finally got up, and reached out her arms to her daughter, who stood, a lonely baby, by the truck's great wheel, waiting to be seen, to be taken. Toma lifted the little girl and her mother caught her.

The motor had been running, and almost before we knew what had happened the truck had gone, had disappeared among the trees. The two, Short Kwi and his wife, had taken one last, desperate look at the veld, the werfs, and all the people, and their little girl had seemed frightened even though

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609 she was with her father and mother, though perhaps not nearly as frightened as she would be later when she was far away from Nama Pan in the streets of the city.

732 It was a very sad and heavy day the day that Short Kwi left. It depresses Bushmen terribly to see one of their number crippled, which, of course, in almost every case means the end of that person's productive life as a supporter of the people —one becomes a poor person and depends upon the enforced charity of one's near relatives while suffering avoidance by one's remoter kin; but it depresses Bushmen even more to see one of their number taken away. It is the end of a link in their unity, and when it happens part of the chain of their relationships, part of their pattern is destroyed. That day many people who surely expected never to see Short Kwi again stayed alone by their fires or played the guashi idly, but spoke not a word. The rest of the people, all but Toma, Gao
152 Feet, and Lazy Kwi, were beset with jealousy and quarreled
578 on and on all day, with us, with each other. They were jealous because we had given Short Kwi and his wife clothing and within the hour after Short Kwi's departure a crowd of people was squatting in the dust around our camp. The crowd was so thick that we could hardly get through. No one budged an inch to let us by, and when they would catch our eyes, the women, particularly those who had waited outside our tent when we had given Short Kwi's wife the clothes, pointed to holes and frayed spots in their karosses which clearly showed that they, too, needed clothing, and when we did nothing (we had presents of blankets, cloth, beads, shirts, pants, pipes, and knives to give to everyone when we left, but could not give dresses to all the women and could not give the presents now) they glared at us with stony faces and hard eyes.

152 In the afternoon the people were still there, quite dusty

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now but motionless; in the evening they began to get up, one 152
by one, to go to the veld for food and firewood. Dikai had relented entirely. Before she went off to her evening's work she put her arm around me and told me that she and I were cemented together by our names. But Tu, who suffered from 152
jealousy more than Dikai, was angry still and chose that mo- 578
ment to make a scene, to force someone to do something for her as well as for Short Kwi. She arose from the vigilant, crouching people and, followed at a distance by her baby daughter, went up to our cook, Philip, and demanded that he give her firewood. He refused because there were three dead trees right outside of camp that Tu could easily have got, in plain sight, not twenty feet away, but she did not look at these. Instead, she began to scream at Philip in a most bitter harangue, and though she became aware at last that everyone had fallen silent and was listening to her she couldn't stop her tongue but went on and on until her entire audience was embarrassed and didn't know where to look. Worse, Philip lost his patience and told her to go away. She bit her lip, glaring, and suddenly there was perfect silence; her words had left her and she just had to stand there, too proud to leave, alone in the center of the crowd of crouching people watching, and she looked very silly and forlorn, robbed of her dignity by her tongue and with her hair ornaments askew on the 626
back of her head. No one would speak to her; this time she had gone too far.

It was Norna, her daughter, who provided her with the chance to escape. Norna, frightened and bewildered and embarrassed too, had crept up beside Tu and had taken the string of her kaross. Tu must have felt a tug, for she looked down suddenly and, seeing this, turned on Norna, slapping the string out of Norna's hand. There was another agonizing pause and silence while Norna slowly took the string again,

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152 and again Tu slapped it away. This time Norna began to
578 cry, lonely and forlorn in front of all the people, turned on by her mother, and she looked very small and defenseless and bereft; she cried sadly, not angrily, big tears running down her face, her fist in her mouth, looking up at her mother with enormous eyes. This was Tu's chance. She snatched up Norna and carried her back to the werf.

It was a terrible incident for everyone. That evening Tu still felt her shame and when I went to the werf to visit for a moment she took the occasion to fix me with her eyes all the way across the werf and tell me loudly that in the morning I would have to help her clear grass for another werf, for she was not going to "live among these people any more." Tu's mother, a shameless old woman, came up to me to tell me a joke and Tu smoldered.

Not only the adults felt a sense of tension. That evening Dikai, looking rather worn and tired, was sitting by her fire rubbing her shoulders, which usually ached, she said, when
862 her two sons, also tired, threw themselves down each on one
152 side of her and began to nurse, each leaning heavily against
578 her, each at a breast. Perhaps because she was tired or per-
593 haps because she had been about to put some tsi nuts in her
775 fire but now could not because her sons were in the way, she looked down at them and mildly suggested to Little Gashe that perhaps he could bring himself to stop nursing altogether, being old enough now. Little Gashe did not take this kindly at all. He looked up at her, then took his mouth from her nipple and cursed her with a formal, deadly curse. "May the spirit of Nisa, who is dead," he said, "take you by the throat and choke you." He then took the nipple back in his mouth and sucked on, thoughtfully.

152 578 I could hardly believe my ears. Children are expected not
593 775 to curse their parents, but, worst of all, Little Gashe had in-

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voked those supposedly unmentioned beings, the spirits of 152 578 the dead. Dikai was not offended, though; she gazed down 593 775 at him calmly. "You, you little thing," she said, "no curse that you could say would hurt me."

Much later in the evening when John and Dan and I were 574 sitting at our own fire just before going to bed, Dikai and her 608 nephew, Toma's son, came to visit us, Dikai with Little Dabe asleep on her back. It was a quiet evening, people were sitting at their own werfs and though they were screened from us by grass we could hear their voices talking and see the light of their fires. When Dikai came, Lazy Kwi, whose werf was on the other side of our camp, heard her speak and stood up to see what was happening, looming suddenly from where he had been sitting only a few feet away. He came through the grass to visit also, and we sat by the fire listening to Dikai as she told us about various relatives in the north and what kinship terms we should use for them, I being named for her and John for Toma. Lazy Kwi told Dan that Dan had been named for him, but named Kwi Cheeks instead of Lazy Kwi, and when Dan asked why his nickname was Cheeks all Lazy Kwi could say was: "Because of your cheeks." We thought, but we could not think of a reason, as there was nothing about Dan's cheeks that might attract attention, except that he had recently shaved his beard so that his cheeks were visible.

Dan said that now he had no beard, no hair, no name, which Lazy Kwi thought was terribly funny and said: "Throw away your beard hairs, throw away your name, but take Kwi instead and be my namesake." Shortly after that we went to bed. Relations seemed less strained.

One morning about a week after Short Kwi had gone, when 732 the people were resting and the werf was quiet, we heard a

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732 rumble, a faint roaring in the veld, the sound blown to us on the wind. Toma must have heard it first, for he stood up from his nap and squinted his eyes at the veld. "A truck," he said. "Your truck. Not the farmers."

He was right; it was our truck. Soon we saw its top among the bushes; when it burst through the bushes at the edge of the pan the Bushman men ran to meet it and, as it did not stop, ran along beside it, craning their necks to look in the front and the back. Soon they dropped behind and walked slowly in its dust cloud. Short Kwi had not come.

The news of Short Kwi was good. At the hospital, his gangrenous flesh had been removed and enough of his calf was left so that a peg leg could be attached to it. A peg leg had been chosen instead of an artificial leg because, in the veld, an artificial leg would be impossible to repair or replace, but a peg leg could be replaced with the carved branch of any tree. It would be months before Short Kwi and his family could return to Nama because Short Kwi would have to learn to walk again, using the peg. When he was able to come, a truck from the government of South-West Africa would bring him.

We told all this to the Bushmen, but they were not really pleased. The miracle which they had perhaps expected had not taken place, for Short Kwi was still a cripple, and he always would be. They did not think of Tu's brother, the lame boy who would someday be a headman, who managed his lame leg and his crutch so well that he had hunted successfully and was initiated into manhood; they turned their sad faces away from the truck and went back to their scherms in silence.

574 602 The following morning, adding somewhat to the tension and unease, the rest of Short Kwi's band arrived. They looked

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very sleek and prosperous, for they were staggering under 574 loads of food, their bags and nets bulging with tsi and their 602 carrying-poles strung with the meat of the gemsbok. They put down their loads and the women began immediately to make a large and busy werf on the far side of Toma's. In a very short time the werf was built and strewn with food and objects, and the people sitting among their possessions looked so comfortable and settled that one would never have thought that they had just arrived.

The old woman, Short Kwi's mother-in-law, did cry when she found her daughter gone. She squatted sadly on the ground and wiped her tears from her wrinkled, dusty cheeks with her fingers. All her relatives, clustered around her, trying to comfort her, telling her that, after all, her daughter would return, that she herself would be looked after and not allowed to starve, and presently the old woman stopped crying, wiped [342] her eyes, and got up to build herself a tiny hut, a shade of grass and branches.

That night, when darkness fell, when the moon rose blood 857 red among the trees and the frogs in the pan began their sing- 533 ing, we were again sitting by our fire, again hosts to a good many visitors, when we heard high voices singing a medicine song. We stood up to look over the grass and saw a fire where no werf was, with five young girls around it singing, clapping a rhythm, their faces lit red by the fire and their backs lit palely by the moon. They were all alone there, far from their homes.

We asked our visitors if there was going to be a dance, 857 which did not seem likely, everyone being in such low spirits, 535 and those who wanted to dance said yes while those who didn't said no. Soon some little children joined the dance, though, among them Little Gashe and Little Dabe. Little 000

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535 Little
857 Dabe was evidently being minded by his brother, for he
[854] arrived riding on Little Gashe's back, a heavy load, and Little Gashe danced in a circle behind the young girls carrying Little Dabe, then, perhaps getting tired, stopped dancing and shook Little Dabe off. When Little Dabe was standing Little Gashe climbed on Little Dabe's back to let Little Dabe do the dancing for a while. Soon these children were joined by some older boys and they all bobbed along happily, one behind the other, quite small and lit dimly in the big dance circle they were making for themselves.

The girls sang well. Their songs and the sharp rhythm of their clapping floated over the dark veld to us, mixed with the voices of the frogs. The frogs croaked so loudly by the pan, their croaking floated so clearly over the water, that for a while the girls just clapped their hands and let the frogs sing for them. The girls and the frogs kept time, and as the frog voices gradually faded the girls began to sing again themselves and presently, two or three at a time, our visitors went away from our fire to their scherms and later, a few at a time, appeared again at the dance fire with wood to burn or dance rattles to wear, some joining the singers and dancers, some others building small fires of their own in the veld a little apart from the dance fire. Before long, every werf was represented.

In the veld, where we were standing, the moonlight shone, making black shadows and pale, cool light. The air was still and warm and fragrant with the grasses of the veld and the voices came to us softly. At the fire the dancers wheeled slowly in their course around the circle, and the firelight shone in flickering beams through their stamping, naked legs, red on their naked backs. We could not see them plainly because they were far away, but we moved toward them and the sing-

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ing got louder, we heard the low sound of stamping feet and 535
the low singing of the men's voices, no longer obscured by 857
the pure, high singing of the women, and when we were there we were inside the cloud of red, luminous dust, and the sounds of rattles and clapping rang in our ears.

More and more women joined the singing girls, each throwing some sticks on the dance fire as she came, then finding a place to squat in the circle, the others shuffling apart to make room, and soon the fire burned up brightly, lighting the dust stirred up by the dancers' feet and showing the huddled circle of women, who by now looked like a flock of birds [516] crouched on the ground, they were so tightly crowded, their karosses like hunched, folded wings and their heads up alertly; the bright dance fire showed too the oval faces of the visitors, the smallest ones near the ground, the larger ones a little higher, and as more and more men appeared from the darkness to join the dance the dust cloud rose higher and thicker until it seemed to shine of itself, like a veil or an illusion, and you couldn't be sure if what you saw was there before you or reflected.

Within an hour everyone was there. It behooves one to go [775] to a medicine dance because the spirits of the dead, waiting in the shadows around the dance fire and on their paths above the veld, might carry off a person if he stayed at home alone.

In the circle, one man was dancing with his child on his 535
shoulder, and the child, naked and golden-skinned on the naked brown shoulder, looked gravely down. Other children were dancing, Little Dabe and Little Gashe among them, Little Gashe carrying Little Dabe again, going slower and slower because he was tired. At last Beautiful Ungka picked 535 854
up both Little Gashe and his passenger, put them in her

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535 854 kaross, and carried them to their mother; in this way, one by one, the dancing babies were eliminated and the circle was left to the men.

535 786 The dance went on all night, reaching a climax after midnight when the moon was high and sailing overhead. The medicine men were seized with trances that shook their bodies and rattled their teeth and sent them rushing headlong into the black shadows to curse at the spirits of the dead. Dust mounted, the sound of the high singing and the rattles was deafening, and even in the pauses between dances the medicine men screamed.

535 When hours had passed, when the moon was low and only its thick red glow showed on the horizon, the dance reached a lull and many people went home. Soon only a core of dancers and singers remained, perhaps twenty people in all. These were the strong young men, wiry enough to have withstood ten hours of dancing, and the old widows and middle-aged women, those who had no small children to worry them, women who were tougher than the young girls and did not mind that they felt tired. It is a strong thing to dance all night; it brings powerful, enduring medicine, and these few people, willing to withstand fatigue and cold, wore away the night to dance for the medicine of the rising sun.

When the moon was down and the dance fire had burned to embers, was almost out, I went to the veld to gather firewood. Just then the first stars began to dim in the soft, cold air, the eastern sky turned pale; faintly, the first birds began 535 533 to cry, and from where I stood in the veld I heard the song change to the sun-dance. The song lasted only for a moment, as the singers acknowledged the paleness, and a little later, as the light in the east became brighter and the colors of the

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veld began to show, the women sang the sun-dance fully, a 535
song quite different from the others, very even, very simple, 533
steady, dignified, and grave.

The dawn wind lifted and blew away the smoke and dust and made the people shiver. The light showed the dancers moving stiffly, the singers hunched together for support and warmth, and revealed dusty, dirty faces and dirty teeth. Dust had made mud in the corners of our mouths and eyes.

Only about ten women were singing in the circle now, and they sat all together at one spot, leaving a lot of space around the fire; only four men danced and they moved slowly in their track, burdened by their rattles. They, too, stayed close together so that most of their huge track was bare.

When the sun was over the horizon the dance stopped. The women ended their song abruptly, stood up, shook the dust and straw from their clothing, and walked away. They did not speak to one another because they were tired. The men talked for a moment as they sat down, stretched, untied their rattles, before walking off two by two toward their werfs. Soon all that remained was the dance track, a deep circular rut in the ground, the big heap of dead white ashes, and the dusty bushes and trees.

The people who had been dancing during the night slept 513
all through the heat of the day and as the afternoon came, lying in the shade of trees and bushes. Flies buzzed over them, the afternoon shadows lengthened and the day cooled, and still they slept on.

When the light was red and the sun was almost setting, 481
the women began to stir, getting to their feet slowly, and then 825
alone or in twos and threes, followed by their children, walked down the path to the water, the last ones to leave

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481 hurrying because one of the little boys had found a millipede
825 and was trotting behind them carrying it. Bushman women do not like millipedes; millipedes make them very nervous. Someone persuaded the child to drop it, which he did reluctantly. It was a giant, shiny black and a foot long, and it ran away with the front of its body in the air, its head bent like a curbed horse. The little boy watched it go.

515 The women walked through the acacia trees and reached the pan, the shining lake, red now with sunset, and even though the air was getting cool the children ran in the shallow water, splashing, the women crouched on the rocks to bathe. They took off their karosses and bathed their arms and legs and faces, washing all the dust away, then brushed their teeth with their fingers. Beautiful Ungka called for Little Dabe and hung her ornaments on him while she bathed. He ran through the water playing, splashing with the other children, quite unconscious of his gorgeous array. Beautiful Ungka was so supple that as she sat bathing she could lay her body down on the rocks between her raised knees, which she did to reach the water, saving herself the trouble of moving forward.

292 After they had bathed, the young girls made aloe circlets for their heads, red in the red light of the sky, and they seemed very innocent and beautiful, fresh and clean; they dressed themselves slowly as the sun went down, then walked into the water, where they danced, slowly, idly, kicking to make a rhythmic splash.

854 Little Dabe, on the shore now, found the rocks hard on his feet and began to wail, and all alone on top of the rocks, picking his feet up one after the other, he was like a peacock in his ornaments, with his complaining, raucous cry. Beauti-
854 ful Ungka carried him then, although she too was barefoot,
415 bouncing him up and down while the other women rinsed and filled their ostrich eggshells.

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and filled their ostrich eggshells. The air was soft and fragrant 854
with acacia and now the tiny, bright birds of the desert came out of the bushes where they had spent the day to fly over the pan and dip up water, and when it was almost dark the girls and women wandered home.

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

The Medicine Bees

222 THE DAY after the dance was the day before we left Nama to return to the United States. In all the time that we had stayed at Nama we had not been to Gautscha Pan, and now Toma said he wanted to go there to gather honey from the Gautscha baobab tree. Before we left, he sat in his werf telling me stories of people who thought that they could climb baobab trees but whose self-confidence had been excessive, because they had all fallen, each and every one.

481 222 165 Steinbok Gumtsa was one of these, said Toma, and he was an excellent climber. Baobabs that others could not climb he managed, and ate honey from the upper branches every time. One day, while watching bees fly about the top of the very high baobab at Gautscha Pan, Steinbok Gumtsa thought to bring himself luck and said: "I am going to climb, but I will slip and fall and be killed." The others told him not to try it, but he did. "He thought he was too good," said Toma, "and that is why he did fall. The others found him dead at the bottom."

One-eyed Nishi was another good climber. He also tried to reach the honey in the top of the Gautscha baobab, but he slipped and fell and the other Bushmen found him dead at

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the bottom too, "with his head driven down between his 481 shoulders," said Toma laconically, hunching his own neck to 222 165 show how it was.

A third man whom Toma did not name climbed for honey in the Gura baobab, a tree somewhat north of Gautscha Pan, and he also fell; but, happily, he survived his experience. His sister and her husband were below him, watching, and when they saw him fall they held out their arms to catch him. He fell through their arms, of course, but his fall was broken and though he was unconscious for a long time he finally did recover.

The moral of these stories, Toma said, was to show that 867 young people should listen to older people and not act rashly. I believe that he thought I was going to try to climb the Gautscha baobab (which I had already done, though only to the lowest branch, fifteen feet from the ground), for he went on to say: "When Bushmen tell young people not to climb baobab trees they should listen. It is seldom that a person lives who falls from a baobab tree, they are so high. Even those good climbers I told you about, they all fell." I assured him that I did not even want to climb it and he said: "Good. When we who are experienced get the honey you can watch from below. Then you can see just as well."

The Gautscha baobab was somewhat east of the pan, and 137 we could see it rising from the plain when we were almost a mile away from it. It loomed up at the horizon, towering, its mass of upper branches hazy because we were so far. As we moved toward it, it seemed to move away from us like a distant mountain, but gradually, after a long time, it began slowly to get larger, looming higher, its top branches reaching up to the sky, where the clouds of spring were already forming as the desert got ready for the rains, three months [132] away.

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137 It was noon when we reached the tree; we broke through the bushes that surrounded it and came into its clearing, a circle thirty yards across of stony, barren ground from which the long roots had sucked the nourishment, and in the middle of the circle the great tree rose, pink-skinned and mighty, the claimer of two lives, twenty feet in diameter and almost two hundred feet high. Its lower branches were heavy and enormous, but the branches got smaller toward the top, the upper ones very thin, crisscrossing each other like lace. On the eastern face of the tree there were no branches; the pink
137 trunk towered up and up, smooth and bare. On this side was
481 an ascending row of pegs driven in by Bushmen long ago who had been after honey, used in later years by Bushmen hunters trying to rob the hives again or to scan the countryside for game. The pegs led from the ground around the trunk to the lowest branch, then up the trunk again to the next branch, ending finally at the top of the great tree, almost out of sight.

I knew this old tree very well, for during the year that we had lived at Gautscha we had camped beside it. It had been the home of many creatures then; and now the eastern face of the tree, the great bare slab rising like pink stone, was pocked with little holes. Some of them were empty, surely, but some had tufts of dry grass showing in the openings, little creatures' nests, and here and there, between the roots or in the forks of branches, were the caves of larger animals.

224 Bees had lived in a hole among the branches halfway up,
136 though Toma said the bees had now moved higher; a mongoose had lived in a little cave between the roots on the south side, though now the mongoose was dead, snared and killed by Toma's son; a python that had lived in a hole on the north side was also dead, killed and eaten by an old Bushman woman we had known; but a colony of green-furred squirrels that had lived on the lowest branches, we saw, were

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still there. Bushmen do not eat squirrels because squirrels have no meat on their bones. Birds of all kinds lived in the great tree too, and there was a hawk's nest in the upper branches; I once had seen the two gray hawks that built it, but now they too were gone.

It was the bees that interested the Bushmen, though, and those of us who had come from Nama—Toma, Gao Feet, Crooked Kwi, Lazy Kwi, my brother, and I—sat among the rocks at the foot of the tree, the men planning what they would do. I was so tired from having been awake all night to watch the dance that I lay down on the stones and fell asleep, and when I awoke, in an hour or so, the men had built a fire but were still arguing about who would brave getting stung to find the honey. No one really wanted to do it; but I saw that Crooked Kwi was almost persuaded, being very amenable and the youngest person there. Sure enough, taking a smoldering brand in his teeth, he at last began to climb the pegs, clinging to them with his fingers and toes. Toma followed at a distance, cautiously, urging Crooked Kwi on, and the two climbed higher slowly, Crooked Kwi looking down from time to time to be encouraged. When he did, Gao Feet and Lazy Kwi would shout for him to continue. At last Crooked Kwi reached the branch beside the hive and squatted there, blowing on his brand to make it smoke while Toma climbed past him, around to another branch, where he, too, squatted with his feet apart and his hands on his knees exactly as though his feet were on the ground, the branch was so wide.

Crooked Kwi found the hole, a small opening, though even from the ground we could see a few bees humming idly outside, and blew the smoke from his brand into it, then, encouraged by Toma, reached his slender arm inside to find a honeycomb. He was stung, of course, and snapped his arm out instantly, though even then the bees were not angry. None

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222 came out of the hole. From the ground below, Gao Feet called up to ask why Toma himself didn't try to reach the honey and Toma said: "No! I might get stung!" then went on talking loudly to encourage Crooked Kwi. But when Crooked Kwi tried to smoke the bees again he must have blown in too much smoke or perhaps a spark which set the hive on fire, for clouds of smoke and many bees poured out of the hole and dead bees began to drop to the ground like rain. It made me sad to see them lying there, furry yellow, covering the ground.

It is dangerous and bad to kill bees, and we paid for it. Crooked Kwi, slapping at the bees that stung him, climbed down as fast as he was able. He jumped the last few feet and, pushing through the people watching, ran out among the bushes, trying to elude the bees that followed him in a swarm shaped just like a cornucopia, the small end at the nape of Crooked Kwi's neck. No bees stung the rest of us, not even Toma, who was still clambering down. When Toma reached the ground he said that Crooked Kwi was no good because he had failed.

Thus Crooked Kwi paid for his crime, though the rest of us paid for it later. A few miles farther to the north, at Gura Pan, another baobab was growing. We could see the top of it from Gautscha and Toma said that we would try now to get honey there. When Crooked Kwi came back, rather embarrassed, we went on toward Gura, and even when we were far away from Gautscha we could still hear the bees that Crooked Kwi had angered moaning, a loud but sleepy sound. One of them must have followed us, for it stung my knee.

The Gura baobab was very tall, though not as wide as the baobab at Gautscha. The southern face of it had been charred by a veld fire and was also bristling with pegs, old ones, new ones, in trails or little pathways up its side, as Bushmen

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had been robbing its hives of honey for years. Gao Feet said 222
that its hives were raided every few months or so and wondered if there would be any honey left for us. While pondering this question we stopped at the base of the tree and looked up, high above us, at a crack in its trunk where bees were flying, and in a moment, to my great surprise, the whole hive of them had poured down over our heads and were stinging us badly. We dropped everything that we carried and ran as fast as we could into the bushes, slapping wildly at ourselves, scattering in every direction, and each of us, as we reached thick bushes, hid in the branches, only to be routed out again by someone else pursued by bees, and in this way we were scattered further. Far from the hive though we were, the air around us was full of bees; they kept us hiding and cowering like jackals, peering out from under bushes, away from our water jars and ostrich eggs which we had dropped in our hurry, and they held us in this way for hours. We were tired 222
and wanted to go home, but we could not leave our water. I, 825 778
at least, was astonished that such a thing should have happened, but to the Bushmen it was no surprise. The bees, those magic, medicine creatures, were having their revenge. As a group, we were responsible for having killed the bees of another hive. The Bushmen were only surprised at themselves for not having foreseen the disaster.

In the middle of the afternoon my brother borrowed every- 222
body's clothing and, swathing himself in it while the lenders 271
crouched naked in the bushes, braved the swarm and retrieved our water. Then we went back toward Gautscha, pausing on the way to dig a water root which Lazy Kwi had known was there. The root was quite large, very wet, and though it was as puckery as alum it did quench thirst.

Late afternoon had come now, and I was so tired that I sat 000
down to lean against a bush, where I almost fell asleep. Toma

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pointed to me and said: "Look at Dikai. She wants to go home. Let's go home." And so we did, and as evening came we went by Gautscha Pan.

We had not seen it before; we had been in the bushes on its eastern side when we had looked for honey, but now, as we emerged from the bushes, we found ourselves on its farther, eastern rim.

Great Gautscha Pan was full of water, shining gray water. Smoke overcast the evening sky all around the horizon and high into the air, and all we could see was the great stretch of gray water with yellow grass like islands in it and flocks of small black ducks breaking its surface, and yellow grass all around. The line of bush on the horizon was gray-green near us where we stood on the rock slide at the eastern rim, touched with yellow spots, acacia trees with their soft, pale-yellow fuzzy flowers round as balls, looking like clouds, like dreams, pretty and fresh with a sweet fragrance, and as the bush went around the pan the haze dimmed it, giving it the subtlest colors and a wild, still look like trees before a storm. Among the bushes to the north of us rose the two visible baobab tops, eerie and far away, and in the water the yellow grass was reflected upside down.

There it was, Toma's great country, magnificent and solitary, for no one lived there now, no person, no animal, except the black wild ducks that swam on the water, some near, some far away, in lines of three or four, in pairs, moving gradually in their even, deliberate processions as though they were being drawn slowly over the water by hidden streams.

The sun was sinking; high above the horizon it was deep red, a perfect circle, almost hidden by the haze and reflected by a red path in the water, and as it sank into haze that grew thicker and thicker the sun got paler and more obscured until it vanished long before it set.

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That was beautiful, the sun, and there was no sound as it 133
went down except the sound of doves calling among the trees on the far bank, whirring, cooing, a call that was pulsing and thick, urgent, throbbing, rising in intensity as the sun got dimmer, reaching a peak as the sun disappeared. It was as though they had brought it down, and when it was gone there was no sound at all; the silence was complete.

Gautscha Pan was more than a mile square and we, Europeans and Bushmen alike, held our breath with the majesty of it, its great solitude, the great drama of sunset going on reflected in its water for no eyes to look at; and when the sun was down and the colors of the veld were dull and dark we started home, but that was an impressive last look at a place and the last I ever saw of Gautscha Pan.

In the morning our trucks were packed and ready. We were 609
not happy to leave and the Bushmen were not happy to have us go. We gave them presents of all kinds, presents of pipes, of knives, of beads, of clothing, of cornmeal and tobacco; and all this pleased them, but Dikai cried when we said good-by and asked me if I would ever come back. I said that I hoped so and she kissed me and I felt wet tears on her face.

The people who had come from Gam wanted to ride a 361
little way back with us to a mangetti forest, and we were glad to have them, but the others, Toma and his band, Gao Feet and his family, wanted to return to the tsi fields where we had found them, the veld food at Nama being almost gone, and before we left they had their bundles packed and were ready to go; as our trucks moved away they waved good-by and before we were out of sight we looked back and saw their small groups going in every direction, scattering to the four winds. When we reached the mangetti forest the others climbed

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36 down, helping the children; Lazy Kwi and his wife were with them and they stood by the truck until we left and even then, when we had driven on, they were still looking at us and Lazy Kwi watched us out of sight. I saw him standing among the thorn trees, smaller and smaller in the distance, and just before he disappeared he waved.

000 That evening we camped beside an omaramba where the air was warm and pale, lit by the three-quarter moon; the wind made the dry leaves of a mangetti tree over our heads tap together and before we went to sleep we heard a leopard coughing far away, then growling nearer, a rattle, a rumble of a growl. In the morning we got up long before dawn because of a veld fire that someone had seen coming toward us; it made a huge red light in the black sky, like the open doors of an inferno, but as the dawn winds lifted it blew back on itself and went out. The sky slowly got gray, then pale rose, and then, hundreds of miles away, the great sun lifted from the veld's horizon and with the light we found the leopard's footprints which he had left as he had walked around us, in two great circles, as though he had cast a spell.

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A NOTE ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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BANTU STUDIES

BUSHMAN TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

By D. F. Bleek

I. Southern Group: The ǂxam-ka-ǀ'e *or Bushmen of the old Cape Colony*

THE ǂxam-ka-ǀ'e follow the descriptive method of denoting relationships, though we find some general titles or possibly expressions of affection and respect among them. 601

Many of their terms of relationship allow an etymological explanation. Thus, **oa** "father" is identical with **oa** "out of", sometimes used as "to come out of". **Xoa** "mother" seems to be a feminine contracted form of the same word, **xai** being the feminine ending of **⊙pwaxai** "daughter", and **ǁkaxai** "sister", the masculine forms of which are **⊙pwoŋ** "son", and **ǁkâ** "brother". 193 196 601

In Nama **oa** is a vulgar word for "beget" or "bear", **oaĭ** is "child", while **xai** signifies "to cohabit", **xais** being often used as "wife".

Oa forms the plural **oakn-gu** or **okn-gu**, which may denote "fathers" or "parents". **Xoa** forms **xoakn-gu** "mothers", often used where we should say "the older women" or "mother and her friends".

The words **ibo, itau** are terms of address, "my father," "my mother." Though **i** alone means "we", here it is used for "my". "One person is the one who says **ibo**," was a Bushman's explanation. "Our father" would be **i oa**. **Ibo** sometimes becomes **bobo**. I think it may have some connexion with the Nama masculine ending **ba**, and **itau** with the Nama feminine plural ending **ti** or **te**, corresponding to an old femine singular **ta**, now turned in Nama to **sa**. **Taras** is the Nama polite term for "woman", "mistress". Certainly **te, ite, aiti** appear as endings to feminine terms of relationship among the **ǂxam-ka-ǀ'e** as in **ǂaiti** "wife", "woman", **ǀkoite** "granny", **⊙pwaitente** "mother-in-law", **ǁk'aiti** "child's mother-in-law". In some masculine terms of relationship we get

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193 n or ŋ or a nasalization of the vowel, as ǀkŏŋ "grandfather",
[196] ǁkā "brother", ⊙pwoŋ "son", ǁk'en "child's father-in-law".
[601] These endings are particularly interesting, as otherwise the ǂxam language has no signs of gender. Perhaps they show that in some former stage this was a language with genders, just as English still shows its old division into genders in its names for classes of people.

601 On the use of tata a Bushman said: "We say ǂbo, we say ǂ oa,
[192] but the children who are lately there say tata; they should say ǂbo. The habit of saying tata comes from the Boers."

⊙pwa is the ǂxam diminutive; in allied dialects it denotes
193 "child", which in ǂxam is ǀkwā. That ⊙poŋ "son" and ⊙pwaxai
196 "daughter" are derivatives is clear. I think that ⊙pwai-ǂhi
601 "father-in-law" is derived from ⊙pwa "child" and ǂhaŋ "to marry", the man whose child one marries. ⊙pwaitente would be the feminine form thereof. ǂha "husband", "wife" is certainly derived from ǂhaŋ.

The second, more unusual title for parents-in-law I cannot explain; ǀkwi is "person", but I have no example of any other use of ǁk'a, except that it seems part of the terms ǁk'en and ǁk'aiti, applied to the parents of a son- or daughter-in-law, or of a brother- or sister-in-law.

On a man's behaviour to his parents-in-law we have the
606 following note: "They (the sons-in-law) do not talk to their mother-in-law in haste, for they are silent. Their father-in-law is the one with whom they talk. He (the son-in-law) acts like this, at another time he does not talk to his father-in-law; he merely talks to his wife, his wife is the one who talks to her father. He also acts like this to his mother-in-law, he speaks with her. He speaks with her, he is silent."

This looks as if there are occasions on which one or other of the wife's parents may be addressed, and others when they may
[538] not. I have noticed in their stories of the Mantis, that his adopted daughter's husband does not often address the Mantis directly, but says to his own son, "Tell Grandfather so-and-so," which the child does. However, in one story the two men speak directly to each other.

ǁkā, ǁkaxai "brother", "sister", may be derived from ǁka
196 "like", "to be like". In Nama ǁkàb means "the same". The
601 adjective ǀkori simply means "big".

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I think ǀkoũŋ, ǀkoũte "grandfather", "grandmother" are derived from ǀkuũya "great", "large", "stout". These terms are used in addressing any elderly relatives, or people distinctly senior to the speaker, much as "Oom", "Tante" are used in Afrikaans. In the tables appended I give these titles, where they were specially mentioned in a list of terms of relationship, but in the folklore they are so widely used, that one might sometimes translate them "old man", "old woman". 196 601

I can give no explanation of the fact, that a woman calls her father's parents her "real" grandparents, and her mother's parents her "lent" ones, while a man reverses the process; his mother's parents are his "real" grandparents. My aunt, Dr. Lloyd, who took down this information, evidently made no inquiry, and to-day there are no Colonial Bushmen left capable of telling us. These adjectives are not used in ordinary conversation, any more than we use the terms "paternal", "maternal". 601 [124]

The Bushman did not explain why the mother's brother is called "son". I should say a particularly affectionate relationship is indicated. As to the title for the mother's sister, he said: "They are wont to say their 'grandmother' to their mother's sister, they say their 'grandmother' to her. A man says his 'daughter' to her. Then the man's aunt says her 'father' to him, for they (the mother and aunt) feel that they are women who are one. Bushmen say, women who are one, to the women of one house. When girls have one mother, they say they are women who are one."

ǀke means "companion", "friend", "someone loved". Xoa ǀke-ko means "mother's other friend" or "chum", of whom was said: "They make their other friend of one person; they say their other friend to her." 196 601

In certain ǀxam tales the wife's unmarried younger sister stays with her, as helper and baby-minder. An elder sister would be sure to be married. This sister I take to be the "other friend" of the wife, the "little sister-in-law" of the husband, the ǀkouki-⊙pwa. For this term is only applied to a little girl. [538]

I know of no marriage laws among the Bushmen to explain the title of sister being occasionally given to the father's or mother's sister's daughter. Bushmen sometimes marry a cousin of that or any other sort, but more often they marry someone else. The only girl a Bushman may not marry is his *own* sister. 582 601

[Text continues on page 62]

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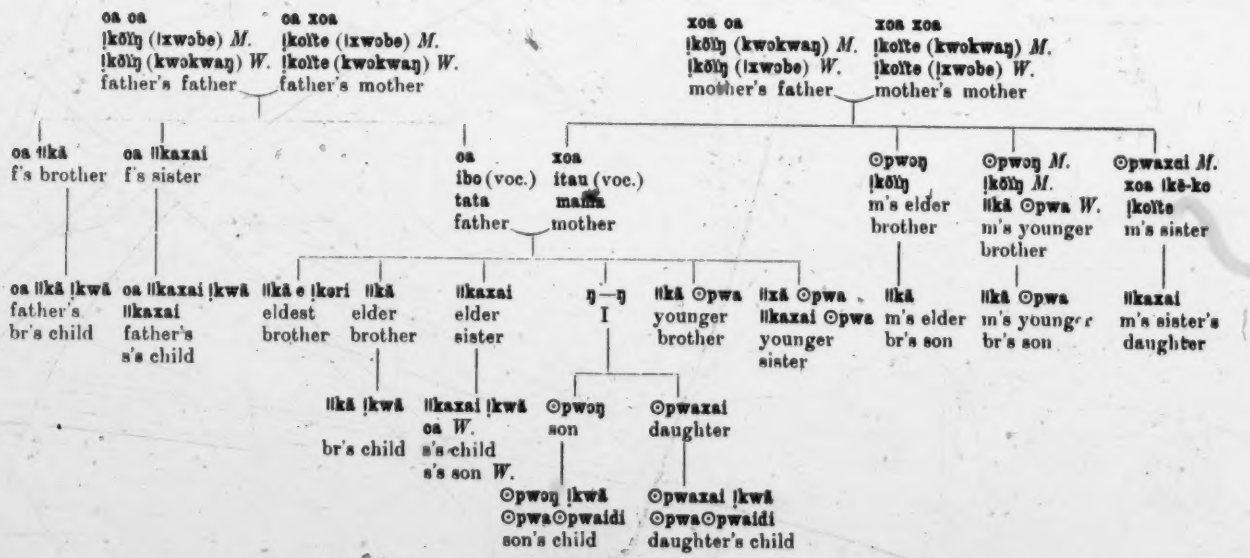
Xam
601
[p.60]

Tables of Bushman Terms of Relationship

1. Southern Group: Among the ǂxam-ka-ǂ'e

(a) *Blood relations*



M. means man speaking; *W.* means woman speaking.

(b) *Relations by Marriage*

ǂk'en sister's father — ǂk'aiti husband's mother

⊙pwai ǂhi *M.* ǂk'a ǂkwi husband's father — ⊙pwaitente *M.* ǂk'a ǂkwi husband's mother

⊙pwai ǂhi *M.* ǂk'a ǂkwi *M.* wife's father — ⊙pwaitente *M.* ǂk'a ǂkwi *M.* wife's mother

ǂk'en brother's father — ǂk'aiti wife's mother

ǂk'en son's father — ǂk'aiti wife's mother

⊙pwon ǂha ⊙pwaitente son's wife

ǂkaxai ǂha *M.* sister's husband

ǂha ǂkaxai *W.* husband's sister

ǂha ǂkā *W.* ǂkhwi *W.* husband's brother

ǂkā ǂha *M.* brother's wife

ǂha *W.* gwai *W.* husband-man

ǂha *M.* ǂaiti *M.* wife-woman

ǂkaxai ǂha *W.* sister's husband

ǂha ǂkaxai *M.* wife's sister

ǂha ǂkā *M.* ǂkhwi *M.* wife's brother

ǂkā ǂha *W.* brother's wife

ǂken daughter's husband's father — ǂk'aiti mother

⊙pwaxai ǂha daughter's husband

ǂxā *M.* wife's sister's husband

ǂkouki wife's little sister

⊙pwa *M.*

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Xam
Auen
Kung

601 I believe the term "sister" is used to a cousin who has been
[597] brought up as an adopted child in the speaker's family, just as a grandparent calls a grandchild "my child", if he adopts it.

[595] The ǂxam-ka-ǀ'e are monogamous, and in their folklore there is only one case of the punishment of incest, that of brother and sister.

I do not know whether the omissions in this table of relationships are accidental, or owing to the fact that the terms omitted are seldom or never used.

II. Northern Group: The ǁk'au ǁen (*Auen*), *and* ǀkuŋ *or Bushmen of the N.W. Kalahari*

193 These tribes likewise use the descriptive method in denoting
601 terms of relationship. They, too, show in a few of such terms endings for masculine and feminine, which do not appear in any other nouns. For example: **tsi** or **siŋ** "brother", **tsisi** "sister", where we again find nasalization for the masculine, and **si** instead of **ti** for the feminine ending, or a prefixed **di** "female".

[193] **Ma** is the diminutive ending; **ǀna** means "big, grown up", **ǂga**
196 means "old, worn out". **ǀku** or **ǀkū** I think means "kinsman" or
601 "namesake". Thus the greatuncle is the "old kinsman", the mother's brother is the "big kinsman", the father's brother and sister are "little" ones, as are cousins, nephews and nieces, which would point to their having less influence. This rather contradicts the statement of the ǁk'au ǁen, that in case of a man's death, his brother must provide for his children. However, the father's brother is addressed as **tahu** or **tsu**, a term of affection applied in this tongue more to relations by marriage, but in **ǀkuŋ**, used by grandparents and grandchildren mutually, and by uncle and nephew. **ǀko**, the name for the mother's sister is, I think, a word related to **ǀkoïte** "grandmother", probably a feminine form of **ǀku** or **ǀkoïŋ**. **Mama** used reciprocally by grandparents and grandchildren seems to be a term of affection.

Ba and **tai** are evidently related to the ǂxam terms of address to parents **ibo**, **itau**. There is no special word for husband or wife in these two dialects. **ǀkwā** and **ǀkao** are simply "man", and **dzou** and **zau** "woman". **ǀkwā o m ba** seems to mean "man of my father", which does not seem sense for the mother's father. **Tai o dzou** "mother of wife" is of course quite clear.

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Auen
Kung
Naron

Some ǂk'au ǂen terms are apparently borrowed from Naron, for instance, ǂwiakwe "brother-in-law" and ǂkū "greatniece". ǂwi ǂkwā would be the correct form, corresponding to ǂwi dzou "sister-in-law". ǂkū is simply Naron for "child". My informants lived on the border of the tribes, and so they often used Naron words or Naron forms of roots belonging to both. 196 601 [192]

The ǃkuŋ terms show more variety. ǃkū ǂnue seems to be "one namesake" or "first namesake" or "kinsman". ǂga and ǂge seem peculiar to this dialect. They may be northern forms of ǂkā "brother", or of the Naron ǂka.

On the relationship between son-in-law and father-in-law the following note appears in a ǃkuŋ story, explaining the sentence, "A person called him 'Kai-he'." 538

"The person did not say his (Karu's) name, but just called him by the little word which is his name, 'Ai-he.' His mother-in-law said, 'My son-in-law,' but his father-in-law did not call him 'My son-in-law', but addressed him as 'Ai-he'. And he heard his father-in-law. His father-in-law was a man, and respected his daughter, so did not say his daughter's husband's name, but merely called his son-in-law by his little name which was 'Ai-he'."

III. The Naron *or Bushmen of the Central Kalahari*

This tribe is less descriptive in its terms of relationship than its Northern and Southern neighbours, yet its system can hardly be called a classificatory one. Remarkable is the number of reciprocal titles used between different generations. Grandparents and grandchildren address each other as mama. Parents and children call each other by two forms of the same roots, either aba or ǂku. Aba is the verb "to bear", "to beget", also "to carry in a kaross". The father is the begetter, the child the begotten one. Eisha I take to be a contracted feminine form of the same. 601 196 601

ǂkuŋ is also used as "big, grown up", ǂkuŋ kwena means "grown-up people", ǂkuŋ ǂarro kwena "old people", literally "big bodied people". The application of this word to parents is easy to understand, but the use of a very similar form to designate children is not clear.

Likewise the word tshō is a puzzle. It is used for all grandchildren, but only for the father's parents. It is employed reciprocally between a mother's brother and a sister's child. A

– [Text continues on page 66]

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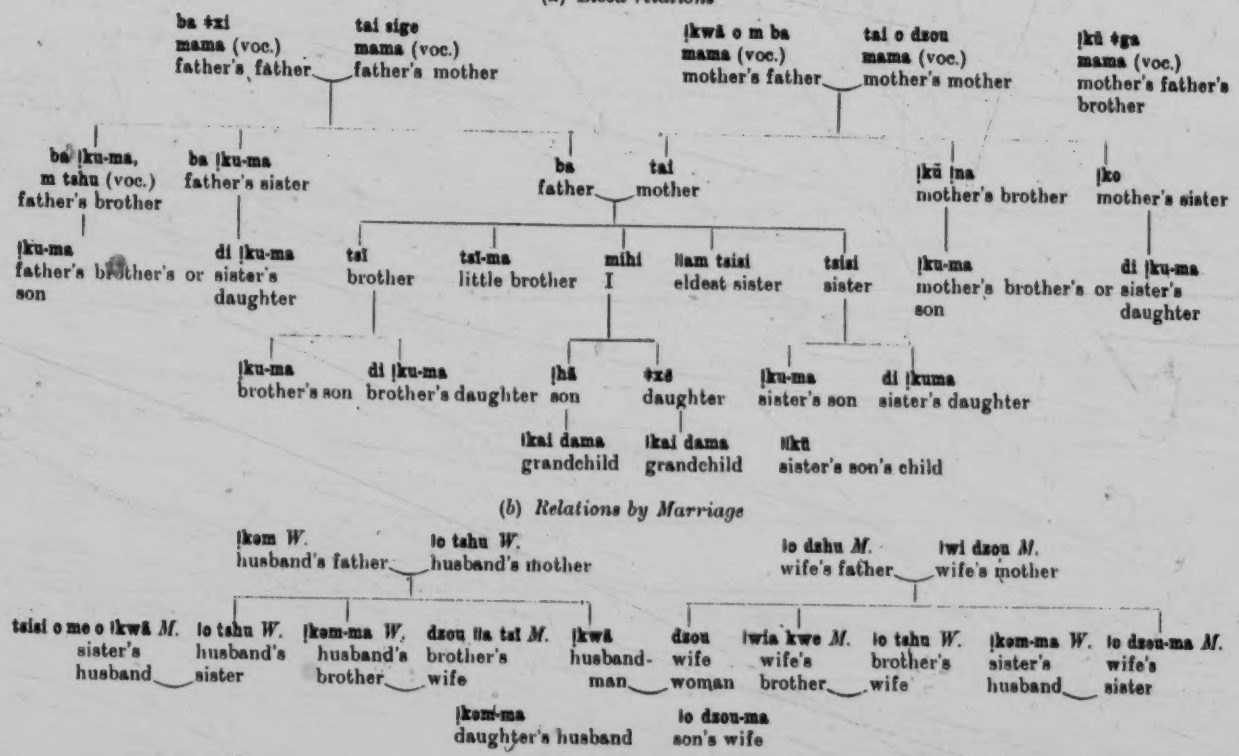
2. Northern Group: Among the ǂk'au ǂen (Auen)

(a) *Blood relations*



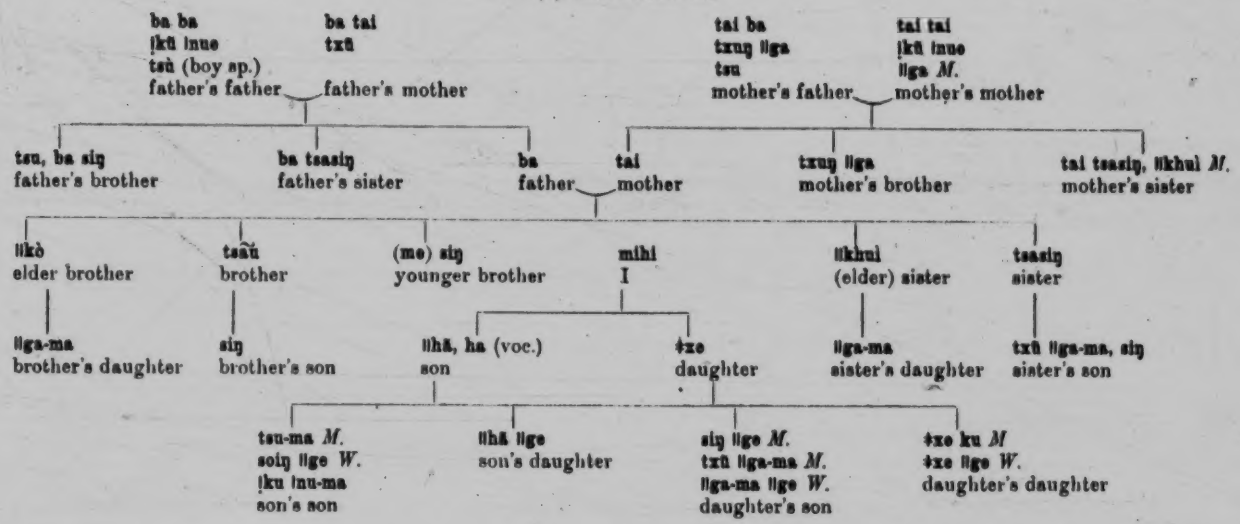
(b) *Relations by Marriage*

[p. 64]

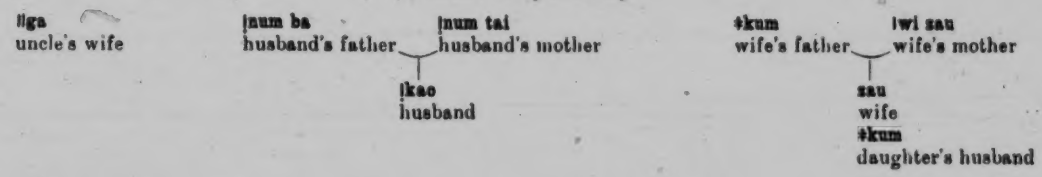
[p.65]

AMONG THE |kuŋ

(a) *Blood relations*



(b) *Relations by Marriage*



10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

196 woman calls her brothers-in-law by words formed from this root,
601 but not her sisters-in-law; whereas a man does the opposite. The result is, that anyone calling a connexion tahō is called tahō by that person. Other connexions are called twi, a word which seems to mean "to tie", "to net", as twishiba "a riempi net", or "string bag". A woman calls both parents-in-law and son- and daughter-in-law twi, but a man calls his wife's parents simply "father" and "mother". I think he calls his son- and daughter-in-law twi, but have no clear examples.

Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to
591 be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parents' home and stay there till the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact, the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so. This does not explain why a man calls his wife's parents "father" and "mother".

A man is supposed not to speak to his mother-in-law, nor a
606 woman to her father-in-law. Of the former I had personal evidence: my Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. As to not speaking, I think that means more—not sitting near, not consorting with a person, rather than never addressing him. A Naron granny gave
183 me a vivid description of the family settling the name of a new-
553 born child. The relations present all quarrel over it: the father
578 says, he wants the little girl called after one of his people, but the
606 mother's mother tells him that is not at all necessary, the baby is to be named after her. This shows that speech between the two is not absolutely forbidden.

There is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister
183 speaking or sitting together,—but here, too, the sitting, not the
593 speaking, is the important part. I have heard a fully grown brother and sister addressing each other, while passing at a good distance. This rule explains why the relationship between a man
604 and his brother's child is nearer than that with his sister's child,
601 the former being called ilku "son", the latter tahō, a more distant term; whereas a woman calls her sister's son "son", her brother's son tahō.

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

Brother and sister are the only relations who are forbidden to 582
marry, and by this, real brother and sister are meant, the children of one father and mother, not cousins. I never heard a title for any cousin, however related, though several were present Cousins sometimes marry, but more often a bride from a distance is procured.

A pair of sisters have a very close relationship. They are 593
generally chums, and help each other with their babies. A child [601]
calls its mother's sister its "little mother". In speaking of the [604]
occasional bigamy found among the **Naron** in contrast to other 595
Bushman tribes, an old man said to me:

"A man may take a second wife, if he wishes. If they agree well, they live in one hut; if not, each makes herself a hut. A man had better take his wife's younger sister as his second wife; then they do not quarrel, but live in one hut."

ǁka in **ǁkasho** "maternal aunt" may be derived from **ǁkai** 196
"together". **Ho** used as a verb means "to marry", also "to give 601
birth to children". **Ti kwoba** and **ti kwosa** mean simply "my man", "my woman"; they are more often used than **hoba** and **hosha**.

A widow may marry her late husband's brother, but need not 587
do so. She is quite at liberty to marry any other man. If she remarries, her husband is expected to look after her children; [604]
otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. The widow may stay near her husband's people, or return to her own people, as she pleases.

Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, are very fond 597
of adopting a grandchild. They will half adopt one, even during 603
both parents' lifetime. The grandmother is generally the person [868]
who teaches a child to speak.

In concluding these notes on the tables of relationship, I should 114
like to say that I know they are very incomplete. At the time of my stay among the **ǁkau ǁen** and **Naron** I had not realized the importance of this side of native life; nor apparently had my aunt, Dr. Lloyd, whose work I rely on for the **ǂxam** and **ǃkung** tables. Still, I think sufficient has been collected to show the general trend of Bushman family ties.

One must always remember, that people depending on nature 105
for their entire food supply, can only exist in very small, widely 161
scattered groups. Families cannot be large. Drought and famine

[Text continues on page 70]

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Naron

601

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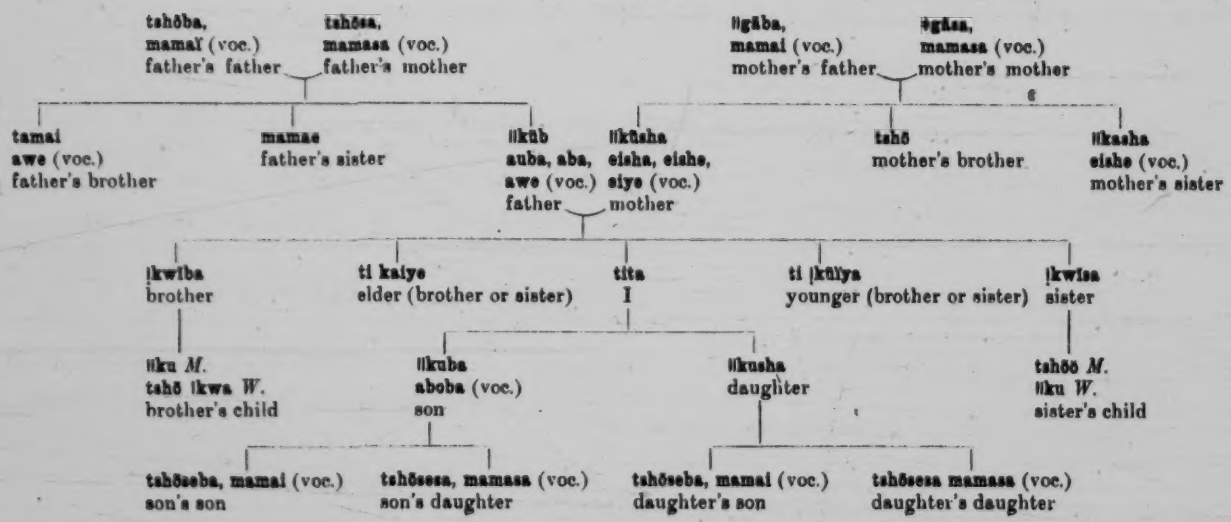
3. Central Group: Among the Naron

(a) *Blood relations*



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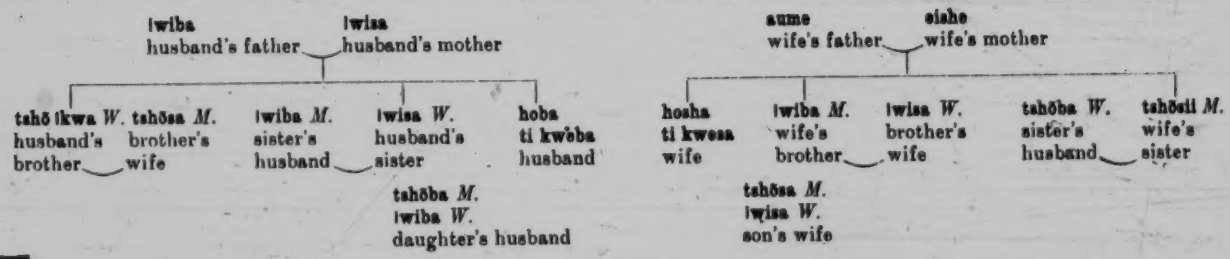
Naron
601

(*b*) *Relations by Marriage*



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105 [161] keep the numbers down. No one has a large number of uncles and aunts, or cousins. There is not a large public, whose opinion would enforce keeping laws strictly. Individual liberty is therefore far greater than can be the case with any tribe with large numbers living in crowded villages. Extremes meet, and we find in the most primitive society a family life far nearer our own than in many intermediate stages. The woman is her husband's partner rather than his property. The family consists of parents and children, and breaks up with the parents' death. There are no chiefs: society is ruled not by law, but by custom interpreted by individual sense of fitness. A very few things are felt to be wrong, everything else is permitted. The Bushman is first and last a lover of liberty.

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NOTE ON BUSHMAN ORTHOGRAPHY

By D. F. Bleek

IN writing the article on "Bushman Terms of Relationship" appearing in this issue of *Bantu Studies*, I have tried to follow the phonetic script of the International Phonetic Association, as far as I understand it, except for denoting clicks. For these I should be willing to use the symbols chosen by Mr. Doke for Zulu clicks, were they adequate for expressing all the click combinations found in Bushman; but they are not. 104 114 194

Had Mr. Doke seen fit to adopt one symbol for each implosive sound, regardless of the accompanying breathed sound, I could have used these symbols for three of the Bushman clicks. But unfortunately Mr. Doke has not followed that course, but has chosen three symbols for each implosive sound denoting a combination of the implosive sound with the sound made by the expulsion of the breath.

Every click has a double closure, one made by the front or tip of the tongue against the teeth, alveolar, or palate, or of the lips together, the other by the back of the tongue against the velum, as Mr. Doke has shown in his admirable experiments. In making the click alone, only the front closure is audibly released, the back closure might stay in position, for all we know, no breath being emitted from the lungs. We cannot call that click either unvoiced, voiced, or nasal. But in speaking, this implosive sound is accompanied or followed by breathed sounds. The back closure being in the position for "k" or "g", if the air is pressed against that closure while the click is made, it will produce a slight "k" or "g" sound in rushing out. These sound combinations are called by Mr. Doke and others unvoiced and voiced clicks. If the uvula is lowered while making the click, a nasal sound is produced.

For these three combinations Mr. Doke provides symbols. All three are found in Bushman, the first in very many examples; but there are words in which not the slightest "k" or "g" sound is audible with the click, the back release is silent. In others the back release is silent, but an aspirate follows before the vowel. Again, there may be a treble closure: front of tongue, back of

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104 tongue, and glottis. The front of the tongue is released first,
114 making a click, then the back is exploded, making a sort of glottal
194 plosive. The fricative "x" may also be combined with the click. For these clicks or combinations of sound there is no provision in Mr. Doke's system, so to avoid confusion I have followed the old custom of all writers on Bushman and Hottentot, and used a sign for the click alone, expressing the other sounds by their ordinary symbols.

104 This may best be shown by examples. We find the dental or
194 alveolar click in the following combinations :—

Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
ǀa	to fight		
ǀka	to leave	ʒa	ca
ǀkha	stick	ʒha	c'a
ǀha	husband		
ǀxã	to shoot		
ǀk'a	river bed		
ǀga	hippopotamus	ɣa	gca
ǀna	head	ɳa	nca

The retroflex plosive click is found in the following combinations :—

Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
ǃa	along		
ǃkã	to await	ʈa	qa
ǃkhau	bee	ʈhau	q'au
ǃham	first		
ǃxa	sister-in-law's husband		
ǃk'ao	to skin		
ǃgã	frog	ɖa	gqa
ǃna	winter	ɲa	nqa

These combinations can be found with the retroflex fricative click, which corresponds more or less to the lateral click of Bantu. Bushmen do not make this click with the tongue against the teeth or side of the mouth, but place it in about the same position as for the last click, only they release it gently, as in making the dental click. I give as examples :—

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Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
ǁa	to go		
ǁka	wet	ʒa	xa
ǁkhā	lion	ʒha	
ǁhagen	to equal		
ǁxā	again		
ǁk'ạ ǀkwi	son's father-in-law		
ǁga	night	ŋa	gxa
ǁna	there	ŋa	nxa

ˋ below the line indicates a low intonation.

The same combinations can be found with the alveolar plosive click, which is made as the retroflex plosive click, only with the tongue pressure very far forward, almost on the teeth. For example :—

Bushman spelling.	English.
ǂabbakn	to burn
ǂkā	baro
ǂkhàra	wingfeather
ǂhau	to jump
ǂxamma	to fetch
ǂk'anna	to call
ǂgabbetn	to throw
ǂna	to forget

The fifth click, found only in Southern Bushman, is made by pressing the lips together and then sucking the air in. It is found in the following combinations :—

⊙pwa little, ⊙bu to rain gently, ⊙ho tree, ⊙mwainya to kiss.

In his "Notes on a problem in the mechanism of Zulu clicks", Mr. Doke speaks as if no "k" sound were heard in what he calls the "unvoiced" clicks. I think most people hear a very slight "k". Colonials, in using Zulu or Kafir names, very often omit the click and say the rest of the word as they hear it. They always get a "k" sound, *Cetywayo* becomes **Ketywayo**, *X'osa* becomes **Khosa**, and so forth. I do not know of any Bantu names with clicks that have turned into words beginning with a vowel on the lips of Colonials.

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On the other hand Hottentot place names, when adopted by Colonials and stripped of their clicks, sometimes become words

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000 beginning with "k", such as *Kakamas*, *Karakhois*, from ǂkakamas, ǂkarakheis; and sometimes turn into words beginning with a vowel, as *Aus*, *Abiam*, *Oas*, from ǂaus, ǂabiam, ǂoas.

Moreover, by speaking of "unvoiced" clicks, Mr. Doke shows
104 that he is thinking of the expulsion of breath from the lungs, not
114 merely of the implosive phone, the click proper. In spite of my
194 disagreeing with him on this point, I would adopt his symbols, were they adequate for Bushman transcription. As it is, I stick to the old signs long identified with the Hottentot and Bushman clicks, and sufficing for all purposes, rather than inventing a whole row of new symbols.

000 To Dr. Beech I tender hearty thanks for his kind help in explaining the phonetic script of the I.P.A., which would otherwise have remained a closed book to me. I only hope that this attempt at Bushman transcription may be clear to other students.

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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[Title Page]

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10 Kung

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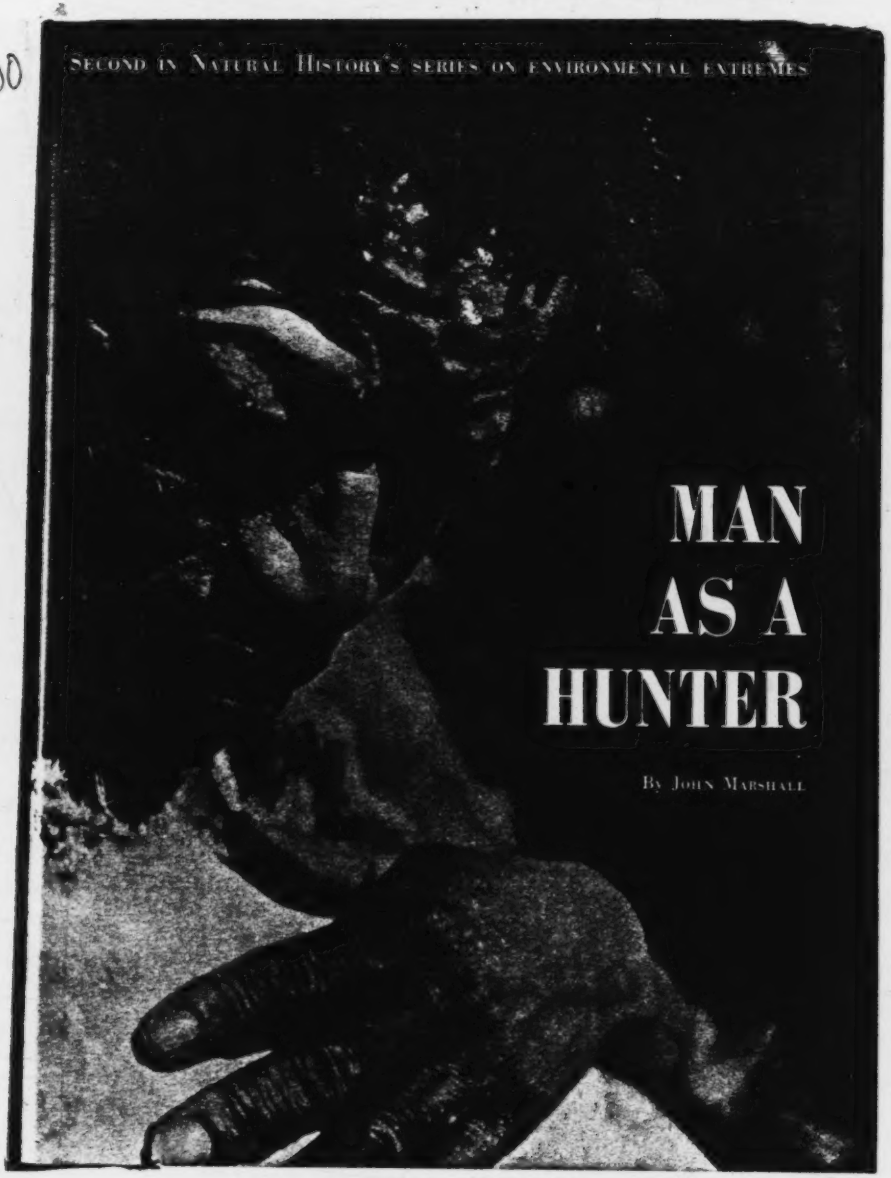
SECOND IN NATURAL HISTORY'S SERIES ON ENVIRONMENTAL EXTREMES



MAN AS A HUNTER

By JOHN MARSHALL

[p. 1]

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[p. 2]

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!Kung band's camp, *left*, is set up in shelter of overhanging trees. The thousand !Kung in this area are divided into twenty-eight such nomadic bands.

[p.3]

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Hunting is mankind's oldest—and least rewarding—way of life. Among its last practitioners are the Kalahari Bushmen

PART I

101
131

A PEOPLE, small of stature, few in numbers, calling themselves "!Kung," but who are called "Bushmen" by others, live today in a tremendous depression, half-a-continent wide and sunken in the southern African plateau—by name, the Kalahari Desert Basin. They live on the huge floor of this Basin, near one of its imperceptible sides. It is an open land—large to the point of vagueness, under a limitless sky. There is a word
101
used frequently by the other inhabitants of this Basin—mostly black-skinned peoples—to define the different cultural groups now living there. The word is "nation." One speaks of the Herero nation, the Chuana nations, the Okavango nations. To follow this usage, one would speak of the !Kung nation of *Nyae Nyae*—one among several Bushmen nations. [The prefix, (!), indicates one of the so-

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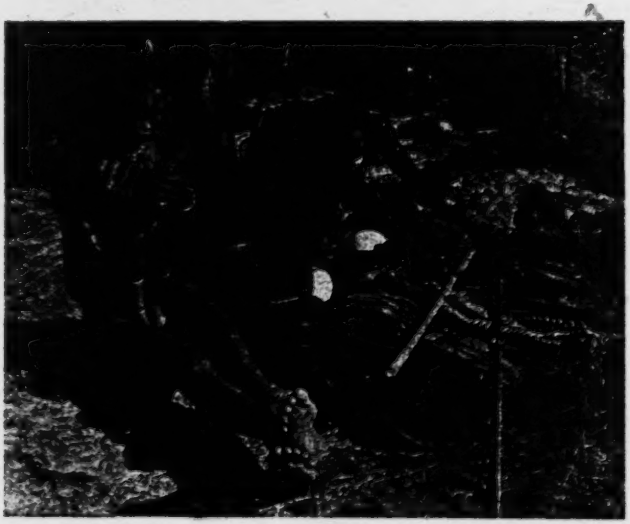

WORLDLY GOODS of a !Kung family are arrayed, *above*, preparatory to moving camp. The number of belongings cannot exceed family's carrying capacity.

[p. 4]

101 called "clicks" that mark the speech of the Bushmen. Distinction is made between four classes of "click": the dental (/), lateral (//), palatal (ǂ), and alveolar (!)—Ed.]

But "nation" is a new word, recently arisen in the vocabulary of a country whose people are struggling to define themselves in present times. The !Kung, who know who they are, do not yet need it. For, besides !Kung, which they use rarely, they call themselves *Dzu/oassi*. *Dzu/oassi* can be interpreted as "the people" in opposition to "the animals," for example, or as "the perfect people," or, indeed, as "the only people."

Unlike other nations, the Bushmen practice no agriculture, domesticate no animals. They are hunting and gathering peoples. But all the nations
133 —Bushmen, Bantu and white alike—who live in the Kalahari Basin must

[p. 5]

. 11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1955
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TREES AND SHRUBS of campsite provide convenient racks for family possessions, and even partial support for the sketchy *skerms* (screens) built in the dry winter, *above*, little more than bunches of grass caught on a few sticks.

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[P.6]

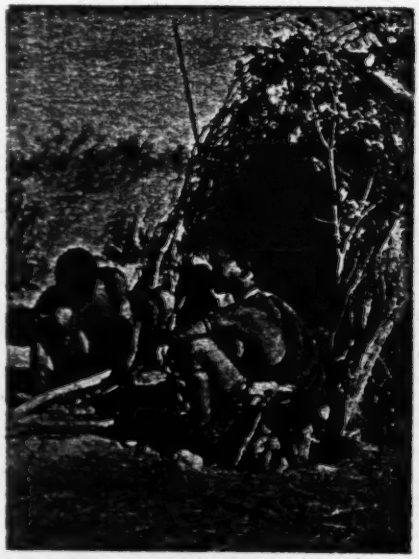
133 face its exigencies, for this sand-filled depression is distantly rimmed by mountains, and the mountains catch most of the clouds that might otherwise bring rain. The rain that does fall is sucked into the sand, so that there is little surface water and much of the Kalahari Basin is true desert.

137 ALTHOUGH true desert, the Kalahari is not a bare place: the face of the sand is hidden. Much of the desert is clothed with stalwart, similar bushes, most of them thorned. In places, dry forests grow slowly: the trees stand apart and the air between them is strangely still on days of wind. Grass covers the sand: in sweeps on the dry plains, in glens in the bush; grass grows on dunes gathered long ago by patient wind, and in the silent valleys, called *omuramba*'s. In a younger, greener time that has come and gone since man first lived in southern

137 Africa, these valleys once flowed—draining water from the high edges into the Basin. Now the sand has wandered into these valleys also.

132 There are four seasons in the Kalahari, two are brief. Winter begins in May and lasts through September. It is a healthful season. Of the foods available to gatherers in winter, roots are the most abundant. The earth is dry: the days are warm and clear, but cold in the shade; the nights are chill. Temperatures sink to 20° F. and below when the night wind turns, blowing from the antarctic south. On some hazeless nights, when the empty air seems insufficient protection from the cold of space, the morning ground will be wet with heavy dew. However, the smoke from a thousand African veld fires often thickens the skies of noon, reddens the setting sun and keeps the nights warmer and the earth dry.

At the end of September, clouds be-



FOR RAINY SEASON, the open-fronted grass shelters are more substantial.

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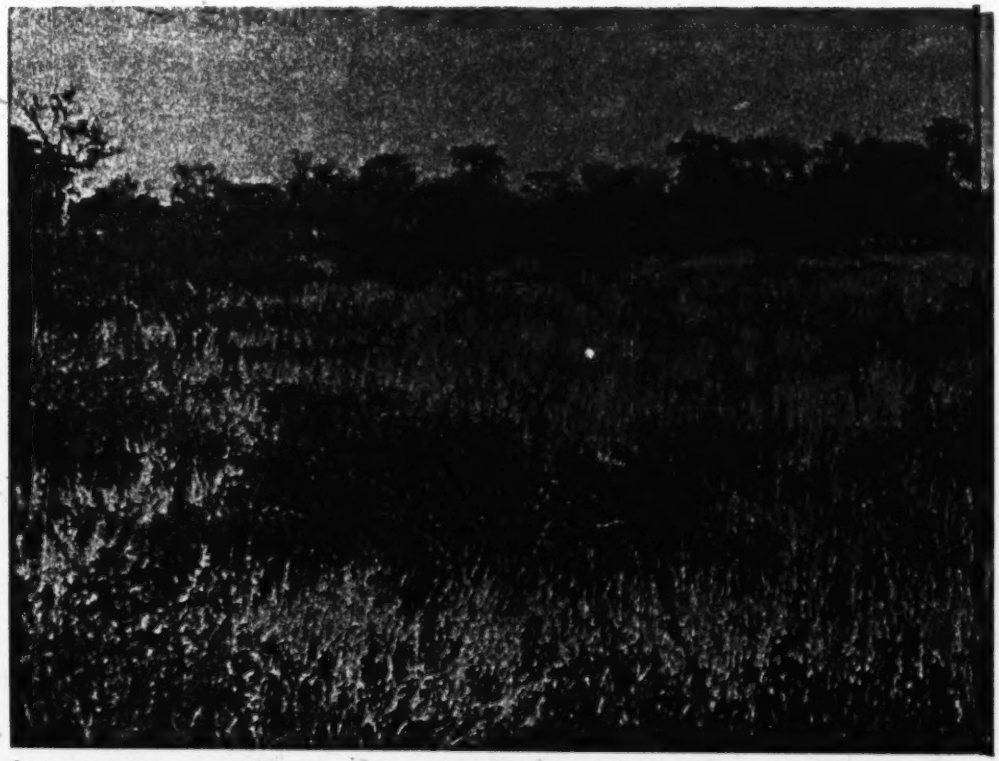
[p. 8]



COLLECTION OF FOOD, in contrast to hunting, is women's work among the !Kung. Almost every day, they leave camp to gather *veldkos* (roots, berries, nuts and the smallest animals) in the wild bush. The basic tool is the digging

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[P. 9]

Il: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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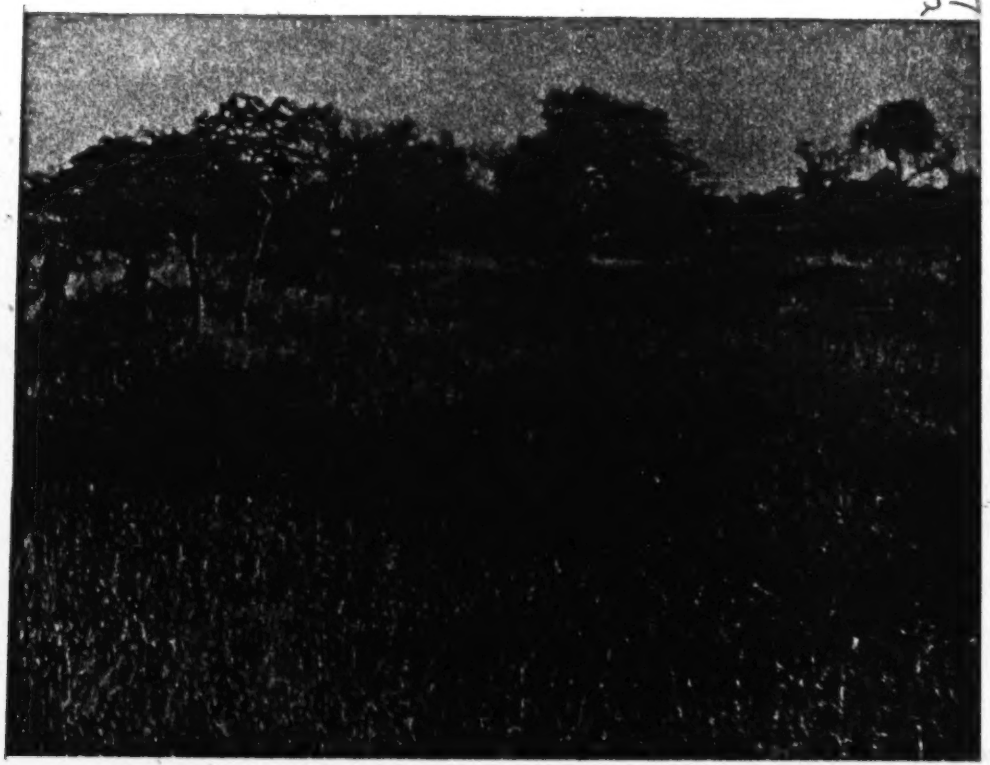

stick, fashioned by the man of the family from a tree-branch. Children soon learn, by watching, to identify more than a hundred edible wild plants. *Above*, four women, one with a young child, set off across the veld for food.

[P. 10]

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!Kung mother, collecting near camp, cradles a suckling daughter in a fold of her skin *kaross*, while her toddler son carries along a stick of his own.

[p. 11]

132 gin to tower in the afternoons. They wear over the desert from the east and are usually gone by morning. But should they encounter the right conditions, the local rains that fall from these clouds—the "little rains"—bring the spring of the year. This is the sudden season of thunderstorms. The storms are like gods walking in the desert, each attending to a narrow path with violence and rain. In the quiet, after their passing, many plants bloom—small flowers and edible greens.

[136] SPRING is also the season of heat. Myriads of flies, the year's crop, now hatch. The heat increases toward

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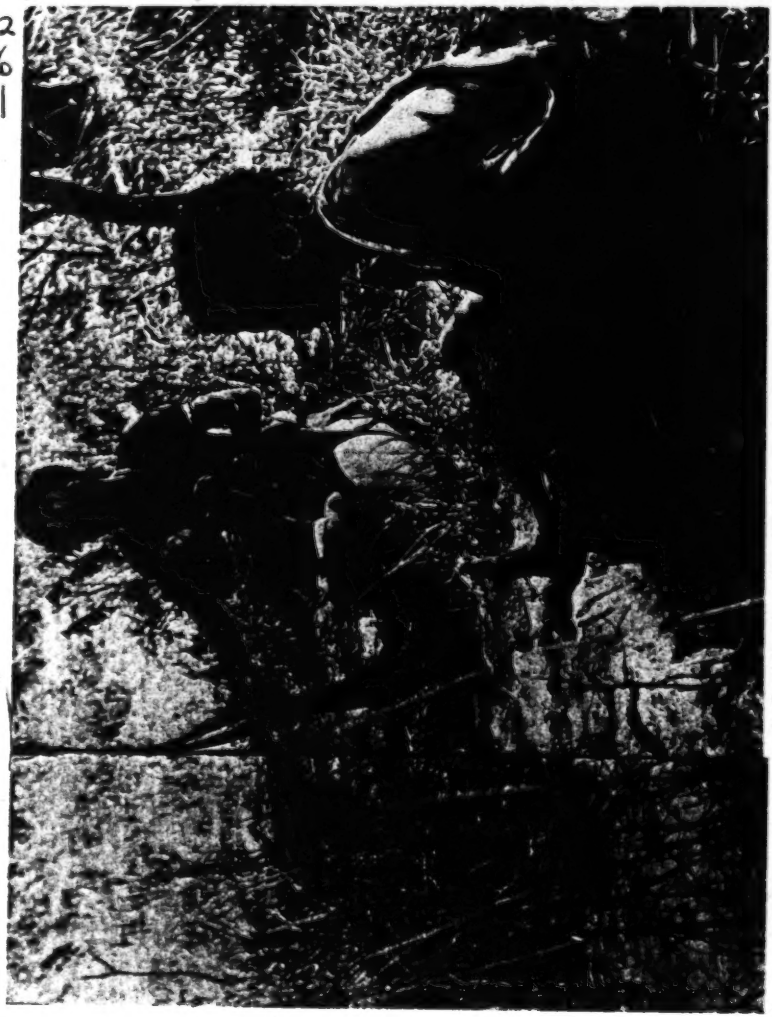

Most roots are dug up for food, but the ones held out, above, are valued for their bark. When it is powdered and rubbed on, it turns the skin red.

[p. 13]

132 summer and, although clouds continue to form early in the afternoon, often no rain falls. November and December pass in heat and privation for the people. Temperatures rise above 100° F. not long after the brief dawn, as the sun mounts, close and huge, bringing the heat of day. Many of the blooms of the "little rains" wither in November, as do many young greens. The roots have sent their substance into vines; now the loose skins of the roots lie collapsed around inedible fiber. Spring means blooming of plants, but spring is ardent and quickly over: many of the desert's flowers have only a few days in which to flourish.

LITTLE ESCAPES the women's eyes in their intense search for food, *below*. Even small animals—like turtles and grasshoppers—are carefully gathered.

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[p.15]

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HUNTER'S LIFE is not all hunger and privation. *Above*, a young !Kung belle amuses herself with stringed instrument.

BUT AGE COMES SOON: bracelets, beads and pendants that adorn this mature !Kung matron contrast with seamed face.

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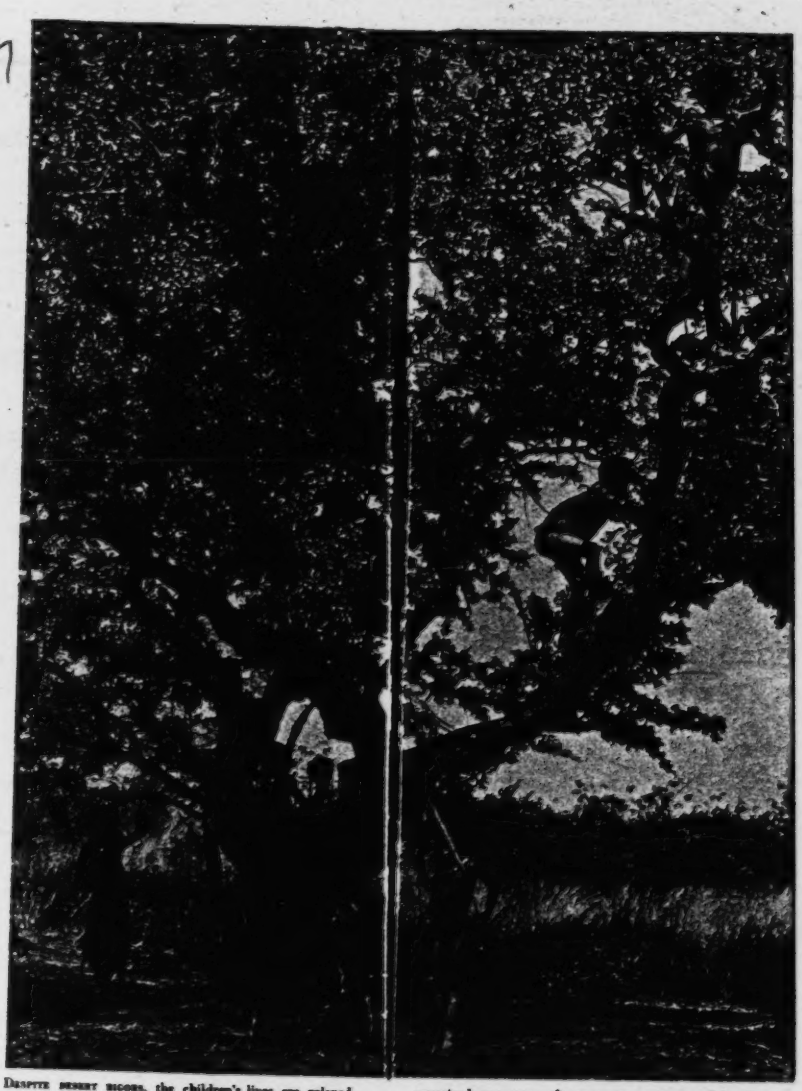

DESPITE SEMBLY RIGOUR, the children's lives are relaxed ones, largely lacking in formal instruction and without organized pressure on the young to assume an adult role. Here, a gathering of children from one !Kung camp enjoy

[p.17]

857

organized pressure on the young to assume an adult role. Here, a gathering of children from one !Kung camp enjoy themselves in the shade of a tree—one swinging, others scampering, "follow-the-leader" fashion, in the branches.

[p. 18]

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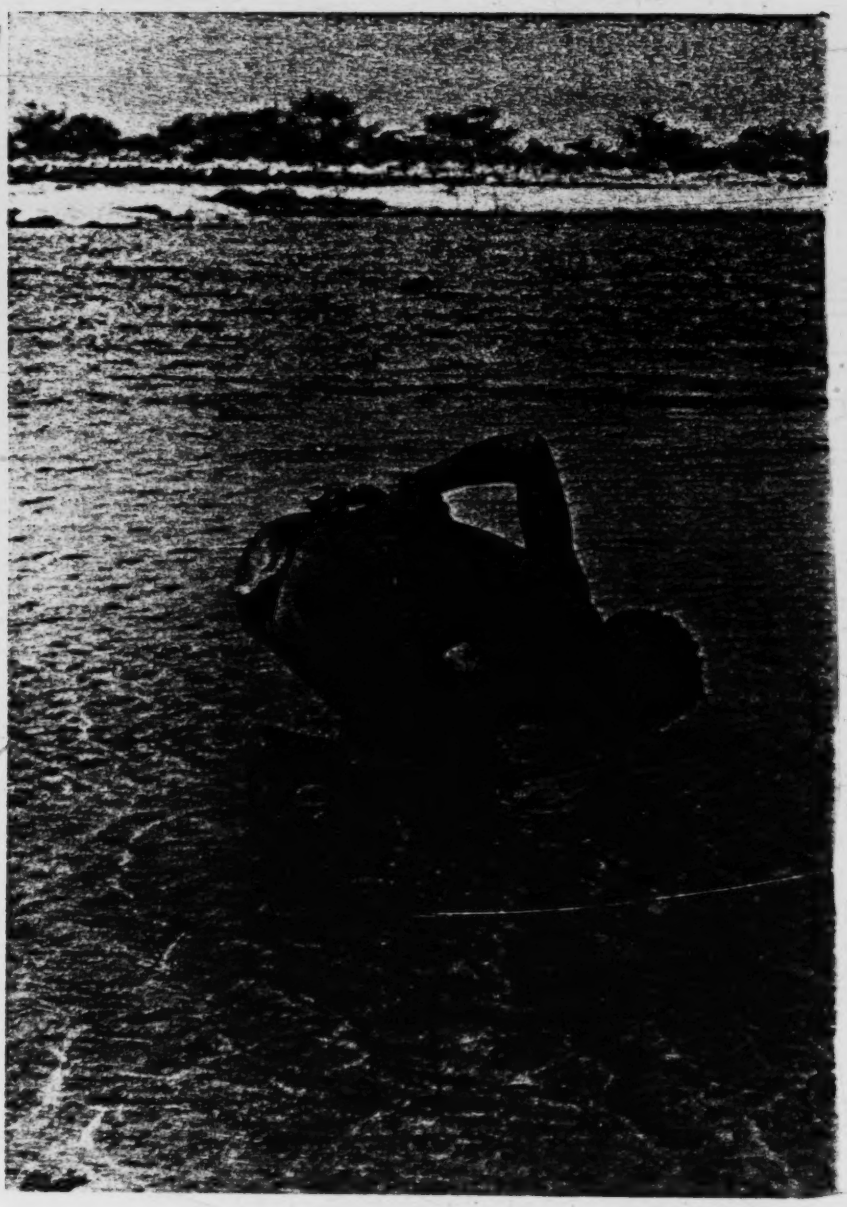

[p.19]

132 LATE in December or early in January the rains of summer—the "big rains"—begin. This is the season of water. Water collects in the hollows of the land; it seeps into the pans, changing them into shallow lakes; it melts the baked clay in the *omuramba* bottoms, and turns the Kalahari green.

132 This is the season when two nuts, the *tsi* and the *mangetti*—the most im-
262 portant and abundant of the wild
137 desert foods—begin to mature. By March, the *mangetti* forests sound with the falling nuts. Beside the summer storms—when water piles up uselessly on the reverberating earth—days on end are cloudy and, sometimes, a fine mist falls over parts of the northern Kalahari through the day and into the night. Now, the people eat many fruits. In the deeps of green thickets,
[164] ponderous flowers droop on slender vines. Spring and summer, the times of bounty, are also the seasons of disease.

132 By the end of April, the afternoon skies begin to clear, the air dries, the wind seeks. It is autumn. In April, the *tsi* nuts ripen and the pods split, turning out their brown wealth. The many desert roots cease their activity and become firm and full, safe in

312
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WATER IS KEY to life in the Kalahari: In all the !Kung territory, there are only ten permanent waterholes. Above, a man fills his ostrich-egg "bottle."

[p. 21]

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For the rest of the year, above, they fill their eggshells from permanent waterholes, dig for water roots.

[p. 22]

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Kung

FEWNESS OF NUMBERS in desert's vast expanse may help account for characteristic !Kung habit of huddling together in company, as in case of this group of children, *above*. Items of personal adornment — eggshell disks, often in strings with seed beads, and hoops of traded wire — show parental affection.

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[p. 23]

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HUDDLING HABIT is noticeable again in this gathering of women and children at a !Kung *ua/t*. Well-ornamented child, *foreground*, is still at breast.

[p. 24]

132 themselves for the winter and in a state most suitable for food. The desert pales. Day and night, water evaporates from the pans; first becoming a film, then less than a film, with only the damp clay glistening. One noon, the clay begins to wrinkle in the sun. By June, the earth is dry: the land is fast and quietly held by winter.

132 Such would be a perfect round of seasons. In the periods of drought
731 that have come every few years in the recent past, however, there have been no such perfect seasons and all living things have, of necessity, fastened tenaciously to the drying earth and held on. Even in normal years, the weather is unbalanced: large areas of the Kalahari may be flooded, while others receive a sprinkling of rain in what amounts to drought conditions. In this land, and through these seasons, the !Kung nation lives.

[131] THE AREA in which the !Kung now
174 live is called *Nyae Nyae*. How long they have lived there is not

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
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Kung

174 known. At one time, Bushmen lived throughout Africa from as far north as Angola and Tanganyika to, southward, the Cape of Good Hope. This was a time when few peoples shared that part of the continent. In southern Africa, beside the many Bushmen nations, there were Hottentots and pre-Bantu Negroes—some of whom were hunters and some of whom practiced agriculture. In the distances between the nations grew years of peace.

About five centuries ago, larger, stronger, Bantu-speaking peoples, who had cattle to pasture, entered southern Africa from the north. They came in two prongs, like the horns of a bull, prodding down the eastern and western highlands. In search of grazing land, these Bantus were themselves driven south by defeat in wars then current on the plains of East Africa. The established peoples of the south—the Bushmen, the Hottentots and pre-Bantus—were dislocated by this push and began to move, themselves. This flux has yet to come completely to rest.

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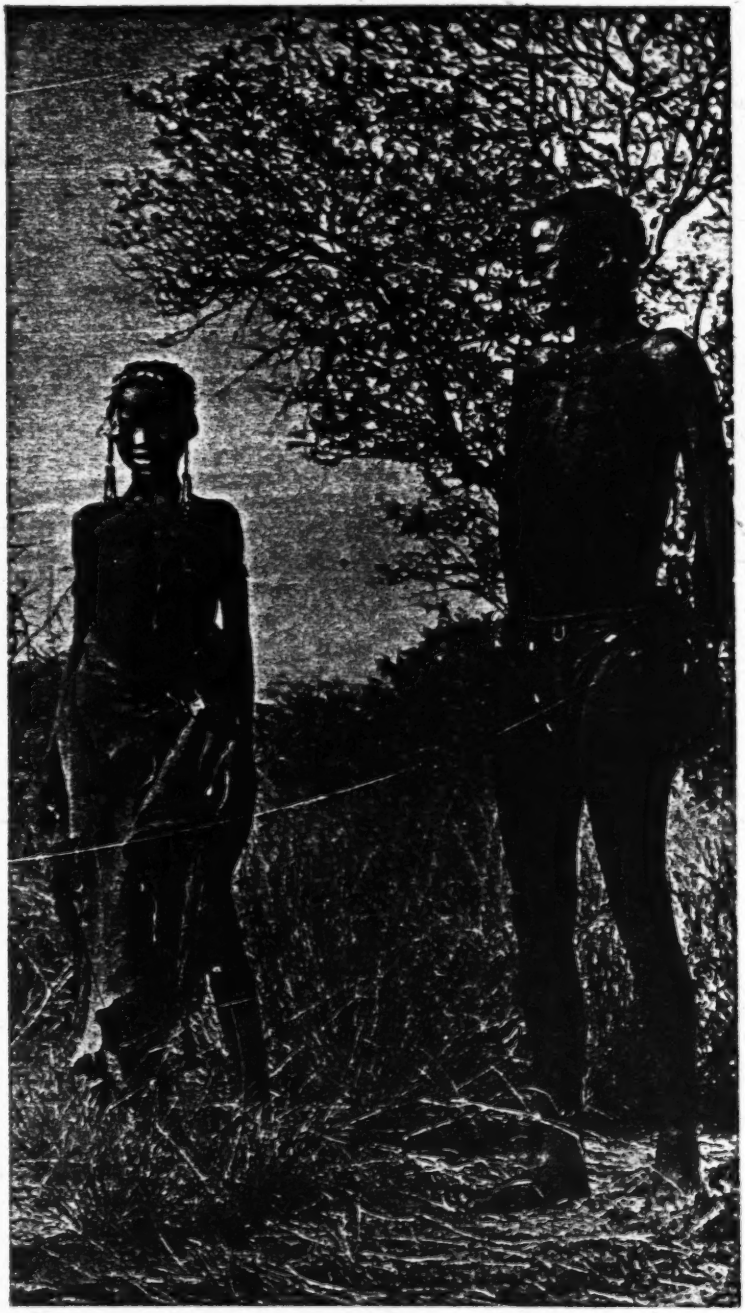

YOUNG COUPLE stands, shyly smiling, at outskirts of *werfi*. Marriage among the !Kung, as in the case here, often occurs before the girls reach puberty.

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SKIN KAROSS, being stitched, *above*, is the !Kung's most important garment, while nuts from the *tsi* and *mongetti* trees (in pot, *below*) are chief food.

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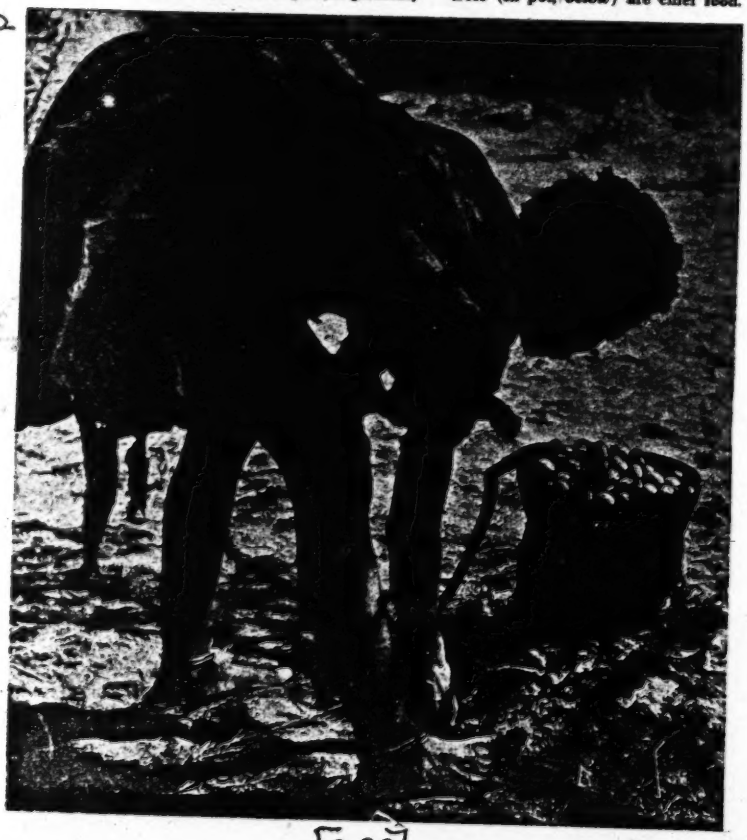

174 [18] In such disturbed times, the Bushmen fare ill. They are not, and probably were not ever, a warlike people. Their society is not constructed for war, their culture dampens war. Yet, now, wars and battles began to scatter across the land, as groups of people—large and small, Bantu armies, itinerant raiders, the remnants of tiny nations and the dispossessed—marched and wandered in their search of conquest or safe distant places.

Some Bushmen nations were driven into pockets in the hills, where they died slowly. Some stayed on their land and were decimated and made slaves. Some resisted and, as one who spoke of his people told me: "We were soldiers in those days." Their armies changed into marauder bands that sometimes fought and often ran. Of these, the Heikum were an example—an embittered, scattered nation of travelers on the then uncertain grasslands of South West Africa. When, at

FIREWOOD FOR CAMP is another prize to be sought from the veld. Here, two fine logs are being carried back to the *werft* for fuel. Besides fires for cooking, the !Kung need them at night for warmth, since temperatures after sunset often fall well below freezing. Each family shelter has its own fire.

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[P. 30]

174 last, white and black met,—raiding one another for cattle across the Fish River—and the time of the Zulu and the Voortrekker was near, the classic period of the Bushmen was over.

131 THE AREA called *Nyae Nyae* lies on the border between South West Africa and Bechuanaland. It covers about 10,000 square miles, between 18°55′ and 21°0′ South latitude and 19°50′ to 21°25′ East longitude. In
133 the center of this area is a ring of *kalk* pans. *Nyae Nyae* is actually the name the !Kung gave to this ring of pans, although I have applied it to the whole area occupied by the !Kung nation.
136 There is game round these pans and, in small groups, everywhere in *Nyae Nyae*. Wild roots grow in the
137 bush that shrouds much of the territory. There is *tsi* in the south, while
133 *mangetti* forests crowd along the crests of white sand dunes in the south and east, and spread over the north. Their

137 nuts drop abundantly to the ground
every year. There are ten permanent
133 waterholes—some clustered around the
ring of the pans, the others set like
infrequent jewels in a low limestone
ridge along the eastern border. During the rains, small pans and hollows hold embroidered pools. Hollow trees also catch water and keep it until it turns brown, while several kinds of water roots can be counted on all year.

174 Until recently, few came and none
but Bushmen stayed for long in *Nyae Nyae*, for there is not enough water to attract pastoral peoples, and the soils are not the best for crops. The !Kung say: "We have always been here, drinking the *Nyae Nyae* waters." Perhaps this "always" began at about the time when the western Bantu horn was moving southward through Ovamboland. All one can say for sure is that they came, possibly seeking sanctuary in the empty spaces of the Kalahari, found, in *Nyae Nyae*, a quiet

174 place, and stayed. In *Nyae Nyae*, the
!Kung have since lived on unchanged
—replacing only their bone arrow-
[411 points with metal ones, made from
the nails and wire that filtered into the
177] desert after the Europeans' entry into
South West Africa.

178 The !Kung nation cannot so live
for much longer. Already their last
lands are being occupied by the
Herero nation—Bantu-speakers—who
say: "The Bushmen are like our children. We feel obligated to care for them." It seems likely that, in a few years, these lands will be farmed by white people. Then, if the past of other Bushmen is any omen, some !Kung will become farm laborers, some will contract syphilis, some will die and some will breed. Few will marry.

000 So much for the little history and the brief geography. How do the !Kung live in *Nyae Nyae?* Human ecology is the study of the relation-

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
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YOUNG MOTHER bows her head as ornament for ear lobe is twisted to shape.

000

ship between man and his natural environment. In such a relationship, two directions of cause and effect are implied. These two directions may be understood by two terms—adaption and control. Adaption means the effect wrought by the environment upon the body or the culture of man. Control is the effect wrought upon the environment by man, his body and his culture. In the one case, man conforms to the environment. In the other, man conforms the environment to his needs.

182

THERE IS no ecological situation where either adaptation or control prevails to the exclusion of the other, for the fact of man's presence changes an environment, and the most effective technology, the most developed society, are—in part—responses to an environment. Every ecological relationship is a welter of compromise. Yet, there are extremes. If we take Western technological culture as one extreme—with control prevailing and America the exponent—the !Kung might be considered the opposite extreme, for the !Kung control their environment scarcely at all.

To the !Kung, in their environment, there are available a certain number of natural resources, in a certain geographical pattern. There are also available a certain number of !Kung. They have a culture. Living within their culture, they are able to exploit their environment. The first aspect of this ecological relationship is the fairly obvious relationship between !Kung technology and environment.

[p. 34]

182 With considerable empirical knowledge, the !Kung have arrived at workable solutions to the problems of subsistence. By means of their technology, they have managed to satisfy their basic needs and their many wants of life (at least, they satisfied them until they were exposed to the wealth of white men). The fact that their population is limited because of their technology is one result of this adaptation—of which infanticide is an occasional expression. That they live to all intents and purposes from day to day—having no real measure of surplus in the form of stored crops and

[847]

182 beasts ready to slaughter—is another indication that the !Kung have largely adapted to their environment. But the contrasting fact that the !Kung live in *Nyae Nyae* as easily as they do also indicates some measure of environmental control.

THE more complex aspects of the !Kung ecological relationship exist in areas other than their simple technology. That the !Kung are able to exploit their environment with a certain degree of efficiency is due in some measure to the structure of their society. Thus, the second aspect of the

182 ecological relationship is this one: the relationship between a certain number of natural resources, arranged in a certain environment, and a society that has developed in the presence of these resources and whose members are dependent on them.

Of course, their society did not come into being because the !Kung needed it to exploit their environment, nor is that society shaped only in accordance with environmental dictates. Indeed, some elements of !Kung society seem to exist in spite of the environment. There is reason to believe that their society has not basically

182 changed through periods when there was more water, more game, and probably more *veldkos*—the wild vegetable products of the land, gathered by the women of the bands — in South Africa, although this point might be debated on grounds that the !Kung depended more on hunting in previous periods. But it is that aspect of !Kung social structure, the functioning of which clearly seems to facilitate exploitation of their environment by means of their technology, that we shall discuss. These manifestations appear primarily adaptive in nature, although control is also discernible.

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WOMAN OF WESST gather children and possessions in preparation for march to a new campsite. A band can travel about ten miles a day, gathering food as it goes. The !Kung move in annual patterns: staying near waterholes in dry winter, visiting mongetti forests in moist summer, and fat areas in fall.

[p. 39]

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DELOUSING is a courtesy among kinsmen: the salty-tasting lice are eaten.

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There are about 1,000 !Kung—gathered into 28 bands—who build their ephemeral camps, or *werft*'s, separately in an area of 10,000 square miles. The houses in the *werft*'s are of grass, pressed over a framework of sticks, making small quarter-shells, with their backs to the prevailing wind. Gossamer things, made of the same grass that sways and crowds against their doors, they are positioned in a loose pattern according to their occupants' kinship, and all are held—finally—by the headman, who builds his shelter under the tallest tree.

[622]

From a little distance, when the sound of voices is lost on the wind, one would not know a *werft* was near. The people never return to the same *werft*—preferring to build anew and saying it would not be safe from the spirits of the dead, or sanitary, to do so. Perhaps, also, they find it sad to see the little houses toppling, day by day, into the grass of the new year.

462

AS A STARTING POINT, labor among the !Kung is divided between two basic subsistence activities—hunting game and gathering *veldkos*. Men hunt, because their bodies are better suited to the chase. Women gather, because they could not leave their children for the long periods of hunting that men both enjoy and endure.

222

Women's work—the technology of gathering—is simple and adaptable: the tools are easily acquired, the methods quickly learned. The constant necessity to provide and the almost daily edge of effort slowly bends the

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JOHN MARSHALL is one of a family that has been studying the Bushmen for nearly a decade, in expeditions to South West Africa by the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

222 !Kung women, who are slender-armed and do this monotonous work to the end of their lives. All roots—a major food—are gathered in identical fashion. The implement for this is a digging stick—made usually by a woman's husband from any of a number of hardwoods: the bark is peeled from a branch, a point is whittled sharp. Women, squatting, dig narrow holes in the earth with these sticks, and tug until the root they have reached comes free. Berries are picked—high ones jostled down with sticks and sought for carefully among the grass stems. Nuts are collected on the ground.

[412]

224 SMALL ANIMALS, such as tortoises and even grasshoppers, are sometimes captured by the women and brought home in the evening—such small creatures are also considered *veldkos*. The women, too, will kill snakes, even puff adders. When they see a puff adder, they gather around it in a little crowd, their high laughter tinkling while they drop large, heavy things on its flat head.

222 461 Averaged over a year, women gather on four or five days of each week—the number of days depending

[p.4]

222 461 on the season. In the long days of wilting between the October spring and the January summer, food is scarce and the women may go out every day into the failing veld, leaving their *werft* early in the morning and returning late in the afternoon. All 222 422 that a woman gathers belongs to her alone, and of course is shared with her family. She feeds her husband, her 593 children and often a visitor or two, at her own hearth. No formal instruction 222 is practiced among the !Kung, with the possible exception of certain kinds 868 of religious teaching and what might be called an occasional hunting school. 857 Learning to gather comes from the children's observation of the more experienced women. Girls soon learn to [824] recognize more than a hundred kinds of edible plants that grow in *Nyae Nyae*, as well as the seasons and places in which these plants grow. They learn to see tiny, shriveled root vines coiled around thorns in the thickets and, in the process, develop fine powers of observation. Possibly complementary to this lack of formal instruction, no formal pressure is exerted on young people to take up adult roles. Girls, if they wish, accompany their mothers on gathering trips. If they do not, they rarely feel guilty. A girl usually be- [582] gins to feel responsible soon after she marries, which is often before puberty. But only when she has children of her own does a woman see the world through the eyes of a provider.

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WITH THE SUMMER RAINS, the nuts of the *mongetti* forests – related to the almond – begin to mature. The !Kung arrive as soon as possible to start collecting. In winter,

[p.43]

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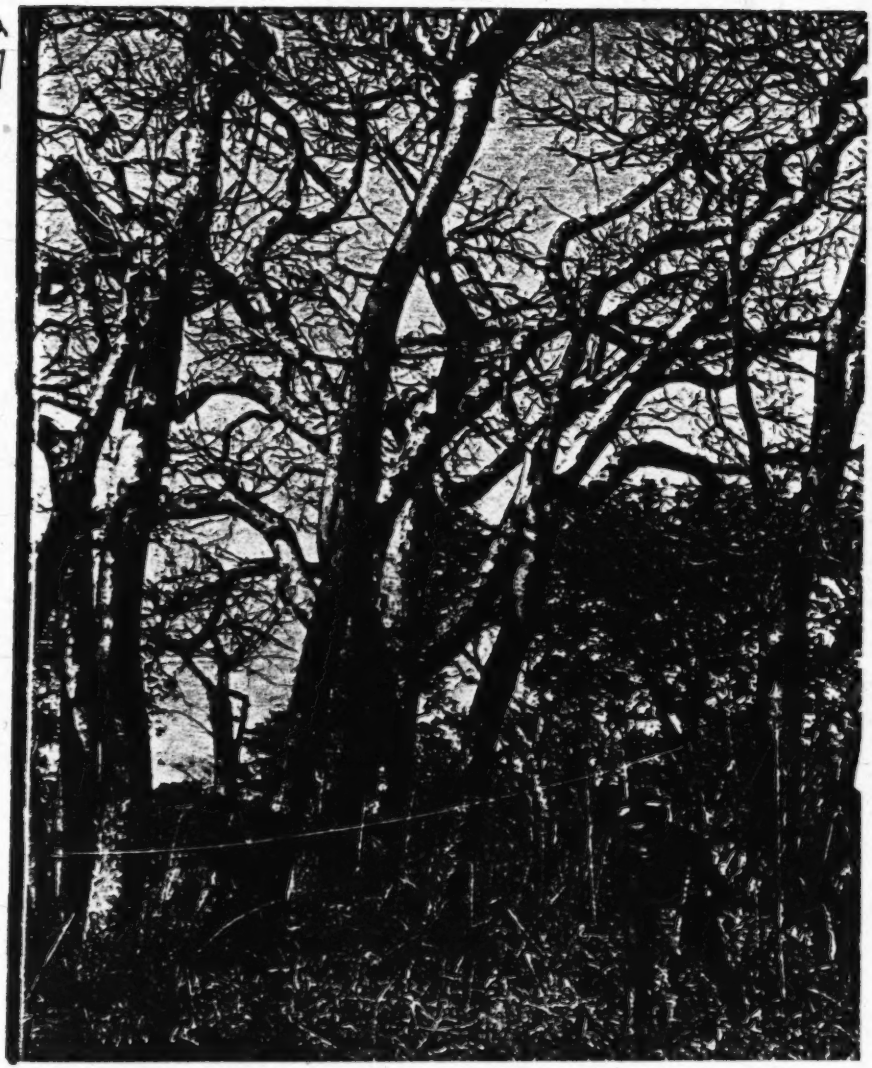

WITH THE SUMMER RAINS, the nuts of the *mongongo* forests – related to the almond – begin to mature. The !Kung arrive as soon as possible to start collecting, pay later visits as well. In winter, above, they search again.

[p.44]

HUNTSMEN OF NYAE NYAE

The !Kung still practice man's oldest craft

By John Marshall

224 481 151 HUNTING is the work of men. !Kung hunters range the land, seeking the agile game. The men walk rapidly, never lowering their eyes, making sure of the awkward ground with their dextrous feet. They glance swiftly over the distances of the country and, with their good vision and knowledge of what to look for, see any moving thing. As girls learn gathering, boys learn most of hunting on their own. They hunt little birds in the grass around the *werft* houses. They impale beetles with tiny arrows shot from toy bows. Tracking, which is the most difficult part

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[411 482 415]

Chief weapons of !Kung are bow and poisoned arrows (in quiver, above).

[p. 45]

224 of hunting, is learned last of all.
868 Hunters must be able to recognize the spoor of one wounded wildebeest out of a herd of fifty, and follow that track across desert ground which is almost as hard as stone.

224 The usual techniques of hunting are well adapted to the Kalahari terrain and, except on rare occasions, do not change—no matter what the animal may be. The !Kung hunt an eland and a duiker in the same manner; the idea is to get to the animal just as quickly as possible. The hunters feel that the longer they creep and wait, the more time the

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At end of chase, with quarry stricken, spears may be used on big game.

[p. 47]

224 animal will have to decide what to do. I have seen a man, using this principle, run crouched across a perfectly open flat, with grass no higher than his knees, and come within twenty yards of a wildebeest who was watching him all the time. Of course the men use cover when they can, but they use it quickly and deftly, keeping on their feet and running bent and bunched so that their arms will not wave and attract unnecessary attention. Although their [411] arrows are true and straight, they are unfeathered and therefore not very accurate. At fifty yards, a !Kung hunter can only feel sure of hitting a kudu somewhere.

Among the less frequently used techniques of hunting are trapping, the use of blinds built near the pans (manned at night during the rains) and a technique of running down fat elands in the dry season when, what

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MR. MARSHALL has participated in all six expeditions to the Kalahari by Harvard's Peabody Museum. Two of the expeditions were in association with the Smithsonian Institution.

224 with the heat and exertion, the portly animals suffer a kind of stroke and have to take to the shade to recover. There, puffing and dizzy, the exhausted elands can be butchered by the deep-breathing hunters.

[223] The trap is a spring-pole snare, of which exists a small version for birds and a larger version for small bucks. Such trapping is usually practiced only by young boys, and even they seem to do it rarely, so that what could amount to an important food source is neglected by the !Kung. The men would rather be gone after the big game, absorbed in the heat and chance of hunting,

HUNTER'S BOOTY, in addition to meat for the pot, includes much-needed raw materials for !Kung economy. Skins of smaller animals are cut into the breech-clouts worn by the men, and, *above*, are sometimes ingeniously peeled off, almost in one piece, and turned into bags, with the legs serving as straps.

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[P. 51]

224 than to be squatting around the edges of the pans, making little guises with sticks and string into which guinea fowl invariably fall.

224 The technology of hunting is the most complex in !Kung culture, and
278 the most involved aspect of that technology is their amazing poison. Without it, the little unfeathered arrows, driven by a light bow, would be useless against big game. With the poison, a !Kung hunter could kill an elephant although, perhaps fortunately, for both, the two seldom encounter one another.

224 THERE are four kinds of poison—a
278 root (which is rarely used), two
825 grubs and the pod of a tree. One of the two kinds of grub is the larva of an unidentified beetle that lives in a bush; the other is the larva of a beetle that lives in certain Murula trees, identified as *Diamphidia sim-*

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plex. This identity, however, is complicated by the presence of still a third beetle, a parasitic one that apparently lives on the grubs of *Diamphidia simplex*, so that it is not now clear *which* is the poisonous grub. The Bushmen are aware of the parasite and feel that its grub does contain poison. They say it "runs around and runs away." They may be speaking of the beetle, for it is difficult to imagine a grub running, and the grub may be so similar to the young *Diamphidia* that the !Kung simply confuse the two. Lastly, still a fourth insect—smaller, and hairy—said to become easily inflamed, is occasionally encountered among the grubs. It is possible that this is the insect that has a poisonous larva: in any case, somewhere in the community is a poisonous grub, and how the Bushmen found it we have no idea.

Assuming *Diamphidia* to be the

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BAGS FOR FOOD, above, like eggshells for water, give !Kung some freedom in moving. Food may be brought to water or water carried far into the desert.

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poison-bearer, its cycle is somewhat as follows: the beetle lays its eggs in the Murula tree leaves. Hatching in the rains, the grubs migrate down the trunk, progressing through a number of growth stages. Finally, they make their cocoons under the ground near the tree. In these cocoons, they struggle through metamorphosis and emerge as small, bravely-colored beetles in the New Year's rains, providing the Bushmen have not already dug them up. The hunters know the particular trees frequented by the beetles and make expeditions to them at least twice a year to replenish their supply. Then the grubs are dug up, and used on the spot or kept in their cocoons, depending on the man's needs.

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The poisoning of !Kung arrows is a long process, with a number of variations. The most common poison is a mixture of the grub and the previously mentioned tree-pod. The grubs are crushed and the pod is warmed until its contents melt slightly and can be crushed with the grubs. This mixture is thinned with the copious spit which results from chewing any of a variety of barks and is then smeared on the foreshaft of the arrow—but cleaned immaculately off

[p. 53]

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
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the point, for the slightest prick, the least bit of poison getting in such a wound, would cause death.

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Depending on where the poisoned arrow hits, a small buck can die in a morning, a man in a few hours, a giraffe in four to five days. There is nothing that can be done for a man, short of amputating a limb or immediately excising the wound and cutting the nearby flesh to let the blood drain. Yet, the poison has no effect upon the game's meat. One can even eat the mixture with relative impunity: it must enter the bloodstream directly to be deadly.

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As subsistence activities, the men's and women's roles—hunting and gathering—are of unequal weight. Almost eighty per cent of the people's food is *veldkos*, more abundant than game in *Nyae Nyae*, and far more easily acquired. If from one summer to the next, a man kills twelve antelope, he feels he has had a good year.

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But, despite its relatively minor subsistence value, hunting is extremely important in !Kung culture. It has developed its body of technology, acquired a large tradition of beliefs, fostered a wealth of knowledge, and

[p.54]

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LARGE HIDE IS STAKED OUT, above, to be cured. This may become a cloak (*karosi*), the most important !Kung garment.

[p.55]

MEAT FROM THE CHASE is shared by all among the band. An old woman, *below*, is skinning her portion of an ostrich.

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become both the measure of a man's ability and a test of his readiness to marry. Part of the explanation may come from the passion in hunting. Like their fires, the tales of hunting burn brightly for the !Kung in the night, warming their memories. Of equal or greater significance is the !Kung craving for meat and undoubtedly for protein. Unlike the sharing of *veldkos*, limited to the nuclear family, a complex system of distribution insures that everyone in the *werft* will get a share of all game killed. This is done, they say, simply to prevent jealousy and the inevitable renunciations that go with it. The !Kung declare "We are a jealous people" and they try to keep jealousy at a minimum, for they fear it.

Still another aspect of hunting—perhaps the most important in terms of subsistence—is the by-products it provides. Sinew is used for thongs

[p. 56]

237 and bowstrings, horn makes spoons
and small containers: most needed of
all are the skins—converted into bags
and nets for carrying, and into
291 clothes. Men wear only a breech-
clout. Women wear modesty aprons,
281 often one in front and one behind,
as well as a piece of soft skin, clasped
[841] between their buttocks and thighs,
when menstruating. Both men and
women wear *kaross*'s. The *kaross*,
or skin cloak, is the most important
garment and everyone tries to have
one. If a man has only one *kaross*,
and he is a good man, he will give it
to his wife and do without—for, to a
woman, a *kaross* is essential. In it,
she is modest. In it, she carries the
[482] roots she has gathered in the day
and the baby who must go where she
goes. Her *kaross* is her warmth at
night, her softness on the cold
ground. It breaks the blind wind and
roofs away the narrow rain.

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IN ANNUAL CEREMONY, above, a girl is guided as she lifts a tsi nut from the fire. She is now free to eat tsi for a year.

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312 TEN permanent waterholes, as we have seen, occur in two areas—around the ring of pans in the east center of *Nyae Nyae*, and along the eastern border. To the west, beyond the limit of the pans, there is no water in the long dry seasons. Around each permanent waterhole, the *veldkos* near enough to be gathered in a day are considered by the !Kung to be an integral part of that waterhole. This means that such a waterhole includes both the water itself and all the *veldkos* within a circle with a radius of some four miles. This area might be called a certain waterhole's "district," taking its name from the waterhole. When a man mentions a waterhole, he usually has such a district in mind.

222 484 Yet neither the *veldkos* in these districts nor the *veldkos* scattered between the districts, nor the game, which wanders, constitute the main

FIRE IS MADE, *below*, with a drill. Upright stick is rolled between palms, one end socketed in another piece of wood.

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[p. 60]

WOODEN WANDS ARE WHITTLED by pair of intent !Kung boys, in preparation for a children's game. Bounced off ground, the sticks sail through the air for yards. Woodworking and exercise from the game help to prepare future hunters.

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POISON IS SMEARED on arrow's metal foreshaft, but carefully cleaned away from point. Commonest poison is made of tree pods mashed with beetle grubs.

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484 food resources of *Nyae Nyae*. Instead, these are the *mangetti* and *tsi* nuts. Both are found only far from permanent water. Distance becomes more significant when one thinks not only of miles—but of time, footsteps, heat and carrying capacity. From the nearest western water, it is about twenty miles to a *mangetti* forest. The distance between *tsi* and the closest water is about seven miles. The [481] people calculate their marching ability at about ten miles a day, with women and children, although men can make forty if necessary. They gather food as they travel, for a day of traveling is just like any other day, with children and old people to be provided for.

221 In order to exploit the environment successfully, with their limited technological equipment, the !Kung must move from place to place. The calendar of their movements is revealing. In winter, the people are forced to remain near the waterholes,

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!KUNG ARROWS ARE SMALL and unfeathered, and the bow is light. But the powerful poison will kill a small buck in half a day and a giraffe in less than a week. Hunters make their own points, above, and can recognize one another's.

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HUNTER'S TRAINING starts as childhood play, above, and !Kung youths will use anthills as targets and even stalk beetles as a game. Although their arrows are featherless.

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11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
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221 gathering in districts and making occasional trips to places where enough water-roots can be dug to support them for several days. When the "little rains" of spring come to *Nyae Nyae*, the land usually relents somewhat. Some of the small western and northern pans fill, and a hollow *mangetti* tree may have collected some water. The people, who keep track of conditions throughout *Nyae Nyae* from the reports of hunters and visitors, try to get to the *mangetti* forests as soon as possible, and bring

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
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221 back as many nuts as they can carry.

THE "big rains" open the land. People travel to distant places and remove to the *mangetti* forests until autumn, when the *tsi* ripens. Then they remain in the *tsi* areas till the *tsi* nuts are exhausted—which sometimes happens before the small annual waters have evaporated — and finally make their way back to their permanent waterholes.

221 415 In such a transient life, the importance of light belongings — and

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415 of ostrich eggshells for carrying water and skin bags for food—is evident. With carrying bags and ostrich eggshells, the people can bring water to food and food to water. Partly because of their life of motion, the !Kung do not accumulate heavy wealth.

847 Infanticide is uncommon among the !Kung, but one of the various reasons for the practice is that a woman may feel she cannot carry another child when the band moves. Then, the baby is born into a tiny grave near the *werft*, and the grave is closed.

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Adult hunters can hit their quarry at fifty yards.

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!KUNG RITUAL LIFE is sparse, but one means of reaching out to the infinite is a state of trance that may come in the course of dancing. The man being supported, above, is in such a state. The !Kung believe that a man in trance can take away a person's sickness and throw it back at the god who sent it.

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361 THAT the !Kung live in small bands,
621 flexible in their composition and spread widely over their Kalahari world, is owing in good part to their environment and to the technological means by which they cope with it. But the effect of the environment, carrying through the technology, penetrates the structure of the bands themselves and influences the way in which the !Kung distribute themselves around their resources.

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The headman of each band is considered to "own" a waterhole. What he is considered to "own," is both the water and the *veldkos* of the district. The ground itself is described as *chi dole*, worthless. Headmanship is hereditary, the headman being the oldest son of the previous headman although, if the male line is cut off for a generation, headmanship is passed through the eldest daughter to her eldest son. But head-

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
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622 manship is different from leadership,
554 which is not hereditary. Leadership depends heavily on a man's character, his hunting prowess, and especially his ability to focus people's opinions. Usually headman and leader are the same person but, should a headman be too young—perhaps still in his mother's womb—or very old, a band will have a separate leader.

622 Theoretically, the right to refuse
554 water to members of another band
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belongs to the headman, although we never saw this done nor did we ever hear of such a thing. Neither leadership nor headmanship implies any overt coercive power over the other members of a band. Only as a sort of coagulation of group opinion can headman or leaders exert a control —which, even then, is not final. The leader, being the kind of person to whom others come when decisions must be made, is often an arbiter, in

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WHEN THEY GATHER, the men are most likely to discuss hunting—the great exploits of memory, or plans for the future. For the chase is their passion.

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ORACLE DISKS, *bottom left*, are made from eland hide, in sets of five. The !Kung often use them to determine the direction of their next hunting foray.

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YOUTH'S PLAY is not all purposive. Here, a young !Kung boy is happily engaged in nothing more important to his future than giving his sister a sled ride on the trampled floor of his band's *werfe*, using a scrap of hide, hitched

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to a thong. When lived upon, the veld earth soon turns to dust, as seen here. In the rains of the coming year, the rank veld grass will have grown again across the floor of the deserted *werfs*—to toss in the passing, desert winds.

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SEATED YOUTH, above, enjoys a smoke as his companions make characteristic !Kung gesture—arm outstretched—to show they also wish a turn with the pipe. Because the !Kung crave tobacco, but grow none, they must trade for it—often disastrously—with the Bantu peoples on the borders of *Nyae Nyae*.

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208 quarrels, a focal point in discussion of plans, a comfort to the bereaved and a strength for those in doubt.

621 The functions of headman, as headman, are of a different nature.
602 In order to take up residence with a band, a person must have certain ties of kin with members of the band.
[591] Such a person may live with his own parents or siblings, or with his wife's parents or siblings. It is a wide choice, providing for flexibility—but within limits. There are, of course, exceptions, and visitors from other bands are never denied, but possession of some kinship tie seems to be a general requirement for residence which,

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602 if violated, would subject the violator to criticism by the band.

626 SHORT of fighting, all the !Kung can do to control the actions of individuals is to criticize. But this is apparently enough. A man, expelled from his band, *might* be able to survive alone in the desert—with luck, he might even manage for years. If he could persuade his family to come with him, they might survive together even more easily, for the family is the basic subsistence unit. But freshly gone, he would be an outlaw and, in time, become a stranger to his people. This would be an unthinkable

626 horror to a !Kung! The worst dream might be to see the fires flickering in the *werft* at midnight and be unable to go to them. All the people we knew could tell us of only one time when such a departure from the group occurred; and the man had gone insane, [158] had murdered and then run raving into the veld. There he had lived for a little while in a hole, then died.

622 423 It is in connection with the need to live widely spread over the land that the !Kung headman's functions are peculiar. There is one essential qualification to headmanship, in addition to heredity. A headman cannot leave his waterhole to join another

622 band and still remain a headman, for
423 he, in his person, does not possess headmanship. It is only when a person is *born* headman, and in association with his waterhole, that he assumes the full authority of headmanship. We have seen that headmen were considered to "own" the water and *veldkos* of a district. I believe this association is another way of expressing what the !Kung mean by "own": the headman is the symbol of a place.

In the same manner that a headman "owns" a district, he also "owns" other geographical features of the country. These include pans that fill during the rains, *veldkos*

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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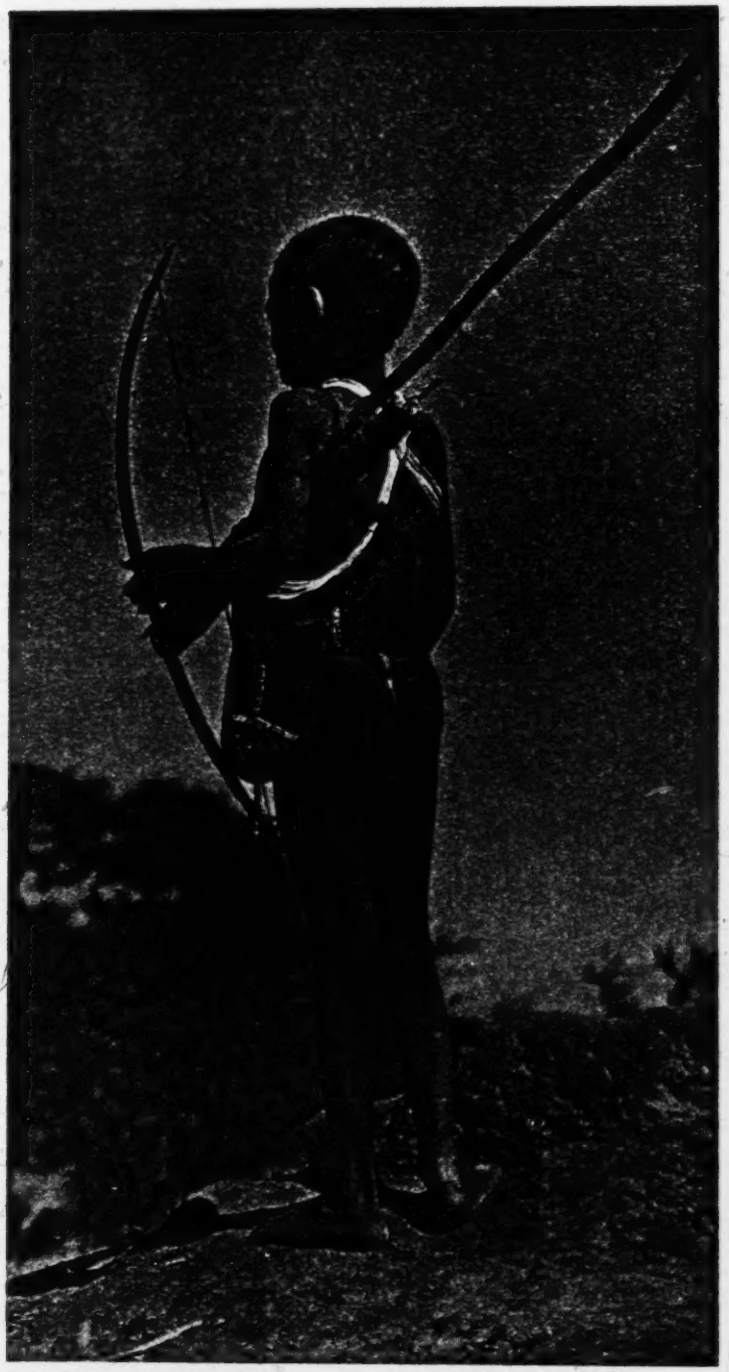

BEFORE MARRIAGE, !Kung youths have few responsibilities. But the hunt is in their blood and it is a proud boy who kills his first buck early in life.

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!Kung parents cherish the children their harsh environment permits them to raise. A mother, above, fits ornamental headband to her small daughter.

FATHERS TAKE PRIDE in their growing sons, to whom will pass both the task of hunting for the band and the many skills and traditions of !Kung hunters.

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622 areas, baobab trees, and—most im-
423 portant—*mangetti* trees that hold water in their trunks, and *tsi* areas. It is these "owned" features, and the direction from the waterhole in which they lie, that define a territory. Since, as we have seen, *mangetti*'s and *tsi* are the most important !Kung resources, they are the main determinants of a direction.

But animals are *not* owned. Neatly bounded sections of the countryside are *not* owned. A territory, therefore can best be defined as the combination of a permanent waterhole and a direction: the !Kung so define it by the word "side." One headman's territory is said to be on this "side."

361 JUST as the Kalahari's scant re-
621 sources of food and water are distributed in accordance with a geo-
622 graphical pattern, the !Kung bands are distributed in accordance with both a geographical and a social pattern. Natural resources are the focal points in the geographical pattern of band distribution: headmen are the focal points in the social pattern. In a sense, headmen tie together the two patterns, the concept of headmanship being the embodiment of a certain quantity of resources in a person around whom a band can take shape and operate. Because of their kin ties with a headman, the people living round him, clustering their *skerms* around his and moving with him over his territory, feel right in being where they are.

622 The headman receives no special
554 privileges. He is no more wealthy than other men. If he is a leader, he may assume responsibility and speak out. But, as headman, he need not speak, for headmanship is a silent office and while the headman lives—by his waterhole or out somewhere on his territory with his band—he serves his whole purpose.

423 Most of the permanent waterholes
312 have two !Kung bands associated with them, and the *tsi* areas are likewise shared by bands from the same and different waterholes. Such sharing may come about because two brothers (only one of whom may be the true headman) live together and feel they possess joint claims. It may come about through the passage of time, which confuses genealogies and lets claims, once tenuous, become firm through usage. The !Kung are a people of present tense, living—in their minds as well as with their

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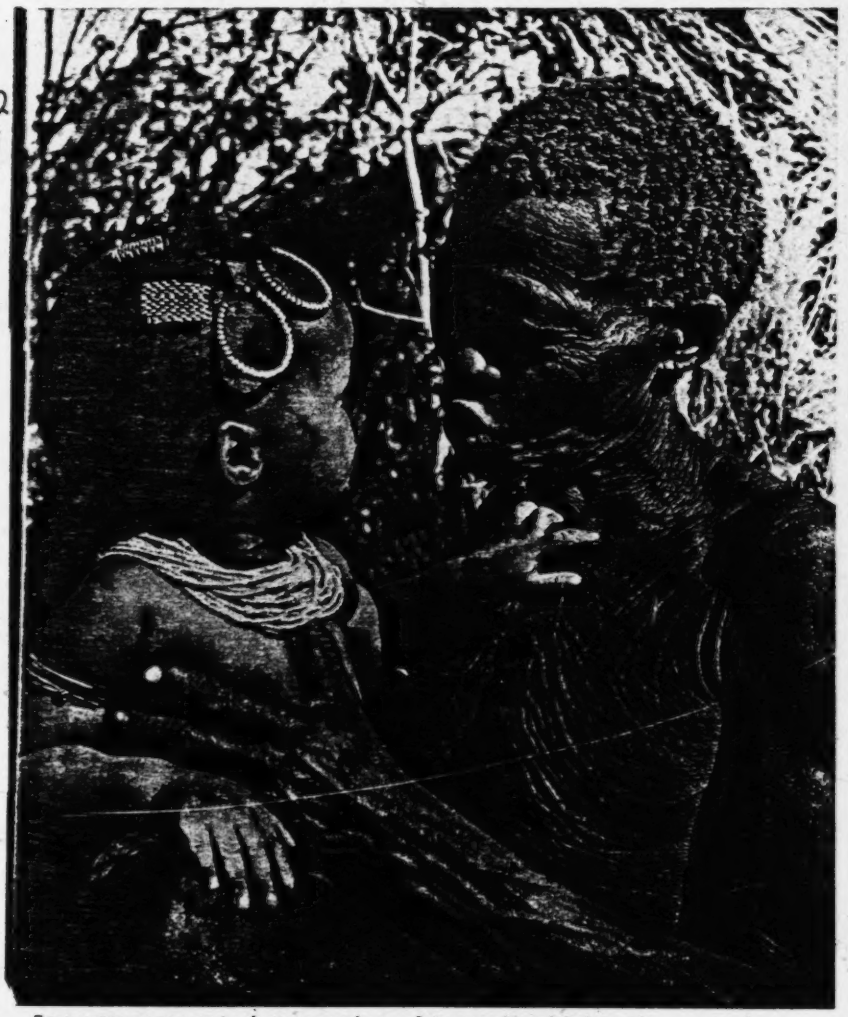

THE ROAD FROM YOUTH TO AGE is a short one among these desert dwellers, as witness the father and daughter here. It is a sparse life, and the hunter who can count twelve antelope killed in a year feels he has had a good season.

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HAPPY LIFE of children includes such moments as these: a laughing game of "pull-away," above.

423 bodies—from day to day. If the water-
312 holes were not shared, some bands would be without permanent water.

621 Not all !Kung territories are of equal value in terms of food and
166 water. Some people have *mangetti* nuts, some have *tsi*, and some have
361 both. There is mild wealth, and gentle poverty in *Nyae Nyae*. Territories also change in value year by year. The rains may fail in some parts of *Nyae Nyae*, and fall in others. In normal years, *mangetti*'s in the north may become available earlier in the season than those of the western forests. Because of the flexibility of band composition, the bands gathering *mangetti*'s in such a favored area are enlarged by people who would otherwise have to wait.

This is usually a temporary situation, the newcomers having more the status of guests than members of the bands. Often, whole bands—headman and all—will visit kin in this manner. During years of dessication, the fact that a person has several choices of bands in which to live becomes vital to him—he can move from a hopeless place to perhaps a better one.

By such means, balance works out between the desert's resources and the numbers and distribution of !Kung who exploit them. No one district or *mangetti* forest could support more than a limited number of people. Only certain people possess the necessary kinship qualifications to join a band. The flexibility of their

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621 361 166 composition enables bands to swell during lean years, while the concept of association, through a headman, to a district and a territory provides for the distribution of people throughout the barren land.

If a band were confined strictly to one territory, or could use the resources of another territory only over the bodies of the band that lived there, there would be many less *Nyae Nyae* !Kung—perhaps none at all.

823 The !Kung give various reasons for their preference of the territory they consider home. For some, it is where they were born. For others, it is where they spent their youth. And for some, it is where they are waiting in their old age. Hunters say they must know their territories—every pan and stretch of bush, every unusual tree—and they say that to amass such knowledge takes years. An old man we met while he was visiting for a few days from the west, said that the weather was more gentle in Debera, the place where he lived, and that, moreover, "there are no stones in Debera ground."

Early one autumn morning, blue and sweet, when dawn air was still fragile on our faces, a close !Kung friend stood beside me in /Gautcha Territory, looking across a pan that still smiled with water despite the late season. It was the pan where he had come, as a young man, to live with his bride. We were quiet, waiting for the rising sun. "/Gautcha is beautiful," he said.

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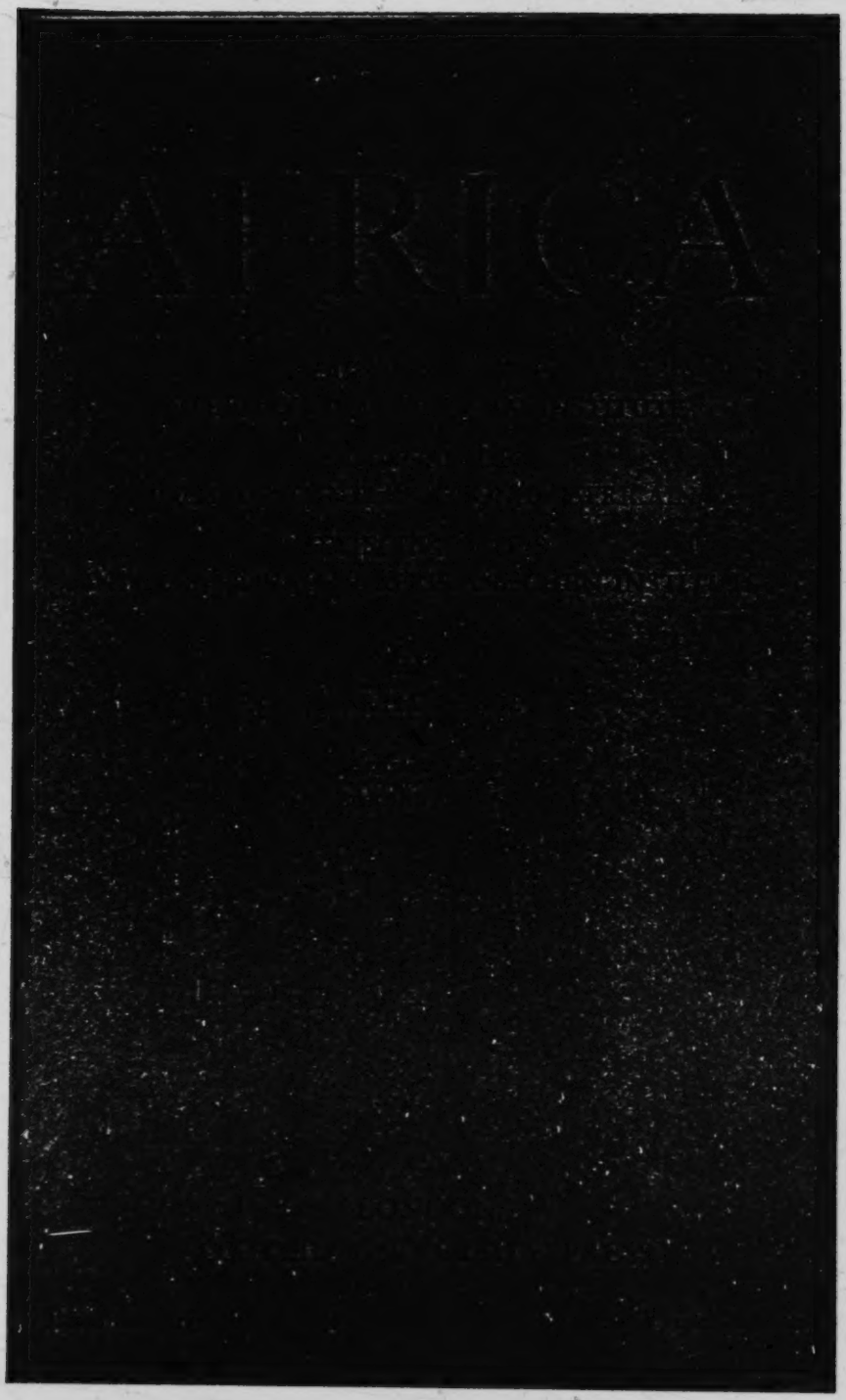

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SHARING, TALKING, AND GIVING: RELIEF OF SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THIS paper describes customs, practised by the /Kung Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region of South Africa, which help them to avoid situations that are likely to arouse ill will and hostility among individuals within the bands and between bands. Two customs which seem to be especially helpful and which I describe in detail are meat-sharing and gift-giving. I mention also the /Kung habits of talking, aspects of their good manners, their borrowing and lending, and their not stealing.[1] 121

The common human needs for co-operation and companionship are particularly apparent among the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Independent living, outside the band structure,[2] does not exist for individuals. Nuclear families do not live alone. The arduous hunting-gathering life would be impossible without the co-operation and companionship of a larger group. Moreover, in this society the ownership of the resources of food and water is organized through the headmen of bands, and individuals have rights to these resources by being members of a band connected to the headman by some near or remote kin or affinal bond. The /Kung are also extremely dependent emotionally on the sense of belonging and on companionship. Their need to avoid loneliness, I think, is actually visible in the way families cluster together in their werfs and in the way people sit, often touching someone else, shoulder against shoulder, ankle across ankle. Comfort and security for them lie in belonging to their group, free from hostility or rejection. 601 [423] [622] [602] 571

Their security and comfort must be achieved side by side with self-interest and much jealous watchfulness. Altruism, kindness, sympathy, or genuine generosity were not qualities which I observed often in their behaviour. However, these qualities were not entirely lacking, especially between parents and offspring, between siblings and between spouses. One mother carried her sick adult daughter on her back for three days in searing summer heat for us to give her medicine. /Naoka carried her lame son, Lame ≠Gao, for years. Gau clucked and fussed over his second wife, Khuan//a, when she was sick. When /U had a baby, her sister, Di/ai, gathered veldkos for her for five days. On the other hand, people do not generally help each other. They laugh when the lame man, Kham, falls down and do not help him up. /U's jealous eyes were like those of a viper when we gave more attention to her husband, ≠Toma, than to her because he was much more ill. And, in the extreme, there is the report from the 1958 expedition of an instance of callous indifference in one band and the probable abandonment of a dying old childless woman, an old aunt, when her sister, with whom she lived, had died. 578 593 578

Occasions when tempers have got out of control are remembered with awe. The 626

[1] This description of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region is based on observations made during our several expeditions between 1951 and 1959. Changes in the conditions under which the /Kung live are to be expected, and how these changes will affect the practice of the customs here described we do not know.

[2] Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Band Organization', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960. [114]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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578 deadly poisoned arrows are always at hand. Men have killed each other with them in
626 quarrels—though rarely—and the /Kung fear fighting with a conscious and active
411 fear. They speak about it often. Any expression of discord ('bad words') makes
183 them uneasy. Their desire to avoid both hostility and rejection leads them to conform in high degree to the unspoken social law. If they do deviate they usually yield readily to expressed group opinion and reform their ways. I think that most /Kung cannot bear the sense of rejection which even mild disapproval makes them feel. They also conform strictly to certain specific useful customs which are like instruments for avoiding discord.

Talking and 'Talks'

521 I mention talking as an aid to peaceful social relations because it is so very much
626 a part of the daily experience of the /Kung and, I believe, usefully serves three parti-
533 cular functions. It keeps up good open communication among the members of the band; through its constantly flowing expression it is a salutary outlet for emotions; and it serves as the principal sanction in social discipline. Songs are also used for social discipline. The /Kung say that a song composed specifically about someone's behaviour and sung to express disapproval, perhaps from the deepest shadow of the werf at night, is a very effective means of bringing people who deviate back into the pattern of approved behaviour. Nevertheless, during our observations, songs were not used as much as talking. If people disapprove of an individual's behaviour, they may criticize him or her directly, usually putting a question, 'Why do you do that?' or they may gossip a bit or make oblique hints. In the more intense instances 'a talk' may ensue.

521 The /Kung are the most loquacious people I know. Conversation in a /Kung werf is a constant sound like the sound of a brook, and as low and lapping, except for shrieks of laughter. People cluster together in little groups during the day, talking, perhaps making artifacts at the same time. At night families talk late by their fires, or visit at other family fires with their children between their knees or in their arms if the wind is cold.

There always seems to be plenty to talk about. People tell about events with much detail and repetition and discuss the comings and goings of their relatives and friends and make plans. Their greatest preoccupation and the subject they talk about most often, I think, is food. The men's imaginations turn to hunting. They converse musingly, as though enjoying a sort of day-dream together, about past hunts, telling over and over where game was found and who killed it. They wonder where the game is at present and say what fat bucks they hope to kill. They also plan their next hunts with practicality. Women (who, incidentally, do not talk as much as men) gave me the impression of talking more about who gave or did not give them food and their anxieties about not having food. They spoke to me about women who were remembered for being especially quick and able gatherers, but did not have pleasurable satisfaction in remembering their hot, monotonous, arduous days of digging and picking and trudging home with their heavy loads.

431 Another frequent subject of conversation is gift-giving. Men and women speak
521 of the persons to whom they have given or propose to give gifts. They express satisfaction or dissatisfaction with what they have received. If someone has delayed

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unexpectedly long in making a return gift the people discuss this. One man was excused by his friends because his wife, they said, had got things into her hands and made him poor, so that he now had nothing suitable to give. Sometimes, on the other hand, people were blamed for being ungenerous (' far-hearted ') or not very capable in managing their lives, and no one defended them for these defects or asked others to have patience with them.

As far as we know, only two general subjects are taboo in conversation. Men and women must not speak openly together of sexual matters except as they make jokes in the joking relationship. The /Kung avoid speaking the names of the gods aloud and do not converse about the gods for fear of attracting their attention and perhaps their displeasure. They told us their myths, but only when we asked them to. It is evidently not the habit of these Bushmen to recount the myths as they sit by their fires. They do not invent stories. They said they had no interest in hearing things that are not true and wonder why anybody has.

While a person speaks the listeners are in vibrant response, repeating the phrases and interposing a contrapuntal ' eh '. ' Yesterday ', ' eh ', ' at Deboragu ', ' eh ', ' I saw old /Gaishay.' ' You saw Old /Gaishay ', ' eh, eh '. ' He said he had seen the great python under the bank.' ' EH! ', ' The PYTHON! ' ' He wants us ', ' eh, eh, eh ', ' to help him catch it '. The ' ehs ' overlap and coincide with the phrase and the people so often all talk at once that one wonders how anyone knows what the speaker has said.

Bursts of laughter accompany the conversations. Sometimes the /Kung laugh mildly with what I would call a sense of humour about people and events, often they shriek and howl as though laughter were an outlet for tension. They laugh at mishaps that happen to other people, like the lions eating up someone else's meat, and shriek over particularly telling and insulting sexual sallies in the joking relationship. Individual singing of lyrical songs, accompanied by the *//gwashi*, or snatches of the medicine music, the playing of rhythmical games, the ceremonial dances themselves occupy the evenings, as well, but mostly the evening hours are spent in talk.

' A talk ', as the /Kung call it, differs from a conversation or an arranged, purposeful discussion. It flares spontaneously, I believe from stress, when something is going on in which people are seriously concerned and in disagreement. I think that no formalities control it. Anyone who has something he wants to say joins in. People take sides and express opinions, accusing, denying, or defending persons involved. I witnessed one ' talk ' only, in 1952, which I mentioned before[1] and should mention again in this context. It occurred over a gift-giving episode at the time of /Nai's betrothal and involved persons in Bands 1 and 2 who were settled near together at the time. Khuan//a, the mother of /Gunda, /Nai's fiancé, had diverted a gift which people thought was making its way to Gao Medicine, the present husband of /Nai's mother. Instead of giving it to him at the time when an exchange of gifts was in order, she gave it to one of her relatives. /Nai's mother's sister, /U, sitting at her own scherm, began ' the talk ' by letting it be known what she thought of Khuan//a, in a voice loud enough to be heard in the two werfs, a startling contrast to the usual low flow of talk. Di/ai, /Nai's mother, sitting with her shoulder pressed against her sister's, joined in. People in the werfs went to sit at each other's scherms, forming little groups

[1] Lorna Marshall, ' Marriage Among /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxix, no. 4, Oct. 1959, pp. 352-3.

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521 who agreed and supported each other. From where they sat, but not all at once and
528 not in an excited babble, they made their remarks clearly, with quite long pauses
626 between. Some expressed themselves in agreement with /U as she recounted Khuan//a's faults and deviations, past and present. Khuan//a's family and friends, who had moved to sit near her, denied the accusations from time to time, but did not talk as much or as loudly as /U. Khuan//a muttered or was silent. /U said she disapproved of her sister's daughter marrying the son of such a woman, but would reconsider her position if Khuan//a gave the expected gift to Gao Medicine. The talk lasted about twenty minutes. At that point Khuan//a got up and walked away and the ' talk ' subsided to /U's mutterings and others' low conversation. In a few days Khuan//a gave Gao Medicine a present, not the gift in question, but one which satisfied Gao, and, as they said, ' they all started again in peace '.

152 There is a third form of verbal expression which might be called a ' shout ' rather
521 than a ' talk ', but as far as I know the /Kung have no special name for it. It is a verbal explosion. Fate receives the heat of the remarks in a ' shout '.

We were present on two such occasions, one in 1952, the other in 1953. Both were in response to the burning of scherms. In both instances little children, whose mothers had taken their eyes off them though they were only a few feet away, had picked up burning sticks from the fire, had dropped them on the soft, dry bedding grass in the scherms and, at the first burst of flame, had sensibly run outside unscathed. On the first occasion, the two children, who were about three years old, were frightened and were soothed and comforted by their mothers and other relatives. They were not scolded. On the second occasion, Khuan//a, the two-year-old granddaughter of Old ≠Toma and /Gam, had set fire to her grandparents' scherm. She was not apparently frightened at all and was found placidly chewing her grandfather's well-toasted sandal. She was not scolded either. What was especially interesting was the behaviour of the Bushmen. On both occasions they rushed to the burning scherms, shouting all at once, in extremely loud, excited voices, volcanic eruptions of words. The men made most of the noise, but the women were also talking excitedly. No one tried to do anything, nor could they, for the scherms burned like the fiery furnace. I asked the interpreters to stand close to one person at a time and try to hear what he said. People were telling where they had been when the fire started, why they had not got there sooner. They shouted that mothers should not take their eyes off their children, that the children might have been burned. They lamented the objects which had been destroyed—all in the greatest din I have ever heard humans produce out of themselves. It went on for about eight or ten minutes in bursts, then tapered off for another ten. While Old ≠Toma's scherm was burning, he and his wife, /Gam, the great maker of beads, sat on one side weeping. After the shouting had subsided, a dozen or more people set about looking for Old ≠Toma's knife blade and arrow points and picking up what beads they could find for /Gam in the cooling ashes. The two instances of ' shouts ' provided examples of the vehemence which vocal expression can have and vividly illustrated the /Kung way of venting emotion in words.

154 There is still another kind of talk, not conversation, which I consider to be an
521 outlet for tension and anxiety. We happened to hear it only in relation to anxiety
528 about food and do not know if other concerns sometimes find expression in this way.
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It occurs in varying degrees of intensity. It is a repeating of something over and over and over again. For instance, whether it is actually so or not, someone may be reiterating that he has no food or that no one has given him food. The remarks are made in the presence of other individuals, but the other individuals do not respond in the manner of a discussion or conversation. In an extreme instance we saw a woman visitor go into a kind of semi-trance and say over and over for perhaps half an hour or so in ≠Toma's presence that he had not given her as much meat as was her due. It was not said like an accusation. It was said as though he were not there. I had the eerie feeling that I was present in someone else's dream. ≠Toma did not argue or oppose her. He continued doing whatever he was doing and let her go on. 154 521 578 626

All these ways of talking, I believe, aid the /Kung in maintaining their peaceful social relations by keeping everyone in touch with what others are thinking and feeling, releasing tensions, and keeping pressures from building up until they burst out in aggressive acts.

Aspects of Good Manners

In /Kung society good manners require that, when /Kung meet other /Kung who are strangers, all the men should lay down their weapons and approach each other unarmed. ≠Toma, leader of Band 1, approached us unarmed the first time we met. After we were accepted and given Bushman names, we were no longer strangers and we never observed the practice again. 576 [123]

Good manners require that visitors be received courteously and asked to sit by the fire. The woman whose fire it is may welcome the visitor by taking a pinch of the sweet smelling *sa* powder, which she carries in a little tortoise shell hung from her neck, and sprinkling it on the visitor's head in a line from the top of the head to the forehead. 574 [302]

Good manners in eating express restraint. A person does not reveal eagerness or take more than a modest share. When a visitor comes to the fire of a family who are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a little distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share. On several occasions we gave small gifts of corned beef to be shared with a group. The person who received the food from us would take only a mouthful. Once an old headman only licked his fingers. The lump of food would be passed from one to another. Each would take a modest bite. The last person often got the most. I found it moving to see so much restraint about taking food among people who are all thin and often hungry, for whom food is a source of constant anxiety. We observed no unmannerly behaviour, no cheating and no encroachment about food. Although informants said that quarrels had occasionally occurred in the past between members of a band over the time to go to gather veldkos, and although we observed expressions of dissatisfaction, no quarrels of any kind arose over food during our observations. 264 [574] [578]

Good manners in general should be inoffensive. Any behaviour which is likely to stir up trouble is regarded with apprehension and disapproval by the /Kung. In view of this, the joking relationship has its interesting side. Men and women who have the joking relationship insult each other in a facetious way and also point out actual faults or remark on actual episodes which embarrass a person. Everyone joins in the 576 522

516 uproarious, derisive laughter. All this is joking and one should not take offence.
[522] The /Kung say this teaches young persons to keep their tempers.

In contrast to the joking is their care in other aspects of conduct to avoid giving offence. ≠Toma said, for instance, that, if he were forming a hunting party and a man whom he did not want asked to join him, he would be careful to refuse indirectly by making some excuse and try not to offend the man.

521 Gossip which can stir up trouble is discouraged. People do gossip but usually
518 discreetly, in low voices, with near and trusted relatives and friends. It is best to mind one's own business, they say.

People are expected to control their tempers and do so to a remarkable degree.
152 If they are angry, aggrieved, or frustrated, they tend to mope rather than to become
518 aggressive, expressing their feelings in low mutters to their close relatives and friends.
626 ≠Toma told us that he had lost his temper twice when he was a young man and on one occasion had knocked his father down. On the other he had pushed his wife into hot ashes. It had so frightened him to realize that he could lose control of himself and behave in this violent way that, he said, he had not lost his temper since.

Meat-sharing

224 The /Kung custom of sharing meat helps to keep stress and hostility over food at
416 a low intensity. The practical value of using up the meat when it is fresh is obvious to all and the /Kung are fully aware of the enormous social value of the custom. The
518 fear of hunger is mitigated; the person one shares with will share in turn when he gets meat and people are sustained by a web of mutual obligation. If there is hunger, it is commonly shared. There are no distinct haves and have-nots. One is not alone.

To have a concept of the potential stress and jealousy which meat-sharing mitigates in /Kung society one has only to imagine one family eating meat and others not when they are settled only five or ten feet apart in a firelit werf and there are no walls for privacy. The veld does not hide secret killing and eating because actions are printed in its sands for all to read. The idea of eating alone and not sharing is shocking to the /Kung. It makes them shriek with an uneasy laughter. Lions could do that, they say, not men.

224 The custom of meat-sharing applies only to the big game animals. Small animals the size of duikers or smaller, birds, tortoises, lizards, grasshoppers, snakes, and ostrich eggs are picked up incidentally and belong to the person who shoots, snares, finds or catches them. He may keep these for himself and his immediate family and may share them as he chooses, as if they were veldkos. ≠Toma says that, if there is only a little, he and his family eat a meal and give a little to anyone who happens to be near by at the time.

Meat-sharing applies to the big animals which are deliberately hunted by organized hunting parties. In the Nyae Nyae region they are kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok, warthogs and ostrich. Eland are found less commonly and buffalo rarely. The Nyae Nyae hunters managed to shoot giraffe occasionally. Giraffe are royal game by S.W.A. law, but the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not known this. When they were told, they called them 'Morrisi cows'. (Mr. Robert Morris was the Commissioner of Native Affairs at Runtu.)

The system by which meat is shared begins with the hunters, but the composition

of the hunting party is not a matter of convention or of anxious concern. Hunting parties are freely organized by men who like to hunt with each other. No categories of kin or affines are prohibited from hunting together, whether they have a joking relationship or not or practise the sitting and speaking taboo. Men from different bands may hunt together. 224

A father has authority over his sons and sons-in-law and could tell them to go hunting or to accompany him and would expect them to obey. In other relationships participation in a hunting party is voluntary. Any man may instigate a hunt and may ask others to join. No one is formally in command of a party, unless he is the father with his sons or sons-in-law, but often an informal kind of leadership develops out of skill and judgement and the men fall in with the plans and suggestions of the best hunter or reach agreement among themselves somehow. [543]

Hunting parties are usually composed of from two to four or five men. One hunter alone is at a disadvantage. A man cannot leave the meat unguarded from lions, hyaenas, jackals, and vultures while he goes to bring help from the band to carry it nor can he carry it alone. Only occasionally are parties larger than four or five. For two parties to hunt in different directions would be more advantageous than to form a larger single party.

When the kill is made the hunters have the prerogative of eating the liver on the spot and may eat more of the meat until their hunger is satisfied. If they are far from the band, they may eat the parts that are especially perishable or most awkward to carry, like the head, and they sometimes eat the cherished marrow. They then carry the animal to the band, either in its parts, bones and all, or, if the animal is very big, leaving most of the bones and cutting the meat into strips which dry in the sun to biltong and are more easily carried on the carrying-sticks. The blood is carried in bags made of the stomach, rumen, and bladder. [951] [415]

The gall bladder and testicles are discarded at the kill. Eventually the hooves are thrown away and usually the picked bones and horns. (The /Kung make only a few artifacts of bone and horn which last a long time and seldom need replacing.) Sinews are kept for making cord. The hide would be skinned off whole and tanned if it were suitable for a kaross and someone wanted a new kaross at the time. Otherwise, the hide is dried, pounded up, and eaten. Hides are quite tasty. Feet are picked of every tissue; gristle is dried and pounded. Soft parts, such as the foetus, udder, heart, lungs, brains, and blood, are often given to old people with poor teeth. Intestines are enjoyed and desired by all. The meat of the rump, back, chest, and neck is highly appreciated. Nothing is wasted; all is distributed. [321] [283] [281] [885]

The owner of the animal is the owner of the first arrow to be effectively shot into the animal so that it penetrates enough for its poison to work. That person is responsible for the distribution. The headman of the band is not the one to distribute the meat by virtue of his headmanship, unless he happens to be at the same time the owner of the arrow. The owner may or may not be one of the hunters. [409] [622]

Hunters have arrows which they acquire in three different ways. Each man makes arrows for himself, shaping the points (usually now of metal, but still possibly of bone or wood) with some slight distinction so that he will know them from the arrows of other men. Secondly, arrows are given as gifts. The man who made the arrow or who himself acquired it as a gift, may give it to someone else, either a man or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. 422 224 41 [931]

or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. Thirdly, people lend arrows to one another. The status of the arrow plays its part in the distribution of the animal killed with it. There is much giving and lending of arrows. The society seems to want to extinguish in every way possible the concept of the meat belonging to the hunter.

A hunter chooses which arrow he will use. The owner of the arrow—who *ipso facto* owns the animal—may therefore be the hunter himself, who has chosen to use an arrow he made or one that was given him, or he may be a person who lent the arrow to the hunter.

There may be several hunters in the hunting party and several arrows in the animal, but this seems to cause no confusion or conflict. Every arrow is known, of course. The hunters may see which first penetrates effectively so that its poison could account for the kill. But I think that often it is arranged beforehand who will own the animal. A man asking another to accompany him might say, 'Come and help me get a buck.' Or 'Old Gau lent me an arrow and asked me to hunt for him. You come too.'

I think there is little or no dissension as to who owned the animal because it is not a cause for great stress; each hunter gets a share of the meat anyway. I think also that a man wants sometimes to be the owner of the meat in order to start the distribution off in the direction of his own kin and affines, but that one is also content sometimes not to have the onus of the main distribution.

The first distribution of the animal is made in large portions usually to five or six persons. They are the owner of the arrow, the giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not one the owner had made himself), and the hunters. The meat, always uncooked in the first distribution, is given on the bone, unless the animal is large and the meat has been cut into strips at the kill.

In a second distribution the several persons who got meat in the first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. This meat also is given uncooked. The amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution close kinship is the factor which sets the pattern of the giving. Certain obligations are compulsory. A man's first obligation at this point, we were told, is to give to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous portions as he can, while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. The meat may be cooked and the quantities small.

Visitors, even though they are not close kin or affines, are given meat by the people whom they are visiting. This is a strongly felt social rule. Visitors may receive small quantities of cooked meat, which is like being asked to dinner.

Name relatives often receive generous portions of meat because they have the same name as the giver or because their names associate them with his close kin, but this seems to be more a favour than an absolute rule. ≠Toma said there were far too many men named ≠Toma for him to give them special consideration.

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It ends in everybody getting some meat.

In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and primary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift-giving. /Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself in the end, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift some time in the future. Such factors as the category of relationship of kin, affines, or non-related persons, the joking relationship, status, and band affiliation impose no pattern on this giving. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift-giving in general: to measure up to what is expected of them, to make friendly gestures, to win favour, to repay past favours and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation. I am sure that when feelings of genuine generosity and real friendliness exist they would also be expressed by giving.

In the parts and quantities of meat first distributed or given in the later waves of sharing there seemed to be no taboo and no rigidity of rule.

The distribution of an eland which was killed by Gao Beard, headman of Band 2, will serve as an example. There were more than a hundred /Kung at Gautscha at the time of the hunt. Both Gautscha bands (Bands 1 and 2) were present. Bands 3, 4, and 7 were visiting and there was a sprinkling of visitors from other bands.

The hunting party was composed of four men: Gao Beard; his first wife's brother, //Ao, and his own brother, /Qui, both of whom lived with him in Band 2; his brother-in-law, /Naishi, the husband of his sister, //Kushay. They were visiting at the time.

The party had hunted for eight days without success in heat so exhausting that they had to lie covered with sand through the middle part of the day.

/Qui was the first to see the eland. It was a huge one. As /Qui had been asked to come on the hunt by his brother to help him, he told Gao Beard where the eland was and did not shoot at it himself.

Two boys joined the men to track the eland after it was shot. The party tracked it for three days and then found it dead from the poison. They cut up the meat and brought it to the werf at Gautscha, which was two days' travel away. The hunt had lasted thirteen days in all.

Gao Beard was himself the owner of the arrow. The arrow had been given by one person to another five times. /Gao Music (Band 1), who made it, gave it to his sister, /Goishay, who gave it to her husband, ≠Gao, headman of Band 3. He gave it to his brother, Gao, also of Band 3, who gave it to his wife, Di/ai. Di/ai gave it to Gao Beard, her brother, who shot the eland with it and who was responsible for the distribution of the meat.

Gao Beard first gave meat to the hunters who helped him, as was the custom. To /Naishi he gave a forequarter and to //Ao a forequarter and the head. (The hunters usually received a forequarter or hindquarter or an equivalent amount. The head was an extra gift.) The two boys who helped track got nothing—because their fathers would give them some, we were told. To our astonishment, /Qui was given nothing. Gao Beard explained that his brother would eat from his pot. (Actually he

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224 might eat more in this way as he would not have to share that cooked meat with anyone but his wife and child.)

Gao Beard's sister, Di/ai, who had given him the arrow, received the meat of the back and throat and the intestines.

Gao Beard kept the meat of the neck for himself and in a second wave of distribution gave the rest of the meat as follows:

To his first wife, //Kushay, he gave both hindquarters, the meat of the chest, the lungs, part of the liver and one hind foot. To his mother he gave the meat of the belly and one hind foot. To his sister, //Kushay, and to /Gasa, the wife of his brother, /Qui, he gave one front foot each.

The amount given to his first wife was enormous. In addition to giving to her co-wife, also named //Kushay, and their children, she was to give a large portion of it to her parents, who lived with them in Band 2. (On other occasions the man had given directly to his wife's parents—not through his wife.) When the meat was cut up, //Kushay gave to her father, Old ≠Toma, four bundles of strips of clear raw meat (it was somewhat dried by then). There were about ten or twelve strips to a bundle, about 2½ to 3 feet long. We guessed the weight in all to be about 60 to 70 pounds. She gave meat also to her two younger brothers, /Gao and /Gunda. (Her other brother, //Ao, who had been one of the hunters, had got his share from Gao Beard.) She gave to her co-wife's father (≠Gao, Band 4) and to Old /Gaishay, her co-wife's MoFa, headman of Band 4. She then gave to six other persons, all in Band 1. They were her cousin, Old Gau (her FaSiSo) and his two daughters, and two other cousins (FaSiDas), Di/ai and /U, and /U's husband, ≠Toma.

The giving of raw meat went on. Old ≠Toma gave to eighteen people: his wife, six affines, three kin, two name relatives (i.e. a visitor because his father's name was ≠Toma, and Old /Gasa because her deceased husband's name was ≠Toma), and six other persons. Telling us the reasons for giving to the last six, whose kin or affinal connexions with ≠Toma, if any, were so remote we did not bother to trace them, he said of one, 'He is an old man whom I like in my heart', and of another, 'He was hungry for meat.' In the end Old ≠Toma gave some of the meat back to his daughter, //Kushay.

Di/ai (Band 3), the giver of the arrow, gave raw meat to six persons: her husband's mother, brother and two sisters (in Band 2), a visitor who was her HuSiHuBr, and her mother's brother, headman of the visiting Band 7.

Persons who had by this time received substantial amounts of raw meat began giving to others. We recorded 63 gifts of raw meat. Doubtless there were more. After the raw meat was given, there was further sharing of the individual's portions, cooked or raw, with parents, offspring, spouses, and other persons who live together.

264 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the /Kung. When
422 an individual receives a portion of meat he owns it outright for himself. He may give and share it further as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often
[252] roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very important

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FIG. 1. The clustered scherms of a /Kung werf (left) are hardly visible in the grass and brush of the veld

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FIG. 2. Groups from Band 1 and visitors sitting at three family fires

FIG. 3. Khuan//a thinking things over after 'the talk'

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FIG. 4. /U, the wife of ≠Toma, with an expression which is characteristic of her

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[306]

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FIG. 5. Old /Gam making ostrich egg-shell beads. Some cowrie shells from the South Seas (via New York) dangle among her ornaments

FIG. 6. Powers of observation are highly trained. This girl had seen, in the tangle of grass, a dry, hair-thin, brown vine stem which revealed that there was an edible root to be dug

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[301]

FIG. 7. Talking in the afternoon

FIG. 8. ≠Toma laughing

[p. 240-B]

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FIG. 9. With all space around them, they sit shoulder to shoulder, ankle across ankle. One of the boys plays a *//gwashi*

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[534]

[854]

FIG. 10. A mother and child asleep. Babies are held and carried most of the time. When they play they are never far from their parents

FIG. 11. Old Gau lends an arrow to his son-in-law, /Qui

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FIG. 12. ≠Toma carrying his share of meat in a first distribution

[p. 240-C]

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FIG. 13. One of the hunters (in the background) brings a hindquarter of meat to the owner of the arrow and lays it on branches beside his scherm

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FIG. 14. Kham, a lame man, swings himself along with two sticks. He cannot hunt. Meat which some relatives or friends have given him hangs on the tree. His wife pounds some food with mortar and pestle

[p. 240-D]

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264
516

FIG. 15. It is polite to sit aside and wait to be asked to share someone's portion of meat

FIG. 16. A father and child in anxious reverie

142

422

FIG. 17. All the possessions of Gao Medicine (left) and his wife, Di/ai

[p. 240: E]

301

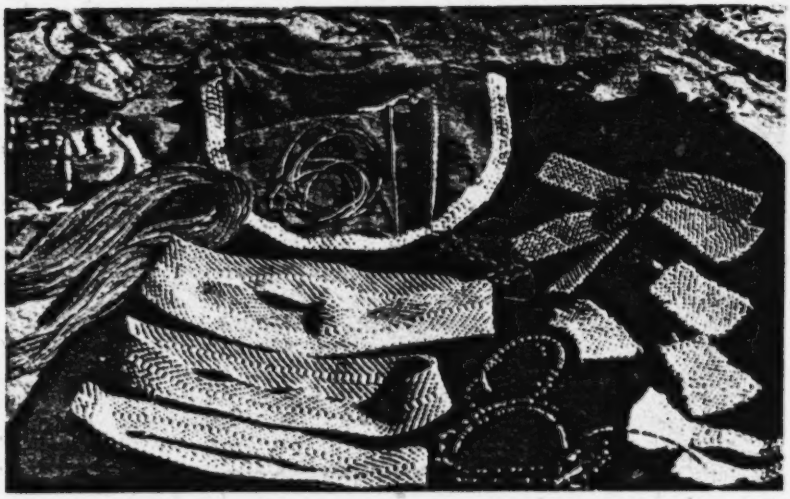

FIG. 18. Traditional /Kung women's ornaments. The genital apron (upper middle) has a border of ostrich egg-shell beads sewn on. Some traded wire, an awl, and a sheath for the awl lie on it. The head-bands are of three widths. The tortoise-shell cosmetic containers (for sweet-smelling *sa* powder) are ornamented with beads. There is a roll of fibre cord (left). The bead head ornaments (to the right) are associated with sex. The rectangular ones are said to be male; the triangular ones female

[142]

FIG. 19. A girl wears a headband made of traded beads around her head and a traditional Bushman ostrich egg-shell bead headband around her neck. Her bracelets (lower arm) are made of grass and of vegetable fibre cord

FIG. 20. The upper arm armlets with tabs are made from forehead hide of large animals which a young hunter has killed for his bride. Those from male bucks are worn on the young woman's right arm; those from female bucks on the left

[P. 240-F]

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FIG. 21. Gao Beard hammers out a spear blade. His young second wife sits composedly beside him at the family fire. She did not build a scherm for Gao when they settled this time. The upright sticks around their grass bed serve to symbolize home. The object which looks like a club behind Gao is an adze handle. His fire scraper lies in front of him

516

FIG. 22. A man cooking meat in a Bantu clay pot (obtained by trade)

[415]
[439]

FIG. 23. Smoking a soapstone pipe

276
142

FIG. 24. Old Demi, grey-haired, is in his seventies. We figured his age roughly from his telling us that when he was a young adult he was, by chance, an unwilling witness lying under a log to a skirmish of the German–Herero war

[P. 240-G]

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to the /Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae /Kung eat hearty meals of meat when they have been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount. They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger.

The /Kung are quite conscious of the value of meat-sharing and they talk about it, especially about the benefit of the mutual obligation it entails. The idea of sharing is deeply implanted and very successfully imposes its restraints. To keep meat without sharing is one of the things that just is not done.

Gift-giving

The custom of gift-giving comes, in my opinion, second only to meat-sharing in aiding the /Kung to avoid jealousy and ill will and to develop friendly relations. /Kung society puts considerable emphasis on gift-giving. Everything a person has may have been given to him and may be passed on to others in time. The /Kung make their artifacts, on the whole, of durable material and take good care of them. They last for generations and move in a slow eddy among the people. The dealings are only between individuals, but they are numerous and provide occasion, perhaps more than any one other activity does, for visits which bring whole bands into polite encounter.

We gave cowrie shells as parting gifts in 1951 to the women in ≠Toma's band, the band which first sponsored us and with which we stayed and did our consistent work, wherever they were, on each expedition. We had carefully observed that there were no cowrie shells among /Kung ornaments before we gave them. Ours were bought from a New York shell dealer, perhaps to the confusion of future archaeologists. We gave to each woman enough for a short necklace, one large brown shell and twenty smaller grey ones. In 1952 there was hardly a cowrie shell to be found in Band 1. They appeared, not as whole necklaces, but in ones and twos in people's ornaments to the edges of the region.

The /Kung have not developed special objects to use as gifts. Nor have they invested ordinary objects with special gift significance. What they give each other are the common artifacts and materials of everyday life (see Appendix). Some objects are more highly valued than others as gifts, as one would expect. I gathered that relative scarcity of material was a factor and that objects were appreciated for their beauty, workmanship, and appropriate size (a wide headband is better than a narrow one). People took an interest in remembering to whom an object had been given in the recent past, but the /Kung, who are present-oriented, do not place special value upon antiquity as such or systematically hold the distant past in mind.

The /Kung decorate their artifacts very little (they have developed music and dancing, not the plastic or pictorial arts), but they delight in ornaments with which to adorn themselves. The intrinsic beauty, the meaningfulness, and the relief to the monotony of yellow-brown skin and grey-brown leather karosses are all valued.

301 The most highly valued gifts are the traditional ornaments of ostrich egg-shell beads,
431 especially the wide headbands and necklaces of five or six strings of beads reaching to the umbilicus. The creamy white is becoming to them. They like European beads also, of all colours, though white is definitely their preference. The only thing they do not like about beads, Gao Beard told us, is shortness of the string. After ornaments, the /Kung value implements or utensils, *//gwashi* or dance rattles, which have required time and care to make, but perhaps more especially valued are metal objects and pots. The latter are obtained by trade. The /Kung do not trade among
[438] themselves. They consider the procedure undignified and avoid it because it is too likely to stir up bad feelings. They trade with the Bantu, however, in the settlements along the B.P. border. The /Kung offer well-tanned antelope hides and ostrich egg
439 shell beads. For these they obtain tobacco, beads, knives, axes, malleable metal for making arrow-points and spear-blades, and occasional files and chisels, fire-strikers, and pots.

The odds are with the Bantu in the trading. Big, aggressive, and determined to
435 have what they want, they easily intimidate the Bushmen. Several /Kung informants
439 said that they tried not to trade with Herero if it was possible to avoid it because, although the Tswana were hard bargainers, the Herero were worse. /Qui said he had been forced by a Herero whom he was afraid to anger to trade the shirt and pants we had given him as our parting gift in 1952 for a small enamel pan and a little cup. /Ti/kay had more gumption. A Herero at the beginning of a negotiation with him brought out a good-sized pile of tobacco but took from it only a pinch when it was time to pay. /Ti/kay picked up the object he was trading and ran off. ≠Toma said with amused exaggeration that 'a very good Herero, a respectable one, will give a handful of tobacco for five cured steinbok skins. A bad Herero will give a pipeful (he showed the size of his fingernail) for three skins.' The Tswana values are a little better. A well-tanned gemsbok hide brings a pile of tobacco about 14 inches in diameter and about 4 inches high. The values vary. Some that were reported to us were three rooibok, duiker, or steinbok skins for a good-sized knife, five strings of ostrich egg-shell beads for a spear.

439 The /Kung have become dependent on metal, especially knives, axes, and arrow-
[109] points. They have been able to trade enough for every man to have these implements.
[411] They could, however, exist without them and do still use a few bone and wood arrow-points. Poison makes their arrows deadly, not penetrating power. The pots are Ovambo or Okavango pottery (the /Kung make no pottery themselves) or Euro-
[458] pean ironware. The /Kung like to have a pot around to borrow sometimes; not everyone wants to carry one. They cook mostly in hot ashes. More for their novelty, I thought, than for their worth, the /Kung trade also for old oddments of cloth garments (they weave neither cloth nor mats), pieces of blankets, basins, &c.—things they do not really need—but which they like.

276 Tobacco they need 'to make the heart feel better'. Oddly enough for these pas-
431 sionate smokers, tobacco was not given so much emphasis in gift-giving as one might expect. They do make gifts of tobacco, but when anyone lights a pipe he passes it around anyway; all present drag smoke into their lungs until they almost faint and it has not mattered much who owned the tobacco.

302 Eland fat is a very highly valued gift. An eland provides so much fat that people
431

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Kung

can afford to be a little luxurious. They rub it on themselves and on their implements and they eat it. ≠Toma said that, when he had eland fat to give, he took shrewd note of certain objects he might like to have and gave their owners especially generous gifts of fat. 302 431

Real property and the sources of food and water are owned by the headman for the band and cannot be given away. However, meat, once it is distributed after the hunt, and veldkos, once it is gathered, become private property and may be given. Artifacts are privately owned by the individual man, woman, or child, as outrightly owned if received as a gift as if made by the individual. They borrow and lend a great deal—in itself this is one of the ways they support each other and aid themselves in maintaining social solidarity—but this does not blur the clarity of ownership. Each object acquires some markings of its own from the maker and from usage. It is easy for the /Kung, with their highly developed powers of observation and visual memory, to keep track of the commonest objects, know the ownership, and remember the history of the gifts. 422 431 [423]

As far as we know, no artifacts or materials are taboo as gifts. For instance, women may be given weapons, although it is taboo for women to touch them. 431 [984]

In quantity the gifts varied. One which /Ti/kay gave to ≠Toma was considered generous. It was a fine ostrich egg shell headband, three ostrich egg shells, and a well-tanned duiker skin as soft as suede. Another generous gift consisted of a knife, a spear, and a triple string of traded white European beads. Often gifts were less. The feelings persons have for each other, the degree of their past indebtedness, what they happen to possess and can give, determine the generosity of the gift.

The acquisition *per se* of the objects was seldom, I believe, of primary importance to most individuals in gift-giving—that is, if the objects were their own artifacts. As the /Kung come into more contact with Europeans—and this is already happening——they will feel sharply the lack of our things and will need and want more. It makes them feel inferior to be without clothes when they stand among strangers who are clothed. But in their own life and with their own artifacts they were comparatively free from material pressures. Except for food and water (important exceptions!) of which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have a sufficiency—but barely so, judging from the fact that all are thin though not emaciated—they all had what they needed or could make what they needed, for every man can and does make the things that men make and every woman the things that women make. No one was dependent upon acquiring objects by gift-giving. 182 431 [77] [834]

They lived in a kind of material plenty because they adapted the tools of their living to materials which lay in abundance around them and which were free for anyone to take (wood, reeds, bone for weapons and implements, fibres for cordage, grass for shelters), or to materials which were at least sufficient for the needs of the population. The Nyae Nyae /Kung had hides enough for garments and bags; they kept extra hides when they needed them for new garments or when they wanted them for trade; otherwise they ate them. The /Kung could always use more ostrich egg-shells for beads to wear or trade with, but, as it is, enough are found for every woman to have a dozen or more shells for water containers—all she can carry—and a goodly number of bead ornaments. 182 433

In their nomadic hunting-gathering life, travelling from one source of food to 182 431

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

182 another through the seasons, always going back and forth between food and water,
431 they carry their young children and their belongings. With plenty of most materials at hand to replace artifacts as required, the /Kung have not developed means of permanent storage and have not needed or wanted to encumber themselves with surpluses or duplicates. They do not even want to carry one of everything. They borrow what they do not own. With this ease, they have not hoarded, and the
[556] accumulation of objects has not become associated with status. Instead of keeping things, they use them to express generosity and friendly intent, and to put people under obligation to make return tokens of friendship. And, even more specifically,
[159] in my opinion, they mitigate jealousy and envy, to which they are prone, by passing things on to others. These are the objectives in gift-giving.

431 Except, as ≠Toma said, that it would be surprising to see a man give a present to a woman who was not related to him (and vice versa, I imagine), anyone may give to anyone. Degree or kind of kinship or affinity, having the joking relationship or lacking it, impose no requirements or restrictions, nor does status in the community in a conventional way. We did hear people say, however, that a headman may feel that he should lean well to the generous side in his giving, for his position as head-
[602] man sets him out from the others a little and he wants whatever attention this attracts not to be envious. Someone remarked that this could keep a headman poor.

The times of giving are determined almost entirely by the individual's convenience. The /Kung do not know their birthdays or anniversaries and have no special days of the year which they mark by giving gifts. Gifts are required by convention on only three ceremonial occasions. The type or quantity of the gift is not patterned but it should be generous. The occasions are betrothals and weddings, when the
[585] parents exchange gifts and give to the young couple, and the ceremony of a baby's first haircut, when the */gu/ns*, the person for whom the baby is named, should give
[852] him a fine present.

Relatives give to young people with the idea of setting them up in life. Gao Beard gave a spear and a kaross to his FaSiHuSo, saying it was his duty to see that the boy got some things because among the boy's relatives he was the most able to do so. The boy's father was very old, he explained. People expect to wait a long time for young people to make return gifts.

The two rigid requirements in gift-giving are that one must not refuse a proffered gift and that one must give in return. Demi said that, even if he might prefer not to be obligated to someone, he would accept and prepare to make his return gift. If a gift were to be refused, he continued, the giver would be terribly angry. He would
[508] say, 'Something is very wrong here.' This could involve whole groups in tensions, bad words, taking sides—even 'a talk' might occur—just what the /Kung do not want. Demi said it does not happen: a /Kung never refuses a gift. And a /Kung does not fail to give in return. ≠Toma said that would be 'neglecting friendship'. A person would know that others thought him 'far-hearted' and 'this would worry him'.

In reciprocating one does not give the same object back again but something of comparable value. The interval of time between receiving and reciprocating varied from a few weeks to a few years. Propriety requires that there be no unseemly haste. The giving must not look like trading.

Incidentally, we were not included by the /Kung in their gift-giving patterns. They gave us a few things spontaneously which they thought we would enjoy—python meat, for instance—but did not feel obligated to reciprocate for every gift we gave them. 431 [423]

Asking for an original gift or asking that a return gift be made after due time has elapsed is within the rules of propriety. People prefer that others give in return without their asking, but ≠Toma says he does not hesitate to ask if a gift is long overdue. If a person wants a particular object he may ask for it. Asking is also a means by which people play upon each other's feelings. One can test a friendship in this way. One can give vent to jealousy or satisfy it by acquiring some object or making someone else uncomfortable. I thought that /Ti/kay (an intelligent man, but very touchy, uncooperative, and turned inward upon himself) used to ask for gifts to play with anger, arousing it for the sake of feeling it, as children do with fear, playing witches in the dark. His remarks one day indicated a mingling of feelings and purposes. He told us that one may ask for anything. He does, he said. He goes to a person's fire and sits and asks. (I could imagine him with his black glancing eyes sitting and asking!) He asks usually for only one or two things, but if a person has a lot he may ask for more. He said he is almost never refused but that if a man had only one pot and /Ti/kay asked for it the man might say, 'I am not refusing, but it is the only pot I have. If I get another you may come for this one. I am very sorry but this is the only pot I have.' /Ti/kay said this would not make him angry unless he were refused too many times. To be refused too many times makes a person very angry. But, said /Ti/kay, he himself did not tire of people asking him for gifts. Asking, he claimed, 'formed a love' between people. It means 'he still loves me, that is why he is asking.' At least it forms a something between people, I thought. 431 578 [572]

I have stressed the mitigation of jealousy as the important value of gift-giving. /Kung informants stressed more the value of putting people under the obligation of expressing friendship by making the friendly gesture, even if it is only a token gesture. Demi said, 'The worst thing is not giving presents. If people do not like each other but one gives a gift and the other must accept, this brings a peace between them. We give to one another always. We give what we have. This is the way we live together.' [572]

Absence of Stealing

One day, when I wanted to talk with a group of informants about what the /Kung considered to be wrong-doing, I began with /Ti/kay. He said promptly, 'Making crooked arrows and fighting', but could not think of anything else. Informants had previously said that not sharing food would be the worst thing they could think of. Others had mentioned that the breaking of the incest and menstruation taboos would be very wrong and that girls should not sit in immodest posture. No one seemed to think lying was very serious wrong-doing, and no one mentioned stealing. I finally asked directly and Gao Medicine said they had not thought to mention stealing because they did not steal. 577

We had heard of the episode of the man taking honey from a tree, honey which had been found and marked and was therefore owned by someone else, and being killed for it by the owner. That was the only episode of stealing that we discovered. [685]

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Kung

577 685 The /Kung stole nothing from us. Even when we went away on trips, leaving several bands of /Kung settled around our camp site, we left our supplies and equipment unlocked in the open or in our tents with confidence that nothing would be stolen. Things that we lost or forgot in the werf were returned to us, even two cigarettes in a crumpled package.

Stealing without being discovered is practically impossible in /Kung life because the /Kung know everybody's footprints and every object. Respect for ownership is strong. But, apart from that, /Ti/kay said, 'Stealing would cause nothing but trouble. It might cause fighting.' [578]

Conclusion

578 During seventeen and a half months when I lived with the Nyae Nyae /Kung at Gautscha (with Bands 1 and 2 and many visitors—usually about sixty to seventy-five persons), I personally saw four flare-ups of discord and heard of three others which occurred in neighbouring bands during that period. All were resolved before they became serious quarrels. Of the seven, four were flare-ups of sexual jealousy. One was 'the talk' about Khuan//a's gift. Two were very minor disagreements about going somewhere, when Gao Beard's frustrated young wife hit him on the head with her digging-stick and when /Ti/kay gave his brother a shove for refusing to accompany him. None were about food. We considered, judging from that sample, that the /Kung managed very well to keep tensions from turning into hostility, to avoid arousing jealousy and ill will, to cohere, and to achieve the comfort and security which they so desire in human relations.

APPENDIX

!Kung Bushman Artifacts

ANIMAL MATERIALS

Hides

281 462 *Made and used by men*

- breech clouts
- oracle disks
- head-dresses (a few, worn in dances) [237]
- caps (a few) [534]

Made by men, used by women

- genital aprons [321]
- small karosses worn around buttocks or for carrying babies

Made by men, used by all

- karosses
- bags (sewn)
- bags of whole skins
- tobacco pouches of scrota
- bracelets, armbands, knee and ankle bands [237]
- necklaces
- thongs

Cocoons

Made by men

- dance rattles

Bone

Made and used by men

- connecting parts for arrow-shafts
- arrow-points (few)
- dishes for mixing poison

Made and used by women

- fresh bone, pounded to powder, is used to clean and soften karosses

Birds' Nests

Used by men and women

- tobacco pouches (nests of the penduline tit, *Anthoscopus minutus*)

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Sinews

Made and used by men

bow-strings
wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison adheres well to sinew)
binding for hafts
snares

Made by men, used by all

strings for *//gwashi* (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

fine rolled cord

Horn

Made and used by men

horns fitted with leather covers for carrying arrow-points
horns for cupping

Used by all

horns for pipes
horns for spoons

Shell

Made by men, used by all

ostrich egg-shell water-containers
tortoise-shell dippers
tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

ostrich egg-shell beads

Feathers

Used by boys on *jani* toys
Worn by all occasionally in hair

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

Wood

Made and used by men

bows
spear handles
axe or adze handles
knife handles
knife sheaths
spring-hare hook handles[1]
fire-making sticks
hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

digging sticks
carrying sticks
stirring sticks
mortars and pestles
bowls
spoons
fire scrapers
//gwashi (musical instrument)
one-stringed violin
jani toys
beads

Made by women

frames for scherms

Fibres

(from *sansevieria*, aloe, */mu* tree roots, other roots)

Rolled by men and women

cord

Made and used by men

carrying-nets
snares

Made and used by all

ornaments

Grass

Made by men and women

stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-containers
ornaments

Made by women

scherms

Made by children

toys of grass folded and woven to suggest animals

Used by all for beds

[1] Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying. They carry only the hook around with them and whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

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VEGETABLE MATERIALS (*contd.*)

461
824

Reeds

Made and used by men

arrowshafts

Used by women

strips for tying frames of scherms and for tying grass on scherms in times of high wind

Worn by all as head and chest bands

Bark

Made and used by men

quivers

Tsi Nuts

Used by all as beads

Used by boys as weights for *jani* toy

STONE

Made by men

324
462
[302]

arrow-straighteners
pipes

Used by men for

sharpening blades
hammers
anvils
weights to stretch nets
marking graves

Used by women

powdered red earth for ceremonial markings on face

OBTAINED BY TRADE WITH BANTU

439

Malleable Metal and Wire

Made and used by men

arrow-points
spear-blades
spring-hare hooks

Made by men, used by all

pipes
awls

Used by men

knives
axes or adzes
chisels (few)
files (few
fire-strikers) (few)

Used by all

beads—copper, glass, shell, &c.
pots—Bantu clay, European iron
pipes (few), European briar, old cartridge-shells
receptacles (few)
old scraps of garments and blankets
oddments such as buttons for ornaments

Résumé

LE PARTAGE ET LE PARLER: SOULAGEMENT DES TENSIONS SOCIALES CHEZ LES BANDES DE BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

000

Dans cette communication, l'auteur décrit plusieurs coutumes de Boschimans /Kung dans la région Nyae Nyae de l'Afrique du sud-ouest, coutumes qui les ont aidés à maintenir des relations pacifiques au sein de leurs groupes et entre les divers groupes de la région. Ces coutumes ont été observées au cours des expéditions Marshall de 1951–9. Les modifications

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des conditions de vie qui se sont produites depuis cette expédition seront susceptibles, à l'avenir, de porter atteinte à la pratique de ces coutumes.

La discipline sociale s'exerce au cours de la conversation. Les individus s'expriment constamment pour parler de choses banales, mais s'il s'agit d'une question grave ou d'un désaccord sérieux, un ' propos ', comme disent les /Kung, peut avoir lieu. Ce propos constitue à la fois une réaction spontanée à la tension et une issue pour l'émotion; ce n'est pas une réunion préparée et formelle. On soulage parfois une inquiétude en en parlant. Des propos bruyants sont la réaction des /Kung à de vives émotions. D'une façon générale, on s'attend à une conduite inoffensive et polie; des bonnes manières au cours des repas indiquent la réserve et un /Kung devrait poser ses armes à terre lorsqu'il rencontre un étranger.

Les /Kung partagent la chair des gros animaux qu'ils tuent. Le possesseur de la flèche qui tue l'animal est le possesseur de la viande, il est responsable de sa répartition. Mais les flèches sont données et prêtées, de sorte qu'il arrive souvent que le chasseur qui tue l'animal n'en est pas le propriétaire. On donne toujours une première part aux chasseurs. Ces derniers et le possesseur doivent ensuite donner des portions généreuses de viande à leurs beaux-parents, parents, siblings-in-law, et siblings, qui, à leur tour, en donnent à leurs familles et à leurs parents par alliance. On peut également faire volontairement des dons de viande à des amis que l'on désire favoriser. Les /Kung comprennent la valeur sociale considérable de la coutume du partage de la viande pour atténuer la hantise de la faim et mettre un frein à la jalousie et à l'animosité latentes.

Les /Kung ne possèdent pas de propriété foncière, ni aucune source individuelle de nourriture ou d'eau, mais ils possèdent à titre de propriété privée la viande après sa répartition, le veldkos après sa cueillette, et tous leurs objets façonnés. Ce sont des choses dont ils font cadeau les uns aux autres sans formalité. Les seules lois sociales rigoureuses qui règlent la remise de ces dons sont les suivantes: on ne doit pas refuser un cadeau et, réciproquement, on doit en faire un en échange. Le vol n'existe pas, car les /Kung pensent que le vol est susceptible de provoquer des rixes; par conséquent, il ne se produit que très rarement. Les relations humaines pacifiques sont très recherchées.

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[Title Page]

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/KUNG BUSHMAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS[1]

LORNA MARSHALL

MY purpose in this paper is to describe some of the religious beliefs held currently by the /Kung Bushmen of the interior bands of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. I shall limit the paper to a description of their concepts of the gods, the problem of evil, supplication, the spirits of the dead, and the ceremonial curing dance, but leave for another paper a more detailed account of medicine men, how they become medicine men, and more about their practices and beliefs. We gathered the information which I present principally on our expeditions of 1952–3 and 1955.

Schapera traces considerable borrowing in the past by the Bushmen from Hottentots and Bergdama.[2] I did not have opportunity to trace, to any significant extent, possible present-day borrowing or exchange of ideas, and can only report that contact, and therefore opportunity for exchange, takes place between the interior bands of /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region and the Tswana and Herero on the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung have contact also, but much less frequently, with Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south and through them to some extent with Naron in the Ghanzi region of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae occasionally see /Kung to the north of their region, who in turn see the Okavango and Ovambo tribes. Although the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not enough contact with white people before we came to absorb any Christian ideas directly from them, and no Christian missionary has been in the interior of the region, an influence of Christianity cannot be precluded because the Tswana do have contact with Christianity. Our own highly valued interpreter, Kernel Ledimo, who grew up near the border and spoke Bushman from his childhood, had been educated in an Anglican mission school. Although there has been contact with people who have Christian ideas, I do not recognize with certainty any Christian elements among /Kung beliefs.

One is left to wonder if the change in the concept of the nature of the gods, particularly in that of the great god, which appears when one compares the old tales with current concepts, was brought about entirely by the philosophical and logical powers of the /Kung themselves and by their adjustment to emotional needs, or whether influences from without played some part. I hope that the research of others may throw light on this point.

I should like to mention a few of the well-known Bushman beliefs, recorded in the past, which the present Nyae Nyae /Kung do *not* have and then proceed to a more systematic description of beliefs which they hold at present.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung have various beliefs and lore about the sun and moon, Canopus, the Pleiades, and other stars, and they have the well-known myth of the moon and the hare; but they do not attribute active divinity to the heavenly bodies, which are 'just stars', they say in effect, and we did not find that they either fear

[1] We are grateful for a grant towards the publication of this long article.

[2] I. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, London: Routledge, 1930. Reference is particularly to chapter vii.

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821 them or seek to gain beneficent influence from them. As far as we know they do not pray to them for food as the Cape Bushmen are said once to have done, or for rain as the Naron and Auen and /O /Kung do.[1]

The /Kung beliefs about rain, which I do not describe in detail in this paper, include the idea that rain is life-giving and makes the food plants and other vegetation grow, whereas the sun is death-giving. The /Kung do not now formally personify or deify rain or worship it, but may retain a vestige of an ancient personification of rain in praying to it, in a manner of speaking, as they also do to lightning. 'Fall silently, rain. Do not make such a noise. Do not be dangerous', they say. Or, to lightning, 'Do not come against me. Go to the other side.'

825 The /Kung do not attribute divinity to the mantis but, in calling it 'the servant of *Gamwa*', perhaps they preserve a vestige or an echo of the Cape Bushman belief in */Kaggen*. If they injure a mantis which is walking on them or throw one into the fire,
[753] '*/Gamwa* would see this and say that his servant was being ill treated and would punish the person. He would make the person sick'. Mantises are *chi dole* (*chi*, thing; *dole*, bad) not because they harm you—they only prick and tickle you—but because they belong to */Gamwa* and people are afraid of the 'owner'. The old people told them these things. We saw the /Kung hold mantises, however, without exhibiting fear or the uncanny fascinated feeling I had when I watched them (especially the huge female who lived with me, with her consort seemingly permanently attached to her, and fascinated me by never seeming to take her eyes off me as she made her slow and stately progress around the tent at night).

The /Kung react in quite a different way to millepedes. They say there are two kinds. The large one they call *ko ko chi nabe*; the small one they call *choba* or *zoba*. One day a boy picked up a millepede and threw it toward a group of women. They jumped up and fled, shrieking. Talking about it afterwards, they explained that 'even men are afraid of millepedes'. (We observed several incidents of people jump-
[753] ing and running from them.) They are very dangerous, the /Kung say. If one gets on you, the shock of fright you feel could kill you. 'Millepedes work with *//Gamwa*. He sends them to eat your nose when you are asleep.' If you put a *choba* in the fire when the *n/i* berries (*Grewia flava* D.C.) are still green, the berries will not ripen
[278] properly and will not be sweet. If the /Kung find the ash of a millepede which has been burned in a veld fire and has kept its shape, they take the ash for a medicine. (Cf. Schapera's account that among the Naron and Auen 'the millipede, said to belong to *Hishe*, is only touched by them [magicians]; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine.'[2])

774 The /Kung do not believe that animals have spirits or souls or that earthly objects
825 (such as trees or water, for example) are entered by spirits or are themselves animated by having spirits of their own.

787 Divination is a secular practice among the /Kung. The oracle disks may be thrown and read by any man. They are five leather disks about two-and-a-half to three inches in diameter. The man who throws them gathers them into his cupped hands, flings them with a spreading motion on to a kaross on the ground, and reads what they reveal or predict. Different personifications are attributed to the disks, according to what the people want to learn from them. If advice about a hunt is wanted, the

[1] Schapera, op. cit., pp. 176–7. [2] Ibid., p. 197.

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disks may represent two eland bulls, two eland cows, and a hyena, the fifth disk being the factor of ill fortune, and in this role they tell the hunters in what direction they should go and what success or difficulty to expect. The names of people who are absent may be attributed to the disks, which then give news of the people. As everyone knows where everyone is likely to be and what is likely to befall, the disks are more often right than wrong. They afforded us the amusement of a remarkable coincidence, which people so delight in, when they foretold quite precisely the return of one of our party who had been away and whom we had not expected nearly so soon. 787

It was entertaining to watch a session with the disks. A group of men would gather around the thrower. The thrower always had his say, but he was not allowed to pontificate. Everyone read the disks with him and gave his own interpretation. Sometimes the men would disagree and shout at each other in effect, ' Idiot, don't you see it means this? ' At other times they were grave and intent, searching for the meaning. Whether they came to a consensus or went off, each holding to his own opinion, was never clear.

The Names of the Gods

The Names of the Great God 776

In present times the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region believe that there are two gods, one the great and one the lesser, that they have wives and children, and that they are attended by the spirits of the dead. [775]

These beings all live in the sky. The great god lives in the east at the place where the sun rises, the lesser god in the west where the sun sets.

The great god created himself. Then he created the lesser god. He created two wives, one for himself and one for the lesser god. The elder wife lives usually with the great god in the east, the younger one with the lesser god in the west, but, at any time the great god wishes, he may take both wives to live with him in the east. The wives bore six children to the gods, three boys and three girls. The great god created the earth and men and women and all things.

The great god named himself and then gave names to the lesser god and to their wives and children. He gave himself his names to praise himself. He said, ' I am *Hishe*. I am unknown, a stranger. No one can command me.' He praised himself also with the name */Gara* when he did something against the people, and the people said, ' He causes death among the people and causes the rain to thunder.' ' I am *≠Gaishi ≠gai* ', said the great god. ' I am *chi dole*. I am a bad thing. I take my own way. No one can advise me.' His being the cause of sickness and death among the people was the reason for his giving himself many names, we were told. This was apparently a satisfying reason to the /Kung, who offered no other explanation. [761]

The great god has seven divine names and one earthly name, the last being *≠Gaolua*, Old ≠Gao. His earthly name, though not as common as some, is a man's name which we came upon fairly often. I call his seven other names ' divine ' because they belong only to the gods. They are: [551 171]

Hishe	*/Gara*	*//Gauwa*
Huwe	*Gani ga*	
Kxo	*≠Gaishi ≠gai*	

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776 171 The name *Hishe*, Schapera tells us, is used by the Naron and Auen.[1] He thinks it may be a corruption of *Heitsi Eibib*, a mythical hero of the Hottentots.[2] As this name is not reported for other /Kung groups by Miss Bleek, Vedder, or Lebzelter, it is possible that it has been borrowed by the Nyae Nyae /Kung from the Auen. The Auen (also called Makaukau) live immediately south of the Nyae Nyae region.[3]

The name *Hnwe* is reported for Miss Lloyd's /Kung informants from Lake Ngami by Miss Bleek, for the /Kung at Tsumeb by Vedder, and for the eastern Kalahari group by Dornan, but not for the Auen or Naron, who said to Miss Bleek, as Schapera tells us,[4] that 'he [*Hnwe*] was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the "captain" of the white people'.

The name *Kxo* is something of a puzzle. I spelt it this way because I thought I heard both the *k* and the velar fricative sound *x*, as distinct from the name *Ko*.[5] I believe now that what I heard as *Kxo* is the name which Schapera tells us is spelt both *Xu* and *||Khu* by Lebzelter.[6] Lebzelter's account of *Xu* given him by the group he calls the eastern /Kung accords so closely with the Nyae Nyae /Kung's account of *Hishe—Hnwe—Kxo* that I feel certain that *Xu* and *Kxo* are conceptually the same being.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung did not have the name (or title) */khuba*, the Hottentot word for 'master', which Schapera tells us the Auen and Naron were beginning to borrow from the Nama when Miss Bleek worked with the Auen at Sandfontein.[7] Nor did they have *Thora* which Dornan heard among Bushmen of the eastern Kalahari.[8] And none of the informants we worked with knew the name *Erob* recorded by Lebzelter among the /Kung in the Oschimpoloveld. Schapera tells us that this name came from the Hebrew *Elohim*, a name used by missionaries among the Nama for 'God'.[9]

776 I shall have more to say about *||Gauwa* and *≠Gao/na* presently. The remaining three names, */Gara*, *Gani ga*, and *≠Gaishi ≠gai*, do not appear in the accounts of Bushman religion which Schapera analysed. I struggled to ascertain that they were names, not terms, titles, or descriptive phrases. So far, my evidence leads me to consider them names, but I could not trace their origin. My informants had no idea

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 182.

[2] Ibid., pp. 191, 374.

[3] For the location and extent of the Nyae Nyae region see Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Bands', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960, pp. 325–7.

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[4] Schapera, op. cit., p. 183.

[5] Some /Kung informants, /Ti/kay among them, claimed they did not know the name *Ko*. Others told us that *Ko* is a god of other people, a different god, not *≠Gao/na* or *||Gauwa*. They said, for example, that the white man's god is *Ko*. One informant said, in effect, that, even though *Ko* was a god of other people, he could kill anybody—white men, black men, and Bushmen. One is interested to note that *Ko* was the name of the female mantis god of the Bushmen of Basutoland, reported by Arbousset, as Schapera tells us (ibid., p. 181).

[6] 'Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *||Khu*) or *Xuwa*, "the Lord" or "the great captain", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Hnwa* or *Ha'a*.' (Ibid., p. 183.)

Bushman languages present so many difficulties to those who are not experts in them—difficulties in recognizing the clicks and in sorting out variations in pronunciation between individuals even of the same group, as well as variations that are probably imposed by the position of the words in the sentence and by other grammatical configurations, &c.—that such discrepancies as *Kxo*, *Xu*, and *||Khu* are relatively slight. Fully aware of my own inadequacy in the language, I usually assume when I differ from another observer that the other is right and I am wrong. However, I cannot simply adopt another's rendering of the word without knowing if the discrepancy is due to dialectal differences or to my ignorance or what, and so must stick to my own approximations.

[7] Schapera, op. cit., pp. 182–3.

[8] Ibid., p. 183.

[9] Ibid., p. 190.

where the names came from ('The old people told us that he gave himself these names', they said) and I do not have sufficient relevant comparative material to throw possible light on the question. Informants said that *≠Gaoʃna* was the oldest of the names of God and that */Gara* was the next oldest. 776

The Names of the Lesser God

The great god named the lesser god by giving him all of his own 'divine' names but not his human name, *≠Gaoʃna*. 553 776

Having been named for the great god, the lesser god is the great god's namesake, his *!guma* (*!gu* is name, *ma* is small or younger), and the great god is the *!guʃna* (*ʃna* means old, older, or big).

The concept of the namesake, and of the relationship between the *!guʃna* and the *!guma*, is an important one in the /Kung kinship system.[1] */Guʃna* and *!guma* are always of the same sex, /Kung names being sex-linked. One shares in some mystical way the entity of the person for whom one is named. Incest taboos require that one must not marry the parent or offspring of one's *!guʃna* or *!guma*. Behaviour between a *!guʃna* and a *!guma* is as open and free from formal restrictions as any in /Kung society. They have the joking relationship. Only the usual respect of the young for the old is expected.

The opposite conditions exist between parent and child. A man must not name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Parent and offspring do not have the joking relationship.

It was interesting to me to find the great and lesser god in the *!guʃna–!guma* relationship rather than the father–son relationship, as it offers some evidence that the concept of the two gods is not influenced by the Christian concept of God, the father, and Jesus, the son. Also one comes to see that the father-son relationship would not serve the Bushmen as well as the *!guʃna–!guma* relationship in explaining the problem of evil, for a son would not present as sharp a duality, but, according to human standards, would express respect, obedience, deference, propriety, and assistance, which is not *in total* the function of the lesser god. 776 [177 773]

The Names of the Wives of the Gods

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe that *≠Gaoʃna* gave all his own 'divine' names to both of the wives; *di*, the suffix which means 'female' is added: *Hishedi*, *Hnwedi*, *Kxodi*, */Garadi*, *Gani gadi*, *≠Gaishi ≠gaidi*, *||Gamwadi*.

≠Gaoʃna, the great god's human name, is not applied to the wives, men's names never being given to women. One would say instead *≠Gaoʃna a tsau*, '*≠Gaoʃna* his wife'. [553]

Each wife has a human name as well. The elder one, who usually lives alone with *≠Gaoʃna*, is named *Khwovaʃna*, Old Khwova. The younger one is *||Gow*. (*||Gow* rhymes with *how*. The *ao* sound in the men's names Gao, ≠Gao, and /Gao I use arbitrarily and mean by it a slightly shorter, more closed sound, like the *ou* in *ouch*.) We knew only two women named *||Gow* but knew many Khwovas. [104] [553]

The wives of the gods may be referred to or addressed by a respect term, used [576]

[1] Cf. Lorna Marshall, 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, no. 1, Jan. 1957, pp. 1–25.

776 [576] only for females, *Kolidi*, a term which one may also apply to women when one wants to be especially polite and to honour them. It is used for women 'who possess lots of things', the /Kung explained. *Gaoxadi*, the female form of one of the respect terms for the gods, may also be applied.

[222] *Khwova/na* is also called 'the mother of the bees'. When men go to look for honey they pray to her.

'The wives of the gods have the same work as their husbands. Their work is also strong', we were told.

The Names of the Children of the Gods

The names of the six children of the gods are as follows: for the boys—*/Kwa ma*, *Nami*, */Kmg go*; for the girls—*/Kharn*, */Nai*, */Kow*. *Nami*, */Kharn*, and */Nai* are familiar names to me, the others are not. These names are from Robert Dyson's notes (for which I want to express my gratitude), and it is possible that the name he writes */Kow* is the same as the one I write *//Gow*. As I have said, such questions and discrepancies about words are very common.

In the myths, but not in the /Kung's current account of their beliefs, *≠Gao/na* has two other sons who are involved in many strange events with their father. Their [821] names are *Khan//a* and *Kxoma*. They were turned into the two stars in the vertical axis of the Southern Cross which now bear their names. Alpha Crux is *Khan//a*; Gamma Crux is *Kxoma*.

Miss Bleek was told that *Hishe* was sometimes 'followed by children like baboons'.[1] The image this gives of the divine children leaping and playing and following like infant baboons is amusing. The image which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have, however, is very different. 'The girls are fresh and beautiful', they say, 'not ugly like Bushmen.' Their skin is the colour of Bushman skin but at its lightest shade (*gau*).

[775] The children are called little *//gauwasi* (*si* is the plural suffix). The spirits of the dead are also called *//gauwasi*. It is the children's special duty to carry the spirits of mortals, when they die, from the dead bodies to their 'father in the sky'. We were told that the little *//gauwasi* are helpful to humans. 'They watch over them and help to prevent *≠Gao/na* from getting angry.'

Terms of Respect and Disrespect

776 576 In addition to the names, the Nyae Nyae /Kung apply three terms of respectful address to the gods: *gaoxa*, *n/iha*, and */nan*. As I mentioned in my paper on the structure of bands,[2] the terms *gaoxa* and *n/iha* may be applied also to human chiefs, or to persons who are over others, like a district commissioner, and they are sometimes applied to a Bushman headman, although, to be strictly proper in /Kung, a headman is called *kxau*, 'owner'. *Gaoxa* is the more exalted term. Some informants felt that to call a man *gaoxa* was to compare him to the deity, which might anger the gods. Others felt that it 'sounded like a curse' to call a man *gaoxa*. The term pleases *≠Gao/na*, however. When he hears it applied to himself he knows that the people respect and fear him and 'he has a good feeling about them'.

/Nau among the Nyae Nyae /Kung is a term of respect for any old man and it is

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 192.
[2] Cf. Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Bands,' *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960, pp. 325–35.

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also commonly used for any man (not a boy) older than the speaker when the speaker must avoid saying the name. The people address the gods as */nan* and *gaoxa* more commonly than as *n/iha*. We were told that they call the great god */nan* ' when he is good '.

It is interesting to know that the power of the great god, his omnipotence which he was so mysteriously able to create for himself, is called *gaoxa* and that the special potent ' spiritual ' medicine which the great god puts into the medicine men, the curing power, is also called *gaoxa*.

The /Kung often call the great god ' father ' especially in supplication, and plead that he succour his ' children ' and give them rain or good fortune in the hunt or whatever they may be asking for.

Nonabe is a term of great disrespect, a ' scolding ' term. When used for a human being it is a curse and a terrific insult. A man who felt himself greatly wronged by another and in violent anger would say of the man who wronged him, ' That *Nonabe* ! ' But he would not say this to the man's face ' for if he did there might be a fight (so great is the insult). When he saw the man in person he would come in peace to him, not showing his anger '. *Nonabe* is used in blasphemy by the medicine men in trance, along with other insults when they are combating the gods and the *//gaowasi* in the medicine dances, demanding that they take away the evil they have brought.

The Fear of the Names

The Nyae Nyae /Kung ' fear ' (*kou*) to utter the names of the gods. The word 'means both' to be afraid of, as one is afraid of a mamba, and 'to respect and avoid', as one respects one's mother-in-law and avoids speaking to her and saying her name.

Children must strictly avoid saying any of the names of the gods. Old men and women need not observe an absolutely restrictive taboo in uttering the names, and may and do say them, but there seems to be an element of taboo (it is a ' death-thing ', they say) and fear of drawing attention to themselves. We were aware of their unwillingness to speak of religious matters early in our work and therefore waited until our relations were well established before questioning them. Our information was gathered for the most part in 1953 and 1955 at many different sessions with fifteen men and eight women informants who had proved to be reliable. Others joined the talks casually and when they wished to do so. Our informants declared themselves willing to teach me because I wished to know. Throughout the discussions people varied in the degree of caution and discretion with which they spoke the names. Sometimes we talked literally in whispers and usually at least in low voices, saying ' the one in the east ', ' the one in the west '. On one occasion /Ti/kay told me that my questions made him sick. He meant to claim, I ascertained, that he had an actual physical sensation such as a nervous twinge or slight nausea. The woman who first told me the name of the wife of the great god put her lips to my ear and whispered, barely audibly, ' *Hawadi* '. Next day, unfortunately, she had a high fever. She recovered, but the episode put an end to my trying to learn from her about the wives of the gods. /U, when someone was ill at Cho/ana, and she was filled with anxiety and longing to be home at Gautscha, made me promise not to say the names or ask any more questions, at least until we were all safely back.

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776 782 In spite of their reluctance to say the gods' names in serious discussion, the /Kung say them in blasphemy. (The word for cursing or blasphemy is *za*. Cursing is also called ' mouth-medicine '.) The medicine men curse the gods when they are combating their evil intents in the curing ceremony. A light-hearted blasphemy also occurs among the /Kung, as among ourselves, and the names slip from men's mouths in an insouciant way, as though they did not really mean them, as we say ' God Almighty! ' or ' Jesus Christ! ' in our inconsequential swearing.

I wondered if we should find that certain names were more closely associated with certain phenomena, like lightning or rain, or with special functions, such as presiding over childbirth, but all my inquiries on this theme led me to the conclusion that the names do not have such associations. There appears to be, however, a vague tendency, though not a strict rule, to associate some names more with benefaction, others more with ill treatment of the people. *Gani ga*, which is a very respectful name, seemed to come to mind when they wanted to show that they were well disposed towards the god and wanted to thank him or ask him sweetly to help them. */Gara* and *≠Gaishi ≠gai* we heard spoken in anger. They are ' scolding ' names. One man used *Hunu* when he spoke of the greatness and power of the god, saying ' *Hunu* was the tallest of the Bushmen, a great man with many names ', and *Hishe* was the name used when the creator said, ' I am *Hishe*. I am unknown.' *Kxo* was not often uttered. The name *//Ganwa* will be discussed later.

Two Images of *≠GAO/NA*

≠Gao/na, *the Protagonist of the Old Tales*

776 539 *≠Gao/na*, we were told, was the oldest name of the great god. Through that name the /Kung identify the great god with an old *≠Gao/na*, the protagonist of many ancient tales. Some sense of logical necessity, I believe, compelled the /Kung to merge the two concepts so that they say, when they are asked, that the *≠Gao/na* of the tales and the great god are the same being, but this is a forced and superficial verbal resolution, for the two beings could hardly be more different. The people, I believe, really imagine them as different, and behave in quite a different manner as they speak of them. They tell the tales of the old *≠Gao/na*'s doings without restraint, [522] say his name aloud, howl and roll on the ground with laughter at his humiliations, whereas, when they speak of the great one in the east, they whisper and avoid his name. Yet they think that somehow in the rightness of things these two beings must be one, so one they are said to be.

The old *≠Gao/na* was a kind of culture hero. He had supernatural powers. He could change himself into other forms and could change people into animals, bring people back to life, &c. He was a great magician, with powers over magic substances and objects. But, although he gave fire to mankind, he could not be called a great [372] benefactor of mankind. He wanted fire for himself because he liked cooked food and gave the fire to man rather as an afterthought. He was not very much concerned with man or with man's morals. He was not the death-giver, involved in the mysterious inevitable necessity of death, or a wrathful punisher, like Jehovah. Such vengeance as he took was not a mighty vengeance but only a getting back at those who tricked [266] him. And usually his reason for killing someone was his own hunger. In those older days, according to the tales, people were always eating one another or parts of one

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1. Whirlwinds in the huge veld fires become pillars of cloud by day

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2. The oracle disks

[p.228 (A)]

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3. The boys may be climbing the baobab tree to look for honey or to look around the country for signs of game

[p.228 (B)]

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4. The jani bird toy

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5. Boys catch the jani bird with sticks before it touches the ground and toss it high into the air again

[p. 228 (c)]

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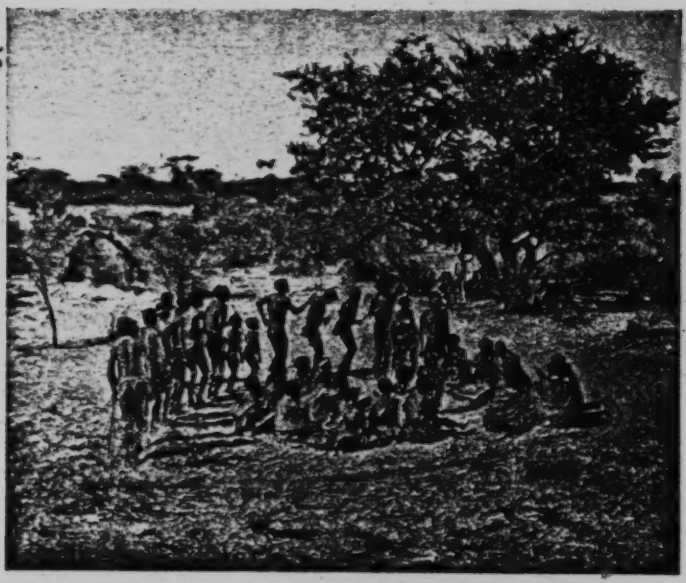

6. The curing dance; the men cut through the circle of singing, clapping women. The time for dancing is the night, but occasionally the /Kung dance in the daytime when there is a reason, such as obliging us when we asked for a daytime dance to photograph or as a preliminary to a *claus* ceremony

7. The dance rattles, strings of cocoons, add a swish, swish to the thud of the small, strong, stamping steps

[p. 228 (D)]

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8. Occasionally a woman dances with the men for a brief time. All the men who are dancing except two (fourth and sixth from right) are practising medicine men. The one at the farthest left and the one bending forward are beginning to go into trance. Others hold them. In this stage they cure the people, leaning over one and then another, laying on their hands, and making their 'medicine' gestures and sounds

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[p. 228 (E)]

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9. The next stage of trance

10. Two medicine men in deep trance; the people rest

[p. 228(F)]

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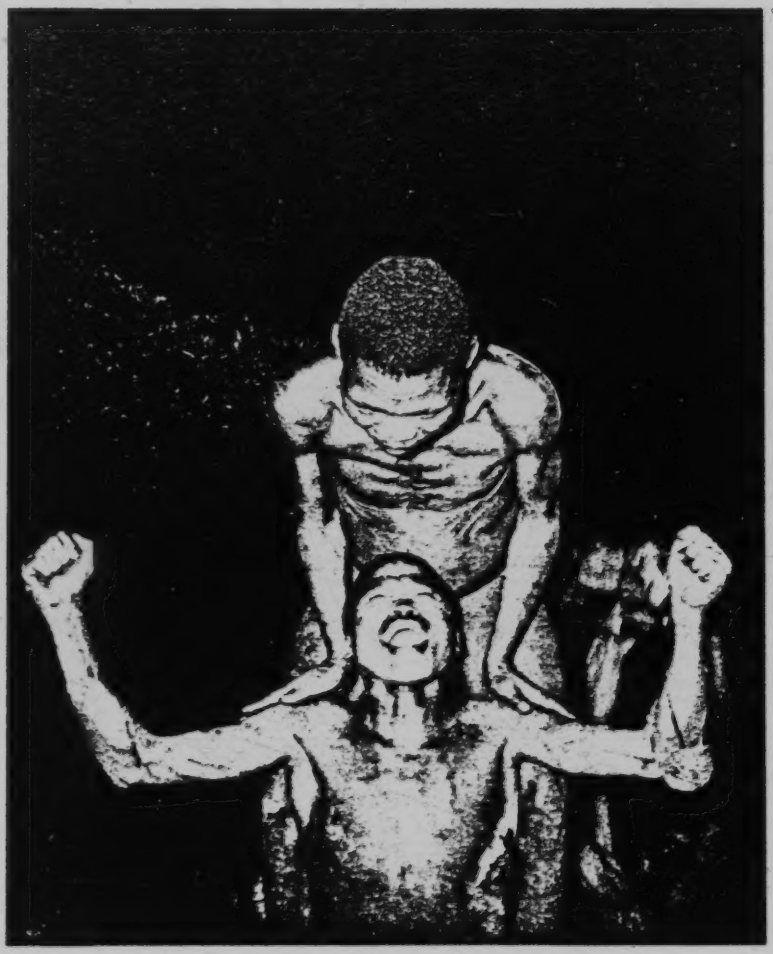

11. The scream

[p. 228 (G)]

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12. Five medicine men at sunrise after they had danced and cured all night long. The women must still clap and sing the protective medicine music. The men in semi-trance care for those in deep trance, or 'half-death', as they call it

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13. The tradition is continued. Playing 'dance', a little girl claps and sings while two boys dance around her

[p. 228 (H)]

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14. The boys imitate a trance

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15. Gao, the medicine man who sees ǂGaosa as a grey mist

[p. 228 (I)]

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another or parts of themselves. In appearance and other characteristics the old ≠*Gao/na* was more man-like than supernatural. He lived on the earth among men. Like men he was subject to passions, hungers, sins, stupidities, failures, frustrations, and humiliations, but men imagine his to be on a larger scale and more grotesque than their own. Like Bushmen of today, his great concerns were hunger and sex. To the /Kung the two worst sins, the unthinkable, unspeakable sins, are cannibalism and incest. ≠*Gao/na* committed both these sins quite unconcernedly. He ate his older brother-in-law and his younger brother-in-law and raped his son's wife.

≠Gao/na, *his* Tun/ga (*the Fat Paouw*), *and the Pit*[1]

≠*Gao/na*'s wives were sisters. They had a brother who was a paouw. One day ≠*Gao/na* met the paouw, his *tun/ga*. [*Tun/ga* is the kin term for wife's brother older than the speaker.] His *tun/ga* was very fat. A fat paouw has bags of fat under his wings. ≠*Gao/na* and his *tun/ga* spoke together and parted. ≠*Gao/na* was surprised to see so much fat. He said, 'Oh, how fat my *tun/ga* is.' A few miles on they met again. ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Look, do you see that veld fire over there?' He pointed with his arm away up. The paouw said, 'Do you mean *that* fire?' He pointed, but only with a restricted gesture, keeping his wing to his side. 'No, ≠*Gao/na* said, 'THAT fire,' and he pointed with his arm far up, his whole armpit showing. 'I see it,' said the paouw, and he stretched his wing far up to point. ≠*Gao/na* was standing behind him. He seized the fat below the paouw's wing and cut it off and ran home. The paouw cursed ≠*Gao/na*. 'Break your bones and die,' he said. 'Die of a broken back or die of a broken neck,' he said.

≠*Gao/na* took the fat home and rubbed his wooden basins with it. His wives came home and found the wooden basins covered with fat and they asked him what he had eaten that was so fat. ≠*Gao/na* said that he got the fat from a puff adder. He said he beat it with a stick until the fat from the front went down the back to the middle, and beat the tail until the fat from the back went up the back to the middle. ≠*Gao/na* now planned how he would get his *tun/ga*. He slept that night. The next morning he set snares under the tree where the paouw went to eat gum. ≠*Gao/na* then met the paouw again. The paouw was wary and wouldn't come near. ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Why are you so wild with me?' [Wild is the opposite of tame, domesticated, or confident.] 'There is a tree there with gum under it but my eyes are not good enough to see it.' He said,' Let us have a contest; we shall see who can see the gum first. The one who sees it first must run and snatch it.' So they went to the tree and saw the gum. The paouw ran fast to get it, and ≠*Gao/na* ran too but he did not run so fast. The paouw snatched the gum and the snare caught him, and ≠*Gao/na* ran up and clubbed him, and carried him home. ≠*Gao/na*'s wives were out for veldkos. He put the fat from the other wing in a small pot and the body of the paouw in a big pot. When the wing fat was ready he ate it, and ate and ate, but he ate too much and he went out and had diarrhoea. The wives came home and suspected that perhaps he had killed their brother. The paouw began to expand in the pot and he swelled and swelled until *koah!* the pot burst and pieces of meat came whizzing out so that ≠*Gao/na* had to duck away from them. When all the meat was out, the paouw came back together again and flew away. ≠*Gao/na* chased after him but the wives called to him, 'Come back, you forgot your stick.' ≠*Gao/na* came back and got his stick and ran after the paouw again. The wives called him, 'Come back, you forgot your

[1] I wish to acknowledge with gratitude and pleasure the assistance of our daughter, Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, in gathering the material of the old tales, as well as other data. The first tale is hers. In paraphrasing the tales, we adhered to the events, the ideas, and the details, incorporating them as they were told us, but we have put the tales into our own words, attempting to preserve something of the quality of the telling as it came to our ears.

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539 sandals.' ≠*Gao/na* came back and got his sandals and ran after the paouw again, but the paouw was gone by this time. ≠*Gao/na* cursed at his wives, 'You stupid lazy women, why were you so lazy that you lay down and didn't stir the pot?' The wives were much annoyed that ≠*Gao/na* had wanted to eat their brother.

Next day ≠*Gao/na* went hunting. While he was away his wives, because they were very annoyed, turned themselves into */qui twa* veldkos [a veldkos which is like small cucumbers]. When ≠*Gao/na* came home he saw the pile of ripe */qui twa* and ate them all. Then he came and sat by the fire. Soon he heard something laughing. He looked around but no one was there. He heard the laughing again and looked around. 'What is that?' he said, but he could see nothing. He heard the laughing again and again. 'Where is that laughing coming from?' he said. It was his wives inside him laughing at him and at this they kicked and kicked until they burst his stomach open and came out and were women again. ≠*Gao/na* was very surprised. How did he eat his wives? he wondered. */Narn*, a dung beetle, then came to sew up ≠*Gao/na*'s stomach. It was very sore. ≠*Gao/na* squirmed and struggled when */narn* pricked him. Then came a little *xwa xwa* fly. He took over the sewing and sewed so gently that it was only like a tickling. ≠*Gao/na* was healed and soothed and he slept.

Next day ≠*Gao/na* went hunting again. He was annoyed with his wives for tricking him into eating them and for laughing in his stomach and bursting him open. Presently he came upon some fruit. He said, 'Oh, if only I had my sister or mother to gather veldkos for me!' He turned back and told his wives where the fruit was and went on the other way. The wives went to gather the fruit, but ≠*Gao/na* with his medicine had made the heavy fruit able to fly from the tree and hit the women so that they ran away crying. [The /Kung who were telling the story made the sounds which the fruits made bombarding the women, slapping
[522] themselves, crying like the wives, and rolling over with laughter.]

The wives returned to their werf. They were quite sad because their husband had treated them in this way and they discussed what they would do to get even with him. Next day they went out for veldkos again. They came to a place which they decided was right for their plan. They dug a big pit. Into it they opened their bowels and the pit was full of faeces. They then went to their werf and waited for ≠*Gao/na*. When he returned they said, 'If only we had a brother, he would go and kill the little eland we saw.'

≠*Gao/na* said, 'My wives, *I* shall go for you.'

They said, 'We know you are lazy, but our brother would go.'

But ≠*Gao/na* said, 'No, my wives, I shall go for you tomorrow.' So they slept. The next day the wives led him to the place where they said they had seen the little eland, where they had made the pit. They said, 'There it is, by that tree. You must go quietly.'

≠*Gao/na* brought an arrow out to shoot the eland, but the wives said, 'You lazy man, do not shoot it; catch it.' So ≠*Gao/na* got out his spear and the wives said, 'You will let all the blood run out. We like the blood to eat. That is what we meant when we said we wished we had our brother here to kill the little eland.'

So ≠*Gao/na* put his spear away. The wives said, 'Right there is where the little eland is; you must jump on it and catch it. We shall go on either side to help you.' And, when they were near, they said, 'Jump and fall on it and catch it.'

≠*Gao/na* got all set and made himself steady. Then he jumped and fell into the pit and the wives ran in every direction, laughing and saying how lazy he was. There he was in the pit. He could not stand up. He slithered around 'like a snake', the people said with graphic gestures and shrieks of laughter. He got up and fell down again, he got up again and fell
again, swearing at his wives and cursing them. 'These wives are very cruel.' [The people
[195] imitated his voice, higher than a man's voice and mumbling.] When ≠*Gao/na* finally got out of the pit he went to a water-hole and washed himself and walked home in the evening thinking of what he would do to his wives to punish them.

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Eyes-on-His-Feet

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≠*Gao/na*'s younger brother-in-law, his *tun/gama*, was named Eyes-on-His-Feet. He and ≠*Gao/na* went together to gather veldkos. They found *//karu*. After a time they came to a place where they wanted to stay and made a fire to roast the *//karu*. While they were sitting by the fire ≠*Gao/na* watched his *tun/gama*'s feet and saw what looked like eyes. He tossed dust on them and the eyes blinked. ≠*Gao/na* said, ' These are really his eyes. His face is just smooth. His eyes are on his feet.' ≠*Gao/na* then asked the *tun/gama* to lean over and press the *//karu* down into the ashes so that they would be all covered and would roast evenly. While the *tun/gama* was doing this, ≠*Gao/na* threw coals on his feet and burned his eyes. This weakened the *tun/gama* and ≠*Gao/na* was easily able to cover him all over with coals and roast him. While the *tun/gama* was roasting there was a sound, *tsi i its ii tsi ii* (like meat sizzling), and the *tun/gama* put a magic curse on ≠*Gao/na*'s mouth. When the *tun/gama* was well roasted, ≠*Gao/na* ate all he could of him and put what he could not eat into a bag. He then tried to eat the *//karu*. He put one up to his mouth but his mouth would not open. He took another. It fell down to the side. ≠*Gao/na* could neither speak nor eat. He put the *//karu* into the bag with the remains of the *tun/gama* and went back to his people in the werf and ordered them to make a dance to cure his mouth. He danced and danced with them and treated himself. While he was dancing, his wives took his bag and ate what was left of Eyes-on-His-Feet and all the *//karu* but one. [The story makes no point of the fact that they were eating their brother, albeit unknowingly, and one feels the omission hovering on the edge of being said.] Then they filled the bag with earth and put the *//karu* on top. Suddenly ≠*Gao/na*'s mouth was cured. He went to get his bag to finish his *tun/gama*, put in his hand, took some earth, and tossed it into his mouth. He spat and swore at his wives. ' You silly women,' he said, ' what have you done? ' And he thought what he would do to them. Next evening he called for another dance. A woman got up to dance but ≠*Gao/na* said, ' No, I want a good singer to dance with me, not you.' At last ≠Tamsa, the wife who had put the earth in the bag, got up to dance. She danced around ≠*Gao/na*, he danced around her, and when she came near he beat her fiercely on the stomach with his stick, until her stomach hung down below her groin. She fell unconscious and all the other wives took her and ran away and treated and treated her, crying, until she was all right. This is why Bushmen have stomachs that hang down. [826]

≠Toma and /Qui thought this was an awful story. /Qui said he did not know why ≠*Gao/na* ate his *tun/gama*. He thought the reason could not have been mere hunger— after all, /Qui pointed out, he had *//karu*. There must have been some other reason. ≠Toma said, ' ≠*Gao/na* is evil. Even now he goes about killing people.' [811]

In another version the awfulness of eating a human being is modified by having Eyes-on-His-Feet come to life again. During the dance, ≠*Gao/na*'s stomach began to ache and make sounds and to swell, as with severe constipation. Suddenly it burst open and Eyes-on-His-Feet sprang out, as the wives had done after their laughter, whole and alive. In still another version ≠*Gao/na* turns ≠Tamsa into a bird called *chee*, a white and yellow bird about as big as a dove. This is one of the birds which the /Kung eat. They grab it in tree-holes when it is nesting. All my efforts to learn more about the possible identity of Eyes-on-His-Feet availed nothing. I wondered if he were not originally some veldkos, for instance, with a formation that suggested eyes, or an animal turned into a human being, or personified, like the paouw, but our /Kung informants did not know. The old people had not told them.

When my inquiries suggested to my informants that I expected them, possibly, to [154]

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539 [154] know something which they did not know, they became defensive. /U said that her mother was lazy and did not tell her stories. That was why she knew so little. Old Xama said that her mother died when she was young, so she had remained ignorant.

[522] The story of ≠*Gao/na*'s raping his son's pretty young wife is long and detailed and is recounted with humour and great enjoyment by the /Kung. ≠*Gao/na* tried to be away with the women alone while they were gathering veldkos. First he changed himself into a baby wildebeest, pretended that he was dead, and let the women pick him up. That plan did not work, so he made another. He disguised himself very cleverly as his own sister and went with the women to gather when they stayed overnight, and raped his son's wife, Te, in her sleep. In the morning when the women discovered who he was, he tried to persuade Te that it was not he but her husband, Kxoma, who had been there in the night, but Te knew it was not and was terribly upset. The women decided not to tell Kxoma or Khan͡//a, because they were afraid the sons would kill their father, so they all kept quiet when they returned and they lived in peace.

These stories have become very mixed up. In another version, the pit episode is used again. It is the sons' wives who dig the pit and entice ≠*Gao/na* to jump into it in revenge for ≠*Gao/na*'s ' spoiling ' Te. The substance in the pit is not faeces but ≠*Gao/na*'s own semen. The women shape the semen into the form of a young giraffe. When ≠*Gao/na* finally gets out of this pit he cleans himself by rubbing himself on trees.

≠Gao/na *and His Stupid Generosity*

≠*Gao/na* sometimes prevails in his endeavours, but he has lapses and often appears to be far from clever. In one story he is both stupid and generous—too generous. This is a very long story in which Kxoma and Khan//a, his sons, kill an eland. Lions come and kill the sons. With the help of *zam zam*, the little tortoise, who was a person then and another brother of his wives, ≠*Gao/na* kills the lions by magic and restores his sons to life. The story ends in their all returning to the werf with the eland meat. They walk along. They meet a man. They give him gifts of meat. This man quickly hides his meat in a tree, then, dodging along behind some bushes, he runs ahead and meets ≠*Gao/na* and his party again. The sons and *zam zam* say, ' We have already given you some meat', but ≠*Gao/na* cannot remember and gives meat again. A third and a fourth time the man runs ahead and ≠*Gao/na* gives again, [522] in this way. [Dam and /Qui were speechless with laughter acting this out.] For the fifth time the man runs ahead and ≠*Gao/na* does not remember him and gives him his last bundle of meat. ≠*Gao/na* would now have to return to his wives without any meat for them, but instead he hits his buttocks very hard. He hits them and hits them until he knocks his insides out. He cuts his insides into pieces, like meat, and takes them to his werf. Others have meat but he has none except his own insides. He cooks them for his wives. They say the meat is too tough to eat and ask, ' Why do the others have nice eland meat and you only this? ' He says it is eland meat but that it has become dry. ≠*Gao/na* and his wives go hungry.

A story about ≠*Gao/na*'s getting fire was told in several versions. In one of them the name *Huwe* was used. That was the only time I heard the protagonist of the tales called by any name but ≠*Gao/na*.

≠Gao/na *and the Fire Sticks*

There was a time when no one had fire except one man whose name was /Kai /Kini. He had fire and the name of this fire was *doro*. [The word for fire is *da*.] *Doro* was made with fire

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sticks. /Kai /Kini cooked his food with the fire. Other people ate raw food. One day ≠*Gao/na* was walking in the veld and he came upon the place where /Kai /Kini was living. He was not there but his children were. They were eating cooked *//karu*. ≠*Gao/na* asked for some and found it very good. 'Oh, you eat nice cooked food,' said ≠*Gao/na*. 'How do you cook it?' The children said, 'Our father has a nice thing and he always gives us cooked food. He does all the best for us.' ≠*Gao/na* said, 'I shall come back tomorrow and eat this kind of food again.' 539

Next day he went back. As he was walking along he saw /Kai /Kini and his children digging for food in the ground and he hid himself and watched. When they had gathered enough, they went back to their werf and /Kai /Kini went and got his fire sticks from the place where he had hidden them. He twirled and twirled and twirled the male stick against the female stick, saying, 'Fire will come; fire will come.' When the fire was made and the food was cooking, /Kai /Kini hid his fire sticks again. ≠*Gao/na* was watching all the time. When the food was dished up, he came out from his hiding-place and sat down by the fire and they all ate together.

After a while ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Now we must make a game to play', and he made a *jani* toy, mounting it with a guinea-fowl feather, weighting it with a *tsi* nut. He tossed it into the air with his stick and, when it floated down, ran and caught it and tossed it up again and again without its ever falling to the ground. /Kai /Kini wanted to play. ≠*Gao/na* gave him the *jani*, but /Kai /Kini could not toss it high and did not get away from his house in following it. ≠*Gao/na* said the guinea-fowl feather was no good, they must put a big paouw feather on it. This they did and the *jani* flew high. ≠*Gao/na* then opened the wind and the wind blew from the eastern side and blew the *jani* toward the west. /Kai /Kini followed and followed it, fascinated, tossing it higher each time he caught it. ≠*Gao/na* followed /Kai /Kini and, when they came to the place where the fire sticks were hidden, he seized them and ran with them into the veld. As he ran he broke them into little pieces and then threw them the whole world over. 'All the world is going to get fire now', he said. 'Fire, fire, go over the world.' Since then there has been fire in every piece of wood and all men can get it out and cook their food. /Kai /Kini stopped playing and looked at ≠*Gao/na*. ≠*Gao/na* told him, 'It is not right that you alone should have fire. From now on you will not be a person', and he changed /Kai /Kini into a bird named ≠*ore*.

These events were told by the old old people. They happened long ago.

The Present Image: /Gao/na, *the Creator*

In his present image, the image of power, ≠*Gao/na*, the creator and controller of all things, is very different from the old protagonist. Bushman informants insisted on their belief, nevertheless, that ≠*Gao/na* of the tales and ≠*Gao/na*, the great god of the eastern sky, are one and the same. For them, through the name, one being has merged into the other and a continuity has been maintained. 776

The /Kung did not bring up the question of how his nature became so changed. I surmise that it may have been when the name *Huwe* found its way from the Berg-dama to the /Kung, and the name *Hishe* from the Auen, that certain elements of the present image came in, changing the earthly old ≠*Gao/na* into a lofty sky god. But I know nothing about the names */Gara*, *Gani ga*, and ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gai* and nothing about the time or order in which the names may have been created by the /Kung, or adopted, or with which characteristic one or the other may be associated. I *am* sure that current emotional needs and the imaginations of the people who are now living have continued to be at work upon the image, interpreting it, re-creating it, and bringing it to its present form. [177 178]

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776 The concept of ≠*Gaoʃna* as a powerful creator and a good being is based in the past. Schapera gives the following accounts: 'Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, . . . speaks of *Hnwe* as a good being to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things.'[1] 'Lebzelter . . . says that all the groups [of Kung] investigated by him have "the belief in a supreme good being".'[2] The Western /Kung of the Oschimpoloveld believe he 'lives in a house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is often prayed to, especially for rain and hunting, as well as in case of illness because he made all things and can do everything and knows everything, and he is given the first offering of the chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth, and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.'[3]

Schapera also notes that Lebzelter reports that *Xu* of the Heikum is regarded almost everywhere among them 'as the creator of all things, including mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.'[4]

This god of the /Kung and the Heikum in the past was not the death-giver. The [761 811] old //*Gauwa*, as I shall presently describe, held that role. But now, in believing that the great god of the east is all-powerful, the /Kung have logically attributed to him the control over death, and hold him ultimately responsible for it. But their concept of ≠*Gaoʃna*, first and foremost, is that of the creator.

776 It is said that ≠*Gaoʃna* created himself. One informant, /Tik/ay, claimed that he 773 came out of the water, but others said they were not told this by the old people. I could discover no formulated myth of creation which everybody knew or anything [154] which told how he created himself. People simply said they did not know. /U turned on me and asked me if I knew. When I said I did not, she snapped, How, then, did I expect her to know? After creating himself, ≠*Gaoʃna* created the lesser god and then their two wives. It was stated quite specifically that there were only two wives and that the gods never took human wives. This is in contrast to the old ≠*Gaoʃna* of the tales, who gives the impression that he had a bevy of wives.

The great god created the earth and gave it its name, ≠*kxa*. In the earth he created holes for water and he created water. They were not told just how he created these things, the people said. He has an iron of his own with which he works, a *ʃka* (*ʃka* is metal). Some metal tool is what he had, a special one. They 'did not see it', they said, and do not know just what kind of a tool it is or what substances he may have worked with, but they know that he is the creator and the commander of metal.

After the earth, ≠*Gaoʃna* made the sky in a dome over the earth, and he made rain, *ʃga*. He made gentle female rain, *ʃgadi*, and violent male rain, *ʃgaʃgo*. The people do not say freely the word *ʃgaʃgo* because they fear the violent rains. They use a respect word, *ʃnoi*, when they speak to the rain and plead with it to be gentle. ≠*Gaoʃna* made thunder and lightning.

After the rain, he made the sun. Sun is a 'death thing' which dries up the veldkos

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 183. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., p. 184. [4] Ibid., pp. 184–5.

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and the water-holes. He made the moon and the stars, all at the same time. Then 776
he made the wind. He is the creator of all these things and he commands their 773
movements.

He created the things that grow from the ground and he created animals and painted their stripes and markings on them and gave them their names. Then he created human beings. He created animals as animals and human beings as human beings. He commanded them to breathe. Without breath they would not live. 'First was woman and then man. The man asked the woman to give him fire. She did. The woman got some veldkos and was eating it. Then the man married the woman. This was one man's cryptic account of the creation. Something about the creation of fire seems to have been left out. ≠*Gao/na* named the first woman Khwova for his wife and he named the first man ≠Gao for himself.

From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. He turns the spirits of the dead into *//ganwasi* and commands them to live in the sky with him and be his servants. He orders them to go down to earth, to mortals, to carry sickness or death to them, or he may order them to carry good fortune.

≠*Gao/na* has a medicine with which he can renew himself at any time. He also renews all the beings who live in the sky with him. They get old and he renews them. [811]
They do not die. But he has not given human beings that medicine and the /Kung said, 'We cannot make it.' (They pointed out that in this quality the medicine is like water. They cannot create water. 'We know how to dig and make the holes but we cannot create the water,' they said.)

≠*Gao/na* gave arrows and bows and assegais to human beings and he gave digging-sticks. He gave people the knowledge to make all the things which they now make and taught them to do all they know how to do. 'If he did not want us to know he [811]
would not have taught us.' He commanded human beings to dig for food with their sticks and to hunt with their weapons. From the beginning they did these things.

≠*Gao/na* created all the medicines. (The /Kung word for both material substances [757]
used as medicines and magic or spiritual medicine is *n/um*.) He created the medicine which is in the medicine songs to cure the people and he created all the other medicines. He put medicine power in the medicine men (*n/um kxau* is medicine man, owner of medicine), and he calls that power *gaoxa*, the same respect word which people may use for him when they fear to say his name.

≠*Gao/na* commanded men and women to marry and live together and have children. He controls the actions of people. If they do good deeds or bad deeds it [577]
has been under his control. He arranges all things.

Several times in our talks I asked if the great creator controlled the lives of Bush- 776
men only, or if he controlled all the people on earth. It was not surprising that the /Kung's thinking on this point was vague and contradictory. Some said, 'He is over all people. He can kill anybody.' (They had said this same thing about *Ko*.) Others claimed that ≠*Gao/na* and *//Gauwa* as well were 'only for Bushmen'. White people and black people, they said, have their own gods.

≠Gao/na's *Appearance and Dwelling Place*

The /Gikwe Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate visualize the protagonist of their old tales, *Pinibore*, as being of supernatural size. In the tortures of his death

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776 throes, his thrashing and writhing limbs gouged out the omurambas,[1] the putrefaction of his body became the rivers, and his black hair became the rain clouds. But the /Kung, it seems, always thought of their protagonist as man-like in size and appearance. The old ≠*Gao/na* was man-like. ≠*Gao/na*, the great god of the east, is also man-like. He has the power to change himself into the forms of animals or objects and sometimes does so, but in his own form he is a man. The people say he is 'the tallest of the Bushmen'. His bearing, as the people at present imagine him, suggests [115] to me the Tswana or white men, or the tall aggressive Herero. Gao Medicine, Gao Beard, Old Demi, ≠Toma, /Qui, and /Ti/kay told us from time to time how they imagine ≠*Gao/na* to be. He has a big head. He has black hair, but it is long, not twisted and knotted like the Bushman peppercorn, and he has a long beard and hair on his chest (not at all like Bushmen, whose beards and body hair are sparse). Gao Medicine thinks that ≠*Gao/na*'s skin is reddish in colour, */ga*, like Europeans, but others claimed that it is the colour of Bushman skin in its light tones, *gan*. ≠*Gao/na* wears European clothes and a hat. His pants and shirt are white. 'He is the great god and has power over all these things, so he possesses them.' He has a horse and rides everywhere across the earth and sky. You can sometimes hear the sound of his horse's hooves passing overhead. Especially when it rains he goes about a great deal and you can see the tracks of his horse. They are like those of the Hereros' horses, not exceptional in size or form. He has a gun and when he starts out, for instance to visit his */guma* in the west, he shoots it off to let the people know he is passing through, and shoots again when he returns. The shots can be heard by everybody. The bullet which he shoots is named */guri*.

≠*Gao/na* hunts for his own food with his gun or with his bow and arrows, as he pleases. Some informants think that he hunts animals on earth and that he eats earthly veldkos, but has his own supplies of these foods. Others were vague about what kind of food he eats. They know that he and the lesser god and the *//gauwasi* are all very fond of earthly honey and take it whenever they find it. The people all believe that the gods never lack food.

If ≠*Gao/na* hears his name spoken in the daytime and is displeased, he comes down on his horse at sunset and beats stiff dry hides with a stick or snaps an eland-hide reim[2] to make a noise like thunder to frighten all the people.

The majority of out informants held the above beliefs about ≠*Gao/na*, telling us these details from time to time as we sat in groups. Some informants, however, held a different opinion. Several who were working with Robert Dyson in 1951 claimed that ≠*Gao/na* never came to earth. Their old people had told them this, they said. All concurred in the belief that he does not come to the medicine dances.

≠*Gao/na* lives in a house at the place where the sun rises in the eastern sky. Near the house is a great tree—one tree. The /Kung fear the tree and the house, they say. The lesser god in the west lives beside two trees, and these two trees have names. I was repeatedly told that the one tree of the great god in the east had no name. Perhaps, however, it has and the name is one which is really taboo. The tree is associated with the spirits of the dead, as I shall mention later. ≠*Gao/na*'s house has two stories. It is long, made of stone, with a shining roof of corrugated iron. There

[1] Ancient watercourses, now usually dry.
[2] A pliable strip or thong used for twisting into ropes.

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are big doors on the ends and small doors on the sides. Our informants believe that 776
all the *//ganwasi* (spirits of the dead) live on the lower floor, and that ≠*Gao/na* and his wife and children live on the upper floor. Although the house differs so much from a Bushman scherm, the /Kung use the same word for it, *choo*. No mortal has seen ≠*Gao/na*'s dwelling place, not even the greatest of medicine men. The old people were told about it, but how they were told is not known. When ≠*Gao/na* appears to the great medicine men he meets them somewhere else.

The image of the house accords with beliefs held by North-Western Bushmen as Schapera reports: 'But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a [illegible] elaborate form, by the Bergdama.'[1]

The image accords in several respects also with that of the Eastern Kung, whom Lebzelter describes, except that in the belief of the Eastern Kung the spirits of the dead live on the upper floor and ≠*Gao/na* on the lower.[2] The stone walls and the corrugated iron roof are the new elements, added as the Nyae Nyae /Kung visualize him in his present power, possessing and commanding all things. [177]

Only exceptionally great medicine men see ≠*Gao/na*. If I understood correctly, 776
this is not because he is generally invisible but because he comes near only to them. 756
≠*Gao/na* is 'wild', as an animal is 'wild', meaning 'keeping his distance'. He has so much power in him that he is dangerous. If he came into a werf his power might destroy it. Some of the medicine men said that ≠*Gao/na* would not come nearer than about a hundred yards, pointing to a tree to illustrate the distance. /Ti/kay, who claimed that he himself had never seen ≠*Gao/na*, said that even a big medicine man is apt to be frightened when he sees ≠*Gao/na* for the first time and might say, 'What does this man want? He is bad. I don't like him.' /Ti/kay continued, saying that even a *very* big medicine man, long in medicine, having seen ≠*Gao/na* many times, would still be frightened, but when sickness came and he was curing and was full of power, he would keep a 'tight heart' and take a stick and would rush at ≠*Gao/na* and hit him and yell, 'You sent a bad sickness. You must take it back.' And the sick person would get better. This is how all the medicine men habitually treat the lesser god and the spirits of the dead, whom they meet regularly at the medicine dances, but, as ≠*Gao/na* does not come to the medicine dances, the great medicine man would encounter him only under special circumstances and would indeed need all his courage.

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 397.

[2] 'This "supreme being" [*Huwe* or *Xu*] is regarded as anthropomorphic, he looks like a Bushman and he also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky in a house with two storeys, the lower of which is occupied by himself, his wife, whose name is unknown, and many children, while the upper is occupied, as already mentioned, by the souls of the dead (*xu*). In appearance this house is similar to the ordinary Bushman hut, although not quite the same, and its exterior is "hairy like a caterpillar." Honey, locusts, fat flies, and butterflies are found here in superabundance, and the "great captain" feeds upon these; the souls of the dead, however, merely sit around and eat nothing. *Xu* summons the magicians to their profession, and gives them supernatural powers; he is the lord over rain and lightning, as well as over the spirits, *//ganwb*, and through the chief of the latter he sends good fortune in hunting or in the collection of veldkos. If anybody thinks or speaks evil of him, he punishes the evildoer with lightning; otherwise he takes no interest in the doings of his "Bushman children", except when somebody swears falsely by him, for the Kung have a regular oath in which they invoke him. He is prayed to by them in fixed form for rain, in case of severe illness, before going out hunting or before undertaking a dangerous journey' (Ibid., p. 284).

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776 It was characteristic of the /Kung that none of the medicine men whom we knew
756 claimed to have seen ≠*Gao/na*. They were not great enough, they said. The /Kung
[156] do not wish to risk drawing upon themselves the invidious attention of mortals or the whimsical displeasure of the gods by setting themselves up noticeably before others. Some said that they had been told by their parents of only one great medicine man among their neighbouring bands who had seen ≠*Gao/na*. His name was Gao. He died long ago.

776 Although ≠*Gao/na* comes only to the great medicine men 'in the flesh', so to speak,
787 he appears to anyone in dreams and 'helps all his people'. A hunter said that
[224] ≠*Gao/na* stands beside one in one's dream and says, 'You have been walking and walking and you got nothing. Today I shall give you meat.' The hunter gets up and goes out on to the veld. He sees an animal and shoots it. ≠*Gao/na* may say, on the other hand, 'These days you will not find an animal even if you hunt'; and it will be the truth. He may tell you in a dream where to find honey in a tree or where to
[756 find an ant hill. He gives power to the medicine men in dreams and also medicine
533] songs. A medicine woman described vividly how he had taught her a medicine song which she then gave to her people. He stood beside her instructing her to sing the song over and over until she had learned it.

//*Gauwa*, The Lesser God

776 Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung the word //*Gauwa* has three interpretations. First,
[775] a //*gauwa* is the spirit of a dead person; the spirits of the dead in the plural are //*gauwasi*. Second, the Nyae Nyae /Kung, as we have said, call the children born to the gods 'little //*gauwasi*'. Third, they apply the name //*Gauwa* to both the great and the lesser god. It is one of the seven names they have in common. In the current beliefs of the Nyae Nyae /Kung there is not a being called //*Gauwa* who is a separate entity apart from the great and the lesser god.

Among other Bushmen and the Hottentots, //*Gauwa* was a being distinct from the other being who is variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, &c. As I interpret the present belief of the /Kung, the lesser god is that old, traditional //*Gauwa*. He has been transmuted, however, from the old image to a new one, as the old protagonist, ≠*Gao/na*, was transmuted into the great god. //*Gauwa*'s name has been attributed to the great god as the great god's names have been attributed to him. The two beings remain separate entities in the /*gu/na*–/*guma* relationship.

I base the interpretation that the lesser god is the traditional //*Gauwa* on the facts that many of his attributes are the same as or similar to those of the traditional being and that I did not hear people use any other name for him but //*Gauwa* and did not once hear the name //*Gauwa* used for the great god when people spoke spontaneously of him, although they insisted that it was one of the seven names which the gods have in common.

Excerpts from Schapera indicate that //*Gauwa* was generally the destroyer. Vedder reports that the /Kung at Tsumeb expect only evil from him and think of him as opposed to *Huwe*. But Lebzelter's Eastern Kung believed that he was good as well as evil, that he helped hunters, and some thought he was the creator. 'He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.'[1] By the Heikum also he was

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188.

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thought to be the creator. ' The souls of the dead come to live with him, and he eats 776
their hearts.'[1] Hottentots considered him to be wholly the destroyer, the black chief, opposed to *Tsui ||Goab*, the creator and rain-giver. '. . . it is further said, by the Naman, that " *Tsui ||Goab* lives in a beautiful heaven, and *||Gaunab* lives in a dark heaven quite separated from the heaven of *Tsui ||Goab* ", while the Korana told Wuras that *Tsui ||Goab* lived in the Red Sky and *||Gaunab* in the Black Sky.'[2]

||Ganwa in past concepts was more independent than now but otherwise he preserves the same mingling of characteristics. He does both good and evil deeds, from [761]
man's point of view, with emphasis upon death-giving and evil-doing. He has now become subservient to the great god, *≠Gaolna*, a servant who carries out orders and does his master's work. He should always obey *≠Gaolna*, but he preserves considerable independence, nevertheless, and instigates his own affairs.

One of his works is to go about to see what is going on. ' He tells the old man in the east whatever he sees and hears. " These people are staying well, those are not so well ",' Gao Medicine said, and continued, ' He may say to the old man, " Let us help these people get some food." Or he may tell him that lightning is killing some people and ask, " What shall I do? " '

Gao Scarf told us, in effect, that one time *||Ganwa* went to *≠Gaolna* and asked him for medicine. *≠Gaolna* was annoyed. He said, ' The medicine must stay with me. I am bigger than you.' *||Ganwa* went away and did not ask any more until some time had passed. Then he went and asked again. *≠Gaolna* said, ' You bad, stupid fellow! You think you are clever but you are not. I am bigger than you. I have everything. You must come and ask me every time, but this time take the medicine and go and work with your Bushmen.' That is how *||Ganwa*, as well as *≠Gaolna*, gives medicine [756]
to the medicine men.

||Ganwa is a ' small man ', he has small sense, and he makes many mistakes. If someone is sick, when the medicine men at the curing dances see him lurking, they rush at him, give him a blow, and shout that he has brought the wrong medicine. ' Idiot! You have done wrong. You make me ashamed. Go away.' And *||Ganwa* then runs away. Sometimes after his chastisement he comes back with the proper medicine to cure and the sick person recovers.

The /Kung associate *||Ganwa* with whirlwinds as the other Bushman and Hottentot 776
groups did. The /Kung call a whirlwind *||ganwa ≠a*, which means *||Ganwa* smell. 821
≠A is not an ordinary odour, which one can actually smell, and a whirlwind is not 761
an ordinary wind, which is *maa*. The /Kung believe that a whirlwind is ' a death thing ', ' a fight '. *||Ganwa* walks in the whirlwind and his smell is in it, and death is in it. If the wind passes over a person, the *≠a* goes into him, and he will get sick and die. The spirits of the dead, the *||ganwasi*, also come in the whirlwinds. One cannot [775]
see or hear *||Ganwa* or the *||ganwasi* in the whirlwinds. There are no precautions one can take to protect oneself against them except to try to get away. Little ' dust devils ' played around us very frequently in the Kalahari, and often awesome black funnels of ashes formed in the veld fires and reached from the earth to the heavens. Sometimes white clouds condensed on their tops and we believe that we saw 'pillars of cloud by day' like those the children of Israel saw.

[1] Ibid., pp. 188–9. [2] Ibid., p. 189.

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776 ‖GAUWA'S *Dwelling and Appearance*

‖Gauwa lives in the western sky at the place where the sun sets. (Cf. *‖Gaunab* of the Hottentots living in a black sky and *Tsui ‖Goab* in a red sky, p. 239.) /Ti/kay said more than once that the lesser god lived in the east. That was what he remembered being told by the old people, he claimed. The other informants agreed, however, in many different interviews, that it was the other way, that the lesser god lived in the west, so I take that to be their current belief.

Some believe that *‖Gauwa* first lived in a hole, */gu*. He made the hole, one informant told us, by pushing the earth out with his head. The hole was like a spring-hare hole, but very big. There were two entrances; one faced toward the sunrise, one faced toward the sunset. *‖Gauwa* later made a house (*chso*). The house is tied together with wire and has poles made of iron. The house stands in a flat open space. It is built up off the ground, upon the iron poles which are stuck into the ground and rise up into the air. Informants said that 'when a person is sick with sore throat, the sickness [753 has been caused by those irons which stick into the air. If *‖Gauwa* does not like a 756] person he can hurt him with those irons. The "old man" (≠*Gao/na*) tells him the way he must hurt a person.' When the medicine men are in trance they go to that house. This is how they know what it is like. They go up by a cord which hangs down from the sky. (Cf. Lebzelter's account of the Eastern Kung who believe that *‖Gaunb* moves between heaven and earth on cords.)[1]

There are two trees near *‖Gauwa*'s house. They have names. Nothing else on the earth or in the sky bears those names, one informant told us. The name of the tree which is towards the north with respect to the other is */Gaii*; the one towards the south is named */Dua*. The names mean nothing; they are 'just names'. */Gaii* and */Dua* have smooth bark and large white flowers, no thorns, no nuts. I thought they might be like baobabs which have these characteristics, but they are not. They are more nearly like the camelthorn (which incidentally has two names, */gi* 'a respect name' and */ana* 'a rough name') but are not exactly like any tree on earth.

776 The medicine men see *‖Gauwa*. Only a very big medicine man, full of the power 756 which ≠*Gao/na* had put into him, might see ≠*Gao/na* himself, as we learned, but any of the medicine men can see *‖Gauwa*. /Ti/kay thought that because *‖Gauwa* was so [787 often sent by ≠*Gao/na* as his messenger the medicine men all become familiar with him. Anyone may see *‖Gauwa* in dreams.

The image of *‖Gauwa* varies. The present image accords with tradition in some aspects. Whereas ≠*Gao/na* is 'the tallest of the Bushmen', *‖Gauwa* is short. He has the form of a man, and the colour yellow is associated with him (similar characteristics to those of Lebzelter's little yellow mannikins with thick bellies, the *dsui*).[2] But individuals have their own interpretations. I am convinced that some of the [158 medicine men, Gao Medicine for one, really believe that they do see *‖Gauwa*. They see in the shadows among the trees and bushes objects which they interpret to be *‖Gauwa*, or they see the light of the veld fires between the branches, or some such phenomenon, or they have visions or hallucinations, perhaps while in trance. Some perhaps just imagine a form.

Demi, a medicine man in Band 12, saw *‖Gauwa* the night of the great dance at

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188. [2] Ibid.

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Gam when four bands danced together. Demi was the smallest Bushman we had 776
seen in the region. He was bedecked with many beads and walked with a prance like 756
a bantam cock. He had seen *//Ganwa* in the darkness, he told us. He had confronted him and driven him off with imprecations and sticks. I asked him to tell me what *//Ganwa* looked like. *//Ganwa* is as big as a mouse and has legs like a mouse, he promptly told me, showing me a pipe about four inches long to demonstrate *//Ganwa*'s size. (Demi did not say *//Ganwa* was a mouse; he said ' as big as '.) *//Ganwa* is covered all over with short yellow hairs. This bright, prancing little man had seen a little god. None of the other medicine men saw *//Ganwa* as small as that.

Gao Scarf sees *//Ganwa* regularly. He is like a man in form, but not such as we. He is about two and a half feet tall. (Gao demonstrated with a stick.) He has yellow hair over his whole body. He does not speak as we speak. He says, ' *hu hu hu* ', like the medicine men when they are performing a ceremony, but softly. Only medicine men hear him and understand him.

Another Gao said that *//Ganwa* is about a foot tall and the colour of a wart hog. He has the form of a man.

When Gao Medicine is in trance, he often sees *//Ganwa*. He is a being about the height of a guinea-fowl, grey in colour like the bark of the ubiquitous camelthorn tree. But to Gao, *//Ganwa* is not clearly visible; he is like a mist.

/Ti/kay claimed to me that he was ' young in medicine ' and had never seen *//Ganwa*, as he had claimed that he had never seen *≠Gao/na*. This was an engaging torsion of the truth. I myself had many times seen /Ti/kay appear to confront *//Ganwa* during his curing. /Ti/kay was to me the most spectacular of all the medicine men in performing the ceremony. He did not fear to scream into the shadows, ' *Nonabe!* You have brought a bad medicine. It is going to kill someone. Take it back.' The people, I am sure, did not believe that he was ' young in medicine ' and that he did not see *//Ganwa* when the other medicine men did. /Ti/kay, as I think is apparent even [115
in these brief accounts of him, was something of a deviant. I believe that he contra- 156]
dicted other informants because his nature habitually drove him to oppose others and that, at the same time, he deliberately and rationally tried to deceive me and lead me astray, first for one reason, then another. He was jealous of our harmonious relations with *≠*Toma and Gao Medicine. We were pleased and grateful to them when they would work with us and he refused, and this made him spiteful. Also, due to some influence which we do not know about, he may actually believe some of the things he told us, such as that *//Ganwa* lives in the east instead of the west. We were never certain about him.

The *//Gauwasi*

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe strongly and vividly in the existence of spirits of 775
the dead, the *//gauwasi*, who live immortal lives in the sky with *≠Gao/na*, doing his bidding. The *//gauwasi* come to earth and enter into the affairs of men when *≠Gao/na* so commands them. The /Kung fear them, pray to them to invoke their mercy or sympathy, exhort them in anger. The concept of having special relations with their [769]
own ancestors or of worshipping ancestors is lacking.

The people claim that they fear to speak of the *//gauwasi* lest they call attention to themselves or offend the spirits. They say it is a ' death thing to speak of them much ',

775 and they have a respectful term, */airisi*, to use if they wish to show deference and be ingratiating. Actually the /Kung seemed to speak of the *//gauwasi* quite often and much less reluctantly than they spoke of the gods. I did not happen to hear them use */airisi* except when they were telling me the term.

775 The *//gauwasi* move about in the sky or on earth. All over the sky fine cords are
772 stretched, like the strands of a spider's web, invisible to us but strong. The *//gauwasi* move on these cords and can go anywhere. They descend to earth on one which hangs down from the sky, the one by which the medicine men climb up when they go to see *//Gauwa* in the western sky.

775 The idea that the stars are the eyes of the dead, which some Bushmen believe, is
772 not held by the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Some informants had heard that other people
821 believed this. Lazy /Qui said he did not know; certainly enough people had died to account for there being so many stars. Others said stars are just stars there in the sky. Although they have names for several of them and stories about some, they do not know what substances stars are made of or what their nature is.

775 The /Kung associate falling stars with death. They do not believe that they are
[761 spirits of the dead but that they fall to earth and become insects which are col-
loquially called 'ant lions' (*Myrmeleonidae*, in the order of Neuroptera). These insects
825] are common in the region. In the larval state they live in holes in the ground where one can see them spurting out grains of earth or sand. They devour ants. The /Kung believe that the bite of a fallen star may cause you to die the next day but that, if the star likes you and wishes to spare you, its bite will do you no harm. The old people have said so. *≠Gao/na* has no particular association with ant lions other than being the creator and controller of all things.

The spirits of dead persons are transmuted into *//gauwasi* by *≠Gao/na* in the east. When a person dies, *//gauwasi* come soon to take his spirit. The children of the gods are sometimes the ones who come, we were told, but any of the *//gauwasi* may do so, either ancestors of the dead person or non-related spirits.

[774] The *//gauwasi* pull the spirit out through the head of the corpse. The head is, likewise, the egress of the spirits of the medicine men. When the medicine men are in trance,
[787] which the /Kung call half-death, their spirits go out temporarily from their bodies through their heads to encounter and combat *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*, who lurk in the shadows around the dance fire, and it is through the heads that the spirits return.

[775] The spirit which the *//gauwasi* take from the corpse is distinct from life. The /Kung believe that life, *≠toa*, is inside the body of a person or animal, that it is put there and held there by the creator. It exists in all the vital organs in the abdomen, in blood, in the heart, lungs, throat, and mouth, and is everywhere in the head. It does not exist in the arms and legs, the /Kung believe, because they know that human beings and animals can be wounded in a limb or even lose one and not die, whereas a wound in the vital parts is likely to kill. Life dies in the body and stays there—dead, as the
[774] body itself is there but dead. It is the spirit which does not die. The only word I know for spirit is *//gauwa*. The spirit is like air. It cannot be seen and cannot be kept by mortals. The *//gauwasi* take it and they take the heart and blood of the person as well. These the *//gauwasi* carry first into the western sky, to the place where *//Gauwa* lives, but they do not leave them with him. They carry them further, around by the south to the east, to the place where *≠Gao/na*, the great creator, lives.

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The great creator receives the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person and 775
turns these elements into a *||ganwa*. To do this he makes a fire under the tree which 776
grows in his werf, the tree for which we know no name. He puts a pot on the fire, and in this he boils medicines. Only he has these particular medicines. Men do not know their names. *≠Gaolna* then hangs the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person in the tree. The tree itself is medicine. That is why the people fear it and why *≠Gaolna* hangs the spirits in it. The medicine smoke rises and blows around the dead person's spirit, heart, and blood, and they are transmuted into a *||ganwa*. *≠Gaolna* then smears the *||ganwa* with fat. This fat is not from an animal; it belongs only to *≠Gaolna* and is called */thoo*. *≠Gaolna* then takes the *||ganwa* to live with him in his house.

The *||ganwasi* have bodies which resemble those they had on earth except for their 775
hair. We were told that their hair is changed from the Bushman's spirals to *≠Gaolna*'s [756]
hair, which is long, like a European's, but as black as a Bushman's. Only medicine men who have full medicine see the *||ganwasi*.

The *||ganwasi* eat food. As I understand it, they, like *≠Gaolna* and *||Ganwa*, eat the same foods that mortals eat, meat and veldkos, but they have their own supplies. They also are very fond of honey. They are said on occasion also to steal the veldkos of human beings from the places where they grow, and they sometimes change [825]
themselves into birds—not vultures, but smaller birds called */gwara*—and in this form come into the werf and eat the people's meat right where it hangs in the branches beside the scherms. The *||ganwasi* have their own implements, weapons, karosses, &c. They want nothing from men and there is no point in offering them things. [782]

≠Gaolna gives the *||ganwasi* everlasting life. They grow older but, before they are very old, he rejuvenates them. He has a medicine for this which he does not give to men. Children who die remain children.

||Ganwasi keep their own spouses if they wish, and they live together but do not beget children. No great point was made of this. It was interesting to learn that, if [761]
a *||ganwa* tires of his wife and wants another, he may kill a living woman who attracts him, so, if a beautiful woman dies, one who is fresh and clean and wears fine ornaments, one could suspect that some *||ganwa* has taken her for himself. And a strong young hunter might be killed by a female *||ganwa* who wanted him. In spite of the power and dominance of the gods, the *||ganwasi* take things into their own hands sometimes.

No distinction is made between a good and a bad person when he dies. All go to the great god in the east and all become *||ganwasi* without differentiation in status or function. With the exception of suicide, no distinction is made either between a good [762]
and a bad death, such as is reported by Fourie of the Auen, according to Schapera: 'People who die a "good death" are said to go to */khutn*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaus*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress.'[1] Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung suicides are said to stay with *||Ganwa* in the west. Burial also has no effect upon the status in the after-life—whether a person is buried properly bound in a deep round grave, or scratched into a shallow trench, or not buried at all and eaten by beasts.

The beliefs which we associate with ghosts—the haunting of graves or certain other places, appearing as spectres to persons, &c.—are not highly developed among the /Kung but are not entirely lacking. Three stories of *||ganwasi* haunting graves came

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 160.

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775 to our ears. One story was that at a place between Gam and Gautscha, where a person died, something goes '*wuu wuu wuu*', making a sound like wind in an empty ostrich eggshell or a bee buzzing in a bottle. The thing once chased ≠Nisa and her daughter.
[761] They were terribly frightened, and people warned each other not to go near that place again 'because a person could get such a fright he could die of it'. One cannot see the thing. One can only hear it. On being questioned, people said they thought the thing was a *||gauwa*.

[787] *||Gauwasi* are mischievous as well as conveyors of grave evils and they trick and fool people on their own initiative, often appearing to people in dreams to do so. One might dream, for instance, that the *||gauwasi* told him he would shoot a fat buck if he hunted in a certain direction. If he then hunted there and failed to kill anything, he would know that they had tricked him. ≠Toma felt, when he was sick, that he was lying on thorns and that the *||gauwasi* were pressing down on him.

The function of the *||gauwasi* is, first and foremost, to be the servants (*≠gasi*) of the gods and to carry out their orders. They obey *≠Gaolna* primarily, but are servants of *||Gauwa* as well. They are the messengers, whether good or bad fortune is being sent to the people.

775 When the gods order them to kill a person, the *||gauwasi* have innumerable ways of
761 doing so. They can allow a buffalo to gore the person, a lion to maul him, or a snake
753 to bite him. They were responsible for a man's falling to his death from a baobab tree—an appalling death to the /Kung, who are as careful and sure as cats. Lightning
[821] —'rain fire'—is 'a death thing' and is used by the *||gauwasi* to kill people when the gods so command. *||Gauwasi* have the traditional miniature magic bows and arrows, with which they shoot people. One feels the pain of the little arrow piercing, when one is shot, but one cannot see the arrow; eventually one dies of it. Sickness, however, is the greatest tool of the death-bringers and they kill mostly by it. They can bring their sicknesses, death, and other misfortune to men at any time, but they are sure to come to the ceremonial curing dances and are always there in the shadows watching for their chance to inflict the ill on the person or persons whom they are sent to destroy.

Although the *||gauwasi* are associated in the people's minds primarily with sickness and death and the people fear them with a pervading fear, the /Kung do not appear to suffer in an agony of terror. I think that their fear is mitigated by the belief that the *||gauwasi* are minor characters and can be driven away and that in their own natures they are not wholly evil. Like the mortals they once were, they are capable of being
[782] good, bad, or indifferent to man. People can plead with them for their favour and sometimes they feel pity and are helpful.

Man's Relations with the Gods

772 *≠Gaolna* said, when he praised himself, 'I take my own way and no one can com-
776 mand me. I am a stranger, unknowable. I am *chi dole*.' The /Kung these days evidently imagine him to be as much the self unbridled as the old protagonist of the tales. However, unlike the old *≠Gaolna*, he is not indifferent to mankind, and, even though he lives in the sky, he is not remote. On the contrary, he is deeply involved with humanity, constantly aware of what people do, constantly reacting with pleasure or displeasure, and he favours, punishes, or ill-treats man accordingly.

Good and evil are thus explained by a duality which has its principal source in the omnipotent ≠*Gao/na*'s own self-oriented nature. The scope of this duality is enlarged by the similar duality in the natures of *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*, who sometimes do good deeds to man and sometimes bad, when they are doing the work commanded by their master, and, also, when they instigate actions on their own initiative, as they sometimes do, especially I gather when ≠*Gao/na* is not around, for he is omnipotent but not omniscient or omnipresent. 772 776 [775]

Evil is sometimes accounted for by the gods working at cross purposes among themselves. For instance, *//Gauwa* might lead a man to find honey which ≠*Gao/na* had intended for someone else whom he wished to favour. ≠*Gao/na* would be angry and take revenge upon the man who found the honey. But, on the other hand, the gods may talk things over and agree together and man may benefit. The *//gauwasi* might want to take a person in death. One god would say, 'Go ahead', but the other says, 'No, let us not take him.' The first then agrees and the person is left. That is how people may be very ill and still be cured. [753]

Punishment

The concept of sin as an offence against the gods is vague among the /Kung. Man's wrong-doing against man is not left to ≠*Gao/na*'s punishment nor is it considered to be his concern. Man corrects or avenges such wrong-doings himself in his social context. ≠*Gao/na* punishes people for his own reasons, which are sometimes quite obscure. It was interesting to see in the examples given how often food was involved. 776 [783 626]

Burning bees, I learned, displeases ≠*Gao/na* intensely. He likes the bees, his wife is the 'mother of the bees', and he is very fond of honey himself. On one occasion, two men found honey in a tree. They tried to chop it out but the bees stung them so badly that they built a fire to drive them away and many bees were burned. ≠*Gao/na* did not like this. He sent a sickness upon the men and both died. When a person has burned bees, his body becomes hot as though burned by fire and he dies. [753]

≠*Gao/na* might change himself into a gemsbok and be walking in the veld. A hunter might come along and kill that gemsbok, thinking how lucky he was to get it. He would take the meat home and eat it and the next day he would be dead. Others who had no part in the killing would not die. ≠Toma who was telling this went on to say that ≠*Gao/na* might regret having done such a thing—killing a man who was just hunting to feed his children instead of helping him—and, to make amends, he might particularly favour that man's son.

If ≠*Gao/na* really sets out to kill someone in punishment, ≠Toma told us, one method he uses is to convert himself into honey and place himself in a tree like an ordinary honeycomb. Then he directs the person he wants to kill to that tree. The person takes the honey home, eats it, and then dies.

≠Toma added that ≠*Gao/na* might punish a person just a little by giving him a mild sickness, which would be comparable to giving him a thrashing. A good person who had done no wrong at all might also be punished by a mild sickness. ≠*Gao/na*'s motive, ≠Toma explained, might be to 'test' him or to 'break' him. (Ledimo and I worked carefully over this translation. We think we have the correct idea.) Why? we asked, but ≠Toma could not say. Not man's due, but whim and pride [753]

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776 in demonstrating his supremacy and power would be a reason in keeping with the nature of one who said, 'I am *chi dole*.'

≠*Gaolna* is fortunately not a god of mighty wrath and vengeance. 'He does not get too angry,' ≠Toma remarked. 'That is why there are still people living on earth.' He and others who were present at our talk went on to point out again ≠*Gaolna*'s benefactions, such as giving children, giving rain, and giving poison. One of his benefactions was poison, they said. He taught Bushmen how to put it on their arrows so that they could kill animals and eat, as the god of the black people gave cattle and the knowledge of growing crops so that his people could live.

Prayer

782 There are no priests among the /Kung and it is not the function of medicine men
[756 to pray for the people or to lead them in prayer. Individuals frequently pray, how-
793] ever, spontaneously and alone. Anybody, everybody, may pray directly to ≠*Gaolna*, to ||*Gauwa* or to the ||*gauwasi*, at any time or place, without assuming special posture or observing any other formalities.

The people say the words of their prayers silently to themselves, or they say them aloud, as though thinking aloud, but speaking directly to the gods. They may also speak to each other to be overheard by the gods. When men go to look for honey, they may pray to *Khwona/na*, the mother of the bees, to give them luck. Demi said, 'We talk to ourselves and she feels pity and leads us to the honey.'

The prayers seem very often to be in the form of questions which imply accusation—'Why do you do thus and so?'—but the people mean to plead mildly, without displaying anger. The blasphemy of the medicine men, usual when they are in trance, does not appear in the prayers. The people often use the respect terms but they also sometimes speak the names. There is no rule about which names shall be used. It is to be noted that they also say 'father' and refer to themselves as his children. They use the second or third person, one as readily as the other.

'/*Nau*, excuse this man and make him well.'

'Sympathize with me, /*Nau*, because you are our *Gaoxa*. Feel pity for me.'

'≠*Gaolna*, why have you made me grieve so? You gave me this person, why will you take him back? Favour me. Let this person live. If he dies, where shall I go?'

'/*Gara* has taken that person while we were still loving him. Why has he taken him?'

'You have created me and given me power to walk about and hunt. Why do you guide us so that we do not get animals?'

'≠*Gaolna*, when the women are walking in the veld looking for veldkos, let them find a dead animal. Shoot it for them with your bullet. Favour us.'

'Give rain. Wet the earth. Let there be veldkos. We are starving because we have to stay by the water-hole where there is no more veldkos. He has favoured some people with rain. Will he not favour us?'

'Please, our father, great man, will you send us rain?'

'Father (*wba*), why is it you help other people and do not help me to find food? We are all your sons. Help me too. I am the same as your other sons.'

'*Gawi ga*, give us coolness.'

'Give us your water (rain). Give us a chance to rest. Give us food. We have nothing else if you do not give us food. Let food grow.'

'Why does ≠*Gaolna* send lightning? Why does he destroy our houses with mad rain?

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Why does the lightning not go and die somewhere and leave us alone and just let a gentle rain give us water?' 782

If someone were struck and killed by lightning, Gao Medicine said he would say,

'*Hishi*, why have you taken this person? Why do you strike us with storm? You cannot always be good; you keep changing. You created all things and are present in every movement. Why must you do ill?'

About another storm, Gao Medicine said,

'It is */Nau* who makes these things. He is scolding us because we are his children. It is because of our bad ways we are so punished. We must not complain. This is a good time, the time of rain. We must not complain.'

When the people are pleased they thank *≠Gao/na* and say, 'This is how you must serve your children.'

The /Kung pray directly to *//Gauwa* as well as to *≠Gao/na*. One old man named Tuka/na made a prayer into a song and taught it to his people. The men sometimes sing it when they are walking along in the veld on hunting trips. It says in effect: [533]

'*//Gauwa* must help us that we kill an animal.
//Gauwa, help us. We are dying of hunger.
//Gauwa does not give us help.
He is cheating. He is bluffing.
//Gauwa will bring something for us to kill next day
After he himself hunts and has eaten meat,
When he is full and is feeling well.'

The song then changes to the past tense and tells how *//Gauwa* favoured them in the past and gave them luck in the hunt and they ate and afterwards the man said to the women:

'You must sing well.
We are happy now.
Our hearts are shining.
I shall put on my rattles,
And put on my headband,
And put a feather in my hair
To explain to *//Gauwa* how happy we are that he has helped us and that we have eaten.
My heart is awake.
When we do not have meat
My heart is sad from hunger
Like an old man, sick and slow.
When we have meat my heart is lively.

The concerns and anxieties of these people are manifest in their prayers. The pervasive, unremitting anxiety about food becomes vividly apparent. The concept that *≠Gao/na* has great power and that he is not evil incarnate, but has a dual nature which can feel pity as well as displeasure, makes beneficence a possibility. The /Kung believe that, influenced by the medicine men's scolding or by supplication, he may change his evil intent, and this gives them hope. [154 776]

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance

The ceremonial curing dance is the one religious act which has form and in which the people are united. The purpose of the dance is to cure sickness and to drive away evil. If there is actual sickness among the people or if real misfortune has come upon them, the dance will be held especially to cure these ills. But the people dance often when no one is actually known to be sick, and when no particular misfortune has come, to drive away evil which might be there but which one cannot see, and to feel protected by goodness.

The protecting goodness is the ' medicine ', the magic power called *gaxa*, which the /Kung believe the great god puts into the bodies of the medicine men and into the medicine songs. The /Kung believe that the great god endowed the power with its own autonomous potency, but nevertheless account for its failing to cure sometimes by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work or not, according to pleasure or displeasure. *Gaxa* is the power evoked and activated during the curing dance.

I believe the ceremonial curing dance to be a religious act, but, although very serious, especially in its final curing aspect, it is not piously solemn or constrained and it provides occasion for pleasure and aesthetic satisfaction. The music can be sung at any time, for lullabies or just for singing. Music and dancing are the arts of the /Kung. The good young dancers, especially, feel the delight which is inherent in fine integration of movement and rhythm (one can see this clearly), and the people watch and admire good dancing and take pleasure in it, and in the music.

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Furthermore, the dances are a socially unifying factor. All the people of the werf come together and participate, men and women, old and young. The men often dance with their babies on their shoulders in the early part of the dance, and the children dance and play among them, until they fall fast asleep in their mothers' laps.

[852]

Anyone who wants a dance may start it by going around to people and asking them to come and begin. Someone who was sick would ask for a dance, but young people who love to dance often start just for fun. Sometimes their dances do not turn into curing dances, but usually, once the music begins, the adults join in and the dance becomes a real one. The dances last all night oftener than not. There is a special potency in those which are danced at dawn. The /Kung dance, at irregular intervals, on an average of once in ten days, more or less. Almost invariably they dance at least once during the full moon.

[883]

Among the /Kung the women and girls always sit close together in a circle around a dance fire which may be built wherever there is convenient clear space. Their function is to clap and sing. The men dance in a line, one close behind the another, around the circle of women, in either direction, and cut through the circle past the fire. They sing as they dance. Occasionally a woman gets up and dances with them, though it is not her role, as though she could no longer resist the impulse. When a woman joins the line of dancers, the man behind her holds out his arms towards her but does not touch her. She dances with dignity, making tiny stamping steps, hardly moving, eyes cast down. If there is a delicate overtone of eroticism expressed in the dancing of the women, it is most subtle and constrained—in extreme contrast to the overt expression of many of the Bantu dances.

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The dancing of the men in the curing ceremonial dances has its own special style. 796 535 In other dances, that of the *Choma*, the Men's Dance, the Eland Dance of the First Menstruation Ceremony, and in the numerous singing-dancing or rhythmic games which the /Kung play for fun, one sees enchanting pantomime and imitation of [524] animals. In the ceremonial dances we sometimes thought we saw what might be a vestige of the imitation of animals' horns in the way the arms were held, but in comparison with the visual expressiveness of the games, the purpose is not to express by gesture but to produce sound, to be part of the music.

The men wear rattles made of strings of dried cocoons with little seeds or stones inside, which make a swishing sound. These are the only instruments used in the dance. [533] (The /Kung, incidentally, have no drums.) The men dance with knees bent and bodies carried with little motion, leaning forward. On the strong accented beat, the dancer gives a hop and comes down with both feet. On the second beat he holds his weight on one foot (alternating right and left) and with the other stamps a single step or ripples two or three light stamps into the time of the single step. The steps are very precise. They are minute in size, advancing only two or three inches, but they are strongly stamped, and ten or twenty dancers stamping together produce a loud thud. The women clap loudly and sharply. The majority of them clap the basic pattern of a particular piece, while some strike a beat or beats which are complementary to the basic beat. The clapping and stamping are of such precision that they give the effect of a well-played battery of percussion instruments producing a solid structure of intricate rhythm. Above the percussion sounds, the voices of the men and women weave together in parts, singing the medicine songs.[1] Since singing and dancing are one, producing the music, I speak of medicine songs or medicine dances interchangeably.

The medicine songs or dances of the /Kung are named *Rain*, *Sun*, *Giraffe*, *Eland*, *Honey*, *Buffalo*, and *Mamba*. Some of the /Kung have *Gemsbok* and *Spider* Medicine music as well. The Rain Dance is not danced as a specific rain-making ceremony. The dances named for animals do not produce magic to control these animals in hunting or to prevent snake-bite, for example. The dances are named for these things because the things are vital, life-and-death things and they are strong, as the curing medicine in the music is strong.

After several dances have been danced the medicine men begin to cure. The /Kung 535 do not have sorcerers, witches, or witch doctors, and do not believe that the divine 796 beings enter into the medicine men or speak through them. Almost all the /Kung 756 men are medicine men. They do not all choose to practise, for one reason or another, but there are always several in a band who are active. Medicine men receive no rewards other than their inner satisfactions and emotional release. I know that some of them feel a deep responsibility for the welfare of their people and great anxiety and concern if their curing fails, and a corresponding satisfaction if it prevails. Others of them appear to be less concerned about the people whom they try to cure and more inwardly turned.

When the medicine men are curing, all of them experience varying degrees of [787] self-induced trance, which includes a period of frenzy and a period of semi-

[1] Nicholas England is in the process of tracing the songs and analysing the music, and he has a paper in preparation which will include /Kung beliefs and practices about them.

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535 consciousness or deep unconsciousness.[1] They may become stiff or froth at the mouth
796 or lie still as if in coma. Some of them habitually remain in trance only a short time,
[756 others for hours. One man used to remain in a semi-trance for most of the day fol-
787] lowing a dance.

A Bushman curing cannot be fully described in words; it must be heard and I give
[753] only an outline here. The medicine man begins by dancing and singing with the others whatever medicine song is being sung. He then leaves the line of dancing men and leans, still singing, over the person he is going to cure. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The /Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. He grunts with shuddering, gurgling, gasping grunts which intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high, piercing, quavering yell. Finally the medicine man throws up his arms to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *||Gaowa* or the *||gaowasi*, with a sharp yelping cry of '*Kai Kai Kai*'. This shows that it is heavy work to draw the sickness out. The effect of the sound on one observer, myself, was striking—gooseflesh and a stopping of the breath which made it seem as though the heart stood still an instant. A medicine man goes to every person present, leaning over each to cure, even the babies, who, amazingly,
[852] seldom cry, though he gurgles and gasps right into their ears. If someone is actually sick, he returns to him again and again through the night.

After the curing has been going on for some time, medicine men begin to reach their state of frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. Fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. They rush out into the darkness, where *||Gaowa* and the *||gaowasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. '*Filthy face! Take away the sickness you have brought.*' '*Uncovered penis*[2]! *You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away.*' '*Hishe, you are a liar. This man will not die.*' At this point they may fall into deep unconsciousness or sink down semi-conscious, eyes closed, unable to walk.

The medicine men who have not reached their full frenzy or who have passed through it attend those who are in it. The /Kung believe that at such a time the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *||Gaowa* and the *||gaowasi*. They call this '*half death*'. It is a dangerous time and the man's body must be watched over and kept warm. The medicine men lean over the one who is in trance. They

[276] [1] The /Kung know about the drug called dagga. They told us that it grows in B.P. and that when they go to trade they sometimes get a little. They like to have some when they go hunting; it keeps one from feeling tired or discouraged, they say. They might take some at a dance if they had it, but they are not dependent on it or on any other substance to induce trance. The trances are psychologically induced.

[195 578] [2] /Kung men swear a great deal. The swearing plays always upon the themes of the genital organs, sexual intercourse, incest, and excrement. In deprecation they call each other genital organs or tell each other to go and commit incest with their mothers, sisters, wives' mothers, or sons' wives. We have not recorded their saying '*daughter*'. Is that thought so terrible to them that its expression is beyond even these hardened swearers? They use the same themes in their blasphemy against the gods. '*Uncovered*' or '*thrown-away penis*' may mean '*circumcised*'. This is a great insult among the /Kung who do not circumcise but know that the Bantu do. '*Filthy face*' means '*covered with excrement*'.

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shriek and gurgle. They blow in his ears to open them. They take sweat from their armpits and rub him. Some fall over on to him in trance themselves and are in turn rubbed and cared for by the others. The women must sing and clap ardently while a man is in deep trance. He needs the good medicine of the music to protect him. 535 796

The curing dance draws people of a Bushman band together into concerted action as nothing else does. They stamp and clap and sing with such precision that they become like an organic being. In this close configuration—together—they face the gods. They do not plead, as they do in their individual supplications, for the favour of the divine, all-powerful beings, and do not praise them for goodness. Instead, the medicine men, on behalf of the people, releasing themselves from ordinary behaviour by trance and overcoming fear and inaction, throw themselves into combat with the gods and try to force them with hurled sticks and hurled words to take away the evils they might be bringing. [621] [783]

The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a drama, I believe, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in Aristotle's sense. Fear and hostility find outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there is solace and hope. [154]

Résumé

LA RELIGION DES BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

Les Boschimans /Kung de la région de Nyae Nyae dans le sud-ouest de l'Afrique croient qu'il existe deux dieux — le grand créateur, qui habite dans l'est du ciel, où le soleil se lève, et le petit dieu qui est subordonné au grand dieu, et qui habite dans l'ouest du ciel où le soleil se couche. 000

Le grand dieu possède sept noms divins, que les /Kung ont peur de prononcer, et un seul nom humain. Certains de ces noms (d'après Schapera ce sont *Hishe*, *Huwe* et *Kxo*) indiquent que le concept du grand dieu tire son origine des croyances anciennes soutenues par d'autres Boschimans et par les Hottentots. Ces noms sont associés avec un être suprême bien disposé. Divers groupes de Boschimans croyaient dans un esprit malfaisant, un 'avant-coureur de la mort', *//Gauwa*. D'après la croyance actuelle des /Kung de la région de Nyae Nyae, le grand dieu a fait du petit dieu son homonyme en lui accordant tous ses noms divins (mais non son nom human), et *//Gauwa* est un des sept noms divins qui sont attribués aux deux dieux. Le nom humain ≠*Gao/na*, le vieux ≠*Gao*, est celui du protagoniste de plusieurs vieux contes bizarres, un être ayant des pouvoirs surnaturels, mais ressemblant à un homme et soumis à toutes les frustrations humaines. Les /Kung ont amalgamé l'ancien protagoniste et le grand dieu en ce qui concerne le nom, mais ils ont modifié l'image.

Le grand dieu s'est d'abord créé lui-même, et ensuite il a créé le petit dieu. Pour chacun d'eux, il a créé une épouse qui a donné naissance à des enfants. Il a créé la terre et le ciel, la femme et l'homme et il a donné des noms à toutes choses. Il a donné le nom de son épouse, Khwova, à la première femme, et son propre nom ≠*Gao* au premier homme. Le grand dieu et le petit dieu s'intéressent principalement à l'humanité. Ni l'un ni l'autre n'est associé essentiellement avec le bien ou le mal à l'égard de l'homme; tous les deux peuvent apporter de grands biens, tels que la pluie, la nourriture et les enfants, mais aussi la mort, la maladie

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et la famine. Tous les deux expriment leur contentement ou leur mécontentement avec les gens, suivant leurs caprices.

Le grand dieu est omnipotent et a le pouvoir de commander chaque action des hommes, des animaux et des éléments. Le petit dieu est censé lui obéir et exécuter ses ordres.

En dernière analyse, le grand dieu est fondamentalement responsable, mais le petit dieu est capable d'une action indépendante et parfois il favorise une personne avec laquelle le grand dieu est mécontent, et, ainsi, fâche le grand dieu qui peut punir cette personne même de mort. Mais les /Kung disent que le grand dieu n'est jamais trop mécontent, car autrement il ne resterait personne vivant sur la terre. Ils adressent des prières sans formalités aux deux dieux en tant qu'individus, notamment au grand dieu, et sollicitent leur bienveillance.

Les /Kung croient que lorsque les gens meurent ils deviennent des esprits, *//gamasi*, qui sont emportés au ciel où ils vivent avec le grand dieu. Il leur accorde l'immortalité et ils deviennent ses serviteurs, lesquels transmettent ses faveurs ou l'infortune aux hommes.

La seule manifestation religieuse à laquelle le peuple se livre de concert est la danse cérémoniale de guérison. Le grand dieu a donné une forte médecine curative qui réside dans la musique de la danse et dans les corps des guérisseurs. Au cours de la danse, cette médecine est évoquée non seulement afin de guérir quelqu'un qui est effectivement malade, mais également dans le but de chasser le mal éventuel et de protéger les gens. Les /Kung expliquent le fait que parfois la médecine ne guérit pas en disant que le grand dieu permet à la médecine d'agir ou non, suivant sa volonté.

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[For the text of tales about ≠Gao.'na, the Great God, see category 539.]

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[For the text of the myth of how people received fire from the Great God ǂGao!na, see category 539.]

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THE BUSHMAN

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PERIODICAL ABBREVIATIONS

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Afr. - Africa: journal of the International Institute of African languages and Culture. London.
Afr. Mthly - African Monthly. Grahamstown (ceased publication in 1910)
Afr. Stud. - African Studies: Quarterly journal devoted to the study of African administration, cultures and languages (being the continuation of Bantu Studies which ended with vol. XV, 1941) University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
Anthrop. - Anthropos: revue internationale d'ethnologie et de linguistique. Fribourg.
L'Anthrop - L'Anthropologie. Paris.
Archiv für Anth. - Archiv für Anthropologie: Zeitschrift für Naturgeschichte und Urgeschichte der Menschen. Braunsweig.
B. Stud. - Bantu Studies: a journal dedicated to the scientific study of Bantu, Hottentot and Bushmen now African Studies. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
Bol. Soc. Geog. de Lisboa - Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa. Lisbon.
Fort Hare Pap. - Fort Hare Papers. University of Fort Hare, Alice.
Geog. - Geografia: revue d'informations et d'actualites geographiques sous l'egide de la societè de geographie.
Globus - Globus: illustrierte Zeitschrift für Landes- und Völkerkunde; merged into Petermanns Mitteilungen. Brunswick.
Huisge. - Huisgenoot: geillustreerde weekblad. Cape Town.
Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst. - Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. London.
Man - Man: a monthly record of anthropological science. London.
Mitt. deuts. Schutz. - Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, mit Benutzung amtlicher Quelle. Berlin.
Mitt. anth. Gesel in Wien. - Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Vienna.
Nada - Nada, the Southern Rhodesian Native Affairs Department Annual. Salisbury.
Petermanns Mitt. - Petermanns Mitteilungen. Brunswick.
Rhod. Sc. Ass. Proc. - Rhodesian Scientific Association proceedings. Salisbury.
S. Afr. Geog. Jour. - South African Geographical journal. Johannesburg.
S. Afr. Jour. Sci. - South African journal of science. Johannesburg.
S.A.M.A.B. - South African museums bulletin, Cape Town.
Sc. et vie. - Science et vie. Paris.
Socio. - Sociologus: Zeitschrift für empirische Sociologie, social-psychologische und ethnologische Forschung. Berlin.
Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Afr. - Transactions of the Royal Society of S. Africa supersedes Transactions of the Philosophical Society of S. Africa. Cape Town.
Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc. - Transactions of the South African Philosophical Society, Cape Town.
Umschau - Umschau in Wissenschaft und Technik. Frankfurt am Main.
Z. für Eingeb-spr - Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen, now Afrika und Übersee. Hamburg.
Z. für Ethn. - Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin.
Z. für Kol. Spr. - Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen.

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PREFACE

The Bushmen of Southern Africa are today represented by scattered groups of hunters on the plains of the Kalahari and on the farms of South West Africa and Angola. They are a unique and mysterious people and have attracted the attention of numerous writers since the early settlers at the Cape first made contact with the Sonquas. In this Bibliography an attempt has been made to list most aspects of the culture of the Bushmen. A bibliography on rock art was compiled in 1947, thus only a few items appear on this subject. Those included are of interest because they suggest some facet of culture or culture history. Some items are predominently of a physical anthropological nature but contain sufficient ethnological information to justify their inclusion. 101 113

The items are arranged in alphabetical order under broad subject headings and an Author-Title index has been provided. The section entitled History, was included because it was felt that the earliest references to Bushmen at the Cape and later in the interior, are of interest, in creating a picture of the life and customs of the extinct groups of Bushmen. The history of the tragic clashes between the Bushmen and other races which led to their extinction in most of Southern Africa, is traced in such historical works as J. Sutherland, Memoir respecting the Kaffirs Hottentots and Bosjesmans of South Africa and Donald Moodie, The Record 113 114 [648]

The main body of the bibliography is devoted to the ethnology of the Bushmen and here are included items by authors, some of whom are not ethnologists but whose work is of sufficient value to allow its inclusion in this section. The items included in the small section entitled Bushman Folklore, include popularised versions of the work of Dorothea Bleek and Lucy C. Lloyd. The section on Linguistics is purely restricted to works available in Johannesburg and no attempt has been made to obtain works by the Portuguese students of the Bushmen or other foreign linguistic studies. This can therefore claim to be no more than a token coverage of a field, in which a vast amount of work has been and still is, being done. The section entitled General, contains work not sufficiently scientific to be included under Ethnology, yet of interest, often because of their excellent illustrations. This section begins with works published after 1900 and works of a similar nature published before this date, appear in History.

Sources. Mendelssohn, South African Bibliography provided some of the older items. Many of the older periodical references were traced through the bibliography in - I. Schapera, Khoisan Peoples of South Africa and the Johannesburg Public Library's Index to South African Periodicals was also used. A list of periodical abbreviations indicates the sources consulted. Periodical titles were written out in full when they appeared only once.

Brief annotations are given in some cases. Page references and an indication of contents, have been provided for some of the older items which do not contain an index.

My sincere thanks are due to Prof. L.F. Maingard, Prof. M.C. Marwick, and Mr. G. B. Silberbauer for their valuable advice, to Prof. Manuel Guerreiro for kindly sending material on the Portuguese contribution to Bushman Studies, of which I could include only a very small number, and to Prof. P.V. Tobias for so kinily allowing me access to his bibliography on cards in the Anatomy Department. 113 127

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I: HISTORY

1. ALEXANDER, Sir James Edward 113
An expedition of discovery into the interior of Africa through the hitherto undescribed countries of the Great Namaquas, Boschimans and Hill Damaras, performed under the auspices of Her Majesty's Government and the Royal Geographical Society. London 1838. 2 vols. illus.

Vol. 1 p. 237-238 Bushman method of fishing
p. 241-242 Bushman encampment
Encounter with a group of Bushmen
p. 281-292 Hunting, poison, clothing etc.
Vol. 2 p. 18-26 Dress, customs etc, a Bushman dance
p. 113-118 Belief about a peculiar snake: conversation with a Bushman
p. 123-125 Bushman religious beliefs
p. 114-147 Ostrich hunting in disguise
p. 227-228 Bushman beliefs about snakes

2. ALMEIDA, Antonio de
Dos Bosquimanos e Hottentotes na Historia en na ciencia. illus. bib. Bol Soc. Geog. Lisboa. 72a (4-6): 191-215. Apr.-June, 1954.

Portuguese said to be first Europeans with whom the Hottentots and Bushmen came into contact. English summary. [648 197]

3. ANDERSON, Andrew A
Twenty-five years in a wagon: sport and travel in South Africa. rev. ed. London. 1888. 423 p. illus. map.

p. 212-215 Bushmen
p. 227 Meeting with Bush-Koranna group
p. 228-236 Kalahari types

4. ANDERSSON, Charles John
The Okavango river: a narrative of travel, exploration and adventure. London, 1861 363 p. illus.

p. 143 Effect of Bushman arrow poison
p. 150-151 Bushmen described

5. ARBOUSSET, Thomas
Relation d'un voyage d'exploration au nord-est la colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance entrepris dans les mois de mars, avril et mai. 1836 par Mm. T. Arbousset et F. Daumas. missionaires de la société des missions évangéliques de Paris. Paris, 1842. 597 p. illus.

p. 479-526 Bushman social life and customs, language

6. BACKHOUSE, James
A narrative of a visit to the Mauritius and South Africa. London, 1844. 648 p. illus. 113

Contains numerous references to the Bushman, their dress, customs, huts, methods of hunting etc.

p. 435 Arrow poison, clothing, knapsacks
p. 444-445 A Bushman village described

7. BARROW, John
A narrative of travels in the interior of Southern Africa, from the Cape of Good Hope to Graaf-Reinet and the countries of the Kaffirs, Bosjimans, Namaquas etc. performed in the years 1797 and 1798 by John Barrow Esq. late Secretary to the Earl of Macartney. London, 1802. 80 p. illus.

8. BURCHELL, William J
Travels in the interior of Southern Africa: reprinted from the original edition of 1822-4 with some additional material and with an introduction by I. Schapera. London, 1935. 2 vols. illus.

Index in Vol. 2 gives a valuable and detailed description of all the references to the Bushman.

9. CAPPON, James
Britain's title in South Africa or the story of the Cape Colony to the days of the great trek. 2nd. ed. with a new preface. 371 p. London. 1902.

p. 74-82 The Bushman race

10. CASALIS, Eugene
My life in Basutoland: a story of missionary enterprise in South Africa translated from the French by J. Brierley. London, 1889. 293 p.

p. 154-163 Bushmen of the Maluti.

11. CHRISTOL, Frédéric
Au sud de L'Afrique. Paris, 1897. 305 p. illus.

p. 141-158 Bushmen, their customs and appearance

12. FARINI, G.A.
Through the Kalahari desert: a narrative of a journey with gun, camera and note-book to Lake N'gami and back. London, 1886. 475 p. illus.

p. 252-256 Bushmen
p. 330-332 Hunting ostriches in disguise
p. 341-348 Collecting honey, making of tsamma "beer".

13. FARINI'S African pygmies or dwarf Earthmen brought from the interior of Africa by Mr. W.A. Healey for Mr. G.A. Farini. no imprint, (1884) 4 p.

A description of a number of Bushmen exhibited in London and described as "the most extraordinary type of the human race in existence".

14. GALTON, Francis
Narrative of an explorer in tropical South Africa: being an account of a visit to Damaraland in 1851, with a new map and an appendix... London, 1889. 320 p. illus.

14. GALTON, Francis
p. 164, 166-168, 172-174 Bushmen's use of traps and pits in hunting, superstitions regarding horned snakes. 113

15. GODDEE-MOLSBERGEN, E.C. ed.
Reizen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse tijd. 'S-Gravenhage, 1916. 3 vols.

16. HOWISON, John
European colonies in various parts of the world, viewed in their social, moral and physical condition. London, 1834. 2 vols.

Vol.1 p.252-276 Bushmen

17. KOLBEN, Peter
The present state of the Cape of Good Hope: or a particular account of the several nations of the Hottentots; their religion, government, laws, customs, ceremonies and opinions; their art of war, professions, language, genius etc. together with a short account of the Dutch Settlement at the Cape written originally in High German by Peter Kolben, done into English from the original by Mr. Medley. London, 1621. 2 vols.

18. LE VALLIANT, Francois
New travels into the interior parts of Africa by way of the Cape of Good Hope in the years 1783, 1784 and 1785. tr. from the French of Le Valliant. London, 1796. 3 vols. illus.

19. LICHTENSTEIN, Henry
Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806: a reprint of the translation from the original German by Anne Plumtre. Cape Town, 1930. 2 vols.

Contains descriptions of the social life, customs and art of the Bushmen, use of "swimming logs" for crossing rivers described, the language of Bushmen and Hottentots discussed. [501]

The index refers the reader to other references on the Bushmens and their way of life.

20. MACKENZIE, John
Ten years north of the Orange river: a story of everyday life and work among the South African tribes from 1859-1869 Edinburgh, 1871.

p. 128-142
p. 490-493 The Bushman language
p. 509-513 Contact with Europeans

21. MACNAIR, James I. ed.
Livingstone's travels with geographical sections by Dr. Ronald Miller. London, 1954. 429 p. illus.

p. 20 ff., 27,31,49 Bushmen

22. MAINGARD, L.F.
The first contact of the Dutch with the Bushmen until the time of Simon van der Stel (1686) S.Afr. Jour. Sci. 32: 479-487 N. 1935.

23. MENTZEL, O.F.
A complete and authentic geographical and topographical description of the famous and (all things considered) remarkable, African, Cape of Good Hope... translated from the original German by O.V. Marais and Dr. T. Hodge. Rev. and ed. by H. J. Mandelbrote. Cape Town, 1944. originally published in 1787. Part 3 vol. 2 of German ed. 113

p. 260-263 The Bushmen of the Cape Province
p. 308-309, 330, 332, 334 Battles between Bushman and settlers described

24. MOFFAT, Robert
Missionary Labours and scenes in Southern Africa. London, 1842. 624 p. illus.

p. 6-14 Origin and history of the Bushmen
p. 49-64 History of Kitchener's mission to the Bushman. This section includes a description of their way of life.

25. MOODIE, Donald and PHILIP, John
Correspondence between Donald Moodie, Esq. compiler and editor of the Cape Records and the Rev. John Philip D.D. relative to the production for publication of alleged "official authority" for the statement that in the year 1774 the whole race of Bushmen or Hottentots who had not submitted to servitude was ordered to be seized or extirpated. Cape Town. n.d. 76 p.

26. MOODIE, Donald, comp.
The record: or a series of official papers relative to the condition and treatment of the native tribes of South Africa. Cape Town, 1960.
Bushmen also known as Soaqua, Obiqua, Soeswa, Strandloopers, Vischman, Waterman. [101]

27. MOSSOP. E.E. ed.
The journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779) with an English translation by A.W. van der Horst, and The journals of Jacobus Coetsé Janse (1760) and William van Reenen (1791) with an English translation by Dr. E.E. Mossop. Cape Town, 1935.
In these journals Bushmen are referred to as: Chaboup, Thabosk, Tkaboeba and Samgomonka. The journals contain numerous references to the Bushmen, their hunting methods and social customs. [101]

28. PRINGLE, Thomas
Narrative of a residence in South Africa. London, 1834. 116 p.

p. 77-80 Pringle believed the Bushman to have originally been a pastoral people. Commandos against them described. [174]

29. SHAW, Barnabas
Memorials of Southern Africa by Barnabas Shaw, Wesleyan missionary resident in the country nearly twenty years. London, 1834. 346 p.

p. 27-33 Bushmen customs and appearance

30. SPARRMAN, André
Voyage au Cap de Bonne-Espérance,et autour du monde avec le capitaine Cook et principalement dans le pays des Hottentots et des Caffres traduit par M. Le Tourneur. Paris,1787.3. vols illus. 113

Vol.1 p.259-272 Bushmen, their poisoned arrows, huts
Vol.2 p.206-209
Vol.3 p 4-9

31. STEEDMAN, Andrew
Wanderings and adventures in the interior of Southern Africa. London, 1835. 2 vols. illus.

Vol.1 p.104-113 Atrocities, commando system
p.147-150 Description of appearance, arrow poison, weapons
Vol.2 p. 22-26 Use of rafts for swimming
p. 48-52 Huts, superstitions on thunder

32. SUTHERLAND, Lieut-Col. J.
Memoir respecting the Kaffirs, Hottentots and Bosjemans of South Africa. Cape Town, 1845. 2 vols.

Vol.2 p.589-712 Bushmen

33. SUTHERLAND, Lieut-Col. J.
Original matter contained in Lt.-Col. Sutherland's memoirs respecting the Kaffirs, Hottentots and Bosjemans of South Africa ... commentaries and notes on the text used in the compilation of the memoirs. Cape Town, 1847. 580 p.

p.501-557 Bushmen

34. THEAL, George McCall
Ethnography and condition of South Africa before A.D. 1505: being a description of the inhabitants of the country south of the Zambesi and Kunene rivers in A.D. 1505. Together with all that can be learned from ancient documents, books and modern research of the condition of South Africa, from the earliest times until its discovery by Europeans. London, 1910. 466 p. illus.

35. THEAL, George McCall
History and ethnography of Africa south of the Zambesi from the settlement of the Portuguese at Sofala in September 1505 to the conquest of the Cape Colony by the British in September 1795. London, 1907. 3 vols. illus. maps.

Contains numerous references to the Bushmen, the history of their conflict with other races, their social life and customs, etc.

36. THOMPSON, George
Travels in Southern Africa...comprising a view of the present state of the Cape Colony with observations on the progress and prospects of British emigrants. 2nd. ed. London, 1827. 2 vols.

p.273 The Commando system attacked
p.387-406 Relation between Bushmen and farmers in the Roggeveld
p.421-424 Bushman dances. Their notion of number

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37. TRANSACTIONS of the London Missionary Society Vol. 1. From its institution in the year 1795 to the end of the year 1802. 113

p. 325-341 Mission to the Bushman. Gives a description of their way of life but none of their beliefs

38. TRANSACTIONS of the London Missionary Society in the years, 1803,1804, 1805 and 1806. vol. 2. 1806.

p. 1-23 Mission to the Bushman by Kitchener

39. VAN DER STEL, Simon
Simon van der Stel's journal of his expedition to Namaqualand, 1685-1686 ed. from the MSS in the library of Trinity College Dublin by Gilbert Waterhouse. Dublin, 1932. 183 p. illus.

Contains references to contact with the Sonquas

40. VAN RIEBEECK, Jan
Journal edited with introduction and footnotes by H.B. Thom. Cape Town, 1952. 3 vols. frontis. map.

The first contact between Bushmen and Whites at the Cape. Bushmen also referred to as Soaqua, Sonqua and Souqua. [101]

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II : E T H N O L O G Y

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41. ALMEIDA, Antonio de
La macronymphie chez les femmes indigènes de L'Angola. illus.
Comps. rendus L'Assoc. Anat. 43: 132-150. Mar. 1956

42. ALMEIDA, Antonio de
As mutilaçoes digitais entre os Bosquimanos e Hotentotes de Angola. illus.
Bol. Soc. Geog. Lisboa. 74, (1-3): 59-64, Jan-Mar, 1956.

43. ALMEIDA, Antonio de
Sôbre mutilaçoes etnicas dos aborigines de Angola. Lisbon, 1937. 206 p. illus.

44. ALMEIDA, Maria Emilia Castro e
Do Atlântico ao Sudeste de Angola.
Bol. Soc. Geog. Lisboa. 72a (1-3) 9-28 Jan. - Mar., 1954 (English Summary)

45. BAGSHAWE, F.J.
Peoples of the Happy Valley
Jour. Afr. Soc. 24 (93): 25-33, 1924.
The cultural and linguistic relationship between Kangeju and Sandawi of Tanganyika and the Bushmen and Hottentots of Southern Africa.

46. BAGSHAWE, F.J
Rock paintings of the Kangeju Bushmen, Tanganyika Territory. illus.
Man. 23: 146. Oct. 1923.

47. BALFOUR, Henry
The gourd, a stringed-wind musical instrument of the Bushmen and Hottentots. illus.
Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst. 32: 156-176. Apr., 1902.

48. BALSAN, Francois
Découverture d'une oeuvre très ancienne dans l'art Bushman
Jour. Soc. Africanistes 23: 139-143. 1955.

49. BALSAN, Francois
L'Etreinte du Kalahari: premiere expedition Francaise au Désert Rouge. 1948. Paris, 1950. 251 p. illus.

50. BALSAN, Francois
L'expedition Panhard-Capricorne. Paris, 1952. 255 p. illus.

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51. BALSAN, Francois
Le mystére des jaunes de L'Afrique noire: repliques de L'homme prehistorique? illus.

Science et vie 84 (428): 352-358. May, 1953.

52. BALSAN, Francois
Nouvelles aventures au Kalahari. Paris, 1959. 236 p. illus.
Contains a list of Bushman terms, useful illustrations.

53. BAUMANN. Hermann, THURNWALD, Richard, WESTERMANN, Dietrich
Völkerkunde von Afrika mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Kolonialen Aufgabe. Essen, 1940. 665 p. illus.

Bushman language, magic bows, weapons, customs)

54. BERNATZIK, Hugo Adolf, ed.
Afrika Handbuch der angewandten Völkerkunde. Innsbruck, 1947. 2 vols. illus.

Contains numerous references to the Bushmen)

55. BERNATZIK, Hugo Adolf
Die Buschmannzeichungen und die Entwicklung der zeichnerischen Begabung an Beispielen farbiger Völker.

Ethnologica. 11: 85-89, 1955.
Actes du 1V congres international des sciences anthropologiques et ethnologiques.

56. BLEEK, Dorothea F.
The Bushmen of Central Angola. illus.

B. Stud. 3: 105-125. 1927-1930

57. BLEEK, Dorothea F.
The Hadzapi or Watindega of Tanganyika Territory

Afr. 6 (3): 273-285. July, 1931

58. BLEEK, Dorothea F.
The Naron, a Bushman tribe of the Central Kalahari. Cambridge, 1928. 67 p.

59. BLEEK, Dorothea F.
Traces of former Bushman occupation in Tanganyika Territory.

S. Afr. jour. sci. 28: 423-429. Nov. 1931.

60. BROWNLEE, Frank
The social organisation of the KUNG (! UN) Bushmen of the North-Western Kalahari.

Afr. 14: (3) 124-129. July, 1943.

61. CURRLE, L.
Notes on Namaqualand Bushmen (with additional notes by L.Péringuey).

Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Afr. 3: 113-120. 1913

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62. DART, Raymond, A.
Hut distribution, genealogy and homogeneity of the /Xaui ǂkhomani Bushmen. 113

B. Stud. 11: 159-174. Sept. 1937.

63. DOKE, C.M.
The Qhung Bushmen of the Kalahari.

S. Afr. Geog. Jour. 8: 39-44. 1925.

64. DORMAN, S.S.
Divination and divining bones

S. Afr. Jour. Sci. 20: 504-511. 1923.

p. 505-507 Bushmen
(Use of sets of divining bones, 4 in number)

65. DORMAN, S.S.
Notes on the Bushmen of Basutoland

Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc. 18: 437-450. 1907.
(History of Bushmen in Basutoland, habits, customs and painting)

66. DORMAN, S.S.
Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari: an account of the hunting tribes inhabiting the great arid plateau of the Kalahari desert, their precarious manner of living, their habits, customs and beliefs, with some reference to Bushman art, both early and of recent date, and to neighbouring African tribes. London 1925. 312 p. illus.

67. DORMAN, S.S.
Some ethnological questions affecting Rhodesia

Rhod. Sci. Ass. Proc. 12: 5-10. 1912.

68. DROBEC, Erich
Die Krankenbehandlung bei den Pygmäen und Buschmännern. map. bibl.

Z. für Ethn. 78: 124-137. 1953.

69. DUCKWORTH, W.L.H.
Descrisione di un Boscimano del Sud Africa.

Rivista di Anthropologia. 20: 3-7. 1916.

70. DUNN, E.J
The Bushman
S.Afr. Jour. Sci. 33: 1050-1054. Mar. 1937.

(Critical of Schapera's work)

71. DUNN, E.J.
On the stone implements of South Africa

Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc. 2(2): 6-22. 1879-80.

72. ELLENBERGER, Victor
La fin tragique des Bushmen les derniers hommes vivants de l'age de la pierre. Paris, 1953. 264 p. illus. bibl. 113

73. ENCYCLOPAEDIA of religion and ethics ed. James Hastings. Edinburgh, 1926. 12 vols.

p.205a-208a Bushmen. Tati Bushmen by S. Dornan

(Index p.96 refers to numerous references on Bushmen)

74. ESTERMANN, R.P. Ch.
Quelques observations sur les Bochimanes ǂ Kung de L'Angola meridionale. illus.

Anthrop. 41/44: 711-722. 1946-1949.

75. FISCHER, (Oberleutnant)
Eine Erdkundung des Gebiets swischen Omuramba u Owambo und Okawango. illus.

Mitt. deuts schuts 23 (1): 44-48. 1910.

(Heikung and ǂKung).

76. FOURIE, L.
Preliminary notes on certain customs of the Hai-//om Bushmen

Jour. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.1: 49-63, 1925-1926.

77. FOURIE, L.
The Bushmen of South West Africa.

The Native tribes of South West Africa. Cape Town, 1928. illus.

p. 81-103

78. FRITSCH, Gustav von
Drei jahre in Sdd-Afrika: Reiseskissen nach Notisen des Tagebuchs susammengestellt. Breslau, 1868.

Bushmen p. 96,97, 98, 99,110,242,274,279,295.

79. FRITSCH, Gustav von
Die Eingeborenen Sddafrika's Atlas enthaltend dreissig tafeln racetypen. Breslau, 1872. 2 vols.

Bushmen. pl. XXVl, XXVll, XXVlll, XXlX, XXX.
(Unique photographs).

80. GARBUTT, H.W
Native witchcraft and superstition in South Africa. illus.

Jour. Roy. Anth. Inst. 39: 530-558. 1909. Bushmen. 557 ff.

81. GOODALL, E.
Domestic animals in rock art.

Trans. Rhod. Sci. Assoc. 41: 57-62. April, 1946. illus.
(Of historical interest as figures represent Bushmen meeting with another race, possibly the Hottentots) [648] [177]

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82. GOODALL, E
Some observations on rock paintings illustrating burial rites. illus.
Trans. Rhod. Sci. Assoc. 41: 63-73. April, 1946.

83. GUERREIRO, Manuel Viegas
Ovakwankala (Bochimanes) e Ovakwanyama (Bantos): aspectos do seu convívio. 1960.
Garcia De Orta. 8(3): 529-534. 1960.

84. GUSINDE, Martin
Bei den Buschmännern in Südafrika.
Umschau. 54: 463-496. 1954.

85. GUSINDE, Martin
Bericht über meiner südafrikanische Forschungreise 1950/51. illus.
Anthrop. 47: 388-404. 1952.

86. GUSINDE, Martin
Twins in South Africa.
Anthrop. 49: 685-687. 1954.

87. HAHN, T
Die Buschmännern: Ein Beitrag zur südafrikanischen Völkerkunde.
Globus: 18: 65-8, 81-5, 102-5, 140-3, 153-5, 120.3.1870

88. HAMBLY, Wilfred D.
Ethnology of Africa. Chicago, 1930. 222 p. illus.
Field Museum of Natural History. Dept. of Anthropology Guide Part 3.
p. 115-125 Bushmen
p. 218 bibl.

89. HERSKOVITS, Melville J.
Culture areas in Africa.
Africa. 3(1): 59-76. Jan. 1930.

90. HIRSCHBERG, Walter
The problem of relationship between Pygmies and Bushmen.
Afr. 7(4): 444-451. 1934.
(Does not regard Bushmen as derived from Pygmies. or having much resemblance to them).

91. HOW, Marion Walsham
The mountain Bushmen of Basutoland. Pretoria, 1962. 63 p.

92. HURWITZ, Hilliard S.
Social and cultural anthropological observations on the Bushman and other indigenous peoples of the Okavango swamp. illus..
Leech 26: 19-25. F. 1956. (lanekwe or/tanekwe differ from Kalahari Bushmen physically, linguistically, culturally. Contains a short vocabulary).

93. IMMENROTH, Wilhelm
Kultur und Umwelt der KleinwGohsigen . in Afrika. Leipzig, 1933. 378 p. illus. 113

p. 355-378

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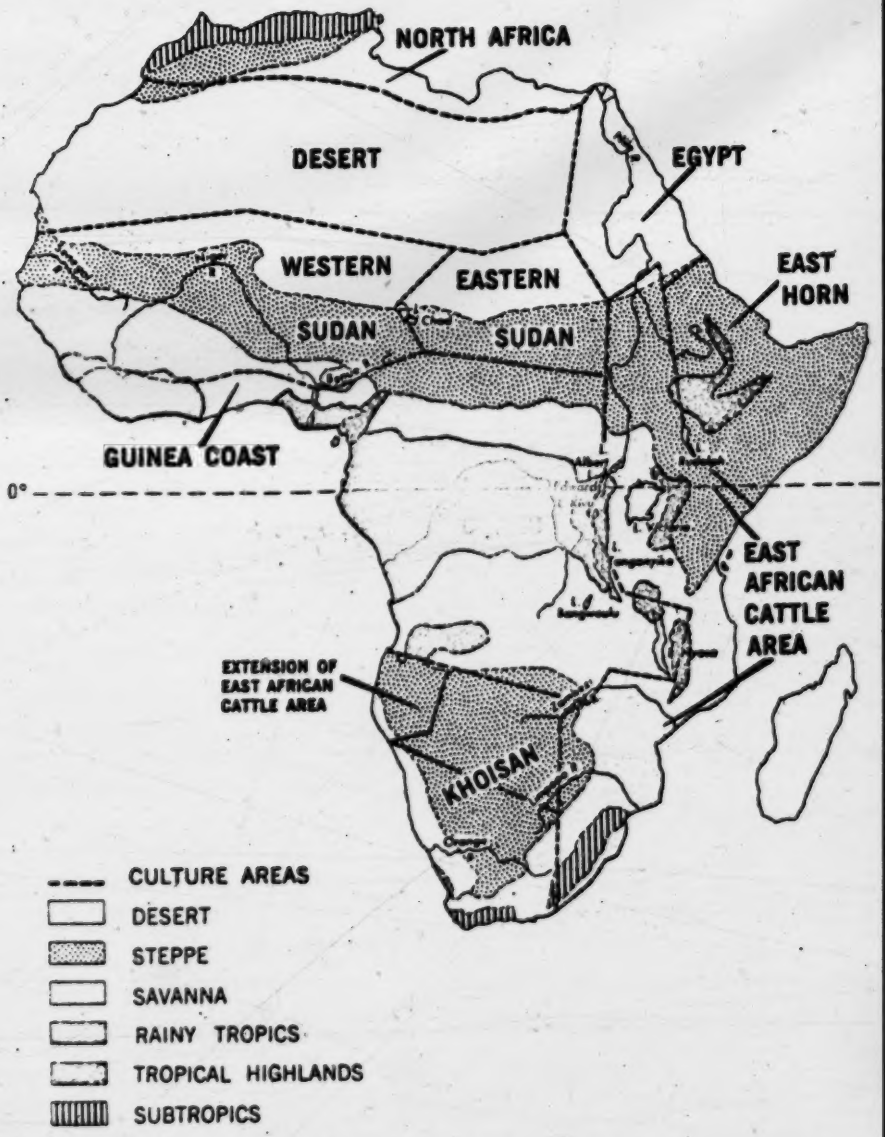

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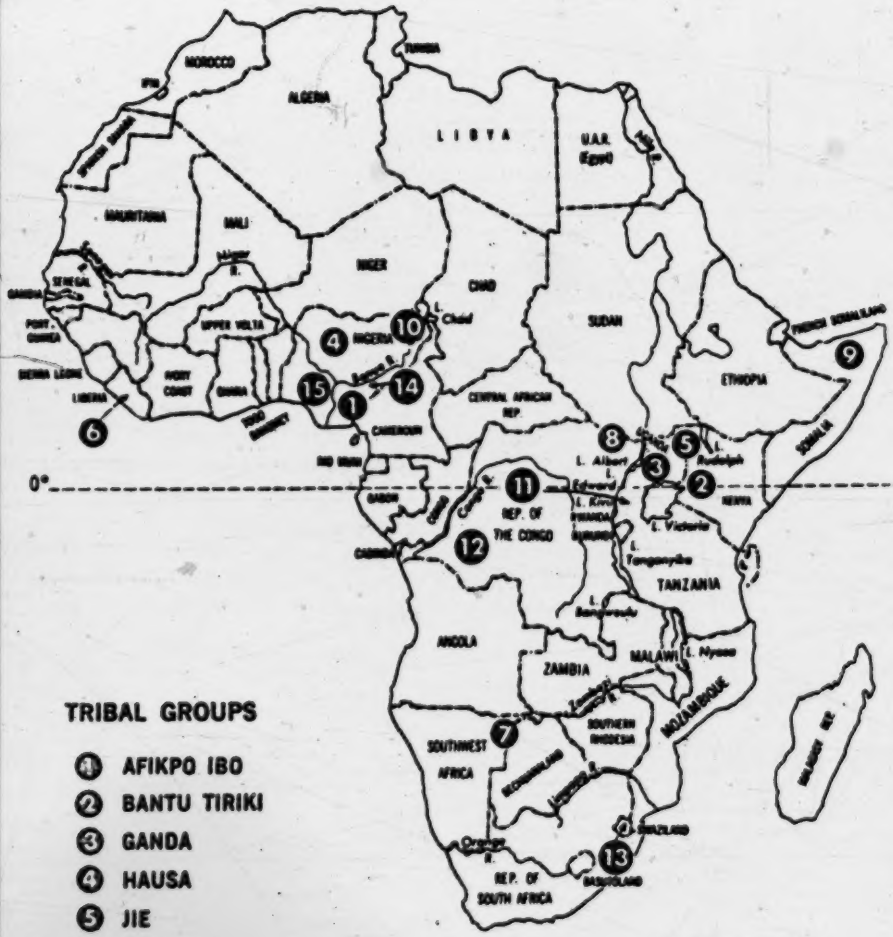

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1. AFIKPO IBO
2. BANTU TIRIKI
3. GANDA
4. HAUSA
5. JIE
6. KPELLE
7. IKUNG BUSHMEN
8. MBUTI PYGMIES
9. NORTHERN PASTORAL SOMALI
10. PASTORAL FULANI
11. RWANDA
12. SUKU
13. SWAZI
14. TIV
15. YORUBA

[Front Map 2]
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for James and Hortense

WHO EVER ENCOURAGED THEIR ERRANT SON

IN HIS URGE TO BECOME

A SILVERER OF THE MIRROR FOR MAN

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7

THE !KUNG BUSHMEN OF THE KALAHARI DESERT

about the chapter

For the anthropologist, the Bushmen are one of the world's most intriguing peoples, as they are virtually unique physically, linguistically, and culturally. The physical anthropologist cannot place the Bushmen in any one of the recognized major racial groupings: Caucasoid, Mongoloid, or Negroid. Similarly, linguists have placed their language in a category, Khoisan, apart from other African language families. The velar "clicks" that characterize Khoisan languages are apparently found nowhere in the world outside of Africa.

The culture of the Bushmen shows the imprint of their harsh and barren desert habitat, and, as Marshall points out, the ethos of their culture is dominated by the quest for survival. Many Bushman cultural institutions are molded by certain ecological constants: water, the location of water holes, water-storing plants, and other edible wild plants, the movements of game. The size of the band, the daily cycle of labor, the low incidence of polygyny, are all aspects of culture marked in this way. Certain other Bushman institutions, however, are not simply cultural creations passively molded by habitat; rather, they give the Bushmen better than even odds to defy the limitations which their habitat imposes. Such culture patterns are their skillful hunting techniques, their institutionalized patterns of sharing, and their strong striving for cooperation and harmony. Few cultures give the observer such a rich opportunity to study the two-way interaction between habitat and culture.

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/2/ Marshall shows how specific customs reflect the dominant quest for water, and she portrays the feeling of Bushman culture as well as providing an ethnologist's construct. In this configurational model focusing on ethos, she indicates how derived themes or postulates, such /7/ as the stress on cooperation, relate to the most basic theme. Comparison of the !Kung Bushmen with the Mbuti Pygmies, the other foraging group represented in this book, reveals that even though these groups occupy very different habitats some features of their cultures are similar. These include not only elements of technology, for example, the use of poisoned arrows, but themes such as the stress on cooperation and the minimizing of intragroup conflicts, features that are a functional requisite for the close, face-to-face relationships in a foraging /2/ band. Thus a study of the Bushmen offers insight into what may be minimal and hence universal features of the foraging band as a culture type.

Bushman culture is also of interest to those concerned with African culture history, for archaeological remains of societies with a similar material culture have been discovered scattered over a much wider region of the eastern part of the continent than the Bushmen now occupy. Many anthropologists feel that the bearers of these early cultures were Bushmen, or Bushmanlike in racial type. An understanding of Bushman culture gives us insight into the cultural and behavioral setting to which the mute artifacts may have belonged.

about the author

/14 Lorna Marshall lives in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and, with mem- [10] bers of her family, has conducted several expeditions to the Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa (1951, 1952–1953, 1955, 1959, 1961), of Bechuanaland Protectorate (1955, 1961), and of southeast Angola (1959). She received her M.A. from Radcliffe College in 1928. Her writings include "The Kin Terminology System of the !Kung Bushmen" (1957), "N!ow" (1957), "Marriage among the !Kung Bushmen" (1959), "!Kung Bushman Bands" (1960), "Sharing, Talking and Giving: Relief of Social Tensions among !Kung Bushmen" (1961), and "!Kung Bushman Religious Beliefs" (1962).

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LORNA MARSHALL · *The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert*[1]

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION · The Bushmen live in those parts of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa that lie in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate, in South West Africa, and in southeastern Angola. A few additional remnants of Bushman groups still exist in Northern Rhodesia and at Lake Chrissie in South Africa. In the past Bushmen had a much wider distribution.[2]

Many Bushmen live among, and some work for, the Bantu-speaking tribes in settlements where sufficient water resources have been developed to support cattle, and some Bushmen work for white farmers in the Ghanzi area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in South West Africa. However, many still live in small, independent, nomadic groups, widely dispersed in the vast areas of the desert.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise population count of the Bushmen, but a recent estimate gathered from various contemporary sources (Tobias 1956) indicates that in 1955 there were 55,531 Bushmen.[3] These figures are higher than any previously propounded (cf. Schapera 1939) and come as a surprise to many.

The Bushmen are linked with the Hottentots, a southern African people who resemble them physically and with whom they have linguistic affiliations, but who are a pastoral people with a more complex social structure. Bushmen and Hottentots together are called the *Khoisan* peoples, a coined term combining the Hottentots' term for themselves (*Khoi*) and their name for the Bushmen (*San*). The Khoisan peoples have been referred to as a distinct race (Murdock 1959: 8) or, as Howells puts it, "a major racial variety of man" (1959:306). The obscurity of their origins and racial affinities are in themselves subjects in which research continues and interesting postulations engage the attention of scientists in various fields.[4]

PHYSICAL FEATURES · The physical features of the Bushmen have drawn much attention from anthropologists. Bushmen are of small stature (adult males average approximately five feet two inches) WITH YELLOWISH BROWN SKIN THAT BECOMES HEAVILY WRINKLED IN OLD AGE.

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A Headman ǂToma is the leader of the main Guatscha band.

142 males average approximately five feet, two inches) with yellowish brown skin that becomes heavily wrinkled in old age. They have very little facial and body hair, and their short, black, head hair is so curly it spirals into peppercorn tufts. The Bushman face is flat and triangular; the brown eyes are set rather wide apart. A variety of eye folds narrow the apertures of the eyes. The nose is extremely broad with a very low bridge, the lips are everted but not protruding or only slightly so, and the ear is somewhat square in shape with a deeply rolled rim (helix). The Bushman body and limbs are slender; the frame is delicate. A notable feature is the inward curve of the small of the back. The penis is semierect. In women there is what is called the "Hottentot apron" (elongation of the *labia minora*). Steatopygia (fat on the buttocks) is invariably mentioned in the literature as one of the important physical characteristics of Bushman and Hottentot women and recorded as being very prominently developed in some. By comparison with the extreme examples that are seen among some Hottentot women and in illustrations, the northern and central Bushman women whom we observed did not have marked steatopygia, although some had buttocks that could be called plump.

197 LANGUAGE • Bushman languages and those of the Hottentots are classified as a language family known as Click or Khoisan (Greenberg 1955:80).
[194] Clicks are so unusual as to be almost unique to Bushman and Hottentot (they occur also in two East African languages—Sandawe and Hatsa—according to Greenberg) and are so distinguishing a feature of these languages that much attention is given them.

194 The Khoisan clicks, striking implosive sounds, are velaric suction stops
197 (Heffner 1960:119; cf. Beach 1938:73 ff.). The northern and central Bushman languages have four, made with the tongue, as follows: the dental (/), lateral (//), alveolar (!), and palatal (ǂ). The southern Bushman lan-

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guages, some now virtually extinct, were characterized by a fifth click made 194
with the lips, called the kiss click (⊙). In addition to clicks, the Bushman 197
languages have tones: high, middle, low, rising, and falling. Oswin Köhler [114]
has given special attention to tone as well as to other features in his study of Bushman languages, especially Barakwenga (Köhler 1962).

Each of the large divisions of the Bushman languages—the northern, 197
central, and southern divisions (see Bleek 1956)—differs markedly from the others. Within each group are several languages, sometimes resembling each other enough to be considered merely dialects of the same language, but more often differing so widely as to be distinct, mutually quite unintelligible languages. The !Kung described in this chapter (Köhler's and Westphal's !Xũ) belong to the northern group.

HABITAT • The Kalahari Desert, some 1200 miles long, with a mean high 133
altitude of about 3000 feet, forms part of the great plateau of southern Africa. It is a basin in form, covered with wind-blown sands, sometimes red, [134]
sometimes white, to a depth of 300 to 400 feet. The underlying rock crops out rarely in ridges and a few low hills.

Stamp (1953:78) classifies the Kalahari as a semidesert. Its conditions 132
are not the most extreme. Our expeditions recorded daytime air temperatures in the shade up to 115° F. and sand temperatures in the sun up to 140° F. In winter the temperature at night falls below freezing but for most of the year the nights are temperate. Although they seem acclimated to the heat, the [147]
Bushmen appear to find the colder temperatures very uncomfortable and shiver violently if they are away from their fires when the cold south winds blow.[8]

The rainfall, which comes in summer thunderstorms—6 to 10 inches, in- 137
creasing in the better-watered parts toward the north, according to Welling- [132]
ton (1955:61)—though slight, is sufficient to sustain a varied drought-resistant vegetation, and the country is covered with grass, brush, and scant small trees. In the northern and northwestern parts, the trees are more [824]
numerous and taller and include shivi groves and nut-bearing mangetti—important sources of food to the Bushmen. And in all the areas of the desert that Bushmen inhabit are found edible plants, in scant, far-apart patches perhaps, but existing. The vegetation, furthermore, provides material for fires, 824
shelter, weapons, implements, tanning, poison for arrows, and juices (for example tsama melons, on which these people can live when there is no water). In short, this desert provides the things that make life possible; otherwise the Bushmen would be dead or somewhere else.

The desert is a forceful shaper of the outlines of Bushman culture, and 182
both the possibilities it permits and the limitations it imposes have been mean- [114]
ingfully summarized by Robert Story in a personal communication:

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182 A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties
312 which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters
them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival,
[161] for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in
[164] the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been
comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity
134 and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

137 Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still
[222] have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-
[224] sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage
[262] organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

224 Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not
[411] necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

101 LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bush-
197 men cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking
[829] Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local group-
[184] ings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within them-
[621] selves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band
[622] composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

101 The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a
131 group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ŏassi* and who live in the
[192] Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

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square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48′30″ S, 181
20°34′36″ E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but 131
extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and
Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch [123]
of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In [162]
it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and [648]
9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of
about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the [372]
region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and
preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north [192]
and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen- [829]
speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung 181
Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is sur- 182
vival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in
their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring
food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the [621]
mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their [578]
social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals
within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between [628]
bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on [771]
survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the
sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region 433
have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we re- 262
fer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of
a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired,
but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know 222
more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several 262
species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen
suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad
for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets.
Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this re-
gion as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman
groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any
water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are
the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-
resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these;
doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

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Gathering Mangetti Nuts

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eral large groves of mangetti trees (*Ricinodendron rautanenii* Schinz) in the region, all on great waterless white sand dunes, and one extensive area in which *tsī* grows. *Tsī* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch) is the seed of the vine that runs along on the surface of the ground. Both mangetti nuts and *tsī* are excellent foods, rich in oils and proteins, and so important to the !Kung that they organize their lives to a considerable extent around them.

[182]

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Each band, according to !Kung social structure, owns and lives within what we call a territory. The band, through its headman (in a way to be explained later), owns the veldkos and water resources within its territory. The territories are varied in size and shape and sometimes consist of portions that are not even contiguous. The boundaries are vague, for the need to draw fine boundary lines is not great. In the interior of the region, where water is so scant, in roughly 8000 square miles live only 17 bands, comprising 447 persons. The other bands and employed groups live on what we call the periphery of the region. The !Kung say that one cannot eat the ground itself so it does not matter to whom it belongs. It is the patches of veldkos that are clearly and jealously owned, and the territories are shaped in a general way around these patches. The !Kung of the interior have settled themselves in such a way that every band has access to areas of edible roots and to either a mangetti grove or a *tsī* patch. A few bands have both.

[161]
[162]

[361]
[182]

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The strong concepts of ownership of veldkos by the band operate almost like a taboo. No external force is established to prevent one band from encroaching on another's veldkos or to prevent individuals from raiding veldkos patches to which they have no right. This is just not done. Fear of fighting is one of the deterrents. The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly

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The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or tsi, the men always ac-

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291
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482

On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsi, the men always ac-
462 company the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsi* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater por-
222 tion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging imple-
[412] ment is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were
[101] living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some
[489] to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles
[361] to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back
[854] to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to
[482] them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick
[372] up two or three logs for the night fires.

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as
252 meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes,
264 pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

222 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the
433 impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food
731 is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families
166 therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—
[582]

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in several different bands, and they may choose among them. A band that 128
owned comparatively good resources would tend to attract more members 166
than a band with scant veldkos. This flexibility of residence pattern is one [621]
of the reasons that one finds the bands of the interior of the Nyae Nyae re- 182
gion relatively in balance with their resources, and varying in size.

WATER • Two or more bands may share the ownership of a water hole. 312
Water holes keep their own rough population balance because, if water is 361
very scarce, people will go to live elsewhere when they have the possibility of [423]
doing so.

In the interior of this region, in roughly 8000 square miles, there are three water holes that can be called really permanent. In the driest years these do not fail. Four others dry up only in years of severe drought. Six more are semipermanent: in a very good year they may yield a little water right through, but in a dry year they are sure to dry up. When the semipermanent [622]
water holes go dry, the bands who own them may break up temporarily and the families may go to live with relatives who are at permanent water holes, or they may go as whole bands to another water hole where they have relatives.

Water is not owned as exclusively or as jealously as veldkos. Water 312
seems to belong more to mankind, as the animals do, and the ownership of 423
water holes emphasizes more the managing than the withholding of the water. The headman controls the water. His permission should be asked by travelers [622]
or visitors before taking water, "because he knows what he has and what can be done," we were told. We saw small temporary water holes marked with bundles of grass thrust into forked sticks. This was to tell visitors or travelers that the owners of the water hole were in residence, as it were, and were counting on the water. We believe that in these circumstances water would not be taken without permission. Occasions are not likely to arise where permission need be refused. The !Kung know where the others are, or are likely to be, at a given time and know how much water is available. They plan better than to get themselves into desperate situations.

One source of water appears to be owned by individuals. It is the rainwater that collects in hollow mangetti trees. The water in trees is not stolen by others who go to gather in the same mangetti forest. Water, incidentally, [27]
is the only beverage of the !Kung in the interior of the region. They have no alcoholic drinks and use no infusions of herbs.

HUNTING AND MEAT SHARING • !Kung hunting regulations do not confine 224
the hunters to territories. The game animals belong to no one until they are shot, and the hunters may follow them anywhere the spoor leads and may cross the territorial boundaries of any band. If hunters have made a kill in [431]
the territory of a neighboring band, they would not fail to give a present of

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224 meat to the owners of the territory should they happen to encounter them,
[43] but this is a gift, not an obligatory tribute. The vastness and emptiness of
[182] the country allow this freedom in hunting rights and the wandering nature of the game requires that the hunters, if they are to succeed at all, be free to look for game wherever they can find it.

222 The !Kung eagerly pick up tortoises, certain kinds of lizards, snakes, ostrich eggs, and grasshoppers, and they relish termites when these insects
[262] swarm out in nuptial flight. These items provide incidental delicacies and gathering them is like the gathering of veldkos. The person who gathers
224 them may keep them for himself and his own family. Men gladly shoot small
223 animals and birds if they happen upon them—wart hogs, duikers, other small antelope, porcupines, badgers, pythons, spring hares, ostriches, paouws, guinea fowl, red-winged partridges, occasional migrating geese, and other birds. They may keep them for their own families. They do not, however, devote their hunting time to the smaller animal creatures if they find fresh spoor of the larger ones. Hunting the big game animals that feed a whole band is the work of a man's prime and is incumbent on him.

224 Hunting parties usually consist of from two to four or five men. A man cannot hunt effectively alone in this country. Several parties hunting in different directions are more advantageous than one larger party. Any man may organize a hunting party, with relatives and friends from his own band or from neighboring bands—men he likes to hunt with. No one is formally a leader; the men talk and plan together and are likely to fall in with the suggestions of the one whom they consider the best hunter. Participation in any given hunting party is voluntary. What !Kung society urges is that the
[461] hunters hunt; it does not restrict the ways and means. The force of public
[626] opinion upon men not to sit in the werf, not to be lazy but to do their share, is tremendous.

The game the !Kung hunt deliberately and purposefully are the several big antelopes found in the region: eland, kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok. They also hunt the more rarely seen buffalo and occasionally manage to shoot a giraffe. Although there is this considerable variety of kind, there is not a great abundance of game. The herds are small and the hunts long and hard.[6] The antelope, because they can go for long periods without drinking, move and drift about anywhere in the vast monoto-
[604] nous veld and are very difficult to find. Hunters often search for days, cover-ing scores of miles, before finding spoor fresh enough to follow, and they may
[411] follow it for days before catching up with the animal. Their little arrows kill by poison rather than by piercing deeply, and, when an animal is shot, if it is big, it may wander for three or four more days until it dies of the poison.
[136] Smaller animals succumb in a shorter time. The hunters must track the animal and find it before the lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals, or vultures de-
vour it.

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vour it. Thus, according to our observations, a !Kung band gets on an average 224
only about fifteen to eighteen large animals in a usual year.

The meat of the large game animals does not belong to the hunters to do
with as they choose. However, they always have the prerogative of eating the [242]
liver at the site of the kill and, if their hunger is not satisfied, they may eat
more. The bulk of the meat is then carried to the band, where it is distributed
among the members according to a system. The meat belongs to the owner
of the first arrow that penetrates the animal so that it stays in. He has the
responsibility of making the first distribution.

Anyone in the band may be the owner of the arrow. A hunter carries 224
arrows he acquires in three different ways. Each man has his own that he 411
makes himself, shaping the points with some little distinction so that he 422
will know them from the arrows of other men. In addition he carries 426
arrows that have been given or lent to him. When an arrow is given to him, 431
he is the owner as much as if he had made it himself, but if he uses that 571
arrow he must make a special gift of meat to the donor. When he uses
an arrow that is loaned to him, he merely shoots for the person who lent it
and who remains the owner of the arrow. !Kung society makes a great deal
of giving and lending arrows. Women and old men, as well as men in their
hunting prime, receive arrows as gifts and may give them or lend them to
a hunter, asking him to shoot for them. A hunter cannot refuse an arrow— [576]
as a person cannot refuse any gift—without offending the giver. He accepts
the arrow and with it an obligation, but he gives or lends arrows in return
and involves others in obligation to him. Hunters choose to use one or
another of their arrows, with the result that the responsibility of distributing
the meat, with its advantages and obligations, is shared by members of the
band as is the meat itself.

In the first distribution the whole animal is divided among a few 224
persons, who receive whole sections on the bone, unless the animal is so
large that the meat has to be cut off in strips to be carried. The first of these
persons are the hunters, each of whom gets a fore- or hindquarter or the
equivalent. The giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not made by the
owner himself) receives a generous portion. The owner of the arrow, who
may be one of the hunters, or anybody, keeps the rest.

In the second distribution, the several persons who got meat in the 224
first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. The 602
amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much
as the giver can manage. In the second distribution, close kinship is the
factor that sets the pattern of giving. A man's first obligation at this point [606]
is to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous [593]
portions as he can while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are
to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself
at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if

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224 they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly
602 only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others.
[574] This meat may be cooked and the quantities small. Visitors receive small amounts of cooked meat from their hosts. It ends in everybody getting some meat.

224 In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and pri-
431 mary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift giving. !Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift of meat at some time in the future. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously
[571] according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift giving in general: the person gives to measure up to what is expected of him, to make friendly gestures, to win favor, to repay past favors and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation.

224 Aside from the practical advantage of using up meat while it is still
431 fresh, the !Kung custom of meat sharing has enormous social value. It does
181 a great deal to mitigate tensions. The fear of hunger is lessened. People are
[154] sustained by a web of mutual obligation. Moreover, they are fully conscious
[183] of these values, and the custom is so strongly established and so faithfully followed that the idea of not sharing is virtually unthinkable to the !Kung.

422 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the
252 !Kung. When an individual receives a portion he owns it outright. He may
264 give and share it further, as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very
[261] important to the !Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

224 It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they
261 gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae !Kung eat hearty meals of meat when plenty appeared and they had been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount.

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They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not 251
uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming 261
journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to 261
food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food 576
or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food 433
and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung 462
society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no 562
extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly 562
strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous 147
and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of 562
hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing 462
splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable 262
foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. 224
The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's [535]
wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The 742
building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's [462]
work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a [137]
woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. [461]
She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

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A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

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digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

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The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

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The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

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The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

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ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

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for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi'* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

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556 on the quantity of objects they want to possess. They do not even want
48 one each of the common tools of their lives. They borrow from each other,
[426] and there is less to carry.

431 Instead of acquiring prestige by accumulating possessions, the !Kung
571 seek it in the opposite way. They practice a custom of gift giving to such an extent that their belongings all move in a slow flowing current among them and no one keeps anything of particular value very long. !Kung society requires that gifts be made in return, and the custom serves as a means to mitigate jealousy, to express friendly intent, and to weave people together in mutual obligation.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE FAMILY AND THE DOMESTIC GROUP • The
59 family is the primary and the most cohesive social unit of the !Kung. By far
576 the strongest bonds they feel are those of the nuclear family—the bonds
[594] between parent and offspring, between siblings, between spouses. These
[621] relationships are the basis of residence; by that I mean that people live together and have membership in their bands and rights to its food and water resources because they are linked to the band by one of these relationships. I believe that, in addition to the structured aspects, there is great emotional cohesiveness in !Kung families and that this is observable in the way families within the band build their fires near each other, come and go together, or, if there should be a quarrel, literally stand by each other, drawing close together.

The !Kung family passes through four phases. In its simplest nuclear form it consists of a man, his wife, and such children as are born to them.
[515] First marriages are always with just one wife. A later nuclear phase may be
[583] polygynous. When the daughters of a !Kung couple marry, and the daughters' husbands come to live with their brides' parents to give them bride
[591] service, the unit becomes an extended family. In a second extended phase, the married sons may have returned from bride service with their wives and offspring. In this phase, the married daughters with their husbands and offspring may stay or they may go to live with their husbands' people.

[589] • The headship of a family is strongly associated with males. A widowed mother is regarded as a dependent, not as a family head. When the old father of an extended family dies, that particular family ceases to be an extended family. Families of siblings may live together in the same band, but no one of them has authority over another unless one of the siblings happens to be headman of the band. If they are no longer involved in bride service themselves, and their offspring are not yet married, these families become independent nuclear families again, to become new, extended families when the offspring marry.

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Both the father and mother expect and receive respect and obedience 593
from their children. Although the mother's influence is always felt, I believe that the father's authority is greater. It is not formalized or expressed in a harsh or domineering way. As long as the father lives, he is the head of the family, symbolically. Even when too old to hunt, if he is still a forceful [882]
person, he remains the one in authority, the leader of the sons-in-law and his daughters, of his sons and their wives. Gradually, however, when he becomes very old, the younger men make their own plans without necessarily consulting him.

!Kung families are responsible for dependents. Thus, old, dependent 737
parents are unfailingly supported by their offspring and may choose with which one of their offspring they will live. Orphaned children are taken 736
by their grandparents or by a sibling of their parents. It happens occasionally that a person has no living parent, offspring, or sibling. In that case, other relatives assume the responsibility.

THE NAME RELATIONSHIP • Although !Kung society has developed no 571
formal political structure under which the bands are united, and there are 602
no organizations outside the bands, these people have a means of extending 553
the concept of kinship beyond close consanguineous relatives and affines 619
and of recognizing, in what we call the name relationship, the web of remote interrelationship that long intermarriage within the region has established.

Invariably the first son and the first daughter are named by their father for their paternal grandparents. Other children are usually named for their mother's parents, the siblings of their parents, and the spouses of those siblings, and may occasionally be named for other relatives. Thus, a few names are used over and over through the generations. We recorded only [551]
forty-six men's names and forty-one women's names in the region. The !Kung assume that persons who have the same name are related, though the exact nature of the relationship is forgotten. They believe, also, that people with the same name somehow have a common entity. They bestow [60]
upon each other kin terms that are appropriate to the name, according to a system. The !Kung have intermarried within the Nyae Nyae region to [582]
such an extent that everyone has a kin term he associates with each one of the names. This means that the people of the whole region are what we call name relatives, all applying kin terms to each other.

From the !Kung point of view the custom has two values. It regulates 553
the incest taboo in its furthermost extension, especially the joking relation- 602
ship that symbolizes the taboo. (For example, a man should not marry or 835
make sexual jokes with a woman who has the same name as his mother.) The !Kung feel secure in righteousness when they know they are behaving

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553 602 835 [601] properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, 619 in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling 553 of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin 601 602 terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen—sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [101] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ŏassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ŏassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilin- [613] ages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father [622] to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

[423] There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A consider- 768 able amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

582 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside 648 the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

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various taboos. They wait for the children to grow up, hoping that they will be like their families in these qualities. 581

The marriage takes place when the parents agree, but it must be after the boy has killed a game animal and is scarified. The age at which young people marry varies greatly. We know girls who were married for five or six years before they menstruated; others were somewhat older at marriage. 582

!Kung society rigorously, and without exception, requires that all men, in first and subsequent marriages, go to live with the parents of their brides, and give them bride service. This service is essentially hunting. "Our daughter's husband must give us meat." "We shall soon be old; we need a young man to hunt for us." These are the refrains of the people. 591 583

The duration of bride service is indefinite. The !Kung say it should be long enough for three children to be born. Since the girls are so young, it may mean that eight or ten years elapse before three children have been born. Divorce may terminate bride service. After his obligations are fulfilled, a man has the right to return to his own people with his wife and dependents or he may choose to stay with his wife's people.

The young couple is expected not to have sexual intercourse until the girl is ready. No social rule patterns the time, which is a matter of individual adjustment, but the boy must not force the girl. If she complained to her parents, they might disapprove of the boy, dissolve the marriage, and send him away. His parents would have to try to find another bride for him and he would have to wait for years again for her to grow up. 585 [586]

The !Kung are polygynous. First marriages are ordinarily arranged by their parents between children who have not been previously married. Only occasionally is a young girl betrothed for her first marriage to a man who had been married before, perhaps a young man who had lost his wife by death or divorce, or possibly, but rarely, to her sister's husband or some other man as his second wife. Usually second marriages are contracted later in life when a woman becomes available for remarriage through widowhood or divorce. In such marriages, the man and woman concerned make their own arrangements. The number of wives a man may have is determined not by social rule but by the man's ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. There is no great excess of women, and prestige and wealth do not concentrate in !Kung society to give certain categories of men, such as headmen or medicine men, more power or right than others to acquire wives. A sampling of eighty-eight marriages showed that only nine of the men had two wives. None had more than two. 595 587 595 [554]

Although the first wife is considered to have a somewhat more esteemed and dominant position, no property or other material advantage is given to her and no important social advantage accrues.

!Kung co-wives live very closely together. They share one scherm and one family fire. They care for and nurse each other's children. Even when

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595 they are jealous of each other, as they so often are, !Kung society demands of them that they preserve a decent semblance of harmony and, by self-control and silence, avoid disturbing other people with jealous wrangling.

582 The band itself, as a structured unit, is not a factor in regulating
621 marriage. Persons may marry either within their bands or outside them if relationships and marriage regulations permit. Neither the sororate nor the
587 levirate is obligatory, but marriage with a brother's wife or a sister's husband is considered to be good and suitable, particularly as a second marriage, should death or divorce make it possible for these affines to marry again.
582 These relationships are not especially preferred in first marriages.

Marriages are forbidden in !Kung society only on the basis of the incest taboo, which is very strongly felt. It rigorously prohibits the !Kung from marriage with members of the nuclear family. It also extends to stepparents, stepbrothers and stepsisters, stepchildren, and to three additional categories of persons: certain kin, certain affines, and certain name relatives, whose relationships are considered to resemble those of the nuclear family.[8]

582 The !Kung conform strictly to the marriage regulations where they feel
183 the internal sanction strongly, as they do with close kin and affines. But with the more remote relatives, third cousins, and even second cousins, and with name relatives, they deviate without any apparent sense of guilt and without incurring the grave disapproval of society.

587 Widowers may marry again without restriction. A widow is supposed to wait until one rainy season has passed so that "the rain may wash the death away," but often she does not.

586 A couple may divorce without formality. This may be by mutual consent, or one spouse may simply leave the other. No religious or legal dispensation is involved and parental consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties for there is no dowry or bride-
[587] price to be resolved. Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way, and they are free to remarry without restrictions. Although the !Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it because it is untoward and can cause trouble. Divorces are not uncommon among young people of about the age at which young people in our society would be getting married, but, once a compatible mate is found, there is a notable stability in the marriages.

837 !Kung society forbids any sexual relations outside marriage, with one exception, called */kamheri*. */Kamheri* means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided the wives consent. When deviations from the sexual regulations do occur, the usual form is adultery, since almost all Bushman women are in the married state from early youth.
[835] But adultery meets with deterrents in this society. The strongly felt incest taboo prevents extramarital sexual relations as well as marriage with close relatives. Ease of divorce enables persons who really wish to change mates

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to do so. Lack of privacy makes it almost impossible to keep an affair secret, 837
and violent jealousy and anger can be aroused. Fearing any disruptive force, [852]
the !Kung disapprove.

LIFE CYCLE

CHILD TRAINING • !Kung parents are gentle, 854
protective, and permissive with all their children and express their affection
especially with babies. It is a most common sight to see fathers fondly kissing
them with pursed lips and smacks. The mother, wherever she goes, carries [853]
her infant tied to her left side, skin to skin, in a little leather sling where
it can reach her breast. When she sits, she takes the infant out of its sling,
holds it, lets it nurse the other breast.

The !Kung believe that long nursing is essential to the survival and 853
development of their children and encourage them to continue until they 862
are three or four or older. These people practice infanticide and, in explain- [847]
ing it, say that they must space their babies so that each will be able to
nurse long enough to ensure his having strong legs. An infant cannot thrive
on their harsh foods, they say, even though they chew the food and put it
into the infants' mouths, and the mother cannot support two entirely with
her milk, excellent though !Kung lactation appears to be. They supplement
the milk with adult food as soon as the child can eat it, so that a child is
accustomed to it and ready to be weaned at three or four when the next
baby comes. But, even so, the mother weans gradually, letting the older
child have a drink of milk occasionally through the day. If the mother does
not have or keep another baby but still has milk, she will allow or encourage
her child to continue nursing. Other children tend to make fun of a child
who nurses until he is six or so, and, in response to their teasing, a child
may wean himself quite abruptly.

Babies are naked and, since there are no floors but the desert sand, 854
not much is made of their urinating wherever they are. When they defecate,
they are wiped with grass and the fecal matter is cleaned up at once by
some older child or adult and carried off. As soon as children can walk fairly 863
well they are led by the hand and encouraged to go out of the werf for their
toilet needs, at first for the sake of cleanliness and, as they grow older, for
the sake of modesty as well. (!Kung adults are exceedingly modest about [291]
uncovering their genitalia. Their incest taboo influences this behavior,
I think, very strongly.)

Infants sleep in their mothers' arms. Young children sleep wrapped 513
in karosses beside their parents' fire. Boys from the age of about eleven or 882
twelve sleep at a boys' fire, not far from the family of one of them. Girls at [857]
that age go to sleep with a grandmother or some widow, or several of them

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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!Kung

513 882 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the parents' fire.

855 857 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or [136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and [868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 857 [512] The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime, singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned 857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth 156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 [173] PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men, the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another [171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation [562] ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they [535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from [534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony. [302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of [304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

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other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not 881
compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not [575]
form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and tradi- 884
tionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony [224]
is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten [262]
ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another 884
male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the 304
first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl 881
by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys [562]
must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who 881
are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland 535
Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland [533]
Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even [831]
the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect [602]
to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and 881
fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the [302]
people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and [257]
the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

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The *Choa* Ceremony The mother takes the girl's hands to scrape the tsĩ out of the ashes.

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choa-ed. The old woman who attends her performs this part of the ceremony (or her mother may do so). She scrapes a root called *sha sha* into the water hole. To *choa* the veldkos, the old woman takes the girl's hands in hers and together they place the veldkos in the fire. When it is cooked, they scrape it out together and the old woman puts *sha sha* in her mouth, chews it, and blows on the girl's hands and on the veldkos. This protects the girl from having an upset stomach. Each veldkos must be *choa*-ed the first time the girl eats it after the First Menstruation ceremony.

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No ceremonials mark subsequent menstruation periods, and the women do not seclude themselves during the flow or avoid gathering veldkos or dipping water from the water hole. They continue only to practice certain avoidances that in general have to do with men's hunting. The menstruating woman must not touch hunting gear; it would be very bad, for the arrows would be useless. She must not have sexual intercourse with her husband; it would make him tired and thin. Men in the years of their hunting prime should not talk or listen to talk about menstruation, for to do so might make them lazy in hunting.

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The girls who are married before their first menstruation have the same menstruation ceremony when the time comes as do the unmarried girls.

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There is no genital mutilation practiced among the girls and women of the !Kung. Girls are scarified, but not at the time of the menstruation ceremony. The scarification is begun when the girl is about seven or eight and is continued little by little over several years. Stripes are made on the legs,

[p. 266]

thighs, up the buttocks to the waist, and on the cheeks and forehead. 304
The !Kung say the stripes are made only for beauty" and are in imitation of gemsbok—big, stately gray antelopes with spectacular black markings.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The only social grouping above the family in 621
!Kung society is the autonomous band. A band is a group of families who live together, linked to one another and to the headman by kinship bonds, in a manner that will be illustrated presently. Nuclear families do not live alone among the !Kung. An extended family might do so, if it were a strong unit with enough young hunters and gatherers to sustain it; it would then be a band. Most of the Nyae Nyae bands were composed of several families [162] and ranged in size from twenty or twenty-five to fifty or sixty members.

Each band belongs to its own territory, or, we can say, owns its territory 621
and the resources within it. Two or more bands may belong to the same 622
territory. The focus of the band's ownership of the territory is the headman, 423
who is called *kxau* (owner). He does not own the resources as private, individual property is owned, to withhold or give as he pleases. Members born to the band have a kind of inalienable right of their own to the resources. The headman personifies those rights and gives them organization and continuity. The continuity is expressed by the attachment of the headmanship to the territory. If a headman leaves the territory to live elsewhere—except temporarily for bride service—he ceases to be headman and the headmanship falls on someone else who remains in the territory.

!Kung society accords to the headman the authority to coordinate the 622
movements of his own people in relation to their consumption of resources, and his chief duty is to plan when and where the band will move. He should protect the resources from encroachment from outsiders.

When the band moves, the headman's position is at the head of the line. He chooses the site for the new werf and has the first choice of a spot for his own fire and scherm. He has no other rewards or prerogatives. He carries his own load and is as thin as the rest.

It is not a headman's duty, as headman, to instigate or organize hunting parties, trading trips, the making of artifacts, or gift giving, nor does he make marriage arrangements. Individuals instigate their own activities. A 622
headman is not in any formalized way a judge of his people, nor must he 627
punish a wrongdoer. He may have great influence, if he is an effective leader, but wrongdoing is judged and controlled by public opinion, usually expressed in talk. Occasionally a person who is wronged seeks to avenge himself by fighting, which is greatly deplored.

If a headman is too young or too old, or lacks personal qualities of 622

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622 leadership, the people may turn quite informally to some other man for leadership in their daily life—ask him for help and advice, fall in with his plans. Such a leader has no authority and receives no honors or rewards.

Headmanship is inherited by the eldest son from the father. If that son dies or leaves the band, the headmanship passes to the next eldest son.

No strictly formulated rules, insofar as we know, provide for further succession. We have no observations of our own of situations in which a headman had no son.[10]

622 621 571 The rule of succession does not provide for a headmanship to pass collaterally to a headman's younger brother. However, a younger brother may set up a band of his own in the same territory if he does not prefer to live under the headmanship of his older brother or if he does not continue to live with his wife's people. The younger brother has his own rights to the veldkos and water that derive from his father and he can share them with his family and band. Nevertheless, as long as a son of the headman in rightful succession is living in the territory, he has higher authority and is responsible for the overall planning. Should the principal headman's band die out or realign itself, the collateral band led by the younger brother would become the principal one.

621 622 602 571 The bonds that bring the !Kung into membership in bands are the same consanguineous and affinal bonds on which a nuclear family is formed: the bonds of parent-offspring, siblings, and spouses. Everyone who lives in a !Kung band is linked by one of these bonds with the headman, sometimes directly or sometimes in a chainlike manner through one or two other [162] persons. A description of a typical band will illustrate this point. Band II of Gautscha has forty-one members. The headman, Gao Beard, has two [592] wives and four young children. With Gao Beard live his younger brother, one of his younger sisters, each with spouse and children, and his elderly, dependent and widowed mother. Gao asked his first wife's father, Old ≠Toma, whom he likes very much, to join his band. Old ≠Toma brought with him into the band his wife, a married son with wife and child, two younger sons, his wife's sister, and her son by a now divorced husband. [583] He also brought sixteen other persons—Gau and his people. Gau belongs to another band but was at the time living in Band II because he had married, as a second wife, Old ≠Toma's wife's sister and, middle-aged though they are, he was in bride service to her people. After a time Gau can choose whether to stay on in Band II or to go back to the band in which he originated. He said that he thought he would decide to stay with Old ≠Toma and Gao Beard because he likes Old ≠Toma and because Gao Beard has a mangetti grove.

621 423 People retain throughout their lives their membership in the band in which they were born and their rights to its veldkos and water resources.

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If they leave the band they may return. Affines and the families of affines have equal rights to the resources while they are present but do not retain them if they leave. 621 423 [602]

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS • In the many strange old tales of the !Kung appears a protagonist named ≠*Gaolna*—Old ≠Gao. He had supernatural powers, but he looked like a man and lived on earth. Like mankind, he was subject to passion, hunger, wrongdoing, failure, frustration, and humiliation, but men imagine his feelings in larger scale and as more grotesque than their own. Themes of incest, hunger, and cannibalism run through the tales. The !Kung claim that this old protagonist and the great god of their present belief are one and the same: they have the same names, but if the present great god is the old ≠*Gaolna*, he is mightily changed. 773

The !Kung now believe that there are two gods. The great god lives in the eastern sky where the sun rises; the lesser, in the western sky where the sun sets. The great god is the creator of all things. He created himself and named himself. He then created the lesser god and a wife for each of them. The wives bore them children. The great god gave names to all these beings. Then he created the earth and the water holes, the sky and the rain, the sun and the wind, the things that grow on the earth, and the animals with their stripes and colors, and he gave them names. He created a woman and then a man. He commanded the man and the woman and the animals to breathe, for without breathing they would not live. From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. When mortals die he takes their spirits to the place where he lives in the eastern sky, where there is a certain tree that has no name. He hangs the spirits in the tree, makes a medicine smoke in a pot beneath them, and transmutes them into the //*gauwasi*, the spirits of the dead, who live in the sky with him and are his servants. He has a medicine with which he renews himself, the //*gauwasi*, and the other heavenly beings and thus keeps them immortal. [776] [775]

The great god gave men bows and arrows and poison and digging sticks and taught them how to shoot animals and dig for food. Everything men know he taught them. Having created all things, the great god is the owner and the master of all things and commands their movements.

To "praise" himself, the !Kung believe, the great god gave himself seven divine names and one human name. The divine names are *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Kxo*, *!Gara*, *Gani gu*, ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gai* and //*Gauwa*. The human name is ≠*Gaolna*, the one he shares with the old protagonist. 776

Although there is not an absolute taboo upon saying the names of the

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776 gods, the !Kung fear to do so because it displeases the gods and draws their attention and they say, "Who is calling my name?"

The lesser god who lives in the western sky is the namesake of the great god, who, as the belief goes, gave the lesser god all seven of his own divine names, but not his human name. Although they insist in this belief, the !Kung never used any name but */Gauwa*, one of the seven divine names, when they referred to the lesser god and we never heard them [171] actually use this name for the great god. It would seem, then, that the lesser god is the old evil spirit, */Gauwa*, who appears in the beliefs of the Hottentots and other Bushman language groups as the destroyer and the black chief, the one who sends death, disease, and misfortune. This evil spirit was an entity distinct from the good spirit who was variously named by Bushman groups *Hishe*, *Huwe*, and so on.

In present !Kung belief, however, neither the great god nor the lesser god is all evil or all good. Both are capable of being pleased or displeased with man and of sending favors or misfortunes. The lesser god is subservient to the great god and is supposed to do his bidding. The lesser god, however, has his own entity and does instigate his own actions, sometimes even disobeying the great god. Often they disagree between themselves.

The great god looks like a man, like a Bushman, but he is "the tallest of the Bushmen" and has long black hair that is not twisted and knotted like Bushman hair. He rides a horse across the sky—you can hear him—and he has a gun as well as bows and arrows. Some say he never comes to earth but always sends */Gauwa*, or the spirits of the dead, the */gauwasi*, to bring the good or evil that he sends to men. Only the greatest of medicine [258] men have ever seen him.

/Gauwa, however, is commonly seen by the medicine men. They describe him as small. One said he was about two feet tall; another, that he was as small as a guinea fowl; a third, that he was as small as a mouse. Several agreed that he was covered with yellow hairs. One, however, a humble man, said that while in trance he had seen */Gauwa* and that he was like a gray mist.

782 RELIGIOUS PRACTICES • The !Kung say that they pray spontaneously to the gods. Whenever the thought comes to them they put their prayers into words and say or think them to themselves without any formality. When they speak in prayer to the great god they address him by the respectful term *!Nau*, used for any old man, or use a title *Gaoxa* (chief), or call him [181] "father." Sometimes they use one of his names. The prayers, a mingling of mild imprecation and pleading, reveal the major concerns of the !Kung: hunger, sickness, and death.[11]

776 The great god, responsible for sending sickness and death to men,
753 also created and gives to men a mystical curing power that is called *gaoxa*
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(the same word as the title of respect). The !Kung say it is strong medicine: 776
/*num*. The !Kung take for granted his giving to man both sickness and 753
the power to cure it, and account for the power's sometimes failing to cure 778
by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work, or not, according 755
to his pleasure.

He gives the curing power to medicine men (called *num kxao*, medicine 778
owners), appearing to them (usually in dreams, sometimes in what seem 756
to be waking hallucinations) and putting the power into them. He has also [533]
put a curing power in the medicine songs that the people sing at the dances, songs named Rain, Sun, Giraffe, Eland, Honey, Buffalo, Mamba, and Spider —all powerful things. The great god gives the power freely. It is rare to find a man among the !Kung who is not a medicine man. The function of the 756
medicine men is only to cure. They are not sorcerers or witch doctors. (The [754]
!Kung are not a witch-ridden people.) !Kung medicine men receive no rewards or special prerogatives. They work together apparently without rivalry. The medicine men may cure at any time but their strongest curing occurs [535]
at the dance.

Whether or not anyone is sick, the people dance two or three times a 535
month, sometimes more often. Anyone who wants a dance may start one 781
simply by asking people to come and begin. The !Kung like to dance for many reasons. There is the inherent physical pleasure in moving to rhythm. Music and dancing are their arts, from which their aesthetic pleasure comes. [537]
The dances are also social gatherings in which all participate, men, women, 535
children, visitors—everybody. A dance draws them together as nothing else 781
does. Even more important is the fact that the dance is one concerted re- 571
ligious act of the !Kung and brings people into such unison that they become like an organic being.

At the dances not only may the sick be cured, but pending evil and mis- 535
fortune averted. The !Kung believe that the great god may send */Gauwa* or 755
the */gauwasi* at any time with ill for someone and that these beings may be 751
lurking, awaiting their chance to inflict it. The medicine men in the dances combat them, drive them away, and protect the people.

Usually there are several medicine men performing at the same time. 755
To cure they go into trance, which varies in depth as the ceremony proceeds. The curing cannot be described in words; it must be heard. When a man begins, he leaves the line of dancing men and, still singing, leans over the person he is going to cure, going eventually to every person present, even the infants. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The !Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. To demonstrate that this is in fact going on and is hard to do, he grunts with shuddering grunts that intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high piercing, quavering yell. Finally, the medicine man throws up his arms

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance A medicine man is going into a trance.

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to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Gauwa* or the *//gauwasi*, who are there beyond the firelight, with a sharp, yelping cry of "*kai kai kai*."

The medicine men are usually only in shallow trance at this point, but, when the curing has been going on for some time, they begin to reach a state of patterned frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. They believe that fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. The medicine men rush out into the darkness, where *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. "Filthy face!" they screech. "Take away the sickness you have brought. You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away. . . . *Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die." At this point the medicine man may fall down in deep trance and appear to be unconscious or semiconscious, with eyes closed, stiff as a board, unable to walk. This stage of trance may last only a brief time or may continue for hours—even into the next day. Gradually it is resolved and the medicine man takes up his normal activities.

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The !Kung believe that at the time of deep trance the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*. They call this "half death." It is a dangerous time. The women must continue to sing the medicine music. The man's body must be watched over, rubbed, and kept warm by other medicine men who are in less deep trance.

The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a

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drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope.

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera

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174 [172] 1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at 177 the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or 131 exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

131 (3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as 162 listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

144 (4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into cate- [114] gories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

114 147 (5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been published by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

224 126 (6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

553 602 121 (7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the 553
!Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think 602
of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority 121
is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy. [29]

(8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, 582
cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts.

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband stepbrother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names 582
associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is 551
supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself.

(9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the 532
young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead [301]
ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were [304]
associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty.

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings 000
or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees.

(10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly 622
speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people 562

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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622 562 refer to one woman as a "headman"), nor does her husband. A headman's daughter, as it were, holds the place until her son is born to fill it. Primogeniture would be in force: the eldest daughter's son would take precedence over a younger daughter's son. If a daughter's husband is an effective person by nature, he could lead the band and perform the functions of headman indefinitely. The band, on the other hand, might find it more advantageous not to wait for a son to be born to the headman's daughter but to realign itself under another headman. Within the proper frame of kinship this is a voluntary matter.

782 539 (11) I paraphrase some of the prayers as follows:

"You have created me and given me power to walk about and hunt. Why do you lead me in the wrong way so that I find no animals?"

"Give rain, *!Nau*, wet the earth. Let there be veldkos. We are starving because we have to stay by the water hole where there is no more veldkos. You have favored some people with rain. Will you not favor us?"

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Subsistence Ecology of !Kung Bushmen

By

Richard Barry Lee
A.B. (University of Toronto) 1959
M.A. (University of Toronto) 1961

DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

Anthropology

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Approved:

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Degree conferred.....
Date

[Introductory p. iv]
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PREFACE

[p. i]

114 The Bushmen of southern Africa have long held a fascination for anthropologists because of their unusual language, culture and physical type. Physical anthropologists have been intrigued by the apparently unique morphological adaptations of the Bushmen (such as steatopygia and the tablier) and the problem of the racial status of the Bushmen (Broom 1941, Coon 1955, 1962, Dart 1937, DeVilliers 1961, Tobias 1961, 1964). Linguists have focussed attention on the unique click languages of the Bushmen (W.H.I. Bleek and Lloyd 1911, D.F. Bleek 1929, 1956, Vedder 1910-11, Maingard 1957, Westphal 1963).

It is curious, in light of this interest, that, until recent years, professional investigations of Bushman sociology and ecology have been conspicuously lacking in the literature. In 1930, Schapera summarized the information then available on Bushmen. His sources consisted mainly of the accounts of early travellers such as Barrow (1801-04), Burchell (1822-24), Baines (1864), and Chapman (1868), as well as the reports of administrators in the German South West African government such as Werner (1906), Seiner (1913), and Passarge (1905, 1907).

With the exception of Bleek's monograph on the Nharo (1928b), which discussed social organization, all of Schapera's

114 sources consisted of fragments of information or were based on the memory ethnography of highly acculturated Bushmen. J.H. Wilhelm's account of !Kung social structure is perhaps the best of the early research, but this study, written in 1917, was not published until 1953 and therefore was not available to Schapera. In spite of the works of Bleek (1928b) and Wilhelm (1953), our information on the social organization and economy of Bushmen at the turn of the century is extremely sparse. Thus the students of Bushman culture have had no baseline study available to them such as the classic researches of Spencer and Gillen (1899, 1904, etc.) on the Australian aborigines.

Schapera's task in his classic, "The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa" (1930), was to salvage the ethnographic facts of a dying way of life. The tone of his book is set by the statement: "There seems little doubt that the Bushmen are steadily dying out as a race. What relentless persecution at the hands of other peoples has not achieved is being slowly accomplished by disease and racial intermixture. Racially pure Bushmen are already in a minority and their ultimate absorption by their neighbors is probably inevitable." (1930:40).

This point of view prevailed for the twenty years following the publication of "The Khoisan Peoples" and was

114 manifested by a virtual absence of sociological research among the Bushmen during the 1930's and 40's.

It was not until the 1950's that it became apparent that Schapera's obituary on the Bushmen was premature. We owe this realization to the recent research and writing of Mr. and Mrs. Laurence K. Marshall and Professor Phillip V. Tobias. The Marshalls began their investigations of Bushman life in 1951.
[161] In the interior of the northwestern Kalahari they found over 1,000 Bushmen organized into hunting and gathering bands. This was, and is, a full-scale viable way of life of a type that was believed no longer to exist. Professor Tobias, after visiting the Kalahari with the Panhard-Capricorn Expedition of 1950, was led to believe that the numbers of surviving Bushmen had
[161] been vastly underestimated. His subsequent research (1956, 1957) showed that there were over 50,000 living Bushmen and that thousands of the Bushmen were living as hunter-gatherers.

[121] Due to the stimulus of the Marshalls and Tobias, anthropologists realized that excellent research opportunities among the Bushmen had been overlooked, simply because of the mistaken notion that the hunting and gathering way of life had ceased to
121 exist. Thus in recent years the style of Bushman research has been transformed from a salvage operation to the study of viable ongoing social and economic systems; and with the acquisition of new data has come a basic reorientation of our

121 view of the Bushmen. The present study is a contribution to this reorientation and, as such, has implications, not only for Bushman studies, but for the study of hunters and gatherers in general.

The study of subsistence ecology focusses attention on those aspects of the man/environment relation which pertain to the getting of food. Since there are populations of Bushmen available which still maintain a full-time, year-round, hunting and gathering way of life, an investigation of subsistence ecology can be founded on a firm empirical basis. The investigator does not have to rely on the memory of informants concerning conditions no longer in existence.

121 114 171 Another recent study - of the subsistence activities of Australian aborigines in Arnhem Land (McCarthy and McArthur 1960) - offers an instructive contrast to the present study. Both studies are concerned with the subsistence ecology of hunter-gatherers. The difference lies in the fact that the Australian groups studied spent the greater part of each year living on mission stations where they ate European foods. Consequently, the Australian scientists could observe traditional food getting for two week periods that were bracketed by periods of residence on the mission stations. The Bushman study, on the other hand, is a continuous record of hunting and gathering

121 activities extending over a fifteen month period. The Dobe area

222 224 Bushmen were hunting and gathering for the simple reason that

121 there was no viable alternative locally available to them.
222
224 The presence of these conditions has made it possible not only to observe ongoing subsistence behavior, but also to attempt to understand the dynamics and the underlying rationale of hunting and gathering as a total way of life.

R.B.L.

Cambridge Mass.,
July 1965.

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000 I am grateful for the initial encouragement and continuing guidance of my undergraduate and graduate teachers, particularly Professors Ronald Cohen[2], Robert C. Dailey, and J. Norman Emerson at the University of Toronto; and Professors Sherwood L. Washburn and J. Desmond Clark at the University of California, Berkeley.

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1. formerly the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum.
2. at present at Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

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128 Thanks are due to several colleagues in central Africa who offered valuable technical assistance: to Mr. Reay H. N. Smithers, Director of the National Museums of Rhodesia, for identifications of vertebrate fauna and for providing the mammalian weights used in Chapters V and VIII; to Mr. Graham Guy, Curator of the Queen Victoria Museum, Salisbury, for training in field botany; to Mr. R. B. Drummond, Systematic Botanist, and the staff of the National Herbarium of Rhodesia, for determinations of over 300 plant specimens; and to Mr. Clayton Holliday, Senior Technical Officer, and the staff of the Livingstone Museum for kind and generous assistance beyond the call of duty.

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1. formerly Keeper of Prehistory, Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Livingstone, Zambia.

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1. at present at the University of the Witwatersrand.

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I. INTRODUCTION

121 114 122 This dissertation is a report on the results of a field investigation of Kalahari Bushmen in 1963-64. The research was supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation 121 entitled: Studies in the Evolution of Human Behavior. The section of the research proposal devoted to Bushmen outlined five major areas of investigation:

1. Census
2. Demography
3. Subsistence
4. Social organization
5. Settlement patterns

The data obtained in the areas of census and subsistence are presented here. Further data on demography, social organization and settlement patterns are summarized here and will be expanded in subsequent publications.

The Bushman research project was conceived to answer a need on the part of archeologists and other students of human evolution for accurate, quantitative information on the subsistence and society of a contemporary hunting and gathering people. It was hoped that such a study would generate new insights on cultural evolution and aid in the task of interpreting archeological materials. The primary task was to define the properties of a hunting and gathering way of life.

121 This statement was then to be employed as a basis for comparison with other living hunting and gathering societies and the generalizations so derived were to be used as a baseline for the reconstruction of the properties of societies and economies of earlier populations of man.

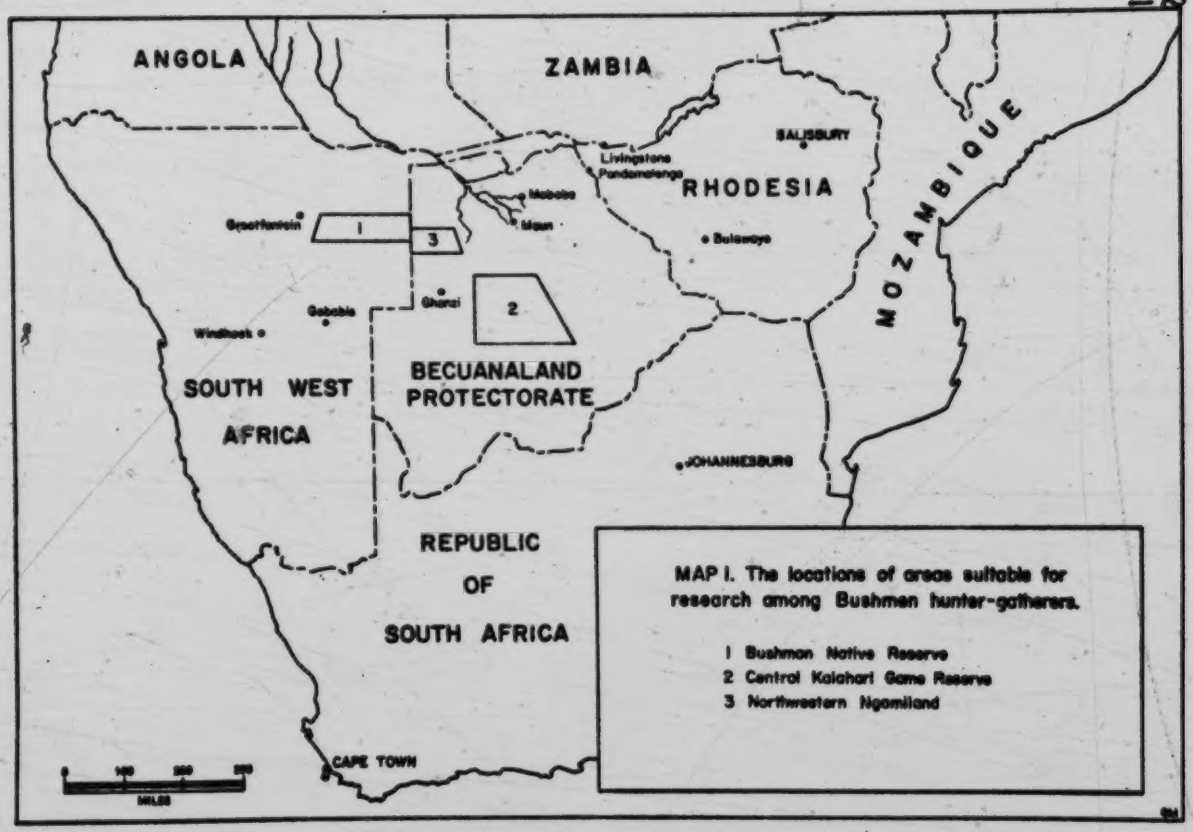
Of the three stages in this research scheme, description, comparison and reconstruction, only the first stage is presented in this dissertation viz the description of the subsistence of one hunting and gathering people.

The Kalahari Bushman study began in August 1963, when Irven DeVore and the author made a reconnaissance of the northern Kalahari Desert to look for a suitable study site. The research goals required a population as isolated and traditionally oriented as possible. Three locations were considered (see Map 1).

1. The Bushman Native Reserve, South West Africa
2. The Central Kalahari Game Reserve, Bechuanaland
3. Northwestern Ngamiland

[114] South West Africa proved to be out of the question. For political reasons foreign scientists are not being permitted to work among the indigenous peoples. The British colonial government of Bechuanaland, on the other hand, has encouraged social scientists from abroad to come and work among the tribes. Our decision to work in northwestern Ngamiland was dictated by the fact that a government-appointed anthropologist

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4]



MAP I. The locations of areas suitable for research among Bushmen hunter-gatherers.

1 Bushman Native Reserve
2 Central Kalahari Game Reserve
3 Northwestern Ngamiland

121 (George Silberbauer) was already conducting research among the Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

After DeVore's return to Harvard in September, the author surveyed the Ngamiland situation and found that the Bushman population in the northwestern sector satisfied our research requirements.

161 312 621 224 222 648 In October, 1963, there were about 430 Bushmen living at nine waterholes in the !Kangwa administrative district. Over 70% of these people were orqanized into bands and depended on hunting and gathering for their subsistence. Although some 340 Bantu lived in the district they had not established a lord-client relationship over the Bushmen. This feudal type of social system exists elsewhere in the Kalahari but not in 114 the !Kangwa district. The author was the first white person to live in the district. The Marshall expeditions had touched the western edge of the district but had centered their research at /Gautscha, a camp about 40 miles west of our area.

The main field station was set up at Dobe, a small waterhole in Bechuanaland, two miles east of the Bechuanaland - South West Africa border. The author conducted research here for twelve months, except for intervals of work elsewhere in the Kalahari and study periods in Livingstone, Johannesburg, Windhoek and Capetown.

In October, 1964, Irven and Nancy DeVore joined the author

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

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TABLE 1

Periods of Research, Camps and Seasons of the Kalahari Bushman Study

Period	Location	Season
1963		
August	on survey, northern Kalahari	winter, cool dry
October-December	Dobe	end of hot dry, small rains, main rains
1964		
January-February	Tsodilo	main rains
late February-end April	Dobe	end rains, onset of winter dry
early May	Tsodilo	onset of winter dry
mid June	on survey, southern Kalahari	winter cold dry
late June-early September	Dobe area	winter cold dry
September	Kuli-Ghanzi	spring hot dry
late October-December	Dobe area	end of hot dry, small rains
1965		
early January	Dobe-Maun	small rains

114 and we worked jointly at Dobe until the study terminated on January 8, 1965. The study dates and places are summarized in Table 1.

A note on orthography

197 The linguistic status of the !Kung Bushmen will be dis-
194 cussed in Chapter II. As there is still no general agreement among linguists on the phonemes of the !Kung language, a brief list of phonemes is offered here to facilitate the pronounciation of Bushman words used in the text.[1]

Vowels

1. i - as in English "fit, feet"
2. e - as in English "fate, fed"
3. ə - as in English "the, but"
4. u - as in English "book, boor"
5. o - as in English "bore, ball"
6. a - as in English "bat, bar"

Dipthongs

7. au - as in "cow, now, thou"
8. ai - as in "by, sky, bite"
9. ei - close to "bay, bait"
10. iu - no English equivalent; falls between "see" and "Sue"

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[1] A phonemic analysis of !Kung is in preparation and will be presented elsewhere. The present listing is oversimplified.

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Consonants

11. b - as in English "bug"
12. d - as in English "die"
13. g - as in English "guy"
14. m - as in English "my"
15. n - as in English "nigh"
16. ŋ - as in English "sing"; as in Bantu "ngombe"
17. s - as in English "sigh"
18. z - as in English "zoo"
19. š - as in English "shy"
20. ž - as in French "jamais"
21. x - as in Afrikaans or Dutch "groote"
22. h - as in English "home"; also to indicate aspiration after a vowel or consonant
23. w - as in English "why, twin"
24. ts - as in Bantu "tsetse"
25. tz - no English equivalent
26. tč - as in English "church"

In addition there are a number of phonemes that are exotic to most speakers of English.

Clicks

27. / - dental click, produced by drawing the tip of the tongue sharply away from the lingual (back) surface of the upper incisors. In some dialects of English

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it is used to denote mild reproach. The sound is sometimes written "tch tch".

28. ≠ - alveolar click; the tongue position is the same for the dental click, but the blade (not the tip) is drawn sharply away. This produces a flat popping sound of shorter duration than the sound of the dental click.

29. // - lateral click; the tip of the tongue is pressed against the alveolar ridge, but the sound is produced by drawing the lateral edges of the tongue sharply away from the lingual side of the cheek teeth; the sound produced resembles that used when urging on a horse. There is no way of putting this into writing.

30. ! - alveolar-palatal click; the tongue tip is pressed against the roof of the mouth and drawn sharply away; a hollow popping sound is produced.

31. ' - glottal stop; a brief closure of the vocal cords which does not in itself produce a sound but colors the following sound material by making its release more abrupt, as in the pronunciation of "bottle" in some Scottish dialects.

32. ' - glottal flap; this sound apparently has never been described in human language. Pike's (1943,1947) exhaustive studies of phonetics and phonemics do not

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mention it. This is a glottal stop with a distinctly audible flap of the surfaces of the glottis. In !Kung it is one of the most common sounds following clicks.

33. r - dental-alveolar flap; this sound appears only medially in words. It has some of the sound quality of "l", "r", and "d" in the series: pa<u>ll</u>ette, pa<u>rr</u>ot, pa<u>dd</u>ed, when each is pronounced rapidly.

In addition there are three kinds of suprasegmental phonemes in !Kung: tone, nasality, and vowel pressing.

<u>Tone</u> There are five tone levels. The symbols are illustrated below, using a series of !Kung words that are distinguished by tone.

34. ¯di - "female" (high tone)

35. _di - "heavy" (low tone)

36. \di - "lightning" (low-falling tone)

37. ´di - species of insect (high-rising tone)

38. di - "crazy" (mid tone, no diacritic marker)

<u>Nasality</u> All vowels may be nasalized and this is phonemic. The symbol is the nasal modifier "~" above the vowel.

39. ĩ, ẽ, ɜ̃, ũ, ɔ̃

<u>Pressing</u> All vowels may be pressed or pharyngealized. This is represented by a dash below the affected

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vowel. Thus:

40. i̲, e̲, a̲, u̲, o̲

(Vowels that are both pressed and nasalized have both the subscript and the superscript viz: ĩ̲, ẽ̲, etc.)

The Bushman alphabet

For purposes of this study the !Kung Bushman alphabet reads as follows:

a, b, d, e, ə, g, h, i, m, n, ŋ, o, r, s, š, ts, tč, tz, u, w, x, z, ž, /, ǂ, //, !, ', ", .

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

101 Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a 142 satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical 144 type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included, and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland 197 would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non- 121 Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West 224 Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A 222 464 strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting 648 and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many 241 233 thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

114 A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by 197 the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963). He has demonstrated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

101 [114] In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956). Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

101 non-Bantu, click-speaking peoples with a tradition of hunting and gathering in their recent past. Thus we may define Bushmen as members of tribes who are acknowledged to be "sarwa" by themselves and others. The term "sarwa" thus includes peoples of varying physical type and economy, and of four distinct linguistic stocks within the click family of languages. The one characteristic common to them all is the tradition of hunting and gathering. The economic and linguistic divisions will be elaborated below.

Numbers and distribution

161 114 The Bushmen are numerically stronger than has been generally supposed. Estimates such as Schapera's 7,000-7,500 (1930), Keith's 6,000 (1948), and Coon's "few hundred" (1955) are far too low. Despite Tobias' careful estimate of 55,000 living Bushmen (1957), the older misconceptions still persist. As recently as 1963, Bohannan estimated the numbers of living Bushmen in the hundreds (Bohannan 1963:213).

164 127 The author's estimate, based on data available in 1964, shows a total figure rather smaller than that of Tobias' 55,000. It is estimated that there are about 44,100 Bushmen alive today. This figure is based on published sources and unofficial government estimates for Bechuanaland. For South West Africa, the figures are adapted from the Odendaal Commission Report (Republic of South Africa, 1964). For Angola,

161 the Tobias estimate is retained. The estimates for other
127 countries (Zambia, Rhodesia, South Africa) are informed guesses.

The national totals and the sources of information are:

Bechuanaland	24,600	Schapera, 1952; Silberbauer, 1965; Silberbauer, personal communication; Kuper, personal communication; author's field census.
South West Africa	15,000[1]	Republic of South Africa, 1964; Macintyre, personal communication.
Angola	4,000	Tobias, 1956,1957,1964, personal communication.
Republic of South Africa	100	Author's estimate.
Zambia	200	Author's estimate.
Rhodesia	200	Author's estimate.
TOTAL	44,100	

The distribution of these 44,100 Bushmen is illustrated in Map 2, p. 14.

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[1] The official 1960 census figure for Bushmen in S.W.A. is 11,762. The Odendaal Commissioners note in their report: "Statistical surveys of this group (the Bushmen) are made difficult by their nomadic way of life. According to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development these Bushmen number several thousands more" (Republic of South Africa, 1964:29, footnote 4). Since this view coincides with that of the author, the number of Bushmen in S.W.A. has been rounded out to 15,000.

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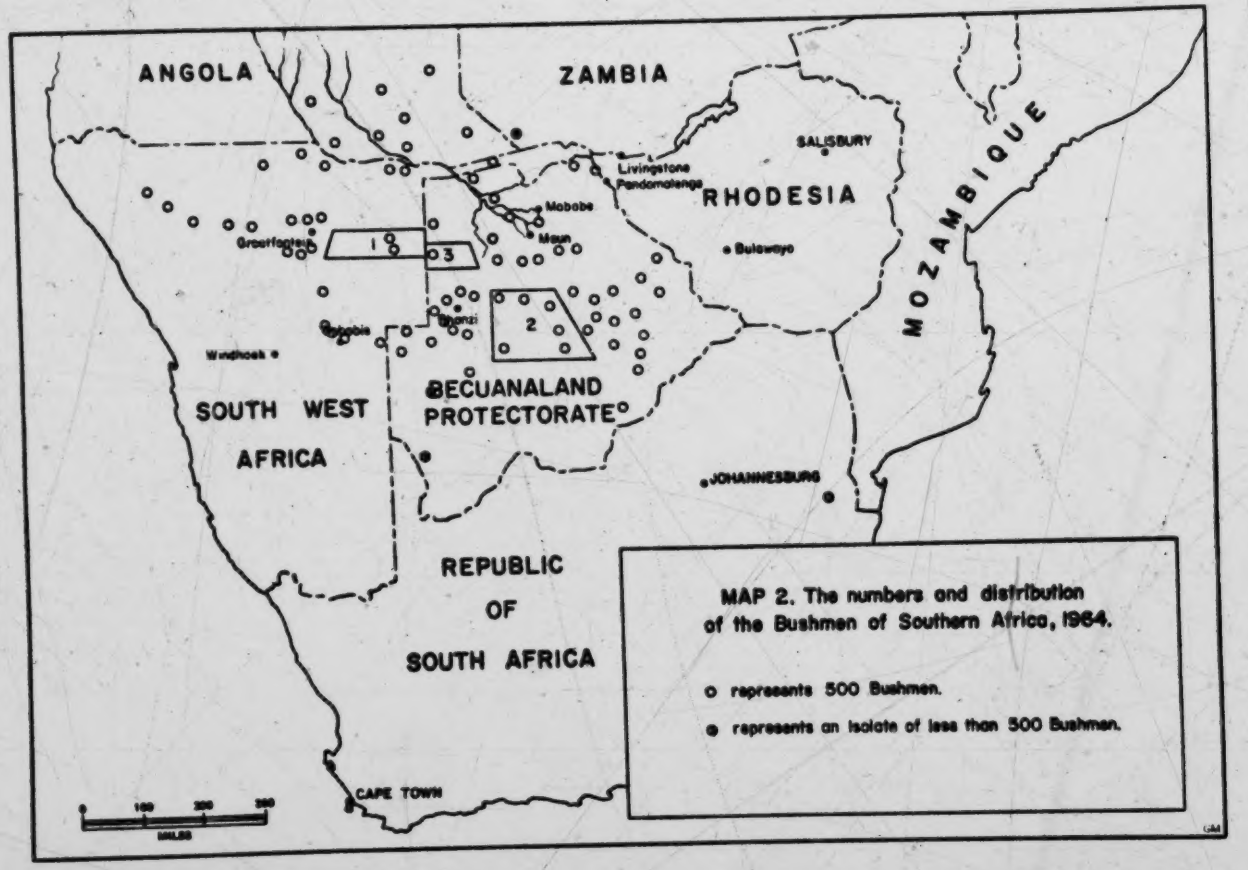

MAP 2. The numbers and distribution of the Bushmen of Southern Africa, 1964.

○ represents 500 Bushmen.

● represents an isolate of less than 500 Bushmen.

Languages

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Due to the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963), the classification and geography of the click languages has been put on a firmer footing. The author's observations confirm Westphal's scheme in its essentials, but differ on certain details.

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Among the peoples called Sarwa there are two major linguistic subdivisions:

1. A group of genetically related languages which collectively and individually are related to the Nama and Korana dialects of Hottentot. These languages are called by Westphal Tshu-khwe and were formerly known as the Central group of Bushmen languages.

2. Three languages which are distinct from the Hottentot-related group and distinct from one another. These Westphal calls "Bush A, B, and C." Bush A used to be known as Northern Bushman, Bush B and C as Southern Bushman.

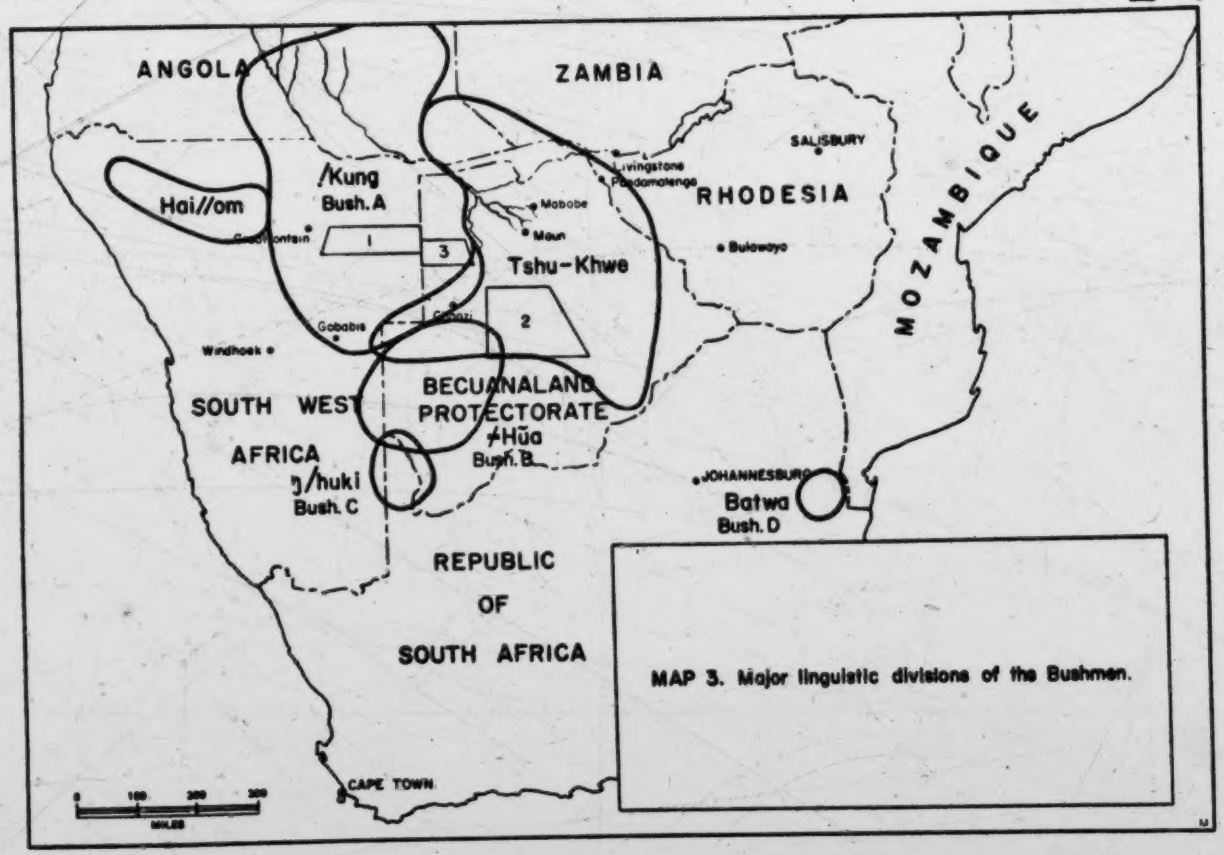
The distribution of these languages is plotted on Map 3, p. 16.

Tshu-khwe - Five related languages are distinguished here. It appears that adjacent dialects are mutually intelligible, but speakers of languages that are geographically separated cannot understand each other.

The five languages are:

XŨ - known as Kwengo in Barotseland, Hukwe in the Eastern

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]



MAP 3. Major linguistic divisions of the Bushmen.

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Caprivi, and Bukakwe in the Western Caprivi; also found in southeastern Angola.

Shua - the major click language of the Panda-ma-tenga area; also includes Danisin and other dialects of the Mababe area.

//gabake - Hiechware and Ganade are included here; spoken at Panda-ma-tenga, Nata and possibly in the Wankie area; very closely related to Shua.

Deti - the language of the Tete or Tletle people who live along the Botlete River; not mutually intelligible with //gabake although they are genetically related.

Nharo - the main click language spoken on the Ghanzi Farms; there are several important related dialects: N/hai, spoken in the Lake Ngami area,[1] //gana of Central Bechuanaland, and /Gwi of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

197 114 For a more complete catalogue of dialects, the reader is referred to Westphal (1963:248ff). His use of the term Hottentot to apply to the above peoples who are ethnically Bushmen is unfortunate, since he has not demonstrated that the Tshu-khwe peoples are, in fact, derived from the Hottentot. It is more likely that both are derived from a common

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[1] Westphal considers this as a separate language. I found it to be only a dialect of Nharo.

197 [114] proto-Hottentot, proto-Bushman ancestor.

Bush - Unlike the five Tshu-khwe languages, the three Bush languages cannot, on the basis of accepted linguistic procedures, be shown to be genetically related. The author, in an attempt to replicate Westphal's vocabulary comparisons, made a lexicostatistic trial on two languages: Bush A (!Kung), and Nharo (a Tshu-khwe language). The percentage of cognates was 11.5% but no rules of regularized sound shifts could be demonstrated between the two languages. Therefore the possibility is strong that the incidence of cognates is fortuitous or due to borrowing. The same low order of cognation was found when Bush A was lexicostatistically compared with Bush B.

The three Bush languages are:

A. !Kung; the subject of this dissertation. Also known in the literature as Kung, !xũ, Auen, Kaukau, and //au//ei; !Kung speakers extend from the Ghanzi farms in the south through western Bechuanaland and northeastern South West Africa, north into Angola.

B. ǂhũa; also known as Magong, !xõ (not to be confused with !xũ), !xoŋ, ʘaʘwani.[1] These people live south of Ghanzi farms and extend into the Kalahari Gemsbok Game Reserve of South Africa.

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[1] ʘ is the symbol for the 5th Bushman click, known as the kiss click. This click is confined to Bush B, C and D languages and therefore not considered in the linguistic sketch of Chapter I.

197 c. -ŋ/huki; also known as ≠khomani (Doke 1936) and //n-!ke (Bleek 1929). A very small group now confined to the Gemsbok Park.

The numerical strength of the various Tshu-khwe and Bush languages are estimated as follows:

Xũ (Kwengo)	2,000
Shua (Danisin etc.)	3,000
//gabake (Hiechware etc.)	10,000
Deti (Tletle)	2,000
Nharo (/gwi, //gana etc.)	9,000
Bush A (!Kung)	13,000
Bush B (≠hũa)	1,600
Bush C (ŋ/huki)	50
TOTAL	40,650

The remaining 3,450 Bushmen of the estimated total of 44,100 include over 3,000 Hai//om (Heikum) in South West Africa. These people speak a dialect of Nama Hottentot and have a tradition of hunting and gathering although only a small proportion do so today. Also included in the remainder are a small group of people around Lake Chrissie in the [101] Eastern Transvaal. They are locally known as Batwa and number [114] less than one hundred. Westphal includes them as his Bush D language and calls them "//xegwi." (See also Lanham and Hallowes 1956; Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955).

The economic position

114 Tobias erred when he estimated that in 1956, 35,000 of
224 the 55,000 Bushmen "lead a hunting and food-gathering life,
222 barely removed from that of the late Upper Palaeolithic or
161 of the South African Later Stone Age." (1957:33). The first comment concerns the numbers of Bushmen still hunting; the second the "primitiveness" of the modern Bushmen hunters.

162 Of the 15,000 Bushmen in South West Africa at least
131 9,500 are working on European farms. An additional 3,000
464 are either working for Bantu agriculturalists or practicing
648 agriculture and stock-keeping themselves. (Republic of
224 South Africa 1964:29,41). This leaves 2,500 as hunter-gatherers in South West Africa.

In Bechuanaland an estimated 16,300 Bushmen work on European farms or Bantu cattle posts. A further 2,000 are practicing a mixed agricultural and hunting way of life. The remaining 6,100 lead a hunting and gathering way of life. The main concentrations of the latter are in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (3,000) and in western Ngamiland (1,600).

The Batwa of the Lake Chrissie area have been working on European farms for nearly a century (Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955:3). The Bushmen in the Gemsbok Park are a major tourist attraction, but may do some hunting.

In Rhodesia, the Bushmen in the Wankie area are all

162 working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in
131 Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield
464 as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen
648 of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life.
224 (Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated at 200.

161 This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of
162 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty
224 percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more
222 reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely
[114] that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

162 The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial
224 and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-
222 gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most
178 isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with
184 their European ard Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of
[221] the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend
[648] part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent
[312] to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share
[464] their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the
[233] young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds on a contract basis.

000 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

177 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had
411 metal weapons, and utensils and clothing of European manu-
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291 facture for at least 40 years.

162 Among the 34,800 Bushmen classified as non-hunting,
433 there are, of course, many degrees of economic development. At one extreme, there are the second generation farm Bushmen of the Grootfrontien, Gobabis and Ghanzi Districts who have permanently given up the traditional subsistence round. Other farm Bushmen spend the rainy season living in the veld and work on the farms only in the winter dry season.

Many of the Bushmen in Ngamiland and the Crown Lands have made an excellent adjustment to modern conditions. For instance the Mababe and Pandamatenga people enjoy a settled village life combined with hunting for cash furs with rifles and steel traps. Many of the men work for hunting safaris where they have gained a good reputation as trackers and gun bearers.

433 The distribution of the various economic patterns is plotted on Map 4. There are four categories:

1. Full time hunting and gathering
2. Bantu-associated peoples with traditional lord-client relations
3. Independent villages with cash hunting and wage labor
4. European farm workers

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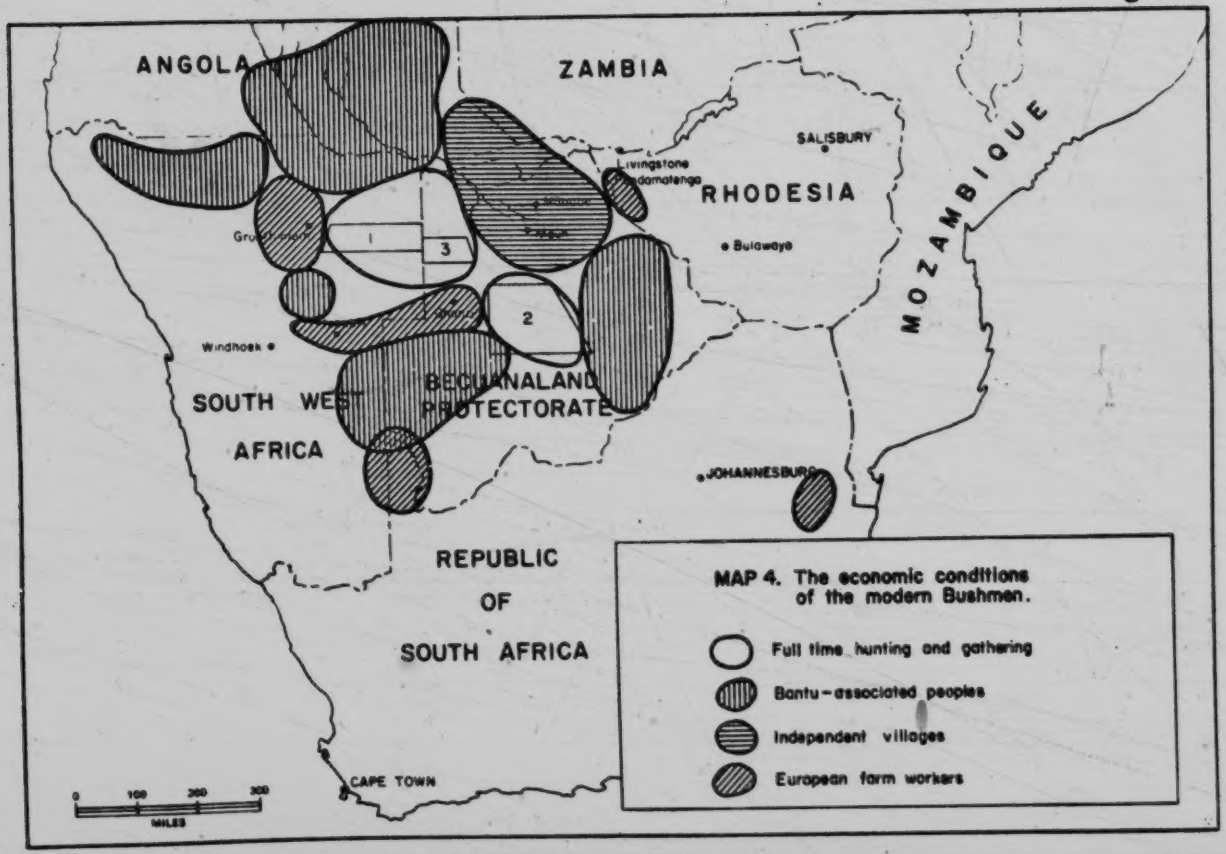

MAP 4. The economic conditions of the modern Bushmen.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

The !Kung Bushmen

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162 The !Kung are the most numerous of the surviving Bushman tribes. Of the estimated total of 13,000, about 3,000 live in Angola, 2,000 in Bechuanaland, and 8,000 in South West Africa. The !Kung occupy a remarkably large area. Their country extends from north to south for a distance of 500 miles, and from east to west for a distance of 300 miles (see Map 5).

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553 Two criteria clearly distinguish the !Kung from all other
19 Bushman peoples: their language and their unique system of personal naming. The !Kung language has phonological features in common with adjacent Tshu-khwe and Hottentot languages, such as the four click system and the strong glottal releases. However, the vocabulary and grammar of !Kung sets it apart from the other click languages. A lexicostatistic comparison of !Kung and Nharo showed a low incidence of cognates (11.5%).
[114] The grammar of !Kung has yet to be adequately described, but
[193] none of the preliminary work by Doke (1925), Bleek (1929), Maingard (1957), and Westphal (1962, 1963:244) has been able to demonstrate a genetic relationship of !Kung grammar to the grammars of the other click languages.

There are no semi-!Kung languages (although the vocabulary of the southern dialect has been influenced by contact with Nharo) and therefore a native speaker of !Kung is immediately identified as a member of the !Kung tribe. This holds

19 true even at the periphery of their distribution where !Kung speakers have been intermarrying with other Bushmen for generations.

551 553 The second diagnostic criterion is the !Kung system of naming. There is a finite repertoire of about ninety personal names among the !Kung of Bechuanaland and South West Africa. All names are sex specific, about forty-five are for men and forty-five for women. Personal names are transmitted from grandparent to grandchild according to explicit rules of precedence. First-born males are named after their paternal grandfather and first-born females after their paternal grandmother. Subsequent offspring are named for the maternal grandparents and if necessary further children are named for the siblings of their parents, again with the paternal side taking precedence. The !Kung feel that all people bearing a certain personal name are ultimately descended from the original bearer of that name. Thus all men named, for example, ≠oma, feel a fictive kinship for one another. They formalize this by addressing all namesakes older than ego as grandfather (!un!a - literally "older name") and all namesakes younger than ego as grandson (!uma - literally "younger name"). By the extension of primary kinship terms to unrelated namesakes, some 9,000 !Kung Bushmen are actually or potentially incorporated into a fictive kinship network. This network extends from the Ghanzi farms on

551 553 the south to the Okavango River on the north. The !Kung name-relationship was first described by Lorna Marshall (1957:3ff) for the Bushmen at /Gauša Pan, South West Africa. It was found in 1964 that !Kung farm workers as far away as Gobabis, South West Africa, two hundred miles south of /Gauša, possessed the same repertoire of personal names, the same rules of name inheritance, and the same method for fictively linking unrelated individuals through the name relationship.

From the scanty evidence available on the Angola !Kung (Bleek 1928), it appears that the name relationship is not operative there. However, in Bechuanaland and South West Africa the presence of the institution is a reliable criterion for determining whether a Bushman is !Kung.[1]

101 131 162 There are three geographical divisions of the !Kung Bushmen. The northern group, numbering about 4,000, live in Angola and the far northern districts of South West Africa. The central group, numbering about 7,000, extend from the western margin of the Okavango Swamp in Bechuanaland as far as the farms of the Grootfontein district of South West Africa. [241] The southern group (c. 2,000) are confined to the farms of the

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[1]Unpublished evidence on the southern ≠hũa Bushmen indicates that they possess a system of fictive kinship based on personal names, but the repertoire of names appears to be entirely different from that of the !Kung Bushmen (Heinz, Westphal, personal communications).

101 Ghanzi and Gobabis Districts and their immediate northern
131 hinterland. All three divisions speak mutually intelligible
162 dialects of !Kung but only the central and southern divisions
[241] have the institution of the name relationship.
[197]
[551]
[184] The northern division peoples call themselves "!kũ"
101 meaning "people" (Bleek, 1928:106) and many ethnographers have adopted this as the general appelation for the tribe. There has been a bewildering variety of spellings of this name[1] and it is urgent that one standard form be chosen. It is recommended that !Kung be adopted as the standard appelation for the tribe, following the lead of Fourie (1928:83) and Marshall (1957, 1959, 1960, 1962, etc.). This is not the most phonetically accurate of the alternatives, but the controversy over spelling is an academic one because the majority of the "!Kung" do not recognize this as their tribal appelation at all!

The central division "!Kung" call themselves "zũ/wãsi" (zũ = "people"; /wã = "proper" or "true"; si = plural suffix). This translates as "the proper people" or "the true people". It also has the connotation of "just folks" which Elizabeth Marshall Thomas has appropriately rendered as "The Harmless People" (1959). Bushmen of the study area objected to the

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[1] At least fourteen different spellings are in the literature including: Kung, !Kũ, !Kun, Qhung, //Khun, /Kũng, ᶜhũ, !kũ, !Khũ, :un, !Kung.

101 appelation "!Kung". They said it was a term of opprobrium used of them by the Bantu.

The southern division !Kung were the first of the tribe to appear in the ethnographic literature. They are described by Baines (1864) and Chapman (1868) as "Ma'kow'kow". Later workers have called them ≠Auin (Kaufmann 1910), //kau//en (Bleek 1928), ≠Ao-//Ēin (Fourie 1928), Makaukau, and Auen (Schapera 1930). All these forms appear to be corruptions of the name ≠d"au//ae, which is currently in use among the Bushmen of the Ghanzi District. This is the Nharo name for the !Kung Bushmen; it means literally "north side" and reflects the fact that the !Kung have traditionally been the northern neighbors of the Nharo. The !Kung commonly apply this label to themselves, saying "we are the ≠d"au//ae (north side) people".

[197] Since all three groups, calling themselves !Kū, zū/wāsi,
[184] and ≠d"au//ae, respectively, speak dialects of the same language, and since the latter two groups maintain a sense of ethnic identity through the name relation it is recommended that the name !Kung be adopted as the tribal appelation. It is the easiest of the three names to pronounce and it has had the widest currency in the literature.

[184] Of the three geographical divisions of !Kung, full time
[224] independent hunters and gatherers are found only among the
[222] central group.

184 The northern !Kung of Angola and Ovamboland are closely
648 associated with Bantu agriculturalists. In 1925 Bleek ob-
222 served that "In contradistinction to the southern !Kũ the
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439 women and children (i.e. of the Angola !Kung) are not col-
lectors of wild food. Once or twice a year when certain berries ripen, the whole tribe goes out berry picking; otherwise they live by hunting and bartering part of the meat and skins obtained for the agricultural produce of their neighbors...." (1928:108). Westphal visited the Angola !Kung in 1964 and confirmed Bleek's observations (Westphal personal communication).

184 The southern division of !Kung work on the European
221
464 farms in the Ghanzi and Gobabis districts. Many of them
648 spend the summer months in the veld, hunting and gathering, but return each year to winter on the farms (Silberbauer n.d.).

Among the central division of !Kung are found Bantu-associated peoples, farm laborers, and independent traditional hunters and gatherers. In the Grootfontein district of South West Africa several thousand central !Kung are working
131 on European farms. Along the Okavango river for 500 miles
184 of its length from Cuangar in the northwest to Sehitwa on
648 Lake Ngami, some further thousands of central !Kung live with, and work for, the Bantu of the following tribes:

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Kuangari Bunja Sambiu Djiriku	in South West Africa
Mbukushu	in South West Africa and B. P.
Bayei Batawana Herero	in B. P.

[621] These !Kung may live in independent villages near a
[224] Bantu kraal and devote much of their time to hunting and
[222] gathering, or they may be incorporated into the compounds of
[464] their protectors and work as domestic servants and farm hands.

However, all of these Bantu-associated !Kung are in contact
131 with groups of more independent !Kung living inland. Ties
184 of real and fictive kinship and marriage link the river
602 dwelling !Kung with the !Kung of the dry interior. The loca-
582 tion of these non-!Kung peoples is shown in Map 6, p. 34.

131 Map 7 illustrates how the European and Bantu-associated !Kung form a ring of population around the peripheries of the northwest Kalahari. These settled areas enclose an interior of about 25,000 square miles, one third of which is in Bechuanaland and two thirds in South West Africa. Most of

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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this area is waterless and uninhabited. In the center is a ring of pans and a series of waterholes which support at present a population of 1,200 !Kung Bushmen. They occupy an area of about 3,500 square miles (70 miles from east to west x 50 miles from north to south). This central complex of water sources is surrounded by a belt of waterless, uninhabited country that varies in width from sixty miles, on the east and north, to over one hundred miles on the west and south. Access to the interior is limited. One line of wells links Tsumkwe in the interior with Grootfontein on the west.

[491] Two rarely used motor tracks join the interior with the Okavango swamp to the east. A police patrol road cut in 1954-55 runs from south to north along the B.P./S.W.A. border. The maximum vehicle speed obtainable on these tracks is 20 mph [177] and trucks pass through about once a month. The difficulty of the terrain, the lack of farming potential, and the scarcity of water have deterred European and Bantu penetration of the area.

[114] The distinction between periphery and interior has been applied to the country of the central !Kung by John Marshall (1957) and Lorna Marshall (1960:327ff). The present usage differs from that of the Marshalls. They applied the term "interior" to the Nyae Nyae ring of pans and regarded the waterholes at /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa as peripheral. Since

131 Since the Nyae Nyae peoples are closely linked genealogically to
133 the peoples of /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa, and since their
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619 several territories are surrounded by an uninhabited belt 60-100 miles in width, it seems more useful to include all the central water sources under the term "interior" and consider all the other river dwelling and farm !Kung as peripheral (see Map 7, p. 37).

121 This description of the subsistence ecology of !Kung
184 Bushmen therefore concerns the interior !Kung of the central
433 dialect division. It is not to be taken as representative of the !Kung in general, the great majority of whom are today living on European farms or working closely with Bantu.[1] It was pointed out in Chapter I that the selection of a study site was dictated by the necessity of finding a Bushman population living traditionally and independently. It was realized at the outset that such a population was not typical of the majority of !Kung.

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[1] A further stricture must be applied to the !Kung of the interior. In 1960 a Government Station was built at Tsumkwe, S.W.A. Since then the 800 interior !Kung on the South West African side of the border have settled there and are receiving instruction in agriculture. The 400 !Kung on the Bechuanaland side of the border have not been permitted to participate in this program. Therefore, during the period of the present study, only the interior !Kung in Bechuanaland were leading a year-round hunting and gathering way of life.

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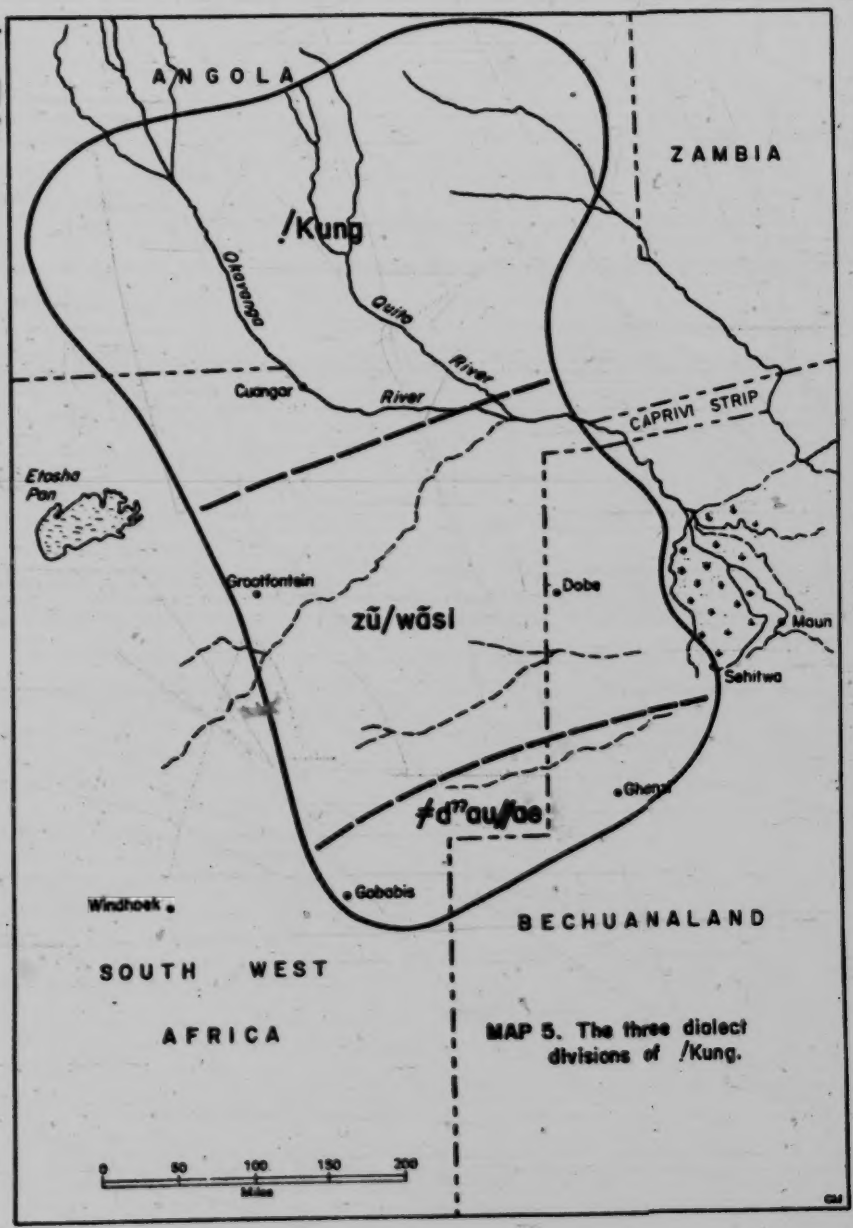

MAP 5. The three dialect divisions of /Kung.

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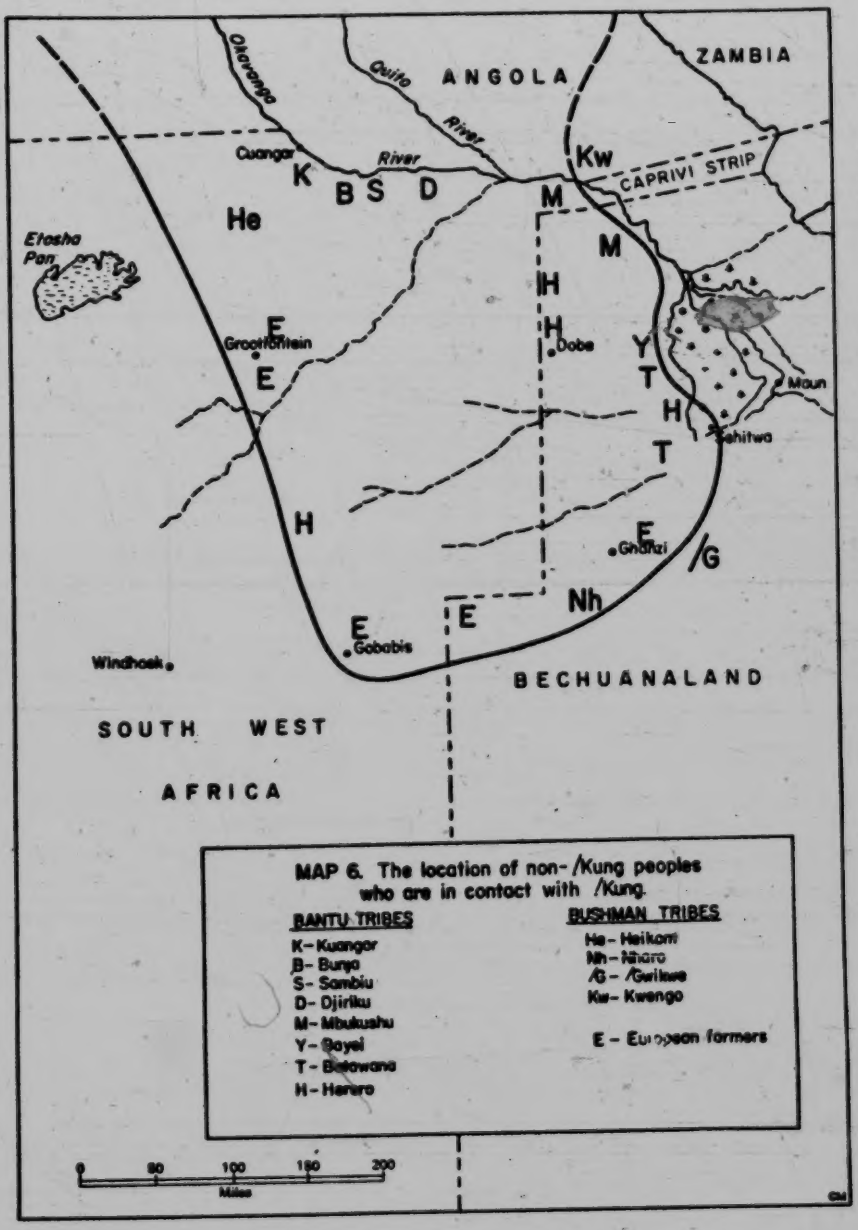

MAP 6. The location of non-/Kung peoples who are in contact with /Kung.

BANTU TRIBES

K - Kuangar
B - Bunya
S - Sambiu
D - Djiriku
M - Mbukushu
Y - Bayei
T - Biekwana
H - Herero

BUSHMAN TRIBES

He - Heikom
Nh - Nharo
/G - /Gwikwe
Kw - Kwengo

E - European farmers

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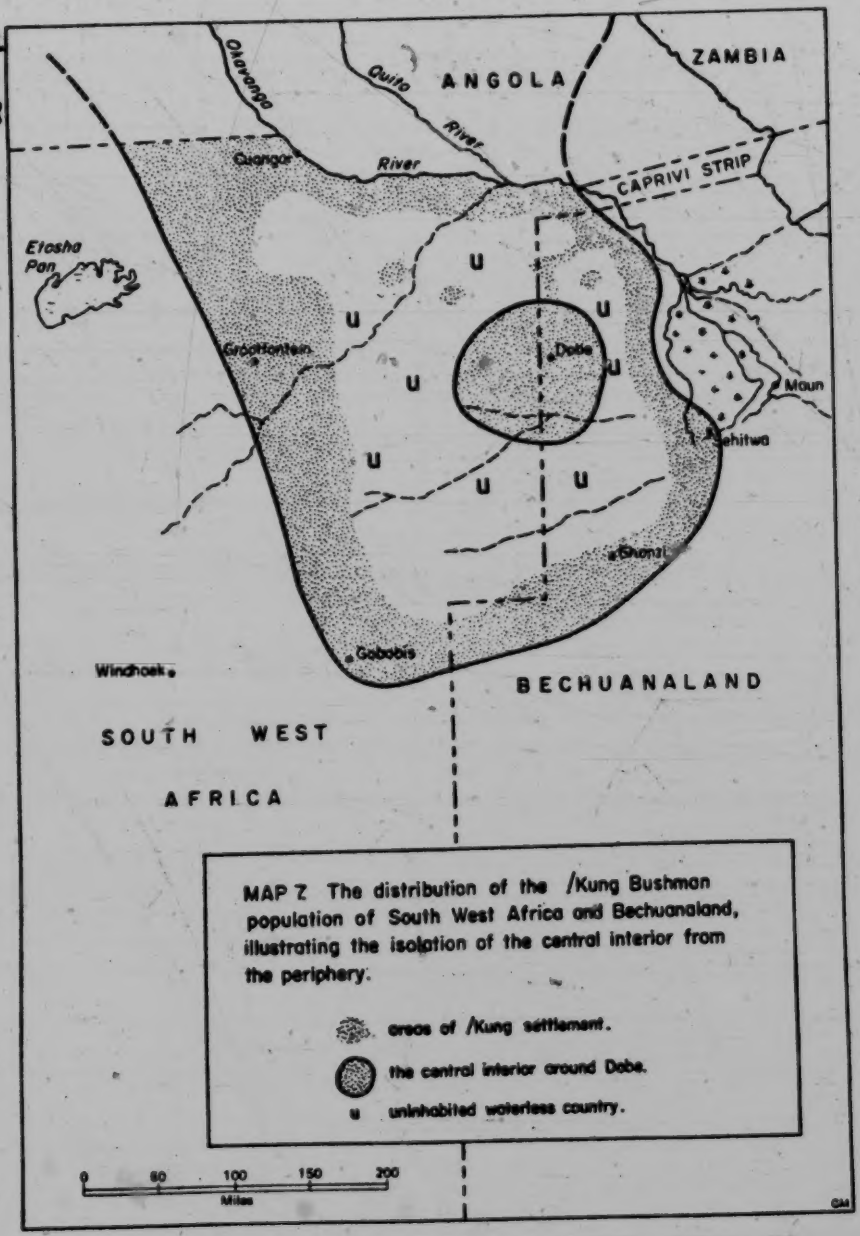

MAP 7 The distribution of the /Kung Bushman population of South West Africa and Bechuanaland, illustrating the isolation of the central interior from the periphery.

areas of /Kung settlement.

the central interior around Dobe.

u uninhabited waterless country.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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III. THE DOBE AREA: ITS PEOPLES AND HISTORY

13 [114] Dobe, a small waterhole on the South West Africa/Bechuanaland border, ninety miles west of Nokaneng, B.P., was the location of the author's main field camp. The term, "Dobe area", as used in this report refers to the country [312] within a thirty mile radius of the Dobe well. This includes the eleven permanent waterholes which support the entire population of Bushmen and Bantu in the Bechuanaland sector [224] of the !Kung interior. The Dobe area also includes a large [222] tract of ground in South West Africa where Bechuanaland Bushmen traditionally go to hunt and gather. It does not include the Nyae Nyae pans, /gam and Tsumkwe in South West Africa, or the more distant waterholes at n!aun!au, at !audum, or at Tsodilo Hills in Bechuanaland (see Map 8).

Dobe is not the cultural or administrative center of the settlements of the interior !Kung. On the contrary, Dobe is the most isolated of the waterholes on the Bechuanaland side. The term "Dobe area" is applied here simply as a matter of convenience.

To reach the Dobe area by truck, one drives west from the Batawana town of Nokaneng which is situated on the western edge of the Okavango swamps. After traversing uninhabited country for 67 miles the traveller arrives at

131 :goše, the first waterhole of the area. Continuing southwest
[133] from :goše the motor track parallels the course of a dry
river bed called the !angwadum for 23 miles until it meets
131 the South West Africa border track. Along this route from
312 :goše to the border one passes the waterholes of Kamburungu,
!angwa matse, !angwa, Bate, Kathikona, Mahopa, !Kabe, and
!thai. Each of these wells supports Bushman groups and Bantu
cattle posts. Following the border track north from its
intersection with the !angwadum one can reach Dobe which
supports a resident population of Bushmen but no Bantu.
[133] Turning south from the intersection, one crosses the low
ranges of the Aha Hills which are usually uninhabited and
arrives after 25 miles at /ai/ai, a large waterhole with over
one hundred Bushmen.

131 All these centers of habitation lie to the east and
361 south of Dobe. To the north, the nearest settlement is
n!aun!au at a distance of 40 miles and, to the west, the
nearest settlement is Tsumkwe, 35 miles away (see Map 8).

131 Eight naturally occurring waterholes support the bulk
312 of the Dobe area population which in November, 1964, stood
[161] at 763 people. There were 433 Bushmen residents, all but one
[563] of them members of the !Kung tribe. There were 340 Bantu,
eighty-five percent of whom were of the Herero tribe. The
remaining Bantu were Batawana, Mbukushu and Bayei.

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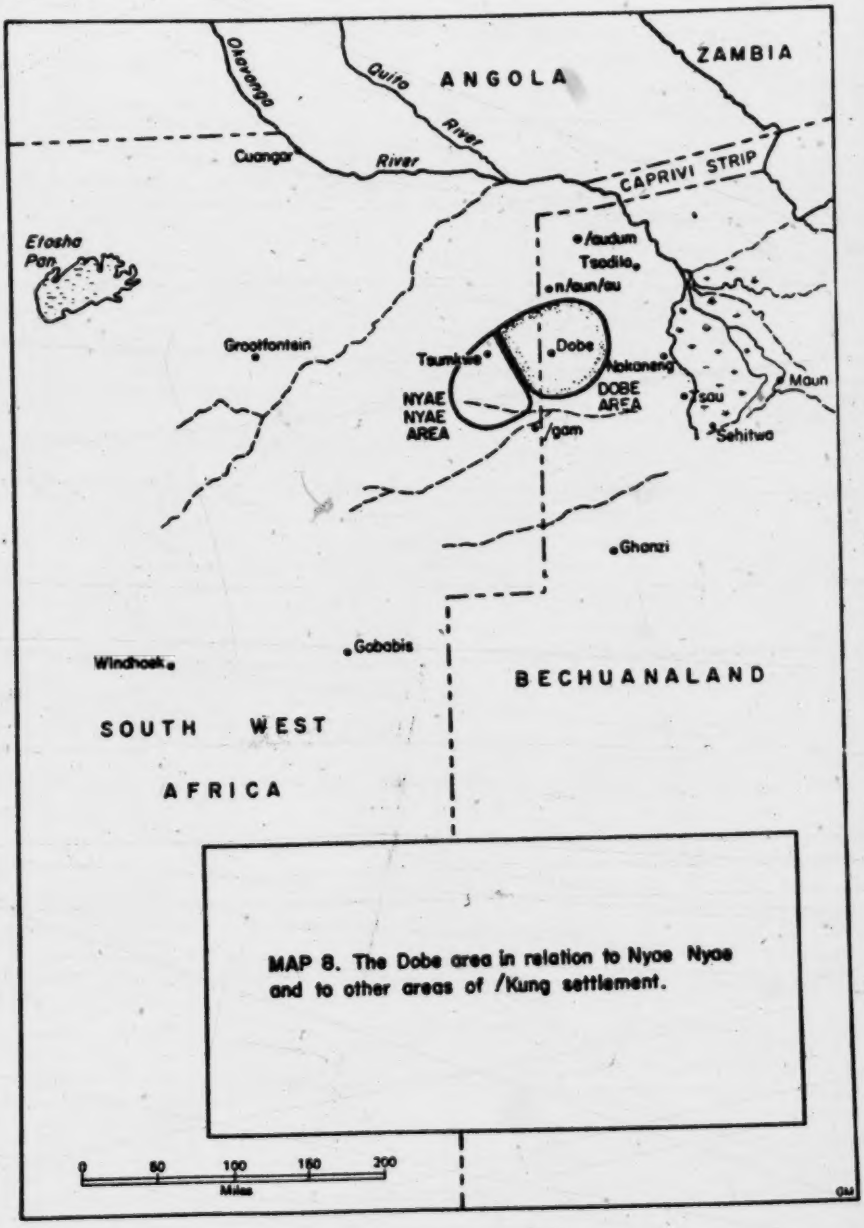

MAP 8. The Dobe area in relation to Nyae Nyae and to other areas of /Kung settlement.

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563 The waterholes and their respective Bushman and Bantu populations are listed in Table 2.

!Kung group structure

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166 The definition of the !Kung living arrangements presented the most difficult problem of the field study. The !Kung were found to be living most frequently in camps that numbered from ten to thirty individuals. But the composition of these camps changed from month to month and from day to day.

The task of defining the stable membership units was complicated by the following factors:

1. the frequent shifts of individuals and families from one camp to another,
[574] 2. the high incidence of visiting between camps,
3. the presence of long-term visitors from outside the Dobe area,
4. the Dobe area residents who were living elsewhere on extended visits, and
[563] 5. the intermarriage and co-residence of Bushmen with Bantu.

These complications are in addition to the routine changes in group structure brought about by births, deaths, post-marital residence, and the seasonal subsistence cycle.

It became evident that flexibility is the basic premise
[121] of !Kung group structure. It would therefore be inappropriate to try to impose a formal model of organization on the data,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

TABLE 2

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The Numbers and Distribution of the Bushman and Bantu Populations of the Dobe Area

Name of Waterhole and Location	Population Bushman	Population Bantu
1. !gose -- 23 miles east of Dobe	62	18
2. !angwa -- 13 miles east of Dobe	36	49
3. Bate -- 12 miles southeast of Dobe	45	21
4. Mahopa -- 7 miles east of Dobe	42	65
5. !Kabe -- 3 miles east of Dobe	8	12
6. !ubi -- 5 miles south of Dobe	52	65
7. /ai/ai -- 27 miles south of Dobe	109	67
8. Dobe	36	--
Three other wells, dug in recent years by the Bantu, support the remainder of the population:		
9. Kathikona -- 10 miles east of Dobe	1	8
10. !angwamatse -- 17 miles east of Dobe	9	23
11. Kamburungu -- 19 miles east of Dobe	1	12
TOTALS	401[1]	340

[1]The total of 433 is arrived at by the addition of 32 !Kung who were outside the Dobe area at the time of the census.

621
166 such as the patrilineal band or composite band models current
121 in the literature (Steward 1955, Sahlins 1959, Service 1962).

121 An account of the situation at one waterhole will serve
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312 to illustrate some of the dynamic processes at work in !Kung
621 group structure. At Dobe in October, 1963, there were two
312 camps, one with 28 members, the other with ten members. In
166
162 December, 18 members of the larger camp left on an extended
161 visit to Tsumkwe and the remaining ten people made a joint camp with the smaller group to form a camp of twenty people. In January, 1964, these two segments split up and abandoned Dobe altogether. The waterhole remained unoccupied until May, 1964, when the two segments recombined and were joined by 22 other people, who came in from five other camps. This group of 42 people wintered at Dobe in one camp. Then, in August the camp split up into a camp of twelve and a camp of 24. Six of the 22 people who had wintered at Dobe returned to other camps while 16 of these people remained at Dobe. The two Dobe camps (of twelve and 24) remained approximately stable for the remainder of the study (i.e. until January, 1965).

621 Thus at different times of the year the population of
312
161 Dobe was counted as follows:
162

October 1963	38 people in 2 camps
December 1963	20 people in 1 camp
Jan.-April 1964	nil.
May 1964	42 people in 1 camp
Aug. 1964 to Jan. 1965	36 people in 2 camps

621 Similar variations in group structure were observed at
312 all the waterholes of the Dobe area. However, despite these shifts in the size and composition of camps there were two lines of evidence that indicated stability. First, there was a generally acknowledged nucleus of permanent territorial residents at each waterhole. Second, when camps split up they did so consistently along the same lines of fission. The presence of these two regularities provides a basis for a preliminary account of the living arrangements of !Kung Bushmen. The complete documentation and analysis of group structure will be presented in a later paper.

[125] The starting point for this account is a single complete census of the Dobe area made by the author in November, 1964. This was a good time for a census because it is the period of
[221] the year when the camps are most stable. It was the end of the dry season when most of the Bushmen were restricted to their permanent waterholes.

621 This census showed a total population of 433 Bushmen
161 divided among 35 living units. This figure of 433 includes
162 ten individuals who died in the year preceding the census, and 32 others who were away from the area at the time of the census, so that the total number of Bushmen who were actually physically present in the area in November, 1964, was 391. The majority of the people (311 individuals, 72% of the total) were living in 15 independent hunting and gathering bands.

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161 The remaining 122 individuals were living with the Bantu. The
162 diet of these latter people consisted of a combination of
[262] Bushmen wild foods and the products of the Bantu cattle. The complete census of the 35 living units is shown in Table 3.

The 15 bands ranged in size from nine to 52 individuals. There were five small bands (of 9, 12, 12, 12, and 13 members), nine bands of intermediate size (of 17, 19, 19, 21, 22, 22, 24, 27, and 30), and one large band with 52 members. The average band had 20.7 members and the median band had 19 members. The presence of twin modes in band size (at 12 and 22 members respectively) is perhaps a function of the domestic cycle,[1] but its significance remains to be explained.

621 Each of the bands has a nucleus of individuals who have a territorial claim to the land they occupy and who tend to spend the greater part of the year in residence in their territory. These core individuals are usually old people whose descendents and their spouses make up the bulk of the
[602] band's membership. Each of the larger bands has among its members one or more families who are collaterally or affinally related to the core individuals. These collaterals and affines do not express as strong a territorial claim to the band's land as do the core individuals and they tend to move around more frequently than do the core individuals. As

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[1] I am indebted to Adam Kuper for this suggestion (personal communication).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 48]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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TABLE 3

621 Census Breakdown of the 433 Dobe Area Bushmen, by Sex, Age,
161 and Living Unit Note: Independent Bands are Marked (B).
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No.	Place	Name	Adults M	Adults F	Children M	Children F	TOTAL M	TOTAL F	TOTAL T
1.	Dobe(B)	n≠eysi	5	7	0	0	5	7	12
2.	Dobe(B)	≠qma≠qwe	7	6	5	6	12	12	24
3.	!xabe	Enamiti	3	5	0	0	3	5	8
4.	Mahopa	Enamoharadi	5	10	5	6	10	16	26
5.	Mahopa	Rotsa	3	5	0	1	3	6	9
6.	Mahopa	Kathikona	1	0	0	0	1	-	1
7.	Mahopa	Vethepa	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
8.	Mahopa	Yona	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
9.	!angwa	Isak	4	5	1	3	5	8	13
10.	!angwa(B)	bo	7	7	3	5	10	12	22
11.	!angwa	Noiye	1	2	1	-	2	2	4
12.	!angwa	Kangwadyata	2	1	1	1	3	2	5
13.	!angwa	Kamburungu	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
14.	!angwa	Vetetha	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
15.	Bate(B)	!xoma	7	8	3	3	10	11	21
16.	Bate	Liceku	5	5	1	1	6	6	12
17.	Bate	Kaku·una	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
18.	Bate	Kathedi (Mahura)	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
19.	!ubi(B)	Kamburu	11	20	13	8	24	28	52
20.	!goše(B)	/ise	7	9	1	5	8	14	22
21.	!goše(B)	/i!ay	6	5	1	-	7	5	12
22.	!goše(B)	bo	4	7	3	5	7	12	19
23.	!goše	IBatha	1	1	2	1	3	2	5
24.	!goše	Tubexo	1	1	2	-	3	1	4
25.	Nokaneng(B)	Kau≠dwa	5	6	-	2	5	8	13
26.	!gausa(B)	n≠isa	5	5	6	3	11	8	19
27.	/ai/ai(B)	//aun!a	3	5	1	3	4	8	12
28.	/ai/ai(B)	//aihan!a	2	3	1	3	3	6	9
29.	/ai/ai	Halingisi	3	5	1	1	4	6	10
30.	/ai/ai(B)	≠oma!xwa	11	12	4	3	15	15	30
31.	/ai/ai(B)	!Kum	4	6	2	5	6	11	17
32.	/ai/ai(B)	≠omažho	8	9	4	6	12	15	27
33.	/ai/ai	dumn!a	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
34.	/ai/ai	Kamakau	1	1	-	-	1	1	2
35.	/ai/ai	Kurumehe	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
Totals			131	164	64	74	195	238	433

621 territoriality and band membership are closely linked they will be discussed together in Chapter VII.

621 A note on the history of each waterhole during the period
312 1963-64 will serve to illustrate some dynamic features of
16 group structure.

1. !goše - There were three bands living at this waterhole at the time of the census, numbering 12, 19, and 22 individuals, respectively. These three bands had lived in one large camp from 1961-64. In mid-1964, they split into four bands. One group of 13 went to Nokaneng on an extended visit. The other three bands, totalling 53 people, remained at !gose. The territorial nucleus of the three bands that remained consisted of the descendents of one very old woman and her three nephews.

2. !anqwa - One band of 22 individuals was living here. The nucleus of this group included again a very old woman, her daughter and her son. Most of the members of the group were siblings of the daughter's husband. This band made a common camp with the members of the Batawana headman's staff. In July, 1964, they set up an independent camp.

3. Bate - One band of 21 members was living here. The nucleus consisted of two old women who were sisters and the two married offspring of these sisters. The remainder of the band consisted of affines of the sisters' children. In

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late 1964, this entire band left Bate and shifted to !Xabe, a waterhole about seven miles away.

4. Mahopa - In 1964, there were no bands at this waterhole although some 43 Bushmen lived here in Bantu villages.

5. !Xabe - No band had lived here for several years until the group arrived from Bate.

6. !ubi - One band of 52 members was living here. The nucleus consisted of an old man and his two sisters. The old man and 31 other members of this band alternate yearly between Tsumkwe, South West Africa, and !ubi, Bechuanaland. They appeared to be in the process of shifting permanently out of the Dobe area. The two sisters and 18 other people continued to live at !ubi.

7. /ai/ai - In November, 1964, there were five bands here with 9, 12, 17, 27, and 30 members, respectively. Each band has a nucleus of an old man or woman and their married offspring. In October, 1963, most of these people were living in one large camp of 83 members. In 1964, this camp broke up into six smaller groups. One group went south to /gam and five groups remained. In addition, a number of people came from /gam to live at /ai/ai, thus producing the present situation of five camps totalling 95 individuals.

8. Dobe - There were two bands here of 12 and 24 people, respectively. The territorial nucleus consisted of

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16 an old man and his sister. When the two Dobe groups divided, the old man and his two married children went one way and the old woman and her three sons went the other.

The remaining two bands were living outside of the Dobe area at the time of the census. One of them was the band of 13 from !goše that had gone to Nokaneng. The other was a group of 19 individuals who came from South West Africa to spend the summer of 1963-64 in the Dobe area and had returned to Tsumkwe in May, 1964.

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166 These brief notes indicate the extent to which bands coalesce and split, change waterholes and move in and out of the Dobe area. It does not take into account the corresponding
621 shifts made by individuals and families. In light of the above it is doubtful whether the use of the term "band" is legitimate in the context of Bushman group dynamics. The "band" may turn out to be an artifact of the observer's sampling technique and his theoretical preconceptions (see Chapter VII). Among the !Kung, for example, it appears that the cohesive social units are the extended families that make up the larger aggregations that have been called bands. This does not imply that the !Kung have what Steward (1955) called a "family level of organization" since the !Kung consistently live in aggregations of two to ten or more families. Until a complete analysis of the data is carried out, it would

621 seem more appropriate to use the non-committal term "camp" and discard the term "band".[1]

563 Apart from the fifteen independent camps, there were 122
162 !Kung Bushmen living with the Bantu. Thirteen Bush women were married to Bantu men.[2] Five of these women had borne a total of nine children who were being raised as members of their fathers' tribes and are therefore not enumerated in the Bushman census. Some of the women had brought members of their families to live at their husbands' kraals. Twenty-eight of the !Kung Bushmen were living with their Bantu in-laws. In all, the wives of Bantu and their kinsmen account for 39 of the 122 !Kung living with Bantu. There were no cases of a Bantu girl marrying a !Kung man.

648 Some families of Bushmen live with and work for Bantu
464 families. Five young married men were working as cattle
233 herders. They brought their wives and children to live with them. In addition, seven unmarried !Kung boys were working on cattle and were living in the compounds of their employers. Several old couples and a widower, who were temporarily not

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[1]This follows the lead of James Woodburn, who in his analysis of Hadza group structure (1964) discards the term "band".

[2]One of the thirteen had actually married a N/hai Bushman (the only non-!Kung Bushman in the Dobe area). This man was culturally identified with the Bantu.

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464 attached to an independent camp were living with the Bantu.
[233] These working Bushmen, with their spouses and families,
[162] numbered 44 people.

The Batawana headman, Isak Utuhile, was the only one of the Bantu residents to maintain a staff of retainers and their families. This sort of benevolent feudalism is a common practice throughout the Tswana tribal areas of Bechuanaland (Schapera 1953:28; Tagart 1933) but, with this one exception,
[162] is absent in the Dobe area. The headman supports four assistants (including a uniformed Bushman police constable) and their families, a total of 13 people.

Finally there was an Ad Hoc grouping of 26 !Kung who lived at the kraal of Enamoharadi, a Herero woman at Mahopa. These people lacked a territorial nucleus and therefore could
[224] not be considered as an independent camp. Several !Kung
[222] women helped with the domestic duties but the majority chose
[262] to use Mahopa as a base of operations for hunting and gathering and to drink the milk of Enamoharadi's cattle when it was offered to them.

361 Except for the women who are married to Bantu, most of
648 the !Kung remain only temporarily in Bantu villages, for periods ranging from one month to two years. Also it was observed that most of the !Kung living with Bantu spent at least half the year hunting and gathering. Furthermore many

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of the !Kung who were independent at the time of the census had a History of living with Bantu for periods in the past.

It is difficult to determine to what extent the !Kung living arrangements have been affected by the Bantu presence, beyond stating the obvious facts, that, until the Bantu came, there could be no intermarriage and no opportunities for employment. At this stage of analysis, it would certainly be premature to attribute the fluidity of band membership to the effects of contact, since there is good evidence that this flexibility is adaptive in the context of traditional subsistence patterns (see Chapters VII and VIII).

A history of contact

127 This historical sketch of the period 1879-1965 is based on the testimony of informants resident in the Dobe area. Since none of the Bushmen and very few of the Bantu had any knowledge of the dates of historical events, these were provided by discussions with the British administration at Maun and by a survey of the early literature on the area.

173 The pre-contact period - There is no evidence in their oral tradition that the !Kung of the interior have migrated there from elsewhere. This corroborates the !Kung belief quoted by Lorna Marshall that "they have lived in the Nyae
[174] Nyae area since time began" (1960:325). The interior !Kung cannot, by their own account, be considered to be recent refugees from more favorable habitats.

174
439 The interior !Kung have had trading relations with Bantu
[411] peoples on their periphery for over eighty years. The evidence
[415] for this is the presence of iron-tipped weapons, pottery and
[276] tobacco. The present-day !Kung have no knowledge of iron-working or pottery-making and they do not raise tobacco. The old people state that their grandfathers had these things
[173] before the first non-Bushmen came to the interior. Men in
[411] their 60's and 70's today can remember their grandfathers telling them that they began hunting with bone arrows and did not obtain iron for arrows until they were well into adult
[411] life. The making of bone arrow heads is still common know-
[321] ledge today but, as there is an abundant supply of iron fencing
[325] wire, none of the men hunt with bone. The art of chipping
[178] flint is not known in the Dobe area. It is probable that
[324] these Bantu goods (and also some European goods such as beads and buttons) reached the interior through Bushman trading intermediaries some years before the arrival of the first Bantu and Europeans.

173 <u>Early contacts, 1879-1925</u> - There is disagreement among the !Kung about whether the Europeans or the Bantu were the first to penetrate the interior. Apparently the first pene-
175 trations occurred during the period 1875-1890. Hendrik Van
648 Zyl, a professional hunter, is the first European known to have reached the interior (Silberbauer 1965:114-115). In the

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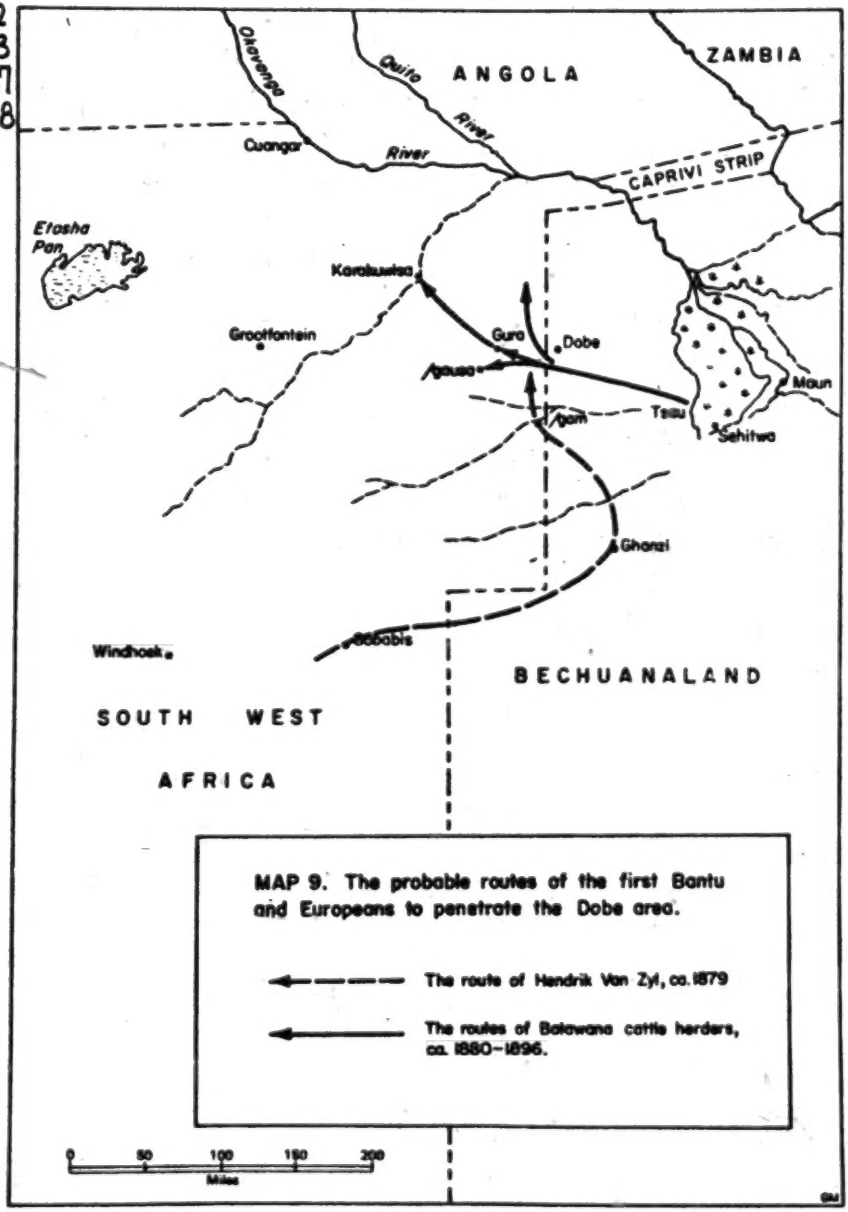

MAP 9. The probable routes of the first Bantu and Europeans to penetrate the Dobe area.

The route of Hendrik Van Zyl, ca. 1879

The routes of Batawana cattle herders, ca. 1880–1896.

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late 1870's, Van Zyl was hunting elephant and rhinoceros in the Ghanzi District. In 1879, he camped at /gam and is known [563] to have visited /ai/ai and !ubi. One of the white hunters with Van Zyl had an affair with a !Kung woman named n/ahka; the descendents of this union are today living at !ubi. These people acknowledge their European ancestry but otherwise are culturally !Kung.

During roughly the same period, the Batawana cattle herders from the Tsau area on the Okavango swamps began to move their cattle out to summer waterholes in the west. By the 1890's, they had penetrated as far west as Karakuwisa in what was then German South West Africa. They had also established cattle posts at /ai/ai, Gura, and at /gauša Pan (see Map 9).

The Rinderpest epidemic of 1896-7, is an historical landmark throughout the stock raising areas of southern Africa. At the time of the outbreak only two Batawana families were summering their herds of cattle in the interior. The Ramadjagote family was at /Gauša Pan and the Ledimo family was at Gura. The Rinderpest devastated the herds on the Okavango but fortunately did not reach the central !Kung interior. When the two families drove their cattle back to the river after the epidemic had passed, it was found that theirs were the only herds left intact in western Ngamiland.

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The Ramadjagote and Ledimo families owe their present pre-eminent position in Batawana tribal affairs to that stroke of fortune, because in exchange for the use of their breeding stock the two families were granted by the tribe two vast tracts of land west of the Okavango swamps.

The Ledimo family received rights to hunt, to graze their cattle and to collect tribute over all the lands that lay west of the swamps and north of the Aha Hills. The Ramadajagote family received a similar concession over the lands that lay south of the Aha Hills (see Map 10). Both families have exercised these rights in Western Ngamiland until recent years and one of the senior Ledimos still maintains a cattle post at n!aun!au. However, in 1965, with the election of the first democratic government in Bechuanaland, these and other traditional concessions are being abolished.

It should be added that although the British declared a protectorate over Bechuanaland in 1896 (Sillery 1952:60ff), their official presence was not felt in the Dobe area until many years later. In 1934, Captain Webb of the Bechuanaland Police made the first official tour of duty to !angwa and /ai/ai.

The next historical event to affect the !Kung of the interior was the Herero-German War of 1904-07. In 1904, the Hereros of South West Africa rose in rebellion against a

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 60/61]

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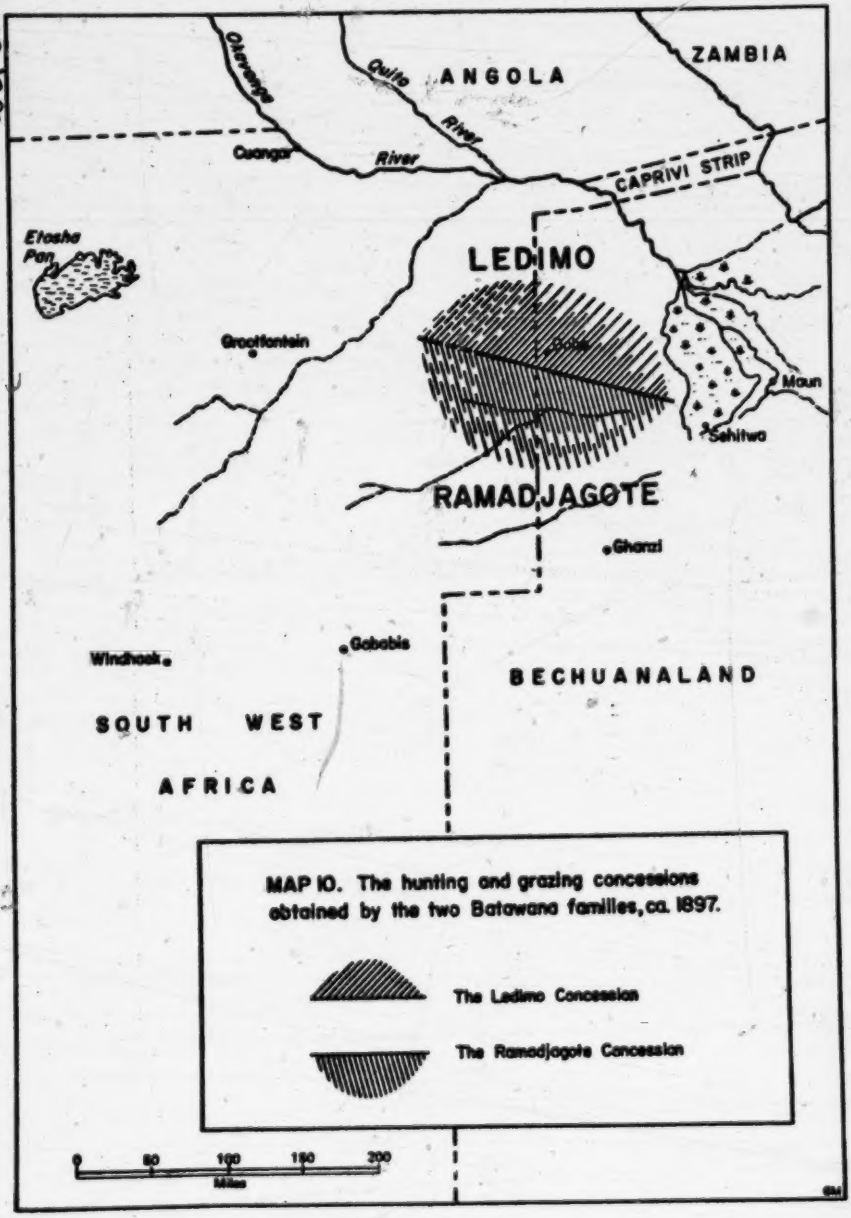

MAP 10. The hunting and grazing concessions obtained by the two Batawana families, ca. 1897.

The Ledimo Concession

The Ramadjagote Concession

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648 cruel German administration. The Germans launched a genocidal campaign against the Hereros and succeeded in exterminating the majority of the tribe.[1] Several thousand Hereros, fleeing before the German patrols managed to escape east to Bechuanaland where the British government granted them asylum. Many of these refugees passed through the Dobe area on their way to safety and the details of their flight are remembered today by the older !Kung. One German patrol pursued the refugees as far as Gura, a well situated 30 miles west of Dobe, where they found an abandoned Batawana cattle post. Thinking that they had reached the frontier of British territory, they turned back, but before doing so, they carved a boundary marker on a baobab tree, which may still be seen today (see Map 11).

At the time of the rebellion none of the refugees had settled in the Dobe area. They all continued on to the Batawana villages on the swamps where they were given breeding stock and allowed to resume a normal life. Until the mid-1920's, the only non-Bushman presence in the interior was the annual summer hunting trips led by the Ramadjagote and Ledimo families.

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[1] The ghastly details are found in the Union of South Africa's official inquiry (1918).

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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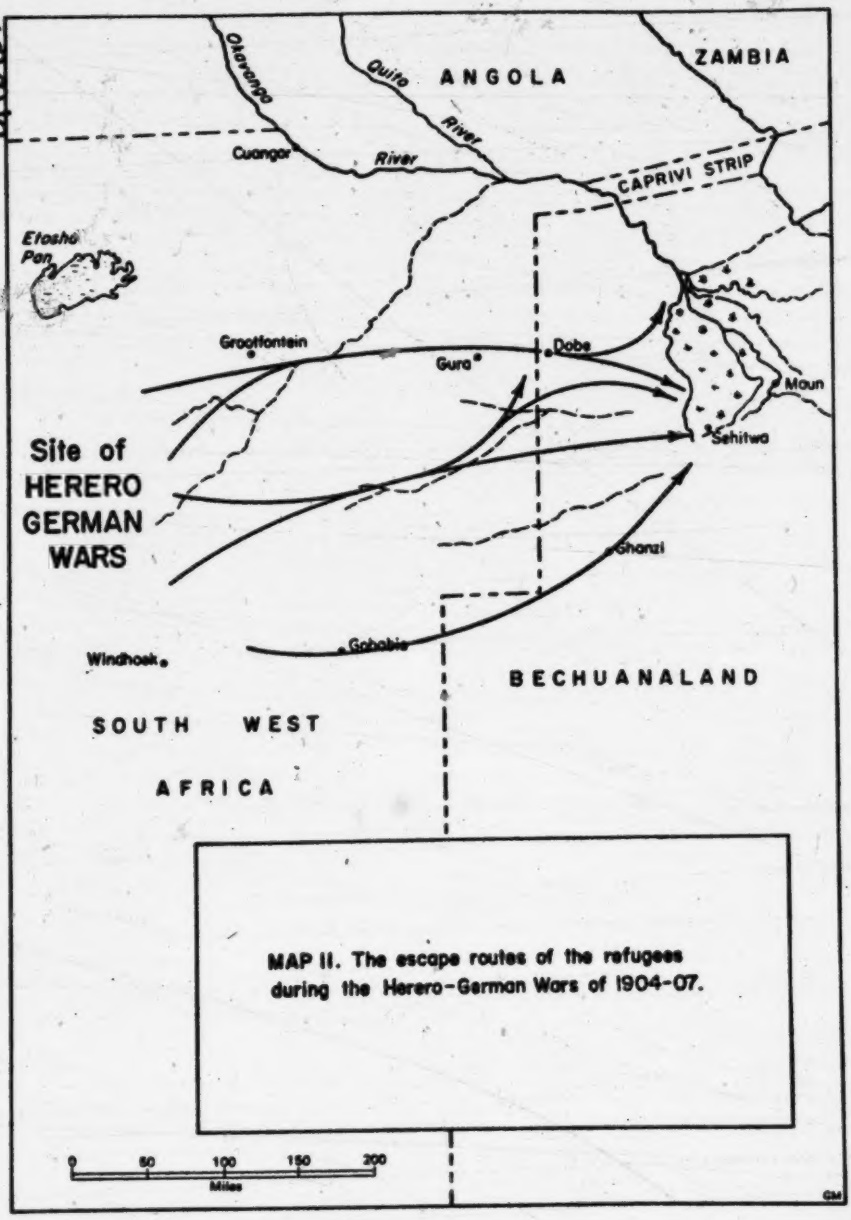

MAP II. The escape routes of the refugees during the Herero-German Wars of 1904-07.

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Bantu settlement, 1925-1960 - Around 1925, the first Bantu families came to live permanently in the Dobe area. These families and those that followed them were drawn largely from the Herero refugees who had settled in the Tsau area a generation before. They apparently decided to move up-country in order to escape the overcrowded and overgrazed conditions prevailing in the river districts. In the early 1930's, ten more families settled in the Dobe area. These newcomers deepened several of the natural waterholes and dug three new wells to bring the total number of permanent water sources to eleven. In 1934, Captain Webb visited the area and reported that the Bantu were occupying these waterholes on the Bechuanaland side and other waterholes on the South West Africa side of the border. Bantu families continued to settle in the Dobe area throughout the 1930's and 40's, until by 1948, there were an estimated 150 Bantu with 3,000 head of cattle resident up-country.

For many years the relations between Bantu and Bushmen had gone unregulated. There were reports of Bushmen stealing cattle and of retaliatory measures by the Bantu which included whipping Bushmen and coercing the young men into service as cattle boys. In 1948, the Batawana tribal administration appointed Isak Utuhile, a Mutawana man resident at .'Xabe, as the first official Headman of the Dobe area. This

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appointment was precipitated in part by the murder in 1946 of a Mukgalahadi man by a !Kung Bushman. It was many months before a police patrol could reach the Dobe area to arrest the suspect.[1] The tribal government felt at the time that a more permanent representative of their authority was required. Isak described as his terms of reference the prevention of cattle theft and the prevention of exploitation of Bushmen by the Bantu. Since 1948, Isak has administered customary law and judged disputes from his Kgotla (court) at !angwa.

The Bantu population of the Dobe area remained stable until 1954 when there occurred a major influx of Herero pastoralists from the Makakun area to the east. The circumstances that brought this move about are worth mentioning because this migration initiated a series of political events that have produced the present curious situation in the Dobe area.

In the late 1940's, there had been an expansion of Tsetse fly into cattle-raising areas that had formerly been free of fly. This forced hundreds of pastoralists to evacuate the infested areas and thus put an even greater pressure on the grazing in the shrinking fly-free areas. The Dobe area, which starts 60 miles west of the Tsetse fly front, appeared

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[1] The suspect, a young man named ≠oma, was arraigned in Maun in September, 1946, but for unknown reasons was never brought to trial.

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to offer to the displaced Hereros an attractive living space. Accordingly some 18 families totalling over 120 people with 4,000 head of cattle trekked west in 1954. But instead of settling at the Dobe area wells, these migrants "leap-frogged" these wells and trekked directly into South West Africa where they occupied the waterholes of the Nyae Nyae area. There was a long standing precedent for such a move. Pastoralists from Bechuanaland had been summering cattle in South West Africa since the 1890's, and some of the Dobe area Bantu spent the year round at their South West cattle posts.

The Marshall family had made their first expedition to the Nyae Nyae pans in 1951. At that time they found a few of the water sources supporting Bantu cattle posts. They returned on their second expedition in 1955 to find what appeared to be a major Bantu encroachment of the Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region. Their reports to the South West Administration led to the expulsion of these Herero in 1956 and the closing of the border to all movements of cattle. The Bantu were forced to withdraw to wells on the B.P. side and today the majority of them are bunched up at two wells within five miles of the border. Since 1957, the South African police have patrolled the border road and they have shot on sight any cattle that stray across the line into South West Africa.

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648 The Bushman residents of Bechuanaland, however, were not immediately affected by these restrictions. They continued to hunt and gather on the South West side and to visit their kinsmen at localities in the Nyae Nyae area.

648 <u>The period of European presence, 1960-1965</u> - In 1960, the
177 South African Government put into operation its plan to civilize the !Kung Bushmen of the interior. A government station was set up at Tsumkwe where a borehole was sunk. Mr. C. V. McIntyre, the Bushman Affairs Commissioner, took up residence at Tsumkwe. The !Kung Bushmen from Nyae Nyae were
[241] ingathered and provided with rations of maize meal. After they had been settled around the borehole a program was initiated to teach them agriculture. Because of a series of drought years this program has not met with success.

[162] By 1964, over 800 !Kung Bushmen had been settled at Tsumkwe. Less than 50 of these people had come from the
[178] Bechuanaland side. It is not clear why the Bechuanaland
[162] !Kung have not participated in this program to a greater
[224] extent, but the fact remains that over 350 !Kung continue to
[222] hunt and gather in the Dobe area and seem to indicate no intention of moving to Tsumkwe.[1]

648 The latest development in the political situation in

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[1]Some B.P. Bushmen insist that they were refused permission to live at Tsumkwe. Others say they fear to go there.

648 the interior is the construction of a cattle fence along the length of the Bechuanaland/South West Africa border. This job was scheduled to begin in February 1965, and will serve to isolate further the B.P. !Kung from their relatives in South West Africa.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

IV. THE ENVIRONMENT

131 The area under consideration is a tract of land in Bechuanaland and South West Africa. The boundaries are the Okavango River on the north and east, the Ghanzi Farms on the south, and the edge of the South West African Escarpment on the west. The area thus defined (excluding transitional zones on the edges) is c. 160 miles x 160 miles = 25,600 sq. miles.

133 The area is characterized by a series of fixed dunes running parallel to each other 5-50 miles in length oriented approximately W 10° N / E 10° E. In the spaces between the dunes, 1-5 miles in width, are basins or molapos. "Molapo" is a Sechuana word meaning dry river bed. It is used throughout the thesis when referring to the longitudinal depressions between the dunes as well as the more deeply incised river valleys that do not conform to the parallel [114] patterning of the dunes. "Molapo" is the Sechuana equivalent of "omaramba", a Herero word used by J. Marshall (1957), Story (1958), and others.

The combination of basin and dune forms a remarkably uniform pattern from north to south. At several points the landscape is incised by deeper drainage systems that expose the bedrock. The molapo dune pattern is also interrupted by

133 three rock outcrops and one ring of large pans. These features are illustrated in Map 12, p. 71.[1]

Soils and vegetation

134 The dune crests and flanks are characterized by deep
137 loose sand of red and white. These support a distinctive association of broad-leaved trees and shrubs. The molapos, both in the interstices of the dunes and in the more deeply incised river beds, are characterized by compacted grey soils. These molapos support an association of complex-leaved thorn trees and shrubs.

134 The color and composition of the soil appear to be a function of elevation. The color sequence from reddish to grey correlates with the texture sequence from loose to firm. These two sequences correlate with elevation within local drainage systems.

Thus the reddest, loosest sands are found on the crest of the dunes. The flanks of the dunes and the flats have buff white compacted soils, and the molapos have grey, highly compacted soils.

These sequences are schematized in Figure 1, p. 72.

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[1]As of April, 1965, there are no maps available for this area. Map 12 is based on the examination of aerial photographs on file at Maun, B.P. and the author's rough transects by Land Rover.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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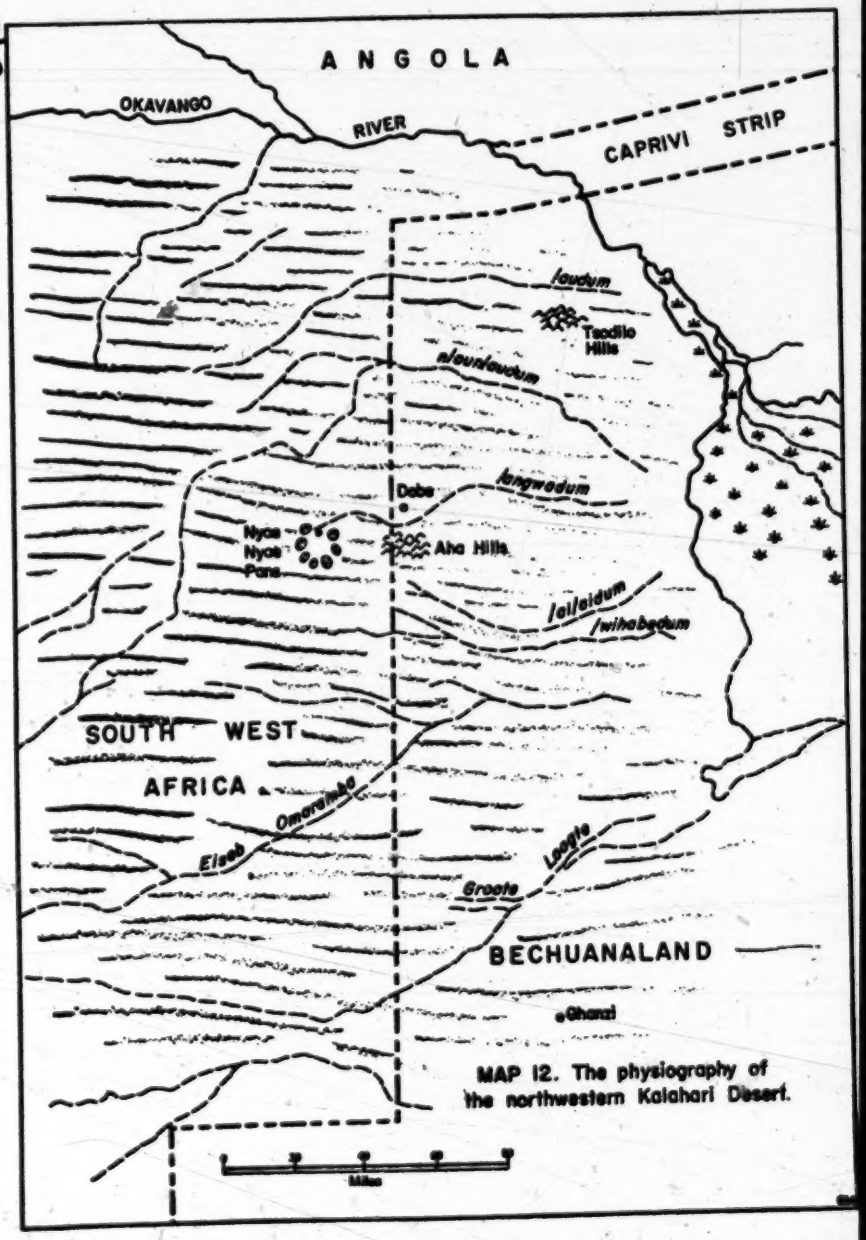
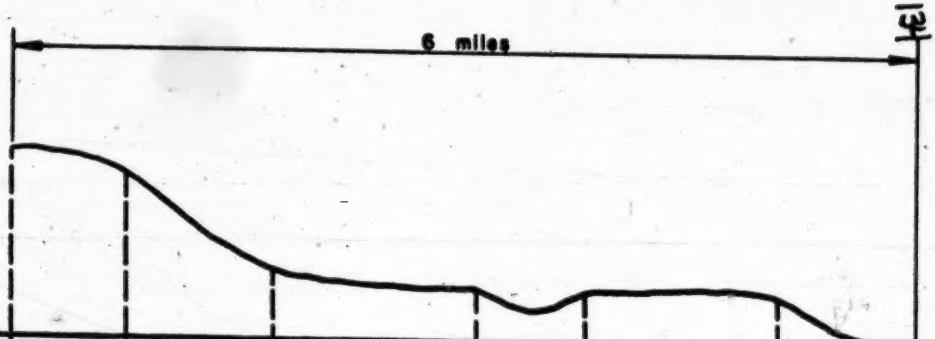


MAP 12. The physiography of the northwestern Kalahari Desert.



TOPOGRAPHIC	DUNE	DUNE FLANK	FLAT	MOLAPO	FLAT	RIVER BED
SOIL TYPE	Loose. reddish sand	Loose buff to white sands	Compacted buff to white sands	Highly comp-acted grey sand	Compacted buff to white sands	Exposed limestone

FIGURE I A schematized north-south cross-section through the Dobe Area, illustrating the correlation of soil color and texture with elevation (vertical scale exaggerated).

137 Plant geographers (e.g. Keay 1959; Cooke 1964) have divided this region in half. The southern half has been classified as "Kalahari grassland or mixed open Acacia wooded steppe", while the northern half is called "Bushveld and grassland".[1]

In fact, both types of habitat occur throughout the area: the Bushveld on the dunes and the Acacias in the interstices and river valleys.

Other workers have previously noted the significance of this molapo-dune topography. Maguire (n.d. circa 1954) divides the region into three vegetation types: the Dune association, the Omaramba (basin) association, and the Intermediate association, although he fails to define clearly the constituents of the latter type.

Since each kind of vegetation supports characteristic series of Bushman food plants and water sources, each will be considered in detail.

I. The Dune Association: Unlike the moving dunes of the Namib and southern Kalahari deserts, the dunes of the northern Kalahari are fixed by vegetation. The dunes support relatively closed forests of Ricinodendron and open woodlands of Burkea, Pterocarpus and Terminalia.

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[1] South African ecologists make a distinction between "Thornveld" with Acacia spp. dominant and Bushveld with broad-leaved forms dominant (Acocks 1953; Wellington 1955).

137 The major trees of the dune association are:

Ricinodendron rautanenii[1]

Burkea africana

Pterocarpus angolensis

Baikiaea plurijuga

Terminalia sericea

Other important constituents include:

Combretum mechowianum

Bauhinia macrantha

Ximenia caffra

Strychnos pungens

S. spinosa

Guibourtia coleosperma

[262] Ricinodendron rautanenii (the mongongo nut), the major food of the Dobe area Bushmen, is found only on the crests of [312] the fixed dunes. Because of the loose nature of the soils there is no standing water on the dunes at any season of the year. The only source of water on the dunes is the rain water which collects in the crotches of the mongongo trees from November to March. Although the volume of water stored is minute, the proximity of the supply to the nut groves makes this an important source of water for the Bushmen.

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[1]The common tree species were identified with the aid of Miller (1952).

134 II. The Molapo Association

137 a) The bottoms of the dry river beds support a rather different association from the interstices between the dunes. The river valleys expose the underlying limestone formation. This rocky surface supports trees of the following species:

Commiphora africana

C. pyracanthoides

Combretum imberbe

Hyphaene ventricosa

Adansonia digitata

b) The interstices between dunes where the soils are compacted grey and limestone is only sporadically exposed, support the following:

Acacia mellifera subspecies detinens

A. heteracantha

Dichrostachys glomerata

D. cinerea

Croton gratissimus

Boscia albitrunca

Grewia flava

c) In some molapos the compacted soils are lighter grey verging on buff. Here are found dense thickets of Terminalia prunioides interspersed with stands of Sclerocarya caffra.

137 Certain species are characteristic of all three subdivisions of the molapo association, but are nowhere dominant.

137 These include:

Combretum imberbe

Hyphaene ventricosa

Dichrostachys glomerata

Grewia flava

The most important food plants of the Molapo association are:

Adansonia digitata

Hyphaene ventricosa

Grewia flava

Citrullus lanatus var. vulgaris

The molapo zones, being the lowest parts of the landscape,
312 contain all the sources of permanent and seasonal standing water.

The permanent waterholes are confined to main river bottoms where the limestone is exposed. Most of these waterholes are natural fissures in the rock, but all have been improved and maintained either by the Bushmen themselves or the Bantu cattle herders.

The seasonal waters that exist for one to six months of each year are found both in the main river bottoms and in the dune interstices where local drainage patterns produce a catchment. These latter vary in size from small depressions 25 feet in diameter and a few inches deep, which hold water

312 for a few weeks after heavy rains, to great ponds up to 400 feet long which may hold water several months after the rains have ceased.

134 III. The 'Flats' Association: Intermediate in elevation
137 between the dunes and the molapos are plains of buff to white compacted sands. These plains or flats support a vegetation which has affinities to both the dune and molapo associations. It also contains species that are not found elsewhere.

The flats may be divided into two intergrading types on the basis of soil differences:

a) looser buff sands supporting species that extend into the dune association and also several other diagnostic species.

b) compacted white sands supporting species that extend into the molapo association as well as several other diagnostic species.

III. a) Flats of loose sand have the following diagnostic species:

Lonchocarpus nelsii

Acacia giraffae

A. gilletiae

A. fleckii

as well as:

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Terminalia sericea

Sclerocarya caffra

III. b) Flats of compacted sand have the following diagnostic species:

Acacia stolonifera var. A. hebeclada

A. dulcis

Ziziphus mucronata

as well as:

Hyphaene ventricosa

Terminalia prunioides

Combretum imberbe

Grewia flava

The most reliable marker species for distinguishing vegetation zones are:

1. Ricinodendron -- found only on dune crests

2. Commiphora africana -- found only on limestone

3. Terminalia sericea - T. prunioides -- These two species of Terminalia are sharply segregated ecologically. T. sericea is ubiquitous on looser buff to white sands but never on compacted sand. T. prunioides is found only on compacted buff to grey sands, never in loose sand.

133 The Dobe area vegetation and water: The foregoing remarks apply broadly to the 25,000 sq. miles delineated above. The Dobe area in the center of this tract contains all the major physiographic features (dunes, molapos, rock outcrop, pans) and will therefore illustrate the local patterning of

133 vegetation and water.

133 Map 13 shows the physiography of the Dobe area. The area
312 enclosed is approximately 2,700 sq. miles. The large river course (upper right) flows from west to east (it runs about once in ten years) and contains four of the eight permanent natural waterholes in the area. Three additional waterholes are located on limestone flats within a few miles of the main course. The eighth waterhole is in the large molapo at the southern edge of the map. In addition, there are three small wells which have been dug by the Bantu in recent years. All are situated in the main !angwa molapo.

Six interdune molapos are shown by single black lines. The waters of three of these may reach the main river in flood years. In most years, however, they fill internal drainage basins only. The directions of flow are indicated by the arrows. Five of the larger summer waters are represented
133 as open circles in the molapos. The map shows clearly how the main molapos and the hills interrupt the east-west parallel orientation of the dunes. The areas not represented as dunes, molapos, or hills are flats and transitional vegetation zones. It will be noticed that west of Dobe the flats extend in a broad band 10 miles deep on either side of the molapo. Elsewhere the flats form narrow belts between the dunes and molapos.

Map 13 will be used in subsequent chapters as a base map

[TEXT CONTINUES ON PAGE 81]

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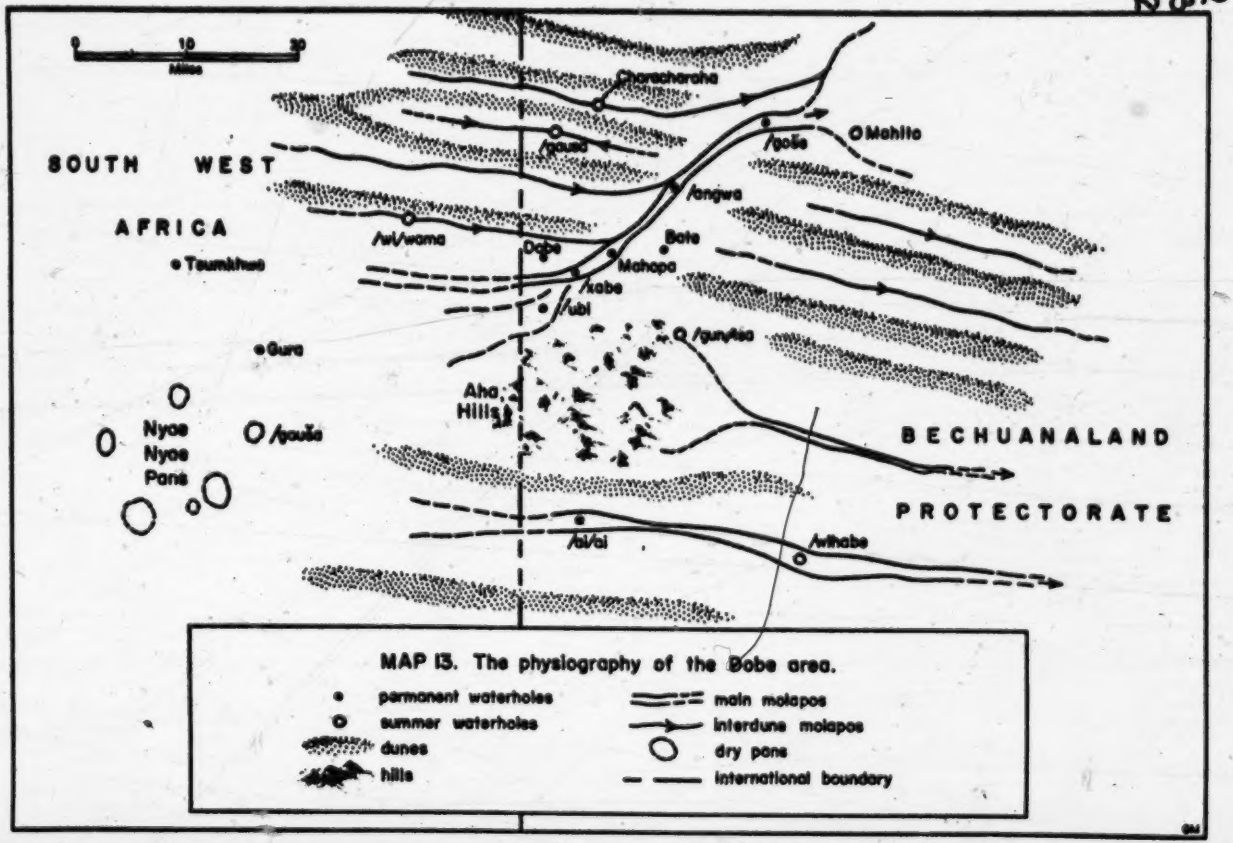

MAP 13. The physiography of the Dobe area.

- permanent waterholes
- summer waterholes
- dunes
- hills
- main molapos
- interdune molapos
- dry pans
- international boundary

133 for plotting territorial divisions, group movements, and seasonal subsistence patterns.

Fauna

136 The main fact to be noted here is the comparative scarcity of migratory large game. There is evidence for a diminution in the abundance and variety of large game over the last seventy years. There are reports that the hunter Van Zyl killed elephant and rhinoceros at /gam, 60 miles south of Dobe in the 1870's. Some Bechuana informants found rhino at /ai/ai around 1915. /ai/ai is 25 miles south of Dobe. Today elephants are only occasional summer visitors in the Dobe area (two came in 1963, none in 1964). There are no rhino within 200 miles of Dobe. Springbok were present as late as 1950 (J. Marshall 1957) but they are absent today.

Ungulates: In terms of biomass the most abundant ungulates are kudu, wildebeeste, and gemsbok in that order. Kudu were observed in groups of 3-7 in all seasons. On one occasion a herd of twenty was seen. Wildebeeste occurred in all seasons in groups never larger than eight. This is in sharp contrast to the situation 200 miles south of Dobe where herds of several hundred are common. Gemsbok were sighted singly or in pairs in all seasons.

The most common antelopes numerically were the two non-

136 migratory species, steenbok and duiker. These were by far the most frequent Bushman kills during the study period. Wart hog were very common and frequently killed. In terms of diet this is the most important mammal.

None of the other large ungulates were common or were factors in Bushman diet. Those recorded are listed below.

zebra - one sight record (group of 4), never hunted by Bushmen.

giraffe - one sight record (group of 5), three killed by Hereros with rifles, none hunted by Bushmen.

buffalo - one sight record (a single animal), a summer visitor. In some years they are said to migrate in numbers from the swamps. This migration did not occur in 1963 or 1964.

eland - no sight record; said to be present, none killed in recent years.

roan antelope - one sight record (a single animal), no record of kills. The sable antelope which is so common east of the swamps is entirely absent on the west (Reay Smithers, personal communication).

red hartebeeste - three sight records, evidence of several being killed in recent years.

springbok - present until 1950, absent today.

impala - one pair of horns found; said to be very rare.

Carnivores: Paradoxically all of the major southern African carnivores are represented in the Dobe area although

136 none of the larger ones are common. There were sight records or specimens for the following species. Those killed by Bushmen are marked by an asterisk.

lion	leopard
*cheetah	spotted hyena
brown hyena	wild dog
*caracul	wild cat
*genet	*slender mongoose
banded mongoose	*zorilla(striped polecat)
*ratel(honey badger)	*aardwolf
*black backed jackal	*bat-eared fox

The other larger mammals present were:

*ant bear - common, burrows found everywhere, one of the more frequent Bushman kills

*pangolin-(scaly anteater) present but not common

*porcupine-common, killed frequently

*springhare-very common, important item of diet

Of the small mammals, only four have been positively identified:

*common hare	galago
ground squirrel	tree squirrel

No bats or rodent species were positively identified. There is a Smithsonian collecting team in the field in 1965, making the first systematic collection of mammals in the Dobe area.

136 Finally there are three peripheral species that are resident on the edges of the area.

vervet - common at Tsodilo, not observed in the Dobe area

baboon - common on the Okavango River, said to penetrate the desert, not observed

serval - reported to be present, not seen.

136 Of these 40 odd species only ten were observed to be
262 regularly hunted and eaten by the Bushmen. These are ranked in order of dietary importance.

1. wart hog	6. wildebeeste
2. kudu	7. spring hare
3. duiker	8. porcupine
4. steenbok	9. ant bear
5. gemsbok	10. hare

136 Birds: Seventy-five species were recorded during the study. These were identified with the aid of Roberts (1957) and Smithers (1964). The most common resident species are listed here. Very common species are marked by an asterisk.

*ostrich	secretary bird
*yellow billed kite	martial eagle
red-billed francolin	Swamson's francolin
*crowned guinea fowl	kori bustard
*crowned plover	*blacksmith plover

136

double-banded sandgrouse	cape turtle dove
Meyer's parrot	*grey loerie
lilac-breasted roller	*grey hornbill
yellow-billed hornbill	cardinal woodpecker
*fork-tailed drongo	penduline tit
*pied babbler	yellow-bellied bush warbler
Marico flycatcher	Crimson-breasted shrike
*long-tailed shrike	white-browed sparrow weaver

The common summer migrants recorded were:

hammerkop	white-bellied stork
red-billed teal	white-faced duck
European swallow	

[262] Bird meat and eggs are not an important item of diet among the Dobe Bushmen. Only eight species were observed to be eaten:

red-billed francolin	Swainson's francolin
crowned guinea fowl	kori bustard
red-crested korhaan	double-banded sandgrouse
cape turtle dove	red-billed teal

Curiously, ostrich are not hunted for meat. They are tracked, [415] however, in order to find the nests. The eggshells are used as canteens for water.

<u>Reptiles and Amphibians</u>: Nine different species of snakes were seen. Only four could be identified taxonomically.

136 Poisonous:

1. black mamba
2. horned adder
3. puff adder
4. not identified
5. not identified

Non-poisonous:

6. rock python
7. not identified
8. not identified
9. not identified

Four species of the turtle family were recorded:

1. large leopard tortoise, Geochelone sp.
2. small leopard tortoise
3. not identified
4. not identified

Two species of chameleon:

1. Rhampholeon sp.
2. not identified

Seven species of lizard:

1. striped skink, Mabuyu sp.
2. Zygodactylus sp.
3. striped plate lizard, Gerrhosaurus sp.
4. marbled gecko, Pachydactylus sp.
5. land leguaan, Varanus sp.
6. not identified
7. not identified

136 Two species of frog:

1. Pyxiecephalus adspersus
2. Rana anchietae

[262] Of these twenty-four species, five were recorded as eaten:

1. rock python
2. large leopard tortoise
3. small leopard tortoise
4. land leguaan
5. the bullfrog Pyxiecephalus

[126] Invertebrates: Only a small percentage of the countless insects and other invertebrates present at Dobe were collected. One box of specimens was lost in the mail. Other identifications are pending. Below are listed thirteen species of invertebrates and a further sixty-nine species of insects.

Class Arachnida	Scorpions 2 spp.
	Spiders 3 spp.
	Ticks 2 spp.
Class Myriapoda	Centipede 1 sp.
	Millipede 1 sp.
Class Hirudinea	Leech 1 sp.
Class Unionidae	Freshwater clam 1 sp.
Class Helicidae	Land snails 2 spp.
Class Insecta	
Order Dictyoptera	
	Cockroach 1 sp.

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Mantises 3 spp.

Order Phasmida

Walking sticks 2 spp.

Order Saltatoria

Grasshoppers 7 spp.

Cricket 1 sp.

Order Odontata

Dragonflies 2 spp.

Order Isoptera

Termites 4 spp.

Order Hemiptera - Heteroptera

Shield bug 1 sp.

Aphid 1 sp.

Order Neuroptera

Antlions 3 spp.

Order Lepidoptera

Butterflies 3 spp.

Moths 12 spp.

Order Diptera

Mosquito 1 sp.

Flies 6 spp.

Order Hymenoptera

Ants 2 spp.

Bee 2 spp.

Wasps 3 spp.

136 Order Coleoptera

Blister beetles 2 spp.

Click beetles 6 spp.

Dung beetle 3 spp.

Poisonous beetles 2 spp.

Other beetles 2 spp.

136 262 Insects do not play an important role in the diet. One species of antlion (determination pending) had an annual outbreak around the end of November. Tens of thousands pupate within a 36 hour period and the Bushmen eat them by the hundreds. In 1963, the outbreak occurred on November, 24, in 1964, on December 3.

Three different species of click beetle were eaten in March, 1964. These were considered a delicacy rather than a staple. The Bushmen said that certain grasshoppers and caterpillars were edible but they were not observed to eat them.

262 237 Honey is considered by all authors to be a major Bushman food (Bodenheimer 1951). It is curious therefore that it was rarely observed to be collected or eaten.

136 278 By far the most important insects for subsistence are the two[1] species of beetle used by the Bushmen for poisoning

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[1]Possibly as many as eight species of poison grub are used by the !Kung Bushmen! Koch (1958) collected five new species that the !Kung said were used for poisoning arrows. (See Shaw et al., 1963).

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278 arrows: Diamphidia nigro-ornata and Polycada flexuosa. These are described in Chapter VI.

Climate

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[133] The Kalahari Desert has a mean elevation of 3,000 feet above sea level and lies within the summer rainfall area of Southern Africa. These factors contribute to a climatic regime that is characterized by hot summers with a three to four month rainy season, and by moderate to cool winters without rainfall.

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805 Five seasons may be distinguished in the Dobe area. Most Bushmen recognize five (although some divide the year into eight or more seasons) and their scheme will be followed here.

Seasons

1. !huma (spring rains) -- The Bushman year begins in October or November with the onset of the first rains. These consist of light convectional thundershowers that often fall on one area and miss other areas entirely. The first rains have the effect of triggering growth and reproduction in the flora and fauna and may overnight transform the landscape from a parched and dry state to one of lush greenery.

2. bara (main summer rains) -- These rains fall from December to March and coincide with the season of plentiful food. There is a wide variation from year to year in the

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805 dates of onset and termination of the main rains. For instance, in 1963-64, the major rains were concentrated in an eight-day period in late November and early December and were very light during the next three months. In the following rainy season, 1964-65, the major rains came later. They were only just beginning when we left the study area in [137] January, 1965. During the period of the main rains, the [312] major summer foods (fruits, berries, melons) make their [262] appearance, and there is standing water in the molapos far from the permanent wells.

3. ≠obe (autumn) -- The autumn season is brief. In [312] 1964, it fell in April after the rains had ceased. The weather remains warm and the high evaporation rates rapidly dry out the pools of summer water.

4. :gum (winter) -- This cold dry season extends from May through August. It is heralded by a sharp drop in nightly temperatures and during 1964 the Dobe area experienced six weeks of freezing or near-freezing nights in June and July. The days are clear and, by tropical standards, cool, often characterized by strong dessicating winds from the south and west with gusts estimated at up to 40 knots. [312] Water is available only at the permanent wells and plant foods [262] become increasingly scarce as the season progresses.

5. :ga (early spring) -- This season begins in late

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[262]

August with a rapid increase in daily temperatures and ends in October or November with the onset of the first rains. It is a hot dry period during which water and food supply reach their annual low levels. However, the increasing day-length appears to prepare the flora and fauna for the season of reproduction which is triggered by the first rains.

Rainfall

Until 1961 there was no weather station in the central !Kung interior. In that year a rain gauge and other recording instruments were established at Tsumkhwe, South West Africa, a government station 35 miles west of Dobe. The data from this station are not available to the author. The only other sources of rainfall data are the author's fifteen-month series of measurements made at Dobe (1963-64) and the long-term records from stations on the periphery of the Kalahari. The peripheral stations and their rainfall are listed below:

South West Africa

Epukiro - (200 miles southwest of Dobe) - 13.2 inches per annum.

Grootfontein - (200 miles west of Dobe and 1,000 feet higher in elevation) - 17.3 inches per annum.

Bechuanaland Protectorate

Ghanzi - (175 miles south of Dobe) - 18.5 inches per annum.

132 Maun - (175 miles east of Dobe) - 18.6 inches per annum.

The rainfall recorded at Dobe for 1964 was only 6.9 inches. This is a much lower figure than that from any of the peripheral stations but it is within the range of annual rainfall estimated by the Marshalls. During their several expeditions to the central interior from 1951-59, they estimated that the annual rainfall varied between 6 and 10 inches (L. Marshall, 1965).

The period 1963-65 was one of severe drought in Bechuanaland. There were many instances of crop failures and drying up of waterholes throughout the Protectorate. Although it is not possible to judge accurately without comparative data for other years, it is probable that the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen experienced an unusually difficult subsistence situation during the period of the author's resi-
[262] dence. Because the Bushmen subsist on hardy wild foods which are drought-resistant, they did not suffer the hardships experienced by their Bantu neighbors whose crops failed three years in succession. However, it is possible that the Bushmen had to work harder, walk farther and dig deeper in 1963-64, than they would have had the rainfall been more abundant. This possibility should be kept in mind when evaluating their annual subsistence cycle (Chapter VIII).

The monthly record of rainfall at Dobe is shown in Figure 2, p. 94.

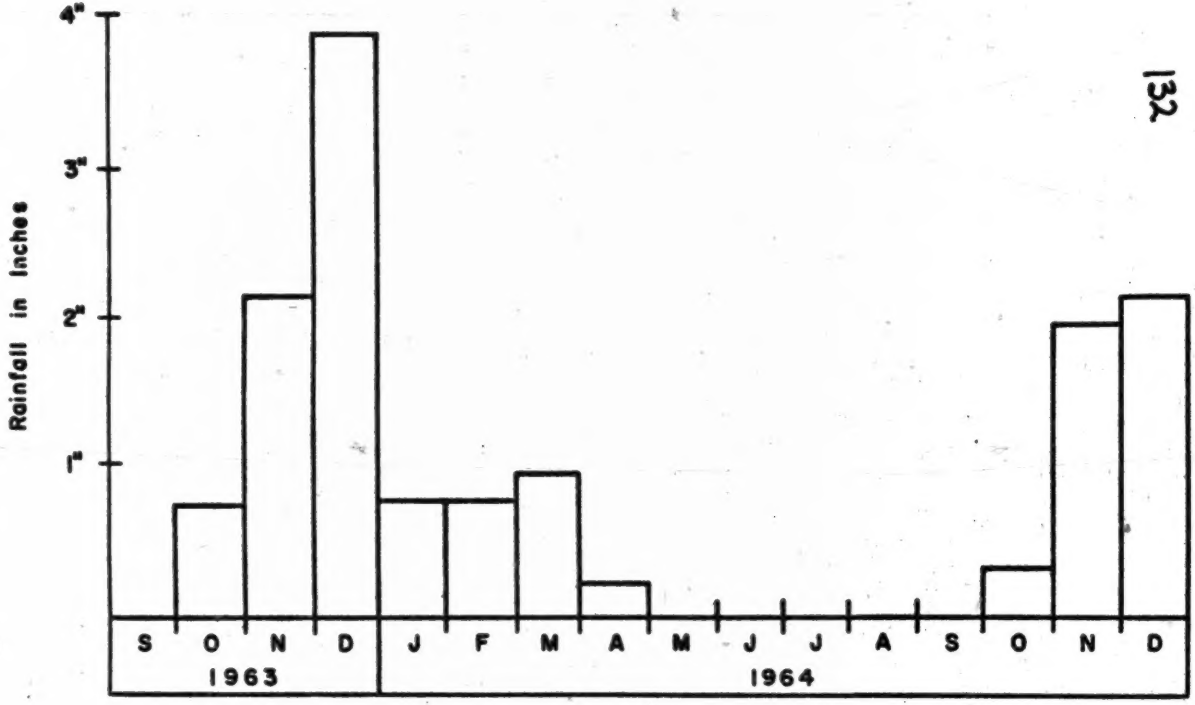

FIGURE 2. Rainfall at Dobe Bechuanaland, September 1963 through December 1964

Temperature

132 The records of daily temperatures maintained by the author are incomplete. The temperature data for six repre-
[126] sentative months are shown in Table 4. Using a standard Minimum-Maximum dry-bulb thermometer, the author recorded the lowest and highest temperatures in each twenty-four hour period. Column 1 of the table shows the average of all the daily minima recorded in each month and column 2, the average of all the daily maxima. Columns 3 and 4 show, respectively, the lowest and highest single recordings in each month. Column 5 shows the average diurnal range from low to high in each month. This figure was calculated by subtracting the mean low from the mean high for each month and it is rounded out to the nearest degree.

The critical temperature datum in terms of subsistence ecology is the daily maximum because this is an indicator of the heat conditions under which the people must hunt and gather. Walking in the sun on a day when the shade temperature is over 100°F imposes a much greater burden on the individual's fluid metabolism than does walking in the sun when the shade temperature is under 80°F. Consequently, a Bushman's daily water requirements are much greater in summer than in winter. The water/subsistence problem is considered in detail in Chapter VIII.

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TABLE 4

MONTHLY RECORDS OF TEMPERATURE AT DOBE

BECHUANALAND 1963-64 (In Degrees Fahrenheit)

	mean low	mean high	record low	record high	average diurnal range
Spring					
October 1963	60.1	99.0	49	108	39
November 1963	62.9	96.3	61	102	33
Summer					
February 1964	66.8	100.0	63	105	32
Autumn					
April 1964	59.0	93.9	46	100	35
Winter*					
June 1964	30.4	78.4	26	84	48
July 1964	34.8	76.8	25	85	42

*includes six weeks of freezing or near-freezing nights.

Day Length

132 [131] The Dobe area is situated at 20° south latitude and there is an annual variation in day length at this latitude of slightly less than two hours. In mid-winter (June-July) the sun rose about 7:00 a.m. and set at 6:00 p.m. In mid-summer the sun rose about 6:00 a.m. and set at 7:00 p.m. This seasonal variation plus a corresponding variation in temperature had a noticeable effect on the activity patterns of the Bushmen. During the winter they arose late and stayed around their camp fires until mid-morning. They concentrated their subsistence activities in the warmer middle hours of the day (10:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.). On the other hand, during the hot summer days they adopted a "crepuscular" activity pattern. They arose at 6:00 a.m. and worked until 10:00 a.m. Whenever possible they spent the hottest mid-day hours resting in the shade. There was a second period of activity during the cooler hours of the evening (5:00-7:30 p.m.).

[484] When long hikes were undertaken the Bushmen had no alternative but to travel during the hottest hours of the day. Even during the hot dry season (September-October) they were never observed to hunt or travel at night.

V. SUBSISTENCE ECOLOGY: AN OVERVIEW OF PLANT AND ANIMAL RESOURCES

121 The concept of a hunting and gathering way of life has assumed a misleading connotation in the ethnographic literature. The term has come to imply a random precarious existence searching for food, an eking out of subsistence [433] of odds and ends. Since the present study is the first detailed analysis of the food habits of non-agricultural people, it should be stated at once that the Bushman subsistence is based on a systematic strategy of exploiting abundant food 222 resources. Very little of their food gathering is left to chance. Their knowledge of the local environment, of the habits of game and the growth phases of food plants is virtually exhaustive. In other words, the Bushmen know where the food is at each season of the year and they arrange their schedule of activities to take maximum advantage of these resources. They do not allow themselves to get into difficult situations, and even during the season of scarcity they have available several alternative strategies of getting food and water.

262 The security of their life is in part due to the fact 137 that the basis of their subsistence is plant foods which are 136 abundant, local and predictable. Meat is of secondary importance in the Bushman diet. Game animals, by contrast to

262 plants, are scarce and unpredictable and people never depend
137 on meat for their basic subsistance. Therefore the well-
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433 being of the Bushmen as a population can be viewed as the product of two factors: the abundance of food resources in their environment, and the intelligence and sophistication which informs their exploitation of these resources.

512 Although the getting of food is the major activity of
433 Bushman life and is a major focus of Bushman thought, the greater part of the waking life of the Bushmen is given over to social, religious and trading activities that are largely independent of the food quest.

Their emphasis on non-subsistence activities becomes clear when daily records are kept of the activities of the
[126] members of a camp. For example, a diary of activities was kept for the Dobe camp during July, 1964. This record was made during mid-winter, a season of comparative scarcity. It
[462] was found that the 23 adults of this camp spent less than half of their days in subsistence activities, an average of 23% of the time for the women and 40% of the time for the
[574] men. The majority of their waking hours were spent visiting
[521] other camps, entertaining visitors, resting, talking, hut building, and making tools, clothing, and ornaments.

Plant Resources

137 There are well over 200 species of plants and 220 species
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136 of animals named and known by the Dobe area Bushmen. Of
[126] these 420 species, 350 species were collected and identified
433 by the author. Two-thirds of the plant species and half of
824 the animal species are utilized by the Bushmen. Of these,
825 they classify 85 species of plants and 54 species of animals as edible. It is therefore evident that the Bushmen have a remarkably broad subsistence base. On closer examination, however, one finds that the Bushmen are highly selective in their food habits. In fact, only nine species of plants constituted about three-quarters of the total vegetable diet; and one species alone, the mongongo nut, accounted for at least half of the total. Furthermore, of the 54 animal species eaten, only 17 species were consistently hunted.

824 A plant species may be regarded by the Bushmen as a
262 major food for one or more of several reasons. Certain foods are prized because of their abundance or because of the long season during which they are available. Other foods are prized because of the ease with which they are collected. For this reason fruits are generally more popular than roots since the latter have to be dug out of the ground. Then there are foods which are especially good tasting and/or believed to be highly nutritious. The various plant foods are evaluated pragmatically and rationally and few species
825 are restricted by magico-religious taboos. This is in sharp
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825
262 contrast to the evaluation of animal foods all of which fall under taboos of varying strictness.

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262 By using these criteria of abundance, duration of eating season, ease of exploitation, tastiness and nutritional value, the Bushmen have arranged the universe of edible plants hierarchically in terms of the overall desirability of each species as food.

This scheme divides the 85 edible species into six classes:

I.	Primary	1 species
II.	Major	8 spp.
III.	Minor	14 spp.
IV.	Supplementary	32 spp.
V.	Rare	13 spp.
VI.	Problematic	17 spp.
TOTAL		85 species

I. Primary food - All Bushmen of the Dobe area agree that their primary food is the nut of the mongongo (mangetti) tree: Ricinodendron rautanenii. This food rates high on all the criteria of desirability described above. It is superabundant (millions of nuts rot on the ground each year for want of eating); it is eaten in all months of the year; it is easy to collect, has a delicious taste, and is highly

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824 nutritious.[1]

It should be added that meat is considered by all the Bushmen as a primary food. Informants agreed that an ideal diet should consist primarily of meat and mongongo nuts. In actual practice this ideal is not always attained.

II. Major foods - After Ricinodendron there are eight species that Bushmen consider as major foods but none of these rate high on all five criteria of desirability. There are three species which are superabundant in quantity and delicious to the taste, but are available for only a short period of the year. They flourish during the rains but by winter, three months later, they have become shrivelled and dried out. The three summer species are: Grewia flava, the morethlwa berry; Ximenia caffra, the sour plum; and Citrullus
[312] lanatus, the famous Tsama melon. The latter species also serves as an alternative source of water but this is not important in terms of food strategy because the season of Tsama melons coincides with the season of abundant standing water. Among the /gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, the Tsama melon is a more important source of water because it

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[146] [1]The nut of Ricinodendron has been chemically analyzed (quoted in Watt and Breyer-Brandwijk 1962:428). The kernel of the nut was found to yield 60%, by weight, of a quick-drying fixed oil, rich in proteins. The fruit of the nut, which is also eaten by the !Kung Bushmen, yielded, among other constituents, 31% saccharose and 7.9% protein.

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persists into the winter dry season (Silberbauer 1965).

The fruit of the baobab tree, Adansonia digitata, is another of the major foods. It is most important during winter but tends to rot if left on the ground and therefore cannot be eaten in all months of the year.

The vegetable ivory palm, Hyphaene ventricosa, has two edible parts. The fruit of the mature form is abundant but yields very little of food value. The dwarf form of the palm lacks fruit but the heart of the stalk is an important item of diet. This latter food has two distinct disadvantages. It is difficult to collect because the stiff palm fronds must [164] be laboriously hacked away to reach the heart. Also those who eat its fibrous pulp complain of stomach cramps and diarrhea. Therefore it is eaten only when more desirable foods are not available.

The nut of the morula tree, Sclerocarya caffra, is a delectable food, even tastier than the mongongo nut. But it rates low on the important criterion of ease of eating. The nut meats are small and crumble easily; so they must be carefully picked out of the shell with a thorn. This operation requires patience and it was observed that the women ate many more morula nuts than did the men. The morula tree is also important in subsistence because one of the species of beetle used in arrow poison feeds on its leaves.

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Bauhinia esculenta, the "Tsi bean", ranks with Ricinodendron as the primary food of the Nyae Nyae Pan area (L. Marshall 1965), where both the beans and roots are eaten. In the Dobe area, however, this species of Bauhinia has a spotty distribution. In order to reach the large groves, the Dobe area Bushmen must travel long distances to the borders of the Nyae Nyae area. Because of this factor, the "Tsi bean" is not popular in the Dobe area, where the alternative primary food, Ricinodendron, is locally abundant.

[312] The last of these eight major species is, in a sense, the most important, not because of its abundance or its food value (it is neither plentiful nor nutritious) but because of its water storage properties. This is the plant, Fockea monroi, the root of which may contain up to a pint of water. At the end of the dry season when food has become exhausted within a walking radius of the permanent waterholes, people often move into the waterless bush where food is still plentiful. Here they are able to live for one or two weeks by digging out and drinking the juice of the Fockea roots.

It may be useful to think of Ricinodendron and Fockea as the "alpha" and "omega" of the Bushman food plants. The first, Ricinodendron, is the food that carries the Bushmen through the months and years, while the second, Fockea, is the critical plant that enables the Bushmen to eat well through

the short but severe dry hot season.

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III. Minor foods - Next in importance to these nine species is a series of 14 species which rate high on one or two of the criteria of desirability. These include seven species of edible roots and bulbs (including Coccinia spp., Eulophia spp., Lapeirousia spp., Vigna spp., and Walleria spp.) which taken individually are not important but as a class they become a major item of diet during the winter dry season. This is the time of year when the more abundant summer fruits and melons are not available. The winter foods include as well the edible gum from the trees Terminalia sericea and Acacia mellifera.

Five of these minor foods occur only during the summer. These include the berries of three species of the genus Grewia, and the edible leaves of the species Dipcadi glaucum and Talinum crispatulatum.

All of the species of Class III are seasonally limited. When available, each species was eaten several times a week. On this basis they can be distinguished from the major foods of Classes I and II which were eaten daily.

IV. Supplementary foods - There were 32 species of plants which were supplementary to foods of Classes I, II, and III, or which were eaten when the more desirable foods had become locally exhausted. The list comprises ten species

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262 of fruits and berries (including five species of Grewia), two species of melon, one species of leafy green, ten species of edible gum, and nine species of roots. The roots taken as a class were especially important during the winter season when the fruits and berries were not available. In general, the foods of Class IV were both less abundant and less tasty than the corresponding foods of Class III.

V. Rare foods - This class of foods includes 13 species which were observed to be eaten only on a few occasions. Nevertheless, several of these were classified as important foods by the Bushmen. For instance, the fruit of Guibourtia coleosperma was considered excellent eating, but this tree bears fruit only once in several years. Had the study been carried out during a year when Guibourtia was in fruit, it might have ranked higher. Maguire (n.d.), who did botanical research near Dobe in 1952-53, has listed Guibourtia as a major food.

Most of the foods in Class V were locally uncommon. These include two species of fruit, eight species of root, and the curious parasitic plant Hydnora sp. which bears an underground fruit (Story 1958:19-20).

VI. Problematic foods - Finally there are seventeen species which the Bushmen said were edible but which were not observed to be eaten during the study period. Some of these

824 262 such as Boscia albitrunca and Bauhinia macrantha did not come into fruit in 1963-64 because of the drought. The majority were not eaten because of their unattractive taste and because more desirable foods were available.

These 85 species are listed alphabetically by class in Table 5, pp. 108-110.

The way in which the Bushmen arrange these 85 plants in order of their importance as foods suggests a productive analogy to the way they utilize space in subsistence activities.

262 222 The Bushmen typically occupy a camp for a period of weeks and eat their way out of it. For instance, at a camp in the mongongo forest, the members of the camp will exhaust the nuts within a one-mile radius the first week of occupation, within a two-mile radius the second week, and within a three-mile radius the third week. The longer a group lives at a camp, the farther they must travel each day to get food. This is a feature of daily subsistence that occurs at both winter and summer camps. For instance, at the Dobe winter camp, in June the gatherers were making daily round trips of six to nine miles to reach the mongongo nuts. By August the daily round trips had increased to twelve miles.

This progressive increase in walking distance occurs because the Bushmen are highly selective in their food habits. They do not eat out all the food in a given area. They start

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16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

TABLE 5

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THE 85 SPECIES OF BUSHMAN FOODS ARRANGED, BY CLASSES, IN ORDER OF DECREASING DESIRABILITY

Class I. Primary Food		
1.	Ricinodendron rautanenii	(fruit and nut)
Class II. Major Foods		
2.	Adansonia digitata	(fruit)
3.	Bauhinia esculenta	(beans and root)
4.	Citrullus lanatus	(melon)
5.	Fockea monroi	(root)
6.	Grewia flava	(berry)
7.	Hyphaene ventricosa	(fruit and stalk)
8.	Sclerocarya caffra	(fruit and nut)
9.	Ximenia caffra	(fruit)
Class III. Minor Foods		
10.	Acacia mellifera	(gum)
11.	Coccinia rehmannii	(root)
12.	Coccinia sp. (or Trochomeria sp.)	(root)
13.	Diospyros chamaethamnus	(fruit)
14.	Dipcadi glaucum	(leaves)
15.	Eulophia sp.	(root)
16.	Eulophia sp.	(root)
17.	Grewia bicolor	(berry)
18.	Grewia flavescens	(berry)
19.	Lapeirousia coerulea	(bulb)
20.	Talinum crispatulatum	(leaves)
21.	Terminalia serticea	(gum)
22.	Vigna dinteri	(root)
23.	Walleria muricata	(bulb)
Class IV. Supplementary Foods		
24.	Acacia erubescens (var. A. dulcis)	(gum)
25.	A. fleckii	(gum)
26.	A. gillettiae (var. A. uncinata)	(gum)
27.	A. giraffae	(gum)
28.	A. heteracantha	(gum)
29.	Annona stenophylla	(fruit)
30.	Burkea africana	(gum)
31.	Ceropegia sp. nr. C. leucotaenia	(bulb)
32.	C. sp. nr. C. mozambicensis	(bulb)
33.	Citrullus naudinianus	(melon)
34.	Coccinia sessilifolia	(melon and root)
35.	C. sp.	(root)

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36.	Combretum imberbe	(gum)
37.	C. mechowianum	(gum)
38.	Cyperus fulgens	(bulb)
39.	C. sp.	(bulb)
40.	Dichrostachys glomerata	(gum)
41.	Dipcadi longifolia	(bulb)
42.	D. sp.	(bulb)
43.	Grewia avellana	(berry)
44.	G. falcistipulata	(berry)
45.	G. retinervis	(berry)
46.	G. subspathulata	(berry)
47.	G. sp.	(berry)
48.	Mukia maderaspatana	(leaves)
49.	Raphionacme sp.	(root)
50.	R. sp.	(root)
51.	Strychnos spinosa	(fruit)
52.	Terminalia prunioides	(gum)
53.	Vangueria longicalyx	(fruit)
54.	V. infausta	(fruit)
55.	Ximenia americana	(fruit)

Class V. Rare Foods

56.	Corallocarpus welwitschii	(root)
57.	Cucumis sp.	(root)
58.	Guibourtia coleosperma	(berry)
59.	Hydnora sp.	(root)
60.	Ipomoea verbascoidea	(root)
61.	Lapeirousia sp.	(bulb)
62.	Nymphaea sp.	(root)
63.	Ochna pulchra	(berry)
64.	Raphionacme burkei	(root)
65.	R. sp.	(root)
66.	Salacia lubberti	(fruit)
67.	Strychnos pungens	(fruit)
68.	Vigna unguiciculata	(root)

Class VI. Problematic Foods

69.	Acacia karoo	(gum)
70.	Amaranthus sp.	(leaves)
71.	Aristida gracilior	(seeds)
72.	Bauhinia macrantha	(beans)
73.	Boscia albitrunca	(fruit)
74.	Cephalocroton pueschellii	(fruit)
75.	Clerodendrum uncinatum	(fruit)
76.	Combretum psidioides	(gum)
77.	C. zeyheri	(gum)
78.	Dichapetalum cymosum	(fruit)
79.	Dichrostachys cinerea	(gum)
80.	Dipcadi longifolium	(bulb)
81.		

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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824
262 81. Grewia sp. (berry)
82. Ziziphus mucronata (berry)
[192] 83. not determined - !Kung name -"todi" (root)
84. not determined - !Kung name -"!!gwi" (root)
85. not determined - !Kung name -"//aižeri" (root)

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222 by eating out the most desirable species and when these are exhausted they then turn to the less desirable species. Because the food resources are both varied and abundant, in any situation where the desirable foods are scarce the Bushmen have two basic alternatives in food strategy:

- first they may walk farther in order to continue to eat the more desirable species,
- or, they may remain closer to camp and exploit the less desirable food species.

For instance, at the Dobe winter camp mentioned above, by August the younger members were making the long round trip to the mongongo nuts, but the older members were exploiting foods of Classes III and IV which they had hitherto ignored and which were still abundant close to the Dobe waterhole. There was a general but not invariable tendency at each camp for the Class I and II foods to be locally exhausted first, then the Class III foods were exhausted and only then were the Class IV foods systematically gathered. One never observed the complete exhaustion of foods around a camp, because the Bushmen always moved camp long before the foods of Class IV had reached scarce levels.

These alternative strategies will be documented in later chapters. For the present one should bear in mind that !Kung subsistence always has two dimensions. There is a spatial

222 262 dimension in which the gatherers move farther and farther in order to eat the desirable foods, and a hierarchical dimension in which people remain in one area and eat their way through classes of species of decreasing desirability.

136 Animal Resources

The 223 known species of animals in the Dobe area are divided taxonomically as follows:

mammals	42 spp.
birds	75 spp.
reptiles and amphibians	24 spp.
invertebrates	82 spp.
TOTAL	223 spp.

262 825 Mammals - The mammals represent the highest percentage of animal biomass in the Dobe area and it is not surprising that the meat of mammals accounts for over 90% of the animal diet of the Bushmen. In all, 29 of the 42 mammal species are known to be eaten by the Bushmen and only seven mammal species are universally tabooed as food.

Personal, age specific, and sex specific taboos play an important role in the eating of mammals. No individual Bushman will eat all of the 29 eaten species and no two individuals have the same set of tabooed species. Each person has his own prescription of what species he may and may not eat. The mammals can be divided into seven degrees of taboos.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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First, there are nine species which are eaten by all people regardless of sex and age, although there are restrictions on the anatomical parts. For instance, women may not eat kudu intestines, but may eat the meat of the extremities. This class of animals includes:

giraffe	hartebeeste
eland	kudu
roan antelope	duiker
gemsbok	hare
wildebeeste	

A second group of species may be eaten by all except premenstrual adolescent girls. The mammals include:

steenbok	springhare

Third are the species that are eaten by most people. Individuals may not eat one or another of these species because of personal dietary restrictions set by the ritual curers:

wart hog	porcupine
buffalo	bat-eared fox
antbear	pangolin

Fourth are species that are eaten by a few people of both sexes and are avoided by most people:

genet	slender mongoose
honey badger	banded mongoose
aardwolf	cheetah

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Fifth are species that are eaten only by old women for whom the food taboos of adult life have been lifted:

lion	caracul
leopard	zebra
jackal	

Sixth is a species that is eaten only by ritual curers for magical purposes:

cape polecat (zorilla)

Finally there are seven species that are universally tabooed. These include the carnivorous species that are said to eat people:

spotted hyena	brown hyena
wild dog	wild cat

as well as three species of primates that the Bushmen say are close relatives of man:

vervet monkey	baboon
galago	

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The small mammals, such as rodents, bats, and squirrels, are not hunted or eaten. The Bushmen said that no taboos were associated with these species. However, these species were not worth killing because each carried only a few ounces of meat. Occasionally squirrels that are found dead or accidentally caught in snares are fed to the dogs.

The important point in terms of food resources is that

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262 all hunters may hunt every species regardless of whether a
224 given species is personally tabooed.

In actual practice only ten species of mammal were consistently hunted by the Dobe area Bushmen. These are: kudu, wildebeeste, gemsbok, steenbok, duiker, wart hog, antbear, porcupine, springhare, and common hare.

In addition to the above a further ten species were observed to be occasionally killed and eaten. These include:

pangolin	bat-eared fox
genet	honey badger
aardwolf	cheetah
slender mongoose	jackal
caracul	cape polecat

825 The Bushmen generally consider the meat of herbivorous
262 mammals as the most desirable food. The meat of insectivorous mammals such as antbear, pangolin and bat-eared fox is less highly prized. The meat of carnivores is generally undesirable but nevertheless eaten by at least some people, when it is available. At the bottom of the list of preferences is the meat of hyena and wild dog. The Bushman explanation is that since these species eat people, to eat their meat is indirectly an act of cannibalism.

[224] There is evidence of regional and historical variation in the species systematically hunted by the !Kung of the

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224 central interior. John Marshall found that most of the meat brought in by the Nyae Nyae area hunters was from the large ungulates such as wildebeeste, eland and gemsbok. Small mammals such as springhare were rarely hunted (1957, and personal communication). By contrast, the most frequent kills in the Dobe area were the smaller animals: springhare, steenbok and duiker, whereas the killing of a large antelope was a rare and great event. Giraffe and eland were not hunted by the men of the Dobe area.

[173] The older Bushmen state that in the early days there were more game animals and more Bushmen in the central interior and that their forefathers used to hunt in large groups, killing giraffe, buffalo and even elephant.

At present, the most important single source of meat in the Bushman diet is wart hog. It was not the most frequent mammal killed. Springhare, steenbok and duiker were all killed more frequently than wart hog. But the southern African wart hog weighs about 170 lbs., whereas the springhare weighs only 7-1/2 lbs, the steenbok, 25 lbs., and the duiker 43 lbs. At the Dobe camp wart hog were killed at the rate of three per month throughout the study period. The edible portion of each carcass is about 50%. Therefore wart hog provided a regular supply of c. 255 lbs. of meat per month to the members of the Dobe camp.

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Steenbok and duiker were the next in importance because of the frequency with which they were killed, especially during the winter when they were systematically trapped and during late spring when the young could be easily run down on foot.

Springhare were the most frequent animal killed. The 7-1/2 lb. carcass has a high percentage of edible meat (60%) and the killing rate in some seasons was as high as 10 per week.

It is difficult to evaluate the large antelopes, kudu, wildebeeste, and gemsbok in terms of their dietary importance because they were rarely killed. A hunter who had killed five large antelopes in a year was considered to be above average. Most of the hunters killed one or two per year, Even a single kill, however, provides a massive return in meat. The average dead weights[1] of these species are:

kudu (M)	600 lbs.
kudu (F)	350 lbs.
gemsbok (M)	444 lbs.
gemsbok (F)	514 lbs.
wildebeeste (M)	550 lbs.
wildebeeste (F)	450 lbs.

[1]All the mammal weights quoted in this study were provided by Reay Smithers (personal communications).

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224 By killing one male kudu (600 lbs.) with a weight 24 times greater than that of a steenbok (25 lbs.) a hunter would provide his camp with a quantity of meat roughly equivalent to that provided by 20 steenbok (assuming that the kudu has a somewhat lower ratio of edible to inedible parts than does a steenbok).

[628] On the face of it, hunting large antelope would appear to have overwhelming advantages in terms of meat. However, when news of such a kill reaches neighboring camps, dozens of friends and relatives descend upon the killer's camp to assist him in disposing of the meat. Thus at the end of several jovial days the superabundance of meat disappears and the fortunate hunter is out looking for meat again. The killing of a large antelope therefore has more prestige value than nutritional value to the family of the man who killed it.

This pattern of sharing large kills beyond the boundaries of a camp is ecologically adaptive because meat spoils quickly, especially during the rainy season and it is often necessary to eat meat that is in danger of becoming rotten.

825 The Bushmen know how to make biltong (dried strips of meat)
262 but rarely do this. This infrequency of making biltong is
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251 probably both a cause and an effect of sharing meat widely. The only part of a large antelope kill that is consistently set aside for future consumption is the hide. This part of

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the animal evidently has much better storage properties than the flesh.

In general, the larger the animal killed, the more widely its meat is shared. The meat of springhare, hare, steenbok, and duiker is usually consumed by the hunter's immediate family. The meat of wart hog, antbear and porcupine is [628] shared out among the members of a hunter's camp. The meat of kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok is shared out among the hunter's camp and among members of neighboring camps.

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<u>Birds</u> - The eating of birds again illustrates the selective food tastes of the Bushmen. Of the 75 species of birds recorded only eight species were said to be eaten and of these only four species were observed to be systematically hunted. The four important game birds were:

crowned quinea fowl	red-billed francolin
Swainson's francolin	red-crested korhaan

The other birds eaten were:

Kori bustard	double-banded sandgrouse
Cape turtledove	red-billed teal

Snares were regularly set in order to capture guinea fowl, francolin and korhaan. Occasionally other birds triggered the snares. Usually these other species were fed to the dogs. Occasionally they were simply discarded.

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Only the eggs of the above eight species appeared to be

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gathered and eaten. With one exception all other birds eggs were ignored. The exception was the ostrich eggs which were highly prized as water containers and as material for making ostrich egg shell beads.

Reptiles and Amphibians

Only four species of reptile - two tortoises, one leguaan, and the rock python - were regarded by the Bushmen as edible. One species of frog, Pixiecephalus sp. was regarded as edible. Of these five species, the large leopard tortoise (Geochelone pardalis) is the most important food. These tortoises weigh 5-8 pounds. They are sluggish and easily collected. For this reason, the tortoises were the only species of vertebrate that were collected by the women. All other vertebrates were the exclusive concern of the men.

The rock python, a large non-poisonous snake, was regularly collected by the men. This provided c. 25 lbs. of meat per specimen. The pythons collected varied in length from 8-15 feet. The other three species were rarely observed to be eaten.

Invertebrates

Insects have traditionally been considered by ethnographers to be a major Bushman food (Bodenheimer 1951:137-195). However, among the Bushmen of the Dobe area insects played a minor role in the diet. One species of antlion and three

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[825] species of beetles were observed to be eaten. Termites and locusts were not eaten. Honey is highly regarded as food by the Bushmen, and the hunters often investigated bees nests but honey was never observed to be eaten at the Dobe camp and only rarely at other camps.

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825 In summary the plant and animal resources of the Dobe area include 85 plant and 54 animal species which are eaten. Closer examination reveals that only a small number of these edible species play a major role in the diet. Only 26 of the 139 edible species may be considered as major Bushman foods: 9 species of plants and 17 species of animals.

VI. ORGANIZATION AND TECHNOLOGY OF SUBSISTENCE

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224 There is a basic division of labor between the sexes:
462 the men are hunters of game and the women gatherers of plant foods. The men, however, do combine gathering with hunting. For instance, if no game has been killed on a hunt the men will gather some vegetable food as they return at the end of the day so that they will not come home empty-handed. The organization of work is simple. The sexes are almost always segregated in food-getting activities. Typically the women of a camp will go out in groups of three to five, with a well-defined objective of which species they want to collect. They spend the day or part of it working over an area and return to the camp each evening with their food. They never remain out overnight.

224 The hunting groups of the men are smaller than the col-
462 lecting groups of women. Typically two men will go out hunting together, but frequently an individual will go hunting alone. More rarely groups of three or four men go out. Hunting groups of five or more men were never observed during the study period. The Bushmen feel that too many participants spoil the hunt. The men very rarely stay out overnight. Even if they have shot an antelope in the afternoon they return to the main camp to sleep and early the next morning set out to

224 462 track the animal to the place where it has died. All the
[222] Dobe area Bushmen consistently hunted and collected within a 15-20 mile radius of their camps. Hunting trips of 3-10 days duration have been recorded in the literature on !Kung (e.g. L. Marshall 1960:331), but these extended trips were not a feature in the Dobe area.

222 224 462 The contrast in technology between the hunting equipment of the men and the gathering equipment of the women is striking. Only three elementary tools are required for the complete range of gathering tasks. On the other hand, the hunting kits consist of at least 19 complex weapons and devices, with sophisticated methods of manufacture and maintenance.

222 The three gathering tools are the <u>kaross</u>, the digging stick and the nut-cracking stones. With only these three items, a softened antelope hide, a sharpened stick, and a pair of unimproved rocks, the entire gamut of plant foods
[291] can be exploited. The kaross is the most important of the three. This is a one-piece combination garment-cum-carrying-device made from the hide of a gemsbok, kudu or wildebeeste.
[281] The raw hide is dried, the edges are trimmed and the hide is softened by a tanning agent from the plant <u>Elephantorhiza burkei</u>. The resulting garment is worn by the women draped
[482] over the back. When tied at the waist by a leather thong,
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482 the lower half of the kaross conceals the wearer's backside
[291] while the upper half forms a pouch for carrying vegetable foods (as well as water containers, firewood and babies).

Since most of the Bushman foods are nuts and berries, ranging in size from 1/2 to 1-1/2 inches in diameter, and hundreds of these small foods make up a family's daily diet, Bushman life would not be possible without some means of carrying quantities of these small foods back to the camp or "home base". One cannot overstate the importance of the food-carrying device for Bushman life, and for the life of hunting and gathering peoples in general. This, I think, has implications for the evolution of human subsistence during the Pleistocene since a device for carrying vegetable foods would seem to be a prerequisite for human camp life.

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412 The digging stick is secondary in importance to the kaross because all but one of the major Bushman foods are nuts, berries and melons which do not have to be dug out of the ground. The typical digging stick is three feet long, three quarters of an inch in diameter and sharpened into a blade at one end. It is made from the thick straight stalks of the bushes of the genera Dichrostachys and Grewia. It
[224] is not weighted by a bored stone. Apart from its obvious use for digging out edible roots and bulbs, the digging stick also plays an important role in mens' hunting activities.

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412 Four of the ten important game species (wart hog, antbear, porcupine, and springhare) live in underground burrows and it is often necessary after running an animal to ground for the hunter to excavate to the burrow in order to retrieve the
[482] carcass. The men also use the digging stick as a carrying yoke on which to bring home game.

412 The third tool is a pair of nut-cracking stones. Without
222 these it would be impossible to exploit the abundant mongongo nut (Ricinodendron) as food because of its extremely hard shell. Any reasonably hard stone may be used including the locally abundant limestone cobbles. The hammerstone is fist-sized and no flakes are struck off. The anvil stone may be any size and shape up to a weight of fifteen pounds. Neither of these stones is improved in any way and only the pecking marks show evidence of human use. The nut is held on the anvil stone between the fingertips of the left hand. With the hammerstone one delivers two to five sharp and dextrous blows which are sufficient to open the nut.

Through the generations, pairs of these stones have become distributed throughout the nut forests of the Dobe area. It is only occasionally necessary for a woman to carry her own cracking stones from one camp to another.

It may be useful to re-examine the Stone Age lithic assemblages with the nut-cracking stones in mind.

412 The women possess several other tools which are of subsidiary importance in the food quest:

- wooden mortar and pestle
- wooden spatula for moving ashes
- carved wooden serving spoon
- tortoise shell bowl
- bundle of tail feathers for fanning the cooking fire
- pottery containers of Bantu manufacture
- iron pots and enamel bowls of European manufacture.

415 177 224 411 The mens' hunting kit represents the most evolved sector of Bushmen technology. It includes at least 19 different tools made from seven kinds of raw materials. The primary weapons include:

[177] 1. bow
[278] 2. arrow poison
[231] 3. spear
4. springhare probe
5. knobkerrie(club)
6. iron tipped arrows
7. quiver
8. hunting dogs
9. rope snares

Secondary weapons include:

[312] 10. fire drill
[177] 11. flint and steel fire making kits
[412] 12. digging stick
[283] 13. iron knife
[177] 14. iron adze-axe
15. carrying yoke
16. knotted net

Manufacturing and repairing tools include:

[298] 17. poison-making kit; humeral cup, pestle, applicator

[415] 18. whet stones of basalt

[283] 19. wild cotton for polishing rope snares

These raw materials are also part of the man's kit:

[283] 1. sinew

2. twine of natural fibers

3. iron fencing wire

[278] 4. supply of poisonous grubs

[237] 5. bone chips for making arrow link shafts

[411] 6. grass stems for arrows

7. wood for bows, poles and spear shafts

224 411 The construction of the hunting arrow will illustrate the complexity of the weaponry. The arrow consists of a mainshaft about 13 inches in length made from the stem of the grass Phragmites communis (Story 1964:94). Into this is inserted a bone linkshaft about two inches long, carved from the humerus or femur of giraffe, kudu, or gemsbok. The linkshaft is joined to the metal arrowhead by a hollow sec-[177]tion of grass stem one inch in length. The arrow head is commonly made from iron fencing wire. It consists of a stiff length of wire four to five inches long. The tip of the arrow is beaten into a small triangular blade one half inch from base to apex and five-sixteenths of an inch at the base.

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411 The butt end of the arrow and the two joints are bound by strands of sinew. In some arrows the iron shaft itself is
224 bound with sinew. It is the iron shaft to which the arrow
411 poison is applied. Care is taken to avoid spreading poison
278 on the tip of the arrow. The poison is obtained from the pupal forms of the Chrysomelid beetles Diamphidia sp. and
[415] Polyclada sp. The poison is prepared by squeezing the contents of several pupae into a cup made from the proximal end of the humerus of a large antelope such as gemsbok or kudu. The only additions to the poison mixture observed to be used were saliva and the juice or gum of the several species of Acacia. The use of the latter was optional. Often, without further preliminaries, the Bushmen squeezed the contents of the grub directly on to the iron arrow shaft.

[412] The pupae are mixed with a slender wooden pestle into a thin orange paste, which is then applied directly to the iron arrow shaft using a spatulate applicator especially made for this purpose. The poisoned arrow is then allowed to dry near the fire. After a few minutes it is ready for use.

There are undoubtedly regional variations in the preparation of arrow poison. The ethnographic literature lists at least a dozen substances and recipes that are claimed to be used by the !Kung Bushmen in preparing arrow poison (see Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

000 Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

224 411 The !Kung weaponry consists of specialized weapons for killing, retrieving, and preparing different species of game. The bow and arrow are used to kill only the large antelopes, kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok. The thirteen-foot-long burrow probe is used exclusively for hooking springhare [223] which sleep in their burrows during the day time. Rope snares are set to trap small buck such as duiker and steenbok, as well as the game birds such as guinea fowl, francolin and 224 korhaan. Fire is used in two ways. First it is used to smoke 372 out or asphyxiate wart hog, antbear and porcupine that have [412] been cornered in burrows. If an animal dies in the burrow, it is then dug out by means of a digging stick. Fire is also used during late winter to set bush fires. These fires burn off the old cover of vegetation and encourage new growth which will attract game animals to the burned area.

224 411 [231] The spear is not used as a weapon of attack, but is employed to finish off animals that have been weakened by poisoned arrows or that have been wounded by the Bushmen dogs.

The knobkerrie (club) is also used to finish off wounded [223] or cornered animals. Occasionally it is used as a throwing [231] club to knock down small birds and squirrels. This appears to be more of a pastime than a serious technique since the animals knocked down this way are usually fed to the dogs or just cast aside.

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The pack of hunting dogs is perhaps the most important weapon at the disposal of the hunters. Most men own one or more dogs, but few men have developed and trained an effective hunting pack. The possession of such a pack gives a hunter a considerable advantage in killing. A good pack may number only three dogs. Often two men will pool their dogs and make a temporary pack of four or five dogs. The dogs are the crucial factor in the successful hunting of wart hog. They can run a wart hog to ground where it can be smoked out at the hunter's leisure or they may bring a hog to bay on the surface, attacking and harassing it until the hunter can close in with his spear.

The dogs are equally important in the hunting of steenbok and duiker. A good pack may often run ahead of a hunter and attack and kill the quarry before the hunter has arrived on the scene. This is the most common way that the immature of steenbok, duiker, and wart hog are killed. The dogs are generally helpful in tracking all game where their sense of smell supplements the hunters' remarkable visual acuity. The typical Bushman dog is a small animal (twenty inches tall at the shoulder) of undistinguished appearance. It is a shorthaired breed varying in color from black to buff with many piebald forms. The blood lines are difficult to trace. According to Brian Fagan (personal

224 communication), there were no domesticated dogs in the South
231 African Later Stone Age until the arrival of the Bantu. It
[174] is not possible to say at present when dogs were introduced into !Kung Bushmen culture. The !Kung themselves say that they have had dogs "since time began".

Data on the hunting success of seven men of the Dobe winter camp will illustrate the importance of dogs in hunting. In July, 1964, during a four week period the seven men of the camp spent a total of seventy-nine man days hunting. Between them they killed a total of eighteen animals. The estimated total weight in meat of these eighteen kills was approximately 434 pounds. Six of the men lacked good hunting dogs. These men accounted for 110 pounds of meat or 25% of the total. The seventh man was the only one with a good hunting pack. With his dogs he killed the remaining 75% of the meat (324 pounds) including four adult wart hog.

[184] Considering the importance of dogs in Dobe area hunting it is interesting that dogs were not used for hunting by the Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae area (J. Marshall 1957; and personal communication).

224 Finally there were several limited techniques that required no specialized equipment. Occasionally men run down immature animals on foot. These are dispatched with a club of any handy piece of wood. Also, on occasion, the men

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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Also, on occasion, the men scavenge meat from carnivore kills. If the day's hunt has been unsuccessful a man may hack a piece of dried hide from a kill that may be several weeks old. Or, if several men are hunting together they may drive the lesser scavengers such as vultures and hyenas off a fresh kill. Scavenging is not a regular practice. It occurs only if the opportunity presents itself and if there is no other meat forthcoming.

VII. LAND UTILIZATION

361 During 1963-64, the Dobe area was divided into nine territories within which the 15 independent camps were operating. These nine territories together covered about two-thirds of the total area (see Map 14).

361 312 There was not a direct relationship between the number of permanent waterholes, the number of territories and the number of independent groups. Although all of the independent groups had access to a permanent water, some of the permanent waters supported several groups, while at other permanent waters independent groups were lacking.

The number of territories and number of groups at each waterhole is shown in Table 6.

[222] At !goše there were four camps but all these camps moved within the same collecting areas. Similarly, for part of the time, there were two camps at Dobe but both camps utilized the same groves of nut trees and the same summer waterholes.

On the other hand, at /ai/ai three of the five camps had their own territories, while two of the camps shared a territory. The jointly occupied territory lay to the north of the /ai/ai waterhole, and the three other camps operated to the west, to the south, and to the east of /ai/ai, respectively.

At the !angwa, Bate, and !ubi waterholes, the situation

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 136]

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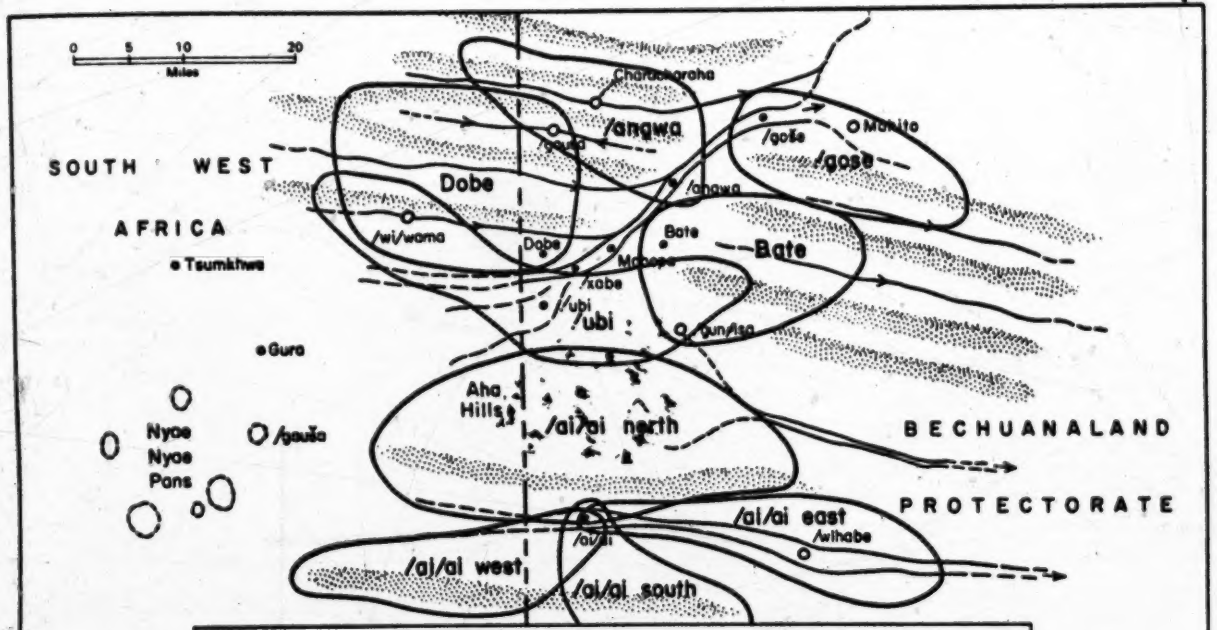

MAP 14. The nine territorial divisions of the Dobe area Bushmen in 1964

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

TABLE 6

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The number of camps and the number of territories based on each of the permanent waterholes in the Dobe area.

Name of Waterhole	No. of Independent Camps	No. of Territories
1. !goše	4	1
2. !angwa	1	1
3. Bate	1	1
4. Mahopa	0	0
5. !xabe	0	0
6. !ubi	1	1
7. Dobe	2	1
8. /ai/ai	5	4
	14[1]	9

[1]The 15th independent group had its permanent waterhole at Tsumkhwe, outside the Dobe area.

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312 was simple. Each waterhole supported one independent camp and each camp had its own territory.

Two of the waterholes, Mahopa and !xabe, lacked independent camps and therefore were not part of a territory.

[648] The Bushmen who drank at these waterholes lived in Bantu
[222] villages. They collected food in the adjacent territories of other camps such as Dobe !ubi and !angwa (see Map 14).

361 The sharing of a single territory by two or more camps
602 reflected the close kinship ties between the camps. This was obvious at Dobe where the leaders of the two camps were a brother and sister who often brought their two groups

[562] together to make a common camp. It was also obvious at !goše where the four camps were led by descendants and collaterals of one old woman. In previous years these four independent groups at !goše had lived in one large camp.

361 The territorial arrangements of the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen, like their group structures, were extremely flexible. Most territories overlapped with one or more adjacent territories. The boundaries of territories were vaguely defined and there were areas between territories which were not claimed by any of the camps. The Bushmen did not conceive of territories as areas of exclusive occupation. The concept of territorial defense was lacking. Each territory consisted, in the words of Mrs. Marshall, of "a waterhole and a side" (L. Marshall 1960:334). This point is illustrated in Map 14.

361 Each of the groups moves in a "direction" from its waterhole.
312 For instance, the Dobe people move to the west and north, the !angwa people move to the northwest, and the !gose people move to the east.

361 The concept of territoriality as applied to the Bushmen differs from the concept used by zoologists in discussing the spatial arrangements of animals. The zoological usage refers to the exclusive use of space, by an organism or group of organisms who defend this space against competing members of the same species (Bourlière 1964:94-100).

By contrast the Bushmen groups do not defend boundaries and members of all groups travel freely between camps. However, land utilization is not at all a random phenomenon.
[222] The Bushmen population is organized into land-holding units,
[224] and the members of a unit tend to spend the greater part of the year hunting and gathering within a specific area.

Thus, in the context of this study, the term "territory" refers to <u>the area within which an independent camp moves during the annual subsistence cycle</u>.

361 The locations and spatial configurations of territories
824 are determined by the distribution of water and food resources.
[312] Each territory has within it a permanent waterhole, one or more seasonal water sources, and one or more mongongo nut forests. Every territory includes, in addition, a selection

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824 of summer foods such as the berries of Grewia spp. and melons of the Citrullus vines, and a selection of winter foods such as roots of the genera Vigna and Coccinia, and edible gums from the genera Acacia, Terminalia, and Burkea.

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824 No two territories have the same constellation of plant foods and no single territory provides the complete inventory of 85 species of plant foods. The Bushmen are well aware of the variations in plant resources between the several territories and there is general agreement on the "strong" and "weak" points of each territory. For instance, !ubi is famous for its Baobab fruits (Adansonia digitata), a food which most other territories lack. /ai/ai is known for the abundance of its wild orange trees (Strychnos spp.) but is considered "weak" in vegetable ivory palms (Hyphaene ventricosa) which are rare south of the Aha Hills. Dobe, on the other hand, is said to be "strong" in vegetable ivory palms and "weak" in the wild orange trees. Bate is famous for its groves of trees bearing the morula nut (Sclerocarya caffra) but is "weak" in trees bearing the mongongo nut
[132] (Ricinodendron rautanenii). Furthermore, local variations in seasonal rainfall may produce an abundance of food in one territory and leave another territory with a food scarcity.

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433 The important point is that every territory has enough food to sustain at least some of its members throughout the

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433 year, but that territorial arrangements are flexible enough to permit people to collect and eat freely in territories other than their own. Thus there were no instances recorded of the members of one camp going hungry while there was still food available at other camps.

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602 Ecologically, the net effect of this flexibility of territories is to produce an equitable distribution of food resources throughout the population. Kinship, real and fictive, is the social mechanism which makes possible this equitable distribution. Each independent camp maintains ties of kinship and marriage with members of every other independent camp. Implicit in every kinship tie is an obligation to share food and water. When relatives are living together, the obligations are manifested in daily exchanges of food and in mutual aid. When relatives are living at

361 different camps these obligations are latent. An individual
433 who visits another camp will invariably set up his or her hut
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574 beside the hut of the member of the other camp to whom he or she has the closest kinship tie. The visitor is secure in the knowledge that the members of the camp will respect his or her claim to the resources of the area.

The principles of intercamp visiting will be illustrated by an example from the Dobe camp. N!ain!a, a woman about 55 years old, is a member of the Dobe camp. She is a younger

361 433 602 574 sibling of the leaders of the two Dobe camps, and therefore has an unquestionable claim to the Dobe resources. N!ain!a has two married daughters whom she frequently visits. One lives at !angwa and the other at Bate. These two daughters and their husbands make reciprocal visits to Dobe about once a month. N!ain!a has a classificatory uncle at !ubi. During the winter she would make daily trips to collect the Baobab fruits that are available only at !ubi. Her uncle, in turn, would make reciprocal visits to collect the vegetable ivory fruits which are abundant around Dobe. Thus N!ain!a maintains active claims in three of the territories adjacent to her own.

N≠eysin!a (N!ain!a's older brother) is unlike N!ain!a in that he prefers to remain in his home territory rather than visit other camps. N≠eysin!a's kinship ties with members of other camps are numerous but the reciprocal obligations implicit in these kinship ties remain latent because N≠eysin!a rarely visits his relatives in other camps.

361 Inter-territorial visiting is perhaps the most important single principle of land utilization among the Dobe area Bushmen. Concerning land utilization <u>within</u> the individual territory, three significant features should be noted.

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First, each of the territories borders on an uninhabited hinterland of indefinite size (see Map 14). Because of this, it is difficult to derive an estimate, in square miles, of the

311 area of each territory.

[312] Second, the area and shape of an individual territory is
[824] influenced by the distance between the important resources within it, such as water sources and mongongo nut forests. It is these point resources and not the spaces between them that are the significant features of the landscape.

Third, territories overlap each other and there is disagreement as to the ownership of these overlapping areas. Most Bushmen say that these areas are owned by all, which means, in effect, that they are owned by no one.

Each of these features will be discussed in detail.

1. Hinterland - It was mentioned earlier that the Dobe area
[312] was surrounded by a belt of uninhabited country. Except for a few summer months there is no standing water in this belt and, as a consequence, the Dobe area people rarely bother to hunt and gather within it. This outer belt is not lacking
[136] in food resources, however. Surveys of the country by Land-
[137] Rover indicate that the game and plant foods there are even more abundant than they are within the traditional territories. Why then are these resources so infrequently utilized?

311 The answer lies in the fact that the Bushmen can usually
312 satisfy their annual subsistence requirements within a radius
361 of 15-20 miles from their permanent waterholes. Whenever possible the Bushmen prefer to make their camp sites at

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361 standing water sources. Since the number of these water sources is limited, it follows that the areas around the water sources will be the most intensively utilized. The Bushmen know how to live on alternative sources of moisture such as Fockea monroi but only resort to this subsistence strategy for a week or two at a stretch.

It is a good rule of thumb for the Dobe area that the intensity of utilization of land varies inversely with the distance from standing water sources. Since a Bushman group
311
312 must spend the six dry months of the year at its permanent
361 waterhole, it is not surprising that the area within a walking
221 radius of this waterhole is intensively utilized. Similarly, since the Bushmen spend three months of the year at the large summer water sources, the areas within a walking radius of these water sources is also intensively utilized. During the brief period in December or January when there is standing water at many localities, the Bushmen can utilize areas that lie beyond a walking radius of the major water sources.

These three levels of intensity of utilization are illustrated schematically in Map 15. This scheme disregards for the moment the actual pattern of distribution of food resources peculiar to each territory. The shaded circles enclose all of the areas that are within a six mile radius of a permanent waterhole. These are the only areas that can be reached by

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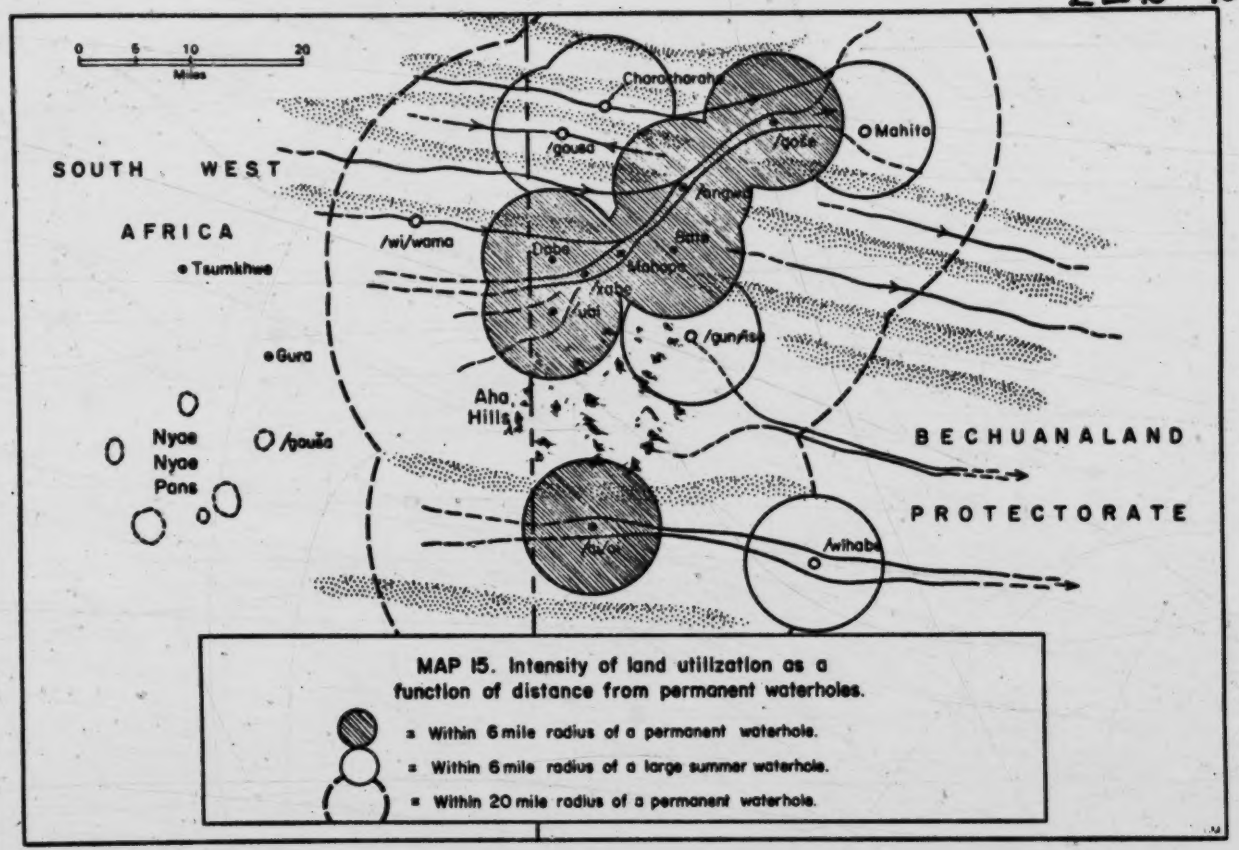

MAP 15. Intensity of land utilization as a function of distance from permanent waterholes.

= Within 6 mile radius of a permanent waterhole.

= Within 6 mile radius of a large summer waterhole.

= Within 20 mile radius of a permanent waterhole.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

311
312 a round trip hike of 12 miles or less.
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221 The distance of 12 miles was chosen for this illustration, because this was close to the maximum distance that the Bushmen were willing to walk in a single day of food gathering. In the previous chapter it was mentioned that Bushmen hunters and gatherers do not stay away from their camps overnight. Therefore an individual hunter or gatherer will confine the day's activities to within a limited radius of his or her camp. These expressed preferences set the limits on the size of the winter areas of intense utilization.

A similar situation exists in the areas that are within a six mile radius of the main summer water sources. These are represented on Map 15 as unshaded circles. These further areas are intensively utilized during the summer months.

These areas of intensive utilization are surrounded by a belt of country that lies within a twenty mile radius of the permanent waterholes. Twenty miles was the average maximum distance from permanent water that the Bushmen were observed to range. This belt is enclosed by a dotted line in Map 15. It should be noted that the Bushmen groups spent on an average less than one month of the year working these areas. The great majority of their time was spent closer to the standing water sources.

311
361 The Dobe area Bushmen were not observed to make camps

311 beyond the area enclosed by the dotted line, and this line
361 therefore accurately represents the total utilizable space of the Dobe area.

311 2. Point resources - In Map 15, the picture of land utili-
312 zation was simplified by omitting the actual patterning of
361 food resources. In fact, the extent and configuration of
824 the intensively utilized areas is influenced by the location of the mongongo nut forests and the distance of these forests from the permanent waterholes. These resources are plotted in Map 16. For instance, in an area where the mongongo nuts within a walking radius of water are sufficient to support a camp throughout the year, a group's territory will be small. However, in an area where the mongongo nuts are less locally abundant, the territory must, of necessity, be much larger.

The people of !goše, for example, are fortunate in having a vast nut forest within a ten mile radius of their waterhole.
[162] The nuts from this forest are abundant enough to support the 62 members of the !goše camp throughout the year. By contrast, the nut forests near Dobe are much less abundant than at !goše.
[162] The 36 members of the Dobe camps have to walk farther (up to 18 miles at the end of the dry season) in order to collect the mongongo nuts. As a result, the effective annual territory of the Dobe people is larger than that of the !goše people, despite the fact that the population of Dobe is smaller than

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 147]

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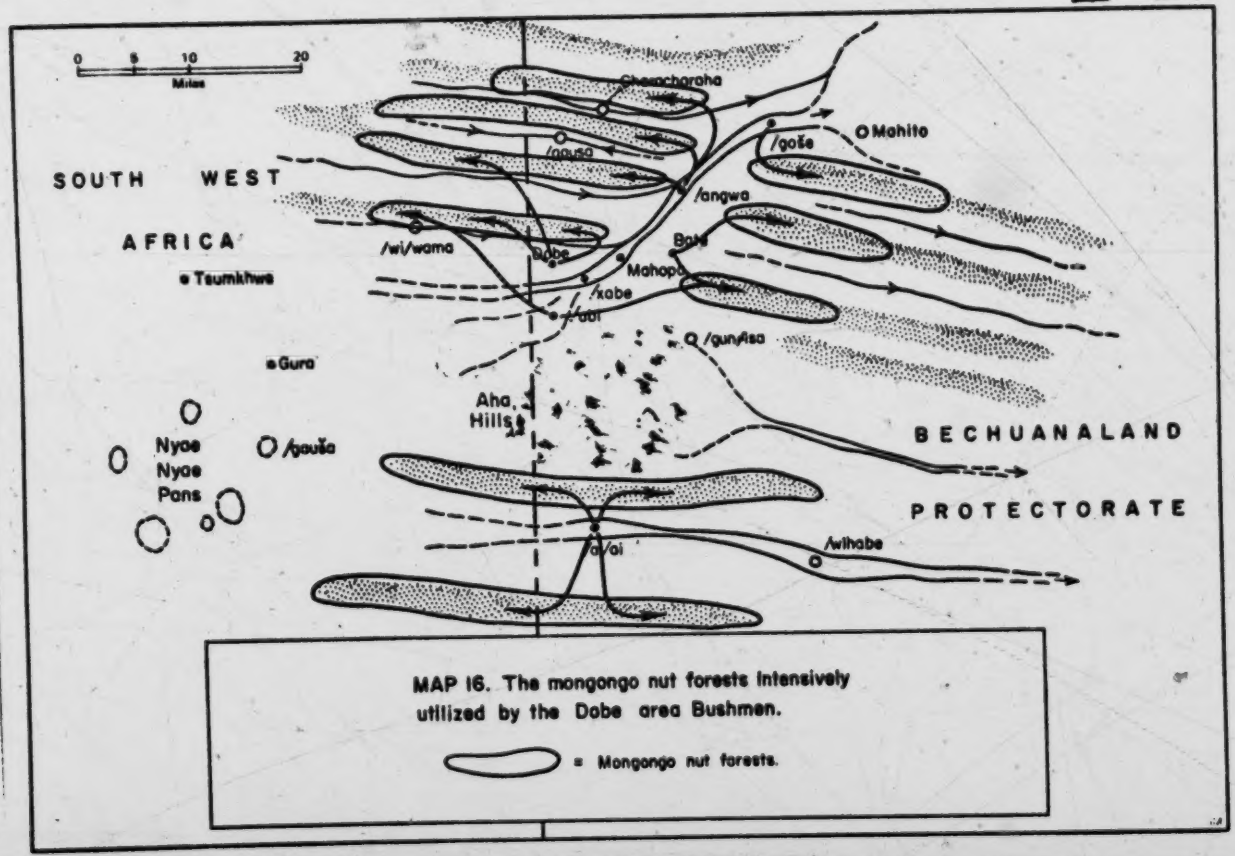

MAP 16. The mongongo nut forests intensively utilized by the Dobe area Bushmen.

= Mongongo nut forests.

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361 the population of !gose (this is illustrated in Map 14 as well as in Map 16).

A further example will serve to illustrate how point resources influence the size of territories. It was mentioned above that each territory contains one or more large summer water sources. In most cases these summer waters are less than 12 miles from the permanent waterholes. In one case, however, the summer water is 23 miles distant from the permanent waterhole. The summer water at /wihabe belongs to the group of 27 people that works to the east of /ai/ai (see Map 14). This group lays claim to the land between /ai/ai and /wihabe. But they do not utilize this area in their subsistence activities. Rather they hike through it in order to move from one point resource to another, i.e. from their winter water at /ai/ai to their summer water at /wihabe.

3. Territorial overlap - Territories are so loosely defined by the Dobe area !Kung that certain areas are claimed by none of the camps and consequently are utilized by everyone. Wherever territories adjoin, there is a belt of "no-man's land" for which no one is prepared to make a definite statement of ownership. This uncertainty is usually expressed by informants as follows: "The owners of this land died long ago, today we don't know who owns it."

The Aha Hills illustrate this territorial overlap. The

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[628]

hills hold standing water only during the summer months. During this season, the members of two /ai/ai camps, the !ubi camp, and the Bate camp mingle freely at its water sources. This mingling of groups also occurs at some of the large summer pans such as !gauša and čharačharaha where members of different winter groups come together for weeks or even months.

The foregoing discussion has highlighted the flexible nature of !Kung Bushmen territoriality. This flexibility is manifested in the frequency of visiting between waterholes, the vagueness of territorial boundaries and the existence of food areas that are said to belong to nobody.

VIII. WATER AND THE SEASONAL ROUND

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The Kalahari desert is not a food poor area. Most of it is situated between the 10 and 20 inch isohyet and therefore it is marginal for cultivation (without irrigation), but the desert supports a remarkable abundance and variety of edible wild plants which have become genetically adapted to arid conditions.

Geographers have classified the Kalahari as "desert" because of the lack of surface water (Wellington 1955 etc.). This in turn is a function of the sandy terrain which supports surface water only during a brief summer season. In the few localities where the underlying geological formations are exposed, permanent standing water is found. And these point sources of water are usually surrounded by waterless belts of up to 200 miles in width. Edible plants on the other hand are widely distributed both in the immediate vicinity of water and at considerable distances from it. The geographical separation of food and water in certain seasons is the critical problem of !Kung Bushman subsistence.

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This is not a major problem during the rainy season when seasonal standing water may be found in close proximity to the concentrated food resources. Nor is this a major problem during the early winter when food is available around the

312 permanent water sources. Nevertheless for one season every
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433 year Bushmen must face a situation in which major foods and
824 permanent water are a considerable distance apart. How Bushmen arrange their lives to meet this situation will be illustrated by data from the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen.

312 According to the Bushmen, water has always existed in
824 the eight permanent waterholes of the Dobe area. Seven of
222 these waterholes are situated in or near the dry bed of one molapo, the !angwadum. The eighth, 25 miles to the south, is in the bed of another molapo, the /ai/aidum. These molapos lie in the center of a belt of flatlands which varies in width from 5-10 miles. It was pointed out in Chapter IV that the molapos interrupt the basic system of parallel dunes that cover most of the northwestern Kalahari. But it is only on these dunes that the primary Bushman food, the mongongo nut, is found. The result is that each of the eight waterholes is three to seven miles distant from the nearest grove of mongongo nuts. Thus gatherers who are camped at a permanent water must make a minimum daily round trip of six to fourteen miles in order to gather mongongo nuts. As the nearest nuts become exhausted the round trip distance becomes greater and greater, until it reaches a distance that is too far to walk in a day. This distance varies from camp to camp but 12 miles (6 miles out and 6 miles returning) was close to the maximum that the

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824 people were willing to walk in a single day for the purpose
222 of food gathering. In order to exploit food resources further than seven miles from water, the Bushmen feel that it is necessary to make a temporary camp at the food and stay overnight.

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222 The options available to Bushmen facing such a situation are three: 1) they may carry water to the food and live there until their water is exhausted; 2) they may move to the food and dig water-rich roots to satisfy their moisture requirements; or 3) they may wait until rainfall produces standing water nearer the desirable foods.

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147 There are no physiological short cuts to solving the water problem. There is no evidence that the Bushmen's daily water requirements are less than that of other peoples (Wyndham in press; Silberbauer 1965). Like all peoples, the Bushmen must drink water to live and their daily requirements are a function of such factors as ambient air temperature, wind velocity and the work they have to do[1] (Ladell 1958; Adolph et al. 1947).

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[1]Ladell, a physiologist specializing in problems of human life in arid regions has said: "It can be categorically stated that no man of any race, however acclimatized and trained, can survive in a hot desert climate without very liberal supplies of water; there is, and can be, no substitute for water and there is no remedy for its deficiency". (1958:85).

312 221 The availability of water can be regarded as the most important determinant of Bushman subsistence activities. A season by season account of these activities will serve to illustrate how subsistence strategies take maximum advantage of water sources. The annual subsistence cycle is described under six headings:

1. First rains
2. Main rains
3. Autumn
4. Early winter
5. Later winter
6. Spring

1. <u>First rains</u>

The onset of the first rains finds the Bushmen clustered [361] around their permanent waterholes. It is this time of year [574] that camp membership is most stable because all areas are short of food and there are fewer incentives for visiting [132] other camps. Also the weather is hot with mean daily maxima of 100°F and walking is uncomfortable.

312 221 824 Food, in the vicinity of permanent water, is in short supply. Fruits, berries, melons and leafy greens, which appear only during the main rains, are nowhere available. The mongongo nuts are still abundant but are found only at distances of ten or more miles from the permanent waterholes. The diet

312 at the waterholes consists primarily of roots and bulbs of the
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824 genera: Eulophia, Vigna, Walleria, and Coccinia, and the edible sap of Acacia spp. and Terminalia sericea. It is this time of year that the heart of the dwarf vegetable ivory palm is eaten,
[164] (Hyphaene). Those who eat its fibrous pulp experience stomach cramps and diarrhea, but, as the Bushmen say, it make one's "mouth work" and gives one a sensation of a full stomach.
221 Hunting is arduous business in the heat and men who go out in
224 the early morning find it necessary to spend the mid-day hours resting in the shade. The principal animal killed is the springhare.

132 The first rains are convectional thundershowers. Their distribution is spotty. A storm may briefly inundate one area and miss entirely another area only a mile away.

312 The Bushmen observe the storm clouds travelling across
222 the horizon and try to judge where the showers have drenched
[821] the ground. They then set out in family groups in the direction of the rains. If they find that water has collected in the hollows of mongongo trees, they will stay in the nut groves for several days and eat nuts until the water is exhausted. They then fill their karosses with nuts and return to the permanent water. If, on reaching the nut groves, they find that no water has collected they will be forced to fill their karosses with nuts and return to camp the same day. In certain areas

312 222 where the water bearing root Fockea monroii is available the Bushmen may extend their stay in the nutting groves by eating the juicy pulp of this root. If they are fortunate, this water source may tide them over to the next shower, part of which will accumulate in the hollows of trees.

13 The first rainfall, however brief, appears to have the general effect of triggering reproduction in animals, and initiating the growth phase in plants. Among the first of the summer foods to appear are the leafy greens Dipcadi glaucum and Talinum crispatulatum.

132 There is no well-defined boundary between the first rains of October and the main rains. J. Marshall mentions that during his periods of field work a gap occurred between the first and the main rains. In 1963 and 1964, however, the showers gradually increased in intensity and frequency from [433] October through December. The date of onset and the intensity of rainfall varies greatly from year to year and a delay of even a few weeks in the onset of rain can cause considerable hardship amongst the Bushmen. Furthermore, an initial rain followed by weeks of dry weather is a mixed blessing, for it brings the plants prematurely into leaf and they become scorched and damaged by the subsequent sunshine.

In 1963, the first rain fell on 8 October. In 1964, it did not fall until the 11 November and one noticed that the

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433 physical condition of the Bushmen was visibly poorer in November 1964 by comparison with November 1963.

2. Main rains

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[821] The Bushmen say that a series of intense downpours (measuring 2-3 inches) heralds the beginning of the main rains and ushers in their season of abundance. Such a fall occurred in 1963 at the end of November. The immediate effect of these downpours is to produce standing water in the small molapos that lie in the interstices of the dunes. When these seasonal waters become established, virtually the entire Bushman population moves out to live at them. Thus from December through March the permanent waterholes are largely deserted.

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222 With the coming of the main rains, the summer foods begin to ripen. These foods appear around the summer water sources and they appear also around the permanent waterholes. It is significant, that, although foods become available at the permanent waterholes, the Bushmen tend to avoid these foods. They prefer to eat the foods that are around the summer waters. This illustrates one way that the Bushmen take maximum advantage of the more distant foods. They defer exploitation of the foods around the permanent waterhole until the winter when the alternative water sources have dried out.

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361 The distribution of camps during the summer follows two phases. In the early phase when water is standing in a dozen or more localities camps are found at most waters. This is the time of maximum freedom of movement because ponds fill up in the usually waterless belts and make it possible for people to visit relatives 35-70 miles away.

The distribution of camps in December 1963 is illustrated in Map 17, p.157.

The second phase of summer life begins as these smaller waters dry up in February and March. Then most of the Bushmen converge on the large summer waters such as !Gauŭa Pan (not to be confused with /Gauŭa Pan in the Nyae Nyae area).

!Gauŭa Pan in its peak season (Jan-March in 1964) was a pond 400 feet long and 125 feet across, located in a local
[162] drainage area between two dunes. In addition to a resident
[648] population of 40 Bushmen (aggmented by dozens of temporary visitors) the pan supported four Bantu cattle posts with
[136] about 500 head of cattle. The pan was a watering place for kudu and wildebeeste and had resident flocks of red-billed teal, white-bellied stork and hammerkops. Within a 3 mile radius of the pan there were remains of at least ten abandoned Bushmen camps that had been occupied in previous years.

[162] Besides !Gauŭa there were four other big pans in the Dobe area, each of which supported large Bushmen camps (of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 158]

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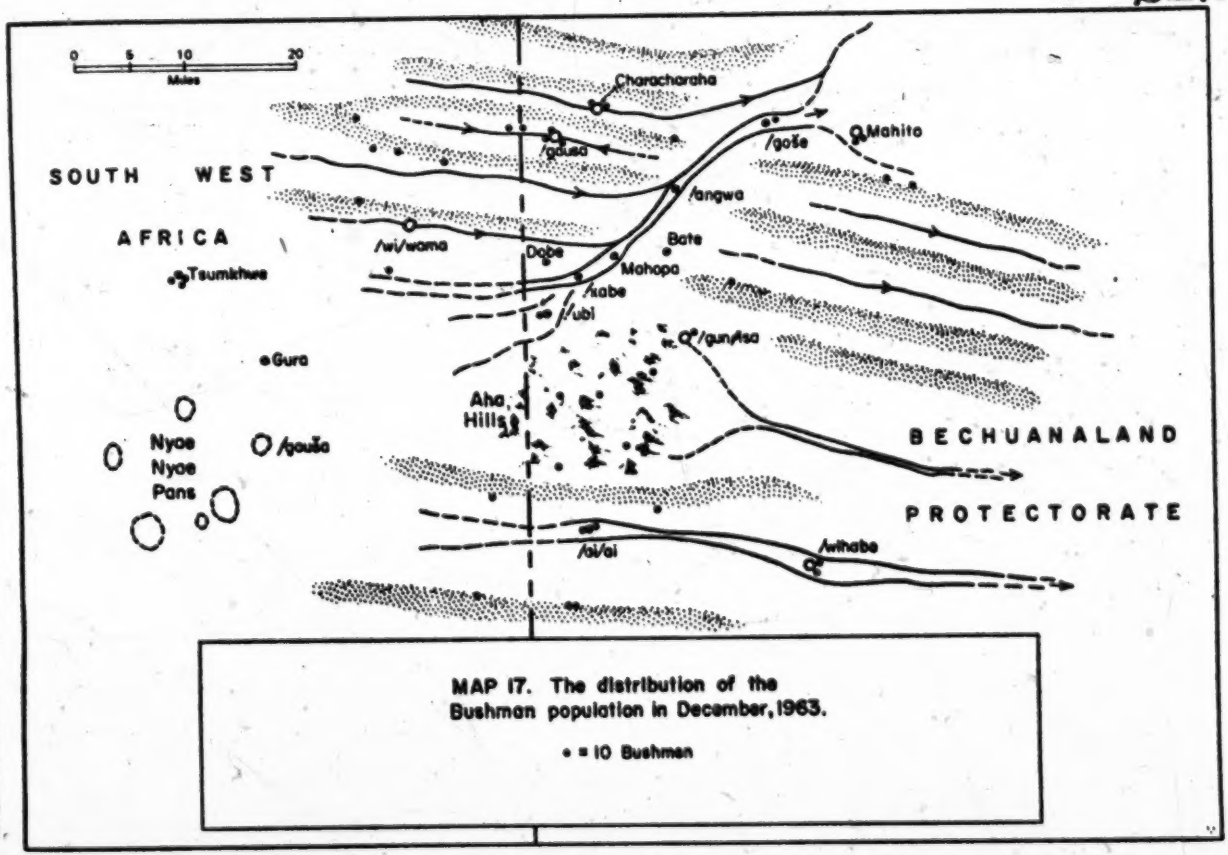

MAP 17. The distribution of the Bushman population in December, 1963.

• = 10 Bushmen

221
312 30 or more people) and Bantu cattle posts. These were located
361 at Characharaha, Mahito, !gun/isa and /wihabe. Map 18 illus-
[162] trates the distribution of population during the late summer
(March 1964).p. 159.

221 Life at the summer pans is, by Bushman standards, luxur-
137 ious because all of the major and minor fruits, berries,
433 melons and leafy greens become available. There is a succes-
222 sion of ripening of the major foods throughout the summer
months. The first to ripen are the leafy greens (Dipcadi
and Talinum), followed by the sour plums (Ximenia caffra and
X. americana), then the melons (Citrullus lanatus and C.
naudinianus), and the Grewia berries (Grewia flava comes
first followed by six other species). By the time the plums
have become scarce the melons are ready for eating. As the
melons become worked out the Grewia berries ripen. Each of
six species of Grewia comes into ripeness at a different
time, so that every two weeks throughout the middle of
summer another species of Grewia became ready for eating.
Throughout the early part of the summer the mongongo nuts
are available but these are the nuts from the previous year's
fall. It is not until April that the current year's fall of
nuts occurs. And then a new cycle of working out from the
camp occurs. This illustrates again the selective gathering
habits of the !Kung Bushmen.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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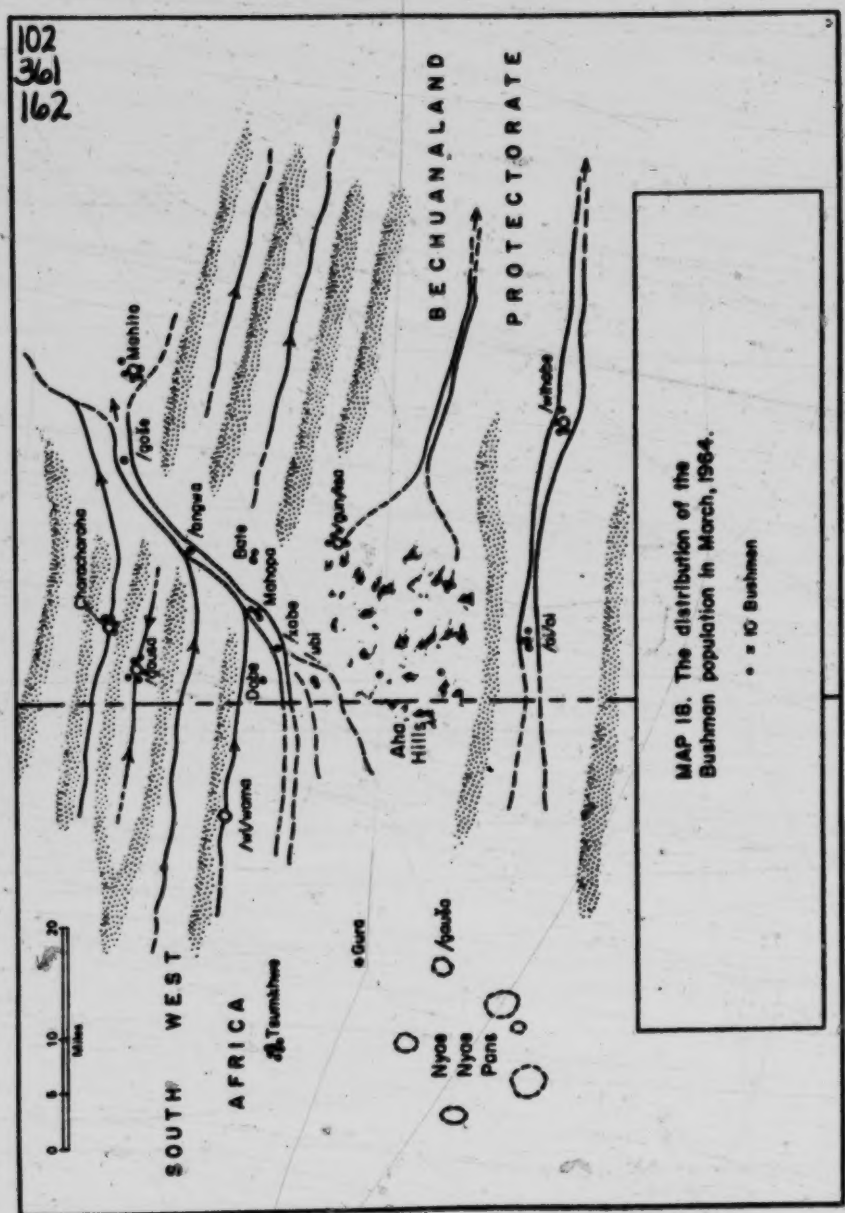

824 222 Citrullus lanatus - the well-known "tsàmma" melon was one of the superabundant foods. It was intensively exploited throughout the mid-summer until it was exhausted within a radius of five miles of the !Gausa Pan. This is a remarkably successful plant around the areas of human habitation. It is an annual (Story 1964:20) and will sprout from seed wherever the pips have been discarded. It is interesting that the Bushmen do not consider cultivating this melon, a common practice among the neighboring Bantu.

Grewia flava berries were superabundant in the vicinity of !Gausa and Characharaha. The amount a woman could bring home was limited only by the speed at which she could pick them from the five-foot tall bushes. In addition, six other species of Grewia were locally available: (G. bicolor, G. flavescens, G. avellana, G. falcistipulata, G. retinervis, and G. subspathulata). It is interesting that, because G. flava has the tastiest berry of all the Grewias, the other six species were largely ignored until the G. flava had been exhausted within a six mile radius of !Gausa.

824 262 When the new crop of mongongo nuts falls, the gatherers can ignore the previous year's crop. The mongongo nut has two edible portions: an outer fruit and an inner kernel. Figure 3 on page 161 shows a mongongo nut in cross section magnified four times to show detail. The outer layer of skin

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 162]

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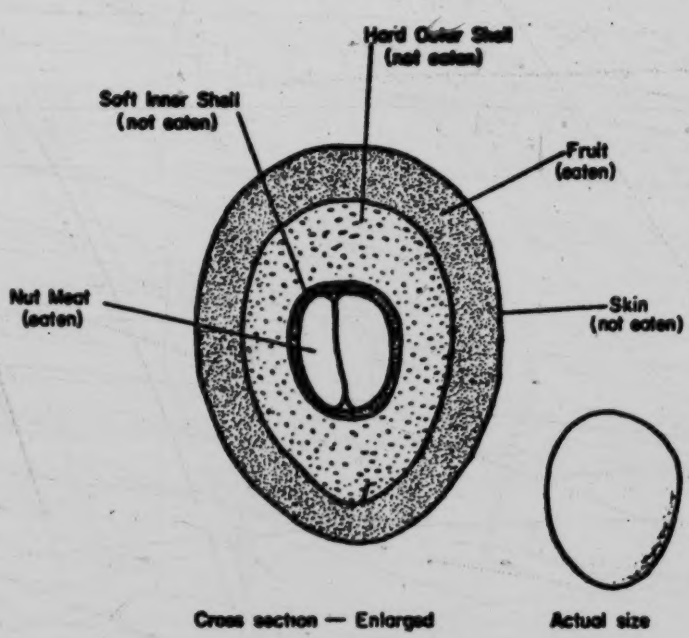

FIGURE 3.
MONGONGO NUT (Ricinodendron rautanenii)

824 is not eaten. Next is a casing of granular-textured fruit
262 which is eaten. The fruit encloses the nut itself. This consists of a thick outer shell which must be cracked open with the nut-cracking stones. Within the thick shell is a softer inner shell which encloses the nut kernel which is the staple of the Bushman diet. This inner kernel is "packaged" within four protective layers and this explains its remarkable storage properties.

824 In the late summer and autumn months the Bushmen eat
252 large quantities of both the fruit and the nut. First the women boil potfuls of whole fruit in order to separate the outer flesh from the hard shell. The flesh of the fruit produces a delicious fruit puree that tastes like stewed prunes. After the fruit is eaten, the nuts themselves are set aside for later cracking and eating.

184 The summer hunting situation appears to vary from camp
221 to camp. At the !Gausa camp very little hunting was done.
224 The resident men assisted the Bantu in cattle herding and they
[177] received calabashes of sour milk as payment. At Characharaha
[648] the men hunted more, killing gemsbok, python and porcupine.
[464] At one summer camp, Mokoro, where there were no Bantu resident, two young men killed four large buck in the space of one month (two kudu and two gemsbok). This Mokoro camp was an
[177] unusually successful one. The availability of cows' milk and meat no doubt lessens the men's incentive for hunting

000 meat no doubt lessens the men's incentive for hunting.

221 3. Autumn - which fell (in 1964) during April is the period
312 when these large summer waters are drying up. One by one the
361 big pans turn into muddy pools and the Bushmen abandon them. Some of the people join the camps established at the remaining summer waters while others fall back to their permanent waterholes in the main molapos.

!Gauša was the last of the summer waters to go dry. It was finally abandoned by May 1, 1964. By this date all the Bushmen had returned to the permanent waters and this marks the beginning of the winter subsistence cycle.

As mentioned previously the present study was made during a drought. There are indications in the literature that summer waters do not always dry out as early as May 1. The Bushmen themselves spoke of summer water persisting in previous years into the period of frost which does not come until June or July. It is also probable that the presence of Bantu cattle contributed to the premature drying out of the summer waters. However, these hypotheses cannot be tested except by further field work.

4. Early Winter

221 The winter season is not coterminous with the period of
312 food scarcity. This scarce period does not begin until mid-
433 winter and continues until the first rains. The first half

221 of winter from May to mid-July is a period of relative abun-
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433 dance. This is due to the fact that the permanent waters
[361] have not been occupied during the summer months, and there is abundant food in their vicinity when the Bushmen return to
[824] them in May. Subsistence has a double base, including both the tail-end of the summer foods such as the Grewia berries, and the first series of winter roots and bulbs. Mongongo nuts are also locally available. The distribution of the Bushmen population during the winter of 1964 is shown in Map 19, p. 165.

221 The root foods are generally associated with the winter
824 subsistence. This is curious because as perennials the bulbs may be dug out at any time of the year. But the Bushmen do not concentrate on root foods during the summer months: they pass them over in favor of the foods of shorter duration, the fruits and melons. They state that they do not like the flavor of the root foods during the winter.

In May and June these root plants are exploited and the pressure on them increases through the winter as the nuts become locally exhausted. The major roots are Eulophia spp., Vigna dinteri, Walleria muricata, Coccinia spp., Coccinia rehmannii and Ceropegia spp. - nine species in all. These have edible bulbs or storage organs which range in size from one to three inches in diameter.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 166]

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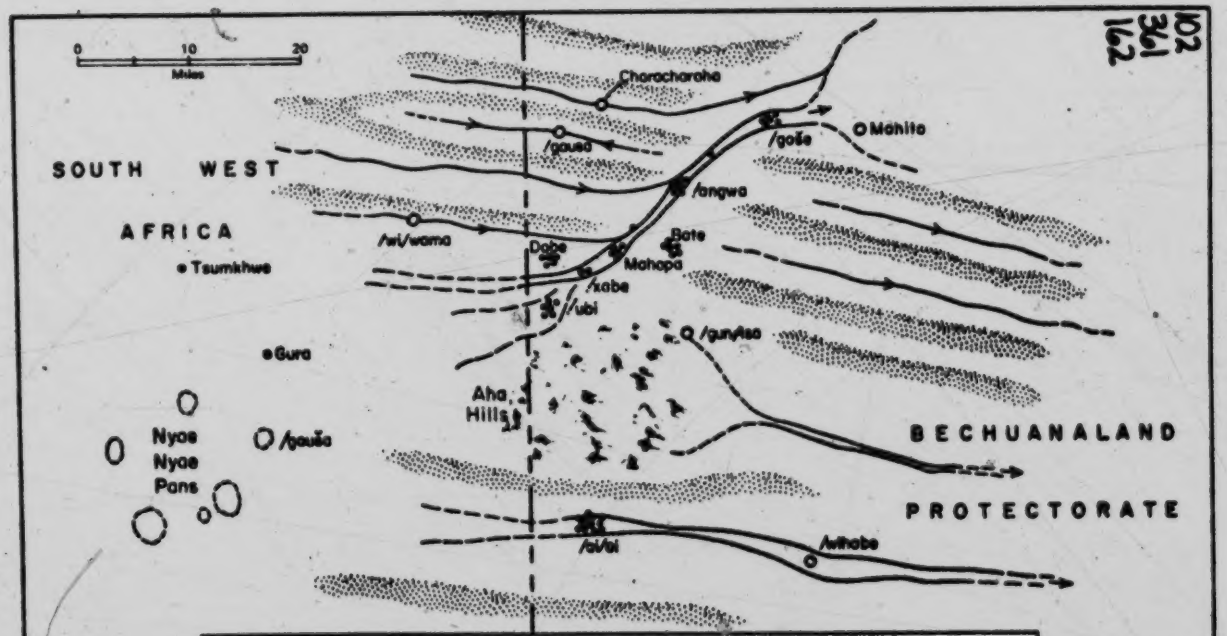

MAP 19. The distribution of the Bushman population in July, 1964.

• = 10 Bushmen.

221 Winter is the snareline season. Each hunter who is
224 wintering in his home territory starts to build his snare-
lines in May and continues to refine and improve the lines
224 until the end of August when they are abandoned. The snare-
line is built up as follows: the hunters of a camp agree
beforehand where each man will set up his lines. A man surveys
his snaring area for fresh tracks of steenbok which is the
major animal snared. He gradually lays down an unobtrusive
line of brush 600 to 900 feet long. The line zigzags from
bush to bush until by degrees he closes off a tract of ground
with a brush barrier. The object of this operation is to
habituate the animals to cross his line at a limited number
of gaps. Each day he inspects his line for fresh tracks.
If the animals are breaching his line regularly at one gap,
he then sets a rope snare in the gap.

The snare consists of a 3 foot length of rope, at one
end of which is a noose. This noose is spread apart on the
ground by a series of pegs. The center of the noose has a
trigger. When the forefoot of an antelope falls within the
noose the trigger is released. The other end of the noose is
tied to a trimmed sapling. The sapling is bent in a taut arc.
The animal crossing the gap steps into the noose and releases
the trigger. When the trigger is released the sapling snaps
back sharply and the noose tightens around the animal's foot.

224 The snared animal is not injured. It hangs suspended on the rope and struggles to break free, but if the hunter has tied his knots well he will arrive on his daily inspection to find the snared buck thrashing around the sapling. He then dispatches the buck with a club or spear, repairs the damage to the brush fence, and resets the snare.

At the height of the snaring season each hunter will have three lines in operation. Each line will have 7-9 gaps set with snares. The Dobe camp hunters who had set 20-25 separate snares averaged one small animal per hunter per week throughout the winter. A hunter's success in snaring depends upon his interpretation of game tracks and the patience with which he habituates the animals to crossing his lines where he wants them to. The hunters operate snarelines only in the winter because at other times of the year both the hunters and the quarry are ranging farther into the desert and the men do not remain long enough at one camp to build and maintain the snarelines.

[278] [231] In addition to the snarelines, the hunters carry out a full range of hunting activities including big game hunting with poison arrows, hunting wart-hog with dogs, and probing burrows for springhare, porcupine and antbear.

Table 7 lists all the kills made by the hunters of the Dobe camp during the 28 day period from 6 July to 2 August 1964.

TABLE 7

221 224 231 433 The kills made by the hunters of the Dobe camp during a 28-day period (6 July to 2 August 1964).

Date	Hunter	Species	Technique	estimated weight of meat
July				
7.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80 lbs.
7.	≠oma//gwe	steenbok	snare	12
9.	/ase	steenbok	snare	12
17.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
20.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
20.	≠oma//gwe	honey badger	snare	10
20.	≠oma//gwe	python	collected	20
21.	/ase	steenbok	snare	12
23.	n≠eysin!a	steenbok	snare	12
23.	≠oma//gwe	hare	snare	3
24.	≠oma	bat-eared fox	with dogs	4
27.	/ase	hare	snare	3
27.	≠gau	korhaan	snare	2
27.	n≠eysin!a	korhaan	snare	2
28.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
29.	≠oma//gwe	kori bustard	snare	10
30.	n≠eysin!a	steenbok	snare	12
31.	/ase	porcupine	cornered in burrow	20
				454 lbs.[1]

[1] In addition to the meat from these 18 kills, the Dobe Bushmen received gifts of meat from other camps. The weight of meat from these outside sources is estimated at 36 lbs. Therefore, the total meat eaten at Dobe was around 490 lbs.

224 [162] [361] There were nine adult men resident at this camp but only seven did any hunting. The eighth man was blind and the ninth was crippled. The seven hunters were n≠eysin!a (60 yrs.) and his son ≠oma (35 yrs.); ≠oma//gwe (65 yrs.) and his three sons /ase (40 yrs.), ≠gau (35 yrs.), and n≠eysi (27 yrs.); and ≠gaun!a (40 yrs.), the son-in-law of n≠eysin!a.

[231] The most successful hunter, ≠oma (35 yrs.), hunted 16/28 days and killed four wart hogs and a bat-eared fox, all killed with the aid of dogs. Next was /ase (40 yrs), who hunted nine days. He snared two steenbok and a hare and killed a porcupine by cornering it in its burrow and digging it out.

Then there were the two old men both of whom hunted 16 days each. ≠oma//gwe snared a steenbok, a honey badger, a hare and a kori bustard, and collected a python. N≠eysin!a snared two steenbok.

Old ≠oma//gwe's two younger sons hunted nine and eight days, respectively. The older of the two, ≠gau, snared one korhaan; the youngest son, n≠eysi, also snared one korhaan.

Finally old n≠eysin!a's son-in-law, ≠gaun!a, hunted four days but killed nothing.

[146] The seven men hunted a total of 79 man-days and killed 18 animals; the total weight of meat is estimated at 454 lbs. In addition, they received gifts of meat from other camps

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146 totalling 36 lbs. This meat (490 lbs.) went to feed a camp of 42 people (exclusive of visitors).

A rough calculation of the weight of meat per person per day through this 28-day period gives a figure of 6-2/3 oz. of meat. The daily intake of vegetable foods per person during the same period can be estimated at 24 oz. (of mongongo nuts and various roots). Therefore a reasonable estimate of the ratio of meat to vegetables in the diet of this camp is 25%-75%.

This ratio is based on observations at one camp during
[114] one season only. It can be said, however, that George Silberbauer, Laurence and Lorna Marshall, and the author are in general agreement that meat comprises between 20% and 40% by weight of the Bushman diet (Silberbauer, 1965:28; Marshalls, personal communication).

5. Late Winter

221 There is a well-defined break point in the winter subsistence cycle between the early period (May, June and July) of relative abundance and the late winter and spring period
221 of increasing food scarcity (August-September). Through the
222 early winter the Bushmen concentrate on the mongongo nut groves
462 that are within a day's walk of permanent water. Groups of women go out once every three or four days, fill their karosses with nuts and return to the camp in the evening. The men

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during this period concentrate on tending their snarelines.
[462] Gradually the distance to the nuts increases as a wider and
[224] wider radius of nuts becomes eaten out. For instance, by the end of July there were no nuts within seven miles of the Dobe waterhole, and a day's collecting became a major undertaking. In order to reach the nuts, the women had to set out early in the morning and walk for 2-1/2 hours. In the nut forest they had to work for two hours to fill their karosses
[482] with nuts. On the return journey each woman was heavily loaded with c. 30 lbs. of whole nuts and the distance back to camp took 3-1/2 hours to cover. Thus on a late July collecting trip, the women would have to walk at least 14 miles to and from the nuts, plus another two miles in the nut forests, stooping and collecting. This adds up to eight hours of hard work in one day.

At this point, the effort required to gather mongongo nuts begins to outweigh the satisfaction derived from eating nuts and one observed a sharp decline in nut collecting in favor of the less desirable foods of classes II, III and IV. These latter foods had the advantage of being locally abundant in the vicinity of the permanent waterholes.

This transition from nuts to other foods occurred at Dobe
[184] at the end of July (in 1964). At !gose, where the nut forests are much denser, the gatherers continued their daily trips

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222 well into September. On the other hand, at /ai/ai, where 109
184 Bushmen were living, the local mongongo nuts were exhausted at the beginning of July.

Since each territory was known for a different selection of winter foods, the transition took a different form at each waterhole. At Dobe, the mongongo nuts were replaced as the staple of the diet by Baobab fruits (Adansonia) and vegetable ivory palm hearts (Hyphaene). At Bate the people shifted from mongongo nuts to Sclerocarya caffra nuts. At !angwa, the people concentrated on collecting Acacia spp. gums.

221 In general the diet of the Bushmen becomes much more
824 eclectic during the latter half of the winter. It was during
146 this season that the Bushmen took advantage of a wide selection of edible species. Instead of eating mongongo nuts with a few other species as "side dishes", the people had to diversify their diet in order to live well. During August and September no less than 25 species of roots, bulbs and edible gums formed the basis of the diet.

222 There was an alternative strategy to eating less desirable
312 foods. If a family was prepared to make the effort required to reach the nutting groves, they would fill their water containers (ostrich egg shells and the stomachs of antelope) and walk to the nuts. They would collect and eat there until

222 312 their water was exhausted. Water could only be carried out in sufficient quantities to support a family for two or three nights, so that at noon of the third or fourth day, a family was forced to return home.

312 The ability of a group to live away from a waterhole is strictly limited by its capacity for hauling water. The ostrich egg shell has an average capacity of 36 ounces (U.S.).[1] The contents of two eggs (72 ounces or 2-1/4 quarts U.S.) supplies the minimum daily fluid requirements of one adult. Bushmen informants consistently spoke of two eggs-ful as their minimum daily ration. When well-water was available, the Bushmen were observed to drink more than 72 ounces per day. Irven DeVore made a four-day study of the water intake of a group of 15 people in November, 1964. During this period he provided (from water drums) all the water that was drunk by a party of 15, including seven adults and eight children.

His observations are set out below:

1. Total water given out during a 72 hour period; 2,812 oz.
2. Average per 24 hour period; 937 oz.

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[134] [1] The Kalahari ostrich egg shell is smaller than that of other areas. The mean capacity of four eggs from the Dobe area is 35.8 ounces (U.S.). (The range of capacities is 33.5, 35. 35.5, and 39.5 ounces.) This compares with an egg from the Cape Province with a capacity of 42 ounces, and an egg from Kenya with a capacity of 46 ounces.

312 3. Average quantity of water provided to each adult per 24 hour period; 85 oz.

4. Average quantity of water provided to each child per 24 hour period; 43 oz.

Since the amount of water loss through sweat varies directly with the air temperature, an individual would require more than two eggs-full of water during the summer when the mean daily maximum temperature is 100°F. During the winter, when the mean daily maximum is 85°F, two eggs-full appear to be sufficient.

Similarly, the amount of water loss through sweat varies directly with the intensity of activity, so that an individual would require more water after a day of hard hiking in the sun than he would after a day of comparative inactivity in the shade of the nut forests.

For the present case (winter nut collecting trips) the two-egg figures will be taken as an average.

312 For every day of residence away from the permanent water,
484 an individual must carry with him, 72 ounces of water. There-
222 fore a person on a three day collecting trip must carry out four eggshells of water: one for the afternoon of the first day, two for the second day and one for the morning of the third day. Children under 10 years of age can manage on one egg shell of water per full day. Therefore, if a man and wife

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222 with three young children go to the nuts they must carry a minimum of 4+4+2+2+2 = 14 ostrich egg shells filled with water, four for each adult and two for each child. However, most [424] women own only about six shells. By borrowing shells from other camp members they can bring the total up to the number required for a three day trip.

The antelope stomach sacs offer an increase in water-carrying capacity. A fresh sac will hold up to one gallon (U.S.), i.e. 128 ounces of water, which is the equivalent of 3-1/2 egg shells. Therefore, if a family of five owns two stomach sacs containing 256 ounces of water, this will provide them with one day's supply of water. The 14 egg shells hold three day's supply of water, so that, with two stomach sacs and 14 shells, the family of five can stay an extra day (three nights instead of two) away from the permanent waterhole.

Four days is the upper limit on the time that Bushmen can spend away from a waterhole without a supplement of water from plant sources. There are three reasons for setting the upper limit at four days. First, there is a limit to the number of containers available. Stomach sacs are very fragile and have a short useful life. As they rip they are sewn and this sewing makes their capacity smaller and smaller, so that after six months or so they are discarded. Ostrich egg shells, on the other hand, are much more durable

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and may stay in constant use for years. It is curious therefore that each family possesses less than 10 shells and must borrow shells in order to make these hiking trips to the nuts. The limited number of containers is probably the reason why members of a camp go out to the nuts in shifts. When one family returns, the camp's ostrich egg shells are pooled, and then another family may go out.

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A second limitation is the weight of water that can be carried. The 756 ounces of water required for four days at the nut forest weigh 47 lbs. Each empty ostrich egg shell weighs eight ounces; so that the 14 shells themselves weigh an additional seven lbs. Furthermore it is necessary for the parents to carry the younger children on their shoulders. So, in effect, the parents must walk out to the nut forests fully loaded with water and children and also return fully loaded with nuts and children. On the return trip the weight of the water is replaced by an equivalent weight of collected nuts.

The third limitation is set by the volume that the ostrich egg shells occupy in the carrying space of the kaross. The volume occupied by 14 ostrich egg shells is roughly equivalent to the volume occupied by 14 quart-sized milk bottles. When the time comes for the trip home the adults must pack into each kaross 20 lbs. of nuts, as well as the empty ostrich egg

312 shells; this makes for a very bulky and unwieldy parcel. The
484 stomach sacs, by contrast to the egg shells, have the distinct
222 advantage of being weightless and occupying no space on the return trip, since when they are empty they dry and shrivel up.

221 The reader can now appreciate the complex logistics of
222 Bushman subsistence activities during the late winter dry
312 season. In view of the difficulty of collecting mongongo nuts during this season, it is not surprising that the people turn to an eclectic diet of roots, bulbs, and gums that are still available in the vicinity of permanent water.

222 Several variations in tactics were observed among the
484 Dobe area Bushmen. One such variation was to leave the older
855 children behind in the care of relatives while the parents
312 made the long trips to the nut forests. By leaving behind
482 two children at the main camp, the parents could effect savings of 30% in the weight of water that had to be carried out on a four day trip.

222 Another variation observed was the two-day-one-night
484 overnight hike. Such a trip lasted only 36 hours and required
312 only three ostrich egg shells of water per adult. By using
[482] this tactic, groups of ten or more people could make a rapid lightly loaded trip to the nut forests and return the following day heavily loaded with nuts. This was a difficult operation

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312 because it entailed two consecutive days of hardhiking on
482 short water rations. The object of such a trip was to get to
484 the nuts and back again as quickly as possible, before the physiological deficit of water was allowed to reduce efficiency.

221 The general object of the winter nutting trips was to
222 remain at the nut forests just long enough to eat a really
262 substantial quantity of nuts (about 400 nuts per adult). This marathon meal starts the moment that the Bushmen arrive at the nut camps and continues throughout their stay. It is interrupted for short periods when the Bushmen go out to col-
[539] lect nuts in the vicinity of their temporary camp. There is a Bushman saying that aptly applies to this situation: "It is better to carry food home in your stomach than on your back."

[224] Hunting rarely occurs at these overnight camps. The efforts of men and women alike are directed to eating as many nuts as possible in a short time.

[312] The most important variation in the late winter and spring subsistence tactics centers on the use of Fockea monroi as a source of water. This will be discussed below.

132 6. Early Spring

August is the last month of winter. The last of the freezing nights occurs at the first of the month and these are followed by warmer nights in the 40's and 50's and daily

132 highs in the 90's. The warmer weather heralds the onset of
312 spring which is the most difficult season of the year. Most
137 of the waterholes have no mongongo nuts within a ten mile
222 radius. The alternative foods, roots and bulbs, are being collected daily by some of the people, while others are making the long overnight journeys to the nut forests.

221 Since territories vary in the abundance of early spring
574 foods there was a noticeable tendency for families to visit
628 other camps. For instance in September, Bate still had a good supply of Sclerocarya caffra, nuts; and several families from Dobe, Mahopa, and !angwa converged upon Bate to eat these nuts. Similarly !ubi had a supply of Baobab fruits (Adansonia digititata) and other families made extended visits to relatives there. The maintenance of close ties between camps made possible a more equitable distribution of foodstuffs, so that, if there was scarcity at one camp, and food at another, the members of the first camp would not go hungry. This is one of the highly adaptive features of the fluidity of !Kung group structure.

[563] Some families fall back on the Herero villages at this
[431] time of year to beg for milk. This occurs especially among those people who have a sister or cousin married to a Bantu man. Both the Bushman and Herero codes of good manners demand that visiting in-laws be fed (L. Marshall 1961).

221 Unfortunately spring is the most difficult season for the
433 Herero as well as for the Bushmen. The good grazing for livestock is miles distant from the waterholes. Consequently the cattle are in poor condition and their yield of milk is low.

251 It would be useful for the Bushmen to amass a surplus of food in anticipation of this scarce season. However, none of the 15 independent camps observed ever kept more than a few days supply of vegetable foods on hand. Surplus accumulation was not a feature of Bushmen food strategy except for one instructive case.

There was a noticeable attempt to create a small surplus
251 in the form of dried meat and hides. Each family maintained
285 a storage basket in the crotch of a young tree. By weaving a framework of branches and palm fronds and lining this with grass, they built up a rough basket for storing weapons, water containers and small amounts of food. The storage basket was built five feet above the ground which kept its contents safe from the reach of dogs and children. If a day's hunting had been unsuccessful, the members of a camp could invariably produce an emergency ration of dried meat or, more often, dried hide for the evening meal. People saved scraps of dried hide of kudu, gemsbok and wildebeeste from kills made weeks or
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252 months previously. These scraps were softened by boiling or
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251 were roasted in the coals of the fire and then pounded to
252 the consistency of coarse meal in the wooden mortar. This
262 roasted hide had the taste and texture of crisp crackling and was delicious when pounded and mixed with the flesh of roots of the genera Coccinia, Walleria and Eulophia. These stores of dried hide and meat did not serve as a staple surplus so much as an emergency delicacy to brighten the diet when a day's hunting had been unsuccessful.

221 The major food strategy during the hot dry spring was
222 the 7-14 day trip to the waterless country where mongongo nuts
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361 were still plentiful. At these camps the only source of
824 water was the juice from the roots of Fockea monroi. Fockea has an uneven distribution in the Dobe area. The Bushmen must camp in a nut forest that is in close proximity to patches of Fockea. The maximum period that a group was observed to live on Fockea roots was two weeks. The limitation is set by the density of Fockea plants in an area, and the amount of fluid that each plant holds. Life at the Fockea patches is difficult because people have to work hard to obtain water as well as food. Each Fockea root storage organ contains 8-16 ounces of recoverable moisture. Thus a daily ration of 72 ounces of water can be obtained by digging out 5-10 Fockea roots.

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824 But the dilemma of living on Fockea lies in the fact that
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312 a great deal of energy must be expended in digging out these
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222 roots, and the concomitant of this expenditure of energy is a much greater fluid loss through sweating.

It was mentioned earlier that the body's daily water loss is in part a function of the intensity of activity. For instance, an individual who is resting in the shade will lose half the water that is lost by another individual who is walking in the sun.[1] When standing water is available, the amount of energy expended in obtaining water is small. An individual walks a few hundred yards from his camp to the waterhole, drinks his fill there, then fills his water containers and walks back to the shade of his camp. On the other hand, an individual who is living on Fockea roots must walk several miles per day in the sun and must dig out a number of large roots that are buried 12-18 inches deep in the hard soil of the molapos. Therefore an individual who drinks Fockea juice must first replace the considerable quantity of water that is lost through the effort of searching and digging the Fockea roots; this is in addition to the water that is lost in the course of normal daily activities such as hunting, food gathering and resting.

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[1] Adolph and associates (1947) present detailed analyses of this and other factors in sweat production.

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222 The net effect of this effort is that an individual must drink much more than the minimum daily requirement of 72 ounces of water. In fact, men who were living on Fockea roots, were observed to dig out between 15 and 20 of the roots per day. The quantity of water provided by these roots is estimated at 150-300 ounces, part of which went to provide water for the children of the camp.

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312 A description of one Fockea trip, in which the author participated, will serve to illustrate some of the difficulties of living away from standing water.

[123] This trip began on 6 November and ended on 16 November, 1964. The group consisted of 12 Bushmen (plus the author); there were three men, four women, and five children. One of the young women gave birth during her stay so the returning group consisted of 13 Bushmen.

November 6 - This group (minus one of the men who came out the following day) set out from the Dobe waterhole at 10:00

[103] a.m. They spent the day walking to a nut forest named !wi/wama which was situated eleven miles west of Dobe. The original plan was to remain there for five days.

[481] The pace was leisurely to suit the three older children
[855] (ages 12, 8, 6 respectively) who went on foot and the young
[843] woman who was in the terminal month of her pregnancy. On the way we stopped at intervals to eat seven different species of

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food plants and to rest in the shade. Towards evening we reached a patch of Fockea roots and spent an hour digging and eating them. Six roots were divided among our group of 12 people. At seven p.m. we made camp in the mongongo nut forests at !wi/wama. Within minutes of our arrival the four women had collected and were cracking mongongo nuts.

Before leaving Dobe, the Bushmen had filled 15 containers with water:

1 kudu stomach sac	4 quarts
2 enamel buckets	4 quarts
12 ostrich egg shells	13-1/2 quarts
Total water carried:	21-1/2 quarts (= c. 700 oz. or water)

On the outward journey, the 12 of us drank four of the ostrich egg shells which had been filled at the Dobe well, plus an estimated two quarts of water from Fockea roots. During the evening, no one drank water until just before bedtime when a further three quarts of water were divided out. Therefore, of the estimated total of 700 ounces of well water, 224 ounces (30%) had been consumed on the first day's hike. It is not known how long the remainder lasted because the author left the camp at the end of the second day.

November 7 - The group woke up at 5:40 a.m. The women were not satisfied with the location of the camp so we packed up and hiked west for another half mile to make camp at a new

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484 location closer to the nuts. By 7:00 a.m. this camp had been
312 deserted. The women and their children had gone to collect
[462] nuts and the men had set out to find Fockea roots and to hunt
[224] along the way. The men carried no water with them on the hunt. The author accompanied the men.

We walked south for several miles looking for fresh animal tracks and for patches of Fockea plants. We passed through two molapos where the Fockea plants were likely to exist, but to our disappointment we found none. It was 10:00 a.m. before we dug out the first Fockea of the day.
[132] By this time the morning coolness had disappeared and we had to walk and dig in the sun with shade temperatures about
312 100°F. The first Fockea worth digging were found 4-1/2 miles
824 south of our camp at !wi/wama. The roots were the size of a football and weighed about three pounds.

The flesh of Fockea is white and juicy with a spongy granular texture. The juice is milky in color and slightly astringent so that it smarts when accidentally rubbed into small cuts on the hands. There are two methods of extracting the moisture from the root. First, one cuts open the root with a knife and chops off chunks of the flesh inside. This may be eaten directly like watermelon. The disadvantage of this method is that one must swallow about three pounds of roughage in order to extract one pint of moisture; in other

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words, 15 lbs. of roughage per day for the minimum water requirment. This is the most efficient means of processing water from Fockea roots because the digestive system can convert all the moisture that is in the Fockea flesh.

However, the Bushmen say (and I can corroborate this) that a man cannot swallow 15 pounds of pulp per day. The stomach becomes full long before one's thirst is quenched. It is probable also that such a great quantity of roughage would put an intolerable burden on the human digestive system, even of people whose digestive systems are accustomed to processing quantities of fibrous roughage.

The more common way of extracting moisture from the root is to squeeze the juice out by hand. The juice may be squeezed directly into the mouth, or squeezed into a cup and then drunk. This is a less efficient way of extracting moisture because much of the juice remains in the fibers after squeezing. Also some of the juice runs down the arms. It does offer a distinct psychological advantage, however, because one is able to drink the juice and thus satisfy the swallowing reflex which is connected with the neurophysiological sensation of thirst (Ladell 1958). Eating the flesh of Fockea does not satisfy this sensation.

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The men continued to eat and drink Fockea from 10:00 a.m. to 12:20 p.m. Then we started to hunt in a northerly direction.

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224 No game were seen except for a solitary female ostrich. We
[222] tracked her to her nest and collected her clutch of nine eggs. Each of the eggs was pounded in the sand to separate the amnion from the inside of the shell. This apparently kills the embryo inside the egg. These nine eggs were divided among the three of us. We then dug out four large Fockea roots intact, and we returned to the camp at 2:30 p.m. after a hike of nine miles.

484 The women of the camp had spent the early part of the
222 morning collecting nuts and Fockea and the rest of the day
462 sitting in the shade cracking nuts and squeezing the Fockea
312 juice. From 2:30 to 4:30 p.m. no one drank any of the water that had been brought the previous day.

484 At 4:30 p.m. the third man of the camp arrived from Dobe.
312 He brought with him one gallon of water in an enamel milk pail and portions of a dead kudu that he had scavenged from a carnivore kill on the way.

484 By this time I was experiencing symptoms of heat dis-
123 tress, (fever, lassitude, inability to swallow) and decided
312 to return to Dobe, because my continued presence would become a burden on the camp residents, none of whom, incidentally, showed any signs of heat discomfort.

One of the men, seeing my condition, offered to accompany me back to Dobe with his family. We left at sunset and walked

484 until 8:00 p.m. Before making camp we ate wild oranges along
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312 the way (Strychnos [illegible]inosa) but these did not contain much moisture. We camped at a point halfway between !wi/wama and Dobe and there shared out the last of the family's drinking water, which amounted to one quart for four adults and three children, that is c. 4-1/2 oz. for each of us.

484 November 8 - The camp awoke at 4:50 a.m. By 5:20 we had
123 packed and were under way, arriving home without incident at 7:30 a.m.

484 November 8-16 - This ended the author's participation in
312 the Fockea trip. Six members of the original group remained
361 at !wi/wama eating nuts and drinking the juice of Fockea. On the eleventh of November there was a heavy fall of rain at !wi/wama which created a temporary pool of water near their camp. This enabled them to extend their stay beyond the original plan of five days.

484 The same week that the rain fell, the pregnant woman of
361 the camp gave birth to a baby boy. The group remained at the
844 nut camp until the mother was strong enough to walk. Then they broke camp and returned to Dobe on November 16. Both mother and child appeared to be in fine condition.

132 The rain of November 11 was the first substantial fall
221 of the 1964-65 rainy season and initiated the subsistence activities associated with the late spring (see above). Thus

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221 this account of the seasonal round has come full circle to the starting point.

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433 In summary, there are, in effect, only three basic sets of subsistence conditions for the Bushmen:

1. Water everywhere - Food everywhere
2. Water limited - Food abundant
3. Water limited - Food scarce.

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433 When the first set of conditions prevail during the rains of November through March, Bushman life is sweet. The camps
[628] can live near the most concentrated food sources within their
[674] territory, or share in the food supply of neighboring camps,
[602] or easily undertake the long trips to visit relatives at distant waterholes.

When the second set of conditions prevail, from April through July, freedom of movement is more restricted but food is still abundant enough to make life comfortable.

When the third set of conditions prevail, from August through October, the Bushmen must resort to increasingly arduous tactics in order to maintain a good diet, or, alternatively they must content themselves with foods of less desirability in terms of abundance, ease of collecting and nutritive value.

It is during the three lean months of the year that the Bushmen life approaches the precarious conditions that have

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come to be associated with the hunting and gathering way of life. However one should not lose sight of the fact that for nine or more months of each year the Bushmen can easily fulfill their food requirements without resorting to the more difficult (and, to our eyes, more dramatic) subsistence tactics.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

IX. FOOD, WORK AND LAND USE

AMONG THE !KUNG BUSHMEN

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An observer planning to live with Bushmen is led to expect - from the ethnographic literature - that the Bushmen lead an arduous and exacting way of life, in which the problem of getting food is an overwhelming daily concern. Furthermore I had been told, by local Europeans, that the Bushmen were extremely shy and difficult to find, and that they were always on the move in their endless quest for game. Therefore I was unprepared for the situation in the Dobe area when I first arrived there at the end of the dry season of 1963; for camped at every waterhole were dozens of Bushmen who offered the outsider a hearty welcome and who were seemingly unconcerned by the problem of finding food.

During the course of the study, it became apparent that the Bushman subsistence was more substantial and secure than had been previously supposed. In the foregoing chapters the properties of their hunting and gathering way of life have been described. It will be appropriate, in this final chapter, to review the lines of evidence that bear on the problem of how such a carefree and secure existence is possible in a society of hunter-gatherers living in a harsh, semi-desert environment.

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Abundance of Resources -- The habitat of the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen is rich in naturally-occurring foods. The three distinct plant associations - of the Dune, the Flats, and the Molapo - each support a distinctive constellation of food plants. By far the most important of these is the Dune association and its main constituent, the mongongo tree. From the vast groves of this tree, many thousands of nuts are harvested each year. The mongongo nut, because of its abundance and reliability, resembles a cultivated staple crop such as maize or rice. In terms of nutritional value - proteins and sugars - it even exceeds the cereal crops. Furthermore, it is drought-resistant so that the mongongo nut will still be abund-
[221] ant in dry years when cultivated crops fail. The excellent storage properties of the nut allow it to be harvested in all months of the year. This factor is especially important during the dry winter months when the short-term rainy season foods are not available. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the Bushmen are asked to explain why they have not taken to cultivation, they reply: "Why should we plant when there are so many mongongo nuts in the world?"

Variety of Resources -- The mongongo nut is only one, albeit the most important, of the 85 species of edible plants available to the Bushmen. The existence of this variety of foodstuffs

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824 allows for a wide range of alternatives in subsistence
433 strategy. During the summer months the Bushmen have no prob-
824 lem other than to choose among the tastiest and most easily
221 collected foods; other species which are quite edible but less attractive are simply bypassed, so that gathering never exhausts all the available foods of an area.

During the dry season, when the fruits and melons have gone, the gatherers still have multiple options open to them. They may plan a hike to the molapos to collect the edible Acacia gums, or they may go to the flats to dig out roots and bulbs. Even at the end of the dry season, when the stronger members of a group are making the long hikes to the mongongo forests, the older, less mobile members can derive an adequate subsistence from an eclectic diet of minor foods which are closer to home.

433 Plants versus Game -- The security of Bushman subsistence
222 derives in part from the fact that meat is of secondary import-
224 ance to vegetables in the diet. The !Kung males are persistent, but not particularly successful hunters. Although hunting accounts for over half of the subsistence effort of a camp, meat comprises only 20-40 per cent of the diet. The basis of the Bushman diet is plant food, and meat has come to be regarded as a special treat. When meat is available, it is welcomed as a break from the routine of vegetable foods, but it is never

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depended upon as a staple. Strictly speaking, the Bushmen should therefore be regarded as gatherer-hunters rather than hunter-gatherers.

The relative scarcity of game in the Dobe area may be related to the widespread diminution of the large African mammals during historic times. It is worth noting, however, that this diminution of game has not led to the collapse of the Bushman way of life. It is sometimes asserted that the decline of large game has contributed to the extinction of hunting-and-gathering peoples in Africa and elsewhere. The evidence from the Dobe area refutes this assertion. The Bushmen there have elaborate and sophisticated methods for capturing smaller mammals, and the meat from these kills serves to supplement a diet primarily based on abundant plant resources. The burden of the evidence from this study suggests that the Dobe area Bushmen do not lead an impoverished way of life.

262 <u>Diet Selectivity</u> -- If the Bushmen were living close to the starvation level, then one would expect them to exploit every available source of nutrition. That their life is well above this level is indicated by the fact that, in a given season, they eat only the most attractive of the vegetable foods, and bypass many other available foods. In their meat eating habits the Bushmen show a similar selectivity. Only a few of the dozens of edible species of small mammals, birds, reptiles, and

262 insects that occur locally are regarded as food. Such animals as rodents, snakes, lizards, termites, and grasshoppers, which, in the literature, are included in the Bushman dietary, are despised by the Bushmen of the Dobe area. Even the more attractive larger mammals are hedged round by numerous age-specific, sex-specific, and personal taboos, so that no single Bushman may eat all of the thirty species of mammal that are considered edible. Ritual curers prescribe, for each individual, a series of species that would be highly injurious if the individual were to eat them. These prohibitions are strictly observed. For instance, the wife of ǂoma, the most successful wart-hog hunter, was forbidden to eat the meat of that species and she became sick to her stomach at the mere smell of cooking wart-hog meat. Such strongly-held aversions and selective tastes are cultural luxuries that are not usually associated with a starvation level subsistence.

462 [512] <u>Leisure and Work</u> -- The getting of food is the most important single activity in Bushman life. This task occupies, on the average, 25 per cent of the womens' days and 40 per cent of the mens' days. The significant point, however, is that the majority of the time of both sexes is spent in non-subsistence [222] activities such as resting, talking, and visiting. In a typical [574] work period, a Bush woman will gather one day and then spend two or three days either resting in camp or visiting other camps,

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before she goes out to gather again. The hunters tend to work more frequently than the gatherers. Typically a man will go out on two or three consecutive days and then spend two or three days in camp. Unlike the women, who maintained a consistent gathering routine throughout the year, the hunting activity of the men came in intermittent bursts. It was not unusual for a man to hunt avidly for a week and then do no hunting at all for two weeks. Since hunting was an unpredictable business, and subject to magical control, hunters would sometimes experience a run of bad luck and would stop hunting for a month or longer. For instance, Koma, the best hunter of the Dobe camp, did not hunt at all for a three-month period in 1963 because he said that his luck had left him. He remained in camp, apparently awaiting inspiration, while his wife patiently provided food for him. Most of the men of the Dobe camp went through similar periods of inactivity.

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<u>Non-productive Camp Members</u> -- People who are under twenty years and over sixty-five years of age contribute very little to the food input of a camp. Young women are not expected to contribute food until they are married. Girls typically marry between the ages of fifteen and twenty, so it is not unusual to find healthy, active, teenagers visiting from camp to camp while their older relatives provide food for them. The assumption of adult responsibility by the boys is even more delayed.

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224 A boy does not begin to play-hunt until he is twelve years old, and seven or eight years may pass before he kills his first buck, an event which signals his entry into manhood.
[648] Nowadays many adolescent boys spend several years working on
[464] the Bantu cattle posts where they receive clothing and rations.
[682] This interval of work undoubtedly delays their attainment of social maturity and boys do not normally marry until they reach their middle twenties. It is significant that, upon marriage, practically all of the young men return to the camps and take up hunting as a full time occupation.

888 The aged hold a respected position in Bushman society. They are the effective as well as the titular leaders of the camps. The oldest people are fed and cared for by their children and grandchildren long after their productive years have
888 passed. The blind, the senile and the crippled are held in
734 awe and respect by the Bushmen, because they often possess special ritual and technical skills. For instance, /wan!a, the eighty year old female leader of the !gose camps, was senile and partially blind, but she was recognized as the leading exponent of the Women's Curing Dance. The two male elders of the !gose camps were both totally blind, but this did not prevent their active participation in decision-making and in ritual curing.

000 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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121 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social
433 maturity by the young people and the support of the non-pro-
883 ductive elderly people are institutions which are possible
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182 only in a society with a relatively secure subsistence base.

433 Water, Food, and Nomadism -- The special subsistence problems
312 faced by the Dobe area Bushmen concern the scarcity of water.
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361 All of the eight natural permanent waterholes are situated in or near the beds of the main molapos. During the summer months, when temporary pools develop at a distance from permanent water, the Bushmen can move out to live at them. Except for a few weeks each year, the Bushmen spend their entire lives camped within an hour's walk of standing water. Only at the end of the dry season do some of the younger people undertake the long trips to the dry forests where they live by digging out the water-bearing roots. Since it is the custom of the Bushmen to return each evening to their main camps, it follows that areas within a single day's walk of standing water will be intensively utilized. Areas that lie beyond this radius will be rarely utilized even though they may be rich in food. The fact that the Bushmen can live well for most of the year within a six-mile radius of permanent water indicates that they do not lead a nomadic way of life. Each summer they move up-country to the seasonal waters and each winter they fall back on their permanent waterholes. In contrast to some Australian aboriginal groups, whose annual round consists of walking a circuit of many waterholes, the Dobe area Bushmen have a

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312 transhumant annual round, in which they alternate between their
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361 rainy season range and their dry season range.

484 The Dobe area !Kung do not undertake long marches of
574 30-70 miles for the purpose of getting food. This task can be
628 readily fulfilled within a day's walk of their territorial water sources. When such long marches occur, they are invariably for the purposes of visiting, trading, and marital exchanges with relatives at distant camps. As such, these trips should not be confused with the normal routines of subsistence.

311 Range Size and Population Density -- By plotting the movements
433 of the various camps in their annual subsistence cycle, the
162 observer can derive a rough estimate of the total land area that is required to support the population of 430 Bushmen. It would be much more difficult to estimate the area necessary to support a single camp, because of the considerable overlap of territories and the frequent visiting between camps. It will be more useful to treat the entire population as a unit. It is estimated that the 800 square miles that lie within a six-mile radius of major water sources are sufficient to support the population for most of the year. Beyond this radius lies a hinterland which is rarely penetrated; perhaps a further 200 square miles of this hinterland is utilized in the course of a single year. Thus the total annual range of the Dobe area Bushmen may be estimated at 1,000 square miles. This calculation sets the effective population

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162 density at ca. 43 persons per 100 square miles, or two-and-a-half square miles per person. This is a rather high density figure for desert-living hunters and gatherers. The higher figure is partly due to the fact that it represents the ratio of population to the actual land area utilized. This is a more meaningful way of expressing density than is a figure based on the ratio of population to the total land area that it appears to occupy. For instance, on a map, the Dobe area covers about 2,700 square miles, but the Bushmen actively utilize less than 40 per cent of this area. It is suggested that estimates of population density for other hunting and gathering peoples would give accordingly higher values if the criterion of actual use was employed in the calculation.

Conclusion

433 These eight lines of evidence constitute the case for a revision of the anthropological view of the Bushmen. Their way of life is not impoverished or precarious. Considering the environment in which they live, the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen lead an unexpectedly comfortable and secure existence. The evidence set out here assumes an added significance because this security of life was observed during a period of severe drought. Consequently the author witnessed the worst conditions that the !Kung would have to face. One can speculate that their

433 subsistence base would be even more substantial during a year of higher rainfall. The Kalahari desert is by any account a marginal habitat for human occupation. Nevertheless it is apparent that the people who live there can satisfy their subsistence needs with a reasonable amount of effort and within a short compass of their waterholes.

The Subsistence Base of Other Hunter-Gatherers

It remains to be considered whether the !Kung Bushmen are exceptional among hunters and gatherers in that they have an unusually reliable subsistence base in the form of the mongongo nut.

171 A brief survey of the living hunting and gathering peoples
433 indicates that the !Kung are quite typical of the general picture. For instance, the coastal Tierra del Fuegians, the California Indians, the Strandloopers of South Africa, and the Australian aborigines of Arnhem Land, the Cape York Peninsula, and New South Wales all possessed a superabundant staple of marine resources, especially shellfish. In the interior of California the acorn was the superabundant staple. Even the lowly Shoshoneans of the Great Basin who, because of scarce resources, were forced to exist at the "family level of organization" possessed a superabundant staple in the form of piñon nuts (Steward 1955). These nuts were so abundant that quantities could be collected and stored sufficient to last through the winter. Furthermore, the winter encampments typically consisted

171 of 20 or 30 families living in one locality (Steward 1955:105).
433 Such a camp would contain upwards of 60 people and therefore would have been as large as the larger of the Dobe Bushmen winter camps. Even larger aggregations occurred among the Shoshone on the occasion of the communal rabbit hunts. In light of this, one suspects that the subsistence basis of the Shoshone was more secure than their ethnographer was prepared to allow.

It is not known what the staple food resource of the desert aborigines of Australia may have been, but there is compelling evidence that such a staple did exist. This is based on the fact that groups of 300-500 Aranda and Walbiri have been observed to congregate for four to five months at a time (Strehlow 1947:65; Meggitt 1962:55). Such concentrations of population could not have been possible without a super-abundant source of food.

It is suggested that the literature on the living hunters and gatherers of the world deserves to be reconsidered in light of this abundant food base. It appears that anthropologists have tended to underestimate hunting and gathering as a viable and persistent way of life. Despite the fact that non-agricultural peoples today are confined to the least attractive habitats of the world, there is evidence that human ingenuity, such as that displayed by the Dobe area Bushmen, can produce a substantial living from even the most unpromising environments.

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[1] Introduction

121 The purpose of my expedition, on which I was accompanied by my wife, Maria Lebzelter-Grammetbauer, was to study the anthropology and ethnology of the native tribes, especially of the Bushmen, as well as the archeology of South Africa. The original plan came from Professor Father Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D.
122 Repeated generous stipends from His Holiness Pope Pius XI made possible the continuation of the expedition, which was fostered with tireless zeal by Father Schmidt. The Austrian Government, by means of special administrative measures, made it possible for me to set out on this journey. Furthermore, the editor of Anthropos, Professor Father W. Koppers, repeatedly lent considerable support to the expeditionary fund. The Research Grant Board in Johannesburg granted me -- although for purely anthropological purposes -- a single subvention of 50 pounds.

114 I have already described the program and execution of my South African expedition in the first volume of this work. Here, before presenting the ethnological results, I should like to portray in rough outline how these results were arrived at. I must state in advance that there was a space of only three weeks between the time when the measures taken by the Austrian authorities made it certain that I could leave my homeland and my actual departure. Hence, a
[122] more detailed study of the native languages was out of the question. The conditions under which a person today can do ethnological field work are fundamentally different from those of the pioneering era.
[797] Through the activity of the missions, there is growing up among all
[177] tribes, except for the Bushmen, a stratum of intelligent individuals who, if not in this generation, certainly in the next, will take over
000 the research among their own people. I recall a lawyer's clerk in Natal (Swazi) who had acquired a pamphlet of ethnological lectures from Johannesburg and had learned it by heart. When he turned to a White ethnologist, in order to begin the practical work, the latter assured him that just as a race horse could not be used for plowing, so an ox could not be used for racing. Meanwhile, however, a number of very creditable works by natives have
115 already appeared in print. In my investigations I have always used native schoolteachers who had a command not only of the

[1 cont.]

115 German or English language, spoken and written, but also of their native tongue in grammar and phonetics.

000 Among the Zulu and Swazi I made my studies more as the occasion arose. Here I was indebted in particular to Father Andreas Ngidi in Inkamana, Princess Maris Dhlamini in Mbabane, and the Italian missionaries in Swaziland for my data. My travels were aided predominantly by the missions. Whereas in the diocese of the Catholic missions of Zululand and Marianhill the main emphasis of the work was upon anthropological and prehistoric matters, in Southwest Africa ethnological studies were the special [121] task of the expedition. Through the kindness of the provicar, 115 Father Schleipen of the Catholic Mission in Windhoek, the schoolteacher Alois Kheibeb was assigned to me, with whose help I came in contact with the old Dama. At the [2] Catholic Mission in Okombahe, Father Bachmann introduced me to the brother of Chief Gottlieb Horeseb, who came with a few other people to tell me stories. In Grootfontein it was Father Jaeger who placed his Dama schoolteacher, Nikolaus Horeseb, at my disposal. I then further succeeded in obtaining a very intelligent !Kung woman, Katiti, who was married to a Hei//om, and this made it possible for me to have verbal contact with the !Kung. In Ovamboland I was able to rely on the generous support of the Finnish Evangelical Mission. Through the help of Mr. Leuch I engaged a respected man from Oshigambo, Erastus Mbumba, who had been a clerk in Swakopmund for 13 years and who spoke superb German. The Bushmen informants in Ovamboland spoke Ovambo. In Epukiro the mission superior, Father Watterott, O.M.J., placed at my disposal the village headman, Franz Arenat, who in turn established contact for me with the Nogau Bushmen. The interpreters [124] have to be paid well. To all those who helped me in my work, I should like at this point to express my heartfelt thanks.

123 In order to achieve genuine success in the ethnological field, it is necessary to gain the confidence and sympathy of the natives and to instill in them the conviction that one has no evil intentions toward them or would want to make them look ridiculous; money alone does not suffice. The relationship between the 648 Whites and Coloreds is of such a kind that the native from the 576 outset faces the White with the greatest distrust. The natives are basically a courteous people, and among themselves they live

/241/

000 Anthropological, Ethnological, and Ethnographic Observations concerning the Heikum and Kung Bushmen (1), with an apdix on the languages of these Bushman Tribes (2).

1. Presented at the session of November 18, 1905 /of the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte/.

121 2. The linguistic notes on the language of the Heikum Bushmen were gathered on the Omuramba Omatako, while the linguistic notes concerning the Kung Bushmen were taken down in a Kung settlement on the northern edge of the Kaukau Veld, approximately 15 kilometers west of Dobe.

A stay of several months in the vicinity of a Bushman settlement near Otjomavare, a watering place on the Omuramba ua omatako, about 50 kilometers south of Grootfontein and 120 kilometers northeast of Waterberg, gave me the opportunity to make a series of observations on the Bushmen, which, I believe, in part presents new information and in part complements and confirms what is already known. My first concern was to determine the size of the Bushmen, who are traditionally known as abnormally small, by obtaining absolute measurements. A closer acquaintance with this interesting people then led me to make further investigations that will be of interest to the ethnologist and the ethnographer.

I had to manufacture in part the instruments needed for making the anthropological measurements, but I hope that this circumstance has not diminished the accuracy of the results.

The Bushmen concerned call themselves "Heikum" people, a
101 name in which the 'k' is to be replaced by the click indicated in
[194] the Nama language by //. Thirty-one adults and eight children
124 were measured.

Of the adults 14 are men and 17 women.

128 I shall first present the average values of the absolute measurements, and then a number of proportional figures and indices.

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THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE !KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THE Peabody Harvard Kalahari Expedition, under the leadership of Laurence K. Marshall, has made four field trips between 1950 and 1955 into the Kalahari Desert in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate to find and study Bushmen who were living in their own way, and not working for white farmers or for Negroes. The last of the four expeditions, that of 1955, was sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution as well as by the Peabody Museum of Harvard. 121 122

Our principal study was made with the /Kung Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. The Nyae Nyae region extends about 150 miles north and south, about 100 miles east and west, and is centred approximately at Gautscha Pan, which is located at *c.* 19° 48′ 30″ S. and 20° 34′ 36″ E. on the map of a survey of the area by the Administration of South West Africa dated 7.11.1935. The Nyae Nyae region is separated from the farmed areas of South West Africa by a stretch of waterless, uninhabited country over 100 miles wide. 131

We chose the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region for concentrated study because they are the least acculturated Bushmen we found.[1] They are non-literate, nomadic hunters and gatherers, with no agriculture or domesticated animals. They are completely self-reliant [121] 105 177

[1] On the expeditions we travelled extensively in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The groups of Bushmen we encountered were, in addition to the /Kung of Nyae Nyae, /Kung outside the Nyae Nyae region at Karakuwise, Nuragas, Khadum, and at water holes south of Gum in South West Africa, and at Kai Kai, Kubi and other places along the western border of Bechuanaland, where Chwana and Herero have cattle posts; Makaukau and Nuron near Ghanzi, B. P.; /Kõ at Okwa and at Barachu, about 50 and 100 miles south of Ghanzi respectively; /Gikwe about 100 miles south-east of Ghanzi in the trackless sandy plain that lies between Ghanzi and Molepolole, where during the dry season there is no water; and //Ganakwe still farther south, below Chukudu. We studied the kinship terminology of the /Kõ and /Gikwe; Professor L. F. Maingard, for a time a member of the 1955 expedition, studied the /Kõ language, which has the labial (fifth) click of the southern group. [101]

Professor I. Schapera and Miss D. F. Bleek, in their Bushman studies, record information on these groups. For more data on the various names by which the groups are known and the areas in which they were found and the language groups into which Miss Bleek's studies place them, see especially Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 31 ff., and Bleek, D. F., 'The Distribution of Bushman Languages in South Africa', *Festschrift Meinhof*, pp. 55 ff.

'Africa', the Journal of the International African Institute, is published by the Institute, but except where otherwise stated the writers of the articles are responsible for the opinions expressed.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

648 self-reliant. No European farms or institutions such as hospitals, schools, missions, trading posts, labour-recruiting or tax-collecting offices have been established in the Nyae Nyae region. The first government official to go into the region, Mr. Claude McIntyre, Senior Welfare Officer of the Administration of South West Africa, came with our first expedition to Gautscha Pan in 1951. The contact of the /Kung of this region with the neighbouring Bantu-speaking Negro tribes consists of occasional trading trips or visits to their Bushman relatives who are working for Chwana or Herero in western Bechuanaland.

123 We lived for seventeen months with the /Kung of Nyae Nyae; for six weeks in 1951, for fourteen consecutive months in 1952–3, for six weeks again in 1955.

115 During this time we had several interpreters. We wish to express our gratitude particularly to two, Ngani and Kernel Ledimo, who had an exceptionally intelligent grasp of our purposes and problems and whose work was patient and precise. Ngani (this is his own preferred spelling of his name) is a Heikum Bushman who lived for many years with Mr. Courtney Clark in Grootfontein. Among the nine languages Ngani speaks are /Kung and English. Kernel Ledimo is a Chwana of the Batwana tribe who grew up among /Kung Bushmen on his father's cattle posts and was educated in an English school in Bechuanaland.

●121 184 We made the kinship terminology of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region a subject of special study. Our investigation of the /Kõ and /Gikwe kinship terminology shows that there is not one system common to all Bushman groups. This paper deals only with the /Kung system.

124 Our method of study was first to take genealogies of the members of six bands, comprising about 175 persons. This took a good deal of time but was rewarding as a background which helped us to place in their web of relationships most of the 600 [123] /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region whom we came eventually to know by sight or name as we travelled about or as they visited us.

124 After we had gathered the genealogical material we began to ask people what kinship terms they used for each other. We asked many informants, going over and 601 over the same questions. The terms for parents, offspring, and siblings were easily learned. But the terms for grandparents, grandchildren, and all collaterals threw us into confusion. For each grandparent or grandchild, of either sex, we found that a person might use one of two terms (and one of these has an alternate); and a person might use one of three terms for each collateral, with an alternate, a diminutive, and a distinction man-speaking and woman-speaking to complicate matters. The same term might be applied to relatives on either the paternal or maternal side. We did not know for some time what factor determined, for instance, whether a person applied the term *a* or *b* to his FaFa or MoFa or the term *a*, *b*, or *c* to his FaBr, MoBr or some other collateral. When we asked we were usually told, 'It is our custom', but one informant gravely explained that 'God created people and told them what terms to use for each other. Parents have taught their children ever since what terms to use.' It was ≠Toma, perhaps our most intelligent informant, who at last figured out what it was we did not understand and told us what he had assumed everyone knew, that the term 'followed the name'. In other words there is a factor, which we finally called the factor of the name, which under certain circumstances determines what term the individual uses. We began afresh to gather information to understand and

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

FOREWORD.

The Kalahari is not a sandy desert in the sense that it is devoid of vegetation; it is the absence of surface water which makes the region such a hazard to human habitation. It is the last refuge of the Bushman. Primitive though he is, he survived in this inhospitable environment owing to his acute powers of perception and his fine appreciation of the gifts of nature. He is a skilled hunter with his bow and arrow and has an intimate knowledge of the natural resources of food and water. Dr. Story compliments him by saying that his knowledge was usually imparted cheerfully and with humour and "always with intelligence".

The Division of Botany was grateful to accept the invitation for Dr. Story to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition of 1955. This was the fifth expedition of its kind and had as its objective the further documentation of the way of life of the Bushman. Dr. Story's assignment was to investigate the plants used by them in obtaining food and water.

It is inevitable that, with the advance of civilisation, the remnants of this interesting race will lose its intimate contact with nature and in the end its very identity. Wishing to complete their records before this happens the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody organisation, is, as we go to press, returning on yet another expedition. The Division of Botany is glad of this opportunity to continue the collection of data on the plants of economic importance to the Bushmen in the Kalahari.

The balance in nature between supply and demand is of endless interest to the ecologist. In times of plenty—when vegetation is abundant—the animal population increases: in times of poverty—when the vegetation is reduced by the prevailing climatic conditions—the animal population is reduced by the effects of hunger and thirst. So it is with the primitive human, who is dependent for his survival on the animal and plant life which surrounds him. Overpopulation at any time spells destruction for him at a later date. It is obvious too, that primitive man must have had a strong influence on the distribution and density of edible wild plants. Some will have become more widespread and others less numerous. More and more examples of rare species among the tuberous rooted *Asclepiadaceae* have come to light during the botanical exploration of southern Africa. It is felt that the edibility of these and some other tuberous rooted plants, in a large measure, accounts for their sparse distribution.

Dr. Story's observations support this view, and many other interesting facts are recorded in his preliminary report on the vegetable aspect of the Bushman's diet.

R. A. Dyer,
Chief: Division of Botany and
Director of Botanical Survey.

Pretoria,
October, 1957.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

INTRODUCTION.

Early in 1955 the Chief of the Union Government Division of Botany received a request through the British Museum for a botanist to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition, which in the winter of that year was to make a study of the Bushmen of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa. The duties of the botanist would be to investigate and report upon the plants used by the Bushmen in obtaining food and drink, and this task was assigned to me in my capacity as one of the Botanical Survey Officers of the Division of Botany. 121

I joined the expedition on 10th June at Molepolole, after it had been some weeks in the field, and we thereafter travelled along the route shown on the map, reaching Windhoek on 2nd September. 122

There were two main areas of study, one in the country south of Ghanzi and the other north of Ghanzi. The southern area, part of the Kalahari Desert, was remarkably uniform in every way. The surface was deep loose sand, gently undulating and with occasional shallow depressions of firm dark soil known as pans, which collect a little water after rain. We did not see a hill after leaving Molepolole until the Ghanzi area was reached, nor a stone, except for shelves of limestone in some of the pans. There was no permanent water in the 300 miles between Kudumalapshwe and the Ghanzi farms, but Khungwane waterhole and Khomodimo Pan had not yet dried up. Khungwane held one or two thousand gallons and Khomodimo contained a pond about thirty yards across and a foot or so deep. It provided a home, rather unexpectedly, for a coot (*Fulica cristata*) and a water-scorpion (one of the *Nepidae*). There are no records of the central Kalahari rainfall, but it would be between 18·5 and 19·6 inches, which are the mean annual figures for Ghanzi and Molepolole respectively. In spite of this low rainfall, and although we were there in the dry season, we found that the sand a few inches below the surface and down to at least three feet was damp enough to retain its form when squeezed in the hand. One specimen of a species of Breviceps was found in the sand, a small burrowing frog which does not swim or jump and which passes through its tadpole stage in a mass of frothy material which surrounds the eggs. The commonest animals were the rodents whose burrows and tracks were in thousands along our route. The game included gemsbok, springbok, hartebees, eland, blue wildebees, giraffe and smaller antelopes and hares. Of the carnivora, lions, leopards, wild dogs, jackals and hyaenas were present. Ostriches and bustards were seen and occasional small birds of various species, but birds were on the whole poorly represented. The vegetation was mainly grassland, usually about four feet tall and mixed with many shrubs a little taller. Trees were seldom absent for more than a few miles at a stretch, and were scattered to form a parkland or in belts thick enough to hamper the progress of our lorries through them. 133 [134] [312] [136] [132] 136 137x

The northern area was much more varied, with the undulations sometimes forming distinct rises and dales. Hills, however, were still absent, although there were occasional outcrops of limestone and other rock. The soils were for the most part fairly firm, but sandy nevertheless, and damp below the surface. From time to time we crossed zones of purer loose sand, slightly raised above the surrounding country and known as dunes. A number of permanent waterholes, groups of large pans and a rainfall estimated to be about 20 inches a year (Department of Transport 1953) made this area better watered than the Kalahari, and better wooded. 133 [134] [132] 137x

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly 252
disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin
tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups [239]
use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roasted plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of 264
wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make 415
wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some 184
purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except 262
by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco 237
pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups, bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The *|Nu-||ĕin* [184]
and *||Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the *‡Ao-||ĕin* and other tribes living to the north. Articles [438]
made by the former form an important medium of exchange. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it [482]
also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large [415]
animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich eggshells are used for carrying and storing water and for the [301
manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time 438]
form the most important article of barter among the *|Nu-||ĕin, Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-||om*. Among the most 184
northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red [278]
ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omura* tree, are the 438
principal media of exchange.

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit 121
me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive communities are surrounded.

114 all our food and water, gasoline, and equipment in supplies to last us for several months. We crossed great drought areas, once crossing four hundred miles of the central desert of Bechuanaland where there was no water at all, and once traveling every day for two weeks into an unmapped part of the desert of South-West Africa, close to the Bechuanaland border, where we found a waterhole and refilled our empty [12] drums. All this was for the purpose of filming and studying the life and customs of the people of the Kalahari, who are called the Bushmen.

142 Bushmen are a naked, hungry people, slight of build and yellow-skinned; the only feature they have in common with their large-boned, darker-skinned neighbors, the Negro or Bantu tribes living at the edges of the Bushmen's territory, is their peppercorn curly hair. Otherwise, Bushmen are very like the Asian peoples, often having Mongolian eyefolds and rather broad, flat faces with almost no noses at all. Because of the dust, perspiration, and the blazing sun, their skins darken to a copper brown, but under their arms where sweat has washed the dust away the yellow skin shows. Bushman babies, in fact, are born pale pink, often with a dark, pigmented area at the base of their spines which Kung Bushmen [826] call "the jar"—because, they say, the mother carries her baby and her water jar together in the pouch of her garment—but which we know as the Mongolian Spot.

Physically, the Bushmen are a handsome people, though short of stature—a man being a few inches over and a woman a few inches under five feet—and a little swaybacked of carriage, which makes their bellies stick out. They are handsome 481 because of the extreme grace in their way of moving, which is 142 strong and deft and lithe; and to watch a Bushman walking or simply picking up something from the ground is like

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

SHARING, TALKING, AND GIVING: RELIEF OF SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THIS paper describes customs, practised by the /Kung Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region of South Africa, which help them to avoid situations that are likely to arouse ill will and hostility among individuals within the bands and between bands. Two customs which seem to be especially helpful and which I describe in detail are meat-sharing and gift-giving. I mention also the /Kung habits of talking, aspects of their good manners, their borrowing and lending, and their not stealing.[1]

The common human needs for co-operation and companionship are particularly apparent among the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Independent living, outside the band structure,[2] does not exist for individuals. Nuclear families do not live alone. The arduous hunting-gathering life would be impossible without the co-operation and companionship of a larger group. Moreover, in this society the ownership of the resources of food and water is organized through the headmen of bands, and individuals have rights to these resources by being members of a band connected to the headman by some near or remote kin or affinal bond. The /Kung are also extremely dependent emotionally on the sense of belonging and on companionship. Their need to avoid loneliness, I think, is actually visible in the way families cluster together in their werfs and in the way people sit, often touching someone else, shoulder against shoulder, ankle across ankle. Comfort and security for them lie in belonging to their group, free from hostility or rejection.

Their security and comfort must be achieved side by side with self-interest and much jealous watchfulness. Altruism, kindness, sympathy, or genuine generosity were not qualities which I observed often in their behaviour. However, these qualities were not entirely lacking, especially between parents and offspring, between siblings and between spouses. One mother carried her sick adult daughter on her back for three days in searing summer heat for us to give her medicine. /Naoka carried her lame son, Lame ≠Gao, for years. Gau clucked and fussed over his second wife, Khuan//a, when she was sick. When /U had a baby, her sister, Di/ai, gathered veldkos for her for five days. On the other hand, people do not generally help each other. They laugh when the lame man, Kham, falls down and do not help him up. /U's jealous eyes were like those of a viper when we gave more attention to her husband, ≠Toma, than to her because he was much more ill. And, in the extreme, there is the report from the 1958 expedition of an instance of callous indifference in one band and the probable abandonment of a dying old childless woman, an old aunt, when her sister, with whom she lived, had died.

Occasions when tempers have got out of control are remembered with awe. The

[1] This description of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region is based on observations made during our several expeditions between 1951 and 1959. Changes in the conditions under which the /Kung live are to be expected, and how these changes will affect the practice of the customs here described we do not know.

[2] Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Band Organization', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

/KUNG BUSHMAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS[1]

LORNA MARSHALL

MY purpose in this paper is to describe some of the religious beliefs held currently by the /Kung Bushmen of the interior bands of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. I shall limit the paper to a description of their concepts of the gods, the problem of evil, supplication, the spirits of the dead, and the ceremonial curing dance, but leave for another paper a more detailed account of medicine men, how they become medicine men, and more about their practices and beliefs. We gathered the information which I present principally on our expeditions of 1952–3 and 1955.

Schapera traces considerable borrowing in the past by the Bushmen from Hottentots and Bergdama.[2] I did not have opportunity to trace, to any significant extent, possible present-day borrowing or exchange of ideas, and can only report that contact, and therefore opportunity for exchange, takes place between the interior bands of /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region and the Tswana and Herero on the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung have contact also, but much less frequently, with Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south and through them to some extent with Naron in the Ghanzi region of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae occasionally see /Kung to the north of their region, who in turn see the Okavango and Ovambo tribes. Although the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not enough contact with white people before we came to absorb any Christian ideas directly from them, and no Christian missionary has been in the interior of the region, an influence of Christianity cannot be precluded because the Tswana do have contact with Christianity. Our own highly valued interpreter, Kernel Ledimo, who grew up near the border and spoke Bushman from his childhood, had been educated in an Anglican mission school. Although there has been contact with people who have Christian ideas, I do not recognize with certainty any Christian elements among /Kung beliefs.

One is left to wonder if the change in the concept of the nature of the gods, particularly in that of the great god, which appears when one compares the old tales with current concepts, was brought about entirely by the philosophical and logical powers of the /Kung themselves and by their adjustment to emotional needs, or whether influences from without played some part. I hope that the research of others may throw light on this point.

I should like to mention a few of the well-known Bushman beliefs, recorded in the past, which the present Nyae Nyae /Kung do *not* have and then proceed to a more systematic description of beliefs which they hold at present.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung have various beliefs and lore about the sun and moon, Canopus, the Pleiades, and other stars, and they have the well-known myth of the moon and the hare; but they do not attribute active divinity to the heavenly bodies, which are 'just stars', they say in effect, and we did not find that they either fear

[1] We are grateful for a grant towards the publication of this long article.

[2] I. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, London: Routledge, 1930. Reference is particularly to chapter vii.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

/21 Marshall shows how specific customs reflect the dominant quest for water, and she portrays the feeling of Bushman culture as well as providing an ethnologist's construct. In this configurational model focusing on ethos, she indicates how derived themes or postulates, such as the stress on cooperation, relate to the most basic theme. Comparison of the !Kung Bushmen with the Mbuti Pygmies, the other foraging group represented in this book, reveals that even though these groups occupy very different habitats some features of their cultures are similar. These include not only elements of technology, for example, the use of poisoned arrows, but themes such as the stress on cooperation and the minimizing of intragroup conflicts, features that are a functional requisite for the close, face-to-face relationships in a foraging band. Thus a study of the Bushmen offers insight into what may be minimal and hence universal features of the foraging band as a culture type.

Bushman culture is also of interest to those concerned with African culture history, for archaeological remains of societies with a similar material culture have been discovered scattered over a much wider region of the eastern part of the continent than the Bushmen now occupy. Many anthropologists feel that the bearers of these early cultures were Bushmen, or Bushmanlike in racial type. An understanding of Bushman culture gives us insight into the cultural and behavioral setting to which the mute artifacts may have belonged.

about the author

/14 Lorna Marshall lives in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and, with members of her family, has conducted several expeditions to the Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa (1951, 1952–1953, 1955, 1959, 1961), of Bechuanaland Protectorate (1955, 1961), and of southeast Angola (1959). She received her M.A. from Radcliffe College in 1928. Her writings include "The Kin Terminology System of the !Kung Bushmen" (1957), "N!ow" (1957), "Marriage among the !Kung Bushmen" (1959), "!Kung Bushman Bands" (1960), "Sharing, Talking and Giving: Relief of Social Tensions among !Kung Bushmen" (1961), and "!Kung Bushman Religious Beliefs" (1962).

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

174 [172] 1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at 177 the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or 131 exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

131 (3) 162 The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

144 (4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into cate- [114] gories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

114 147 (5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been published by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

224 126 (6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

553 602 121 (7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the !Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy. 553 622 121 [229]

(8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts. 582

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband stepbrother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself. 582 551

(9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty. 532 [201] [304]

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees. 000

(10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people 622 622

114 manifested by a virtual absence of sociological research among the Bushmen during the 1930's and 40's.

It was not until the 1950's that it became apparent that Schapera's obituary on the Bushmen was premature. We owe this realization to the recent research and writing of Mr. and Mrs. Laurence K. Marshall and Professor Phillip V. Tobias. The Marshalls began their investigations of Bushman life in 1951. [161] In the interior of the northwestern Kalahari they found over 1,000 Bushmen organized into hunting and gathering bands. This was, and is, a full-scale viable way of life of a type that was believed no longer to exist. Professor Tobias, after visiting the Kalahari with the Panhard-Capricorn Expedition of 1950, was led to believe that the numbers of surviving Bushmen had [161] been vastly underestimated. His subsequent research (1956, 1957) showed that there were over 50,000 living Bushmen and that thousands of the Bushmen were living as hunter-gatherers.

[121] Due to the stimulus of the Marshalls and Tobias, anthropologists realized that excellent research opportunities among the Bushmen had been overlooked, simply because of the mistaken notion that the hunting and gathering way of life had ceased to 121 exist. Thus in recent years the style of Bushman research has been transformed from a salvage operation to the study of viable ongoing social and economic systems; and with the acquisition of new data has come a basic reorientation of our

121 view of the Bushmen. The present study is a contribution to this reorientation and, as such, has implications, not only for Bushman studies, but for the study of hunters and gatherers in general.

The study of subsistence ecology focusses attention on those aspects of the man/environment relation which pertain to the getting of food. Since there are populations of Bushmen available which still maintain a full-time, year-round, hunting and gathering way of life, an investigation of subsistence ecology can be founded on a firm empirical basis. The investigator does not have to rely on the memory of informants concerning conditions no longer in existence.

121 114 171 Another recent study - of the subsistence activities of Australian aborigines in Arnhem Land (McCarthy and McArthur 1960) - offers an instructive contrast to the present study. Both studies are concerned with the subsistence ecology of hunter-gatherers. The difference lies in the fact that the Australian groups studied spent the greater part of each year living on mission stations where they ate European foods. Consequently, the Australian scientists could observe traditional food getting for two week periods that were bracketed by periods of residence on the mission stations. The Bushman study, on the other hand, is a continuous record of hunting and gathering activities extending over a fifteen month period. 121 The Dobe area 222 224 Bushmen were hunting and gathering for the simple reason that

121 there was no viable alternative locally available to them.
222
224 The presence of these conditions has made it possible not only to observe ongoing subsistence behavior, but also to attempt to understand the dynamics and the underlying rationale of hunting and gathering as a total way of life.

R.B.L.

Cambridge Mass.,
July 1965.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

I. INTRODUCTION

121 114 122 This dissertation is a report on the results of a field investigation of Kalahari Bushmen in 1963-64. The research was supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation 121 entitled: Studies in the Evolution of Human Behavior. The section of the research proposal devoted to Bushmen outlined five major areas of investigation:

1. Census
2. Demography
3. Subsistence
4. Social organization
5. Settlement patterns

The data obtained in the areas of census and subsistence are presented here. Further data on demography, social organization and settlement patterns are summarized here and will be expanded in subsequent publications.

The Bushman research project was conceived to answer a need on the part of archeologists and other students of human evolution for accurate, quantitative information on the subsistence and society of a contemporary hunting and gathering people. It was hoped that such a study would generate new insights on cultural evolution and aid in the task of interpreting archeological materials. The primary task was to define the properties of a hunting and gathering way of life.

121 This statement was then to be employed as a basis for comparison with other living hunting and gathering societies and the generalizations so derived were to be used as a baseline for the reconstruction of the properties of societies and economies of earlier populations of man.

Of the three stages in this research scheme, description, comparison and reconstruction, only the first stage is presented in this dissertation viz the description of the subsistence of one hunting and gathering people.

The Kalahari Bushman study began in August 1963, when Irven DeVore and the author made a reconnaissance of the northern Kalahari Desert to look for a suitable study site. The research goals required a population as isolated and traditionally oriented as possible. Three locations were considered (see Map 1).

1. The Bushman Native Reserve, South West Africa
2. The Central Kalahari Game Reserve, Bechuanaland
3. Northwestern Ngamiland

[114] South West Africa proved to be out of the question. For political reasons foreign scientists are not being permitted to work among the indigenous peoples. The British colonial government of Bechuanaland, on the other hand, has encouraged social scientists from abroad to come and work among the tribes. Our decision to work in northwestern Ngamiland was dictated by the fact that a government-appointed anthropologist

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 4]

121 (George Silberbauer) was already conducting research among the Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

After DeVore's return to Harvard in September, the author surveyed the Ngamiland situation and found that the Bushman population in the northwestern sector satisfied our research requirements.

161 312 621 224 222 648 In October, 1963, there were about 430 Bushmen living at nine waterholes in the !Kangwa administrative district. Over 70% of these people were organized into bands and depended on hunting and gathering for their subsistence. Although some 340 Bantu lived in the district they had not established a lord-client relationship over the Bushmen. This feudal type of social system exists elsewhere in the Kalahari but not in 114 the !Kangwa district. The author was the first white person to live in the district. The Marshall expeditions had touched the western edge of the district but had centered their research at /Gautscha, a camp about 40 miles west of our area.

The main field station was set up at Dobe, a small waterhole in Bechuanaland, two miles east of the Bechuanaland - South West Africa border. The author conducted research here for twelve months, except for intervals of work elsewhere in the Kalahari and study periods in Livingstone, Johannesburg, Windhoek and Capetown.

In October, 1964, Irven and Nancy DeVore joined the author

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

101 Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a 142 satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical 144 type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included, and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland 197 would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non- • 121 Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West 224 Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A 222 464 strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting 648 and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many 241 233 thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

114 A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by 197 the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963). He has demonstrated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

10 [114] In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956). Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

131 Since the Nyae Nyae peoples are closely linked genealogically to
133 the peoples of /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa, and since their
312
619 several territories are surrounded by an uninhabited belt 60-100 miles in width, it seems more useful to include all the central water sources under the term "interior" and consider all the other river dwelling and farm !Kung as peripheral (see Map 7, p. 37).

121 This description of the subsistence ecology of !Kung
184 Bushmen therefore concerns the interior !Kung of the central
433 dialect division. It is not to be taken as representative of the !Kung in general, the great majority of whom are today living on European farms or working closely with Bantu.[1] It was pointed out in Chapter I that the selection of a study site was dictated by the necessity of finding a Bushman population living traditionally and independently. It was realized at the outset that such a population was not typical of the majority of !Kung.

---

[1] A further stricture must be applied to the !Kung of the interior. In 1960 a Government Station was built at Tsumkwe, S.W.A. Since then the 800 interior !Kung on the South West African side of the border have settled there and are receiving instruction in agriculture. The 400 !Kung on the Bechuanaland side of the border have not been permitted to participate in this program. Therefore, during the period of the present study, only the interior !Kung in Bechuanaland were leading a year-round hunting and gathering way of life.

312
161
563 The waterholes and their respective Bushman and Bantu populations are listed in Table 2.

!Kung group structure

621
166 The definition of the !Kung living arrangements presented the most difficult problem of the field study. The !Kung were found to be living most frequently in camps that numbered from ten to thirty individuals. But the composition of these camps changed from month to month and from day to day.

The task of defining the stable membership units was complicated by the following factors:

1. the frequent shifts of individuals and families from one camp to another,
[574] 2. the high incidence of visiting between camps,
3. the presence of long-term visitors from outside the Dobe area,
4. the Dobe area residents who were living elsewhere on extended visits, and
[563] 5. the intermarriage and co-residence of Bushmen with Bantu.

These complications are in addition to the routine changes in group structure brought about by births, deaths, post-marital residence, and the seasonal subsistence cycle.

It became evident that flexibility is the basic premise
[121] of !Kung group structure. It would therefore be inappropriate to try to impose a formal model of organization on the data,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

621
166 such as the patrilineal band or composite band models current
121 in the literature (Steward 1955, Sahlins 1959, Service 1962).

121 An account of the situation at one waterhole will serve
621
312 to illustrate some of the dynamic processes at work in !Kung
621 group structure. At Dobe in October, 1963, there were two
312 camps, one with 28 members, the other with ten members. In
166
162 December, 18 members of the larger camp left on an extended
161 visit to Tsumkwe and the remaining ten people made a joint camp with the smaller group to form a camp of twenty people. In January, 1964, these two segments split up and abandoned Dobe altogether. The waterhole remained unoccupied until May, 1964, when the two segments recombined and were joined by 22 other people, who came in from five other camps. This group of 42 people wintered at Dobe in one camp. Then, in August the camp split up into a camp of twelve and a camp of 24. Six of the 22 people who had wintered at Dobe returned to other camps while 16 of these people remained at Dobe. The two Dobe camps (of twelve and 24) remained approximately stable for the remainder of the study (i.e. until January, 1965).

621 Thus at different times of the year the population of
312
161 Dobe was counted as follows:
162

October 1963	38 people in 2 camps
December 1963	20 people in 1 camp
Jan.-April 1964	nil.
May 1964	42 people in 1 camp
Aug. 1964 to Jan. 1965	36 people in 2 camps

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

V. SUBSISTENCE ECOLOGY: AN OVERVIEW OF PLANT AND ANIMAL RESOURCES

121 The concept of a hunting and gathering way of life has assumed a misleading connotation in the ethnographic literature. The term has come to imply a random precarious existence searching for food, an eking out of subsistence
[433] of odds and ends. Since the present study is the first detailed analysis of the food habits of non-agricultural people, it should be stated at once that the Bushman subsistence is based on a systematic strategy of exploiting abundant food
222 resources. Very little of their food gathering is left to chance. Their knowledge of the local environment, of the habits of game and the growth phases of food plants is virtually exhaustive. In other words, the Bushmen know where the food is at each season of the year and they arrange their schedule of activities to take maximum advantage of these resources. They do not allow themselves to get into difficult situations, and even during the season of scarcity they have available several alternative strategies of getting food and water.

262 The security of their life is in part due to the fact
137 that the basis of their subsistence is plant foods which are
136 abundant, local and predictable. Meat is of secondary importance in the Bushman diet. Game animals, by contrast to

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

121 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social
433 maturity by the young people and the support of the non-pro-
883 ductive elderly people are institutions which are possible
888
182 only in a society with a relatively secure subsistence base.

433 Water, Food, and Nomadism -- The special subsistence problems
312 faced by the Dobe area Bushmen concern the scarcity of water.
221
361 All of the eight natural permanent waterholes are situated in or near the beds of the main molapos. During the summer months, when temporary pools develop at a distance from permanent water, the Bushmen can move out to live at them. Except for a few weeks each year, the Bushmen spend their entire lives camped within an hour's walk of standing water. Only at the end of the dry season do some of the younger people undertake the long trips to the dry forests where they live by digging out the water-bearing roots. Since it is the custom of the Bushmen to return each evening to their main camps, it follows that areas within a single day's walk of standing water will be intensively utilized. Areas that lie beyond this radius will be rarely utilized even though they may be rich in food. The fact that the Bushmen can live well for most of the year within a six-mile radius of permanent water indicates that they do not lead a nomadic way of life. Each summer they move up-country to the seasonal waters and each winter they fall back on their permanent waterholes. In contrast to some Australian aboriginal groups, whose annual round consists of walking a circuit of many waterholes, the Dobe area Bushmen have a

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

superior to those of the other native peoples that they have been able to preserve much of their original cohesion and culture, and in many cases to offer a strong resistance to the disintegrating effects of contact with European civilization.

The present work deals with those two groups of natives who have suffered most at the hands of the European settlers: the Bushmen and the Hottentots. In spite of the far-reaching differences between them, they have in common several features, not only of race and language, but also of culture, especially religion, which justify their being treated together. These common features by no means render invalid the distinctions upon which is based the customary classification of these peoples into two separate groups. They are significant enough, however, to permit of both groups being regarded as constituting to some extent a larger ethnic unit, which, it is important to note, is clearly differentiated from the Bergdama on the one hand and the Bantu on the other. The term *Khoisan*, recently coined by Schultze to denote the racial stock to which the Bushmen and the Hottentots belong,[1] has therefore been accepted here as a convenient generic name for these two peoples. The necessity for such a generic name will perhaps be seen more clearly when the racial history of each people has been considered.

H B 101 121

Topography: General Features

The Khoisan peoples at the present time live almost entirely in the western and central portions of South Africa. The main political areas within whose borders they are found are the Territory of South-West Africa, formerly a German colony, but now administered under mandate by the Union of South Africa; Bechuanaland Protectorate, administered directly by Great Britain through the High Commissioner for South Africa; and the central and western districts of the Union, principally in the Cape of Good Hope. The Bushmen formerly extended further east into Southern Rhodesia and over the rest of the Union, but have virtually disappeared from those parts.

H B 131

The territory over which the two peoples are now scattered presents a solid land mass, covering an area of approximately 915,000 square

H B 133

[1] L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, p. 211. The term is compounded of the names *Khoi-Khoin*, by which the Hottentots call themselves, and *San*, applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen. The latter have no collective name of their own.

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● 122 The following work was carried out by order of the Command of the Northern District of the Protectorate Forces as the result of a suggestion from the Museum for Ethnology in Berlin.

After I had spent the months of August, September, and
114 October of 1908 making the necessary observations, I was called away from Rietfontein (North) and thus out of the region of the ≠Auin [Auen]. This interruption of my studies, which had scarcely begun,

[1] Introduction

121 The purpose of my expedition, on which I was accompanied by my wife, Maria Lebzelter-Grammetbauer, was to study the anthropology and ethnology of the native tribes, especially of the Bushmen, as well as the archeology of South Africa. The original plan came from Professor Father Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D.
122 Repeated generous stipends from His Holiness Pope Pius XI made possible the continuation of the expedition, which was fostered with tireless zeal by Father Schmidt. The Austrian Government, by means of special administrative measures, made it possible for me to set out on this journey. Furthermore, the editor of Anthropos, Professor Father W. Koppers, repeatedly lent considerable support to the expeditionary fund. The Research Grant Board in Johannesburg granted me -- although for purely anthropological purposes -- a single subvention of 50 pounds.

114 I have already described the program and execution of my South African expedition in the first volume of this work. Here, before presenting the ethnological results, I should like to portray in rough outline how these results were arrived at. I must state in advance that there was a space of only three weeks between the time when the measures taken by the Austrian authorities made it certain that I could leave my homeland and my actual departure. Hence, a
[122] more detailed study of the native languages was out of the question. The conditions under which a person today can do ethnological field work are fundamentally different from those of the pioneering era.
[797] Through the activity of the missions, there is growing up among all
[177] tribes, except for the Bushmen, a stratum of intelligent individuals who, if not in this generation, certainly in the next, will take over
000 the research among their own people. I recall a lawyer's clerk in Natal (Swazi) who had acquired a pamphlet of ethnological lectures from Johannesburg and had learned it by heart. When he turned to a White ethnologist, in order to begin the practical work, the latter assured him that just as a race horse could not be used for plowing, so an ox could not be used for racing. Meanwhile, however, a number of very creditable works by natives have
115 already appeared in print. In my investigations I have always used native schoolteachers who had a command not only of the

[2 cont.]

123 ethnological work among them, for the time being, is quite im-
648 possible. Even among the Bushmen the matter was by no means simple. Old Khame, who later became my good friend and informant, at first refused to help, saying: "Why should I open my heart to you, since I know very well that you are my enemy." The native also senses very accurately whether the respect one shows him is genuine. Finally, through the way he is treated, he suffers from inferiority complexes that make dealings [3] with him even more difficult. I have treated the natives as though they were Europeans, but naturally with due regard for the native forms of conduct, and in my relations with them I can say that I have been successful.

123 A single serious conflict with the natives can mean the end of an expedition. It is not just that the colonial authorities rightly grant permission to cross the police zone only to those people who have proved capable of getting along with the natives; another reason is the fact that the transmission of news among the
[203] natives is extraordinarily rapid. The news of my measurements in Walvis Bay reached the Otjiwarongo Reserve within 14 days, and from there it reached Otjituo in the extreme northeast in a week, not, as one might think, by postal communication, but through migratory Herero. Upon my arrival in Otjituo the people there were already acquainted with my intentions and my personality. The reader may possibly object to my actual accounts on the ground that I have succeeded in providing a fully rounded picture for only a very few tribes. I can truthfully say that there was a sincere intention to investigate the material thoroughly
● [122] everywhere. I carried on the investigations among the individual tribes for as long as I had money available. It is impossible, after all, to depend entirely on a single informant; instead, several informants are needed in every case. Ethnological inquiries are practically the only situations in which the natives have the opportunity to lay down conditions. I can force the native to string
123 wire, to harvest maize, or to herd cattle as much as I want at the
124 low price customary in the country, but I cannot force him to reveal his old tribal traditions. Not even the Bushmen wanted to take "brown money," but only "white" and "yellow." After I gained the confidence of the natives, as I can truthfully state,

ANGOLA !KUNG WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD

[6 cont.]

105 In their religious ideas, the moon plays the chief role. The new moon is supposed to be a child or a man; the full moon, a woman. They also say that the moon is the older sister, and the sun, the younger sister. Besides the moon, Huwe and //Gaua appear as mythical personages. Instead of Huwe, they also say //Nwa-se, "little new moon." Bleek believes that Huwe is the spirit of the forest, who causes the growth of trees and grass and thus also the growth of game, therefore determining the success or failure of the hunt. Whether or not Huwe is worshiped could not be determined. It is interesting to note what is said concerning //Gaua: "//Gaua is another being. The people from Ngami Lake give the word three meanings: dream, ghost, spirit. Among the Angola Bushmen it is used sometimes for ghost, and sometimes more impersonally. A woman said: When a person dies, a ghost (//Gaua) comes from his grave, which can be seen by the medicine men." Thunder and lightning come from //Gaua. The person struck by lightning becomes a star in the sky. The stars are the campfires of //Gaua. The Bushmen are supposed to be the children of //Gaua. He is a man who lives in the forest, and his home is a hole in the ground. An informant explained that //Gaua is equivalent to Ndjambi (god). There are two kinds of medicine men: those who can see the spirits, conduct the boys' initiations, and do the tattooing, while the second kind cures the sick.

Chapter 2

The Bushmen of the Western Otjimpolo Veld

122 In Shandi, among the eastern Ukuanjama [Kuanyama], I was able to establish contact with the Bushmen through the kindness of the Resident, Mr. Eaddes, and of the native pastor, Paulus.
101 In part, these Bushmen were genuine !Kung, who said they were the same as those from Karakowisa, with whom, however, a fruitful understanding was impossible; and in part they were people who called themselves !Kung, but, judging by their language and customs, are southern Bushmen of Amboland. They themselves say that their fathers came from Ongandjera. The following

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE !KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THE Peabody Harvard Kalahari Expedition, under the leadership of Laurence K. Marshall, has made four field trips between 1950 and 1955 into the Kalahari Desert in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate to find and study Bushmen who were living in their own way, and not working for white farmers or for Negroes. The last of the four expeditions, that of 1955, was sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution as well as by the Peabody Museum of Harvard. 121 122

Our principal study was made with the /Kung Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. The Nyae Nyae region extends about 150 miles north and south, about 100 miles east and west, and is centred approximately at Gautscha Pan, which is located at *c.* 19° 48′ 30″ S. and 20° 34′ 36″ E. on the map of a survey of the area by the Administration of South West Africa dated 7.11.1935. The Nyae Nyae region is separated from the farmed areas of South West Africa by a stretch of waterless, uninhabited country over 100 miles wide. 131

We chose the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region for concentrated study because they are the least acculturated Bushmen we found.[1] They are non-literate, nomadic hunters and gatherers, with no agriculture or domesticated animals. They are completely self-reliant [21] 105 177

[1] On the expeditions we travelled extensively in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The groups of Bushmen we encountered were, in addition to the /Kung of Nyae Nyae, /Kung outside the Nyae Nyae region at Karakuwise, Nuragas, Khadum, and at water holes south of Gum in South West Africa, and at Kai Kai, Kubi and other places along the western border of Bechuanaland, where Chwana and Herero have cattle posts; Makaukau and Naron near Ghanzi, B. P.; /Kõ at Okwa and at Barachu, about 50 and 100 miles south of Ghanzi respectively; /Gikwe about 100 miles south-east of Ghanzi in the trackless sandy plain that lies between Ghanzi and Molepolole, where during the dry season there is no water; and //Ganakwe still farther south, below Chukudu. We studied the kinship terminology of the /Kõ and /Gikwe; Professor L. F. Maingard, for a time a member of the 1955 expedition, studied the /Kõ language, which has the labial (fifth) click of the southern group. [101]

Professor I. Schapera and Miss D. F. Bleek, in their Bushman studies, record information on these groups. For more data on the various names by which the groups are known and the areas in which they were found and the language groups into which Miss Bleek's studies place them, see especially Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 31 ff., and Bleek, D. F., 'The Distribution of Bushman Languages in South Africa', *Festschrift Meinhof*, pp. 55 ff.

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INTRODUCTION.

Early in 1955 the Chief of the Union Government Division of Botany 121
received a request through the British Museum for a botanist to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition, which in the winter of that year was to make a study of the Bushmen of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa. The duties of the botanist would be to investigate and report upon the plants used by the Bushmen in obtaining food and drink, and this task was assigned to me in my capacity as one of the Botanical Survey Officers of the Division of Botany.

I joined the expedition on 10th June at Molepolole, after it had been 122
some weeks in the field, and we thereafter travelled along the route shown on the map, reaching Windhoek on 2nd September.

There were two main areas of study, one in the country south of 133
Ghanzi and the other north of Ghanzi. The southern area, part of the Kalahari Desert, was remarkably uniform in every way. The surface [134]
was deep loose sand, gently undulating and with occasional shallow depressions of firm dark soil known as pans, which collect a little water after rain. We did not see a hill after leaving Molepolole until the Ghanzi area was reached, nor a stone, except for shelves of limestone in some of the pans. There was no permanent water in the 300 miles between [312]
Kudumalapshwe and the Ghanzi farms, but Khungwane waterhole and Khomodimo Pan had not yet dried up. Khungwane held one or two thousand gallons and Khomodimo contained a pond about thirty yards across and a foot or so deep. It provided a home, rather unexpectedly, [136]
for a coot (*Fulica cristata*) and a water-scorpion (one of the *Nepidae*). There are no records of the central Kalahari rainfall, but it would be [132]
between 18·5 and 19·6 inches, which are the mean annual figures for Ghanzi and Molepolole respectively. In spite of this low rainfall, and although we were there in the dry season, we found that the sand a few inches below the surface and down to at least three feet was damp enough to retain its form when squeezed in the hand. One specimen of a species 136
of Breviceps was found in the sand, a small burrowing frog which does not swim or jump and which passes through its tadpole stage in a mass of frothy material which surrounds the eggs. The commonest animals were the rodents whose burrows and tracks were in thousands along our route. The game included gemsbok, springbok, hartebees, eland, blue wildebees, giraffe and smaller antelopes and hares. Of the carnivora, lions, leopards, wild dogs, jackals and hyaenas were present. Ostriches and bustards were seen and occasional small birds of various species, but birds were on the whole poorly represented. The vegetation was mainly grassland, usually 137x
about four feet tall and mixed with many shrubs a little taller. Trees were seldom absent for more than a few miles at a stretch, and were scattered to form a parkland or in belts thick enough to hamper the progress of our lorries through them.

The northern area was much more varied, with the undulations 133
sometimes forming distinct rises and dales. Hills, however, were still absent, although there were occasional outcrops of limestone and other rock. The soils were for the most part fairly firm, but sandy nevertheless, [134]
and damp below the surface. From time to time we crossed zones of purer loose sand, slightly raised above the surrounding country and known as dunes. A number of permanent waterholes, groups of large pans and a rainfall estimated to be about 20 inches a year (Department of Transport [132]
1953) made this area better watered than the Kalahari, and better wooded. 137x

137 spreading some like the Grewias and the melons whose seeds pass through the alimentary canal apparently unharmed and reducing others like the Eulophias and Vignas which have edible underground storage organs. It is perhaps significant that, with two exceptions, the edible members of the family Asclepiadaceae were rarely found. In this paper there are 11, from Raphionacme to Fockea inclusive—nearly all important food plants with underground storage organs. The two commoner exceptions were *Sarcostemma viminale* which is sometimes poisonous and *Pentarrhinum insipidum* which has edible leaves and fruits but an inedible perennial root.

146 I am not qualified to speak on the health of the Bushmen, but it is apparent even to the layman that they are very unlikely to suffer from any deficiency disease while on their natural diet. When they are recruited for labour and fed on an unbalanced diet their health will be undermined and they will be less able to resist the rigours of their normal life when their contracts expire.

114 Their study by serious workers is to be encouraged for it should lead to their stability as a race and the enrichment of our knowledge, but contacts with irresponsible strangers is unfortunate and observations like the following by Brown (1954: 130) are valueless and regrettable:—

> "They are wonderful runners. When I chased one with the clanging of a bell he set off at a good bat into the distance, and kept it up until out of sight."

122 During the three months in which the field work was done, the expenses of my transport and keep were met from the funds of the expedition, and this I gratefully acknowledge. Dr. R. A. Dyer, Chief of the Division of Botany, gave me the opportunity of joining the expedition, and all facilities for working up the results of the field work. Most of the determinations were done by my colleagues in the Division of Botany, and of them Miss I. C. Verdoorn, author of *Edible Wild Fruits of the Transvaal*, read through the typescript and gave me valuable advice. Dr. L. E. Codd deserves special thanks for the way he saw to the growing of the considerable quantities of roots, bulbs and seeds sent from the Kalahari. 000 I thank Mr. L. K. Marshall, who led the expedition, and the members of it, [115] for their interest and kindness, also Kernel Ledimo, a fluent speaker of the Eastern !khũ language, who was always ready to translate or to pilot me through its little-known and fascinating grammar and phonetics. My notes on the Bushman languages were kindly checked by Prof. L. F. Maingard, and the ethnological literature was supplied mainly by Dr. N. J. van Warmelo of the Department of Native Affairs. I am indebted to Messrs. Midgeley, Martin and Scholtz of the Bechuanaland Administration for hospitality and for enabling me to see parts of the territory that I should not otherwise have seen. My thanks would not be complete without mention of the Bushmen whose knowledge is the foundation of this paper. [124] The information was seldom reluctantly given—usually cheerfully and with humour, and always with intelligence.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope.

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

122 It is a great pleasure to be able to thank at least some of the people and institutions who have made possible this study of the Kalahari Bushmen. The research was supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation to Dr. Irven Devore for "Studies in the Evolution of Human Behavior". This grant was administered by Harvard University. [114] The government of the Bechuanaland Protectorate was kind enough to issue a research permit to Dr. Devore and me for the period 1963-65. The Directors of the Livingstone Museum[1], Livingstone Zambia allowed us to use the museum as a base of operations during the study period, and graciously placed the clerical and research facilities of the museum at our disposal.

000 I am grateful for the initial encouragement and continuing guidance of my undergraduate and graduate teachers, particularly Professors Ronald Cohen[2], Robert C. Dailey, and J. Norman Emerson at the University of Toronto; and Professors Sherwood L. Washburn and J. Desmond Clark at the University of California, Berkeley.

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1. formerly the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum.
2. at present at Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

I. INTRODUCTION

121 114 122 This dissertation is a report on the results of a field investigation of Kalahari Bushmen in 1963-64. The research was supported by a grant from the National Science Foundation 121 entitled: Studies in the Evolution of Human Behavior. The section of the research proposal devoted to Bushmen outlined five major areas of investigation:

1. Census
2. Demography
3. Subsistence
4. Social organization
5. Settlement patterns

The data obtained in the areas of census and subsistence are presented here. Further data on demography, social organization and settlement patterns are summarized here and will be expanded in subsequent publications.

The Bushman research project was conceived to answer a need on the part of archeologists and other students of human evolution for accurate, quantitative information on the subsistence and society of a contemporary hunting and gathering people. It was hoped that such a study would generate new insights on cultural evolution and aid in the task of interpreting archeological materials. The primary task was to define the properties of a hunting and gathering way of life.

584 Boys are always considerably older than girls before their parents betroth them.
[805] We never knew the precise age of a /Kung because they reckon time from one season to the next, not in years, and do not keep track of a person's age by any measurement. Boys appear to be usually around twelve to fourteen or fifteen before they are
[868] betrothed. At this age their fathers begin to take them on the long hard hunts for the
[883] big animals which supply the people's meat and begin their serious hunting training.

As to girls, wives are in such demand in this polygynous society that the parents of boys have their eyes upon every girl baby and may say to the parents of an unborn infant, 'If it is a girl, let us have her for our son.' It seems to be more usual, however, to betroth the girls when they are about two to five or six. The boys wait patiently for long years for their fiancées to grow up.

We wondered what would happen if, when the time at last came for the marriage, the boy or girl should refuse the parents' choice. It appears that they seldom do. A boy is usually too eager to get a wife. To refuse the betrothed might mean he would have to wait for years and years again for a girl baby to grow up. The girls are usually too young to protest but it sometimes happens that one does. /Kung
593 parents are exceedingly protective and permissive with their children, and delight
855 in them, especially in their infancy. I have sometimes seen an older child scolded or
861 snapped at by an impatient mother but I never saw a child severely punished. No hard work and few, if any, regular chores are demanded of dependent children. The same protectiveness and permissiveness were apparent in parents' lenience with respect to their girls' betrothals. They complied with the girls' wishes.

The marriage may take place when the parents agree. The age of the young people
582 varies greatly. For the girl, there are no definite age or other requirements. The girl need not, for instance, show physical signs of maturity. When the important Ceremony of First Menstruation is performed, the girl may have been married for years. Bau, who was married to Tsamgao in 1951, did not have her first child for six years. /Nai was married to /Gunda in May 1953. She menstruated for the first time in March 1959. To be married as young as that is not at all unusual, but we have known several girls to be somewhat older.

The parents explain that when the girls marry young they 'get used to' their
582 husbands. I am sure there is a great deal in this and I am sure it strongly affects the
593 relations of husbands and wives, but I had insufficient opportunity to observe eight- or nine-year-old brides with teen-age husbands, and insufficient means, through interpreters, to grasp the nature of their relationship. What is the young husband like to a girl child? The friendly, gentle old man, Demi, said to me, 'They enjoy their youth together.'

593 The young couples are expected not to have sexual intercourse till the girls are 'big
834 enough', informants said, and the boys must not force the girls. If a girl complained to her parents and the parents took her back and sent the young husband away, he might have to wait for years again for another bride to grow up. The /Kung are
● [123] prevented by their incest taboos and their modesty from speaking freely about sex and I learned nothing about the actual sexual practices of the young couples. /Nai and her young husband, /Gunda, had only one good kaross between them; they slept
513 together bundled in it, feet to feet. Bau and Tsamgao slept quite apart—at different
593 fires—when we observed them in 1952. In 1953 they slept at their own fire, apart, she

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Khuan//a, the mother of the bridegroom. They claimed that Khuan//a was stingy— 159
and worse. /Nai's stepfather, Gao, had given a present of beads to one of his relatives. 578
A knife which was gradually making its way to him as a return gift had been diverted 584
by Khuan//a to one of her relatives. Khuan//a, some claimed, was 'like that!' /Nai's MoSi, /U, the wife of ≠Toma, said in a voice that could be heard across the werf that Khuan//a had 'borrowed' a coal from her fire one day without asking. At this, Khuan//a had with quiet dignity risen from her fire place and walked off to the waterhole. /U also said, but in a low voice, that Khuan//a, while she was still married to Bo, had been sleeping in the bushes with Gau till the people said to Gau 'What are you doing with Khuan//a?' She then left Bo and married Gau, although they were distant relatives, in some way we never could trace, who should not marry. Gau loved Khuan//a so much, /U sniffed, that he spoiled her and let her have power over his belongings. /U had no doubt but that Gau would soon find himself very poor. /U disapproved of /Nai's marriage to the son of such a woman but said that she would reconsider her position if the knife which had been diverted by Khuan//a were now given to Gao, as had been expected.

It never was, but gifts of ostrich egg shell beads and a blanket were given and Gao declared himself satisfied. /Nai's mother wanted the marriage so much she was ready to overlook the matter of the knife and they all started again in peace.

Nothing more happened about /Nai's wedding until the morning of 21 May 1953, 159
when we noticed the two mothers together building the wedding scherm. They had 585
placed it between the two werfs about twenty-five feet from the fire of the bride's family. The scherm was slightly larger and more nearly round and much more carefully built than the usual skimpy structures.

Next morning /Nai's mother asked me if I would bring the wood for the bride's [123] ●
fire. I knew it was because her back ached, not to honour me, but I felt honoured anyway and brought the wood.

All that day /Nai sat at a short distance from her family's fire, the fire that each
family keeps burning in front of the scherm for cooking and for light and warmth [354]
at night. The fire-light is more of a house to the Bushmen than the scherm is. /Nai was covered, head and all, with a big gemsbok kaross of her mother's. She wore her usual beads, but no special regalia brightened the sombre grey-brown of the old kaross.

Just as the sun was setting, without speaking to her mother and stepfather, /Nai
walked alone over to another fire, seven or eight yards away, the big kaross still
pulled over her head and trailing behind her. She went to this fire because it was the [591]
fire beside which she had recently been sleeping with her mother's widowed cousin, since she had reached the age when girls and boys leave off sleeping beside their parents. Her old great-uncle was there. She sat down opposite him. He paid no particular attention to her and they did not speak.

By then the sun had sunk below the horizon. /Nai uncovered her head but kept the kaross tied around her waist and over one shoulder in the way karosses are customarily worn.

Presently two girls came to /Nai. They had waited till twilight was deepening into darkness because people sleep at night and a wedding is a 'night-thing'. One was ≠Nisa, /Nai's stepfather's daughter by his first wife. The other was Xama from

/143 cont./

291 around the hip. The modesty apron with ostrich egg shell ornaments shown in Photograph 12 on the woman farthest to the left is supposed to have been traded from Makoba [the Koba?]. I have never seen a back apron.

c) Cloak of duiker or ibex hide. This always covers the buttocks.

d) Collecting bag (like the men's bag).

f) Digging stick.

Children's Clothing (see Photo. 22)

Girls: modesty apron and cloak.

Boys: loincloth and cloak. A collecting bag is carried by
[415] both boys and girls.

The children receive the loincloth or modesty apron when they are about five years old.

The articles of clothing are sewed. Holes are drilled with
294 an iron awl, made of any little piece of iron picked up somewhere,
[412] or with a bone splinter. The sewing is done by drawing animal tendons through the holes.

123 When I photographed some Auin women in the nude (1), I had
834

1. I am fully aware that the following is not to be regarded as a "denial of the sense of shame." I have mentioned the matter here simply because I could not fit it in elsewhere.

to take care that all the Auin men, who incidentally, had given their consent, were removed. Several Whites and Herero, on the other hand, were allowed to remain.

G. Weapons (see Photos. 25 and 26)

411
[412] f) Digging stick, also used for beating and as a throwing club.

g) Bow and arrows.

h) Throwing lance.

/155 cont./

628 the slain man. Now, naturally, a blood feud exists between the settlements, which, incidentally, are related to each other directly and by marriage.

Furthermore, it is interesting that the Auin from
648 Sidonitzaub sent a messenger to me in Rietfontein, where I was
[123] station commander, and had him inquire whether I had any objection to their making "orlog" [Tr., probably from the Dutch word oorlog, "war"]. I conveyed to them that the affair was none of my business since the war would take place in British territory. Unfortunately I was transferred from Rietfontein shortly afterward and was therefore unable to witness the campaign as a "military correspondent." According to reliable reports, the war has been settled and three men were killed.

This inquiry addressed to me makes it clear that under the pressure of present conditions the "unfortunate child of the moment" does not always surrender immediately to the impulses of the moment.

It is scarcely possible to give even a rough picture of the
674 legal notions of the Auin.

There is no doubt that the Bushman possesses a very definite sense of justice, but I do not feel capable of comparing it intelligibly to our own conceptions of justice.

It is a little easier to indicate what the Bushman (Auin) regards as absolute injustice, such as murder, theft, adultery, violation of the family territory, and stealing water (the latter only if little water is available). At any rate, with extended investigation, the catalogue could be considerably enlarged.

Personal property includes the hut (though this is not an ob-
422 ject of value), weapons, clothing, utilitarian objects, hides, and ornaments.

It is true that the gathered veld crop, game that has been killed, and water that has been collected are also personal /156/ property, but these are subject to extensive communal use which becomes more limited only in case of famine or a water shortage.

The land of the horde is communal property, as are the
423 game, veld crop, wood, and water on the land, the latter with limitations.

When a Bushman has burned off a piece of land in order to

[1 cont.]

115 German or English language, spoken and written, but also of their native tongue in grammar and phonetics.

600 Among the Zulu and Swazi I made my studies more as the occasion arose. Here I was indebted in particular to Father Andreas Ngidi in Inkamana, Princess Maris Dhlamini in Mbabane, and the Italian missionaries in Swaziland for my data. My travels were aided predominantly by the missions. Whereas in the diocese of the Catholic missions of Zululand and Marianhill the main emphasis of the work was upon anthropological and prehistoric [121] matters, in Southwest Africa ethnological studies were the special task of the expedition. Through the kindness of the provicar, 115 Father Schleipen of the Catholic Mission in Windhoek, the schoolteacher Alois Kheibeb was assigned to me, with whose help I came in contact with the old Dama. At the [2] Catholic Mission in Okombahe, Father Bachmann introduced me to the brother of Chief Gottlieb Horeseb, who came with a few other people to tell me stories. In Grootfontein it was Father Jaeger who placed his Dama schoolteacher, Nikolaus Horeseb, at my disposal. I then further succeeded in obtaining a very intelligent !Kung woman, Katiti, who was married to a Hei//om, and this made it possible for me to have verbal contact with the !Kung. In Ovamboland I was able to rely on the generous support of the Finnish Evangelical Mission. Through the help of Mr. Leuch I engaged a respected man from Oshigambo, Erastus Mbumba, who had been a clerk in Swakopmund for 13 years and who spoke superb German. The Bushmen informants in Ovamboland spoke Ovambo. In Epukiro the mission superior, Father Watterott, O.M.J., placed at my disposal the village headman, Franz Arenat, who in turn established contact for me with the Nogau Bushmen. The interpreters [124] have to be paid well. To all those who helped me in my work, I should like at this point to express my heartfelt thanks.

123 In order to achieve genuine success in the ethnological field, it is necessary to gain the confidence and sympathy of the natives and to instill in them the conviction that one has no evil intentions toward them or would want to make them look ridiculous; money alone does not suffice. The relationship between the 648 Whites and Coloreds is of such a kind that the native from the 576 outset faces the White with the greatest distrust. The natives are basically a courteous people, and among themselves they live

[2 cont.]

648 according to strictly regulated codes of conduct. No native would
576 say something unpleasant to another without cause. Modes of address such as are frequently heard among us, for example, "You don't look well, are you ill?" and similar amiable remarks, are out of the question. Each native expects to be treated in accordance with his social position. The natives cannot understand it when, say, a European traveler or missionary treats young people with extraordinary kindness; on the other hand, they find the casual treatment of older people and patresfamilias a sign of crude tactlessness. In Ovamboland, for example, the term of
● 123 respect for men is tati = "father." The ethnologist who treats
648 the grey-haired men of a native tribe as though they were old people of his own race who, in whatever position they may find themselves, have fulfilled their life's task and therefore deserve respect will have won half the battle. However simple and matter-of-course following this maxim might seem, in actual practice it turns out to be quite difficult in many cases. Quite aside from the fact that many a scholar sees in the native less a fellow human being than an object of study, the chief difficulty lies in the traditional forms of conduct that the Whites have adopted toward the natives. No native is allowed to sit on a chair in the company of Whites. In European houses there is usually a little bench in front of or behind the entrance door for black notables. The ordinary native is made to squat on the floor. It is maintained, not unjustly, to be sure, that this is the natives' original manner of sitting; nonetheless, the Black finds this manner of sitting a humiliation if it is forced upon him by the European. The native, in the view of the Europeans residing there, is simply an inferior kind of human being, with whom they do not even want to go to the same church, a circumstance that makes the task of many missionaries considerably more difficult. Should the traveler make a radical break with these customs and practices, he would have to forego the company and support of the Europeans, on whom he is, after all, dependent. Hence, an extraordinary measure of tact is required in order not to injure the pride of either the Whites or the natives. At the same time, it is true that among certain tribes, such as the Herero or the Ombarantu, the dislike of the Whites is so intense that useful

[2 cont.]

●123 ethnological work among them, for the time being, is quite im-
648 possible. Even among the Bushmen the matter was by no means simple. Old Khame, who later became my good friend and informant, at first refused to help, saying: "Why should I open my heart to you, since I know very well that you are my enemy." The native also senses very accurately whether the respect one shows him is genuine. Finally, through the way he is treated, he suffers from inferiority complexes that make dealings [3] with him even more difficult. I have treated the natives as though they were Europeans, but naturally with due regard for the native forms of conduct, and in my relations with them I can say that I have been successful.

123 A single serious conflict with the natives can mean the end of an expedition. It is not just that the colonial authorities rightly grant permission to cross the police zone only to those people who have proved capable of getting along with the natives; another reason is the fact that the transmission of news among the
[203] natives is extraordinarily rapid. The news of my measurements in Walvis Bay reached the Otjiwarongo Reserve within 14 days, and from there it reached Otjituo in the extreme northeast in a week, not, as one might think, by postal communication, but through migratory Herero. Upon my arrival in Otjituo the people there were already acquainted with my intentions and my personality. The reader may possibly object to my actual accounts on the ground that I have succeeded in providing a fully rounded picture for only a very few tribes. I can truthfully say that there was a sincere intention to investigate the material thoroughly
[122] everywhere. I carried on the investigations among the individual tribes for as long as I had money available. It is impossible, after all, to depend entirely on a single informant; instead, several informants are needed in every case. Ethnological inquiries are practically the only situations in which the natives have the opportunity to lay down conditions. I can force the native to string
123 wire, to harvest maize, or to herd cattle as much as I want at the
124 low price customary in the country, but I cannot force him to reveal his old tribal traditions. Not even the Bushmen wanted to take "brown money," but only "white" and "yellow." After I gained the confidence of the natives, as I can truthfully state,

[3 cont.]

123 the sum of the ethnological results obtained in each case is a func-
124 tion of the amount of "yellow" money that in each instance was available to me.

000 The results of my work, together with the space available to me, determined the size and content of this book. For the prehistoric cultures, I refer the reader to the first volume.

114 My original intention of giving a survey of those tribes
128 among whom I was unable to do research had to be abandoned in view of the amount of space placed at my disposal. I intend to do this in the final section of the third volume, where, along with the anthropological findings, an over-all survey of the cultural and racial history of South Africa is to be presented. I have
[127] referred to the literature at some length only in the accounts on the Bushmen tribes of South Africa. In particular the officers of the Imperial German Colonial Force performed extremely valuable pioneering work in this area. Their accounts, given with military exactitude, are unsurpassable and represent ethnological sources of the first rank.

126 Wherever I did not carry out the observations myself but wrote down the translations of my native interpreters, I have left them unchanged. Hence, I hope that the reader will not hold against me the stylistic defects that appear here and there. The native words for the most part were written down by my interpreters. I would have been happy if it had been possible for me to have all the texts checked by competent experts. This was impossible. I therefore request indulgence in case there are any errors in the linguistic transcription. At any rate, these people wrote their mother tongue. [Page 4 blank.]

[5] The Bushmen Tribes

172 In terms of geological eras, South Africa has undoubtedly been inhabited for as long a time as the other parts of the Old World. Naturally, the first cultures we know are those that possessed a stone industry. Among these the hand-ax industry, which is also the oldest elsewhere, is likewise widespread in South and Southwest Africa. Since Reck has most recently established

WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD
DAMA

[9 cont.]

805 shauba, cold season (N. sáob).

!kn-aba, hot season (N. !nái, warm).

535 Among dances, an ostrich and an ape dance were mentioned to me.

123 The studies, which began so promisingly, came to an end because I was evidently unable to present the village chief with enough presents. One evening a boy appeared and told me that the Bushmen had "had to go hunting." I continued to wait a number of days for the !Kung called by Mr. Eaddes. The messengers returned with the news that they had found no one. Another Sunday coat for the village mayor and some yellow money for the Bushmen, and priceless material could have been obtained.

[107] Chapter 3

The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of the Ondonga [Ndonga]

173 According to their tradition, these Bushmen came from Herero country. Hence they represent the connecting link between the "Saan" in the Gobabis district and the Hei//om [Heikum] of the north. The people as a whole designate them-
101 selves as Daman = the wealthy. The horde around Oshigambo calls itself //Huru-Khái. They call their dialect Cháraba. I do not be-
131 lieve that they live far in the interior of the Otjimpolo Veld. They have an enormous respect for the !Kung. The outermost cattle posts of the Ondonga probably coincide pretty much with
172 the boundaries of their territory. A number of them are Bantu-
142 ized and have small physiques. The others engage in hunting
439 and supply the black farmers with the flesh of wild game, hides,
648 ostrich egg beads, and poison. They serve as beaters on the great hunts of Chief Martin. At the court they count for nothing. The farmers like to see them. Little acts of assistance, a sack of berries or veldkost, soften the heart of the black housewife, so that here, as in Uukualuthi [among the Kualuthi?], there are a number of do-nothings who are nonetheless gladly received.

/10 cont./

123 Since I was able to become quite friendly with their "foreman," who possesses a small farm, I discovered some details concerning their outlook on life.

776 They believe in a supreme being which is not conceived of as a human being and which they call χ'amaba. Here we have H. Vedder's /Gamab of the Bergdama.

773 χ'amaba made everything, the sun, the moon, the stars, and also human beings. First he made the Whites, then the Blacks, and finally the Bushmen. They are unable to say how χ'amaba made human beings.

[373] The old Bushmen say that fire comes from the devil.
[776] Heiseb is the devil, according to them. Heiseb and the ostrich played together. The ostrich had the fire on his arm. While dancing the ostrich spread his wings, and Heiseb took the fire from him. Heiseb threw the fire brand behind him. There was a bush which started to burn. And there the people discovered the fire.

776 Heiseb is evil and only does evil. He is conceived as human in form. No one knows where he came from.

χ'amaba, on the other hand, is benevolent. People pray to him for help.

539 I took down the following prayers:

782 1. Prayer for rain: In olden times pieces of wood were
821 cut from the !Hawewa tree. It could not be felled. These pieces of wood were thrown into the fire, and as soon as the pungent smoke rose upward, the people sang in chorus:

χ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i a a God, give water to drink.
χ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i !hanusa God, give water rain,
anita(?) a a so that we may drink.

2. Prayer of thanks for rain: When the rain has finally come, a dance of joy is performed, and the following is sung:

χ'ámaba χ'ámaba χ'ámaba God, God, God
tūta tūta We have received, we have received
!hanusa /gam-i-i !hanusa /gam-i-i Rain water, rain water
tara ái /gam ái !hanusa tutasi We can drink, drink water, receive water.

[19 cont.]

162 In the age group of five to ten years, the number re-
165 mains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number
[123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

[20] Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in
[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman
[131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief
133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika [Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa], Berlin, 1906.

648 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample
621 water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and
622

[24 cont.]

000 they had never seen any. A certain dry humor spiced their con-
522 versation. I once said to a Bushman: "If you tell me this, you
161 will get whatever you want." He answered: "Good, I shall speak
and you will give me your automobile." Their imagination is
157 very poor; in this respect they are much too accurate as observers
123 of nature. Once a young Bushman woman with two children came
to me and wanted to buy some sugar. I said to her: "I won't sell
you anything, but you will get the sugar if you tell me some
children's stories, for example, about animals." After some hesi-
[538] tation she began the story of Arri, the guinea hen. It was no
fairy tale, but a detailed account concerning this important food
bird. She even imitated the calls of the guinea hen, "for exam-
ple, when someone comes and there is danger, then they say,
'gannana he gannana he,' but when they are alone and enjoying
themselves, then they go 'gi gi gi.'" The children had to imi-
[861] tate this until they were able to mimic the sound accurately.
Then it was the turn of the sand hen, which says, "gi ganna gi
ganna"; then the ostrich, which goes, "hmm, hmm, hmm"; then
the gum bird [Harzvogel], which says, "hai-dschi, hai-dschi,"
and the owl, "mhm, m."

3. Posture, Movement, Stamina

516 As a result of his marked lordosis, the Bushman never as-
sumes a posture that would conform to our military ideal; he
almost always stands with his stomach somewhat protruding.

48) The way the Bushmen run is very peculiar and would
justify detailed study. [25] The run is really a continuous fast
walk, in which the legs are kicked forward, but the lower thighs
are never brought back high, as is the case with our runners. The
body is held as straight as possible, and the head up, not forward (1).

[113] 1. E. v. Eickstedt (Rassenkunde und
Rassengeschichte der Menschheit
[Ethnology and History of Mankind],
p. 556) states: "The foot is put in a
peculiar transverse position, which
makes the track in the sand easily

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the
293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire
291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re-
[123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having
[124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in
[412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess
[325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in
[439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that,
[531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead em-
301 broidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are
[321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence
[556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are
[462] [306] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of
[302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to lengthen them.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

[56 cont.]

695 not seen for the duration of the hunt, he is suspected of having
776 sneaked away. Then he swears by the great captain nuχu, and all believe him.

776 Ordinarily, however, the great captain has everything taken care of by the highest of the spirits and lesser spirits. The chief concern of the Bushmen, therefore, is to stay in the good graces of these spirits, but the great captain does offer protection against all evil spirits, and for that reason people turn to him
[782] with the following prayers in case of severe illness and before the start of a journey:

[57]

[539] χ'u, χ'u hũi mi, //kai tsao mi to 'oba !khu !gaise ≠ani u mĩ /nãna /ge a	Lord, Lord, help me, raise me. "the lord shall lead me well to the place,
!nore gana ti /ge a gana ti tsa /Nane /ã mi tsu (1)	where I am going, and he shall lead me back well, so that I come home safely."

1. Notation of the Dama interpreter.

[224] Before the hunt the doctors pray to the great captain for hunting luck. There is no doubt that the Bushmen conceive of this "great captain" as an all-powerful and at the same time benign being. His executive organ, as has been noted, is the highest of the Gauab. The latter is called "the Gauab" by the common people, but he has a name known only by the doctors, and saying it may have serious consequences. Since I finally
[123] had the honor to be regarded as an equal by the doctors, I learned his name. He is called /Nawa. They were unable to give me an interpretation of this name, but Miss Bleek, from dance songs of the Angola Kung, reports the word /Nwa-se, supposedly an abbreviation for Nwima-se = new moon. According to this, we
[174] might be able to see in this chief Gauab the high god of a lunar-
[771] mythological religion which has been superimposed as a foreign element upon the primitive monotheism of the χ'u or Huwe faith. As is always the case in such matters, the supreme being of the invading religion has been transformed into a more or less evil
[171] principle. It also functions as such in the belief of the Nama and

[65 cont.]

101 north. Beyond this there is a great river and many black people
131 (Okawango). They know only the Herero as their western neighbors. In other words, they came much later than the latter. Unquestionably as recently as 20 years ago some people of this group were still settled along the central Omurambo Omatako, where F. Seiner reports them from Otjituo and Nuragas. The Naron live south of them, and to the southeast the ≠Auin. In the southwest, at least formerly, there were Bushmen of the Hei//om group and /Gowanin (Sand Kaffir). Probably these Hei//om were the people formerly designated as Saan. Nogau, ≠Auin, and Naron actually belong to
[101] the Kalahari group. Throughout the farm zone which formerly
[175] extended to the English frontier, the tribal units were more or less
648 destroyed, and there arose a mixed Bushman population which constantly replenished its numbers from the free tribes. On the other hand, however, Bushmen from the farm zone always went back to the bush, partly of their own free will and partly in flight from the police. In the Gobabis district the boundary of the police zone coincides with the land boundary. The relationships between the Whites and the Hereros on the one hand, and the Bushmen on the other, are therefore [66] very tense. A few years ago,
175 after the Bushmen had been prohibited from hunting big game,
648 they rebelled and declared a feud against the magistrate in Gobabis by shooting some arrows against the door of his house one night. The magistrate, Van Rynefeldt, wanted to hunt them down in the bush, but was struck by a poisoned arrow shot from ambush and died. A great roundup of Bushmen was organized and many of them were taken to the prison in Gobabis, where a number of them died as a
[178] result of the vitamin-poor diet. Since then the Bushmen in this region have again chosen a chief and represent a modest power. As a result of these conditions, it was much more difficult to gain
123 their confidence than in the north. In this respect, P. Watterott and the village mayor of Epukiro, Franz Arenat, were especially helpful to me. These Bushmen are of special interest since there
198 is a special women's language among them. It is called Hee-aziba he auseashu. It is in part also spoken by the children and is characterized by having many words that have no clicks. It was only with great difficulty that I was able to take down a few words, for example:

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

648 self-reliant. No European farms or institutions such as hospitals, schools, missions, trading posts, labour-recruiting or tax-collecting offices have been established in the Nyae Nyae region. The first government official to go into the region, Mr. Claude McIntyre, Senior Welfare Officer of the Administration of South West Africa, came with our first expedition to Gautscha Pan in 1951. The contact of the /Kung of this region with the neighbouring Bantu-speaking Negro tribes consists of occasional trading trips or visits to their Bushman relatives who are working for Chwana or Herero in western Bechuanaland.

●123 We lived for seventeen months with the /Kung of Nyae Nyae; for six weeks in 1951, for fourteen consecutive months in 1952–3, for six weeks again in 1955.

115 During this time we had several interpreters. We wish to express our gratitude particularly to two, Ngani and Kernel Ledimo, who had an exceptionally intelligent grasp of our purposes and problems and whose work was patient and precise. Ngani (this is his own preferred spelling of his name) is a Heikum Bushman who lived for many years with Mr. Courtney Clark in Grootfontein. Among the nine languages Ngani speaks are /Kung and English. Kernel Ledimo is a Chwana of the Batwana tribe who grew up among /Kung Bushmen on his father's cattle posts and was educated in an English school in Bechuanaland.

121 We made the kinship terminology of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region a subject
184 of special study. Our investigation of the /Kõ and /Gikwe kinship terminology shows that there is not one system common to all Bushman groups. This paper deals only with the /Kung system.

124 Our method of study was first to take genealogies of the members of six bands, comprising about 175 persons. This took a good deal of time but was rewarding as a background which helped us to place in their web of relationships most of the 600
[123] /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region whom we came eventually to know by sight or name as we travelled about or as they visited us.

124 After we had gathered the genealogical material we began to ask people what kinship terms they used for each other. We asked many informants, going over and
601 over the same questions. The terms for parents, offspring, and siblings were easily learned. But the terms for grandparents, grandchildren, and all collaterals threw us into confusion. For each grandparent or grandchild, of either sex, we found that a person might use one of two terms (and one of these has an alternate); and a person might use one of three terms for each collateral, with an alternate, a diminutive, and a distinction man-speaking and woman-speaking to complicate matters. The same term might be applied to relatives on either the paternal or maternal side. We did not know for some time what factor determined, for instance, whether a person applied the term *a* or *b* to his FaFa or MoFa or the term *a*, *b*, or *c* to his FaBr, MoBr or some other collateral. When we asked we were usually told, 'It is our custom', but one informant gravely explained that 'God created people and told them what terms to use for each other. Parents have taught their children ever since what terms to use.' It was ≠Toma, perhaps our most intelligent informant, who at last figured out what it was we did not understand and told us what he had assumed everyone knew, that the term 'followed the name'. In other words there is a factor, which we finally called the factor of the name, which under certain circumstances determines what term the individual uses. We began afresh to gather information to understand and

The same informant gave more information about 'making cloud'. He said:[1] 821
'And, our gall, when we die, sits in the sky; it sits green in the sky, when we are 826
dead.' His mother told him, Dia/kwain continued, 'that it (thus) happens to us if we [775]
sit in the shade when the place is not particularly warm, when it is (only) moderately warm, (and) we feel that the summer seems as if it would be hot. We think: "Allow me to sit for a little in the shade under the bush; for the sun's eye is not a little hot; I will sit a little while in the shade"; (then) we make clouds; our liver goes out from the place where we are sitting in the shade, if the place is not hot. Therefore, we make clouds on account of it. For, when it is really summer, then we (may) sit in the shade.'

We do not know what connexion there may be between the concept of *n/ow* held at present by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae and the /Gikwe myth of Pisiboro's hair making the rain clouds, or the hair of the dead resembling clouds and becoming the dead person's clouds, as Dia/kwain told Dr. Bleek, or a person's gall 'sitting green in the sky', or a person making clouds because his liver goes out from the place where he is sitting in the shade if the place is not hot. We hope someone else may be able to throw more light on this. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae make so little point of teaching [869] old stories or lore to their children that much must be lost.

What the /Kung believe now, Demi told us, is that there is nothing about hair itself which affects the weather. It is the *n/ow* of the person which the hair 'gives'. As we understand it, some of the *n/ow* which is in a person is in the hair. When hair is burned in the fire, the *n/ow* is released into the air in the smell.[2] It goes into the sky and, Demi said, the rain 'fears' it. (*Koa*, the word 'to fear', means to respect, to avoid, as when something is taboo, and to be afraid of.) When a person's urine is burned, it also carries the *n/ow* of the person into the sky.

/Kung informants told us that it would be possible to use the *n/ow* of persons to 789
control the weather, should there be need. If the big rains were unusually late and the 791
people were suffering from the dryness, or if the rain storms were so frequent and 821
heavy that the people had much trouble hunting and gathering veldkos, or if a storm were especially frightening, they might try to start or stop the rain. A person known with certainty to have a rain-bringing *n/ow*, because the weather at his birth had given evidence of it, could be asked either to urinate in the fire or to burn some of his hair. The smell of his urine or hair would go up into the sky and influence the rain to come. A person with a cold-bringing *n/ow* could be asked to do the same to stop the rain, if this were wanted.

We have no observations on who would instigate the burning of urine or hair to 821
control the weather. We did not see it done. No one in a /Kung community is a 791
specialist in rain-making, nor has anyone special authority in making a decision about [23]
the control of weather. The medicine men (*shamen*) have as their function the curing of the people, not the control of weather. It would be in keeping with the practice of the /Kung of this region, as we observed it in other connexions, for the group to 623
come to a consensus by talking the matter over informally as they sat by their fires, 821
and then for the parents or someone else to bid a child urinate in the fire. It seems to 789
us unlikely that an individual would make the decision entirely alone, without speaking

[1] Ibid., p. 399.
[2] Cf. a myth about the Rain Bull, which refers to the smell of burning horns, p. 239.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER FIVE

Gai and Ukwane

At our camp in Ai a ha'o I had a small tent not high 136
enough to stand in, tied to a very small thorn tree. The tent was made of ragged, waterproof fabric which billowed in and out when the wind blew, and when lit from the inside by a candle at night looked luminous, pale green, like an aquarium or a lantern on the moon. The tent was a shade from the blazing sun at noon and a shelter from the wind, and through the thin canvas I could hear the creatures that passed at night—hares and small buck that made the long grass rustle, and occasionally small predatory animals, such as jackals, whose footsteps make a sound and which sometimes call "*tsa, tsa,*" their sad, loud cry that means in Gikwe "water, [192]
water."

Whenever an animal called, someone would surely answer 524
it. People do this for fun, a hobby, answering every animal 825
except the lion. In the Kalahari it is considered safer to let the lion have the last word.

I had luckily pitched my tent in the sun, and during the 123
long cold period that followed our arrival at Ai a ha'o I was the only person who was warm because the tent kept out the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

123 wind and held the sun-warmed air inside itself like an oven. The three young Bushman boys found this out quickly, and early in the morning when the sun came up they would crouch outside, shivering and naked, and whisper "Nisabe, Nisabe" until I opened the door to let them in. The four of us filled the tent entirely, but when I would leave for breakfast they would stay behind, looking in my mirror and leafing through my notes. I gave them crayons and paper and asked them to draw, but they wrote instead, wiggly little lines that looked for all the world like handwriting, complete with dotted *i*'s. Once, when I looked in to see if they had drawn anything, they showed me a page of my notes which had a smudge and a tiny rip in one corner. They had not torn it, for they were more careful and precise than cats—in fact, I had done it myself—but they were upset over the destruction of property, and when I told them it was nothing important, perfectly all right, they were not pleased. I seemed to them lavish and wanton; I should have repaired it or at least shown that I was sad.

132 512 One morning in early July they came to my tent before sunrise and I woke up when I heard their teeth chattering. Before I had the door completely open they had all popped in, and when I went outside, wearing a sweater, a coat, and mittens, I found that it was surely the coldest day of the year. A strong south wind was blowing, straight from the Antarctic, scattering our fire, whose smoke and heat blew down the wind, and even standing in the smoke we could not get warm. In our pails the water was frozen into solid ice, and we saw our breath in clouds around our heads.

We went to the werf through grass white with frost to see how the Bushmen were faring and found them all awake, crouched over the coals of their little fires. Tsetchwe and Gai sat side by side, Gai all wrapped in his big kaross which cov-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

136 stood on his branch with the legs wide apart, bracing himself against the wind. When I got near he dropped from his branch and let the wind carry him away, and I saw that he had been watching a colony of ground squirrels close by which had not seen him and did not see me. They, too, were miserable with the cold, for they walked around slowly as they looked for seeds to eat. I sat down to watch them, which they noticed, and some of them stood up to watch me. Their fur was oddly greenish and it blew in the wind showing little patches of white. They had long fat bellies, long heavy thighs, and little feet, and when they stood up they, too, kept their legs wide apart and braced. As they peered at me I heard on the wind almost inaudibly high, soft whistles, their cries of warning to each other. They decided I was dangerous and vanished down their holes.

● 123 I came back to the werf with some wood, which I gave to the Bushmen. They reached out their hands for it and put it on their fires, but they didn't say a word. Later, in our camp, we put all the wood we had on one great fire, where the Bushmen joined us and where we spent the morning making and drinking cocoa. We even put up a white canvas, and, lying between it and the fire, we were fairly warm.

423 Ukwane used that occasion to tell us something about his
621 life and his relatives, his former wives, the children he had
602
159 fathered and where they lived. Most of this centered around melon rights, or who could live in which areas, for if a person is born in a certain area he or she has a right to eat the melons that grow there and all the veld food. It is perhaps this factor that explains in part why the Gikwe bands are composed the way they are; a man may eat the melons wherever his wife can and wherever his father and mother could, so that every Bushman has in this way some kind of rights in many places. Gai, for example, ate melons at Ai a ha'o be-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

281 skins with Bakalahari people for tobacco when we had gone and when the tobacco we had given him had all been used. We asked how much he would get and he measured an imaginary pile in the palm of his hand—not much for four or five days' work, although the skins of Delalandes foxes are quite small.

136 There were Delalandes foxes living not far from Ai a ha'o, a colony of them, for they always live together. I saw them often and they were charming creatures, fuzzy with huge ears and black stockings. I have always admired them, for although they have no defenses, can neither run fast nor fight, they are not afraid to go mousing far from their burrows. Then, when they are surprised by a menace, they have to run home, and they start off all together and run and run, humping on and on at an even pace, neither speeding nor slacking, until long after you first saw them they disappear into their holes. They are humble creatures, but persistent and brave. One member of our expedition hunted them for months with rifle and shotgun, trying to get a specimen for a museum in the United States, but I am glad to say he never succeeded. Ukwane caught them, though, the easy way. He set five snares for them at five mouse-runs in the grass; five foxes strangled in the snares, and Ukwane came around the following day to gather them up.

123 825 321 411 We filmed Ukwane working the skins. Then we found the shoulder blade of the gemsbok we had shot weeks ago still lying in the werf and we asked Gai to make an arrowhead out of it so we could film that, too. It was the right kind of bone, the kind that Bushmen use. The small antelope and even some of the larger ones, such as springbok and wildebeest, have bones which are too fragile to penetrate another antelope's heavy hide. Gai agreed to make the arrow; he broke off the scapular spine and pushed it into a fresh tsama melon to

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GIKwe

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let it soak. When it was moist all the way through he called to us and we then filmed him making the arrow.

We took a long time setting up the cameras, reading light meters, focusing the lenses, and finally took a picture with the still camera. To our astonishment, when the shutter clicked Gai let out a great huff of breath. One of the interpreters must have told him at some time to be absolutely still, and he had begun holding his breath when he had first seen the camera. We thanked him and told him he need never do it again, but we laughed and he was embarrassed.

Always, Bushmen were wonderful people to film. They were totally unselfconscious, never looked at the camera, and, furthermore, had infinite patience. They would stop what they were doing, wait, start again and repeat what they had done before, making each repeated action seem miraculously as if it were being done for the first time. But on this occasion Gai got bored. He had a quiverful of arrows anyway, and while he waited for us to load the camera the arrow he was working got brittle and dry. When this happened he had to suck it until it was moist again, then whittle some more.

He made the foreshaft of the arrow first, chopping with his knife to hack the rough shape of it, pausing occasionally to hone the knife blade on the tough sole of his foot, then cocking his head and squinting down the blade to see the edge. He then carefully whittled the head, leaving a tiny spine up the middle for strength but shaving the edges so thin that you could see light through them. As he worked, though, he yawned and sighed with boredom and now and then he would pause to sing a nonsense song, "bibibi di bo," by flapping his lower lip with his finger.

When the arrowhead was finished he fitted it into a reed shaft exactly the right size and bound it in place with a bit of fine sinew which he had also sucked to moisten. Then he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

411 123 825 321 turned the arrow over and over, sighting down its length to see if it was straight. It was.

123 411 825 278 Gai then surprised us somewhat by taking from his hunting-bag twelve round nut-like tiny shells which we recognized as the cocoons or pupa cases of the poison grubs, the source of poison for the Bushmen's deadly little arrows. Gai said he would poison his arrow, a process which he seemed to find more interesting than making it, and we said we would be very glad to see. We wondered where he had got the grubs, for he and Ukwane had both told us that there were no poison grubs anywhere near Ai a ha'o, and he said he had received them from the people whom we had met in the Okwa Omaramba, as they had plenty there.

825 278 We regretted very much that we had never seen a tree or shrub that houses the poison grubs of the Gikwe, and that we had never been able to catch one of the adults of the beetle that in its pupa stage is poisonous. Gai said that his grubs came from between the roots of a bush, called in Gikwe simply a poison bush. We do not know if the grubs are the same as the grubs used by Kung Bushmen, which live among the roots of a tree, called by the Kung a poison tree, called by us marula kaffra. The grubs of the Kung are from the beetle *diamphidia simplex*, which lays its eggs on the leaves of the tree. Once, all in one afternoon at a single tree of Kung Bushmen, I was shown by a young hunter the yellow eggs on a leaf, the young larvae just hatched, which the hunter said crawl down the tree under the bark to pupate in the earth among the roots, and the pupae of this beetle.

It has always amazed me that the Bushmen ever discovered these beetles, which are only one species among thousands in South Africa, and which the Bushmen say are poisonous only in their pupa stage. The pupae themselves are

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

Later, when the young boys had dispersed to play horse and rider, Ukwane took his bow and played a few songs. He 533 played "Bitter Melons" again, and "A Song of Shouting," and one other song about Kutera, his wife. Both the last song and its subject were very simple, the song itself having only three or four notes and a gentle rhythm. It was composed by Ukwane one chilly night because he had asked Kutera to gather firewood during the afternoon, but she had refused. That night Ukwane had been cold because there was no fire.

Ukwane sang and played in the shade of a tree, and over his head the birds in the branches were also singing. Everything seemed very peaceful, very quiet under the hazy sky; the west wind moved the grass, yellow as young wheat, and blew the sounds of people speaking, the sounds of the young boys playing, and the fragrance of the great veld over us. The strain among the people seemed to have gone; they had held a dance together, their children were playing calmly; there was, for a time, enough to eat, as the gemsbok had not yet been quite devoured; and all these things seemed to relax the people, allowing them to see each other in more favorable lights. Their naps and their soft singing showed their relaxation, and we were glad, for we had become so fond of Ukwane and his people that we did not like to think of them abandoned by the Okwa people or involved in strife.

We were loading our trucks because we planned to leave before dawn. At the end of the afternoon all the Bushmen had drifted into our camp to watch us, and Tsetchwe helped 752 me pack. I cut my finger on the sharp edge of a box and when she saw me trying to wipe the blood away she told me to wait, so I did, and when the blood was dry she scratched it all off with a stick.

We gave her presents, and presents to all the people there. 609 We gave blankets to the people in Ukwane's band, long 123 strings of white beads to everyone, metal to makes knives or

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 spearheads, tobacco and pipes, salt and candy and all the
123 water their containers would hold, all they could drink, and even enough water to wash in, for we had enough to take us to a waterhole a few hundred miles away where we could fill our drums. They did wash. Gai washed his whole body and
[142] emerged a shining gold. The others washed their arms and
[834] faces, modesty preventing their washing the rest, leaving them with golden arms and oval golden masks.

Tsetchwe was pleased with her presents—she hung her white beads in her hair and wrapped herself in the blanket, which, she said, was far softer than leather and which would not get stiff in the rain—but she did not seem happy. She spent the evening sitting beside me, for though we could not talk much with each other I knew that she liked me. "I will cry when you are gone," she said.

576 The two horses, formed by the six young boys, came pranc-
526 ing by, the riders riding loosely, the front feet of the horses galloping but the hind feet, because of the heavy load, trotting up and down. One horse disintegrated in front of us and the young boys who had formed it came forward slowly. The rider, a young boy from Okwa, seemed to want to ask me something. He was very shy, but finally he mustered his courage. "Are you a woman?" he said.

576 Ordinarily, he would have been too polite to ask a personal question, something which Bushmen almost never do because to them asking questions implies distrust, but it may be that on the day before our departure he had found his curiosity impossible to resist. Tsetchwe frowned at him, but I said: "Yes, I am."

The horse had been arguing with the rider, and the two boys who had been the front and hind legs seemed quite triumphant. "We told you so," one said.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

A great thunderhead was rising in the west which would 123
probably disperse before morning, and the sun set into it, turning the whole horizon a pale and delicate rose. We built up our fires and at the werf the Bushmen built up their fires and when it was dark our fragment of the veld was rather gay with firelight. A huge star, Fomalhaut, appeared in the south-east, as it did every evening. Tonight it looked as big as the moon and blue in the haze, but very dim, getting smaller and brighter as it rose.

Ukwane played his songs for us and said again that he would wait for our return, living beside our track, and if his son should come to visit him he would wait no longer but would follow our track to find us again somewhere.

We told him that under no conditions should he do any of this, for he would never be able to find us and we would probably never come back. He nodded, and we believed that he would not wait, but then again perhaps he did. Perhaps he is there now.

We got up before dawn in the morning and stamped out our fires and threw our bedrolls on top of the trucks. When it came, it was the pinkest dawn that I have ever seen and when the morning wind rose we shivered. I found a few coals left in a fire and tried to warm my hands, and when Wite saw what I was doing he crouched beside me and showed me how to pick up just one coal, roll it between the palms, and then hold the warm palms against the face. I tried it and of [147]
course was burned, but Wite patiently did it again and again, hoping that I would learn. His palms were flat and calloused almost as thickly as the soles of his feet. Twikwe, Tsetchwe, and Nhwakwe came to sit beside us and we waited together in silence until the trucks were ready. When I got up to go

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

123 When I got up to go
they got up too and Twikwe shook my hand and kissed me
[529] with a great smack, doing at this moment what she had seen Europeans do, not what Bushmen do, for they just wave calmly at each other, if that. But Tsetchwe turned her back to me and would not say good-by. Even among her own people she was lonely, for in her band there was no young woman but herself.

We climbed into our trucks and started the motors. Ukwane called out to us with great sincerity to wish us rain on our journey, a very generous wish, for though his people might suffer from it, it would cool the air and we might even be able to collect enough for a drink. We thanked him, of course, and he repeated his wish again. The trucks started to move and when they did Tsetchwe waved at last, and, lifting her baby to her hip, she waved his hand too, and so we left, and drove away in the direction opposite the one we had come from, over the plains, flatter and wider and longer here than we had ever seen, sloping miles and miles away to tiny trees on the horizon which were farther away than anything we had ever seen before except distant mountains, the earth from a plane, or stars. At noon, many miles from Ai a ha'o, we saw great herds of game, thousands of animals grazing together, and we regretted that the Bushmen were not near the game, or the game not near the Bushmen, for the people could have been feasting, and then we passed through the game into empty plains again, where we saw nothing but grass except once when we saw a plant very like a tumbleweed which leaped over the ground and then was caught by the wind and lifted higher and higher into the sky up against the clouds. It made us sad to see it flying there, the only moving thing in all the country. "It is the plane to America," the interpreter said.

In the evening when we camped, the sun set into a little

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

she used when she was angry, a cat growling, and would be 159
affectionate to Toma and her sons. Very often, when she was 593
happy, she would dance a light, short dance to a song that she sang herself.

Tu had borne four children, four sons, to Toma, but the 163
first two sons had died. One of these had died at birth, "had died in the veld without a name," said Toma. The oldest living children, born after the others were dead, were a boy of about eight years old and a boy of five. While we were there in 1953, Tu bore her first daughter, a strawberry of a baby 553
who was named for two people—named first for Toma's sister, but also Norna for my mother; her name is Lorna, but Bushmen have trouble with the *l*. In order to fit us into their society, the Bushmen had given us names and niches in the kinship of Toma's family. My father was named for Toma's father, my mother was named for Toma's mother, my brother was named Toma for Toma, and I was called Dikai for Tu's sister. Toma therefore named his daughter for the person who was named for his mother—not at all unusual, as it often happens that a child may bear the names of two of its relations. 123

Now, hoping to find Toma once again, we started the truck 361
motors, fired a rifle, called and called, in case he might be living far from the water, but no sound came from the great veld to answer us and we began to search in the bush around the pan for signs that might show us where he was. We found two empty scherms built in the rainy season, their grass thatches gray with weather, their little piles of fire ashes sunk into the ground, and near these scherms we found the skull of a bird and the shoulder blade of an antelope, all white, bleached, and dry. Farther on we saw a tree where the woven grass nests of weaver birds were hanging empty, swinging

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

clumsy, before it dropped to the earth again. The last pale 133
light faded on the horizon and for a minute the sky looked like the cold sky over tundra or over an icy sea before the empty veld turned dark.

To clear the grass from our camping-site we lit a little grass fire, being too tired to pull up every blade of grass by hand, and the little flames seemed so cheerful and warm that we felt better right away. We made a cooking-fire and cooked our meat, then unrolled our blankets to lie upon, and we found that because the wind had died our cooking-fire shed so much heat that we were as warm as we would have been in a shelter.

We made coffee and talked all evening, and unnoticeably 133
our fire burned very low and we got colder, the night seemed 648
darker and in the dark the koorhan began to call again, and when we looked far over the veld for the light of another fire but saw none it came to us that Toma might have been taken by the farmers after all. We talked for a while about that, but then Lazy Kwi said he believed that Toma was somewhere not very far away but was too clever to show himself. After our last expedition had left Nyae Nyae the last time, Lazy Kwi told us, Toma had waited months, whole seasons, for us to come back and when he had heard the trucks of the farmers he had gone to them, thinking it was us. "Now he is angry. Now he is too clever to make that mistake again," said Lazy Kwi.

That did seem possible, so we stood up and shouted 123 ●
Toma's name again; but even at night, when sound carries best, we heard only our echo, distant and diffuse, and at last we built up our fire and got ready to sleep. The night was perfectly quiet. No sound came from the wind or animals, only the sparks snapping from our fire, which burned for a while but soon died to embers and the smoke rose white and ghostly into the dark.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

123 As we lay in our blankets, before we went to sleep, Lazy Kwi told us a story, told us something that had happened to him and to Toma while we had been away.

224 After Toma had mistaken the trucks of the farmers for our trucks, the rains had come. After the rains, when the veld was lush and tropical, when Gautscha Pan was full of water and succulent reeds, several herds of animals that do not ordinarily live in the desert had migrated south from the swamps and marshes of the Okovango River to eat the sweet grass of the pans. A herd of elephants had come and gone by, but some small herds of buffalo had come and these had stayed in the veld of Nyae Nyae, living among the pans.

One day the buffalo had come to Gautscha, and Toma, crouching on a limb of the baobab tree, had seen them wallowing in the pan and had taken his bow and arrow and, running fast and silently, had circled behind them, then had crept toward them, and from the reeds at the edge of the pan had shot a big male. The herd had bolted and Toma, after having inspected the tracks so that he would know his wounded bull when he saw its track again, had gone home. He had waited a day and a half, longer than usual because of the danger, and when the time had passed, returned with Lazy Kwi to the spot where the buffalo had been wounded. There he and Lazy Kwi had taken up the trail. The buffalo had separated from its herd and the two men had followed it silently, carefully, aware of the danger, avoiding the trail when it led through bushes. When, that night, they had not found the buffalo but knew from the freshness and pattern of the tracks that it was near and restless, they had waited in the veld, eating nothing themselves so that the buffalo would not eat and gain strength, remaining awake, moving around so that they would not get stiff but remaining silent so that the

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

It occurs in varying degrees of intensity. It is a repeating of something over and over and over again. For instance, whether it is actually so or not, someone may be reiterating that he has no food or that no one has given him food. The remarks are made in the presence of other individuals, but the other individuals do not respond in the manner of a discussion or conversation. In an extreme instance we saw a woman visitor go into a kind of semi-trance and say over and over for perhaps half an hour or so in ≠Toma's presence that he had not given her as much meat as was her due. It was not said like an accusation. It was said as though he were not there. I had the eerie feeling that I was present in someone else's dream. ≠Toma did not argue or oppose her. He continued doing whatever he was doing and let her go on.

All these ways of talking, I believe, aid the /Kung in maintaining their peaceful social relations by keeping everyone in touch with what others are thinking and feeling, releasing tensions, and keeping pressures from building up until they burst out in aggressive acts.

Aspects of Good Manners

In /Kung society good manners require that, when /Kung meet other /Kung who are strangers, all the men should lay down their weapons and approach each other unarmed. ≠Toma, leader of Band 1, approached us unarmed the first time we met. After we were accepted and given Bushman names, we were no longer strangers and we never observed the practice again.

Good manners require that visitors be received courteously and asked to sit by the fire. The woman whose fire it is may welcome the visitor by taking a pinch of the sweet smelling *sa* powder, which she carries in a little tortoise shell hung from her neck, and sprinkling it on the visitor's head in a line from the top of the head to the forehead.

Good manners in eating express restraint. A person does not reveal eagerness or take more than a modest share. When a visitor comes to the fire of a family who are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a little distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share. On several occasions we gave small gifts of corned beef to be shared with a group. The person who received the food from us would take only a mouthful. Once an old headman only licked his fingers. The lump of food would be passed from one to another. Each would take a modest bite. The last person often got the most. I found it moving to see so much restraint about taking food among people who are all thin and often hungry, for whom food is a source of constant anxiety. We observed no unmannerly behaviour, no cheating and no encroachment about food. Although informants said that quarrels had occasionally occurred in the past between members of a band over the time to go to gather veldkos, and although we observed expressions of dissatisfaction, no quarrels of any kind arose over food during our observations.

Good manners in general should be inoffensive. Any behaviour which is likely to stir up trouble is regarded with apprehension and disapproval by the /Kung. In view of this, the joking relationship has its interesting side. Men and women who have the joking relationship insult each other in a facetious way and also point out actual faults or remark on actual episodes which embarrass a person. Everyone joins in the

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

to the /Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae /Kung eat hearty meals of meat when they have been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount. They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger.

The /Kung are quite conscious of the value of meat-sharing and they talk about it, especially about the benefit of the mutual obligation it entails. The idea of sharing is deeply implanted and very successfully imposes its restraints. To keep meat without sharing is one of the things that just is not done.

Gift-giving

The custom of gift-giving comes, in my opinion, second only to meat-sharing in aiding the /Kung to avoid jealousy and ill will and to develop friendly relations. /Kung society puts considerable emphasis on gift-giving. Everything a person has may have been given to him and may be passed on to others in time. The /Kung make their artifacts, on the whole, of durable material and take good care of them. They last for generations and move in a slow eddy among the people. The dealings are only between individuals, but they are numerous and provide occasion, perhaps more than any one other activity does, for visits which bring whole bands into polite encounter.

We gave cowrie shells as parting gifts in 1951 to the women in ≠Toma's band, the band which first sponsored us and with which we stayed and did our consistent work, wherever they were, on each expedition. We had carefully observed that there were no cowrie shells among /Kung ornaments before we gave them. Ours were bought from a New York shell dealer, perhaps to the confusion of future archaeologists. We gave to each woman enough for a short necklace, one large brown shell and twenty smaller grey ones. In 1952 there was hardly a cowrie shell to be found in Band 1. They appeared, not as whole necklaces, but in ones and twos in people's ornaments to the edges of the region.

The /Kung have not developed special objects to use as gifts. Nor have they invested ordinary objects with special gift significance. What they give each other are the common artifacts and materials of everyday life (see Appendix). Some objects are more highly valued than others as gifts, as one would expect. I gathered that relative scarcity of material was a factor and that objects were appreciated for their beauty, workmanship, and appropriate size (a wide headband is better than a narrow one). People took an interest in remembering to whom an object had been given in the recent past, but the /Kung, who are present-oriented, do not place special value upon antiquity as such or systematically hold the distant past in mind.

The /Kung decorate their artifacts very little (they have developed music and dancing, not the plastic or pictorial arts), but they delight in ornaments with which to adorn themselves. The intrinsic beauty, the meaningfulness, and the relief to the monotony of yellow-brown skin and grey-brown leather karosses are all valued.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Incidentally, we were not included by the /Kung in their gift-giving patterns. They gave us a few things spontaneously which they thought we would enjoy—python meat, for instance—but did not feel obligated to reciprocate for every gift we gave them.

Asking for an original gift or asking that a return gift be made after due time has elapsed is within the rules of propriety. People prefer that others give in return without their asking, but ≠Toma says he does not hesitate to ask if a gift is long overdue. If a person wants a particular object he may ask for it. Asking is also a means by which people play upon each other's feelings. One can test a friendship in this way. One can give vent to jealousy or satisfy it by acquiring some object or making someone else uncomfortable. I thought that /Ti/kay (an intelligent man, but very touchy, uncooperative, and turned inward upon himself) used to ask for gifts to play with anger, arousing it for the sake of feeling it, as children do with fear, playing witches in the dark. His remarks one day indicated a mingling of feelings and purposes. He told us that one may ask for anything. He does, he said. He goes to a person's fire and sits and asks. (I could imagine him with his black glancing eyes sitting and asking!) He asks usually for only one or two things, but if a person has a lot he may ask for more. He said he is almost never refused but that if a man had only one pot and /Ti/kay asked for it the man might say, ' I am not refusing, but it is the only pot I have. If I get another you may come for this one. I am very sorry but this is the only pot I have.' /Ti/kay said this would not make him angry unless he were refused too many times. To be refused too many times makes a person very angry. But, said /Ti/kay, he himself did not tire of people asking him for gifts. Asking, he claimed, ' formed a love ' between people. It means ' he still loves me, that is why he is asking.' At least it forms a something between people, I thought.

I have stressed the mitigation of jealousy as the important value of gift-giving. /Kung informants stressed more the value of putting people under the obligation of expressing friendship by making the friendly gesture, even if it is only a token gesture. Demi said, ' The worst thing is not giving presents. If people do not like each other but one gives a gift and the other must accept, this brings a peace between them. We give to one another always. We give what we have. This is the way we live together.'

Absence of Stealing

One day, when I wanted to talk with a group of informants about what the /Kung considered to be wrong-doing, I began with /Ti/kay. He said promptly, ' Making crooked arrows and fighting ', but could not think of anything else. Informants had previously said that not sharing food would be the worst thing they could think of. Others had mentioned that the breaking of the incest and menstruation taboos would be very wrong and that girls should not sit in immodest posture. No one seemed to think lying was very serious wrong-doing, and no one mentioned stealing. I finally asked directly and Gao Medicine said they had not thought to mention stealing because they did not steal.

We had heard of the episode of the man taking honey from a tree, honey which had been found and marked and was therefore owned by someone else, and being killed for it by the owner. That was the only episode of stealing that we discovered.

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824
222 The net effect of this effort is that an individual must drink much more than the minimum daily requirement of 72 ounces of water. In fact, men who were living on Fockea roots, were observed to dig out between 15 and 20 of the roots per day. The quantity of water provided by these roots is estimated at 150-300 ounces, part of which went to provide water for the children of the camp.

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312 A description of one Fockea trip, in which the author participated, will serve to illustrate some of the difficulties of living away from standing water.

[123] This trip began on 6 November and ended on 16 November, 1964. The group consisted of 12 Bushmen (plus the author); there were three men, four women, and five children. One of the young women gave birth during her stay so the returning group consisted of 13 Bushmen.

November 6 - This group (minus one of the men who came out the following day) set out from the Dobe waterhole at 10:00

[103] a.m. They spent the day walking to a nut forest named !wi/wama which was situated eleven miles west of Dobe. The original plan was to remain there for five days.

[481] The pace was leisurely to suit the three older children
[855] (ages 12, 8, 6 respectively) who went on foot and the young
[843] woman who was in the terminal month of her pregnancy. On the way we stopped at intervals to eat seven different species of

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224 No game were seen except for a solitary female ostrich. We
[222] tracked her to her nest and collected her clutch of nine eggs. Each of the eggs was pounded in the sand to separate the amnion from the inside of the shell. This apparently kills the embryo inside the egg. These nine eggs were divided among the three of us. We then dug out four large Fockea roots intact, and we returned to the camp at 2:30 p.m. after a hike of nine miles.

484 The women of the camp had spent the early part of the
222 morning collecting nuts and Fockea and the rest of the day
462 sitting in the shade cracking nuts and squeezing the Fockea
312 juice. From 2:30 to 4:30 p.m. no one drank any of the water that had been brought the previous day.

484 At 4:30 p.m. the third man of the camp arrived from Dobe.
312 He brought with him one gallon of water in an enamel milk pail and portions of a dead kudu that he had scavenged from a carnivore kill on the way.

484 By this time I was experiencing symptoms of heat dis-
123 tress, (fever, lassitude, inability to swallow) and decided
312 to return to Dobe, because my continued presence would become a burden on the camp residents, none of whom, incidentally, showed any signs of heat discomfort.

One of the men, seeing my condition, offered to accompany me back to Dobe with his family. We left at sunset and walked

484 until 8:00 p.m. Before making camp we ate wild oranges along
• 123 the way (Strychnos ı 'inosa) but these did not contain much
312 moisture. We camped at a point halfway between !wi/wama and Dobe and there shared out the last of the family's drinking water, which amounted to one quart for four adults and three children, that is c. 4-1/2 oz. for each of us.

484 November 8 - The camp awoke at 4:50 a.m. By 5:20 we had
123 packed and were under way, arriving home without incident at 7:30 a.m.

484 November 8-16 - This ended the author's participation in
312 the Fockea trip. Six members of the original group remained
361 at !wi/wama eating nuts and drinking the juice of Fockea. On the eleventh of November there was a heavy fall of rain at !wi/wama which created a temporary pool of water near their camp. This enabled them to extend their stay beyond the original plan of five days.

484 The same week that the rain fell, the pregnant woman of
361 the camp gave birth to a baby boy. The group remained at the
844 nut camp until the mother was strong enough to walk. Then they broke camp and returned to Dobe on November 16. Both mother and child appeared to be in fine condition.

132 The rain of November 11 was the first substantial fall
221 of the 1964-65 rainy season and initiated the subsistence activities associated with the late spring (see above). Thus

183 gathered (about 175) had married lineal kin or collaterals, at least through first cousins.
582 However, informants told about two /Kung men in B.P. who had married their
835 cousins: we could not find out which type of cousins. What was interesting was the
605 attitude of the informants. They said the men should not have done this, but there was no talk of madness or danger or expressions of horror such as we had observed when incest was spoken of at other times. No punishments, social or divine, had been meted out, according to the informants. Some said they thought it was not too bad a thing for a man to do, especially if the woman were a FaSiDa, who is not, they said, so much like your sister as a MoSiDa. I believe that the anomaly of the system's allowing joking with cousins, although it prohibits marriage, mitigates, in all probability, the force of the incest taboo and accounts to some extent for the tolerance towards the breakers of this rule.

How much deviation there is in marrying second and third cousins we do not
[124] know. We soon gave up trying to gather data on relatives more remote than first cousins because informants so often did not know the names and we could not rely on the information.

582 One account came to our ears of a man who had violated the incest taboo with his
627 stepdaughter. He was /Gunda Legs, the MoBr of old Gau of Band 1, and he lived
684 with Band 9. He is dead now. What he did was so outside the good and the normal
835 that it could be accounted for only by madness. He had drunk the milk of a young gemsbok doe, the people told us, and this is what had made him mad. Something
159 came from his forehead and went in and out, a sort of swelling. After that he fell
[753] in love with his stepdaughter, ≠Nisa, and married her, and both she and her mother were his wives at the same time. The people 'laughed at him' so much because he had made such a horrifying 'mistake' that he took his stepdaughter and lived apart from his band—the only instance we know of a man and woman living alone. They had a son, ≠Toma, who died young. When /Gunda's madness waned he sometimes came back to his people; he would go again when his madness returned. People said they did not understand why ≠Nisa went with him. They mocked at her, said that she was *dole*, 'bad', and that it was 'nonsense' to fall in love with one's stepfather.
Our informants laughed uneasily when they told about it as they laugh when they
[154] tell of vultures eating their meat or of being chased by fierce bees when they try to take a honeycomb. There came to my mind a penetrating remark made by //Kushay, the wife of /Qui in Band 1, which might, I thought, be applied to ≠Nisa. //Kushay had said, 'When a Bushman girl goes against the customs of her people and people talk about her and say she is bad, she is very unhappy. She would hear the people talking and be ashamed and would come to them angry—angry because she is ashamed', or, I thought, go away because she is ashamed.

183 Deviations occur in the fourth category. Two men we met had married women
553 with the same names as their mothers. A man named /Ti/kay married the daughter of
582 another /Ti/kay, and there were other such instances. /Qui, the husband of the above
608 //Kushay in Band 1, said he proposed to do this himself. The girl's family had flatly
835 refused, but he was going to keep on trying. ≠Toma said he would not do this but he sees some people doing these things. There are not enough women whom a man may properly marry, he said, and he would be in favour of changing the marriage prohibitions among name relatives so that a man need avoid only ugly women.

[1 cont.]

115 German or English language, spoken and written, but also of their native tongue in grammar and phonetics.

000 Among the Zulu and Swazi I made my studies more as the occasion arose. Here I was indebted in particular to Father Andreas Ngidi in Inkamana, Princess Maris Dhlamini in Mbabane, and the Italian missionaries in Swaziland for my data. My travels were aided predominantly by the missions. Whereas in the diocese of the Catholic missions of Zululand and Marianhill the main emphasis of the work was upon anthropological and prehistoric matters, in Southwest Africa ethnological studies were the special task of the expedition. Through the kindness of the provicar, Father Schleipen of the Catholic Mission in Windhoek, the schoolteacher Alois Kheibeb was assigned to me, with whose help I came in contact with the old Dama. At the [2] Catholic Mission in Okombahe, Father Bachmann introduced me to the brother of Chief Gottlieb Horeseb, who came with a few other people to tell me stories. In Grootfontein it was Father Jaeger who placed his Dama schoolteacher, Nikolaus Horeseb, at my disposal. I then further succeeded in obtaining a very intelligent !Kung woman, Katiti, who was married to a Hei//om, and this made it possible for me to have verbal contact with the !Kung. In Ovamboland I was able to rely on the generous support of the Finnish Evangelical Mission. Through the help of Mr. Leuch I engaged a respected man from Oshigambo, Erastus Mbumba, who had been a clerk in Swakopmund for 13 years and who spoke superb German. The Bushmen informants in Ovamboland spoke Ovambo. In Epukiro the mission superior, Father Watterott, O.M.J., placed at my disposal the village headman, Franz Arenat, who in turn established contact for me with the Nogau Bushmen. The interpreters have to be paid well. To all those who helped me in my work, I should like at this point to express my heartfelt thanks.

(121) 115 (124)

123 In order to achieve genuine success in the ethnological field, it is necessary to gain the confidence and sympathy of the natives and to instill in them the conviction that one has no evil intentions toward them or would want to make them look ridiculous; money alone does not suffice. The relationship between the Whites and Coloreds is of such a kind that the native from the outset faces the White with the greatest distrust. The natives are basically a courteous people, and among themselves they live

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[2 cont.]

123 ethnological work among them, for the time being, is quite im-
648 possible. Even among the Bushmen the matter was by no means simple. Old Khame, who later became my good friend and informant, at first refused to help, saying: "Why should I open my heart to you, since I know very well that you are my enemy." The native also senses very accurately whether the respect one shows him is genuine. Finally, through the way he is treated, he suffers from inferiority complexes that make dealings [3] with him even more difficult. I have treated the natives as though they were Europeans, but naturally with due regard for the native forms of conduct, and in my relations with them I can say that I have been successful.

123 A single serious conflict with the natives can mean the end of an expedition. It is not just that the colonial authorities rightly grant permission to cross the police zone only to those people who have proved capable of getting along with the natives; another reason is the fact that the transmission of news among the
[203] natives is extraordinarily rapid. The news of my measurements in Walvis Bay reached the Otjiwarongo Reserve within 14 days, and from there it reached Otjituo in the extreme northeast in a week, not, as one might think, by postal communication, but through migratory Herero. Upon my arrival in Otjituo the people there were already acquainted with my intentions and my personality. The reader may possibly object to my actual accounts on the ground that I have succeeded in providing a fully rounded picture for only a very few tribes. I can truthfully say that there was a sincere intention to investigate the material thoroughly
[122] everywhere. I carried on the investigations among the individual tribes for as long as I had money available. It is impossible, after all, to depend entirely on a single informant; instead, several informants are needed in every case. Ethnological inquiries are practically the only situations in which the natives have the opportunity to lay down conditions. I can force the native to string
123 wire, to harvest maize, or to herd cattle as much as I want at the
124 low price customary in the country, but I cannot force him to reveal his old tribal traditions. Not even the Bushmen wanted to take "brown money," but only "white" and "yellow." After I gained the confidence of the natives, as I can truthfully state,

[3 cont.]

123 the sum of the ethnological results obtained in each case is a func-
124 tion of the amount of "yellow" money that in each instance was available to me.

000 The results of my work, together with the space available to me, determined the size and content of this book. For the prehistoric cultures, I refer the reader to the first volume.

114 My original intention of giving a survey of those tribes
128 among whom I was unable to do research had to be abandoned in view of the amount of space placed at my disposal. I intend to do this in the final section of the third volume, where, along with the anthropological findings, an over-all survey of the cultural and racial history of South Africa is to be presented. I have
[127] referred to the literature at some length only in the accounts on the Bushmen tribes of South Africa. In particular the officers of the Imperial German Colonial Force performed extremely valuable pioneering work in this area. Their accounts, given with military exactitude, are unsurpassable and represent ethnological sources of the first rank.

126 Wherever I did not carry out the observations myself but wrote down the translations of my native interpreters, I have left them unchanged. Hence, I hope that the reader will not hold against me the stylistic defects that appear here and there. The native words for the most part were written down by my interpreters. I would have been happy if it had been possible for me to have all the texts checked by competent experts. This was impossible. I therefore request indulgence in case there are any errors in the linguistic transcription. At any rate, these people wrote their mother tongue. [Page 4 blank.]

[5] The Bushmen Tribes

172 In terms of geological eras, South Africa has undoubtedly been inhabited for as long a time as the other parts of the Old World. Naturally, the first cultures we know are those that possessed a stone industry. Among these the hand-ax industry, which is also the oldest elsewhere, is likewise widespread in South and Southwest Africa. Since Reck has most recently established

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appropriated a number of little trees and planted them in front of his house. On one occasion when he was in town with his Bushmen, the original owner of the trees declared that in the afternoon he was going to see about it. The Bushmen heard this and disappeared. When the two Whites came to the farm, the little trees had disappeared. The Bushmen had run ahead and had hurriedly removed them on their own initiative.

181 The Bushmen are at all times courageous and steadfast people, characteristics which, indeed, their very way of life would produce.

831 The Bushmen strictly avoid talking about sexual matters
[864] in the presence of women and children. Just as in general they are a people without imagination, they do not have any form of the more subtle erotic phantasies.

The endless obscene stories that one hears from the Blacks as soon as he has gained their confidence are unknown among the Bushmen.

The sexual element is absent in their religious cele-
[535] brations, but it finds expression in many of their dances, which imitate the love play of animals.

834 On the whole, their sense of modesty cannot be denied, even though, naturally, they do not have such decent forms of conduct as the genteel Bantu, among whom it is regarded as extremely improper to look at the breasts of the women. The
[516] girls and women never sit in the typical squatting position, but rather sit on the ground with the legs crossed.

[576] Although the life of the Bushmen within the encampment is openly in view, those principles that we regard as natural tact are nonetheless observed.

[514] The Bushman performs his necessities at all times out of sight of the others, and love scenes are never enacted in public.

114 It is naturally very difficult to learn anything more
124 precise concerning the more intimate details of sexual life

[22 cont.]

114 without compromising oneself. Only old people are suitable
●124 informants, since they are no longer eager for renown.

831 In view of the hard life that the people lead, sexuality, naturally, is not excessively developed. Perverse manipulations are evidently unknown, since my informants did not even understand questions on this subject.

833 Normal sexual intercourse is usually performed in the bush during the time between the evening meal and the rising
271 of the moon. Long periods of thirst result in almost total im-
147 potence.

157 Despite all the formality, they have an unbridled
578 temperament which frequently expresses itself in violent emotional explosions over trivial affairs, which then may easily lead to serious consequences since the poisoned arrow is always at hand. For example, I was told the following story: A Bushman worked on a farm for quite a long time and, with his belly fat from eating maize, came to visit his thin companions. His brother made fun of him for being so fat, saying that he could not run any more, whereupon the fat one retorted: "Just the same, I'll live longer than you." After this brief exchange of words, the scrawny brother stabbed the fat one. -- A film com-
157 pany once wanted to make a film among the !Kung who are
648 settled behind Keibeb; the film was to be called: "When the First Whites Came into the Land." The chief of this horde had a [23] pair of old German military trousers as an emblem of his office and when he was requested to take them off, he responded with the declaration that he would take off his trousers only if the White did the same, whereupon he received a box on the ears that put him and his companions in such a rage that the film company preferred to depart in order to avoid a catastrophe.
157 That they can also be quick at repartee is shown by the following story which was repeatedly told to me by Europeans: A Bushman had been accused of poaching. The magistrate asked him: "Don't you know that these animals belong to the king (royal game)?" The Bushman answered: "I saw no 'brand' (property mark)."

As a chief or family head, the Bushman is bossy and
[593] unyielding, which is understandable in view of the rigidity of his whole conception of life. The sick Bushmen lie silent and

[24 cont.]

181 He states:

181 593 "It has been asserted that the Bushmen have no feeling for one another. I have frequently heard it said that the mothers are cruel to their children and occasionally kill them when their burden becomes too great. As far as I can see, this is untrue. I have frequently seen Bushman mothers kiss their little ones, exactly as European women do, and when the children are ill, they go to all kinds of trouble. The fathers, it is true, are frequently gruff and rough, but never brutal to their children. The girls are usually seen in company with their mothers, the boys with the men. Between mother and daughter there is an intimate relationship of trust. It has also been asserted that Bushmen are ungrateful; this is also quite untrue. They show their feeling of gratitude neither to one another nor to the Whites, but anyone who gains their trust through kindness can tell that they are indeed grateful. They show their gratitude not by words but by deeds. If someone is in need or in distress and a Bushman friend is in the vicinity, the latter will stay by him to the bitter end."

181

The !Kung Bushman in particular is much more a rational than a sentimental person. The extraordinary difficulty that he encounters in obtaining his livelihood makes him extremely independent in his thinking. It was surprising to see the sureness with which not only men but women, too, were able to act as interpreters. Whereas among the Bantu it is difficult to keep the conversation on the subject, the Bushman always sticks to the point. Even the tribal traditions, insofar as superstitious conceptions are concerned, are not safe from the skepticism of the individual. For instance, I once asked a number of Bushmen whether they hunt lions. They answered in the negative, and when I said that this was probably because the lions harbored the spirits of eminent deceased Bushmen, they laughed and said that this was just a tale of the Hei//om Bushmen and some Bushman doctors who had learned this from them. Other men of the same tribe, on the other hand, were firmly convinced that the spirits of great Bushmen doctors reside in the lions.

[124] [775] [771]

181 771 There are also many stories about bush spirits, especially in the Otjimpolo Veld. My informants repeatedly observed, however, that they did not know whether there was any truth in them, because They had never seen any.

!KUNG

[30 cont.] VON ZASTROW
113 and Vedder (1) report further:

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Buschmänner, pp. 412-413.

843 "It is absolutely against the rules to do anything by word or
754 deed to the pregnant woman that might make her angry. Her evil eye in this period is especially dangerous; her angry word or her curse has an even worse effect. Sores, illness, protracted suffering, and death are the consequences of the evil eye or the curse of a pregnant woman.

844 "It is customary to sever the umbilical cord with an instrument only when the blood no longer pulsates. The umbilical cord is not tied off. The afterbirth must be carefully and secretly buried. The life of the child would be greatly endangered if an animal found it or if a feared sorcerer could appropriate a piece of it."

861 As soon as the girls have their first menstruation (/n) (2),

2. Female genitalia (/n-i).

a celebration takes place, but in this tribe I was unable to learn any of the details. On this occasion, the women dance, clap their hands, and sing, "giriri, giriri, giriri, uhu, giriri uhu," and so forth.

Men may not be present at this celebration. In a Hei//om horde neighboring the !Kung, spirits are appealed to in all directions on the occasion of this celebration, so that the girl, as an adult, will find veldkost everywhere.

The existence of a true initiation for boys is denied (3).

[114] 3. On this point I was either misunderstood
[124] or told a falsehood.

There is merely a kind of testing; an older man goes with the candidate or candidates on a hunting expedition. Under the supervision of the older person, the candidate must kill a specimen of large game. The animal is then brought to the sacred fire, at which the

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the 293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 291 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re- [123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having [124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in [412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess [325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in [439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that, [531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead embroidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich 301 egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are [321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence [556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are [462] [306] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of [302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to lengthen them.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

!KUNG

[55 cont.] WHATEVER I COULD GET FROM MY
114 individual informants I took down with the
771 exactness of a trained scientist, faithful to
776 the letter and with due regard for all pre-
[124] cautions. From these notations I have drawn
the inevitable conclusion that a benign supreme being is a reality in their world picture.

776 surrounding Hei//om tribes, [56] for they use the word Somseb.
171 We should sooner think of Huwe. Huwe or Hue was what the !Kung Bushmen of Tsumeb examined by Vedder called the supreme being. I also know the expression Chuwa from the Bushmen of Ukuambi. This supreme being is conceived of in human form;
776 it looks like a Bushman and also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky
772 in a house that has two floors; his wife, whose name is unknown, lives on the lower floor, as well as many children. The souls
[775] of the deceased live on the upper floor. "The house" (it is supposed to be similar to, but not entirely like a Bushman windscreen) "is hairy on the outside, like a caterpillar." There are various things up there, but only a single house, namely, that of the captain. Honey, crickets, and fat flies are there in great abundance. The great captain lives on them. In addition, there are a great many butterflies. The following are regarded as the
776 functions of this supreme being:

1. In the opinion of some, the great captain made the sun, moon, and everything. In the opinion of others, the highest of the spirits, /Nawa, did this.

2. The great captain calls the doctors to their calling and gives them supernatural power.

3. He is the lord of the rain and the lightning.

4. Through the highest of the spirits he sends luck on the hunt or on the search for veldkost.

5. When someone thinks or speaks ill of him, he punishes
[688] him with lightning. He is not concerned about the other activities of his Bushman children, however, unless someone swears falsely.
695 The Kung have a regular oath, and one of my informants reported
776 the following to me:

When a group goes hunting and one of the participants is

/241/

000 Anthropological, Ethnological, and Ethnographic Observations concerning the Heikum and Kung Bushmen (1), with an apdix on the languages of these Bushman Tribes (2).

1. Presented at the session of November 18, 1905 /of the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte/.

121 2. The linguistic notes on the language of the Heikum Bushmen were gathered on the Omuramba Omatako, while the linguistic notes concerning the Kung Bushmen were taken down in a Kung settlement on the northern edge of the Kaukau Veld, approximately 15 kilometers west of Dobe.

A stay of several months in the vicinity of a Bushman settlement near Otjomavare, a watering place on the Omuramba ua omatako, about 50 kilometers south of Grootfontein and 120 kilometers northeast of Waterberg, gave me the opportunity to make a series of observations on the Bushmen, which, I believe, in part presents new information and in part complements and confirms what is already known. My first concern was to determine the size of the Bushmen, who are traditionally known as abnormally small, by obtaining absolute measurements. A closer acquaintance with this interesting people then led me to make further investigations that will be of interest to the ethnologist and the ethnographer.

I had to manufacture in part the instruments needed for making the anthropological measurements, but I hope that this circumstance has not diminished the accuracy of the results.

101 The Bushmen concerned call themselves "Heikum" people, a
[194] name in which the 'k' is to be replaced by the click indicated in
124 the Nama language by //. Thirty-one adults and eight children were measured.

Of the adults 14 are men and 17 women.

128 I shall first present the average values of the absolute measurements, and then a number of proportional figures and indices.

648 self-reliant. No European farms or institutions such as hospitals, schools, missions, trading posts, labour-recruiting or tax-collecting offices have been established in the Nyae Nyae region. The first government official to go into the region, Mr. Claude McIntyre, Senior Welfare Officer of the Administration of South West Africa, came with our first expedition to Gautscha Pan in 1951. The contact of the /Kung of this region with the neighbouring Bantu-speaking Negro tribes consists of occasional trading trips or visits to their Bushman relatives who are working for Chwana or Herero in western Bechuanaland.

123 We lived for seventeen months with the /Kung of Nyae Nyae; for six weeks in 1951, for fourteen consecutive months in 1952–3, for six weeks again in 1955.

115 During this time we had several interpreters. We wish to express our gratitude particularly to two, Ngani and Kernel Ledimo, who had an exceptionally intelligent grasp of our purposes and problems and whose work was patient and precise. Ngani (this is his own preferred spelling of his name) is a Heikum Bushman who lived for many years with Mr. Courtney Clark in Grootfontein. Among the nine languages Ngani speaks are /Kung and English. Kernel Ledimo is a Chwana of the Batwana tribe who grew up among /Kung Bushmen on his father's cattle posts and was educated in an English school in Bechuanaland.

121 184 We made the kinship terminology of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region a subject of special study. Our investigation of the /Kõ and /Gikwe kinship terminology shows that there is not one system common to all Bushman groups. This paper deals only with the /Kung system.

●124 Our method of study was first to take genealogies of the members of six bands, comprising about 175 persons. This took a good deal of time but was rewarding as a background which helped us to place in their web of relationships most of the 600 [123] /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region whom we came eventually to know by sight or name as we travelled about or as they visited us.

124 601 After we had gathered the genealogical material we began to ask people what kinship terms they used for each other. We asked many informants, going over and over the same questions. The terms for parents, offspring, and siblings were easily learned. But the terms for grandparents, grandchildren, and all collaterals threw us into confusion. For each grandparent or grandchild, of either sex, we found that a person might use one of two terms (and one of these has an alternate); and a person might use one of three terms for each collateral, with an alternate, a diminutive, and a distinction man-speaking and woman-speaking to complicate matters. The same term might be applied to relatives on either the paternal or maternal side. We did not know for some time what factor determined, for instance, whether a person applied the term *a* or *b* to his FaFa or MoFa or the term *a*, *b*, or *c* to his FaBr, MoBr or some other collateral. When we asked we were usually told, 'It is our custom', but one informant gravely explained that 'God created people and told them what terms to use for each other. Parents have taught their children ever since what terms to use.' It was ≠Toma, perhaps our most intelligent informant, who at last figured out what it was we did not understand and told us what he had assumed everyone knew, that the term 'followed the name'. In other words there is a factor, which we finally called the factor of the name, which under certain circumstances determines what term the individual uses. We began afresh to gather information to understand and

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

test this factor and eventually we learned that there are two aspects to the /Kung system of kin terminology. In one terms are applied according to the biological position of the persons; in the other terms are applied because persons are classified with others by having the same names, in ways this paper will explain. The factor of the name has resulted in kin terms being applied by persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, but who are considered to be related through the factor of the name in what we call the name-relationship.

Miss Bleek in her paper on 'Bushman Terms of Relationship'[1] has recorded /Kung terms. Students of the subject interested in comparing her paper with this will find them in agreement to a considerable extent, but Miss Bleek's paper does not go so deeply into the terminology as this does nor does it bring out the significance of the factor of the name.[2]

Our material on /Kung kin terminology is presented in two parts. (I) The first part (A) deals with terms applied to consanguineous kin, and explains the factor of the name and the way the application of terms is extended through the factor of the name to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, in what we call the name-relationship; and (B) deals with terms applied to affines. (II) The second part deals with certain aspects of behaviour related to kin terminology, touching briefly upon marriage prohibitions and preferences from the point of view of terminology. It deals more fully with the joking relationship, an aspect of behaviour which relates closely to terminological categories. The paper finally touches upon the way the name-relationship serves as an amalgamating factor within a whole region among people who have no larger organized social units than autonomous bands, small ones of 10–15 persons up to large ones of 40–60 persons, composed of consanguineous kin and their affines.

Space does not permit here a description of the composition of bands, but we hope in a future publication to give data on the family and bands, on hunting and veldkos territories, marriage, residence, settlement patterns, and on the behaviour among kin in forming hunting and gathering parties, arrow-lending, meat-sharing, gift-giving, &c.

[1] D. F. Bleek, 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 57–70.

[2] Miss Bleek (ibid.) sometimes gives the descriptive phrase in place of, or in addition to, the term, as if we should say father's brother or mother's brother instead of uncle. For instance, *ba sin* is a descriptive phrase meaning father's younger brother or younger sister. There are differences of spelling. We should like to follow Miss Bleek's spelling, but we put down as best we could what we heard and cannot change over to her spelling because in the different areas the Bushmen's pronunciation may possibly have varied slightly. There are some terms given by Miss Bleek which we did not hear in the Nyae Nyae region. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae do not use the term *tsau* for Br. We did not hear *||ge*, not *soig||ge*, nor *tsu* as a prefix to *sin*. Otherwise the terms we record are recognizable as the same terms which Miss Bleek records. Miss Bleek, on the other hand, does not record all the terms which we record as used in the Nyae Nyae area. The principal difference lies, we think, in her not taking into account the factor of the name. We think she had an inkling of there being such a factor among the /Kung she worked with, for she says they had a word */ku* which she thought meant 'kinsman' or 'namesake'. In any case, she does not show all the terms which in the Nyae Nyae region might be applied to grandparents, grandchildren and collaterals on both the paternal and maternal sides. A detailed comparison of the papers would show several examples, but one will suffice to illustrate the point. Miss Bleek records the terms for FaBr, *tsu*, and MoBr, *tsou||ge*, giving the impression that the /Kung system makes a terminological distinction between the paternal and maternal siblings, whereas we found that in the Nyae Nyae area both terms, *tsu* and *tsou||ge*, might be used for either FaBr or MoBr, and, besides, that the sibling term, elder Br, might also be used for FaBr or MoBr, as will be explained.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

FOREWORD.

X137 312 151 224 823 124

The Kalahari is not a sandy desert in the sense that it is devoid of vegetation; it is the absence of surface water which makes the region such a hazard to human habitation. It is the last refuge of the Bushman. Primitive though he is, he survived in this inhospitable environment owing to his acute powers of perception and his fine appreciation of the gifts of nature. He is a skilled hunter with his bow and arrow and has an intimate knowledge of the natural resources of food and water. Dr. Story compliments him by saying that his knowledge was usually imparted cheerfully and with humour and "always with intelligence".

121

The Division of Botany was grateful to accept the invitation for Dr. Story to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition of 1955. This was the fifth expedition of its kind and had as its objective the further documentation of the way of life of the Bushman. Dr. Story's assignment was to investigate the plants used by them in obtaining food and water.

It is inevitable that, with the advance of civilisation, the remnants of this interesting race will lose its intimate contact with nature and in the end its very identity. Wishing to complete their records before this happens the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody organisation, is, as we go to press, returning on yet another expedition. The Division of Botany is glad of this opportunity to continue the collection of data on the plants of economic importance to the Bushmen in the Kalahari.

The balance in nature between supply and demand is of endless interest to the ecologist. In times of plenty—when vegetation is abundant—the animal population increases: in times of poverty—when the vegetation is reduced by the prevailing climatic conditions—the animal population is reduced by the effects of hunger and thirst. So it is with the primitive human, who is dependent for his survival on the animal and plant life which surrounds him. Overpopulation at any time spells destruction for him at a later date. It is obvious too, that primitive man must have had a strong influence on the distribution and density of edible wild plants. Some will have become more widespread and others less numerous. More and more examples of rare species among the tuberous rooted *Asclepiadaceae* have come to light during the botanical exploration of southern Africa. It is felt that the edibility of these and some other tuberous rooted plants, in a large measure, accounts for their sparse distribution.

XC137

Dr. Story's observations support this view, and many other interesting facts are recorded in his preliminary report on the vegetable aspect of the Bushman's diet.

R. A. Dyer,
Chief: Division of Botany and
Director of Botanical Survey.

Pretoria,
October, 1957.

X137 There were more species of grass, and, particularly on the dunes, more of
136 trees and shrubs. The fauna was also richer for there were buffalo and elephant and many waterfowl in addition to the animals found in the Kalahari.

197 The Bushman languages represented in this paper are classified
[128] according to Bleek's *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages* (1929). They are !h3:, the closely interrelated ||ganakwe, |gikwe and Naron, and Auen (see also Bleek, 1928: 60-64).

!h3: is a member of the southern group, in which the lip click is found, and a dialect of what Bleek calls |nu||en, S6 in her system of
[194] classification. Bleek's spelling is !k3:, but I heard the click aspirated. It is spoken in the neighbourhood of Lehututu, which is 150 miles south of Ghanzi.

||ganakwe is spoken to the east of Ghanzi, and has been studied by Maingard (1957).

The centre of the |gikwe language appears to be in the country to the south-east of Ghanzi. It is a member of Bleek's Central group, closely allied to Naron and easily understood by Naron speakers although many
[194] words are different. A curious feature of the phonetics is the occurrence of the ejective lateral explosive followed immediately by the velar glottal affricate (see Cole, 1955: 23 and Beach 1938: 222-223). The first sound is not mentioned in any papers that I have seen on the Bushman languages.

[114] Naron is Bleek's C2. There is an error which is liable to confuse one on page 3 of her publication, where the languages of the Naron and Masarwa of Tati have been transposed. Naron should be under C2 and the Masarwa language under C1. A grammatical sketch of Naron is given in Bleek's paper of 1928.

Auen, Bleek's N1, is the eastern form of the !khũ linguistic group and is spoken round Gautscha Pan. It was studied by Maingard when he was a member of this same expedition and an account of it is given in his paper of 1957. In this paper I refer to it as Eastern !khũ.

124 The work done in the Kalahari was done through interpreters, and much of that in the northern area likewise, except towards the end of the expedition when through closer contact with the Bushmen for a longer time than in the south, I was able to acquire a smattering of the Eastern !khũ language, enough to ask straightforward questions and to understand straightforward replies. The phonetics of the Bushman languages are a study in themselves, and I do not claim that my spellings and indications
104 of the tones are exact. In the orthography I have followed Bleek (1929)
194 with the following exceptions:—

1. I have placed the n first when it is combined with a click. It has been the convention to place the n after the click in the written Khoisan languages, the argument being that the n and the click are pronounced simultaneously (Meinhof, 1909: 5). To my ear the n is the first sound in the combination.
2. Bleek does not mention the voiced h, which sometimes follows a nasalised click. I have accordingly followed Doke (1936: 448) and used the symbol ɦ.

For easy reference, the symbols I have used are listed at the end of this introductory chapter.

137 spreading some like the Grewias and the melons whose seeds pass through the alimentary canal apparently unharmed and reducing others like the Eulophias and Vignas which have edible underground storage organs. It is perhaps significant that, with two exceptions, the edible members of the family Asclepiadaceae were rarely found. In this paper there are 11, from Raphionacme to Fockea inclusive—nearly all important food plants with underground storage organs. The two commoner exceptions were *Sarcostemma viminale* which is sometimes poisonous and *Pentarrhinum insipidum* which has edible leaves and fruits but an inedible perennial root.

146 I am not qualified to speak on the health of the Bushmen, but it is apparent even to the layman that they are very unlikely to suffer from any deficiency disease while on their natural diet. When they are recruited for labour and fed on an unbalanced diet their health will be undermined and they will be less able to resist the rigours of their normal life when their contracts expire.

114 Their study by serious workers is to be encouraged for it should lead to their stability as a race and the enrichment of our knowledge, but contacts with irresponsible strangers is unfortunate and observations like the following by Brown (1954: 130) are valueless and regrettable:—

> "They are wonderful runners. When I chased one with the clanging of a bell he set off at a good bat into the distance, and kept it up until out of sight."

122 During the three months in which the field work was done, the expenses of my transport and keep were met from the funds of the expedition, and this I gratefully acknowledge. Dr. R. A. Dyer, Chief of the Division of Botany, gave me the opportunity of joining the expedition, and all facilities for working up the results of the field work. Most of the determinations were done by my colleagues in the Division of Botany, and of them Miss I. C. Verdoorn, author of *Edible Wild Fruits of the Transvaal*, read through the typescript and gave me valuable advice. Dr. L. E. Codd deserves special thanks for the way he saw to the growing of the considerable quantities of roots, bulbs and seeds sent from the Kalahari. 000 I thank Mr. L. K. Marshall, who led the expedition, and the members of it, [115] for their interest and kindness, also Kernel Ledimo, a fluent speaker of the Eastern !khũ language, who was always ready to translate or to pilot me through its little-known and fascinating grammar and phonetics. My notes on the Bushman languages were kindly checked by Prof. L. F. Maingard, and the ethnological literature was supplied mainly by Dr. N. J. van Warmelo of the Department of Native Affairs. I am indebted to Messrs. Midgeley, Martin and Scholtz of the Bechuanaland Administration for hospitality and for enabling me to see parts of the territory that I should not otherwise have seen. My thanks would not be complete without mention of the Bushmen whose knowledge is the foundation of this paper. [124] The information was seldom reluctantly given—usually cheerfully and with humour, and always with intelligence.

Pollichia campestris Ait. (4963, 5040) Photograph 15. 137

A small grey-green bush with much-branched slender soft stems, fairly compact when growing in the open but usually found as a semi-scrambler up to four feet high. The leaves arise in tufts of about three, the tufts being opposite each other and at intervals of anything up to an inch along the stem. They are lanceolate and usually under half an inch long. The plant bears what at first sight appear to be fleshy translucent fruits like small white or yellowish mulberries, but which are actually parts of the flowers.

This is a widespread plant throughout Africa, and was seen at intervals all along the route taken by the expedition.

The fleshy parts of the flowers are edible and sweet, with a queer earthy flavour, and are loosely attached so that they may be easily collected by pulling the stems through the hands. The plant, however, did not appear common enough to be of importance as a food. [262]

Boscia albitrunca (Burch.) Gilg and Benedict (4998, 5208) Photograph 16.

!h3: Bushman.....	≠hun
ǂganakwe Bushman...	n|ßu-ni
|gikwe Bushman.....	n|ßu-ni
Naron Bushman.....	n|ßu-ni
Eastern !khû Bushman	zä

This is a rather variable tree, sometimes with erect branches and sometimes with a spreading crown, usually bearing many thin twigs with much dead wood among them. The bark is sometimes loose, dark and coarsely fissured and sometimes white and flaky. The species was also often seen in the form of a many-stemmed shrub about four feet high. It is evergreen, and did not seem to be at all affected by the heavy frosts that were experienced in the central Kalahari. The leaves arise singly or in bunches of four or five from small knobs on the twigs, and are leathery and about one inch long and a third as wide. Although the flowers are small and inconspicuous as individuals, they are borne in masses towards the tips of the twigs and make quite a show. In the Cape and the Transvaal at least the tree appears to be sporadic in its flowering. The fruits are borne on half-inch jointed stalks, and are half an inch in diameter, pale-skinned and translucent, with several large stones surrounded by a thin, watery pulp.

The tree was scattered evenly throughout the country from Molepolole to Ghanzi and Gautscha Pan, and has been recorded from the Cape Province northwards to the tropics. It occurred singly, occasionally in open communities, but it was never seen to form thickets.

The fruits are eaten by the Bushmen, but they do not make pleasant eating, for the pulp has a rather slimy texture and a sickly-sweet taste. [262]

Sim (1907: 123) refers to a meal which is prepared from the roots by drying and beating them. The resulting meal is then sifted to remove the fibres and may be made into a porridge. There are reports of gastro-intestinal disturbances after the eating of Boscia roots, but the reports have not been confirmed, and Steyn (1934: 561) fed large quantities to a rabbit without ill effects. It is suspected that people are susceptible only when they are not accustomed to this food. The Bushmen were not asked about their use of the roots, and did not volunteer any information. [252] [114 124]

The older trees are often hollow, and form natural reservoirs for rain water which is tapped by the Bushmen. (See Adansonia.) 312 824

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

576 show affection openly only to people of the same sex and
593 to their children. Tsetchwe looked at Gai, though, and she smiled.

124 . Twikwe greeted us by smiling her wry smile and saying:
825 "So."

262 The springbok was thrown to the ground, but before it could go into the pot, Bill Donnellan, the doctor, came over to the werf to dissect it, this being an opportunity to find what the Bushmen thought about the systems of the body and what they knew about anatomy.

Gai agreed to tell what he knew, so the springbok was dragged to a sandy spot and a small fire was built—just two crossed sticks with one or two coals and a tiny flame, yet it warmed us, as the evening was becoming very cold. All the people sat around to watch as Bill opened the belly of the springbok and rolled it onto its back. He pointed to the diaphragm and asked what it was. Gai told him the name. "What is it for?" Bill asked.

"We eat it."

"Is it for anything else?"

"We don't know. We just eat it."

"What about the liver?"

"We eat the liver."

"Does the liver do anything for the springbok?"

"It stays there and then we kill him and eat it."

"And what about the stomach?"

"We Bushmen eat the stomach, too, and all the things in the springbok."

"Doesn't the stomach do anything for the springbok?"

"Yes, he eats grass which goes in there and makes him fat, and then we eat the fat."

124 Unwilling to give up easily, Bill passed on to the urogenital
825 system, which is, after all, exterior and which anyone should

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

know, but Gai became embarassed and said gravely that 124 825
Pishiboro put that system there for reproduction and he alone knew how it worked.

Ukwane then said that he would explain instead, because 221
he was an old man. Gai could not speak of sex in front of 831 784
women because it was both improper and dangerous and 826
would weaken his power to hunt, but Ukwane was too old 888
for hunting and, besides, was past the age when many of the 124
tabus concerning sex applied to him. Old Bushmen understand everything better anyway, young Bushmen say.

Ukwane knew a great deal. He named every major part, 124
inside and out, of the animal, even naming the major veins 825
and arteries that lead to and from the heart. We were not surprised to find that Bushmen, who prefer to be specific rather than general when dealing with minute things, distinguish more exterior parts of the body then we do. They have names, for example, for the inside of the elbow and the back of the knee. The *leg* of an animal means the hind leg, the front leg is the *arm*, and these are called by the same names as the arm and leg of human beings. Birds, too, fly with their arms and land on their legs, but I never could discover what insects do.

Ukwane went on to explain the various systems of the body, saying in the case of the urogenital system that liquid, which was "the little springboks," ran from the testicles into the kidneys, then down again and out the penis. He stuck to this version, too, even when Bill suggested that it might be otherwise. This does not mean that Bushmen think that urine [842]
causes conception, for they recognize the role of semen, believing that it unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form a child.

Ukwane understood the course of food and water through 124
the digestive system, but said that food and water spread out 827

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

124 like sweat to all the body.He did not understand what the
827 lungs did, or that air went into them, or that air went through the trachea. Breathing, said Ukwane, is air going down into the stomach, where it makes belches. Ukwane did not know about the circulation of the blood, believing that blood ebbs and flows, nor did he recognize pulses in the body except the pulse at the V of the throat, noticeable in people who wear little clothing, which is known as "the place of the heart."

124 The cold night had come, and Ukwane in the frosty grass
826 was shivering, yet he sat for an hour keeping his patience, putting his hands into the cold blood of the springbok to trace veins to their source, prefacing all his answers with positive, qualifying remarks. "I am an old man," he would say, "and I know that the diaphragm separates the heart and lungs from the stomach," or "I am Ukwane, and I know that when the heart is gone the animal cannot live, or a person either, because the heart is that animal's life."

857 As the dissection and the conversation went on, the three
526 young boys, joined occasionally by Nhwakwe, the baby, played games all the time, creeping in between the adults to warm themselves by the fire and by the heat of bodies when they could stand the cold no longer. If you wear no clothing your skin is sensitive to very slight changes of temperature, and even the warmth of someone sitting beside you or the heat radiated by a few coals makes a lot of difference. When the young boys were thawed they would again leap into the darkness to play some more. They played a game of horse and rider, in which one boy would leap astride another boy and ride without holding on while the other boy would stagger forward as fast as he could. In a moment, both would fall, jump up again, hitch up their loincloths, and resume the game, only this time the horse would jump on the back of

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam

I think ǃkõŋ, ǃkoʼte "grandfather", "grandmother" are derived from ǃkuʼya "great", "large", "stout". These terms are used in addressing any elderly relatives, or people distinctly senior to the speaker, much as "Oom", "Tante" are used in Afrikaans. In the tables appended I give these titles, where they were specially mentioned in a list of terms of relationship, but in the folklore they are so widely used, that one might sometimes translate them "old man", "old woman". 196 601

I can give no explanation of the fact, that a woman calls her father's parents her "real" grandparents, and her mother's parents her "lent" ones, while a man reverses the process; his mother's parents are his "real" grandparents. My aunt, Dr. Lloyd, who took down this information, evidently made no inquiry, and to-day there are no Colonial Bushmen left capable of telling us. These adjectives are not used in ordinary conversation, any more than we use the terms "paternal", "maternal". 601 [124]

The Bushman did not explain why the mother's brother is called "son". I should say a particularly affectionate relationship is indicated. As to the title for the mother's sister, he said: "They are wont to say their 'grandmother' to their mother's sister, they say their 'grandmother' to her. A man says his 'daughter' to her. Then the man's aunt says her 'father' to him, for they (the mother and aunt) feel that they are women who are one. Bushmen say, women who are one, to the women of one house. When girls have one mother, they say they are women who are one."

ǃke means "companion", "friend", "someone loved". Xoa ǃke-ko means "mother's other friend" or "chum", of whom was said: "They make their other friend of one person; they say their other friend to her." 196 601

In certain ǃxam tales the wife's unmarried younger sister stays with her, as helper and baby-minder. An elder sister would be sure to be married. This sister I take to be the "other friend" of the wife, the "little sister-in-law" of the husband, the ǃkouki-⊙pwa. For this term is only applied to a little girl. [538]

I know of no marriage laws among the Bushmen to explain the title of sister being occasionally given to the father's or mother's sister's daughter. Bushmen sometimes marry a cousin of that or any other sort, but more often they marry someone else. The only girl a Bushman may not marry is his *own* sister. 582 601

[Text continues on page 62]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

/KUNG BUSHMAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS[1]

LORNA MARSHALL

MY purpose in this paper is to describe some of the religious beliefs held currently by the /Kung Bushmen of the interior bands of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. I shall limit the paper to a description of their concepts of the gods, the problem of evil, supplication, the spirits of the dead, and the ceremonial curing dance, but leave for another paper a more detailed account of medicine men, how they become medicine men, and more about their practices and beliefs. We gathered the information which I present principally on our expeditions of 1952–3 and 1955.

Schapera traces considerable borrowing in the past by the Bushmen from Hottentots and Bergdama.[2] I did not have opportunity to trace, to any significant extent, possible present-day borrowing or exchange of ideas, and can only report that contact, and therefore opportunity for exchange, takes place between the interior bands of /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region and the Tswana and Herero on the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung have contact also, but much less frequently, with Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south and through them to some extent with Naron in the Ghanzi region of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae occasionally see /Kung to the north of their region, who in turn see the Okavango and Ovambo tribes. Although the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not enough contact with white people before we came to absorb any Christian ideas directly from them, and no Christian missionary has been in the interior of the region, an influence of Christianity cannot be precluded because the Tswana do have contact with Christianity. Our own highly valued interpreter, Kernel Ledimo, who grew up near the border and spoke Bushman from his childhood, had been educated in an Anglican mission school. Although there has been contact with people who have Christian ideas, I do not recognize with certainty any Christian elements among /Kung beliefs.

One is left to wonder if the change in the concept of the nature of the gods, particularly in that of the great god, which appears when one compares the old tales with current concepts, was brought about entirely by the philosophical and logical powers of the /Kung themselves and by their adjustment to emotional needs, or whether influences from without played some part. I hope that the research of others may throw light on this point.

I should like to mention a few of the well-known Bushman beliefs, recorded in the past, which the present Nyae Nyae /Kung do *not* have and then proceed to a more systematic description of beliefs which they hold at present.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung have various beliefs and lore about the sun and moon, Canopus, the Pleiades, and other stars, and they have the well-known myth of the moon and the hare; but they do not attribute active divinity to the heavenly bodies, which are 'just stars', they say in effect, and we did not find that they either fear

[1] We are grateful for a grant towards the publication of this long article.

[2] I. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, London: Routledge, 1930. Reference is particularly to chapter vii.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen-FX10
Kung

also commonly used for any man (not a boy) older than the speaker when the speaker must avoid saying the name. The people address the gods as */nau* and *gaoxa* more commonly than as *n/iha*. We were told that they call the great god */nau*.' when he is good '.

It is interesting to know that the power of the great god, his omnipotence which he was so mysteriously able to create for himself, is called *gaoxa* and that the special potent ' spiritual ' medicine which the great god puts into the medicine men, the curing power, is also called *gaoxa*.

The /Kung often call the great god ' father ' especially in supplication, and plead that he succour his ' children ' and give them rain or good fortune in the hunt or whatever they may be asking for.

Nonabe is a term of great disrespect, a ' scolding ' term. When used for a human being it is a curse and a terrific insult. A man who felt himself greatly wronged by another and in violent anger would say of the man who wronged him, ' That *Nonabe*! ' But he would not say this to the man's face ' for if he did there might be a fight (so great is the insult). When he saw the man in person he would come in peace to him, not showing his anger '. *Nonabe* is used in blasphemy by the medicine men in trance, along with other insults when they are combating the gods and the *//gaowasi* in the medicine dances, demanding that they take away the evil they have brought.

The Fear of the Names

The Nyae Nyae /Kung ' fear ' (*koa*) to utter the names of the gods. The word 'means both' to be afraid of, as one is afraid of a mamba, and 'to respect and avoid', as one respects one's mother-in-law and avoids speaking to her and saying her name.

Children must strictly avoid saying any of the names of the gods. Old men and women need not observe an absolutely restrictive taboo in uttering the names, and may and do say them, but there seems to be an element of taboo (it is a ' death-thing ', they say) and fear of drawing attention to themselves. We were aware of their unwillingness to speak of religious matters early in our work and therefore waited until our relations were well established before questioning them. Our information was gathered for the most part in 1953 and 1955 at many different sessions with fifteen men and eight women informants who had proved to be reliable. Others joined the talks casually and when they wished to do so. Our informants declared themselves willing to teach me because I wished to know. Throughout the discussions people varied in the degree of caution and discretion with which they spoke the names. Sometimes we talked literally in whispers and usually at least in low voices, saying ' the one in the east ', ' the one in the west '. On one occasion /Ti/kay told me that my questions made him sick. He meant to claim, I ascertained, that he had an actual physical sensation such as a nervous twinge or slight nausea. The woman who first told me the name of the wife of the great god put her lips to my ear and whispered, barely audibly, ' *Hwovdi* '. Next day, unfortunately, she had a high fever. She recovered, but the episode put an end to my trying to learn from her about the wives of the gods. /U, when someone was ill at Cho/ana, and she was filled with anxiety and longing to be home at Gautscha, made me promise not to say the names or ask any more questions, at least until we were all safely back.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

as well, to Ernst O. J. Westphal, Professor of African Languages, University of Cape Town; to Miss Margaret E. Shaw, Keeper of Ethnography, South African Museum, Cape Town; and to Mr. B. J. Grobbelaar, Ethnologist, and Miss Rona MacCalman, Archaeologist, both of whom are at the State Museum in Windhoek, South West Africa.

I want to thank the officers of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Government for their cooperation and hospitality, particularly Mr. and Mrs. Phillip Brown of the Tsetse Fly Control Unit, Nokaneng; Mr. Robert Gilkes, District Officer, Maun; Messrs. Eustace Clark and Ian Gass, District Commissioners, Ngamiland; and Mr. George B. Silberbauer, formerly Officer-in-Charge of the Bushman Survey of the Bechuanaland Protectorate.[1]

Special thanks are due to Mrs. E. Moremi, head of the Batawana Tribal Administration (and Regent of the Tribe during the minority of her son Letsolatebe, the Paramount-chief-elect) for permission to conduct research in the Batawana Tribal District. Thanks are due, as well, to Headman Isak Utuhile, [124] whose administrative district includes the Dobe area. While in the field I received valuable assistance from Hakekgoshe Isak, interpreter; Enoch Tabiso, cook; and Onesimus Mbombo, driver-mechanic.

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1. at present at the University of the Witwatersrand.

621 312 Similar variations in group structure were observed at all the waterholes of the Dobe area. However, despite these shifts in the size and composition of camps there were two lines of evidence that indicated stability. First, there was a generally acknowledged nucleus of permanent territorial residents at each waterhole. Second, when camps split up they did so consistently along the same lines of fission. The presence of these two regularities provides a basis for a preliminary account of the living arrangements of !Kung Bushmen. The complete documentation and analysis of group structure will be presented in a later paper.

[125] The starting point for this account is a single complete census of the Dobe area made by the author in November, 1964. This was a good time for a census because it is the period of [221] the year when the camps are most stable. It was the end of the dry season when most of the Bushmen were restricted to their permanent waterholes.

621 161 162 This census showed a total population of 433 Bushmen divided among 35 living units. This figure of 433 includes ten individuals who died in the year preceding the census, and 32 others who were away from the area at the time of the census, so that the total number of Bushmen who were actually physically present in the area in November, 1964, was 391. The majority of the people (311 individuals, 72% of the total) were living in 15 independent hunting and gathering bands.

[3 cont.]

123 the sum of the ethnological results obtained in each case is a func-
124 tion of the amount of "yellow" money that in each instance was available to me.

000 The results of my work, together with the space available to me, determined the size and content of this book. For the prehistoric cultures, I refer the reader to the first volume.

114 My original intention of giving a survey of those tribes
128 among whom I was unable to do research had to be abandoned in view of the amount of space placed at my disposal. I intend to do this in the final section of the third volume, where, along with the anthropological findings, an over-all survey of the cultural and racial history of South Africa is to be presented. I have
[127] referred to the literature at some length only in the accounts on the Bushmen tribes of South Africa. In particular the officers of the Imperial German Colonial Force performed extremely valuable pioneering work in this area. Their accounts, given with military exactitude, are unsurpassable and represent ethnological sources of the first rank.

126 Wherever I did not carry out the observations myself but wrote down the translations of my native interpreters, I have left them unchanged. Hence, I hope that the reader will not hold against me the stylistic defects that appear here and there. The native words for the most part were written down by my interpreters. I would have been happy if it had been possible for me to have all the texts checked by competent experts. This was impossible. I therefore request indulgence in case there are any errors in the linguistic transcription. At any rate, these people wrote their mother tongue. [Page 4 blank.]

[5] The Bushmen Tribes

172 In terms of geological eras, South Africa has undoubtedly been inhabited for as long a time as the other parts of the Old World. Naturally, the first cultures we know are those that possessed a stone industry. Among these the hand-ax industry, which is also the oldest elsewhere, is likewise widespread in South and Southwest Africa. Since Reck has most recently established

dangerous.' When they do they use the word *n/oi*. It is a word for gentle rain, and also a respect word. They use it for male rain when they are afraid of it and avoid its real name, */ga /go*.

The rains of the western Kalahari are local, falling from clouds which the winds herd. They may fill one pan and miss another. Laurence Marshall spent one whole night, tentless, in a drenching downpour, to find in the morning that a mile away no rain had fallen. But by and large the rains are sufficient in quantity and well enough dispersed to fill most of the water-holes, pans, and hollow trees, and to revive the growing things, so that the autumn months, which follow the rains, are good—the best of the year. Then the /Kung may travel anywhere within their territories to hunt and gather the fresh veldkos. The rains are life-giving.

Winter is the season of dryness. It is also the season of burning sun in the cloudless sky by day and freezing cold when the sun sets. Bitter winds catch up the sparks of the fires at night and whirl them in blazing streaks into the darkness. If water is left in an open bowl, it may be ice in the morning. By mid-winter, July, there has been no rain for three or four months. The pans and small water-holes are dry. Though there are still foods to be gathered, like the mangetti nuts in the northern forest, there is no water on the route, nor in the white sand dunes where the mangettis grow, and the people cannot carry enough in their ostrich-egg shells to go to the mangettis and return. In 7,500 square miles of the interior of the region around Nyae Nyae, there are only five water-holes which do not dry up in the winter and spring. The /Kung bands must gather around whatever permanent water-hole they belong to and restrict their hunting and gathering trips to conform one way or another to the problem of water. This region, incidentally, does not abound in tsama melons and, though there are succulent so-called 'water' roots to be found, they seem not to be sufficient to support whole bands for long. The Nyae Nyae bands, it appears, cannot, or at least do not, base themselves for long periods away from their water-holes.

The spring months which follow the dry months of winter are the dangerous months. The sun is scorching. Fruits and leaves shrivel; the edible roots, stirred by the few tantalizing drops of the little rains, or just because it is spring, give up their juices to the first new shoots and are dry and bitter to eat. The people longingly await the rains, saying it is the sun which dries the water-holes and the plant foods. The /Kung of this region use one word for both sun and dryness, */kam*, and say the sun is death-giving.

In their beliefs about *n/ow*,[1] which they think influences the weather, as this paper will describe, they make an antithesis between rain and cold. This seems paradoxical when one experiences the devastating heat of the sun in September, October, and November, but the resolution of the paradox may lie in the fact that the hardships of the dry seasons begin with the rainless winter months and their bitterly cold nights, so that sun, dryness, cold and want become a complex which is in antithesis to rain and plenty. *N/ow* is called 'bad' if it brings cold, 'good' if it brings rain.

Mrs. Hoernlé[2] records a Hottentot belief called */nau*. The word appears to be Miss Bleek's *Bushman Dictionary*. We heard it used as a term of respect in addressing old men.

[1] We spell the /Kung word *n/ow* in this way because it rhymes with 'how'. We wish to distinguish it from another /Kung word, */nau*, which it closely resembles, but which has a slightly shorter, more closed sound. */Nau* means 'old man', according to

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., 'Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of */nau* among the Hottentots', *Harvard African Studies*, ii (1918), pp. 73–77.

As the spellings of the Bushman names on my herbarium specimens are from field notes, they are often different from the spellings given in this paper, which was done after I had had the opportunity of consulting the authors I have mentioned. It will be noticed that many of the plants do not have the full set of Bushman names. The main reason is that we were not in contact with the Eastern !khû speakers until we had passed Ghanzi, and lost contact successively with the |gikwe, ||ganakwe and !h3: speakers as the expedition drew to a close. Other reasons are that my field notes were sometimes inadequate, that I forgot to ask, and that some plants appeared restricted to certain areas and were not known to all the groups of Bushmen. 128 [184]

As the expedition was during the winter when most of the plants were in poor condition, very little photography was done in the field. Most of the photographs are from plants which were sent back to Pretoria and cultivated there, or from plants which grow naturally in the Transvaal. In this paper the plants and photographs are arranged according to de Dalla Torre and Harms (1900-1907). Specimen numbers are in brackets. 126 [128]

There is little doubt that the plants discussed here represent only a fraction of those used, for we covered a very small part of the area over which the Bushmen range, and this when probably most of the annuals were dead, when some foods were out of season and when the above ground parts of many bulbous and tuberous plants had withered and disappeared so that the plants themselves could not be found. 114

Because of poor yield, poor quality, difficulty in harvesting or lack of flavour, not many of the Bushman food plants would be worth cultivating in their present form for the use of civilised people, but they offer a large field to the plant breeder. The most promising have been noted accordingly in the text. 000

There were few bones around the Bushman encampments, but this does not necessarily mean that there is a scarcity of meat in their diet, for the bones might have been removed by porcupines (Alexander, 1956; Dart, 1957) or eaten by hyaenas. A more reliable indication was the scantiness of the Bushmen's skin coverings. There are sharp frosts in the Kalahari and sometimes bitter winds, and one may argue that the Bushmen would provide themselves with sufficient skins if they had a regular supply of meat, although admittedly they eat skins after charring them on the coals and pounding them in a mortar. Vegetable refuse from former meals and fresh vegetable food, however, were found at all the Bushman encampments, and additional gatherings were the permanent chore of the women and children and of the men to a lesser degree. The insanitary condition of the surroundings also provided unmistakable evidence that the bulk of their food was of vegetable origin. 262 [291] [132] [364]

Their knowledge of field botany was astonishingly good. It has to be, otherwise they would have no chance of survival in their arid country. Fragments of stem, dead leaves, and other small clues of this nature, after being unerringly identified, were all the Bushmen needed to find many of the storage organs they were seeking. Differences which escaped me would enable them to distinguish between edible and harmful plants, and they had a thorough knowledge of the areas and habitats in which their food plants grew. They must have an influence on the distribution of plants, 824 137X

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

(3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

(4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into categories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

(5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been published by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

(6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

(7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

136 Two species of frog:

1. Pyxiecephalus adspersus
2. Rana anchietae

[262] Of these twenty-four species, five were recorded as eaten:

1. rock python
2. large leopard tortoise
3. small leopard tortoise
4. land leguaan
5. the bullfrog Pyxiecephalus

[126] Invertebrates: Only a small percentage of the countless insects and other invertebrates present at Dobe were collected. One box of specimens was lost in the mail. Other identifications are pending. Below are listed thirteen species of invertebrates and a further sixty-nine species of insects.

Class Arachnida	Scorpions 2 spp.
	Spiders 3 spp.
	Ticks 2 spp.
Class Myriapoda	Centipede 1 sp.
	Millipede 1 sp.
Class Hirudinea	Leech 1 sp.
Class Unionidae	Freshwater clam 1 sp.
Class Helicidae	Land snails 2 spp.
Class Insecta	
Order Dictyoptera	
	Cockroach 1 sp.

Temperature

132 The records of daily temperatures maintained by the author are incomplete. The temperature data for six repre-
[126] sentative months are shown in Table 4. Using a standard Minimum-Maximum dry-bulb thermometer, the author recorded the lowest and highest temperatures in each twenty-four hour period. Column 1 of the table shows the average of all the daily minima recorded in each month and column 2, the average of all the daily maxima. Columns 3 and 4 show, respectively, the lowest and highest single recordings in each month. Column 5 shows the average diurnal range from low to high in each month. This figure was calculated by subtracting the mean low from the mean high for each month and it is rounded out to the nearest degree.

The critical temperature datum in terms of subsistence ecology is the daily maximum because this is an indicator of the heat conditions under which the people must hunt and gather. Walking in the sun on a day when the shade temperature is over 100°F imposes a much greater burden on the individual's fluid metabolism than does walking in the sun when the shade temperature is under 80°F. Consequently, a Bushman's daily water requirements are much greater in summer than in winter. The water/subsistence problem is considered in detail in Chapter VIII.

262 plants, are scarce and unpredictable and people never depend
137
136 on meat for their basic subsistance. Therefore the well-
433 being of the Bushmen as a population can be viewed as the product of two factors: the abundance of food resources in their environment, and the intelligence and sophistication which informs their exploitation of these resources.

512 Although the getting of food is the major activity of
433 Bushman life and is a major focus of Bushman thought, the greater part of the waking life of the Bushmen is given over to social, religious and trading activities that are largely independent of the food quest.

Their emphasis on non-subsistence activities becomes clear when daily records are kept of the activities of the
[126] members of a camp. For example, a diary of activities was kept for the Dobe camp during July, 1964. This record was
[462] made during mid-winter, a season of comparative scarcity. It was found that the 23 adults of this camp spent less than half of their days in subsistence activities, an average of 23% of the time for the women and 40% of the time for the
[574] men. The majority of their waking hours were spent visiting
[521] other camps, entertaining visitors, resting, talking, hut building, and making tools, clothing, and ornaments.

Plant Resources

137 There are well over 200 species of plants and 230 species
136

139
136 of animals named and known by the Dobe area Bushmen. Of
[126] these 420 species, 350 species were collected and identified
433 by the author. Two-thirds of the plant species and half of
824 the animal species are utilized by the Bushmen. Of these,
825 they classify 85 species of plants and 54 species of animals as edible. It is therefore evident that the Bushmen have a remarkably broad subsistence base. On closer examination, however, one finds that the Bushmen are highly selective in their food habits. In fact, only nine species of plants constituted about three-quarters of the total vegetable diet; and one species alone, the mongongo nut, accounted for at least half of the total. Furthermore, of the 54 animal species eaten, only 17 species were consistently hunted.

824 A plant species may be regarded by the Bushmen as a
262 major food for one or more of several reasons. Certain foods are prized because of their abundance or because of the long season during which they are available. Other foods are prized because of the ease with which they are collected. For this reason fruits are generally more popular than roots since the latter have to be dug out of the ground. Then there are foods which are especially good tasting and/or believed to be highly nutritious. The various plant foods are evaluated pragmatically and rationally and few species
825 are restricted by magico-religious taboos. This is in sharp
262

[3 cont.]

123 the sum of the ethnological results obtained in each case is a func-
124 tion of the amount of "yellow" money that in each instance was available to me.

000 The results of my work, together with the space available to me, determined the size and content of this book. For the prehistoric cultures, I refer the reader to the first volume.

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14: Willet Y-4 (no date) 1965 FX10 Bushmen FX10

PREFACE

The Bushmen of Southern Africa are today represented by scattered groups of hunters on the plains of the Kalahari and on the farms of South West Africa and Angola. They are a unique and mysterious people and have attracted the attention of numerous writers since the early settlers at the Cape first made contact with the Sonquas. In this Bibliography an attempt has been made to list most aspects of the culture of the Bushmen. A bibliography on rock art was compiled in 1947, thus only a few items appear on this subject. Those included are of interest because they suggest some facet of culture or culture history. Some items are predominently of a physical anthropological nature but contain sufficient ethnological information to justify their inclusion.

The items are arranged in alphabetical order under broad subject headings and an Author-Title index has been provided. The section entitled History, was included because it was felt that the earliest references to Bushmen at the Cape and later in the interior, are of interest, in creating a picture of the life and customs of the extinct groups of Bushmen. The history of the tragic clashes between the Bushmen and other races which led to their extinction in most of Southern Africa, is traced in such historical works as J. Sutherland, Memoir respecting the Kaffirs Hottentots and Bosjemans of South Africa and Donald Moodie, The Record

The main body of the bibliography is devoted to the ethnology of the Bushmen and here are included items by authors, some of whom are not ethnologists but whose work is of sufficient value to allow its inclusion in this section. The items included in the small section entitled Bushman Folklore, include popularised versions of the work of Dorothea Bleek and Lucy C. Lloyd. The section on Linguistics is purely restricted to works available in Johannesburg and no attempt has been made to obtain works by the Portuguese students of the Bushmen or other foreign linguistic studies. This can therefore claim to be no more than a token coverage of a field, in which a vast amount of work has been and still is, being done. The section entitled General, contains work not sufficiently scientific to be included under Ethnology, yet of interest, often because of their excellent illustrations. This section begins with works published after 1900 and works of a similar nature published before this date, appear in History.

Sources. Mendelssohn, South African Bibliography provided some of the older items. Many of the older periodical references were traced through the bibliography in - I. Schapera, Khoisan Peoples of South Africa and the Johannesburg Public Library's Index to South African Periodicals was also used. A list of periodical abbreviations indicates the sources consulted. Periodical titles were written out in full when they appeared only once.

Brief annotations are given in some cases. Page references and an indication of contents, have been provided for some of the older items which do not contain an index.

My sincere thanks are due to Prof. L.F. Maingard, Prof. M.G. Marwick, and Mr. G. B. Silberbauer for their valuable advice, to Prof. Manuel Guerreiro for kindly sending material on the Portuguese contribution to Bushman Studies, of which I could include only a very small number, and to Prof. P.V. Tobias for so kindly allowing me access to his bibliography on cards in the Anatomy Department.

101 non-Bantu, click-speaking peoples with a tradition of hunting and gathering in their recent past. Thus we may define Bushmen as members of tribes who are acknowledged to be "sarwa" by themselves and others. The term "sarwa" thus includes peoples of varying physical type and economy, and of four distinct linguistic stocks within the click family of languages. The one characteristic common to them all is the tradition of hunting and gathering. The economic and linguistic divisions will be elaborated below.

Numbers and distribution

161 114 The Bushmen are numerically stronger than has been generally supposed. Estimates such as Schapera's 7,000-7,500 (1930), Keith's 6,000 (1948), and Coon's "few hundred" (1955) are far too low. Despite Tobias' careful estimate of 55,000 living Bushmen (1957), the older misconceptions still persist. As recently as 1963, Bohannan estimated the numbers of living Bushmen in the hundreds (Bohannan 1963:213).

164 127 The author's estimate, based on data available in 1964, shows a total figure rather smaller than that of Tobias' 55,000. It is estimated that there are about 44,100 Bushmen alive today. This figure is based on published sources and unofficial government estimates for Bechuanaland. For South West Africa, the figures are adapted from the Odendaal Commission Report (Republic of South Africa, 1964). For Angola,

161 the Tobias estimate is retained. The estimates for other
• 127 countries (Zambia, Rhodesia, South Africa) are informed guesses.

The national totals and the sources of information are:

Bechuanaland	24,600	Schapera, 1952; Silberbauer, 1965; Silberbauer, personal communication; Kuper, personal communication; author's field census.
South West Africa	15,000[1]	Republic of South Africa, 1964; Macintyre, personal communication.
Angola	4,000	Tobias, 1956,1957,1964, personal communication.
Republic of South Africa	100	Author's estimate.
Zambia	200	Author's estimate.
Rhodesia	200	Author's estimate.
TOTAL	44,100	

The distribution of these 44,100 Bushmen is illustrated in Map 2, p. 14.

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[1] The official 1960 census figure for Bushmen in S.W.A. is 11,762. The Odendaal Commissioners note in their report: "Statistical surveys of this group (the Bushmen) are made difficult by their nomadic way of life. According to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development these Bushmen number several thousands more" (Republic of South Africa, 1964:29, footnote 4). Since this view coincides with that of the author, the number of Bushmen in S.W.A. has been rounded out to 15,000.

of the !Kung who were independent at the time of the census had a History of living with Bantu for periods in the past.

It is difficult to determine to what extent the !Kung living arrangements have been affected by the Bantu presence, beyond stating the obvious facts, that, until the Bantu came, there could be no intermarriage and no opportunities for employment. At this stage of analysis, it would certainly be premature to attribute the fluidity of band membership to the effects of contact, since there is good evidence that this flexibility is adaptive in the context of traditional subsistence patterns (see Chapters VII and VIII).

A history of contact

127 This historical sketch of the period 1879-1965 is based on the testimony of informants resident in the Dobe area. Since none of the Bushmen and very few of the Bantu had any knowledge of the dates of historical events, these were provided by discussions with the British administration at Maun and by a survey of the early literature on the area.

173 The pre-contact period - There is no evidence in their oral tradition that the !Kung of the interior have migrated there from elsewhere. This corroborates the !Kung belief quoted by Lorna Marshall that "they have lived in the Nyae

[174] Nyae area since time began" (1960:325). The interior !Kung cannot, by their own account, be considered to be recent refugees from more favorable habitats.

[3 cont.]

123 the sum of the ethnological results obtained in each case is a func-
124 tion of the amount of "yellow" money that in each instance was available to me.

000 The results of my work, together with the space available to me, determined the size and content of this book. For the prehistoric cultures, I refer the reader to the first volume.

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4: Werner--1 D-5 (ca. 1900) 1906 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Heikum

/241/

000 Anthropological, Ethnological, and Ethnographic Observations concerning the Heikum and Kung Bushmen (1), with an apdix on the languages of these Bushman Tribes (2).

1. Presented at the session of November 18, 1905 /of the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte/.

121 2. The linguistic notes on the language of the Heikum Bushmen were gathered on the Omuramba Omatako, while the linguistic notes concerning the Kung Bushmen were taken down in a Kung settlement on the northern edge of the Kaukau Veld, approximately 15 kilometers west of Dobe.

A stay of several months in the vicinity of a Bushman settlement near Otjomavare, a watering place on the Omuramba ua omatako, about 50 kilometers south of Grootfontein and 120 kilometers northeast of Waterberg, gave me the opportunity to make a series of observations on the Bushmen, which, I believe, in part presents new information and in part complements and confirms what is already known. My first concern was to determine the size of the Bushmen, who are traditionally known as abnormally small, by obtaining absolute measurements. A closer acquaintance with this interesting people then led me to make further investigations that will be of interest to the ethnologist and the ethnographer.

I had to manufacture in part the instruments needed for making the anthropological measurements, but I hope that this circumstance has not diminished the accuracy of the results.

The Bushmen concerned call themselves "Heikum" people, a
101 name in which the 'k' is to be replaced by the click indicated in
[194] the Nama language by //. Thirty-one adults and eight children
124 were measured.

Of the adults 14 are men and 17 women.

●128 I shall first present the average values of the absolute measurements, and then a number of proportional figures and indices.

/241 cont./

128 Tables giving all the /242/ measurements for each individual, are attached, as are forms for the observations concerning the descriptive characteristics of the individuals measured.

141 The average values for the adults measured are as follows:

	Men	Women
1. Body height	155.3	149.7
2. Height of the chin above the ground	135.7	130.6

[142] [291] [301] [342] [516]

Fig. 1. Heikum Bushmen. Men.

3. Height of the navel above the ground	93.2	90.4
4. Height of the upper edge of the symphysis above the ground	82.2	79.6
[Fig. 1 appears here.]		
5. Height of the acromion above the ground	130.5	124.9
6. Height of the elbow joint above the ground	99.9	96.5
7. Height of the projection of the radius above the ground	76.0	73.4

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

test this factor and eventually we learned that there are two aspects to the /Kung system of kin terminology. In one terms are applied according to the biological position of the persons; in the other terms are applied because persons are classified with others by having the same names, in ways this paper will explain. The factor of the name has resulted in kin terms being applied by persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, but who are considered to be related through the factor of the name in what we call the name-relationship.

Miss Bleek in her paper on 'Bushman Terms of Relationship'[1] has recorded /Kung terms. Students of the subject interested in comparing her paper with this will find them in agreement to a considerable extent, but Miss Bleek's paper does not go so deeply into the terminology as this does nor does it bring out the significance of the factor of the name.[2]

Our material on /Kung kin terminology is presented in two parts. (I) The first part (A) deals with terms applied to consanguineous kin, and explains the factor of the name and the way the application of terms is extended through the factor of the name to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, in what we call the name-relationship; and (B) deals with terms applied to affines. (II) The second part deals with certain aspects of behaviour related to kin terminology, touching briefly upon marriage prohibitions and preferences from the point of view of terminology. It deals more fully with the joking relationship, an aspect of behaviour which relates closely to terminological categories. The paper finally touches upon the way the name-relationship serves as an amalgamating factor within a whole region among people who have no larger organized social units than autonomous bands, small ones of 10–15 persons up to large ones of 40–60 persons, composed of consanguineous kin and their affines.

Space does not permit here a description of the composition of bands, but we hope in a future publication to give data on the family and bands, on hunting and veldkos territories, marriage, residence, settlement patterns, and on the behaviour among kin in forming hunting and gathering parties, arrow-lending, meat-sharing, gift-giving, &c.

[1] D. F. Bleek, 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 57–70.

[2] Miss Bleek (ibid.) sometimes gives the descriptive phrase in place of, or in addition to, the term, as if we should say father's brother or mother's brother instead of uncle. For instance, *ko sin* is a descriptive phrase meaning father's younger brother or younger sister. There are differences of spelling. We should like to follow Miss Bleek's spelling, but we put down as best we could what we heard and cannot change over to her spelling because in the different areas the Bushmen's pronunciation may possibly have varied slightly. There are some terms given by Miss Bleek which we did not hear in the Nyae Nyae region. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae do not use the term *tsau* for Br. We did not hear *||ga*, nor *soin||ga*, nor *tsa* as a prefix to *sin*. Otherwise the terms we record are recognizable as the same terms which Miss Bleek records. Miss Bleek, on the other hand, does not record all the terms which we record as used in the Nyae Nyae area. The principal difference lies, we think, in her not taking into account the factor of the name. We think she had an inkling of there being such a factor among the /Kung she worked with, for she says they had a word /*ku* which she thought meant 'kinsman' or 'namesake'. In any case, she does not show all the terms which in the Nyae Nyae region might be applied to grandparents, grandchildren and collaterals on both the paternal and maternal sides. A detailed comparison of the papers would show several examples, but one will suffice to illustrate the point. Miss Bleek records the terms for FaBr, *tsu*, and MoBr, *tsun||ga*, giving the impression that the /Kung system makes a terminological distinction between the paternal and maternal siblings, whereas we found that in the Nyae Nyae area both terms, *tsu* and *tsun||ga*, might be used for either FaBr or MoBr, and, besides, that the sibling term, elder Br, might also be used for FaBr or MoBr, as will be explained.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

601

Here are the parent–child terms:[1]

Fa	ba (b^ha)[2]
Mo	dai[3] (t^hai)
Mo (voc.)	aiya (āiya)
So	/ha (ŋ/^ha)
Da	≠khai (ŋ≠kxai)

These terms are subject to no modification. They are used by a person for no other relatives than his biological parents or offspring and no other terms can be applied in these relationships.

Sibling terms are as follows:

elder Br	/go (/o)
elder Si	/kwi (/kwi)
younger Br or Si	tsī (tsī)

The above terms are used for both full and half siblings. These terms are fixed to the sibling relationship in the sense that no other terms replace them under any condition; but, unlike the parent–child terms which are applied to no other relationship, the sibling terms are under certain circumstances extended to other relationships than that of biological sibling.

The generational terms are as follows:

Applied to males	*Applied to females*
tsu (tsū)	//ga (g//^ha)
/gu/na (/uŋ/^ha)	tūn (txūŋ)
tun/ga w.s. (txuŋ.g/a) alternate to /gu/na	

The terms are reciprocal. If a male ego applies the term *tsu* to a man, he is termed *tsu* by that man. Or, if a male ego terms a woman *//ga*, she terms him *tsu*. It is the same with the */gu/na–tūn* pair.

The above statements are subject to the qualification that, when using these terms, the older person invariably uses a diminutive form for the younger person. We shall list the diminutives here, and then, to avoid being cumbersome, omit them henceforth throughout the text. The diminutive is expressed by adding the suffix *ma*,

[1] The spelling of the Bushman terms used in this paper is an approximation. We represented the Bushman sounds as we heard them as nearly as we could without using symbols except for the clicks. The four clicks are symbolized as follows: dental /, alveolar ≠, alveolar palatal /, and lateral //.

[2] Mr. Ernst Westphal of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, when he visited our expedition at Gautscha Pan, took down the terms in phonetic symbols as /Kung informants pronounced them. We give his symbols in parentheses the first time the term is given. We wish to express our gratitude to him.

[3] Mr. Westphal spells the term for Mo with a *t* (t^hai), as does Miss Bleek (*tai*). Professor Clement M. Doke, in his outline of the phonetics of the language of the /Kung, *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 130–65, on p. 150 spells it *ʔai*. We feel apologetic about insisting on *dai*, but we thought we heard the voiced sound *d*. We wondered if the *d* derived from *di* which means female and occurs in the term *di/guma* which is applied to persons who have the same name as one's mother (cf. p. 9).

128
194
114

128 Diagrams will be given to illustrate the homonymous method of applying terms,
601 but they do not illustrate a typical family. No Bushman family we know has as many
[162 living children as in Diagram 4. Bushmen are completely nomadic and must carry
105 their young children and all their possessions, walking seventy or eighty miles or
847] more as they move from one wild crop of roots or nuts to another. They limit, by infanticide, the number of infants to those they can carry and care for. ≠Toma, one of our informants, helping me one day to construct one of these hypothetical illustrations, laughed and said, 'Who is this who has so many children? Is it an ostrich?'

Diagram 2

601 In this illustration ego's *!gu/na* is his FaFa. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the So and Da of his *!gu/na*. They and ego use the adjacent generational terms, *tsu* and *//ga*, for each other.

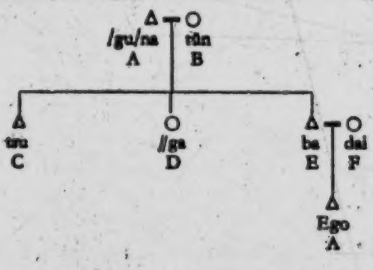
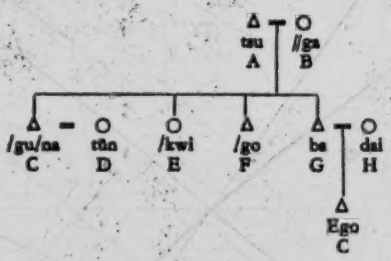


Diagram 3

Here ego is named for his FaBr. In this case ego's FaFa is ego's *!gu/na*'s Fa and ego's FaMo is his *!gu/na*'s Mo; *tsu* and *//ga* are the terms used. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the Br and Si of ego's *!gu/na*; the sibling terms are used. Ego applies the term *tũn* to the wife of his *!gu/na*.



Diagrams 2 and 3 illustrate ego's application of terms to members of his *!gu/na*'s family. Letters represent names. A person who is designated by the same letter as a person in a generation above him has been named for that person. The naming is customary and correct as far as it goes. Some of the children would be named for their mother's parents or siblings, but, as those persons would be ego's affines, until the affinal terms are given this aspect of the illustrations will be postponed.

There is a secondary application of the terms originally applied by ego to members of his *!gu/na*'s nuclear family and spouse. Ego applies terms to persons who are named for the latter, and continues during his lifetime applying to persons descending from

X137 There were more species of grass, and, particularly on the dunes, more of
136 trees and shrubs. The fauna was also richer for there were buffalo and elephant and many waterfowl in addition to the animals found in the Kalahari.

197 . The Bushman languages represented in this paper are classified
[128] according to Bleek's *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages* (1929). They are !h5:, the closely interrelated ||ganakwe, |gikwe and Naron, and Auen (see also Bleek, 1928: 60-64).

!h5: is a member of the southern group, in which the lip click is found, and a dialect of what Bleek calls |nu||en, S6 in her system of
[194] classification. Bleek's spelling is !k5:, but I heard the click aspirated. It is spoken in the neighbourhood of Lehututu, which is 150 miles south of Ghanzi.

||ganakwe is spoken to the east of Ghanzi, and has been studied by Maingard (1957).

The centre of the |gikwe language appears to be in the country to the south-east of Ghanzi. It is a member of Bleek's Central group, closely allied to Naron and easily understood by Naron speakers although many
[194] words are different. A curious feature of the phonetics is the occurrence of the ejective lateral explosive followed immediately by the velar glottal affricate (see Cole, 1955: 23 and Beach 1938: 222-223). The first sound is not mentioned in any papers that I have seen on the Bushman languages.

[114] Naron is Bleek's C2. There is an error which is liable to confuse one on page 3 of her publication, where the languages of the Naron and Masarwa of Tati have been transposed. Naron should be under C2 and the Masarwa language under C1. A grammatical sketch of Naron is given in Bleek's paper of 1928.

Auen, Bleek's N1, is the eastern form of the !khû linguistic group and is spoken round Gautscha Pan. It was studied by Maingard when he was a member of this same expedition and an account of it is given in his paper of 1957. In this paper I refer to it as Eastern !khû.

124 The work done in the Kalahari was done through interpreters, and much of that in the northern area likewise, except towards the end of the expedition when through closer contact with the Bushmen for a longer time than in the south, I was able to acquire a smattering of the Eastern !khû language, enough to ask straightforward questions and to understand straightforward replies. The phonetics of the Bushman languages are a study in themselves, and I do not claim that my spellings and indications
104 of the tones are exact. In the orthography I have followed Bleek (1929)
194 with the following exceptions:—

1. I have placed the n first when it is combined with a click. It has been the convention to place the n after the click in the written Khoisan languages, the argument being that the n and the click are pronounced simultaneously (Meinhof, 1909: 5). To my ear the n is the first sound in the combination.
2. Bleek does not mention the voiced h, which sometimes follows a nasalised click. I have accordingly followed Doke (1936: 448) and used the symbol ɦ.

For easy reference, the symbols I have used are listed at the end of this introductory chapter.

As the spellings of the Bushman names on my herbarium specimens are from field notes, they are often different from the spellings given in this paper, which was done after I had had the opportunity of consulting the authors I have mentioned. It will be noticed that many of the plants do not have the full set of Bushman names. The main reason is that we were not in contact with the Eastern !khû speakers until we had passed Ghanzi, and lost contact successively with the |gikwe, ||ganakwe and !h5: speakers as the expedition drew to a close. Other reasons are that my field notes were sometimes inadequate, that I forgot to ask, and that some plants appeared restricted to certain areas and were not known to all the groups of Bushmen. 128 [184]

As the expedition was during the winter when most of the plants were in poor condition, very little photography was done in the field. Most of the photographs are from plants which were sent back to Pretoria and cultivated there, or from plants which grow naturally in the Transvaal. In this paper the plants and photographs are arranged according to de Dalla Torre and Harms (1900-1907). Specimen numbers are in brackets. 128 [128]

There is little doubt that the plants discussed here represent only a fraction of those used, for we covered a very small part of the area over which the Bushmen range, and this when probably most of the annuals were dead, when some foods were out of season and when the above ground parts of many bulbous and tuberous plants had withered and disappeared so that the plants themselves could not be found. 114

Because of poor yield, poor quality, difficulty in harvesting or lack of flavour, not many of the Bushman food plants would be worth cultivating in their present form for the use of civilised people, but they offer a large field to the plant breeder. The most promising have been noted accordingly in the text. 000

There were few bones around the Bushman encampments, but this does not necessarily mean that there is a scarcity of meat in their diet, for the bones might have been removed by porcupines (Alexander, 1956; Dart, 1957) or eaten by hyaenas. A more reliable indication was the scantiness of the Bushmen's skin coverings. There are sharp frosts in the Kalahari and sometimes bitter winds, and one may argue that the Bushmen would provide themselves with sufficient skins if they had a regular supply of meat, although admittedly they eat skins after charring them on the coals and pounding them in a mortar. Vegetable refuse from former meals and fresh vegetable food, however, were found at all the Bushman encampments, and additional gatherings were the permanent chore of the women and children and of the men to a lesser degree. The insanitary condition of the surroundings also provided unmistakable evidence that the bulk of their food was of vegetable origin. 262 [291] [132] [364]

Their knowledge of field botany was astonishingly good. It has to be, otherwise they would have no chance of survival in their arid country. Fragments of stem, dead leaves, and other small clues of this nature, after being unerringly identified, were all the Bushmen needed to find many of the storage organs they were seeking. Differences which escaped me would enable them to distinguish between edible and harmful plants, and they had a thorough knowledge of the areas and habitats in which their food plants grew. They must have an influence on the distribution of plants. 824 137X

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

SYNOPSIS AND DESCRIPTIONS.

128 The synopsis is intended as a guide only, and leads to groups of plants and usually not to species. The descriptions and photographs should make the final identification possible, but it should be remembered that there are many Bushman food plants which were not seen on the expedition and which are therefore not described in this paper.

I have taken for granted that the reader will realise that the measurements of plants and their organs vary, and for this reason I have usually given what I consider to be the average and have omitted most words like "approximately" and "about".

Technical terms have been avoided except for the following:—

Axil of leaf—the angle between the leaf and the stem;
glabrous—without hairs;
glaucous—bluish-green, or covered with a bloom;
pappus—a tuft of hairs on a seed;
perianth—petals and sepals;
rhizome—an underground stem;
tomentum—dense short hairs;
tuber—a roundish succulent underground stem.

UNDERGROUND PARTS EDIBLE.

137 262 Trees or shrubs	*Bauhinia macrantha.* *Boscia albitrunca.* *Commiphora* spp.
Prostrate runners	*Bauhinia esculenta.* *Cucumis* sp.
Climbers or scramblers:—	
Scramblers	*Ipomoea verbascoidea.*
Twiners	*Ceropegia* spp.
With tendrils	*Coccinia* spp. *Corallocarpus welwitschii.*
Fleshy finger-like angled erect stems	*Caralluma knobelli.* *Duvalia polita.* *Stapelia kwebersis*
Without chlorophyll	*Hydnora* sp. *Terfezia* sp
Wiry 12" stems	*Ipomoea* sp. *Raphionacme burkel.*
Monocotyledons (strap-shaped or grass-like leaves):—	
Bulb with papery coverings	*Dipcadi* sp. *Mariscus congestus.* *Scilla* sp.
Rounded storage organ without papery coverings	*Eulophia* spp. *Walleria* sp.
Horizontal rhizome	*Sansevieria scabrifolia.* *Typha capensis.*

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

128 Thanks are due to several colleagues in central Africa who offered valuable technical assistance: to Mr. Reay H. N. Smithers, Director of the National Museums of Rhodesia, for identifications of vertebrate fauna and for providing the mammalian weights used in Chapters V and VIII; to Mr. Graham Guy, Curator of the Queen Victoria Museum, Salisbury, for training in field botany; to Mr. R. B. Drummond, Systematic Botanist, and the staff of the National Herbarium of Rhodesia, for determinations of over 300 plant specimens; and to Mr. Clayton Holliday, Senior Technical Officer, and the staff of the Livingstone Museum for kind and generous assistance beyond the call of duty.

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1. formerly Keeper of Prehistory, Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Livingstone, Zambia.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kgalagadi FV4

us over their slender shounders, neither smiling nor speaking, K 563
just watching with blank faces and great eyes.

We went on, and traveled for many days, breaking camp B
before dawn, stopping only for a minute for a bite at noon, 13
not stopping again until it was almost dark. We saw no people, no animals, but only the miles and miles of yellow-silver grass and black bushes, and saw the wind that blew across the country twisting the grass from silver to gold, gold to silver. It may have blown for thousands of miles before it touched us, perhaps blown over a Bushman werf tucked away somewhere, one point in the enormous, vast veld that ran all the way to Molepolole and all the way to Ghanzi, hundreds of miles to the south and north to the great river; the veld was just grass, occasionally marked by a little nameless pan, a little salt flat, or a few bushes or thorn trees; it was inhabited only by lonely birds, a few antelope in small herds, a few families of lions, a few Bushmen, as far apart from each other as the stars. The only sound there was made by the wind in the grass or the voices of a few birds singing, the only movement the slow turning of the sun, the moon, and the cold stars, very far away.

Every morning the sun rose straight up from the flat horizon, salmon red and in a haze of yellow, distorted by the haze into an oblong, and always gigantic, like a monster looming above the poor, dry, stumpy bushes of the veld.

As we went farther and farther into the desert we saw less B
and less game. The great herds that had once been there were 136
gone, perhaps because it was too dry, although the game antelope do not need to drink water, for they get enough moisture from the grass and roots they eat; perhaps because

312
222 where the water bearing root Fockea monroi is available the Bushmen may extend their stay in the nutting groves by eating the juicy pulp of this root. If they are fortunate, this water source may tide them over to the next shower, part of which will accumulate in the hollows of trees.

• 13 The first rainfall, however brief, appears to have the general effect of triggering reproduction in animals, and initiating the growth phase in plants. Among the first of the summer foods to appear are the leafy greens Dipcadi glaucum and Talinum crispatulatum.

132 There is no well-defined boundary between the first rains of October and the main rains. J. Marshall mentions that during his periods of field work a gap occurred between the first and the main rains. In 1963 and 1964, however, the showers gradually increased in intensity and frequency from [433] October through December. The date of onset and the intensity of rainfall varies greatly from year to year and a delay of even a few weeks in the onset of rain can cause considerable hardship amongst the Bushmen. Furthermore, an initial rain followed by weeks of dry weather is a mixed blessing, for it brings the plants prematurely into leaf and they become scorched and damaged by the subsequent sunshine.

In 1963, the first rain fell on 8 October. In 1964, it did not fall until the 11 November and one noticed that the

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

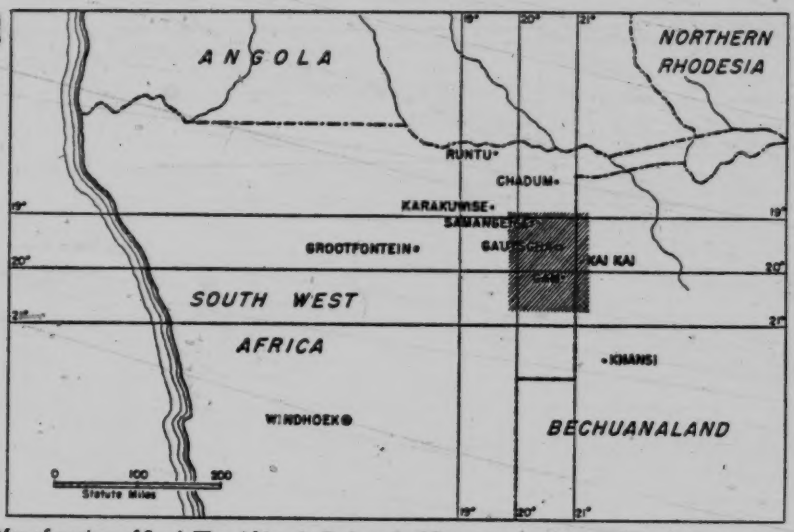
MARRIAGE AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

101 BECAUSE within the area we indicate by shading on the map[1] the /Kung Bushmen intermarry among themselves, by custom and preference, members of the Harvard Peabody Smithsonian Kalahari Expeditions needed a convenient way of referring to that area as a unit and arbitrarily called it the region of Nyae Nyae.

Nyae Nyae is a corruption of the /Kung name //Nua/ei. The name Nyae Nyae refers
131 strictly to a group of pans in South West Africa (S.W.A.) centred approximately at Gautscha Pan at about 19°48′30″ S, 20°34′36″ E. We extend the application of the name to an area around the pans of about 10,000 square miles, lying for the most part

[102]



Map of portions of South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Angola. The shading marks the Nyae Nyae region.

in S.W.A. but reaching some miles over the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate (B.P.). There are no strictly conceived boundaries around the area. We can only vaguely define it by saying that it does not include Karakuwise to the west or Chadum to the north. It does not, we think, reach eastward much farther than Kai Kai, or southward much beyond Blaubush Pan (40 or 50 miles south of Gam).

101 We establish the periphery of the region on the basis of statements made by
582 /Kung informants in the interior. They say that they intermarry among the bands
[131] which live within the area we describe and do not customarily marry with other

[1] The sketch-map here provided is based on the
[102] National Geographic *Map of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula*, March 1950, and the *Times Atlas of the World*, Vol. IV. The orientation of Gautscha is taken from the S.W.A. Surveyor-General's map dated at Windhoek 7:11:35.

/135 cont./

144 (Ngamiland): "I should like to observe briefly that the Kalahari
197 Bushmen are low in my estimation, both in respect to their language and to their appearance; I was able to confirm an extremely close relationship with the Nama [Hottentot], but in an old dialect no longer spoken today."

Since I lack the knowledge for making anthropological
141 measurements, I shall confine myself to /136/ presenting several ǂAuin types as I observed them. They may not be without value for comparative purposes.

I should like to add that in measuring physical height I obtained the following results:

Adult men (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.51 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.62	meters
Minimum height	1.47	meters

Adult women (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.45 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.53	meters
Minimum height	1.38	meters

A. Geography and Statistics

131 The ǂAuin, as they call themselves and as they are known to the neighboring Bushmen tribes, inhabit that part of the central Kalahari which is more or less immediately bounded by the watering places Rietfontein, Ganab, Gam, Sidonitzaub, Otjiamangombe, Tjumda, Epukiro, Oas, Stampriet, Rooigrauwater, and Habakobis. Their territory lies for the greater part within the boundaries of the German protectorate. The adjoining sketch indicates as accurately as possible the geographic location, as well as the approximate territory of the neighboring Bushmen tribes. The
101 Hottentot designate the ǂAuin as ǂAu-San (Schinz), the inhabitants of the Chanse Veld as ǂAukwé (Passarge), the Betschuana [Tswana] as Makaukau. The approximate number of Auin (1),

[104]

1. For the sake of simplicity I shall from now on omit the initial mark ǂ, which indicates the click.

2: Kaufmann--6 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Auen

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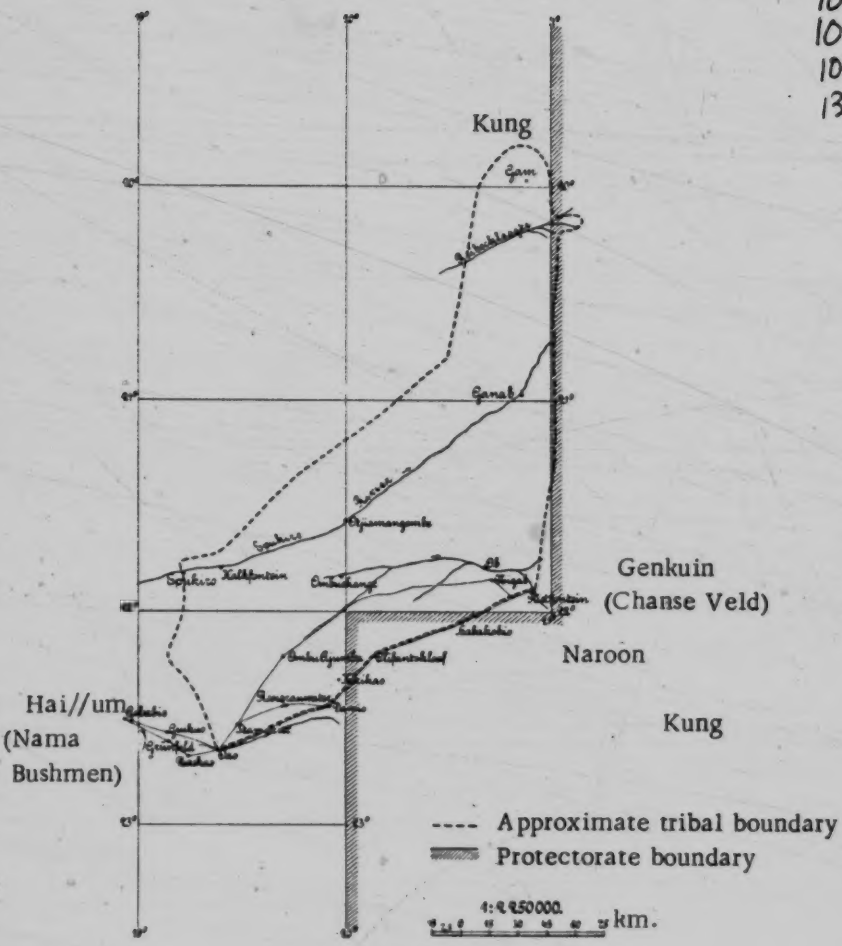

Map of the Auin Region

[9 cont.]

805 shauba, cold season (N. sáob).

!kn-aba, hot season (N. !nái, warm).

535 Among dances, an ostrich and an ape dance were mentioned to me.

123 The studies, which began so promisingly, came to an end because I was evidently unable to present the village chief with enough presents. One evening a boy appeared and told me that the Bushmen had "had to go hunting." I continued to wait a number of days for the !Kung called by Mr. Eaddes. The messengers returned with the news that they had found no one. Another Sunday coat for the village mayor and some yellow money for the Bushmen, and priceless material could have been obtained.

[10] Chapter 3

The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of the Ondonga [Ndonga]

173 According to their tradition, these Bushmen came from Herero country. Hence they represent the connecting link between the "Saan" in the Gobabis district and the Hei//om [Heikum] of the north. The people as a whole designate themselves as Daman = the wealthy. The horde around Oshigambo calls itself //Huru-Khái. They call their dialect Chárabа. I do not believe that they live far in the interior of the Otjimpolo Veld. They have an enormous respect for the !Kung. The outermost cattle posts of the Ondonga probably coincide pretty much with the boundaries of their territory. A number of them are Bantuized and have small physiques. The others engage in hunting and supply the black farmers with the flesh of wild game, hides, ostrich egg beads, and poison. They serve as beaters on the great hunts of Chief Martin. At the court they count for nothing. The farmers like to see them. Little acts of assistance, a sack of berries or veldkost, soften the heart of the black housewife, so that here, as in Uukualuthi [among the Kualuthi?], there are a number of do-nothings who are nonetheless gladly received.

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[16]

	German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
601	Son of father's brother	awób (1) !garis-khe	--

1. In this connection cf. !awi (N.): "To bear the first child."

Son of mother's brother	/góa khoaba	--
Daughter of father's brother	//khum khoás	--
Daughter of mother's brother	//khum khoás	--
Father's brother	di khoáb-khe	--
Mother's brother	khoes-khe-khoaba	--
Father's sister	di-khoaba	--
Mother's sister	//khum khoás	--
Sister-in-law	//khum khoas	--
Wife	tarás	--
Husband	aubā	--

Khoás (pronounced like quás) corresponds to Khois in Nama. Khoib, however, means man, human being, friend, and comparative Khoi X a-Khoin = blood relative.

//Khum Khoas therefore signifies 'blood-related mother," which is properly applied to mother's sisters and their daughters and to the daughters of father's brother, but curiously enough also [582] to the sisters-in-law, probably because there is also a marriage prohibition with respect to them. Father's sisters and their daughters do not have this title, and one may marry these cousins.

Chapter 6

The !Kung Bushmen

131 The whole enormous region between Ewale, Ukuanjama, Oondonga, the Umaramba u Owambo up to its source, and from there across the farm bush veld up to north of Otjituo, and the whole Sand Veld east of the Omuramba Omatako to Alexeck on

[16 cont.]

131 the one hand, to the Okovanggo and the regions inhabited by the Bamangwato [Ngwato] west of Ngami Lake on the other hand, are inhabited by the tribes of the !Kung group.

Seiner (2) supplies the following apt division of this zone:

[113] 2. Mitteilungen aus Deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1914.

"The !Kung Veld forms the part of the Omaheke belonging to the northern Kalahari and is located between the Okovanggo (from Kagere to 19° southern latitude), the Kaukau Veld, the Sand Veld, the Karst Veld, the Etosha Pan, and the Otjimpolo Veld. -- The Kaukau Veld (according to Passarge, a plateau) is located between the Kung Veld, the Okovanggo, the Okovanggo basin, and the Sand Veld district. As the western boundary, in other words, toward the Sand Veld, the line Bogara -- Debra -- Blue Bush Pan in the western tip of the Okovanggo basin, close to the German border, should be adopted. The northern Sand Veld, through which I have traveled, can be delimited on the west by the line Nuragas -- Otjituo and by the valley of the Omatako from Otjituo to Okahitua; on the south by the line Okahitua -- Okosondusu -- Otjosonjou -- Epata -- Epukiro -- Rietfontein-East; on the east by the border zone of the Chanse Veld, the Okovanggo basin, and the Kaukau Veld. For the
137 northern boundary toward the Kung Veld, the factors of climate and plant geography must be taken into consideration, since there is no natural boundary here; the line Bogara -- Kanovlei -- Nuragas approximately forms the northern boundary of the Kalahari bush of the central Kalahari, which is sharply differentiated from the dry forest of the northern Kalahari. -- The loose,
[134] deep, leached steppe sand bears for the most part a tall, light xerophytic dry forest, usually with no underbrush and with deciduous trees that, as a result of the quantities of water stored in their root stalks and trunks, bear green leaves during the greater part of the dry season, and in part even bear blossoms and fruit during this season; this dry forest is a formation of relatively recent date. The vegetation of the firm, gray-humus,
[134] loamy river sand, or of the looser sand with ample ground

[16 cont.]

[134] 137 saturation and ground water, is a dry forest of a different type which corresponds to Warburg's lowland forest and, in contrast to the light dry forest of the looser sand, is distinguished by a relatively high density. -- The dry forest steppe occupies the largest areas of the !Kung Veld, and [17] lowland forest and grass steppe form only modest enclaves in it. Within the dry forest, at those places where the nature of the terrain makes possible the accumulation and preservation of relatively significant quantities of water or ground humidity, there are individual trees that are to be regarded as remnants of a former compact lowland forest, and the floristic composition of such forest islands leads to the conclusion that the entire region, with the exception of the primary grass steppes, whose floor probably never displayed taller vegetation because of its sterility, was once covered by a lush lowland forest as is preserved in its finest form at present in the northern Kalahari and in the 'rain forest' of Victoria Falls."

101 [131] By the !Kung Bushmen in the narrower sense, who are divided into a northern group and an eastern group, I refer to those people who are located north of the police zone and south of the Okovanggo in the effluent region of the Omuramba u Owambo at the Löwenomuramba and on both sides of the lower and central Omuramba u Omatako. The groups in the source region of the Omuramba u Owambo have been studied by me in 174 greater detail. In former times, the !Kung undoubtedly lived much farther south and west. It is not improbable that they left the Grootfontein plain and the Otawi mountains under the pressure of the Hei//om, who in turn were forced out of the central region by the Herero. On the other side they undoubtedly gained space toward the south, for according to reports from the pre-war period, the Nogau were settled in the Sand Veld all the way to the vicinity of Otjituo, whereas today they have retreated 144 behind Alexeck. The racial composition of the !Kung Bushmen allows one to make a conclusion about their history. Among them we find a larger number of Europoid types than among the surrounding Bantu tribes. In addition, Austroloid influence is

[19 cont.]

162 In the age group of five to ten years, the number re-
165 mains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number
[123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

[20] Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in
[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman
● [131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief
133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika [Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa], Berlin, 1906.

648 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample
621 water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and
622

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself,
who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the
Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year
1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive
help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive
to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is
placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the
body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a
tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as
a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the
Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all
they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When
they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick
tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and
smoke it'." (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions
of this tribe:
131

"The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are
divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend
from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via
Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be
bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--
Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east
inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa
to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season
also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the
Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more
southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to
around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already
settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

[20 cont.]

101 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjitua group. The Gam supposed-
●131 ly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from
Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are
[648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the
[631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief,
the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung
people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani
and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the
leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother
Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notori-
ous Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-
[197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do
[342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in
[301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh
[827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron
[411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations
[114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

OKOVONGGO BUSHMEN
NOGAU

[65 cont.]

000 and racial mixture is progressing rapidly. The Bugakwe live in
105 five villages with 220 persons in the western Okovanggo Valley
[161] down from the Mahango ford and are in bondage to Libebe, with
101
131 whom, however, they frequently have quarrels over the amount of deliveries; on the occasion of one such dispute in June, 1905, a Mambukuschu was killed by an arrow. The Garikwe live in
[161] eight villages with 430 souls in eastern Ärmellande from the Paliba Swamp to the beginning of the valley, while the Goekwe live in southern Ärmellande west of the river course. Concerning
[161] the latter, I found only a winter village with 90 souls, and that north of the mouth of the Namassere on a river island.

"The Goekwe might well be identical with Passarge's Gokwe, whose territory extends from the western edge of the Tauche swampland deep into the Kaukau Veld; the Tschorilo Mountains belong to them. During the rainy season the Tannekwe undertake hunting expeditions in the neighboring steppes. The Hukwe, whose
[161] number I estimate at at least 600, are less racially mixed than the Tannekwe, but likewise live in settled villages, from which during the dry season they swarm out in family groups to gather or hunt in the forest steppe as the need arises."

Chapter 8

The Nogau Bushmen of Epukiro

During my stay in the mission station of Epukiro, I had an
101 opportunity for closer contact with the Bushmen who live in a kind of symbiosis with the Betschuana (2). They call themselves Nogau,

[113] 2. I have given a detailed report on the Europeanized Betschuana village of Epukiro in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 65 (1933).

specifically ≠no /gna !khou, that is, people who live by the water. They are farther north of the Omuramba Epukiro toward Alexeck.
101
131 North of them are the Gai-kwe, and the !Kung are farther east and

[65 cont.]

101 north. Beyond this there is a great river and many black people
●131 (Okawango). They know only the Herero as their western neighbors. In other words, they came much later than the latter. Unquestionably as recently as 20 years ago some people of this group were still settled along the central Omurambo Omatako, where F. Seiner reports them from Otjituo and Nuragas. The Naron live south of them, and to the southeast the ≠Auin. In the southwest, at least formerly, there were Bushmen of the Hei//om group and /Gowanin (Sand Kaffir). Probably these Hei//om were the people formerly designated as Saan. Nogau, ≠Auin, and Naron actually belong to
[10] the Kalahari group. Throughout the farm zone which formerly
[175] extended to the English frontier, the tribal units were more or less
648 destroyed, and there arose a mixed Bushman population which constantly replenished its numbers from the free tribes. On the other hand, however, Bushmen from the farm zone always went back to the bush, partly of their own free will and partly in flight from the police. In the Gobabis district the boundary of the police zone coincides with the land boundary. The relationships between the Whites and the Hereros on the one hand, and the Bushmen on the other, are therefore [66] very tense. A few years ago,
175 648 after the Bushmen had been prohibited from hunting big game, they rebelled and declared a feud against the magistrate in Gobabis by shooting some arrows against the door of his house one night. The magistrate, Van Rynefeldt, wanted to hunt them down in the bush, but was struck by a poisoned arrow shot from ambush and died. A great roundup of Bushmen was organized and many of them were taken to the prison in Gobabis, where a number of them died as a
[178] result of the vitamin-poor diet. Since then the Bushmen in this region have again chosen a chief and represent a modest power. As a result of these conditions, it was much more difficult to gain
123 their confidence than in the north. In this respect, P. Watterott and the village mayor of Epukiro, Franz Arenat, were especially helpful to me. These Bushmen are of special interest since there
195 is a special women's language among them. It is called Hee-aziba he auseashu. It is in part also spoken by the children and is characterized by having many words that have no clicks. It was only with great difficulty that I was able to take down a few words, for example:

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE !KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THE Peabody Harvard Kalahari Expedition, under the leadership of Laurence K. Marshall, has made four field trips between 1950 and 1955 into the Kalahari Desert in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate to find and study Bushmen who were living in their own way, and not working for white farmers or for Negroes. The last of the four expeditions, that of 1955, was sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution as well as by the Peabody Museum of Harvard. 121 122

Our principal study was made with the /Kung Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. The Nyae Nyae region extends about 150 miles north and south, about 100 miles east and west, and is centred approximately at Gautscha Pan, which is located at *c.* 19° 48′ 30″ S. and 20° 34′ 36″ E. on the map of a survey of the area by the Administration of South West Africa dated 7.11.1935. The Nyae Nyae region is separated from the farmed areas of South West Africa by a stretch of waterless, uninhabited country over 100 miles wide. 131

We chose the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region for concentrated study because they are the least acculturated Bushmen we found.[1] They are non-literate, nomadic hunters and gatherers, with no agriculture or domesticated animals. They are completely self-reliant [121] 105 177

[1] On the expeditions we travelled extensively in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The groups of Bushmen we encountered were, in addition to the /Kung of Nyae Nyae, /Kung outside the Nyae Nyae region at Karakuwise, Nuragas, Khadum, and at water holes south of Gum in South West Africa, and at Kai Kai, Kubi and other places along the western border of Bechuanaland, where Chwana and Herero have cattle posts; Makaukau and Naron near Ghanzi, B. P.; /Kõ at Okwa and at Barachu, about 50 and 100 miles south of Ghanzi respectively; /Gikwe about 100 miles south-east of Ghanzi in the trackless sandy plain that lies between Ghanzi and Molepolole, where during the dry season there is no water; and //Ganakwe still farther south, below Chukudu. We studied the kinship terminology of the /Kõ and /Gikwe; Professor L. F. Maingard, for a time a member of the 1955 expedition, studied the /Kõ language, which has the labial (fifth) click of the southern group. [101]

Professor I. Schapera and Miss D. F. Bleek, in their Bushman studies, record information on these groups. For more data on the various names by which the groups are known and the areas in which they were found and the language groups into which Miss Bleek's studies place them, see especially Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 31 ff., and Bleek, D. F., 'The Distribution of Bushman Languages in South Africa', *Festschrift Meinhof*, pp. 55 ff.

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7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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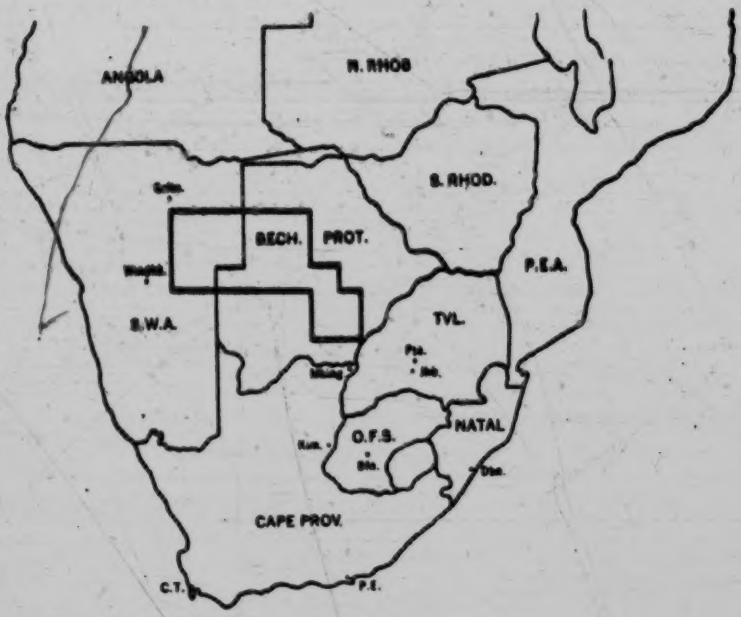

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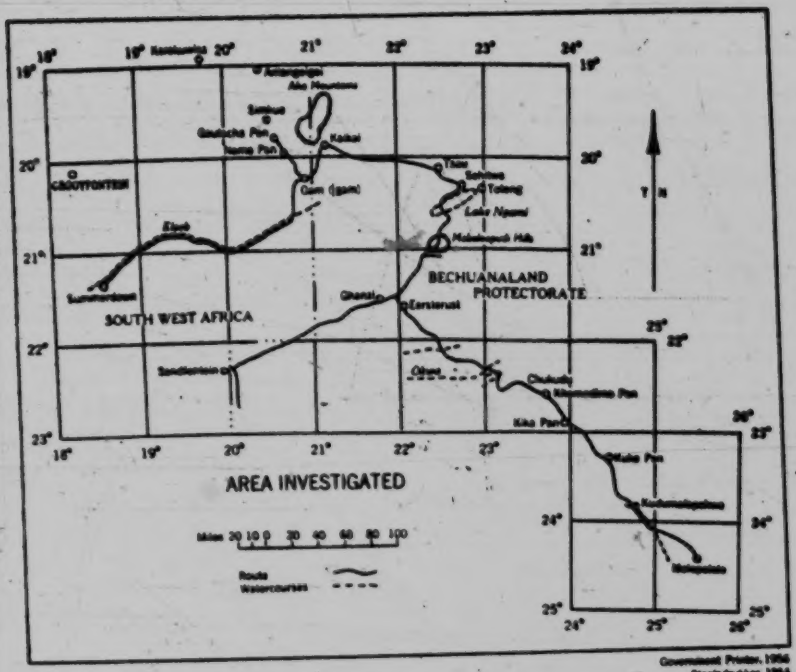

Government Printer, 1956
Staatsdrukker, 1956

GENERAL AND DETAILED MAPS
OF THE AREA COVERED IN THIS STUDY.

[p. 3]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

173 Of migration of the Bushmen from elsewhere no mention is made in local native traditions. The Hottentots, Hereros and Ovambos state that on their arrival the Bushmen were found in occupation and that the latter must have been living here ever since the creation of man. The Bushmen likewise believe that their present tribal divisions and dis- [173 829] tribution have been in existence since the very beginning of things when each tribe had its origin in a "first big Bushman" and a "first big Bushwoman" of its own by whom were handed down to their descendants the practices and customs still peculiar to and the territory still occupied by their respective tribes. Each of the existing tribes with its constituent elements is consequently looked upon as having been "born" in and having been in occupation of the same area from time immemorial. Although claiming descent [174 531] from the aboriginal race they have lost all knowledge of the arts of painting and engraving. The rock paintings and carvings left by their ancestors are considered to be the works not of man but of the "devil."

174 The view that the present day Bushmen are composed of the remnants of their race driven back by the advance of stronger invading races from the north and south is not borne out by evidence arising out of recent investigations into the life and customs of this primitive people.

Distribution.

101 With the exception of a few isolated remnants on the north ●131 bank of the Orange River and along the edge of the Namib desert, the Bushmen are confined entirely to the Kalahari along the eastern and north-eastern borders and to the northern portions of the territory which adjoin Ovamboland.

The Bushmen of the Kalahari region consist of three main divisions, each speaking a language of its own, viz.: the *|Nu-||ĕin* or *|Nu-san* in the south, the *Ngami* Bushmen in the centre and the *Kaukau* Bushmen in the north.

The *||Nu-||ĕin* inhabit those portions of the Gobabis, Gibeon and Aroab districts which lie to the east of the Elephant and Auob rivers. The northern limit of their distribution is formed by a line running roughly from Naunas across Oas to the Elephant's River, crossing the Nosob a short distance below the junction of the Black and White Nosob Rivers.

The *Ngami* Bushmen are composed of a good many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In South West Africa they are represented by only a few groups of the *||Aikwe* tribe. These groups are known as the *Naron* and are distributed along the banks of the Chapman River as far as Oas.

The *Kaukau* Bushmen inhabit the greater portion of the Omaheke, including a part of the Kaukauveld and the

Oschimpoloveld. On the east they extend into the Bechuana- /0/
land Protectorate and on the north into Angola. Among /3/
them are included the *†Aukwe* or *‡Ao-//ãin* in the south
between Sandfontein and */Gam*, the *Ssu-‡gnassi* to the north-
east and the *‡Kũng* to the northwest.

Next in importance and numbers to the Bushmen of the /0/
Kalahari are the *Hei-//om* living in the vicinity of the /3/
Etosha Pan and on the outskirts of Ovamboland in the Groot- /77
fontein and Outjo districts. They are generally believed to [174]
have resulted from the interbreeding of Hottentots with a now
extinct tribe of Bushmen which originally inhabited the
greater portion of the present Damaraland and Ovamboland.
Their manner of life is still that of Bushmen but, unlike their [197]
neighbours of the Kalahari, they have no language of their
own and speak a Nama dialect. Except among the groups in
the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original
organisation has disappeared almost completely. The groups
living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely
influenced by Ovambo culture. In Eastern Ovamboland
they are known by the Ovambo as *Ovachwagga;* in north-
western Ovamboland they call themselves *Ovambo* Bushmen
but are referred to by the Ukuanyama as *Wakeddi* or
Ovakeddi. Both *Ovachwagga* and *Ovakeddi*, especially the [582]
latter, are being rapidly absorbed into the *Ovambo* through
intermarriage. The *Ovachwagga* speak both the Ovambo and [191]
Hottentot languages. Among the *Ovakeddi*, on the other /97]
hand, only the older members of the various groups still have
a knowledge of the latter language. Of the groups along the
banks of and immediately to the north of the Ovambo
Omuramba very little is known. To the west they are in-
contact with the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha region; to the north
with the Ovambo and to the east with */Kung* of the Oschim-
poloveld or northern Omaheke. The *Hei-//om* of the remain-
ing portions of Grootfontein and Outjo and of the districts
of Otjiwarongo and Gobabis are scattered about on farms and
are living in close association with Hottentots and Klip
Kaffirs with whom they show various degrees of intermixture.
In Gobabis there is only a small remnant, known locally also
as the *Nama* or *Kakuja* Bushmen on account of the extent to
which they have interbred with these races and the neighbour-
ing tribes of the Kalahari.

Of the tribes which were left in Namaqualand during the /0/
latter half of the last century only a few individuals have /3/
survived. The */Geinin* of the Namib between Luderitz and
Conception Bay, the *//Obanen* of the Huns Mountains, and
the */Koma-san* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateau have dis-
appeared completely. The */Huinin* are represented by a few
groups at the southern extremity of the */Huib* plateau
and adjacent part of the Namib. The */Ganin* of the Nauw-
kloof Mountains have likewise become almost totally extinct.

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Population.

161 The Bushmen are scattered over an area of approximately [37] 60,000 square miles. Of this area at least 50,000 square miles are practically unknown and otherwise uninhabited, being accessible with considerable difficulty only during the rainy season. It is extremely difficult, therefore, to arrive at a reliable conclusion as to their numbers. On a conservative basis they are estimated to number between 2,500 and 3,500, viz.:—

162

Kaukau Bushmen—	
!Kũng	500—800
Ssu-ǂgnassi	200—300
ǂAo-//ẽin	500—600
Ngami Bushmen—	
//Aikwe	50—75
/Nu-//ẽin	200—300
Hei-//om	1,000—1,500
/Huinin and /Geinin	75—100

Physical Characteristics.

164 With the exception of certain groups who are living in the more inaccessible portions of the Kalahari, most of the Bushmen show various degrees of intermixture with the Hottentots and Bantu. No uniform racial type is consequently met with among them. This fact is not to be wondered at when the various racial influences to which they have been exposed for centuries are taken into consideration. For geographical reasons the Bushmen in certain parts of the Kalahari did not suffer to the same extent from these influences as those who were in the line of migration of the invading races. Roughly speaking three characteristic types may be distinguished among them. The first, in which the Hottentot element would appear to be the dominant one, is seen among the *Hei-//om*, *ǂAo-//ẽin* and *Naron* in the Gobabis district and among the remnants still met with on the borders of Namaqualand. The second type approximates that of the Bantu and is seen particularly among the *Hei-//om* who live on the outskirts of Ovamboland. In the third, still met with only in the Kalahari, bush characteristics are still apparently predominant. As reliable information is not available on this subject, to the investigation of which but little attention has been directed up to the present, further reference to it would not serve any useful purpose.

Social Organisation.

The Family Group.

619 Each of the language groups into which the Bushmen have been classified consist of several main sub-divisions. Though for the sake of convenience the latter will be referred to as "tribes" in this report, there is no evidence of any tribal

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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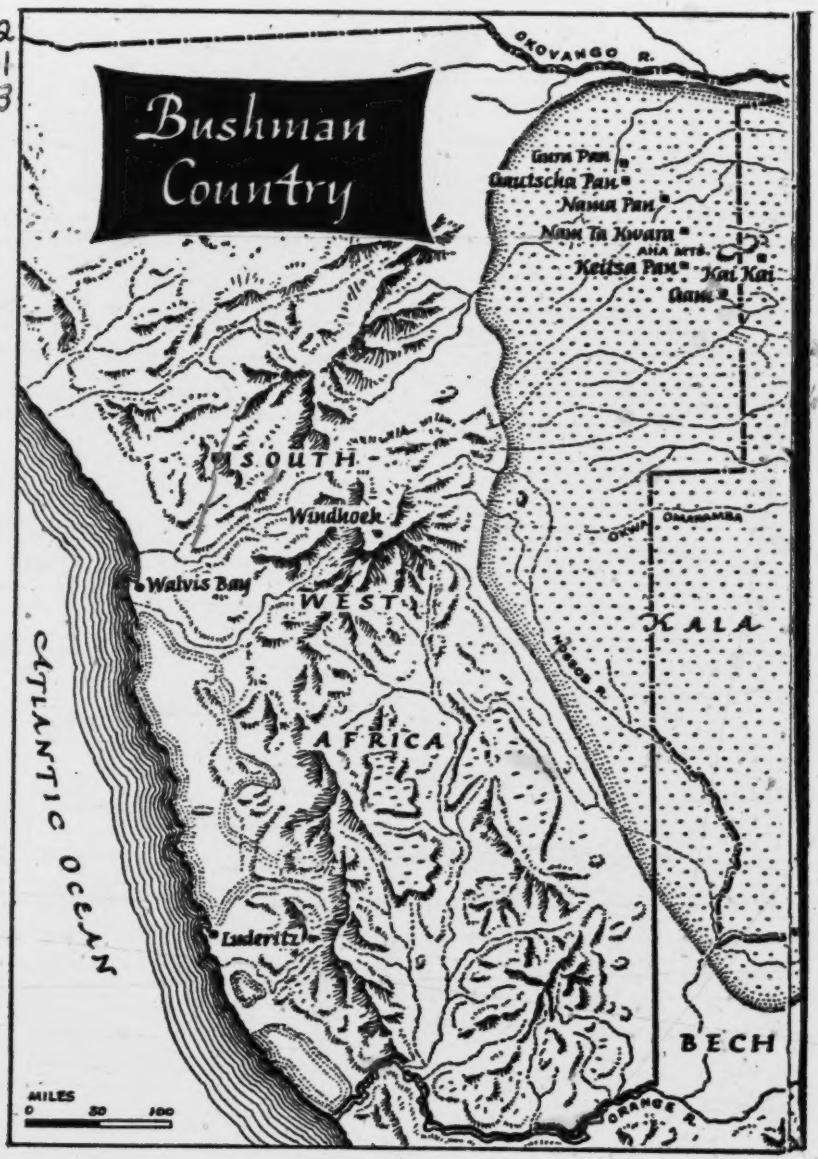

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9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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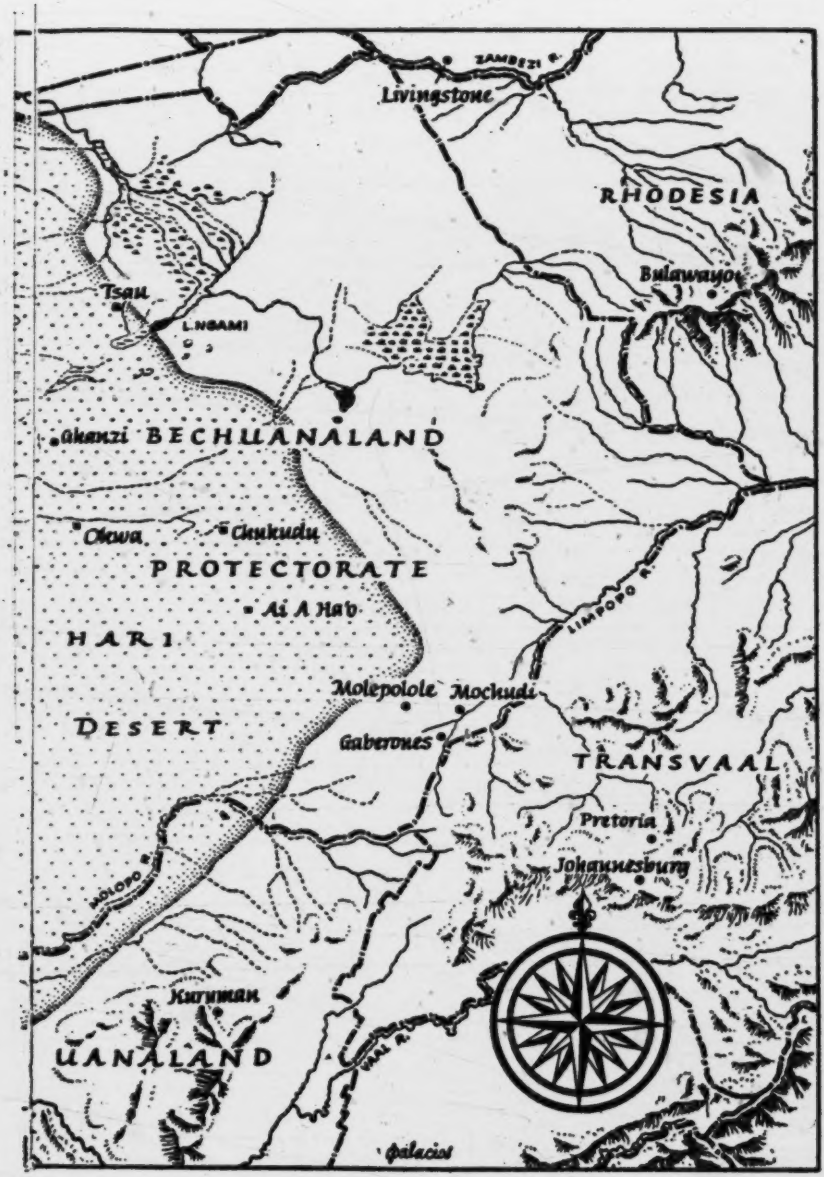

[p. xiii]

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9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

CHAPTER ONE

The Desert

THERE is a vast sweep of dry bush desert lying in South-West Africa and western Bechuanaland, bordered in the north by Lake Ngami and the Okovango River, in the south by the Orange River, and in the west by the Damera Hills. It is the Kalahari Desert, part of a great inland table of southern Africa that slopes west toward the sea, all low sand dunes and great plains, flat, dry, and rolling one upon the other for thousands of miles, a hostile country of thirst and heat and thorns where the grass is harsh and often barbed and the stones hide scorpions. 131 133 137

From March to December, in the long drought of the year, the sun bakes the desert to powdery dry leaves and dust. There are no surface waters at all, no clouds for coolness, no tall trees for shade, but only low bushes and grass tufts; and among the grass tufts grow brown thistles, briers, the dry stalks of spiny weeds, all tangled into knots during the rains, now dry, tumbled, and dead. 132 137

The Kalahari would be very barren, very devoid of landmarks, if it were not for the baobab trees, and even these grow far from each other, some areas having none. But where there 137

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

unmarried son or two, and their daughters' children. Bush- 105
men are polygynous, and a man is allowed by custom to have 621
as many wives as he can afford, depending on how well he [595]
hunts—usually a man can afford only one wife, sometimes two (often a pair of sisters), and once we heard of a man with four wives. For this reason there are often more women than men in a band.

The immediate family, a man, his wife, or wives, and chil- 105
dren, is the only solid social unit; otherwise the small bands 592
are always breaking up and recombining with other small 621
bands as the structures of single families change, through marriages, divorces, deaths, or as the family decides to pay a prolonged visit to a different group of relatives.

Any Bushman will either be related by blood or marriage 105
or will be acquainted with all the other Bushmen in his area 602
but this is as far as Bushmen go in their affinities. They do 609
not recognize as their own people strange Bushmen who speak the same language; in fact, they suspect and fear them as they do any stranger.

We have visited four of the Bushman language groups, two 114-
of which we stayed with for long periods of time. In 1951, 131
after a survey expedition to learn where Bushmen could be found, we went into the Nyae Nyae area of South-West Africa, close to the border of Bechuanaland, to look for Kung Bushmen. We found a band living near a waterhole, as it was June, the drought of the year, and we stayed with them for four months. At first only a few Bushmen were there, but as [609
the news spread that we were friendly, more and more peo- 276]
ple came to visit us and receive presents of tobacco and salt, for Bushmen love to smoke but rarely have tobacco, which they get in trade. Also, most of the Bushmen had never seen a European before, none had ever seen a European woman, and they came by dozens to sit together in a cluster

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

114 at a distance to observe my mother and me. By the end of
131 our stay we had become friendly with them, and in 1952 we visited them again. We found them waiting confidently for us, living beside the track our trucks had made, as we had told them that we would come back if we were able, and this time we stayed with them for a year. In August 1955 we returned to them again, but before we did so we spent four months in Bechuanaland. We lived one month with a group of Naron and Kō Bushmen at a place called Okwa (the two groups were mixed together because their territories happen to meet at that place), and almost two months with Gikwe Bushmen in the four-hundred-mile stretch of empty desert between Ghanzi, near the border of South-West Africa, and Molepolole, near the border of the Transvaal. Ghanzi is a small town with a post office and a store, the center of a group of rather extensive European farms. Molepolole is a great Bantu village of the Bakwena (Crocodile) Bechuana people, where a Chuana chieftain lives. The other month we spent traveling to the Gikwe, because they are very remote.

174 Nobody knows where the Bushmen originated, from what racial stocks they came, or when they came to Africa. But here and there throughout southern Africa, in mountain caves and on sheltered rocks, paintings and engravings are found which are known to have been made centuries ago, and are believed to have been made by Bushmen. It is hard to say for certain that Bushmen made the paintings because, to my
[531] knowledge, Bushmen do not paint on rocks or in caves now. However, Kung Bushmen do scratch designs on the bark of trees and on their ostrich eggshells. During each expedition I asked Bushmen to paint for me with paints and paper which I provided. Though none of the Bushmen we met had ever

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

that marks an edible root, or see a scorpion hidden in the dust and jump over it. So Bushmen survive in the most rigorous places; they survive in the dense, mosquito-ridden papyrus swamps of the Okovango River, steaming like a jungle and dangerous with snakes and fever, where the River Bushmen live, the only Bushmen with plenty of water; they also survive on the vast, rolling steppes of central Bechuanaland, the territory of the Gikwe Bushmen, who for the nine dry months of the year have no water at all and do without it.

Besides the fact that Bushmen alone can live in the land they occupy, there is another reason for their remoteness and shyness. They are in many instances exploited by the Bantu farmers, and by a few of the European farmers, usually those who need free or almost free labor. Many Bantu farms and households have Bushman servants, or serfs, rather, as they usually come from the land on or near the farm, and when working they are paid nothing but are given food, tobacco, and sometimes cast-off clothing as wages. Some European farms in Bechuanaland and some in South-West Africa have Bushman laborers too, though most European farmers do not depend on Bushman labor. Those European farmers who do employ Bushmen usually pay wages, about ten shillings a month, plus a ration of food to each Bushman who is working, though not necessarily to his family, consisting of about a pound of cornmeal and a quart of milk a day, meat occasionally, and weekly a ration of tobacco. Perhaps the employer will add a set of clothing—that is, a pair of cast-off pants and a shirt—and perhaps a blanket every year, but occasionally they pay their labor in cast-off clothing and omit the ten shillings altogether.

European clothing is esteemed among Bushmen, for it is symbolic to them of a people mightier than themselves, and

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Hunting is mankind's oldest—and least rewarding—way of life. Among its last practitioners are the Kalahari Bushmen

Part I

101 A PEOPLE, small of stature, few in numbers, calling themselves
131 "!Kung," but who are called "Bushmen" by others, live today in a tremendous depression, half-a-continent wide and sunken in the southern African plateau—by name, the Kalahari Desert Basin. They live on the huge floor of this Basin, near one of its imperceptible sides. It is an open land—large to the point of vagueness, under a limitless sky. There is a word
101 used frequently by the other inhabitants of this Basin—mostly black-skinned peoples—to define the different cultural groups now living there. The word is "nation." One speaks of the Herero nation, the Chuana nations, the Okavango nations. To follow this usage, one would speak of the !Kung nation of *Nyae Nyae*—one among several Bushmen nations. [The prefix, (!), indicates one of the so-

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WORLDLY GOODS of a !Kung family are arrayed, *above*, preparatory to moving camp. The number of belongings cannot exceed family's carrying capacity.

[p. 4]

132 themselves for the winter and in a state most suitable for food. The desert pales. Day and night, water evaporates from the pans; first becoming a film, then less than a film, with only the damp clay glistening. One noon, the clay begins to wrinkle in the sun. By June, the earth is dry: the land is fast and quietly held by winter.

132 Such would be a perfect round of seasons. In the periods of drought 731 that have come every few years in the recent past, however, there have been no such perfect seasons and all living things have, of necessity, fastened tenaciously to the drying earth and held on. Even in normal years, the weather is unbalanced: large areas of the Kalahari may be flooded, while others receive a sprinkling of rain in what amounts to drought conditions. In this land, and through these seasons, the !Kung nation lives.

● [131] THE AREA in which the !Kung now 174 live is called *Nyae Nyae*. How long they have lived there is not

174 last, white and black met,—raiding one another for cattle across the Fish River—and the time of the Zulu and the Voortrekker was near, the classic period of the Bushmen was over.

131 THE AREA called *Nyae Nyae* lies on the border between South West Africa and Bechuanaland. It covers about 10,000 square miles, between 18°55′ and 21°0′ South latitude and 19°50′ to 21°25′ East longitude. In
133 the center of this area is a ring of *kalk* pans. *Nyae Nyae* is actually the name the !Kung gave to this ring of pans, although I have applied it to the whole area occupied by the !Kung nation.

136 There is game round these pans and, in small groups, everywhere in *Nyae Nyae*. Wild roots grow in the
137 bush that shrouds much of the territory. There is *tsi* in the south, while
133 *mangetti* forests crowd along the crests of white sand dunes in the south and east, and spread over the north. Their

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung
Africa F1

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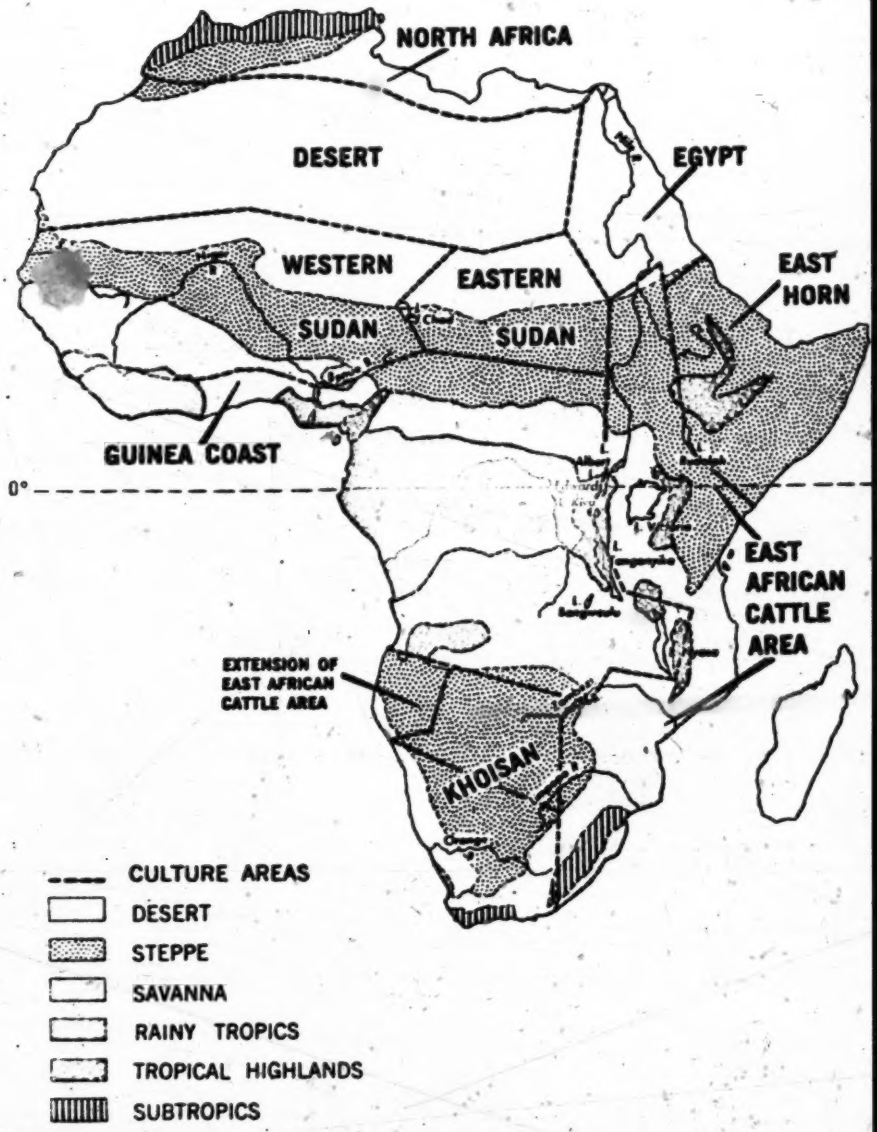
AFRICA: CULTURE AREAS AND VEGETATIONAL ZONES



[Front Map 1]
[p. i]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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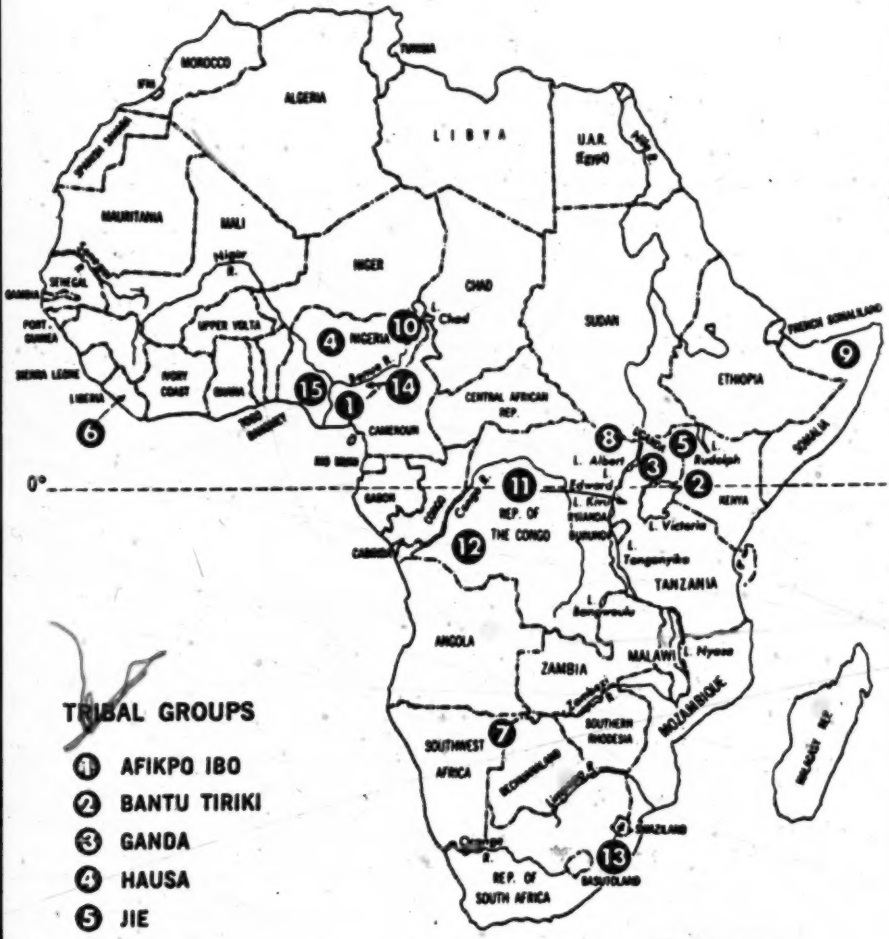
AFRICA: TRIBAL LOCATIONS AND POLITICAL BOUNDARIES, 1964



TRIBAL GROUPS

1. AFIKPO IBO
2. BANTU TIRIKI
3. GANDA
4. HAUSA
5. JIE
6. KPELLE
7. !KUNG BUSHMEN
8. MBUTI PYGMIES
9. NORTHERN PASTORAL SOMALI
10. PASTORAL FULANI
11. RWANDA
12. SUKU
13. SWAZI
14. TIV
15. YORUBA

[Front Map 2]
[p. ii]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

LORNA MARSHALL · *The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert*[1]

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION · The Bushmen live in those parts of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa that lie in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate, in South West Africa, and in southeastern Angola. A few additional remnants of Bushman groups still exist in Northern Rhodesia and at Lake Chrissie in South Africa. In the past Bushmen had a much wider distribution.[2]

Many Bushmen live among, and some work for, the Bantu-speaking tribes in settlements where sufficient water resources have been developed to support cattle, and some Bushmen work for white farmers in the Ghanzi area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in South West Africa. However, many still live in small, independent, nomadic groups, widely dispersed in the vast areas of the desert.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise population count of the Bushmen, but a recent estimate gathered from various contemporary sources (Tobias 1956) indicates that in 1955 there were 55,531 Bushmen.[3] These figures are higher than any previously propounded (cf. Schapera 1939) and come as a surprise to many.

The Bushmen are linked with the Hottentots, a southern African people who resemble them physically and with whom they have linguistic affiliations, but who are a pastoral people with a more complex social structure. Bushmen and Hottentots together are called the *Khoisan* peoples, a coined term combining the Hottentots' term for themselves (*Khoi*) and their name for the Bushmen (*San*). The Khoisan peoples have been referred to as a distinct race (Murdock 1959: 8) or, as Howells puts it, "a major racial variety of man" (1959:306). The obscurity of their origins and racial affinities are in themselves subjects in which research continues and interesting postulations engage the attention of scientists in various fields.[4]

PHYSICAL FEATURES · The physical features of the Bushmen have drawn much attention from anthropologists. Bushmen are of small stature (adult males average approximately five feet, two inches) WITH YELLOWISH BROWN SKIN THAT BECOMES HEAVILY WRINKLED IN OLD AGE.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

182 A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties
312 which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters
[161] them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival,
[648] for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in
the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been
134 comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity
and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level
mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily
available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant
when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated
with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy
soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage
organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thor-
ough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they
are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

137 Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still
have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again
[222] to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-
sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage
[224] organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre
[262] content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the
various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

224 Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking sur-
faces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed
with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not
[411] necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the
advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death
as certainly to big game as to small.

101 LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bush-
197 men cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings
and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans
refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking
[829] Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a mul-
titude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local group-
[184] ings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the
language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while
they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within them-
[621] selves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band
[622] composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Or-
ganization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

101 The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a
131 group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ŏassi* and who live in the
[197] Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48'30" S, 20°34' E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and 9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen-speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is survival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we refer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired, but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets. Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this region as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these; doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

(3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

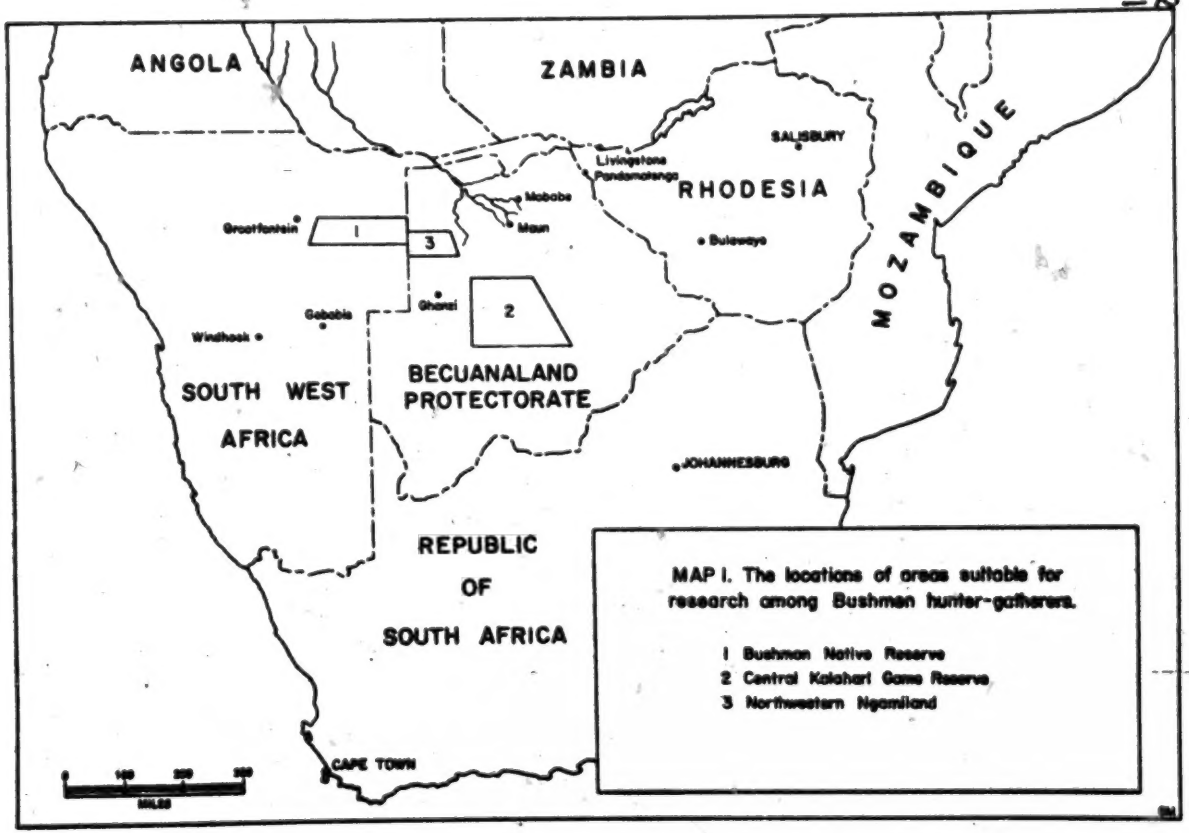
Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

(4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into categories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

(5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been published by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

(6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

(7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite



MAP I. The locations of areas suitable for research among Bushman hunter-gatherers.

1 Bushman Native Reserve
2 Central Kalahari Game Reserve
3 Northwestern Ngamiland

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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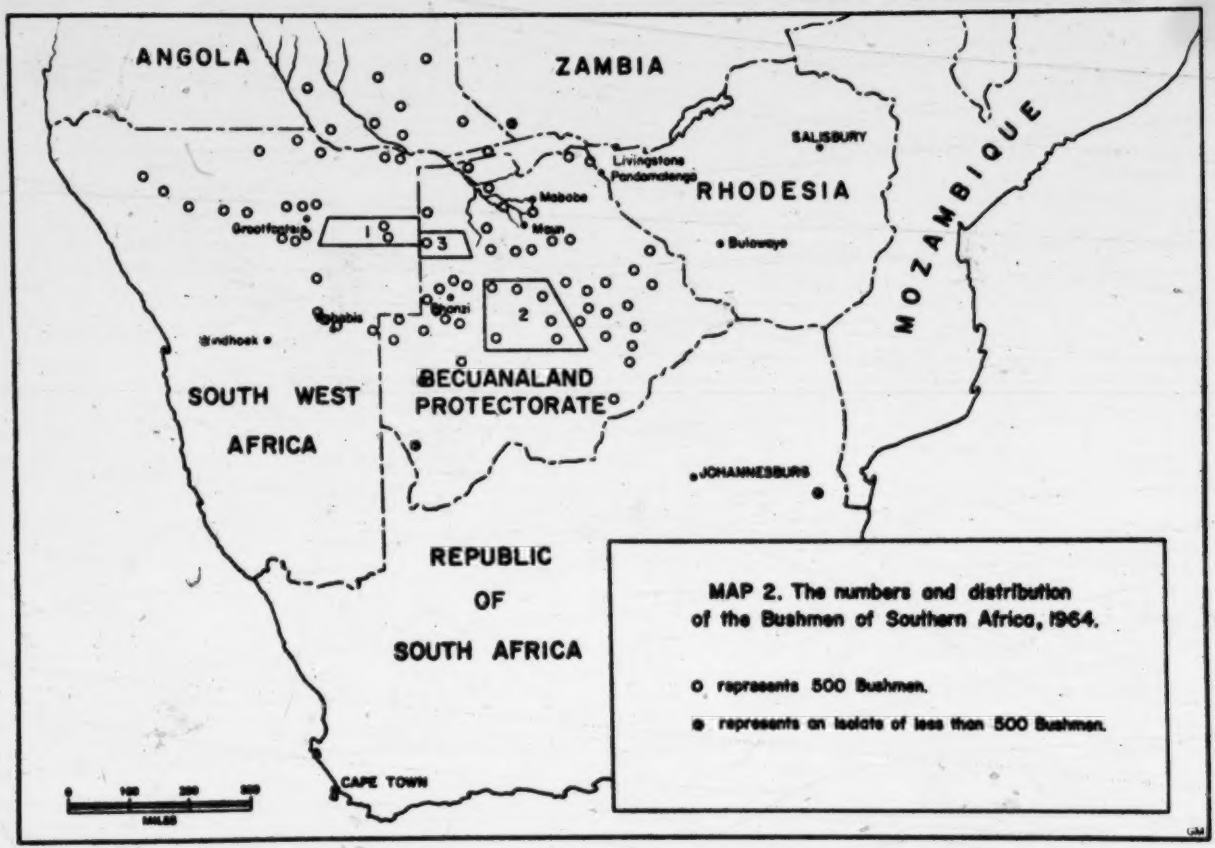
TABLE 1

Periods of Research, Camps and Seasons of the Kalahari Bushman Study

Period	Location	Season
1963		
August	on survey, northern Kalahari	winter, cool dry
October-December	Dobe	end of hot dry, small rains, main rains
1964		
January-February	Tsodilo	main rains
late February-end April	Dobe	end rains, onset of winter dry
early May	Tsodilo	onset of winter dry
mid June	on survey, southern Kalahari	winter cold dry
late June-early September	Dobe area	winter cold dry
September	Kuli-Ghanzi	spring hot dry
late October-December	Dobe area	end of hot dry, small rains
1965		
early January	Dobe-Maun	small rains



MAP 2. The numbers and distribution of the Bushmen of Southern Africa, 1964.

o represents 500 Bushmen.

● represents an isolate of less than 500 Bushmen.

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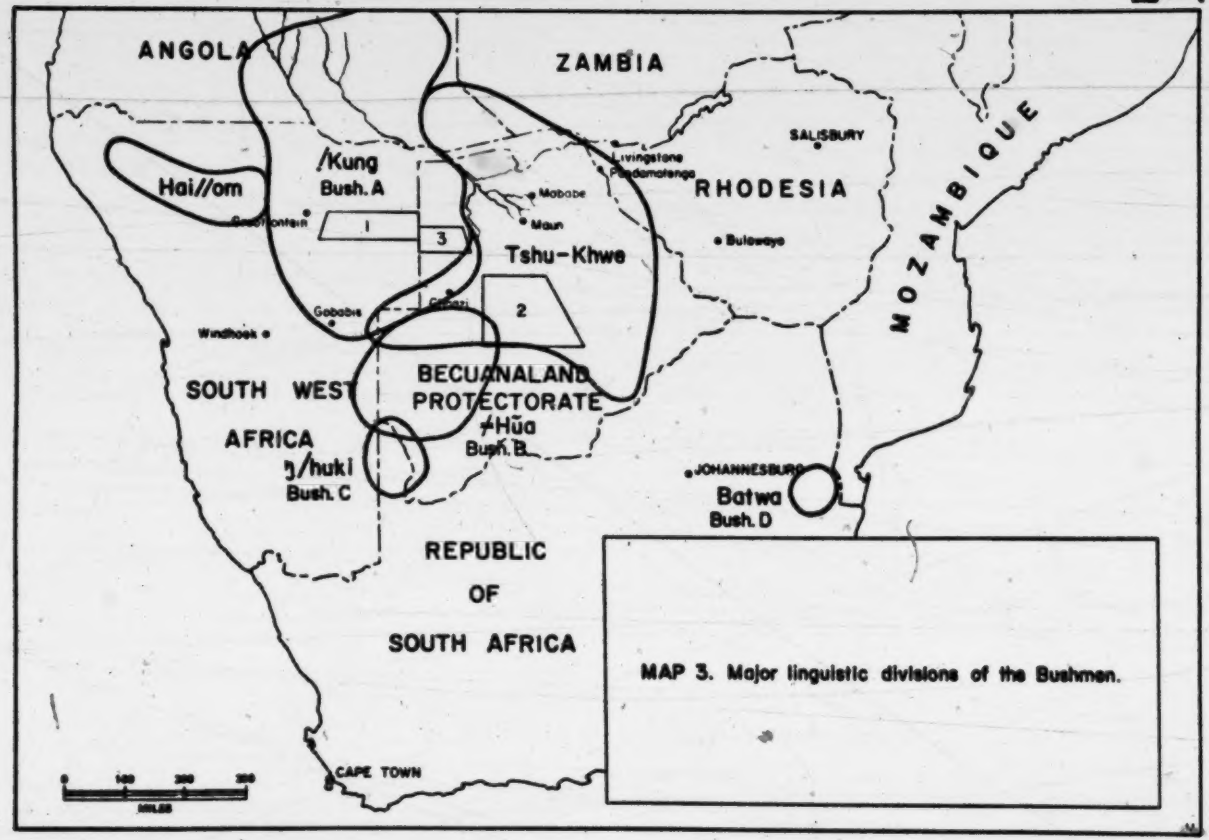

MAP 3. Major linguistic divisions of the Bushmen.

The economic position

114 Tobias erred when he estimated that in 1956, 35,000 of
224 the 55,000 Bushmen "lead a hunting and food-gathering life,
222
161 barely removed from that of the late Upper Palaeolithic or of the South African Later Stone Age." (1957:33). The first comment concerns the numbers of Bushmen still hunting; the second the "primitiveness" of the modern Bushmen hunters.

162 Of the 15,000 Bushmen in South West Africa at least
131 9,500 are working on European farms. An additional 3,000
464 are either working for Bantu agriculturalists or practicing
648 agriculture and stock-keeping themselves. (Republic of
224 South Africa 1964:29,41). This leaves 2,500 as hunter-gatherers in South West Africa.

In Bechuanaland an estimated 16,300 Bushmen work on European farms or Bantu cattle posts. A further 2,000 are practicing a mixed agricultural and hunting way of life. The remaining 6,100 lead a hunting and gathering way of life. The main concentrations of the latter are in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (3,000) and in western Ngamiland (1,600).

The Batwa of the Lake Chrissie area have been working on European farms for nearly a century (Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955:3). The Bushmen in the Gemsbok Park are a major tourist attraction, but may do some hunting.

In Rhodesia, the Bushmen in the Wankie area are all

162 working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in
• 131
464 Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield
648 as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen
224 of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life.
(Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated
at 200.

161 This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of
162
224 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty
222 percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more
[114] reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely
that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between
the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

162 The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial
224
222 and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-
178 gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most
isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with
184 their European and Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of
[221] the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend
[648] part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent
[312] to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share
[464] their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the
[233] young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds
on a contract basis.

000 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

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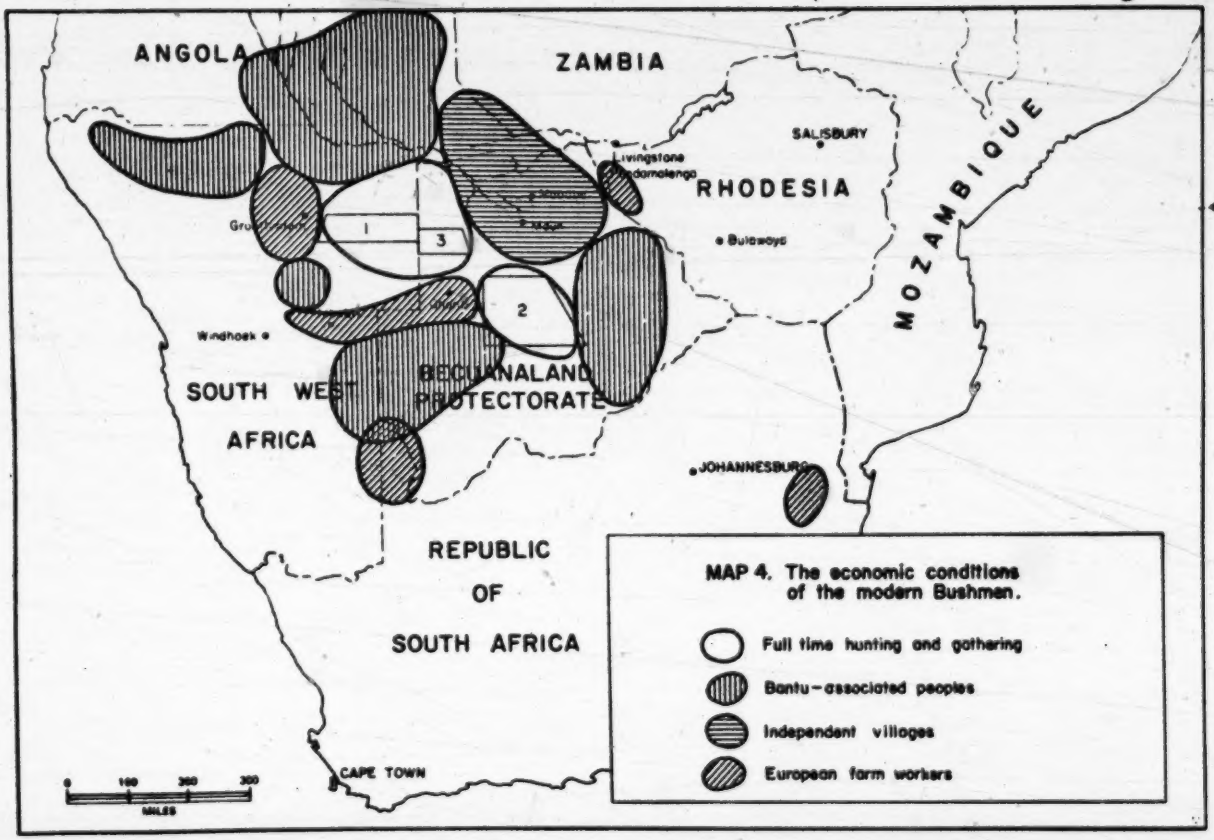
ANGOLA
ZAMBIA
SALISBURY
Livingstone
Kadamalenga
RHODESIA
Bulawayo
MOZAMBIQUE
1
2
3
Windhoek
SOUTH WEST
AFRICA
BECHUANALAND
PROTECTORATE
JOHANNESBURG
REPUBLIC
OF
SOUTH AFRICA
CAPE TOWN
0 100 200 300
MILES
MAP 4. The economic conditions of the modern Bushmen.
Full time hunting and gathering
Bantu-associated peoples
Independent villages
European farm workers

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

The !Kung Bushmen

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The !Kung are the most numerous of the surviving Bushman tribes. Of the estimated total of 13,000, about 3,000 live in Angola, 2,000 in Bechuanaland, and 8,000 in South West Africa. The !Kung occupy a remarkably large area. Their country extends from north to south for a distance of 500 miles, and from east to west for a distance of 300 miles (see Map 5).

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Two criteria clearly distinguish the !Kung from all other Bushman peoples: their language and their unique system of personal naming. The !Kung language has phonological features in common with adjacent Tshu-khwe and Hottentot languages, such as the four click system and the strong glottal releases. However, the vocabulary and grammar of !Kung sets it apart from the other click languages. A lexicostatistic comparison of !Kung and Nharo showed a low incidence of cognates (11.5%).

[114]
[193]

The grammar of !Kung has yet to be adequately described, but none of the preliminary work by Doke (1925), Bleek (1929), Maingard (1957), and Westphal (1962, 1963:244) has been able to demonstrate a genetic relationship of !Kung grammar to the grammars of the other click languages.

There are no semi-!Kung languages (although the vocabulary of the southern dialect has been influenced by contact with Nharo) and therefore a native speaker of !Kung is immediately identified as a member of the !Kung tribe. This holds

551 the south to the Okavango River on the north. The !Kung
553 name-relationship was first described by Lorna Marshall (1957:3ff) for the Bushmen at /Gauša Pan, South West Africa. It was found in 1964 that !Kung farm workers as far away as Gobabis, South West Africa, two hundred miles south of /Gauša, possessed the same repertoire of personal names, the same rules of name inheritance, and the same method for fictively linking unrelated individuals through the name relationship.

From the scanty evidence available on the Angola !Kung (Bleek 1928), it appears that the name relationship is not operative there. However, in Bechuanaland and South West Africa the presence of the institution is a reliable criterion for determining whether a Bushman is !Kung.[1]

101 There are three geographical divisions of the !Kung
131 Bushmen. The northern group, numbering about 4,000, live in
162 Angola and the far northern districts of South West Africa. The central group, numbering about 7,000, extend from the western margin of the Okavango Swamp in Bechuanaland as far as the farms of the Grootfontein district of South West Africa.
[241] The southern group (c. 2,000) are confined to the farms of the

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[1]Unpublished evidence on the southern ǂhũa Bushmen indicates that they possess a system of fictive kinship based on personal names, but the repertoire of names appears to be entirely different from that of the !Kung Bushmen (Heinz, Westphal, personal communications).

101 Ghanzi and Gobabis Districts and their immediate northern
131 hinterland. All three divisions speak mutually intelligible
162 dialects of !Kung but only the central and southern divisions
[241] have the institution of the name relationship.
[197]
[551]
[184] The northern division peoples call themselves "!kũ"
101 meaning "people" (Bleek, 1928:106) and many ethnographers have adopted this as the general appelation for the tribe. There has been a bewildering variety of spellings of this name[1] and it is urgent that one standard form be chosen. It is recommended that !Kung be adopted as the standard appelation for the tribe, following the lead of Fourie (1928:83) and Marshall (1957, 1959, 1960, 1962, etc.). This is not the most phonetically accurate of the alternatives, but the controversy over spelling is an academic one because the majority of the "!Kung" do not recognize this as their tribal appelation at all!

The central division "!Kung" call themselves "zũ/wãsi" (zũ = "people"; /wã = "proper" or "true"; si = plural suffix). This translates as "the proper people" or "the true people". It also has the connotation of "just folks" which Elizabeth Marshall Thomas has appropriately rendered as "The Harmless People" (1959). Bushmen of the study area objected to the

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[1] At least fourteen different spellings are in the literature including: Kung, !Kũ, !Kun, Qhung, //Khun, ≠Kũng, ʗhũ, !xũ, !Khũ, ǃun, !Kung.

184 The northern !Kung of Angola and Ovamboland are closely
648 associated with Bantu agriculturalists. In 1925 Bleek ob-
222 served that "In contradistinction to the southern !Kũ the
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439 women and children (i.e. of the Angola !Kung) are not col-
lectors of wild food. Once or twice a year when certain
berries ripen, the whole tribe goes out berry picking; other-
wise they live by hunting and bartering part of the meat and
skins obtained for the agricultural produce of their
neighbors...." (1928:108). Westphal visited the Angola !Kung
in 1964 and confirmed Bleek's observations (Westphal personal
communication).

184 The southern division of !Kung work on the European
221
464 farms in the Ghanzi and Gobabis districts. Many of them
648 spend the summer months in the veld, hunting and gathering,
but return each year to winter on the farms (Silberbauer n.d.).

Among the central division of !Kung are found Bantu-
associated peoples, farm laborers, and independent traditional
hunters and gatherers. In the Grootfontein district of
South West Africa several thousand central !Kung are working
• 131 on European farms. Along the Okavango river for 500 miles
184 of its length from Cuangar in the northwest to Sehitwa on
648 Lake Ngami, some further thousands of central !Kung live with,
and work for, the Bantu of the following tribes:

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Kuangari Bunja Sambiu Djiriku	in South West Africa
Mbukushu	in South West Africa and B. P.
Bayei Batawana Herero	in B. P.

[621] These !Kung may live in independent villages near a
[224] Bantu kraal and devote much of their time to hunting and
[222] gathering, or they may be incorporated into the compounds of
[464] their protectors and work as domestic servants and farm hands.

However, all of these Bantu-associated !Kung are in contact
131 with groups of more independent !Kung living inland. Ties
184 of real and fictive kinship and marriage link the river
602 dwelling !Kung with the !Kung of the dry interior. The loca-
582 tion of these non-!Kung peoples is shown in Map 6, p. 34.

131 Map 7 illustrates how the European and Bantu-associated !Kung form a ring of population around the peripheries of the northwest Kalahari. These settled areas enclose an interior of about 25,000 square miles, one third of which is in Bechuanaland and two thirds in South West Africa. Most of

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[162]

this area is waterless and uninhabited. In the center is a ring of pans and a series of waterholes which support at present a population of 1,200 !Kung Bushmen. They occupy an area of about 3,500 square miles (70 miles from east to west x 50 miles from north to south). This central complex of water sources is surrounded by a belt of waterless, uninhabited country that varies in width from sixty miles, on the east and north, to over one hundred miles on the west and south. Access to the interior is limited. One line of wells links Tsumkwe in the interior with Grootfontein on the west.

[491] Two rarely used motor tracks join the interior with the Okavango swamp to the east. A police patrol road cut in 1954-55 runs from south to north along the B.P./S.W.A. border. The maximum vehicle speed obtainable on these tracks is 20 mph [177] and trucks pass through about once a month. The difficulty of the terrain, the lack of farming potential, and the scarcity of water have deterred European and Bantu penetration of the area.

[114] The distinction between periphery and interior has been applied to the country of the central !Kung by John Marshall (1957) and Lorna Marshall (1960:327ff). The present usage differs from that of the Marshalls. They applied the term "interior" to the Nyae Nyae ring of pans and regarded the waterholes at /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa as peripheral. Since

131 Since the Nyae Nyae peoples are closely linked genealogically to
133 the peoples of /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa, and since their
312
619 several territories are surrounded by an uninhabited belt 60-100 miles in width, it seems more useful to include all the central water sources under the term "interior" and consider all the other river dwelling and farm !Kung as peripheral (see Map 7, p. 37).

121 This description of the subsistence ecology of !Kung
184 Bushmen therefore concerns the interior !Kung of the central
433 dialect division. It is not to be taken as representative of the !Kung in general, the great majority of whom are today living on European farms or working closely with Bantu.[1] It was pointed out in Chapter I that the selection of a study site was dictated by the necessity of finding a Bushman population living traditionally and independently. It was realized at the outset that such a population was not typical of the majority of !Kung.

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[1] A further stricture must be applied to the !Kung of the interior. In 1960 a Government Station was built at Tsumkwe, S.W.A. Since then the 800 interior !Kung on the South West African side of the border have settled there and are receiving instruction in agriculture. The 400 !Kung on the Bechuanaland side of the border have not been permitted to participate in this program. Therefore, during the period of the present study, only the interior !Kung in Bechuanaland were leading a year-round hunting and gathering way of life.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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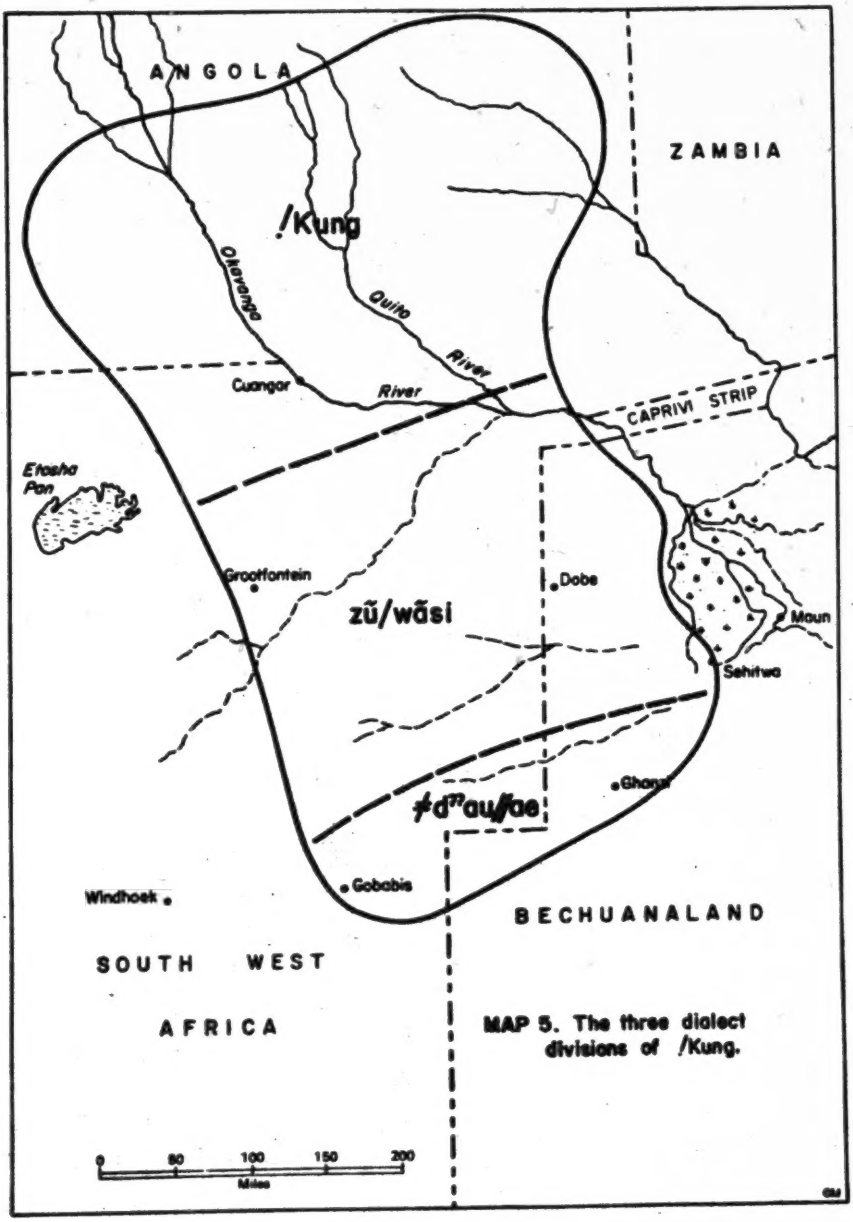

MAP 5. The three dialect divisions of /Kung.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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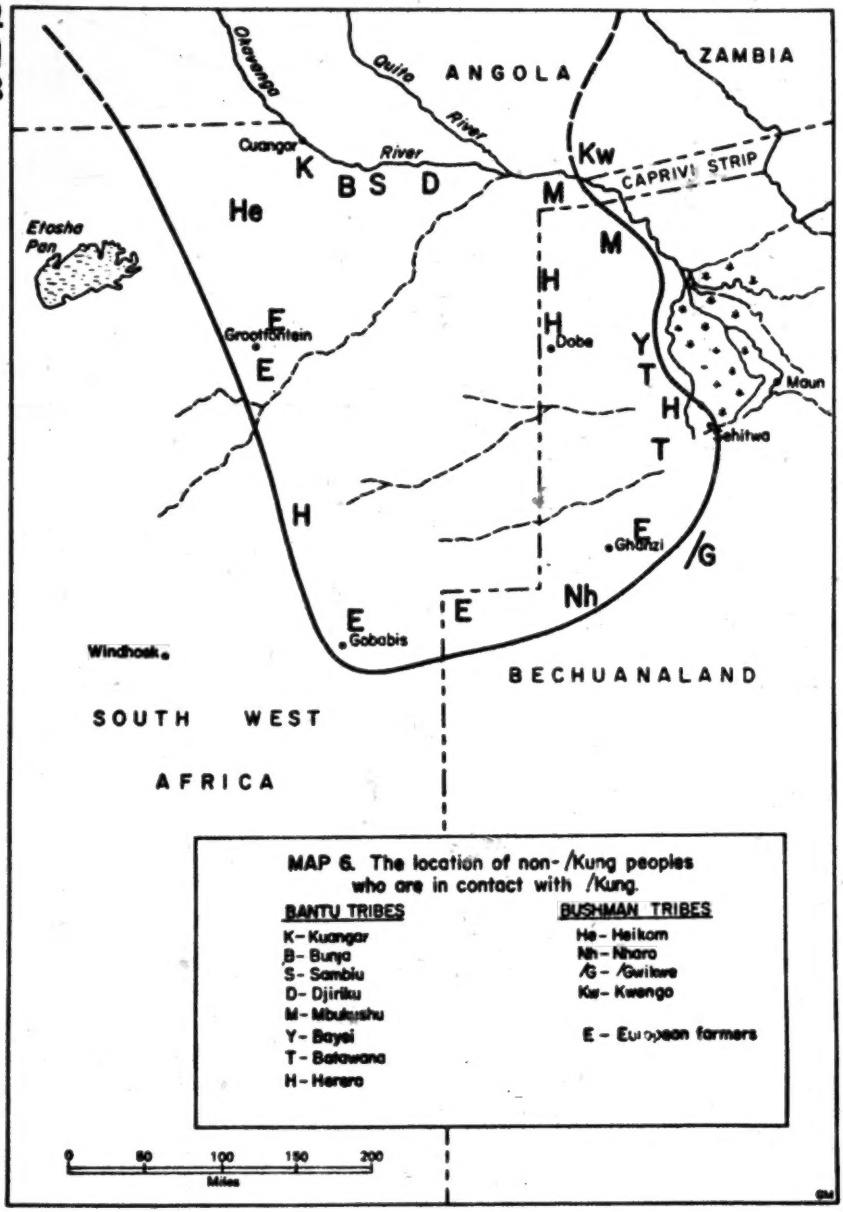

MAP 6. The location of non-/Kung peoples who are in contact with /Kung.

BANTU TRIBES

K- Kuangar
B- Bunya
S- Sambiu
D- Djiriku
M- Mbukushu
Y- Bayei
T- Betawana
H- Herero

BUSHMAN TRIBES

He- Heikom
Nh- Nharo
/G- /Gwitare
Kw- Kwengo

E - European farmers

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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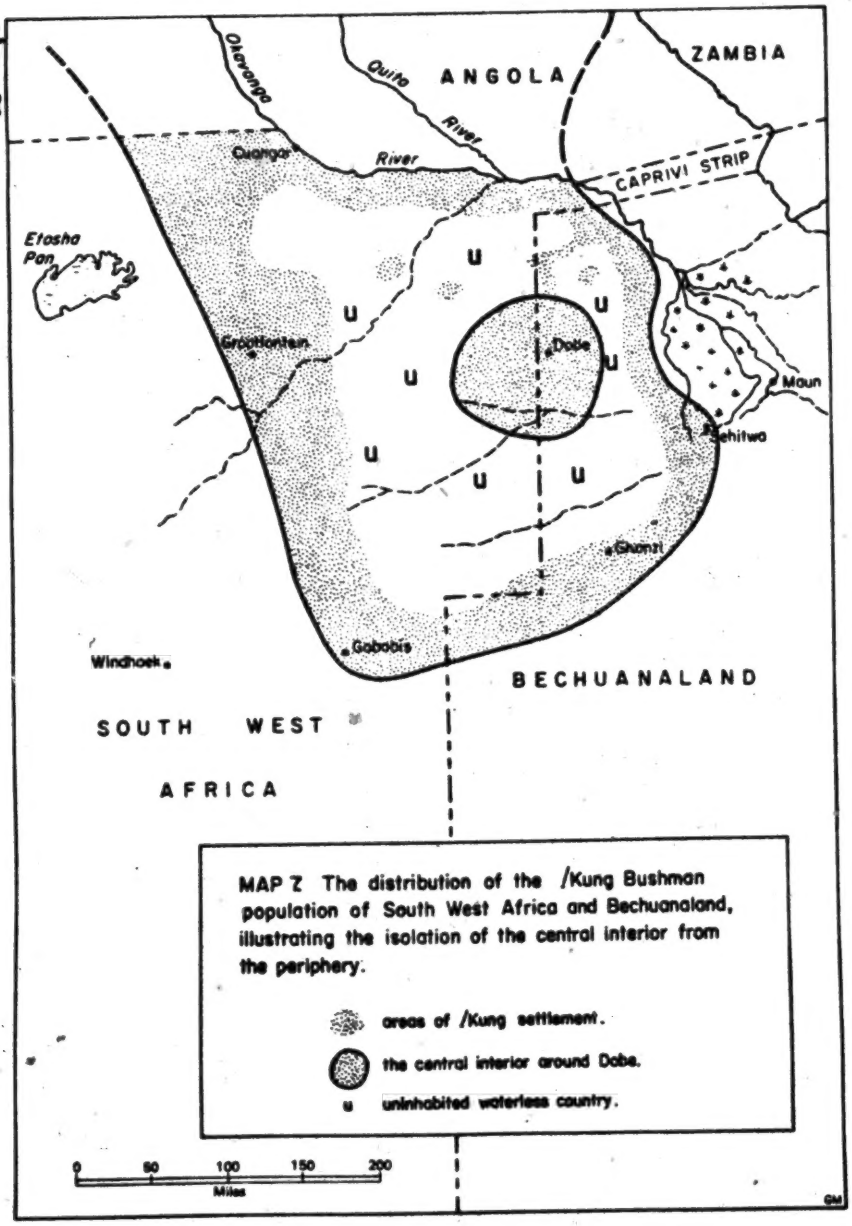

MAP 7 The distribution of the /Kung Bushman population of South West Africa and Bechuanaland, illustrating the isolation of the central interior from the periphery.

areas of /Kung settlement.

the central interior around Dobe.

u uninhabited waterless country.

III. THE DOBE AREA: ITS PEOPLES AND HISTORY

131 Dobe, a small waterhole on the South West Africa/
[114] Bechuanaland border, ninety miles west of Nokaneng, B.P., was the location of the author's main field camp. The term, "Dobe area", as used in this report refers to the country
[312] within a thirty mile radius of the Dobe well. This includes the eleven permanent waterholes which support the entire population of Bushmen and Bantu in the Bechuanaland sector
[224] of the !Kung interior. The Dobe area also includes a large
[222] tract of ground in South West Africa where Bechuanaland Bushmen traditionally go to hunt and gather. It does not include the Nyae Nyae pans, /gam and Tsumkwe in South West Africa, or the more distant waterholes at n!aun!au, at !ǂudum, or at Tsodilo Hills in Bechuanaland (see Map 8).

Dobe is not the cultural or administrative center of the settlements of the interior !Kung. On the contrary, Dobe is the most isolated of the waterholes on the Bechuanaland side. The term "Dobe area" is applied here simply as a matter of convenience.

To reach the Dobe area by truck, one drives west from the Batawana town of Nokaneng which is situated on the western edge of the Okavango swamps. After traversing uninhabited country for 67 miles the traveller arrives at

131 !goše, the first waterhole of the area. Continuing southwest
[133] from !goše the motor track parallels the course of a dry
river bed called the !angwadum for 23 miles until it meets
131 the South West Africa border track. Along this route from
312 !goše to the border one passes the waterholes of Kamburungu,
!angwa matse, !angwa, Bate, Kathikona, Mahopa, !Kabe, and
!ubai. Each of these wells supports Bushman groups and Bantu
cattle posts. Following the border track north from its
intersection with the !angwadum one can reach Dobe which
supports a resident population of Bushmen but no Bantu.
[133] Turning south from the intersection, one crosses the low
ranges of the Aha Hills which are usually uninhabited and
arrives after 25 miles at /ai/ai, a large waterhole with over
one hundred Bushmen.

131 All these centers of habitation lie to the east and
361 south of Dobe. To the north, the nearest settlement is
n!aun!au at a distance of 40 miles and, to the west, the
nearest settlement is Tsumkwe, 35 miles away (see Map 8).

131 Eight naturally occurring waterholes support the bulk
312 of the Dobe area population which in November, 1964, stood
[161] at 763 people. There were 433 Bushmen residents, all but one
[563] of them members of the !Kung tribe. There were 340 Bantu,
eighty-five percent of whom were of the Herero tribe. The
remaining Bantu were Batawana, Mbukushu and Bayei.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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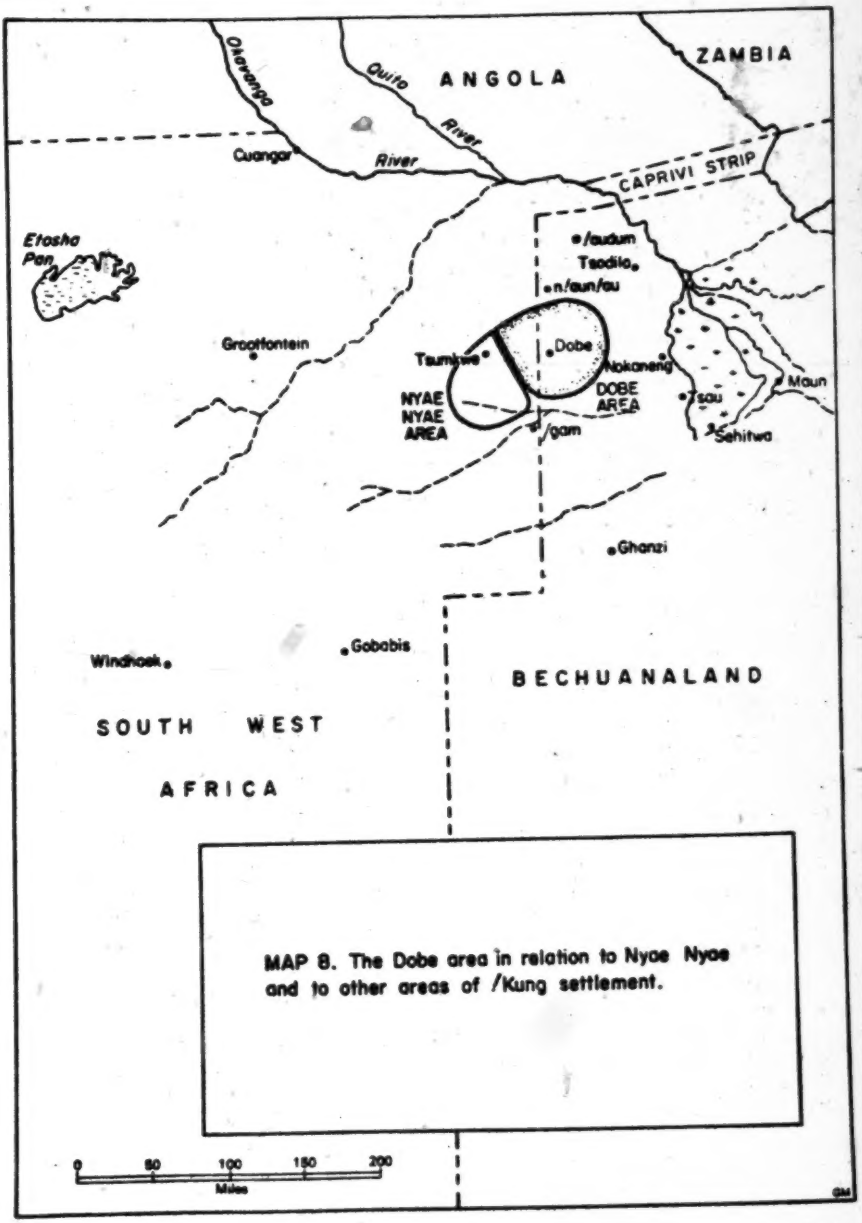

MAP 8. The Dobe area in relation to Nyae Nyae and to other areas of /Kung settlement.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

TABLE 2

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The Numbers and Distribution of the Bushman and Bantu Populations of the Dobe Area

Name of Waterhole and Location	Population Bushman	Population Bantu
1. !gose -- 23 miles east of Dobe	62	18
2. !angwa -- 13 miles east of Dobe	36	49
3. Bate -- 12 miles southeast of Dobe	45	21
4. Mahopa -- 7 miles east of Dobe	42	65
5. !Kabe -- 3 miles east of Dobe	8	12
6. !ubi -- 5 miles south of Dobe	52	65
7. /ai/ai -- 27 miles south of Dobe	109	67
8. Dobe	36	--
Three other wells, dug in recent years by the Bantu, support the remainder of the population:		
9. Kathikona -- 10 miles east of Dobe	1	8
10. !angwamatse -- 17 miles east of Dobe	9	23
11. Kamburungu -- 19 miles east of Dobe	1	12
TOTALS	401[1]	340

[1]The total of 433 is arrived at by the addition of 32 !Kung who were outside the Dobe area at the time of the census.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

IV. THE ENVIRONMENT

131 The area under consideration is a tract of land in Bechuanaland and South West Africa. The boundaries are the Okavango River on the north and east, the Ghanzi Farms on the south, and the edge of the South West African Escarpment on the west. The area thus defined (excluding transitional zones on the edges) is c. 160 miles x 160 miles = 25,600 sq. miles.

133 The area is characterized by a series of fixed dunes running parallel to each other 5-50 miles in length oriented approximately W 10° N / E 10° S. In the spaces between the dunes, 1-5 miles in width, are basins or molapos. "Molapo" is a Sechuana word meaning dry river bed. It is used throughout the thesis when referring to the longitudinal depressions between the dunes as well as the more deeply incised river valleys that do not conform to the parallel [114] patterning of the dunes. "Molapo" is the Sechuana equivalent of "omaramba", a Herero word used by J. Marshall (1957), Story (1958), and others.

The combination of basin and dune forms a remarkably uniform pattern from north to south. At several points the landscape is incised by deeper drainage systems that expose the bedrock. The molapo dune pattern is also interrupted by

Day Length

132 [131] The Dobe area is situated at 20° south latitude and there is an annual variation in day length at this latitude of slightly less than two hours. In mid-winter (June-July) the sun rose about 7:00 a.m. and set at 6:00 p.m. In mid-summer the sun rose about 6:00 a.m. and set at 7:00 p.m. This seasonal variation plus a corresponding variation in temperature had a noticeable effect on the activity patterns of the Bushmen. During the winter they arose late and stayed around their camp fires until mid-morning. They concentrated their subsistence activities in the warmer middle hours of the day (10:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.). On the other hand, during the hot summer days they adopted a "crepuscular" activity pattern. They arose at 6:00 a.m. and worked until 10:00 a.m. Whenever possible they spent the hottest mid-day hours resting in the shade. There was a second period of activity during the cooler hours of the evening (5:00-7:30 p.m.).

[484] When long hikes were undertaken the Bushmen had no alternative but to travel during the hottest hours of the day. Even during the hot dry season (September-October) they were never observed to hunt or travel at night.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

superior to those of the other native peoples that they have been able to preserve much of their original cohesion and culture, and in many cases to offer a strong resistance to the disintegrating effects of contact with European civilization.

The present work deals with those two groups of natives who have suffered most at the hands of the European settlers: the Bushmen and the Hottentots. In spite of the far-reaching differences between them, they have in common several features, not only of race and language, but also of culture, especially religion, which justify their being treated together. These common features by no means render invalid the distinctions upon which is based the customary classification of these peoples into two separate groups. They are significant enough, however, to permit of both groups being regarded as constituting to some extent a larger ethnic unit, which, it is important to note, is clearly differentiated from the Bergdama on the one hand and the Bantu on the other. The term *Khoisan*, recently coined by Schultze to denote the racial stock to which the Bushmen and the Hottentots belong,[1] has therefore been accepted here as a convenient generic name for these two peoples. The necessity for such a generic name will perhaps be seen more clearly when the racial history of each people has been considered.

Topography: General Features

The Khoisan peoples at the present time live almost entirely in the western and central portions of South Africa. The main political areas within whose borders they are found are the Territory of South-West Africa, formerly a German colony, but now administered under mandate by the Union of South Africa; Bechuanaland Protectorate, administered directly by Great Britain through the High Commissioner for South Africa; and the central and western districts of the Union, principally in the Cape of Good Hope. The Bushmen formerly extended further east into Southern Rhodesia and over the rest of the Union, but have virtually disappeared from those parts.

The territory over which the two peoples are now scattered presents a solid land mass, covering an area of approximately 915,000 square

[1] L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, p. 211. The term is compounded of the names *Khoi-Khoin*, by which the Hottentots call themselves, and *San*, applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen. The latter have no collective name of their own.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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the game. In the more arid parts the animals in the dry season concentrate in vast numbers about the rivers and waterholes and pans, to disperse widely as soon as the rains make life possible elsewhere. The same features of alternate concentration and dispersal can be observed in the life of the purely hunting tribes. The pastoral resources are on the whole excellent, there being no lack of grass or edible shrubs even during the dry season, and consequently cattle-keeping peoples are able to lead a favoured existence in these uplands. Agriculture is also practised to some extent, but is confined to the scattered alluvial tracts. As a means of subsistence it is rendered precarious by the frequent droughts which characterize the region. These often exercise a harmful effect on pastoralism as well, partly because of the ensuing lack of water, but mainly because the pasture is completely destroyed in many parts of the country. The plateaus of the Orange Free State, Cape Province, and Southern Bechuanaland are especially exposed to such catastrophes, but they are often enough marked in South-West Africa also, particularly in Great Namaqualand.

Further east and along the south coast the rainfall is high enough to place cultivation on a safe footing, while the country, where it is not covered with bush or forest, is composed of extensive grass flats which can be used as pasture land. Consequently, both agriculture and pastoralism are equally developed, the former being carried out on a far greater scale than in other parts of South Africa. Here, therefore, we find the most thickly settled zones, and the population is mainly sedentary, even although the pastoral tribes must still to some extent lead a nomadic life.

Migration Routes

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The geographical situation of South Africa has an obvious bearing upon the racial history of the country. Cut off by vast uninterrupted stretches of water from ready access on the west, south, and east, its most direct link with other regions is overland to the north. In the north-west the great forest regions of the Congo impose an effective barrier upon extensive human migrations, so that it is principally from the north-east that invading peoples have been able to enter the country.[1] The East African highlands are connected with the south by a favourable route passing between the escarpments in the east with their sharp descent to the fertile but fever-stricken coastlands,

[1] Cf. Passarge, *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 32–3; *idem*, *Südafrika*, pp. 163–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10.

and the elevated ridges and plateaus of Central Africa. The route bifurcates north of Lake Nyasa. The eastern branch leads to the broad coastal belt of the Rovuma-Rufiji region and down to the Zambesi delta, the western branch to the diversified plateau between Lakes Nyasa and Bangweolo and the Zambesi River.

H B. 131 167

This diversified plateau region is important as the central point from which migration routes branch out into South Africa. Two principal routes may be distinguished, one leading to the south, the other to the west. The southward route, crossing the Zambesi just above or just below the famous gorge which begins at the Victoria Falls, leads through the Matabeleland plateau of Southern Rhodesia into the Northern Transvaal, avoiding the unhealthy coastlands of Portuguese East Africa on the east, and the waterless tracts of the Middle and Southern Kalahari on the west. Then, following the uplands of the great interior plateau, it leads down through the Western Transvaal and Orange Free State into the west of Cape Province, or, branching off through Zululand, passes along the south-east and south coast belt to rejoin the other line in the Cape Province. The westward route follows the southern equatorial watershed between the two well-watered regions of the Congo basin and the Northern Kalahari and so leads to the fertile and healthy highlands of Angola. Here it branches out on the north to Loanda and the Lower Congo, on the south over the Kunene into the highland plateaus of South-West Africa and across the Orange River into the Western Cape Province, where it meets the southward route.

These are the main lines of migration imposed above all on cattle-keeping peoples. The high steppes afford the best pasture and facilitate movement, and in addition are more healthy for men and animals than the low-lying coastlands or the moister portions of the interior with their malaria, tsetse fly and other infectious diseases. One other point must be noticed. South Africa by virtue of its geographical situation forms an ethnological cul-de-sac: the ocean on three sides bars all further progress. Hence invading peoples must either wipe out their predecessors completely or live side by side with them, the latter a condition likely to result in intermingling and the formation of hybrid races and cultures. Both processes have occurred frequently enough in the history of the country.

H B [144 721]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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114 There is unfortunately no reliable information available as to the
131 extent of territory occupied by the band. The only writer to touch
621 on this question is Seiner, who estimates that in the Grootfontein district in the north-east of South-West Africa the average hunting territory covers about 700 sq. km.[1] This figure, however, cannot be regarded even as approximate, for it is based on what is almost certainly an excessive estimate of the total Bushman population in that district.

Size of the Band

162 The number of people who make up a band varies from tribe to
621 tribe, and even within the tribe itself, although it is never considerable. Some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen speak of bands containing from one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons,[2] but groups much smaller in size are also mentioned.[3] Certainly in more recent times the number of families living together seldom exceeded three or four.[4] The remnants of the Namib Bushmen now also live in very small groups of only a few persons,[5] and so do the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, where a band rarely has more than about twenty members.[6] Elsewhere Dornan states that he has seldom seen more than six or seven families together at a time, all told about thirty persons, and this was in a camp at permanent water.[7] The !O Kung in Angola are also found living together in very small bands. The largest group met by Miss Bleek consisted of sixteen men and fifteen women; everywhere else little parties were seen of from two to six men, with their wives and families.[8]

621 In considering these figures it must be remembered that the Cape
648 Bushmen were already being persecuted and dispersed, and their
[177] organization disintegrated, by their more powerful neighbours at the time when they came under observation, while the Namib Bushmen are now almost extinct and live in very unfavourable country. Whether they were formerly banded together in larger numbers there is no means of telling. The Hiechware and the !O Kung, again,

[1] Seiner, loc. cit.
[2] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 53.
[3] Burchell, op. cit., i, 456; Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 48; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 144.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii.
[5] Trenk, op. cit., 166; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Range, *Landeskunde . . . des Namalandes*, 73.
[6] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 90.
[7] Ibid., 130.
[8] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX10-

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MAP I

[facing p. 446 (a)]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX10

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[facing p. 446 (4)]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX10

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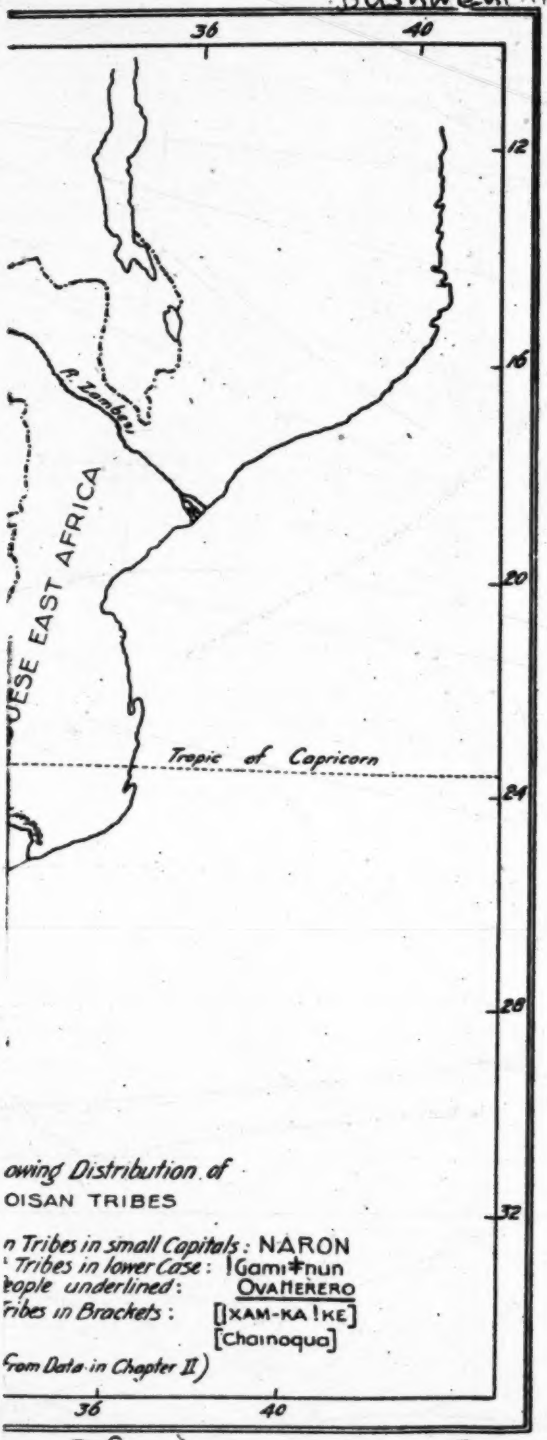


[facing p. 446 (c)]

/138 cont./

177 Since contact with the Whites was established, wars have
721 apparently declined considerably, but even today they exact a decidedly heavy toll.

22 The Auin is at the lowest stage of human development; he is exclusively a collector and hunter.

This way of life is dictated to him by the nature of his en-
133 vironment. This part of the Kalahari, where the watering places
137 are sometimes 100 kilometers apart and very limited in number,
182 does not permit livestock raising, especially also since the tschama [sometimes spelled tsama, a kind of melon] enjoyed by the cattle is comparatively rare.

In the Auin region the plain dominates the landscape.
133 Primary rocks rise up here and there only along the river banks. So-called dunes give the landscape a gently hilly character, especially in the vicinity of the rivers (dry river beds which carry
137 water only after violent rains). The ground cover alternates between grass, shrub, and tree steppe and dense undergrowth. The
132 amount of precipitation is very small; the lack of sufficient statistical data makes it impossible to give a more precise estimate.

B. Dwellings and Furnishings

342 The typical form of the dwelling is the windscreen, in other words, the most primitive form of human habitation, which scarcely deserves the designation "hut." Its construction is completed in a few minutes. A few twigs are stuck loosely into the ground at the thicker end in a semicircle and propped against each other at the branching end. I have never seen the supports firmly fastened to one another, although I have examined several hundred huts. Grass is thrown on the framework, and the construction is finished. During the dry season the structures are usually built even more hastily and sometimes consist merely of a few bundles of grass that have been thrown loosely between the twigs of a living bush. The entire structure is often scarcely a meter high and has no roof. It is thus a genuine windscreen, intended to protect its inhabitants from drafts while they are lying down.

If the settlement remains at a particular place for only a few days, the people content themselves with the shadow of some

[7 cont.]

222 The honey badger, !uisa (N. !ous), which leads to the
825 bees, is followed ever so eagerly.

The common wild pig (gariba), the kudu (daub), the
224 gemsbok χ'uaba (N. /gaib), and all the small antelopes are hunted. Pits are no longer known, although they used to dig them in former times.

If they decide to go hunting, sexual intercourse must be
[834] avoided the night before. In the evening the hunters go into the forest and spend the night there. Before dawn they rise and pray:

[534] Pu, pu, Eró, /nari dsu /ari mate — God, tomorrow early we receive.

When a piece of game has been killed, one of the hunters cuts a piece of flesh from the animal's body and hands it to the leader of the hunt. This meat is called am-shái-khe. A fire is made, and this piece is placed on it. When it is roasted, the leader cuts off a piece and shouts:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, ha gore, ha gore — Erob, Erob, Erob, eat, eat
i Khe Khandi ô — With us flesh.

After a pause:

ha lĕ a lĕ ha góre o Khandi ô — Come! Come! Let us eat flesh.

Now the roasted flesh is consumed. Nothing is thrown away or left behind for Erob.

Then the game is cut up, and everyone goes home with his portion.

136 Snakes are not rare, although they are by no means as common as in the stony regions of the southwest.

The boa constrictor eats human beings; if it catches a Bushman, it starts to consume him at the legs!

● 132 In spite of the timber forest, the danger of drought is
821 great. Erob sends rain. When there is a drought, the Bushmen
731 dance and pray:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, /ga !goro — Erob, Erob, Erob, we are dying of thirst
/ga-wi -ma ta re — Water give us.

177 [8] It is very interesting to observe how in these certainly
776 very ancient hunting and rain prayers the former old heathen gods'
782 names Huwe and χ'amab were replaced by the Christian "Ellob."

I asked the people whether they knew any other prayers and received the following answer: "We know very well that

N/OW

LORNA MARSHALL

821 *N/ow*[1] is a belief concerning rain and cold which is held by the /Kung Bushmen in the region around Nyae Nyae in South West Africa.

132 About ten inches of rain falls in an average year in this part of the Kalahari Desert and sinks into the deep sands. There is no run-off in streams and there are few water
137 holes. The rain is sufficient to support a covering vegetation of grass, shrubs, and scrubby trees. The vegetation includes numerous edible roots, tubers, leaves, fruits, and nuts, for which the Afrikaans language provides the convenient word *veldkos*.

105 The /Kung, the only inhabitants of the interior of this particular region, are
821 nomadic hunters and gatherers. If the rains are poor and the veldkos dry and sparse, the people suffer. Rain, they say, is life-giving; sun is death-giving.

132 Summer is the season of the 'big rains' in the western Kalahari. 'Little rains'—a few scant showers—may fall in September, October, and November. The 'big rains' begin in late December or January and continue into March. The summer storms are awesome. Every day the winds drive monstrous clouds around the sky, which domes a horizon as flat as the sea. They breed the storms. Lightning streaks from them. Thunder roars and rumbles. The earth sucks in their deluges, hissing.

821 The /Kung say that thin clouds which give no rain are male. They call them */now*.[2] The big rain clouds are female. White ones they call *//ga kwe disi*—*//ga* means cloud or rain, *disi* means females.[3] The enormous grey clouds with rain pouring from them the /Kung call */kwesi* (zebras), because they are so fleet and, though a person may think he is far from the rain, it comes swiftly and is on him. We have seen Bushmen, caught without shelter in the storms, shivering so that their teeth chattered, saying they could perish in such rain.

532 Rain itself is male and female, */ga /go* and */ga di*. The men one day drew in the sand the spoor of male and female rain. Male rain spoor was made with all five fingers held stiffly and plunged deeply into the sand, to make big holes. Male rain breaks the trees and beats down the fruits, the men told us. It is (like) a fight, and may kill a person. Thunder and lightning accompany it, and sometimes hail. Female rain has tiny drops and does not spoil anything; it beautifies the trees and the grass and makes the veldkos grow. Its spoor was made by smoothing out a place in the sand and cover-
532 ing it closely with tiny dots. Gao said a person (anyone) may speak to the rain, saying, 'You are doing very well', or, 'Fall silently. Don't make such a noise. Don't be

[1] We wish to thank both Dr. Mary Douglas and Professor I. Schapera for reading the manuscript about *n/ow* and for making several helpful suggestions.

194 [2] The /Kung language has four clicks: / is the symbol for the dental click, ≠ for the alveolar, / for the alveolar palatal, and // for the lateral.

[3] We did not know how to translate *kwe*, which
193 occurs very often. It seemed sometimes to be a sort
197 of article and we did not work on it especially. We regret not having done so because Miss Bleek, in her *Bushman Dictionary* (American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1956), records in the Auen or //K"au-//en language, which she says is very like the /Kung and which she places south of the /Kung, the phrase */ga -k"wiri*, meaning rain's hair or cloud. In /Kung */ga* and *//ga* both mean rain. We now wonder if *kwe* should be *kwi* and if it means hair in the phrase *//ga kwe disi*.

dangerous.' When they do they use the word *n/oi*. It is a word for gentle rain, and also a respect word. They use it for male rain when they are afraid of it and avoid its real name, */ga /go*.

The rains of the western Kalahari are local, falling from clouds which the winds herd. They may fill one pan and miss another. Laurence Marshall spent one whole night, tentless, in a drenching downpour, to find in the morning that a mile away no rain had fallen. But by and large the rains are sufficient in quantity and well enough dispersed to fill most of the water-holes, pans, and hollow trees, and to revive the growing things, so that the autumn months, which follow the rains, are good—the best of the year. Then the /Kung may travel anywhere within their territories to hunt and gather the fresh veldkos. The rains are life-giving.

Winter is the season of dryness. It is also the season of burning sun in the cloudless sky by day and freezing cold when the sun sets. Bitter winds catch up the sparks of the fires at night and whirl them in blazing streaks into the darkness. If water is left in an open bowl, it may be ice in the morning. By mid-winter, July, there has been no rain for three or four months. The pans and small water-holes are dry. Though there are still foods to be gathered, like the mangetti nuts in the northern forest, there is no water on the route, nor in the white sand dunes where the mangettis grow, and the people cannot carry enough in their ostrich-egg shells to go to the mangettis and return. In 7,500 square miles of the interior of the region around Nyae Nyae, there are only five water-holes which do not dry up in the winter and spring. The /Kung bands must gather around whatever permanent water-hole they belong to and restrict their hunting and gathering trips to conform one way or another to the problem of water. This region, incidentally, does not abound in tsama melons and, though there are succulent so-called ' water ' roots to be found, they seem not to be sufficient to support whole bands for long. The Nyae Nyae bands, it appears, cannot, or at least do not, base themselves for long periods away from their water-holes.

The spring months which follow the dry months of winter are the dangerous months. The sun is scorching. Fruits and leaves shrivel; the edible roots, stirred by the few tantalizing drops of the little rains, or just because it is spring, give up their juices to the first new shoots and are dry and bitter to eat. The people longingly await the rains, saying it is the sun which dries the water-holes and the plant foods. The /Kung of this region use one word for both sun and dryness, */kam*, and say the sun is death-giving.

In their beliefs about *n/ow*,[1] which they think influences the weather, as this paper will describe, they make an antithesis between rain and cold. This seems paradoxical when one experiences the devastating heat of the sun in September, October, and November, but the resolution of the paradox may lie in the fact that the hardships of the dry seasons begin with the rainless winter months and their bitterly cold nights, so that sun, dryness, cold and want become a complex which is in antithesis to rain and plenty. *N/ow* is called ' bad ' if it brings cold, ' good ' if it brings rain.

Mrs. Hoernlé[2] records a Hottentot belief called */nau*. The word appears to be

[1] We spell the /Kung word *n/ow* in this way because it rhymes with ' how '. We wish to distinguish it from another /Kung word, */nau*, which it closely resembles, but which has a slightly shorter, more closed sound. */Nau* means ' old man ', according to Miss Bleek's *Bushman Dictionary*. We heard it used as a term of respect in addressing old men.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., ' Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of */nau* among the Hottentots ', *Harvard African Studies*, ii (1918), pp. 75–77.

A party of /Kung men had gone hunting towards the west. John, our son, was with 821
them. In the afternoon there appeared in the western sky three little white clouds, like 825
three powder-puffs in a neat row. They were the first clouds to be seen since the big rains had ended in March. We ran to each other, pointing them out. People felt happy. In the evening, when the hunters returned, ≠Toma came at once to me, before he put down his bow and quiver, and said that I could see for myself what it meant to ≠*gani* an animal. John had ≠*gani*(ed) the wildebeest he shot, and the clouds had appeared immediately above them. ≠Toma said this was what he had been trying all along to explain to me.

If a hunter knows with certainty that he has ≠*gani*(ed) or ||*ghui*(ed) an animal, as it 821
was known when John killed the wildebeest that he had ≠*gani*(ed) it, he may take the 825
horns and the scalp and forehead bone and hang them in a tree, remembering where 789
they are and whether they had been ≠*gani*(ed) or ||*ghui*(ed). If need should arise he could get the horns which were appropriate to the need and burn them in a specially made fire away from the cooking-fires. He would take a piece of the burning horn and point it to the sky saying '*goichi goichi goichi n/ow qui*'. This we were told is 'speaking *n/ow*'. The interpreters did not know and could not find out by questioning people what the words mean. We wonder if they are an archaic spell. The horns must be entirely consumed by the fire.

In *Bushman Folklore*[1] there is a reference to the burning of horns in a very interesting 773
myth about the Rain Bull, related to Dr. Bleek in 1878 by a Bushman from Strontbergen (30° S., 22° E.) whose dialect included the fifth click of the southern group, as the Katkop dialect does. In this myth a young woman cleverly saves herself from being carried away on the back of the Rain Bull to the water-pit where she would have been turned into a frog, and all of her people also would have become frogs. At the end of the myth the informant who related it said, 'The old women who had been out seeking food were those who came to burn horns, while they desired that the smell of the horns should go up, so that the Rain should not be angry with them.' 789

A hunter has another way of controlling the weather. To bring rain he would cut 821
the throat of an animal he had reason to believe he habitually ≠*gani*(ed), or to stop 825
rain, one he habitually ≠*ghui*(ed). The blood, which is ordinarily saved and eaten, [263]
would be allowed to flow on to the ground. A giraffe is the best animal for blood-letting. The forms and colours of the clouds are like giraffes, the /Kung remarked. We asked if human beings cut themselves and used their blood to start or stop rain as they do their urine or hair. The /Kung said, No, they did not. That would be unnecessarily painful.

As far as we know the /Kung did not attempt to control the weather by these means 183
while we were with them, as they did not resort to burning urine or hair of persons. 789
Perhaps this was because the weather took its normal, expected, seasonal course. 821
Furthermore, we did not experience its most severe extremes for very long periods, [132]
and found it on the whole quite bearable. Or perhaps the concept of controlling weather by means of burning urine, hair or horns or letting blood, exists more in lore than in active practice. Or perhaps the long unchanging months do not stimulate the idea of actively attempting to control weather and the people content themselves with 789
explaining rather than controlling. They appeared in many instances to have the 821

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., pp. 193 ff.

INTRODUCTION.

Early in 1955 the Chief of the Union Government Division of Botany 121
received a request through the British Museum for a botanist to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition, which in the winter of that year was to make a study of the Bushmen of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa. The duties of the botanist would be to investigate and report upon the plants used by the Bushmen in obtaining food and drink, and this task was assigned to me in my capacity as one of the Botanical Survey Officers of the Division of Botany.

I joined the expedition on 10th June at Molepolole, after it had been 122
some weeks in the field, and we thereafter travelled along the route shown on the map, reaching Windhoek on 2nd September.

There were two main areas of study, one in the country south of 133
Ghanzi and the other north of Ghanzi. The southern area, part of the Kalahari Desert, was remarkably uniform in every way. The surface [134]
was deep loose sand, gently undulating and with occasional shallow depressions of firm dark soil known as pans, which collect a little water after rain. We did not see a hill after leaving Molepolole until the Ghanzi area was reached, nor a stone, except for shelves of limestone in some of the pans. There was no permanent water in the 300 miles between [312]
Kudumalapshwe and the Ghanzi farms, but Khungwane waterhole and Khomodimo Pan had not yet dried up. Khungwane held one or two thousand gallons and Khomodimo contained a pond about thirty yards across and a foot or so deep. It provided a home, rather unexpectedly, [136]
for a coot (*Fulica cristata*) and a water-scorpion (one of the *Nepidae*). There are no records of the central Kalahari rainfall, but it would be [132]
between 18·5 and 19·6 inches, which are the mean annual figures for Ghanzi and Molepolole respectively. In spite of this low rainfall, and although we were there in the dry season, we found that the sand a few inches below the surface and down to at least three feet was damp enough to retain its form when squeezed in the hand. One specimen of a species 136
of Breviceps was found in the sand, a small burrowing frog which does not swim or jump and which passes through its tadpole stage in a mass of frothy material which surrounds the eggs. The commonest animals were the rodents whose burrows and tracks were in thousands along our route. The game included gemsbok, springbok, hartebees, eland, blue wildebees, giraffe and smaller antelopes and hares. Of the carnivora, lions, leopards, wild dogs, jackals and hyaenas were present. Ostriches and bustards were seen and occasional small birds of various species, but birds were on the whole poorly represented. The vegetation was mainly grassland, usually 137x
about four feet tall and mixed with many shrubs a little taller. Trees were seldom absent for more than a few miles at a stretch, and were scattered to form a parkland or in belts thick enough to hamper the progress of our lorries through them.

The northern area was much more varied, with the undulations 133
sometimes forming distinct rises and dales. Hills, however, were still absent, although there were occasional outcrops of limestone and other rock. The soils were for the most part fairly firm, but sandy nevertheless, [134]
and damp below the surface. From time to time we crossed zones of purer loose sand, slightly raised above the surrounding country and known as dunes. A number of permanent waterholes, groups of large pans and a rainfall estimated to be about 20 inches a year (Department of Transport [132]
1953) made this area better watered than the Kalahari, and better wooded. 137x

As the spellings of the Bushman names on my herbarium specimens are from field notes, they are often different from the spellings given in this paper, which was done after I had had the opportunity of consulting the authors I have mentioned. It will be noticed that many of the plants do not have the full set of Bushman names. The main reason is that we were not in contact with the Eastern !khû speakers until we had passed Ghanzi, and lost contact successively with the |gikwe, ||ganakwe and !h5: speakers as the expedition drew to a close. Other reasons are that my field notes were sometimes inadequate, that I forgot to ask, and that some plants appeared restricted to certain areas and were not known to all the groups of Bushmen. 128 [184]

As the expedition was during the winter when most of the plants were in poor condition, very little photography was done in the field. Most of the photographs are from plants which were sent back to Pretoria and cultivated there, or from plants which grow naturally in the Transvaal. In this paper the plants and photographs are arranged according to de Dalla Torre and Harms (1900-1907). Specimen numbers are in brackets. 126 [128]

There is little doubt that the plants discussed here represent only a fraction of those used, for we covered a very small part of the area over which the Bushmen range, and this when probably most of the annuals were dead, when some foods were out of season and when the above ground parts of many bulbous and tuberous plants had withered and disappeared so that the plants themselves could not be found. 114

Because of poor yield, poor quality, difficulty in harvesting or lack of flavour, not many of the Bushman food plants would be worth cultivating in their present form for the use of civilised people, but they offer a large field to the plant breeder. The most promising have been noted accordingly in the text. 000

There were few bones around the Bushman encampments, but this does not necessarily mean that there is a scarcity of meat in their diet, for the bones might have been removed by porcupines (Alexander, 1956; Dart, 1957) or eaten by hyaenas. A more reliable indication was the scantiness of the Bushmen's skin coverings. There are sharp frosts in the Kalahari and sometimes bitter winds, and one may argue that the Bushmen would provide themselves with sufficient skins if they had a regular supply of meat, although admittedly they eat skins after charring them on the coals and pounding them in a mortar. Vegetable refuse from former meals and fresh vegetable food, however, were found at all the Bushman encampments, and additional gatherings were the permanent chore of the women and children and of the men to a lesser degree. The insanitary condition of the surroundings also provided unmistakable evidence that the bulk of their food was of vegetable origin. 262 [291] [132] [364]

Their knowledge of field botany was astonishingly good. It has to be, otherwise they would have no chance of survival in their arid country. Fragments of stem, dead leaves, and other small clues of this nature, after being unerringly identified, were all the Bushmen needed to find many of the storage organs they were seeking. Differences which escaped me would enable them to distinguish between edible and harmful plants, and they had a thorough knowledge of the areas and habitats in which their food plants grew. They must have an influence on the distribution of plants. 824 137X

372 *hei-doros*: The new *!ou-|ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *||gāus*
361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case
[132] only in times of drought when the game have moved far afield
622 and great difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos.
372 Further, people driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *||gāus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the *!ou-|ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.
372 Persistent ill-health among the members of the community
622 or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase
[751 may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after
77] consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the *!ou-|ais* are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new *!ou-|ais* in front of his hut with the hei-doros and applies *!norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it had been.
184 The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire is
372 met with among all the organised primitive groups. Want of space and time does not permit, however, of a detailed account being given of the superstitions which have gathered about this custom among the various tribes.

Family Life

593 Each family within the group occupies its own hut. Children sleep with their parents until they are strong enough to go about by themselves, when the boys join the others under the tree and the girls take up residence in the hut for unmarried girls.

512 The women rise early, light the fire and prepare the food for the morning meal which usually consists of veldkos. After having eaten, the men go out visiting or hunting or engage in some other occupation such as preparing skins, weapons, etc. The women accompany each other in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. When food is obtainable at no great distance they are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have to go far they may not reach home until late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they proceed to prepare food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water. The food is ready by the time the men arrive in the evening and the latter are able to partake of it without delay.

462 There is a sharp division of labour between the men and women of the group. The former do the hunting and snaring of game, prepare the weapons, skins for clothing, snares, fire-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

CHAPTER ONE

The Desert

THERE is a vast sweep of dry bush desert lying in South-West Africa and western Bechuanaland, bordered in the north by Lake Ngami and the Okovango River, in the south by the Orange River, and in the west by the Damera Hills. It is the Kalahari Desert, part of a great inland table of southern Africa that slopes west toward the sea, all low sand dunes and great plains, flat, dry, and rolling one upon the other for thousands of miles, a hostile country of thirst and heat and thorns where the grass is harsh and often barbed and the stones hide scorpions.

From March to December, in the long drought of the year, the sun bakes the desert to powdery dry leaves and dust. There are no surface waters at all, no clouds for coolness, no tall trees for shade, but only low bushes and grass tufts; and among the grass tufts grow brown thistles, briers, the dry stalks of spiny weeds, all tangled into knots during the rains, now dry, tumbled, and dead.

The Kalahari would be very barren, very devoid of landmarks, if it were not for the baobab trees, and even these grow far from each other, some areas having none. But where there

137 is one it is the biggest thing in all the landscape, dominating all the veld, more impressive than any mountain. It can be as much as two hundred feet high and thirty feet in diameter. It has great, thick branches that sprout haphazardly from the sides of the trunk and reach like stretching arms into the sky. The bark is thin and smooth and rather pink, and sags in folds toward the base of the tree like the skin on an elephant's leg, which is why a baobab is sometimes called an elephant tree. Its trunk is soft and pulpy, like a carrot instead of wooden, and if you lean against it you find that it is warm from the sun and you expect to hear a great heart beating inside. In the spring, encouraged by moisture, these giants put out huge white flowers resembling gardenias, white as moons and fragrant, that face down toward the earth; during the [262] summer they bear alum-like dry fruits, shaped like pears, which can be eaten. In the Kalahari there is no need of hills. The great baobabs standing in the plains, the wind, and the seasons are enough.

132 Usually in the hot months only small winds blow, leaving a whisper of dry leaves and a ripple of grass as though a snake has gone by, but occasionally there is a windy day when all the low trees of the veld are in motion, swinging and dipping, and the grass blows forward and back. When there is no wind, heat accumulates in the air and rises in thick, shuddering waves that distort everything you see, the temperature rises to 120° Fahrenheit and more, and the air feels heavy, pressing against you, hard to breathe.

June and July are the months of winter. Then water left standing freezes at night, and with the first light of morning all the trees and grass leaves are brittle with frost. The days warm slowly to perhaps 80° at noon, but by night when the sun sets yellow and far, far away over the flat veld the cold creeps back, freezing the moisture from the dark air so that

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

the black sky blazes with stars. In winter the icy wind, pour- 132
ing steadily across the continent from the Antarctic, blows
all night long.

There are only three months of rain in the whole year, and 132
these begin in December, ending the hottest season when the 137
air is as tight and dry as a drum skin. Under the rain—which is sometimes torrential, drenching the earth, making rivers down the sides of trees, sometimes an easy land rain that blows into the long grass like a mist—the heat and drought melt away and the grass turns green at the roots. Soon the trees flower, and in the low places the dry dust becomes sucking mud. Towering clouds, miles away, widen the horizon, and all the bushes which stretch in an unchanging expanse over dune after dune now blossom and bear white or red or violet flowers. But the season is short, and the plants bud, flower, and fruit very quickly; in March the drought creeps in, just as the veld fruits ripen and scatter their seeds.

When the rains stop, the open water is the first to dry, 132
making slippery mud and then caked white earth. By June only little soaks of waterholes remain, hidden deep in the earth, covered with long grass. These, which are miles apart, dry up by August, and then travel in the veld is nearly impossible. Because of this, large areas of the Kalahari remain unexplored.

We have crossed this desert three times, my family and I, 114
on three expeditions, which usually numbered between ten and fourteen people and included my father, my mother, my brother, and myself, as well as several other Europeans who were linguists, zoologists, botanists, or archaeologists, sent by universities of the Union of South Africa, England, or the United States, as well as four or five Bantu men—several interpreters, a cook, and a mechanic—who were the staff. We usually traveled in four big trucks and a jeep, and had to carry

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 Gai on the hood to point the way. From his higher position he noticed the long horns of a gemsbok in the grass and he signaled for the jeep to stop. Then he, John, and Theunis, taking a rifle, slipped out of the jeep and ran off after it, bent over and crouched so low that only their backs showed, as the backs of animals would, gliding above the grass. The gemsbok saw them and ran away toward a patch of heavy bush in the plain, the great V of horns a crown over its head. The men ran after, standing now, and in an hour they came back to where Ukwane and I were waiting, lying on our stomachs under the jeep to be in shade, saying that they had killed it. We drove to the spot where the gemsbok, a female, lay and brought her with us, a present to offer the other Bushmen.

361 We drove for several hours and at last we came to a wide plain, grown over heavily with small trees of slender trunks, with a few short branches sprouting leaves, like fence posts. Gai directed us to one of the smaller trees in the center of the plain and told us to stop. He climbed down and looked [237] [276] around over the veld, then bent and picked up a small pipe, a piece of the leg bone of an antelope. He asked us for a match, lit his pipe, and smoked it.

At last we noticed on the other side of the tree two shallow depressions scooped in the sand and lined with grass, like [58] the shallow, scooped nests of shore birds on a beach—the homes of the families, where the people could lie curled up [132] just below the surface of the plain to let the cold night wind which blows across the veld pass over them.

Other than the depressions, except for a small pile of brown, twisted bean shells, no sign would show that people lived there. Later we saw another scooped pit and a stick thrust upright in the ground beside it, right at our feet, which [423] was Gai's place; the stick was to mark the spot, although Gai

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

flames for a moment like a flame itself, then slipping down 731
behind the fire, made the rising smoke a great, soft, purple cloud. As the sky darkened, the flames around us seemed brighter and more yellow, and farther away we saw a thousand smaller fires burning, each in a tuft of grass or in a tree.

After we had eaten we sat watching our burning wall move away from us, listening to the cries of birds, day birds chased from their branches by the fire, night birds flying through the smoke to catch insects that were trying to escape. All the air stank with an oily odor given off by the burning trees—not at all the pleasant smell of burning wood, but a deathly odor, the smell of a forest being destroyed.

When we lay down in our blankets to sleep we found that even the ground was warm, and as soot and ashes drifted over us we lay awake and listened. Once during the night we heard something large run past us. A little later, farther away, we heard the sharp roar of a lion who must have tried to cross a patch of burned ground and had singed his soft paws. We heard his slow footsteps as he tested the earth carefully, then a grunt as he was scorched again. It made him cross, for he walked in a huge half-circle around us with a growl running steadily in his throat. I had thought that the Bush- [152
men were asleep, but they had also heard him and they 522]
laughed. Now and then, during the night, the burned trees crashed around us, and as our fiery wall moved slowly away, the rising smoke was gray in its yellow light, the stars were all obscured.

Before dawn in the morning the crescent of the new moon 132
rose, the tiniest sliver in the chilly air, followed by the salmon band of light, redder than usual because of the smoke. The wind must have blown a good deal of the fire back on itself because much of it was out, leaving a cloud of smoke hanging

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

132 above the earth in a layer. We were crouching at a fire we had built, warming our hands against the cold, when the sun came up. We heard birds singing in the fresh air as if nothing 512 had happened, then the sound of faint pounding far away, a mortar being struck with a pestle. Soon we heard a second mortar join the first as another woman began breakfast for her family, and we knew that two women meant perhaps six people, therefore a band.

276 Gai stood up and stretched his legs, then took a tiny coal from our fire between his thumb and finger and dropped it into his pipe, inhaling deeply and holding the smoke in his lungs while he handed the pipe to Witabe, who also puffed and returned the pipe, when at last Gai exhaled, spat, and scooped the pipe through the sand, extinguishing the fire and saving the rest of the tobacco. He stuck the pipe in his belt, [482] 481 flung his great kaross over his chest to warm his belly, and strode off in the direction of the sound, the ragged edges of his great cape swinging at his ankles as his strong feet carried him away. He walked under a burned log that had partly fallen and was braced up by another tree, and as he did the white ashes blew from it and the light of dawn shone through the ash like light through a flurry of snow.

731 Later in the day, when we had eaten cornmeal for breakfast, while we waited for Gai to come back, we went down to the flats below our hilltop to inspect the damage of the fire. The land below our camp was in utter desolation, startling and ruined, a desert of ash. We found only the orange sand and black ashes still in the shape of the grass blades that made them, black ashes below burned bushes still in the shape of the leaves that made them, and, on the ground, flat, perfect skeletons of vines, just in the shape of the vines that made them but black, in powder, disintegrating into dust when the wind touched them. All around us lay the smolder-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

123 wind and held the sun-warmed air inside itself like an oven. The three young Bushman boys found this out quickly, and early in the morning when the sun came up they would crouch outside, shivering and naked, and whisper "Nisabe, Nisabe" until I opened the door to let them in. The four of us filled the tent entirely, but when I would leave for breakfast they would stay behind, looking in my mirror and leafing through my notes. I gave them crayons and paper and asked them to draw, but they wrote instead, wiggly little lines that looked for all the world like handwriting, complete with dotted *i*'s. Once, when I looked in to see if they had drawn anything, they showed me a page of my notes which had a smudge and a tiny rip in one corner. They had not torn it, for they were more careful and precise than cats—in fact, I had done it myself—but they were upset over the destruction of property, and when I told them it was nothing important, perfectly all right, they were not pleased. I seemed to them lavish and wanton; I should have repaired it or at least shown that I was sad.

132 512 One morning in early July they came to my tent before sunrise and I woke up when I heard their teeth chattering. Before I had the door completely open they had all popped in, and when I went outside, wearing a sweater, a coat, and mittens, I found that it was surely the coldest day of the year. A strong south wind was blowing, straight from the Antarctic, scattering our fire, whose smoke and heat blew down the wind, and even standing in the smoke we could not get warm. In our pails the water was frozen into solid ice, and we saw our breath in clouds around our heads.

We went to the werf through grass white with frost to see how the Bushmen were faring and found them all awake, crouched over the coals of their little fires. Tsetchwe and Gai sat side by side, Gai all wrapped in his big kaross which cov-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

ered him entirely so that only his head and toes were show- 132 ●
ing, Tsetchwe in her small, ragged kaross which covered only 512
her back, leaving her legs, belly, and shoulders bare. Near them sat Ukwane and Kutera, bundled up together in Ukwane's tattered kaross in front of a handful of embers on a small pile of white ash, Kutera having been too tired to gather much firewood the night before. Dasina sat by herself at another very small fire with the baby, stark naked, standing on her lap. He alone did not seem to mind the cold, for he smiled at us cheerfully when we came by. The others hardly looked up.

They had burned all their firewood the night before, and now it was too cold to go for more, or even to go for food, so they sat cold, hungry, thirsty, and even tired, since they had been too cold to sleep during the night. They were waiting, as they had waited all night, with infinite patience, infinite endurance, for noonday, when the sun would give a little warmth; but the sky was overcast, and even at noon the sun would still be far away.

Twikwe stood up to poke her fire and the Antarctic wind howled along the ground, blowing her little kaross back from her shoulders and leaving her naked except for her apron whipping around her legs, and her string of beads. The icy wind made the branches over her head rattle, made her breath blow back like smoke and her eyes stream with tears. She sat down again, downwind from the fire, wiped her eyes, and, wrapping her lanky arms around her legs, put her head on her knees and waited. It was six o'clock in the morning; they had six hours to go.

A little later I crossed the flat pan of Ai a ha'o to look for 136
firewood in the plains on the opposite side. When I got there I saw a hawk in a tree, a hawk with a fine red beak and handsome gray feathers. He had gnarled, stalky legs and he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER SIX

Veld Food

132 271 137 WITH the warm air came a series of long, fat clouds sailing from the north like slow dirigibles, some of them showering down a few drops of rain. We were amazed to see rain in winter, the dry season, something we had not seen before, and we asked Ukwane about it. He said that it was not unusual for rain to come in the wintertime but very hard on the people of the desert, as it fools the wild vegetables from which the Bushmen get their water.

There are many kinds of wild roots which can be eaten in winter, and each is marked among the grass blades by an almost invisible dry thread of a vine. The roots are swollen with liquid by which the plants preserve their life during the drought. When the plants feel the onset of spring, warm air and raindrops, the dry vines suck moisture out of the watery roots, turn green, and put out tiny leaves, and in this way, if the false spring lasts, the roots are soon sucked dry entirely. Bushmen cannot get enough water from eating the vines and leaves. The plants do not bear fruit until summer; the spring-season vegetables, such as little onions, pods like pea pods,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

and leafy green vegetables that taste like rhubarb, have not 132 grown in yet; and so the Bushmen must go thirsty. People 271 137 have died of thirst in these false seasons.

Gathering veld food is the work of the Bushman women, 222 and I used to go with them quite often on their trips. We [462] sometimes stayed in the veld all day eating roots instead of drinking water. One day my brother came along to film the gathering of veld food, and as we were getting ready to leave, Gai also joined us. It is customary for Bushmen never to let a group of their women go anywhere with a Bantu or a European man unless a Bushman man goes with them to protect them. Gai sauntered along behind us in his role of guardian, quite unhampered, as he had nothing with him but his loincloth. Dasina, Twikwe, and Tsetchwe walked in front, each with a digging-stick thrust in her belt like an enormous knife, each wearing a heavy cape, and Tsetchwe carrying her baby, who rode, carefree and swinging his feet, on her shoulder. John and I walked in the middle of the procession, and at the end came the three young boys, who did not stay in single file but ran all over the veld, ran circles around us, and shouted to each other happily. [609]

We walked across the pan of Ai a ha'o through the fine, [137] soft grass, which left tiny, barbed seeds sticking to our legs. We walked through the brush on the opposite side and then over a wide plain, where we saw a herd of wildebeest. No one was armed, and when the wildebeest saw us, put down their heads, and ran, we could only watch helplessly as all that meat galloped away.

We walked until we came to a patch of tsama melons, perhaps twenty of them lying together, shiny, smooth, and green in the grass. The vine that once had nourished them had dried away and already some of the melons were turning yellow, overripe, ready to open and release their seeds.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

dome of its own pink light, and in front of this minute sunset we saw whirlwinds crossing. Later, when the darkness came, we even saw a ring around the moon with red at its outer rim, and on the following day it did rain, something that happens only rarely in the month of July. [133]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

821 said to be ant lions which at night rise from the bottoms of their little traps of sand.

● 132 Since we had lived a year in Nyae Nyae we knew the round
821 of the seasons, which Kung Bushmen say are six in number. We came there in July, in winter and the start of the drought, the coldest season. August was bitterly cold and also dry, but in September the air began to get warmer and heralded the next season, called "little winds before the rain," a season of whirlwinds, drought, and clouds of dust. In October, suddenly and presenting a startling sight, a thorn tree near our camp turned quite green and the heat began to be intense. This was the start of the springtime, the dryest, hottest time of all the year and a time of starvation, for the water in the waterholes gets very low until only a little remains on the bottoms and the wild roots push sap into their vines so that the vines turn green and sprout but the roots themselves are shriveled. This was the worst season of the year for the peo-
361 ple. Before this, during the winter, the large extended band
621 that we had gone to visit was separated into little family groups that were scattered through the veld, living at little waterholes that did not keep their water all year long. During the dry season the water in these waterholes vanished, causing the small family bands to gather at the last sure waterhole of the area, a waterhole called Gautscha, which was beside a huge flat pan called Gautscha Pan.

There was one rather large band that always lived at Gautscha and numbered some forty people, who divided themselves into sometimes three, sometimes four family groups. They thought themselves lucky to live there, for Gautscha
[312] was considered to be a sort of paradise, where the waterhole was cool and deep, and (it was said) game gathered at all
317 times to lick the salt, for Gautscha was a salt pan. It was the salt that made Gautscha most desirable, because salt is

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the old man with a funeral, and they had had to abandon his 764 sister's body as it was. 888

The headman lifted the old man from the ground and we saw that he had not been weeping but had only been lying inert and helpless, powerless now to keep himself erect. On our truck he lay just where we put him, motionless, prone, all the way back. We passed the grove where his sister lay, a grove of high white trees with red beans on their branches, and the old man did not turn his head to look.

After that, the situation for the people who remained at 361 Gautscha got better because the summer came. Great cloud- 132 banks like mountains formed at the horizon, dispersed themselves in brown haze, and formed again, getting larger day by day. Some of the bands who had left Gautscha began to return and once again the countryside was populous, the air filled with the murmur of voices and the smell of smoke from the many fires. Some of the men went hunting and shot a giraffe, so there was lots of meat for a while.

One day some of us went to a place called Kubi Pan to see a cheetah that was supposed to live there, but instead we saw a flock of guinea fowl walking along in single file as people do, raising a cloud of dust. Two of them began to fight because it was their mating season. When we got to Kubi it was evening and the clouds on the horizon were very thick, and just when the sun set into them the full moon rose on the other side, causing a balance of the two great bodies over the earth.

It seemed to be an auspicious night. On the way home we 789 felt something electric in the air and when we got to Gau- 535 tscha the moon had risen high and pale in the clouds and we found that the Bushmen were dancing the rain dance. Everyone was there, the women all singing and the men wheeling

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bu men FX10
Kung

789 in a circle around the dance fire, the clouds of dust rising un-
535 der their feet making them look like specters in the eerie light between the fire and the moon. The dance was very powerful. The men wheeled faster, the singing mounted in pitch. A medicine man coming from a far werf and singing as he came sprang among the dancers like a leopard, soft-footed and fine, and as he looked around him for a moment before beginning to dance, the moon behind his head filled a white ostrich feather in his hair with light. He smiled to himself, then, dancing suddenly, led the other dancers in a serpentine track through the circle of women, over the fire, and out the other side. The wind blew hard along the ground, and the smoke and fire streamed into the veld. The singing was very hard, very fast, and as the dancers swung around the circle dancing harder and faster, it suddenly began to rain.

It was like a miracle. It was the first rain of the year. First, there were just a few drops, but soon it was raining steadily in gusts behind the wind, causing the dancers to relax a little but to continue their dancing without paying attention to the fact that they were drenched. A bolt of lightning illuminated the veld for miles around with a blue-green light not of this world, showing all the trees and bushes stark and rain-lashed in the grass, then a blast of thunder as the light went out which struck us deaf as the lightning had struck us blind. For a moment it was black and still except for the lashing rain, and in the silence we heard a lion roaring far out in the veld, answered by another lion which was a little nearer, and then a peal of thunder shook them silent, drowning even their great voices.

132 The people had not danced to bring the rain; they had
[789] known that rain was coming and had danced to use its strong medicine. It rained all night, the rain so drenching and torrential that it put out the dance fire and drove the dancers

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

into their scherms, and in the morning there was a lake of 132 shining water on the pan and lilies growing everywhere, where only their dry leaves had been before.

After that the rain came often. Some weeks it rained a lit- 132 tle every day, some weeks the rain became torrential and flat- 136 tened the Bushmen's grass scherms, but it made the veld rich and green, with flowers everywhere and all kinds of fruit, which grew on trees and stalks and bushes. The pan became the home of shore birds, marabou storks and flamingos. Leopards and lions drank there, game antelope waded through it, leaving deep tracks in the mud, and the Bushman children [515 sometimes danced in the shallows, their feet making flashing, 142] rhythmic splashes, or bathed themselves until their skins were shining gold.

One night I went to the werf with a lantern and suddenly found myself beset by insects flying all around me, attracted by the light. It was the mating flight of white ants, which had come out of the ground in great numbers and now filled the air. The Bushman men were away on a hunting trip, un- [222 fortunately, but the women came to the light as quickly as 262] the ants and began at once to catch them and stuff them into their mouths, saying "*gurico gum*" as they did so, *gurico* being the name of the ants and *gum* the word used for candy, for sweet gum that oozes from the trees, and for sweet caterpillars. Much faster than the women could eat, more and more ants came flying in a swarm as thick as a blizzard and already the ground was white with wings, for the ants, throwing themselves to the earth, would drop their wings instantly and begin to mate with each other in twos, in threes, even forming in great circles that turned as the ants ran scurrying to keep their positions, each one mounted with its forefeet on the back of the ant before it, pushed on by the ant behind. Sometimes an ant would fail to shed its wings and, finding

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

132 that the great trains dragging hampered its mating, would
136 twist and thrash and struggle, squeezing the wings between its thorax and abdomen, which did break off the wings but left the stubs. More and more ants were flying to the light and their circles were growing bigger and bigger until we couldn't move without stepping on them, but the women, getting more excited and moving very quickly, as if responding to the pace and the excitement of the ants, scooped them up and ate them as fast as they landed, spitting out the silver wings as one would spit out chaff. Over our heads a few night birds and many bats were flying, catching and eating the ants before they reached the ground, and around our feet huge pink hunting-spiders rushed in and out of the swarm, dragging the ants from their acts of copulation and carrying them away to eat them in the dark.

Before long the flight had ended. Only a few late-coming ants bumped against the light, the night birds and bats were gone, and the spiders had run away. Nothing was left but the white wings like petals all over the ground and the wings that were caught in people's throats or stuck to their faces. The women, quite composed now, brushed themselves off, and one of them sang a song:

[539]

Gurico gum, ah
Ah, ah.

[251] I noticed that each woman had managed to save a little bag or vegetable husk full of ants for her husband. These they put away.

132 That was in the late spring, a fertile season full of promise, and when it was over the best season of the year began, called the Veld Food Season, which starts some time in
361 March. The big rains have ended, the air is warm but not
621 hot, the veld is filled with water, game, fruit, roots, and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Those were two willful girls, too beautiful, too proud, too 882
much admired, but the young boys couldn't do enough for 572
them. It was one of their admirers who cleared the grass for 857
the werf that the cousin's parents were building, and though the two girls teased and ridiculed the boy all the while, snickering contemptuously at him from behind their swinging beads, he worked on happily until not a blade of grass remained.

But Beautiful Ungka and her cousin were not as sophisti- 883
cated as they thought they were, really, for when they would 526
hear the music of the melon game they would abandon their poise and decorum to run for the sound, arms waving, ornaments and clothing streaming out behind, and when they found the game they had been hearing they would jump into the middle of it and play with abandon, singing loudly and dancing fast for fun. Also, Beautiful Ungka could spit through her teeth like a man. She could draw back her head and spit ten feet and she did this often, smiling scornfully, an astonishing accomplishment for such a handsome girl. Her cousin used to try it too; she could spit a little way but not nearly as far as Beautiful Ungka.

After all, they were only sixteen. There is a Bushman mood 533
song with these words: 539

> *I am tired and old and without people,*
> *I wish I could marry a young girl.*

There were so many great fires around Nama that the sky 132 ●
was dark with their smoke, and when the sun rose in the morning, one day shortly after we had got there, we could not even see it until it was far above the horizon and then it appeared red and enormous, murky. In the west two new fires had sprung up, perhaps lit by Bushmen to show where they were

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

132 or perhaps kindled by the wind from old embers, and their new smoke rose white against the sulphurous sky. The dawn was warm, the north wind blew and, though the smoke it carried stung our eyes, it carried too the sound of insect voices and frog voices from the pan. These songs and cries of creatures made the air seem alive, the veld large, quite different from the deathly quiet dawns of frost.

787 We were getting ready to look for Short Kwi and his people, and that morning we packed a truck. Everyone felt apprehensive, and at Toma's werf Gao Feet, a medicine man, was throwing oracle discs to see what would happen. He crouched in front of his kaross, which he had spread to throw the discs on, and beside him sat Toma and several other men, their lips pressed against their hands, absorbed, watching. We watched over his shoulder; at a distance, for oracle discs are men's business, the women were standing up to see.

Gao Feet had five discs made of antelope hide, which he would shake in his hands and then drop upon the kaross. When they fell in certain positions, they would tell him certain things. Before he would throw them, though, he would assign identity to them; if he was wondering where people were he would call them men and women, or name them after people he wanted to see, and if he was trying to predict the outcome of a hunt he would call them kudu or gemsbok or wildebeest, male and female, then would see in which direction game could be found, and how far away. Sometimes, too, he would call one disc a hyena and then, if this disc fell upon the disc that was the wounded antelope, he would know that hunting that day would be useless; the hunters would never find their prey.

Sometimes he threw them with a particular question in mind and sometimes, as this morning, he named them and then threw them just to see what would turn up. Perhaps he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the bottom too, "with his head driven down between his 481
shoulders," said Toma laconically, hunching his own neck to 222
show how it was. 165

A third man whom Toma did not name climbed for honey in the Gura baobab, a tree somewhat north of Gautscha Pan, and he also fell; but, happily, he survived his experience. His sister and her husband were below him, watching, and when they saw him fall they held out their arms to catch him. He fell through their arms, of course, but his fall was broken and though he was unconscious for a long time he finally did recover.

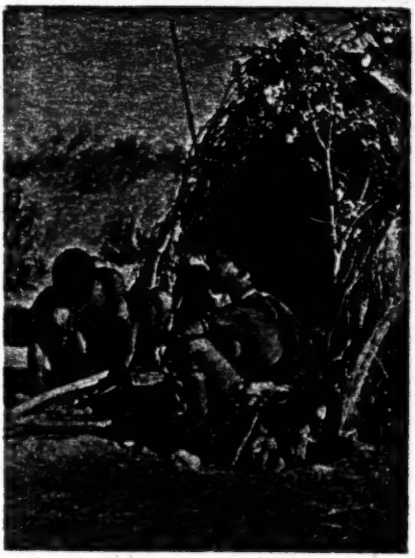
The moral of these stories, Toma said, was to show that 867
young people should listen to older people and not act rashly. I believe that he thought I was going to try to climb the Gautscha baobab (which I had already done, though only to the lowest branch, fifteen feet from the ground), for he went on to say: "When Bushmen tell young people not to climb baobab trees they should listen. It is seldom that a person lives who falls from a baobab tree, they are so high. Even those good climbers I told you about, they all fell." I assured him that I did not even want to climb it and he said: "Good. When we who are experienced get the honey you can watch from below. Then you can see just as well."

The Gautscha baobab was somewhat east of the pan, and 137
we could see it rising from the plain when we were almost a mile away from it. It loomed up at the horizon, towering, its mass of upper branches hazy because we were so far. As we moved toward it, it seemed to move away from us like a distant mountain, but gradually, after a long time, it began slowly to get larger, looming higher, its top branches reaching up to the sky, where the clouds of spring were already forming as the desert got ready for the rains, three months [32] away.

137 Africa, these valleys once flowed—draining water from the high edges into the Basin. Now the sand has wandered into these valleys also.

132 There are four seasons in the Kalahari, two are brief. Winter begins in May and lasts through September. It is a healthful season. Of the foods available to gatherers in winter, roots are the most abundant. The earth is dry: the days are warm and clear, but cold in the shade; the nights are chill. Temperatures sink to 20° F. and below when the night wind turns, blowing from the antarctic south. On some hazeless nights, when the empty air seems insufficient protection from the cold of space, the morning ground will be wet with heavy dew. However, the smoke from a thousand African veld fires often thickens the skies of noon, reddens the setting sun and keeps the nights warmer and the earth dry.

At the end of September, clouds be-



FOR RAINY SEASON, the open-fronted grass shelters are more substantial.

[342]

[p. 8]

132 gin to tower in the afternoons. They wear over the desert from the east and are usually gone by morning. But should they encounter the right conditions, the local rains that fall from these clouds—the "little rains"—bring the spring of the year. This is the sudden season of thunderstorms. The storms are like gods walking in the desert, each attending to a narrow path with violence and rain. In the quiet, after their passing, many plants bloom—small flowers and edible greens.

[136] SPRING is also the season of heat. Myriads of flies, the year's crop, now hatch. The heat increases toward

132 summer and, although clouds continue to form early in the afternoon, often no rain falls. November and December pass in heat and privation for the people. Temperatures rise above 100° F. not long after the brief dawn, as the sun mounts, close and huge, bringing the heat of day. Many of the blooms of the "little rains" wither in November, as do many young greens. The roots have sent their substance into vines; now the loose skins of the roots lie collapsed around inedible fiber. Spring means blooming of plants, but spring is ardent and quickly over: many of the desert's flowers have only a few days in which to flourish.

132 LATE in December or early in January the rains of summer—the "big rains"—begin. This is the season of water. Water collects in the hollows of the land; it seeps into the pans, changing them into shallow lakes; it melts the baked clay in the *omuramba* bottoms, and turns the Kalahari green.

132 This is the season when two nuts, the *tsi* and the *mangetti*—the most im-
262 portant and abundant of the wild desert foods—begin to mature. By
137 March, the *mangetti* forests sound with the falling nuts. Beside the summer storms—when water piles up uselessly on the reverberating earth—days on end are cloudy and, sometimes, a fine mist falls over parts of the northern Kalahari through the day and into the night. Now, the people eat many fruits. In the deeps of green thickets, ponderous flowers droop on slender
[164] vines. Spring and summer, the times of bounty, are also the seasons of disease.

132 By the end of April, the afternoon skies begin to clear, the air dries, the wind seeks. It is autumn. In April, the *tsi* nuts ripen and the pods split, turning out their brown wealth. The many desert roots cease their activity and become firm and full, safe in

132 themselves for the winter and in a state most suitable for food. The desert pales. Day and night, water evaporates from the pans; first becoming a film, then less than a film, with only the damp clay glistening. One noon, the clay begins to wrinkle in the sun. By June, the earth is dry: the land is fast and quietly held by winter.

132 731 Such would be a perfect round of seasons. In the periods of drought that have come every few years in the recent past, however, there have been no such perfect seasons and all living things have, of necessity, fastened tenaciously to the drying earth and held on. Even in normal years, the weather is unbalanced: large areas of the Kalahari may be flooded, while others receive a sprinkling of rain in what amounts to drought conditions. In this land, and through these seasons, the !Kung nation lives.

[131] 174 THE AREA in which the !Kung now live is called *Nyae Nyae*. How long they have lived there is not

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

guages, some now virtually extinct, were characterized by a fifth click made 194
with the lips, called the kiss click (⊙). In addition to clicks, the Bushman 197
languages have tones: high, middle, low, rising, and falling. Oswin Köhler [114]
has given special attention to tone as well as to other features in his study of Bushman languages, especially Barakwenga (Köhler 1962).

Each of the large divisions of the Bushman languages—the northern, 197
central, and southern divisions (see Bleek 1956)—differs markedly from the others. Within each group are several languages, sometimes resembling each other enough to be considered merely dialects of the same language, but more often differing so widely as to be distinct, mutually quite unintelligible languages. The !Kung described in this chapter (Köhler's and Westphal's !Xû) belong to the northern group.

HABITAT • The Kalahari Desert, some 1200 miles long, with a mean high 133
altitude of about 3000 feet, forms part of the great plateau of southern Africa. It is a basin in form, covered with wind-blown sands, sometimes red, [134]
sometimes white, to a depth of 300 to 400 feet. The underlying rock crops out rarely in ridges and a few low hills.

Stamp (1953:78) classifies the Kalahari as a semidesert. Its conditions 132 ●
are not the most extreme. Our expeditions recorded daytime air temperatures in the shade up to 115° F. and sand temperatures in the sun up to 140° F. In winter the temperature at night falls below freezing but for most of the year the nights are temperate. Although they seem acclimated to the heat, the [147]
Bushmen appear to find the colder temperatures very uncomfortable and shiver violently if they are away from their fires when the cold south winds blow.[8]

The rainfall, which comes in summer thunderstorms—6 to 10 inches, in- 137
creasing in the better-watered parts toward the north, according to Welling- [132]
ton (1955:61)—though slight, is sufficient to sustain a varied drought-resistant vegetation, and the country is covered with grass, brush, and scant small trees. In the northern and northwestern parts, the trees are more [824]
numerous and taller and include shivi groves and nut-bearing mangetti—important sources of food to the Bushmen. And in all the areas of the desert that Bushmen inhabit are found edible plants, in scant, far-apart patches perhaps, but existing. The vegetation, furthermore, provides material for fires, 824
shelter, weapons, implements, tanning, poison for arrows, and juices (for example tsama melons, on which these people can live when there is no water). In short, this desert provides the things that make life possible; otherwise the Bushmen would be dead or somewhere else.

The desert is a forceful shaper of the outlines of Bushman culture, and 182
both the possibilities it permits and the limitations it imposes have been mean- [114]
ingfully summarized by Robert Story in a personal communication:

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

TABLE 1

Periods of Research, Camps and Seasons of the Kalahari Bushman Study

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Period	Location	Season
1963		
August	on survey, northern Kalahari	winter, cool dry
October-December	Dobe	end of hot dry, small rains, main rains
1964		
January-February	Tsodilo	main rains
late February-end April	Dobe	end rains, onset of winter dry
early May	Tsodilo	onset of winter dry
mid June	on survey, southern Kalahari	winter cold dry
late June-early September	Dobe area	winter cold dry
September	Kuli-Ghanzi	spring hot dry
late October-December	Dobe area	end of hot dry, small rains
1965		
early January	Dobe-Maun	small rains

136
278 arrows: Diamphidia nigro-ornata and Polycada flexuosa. These are described in Chapter VI.

Climate

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[133] The Kalahari Desert has a mean elevation of 3,000 feet above sea level and lies within the summer rainfall area of Southern Africa. These factors contribute to a climatic regime that is characterized by hot summers with a three to four month rainy season, and by moderate to cool winters without rainfall.

132
805 Five seasons may be distinguished in the Dobe area. Most Bushmen recognize five (although some divide the year into eight or more seasons) and their scheme will be followed here.

Seasons

1. !huma (spring rains) -- The Bushman year begins in October or November with the onset of the first rains. These consist of light convectional thundershowers that often fall on one area and miss other areas entirely. The first rains have the effect of triggering growth and reproduction in the flora and fauna and may overnight transform the landscape from a parched and dry state to one of lush greenery.

2. bara (main summer rains) -- These rains fall from December to March and coincide with the season of plentiful food. There is a wide variation from year to year in the

132 805 dates of onset and termination of the main rains. For instance, in 1963-64, the major rains were concentrated in an eight-day period in late November and early December and were very light during the next three months. In the following rainy season, 1964-65, the major rains came later. They were only just beginning when we left the study area in [137] January, 1965. During the period of the main rains, the [312] major summer foods (fruits, berries, melons) make their [262] appearance, and there is standing water in the molapos far from the permanent wells.

3. ≠obe (autumn) -- The autumn season is brief. In [312] 1964, it fell in April after the rains had ceased. The weather remains warm and the high evaporation rates rapidly dry out the pools of summer water.

4. !gum (winter) -- This cold dry season extends from May through August. It is heralded by a sharp drop in nightly temperatures and during 1964 the Dobe area experienced six weeks of freezing or near-freezing nights in June and July. The days are clear and, by tropical standards, cool, often characterized by strong dessicating winds from the south and west with gusts estimated at up to 40 knots. [312] Water is available only at the permanent wells and plant foods [262] become increasingly scarce as the season progresses.

5. !gā (early spring) -- This season begins in late

132 805 [312] [262] August with a rapid increase in daily temperatures and ends in October or November with the onset of the first rains. It is a hot dry period during which water and food supply reach their annual low levels. However, the increasing day-length appears to prepare the flora and fauna for the season of reproduction which is triggered by the first rains.

Rainfall

Until 1961 there was no weather station in the central !Kung interior. In that year a rain gauge and other recording instruments were established at Tsumkhwe, South West Africa, a government station 35 miles west of Dobe. The data from this station are not available to the author. The only other sources of rainfall data are the author's fifteen-month series of measurements made at Dobe (1963-64) and the long-term records from stations on the periphery of the Kalahari. The peripheral stations and their rainfall are listed below:

South West Africa

Epukiro - (200 miles southwest of Dobe) - 13.2 inches per annum.

Grootfontein - (200 miles west of Dobe and 1,000 feet higher in elevation) - 17.3 inches per annum.

Bechuanaland Protectorate

Ghanzi - (175 miles south of Dobe) - 18.5 inches per annum.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

132 Maun - (175 miles east of Dobe) - 18.6 inches per annum.

The rainfall recorded at Dobe for 1964 was only 6.9 inches. This is a much lower figure than that from any of the peripheral stations but it is within the range of annual rainfall estimated by the Marshalls. During their several expeditions to the central interior from 1951-59, they estimated that the annual rainfall varied between 6 and 10 inches (L. Marshall, 1965).

The period 1963-65 was one of severe drought in Bechuanaland. There were many instances of crop failures and drying up of waterholes throughout the Protectorate. Although it is not possible to judge accurately without comparative data for other years, it is probable that the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen experienced an unusually difficult subsistence situation during the period of the author's resi-
[242] dence. Because the Bushmen subsist on hardy wild foods which are drought-resistant, they did not suffer the hardships experienced by their Bantu neighbors whose crops failed three years in succession. However, it is possible that the Bushmen had to work harder, walk farther and dig deeper in 1963-64, than they would have had the rainfall been more abundant. This possibility should be kept in mind when evaluating their annual subsistence cycle (Chapter VIII).

The monthly record of rainfall at Dobe is shown in Figure 2, p. 94.

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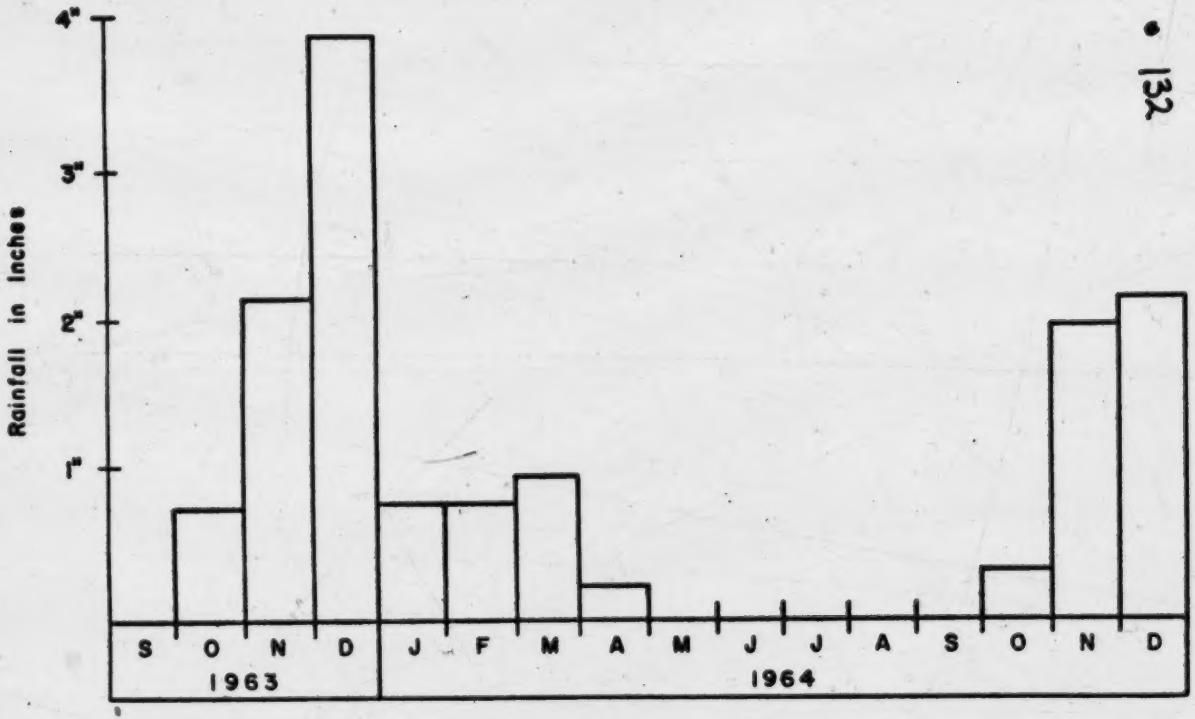

FIGURE 2. Rainfall at Dobe Bechuanaland, September 1963 through December 1964

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

Temperature

132 The records of daily temperatures maintained by the author are incomplete. The temperature data for six repre-
[126] sentative months are shown in Table 4. Using a standard Minimum-Maximum dry-bulb thermometer, the author recorded the lowest and highest temperatures in each twenty-four hour period. Column 1 of the table shows the average of all the daily minima recorded in each month and column 2, the average of all the daily maxima. Columns 3 and 4 show, respectively, the lowest and highest single recordings in each month. Column 5 shows the average diurnal range from low to high in each month. This figure was calculated by subtracting the mean low from the mean high for each month and it is rounded out to the nearest degree.

The critical temperature datum in terms of subsistence ecology is the daily maximum because this is an indicator of the heat conditions under which the people must hunt and gather. Walking in the sun on a day when the shade temperature is over 100°F imposes a much greater burden on the individual's fluid metabolism than does walking in the sun when the shade temperature is under 80°F. Consequently, a Bushman's daily water requirements are much greater in summer than in winter. The water/subsistence problem is considered in detail in Chapter VIII.

• 132

TABLE 4

MONTHLY RECORDS OF TEMPERATURE AT DOBE

BECHUANALAND 1963-64 (In Degrees Fahrenheit)

	mean low	mean high	record low	record high	average diurnal range
Spring					
October 1963	60.1	99.0	49	108	39
November 1963	62.9	96.3	61	102	33
Summer					
February 1964	66.8	100.0	63	105	32
Autumn					
April 1964	59.0	93.9	46	100	35
Winter*					
June 1964	30.4	78.4	26	84	48
July 1964	34.8	76.8	25	85	42

*includes six weeks of freezing or near-freezing nights.

Day Length

132 [131] The Dobe area is situated at 20° south latitude and there is an annual variation in day length at this latitude of slightly less than two hours. In mid-winter (June-July) the sun rose about 7:00 a.m. and set at 6:00 p.m. In mid-summer the sun rose about 6:00 a.m. and set at 7:00 p.m. This seasonal variation plus a corresponding variation in temperature had a noticeable effect on the activity patterns of the Bushmen. During the winter they arose late and stayed around their camp fires until mid-morning. They concentrated their subsistence activities in the warmer middle hours of the day (10:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.). On the other hand, during the hot summer days they adopted a "crepuscular" activity pattern. They arose at 6:00 a.m. and worked until 10:00 a.m. Whenever possible they spent the hottest mid-day hours resting in the shade. There was a second period of activity during the cooler hours of the evening (5:00-7:30 p.m.).

[484] When long hikes were undertaken the Bushmen had no alternative but to travel during the hottest hours of the day. Even during the hot dry season (September-October) they were never observed to hunt or travel at night.

361
824 of summer foods such as the berries of Grewia spp. and melons of the Citrullus vines, and a selection of winter foods such as roots of the genera Vigna and Coccinia, and edible gums from the genera Acacia, Terminalia, and Burkea.

361
824 No two territories have the same constellation of plant foods and no single territory provides the complete inventory of 85 species of plant foods. The Bushmen are well aware of the variations in plant resources between the several territories and there is general agreement on the "strong" and "weak" points of each territory. For instance, !ubi is famous for its Baobab fruits (Adansonia digitata), a food which most other territories lack. /ai/ai is known for the abundance of its wild orange trees (Strychnos spp.) but is considered "weak" in vegetable ivory palms (Hyphaene ventricosa) which are rare south of the Aha Hills. Dobe, on the other hand, is said to be "strong" in vegetable ivory palms and "weak" in the wild orange trees. Bate is famous for its groves of trees bearing the morula nut (Sclerocarya caffra) but is "weak" in trees bearing the mongongo nut
[192] (Ricinodendron rautanenii). Furthermore, local variations in seasonal rainfall may produce an abundance of food in one territory and leave another territory with a food scarcity.

361
433 The important point is that every territory has enough food to sustain at least some of its members throughout the

312 The availability of water can be regarded as the most
221 important determinant of Bushman subsistence activities. A season by season account of these activities will serve to illustrate how subsistence strategies take maximum advantage of water sources. The annual subsistence cycle is described under six headings:

1. First rains
2. Main rains
3. Autumn
4. Early winter
5. Late winter
6. Spring

1. <u>First rains</u>

The onset of the first rains finds the Bushmen clustered
[361] around their permanent waterholes. It is this time of year
[574] that camp membership is most stable because all areas are short of food and there are fewer incentives for visiting
[132] other camps. Also the weather is hot with mean daily maxima of 100°F and walking is uncomfortable.

312 Food, in the vicinity of permanent water, is in short
221 supply. Fruits, berries, melons and leafy greens, which appear
824 only during the main rains, are nowhere available. The mongongo nuts are still abundant but are found only at distances of ten or more miles from the permanent waterholes. The diet

312 at the waterholes consists primarily of roots and bulbs of the
221 genera: Eulophia, Vigna, Walleria, and Coccinia, and the edible
824 sap of Acacia spp. and Terminalia sericea. It is this time of year that the heart of the dwarf vegetable ivory palm is eaten, [164] (Hyphaene). Those who eat its fibrous pulp experience stomach cramps and diarrhea, but, as the Bushmen say, it make one's "mouth work" and gives one a sensation of a full stomach.

221 Hunting is arduous business in the heat and men who go out in
224 the early morning find it necessary to spend the mid-day hours resting in the shade. The principal animal killed is the springhare.

• 132 The first rains are convectional thundershowers. Their distribution is spotty. A storm may briefly inundate one area and miss entirely another area only a mile away.

312 The Bushmen observe the storm clouds travelling across
222 the horizon and try to judge where the showers have drenched
[821] the ground. They then set out in family groups in the direction of the rains. If they find that water has collected in the hollows of mongongo trees, they will stay in the nut groves for several days and eat nuts until the water is exhausted. They then fill their karosses with nuts and return to the permanent water. If, on reaching the nut groves, they find that no water has collected they will be forced to fill their karosses with nuts and return to camp the same day. In certain areas

312
222 where the water bearing root Fockea monroi is available the Bushmen may extend their stay in the nutting groves by eating the juicy pulp of this root. If they are fortunate, this water source may tide them over to the next shower, part of which will accumulate in the hollows of trees.

13 The first rainfall, however brief, appears to have the general effect of triggering reproduction in animals, and initiating the growth phase in plants. Among the first of the summer foods to appear are the leafy greens Dipcadi glaucum and Talinum crispatulatum.

132 There is no well-defined boundary between the first rains of October and the main rains. J. Marshall mentions that during his periods of field work a gap occurred between the first and the main rains. In 1963 and 1964, however, the showers gradually increased in intensity and frequency from [433] October through December. The date of onset and the intensity of rainfall varies greatly from year to year and a delay of even a few weeks in the onset of rain can cause considerable hardship amongst the Bushmen. Furthermore, an initial rain followed by weeks of dry weather is a mixed blessing, for it brings the plants prematurely into leaf and they become scorched and damaged by the subsequent sunshine.

In 1963, the first rain fell on 8 October. In 1964, it did not fall until the 11 November and one noticed that the

132
433 physical condition of the Bushmen was visibly poorer in November 1964 by comparison with November 1963.

2. Main rains

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361
[821] The Bushmen say that a series of intense downpours (measuring 2-3 inches) heralds the beginning of the main rains and ushers in their season of abundance. Such a fall occurred in 1963 at the end of November. The immediate effect of these downpours is to produce standing water in the small molapos that lie in the interstices of the dunes. When these seasonal waters become established, virtually the entire Bushman population moves out to live at them. Thus from December through March the permanent waterholes are largely deserted.

312
433
222 With the coming of the main rains, the summer foods begin to ripen. These foods appear around the summer water sources and they appear also around the permanent waterholes. It is significant, that, although foods become available at the permanent waterholes, the Bushmen tend to avoid these foods. They prefer to eat the foods that are around the summer waters. This illustrates one way that the Bushmen take maximum advantage of the more distant foods. They defer exploitation of the foods around the permanent waterhole until the winter when the alternative water sources have dried out.

222
312 because it entailed two consecutive days of hardhiking on
482 short water rations. The object of such a trip was to get to
484 the nuts and back again as quickly as possible, before the physiological deficit of water was allowed to reduce efficiency.

221 The general object of the winter nutting trips was to
222 remain at the nut forests just long enough to eat a really
262 substantial quantity of nuts (about 400 nuts per adult). This marathon meal starts the moment that the Bushmen arrive at the nut camps and continues throughout their stay. It is interrupted for short periods when the Bushmen go out to col-
[539] lect nuts in the vicinity of their temporary camp. There is a Bushman saying that aptly applies to this situation: "It is better to carry food home in your stomach than on your back."

[224] Hunting rarely occurs at these overnight camps. The efforts of men and women alike are directed to eating as many nuts as possible in a short time.

[312] The most important variation in the late winter and spring subsistence tactics centers on the use of Fockea monroi as a source of water. This will be discussed below.

132 6. Early Spring

August is the last month of winter. The last of the freezing nights occurs at the first of the month and these are followed by warmer nights in the 40's and 50's and daily

132 highs in the 90's. The warmer weather heralds the onset of
312 spring which is the most difficult season of the year. Most
137 of the waterholes have no mongongo nuts within a ten mile
222 radius. The alternative foods, roots and bulbs, are being collected daily by some of the people, while others are making the long overnight journeys to the nut forests.

221 Since territories vary in the abundance of early spring
574 foods there was a noticeable tendency for families to visit
628 other camps. For instance in September, Bate still had a good supply of Sclerocarya caffra, nuts; and several families from Dobe, Mahopa, and !angwa converged upon Bate to eat these nuts. Similarly !ubi had a supply of Baobab fruits (Adansonia digititata) and other families made extended visits to relatives there. The maintenance of close ties between camps made possible a more equitable distribution of foodstuffs, so that, if there was scarcity at one camp, and food at another, the members of the first camp would not go hungry. This is one of the highly adaptive features of the fluidity of !Kung group structure.

[563] Some families fall back on the Herero villages at this
[431] time of year to beg for milk. This occurs especially among those people who have a sister or cousin married to a Bantu man. Both the Bushman and Herero codes of good manners demand that visiting in-laws be fed (L. Marshall 1961).

222
484 location closer to the nuts. By 7:00 a.m. this camp had been
312 deserted. The women and their children had gone to collect
[462] nuts and the men had set out to find Fockea roots and to hunt
[224] along the way. The men carried no water with them on the hunt. The author accompanied the men.

We walked south for several miles looking for fresh animal tracks and for patches of Fockea plants. We passed through two molapos where the Fockea plants were likely to exist, but to our disappointment we found none. It was 10:00 a.m. before we dug out the first Fockea of the day.
[132] By this time the morning coolness had disappeared and we had to walk and dig in the sun with shade temperatures about
312 100°F. The first Fockea worth digging were found 4-1/2 miles
824 south of our camp at !wi/wama. The roots were the size of a football and weighed about three pounds.

The flesh of Fockea is white and juicy with a spongy granular texture. The juice is milky in color and slightly astringent so that it smarts when accidentally rubbed into small cuts on the hands. There are two methods of extracting the moisture from the root. First, one cuts open the root with a knife and chops off chunks of the flesh inside. This may be eaten directly like watermelon. The disadvantage of this method is that one must swallow about three pounds of roughage in order to extract one pint of moisture; in other

484 until 8:00 p.m. Before making camp we ate wild oranges along
123 the way (Strychnos ı 'inosa) but these did not contain much
312 moisture. We camped at a point halfway between !wi/wama and Dobe and there shared out the last of the family's drinking water, which amounted to one quart for four adults and three children, that is c. 4-1/2 oz. for each of us.

484 November 8 - The camp awoke at 4:50 a.m. By 5:20 we had
123 packed and were under way, arriving home without incident at 7:30 a.m.

484 November 8-16 - This ended the author's participation in
312 the Fockea trip. Six members of the original group remained
361 at !wi/wama eating nuts and drinking the juice of Fockea. On the eleventh of November there was a heavy fall of rain at !wi/wama which created a temporary pool of water near their camp. This enabled them to extend their stay beyond the original plan of five days.

484 The same week that the rain fell, the pregnant woman of
361 the camp gave birth to a baby boy. The group remained at the
844 nut camp until the mother was strong enough to walk. Then they broke camp and returned to Dobe on November 16. Both mother and child appeared to be in fine condition.

• 132 The rain of November 11 was the first substantial fall
221 of the 1964-65 rainy season and initiated the subsistence activities associated with the late spring (see above). Thus

132 221 this account of the seasonal round has come full circle to the starting point.

312 433 In summary, there are, in effect, only three basic sets of subsistence conditions for the Bushmen:

1. Water everywhere - Food everywhere
2. Water limited - Food abundant
3. Water limited - Food scarce.

221 312 433 When the first set of conditions prevail during the rains of November through March, Bushman life is sweet. The camps can live near the most concentrated food sources within their [628] [674] [602] territory, or share in the food supply of neighboring camps, or easily undertake the long trips to visit relatives at distant waterholes.

When the second set of conditions prevail, from April through July, freedom of movement is more restricted but food is still abundant enough to make life comfortable.

When the third set of conditions prevail, from August through October, the Bushmen must resort to increasingly arduous tactics in order to maintain a good diet, or, alternatively they must content themselves with foods of less desirability in terms of abundance, ease of collecting and nutritive value.

It is during the three lean months of the year that the Bushmen life approaches the precarious conditions that have

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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miles, without peninsulas of any size or any large islands off its coasts.[1] By far the greater part has an elevation of over 3,000 feet above the sea, while the area below 1,500 feet is merely a narrow fringe round the coast. Most of the interior consists of a high plateau region, rising gradually around its borders and passing by degrees into an encircling belt of much diversified country. The escarpment which bounds it on the south-east, south, and west is constituted by the Drakensberg Mountains of the Transvaal, the Drakensberg or Quathlamba of Natal and the Transkei, the Stormberg of the north-eastern Cape Province, the Sneeuwberg, Nieuweveld, Roggeveld, and Kamiesberg further south and west, and is continued northwards under less well-known names to beyond the Kunene River. These mountains appear to be of no great height when viewed from the interior plateau, but on the seaward side they fall steeply, though rather irregularly, to the much lower level of country on the west and south.

On the west, as far south as the Olifants River, the escarpment is separated from the ocean by slopes of a more uniform nature, but in the south the Great Karroo and long ranges of fold-mountains (the Cape Folded Belt) intervene between it and the coast. The coast-line on the west is generally low, almost unbroken by bays or promontories, and beaten all the year round by a heavy surf; on the south there are several prominent headlands, which, however, afford little protection to ships. The only good natural harbour of any size is Saldanha Bay in the south-west, but at Walvis Bay, Table Bay, Algoa Bay and other places ports have been constructed.

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The general characteristics of the climate are determined more by the physical conformation of the land than by proximity to the equator. The eastern escarpments of the high plateau intercept the rain-bearing winds from the Indian Ocean, so that over the greater part of the interior the rainfall is slight (5 to 24 inches). This, added to the elevation of the land, makes the climate in general dry, bracing, and suitable for Europeans, notwithstanding the fact that the northern part of the country is within the tropics. Owing to the gradual increase of altitude from the coast to the interior, there is a remarkable uniformity of mean annual temperature over the greater part of the region: at

[1] The description given above is compiled mainly from the following sources: S. Passarge, *Südafrika*, 1908, chaps. iii–xv *passim*; L. Schultze, "Südwestafrika," in *Das Deutsche Kolonialreich*, 1910 (ed. H. Meyer), vol. ii, pp. 129–298; *The Oxford Survey of the British Empire*, 1914, vol. on "Africa", chaps. i–v; *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 9, 1928, esp. chaps. ii and xxvii; *The South and East African Year Book and Guide* (ed. A. S. Brown and G. G. Brown), 1929 edition, pp. 85–98 and *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10.

very many places, irrespective of latitude or longitude, it is very close to 63° F., which is also the mean for the entire area. The difference between mean summer and mean winter temperatures is, however, considerable, increasing from the coast inland, while the daily range of temperature is also generally great. Frosts are common on the plateau during winter.

H B. 132

By far the greater part of the country receives the bulk of its rainfall in summer. The winter rainfall area is confined to a comparatively narrow strip parallel with the west coast, and the constant rainfall area to a much smaller belt in the south. Generally speaking the amount of precipitation decreases from east to west, with areas of heavier rainfall along the south coast and in the south-west. The average annual rainfall of about 24 inches is fairly regular all over the eastern half of South Africa, reaching a maximum of 40 inches in Zululand, and diminishing gradually along the south coast to rise again in the Cape Peninsula. It rapidly falls to 10 inches in the south-western Karroo, from which there is a steady decrease towards the north-west in South-West Africa, but the mean value is again approached in Angola and in the northern and eastern Kalahari.

This contrast in the amount and incidence of the rainfall tends to explain very largely the lack in correspondence of the principal river-systems in the south and west respectively. On the west the rivers are few, and only the Kunene, Orange, Olifants, and Berg are perennial, of which the first two, the largest, not only rise within centres of high rainfall, but also receive no important contributions throughout the lower part of their courses. In the south, owing to the moderately high winter rainfall, the smaller rivers rarely cease flowing, but all the important ones, such as the Gouritz, Gamtoos, and Sundays, actually originate in the interior region of summer rains behind the coast ranges and pass through the latter to the sea by means of deep gorges. They receive insufficient water in their courses across the Folded Belt to maintain a constant flow at all seasons, and in times of drought may become a series of pools.

H B 133

Since most of the larger rivers rise upon the interior plateau, their gradients, over stretches, are high; sometimes there are waterfalls, such as the Rua Cana on the Kunene and the Aughrabies on the Orange, while rocky bars or rapids may occur in their channels within the coastal belt or just before it is reached. In consequence of this great slope, and of the intermittent supply of water, none of the rivers is navigable beyond its estuary. The mouths of the rivers

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

and Middle Kalahari that it is scarcely possible to traverse parts of the country, and many routes can only be followed at such times as the pools have been filled by recent rain. H B 133

The winter climate is delightful. The heat during the other months is great, but there are occasional short, sudden, and therefore treacherous changes from extreme heat to cold. Malarial fever is prevalent, being particularly severe in the neighbourhood of the water-courses and other low-lying places, where during and immediately after the season of the heavy rains the dense bush, thick undergrowth, and rank vegetation afford excellent shelter to mosquitoes. The rainfall varies from about 8 inches in the south-west to more than 20 inches in the north and east; almost all the rain falls in the summer months, December to April, and chiefly in thunderstorms. Except in the north, none of this rainfall reaches the sea, the water being either evaporated directly or flowing into shallow depressions such as Lake Ngami and the Great Makarrikarri salt-pan. Over wide areas the country is so flat that the rain drains off partly in one direction, partly in another. H B 132 164

The principal river in the north is the Okavango, which, rising in the Angola highlands, flows into the Okavango marshes, a region about a hundred miles in length and from ten to fifty miles in width. From this reed-choked swamp the river at certain seasons overflows on the north into the Kwando and so reaches the Zambesi, and on the south into Lake Ngami and the Botletle River, which feeds the Makarrikarri depression and the great sandy plains of the north-east. During the rains the whole of this region is covered with wide stretches of water, often extending far beyond the horizon. The Nossob, Molopo, and Kuruman Rivers in the south, which formerly drained the greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari into the Orange River, are now for the most part sandy beds bordered with trees, and water is seldom found except towards their heads. At the present time no water leaves this part of the Kalahari except through evaporation. The country appears to be suffering from progressive desiccation, but there is said to be good evidence of an abundant supply of water not far beneath the surface. H B 133

The rainfall, though very small in the west and south, enables a fair amount of vegetation to flourish, chiefly grasses, shrubs, and trees, except in certain areas where the soil is too saline. The great plains, more especially in the south, are covered with tough sun-bleached Bushman grass (*Aristida brevifolia*), growing knee-high and giving H B 137

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

Northern Damaraland to the south of the Karst region is a tract of extensive grass plains, from which emerge isolated eminences and a few mountain chains superimposed on the main plateau. Further south the whole country attains its highest elevation of over 6,000 feet in the Khomashochland of Windhoek district, while south and east of Windhoek rise the great Auas Mountains (highest altitude 7,886 feet), which form the watershed of South-West Africa. Deep clefts and gorges, widely-extended plains and high rugged peaks are characteristic of this region; valleys, too, expand in among the mountain groups, and are often of extreme fertility. To the south succeed the plateaus and table-topped mountains of Great Namaqualand. This part of the country is dominated by two longitudinal trenches, that of the Konkip to the west, that of the Great Fish River to the east. West of the former is a series of mountain ranges and elevated plains, among them being the Tsaras and Tiras Mountains and the Huib plateau, while to the east of it is the Hanam plateau. Still further east, beyond the Great Fish River, the Urinanib plateau overlooks the Kalahari. In the south-east the isolated Great and Little Karas Mountains rise to considerable heights, but the country is for the greater part flat or rolling. Eastward and north-east of these elevated tracts, the upland assumes a very level character, composed mainly of sand dune formation merging eventually everywhere into the sandveld of the Kalahari. H B. 133

Although the northern half of South-West Africa falls within the Tropic of Capricorn, the climate is on the whole temperate rather than tropical. The extreme north and north-east are hot and trying to Europeans, and malaria is very prevalent there during the autumn; but on the central plateau the dryness of the air makes the summer heat easily supportable, and the country generally is healthy, with clear, bracing atmosphere and much wind. The winters are cold, and ice often forms upon the central and southern plateaus. Rain falls during the summer from October to April, but rarely during the winter season. The mean annual rainfall varies with the latitude, from 6 inches in the south to 12 inches in the centre and reaching 22 inches in the north. H B. 132 [164]

Except for those rivers forming part of the northern and southern frontiers of the country—the Kunene, Okavango, and Orange—there are practically none which carry surface water all the year round. Almost all are simply dry sandy watercourses which become torrents for a short period after rain; but save in very wet seasons few of these H B 133

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10.

H B 133

flow for any considerable distance. For the rest of the time they have water only below the bed or in pools. Away from these sandy beds water as a rule is extremely hard to find. After heavy rains great hollows in the rocks are filled with water which is a blessing to any traveller passing that way, and there are also vleis and depressions which hold water for a short while. Springs, however, are few and far between, and then generally occur in the river-courses.

H B 137

Corresponding to the variation in the rainfall there is a variation in the character of the vegetation. In the extreme south for a considerable distance semi-desert conditions prevail, the arid, stony plateaus and plains supporting a sparse growth of grass and small, scrubby bushes, including the different species of *Grevia* which produce the wild berries so much used by all the natives as food. In heavy rainy seasons, however, nutritious grasses and flowers spring up everywhere. The river-courses are clothed with trees, especially the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Kokerboom (*Aloe dichotoma*), and in all of them, too, the South American *Nicotiana glauca Grah.*, the wild tobacco plant, is found as a straggly, weedy shrub or tree. Northwards the veld assumes the characteristics of the Karroo until Rehoboth is reached, when it changes into park-like grass country studded with large thorn trees, being especially well timbered along the watercourses. From the mountainous portions of the Windhoek district northwards towards Omaruru the country is covered with level bush with an undergrowth of very nutritious grass, the valleys and watercourses being well wooded mostly with Acacia trees, especially the Kameeldoorn. Towards the north the bush becomes denser until it is fairly well timbered all over. In its northernmost section it is traversed by belts of open Mopane forest, and towards the Okavango fertile tropical vegetation is abundant. Numerous kinds of fruits, roots, and tubers used by the natives as food are found over the whole region, but most abundantly in the north. The edible bulbs belong for the most part to the *Iradaceae* family, while the tubers are generally *Asclepiads*, though the *Cyperaceae* and the *Oxalidae* also furnish succulent tuber-like growths.

H B 132 133

South of the Orange River the rocky western edge of the great interior plateau is extended into the highlands of Little Namaqualand in the Cape Province. With scanty soil and low rainfall (5 to 15 inches) this region shares the characteristics of the southern portion of South-West Africa. Short perennial streams are found in the Kamiesberg, but the mountainous country enclosed by the great bend

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushman FX 10.

of the Orange River is very dry. The level arid plain of Bushmanland further east is essentially a continuation of the Kalahari, from which it is separated by the deep rocky valley of the Orange River. The summer rainfall is low (5 to 10 inches), increasing gradually from the west eastwards; there is practically no surface water, and the soil is usually bare, stony or sandy. The river-beds are mostly dry throughout the greater part of the year, and the Orange River is the only one that always contains water. The general aspect of the vegetation both here and in Namaqualand is that of widely-separated xerophytic shrubs and bushes, with a fair proportion of succulent plants in the low-lying valleys and on the rocky outcrops. Grasses do not form a conspicuous feature, but they occur on the high plateaus and sandy plains, where the vegetative period is short, and where they always assume a tufted habit. H B 132 133 H B 137

Further south and east is the Upper or Northern Karroo, an arid tract of country stretching northwards to the Orange River at an elevation of between 2,800 and 6,000 feet above sea-level. It is bounded on the west by the Roggeveld, on the south by the Nieuweveld and Sneeuwberg ranges, which form part of the great escarpment of the interior plateau. The landscape appears for the most part in the form of vast treeless plains, only here and there broken by table-topped hills boldly scarped by sandstone and dolerite sheets, while occasionally dark ridges, the outcrops of inclined sheets of dolerite, are seen traversing the country for many miles. H B 133

The region is exposed to great extremes of temperature. Severe frosts are experienced in the winter nights, while the summer heats are correspondingly severe, reaching at times to 110° F. in the shade. The feeling of oppression at such times is increased by the hot westerly winds which predominate during the first half of summer, although the nights are cool even during the periods of greatest heat. The winter days, on the other hand, are very enjoyable, the air being keen and bright with a maximum of sunshine. There is a wide range of rainfall, from less than 5 inches in the north-west to 25 inches in the east; the greater part of this falls in violent summer thunderstorms, and almost all the water runs off the sun-baked soil into deep gullies which hurry it off to the sea. Severe droughts are common, and the streams are all intermittent. The soil is shallow and rock-strewn, except in the alluvial tracts in the valley bottoms, and surface limestone becomes an important feature in the drier parts of the region. Pans are abundant, and a striking feature in the low-grade H B 132 H B 133 134

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

H B 133 134

valleys of the north-west are the wide "vloers" of Carnarvon and Calvinia, more or less well-defined flat areas a few miles wide and thinly covered with brackish silt.

H B 137 311

Owing to the great range in rainfall and altitude there is a considerable diversity of conditions in this region. While the north-western parts are little better than desert, the more favoured districts to the south and east are well covered with permanently-occupied farms, although agriculture is restricted to the alluvial tracts. The vegetation is everywhere of a semi-desert character. The greater part of the country supports only a sparse and incomplete covering of shrublets and stunted, skeleton-like bushes, most of which belong to the family *Compositae*. In spite of their unpromising appearance when burnt up by the rays of the summer sun, they afford excellent sustenance for stock even in the driest seasons, and at the present time they provide nourishment to millions of sheep and goats, supporting one of the great wool growing industries of the world. Thorny plants, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants abound in places, but trees, principally Acacias, appear as a rule only along the dry sandy river-beds. Grasses are frequent in the rainy season, but nowhere form the dominant feature of the vegetation.

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The High Veld of the Orange Free State and the Southern Transvaal is essentially an extension eastwards of the Upper Karroo, but has a much better rainfall. Lying for the most part over 5,000 feet above sea-level, and with an invigorating climate, it is perhaps the most favourable region in the Union for a white population. The rainfall ranges from about 20 to 35 inches, and occurs principally during the summer months in thunderstorms. The winters are dry and cold, and severe frosts are by no means uncommon. The streams are often perennial. The country generally presents a most monotonous type of scenery, consisting of vast rolling plains, although as one travels westward towards drier regions the surface becomes flatter or more varied by steep-sided flat-topped hills. It is essentially grass country and for the most part devoid of indigenous trees, except along the river-banks, which are frequently clothed with willows and mimosas; shrubs are found on the koppies, while growing among the grasses are large numbers of bulbous and tuberous plants.

H B 133

The Coastal Regions

The country between the escarpment and the ocean is considerably smaller than the interior plateau, but as regards climate and structure

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen FX10

it presents as much diversity. Along the west coast from the Olifants River northwards as far as the Kunene stretches a desolate and barren wilderness, well deserving the name of "Namib" or desert by which it is known in South-West Africa. This arid tract varies in width from 18 miles in the north to about 85 miles towards the south, and the ground-level rises gradually and evenly from the sea to the plateau. The greater part of the surface is covered by drifting sand dunes, which stretch in wave after wave to the horizon; here and there low gravelly hills and ridges of hard rock project through the mantle of sand, while in places gravel plains and sandy flats vary the monotonous billow of the landscape. The belt of dunes is widest and most continuous south of the Swakop, some of them reaching a height of 300 feet and over; further north they are at once much less continuous and much lower, and the country east of them is more broken. The Northern Namib is further distinguished from the Southern by the presence of watercourses which have kept an open channel to the sea. H B 133

The cold Benguella current sweeping the coast from the Antarctic is primarily responsible for the aridity of this region. The coast is dominated by cool winds from south and south-west for about 50 miles inland, although there are occasional very hot winds from the east during the dry season. The winds blowing inland over the cold water lose a considerable amount of their moisture, which hangs as a dense mist over the coastal border almost all the year round, but especially heavily in winter. The Namib in consequence is a practically rainless desert, the mean annual rainfall at Walvis Bay, for instance, being 0·3 inches, and at Port Nolloth 2·17 inches. The temperature, lowered by the Antarctic current, is fairly constant. Port Nolloth in the south, with a mean annual temperature of 57·5°, has the least annual range of temperature in South Africa; February the warmest month has a temperature of only 60·1°, while July the coolest month averages 54·2°. H B 132

The result of the deficient rainfall is a very scanty, intensely xerophytic vegetation. The plants are stunted and dwarfed, and nowhere form a conspicuous covering to the earth. Here and there considerable areas are almost entirely devoid of vegetation, although along much of the coastal border the wet and heavy sea fog maintains a sparse cover of bush on the sandy ground. From about 25 miles inland the landscape is characterized by such plants as the milk bush (*Euphorbia*) and cacti, while towards the east, in years of abundant rainfall, the country is fairly well grassed. In the river beds rich H B 137

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

H B 137 [234] verdure may be found, such as various Acacias, the principal of which are the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Ana (*Acacia albida*). The leaves and pods of the latter provide the staple food for the cattle, H B [262] sheep and goats in these parts. Other characteristic vegetable growths are the inflammable candle bush (*Sarcocaulon Burmanni*) and, in the area inland from Walvis Bay, the famous *!naras* (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*), a leafless cucurbitaceous plant with an edible melon-like fruit which when in season forms practically the sole article of diet of the natives. In one or two spots is found the most remarkable of all, the unique gymnosperm, *Welwitschia mirabilis*, which during a long lifetime produces only two pairs of leaves.

H B 133 At the Olifants River commences another tract of country, characterized by mountains of the folded type, which extend in parallel ranges, separated by wide valleys, over the whole southern portion of the Cape Province as far east as Humansdorp. From the narrow coastal strip fringing this tract the ground rises more or less abruptly H B 132 [137] to the mountains of the Folded Belt. To the west the rise is gradual through the fertile Goudini valley of Worcester district, further eastward the vegetation and climate partake more and more of the Karroo character, the Oudtshoorn valley and the many kloofs to the east being generally known as the Southern Karroo. The scenery here rapidly changes to bare uninteresting veld, traversed by deep gullies which are generally dry in the summer. In all directions the landscape is bounded by barren-looking mountains, whose steep, rocky sides appear from a distance to be entirely destitute of vegetation. Nothing can exceed the contrast between the scenery on the opposite slopes of the coast ranges: the traveller from the south, after ascending through luxuriant vegetation, frequently clothed in mist, emerges suddenly into a region of precipices and rocks, where rain may not have fallen for months. The soil in the valleys, however, is fertile when it can be brought under irrigation.

H B 132 The total annual rainfall is by no means deficient, the average for the region being about 29·5 inches, although it varies greatly according to locality. The average for the Cape Peninsula is 40 inches, most of it falling on the eastern side of Table Mountain. Immediately to the east of Cape Town and as far as Knysna there is a decrease to between 15 and 20 inches. The rainfall then becomes more abundant, the well-wooded Knysna itself being one of the best-watered districts of South Africa, with an average rainfall of 40 inches. Further inland, except on the mountain slopes, the rainfall is much less, and the range

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen FX10

of temperature is somewhat greater. Most of the rains fall during the winter (April to September), when the temperature, though mild, is still relatively low. The summer is the dry season, and long droughts regularly recur. H B 132

These climatic conditions have resulted in the production of a peculiar and characteristic type of vegetation. The dominant plants are evergreen shrubs some three to six feet high, usually with small, stiff, leathery leaves. Between the shrubs are many smaller plants, numbers of which possess bulbs, tubers or other subterranean organs storing up quantities of water and food substances. The sandy plains support a dwarf, heath-like vegetation, while the marshy hollows, the stream margins, mountain ravines and mountain summits all possess their own peculiar plant forms. The families characteristic of this region include the *Proteaceae*, to which belong many of the evergreen shrubs, among them the well-known silver tree (*Leucadendron argenteum*) of the Cape Peninsula and the sugar bush (*Protea mellifera*); the *Restionaceae*, a family of grass-like plants which largely take the place of true grasses in this region, though many of the latter occur as well; and the *Ericaceae* (heath family), which are very numerous and often strikingly beautiful. Forest patches are found in the kloofs and seaward sides of the mountains, the largest area of more or less continuous forest in the Union lying between the Outeniqua Mountains and the sea, extending from George through Knysna to the Humansdorp district. They are composed almost entirely of high timber trees, the more common being species of yellow wood, cedar, ebony, stinkwood, ironwood, and sneezewood. H B 137

The last natural region with which we are concerned is the Central or Great Karroo of the Cape Province. Lying at a level of from 1,500 to 3,000 feet above the sea, it stretches as a gently-undulating plain from the foot-hills of the Folded Belt to the mountains forming part of the great escarpment in the north. On the west it extends to the valley of the Olifants River, while in the east the Sundays River may be taken as marking its limit. The mountains of the Folded Belt rob the rain-bearing winds from the sea of their moisture, and so give rise to the aridity of this region. The rainfall is scanty, the annual mean being less than 5 inches in the west, although it increases to 15 inches in the centre and east. The surface soil is shallow, hard, and compact; the river-courses are dry, except during the brief periods of rainfall in the summer, when the bulk of the water is rushed off immediately to the sea. In the dry season the whole region presents H B 133 132 H B [134]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

H B 133 132 [137]

a most desolate appearance. Verdure is entirely wanting, the numerous gullies are empty, and the low ranges of ironstone koppies which dot the plains seem to reflect the heat as from a mirror. The vegetation is composed very largely of drought-resisting thorn bushes, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants. Grasses appear only in exceptionally wet years, while trees are usually absent, except along the dry river-courses and on the mountain slopes in the east, where the rainfall is highest. Till the early years of the nineteenth century the Great Karroo was regarded as a desert unfit for man or beast; since then well-sinking and donkey transport have bettered the conditions, and the region has gradually become occupied.

H B [312 492]

Fauna

H B 136

The great variety of habitat provided by the country taken as a whole has naturally favoured the development of a varied and abundant fauna.[1] South Africa has long been renowned for the wealth of its larger forms of animal life, although with the advance of European settlement and colonization the numbers have been rapidly reduced, particularly of certain classes of big game. The native inhabitants had certainly done something to reduce the numbers and affect the distribution of the fauna, but a balance had been reached which still left the country richly stocked. The Cape was full of game when the first European settlers established themselves there 250 years ago, and in their gradual spread inland the white men found the same abundance of fine forms of animal life in each new tract of country that they entered. A few decades were enough to convert each newly-opened district from a hunter's paradise into a stock-farming country, and the increase of veld-burning carried the destruction into other zones of life. But over large parts of South Africa the face of the country itself has been little changed on the whole, and a good deal of the original fauna has survived, even on much of the enclosed land.

The mammalian fauna is, or rather was, characterized by the great abundance and variety of antelopes, the presence of such remarkable "living fossils" as the elephant, giraffe, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and aardvark, as well as of the buffalo, zebra, and quagga, and the abundance of carnivora, large and small. During the eighteenth

[1] An excellent short account is given by Dr. E. L. Gill, "Descriptive Sketch of the Fauna of South Africa," *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 9, pp. 31–41. Cf. also Passarge, op. cit., pp. 78–86.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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immune to the effects of snake and scorpion poison.[1] One of these 751
animals is killed, and its poison, diluted with water and urine, is rubbed in small quantities into small cuts made in the skin, or the poison sacs are pulped and boiled, and then swallowed in small doses. Schinz records an experiment made by himself on a Bushman doctor [114]
claiming this immunity.[2] He selected twelve scorpions and placed them, by means of forceps, on different parts of the man's body—hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. Almost all of them stung the flesh deeply once or twice, in every instance causing a large drop of white matter to appear; then they crawled about leisurely, but made no further attempts at stinging. "The old man maintained that he felt no pain, and I have no reason to distrust him, as he would hardly have allowed himself to be stung by scorpions on the most sensitive parts of his body, merely to satisfy my curiosity, if the poison would have had any effects on him; even a full hour after our attempt the spots where he had been stung showed not the slightest change." This experiment seems therefore to show that there may be some foundation to the claim of immunity. The [756]
inoculation was apparently made in this case during the apprenticeship of the "doctor", under the direction of his master. Our main authorities on the Bushmen do not mention this practice at all, but I have myself spoken to several detribalized Bushmen and Nama in Little Namaqualand who claimed a similar immunity. Unfortunately I neglected to inquire further into the matter, beyond ascertaining the means of immunization.

Knowledge of Times and Seasons

In their system of time-reckoning the Bushmen make use chiefly 805
of meteorological elements, based on recurrent changes in wind and weather, and of astronomical elements, based on observations of the sun, stars, and moon. Their larger divisions of time are the [221]
seasons, which, owing to their effect on the food supply and on the [182]
movements of the people, assume a pronounced importance in Bushman life. The division of the seasons is established by the rainfall. [132]
The Cape Bushmen distinguished four seasons, rendered by Bleek [184]
and Lloyd in the English equivalents of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but the exact meaning of the native terms is not given.

[1] Campbell, *Journey in S. Africa*, 441; Thompson, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 399; Cornell, *The Glamour of Prospecting*, 232.
[2] Op. cit., 395–6.

/138 cont./

177 Since contact with the Whites was established, wars have
721 apparently declined considerably, but even today they exact a decidedly heavy toll.

22 The Auin is at the lowest stage of human development; he is exclusively a collector and hunter.

133 This way of life is dictated to him by the nature of his en-
137 vironment. This part of the Kalahari, where the watering places
182 are sometimes 100 kilometers apart and very limited in number, does not permit livestock raising, especially also since the tschama [sometimes spelled tsama, a kind of melon] enjoyed by the cattle is comparatively rare.

In the Auin region the plain dominates the landscape.
133 Primary rocks rise up here and there only along the river banks. So-called dunes give the landscape a gently hilly character, especially in the vicinity of the rivers (dry river beds which carry water only after violent rains). The ground cover alternates be-
137 tween grass, shrub, and tree steppe and dense undergrowth. The
132 amount of precipitation is very small; the lack of sufficient statistical data makes it impossible to give a more precise estimate.

B. Dwellings and Furnishings

342 The typical form of the dwelling is the windscreen, in other words, the most primitive form of human habitation, which scarcely deserves the designation "hut." Its construction is completed in a few minutes. A few twigs are stuck loosely into the ground at the thicker end in a semicircle and propped against each other at the branching end. I have never seen the supports firmly fastened to one another, although I have examined several hundred huts. Grass is thrown on the framework, and the construction is finished. During the dry season the structures are usually built even more hastily and sometimes consist merely of a few bundles of grass that have been thrown loosely between the twigs of a living bush. The entire structure is often scarcely a meter high and has no roof. It is thus a genuine windscreen, intended to protect its inhabitants from drafts while they are lying down.

If the settlement remains at a particular place for only a few days, the people content themselves with the shadow of some

[17 cont.]

137 (Baikiaca plurijuga), which have particularly thick trunks along the banks (dunes) of the large Omurambas. Another common tree is the red bean tree (Copaifera coleosperma), the yellow-wood (Terminalia sericea), sometimes in tree form, but more commonly in bush form as underbrush. In the northern part the Greesappelboom (Parinarium mobola) appears here and there, and, individually over the entire veld, the rattle tree or the wild orange (Strychnos schumanniana) and the dolf (Therocarpus erinaceus). The dunes of the Omurambas are covered not only with mokussi, but also with camel thorn trees (Acacia giraffa), hackie bushes (Acacia detinens), and another thorn bush (Acacia spec.). Between the large Omurambas, which extend to the flood area (Kaudum and Schadum), and between the Okovanggo and the Kaudum, there is a number of sometimes recognizable, sometimes overgrown Omurambas, such as Tschakaue, Gani, and north and south of the Kaudum, Tschaudum and Kuatschadum. The island-like appearance of Hyphaena ventricosa at the watering place Tschaudum is worthy of mention, 500 to 1,000 specimens occurring as isolated trees, as in the Grootfontein plain. In the entire region there are many hackie thorn bush islands and [133] salt pans which have open water or water half a meter deep and are usually overgrown with reeds (Phragmites). The pasture is bad, with the exception of the Omuramba beds, which, like the Kaudum, for example, have a very high water level 20 to 50 centimeters deep. Long, hard grass or low leafy bush [Author: perhaps related to Dichopetalum venenatum (Machau), which occurs sporadically] is to be found here, whereas Bushman grass and knawel grass occur only among the thorn bushes. In the underbrush area there are species of Grewia. During the rainy season the ground is [18] covered with prickly cucumbers (Citrullus nausimonus), and onkies (Cyperus usitatus) grow under the hackie bushes. In addition, there are a great number of shrubs that bear a tasty bush crop during the rainy season. The baobab tree (Adansonia digitata), whose first representatives appear north of Dowigna in the Kaukau Veld, the morula tree (Sclerocaria schweinfurthiana), the manquetti tree (Ricinodendron rautannei), and the hartekohl tree (Combretum primigenium) are absent.

133 Pans of brackish water are absent; in their stead there are ef-
135 florescences of salt at various places in the Kaudum and Schadum.

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[18 cont.]

134 The ground is covered with red sand (fox sand), which in the thorn bush areas changes to a firm, grayish-yellow; perhaps argillaceous sand. Chalk cliffs and other rocks are completely lacking. The Kaudum bed is perpetually covered with dense green grass. The sand pans have humous sand; only in the northeast near Schamatura is a peat-like swampy soil to be found with red, strongly ferruginous water. Forest fires are the order of the day, but they do little damage to the tree growth."

●133 134 South of the Omuramba u Owambo there is a fairly large number of limestone pans, which in part still contain water but are mostly dried up. The land there is drying up rapidly, according to both the Bushmen and the Europeans. During the rainy season the clayey soils are swampy, and at that time the [136] [164] dense bush forest is filled with myriads of mosquitoes, and malaria claims its victims from all races. The unhealthy situa- 648 tion, the difficulty of getting workers, and the irregularity of the rainfall have led to the abandonment of most of the farms outside Grootfontein, so that the Bushmen have actually gained ground there. The !Kung Bushmen outside the police zone live entirely according to their old customs and traditions. The in- [578] [619] dividual kin groups are in part hostile to one another. A kind of hereditary feud exists with the Hei//om, who are often attacked because of the women. The !Kung live on good terms with the farms along the northern boundary (Duwib, Keitsas, Keibeb, Kuntsas, Neitsas, Foxhof). Many of them work there for [464] certain periods of time, and quite a few permanently; in particular, they like to let women and children work on the farms. [177] [439] Mr. Cleark, the owner of Keibeb, has trained a large number of them to make charcoal. These Bushmen make the charcoal out in the wilderness and deliver it. It is then resold to the mottramite mine in Abenab. Until the establishment of the police zone, a perpetual state of war existed between the police and the Bushmen. There are constant battles between the Herero of Otjituo and the !Kung because of livestock thefts. The Herero attack the Bushmen on horseback and kill them from the saddle with the kirri.

The Bushmen, who are not accustomed to shooting at rapidly moving targets, usually come out the losers. Like the

[19 cont.]

162 In the age group of five to ten years, the number re-
165 mains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number
[123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

[20] Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in
[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman
[131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief
133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113] 2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika [Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa], Berlin, 1906.

648 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample
621 water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and
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3: Lebzelter--160 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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(342)

1. !Kung Huts in the Bush Veld.

2. Summer Landscape in the !Kung Veld.

3. The Omuramba u Omatako south of Otjituo.

4. Winter Landscape in the Sand Veld.

Plate II. Landscapes on the !Kung Veld.

B /260 cont./

In addition to the Bushman language, the Heikum of the
191 Omatako also speak Nama, whereas the Kung of the Kaukau
182 Veld speak only their Bushman language. The reason for this
133 is readily seen if one realizes that the Kaukau Veld is an oasis enclosed on all sides by the large waterless stretches of the Kalahari, and hence is visited only during the rainy season by a few Betschuana hunters, but otherwise is completely isolated. Most of the Bushmen whom we encountered in the Kaukau Veld had never seen a white man prior to our arrival.

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Word List and Grammatical Outline of the Heikum and Kung Language

1. Persons

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Human being	tschu	tschu	Khóib
Man	tschu n|ō (|o = männlich)*	tschu n|ō	áob
Woman	tsau	tschau	tarás
Son	daba |oma	daba |oma	|oab
Daughter	daba tsauma	daba tschauma	|oas
Brother	tsng	tsng	|gasab
My brother	mé tsng	me tsng	—
Sister	tsau tsng	tsau tsng	|gas
Father	ombá	ombā	dadáb
Mother	mdei	medei	máma
Grandfather	omba n|ā (n|a = alt)**	omba n|ā	aúda
Grandmother	tschau |á	tschau |á	aúmama
Master	gaucha	gaucha	gáob
Captain of a settlement	tschu gaucha	tschu gaucha	—
Servant	ǂöi	tschu nǂoa	|ān
Herero	Damá	Damá	Damán
Betschuana	Birin	ǂgabé	Birin
Ovambo	|ave	—	—

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*männlich, "male" **alt, "old"

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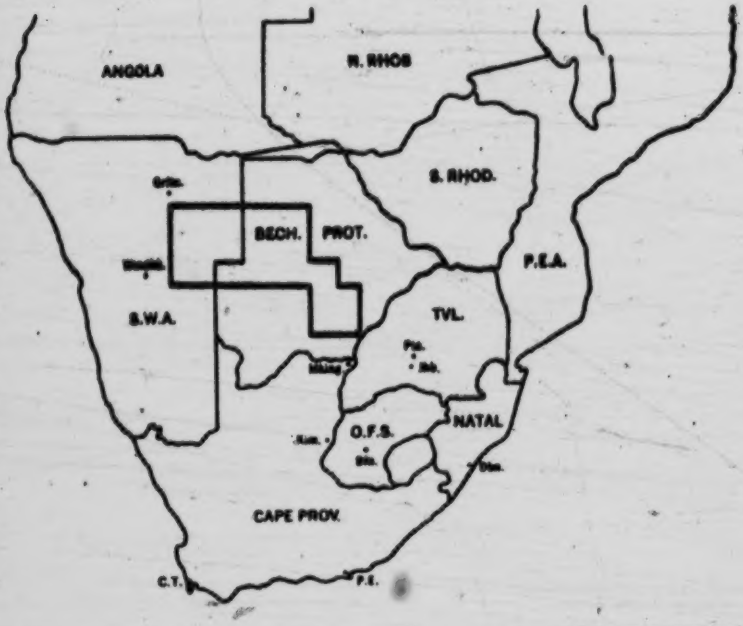

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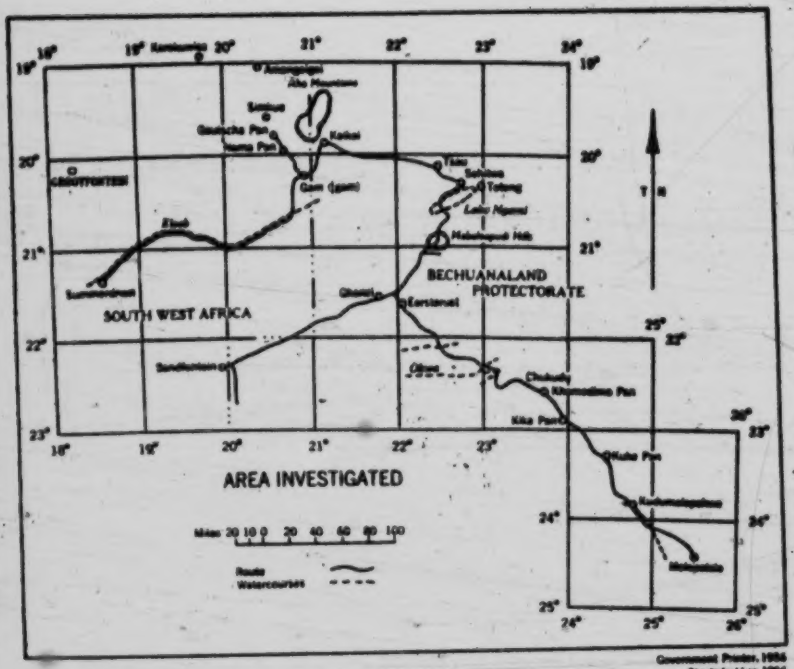

Government Printer, 1956
Staatsdrukker, 1956

GENERAL AND DETAILED MAPS
OF THE AREA COVERED IN THIS STUDY.

[p. 3]

INTRODUCTION.

Early in 1955 the Chief of the Union Government Division of Botany 121
received a request through the British Museum for a botanist to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition, which in the winter of that year was to make a study of the Bushmen of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa. The duties of the botanist would be to investigate and report upon the plants used by the Bushmen in obtaining food and drink, and this task was assigned to me in my capacity as one of the Botanical Survey Officers of the Division of Botany.

I joined the expedition on 10th June at Molepolole, after it had been 122
some weeks in the field, and we thereafter travelled along the route shown on the map, reaching Windhoek on 2nd September.

There were two main areas of study, one in the country south of 133
Ghanzi and the other north of Ghanzi. The southern area, part of the Kalahari Desert, was remarkably uniform in every way. The surface [134]
was deep loose sand, gently undulating and with occasional shallow depressions of firm dark soil known as pans, which collect a little water after rain. We did not see a hill after leaving Molepolole until the Ghanzi area was reached, nor a stone, except for shelves of limestone in some of the pans. There was no permanent water in the 300 miles between [312]
Kudumalapshwe and the Ghanzi farms, but Khungwane waterhole and Khomodimo Pan had not yet dried up. Khungwane held one or two thousand gallons and Khomodimo contained a pond about thirty yards across and a foot or so deep. It provided a home, rather unexpectedly, [136]
for a coot (*Fulica cristata*) and a water-scorpion (one of the *Nepidae*). There are no records of the central Kalahari rainfall, but it would be [132]
between 18·5 and 19·6 inches, which are the mean annual figures for Ghanzi and Molepolole respectively. In spite of this low rainfall, and although we were there in the dry season, we found that the sand a few inches below the surface and down to at least three feet was damp enough to retain its form when squeezed in the hand. One specimen of a species 136
of Breviceps was found in the sand, a small burrowing frog which does not swim or jump and which passes through its tadpole stage in a mass of frothy material which surrounds the eggs. The commonest animals were the rodents whose burrows and tracks were in thousands along our route. The game included gemsbok, springbok, hartebees, eland, blue wildebees, giraffe and smaller antelopes and hares. Of the carnivora, lions, leopards, wild dogs, jackals and hyaenas were present. Ostriches and bustards were seen and occasional small birds of various species, but birds were on the whole poorly represented. The vegetation was mainly grassland, usually 137x
about four feet tall and mixed with many shrubs a little taller. Trees were seldom absent for more than a few miles at a stretch, and were scattered to form a parkland or in belts thick enough to hamper the progress of our lorries through them.

The northern area was much more varied, with the undulations 133
sometimes forming distinct rises and dales. Hills, however, were still absent, although there were occasional outcrops of limestone and other rock. The soils were for the most part fairly firm, but sandy nevertheless, [134]
and damp below the surface. From time to time we crossed zones of purer loose sand, slightly raised above the surrounding country and known as dunes. A number of permanent waterholes, groups of large pans and a rainfall estimated to be about 20 inches a year (Department of Transport [132]
1953) made this area better watered than the Kalahari, and better wooded. 137x

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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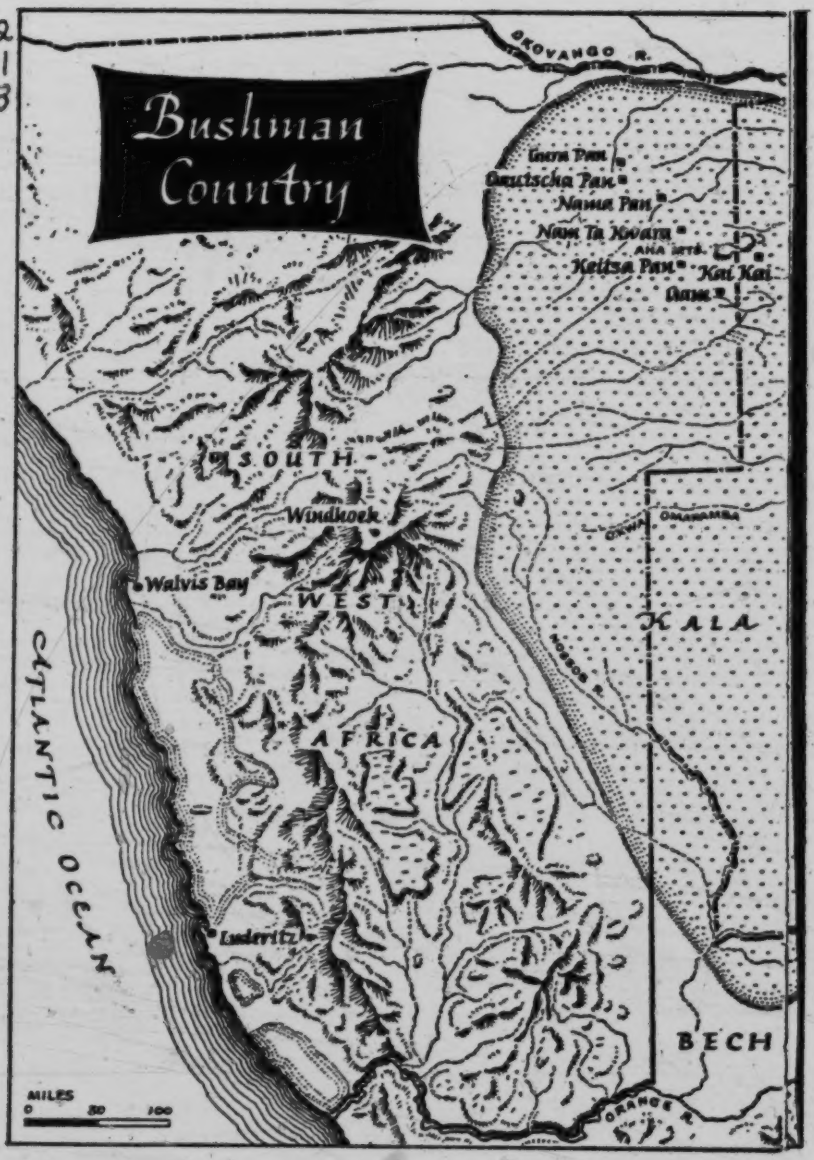

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9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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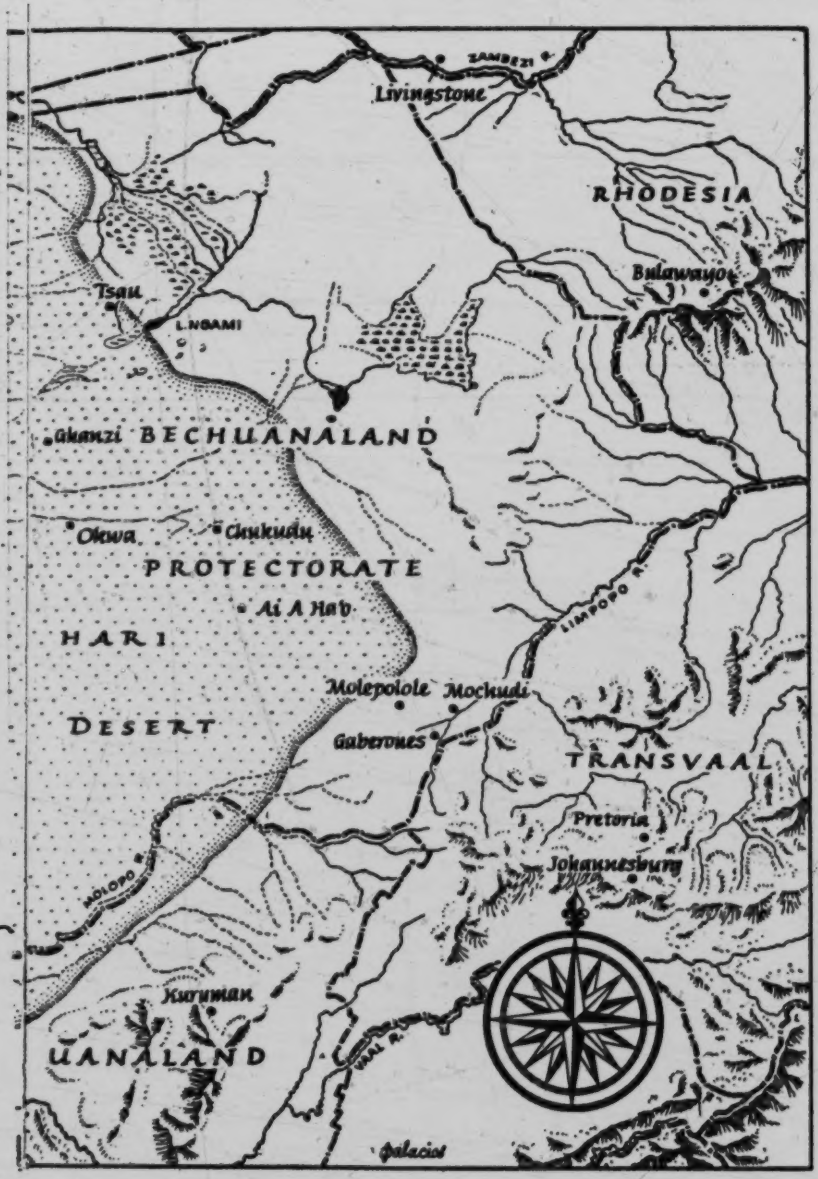

[p. XIII]

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9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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CHAPTER ONE

The Desert

THERE is a vast sweep of dry bush desert lying in South-West Africa and western Bechuanaland, bordered in the north by Lake Ngami and the Okovango River, in the south by the Orange River, and in the west by the Damera Hills. It is the Kalahari Desert, part of a great inland table of southern Africa that slopes west toward the sea, all low sand dunes and great plains, flat, dry, and rolling one upon the other for thousands of miles, a hostile country of thirst and heat and thorns where the grass is harsh and often barbed and the stones hide scorpions.

From March to December, in the long drought of the year, the sun bakes the desert to powdery dry leaves and dust. There are no surface waters at all, no clouds for coolness, no tall trees for shade, but only low bushes and grass tufts; and among the grass tufts grow brown thistles, briers, the dry stalks of spiny weeds, all tangled into knots during the rains, now dry, tumbled, and dead.

The Kalahari would be very barren, very devoid of landmarks, if it were not for the baobab trees, and even these grow far from each other, some areas having none. But where there

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

that marks an edible root, or see a scorpion hidden in the dust and jump over it. So Bushmen survive in the most rigorous places; they survive in the dense, mosquito-ridden papyrus swamps of the Okovango River, steaming like a jungle and dangerous with snakes and fever, where the River Bushmen live, the only Bushmen with plenty of water; they also survive on the vast, rolling steppes of central Bechuanaland, the territory of the Gikwe Bushmen, who for the nine dry months of the year have no water at all and do without it.

Besides the fact that Bushmen alone can live in the land they occupy, there is another reason for their remoteness and shyness. They are in many instances exploited by the Bantu farmers, and by a few of the European farmers, usually those who need free or almost free labor. Many Bantu farms and households have Bushman servants, or serfs, rather, as they usually come from the land on or near the farm, and when working they are paid nothing but are given food, tobacco, and sometimes cast-off clothing as wages. Some European farms in Bechuanaland and some in South-West Africa have Bushman laborers too, though most European farmers do not depend on Bushman labor. Those European farmers who do employ Bushmen usually pay wages, about ten shillings a month, plus a ration of food to each Bushman who is working, though not necessarily to his family, consisting of about a pound of cornmeal and a quart of milk a day, meat occasionally, and weekly a ration of tobacco. Perhaps the employer will add a set of clothing—that is, a pair of cast-off pants and a shirt—and perhaps a blanket every year, but occasionally they pay their labor in cast-off clothing and omit the ten shillings altogether.

European clothing is esteemed among Bushmen, for it is symbolic to them of a people mightier than themselves, and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

114 language), and Kung; Simon, a mechanic's helper; William Camm, also an interpreter who spoke Afrikaans, some English, and Gikwe; and Gishe and Dabe, two Gikwe Bushmen who lived on Theunis's farm.

We were looking for Gikwe Bushmen, as we had heard that there were some who lived in the area. We hoped that if we found some, Gishe or Dabe might discover a relative and enable us to make friends.

133 We traveled for many days, all day long, for, not knowing 137 where the Bushmen were, we hoped to come across some of them somewhere, or find a trace or track that might show us in what direction they had gone. We did not find anyone, though, and we saw nothing but the series of long, broad plains that dipped and tilted ever so little; we would find ourselves down in a wide, shallow bowl of grass, then at the rim of the bowl, where we would see the next plain rolling for miles away. Occasionally we came to an acacia forest, but mostly the country was open grassland with tiny thorn bushes down in the grass to catch us. Because it was June, the beginning of the dry season, there were many veld fires, and although we never came upon any, every day we saw their smoke, gray and misty on the horizon, all around us in a ring.

136 Sometimes we saw a small herd of game running far away from us, raising a little cloud of dust. We saw gemsbok, handsome, large, beige antelope, striped black on their sides, white-bellied, with long, straight horns. We saw gray, tousled wildebeest with curved horns like the horns of cattle. Once we surprised a herd of three eland, a bull and his two wives, which had been eating behind a clump of bushes. They threw up their heads when they saw us, eyes catching the sun and shining pale green like fires. They wheeled, hoofs scraping, and ran, their red bodies swaying, their heads held high

CHAPTER NINE

Peoples of the Veld and Sky

133 AFTER many days, during which we crossed the rest of the great central desert of Bechuanaland, we came to a strip of fertile country which is in both Bechuanaland and South-West Africa and is owned to a large extent by the Chuana people, who have great cattle ranches, vast areas of grazing-land, and rather small villages. In this fertile land is Lake Ngami, a flat marsh or even a dry pan at most seasons, but when we sat it, it was filled with water, something that had not happened since Livingstone was there.

The country had changed greatly since we left the central desert. In the fertile land there were forests, thorn thickets, even little hills. At some places there were vast grasslands with grass higher than the hoods of our trucks, but in other places livestock had eaten away everything, cattle having devoured the grass, goats having chewed the leaves from the bushes. We saw five or six great herds of cattle grazing on the flat land surrounding Lake Ngami, where the grass was short
133 and green and looked kept, like a park. There were perhaps a
137 thousand cattle in each herd, and mixed with the cattle were herds of springbok, a few ostriches, and marabou storks. It

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

was pastoral Africa, for the path we followed was marked 133
with the hoofs and dung of the cattle, tracked by the huge 137
ox-drawn, forked log sledges of the Chuana farmers, and now and then patterned with the footprints of a jackal, a hyena, or even a leopard or a lion, for although there are great herds the country itself is wild.

Lake Ngami was an enormous, shining expanse of water 133
a few square miles in area and very shallow everywhere. We got out of our trucks and went to the water to rest our eyes with so much luxury and we found that the water was warm, full of brow duckweed, and swarmed with innumerable tiny flies. Ducks and geese were swimming, storks and flamingos were wading at the edges, and while we were looking the largest herd of cattle that we had ever seen came to the lake to drink. There were hundreds upon hundreds of them drifting toward the lake, and the noise of their hoofs was like the sound of a tornado, a great waterfall, thunderous and mighty. A Chuana was riding among them and it took him nearly an hour, traveling in a straight line, to pass through the herd, the cattle parting a little as he came to let him by. He rode on and on, and when we left he was still riding, still among the cattle, and still not out of sight.

We left Lake Ngami and its vast pastoral lands and went on until we were away from the Bantu farmlands, over the border of Bechuanaland into the Kalahari Desert of South-West Africa, which at that place is called the Nyae Nyae area. This country we knew very well, for it was here that we had lived a year among Kung Bushmen, and although it was a desert it was also totally unlike the great barren steppes of central Bechuanaland, as it was quite rolling, marked by large forests of small trees, by little rolling hills, by omarambas, and by pans, which in the rains were shallow lakes and in the drought were clay flats. The land was still very

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

133 open and tilting, but the low hills and the forests veiled the great sweep of country, and the sun, the moon, and the horizon.

105 As soon as we were there we felt very familiar, very at
184 home. We knew quite a lot about Kung Bushmen, who in ways are different from Gikwe Bushmen—as the country is not as harsh, the Kung are a little grander, living together in larger numbers because they have veld food more abundantly, a little more extravagant with their time and their possessions. They build themselves grass huts or scherms, at least during the rains, and though they know vast sections of their country perfectly, being quite sure of the whereabouts of game and certain of the whereabouts of different types of veld food, they do not have to memorize the whereabouts of each root individually and store this information in their minds for future seasons, as the Gikwe do. The Kung are diligent and powerful hunters, although in some respects their country is harder to hunt in than the land of the Gikwe, more overgrown with brush and trees. But the Kung have metal-tipped arrows and complicated poison, and the men make a point of hunting often and well because their people love meat.

312 We knew their rolling veld with its baobab trees and hidden waters, for in Nyae Nyae the people do not have to scrape roots and suck melons, but are the possessors of deep waterholes where they can drink clear water almost all year long. We knew which stalks among the grass blades marked edible roots, and where game antelope might be found.

823 We knew not only the veld but the beings that live in the
776 sky above it, and knew the beings under the earth and in the four directions. We knew where the great god lives in the east with his tree and his medicine smoke with which he makes spirits of the dead from dead people. We knew his names, for

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

CHAPTER TEN

Beautiful Ungka and Lazy Kwi

For two days we drove our trucks through the scrub forests of Nyae Nyae and on the third day we came to a water pan not far from the village of Gam. In 1953 we had lived at Gam a short time; it was the cattle post of a very wealthy Chuana farmer. This farmer lived at Tsau, a large Bantu town several days' travel from Gam, but he had cattle posts with herders all through the country, keeping only fragments of his great herd at each one. Two Chuana families guarded his cattle at Gam. The village had once been the home of about a hundred Bushmen, but when the Chuanas had taken it, many of the Bushmen had been made serfs and they and their families now worked for the Chuanas, tending the herds.

The little pan near Gam was full of blue water, and was surrounded by yellow-leafed trees. We found two ostriches beside it. The ostriches stared mutely at us first, very wide between the eyes and square at the jaw, until it came to them that we were not ostriches; and with that they rushed headlong away, flapping their ostrich-feathered wings, working their naked thighs and knees like pistons, wildly out of control. They had an air of old people with tough, gray, varicose-veined legs, wearing nothing to hide their nakedness but lit-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Long reeds almost filled the waterhole at Gautscha.

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534

Alone at his fire, Ukwane plays a mood song.

[p. 176(A)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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516

The shining lake of Nama.

In the middle of the circle the great tree rose, pink-skinned and mighty, the claimer of two lives.

137

[p. 176 (H)]

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Toma the Leader

374 It was very cold and the wind blew all night long, sweeping the haze from the sky and leaving the brilliant hard white moon. In the bitter hour before morning we were all too cold to sleep, so we got up, finding that the Bushmen had risen before us and were crouched shivering on the ground between the small fires, partly sheltered by the grass.

133 When the sun rose the air got a little warmer and shortly 137 after dawn we moved away from the camping-place, on toward Nama. We went through little forests, over slanting plains bordered with trees, past an outcrop of rock where I once had seen a leopard lying on his side, sunning his white belly, past a graceful tree which was one of the trees where the people of Nyae Nyae got their poison. At noon we reached Nama Pan.

Nama was a grassy field in the center of a scrub forest, and in the field was a great rock slide, basin-shaped, which now was filled with crystal water, and around the water was a beach of sand six inches wide. Around this beach the green grass grew, very dark, almost rotten with the water, the rich earth, and the sunlight.

. . .

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

It used to be that no one lived at Nama Pan, although there was a deep waterhole brimming with water always, even when the lake was gone, and fruit in the bushes around the shore, and plenty of game. It had been an empty and unwholesome paradise abandoned in the veld at the time I once visited it with a band of hunters and women who went there in search of food. It was just before the heavy rains, when all the veld was blooming, and the hunters picked the sweet gum that oozed from the trees with the tips of their spears. The women gathered karu plants, little green fruits that look like cucumbers hanging on vines like grape vines, and that day one of the children saw a ratel, a honey badger, which the hunters speared. This was the badger that no one would eat but Lazy Kwi, the one that made him vomit. At that time the pan itself was empty of water and the dark, rank grass was growing where the water now stood. As we approached the pan a crowd of vultures moved in the grass, ran clumsily toward us, and launched themselves into the air. They heaved their great wings and rose higher and higher and soon a column of vultures hung above the pan, the highest ones almost invisible, the strong wings of the near ones beating the air just over our heads. A shower of feces came spattering down. 133 136

When the vultures saw that we were staying they flew gradually higher and higher until they were lost in the air and we walked over the dark grass tampled flat by them toward the waterhole which stood in the center of the pan. On the way we found a vulture egg among the droppings, small and pink and newly laid, for it was covered with a thin coat of slime, as though it had slipped out of a vulture accidentally when she was frightened and hurrying to fly.

A stench hung over the pan which got stronger as we neared the waterhole, a dark cavern in the grass. The stench

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

133 was coming from it, and though the adult Bushmen knew
136 what to expect and didn't waste time investigating, only pausing for a moment at the brink to glance inside, then going on, the children stopped to gaze and I stopped with them. The sides of the well overhung the water in a lip about four feet high. The water itself was the color of clay, and on its smooth surface a hairy back and a pair of pointed ears were floating, the back and ears of a drowned hyena floating on its belly with its nose pointing straight to the bottom. White maggots crept from one ear to the other and the rotting smell rose from the corpse. Obviously, the hyena had been thirsty and when trying to drink had fallen in and drowned. A little boy who was watching the hyena, fascinated, began to howl faintly, "Mmm//ao, mmm//ao," the way a hyena howls, but putting a click in it the way Bushmen usually do, and then for my benefit acted the scene as it must have taken place. He rolled out his tongue and edged his hand toward the lip of the well, then jerked away, staring at the water with yearning eyes and saying: "No, I can't reach it. Yes, I must." He edged his hand toward the lip again, then shrieked "Ai! Ai!", waved his arms, pawed the air as the hyena had pawed the sides of the well, twisted his head from side to side, eyes starting, then closed his eyes and let his head roll back, his face calm and his lips parted, turning his hands limply, palms up. "Finished," he said.

"Yes," I said. "Too bad."

[262] "Oh, hyenas are worthless animals," he said. He meant that they were not good to eat. Then he ran off and after a short time came back with a long stick, which he pushed into the water. "Help me stir," he said, so I did, and presently the carcasses of two wild dogs and a vulture bobbed to the surface, rolled over slowly, legs in the air, and sank again. "You see?" he said triumphantly. "Many things die here."

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

to go, he began to cry, saying: "Father, Father," and when 855
Lazy Kwi hesitated a moment, then said he was going any- 593
way, the little boy picked up a handful of stones and threw one at him. This amused Lazy Kwi's wife, who smiled and tried halfheartedly to take the stones away, but it angered [861]
Lazy Kwi, who caught his son by the arm and boxed his ears. That made the little boy so furious that he had a tantrum; he screamed and cried and arched his back to draw away from his mother, who tried to pick him up, both mother and child doing exactly what they had done when the little boy was a baby and no doubt had been doing ever since. His mother al- [862]
ways did have a terrible time managing him, and he was still nursing although he was now five or six years old. Before his father left, his mother had managed to mollify him somewhat, and she sat on the ground, letting him sit on her leg to nurse. He drank from one breast and held the other in his hand as he glared over his mother's shoulder at his father, who was already in the jeep.

We drove all afternoon, going fast because the ground was 133 ●
hard and not too bumpy, and the plains of Nyae Nyae seemed even longer, even wider than the plains of Ai a ha'o, being more slanted. We saw the Aha Mountains, a series of large rock outcrops quite separate from each other, blunt-ended like drumlins, which the Bushmen call "The Knife's Back." They appeared on the horizon shortly after we left Nama, distant and blue over the yellow veld, so surprising to see in that flat country that we stopped to look at them. They seemed so misty and far, so infinitely alluring, that we longed to go there. When we drove on, they stayed as relatively fixed as the moon would, which showed how far away they were. Lazy Kwi said that once on a clear day he had seen them from the top of the Gautscha baobab.

We reached the waterhole at the end of the afternoon, a

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

●133 shallow well between two rocks and hidden in a thicket, but we saw no sign of goats or people, only the tracks of wild animals around the waterhole and down a lonely little path that led there, and we wondered what had happened to the goats and Toma. Perhaps he had become a renegade, hiding from the Bantus, on the run with his family; perhaps he now was wearing a goatskin and cracking the bones of his charges out in the veld somewhere.

On the eastern horizon we saw the smoke of a veld fire which Lazy Kwi said might have been lit by Toma and we drove toward it and reached it just before the sun went down. We found a way through the wall of flames and found what we thought was the source of the fire, but the burned area was very large and it was hard to be sure. It was almost dark then, very cold, and when we came to a clump of bushes we stopped the jeep and walked about, gathering dead wood that lay near by. The camp was on a rise and we could see about for miles. In the north rose the brown backs of the Aha Mountains, and on the other side the land fell away, down and down, until all the trees were obscured, then beyond that until the horizon looked like the sea, just a blue line, darker and a little hazier than the sky.

It was very quiet and lonely there except for a few birds that flew high and far above us calling, and we called Toma's name again and again and our voices rang in the cold air, but we did not get an answer. Lazy Kwi, naked and barefoot in the frost, walked over the plain with his arms hugged against his chest for warmth and called more: "Toma . . . Toma," a little annoyed as he was tired, then waited, called again: "Toma . . . my brother . . . brother . . ." and as his 136 voice died away no answer came; but a koorhan, a dark bird the size of a chicken, flew out of a clump of bushes far away and rose cackling up to the sky, where we saw it, black and clumsy, before it dropped to the earth again.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

clumsy, before it dropped to the earth again. The last pale 133 ●
light faded on the horizon and for a minute the sky looked like the cold sky over tundra or over an icy sea before the empty veld turned dark.

To clear the grass from our camping-site we lit a little grass fire, being too tired to pull up every blade of grass by hand, and the little flames seemed so cheerful and warm that we felt better right away. We made a cooking-fire and cooked our meat, then unrolled our blankets to lie upon, and we found that because the wind had died our cooking-fire shed so much heat that we were as warm as we would have been in a shelter.

We made coffee and talked all evening, and unnoticeably 133
our fire burned very low and we got colder, the night seemed 648
darker and in the dark the koorhan began to call again, and when we looked far over the veld for the light of another fire but saw none it came to us that Toma might have been taken by the farmers after all. We talked for a while about that, but then Lazy Kwi said he believed that Toma was somewhere not very far away but was too clever to show himself. After our last expedition had left Nyae Nyae the last time, Lazy Kwi told us, Toma had waited months, whole seasons, for us to come back and when he had heard the trucks of the farmers he had gone to them, thinking it was us. "Now he is angry. Now he is too clever to make that mistake again," said Lazy Kwi.

That did seem possible, so we stood up and shouted 123
Toma's name again; but even at night, when sound carries best, we heard only our echo, distant and diffuse, and at last we built up our fire and got ready to sleep. The night was perfectly quiet. No sound came from the wind or animals, only the sparks snapping from our fire, which burned for a while but soon died to embers and the smoke rose white and ghostly into the dark.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

pointed to me and said: "Look at Dikai. She wants to go home. Let's go home." And so we did, and as evening came we went by Gautscha Pan.

We had not seen it before; we had been in the bushes on its eastern side when we had looked for honey, but now, as we emerged from the bushes, we found ourselves on its farther, eastern rim.

Great Gautscha Pan was full of water, shining gray water. Smoke overcast the evening sky all around the horizon and high into the air, and all we could see was the great stretch of gray water with yellow grass like islands in it and flocks of small black ducks breaking its surface, and yellow grass all around. The line of bush on the horizon was gray-green near us where we stood on the rock slide at the eastern rim, touched with yellow spots, acacia trees with their soft, pale-yellow fuzzy flowers round as balls, looking like clouds, like dreams, pretty and fresh with a sweet fragrance, and as the bush went around the pan the haze dimmed it, giving it the subtlest colors and a wild, still look like trees before a storm. Among the bushes to the north of us rose the two visible baobab tops, eerie and far away, and in the water the yellow grass was reflected upside down.

There it was, Toma's great country, magnificent and solitary, for no one lived there now, no person, no animal, except the black wild ducks that swam on the water, some near, some far away, in lines of three or four, in pairs, moving gradually in their even, deliberate processions as though they were being drawn slowly over the water by hidden streams.

The sun was sinking; high above the horizon it was deep red, a perfect circle, almost hidden by the haze and reflected by a red path in the water, and as it sank into haze that grew thicker and thicker the sun got paler and more obscured until it vanished long before it set.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

That was beautiful, the sun, and there was no sound as it 133
went down except the sound of doves calling among the trees on the far bank, whirring, cooing, a call that was pulsing and thick, urgent, throbbing, rising in intensity as the sun got dimmer, reaching a peak as the sun disappeared. It was as though they had brought it down, and when it was gone there was no sound at all; the silence was complete.

Gautscha Pan was more than a mile square and we, Europeans and Bushmen alike, held our breath with the majesty of it, its great solitude, the great drama of sunset going on reflected in its water for no eyes to look at; and when the sun was down and the colors of the veld were dull and dark we started home, but that was an impressive last look at a place and the last I ever saw of Gautscha Pan.

In the morning our trucks were packed and ready. We were 609
not happy to leave and the Bushmen were not happy to have us go. We gave them presents of all kinds, presents of pipes, of knives, of beads, of clothing, of cornmeal and tobacco; and all this pleased them, but Dikai cried when we said good-by and asked me if I would ever come back. I said that I hoped so and she kissed me and I felt wet tears on her face.

The people who had come from Gam wanted to ride a 361
little way back with us to a mangetti forest, and we were glad to have them, but the others, Toma and his band, Gao Feet and his family, wanted to return to the tsi fields where we had found them, the veld food at Nama being almost gone, and before we left they had their bundles packed and were ready to go; as our trucks moved away they waved good-by and before we were out of sight we looked back and saw their small groups going in every direction, scattering to the four winds. When we reached the mangetti forest the others climbed

181 called "clicks" that mark the speech of the Bushmen. Distinction is made between four classes of "click": the dental (/), lateral (//), palatal (≠), and alveolar (!)—Ed.]

But "nation" is a new word, recently arisen in the vocabulary of a country whose people are struggling to define themselves in present times. The !Kung, who know who they are, do not yet need it. For, besides !Kung, which they use rarely, they call themselves *Dzu/oassi*. *Dzu/oassi* can be interpreted as "the people" in opposition to "the animals," for example, or as "the perfect people," or, indeed, as "the only people."

Unlike other nations, the Bushmen practice no agriculture, domesticate no animals. They are hunting and gathering peoples. But all the nations
133 —Bushmen, Bantu and white alike—who live in the Kalahari Basin must

133 face its exigencies, for this sand-filled depression is distantly rimmed by mountains, and the mountains catch most of the clouds that might otherwise bring rain. The rain that does fall is sucked into the sand, so that there is little surface water and much of the Kalahari Basin is true desert.

137 ALTHOUGH true desert, the Kalahari is not a bare place: the face of the sand is hidden. Much of the desert is clothed with stalwart, similar bushes, most of them thorned. In places, dry forests grow slowly: the trees stand apart and the air between them is strangely still on days of wind. Grass covers the sand: in sweeps on the dry plains, in glens in the bush; grass grows on dunes gathered long ago by patient wind, and in the silent valleys, called *omuramba*'s. In a younger, greener time that has come and gone since man first lived in southern

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

174 last, white and black met,—raiding one another for cattle across the Fish River—and the time of the Zulu and the Voortrekker was near, the classic period of the Bushmen was over.

131 THE AREA called *Nyae Nyae* lies on the border between South West Africa and Bechuanaland. It covers about 10,000 square miles, between 18°55′ and 21°0′ South latitude and 19°50′ to 21°25′ East longitude. In
●133 the center of this area is a ring of *kalk* pans. *Nyae Nyae* is actually the name the !Kung gave to this ring of pans, although I have applied it to the whole area occupied by the !Kung nation.

136 There is game round these pans and, in small groups, everywhere in *Nyae Nyae*. Wild roots grow in the bush that shrouds much of the terri-
137 tory. There is *tsi* in the south, while
133 *mangetti* forests crowd along the crests of white sand dunes in the south and east, and spread over the north. Their

137 nuts drop abundantly to the ground every year. There are ten permanent
● 133 waterholes—some clustered around the ring of the pans, the others set like infrequent jewels in a low limestone ridge along the eastern border. During the rains, small pans and hollows hold embroidered pools. Hollow trees also catch water and keep it until it turns brown, while several kinds of water roots can be counted on all year.

174 Until recently, few came and none but Bushmen stayed for long in *Nyae Nyae*, for there is not enough water to attract pastoral peoples, and the soils are not the best for crops. The !Kung say: "We have always been here, drinking the *Nyae Nyae* waters." Perhaps this "always" began at about the time when the western Bantu horn was moving southward through Ovamboland. All one can say for sure is that they came, possibly seeking sanctuary in the empty spaces of the Kalahari, found, in *Nyae Nyae*, a quiet

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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FIG. 1. The clustered scherms of a /Kung werf (left) are hardly visible in the grass and brush of the veld

FIG. 2. Groups from Band 1 and visitors sitting at three family fires

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FIG. 3. Khuan//a thinking things over after 'the talk'

FIG. 4. /U, the wife of ≠Toma, with an expression which is characteristic of her

[p. 240-A]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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1. Whirlwinds in the huge veld fires become pillars of cloud by day

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2. The oracle disks

[p.228(A)]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

guages, some now virtually extinct, were characterized by a fifth click made with the lips, called the kiss click (⊙). In addition to clicks, the Bushman languages have tones: high, middle, low, rising, and falling. Oswin Köhler has given special attention to tone as well as to other features in his study of Bushman languages, especially Barakwenga (Köhler 1962).

Each of the large divisions of the Bushman languages—the northern, central, and southern divisions (see Bleek 1956)—differs markedly from the others. Within each group are several languages, sometimes resembling each other enough to be considered merely dialects of the same language, but more often differing so widely as to be distinct, mutually quite unintelligible languages. The !Kung described in this chapter (Köhler's and Westphal's !Xû) belong to the northern group.

HABITAT • The Kalahari Desert, some 1200 miles long, with a mean high altitude of about 3000 feet, forms part of the great plateau of southern Africa. It is a basin in form, covered with wind-blown sands, sometimes red, sometimes white, to a depth of 300 to 400 feet. The underlying rock crops out rarely in ridges and a few low hills.

Stamp (1953:78) classifies the Kalahari as a semidesert. Its conditions are not the most extreme. Our expeditions recorded daytime air temperatures in the shade up to 115° F. and sand temperatures in the sun up to 140° F. In winter the temperature at night falls below freezing but for most of the year the nights are temperate. Although they seem acclimated to the heat, the Bushmen appear to find the colder temperatures very uncomfortable and shiver violently if they are away from their fires when the cold south winds blow.[8]

The rainfall, which comes in summer thunderstorms—6 to 10 inches, increasing in the better-watered parts toward the north, according to Wellington (1955:61)—though slight, is sufficient to sustain a varied drought-resistant vegetation, and the country is covered with grass, brush, and scant small trees. In the northern and northwestern parts, the trees are more numerous and taller and include shivi groves and nut-bearing mangetti—important sources of food to the Bushmen. And in all the areas of the desert that Bushmen inhabit are found edible plants, in scant, far-apart patches perhaps, but existing. The vegetation, furthermore, provides material for fires, shelter, weapons, implements, tanning, poison for arrows, and juices (for example tsama melons, on which these people can live when there is no water). In short, this desert provides the things that make life possible; otherwise the Bushmen would be dead or somewhere else.

The desert is a forceful shaper of the outlines of Bushman culture, and both the possibilities it permits and the limitations it imposes have been meaningfully summarized by Robert Story in a personal communication:

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 462 when the people go to gather mangettis or tsī, the men always accompany the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsī* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater portion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging implement is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

222 [412] [101] [484] [361] [854] [482] [372]

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes, pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

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Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

222 433 731

There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—

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this area is waterless and uninhabited. In the center is a ring of pans and a series of waterholes which support at present a population of 1,200 !Kung Bushmen. They occupy an area of about 3,500 square miles (70 miles from east to west x 50 miles from north to south). This central complex of water sources is surrounded by a belt of waterless, uninhabited country that varies in width from sixty miles, on the east and north, to over one hundred miles on the west and south. Access to the interior is limited. One line of wells links Tsumkwe in the interior with Grootfontein on the west.

[491] Two rarely used motor tracks join the interior with the Okavango swamp to the east. A police patrol road cut in 1954-55 runs from south to north along the B.P./S.W.A. border. The maximum vehicle speed obtainable on these tracks is 20 mph

[177] and trucks pass through about once a month. The difficulty of the terrain, the lack of farming potential, and the scarcity of water have deterred European and Bantu penetration of the area.

[114] The distinction between periphery and interior has been applied to the country of the central !Kung by John Marshall (1957) and Lorna Marshall (1960:327ff). The present usage differs from that of the Marshalls. They applied the term "interior" to the Nyae Nyae ring of pans and regarded the waterholes at /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa as peripheral. Since

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

131 Since the Nyae Nyae peoples are closely linked genealogically to
133 the peoples of /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa, and since their
312 several territories are surrounded by an uninhabited belt
619 60-100 miles in width, it seems more useful to include all the central water sources under the term "interior" and consider all the other river dwelling and farm !Kung as peripheral (see Map 7, p. 37).

121 This description of the subsistence ecology of !Kung
184 Bushmen therefore concerns the interior !Kung of the central
433 dialect division. It is not to be taken as representative of the !Kung in general, the great majority of whom are today living on European farms or working closely with Bantu.[1] It was pointed out in Chapter I that the selection of a study site was dictated by the necessity of finding a Bushman population living traditionally and independently. It was realized at the outset that such a population was not typical of the majority of !Kung.

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[1] A further stricture must be applied to the !Kung of the interior. In 1960 a Government Station was built at Tsumkwe, S.W.A. Since then the 800 interior !Kung on the South West African side of the border have settled there and are receiving instruction in agriculture. The 400 !Kung on the Bechuanaland side of the border have not been permitted to participate in this program. Therefore, during the period of the present study, only the interior !Kung in Bechuanaland were leading a year-round hunting and gathering way of life.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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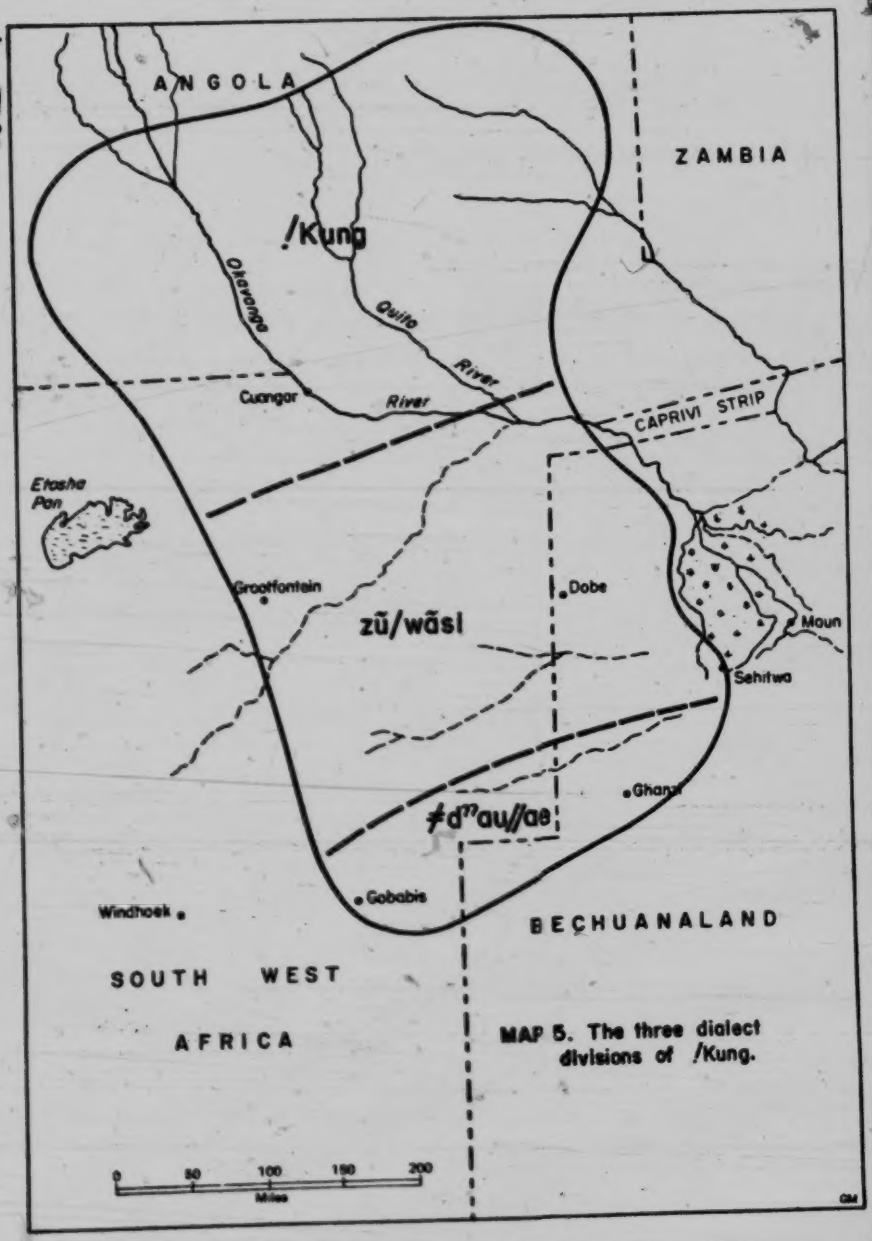

MAP 5. The three dialect divisions of /Kung.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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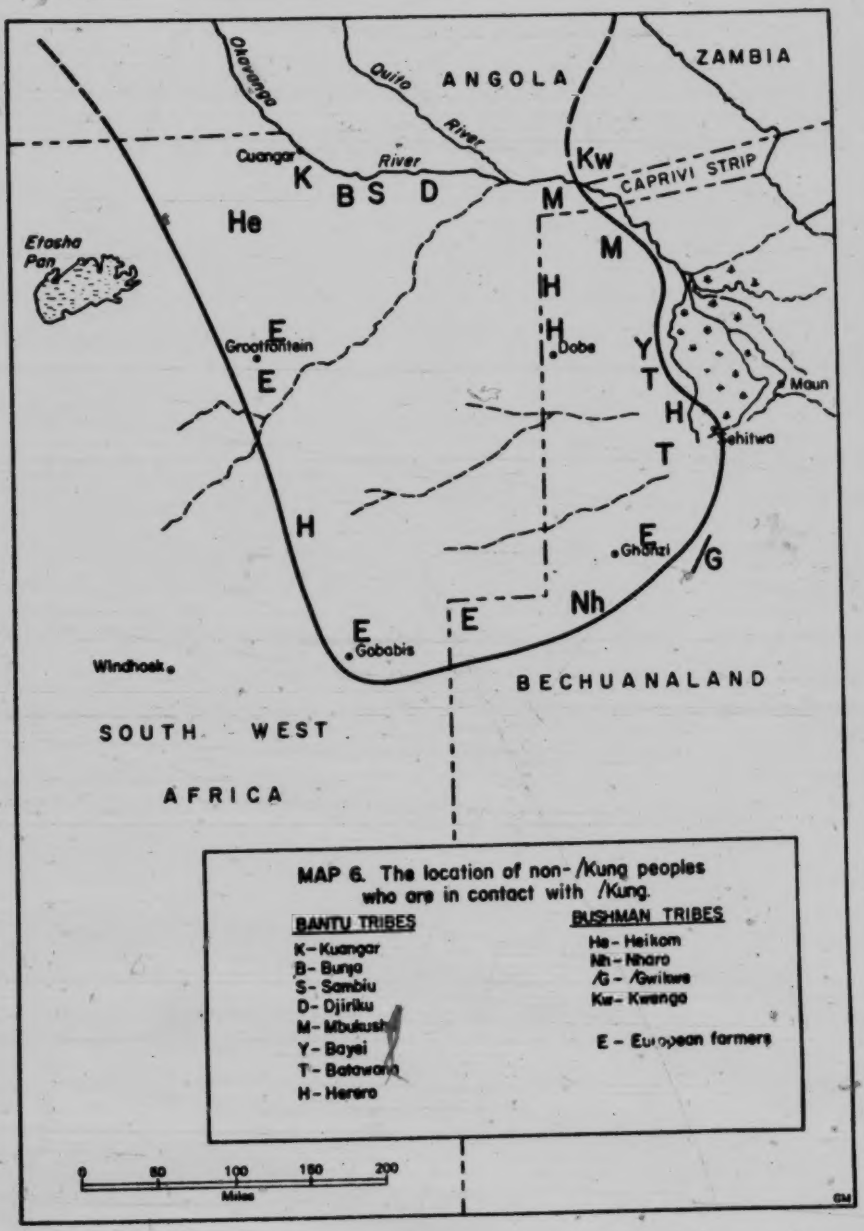

MAP 6. The location of non-/Kung peoples who are in contact with /Kung.

BANTU TRIBES
K - Kuangar
B - Bunja
S - Sambiu
D - Djiriku
M - Mbukushu
Y - Bayei
T - Batawana
H - Herero

BUSHMAN TRIBES
He - Heikom
Nh - Nharo
/G - /Gwikwe
Kw - Kwengo

E - European farmers

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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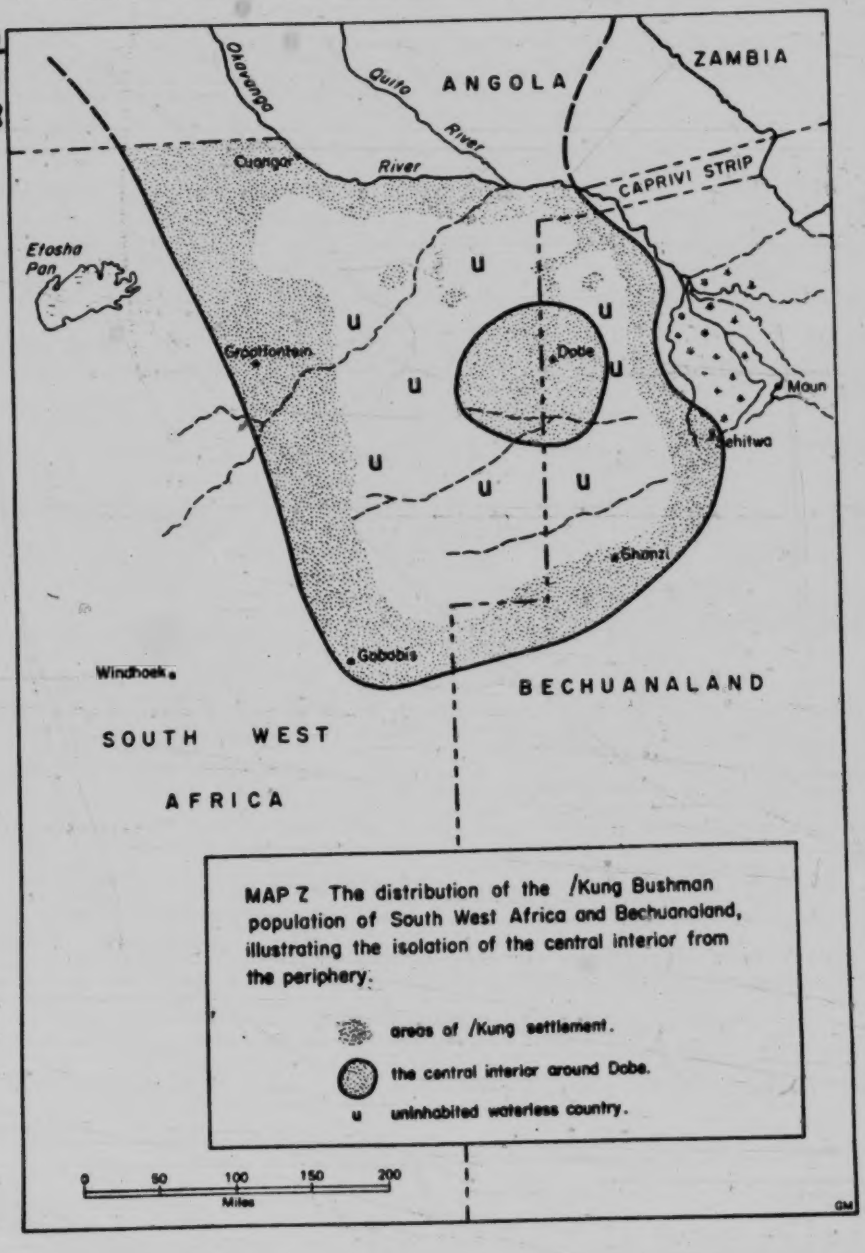

MAP 7 The distribution of the /Kung Bushman population of South West Africa and Bechuanaland, illustrating the isolation of the central interior from the periphery.

areas of /Kung settlement.

the central interior around Dobe.

u uninhabited waterless country.

131 :goše, the first waterhole of the area. Continuing southwest
[133] from :goše the motor track parallels the course of a dry
river bed called the :angwadum for 23 miles until it meets
131 the South West Africa border track. Along this route from
312 :goše to the border one passes the waterholes of Kamburungu,
:angwa matse, :angwa, Bate, Kathikona, Mahopa, :Xabe, and
:thai. Each of these wells supports Bushman groups and Bantu
cattle posts. Following the border track north from its
intersection with the :angwadum one can reach Dobe which
supports a resident population of Bushmen but no Bantu.
[133] Turning south from the intersection, one crosses the low
ranges of the Aha Hills which are usually uninhabited and
arrives after 25 miles at /ai/ai, a large waterhole with over
one hundred Bushmen.

131 All these centers of habitation lie to the east and
361 south of Dobe. To the north, the nearest settlement is
n:aun:au at a distance of 40 miles and, to the west, the
nearest settlement is Tsumkwe, 35 miles away (see Map 8).

131 Eight naturally occurring waterholes support the bulk
312 of the Dobe area population which in November, 1964, stood
[161] at 763 people. There were 433 Bushmen residents, all but one
[563] of them members of the :Kung tribe. There were 340 Bantu,
eighty-five percent of whom were of the Herero tribe. The
remaining Bantu were Batawana, Mbukushu and Bayei.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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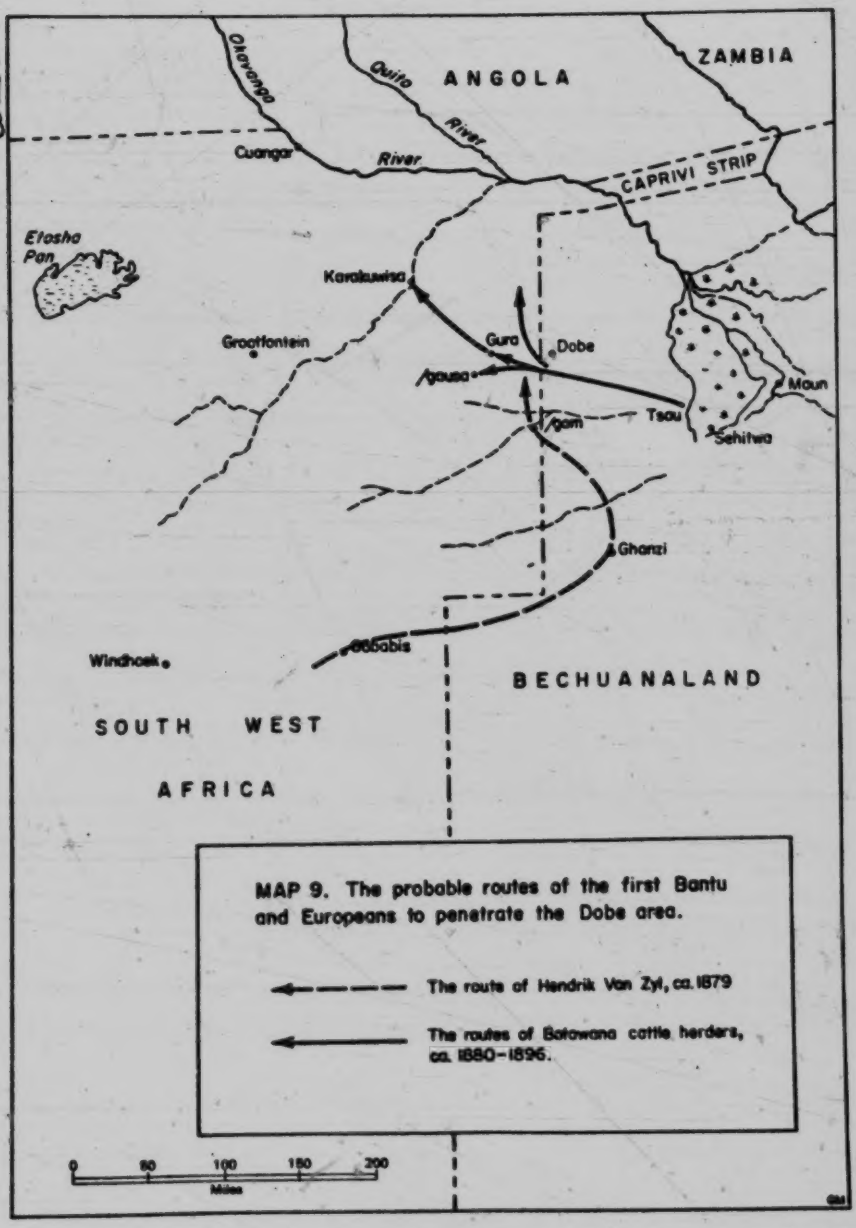

MAP 9. The probable routes of the first Bantu and Europeans to penetrate the Dobe area.

The route of Hendrik Van Zyl, ca. 1879

The routes of Batawana cattle herders, ca. 1880–1896.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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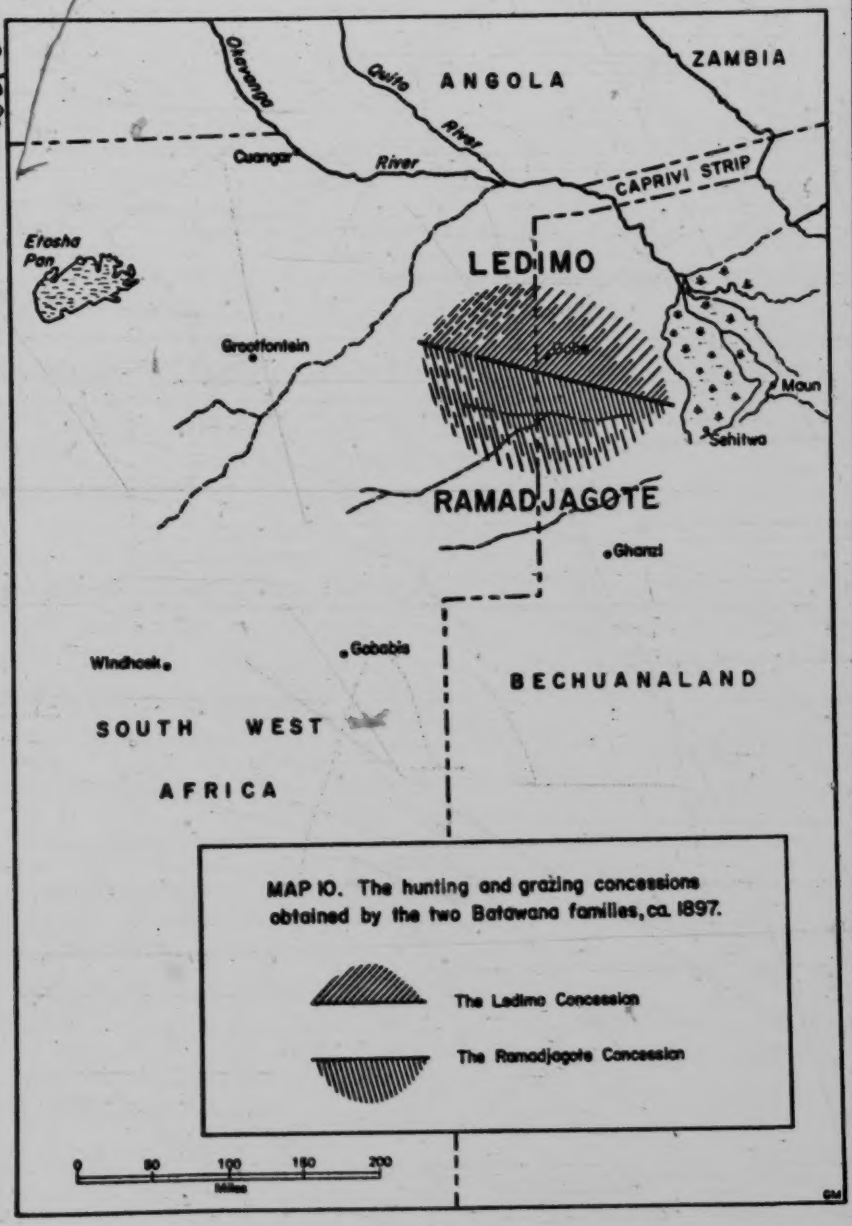

MAP 10. The hunting and grazing concessions obtained by the two Batawana families, ca. 1897.

The Ledimo Concession

The Ramadjagote Concession

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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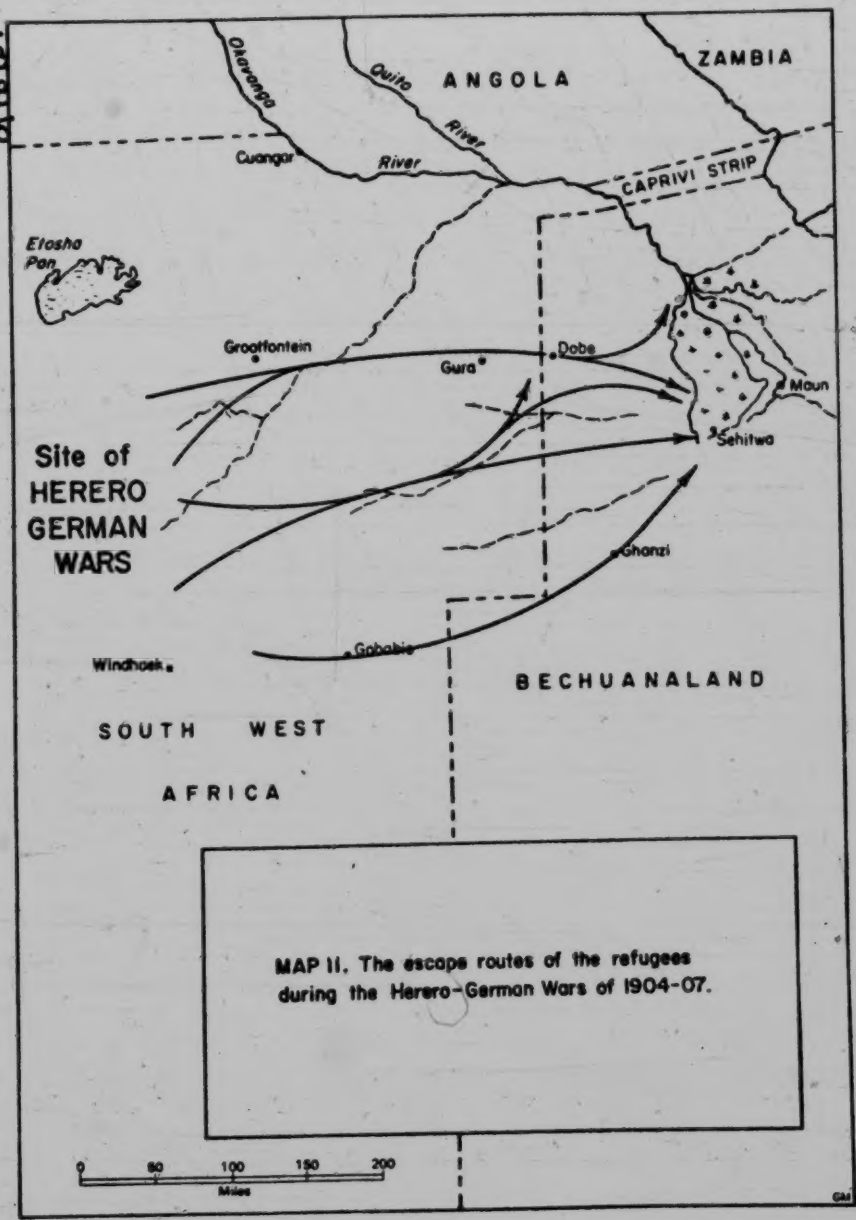

MAP II. The escape routes of the refugees during the Herero-German Wars of 1904-07.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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IV. THE ENVIRONMENT

131 The area under consideration is a tract of land in Bechuanaland and South West Africa. The boundaries are the Okavango River on the north and east, the Ghanzi Farms on the south, and the edge of the South West African Escarpment on the west. The area thus defined (excluding transitional zones on the edges) is c. 160 miles x 160 miles = 25,600 sq. miles.

133 The area is characterized by a series of fixed dunes running parallel to each other 5-50 miles in length oriented approximately W 10° N / E 10° N. In the spaces between the dunes, 1-5 miles in width, are basins or molapos. "Molapo" is a Sechuana word meaning dry river bed. It is used throughout the thesis when referring to the longitudinal depressions between the dunes as well as the more deeply incised river valleys that do not conform to the parallel patterning of the dunes. "Molapo" is the Sechuana equivalent of "omaramba", a Herero word used by J. Marshall (1957), Story (1958), and others.

[114]

The combination of basin and dune forms a remarkably uniform pattern from north to south. At several points the landscape is incised by deeper drainage systems that expose the bedrock. The molapo dune pattern is also interrupted by

133 three rock outcrops and one ring of large pans. These features are illustrated in Map 12, p. 71.[1]

Soils and vegetation

134 The dune crests and flanks are characterized by deep
137 loose sand of red and white. These support a distinctive association of broad-leaved trees and shrubs. The molapos, both in the interstices of the dunes and in the more deeply incised river beds, are characterized by compacted grey soils. These molapos support an association of complex-leaved thorn trees and shrubs.

134 The color and composition of the soil appear to be a function of elevation. The color sequence from reddish to grey correlates with the texture sequence from loose to firm. These two sequences correlate with elevation within local drainage systems.

Thus the reddest, loosest sands are found on the crest of the dunes. The flanks of the dunes and the flats have buff white compacted soils, and the molapos have grey, highly compacted soils.

These sequences are schematized in Figure 1, p. 72.

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[1] As of April, 1965, there are no maps available for this area. Map 12 is based on the examination of aerial photographs on file at Maun, B.P. and the author's rough transects by Land Rover.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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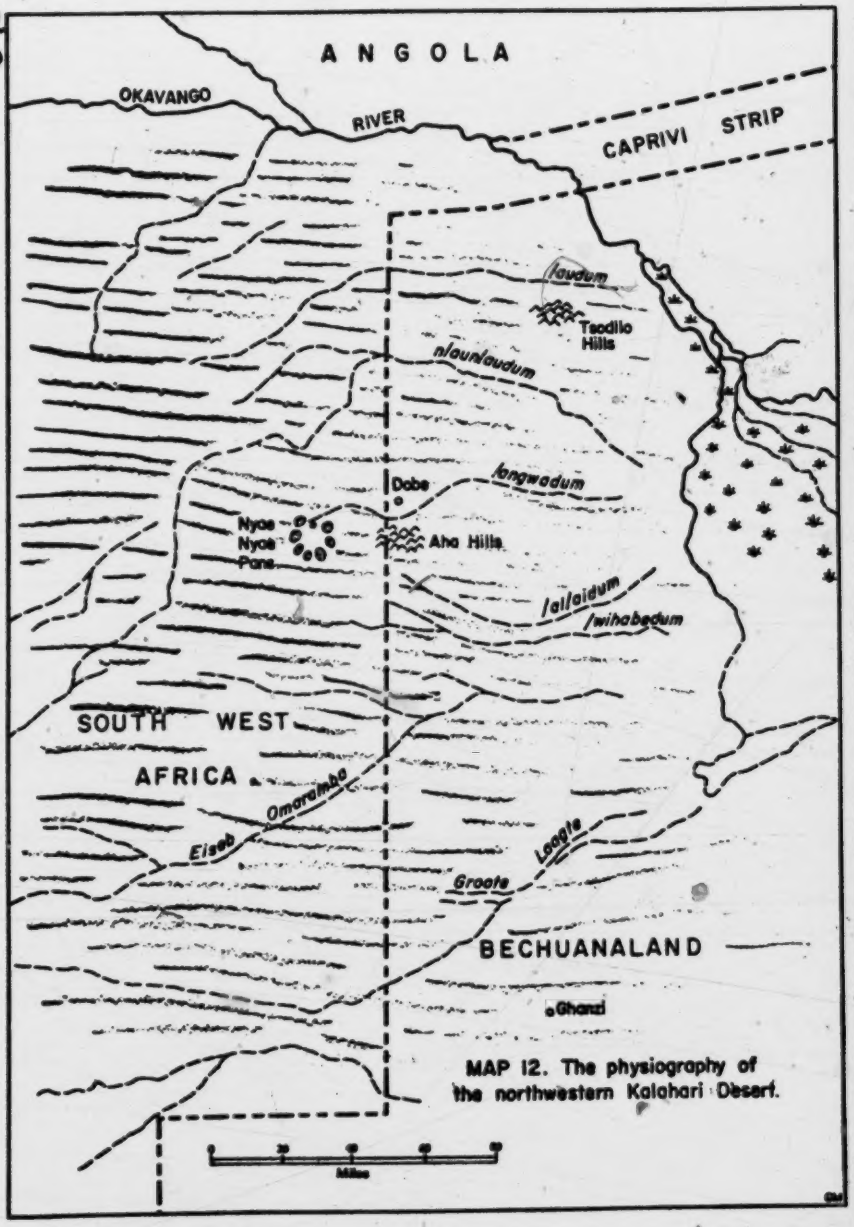

MAP 12. The physiography of the northwestern Kalahari Desert.

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vegetation and water.

133 Map 13 shows the physiography of the Dobe area. The area
312 enclosed is approximately 2,700 sq. miles. The large river course (upper right) flows from west to east (it runs about once in ten years) and contains four of the eight permanent natural waterholes in the area. Three additional waterholes are located on limestone flats within a few miles of the main course. The eighth waterhole is in the large molapo at the southern edge of the map. In addition, there are three small wells which have been dug by the Bantu in recent years. All are situated in the main !angwa molapo.

Six interdune molapos are shown by single black lines. The waters of three of these may reach the main river in flood years. In most years, however, they fill internal drainage basins only. The directions of flow are indicated by the arrows. Five of the larger summer waters are represented
133 as open circles in the molapos. The map shows clearly how the main molapos and the hills interrupt the east-west parallel orientation of the dunes. The areas not represented as dunes, molapos, or hills are flats and transitional vegetation zones. It will be noticed that west of Dobe the flats extend in a broad band 10 miles deep on either side of the molapo. Elsewhere the flats form narrow belts between the dunes and molapos.

Map 13 will be used in subsequent chapters as a base map

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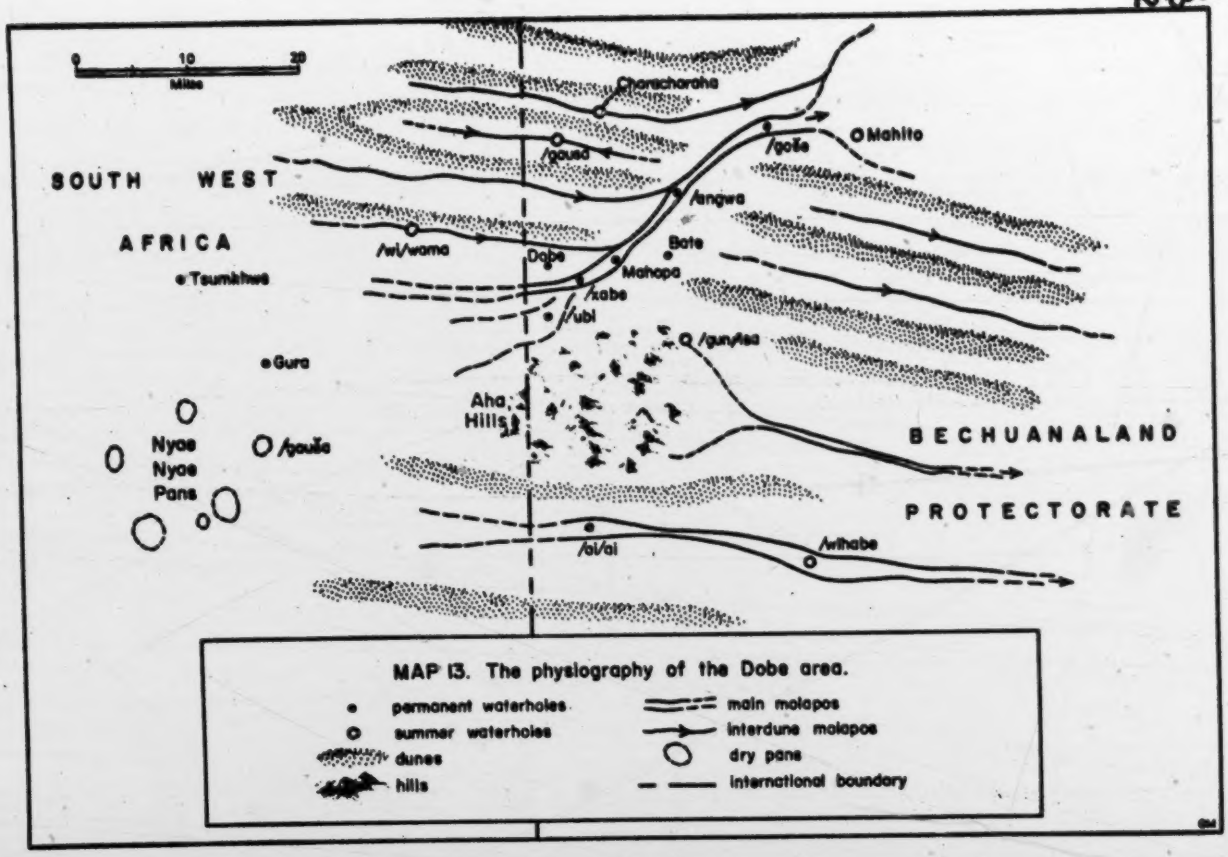

MAP 13. The physiography of the Dobe area.

- permanent waterholes
- summer waterholes
- dunes
- hills
- main molapos
- interdune molapos
- dry pans
- international boundary

133 for plotting territorial divisions, group movements, and seasonal subsistence patterns.

Fauna

136 The main fact to be noted here is the comparative scarcity of migratory large game. There is evidence for a diminution in the abundance and variety of large game over the last seventy years. There are reports that the hunter Van Zyl killed elephant and rhinoceros at /gam, 60 miles south of Dobe in the 1870's. Some Bechuana informants found rhino at /ai/ai around 1915. /ai/ai is 25 miles south of Dobe. Today elephants are only occasional summer visitors in the Dobe area (two came in 1963, none in 1964). There are no rhino within 200 miles of Dobe. Springbok were present as late as 1950 (J. Marshall 1957) but they are absent today.

Ungulates: In terms of biomass the most abundant ungulates are kudu, wildebeeste, and gemsbok in that order. Kudu were observed in groups of 3-7 in all seasons. On one occasion a herd of twenty was seen. Wildebeeste occurred in all seasons in groups never larger than eight. This is in sharp contrast to the situation 200 miles south of Dobe where herds of several hundred are common. Gemsbok were sighted singly or in pairs in all seasons.

The most common antelopes numerically were the two non-

136
298 arrows: Diamphidia nigro-ornata and Polycada flexuosa. These are described in Chapter VI.

Climate

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[133] The Kalahari Desert has a mean elevation of 3,000 feet above sea level and lies within the summer rainfall area of Southern Africa. These factors contribute to a climatic regime that is characterized by hot summers with a three to four month rainy season, and by moderate to cool winters without rainfall.

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805 Five seasons may be distinguished in the Dobe area. Most Bushmen recognize five (although some divide the year into eight or more seasons) and their scheme will be followed here.

Seasons

1. !huma (spring rains) -- The Bushman year begins in October or November with the onset of the first rains. These consist of light convectional thundershowers that often fall on one area and miss other areas entirely. The first rains have the effect of triggering growth and reproduction in the flora and fauna and may overnight transform the landscape from a parched and dry state to one of lush greenery.

2. bara (main summer rains) -- These rains fall from December to March and coincide with the season of plentiful food. There is a wide variation from year to year in the

VIII. WATER AND THE SEASONAL ROUND

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The Kalahari desert is not a food poor area. Most of it is situated between the 10 and 20 inch isohyet and therefore it is marginal for cultivation (without irrigation), but the desert supports a remarkable abundance and variety of edible wild plants which have become genetically adapted to arid conditions.

Geographers have classified the Kalahari as "desert" because of the lack of surface water (Wellington 1955 etc.). This in turn is a function of the sandy terrain which supports surface water only during a brief summer season. In the few localities where the underlying geological formations are exposed, permanent standing water is found. And these point sources of water are usually surrounded by waterless belts of up to 200 miles in width. Edible plants on the other hand are widely distributed both in the immediate vicinity of water and at considerable distances from it. The geographical separation of food and water in certain seasons is the critical problem of !Kung Bushman subsistence.

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This is not a major problem during the rainy season when seasonal standing water may be found in close proximity to the concentrated food resources. Nor is this a major problem during the early winter when food is available around the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

superior to those of the other native peoples that they have been able to preserve much of their original cohesion and culture, and in many cases to offer a strong resistance to the disintegrating effects of contact with European civilization.

The present work deals with those two groups of natives who have suffered most at the hands of the European settlers: the Bushmen and the Hottentots. In spite of the far-reaching differences between them, they have in common several features, not only of race and language, but also of culture, especially religion, which justify their being treated together. These common features by no means render invalid the distinctions upon which is based the customary classification of these peoples into two separate groups. They are significant enough, however, to permit of both groups being regarded as constituting to some extent a larger ethnic unit, which, it is important to note, is clearly differentiated from the Bergdama on the one hand and the Bantu on the other. The term *Khoisan*, recently coined by Schultze to denote the racial stock to which the Bushmen and the Hottentots belong,[1] has therefore been accepted here as a convenient generic name for these two peoples. The necessity for such a generic name will perhaps be seen more clearly when the racial history of each people has been considered.

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Topography: General Features

The Khoisan peoples at the present time live almost entirely in the western and central portions of South Africa. The main political areas within whose borders they are found are the Territory of South-West Africa, formerly a German colony, but now administered under mandate by the Union of South Africa; Bechuanaland Protectorate, administered directly by Great Britain through the High Commissioner for South Africa; and the central and western districts of the Union, principally in the Cape of Good Hope. The Bushmen formerly extended further east into Southern Rhodesia and over the rest of the Union, but have virtually disappeared from those parts.

H B 131

The territory over which the two peoples are now scattered presents a solid land mass, covering an area of approximately 915,000 square

H B 133

[1] L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, p. 211. The term is compounded of the names *Khoi-Khoin*, by which the Hottentots call themselves, and *San*, applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen. The latter have no collective name of their own.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX18.

H B 133

miles, without peninsulas of any size or any large islands off its coasts.[1] By far the greater part has an elevation of over 3,000 feet above the sea, while the area below 1,500 feet is merely a narrow fringe round the coast. Most of the interior consists of a high plateau region, rising gradually around its borders and passing by degrees into an encircling belt of much diversified country. The escarpment which bounds it on the south-east, south, and west is constituted by the Drakensberg Mountains of the Transvaal, the Drakensberg or Quathlamba of Natal and the Transkei, the Stormberg of the north-eastern Cape Province, the Sneeuwberg, Nieuweveld, Roggeveld, and Kamiesberg further south and west, and is continued northwards under less well-known names to beyond the Kunene River. These mountains appear to be of no great height when viewed from the interior plateau, but on the seaward side they fall steeply, though rather irregularly, to the much lower level of country on the west and south.

On the west, as far south as the Olifants River, the escarpment is separated from the ocean by slopes of a more uniform nature, but in the south the Great Karroo and long ranges of fold-mountains (the Cape Folded Belt) intervene between it and the coast. The coast-line on the west is generally low, almost unbroken by bays or promontories, and beaten all the year round by a heavy surf; on the south there are several prominent headlands, which, however, afford little protection to ships. The only good natural harbour of any size is Saldanha Bay in the south-west, but at Walvis Bay, Table Bay, Algoa Bay and other places ports have been constructed.

H B 132

The general characteristics of the climate are determined more by the physical conformation of the land than by proximity to the equator. The eastern escarpments of the high plateau intercept the rain-bearing winds from the Indian Ocean, so that over the greater part of the interior the rainfall is slight (5 to 24 inches). This, added to the elevation of the land, makes the climate in general dry, bracing, and suitable for Europeans, notwithstanding the fact that the northern part of the country is within the tropics. Owing to the gradual increase of altitude from the coast to the interior, there is a remarkable uniformity of mean annual temperature over the greater part of the region: at

[1] The description given above is compiled mainly from the following sources: S. Passarge, *Südafrika*, 1908, chaps. iii–xv *passim*; L. Schultze, "Südwestafrika," in *Das Deutsche Kolonialreich*, 1910 (ed. H. Meyer), vol. ii, pp. 129–298; *The Oxford Survey of the British Empire*, 1914, vol. on "Africa", chaps. i–v; *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 9, 1928, esp. chaps. ii and xxvii; *The South and East African Year Book and Guide* (ed. A. S. Brown and G. G. Brown), 1929 edition, pp. 85–98 and *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

very many places, irrespective of latitude or longitude, it is very close to 63° F., which is also the mean for the entire area. The difference between mean summer and mean winter temperatures is, however, considerable, increasing from the coast inland, while the daily range of temperature is also generally great. Frosts are common on the plateau during winter. H B 132

By far the greater part of the country receives the bulk of its rainfall in summer. The winter rainfall area is confined to a comparatively narrow strip parallel with the west coast, and the constant rainfall area to a much smaller belt in the south. Generally speaking the amount of precipitation decreases from east to west, with areas of heavier rainfall along the south coast and in the south-west. The average annual rainfall of about 24 inches is fairly regular all over the eastern half of South Africa, reaching a maximum of 40 inches in Zulu[illegible], and diminishing gradually along the south coast to rise again in the Cape Peninsula. It rapidly falls to 10 inches in the south-western Karroo, from which there is a steady decrease towards the north-west in South-West Africa, but the mean value is again approached in Angola and in the northern and eastern Kalahari.

This contrast in the amount and incidence of the rainfall tends to explain very largely the lack in correspondence of the principal river-systems in the south and west respectively. On the west the rivers are few, and only the Kunene, Orange, Olifants, and Berg are perennial, of which the first two, the largest, not only rise within centres of high rainfall, but also receive no important contributions throughout the lower part of their courses. In the south, owing to the moderately high winter rainfall, the smaller rivers rarely cease flowing, but all the important ones, such as the Gouritz, Gamtoos, and Sundays, actually originate in the interior region of summer rains behind the coast ranges and pass through the latter to the sea by means of deep gorges. They receive insufficient water in their courses across the Folded Belt to maintain a constant flow at all seasons, and in times of drought may become a series of pools. H B. 133

Since most of the larger rivers rise upon the interior plateau, their gradients, over stretches, are high; sometimes there are waterfalls, such as the Rua Cana on the Kunene and the Aughrabies on the Orange, while rocky bars or rapids may occur in their channels within the coastal belt or just before it is reached. In consequence of this great slope, and of the intermittent supply of water, none of the rivers is navigable beyond its estuary. The mouths of the rivers

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10,

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are always obstructed by sand bars, and most of the rivers are further liable to receive sudden freshets, which sweep down with great force and render the fords impassable until they have subsided.

Natural Divisions and Vegetation

The Interior Plateau

Topographically the interior plateau can be divided up into several regions, more or less sharply defined from one another by the shape and character of the surface and by the climate. Its heart is constituted by the Kalahari Desert, a huge sand and bush-covered plain standing at an average elevation of 3,000 to 3,500 feet above the sea, and devoid of running water except in the extreme north. The greater part of this plain forms the western portion of Bechuanaland Protectorate, but it spreads south into that part of Bechuanaland annexed to the Cape and west into South-West Africa. The Orange River may be taken as marking its southern limit; westwards it reaches to the foot of the Nama and Damara highlands of South-West Africa, eastwards to the cultivated parts of Bechuanaland, and northwards to the Congo-Zambesi watershed, embracing the valley of the Okavango and the bed of Lake Ngami.

The Kalahari as a whole is arid and scored by the beds of dried-up rivers. Its surface is thickly covered with red sand and calcareous deposits, through which the basement rocks seldom show. In a few places, however, they project abruptly above the plains in the form of isolated bare hills, which though not high are conspicuous on account of the monotonous regularity of the surface from which they arise. The ground is undulating and is thrown up towards the west into extensive belts of parallel sand dunes, in part, however, fixed by vegetation, which cover a great portion of the country in the south and stretch with interruptions to beyond Lake Ngami.

Throughout the Desert there are extensive mud flats, which after heavy rains become pans and lakes of shallow water, and water is then also found in mud-bottomed pools along the beds of rivers. All over the country numerous small pans or vleis also occur in crater-like depressions where the rock rises above the desert sands. The water in these pans is often brackish and in some cases thickly encrusted with salt. The native routes lead from pan to pan, or from one waterhole in the bed of a sandy river to another. During the dry season the lack of water is so widespread in the Southern

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10.

and Middle Kalahari that it is scarcely possible to traverse parts of the country, and many routes can only be followed at such times as the pools have been filled by recent rain. H B 133

The winter climate is delightful. The heat during the other months is great, but there are occasional short, sudden, and therefore treacherous changes from extreme heat to cold. Malarial fever is prevalent, being particularly severe in the neighbourhood of the water-courses and other low-lying places, where during and immediately after the season of the heavy rains the dense bush, thick undergrowth, and rank vegetation afford excellent shelter to mosquitoes. The rainfall varies from about 8 inches in the south-west to more than 20 inches in the north and east; almost all the rain falls in the summer months, December to April, and chiefly in thunderstorms. Except in the north, none of this rainfall reaches the sea, the water being either evaporated directly or flowing into shallow depressions such as Lake Ngami and the Great Makarrikarri salt-pan. Over wide areas the country is so flat that the rain drains off partly in one direction, partly in another. H B 132 164

The principal river in the north is the Okavango, which, rising in the Angola highlands, flows into the Okavango marshes, a region about a hundred miles in length and from ten to fifty miles in width. From this reed-choked swamp the river at certain seasons overflows on the north into the Kwando and so reaches the Zambesi, and on the south into Lake Ngami and the Botletle River, which feeds the Makarrikarri depression and the great sandy plains of the north-east. During the rains the whole of this region is covered with wide stretches of water, often extending far beyond the horizon. The Nossob, Molopo, and Kuruman Rivers in the south, which formerly drained the greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari into the Orange River, are now for the most part sandy beds bordered with trees, and water is seldom found except towards their heads. At the present time no water leaves this part of the Kalahari except through evaporation. The country appears to be suffering from progressive desiccation, but there is said to be good evidence of an abundant supply of water not far beneath the surface. H B 133

The rainfall, though very small in the west and south, enables a fair amount of vegetation to flourish, chiefly grasses, shrubs, and trees, except in certain areas where the soil is too saline. The great plains, more especially in the south, are covered with tough sun-bleached Bushman grass (*Aristida brevifolia*), growing knee-high and giving H B 137

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10.

Northern Damaraland to the south of the Karst region is a tract of extensive grass plains, from which emerge isolated eminences and a few mountain chains superimposed on the main plateau. Further south the whole country attains its highest elevation of over 6,000 feet in the Khomashochland of Windhoek district, while south and east of Windhoek rise the great Auas Mountains (highest altitude 7,886 feet), which form the watershed of South-West Africa. Deep clefts and gorges, widely-extended plains and high rugged peaks are characteristic of this region ; valleys, too, expand in among the mountain groups, and are often of extreme fertility. To the south succeed the plateaus and table-topped mountains of Great Namaqualand. This part of the country is dominated by two longitudinal trenches, that of the Konkip to the west, that of the Great Fish River to the east. West of the former is a series of mountain ranges and elevated plains, among them being the Tsaras and Tiras Mountains and the Huib plateau, while to the east of it is the Hanam plateau. Still further east, beyond the Great Fish River, the Urinanib plateau overlooks the Kalahari. In the south-east the isolated Great and Little Karas Mountains rise to considerable heights, but the country is for the greater part flat or rolling. Eastward and north-east of these elevated tracts, the upland assumes a very level character, composed mainly of sand dune formation merging eventually everywhere into the sandveld of the Kalahari.

H B. 133

Although the northern half of South-West Africa falls within the Tropic of Capricorn, the climate is on the whole temperate rather than tropical. The extreme north and north-east are hot and trying to Europeans, and malaria is very prevalent there during the autumn ; but on the central plateau the dryness of the air makes the summer heat easily supportable, and the country generally is healthy, with clear, bracing atmosphere and much wind. The winters are cold, and ice often forms upon the central and southern plateaus. Rain falls during the summer from October to April, but rarely during the winter season. The mean annual rainfall varies with the latitude, from 6 inches in the south to 12 inches in the centre and reaching 22 inches in the north.

H B 132 [164]

Except for those rivers forming part of the northern and southern frontiers of the country—the Kunene, Okavango, and Orange—there are practically none which carry surface water all the year round. Almost all are simply dry sandy watercourses which become torrents for a short period after rain ; but save in very wet seasons few of these

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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flow for any considerable distance. For the rest of the time they have water only below the bed or in pools. Away from these sandy beds water as a rule is extremely hard to find. After heavy rains great hollows in the rocks are filled with water which is a blessing to any traveller passing that way, and there are also vleis and depressions which hold water for a short while. Springs, however, are few and far between, and then generally occur in the river-courses.

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Corresponding to the variation in the rainfall there is a variation in the character of the vegetation. In the extreme south for a considerable distance semi-desert conditions prevail, the arid, stony plateaus and plains supporting a sparse growth of grass and small, scrubby bushes, including the different species of *Grevia* which produce the wild berries so much used by all the natives as food. In heavy rainy seasons, however, nutritious grasses and flowers spring up everywhere. The river-courses are clothed with trees, especially the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Kokerboom (*Aloe dichotoma*), and in all of them, too, the South American *Nicotiana glauca Grah.*, the wild tobacco plant, is found as a straggly, weedy shrub or tree. Northwards the veld assumes the characteristics of the Karroo until Rehoboth is reached, when it changes into park-like grass country studded with large thorn trees, being especially well timbered along the watercourses. From the mountainous portions of the Windhoek district northwards towards Omaruru the country is covered with level bush with an undergrowth of very nutritious grass, the valleys and watercourses being well wooded mostly with Acacia trees, especially the Kameeldoorn. Towards the north the bush becomes denser until it is fairly well timbered all over. In its northernmost section it is traversed by belts of open Mopane forest, and towards the Okavango fertile tropical vegetation is abundant. Numerous kinds of fruits, roots, and tubers used by the natives as food are found over the whole region, but most abundantly in the north. The edible bulbs belong for the most part to the *Iradaceae* family, while the tubers are generally *Asclepiads*, though the *Cyperaceae* and the *Oxalidae* also furnish succulent tuber-like growths.

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South of the Orange River the rocky western edge of the great interior plateau is extended into the highlands of Little Namaqualand in the Cape Province. With scanty soil and low rainfall (5 to 15 inches) this region shares the characteristics of the southern portion of South-West Africa. Short perennial streams are found in the Kamiesberg, but the mountainous country enclosed by the great bend

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10.

of the Orange River is very dry. The level arid plain of Bushmanland further east is essentially a continuation of the Kalahari, from which it is separated by the deep rocky valley of the Orange River. The summer rainfall is low (5 to 10 inches), increasing gradually from the west eastwards; there is practically no surface water, and the soil is usually bare, stony or sandy. The river-beds are mostly dry throughout the greater part of the year, and the Orange River is the only one that always contains water. The general aspect of the vegetation both here and in Namaqualand is that of widely-separated xerophytic shrubs and bushes, with a fair proportion of succulent plants in the low-lying valleys and on the rocky outcrops. Grasses do not form a conspicuous feature, but they occur on the high plateaus and sandy plains, where the vegetative period is short, and where they always assume a tufted habit. H B- 132 133 H B 137

Further south and east is the Upper or Northern Karroo, an arid tract of country stretching northwards to the Orange River at an elevation of between 2,800 and 6,000 feet above sea-level. It is bounded on the west by the Roggeveld, on the south by the Nieuweveld and Sneeuwberg ranges, which form part of the great escarpment of the interior plateau. The landscape appears for the most part in the form of vast treeless plains, only here and there broken by table-topped hills boldly scarped by sandstone and dolerite sheets, while occasionally dark ridges, the outcrops of inclined sheets of dolerite, are seen traversing the country for many miles. H B 133

The region is exposed to great extremes of temperature. Severe frosts are experienced in the winter nights, while the summer heats are correspondingly severe, reaching at times to 110° F. in the shade. The feeling of oppression at such times is increased by the hot westerly winds which predominate during the first half of summer, although the nights are cool even during the periods of greatest heat. The winter days, on the other hand, are very enjoyable, the air being keen and bright with a maximum of sunshine. There is a wide range of rainfall, from less than 5 inches in the north-west to 25 inches in the east; the greater part of this falls in violent summer thunderstorms, and almost all the water runs off the sun-baked soil into deep gullies which hurry it off to the sea. Severe droughts are common, and the streams are all intermittent. The soil is shallow and rock-strewn, except in the alluvial tracts in the valley bottoms, and surface limestone becomes an important feature in the drier parts of the region. Pans are abundant, and a striking feature in the low-grade H B 132 H B 133 134

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

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valleys of the north-west are the wide "vloers" of Carnarvon and Calvinia, more or less well-defined flat areas a few miles wide and thinly covered with brackish silt.

H B 137 311

Owing to the great range in rainfall and altitude there is a considerable diversity of conditions in this region. While the north-western parts are little better than desert, the more favoured districts to the south and east are well covered with permanently-occupied farms, although agriculture is restricted to the alluvial tracts. The vegetation is everywhere of a semi-desert character. The greater part of the country supports only a sparse and incomplete covering of shrublets and stunted, skeleton-like bushes, most of which belong to the family *Compositae*. In spite of their unpromising appearance when burnt up by the rays of the summer sun, they afford excellent sustenance for stock even in the driest seasons, and at the present time they provide nourishment to millions of sheep and goats, supporting one of the great wool growing industries of the world. Thorny plants, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants abound in places, but trees, principally Acacias, appear as a rule only along the dry sandy river-beds. Grasses are frequent in the rainy season, but nowhere form the dominant feature of the vegetation.

H B 132 133 137

The High Veld of the Orange Free State and the Southern Transvaal is essentially an extension eastwards of the Upper Karroo, but has a much better rainfall. Lying for the most part over 5,000 feet above sea-level, and with an invigorating climate, it is perhaps the most favourable region in the Union for a white population. The rainfall ranges from about 20 to 35 inches, and occurs principally during the summer months in thunderstorms. The winters are dry and cold, and severe frosts are by no means uncommon. The streams are often perennial. The country generally presents a most monotonous type of scenery, consisting of vast rolling plains, although as one travels westward towards drier regions the surface becomes flatter or more varied by steep-sided flat-topped hills. It is essentially grass country and for the most part devoid of indigenous trees, except along the river-banks, which are frequently clothed with willows and mimosas; shrubs are found on the koppies, while growing among the grasses are large numbers of bulbous and tuberous plants.

The Coastal Regions

H B 133

The country between the escarpment and the ocean is considerably smaller than the interior plateau, but as regards climate and structure

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10.

it presents as much diversity. Along the west coast from the Olifants River northwards as far as the Kunene stretches a desolate and barren wilderness, well deserving the name of "Namib" or desert by which it is known in South-West Africa. This arid tract varies in width from 18 miles in the north to about 85 miles towards the south, and the ground-level rises gradually and evenly from the sea to the plateau. The greater part of the surface is covered by drifting sand dunes, which stretch in wave after wave to the horizon; here and there low gravelly hills and ridges of hard rock project through the mantle of sand, while in places gravel plains and sandy flats vary the monotonous billow of the landscape. The belt of dunes is widest and most continuous south of the Swakop, some of them reaching a height of 300 feet and over; further north they are at once much less continuous and much lower, and the country east of them is more broken. The Northern Namib is further distinguished from the Southern by the presence of watercourses which have kept an open channel to the sea. H B 133

The cold Benguella current sweeping the coast from the Antarctic is primarily responsible for the aridity of this region. The coast is dominated by cool winds from south and south-west for about 50 miles inland, although there are occasional very hot winds from the east during the dry season. The winds blowing inland over the cold water lose a considerable amount of their moisture, which hangs as a dense mist over the coastal border almost all the year round, but especially heavily in winter. The Namib in consequence is a practically rainless desert, the mean annual rainfall at Walvis Bay, for instance, being 0·3 inches, and at Port Nolloth 2·17 inches. The temperature, lowered by the Antarctic current, is fairly constant. Port Nolloth in the south, with a mean annual temperature of 57·5°, has the least annual range of temperature in South Africa; February the warmest month has a temperature of only 60·1°, while July the coolest month averages 54·2°. H B 132

The result of the deficient rainfall is a very scanty, intensely xerophytic vegetation. The plants are stunted and dwarfed, and nowhere form a conspicuous covering to the earth. Here and there considerable areas are almost entirely devoid of vegetation, although along much of the coastal border the wet and heavy sea fog maintains a sparse cover of bush on the sandy ground. From about 25 miles inland the landscape is characterized by such plants as the milk bush (*Euphorbia*) and cacti, while towards the east, in years of abundant rainfall, the country is fairly well grassed. In the river beds rich H B 137

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

H B 137 [231]

verdure may be found, such as various Acacias, the principal of which are the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Ana (*Acacia albida*). The leaves and pods of the latter provide the staple food for the cattle, sheep and goats in these parts. Other characteristic vegetable growths are the inflammable candle bush (*Sarcocaulon Burmanni*) and, in the area inland from Walvis Bay, the famous *!naras* (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*), a leafless cucurbitaceous plant with an edible melon-like fruit which when in season forms practically the sole article of diet of the natives. In one or two spots is found the most remarkable of all, the unique gymnosperm, *Welwitschia mirabilis*, which during a long lifetime produces only two pairs of leaves.

H B [262]

H B 133

At the Olifants River commences another tract of country, characterized by mountains of the folded type, which extend in parallel ranges, separated by wide valleys, over the whole southern portion of the Cape Province as far east as Humansdorp. From the narrow coastal strip fringing this tract the ground rises more or less abruptly to the mountains of the Folded Belt. To the west the rise is gradual through the fertile Goudini valley of Worcester district; further eastward the vegetation and climate partake more and more of the Karroo character, the Oudtshoorn valley and the many kloofs to the east being generally known as the Southern Karroo. The scenery here rapidly changes to bare uninteresting veld, traversed by deep gullies which are generally dry in the summer. In all directions the landscape is bounded by barren-looking mountains, whose steep, rocky sides appear from a distance to be entirely destitute of vegetation. Nothing can exceed the contrast between the scenery on the opposite slopes of the coast ranges: the traveller from the south, after ascending through luxuriant vegetation, frequently clothed in mist, emerges suddenly into a region of precipices and rocks, where rain may not have fallen for months. The soil in the valleys, however, is fertile when it can be brought under irrigation.

H B [132] [137]

The total annual rainfall is by no means deficient, the average for the region being about 29·5 inches, although it varies greatly according to locality. The average for the Cape Peninsula is 40 inches, most of it falling on the eastern side of Table Mountain. Immediately to the east of Cape Town and as far as Knysna there is a decrease to between 15 and 20 inches. The rainfall then becomes more abundant, the well-wooded Knysna itself being one of the best-watered districts of South Africa, with an average rainfall of 40 inches. Further inland, except on the mountain slopes, the rainfall is much less, and the range

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX13

of temperature is somewhat greater. Most of the rains fall during the winter (April to September), when the temperature, though mild, is still relatively low. The summer is the dry season, and long droughts regularly recur. H B 132

These climatic conditions have resulted in the production of a peculiar and characteristic type of vegetation. The dominant plants are evergreen shrubs some three to six feet high, usually with small, stiff, leathery leaves. Between the shrubs are many smaller plants, numbers of which possess bulbs, tubers or other subterranean organs storing up quantities of water and food substances. The sandy plains support a dwarf, heath-like vegetation, while the marshy hollows, the stream margins, mountain ravines and mountain summits all possess their own peculiar plant forms. The families characteristic of this region include the *Proteaceae*, to which belong many of the evergreen shrubs, among them the well-known silver tree (*Leucadendron argenteum*) of the Cape Peninsula and the sugar bush (*Protea mellifera*); the *Restionaceae*, a family of grass-like plants which largely take the place of true grasses in this region, though many of the latter occur as well; and the *Ericaceae* (heath family), which are very numerous and often strikingly beautiful. Forest patches are found in the kloofs and seaward sides of the mountains, the largest area of more or less continuous forest in the Union lying between the Outeniqua Mountains and the sea, extending from George through Knysna to the Humansdorp district. They are composed almost entirely of high timber trees, the more common being species of yellow wood, cedar, ebony, stinkwood, ironwood, and sneezewood. H B 137

The last natural region with which we are concerned is the Central or Great Karroo of the Cape Province. Lying at a level of from 1,500 to 3,000 feet above the sea, it stretches as a gently-undulating plain from the foot-hills of the Folded Belt to the mountains forming part of the great escarpment in the north. On the west it extends to the valley of the Olifants River, while in the east the Sundays River may be taken as marking its limit. The mountains of the Folded Belt rob the rain-bearing winds from the sea of their moisture, and so give rise to the aridity of this region. The rainfall is scanty, the annual mean being less than 5 inches in the west, although it increases to 15 inches in the centre and east. The surface soil is shallow, hard, and compact; the river-courses are dry, except during the brief periods of rainfall in the summer, when the bulk of the water is rushed off immediately to the sea. In the dry season the whole region presents H B 133 132 H B [134]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX18-

H B 133 132 [137]

a most desolate appearance. Verdure is entirely wanting, the numerous gullies are empty, and the low ranges of ironstone koppies which dot the plains seem to reflect the heat as from a mirror. The vegetation is composed very largely of drought-resisting thorn bushes, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants. Grasses appear only in exceptionally wet years, while trees are usually absent, except along the dry river-courses and on the mountain slopes in the east, where the rainfall is highest. Till the early years of the nineteenth century the Great Karroo was regarded as a desert unfit for man or beast; since then well-sinking and donkey transport have bettered the conditions, and the region has gradually become occupied.

H B [312 412]

Fauna

H B 136

The great variety of habitat provided by the country taken as a whole has naturally favoured the development of a varied and abundant fauna.[1] South Africa has long been renowned for the wealth of its larger forms of animal life, although with the advance of European settlement and colonization the numbers have been rapidly reduced, particularly of certain classes of big game. The native inhabitants had certainly done something to reduce the numbers and affect the distribution of the fauna, but a balance had been reached which still left the country richly stocked. The Cape was full of game when the first European settlers established themselves there 250 years ago, and in their gradual spread inland the white men found the same abundance of fine forms of animal life in each new tract of country that they entered. A few decades were enough to convert each newly-opened district from a hunter's paradise into a stock-farming country, and the increase of veld-burning carried the destruction into other zones of life. But over large parts of South Africa the face of the country itself has been little changed on the whole, and a good deal of the original fauna has survived, even on much of the enclosed land.

The mammalian fauna is, or rather was, characterized by the great abundance and variety of antelopes, the presence of such remarkable "living fossils" as the elephant, giraffe, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and aardvark, as well as of the buffalo, zebra, and quagga, and the abundance of carnivora, large and small. During the eighteenth

[1] An excellent short account is given by Dr. E. L. Gill, "Descriptive Sketch of the Fauna of South Africa," *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 9, pp. 31–41. Cf. also Passarge, op. cit., pp. 78–86.

2: Schapera
HB HB HB
102, 103, 133

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Map II "The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa," has been reproduced for the files in the following manner:

IIA	IIB	IIC
IID	IIE	IIF

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot

Bushmen FX10

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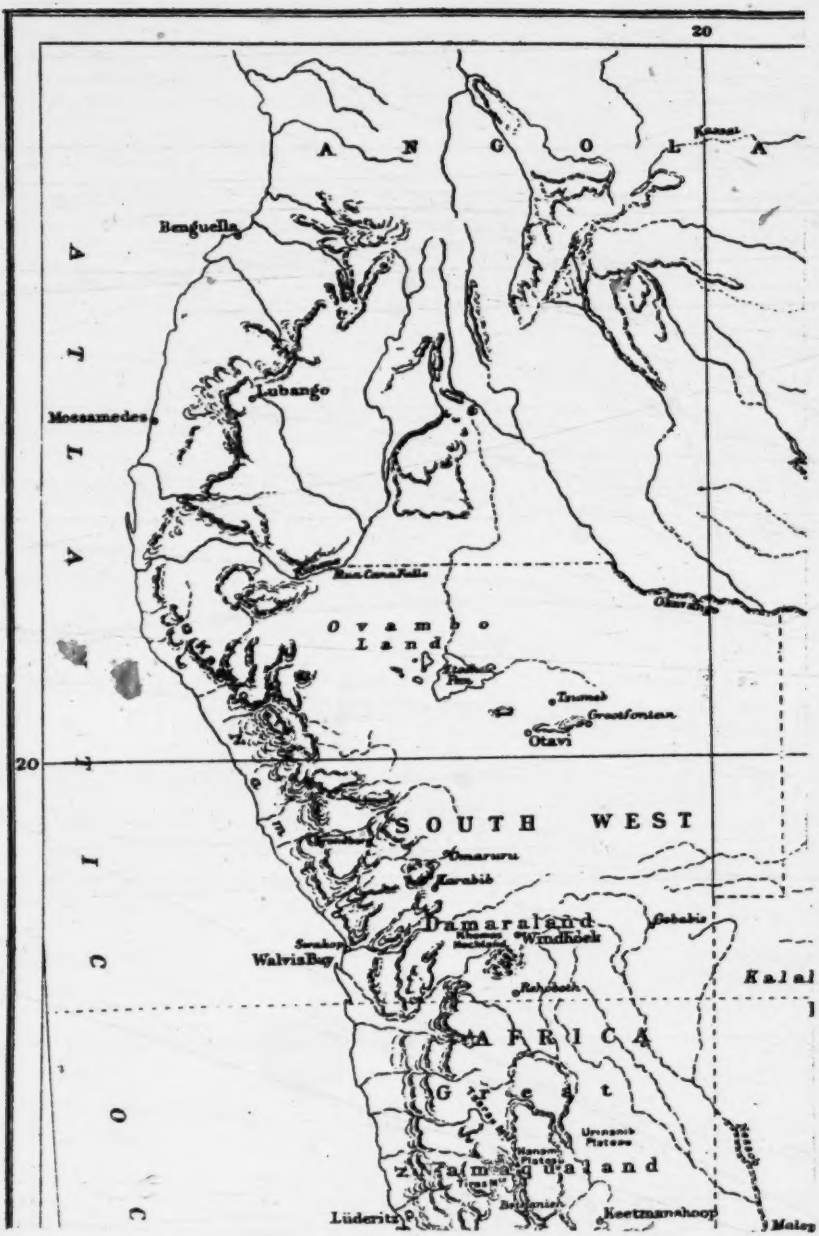

[FACING p. 446

MAP II A]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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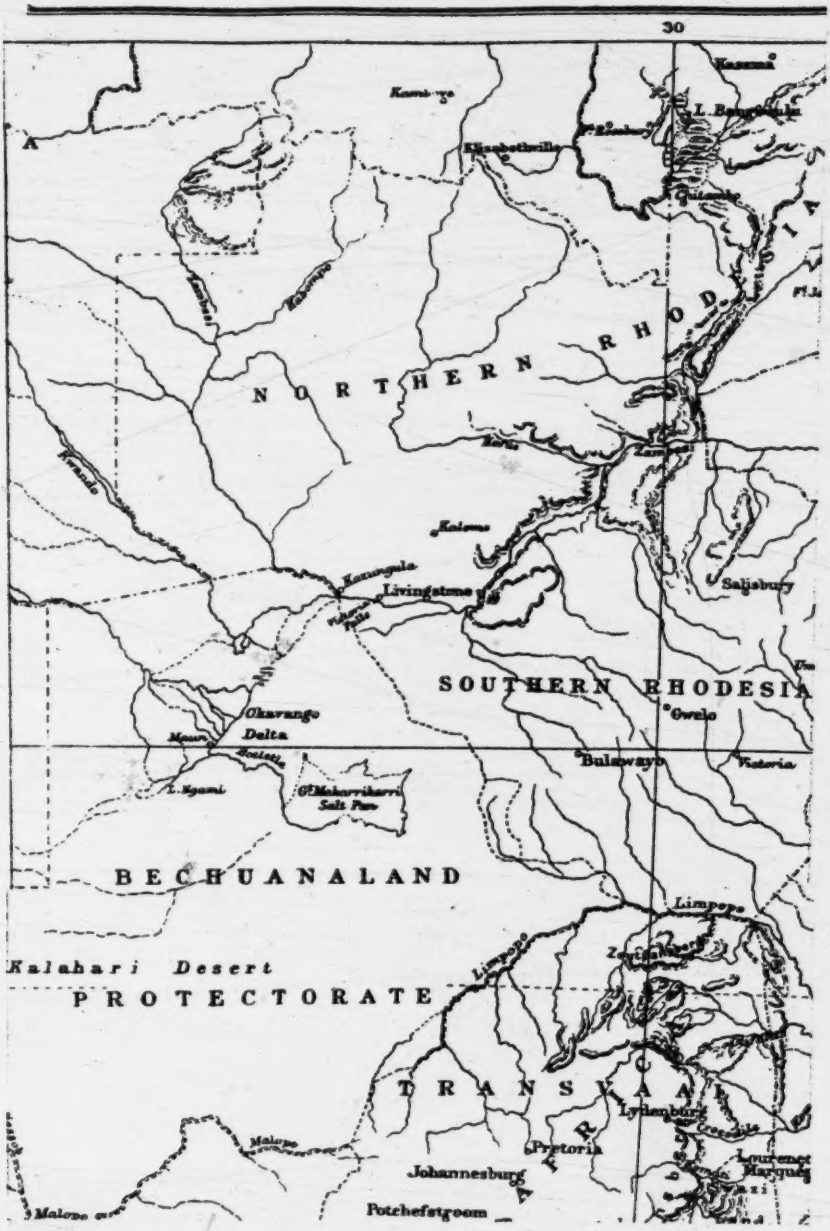

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MAP II B]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

FX13 Hottentot

Bushmen FX10

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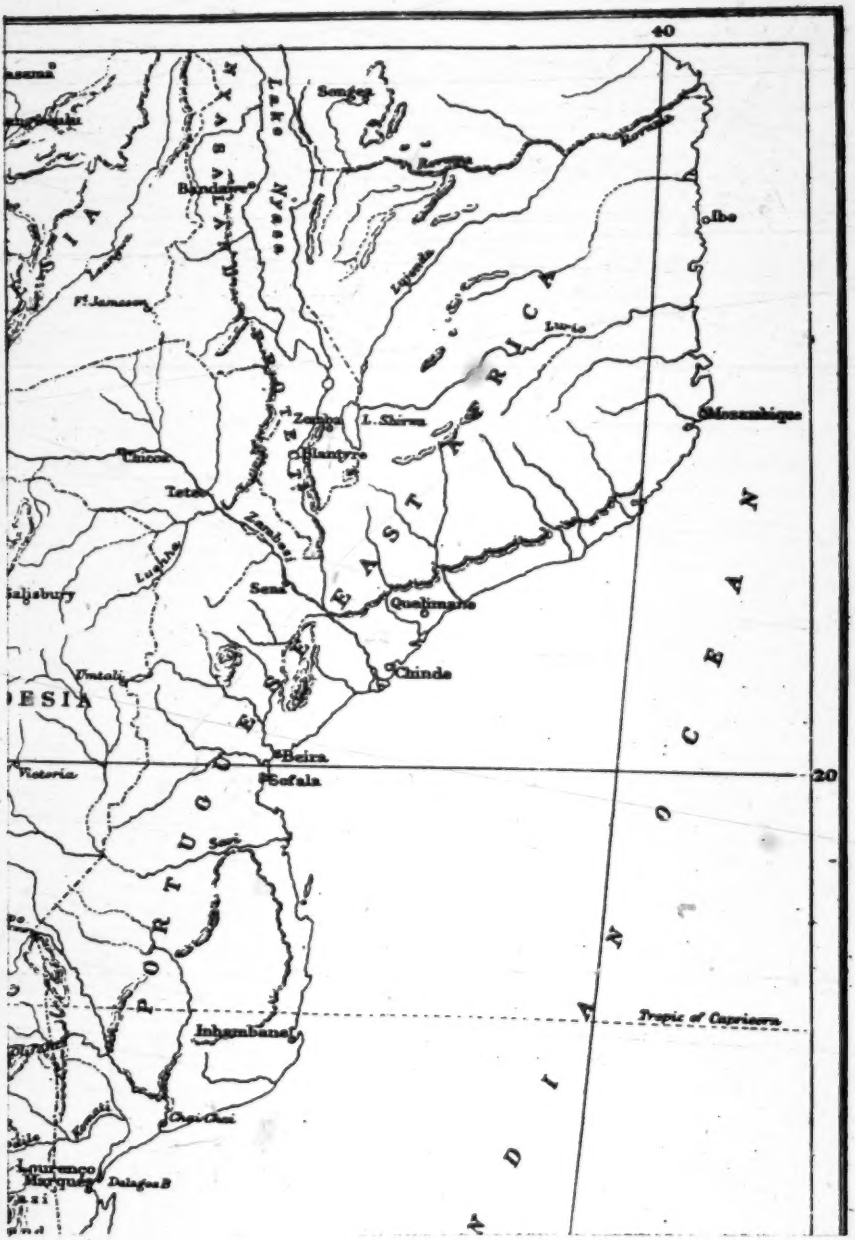

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MAP II C]

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Bushmen FX10

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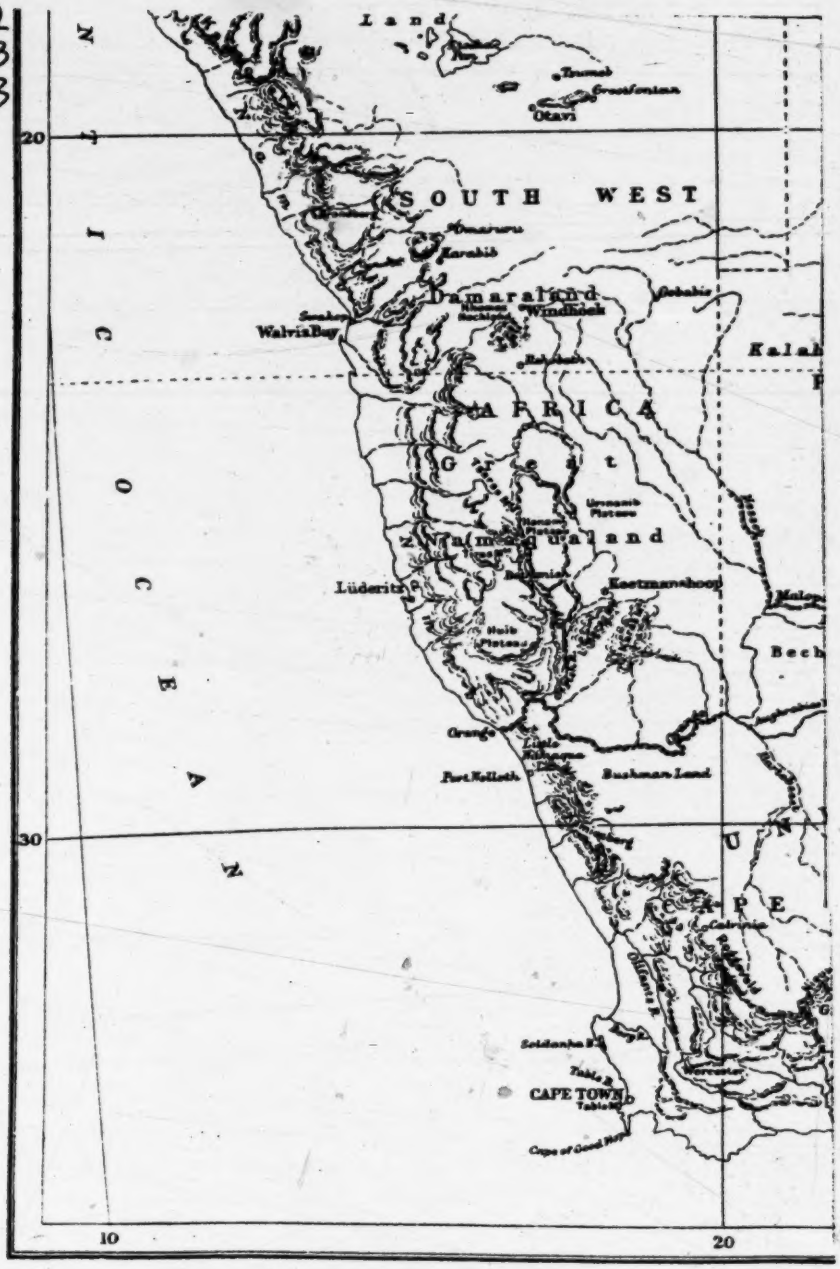

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MAP II D]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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[FACING p. 446
MAP II E]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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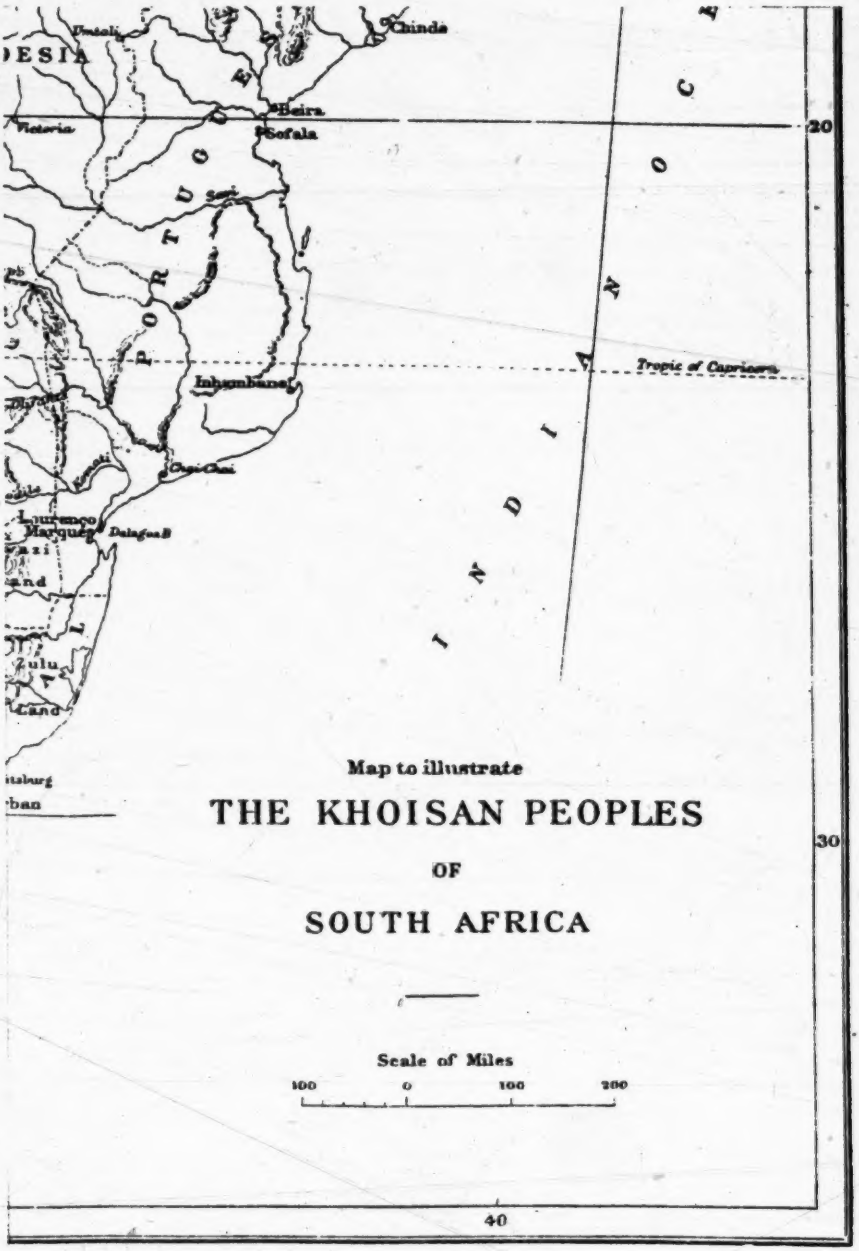

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MAP II F]

[16 cont.]

[31] the one hand, to the Okovanggo and the regions inhabited by the Bamangwato [Ngwato] west of Ngami Lake on the other hand, are inhabited by the tribes of the !Kung group.

Seiner (2) supplies the following apt division of this zone:

[113] 2. Mitteilungen aus Deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1914.

"The !Kung Veld forms the part of the Omaheke belonging to the northern Kalahari and is located between the Okovanggo (from Kagere to 19° southern latitude), the Kaukau Veld, the Sand Veld, the Karst Veld, the Etosha Pan, and the Otjimpolo Veld. -- The Kaukau Veld (according to Passarge, a plateau) is located between the Kung Veld, the Okovanggo, the Okovanggo basin, and the Sand Veld district. As the western boundary, in other words, toward the Sand Veld, the line Bogara -- Debra -- Blue Bush Pan in the western tip of the Okovanggo basin, close to the German border, should be adopted. The northern Sand Veld, through which I have traveled, can be delimited on the west by the line Nuragas -- Otjituo and by the valley of the Omatako from Otjituo to Okahitua; on the south by the line Okahitua -- Okosondusu -- Otjosonjou -- Epata -- Epukiro -- Rietfontein-East; on the east by the border zone of the Chanse Veld, the Okovanggo basin, and the Kaukau Veld. For the
137 northern boundary toward the Kung Veld, the factors of climate and plant geography must be taken into consideration, since there is no natural boundary here; the line Bogara -- Kanovlei -- Nuragas approximately forms the northern boundary of the Kalahari bush of the central Kalahari, which is sharply differentiated from the dry forest of the northern Kalahari. -- The loose,
[134] deep, leached steppe sand bears for the most part a tall, light xerophytic dry forest, usually with no underbrush and with deciduous trees that, as a result of the quantities of water stored in their root stalks and trunks, bear green leaves during the greater part of the dry season, and in part even bear blossoms and fruit during this season; this dry forest is a formation of
[134] relatively recent date. The vegetation of the firm, gray-humus, loamy river sand, or of the looser sand with ample ground

[16 cont.]

[134] 137 saturation and ground water, is a dry forest of a different type which corresponds to Warburg's lowland forest and, in contrast to the light dry forest of the looser sand, is distinguished by a relatively high density. -- The dry forest steppe occupies the largest areas of the !Kung Veld, and [17] lowland forest and grass steppe form only modest enclaves in it. Within the dry forest, at those places where the nature of the terrain makes possible the accumulation and preservation of relatively significant quantities of water or ground humidity, there are individual trees that are to be regarded as remnants of a former compact lowland forest, and the floristic composition of such forest islands leads to the conclusion that the entire region, with the exception of the primary grass steppes, whose floor probably never displayed taller vegetation because of its sterility, was once covered by a lush lowland forest as is preserved in its finest form at present in the northern Kalahari and in the 'rain forest' of Victoria Falls."

101 [131] By the !Kung Bushmen in the narrower sense, who are divided into a northern group and an eastern group, I refer to those people who are located north of the police zone and south of the Okovanggo in the effluent region of the Omuramba u Owambo at the Löwenomuramba and on both sides of the lower and central Omuramba u Omatako. The groups in the source region of the Omuramba u Owambo have been studied by me in 174 greater detail. In former times, the !Kung undoubtedly lived much farther south and west. It is not improbable that they left the Grootfontein plain and the Otawi mountains under the pressure of the Hei//om, who in turn were forced out of the central region by the Herero. On the other side they undoubtedly gained space toward the south, for according to reports from the pre-war period, the Nogau were settled in the Sand Veld all the way to the vicinity of Otjituo, whereas today they have retreated 144 behind Alexeck. The racial composition of the !Kung Bushmen allows one to make a conclusion about their history. Among them we find a larger number of Europoid types than among the surrounding Bantu tribes. In addition, Austroloid influence is

[17 cont.]

144 obvious, and the southern Bushman race, that is, the one that displays the characteristics generally ascribed to the Bushmen as a whole, is found to be pure only to a modest degree which in-
137 creases toward the south. In the north, the !Kung Bushmen are
184 decidedly forest people, whereas in the Sand Veld they inhabit
134 the shadeless low bush. The surface of the region consists of
137 areas of whitish sand, red toward the east and north, which is streaked with strips of surface chalk. Along the Omuramba Omatako and parallel to it there are pseudo-dunes running north-northeast -- south-southwest and covered with dense thorn bushes. On the more clayey soils in the vicinity of the Omurambas [perhaps a local term for "rivers"] there is denser tropical dry forest. A reminder of more humid times is provided by three or four giant baobab trees that are dying.

Ludwig Zukowsky (1) reports on the fauna and flora:

[113]

1. "Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Säugetiere Deutschsüdwestafrikas [Contribution to the Knowledge of the Mammals of German Southwest Africa], " Archiv für Naturgeschichte, Vol. 90, No. 1, Part A, 1924.

137 "The Kung Veldt, a large deciduous broad-leaf forest
[136] region, bounded in the north by the Okovanggo, in the east by this river's flood area, in the south by the Dusche and Schadum, and in the west by the lower course of the Omuramba u'Omatako, is regarded by J.H. Wilhelm as a special faunal region, since here the most striking representatives of the Sand Veld, oryx, oribi, bubalis, guevei [blue duiker], and canis are absent and in their place new forms appear, such as damaliscus, schaeffia [?], and hippotragus. Red sand dominates the entire region, which is covered with sereng [Burkea africana], red bean trees [Copaifera coleosperma], mokussi (Baikiaca plurijuga), yellowwood [Terminalia sericea], dolf [Therocarpus erinaceus], and wild orange trees (Strychnos schumanniana). During the rainy season, when the trees are covered with leaves, the deciduous forest that covers the entire region remotely resembles a younger German beech forest. The chief tree is the sereng (Burkea africana) with its accompanying tree, the mokussi

[18 cont.]

134 The ground is covered with red sand (fox sand), which in the thorn bush areas changes to a firm, grayish-yellow; perhaps argillaceous sand. Chalk cliffs and other rocks are completely lacking. The Kaudum bed is perpetually covered with dense green grass. The sand pans have humous sand; only in the northeast near Schamatura is a peat-like swampy soil to be found with red, strongly ferruginous water. Forest fires are the order of the day, but they do little damage to the tree growth."

133 South of the Omuramba u Owambo there is a fairly large
134 number of limestone pans, which in part still contain water but are mostly dried up. The land there is drying up rapidly, according to both the Bushmen and the Europeans. During the rainy season the clayey soils are swampy, and at that time the
[136] dense bush forest is filled with myriads of mosquitoes, and
[164] malaria claims its victims from all races. The unhealthy situa-
648 tion, the difficulty of getting workers, and the irregularity of the rainfall have led to the abandonment of most of the farms outside Grootfontein, so that the Bushmen have actually gained ground there. The !Kung Bushmen outside the police zone live entirely according to their old customs and traditions. The in-
[578] dividual kin groups are in part hostile to one another. A kind
[619] of hereditary feud exists with the Hei//om, who are often attacked because of the women. The !Kung live on good terms with the farms along the northern boundary (Duwib, Keitsas, Keibeb, Kuntsas, Neitsas, Foxhof). Many of them work there for
[464] certain periods of time, and quite a few permanently; in particular, they like to let women and children work on the farms.
[177] Mr. Cleark, the owner of Keibeb, has trained a large number of
[439] them to make charcoal. These Bushmen make the charcoal out in the wilderness and deliver it. It is then resold to the mottramite mine in Abenab. Until the establishment of the police zone, a perpetual state of war existed between the police and the Bushmen. There are constant battles between the Herero of Otjituo and the !Kung because of livestock thefts. The Herero attack the Bushmen on horseback and kill them from the saddle with the kirri.

The Bushmen, who are not accustomed to shooting at rapidly moving targets, usually come out the losers. Like the

INTRODUCTION.

Early in 1955 the Chief of the Union Government Division of Botany 121
received a request through the British Museum for a botanist to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition, which in the winter of that year was to make a study of the Bushmen of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa. The duties of the botanist would be to investigate and report upon the plants used by the Bushmen in obtaining food and drink, and this task was assigned to me in my capacity as one of the Botanical Survey Officers of the Division of Botany.

I joined the expedition on 10th June at Molepolole, after it had been 122
some weeks in the field, and we thereafter travelled along the route shown on the map, reaching Windhoek on 2nd September.

There were two main areas of study, one in the country south of 133
Ghanzi and the other north of Ghanzi. The southern area, part of the Kalahari Desert, was remarkably uniform in every way. The surface [134]
was deep loose sand, gently undulating and with occasional shallow depressions of firm dark soil known as pans, which collect a little water after rain. We did not see a hill after leaving Molepolole until the Ghanzi area was reached, nor a stone, except for shelves of limestone in some of the pans. There was no permanent water in the 300 miles between [312]
Kudumalapshwe and the Ghanzi farms, but Khungwane waterhole and Khomodimo Pan had not yet dried up. Khungwane held one or two thousand gallons and Khomodimo contained a pond about thirty yards across and a foot or so deep. It provided a home, rather unexpectedly, [136]
for a coot (*Fulica cristata*) and a water-scorpion (one of the *Nepidae*). There are no records of the central Kalahari rainfall, but it would be [132]
between 18·5 and 19·6 inches, which are the mean annual figures for Ghanzi and Molepolole respectively. In spite of this low rainfall, and although we were there in the dry season, we found that the sand a few inches below the surface and down to at least three feet was damp enough to retain its form when squeezed in the hand. One specimen of a species 136
of Breviceps was found in the sand, a small burrowing frog which does not swim or jump and which passes through its tadpole stage in a mass of frothy material which surrounds the eggs. The commonest animals were the rodents whose burrows and tracks were in thousands along our route. The game included gemsbok, springbok, hartebees, eland, blue wildebees, giraffe and smaller antelopes and hares. Of the carnivora, lions, leopards, wild dogs, jackals and hyaenas were present. Ostriches and bustards were seen and occasional small birds of various species, but birds were on the whole poorly represented. The vegetation was mainly grassland, usually 137x
about four feet tall and mixed with many shrubs a little taller. Trees were seldom absent for more than a few miles at a stretch, and were scattered to form a parkland or in belts thick enough to hamper the progress of our lorries through them.

The northern area was much more varied, with the undulations 133
sometimes forming distinct rises and dales. Hills, however, were still absent, although there were occasional outcrops of limestone and other rock. The soils were for the most part fairly firm, but sandy nevertheless, [134]
and damp below the surface. From time to time we crossed zones of purer loose sand, slightly raised above the surrounding country and known as dunes. A number of permanent waterholes, groups of large pans and a rainfall estimated to be about 20 inches a year (Department of Transport [132]
1953) made this area better watered than the Kalahari, and better wooded. 137x

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

guages, some now virtually extinct, were characterized by a fifth click made 194
with the lips, called the kiss click (⊙). In addition to clicks, the Bushman 197
languages have tones: high, middle, low, rising, and falling. Oswin Köhler [114]
has given special attention to tone as well as to other features in his study of Bushman languages, especially Barakwenga (Köhler 1962).

Each of the large divisions of the Bushman languages—the northern, 197
central, and southern divisions (see Bleek 1956)—differs markedly from the others. Within each group are several languages, sometimes resembling each other enough to be considered merely dialects of the same language, but more often differing so widely as to be distinct, mutually quite unintelligible languages. The !Kung described in this chapter (Köhler's and Westphal's !Xũ) belong to the northern group.

HABITAT • The Kalahari Desert, some 1200 miles long, with a mean high 133
altitude of about 3000 feet, forms part of the great plateau of southern Africa. It is a basin in form, covered with wind-blown sands, sometimes red, [134]
sometimes white, to a depth of 300 to 400 feet. The underlying rock crops out rarely in ridges and a few low hills.

Stamp (1953:78) classifies the Kalahari as a semidesert. Its conditions 132
are not the most extreme. Our expeditions recorded daytime air temperatures in the shade up to 115° F. and sand temperatures in the sun up to 140° F. In winter the temperature at night falls below freezing but for most of the year the nights are temperate. Although they seem acclimated to the heat, the [147]
Bushmen appear to find the colder temperatures very uncomfortable and shiver violently if they are away from their fires when the cold south winds blow.[8]

The rainfall, which comes in summer thunderstorms—6 to 10 inches, in- 137
creasing in the better-watered parts toward the north, according to Welling- [132]
ton (1955:61)—though slight, is sufficient to sustain a varied drought-resistant vegetation, and the country is covered with grass, brush, and scant small trees. In the northern and northwestern parts, the trees are more [824]
numerous and taller and include shivi groves and nut-bearing mangetti—important sources of food to the Bushmen. And in all the areas of the desert that Bushmen inhabit are found edible plants, in scant, far-apart patches perhaps, but existing. The vegetation, furthermore, provides material for fires, 824
shelter, weapons, implements, tanning, poison for arrows, and juices (for example tsama melons, on which these people can live when there is no water). In short, this desert provides the things that make life possible; otherwise the Bushmen would be dead or somewhere else.

The desert is a forceful shaper of the outlines of Bushman culture, and 182
both the possibilities it permits and the limitations it imposes have been mean- [114]
ingfully summarized by Robert Story in a personal communication:

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

182 312 [161] [648] 134 A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival, for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

137 [222] [224] [262] Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

224 [411] Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

101 197 [829] [184] LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bushmen cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local groupings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

[621] [622] The language groups have no political unity among or within themselves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

101 131 [197] The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ŏassi* and who live in the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

133 three rock outcrops and one ring of large pans. These features are illustrated in Map 12, p. 71.[1]

Soils and vegetation

134 The dune crests and flanks are characterized by deep
137 loose sand of red and white. These support a distinctive association of broad-leaved trees and shrubs. The molapos, both in the interstices of the dunes and in the more deeply incised river beds, are characterized by compacted grey soils. These molapos support an association of complex-leaved thorn trees and shrubs.

134 The color and composition of the soil appear to be a function of elevation. The color sequence from reddish to grey correlates with the texture sequence from loose to firm. These two sequences correlate with elevation within local drainage systems.

Thus the reddest, loosest sands are found on the crest of the dunes. The flanks of the dunes and the flats have buff white compacted soils, and the molapos have grey, highly compacted soils.

These sequences are schematized in Figure 1, p. 72.

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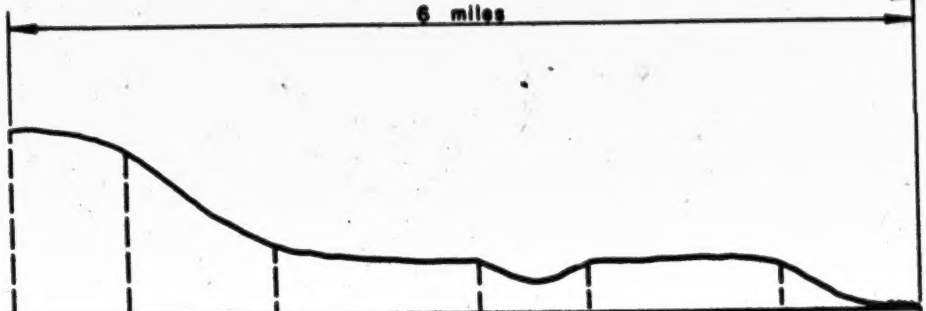
[1]As of April, 1965, there are no maps available for this area. Map 12 is based on the examination of aerial photographs on file at Maun, B.P. and the author's rough transects by Land Rover.



TOPOGRAPHIC	DUNE	DUNE FLANK	FLAT	MOLAPO	FLAT	RIVER BED
SOIL TYPE	Loose reddish sand	Loose buff to white sands	Compacted buff to white sands	Highly compacted grey sand	Compacted buff to white sands	Exposed limestone

FIGURE I A schematized north-south cross-section through the Dobe Area, illustrating the correlation of soil color and texture with elevation (vertical scale exaggerated).

134 137 II. The Molapo Association

a) The bottoms of the dry river beds support a rather different association from the interstices between the dunes. The river valleys expose the underlying limestone formation. This rocky surface supports trees of the following species:

Commiphora africana

C. pyracanthoides

Combretum imberbe

Hyphaene ventricosa

Adansonia digitata

b) The interstices between dunes where the soils are compacted grey and limestone is only sporadically exposed, support the following:

Acacia mellifera subspecies detinens

A. heteracantha

Dichrostachys glomerata

D. cinerea

Croton gratissimus

Boscia albitrunca

Grewia flava

c) In some molapos the compacted soils are lighter grey verging on buff. Here are found dense thickets of Terminalia prunioides interspersed with stands of Sclerocarya caffra.

137 Certain species are characteristic of all three subdivisions of the molapo association, but are nowhere dominant.

312 for a few weeks after heavy rains, to great ponds up to 400 feet long which may hold water several months after the rains have ceased.

134 137 III. The 'Flats' Association: Intermediate in elevation between the dunes and the molapos are plains of buff to white compacted sands. These plains or flats support a vegetation which has affinities to both the dune and molapo associations. It also contains species that are not found elsewhere.

The flats may be divided into two intergrading types on the basis of soil differences:

a) looser buff sands supporting species that extend into the dune association and also several other diagnostic species.

b) compacted white sands supporting species that extend into the molapo association as well as several other diagnostic species.

III. a) Flats of loose sand have the following diagnostic species:

Lonchocarpus nelsii

Acacia giraffae

A. gilletiae

A. fleckii

as well as:

134
137

Terminalia sericea

Sclerocarya caffra

III. b) Flats of compacted sand have the following diagnostic species:

Acacia stolonifera var. A. hebeclada

A. dulcis

Ziziphus mucronata

as well as:

Hyphaene ventricosa

Terminalia prunioides

Combretum imberbe

Grewia flava

The most reliable marker species for distinguishing vegetation zones are:

1. Ricinodendron -- found only on dune crests

2. Commiphora africana -- found only on limestone

3. Terminalia sericea - T. prunioides -- These two species of Terminalia are sharply segregated ecologically. T. sericea is ubiquitous on looser buff to white sands but never on compacted sand. T. prunioides is found only on compacted buff to grey sands, never in loose sand.

133 The Dobe area vegetation and water: The foregoing remarks apply broadly to the 25,000 sq. miles delineated above. The Dobe area in the center of this tract contains all the major physiographic features (dunes, molapos, rock outcrop, pans) and will therefore illustrate the local patterning of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX 10.

of the Orange River is very dry. The level arid plain of Bushmanland further east is essentially a continuation of the Kalahari, from which it is separated by the deep rocky valley of the Orange River. The summer rainfall is low (5 to 10 inches), increasing gradually from the west eastwards; there is practically no surface water, and the soil is usually bare, stony or sandy. The river-beds are mostly dry throughout the greater part of the year, and the Orange River is the only one that always contains water. The general aspect of the vegetation both here and in Namaqualand is that of widely-separated xerophytic shrubs and bushes, with a fair proportion of succulent plants in the low-lying valleys and on the rocky outcrops. Grasses do not form a conspicuous feature, but they occur on the high plateaus and sandy plains, where the vegetative period is short, and where they always assume a tufted habit. H B 132 133 H B 137

Further south and east is the Upper or Northern Karroo, an arid tract of country stretching northwards to the Orange River at an elevation of between 2,800 and 6,000 feet above sea-level. It is bounded on the west by the Roggeveld, on the south by the Nieuweveld and Sneeuwberg ranges, which form part of the great escarpment of the interior plateau. The landscape appears for the most part in the form of vast treeless plains, only here and there broken by table-topped hills boldly scarped by sandstone and dolerite sheets, while occasionally dark ridges, the outcrops of inclined sheets of dolerite, are seen traversing the country for many miles. H B 133

The region is exposed to great extremes of temperature. Severe frosts are experienced in the winter nights, while the summer heats are correspondingly severe, reaching at times to 110° F. in the shade. The feeling of oppression at such times is increased by the hot westerly winds which predominate during the first half of summer, although the nights are cool even during the periods of greatest heat. The winter days, on the other hand, are very enjoyable, the air being keen and bright with a maximum of sunshine. There is a wide range of rainfall, from less than 5 inches in the north-west to 25 inches in the east; the greater part of this falls in violent summer thunderstorms, and almost all the water runs off the sun-baked soil into deep gullies which hurry it off to the sea. Severe droughts are common, and the streams are all intermittent. The soil is shallow and rock-strewn, except in the alluvial tracts in the valley bottoms, and surface limestone becomes an important feature in the drier parts of the region. Pans are abundant, and a striking feature in the low-grade H B 132 H B. 133 134

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10.

H B 133 134

valleys of the north-west are the wide "vloers" of Carnarvon and Calvinia, more or less well-defined flat areas a few miles wide and thinly covered with brackish silt.

H B 137 311

Owing to the great range in rainfall and altitude there is a considerable diversity of conditions in this region. While the north-western parts are little better than desert, the more favoured districts to the south and east are well covered with permanently-occupied farms, although agriculture is restricted to the alluvial tracts. The vegetation is everywhere of a semi-desert character. The greater part of the country supports only a sparse and incomplete covering of shrublets and stunted, skeleton-like bushes, most of which belong to the family *Compositae*. In spite of their unpromising appearance when burnt up by the rays of the summer sun, they afford excellent sustenance for stock even in the driest seasons, and at the present time they provide nourishment to millions of sheep and goats, supporting one of the great wool growing industries of the world. Thorny plants, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants abound in places, but trees, principally Acacias, appear as a rule only along the dry sandy river-beds. Grasses are frequent in the rainy season, but nowhere form the dominant feature of the vegetation.

H B 132 133 137

The High Veld of the Orange Free State and the Southern Transvaal is essentially an extension eastwards of the Upper Karroo, but has a much better rainfall. Lying for the most part over 5,000 feet above sea-level, and with an invigorating climate, it is perhaps the most favourable region in the Union for a white population. The rainfall ranges from about 20 to 35 inches, and occurs principally during the summer months in thunderstorms. The winters are dry and cold, and severe frosts are by no means uncommon. The streams are often perennial. The country generally presents a most monotonous type of scenery, consisting of vast rolling plains, although as one travels westward towards drier regions the surface becomes flatter or more varied by steep-sided flat-topped hills. It is essentially grass country and for the most part devoid of indigenous trees, except along the river-banks, which are frequently clothed with willows and mimosas; shrubs are found on the koppies, while growing among the grasses are large numbers of bulbous and tuberous plants.

H B 133

The Coastal Regions

The country between the escarpment and the ocean is considerably smaller than the interior plateau, but as regards climate and structure

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

of temperature is somewhat greater. Most of the rains fall during the winter (April to September), when the temperature, though mild, is still relatively low. The summer is the dry season, and long droughts regularly recur. H B 132

These climatic conditions have resulted in the production of a peculiar and characteristic type of vegetation. The dominant plants are evergreen shrubs some three to six feet high, usually with small, stiff, leathery leaves. Between the shrubs are many smaller plants, numbers of which possess bulbs, tubers or other subterranean organs storing up quantities of water and food substances. The sandy plains support a dwarf, heath-like vegetation, while the marshy hollows, the stream margins, mountain ravines and mountain summits all possess their own peculiar plant forms. The families characteristic of this region include the *Proteaceae*, to which belong many of the evergreen shrubs, among them the well-known silver tree (*Leucadendron argenteum*) of the Cape Peninsula and the sugar bush (*Protea mellifera*); the *Restionaceae*, a family of grass-like plants which largely take the place of true grasses in this region, though many of the latter occur as well; and the *Ericaceae* (heath family), which are very numerous and often strikingly beautiful. Forest patches are found in the kloofs and seaward sides of the mountains, the largest area of more or less continuous forest in the Union lying between the Outeniqua Mountains and the sea, extending from George through Knysna to the Humansdorp district. They are composed almost entirely of high timber trees, the more common being species of yellow wood, cedar, ebony, stinkwood, ironwood, and sneezewood. H B 137

The last natural region with which we are concerned is the Central or Great Karroo of the Cape Province. Lying at a level of from 1,500 to 3,000 feet above the sea, it stretches as a gently-undulating plain from the foot-hills of the Folded Belt to the mountains forming part of the great escarpment in the north. On the west it extends to the valley of the Olifants River, while in the east the Sundays River may be taken as marking its limit. The mountains of the Folded Belt rob the rain-bearing winds from the sea of their moisture, and so give rise to the aridity of this region. The rainfall is scanty, the annual mean being less than 5 inches in the west, although it increases to 15 inches in the centre and east. The surface soil is shallow, hard, and compact; the river-courses are dry, except during the brief periods of rainfall in the summer, when the bulk of the water is rushed off immediately to the sea. In the dry season the whole region presents H B 123 132 H B [134]

[17 cont.]

137 (Baikiaca plurijuga), which have particularly thick trunks along the banks (dunes) of the large Omurambas. Another common tree is the red bean tree (Copaifera coleosperma), the yellow-wood (Terminalia sericea), sometimes in tree form, but more commonly in bush form as underbrush. In the northern part the Greesappelboom (Parinarium mobola) appears here and there, and, individually over the entire veld, the rattle tree or the wild orange (Strychnos schumanniana) and the dolf (Therocarpus erinaceus). The dunes of the Omurambas are covered not only with mokussi, but also with camel thorn trees (Acacia giraffa), hackie bushes (Acacia detinens), and another thorn bush (Acacia spec.). Between the large Omurambas, which extend to the flood area (Kaudum and Schadum), and between the Okovanggo and the Kaudum, there is a number of sometimes recognizable, sometimes overgrown Omurambas, such as Tschakaue, Gani, and north and south of the Kaudum, Tschaudum and Kuatschadum. The island-like appearance of Hyphaena ventricosa at the watering place Tschaudum is worthy of mention, 500 to 1,000 specimens occurring as isolated trees, as in the Grootfontein plain. In the entire region there are many hackie thorn bush islands and
[133] salt pans which have open water or water half a meter deep and are usually overgrown with reeds (Phragmites). The pasture is bad, with the exception of the Omuramba beds, which, like the Kaudum, for example, have a very high water level 20 to 50 centimeters deep. Long, hard grass or low leafy bush [Author: perhaps related to Dichopetalum venenatum (Machau), which occurs sporadically] is to be found here, whereas Bushman grass and knawel grass occur only among the thorn bushes. In the underbrush area there are species of Grewia. During the rainy season the ground is [18] covered with prickly cucumbers (Citrullus nausimorus), and onkies (Cyperus usitatus) grow under the hackie bushes. In addition, there are a great number of shrubs that bear a tasty bush crop during the rainy season. The baobab tree (Adansonia digitata), whose first representatives appear north of Dowigna in the Kaukau Veld, the morula tree (Sclerocaria schweinfurthiana), the manquetti tree (Ricinodendron rautanenei), and the hartekohl tree (Combretum primigenium) are absent.

133 Pans of brackish water are absent; in their stead there are efflorescences of salt at various places in the Kaudum and Schadum.

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

532 172 [178] Perhaps the most remarkable feature in the whole culture of the Bushmen was their pictorial art, consisting of paintings and engravings executed on rock surfaces (Plate XIII).[1] The practice of this art has now almost completely died out, a necessary consequence of the virtual extermination of the artists themselves. Its study now belongs to the province of archæology, for save in a few rare instances it has proved impossible so far to find any living people who could interpret the designs or throw any light upon the social aspects of the art. The paintings and engravings remain as a very valuable record of an art that now seems to be lost; but they have proved a most important link in the chain of evidence connecting the Bushmen with the prehistoric cultures not only of South Africa but of East and North Africa also, as well as of South-Western Europe.[2]

Their distribution in South Africa extends from the Brandberg Mountains in South-West Africa to the upper reaches of the Tugela River in Natal, from the Humansdorp district on the south coast right up to the Zambesi River in the north. They are found especially over the greater part of the Cape, Griqualand West, Basutoland, Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Southern Rhodesia, but occur also in parts of South-West Africa, British Bechuanaland, and Natal. This distribution no longer coincides with that of the Bushmen themselves. It is impossible therefore to say whether all the tribes possessed the artistic talent or not. The Bushmen south of the Molopo River certainly painted down to a very recent date, and so did certain of the Namib groups.[3] The rocks in the north-west may be evidence that the ancestors of the Auen and the Kung also did so, but the present people certainly do not, and have not even any traditions relating to the art.[4] In the Kalahari itself, where most of the surviving Bushmen now live, the absence of suitable rock [135] material precludes the practice of the art. It is perhaps no wonder, therefore, that the tribes found there have not the faintest recollections of it. Dornan, however, states that the Bushmen living along the Sansokwe River, in the extreme Eastern Kalahari, were still painting a few years ago.[5]

[1] The literature on this aspect of Bushman culture is voluminous. The most useful general works are: Tongue, *Bushman Paintings*, 1909; Moszeik, *Die Malereien der Buschmänner*, 1910; Zeliźko, *Felsgravierungen der südafrikanischen Buschmänner*, 1925; Burkitt, *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint*, 1928, chaps. vii–ix, and bibliography.

[2] Cf. Schapera, "Some Stylistic Affinities of Bushman Art," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxii (1925), 504–15; Burkitt, op. cit., *passim*.

[3] The evidence is discussed by Moszeik, op. cit., 10–15; cf. Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, p. xiv; Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 306–7. [4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 41. [5] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 182, 188–9.

/136 cont./

142 The tribe at Gam in particular consists almost exclusively of comparatively large people who, even after a thorough washing, display a decidedly darker coloration than the other Auin.

162 According to my observations, there is something like one to two women for each man, and from two to three children for each woman.

162 847 [862] In this connection I would like to mention that newborn children are always killed if the mother is still nursing a child, which continues until about the third year of life. The killing is done immediately after birth by the mother, who buries the newborn child alive. The father has nothing to do with it. Since marital [853] intercourse continues during the nursing period and since this period lasts for about three years, it follows that approximately every third child is reared while those born in the meantime are killed without exception. This might well be a principal factor in the unquestionable decline in the population.

592 595 Since each woman has her special windscreen (hut), the man lives alternately with one and then another of his wives; the latter in turn have their children living with them, and it therefore follows that about three to four persons occupy each hut.

221 361 The size of the settlements (villages) is quite indefinite and changes according to the circumstances. During the dry season a settlement is formed usually by one to two families, whereas during the period of ample veld food, in other words, toward the end and shortly after /137/ [map appears here] /138/ the rainy season, sometimes up to 30 families join together to form a "village." In April, 1908, about 400 men were living in a settlement near Sidonitzaub. If their dependents are included, one will arrive at a figure of at least 1,000 persons.

[701] All the men are armed warriors.

161 As has already been noted, one can clearly observe a decrease in the population, which, judging by its rapid progress, can be designated as swiftly approaching extinction. Aside from infanti- [136] cide and malaria, the decrease of wild game may also be given as a reason for the population decline, since this decrease makes food more difficult to obtain. Older Auin state that in former times attacks by lions caused heavy losses.

[Text continues on page 7]

[6 cont.]

101 account refers only to the latter.

821 [7] The sky is designated by them as !nanu áiba Eroba Kharésa ("rain house of god").

776 For god they have the expressions "Erob" and "χ'amab."
775 only "Erob" is used in prayers. χ'amab (1) has been preserved

1. χ indicates a very low gutteral click, for which I know of no notation.

in χ'amá //gu Khe = "people who are with god," in other words, the souls of the deceased in heaven. Everyone goes there, the good as well as the bad. Erob has no wife and no children. A human being has only one soul (!gau-ba). This soul goes to the heavenly house and remains there "until Erob makes new people from it." Here is a belief in the transmigration of souls, which, it must be admitted, is not thought through any further.

No spirits of the dead remain on earth. There are little
776 bush spirits, the gangorob; they are harmless and do nothing. There are no evil little spirits. They supposedly know nothing about Heiseb and /Nawa.

● 136 The supply of game is ample in the tall dry forests of the Otjimpolo Veld. There are also fish in the rainy season. The
[825] Bushmen call them "shiba" (Ovambo: oshi or ochi); in other words, originally they had no word for them.

224 The Bushmen are helpless against the lion (χ'oréba).
[825] They leave a region as soon as lions make it unsafe. "There is no point in hunting them."

The leopard (χ'nába) is hunted with dogs (ariba). The
[439] chiefs of Amboland pay a good price for the skin, since little princes and princesses are not carried in a litter made of cowhide, but in a leopard skin. The jackal (≠Khai-eba) and the Löffelhund (//arúba) [a fox-like wild dog of the subfamily Octocyoninae] are hunted with enthusiasm. "Aruba" probably corresponds to N. //arob = striped jackal.

Wild dogs, "Khere," !nube (N. !goub) are preferably
[825] avoided. No notice is taken of the hyena, ≠Khai-lasa (N. ≠heirab),
[262] and it is not eaten. When they come near the camp, it is not a
[787] good sign.

[7 cont.]

222 825 The honey badger, !uisa (N. !ous), which leads to the bees, is followed ever so eagerly.

224 The common wild pig (gariba), the kudu (daub), the gemsbok χ'uaba (N. /gaib), and all the small antelopes are hunted. Pits are no longer known, although they used to dig them in former times.

If they decide to go hunting, sexual intercourse must be [534] avoided the night before. In the evening the hunters go into the forest and spend the night there. Before dawn they rise and pray:

[539] Pu, pu, Eró, /nari dsu /ari mate — God, tomorrow early we receive.

When a piece of game has been killed, one of the hunters cuts a piece of flesh from the animal's body and hands it to the leader of the hunt. This meat is called am-shái-khe. A fire is made, and this piece is placed on it. When it is roasted, the leader cuts off a piece and shouts:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, ha gore, ha gore — Erob, Erob, Erob, eat, eat
i Khe Khandi ô — With us flesh.

After a pause:

ha lĕ a lĕ ha góre o Khandi ô — Come! Come! Let us eat flesh.

Now the roasted flesh is consumed. Nothing is thrown away or left behind for Erob.

Then the game is cut up, and everyone goes home with his portion.

136 Snakes are not rare, although they are by no means as common as in the stony regions of the southwest.

The boa constrictor eats human beings; if it catches a Bushman, it starts to consume him at the legs!

132 821 731 In spite of the timber forest, the danger of drought is great. Erob sends rain. When there is a drought, the Bushmen dance and pray:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, /ga !goro — Erob, Erob, Erob, we are dying of thirst
/ga-wi -ma ta re — Water give us.

177 776 782 [8] It is very interesting to observe how in these certainly very ancient hunting and rain prayers the former old heathen gods' names Huwe and χ'amab were replaced by the Christian "Ellob."

I asked the people whether they knew any other prayers and received the following answer: "We know very well that

[17 cont.]

144 obvious, and the southern Bushman race, that is, the one that displays the characteristics generally ascribed to the Bushmen as a whole, is found to be pure only to a modest degree which in-
137 creases toward the south. In the north, the !Kung Bushmen are
184 decidedly forest people, whereas in the Sand Veld they inhabit
134 the shadeless low bush. The surface of the region consists of
137 areas of whitish sand, red toward the east and north, which is streaked with strips of surface chalk. Along the Omuramba Omatako and parallel to it there are pseudo-dunes running north-northeast -- south-southwest and covered with dense thorn bushes. On the more clayey soils in the vicinity of the Omurambas [perhaps a local term for "rivers"] there is denser tropical dry forest. A reminder of more humid times is provided by three or four giant baobab trees that are dying.

Ludwig Zukowsky (1) reports on the fauna and flora:

[113]

> 1. "Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Säugetiere Deutschsüdwestafrikas [Contribution to the Knowledge of the Mammals of German Southwest Africa], " Archiv für Naturgeschichte, Vol. 90, No. 1, Part A, 1924.

137 "The Kung Veldt, a large deciduous broad-leaf forest
[136] region, bounded in the north by the Okovanggo, in the east by this river's flood area, in the south by the Dusche and Schadum, and in the west by the lower course of the Omuramba u'Omatako, is regarded by J.H. Wilhelm as a special faunal region, since here the most striking representatives of the Sand Veld, oryx, oribi, bubalis, guevei [blue duiker], and canis are absent and in their place new forms appear, such as damaliscus, schaeffia [?], and hippotragus. Red sand dominates the entire region, which is covered with sereng [Burkea africana], red bean trees [Copaifera coleosperma], mokussi (Baikiaca plurijuga), yellowwood [Terminalia sericea], dolf [Therocarpus erinaceus], and wild orange trees (Strychnos schumanniana). During the rainy season, when the trees are covered with leaves, the deciduous forest that covers the entire region remotely resembles a younger German beech forest. The chief tree is the sereng (Burkea africana) with its accompanying tree, the mokussi

[18 cont.]

134 The ground is covered with red sand (fox sand), which in the thorn bush areas changes to a firm, grayish-yellow; perhaps argillaceous sand. Chalk cliffs and other rocks are completely lacking. The Kaudum bed is perpetually covered with dense green grass. The sand pans have humous sand; only in the northeast near Schamatura is a peat-like swampy soil to be found with red, strongly ferruginous water. Forest fires are the order of the day, but they do little damage to the tree growth."

133 South of the Omuramba u Owambo there is a fairly large
134 number of limestone pans, which in part still contain water but are mostly dried up. The land there is drying up rapidly, according to both the Bushmen and the Europeans. During the rainy season the clayey soils are swampy, and at that time the
[136] dense bush forest is filled with myriads of mosquitoes, and
[164] malaria claims its victims from all races. The unhealthy situa-
648 tion, the difficulty of getting workers, and the irregularity of the rainfall have led to the abandonment of most of the farms outside Grootfontein, so that the Bushmen have actually gained ground there. The !Kung Bushmen outside the police zone live entirely according to their old customs and traditions. The in-
[578] dividual kin groups are in part hostile to one another. A kind
[619] of hereditary feud exists with the Hei//om, who are often attacked because of the women. The !Kung live on good terms with the farms along the northern boundary (Duwib, Keitsas, Keibeb, Kuntsas, Neitsas, Foxhof). Many of them work there for
[464] certain periods of time, and quite a few permanently; in particular, they like to let women and children work on the farms.
[177] Mr. Cleark, the owner of Keibeb, has trained a large number of
[439] them to make charcoal. These Bushmen make the charcoal out in the wilderness and deliver it. It is then resold to the mottramite mine in Abenab. Until the establishment of the police zone, a perpetual state of war existed between the police and the Bushmen. There are constant battles between the Herero of Otjituo and the !Kung because of livestock thefts. The Herero attack the Bushmen on horseback and kill them from the saddle with the kirri.

The Bushmen, who are not accustomed to shooting at rapidly moving targets, usually come out the losers. Like the

[32 cont.]

224 go to the kin group to whom this territory belongs and take the
423 men to the animal. Then it will be carefully divided down the middle; the hunter gets one half, and the owners get the other half. Nevertheless, quarrels are common, because there is only one of certain organs, such as the heart, liver, etc. These con-
[184] ditions, however, exist only among the eastern !Kung. A Hei//om or a northern !Kung who is found hunting in the territory
224 of another tribe is regarded as an enemy. Boys' hunting is con-
[857] fined to lizards, tree rats, and other rodents. They ordinarily
[411] use the bird arrow, which is carved out of a piece of wood, but in contrast to the Ovambo, the older boys here already have
[223] poisoned arrows. Young and old pursue the hunting of birds with great enthusiasm; in particular guinea fowl, sand hens, grouse, and the Pau [?] insofar as it occurs in this region. These fowl
[262] and small bushbucks are the chief sources of the meat in the native diet. The forest region of the eastern !Kung is poor in
[136] large game. Zebras are almost entirely absent, as is the wildebeest; the giraffe is very rare. The eland, kudu, hartebeest, and especially the gemsbok are relatively more common. Hunting drives are organized to hunt the elephant or rhinoceros. First, the elephant is separated from the herd. As soon as it has been cornered, one Bushman after another springs forward and throws his spear. It is also possible to hunt the elephant with poisoned arrows; there is a number of thinner spots in the skin at the front legs, and the marksman places as many arrows there as possible. The elephant does not die; it merely becomes sick. The hunter rushes home to get some other men, who then go to look for the elephant with spears. Pitfalls are made in the vicinity of the watering places, and a pointed pole is placed inside them. The Bushmen along the Okovanggo also hunt the hippopotamus with pitfalls. The eastern !Kung maintain that in ancient times the hippopotamus was also found in their land. The sling trap is made
[223] in various sizes. The ostrich in particular is usually caught in such sling traps, which are provided with a piece of bone bleached by the sun. Small cats and the like are also caught with this trap. It is likewise placed on the trails of the bushbuck. Jackals and the like are caught by lying in wait for them as they come out of their dens and then beating them to death with the kirri.

[33 cont.]

224 has done the shooting must go home immediately and may not speak, eat, or drink, for if the hunter speaks with others, the kudu will not be found for a long time, and if he drinks water, the poison will become watery and will not be effective, and if he eats, the kudu will remain quiet and the poison will not work effectively. The next morning very early we must set out on the trail. The kudu is already dead. The people carry the meat home. [782] Then it is put on the socha [sacred] fire. The //Gauab must be given some of the meat. Whoever does not do this will be punished by the //Gauab with serious illness, and the people will say: 'That is just. The //Gauab has given him the game, why does he give nothing for //Gauab?'" Here, therefore, a true primitial offering is involved.

It is interesting that the Ogowe bury arrows in the sand at various watering places, with the poisoned tip pointing upward; they do this in shady spots that game animals like to use as resting [202] places, and by certain signs, such as tying together blades of tall grass and the like, they set up warnings (Von Zastrow and Vedder).

When a Bushman horde of today is able to hunt down half a dozen large antelopes in a year, it can consider itself lucky.

The porcupine is also commonly hunted, as are the scaly anteater and the fat aardvark, which is very common but difficult to catch. Monkeys are very rare; on the other hand, tree rats make a desirable addition to the diet. The ostrich is not uncommon in open terrain, and ostrich eggs are greatly coveted. Occasionally a boa constrictor, which tastes like a fat fish, or an iguana may round out the menu.

●136 Among the animals which are in any way dangerous to human beings, the lion should be mentioned in particular. They occur in great numbers, but rarely stay in one place for a long [165] period of time. A considerable number of Bushmen become their 262 victims, especially in the north. Lions, leopards, hyenas, and jackals are neither hunted nor eaten; the same is true concerning [753] birds of prey. Eating leopard meat produces fever and eczema, [825] while eating the flesh of birds of prey produces temporary blindness and symptoms of sickness similar to acute sausage poisoning.

Poisonous snakes are not eaten; they are much rarer here than in the stony regions of the central and southern areas, and they do not constitute a noteworthy danger.

[33 cont.]

●136 Among the dangerous insects, the anopheles mosquito naturally comes first. It is present in enormous numbers during the [34] rainy season. In some places, small reddish-brown ticks are common. The Glossina [tsetse fly] seems to be absent; I encountered them only in the Kunene swamps. Among human parasites, bugs and fleas are practically unknown; on the other hand, lice are extraordinarily common, without being especially noticed by their owners.

9. The Water Supply

312 During the dry season, the water supply plays a decisive role. Every Bushman carries in his quiver the two reed tubes for the so-called Bushman well. It is by no means true, however, that the Bushmen are able to obtain water in this way at any time and place. It is only in places where some dampness is still visible [Fig. 1 appears here] that the earth is loosened with a digging stick, and then the reed, which, by inserting the parts into each other, may be over a meter long, is sunk into the ground. As the accompanying figure shows, the Bushman does not keep the drainage reed and the sucking reed in his mouth simultaneously. The representations which suggest this might well be completely false; instead, the Bushman has the sucking reed in the right-hand corner of his mouth, and as soon as he has his mouth full of water he lets it flow into the closed hollow of his left hand in which the drainage reed is placed. The water gained in this way is of course thoroughly mixed with saliva. It cannot be kept for any length of time.

312 824 Water reservoirs are also provided by the few baobab trees, which contain puddles of water in their interiors. An artful method is used in the Sand Veld. A palm tree is drilled halfway up its trunk; then the palm pith is scraped out as far as possible, and the opening is carefully sealed. The water rising from the roots gathers in this hollow and has a good taste.

Among the thirst-quenching roots, that of a liana (!gõa) was named in particular.

INTRODUCTION.

Early in 1955 the Chief of the Union Government Division of Botany 121
received a request through the British Museum for a botanist to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition, which in the winter of that year was to make a study of the Bushmen of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa. The duties of the botanist would be to investigate and report upon the plants used by the Bushmen in obtaining food and drink, and this task was assigned to me in my capacity as one of the Botanical Survey Officers of the Division of Botany.

I joined the expedition on 10th June at Molepolole, after it had been 122
some weeks in the field, and we thereafter travelled along the route shown on the map, reaching Windhoek on 2nd September.

There were two main areas of study, one in the country south of 133
Ghanzi and the other north of Ghanzi. The southern area, part of the Kalahari Desert, was remarkably uniform in every way. The surface [134]
was deep loose sand, gently undulating and with occasional shallow depressions of firm dark soil known as pans, which collect a little water after rain. We did not see a hill after leaving Molepolole until the Ghanzi area was reached, nor a stone, except for shelves of limestone in some of the pans. There was no permanent water in the 300 miles between [312]
Kudumalapshwe and the Ghanzi farms, but Khungwane waterhole and Khomodimo Pan had not yet dried up. Khungwane held one or two thousand gallons and Khomodimo contained a pond about thirty yards across and a foot or so deep. It provided a home, rather unexpectedly, [136]
for a coot (*Fulica cristata*) and a water-scorpion (one of the *Nepidae*). There are no records of the central Kalahari rainfall, but it would be [132]
between 18·5 and 19·6 inches, which are the mean annual figures for Ghanzi and Molepolole respectively. In spite of this low rainfall, and although we were there in the dry season, we found that the sand a few inches below the surface and down to at least three feet was damp enough to retain its form when squeezed in the hand. One specimen of a species 136
of Breviceps was found in the sand, a small burrowing frog which does not swim or jump and which passes through its tadpole stage in a mass of frothy material which surrounds the eggs. The commonest animals were the rodents whose burrows and tracks were in thousands along our route. The game included gemsbok, springbok, hartebees, eland, blue wildebees, giraffe and smaller antelopes and hares. Of the carnivora, lions, leopards, wild dogs, jackals and hyaenas were present. Ostriches and bustards were seen and occasional small birds of various species, but birds were on the whole poorly represented. The vegetation was mainly grassland, usually 137x
about four feet tall and mixed with many shrubs a little taller. Trees were seldom absent for more than a few miles at a stretch, and were scattered to form a parkland or in belts thick enough to hamper the progress of our lorries through them.

The northern area was much more varied, with the undulations 133
sometimes forming distinct rises and dales. Hills, however, were still absent, although there were occasional outcrops of limestone and other rock. The soils were for the most part fairly firm, but sandy nevertheless, [134]
and damp below the surface. From time to time we crossed zones of purer loose sand, slightly raised above the surrounding country and known as dunes. A number of permanent waterholes, groups of large pans and a rainfall estimated to be about 20 inches a year (Department of Transport [132]
1953) made this area better watered than the Kalahari, and better wooded. 137x

X137 There were more species of grass, and, particularly on the dunes, more of
136 trees and shrubs. The fauna was also richer for there were buffalo and elephant and many waterfowl in addition to the animals found in the Kalahari.

197 The Bushman languages represented in this paper are classified
[128] according to Bleek's *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages* (1929). They are !h3:, the closely interrelated ||ganakwe, |gikwe and Naron, and Auen (see also Bleek, 1928: 60-64).

!h3: is a member of the southern group, in which the lip click is found, and a dialect of what Bleek calls |nu||en, S6 in her system of
[194] classification. Bleek's spelling is !k3:, but I heard the click aspirated. It is spoken in the neighbourhood of Lehututu, which is 150 miles south of Ghanzi.

||ganakwe is spoken to the east of Ghanzi, and has been studied by Maingard (1957).

The centre of the |gikwe language appears to be in the country to the south-east of Ghanzi. It is a member of Bleek's Central group, closely allied to Naron and easily understood by Naron speakers although many
[194] words are different. A curious feature of the phonetics is the occurrence of the ejective lateral explosive followed immediately by the velar glottal affricate (see Cole, 1955: 23 and Beach 1938: 222-223). The first sound is not mentioned in any papers that I have seen on the Bushman languages.

[114] Naron is Bleek's C2. There is an error which is liable to confuse one on page 3 of her publication, where the languages of the Naron and Masarwa of Tati have been transposed. Naron should be under C2 and the Masarwa language under C1. A grammatical sketch of Naron is given in Bleek's paper of 1928.

Auen, Bleek's N1, is the eastern form of the !khû linguistic group and is spoken round Gautscha Pan. It was studied by Maingard when he was a member of this same expedition and an account of it is given in his paper of 1957. In this paper I refer to it as Eastern !khû.

124 The work done in the Kalahari was done through interpreters, and much of that in the northern area likewise, except towards the end of the expedition when through closer contact with the Bushmen for a longer time than in the south, I was able to acquire a smattering of the Eastern !khû language, enough to ask straightforward questions and to understand straightforward replies. The phonetics of the Bushman languages are a study in themselves, and I do not claim that my spellings and indications
104 of the tones are exact. In the orthography I have followed Bleek (1929)
194 with the following exceptions:—

1. I have placed the n first when it is combined with a click. It has been the convention to place the n after the click in the written Khoisan languages, the argument being that the n and the click are pronounced simultaneously (Meinhof, 1909: 5). To my ear the n is the first sound in the combination.
2. Bleek does not mention the voiced h, which sometimes follows a nasalised click. I have accordingly followed Doke (1936: 448) and used the symbol ɦ.

For easy reference, the symbols I have used are listed at the end of this introductory chapter.

[262] 411 824 It furnishes the Bushmen not only with an edible gum, but also with the material for making quivers. These are made from the lateral roots, which are a foot or so below the surface. A suitably straight length is exposed and cut through, and after the cortex has been loosened by gently pounding it, it may be slipped off the woody central portion. The tube so obtained is then covered at one end with skin. The roots of this tree, like those of *Acacia giraffae*, have a most unpleasant smell when cut, something which is not apparent in the above-ground parts.

X137 ***Burkea africana*** **Hook. (5332) Photograph 18.**

Eastern Ikhû Bushman -ǂk'u

An evergreen tree, with attractive drooping grayish compound leaves which are silvery when young. The tips of the youngest twigs are covered with a dense reddish pubescence, but this soon wears off and the older branches and the stem have a dark brown rough bark. The flowers are small but massed in showy hanging spikes six inches long and as thick as a pencil. They are cream-coloured and scented, and produce flat one-seeded or two-seeded pods two inches long. In the Transvaal the tree has a spreading crown. Beyond Tsau the habit was very different—the branches were ascending and shorter and gave the tree a slender appearance almost like a Lombardy poplar.

It is a widespread species in tropical Africa, extending from the Magaliesberg northwards to Abyssinia and Nigeria (Codd, 1951:61). Along the route of the expedition it was scattered from the south up to a point 171 miles from Molepolole, after which it was not seen again until 65 miles north-west of Tsau. It was found only on heavy sand, and beyond Tsau where sand and hard soil sometimes alternated at intervals of a mile or so the corresponding zones of Burkea were sharply defined. The central gap in its distribution is probably a climatic one, for there was deep sand in this area and conditions were apparently ide[illegible] for Burkea.

136 262 Burkea occasionally produces a little edible gum from injuries, but it is more important indirectly because of being the host of at least two edible caterpillars, one being the larva of the moth *Nudaurelia bellina* Westwood. This caterpillar is in length and thickness slightly bigger than one's little finger. It is marked with black dots on a yellowish-green ground, with a black transverse band just below each segment and a row of stiff black bristles on each segment. It is recorded from South West Africa and is no doubt known to the Bushmen and eaten by them, but as the expedition passed through those parts too early in the season no specimens of the caterpillar were seen. The Bushmen did bring in the pupae of what they said was an edible caterpillar, and Mr. L. Vari of the Transvaal Museum was unable to distinguish them from the pupae of *Nudaurelia bellina*. One cannot, however, assume from this that they are in fact the same, for the pupae of different species in this group may be indistinguishable.

136 Another caterpillar found on Burkea and recorded also from South West Africa is the larva of the moth *Cirina forda* Westwood. It is black below and silvery or golden yellow above, with a line of black markings down the centre of the back. It is sparsely covered with long white hairs. Many other species of caterpillars have similar hairs which are extremely irritant, but these are quite harmless.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

Adansonia digitata L. Photograph 32. 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman ≠m

The Baobab, as it is commonly called, is shown in photograph 32. Its stem may have a circumference of up to 148 feet, and makes it quite unmistakable. In winter it is leafless but in summer it bears dense dark-green foliage. The flowers are pure white and up to six inches across, and the fruits, as described by Codd (1951: 120) are "oblong or egg-shaped, five to six inches or more in length and three to four inches in diameter, with a woody shell which is softly grey-velvety on the outside".

The southernmost specimens were seen in the neighbourhood of Ghanzi, and from there it occurred sporadically to Gautscha Pan, the furthest point north reached by the expedition. There were big gaps in its distribution and it was rare throughout, but in some parts of the Transvaal it occurs abundantly and may have an unbroken distribution over many square miles of country. It is widely distributed in the drier regions of north and south tropical Africa.

Inside the shell of the fruit is a white, pith-like substance which may be eaten raw, or ground up and stirred into water to make a drink, or boiled to make a porridge. It has an acid-sweet taste. The seeds which are embedded in the flesh are also edible and are eaten like nuts. In other parts of Africa they are prepared in a somewhat involved way which includes protracted boiling, fermenting and drying. There are several records of the fact that the young leaves make quite a good substitute for spinach, but as the expedition was during the winter and as the trees are deciduous, I cannot say whether the Bushmen know of this, nor whether the trees we saw were of the glabrous variety which is the one used for spinach. No seedlings were seen. It is known that the white shoot from the germinating seed can be used as a substitute for asparagus, and that the tender root of the very young Baobab is also edible (Dalziel, 1937: 113). The trees are often hollow, and like *Boscia albitrunca* and *Ricinodendron rautenii* may act as reservoirs for rain water which can be used in times of scarcity. The Bushmen reach it by fitting hollow grass stalks end to end to form a tube, and sucking it out. A further product of the Baobab is a large caterpillar which feeds upon the leaves and which is an important article of food aming the Natives of the northern Transvaal. It is recorded also from South West Africa, and is very likely known to and used by the Bushmen.

252 262 [272] 271 312 824 262 136 825

Ochna pulchra Hook. (5273) Photograph 33. 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman !i and !e:i

A semi-deciduous tree with a clean but usually rather twisted bole which is white to light gray and has a peeling bark. The branches are bent and rigid and the wood brittle. They bear glossy light green alternate leaves which are almost sessile and usually entire, rarely with a very finely toothed margin. The tree has an attractive appearance even in winter, and the young leaves add to this in the spring for they range from pale green to reddish-brown. The flowers are borne in early summer, in showy scented bunches. They have yellow petals and a green calyx, which persists after the petals have fallen and turns bright red. The fruits are hard and green when immature but turn fleshy and black as they ripen. There are usually two or three, the size and shape of small beans, attached to a fleshy red swelling in the centre of the flower. The leaves have been suspected of causing poisoning in stock, but tests carried out on mammals have so far been inconclusive. (Uys and Thomas 1952, Steyn, 1949: 125.)

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

X137 *Coccinia sessilifolia* (Sond.) Cogn. (5167) Photograph 62.

Eastern ǂkhû Bushman ¯k'ǂ:dwa

A vine with many slender stems and bluish-green sessile leaves, deeply and irregularly lobed but usually less so than those of *Coccinia rehmannii*. The are covered with tiny raised scales on the upper surface, which sometimes show through on the lower surface as dots, and although hairs are present they are nearly all confined to the margins and too small to be seen by the naked eye. The tendrils are produced at the base of the leaves. Male and female flowers are borne on different plants. They are superficially alike, and similar to those of *Coccinia rehmannii*. The fruits are ovoid, three inches long and one in diameter, and are bright red when ripe. The leaves drop during the winter, and the vines also wither and disintegrate, but fresh ones arise in the spring from a perennial tuber weighing up to 25 pounds or so and similar in all respects to the tuber of *Coccinia rehmannii*.

Although the plant has a wide distribution on a variety of soils in the Cape Province, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, it was not seen on the expedition until Nama Pan was reached, where it was growing under the shelter of trees in sand. Two tubers, which happened to be male and female respectively, were sent to Pretoria, and flowers and fruits were produced in the summer of 1955-56.

262 252 Both tuber and fruit are edible. The tuber, which is prepared by roasting or boiling, is fibrous and rather tasteless. The fruits may be eaten raw when ripe, and although sweet are without much flavour. They are best used for food when gathered green and cooked as a vegetable. Their texture is then fairly firm and their flavour like that of Asparagus. [136] An added advantage of using them green is that one avoids the larva of a certain fly which, in Pretoria at any rate, often heavily infests the more mature fruit.

114 X137 It is of interest to note that although there is a record in the National Herbarium that birds eat the fruit and that the tubers are dug out and eaten by buck, there is no record of the fact that the plant is eaten by human beings. On the contrary, the information on one specimen is "Fruit is very poisonous to children" and on another "Toxic".

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

114 language), and Kung; Simon, a mechanic's helper; William Camm, also an interpreter who spoke Afrikaans, some English, and Gikwe; and Gishe and Ḍabe, two Gikwe Bushmen who lived on Theunis's farm.

We were looking for Gikwe Bushmen, as we had heard that there were some who lived in the area. We hoped that if we found some, Gishe or Dabe might discover a relative and enable us to make friends.

133 We traveled for many days, all day long, for, not knowing
137 where the Bushmen were, we hoped to come across some of them somewhere, or find a trace or track that might show us in what direction they had gone. We did not find anyone, though, and we saw nothing but the series of long, broad plains that dipped and tilted ever so little; we would find ourselves down in a wide, shallow bowl of grass, then at the rim of the bowl, where we would see the next plain rolling for miles away. Occasionally we came to an acacia forest, but mostly the country was open grassland with tiny thorn bushes down in the grass to catch us. Because it was June, the beginning of the dry season, there were many veld fires, and although we never came upon any, every day we saw their smoke, gray and misty on the horizon, all around us in a ring.

136 Sometimes we saw a small herd of game running far away from us, raising a little cloud of dust. We saw gemsbok, handsome, large, beige antelope, striped black on their sides, white-bellied, with long, straight horns. We saw gray, tousled wildebeest with curved horns like the horns of cattle. Once we surprised a herd of three eland, a bull and his two wives, which had been eating behind a clump of bushes. They threw up their heads when they saw us, eyes catching the sun and shining pale green like fires. They wheeled, hoofs scraping, and ran, their red bodies swaying, their heads held high

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

with their straight horns down on their backs; they neither leaped nor galloped, but paced majestically away, the great folds of flesh from their chins to their chests swinging. The bull left a string of saliva hanging, shining in the air. 136

Once we even saw a giraffe, but miles, miles away from us, alone under the clear sky among the thorn trees on the horizon, and we could see its silhouetted head and long neck turned to watch us; it seemed very lonely, very small, and very far away on the yellow flats; when the noise of our trucks reached it, it was frightened and began to run, heaving itself up and down. It ran away from us for a long time and got even smaller but never out of sight. At last it reached the horizon.

Later we came to some soft sand in a little forest of low trees, where we found the footprints of a family of lions. Beside the great, splayed pads of the lion, bigger than the span of my hand, went the smaller, neater pads of the lioness with little ridges of dust between the toes, followed by the tiny prints of two almost newborn cubs with feet no bigger than the print of my thumb. The marks had been made less than an hour ago, so John, Theunis, Gishe, and I, who had been in the jeep and were a good distance ahead of the heavier, slower trucks, decided to follow a little way after the family to see what they had been doing. It was during the day and warm, and the lions had been doing nothing except resting in the shade. We found the furry prints of the chests of the adults, made in the shade of a bush, and the prints of two more tiny cubs which the parents must have been carrying. We believed that they were near us because we heard some creature breathing in a tangle of bushes not far away, and we decided not to follow them because the lioness might become anxious and charge. We had only wanted to see them and perhaps photograph them, but we had no rifle and decided it was too

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kgalagadi FV4

B 136 dangerous for us there, so we withdrew. We should have loved to see them, and we were sorry to leave their patch of K bush.

131 We looked in the open ground near the lions' thicket for 361 signs of Bushmen, but we found none, so we went on over the flat plains and the next day we came to a long dip in the country, forested with small trees, the last place, said Theunis, where anyone except Bushmen lived. It was the rainy-season K village of a few Bakalaharis, a Bantu people who years ago 221 lost all their cattle and went into the desert, where they live a life very much like the life of Bushmen except that they raise goats. During the rains they graze their goats at little posts of theirs, far away in the veld. We set off toward the village, planning to ask the people there if they knew of Bushmen K farther on, but as we went over the ridge and down into the 166 valley we came upon all the villagers walking toward us, driv- 484 ing donkeys and herds of goats, a surprising sight in that lonely country. There were about sixty people in all, tall, K dark-skinned Bakalahari men carrying bows and arrows, fol- [141 482] lowed by their women, who carried heavy bundles on their backs, supported by tumplines around their foreheads, which made their eyes bulge and their lower jaws stick out. Among B them walked their Bushman servants, old wrinkled men and [357 482] women, young girls with their babies, lithe young hunters, 854 small, light-skinned, all carrying great loads of household goods belonging to the Bakalaharis, with the youngest Bushman children riding on top of the loads. Some of the Bush- K man boys were driving herds of goats, some of the older Bush- [492] man women drove herds of scrubby gray donkeys which were also heavily loaded with bundles of hides, sticks used to build K houses, bags of belongings, and baby goats too young to walk. 484 We were surprised to see them and we stopped. Some of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kgalagadi FV4

us over their slender shounders, neither smiling nor speaking, K 563
just watching with blank faces and great eyes.

We went on, and traveled for many days, breaking camp B
before dawn, stopping only for a minute for a bite at noon, 13
not stopping again until it was almost dark. We saw no people, no animals, but only the miles and miles of yellow-silver grass and black bushes, and saw the wind that blew across the country twisting the grass from silver to gold, gold to silver. It may have blown for thousands of miles before it touched us, perhaps blown over a Bushman werf tucked away somewhere, one point in the enormous, vast veld that ran all the way to Molepolole and all the way to Ghanzi, hundreds of miles to the south and north to the great river; the veld was just grass, occasionally marked by a little nameless pan, a little salt flat, or a few bushes or thorn trees; it was inhabited only by lonely birds, a few antelope in small herds, a few families of lions, a few Bushmen, as far apart from each other as the stars. The only sound there was made by the wind in the grass or the voices of a few birds singing, the only movement the slow turning of the sun, the moon, and the cold stars, very far away.

Every morning the sun rose straight up from the flat horizon, salmon red and in a haze of yellow, distorted by the haze into an oblong, and always gigantic, like a monster looming above the poor, dry, stumpy bushes of the veld.

As we went farther and farther into the desert we saw less B
and less game. The great herds that had once been there were 136
gone, perhaps because it was too dry, although the game antelope do not need to drink water, for they get enough moisture from the grass and roots they eat; perhaps because

136 the great veld fires had burned away the dry grass farther in the north, causing new green grass to spring up, luring the antelope to come there. We saw fires very near us and we wondered if the Bushmen had followed the game to the north.

361 609 One day we came to a tiny, low forest where we decided to camp for the night. As we searched among the little trees for firewood, we came upon three scherms, three little huts, built by Bushmen and abandoned very recently. The ashes of the fires were still warm. The people who lived there had surely heard us and had run away, leaving many of their possessions behind. We found a pot, burned black from use, a 411 few white beads, a quiver with arrows, and a digging-stick, 412 which is a branch a few feet long with the bark peeled off and 415 the twigs trimmed away, sharpened at one end and used by 301 Bushmen as a spade to break the hard ground when they dig roots. We then found footprints made by the people when they had rushed off in all directions; and later, as we followed the tracks, we even found the prints of hands and knees where someone had crawled hastily across an open place.

609 The discovery of these huts made us very hopeful, as we had traveled much farther than we had expected. We felt confident that Gishe, who had been born near our very campsite, would be able to track the people and find them, or that they would be plagued by curiosity and finally visit us. They did not, however; nor did they come back for their possessions, nor was Gishe able to find them. He had been living on a farm for many years and was no longer an expert tracker; and after the night dew had fallen during the evening that we found the werf, the tracks were old.

Of course, it was useless for us to wander around the veld hoping to stumble upon fresh tracks, although we tried the following day without success. We also sent Gishe to look for

CHAPTER THREE

The Bushmen

ON THE morning of the fifth day, when we felt that we could wait no longer, Gishe guessed that we might find Bushmen farther ahead, and we decided to try. Breaking a track is such a slow and tedious process that my brother John, Theunis, Gishe, and I loaded one truck and set off in it, leaving the other people to load the other trucks and follow later, traveling faster in our tracks.

136 We rode west all morning, and at noon we came to an open pan where fine, soft grass as fine as hair was blowing, and we saw a lion there, a big male with a black, tangled mane growing all the way down his neck and ending between his shoulders. He had the muscled neck and shoulders and the wide, swelling jaw of male creatures, and when he raised his head to look at us we saw that he was old. His face was wrinkled and massive, and he looked straight at us with a direct, indifferent look, the blind gaze of cats. His paws were enormous, his fur was the color of gold, He seemed so huge and bright in the sunlight, his eyes so cold and pale, that he fascinated us the way a cat fascinates birds. At that moment he could have walked up to us and carried one of us away.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

Bushmen believe that certain famous sorcerers, once med- 754
icine men who chose to be poisoners and magicians instead 825
of healers, have taken the form of certain lions, which can always be distinguished from ordinary lions by their great size and their ability to float in the air. Also, Bushmen say, the [521]
eclipses of the moon are caused by lions, as on very bright nights a lion may cover the moon's face with a great paw, giving himself darkness for better hunting.

Usually, when a lion sees you, he skulks away or bounds 136
off in great, ungainly leaps, in clumsy dodges, making a fool of himself because he is frightened; but when one raises his head and looks right at you, then turns as this one did, and walks off without even looking back, you understand at once why Bushmen believe the things they do.

As the lion walked away into a thicket of acacia trees we climbed off the truck and followed him. It was rash of us, but we were not afraid of him. We wanted a photograph. However, he had disappeared, and as we were looking cautiously around among the trunks of little trees we heard a motor roaring, gears grinding; and finally, as we watched, the jeep arrived with Cass and Bob (Dr. Story), who told us to go back to camp as fast as we could. Two Bushmen had arrived.

We started back at once and got there late in the afternoon, 609
and there we found them, two small men, one old, one young, in silhouette as they squatted by the fire, turning as we came to look at us, very nervous and very ill at ease. They had been given food and tobacco—a blue cloud hung above their heads —and a bucket of water, but during the course of the afternoon they had drunk the bucket dry. As Theunis and Gishe, the only people who could have spoken to both them and us, had been away, the rest of the expedition had had to wait anxiously for our return, unable to communicate a single word.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

ing great carcasses of fallen trees, some with the leaves on the 731
top still green, that were filling the air with the smell of their wood burning. The ground was still warm to walk on, but all the bushes, all the little succulents, all the vines that marked the water roots were gone; no snake or lizard or animal was there, all were burned or had gone; we saw only animal tracks half filled with ashes, and a few birds come to eat dead insects. We saw a pair of secretary birds and later a pair of [136]
paouw, huge gray birds that walk more than they fly, wandering through the ruins looking for dead reptiles.

As we walked, fine black powder rose to dust our legs, and now and then, off through the standing tree trunks and between the fallen trees' great upflung roots, little whirlwinds crossed back and forth, raising the dust in spiraled pillars. [921
Bushmen say that whirlwinds show the presence of the spir- 775]
its of the dead.

Witabe's eyes searched over the ground, and when he saw 222
a small mound of earth he walked up to it and punctured it 262
with his toe. Out rushed a horde of ants, which had been safe in their tunnels when the fire passed and now began at once to repair their damaged mound. Witabe crouched among them and began to pick and eat them, selecting the soldier ants, ones with large heads and heavy jaws. He bit off the abdomens, tossing the heads away. Presently he offered some to us, as I had feared he would; as everyone else ate one, I did also, and found that it was not too unpleasant but sour and very watery, very like a blackberry before it is ripe. The workers, I am told, are tasteless, but the fighters are considered a near-delicacy; mine opened her jaws wide to fight my thumb before I ate her.

Later in the day, when the sun in the sky, the still burning 481
trees, and the fire-warmed sand made the air on the flats un- 487
bearably hot, we turned back to camp for the shade of our

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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CHAPTER FIVE

Gai and Ukwane

At our camp in Ai a ha'o I had a small tent not high 136 ●
enough to stand in, tied to a very small thorn tree. The tent was made of ragged, waterproof fabric which billowed in and out when the wind blew, and when lit from the inside by a candle at night looked luminous, pale green, like an aquarium or a lantern on the moon. The tent was a shade from the blazing sun at noon and a shelter from the wind, and through the thin canvas I could hear the creatures that passed at night—hares and small buck that made the long grass rustle, and occasionally small predatory animals, such as jackals, whose footsteps make a sound and which sometimes call [192]
"*tsa, tsa,*" their sad, loud cry that means in Gikwe "water, water."

Whenever an animal called, someone would surely answer 524
it. People do this for fun, a hobby, answering every animal 825
except the lion. In the Kalahari it is considered safer to let the lion have the last word.

I had luckily pitched my tent in the sun, and during the 123
long cold period that followed our arrival at Ai a ha'o I was the only person who was warm because the tent kept out the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

ered him entirely so that only his head and toes were show- 132
ing, Tsetchwe in her small, ragged kaross which covered only 512
her back, leaving her legs, belly, and shoulders bare. Near them sat Ukwane and Kutera, bundled up together in Ukwane's tattered kaross in front of a handful of embers on a small pile of white ash, Kutera having been too tired to gather much firewood the night before. Dasina sat by herself at another very small fire with the baby, stark naked, standing on her lap. He alone did not seem to mind the cold, for he smiled at us cheerfully when we came by. The others hardly looked up.

They had burned all their firewood the night before, and now it was too cold to go for more, or even to go for food, so they sat cold, hungry, thirsty, and even tired, since they had been too cold to sleep during the night. They were waiting, as they had waited all night, with infinite patience, infinite endurance, for noonday, when the sun would give a little warmth; but the sky was overcast, and even at noon the sun would still be far away.

Twikwe stood up to poke her fire and the Antarctic wind howled along the ground, blowing her little kaross back from her shoulders and leaving her naked except for her apron whipping around her legs, and her string of beads. The icy wind made the branches over her head rattle, made her breath blow back like smoke and her eyes stream with tears. She sat down again, downwind from the fire, wiped her eyes, and, wrapping her lanky arms around her legs, put her head on her knees and waited. It was six o'clock in the morning; they had six hours to go.

A little later I crossed the flat pan of Ai a ha'o to look for 136
firewood in the plains on the opposite side. When I got there I saw a hawk in a tree, a hawk with a fine red beak and handsome gray feathers. He had gnarled, stalky legs and he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

136 stood on his branch with the legs wide apart, bracing himself against the wind. When I got near he dropped from his branch and let the wind carry him away, and I saw that he had been watching a colony of ground squirrels close by which had not seen him and did not see me. They, too, were miserable with the cold, for they walked around slowly as they looked for seeds to eat. I sat down to watch them, which they noticed, and some of them stood up to watch me. Their fur was oddly greenish and it blew in the wind showing little patches of white. They had long fat bellies, long heavy thighs, and little feet, and when they stood up they, too, kept their legs wide apart and braced. As they peered at me I heard on the wind almost inaudibly high, soft whistles, their cries of warning to each other. They decided I was dangerous and vanished down their holes.

123 I came back to the werf with some wood, which I gave to the Bushmen. They reached out their hands for it and put it on their fires, but they didn't say a word. Later, in our camp, we put all the wood we had on one great fire, where the Bushmen joined us and where we spent the morning making and drinking cocoa. We even put up a white canvas, and, lying between it and the fire, we were fairly warm.

423 621 602 159 Ukwane used that occasion to tell us something about his life and his relatives, his former wives, the children he had fathered and where they lived. Most of this centered around melon rights, or who could live in which areas, for if a person is born in a certain area he or she has a right to eat the melons that grow there and all the veld food. It is perhaps this factor that explains in part why the Gikwe bands are composed the way they are; a man may eat the melons wherever his wife can and wherever his father and mother could, so that every Bushman has in this way some kind of rights in many places. Gai, for example, ate melons at Ai a ha'o be-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

281 skins with Bakalahari people for tobacco when we had gone and when the tobacco we had given him had all been used. We asked how much he would get and he measured an imaginary pile in the palm of his hand—not much for four or five days' work, although the skins of Delalandes foxes are quite small.

● 136 There were Delalandes foxes living not far from Ai a ha'o, a colony of them, for they always live together. I saw them often and they were charming creatures, fuzzy with huge ears and black stockings. I have always admired them, for although they have no defenses, can neither run fast nor fight, they are not afraid to go mousing far from their burrows. Then, when they are surprised by a menace, they have to run home, and they start off all together and run and run, humping on and on at an even pace, neither speeding nor slacking, until long after you first saw them they disappear into their holes. They are humble creatures, but persistent and brave. One member of our expedition hunted them for months with rifle and shotgun, trying to get a specimen for a museum in the United States, but I am glad to say he never succeeded. Ukwane caught them, though, the easy way. He set five snares for them at five mouse-runs in the grass; five foxes strangled in the snares, and Ukwane came around the following day to gather them up.

123 825 321 411 We filmed Ukwane working the skins. Then we found the shoulder blade of the gemsbok we had shot weeks ago still lying in the werf and we asked Gai to make an arrowhead out of it so we could film that, too. It was the right kind of bone, the kind that Bushmen use. The small antelope and even some of the larger ones, such as springbok and wildebeest, have bones which are too fragile to penetrate another antelope's heavy hide. Gai agreed to make the arrow; he broke off the scapular spine and pushed it into a fresh tsama melon to

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

in a fold of his belly and held the finished end of the cord be- 283
tween his toes. Then, as he finished a section, he would pull with his toe, moving the cord into a new position while with his hand he removed a new tuft of fibers from his belly. It was very efficient. The cord almost finished itself. It seemed to me then that this use of a belly fold might once have given someone the idea of a vice or clamp, or the pulling foot the idea of a pedal.

The day turned out to be a very eventful one. In the after- 136
noon someone discovered that a large snake had occupied a hole right next to our camp. We all went to see the track, and found it so fresh and so enormous that we shook the Bushmen from their afternoon naps to tell us what we had found. Ukwane came alone, saying that he would know as well as anyone, and after looking at the track for a moment and following it out into the veld a way, he returned to say that the snake was still in the hole.

From the size of the track, which was as wide as the rut of a cartwheel, we could see for ourselves that the snake was about fourteen feet long, and from the straightness of the track, from the fact that it had no parallel scratches on its sides which would mark it as the track of a python, Ukwane could tell that it was made by a mamba, the deadliest snake in all Africa, second-deadliest in all the world, a snake that can travel almost as fast as a horse can run and whose poison will kill an adult human being in ten minutes or so.

The snake had come only that morning, perhaps attracted by a colony of bushy little rats that lived around our camp, and induced to move by the warm sun, which must have set his great length in motion out on the veld somewhere.

The members of our expedition felt that something should be done, so while my father brought a shotgun, Ledimo, the interpreter, lit a fire near the hole, then lit gasoline-soaked

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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136 rags in the fire and pushed them burning into the back door of the burrow, hoping to drive the snake out the front. Nothing happened, and the tension naturally rose; and as the snake was fourteen feet long, everyone began to edge backward.

At that moment Gai arrived on the scene, still sleepy from his nap, balancing his spear over his shoulder. The sun shone on the blade. Gai walked through the circle of people straight up to the hole and, crouching, pushed the spear inside.

"What are you going to do?" we asked, and Gai looked back over his shoulder with eyes more black and cool and deadly even than the mamba.

"Eat him," he said.

But though Gai worked his spear in the front door of the burrow, then in the back door, for almost twenty minutes, he never felt the snake and we never saw it. Soon Gai gave up and walked away, disgusted and cheated of his meal, followed by Ukwane, and for the rest of the afternoon we avoided going near the hole. But in the evening, when we returned to inspect it, we found another wide track winding out into the veld. The snake, disturbed, had gone.

That night we all stayed close to our fires, in our circles of light, and kept out of the dark veld where the snake might be mousing, lying quiet in the grass where one of us might step on him.

Quite late that night, while we were still sitting quietly enjoying the warm air, we heard the growl of a large deep-throated creature right next to our camp, answered in a moment by the growl of a second creature very near the first. The growl rose into a sort of cry, higher and higher, and broke with a sighing, tentative note. It was a hyena crying to another hyena, a female and a male. The night air was moon-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

less, close and tropical, and their crying made a ghostly 136 ● sound as they answered each other, two specters in the veld, their green eyes searching, and presently they were close together, growling now and panting, snapping their long teeth. They closed, each one's growls muffled in the other's dark fur, and we heard the male hyena's growling quiver as he shook the female, the sound of a dog worrying a bird. They were so occupied with each other that they did not notice or did not mind being very near our camp; if there had been a moon we could have seen them easily, but the sky was overcast and black. We heard their footsteps shuffle in the dry grass and presently we heard them move away. They must have gone in different directions, for one of them, a little later, called alone, was not answered, and called again; we heard the other calling finally, a hesitant, tentative crying, faint and far away.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

On the way a moving shadow caught our attention, and we looked up to see a white-breasted, black-winged vulture sailing not far above our heads, not stirring himself but riding the drafts and currents of the air. He was looking at us with hard eyes, his red face turned to look down, and suddenly he closed his great wings under his body, sweeping them down so far that the long wing feathers brushed together four feet under his belly. Then his wings swept up again and bore him on. I had never seen a vulture do that before. He did it only once, then made a circle all around us, looking down at us, his eyes cool in their red wrinkles; he rose higher and higher and soon he was gone. All over Africa the sky is full of vultures, but so high that you can seldom see them; any time you look up with binoculars, however, you will probably be able to see one sailing, waiting up there for a disaster.

We were going particularly to look for *bi*, a fibrous, watery root that is the mainstay of the Bushmen's diet during the hot season when the melons are gone. From the end of August, when the spring begins, the heat increases in intensity until December and January, when the rains come, relieving the drought. During this hot, dry season the sand reflects the sun until the air all over the veld shudders and dances, until human beings and animals alike gasp for air and water. This is the hardest season of all for the Bushmen, yet most of them remain alive by going into the veld early in the morning in the cooler light of dawn to gather bi. The bi they find is brought back to the werf before the sun is hot; it is scraped, and the scrapings are squeezed dry. The people drink the juice they squeeze. Then they dig shallow pits like graves for themselves in the shade. They urinate on the bi scrapings and line the pits with the now moist pulp, then lie in the pits and spend the day letting the moisture evaporating from the urine preserve the moisture in their bodies. They lie still all day and at dusk go into the veld again to gather food, perhaps a few

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER SEVEN

Mood Songs

000 WHEN we came to the pan of Ai a ha'o we found a small veld fire burning just at its edge on the opposite side and we noticed someone standing near it, partly obscured by the smoke. We called out to see who it was and a cracked voice answered: "Ukwane." He came over to us and told us he was looking for the piece of string that he had made which must have dropped out of his hunting-bag. He had been searching patiently over the ground all afternoon, but I did not see how he could hope to find it with all the smoke and with his hazy eyes that were almost blind. He decided to go home with us and fell in step beside us. We were hurrying because of the women's heavy loads and because of the fire, which by now was putting up a cloud of boiling, brown smoke that streaked out with the wind, making a long pathway above us that reached from the fire to the sun. Birds were being chased from
● 136 the bushes, still singing because they always sing in the afternoon, and insects from the grass.

578 We went past the fire and soon it crossed our track behind
621 us and went harmlessly into the west. As we walked, Ukwane
574 told us that during the afternoon the band of seventeen Bush-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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into their scherms, and in the morning there was a lake of 132
shining water on the pan and lilies growing everywhere, where only their dry leaves had been before.

After that the rain came often. Some weeks it rained a lit- 132
tle every day, some weeks the rain became torrential and flat- 136
tened the Bushmen's grass scherms, but it made the veld rich and green, with flowers everywhere and all kinds of fruit, which grew on trees and stalks and bushes. The pan became the home of shore birds, marabou storks and flamingos. Leopards and lions drank there, game antelope waded through it, leaving deep tracks in the mud, and the Bushman children [515
sometimes danced in the shallows, their feet making flashing, 142]
rhythmic splashes, or bathed themselves until their skins were shining gold.

One night I went to the werf with a lantern and suddenly found myself beset by insects flying all around me, attracted by the light. It was the mating flight of white ants, which had come out of the ground in great numbers and now filled the air. The Bushman men were away on a hunting trip, un- [222
fortunately, but the women came to the light as quickly as 262]
the ants and began at once to catch them and stuff them into their mouths, saying "*gurico gum*" as they did so, *gurico* being the name of the ants and *gum* the word used for candy, for sweet gum that oozes from the trees, and for sweet caterpillars. Much faster than the women could eat, more and more ants came flying in a swarm as thick as a blizzard and already the ground was white with wings, for the ants, throwing themselves to the earth, would drop their wings instantly and begin to mate with each other in twos, in threes, even forming in great circles that turned as the ants ran scurrying to keep their positions, each one mounted with its forefeet on the back of the ant before it, pushed on by the ant behind. Sometimes an ant would fail to shed its wings and, finding

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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132 that the great trains dragging hampered its mating, would
136 twist and thrash and struggle, squeezing the wings between its thorax and abdomen, which did break off the wings but left the stubs. More and more ants were flying to the light and their circles were growing bigger and bigger until we couldn't move without stepping on them, but the women, getting more excited and moving very quickly, as if responding to the pace and the excitement of the ants, scooped them up and ate them as fast as they landed, spitting out the silver wings as one would spit out chaff. Over our heads a few night birds and many bats were flying, catching and eating the ants before they reached the ground, and around our feet huge pink hunting-spiders rushed in and out of the swarm, dragging the ants from their acts of copulation and carrying them away to eat them in the dark.

Before long the flight had ended. Only a few late-coming ants bumped against the light, the night birds and bats were gone, and the spiders had run away. Nothing was left but the white wings like petals all over the ground and the wings that were caught in people's throats or stuck to their faces. The women, quite composed now, brushed themselves off, and one of them sang a song:

[539]

Gurico gum, ah
Ah, ah.

[251] I noticed that each woman had managed to save a little bag or vegetable husk full of ants for her husband. These they put away.

132 That was in the late spring, a fertile season full of promise, and when it was over the best season of the year began, called the Veld Food Season, which starts some time in
361 March. The big rains have ended, the air is warm but not
621 hot, the veld is filled with water, game, fruit, roots, and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

CHAPTER TEN

Beautiful Ungka and Lazy Kwi

For two days we drove our trucks through the scrub forests 648
of Nyae Nyae and on the third day we came to a water pan
not far from the village of Gam. In 1953 we had lived at
Gam a short time; it was the cattle post of a very wealthy
Chuana farmer. This farmer lived at Tsau, a large Bantu town
several days' travel from Gam, but he had cattle posts with
herders all through the country, keeping only fragments of
his great herd at each one. Two Chuana families guarded his
cattle at Gam. The village had once been the home of about
a hundred Bushmen, but when the Chuanas had taken it,
many of the Bushmen had been made serfs and they and
their families now worked for the Chuanas, tending the herds.

The little pan near Gam was full of blue water, and was [133]
surrounded by yellow-leafed trees. We found two ostriches be- 136
side it. The ostriches stared mutely at us first, very wide be-
tween the eyes and square at the jaw, until it came to them
that we were not ostriches; and with that they rushed head-
long away, flapping their ostrich-feathered wings, working
their naked thighs and knees like pistons, wildly out of con-
trol. They had an air of old people with tough, gray, varicose-
veined legs, wearing nothing to hide their nakedness but lit-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

136 tle feather boas around their waists, which were the wings.

As we left the pan a boar got up from the grass where he was lying and ran before us, a warthog with a heavy neck and red bristle of a mane, with curved tusks and with his tail stiff up in the air like a banner, trotting like a horse. He held his head high and ran away proudly, and he was old and very massive for a pig.

Not long after that we saw the two thatched rooftops of the village of Gam. A feather of smoke was rising over the rooftops, and soon we were there.

648 609 The people must have heard our trucks. A small crowd was standing in the bushes, the people watching apprehensively as we came up. Mostly they were Bushmen, naked and smooth and brown, but here and there we saw a Bushman man wearing a ragged shirt or a woman in an old, filthy dress. In the crowd, towering over the Bushmen, were the Chuanas, a woman and a man, the woman dressed in a turban and a long dress, the man in shorts and a jacket. These two were the cattle-keepers. When our trucks stopped, the woman recognized us and, clapping her hands together, ran forward to meet us, followed at once by several Bushmen who also recognized us, and after that the crowd broke and all ran forward, the tense looks of apprehension gone, for if all the Bushmen had not known us they had heard of us and knew who we were. In a moment we found ourselves in the center of the crowd as all the Bushmen who knew us threw their gentle arms around us, touching us so lightly that it was like being embraced by moths. All those who did not know us crowded to look at our faces, and everyone talked at once until our ears rang. The Chuana couple, both more reserved, held back until the others had greeted us and then came forward to shake our hands.

621 When the excitement had died a little and everyone had a

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

415
with his possessions—bowls, fire sticks with which the Bush- 482
men kindle fires, skins, and little bags of food.

Just before we left, the Chuana woman came to say good-by 648
and I gave her some tea and a bottle of perfume that was given to me when I left America. My mother gave her a silk scarf and some bars of scented soap, and the woman, overwhelmed, sat down on the ground with these things in her lap and with the aid of the interpreter she started to thank us, but then she said: "Too much thanks is like a curse. I sit here with my delights."

After that we climbed on the trucks and drove away, looking back to see the sky of evening and the dry hills around Gam, and the Chuana woman still sitting on the ground waving to us. In back of her, a group of serf Bushman women were thoughtfully carrying away the firewood we had left behind.

Many miles from Gam we camped for the night and all 136
the sky in the west was hazy red with the flat-topped thorn trees blue below it, and suddenly through the haze a herd of giraffes ran from a thicket near us into the open plain. There were nine giraffes and eight were females, all strung out in a line with their strong legs slowly opening, then bunching as they ran and their heads on their long necks stretching out and back, out and back. Behind the females ran the bull, an enormous creature half again as tall as they were, half again as broad, mighty and ponderous as he reached his long legs forward to overtake his wives.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

It used to be that no one lived at Nama Pan, although 133
there was a deep waterhole brimming with water always, 136
even when the lake was gone, and fruit in the bushes around the shore, and plenty of game. It had been an empty and unwholesome paradise abandoned in the veld at the time I once visited it with a band of hunters and women who went there in search of food. It was just before the heavy rains, when all the veld was blooming, and the hunters picked the sweet gum that oozed from the trees with the tips of their spears. The women gathered karu plants, little green fruits that look like cucumbers hanging on vines like grape vines, and that day one of the children saw a ratel, a honey badger, which the hunters speared. This was the badger that no one would eat but Lazy Kwi, the one that made him vomit. At that time the pan itself was empty of water and the dark, rank grass was growing where the water now stood. As we approached the pan a crowd of vultures moved in the grass, ran clumsily toward us, and launched themselves into the air. They heaved their great wings and rose higher and higher and soon a column of vultures hung above the pan, the highest ones almost invisible, the strong wings of the near ones beating the air just over our heads. A shower of feces came spattering down.

When the vultures saw that we were staying they flew gradually higher and higher until they were lost in the air and we walked over the dark grass tampled flat by them toward the waterhole which stood in the center of the pan. On the way we found a vulture egg among the droppings, small and pink and newly laid, for it was covered with a thin coat of slime, as though it had slipped out of a vulture accidentally when she was frightened and hurrying to fly.

A stench hung over the pan which got stronger as we neared the waterhole, a dark cavern in the grass. The stench

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

133 was coming from it, and though the adult Bushmen knew
136 what to expect and didn't waste time investigating, only pausing for a moment at the brink to glance inside, then going on, the children stopped to gaze and I stopped with them. The sides of the well overhung the water in a lip about four feet high. The water itself was the color of clay, and on its smooth surface a hairy back and a pair of pointed ears were floating, the back and ears of a drowned hyena floating on its belly with its nose pointing straight to the bottom. White maggots crept from one ear to the other and the rotting smell rose from the corpse. Obviously, the hyena had been thirsty and when trying to drink had fallen in and drowned. A little boy who was watching the hyena, fascinated, began to howl faintly, "Mmm//ao, mmm//ao," the way a hyena howls, but putting a click in it the way Bushmen usually do, and then for my benefit acted the scene as it must have taken place. He rolled out his tongue and edged his hand toward the lip of the well, then jerked away, staring at the water with yearning eyes and saying: "No, I can't reach it. Yes, I must." He edged his hand toward the lip again, then shrieked "Ai! Ai!", waved his arms, pawed the air as the hyena had pawed the sides of the well, twisted his head from side to side, eyes starting, then closed his eyes and let his head roll back, his face calm and his lips parted, turning his hands limply, palms up. "Finished," he said.

"Yes," I said. "Too bad."

[262] "Oh, hyenas are worthless animals," he said. He meant that they were not good to eat. Then he ran off and after a short time came back with a long stick, which he pushed into the water. "Help me stir," he said, so I did, and presently the carcasses of two wild dogs and a vulture bobbed to the surface, rolled over slowly, legs in the air, and sank again. "You see?" he said triumphantly. "Many things die here."

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

133 shallow well between two rocks and hidden in a thicket, but we saw no sign of goats or people, only the tracks of wild animals around the waterhole and down a lonely little path that led there, and we wondered what had happened to the goats and Toma. Perhaps he had become a renegade, hiding from the Bantus, on the run with his family; perhaps he now was wearing a goatskin and cracking the bones of his charges out in the veld somewhere.

On the eastern horizon we saw the smoke of a veld fire which Lazy Kwi said might have been lit by Toma and we drove toward it and reached it just before the sun went down. We found a way through the wall of flames and found what we thought was the source of the fire, but the burned area was very large and it was hard to be sure. It was almost dark then, very cold, and when we came to a clump of bushes we stopped the jeep and walked about, gathering dead wood that lay near by. The camp was on a rise and we could see about for miles. In the north rose the brown backs of the Aha Mountains, and on the other side the land fell away, down and down, until all the trees were obscured, then beyond that until the horizon looked like the sea, just a blue line, darker and a little hazier than the sky.

It was very quiet and lonely there except for a few birds that flew high and far above us calling, and we called Toma's name again and again and our voices rang in the cold air, but we did not get an answer. Lazy Kwi, naked and barefoot in the frost, walked over the plain with his arms hugged against his chest for warmth and called more: "Toma . . . *Toma*," a little annoyed as he was tired, then waited, called again: "Toma . . . my brother . . . brother . . ." and as his
136 voice died away no answer came; but a koorhan, a dark bird the size of a chicken, flew out of a clump of bushes far away and rose cackling up to the sky, where we saw it, black and clumsy, before it dropped to the earth again.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

That night it was so cold that no one wanted to leave the fire and when finally everyone was at my camp, settled close to each other, side by side, with their bellies warmed by the heat and their shoulders covered by their capes, their backs turned against the enormous veld where the cold wind blew and where the dark was coming, they began to entertain themselves with conversation, their favorite pastime.

The adults held their elbows on their raised knees and cupped their hands under their chins to cast little shadows into their eyes, for in this way they could see clearly over the bright fire. Close to the fire even the children were not cold. The older children sat up like the adults, although they were naked and the adults had capes, and the younger children slept in their parents' arms, warm between the fire and their parents' skin.

Before the darkness had come totally I left the fire to look through the little forest for wood, and as soon as I was off among the trees a way I was quite alone; I could not see the firelight and the voices did not reach me, and as I walked around in the frost and the gloom I could hear my footsteps crackling the grass. When I stopped walking to pick up an icy stick I could still hear the grass crackling, and when I looked around I saw, not too far away, a pair of mongooses, a male and a female, with five little ones. They were eating seeds from the pods of a plant and when they saw me they ran, all in an orderly line, and when they were gone the forest seemed very empty, for I could see through the trees to the desolate plains beyond, and up through the branches to the sky, where stars were showing, far away. A partridge rose in front of me—I had chased it from its bed. I could hear it calling as it flew, lost out in the veld now, and when I had a bundle of sticks I found my way home.

Dikai had been out for sticks in the opposite direction and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

137 It was noon when we reached the tree; we broke through the bushes that surrounded it and came into its clearing, a circle thirty yards across of stony, barren ground from which the long roots had sucked the nourishment, and in the middle of the circle the great tree rose, pink-skinned and mighty, the claimer of two lives, twenty feet in diameter and almost two hundred feet high. Its lower branches were heavy and enormous, but the branches got smaller toward the top, the upper ones very thin, crisscrossing each other like lace. On the eastern face of the tree there were no branches; the pink
137 trunk towered up and up, smooth and bare. On this side was
481 an ascending row of pegs driven in by Bushmen long ago who had been after honey, used in later years by Bushmen hunters trying to rob the hives again or to scan the countryside for game. The pegs led from the ground around the trunk to the lowest branch, then up the trunk again to the next branch, ending finally at the top of the great tree, almost out of sight.

I knew this old tree very well, for during the year that we had lived at Gautscha we had camped beside it. It had been the home of many creatures then; and now the eastern face of the tree, the great bare slab rising like pink stone, was pocked with little holes. Some of them were empty, surely, but some had tufts of dry grass showing in the openings, little creatures' nests, and here and there, between the roots or in the forks of branches, were the caves of larger animals.

224 Bees had lived in a hole among the branches halfway up,
136 though Toma said the bees had now moved higher; a mongoose had lived in a little cave between the roots on the south side, though now the mongoose was dead, snared and killed by Toma's son; a python that had lived in a hole on the north side was also dead, killed and eaten by an old Bushman woman we had known; but a colony of green-furred squirrels that had lived on the lowest branches, we saw, were

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

still there. Bushmen do not eat squirrels because squirrels have no meat on their bones. Birds of all kinds lived in the great tree too, and there was a hawk's nest in the upper branches; I once had seen the two gray hawks that built it, but now they too were gone.

It was the bees that interested the Bushmen, though, and those of us who had come from Nama—Toma, Gao Feet, Crooked Kwi, Lazy Kwi, my brother, and I—sat among the rocks at the foot of the tree, the men planning what they would do. I was so tired from having been awake all night to watch the dance that I lay down on the stones and fell asleep, and when I awoke, in an hour or so, the men had built a fire but were still arguing about who would brave getting stung to find the honey. No one really wanted to do it; but I saw that Crooked Kwi was almost persuaded, being very amenable and the youngest person there. Sure enough, taking a smoldering brand in his teeth, he at last began to climb the pegs, clinging to them with his fingers and toes. Toma followed at a distance, cautiously, urging Crooked Kwi on, and the two climbed higher slowly, Crooked Kwi looking down from time to time to be encouraged. When he did, Gao Feet and Lazy Kwi would shout for him to continue. At last Crooked Kwi reached the branch beside the hive and squatted there, blowing on his brand to make it smoke while Toma climbed past him, around to another branch, where he, too, squatted with his feet apart and his hands on his knees exactly as though his feet were on the ground, the branch was so wide.

Crooked Kwi found the hole, a small opening, though even from the ground we could see a few bees humming idly outside, and blew the smoke from his brand into it, then, encouraged by Toma, reached his slender arm inside to find a honeycomb. He was stung, of course, and snapped his arm out instantly, though even then the bees were not angry, None

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

pointed to me and said: "Look at Dikai. She wants to go home. Let's go home." And so we did, and as evening came we went by Gautscha Pan.

We had not seen it before; we had been in the bushes on its eastern side when we had looked for honey, but now, as we emerged from the bushes, we found ourselves on its farther, eastern rim.

Great Gautscha Pan was full of water, shining gray water. Smoke overcast the evening sky all around the horizon and high into the air, and all we could see was the great stretch of gray water with yellow grass like islands in it and flocks of small black ducks breaking its surface, and yellow grass all around. The line of bush on the horizon was gray-green near us where we stood on the rock slide at the eastern rim, touched with yellow spots, acacia trees with their soft, pale-yellow fuzzy flowers round as balls, looking like clouds, like dreams, pretty and fresh with a sweet fragrance, and as the bush went around the pan the haze dimmed it, giving it the subtlest colors and a wild, still look like trees before a storm. Among the bushes to the north of us rose the two visible baobab tops, eerie and far away, and in the water the yellow grass was reflected upside down.

There it was, Toma's great country, magnificent and solitary, for no one lived there now, no person, no animal, except the black wild ducks that swam on the water, some near, some far away, in lines of three or four, in pairs, moving gradually in their even, deliberate processions as though they were being drawn slowly over the water by hidden streams.

The sun was sinking; high above the horizon it was deep red, a perfect circle, almost hidden by the haze and reflected by a red path in the water, and as it sank into haze that grew thicker and thicker the sun got paler and more obscured until it vanished long before it set.

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

132 gin to tower in the afternoons. They wear over the desert from the east and are usually gone by morning. But should they encounter the right conditions, the local rains that fall from these clouds—the "little rains"—bring the spring of the year. This is the sudden season of thunderstorms. The storms are like gods walking in the desert, each attending to a narrow path with violence and rain. In the quiet, after their passing, many plants bloom—small flowers and edible greens.

[136] SPRING is also the season of heat. Myriads of flies, the year's crop, now hatch. The heat increases toward

174 last, white and black met,—raiding one another for cattle across the Fish River—and the time of the Zulu and the Voortrekker was near, the classic period of the Bushmen was over.

131 THE AREA called *Nyae Nyae* lies on the border between South West Africa and Bechuanaland. It covers about 10,000 square miles, between 18°55′ and 21°0′ South latitude and 19°50′ to 21°25′ East longitude. In
133 the center of this area is a ring of *kalk* pans. *Nyae Nyae* is actually the name the !Kung gave to this ring of pans, although I have applied it to the whole area occupied by the !Kung nation.

● 136 There is game round these pans and, in small groups, everywhere in *Nyae Nyae*. Wild roots grow in the
137 bush that shrouds much of the territory. There is *tsi* in the south, while
133 *mangetti* forests crowd along the crests of white sand dunes in the south and east, and spread over the north. Their

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

224 meat to the owners of the territory should they happen to encounter them,
[43] but this is a gift, not an obligatory tribute. The vastness and emptiness of
[182] the country allow this freedom in hunting rights and the wandering nature of the game requires that the hunters, if they are to succeed at all, be free to look for game wherever they can find it.

222 The !Kung eagerly pick up tortoises, certain kinds of lizards, snakes, ostrich eggs, and grasshoppers, and they relish termites when these insects
[262] swarm out in nuptial flight. These items provide incidental delicacies and gathering them is like the gathering of veldkos. The person who gathers
224 them may keep them for himself and his own family. Men gladly shoot small
223 animals and birds if they happen upon them—wart hogs, duikers, other small antelope, porcupines, badgers, pythons, spring hares, ostriches, paouws, guinea fowl, red-winged partridges, occasional migrating geese, and other birds. They may keep them for their own families. They do not, however, devote their hunting time to the smaller animal creatures if they find fresh spoor of the larger ones. Hunting the big game animals that feed a whole band is the work of a man's prime and is incumbent on him.

224 Hunting parties usually consist of from two to four or five men. A man cannot hunt effectively alone in this country. Several parties hunting in different directions are more advantageous than one larger party. Any man may organize a hunting party, with relatives and friends from his own band or from neighboring bands—men he likes to hunt with. No one is formally a leader; the men talk and plan together and are likely to fall in with the suggestions of the one whom they consider the best hunter. Participation in any given hunting party is voluntary. What !Kung society urges is that the
[461] hunters hunt; it does not restrict the ways and means. The force of public
[626] opinion upon men not to sit in the werf, not to be lazy but to do their share, is tremendous.

The game the !Kung hunt deliberately and purposefully are the several big antelopes found in the region: eland, kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok. They also hunt the more rarely seen buffalo and occasionally manage to shoot a giraffe. Although there is this considerable variety of kind, there is not a great abundance of game. The herds are small and the hunts long and hard.[6] The antelope, because they can go for long periods without drinking, move and drift about anywhere in the vast monoto-
[409] nous veld and are very difficult to find. Hunters often search for days, cover-
[411] ing scores of miles, before finding spoor fresh enough to follow, and they may follow it for days before catching up with the animal. Their little arrows kill by poison rather than by piercing deeply, and, when an animal is shot, if it is big, it may wander for three or four more days until it dies of the poison.
[136] Smaller animals succumb in a shorter time. The hunters must track the animal and find it before the lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals, or vultures devour it.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the
882 parents' fire.

Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive
855 and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few
857 utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or
[136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and
[868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime,
857 singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults
[512] together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned
857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth
156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men,
[173] the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another
[171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation
[562] ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they
[535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from
[534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony.
[302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of
[304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

133 for plotting territorial divisions, group movements, and seasonal subsistence patterns.

Fauna

136 The main fact to be noted here is the comparative scarcity of migratory large game. There is evidence for a diminution in the abundance and variety of large game over the last seventy years. There are reports that the hunter Van Zyl killed elephant and rhinoceros at /gam, 60 miles south of Dobe in the 1870's. Some Bechuana informants found rhino at /ai/ai around 1915. /ai/ai is 25 miles south of Dobe. Today elephants are only occasional summer visitors in the Dobe area (two came in 1963, none in 1964). There are no rhino within 200 miles of Dobe. Springbok were present as late as 1950 (J. Marshall 1957) but they are absent today.

Ungulates: In terms of biomass the most abundant ungulates are kudu, wildebeeste, and gemsbok in that order. Kudu were observed in groups of 3-7 in all seasons. On one occasion a herd of twenty was seen. Wildebeeste occurred in all seasons in groups never larger than eight. This is in sharp contrast to the situation 200 miles south of Dobe where herds of several hundred are common. Gemsbok were sighted singly or in pairs in all seasons.

The most common antelopes numerically were the two non-

136 migratory species, steenbok and duiker. These were by far the most frequent Bushman kills during the study period. Wart hog were very common and frequently killed. In terms of diet this is the most important mammal.

None of the other large ungulates were common or were factors in Bushman diet. Those recorded are listed below.

zebra - one sight record (group of 4), never hunted by Bushmen.

giraffe - one sight record (group of 5), three killed by Hereros with rifles, none hunted by Bushmen.

buffalo - one sight record (a single animal), a summer visitor. In some years they are said to migrate in numbers from the swamps. This migration did not occur in 1963 or 1964.

eland - no sight record; said to be present, none killed in recent years.

roan antelope - one sight record (a single animal), no record of kills. The sable antelope which is so common east of the swamps is entirely absent on the west (Reay Smithers, personal communication).

red hartebeeste - three sight records, evidence of several being killed in recent years.

springbok - present until 1950, absent today.

impala - one pair of horns found; said to be very rare.

Carnivores: Paradoxically all of the major southern African carnivores are represented in the Dobe area although

• 136 none of the larger ones are common. There were sight records or specimens for the following species. Those killed by Bushmen are marked by an asterisk.

lion	leopard
*cheetah	spotted hyena
brown hyena	wild dog
*caracul	wild cat
*genet	*slender mongoose
banded mongoose	*zorilla(striped polecat)
*ratel(honey badger)	*aardwolf
*black backed jackal	*bat-eared fox

The other larger mammals present were:

*ant bear - common, burrows found everywhere, one of the more frequent Bushman kills

*pangolin-(scaly anteater) present but not common

*porcupine-common, killed frequently

*springhare-very common, important item of diet

Of the small mammals, only four have been positively identified:

*common hare	galago
ground squirrel	tree squirrel

No bats or rodent species were positively identified. There is a Smithsonian collecting team in the field in 1965, making the first systematic collection of mammals in the Dobe area.

• 136 Finally there are three peripheral species that are resident on the edges of the area.

vervet - common at Tsodilo, not observed in the Dobe area

baboon - common on the Okavango River, said to penetrate the desert, not observed

serval - reported to be present, not seen.

136 262 Of these 40 odd species only ten were observed to be regularly hunted and eaten by the Bushmen. These are ranked in order of dietary importance.

1. wart hog	6. wildebeeste
2. kudu	7. spring hare
3. duiker	8. porcupine
4. steenbok	9. ant bear
5. gemsbok	10. hare

136 <u>Birds</u>: Seventy-five species were recorded during the study. These were identified with the aid of Roberts (1957) and Smithers (1964). The most common resident species are listed here. Very common species are marked by an asterisk.

*ostrich	secretary bird
*yellow billed kite	martial eagle
red-billed francolin	Swainson's francolin
*crowned guinea fowl	kori bustard
*crowned plover	*blacksmith plover

• 136

double-banded sandgrouse	cape turtle dove
Meyer's parrot	*grey loerie
lilac-breasted roller	*grey hornbill
yellow-billed hornbill	cardinal woodpecker
*fork-tailed drongo	penduline tit
*pied babbler	yellow-bellied bush warbler
Marico flycatcher	crimson-breasted shrike
*long-tailed shrike	white-browed sparrow weaver

The common summer migrants recorded were:

hammerkop	white-bellied stork
red-billed teal	white-faced duck
European swallow	

[262] Bird meat and eggs are not an important item of diet among the Dobe Bushmen. Only eight species were observed to be eaten:

red-billed francolin	Swainson's francolin
crowned guinea fowl	kori bustard
red-crested korhaan	double-banded sandgrouse
cape turtle dove	red-billed teal

Curiously, ostrich are not hunted for meat. They are tracked, [415] however, in order to find the nests. The eggshells are used as canteens for water.

<u>Reptiles and Amphibians</u>: Nine different species of snakes were seen. Only four could be identified taxonomically.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

136 Poisonous:

1. black mamba
2. horned adder
3. puff adder
4. not identified
5. not identified

Non-poisonous:

6. rock python
7. not identified
8. not identified
9. not identified

Four species of the turtle family were recorded:

1. large leopard tortoise, Geochelone sp.
2. small leopard tortoise
3. not identified
4. not identified

Two species of chameleon:

1. Rhampholeon sp.
2. not identified

Seven species of lizard:

1. striped skink, Mabuyu sp.
2. Zygodactylus sp.
3. striped plate lizard, Gerrhosaurus sp.
4. marbled gecko, Pachydactylus sp.
5. land leguaan, Varanus sp.
6. not identified
7. not identified

136 Two species of frog:

1. Pyxiecephalus adspersus
2. Rana anchietae

[262] Of these twenty-four species, five were recorded as eaten:

1. rock python
2. large leopard tortoise
3. small leopard tortoise
4. land leguaan
5. the bullfrog Pyxiecephalus

[126] Invertebrates: Only a small percentage of the countless insects and other invertebrates present at Dobe were collected. One box of specimens was lost in the mail. Other identifications are pending. Below are listed thirteen species of invertebrates and a further sixty-nine species of insects.

Class Arachnida	Scorpions 2 spp.
	Spiders 3 spp.
	Ticks 2 spp.
Class Myriapoda	Centipede 1 sp.
	Millipede 1 sp.
Class Hirudinea	Leech 1 sp.
Class Unionidae	Freshwater clam 1 sp.
Class Helicidae	Land snails 2 spp.
Class Insecta	
Order Dictyoptera	
	Cockroach 1 sp.

136

Mantises 3 spp.

Order Phasmida

Walking sticks 2 spp.

Order Saltatoria

Grasshoppers 7 spp.

Cricket 1 sp.

Order Odontata

Dragonflies 2 spp.

Order Isoptera

Termites 4 spp.

Order Hemiptera - Heteroptera

Shield bug 1 sp.

Aphid 1 sp.

Order Neuroptera

Antlions 3 spp.

Order Lepidoptera

Butterflies 3 spp.

Moths 12 spp.

Order Diptera

Mosquito 1 sp.

Flies 6 spp.

Order Hymenoptera

Ants 2 spp.

Bee 2 spp.

Wasps 3 spp.

136 Order Coleoptera

Blister beetles 2 spp.

Click beetles 6 spp.

Dung beetle 3 spp.

Poisonous beetles 2 spp.

Other beetles 2 spp.

136
262 Insects do not play an important role in the diet. One species of antlion (determination pending) had an annual outbreak around the end of November. Tens of thousands pupate within a 36 hour period and the Bushmen eat them by the hundreds. In 1963, the outbreak occurred on November, 24, in 1964, on December 3.

Three different species of click beetle were eaten in March, 1964. These were considered a delicacy rather than a staple. The Bushmen said that certain grasshoppers and caterpillars were edible but they were not observed to eat them.

262
237 Honey is considered by all authors to be a major Bushman food (Bodenheimer 1951). It is curious therefore that it was rarely observed to be collected or eaten.

136
278 By far the most important insects for subsistence are the two[1] species of beetle used by the Bushmen for poisoning

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[1]Possibly as many as eight species of poison grub are used by the !Kung Bushmen! Koch (1958) collected five new species that the !Kung said were used for poisoning arrows. (See Shaw et al., 1963).

136
298 arrows: Diamphidia nigro-ornata and Polycada flexuosa. These are described in Chapter VI.

Climate

132
[133] The Kalahari Desert has a mean elevation of 3,000 feet above sea level and lies within the summer rainfall area of Southern Africa. These factors contribute to a climatic regime that is characterized by hot summers with a three to four month rainy season, and by moderate to cool winters without rainfall.

132
805 Five seasons may be distinguished in the Dobe area. Most Bushmen recognize five (although some divide the year into eight or more seasons) and their scheme will be followed here.

Seasons

1. !huma (spring rains) -- The Bushman year begins in October or November with the onset of the first rains. These consist of light convectional thundershowers that often fall on one area and miss other areas entirely. The first rains have the effect of triggering growth and reproduction in the flora and fauna and may overnight transform the landscape from a parched and dry state to one of lush greenery.

2. bara (main summer rains) -- These rains fall from December to March and coincide with the season of plentiful food. There is a wide variation from year to year in the

V. SUBSISTENCE ECOLOGY: AN OVERVIEW OF PLANT AND ANIMAL RESOURCES

121 The concept of a hunting and gathering way of life has assumed a misleading connotation in the ethnographic literature. The term has come to imply a random precarious existence searching for food, an eking out of subsistence [433] of odds and ends. Since the present study is the first detailed analysis of the food habits of non-agricultural people, it should be stated at once that the Bushman subsistence is based on a systematic strategy of exploiting abundant food 222 resources. Very little of their food gathering is left to chance. Their knowledge of the local environment, of the habits of game and the growth phases of food plants is virtually exhaustive. In other words, the Bushmen know where the food is at each season of the year and they arrange their schedule of activities to take maximum advantage of these resources. They do not allow themselves to get into difficult situations, and even during the season of scarcity they have available several alternative strategies of getting food and water.

262 The security of their life is in part due to the fact 137 that the basis of their subsistance is plant foods which are 136 abundant, local and predictable. Meat is of secondary importance in the Bushman diet. Game animals, by contrast to

262 plants, are scarce and unpredictable and people never depend
137 on meat for their basic subsistance. Therefore the well-
136 being of the Bushmen as a population can be viewed as the
433 product of two factors: the abundance of food resources in their environment, and the intelligence and sophistication which informs their exploitation of these resources.

512 Although the getting of food is the major activity of
433 Bushman life and is a major focus of Bushman thought, the greater part of the waking life of the Bushmen is given over to social, religious and trading activities that are largely independent of the food quest.

Their emphasis on non-subsistence activities becomes clear when daily records are kept of the activities of the
[126] members of a camp. For example, a diary of activities was kept for the Dobe camp during July, 1964. This record was made during mid-winter, a season of comparative scarcity. It
[462] was found that the 23 adults of this camp spent less than half of their days in subsistence activities, an average of 23% of the time for the women and 40% of the time for the
[574] men. The majority of their waking hours were spent visiting
[521] other camps, entertaining visitors, resting, talking, hut building, and making tools, clothing, and ornaments.

Plant Resources

137 There are well over 200 species of plants and 230 species
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136 of animals named and known by the Dobe area Bushmen. Of
[126] these 420 species, 350 species were collected and identified
433 by the author. Two-thirds of the plant species and half of
824 the animal species are utilized by the Bushmen. Of these,
825 they classify 85 species of plants and 54 species of animals as edible. It is therefore evident that the Bushmen have a remarkably broad subsistence base. On closer examination, however, one finds that the Bushmen are highly selective in their food habits. In fact, only nine species of plants constituted about three-quarters of the total vegetable diet; and one species alone, the mongongo nut, accounted for at least half of the total. Furthermore, of the 54 animal species eaten, only 17 species were consistently hunted.

824 A plant species may be regarded by the Bushmen as a
262 major food for one or more of several reasons. Certain foods are prized because of their abundance or because of the long season during which they are available. Other foods are prized because of the ease with which they are collected. For this reason fruits are generally more popular than roots since the latter have to be dug out of the ground. Then there are foods which are especially good tasting and/or believed to be highly nutritious. The various plant foods are evaluated pragmatically and rationally and few species
825 are restricted by magico-religious taboos. This is in sharp
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262 dimension in which the gatherers move farther and farther in order to eat the desirable foods, and a hierarchical dimension in which people remain in one area and eat their way through classes of species of decreasing desirability.

136 Animal Resources

The 223 known species of animals in the Dobe area are divided taxonomically as follows:

mammals	42 spp.
birds	75 spp.
reptiles and amphibians	24 spp.
invertebrates	82 spp.
TOTAL	223 spp.

262 Mammals - The mammals represent the highest percentage of
825 animal biomass in the Dobe area and it is not surprising that the meat of mammals accounts for over 90% of the animal diet of the Bushmen. In all, 29 of the 42 mammal species are known to be eaten by the Bushmen and only seven mammal species are universally tabooed as food.

Personal, age specific, and sex specific taboos play an important role in the eating of mammals. No individual Bushman will eat all of the 29 eaten species and no two individuals have the same set of tabooed species. Each person has his own prescription of what species he may and may not eat. The mammals can be divided into seven degrees of taboos.

311 area of each territory.

[312] Second, the area and shape of an individual territory is
[824] influenced by the distance between the important resources within it, such as water sources and mongongo nut forests. It is these point resources and not the spaces between them that are the significant features of the landscape.

Third, territories overlap each other and there is disagreement as to the ownership of these overlapping areas. Most Bushmen say that these areas are owned by all, which means, in effect, that they are owned by no one.

Each of these features will be discussed in detail.

1. Hinterland - It was mentioned earlier that the Dobe area
[312] was surrounded by a belt of uninhabited country. Except for a few summer months there is no standing water in this belt and, as a consequence, the Dobe area people rarely bother to hunt and gather within it. This outer belt is not lacking
[136] in food resources, however. Surveys of the country by Land-
[137] Rover indicate that the game and plant foods there are even more abundant than they are within the traditional territories. Why then are these resources so infrequently utilized?

311 The answer lies in the fact that the Bushmen can usually
312 satisfy their annual subsistence requirements within a radius
361 of 15-20 miles from their permanent waterholes. Whenever possible the Bushmen prefer to make their camp sites at

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361 The distribution of camps during the summer follows two phases. In the early phase when water is standing in a dozen or more localities camps are found at most waters. This is the time of maximum freedom of movement because ponds fill up in the usually waterless belts and make it possible for people to visit relatives 35-70 miles away.

The distribution of camps in December 1963 is illustrated in Map 17, p.157.

The second phase of summer life begins as these smaller waters dry up in February and March. Then most of the Bushmen converge on the large summer waters such as !Gauša Pan (not to be confused with /Gauša Pan in the Nyae Nyae area).

!Gauša Pan in its peak season (Jan-March in 1964) was a pond 400 feet long and 125 feet across, located in a local
[162] drainage area between two dunes. In addition to a resident
[648] population of 40 Bushmen (augmented by dozens of temporary visitors) the pan supported four Bantu cattle posts with
[136] about 500 head of cattle. The pan was a watering place for kudu and wildebeeste and had resident flocks of red-billed teal, white-bellied stork and hammerkops. Within a 3 mile radius of the pan there were remains of at least ten abandoned Bushmen camps that had been occupied in previous years.

[162] Besides !Gauša there were four other big pans in the Dobe area, each of which supported large Bushmen camps (of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 158]

222 312 their water was exhausted. Water could only be carried out in sufficient quantities to support a family for two or three nights, so that at noon of the third or fourth day, a family was forced to return home.

312 The ability of a group to live away from a waterhole is strictly limited by its capacity for hauling water. The ostrich egg shell has an average capacity of 36 ounces (U.S.).[1] The contents of two eggs (72 ounces or 2-1/4 quarts U.S.) supplies the minimum daily fluid requirements of one adult. Bushmen informants consistently spoke of two eggs-ful as their minimum daily ration. When well-water was available, the Bushmen were observed to drink more than 72 ounces per day. Irven DeVore made a four-day study of the water intake of a group of 15 people in November, 1964. During this period he provided (from water drums) all the water that was drunk by a party of 15, including seven adults and eight children.

His observations are set out below:

1. Total water given out during a 72 hour period; 2,812 oz.
2. Average per 24 hour period; 937 oz.

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[136] [1] The Kalahari ostrich egg shell is smaller than that of other areas. The mean capacity of four eggs from the Dobe area is 35.8 ounces (U.S.). (The range of capacities is 33.5, 35. 35.5, and 39.5 ounces.) This compares with an egg from the Cape Province with a capacity of 42 ounces, and an egg from Kenya with a capacity of 46 ounces.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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a most desolate appearance. Verdure is entirely wanting, the numerous gullies are empty, and the low ranges of ironstone koppies which dot the plains seem to reflect the heat as from a mirror. The vegetation is composed very largely of drought-resisting thorn bushes, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants. Grasses appear only in exceptionally wet years, while trees are usually absent, except along the dry river-courses and on the mountain slopes in the east, where the rainfall is highest. Till the early years of the nineteenth century the Great Karroo was regarded as a desert unfit for man or beast; since then well-sinking and donkey transport have bettered the conditions, and the region has gradually become occupied.

Fauna

H B 136

The great variety of habitat provided by the country taken as a whole has naturally favoured the development of a varied and abundant fauna.[1] South Africa has long been renowned for the wealth of its larger forms of animal life, although with the advance of European settlement and colonization the numbers have been rapidly reduced, particularly of certain classes of big game. The native inhabitants had certainly done something to reduce the numbers and affect the distribution of the fauna, but a balance had been reached which still left the country richly stocked. The Cape was full of game when the first European settlers established themselves there 250 years ago, and in their gradual spread inland the white men found the same abundance of fine forms of animal life in each new tract of country that they entered. A few decades were enough to convert each newly-opened district from a hunter's paradise into a stock-farming country, and the increase of veld-burning carried the destruction into other zones of life. But over large parts of South Africa the face of the country itself has been little changed on the whole, and a good deal of the original fauna has survived, even on much of the enclosed land.

The mammalian fauna is, or rather was, characterized by the great abundance and variety of antelopes, the presence of such remarkable "living fossils" as the elephant, giraffe, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and aardvark, as well as of the buffalo, zebra, and quagga, and the abundance of carnivora, large and small. During the eighteenth

[1] An excellent short account is given by Dr. E. L. Gill, "Descriptive Sketch of the Fauna of South Africa," *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 9, pp. 31–41. Cf. also Passarge, op. cit., pp. 78–86.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and nineteenth centuries many of the larger game animals were driven out of the more southern regions, the quagga being totally exterminated, but most of them are still found in the Kalahari and northern parts of South-West Africa, as well as in the eastern lowlands (from Zululand to the Zambesi delta).

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The kudu is the most common of the larger antelopes, the duiker and steenbok among the smaller antelopes still numerous over the whole country, while in the north and east herds of hartebeest, blue wildebeest, gemsbok, and eland are also found in fair numbers. Among the better-known antelopes peculiar to South Africa are the bontebok and the black wildebeest, both now surviving only in a state of semi-captivity on farms, and the springbok, still fairly plentiful in some districts and kept in small herds on many farms. It formerly inhabited in immense numbers the open treeless plains of all South Africa, and is celebrated for the vast " treks " in which it travelled in search of food or water. Small herds of elephant survive in a few strongholds to the east and south, and in parts of the Northern Kalahari. The zebra, giraffe, buffalo, and rhinoceros are still found in the northern parts of South-West Africa and the Kalahari, as well as in the eastern lowlands, while the hippopotamus, formerly abundant in every river of the Cape, is now confined to the neighbourhood of the Orange River, and also occurs in the rivers of the Kalahari and the Low Veld of the east. Of carnivorous animals the leopard is still common in many mountainous regions over the whole country, as are also the wild cat, red lynx, spotted hyena, and jackal, but the lion, once so plentiful throughout the Cape Province, is now apparently extinct south of the Vaal and Orange Rivers. Baboons are numerous in many mountainous districts, and the forests, even along the south coast, still shelter monkeys.

Birds especially prominent in South Africa include the starlings, the weaver-birds, the larks, the sunbirds, the shrikes, bulbuls, and swallows. Of game birds the most common are the ostrich, still existing in the wild state in various unenclosed parts of the country, though now chiefly known as a domesticated bird; the bustards (korhaans and paauws), the francolins or African partridges, guinea-fowl, sand grouse, quail, and snipe, as well as numerous varieties of waterfowl. The secretary bird (*Serpentarius*), a long-legged terrestrial relative of the hawks and eagles, is protected on the strength of its reputation as a snake killer. A tropical element, comprising such birds as parrots, louries, hornbills, rollers, and glossy starlings, penetrates

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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into Damaraland on the west, and on the east by way of the Transvaal bushveld and Natal to the south coast regions of Knysna and George. From the south it is naturally only sea birds that can be contributed to the fauna; the petrel family forms the characteristic element from this quarter, comprising a number of small petrels and whale birds, the "Cape pigeon" and "Cape hen", shearwaters and several albatrosses. The jackass penguin, breeding in immense numbers on the small islands off the south and west coasts, represents a truly antarctic contribution.

The reptilian fauna is particularly abundant, lizards and snakes especially being very numerous in many parts of the country. Of the latter, the cobra (genus *Naia*), the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*), and the ringhals (*Serpedon haemachates*) are among the more formidable poisonous representatives; the mamba (*Dendrasdis angusticeps*), most deadly of all, is found principally in the eastern parts of the country. The crocodile is extinct in the Cape Province and the Orange Free State, but is still found in the rivers of the eastern lowlands and the Northern Kalahari. The Arachidna are notable for the abundance of scorpions, and among the spiders for the large number of ground-dwelling forms living in burrows, with or without trapdoors, beneath stones, or as free-living hunting forms.

The insect fauna as a whole presents an extraordinarily large number of species, many of them extremely abundant. Locusts are conspicuous among the common plagues of the country, and from time to time issue in devastating swarms from their breeding grounds in the Kalahari and other more or less inaccessible dry regions. Bees, wasps, and ants are very richly represented; ants' eggs and the honey of wild bees provide the Bushmen with an important element of their diet. Mosquitoes and horse-flies are rarely very troublesome except in the moister parts of the country; the anophelene mosquito conveys malaria in the northern parts of South-West Africa and the Kalahari, as well as in the Low Veld of the east, while the tsetse fly (*Glossina*) carries cattle disease (nagana) in the Ngami country and a few localities to the east, but no case of sleeping-sickness has been known to occur. The widely-distributed termites are often destructive, but provide many animals and birds with their chief subsistence. Butterflies and moths, beetles and bugs all appear in numerous varieties, and one species of beetle, *Cladocera nigro-ornata*, forms the most potent ingredient in the arrow-poison of the Kalahari Bushmen.

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304 joint is usually removed during childhood, and the custom appears
856 to be associated with some magical belief. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that the joint is cut off with a reed before the child sucks at all, and that the motive underlying the custom is that the child should live to grow up.[1] Other writers add that the operation is performed only on a child whose predecessor has died young, and is intended to protect it from a similar fate.[2] Various other interpretations have been given of the custom, but the one just mentioned appears to be the most probable. This form of mutilation does not
[184] seem to occur to any extent in the Northern tribes. Seiner found it in a few persons among the Kung, but states that it was exceptional,[3] and there is no other record of its occurrence in these tribes.

304 Barrow further mentions that in a large band of Bushmen seen by
[301] him in the midlands of the Cape all the men had a small piece of wood
[130] or porcupine quill inserted through the perforated septum of the nose.[4] This practice is not reported definitely by any of the other writers on the Southern Bushmen, although it is hinted at by Bleek and Lloyd.[5] Hahn, however, speaks of it as occurring in a Bushman tribe in the South-West Kalahari, whom he therefore names "Nasenstockträger",[6] and recently Pöch has published the photograph of a woman from the waterhole/kang in the Southern Kalahari, in which it is seen very clearly.[7]

184 In the majority of Northern Bushmen at the present time, and
304 especially in the North-Western tribes, the most widespread form of
281 mutilation is scarification, which was quite unknown among the tribes
224 south of the Molopo.[8] Small cuts about an inch long are made in the skin, and ash black or other colouring matter is rubbed into the wounds, producing a slight but noticeable scar. In the women they are said to be made mostly for ornament only, on the face, thighs, and buttocks, but among the !O Kung of Angola they are also made in connection with the puberty ceremony for girls. In the men some of the cuts may also be purely ornamental, but many of them are definitely related to social and hunting observances. Thus all Naron, Auen, and Kung have a vertical cut or cuts between the eyebrows,

[1] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, p. 17.
[2] Arbousset, loc. cit.; Thompson, loc. cit.
[3] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 290
[4] Op. cit., vol. i, 276.
[5] *Bushman Folklore*, 329.
[6] "Die Buschmänner," 66.
[7] "Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," pl. v, fig. 2.
[8] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101, 108–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 141–2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 245–6; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, *The Naron*, 10–11.

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mixture of animal and vegetable poisons, the ingredients most frequently employed being snake poison and amaryllis juice (*Haemanthus toxicarius*); while most of the Kalahari tribes derive their arrow poison from the grub or chrysalis of the *Cladocera* beetle. 278 [184]

The method of preparing the second type of poison is to cut off the head of the snake, extract the poison sacs, dry them and pound them into a dust. This is then placed in a piece of ostrich egg-shell or the breastbone of an ostrich, and the vegetable juice being poured in the mixture is stirred with a piece of bone or stick. It is then boiled until it acquires the requisite degree of consistency, usually that of a thick jelly, brownish-red in colour. Where a purely vegetable substance is used, as in the case of the *Acokanthera* shrub, the method of preparation differs but slightly. The wood of the shrub is pounded into rough powder, which is put into a clay pot and boiled for some time. A lid is kept on, as the fumes are noxious, but the liquid is stirred occasionally. After a while the wood is taken out and the remainder allowed to simmer until it is reduced to a cupful of glutinous liquid. This is then taken to a *Euphorbia* tree, and mixed with the fresh milky sap drawn from its stem. The poison, a brownish substance similar in appearance to beeswax, is now ready for use. It is generally worked up into a lump, which when not wanted immediately is carried about, wrapped up in a bit of skin, in the long bag which every Bushman has. When the poison is required, the lump is heated in a bit of tortoise-shell, and the melted portion either smeared on the arrow-head with a brush of wood or bone, or else, as was the custom with the Cape Bushmen, placed in a "poison stone", a smooth flat pebble with a deep groove down the middle. The part of the arrow to be anointed is pressed down upon this and worked round and round until the poison coating has acquired the proper shape. If possible the poison is never touched with the fingers, and great care is taken that none adheres to the hands or nails during the process.

The insect *Cladocera nigro-ornata* which forms the main ingredient in the arrow poison of the Kalahari Bushmen is a small reddish-brown beetle which in early spring frequents certain bushes (*Commiphora dinteri Engl.*), and hatches its eggs on the branches. The grubs come out in summer, eat the leaves of the bushes and crawl into the sand beneath them, where they form cocoons. "In both these stages they are used as poison, but the cocoon is preferred. It is dried in the sun and can then be kept for some time and is easily [136]

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224 soon as the dog has gripped his prey." Among the Naron these dogs are procured from BeChwana, Bergdama or white men in order [231] to hunt jackals, leopards, lynxes and other animals whose skins are [439] valued for making karosses. The skins so obtained are brought to the giver of the dog and bought by him at his own price for tobacco or trade goods, chiefly the former. The dogs are sometimes used by the people to catch hares and small buck for their larder, but are never taken out to hunt larger game.

In addition to these different methods of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons, the Bushmen employ various methods of trapping. Pitfalls are often made during the dry season in the path to a waterhole or along river banks, and covered with bushes. In the Central and Northern Kalahari these pits are about four yards long and deep, and not quite a yard wide. They are dug with the ordinary digging-stick in such a way that a small wall of earth is left standing in the middle, but not reaching to the surface. Large animals in attempting to escape out of the pit jump on to this partition wall, where they remain hopelessly suspended on their belly. Other pits of the same nature, especially among the Southern Bushmen, often have pointed stakes placed in the middle. They serve to catch big game animals, such as rhinoceros, which are then killed with the spear, and in particular those, like zebras and antelopes, which come down in herds to drink at the water. In former times, when there was a far greater abundance [136] of game, whole valleys were sometimes enclosed, and large numbers of men combined to drive a herd of game down from the heights into the trap in the valley. Galton describes one of the most remarkable works of this kind. "We passed a magnificent set of pitfalls which the Bushmen who live about these hills had made. The whole breadth of the valley was staked and bushed across. At intervals the fence was broken, and there broken deep pitfalls were made. [313] The strength and size of timber that was used gave me a great idea of Bushman industry, for every tree had to be burned down and carried away from the hills, and yet the scale of the undertaking would have excited astonishment in far more civilized nations. When a herd of animals was seen among the hills, the Bushmen drove them through this valley up to the fence; this was too high for them to jump, so that they were obliged to make for the gaps, and there they tumbled into the pitfalls."[1]

[1] *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*, 106; cf. Wikar, "Berigt aan den . . . Heer van Plettenberg," 88–9; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 386–7; Chapman, op. cit., ii, 80–1; Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland und seine Bewohner," 695; *idem*, *Die Buschmänner*, 78–9.

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224 returning to the camp, sleep under the central tree and avoid sexual intercourse with his wife, lest the poison prove ineffective and the animal escape. The meat of an animal killed by a dog may not be [841] eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating; this is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. Any want of success is generally attributed to some chance accident; for example, a man who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife was menstruating will not hunt again while she is in that condition, nor will she eat any of the *ǂnoe-di* at such times.[1]

These practices and beliefs obviously represent only a small portion of what must be an elaborate series of usages relating to hunting, but they suffice to indicate how the Bushmen, fully aware of the uncertainty attendant upon their efforts, seek to relieve their apprehensions and to obtain confidence by the aid of magic and taboo.

Collecting

224 Hunting in the old days was unquestionably the principal source
● 136 of subsistence in Bushman life. But with the decrease of the game
648 in their region and with the enforcement against them of the game
222 laws framed by the white man, its importance is diminishing, and at the present time the Bushmen depend very largely for the means of existence on the wild vegetable foods growing in the veld.

[241] Agriculture in any form is altogether unknown to them in their traditional mode of life. The nearest they have got to it is found
222 in the practice observed by the North-Western tribes of burning the
224 veld at the end of the dry season.[2] This, it is said, is done primarily
311 in order that the edible bulbs, roots, etc., should come up better during the approaching rainy season. It is also used, however, as a means of hunting, for the men spread round the fire in a semicircle and drive all the game rushing from it before them in a certain direction where some hunters are lying in wait; moreover, the new grass growing soon after the burning attracts the game, which returns to the area, and thus makes it good hunting ground. Incidentally the burning serves to kill off snakes, scorpions, and other noxious creatures. Men may only [423] burn in their own territory; to do so across the border, or to gather wood where others have burned, is a great offence. In former times, [622] among the Naron, the chiefs are said to have regulated the burning;

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 102.
[2] Jodtka, "Reise nach dem Okavango," *D. KolBl.*, xiii (1902), 491; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147, 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 17.

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000 Men heeft by hen wilde paerden en muil-ezels, die beide zo schoon uit de natuur in 't wilt voorttelen, dat geen schilder de kunst by hem heeft, om die met alle hare verruwen na 't leven af te tekenen. De paerden hebben billen buiten gewoon geappelt, en zijn overal buiten de billen, zoo wel onder als boven, gestreept met geel, zwart, root, en zuiver hemels blaeu. Desgelijks zijn de muil-ezels mede gestreept, maer niet geappelt, met wit en kastanje-bruin, buiten gemeen schoon.

De *Sonquas* braghten des jaers zestien hondert en twee-en-zestigh een huit van een dezer beesten aen de kaep van goeder hope, die d'onzen van hen ruilden, tegen tabak en andere dingen, en te pronk, met hoi opgevult, als iets raers en ongemeens, gelijk het ook is, op de voor-zael van het Fort ophingen, om van het volk der aenkomende schepen bezichticht te worden.

Het dassen-vlees verstrekt den *Sonquas* een aengename spijze, daer by, en by zekere worteltjes, die in d'aerde wassen, zy voornamelijk leven. Zy houden ook zeer vele jacht-honden, die op de dasse-jacht wel zijn afgerecht, en de dassen uit de holen weten te slepen, 't welk hun meeste spijze is.

Het zijn ongemene grote rovers en stropers; want zy stelen van andere Hottentots al het vee, dat zy kunnen krijgen, en vluchten daer mee aenstonts in het geberghte, zonder van iemant, zelf van geen andere Hottentots, in die schuilhoeken en verhole gaten te kunnen gevonden worden.

Hunne huizen, slechts van takken te gader gevlochten, zonder gebreide matten, en alleenlijk met biezen overdekt, zijn ettelijke duizent in getale, naerdien zy van d'eene in d'andere trekken, en nooit die opbreken, maer op gelegene plaetzen noch al meer andere opzetten.

Hun mantelkens zijn gemaekt van t'zamen genaide vellen der wilde ossen, die zich op de klippen onthouden. De vrouwen hebben voor de hitte en het branden der stekende zonne-stralen, een *quitazol*, of zonne-scherm van struis-veren, aen en om het hooft vast gemaekt.

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136 [39]) Dr. W. J. Leyds, quoted by Godée-Molsbergen (*Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, i, 47 n.), suggests that the "horses" were zebras and the "mules" quaggas, which seems consistent enough with the description.

[40]) On Nov. 8, 1660, the Sonquas "brought in 2 or 3 stuffed heads, which were extraordinarily beautifully striped, but with ears as long as those of asses. The rest of the head is exactly, as regards head and mouth, that of a horse" (D., *ut. cit.*). In the entry for Dec. 14, 1660, it is said that "one of our people . . .

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big game, especially wild horses and mules. There are in those parts wild horses and mules, both so beautifully bred out by nature that no painter is skilful enough to paint them true to life with all their colouring. The horses have buttocks extraordinarily dappled, and over the rest of the body are striped yellow, black, red and pure sky blue. The mules are also striped, white and chestnut brown, but not dappled, and are uncommonly beautiful.[39]) The Sonquas in 1662 brought the skin of one of these beasts to the Cape, which our countrymen bartered from them for tobacco and other things. It was then filled with straw and hung up for show in the hall of the Fort, as something curious and uncommon, which it also is, to be seen by the people of the incoming ships.[40])

[224] 136 439

The meat of the rock-rabbits constitutes a pleasant food for the Sonquas, who live principally on it and on certain roots growing in the ground. They also keep many hunting dogs,[40a]) trained to hunt the rock-rabbits which are their principal food, and knowing how to drag these animals out of their holes.

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They are extremely great plunderers and marauders. They steal from other Hottentots all the cattle they can get, with which they then flee immediately to the mountains, where they cannot be found in their retreats and hidden caves by anybody, not even by other Hottentots.

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Their huts, made only of branches twined together, without woven mats, and covered solely with rushes, are several thousand in number; for they move about from one place to another, and never break up the huts, but erect still others wherever they camp.

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Their little cloaks are sewn together from the skins of the wild oxen which live on the rocks. The women have a *quitazol* or sunshade of ostrich feathers, tied on and about the head, to protect themselves from the heat and burning of the sun's piercing rays.

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had shot a wild horse below the mane in the neck. This horse was very beautifully gray dappled over its whole body, except behind from the back over the buttocks and along the legs which were flame-coloured, with white, sky blue and reddish brown stripes, wonderfully beautiful . . . It had small ears like a horse. The stuffed heads and pieces of skin which the Hottentots sometimes brought to us belong evidently to another sort, as they have long ears, though extraordinarily, curiously and beautifully flame-coloured in white and chestnut brown."

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[40a]) Dogs were the only domestic animals kept by the Bushmen. They were generally lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half starved and savage tempered, but excellent assistants in the chase, for which they were mainly employed.

231 224

/138 cont./

177 Since contact with the Whites was established, wars have
721 apparently declined considerably, but even today they exact a decidedly heavy toll.

22 The Auin is at the lowest stage of human development; he is exclusively a collector and hunter.

This way of life is dictated to him by the nature of his en-
133 vironment. This part of the Kalahari, where the watering places
137 are sometimes 100 kilometers apart and very limited in number,
182 does not permit livestock raising, especially also since the tschama [sometimes spelled tsama, a kind of melon] enjoyed by the cattle is comparatively rare.

In the Auin region the plain dominates the landscape.
133 Primary rocks rise up here and there only along the river banks. So-called dunes give the landscape a gently hilly character, especially in the vicinity of the rivers (dry river beds which carry
137 water only after violent rains). The ground cover alternates between grass, shrub, and tree steppe and dense undergrowth. The
132 amount of precipitation is very small; the lack of sufficient statistical data makes it impossible to give a more precise estimate.

B. Dwellings and Furnishings

342 The typical form of the dwelling is the windscreen, in other words, the most primitive form of human habitation, which scarcely deserves the designation "hut." Its construction is completed in a few minutes. A few twigs are stuck loosely into the ground at the thicker end in a semicircle and propped against each other at the branching end. I have never seen the supports firmly fastened to one another, although I have examined several hundred huts. Grass is thrown on the framework, and the construction is finished. During the dry season the structures are usually built even more hastily and sometimes consist merely of a few bundles of grass that have been thrown loosely between the twigs of a living bush. The entire structure is often scarcely a meter high and has no roof. It is thus a genuine windscreen, intended to protect its inhabitants from drafts while they are lying down.

If the settlement remains at a particular place for only a few days, the people content themselves with the shadow of some

[12 cont.]

000
439 occupation. Even among the nomadic groups, however, meat, hides, and so forth are commonly traded for millet.

Also, the Blacks like to have veldkost on their table,
[222] and the Bushmen, like our sponge and berry gatherers, use their knowledge to supply them and carry on petty trade with their veldkost, as well as with honey.

222 This is the reason that veldkost, which is either scarce
137 or not very tasty, is not gathered at all any more; indeed, the
● knowledge of its presence is even disappearing. We must also not forget that the black shepherd boys long ago acquired the knowledge of the Bushmen by observing them. As a result, the number of those interested has naturally climbed sharply, and the veldkost plants have become rare. The following kinds are still regularly gathered:

222 /airoba (ombimbo) 'Sweetish, very starchy tubers, like large potatoes.
/érui (omauungǎ) Galls on the leaves of the omsati tree.
≠gan-i (etarata) Small fruit.
!Khui-i (oombi) Dates.
!Korob-ke (oompali) Bulbs at the roots of a liana.

251 Dried meat is made from kudu flesh, which in part is
439 kept and in part sold.

278 [13] Arrow poison is made from the sap of a tree (Euphorbiacea), !Khores-Ke. The Ondonga themselves make no
[439] arrow poison, but buy it from the Bushmen for one to two sh per
752 portion. There is no medicine against arrow poison. Deep incisions are made at the place where the arrow entered, and after blood has flowed freely from the wound, it is sucked. In the case of snakebite the same procedure is followed, and some arrow poison is placed on the wound (!!!).

278 Our Bushmen denied any knowledge of poisons added to
609 food. Only the "evil Bushmen" in the east had such knowledge, they claimed. This statement scarcely deserves credence.

177 In clothing, dwellings, and weapons, as well as ornaments, not much that is original remains. The process of Bantuization is much further advanced in the material culture than in the spiritual culture. It is, after all, easier to part with clothing than with ideas.

[16 cont.]

131 the one hand, to the Okovanggo and the regions inhabited by the Bamangwato [Ngwato] west of Ngami Lake on the other hand, are inhabited by the tribes of the !Kung group.

Seiner (2) supplies the following apt division of this zone:

[113] 2. Mitteilungen aus Deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1914.

"The !Kung Veld forms the part of the Omaheke belonging to the northern Kalahari and is located between the Okovanggo (from Kagere to 19° southern latitude), the Kaukau Veld, the Sand Veld, the Karst Veld, the Etosha Pan, and the Otjimpolo Veld. -- The Kaukau Veld (according to Passarge, a plateau) is located between the Kung Veld, the Okovanggo, the Okovanggo basin, and the Sand Veld district. As the western boundary, in other words, toward the Sand Veld, the line Bogara -- Debra -- Blue Bush Pan in the western tip of the Okovanggo basin, close to the German border, should be adopted. The northern Sand Veld, through which I have traveled, can be delimited on the west by the line Nuragas -- Otjituo and by the valley of the Omatako from Otjituo to Okahitua; on the south by the line Okahitua -- Okosondusu -- Otjosonjou -- Epata -- Epukiro -- Rietfontein-East; on the east by the border zone of the Chanse Veld, the Okovanggo basin, and the Kaukau Veld. For the northern boundary toward the Kung Veld, the factors of climate 137 and plant geography must be taken into consideration, since there is no natural boundary here; the line Bogara -- Kanovlei -- Nuragas approximately forms the northern boundary of the Kalahari bush of the central Kalahari, which is sharply differentiated from the dry forest of the northern Kalahari. -- The loose, [134] deep, leached steppe sand bears for the most part a tall, light xerophytic dry forest, usually with no underbrush and with deciduous trees that, as a result of the quantities of water stored in their root stalks and trunks, bear green leaves during the greater part of the dry season, and in part even bear blossoms and fruit during this season; this dry forest is a formation of relatively recent date. The vegetation of the firm, gray-humus, [134] loamy river sand, or of the looser sand with ample ground

[16 cont.]

[134] 137 saturation and ground water, is a dry forest of a different type which corresponds to Warburg's lowland forest and, in contrast to the light dry forest of the looser sand, is distinguished by a relatively high density. -- The dry forest steppe occupies the largest areas of the !Kung Veld, and [17] lowland forest and grass steppe form only modest enclaves in it. Within the dry forest, at those places where the nature of the terrain makes possible the accumulation and preservation of relatively significant quantities of water or ground humidity, there are individual trees that are to be regarded as remnants of a former compact lowland forest, and the floristic composition of such forest islands leads to the conclusion that the entire region, with the exception of the primary grass steppes, whose floor probably never displayed taller vegetation because of its sterility, was once covered by a lush lowland forest as is preserved in its finest form at present in the northern Kalahari and in the 'rain forest' of Victoria Falls."

101 By the !Kung Bushmen in the narrower sense, who are [131] divided into a northern group and an eastern group, I refer to those people who are located north of the police zone and south of the Okovanggo in the effluent region of the Omuramba u Owambo at the Löwenomuramba and on both sides of the lower and central Omuramba u Omatako. The groups in the source region of the Omuramba u Owambo have been studied by me in 174 greater detail. In former times, the !Kung undoubtedly lived much farther south and west. It is not improbable that they left the Grootfontein plain and the Otawi mountains under the pressure of the Hei//om, who in turn were forced out of the central region by the Herero. On the other side they undoubtedly gained space toward the south, for according to reports from the pre-war period, the Nogau were settled in the Sand Veld all the way to the vicinity of Otjituo, whereas today they have retreated 144 behind Alexeck. The racial composition of the !Kung Bushmen allows one to make a conclusion about their history. Among them we find a larger number of Europoid types than among the surrounding Bantu tribes. In addition, Austroloid influence is

[17 cont.]

144 obvious, and the southern Bushman race, that is, the one that displays the characteristics generally ascribed to the Bushmen as a whole, is found to be pure only to a modest degree which in-
137 creases toward the south. In the north, the !Kung Bushmen are
184 decidedly forest people, whereas in the Sand Veld they inhabit the shadeless low bush. The surface of the region consists of
134 areas of whitish sand, red toward the east and north, which is
137 streaked with strips of surface chalk. Along the Omuramba Omatako and parallel to it there are pseudo-dunes running north-northeast -- south-southwest and covered with dense thorn bushes. On the more clayey soils in the vicinity of the Omurambas [perhaps a local term for "rivers"] there is denser tropical dry forest. A reminder of more humid times is provided by three or four giant baobab trees that are dying.

Ludwig Zukowsky (1) reports on the fauna and flora:

[113]

1. "Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Säugetiere Deutschsüdwestafrikas [Contribution to the Knowledge of the Mammals of German Southwest Africa]," Archiv für Naturgeschichte, Vol. 90, No. 1, Part A, 1924.

132 "The Kung Veldt, a large deciduous broad-leaf forest
[136] region, bounded in the north by the Okovanggo, in the east by this river's flood area, in the south by the Dusche and Schadum, and in the west by the lower course of the Omuramba u'Omatako, is regarded by J.H. Wilhelm as a special faunal region, since here the most striking representatives of the Sand Veld, oryx, oribi, bubalis, guevei [blue duiker], and canis are absent and in their place new forms appear, such as damaliscus, schaeffia [?], and hippotragus. Red sand dominates the entire region, which is covered with sereng [Burkea africana], red bean trees [Copaifera coleosperma], mokussi (Baikiaca plurijuga), yellowwood [Terminalia sericea], dolf [Therocarpus erinaceus], and wild orange trees (Strychnos schumanniana). During the rainy season, when the trees are covered with leaves, the deciduous forest that covers the entire region remotely resembles a younger German beech forest. The chief tree is the sereng (Burkea africana) with its accompanying tree, the mokussi

[17 cont.]

137 (Baikiaca plurijuga), which have particularly thick trunks along the banks (dunes) of the large Omurambas. Another common tree is the red bean tree (Copaifera coleosperma), the yellow-wood (Terminalia sericea), sometimes in tree form, but more commonly in bush form as underbrush. In the northern part the Greesappelboom (Parinarium mobola) appears here and there, and, individually over the entire veld, the rattle tree or the wild orange (Strychnos schumanniana) and the dolf (Therocarpus erinaceus). The dunes of the Omurambas are covered not only with mokussi, but also with camel thorn trees (Acacia giraffa), hackie bushes (Acacia detinens), and another thorn bush (Acacia spec.). Between the large Omurambas, which extend to the flood area (Kaudum and Schadum), and between the Okovanggo and the Kaudum, there is a number of sometimes recognizable, sometimes overgrown Omurambas, such as Tschakaue, Gani, and north and south of the Kaudum, Tschaudum and Kuatschadum. The island-like appearance of Hyphaena ventricosa at the watering place Tschaudum is worthy of mention, 500 to 1,000 specimens occurring as isolated trees, as in the Grootfontein plain.
[133] In the entire region there are many hackie thorn bush islands and salt pans which have open water or water half a meter deep and are usually overgrown with reeds (Phragmites). The pasture is bad, with the exception of the Omuramba beds, which, like the Kaudum, for example, have a very high water level 20 to 50 centimeters deep. Long, hard grass or low leafy bush [Author: perhaps related to Dichopetalum venenatum (Machau), which occurs sporadically] is to be found here, whereas Bushman grass and knawel grass occur only among the thorn bushes. In the underbrush area there are species of Grewia. During the rainy season the ground is [18] covered with prickly cucumbers (Citrullus nausimorus), and onkies (Cyperus usitatus) grow under the hackie bushes. In addition, there are a great number of shrubs that bear a tasty bush crop during the rainy season. The baobab tree (Adansonia digitata), whose first representatives appear north of Dowigna in the Kaukau Veld, the morula tree (Sclerocaria schweinfurthiana), the manquetti tree (Ricinodendron rautannei), and the hartekohl tree (Combretum primigenium) are absent.
133 Pans of brackish water are absent; in their stead there are ef-
135 florescences of salt at various places in the Kaudum and Schadum.

[76 cont.]

278

corresponds to the active ingredient of the poison taken from the arrow. I gave it the name Haemanthin.

"After the subcutaneous injection of animals with the water soluble albumin isolated from Blepharida larvae six to seven milimeters long, disturbances of movement set in fairly rapidly. Food is no longer taken. It makes doves vomit, and, like rabbits, they also get diarrhea. They become quiet, they huddle motionless, and their eyelids, which for a time move almost ceaselessly, finally are affected by the lethargy or inability to move. The eyes are closed. The animals then fall into a sleep-like state and perish, but commonly only after many hours of difficult breathing. Dissection shows changes in the kidney."

A survey of the poisonous plants of South Africa has been supplied by J. M. Watt. In South Africa over five hundred species are used as medicinal plants, and 150 are regarded as dangerous poisonous plants. Most of the poisonous plants known to date have an effect like digitalis. The old arrow-poison plants of the Bushmen, Acokanthera venenata and A. spectabilis, which have been examined in greater detail by Moir, Lewis, and Curson, also belong to this category. It is striking that the poison has an extraordinary chemical and physical stability. For poisoning per os, Boweia volubilis is commonly used by the natives.

[137]

Literature: J.M.Watt, M.B., "The Present Position of our Knowledge of South African Medicinal and poisonous Plants,"

[113]

3: Lebzelter--159 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

1. Advance into the Sand Veld.

2. Camp near Shandi in the Otjimpolo Veld.

3. On the high dunes of the Etosha Pan.

4. Under the Baobab Tree of Uukualuthi.

Plate I. Camping Places of the Expedition in the Southwest.

3: Lebzelter--160 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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[342]

1. !Kung Huts in the Bush Veld.

2. Summer Landscape in the !Kung Veld.

3. The Omuramba u Omatako south of Otjituo.

4. Winter Landscape in the Sand Veld.

Plate II. Landscapes on the !Kung Veld.

N/OW

LORNA MARSHALL

N/ow[1] is a belief concerning rain and cold which is held by the /Kung Bushmen in the region around Nyae Nyae in South West Africa.

About ten inches of rain falls in an average year in this part of the Kalahari Desert and sinks into the deep sands. There is no run-off in streams and there are few water holes. The rain is sufficient to support a covering vegetation of grass, shrubs, and scrubby trees. The vegetation includes numerous edible roots, tubers, leaves, fruits, and nuts, for which the Afrikaans language provides the convenient word *veldkos*.

The /Kung, the only inhabitants of the interior of this particular region, are nomadic hunters and gatherers. If the rains are poor and the veldkos dry and sparse, the people suffer. Rain, they say, is life-giving; sun is death-giving.

Summer is the season of the 'big rains' in the western Kalahari. 'Little rains'—a few scant showers—may fall in September, October, and November. The 'big rains' begin in late December or January and continue into March. The summer storms are awesome. Every day the winds drive monstrous clouds around the sky, which domes a horizon as flat as the sea. They breed the storms. Lightning streaks from them. Thunder roars and rumbles. The earth sucks in their deluges, hissing.

The /Kung say that thin clouds which give no rain are male. They call them */now*.[2] The big rain clouds are female. White ones they call *||ga kwe disi*—*||ga* means cloud or rain, *disi* means females.[3] The enormous grey clouds with rain pouring from them the /Kung call */kwesi* (zebras), because they are so fleet and, though a person may think he is far from the rain, it comes swiftly and is on him. We have seen Bushmen, caught without shelter in the storms, shivering so that their teeth chattered, saying they could perish in such rain.

Rain itself is male and female, */ga /go* and */ga di*. The men one day drew in the sand the spoor of male and female rain. Male rain spoor was made with all five fingers held stiffly and plunged deeply into the sand, to make big holes. Male rain breaks the trees and beats down the fruits, the men told us. It is (like) a fight, and may kill a person. Thunder and lightning accompany it, and sometimes hail. Female rain has tiny drops and does not spoil anything; it beautifies the trees and the grass and makes the veldkos grow. Its spoor was made by smoothing out a place in the sand and covering it closely with tiny dots. Gao said a person (anyone) may speak to the rain, saying, 'You are doing very well', or, 'Fall silently. Don't make such a noise. Don't be

[1] We wish to thank both Dr. Mary Douglas and Professor I. Schapera for reading the manuscript about *n/ow* and for making several helpful suggestions.

[2] The /Kung language has four clicks: / is the symbol for the dental click, ≠ for the alveolar, / for the alveolar palatal, and // for the lateral.

[3] We did not know how to translate *kwe*, which occurs very often. It seemed sometimes to be a sort of article and we did not work on it especially. We regret not having done so because Miss Bleek, in her *Bushman Dictionary* (American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1956), records in the Auen or //K''au-//en language, which she says is very like the /Kung and which she places south of the /Kung, the phrase */ga -k''witi*, meaning rain's hair or cloud. In /Kung */ga* and *||ga* both mean rain. We now wonder if *kwe* should be *kwi* and if it means hair in the phrase *||ga kwe disi*.

6:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

dangerous.' When they do they use the word *n/oi*. It is a word for gentle rain, and also a respect word. They use it for male rain when they are afraid of it and avoid its real name, */ga /go*.

The rains of the western Kalahari are local, falling from clouds which the winds herd. They may fill one pan and miss another. Laurence Marshall spent one whole night, tentless, in a drenching downpour, to find in the morning that a mile away no rain had fallen. But by and large the rains are sufficient in quantity and well enough dispersed to fill most of the water-holes, pans, and hollow trees, and to revive the growing things, so that the autumn months, which follow the rains, are good—the best of the year. Then the /Kung may travel anywhere within their territories to hunt and gather the fresh veldkos. The rains are life-giving.

Winter is the season of dryness. It is also the season of burning sun in the cloudless sky by day and freezing cold when the sun sets. Bitter winds catch up the sparks of the fires at night and whirl them in blazing streaks into the darkness. If water is left in an open bowl, it may be ice in the morning. By mid-winter, July, there has been no rain for three or four months. The pans and small water-holes are dry. Though there are still foods to be gathered, like the mangetti nuts in the northern forest, there is no water on the route, nor in the white sand dunes where the mangettis grow, and the people cannot carry enough in their ostrich-egg shells to go to the mangettis and return. In 7,500 square miles of the interior of the region around Nyae Nyae, there are only five water-holes which do not dry up in the winter and spring. The /Kung bands must gather around whatever permanent water-hole they belong to and restrict their hunting and gathering trips to conform one way or another to the problem of water. This region, incidentally, does not abound in tsama melons and, though there are succulent so-called 'water' roots to be found, they seem not to be sufficient to support whole bands for long. The Nyae Nyae bands, it appears, cannot, or at least do not, base themselves for long periods away from their water-holes.

The spring months which follow the dry months of winter are the dangerous months. The sun is scorching. Fruits and leaves shrivel; the edible roots, stirred by the few tantalizing drops of the little rains, or just because it is spring, give up their juices to the first new shoots and are dry and bitter to eat. The people longingly await the rains, saying it is the sun which dries the water-holes and the plant foods. The /Kung of this region use one word for both sun and dryness, */kam*, and say the sun is death-giving.

In their beliefs about *n/ow*,[1] which they think influences the weather, as this paper will describe, they make an antithesis between rain and cold. This seems paradoxical when one experiences the devastating heat of the sun in September, October, and November, but the resolution of the paradox may lie in the fact that the hardships of the dry seasons begin with the rainless winter months and their bitterly cold nights, so that sun, dryness, cold and want become a complex which is in antithesis to rain and plenty. *N/ow* is called 'bad' if it brings cold, 'good' if it brings rain.

Mrs. Hoernlé[2] records a Hottentot belief called */nau*. The word appears to be

[1] We spell the /Kung word *n/ow* in this way because it rhymes with 'how'. We wish to distinguish it from another /Kung word, */nau*, which it closely resembles, but which has a slightly shorter, more closed sound. */Nau* means 'old man', according to Miss Bleek's *Bushman Dictionary*. We heard it used as a term of respect in addressing old men.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., 'Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of */nau* among the Hottentots', *Harvard African Studies*, ii (1918), pp. 75–77.

7: Story
137

FX10 Bushmen FX10

/Because this entire source is essentially a botanical report on the flora of the Bushmen region, data on flora will be found in category 116, pp. 4-8, 10-113/

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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137

ǂAo //ǁn Werf.

[p. 88 B]

524 thing. This they do one by one, each in turn beckoning to the others to come and see.

In the *surus-/hurub* (game of the ringhals snake) one woman acts as the snake, standing with her hand and forearm raised above the forehead. As the other women approach her she hisses and strikes with the raised hand after the manner of a snake, causing them to scream and retire. This game is said to be founded on the experience of a woman into whose eyes a snake spat while she was trying to drive mice out of a shrub by means of her stick.

The following are a few examples of the games played by the *‡Ao-//ein* and *//Aikwe* of the Kalahari, viz.: *Children's*: [85] a man bartering goods from a trader; cock ostriches fighting with elephants which have come to drink at waterhole; a fight between two opposing groups, small bows and wooden arrows being used; a python lying in wait for and capturing its prey at a waterhole. *Men's*, the ostrich game; throwing the *isani*, in which a thin, short-feathered stick, weighted at one end by means of a large bean (bauhinea esculenta), is flung into the air and kept going by catching it on a stick in its descent and flinging it up again; throwing the stick, in which each player has a thin stick, about three feet long, which he flings forcibly on to the ground in such manner as to make it rise into the air and shoot away from him. *Women's*, catching the ball in which a melon or round tuber is used for the purpose; the capture of brides by young men, etc.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

Food Supply, Etc.

137 The source of the food supply varies very considerably in 184 different localities. In some it is derived mainly from the 268 vegetable, in others from the animal, kingdom. The Kalahari and northern parts of the territory are rich in both plant and animal life and the Bushmen inhabiting those parts consequently have a fairly well-balanced dietary. In the central and southern Kalahari the most important among the vegetable foods are the *tsamma* (citrullus vulgaris), öintjes (cyperis edulis Dtr.) and *//nōun* (Bauhinea esculenta). As one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, *e.g.*, the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuandi, omuve, etc. In addition to the above numerous varieties of edible roots, bulbs, tubers, berries, etc., appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season.

223 Among the *Hei-//om* the following ceremony is observed in connection with the collection of veldkos by the women. It is practised when the fruit of the *‡huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the *‡huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gāus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

CHAPTER ONE

The Desert

THERE is a vast sweep of dry bush desert lying in South-West Africa and western Bechuanaland, bordered in the north by Lake Ngami and the Okovango River, in the south by the Orange River, and in the west by the Damera Hills. It is the Kalahari Desert, part of a great inland table of southern Africa that slopes west toward the sea, all low sand dunes and great plains, flat, dry, and rolling one upon the other for thousands of miles, a hostile country of thirst and heat and thorns where the grass is harsh and often barbed and the stones hide scorpions.

From March to December, in the long drought of the year, the sun bakes the desert to powdery dry leaves and dust. There are no surface waters at all, no clouds for coolness, no tall trees for shade, but only low bushes and grass tufts; and among the grass tufts grow brown thistles, briers, the dry stalks of spiny weeds, all tangled into knots during the rains, now dry, tumbled, and dead.

The Kalahari would be very barren, very devoid of landmarks, if it were not for the baobab trees, and even these grow far from each other, some areas having none. But where there

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

137 is one it is the biggest thing in all the landscape, dominating all the veld, more impressive than any mountain. It can be as much as two hundred feet high and thirty feet in diameter. It has great, thick branches that sprout haphazardly from the sides of the trunk and reach like stretching arms into the sky. The bark is thin and smooth and rather pink, and sags in folds toward the base of the tree like the skin on an elephant's leg, which is why a baobab is sometimes called an elephant tree. Its trunk is soft and pulpy, like a carrot instead of wooden, and if you lean against it you find that it is warm from the sun and you expect to hear a great heart beating inside. In the spring, encouraged by moisture, these giants put out huge white flowers resembling gardenias, white as moons and fragrant, that face down toward the earth; during the [262] summer they bear alum-like dry fruits, shaped like pears, which can be eaten. In the Kalahari there is no need of hills. The great baobabs standing in the plains, the wind, and the seasons are enough.

132 Usually in the hot months only small winds blow, leaving a whisper of dry leaves and a ripple of grass as though a snake has gone by, but occasionally there is a windy day when all the low trees of the veld are in motion, swinging and dipping, and the grass blows forward and back. When there is no wind, heat accumulates in the air and rises in thick, shuddering waves that distort everything you see, the temperature rises to 120° Fahrenheit and more, and the air feels heavy, pressing against you, hard to breathe.

June and July are the months of winter. Then water left standing freezes at night, and with the first light of morning all the trees and grass leaves are brittle with frost. The days warm slowly to perhaps 80° at noon, but by night when the sun sets yellow and far, far away over the flat veld the cold creeps back, freezing the moisture from the dark air so that

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

the black sky blazes with stars. In winter the icy wind, pour- 132
ing steadily across the continent from the Antarctic, blows all night long.

There are only three months of rain in the whole year, and 132
these begin in December, ending the hottest season when the 137
air is as tight and dry as a drum skin. Under the rain—which is sometimes torrential, drenching the earth, making rivers down the sides of trees, sometimes an easy land rain that blows into the long grass like a mist—the heat and drought melt away and the grass turns green at the roots. Soon the trees flower, and in the low places the dry dust becomes sucking mud. Towering clouds, miles away, widen the horizon, and all the bushes which stretch in an unchanging expanse over dune after dune now blossom and bear white or red or violet flowers. But the season is short, and the plants bud, flower, and fruit very quickly; in March the drought creeps in, just as the veld fruits ripen and scatter their seeds.

When the rains stop, the open water is the first to dry, 132
making slippery mud and then caked white earth. By June only little soaks of waterholes remain, hidden deep in the earth, covered with long grass. These, which are miles apart, dry up by August, and then travel in the veld is nearly impossible. Because of this, large areas of the Kalahari remain unexplored.

We have crossed this desert three times, my family and I, 114
on three expeditions, which usually numbered between ten and fourteen people and included my father, my mother, my brother, and myself, as well as several other Europeans who were linguists, zoologists, botanists, or archaeologists, sent by universities of the Union of South Africa, England, or the United States, as well as four or five Bantu men—several interpreters, a cook, and a mechanic—who were the staff. We usually traveled in four big trucks and a jeep, and had to carry

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

114 language), and Kung; Simon, a mechanic's helper; William Camm, also an interpreter who spoke Afrikaans, some English, and Gikwe; and Gishe and Ḍabe, two Gikwe Bushmen who lived on Theunis's farm.

We were looking for Gikwe Bushmen, as we had heard that there were some who lived in the area. We hoped that if we found some, Gishe or Dabe might discover a relative and enable us to make friends.

133 We traveled for many days, all day long, for, not knowing 137 where the Bushmen were, we hoped to come across some of them somewhere, or find a trace or track that might show us in what direction they had gone. We did not find anyone, though, and we saw nothing but the series of long, broad plains that dipped and tilted ever so little; we would find ourselves down in a wide, shallow bowl of grass, then at the rim of the bowl, where we would see the next plain rolling for miles away. Occasionally we came to an acacia forest, but mostly the country was open grassland with tiny thorn bushes down in the grass to catch us. Because it was June, the beginning of the dry season, there were many veld fires, and although we never came upon any, every day we saw their smoke, gray and misty on the horizon, all around us in a ring.

136 Sometimes we saw a small herd of game running far away from us, raising a little cloud of dust. We saw gemsbok, handsome, large, beige antelope, striped black on their sides, white-bellied, with long, straight horns. We saw gray, tousled wildebeest with curved horns like the horns of cattle. Once we surprised a herd of three eland, a bull and his two wives, which had been eating behind a clump of bushes. They threw up their heads when they saw us, eyes catching the sun and shining pale green like fires. They wheeled, hoofs scraping, and ran, their red bodies swaying, their heads held high

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

is a painful procedure. The cuts are made on the thighs and 304
forehead with a knife or ax blade, then charcoal is rubbed in, but the woman told us later that in her case it had been worth the pain and trouble because, she said, she was extremely ugly and had been made more beautiful.

Her baby's name was Nhwakwe, she told me, and after 551 276
that we were at a loss for conversation. I offered her a ciga- [609]
rette, which she declined, indicating that it made her cough. I was surprised, for she was the only Bushman I had ever met, man, woman, or child, who did not smoke.

Presently she smiled, pressed her hand to her chest, and 551
said: "Tsetchwe." It was her name. 609

"Elizabeth," I said, pointing to myself.

"Nisabe," she answered, pronouncing after me and inclining her head graciously. She looked me over carefully without really staring, which to Bushmen is rude. Then, having surely suspected that I was a woman, she put her hand on my breast gravely, and, finding that I was, she gravely touched her own breast. Many Bushmen do this; to them all Europeans look the same.

"*Tsau si*" (women), she said.

Then after a moment's pause, Tsetchwe began to teach me 609
a few words, the names of a few objects around us, grass, 222
rock, bean shell, so that we could have a conversation later. As she talked she took a handful of the beans out of her
kaross, broke them open, and began to eat them. This is a [137]
wonderful, bitter bean, shaped like a lima bean, which grows
on tiny bushes in patches throughout the Kalahari. When you [261]
eat these beans they burn your tongue, throat, and stomach, but they take away hunger and thirst. Besides the beans in her kaross, Tsetchwe, who began unloading, brought out a large, edible root which she had dug up—she must have been gathering food before we came—and put it in the shade of a

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

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[48] walk in single file, and they seemed very small, naked, and far away under the burned, pure sky, moving toward some remote destination where they hoped to find a man who had been walking away from them for almost a month, perhaps at some nameless little pan lost somewhere in the countryside, perhaps in a nameless bend of the omaramba. As they walked they zigzagged, avoiding small obstacles such as stones or thorn bushes, very incongruous with the enormity of the sky and the plains. The bow on Gai's shoulder made a bold upward curve.

A tree appeared on the horizon, and they veered toward it. When they reached it they sat in its shade, two shadows in the yellow grass, and a puff of smoke rose as they lit their pipes. We caught up to them and found Gai digging for a [222] *torabe* vegetable. He reached into the hole he had made and dragged it from its roots, brushed the dirt away, and chopped it into six pieces, giving one to each of us. We ate that for lunch. It was bitter and moist, firm as an apple and pleasant because it was wet. As we sat there we noticed the smoke of three veld fires which had suddenly risen, perhaps stirred by the wind far away, two small ones in the north and east, one large one in the south, its smoke reaching up to the sky first in little tendrils, then billowing in great clouds like the clouds in the sky but browner.

Gai and Witabe stood up, brushing sand from their legs, and walked into the sunlight again, turning toward the larger fire. Bushmen often set the veld alight to signal to each other, [201] but they do not send messages; a fire simply shows other people where they are, and even this is vague, as fires are sometimes set by natural causes.

137 After traveling several hours over the plains, we came to a little forest in a valley. A fire had been through there and had burned all the yellow grass from the ground, leaving black

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

ashes and little black, charred thorn bushes, but the flames 137
had not touched the leaves on the trees. These remained yellow-green, orange, and silver, tangled and confused above the black, breaking away from the branches when the wind blew and falling like autumn leaves in New England. The whole valley would have been very like New England except that there were leopards in the forest; as we looked around we found a leopard's tracks. We rested in the shade on the side 224
of the valley, and as we sat quietly we heard the sound of hoofs in the valley below, and we saw through the bushes the dark backs of a herd of wildebeest, walking along in single file, first the cows, then the larger bulls, their curved cow horns making them look for all the world like a herd of small, dark cattle.

Gai was on his feet in an instant, his bow in his hand, and, like a leopard springing, he jumped past us and ran, silent and half crouching, through the bushes beside them, but he had no arrow, and when he got near enough to shoot he had to stand up and shoot a grass blade after them, partly for practice, as a Bushman hunter will never miss a chance to practice his aim, but partly because Gai was still too young to be able to resist making them run. They threw up their heads, snorting like horses, and galloped away, leaving behind them a great cloud of dust. Gai ran after, his heels [461]
pounding, and was gone in a few great perfect strides, as if a hawk had left us with a few stiff beats of its wings.

Witabe, too, was completely absorbed. Although he did not run after the wildebeests, he got to his feet and gazed after them, unconsciously making a gesture with his hand representing the head and horns of a wildebeest. He moved his hand in time with their running, saying softly: "Huh, huh, boo. Huh, huh, boo," the sound of their breath and grunting as they ran.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER SIX

Veld Food

132 271 137 WITH the warm air came a series of long, fat clouds sailing from the north like slow dirigibles, some of them showering down a few drops of rain. We were amazed to see rain in winter, the dry season, something we had not seen before, and we asked Ukwane about it. He said that it was not unusual for rain to come in the wintertime but very hard on the people of the desert, as it fools the wild vegetables from which the Bushmen get their water.

There are many kinds of wild roots which can be eaten in winter, and each is marked among the grass blades by an almost invisible dry thread of a vine. The roots are swollen with liquid by which the plants preserve their life during the drought. When the plants feel the onset of spring, warm air and raindrops, the dry vines suck moisture out of the watery roots, turn green, and put out tiny leaves, and in this way, if the false spring lasts, the roots are soon sucked dry entirely. Bushmen cannot get enough water from eating the vines and leaves. The plants do not bear fruit until summer; the spring-season vegetables, such as little onions, pods like pea pods,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

and leafy green vegetables that taste like rhubarb, have not 132 271 grown in yet; and so the Bushmen must go thirsty. People 137 have died of thirst in these false seasons.

Gathering veld food is the work of the Bushman women, 222 and I used to go with them quite often on their trips. We [462] sometimes stayed in the veld all day eating roots instead of drinking water. One day my brother came along to film the gathering of veld food, and as we were getting ready to leave, Gai also joined us. It is customary for Bushmen never to let a group of their women go anywhere with a Bantu or a European man unless a Bushman man goes with them to protect them. Gai sauntered along behind us in his role of guardian, quite unhampered, as he had nothing with him but his loincloth. Dasina, Twikwe, and Tsetchwe walked in front, each with a digging-stick thrust in her belt like an enormous knife, each wearing a heavy cape, and Tsetchwe carrying her baby, who rode, carefree and swinging his feet, on her shoulder. John and I walked in the middle of the procession, and at the end came the three young boys, who did not stay in single file but ran all over the veld, ran circles around us, and shouted to each other happily. [609]

We walked across the pan of Ai a ha'o through the fine, [137] soft grass, which left tiny, barbed seeds sticking to our legs. We walked through the brush on the opposite side and then over a wide plain, where we saw a herd of wildebeest. No one was armed, and when the wildebeest saw us, put down their heads, and ran, we could only watch helplessly as all that meat galloped away.

We walked until we came to a patch of tsama melons, perhaps twenty of them lying together, shiny, smooth, and green in the grass. The vine that once had nourished them had dried away and already some of the melons were turning yellow, overripe, ready to open and release their seeds.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

222 roots or cucumbers, returning to their werf before it is utterly dark, for in the hot season the big snakes, too, move only at night, the mambas and the cobras out of their holes.

By the end of the season the Gikwe are emaciated from hunger and thirst, and it is because of this season that the Gikwe hear the jackals on the plains cry "Water, water."

222 When we reached the little hill Twikwe had mentioned
137 we found no bi root, but we found other kinds of veld food: a bush with red berries, several kinds of roots, and a spiny cucumber not three inches long, round and bristling with its spines like a sea urchin, handsome in its light-brown, yellow-striped skin. The young boys found five of these cucumbers lying in a crooked row on the sand, all put there by a vine which had mostly dried and shriveled away. We picked them and ate them. They have a watery green flesh which looks just like the flesh of a cucumber as we know it but which is sweet.

Witabe, noting the direction of the vine by the way it had deposited its cucumbers, traced it to its source and found a bit of it left above the ground, below the branches of a white-thorn bush. He said there would be an edible root there, and when he dug, there was.

Meanwhile, Gai had found a solid, stiff vine like a stalk among the roots of a gray bush which was the home of a small flock of birds. Just for fun, Gai chased the birds out; they would have gone anyway, but, frightened by him, they flew like little pellets in every direction, leaving behind a pale, soft grass nest blowing in the wind. Gai sat down facing the bush with the branch shadows all over him and dug with a digging-stick in the sand between his legs. The branches around his head got in his way, tickling his ears, causing him to slash impatiently at them with his digging-stick, and when

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

this did no good he endured the nuisance for a moment, then 222
flung himself down on his back, put up his long legs like a 137
fighting cock, and kicked the branches down.

He dug out a great deal of earth, throwing it behind him, and finally uncovered a *ga* root, big and dark with a warty surface all covered with lumps like a toad or a stone; a fascinating thing, for although it was large and nondescript, brownish gray in brown-gray sand, marked only by an old dry vine, it was life itself to Bushmen, bitter but quite moist even in the hottest season. Tsetchwe put the root in her kaross and we went off, Gai generously carrying the baby, taking him from Tsetchwe by the forearm and swinging him up to his shoul- [854]
der. The baby rode astride Gai's neck with the soft kaross he wore draped over Gai's head. From the rear they were an apparition, as this made the baby's head, not much higher than Gai's, look like a tiny head on a man's tall, slender body.

We wanted very much to find a bi root, and while Gai, the baby, and my brother went off to look for one I waited behind with the women. We rested in a small circle in the dim shade of the grass, which, when we were sitting, came high above our heads so that all we could see was a circle of sky and, in the circle, the ragged, waxing moon. It had risen luxuriously in the daytime and was a pale, large crescent, pearl-colored in the sun. The moon is a root with a climbing [821]
stalk, a vine. It can be eaten.

Giamakwe began to urinate right in our midst, crouching 514
and pulling his loincloth aside. Although the adults are slightly inhibited about this, the children are not, sometimes simply turning aside to urinate as one might turn aside to cough. Presently the young boys got up and ran away, and when they did Tsetchwe herself got to her feet, stepped aside, and urinated also, standing up but leaning forward. Bushman

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

222 or so below hard-surfaced ground and have no leaf nor stalk nor vine to show where they are, only the tiny crack made by the truffle swelling, which the Bushmen notice.

137 We had crossed a barren stretch of plain where only grass
222 was growing and were in another patch of low bushes where veld food also grew. The great plains of the Kalahari may seem undiversified, but really they are divided into countless little patches, some barren, some fertile, depending probably on the soil. In this veld-food patch Twikwe found another vine tangled in the lower branches of a thorn bush and she crawled in after it and began to dig. The thorns around her head, all smooth and shining white like jewels, were tickling her, but, unlike Gai, she delicately put up just one hand and picked off the very thorns that pricked her.

222 She resumed her digging and after perhaps twenty minutes as she followed down the vine she uncovered another ga root also wedged among stones. This ga was not as large as the other one, nor was it wedged as tightly, and when she grasped it, arched her back, and tugged, clenching her teeth and straining her thin arms, the rocks suddenly gave way and the ga flew loose, sending Twikwe crashing back among the thorns. She wiped the perspiration from her forehead with her thumb before she crawled out of the bush, dragging her root and her digging-stick. I noticed that the root was very wrinkled, as if it had shrunk. Twikwe struck at it with the point of her digging-stick, chipping out a fragment, which she put in her mouth. Then she spat, stood up, and walked away from it. When I, too, tasted it to see what was the matter I found that it was flaccid, dry, and very bitter, quite inedible. I looked inside the bush and saw that its vine had begun to turn a little green.

We went on, and passed a few dry melons on our way, yellow and empty, perhaps bitten by an antelope some time

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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The aloes and the spiny plants of the desert. Far away, on the horizon, two baobab trees are showing.

[p. 112(A)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Ukwane eats a tsama melon, the source of food and all water for Bushmen during the drought.

[p. 112(c)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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The people from Okwa camped right beside Ukwane; the two werfs were shaded by the same little tree.

[p. 112 (H)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

CHAPTER NINE

Peoples of the Veld and Sky

133 After many days, during which we crossed the rest of the great central desert of Bechuanaland, we came to a strip of fertile country which is in both Bechuanaland and South-West Africa and is owned to a large extent by the Chuana people, who have great cattle ranches, vast areas of grazing-land, and rather small villages. In this fertile land is Lake Ngami, a flat marsh or even a dry pan at most seasons, but when we sat it, it was filled with water, something that had not happened since Livingstone was there.

The country had changed greatly since we left the central desert. In the fertile land there were forests, thorn thickets, even little hills. At some places there were vast grasslands with grass higher than the hoods of our trucks, but in other places livestock had eaten away everything, cattle having devoured the grass, goats having chewed the leaves from the bushes. We saw five or six great herds of cattle grazing on the flat land surrounding Lake Ngami, where the grass was short
133 137 and green and looked kept, like a park. There were perhaps a thousand cattle in each herd, and mixed with the cattle were herds of springbok, a few ostriches, and marabou storks. It

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

was pastoral Africa, for the path we followed was marked 133
with the hoofs and dung of the cattle, tracked by the huge 137
ox-drawn, forked log sledges of the Chuana farmers, and now and then patterned with the footprints of a jackal, a hyena, or even a leopard or a lion, for although there are great herds the country itself is wild.

Lake Ngami was an enormous, shining expanse of water 133
a few square miles in area and very shallow everywhere. We got out of our trucks and went to the water to rest our eyes with so much luxury and we found that the water was warm, full of brow duckweed, and swarmed with innumerable tiny flies. Ducks and geese were swimming, storks and flamingos were wading at the edges, and while we were looking the largest herd of cattle that we had ever seen came to the lake to drink. There were hundreds upon hundreds of them drifting toward the lake, and the noise of their hoofs was like the sound of a tornado, a great waterfall, thunderous and mighty. A Chuana was riding among them and it took him nearly an hour, traveling in a straight line, to pass through the herd, the cattle parting a little as he came to let him by. He rode on and on, and when we left he was still riding, still among the cattle, and still not out of sight.

We left Lake Ngami and its vast pastoral lands and went on until we were away from the Bantu farmlands, over the border of Bechuanaland into the Kalahari Desert of South-West Africa, which at that place is called the Nyae Nyae area. This country we knew very well, for it was here that we had lived a year among Kung Bushmen, and although it was a desert it was also totally unlike the great barren steppes of central Bechuanaland, as it was quite rolling, marked by large forests of small trees, by little rolling hills, by omarambas, and by pans, which in the rains were shallow lakes and in the drought were clay flats. The land was still very

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Long reeds almost filled the waterhole at Gautscha.

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Alone at his fire, Ukwane plays a mood song.

[p. 176(A)]

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The shining lake of Nama.

In the middle of the circle the great tree rose, pink-skinned and mighty, the claimer of two lives.

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[p. 176 (H)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Toma the Leader

374 It was very cold and the wind blew all night long, sweeping the haze from the sky and leaving the brilliant hard white moon. In the bitter hour before morning we were all too cold to sleep, so we got up, finding that the Bushmen had risen before us and were crouched shivering on the ground between the small fires, partly sheltered by the grass.

133 When the sun rose the air got a little warmer and shortly 137 after dawn we moved away from the camping-place, on toward Nama. We went through little forests, over slanting plains bordered with trees, past an outcrop of rock where I once had seen a leopard lying on his side, sunning his white belly, past a graceful tree which was one of the trees where the people of Nyae Nyae got their poison. At noon we reached Nama Pan.

Nama was a grassy field in the center of a scrub forest, and in the field was a great rock slide, basin-shaped, which now was filled with crystal water, and around the water was a beach of sand six inches wide. Around this beach the green grass grew, very dark, almost rotten with the water, the rich earth, and the sunlight.

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9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the bottom too, "with his head driven down between his 481 shoulders," said Toma laconically, hunching his own neck to 222 165 show how it was.

A third man whom Toma did not name climbed for honey in the Gura baobab, a tree somewhat north of Gautscha Pan, and he also fell; but, happily, he survived his experience. His sister and her husband were below him, watching, and when they saw him fall they held out their arms to catch him. He fell through their arms, of course, but his fall was broken and though he was unconscious for a long time he finally did recover.

The moral of these stories, Toma said, was to show that 867 young people should listen to older people and not act rashly. I believe that he thought I was going to try to climb the Gautscha baobab (which I had already done, though only to the lowest branch, fifteen feet from the ground), for he went on to say: "When Bushmen tell young people not to climb baobab trees they should listen. It is seldom that a person lives who falls from a baobab tree, they are so high. Even those good climbers I told you about, they all fell." I assured him that I did not even want to climb it and he said: "Good. When we who are experienced get the honey you can watch from below. Then you can see just as well."

The Gautscha baobab was somewhat east of the pan, and 137 we could see it rising from the plain when we were almost a mile away from it. It loomed up at the horizon, towering, its mass of upper branches hazy because we were so far. As we moved toward it, it seemed to move away from us like a distant mountain, but gradually, after a long time, it began slowly to get larger, looming higher, its top branches reaching up to the sky, where the clouds of spring were already forming as the desert got ready for the rains, three months [132] away.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

137 It was noon when we reached the tree; we broke through the bushes that surrounded it and came into its clearing, a circle thirty yards across of stony, barren ground from which the long roots had sucked the nourishment, and in the middle of the circle the great tree rose, pink-skinned and mighty, the claimer of two lives, twenty feet in diameter and almost two hundred feet high. Its lower branches were heavy and enormous, but the branches got smaller toward the top, the upper ones very thin, crisscrossing each other like lace. On the eastern face of the tree there were no branches; the pink
137 481 trunk towered up and up, smooth and bare. On this side was an ascending row of pegs driven in by Bushmen long ago who had been after honey, used in later years by Bushmen hunters trying to rob the hives again or to scan the countryside for game. The pegs led from the ground around the trunk to the lowest branch, then up the trunk again to the next branch, ending finally at the top of the great tree, almost out of sight.

I knew this old tree very well, for during the year that we had lived at Gautscha we had camped beside it. It had been the home of many creatures then; and now the eastern face of the tree, the great bare slab rising like pink stone, was pocked with little holes. Some of them were empty, surely, but some had tufts of dry grass showing in the openings, little creatures' nests, and here and there, between the roots or in the forks of branches, were the caves of larger animals.

224 Bees had lived in a hole among the branches halfway up,
136 though Toma said the bees had now moved higher; a mongoose had lived in a little cave between the roots on the south side, though now the mongoose was dead, snared and killed by Toma's son; a python that had lived in a hole on the north side was also dead, killed and eaten by an old Bushman woman we had known; but a colony of green-furred squirrels that had lived on the lowest branches, we saw, were

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

pointed to me and said: "Look at Dikai. She wants to go home. Let's go home." And so we did, and as evening came we went by Gautscha Pan.

We had not seen it before; we had been in the bushes on its eastern side when we had looked for honey, but now, as we emerged from the bushes, we found ourselves on its farther, eastern rim.

Great Gautscha Pan was full of water, shining gray water. Smoke overcast the evening sky all around the horizon and high into the air, and all we could see was the great stretch of gray water with yellow grass like islands in it and flocks of small black ducks breaking its surface, and yellow grass all around. The line of bush on the horizon was gray-green near us where we stood on the rock slide at the eastern rim, touched with yellow spots, acacia trees with their soft, pale-yellow fuzzy flowers round as balls, looking like clouds, like dreams, pretty and fresh with a sweet fragrance, and as the bush went around the pan the haze dimmed it, giving it the subtlest colors and a wild, still look like trees before a storm. Among the bushes to the north of us rose the two visible baobab tops, eerie and far away, and in the water the yellow grass was reflected upside down.

There it was, Toma's great country, magnificent and solitary, for no one lived there now, no person, no animal, except the black wild ducks that swam on the water, some near, some far away, in lines of three or four, in pairs, moving gradually in their even, deliberate processions as though they were being drawn slowly over the water by hidden streams.

The sun was sinking; high above the horizon it was deep red, a perfect circle, almost hidden by the haze and reflected by a red path in the water, and as it sank into haze that grew thicker and thicker the sun got paler and more obscured until it vanished long before it set.

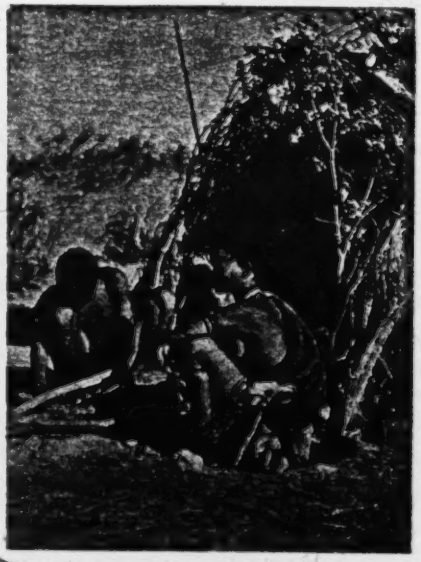
133 face its exigencies, for this sand-filled depression is distantly rimmed by mountains, and the mountains catch most of the clouds that might otherwise bring rain. The rain that does fall is sucked into the sand, so that there is little surface water and much of the Kalahari Basin is true desert.

●137 ALTHOUGH true desert, the Kalahari is not a bare place: the face of the sand is hidden. Much of the desert is clothed with stalwart, similar bushes, most of them thorned. In places, dry forests grow slowly: the trees stand apart and the air between them is strangely still on days of wind. Grass covers the sand: in sweeps on the dry plains, in glens in the bush; grass grows on dunes gathered long ago by patient wind, and in the silent valleys, called *omuramba*'s. In a younger, greener time that has come and gone since man first lived in southern

137 Africa, these valleys once flowed—draining water from the high edges into the Basin. Now the sand has wandered into these valleys also.

132 There are four seasons in the Kalahari, two are brief. Winter begins in May and lasts through September. It is a healthful season. Of the foods available to gatherers in winter, roots are the most abundant. The earth is dry: the days are warm and clear, but cold in the shade; the nights are chill. Temperatures sink to 20° F. and below when the night wind turns, blowing from the antarctic south. On some hazeless nights, when the empty air seems insufficient protection from the cold of space, the morning ground will be wet with heavy dew. However, the smoke from a thousand African veld fires often thickens the skies of noon, reddens the setting sun and keeps the nights warmer and the earth dry.

At the end of September, clouds be-



FOR RAINY SEASON, the open-fronted grass shelters are more substantial.

[342]

[p. 8]

COLLECTION OF FOOD, in contrast to hunting, is women's work among the !Kung. Almost every day, they leave camp to gather *veldkos* (roots, berries, nuts and the smallest animals) in the wild bush. The basic tool is the digging

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[P.9]

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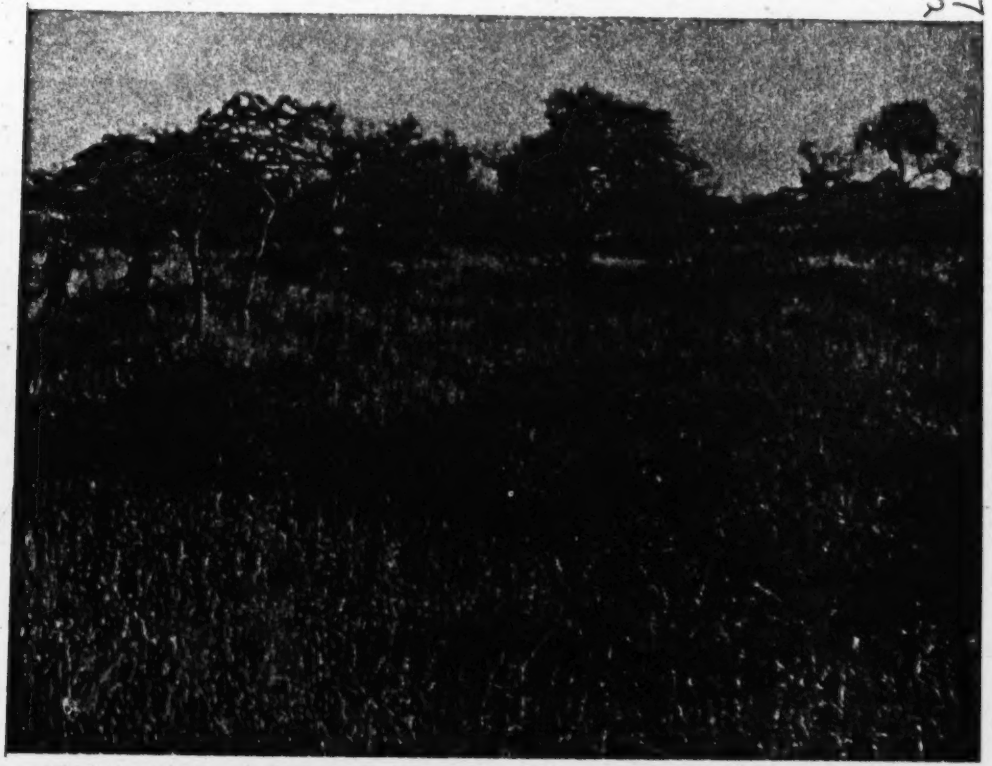

stick, fashioned by the man of the family from a tree-branch. Children soon learn, by watching, to identify more than a hundred edible wild plants. *Above*, four women, one with a young child, set off across the veld for food.

[P. 10]

132 LATE in December or early in January the rains of summer—the "big rains"—begin. This is the season of water. Water collects in the hollows of the land; it seeps into the pans, changing them into shallow lakes; it melts the baked clay in the *omuramba* bottoms, and turns the Kalahari green.

132 This is the season when two nuts, the *tsi* and the *mangetti*—the most im-
262 portant and abundant of the wild desert foods—begin to mature. By
●137 March, the *mangetti* forests sound with the falling nuts. Beside the summer storms—when water piles up uselessly on the reverberating earth—days on end are cloudy and, sometimes, a fine mist falls over parts of the northern Kalahari through the day and into the night. Now, the people eat many fruits. In the deeps of green thickets, ponderous flowers droop on slender
[164] vines. Spring and summer, the times of bounty, are also the seasons of disease.

132 By the end of April, the afternoon skies begin to clear, the air dries, the wind seeks. It is autumn. In April, the *tsi* nuts ripen and the pods split, turning out their brown wealth. The many desert roots cease their activity and become firm and full, safe in

174 last, white and black met,—raiding one another for cattle across the Fish River—and the time of the Zulu and the Voortrekker was near, the classic period of the Bushmen was over.

131 THE AREA called *Nyae Nyae* lies on the border between South West Africa and Bechuanaland. It covers about 10,000 square miles, between 18°55′ and 21°0′ South latitude and 19°50′ to 21°25′ East longitude. In
133 the center of this area is a ring of *kalk* pans. *Nyae Nyae* is actually the name the !Kung gave to this ring of pans, although I have applied it to the whole area occupied by the !Kung nation.

136 There is game round these pans and, in small groups, everywhere in *Nyae Nyae*. Wild roots grow in the
137 bush that shrouds much of the territory. There is *tsi* in the south, while
133 *mangetti* forests crowd along the crests of white sand dunes in the south and east, and spread over the north. Their

137 nuts drop abundantly to the ground every year. There are ten permanent
133 waterholes—some clustered around the ring of the pans, the others set like infrequent jewels in a low limestone ridge along the eastern border. During the rains, small pans and hollows hold embroidered pools. Hollow trees also catch water and keep it until it turns brown, while several kinds of water roots can be counted on all year.

174 Until recently, few came and none but Bushmen stayed for long in *Nyae Nyae*, for there is not enough water to attract pastoral peoples, and the soils are not the best for crops. The !Kung say: "We have always been here, drinking the *Nyae Nyae* waters." Perhaps this "always" began at about the time when the western Bantu horn was moving southward through Ovamboland. All one can say for sure is that they came, possibly seeking sanctuary in the empty spaces of the Kalahari, found, in *Nyae Nyae*, a quiet

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WITH THE SUMMER RAINS, the nuts of the *mongetti* forests – related to the almond – begin to mature. The !Kung arrive as soon as possible to start collecting. In winter,

[p.43]

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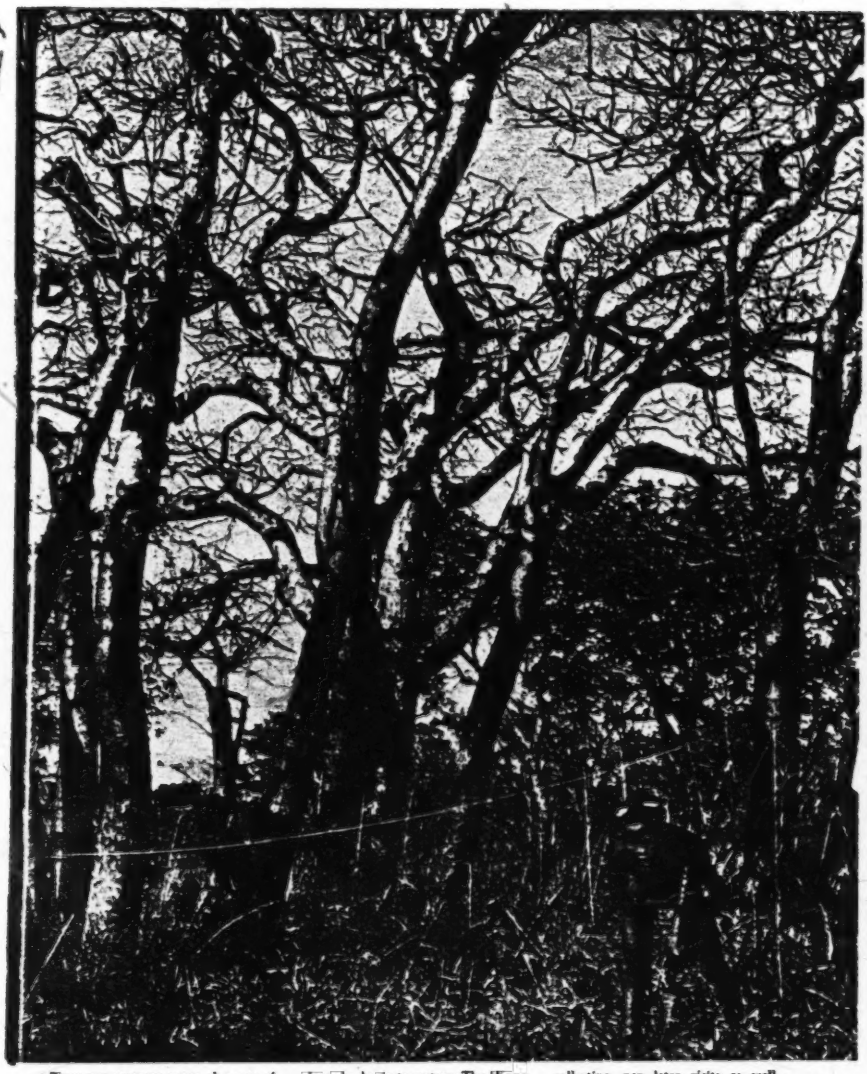

WITH THE SUMMER RAINS, the nuts of the *mongetti* forests – related to the almond – begin to mature. The !Kung arrive as soon as possible to start collecting, pay later visits as well. In winter, above, they search again.

[8.44]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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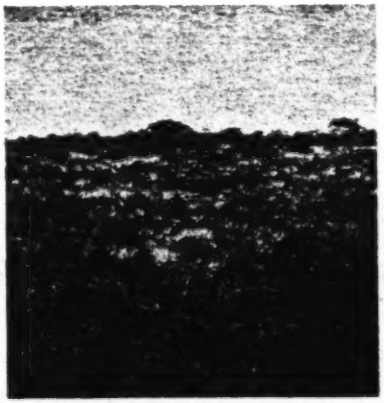

FIG. 1. The clustered scherms of a /Kung werf (left) are hardly visible in the grass and brush of the veld

[516]

FIG. 2. Groups from Band 1 and visitors sitting at three family fires

FIG. 3. Khuan//a thinking things over after 'the talk'

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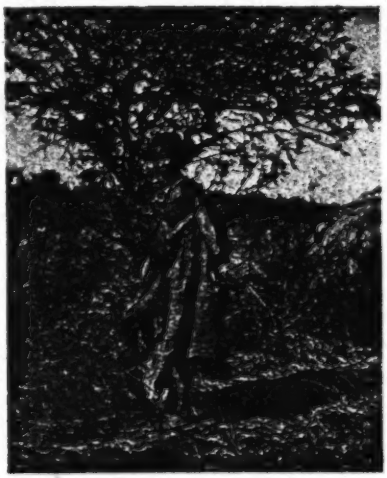

FIG. 4. /U, the wife of ≠Toma, with an expression which is characteristic of her

[p. 240-A]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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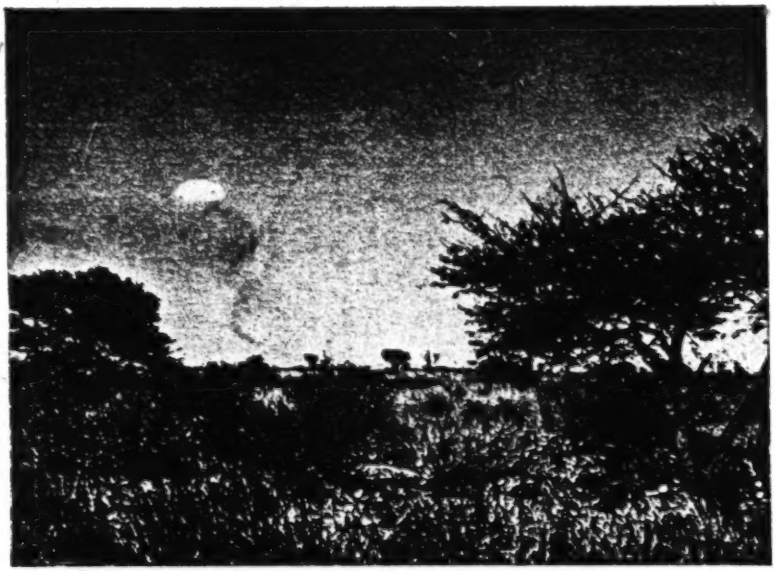

1. Whirlwinds in the huge veld fires become pillars of cloud by day

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787

2. The oracle disks

[p.228 (A)]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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3. The boys may be climbing the baobab tree to look for honey or to look around the country for signs of game

[p.228 (B)]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung
Africa F1

B
A
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101
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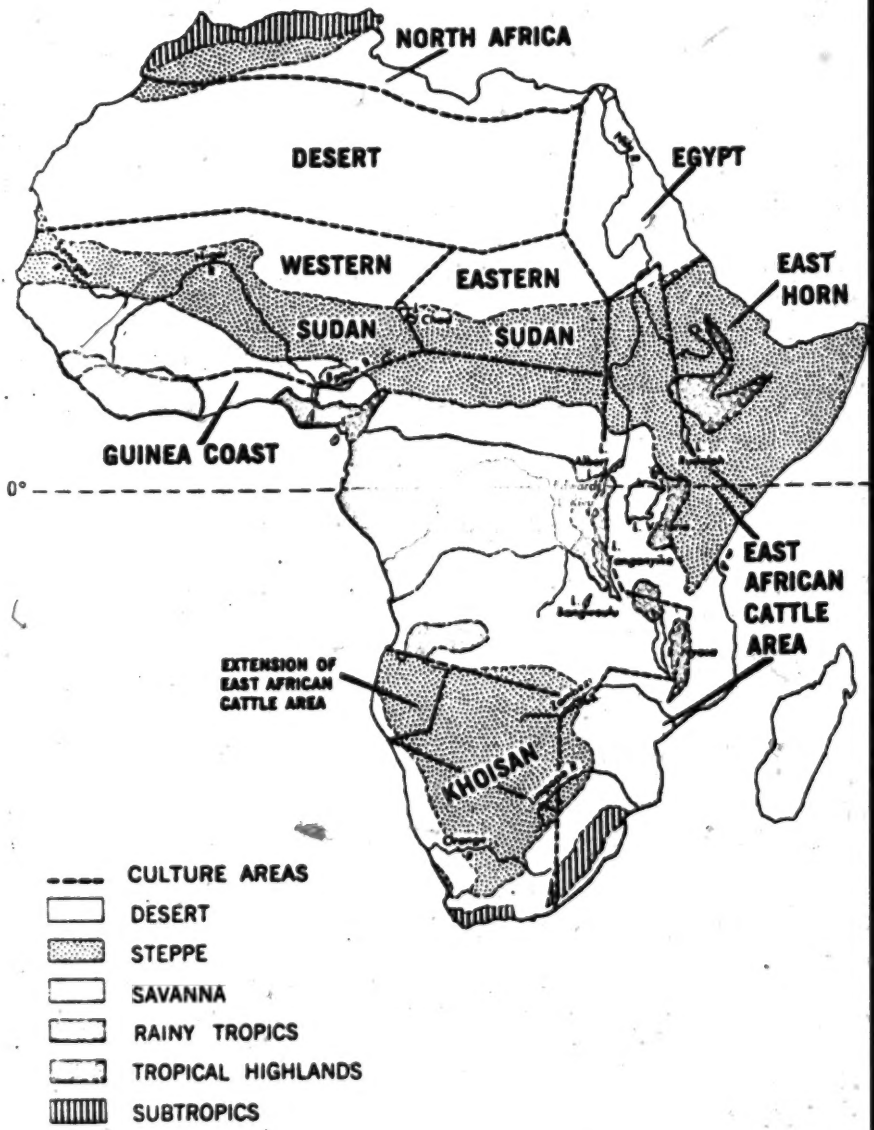
137

AFRICA: CULTURE AREAS AND VEGETATIONAL ZONES



[Front Map 1]
[p. i]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

guages, some now virtually extinct, were characterized by a fifth click made with the lips, called the kiss click (⊙). In addition to clicks, the Bushman languages have tones: high, middle, low, rising, and falling. Oswin Köhler has given special attention to tone as well as to other features in his study of Bushman languages, especially Barakwenga (Köhler 1962).

Each of the large divisions of the Bushman languages—the northern, central, and southern divisions (see Bleek 1956)—differs markedly from the others. Within each group are several languages, sometimes resembling each other enough to be considered merely dialects of the same language, but more often differing so widely as to be distinct, mutually quite unintelligible languages. The !Kung described in this chapter (Köhler's and Westphal's !Xû) belong to the northern group.

HABITAT • The Kalahari Desert, some 1200 miles long, with a mean high altitude of about 3000 feet, forms part of the great plateau of southern Africa. It is a basin in form, covered with wind-blown sands, sometimes red, sometimes white, to a depth of 300 to 400 feet. The underlying rock crops out rarely in ridges and a few low hills.

Stamp (1953:78) classifies the Kalahari as a semidesert. Its conditions are not the most extreme. Our expeditions recorded daytime air temperatures in the shade up to 115° F. and sand temperatures in the sun up to 140° F. In winter the temperature at night falls below freezing but for most of the year the nights are temperate. Although they seem acclimated to the heat, the Bushmen appear to find the colder temperatures very uncomfortable and shiver violently if they are away from their fires when the cold south winds blow.[5]

The rainfall, which comes in summer thunderstorms—6 to 10 inches, increasing in the better-watered parts toward the north, according to Wellington (1955:61)—though slight, is sufficient to sustain a varied drought-resistant vegetation, and the country is covered with grass, brush, and scant small trees. In the northern and northwestern parts, the trees are more numerous and taller and include shivi groves and nut-bearing mangetti—important sources of food to the Bushmen. And in all the areas of the desert that Bushmen inhabit are found edible plants, in scant, far-apart patches perhaps, but existing. The vegetation, furthermore, provides material for fires, shelter, weapons, implements, tanning, poison for arrows, and juices (for example tsama melons, on which these people can live when there is no water). In short, this desert provides the things that make life possible; otherwise the Bushmen would be dead or somewhere else.

The desert is a forceful shaper of the outlines of Bushman culture, and both the possibilities it permits and the limitations it imposes have been meaningfully summarized by Robert Story in a personal communication:

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

182 312 [161] [648] 134 A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival, for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

●137 [222] [224] [262] Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

224 [411] Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

101 197 LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bushmen cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking [829] Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local group- [184] ings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within them- [621] selves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band [622] composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

101 131 [197] The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ʼõassi* and who live in the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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Gathering Mangetti Nuts

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eral large groves of mangetti trees (*Ricinodendron rautanenii* Schinz) in the region, all on great waterless white sand dunes, and one extensive area in which *tsī* grows. *Tsī* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch) is the seed of the vine that runs along on the surface of the ground. Both mangetti nuts and *tsī* are excellent foods, rich in oils and proteins, and so important to the !Kung that they organize their lives to a considerable extent around them.

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Each band, according to !Kung social structure, owns and lives within what we call a territory. The band, through its headman (in a way to be explained later), owns the veldkos and water resources within its territory. The territories are varied in size and shape and sometimes consist of portions that are not even contiguous. The boundaries are vague, for the need to draw fine boundary lines is not great. In the interior of the region, where water is so scant, in roughly 8000 square miles live only 17 bands, comprising 447 persons. The other bands and employed groups live on what we call the periphery of the region. The !Kung say that one cannot eat the ground itself so it does not matter to whom it belongs. It is the patches of veldkos that are clearly and jealously owned, and the territories are shaped in a general way around these patches. The !Kung of the interior have settled themselves in such a way that every band has access to areas of edible roots and to either a mangetti grove or a *tsī* patch. A few bands have both.

[162]

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[162]

The strong concepts of ownership of veldkos by the band operate almost like a taboo. No external force is established to prevent one band from encroaching on another's veldkos or to prevent individuals from raiding veldkos patches to which they have no right. This is just not done. Fear of fighting is one of the deterrents. The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly

[p. 248]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not 251
uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming 261
journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to 261
food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food 576
or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food 433
and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung 462
society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no 562
extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly 562
strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous 147
and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of 562
hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing 462
splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable 262
foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. 224
The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's 535
wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The 342
building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's 563
work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a 137
woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. 561
She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

133 three rock outcrops and one ring of large pans. These features are illustrated in Map 12, p. 71.[1]

Soils and vegetation

134 The dune crests and flanks are characterized by deep
• 137 loose sand of red and white. These support a distinctive association of broad-leaved trees and shrubs. The molapos, both in the interstices of the dunes and in the more deeply incised river beds, are characterized by compacted grey soils. These molapos support an association of complex-leaved thorn trees and shrubs.

134 The color and composition of the soil appear to be a function of elevation. The color sequence from reddish to grey correlates with the texture sequence from loose to firm. These two sequences correlate with elevation within local drainage systems.

Thus the reddest, loosest sands are found on the crest of the dunes. The flanks of the dunes and the flats have buff white compacted soils, and the molapos have grey, highly compacted soils.

These sequences are schematized in Figure 1, p. 72.

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[1]As of April, 1965, there are no maps available for this area. Map 12 is based on the examination of aerial photographs on file at Maun, B.P. and the author's rough transects by Land Rover.

137 Plant geographers (e.g. Keay 1959; Cooke 1964) have divided this region in half. The southern half has been classified as "Kalahari grassland or mixed open Acacia wooded steppe", while the northern half is called "Bushveld and grassland".[1]

In fact, both types of habitat occur throughout the area: the Bushveld on the dunes and the Acacias in the interstices and river valleys.

Other workers have previously noted the significance of this molapo-dune topography. Maguire (n.d. circa 1954) divides the region into three vegetation types: the Dune association, the Omaramba (basin) association, and the Intermediate association, although he fails to define clearly the constituents of the latter type.

Since each kind of vegetation supports characteristic series of Bushman food plants and water sources, each will be considered in detail.

I. The Dune Association: Unlike the moving dunes of the Namib and southern Kalahari deserts, the dunes of the northern Kalahari are fixed by vegetation. The dunes support relatively closed forests of Ricinodendron and open woodlands of Burkea, Pterocarpus and Terminalia.

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[1] South African ecologists make a distinction between "Thornveld" with Acacia spp. dominant and Bushveld with broad-leaved forms dominant (Acocks 1953; Wellington 1955).

137 The major trees of the dune association are:

Ricinodendron rautanenii[1]

Burkea africana

Pterocarpus angolensis

Baikiaea plurijuga

Terminalia sericea

Other important constituents include:

Combretum mechowianum

Bauhinia macrantha

Ximenia caffra

Strychnos pungens

S. spinosa

Guibourtia coleosperma

[262] *Ricinodendron rautanenii* (the *mongongo* nut), the major food of the Dobe area Bushmen, is found only on the crests of [312] the fixed dunes. Because of the loose nature of the soils there is no standing water on the dunes at any season of the year. The only source of water on the dunes is the rain water which collects in the crotches of the mongongo trees from November to March. Although the volume of water stored is minute, the proximity of the supply to the nut groves makes this an important source of water for the Bushmen.

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[1]The common tree species were identified with the aid of Miller (1952).

134 II. The Molapo Association

137 a) The bottoms of the dry river beds support a rather different association from the interstices between the dunes. The river valleys expose the underlying limestone formation. This rocky surface supports trees of the following species:

Commiphora africana

C. pyracanthoides

Combretum imberbe

Hyphaene ventricosa

Adansonia digitata

b) The interstices between dunes where the soils are compacted grey and limestone is only sporadically exposed, support the following:

Acacia mellifera subspecies detinens

A. heteracantha

Dichrostachys glomerata

D. cinerea

Croton gratissimus

Boscia albitrunca

Grewia flava

c) In some molapos the compacted soils are lighter grey verging on buff. Here are found dense thickets of Terminalia prunioides interspersed with stands of Sclerocarya caffra.

137 Certain species are characteristic of all three subdivisions of the molapo association, but are nowhere dominant.

137 These include:

Combretum imberbe

Hyphaene ventricosa

Dichrostachys glomerata

Grewia flava

The most important food plants of the Molapo association are:

Adansonia digitata

Hyphaene ventricosa

Grewia flava

Citrullus lanatus var. vulgaris

312 The molapo zones, being the lowest parts of the landscape, contain all the sources of permanent and seasonal standing water.

The permanent waterholes are confined to main river bottoms where the limestone is exposed. Most of these waterholes are natural fissures in the rock, but all have been improved and maintained either by the Bushmen themselves or the Bantu cattle herders.

The seasonal waters that exist for one to six months of each year are found both in the main river bottoms and in the dune interstices where local drainage patterns produce a catchment. These latter vary in size from small depressions 25 feet in diameter and a few inches deep, which hold water

312 for a few weeks after heavy rains, to great ponds up to 400 feet long which may hold water several months after the rains have ceased.

134 III. The 'Flats' Association: Intermediate in elevation
137 between the dunes and the molapos are plains of buff to white compacted sands. These plains or flats support a vegetation which has affinities to both the dune and molapo associations. It also contains species that are not found elsewhere.

The flats may be divided into two intergrading types on the basis of soil differences:

a) looser buff sands supporting species that extend into the dune association and also several other diagnostic species.

b) compacted white sands supporting species that extend into the molapo association as well as several other diagnostic species.

III. a) Flats of loose sand have the following diagnostic species:

Lonchocarpus nelsii

Acacia giraffae

A. gilletiae

A. fleckii

as well as:

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Terminalia sericea

Sclerocarya caffra

III. b) Flats of compacted sand have the following diagnostic species:

Acacia stolonifera var. A. hebeclada

A. dulcis

Ziziphus mucronata

as well as:

Hyphaene ventricosa

Terminalia prunioides

Combretum imberbe

Grewia flava

The most reliable marker species for distinguishing vegetation zones are:

1. Ricinodendron -- found only on dune crests
2. Commiphora africana -- found only on limestone
3. Terminalia sericea - T. prunioides -- These two species of Terminalia are sharply segregated ecologically. T. sericea is ubiquitous on looser buff to white sands but never on compacted sand. T. prunioides is found only on compacted buff to grey sands, never in loose sand.

133 The Dobe area vegetation and water: The foregoing remarks apply broadly to the 25,000 sq. miles delineated above. The Dobe area in the center of this tract contains all the major physiographic features (dunes, molapos, rock outcrop, pans) and will therefore illustrate the local patterning of

132 805 dates of onset and termination of the main rains. For instance, in 1963-64, the major rains were concentrated in an eight-day period in late November and early December and were very light during the next three months. In the following rainy season, 1964-65, the major rains came later. They were only just beginning when we left the study area in [137] January, 1965. During the period of the main rains, the [312] major summer foods (fruits, berries, melons) make their [262] appearance, and there is standing water in the molapos far from the permanent wells.

3. ǂobe (autumn) -- The autumn season is brief. In [312] 1964, it fell in April after the rains had ceased. The weather remains warm and the high evaporation rates rapidly dry out the pools of summer water.

4. !gum (winter) -- This cold dry season extends from May through August. It is heralded by a sharp drop in nightly temperatures and during 1964 the Dobe area experienced six weeks of freezing or near-freezing nights in June and July. The days are clear and, by tropical standards, cool, often characterized by strong dessicating winds from the south and west with gusts estimated at up to 40 knots. [312] Water is available only at the permanent wells and plant foods [262] become increasingly scarce as the season progresses.

5. !gã (early spring) -- This season begins in late

V. SUBSISTENCE ECOLOGY: AN OVERVIEW OF PLANT AND ANIMAL RESOURCES

121 The concept of a hunting and gathering way of life has assumed a misleading connotation in the ethnographic literature. The term has come to imply a random precarious existence searching for food, an eking out of subsistence [433] of odds and ends. Since the present study is the first detailed analysis of the food habits of non-agricultural people, it should be stated at once that the Bushman subsistence is based on a systematic strategy of exploiting abundant food 222 resources. Very little of their food gathering is left to chance. Their knowledge of the local environment, of the habits of game and the growth phases of food plants is virtually exhaustive. In other words, the Bushmen know where the food is at each season of the year and they arrange their schedule of activities to take maximum advantage of these resources. They do not allow themselves to get into difficult situations, and even during the season of scarcity they have available several alternative strategies of getting food and water.

262 The security of their life is in part due to the fact 137 that the basis of their subsistence is plant foods which are 136 abundant, local and predictable. Meat is of secondary importance in the Bushman diet. Game animals, by contrast to

262 plants, are scarce and unpredictable and people never depend
137 on meat for their basic subsistance. Therefore the well-
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433 being of the Bushmen as a population can be viewed as the product of two factors: the abundance of food resources in their environment, and the intelligence and sophistication which informs their exploitation of these resources.

512 Although the getting of food is the major activity of
433 Bushman life and is a major focus of Bushman thought, the greater part of the waking life of the Bushmen is given over to social, religious and trading activities that are largely independent of the food quest.

Their emphasis on non-subsistence activities becomes clear when daily records are kept of the activities of the
[126] members of a camp. For example, a diary of activities was kept for the Dobe camp during July, 1964. This record was made during mid-winter, a season of comparative scarcity. It
[462] was found that the 23 adults of this camp spent less than half of their days in subsistence activities, an average of 23% of the time for the women and 40% of the time for the
[574] men. The majority of their waking hours were spent visiting
[521] other camps, entertaining visitors, resting, talking, hut building, and making tools, clothing, and ornaments.

Plant Resources

137 There are well over 200 species of plants and 220 species
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136 of animals named and known by the Dobe area Bushmen. Of
[126] these 420 species, 350 species were collected and identified
433 by the author. Two-thirds of the plant species and half of
824 the animal species are utilized by the Bushmen. Of these,
825 they classify 85 species of plants and 54 species of animals as edible. It is therefore evident that the Bushmen have a remarkably broad subsistence base. On closer examination, however, one finds that the Bushmen are highly selective in their food habits. In fact, only nine species of plants constituted about three-quarters of the total vegetable diet; and one species alone, the mongongo nut, accounted for at least half of the total. Furthermore, of the 54 animal species eaten, only 17 species were consistently hunted.

824 A plant species may be regarded by the Bushmen as a
262 major food for one or more of several reasons. Certain foods are prized because of their abundance or because of the long season during which they are available. Other foods are prized because of the ease with which they are collected. For this reason fruits are generally more popular than roots since the latter have to be dug out of the ground. Then there are foods which are especially good tasting and/or believed to be highly nutritious. The various plant foods are evaluated pragmatically and rationally and few species
825 are restricted by magico-religious taboos. This is in sharp
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311 area of each territory.

[312] Second, the area and shape of an individual territory is
[824] influenced by the distance between the important resources within it, such as water sources and mongongo nut forests. It is these point resources and not the spaces between them that are the significant features of the landscape.

Third, territories overlap each other and there is disagreement as to the ownership of these overlapping areas. Most Bushmen say that these areas are owned by all, which means, in effect, that they are owned by no one.

Each of these features will be discussed in detail.

1. <u>Hinterland</u> - It was mentioned earlier that the Dobe area
[312] was surrounded by a belt of uninhabited country. Except for a few summer months there is no standing water in this belt and, as a consequence, the Dobe area people rarely bother to hunt and gather within it. This outer belt is not lacking
[136] in food resources, however. Surveys of the country by Land-
[137] Rover indicate that the game and plant foods there are even more abundant than they are within the traditional territories. Why then are these resources so infrequently utilized?

311 The answer lies in the fact that the Bushmen can usually
312 satisfy their annual subsistence requirements within a radius
361 of 15-20 miles from their permanent waterholes. Whenever possible the Bushmen prefer to make their camp sites at

VIII. WATER AND THE SEASONAL ROUND

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137 The Kalahari desert is not a food poor area. Most of it is situated between the 10 and 20 inch isohyet and therefore it is marginal for cultivation (without irrigation), but the desert supports a remarkable abundance and variety of edible wild plants which have become genetically adapted to arid conditions.

Geographers have classified the Kalahari as "desert" because of the lack of surface water (Wellington 1955 etc.). This in turn is a function of the sandy terrain which supports surface water only during a brief summer season. In the few localities where the underlying geological formations are exposed, permanent standing water is found. And these point sources of water are usually surrounded by waterless belts of up to 200 miles in width. Edible plants on the other hand are widely distributed both in the immediate vicinity of water and at considerable distances from it. The geographical separation of food and water in certain seasons is the critical problem of !Kung Bushman subsistence.

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This is not a major problem during the rainy season when seasonal standing water may be found in close proximity to the concentrated food resources. Nor is this a major problem during the early winter when food is available around the

221
312 30 or more people) and Bantu cattle posts. These were located
361 at Characharaha, Mahito, !gun/isa and /wihabe. Map 18 illus-
[162] trates the distribution of population during the late summer
(March 1964).p. 159.

221 Life at the summer pans is, by Bushman standards, luxur-
• 137 ious because all of the major and minor fruits, berries,
433 melons and leafy greens become available. There is a succes-
222 sion of ripening of the major foods throughout the summer months. The first to ripen are the leafy greens (Dipcadi and Talinum), followed by the sour plums (Ximenia caffra and X. americana), then the melons (Citrullus lanatus and C. naudinianus), and the Grewia berries (Grewia flava comes first followed by six other species). By the time the plums have become scarce the melons are ready for eating. As the melons become worked out the Grewia berries ripen. Each of six species of Grewia comes into ripeness at a different time, so that every two weeks throughout the middle of summer another species of Grewia became ready for eating. Throughout the early part of the summer the mongongo nuts are available but these are the nuts from the previous year's fall. It is not until April that the current year's fall of nuts occurs. And then a new cycle of working out from the camp occurs. This illustrates again the selective gathering habits of the !Kung Bushmen.

132 highs in the 90's. The warmer weather heralds the onset of
312 spring which is the most difficult season of the year. Most
• 137 of the waterholes have no mongongo nuts within a ten mile
222 radius. The alternative foods, roots and bulbs, are being collected daily by some of the people, while others are making the long overnight journeys to the nut forests.

221 Since territories vary in the abundance of early spring
574 foods there was a noticeable tendency for families to visit
628 other camps. For instance in September, Bate still had a good supply of Sclerocarya caffra, nuts; and several families from Dobe, Mahopa, and !angwa converged upon Bate to eat these nuts. Similarly !ubi had a supply of Baobab fruits (Adansonia digititata) and other families made extended visits to relatives there. The maintenance of close ties between camps made possible a more equitable distribution of foodstuffs, so that, if there was scarcity at one camp, and food at another, the members of the first camp would not go hungry. This is one of the highly adaptive features of the fluidity of !Kung group structure.

[563] Some families fall back on the Herero villages at this
[431] time of year to beg for milk. This occurs especially among those people who have a sister or cousin married to a Bantu man. Both the Bushman and Herero codes of good manners demand that visiting in-laws be fed (L. Marshall 1961).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10.

and Middle Kalahari that it is scarcely possible to traverse parts of the country, and many routes can only be followed at such times as the pools have been filled by recent rain. H B 133

The winter climate is delightful. The heat during the other months is great, but there are occasional short, sudden, and therefore treacherous changes from extreme heat to cold. Malarial fever is prevalent, being particularly severe in the neighbourhood of the water-courses and other low-lying places, where during and immediately after the season of the heavy rains the dense bush, thick undergrowth, and rank vegetation afford excellent shelter to mosquitoes. The rainfall varies from about 8 inches in the south-west to more than 20 inches in the north and east; almost all the rain falls in the summer months, December to April, and chiefly in thunderstorms. Except in the north, none of this rainfall reaches the sea, the water being either evaporated directly or flowing into shallow depressions such as Lake Ngami and the Great Makarrikarri salt-pan. Over wide areas the country is so flat that the rain drains off partly in one direction, partly in another. H B 132 164

The principal river in the north is the Okavango, which, rising in the Angola highlands, flows into the Okavango marshes, a region about a hundred miles in length and from ten to fifty miles in width. From this reed-choked swamp the river at certain seasons overflows on the north into the Kwando and so reaches the Zambesi, and on the south into Lake Ngami and the Botletle River, which feeds the Makarrikarri depression and the great sandy plains of the north-east. During the rains the whole of this region is covered with wide stretches of water, often extending far beyond the horizon. The Nossob, Molopo, and Kuruman Rivers in the south, which formerly drained the greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari into the Orange River, are now for the most part sandy beds bordered with trees, and water is seldom found except towards their heads. At the present time no water leaves this part of the Kalahari except through evaporation. The country appears to be suffering from progressive desiccation, but there is said to be good evidence of an abundant supply of water not far beneath the surface. H B 133

The rainfall, though very small in the west and south, enables a fair amount of vegetation to flourish, chiefly grasses, shrubs, and trees, except in certain areas where the soil is too saline. The great plains, more especially in the south, are covered with tough sun-bleached Bushman grass (*Aristida brevifolia*), growing knee-high and giving H B 137

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10.

H
-B
137

the country the appearance of a vast cornfield. Considerable portions, chiefly in the west and north, are, however, covered with dense thorn bush, while in the north-west the whole region is well timbered and merges into thick tropical vegetation. Along the river beds throughout the country are dense thickets of Acacia (*detinens*, *giraffae*, and *karroo*), almost impenetrable in parts and often harbouring great numbers of wild animals. Large forest trees such as mopane, commiphora, and here and there baobabs are found in the north. Succulents, such as the *Aloe dichotoma* and *Euphorbia dinteri*, abound wherever there is rocky soil, while leguminous and bulbous plants are an important feature of the vegetation in all parts. The most remarkable of these plants is the well-known *tsama* melon (*Citrullus vulgaris*), which owing to its nutritive and thirst-quenching properties is a veritable staff of life in many parts of the country during the height of the dry season.

H
B
137

Towards the western border of the Kalahari, as the superficial deposits become thinner, ridges of rock make their appearance and become more and more numerous, the ground-level rises generally, and the region passes by degrees into the highlands of South-West Africa, which form the western edge of the vast interior plateau. This whole territory is practically one great series of undulating elevated plains, intersected by small mountain ranges, of which the Brandberg near the coast rises up as high as 8,277 feet above the sea.

In the far north-west is a chain of rugged mountains stretching south-east through the highland region of the Kaokoveld at a distance of 25 to 40 miles from the coast. Further inland the north-east Kaokoveld consists of an elevated plain, sloping abruptly towards the Kunene River and Ovamboland; from it hills emerge to the south and west. Ovamboland, which shares the characteristics of the Kalahari region, is a slightly undulating sandy plain, intersected by a number of shallow watercourses filled by the Kunene overflow and draining to the Etosha Pan. Towards the south of the Kaokoveld there is a general decrease in height. This southern portion, a country of steep, rocky hills with narrow valleys, passes over to the east into the Karst region, for the greater part a wide plain sloping gently towards the Etosha Pan and characterized by the formations associated with dolomitic limestone. The usual features of this kind of country are met with: sink holes, subterranean caverns and springs, and the absence of defined waterways, due to the porous character of the surface covering.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

H B 133 flow for any considerable distance. For the rest of the time they have water only below the bed or in pools. Away from these sandy beds water as a rule is extremely hard to find. After heavy rains great hollows in the rocks are filled with water which is a blessing to any traveller passing that way, and there are also vleis and depressions which hold water for a short while. Springs, however, are few and far between, and then generally occur in the river-courses.

H B 137 Corresponding to the variation in the rainfall there is a variation in the character of the vegetation. In the extreme south for a considerable distance semi-desert conditions prevail, the arid, stony plateaus and plains supporting a sparse growth of grass and small, scrubby bushes, including the different species of *Grevia* which produce the wild berries so much used by all the natives as food. In heavy rainy seasons, however, nutritious grasses and flowers spring up everywhere. The river-courses are clothed with trees, especially the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Kokerboom (*Aloe dichotoma*), and in all of them, too, the South American *Nicotiana glauca Grah.*, the wild tobacco plant, is found as a straggly, weedy shrub or tree. Northwards the veld assumes the characteristics of the Karroo until Rehoboth is reached, when it changes into park-like grass country studded with large thorn trees, being especially well timbered along the watercourses. From the mountainous portions of the Windhoek district northwards towards Omaruru the country is covered with level bush with an undergrowth of very nutritious grass, the valleys and watercourses being well wooded mostly with Acacia trees, especially the Kameeldoorn. Towards the north the bush becomes denser until it is fairly well timbered all over. In its northernmost section it is traversed by belts of open Mopane forest, and towards the Okavango fertile tropical vegetation is abundant. Numerous kinds of fruits, roots, and tubers used by the natives as food are found over the whole region, but most abundantly in the north. The edible bulbs belong for the most part to the *Iradaceae* family, while the tubers are generally *Asclepiads*, though the *Cyperaceae* and the *Oxalidae* also furnish succulent tuber-like growths.

H B 132 133 South of the Orange River the rocky western edge of the great interior plateau is extended into the highlands of Little Namaqualand in the Cape Province. With scanty soil and low rainfall (5 to 15 inches) this region shares the characteristics of the southern portion of South-West Africa. Short perennial streams are found in the Kamiesberg, but the mountainous country enclosed by the great bend

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX 10.

of the Orange River is very dry. The level arid plain of Bushmanland further east is essentially a continuation of the Kalahari, from which it is separated by the deep rocky valley of the Orange River. The summer rainfall is low (5 to 10 inches), increasing gradually from the west eastwards; there is practically no surface water, and the soil is usually bare, stony or sandy. The river-beds are mostly dry throughout the greater part of the year, and the Orange River is the only one that always contains water. The general aspect of the vegetation both here and in Namaqualand is that of widely-separated xerophytic shrubs and bushes, with a fair proportion of succulent plants in the low-lying valleys and on the rocky outcrops. Grasses do not form a conspicuous feature, but they occur on the high plateaus and sandy plains, where the vegetative period is short, and where they always assume a tufted habit. H B 132 133 H B. 137

Further south and east is the Upper or Northern Karroo, an arid tract of country stretching northwards to the Orange River at an elevation of between 2,800 and 6,000 feet above sea-level. It is bounded on the west by the Roggeveld, on the south by the Nieuweveld and Sneeuwberg ranges, which form part of the great escarpment of the interior plateau. The landscape appears for the most part in the form of vast treeless plains, only here and there broken by table-topped hills boldly scarped by sandstone and dolerite sheets, while occasionally dark ridges, the outcrops of inclined sheets of dolerite, are seen traversing the country for many miles. H B 133

The region is exposed to great extremes of temperature. Severe frosts are experienced in the winter nights, while the summer heats are correspondingly severe, reaching at times to 110° F. in the shade. The feeling of oppression at such times is increased by the hot westerly winds which predominate during the first half of summer, although the nights are cool even during the periods of greatest heat. The winter days, on the other hand, are very enjoyable, the air being keen and bright with a maximum of sunshine. There is a wide range of rainfall, from less than 5 inches in the north-west to 25 inches in the east; the greater part of this falls in violent summer thunderstorms, and almost all the water runs off the sun-baked soil into deep gullies which hurry it off to the sea. Severe droughts are common, and the streams are all intermittent. The soil is shallow and rock-strewn, except in the alluvial tracts in the valley bottoms, and surface limestone becomes an important feature in the drier parts of the region. Pans are abundant, and a striking feature in the low-grade H B 132 H B 133 134

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

H B 133 134

valleys of the north-west are the wide "vloers" of Carnarvon and Calvinia, more or less well-defined flat areas a few miles wide and thinly covered with brackish silt.

H B 137 311

Owing to the great range in rainfall and altitude there is a considerable diversity of conditions in this region. While the north-western parts are little better than desert, the more favoured districts to the south and east are well covered with permanently-occupied farms, although agriculture is restricted to the alluvial tracts. The vegetation is everywhere of a semi-desert character. The greater part of the country supports only a sparse and incomplete covering of shrublets and stunted, skeleton-like bushes, most of which belong to the family *Compositae*. In spite of their unpromising appearance when burnt up by the rays of the summer sun, they afford excellent sustenance for stock even in the driest seasons, and at the present time they provide nourishment to millions of sheep and goats, supporting one of the great wool growing industries of the world. Thorny plants, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants abound in places, but trees, principally Acacias, appear as a rule only along the dry sandy river-beds. Grasses are frequent in the rainy season, but nowhere form the dominant feature of the vegetation.

H B 132 133 137

The High Veld of the Orange Free State and the Southern Transvaal is essentially an extension eastwards of the Upper Karroo, but has a much better rainfall. Lying for the most part over 5,000 feet above sea-level, and with an invigorating climate, it is perhaps the most favourable region in the Union for a white population. The rainfall ranges from about 20 to 35 inches, and occurs principally during the summer months in thunderstorms. The winters are dry and cold, and severe frosts are by no means uncommon. The streams are often perennial. The country generally presents a most monotonous type of scenery, consisting of vast rolling plains, although as one travels westward towards drier regions the surface becomes flatter or more varied by steep-sided flat-topped hills. It is essentially grass country and for the most part devoid of indigenous trees, except along the river-banks, which are frequently clothed with willows and mimosas; shrubs are found on the koppies, while growing among the grasses are large numbers of bulbous and tuberous plants.

The Coastal Regions

H B 133

The country between the escarpment and the ocean is considerably smaller than the interior plateau, but as regards climate and structure

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10.

it presents as much diversity. Along the west coast from the Olifants River northwards as far as the Kunene stretches a desolate and barren wilderness, well deserving the name of "Namib" or desert by which it is known in South-West Africa. This arid tract varies in width from 18 miles in the north to about 85 miles towards the south, and the ground-level rises gradually and evenly from the sea to the plateau. The greater part of the surface is covered by drifting sand dunes, which stretch in wave after wave to the horizon; here and there low gravelly hills and ridges of hard rock project through the mantle of sand, while in places gravel plains and sandy flats vary the monotonous billow of the landscape. The belt of dunes is widest and most continuous south of the Swakop, some of them reaching a height of 300 feet and over; further north they are at once much less continuous and much lower, and the country east of them is more broken. The Northern Namib is further distinguished from the Southern by the presence of watercourses which have kept an open channel to the sea. H B 133

The cold Benguella current sweeping the coast from the Antarctic is primarily responsible for the aridity of this region. The coast is dominated by cool winds from south and south-west for about 50 miles inland, although there are occasional very hot winds from the east during the dry season. The winds blowing inland over the cold water lose a considerable amount of their moisture, which hangs as a dense mist over the coastal border almost all the year round, but especially heavily in winter. The Namib in consequence is a practically rainless desert, the mean annual rainfall at Walvis Bay, for instance, being 0·3 inches, and at Port Nolloth 2·17 inches. The temperature, lowered by the Antarctic current, is fairly constant. Port Nolloth in the south, with a mean annual temperature of 57·5°, has the least annual range of temperature in South Africa; February the warmest month has a temperature of only 60·1°, while July the coolest month averages 54·2°. H B 132

The result of the deficient rainfall is a very scanty, intensely xerophytic vegetation. The plants are stunted and dwarfed, and nowhere form a conspicuous covering to the earth. Here and there considerable areas are almost entirely devoid of vegetation, although along much of the coastal border the wet and heavy sea fog maintains a sparse cover of bush on the sandy ground. From about 25 miles inland the landscape is characterized by such plants as the milk bush (*Euphorbia*) and cacti, while towards the east, in years of abundant rainfall, the country is fairly well grassed. In the river beds rich H B. 137

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

verdure may be found, such as various Acacias, the principal of which are the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Ana (*Acacia albida*). The leaves and pods of the latter provide the staple food for the cattle, sheep and goats in these parts. Other characteristic vegetable growths are the inflammable candle bush (*Sarcocaulon Burmanni*) and, in the area inland from Walvis Bay, the famous *!naras* (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*), a leafless cucurbitaceous plant with an edible melon-like fruit which when in season forms practically the sole article of diet of the natives. In one or two spots is found the most remarkable of all, the unique gymnosperm, *Welwitschia mirabilis*, which during a long lifetime produces only two pairs of leaves.

At the Olifants River commences another tract of country, characterized by mountains of the folded type, which extend in parallel ranges, separated by wide valleys, over the whole southern portion of the Cape Province as far east as Humansdorp. From the narrow coastal strip fringing this tract the ground rises more or less abruptly to the mountains of the Folded Belt. To the west the rise is gradual through the fertile Goudini valley of Worcester district; further eastward the vegetation and climate partake more and more of the Karroo character, the Oudtshoorn valley and the many kloofs to the east being generally known as the Southern Karroo. The scenery here rapidly changes to bare uninteresting veld, traversed by deep gullies which are generally dry in the summer. In all directions the landscape is bounded by barren-looking mountains, whose steep, rocky sides appear from a distance to be entirely destitute of vegetation. Nothing can exceed the contrast between the scenery on the opposite slopes of the coast ranges: the traveller from the south, after ascending through luxuriant vegetation, frequently clothed in mist, emerges suddenly into a region of precipices and rocks, where rain may not have fallen for months. The soil in the valleys, however, is fertile when it can be brought under irrigation.

The total annual rainfall is by no means deficient, the average for the region being about 29·5 inches, although it varies greatly according to locality. The average for the Cape Peninsula is 40 inches, most of it falling on the eastern side of Table Mountain. Immediately to the east of Cape Town and as far as Knysna there is a decrease to between 15 and 20 inches. The rainfall then becomes more abundant, the well-wooded Knysna itself being one of the best-watered districts of South Africa, with an average rainfall of 40 inches. Further inland, except on the mountain slopes, the rainfall is much less, and the range

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

of temperature is somewhat greater. Most of the rains fall during the winter (April to September), when the temperature, though mild, is still relatively low. The summer is the dry season, and long droughts regularly recur. H B 132

These climatic conditions have resulted in the production of a peculiar and characteristic type of vegetation. The dominant plants are evergreen shrubs some three to six feet high, usually with small, stiff, leathery leaves. Between the shrubs are many smaller plants, numbers of which possess bulbs, tubers or other subterranean organs storing up quantities of water and food substances. The sandy plains support a dwarf, heath-like vegetation, while the marshy hollows, the stream margins, mountain ravines and mountain summits all possess their own peculiar plant forms. The families characteristic of this region include the *Proteaceae*, to which belong many of the evergreen shrubs, among them the well-known silver tree (*Leucadendron argenteum*) of the Cape Peninsula and the sugar bush (*Protea mellifera*); the *Restionaceae*, a family of grass-like plants which largely take the place of true grasses in this region, though many of the latter occur as well; and the *Ericaceae* (heath family), which are very numerous and often strikingly beautiful. Forest patches are found in the kloofs and seaward sides of the mountains, the largest area of more or less continuous forest in the Union lying between the Outeniqua Mountains and the sea, extending from George through Knysna to the Humansdorp district. They are composed almost entirely of high timber trees, the more common being species of yellow wood, cedar, ebony, stinkwood, ironwood, and sneezewood. H B 137

The last natural region with which we are concerned is the Central or Great Karroo of the Cape Province. Lying at a level of from 1,500 to 3,000 feet above the sea, it stretches as a gently-undulating plain from the foot-hills of the Folded Belt to the mountains forming part of the great escarpment in the north. On the west it extends to the valley of the Olifants River, while in the east the Sundays River may be taken as marking its limit. The mountains of the Folded Belt rob the rain-bearing winds from the sea of their moisture, and so give rise to the aridity of this region. The rainfall is scanty, the annual mean being less than 5 inches in the west, although it increases to 15 inches in the centre and east. The surface soil is shallow, hard, and compact; the river-courses are dry, except during the brief periods of rainfall in the summer, when the bulk of the water is rushed off immediately to the sea. In the dry season the whole region presents H B 133 132 H B [134]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

H B 133 132 [137] H 8 [312 492]

a most desolate appearance. Verdure is entirely wanting, the numerous gullies are empty, and the low ranges of ironstone koppies which dot the plains seem to reflect the heat as from a mirror. The vegetation is composed very largely of drought-resisting thorn bushes, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants. Grasses appear only in exceptionally wet years, while trees are usually absent, except along the dry river-courses and on the mountain slopes in the east, where the rainfall is highest. Till the early years of the nineteenth century the Great Karroo was regarded as a desert unfit for man or beast; since then well-sinking and donkey transport have bettered the conditions, and the region has gradually become occupied.

Fauna

H B 136

The great variety of habitat provided by the country taken as a whole has naturally favoured the development of a varied and abundant fauna.[1] South Africa has long been renowned for the wealth of its larger forms of animal life, although with the advance of European settlement and colonization the numbers have been rapidly reduced, particularly of certain classes of big game. The native inhabitants had certainly done something to reduce the numbers and affect the distribution of the fauna, but a balance had been reached which still left the country richly stocked. The Cape was full of game when the first European settlers established themselves there 250 years ago, and in their gradual spread inland the white men found the same abundance of fine forms of animal life in each new tract of country that they entered. A few decades were enough to convert each newly-opened district from a hunter's paradise into a stock-farming country, and the increase of veld-burning carried the destruction into other zones of life. But over large parts of South Africa the face of the country itself has been little changed on the whole, and a good deal of the original fauna has survived, even on much of the enclosed land.

The mammalian fauna is, or rather was, characterized by the great abundance and variety of antelopes, the presence of such remarkable "living fossils" as the elephant, giraffe, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and aardvark, as well as of the buffalo, zebra, and quagga, and the abundance of carnivora, large and small. During the eighteenth

[1] An excellent short account is given by Dr. E. L. Gill, "Descriptive Sketch of the Fauna of South Africa," *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 9, pp. 31–41. Cf. also Passarge, op. cit., pp. 78–86.

141

141 ANTHROPOMETRY--mean, range, and sex distribution of physical measurements (e.g., stature, weight, span, length of limbs); indices (e.g., cephalic, nasal); etc. See also:

Postures . . . . . 516 Conception of ideal bodily proportions . . . 826

/135 cont./

144 (Ngamiland): "I should like to observe briefly that the Kalahari
197 Bushmen are low in my estimation, both in respect to their language and to their appearance; I was able to confirm an extremely close relationship with the Nama [Hottentot], but in an old dialect no longer spoken today."

Since I lack the knowledge for making anthropological
141 measurements, I shall confine myself to /136/ presenting several ≠Auin types as I observed them. They may not be without value for comparative purposes.

I should like to add that in measuring physical height I obtained the following results:

Adult men (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.51 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.62	meters
Minimum height	1.47	meters

Adult women (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.45 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.53	meters
Minimum height	1.38	meters

A. Geography and Statistics

The ≠Auin, as they call themselves and as they are known to
131 the neighboring Bushmen tribes, inhabit that part of the central Kalahari which is more or less immediately bounded by the watering places Rietfontein, Ganab, Gam, Sidonitzaub, Otjiamangombe, Tjumda, Epukiro, Oas, Stampriet, Rooigrauwater, and Habakobis. Their territory lies for the greater part within the boundaries of the German protectorate. The adjoining sketch indicates as accurately as possible the geographic location, as well as the approximate territory of the neighboring Bushmen tribes. The
101 Hottentot designate the ≠Auin as ≠Au-San (Schinz), the inhabitants of the Chanse Veld as ≠Aukwé (Passarge), the Betschuana [Tswana] as Makaukau. The approximate number of Auin (1),

[104]

1. For the sake of simplicity I shall from now on omit the initial mark ≠, which indicates the click.

/241 cont./

128 Tables giving all the /242/ measurements for each individual, are attached, as are forms for the observations concerning the descriptive characteristics of the individuals measured.

141 The average values for the adults measured are as follows:

	Men	Women
1. Body height	155.3	149.7
2. Height of the chin above the ground	135.7	130.6

142 291 301 342 516

Fig. 1. Heikum Bushmen. Men.

3. Height of the navel above the ground	93.2	90.4
4. Height of the upper edge of the symphysis above the ground	82.2	79.6
[Fig. 1 appears here.]		
5. Height of the acromion above the ground	130.5	124.9
6. Height of the elbow joint above the ground	99.9	96.5
7. Height of the projection of the radius above the ground	76.0	73.4

/242 cont./

141

	Men	Women
8. Height of the tip of the Middle finger above the ground	59.0	56.8
9. Height of the ridge of the ilium above the ground	95.9	93.2
10. Height of the spine of the ilium above the ground	90.1	86.7
11. Height of the knee joint above the ground	43.3	41.2
12. Height of the inner ankle point above the ground	6.4	5.5
13. Height above the ground of the spinal process of the seventh neck vertebra	136.2	129.6
14. Width of the shoulders (acromion distance)	31.1	30.0
15. Distance between the two spines of the ilium	18.4	17.7
/243/		
16. Width between the two ridges of the ilium	21.9	20.9
17. Width between the trochanters	25.5	25.4
18. Circumference of the thorax at the level of the arm pits	76.1	69.3
19. Circumference of the waist	75.7	72.9
20. Circumference of the upper thigh	41.6	40.5
21. Circumference of the calf	28.6	26.5
22. Height of the crown of the head above the seat	77.0	75.6
23. Length of the skull	17.9	17.8
24. Width of the skull	13.6	13.1
[Fig. 2 appears here.]		
25. Diameter of the skull from the crown to the protuberance of the back of the head	16.3	15.7
26. Width between the projection of the two cheek bones	12.2	12.1
27. Width between the outer corners of the eyes	8.5	8.5

4: Werner--4 D-5 (ca. 1900) 1906 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Heikum

/243 cont./	Men	Women
28. Width between the inner corners of the eyes	3.6	3.5
29. Width of the mouth	4.7	4.5
30. Width between the two jaw angles	9.5	8.8
31. Distance from the chin to the root of the nose	9.8	9.6

[291] [342]

Fig. 2. Heikum Bushmen. Women.

32. Distance from the chin to the hairline	16.6	15.9
33. Length of the nose	4.0	3.9
34. Width of the nose	4.1	3.8
/244/		
35. Distance from the chin to the tragus	13.3	12.3
36. Distance from the root of the nose to the tragus	11.7	11.3
37. Length of the thumb	5.1	5.1
38. Length of the middle finger	8.4	8.2
39. Width of the hand where the fingers join	6.8	6.5
40. Length of the foot	22.6	21.5

4: Werner--5 D-5 (ca. 1900) 1906 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Heikum

/244 cont./

	Men	Women
141 41. Width of the foot	8.4	7.7
42. Longitudinal curvature of the head	36.2	35.5
43. Horizontal circumference of the head	53.8	51.9
44. Vertical circumference of the head	28.9	28.3
45. Arm span	158.6	151.0

Proportional figures. Body length = 100.

I.	Height of the navel above the ground	60.01	60.5
II.	Height of the symphysis above the ground	52.9	53.1
III.	Height of the crown of the head above the seat	49.54	50.5
IV.	Height of the anterior superior ilium spine above the ground	58.02	57.92
V.	Half the arm span	51.06	50.43
VI.	Acromial width	20.03	20.04
VII.	Width of the hip	16.42	16.91
VIII.	Length of the arm	46.04	45.49
IX.	Length of the upper arm	19.64	18.97
X.	Length of the lower arm	15.45	15.45
XI.	Length of the hand	10.95	11.09
XII.	Length of the leg	55.12	54.91
XIII.	Length of the upper leg	27.24	27.39
XIV.	Length of the lower leg	23.76	23.85
XV.	Height of the foot	4.12	3.67
XVI.	Length of the foot	14.55	14.36
XVII.	Circumference of the chest	49.0	46.3
XVIII.	Circumference of the waist	48.68	48.69

/244 cont./

Indices

	Men	Women
141 I. Skull index	76.3	73.5
II. Average index of the skulls of all adults measured	74.77	
III. Physiognomic face index	76.44	76.1
IV. Physiognomic nose index	102.5	97.44

147 [146] The state of nutrition of those examined may in general be called inadequate, and the amount of fat slight. Even among younger individuals the skin is strikingly slack and can be grasped in wide folds. One has the impression that there is a connection between this slackness of the skin and the extreme fluctuation in the saturation of the tissues, which is the rule since the Bushmen experience frequent and long-lasting thirsts. The men assured me that they could march without water for four days in great heat, a statement which surely deserves to be credited.

142 The skin color of all those examined, with the exception of two in whose case racial mixture is a possibility, is a brown of medium tone shading over into yellow.

The palms of the hand and soles of the feet are a lighter color, but do not show such a striking contrast with the back of the hand as is the case among the Bantu /245/ Negroes. The skin of the chest and abdomen has a slightly darker coloration than that of the face. Scars are very common, especially on the chest and abdomen, and [513] usually stem from burns to which the Bushmen readily expose themselves by sitting and sleeping near the open fire. These scars have a lighter tinge than the surrounding skin and look almost pure yellow.

The iris of all those examined is deep brown in color.

Compared with Europeans, the hair growth of the Bushmen is very modest. It is confined almost entirely to the skull; beards are found only on a few men and even then they are sparse. Hair elsewhere on the body, including the arm pits and pubic hair, is practically nonexistent.

The color of the hair on the head is a deep black. The individual hairs grow to a length of about four centimeters for men and about six centimeters for women. The hair is fine and curled in a spiral. The curvature radius of the spiral amounts to about two

/249 cont./

To indicate affirmation the head is thrown back and the
201 eyebrows are raised.

Otherwise, the physiognomic changes of expression are essentially like those of Europeans. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Bushman's facial mobility is considerably greater than that of a European, and even quite weak emotions are expressed by lively gestures.

If I may be permitted, I should like to emphasize here a
194 peculiarity of voice among the Bushmen; among the women especially the voice seems to me abnormally high-pitched. In my opinion the speech of a Heikum woman is pitched several notes higher, on the average, than that of a Herero woman. Evidently this peculiarity is connected with the smallness of the larynx of the Heikum people.

The anthropometric figures presented above are doubtless much
● 141 smaller than comparable ones for the Herero, Nama, and
144 Bergdamara [Bergdama] living in the immediate vicinity of the Bushmen. Nonetheless, as regards smallness, the Heikum certainly do not approach the Pygmies of Central Africa. Whether further ethnological and ethnographic investigations will uncover kindred traits among these peoples remains to be shown by further research.
144 That the Bushmen represent an almost pure race is apparent from the fact that the skin color is the same for almost all individuals, and from the evident uniformity in the structure of the body, especially of the face. In addition, the other native tribes of Southwest Africa show a pronounced aversion to racial mixture with the despised Bushmen.

I come now to some ethnological and ethnographic observa-
535 tions which to me seem worthy of interest. I was especially
[171] interested in the dances of the Heikum, of which one, the //o //au, shows no similarity to any other native dance with which I have become acquainted in Southwest and East Africa.

The //o //au dance (in Kung language: //ooskê) is a men's dance in which a series of dueling runs by the performing dancers are represented (Figs. 5 and 6). Six men, three to a side in opposing pairs, kneel in an area about three meters square, with a free space between the two rows. In the middle of this free area there is a pile of veld food. The men kneel down, hunched very

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

LORNA MARSHALL · *The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert*[1]

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION · The Bushmen live in those parts of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa that lie in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate, in South West Africa, and in southeastern Angola. A few additional remnants of Bushman groups still exist in Northern Rhodesia and at Lake Chrissie in South Africa. In the past Bushmen had a much wider distribution.[2]

Many Bushmen live among, and some work for, the Bantu-speaking tribes in settlements where sufficient water resources have been developed to support cattle, and some Bushmen work for white farmers in the Ghanzi area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in South West Africa. However, many still live in small, independent, nomadic groups, widely dispersed in the vast areas of the desert.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise population count of the Bushmen, but a recent estimate gathered from various contemporary sources (Tobias 1956) indicates that in 1955 there were 55,531 Bushmen.[3] These figures are higher than any previously propounded (cf. Schapera 1939) and come as a surprise to many.

The Bushmen are linked with the Hottentots, a southern African people who resemble them physically and with whom they have linguistic affiliations, but who are a pastoral people with a more complex social structure. Bushmen and Hottentots together are called the *Khoisan* peoples, a coined term combining the Hottentots' term for themselves (*Khoi*) and their name for the Bushmen (*San*). The Khoisan peoples have been referred to as a distinct race (Murdock 1959: 8) or, as Howells puts it, "a major racial variety of man" (1959:306). The obscurity of their origins and racial affinities are in themselves subjects in which research continues and interesting postulations engage the attention of scientists in various fields.[4]

PHYSICAL FEATURES · The physical features of the Bushmen have drawn much attention from anthropologists. Bushmen are of small stature (adult males average approximately five feet, two inches) WITH YELLOWISH BROWN SKIN THAT BECOMES HEAVILY WRINKLED IN OLD AGE.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

Chapter III

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS: DRESS AND DECORATION

Physical Characters of the Bushmen

In appearance there are many features which readily distinguish the Bushmen from all the other inhabitants of South Africa save the Hottentots, and which may therefore be taken as characteristic of them. These distinctive features are best seen in the Bushmen south of the Molopo River, who may be regarded as purest in type. The tribes further north have all been affected to some extent by racial intermixture with other peoples, and tend consequently to vary in certain respects. But they are fundamentally of the same racial stock.[1] 144

The most conspicuous feature in the appearance of the Southern Bushmen is their small stature. Accurate measurements are unfortunately very scanty. The most reliable figures are those given by Fritsch, who found that the average height of 6 men was 144·4 cm., and of 5 women 144·8 cm.[2] Von Luschan, who claimed to have measured 41 racially pure individuals, did not publish his figures in detail, but states that the average stature of both men and women is about 140 cm., and the maximum for pure-blooded people 146 cm.[3] Older but less trustworthy measurements give an even lower average. It may safely be taken therefore that the average stature is not more than 145 cm., but whether it is the same in both men and women must, in the absence of adequate data, be regarded as questionable. 141

North of the Molopo the stature increases. No figures are available

[1] The best descriptions of the physical characters of the Bushmen are to be found in: G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 1872, pp. 396–410; R. Virchow, "Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1886, 221–39; H. Werner, "Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxviii (1906), 241–68; R. Pöch, "Die Stellung der Buschmannrasse unter den übrigen Menschenrassen," *KorrBl. deuts. Ges. Anthrop.*, xlii (1911), 75–80; F. Seiner, "Beobachtungen und Messungen an Buschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xliv (1912), 275–88; *idem*, "Beobachtungen an den Bastard-Buschleuten der Nord-Kalahari," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, xliii (1913), 311–24; *idem*, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung der Omaheke," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 225–316; F. von Luschan, "Pygmäen und Buschmänner," *Z. Ethn.*, xlvi (1914), 154–76; R. Martin, "Zur Anthropologie der Buschmänner," in E. Kaiser, *Die Diamantenwüste Südwestafrikas*, 1926, vol. ii, pp. 436–90 and bibliography; L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, pp. 186–211 and bibliography.

[2] Op. cit., 397.

[3] Op. cit., 155.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

141 for the Bushmen immediately north of this river, but Pöch, who measured some of them, says that on the whole they are taller than the Southern tribes.[1] Among the Auen further north Kaufmann found that the average height of the men is 151·5 cm. (min. 147, max. 162) and of the women 145·5 cm. (min. 138, max. 153). He does not state the number of measurements taken.[2] For the Naron Schinz gives 157 cm. as the average stature of 50 individuals, with a minimum of 149 cm. and a maximum of 167; he does not mention their sex, but from the context it is clear that they were all males.[3] Mr. Drury, of the South African Museum, measured some members of this tribe at Sandfontein, and his figures[4] give an average of 157 cm. for 16 men, which agrees exactly with that obtained by Schinz, and of 150·1 cm. for 13 women.

Fuller data are available for the Kung and Heikum, of whom a large number were measured by Seiner. Among the Kung the average stature of 74 men measured by him was 156·4 cm. (min. 142·2, max. 171·3) and of 18 women 148·2 cm. (min. 138·2, max. 158·3), while in the case of the Heikum he found the average stature of 15 men to be 152·5 cm. (min. 148·6, max. 168·3).[5] Werner's figures for the Heikum are slightly higher; the average height of the 14 men measured by him was 155·3 cm., and of the 17 women 149·7 cm.[6] Further north, among the !O Kung of Angola, the stature increases slightly. Of the 22 men measured by Miss Bleek the tallest was 170 cm. in height, the shortest 145·5 cm., and the average stature 159·3 cm., while among the same number of women the tallest was 161·3 cm. in height, the shortest 135, and the average 148·8 cm.[7]

It will be noticed that in these tribes there is an appreciable difference in height between the two sexes. The average for men ranges between about 152 and 159 cm., and that for women between about 145 and 150 cm. The lowest averages are found among the Auen to the south, and the highest among the !O Kung, who are the most northerly of these tribes.

No detailed measurements have been recorded for the Bushmen of the Eastern Kalahari, but Dornan says of the Hiechware that they are " taller than the Cape Bushmen and quite as tall as the Bechuanas.

[1] " Reisen im Innern Südafrikas zum Studium der Buschmänner," *Z. Ethn.*, xlii (1910), 359.
[2] " Die Auin," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 136.
[3] *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 1891, p. 393.
[4] Obtained by courtesy of the South African Museum.
[5] *Z. Ethn.*, xliv (1912), 277. [6] Op. cit., 242.
[7] " Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928), 108.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Such individuals as I have measured ranged from 5 ft. 2 in. [157·5 cm.] up to 5 ft. 9 in. [175·3 cm.]. A few were below or above these figures, but the average height may be taken at 5 ft. 5 in." [168 cm.].[1] Elsewhere he adds that "the women are usually considerably shorter than the men; those that I have measured ranged from 4 ft. 9¾ in. [146·8 cm.] up to 5 ft. 2½ in." [158·8 cm.], and he gives 5 ft. 2 in. [157·5 cm.] as their average height.[2] The Hukwe and the Galikwe apparently attain to a still greater stature. Both Livingstone and Chapman speak of individuals fully 6 ft. tall (183 cm.), and the latter places the average stature of the "MaDenassena", i.e. Galikwe, at 5 ft. 10 in. (177·8 cm.).[3] According to Seiner the members of this tribe range in stature between 162 and 184 cm.,[4] and Wilhelm says of the Hukwe that statures of between 170 and 190 cm. must be regarded as normal.[5] 141

These figures show that on the whole the Bushmen north of the Molopo are distinctly taller than their Southern relatives, and it is evident that the further north and east we go the taller do they become. It has been suggested by several writers that this increase in stature is due to better conditions of subsistence. It is hardly justifiable, however, to assume that the Bushmen living within or on the borders of the Kalahari Desert could obtain better nourishment than those in the Cape, where water and food supply are on the whole much more favourable. It seems rather that we must look upon the pygmy stature of the Southern Bushmen as a true racial characteristic, and that the increased stature of the Northern tribes must be attributed to the influence of racial intermixture with other and taller peoples. This conclusion is borne out by several other features, of which the most evident perhaps is skin coloration. 144

In the Southern Bushmen the skin colour varies from light yellow to brownish-yellow. In the tribes just north of the Molopo some families are of the same colour, while others have darker tinges of varying shades—a patently new mixture. The Auen, Naron, and Kung have a fairly constant reddish-brown colour, although individuals incline more to yellow or to black. Among the !O Kung, according to Miss Bleek, some individuals are blackish-yellow, others reddish-brown or copper colour, others again are almost black, although 142 144

[1] "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas)," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 43.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 1925, p. 79.
[3] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in S. Africa*, 1857, p. 165; J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of S. Africa*, 1868, vol. i, p. 46.
[4] *Mitt. deutz. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 299.
[5] *Z. EingebSpr.*, xii (1922), 300.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

142 lighter in shade than the Bantu of the same region; and she adds
144 that in Bushman-Bantu crosses the first generation of children may be either yellowish or blackish, while later generations, where both parents have a little Bantu blood, show the reddish-brown colour which distinguishes these Northern Bushmen from the Southern.[1] The colour of the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, says Dornan, "is usually darker than in the typical Bushman, but even it is not constant. I have met individuals of the brownish-yellow colour of the Southern Bushmen, and even amongst these there were individuals of a very dark type."[2] The same range of variation is found among the North-Eastern tribes, where, however, the dominant shade is a dark chocolate colour approaching that of the Bantu.

141 It appears moreover that the light-coloured individuals in the tribes
142 just north of the Molopo are comparatively short, while the darker
144 individuals are all of greater height. The same is probably true of the Hiechware, while Kaufmann writes of the Auen that the band living at Gam, in the northernmost part of the tribal territory, consists almost entirely of proportionately tall individuals, whose colour is darker than that of the rest of the tribe.[3] If these observations are accurate, and they need to be tested by statistical investigation, they would provide an excellent indication of the lines along which the still necessary detailed study may be made of the variations produced in the physical characters of the Bushmen by intermixture with other peoples. In any case, if we bear in mind the advance of the Bantu peoples from the north-east and the extent to which the different Bushman tribes have therefore been exposed to contact with them, it need occasion no surprise that the most northern and eastern tribes show on the whole the greatest stature and darkest colour.

Seiner, indeed, definitely terms the Bushman tribes of the Northern Kalahari "Bastard-Buschleute". His general remarks on their characteristics may be quoted as a concise statement of the extent to which mixture with other peoples has taken place in this region. "Das Gebiet der Bastard-Buschleute," he says,[4] "liegt ganz in der südlichen Zone der Nord-Kalahari, zwischen dem südangolesischen Hochland und dem Kaokoveld einerseits, sowie dem Matabeleland und Nordost-Rhodesia anderseits . . . Dieses Gebiet wird durch den Okawango in einen grossen westlichen und in einen kleineren

[1] "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop.*, N.F. xxi (1927), 48.
[2] *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 42.
[3] Op. cit., 316.
[4] *Mitt. deutz. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 283–4.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

östlichen Teil geschieden. Während nun in der westlichen Bastardzone, sowie in der Süd- und Mittel-Kalahari die Buschmannstämme mehr von Hottentotten als von Negern durchdrungen sind, ist die Zersetzung der Buschmannrasse in der östlichen Zone, dem Okawango-Sambesi-Gebiet, häuptsächlich auf die Vermischung mit Bantu zurückzuführen. Der eigentliche Rassentypus ist wohl sehr verwischt, kommt aber in der Mehrzahl der Fälle doch so stark zum Ausdruck, dass man diese Bastarde unbedingt zu den Buschleuten rechnen muss. Die Individuen neigen in Physiognomie und Wuchs bald mehr dem Neger, bald mehr dem Buschmann zu. Zwischen dem eckigen Buschmannkopf und dem runden Schädel des Negers sind die verschiedensten Verbindungen vorhanden, und von der fahlgelben bzw. rötlichgelben Hautfarbe der Buschleute bis zur rötlichschwarzbraunen Farbe der Neger zeigen sich zahlreiche Übergänge. Bereits Livingstone berichtet, dass die nördlich des Ngamisees, also in der Nord-Kalahari, lebenden Buschleute grösser, kräftiger und dunkelfarbiger seien als jene der südlichen Steppen. Tatsächlich sind in der östlichen Bastardzone Menschen von 170 cm. häufig, und diese Beobachtung war auch der Hauptgrund, dieses Menschengruppe nicht ohne weiteres als Buschleute anzuerkennen, da die Variationsbreite der Körpergrösse der letzteren zwischen 140 bis 160 cm. liegt. Am Okawango, an dem die westlichen Bastardzone beginnt, sind Individuen von 170 cm. Körperhöhe seltener und ist der Prozentsatz an ausgeprägten Buschmanntypen grösser, welcher Umstand vielleicht einen stärkeren Neigung zu Rückschlägen zugeschrieben werden könnte." 141 142 144

It may be taken therefore, although only stature and skin colour have so far been touched upon as the most apparent indications of variation, that the Southern Bushmen do actually represent the purest Bushman type, while the Northern tribes all show some degree of intermixture with other peoples. They are, however, of undoubted Bushman stock, and although in the following brief survey of the principal racial characters of the Bushmen the Southern tribes have been taken as the standard type, it must be understood that save where otherwise indicated the description applies equally to all the Bushmen.

The skin itself of the Bushmen is very dry and lean, with little adipose tissue. It readily forms into deep wrinkles and folds, especially on the face, even in fairly young and well-nourished people. In the Northern tribes, and chiefly in the "Bastard" Bushmen, the 142

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

142 tendency to fold is not so excessive, wrinkled features being comparatively rare in young people. There is very little hair on the body. The greater part of its surface seems completely bare; the arm-pits have only a weak show of hair, and even in the pubic regions the growth is very sparse. It is only on the scalp and occasionally on the eyebrows that the hair is at all thick. Rudimentary and irregular traces of beard and moustache are sometimes seen in the men, but rarely grow to any length or thickness. The hair is black in colour, and becomes grey only in very old people; baldness is extremely rare, even in advanced age. The hair is commonly very short and fine, but occasionally may be fairly long on the head of a woman. Such occurrences, however, seem to be rare, and it cannot be said that length of hair is a secondary sexual characteristic in the Bushmen. The hairs are tightly coiled into small spiral knots (not inappropriately referred to in popular speech as "peppercorns") which on the scalp appear to be separated by bare spots, but actually the hair follicles are distributed as in other races. In section the hair presents an elliptical contour.

141 The head in the Southern Bushmen is small and relatively broad
142 (mesocephalic), and markedly low in the crown (platycephalic). The face is broad and flat, somewhat rectangular in shape, and generally orthognathous or only slightly prognathous. The forehead is low and bulging, the cheek-bones fairly prominent, and the lower jaw relatively broad. In the Northern tribes there is a slight but distinct tendency for the head to be narrower and higher, the face appears longer and more oval in shape, and a fair degree of prognathism is
[144] often noticed. Among the Kung, and particularly among the !O Kung, one sometimes finds long narrow faces with aquiline noses and almost Semitic features, hinting at some new racial component which still remains to be determined; but even in these tribes the small rectangular Bushman facial type crops up in a number of faces with more or less negroid features.

142 The nose is generally low and very broad, especially at the root. As seen in profile, it is short and concave, but is set well back and often appears quite flat. The wings are broad, and the nostrils, which are directed forwards, have a curious splayed-out appearance. The orbits are low and the eyes set rather wide apart. The opening between the eyelids is very narrow, and often appears slightly oblique, owing to the remarkable fullness of the upper lid and the fact that a prominent fold of skin curves round from above it to the side of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

142 arm is the shortest on record. In the Northern tribes measured by
[141] Seiner and Werner the index of span-breadth to stature is just over 100, whereas in Europeans it is about 103 and in the Central African Pygmies as much as 106. The hands and feet are very small and narrow in proportion, the fingers and toes short and stumpy.

The outline of the body is sunken and angular, and all projections are strongly marked. The shoulders are angular, and the shoulder-blades and collar-bones stand out very strongly, owing to the thinness of the muscles and the lack of adipose tissue in the skin. The chest as a rule is fairly well developed, though its appearance is sometimes vitiated by the variable conditions of the abdomen, and especially
[262] by the frequent occurrence of a pendulous belly, chiefly in young people, as the result of unfavourable diet, unrestricted gorging, and the frequent alternation between starvation and plenty. Where the food supply is at all regular, this abnormal protuberance is rarely seen. The buttocks are small but often seem prominent owing to the curious inward curvature of the spine in the lumbo-sacral region. The penis,
[147] even when not in a state of erection, often extends horizontally in a semi-erect condition. This remarkable feature, portrayed also in many of the Bushman paintings of human beings, has been regarded by some recent writers, such as von Luschan and Seiner, as a special racial characteristic of the Bushmen.

The Northern Bushmen do not differ very markedly in build from their Southern relatives, although the "Bastard" tribes are on the whole better developed physically. They have stronger limbs, with arms and legs slightly longer in proportion; the shoulders are more rounded, and the chest seen to better advantage. The protuberant abdomen and the marked hollow of the back due to the lumbo-sacral curvature are present in most individuals. The hands and feet are
[147 slightly bigger, the fingers and toes longer. The horizontal projection
144] of the penis was noted by Seiner in about three-fifths of the men he examined. He states that with admixture of Bantu blood it begins to droop, so that there does appear to be some racial significance attached to this feature. Its occurrence has not yet been physiologically explained, although Seiner suggests that it may be due to a strong development of the *Ligamentum suspensorium penis*.

142 The female body, like that of the male, is generally slender, the
147 limbs slight, the hands and feet small. In mature women, however, there is often found a strong accumulation of fat on the thighs and especially on the buttocks, a character known as steatopygia, which

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

B 142 147

may occasionally be seen in the men also. Strongly-marked steatopygia is not very frequent, however, and in spite of the many statements to the contrary it cannot be regarded as a racial peculiarity. Fritsch, indeed, and other acute observers even look upon the occurrence of steatopygia in Bushwomen as indicating the presence of Hottentot blood. However this may be, it is certain that steatopygia is not as prominent a feature of Bushwomen as is sometimes asserted. In the Northern Bushwomen it seldom occurs.

The breasts in young girls are small and conical, with well-marked nipples; after puberty they become somewhat pendulous, and in the older women who have given birth to several children they hang very low and are often in an extremely shrivelled condition. The genital organs are notable for a frequent hypertrophy of the labia minora—the so-called "Hottentot apron"—which are sometimes considerably elongated, and may project as much as 10 cm. beyond the rima pudendi. This appears to be a physiological feature, and not artificially produced by manipulation, as has sometimes been suggested. It is found in the Northern tribes also, but is not peculiar to Bushwomen, since it is common among the Hottentots as well as among various East African peoples.

B 142 141

It will be seen from this description that all the Bushmen are on the whole fundamentally of the same physical type, although the Northern tribes vary in certain features from the Southern. It is impossible to draw any clear-cut line of distinction between the different tribes. There is rather a continuous gradation of characters, the type gradually becoming more impure the further north and east we go. The general tendency is for the Northern Bushmen to be taller, often considerably taller, than their Southern relatives; they have a darker colour, and better muscular development, relatively narrower and higher heads and faces, and show certain negroid characteristics in their facial features and bodily build. These divergent tendencies, it is evident, are the result of racial intermixture with other peoples, principally Bantu negroids; and the process of intermixture is still continuing. Seiner's designation of these Northern tribes as "Bastard Bushmen" is well founded, and there can be no doubt that they are all by now to some extent at least a hybrid people as far as physical characters are concerned.

Hottentots

H 141 142

The Hottentots resemble the Southern Bushmen very closely in appearance. It is only in stature and shape of the head that significant

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

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grey before about the sixtieth year, but baldness is rare, even in extreme old age.

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The head on the whole is long, narrow, and low—appreciably longer than in the Cape Bushmen, and slightly narrower and higher as well. This is best illustrated in the figures given by Schultze. In the 73 Hottentot (Nama) men measured by him, the mean maximum length of the head was 192 mm., the breadth 140 mm., and the height 116 mm., while in the 14 Bushmen (mostly from the Southern Kalahari) whose measurements he also records the corresponding dimensions were 187 mm., 142 mm., and 113 mm. The mean cephalic index of the Hottentots was 72·9 (max. 78·5, min. 67·1), and that of the Bushmen 75·8 (max. 78·2, min. 72·9); and whereas 57 per cent of the Bushmen were mesocephalic, the remaining 43 per cent being dolicocephalic, only 15 per cent of the Hottentots were mesocephalic, the remaining 85 per cent being dolicocephalic and hyperdolicocephalic. The length-height (altitudinal) index was the same in both cases, 60·3 (orthocephalic); but the lower height of the Bushman head is here neutralized by its smaller length. In the breadth-height index, on the other hand, the difference in the shape of the head is again apparent. The average in Hottentots is 82·8, that in Bushmen 79·5. It was found by Schultze that the form of the head in the Hottentots tends to alter in that, with higher stature, the head on the whole becomes longer and not broader (i.e. more dolicocephalic), and also higher (i.e. more orthocephalic). It will be noticed that the variations in shape of the Hottentot head as a whole from that of the Bushmen lie in the same direction. They may therefore possibly be correlated with the increased stature of the Hottentots as compared with the Cape Bushmen.

The face in the Hottentots is low and flat, but slightly longer and narrower in proportion than that of the Bushmen, and somewhat different in appearance. The forehead is low and narrow, but the cheekbones are high and prominent, and with the relatively narrower lower jaw and pointed, retreating chin give a triangular outline to the face. The nose is short and extremely broad, although slightly narrower in proportion than the Bushman nose: the nasal index is 100, while that of the Bushmen is 115. Both, however, are markedly platyrrhine. The bridge is very low, the nostrils wide and directed forwards. The eyes, especially in young people, have the same peculiar fold of the upper eyelid and very narrow opening which characterize the eyes of the Bushmen. The iris is also dark brown. The ear is

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10.

B H 142

somewhat larger than in Bushmen, and while it does not display the same well-marked peculiarities as the Southern Bushman ear is, on the whole, strongly reminiscent of it, especially in shape and in the well-rolled helix. There is generally a moderate lobe, although occasionally the ear is lobeless, as in pure-blooded Bushmen. The lips are thin, the mucous membrane everted, and there is the same convexity of the upper lip as in the Bushmen. The lips project considerably, the lower slightly beyond the upper, giving the mouth a snout-like appearance, which may also be noticed in some of the Bushmen. This projection of the lips easily conveys the impression of great prognathism, owing to the flatness of the nose and the retreating chin; but actually the degree of prognathism is slight, although greater than in the Cape Bushmen.

In build there is also a great similarity between Hottentots and Bushmen. The bodies of the Hottentots are slender, and the limbs very slight; good muscular development is rare, the muscles generally being thin and cord-like. The legs are rather long in proportion to the trunk, while the arms, again, are short; the hands and feet are small and narrow, like those of the Bushmen. The hips project but little, and the protuberant belly seen in the Southern Bushmen does not occur to the same extent, although it is also often found in small children. The buttocks are small, but may appear prominent owing to the strong inclination of the pelvis and the hollow back, features already noted in the Bushmen as well. The horizontal position of the penis found in pure-blooded Bushmen is occasionally seen in the Hottentots, but is comparatively rare.

B H [147]

B H 142 147

The breasts of the girls, like those of the Bushmen girls, are proportionately small and conical, with projecting nipples; but in mature women they become quite limp, and hang flat against the body. Steatopygia is far more common and more pronounced than in Bushwomen; it is found in the women of all the Hottentot tribes, although it tends to disappear where there is any great degree of intermixture with other peoples. Elongation of the labia minora is also very often found as a physiological feature. Although this cannot be regarded as a racial peculiarity, the fact is noteworthy that it occurs far more frequently in Khoisan women than in the women of any of the other South African peoples.

Relationship Between Bushmen and Hottentots

B H 144 141 142

The Hottentots and Bushmen are so much alike in physical characters and so distinct in appearance from the other inhabitants of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

B H 144 141 142

South Africa that we cannot but look upon these two peoples as very closely allied in race. Both the Cape Bushmen and the Hottentots have a brownish-yellow skin colour; black, spiral, sparsely-distributed hair; low heads and faces, broad flat noses with low bridges, widely separated eyes with narrow openings and a strong development of the upper lid; steatopygia and elongation of the labia minora. The Hottentots, however, are taller; their heads are larger in length and height, and prevalently dolicocephalic; their faces slightly longer and more prognathous, and their noses slightly narrower; while steatopygia is also more common.

Now it has already been shown that the more northerly Bushmen are taller and darker than the Cape Bushmen, and that their heads tend to be longer and higher and proportionately narrower, while they have also a higher degree of prognathism. These divergencies, we have seen, are obviously the result of intermixture with other peoples, principally of negroid (Bantu) stock. In the Hottentots the differences from the Cape Bushmen in stature and the shape of the head are of the same nature as those found in the Northern Bushmen. On the other hand, they have the same skin colour as the Cape Bushmen, and certain peculiarities, such as steatopygia, which are more pronounced in them than even in the Bushmen, and which seldom occur in the Northern Bushmen.

B H 144 141

In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the Northern Bushmen, it seems that we must look upon the Hottentots also as people of Bushman stock who have been influenced in physical characters by intermixture with some other racial group. The prevalent theory, as already mentioned, is that this new component was derived from the light-skinned Hamitic stock. Shrubsall, however, working upon skeletal material alone, maintains that this theory is untenable, and that the new element in the composition of the Hottentots must have been of Bantu stock. "The appearance of the Hottentot skulls," he says, "in no way suggests any marked intermediate characters between those of Bushmen and of any more Hamitic race, while in the features in which they differ from the Bush crania they certainly resemble negroes . . . When the distribution of the various cranial and facial indices is compared it may be seen that the Hottentot in almost every case is intermediate between the Bushmen and the Bantu negroes . . . It can be shown that while the Hottentot measurements are in some respects intermediate between those of Bushmen and of Hamites, they are more nearly intermediate between the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

B H 144 141

Bushmen and the Bantu, and where they show this least they resemble the Sudanese negro more than the Hamite."[1]

The fact that the Northern Bushmen, who have unquestionably been affected by racial intermixture with the Bantu, tend to diverge from the Cape Bushmen in the same cranial features as do the Hottentots might seem to support this view. On the other hand, these Northern Bushmen have also acquired a darker skin colour, while the Hottentots are as light in colour as the Cape Bushmen; and, again, as von Luschan has shown, occasionally one finds facial features in the Hottentots which are strongly reminiscent of the Hamitic type, and can only be regarded as reversions to it (cf. Plate V).[2] Schultze also comments upon the same fact, and shows that in several of the men whose physical characters he investigated statures well above the mean were combined with long faces and narrow noses, features indicative of Hamitic influence.[3] Moreover, although such evidence cannot be adduced as conclusive in a discussion of purely racial origins, it is surely not without some bearing upon this question that the languages of the Hottentots present affinities to those of the Hamitic language family, and that their cattle and sheep are of the breeds associated in Africa with Hamitic culture.

B H 142 144

The craniological evidence is opposed to the conclusion that the Hottentots are a true Bushman-Hamitic cross without a negro element; but the other factors noted suggest that some Hamitic element at least must have entered into the composition of the Hottentots. In this connection it must be mentioned that the Bantu themselves are negroes who have been affected to some extent by Hamitic admixture. Consequently the resemblance in cranial characters between the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen need not necessarily argue against the presence of Hamitic blood in the former. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that the Hottentots may represent a mixture of people of Bushman stock with both Hamites and negroes, or perhaps with an earlier mixture of the two latter stocks having a predominantly Hamitic culture. The fact that the racially pure Hottentots now vary but slightly amongst themselves suggests that this intermixture which gave rise to them is of very long standing, and hence probably originated before they came into South Africa.

[1] F. C. Shrubsall, "The Pygmy and Negro Races of Africa," *Lancet*, 1908 (January–June), p. 985.
[2] "Hamitische Typen," in C. Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, 1912, pp. 252–3.
[3] Op. cit., p. 213.

142

142 DESCRIPTIVE SOMATOLOGY--color of skin, hair, and eyes; form, length, and distribution of hair; musculature; secondary sexual characteristics; somatotype data; etc.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

482

1. Women return in the evening after the day's digging and gathering of wild roots and berries

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2. A husband, wife, and their son at their family fire cooking their supper of two wild roots which the wife brought. Her genital apron is a fine one ornamented with beads

[p. 348-A]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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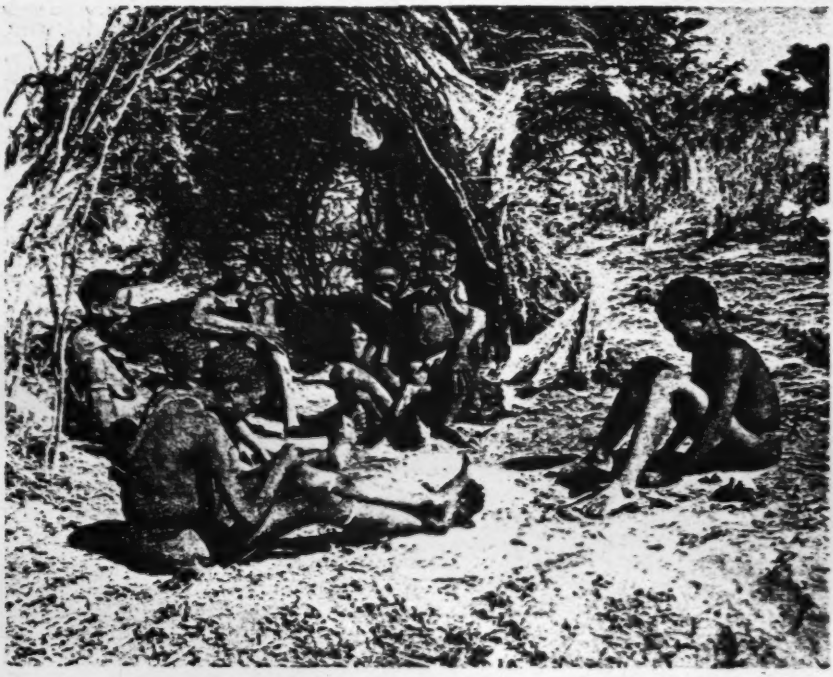

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3. Gau (centre) with his two wives in front of their scherm. The younger second wife, Khuan//a, holds her son in her arms. The three boys in front are the sons of Be, the first wife, at Gau's right

4. /Ti/kay in the best of moods

[p. 348-B]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

142
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5. The two wives of /Ti/kay sit at their family fire, /Naoka the elder sister to the left, /Nai the younger, with her son on her lap, to the right. Between them are Bau, /Naoka's daughter, already married for two years, and /Goishay, their old mother

6. /Nai, the young bride, the morning after the wedding. showing the design painted on her face by her mother with powdered red stone and fat

[p. 348-C]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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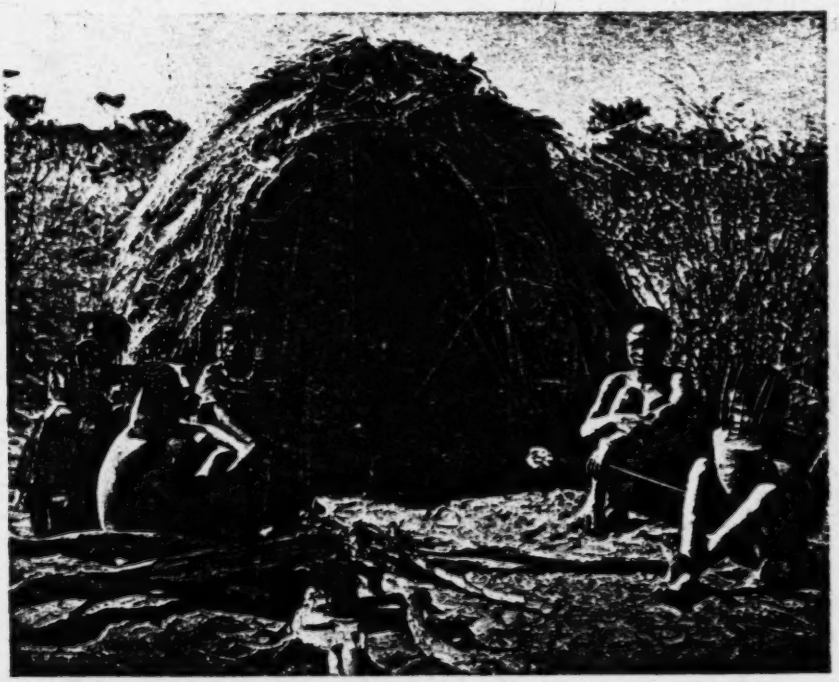

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7. The wedding scherm, the morning after the wedding. To the right are /Gunda, the bridegroom, and one of the boys who attended him, playing the //gusshi. /Nai is to the left with her two attendants beside her. Tsamgao has gone to sit by the girls instead of remaining on the men's side

8. ≠Toma the leader

[p. 348-D]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

logical father, as well as his mother's husband, should do something nice for him. 159
Perhaps when he receives his first assegai his begetter will give it, for that is a very 848
proud thing—but we do not know what the future holds for these people or where they will be by then.

The dominance of men

Wives are much desired by the young men, who usually wait for years for their 562
infant fiancées to grow up, and by men who want second wives, and by widowers. [581]
/Kung women are not only precious as mates, they are the food-gatherers and supply [222]
more of the daily food than the men do. Hunting[1] is very arduous in the Kalahari and [462]
the hunters succeed in bringing a big meat animal to the werf only about once or [224]
twice a month. Meanwhile women have dug roots and gathered berries and the other wild plant foods to feed their families every day. /Kung women in their two roles make a very great contribution.

In /Kung society, however, the magnitude of their contribution does not make women dominant. There are factors which bring the men forward clearly into dominance and leadership.

The primary factor is undoubtedly strength. /Kung men are small and slender, [142] 147
but they are wiry and vigorous. With their strength they carry and protect the very life of their people. When they swing their weapons and implements and their small children on to their shoulders and stride out in front of the women, the image seems to reveal, as vividly as if a great artist had painted it, how the laden following women are borne up by the strength of their men and take heart from them.

Another factor which brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and 462
its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is only drudgery in digging and 562
picking in the hot sun and trudging back in the early evening to the werf with heavy [222]
roots and berries and babies all sagging in the pouches of their karosses, a small dead tree or two on one shoulder for the night fire, possibly another child astride the other shoulder. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh [262]
and are not very satisfying. There is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving [262]
for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally [224]
the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once, when an eland had been killed and the hunters were sighted [152]
with the meat on their backs, moving in a dark, lumpy, bobbing line in the golden grass, we heard the sound of voices in the werf rising in volume and pitch like the hum of excited bees. Some people ran toward the hunters, others crowded together at the edge of the werf, some danced up and down, the children squealed and ran about, the boys grappled and tussled together. The motion and sound had the effect of a vibration. Another time a young man who was said to be the best hunter in the region (/Qui Hunter we called him, his people called him Short /Qui), had been 462
charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. 562
He knelt facing the creature till it was within close range and shot an arrow straight 224

[1] John Marshall has described /Kung hunting in his film, *The Hunters*, Peabody Museum Film Study Center, Harvard University, and in 'Man as Hunter', *Natural History*, the magazine of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, vol. lxvii, No. 6, June, and No. 7, August, 1958. [113]

/136 cont./

142 The tribe at Gam in particular consists almost exclusively of comparatively large people who, even after a thorough washing, display a decidedly darker coloration than the other Auin.

162 According to my observations, there is something like one to two women for each man, and from two to three children for each woman.

162 847 [862] In this connection I would like to mention that newborn children are always killed if the mother is still nursing a child, which continues until about the third year of life. The killing is done immediately after birth by the mother, who buries the newborn child alive. The father has nothing to do with it. Since marital [853] intercourse continues during the nursing period and since this period lasts for about three years, it follows that approximately every third child is reared while those born in the meantime are killed without exception. This might well be a principal factor in the unquestionable decline in the population.

592 595 Since each woman has her special windscreen (hut), the man lives alternately with one and then another of his wives; the latter in turn have their children living with them, and it therefore follows that about three to four persons occupy each hut.

221 361 The size of the settlements (villages) is quite indefinite and changes according to the circumstances. During the dry season a settlement is formed usually by one to two families, whereas during the period of ample veld food, in other words, toward the end and shortly after /137/ [map appears here] /138/ the rainy season, sometimes up to 30 families join together to form a "village." In April, 1908, about 400 men were living in a settlement near Sidonitzaub. If their dependents are included, one will arrive at a figure of at least 1,000 persons.

[701] All the men are armed warriors.

161 As has already been noted, one can clearly observe a decrease in the population, which, judging by its rapid progress, can be designated as swiftly approaching extinction. Aside from infanti- [136] cide and malaria, the decrease of wild game may also be given as a reason for the population decline, since this decrease makes food more difficult to obtain. Older Auin state that in former times attacks by lions caused heavy losses.

[Text continues on page 7]

/140 cont./

301 Earrings of Molentza chain; necklaces of glass beads. Rings on arms, wrists, and legs as among the men.

[756] The "Bushman doctor" wears special ornaments that other people are not permitted to wear. Unfortunately, I was not able to obtain any of these ornaments.

[882] Girls, it is said, do not start wearing ornaments until after their first menses.

[796] All the ornaments are worn for dances and ceremonies. The headdress of the women in Photograph 20 is worn only on special festive occasions.

302 The "doctor" has his head shaved smooth. I did not notice [756] a special hairdress. The men frequently stick individual loose ostrich feathers in the hair, while the women like to braid brass [301] or iron beads into the hair. In addition, the women use a kind of pomade made of various pulverized plant parts which are combined with fat from antelope skin.

Men sometimes cut their head-hair with a knife or a piece of glass.

There is no differentiation in hair style between girls and married women.

[386] The hair is frequently dyed with a mixture of fat and red clay. I am uncertain, however, whether or not this is a means of making the hair fall out in places. On the other hand, in that case there would probably have to be another ingredient /141/ in this mixture that I was unable to discover.

In case a beard is present, which does not occur often, it is neither cut nor removed in any other way.

[142] Pubic hair is sparse and is sometimes shaved off (with a piece of glass). It is said that women have no pubic hair at all.

E. Artificial Deformities

A kind of cosmetic of a reddish-brown color is used by the women.

It consists of a mixture of fat and red clay (see Section D above) and is manufactured by the women themselves.

[535] This cosmetic is regarded solely as a means of beautification and is used especially at festivals (dances).

2: Kaufmann--60 G-5 (1908) 191 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Auen
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[415]

Auin from Olifantskluft. Photo. 1.

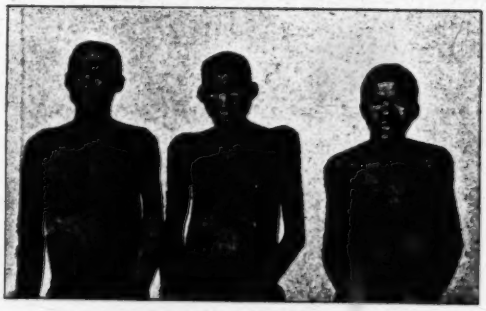

Photo. 3.

Photo. 5
Auin from Rietfontein (North)

Auen

● 142
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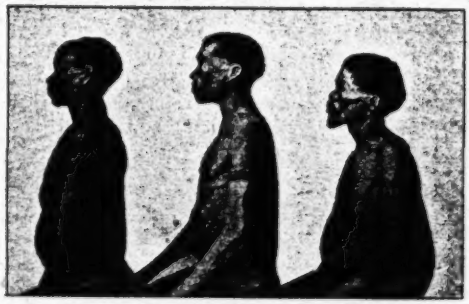
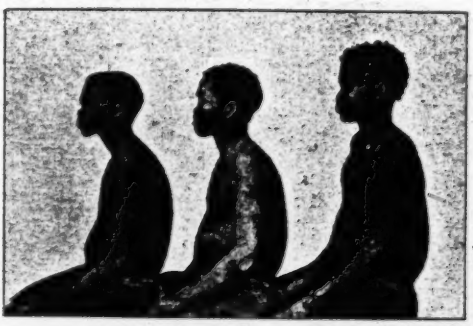
Photo. 2 [see Photo. 1]
ǂAuin from Olifantskluft

[301]



Age about 45 50 35 years
Photo. 4 [see Photo. 3]



Age about 17 25 22 years
Photo. 6 [see Photo. 5]
ǂAuin from Rietfontein (North)

Auen

●142
516
[301]

≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Photo. 7

≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

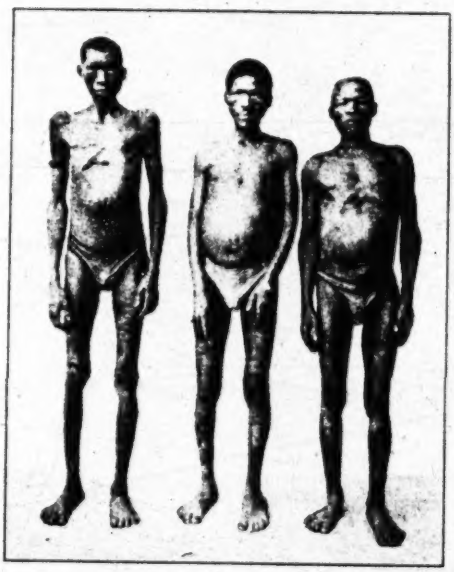


Photo. 9

Photo. 11

≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)

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≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

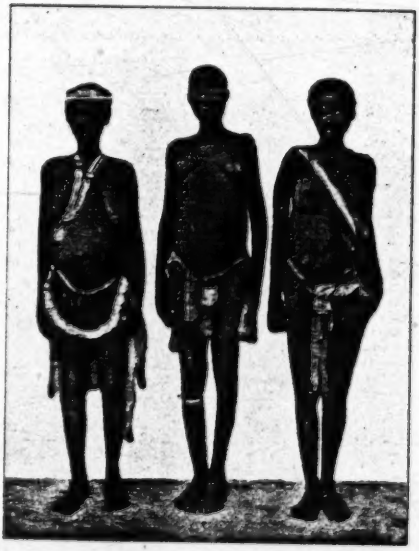
Age about 22 30 35 years

Photo. 8 [see Photo. 7]

≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Photo. 10 [see Photo. 9]

Photo. 12
≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)



Auen

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Photo. 13
ǂAuin from Rietfontein (North)

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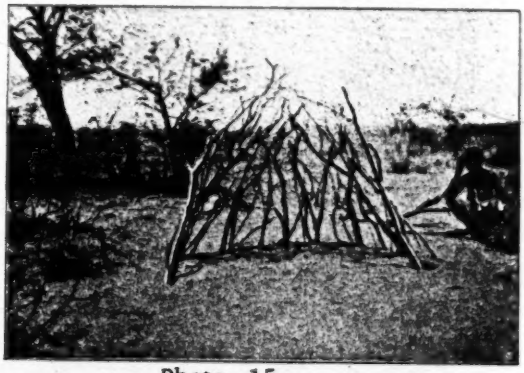

Photo. 15.
Framework of Windscreens.

Photo. 17.
Flimsy Wind-
screen in
the Dry
Season.

• 142

Auen

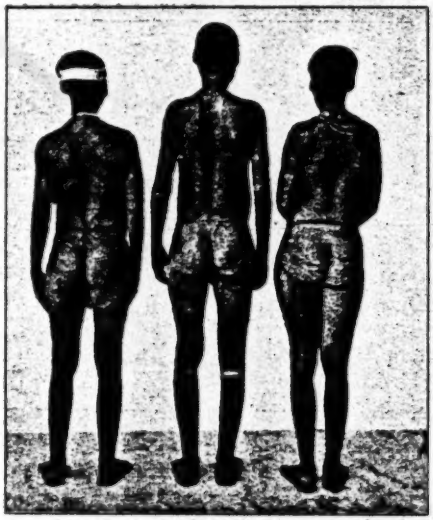

Photo. 14 [see Photo. 13]
ǂAuin from Rietfontein (North)

342

Photo. 16.
Windscreen Half-covered.

[415]
[516]

Photo. 18.
Windscreen (covered) and Mortar with Pestle.

Auen

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516

Photo. 43.
Extending the Hand in Greeting.

Photo. 44.
Betrothal or Marriage.

[9 cont.]

805 shauba, cold season (N. sáob).

!kn-aba, hot season (N. !nái, warm).

535 Among dances, an ostrich and an ape dance were mentioned to me.

123 The studies, which began so promisingly, came to an end because I was evidently unable to present the village chief with enough presents. One evening a boy appeared and told me that the Bushmen had "had to go hunting." I continued to wait a number of days for the !Kung called by Mr. Eaddes. The messengers returned with the news that they had found no one. Another Sunday coat for the village mayor and some yellow money for the Bushmen, and priceless material could have been obtained.

[107] Chapter 3

The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of the Ondonga [Ndonga]

173 According to their tradition, these Bushmen came from Herero country. Hence they represent the connecting link between the "Saan" in the Gobabis district and the Hei//om [Heikum] of the north. The people as a whole designate them-
101 selves as Daman = the wealthy. The horde around Oshigambo calls itself //Huru-Khái. They call their dialect Cháraba. I do not be-
131 lieve that they live far in the interior of the Otjimpolo Veld. They have an enormous respect for the !Kung. The outermost cattle posts of the Ondonga probably coincide pretty much with
172 the boundaries of their territory. A number of them are Bantu-
142 ized and have small physiques. The others engage in hunting
439 and supply the black farmers with the flesh of wild game, hides,
648 ostrich egg beads, and poison. They serve as beaters on the great hunts of Chief Martin. At the court they count for nothing. The farmers like to see them. Little acts of assistance, a sack of berries or veldkost, soften the heart of the black housewife, so that here, as in Uukualuthi [among the Kualuthi?], there are a number of do-nothings who are nonetheless gladly received.

[25 cont.]

147 481 Similarly, the strength displayed by the Bushmen in using the bow is by no means impressive. While their momentary efficiency is low, their endurance in marching is great. In 1916 when the farmer Schwarz in Neudesenberg (Keitsas) was sick with black water fever, the farmer's wife sent a Bushman to Grootfontein for a bottle of champagne. The man left in the forenoon and returned around midnight. The distance was at least 100 to 120 kilometers, for the highway, which has few detours, is 90 kilometers long. (Informant: Farmer Schwarz in Duwib.)

4. Physical Types and Constitution

142 The Bushmen are a distinctly human type of savage with very gracile bone structure. A group of them that I designate as South Khoin is the only form of human being adapted to desert life, or in any case is the form best adapted to it.

The type that has developed there can in no way be subsumed in our physical type schema. Since this same type to a considerable degree is also involved in the composition of the northern forest Bushmen, there are naturally a great many individuals whom we cannot classify at all in our sense. At any rate, however, we can -- and here I am anticipating some of my anthropological conclusions -- differentiate among both sexes of the !Kung a longitype and a brachytype. Especially among the women it is almost always possible to differentiate the "chubby youthful form" from the so-called future form.

In another place I have defended the view that the athletic type should be regarded as the true normal-type, and that this type has the innate ability to accumulate a moderate amount of fat. The muscular-respiratory type with a slighter development of the skeleton and musculature does not possess the ability for a great accumulation of fat, whereas the digestive type with slightly developed musculature has a great ability to accumulate fat.

[26] From the athletic type a continuous series leads through the respiratory and digestive forms to the tall-asthenic and short-asthenic types and from there to the decided weaklings.

[26 cont.]

● 142 The athletic type thus represents the best realization of the human type among the races.

Since, from the day of conception on, environmental influences are predominantly of a harmful nature, the average type finally arrived at is the type formed by the average harmful effects, which, on the one hand, are of a hereditary and constitutional nature, and, on the other hand, are conditional effects during the individual's lifetime. The more unfavorable the living conditions are, the greater will be the harmful effect coefficient, and the more the average physical type will approach the asthenic. Only environmental improvement, brought about by high civilization, permits athletic forms to develop in considerable numbers.

According to our schema, we may designate the Bushmen as asthenic on the average, and the best developed among them as respiratory. In the case of many male individuals, there is an [146] ability for considerable fat accumulation, and on the farms I encountered a number of Bushmen who had adapted themselves to a flour diet and had considerable body weight.

The digestive type thus certainly does occur among them, [146] even though we must keep in mind that the diet, which is rich in meat and poor in carbohydrates, counteracts its development.

5. The Course of the Day

805 The !Kung Bushmen divide the 24 hour day into seven seg-
[192] ments, which are:

/gam X'ǎ-o-a, dawn.
/gam do di /gii, time of sunrise.
!nai /kho, (the sun) is in the middle.
ha ti ≠náu, (the sun) will go down.
X'ǎ-o ti ≠náu, the sun is now asleep.
/gu gǎ djo-o, one can no longer see the people because it is dark.
!a ds ĩ, midnight.

512 The division of the day varies somewhat with the season of the year. With the exception of the so-called hot season,

[29 cont.]

553 The custom of spitting is undoubtedly original, not a substitute
852 for well water."

551 The father gives his newborn child a name. The boys usually receive animal names, commonly that of the grandfather, and the girls, plant names. Albinos are unknown among the !Kung
[142] tribes visited by me, but a horde of Bushmen with red eyes is supposed to live in the eastern Sand Veld in the region of the
[845] Dussidum. I have never seen twins; they are probably done away
853 with. The children are breast fed for a long time; older infants learn to squeeze the milk out of the breast with their fingers or pull with their teeth on the leathery nipples. The assertion of
847 other travelers that the women kill their children if they are born
[114] before the previous child has been weaned is allegedly not true of the kin groups visited by me. On the other hand, Vedder (1)

[113] 1. "Zur Vorgeschichte der eingeborenen Völkerschaften von Südwestafrika. I. Die Buschmänner [On the Prehistory of the Native Tribes of Southwest Africa]," by V. Vedder, Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society, Vol. I, p. 10, 1925-1926, Windhoek, 1927. -- Cf. also Von Zastrow and H. Vedder, op. cit., p. 414.

reports:

"I must mention one other custom which likewise considerably contributes, and may have contributed in prehistoric times, to the Bushmen being so few in number. Custom demands that a child born when the older child of the same mother is not yet three years old be buried alive. This is a gruesome custom. I spoke about it with a racially pure Bushman. My remonstrances did not convince him at all. He explained: 'We Bushmen are poor people. We have no goats and no cows to give our children milk. If the woman brings two children into the world within a period of three years, we don't know what the older child is supposed to live on if the newborn child uses up the mother's milk. It cannot live on the hard veldkost or on tough meat. The teeth are not yet strong enough. If we let the newborn

[44 cont.]

Toothache

142 I rarely saw irregularities in the position of the teeth, and
[515] never protruding or receding teeth. The only care given the
teeth is the use of iron arrow points for toothpicks. The teeth are
usually yellow, covered with dense layers of tartar, and because
of the sand content of the vegetable diet, are quickly worn down
164 by chewing. Caries are extraordinarily common, but infections
also occur through the exposure of the root canal as the teeth are
753 worn down. If a person has a severe toothache, //Gauab has stuck
a needle into it, and the doctor must be called to get it out. If
there is no general discomfort, however, then no dsao are there.
757 A little piece of wood is sharpened to a point at one end, held
with the point against the root of the tooth, and then the tooth
is knocked out with a stone. This instrument is called "oie."
147 Small children suffer considerable pain when they teethe; some-
753 times dsao (spirits of sickness) are also at work in this case. [Fig.
17 appears here.]

Sore Throat

753 A sore throat means that //Gauab has made a cord and is
755 drawing it tight around the patient's neck. The doctor must re-
move the cord from the patient; it is about 30 centimeters long
and is like the trap cord (//kao); everyone can see it after the
treatment.

Colds (X'óã)

164 Grippe takes many victims among the Bushmen every year,
513 especially among those who are already tuberculous. In winter,
colds are extraordinarily frequent, since the people lie almost
naked around the fires. In the forest they are fairly well protected
against the wind, but on the open plain the wind changes its di-
rection at night while they are asleep, so that they not only catch
cold but often receive severe burns around the stomach -- although
this applies only to the men; the women sleep at a greater distance
FROM THE FIRE.

[68 cont.]

142 Racially, these Bushmen are smaller and lighter in color than
144 those of the north and show the admixtures of the southern Bushman race to a much greater degree. There is constant coming and go-
648 ing in this region. Seiner (1) reports the following:

[113]

1. J. Seiner, "Der Verbindungsweg zwischen Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika und der Betschuanalandeisenbahn [The Line of Communication between German Southwest Africa and the Bechuanaland Railway]," Globus, Vol. 96, 1910.

"The Bushmen from around Rietfontein are friendly to the Germans and repeatedly supplied the station garrison with effective help against the Herero and Ovambandjeru passing through. At the time of my stay in January and February, 1907, there was a small village of the Au-nin, who belong to Passarge's Kaukau people, one kilometer north of the barracks, and a village of the Ai-khoe, whom Passarge includes among the Ngami people, one and a half kilometers southwest of the station. The Bushmen of the latter village were subject to the Au-nin, who called them Naru (subordinates, slaves). Since in June, 1908, Dr. Pöch found only Au-nin in Rietfontein, it would seem that the Ai-khoe, in the meantime had emigrated or were driven out by the Au-nin."

To some extent all these tribes represent a cultural unit. A
[184] 114 fine study by First Lieutenant Kaufmann (2) is available for the

[113]

2. Kaufmann, "Die ǂAu-in, "Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1910.

ǂAuin, and one by D.F.Bleek (3) for the Naron. I shall now compare

[113]

3. D.F.Bleek, "The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari," Publications of the School of African Life and Language, Cambridge, 1928.

these tribes with one another, and it is to be understood that only the data concerning the Nogau are my own.

3: Lebzelter--163 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

!KUNG

●142
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[854]

Plate V. !Kung Bushmen from the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

3: Lebzelter--166 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

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Plate VIII. Children of the !Kung Bushmen.

3: Lebzelter--168 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

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Plate X. !Kung Types from the Otjimpolo Veld.

/241 cont./

128 Tables giving all the /242/ measurements for each individual, are attached, as are forms for the observations concerning the descriptive characteristics of the individuals measured.

141 The average values for the adults measured are as follows:

	Men	Women
1. Body height	155.3	149.7
2. Height of the chin above the ground	135.7	130.6

[142] [291] [301] [342] [516]

Fig. 1. Heikum Bushmen. Men.

3. Height of the navel above the ground	93.2	90.4
4. Height of the upper edge of the symphysis above the ground	82.2	79.6
[Fig. 1 appears here.]		
5. Height of the acromion above the ground	130.5	124.9
6. Height of the elbow joint above the ground	99.9	96.5
7. Height of the projection of the radius above the ground	76.0	73.4

/244 cont./

Indices

	Men	Women
141 I. Skull index	76.3	73.5
II. Average index of the skulls of all adults measured	74.77	
III. Physiognomic face index	76.44	76.1
IV. Physiognomic nose index	102.5	97.44

147 [146] The state of nutrition of those examined may in general be called inadequate, and the amount of fat slight. Even among younger individuals the skin is strikingly slack and can be grasped in wide folds. One has the impression that there is a connection between this slackness of the skin and the extreme fluctuation in the saturation of the tissues, which is the rule since the Bushmen experience frequent and long-lasting thirsts. The men assured me that they could march without water for four days in great heat, a statement which surely deserves to be credited.

142 The skin color of all those examined, with the exception of two in whose case racial mixture is a possibility, is a brown of medium tone shading over into yellow.

The palms of the hand and soles of the feet are a lighter color, but do not show such a striking contrast with the back of the hand as is the case among the Bantu /245/ Negroes. The skin of the chest and abdomen has a slightly darker coloration than that of the face. Scars are very common, especially on the chest and abdomen, and [513] usually stem from burns to which the Bushmen readily expose themselves by sitting and sleeping near the open fire. These scars have a lighter tinge than the surrounding skin and look almost pure yellow.

The iris of all those examined is deep brown in color.

Compared with Europeans, the hair growth of the Bushmen is very modest. It is confined almost entirely to the skull; beards are found only on a few men and even then they are sparse. Hair elsewhere on the body, including the arm pits and pubic hair, is practically nonexistent.

The color of the hair on the head is a deep black. The individual hairs grow to a length of about four centimeters for men and about six centimeters for women. The hair is fine and curled in a spiral. The curvature radius of the spiral amounts to about two

/245 cont./

142 millimeters. Two or three hairs form a tight unit. A number of such units are clustered into a tuft that forms an almost impenetrable tangle of hair. The yellowish-brown skin of the head is visible between the tufts, so that the surface of the skull gives the impression of an area with black spots. Extensive variations are
302 to be found in the manner of dressing the hair, but all Bushmen from time to time have their head hair cut. The women commonly leave an edge of longer hair uncut and let it fall horizontally toward the back from the hairline on the forehead. Frequently also an oval area is shaved on the skull or on the edge of the forehead down to the ears.

145 I did not observe any loss of hair, even among old persons, but I did notice graying, not, however, to the same extent as among Europeans.

304 Tattooing is very popular among the Heikum Bushmen.

I found three types of tattooing:

1. An ornamental tattoo. This consists of parallel longitudinal incisions about one centimeter in length and arranged in rows. These rows of incisions are to be found predominantly on the face, on cheeks, temples, and foreheads, and especially among women they frequently radiate towards the middle of the face which, however, is left clear. The ornamental tattoo is also to be found on other parts of the body at any number of places, such as the chest, the abdomen, the upper arm, and the upper thigh. The incisions are quite superficial and give the appearance of fine black lines. The bluish-black coloration of the scars is achieved by rubbing charcoal into the freshly-made incisions.

2. Deeper incisions, which correspondingly leave heavier scars, form the forehead tattoo which is common to all Heikum Bushmen with no age or sex distinctions. The tattoo consists of several parallel vertical incisions about two centimeters in length between the eyebrows. As a result of this tattoo there is a number, usually five, of deep and closely adjoining folds between the eyebrows, giving even younger individuals an older appearance. In the case of older persons the base of the scars /246/ is raised by the formation of keloids, so that the region between the eyebrows has the appearance of a cock's comb.

/246 cont./

304 3. The third and most curious is a manner of tattooing which I should like to designate as the antelope tattoo, a kind of inoculation that I have seen in no other native African tribe. This type of tattoo is used only by males and consists of the following: Through parallel incisions little pieces of antelope flesh, espe-
[827] cially gemsbok flesh, are placed under the skin of male children, with the idea that the child thus inoculated will have the speed of the antelopes in running. The incisions are most commonly made on the buttocks, but they are also to be found on the chest, abdomen, and back.

757 One also commonly finds scars all over the body from blood-letting incisions "to draw off" illnesses.

Viewed from above, the head shows no peculiarities, although
142 dolichocephaly does not seem to me to be as marked among the Bushmen as it is among the Bantu Negroes. The protuberance at the back of the head is so little developed that it can scarcely be felt on most individuals.

The profile view of the face permits one to recognize a clear alveolar prognathy. In the case of most individuals the upper lip in the profile view extends beyond the tip of the nose. The edge of hair around the fairly straight forehead runs in an even curve from one ear to the other.

The bones of the eyebrow arches protrude sharply, while the forehead bulge is only slightly developed.

The cheekbones with the widely-projecting zygomatic arches form prominences jutting out sharply in the temporal and cheek region.

Most Bushmen show a striking prominence of the parotid gland
142 region, which in the case of some individuals swells out so that it
147 is actually hemispherical. I was unable to determine whether the swelling is caused more by hypertrophy of the parotid gland or by a particularly strong development of the chewing musculature. This swelling of the parotid gland region is, I believe, not a racial peculiarity of the Bushmen, but rather a consequence of their way of life which necessitates a root diet requiring very heavy use of the chewing apparatus. At any rate, I observed the same peculiarity among the Herero, who for a long time were dependent upon veld food.

/246 cont./

142 The Herero, like the Bushmen, give the use of veld food,
147 especially the onion known as unki, as the cause of this peculiarity.
171 The attached photographs illustrate the swelling in the case of a Bushman (Fig. 3) and a Herero (Fig. 4).

The nose is sharply set off from the forehead and strikingly
142 small. The bridge of the nose is so flat that in some cases one can scarcely speak of a bridge of the nose; the area between the cheekbones is an almost level surface. The tip /247/ of the nose is small and pointed slightly upward. The largest diameter of the nostrils runs diagonally. The lips are narrow in comparison with those of most Negroes; their color is almost exactly that of the surrounding skin of the face.

The teeth of the majority of individuals are in pretty good condition; among the 39 persons I examined, I found only 28 carious teeth. In comparison with a European, the extreme wear of the teeth is striking; it progresses with age and is so marked in old people that the teeth are worn down to the roots, again a consequence of the way of life dependent upon a root diet. The incisors very slightly point forward.

The Heikum do not have artificial deformities of the teeth.
304 Several of those examined displayed the well-known Herero
648 deformity (filing down the inner sides of the two central upper incisors and removal of the four lower incisors) [Figs. 3 and 4 appear here], which is explained by the fact that these Bushmen had been Herero slaves in their childhood and were marked in the Herero manner by their former masters.

The ear is of normal size; its outline is rounded, not bent at an
142 angle. The ear lobe is always joined to the head.

In spite of general gauntness, the marked development of the abdomen in most cases is striking, even among the adults.

The female breast is conical in the case of individuals who have not borne children; the region around the nipple is usually separated by a gentle furrow from the rest of the breast. The color of the nipple area is deep brown. The nipple is raised.

[304] Circumcision is not practiced by either men or women. Among the Heikum and Kung women I did not find the abnormally pronounced development of the buttocks, known as steatopygia, which
[144] is so common among Hottentot women. To my mind this is

/247 cont./

144 conclusive evidence /248/ against any notion of racial kinship between the Bushmen and the Hottentot.

The arms are thin and not very muscular; the hands are small
142 and very delicate. In contrast to the musculature of the arms, that of the legs is better developed. The arch of the foot is good; only in one case did I observe flat feet.

The big toe is pointed straight and shows neither a deviation

[291]
[301]
[516]

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

toward the median line of the foot nor one away from it.

In most cases the second toe extends farthest, but in two cases it was exceeded by the first toe. The second and first or second and third toe of some of the others examined extended the same distance. The following table gives more exact information on this matter:

/248 cont./

142

	Number of persons examined	Second toe extending farthest	First toe extending farthest	First and second toe extending farthest	Second and third toe extending farthest
Men	14	9	1	4	0
Women	17	11	0	3	3
Children	8	7	1	0	0
Total	39	27	2	7	3

I was also able to gather some data concerning physiological
151 conditions. By means of Snellen charts, I discovered very keen sight for all the persons examined. Threefold visual keenness was attained by all those examined, and some had even higher degrees, up to sixfold.

The ticking of a watch could be heard at a distance of three meters by most of those examined.

I have frequently observed yawning among Bushmen.

The gait of the Bushmen has something very characteristic
48/ about it; in walking, they raise the knees surprisingly high, a custom that is explained by the nature of the country. Because of the low and commonly thorny shrubs through which they travel with uncovered legs, they are forced to raise their legs quite high in walking, and they maintain this gait even when they are moving across ground that has no growth on it. In addition, the achievements of these small inhabitants of the bush on the march and in running are quite enormous.

Bushmen who had been sent out on patrols by the station
[147] covered a distance of 130 kilometers in less than 48 hours without displaying visible signs of fatigue. They followed the cavalry troop, which frequently broke into a trot, happily and without difficulty on foot, trotting themselves whenever the troop accelerated its pace.

/249/ Extreme astonishment is expressed by opening the mouth
201 and eyes wide. I was able to observe this myself when I played a phonograph before the unsuspecting Bushmen. When the performance was over, the audience asked me whether the people who were in the apparatus and sang there also slept in it and received their food through the horn.

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

142
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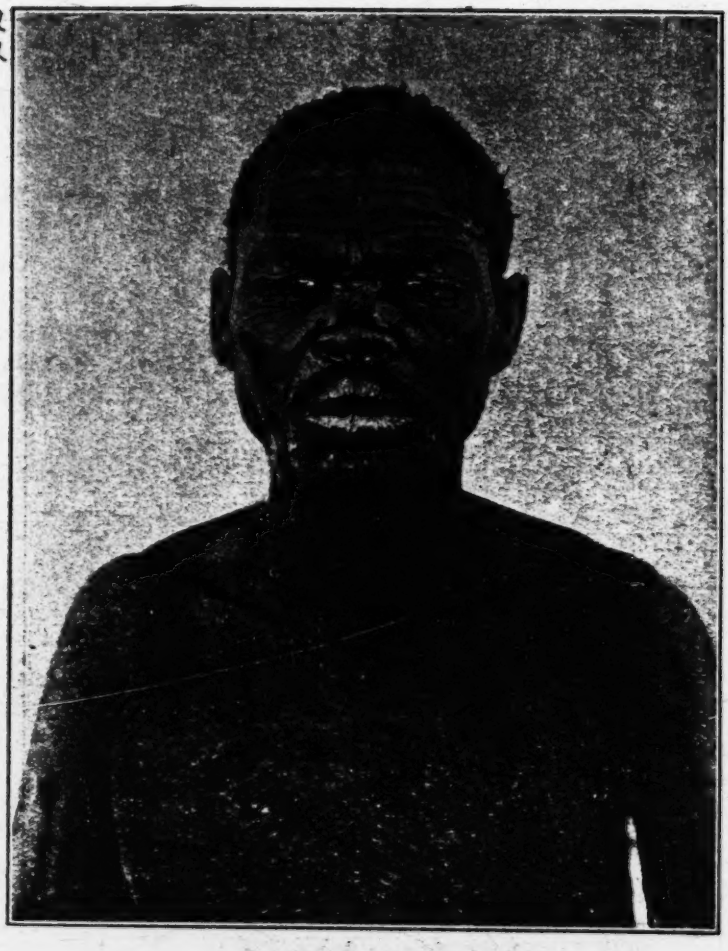

/nu-//ein Bushman.
Gobabis.

[FACING p. 80]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

142
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Wakeldi Women (Hei //om).
N.W. Ovamboland.

[FACING p. 81]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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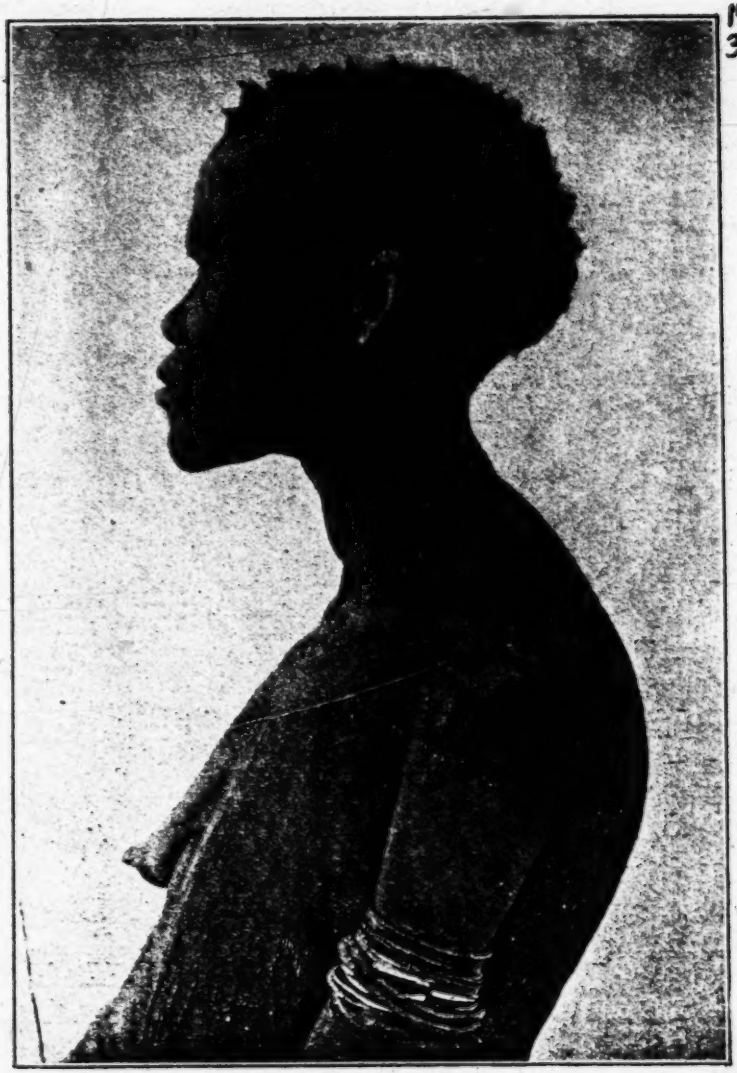
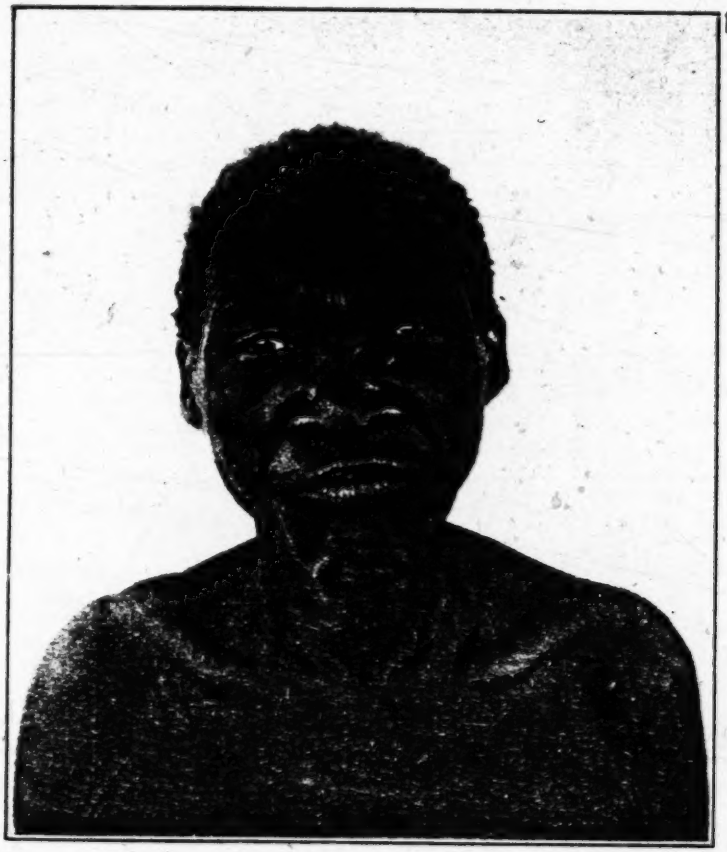


‡Ao //ein Bushwoman.
Epukiro.

[FACING p. 88A]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

142



ǂAo //ein Bushman.
Epukiro.

[p. 88 c]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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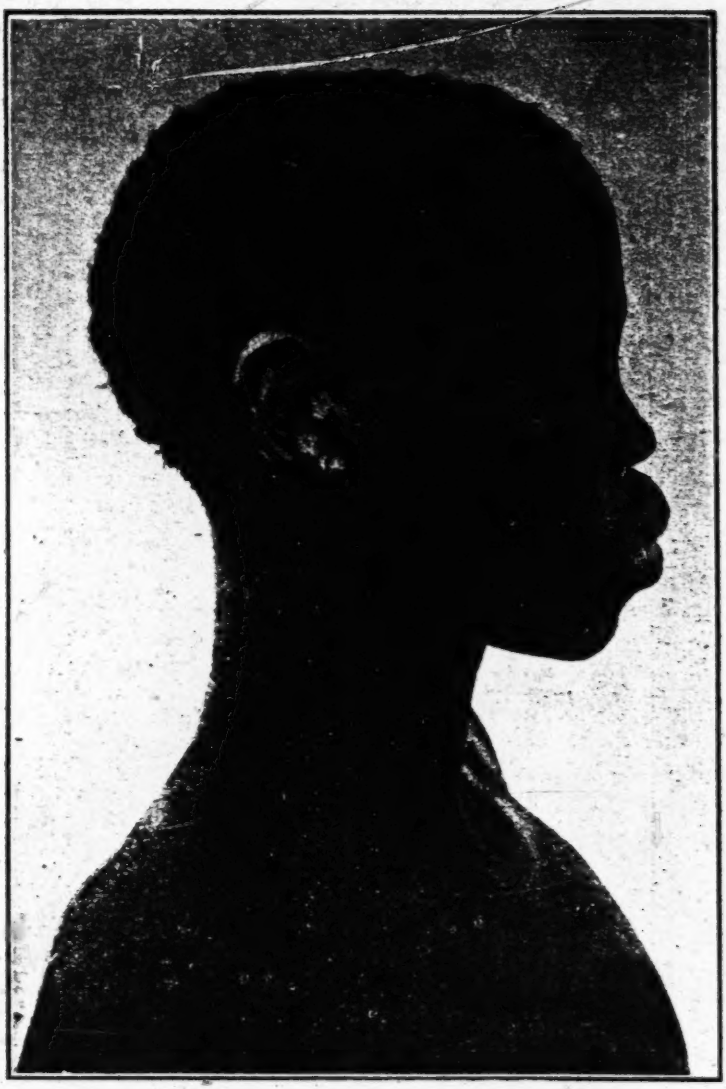
Naron (//aikwe) Woman in Ceremonial Dress of Ostrich Shell Beadwork.
Sandfontein, Gobabis.

[FACING p. 89]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

142



ǂAo //ein Bushman.
Epukiro.

[FACING p.96]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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≠Ao //ein Maiden.
Epukiro.

[FACING p.97

114 all our food and water, gasoline, and equipment in supplies to last us for several months. We crossed great drought areas, once crossing four hundred miles of the central desert of Bechuanaland where there was no water at all, and once traveling every day for two weeks into an unmapped part of the desert of South-West Africa, close to the Bechuanaland border, where we found a waterhole and refilled our empty [12] drums. All this was for the purpose of filming and studying the life and customs of the people of the Kalahari, who are called the Bushmen.

142 Bushmen are a naked, hungry people, slight of build and yellow-skinned; the only feature they have in common with their large-boned, darker-skinned neighbors, the Negro or Bantu tribes living at the edges of the Bushmen's territory, is their peppercorn curly hair. Otherwise, Bushmen are very like the Asian peoples, often having Mongolian eyefolds and rather broad, flat faces with almost no noses at all. Because of the dust, perspiration, and the blazing sun, their skins darken to a copper brown, but under their arms where sweat has washed the dust away the yellow skin shows. Bushman babies, in fact, are born pale pink, often with a dark, pigmented area at the base of their spines which Kung Bushmen [826] call "the jar"—because, they say, the mother carries her baby and her water jar together in the pouch of her garment—but which we know as the Mongolian Spot.

Physically, the Bushmen are a handsome people, though short of stature—a man being a few inches over and a woman a few inches under five feet—and a little swaybacked of carriage, which makes their bellies stick out. They are handsome 481 because of the extreme grace in their way of moving, which is 142 strong and deft and lithe; and to watch a Bushman walking or simply picking up something from the ground is like

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, 142
and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff [48]
with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the
men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and
consequently they often seem younger than they are. They [194]
are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man 291
wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather
apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole
animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at [854
the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride, 482
and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which 415 237]
are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people;
they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though [515
they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair 302]
breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped
close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell
beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny [301]
bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear
leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several 609
months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find
them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe
that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the
grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and [342]
made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right 609
into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and 621
didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass until I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned, all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

291 Both men were thin, brown-skinned, and wore nothing but loincloths, and they looked very out of place next to us, among our big trucks and boxes of equipment, squatting naked like two frogs against the long grass and reddening sky of their country. We sat by the fire to talk with them, and it was the old man who answered our questions. His name was [194 Ukwane, and he seemed very old, for he spoke with a hesi-551] tant, cracked voice that faded into a whisper at the end of every phrase, and whenever some of us would leave or join the group at the fire he would stare intently at us, frowning, [164] leaning forward a little because he could barely see us, his eyes being filmed with cataracts, hazy blue.

142 Ukwane had great wrinkles lengthwise down his belly where his paunch had shrunk. His hands were knobbed and his shoulders stiff, yet his legs were as supple as a baby's, for [516] he sat crouched with his knees in the air and his heels tucked up tight against his buttocks. His skin looked old, too, like [302] old leather, hardened and black like a glove that has been left in the rain, and his curly hair was disheveled, uncut, untidy with pieces of straw.

609 Our questions frightened Ukwane, and often he was at a loss for something to reply. He thought we were policemen coming to look for some lost horses, for somehow a rumor had reached into the farthest corners of the veld that a European farmer had lost seven horses and all the people in the veld were afraid for their lives. The first thing he said was that he hadn't seen any horses and certainly hadn't taken them himself. He was too old, he said. We told him that we were not policemen and, besides, had never heard of the horses, but he was not reassured. He coughed and turned to the young man, who looked at us with nothing to say.

609 The young man was also very shy, but had a greater dignity 194 than Ukwane because of his cool, proud bearing. He said

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

very little, and when he did speak it was in a voice so soft that 609
it was almost inaudible. Also, he held his hand in front of his 194
mouth with a finger against his lips, which muffled his words so that only Ukwane could understand them. This was what the young man intended; he meant for the old man to speak for them both and only wanted to help him through tight spots in the conversation.

The young man told us his name, though, which was Gai. 609
Gai sat crouching too, like Ukwane, and kept self-consciously shifting his position, pretending to be unconcerned. He glanced at us out of the corners of his eyes and smiled skeptically from time to time, for although he did not know us and, as we learned later, had not seen Europeans before, therefore had no way of judging our remarks and our expressions, he was younger than Ukwane, and prouder, and was afraid of showing his naïveté, afraid of seeming to believe a lie or disbelieving something that everyone should know was true.

Gai was extremely handsome. In fact, he was one of the 142
most beautiful human beings I have ever seen, tall for a Bushman, his head shaved, showing a strong, domed skull. His face was strong, too, a little heavy of bone, with a big jaw which he carried thrust forward and up so that he looked at you from the bottom of his eyes, a reserved gaze. His body was smooth and brown, built compactly, the body itself long in proportion to the arms and legs. Like all Bushmen, he was narrow of shoulder and hip, with a deep chest and a large belly, and when seen from the side as his belly relaxed he seemed wider from front to back than he was from side to side, very like a hunting animal whose chest is deep but narrow. Gai was also well dressed, not with a strip of leather like 291
Ukwane, but with a beautifully designed, worked, and fringed loincloth with two wide tabs at the back which he could spread to sit on. He wore a band around his hips, too,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 In a short time we heard a rustle in the veld, and a young
854 woman who seemed to be in her early twenties stepped from the bushes. She was, Ukwane said, Gai's wife, and on her hip she carried a baby, a naked three-year-old who looked at us from his wide eyes fearlessly, then, realizing that we were strangers, buried his face in his mother's arm. His mother stroked him calmly and came toward us smiling and nodding her head graciously, although a little pulse was hammering in the V of her throat. We learned later that she had been sitting in the bushes very near us, and when she had seen her husband go by she had assumed that everything was all right and had come to greet us, not bothering to answer his cries.

●142 She was a short, sturdy woman with round arms, long thighs, and short calves. She had a rather large belly and
291 square, strong shoulders, and she wore a very tattered cape or kaross over her back, with a small leather apron around her hips. She had no ornaments except a row of blue scars over
304 her eyes, a decoration, and she had allowed her hair to be-
302 come disheveled, long, and a little tangled, hanging down
184 over her ears in tight spirals, instead of having shaved it off as most Bushman women do. All this gave her a very matter-of-fact air, which was not deceiving, for she saw in a glance that we were harmless and, looking us over, sat down at once beside me.

304 Her baby pulled, twisted, and tugged at her, and from the way he behaved I judged that he kept her too busy to be for-
[854] ever cutting her hair or making bead ornaments. Besides, she told us later, if she wore ornaments, the baby pulled them off. She had her row of scars, though, delicate and arching over her brow, making her eyes seem wider; as well as a row of striped scars along her thighs. These, say Bushmen, are made to imitate the beauty of zebras, and many women wear them, having been decorated when they were still young. It

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

of the old women, Dasina, who was Tsetchwe's mother, inhaled too deeply and began to faint. Tsetchwe half turned her mother so that everyone would not see her, and, putting an arm around her for support, let the old woman lean on her shoulder. Our interpreter laughed, and Tsetchwe turned to glare. Tsetchwe's back was exactly like her mother's, broad but curved in at the waist, the old woman's a little bloated but Tsetchwe's young and strong. 609 276 621

Another old woman was smoking, too, puffing on a short, wide pipe cut from a leg bone of some large antelope, so big that she had to stuff one end with grass to keep the tobacco inside. She almost unhinged her jaw each time she puffed. She would inhale and spit, cough, and inhale again without a sign of dizziness, and when she saw Dasina faint she too laughed out loudly. Her name, she told us, was Twikwe.

Twikwe was skinny and tall as a man, with long, lanky arms that she flung about in the air, gesturing, and long legs that jerked when she walked. She wore only a short piece of leather that reached from her waist to her thighs, and we could see that she was wrinkled from head to foot, her skin hanging in long, vertical wrinkles down her thighs and belly, like an old apple that has dried. She talked incessantly and loudly, always opening and closing her mouth, and she joked, for Ukwane and the young boys near her laughed at everything she said. She was telling how her husband had outdistanced her as they were running away and was surely running still. Every now and then she stopped her talk to shout out to him, jeering, saying that he was depriving himself of tobacco and should come back; then everyone would listen, but no sound came from him, no answer. He never did come back, and in the weeks we were there we never saw him. Perhaps he was running away from Twikwe, for we later learned that he was living in a valley with his other wife. 142 156 593 621 [595]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

142 The third old woman was Ukwane's wife, and her name
621 was Kutera. She was the oldest of the four women by many years, and much the frailest; her arms and legs were spindly, and she was so thin that her slender bones stuck out. She moved slowly, feebly, and spoke in a high, thin voice like the piping of a little bird. She didn't even have the big belly that Bushmen usually have; instead, her belly clung to her backbone and she looked like a little, dry bird skeleton, ready to splinter or be blown away.

The other members of the group were the three young boys. One, Giamakwe, about eleven years old, was the son of Ukwane's old age, and the other two, Wite and Witabe, about ten and fourteen, were the sons of Twikwe and the man who ran away. All were extremely thin, with arms and legs like matchsticks, and each wore a tiny rag of a loincloth that had been cast off by someone else and cut down to their sizes—just tokens of modesty, as the boys were not covered up at all. But they were very gay and active; their shyness of
857 621 us vanished immediately and was replaced by excitement; they whirled and spun like dervishes when they saw the gemsbok, played leapfrog, jounced each other, and ran circles around the werf, followed by the baby, Nhwakwe, who chased them like a puppy and could not keep up. He would tire from time to time, fall into his mother's lap to nurse, and then, refreshed, would rush headlong after the three boys again. He never did catch them, but this did not make him angry or make him cry.

224 When everyone was present, looking hungrily at the gemsbok on the jeep with a swarm of redheaded flies already at its mouth, Gai and Ukwane got their knives and rolled the gemsbok to the ground. She fell with a hard bounce, a thump as her legs or her long horns struck, and a huff as gas rushed from her open mouth. She lay stiffly, looking awkward with

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

481 trees, and on our way we found a path where before there
487 had been none. We followed it, it led to camp, and at its end we found Gai and eighteen other Bushmen, whose feet as they had walked in single file had worn a track. As we ap-
609 proached, the eighteen strangers drew back and together, the women behind the men, babies in their arms, and watched us hostilely. Gai persuaded them to sit down, which they did, all together, and when we asked them if they were hungry they said yes, so we gave them a drink of water and set a big pot of cornmeal to cook on our fire. We gave them each tobacco, which they smoked while they waited for the cornmeal to cook.

621 In that band there were six men, five of them in their thir-
162 ties, five women who seemed much younger, and one woman
596 who was very old. There were also three young boys and three babies, two girls and a boy. We guessed from the looks of the people—and later found that we were right—that the band was a small extended family. The old woman seemed to be the key figure of the band, for with her were her two sons and three daughters, their wives and husbands, and their children. The sixth man—a boy, really—did not seem to belong in this tightly woven group, for he was not married, being too young; he seemed too young to be the child of the old woman, though too old to be her grandchild, and I wondered who he was. Witabe's father was not there, and on that trip we did not find him.

●142 The three sisters of the band were all arrestingly beautiful. They looked alike, with very fine faces, slender features, large eyes, and they all wore handsome white bead ornaments. Heavy eyelids, set off by the pronounced, delicate bones of their faces, made them look of uncertain race, or like houris, and their slender bodies with skins slightly wrinkled made them seem of uncertain age. Perhaps the sun had made the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

wrinkles, perhaps they were older than they seemed. They 142 glared coldly at us with jealous, narrowed eyes and held their heads back like three cobras, quite unlike their brothers' wives, young girls, unmistakably Bushman, who did not look at us at all.

The men seemed very big and heavy, with a lot of muscle and fat on their bones for Bushmen. Gai came right out and asked them how it was they looked so well, and they answered with the usual Bushman pessimism: "We have some meat here but we have no water. We may look well, but we are hungry."

Gai sat down beside them with his back to them, and as 264 he talked he pulled his breakfast, which was a biscuit that we had brought with us, out of his hunting-bag. He took a big bite, causing the eyes of all the newcomers to open. "Gai is a great captain now," said William, the interpreter, in Afrikaans. "There he is eating European food." The man who sat next to Gai and who seemed to be the oldest began to laugh a hard, humorless laugh, stretching out his hand at once for the biscuit. Gai sighed and went on eating indifferently, but the man, who could hardly contain his envy, laughed his long, dry laugh again, edging crablike closer to Gai until his outstretched hand was almost at Gai's mouth. Gai broke off the largest part of the biscuit at last and handed it inconspicuously under his left arm to the man, who had a bite, passed it to the other men, who also had a bite and in turn gave it finally to the women, who each ate a morsel very suspiciously. The man beside Gai laughed on and on, watching Gai from half-closed eyes, but Gai, who had a great deal of self-possession, did not seem disturbed.

Presently the smell of the cornmeal cooking filled the air, 000 and the sound of its bubbling in the pot caused the man to stop his laughing and everyone else to talk pleasantly at last.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Gai was afraid of us at first. He listened carefully to everything we said, but he would not speak.

Even among her own people Tsetchwe was lonely, for in her band there was no young woman but herself.

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[p. 112(B)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Ukwane eats a tsama melon, the source of food and all water for Bushmen during the drought.

[p. 112(c)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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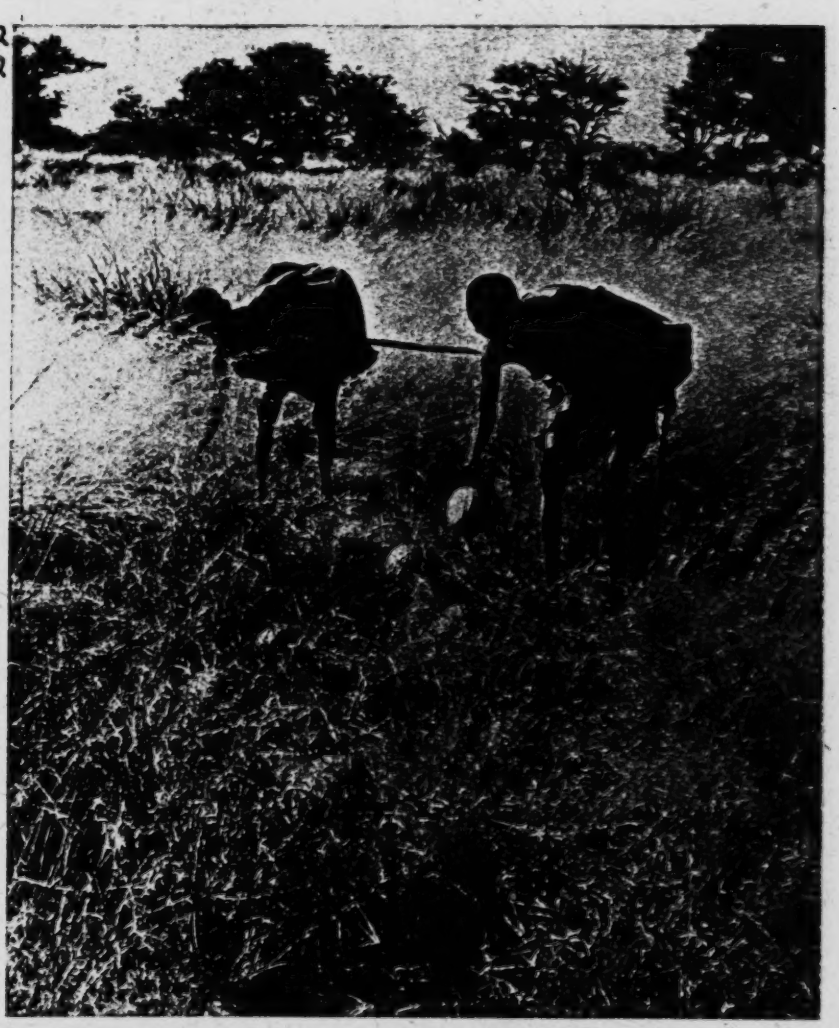

Tsama melons, on their vines, are almost hidden in the yellow grass, but Dasina and Twikwe find them.

[p. 112 (D)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Twikwe was a lanky old woman. She sometimes wound a medicine string around her belly to ward hunger away.

This is Gai's house, this bare sand
under the branch of a tree.

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[p. 112(E)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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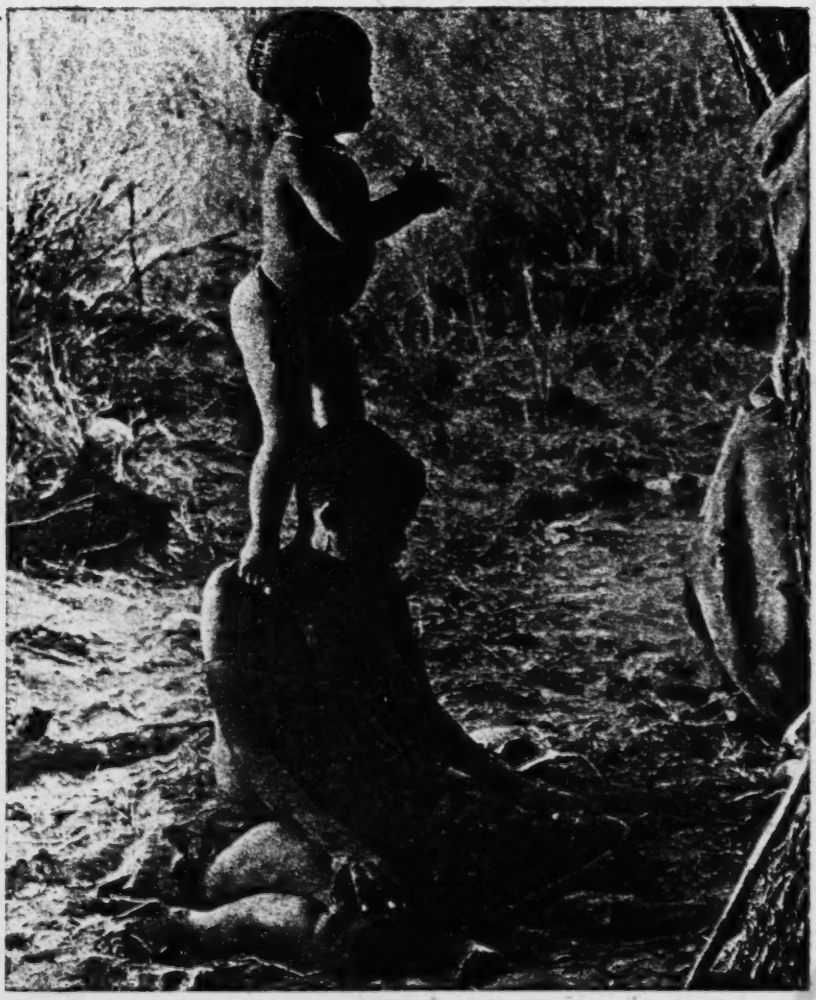

He climbed to her shoulder and stood there triumphantly without holding on, gazing around like a child on a hill.

[p. 112 (F)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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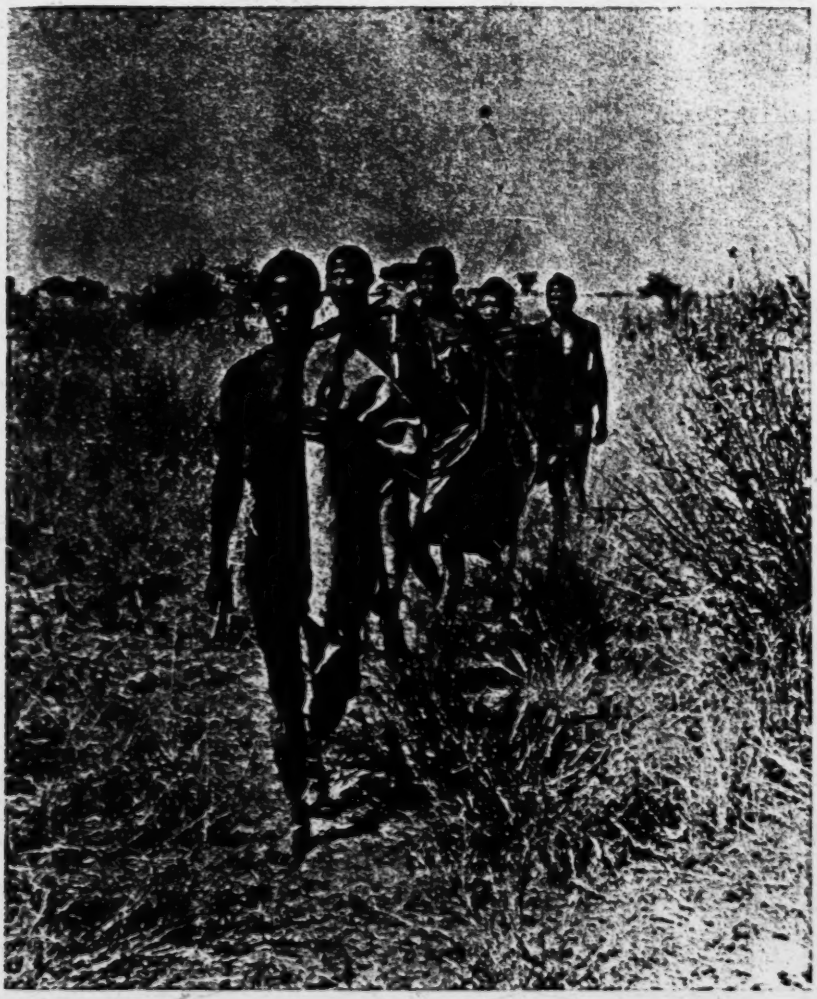

The jealous men from Okwa.

[p. 112(G)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 spearheads, tobacco and pipes, salt and candy and all the
123 water their containers would hold, all they could drink, and even enough water to wash in, for we had enough to take us to a waterhole a few hundred miles away where we could fill our drums. They did wash. Gai washed his whole body and
• [142] emerged a shining gold. The others washed their arms and
[834] faces, modesty preventing their washing the rest, leaving them with golden arms and oval golden masks.

Tsetchwe was pleased with her presents—she hung her white beads in her hair and wrapped herself in the blanket, which, she said, was far softer than leather and which would not get stiff in the rain—but she did not seem happy. She spent the evening sitting beside me, for though we could not talk much with each other I knew that she liked me. "I will cry when you are gone," she said.

576 The two horses, formed by the six young boys, came pranc-
526 ing by, the riders riding loosely, the front feet of the horses galloping but the hind feet, because of the heavy load, trotting up and down. One horse disintegrated in front of us and the young boys who had formed it came forward slowly. The rider, a young boy from Okwa, seemed to want to ask me something. He was very shy, but finally he mustered his courage. "Are you a woman?" he said.

576 Ordinarily, he would have been too polite to ask a personal question, something which Bushmen almost never do because to them asking questions implies distrust, but it may be that on the day before our departure he had found his curiosity impossible to resist. Tsetchwe frowned at him, but I said: "Yes, I am."

The horse had been arguing with the rider, and the two boys who had been the front and hind legs seemed quite triumphant. "We told you so," one said.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

into their scherms, and in the morning there was a lake of 132
shining water on the pan and lilies growing everywhere, where only their dry leaves had been before.

After that the rain came often. Some weeks it rained a lit- 132
tle every day, some weeks the rain became torrential and flat- 136
tened the Bushmen's grass scherms, but it made the veld rich and green, with flowers everywhere and all kinds of fruit, which grew on trees and stalks and bushes. The pan became the home of shore birds, marabou storks and flamingos. Leopards and lions drank there, game antelope waded through it, leaving deep tracks in the mud, and the Bushman children [515
sometimes danced in the shallows, their feet making flashing, 142]
rhythmic splashes, or bathed themselves until their skins were shining gold.

One night I went to the werf with a lantern and suddenly found myself beset by insects flying all around me, attracted by the light. It was the mating flight of white ants, which had come out of the ground in great numbers and now filled the air. The Bushman men were away on a hunting trip, un- [222
fortunately, but the women came to the light as quickly as 262]
the ants and began at once to catch them and stuff them into their mouths, saying "*gurico gum*" as they did so, *gurico* being the name of the ants and *gum* the word used for candy, for sweet gum that oozes from the trees, and for sweet caterpillars. Much faster than the women could eat, more and more ants came flying in a swarm as thick as a blizzard and already the ground was white with wings, for the ants, throwing themselves to the earth, would drop their wings instantly and begin to mate with each other in twos, in threes, even forming in great circles that turned as the ants ran scurrying to keep their positions, each one mounted with its forefeet on the back of the ant before it, pushed on by the ant behind. Sometimes an ant would fail to shed its wings and, finding

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

844 When the young woman came back to the werf with her baby she sat down and calmly washed the blood from her legs with water from an ostrich eggshell. Then she lay on her side to rest with her baby beside her, and covered the baby from the sun with a corner of her kaross. She put her nipple in the baby's mouth and let her try to nurse. The young woman still said nothing to anyone, but she did open her kaross to show the baby, and one by one we all came by to [143] look at her, and she was not brown, not gold, but pink as a pink rose, and her head was shaped perfectly. At the bottom of her spine was a Mongolian Spot, dark and triangular, and her hair, which she shed later, was finely curled and soft as eider down.

The father had been away, but he came home a little later and sat stolidly down on the man's side of the fire, his hands on his knees. He pronounced the baby's name softly to himself. Later, when he had no audience, he slipped his finger into the baby's hand. Of course the baby grasped it strongly, and the father smiled.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

302 accumulating dust had turned him black. When the rains came that year he had scrubbed himself with sand and water and had turned paler than the palest gold. No one had recog- [142] nized him for a minute and then people had made fun of him, so he had let his coating accumulate again.

361 That night the old man, Lazy Kwi's father-in-law, decided that his band would move with us to Nama, a pan near Gautscha Pan, for he and Lazy Kwi believed that if we went there they could help us find more bands of Bushmen whom we had known. No one, he said, was living at Gautscha this season and the people who belonged there were scattered through the veld because the rains had been so good that there was food and water everywhere. We said that we would 222 leave in the morning to begin the search, but the old man hesitated to agree and finally told us that in the morning he had planned to rob a bee tree, but after that he would be free to go. As he had hoped, the following morning we went with him on his trip for wild honey.

The bee tree was in a little forest about two miles from Gam, a forest filled with tiny yellow leaves and tiny seed pods blowing from the trees and scattered all through the grass, which in places had been plowed up by a wild pig rooting for bulbs. Because it was early in the morning and frosty, turtle doves were singing and the clear air was filled with their voices. Honey is always gathered at the coldest time of day, for then the bees are dull and stupid and it takes them a long time to collect their wits. The old man and Lazy Kwi cleared some grass and lit a tiny fire; then, squatting beside it, they warmed their hands, waiting for it to burn well, for they would use its smoke to numb the bees. Lazy Kwi's wife and 222 her sister had come too; they did not join the men by the fire 271 but walked off in the bush, gathering sour berries for their breakfast. The women in their wanderings found a hollow

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Long reeds almost filled the waterhole at Gautscha.

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Alone at his fire, Ukwane plays a mood song.

[p. 176(A)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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I sometimes received presents of gum from trees, or soft, sweet caterpillars.

Toma the leader.

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[p. 176(B)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Crooked Kwi and his wife, who once had run away from him.

Dikai made a bow from a branch, an arrow from a reed, and gave them to her younger son.

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[p. 176(C)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Toma's son, the new owner of Short Kwi's crown of badger hair.

The young musician—the lonely, brooding man who played the guashi.

[p. 176(D)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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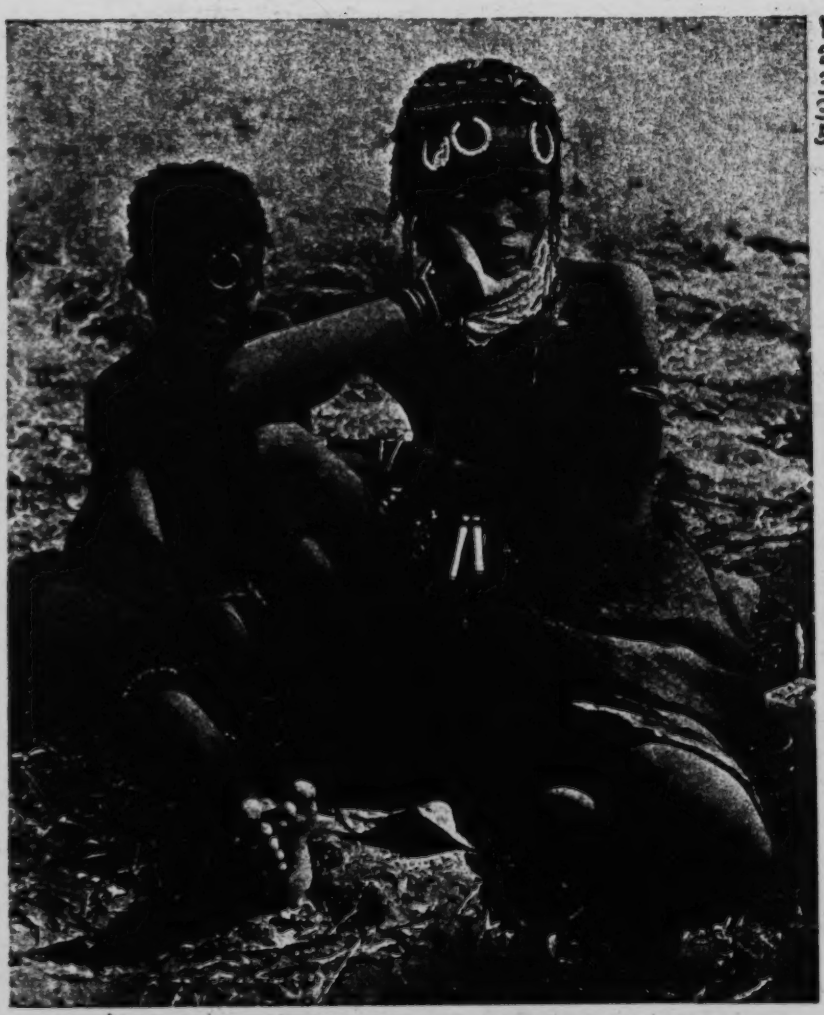

Beautiful Ungka's cousin, and the little girl who was content to follow her and be her handmaiden.

[p. 176(E)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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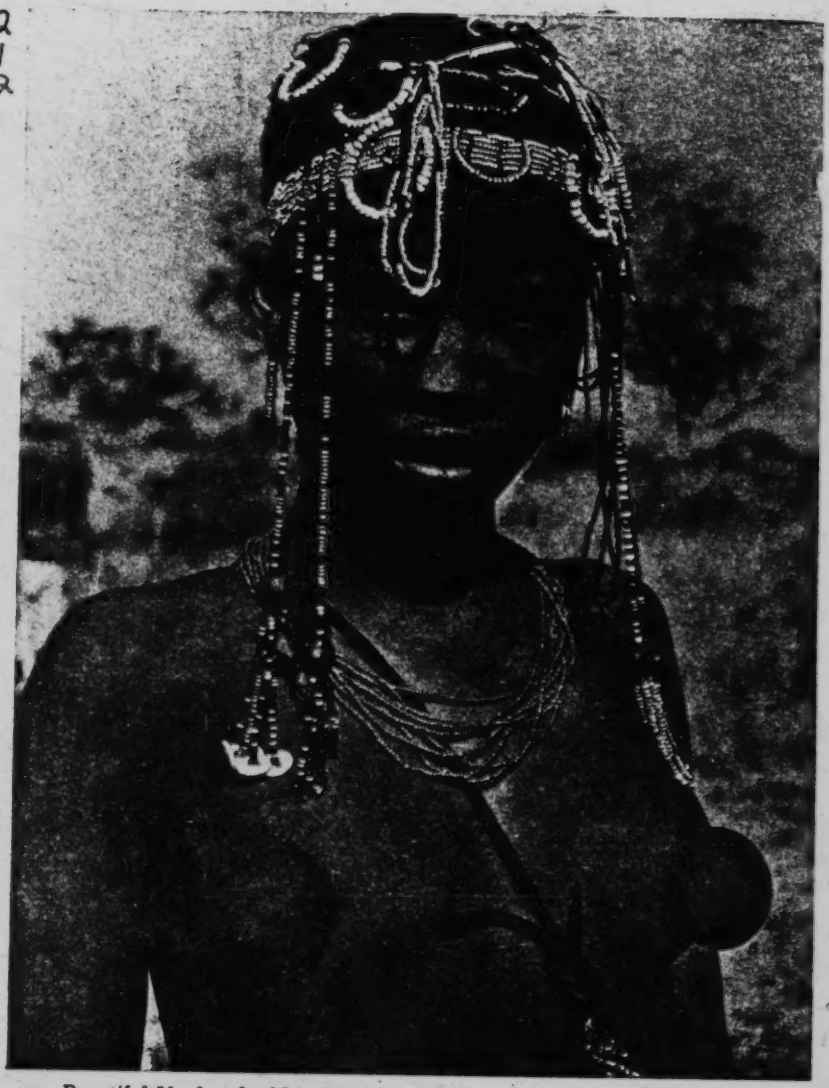

Beautiful Ungka, the lily of the field.

[p. 176 (F)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Tu made Norna clothes of ostrich-eggshell beads, an art taught to Bushmen by the gemsbok people.

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The old man who had never shot a buck, who had never married, now almost blind, too thin, and without people.

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[P. 176 (G)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ple, according to custom, and, when the old headman died, 159
took over the leadership of the people in the area. He was 622
not the true headman—his position would not be inherited 591
by his son, for headmanship is passed only from father to son—but he was recognized as headman while he lived and it was a great honor to him that this was so.

Tu's brother was the rightful headman of Gautscha, but 622
he had abdicated to live with his wife's people in the north. Her elder sister's husband, a man named Gao Big Feet, also had a right to the leadership in that his wife, Dikai, was older than Tu. But neither ever contested Toma's position as leader, for it was not a position which Toma held by force or pressure but simply by his wisdom and ability, and people prospered under him. No Bushman wants prominence, but [43]
Toma went further than most in avoiding prominence; he had almost no possessions and gave away everything that came into his hands. He was diplomatic, for in exchange for his self-imposed poverty he won the respect and following of all the people there. He enjoyed his position, and, being [578]
strangely free from the normal strains and jealousies of Bushmen, he saw justice clearly and hence he led his people well. At Gautscha his werf had been right beside the werf of his father's murderer, for Toma was friendly even with him.

Toma had a short, stocky body and a shock of tangled 142
hair. He was strong, too, and very co-ordinated, so that every 159
motion he made was quick and controlled, and not a gesture 622
of his was wasted. As a result of this enormous and uncon- [15]
scious control, accidents almost never happened to him. His face was broad, lined with many deep wrinkles at the corners of his eyes and mouth as though from smiling, though it was not from smiling that he got them but from years of squinting at the sun. His expression was usually dark and wondering, his forehead drawn intently into a frown, but

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

142 159 sometimes he would abandon his gravity and laugh a high, 622 reaching laugh that one could hear from far away, a laugh that came from his very soul, or, as Bushmen say, from his stomach. He listened diplomatically and intently whenever 159 153 he was spoken to, staring at the gound, and had a habit of echoing, in a loud falsetto voice, the important phrases of every sentence he was told.

"We went to Keitsa Pan," someone might say to him.

"To Keitsa," Toma would reply.

". . . and we slept there, but the blind flies were very bad . . ."

"Oh, bad, bad . . ."

". . . but in the morning we saw two porcupines . . ."

". . . yes, porcupines . . ."

". . . and we killed them there. We made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry."

159 Toma was considered to be very fortunate in his marriage. 142 Of course it was through his wife, Tu, that he gained the leadership of the Gautscha people, his life free in the veld rather than in serfdom, and his two young sons, but besides all this his wife was beautiful, having a smooth face and great, clear eyes like a cat. Also, she was five feet tall, considered to be a very desirable height, and although no Bushman has ever been too fat, Tu was not too thin and her arms and legs were round. She had soft blue scars curving on her fore- [304] head which made her eyes seem to lift at the corners, and blue scars on her thighs that showed when she walked. Her 159 chief virtues, in the eyes of Bushmen, were that she deco- 577 rated herself with ornaments in her hair and kept her hands [515 301] and face washed, thus demonstrating that she cared what she looked like, rather than letting herself go now that she was married. To show that she observed propriety, cared what

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

We had met him for the first time at Gautscha. He had 159 224
come in from the veld one night to visit his brother, and we had met him in the morning. Short Kwi was a young, small man, shorter than his wife and so slender that he looked almost like a child. With long, light feet that took him everywhere, with heavy thighs but light calves like the thin shanks [142] of a greyhound, and with a narrow, deep chest and lungs that never winded, he was obviously built for hunting. In the rainy season when the veld was soft and muddy he often hunted with only a spear and ran the great antelopes down, for though their hooves sunk and split in the mud, causing them eventually to tire, Short Kwi never tired and his strong legs bore him after them relentlessly, sweeping him down the long plains like a wind of death.

His life in the veld seemed lonely, but I doubt that it was; he had his wife, who adored him, for company in the evenings, and although she may have missed companionship more than he did, they were both shy, both quiet, and it may [573] be that they both enjoyed their life apart. Short Kwi hunted most of the time. He would hunt on and on and when word would reach the large band of his wife's family that he had killed, the band would go out to where the animal was, dry the meat, and eat it. When there was enough meat Short Kwi would rest, would relax in the sun, would talk with his wife or make himself a new skin bag or garment, and when word would reach him that all the meat was gone he would move again. The men of his wife's family hunted too, of course, but never as successfully as he, yet his great ability set [578 him so far apart from ordinary mortals that for once the 554] Bushmen forgot their jealousy and agreed that he was the best hunter the Kalahari had ever known.

It is a custom among Bushman hunters to cut strips of skin 301 224

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

621 The other werfs were much nearer us, as the people wanted
574 to keep an eye on each other, to see that we gave food or presents to all when we gave to one, but also because they enjoyed being together and wanted to be able to visit each other quickly at any time at all. Next to our camp on one side was Lazy Kwi's werf, and on the other side lived Toma with his wife and Gao Feet with his wives. At the far end of their werf lived Crooked Kwi with his wife and the old grandmother. They were between our camp and the pan, and beside their werf ran a pathway, the way used by the people on the other side of us to reach the water.

593 On the other side of the path, in the shade of a tree, lived one more small band, the band of a young man of perhaps thirty, who lived with his twelve-year-old son and his eight-
[583] year-old wife, whom he was nourishing while waiting for her to grow. These young people had chosen their spot because
[591] the little girl was Gao Feet's daughter by his first wife and was still so young that she wanted to live near her mother. She was a sad little girl with a grave face and troubled, wondering eyes; in fact, all these young people were very grave and sad—the young man's first wife had died and he now had no one to care for him because the little girl, his new wife, spent a great deal of time with her mother and he was left alone. The son was lonely too, having no mother and no one to care for him except his sad young father. His father was too troubled, too preoccupied, to be a companion to him, his little stepmother was too young, and he spent most of his time sitting on a rise of ground overlooking the werf where he lived, watching other people going by.

[142] The little girl took after her mother, Gao Feet's ugly wife, but her two men, her husband and her stepson, were a family
533 of great beauty. Both had wide, grave eyes and golden skins, and both were musicians, but the young father himself was

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

them with his moods and when he stopped playing and they 533
went away, they, too, were brooding.

Many young people had come to Nama, and together they 857
made Nama very gay. The boys played a game with wands, 526
throwing the wands at a hummock of ground and watching
them bounce off and sail into the grass on the other side, the
nearest that Bushmen come to a competitive game, for the
young boys like to see whose wand goes the farthest.

The girls played a singing game with a melon. They would
stand in a row that formed a half-circle dancing in place while
the girl at one end would spring into the middle of the circle
and toss a melon to the girl next to her in line. The game is
accompanied by a rapid, intricate song of several parts sung [533]
in falsetto voices, as pretty to hear as the game is pretty to see,
for the girls dance with their arms and heads as well as with
their feet, like the dancers of Bali.

At that time there were only two adolescent unmarried 882
girls at Nama. One of these was Beautiful Ungka, the other
was her cousin, and they both lived with the cousin's parents
at one of the werfs of the people from Gam. They were both
extremely beautiful and they were lilies of the field. Since
they were their parents' only children, they had no younger
brothers or sisters to mind, and did nothing at all from one [572]
day to the next but adorn and amuse themselves, and this
they did together, for they were the best of friends. They were
straight and slender, with pale-gold skin not yet darkened and [142]
weathered by the sun of the veld, and they had flat bellies and
high, small breasts. Beautiful Ungka had nipples like knobs,
rounded like balls. Both girls wore ornamented aprons, soft
leather capes—the best that there is. Many bead ornaments 302
hung from their hair and swung when they walked, and al-
most hid their handsome faces.

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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[534]

HUNTER'S LIFE is not all hunger and privation. *Abosa*, a young !Kung belle amuses herself with stringed instrument.

BUT AGE COMES SOON: bracelets, beads and pendants that adorn this mature !Kung matron contrast with seamed face.

[p. 16]

FEWNESS OF NUMBERS in desert's vast expanse may help account for characteristic !Kung habit of huddling together in company, as in case of this group of children, *above*. Items of personal adornment – eggshell disks, often in strings with seed beads, and hoops of traded wire – show parental affection.

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11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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HUDDLING HABIT is noticeable again in this gathering of women and children at a !Kung werf. Well-ornamented child, *foreground*, is still at breast.

[p. 24]

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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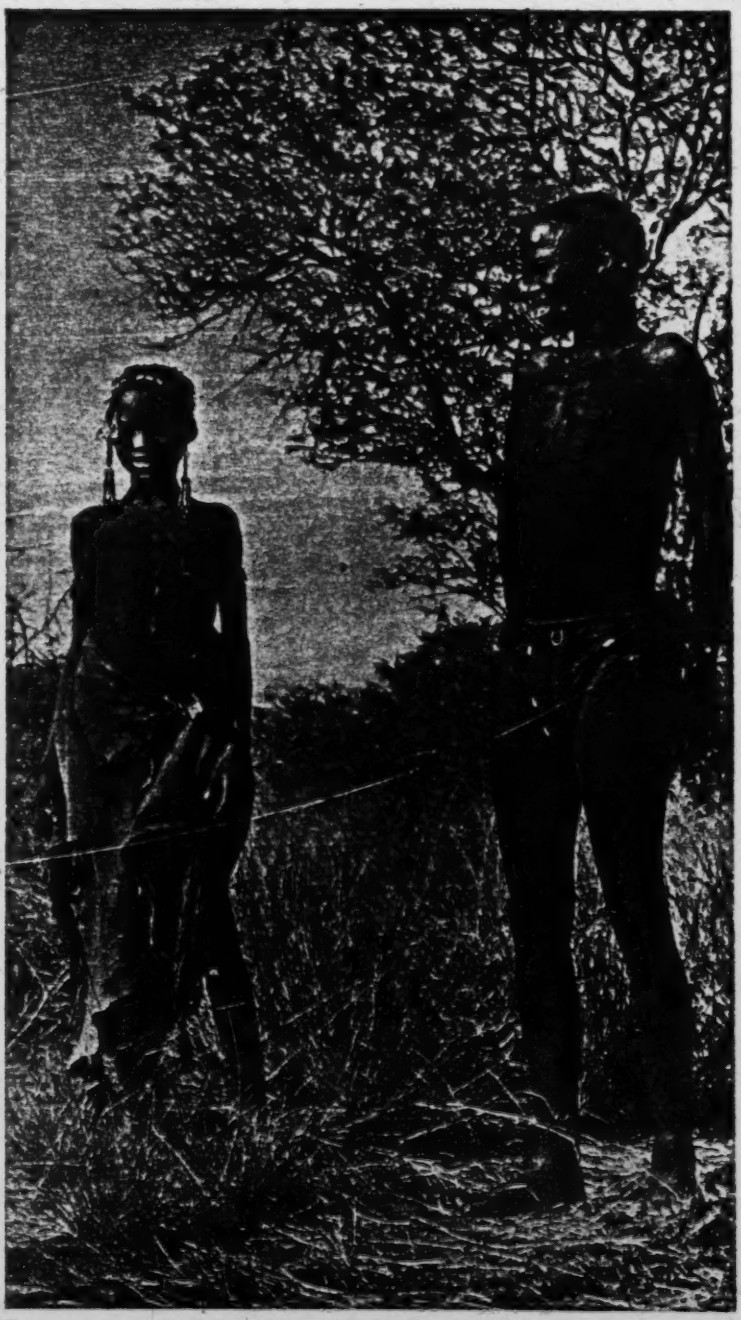

YOUNG COUPLE stands, shyly smiling, at outskirts of *werfi*. Marriage among the !Kung, as in the case here, often occurs before the girls reach puberty.

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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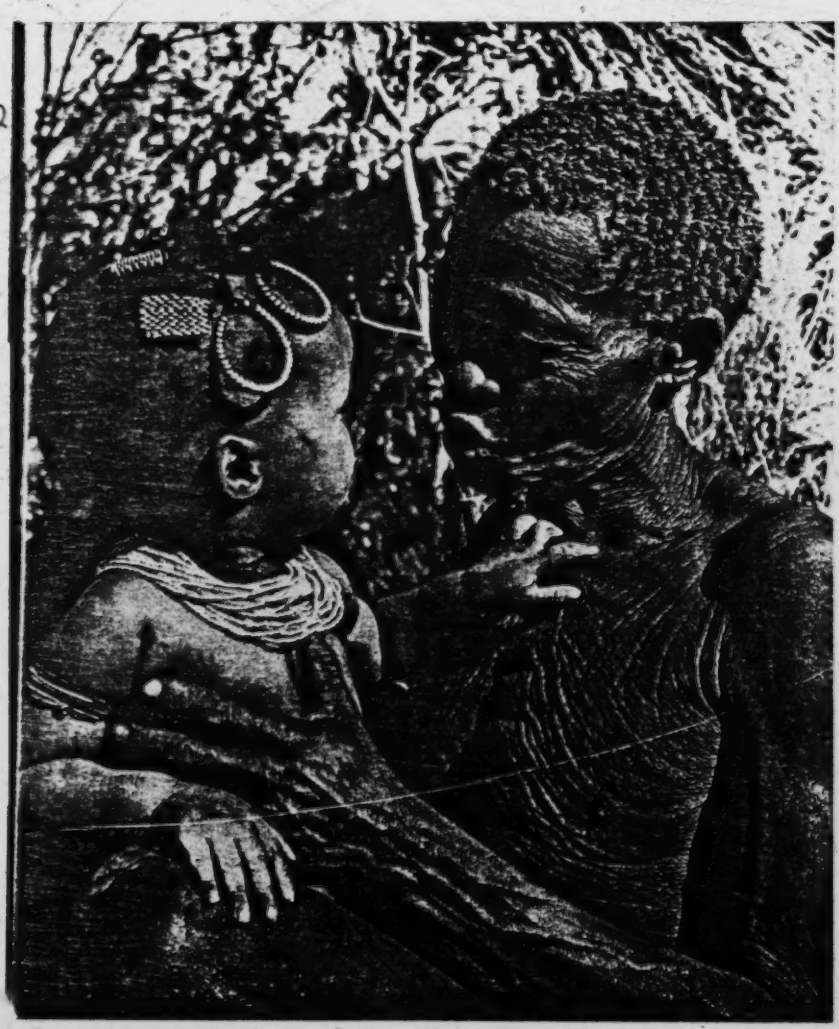

THE ROAD FROM YOUTH TO AGE is a short one among these desert dwellers, as witness the father and daughter here. It is a sparse life, and the hunter who can count twelve antelope killed in a year feels he has had a good season.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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[412]
[306]

[151]

FIG. 5. Old /Gam making ostrich egg-shell beads. Some cowrie shells from the South Seas (via New York) dangle among her ornaments

FIG. 6. Powers of observation are highly trained. This girl had seen, in the tangle of grass, a dry, hair-thin, brown vine stem which revealed that there was an edible root to be dug

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[140]
[301]

FIG. 7. Talking in the afternoon

FIG. 8. ≠Toma laughing

[p. 240-B]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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FIG. 15. It is polite to sit aside and wait to be asked to share someone's portion of meat

FIG. 16. A father and child in anxious reverie

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FIG. 17. All the possessions of Gao Medicine (left) and his wife, Di/ai

[p. 240-E]

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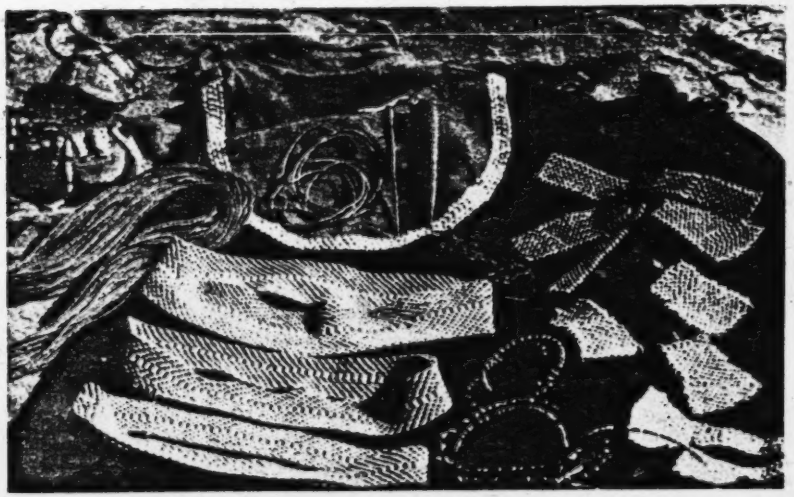

FIG. 18. Traditional /Kung women's ornaments. The genital apron (upper middle) has a border of ostrich egg-shell beads sewn on. Some traded wire, an awl, and a sheath for the awl lie on it. The head-bands are of three widths. The tortoise-shell cosmetic containers (for sweet-smelling *sa* powder) are ornamented with beads. There is a roll of fibre cord (left). The bead head ornaments (to the right) are associated with sex. The rectangular ones are said to be male; the triangular ones female

[142]

FIG. 19. A girl wears a headband made of traded beads around her head and a traditional Bushman ostrich egg-shell bead headband around her neck. Her bracelets (lower arm) are made of grass and of vegetable fibre cord

FIG. 20. The upper arm armlets with tabs are made from forehead hide of large animals which a young hunter has killed for his bride. Those from male bucks are worn on the young woman's right arm; those from female bucks on the left

[P 240-F]

516

FIG. 21. Gao Beard hammers out a spear blade. His young second wife sits composedly beside him at the family fire. She did not build a scherm for Gao when they settled this time. The upright sticks around their grass bed serve to symbolize home. The object which looks like a club behind Gao is an adze handle. His fire scraper lies in front of him

FIG. 22. A man cooking meat in a Bantu clay pot (obtained by trade)

[415]
[439]

FIG. 23. Smoking a soapstone pipe

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FIG. 24. Old Demi, grey-haired, is in his seventies. We figured his age roughly from his telling us that when he was a young adult he was, by chance, an unwilling witness lying under a log to a skirmish of the German–Herero war

[P. 240-G]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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14. The boys imitate a trance

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15. Gao, the medicine man who sees /Gamsu as a grey mist

[p. 228 (I)]

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A Headman ≠Toma is the leader of the main Guatscha band.

142 males average approximately five feet, two inches) with yellowish brown skin that becomes heavily wrinkled in old age. They have very little facial and body hair, and their short, black, head hair is so curly it spirals into peppercorn tufts. The Bushman face is flat and triangular; the brown eyes are set rather wide apart. A variety of eye folds narrow the apertures of the eyes. The nose is extremely broad with a very low bridge, the lips are everted but not protruding or only slightly so, and the ear is somewhat square in shape with a deeply rolled rim (helix). The Bushman body and limbs are slender; the frame is delicate. A notable feature is the inward curve of the small of the back. The penis is semierect. In women there is what is called the "Hottentot apron" (elongation of the *labia minora*). Steatopygia (fat on the buttocks) is invariably mentioned in the literature as one of the important physical characteristics of Bushman and Hottentot women and recorded as being very prominently developed in some. By comparison with the extreme examples that are seen among some Hottentot women and in illustrations, the northern and central Bushman women whom we observed did not have marked steatopygia, although some had buttocks that could be called plump.

197 LANGUAGE • Bushman languages and those of the Hottentots are classified as a language family known as Click or Khoisan (Greenberg 1955:80).
[194] Clicks are so unusual as to be almost unique to Bushman and Hottentot (they occur also in two East African languages—Sandawe and Hatsa—according to Greenberg) and are so distinguishing a feature of these languages that much attention is given them.

194 The Khoisan clicks, striking implosive sounds, are velaric suction stops
197 (Heffner 1960:119; cf. Beach 1938:73 ff.). The northern and central Bushman languages have four, made with the tongue, as follows: the dental (/), lateral (//), alveolar (!), and palatal (≠). The southern Bushman lan-

[p. 244]

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 462 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsī, the men always accompany the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with tsī and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater portion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging implement is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

222 [412] [101] [484] [361] [854] [482] [372]

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes, pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

252 264

Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

222 433 731

There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance A medicine man is going into a trance.

755

to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Gauwa* or the *//gauwasi*, who are there beyond the firelight, with a sharp, yelping cry of *"kai kai kai."*

The medicine men are usually only in shallow trance at this point, but, when the curing has been going on for some time, they begin to reach a state of patterned frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. They believe that fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. The medicine men rush out into the darkness, where *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. "Filthy face!" they screech. "Take away the sickness you have brought. You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away. . . . *Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die." At this point the medicine man may fall down in deep trance and appear to be unconscious or semiconscious, with eyes closed, stiff as a board, unable to walk. This stage of trance may last only a brief time or may continue for hours—even into the next day. Gradually it is resolved and the medicine man takes up his normal activities.

[372]

[274]

The !Kung believe that at the time of deep trance the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*. They call this "half death." It is a dangerous time. The women must continue to sing the medicine music. The man's body must be watched over, rubbed, and kept warm by other medicine men who are in less deep trance.

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The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

101 Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a
• 142 satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical
144 type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included, and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland
197 would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non-
121 Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West
224 Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A
222
464 strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting
648 and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many
241
233 thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

114 A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by
197 the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963). He has demonstrated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

10c In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is
[114] adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956). Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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L. Fourie

AUEN BUSHMAN
Showing initiation cuts between eyebrows

[FRONTISPIECE]
[FACING p. iii]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

PLATE I

142

L. Schultze.

/AUNI BUSHMAN
From S.W. Borders of Kalahari

[face p. 32

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Such individuals as I have measured ranged from 5 ft. 2 in. [157·5 cm.] up to 5 ft. 9 in. [175·3 cm.]. A few were below or above these figures, but the average height may be taken at 5 ft. 5 in." [168 cm.].[1] Elsewhere he adds that "the women are usually considerably shorter than the men; those that I have measured ranged from 4 ft. 9¾ in. [146·8 cm.] up to 5 ft. 2½ in." [158·8 cm.], and he gives 5 ft. 2 in. [157·5 cm.] as their average height.[2] The Hukwe and the Galikwe apparently attain to a still greater stature. Both Livingstone and Chapman speak of individuals fully 6 ft. tall (183 cm.), and the latter places the average stature of the "MaDenassena", i.e. Galikwe, at 5 ft. 10 in. (177·8 cm.).[3] According to Seiner the members of this tribe range in stature between 162 and 184 cm.,[4] and Wilhelm says of the Hukwe that statures of between 170 and 190 cm. must be regarded as normal.[5]

These figures show that on the whole the Bushmen north of the Molopo are distinctly taller than their Southern relatives, and it is evident that the further north and east we go the taller do they become. It has been suggested by several writers that this increase in stature is due to better conditions of subsistence. It is hardly justifiable, however, to assume that the Bushmen living within or on the borders of the Kalahari Desert could obtain better nourishment than those in the Cape, where water and food supply are on the whole much more favourable. It seems rather that we must look upon the pygmy stature of the Southern Bushmen as a true racial characteristic, and that the increased stature of the Northern tribes must be attributed to the influence of racial intermixture with other and taller peoples. This conclusion is borne out by several other features, of which the most evident perhaps is skin coloration.

In the Southern Bushmen the skin colour varies from light yellow to brownish-yellow. In the tribes just north of the Molopo some families are of the same colour, while others have darker tinges of varying shades—a patently new mixture. The Auen, Naron, and Kung have a fairly constant reddish-brown colour, although individuals incline more to yellow or to black. Among the !O Kung, according to Miss Bleek, some individuals are blackish-yellow, others reddish-brown or copper colour, others again are almost black, although

[1] "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas)," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 43.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 1925, p. 79.
[3] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in S. Africa*, 1857, p. 165; J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of S. Africa*, 1868, vol. i, p. 46.
[4] *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 299.
[5] *Z. EingebSpr.*, xii (1922), 300.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

142 144 lighter in shade than the Bantu of the same region; and she adds that in Bushman-Bantu crosses the first generation of children may be either yellowish or blackish, while later generations, where both parents have a little Bantu blood, show the reddish-brown colour which distinguishes these Northern Bushmen from the Southern.[1] The colour of the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, says Dornan, "is usually darker than in the typical Bushman, but even it is not constant. I have met individuals of the brownish-yellow colour of the Southern Bushmen, and even amongst these there were individuals of a very dark type."[2] The same range of variation is found among the North-Eastern tribes, where, however, the dominant shade is a dark chocolate colour approaching that of the Bantu.

141 142 144 It appears moreover that the light-coloured individuals in the tribes just north of the Molopo are comparatively short, while the darker individuals are all of greater height. The same is probably true of the Hiechware, while Kaufmann writes of the Auen that the band living at Gam, in the northernmost part of the tribal territory, consists almost entirely of proportionately tall individuals, whose colour is darker than that of the rest of the tribe.[3] If these observations are accurate, and they need to be tested by statistical investigation, they would provide an excellent indication of the lines along which the still necessary detailed study may be made of the variations produced in the physical characters of the Bushmen by intermixture with other peoples. In any case, if we bear in mind the advance of the Bantu peoples from the north-east and the extent to which the different Bushman tribes have therefore been exposed to contact with them, it need occasion no surprise that the most northern and eastern tribes show on the whole the greatest stature and darkest colour.

Seiner, indeed, definitely terms the Bushman tribes of the Northern Kalahari "Bastard-Buschleute". His general remarks on their characteristics may be quoted as a concise statement of the extent to which mixture with other peoples has taken place in this region. "Das Gebiet der Bastard-Buschleute," he says,[4] "liegt ganz in der südlichen Zone der Nord-Kalahari, zwischen dem südangolesischen Hochland und dem Kaokoveld einerseits, sowie dem Matabeleland und Nordost-Rhodesia anderseits . . . Dieses Gebiet wird durch den Okawango in einen grossen westlichen und in einen kleineren

[1] "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop.*, N.F. xxi (1927), 48.
[2] *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 42.
[3] Op. cit., 316.
[4] *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 283–4.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

östlichen Teil geschieden. Während nun in der westlichen Bastardzone, sowie in der Süd- und Mittel-Kalahari die Buschmannstämme mehr von Hottentotten als von Negern durchdrungen sind, ist die Zersetzung der Buschmannrasse in der östlichen Zone, dem Okawango-Sambesi-Gebiet, häuptsächlich auf die Vermischung mit Bantu zurückzuführen. Der eigentliche Rassentypus ist wohl sehr verwischt, kommt aber in der Mehrzahl der Fälle doch so stark zum Ausdruck, dass man diese Bastarde unbedingt zu den Buschleuten rechnen muss. Die Individuen neigen in Physiognomie und Wuchs bald mehr dem Neger, bald mehr dem Buschmann zu. Zwischen dem eckigen Buschmannkopf und dem runden Schädel des Negers sind die verschiedensten Verbindungen vorhanden, und von der fahlgelben bzw. rötlichgelben Hautfarbe der Buschleute bis zur rötlichschwarzbraunen Farbe der Neger zeigen sich zahlreiche Übergänge. Bereits Livingstone berichtet, dass die nördlich des Ngamisees, also in der Nord-Kalahari, lebenden Buschleute grösser, kräftiger und dunkelfarbiger seien als jene der südlichen Steppen. Tatsächlich sind in der östlichen Bastardzone Menschen von 170 cm. häufig, und diese Beobachtung war auch der Hauptgrund, dieses Menschengruppe nicht ohne weiteres als Buschleute anzuerkennen, da die Variationsbreite der Körpergrösse der letzteren zwischen 140 bis 160 cm. liegt. Am Okawango, an dem die westlichen Bastardzone beginnt, sind Individuen von 170 cm. Körperhöhe seltener und ist der Prozentsatz an ausgeprägten Buschmanntypen grösser, welcher Umstand vielleicht einen stärkeren Neigung zu Rückschlägen zugeschrieben werden könnte."

It may be taken therefore, although only stature and skin colour have so far been touched upon as the most apparent indications of variation, that the Southern Bushmen do actually represent the purest Bushman type, while the Northern tribes all show some degree of intermixture with other peoples. They are, however, of undoubted Bushman stock, and although in the following brief survey of the principal racial characters of the Bushmen the Southern tribes have been taken as the standard type, it must be understood that save where otherwise indicated the description applies equally to all the Bushmen.

The skin itself of the Bushmen is very dry and lean, with little adipose tissue. It readily forms into deep wrinkles and folds, especially on the face, even in fairly young and well-nourished people. In the Northern tribes, and chiefly in the "Bastard" Bushmen, the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

L. Schultze

NAMIB BUSHMAN (//OBANEN GROUP)

A. M. Cronin

/XAM (CAPE) BUSHMAN
Notice the characteristic shape of the ear

[Facing p. 56]

[face p. 56

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

142 tendency to fold is not so excessive, wrinkled features being comparatively rare in young people. There is very little hair on the body. The greater part of its surface seems completely bare; the arm-pits have only a weak show of hair, and even in the pubic regions the growth is very sparse. It is only on the scalp and occasionally on the eyebrows that the hair is at all thick. Rudimentary and irregular traces of beard and moustache are sometimes seen in the men, but rarely grow to any length or thickness. The hair is black in colour, and becomes grey only in very old people; baldness is extremely rare, even in advanced age. The hair is commonly very short and fine, but occasionally may be fairly long on the head of a woman. Such occurrences, however, seem to be rare, and it cannot be said that length of hair is a secondary sexual characteristic in the Bushmen. The hairs are tightly coiled into small spiral knots (not inappropriately referred to in popular speech as "peppercorns") which on the scalp appear to be separated by bare spots, but actually the hair follicles are distributed as in other races. In section the hair presents an elliptical contour.

141 The head in the Southern Bushmen is small and relatively broad (mesocephalic), and markedly low in the crown (platycephalic). The
142 face is broad and flat, somewhat rectangular in shape, and generally orthognathous or only slightly prognathous. The forehead is low and bulging, the cheek-bones fairly prominent, and the lower jaw relatively broad. In the Northern tribes there is a slight but distinct tendency for the head to be narrower and higher, the face appears longer and more oval in shape, and a fair degree of prognathism is
[144] often noticed. Among the Kung, and particularly among the !O Kung, one sometimes finds long narrow faces with aquiline noses and almost Semitic features, hinting at some new racial component which still remains to be determined; but even in these tribes the small rectangular Bushman facial type crops up in a number of faces with more or less negroid features.

142 The nose is generally low and very broad, especially at the root. As seen in profile, it is short and concave, but is set well back and often appears quite flat. The wings are broad, and the nostrils, which are directed forwards, have a curious splayed-out appearance. The orbits are low and the eyes set rather wide apart. The opening between the eyelids is very narrow, and often appears slightly oblique, owing to the remarkable fullness of the upper lid and the fact that a prominent fold of skin curves round from above it to the side of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

142 the nose and completely covers the inner canthus of the eye. This feature has often given rise to comparisons with the Mongolian eye, and even to a completely erroneous suggestion of racial affinity between the Bushmen and the Chinese. The iris is dark brown in colour, and the small pupil often appears to blend with it. In the Northern tribes Seiner found that in the majority of cases both this characteristic fold of the upper eyelid and the narrow opening were present, although he notes that as the proportion of foreign blood increases the opening becomes wider.

The ear is another specially characteristic feature of the Bushmen. Fritsch speaks of "great, ugly ears which stand away from the head", but this description is erroneous. The true Bushman ear is short and broad, with very little or even no trace of a lobe; the upper border is almost horizontal at its commencement, and the lower border is, as it were, pressed right into the cheeks. The helix is broad and almost completely rolled in, and there is no trace of the Darwinian tubercle. Among the Kung and the Heikum Seiner found this characteristic ear present in about half the cases he examined; the rest tended to have large ears and fairly well-developed lobes.

The lips are rather thin, though a false suggestion of thickness is often conveyed by the fact that the mucous membrane is generally everted. The upper lip, seen in profile, is slightly convex. The lower lip generally projects slightly beyond the upper, and thus heightens the snout-like appearance of the mouth, as does also the retreating chin, which is of medium size and mostly rounded, although in the Northern tribes it tends to become pointed. The teeth are as a rule white and sound, though often worn down considerably in old people. Among the !O Kung, however, the teeth are said by Miss Bleek to be "very bad" even amongst the boys and girls; "probably this is a result of their living on meal and soft food, as their Kalahari brethren living on wild vegetables have most magnificent teeth."[1]

The body generally is slim in build, but well proportioned, and in spite of the small stature of the Southern Bushmen there is no suggestion of dwarfishness in their appearance. The limbs are slender, and the muscles on them form firm and well-marked cord-like projections, but the joints are large and prominent, and often give the limbs a somewhat unsightly appearance. The arms and legs are rather short in relation to the length of the trunk, in fact the Bushman

[1] "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928), 106–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

142 arm is the shortest on record. In the Northern tribes measured by
[141] Seiner and Werner the index of span-breadth to stature is just over 100, whereas in Europeans it is about 103 and in the Central African Pygmies as much as 106. The hands and feet are very small and narrow in proportion, the fingers and toes short and stumpy.

The outline of the body is sunken and angular, and all projections are strongly marked. The shoulders are angular, and the shoulder-blades and collar-bones stand out very strongly, owing to the thinness of the muscles and the lack of adipose tissue in the skin. The chest as a rule is fairly well developed, though its appearance is sometimes vitiated by the variable conditions of the abdomen, and especially
[262] by the frequent occurrence of a pendulous belly, chiefly in young people, as the result of unfavourable diet, unrestricted gorging, and the frequent alternation between starvation and plenty. Where the food supply is at all regular, this abnormal protuberance is rarely seen. The buttocks are small but often seem prominent owing to the curious inward curvature of the spine in the lumbo-sacral region. The penis,
[147] even when not in a state of erection, often extends horizontally in a semi-erect condition. This remarkable feature, portrayed also in many of the Bushman paintings of human beings, has been regarded by some recent writers, such as von Luschan and Seiner, as a special racial characteristic of the Bushmen.

The Northern Bushmen do not differ very markedly in build from their Southern relatives, although the "Bastard" tribes are on the whole better developed physically. They have stronger limbs, with arms and legs slightly longer in proportion; the shoulders are more rounded, and the chest seen to better advantage. The protuberant abdomen and the marked hollow of the back due to the lumbo-sacral curvature are present in most individuals. The hands and feet are
[147 slightly bigger, the fingers and toes longer. The horizontal projection
144] of the penis was noted by Seiner in about three-fifths of the men he examined. He states that with admixture of Bantu blood it begins to droop, so that there does appear to be some racial significance attached to this feature. Its occurrence has not yet been physiologically explained, although Seiner suggests that it may be due to a strong development of the *Ligamentum suspensorium penis*.

142 The female body, like that of the male, is generally slender, the
147 limbs slight, the hands and feet small. In mature women, however, there is often found a strong accumulation of fat on the thighs and especially on the buttocks, a character known as steatopygia, which

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

may occasionally be seen in the men also. Strongly-marked steatopygia is not very frequent, however, and in spite of the many statements to the contrary it cannot be regarded as a racial peculiarity. Fritsch, indeed, and other acute observers even look upon the occurrence of steatopygia in Bushwomen as indicating the presence of Hottentot blood. However this may be, it is certain that steatopygia is not as prominent a feature of Bushwomen as is sometimes asserted. In the Northern Bushwomen it seldom occurs.

The breasts in young girls are small and conical, with well-marked nipples; after puberty they become somewhat pendulous, and in the older women who have given birth to several children they hang very low and are often in an extremely shrivelled condition. The genital organs are notable for a frequent hypertrophy of the labia minora—the so-called "Hottentot apron"—which are sometimes considerably elongated, and may project as much as 10 cm. beyond the rima pudendi. This appears to be a physiological feature, and not artificially produced by manipulation, as has sometimes been suggested. It is found in the Northern tribes also, but is not peculiar to Bushwomen, since it is common among the Hottentots as well as among various East African peoples.

It will be seen from this description that all the Bushmen are on the whole fundamentally of the same physical type, although the Northern tribes vary in certain features from the Southern. It is impossible to draw any clear-cut line of distinction between the different tribes. There is rather a continuous gradation of characters, the type gradually becoming more impure the further north and east we go. The general tendency is for the Northern Bushmen to be taller, often considerably taller, than their Southern relatives; they have a darker colour, and better muscular development, relatively narrower and higher heads and faces, and show certain negroid characteristics in their facial features and bodily build. These divergent tendencies, it is evident, are the result of racial intermixture with other peoples, principally Bantu negroids; and the process of intermixture is still continuing. Seiner's designation of these Northern tribes as "Bastard Bushmen" is well founded, and there can be no doubt that they are all by now to some extent at least a hybrid people as far as physical characters are concerned.

Hottentots

The Hottentots resemble the Southern Bushmen very closely in appearance. It is only in stature and shape of the head that significant

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

KORA (HOTTENTOT) WOMAN
Notice the excessive facial wrinkling

A. M. Cronin

"MOSARWA" BUSHMAN, S. KALAHARI

[Facing p. 60]

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B
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[face p. 60

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

B H 142

somewhat larger than in Bushmen, and while it does not display the same well-marked peculiarities as the Southern Bushman ear is, on the whole, strongly reminiscent of it, especially in shape and in the well-rolled helix. There is generally a moderate lobe, although occasionally the ear is lobeless, as in pure-blooded Bushmen. The lips are thin, the mucous membrane everted, and there is the same convexity of the upper lip as in the Bushmen. The lips project considerably, the lower slightly beyond the upper, giving the mouth a snout-like appearance, which may also be noticed in some of the Bushmen. This projection of the lips easily conveys the impression of great prognathism, owing to the flatness of the nose and the retreating chin; but actually the degree of prognathism is slight, although greater than in the Cape Bushmen.

In build there is also a great similarity between Hottentots and Bushmen. The bodies of the Hottentots are slender, and the limbs very slight; good muscular development is rare, the muscles generally being thin and cord-like. The legs are rather long in proportion to the trunk, while the arms, again, are short; the hands and feet are small and narrow, like those of the Bushmen. The hips project but little, and the protuberant belly seen in the Southern Bushmen does not occur to the same extent, although it is also often found in small children. The buttocks are small, but may appear prominent owing to the strong inclination of the pelvis and the hollow back, features already noted in the Bushmen as well. The horizontal position of the penis found in pure-blooded Bushmen is occasionally seen in the Hottentots, but is comparatively rare.

B H [147]

B H 142 147

The breasts of the girls, like those of the Bushmen girls, are proportionately small and conical, with projecting nipples; but in mature women they become quite limp, and hang flat against the body. Steatopygia is far more common and more pronounced than in Bushwomen; it is found in the women of all the Hottentot tribes, although it tends to disappear where there is any great degree of intermixture with other peoples. Elongation of the labia minora is also very often found as a physiological feature. Although this cannot be regarded as a racial peculiarity, the fact is noteworthy that it occurs far more frequently in Khoisan women than in the women of any of the other South African peoples.

B H 144 141 142

Relationship Between Bushmen and Hottentots

The Hottentots and Bushmen are so much alike in physical characters and so distinct in appearance from the other inhabitants of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

B H 144 141 142

South Africa that we cannot but look upon these two peoples as very closely allied in race. Both the Cape Bushmen and the Hottentots have a brownish-yellow skin colour; black, spiral, sparsely-distributed hair; low heads and faces, broad flat noses with low bridges, widely separated eyes with narrow openings and a strong development of the upper lid; steatopygia and elongation of the labia minora. The Hottentots, however, are taller; their heads are larger in length and height, and prevalently dolicocephalic; their faces slightly longer and more prognathous, and their noses slightly narrower; while steatopygia is also more common.

Now it has already been shown that the more northerly Bushmen are taller and darker than the Cape Bushmen, and that their heads tend to be longer and higher and proportionately narrower, while they have also a higher degree of prognathism. These divergencies, we have seen, are obviously the result of intermixture with other peoples, principally of negroid (Bantu) stock. In the Hottentots the differences from the Cape Bushmen in stature and the shape of the head are of the same nature as those found in the Northern Bushmen. On the other hand, they have the same skin colour as the Cape Bushmen, and certain peculiarities, such as steatopygia, which are more pronounced in them than even in the Bushmen, and which seldom occur in the Northern Bushmen.

B H 144 141

In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the Northern Bushmen, it seems that we must look upon the Hottentots also as people of Bushman stock who have been influenced in physical characters by intermixture with some other racial group. The prevalent theory, as already mentioned, is that this new component was derived from the light-skinned Hamitic stock. Shrubsall, however, working upon skeletal material alone, maintains that this theory is untenable, and that the new element in the composition of the Hottentots must have been of Bantu stock. "The appearance of the Hottentot skulls," he says, "in no way suggests any marked intermediate characters between those of Bushmen and of any more Hamitic race, while in the features in which they differ from the Bush crania they certainly resemble negroes . . . When the distribution of the various cranial and facial indices is compared it may be seen that the Hottentot in almost every case is intermediate between the Bushmen and the Bantu negroes . . . It can be shown that while the Hottentot measurements are in some respects intermediate between those of Bushmen and of Hamites, they are more nearly intermediate between the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Bushmen and the Bantu, and where they show this least they resemble the Sudanese negro more than the Hamite."[1]

The fact that the Northern Bushmen, who have unquestionably been affected by racial intermixture with the Bantu, tend to diverge from the Cape Bushmen in the same cranial features as do the Hottentots might seem to support this view. On the other hand, these Northern Bushmen have also acquired a darker skin colour, while the Hottentots are as light in colour as the Cape Bushmen; and, again, as von Luschan has shown, occasionally one finds facial features in the Hottentots which are strongly reminiscent of the Hamitic type, and can only be regarded as reversions to it (cf. Plate V).[2] Schultze also comments upon the same fact, and shows that in several of the men whose physical characters he investigated statures well above the mean were combined with long faces and narrow noses, features indicative of Hamitic influence.[3] Moreover, although such evidence cannot be adduced as conclusive in a discussion of purely racial origins, it is surely not without some bearing upon this question that the languages of the Hottentots present affinities to those of the Hamitic language family, and that their cattle and sheep are of the breeds associated in Africa with Hamitic culture.

B H 142 141

The craniological evidence is opposed to the conclusion that the Hottentots are a true Bushman-Hamitic cross without a negro element; but the other factors noted suggest that some Hamitic element at least must have entered into the composition of the Hottentots. In this connection it must be mentioned that the Bantu themselves are negroes who have been affected to some extent by Hamitic admixture. Consequently the resemblance in cranial characters between the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen need not necessarily argue against the presence of Hamitic blood in the former. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that the Hottentots may represent a mixture of people of Bushman stock with both Hamites and negroes, or perhaps with an earlier mixture of the two latter stocks having a predominantly Hamitic culture. The fact that the racially pure Hottentots now vary but slightly amongst themselves suggests that this intermixture which gave rise to them is of very long standing, and hence probably originated before they came into South Africa.

[1] F. C. Shrubsall, "The Pygmy and Negro Races of Africa," *Lancet*, 1908 (January–June), p. 985.
[2] "Hamitische Typen," in C. Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, 1912, pp. 252–3.
[3] Op. cit., p. 213.

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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[facing p. 118]

L. Fourie

GROUP OF AUEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN
Notice the clothing and ornaments, and the mode of carrying the babies

[*face p.* 118

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

142
291
301
516

[facing p. 122]

L. Fourie

AUEN GIRL

L. Fourie

NARON WOMAN IN CEREMONIAL DRESS OF BEADWORK

[*face p.* 122

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

PLATE X

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411
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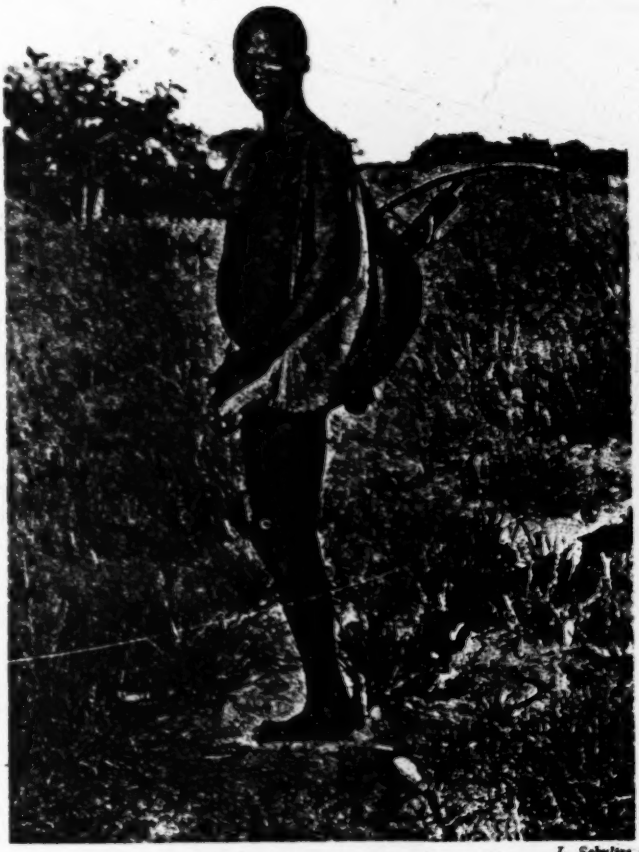

L. Schultze

"MOSARWA," S. KALAHARI,
Carrying Bow and Quiver

[*facing p.* 140

/135 cont./

114 accounts for the incompleteness and gaps in my data, defects which make themselves felt particularly in the last chapter. Thus, I could neither do the important section on linguistics nor make a collection of ethnological materials.

The observations and researches that I did undertake were repeatedly tested for their correctness to the best of my abilities. The possibility of error, of course, is nevertheless admitted without reservation.

Aminuis, August, 1908. Kaufmann.

General Observations

144 It is my conviction that the ǂAuin, as well as all other Kalahari Bushmen, do not represent a homogeneous race, but rather a people or, better still, several peoples who have lost their original character through mixture with one another and above all with peoples of other races (Bantu). At any rate, a number of Bergdamara [Bergdama] or Herero decidedly gives a stronger impression of derivation from the same mold than do the same number of Bushmen.

197 The linguistic differentiation of the individual tribes is sometimes so great that mutual intelligibility is impossible.

171 182 The apparent cultural homogeneity is probably based on the uniformity of the landscape that everywhere surrounds them and on the living conditions (Kalahari culture).

144 171 There is no doubt that an intimate relationship of some kind exists between the Hottentot and Bushmen. It may be that the Bushmen are degenerate Hottentot with some admixture of foreign blood, or, on the other hand, that the Hottentot are Bushmen with foreign admixture who have emancipated themselves from the Kalahari culture.

[114] 144 197 I believe I shall not be guilty of an indiscretion if I report that the ethnographer Dr. Pöch shares this view with me. In a private communication he writes to me from Kamelpan

/135 cont./

144 (Ngamiland): "I should like to observe briefly that the Kalahari
197 Bushmen are low in my estimation, both in respect to their language and to their appearance; I was able to confirm an extremely close relationship with the Nama [Hottentot], but in an old dialect no longer spoken today."

Since I lack the knowledge for making anthropological
141 measurements, I shall confine myself to /136/ presenting several ≠Auin types as I observed them. They may not be without value for comparative purposes.

I should like to add that in measuring physical height I obtained the following results:

Adult men (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.51 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.62	meters
Minimum height	1.47	meters

Adult women (between 20 and 40 years of age)

Average	1.45 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.53	meters
Minimum height	1.38	meters

A. Geography and Statistics

The ≠Auin, as they call themselves and as they are known to
131 the neighboring Bushmen tribes, inhabit that part of the central Kalahari which is more or less immediately bounded by the watering places Rietfontein, Ganab, Gam, Sidonitzaub, Otjiamangombe, Tjumda, Epukiro, Oas, Stampriet, Rooigrauwater, and Habakobis. Their territory lies for the greater part within the boundaries of the German protectorate. The adjoining sketch indicates as accurately as possible the geographic location, as well as the approximate territory of the neighboring Bushmen tribes. The
101 Hottentot designate the ≠Auin as ≠Au-San (Schinz), the inhabitants of the Chanse Veld as ≠Aukwé (Passarge), the Betschuana [Tswana] as Makaukau. The approximate number of Auin (1),

[104]

1. For the sake of simplicity I shall from now on omit the initial mark ≠, which indicates the click.

/136 cont./ The approximate number of Auin,
162 naturally in the form of the very roughest estimate, is apparent from the following compilation:

There reside in the region of

Oas	about 300	persons
Dawis	" 150	"
Stampriet	" 250	"
Rooigrauwater	" 50	"
Korikas	" 150	"
Olifantskloof	" 200	"
Habakobis	" 100	"
Rietfontein	" 200	"
Tjumda	" 100	"
Go	" 150	"
Sidonitzaub	" 1,000	"
Karasburg	" 100	"
Epukiro	" 100	"
Ganab	" 100	"
Gam	" 100	"
Total	about 3,000	persons

[114] In my opinion the number of Bushmen living in the Kalahari (not only the Auin) has been consistently underestimated.

I wrote these lines in October, 1908. Today, in other words,
165 not yet a year later, I am forced to change my opinion, since
161 the malaria of the last rainy season has taken many victims and has decimated the Auin as well as the other tribes. According to the figures provided, I consider myself justified in suggesting that of the Auin estimated above at 3,000, only about half at most remain.

It is impossible to obtain more precise statistics since the
648 Bushmen successfully evade any kind of control. Even the administration of the protectorate takes account of this fact by dispensing from the outset with any registration or the like by the Kalahari Bushmen.

No special racial layers are to be distinguished among the
●144 Auin, although it is doubtless true that certain individuals can be shown to have more Negro blood than others.

[5 cont.]

173 the Oldoway race as one of its carriers, the presence of a Eurafrican racial element from oldest times on may be regarded as certain also for South Africa. The carriers of this hand-ax industry, who, I am convinced, already carried on a kind of plant cultivation and were tied essentially to the forested zones, were later followed by a group of peoples and races with definite flake industries. Among these we may include the Katanga race and the other Australiform finds. A new wave of Eurafrican racial elements was brought by the carriers of the blade industries of the
174 Middle Stone Age of South Africa. Even today we are still unable to determine when the Bushman races adopted a Stone Age industry or even when they entered the country. Just as racially
[144] the Bushman incorporated remnants of all the preceding races or
[154] those that at one time existed side by side with them (Europoid -- Australiform), so their culture, varying from tribe to tribe, likewise constitutes a unity only in its optimal adaptation to the conditions of the environment. In its individual traits, on the other hand, it represents a residual culture whose stability depends on a selection intentionally and purposively carried out, and which resulted from foreign cultures from the Old Stone Age up to the present.

Chapter 1

The Bushmen of Angola

105 We are indebted to D. F. Bleek (1) for most of the data

[113] 1. D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," Bantu Studies, Vol. III, No. 2, 1928 Johannesburg. Further, Archiv für Anthropologie, 1930.

concerning the Angola Bushmen. The Bushmen are !Kung. The men are 159.3 (145.5-170) centimeters tall, the women 148.8 (135-161.3) centimeters. They live between the Msuma in the north, the Lomba in the south, and between Okawango and the

[16 cont.]

[134] saturation and ground water, is a dry forest of a different type
137 which corresponds to Warburg's lowland forest and, in contrast to the light dry forest of the looser sand, is distinguished by a relatively high density. -- The dry forest steppe occupies the largest areas of the !Kung Veld, and [17] lowland forest and grass steppe form only modest enclaves in it. Within the dry forest, at those places where the nature of the terrain makes possible the accumulation and preservation of relatively significant quantities of water or ground humidity, there are individual trees that are to be regarded as remnants of a former compact lowland forest, and the floristic composition of such forest islands leads to the conclusion that the entire region, with the exception of the primary grass steppes, whose floor probably never displayed taller vegetation because of its sterility, was once covered by a lush lowland forest as is preserved in its finest form at present in the northern Kalahari and in the 'rain forest' of Victoria Falls."

101 By the !Kung Bushmen in the narrower sense, who are
[131] divided into a northern group and an eastern group, I refer to those people who are located north of the police zone and south of the Okovanggo in the effluent region of the Omuramba u Owambo at the Löwenomuramba and on both sides of the lower and central Omuramba u Omatako. The groups in the source region of the Omuramba u Owambo have been studied by me in
174 greater detail. In former times, the !Kung undoubtedly lived much farther south and west. It is not improbable that they left the Grootfontein plain and the Otawi mountains under the pressure of the Hei//om, who in turn were forced out of the central region by the Herero. On the other side they undoubtedly gained space toward the south, for according to reports from the pre-war period, the Nogau were settled in the Sand Veld all the way to the vicinity of Otjituo, whereas today they have retreated
144 behind Alexeck. The racial composition of the !Kung Bushmen allows one to make a conclusion about their history. Among them we find a larger number of Europoid types than among the surrounding Bantu tribes. In addition, Austroloid influence is

[17 cont.]

144 obvious, and the southern Bushman race, that is, the one that displays the characteristics generally ascribed to the Bushmen as a whole, is found to be pure only to a modest degree which in-
137 creases toward the south. In the north, the !Kung Bushmen are
184 decidedly forest people, whereas in the Sand Veld they inhabit the shadeless low bush. The surface of the region consists of
134 areas of whitish sand, red toward the east and north, which is
137 streaked with strips of surface chalk. Along the Omuramba Omatako and parallel to it there are pseudo-dunes running north-northeast -- south-southwest and covered with dense thorn bushes. On the more clayey soils in the vicinity of the Omurambas [perhaps a local term for "rivers"] there is denser tropical dry forest. A reminder of more humid times is provided by three or four giant baobab trees that are dying.

Ludwig Zukowsky (1) reports on the fauna and flora:

[113]

> 1. "Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Säugetiere Deutschsüdwestafrikas [Contribution to the Knowledge of the Mammals of German Southwest Africa], " Archiv für Naturgeschichte, Vol. 90, No. 1, Part A, 1924.

137 "The Kung Veldt, a large deciduous broad-leaf forest
[136] region, bounded in the north by the Okovanggo, in the east by this river's flood area, in the south by the Dusche and Schadum, and in the west by the lower course of the Omuramba u'Omatako, is regarded by J.H. Wilhelm as a special faunal region, since here the most striking representatives of the Sand Veld, oryx, oribi, bubalis, guevei [blue duiker], and canis are absent and in their place new forms appear, such as damaliscus, schaeffia [?], and hippotragus. Red sand dominates the entire region, which is covered with sereng [Burkea africana], red bean trees [Copaifera coleosperma], mokussi (Baikiaca plurijuga), yellowwood [Terminalia sericea], dolf [Therocarpus erinaceus], and wild orange trees (Strychnos schumanniana). During the rainy season, when the trees are covered with leaves, the deciduous forest that covers the entire region remotely resembles a younger German beech forest. The chief tree is the sereng (Burkea africana) with its accompanying tree, the mokussi

[64 cont.]

000 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib
769 Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu
[774] doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the
[825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals,
[824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe
[776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at
551 her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say
602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo
105 delta, J. Seiner reports:
101 "The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting.
[563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe
[144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease,
AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY,

[68 cont.]

142 Racially, these Bushmen are smaller and lighter in color than
144 those of the north and show the admixtures of the southern Bushman race to a much greater degree. There is constant coming and go-
648 ing in this region. Seiner (1) reports the following:

[113]

1. J. Seiner, "Der Verbindungsweg zwischen Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika und der Betschuanalandeisenbahn [The Line of Communication between German Southwest Africa and the Bechuanaland Railway]," Globus, Vol. 96, 1910.

"The Bushmen from around Rietfontein are friendly to the Germans and repeatedly supplied the station garrison with effective help against the Herero and Ovambandjeru passing through. At the time of my stay in January and February, 1907, there was a small village of the Au-nin, who belong to Passarge's Kaukau people, one kilometer north of the barracks, and a village of the Ai-khoe, whom Passarge includes among the Ngami people, one and a half kilometers southwest of the station. The Bushmen of the latter village were subject to the Au-nin, who called them Naru (subordinates, slaves). Since in June, 1908, Dr. Pöch found only Au-nin in Rietfontein, it would seem that the Ai-khoe, in the meantime had emigrated or were driven out by the Au-nin."

To some extent all these tribes represent a cultural unit. A
[184] 114 fine study by First Lieutenant Kaufmann (2) is available for the

[113]

2. Kaufmann, "Die ≠Au-in, "Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1910.

≠Auin, and one by D.F.Bleek (3) for the Naron. I shall now compare

[113]

3. D.F.Bleek, "The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari," Publications of the School of African Life and Language, Cambridge, 1928.

these tribes with one another, and it is to be understood that only the data concerning the Nogau are my own.

/246 cont./

142 The Herero, like the Bushmen, give the use of veld food,
147 especially the onion known as unki, as the cause of this peculiarity.
171 The attached photographs illustrate the swelling in the case of a Bushman (Fig. 3) and a Herero (Fig. 4).

The nose is sharply set off from the forehead and strikingly
142 small. The bridge of the nose is so flat that in some cases one can scarcely speak of a bridge of the nose; the area between the cheekbones is an almost level surface. The tip /247/ of the nose is small and pointed slightly upward. The largest diameter of the nostrils runs diagonally. The lips are narrow in comparison with those of most Negroes; their color is almost exactly that of the surrounding skin of the face.

The teeth of the majority of individuals are in pretty good condition; among the 39 persons I examined, I found only 28 carious teeth. In comparison with a European, the extreme wear of the teeth is striking; it progresses with age and is so marked in old people that the teeth are worn down to the roots, again a consequence of the way of life dependent upon a root diet. The incisors very slightly point forward.

The Heikum do not have artificial deformities of the teeth.
304 Several of those examined displayed the well-known Herero
648 deformity (filing down the inner sides of the two central upper incisors and removal of the four lower incisors) [Figs. 3 and 4 appear here], which is explained by the fact that these Bushmen had been Herero slaves in their childhood and were marked in the Herero manner by their former masters.

The ear is of normal size; its outline is rounded, not bent at an
142 angle. The ear lobe is always joined to the head.

In spite of general gauntness, the marked development of the abdomen in most cases is striking, even among the adults.

The female breast is conical in the case of individuals who have not borne children; the region around the nipple is usually separated by a gentle furrow from the rest of the breast. The color of the nipple area is deep brown. The nipple is raised.

[304] Circumcision is not practiced by either men or women. Among the Heikum and Kung women I did not find the abnormally pro-
[144] nounced development of the buttocks, known as steatopygia, which is so common among Hottentot women. To my mind this is

/247 cont./

144 conclusive evidence /248/ against any notion of racial kinship between the Bushmen and the Hottentot.

The arms are thin and not very muscular; the hands are small
142 and very delicate. In contrast to the musculature of the arms, that of the legs is better developed. The arch of the foot is good; only in one case did I observe flat feet.

The big toe is pointed straight and shows neither a deviation

[291]
[301]
[516]

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

toward the median line of the foot nor one away from it.

In most cases the second toe extends farthest, but in two cases it was exceeded by the first toe. The second and first or second and third toe of some of the others examined extended the same distance. The following table gives more exact information on this matter:

/249 cont./

To indicate affirmation the head is thrown back and the
201 eyebrows are raised.

Otherwise, the physiognomic changes of expression are essentially like those of Europeans. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Bushman's facial mobility is considerably greater than that of a European, and even quite weak emotions are expressed by lively gestures.

If I may be permitted, I should like to emphasize here a
194 peculiarity of voice among the Bushmen; among the women especially the voice seems to me abnormally high-pitched. In my opinion the speech of a Heikum woman is pitched several notes higher, on the average, than that of a Herero woman. Evidently this peculiarity is connected with the smallness of the larynx of the Heikum people.

The anthropometric figures presented above are doubtless much
141 smaller than comparable ones for the Herero, Nama, and
144 Bergdamara [Bergdama] living in the immediate vicinity of the Bushmen. Nonetheless, as regards smallness, the Heikum certainly do not approach the Pygmies of Central Africa. Whether further ethnological and ethnographic investigations will uncover kindred traits among these peoples remains to be shown by further research.
144 That the Bushmen represent an almost pure race is apparent from the fact that the skin color is the same for almost all individuals, and from the evident uniformity in the structure of the body, especially of the face. In addition, the other native tribes of Southwest Africa show a pronounced aversion to racial mixture with the despised Bushmen.

I come now to some ethnological and ethnographic observa-
535 tions which to me seem worthy of interest. I was especially
[171] interested in the dances of the Heikum, of which one, the //o //au, shows no similarity to any other native dance with which I have become acquainted in Southwest and East Africa.

The //o //au dance (in Kung language: //ooskê) is a men's dance in which a series of dueling runs by the performing dancers are represented (Figs. 5 and 6). Six men, three to a side in opposing pairs, kneel in an area about three meters square, with a free space between the two rows. In the middle of this free area there is a pile of veld food. The men kneel down, hunched very

342 are filled with grass. The door is a hole scarcely a meter high;
[354] immediately behind it the fire burns almost continuously, so that, at least for the European, crawling into the hut presents considerable difficulties. Since the Bushmen are often forced to
[361] move their settlements because of the lack of veld food or because of the water conditions, they not infrequently content themselves with incomplete huts, which are not closed to form a full circle, but represent only a part, a segment of a hut, as it were, and give only scant protection against the sun.

For the rest, it is astonishing how hardened these practically
147 naked Bushmen are against the cold of the night which during the cold season is very sharp -- not infrequently below O° [centigrade].
[513] Unclothed except for the loincloth, they calmly go to sleep on the cold ground near a small fire, exposed to the icy night air, a thought that gives chills to Europeans, who are unable to sleep without three woolen blankets on such nights.

Concerning the much discussed racial position of the Bush-
●144 men, I have already remarked above -- at least concerning the Heikum and Kung -- that their descent from the Hottentots, as is frequently asserted, seems doubtful to me. The Bushmen's smaller size, of course, can be accounted for by the debilitation of the race through centuries-long unfavorable living conditions. What argues against the notion of racial affinity, however, is the anthropological fact that steatopygia is not to be found among
197 the Heikum and Kung women, /260/ and, in addition, the language is totally different.

I attempted to collect a sample of the vocabulary and some grammatical characteristics of the language of the Heikum on the Omatako and of the Kung in the Kaukau Veld, which I present below. In doing this, it became evident that the languages of the Heikum and Kung are merely dialectically differentiated, while they seem to have almost no relationship to the Nama language. The click sounds, to be sure, are almost the same as
[194] those in the Hottentot language; hence, / designates the dental
[104] click, // the lateral click, ! the cerebral [retroflex] click, and ≠ the palatal click. By ⁝ I designate the sharp opening of the glottis in speaking the initial vowel, which frequently occurs between a consonant and a vowel or between two vowels of the same word, and which does not occur in this fashion in the Nama.

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Population.

161 The Bushmen are scattered over an area of approximately [3] 60,000 square miles. Of this area at least 50,000 square miles are practically unknown and otherwise uninhabited, being accessible with considerable difficulty only during the rainy season. It is extremely difficult, therefore, to arrive at a reliable conclusion as to their numbers. On a conservative basis they are estimated to number between 2,500 and 3,500, viz.:—

162

Kaukau Bushmen—	
!Kũng	500—800
Ssu-ǂgnassi	200—300
ǂAo-//ẽin	500—600
Ngami Bushmen—	
//Aikwe	50—75
/Nu-//ẽin	200—300
Hei-//om	1,000—1,500
/Huinin and /Geinin	75—100

Physical Characteristics.

144 With the exception of certain groups who are living in the more inaccessible portions of the Kalahari, most of the Bushmen show various degrees of intermixture with the Hottentots and Bantu. No uniform racial type is consequently met with among them. This fact is not to be wondered at when the various racial influences to which they have been exposed for centuries are taken into consideration. For geographical reasons the Bushmen in certain parts of the Kalahari did not suffer to the same extent from these influences as those who were in the line of migration of the invading races. Roughly speaking three characteristic types may be distinguished among them. The first, in which the Hottentot element would appear to be the dominant one, is seen among the *Hei-//om*, *ǂAo-//ẽin* and *Naron* in the Gobabis district and among the remnants still met with on the borders of Namaqualand. The second type approximates that of the Bantu and is seen particularly among the *Hei-//om* who live on the outskirts of Ovamboland. In the third, still met with only in the Kalahari, bush characteristics are still apparently predominant. As reliable information is not available on this subject, to the investigation of which but little attention has been directed up to the present, further reference to it would not serve any useful purpose.

Social Organisation.

The Family Group.

619 Each of the language groups into which the Bushmen have been classified consist of several main sub-divisions. Though for the sake of convenience the latter will be referred to as "tribes" in this report, there is no evidence of any tribal

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

7

THE !KUNG BUSHMEN OF THE KALAHARI DESERT

about the chapter

For the anthropologist, the Bushmen are one of the world's most intriguing peoples, as they are virtually unique physically, linguistically, and culturally. The physical anthropologist cannot place the Bushmen in any one of the recognized major racial groupings: Caucasoid, Mongoloid, or Negroid. Similarly, linguists have placed their language in a category, Khoisan, apart from other African language families. The velar "clicks" that characterize Khoisan languages are apparently found nowhere in the world outside of Africa.

The culture of the Bushmen shows the imprint of their harsh and barren desert habitat, and, as Marshall points out, the ethos of their culture is dominated by the quest for survival. Many Bushman cultural institutions are molded by certain ecological constants: water, the location of water holes, water-storing plants, and other edible wild plants, the movements of game. The size of the band, the daily cycle of labor, the low incidence of polygyny, are all aspects of culture marked in this way. Certain other Bushman institutions, however, are not simply cultural creations passively molded by habitat; rather, they give the Bushmen better than even odds to defy the limitations which their habitat imposes. Such culture patterns are their skillful hunting techniques, their institutionalized patterns of sharing, and their strong striving for cooperation and harmony. Few cultures give the observer such a rich opportunity to study the two-way interaction between habitat and culture.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

LORNA MARSHALL · *The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert*[1]

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION · The Bushmen live in those parts of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa that lie in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate, in South West Africa, and in southeastern Angola. A few additional remnants of Bushman groups still exist in Northern Rhodesia and at Lake Chrissie in South Africa. In the past Bushmen had a much wider distribution.[2]

Many Bushmen live among, and some work for, the Bantu-speaking tribes in settlements where sufficient water resources have been developed to support cattle, and some Bushmen work for white farmers in the Ghanzi area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in South West Africa. However, many still live in small, independent, nomadic groups, widely dispersed in the vast areas of the desert.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise population count of the Bushmen, but a recent estimate gathered from various contemporary sources (Tobias 1956) indicates that in 1955 there were 55,531 Bushmen.[3] These figures are higher than any previously propounded (cf. Schapera 1939) and come as a surprise to many.

The Bushmen are linked with the Hottentots, a southern African people who resemble them physically and with whom they have linguistic affiliations, but who are a pastoral people with a more complex social structure. Bushmen and Hottentots together are called the *Khoisan* peoples, a coined term combining the Hottentots' term for themselves (*Khoi*) and their name for the Bushmen (*San*). The Khoisan peoples have been referred to as a distinct race (Murdock 1959: 8) or, as Howells puts it, "a major racial variety of man" (1959:306). The obscurity of their origins and racial affinities are in themselves subjects in which research continues and interesting postulations engage the attention of scientists in various fields.[4]

PHYSICAL FEATURES · The physical features of the Bushmen have drawn much attention from anthropologists. Bushmen are of small stature (adult males average approximately five feet, two inches) WITH YELLOWISH BROWN SKIN THAT BECOMES HEAVILY WRINKLED IN OLD AGE.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

174 1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common
[172] origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at
177 the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or
131 exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

131 (3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as
162 listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

144 (4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into cate-
[114] gories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

114 (5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been pub-
147 lished by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

224 (6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed
126 in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

553 (7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential
602 beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed.
121 A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

101 Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a 142 satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical 144 type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included, and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland 197 would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non- 121 Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West 224 Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A 222 strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting 464 648 and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many 241 233 thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

114 A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by 197 the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963). He has demonstrated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

101 [114] In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956). Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10.

and the elevated ridges and plateaus of Central Africa. The route bifurcates north of Lake Nyasa. The eastern branch leads to the broad coastal belt of the Rovuma-Rufiji region and down to the Zambesi delta, the western branch to the diversified plateau between Lakes Nyasa and Bangweolo and the Zambesi River. H B 131 167

This diversified plateau region is important as the central point from which migration routes branch out into South Africa. Two principal routes may be distinguished, one leading to the south, the other to the west. The southward route, crossing the Zambesi just above or just below the famous gorge which begins at the Victoria Falls, leads through the Matabeleland plateau of Southern Rhodesia into the Northern Transvaal, avoiding the unhealthy coastlands of Portuguese East Africa on the east, and the waterless tracts of the Middle and Southern Kalahari on the west. Then, following the uplands of the great interior plateau, it leads down through the Western Transvaal and Orange Free State into the west of Cape Province, or, branching off through Zululand, passes along the south-east and south coast belt to rejoin the other line in the Cape Province. The westward route follows the southern equatorial watershed between the two well-watered regions of the Congo basin and the Northern Kalahari and so leads to the fertile and healthy highlands of Angola. Here it branches out on the north to Loanda and the Lower Congo, on the south over the Kunene into the highland plateaus of South-West Africa and across the Orange River into the Western Cape Province, where it meets the southward route.

These are the main lines of migration imposed above all on cattle-keeping peoples. The high steppes afford the best pasture and facilitate movement, and in addition are more healthy for men and animals than the low-lying coastlands or the moister portions of the interior with their malaria, tsetse fly and other infectious diseases. One other point must be noticed. South Africa by virtue of its geographical situation forms an ethnological cul-de-sac: the ocean on three sides bars all further progress. Hence invading peoples must either wipe out their predecessors completely or live side by side with them, the latter a condition likely to result in intermingling and the formation of hybrid races and cultures. Both processes have occurred frequently enough in the history of the country. H B. [144 721]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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The Earlier and Middle Stone Age Cultures must consequently be regarded as previous to the Bushmen. 172 174

There is, moreover, a lack of continuity in type between the Middle and the Later Stone Cultures which precludes the possibility that the latter, and the Bushmen stone industries forming part of it, developed in South Africa out of the former. On the other hand, scattered all over East Africa, especially in Tanganyika Territory, Uganda, and Kenya, there are found stone implement industries and in some cases rock paintings so closely resembling those of the Bushmen that they must be regarded as of a common origin. These facts together lead to the conclusion that the stone industries associated in South Africa with the Bushmen were not indigenous to the country, but constitute an invading element which penetrated into it from the north-east and superseded the two pre-existing stone cultures. As yet no human remains have been found definitely associated with either of these preceding cultures, except in the case of the Still Bay Industry of the Middle Stone Age, from a deposit of which was recently excavated a skeleton belonging to the extinct racial type now termed "Boskopoid".[1] This racial type, of which other remains have been discovered, but with no clear archæological association, differs considerably from that of the Bushmen, and the two cannot be regarded as intimately related.[2]

All this suggests that the Bushmen themselves came into South Africa with their culture from the north-east. No skeletal remains have yet been discovered north of the Zambesi River similar to those of the Bushmen, however, nor are there any peoples living outside South Africa who may be regarded definitely as Bushman in race. Attempts have often been made to establish a connection between the Bushmen and the Pygmy peoples inhabiting the equatorial forests of Africa, more especially in the Congo region. The two groups of peoples certainly have various features in common. Both, for example, are short in stature, in both the hair is short and woolly, and the skin colour brownish-yellow. But in the shape of the head and above all in the build of the body they differ so markedly as to eliminate any possibility of racial identity. There seems to be no more intimate relationship between the Bushmen and the Pygmies than the fact that phylogenetically both are derived from a small variety of negro, 174 144

[1] Goodwin, op. cit., 180–1; Goodwin and Lowe, op. cit., 126.
[2] Cf. G. D. Laing, "The Relationship between Boskop, Bushman, and Negro Elements in the Formation of the Native Races of South Africa," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 905–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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174 to which main stock they are generally regarded as belonging. But they must be looked upon essentially as divergent branches which
144 have specialized along different lines.[1]

At the same time, although as a distinct racial type the Bushmen are now restricted to Africa south of the Zambesi River, traces of their former existence further north are found not only in culture. Physical features reminiscent of them are seen occasionally in various peoples of East-Central Africa, such as the Andorobo, Elgunono, and Doko, while between Abyssinia on the north and the Zambesi River on the south evidence of their absorption by the Nilotic and Bantu negroes is found in sporadic reversions of their type occurring in almost all the East African peoples.[2] Moreover, the Sandawe, a settled hunting people living west of the Irangi plateau in Tanganyika Territory, speak a language which in phonology (especially in the occurrence of " click " consonants), syntax, and vocabulary has certain by no means insignificant resemblances with the Khoisan languages of South Africa, and the Kanjegu of the same region are also said to have a click language.[3] There seems to be no great similarity in appearance between these peoples and the Bushmen; but, as Dempwolff suggests, it is quite probable that they were originally Bushmen who have since become considerably modified, first by intermixture with Hamitic immigrants into East Africa, and later by the incorporation of Bantu blood as well.

174 On the whole, therefore, the evidence seems to indicate that at a very early time the Bushmen occupied the hunting grounds of tropical East Africa, perhaps even to the confines of Abyssinia. That they are no longer to be found in this region may be ascribed to its extensive invasion by later Hamitic and Negro peoples. Harried by the encroachment of these more powerful races, the Bushmen, where they were not exterminated or absorbed, must gradually have passed southwards, keeping along the more open grasslands of the eastern

[1] The points of resemblance between the Bushmen and the Pygmies are fully discussed by F. von Luschan, " Pygmäen und Buschmänner," *Z. Ethn.*, xlvi (1914), 154–76, who is of the opinion that the two are closely related. The main arguments against this view may be seen in, e.g. H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, pp. 518 sqq., and R. Pöch, " Die Stellung der Buschmannrasse unter den übrigen Menschenrassen," *KorrBl. deuts. Ges. Anthrop.*, xlii (1911), 75–80. A. C. Haddon, in *The Races of Man*, 1924, pp. 17–18, gives short summaries of the physical characteristics of the two peoples, which bring out very clearly the essential points both of resemblance and of difference.

[2] A. C. Haddon, Presidential Address to Section H, *Rept. Brit. Assn.* (*South Africa Meeting*), 1905, p. 514.

[3] O. Dempwolff, *Die Sandawe*, 1916, esp. pp. 63–70; F. J. Bagshawe, " The Peoples of the Happy Valley," *J. Afr. Soc.*, xxiv (1924–5), 25 sqq., 117 sqq., 219 sqq., 328 sqq.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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197 619 on account of their relative geographical distribution. These names may also be used as affording a convenient means of grouping the different tribes.[1]

619 The SOUTHERN GROUP is distributed mainly over the region roughly south of the Tropic of Capricorn. Of the tribes included in it the [197] best known, both ethnologically and linguistically, are the */xam-ka !ke* (i.e. */xam* people), commonly spoken of as the "Cape Bushmen". They were formerly spread over the greater part of the Cape Province south of the Orange River, and seem to have been very numerous. [162] They have, however, been almost completely exterminated, and at the present time only a few individuals still survive in the north-western districts of the Province, where they are mostly employed as farm hands by Europeans.[2]

A similar fate has overtaken several other tribes of this group. The *//ŋ !ke* ("home people") of Griqualand West and Gordonia are now also represented by only a few individuals, the majority of whom are farm hands in the Langeberg District.[3] East of them, in Orange Free State and Basutoland, lived other Bushmen, of whose [162] language, folklore, and customs some records have been preserved, but who are now apparently quite extinct, and whose tribal name even is unknown.[4] They will be spoken of here as the "Basutoland Bushmen". Still further east, on the shores of Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal, live a few other Bushmen as farm hands, evidently remnants of a tribe that once roamed over the High Veld of the Transvaal. They do not seem to have retained their own Bushman [177 197] name, but use the term *BaTwa* applied to them by the neighbouring Amaswazi, a Bantu tribe, traces of much intercourse with whom are 144 seen in both appearance and speech.[5]

[1] D. F. Bleek, "The Distribution of Bushman Languages in S. Africa," *Festschrift Meinhof*, 1927, pp. 55–64; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 1929, pp. 1–6; cf. also I. Schapera, "The Tribal Divisions of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), pp. 68–73.

[2] The literature on this tribe is considerable, although most of it is fragmentary. The most useful sources are: J. Barrow, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, 2 vols., London, 1801–4; T. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," *Globus*, xviii (1870), Nos. 5–10; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, Breslau, 1872; W. H. I. Bleek, *A Brief Account of Bushman Folklore and Other Texts*, London, 1875; L. C. Lloyd, *A Short Account of Further Bushman Material Collected*, London, 1889; G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1905; W. H. I. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends: Bushman Folklore*, Cape Town, n.d. (1923).

[3] D. F. Bleek, art. cit. in *Festschrift Meinhof*, p. 56; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, p. 1.

[4] T. Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration au Nord-Est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, Paris, 1842; J. M. Orpen, "A Glimpse into the Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, ix (1774), 1–13, reprinted in *Folk-Lore*, xxx (1919), 139–56; S. S. Dornan, "Notes on the Bushmen of Basutoland," *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, xviii (1909), 437–50.

[5] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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619 in the west to the Okavango and Lake Ngami on the north and east. They are divided into four main local groups, the *!Ogowe* of the Lower Omuramba Omatako, the *Agau* south-east of Karakuwisa, the *Nogau* of Karakuwisa and the Upper Omuramba Omatako, and [197] the *ǂKungau* north of Tsintsabis and along the Okavango, all of which, however, speak the same language and have identical customs and [162] beliefs. Their numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 500 and 800, but if one may judge from the statements of reliable observers such as Seiner and von Zastrow this figure is a good deal too low.

[197] North of the Okavango, in Southern Angola, are found a number of other Bushmen speaking the same language as the Kung of South-West Africa and calling themselves by the same name, or sometimes by the names *!gei !kū*, "red people," or *!o !kū*, "forest people." They extend north up to about 15° S. lat., west to about 16° E. long., and east as far as the border of North-West Rhodesia. These Angola Kung, or *!O Kung*, as they will be spoken of here, have been con- [177 considerably influenced in mode of life and customs by the interdwelling 144] Bantu peoples who are their overlords, and are gradually being absorbed into them through racial intermixture. They are sometimes referred to by the names applied to them by the Bantu: *BaKhankala* or *VaNkala* in the west, *BaSukuwera* in the centre, and *VaShekeli* in the east.[1]

To the west and south-west of the Kung in South-West Africa are the *Hei-//om* or *Heikum* ("tree dwellers"), who are scattered over a large extent of the country, from north of the Etosha Pan and the outskirts of Ovamboland in Grootfontein and Outjo districts to near Rehoboth in the south.[2] This part of South-West Africa is fairly densely settled by other peoples as well, so that it is possible for only a few of these Bushmen to lead their native life. Most of them now work on farms, and except among the bands in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organization is said to have 619 disappeared completely. Whether free or in service, the majority now 197 speak a Nama dialect, and in culture and physical characters also they have been influenced to a very great extent by the Nama and the 177 Bergdama. The bands living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture, and are rapidly being

[1] (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.*, xxi (1927), 47–56; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928), 105–25.

[2] H. Werner, op. cit.; L. Fourie, "Preliminary Notes on Certain Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6), 49–63; *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, Cape Town, 1928, pp. 79–105.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushme, FX18

619 physical characters and certain aspects of their culture, these tribes
197 differ somewhat from the Naron and allied tribes, but their languages are of the same type.

619 South-east of Lake Ngami, in and around the Hainaveld, live the *Tserekwe*, *ǂdukwe*, and *ǂkabakwe*.[1] Further east, along the Botletle River and the south-east Okavango basin, are the *Ohekwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaTete*. Closely related to them are the *MaHura*, who live along the Lower Botletle and Lake Kumadau, extending in the east to the Makarrikarri depression.[2] The name these people are known by is obviously of Bantu origin; what they call themselves has not been recorded. Finally, in the Tati district on the eastern border of Bechuanaland Protectorate, and extending into the adjacent districts of Southern Rhodesia, are still other Bushmen, whose own name is apparently *Hiechware*, "people of the open country,"[3] but who are commonly spoken of simply as *MaSarwa*, a name which, as previously mentioned, is applied by the BeChwana to Bushmen
[177 generally. All these tribes have evidently been long exposed to Bantu
• 144] influence, and are strongly mixed with Bantu blood. Some of them still lead their traditional mode of life, but they are all to some extent subject to their Bantu neighbours, often acting as their huntsmen and cattle herds, as well as being required to pay them a regular tribute.

In addition to the tribes included in these main linguistic groups, there are two other groups of Bushmen of whom mention must be made. In the coastal province of Mossamedes, South-West Angola, a number of Bushmen are found between the Capondo River on the north and the Korocas River on the south.[4] Very little is actually known of them. They are spoken of only by their Bantu names—
[177 *BaKwando*, *BaKwisso*, *BaKubai*, and *BaKorocas*—and appear to
144] have been considerably influenced in race and culture by the neighbouring Bantu. Their distribution suggests that they may belong to the Northern Group of Bushmen, but as no information is available about their language this cannot be definitely asserted.

619 The other group comprises the few isolated inhabitants of the
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[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 25; R. Pöch, "Ethnographische und geographische Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," *Petermann's Mitt.*, lviii (1912), 15–20 and map.

[2] Passarge, loc. cit.; Pöch, op. cit.

[3] S. S. Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 37–112; *idem*, "Tati Bushmen," *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. xii (1921), 205–8; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, London, 1925.

[4] J. Oliviera Ferreira Diniz, *Populações indígenas de Angola*, Coimbra, 1918, 477–91.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Namib desert strip and adjacent districts in South-West Africa.[1] 619 Their language is reported to be Nama, and they are sometimes said [197] to be degenerate Hottentots who have lost their cattle and taken to a nomadic hunting and collecting life similar to that of the Bushmen. But the little we know about their customs and social organization shows that they are true Bushmen, although they have undoubtedly been considerably influenced in both culture and physical characters by the Hottentots. They were divided into several groups, each with its own distinctive name. The */geinin* in the true Namib desert between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//obanen* in the region round the junction of the Great Fish and Orange Rivers, and the */koma* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateaus have apparently disappeared completely; the *!ganin* in the region between Naauwkluft and Grootfontein S. are almost totally extinct, while the */huinin* in the southern extremity of the Huib plateau just north of the Orange River are still represented by a few families. The numbers of the two last groups together are [162] estimated at between 75 and 100. Hahn, writing of these people in [532] 1879, says that they were then still painting on rocks.[2] This may be taken as convincing proof that they really are Bushmen, for the Hottentots do not practise this art at all. Their distribution, as well as the information we have about their habits and customs, seems to link them up with the Southern Group, but there is as yet no clear evidence in support of this view.

The above classification of the Bushmen into linguistic groups is 144 quite independent of and distinct from considerations of race and 197 culture. All Bushmen are of the same racial stock, and have fundamentally the same culture, just as their languages are essentially 184 related. At the same time, there are variations in both race and culture running counter to the linguistic distinctions.

Broadly speaking, it may be said with regard to racial characters 144 that the Bushmen living south of the Molopo River are purest in type. Those further north have all mixed to a varying extent principally with Bantu but also with Hottentots and Bergdama. In the west of this region there is perhaps more Hottentot blood, although in the north-west there has also been a good deal of intermixture with Bantu (chiefly OvaMbo) and Bergdama. In the east Bantu blood,

[1] L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 98–105; E. Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), 501–6; P. Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib, ihre Familien- und Rechtsverhältnisse," *Mitt. deutz. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 166–70; *idem*, "Aus der Namib," *Z. KolPol.*, xiii (1911), 301–8.

[2] T. Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 307–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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144 coming from the BaRotse and the BeChwana, is more strongly marked, especially in the Okavango-Zambesi basin. Here the Bushman tribes such as the Hukwe and the Galikwe, who have been longest in contact with the Bantu, are found to diverge most in appearance from the true Bushman type as seen south of the Molopo.

177 In culture, again, the Namib Bushmen and those south of the Molopo River form a separate division; the latter especially have 184 apparently been little affected by foreign influences, and in features such as art, ritual, and mythology have developed along special lines. The Northern tribes, on the other hand, have obviously been influenced in technology and several other aspects by contact with alien peoples. Their culture has consequently been modified and has deviated somewhat from that of their southern relatives. The North-Western tribes (Auen, Naron, and Kung) have certain well-marked features of social organization and religion not noticed further south, while the Heikum in many aspects of their culture show unmistakable signs of Hottentot and South-Western Bantu influence. The other Kalahari tribes, especially those to the north-east and in the extreme east, have been considerably influenced in material culture and to some extent also in religious beliefs and practices by the Chwana tribes among whom they live.

184 These differences are important. At the same time, it must be noted that little is known of the Namib Bushmen, who now live as scattered remnants. The Southern Bushmen also are now almost completely extinct, and the only aspect of their culture at all carefully investigated is religion and mythology, preserved in the texts collected by Bleek, Lloyd, and Orpen. The North-Western tribes, on the other hand, are the most fully studied of all. It is possible therefore that some of the differences apparent between them and other Bushmen may be due simply to lack of the relevant information about the latter. The North-Eastern tribes, again, have not yet been investigated with the thoroughness and detail they deserve. Here also the possibility remains that further knowledge about them may reveal more features in common with the other Bushmen than are at present observable.

Numbers

151 The distribution of the Bushmen over so many distinct political areas, their general inaccessibility, their nomadic hunting life and consequent habit of living in small separate bands all combine to render difficult any attempt to arrive at a comprehensive figure of

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before these destructive raids as being in any way excessive.[1] In Orange Free State and Basutoland, too, where at one time the Bushmen were also very numerous, there are now apparently no more than a few stray individuals.

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Even in South-West Africa their numbers seem to have declined a good deal within recent years. The German official estimate for 1913 gave the Bushman population of this territory as 8,098,[2] which may be contrasted with the 1926 figure of 3,600. Allowing for probable inaccuracies in the two estimates, there does nevertheless appear to be an undeniable decrease. This may be attributed largely to the ravages of disease, especially malaria, although other factors also must be considered. The present area of Bushman occupation in the North-West Kalahari is largely infested with malaria, and all observers agree that the Bushmen suffer heavily from this disease. Thus Kaufmann put the numbers of the Auen in 1908 at approximately 3,000, but adds that in the following year more than half the tribe was swept away by malaria, while in 1917, 1923, and 1925 the same disease was again attended by a considerable mortality among all the Bushman tribes in this area.[3] Infanticide, a practice definitely recorded among the North-Western tribes, also tends to keep the numbers down; while the disappearance of game and the enforcement against the Bushmen of the game laws serve the same end by making their mode of subsistence even more precarious than it was at the best of times.

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There seems little doubt that the Bushmen are steadily dying out as a race. What relentless persecution at the hands of other peoples has not achieved is being slowly accomplished by disease and racial intermixture. Racially pure Bushmen are already in a minority, and their ultimate absorption by their neighbours is probably inevitable.

HOTTENTOTS

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Racial History

By the time when European contact with South Africa was first established, the Bushmen in the Cape had already been reduced to living in isolated groups scattered about among the more numerous

[1] Fritsch, op. cit., 395.
[2] *Die deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee* 1912/1913: *Amtliche Jahresberichte*, p. 395.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 136, 159; *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 9, 1928, p. 990.

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Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape. B H 144

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron. B H 193 194 197

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail. B H 105

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and B H 144 174

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that the languages of both peoples belong to the same language family. It is possible also that their cultures were at one time essentially alike. The Hottentots, in other words, appear to have originally been a Bushman people. The differences now observable indicate, however, that they have diverged from the true Bushman type—to a slight extent only in race, but more noticeably in language, and above all, perhaps, in certain aspects of culture.[1]

These divergencies are generally attributed to the influence of Hamitic admixture. In support of this view may be adduced the fact that the grammatical peculiarities now separating the Hottentot languages from those of the Bushmen are characteristic of the Hamitic language family, while the cattle and sheep of the Hottentots are similar in breed to those of Equatorial and North-East Africa, originally introduced by the Hamites. It seems, therefore, that certain at least of the more important features which now distinguish the Hottentots from the Bushmen have been derived from some Hamitic source.

On the basis of this view, it is held by some writers that the Hottentots are a cross between early Hamitic-speaking pastoral invaders of South-West Africa and their Bushman forerunners. These invaders are said never to have been a numerous people, and to have largely recruited their female element from the Bushman tribes which they displaced, so that their type underwent a progressive change, until at last they had acquired many of the physical characters and a large element of the languages of the Bushmen.[2] According to this theory, the mixture of Hamites and Bushmen which produced the Hottentots would have taken place in South Africa. Against this having been the case may be urged not only the relatively late appearance of the Hottentots in South Africa, but also the small variability in their physical characters, as well as the absence of evidence for such intermixture on a large scale in historic times. On the other hand, the existence in Tanganyika Territory of Sandawe, a click language possessing numerous root and grammatical affinities with the Hottentot languages, and like them apparently owing its origin to a mixture of Bushman and Hamitic languages, suggests

[1] For a discussion of the evidence on which this conclusion is based see I. Schapera, "A Preliminary Consideration of the Relationship between the Hottentots and the Bushmen," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 833–66.

[2] This view is most clearly expressed by F. von Luschan, *The Racial Affinities of the Hottentots*, London, 1907 (reprinted from *Addresses and Papers delivered at the Joint Meeting of the British and South African Associations*, 1905, vol. iii); *idem*, "Hamitische Typen," in Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, Hamburg, 1912, pp. 252–3; cf. also F. Stuhlmann, *Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika*, Hamburg, 1910, pp. 140–1, 147.

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that the blending which gave rise to the Hottentots is more likely to have taken place in East Africa. This is supported by the fact that the pastoral habits of the Hottentots, with all the customs and traditions connected with this mode of life, were already developed before their ancestors came south.

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The most plausible theory of the racial origin of the Hottentots may therefore be that they have sprung out of a mixture of the old Bushman population of East Africa with an early immigration there of Hamites, who gave them their cattle and those peculiarities of language by which they are distinguished from the modern Bushmen.[1] So far as the slight indications of their legendary history go, they seem to have come originally from somewhere in the region of North-West Tanganyika, and to have wandered with their cattle and sheep between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa, and then, perhaps as the result of pressure from behind, across the high plateau of Central Africa, with their faces always towards the setting sun, until they came upon the "great waters" (i.e. the Atlantic), when they turned south, crossing the Kunene, and moved slowly onwards down the west coast of the continent.[2] How long they had been in possession of the coast regions in the south-west of Cape Colony before the Portuguese first saw them in the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay and later on at Mossel Bay, at the end of the fifteenth century, we have no means of knowing. The few facts that lead us to judge that they had not been in the south for many centuries are based on our knowledge of their movements on the eastern frontier, where in the early eighteenth century their advance guard, formed by a tribe known as the Gonaqua, came into contact with the Bantu peoples, who by that time were slowly pushing westwards along the southern coast of South Africa.

General Distribution

The early Dutch settlers at the Cape found the Hottentots thinly scattered in small loosely-organized groups all along the western and southern coasts of the country. Later expeditions inland revealed their existence beyond the Orange River to the north and north-east, and as far as the Kei River in the east. In their occupation of South Africa the Hottentots therefore extended formerly over almost the

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[1] For a more precise formulation of this theory, see Chap. III, s.v. "Relationship between Bushmen and Hottentots".

[2] Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, 1905, pp. 267–8; A. W. Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), p. 23.

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Chapter III

PHYSICAL CHARACTERS: DRESS AND DECORATION

Physical Characters of the Bushmen

In appearance there are many features which readily distinguish the Bushmen from all the other inhabitants of South Africa save the Hottentots, and which may therefore be taken as characteristic of them. These distinctive features are best seen in the Bushmen south of the Molopo River, who may be regarded as purest in type. The tribes further north have all been affected to some extent by racial intermixture with other peoples, and tend consequently to vary in certain respects. But they are fundamentally of the same racial stock.[1] 144

The most conspicuous feature in the appearance of the Southern Bushmen is their small stature. Accurate measurements are unfortunately very scanty. The most reliable figures are those given by Fritsch, who found that the average height of 6 men was 144·4 cm., and of 5 women 144·8 cm.[2] Von Luschan, who claimed to have measured 41 racially pure individuals, did not publish his figures in detail, but states that the average stature of both men and women is about 140 cm., and the maximum for pure-blooded people 146 cm.[3] Older but less trustworthy measurements give an even lower average. It may safely be taken therefore that the average stature is not more than 145 cm., but whether it is the same in both men and women must, in the absence of adequate data, be regarded as questionable. 141

North of the Molopo the stature increases. No figures are available

[1] The best descriptions of the physical characters of the Bushmen are to be found in: G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 1872, pp. 396–410; R. Virchow, "Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1886, 221–39; H. Werner, "Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxviii (1906), 241–68; R. Pöch, "Die Stellung der Buschmannrasse unter den übrigen Menschenrassen," *KorrBl. deuts. Ges. Anthrop.*, xlii (1911), 75–80; F. Seiner, "Beobachtungen und Messungen an Buschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xliv (1912), 275–88; *idem*, "Beobachtungen an den Bastard-Buschleuten der Nord-Kalahari," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, xliii (1913), 311–24; *idem*, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung der Omaheke," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 225–316; F. von Luschan, "Pygmäen und Buschmänner," *Z. Ethn.*, xlvi (1914), 154–76; R. Martin, "Zur Anthropologie der Buschmänner," in E. Kaiser, *Die Diamantenwüste Südwestafrikas*, 1926, vol. ii, pp. 436–90 and bibliography; L. Schultze, *Zur Kenntnis des Körpers der Hottentotten und Buschmänner*, 1928, pp. 186–211 and bibliography.

[2] Op. cit., 397.

[3] Op. cit., 155.

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Such individuals as I have measured ranged from 5 ft. 2 in. [157·5 cm.] up to 5 ft. 9 in. [175·3 cm.]. A few were below or above these figures, but the average height may be taken at 5 ft. 5 in." [168 cm.].[1] Elsewhere he adds that "the women are usually considerably shorter than the men; those that I have measured ranged from 4 ft. 9¾ in. [146·8 cm.] up to 5 ft. 2½ in." [158·8 cm.], and he gives 5 ft. 2 in. [157·5 cm.] as their average height.[2] The Hukwe and the Galikwe apparently attain to a still greater stature. Both Livingstone and Chapman speak of individuals fully 6 ft. tall (183 cm.), and the latter places the average stature of the "MaDenassena", i.e. Galikwe, at 5 ft. 10 in. (177·8 cm.).[3] According to Seiner the members of this tribe range in stature between 162 and 184 cm.,[4] and Wilhelm says of the Hukwe that statures of between 170 and 190 cm. must be regarded as normal.[5]

These figures show that on the whole the Bushmen north of the Molopo are distinctly taller than their Southern relatives, and it is evident that the further north and east we go the taller do they become. It has been suggested by several writers that this increase in stature is due to better conditions of subsistence. It is hardly justifiable, however, to assume that the Bushmen living within or on the borders of the Kalahari Desert could obtain better nourishment than those in the Cape, where water and food supply are on the whole much more favourable. It seems rather that we must look upon the pygmy stature of the Southern Bushmen as a true racial characteristic, and that the increased stature of the Northern tribes must be attributed to the influence of racial intermixture with other and taller peoples. This conclusion is borne out by several other features, of which the most evident perhaps is skin coloration.

In the Southern Bushmen the skin colour varies from light yellow to brownish-yellow. In the tribes just north of the Molopo some families are of the same colour, while others have darker tinges of varying shades—a patently new mixture. The Auen, Naron, and Kung have a fairly constant reddish-brown colour, although individuals incline more to yellow or to black. Among the !O Kung, according to Miss Bleek, some individuals are blackish-yellow, others reddish-brown or copper colour, others again are almost black, although

[1] "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas)," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 43.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 1925, p. 79.
[3] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in S. Africa*, 1857, p. 165; J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of S. Africa*, 1868, vol. i, p. 46.
[4] *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 299.
[5] *Z. EingebSpr.*, xii (1922), 300.

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142 lighter in shade than the Bantu of the same region; and she adds
144 that in Bushman-Bantu crosses the first generation of children may be either yellowish or blackish, while later generations, where both parents have a little Bantu blood, show the reddish-brown colour which distinguishes these Northern Bushmen from the Southern.[1] The colour of the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, says Dornan, "is usually darker than in the typical Bushman, but even it is not constant. I have met individuals of the brownish-yellow colour of the Southern Bushmen, and even amongst these there were individuals of a very dark type."[2] The same range of variation is found among the North-Eastern tribes, where, however, the dominant shade is a dark chocolate colour approaching that of the Bantu.

141 It appears moreover that the light-coloured individuals in the tribes
142 just north of the Molopo are comparatively short, while the darker
144 individuals are all of greater height. The same is probably true of the Hiechware, while Kaufmann writes of the Auen that the band living at Gam, in the northernmost part of the tribal territory, consists almost entirely of proportionately tall individuals, whose colour is darker than that of the rest of the tribe.[3] If these observations are accurate, and they need to be tested by statistical investigation, they would provide an excellent indication of the lines along which the still necessary detailed study may be made of the variations produced in the physical characters of the Bushmen by intermixture with other peoples. In any case, if we bear in mind the advance of the Bantu peoples from the north-east and the extent to which the different Bushman tribes have therefore been exposed to contact with them, it need occasion no surprise that the most northern and eastern tribes show on the whole the greatest stature and darkest colour.

Seiner, indeed, definitely terms the Bushman tribes of the Northern Kalahari "Bastard-Buschleute". His general remarks on their characteristics may be quoted as a concise statement of the extent to which mixture with other peoples has taken place in this region. "Das Gebiet der Bastard-Buschleute," he says,[4] "liegt ganz in der südlichen Zone der Nord-Kalahari, zwischen dem südangolesischen Hochland und dem Kaokoveld einerseits, sowie dem Matabeleland und Nordost-Rhodesia anderseits . . . Dieses Gebiet wird durch den Okawango in einen grossen westlichen und in einen kleineren

[1] "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop.*, N.F. xxi (1927), 48.
[2] *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 42.
[3] Op. cit., 316.
[4] *Mitt. deutz. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 283–4.

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östlichen Teil geschieden. Während nun in der westlichen Bastardzone, sowie in der Süd- und Mittel-Kalahari die Buschmannstämme mehr von Hottentotten als von Negern durchdrungen sind, ist die Zersetzung der Buschmannrasse in der östlichen Zone, dem Okawango-Sambesi-Gebiet, häuptsächlich auf die Vermischung mit Bantu zurückzuführen. Der eigentliche Rassentypus ist wohl sehr verwischt, kommt aber in der Mehrzahl der Fälle doch so stark zum Ausdruck, dass man diese Bastarde unbedingt zu den Buschleuten rechnen muss. Die Individuen neigen in Physiognomie und Wuchs bald mehr dem Neger, bald mehr dem Buschmann zu. Zwischen dem eckigen Buschmannkopf und dem runden Schädel des Negers sind die verschiedensten Verbindungen vorhanden, und von der fahlgelben bzw. rötlichgelben Hautfarbe der Buschleute bis zur rötlichschwarzbraunen Farbe der Neger zeigen sich zahlreiche Übergänge. Bereits Livingstone berichtet, dass die nördlich des Ngamisees, also in der Nord-Kalahari, lebenden Buschleute grösser, kräftiger und dunkelfarbiger seien als jene der südlichen Steppen. Tatsächlich sind in der östlichen Bastardzone Menschen von 170 cm. häufig, und diese Beobachtung war auch der Hauptgrund, dieses Menschengruppe nicht ohne weiteres als Buschleute anzuerkennen, da die Variationsbreite der Körpergrösse der letzteren zwischen 140 bis 160 cm. liegt. Am Okawango, an dem die westlichen Bastardzone beginnt, sind Individuen von 170 cm. Körperhöhe seltener und ist der Prozentsatz an ausgeprägten Buschmanntypen grösser, welcher Umstand vielleicht einen stärkeren Neigung zu Rückschlägen zugeschrieben werden könnte." 141 142 144

It may be taken therefore, although only stature and skin colour have so far been touched upon as the most apparent indications of variation, that the Southern Bushmen do actually represent the purest Bushman type, while the Northern tribes all show some degree of intermixture with other peoples. They are, however, of undoubted Bushman stock, and although in the following brief survey of the principal racial characters of the Bushmen the Southern tribes have been taken as the standard type, it must be understood that save where otherwise indicated the description applies equally to all the Bushmen.

The skin itself of the Bushmen is very dry and lean, with little adipose tissue. It readily forms into deep wrinkles and folds, especially on the face, even in fairly young and well-nourished people. In the Northern tribes, and chiefly in the "Bastard" Bushmen, the 142

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142 tendency to fold is not so excessive, wrinkled features being comparatively rare in young people. There is very little hair on the body. The greater part of its surface seems completely bare; the arm-pits have only a weak show of hair, and even in the pubic regions the growth is very sparse. It is only on the scalp and occasionally on the eyebrows that the hair is at all thick. Rudimentary and irregular traces of beard and moustache are sometimes seen in the men, but rarely grow to any length or thickness. The hair is black in colour, and becomes grey only in very old people; baldness is extremely rare, even in advanced age. The hair is commonly very short and fine, but occasionally may be fairly long on the head of a woman. Such occurrences, however, seem to be rare, and it cannot be said that length of hair is a secondary sexual characteristic in the Bushmen. The hairs are tightly coiled into small spiral knots (not inappropriately referred to in popular speech as "peppercorns") which on the scalp appear to be separated by bare spots, but actually the hair follicles are distributed as in other races. In section the hair presents an elliptical contour.

141 The head in the Southern Bushmen is small and relatively broad (mesocephalic), and markedly low in the crown (platycephalic). The
142 face is broad and flat, somewhat rectangular in shape, and generally orthognathous or only slightly prognathous. The forehead is low and bulging, the cheek-bones fairly prominent, and the lower jaw relatively broad. In the Northern tribes there is a slight but distinct tendency for the head to be narrower and higher, the face appears longer and more oval in shape, and a fair degree of prognathism is
[144] often noticed. Among the Kung, and particularly among the !O Kung, one sometimes finds long narrow faces with aquiline noses and almost Semitic features, hinting at some new racial component which still remains to be determined; but even in these tribes the small rectangular Bushman facial type crops up in a number of faces with more or less negroid features.

142 The nose is generally low and very broad, especially at the root. As seen in profile, it is short and concave, but is set well back and often appears quite flat. The wings are broad, and the nostrils, which are directed forwards, have a curious splayed-out appearance. The orbits are low and the eyes set rather wide apart. The opening between the eyelids is very narrow, and often appears slightly oblique, owing to the remarkable fullness of the upper lid and the fact that a prominent fold of skin curves round from above it to the side of

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142 arm is the shortest on record. In the Northern tribes measured by
[141] Seiner and Werner the index of span-breadth to stature is just over 100, whereas in Europeans it is about 103 and in the Central African Pygmies as much as 106. The hands and feet are very small and narrow in proportion, the fingers and toes short and stumpy.

The outline of the body is sunken and angular, and all projections are strongly marked. The shoulders are angular, and the shoulder-blades and collar-bones stand out very strongly, owing to the thinness of the muscles and the lack of adipose tissue in the skin. The chest as a rule is fairly well developed, though its appearance is sometimes vitiated by the variable conditions of the abdomen, and especially
[262] by the frequent occurrence of a pendulous belly, chiefly in young people, as the result of unfavourable diet, unrestricted gorging, and the frequent alternation between starvation and plenty. Where the food supply is at all regular, this abnormal protuberance is rarely seen. The buttocks are small but often seem prominent owing to the curious inward curvature of the spine in the lumbo-sacral region. The penis,
[147] even when not in a state of erection, often extends horizontally in a semi-erect condition. This remarkable feature, portrayed also in many of the Bushman paintings of human beings, has been regarded by some recent writers, such as von Luschan and Seiner, as a special racial characteristic of the Bushmen.

The Northern Bushmen do not differ very markedly in build from their Southern relatives, although the "Bastard" tribes are on the whole better developed physically. They have stronger limbs, with arms and legs slightly longer in proportion; the shoulders are more rounded, and the chest seen to better advantage. The protuberant abdomen and the marked hollow of the back due to the lumbo-sacral curvature are present in most individuals. The hands and feet are
[147 slightly bigger, the fingers and toes longer. The horizontal projection of the penis was noted by Seiner in about three-fifths of the men he
• 144] examined. He states that with admixture of Bantu blood it begins to droop, so that there does appear to be some racial significance attached to this feature. Its occurrence has not yet been physiologically explained, although Seiner suggests that it may be due to a strong development of the *Ligamentum suspensorium penis*.

142 The female body, like that of the male, is generally slender, the
147 limbs slight, the hands and feet small. In mature women, however, there is often found a strong accumulation of fat on the thighs and especially on the buttocks, a character known as steatopygia, which

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somewhat larger than in Bushmen, and while it does not display the same well-marked peculiarities as the Southern Bushman ear is, on the whole, strongly reminiscent of it, especially in shape and in the well-rolled helix. There is generally a moderate lobe, although occasionally the ear is lobeless, as in pure-blooded Bushmen. The lips are thin, the mucous membrane everted, and there is the same convexity of the upper lip as in the Bushmen. The lips project considerably, the lower slightly beyond the upper, giving the mouth a snout-like appearance, which may also be noticed in some of the Bushmen. This projection of the lips easily conveys the impression of great prognathism, owing to the flatness of the nose and the retreating chin; but actually the degree of prognathism is slight, although greater than in the Cape Bushmen.

In build there is also a great similarity between Hottentots and Bushmen. The bodies of the Hottentots are slender, and the limbs very slight; good muscular development is rare, the muscles generally being thin and cord-like. The legs are rather long in proportion to the trunk, while the arms, again, are short; the hands and feet are small and narrow, like those of the Bushmen. The hips project but little, and the protuberant belly seen in the Southern Bushmen does not occur to the same extent, although it is also often found in small children. The buttocks are small, but may appear prominent owing to the strong inclination of the pelvis and the hollow back, features already noted in the Bushmen as well. The horizontal position of the penis found in pure-blooded Bushmen is occasionally seen in the Hottentots, but is comparatively rare.

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The breasts of the girls, like those of the Bushmen girls, are proportionately small and conical, with projecting nipples; but in mature women they become quite limp, and hang flat against the body. Steatopygia is far more common and more pronounced than in Bushwomen; it is found in the women of all the Hottentot tribes, although it tends to disappear where there is any great degree of intermixture with other peoples. Elongation of the labia minora is also very often found as a physiological feature. Although this cannot be regarded as a racial peculiarity, the fact is noteworthy that it occurs far more frequently in Khoisan women than in the women of any of the other South African peoples.

Relationship Between Bushmen and Hottentots

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The Hottentots and Bushmen are so much alike in physical characters and so distinct in appearance from the other inhabitants of

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South Africa that we cannot but look upon these two peoples as very closely allied in race. Both the Cape Bushmen and the Hottentots have a brownish-yellow skin colour; black, spiral, sparsely-distributed hair; low heads and faces, broad flat noses with low bridges, widely separated eyes with narrow openings and a strong development of the upper lid; steatopygia and elongation of the labia minora. The Hottentots, however, are taller; their heads are larger in length and height, and prevalently dolicocephalic; their faces slightly longer and more prognathous, and their noses slightly narrower; while steatopygia is also more common.

Now it has already been shown that the more northerly Bushmen are taller and darker than the Cape Bushmen, and that their heads tend to be longer and higher and proportionately narrower, while they have also a higher degree of prognathism. These divergencies, we have seen, are obviously the result of intermixture with other peoples, principally of negroid (Bantu) stock. In the Hottentots the differences from the Cape Bushmen in stature and the shape of the head are of the same nature as those found in the Northern Bushmen. On the other hand, they have the same skin colour as the Cape Bushmen, and certain peculiarities, such as steatopygia, which are more pronounced in them than even in the Bushmen, and which seldom occur in the Northern Bushmen.

B H 144 141

In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the Northern Bushmen, it seems that we must look upon the Hottentots also as people of Bushman stock who have been influenced in physical characters by intermixture with some other racial group. The prevalent theory, as already mentioned, is that this new component was derived from the light-skinned Hamitic stock. Shrubsall, however, working upon skeletal material alone, maintains that this theory is untenable, and that the new element in the composition of the Hottentots must have been of Bantu stock. "The appearance of the Hottentot skulls," he says, "in no way suggests any marked intermediate characters between those of Bushmen and of any more Hamitic race, while in the features in which they differ from the Bush crania they certainly resemble negroes . . . When the distribution of the various cranial and facial indices is compared it may be seen that the Hottentot in almost every case is intermediate between the Bushmen and the Bantu negroes . . . It can be shown that while the Hottentot measurements are in some respects intermediate between those of Bushmen and of Hamites, they are more nearly intermediate between the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10.

B H 144 141

Bushmen and the Bantu, and where they show this least they resemble the Sudanese negro more than the Hamite."[1]

The fact that the Northern Bushmen, who have unquestionably been affected by racial intermixture with the Bantu, tend to diverge from the Cape Bushmen in the same cranial features as do the Hottentots might seem to support this view. On the other hand, these Northern Bushmen have also acquired a darker skin colour, while the Hottentots are as light in colour as the Cape Bushmen; and, again, as von Luschan has shown, occasionally one finds facial features in the Hottentots which are strongly reminiscent of the Hamitic type, and can only be regarded as reversions to it (cf. Plate V).[2] Schultze also comments upon the same fact, and shows that in several of the men whose physical characters he investigated statures well above the mean were combined with long faces and narrow noses, features indicative of Hamitic influence.[3] Moreover, although such evidence cannot be adduced as conclusive in a discussion of purely racial origins, it is surely not without some bearing upon this question that the languages of the Hottentots present affinities to those of the Hamitic language family, and that their cattle and sheep are of the breeds associated in Africa with Hamitic culture.

B H 142 144

The craniological evidence is opposed to the conclusion that the Hottentots are a true Bushman-Hamitic cross without a negro element; but the other factors noted suggest that some Hamitic element at least must have entered into the composition of the Hottentots. In this connection it must be mentioned that the Bantu themselves are negroes who have been affected to some extent by Hamitic admixture. Consequently the resemblance in cranial characters between the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen need not necessarily argue against the presence of Hamitic blood in the former. It seems reasonable, therefore, to assume that the Hottentots may represent a mixture of people of Bushman stock with both Hamites and negroes, or perhaps with an earlier mixture of the two latter stocks having a predominantly Hamitic culture. The fact that the racially pure Hottentots now vary but slightly amongst themselves suggests that this intermixture which gave rise to them is of very long standing, and hence probably originated before they came into South Africa.

[1] F. C. Shrubsall, "The Pygmy and Negro Races of Africa," *Lancet*, 1908 (January–June), p. 985.
[2] "Hamitische Typen," in C. Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, 1912, pp. 252–3.
[3] Op. cit., p. 213.

/157 cont./

The water and food collected by menstruating women are
841 consumed only by the women themselves and old people; the younger ones "it makes weak."

593 The authority of the parents practically ceases as soon as
858 the children are in a position to provide food for themselves.

A child is named soon after birth by the grandfather or grand-
553 mother (whether on the paternal or the maternal side was not determined).

Boys reach puberty between 14 and 16 years of age and girls
● 145 between 13 and 15 years of age (estimates).

The declaration of a boy's maturity is a special event in the
881 life of the Bushman. Under the leadership of the "doctor," several youths from neighboring settlements march into the bush and live together there for some weeks on the veld crop. During this time they receive some sort of instruction in secret affairs. Young and old Auin alike, whom I interrogated separately, denied that this instruction pertains to sexual matters. To the question of what they did during their stay in the bush, I always received the answer: "They dance." They did, indeed, describe for me a kind of dance which decidedly has something childishly mysteri-
[535] ous about it. A boy seats himself "piggyback" on the back of another, and both wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier tramping with his feet as rapidly as possible without moving forward, while both of them utter a low "hu, hu" in as horrifying a manner as possible.

It is indeed difficult to imagine that this interesting occupation should last for weeks, interrupted only by sleeping and eating.

In addition, the young people seem to be treated quite badly in the course of this preparation and to receive little to eat; all of them concurred in the opinion that it is "miserable."

I learned through hints that the candidates for manhood play all kinds of tricks on neighboring villages during the night and play as "ghosts" a bit, as well as stealing food.

The actual attainment of manhood, after which the boys are
[884] warriors and are allowed to marry, is not solely dependent on attending the preparation, but also on the killing of the first piece of big game.

Tattooing is not connected with the official attainment of
[304] manhood

164 [45 cont.]
[753] Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The
[192] terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no
[302] means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is
[593] usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin
842 hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy
[757] is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine
[278] for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is
841 done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband
[757] and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on
853 the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least
[826] until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished
164 by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care.
[515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky
[278] sap of a plant called timba.
[757]

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams
[145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long;
302 the toenails are often fissured.

/245 cont./

142 millimeters. Two or three hairs form a tight unit. A number of such units are clustered into a tuft that forms an almost impenetrable tangle of hair. The yellowish-brown skin of the head is visible between the tufts, so that the surface of the skull gives the
302 impression of an area with black spots. Extensive variations are to be found in the manner of dressing the hair, but all Bushmen from time to time have their head hair cut. The women commonly leave an edge of longer hair uncut and let it fall horizontally toward the back from the hairline on the forehead. Frequently also an oval area is shaved on the skull or on the edge of the forehead down to the ears.

● 145 I did not observe any loss of hair, even among old persons, but I did notice graying, not, however, to the same extent as among Europeans.

304 Tattooing is very popular among the Heikum Bushmen.

I found three types of tattooing:

1. An ornamental tattoo. This consists of parallel longitudinal incisions about one centimeter in length and arranged in rows. These rows of incisions are to be found predominantly on the face, on cheeks, temples, and foreheads, and especially among women they frequently radiate towards the middle of the face which, however, is left clear. The ornamental tattoo is also to be found on other parts of the body at any number of places, such as the chest, the abdomen, the upper arm, and the upper thigh. The incisions are quite superficial and give the appearance of fine black lines. The bluish-black coloration of the scars is achieved by rubbing charcoal into the freshly-made incisions.

2. Deeper incisions, which correspondingly leave heavier scars, form the forehead tattoo which is common to all Heikum Bushmen with no age or sex distinctions. The tattoo consists of several parallel vertical incisions about two centimeters in length between the eyebrows. As a result of this tattoo there is a number, usually five, of deep and closely adjoining folds between the eyebrows, giving even younger individuals an older appearance. In the case of older persons the base of the scars /246/ is raised by the formation of keloids, so that the region between the eyebrows has the appearance of a cock's comb.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

happy. She was only ten, but already she had lost her childish belly, although her breasts had not yet begun to grow.

Now everyone was in the werf and people had begun to go back to their fires, leaving Short Kwi alone. When most people were gone, Short Kwi's brother-in-law squatted beside him and, taking his injured leg, began laboriously to help him move toward the veld, toward a little pathway that we had not noticed before. Short Kwi's wife had cleared the path; it led to a place in the veld where Short Kwi could urinate, and slowly, painfully, Short Kwi and his brother-in-law moved down it, the brother-in-law duckwalking, carrying the bad leg while Short Kwi—he who once could run great elands down—edged himself forward on his buttocks, using his hands to brace himself and his good leg to pull himself along.

We were not at his fire when he got back, but we could see him through the trees, inching, and then, when Short Kwi was alone with his wife and daughter, we could watch him sitting by his fire, looking idly around. He was like a wild goose with pinioned wings, squatting there before his fire, watching the sky, the veld, and other people come and go.

Those of us from Nama made a camp apart from the werf, through long grass as high as our chests, inside a little glade of thorn trees. We cleared some of the grass and built a fire, and even then the Bushmen could not stop talking about Short Kwi, although they tried to change the subject; they spoke of him creeping along on his buttocks, even this impossible without someone to help, and all because he had failed to notice an adder that was waiting in his path. Of course, the Bushmen said, he was lucky to be alive. I felt that he was luckier than they supposed, because of his wife, that quiet, gracious, gentle, pretty woman, and his grave little daughter, the image of her mother. The people felt, said

[26 cont.]

142 The athletic type thus represents the best realization of the human type among the races.

Since, from the day of conception on, environmental influences are predominantly of a harmful nature, the average type finally arrived at is the type formed by the average harmful effects, which, on the one hand, are of a hereditary and constitutional nature, and, on the other hand, are conditional effects during the individual's lifetime. The more unfavorable the living conditions are, the greater will be the harmful effect coefficient, and the more the average physical type will approach the asthenic. Only environmental improvement, brought about by high civilization, permits athletic forms to develop in considerable numbers.

According to our schema, we may designate the Bushmen as asthenic on the average, and the best developed among them as respiratory. In the case of many male individuals, there is an [146] ability for considerable fat accumulation, and on the farms I encountered a number of Bushmen who had adapted themselves to a flour diet and had considerable body weight.

The digestive type thus certainly does occur among them, [146] even though we must keep in mind that the diet, which is rich in meat and poor in carbohydrates, counteracts its development.

5. The Course of the Day

805 The !Kung Bushmen divide the 24 hour day into seven segments, which are: [192]

/gam χ'ǎ-o-a, dawn.
/gam do di /gii, time of sunrise.
!nai /kho, (the sun) is in the middle.
ha ti ≠náu, (the sun) will go down.
χ'ǎ-o ti ≠náu, the sun is now asleep.
/gu gǎ djo-o, one can no longer see the people because it is dark.
!a ds ĩ, midnight.

512 The division of the day varies somewhat with the season of the year. With the exception of the so-called hot season,

[45 cont.]

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262

> Bushmen stared longingly at the discolored lump of fat. Finally they sent a deputation to me, saying that they wanted the bacon for their dogs. The moment they received it, it was skillfully divided according to families and consumed in the course of a great feast, without any harmful effects.

enormous quantities, but such excesses as a rule are followed by an indisposition. The day after a major feast, almost all of them lie in the sun with stomach-ache and gripes. In other words, even a Bushman should not be credited with the impossible with regard to food; many things that seem repulsive to us, such as earthworms, lizards, thick grubs, mice, and the like, are in themselves not at all harmful to health, especially since the Bushman only eats them cooked or roasted. Bushmen who have grown up on the farms can take the same diet as the Whites or Blacks. On
147 the other hand, the wild Bushmen who have grown up on veldkost
262 and the flesh of wild animals cannot accustom themselves to the
648 work and prison diet of the Blacks. A term in jail of any great length means condemnation to a slow but sure death for most Bushmen. The prisoners show the symptoms of vitamin deficiency, become infirm, get edemata on their legs, dropsy, and unfailingly perish. In the initial stage severe sluggishness of the bowels sets in. Ample portions of fresh meat can keep the Bushman healthy even in imprisonment. The fact that Bushmen run away from the
[464] farms is based in most cases upon their inability to endure any
[146] longer the diet given them. The vitamin need of the Bushman who has grown up in the wilderness is undoubtedly much greater, and his longing for meat, which often appears pathological, can be explained as a physiological craving for vitamins.

Diseases of the Urogenital System

164
(755) Catarrhs of the bladder occur; in such cases a flat stone is warmed in the fire and placed on the bladder region. Hematuria, evidently the result of nephritis, was twice treated by my friend

/244 cont./

Indices

		Men	Women
141	I. Skull index	76.3	73.5
	II. Average index of the skulls of all adults measured	74.77	
	III. Physiognomic face index	76.44	76.1
	IV. Physiognomic nose index	102.5	97.44

147 [146] The state of nutrition of those examined may in general be called inadequate, and the amount of fat slight. Even among younger individuals the skin is strikingly slack and can be grasped in wide folds. One has the impression that there is a connection between this slackness of the skin and the extreme fluctuation in the saturation of the tissues, which is the rule since the Bushmen experience frequent and long-lasting thirsts. The men assured me that they could march without water for four days in great heat, a statement which surely deserves to be credited.

142 The skin color of all those examined, with the exception of two in whose case racial mixture is a possibility, is a brown of medium tone shading over into yellow.

The palms of the hand and soles of the feet are a lighter color, but do not show such a striking contrast with the back of the hand as is the case among the Bantu /245/ Negroes. The skin of the chest and abdomen has a slightly darker coloration than that of the face. Scars are very common, especially on the chest and abdomen, and [513] usually stem from burns to which the Bushmen readily expose themselves by sitting and sleeping near the open fire. These scars have a lighter tinge than the surrounding skin and look almost pure yellow.

The iris of all those examined is deep brown in color.

Compared with Europeans, the hair growth of the Bushmen is very modest. It is confined almost entirely to the skull; beards are found only on a few men and even then they are sparse. Hair elsewhere on the body, including the arm pits and pubic hair, is practically nonexistent.

The color of the hair on the head is a deep black. The individual hairs grow to a length of about four centimeters for men and about six centimeters for women. The hair is fine and curled in a spiral. The curvature radius of the spiral amounts to about two

137 spreading some like the Grewias and the melons whose seeds pass through the alimentary canal apparently unharmed and reducing others like the Eulophias and Vignas which have edible underground storage organs. It is perhaps significant that, with two exceptions, the edible members of the family Asclepiadaceae were rarely found. In this paper there are 11, from Raphionacme to Fockea inclusive—nearly all important food plants with underground storage organs. The two commoner exceptions were *Sarcostemma viminale* which is sometimes poisonous and *Pentarrhinum insipidum* which has edible leaves and fruits but an inedible perennial root.

146 I am not qualified to speak on the health of the Bushmen, but it is apparent even to the layman that they are very unlikely to suffer from any deficiency disease while on their natural diet. When they are recruited for labour and fed on an unbalanced diet their health will be undermined and they will be less able to resist the rigours of their normal life when their contracts expire.

11.4 Their study by serious workers is to be encouraged for it should lead to their stability as a race and the enrichment of our knowledge, but contacts with irresponsible strangers is unfortunate and observations like the following by Brown (1954: 130) are valueless and regrettable:—

> "They are wonderful runners. When I chased one with the clanging of a bell he set off at a good bat into the distance, and kept it up until out of sight."

122 During the three months in which the field work was done, the expenses of my transport and keep were met from the funds of the expedition, and this I gratefully acknowledge. Dr. R. A. Dyer, Chief of the Division of Botany, gave me the opportunity of joining the expedition, and all facilities for working up the results of the field work. Most of the determinations were done by my colleagues in the Division of Botany, and of them Miss I. C. Verdoorn, author of *Edible Wild Fruits of the Transvaal*, read through the typescript and gave me valuable advice. Dr. L. E. Codd deserves special thanks for the way he saw to the growing of the considerable quantities of roots, bulbs and seeds sent from the Kalahari. 000 I thank Mr. L. K. Marshall, who led the expedition, and the members of it, [115] for their interest and kindness, also Kernel Ledimo, a fluent speaker of the Eastern !khũ language, who was always ready to translate or to pilot me through its little-known and fascinating grammar and phonetics. My notes on the Bushman languages were kindly checked by Prof. L. F. Maingard, and the ethnological literature was supplied mainly by Dr. N. J. van Warmelo of the Department of Native Affairs. I am indebted to Messrs. Midgeley, Martin and Scholtz of the Bechuanaland Administration for hospitality and for enabling me to see parts of the territory that I should not otherwise have seen. My thanks would not be complete without mention of the Bushmen whose knowledge is the foundation of this paper. [124] The information was seldom reluctantly given—usually cheerfully and with humour, and always with intelligence.

The following observations were made in the Transvaal near Pretoria, where infestation by *Cirina forda* is frequently so heavy that the affected trees may be readily recognised from a distance from the way in which the leaves are stripped. The caterpillar is prepared for food by being grasped by the head and squeezed through the thumb and forefinger of the free hand with a milking action. This clears out the bowel contents, and no further preparation is necessary before the boiling which follows. The head is rather hard and may be removed, but this is not necessary. After light boiling or roasting the caterpillars are dried in the sun and may be stored without deteriorating for several months. They are slightly oily but crisp in texture, with the smell and flavour of kippers. 252 [251]

Bauhinia esculenta Burch. (5160) Photographs 19 and 20. 137X

Eastern Ikhû Bushman tsi: (the seed)
nlıı (the storage organ)

This plant is a runner in open grassveld, with numerous slender vines up to 18 feet long, the youngest parts of them covered with a fine brown tomentum. They bear inch-long Y-shaped tendrils, but the plant is not a climber. The vines die back during the winter but do not disintegrate as readily as those of the Cucurbitaceae, and are conspicuous until the new runners are produced from the perennial underground stem. The leaves, which are soft and reddish-brown when young but turn leathery and glaucous as they grow older, are deeply bilobed, with a small spur between the lobes. The plant bears showy yellow flowers in December, and the pods ripen from April onwards. At first they are soft and reddish brown, then light green and, when ripe, brown and woody. They contain up to six flattened seeds about the size of one's thumb nail, consisting of a hard shell and a soft nutty edible inner part. The plant is easily seen because of the craters it forms where the soil is stony—craters a yard or more across, edged with a ring of stones which appear to have been forced to the surface by the stem beneath. The details of this crater formation, however, are not known.

This Bauhinia is curiously patchy in its distribution. Although it is plentiful in some places near Vryburg, it was not seen along the route of the expedition until a point 400 miles north of Vryburg, that is, 127 miles before Ghanzi was reached, and I have no record of it after leaving the Ghanzi area until the expedition crossed the border into South West Africa near Gam, after which it was again plentiful. It occurs in communities sometimes miles across, with the plants in these communities scattered 20 to 30 yards apart. On the expedition it was seen growing only on deep sand or where there were outcrops of limestone, and near Pretoria it has so far been seen only on the dolomite, but it has been grown successfully in Pretoria on neutral shaly soils. It has been recorded from the northern Cape Province, the western Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa.

Although the seeds are not pleasant to eat when raw, they are excellent after roasting, and analysis figures show that they are rich in protein and oil. The roasting should be carried out slowly, otherwise they may shatter with a rather disconcerting report, and to avoid this they are often roasted in sand, which probably gives a slower and more even heat. They may also be boiled to make a porridge or a drink. They will last through the winter in the field without spoiling but become scarce towards the spring, probably through being covered with wind-blown sand and being eaten by animals. 262 252 146

X137 *Grewia retinervis* Burret (4875, 5066) Photograph 31.

!h5: Bushman.....	⊙b5:
||ganakwe Bushman...	||?ani
|gikwe Bushman.....	||gani
Naron Bushman.....	||gani
Eastern !khû Bushman	!gwa

A straggly many-stemmed five-foot shrub, sometimes a weak scrambler up to 10 feet high. The stems are half an inch thick at the base, rounded and slightly woolly when young, slightly flattened and glabrous when old, and tough and pliant. Its leavers are alternate, pale green, one and a half inches long and an inch wide, ovate with a pointed tip, toothed, and roughly hairy to the touch. They wither and fall soon after being frosted, but if out of reach of the frost remain on the bushes at least until the end of July. The plant bears spreading yellow flowers half an inch wide, and fruits the size of a pea, with a papery brown skin enclosing a few large pips and some fibrous mealy material. *Grewia retinervis* is closely allied to *Grewia flavescens*, so much so that I doubt whether the two should be considered anything more than varieties of one species. The differences are that *Grewia flavescens* is usually taller, and not so conspicuously veined on the upper surface of the leaves. Mr. B. de Winter, of the National Herbarium, Pretoria, has observed also that its older stems are square in section and those of *Grewia retinervis* are flattened.

Grewia retinervis was scattered over most of the area covered by the expedition, and common in the central Kalahari, specially in open grassy country. It has been recorded from the northern Cape and the Transvaal as well as South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

262 The fruits are edible. They ripen in winter, and have a slightly sweet [251 taste and a pleasant flavour. They may be stored after being dried, and 252] are then soaked or boiled before being eaten. The crop, if one may judge from the 1955 season, is abundant, and the amount fairly constant for all the bushes. The fruits form an important part of the Bushmen diet, [146 although little of them appears digestible. The roughage is voided almost 147] unchanged, in enormous faecal masses up to two and a half inches in diameter.

824 The dry stems of this plant nearly always contain the tunnelings of 372 grubs, and the tunnellings are packed with their excreta in the form of a brown, pith-like substance which forms a useful tinder. The Bushmen split the stems down the centre, make a slight depression in the flat surface and use this as a socket for the fire-drill.

X137 *Grewia* sp. aff. *Grewia bicolor* Juss. (5056).

Eastern !khû Bushman gamak'wɔ:

A slender shrub up to six feet high, with many sparingly branched stems. The leaves are one and a half inches by one inch, very finely toothed, dark green above and pale below, pointed at the tip and rounded at the base. Both surfaces are covered with a fine grayish felt which is thicker on the lower surface. Typical *Grewia bicolor* has wool on the lower surface only. The fruits are the size of a pea, and have a little flesh covering usually one big seed. No flowers were seen.

This is another of the plants with a distribution which begins in the Ghanzi area and extends northwards, and the remarks made as to the distribution and importance of *Grewia flavescens* apply here also.

[262] The fruits are edible.

262
824 nutritious.[1]

It should be added that meat is considered by all the Bushmen as a primary food. Informants agreed that an ideal diet should consist primarily of meat and mongongo nuts. In actual practice this ideal is not always attained.

II. Major foods - After Ricinodendron there are eight species that Bushmen consider as major foods but none of these rate high on all five criteria of desirability. There are three species which are superabundant in quantity and delicious to the taste, but are available for only a short period of the year. They flourish during the rains but by winter, three months later, they have become shrivelled and dried out. The three summer species are: Grewia flava, the morethlwa berry; Ximenia caffra, the sour plum; and Citrullus
[312] lanatus, the famous Tsama melon. The latter species also serves as an alternative source of water but this is not important in terms of food strategy because the season of Tsama melons coincides with the season of abundant standing water. Among the /gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, the Tsama melon is a more important source of water because it

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[146] [1]The nut of Ricinodendron has been chemically analyzed (quoted in Watt and Breyer-Brandwijk 1962:428). The kernel of the nut was found to yield 60%, by weight, of a quick-drying fixed oil, rich in proteins. The fruit of the nut, which is also eaten by the !Kung Bushmen, yielded, among other constituents, 31% saccharose and 7.9% protein.

224 [162] [361] There were nine adult men resident at this camp but only seven did any hunting. The eighth man was blind and the ninth was crippled. The seven hunters were n≠eysin!a (60 yrs.) and his son ≠oma (35 yrs.); ≠oma//gwe (65 yrs.) and his three sons /ase (40 yrs.), ≠gau (35 yrs.), and n≠eysi (27 yrs.); and ≠gaun!a (40 yrs.), the son-in-law of n≠eysin!a.

[231] The most successful hunter, ≠oma (35 yrs.), hunted 16/28 days and killed four wart hogs and a bat-eared fox, all killed with the aid of dogs. Next was /ase (40 yrs), who hunted nine days. He snared two steenbok and a hare and killed a porcupine by cornering it in its burrow and digging it out.

Then there were the two old men both of whom hunted 16 days each. ≠oma//gwe snared a steenbok, a honey badger, a hare and a kori bustard, and collected a python. N≠eysin!a snared two steenbok.

Old ≠oma//gwe's two younger sons hunted nine and eight days, respectively. The older of the two, ≠gau, snared one korhaan; the youngest son, n≠eysi, also snared one korhaan.

Finally old n≠eysin!a's son-in-law, ≠gaun!a, hunted four days but killed nothing.

[146] The seven men hunted a total of 79 man-days and killed 18 animals; the total weight of meat is estimated at 454 lbs. In addition, they received gifts of meat from other camps

224
146 totalling 36 lbs. This meat (490 lbs.) went to feed a camp of 42 people (exclusive of visitors).

A rough calculation of the weight of meat per person per day through this 28-day period gives a figure of 6-2/3 oz. of meat. The daily intake of vegetable foods per person during the same period can be estimated at 24 oz. (of mongongo nuts and various roots). Therefore a reasonable estimate of the ratio of meat to vegetables in the diet of this camp is 25%-75%.

This ratio is based on observations at one camp during
[114] one season only. It can be said, however, that George Silberbauer, Laurence and Lorna Marshall, and the author are in general agreement that meat comprises between 20% and 40% by weight of the Bushman diet (Silberbauer, 1965:28; Marshalls, personal communication).

5. Late Winter

221 There is a well-defined break point in the winter subsistence cycle between the early period (May, June and July) of relative abundance and the late winter and spring period
221 of increasing food scarcity (August-September). Through the
222 early winter the Bushmen concentrate on the mongongo nut groves
462 that are within a day's walk of permanent water. Groups of women go out once every three or four days, fill their karosses with nuts and return to the camp in the evening. The men

221
222 well into September. On the other hand, at /ai/ai, where 109
184 Bushmen were living, the local mongongo nuts were exhausted at the beginning of July.

Since each territory was known for a different selection of winter foods, the transition took a different form at each waterhole. At Dobe, the mongongo nuts were replaced as the staple of the diet by Baobab fruits (Adansonia) and vegetable ivory palm hearts (Hyphaene). At Bate the people shifted from mongongo nuts to Sclerocarya caffra nuts. At !angwa, the people concentrated on collecting Acacia spp. gums.

221 In general the diet of the Bushmen becomes much more
824 eclectic during the latter half of the winter. It was during
146 this season that the Bushmen took advantage of a wide selection of edible species. Instead of eating mongongo nuts with a few other species as "side dishes", the people had to diversify their diet in order to live well. During August and September no less than 25 species of roots, bulbs and edible gums formed the basis of the diet.

222 There was an alternative strategy to eating less desirable
312 foods. If a family was prepared to make the effort required to reach the nutting groves, they would fill their water containers (ostrich egg shells and the stomachs of antelope) and walk to the nuts. They would collect and eat there until

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

logical father, as well as his mother's husband, should do something nice for him. 159
Perhaps when he receives his first assegai his begetter will give it, for that is a very 848
proud thing—but we do not know what the future holds for these people or where they will be by then.

The dominance of men

Wives are much desired by the young men, who usually wait for years for their 562
infant fiancées to grow up, and by men who want second wives, and by widowers. [581]
/Kung women are not only precious as mates, they are the food-gatherers and supply [222]
more of the daily food than the men do. Hunting[1] is very arduous in the Kalahari and [462]
the hunters succeed in bringing a big meat animal to the werf only about once or [224]
twice a month. Meanwhile women have dug roots and gathered berries and the other wild plant foods to feed their families every day. /Kung women in their two roles make a very great contribution.

In /Kung society, however, the magnitude of their contribution does not make women dominant. There are factors which bring the men forward clearly into dominance and leadership.

The primary factor is undoubtedly strength. /Kung men are small and slender, [142]
but they are wiry and vigorous. With their strength they carry and protect the very 147
life of their people. When they swing their weapons and implements and their small children on to their shoulders and stride out in front of the women, the image seems to reveal, as vividly as if a great artist had painted it, how the laden following women are borne up by the strength of their men and take heart from them.

Another factor which brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and 462
its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is only drudgery in digging and 562
picking in the hot sun and trudging back in the early evening to the werf with heavy [222]
roots and berries and babies all sagging in the pouches of their karosses, a small dead tree or two on one shoulder for the night fire, possibly another child astride the other shoulder. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh [262]
and are not very satisfying. There is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving [262]
for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally [224]
the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once, when an eland had been killed and the hunters were sighted [152]
with the meat on their backs, moving in a dark, lumpy, bobbing line in the golden grass, we heard the sound of voices in the werf rising in volume and pitch like the hum of excited bees. Some people ran toward the hunters, others crowded together at the edge of the werf, some danced up and down, the children squealed and ran about, the boys grappled and tussled together. The motion and sound had the effect of a vibration. Another time a young man who was said to be the best hunter in
the region (/Qui Hunter we called him, his people called him Short /Qui), had been 462
charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. 562
He knelt facing the creature till it was within close range and shot an arrow straight 224

[1] John Marshall has described /Kung hunting in his film, *The Hunters*, Peabody Museum Film Study Center, Harvard University, and in 'Man as Hunter', *Natural History*, the magazine of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, vol. lxvii, No. 6, June, and No. 7, August, 1958. [113]

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself, who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year 1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and smoke it' " (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions
131 of this tribe:

"The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

[21 cont.]

157 them thought of asking a question about it. The Bushmen of
today at least do not believe that any kind of magic is concealed
[177] in the Europeans' machines. They learn to use European instru-
ments fairly quickly; in particular, they soon become familiar
with the rifle. Dornan reported that there was a large number
of improvised rifles that the Bushmen had adapted. In a new
environment, the Bushman is wholly self-possessed and coolly
[648] observant. He is highly adaptable. The girls, of whom a num-
ber are kept by farmers as concubines, are quite skillful at
[177] housekeeping. In Ovamboland they quickly adopt the living
habits and economic activities of the Bantu. An Ongandjera
Bushman acts as an instructor at the teacher's college in Oonipa.
He owns a small kraal that is well-maintained in Ovambo fashion
and, in addition, has built himself a round hut of tiles in which
[648] he keeps his "library." They seldom stay long on the farms, but
[147] probably in the main because the food does not agree with them.
609 The Bushmen are most distrustful of other people. Every armed
person whom they encounter is regarded from the outset as an
enemy. The Bushman is allowed to enter the regions of other tribes
only if he is unarmed. Even along the edge of the farm zone
the mutual distrust is so great that a Bushman who has been sent
to a farm as a messenger dares not leave the road, which is
regarded as a neutral zone, if another kin group has settled in
the vicinity. If two armed Bushmen who are strangers approach
each other, they disarm at first sight before they greet each
other. When a Bushman comes to a village or to a farmhouse,
he will put down his arms at a certain distance and sit down to
wait patiently, if need be for hours, until he is questioned. A
186 distinct sense of race is not apparent. Everything that does not
609 belong to one's own kin group is regarded as strange, even
hostile, except when common persecution causes a sense of
solidarity to spring up among all those who are persecuted. At
the same time, they very clearly possess a kind of sense of
humanity as a whole, that is, they do not believe that they are
the only people, and they are convinced, for example, that the
people of all races are received in the heavenly house. Their
602 conduct toward relatives is regulated by numerous customs, but
in general it is formal and almost ceremonial, even toward the
[543] wife and children. The Bushman is never importunate.
[157]

[22 cont.]

114 without compromising oneself. Only old people are suitable
124 informants, since they are no longer eager for renown.

In view of the hard life that the people lead, sexuality,
831 naturally, is not excessively developed. Perverse manipulations are evidently unknown, since my informants did not even understand questions on this subject.

833 Normal sexual intercourse is usually performed in the bush during the time between the evening meal and the rising
271 of the moon. Long periods of thirst result in almost total im-
147 potence.

157 Despite all the formality, they have an unbridled
578 temperament which frequently expresses itself in violent emotional explosions over trivial affairs, which then may easily lead to serious consequences since the poisoned arrow is always at hand. For example, I was told the following story: A Bushman worked on a farm for quite a long time and, with his belly fat from eating maize, came to visit his thin companions. His brother made fun of him for being so fat, saying that he could not run any more, whereupon the fat one retorted: "Just the same, I'll live longer than you." After this brief exchange of words, the scrawny brother stabbed the fat one. -- A film com-
157 pany once wanted to make a film among the !Kung who are
648 settled behind Keibeb; the film was to be called: "When the First Whites Came into the Land." The chief of this horde had a [23] pair of old German military trousers as an emblem of his office and when he was requested to take them off, he responded with the declaration that he would take off his trousers only if the White did the same, whereupon he received a box on the ears that put him and his companions in such a rage that the film company preferred to depart in order to avoid a catastrophe.
157 That they can also be quick at repartee is shown by the following story which was repeatedly told to me by Europeans: A Bushman had been accused of poaching. The magistrate asked him: "Don't you know that these animals belong to the king (royal game)?" The Bushman answered: "I saw no 'brand' (property mark)."

As a chief or family head, the Bushman is bossy and
[593] unyielding, which is understandable in view of the rigidity of his whole conception of life. The sick Bushmen lie silent and

[25 cont.]

481 recognizable -- a characteristic that during the old Bushman persecutions cost many thousands of these unfortunate and peculiar hominid creatures their miserable existence. The walk of the Sanides is also peculiar; they do not walk, they prance. Out of habit they always raise their knees and feet as though they were walking among the sharp grasses and thorn bushes of their homeland. This, like the swaying walk of sailors, is of course, a secondary, acquired characteristic, not a racial one."

I prefer, nevertheless, to regard the walk of the Bushmen as somewhat racially conditioned.

516 The sitting position of the Bushman is the squatting position that is practiced by so many primitive peoples and was probably at one time universal among mankind. At the same time, their position differs from that of the Blacks, insofar as the latter usually squat in such a way that the bones of the ischium do not touch the ground, whereas this is the case among the Bushmen. As a result, when they squat, they bend their backs quite far and must spread their legs apart.

513 When sleeping, the Bushman lies rolled up on his right or left side. The children all cuddle up to the mother to sleep.

● 147 The muscle power of the Bushmen is very weak. The dynamometric measurements that I carried out show that the pushing power of adult men is less than that of European working women; it only amounts to between 30 and 40 kilograms, whereas European women achieve approximately 60 kilograms, men engaged in light work average 80 kilograms, and European heavy workers and the smiths among us reach an average of 120 and more kilograms. Black heavy workers attain an average of only 80 kilograms. Thus, the Black on the average is twice as strong as a Bushman, and the White is three times as strong.

At the same time, there is no essential difference between the sexes among the Bushmen themselves.

[25 cont.]

147 481 Similarly, the strength displayed by the Bushmen in using the bow is by no means impressive. While their momentary efficiency is low, their endurance in marching is great. In 1916 when the farmer Schwarz in Neudesenberg (Keitsas) was sick with black water fever, the farmer's wife sent a Bushman to Grootfontein for a bottle of champagne. The man left in the forenoon and returned around midnight. The distance was at least 100 to 120 kilometers, for the highway, which has few detours, is 90 kilometers long. (Informant: Farmer Schwarz in Duwib.)

4. Physical Types and Constitution

142 The Bushmen are a distinctly human type of savage with very gracile bone structure. A group of them that I designate as South Khoin is the only form of human being adapted to desert life, or in any case is the form best adapted to it.

The type that has developed there can in no way be subsumed in our physical type schema. Since this same type to a considerable degree is also involved in the composition of the northern forest Bushmen, there are naturally a great many individuals whom we cannot classify at all in our sense. At any rate, however, we can -- and here I am anticipating some of my anthropological conclusions -- differentiate among both sexes of the !Kung a longitype and a brachytype. Especially among the women it is almost always possible to differentiate the "chubby youthful form" from the so-called future form.

In another place I have defended the view that the athletic type should be regarded as the true normal-type, and that this type has the innate ability to accumulate a moderate amount of fat. The muscular-respiratory type with a slighter development of the skeleton and musculature does not possess the ability for a great accumulation of fat, whereas the digestive type with slightly developed musculature has a great ability to accumulate fat.

[26] From the athletic type a continuous series leads through the respiratory and digestive forms to the tall-asthenic and short-asthenic types and from there to the decided weaklings.

[44 cont.]

Toothache

142 I rarely saw irregularities in the position of the teeth, and
[515] never protruding or receding teeth. The only care given the teeth is the use of iron arrow points for toothpicks. The teeth are usually yellow, covered with dense layers of tartar, and because of the sand content of the vegetable diet, are quickly worn down
164 by chewing. Caries are extraordinarily common, but infections also occur through the exposure of the root canal as the teeth are
753 worn down. If a person has a severe toothache, //Gauab has stuck a needle into it, and the doctor must be called to get it out. If there is no general discomfort, however, then no dsao are there.
757 A little piece of wood is sharpened to a point at one end, held with the point against the root of the tooth, and then the tooth is knocked out with a stone. This instrument is called "oie."
147 Small children suffer considerable pain when they teethe; some-
753 times dsao (spirits of sickness) are also at work in this case. [Fig. 17 appears here.]

Sore Throat

753 A sore throat means that //Gauab has made a cord and is
755 drawing it tight around the patient's neck. The doctor must remove the cord from the patient; it is about 30 centimeters long and is like the trap cord (//kao); everyone can see it after the treatment.

Colds (X'ōã)

164 Grippe takes many victims among the Bushmen every year,
513 especially among those who are already tuberculous. In winter, colds are extraordinarily frequent, since the people lie almost naked around the fires. In the forest they are fairly well protected against the wind, but on the open plain the wind changes its direction at night while they are asleep, so that they not only catch cold but often receive severe burns around the stomach -- although this applies only to the men; the women sleep at a greater distance FROM THE FIRE.

Gastrointestinal Disorders

753 It is interesting to note that the doctrine of the importance
[171] of the liver and gall bladder in the origin of disease, which we find among all primitive and civilized peoples up to the humoral medicine of the previous century, is already present among the Bushmen. When the gall bladder is full, one becomes sick and
[755] vomits gall. Then the region of the liver is massaged, just as is done in the case of liver pains. Enlargement of the liver as the
[164] result of chronic malaria is common. The moon, which dies
[821] every month, also has gall sickness, and moonlight is the juice of the gall bladder vomited by it. Moonlight and gall are known
[164] by the same word (goo). Spleen tumor is especially common
757 among children. They have no medicine against splenalgia.
278 They have no medicine for inducing vomiting. It is induced by putting the finger or a feather into the mouth. To stop vomiting, one chews little twigs of the goro tree. The bitter wood of the liana (χ'ǎǎ-χ'ǎñ) is chewed for stomach-ache. In case of con-
[753] stipation the doctor must practice magic, for it is assumed that
[755] the dsao have tied the stool in the intestine, and the doctor must loosen and extract the cord, just as in the case of an inflammation of the throat. The patient may not eat anything and drink very little. In case of diarrhea, even the bleeding kind, the same medicine is taken as in the case of stomach-aches. Intestinal
● 147 worms are unknown. We already know from earlier reports that the
262 gastrointestinal tract of the Bushman can take all kinds of things that we cannot take. As the result of habituation from early childhood on, he can digest meat that has gone bad and the like, without any trouble (1). After a long period of hunger, he can consume

1. I myself witnessed a drastic example of this. I had brought a side of bacon from Swakopmund, which supposedly had been preserved for all eternity according to a special process. When I brought it out, it had a hideous smell, and in order to prevent the Bushmen from taking it and getting sick, I had it hung high on a tree. The

[45 cont.]

147
262

> Bushmen stared longingly at the discolored lump of fat. Finally they sent a deputation to me, saying that they wanted the bacon for their dogs. The moment they received it, it was skillfully divided according to families and consumed in the course of a great feast, without any harmful effects.

enormous quantities, but such excesses as a rule are followed by an indisposition. The day after a major feast, almost all of them lie in the sun with stomach-ache and gripes. In other words, even a Bushman should not be credited with the impossible with regard to food; many things that seem repulsive to us, such as earthworms, lizards, thick grubs, mice, and the like, are in themselves not at all harmful to health, especially since the Bushman only eats them cooked or roasted. Bushmen who have grown up on the farms can take the same diet as the Whites or Blacks. On
147 the other hand, the wild Bushmen who have grown up on veldkost
262 and the flesh of wild animals cannot accustom themselves to the
648 work and prison diet of the Blacks. A term in jail of any great length means condemnation to a slow but sure death for most Bushmen. The prisoners show the symptoms of vitamin deficiency, become infirm, get edemata on their legs, dropsy, and unfailingly perish. In the initial stage severe sluggishness of the bowels sets in. Ample portions of fresh meat can keep the Bushman healthy even in imprisonment. The fact that Bushmen run away from the
[464] farms is based in most cases upon their inability to endure any
[146] longer the diet given them. The vitamin need of the Bushman who has grown up in the wilderness is undoubtedly much greater, and his longing for meat, which often appears pathological, can be explained as a physiological craving for vitamins.

Diseases of the Urogenital System

164 Catarrhs of the bladder occur; in such cases a flat stone
(755) is warmed in the fire and placed on the bladder region. Hematuria, evidently the result of nephritis, was twice treated by my friend

/244 cont./

Indices

	Men	Women
141 I. Skull index	76.3	73.5
II. Average index of the skulls of all adults measured	74.77	
III. Physiognomic face index	76.44	76.1
IV. Physiognomic nose index	102.5	97.44

147 [146] The state of nutrition of those examined may in general be called inadequate, and the amount of fat slight. Even among younger individuals the skin is strikingly slack and can be grasped in wide folds. One has the impression that there is a connection between this slackness of the skin and the extreme fluctuation in the saturation of the tissues, which is the rule since the Bushmen experience frequent and long-lasting thirsts. The men assured me that they could march without water for four days in great heat, a statement which surely deserves to be credited.

142 The skin color of all those examined, with the exception of two in whose case racial mixture is a possibility, is a brown of medium tone shading over into yellow.

The palms of the hand and soles of the feet are a lighter color, but do not show such a striking contrast with the back of the hand as is the case among the Bantu /245/ Negroes. The skin of the chest and abdomen has a slightly darker coloration than that of the face. Scars are very common, especially on the chest and abdomen, and [513] usually stem from burns to which the Bushmen readily expose themselves by sitting and sleeping near the open fire. These scars have a lighter tinge than the surrounding skin and look almost pure yellow.

The iris of all those examined is deep brown in color.

Compared with Europeans, the hair growth of the Bushmen is very modest. It is confined almost entirely to the skull; beards are found only on a few men and even then they are sparse. Hair elsewhere on the body, including the arm pits and pubic hair, is practically nonexistent.

The color of the hair on the head is a deep black. The individual hairs grow to a length of about four centimeters for men and about six centimeters for women. The hair is fine and curled in a spiral. The curvature radius of the spiral amounts to about two

/246 cont./

304 3. The third and most curious is a manner of tattooing which I should like to designate as the antelope tattoo, a kind of inoculation that I have seen in no other native African tribe. This type of tattoo is used only by males and consists of the following: Through parallel incisions little pieces of antelope flesh, especially gemsbok flesh, are placed under the skin of male children, with the idea that the child thus inoculated will have the speed of the antelopes in running. The incisions are most commonly made on the buttocks, but they are also to be found on the chest, abdomen, and back.

[827]

757 One also commonly finds scars all over the body from blood-letting incisions "to draw off" illnesses.

Viewed from above, the head shows no peculiarities, although 142 dolichocephaly does not seem to me to be as marked among the Bushmen as it is among the Bantu Negroes. The protuberance at the back of the head is so little developed that it can scarcely be felt on most individuals.

The profile view of the face permits one to recognize a clear alveolar prognathy. In the case of most individuals the upper lip in the profile view extends beyond the tip of the nose. The edge of hair around the fairly straight forehead runs in an even curve from one ear to the other.

The bones of the eyebrow arches protrude sharply, while the forehead bulge is only slightly developed.

The cheekbones with the widely-projecting zygomatic arches form prominences jutting out sharply in the temporal and cheek region.

Most Bushmen show a striking prominence of the parotid gland 142 region, which in the case of some individuals swells out so that it 147 is actually hemispherical. I was unable to determine whether the swelling is caused more by hypertrophy of the parotid gland or by a particularly strong development of the chewing musculature. This swelling of the parotid gland region is, I believe, not a racial peculiarity of the Bushmen, but rather a consequence of their way of life which necessitates a root diet requiring very heavy use of the chewing apparatus. At any rate, I observed the same peculiarity among the Herero, who for a long time were dependent upon veld food.

/246 cont./

142 The Herero, like the Bushmen, give the use of veld food,
147 especially the onion known as unki, as the cause of this peculiarity.
171 The attached photographs illustrate the swelling in the case of a Bushman (Fig. 3) and a Herero (Fig. 4).

The nose is sharply set off from the forehead and strikingly
142 small. The bridge of the nose is so flat that in some cases one can scarcely speak of a bridge of the nose; the area between the cheekbones is an almost level surface. The tip /247/ of the nose is small and pointed slightly upward. The largest diameter of the nostrils runs diagonally. The lips are narrow in comparison with those of most Negroes; their color is almost exactly that of the surrounding skin of the face.

The teeth of the majority of individuals are in pretty good condition; among the 39 persons I examined, I found only 28 carious teeth. In comparison with a European, the extreme wear of the teeth is striking; it progresses with age and is so marked in old people that the teeth are worn down to the roots, again a consequence of the way of life dependent upon a root diet. The incisors very slightly point forward.

The Heikum do not have artificial deformities of the teeth.
304 Several of those examined displayed the well-known Herero
648 deformity (filing down the inner sides of the two central upper incisors and removal of the four lower incisors) [Figs. 3 and 4 appear here], which is explained by the fact that these Bushmen had been Herero slaves in their childhood and were marked in the Herero manner by their former masters.

The ear is of normal size; its outline is rounded, not bent at an
142 angle. The ear lobe is always joined to the head.

In spite of general gauntness, the marked development of the abdomen in most cases is striking, even among the adults.

The female breast is conical in the case of individuals who have not borne children; the region around the nipple is usually separated by a gentle furrow from the rest of the breast. The color of the nipple area is deep brown. The nipple is raised.

[304] Circumcision is not practiced by either men or women. Among the Heikum and Kung women I did not find the abnormally pronounced development of the buttocks, known as steatopygia, which
[144] is so common among Hottentot women. To my mind this is

/248 cont./

142

	Number of persons examined	Second toe extending farthest	First toe extending farthest	First and second toe extending farthest	Second and third toe extending farthest
Men	14	9	1	4	0
Women	17	11	0	3	3
Children	8	7	1	0	0
Total	39	27	2	7	3

I was also able to gather some data concerning physiological
151 conditions. By means of Snellen charts, I discovered very keen sight for all the persons examined. Threefold visual keenness was attained by all those examined, and some had even higher degrees, up to sixfold.

The ticking of a watch could be heard at a distance of three meters by most of those examined.

I have frequently observed yawning among Bushmen.

The gait of the Bushmen has something very characteristic
481 about it; in walking, they raise the knees surprisingly high, a custom that is explained by the nature of the country. Because of the low and commonly thorny shrubs through which they travel with uncovered legs, they are forced to raise their legs quite high in walking, and they maintain this gait even when they are moving across ground that has no growth on it. In addition, the achievements of these small inhabitants of the bush on the march and in running are quite enormous.

Bushmen who had been sent out on patrols by the station
[147] covered a distance of 130 kilometers in less than 48 hours without displaying visible signs of fatigue. They followed the cavalry troop, which frequently broke into a trot, happily and without difficulty on foot, trotting themselves whenever the troop accelerated its pace.

/249/ Extreme astonishment is expressed by opening the mouth
201 and eyes wide. I was able to observe this myself when I played a phonograph before the unsuspecting Bushmen. When the performance was over, the audience asked me whether the people who were in the apparatus and sang there also slept in it and received their food through the horn.

/259 cont./

342 are filled with grass. The door is a hole scarcely a meter high;
[354] immediately behind it the fire burns almost continuously, so that, at least for the European, crawling into the hut presents considerable difficulties. Since the Bushmen are often forced to
[361] move their settlements because of the lack of veld food or because of the water conditions, they not infrequently content themselves with incomplete huts, which are not closed to form a full circle, but represent only a part, a segment of a hut, as it were, and give only scant protection against the sun.

For the rest, it is astonishing how hardened these practically
147 naked Bushmen are against the cold of the night which during the cold season is very sharp -- not infrequently below O° [centigrade]. Unclothed except for the loincloth, they calmly go to sleep on
[513] the cold ground near a small fire, exposed to the icy night air, a thought that gives chills to Europeans, who are unable to sleep without three woolen blankets on such nights.

Concerning the much discussed racial position of the Bush-
144 men, I have already remarked above -- at least concerning the Heikum and Kung -- that their descent from the Hottentots, as is frequently asserted, seems doubtful to me. The Bushmen's smaller size, of course, can be accounted for by the debilitation of the race through centuries-long unfavorable living conditions. What argues against the notion of racial affinity, however, is the anthropological fact that steatopygia is not to be found among the Heikum and Kung women, /260/ and, in addition, the lan-
197 guage is totally different.

I attempted to collect a sample of the vocabulary and some grammatical characteristics of the language of the Heikum on the Omatako and of the Kung in the Kaukau Veld, which I present below. In doing this, it became evident that the languages of the Heikum and Kung are merely dialectically differentiated, while they seem to have almost no relationship to the Nama language. The click sounds, to be sure, are almost the same as
[194] those in the Hottentot language; hence, / designates the dental
[104] click, // the lateral click, ! the cerebral [retroflex] click, and ≠ the palatal click. By ⁝ I designate the sharp opening of the glottis in speaking the initial vowel, which frequently occurs between a consonant and a vowel or between two vowels of the same word, and which does not occur in this fashion in the Nama.

X137 *Grewia retinervis* Burret (4875, 5066) Photograph 31.

!h5: Bushman.....	⊙b5:
‖ganakwe Bushman...	‖?ani
|gikwe Bushman.....	‖gani
Naron Bushman.....	|gani
Eastern !khû Bushman	|gwa

A straggly many-stemmed five-foot shrub, sometimes a weak scrambler up to 10 feet high. The stems are half an inch thick at the base, rounded and slightly woolly when young, slightly flattened and glabrous when old, and tough and pliant. Its leavers are alternate, pale green, one and a half inches long and an inch wide, ovate with a pointed tip, toothed, and roughly hairy to the touch. They wither and fall soon after being frosted, but if out of reach of the frost remain on the bushes at least until the end of July. The plant bears spreading yellow flowers half an inch wide, and fruits the size of a pea, with a papery brown skin enclosing a few large pips and some fibrous mealy material. *Grewia retinervis* is closely allied to *Grewia flavescens*, so much so that I doubt whether the two should be considered anything more than varieties of one species. The differences are that *Grewia flavescens* is usually taller, and not so conspicuously veined on the upper surface of the leaves. Mr. B. de Winter, of the National Herbarium, Pretoria, has observed also that its older stems are square in section and those of *Grewia retinervis* are flattened.

Grewia retinervis was scattered over most of the area covered by the expedition, and common in the central Kalahari, specially in open grassy country. It has been recorded from the northern Cape and the Transvaal as well as South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

262 The fruits are edible. They ripen in winter, and have a slightly sweet [251 taste and a pleasant flavour. They may be stored after being dried, and 252] are then soaked or boiled before being eaten. The crop, if one may judge from the 1955 season, is abundant, and the amount fairly constant for all the bushes. The fruits form an important part of the Bushmen diet, [146 although little of them appears digestible. The roughage is voided almost 147] unchanged, in enormous faecal masses up to two and a half inches in diameter.

824 The dry stems of this plant nearly always contain the tunnelings of 372 grubs, and the tunnellings are packed with their excreta in the form of a brown, pith-like substance which forms a useful tinder. The Bushmen split the stems down the centre, make a slight depression in the flat surface and use this as a socket for the fire-drill.

X137 *Grewia* sp. aff. *Grewia bicolor* Juss. (5056).

Eastern !khû Bushman gamak"wɔ:

A slender shrub up to six feet high, with many sparingly branched stems. The leaves are one and a half inches by one inch, very finely toothed, dark green above and pale below, pointed at the tip and rounded at the base. Both surfaces are covered with a fine grayish felt which is thicker on the lower surface. Typical *Grewia bicolor* has wool on the lower surface only. The fruits are the size of a pea, and have a little flesh covering usually one big seed. No flowers were seen.

This is another of the plants with a distribution which begins in the Ghanzi area and extends northwards, and the remarks made as to the distribution and importance of *Grewia flavescens* apply here also.

[262] The fruits are edible.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

seen paintings, photographs, or drawings of any kind, the 174
paintings they made for me could be said to resemble the paintings and engravings on the rocks.

If there is a resemblance, it is not surprising. The Bushmen, together with the Hottentot peoples, are known to have lived in South Africa long before the Bantus came. At one time it all was theirs to roam in, all the riverbanks and all the grasslands, all the hills and valleys where cedar trees grow, from the Cape to Rhodesia, from Angola to Mozambique. But during the waves of the early Bantu migrations, when the taller, energetic Bantu people with their chiefs and kings, witch doctors and armies of soldiers, their metal spears and axes, shields and maces, came walking down from central Africa driving their great herds of cattle before them, the Bushmen yielded their land to the stronger newcomers, after a few struggles, surely, and most of them were either killed, enslaved, or driven farther and farther back into the most remote parts of the country, where the Bantu people and their livestock could not live. But the Bushmen are very tough and hardy, all sinew and wire, with not an extra ounce of flesh to [147] ●
carry, and possess great endurance of hunger and thirst, endurance to search through the grass roots all day looking for a vegetable to eat, or endurance to chase the antelope they shoot, which may take as many as four days to die and may walk as far as a hundred miles if the arrow was not particularly well placed. Bushmen are extremely observant, too, and 151
can follow the spoor of their wounded antelope over the hard- 174
est ground or recognize it among the spoor of a herd of other antelope of its kind, and if they miss the spoor and find it again, they know from individual characteristics of the footprint that it is their antelope and no other. Even a Bushman child walking along in the veld can tell his mother's footprints, can see at once the tiniest dry stalk among the grass

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

A great thunderhead was rising in the west which would 123
probably disperse before morning, and the sun set into it, turning the whole horizon a pale and delicate rose. We built up our fires and at the werf the Bushmen built up their fires and when it was dark our fragment of the veld was rather gay with firelight. A huge star, Fomalhaut, appeared in the southeast, as it did every evening. Tonight it looked as big as the moon and blue in the haze, but very dim, getting smaller and brighter as it rose.

Ukwane played his songs for us and said again that he would wait for our return, living beside our track, and if his son should come to visit him he would wait no longer but would follow our track to find us again somewhere.

We told him that under no conditions should he do any of this, for he would never be able to find us and we would probably never come back. He nodded, and we believed that he would not wait, but then again perhaps he did. Perhaps he is there now.

We got up before dawn in the morning and stamped out our fires and threw our bedrolls on top of the trucks. When it came, it was the pinkest dawn that I have ever seen and when the morning wind rose we shivered. I found a few coals left in a fire and tried to warm my hands, and when Wite saw what I was doing he crouched beside me and showed me how to pick up just one coal, roll it between the palms, and then hold the warm palms against the face. I tried it and of [47]
course was burned, but Wite patiently did it again and again, hoping that I would learn. His palms were flat and calloused almost as thickly as the soles of his feet. Twikwe, Tsetchwe, and Nhwakwe came to sit beside us and we waited together in silence until the trucks were ready. When I got up to go

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

guages, some now virtually extinct, were characterized by a fifth click made 194
with the lips, called the kiss click (⊙). In addition to clicks, the Bushman 197
languages have tones: high, middle, low, rising, and falling. Oswin Köhler [114]
has given special attention to tone as well as to other features in his study of Bushman languages, especially Barakwenga (Köhler 1962).

Each of the large divisions of the Bushman languages—the northern, 197
central, and southern divisions (see Bleek 1956)—differs markedly from the others. Within each group are several languages, sometimes resembling each other enough to be considered merely dialects of the same language, but more often differing so widely as to be distinct, mutually quite unintelligible languages. The !Kung described in this chapter (Köhler's and Westphal's !Xû) belong to the northern group.

HABITAT • The Kalahari Desert, some 1200 miles long, with a mean high 133
altitude of about 3000 feet, forms part of the great plateau of southern Africa. It is a basin in form, covered with wind-blown sands, sometimes red, [134]
sometimes white, to a depth of 300 to 400 feet. The underlying rock crops out rarely in ridges and a few low hills.

Stamp (1953:78) classifies the Kalahari as a semidesert. Its conditions 132
are not the most extreme. Our expeditions recorded daytime air temperatures in the shade up to 115° F. and sand temperatures in the sun up to 140° F. In winter the temperature at night falls below freezing but for most of the year the nights are temperate. Although they seem acclimated to the heat, the [147]
Bushmen appear to find the colder temperatures very uncomfortable and shiver violently if they are away from their fires when the cold south winds blow.[8]

The rainfall, which comes in summer thunderstorms—6 to 10 inches, in- 137
creasing in the better-watered parts toward the north, according to Welling- [132]
ton (1955:61)—though slight, is sufficient to sustain a varied drought-resistant vegetation, and the country is covered with grass, brush, and scant small trees. In the northern and northwestern parts, the trees are more [824]
numerous and taller and include shivi groves and nut-bearing mangetti—important sources of food to the Bushmen. And in all the areas of the desert that Bushmen inhabit are found edible plants, in scant, far-apart patches perhaps, but existing. The vegetation, furthermore, provides material for fires, 824
shelter, weapons, implements, tanning, poison for arrows, and juices (for example tsama melons, on which these people can live when there is no water). In short, this desert provides the things that make life possible; otherwise the Bushmen would be dead or somewhere else.

The desert is a forceful shaper of the outlines of Bushman culture, and 182
both the possibilities it permits and the limitations it imposes have been mean- [114]
ingfully summarized by Robert Story in a personal communication:

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not 251
uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming 261
journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to 261
food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food 576
or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food 433
and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung 462
society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no 562
extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly 562
strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous 147
and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of 562
hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing 462
splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable 262
foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. 224
The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's [535]
wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The 342
building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's [462]
work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a [137]
woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. [461]
She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

174 [172] 1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at 177 the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or 131 exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

131 (3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as 162 listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

144 (4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into cate- [114] gories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

114 (5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been pub- 147 lished by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

224 (6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed 126 in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

553 (7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential 602 beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. 121 A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

312
824 people were willing to walk in a single day for the purpose
222 of food gathering. In order to exploit food resources further than seven miles from water, the Bushmen feel that it is necessary to make a temporary camp at the food and stay overnight.

312
222 The options available to Bushmen facing such a situation are three: 1) they may carry water to the food and live there until their water is exhausted; 2) they may move to the food and dig water-rich roots to satisfy their moisture requirements; or 3) they may wait until rainfall produces standing water nearer the desirable foods.

312
147 There are no physiological short cuts to solving the water problem. There is no evidence that the Bushmen's daily water requirements are less than that of other peoples (Wyndham in press; Silberbauer 1965). Like all peoples, the Bushmen must drink water to live and their daily requirements are a function of such factors as ambient air temperature, wind velocity and the work they have to do[1] (Ladell 1958; Adolph et al. 1947).

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[1]Ladell, a physiologist specializing in problems of human life in arid regions has said: "It can be categorically stated that no man of any race, however acclimatized and trained, can survive in a hot desert climate without very liberal supplies of water; there is, and can be, no substitute for water and there is no remedy for its deficiency". (1958:85).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

142 arm is the shortest on record. In the Northern tribes measured by
[141] Seiner and Werner the index of span-breadth to stature is just over 100, whereas in Europeans it is about 103 and in the Central African Pygmies as much as 106. The hands and feet are very small and narrow in proportion, the fingers and toes short and stumpy.

The outline of the body is sunken and angular, and all projections are strongly marked. The shoulders are angular, and the shoulder-blades and collar-bones stand out very strongly, owing to the thinness of the muscles and the lack of adipose tissue in the skin. The chest as a rule is fairly well developed, though its appearance is sometimes vitiated by the variable conditions of the abdomen, and especially
[262] by the frequent occurrence of a pendulous belly, chiefly in young people, as the result of unfavourable diet, unrestricted gorging, and the frequent alternation between starvation and plenty. Where the food supply is at all regular, this abnormal protuberance is rarely seen. The buttocks are small but often seem prominent owing to the curious inward curvature of the spine in the lumbo-sacral region. The penis,
[147] even when not in a state of erection, often extends horizontally in a semi-erect condition. This remarkable feature, portrayed also in many of the Bushman paintings of human beings, has been regarded by some recent writers, such as von Luschan and Seiner, as a special racial characteristic of the Bushmen.

The Northern Bushmen do not differ very markedly in build from their Southern relatives, although the "Bastard" tribes are on the whole better developed physically. They have stronger limbs, with arms and legs slightly longer in proportion; the shoulders are more rounded, and the chest seen to better advantage. The protuberant abdomen and the marked hollow of the back due to the lumbo-sacral curvature are present in most individuals. The hands and feet are
[147 slightly bigger, the fingers and toes longer. The horizontal projection of the penis was noted by Seiner in about three-fifths of the men he
144] examined. He states that with admixture of Bantu blood it begins to droop, so that there does appear to be some racial significance attached to this feature. Its occurrence has not yet been physiologically explained, although Seiner suggests that it may be due to a strong development of the *Ligamentum suspensorium penis*.

142 The female body, like that of the male, is generally slender, the
147 limbs slight, the hands and feet small. In mature women, however, there is often found a strong accumulation of fat on the thighs and especially on the buttocks, a character known as steatopygia, which

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

may occasionally be seen in the men also. Strongly-marked steatopygia is not very frequent, however, and in spite of the many statements to the contrary it cannot be regarded as a racial peculiarity. Fritsch, indeed, and other acute observers even look upon the occurrence of steatopygia in Bushwomen as indicating the presence of Hottentot blood. However this may be, it is certain that steatopygia is not as prominent a feature of Bushwomen as is sometimes asserted. In the Northern Bushwomen it seldom occurs. B 142 147

The breasts in young girls are small and conical, with well-marked nipples; after puberty they become somewhat pendulous, and in the older women who have given birth to several children they hang very low and are often in an extremely shrivelled condition. The genital organs are notable for a frequent hypertrophy of the labia minora—the so-called "Hottentot apron"—which are sometimes considerably elongated, and may project as much as 10 cm. beyond the rima pudendi. This appears to be a physiological feature, and not artificially produced by manipulation, as has sometimes been suggested. It is found in the Northern tribes also, but is not peculiar to Bushwomen, since it is common among the Hottentots as well as among various East African peoples.

It will be seen from this description that all the Bushmen are on the whole fundamentally of the same physical type, although the Northern tribes vary in certain features from the Southern. It is impossible to draw any clear-cut line of distinction between the different tribes. There is rather a continuous gradation of characters, the type gradually becoming more impure the further north and east we go. The general tendency is for the Northern Bushmen to be taller, often considerably taller, than their Southern relatives; they have a darker colour, and better muscular development, relatively narrower and higher heads and faces, and show certain negroid characteristics in their facial features and bodily build. These divergent tendencies, it is evident, are the result of racial intermixture with other peoples, principally Bantu negroids; and the process of intermixture is still continuing. Seiner's designation of these Northern tribes as "Bastard Bushmen" is well founded, and there can be no doubt that they are all by now to some extent at least a hybrid people as far as physical characters are concerned. B 142 141

Hottentots

H

The Hottentots resemble the Southern Bushmen very closely in appearance. It is only in stature and shape of the head that significant 141 142

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

B H 142

somewhat larger than in Bushmen, and while it does not display the same well-marked peculiarities as the Southern Bushman ear is, on the whole, strongly reminiscent of it, especially in shape and in the well-rolled helix. There is generally a moderate lobe, although occasionally the ear is lobeless, as in pure-blooded Bushmen. The lips are thin, the mucous membrane everted, and there is the same convexity of the upper lip as in the Bushmen. The lips project considerably, the lower slightly beyond the upper, giving the mouth a snout-like appearance, which may also be noticed in some of the Bushmen. This projection of the lips easily conveys the impression of great prognathism, owing to the flatness of the nose and the retreating chin; but actually the degree of prognathism is slight, although greater than in the Cape Bushmen.

In build there is also a great similarity between Hottentots and Bushmen. The bodies of the Hottentots are slender, and the limbs very slight; good muscular development is rare, the muscles generally being thin and cord-like. The legs are rather long in proportion to the trunk, while the arms, again, are short; the hands and feet are small and narrow, like those of the Bushmen. The hips project but little, and the protuberant belly seen in the Southern Bushmen does not occur to the same extent, although it is also often found in small children. The buttocks are small, but may appear prominent owing to the strong inclination of the pelvis and the hollow back, features already noted in the Bushmen as well. The horizontal position of the penis found in pure-blooded Bushmen is occasionally seen in the Hottentots, but is comparatively rare.

B H [147]

B H 142 147

The breasts of the girls, like those of the Bushmen girls, are proportionately small and conical, with projecting nipples; but in mature women they become quite limp, and hang flat against the body. Steatopygia is far more common and more pronounced than in Bushwomen; it is found in the women of all the Hottentot tribes, although it tends to disappear where there is any great degree of intermixture with other peoples. Elongation of the labia minora is also very often found as a physiological feature. Although this cannot be regarded as a racial peculiarity, the fact is noteworthy that it occurs far more frequently in Khoisan women than in the women of any of the other South African peoples.

Relationship Between Bushmen and Hottentots

B H 144 141 142

The Hottentots and Bushmen are so much alike in physical characters and so distinct in appearance from the other inhabitants of

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

837 the wives consent. This is regarded as a concern of the couples involved rather than a concern of society as a whole. One man said, 'If you want to sleep with someone's wife, you get him to sleep with yours, then neither of you goes after the other with poisoned arrows.'

The word */kamheri* was used by ||Ao, one of the young hunters, to express his deep [572] feeling of friendship for John Marshall. 'We are such friends that we are */kamheri*', he said, but, as John had no wife to exchange, this remark had its funny side which delighted the men.

No actual instance of */kamheri* came to our attention and we failed in finding out if it is now practised. One man in Gam lent his first wife to a unmarried friend, one of the gossips told us, because he was in love with his second and did not care any longer for the first, but this was a mere deviation from the rules, not an instance of */kamheri*.

We heard of several irregular sexual unions in addition to the above. Rape did not appear in stories or gossip. Fornication must be very rare because there is practically no one to fornicate with. Almost all females are married except very young girls and leathery old grandmothers. Adultery is the usual form for irregular unions to take. Adultery, however, is sharply limited by several deterrents. One deterrent is 684 the incest taboo, of course, which forbids extra-marital sexual relations as rigorously 837 as it does marriage with persons to whom the taboo is extended. The same internalized sanctions induce obedience to this rule as to the marriage regulations. The same gradation of feeling probably exists, and we expect that people comply strictly within the kindred and among close affines and are no doubt less strict with name relatives.

Ease of divorce must exert a modifying influence on adulterous unions. If a [586] married couple really want to change mates, nothing need deter them but the general difficulty of extricating themselves from the web of responsibilities which marriage entails.

In a sense, the impossibility of maintaining secrecy exerts a control over extra-● 151 marital relations. There is no privacy in a /Kung werf and the vast veld is not a cover. 153 The very life of these people depends on their being trained from childhood to look sharply at things and to take into their attention what they see, for they must 182 observe the most minute marks on vegetation to distinguish from the matted grasses the almost hair-thin brown vine stems that come up from the edible roots. Hunters memorize visual impressions and are able to follow the tracks of an individual animal in the midst of a large herd in a way that seems to us miraculous. It may be a week after a hunt that they return to recover an arrow that missed, miles from the werf, remembering where it lay in the vast monotonous sameness of grass and bush. They register every person's footprints in their minds, more vividly I am sure than we do faces, and read in the sand who walked where and how long ago.

185 The /Kung value control of anger, upholding self-control as an ideal, giving it group and individual approval and training for it. Despite this, volatile tempers 578 sometimes flare and burst out of all control. And always at hand are the little poisoned [411] arrows. They are formidable weapons. There is no antidote for the poison; at least our /Kung informants said they know none and told us of tragic deaths from the poison which would have been averted had they had an antidote.

684 Adultery, so exceedingly provocative of anger and vengeance, could be very

/138 cont./

342 bushes and dispense altogether with any construction.

Tree houses are unknown. In any case, they would be possible only in the Kaukau Veld (baobab), since in the Auin region proper the trees are too weak for this purpose.

Each woman has her own windscreen. If she does not have one, she will live under a special bush.

[882] Young girls and young unmarried men sometimes live in special "girls' houses" or "bachelors' houses," separated according to sex.

34 Any kind of special buildings, like meeting houses, storage rooms, and so forth, are unknown.

There is little neatness in the vicinity of the huts. Special 514 toilets do not exist. The sole consideration with regard to evacuation is to be hidden from sight. One finds great accumulations of feces away from the main direction of the wind. The practice of burying excrement, common among the Herero, apparently does not occur.

The pontok (windscreen) is by no means a valuable possession. 768 After the owner's death the entire horde leaves the locality. Hence any question about the inheritance of the hut is an empty one.

There is no door, and it would not be easy to attach one, 342 considering the construction of the hut. In this connection it should be mentioned that things are left carelessly lying around in the settlements, even when all the people are absent. In any 685 case a theft would be paid for with the death of the thief. Since [151] the Bushman knows the footprints of every person in the region, the culprit would always be found. In this respect the Bushman operates as reliably as the best police dog.

352 They lie upon grass covered with a few tanned hides. There 513 are no other household furnishings.

/139/ C. Food

372 The doro (fire-making instrument) (Fig. 1) consists of two round sticks of the Burkea africana. Several round, flat hollows

[Text continues on page 10]

/248 cont./

142

	Number of persons examined	Second toe extending farthest	First toe extending farthest	First and second toe extending farthest	Second and third toe extending farthest
Men	14	9	1	4	0
Women	17	11	0	3	3
Children	8	7	1	0	0
Total	39	27	2	7	3

I was also able to gather some data concerning physiological
151 conditions. By means of Snellen charts, I discovered very keen sight for all the persons examined. Threefold visual keenness was attained by all those examined, and some had even higher degrees, up to sixfold.

The ticking of a watch could be heard at a distance of three meters by most of those examined.

I have frequently observed yawning among Bushmen.

The gait of the Bushmen has something very characteristic
48/ about it; in walking, they raise the knees surprisingly high, a custom that is explained by the nature of the country. Because of the low and commonly thorny shrubs through which they travel with uncovered legs, they are forced to raise their legs quite high in walking, and they maintain this gait even when they are moving across ground that has no growth on it. In addition, the achievements of these small inhabitants of the bush on the march and in running are quite enormous.

Bushmen who had been sent out on patrols by the station
[147] covered a distance of 130 kilometers in less than 48 hours without displaying visible signs of fatigue. They followed the cavalry troop, which frequently broke into a trot, happily and without difficulty on foot, trotting themselves whenever the troop accelerated its pace.

/249/ Extreme astonishment is expressed by opening the mouth
201 and eyes wide. I was able to observe this myself when I played a phonograph before the unsuspecting Bushmen. When the performance was over, the audience asked me whether the people who were in the apparatus and sang there also slept in it and received their food through the horn.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

FOREWORD.

The Kalahari is not a sandy desert in the sense that it is devoid of vegetation; it is the absence of surface water which makes the region such a hazard to human habitation. It is the last refuge of the Bushman. Primitive though he is, he survived in this inhospitable environment owing to his acute powers of perception and his fine appreciation of the gifts of nature. He is a skilled hunter with his bow and arrow and has an intimate knowledge of the natural resources of food and water. Dr. Story compliments him by saying that his knowledge was usually imparted cheerfully and with humour and "always with intelligence".

The Division of Botany was grateful to accept the invitation for Dr. Story to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition of 1955. This was the fifth expedition of its kind and had as its objective the further documentation of the way of life of the Bushman. Dr. Story's assignment was to investigate the plants used by them in obtaining food and water.

It is inevitable that, with the advance of civilisation, the remnants of this interesting race will lose its intimate contact with nature and in the end its very identity. Wishing to complete their records before this happens the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody organisation, is, as we go to press, returning on yet another expedition. The Division of Botany is glad of this opportunity to continue the collection of data on the plants of economic importance to the Bushmen in the Kalahari.

The balance in nature between supply and demand is of endless interest to the ecologist. In times of plenty—when vegetation is abundant—the animal population increases: in times of poverty—when the vegetation is reduced by the prevailing climatic conditions—the animal population is reduced by the effects of hunger and thirst. So it is with the primitive human, who is dependent for his survival on the animal and plant life which surrounds him. Overpopulation at any time spells destruction for him at a later date. It is obvious too, that primitive man must have had a strong influence on the distribution and density of edible wild plants. Some will have become more widespread and others less numerous. More and more examples of rare species among the tuberous rooted *Asclepiadaceae* have come to light during the botanical exploration of southern Africa. It is felt that the edibility of these and some other tuberous rooted plants, in a large measure, accounts for their sparse distribution.

Dr. Story's observations support this view, and many other interesting facts are recorded in his preliminary report on the vegetable aspect of the Bushman's diet.

R. A. Dyer,
Chief: Division of Botany and
Director of Botanical Survey.

Pretoria,
October, 1957.

seen paintings, photographs, or drawings of any kind, the 174
paintings they made for me could be said to resemble the paintings and engravings on the rocks.

If there is a resemblance, it is not surprising. The Bushmen, together with the Hottentot peoples, are known to have lived in South Africa long before the Bantus came. At one time it all was theirs to roam in, all the riverbanks and all the grasslands, all the hills and valleys where cedar trees grow, from the Cape to Rhodesia, from Angola to Mozambique. But during the waves of the early Bantu migrations, when the taller, energetic Bantu people with their chiefs and kings, witch doctors and armies of soldiers, their metal spears and axes, shields and maces, came walking down from central Africa driving their great herds of cattle before them, the Bushmen yielded their land to the stronger newcomers, after a few struggles, surely, and most of them were either killed, enslaved, or driven farther and farther back into the most remote parts of the country, where the Bantu people and their livestock could not live. But the Bushmen are very tough and hardy, all sinew and wire, with not an extra ounce of flesh to [147]
carry, and possess great endurance of hunger and thirst, endurance to search through the grass roots all day looking for a vegetable to eat, or endurance to chase the antelope they shoot, which may take as many as four days to die and may walk as far as a hundred miles if the arrow was not particularly well placed. Bushmen are extremely observant, too, and 151
can follow the spoor of their wounded antelope over the hard- 174
est ground or recognize it among the spoor of a herd of other antelope of its kind, and if they miss the spoor and find it again, they know from individual characteristics of the footprint that it is their antelope and no other. Even a Bushman child walking along in the veld can tell his mother's footprints, can see at once the tiniest dry stalk among the grass

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

[15] that marks an edible root, or see a scorpion hidden in the dust
174 and jump over it. So Bushmen survive in the most rigorous places; they survive in the dense, mosquito-ridden papyrus
131 swamps of the Okovango River, steaming like a jungle and
133 dangerous with snakes and fever, where the River Bushmen
[84] live, the only Bushmen with plenty of water; they also survive on the vast, rolling steppes of central Bechuanaland, the territory of the Gikwe Bushmen, who for the nine dry months of the year have no water at all and do without it.

609 Besides the fact that Bushmen alone can live in the land
563 they occupy, there is another reason for their remoteness and
648 shyness. They are in many instances exploited by the Bantu farmers, and by a few of the European farmers, usually those who need free or almost free labor. Many Bantu farms and households have Bushman servants, or serfs, rather, as they usually come from the land on or near the farm, and when working they are paid nothing but are given food, tobacco,
464 and sometimes cast-off clothing as wages. Some European
648 farms in Bechuanaland and some in South-West Africa have Bushman laborers too, though most European farmers do not depend on Bushman labor. Those European farmers who do employ Bushmen usually pay wages, about ten shillings a month, plus a ration of food to each Bushman who is working, though not necessarily to his family, consisting of about a pound of cornmeal and a quart of milk a day, meat occasionally, and weekly a ration of tobacco. Perhaps the employer will add a set of clothing—that is, a pair of cast-off pants and a shirt—and perhaps a blanket every year, but occasionally they pay their labor in cast-off clothing and omit the ten shillings altogether.

648 European clothing is esteemed among Bushmen, for it is
291 symbolic to them of a people mightier than themselves, and
439

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ple, according to custom, and, when the old headman died, 159
took over the leadership of the people in the area. He was 622
not the true headman—his position would not be inherited 591
by his son, for headmanship is passed only from father to son—but he was recognized as headman while he lived and it was a great honor to him that this was so.

Tu's brother was the rightful headman of Gautscha, but 622
he had abdicated to live with his wife's people in the north. Her elder sister's husband, a man named Gao Big Feet, also had a right to the leadership in that his wife, Dikai, was older than Tu. But neither ever contested Toma's position as leader, for it was not a position which Toma held by force or pressure but simply by his wisdom and ability, and people prospered under him. No Bushman wants prominence, but [43]
Toma went further than most in avoiding prominence; he had almost no possessions and gave away everything that came into his hands. He was diplomatic, for in exchange for his self-imposed poverty he won the respect and following of all the people there. He enjoyed his position, and, being [578]
strangely free from the normal strains and jealousies of Bushmen, he saw justice clearly and hence he led his people well. At Gautscha his werf had been right beside the werf of his father's murderer, for Toma was friendly even with him.

Toma had a short, stocky body and a shock of tangled 142
hair. He was strong, too, and very co-ordinated, so that every 159
motion he made was quick and controlled, and not a gesture 622
of his was wasted. As a result of this enormous and uncon- [151]
scious control, accidents almost never happened to him. His face was broad, lined with many deep wrinkles at the corners of his eyes and mouth as though from smiling, though it was not from smiling that he got them but from years of squinting at the sun. His expression was usually dark and wondering, his forehead drawn intently into a frown, but

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

621 tance, but Toma said now that he would take us to see them
someday soon because he believed that we would be able to
help them; one man in their band, a man called Short Kwi, or
sometimes Kwi the Hunter, had been bitten in the leg by a
puff adder and was very badly hurt. We got the impression
159 that he had been bitten recently and, hoping that we might
621 draw the poison from the wound, we said that we would leave
752 at once. But Toma said that it had happened during the last
rainy season, so there was no use hurrying; other Bushmen
had cut the wound and had sucked the poison, saving Short
Kwi's life, but his leg was so badly hurt that he couldn't use
it. It had turned black, said Toma, and black liquid ran out
at the wound. We thought then that there would be nothing
we could do to help; but perhaps rumor had exaggerated the
misfortune, and so we told Toma that we would certainly go
to do what we could.

224 Short Kwi came from a famous family; he was the younger
159 brother of the man who murdered Toma's father, but Short
Kwi was famous in his own right, famous as a hunter. He
often killed more game in a year than many other men kill in
their lives, a great hunter among a hunting people. The other
Bushmen told stories about him—about the time he had
killed four wildebeests in a herd of many, about the time he
had killed an eland, a wildebeest, and a wild pig all in one
day. It was his technique of hunting to be relentless in his
pursuit; therefore, if he shot an animal and suspected others
to be in the vicinity he would let the wounded animal run
where it would while he hunted on and shot another, and
another, and when all were as good as dead he would rest,
then return to pick up the trail of the one that he felt would
die the soonest. He almost never lost an animal, for his eyes
[151] were sharp and he could follow a cold trail over hard ground
and even over stones; he could tell from fallen leaves whether

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the wind or passing feet had disarranged them; and the meat that resulted from his prolific hunting was never wasted, for he would bring other hunters to help him dry it, then carry it off to a werf somewhere to share with others. 224 159 151 [251 476]

He knew the habits of animals from the ways of the largest antelope all the way down to the smallest species of mice; in fact, he must have known animals very well, for he could always find them. He knew when he was in danger and when he was safe, and he was as brave as he was careful. Once, Short Kwi, John, and two other hunters were tracking a bull wildebeest that one of the hunters had shot. They came upon it lying down, surrounded by a very large pride of lions. There were twenty or thirty lions in all, having got there first and claiming the wildebeest as their own, for the bushes were full of lions walking back and forth, watching several other lions brave the fallen wildebeest, still able to protect itself with its horns. The braver lions were standing near the wildebeest, obviously steeling themselves for the attack, when the hunters arrived. The Bushmen had followed the wildebeest's trail through thorns and over the parching desert and were not to be deprived, and, speaking softly to the lions, they said: "We know you are strong, Big Lions, we know you are brave, but this meat is ours and you must give it back to us." 159 825 159 224 157

Even after these words the lions did not give ground. Their round eyes watched the hunters and they began to growl, and the four men, quite unarmed except for their arrows and a spear (to use a spear would have been folly), said respectfully: "Great Lions, Old Lions, this meat belongs to us," and then advanced on the lions, throwing little stones and clods of dirt. The lions in the bushes began to back away, while the braver lions stood their ground until a clod struck one of them, causing him to huff and run back a little. At this, the courage of the other lions broke and they all turned and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

593 Toma, that Short Kwi's wife would leave him now for a better man, but she had not and was not going to. He was, after all, the same husband, only sadder.

Later in the night we went back to talk with Short Kwi once more, to tell him that we thought he could be helped to walk again, but not that we thought his leg would have to come off, for we did not want to frighten him. Our plan was to drive him to Windhoek, the capital of South-West Africa, where he could go to a hospital and perhaps be fitted with an artificial leg. We planned eventually to tell him this, but gradually. The long grass was wet with dew when we pushed through it this time, and we were drenched. Short Kwi was still sitting where we had seen him, still beside his wife, not speaking. When we asked him if he would come with us because we believed he could be helped, he smiled such a heartbreaking smile of pure happiness that we felt sickened because we knew what he thought. His wife looked at him and smiled and then they both looked up at us and their smiles faded and their faces fell and I think that when they saw us they knew we couldn't restore his leg to him.

● 151 Early in the morning when the sky became light, misty yellow—for the sun was still swallowed by smoke—we broke camp and made a comfortable bed for Short Kwi on top of the truck, then went to the werf to get him. He and his brother-in-law were just creeping back on the path from the veld, but Short Kwi's belongings were ready, tied up in bundles by his wife. We waited a long time while Short Kwi made his way toward us, sweat standing out on his forehead although the air was cool, but, oddly, even his slow and painful creeping seemed graceful. It did not have the heaving awkwardness of movement that one associates with injured human beings, but rather the liquidity and co-ordination of a

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

three-legged dog. This morning, though, he did not look at 151
anyone and seemed more silent even than he had been before.

The men made a carriage of their arms and lifted Short 482
Kwi to the top of the truck, and in the process one of them 151
lost his footing so that Short Kwi was jounced, which must have hurt him although he did not show it, Bushmen being very good at concealing pain or despair. His wife climbed on to help make him comfortable and to receive their bundles, which were being handed up, and at the sight of this his baby 152
began to cry without a sound, slow tears rolling down her cheeks and dropping to the ground. I lifted the baby and tried to play with her, jumping a little and smiling to make her smile, although of course I could not cheer her, and when Short Kwi's wife looked over the truck's side the baby twisted away from me and held up her arms.

When Short Kwi was ready we asked who would come 224
with us, and most of his relatives decided to wait and join us 857
later because one of the young boys, a child of twelve or so, 866
had shot his first buck two days before and as the buck had still not been found, the people did not want to leave it. Toma's son himself wanted to remain because, it turned out, the buck had been shot with an arrow which he had given to another boy, who in turn had given it to the young hunter, and Toma's son, as original owner of the arrow, wanted his rightful share of the meat. When Toma said that his son could wait if he wanted but that we couldn't wait for him, his son turned to some other little boys who stood near him and began discussing the possibility of his joining the search for the animal. It was very interesting to see this conversation, these adult dealings beginning among the ten- and twelve-year-olds, these new, young hunters, these small figures of hope and strength, and we waited a long time while

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

224 Toma's son rubbed his head with his tough little fingers to
857 make up his mind. Finally he left his friends and climbed on
866 the truck. Home was too far to walk to, he said, and he was going to forfeit. As we drove away, his friends ran after us, shouting that they would bring him his share if they were able.

151 We reached Nama Pan late in the afternoon. Toma and
152 Gao Feet cleared a werf for Short Kwi, and when he was
757 settled comfortably with his back against a tree and with soft grass and blankets arranged all around him he said softly, just to himself and anyone else who might be listening, that during the night his leg had fallen off. After he said this he began to cry, and Gao Feet slowly crouched beside him, unwound the blanket slowly, and untied the bark, then gently lifted the knee away from the calf, which remained on the ground, just like the leg of a mummy. When the calf had fallen off, Short Kwi had pushed the two pieces back together again. Short Kwi was crying and biting his hand and his wife was crying, and Toma and Gao Feet stood beside him for a minute looking, the expression on their faces as dark as night.
766 Then they picked up the leg and carried it away to the veld, where they buried it in a hole, exactly as if it were a person, they were so sad.

152 Later, when we had dressed the stump, Toma and Gao Feet came back to sit with Short Kwi and talk with him. Gao Feet told about a Bantu man he had seen far in the north who had been injured in a mine accident and had been fitted with a false foot. Short Kwi could have one too, Gao said; but Toma said, almost too depressed to speak: "What does it matter? He is a cripple now."

521 Then the men went away and left Short Kwi to rest, and
758 during the evening the children and young people were talk-

HUNTSMEN OF NYAE NYAE

The !Kung still practice man's oldest craft

By JOHN MARSHALL

224 481 ●151

HUNTING is the work of men. !Kung hunters range the land, seeking the agile game. The men walk rapidly, never lowering their eyes, making sure of the awkward ground with their dextrous feet. They glance swiftly over the distances of the country and, with their good vision and knowledge of what to look for, see any moving thing. As girls learn gathering, boys learn most of hunting on their own. They hunt little birds in the grass around the *werft* houses. They impale beetles with tiny arrows shot from toy bows. Tracking, which is the most difficult part

224 868

[411 482 415]

CHIEF WEAPONS OF !Kung are bow and poisoned arrows (in quiver, above).

[p. 45]

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[212]
[306]

[151]

FIG. 5. Old /Gam making ostrich egg-shell beads. Some cowrie shells from the South Seas (via New York) dangle among her ornaments

FIG. 6. Powers of observation are highly trained. This girl had seen, in the tangle of grass, a dry, hair-thin, brown vine stem which revealed that there was an edible root to be dug

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[140]
[301]

FIG. 7. Talking in the afternoon

FIG. 8. ≠Toma laughing

[p. 240-B]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or tsi, the men always ac-

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

logical father, as well as his mother's husband, should do something nice for him. 159
Perhaps when he receives his first assegai his begetter will give it, for that is a very 848
proud thing—but we do not know what the future holds for these people or where they will be by then.

The dominance of men

Wives are much desired by the young men, who usually wait for years for their 562
infant fiancées to grow up, and by men who want second wives, and by widowers. [581]
/Kung women are not only precious as mates, they are the food-gatherers and supply [222]
more of the daily food than the men do. Hunting[1] is very arduous in the Kalahari and [462]
the hunters succeed in bringing a big meat animal to the werf only about once or [224]
twice a month. Meanwhile women have dug roots and gathered berries and the other wild plant foods to feed their families every day. /Kung women in their two roles make a very great contribution.

In /Kung society, however, the magnitude of their contribution does not make women dominant. There are factors which bring the men forward clearly into dominance and leadership.

The primary factor is undoubtedly strength. /Kung men are small and slender, [142] 147
but they are wiry and vigorous. With their strength they carry and protect the very life of their people. When they swing their weapons and implements and their small children on to their shoulders and stride out in front of the women, the image seems to reveal, as vividly as if a great artist had painted it, how the laden following women are borne up by the strength of their men and take heart from them.

Another factor which brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and 462
its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is only drudgery in digging and 562
picking in the hot sun and trudging back in the early evening to the werf with heavy [222]
roots and berries and babies all sagging in the pouches of their karosses, a small dead tree or two on one shoulder for the night fire, possibly another child astride the other shoulder. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh [262]
and are not very satisfying. There is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving [262]
for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally [224]
the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once, when an eland had been killed and the hunters were sighted [152]
with the meat on their backs, moving in a dark, lumpy, bobbing line in the golden grass, we heard the sound of voices in the werf rising in volume and pitch like the hum of excited bees. Some people ran toward the hunters, others crowded together at the edge of the werf, some danced up and down, the children squealed and ran about, the boys grappled and tussled together. The motion and sound had the effect of a vibration. Another time a young man who was said to be the best hunter in the region (/Qui Hunter we called him, his people called him Short /Qui), had been 462
charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. 562
He knelt facing the creature till it was within close range and shot an arrow straight 224

[1] John Marshall has described /Kung hunting in his film, *The Hunters*, Peabody Museum Film Study Center, Harvard University, and in 'Man as Hunter', *Natural History*, the magazine of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, vol. lxvii, No. 6, June, and No. 7, August, 1958. [113]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

into a new place, although now they had no scherms. For the 609
next days they had waited and listened, and when they had heard our truck leave they had assumed that we were gone, and had returned to get the rest of their things. Then they had noticed our trucks, and believing that they were surrounded and had fallen into our trap, they had come to surrender. Ukwane felt more relaxed and laughed at this, a [152]
warm, wheezy chuckle, showing a few teeth, slapping his chest and coughing from the smoke which he had been inhaling deeply. Seeing Ukwane, the rest of us laughed, too, but Gai only stiffened and smiled an icy smile. Behind his head the sun was setting, small and red, away over the edge of the flat plain, making all the little, distant trees against it look black and very lonely; and the new moon followed after into the salmon light, a heavy crescent flat on its back and bow-shaped, yellow and malevolent like the smile.

Before they went to sleep that night, the two men accepted a second bucketful of water as a present. The bucket they would return, but the water was for them alone, an enormous [271]
present in the desert, for which they were very grateful. They began to drink from it, scooping the water up with their hands and, later, lifting the bucket to drink from its rim. After that they lay down, naked as they were on the bare 513
ground, close to the fire, with their knees bent, letting as much skin as possible be exposed to the heat. The warm smoke and ashes blew over them and they went to sleep on their sides as Bushmen always must, with one ear on the ground but with the other up and listening, to hear what comes along. Because it was cold they woke up often, and every time they woke they drank, so in the morning only the bottom of the pail had water in it, frozen into a circle of ice.

The next day the two men agreed to take some of us to 609
their werf, and we drove off with Ukwane in the jeep and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GIKwe

152 The Bushmen as well as the gods ignore the suffering of animals. When they opened the pit and took out the tortoise
264 several hours later it did look delicious, and the meat, which came easily off the small, thick bones, smelled delicious brewed in the green leaves, and the thin young boys smiled happily and brought their tsama rinds to be filled from the mortar where Gai put the pieces he had picked off and had pounded to make them even and small.

262 While there was gemsbok meat and tortoise meat, the rabbit was not worth eating, and it hung from the tree, where it dried, like a little husk, to be moistened again and eaten when nothing else was left. It swung in the breeze like a leaf, like a tiny, eerie ornament.

252 The lizard was eaten that evening by the three young boys,
264 who built a fire of their own, where they sat like hunters back from a hunt; with the red light of the fire on their thin faces, making their eyes bright, they roasted the lizard in the coals and ate it, and pulled its tiny bones out of their teeth.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

flames for a moment like a flame itself, then slipping down 731
behind the fire, made the rising smoke a great, soft, purple cloud. As the sky darkened, the flames around us seemed brighter and more yellow, and farther away we saw a thousand smaller fires burning, each in a tuft of grass or in a tree.

After we had eaten we sat watching our burning wall move away from us, listening to the cries of birds, day birds chased from their branches by the fire, night birds flying through the smoke to catch insects that were trying to escape. All the air stank with an oily odor given off by the burning trees—not at all the pleasant smell of burning wood, but a deathly odor, the smell of a forest being destroyed.

When we lay down in our blankets to sleep we found that even the ground was warm, and as soot and ashes drifted over us we lay awake and listened. Once during the night we heard something large run past us. A little later, farther away, we heard the sharp roar of a lion who must have tried to cross a patch of burned ground and had singed his soft paws. We heard his slow footsteps as he tested the earth carefully, then a grunt as he was scorched again. It made him cross, for he walked in a huge half-circle around us with a growl running steadily in his throat. I had thought that the Bush- [152 522]
men were asleep, but they had also heard him and they laughed. Now and then, during the night, the burned trees crashed around us, and as our fiery wall moved slowly away, the rising smoke was gray in its yellow light, the stars were all obscured.

Before dawn in the morning the crescent of the new moon 132
rose, the tiniest sliver in the chilly air, followed by the salmon band of light, redder than usual because of the smoke. The wind must have blown a good deal of the fire back on itself because much of it was out, leaving a cloud of smoke hanging

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

bers of Ukwane's band cut little strips from the cheeks of the gemsbok and sustained themselves with that. 224 574

An atmosphere of tension and strain pervaded over the whole werf. The Okwa people had arrived primed with jealousy, and had surely accused Ukwane of selfishness; the false spring, the dry conditions at Okwa had surely given their jealousy momentum. By giving most of the gemsbok to the newcomers, Ukwane had done all he could, for he had shown with his immediate generosity, and with the magnitude of his gesture, that they had nothing to fear from him. Of course, the members of his own band were as jealous of the newcomers as the newcomers were of them, but Ukwane surely felt that the internal struggles of his own band, easier to cope with, would be forgotten sooner. 574 578

The tension showed itself in struggles over food. Twikwe made a soup from a bone of the foot, mixing it in the rind of one of the melons she had gathered, and when it was cooked she drank it herself out of the tsama rind, watched all the time by her son Wite. When she could stand his hungry eyes no longer, she put her bowl on the ground so that both of them could scoop up the broth with tortoise shells. After they had eaten part of it, Twikwe decided that it was time to pass the bowl to Kutera, who sat a little distance from them, eating nothing, looking very scrawny and trying not to watch. Twikwe started to do so; then, remembering her son, who was still hungry, she reached behind her for a second tsama rind, a little one, which she would fill for him. In this way she would, of course, have none left for herself, but she preferred to share. Adults are used to hunger, and it seems that the older Bushmen become, the less they mind deprivation. Children are different, and as their needs are considered more pressing than the adults', they are accustomed to receiving 262 578 152

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

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[261]

more. Twikwe herself had among her possessions a fiber string, which, she said, she kept to wind around her belly when she was very hungry for the purpose of warding the hunger away.

Wite was tired and cross, and his patience was worn thin by hunger, and when he saw what his mother was doing he realized that he would have less food than he had expected. He lost his temper, shrieked at Twikwe, and tried to keep her from reaching the little rind so that she would have no container to give him a smaller share in—a very Bushman-like thing to do, instead of trying to snatch the large, full rind, perhaps—and the two of them struggled, each tugging at the little rind and each exclaiming wildly. The old woman won the struggle and filled the rind with soup, using her tortoise shell as a spoon, hindered once again by Wite, who snatched the spoon away, still trying to prevent her filling the small rind for him. Twikwe struggled for the spoon, and, seeing that he was going to lose it, Wite quickly ladled an extra spoonful into the little rind and sat back resigned while Twikwe thrust the little rind toward him. He took it finally and sat sulkily, not eating, but with his lips pressed against the side of the rind, his eyes hard and shining, staring at nothing over the top. Twikwe handed the larger share to Kutera, who pretended not to have noticed the struggle and who thanked Twikwe in an ingratiating way.

There was another struggle over food that evening, started as a malicious joke by Gai. When Gai saw Wite with a strip of meat from the gemsbok's cheek he snatched it out of Wite's hand and pretended to eat it. When Wite, tried beyond endurance, burst into tears and flew at Gai, Gai ran away and really did eat the meat, chewing as he ran, keeping just out of Wite's reach. The chase ended under a tree, where Gai, seizing a branch, grappled Wite with his legs and swung

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

him off the ground. Wite did not resist, but swung limp and 262 578
resigned, and when Gai released him he started to walk away. 152
Gai had eaten all the meat except one morsel, and this he tossed to Wite, who picked it up from the ground and ate it apathetically.

Only the baby set a good example. I had picked him up and 262
was carrying him when the three young boys of Ukwane's band noticed that he was mouthing something and holding something else in his hand. For a joke they extended their palms, telling him to share what he had in his hand, and he gave it readily. It was only the crackly skin that flakes off bones when they are roasted, quite flavorless, impossible to chew; Nhwakwe was only playing with it and the boys only pretended to take a bite, then threw it away. But either the baby didn't see them reject it or didn't care because in a moment he made them another present, the meat that he had been holding in his mouth. The young boys didn't see where he got it and they were about to eat it when Nhwakwe opened his mouth to smile and they noticed. They threw it down, but the baby spat some onto his finger and offered it to them anyway, and when they didn't take it he smeared it on their chests.

After the unhappy hour of eating, the people of Ukwane's band, their appetites dulled even though their bellies were not full, seemed more relaxed and the young boys went off to 572
join the boys from the visiting band. The youngsters were 857
always friends. The tensions suffered by all the members of 152
both the bands did not affect their enjoyment of each other.

That evening the boys sat down near one of the fires to 578
talk, and they told each other all the things that had hap- 522
pened since they last had met, perhaps a year before. Most of 152
the incidents had happened fairly recently and most amounted to anecdotes about the other members of the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

578 bands, who at the time were barely out of earshot. One story
522
152 concerned Dasina, how she had fainted from smoking too much the day we had come, and to show exactly what had happened, Wite and Witabe acted the scene, Wite taking the part of Dasina and fainting on Witabe's shoulder while the other boys laughed. Bushmen's jokes and stories are usually funny at the expense of a person, an animal, or the god Pishiboro, maliciousness being one way in which Bushmen rid themselves of their resentments.

536 Somewhat later Wite and Giamakwe acted for the others
831
825 the scene of the hyena's mating, as they imagined it or knew it to be, for the night it had happened only the sound had reached us and the hyenas had not been seen. Giamakwe took the part of the male hyena, Wite took the part of the female. First they walked together on all fours and rubbed faces, and then Giamakwe climbed on Wite's back, emitting a lonesome howl just like the howl we had heard. It was not meant to be funny, and the other boys watched it calmly, treating the mating of hyenas as a matter of course. All in all, it was a majestic imitation, with snarls and growls, then mounting and pretending to copulate with shivering and ecstasy, then more growls, until finally the male fell away exhausted and curled up on his side, whereupon the female attacked him. It took a long time from start to finish, the Bushman boys being so literal that they not only gave a precise rendition of the event but took exactly the amount of time that the hyenas had taken.

574 The adults had not watched the children but were visiting quietly with each other, some of the men from the Okwa band having come to Ukwane's werf to sit at the fires. Very late at night, when the Firewood Star was rising and the Zebra Stars of Orion were just setting foot upon the earth, the visitors got up to go.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 Toma remarked that the meat was there for any use, but
578 Tu misunderstood him and, thinking that he denied meat to
593
152 her and to her mother, she flew into a rage, attacked Toma, and gave him a nasty bite on his arm. Toma lost his temper entirely and pinched her cheeks together until his fingers met in her mouth. His anger had come now, the people said, and he threw her into the fire, saying: "She is a woman. Why does she make me so angry? Shall I take a stick?"

A small crowd had gathered, and, as usual, the family quarrel became a public affair. Several people helped Tu out of the fire, found her barely scorched, but her cousin seized Toma and began to shake him. This enraged Toma so much that he caught the cousin around the waist and threw him into the onlooking crowd. The people said: "We must stop Toma because if he is so angry he may kill someone," and with that they led the cousin out of Toma's sight.

Toma shouted after: "If you do that again, we will get our arrows and fight to the death. Stop here. I am very angry. Do not make me more angry."

One of the men who had helped Tu said to the cousin: "I took his wife from the fire. You, her cousin, almost got killed for the way you went at Toma. If you want to help people, don't get angry with them. Keep calm. Don't increase anger as you did with Toma." With these sage words the incident was over.

159 The people said: "After that everyone knew how angry
593 Toma could be, so from that day on he never had another fight." Everyone honored and respected him, everyone except his wife.

But Tu had certain redeeming qualities. When she was in a good mood she was charming. She would smile at everyone, speak in a light voice instead of the low, menacing voice that

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

three-legged dog. This morning, though, he did not look at 151
anyone and seemed more silent even than he had been before.

The men made a carriage of their arms and lifted Short 482
Kwi to the top of the truck, and in the process one of them 151
lost his footing so that Short Kwi was jounced, which must have hurt him although he did not show it, Bushmen being very good at concealing pain or despair. His wife climbed on to help make him comfortable and to receive their bundles, which were being handed up, and at the sight of this his baby 152
began to cry without a sound, slow tears rolling down her cheeks and dropping to the ground. I lifted the baby and tried to play with her, jumping a little and smiling to make her smile, although of course I could not cheer her, and when Short Kwi's wife looked over the truck's side the baby twisted away from me and held up her arms.

When Short Kwi was ready we asked who would come 224
with us, and most of his relatives decided to wait and join us 857
later because one of the young boys, a child of twelve or so, 866
had shot his first buck two days before and as the buck had still not been found, the people did not want to leave it. Toma's son himself wanted to remain because, it turned out, the buck had been shot with an arrow which he had given to another boy, who in turn had given it to the young hunter, and Toma's son, as original owner of the arrow, wanted his rightful share of the meat. When Toma said that his son could wait if he wanted but that we couldn't wait for him, his son turned to some other little boys who stood near him and began discussing the possibility of his joining the search for the animal. It was very interesting to see this conversation, these adult dealings beginning among the ten- and twelve-year-olds, these new, young hunters, these small figures of hope and strength, and we waited a long time while

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

224 857 866 Toma's son rubbed his head with his tough little fingers to make up his mind. Finally he left his friends and climbed on the truck. Home was too far to walk to, he said, and he was going to forfeit. As we drove away, his friends ran after us, shouting that they would bring him his share if they were able.

151 152 757 We reached Nama Pan late in the afternoon. Toma and Gao Feet cleared a werf for Short Kwi, and when he was settled comfortably with his back against a tree and with soft grass and blankets arranged all around him he said softly, just to himself and anyone else who might be listening, that during the night his leg had fallen off. After he said this he began to cry, and Gao Feet slowly crouched beside him, unwound the blanket slowly, and untied the bark, then gently lifted the knee away from the calf, which remained on the ground, just like the leg of a mummy. When the calf had fallen off, Short Kwi had pushed the two pieces back together again. Short Kwi was crying and biting his hand and his wife was crying, and Toma and Gao Feet stood beside him for a minute looking, the expression on their faces as dark as night. 766 Then they picked up the leg and carried it away to the veld, where they buried it in a hole, exactly as if it were a person, they were so sad.

152 Later, when we had dressed the stump, Toma and Gao Feet came back to sit with Short Kwi and talk with him. Gao Feet told about a Bantu man he had seen far in the north who had been injured in a mine accident and had been fitted with a false foot. Short Kwi could have one too, Gao said; but Toma said, almost too depressed to speak: "What does it matter? He is a cripple now."

521 758 Then the men went away and left Short Kwi to rest, and during the evening the children and young people were talk-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

609 she was with her father and mother, though perhaps not nearly as frightened as she would be later when she was far away from Nama Pan in the streets of the city.

732 It was a very sad and heavy day the day that Short Kwi left. It depresses Bushmen terribly to see one of their number crippled, which, of course, in almost every case means the end of that person's productive life as a supporter of the people —one becomes a poor person and depends upon the enforced charity of one's near relatives while suffering avoidance by one's remoter kin; but it depresses Bushmen even more to see one of their number taken away. It is the end of a link in their unity, and when it happens part of the chain of their relationships, part of their pattern is destroyed. That day many people who surely expected never to see Short Kwi again stayed alone by their fires or played the guashi idly, but spoke not a word. The rest of the people, all but Toma, Gao
152 Feet, and Lazy Kwi, were beset with jealousy and quarreled
578 on and on all day, with us, with each other. They were jealous because we had given Short Kwi and his wife clothing and within the hour after Short Kwi's departure a crowd of people was squatting in the dust around our camp. The crowd was so thick that we could hardly get through. No one budged an inch to let us by, and when they would catch our eyes, the women, particularly those who had waited outside our tent when we had given Short Kwi's wife the clothes, pointed to holes and frayed spots in their karosses which clearly showed that they, too, needed clothing, and when we did nothing (we had presents of blankets, cloth, beads, shirts, pants, pipes, and knives to give to everyone when we left, but could not give dresses to all the women and could not give the presents now) they glared at us with stony faces and hard eyes.

152 In the afternoon the people were still there, quite dusty

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

now but motionless; in the evening they began to get up, one 152
by one, to go to the veld for food and firewood. Dikai had relented entirely. Before she went off to her evening's work she put her arm around me and told me that she and I were cemented together by our names. But Tu, who suffered from 152
jealousy more than Dikai, was angry still and chose that mo- 578
ment to make a scene, to force someone to do something for her as well as for Short Kwi. She arose from the vigilant, crouching people and, followed at a distance by her baby daughter, went up to our cook, Philip, and demanded that he give her firewood. He refused because there were three dead trees right outside of camp that Tu could easily have got, in plain sight, not twenty feet away, but she did not look at these. Instead, she began to scream at Philip in a most bitter harangue, and though she became aware at last that everyone had fallen silent and was listening to her she couldn't stop her tongue but went on and on until her entire audience was embarrassed and didn't know where to look. Worse, Philip lost his patience and told her to go away. She bit her lip, glaring, and suddenly there was perfect silence; her words had left her and she just had to stand there, too proud to leave, alone in the center of the crowd of crouching people watching, and she looked very silly and forlorn, robbed of her dignity by her tongue and with her hair ornaments askew on the [626]
back of her head. No one would speak to her; this time she had gone too far.

It was Norna, her daughter, who provided her with the chance to escape. Norna, frightened and bewildered and embarrassed too, had crept up beside Tu and had taken the string of her kaross. Tu must have felt a tug, for she looked down suddenly and, seeing this, turned on Norna, slapping the string out of Norna's hand. There was another agonizing pause and silence while Norna slowly took the string again,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

152 and again Tu slapped it away. This time Norna began to
578 cry, lonely and forlorn in front of all the people, turned on by her mother, and she looked very small and defenseless and bereft; she cried sadly, not angrily, big tears running down her face, her fist in her mouth, looking up at her mother with enormous eyes. This was Tu's chance. She snatched up Norna and carried her back to the werf.

It was a terrible incident for everyone. That evening Tu still felt her shame and when I went to the werf to visit for a moment she took the occasion to fix me with her eyes all the way across the werf and tell me loudly that in the morning I would have to help her clear grass for another werf, for she was not going to "live among these people any more." Tu's mother, a shameless old woman, came up to me to tell me a joke and Tu smoldered.

Not only the adults felt a sense of tension. That evening Dikai, looking rather worn and tired, was sitting by her fire rubbing her shoulders, which usually ached, she said, when
862 her two sons, also tired, threw themselves down each on one
152 side of her and began to nurse, each leaning heavily against
578 her, each at a breast. Perhaps because she was tired or per-
593 haps because she had been about to put some tsi nuts in her
775 fire but now could not because her sons were in the way, she looked down at them and mildly suggested to Little Gashe that perhaps he could bring himself to stop nursing altogether, being old enough now. Little Gashe did not take this kindly at all. He looked up at her, then took his mouth from her nipple and cursed her with a formal, deadly curse. "May the spirit of Nisa, who is dead," he said, "take you by the throat and choke you." He then took the nipple back in
152 his mouth and sucked on, thoughtfully.

578 I could hardly believe my ears. Children are expected not
593 to curse their parents, but, worst of all, Little Gashe had in-
775

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

voked those supposedly unmentioned beings, the spirits of 152 578 the dead. Dikai was not offended, though; she gazed down 593 775 at him calmly. "You, you little thing," she said, "no curse that you could say would hurt me."

Much later in the evening when John and Dan and I were 574 sitting at our own fire just before going to bed, Dikai and her 608 nephew, Toma's son, came to visit us, Dikai with Little Dabe asleep on her back. It was a quiet evening, people were sitting at their own werfs and though they were screened from us by grass we could hear their voices talking and see the light of their fires. When Dikai came, Lazy Kwi, whose werf was on the other side of our camp, heard her speak and stood up to see what was happening, looming suddenly from where he had been sitting only a few feet away. He came through the grass to visit also, and we sat by the fire listening to Dikai as she told us about various relatives in the north and what kinship terms we should use for them, I being named for her and John for Toma. Lazy Kwi told Dan that Dan had been named for him, but named Kwi Cheeks instead of Lazy Kwi, and when Dan asked why his nickname was Cheeks all Lazy Kwi could say was: "Because of your cheeks." We thought, but we could not think of a reason, as there was nothing about Dan's cheeks that might attract attention, except that he had recently shaved his beard so that his cheeks were visible.

Dan said that now he had no beard, no hair, no name, which Lazy Kwi thought was terribly funny and said: "Throw away your beard hairs, throw away your name, but take Kwi instead and be my namesake." Shortly after that we went to bed. Relations seemed less strained.

One morning about a week after Short Kwi had gone, when 732 the people were resting and the werf was quiet, we heard a

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

who agreed and supported each other. From where they sat, but not all at once and not in an excited babble, they made their remarks clearly, with quite long pauses between. Some expressed themselves in agreement with /U as she recounted Khuan//a's faults and deviations, past and present. Khuan//a's family and friends, who had moved to sit near her, denied the accusations from time to time, but did not talk as much or as loudly as /U. Khuan//a muttered or was silent. /U said she disapproved of her sister's daughter marrying the son of such a woman, but would reconsider her position if Khuan//a gave the expected gift to Gao Medicine. The talk lasted about twenty minutes. At that point Khuan//a got up and walked away and the ' talk ' subsided to /U's mutterings and others' low conversation. In a few days Khuan//a gave Gao Medicine a present, not the gift in question, but one which satisfied Gao, and, as they said, ' they all started again in peace '.

There is a third form of verbal expression which might be called a ' shout ' rather than a ' talk ', but as far as I know the /Kung have no special name for it. It is a verbal explosion. Fate receives the heat of the remarks in a ' shout '.

We were present on two such occasions, one in 1952, the other in 1953. Both were in response to the burning of scherms. In both instances little children, whose mothers had taken their eyes off them though they were only a few feet away, had picked up burning sticks from the fire, had dropped them on the soft, dry bedding grass in the scherms and, at the first burst of flame, had sensibly run outside unscathed. On the first occasion, the two children, who were about three years old, were frightened and were soothed and comforted by their mothers and other relatives. They were not scolded. On the second occasion, Khuan//a, the two-year-old granddaughter of Old ≠Toma and /Gam, had set fire to her grandparents' scherm. She was not apparently frightened at all and was found placidly chewing her grandfather's well-toasted sandal. She was not scolded either. What was especially interesting was the behaviour of the Bushmen. On both occasions they rushed to the burning scherms, shouting all at once, in extremely loud, excited voices, volcanic eruptions of words. The men made most of the noise, but the women were also talking excitedly. No one tried to do anything, nor could they, for the scherms burned like the fiery furnace. I asked the interpreters to stand close to one person at a time and try to hear what he said. People were telling where they had been when the fire started, why they had not got there sooner. They shouted that mothers should not take their eyes off their children, that the children might have been burned. They lamented the objects which had been destroyed—all in the greatest din I have ever heard humans produce out of themselves. It went on for about eight or ten minutes in bursts, then tapered off for another ten. While Old ≠Toma's scherm was burning, he and his wife, /Gam, the great maker of beads, sat on one side weeping. After the shouting had subsided, a dozen or more people set about looking for Old ≠Toma's knife blade and arrow points and picking up what beads they could find for /Gam in the cooling ashes. The two instances of ' shouts ' provided examples of the vehemence which vocal expression can have and vividly illustrated the /Kung way of venting emotion in words.

There is still another kind of talk, not conversation, which I consider to be an outlet for tension and anxiety. We happened to hear it only in relation to anxiety about food and do not know if other concerns sometimes find expression in this way.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

uproarious, derisive laughter. All this is joking and one should not take offence. The /Kung say this teaches young persons to keep their tempers.

In contrast to the joking is their care in other aspects of conduct to avoid giving offence. ≠Toma said, for instance, that, if he were forming a hunting party and a man whom he did not want asked to join him, he would be careful to refuse indirectly by making some excuse and try not to offend the man.

Gossip which can stir up trouble is discouraged. People do gossip but usually discreetly, in low voices, with near and trusted relatives and friends. It is best to mind one's own business, they say.

People are expected to control their tempers and do so to a remarkable degree. If they are angry, aggrieved, or frustrated, they tend to mope rather than to become aggressive, expressing their feelings in low mutters to their close relatives and friends. ≠Toma told us that he had lost his temper twice when he was a young man and on one occasion had knocked his father down. On the other he had pushed his wife into hot ashes. It had so frightened him to realize that he could lose control of himself and behave in this violent way that, he said, he had not lost his temper since.

Meat-sharing

The /Kung custom of sharing meat helps to keep stress and hostility over food at a low intensity. The practical value of using up the meat when it is fresh is obvious to all and the /Kung are fully aware of the enormous social value of the custom. The fear of hunger is mitigated; the person one shares with will share in turn when he gets meat and people are sustained by a web of mutual obligation. If there is hunger, it is commonly shared. There are no distinct haves and have-nots. One is not alone.

To have a concept of the potential stress and jealousy which meat-sharing mitigates in /Kung society one has only to imagine one family eating meat and others not when they are settled only five or ten feet apart in a firelit werf and there are no walls for privacy. The veld does not hide secret killing and eating because actions are printed in its sands for all to read. The idea of eating alone and not sharing is shocking to the /Kung. It makes them shriek with an uneasy laughter. Lions could do that, they say, not men.

The custom of meat-sharing applies only to the big game animals. Small animals the size of duikers or smaller, birds, tortoises, lizards, grasshoppers, snakes, and ostrich eggs are picked up incidentally and belong to the person who shoots, snares, finds or catches them. He may keep these for himself and his immediate family and may share them as he chooses, as if they were veldkos. ≠Toma says that, if there is only a little, he and his family eat a meal and give a little to anyone who happens to be near by at the time.

Meat-sharing applies to the big animals which are deliberately hunted by organized hunting parties. In the Nyae Nyae region they are kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok, warthogs and ostrich. Eland are found less commonly and buffalo rarely. The Nyae Nyae hunters managed to shoot giraffe occasionally. Giraffe are royal game by S.W.A. law, but the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not known this. When they were told, they called them 'Morrisi cows'. (Mr. Robert Morris was the Commissioner of Native Affairs at Runtu.)

The system by which meat is shared begins with the hunters, but the composition

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

another or parts of themselves. In appearance and other characteristics the old ≠*Gao/na* was more man-like than supernatural. He lived on the earth among men. Like men he was subject to passions, hungers, sins, stupidities, failures, frustrations, and humiliations, but men imagine his to be on a larger scale and more grotesque than their own. Like Bushmen of today, his great concerns were hunger and sex. To the /Kung the two worst sins, the unthinkable, unspeakable sins, are cannibalism and incest. ≠*Gao/na* committed both these sins quite unconcernedly. He ate his older brother-in-law and his younger brother-in-law and raped his son's wife.

≠Gao/na, *his* Tun/ga (*the Fat Paouw*), *and the Pit*[1]

≠*Gao/na*'s wives were sisters. They had a brother who was a paouw. One day ≠*Gao/na* met the paouw, his *tun/ga*. [*Tun/ga* is the kin term for wife's brother older than the speaker.] His *tun/ga* was very fat. A fat paouw has bags of fat under his wings. ≠*Gao/na* and his *tun/ga* spoke together and parted. ≠*Gao/na* was surprised to see so much fat. He said, 'Oh, how fat my *tun/ga* is.' A few miles on they met again. ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Look, do you see that veld fire over there?' He pointed with his arm away up. The paouw said, 'Do you mean *that* fire?' He pointed, but only with a restricted gesture, keeping his wing to his side. 'No, ≠*Gao/na* said, 'THAT fire,' and he pointed with his arm far up, his whole armpit showing. 'I see it,' said the paouw, and he stretched his wing far up to point. ≠*Gao/na* was standing behind him. He seized the fat below the paouw's wing and cut it off and ran home. The paouw cursed ≠*Gao/na*. 'Break your bones and die,' he said. 'Die of a broken back or die of a broken neck,' he said.

≠*Gao/na* took the fat home and rubbed his wooden basins with it. His wives came home and found the wooden basins covered with fat and they asked him what he had eaten that was so fat. ≠*Gao/na* said that he got the fat from a puff adder. He said he beat it with a stick until the fat from the front went down the back to the middle, and beat the tail until the fat from the back went up the back to the middle. ≠*Gao/na* now planned how he would get his *tun/ga*. He slept that night. The next morning he set snares under the tree where the paouw went to eat gum. ≠*Gao/na* then met the paouw again. The paouw was wary and wouldn't come near. ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Why are you so wild with me?' [Wild is the opposite of tame, domesticated, or confident.] 'There is a tree there with gum under it but my eyes are not good enough to see it.' He said,' Let us have a contest; we shall see who can see the gum first. The one who sees it first must run and snatch it.' So they went to the tree and saw the gum. The paouw ran fast to get it, and ≠*Gao/na* ran too but he did not run so fast. The paouw snatched the gum and the snare caught him, and ≠*Gao/na* ran up and clubbed him, and carried him home. ≠*Gao/na*'s wives were out for veldkos. He put the fat from the other wing in a small pot and the body of the paouw in a big pot. When the wing fat was ready he ate it, and ate and ate, but he ate too much and he went out and had diarrhoea. The wives came home and suspected that perhaps he had killed their brother. The paouw began to expand in the pot and he swelled and swelled until *koah!* the pot burst and pieces of meat came whizzing out so that ≠*Gao/na* had to duck away from them. When all the meat was out, the paouw came back together again and flew away. ≠*Gao/na* chased after him but the wives called to him, 'Come back, you forgot your stick.' ≠*Gao/na* came back and got his stick and ran after the paouw again. The wives called him, 'Come back, you forgot your

[1] I wish to acknowledge with gratitude and pleasure the assistance of our daughter, Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, in gathering the material of the old tales, as well as other data. The first tale is hers. In paraphrasing the tales, we adhered to the events, the ideas, and the details, incorporating them as they were told us, but we have put the tales into our own words, attempting to preserve something of the quality of the telling as it came to our ears.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

to do so. Lack of privacy makes it almost impossible to keep an affair secret, 837
and violent jealousy and anger can be aroused. Fearing any disruptive force, [152]
the !Kung disapprove.

LIFE CYCLE

CHILD TRAINING • !Kung parents are gentle, 854
protective, and permissive with all their children and express their affection especially with babies. It is a most common sight to see fathers fondly kissing them with pursed lips and smacks. The mother, wherever she goes, carries [153]
her infant tied to her left side, skin to skin, in a little leather sling where it can reach her breast. When she sits, she takes the infant out of its sling, holds it, lets it nurse the other breast.

The !Kung believe that long nursing is essential to the survival and 853
development of their children and encourage them to continue until they 862
are three or four or older. These people practice infanticide and, in explain- [247]
ing it, say that they must space their babies so that each will be able to nurse long enough to ensure his having strong legs. An infant cannot thrive on their harsh foods, they say, even though they chew the food and put it into the infants' mouths, and the mother cannot support two entirely with her milk, excellent though !Kung lactation appears to be. They supplement the milk with adult food as soon as the child can eat it, so that a child is accustomed to it and ready to be weaned at three or four when the next baby comes. But, even so, the mother weans gradually, letting the older child have a drink of milk occasionally through the day. If the mother does not have or keep another baby but still has milk, she will allow or encourage her child to continue nursing. Other children tend to make fun of a child who nurses until he is six or so, and, in response to their teasing, a child may wean himself quite abruptly.

Babies are naked and, since there are no floors but the desert sand, 854
not much is made of their urinating wherever they are. When they defecate, they are wiped with grass and the fecal matter is cleaned up at once by some older child or adult and carried off. As soon as children can walk fairly 863
well they are led by the hand and encouraged to go out of the werf for their toilet needs, at first for the sake of cleanliness and, as they grow older, for the sake of modesty as well. (!Kung adults are exceedingly modest about [291]
uncovering their genitalia. Their incest taboo influences this behavior, I think, very strongly.)

Infants sleep in their mothers' arms. Young children sleep wrapped 513
in karosses beside their parents' fire. Boys from the age of about eleven or 882
twelve sleep at a boys' fire, not far from the family of one of them. Girls at [257]
that age go to sleep with a grandmother or some widow, or several of them

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837 the wives consent. This is regarded as a concern of the couples involved rather than a concern of society as a whole. One man said, 'If you want to sleep with someone's wife, you get him to sleep with yours, then neither of you goes after the other with poisoned arrows.'

[572] The word */kamheri* was used by //Ao, one of the young hunters, to express his deep feeling of friendship for John Marshall. 'We are such friends that we are */kamheri*', he said, but, as John had no wife to exchange, this remark had its funny side which delighted the men.

No actual instance of */kamheri* came to our attention and we failed in finding out if it is now practised. One man in Gam lent his first wife to a unmarried friend, one of the gossips told us, because he was in love with his second and did not care any longer for the first, but this was a mere deviation from the rules, not an instance of */kamheri*.

We heard of several irregular sexual unions in addition to the above. Rape did not appear in stories or gossip. Fornication must be very rare because there is practically no one to fornicate with. Almost all females are married except very young girls and leathery old grandmothers. Adultery is the usual form for irregular unions
684 to take. Adultery, however, is sharply limited by several deterrents. One deterrent is
837 the incest taboo, of course, which forbids extra-marital sexual relations as rigorously as it does marriage with persons to whom the taboo is extended. The same internalized sanctions induce obedience to this rule as to the marriage regulations. The same gradation of feeling probably exists, and we expect that people comply strictly within the kindred and among close affines and are no doubt less strict with name relatives.

Ease of divorce must exert a modifying influence on adulterous unions. If a [586] married couple really want to change mates, nothing need deter them but the general difficulty of extricating themselves from the web of responsibilities which marriage entails.

In a sense, the impossibility of maintaining secrecy exerts a control over extra-
151 marital relations. There is no privacy in a /Kung werf and the vast veld is not a cover.
153 The very life of these people depends on their being trained from childhood to
182 look sharply at things and to take into their attention what they see, for they must observe the most minute marks on vegetation to distinguish from the matted grasses the almost hair-thin brown vine stems that come up from the edible roots. Hunters memorize visual impressions and are able to follow the tracks of an individual animal in the midst of a large herd in a way that seems to us miraculous. It may be a week after a hunt that they return to recover an arrow that missed, miles from the werf, remembering where it lay in the vast monotonous sameness of grass and bush. They register every person's footprints in their minds, more vividly I am sure than we do faces, and read in the sand who walked where and how long ago.

185 The /Kung value control of anger, upholding self-control as an ideal, giving it group and individual approval and training for it. Despite this, volatile tempers
578 sometimes flare and burst out of all control. And always at hand are the little poisoned
[411] arrows. They are formidable weapons. There is no antidote for the poison; at least our /Kung informants said they know none and told us of tragic deaths from the poison which would have been averted had they had an antidote.

684 Adultery, so exceedingly provocative of anger and vengeance, could be very

[23 cont.]

105 and in the beyond by his traditional conceptions, and the preserva-
182 tion of this adaptation, in the spiritual as well as in the material realm, is achieved by means of a strict selection of all the cultural goods offered from the outside. This selection is consciously carried out. Put briefly: the Bushmen have hitherto refused higher
[177] economic forms not because they do not possess the ability to handle them, but because they did not want to adopt them. If the material preconditions collapse, then they adopt, step by step or all at once, totally different ways of life, as is shown by their Bantuization in Ovamboland and probably also by the formation of the Hottentot people through the adoption of livestock raising on the part of a number of Bushman tribes. Their average intelli-
[153] gence is no less than that of any other race. Every Bushman knows
[184] the entire spiritual heritage of his tribe.

Of the same Bushmen, F. Schinz (2) says:

[113] 2. F. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Leipzig, 1891.

181 "The Bushman is always faithful to his master and will follow him anywhere without pay; one need not worry about leaving him alone at the wagon and will rarely have to reprimand him for dishonesty. All travelers and hunters unanimously praise
[593] the great affection that exists between parents and children, which goes so far that the father or mother will sacrifice themselves in order to save their child. I was told [24] by the hunter L. that at the Okovanggo he once witnessed a scene in which a young Bushman, who was one of the members of the hunting expedition, was in danger of being trampled to death by an angry elephant that stormed toward him. At the last moment when his paralyzed companions had already given the boy up for lost, his father sprang forth and flung his throwing club at the forehead of the enormous animal. The elephant now turned against his new attacher and furiously crushed him under his feet, giving the son the opportunity to flee."

[114] My observations are fully in accord with those of Dornan (1)

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

609 they must smoke, or when they are dying of thirst and must
648 come in to beg for water.

159 Once I talked with a young Bushman who had visited one
563 of our camps in Bechuanaland many times, who spoke Afri-
kaans, and whom I shall call Tami. I could speak a little
[191] Afrikaans, so he and I could talk together. He was in his early
thirties and had been working for some time for European
farmers. When I met him he was married, and as his wife had
[465] just had a baby, he felt that his ten-shilling-a-month wage
was inadequate and he planned to move to another part of
the country where he hoped to be paid more. As it is rather
unusual for a Bushman to uproot himself from his own coun-
try, no matter how long he has been on a farm and away from
his own people, I asked him where he had come from and
how he had learned Afrikaans.

● [153] "Oh," he said, "I learned Afrikaans in the places I have
been. I have worked for white men since I was a young boy
[191] and I have always been fast to learn their languages. In the
same way I have learned the languages of the black people."

"Where did you live before you worked for white people?" I asked.

"We lived not far from Nurigaas, at the edge of the police zone. I am a young person still, but I remember that Nurigaas was all wild then. We always lived there."

"With your parents?"

"Yes, until the police boys [1] took the old man my father."

I asked him what had happened, and he said: "We lived at the edge of the police zone, you know. We lived with
888 other Bushmen there, and my sister, she was there. My
159 mother's father was still alive then, but he was too old, he
563 couldn't even carry water, and my mother had to do every-

[1] Police boys are native policemen, usually Bantu.

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142 159 sometimes he would abandon his gravity and laugh a high, 622 reaching laugh that one could hear from far away, a laugh that came from his very soul, or, as Bushmen say, from his stomach. He listened diplomatically and intently whenever 159 153 he was spoken to, staring at the gound, and had a habit of echoing, in a loud falsetto voice, the important phrases of every sentence he was told.

"We went to Keitsa Pan," someone might say to him.

"To Keitsa," Toma would reply.

". . . and we slept there, but the blind flies were very bad . . ."

"Oh, bad, bad . . ."

". . . but in the morning we saw two porcupines . . ."

". . . yes, porcupines . . ."

". . . and we killed them there. We made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry."

159 Toma was considered to be very fortunate in his marriage. 142 Of course it was through his wife, Tu, that he gained the leadership of the Gautscha people, his life free in the veld rather than in serfdom, and his two young sons, but besides all this his wife was beautiful, having a smooth face and great, clear eyes like a cat. Also, she was five feet tall, considered to be a very desirable height, and although no Bushman has ever been too fat, Tu was not too thin and her arms and [304] legs were round. She had soft blue scars curving on her forehead which made her eyes seem to lift at the corners, and blue scars on her thighs that showed when she walked. Her 159 chief virtues, in the eyes of Bushmen, were that she deco- 577 rated herself with ornaments in her hair and kept her hands [515 301] and face washed, thus demonstrating that she cared what she looked like, rather than letting herself go now that she was married. To show that she observed propriety, cared what

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752 had carried him there and it was there that the second group
648 of farmers had found him, unable to escape or to resist, and they had taken him away. His wife was still waiting at Gautscha and Lazy Kwi had returned there to tell her that her husband had gone.

At the farm, though, Toma's luck had begun to turn. The farmer had gradually managed to heal his wounds with medicine and treatment, and by the start of the dry season Toma had felt quite well. One night, when the veld was quiet and dark, Toma had thanked the farmer in his heart, had gathered all the Bushmen on the farm together, and had led the people over the veld, all the way back to Nyae Nyae. It had been a long walk, a long way, but Toma had managed. Now, said Lazy Kwi, Toma's wound ached on cold days and sometimes his vision was blurry, but he was pleased with himself and pleased to be back in his own country.

Lazy Kwi was pleased with him too, and he smiled when he finished the story.

When the first light of morning came, the air was so cold that our breath made clouds. We got up, fed the fire, and cooked the remainder of last night's meat, then drove off in the jeep again, for in that early light we had seen the smoke of three veld fires on the horizon, one in the south, two in the west, perhaps kindled by Bushmen during the night, perhaps revived by the wind from old embers, and we planned to make a circle to investigate them all.

222 On the way we found a bee tree that had been raided for its honey and we believed that Toma had done it, although the break was old and the bees were gone away; but after looking at it a moment Lazy Kwi remembered that he had done it
[153] himself during the last rains. He remembered too that there had been very little honey and that he had got stung, and

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since that was all he remembered we went on again to the source of the first of the three fires.

It was there that we found Toma. He had been there all the time, only a few miles from where we had camped, and when he heard our jeep coming he watched us over the top of a bush before showing himself to see first who we were.

We saw him when he ran toward us. He was quite far off and we saw first his dark figure detach itself from the bush and run with long, swinging strides toward our jeep. He waved his arms and we knew at once that this, at last, was Toma. Before he reached us a second figure appeared from behind another bush and ran beside him, and we knew from the disjointed stride that this second man was Gao Big Feet, Toma's brother-in-law. We turned our jeep toward them and soon we met and the two men embraced us and laughed and said that they had known we would come back someday, and then they climbed in the jeep and took us to their werf, stopping first to get their spears and quivers, which they had left in the bushes, for no Bushman, no matter how excited, ever greets people with his weapons on his back because this might be taken as a sign that he was quarrelsome, looking for a fight.

Their werf was in a tiny thicket of thorn trees at the edge of the plain, screened in front by bushes, carefully concealed, but on a rise of ground where a man standing could easily scan the surrounding plain without being seen himself. There Toma and Gao Feet could observe the movements of the antelope that crossed the plains below them, waiting patient in the dappled shade of their trees' broad leaves as lions do. The two families stood in front of their bushes to meet us and they, too, embraced us and they all climbed in the jeep to do this, then climbed out again and stood back to see how we were.

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183 gathered (about 175) had married lineal kin or collaterals, at least through first cousins.
582 However, informants told about two /Kung men in B.P. who had married their
835 cousins: we could not find out which type of cousins. What was interesting was the
605 attitude of the informants. They said the men should not have done this, but there was no talk of madness or danger or expressions of horror such as we had observed when incest was spoken of at other times. No punishments, social or divine, had been meted out, according to the informants. Some said they thought it was not too bad a thing for a man to do, especially if the woman were a FaSiDa, who is not, they said, so much like your sister as a MoSiDa. I believe that the anomaly of the system's allowing joking with cousins, although it prohibits marriage, mitigates, in all probability, the force of the incest taboo and accounts to some extent for the tolerance towards the breakers of this rule.

How much deviation there is in marrying second and third cousins we do not
[124] know. We soon gave up trying to gather data on relatives more remote than first cousins because informants so often did not know the names and we could not rely on the information.

582 One account came to our ears of a man who had violated the incest taboo with his
627 stepdaughter. He was /Gunda Legs, the MoBr of old Gau of Band 1, and he lived with Band 9. He is dead now. What he did was so outside the good and the normal
684 that it could be accounted for only by madness. He had drunk the milk of a young
835 gemsbok doe, the people told us, and this is what had made him mad. Something came from his forehead and went in and out, a sort of swelling. After that he fell
159 in love with his stepdaughter, ≠Nisa, and married her, and both she and her mother
[753] were his wives at the same time. The people ' laughed at him ' so much because he had made such a horrifying ' mistake ' that he took his stepdaughter and lived apart from his band—the only instance we know of a man and woman living alone. They had a son, ≠Toma, who died young. When /Gunda's madness waned he sometimes came back to his people; he would go again when his madness returned. People said they did not understand why ≠Nisa went with him. They mocked at her, said that she was *dole*, 'bad', and that it was ' nonsense ' to fall in love with one's stepfather.
Our informants laughed uneasily when they told about it as they laugh when they
● [154] tell of vultures eating their meat or of being chased by fierce bees when they try to take a honeycomb. There came to my mind a penetrating remark made by //Kushay, the wife of /Qui in Band 1, which might, I thought, be applied to ≠Nisa. //Kushay had said, ' When a Bushman girl goes against the customs of her people and people talk about her and say she is bad, she is very unhappy. She would hear the people talking and be ashamed and would come to them angry—angry because she is ashamed ', or, I thought, go away because she is ashamed.

Deviations occur in the fourth category. Two men we met had married women
183 with the same names as their mothers. A man named /Ti/kay married the daughter of
553 another /Ti/kay, and there were other such instances. /Qui, the husband of the above
582 //Kushay in Band 1, said he proposed to do this himself. The girl's family had flatly
608 refused, but he was going to keep on trying. ≠Toma said he would not do this but
835 he sees some people doing these things. There are not enough women whom a man may properly marry, he said, and he would be in favour of changing the marriage prohibitions among name relatives so that a man need avoid only ugly women.

602 ugly, slovenly, or wanton. The women retaliate, perhaps accusing the men of being worthy only of castration or of unfaithful wives. We noticed that the /Kung do not call each other sons of bitches. They are not concerned with lineage.

602 It is not thought proper to make blatant or insulting sexual jokes with old persons. The deference which is shown to aged persons is expressed by moderation, and 888 the joking relationship between an old person and a considerably younger person, [603] especially between grandparents and grandchildren, becomes a cosy friendly intimacy without the sexual emphasis.

Though the /Kung enjoy the joking relationship, it was our impression that their 602 primary concern lay in the prohibition against joking. They said it would be 'madness' to joke with persons they should not joke with. When they meet strangers they do not dare to joke until they find out whether or not it is proper for them to do so. They gave us /Kung names. This placed us in the scheme of things and people could know what their status was with us.

The /Kung say they 'fear' (*koa*) to joke when they should not and they 'fear' (*koa*) the persons with whom joking is forbidden. The word *koa* is the same word that they use when they say they fear a lion or a mamba. They also use it to mean avoid. We think it holds the same combination of fear and respect that our word holds when we say we fear the Lord.

[828 A /Kung told us that joking was not only amusing but that it served a good pur- 865] pose in teaching people, young men especially, to hold their tempers and to have poise in their social relations. We thought that joking served a good purpose in [182 providing an outlet in laughter for aggression and various social restraints, but we • [154 wondered if it had not primarily been developed as a response to restraints upon sexual intercourse. Incest must be a concern among a people who live in small bands 835] of consanguineous kin and close affines, bands which are isolated for the most part within their own territories except for more or less infrequent visits to other bands. The restraints which are considered to be good and necessary may be strengthened by the symbol of avoidance of sexual joking. Respect due to a parent has perhaps come to be associated with this symbol and this may account for joking being restricted with parents of both sexes. It seems that respect in general is not required between siblings; only sexual restraint is required and this is symbolized by the restriction in joking imposed on siblings of opposite sex, whereas ego may joke with a sibling of the same sex. It is possible that the culture allows joking between grandparents and grandchildren (with the rather few exceptions when the factor of the name intervenes to classify them in the non-joking category) because joking is associated with a welcome ease and intimacy of relationship and the great difference in age removes the necessity of symbolizing sexual restraint between them.

The Name-Relationship as a Factor in Social Consolidation

553 The /Kung believe that the name is somehow a part of the entity of a person and 601 that when one is named for a person one partakes of that person's entity in some way and in some degree. Informants could give us no further elucidation of this belief.

It seems evident that, when incorporated into the system of kinship terminology, [174] the belief has produced the homonymous method of applying terms. It is our conjecture that the homonymous method was added to the system after the generational method had been established.

who agreed and supported each other. From where they sat, but not all at once and not in an excited babble, they made their remarks clearly, with quite long pauses between. Some expressed themselves in agreement with /U as she recounted Khuan//a's faults and deviations, past and present. Khuan//a's family and friends, who had moved to sit near her, denied the accusations from time to time, but did not talk as much or as loudly as /U. Khuan//a muttered or was silent. /U said she disapproved of her sister's daughter marrying the son of such a woman, but would reconsider her position if Khuan//a gave the expected gift to Gao Medicine. The talk lasted about twenty minutes. At that point Khuan//a got up and walked away and the ' talk ' subsided to /U's mutterings and others' low conversation. In a few days Khuan//a gave Gao Medicine a present, not the gift in question, but one which satisfied Gao, and, as they said, ' they all started again in peace '.

There is a third form of verbal expression which might be called a ' shout ' rather than a ' talk ', but as far as I know the /Kung have no special name for it. It is a verbal explosion. Fate receives the heat of the remarks in a ' shout '.

We were present on two such occasions, one in 1952, the other in 1953. Both were in response to the burning of scherms. In both instances little children, whose mothers had taken their eyes off them though they were only a few feet away, had picked up burning sticks from the fire, had dropped them on the soft, dry bedding grass in the scherms and, at the first burst of flame, had sensibly run outside unscathed. On the first occasion, the two children, who were about three years old, were frightened and were soothed and comforted by their mothers and other relatives. They were not scolded. On the second occasion, Khuan//a, the two-year-old granddaughter of Old ≠Toma and /Gam, had set fire to her grandparents' scherm. She was not apparently frightened at all and was found placidly chewing her grandfather's well-toasted sandal. She was not scolded either. What was especially interesting was the behaviour of the Bushmen. On both occasions they rushed to the burning scherms, shouting all at once, in extremely loud, excited voices, volcanic eruptions of words. The men made most of the noise, but the women were also talking excitedly. No one tried to do anything, nor could they, for the scherms burned like the fiery furnace. I asked the interpreters to stand close to one person at a time and try to hear what he said. People were telling where they had been when the fire started, why they had not got there sooner. They shouted that mothers should not take their eyes off their children, that the children might have been burned. They lamented the objects which had been destroyed—all in the greatest din I have ever heard humans produce out of themselves. It went on for about eight or ten minutes in bursts, then tapered off for another ten. While Old ≠Toma's scherm was burning, he and his wife, /Gam, the great maker of beads, sat on one side weeping. After the shouting had subsided, a dozen or more people set about looking for Old ≠Toma's knife blade and arrow points and picking up what beads they could find for /Gam in the cooling ashes. The two instances of ' shouts ' provided examples of the vehemence which vocal expression can have and vividly illustrated the /Kung way of venting emotion in words.

There is still another kind of talk, not conversation, which I consider to be an outlet for tension and anxiety. We happened to hear it only in relation to anxiety about food and do not know if other concerns sometimes find expression in this way.

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It occurs in varying degrees of intensity. It is a repeating of something over and over and over again. For instance, whether it is actually so or not, someone may be reiterating that he has no food or that no one has given him food. The remarks are made in the presence of other individuals, but the other individuals do not respond in the manner of a discussion or conversation. In an extreme instance we saw a woman visitor go into a kind of semi-trance and say over and over for perhaps half an hour or so in ≠Toma's presence that he had not given her as much meat as was her due. It was not said like an accusation. It was said as though he were not there. I had the eerie feeling that I was present in someone else's dream. ≠Toma did not argue or oppose her. He continued doing whatever he was doing and let her go on.

All these ways of talking, I believe, aid the /Kung in maintaining their peaceful social relations by keeping everyone in touch with what others are thinking and feeling, releasing tensions, and keeping pressures from building up until they burst out in aggressive acts.

Aspects of Good Manners

In /Kung society good manners require that, when /Kung meet other /Kung who are strangers, all the men should lay down their weapons and approach each other unarmed. ≠Toma, leader of Band 1, approached us unarmed the first time we met. After we were accepted and given Bushman names, we were no longer strangers and we never observed the practice again.

Good manners require that visitors be received courteously and asked to sit by the fire. The woman whose fire it is may welcome the visitor by taking a pinch of the sweet smelling *sa* powder, which she carries in a little tortoise shell hung from her neck, and sprinkling it on the visitor's head in a line from the top of the head to the forehead.

Good manners in eating express restraint. A person does not reveal eagerness or take more than a modest share. When a visitor comes to the fire of a family who are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a little distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share. On several occasions we gave small gifts of corned beef to be shared with a group. The person who received the food from us would take only a mouthful. Once an old headman only licked his fingers. The lump of food would be passed from one to another. Each would take a modest bite. The last person often got the most. I found it moving to see so much restraint about taking food among people who are all thin and often hungry, for whom food is a source of constant anxiety. We observed no unmannerly behaviour, no cheating and no encroachment about food. Although informants said that quarrels had occasionally occurred in the past between members of a band over the time to go to gather veldkos, and although we observed expressions of dissatisfaction, no quarrels of any kind arose over food during our observations.

Good manners in general should be inoffensive. Any behaviour which is likely to stir up trouble is regarded with apprehension and disapproval by the /Kung. In view of this, the joking relationship has its interesting side. Men and women who have the joking relationship insult each other in a facetious way and also point out actual faults or remark on actual episodes which embarrass a person. Everyone joins in the

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another through the seasons, always going back and forth between food and water, they carry their young children and their belongings. With plenty of most materials at hand to replace artifacts as required, the /Kung have not developed means of permanent storage and have not needed or wanted to encumber themselves with surpluses or duplicates. They do not even want to carry one of everything. They borrow what they do not own. With this ease, they have not hoarded, and the accumulation of objects has not become associated with status. Instead of keeping things, they use them to express generosity and friendly intent, and to put people under obligation to make return tokens of friendship. And, even more specifically, in my opinion, they mitigate jealousy and envy, to which they are prone, by passing things on to others. These are the objectives in gift-giving.

Except, as ≠Toma said, that it would be surprising to see a man give a present to a woman who was not related to him (and vice versa, I imagine), anyone may give to anyone. Degree or kind of kinship or affinity, having the joking relationship or lacking it, impose no requirements or restrictions, nor does status in the community in a conventional way. We did hear people say, however, that a headman may feel that he should lean well to the generous side in his giving, for his position as headman sets him out from the others a little and he wants whatever attention this attracts not to be envious. Someone remarked that this could keep a headman poor.

The times of giving are determined almost entirely by the individual's convenience. The /Kung do not know their birthdays or anniversaries and have no special days of the year which they mark by giving gifts. Gifts are required by convention on only three ceremonial occasions. The type or quantity of the gift is not patterned but it should be generous. The occasions are betrothals and weddings, when the parents exchange gifts and give to the young couple, and the ceremony of a baby's first haircut, when the *!gu!na*, the person for whom the baby is named, should give him a fine present.

Relatives give to young people with the idea of setting them up in life. Gao Beard gave a spear and a kaross to his FaSiHuSo, saying it was his duty to see that the boy got some things because among the boy's relatives he was the most able to do so. The boy's father was very old, he explained. People expect to wait a long time for young people to make return gifts.

The two rigid requirements in gift-giving are that one must not refuse a proffered gift and that one must give in return. Demi said that, even if he might prefer not to be obligated to someone, he would accept and prepare to make his return gift. If a gift were to be refused, he continued, the giver would be terribly angry. He would say, 'Something is very wrong here.' This could involve whole groups in tensions, bad words, taking sides—even 'a talk' might occur—just what the /Kung do not want. Demi said it does not happen: a /Kung never refuses a gift. And a /Kung does not fail to give in return. ≠Toma said that would be 'neglecting friendship'. A person would know that others thought him 'far-hearted' and 'this would worry him'.

In reciprocating one does not give the same object back again but something of comparable value. The interval of time between receiving and reciprocating varied from a few weeks to a few years. Propriety requires that there be no unseemly haste. The giving must not look like trading.

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Eyes-on-His-Feet 539

≠*Gao/na*'s younger brother-in-law, his *tun/gama*, was named Eyes-on-His-Feet. He and ≠*Gao/na* went together to gather veldkos. They found *//karu*. After a time they came to a place where they wanted to stay and made a fire to roast the *//karu*. While they were sitting by the fire ≠*Gao/na* watched his *tun/gama*'s feet and saw what looked like eyes. He tossed dust on them and the eyes blinked. ≠*Gao/na* said, ' These are really his eyes. His face is just smooth. His eyes are on his feet.' ≠*Gao/na* then asked the *tun/gama* to lean over and press the *//karu* down into the ashes so that they would be all covered and would roast evenly. While the *tun/gama* was doing this, ≠*Gao/na* threw coals on his feet and burned his eyes. This weakened the *tun/gama* and ≠*Gao/na* was easily able to cover him all over with coals and roast him. While the *tun/gama* was roasting there was a sound, *tsi i its ii tsi ii* (like meat sizzling), and the *tun/gama* put a magic curse on ≠*Gao/na*'s mouth. When the *tun/gama* was well roasted, ≠*Gao/na* ate all he could of him and put what he could not eat into a bag. He then tried to eat the *//karu*. He put one up to his mouth but his mouth would not open. He took another. It fell down to the side. ≠*Gao/na* could neither speak nor eat. He put the *//karu* into the bag with the remains of the *tun/gama* and went back to his people in the werf and ordered them to make a dance to cure his mouth. He danced and danced with them and treated himself. While he was dancing, his wives took his bag and ate what was left of Eyes-on-His-Feet and all the *//karu* but one. [The story makes no point of the fact that they were eating their brother, albeit unknowingly, and one feels the omission hovering on the edge of being said.] Then they filled the bag with earth and put the *//karu* on top. Suddenly ≠*Gao/na*'s mouth was cured. He went to get his bag to finish his *tun/gama*, put in his hand, took some earth, and tossed it into his mouth. He spat and swore at his wives. ' You silly women,' he said, ' what have you done? ' And he thought what he would do to them. Next evening he called for another dance. A woman got up to dance but ≠*Gao/na* said, ' No, I want a good singer to dance with me, not you.' At last ≠Tamsa, the wife who had put the earth in the bag, got up to dance. She danced around ≠*Gao/na*, he danced around her, and when she came near he beat her fiercely on the stomach with his stick, until her stomach hung down below her groin. She fell unconscious and all the other wives took her and ran away and treated and treated her, crying, until she was all right. This is why Bushmen have stomachs that hang down. [326]

≠Toma and /Qui thought this was an awful story. /Qui said he did not know why ≠*Gao/na* ate his *tun/gama*. He thought the reason could not have been mere hunger— after all, /Qui pointed out, he had *//karu*. There must have been some other reason. ≠Toma said, ' ≠*Gao/na* is evil. Even now he goes about killing people.' [311]

In another version the awfulness of eating a human being is modified by having Eyes-on-His-Feet come to life again. During the dance, ≠*Gao/na*'s stomach began to ache and make sounds and to swell, as with severe constipation. Suddenly it burst open and Eyes-on-His-Feet sprang out, as the wives had done after their laughter, whole and alive. In still another version ≠*Gao/na* turns ≠Tamsa into a bird called *chee*, a white and yellow bird about as big as a dove. This is one of the birds which the /Kung eat. They grab it in tree-holes when it is nesting. All my efforts to learn more about the possible identity of Eyes-on-His-Feet availed nothing. I wondered if he were not originally some veldkos, for instance, with a formation that suggested eyes, or an animal turned into a human being, or personified, like the paouw, but our /Kung informants did not know. The old people had not told them.

When my inquiries suggested to my informants that I expected them, possibly, to [154]

539 [154] know something which they did not know, they became defensive. /U said that her mother was lazy and did not tell her stories. That was why she knew so little. Old Xama said that her mother died when she was young, so she had remained ignorant.

[522] The story of ≠*Gao/na*'s raping his son's pretty young wife is long and detailed and is recounted with humour and great enjoyment by the /Kung. ≠*Gao/na* tried to be away with the women alone while they were gathering veldkos. First he changed himself into a baby wildebeest, pretended that he was dead, and let the women pick him up. That plan did not work, so he made another. He disguised himself very cleverly as his own sister and went with the women to gather when they stayed overnight, and raped his son's wife, Te, in her sleep. In the morning when the women discovered who he was, he tried to persuade Te that it was not he but her husband, Kxoma, who had been there in the night, but Te knew it was not and was terribly upset. The women decided not to tell Kxoma or Khan//a, because they were afraid the sons would kill their father, so they all kept quiet when they returned and they lived in peace.

These stories have become very mixed up. In another version, the pit episode is used again. It is the sons' wives who dig the pit and entice ≠*Gao/na* to jump into it in revenge for ≠*Gao/na*'s ' spoiling ' Te. The substance in the pit is not faeces but ≠*Gao/na*'s own semen. The women shape the semen into the form of a young giraffe. When ≠*Gao/na* finally gets out of this pit he cleans himself by rubbing himself on trees.

≠Gao/na *and His Stupid Generosity*

≠*Gao/na* sometimes prevails in his endeavours, but he has lapses and often appears to be far from clever. In one story he is both stupid and generous—too generous. This is a very long story in which Kxoma and Khan//a, his sons, kill an eland. Lions come and kill the sons. With the help of *zam zam*, the little tortoise, who was a person then and another brother of his wives, ≠*Gao/na* kills the lions by magic and restores his sons to life. The story ends in their all returning to the werf with the eland meat. They walk along. They meet a man. They give him gifts of meat. This man quickly hides his meat in a tree, then, dodging along behind some bushes, he runs ahead and meets ≠*Gao/na* and his party again. The sons and *zam zam* say, ' We have already given you some meat', but ≠*Gao/na* cannot remember and gives meat again. A third and a fourth time the man runs ahead and ≠*Gao/na* gives again, [522] in this way. [Dam and /Qui were speechless with laughter acting this out.] For the fifth time the man runs ahead and ≠*Gao/na* does not remember him and gives him his last bundle of meat. ≠*Gao/na* would now have to return to his wives without any meat for them, but instead he hits his buttocks very hard. He hits them and hits them until he knocks his insides out. He cuts his insides into pieces, like meat, and takes them to his werf. Others have meat but he has none except his own insides. He cooks them for his wives. They say the meat is too tough to eat and ask, ' Why do the others have nice eland meat and you only this? ' He says it is eland meat but that it has become dry. ≠*Gao/na* and his wives go hungry.

A story about ≠*Gao/na*'s getting fire was told in several versions. In one of them the name *Hwve* was used. That was the only time I heard the protagonist of the tales called by any name but ≠*Gao/na*.

≠Gao/na *and the Fire Sticks*

There was a time when no one had fire except one man whose name was /Kai /Kini. He had fire and the name of this fire was *doro*. [The word for fire is *da*.] *Doro* was made with fire

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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776 The concept of ≠*Gaolna* as a powerful creator and a good being is based in the past. Schapera gives the following accounts: 'Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, . . . speaks of *Hiuw* as a good being to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things.'[1] 'Lebzelter . . . says that all the groups [of Kung] investigated by him have "the belief in a supreme good being".'[2] The Western /Kung of the Oschimpoloveld believe he 'lives in a house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is often prayed to, especially for rain and hunting, as well as in case of illness because he made all things and can do everything and knows everything, and he is given the first offering of the chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth, and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.'[3]

Schapera also notes that Lebzelter reports that *Xu* of the Heikum is regarded almost everywhere among them 'as the creator of all things, including mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.'[4]

[761 811] This god of the /Kung and the Heikum in the past was not the death-giver. The old //*Ganwa*, as I shall presently describe, held that role. But now, in believing that the great god of the east is all-powerful, the /Kung have logically attributed to him the control over death, and hold him ultimately responsible for it. But their concept of ≠*Gaolna*, first and foremost, is that of the creator.

776 773 ●[154] It is said that ≠*Gaolna* created himself. One informant, /Tik/ay, claimed that he came out of the water, but others said they were not told this by the old people. I could discover no formulated myth of creation which everybody knew or anything which told how he created himself. People simply said they did not know. /U turned on me and asked me if I knew. When I said I did not, she snapped, How, then, did I expect her to know? After creating himself, ≠*Gaolna* created the lesser god and then their two wives. It was stated quite specifically that there were only two wives and that the gods never took human wives. This is in contrast to the old ≠*Gaolna* of the tales, who gives the impression that he had a bevy of wives.

The great god created the earth and gave it its name, ≠*kxa*. In the earth he created holes for water and he created water. They were not told just how he created these things, the people said. He has an iron of his own with which he works, a */ka* (*/ka* is metal). Some metal tool is what he had, a special one. They 'did not see it', they said, and do not know just what kind of a tool it is or what substances he may have worked with, but they know that he is the creator and the commander of metal.

After the earth, ≠*Gaolna* made the sky in a dome over the earth, and he made rain, */ga*. He made gentle female rain, */gadi*, and violent male rain, */ga/go*. The people do not say freely the word */ga/go* because they fear the violent rains. They use a respect word, */noi*, when they speak to the rain and plead with it to be gentle. ≠*Gaolna* made thunder and lightning.

After the rain, he made the sun. Sun is a 'death thing' which dries up the veldkos

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 183. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., p. 184. [4] Ibid., pp. 184–5.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Why does the lightning not go and die somewhere and leave us alone and just let a gentle rain give us water?' 782

If someone were struck and killed by lightning, Gao Medicine said he would say,

'*Hishe*, why have you taken this person? Why do you strike us with storm? You cannot always be good; you keep changing. You created all things and are present in every movement. Why must you do ill?'

About another storm, Gao Medicine said,

'It is */Nau* who makes these things. He is scolding us because we are his children. It is because of our bad ways we are so punished. We must not complain. This is a good time, the time of rain. We must not complain.'

When the people are pleased they thank *≠Gao/na* and say, 'This is how you must serve your children.'

The /Kung pray directly to *//Gauwa* as well as to *≠Gao/na*. One old man named Tuka/na made a prayer into a song and taught it to his people. The men sometimes sing it when they are walking along in the veld on hunting trips. It says in effect: [533]

'*//Gauwa* must help us that we kill an animal.
//Gauwa, help us. We are dying of hunger.
//Gauwa does not give us help.
He is cheating. He is bluffing.
//Gauwa will bring something for us to kill next day
After he himself hunts and has eaten meat,
When he is full and is feeling well.'

The song then changes to the past tense and tells how *//Gauwa* favoured them in the past and gave them luck in the hunt and they ate and afterwards the man said to the women:

'You must sing well.
We are happy now.
Our hearts are shining.
I shall put on my rattles,
And put on my headband,
And put a feather in my hair
To explain to *//Gauwa* how happy we are that he has helped us and that we have eaten.
My heart is awake.
When we do not have meat
My heart is sad from hunger
Like an old man, sick and slow.
When we have meat my heart is lively.

The concerns and anxieties of these people are manifest in their prayers. The pervasive, untremitting anxiety about food becomes vividly apparent. The concept that *≠Gao/na* has great power and that he is not evil incarnate, but has a dual nature which can feel pity as well as displeasure, makes beneficence a possibility. The /Kung believe that, influenced by the medicine men's scolding or by supplication, he may change his evil intent, and this gives them hope. [154 776]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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shriek and gurgle. They blow in his ears to open them. They take sweat from their armpits and rub him. Some fall over on to him in trance themselves and are in turn rubbed and cared for by the others. The women must sing and clap ardently while a man is in deep trance. He needs the good medicine of the music to protect him.

The curing dance draws people of a Bushman band together into concerted action as nothing else does. They stamp and clap and sing with such precision that they become like an organic being. In this close configuration—together—they face the gods. They do not plead, as they do in their individual supplications, for the favour of the divine, all-powerful beings, and do not praise them for goodness. Instead, the medicine men, on behalf of the people, releasing themselves from ordinary behaviour by trance and overcoming fear and inaction, throw themselves into combat with the gods and try to force them with hurled sticks and hurled words to take away the evils they might be bringing.

The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a drama, I believe, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in Aristotle's sense. Fear and hostility find outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there is solace and hope.

Résumé

LA RELIGION DES BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

Les Boschimans /Kung de la région de Nyae Nyae dans le sud-ouest de l'Afrique croient qu'il existe deux dieux — le grand créateur, qui habite dans l'est du ciel, où le soleil se lève, et le petit dieu qui est subordonné au grand dieu, et qui habite dans l'ouest du ciel où le soleil se couche.

Le grand dieu possède sept noms divins, que les /Kung ont peur de prononcer, et un seul nom humain. Certains de ces noms (d'après Schapera ce sont *Hishe*, *Hawe* et *Kxo*) indiquent que le concept du grand dieu tire son origine des croyances anciennes soutenues par d'autres Boschimans et par les Hottentots. Ces noms sont associés avec un être suprême bien disposé. Divers groupes de Boschimans croyaient dans un esprit malfaisant, un 'avant-coureur de la mort', *//Gaowa*. D'après la croyance actuelle des /Kung de la région de Nyae Nyae, le grand dieu a fait du petit dieu son homonyme en lui accordant tous ses noms divins (mais non son nom human), et *//Gaowa* est un des sept noms divins qui sont attribués aux deux dieux. Le nom humain ≠*Gaolna*, le vieux ≠*Gao*, est celui du protagoniste de plusieurs vieux contes bizarres, un être ayant des pouvoirs surnaturels, mais ressemblant à un homme et soumis à toutes les frustrations humaines. Les /Kung ont amalgamé l'ancien protagoniste et le grand dieu en ce qui concerne le nom, mais ils ont modifié l'image.

Le grand dieu s'est d'abord créé lui-même, et ensuite il a créé le petit dieu. Pour chacun d'eux, il a créé une épouse qui a donné naissance à des enfants. Il a créé la terre et le ciel, la femme et l'homme et il a donné des noms à toutes choses. Il a donné le nom de son épouse, Khwova, à la première femme, et son propre nom ≠*Gao* au premier homme. Le grand dieu et le petit dieu s'intéressent principalement à l'humanité. Ni l'un ni l'autre n'est associé essentiellement avec le bien ou le mal à l'égard de l'homme; tous les deux peuvent apporter de grands biens, tels que la pluie, la nourriture et les enfants, mais aussi la mort, la maladie

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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224 602 they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. [574] This meat may be cooked and the quantities small. Visitors receive small amounts of cooked meat from their hosts. It ends in everybody getting some meat.

224 431 In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and primary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift giving. !Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift of meat at some time in the future. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously [571] according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift giving in general: the person gives to measure up to what is expected of him, to make friendly gestures, to win favor, to repay past favors and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation.

224 431 181 Aside from the practical advantage of using up meat while it is still fresh, the !Kung custom of meat sharing has enormous social value. It does a great deal to mitigate tensions. The fear of hunger is lessened. People are [154] sustained by a web of mutual obligation. Moreover, they are fully conscious [183] of these values, and the custom is so strongly established and so faithfully followed that the idea of not sharing is virtually unthinkable to the !Kung.

422 262 264 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the !Kung. When an individual receives a portion he owns it outright. He may give and share it further, as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very [261] important to the !Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

224 261 It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae !Kung eat hearty meals of meat when plenty appeared and they had been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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!Kung

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance A medicine man is going into a trance.

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to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Gauwa* or the *//gauwasi*, who are there beyond the firelight, with a sharp, yelping cry of "*kai kai kai*."

The medicine men are usually only in shallow trance at this point, but, when the curing has been going on for some time, they begin to reach a state of patterned frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. They believe that fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. The medicine men rush out into the darkness, where *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. "Filthy face!" they screech. "Take away the sickness you have brought. You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away. . . . *Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die." At this point the medicine man may fall down in deep trance and appear to be unconscious or semiconscious, with eyes closed, stiff as a board, unable to walk. This stage of trance may last only a brief time or may continue for hours—even into the next day. Gradually it is resolved and the medicine man takes up his normal activities.

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The !Kung believe that at the time of deep trance the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*. They call this "half death." It is a dangerous time. The women must continue to sing the medicine music. The man's body must be watched over, rubbed, and kept warm by other medicine men who are in less deep trance.

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The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a

[p. 272]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope.

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

of the old women, Dasina, who was Tsetchwe's mother, inhaled too deeply and began to faint. Tsetchwe half turned her mother so that everyone would not see her, and, putting an arm around her for support, let the old woman lean on her shoulder. Our interpreter laughed, and Tsetchwe turned to glare. Tsetchwe's back was exactly like her mother's, broad but curved in at the waist, the old woman's a little bloated but Tsetchwe's young and strong.

Another old woman was smoking, too, puffing on a short, wide pipe cut from a leg bone of some large antelope, so big that she had to stuff one end with grass to keep the tobacco inside. She almost unhinged her jaw each time she puffed. She would inhale and spit, cough, and inhale again without a sign of dizziness, and when she saw Dasina faint she too laughed out loudly. Her name, she told us, was Twikwe.

Twikwe was skinny and tall as a man, with long, lanky arms that she flung about in the air, gesturing, and long legs that jerked when she walked. She wore only a short piece of leather that reached from her waist to her thighs, and we could see that she was wrinkled from head to foot, her skin hanging in long, vertical wrinkles down her thighs and belly, like an old apple that has dried. She talked incessantly and loudly, always opening and closing her mouth, and she joked, for Ukwane and the young boys near her laughed at everything she said. She was telling how her husband had outdistanced her as they were running away and was surely running still. Every now and then she stopped her talk to shout out to him, jeering, saying that he was depriving himself of tobacco and should come back; then everyone would listen, but no sound came from him, no answer. He never did come back, and in the weeks we were there we never saw him. Perhaps he was running away from Twikwe, for we later learned that he was living in a valley with his other wife.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

776 It was characteristic of the /Kung that none of the medicine men whom we knew
756 claimed to have seen ≠*Gao!na*. They were not great enough, they said. The /Kung
[156] do not wish to risk drawing upon themselves the invidious attention of mortals or the whimsical displeasure of the gods by setting themselves up noticeably before others. Some said that they had been told by their parents of only one great medicine man among their neighbouring bands who had seen ≠*Gao!na*. His name was Gao. He died long ago.

776 Although ≠*Gao!na* comes only to the great medicine men 'in the flesh', so to speak,
787 he appears to anyone in dreams and 'helps all his people'. A hunter said that
[224] ≠*Gao!na* stands beside one in one's dream and says, 'You have been walking and walking and you got nothing. Today I shall give you meat.' The hunter gets up and goes out on to the veld. He sees an animal and shoots it. ≠*Gao!na* may say, on the other hand, 'These days you will not find an animal even if you hunt'; and it will be the truth. He may tell you in a dream where to find honey in a tree or where to
[756 find an ant hill. He gives power to the medicine men in dreams and also medicine
533] songs. A medicine woman described vividly how he had taught her a medicine song which she then gave to her people. He stood beside her instructing her to sing the song over and over until she had learned it.

//*Gauwa*, The Lesser God

776 Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung the word //*Gauwa* has three interpretations. First,
[775] a //*gauwa* is the spirit of a dead person; the spirits of the dead in the plural are //*gauwasi*. Second, the Nyae Nyae /Kung, as we have said, call the children born to the gods 'little //*gauwasi*'. Third, they apply the name //*Gauwa* to both the great and the lesser god. It is one of the seven names they have in common. In the current beliefs of the Nyae Nyae /Kung there is not a being called //*Gauwa* who is a separate entity apart from the great and the lesser god.

Among other Bushmen and the Hottentots, //*Gauwa* was a being distinct from the other being who is variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, &c. As I interpret the present belief of the /Kung, the lesser god is that old, traditional //*Gauwa*. He has been transmuted, however, from the old image to a new one, as the old protagonist, ≠*Gao!na*, was transmuted into the great god. //*Gauwa*'s name has been attributed to the great god as the great god's names have been attributed to him. The two beings remain separate entities in the /*gu!na*–/*guma* relationship.

I base the interpretation that the lesser god is the traditional //*Gauwa* on the facts that many of his attributes are the same as or similar to those of the traditional being and that I did not hear people use any other name for him but //*Gauwa* and did not once hear the name //*Gauwa* used for the great god when people spoke spontaneously of him, although they insisted that it was one of the seven names which the gods have in common.

Excerpts from Schapera indicate that //*Gauwa* was generally the destroyer. Vedder reports that the /Kung at Tsumeb expect only evil from him and think of him as opposed to *Huwe*. But Lebzelter's Eastern Kung believed that he was good as well as evil, that he helped hunters, and some thought he was the creator. 'He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.'[1] By the Heikum also he was

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188.

Gam when four bands danced together. Demi was the smallest Bushman we had 776
seen in the region. He was bedecked with many beads and walked with a prance like 756
a bantam cock. He had seen *//Gauwa* in the darkness, he told us. He had confronted him and driven him off with imprecations and sticks. I asked him to tell me what *//Gauwa* looked like. *//Gauwa* is as big as a mouse and has legs like a mouse, he promptly told me, showing me a pipe about four inches long to demonstrate *//Gauwa*'s size. (Demi did not say *//Gauwa* was a mouse; he said ' as big as '.) *//Gauwa* is covered all over with short yellow hairs. This bright, prancing little man had seen a little god. None of the other medicine men saw *//Gauwa* as small as that.

Gao Scarf sees *//Gauwa* regularly. He is like a man in form, but not such as we. He is about two and a half feet tall. (Gao demonstrated with a stick.) He has yellow hair over his whole body. He does not speak as we speak. He says, ' *hu hu hu* ', like the medicine men when they are performing a ceremony, but softly. Only medicine men hear him and understand him.

Another Gao said that *//Gauwa* is about a foot tall and the colour of a wart hog. He has the form of a man.

When Gao Medicine is in trance, he often sees *//Gauwa*. He is a being about the height of a guinea-fowl, grey in colour like the bark of the ubiquitous camelthorn tree. But to Gao, *//Gauwa* is not clearly visible; he is like a mist.

/Ti/kay claimed to me that he was ' young in medicine ' and had never seen *//Gauwa*, as he had claimed that he had never seen *≠Gao/na*. This was an engaging torsion of the truth. I myself had many times seen /Ti/kay appear to confront *//Gauwa* during his curing. /Ti/kay was to me the most spectacular of all the medicine men in performing the ceremony. He did not fear to scream into the shadows, ' *Nonabe!* You have brought a bad medicine. It is going to kill someone. Take it back.' The people, I am sure, did not believe that he was ' young in medicine ' and that he did not see *//Gauwa* when the other medicine men did. /Ti/kay, as I think is apparent even [115
in these brief accounts of him, was something of a deviant. I believe that he contra- 156]
dicted other informants because his nature habitually drove him to oppose others and that, at the same time, he deliberately and rationally tried to deceive me and lead me astray, first for one reason, then another. He was jealous of our harmonious relations with ≠Toma and Gao Medicine. We were pleased and grateful to them when they would work with us and he refused, and this made him spiteful. Also, due to some influence which we do not know about, he may actually believe some of the things he told us, such as that *//Gauwa* lives in the east instead of the west. We were never certain about him.

The *//Gauwasi*

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe strongly and vividly in the existence of spirits of 775
the dead, the *//gauwasi*, who live immortal lives in the sky with *≠Gao/na*, doing his bidding. The *//gauwasi* come to earth and enter into the affairs of men when *≠Gao/na* so commands them. The /Kung fear them, pray to them to invoke their mercy or sympathy, exhort them in anger. The concept of having special relations with their [769]
own ancestors or of worshipping ancestors is lacking.

The people claim that they fear to speak of the *//gauwasi* lest they call attention to themselves or offend the spirits. They say it is a ' death thing to speak of them much ',

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the
882 parents' fire.

855 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive
857 and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or
[136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and
[868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime,
857 singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults
[512] together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned
857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth
156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men,
[173] the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another
[171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation
[562] ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they
[535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from
[534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony.
[302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of
[304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

562 into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by
[462] /Qui's wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes
[224] and the women, some of the plumes in their hair, danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of /Kung men and the way it should be.

157 By comparison with the men, the women are considerably more circumscribed in knowledge, less ready for new experience, more suspicious and apprehensive of
562 strangers. They draw back and seem on the whole somewhat timid. The men protect them in many ways. They would not let the women ride with us in the truck, for instance, unless some of the men were with them.

The women expect the dependent role. They have their say in conversation but do not take part in the serious conclaves of the men, saying often, 'The men know these things. We do not know. The men must decide.' And one woman said, 'A man can do everything—shoot and make fire.' /Kung women are encouraged to be compliant by the fact that, in their love of peace, the /Kung like quiet, modest, gentle women. Overbearing, strident, demanding, or nagging women would disturb not only their own husbands but the whole werf. Disapproval of anyone's behaviour
[626] is expressed by the group in talk, and also by songs, such as the song of *The Two Baus*, which was composed about two loudly quarrelsome co-wives. When the two Baus heard this song strummed on the *||guashi* or hummed here and there in the shadows of the werf at night, they mended their ways.

Though the /Kung like gentleness and compliance in women, their society does
562 not impose extreme forms of obedience or subservience upon them and women are not ill treated. One man told Laurence Marshall that if he wanted to go somewhere and his wife wanted to go somewhere else he might have to talk, talk, talk, talk, talk, talk to persuade her.

We once saw a woman strike her husband on the head with her digging-stick in
562 a fit of frustration because he had coerced her to go with him when she wanted to
593 remain visiting her parents. He had coerced her swiftly and decisively by snatching her baby from her arms and walking ahead with it. In a flash the wife ran a few steps and hit him, then she went around in a circle, stamping her feet in great, high stamps like an enraged samurai in a Japanese print, then she followed her husband. I personally never saw a /Kung man hit a woman. This is not to say no /Kung ever did, but it is far from common.

The dominance of the /Kung men is more protective and life-giving than crushing to the women. On the whole a good balance seems to be attained and there is a notable freedom from quarrelling between husbands and wives. The instances of strife that we have mentioned are exceptional breaks in the usual peace of their well-adjusted human relations.

[20 cont.]

101 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposed-
131 ly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are
[648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the
[631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief, the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notorious Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-
[197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do
[342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in
[301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh
[827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron
[411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

●157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations
[114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

[21 cont.]

157 them thought of asking a question about it. The Bushmen of
today at least do not believe that any kind of magic is concealed
[177] in the Europeans' machines. They learn to use European instru-
ments fairly quickly; in particular, they soon become familiar
with the rifle. Dornan reported that there was a large number
of improvised rifles that the Bushmen had adapted. In a new
environment, the Bushman is wholly self-possessed and coolly
[648] observant. He is highly adaptable. The girls, of whom a num-
ber are kept by farmers as concubines, are quite skillful at
[177] housekeeping. In Ovamboland they quickly adopt the living
habits and economic activities of the Bantu. An Ongandjera
Bushman acts as an instructor at the teacher's college in Oonipa.
He owns a small kraal that is well-maintained in Ovambo fashion
and, in addition, has built himself a round hut of tiles in which
[648] he keeps his "library." They seldom stay long on the farms, but
[147] probably in the main because the food does not agree with them.
609 The Bushmen are most distrustful of other people. Every armed
person whom they encounter is regarded from the outset as an
enemy. The Bushman is allowed to enter the regions of other tribes
only if he is unarmed. Even along the edge of the farm zone
the mutual distrust is so great that a Bushman who has been sent
to a farm as a messenger dares not leave the road, which is
regarded as a neutral zone, if another kin group has settled in
the vicinity. If two armed Bushmen who are strangers approach
each other, they disarm at first sight before they greet each
other. When a Bushman comes to a village or to a farmhouse,
he will put down his arms at a certain distance and sit down to
wait patiently, if need be for hours, until he is questioned. A
186 distinct sense of race is not apparent. Everything that does not
609 belong to one's own kin group is regarded as strange, even
hostile, except when common persecution causes a sense of
solidarity to spring up among all those who are persecuted. At
the same time, they very clearly possess a kind of sense of
humanity as a whole, that is, they do not believe that they are
the only people, and they are convinced, for example, that the
people of all races are received in the heavenly house. Their
602 conduct toward relatives is regulated by numerous customs, but
in general it is formal and almost ceremonial, even toward the
[593] wife and children. The Bushman is never importunate.
[157]

[21 cont.]

648 The Bushmen as a whole are despised by the other peoples, but in individual cases they are feared, and not least by the Whites. The Bushmen are familiar with this attitude and conduct themselves accordingly.

797 The Bushmen accept a foreign point of view only with
177 great difficulty, if at all. The mission, accordingly, can show no noteworthy success among them. On the other hand, they
157 usually grasp the intentions of others more quickly than the ordinarily more superficial Blacks. Consequently, they give brief and precise answers to the questions put to them. When asked questions that they do not want to answer, they remain silent. At the same time, in dealings with them one should note that they tire very quickly when they have to do mental work, and then they will not answer further questions, not because they do not want to, but because they are too tired.

181 The Bushmen are not generous. Nevertheless, allow-
[574] ing a stranger to partake of a meal, as well as giving him some
609 of the available water, is wholly matter-of-course with them.
[431] They very rarely, however, give any of their personal belongings, weapons, ornaments, hides, and so forth, as presents. If they themselves receive presents, they are obviously delighted.
(8) It is true that they do not express their gratitude with words,
577 [22] but anyone who does the Bushmen a kindness may be sure that they will manifest their gratitude by deeds to the point of self-sacrifice.

To help a fellow human being who is in trouble is a moral obligation. There is a report of a prospector who lost his
[648] way in the bush forest and was then saved by the Bushmen, with whom he could not even converse; they took care of him for several days and finally put him on the right path.

Agreements and promises are kept unconditionally by the Bushman, although it is true that he usually arrives a little too late. Once, when an ox from the ox-cart of the Catholic mission had to be left behind on the way to the Okovanggo, it was put in the care of the Bushmen and they were to deliver it at the time of the next full moon. The people kept their word, and the ox was delivered, well-fed, at the specified time.

As a comrade, the Bushman is reliable and faithful (1).

181
648

1. A European had once illegally

[22 cont.]

114 without compromising oneself. Only old people are suitable
124 informants, since they are no longer eager for renown.

In view of the hard life that the people lead, sexuality,
831 naturally, is not excessively developed. Perverse manipulations are evidently unknown, since my informants did not even understand questions on this subject.

833 Normal sexual intercourse is usually performed in the bush during the time between the evening meal and the rising
271 of the moon. Long periods of thirst result in almost total im-
147 potence.

157 Despite all the formality, they have an unbridled
578 temperament which frequently expresses itself in violent emotional explosions over trivial affairs, which then may easily lead to serious consequences since the poisoned arrow is always at hand. For example, I was told the following story: A Bushman worked on a farm for quite a long time and, with his belly fat from eating maize, came to visit his thin companions. His brother made fun of him for being so fat, saying that he could not run any more, whereupon the fat one retorted: "Just the same, I'll live longer than you." After this brief exchange of words, the scrawny brother stabbed the fat one. -- A film com-
157 pany once wanted to make a film among the !Kung who are
648 settled behind Keibeb; the film was to be called: "When the First Whites Came into the Land." The chief of this horde had a [23] pair of old German military trousers as an emblem of his office and when he was requested to take them off, he responded with the declaration that he would take off his trousers only if the White did the same, whereupon he received a box on the ears that put him and his companions in such a rage that the film company preferred to depart in order to avoid a catastrophe.
157 That they can also be quick at repartee is shown by the following story which was repeatedly told to me by Europeans: A Bushman had been accused of poaching. The magistrate asked him: "Don't you know that these animals belong to the king (royal game)?" The Bushman answered: "I saw no 'brand' (property mark)."

As a chief or family head, the Bushman is bossy and
[593] unyielding, which is understandable in view of the rigidity of his whole conception of life. The sick Bushmen lie silent and

[753] [23 cont.] THE SICK BUSHMEN LIE SILENT AND
157 patient, but a case of illness in a village upsets all its members, partly out of compassion, and partly out of fear of the spirits of sickness. The modes of conduct that I have described already permit certain conclusions concerning the structure of the psychological personality among the Bushmen. It is certainly impossible to compare the mental set of an intellectualized, highly domesticated European with that of these primitive hunters. There is absolutely no difference, however, between the simple European and the natives in their conception of life and their manner of
105 reacting to environmental influences. As I have already explained
182 in another place, we may speak of a law of inertia in cultural development (1). The primitive man is perfectly aware, perhaps

1. V. Lebzelter, "Persönlichkeit und Weltanschauung bei den Eingeborenen Südwestafrikas Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Leogesellschaft, 1932.

instinctively, perhaps by tradition, that the quantity of energy possessed by every individual is limited and that each expenditure of energy means wear on the life machine and, hence, the shortening of life. The individual, therefore, strives to attain, with the least possible expenditure of energy, what to his mind represents an optimal adaptation to the conditions of life, and to maintain this state of adaptation with the least possible expenditure of energy. The great difference between European civilization and many primitive cultures, including that of the Bushmen, lies in the fact that European culture as a whole finds itself in an unstable condition, which makes the attainment of an optimal state of adaptation possible to only a few of its members. Bushman culture, on the other hand, represents an optimal state of adaptation that can be automatically attained by each individual Bushman. In its way, therefore, it is more perfect than ours. No other people and no other race, given the same technical means and the same environmental conditions, could achieve a better adaptation. One can even speak of such an adaptation with respect to the spiritual culture. The life of the Bushman is made secure in this life

[24 cont.]

000 522 161 they had never seen any. A certain dry humor spiced their conversation. I once said to a Bushman: "If you tell me this, you will get whatever you want." He answered: "Good, I shall speak and you will give me your automobile." Their imagination is 157 123 very poor; in this respect they are much too accurate as observers of nature. Once a young Bushman woman with two children came to me and wanted to buy some sugar. I said to her: "I won't sell you anything, but you will get the sugar if you tell me some children's stories, for example, about animals." After some hesi- [538] tation she began the story of Arri, the guinea hen. It was no fairy tale, but a detailed account concerning this important food bird. She even imitated the calls of the guinea hen, "for example, when someone comes and there is danger, then they say, 'gannana he gannana he,' but when they are alone and enjoying themselves, then they go 'gi gi gi.'" The children had to imi- [861] tate this until they were able to mimic the sound accurately. Then it was the turn of the sand hen, which says, "gi ganna gi ganna"; then the ostrich, which goes, "hmm, hmm, hmm"; then the gum bird [Harzvogel], which says, "hai-dschi, hai-dschi," and the owl, "mhm, m."

3. Posture, Movement, Stamina

516 As a result of his marked lordosis, the Bushman never assumes a posture that would conform to our military ideal; he almost always stands with his stomach somewhat protruding.

481 The way the Bushmen run is very peculiar and would justify detailed study. [25] The run is really a continuous fast walk, in which the legs are kicked forward, but the lower thighs are never brought back high, as is the case with our runners. The body is held as straight as possible, and the head up, not forward (1).

[113] 1. E. v. Eickstedt (Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit [Ethnology and History of Mankind], p. 556) states: "The foot is put in a peculiar transverse position, which makes the track in the sand easily

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

888 621 respect. In his family, the old man decided where the band would live.

157 Lazy Kwi's sister-in-law was called "the old woman." Her name referred not to her age but to her bearing and her personality, for she was outspoken, positive, and sure, qualities that are seldom found in young Bushmen.

609 She was not at all surprised to see us. She took my ear to turn my head, and kissed me on the cheek. Lazy Kwi laughed when he greeted us, showing a gap in his mouth where a tooth was missing, and called me his wife, a joke among Bushman men, who pretend they will marry any woman who is not a tabu relative. His baby hugged my legs and showed a huge white smile, then held up his arms to be lifted. He had grown so that I could hardly get him off the ground.

586 159 Many Bushmen who greeted us had been at Gam when we had lived there, and among them was a young girl whose name was Ungka, a very common name; as she had no distinguishing nickname, we called her Beautiful Ungka, for so she was. She was probably the most beautiful girl in all Nyae Nyae, and even though she was only sixteen years old she already had a flaming past. When she was ten she was married to a man much older than herself, but, young as she was, she knew what she wanted, and because the old man filled her with loathing she cut off all her hair and all her ornaments, rubbed ashes on her face until she was filthy, and swore she would stay that way until her marriage was dissolved. Of course it wasn't long before her husband and her parents complied with her wishes and she became single once again.

583 159 When she was about thirteen she attracted the attention of another much older man who was already married but who became so inflamed by her beauty that he begged her parents to give her to him as a second wife. This time her parents consulted with her, entreating her to marry him as

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

people thought of her, she didn't leave her fire at night to go 159
visiting, even to the scherm right next to hers. Rather, if she 577
had something to say, she would shout it across the werf.

Her deference to appearances and public opinion seemed 159
to make up for her faults, for she was considered to be al- 157 593
most a model personality in spite of her extremely jealous and vindictive moods which caused her to accuse others, quite unreasonably, of selfishness, greed, and other such things. Her husband and sons were not excepted, but this was something that Toma had learned to ignore. He would simply shrug his shoulders if she railed at him, pretend he didn't hear if she railed at others.

When she didn't assault her family with her tongue she 159
sometimes harmed them actively. Very often she would lie 593
sullen with narrowed eyes in front of her scherm watching the other women walk out to the veld in the morning on their way to dig veld food, and on these days her husband and sons would eat nothing unless, driven by hunger, they went to the veld themselves, the three of them together, to dig up a few roots and eat them raw. Tu herself did not experience hunger as a result of these moods, for she would have saved herself a morsel from the day before. It was her right to do this: among Bushmen every root is owned by its digger and is shared only at its owner's wish.

Toma might ask but would never command Tu to feed her family, for as he had learned to ignore her biting tongue he had learned to accept her moods. This was his way, appeasing her, and because Toma wanted peace perhaps as much as he wanted Tu, he pampered her.

This was not always so. One day gossiping people told us 159
that early in their marriage Toma shot a fat kudu and Tu 578 593
said: "Don't cook all the meat because my mother will be coming to visit us."

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the wind or passing feet had disarranged them; and the meat that resulted from his prolific hunting was never wasted, for he would bring other hunters to help him dry it, then carry it off to a werf somewhere to share with others. 224 159 151 [251 476]

He knew the habits of animals from the ways of the largest antelope all the way down to the smallest species of mice; in fact, he must have known animals very well, for he could always find them. He knew when he was in danger and when he was safe, and he was as brave as he was careful. Once, Short Kwi, John, and two other hunters were tracking a bull wildebeest that one of the hunters had shot. They came upon it lying down, surrounded by a very large pride of lions. There were twenty or thirty lions in all, having got there first and claiming the wildebeest as their own, for the bushes were full of lions walking back and forth, watching several other lions brave the fallen wildebeest, still able to protect itself with its horns. The braver lions were standing near the wildebeest, obviously steeling themselves for the attack, when the hunters arrived. The Bushmen had followed the wildebeest's trail through thorns and over the parching desert and were not to be deprived, and, speaking softly to the lions, they said: "We know you are strong, Big Lions, we know you are brave, but this meat is ours and you must give it back to us." 159 825 159 224 157

Even after these words the lions did not give ground. Their round eyes watched the hunters and they began to growl, and the four men, quite unarmed except for their arrows and a spear (to use a spear would have been folly), said respectfully: "Great Lions, Old Lions, this meat belongs to us," and then advanced on the lions, throwing little stones and clods of dirt. The lions in the bushes began to back away, while the braver lions stood their ground until a clod struck one of them, causing him to huff and run back a little. At this, the courage of the other lions broke and they all turned and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 224 157 scrambled for the safety of their companions, by now quite far away.

The hunters, victorious in this battle of nerves, had the bull wildebeest all to themselves, but now found that they could not approach it either. Having fended off the lions (it thought), it now tried to lunge to its feet to fend off the men. Short Kwi borrowed the spear from its owner and hurled it into the wildebeest's neck, where it stuck fast. Now they had no weapon at all. Their arrows would be useless. The sticks and stones they threw at the spear did not dislodge it and all their efforts to retrieve it by creeping up on the wildebeest from behind did not succeed, for as soon as one of them would edge near enough to touch the spear the wildebeest would toss its horns so quickly that the man would have to jump back, grazed. At last, while one of the men distracted the wildebeest from the front, Short Kwi backed off and rushed at it, jumped over it, and, as he passed over its back, jerked the spear free. The bull lunged and the curved horns hooked upward, but too late. Short Kwi was gone. Wanting a picture, John asked Short Kwi to do it again, but Short Kwi shook his head. "This time he will remember," Short Kwi said, and dispatched the bull by hurling the spear into its throat.

159 224 593 823 Sometimes, as on these occasions, Short Kwi hunted with others, but mostly he hunted alone. He knew every bush and stone in the area of thousands of square miles that he ranged over, and he lived for hunting. Caring more for this, his passion, than for society, he often hunted as he did when we had first heard of him, alone in the veld with only his wife—a young woman who was intelligent and gay and almost pretty, to whom Short Kwi was devoted—his baby daughter, and his mother-in-law.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

previously noted, plays an important part in the usages relating to game shot with the bow and arrow, as well as in the first-fruits ceremony; while among the Kung he is similarly responsible for the ceremony performed before the edible bulbs of the new season may be gathered. There is no record of similar religious and economic functions being vested in the chief in other Bushman tribes, so that, in the present light of our knowledge, such customs cannot be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture; but in the tribes where they do occur they obviously show that the chief may, in fact, exercise a considerable influence in the life of the community. 622 [184]

On the whole the chief appears to be essentially a leader rather than a ruler. His actual authority over the members of his band is very slight, and dependent to a considerable extent upon his personality. If, for example, he is a man of strong character, or possesses a gun, he will have a correspondingly greater influence; but the only special authority he has is over the members of his own family, and he has no power to enforce his will outside it. He has nothing in the way of judicial functions, nor does he exercise any organized control over the members of the band. Great freedom of action prevails within the band, and as a rule every adult man can do as he pleases, provided, of course, that he does not infringe against recognized law and custom. In general the head of each family has control over the movements of his wife or wives and children—and over the latter only while they are small. No one really controls grown-up sons and daughters. [157] [593]

This absence of any organized system of public control does not imply that the Bushmen have no laws. On the contrary all their institutions, manners and customs serve to regulate the relations between the members of the band, and thus to maintain law and order. The child at birth comes into a world where there already exist definite forms of organization and behaviour, of ceremonial, of manners and fashions, and as he grows up he falls more or less unconsciously into acting and thinking like those around him, and in this way comes to conform to social norms. There are moreover more or less deliberate means of impressing upon young people the social sentiments necessary for the maintenance of the law and order of the community. The education they receive in the households of their parents and out in the veld, and above all the highly-important teachings at the puberty ceremonies for boys, instruct them in tribal lore and tradition, inculcate social norms, and determine their activities accordingly. 183 867 [881]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

888 The old people, the survivors, had not expected to outlive
764 their children and grandchildren, and then they had to bury
731 them; they had scooped shallow graves for them and had placed their bodies inside, then had covered the graves with branches. The old people had then lived by the graves for months to mourn and to protect the corpses from marauding animals. It had been a ghastly season, a season of carnage, and the old people did not like to think about it even now. We watched their sad faces when they spoke of it and saw that these old people themselves felt death very near, foreseeing the day when Gai would leave them, when the melons would dry, when they would starve.

Suddenly, unnoticed into the midst of this discussion came the baby Nhwakwe, having been awakened by the voices, his eyes still filled with sleep, to put an empty vegetable husk on the head of his grandmother, Dasina. She was too de-
[158] pressed to notice, though, and presently the husk fell off and Nhwakwe stumbled back to his sleeping-place, secure between his father and his mother, as though perhaps he had not fully awakened at all.

888 Dasina was speaking. She said again: "To die is bad, but
761 in the end we all die anyway," and Ukwane said he did not expect to live another season. Then he asked us when we would have to leave. We told him that we were leaving in a very few days, and he said he was sorry to hear it, but if we liked he would come back to our country with us to tell us everything he knew about the customs of the Gikwe. We told
609 him sadly that this would not be possible, and he said that in that case he would live out his life beside our track, waiting for the day when we would return. We told him not to do even that, for European farmers would surely follow our tracks into the desert looking for Bushmen to take as servants.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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lap and looked drowsily at her father. "Ehe," said Toma, 521
pointing at her, pleased that she still remembered her European name.

The talk returned to food and hunting and Toma remembered an eland the people had eaten which Short Kwi had killed, and this reminded everyone of the puff-adder bite, and Gao Feet, who had seen Short Kwi, began to describe the wound. He stammered and repeated whole phrases again and [191] again, but finally he finished and those who had not seen 158 Short Kwi drew in their breath and seemed very depressed. Short Kwi had been sick a year and had not died, but the flesh had gone from the calf of his leg, said Gao, the skin had gone from his foot, his foot was curled and the bones were showing. The wound stank, too, said Gao, and at this Tu said she didn't think she could bear to see him. Her children were asleep around her and she looked very sad, but by now all the faces lit by the fire were depressed and sad, and soon after that people began to go home, carrying their sleeping children. The night was almost over, the Southern Cross lay on its side and the Firewood Star was high over our heads. Last to leave was the old woman, Dikai's mother, who got stiffly to her feet and waved good-night to us.

"Good night, Old Grandmother," I said. [608]

She turned her head to face me. "You should call me Mother. I embraced you when you came," she said.

Quite far away a fire at the werf flared up, the center point 593
between two tall trees whose branches formed a delicate, pointed arch lit from below, showing the fire's brown owner sitting with his back to us, his elbows on his knees, perhaps gazing into the flames. It was Crooked Kwi, and he seemed very small beneath the high trees but very bright in the firelight and, somehow, very important. In a moment his wife walked into the firelight and sat beside him and they sat to-

626 horror to a !Kung! The worst dream might be to see the fires flickering in the *werft* at midnight and be unable to go to them. All the people we knew could tell us of only one time when such a departure from the group occurred: and the man had gone insane, had murdered and then run raving into the veld. There he had lived for a little while in a hole, then died.

[158]

622 It is in connection with the need to live widely spread over the land that the !Kung headman's functions are peculiar. There is one essential qualification to headmanship, in addition to heredity. A headman cannot leave his waterhole to join another

423

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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776 ‖GAUWA's *Dwelling and Appearance*

‖Gauwa lives in the western sky at the place where the sun sets. (Cf. *‖Gaunab* of the Hottentots living in a black sky and *Tsui ‖Goab* in a red sky, p. 239.) /Ti/kay said more than once that the lesser god lived in the east. That was what he remembered being told by the old people, he claimed. The other informants agreed, however, in many different interviews, that it was the other way, that the lesser god lived in the west, so I take that to be their current belief.

Some believe that *‖Gauwa* first lived in a hole, */gu*. He made the hole, one informant told us, by pushing the earth out with his head. The hole was like a spring-hare hole, but very big. There were two entrances; one faced toward the sunrise, one faced toward the sunset. *‖Gauwa* later made a house (*choo*). The house is tied together with wire and has poles made of iron. The house stands in a flat open space. It is built up off the ground, upon the iron poles which are stuck into the ground and rise up into the air. Informants said that ' when a person is sick with sore throat, the sickness [753 has been caused by those irons which stick into the air. If *‖Gauwa* does not like a 756] person he can hurt him with those irons. The " old man " (≠*Gao/na*) tells him the way he must hurt a person.' When the medicine men are in trance they go to that house. This is how they know what it is like. They go up by a cord which hangs down from the sky. (Cf. Lebzelter's account of the Eastern Kung who believe that *‖Gaunb* moves between heaven and earth on cords.)[1]

There are two trees near *‖Gauwa*'s house. They have names. Nothing else on the earth or in the sky bears those names, one informant told us. The name of the tree which is towards the north with respect to the other is */Gaie*; the one towards the south is named */Dua*. The names mean nothing; they are ' just names '. */Gaie* and */Dua* have smooth bark and large white flowers, no thorns, no nuts. I thought they might be like baobabs which have these characteristics, but they are not. They are more nearly like the camelthorn (which incidentally has two names, */gi* ' a respect name ' and */ana* ' a rough name ') but are not exactly like any tree on earth.

776 The medicine men see *‖Gauwa*. Only a very big medicine man, full of the power 756 which ≠*Gao/na* had put into him, might see ≠*Gao/na* himself, as we learned, but any of the medicine men can see *‖Gauwa*. /Ti/kay thought that because *‖Gauwa* was so [787 often sent by ≠*Gao/na* as his messenger the medicine men all become familiar with him. Anyone may see *‖Gauwa* in dreams.

The image of *‖Gauwa* varies. The present image accords with tradition in some aspects. Whereas ≠*Gao/na* is ' the tallest of the Bushmen ', *‖Gauwa* is short. He has the form of a man, and the colour yellow is associated with him (similar characteristics to those of Lebzelter's little yellow mannikins with thick bellies, the *dau*).[2] But individuals have their own interpretations. I am convinced that some of the ● [158 medicine men, Gao Medicine for one, really believe that they do see *‖Gauwa*. They see in the shadows among the trees and bushes objects which they interpret to be *‖Gauwa*, or they see the light of the veld fires between the branches, or some such phenomenon, or they have visions or hallucinations, perhaps while in trance. Some perhaps just imagine a form.

Demi, a medicine man in Band 12, saw *‖Gauwa* the night of the great dance at

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188. [2] Ibid.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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183 gathered (about 175) had married lineal kin or collaterals, at least through first cousins.
582 However, informants told about two /Kung men in B.P. who had married their
835 cousins: we could not find out which type of cousins. What was interesting was the
605 attitude of the informants. They said the men should not have done this, but there was no talk of madness or danger or expressions of horror such as we had observed when incest was spoken of at other times. No punishments, social or divine, had been meted out, according to the informants. Some said they thought it was not too bad a thing for a man to do, especially if the woman were a FaSiDa, who is not, they said, so much like your sister as a MoSiDa. I believe that the anomaly of the system's allowing joking with cousins, although it prohibits marriage, mitigates, in all probability, the force of the incest taboo and accounts to some extent for the tolerance towards the breakers of this rule.

How much deviation there is in marrying second and third cousins we do not
[124] know. We soon gave up trying to gather data on relatives more remote than first cousins because informants so often did not know the names and we could not rely on the information.

582 One account came to our ears of a man who had violated the incest taboo with his
627 stepdaughter. He was /Gunda Legs, the MoBr of old Gau of Band 1, and he lived with Band 9. He is dead now. What he did was so outside the good and the normal
684 that it could be accounted for only by madness. He had drunk the milk of a young
835 gemsbok doe, the people told us, and this is what had made him mad. Something
159 came from his forehead and went in and out, a sort of swelling. After that he fell in love with his stepdaughter, ≠Nisa, and married her, and both she and her mother
[753] were his wives at the same time. The people 'laughed at him' so much because he had made such a horrifying 'mistake' that he took his stepdaughter and lived apart from his band—the only instance we know of a man and woman living alone. They had a son, ≠Toma, who died young. When /Gunda's madness waned he sometimes came back to his people; he would go again when his madness returned. People said they did not understand why ≠Nisa went with him. They mocked at her, said that she was *dole*, 'bad', and that it was 'nonsense' to fall in love with one's stepfather.
Our informants laughed uneasily when they told about it as they laugh when they
[154] tell of vultures eating their meat or of being chased by fierce bees when they try to take a honeycomb. There came to my mind a penetrating remark made by //Kushay, the wife of /Qui in Band 1, which might, I thought, be applied to ≠Nisa. //Kushay had said, 'When a Bushman girl goes against the customs of her people and people talk about her and say she is bad, she is very unhappy. She would hear the people talking and be ashamed and would come to them angry—angry because she is ashamed', or, I thought, go away because she is ashamed.

Deviations occur in the fourth category. Two men we met had married women
183 with the same names as their mothers. A man named /Ti/kay married the daughter of
553 another /Ti/kay, and there were other such instances. /Qui, the husband of the above
582 //Kushay in Band 1, said he proposed to do this himself. The girl's family had flatly
608 refused, but he was going to keep on trying. ≠Toma said he would not do this but
835 he sees some people doing these things. There are not enough women whom a man may properly marry, he said, and he would be in favour of changing the marriage prohibitions among name relatives so that a man need avoid only ugly women.

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considerable difficulty with the interpretation, but I believe they finally understood 513
what I was trying to say. They did, they said, and added that one sleeps very well 833
afterwards.

Co-wives attain varying degrees of harmony. The expression of jealousy, especially 595
loud wrangling, upsets everybody, as all expression of discord does. Women are 578
trained by group approval to mould their conduct to acceptance. But often painful 626
jealousy does beset them, and the tensions are there, though to some extent hidden.

/Aha, wife of a young /Ti/kay in Band 13 at Gam, and still a young woman herself, 159
had with her fierce jealousy driven /Khoa, the pretty young second wife, wailing 595
into the night, back to her family's scherm. /Ti/kay used to sit for hours upon hours
singing soft, sad, sweet laments for /Khoa, but she did not return to live with
him.

The behaviour of /Naoka and Di/ai, the wives of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1, was more typical. Both women were approaching middle age, Di/ai somewhat younger than /Naoka. /Naoka had two married daughters and a teen-age son when Gao married Di/ai. The two women obviously disliked each other, but managed to preserve a decent semblance of harmony by self-control, silence, avoiding each other as much as possible in the small space they live in by their fire, and by separating often—going with different groups of relatives and friends to gather wild plant foods, to fetch water, or to visit.

A few men said that the jealousy of co-wives could be so unbearable that they 595
would not marry a second wife, but one said it made him feel good to have two
women fighting over him. Most of the men said they wanted more than one wife.
They pitied Laurence Marshall because the laws of his land forbade his having
several, which they considered him rich enough to afford. One said he would not [186]
live where there were such nonsensical rules.

The first wife is considered to have a somewhat more highly esteemed and dominant position. She is supposed to have the right to tell a second wife what to do, and a young second wife should fetch water and wood for the older wife, but I never saw this done.

No property or other material advantage is given a first wife and no important social advantages accrue. For instance, headmanship is inherited by the headman's
eldest son by whichever wife he may be borne, and being the mother of a headman [622]
does not place a woman above other mothers of sons.

It appeared to me that first wives were often at a disadvantage. Among the people we knew, the husbands favoured their younger, second wives with two exceptions: /Ti/kay of Band 9 favoured his first wife, the elder sister, and Gao, the headman of Band 2, favoured his first wife. Both were good-tempered, intelligent, able women. They appeared to take care of the young girls who were their co-wives, rather than to be served in any way by them. Other older first wives seemed sometimes to be dejected. One told me her husband always took the young second wife with him and, to her deep humiliation, sometimes left her, the first wife, to stay for a time with one or another family in the band, although she said to him, 'Why do you shame me so?'

None of the /Kung women informants expressed enthusiasm for polygyny. Each 185
wanted a husband to herself. They did not expound the social advantage which 595

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583 One of the most rigid social rules the /Kung have, besides the incest taboo within the nuclear family and its extension, is the giving of bride-service. We heard of no [591] deviation from it. A boy or man of any age, a headman or headman's son, an important medicine man, all go to live with their brides' parents or other relatives in first marriages and subsequent marriages, whatever the age of the bride.

The duration of bride-service is indefinite. Informants told us a man must stay with his wife's people until three children have been born. If he goes when the girl is eight or nine, she may not have her first child for possibly seven or eight or more years. It is safe to say that ten years of bride-service are not unusual. It is long enough for the boy's youth to have turned to manhood and for him to be looked upon as an able, responsible head of his family. After his bride-service is fulfilled a man may [591] remain with his wife's band or may return with his wife and children to his own.

The Wedding of !Nai and /Gunda

159 /Nai was a pretty little girl, we think about eight years old, or so, with a quick responsive smile, when she was married on 22 May 1953, at Gautscha. The bride- [582] groom, /Gunda, was about sixteen, we judged, and the people said he was the best young hunter among the boys of the territory.

/Nai belonged to Band 1, /Gunda to Band 2. Both of these bands belong to the [621] water-hole at Gautscha and were encamped there at the time, about 100 feet apart. We lived with Band 1.

/Nai's mother, Di/ai, had divorced her former husband, Gumtsa, the father of /Nai, and was now the second wife of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1. /Gunda's mother, Khuan//a, had divorced /Gunda's father, Bo. Khuan//a was now the second wife of Gau in Band 2. Both Gumtsa and Bo were living far from Gautscha.

159 The two mothers had betrothed their children some time previously. We heard 584 that Di/ai had had her eye on the strong young /Gunda, saying, 'We must get this [581] boy for /Nai so he will take care of her and we can get enough to eat, also karosses', and had gone to Khuan//a to propose the betrothal. Khuan//a had said, 'Yes, this is very good.' The mothers exchanged gifts. Khuan//a gave to Di/ai a necklace of five strings of ostrich egg shell beads which reached to the umbilicus (shorter strings would have been inappropriate) and Di/ai gave other beads and copper wire ornaments to Khuan//a.

Gumtsa, /Nai's father, heard about the betrothal. He had hoped to arrange a marriage between /Nai and someone of his choice at Kubi where he lived. One day in November 1952 he came to Gautscha to complain, he said, that he had not been consulted and to protest against the betrothal and take /Nai to Kubi with him. Tension [578] rose. /Nai cried and looked very frightened. The members of both Bands 1 and 2, though they had no theoretical authority in the matter, all expressed themselves and [628] poured torrents of talk over the affair, mostly supporting Di/ai in her steadfast refusal to yield /Nai, saying that Gumtsa had not fed /Nai, had not so much as sent her a gift, and should not now come and interfere in her betrothal. After four days of this Gumtsa gave up and went home.

159 Meanwhile the affair, like a spoon stirring in a pot, brought to light another ten- 584 sion. Some of /Nai's relatives began to express disapproval of her betrothal, not 578 because they wanted her to go with the father but because they were angry with

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Khuan//a, the mother of the bridegroom. They claimed that Khuan//a was stingy— 159
and worse. /Nai's stepfather, Gao, had given a present of beads to one of his relatives. 578
A knife which was gradually making its way to him as a return gift had been diverted 584
by Khuan//a to one of her relatives. Khuan//a, some claimed, was 'like that!' /Nai's MoSi, /U, the wife of ≠Toma, said in a voice that could be heard across the werf that Khuan//a had 'borrowed' a coal from her fire one day without asking. At this, Khuan//a had with quiet dignity risen from her fire place and walked off to the waterhole. /U also said, but in a low voice, that Khuan//a, while she was still married to Bo, had been sleeping in the bushes with Gau till the people said to Gau 'What are you doing with Khuan//a?' She then left Bo and married Gau, although they were distant relatives, in some way we never could trace, who should not marry. Gau loved Khuan//a so much, /U sniffed, that he spoiled her and let her have power over his belongings. /U had no doubt but that Gau would soon find himself very poor. /U disapproved of /Nai's marriage to the son of such a woman but said that she would reconsider her position if the knife which had been diverted by Khuan//a were now given to Gao, as had been expected.

It never was, but gifts of ostrich egg shell beads and a blanket were given and Gao declared himself satisfied. /Nai's mother wanted the marriage so much she was ready to overlook the matter of the knife and they all started again in peace.

Nothing more happened about /Nai's wedding until the morning of 21 May 1953, 159
when we noticed the two mothers together building the wedding scherm. They had 585
placed it between the two werfs about twenty-five feet from the fire of the bride's family. The scherm was slightly larger and more nearly round and much more carefully built than the usual skimpy structures.

Next morning /Nai's mother asked me if I would bring the wood for the bride's [123]
fire. I knew it was because her back ached, not to honour me, but I felt honoured anyway and brought the wood.

All that day /Nai sat at a short distance from her family's fire, the fire that each [354]
family keeps burning in front of the scherm for cooking and for light and warmth at night. The fire-light is more of a house to the Bushmen than the scherm is. /Nai was covered, head and all, with a big gemsbok kaross of her mother's. She wore her usual beads, but no special regalia brightened the sombre grey-brown of the old kaross.

Just as the sun was setting, without speaking to her mother and stepfather, /Nai walked alone over to another fire, seven or eight yards away, the big kaross still pulled over her head and trailing behind her. She went to this fire because it was the [591]
fire beside which she had recently been sleeping with her mother's widowed cousin, since she had reached the age when girls and boys leave off sleeping beside their parents. Her old great-uncle was there. She sat down opposite him. He paid no particular attention to her and they did not speak.

By then the sun had sunk below the horizon. /Nai uncovered her head but kept the kaross tied around her waist and over one shoulder in the way karosses are customarily worn.

Presently two girls came to /Nai. They had waited till twilight was deepening into darkness because people sleep at night and a wedding is a 'night-thing'. One was ≠Nisa, /Nai's stepfather's daughter by his first wife. The other was Xama from

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159 585 Band 2. She was /Nai's second cousin (MoFaBrSoDa) and the first cousin once removed of the groom (MoSiDaDa). The attendants were not selected for their precise relationship to the bride. They were the only young kinswomen present in the two bands. The girls sat down and chatted with /Nai for a moment and then stood up and, giggling and chattering, took /Nai by the arms. /Nai drew back. Then Xama pulled /Nai's arms over her shoulders, bent and took /Nai on to her back so that her feet did not touch the ground. Xama carried /Nai in this position to the wedding scherm, laid her down inside, to the left of the opening as one entered, in the dark shadow, and covered her over with the kaross. There /Nai remained. We did not see her again that night.

It is the custom for the parents to take brands from their own fires to light the wedding fire of the bride and groom. Presumably this was done, though I did not see it. When the girls arrived the fire was burning and a young man, a cousin of the groom, was tending it. The two girls sat down by the fire on the women's side.

562 834 352 /Kung men and women must sit on opposite sides of the fire.[1] They believe that if male and female genital organs should touch the same spot on the ground the man's hunting powers would be vitiated and the woman would get a sickness in her genito-urinary tract, not an ordinary, human, communicable disease but a magical one. The woman's side is to the left as one faces the entrance to the scherm, the men's to the right. The fire is always in front of the entrance if the scherm is built, but, more often than not, if the weather is good, or the people are travelling and staying [342] only one night, or the wife is lazy, she hangs the family belongings in a bush and does not build a scherm. Then it is the custom to thrust two upright sticks into the ground to represent the entrance, so that the family may orient itself.

159 585 In the werf of Band 2, about twenty or thirty yards to the west, a group of boys had come to /Gunda to attend him. They were all the young boys of the werf who were approximately his age, two cousins (MoSiSo) and four of the sons of /Gunda's stepfather by his first wife. The boys made a show of catching /Gunda and held him by the arms for a moment, laughing and talking. Then they formed a line with /Gunda following at the end, walked to the wedding fire, and sat down on the men's

[1] This taboo reveals the association which, I 224 833 believe, the /Kung make between the hunting power of men and the male sexual principle. Both must be protected, and sexual activity must be controlled and constrained lest the life-giving and food-producing force of men be weakened or drained away. During the period of a hunt a man must not have sexual intercourse—that is, while the man is looking for game and, after he has shot his little poisoned arrow into the animal, while he is tracking it for miles and waiting and watching for days till it dies of the poison. A hunt usually demands many days and nights of effort and privation.

[783] Too frequent indulgence in sexual intercourse with one's wife, even when no hunt is in progress, is believed to diminish a man's hunting power. Some [841] men believed that once in five nights was best; others thought once in three nights was all right. Men who have the joking relationship constantly play upon the theme of excess, taunting each other: 'You do not know hunting, you know women', 'You cannot leave your wife long enough to hunt.'

The /Kung are less strict about another taboo. A woman is supposed not to touch a man's hunting gear at any time, because this would lessen his power to hunt. But I have often seen women touch assegais and quivers. Indeed it has sometimes been urgently necessary to do so when the children got hold of them, as, for instance, when the three-year-old ≠Gao, agile as a flea, took after us with his father's assegai, infuriated with us for some sudden notion of his own. There is a medicine called *gow gowna*, made from a plant, which may be rubbed on the weapons to purify them if they are touched by women, but I never saw this done and doubted if anyone bothered with it. The effect of a woman's touching the hunting gear is much stronger if she is menstruating. I assume they are more careful then.

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side. /Gunda sat behind the line of boys, in a deep shadow, to show that he was 159
' ashamed ' and respected (feared, *koa*) the wedding scherm. 585

One of the boys began to play, not their ceremonial music or special wedding music, but songs of the *||guashi*, as they call them, the little wordless melodies these [533] people compose about happenings in their lives, about pleasures or distress, about their moods. They play and sing these melodies for hours upon hours in the afternoons when they are resting or in the evenings by their fires, and they played for hours that night at the wedding fire.

Soon young guests began to arrive, the children of both werfs with whom /Nai played, all of them younger than the boys who attended /Gunda and the girls who carried /Nai. The youngest guest was the ubiquitous three-year-old boy who never missed anything. No adults came.

One boy brought four mangetti nuts with him and roasted, cracked, and ate them himself. That was all that appeared by way of a feast. Di/ai said that they would like to have given the children something to eat but there was nothing in the werf that night. Even though the others had had something to eat, the bride and groom would have had to abstain. They must not talk or eat, to show they are ' ashamed '. The young guests seemed to enjoy themselves, nevertheless, and were still singing and chatting when I left at midnight.

Soon after sunrise the following morning—/Gunda had already departed—/Nai's mother went to the wedding scherm and sat down beside the embers of the night's fire. /Nai stood shivering beside her in her little genital apron and the duiker skin [291] which women wear around their buttocks and up between their legs, but stripped of her kaross. The mother had brought a little fat (eland fat, if they had it, would be [825] used) and a bit of powdered red stone, one of the red earths (*|gam |gai gwoie*), mixed with fat. She rubbed /Nai all over with the fat, and drew a line on her forehead and [302] a circular design on her cheeks with the red powder mixed with fat. Over in werf 2, Gao, Nai's stepfather, presented /Gunda with a blanket.

This completed the wedding ceremony.

/Nai was a lively child who loved the dancing and singing games the girls play. 159
She often danced alone, tapping her bare feet on a stone in rapid rhythm or making a 462
game of printing a design in the sand with tiny steps. She liked babies and as often as not had her infant half-brother or some very small cousin tied to her back. That morning she appeared to turn into a housewife as though it were her next blithe step. When the women went to gather veldkos, she put on her own little duiker skin [222] kaross, took her digging-stick and went with them. At the end of the day, when they returned in the slanting sunset light, she had two big roots. She went straight to her own fire, blew on the embers, added wood, and sat down. Three ostrich egg shells [415] full of water and her digging-stick were her household goods. These she arranged beside the scherm. /Gunda came and sat down opposite her. She smiled at him and set the roots in the ashes to cook.

It has been said in talks with informants that the bridegroom must bring an 159
antelope which he himself has killed to the parents of the bride before the wedding, 183
but no animal had been brought; there had not been a scrap of meat in the werf for 585
days. I asked Di/ai about this. ' Oh, that,' she said in effect. ' Yes, he should give me an antelope, but we thought we would have the wedding first and that /Gunda would

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585 then come with us when we leave tomorrow to gather *tsi*. He will hunt from that
[159] place and get us some meat.'
[183]

The ritual elements in the wedding ceremony, in so far as we observed, were as follows: (1) carrying the bride so that her feet do not touch the ground; (2) covering her head so that the sun does not shine upon it; (3) waiting till the sun has set before taking her to the wedding scherm; (4) the fact that the scherm is specially built and set apart from the others; (5) anointing with fat; (6) painting a design on the forehead and cheeks with powdered red stone; (7) lighting the wedding fire with brands from the fires of the bride's and groom's parents.

585 Apart from the third and seventh, all these elements occur also in the Ceremony of
881 the First Menstruation, a more elaborate and prolonged ceremony from which the
[174] /Kung wedding ceremony undoubtedly derives. The design on the face is the same; the girl's feet must not touch the ground from the instant her first menstruation begins to the end of the period, when she is washed and anointed with both eland or other fat and the oil of the *tsi* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch).[1] When the girl is taken to her special scherm or moved out of it to urinate or defecate she is carried on the back of a kinswoman. A kaross over her head shields her from the sun whether she is sitting in the scherm or being carried out.

Our endeavour to bring to light the meaning of the ritual elements yielded little. The meaning or origin of the design on the face, I was convinced, was not withheld but lost to memory, lore or myth. 'It is our custom' was all the people could tell me.

About the ritual of the feet not touching the ground, the custom frequently
[171] observed by divine kings and menstruating girls, the /Kung had no more illumination. They think that the carrying is the overcoming of the girl's symbolized modesty about going to the arms of her bridegroom, which she should properly feign even if she is eager to go, and her reluctance to separate from her own family: I think that when the attendants take hold of the bride and groom by the arm and pull them a little they symbolize the overcoming of reluctance and modesty and perhaps there is even a vestige of bride capture in that gesture, but of the feet not touching the ground the meaning is lost. Obviously, however, in this society the bride is equated to the
[174] menstruating girl. In the past the girl's wedding and her first menstruation may have been celebrated at one time.

The /Kung say that the sun is death-giving. When the three months of life-
585 giving rains are past, the sun dries up the water pools. It kills the fresh leaves and
821 fruits, dries the roots and berries, and would scorch the people if they did not find shade and dig shallow pits and lie in them covered lightly with sand which they have moistened with their urine for coolness. They pity the morning star, the *kuli |gaishay*, which crosses the sky all day ahead of the sun, has no branches to carry for shade and
593 cannot turn aside to rest under a tree. The sun is a 'death thing' and the bride
585 is shielded from it.
602

The most important element of behaviour with respect to kinship in the wedding

[113] [1] Robert Story, *Some Plants Used by the Bushmen in Obtaining Food and Water*, Department of Agriculture, Division of Botany, Union of South Africa, Botanical Survey, Memoir No. 30, 1958, p. 25. Dr. Story was a member of the 1955 and 1957 expeditions. We gratefully acknowledge whatever botanical identifications we mention as his.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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dangerous under these conditions. Anger turns upon the adulterer. We were never told about a woman being killed or even very severely punished, but a husband is considered to be quite within his rights by /Kung rules of conduct if he kills a man who sleeps with his wife. However, the adulterer may fight back. With poisoned arrows both men might be killed. Fighting is so dangerous it is feared by the /Kung with a pervading dread. 684

Nevertheless, although prudence counsels against it and anxiety attends it, adultery does occur. During the years from 1951 to 1958, five instances in our sample came to our knowledge. When it did occur, the most clearly observable behaviour was the attempt on the part of related persons and other members of the band to help resolve the situation in order to avoid fighting and discord, for fighting, like fire, may spread and consume much before it is quenched. [627] [578]

A husband and a young widower had quarrelled and almost fought over the attentions of the young widower to the wife. The fight had been averted by the husband running away. He came to Gautscha where we were with Band 1. When I saw him handling his weapons, his face contorted with emotion, visions possessed me of the two men, both angry and afraid, shooting each other in nervous self-defence, writhing, bleeding, and dying in agony, and I was as filled with the fear of fighting as any Bushman. But before sundown that day the affair was resolved in the following fashion. A relative of the young widower undertook to use his influence and went and brought the young widower and the wife to Gautscha. The relative had two motives. He wanted peace, as everybody does, and he wanted no disgrace in his family which the affair would bring, for the young widower and the wife were sexually taboo, albeit in the mildest and most extended way. He was an able man and he succeeded. The pair agreed to his behests. When they arrived at Gautscha the wife went directly to her husband and, to our suprise, in a few minutes they left the werf with their child and came over to our camp, where they settled themselves right in our cleared camp space. Presently the young widower came too, with his three children, and settled himself beside the others. Under our wings they had less fear of each other's flares of temper and tensions relaxed. In a day or so the young widower left. Peace prevailed. The wife was still with her husband in 1958. The young widower was taken by the B.P. authorities, we heard, for killing a man in another quarrel over a woman. 159 684 627 578

When John Marshall was with Band 1 in 1957–8, ≠Gao Lame, the unmarried young headman, took to sleeping with /Ghia, the second wife of Old ≠Gao, headman of Band 10. Nobody seemed to expect a great deal of /Ghia, who was thought not to have very good sense, and she was not blamed nearly so much as ≠Gao Lame. His family railed at him quite openly. 'People get killed doing that', said /U, his sister (≠Toma's wife). ≠Gao Lame eventually stopped sleeping with /Ghia. John thought the group's expressed opinion really did influence him. Furthermore, ≠Gao decided it would be best to go to Old ≠Gao and say he was sorry. Old ≠Gao said ≠Gao Lame was right to come directly to him and that they should not fight. He gave /Ghia a mild thrashing instead. Then /Ti/kay of Band 9, who was /Ghia's MoBr, roused up the whole affair by claiming that when ≠Gao Lame 'insulted' /Ghia he also insulted him—/Ti/kay. /Ti/kay, the husband of the two charming sisters, an intense and vital man, especially gifted in performing the curing ceremonies

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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159 627 684 578 as a medicine man, although in a cool moment he could speak eloquently and philosophically about the evils of fighting, was an erratic person, self-centred, frightfully jealous, shrewd to see that no one got more than he, quick to take offence. Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, husband of ≠Gao Lame's older sister, Di/ai, shouted out that /Ti/kay was a trouble-maker not to leave well enough alone. /Ti/kay thereupon foully insulted Gao Medicine, who shouted back that /Ti/kay was not fit to be a headman. /Ti/kay, now in a rage, called out that Gao lied to his own arrows. John said that some of the people flattened down on the ground or got behind things at this point. But two of /Ti/kay's half-sisters, who were present, threw themselves on him, pulled him away, and sat down beside him, holding his arms. He quieted down and Gao Medicine also sat down and was quiet. As the tempers cooled, peace took hold once more and, John says, the affair did not flare up again, at least during the remaining weeks he was there.

In some societies it would be incumbent upon kin such as MoBr or SiHu to feign anger and make a show of fighting to satisfy the conventions of honour. We observed no episodes which raised this question other than the above. John was strongly of the opinion that the emotions were genuine and that /Ti/kay's temper, which we had all experienced two or three times before, had released itself once more, but that once more a fight had been averted because people wanted peace and harmony most of all.

Illegitimacy

848 851 There were no illegitimate children in our sample in the years 1952–3 and we discovered no social norms established with respect to illegitimacy. Girls are usually married before they are old enough to have children. But, we asked, what would happen if a girl had a baby before she was married? People said the parents would go to the father of the child and say he must marry their daughter. Did they know anyone who had done this? No.

Suppose that a child were conceived in adultery and it were known with certainty that the father was not the woman's husband, what would happen to that child? we asked. The baby would be kept by its mother, of course. After they had talked things over among themselves, one informant said, and others agreed, that they thought, if the woman's husband fed the child for years while it grew, he would be justified in keeping the child and the biological father should not try to take the child away.

159 848 There is such a child now in Band 9. In 1955 or 1956 white farmers came into the Nyae Nyae region and illegally recruited some /Kung families. These families tried to run away from the farms some time later. They told us that they were followed by two white men and a white woman on horseback with guns, led by a 'tame' Bushman tracker. These people forced the /Kung to return to the farm by threats and pointed guns. In the fracas some of the /Kung got away. Husbands and wives were separated. When the S.W.A. authorities learned on which farm these /Kung families were, they acted promptly to restore them to their bands, and fined the farmer, but two years had passed. One girl had had a child by one of the /Kung men. Once they were all restored to Nyae Nyae, the girl went back to her own husband with her baby boy, and was with him in 1958. The people said the baby's bio-

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logical father, as well as his mother's husband, should do something nice for him. 159
Perhaps when he receives his first assegai his begetter will give it, for that is a very 848
proud thing—but we do not know what the future holds for these people or where they will be by then.

The dominance of men

Wives are much desired by the young men, who usually wait for years for their 562
infant fiancées to grow up, and by men who want second wives, and by widowers. [581]
/Kung women are not only precious as mates, they are the food-gatherers and supply [222]
more of the daily food than the men do. Hunting[1] is very arduous in the Kalahari and [462]
the hunters succeed in bringing a big meat animal to the werf only about once or [224]
twice a month. Meanwhile women have dug roots and gathered berries and the other wild plant foods to feed their families every day. /Kung women in their two roles make a very great contribution.

In /Kung society, however, the magnitude of their contribution does not make women dominant. There are factors which bring the men forward clearly into dominance and leadership.

The primary factor is undoubtedly strength. /Kung men are small and slender, [142]
but they are wiry and vigorous. With their strength they carry and protect the very 147
life of their people. When they swing their weapons and implements and their small children on to their shoulders and stride out in front of the women, the image seems to reveal, as vividly as if a great artist had painted it, how the laden following women are borne up by the strength of their men and take heart from them.

Another factor which brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and 462
its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is only drudgery in digging and 562
picking in the hot sun and trudging back in the early evening to the werf with heavy [222]
roots and berries and babies all sagging in the pouches of their karosses, a small dead tree or two on one shoulder for the night fire, possibly another child astride the other shoulder. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh [262]
and are not very satisfying. There is nothing splendid about returning with vege- [262]
tables and wood. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally [224]
the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging power- [152]
ful emotions. Once, when an eland had been killed and the hunters were sighted with the meat on their backs, moving in a dark, lumpy, bobbing line in the golden grass, we heard the sound of voices in the werf rising in volume and pitch like the hum of excited bees. Some people ran toward the hunters, others crowded together at the edge of the werf, some danced up and down, the children squealed and ran about, the boys grappled and tussled together. The motion and sound had the effect of a vibration. Another time a young man who was said to be the best hunter in the region (/Qui Hunter we called him, his people called him Short /Qui), had been 462
charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. 562
He knelt facing the creature till it was within close range and shot an arrow straight 224

[1] John Marshall has described /Kung hunting in his film, *The Hunters*, Peabody Museum Film Study Center, Harvard University, and in 'Man as Hunter', *Natural History*, the magazine of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, [113]
vol. lxvii, No. 6, June, and No. 7, August, 1958.

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609 they must smoke, or when they are dying of thirst and must
648 come in to beg for water.

● 159 Once I talked with a young Bushman who had visited one
563 of our camps in Bechuanaland many times, who spoke Afri-
kaans, and whom I shall call Tami. I could speak a little
[191] Afrikaans, so he and I could talk together. He was in his early thirties and had been working for some time for European farmers. When I met him he was married, and as his wife had
[465] just had a baby, he felt that his ten-shilling-a-month wage was inadequate and he planned to move to another part of the country where he hoped to be paid more. As it is rather unusual for a Bushman to uproot himself from his own country, no matter how long he has been on a farm and away from his own people, I asked him where he had come from and how he had learned Afrikaans.

[153] "Oh," he said, "I learned Afrikaans in the places I have been. I have worked for white men since I was a young boy
[191] and I have always been fast to learn their languages. In the same way I have learned the languages of the black people."

"Where did you live before you worked for white people?" I asked.

"We lived not far from Nurigaas, at the edge of the police zone. I am a young person still, but I remember that Nurigaas was all wild then. We always lived there."

"With your parents?"

"Yes, until the police boys [1] took the old man my father."

I asked him what had happened, and he said: "We lived at the edge of the police zone, you know. We lived with
888 other Bushmen there, and my sister, she was there. My
159 mother's father was still alive then, but he was too old, he
563 couldn't even carry water, and my mother had to do every-

[1] Police boys are native policemen, usually Bantu.

thing for him. She was his daughter, so she was glad to do it, [888] but my sister and I thought he was just an old man who sat 159 and coughed and spit. He didn't like the Europeans or the 563 black people either, and my father didn't either, and that is why we lived on the other side of the police zone. On one side were the police boys with camels—that was in the old days with the camel patrol [2]—and on the other side the lions and the Bushmen asked for your pass.

"One day my father went hunting and he was gone two [224] days. Then my sister said: 'He must have shot a giraffe.' A giraffe is royal game, you know, and you can go to jail if you kill one, only my father didn't know it then.

"Yes, and that day two police boys came on camels and a 159 white man on a camel. The police boys had a rifle and the 563 white policeman had a rifle and a little gun in his hand. They 625 had a Nurigaas Bushman walking with them, but he didn't come near us because he was ashamed. One police boy spoke the language of the Bushmen, and he said: 'Where is the old man who lives here?' and my mother pointed to my grandfather and she said: 'This is the one,' but the police boy said: 'Not that one, I want your husband. Where is he?' 'I don't know,' said my mother, but the police boy said: 'How can an old woman like you lie to me?' and my mother just covered up her face and said nothing. Then the police boy and the Nurigaas Bushman found my father's spoor off in the veld, and they all followed him with the police boy and the Nurigaas Bushman walking and the white man and the other police boy on the camels. Next morning they came back with my father, they had his hands tied behind and a rope around his neck and he was running behind the camel. His face was

[2] Until quite recently, the police who had occasion to go into the desert rode on camels because camels could endure desert conditions far better than horses, and could go through soft sand where trucks could not.

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159 all thick, you know, and he had to hold his head back because
563 the rope was choking. My mother, she ran after the police
625 boys and called them to stop. She said: 'I will speak with the old man before he dies.' But the police boys had no time and they went off with the camels' heads going up and down and the old man running, running, running, behind.

"And my mother fell down in the dust and cried, and my sister did too, but I didn't, I watched my father instead because I didn't know when I would ever see him again. I told them so and I was right, because later a Bushman who came up from the south told us that they rode the camels through a river and my father was drowned. It was the rope around his neck that choked him, though. That is what happened, and I remember it all, but it happened a long time ago.

159 "After that, my mother wouldn't stay in the veld without a
563 man and she took us near the waterhole of Nurigaas because the veld was no place for us when my father was dead. But I
[579] would like to find that Nurigaas Bushman who followed my father's tracks.

"Then one day a European farmer came in his ox wagon and he said to my mother: 'Who will give me a boy for this pound of tobacco?' And my mother was afraid, so she took the tobacco and said to me: 'He wants you to go with him.' I cried, but the white man took me and put me in his ox wagon and gave my mother another cup of tobacco, but she told him she didn't want it and wanted me to come back. But the white man drove away and my mother ran along beside, crying. She said: 'Wait! Where will I get another boy when he is killed like my husband?' But the farmer didn't hear her. I got sick riding in the wagon and my bowels opened and I was ashamed because the farmer's Bushmen were riding in the wagon too, and they said: 'Why are you crying? Don't be afraid.' But I was afraid because my grandfather told me

that white people used to hunt Bushmen and wanted to kill us for our land. The farmer took me to his farm and I pulled weeds and watched his cattle. He gave me milk and corn-meal, but I didn't like it. I told him milk was for babies and I wanted him to take me back to my country, but he laughed at me.

"He called me Goliath because I was so small. Goliath, come here. Goliath, watch my calves. And later he gave me a shirt to cover my body and then I went to work for another master, who gave me a goat, and then I worked for my last master, who paid me shillings. But I am leaving here too because in South-West Africa they pay better. I am a father now, you know."

The day Tami left, I walked over the veld toward a road to say good-by to him, and when I got halfway there I found that he had come halfway to say good-by to me. He was holding his goat by the horns, and behind him his wife, wearing a horrid rag of a European dress, was standing with the baby inside the front of the dress. I gave Tami a knife and his wife a scarf of mine, although I had nothing to give to the baby, and they said good-by to me and turned, Tami dragging the goat around, pretending to be very jaunty, and they set out walking toward the road that leads to South-West Africa.

Times have changed since Tami's father died. In those days, to be sure, there was a great deal more friction between Bushmen and non-Bushmen than there is now because the Bushmen who lived near the farms of European or Bantu farmers quite often killed cattle. It is sometimes said that they did so because they were unable to distinguish between cattle and wild game, or that the cattle drove away the wild game so that the Bushmen would have had no meat if they had not killed the cattle, but I very much doubt that either of these things was true. Most probably, the Bushmen found

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136 stood on his branch with the legs wide apart, bracing himself against the wind. When I got near he dropped from his branch and let the wind carry him away, and I saw that he had been watching a colony of ground squirrels close by which had not seen him and did not see me. They, too, were miserable with the cold, for they walked around slowly as they looked for seeds to eat. I sat down to watch them, which they noticed, and some of them stood up to watch me. Their fur was oddly greenish and it blew in the wind showing little patches of white. They had long fat bellies, long heavy thighs, and little feet, and when they stood up they, too, kept their legs wide apart and braced. As they peered at me I heard on the wind almost inaudibly high, soft whistles, their cries of warning to each other. They decided I was dangerous and vanished down their holes.

123 I came back to the werf with some wood, which I gave to the Bushmen. They reached out their hands for it and put it on their fires, but they didn't say a word. Later, in our camp, we put all the wood we had on one great fire, where the Bushmen joined us and where we spent the morning making and drinking cocoa. We even put up a white canvas, and, lying between it and the fire, we were fairly warm.

423 Ukwane used that occasion to tell us something about his
621 life and his relatives, his former wives, the children he had
602
159 fathered and where they lived. Most of this centered around melon rights, or who could live in which areas, for if a person is born in a certain area he or she has a right to eat the melons that grow there and all the veld food. It is perhaps this factor that explains in part why the Gikwe bands are composed the way they are; a man may eat the melons wherever his wife can and wherever his father and mother could, so that every Bushman has in this way some kind of rights in many places. Gai, for example, ate melons at Ai a ha'o be-

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cause his wife's mother was born there, as well as at his own 423
birthplace, the Okwa Omaramba, where we had found the 621
eighteen Bushmen, who after all were not strangers but 602
closely related to Gai and Ukwane and an extension of Uk- 159
wane's band.

Ukwane himself had had three wives, and he and his first 586
wife had been divorced, which Bushmen do by announcing 587
the divorce and separating. There is no ceremony connected 159
with divorce, and no difficulty, as there is no ceremony connected with any marriage but the first. After a divorce a Bushman man may take up residence with another woman whom he prefers.

Without the visible evidence of ceremonies, however, it 837
is hard for non-Bushmen to recognize what is happening, as 159
occasionally Bushmen live together for short periods without being married, or commit adultery. But in cases such as these there is someone who does not want the union to be permanent, either the man or the woman, or perhaps his or her children; perhaps even the man and woman are tabu relatives, and unless everyone concerned is more or less in accord, the union does not take place. Among Bushmen, incest and [684]
adultery are strongly condemned.

Once, among Kung Bushmen we lived with, a woman ran 837
away from her husband to take up with another man. She 593
had considered marrying him, and they ran off one night to his family to live permanently. When her husband found out, he got so wildly angry, taking up his spear and sharpening it, [578]
that the headman of the band set off after the elopers to preserve the peace. My brother and I went with him, and at noon we found the lovers resting in the shade.

The headman talked with the elopers and told them how they were bringing shame on both their families, and how the woman's husband was violently upset. By this time the

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him and back to her parents. The husband was enraged and 586 set off after her, but when he finally found her his anger had 595 been replaced by longing and he pleaded with her, reasoned with her parents, and plied them with the meat of an entire eland he had shot, asking for her to return. But she would not, her parents would not make her, and finally she drove him away with these words: "I don't want an old husband like you, you man with a big black belly."

Thereafter, the marriage was recognized by everyone as dissolved. The husband was sadly disappointed, but the two women, at least, were pleased.

Both Kung and Gikwe Bushmen permit divorce, condemn 593 adultery. We saw very little marital strife among the Kung [586 with whom we lived for over a year, and none among the 837] Gikwe. Even so, many Bushmen over thirty years old in both groups had previously been widowed or divorced. Death and strife take too many people; a Bushman cannot really expect his first marriage to last him all his life.

Ukwane's second wife had been a widow, the mother of 159 Twikwe, and when that woman had died Twikwe had lived 587 on with Ukwane. His third wife was Kutera, and their only living child was Gaiamakwe. Ukwane had another son still living at Chukudu, the Bakalahari settlement, who was surely one of the Bushmen servants in that long procession of Bakalahari villagers we had seen moving to winter quarters. We told Ukwane about this migration and Ukwane said he was sorry to hear it because he had hoped very much to see his son again before he died and many seasons might pass now before the son would come.

Kutera herself had been married twice before, once to a Bakalahari, once to a Bushman named Gainaho, and last to Ukwane, to whom she had been married about fifteen years.

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thought that he would have to wait at least four years more 582
for her, he would get into such a passion of desire that he
would have to send his wife away for a time, lest he forget
himself and break one of the most stringent rules. Bushmen [833
believe that it harms a girl terribly to be possessed before she 834]
is mature. It might even drive her mad.

Bushmen have no real solution for this problem, as there 548
are no prostitutes and only in a few bands are there promiscu- 588
ous women. Homosexuality is not permitted either; the 838
young men just have to get used to being tempted constantly
but never gratified.

Gai had raised his young wife, and when she reached pu- 593
berty he had possessed her and she had borne him a son. This 587
was the young man Gai had found at Okwa. Shortly after
that his young wife had died and Gai then had married Tse-
tchwe, whose young fiancé had been taken away by a farmer
to work on a farm. Gai and Tsetchwe had borne two chil-
dren. Only one was still alive; this was Nhwakwe.

When we asked about the residence and about the parents 159 ●
of Gai, an argument arose. Gai lived with Ukwane because
his wife wanted to live with her mother, Dasina, and Dasina
lived with Ukwane because she and Ukwane were relatives,
sharing a common grandparent. Gai himself, said Ukwane,
was conceived by a Bushman mother and a Bushman father
named Gwena, but Gwena had died while Gai was still in
the womb. When that had happened, Gai's mother had gone [582]
to Chukudu to marry a Bakalahari man. She and the Bakala-
hari had then moved to the big rock in the Okwa Omaramba,
where Gai was born. This was Ukwane's side of the story.

Gai had been listening, and when Ukwane had finished,
Gai raised himself up on his elbow to say that Ukwane was 159
quite mistaken, for the Bakalahari was his real father. An ar-
gument dragged on, the old people insisting that Ukwane was

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159 right, saying that Gai may have *thought* the Bakalahari was his real father, but that Ukwane knew better. I expect that Ukwane was right at that, for Gai certainly looked like a Bushman.

But whether father or stepfather, Gai said, the Bakalahari kept sending messages to Gai with Bushmen who might be passing through Ai a ha'o telling him to come back to Chukudu (probably to work), but Gai never did. Gai was too clever.

512 At noon the sun had warmed the air a little, although there was still an edge of frost, and the women got up and walked [313] off together into the veld to search for wood. In an hour or so they came back heavily loaded, Tsetchwe with her kaross [482 bulging with melons, perhaps twenty in all, a great load of 854] wood on top of them piled higher than her head, and Nhwakwe riding on top of it all. Even in the cold air she perspired, and as her load must have weighed almost a hundred pounds, she walked leaning forward.

By night the cold had deepened. The Bushman boys came [513] out of my tent and went home for dinner, then lay by the fires to sleep when the adults curled up in the shallow pits. The moon rose, a frosty circle, hard as a coin, and before we went to sleep that night we heard a jackal calling "tsa," out on the plains.

"Tsa," called one of the Bushmen, answering him.

"Tsa!" the jackal replied.

821 In the morning we were very pleased to find that the cold had broken. We woke up to find the sun just rising, and on the other edge the moon just sinking down, lustrous and pale in a current of balmy air coming warm from the equator. In the east, only the planets showed of all the stars; one of them,

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888 621 respect. In his family, the old man decided where the band would live.

157 Lazy Kwi's sister-in-law was called "the old woman." Her name referred not to her age but to her bearing and her personality, for she was outspoken, positive, and sure, qualities that are seldom found in young Bushmen.

609 She was not at all surprised to see us. She took my ear to turn my head, and kissed me on the cheek. Lazy Kwi laughed when he greeted us, showing a gap in his mouth where a tooth was missing, and called me his wife, a joke among Bushman men, who pretend they will marry any woman who is not a tabu relative. His baby hugged my legs and showed a huge white smile, then held up his arms to be lifted. He had grown so that I could hardly get him off the ground.

586 159 Many Bushmen who greeted us had been at Gam when we had lived there, and among them was a young girl whose name was Ungka, a very common name; as she had no distinguishing nickname, we called her Beautiful Ungka, for so she was. She was probably the most beautiful girl in all Nyae Nyae, and even though she was only sixteen years old she already had a flaming past. When she was ten she was married to a man much older than herself, but, young as she was, she knew what she wanted, and because the old man filled her with loathing she cut off all her hair and all her ornaments, rubbed ashes on her face until she was filthy, and swore she would stay that way until her marriage was dissolved. Of course it wasn't long before her husband and her parents complied with her wishes and she became single once again.

583 159 When she was about thirteen she attracted the attention of another much older man who was already married but who became so inflamed by her beauty that he begged her parents to give her to him as a second wife. This time her parents consulted with her, entreating her to marry him as

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she was getting older every day and already developing a rep- 583
utation for shrewishness, but Beautiful Ungka flatly refused. 159
When her admirer heard of this he felt he could not live without her and he asked his wife to kidnap her for him, but his wife, far older than Beautiful Ungka and quite possibly jealous, would not, so nothing remained for her admirer but to kidnap her himself. This he did, planning carefully, and one night when everybody was asleep he stole quietly to Beautiful Ungka's scherm, lifted her bodily from the side of her grandmother, and bore her away on his shoulder. The grandmother awoke and set up an outcry; but Beautiful Ungka, a girl of remarkable self-possession and composure, didn't kick or struggle because she knew she wouldn't stay with her captor long. When her kidnapper reached home, masculine and forceful, he flung Beautiful Ungka down in the back of his scherm on the far side of his wife "to show," said the Bushmen, "that he wasn't afraid of his wife or anybody," and Beautiful Ungka lay still, as if subdued, until she heard that her captor and his wife were asleep. Then she got up, stepped over them, and walked home. That was the end of that episode.

Every day she became more beautiful. Her parents tried 159
hard to marry her to a steady young man, and as she would 585
have none of her suitors, they chose a second husband for [584]
her, this time a young and presentable man in his twenties who had quite a number of worldly goods got by working at Gam for the Chuanas. So Beautiful Ungka, now fourteen, was married again. By now she had menstruated and was old 159
enough for intercourse, but although she lived with her 593
young husband she wouldn't let him touch her and he was driven to despair. He did everything for her, requiring no work from her at all—his relatives helped feed him—and once he walked forty miles, from Gam, where he was living, to

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 Gautscha, where we were, to ask for medicines from us that
593 would relieve headaches that Beautiful Ungka had, then forty miles back again to bring her what we gave him. And yet she would not love him; she told him the medicines didn't help her at all (which was probably true) and she asked to go back to her parents. But her parents, wanting her to try harder to stay married, wouldn't rescue her, and her husband was pleased. After that her husband borrowed a donkey from the Chuanas to bring her to us at Gautscha, hoping that we could cure her with pills, not of her headaches but of her moods. She rode all the way while he walked leading the donkey, and when they arrived she said she would not live with him but with others of her relatives instead. Public opinion prevailed in this case and Beautiful Ungka was finally forced to stay with him. While he went the forty miles back to Gam to return the donkey, Beautiful Ungka got a relative of hers to build a scherm for them, and when her husband came back they lived in it together.

One night in this scherm, when Beautiful Ungka's husband was sleeping and she was lying reluctantly beside him, he must have dreamed of her, for he tried to possess her in his sleep. Beautiful Ungka, malicious girl that she was, sprang from her bed and rushed about the werf in the darkness screaming as loud as she was able, calling him dirty and filthy and at the same time telling all the startled people what had taken place. Her husband was ridiculed for days, and Beautiful Ungka used the event as an excuse to separate, for shortly after that her parents came to live with her, saddened and defeated, and her husband was sent away. But the young man loved her still and would walk miles to visit her, for they were still married, only to be sent back wherever he had come from as soon as he arrived.

159 All that can be said is that she was extremely handsome.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

When we met her at Gam we noticed that she had begun to 159
walk like a beauty, proudly and aloof, but she was only sixteen and soon her reserve broke and she was very friendly, happy to see us, and we noticed then that her husband was not with her and was nowhere to be found. In fact, as we looked at all the faces, we saw that many people who should 609
have been there were not. We asked for this person and that 648
person, and the two Chuanas, instead of answering, invited us to their house where we could talk. My mother, my brother, myself, and Ledimo, the interpreter, who had been with us before and had been almost suffocated by the demonstration of affection he had received, walked to the village of Gam while the rest of the expedition went on to make camp.

The village of Gam was more peaceful than ever. We first went through a tiny gate in the high fence of cut thorn bushes which surrounded the village, put up to keep the cattle safe from the lions and other wild creatures at night, then past the ten or fifteen Bushman scherms that housed serf Bushmen, to the central part of the village where the Bantu houses were. There had been two; now there were three, but one was unfinished, and this was a large square dwelling with a window and a door. The other two houses—occupied by the two Chuana couples—were round, built of mud plaster, and had great thatched roofs but no windows, only doors. A thorn bush had been pulled into one of the doors, intended to keep the dogs and goats of the village from walking inside, a sign that the owners planned to be away for a long time. Gourds with milk in them hung from the roofpole of the other house; leaning against the wall was a basket of souring *muhengo* grain. The Chuana woman was brewing beer. A goat had been butchered and skinned and hung from a tree by one hind foot, and the sunlight shone red through it like sunlight shining through an ear.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 Toma the headman, sometimes known as Male Toma, an [55] honorary name, sometimes known as Toma the Short, so-called because of his stocky build, was a famous person, and once had been a serf. He was born of serf parents at Gam, and as a boy had worked for the Chuanas, drawing their water and herding their cattle and goats.

672 682 159 When Toma was a boy, his father was murdered by a child, the result of a terrible accident which took place one day when Toma's father was arguing with the father of a boy named Gao. Gao, who couldn't have been more than ten years old, became upset and angry when he heard his father quarreling and, taking his father's weapons, shot Toma's father in the chest with a poisoned arrow. The old man was helped to the shade, the arrow was drawn out and the wound sucked, but as there is no antidote for arrow poison the old man lived only for the rest of the day and by night he was dead.

Oddly enough, the crime was connected with the old man and not with Gao, the young murderer, for ever after that day the old man was referred to as Tsamko Bone Arrow, [55] while Gao in later years became known as Gao Wild Pig, after a pig he had killed which was in some way remarkable.

159 Toma flourished as a young man and became an excellent hunter with tireless legs, tireless eyes, and a deadly aim, and it was said of him that he never returned from a hunt without having killed at least a wildebeest, if not something larger. Hence, the people connected with him ate a great deal of meat and his popularity grew. He once said of himself: "From the day I was born I was born for meat."

159 622 591 When Toma was in his late teens, some say, his powers in hunting attracted the attention of the headman of Gautscha Pan, who offered Toma the hand of his daughter, Tu, in marriage. Toma accepted, went to live with his wife's peo-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ple, according to custom, and, when the old headman died, 159
took over the leadership of the people in the area. He was 622
not the true headman—his position would not be inherited 591
by his son, for headmanship is passed only from father to son—but he was recognized as headman while he lived and it was a great honor to him that this was so.

Tu's brother was the rightful headman of Gautscha, but 622
he had abdicated to live with his wife's people in the north. Her elder sister's husband, a man named Gao Big Feet, also had a right to the leadership in that his wife, Dikai, was older than Tu. But neither ever contested Toma's position as leader, for it was not a position which Toma held by force or pressure but simply by his wisdom and ability, and people prospered under him. No Bushman wants prominence, but [43]
Toma went further than most in avoiding prominence; he had almost no possessions and gave away everything that came into his hands. He was diplomatic, for in exchange for his self-imposed poverty he won the respect and following of all the people there. He enjoyed his position, and, being [578]
strangely free from the normal strains and jealousies of Bushmen, he saw justice clearly and hence he led his people well. At Gautscha his werf had been right beside the werf of his father's murderer, for Toma was friendly even with him.

Toma had a short, stocky body and a shock of tangled 142
hair. He was strong, too, and very co-ordinated, so that every 159
motion he made was quick and controlled, and not a gesture 622
of his was wasted. As a result of this enormous and uncon- [151]
scious control, accidents almost never happened to him. His face was broad, lined with many deep wrinkles at the corners of his eyes and mouth as though from smiling, though it was not from smiling that he got them but from years of squinting at the sun. His expression was usually dark and wondering, his forehead drawn intently into a frown, but

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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142 159 sometimes he would abandon his gravity and laugh a high, 622 reaching laugh that one could hear from far away, a laugh that came from his very soul, or, as Bushmen say, from his stomach. He listened diplomatically and intently whenever 159 153 he was spoken to, staring at the gound, and had a habit of echoing, in a loud falsetto voice, the important phrases of every sentence he was told.

"We went to Keitsa Pan," someone might say to him.

"To Keitsa," Toma would reply.

". . . and we slept there, but the blind flies were very bad . . ."

"Oh, bad, bad . . ."

". . . but in the morning we saw two porcupines . . ."

". . . yes, porcupines . . ."

". . . and we killed them there. We made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry."

159 Toma was considered to be very fortunate in his marriage. 142 Of course it was through his wife, Tu, that he gained the leadership of the Gautscha people, his life free in the veld rather than in serfdom, and his two young sons, but besides all this his wife was beautiful, having a smooth face and great, clear eyes like a cat. Also, she was five feet tall, considered to be a very desirable height, and although no Bushman has ever been too fat, Tu was not too thin and her arms and [301] legs were round. She had soft blue scars curving on her forehead which made her eyes seem to lift at the corners, and blue scars on her thighs that showed when she walked. Her 159 chief virtues, in the eyes of Bushmen, were that she deco- 577 rated herself with ornaments in her hair and kept her hands [515 301] and face washed, thus demonstrating that she cared what she looked like, rather than letting herself go now that she was married. To show that she observed propriety, cared what

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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people thought of her, she didn't leave her fire at night to go 159
visiting, even to the scherm right next to hers. Rather, if she 577
had something to say, she would shout it across the werf.

Her deference to appearances and public opinion seemed 159
to make up for her faults, for she was considered to be al- 157 593
most a model personality in spite of her extremely jealous and vindictive moods which caused her to accuse others, quite unreasonably, of selfishness, greed, and other such things. Her husband and sons were not excepted, but this was something that Toma had learned to ignore. He would simply shrug his shoulders if she railed at him, pretend he didn't hear if she railed at others.

When she didn't assault her family with her tongue she 159
sometimes harmed them actively. Very often she would lie 593
sullen with narrowed eyes in front of her scherm watching the other women walk out to the veld in the morning on their way to dig veld food, and on these days her husband and sons would eat nothing unless, driven by hunger, they went to the veld themselves, the three of them together, to dig up a few roots and eat them raw. Tu herself did not experience hunger as a result of these moods, for she would have saved herself a morsel from the day before. It was her right to do this: among Bushmen every root is owned by its digger and is shared only at its owner's wish.

Toma might ask but would never command Tu to feed her family, for as he had learned to ignore her biting tongue he had learned to accept her moods. This was his way, appeasing her, and because Toma wanted peace perhaps as much as he wanted Tu, he pampered her.

This was not always so. One day gossiping people told us 159
that early in their marriage Toma shot a fat kudu and Tu 578 593
said: "Don't cook all the meat because my mother will be coming to visit us."

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 Toma remarked that the meat was there for any use, but
578 Tu misunderstood him and, thinking that he denied meat to
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152 her and to her mother, she flew into a rage, attacked Toma, and gave him a nasty bite on his arm. Toma lost his temper entirely and pinched her cheeks together until his fingers met in her mouth. His anger had come now, the people said, and he threw her into the fire, saying: "She is a woman. Why does she make me so angry? Shall I take a stick?"

A small crowd had gathered, and, as usual, the family quarrel became a public affair. Several people helped Tu out of the fire, found her barely scorched, but her cousin seized Toma and began to shake him. This enraged Toma so much that he caught the cousin around the waist and threw him into the onlooking crowd. The people said: "We must stop Toma because if he is so angry he may kill someone," and with that they led the cousin out of Toma's sight.

Toma shouted after: "If you do that again, we will get our arrows and fight to the death. Stop here. I am very angry. Do not make me more angry."

One of the men who had helped Tu said to the cousin: "I took his wife from the fire. You, her cousin, almost got killed for the way you went at Toma. If you want to help people, don't get angry with them. Keep calm. Don't increase anger as you did with Toma." With these sage words the incident was over.

159 The people said: "After that everyone knew how angry
593 Toma could be, so from that day on he never had another fight." Everyone honored and respected him, everyone except his wife.

But Tu had certain redeeming qualities. When she was in a good mood she was charming. She would smile at everyone, speak in a light voice instead of the low, menacing voice that

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

she used when she was angry, a cat growling, and would be 159 affectionate to Toma and her sons. Very often, when she was 593 happy, she would dance a light, short dance to a song that she sang herself.

Tu had borne four children, four sons, to Toma, but the 163 first two sons had died. One of these had died at birth, "had died in the veld without a name," said Toma. The oldest living children, born after the others were dead, were a boy of about eight years old and a boy of five. While we were there in 1953, Tu bore her first daughter, a strawberry of a baby 553 who was named for two people—named first for Toma's sis- 123 ter, but also Norna for my mother; her name is Lorna, but Bushmen have trouble with the *l*. In order to fit us into their society, the Bushmen had given us names and niches in the kinship of Toma's family. My father was named for Toma's father, my mother was named for Toma's mother, my brother was named Toma for Toma, and I was called Dikai for Tu's sister. Toma therefore named his daughter for the person who was named for his mother—not at all unusual, as it often happens that a child may bear the names of two of its relations.

Now, hoping to find Toma once again, we started the truck 361 motors, fired a rifle, called and called, in case he might be living far from the water, but no sound came from the great veld to answer us and we began to search in the bush around the pan for signs that might show us where he was. We found two empty scherms built in the rainy season, their grass thatches gray with weather, their little piles of fire ashes sunk into the ground, and near these scherms we found the skull of a bird and the shoulder blade of an antelope, all white, bleached, and dry. Farther on we saw a tree where the woven grass nests of weaver birds were hanging empty, swinging

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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621 tance, but Toma said now that he would take us to see them
someday soon because he believed that we would be able to
help them; one man in their band, a man called Short Kwi, or
sometimes Kwi the Hunter, had been bitten in the leg by a
puff adder and was very badly hurt. We got the impression
159 that he had been bitten recently and, hoping that we might
621 draw the poison from the wound, we said that we would leave
752 at once. But Toma said that it had happened during the last
rainy season, so there was no use hurrying; other Bushmen
had cut the wound and had sucked the poison, saving Short
Kwi's life, but his leg was so badly hurt that he couldn't use
it. It had turned black, said Toma, and black liquid ran out
at the wound. We thought then that there would be nothing
we could do to help; but perhaps rumor had exaggerated the
misfortune, and so we told Toma that we would certainly go
to do what we could.

224 Short Kwi came from a famous family; he was the younger
159 brother of the man who murdered Toma's father, but Short
Kwi was famous in his own right, famous as a hunter. He
often killed more game in a year than many other men kill in
their lives, a great hunter among a hunting people. The other
Bushmen told stories about him—about the time he had
killed four wildebeests in a herd of many, about the time he
had killed an eland, a wildebeest, and a wild pig all in one
day. It was his technique of hunting to be relentless in his
pursuit; therefore, if he shot an animal and suspected others
to be in the vicinity he would let the wounded animal run
where it would while he hunted on and shot another, and
another, and when all were as good as dead he would rest,
then return to pick up the trail of the one that he felt would
die the soonest. He almost never lost an animal, for his eyes
[151] were sharp and he could follow a cold trail over hard ground
and even over stones; he could tell from fallen leaves whether

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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the wind or passing feet had disarranged them; and the meat 224 159 that resulted from his prolific hunting was never wasted, for 151 he would bring other hunters to help him dry it, then carry it [251 476] off to a werf somewhere to share with others.

He knew the habits of animals from the ways of the largest 159 antelope all the way down to the smallest species of mice; in 825 fact, he must have known animals very well, for he could always find them. He knew when he was in danger and when he was safe, and he was as brave as he was careful. Once, Short 159 Kwi, John, and two other hunters were tracking a bull wilde- 224 beest that one of the hunters had shot. They came upon it 157 lying down, surrounded by a very large pride of lions. There were twenty or thirty lions in all, having got there first and claiming the wildebeest as their own, for the bushes were full of lions walking back and forth, watching several other lions brave the fallen wildebeest, still able to protect itself with its horns. The braver lions were standing near the wildebeest, obviously steeling themselves for the attack, when the hunters arrived. The Bushmen had followed the wildebeest's trail through thorns and over the parching desert and were not to be deprived, and, speaking softly to the lions, they said: "We know you are strong, Big Lions, we know you are brave, but this meat is ours and you must give it back to us."

Even after these words the lions did not give ground. Their round eyes watched the hunters and they began to growl, and the four men, quite unarmed except for their arrows and a spear (to use a spear would have been folly), said respectfully: "Great Lions, Old Lions, this meat belongs to us," and then advanced on the lions, throwing little stones and clods of dirt. The lions in the bushes began to back away, while the braver lions stood their ground until a clod struck one of them, causing him to huff and run back a little. At this, the courage of the other lions broke and they all turned and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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159 224 157 scrambled for the safety of their companions, by now quite far away.

The hunters, victorious in this battle of nerves, had the bull wildebeest all to themselves, but now found that they could not approach it either. Having fended off the lions (it thought), it now tried to lunge to its feet to fend off the men. Short Kwi borrowed the spear from its owner and hurled it into the wildebeest's neck, where it stuck fast. Now they had no weapon at all. Their arrows would be useless. The sticks and stones they threw at the spear did not dislodge it and all their efforts to retrieve it by creeping up on the wildebeest from behind did not succeed, for as soon as one of them would edge near enough to touch the spear the wildebeest would toss its horns so quickly that the man would have to jump back, grazed. At last, while one of the men distracted the wildebeest from the front, Short Kwi backed off and rushed at it, jumped over it, and, as he passed over its back, jerked the spear free. The bull lunged and the curved horns hooked upward, but too late. Short Kwi was gone. Wanting a picture, John asked Short Kwi to do it again, but Short Kwi shook his head. "This time he will remember," Short Kwi said, and dispatched the bull by hurling the spear into its throat.

159 224 593 823 Sometimes, as on these occasions, Short Kwi hunted with others, but mostly he hunted alone. He knew every bush and stone in the area of thousands of square miles that he ranged over, and he lived for hunting. Caring more for this, his passion, than for society, he often hunted as he did when we had first heard of him, alone in the veld with only his wife—a young woman who was intelligent and gay and almost pretty, to whom Short Kwi was devoted—his baby daughter, and his mother-in-law.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

We had met him for the first time at Gautscha. He had 159 224
come in from the veld one night to visit his brother, and we had met him in the morning. Short Kwi was a young, small man, shorter than his wife and so slender that he looked almost like a child. With long, light feet that took him everywhere, with heavy thighs but light calves like the thin shanks [142]
of a greyhound, and with a narrow, deep chest and lungs that never winded, he was obviously built for hunting. In the rainy season when the veld was soft and muddy he often hunted with only a spear and ran the great antelopes down, for though their hooves sunk and split in the mud, causing them eventually to tire, Short Kwi never tired and his strong legs bore him after them relentlessly, sweeping him down the long plains like a wind of death.

His life in the veld seemed lonely, but I doubt that it was; he had his wife, who adored him, for company in the evenings, and although she may have missed companionship more than he did, they were both shy, both quiet, and it may [573]
be that they both enjoyed their life apart. Short Kwi hunted most of the time. He would hunt on and on and when word would reach the large band of his wife's family that he had killed, the band would go out to where the animal was, dry the meat, and eat it. When there was enough meat Short Kwi would rest, would relax in the sun, would talk with his wife or make himself a new skin bag or garment, and when word would reach him that all the meat was gone he would move again. The men of his wife's family hunted too, of course, but never as successfully as he, yet his great ability set 578
him so far apart from ordinary mortals that for once the 557
Bushmen forgot their jealousy and agreed that he was the best hunter the Kalahari had ever known.

It is a custom among Bushman hunters to cut strips of skin 301 224

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

301 from the foreheads of the antelope they kill and fashion them
224 into bracelets which their wives wear on their arms. Short Kwi's wife and daughter wore dozens of these; their arms were covered and heavy with them. Short Kwi himself wore
[291 no ornament of any kind, nothing except a crown of badger
43] hair which he owned for a while but later gave to Toma, the very crown that Toma's son now wore.

752 One day, said Toma, Short Kwi had been walking in the
224 veld and had failed to watch where he was going. He had
●159 stepped on the tail of a puff adder, which had risen up and bitten his leg, just below the knee. It was a rare and terrible accident; in all the time we had been in the Kalahari we had known of only two people besides Short Kwi who had been harmed by snakes—a young boy bitten by a mamba who had died the day he was bitten, and a young woman who had been pulled into a waterhole by a water python and had drowned. Usually, snakes move away when you come near them, or if they don't, you can usually see them; but you can't walk with your eyes on the ground all the time, especially if you are hunting, as Short Kwi had been. His misfortune was regarded as a horrible accident and it was felt that the spirits of the dead were to blame. They had led Short Kwi down the very path the puff adder had chosen, and perhaps had even placed the snake where his foot was sure to fall. Toma and Goa Feet were very depressed to think of it. Although the talk turned to other things, Gao Feet mentioned the accident again and again; everything seemed to remind him of it. At last Toma said to us: "Perhaps you can help him hunt again. Since he was bitten his people have had no meat."

648 Toma told us that he had been with Short Kwi near Nama
609 Pan when the third group of white farmers had arrived. The farmers had looked at Short Kwi and had offered to cut his leg off for him then and there. This had frightened the Bush-

621 territoriality and band membership are closely linked they will be discussed together in Chapter VII.

621 312 16 A note on the history of each waterhole during the period 1963-64 will serve to illustrate some dynamic features of group structure.

1. <u>!goše</u> - There were three bands living at this waterhole at the time of the census, numbering 12, 19, and 22 individuals, respectively. These three bands had lived in one large camp from 1961-64. In mid-1964, they split into four bands. One group of 13 went to Nokaneng on an extended visit. The other three bands, totalling 53 people, remained at !gose. The territorial nucleus of the three bands that remained consisted of the descendents of one very old woman and her three nephews.

2. <u>!anqwa</u> - One band of 22 individuals was living here. The nucleus of this group included again a very old woman, her daughter and her son. Most of the members of the group were siblings of the daughter's husband. This band made a common camp with the members of the Batawana headman's staff. In July, 1964, they set up an independent camp.

3. <u>Bate</u> - One band of 21 members was living here. The nucleus consisted of two old women who were sisters and the two married offspring of these sisters. The remainder of the band consisted of affines of the sisters' children. In

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late 1964, this entire band left Bate and shifted to !Xabe, a waterhole about seven miles away.

4. Mahopa - In 1964, there were no bands at this waterhole although some 43 Bushmen lived here in Bantu villages.

5. !Xabe - No band had lived here for several years until the group arrived from Bate.

6. !ubi - One band of 52 members was living here. The nucleus consisted of an old man and his two sisters. The old man and 31 other members of this band alternate yearly between Tsumkwe, South West Africa, and !ubi, Bechuanaland. They appeared to be in the process of shifting permanently out of the Dobe area. The two sisters and 18 other people continued to live at !ubi.

7. /ai/ai - In November, 1964, there were five bands here with 9, 12, 17, 27, and 30 members, respectively. Each band has a nucleus of an old man or woman and their married offspring. In October, 1963, most of these people were living in one large camp of 83 members. In 1964, this camp broke up into six smaller groups. One group went south to /gam and five groups remained. In addition, a number of people came from /gam to live at /ai/ai, thus producing the present situation of five camps totalling 95 individuals.

8. Dobe - There were two bands here of 12 and 24 people, respectively. The territorial nucleus consisted of

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16 an old man and his sister. When the two Dobe groups divided, the old man and his two married children went one way and the old woman and her three sons went the other.

The remaining two bands were living outside of the Dobe area at the time of the census. One of them was the band of 13 from !goše that had gone to Nokaneng. The other was a group of 19 individuals who came from South West Africa to spend the summer of 1963-64 in the Dobe area and had returned to Tsumkwe in May, 1964.

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166 These brief notes indicate the extent to which bands coalesce and split, change waterholes and move in and out of the Dobe area. It does not take into account the corresponding
621 shifts made by individuals and families. In light of the above it is doubtful whether the use of the term "band" is legitimate in the context of Bushman group dynamics. The "band" may turn out to be an artifact of the observer's sampling technique and his theoretical preconceptions (see Chapter VII). Among the !Kung, for example, it appears that the cohesive social units are the extended families that make up the larger aggregations that have been called bands. This does not imply that the !Kung have what Steward (1955) called a "family level of organization" since the !Kung consistently live in aggregations of two to ten or more families. Until a complete analysis of the data is carried out, it would

/136 cont./ The approximate number of Auin,
162 naturally in the form of the very roughest estimate, is apparent from the following compilation:

There reside in the region of

Qas	about 300	persons
Dawis	" 150	"
Stampriet	" 250	"
Rooigrauwater	" 50	"
Korikas	" 150	"
Olifantskloof	" 200	"
Habakobis	" 100	"
Rietfontein	" 200	"
Tjumda	" 100	"
Go	" 150	"
Sidonitzaub	" 1,000	"
Karasburg	" 100	"
Epukiro	" 100	"
Ganab	" 100	"
Gam	" 100	"
Total	about 3,000	persons

[114] In my opinion the number of Bushmen living in the Kalahari (not only the Auin) has been consistently underestimated.

I wrote these lines in October, 1908. Today, in other words,
165 not yet a year later, I am forced to change my opinion, since
● 161 the malaria of the last rainy season has taken many victims and has decimated the Auin as well as the other tribes. According to the figures provided, I consider myself justified in suggesting that of the Auin estimated above at 3,000, only about half at most remain.

It is impossible to obtain more precise statistics since the
648 Bushmen successfully evade any kind of control. Even the administration of the protectorate takes account of this fact by dispensing from the outset with any registration or the like by the Kalahari Bushmen.

No special racial layers are to be distinguished among the
144 Auin, although it is doubtless true that certain individuals can be shown to have more Negro blood than others.

/136 cont./

142 The tribe at Gam in particular consists almost exclusively of comparatively large people who, even after a thorough washing, display a decidedly darker coloration than the other Auin.

162 According to my observations, there is something like one to two women for each man, and from two to three children for each woman.

162 847 [862] In this connection I would like to mention that newborn children are always killed if the mother is still nursing a child, which continues until about the third year of life. The killing is done immediately after birth by the mother, who buries the newborn child alive. The father has nothing to do with it. Since marital [853] intercourse continues during the nursing period and since this period lasts for about three years, it follows that approximately every third child is reared while those born in the meantime are killed without exception. This might well be a principal factor in the unquestionable decline in the population.

592 595 Since each woman has her special windscreen (hut), the man lives alternately with one and then another of his wives; the latter in turn have their children living with them, and it therefore follows that about three to four persons occupy each hut.

221 361 The size of the settlements (villages) is quite indefinite and changes according to the circumstances. During the dry season a settlement is formed usually by one to two families, whereas during the period of ample veld food, in other words, toward the end and shortly after /137/ [map appears here] /138/ the rainy season, sometimes up to 30 families join together to form a "village." In April, 1908, about 400 men were living in a settlement near Sidonitzaub. If their dependents are included, one will arrive at a figure of at least 1,000 persons.

[701] All the men are armed warriors.

161 As has already been noted, one can clearly observe a decrease in the population, which, judging by its rapid progress, can be designated as swiftly approaching extinction. Aside from infanti- [136] cide and malaria, the decrease of wild game may also be given as a reason for the population decline, since this decrease makes food more difficult to obtain. Older Auin state that in former times attacks by lions caused heavy losses.

[Text continues on page 7]

[18 cont.]

648 Nogau, the !Kung who are settled in the Sand Veld east of the Omuramba u Omatako are more hostile toward the Whites, and the attitude of the Whites and natives on the farms is correspondingly hostile toward them. This attitude is explained by the fact that only in recent times the Bushmen were forced out of the region west of the Omuramba and now have considerably reduced the scant living space of their brothers east of the dry bed. The living conditions in this region are hopeless. The !Kung live in symbiosis with the tribes along the Okovanggo. Lacking a stable social organization, lacking fixed dwellings in the narrower sense, the Bushmen is much less manageable than, say, the black farmers. Making the tribe collectively responsible, which is the best protection for the European, cannot be used against the Bushmen, and the likelihood of seizing a Bushman who has committed a crime on the edge of the police zone or outside it is zero. One must keep this in mind in dealing with them. On the other hand, I had no bad experiences with them.

[19] The Biological Bases of Life

1. The Number

●161 Seiner has estimated the number of the !Kung at about 12,000. Since then, the wars of 1914-15, as well as the steady deterioration of the water conditions, have strongly curbed any increase, so that their number has certainly not risen in the last 20 years.

621 The basic social unit is the essentially patriarchal family horde, which on the average consists of one or two old men, four to six adult men, an equal number of women capable of bearing children, and a number of old matrons, as well as the 221 children. Toward the end of the winter they assemble in great 621 numbers at the few remaining watering places; they then meet again when the first veldkost ripens at certain places, frequently several hundreds of them; and then, when summer sets in, they again move in small groups to their family terrain. As examples, 162 I shall give four hordes for which I was able to determine the

[19 cont.]

162 In the age group of five to ten years, the number re-
165 mains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number
[123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

[20] Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in
[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman
[131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief
133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika [Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa], Berlin, 1906.

648 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample
621 water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and
622

[65 cont.]

000 and racial mixture is progressing rapidly. The Bugakwe live in
105 five villages with 220 persons in the western Okovanggo Valley
[161] down from the Mahango ford and are in bondage to Libebe, with
101 whom, however, they frequently have quarrels over the amount
131 of deliveries; on the occasion of one such dispute in June, 1905,
a Mambukuschu was killed by an arrow. The Garikwe live in
[161] eight villages with 430 souls in eastern Ärmellande from the
Paliba Swamp to the beginning of the valley, while the Goekwe
live in southern Ärmellande west of the river course. Concerning
[161] the latter, I found only a winter village with 90 souls, and that
north of the mouth of the Namassere on a river island.

"The Goekwe might well be identical with Passarge's Gokwe, whose territory extends from the western edge of the Tauche swampland deep into the Kaukau Veld; the Tschorilo Mountains belong to them. During the rainy season the Tannekwe undertake hunting expeditions in the neighboring steppes. The Hukwe, whose
[161] number I estimate at at least 600, are less racially mixed than the Tannekwe, but likewise live in settled villages, from which during the dry season they swarm out in family groups to gather or hunt in the forest steppe as the need arises."

Chapter 8

The Nogau Bushmen of Epukiro

101 During my stay in the mission station of Epukiro, I had an opportunity for closer contact with the Bushmen who live in a kind of symbiosis with the Betschuana (2). They call themselves Nogau,

[113] 2. I have given a detailed report on the Europeanized Betschuana village of Epukiro in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 65 (1933).

specifically ǂno /gna !khou, that is, people who live by the water.
101 They are farther north of the Omuramba Epukiro toward Alexeck.
131 North of them are the Gai-kwe, and the !Kung are farther east and

Population.

161 The Bushmen are scattered over an area of approximately [31] 60,000 square miles. Of this area at least 50,000 square miles are practically unknown and otherwise uninhabited, being accessible with considerable difficulty only during the rainy season. It is extremely difficult, therefore, to arrive at a reliable conclusion as to their numbers. On a conservative basis they are estimated to number between 2,500 and 3,500, viz.:—

162

Kaukau Bushmen—	
!Kûng	500—800
Ssu-ǂgnassi	200—300
ǂAo-//ĕin	500—600
Ngami Bushmen—	
//Aikwe	50—75
/Nu-//ĕin	200—300
Hei-//om	1,000—1,500
/Huinin and /Geinin	75—100

Physical Characteristics.

164 With the exception of certain groups who are living in the more inaccessible portions of the Kalahari, most of the Bushmen show various degrees of intermixture with the Hottentots and Bantu. No uniform racial type is consequently met with among them. This fact is not to be wondered at when the various racial influences to which they have been exposed for centuries are taken into consideration. For geographical reasons the Bushmen in certain parts of the Kalahari did not suffer to the same extent from these influences as those who were in the line of migration of the invading races. Roughly speaking three characteristic types may be distinguished among them. The first, in which the Hottentot element would appear to be the dominant one, is seen among the *Hei-//om*, *ǂAo-//ĕin* and *Naron* in the Gobabis district and among the remnants still met with on the borders of Namaqualand. The second type approximates that of the Bantu and is seen particularly among the *Hei-//om* who live on the outskirts of Ovamboland. In the third, still met with only in the Kalahari, bush characteristics are still apparently predominant. As reliable information is not available on this subject, to the investigation of which but little attention has been directed up to the present, further reference to it would not serve any useful purpose.

Social Organisation.

The Family Group.

619 Each of the language groups into which the Bushmen have been classified consist of several main sub-divisions. Though for the sake of convenience the latter will be referred to as "tribes" in this report, there is no evidence of any tribal

609 pering in the grass near by. You can tell by these werfs that
621 there are Bushmen in an area, and also by their footprints on narrow trails which they share with the game and which run all through the desert. You may find footprints or you
[372] may see a little pile of white ash, the fire that a Bushman kindled where he spent the night. Otherwise, to find them you must depend on luck or on the fact that the Bushmen of an area may have heard something good about you and will not be too afraid.

105 Culturally and historically, the Bushmen are an interesting people, for they and the Hottentots, who belong to the same racial and language groups, are the earliest human inhabitants still living in southern Africa. There are now from thirty
[161] to fifty thousand Bushmen, who are divided into several language groups. Their languages are related to each other and
[197] to the Hottentot language, and are in what is known as the Khoisan language group, made up of most of the click languages spoken in South Africa. A click language has sharp pops and clicks made with the tongue in various parts of the mouth, combined with an implosion of the breath, very diffi-
[194] cult to understand, harder still to pronounce, as the slightest mistake may change the meaning of a word entirely. For example, the work *//kx'a*, which in one of the Bushman languages means *mangetti*, a certain kind of nut-bearing tree, is pronounced by making a lateral click for which the tongue is pulled sharply away from the sides of the mouth, producing the click one makes when calling a horse, followed by a scraped *k* turning to a *g*, followed by a glottal stop—a slight pause or tiny choking sound made as the back of the tongue stops the breath—which is followed at last by the vowel. To make a mistake is easy, and that is why non-Bushmen have a hard time learning the language, and why, when they do learn, they are often misunderstood.

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

Brother and sister are the only relations who are forbidden to marry, and by this, real brother and sister are meant, the children of one father and mother, not cousins. I never heard a title for any cousin, however related, though several were present Cousins sometimes marry, but more often a bride from a distance is procured. 582

A pair of sisters have a very close relationship. They are generally chums, and help each other with their babies. A child calls its mother's sister its "little mother". In speaking of the occasional bigamy found among the **Naron** in contrast to other Bushman tribes, an old man said to me: 593 [601] [604] 595

"A man may take a second wife, if he wishes. If they agree well, they live in one hut; if not, each makes herself a hut. A man had better take his wife's younger sister as his second wife; then they do not quarrel, but live in one hut."

ǁka in **ǁkashe** "maternal aunt" may be derived from **ǁkai** "together". **He** used as a verb means "to marry", also "to give birth to children". **Ti kweba** and **ti kwesa** mean simply "my man", "my woman"; they are more often used than **hoba** and **hosha**. 196 601

A widow may marry her late husband's brother, but need not do so. She is quite at liberty to marry any other man. If she remarries, her husband is expected to look after her children; otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. The widow may stay near her husband's people, or return to her own people, as she pleases. 587 [604]

Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, are very fond of adopting a grandchild. They will half adopt one, even during both parents' lifetime. The grandmother is generally the person who teaches a child to speak. 597 603 [868]

In concluding these notes on the tables of relationship, I should like to say that I know they are very incomplete. At the time of my stay among the **ǁkau ǁen** and **Naron** I had not realized the importance of this side of native life; nor apparently had my aunt, Dr. Lloyd, whose work I rely on for the **ǂxam** and **ǃkuŋ** tables. Still, I think sufficient has been collected to show the general trend of Bushman family ties. 114

One must always remember, that people depending on nature for their entire food supply, can only exist in very small, widely scattered groups. Families cannot be large. Drought and famine 105 161

[Text continues on page 70]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

105 [161] keep the numbers down. No one has a large number of uncles and aunts, or cousins. There is not a large public, whose opinion would enforce keeping laws strictly. Individual liberty is therefore far greater than can be the case with any tribe with large numbers living in crowded villages. Extremes meet, and we find in the most primitive society a family life far nearer our own than in many intermediate stages. The woman is her husband's partner rather than his property. The family consists of parents and children, and breaks up with the parents' death. There are no chiefs: society is ruled not by law, but by custom interpreted by individual sense of fitness. A very few things are felt to be wrong, everything else is permitted. The Bushman is first and last a lover of liberty.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

LORNA MARSHALL · *The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert*[1]

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION · The Bushmen live in those parts of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa that lie in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate, in South West Africa, and in southeastern Angola. A few additional remnants of Bushman groups still exist in Northern Rhodesia and at Lake Chrissie in South Africa. In the past Bushmen had a much wider distribution.[2]

Many Bushmen live among, and some work for, the Bantu-speaking tribes in settlements where sufficient water resources have been developed to support cattle, and some Bushmen work for white farmers in the Ghanzi area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in South West Africa. However, many still live in small, independent, nomadic groups, widely dispersed in the vast areas of the desert.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise population count of the Bushmen, but a recent estimate gathered from various contemporary sources (Tobias 1956) indicates that in 1955 there were 55,531 Bushmen.[3] These figures are higher than any previously propounded (cf. Schapera 1939) and come as a surprise to many.

The Bushmen are linked with the Hottentots, a southern African people who resemble them physically and with whom they have linguistic affiliations, but who are a pastoral people with a more complex social structure. Bushmen and Hottentots together are called the *Khoisan* peoples, a coined term combining the Hottentots' term for themselves (*Khoi*) and their name for the Bushmen (*San*). The Khoisan peoples have been referred to as a distinct race (Murdock 1959: 8) or, as Howells puts it, "a major racial variety of man" (1959:306). The obscurity of their origins and racial affinities are in themselves subjects in which research continues and interesting postulations engage the attention of scientists in various fields.[4]

PHYSICAL FEATURES · The physical features of the Bushmen have drawn much attention from anthropologists. Bushmen are of small stature (adult males average approximately five feet, two inches) WITH YELLOWISH BROWN SKIN THAT BECOMES HEAVILY WRINKLED IN OLD AGE.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

182 312 [161] [648] 134 A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival, for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

137 [222] [224] [262] Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

224 [411] Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

101 197 [829] [184] LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bushmen cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local groupings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

[621] [622] The language groups have no political unity among or within themselves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

101 131 [192] The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ʼõassi* and who live in the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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Gathering Mangetti Nuts

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[182]

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[162]

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221

eral large groves of mangetti trees (*Ricinodendron rautanenii* Schinz) in the region, all on great waterless white sand dunes, and one extensive area in which *tsī* grows. *Tsī* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch) is the seed of the vine that runs along on the surface of the ground. Both mangetti nuts and *tsī* are excellent foods, rich in oils and proteins, and so important to the !Kung that they organize their lives to a considerable extent around them.

Each band, according to !Kung social structure, owns and lives within what we call a territory. The band, through its headman (in a way to be explained later), owns the veldkos and water resources within its territory. The territories are varied in size and shape and sometimes consist of portions that are not even contiguous. The boundaries are vague, for the need to draw fine boundary lines is not great. In the interior of the region, where water is so scant, in roughly 8000 square miles live only 17 bands, comprising 447 persons. The other bands and employed groups live on what we call the periphery of the region. The !Kung say that one cannot eat the ground itself so it does not matter to whom it belongs. It is the patches of veldkos that are clearly and jealously owned, and the territories are shaped in a general way around these patches. The !Kung of the interior have settled themselves in such a way that every band has access to areas of edible roots and to either a mangetti grove or a *tsī* patch. A few bands have both.

The strong concepts of ownership of veldkos by the band operate almost like a taboo. No external force is established to prevent one band from encroaching on another's veldkos or to prevent individuals from raiding veldkos patches to which they have no right. This is just not done. Fear of fighting is one of the deterrents. The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly

[p. 248]

114 manifested by a virtual absence of sociological research among the Bushmen during the 1930's and 40's.

It was not until the 1950's that it became apparent that Schapera's obituary on the Bushmen was premature. We owe this realization to the recent research and writing of Mr. and Mrs. Laurence K. Marshall and Professor Phillip V. Tobias. The Marshalls began their investigations of Bushman life in 1951. [161] In the interior of the northwestern Kalahari they found over 1,000 Bushmen organized into hunting and gathering bands. This was, and is, a full-scale viable way of life of a type that was believed no longer to exist. Professor Tobias, after visiting the Kalahari with the Panhard-Capricorn Expedition of 1950, was led to believe that the numbers of surviving Bushmen had [161] been vastly underestimated. His subsequent research (1956, 1957) showed that there were over 50,000 living Bushmen and that thousands of the Bushmen were living as hunter-gatherers.

[121] Due to the stimulus of the Marshalls and Tobias, anthropologists realized that excellent research opportunities among the Bushmen had been overlooked, simply because of the mistaken notion that the hunting and gathering way of life had ceased to 121 exist. Thus in recent years the style of Bushman research has been transformed from a salvage operation to the study of viable ongoing social and economic systems; and with the acquisition of new data has come a basic reorientation of our

121 (George Silberbauer) was already conducting research among the Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

After DeVore's return to Harvard in September, the author surveyed the Ngamiland situation and found that the Bushman population in the northwestern sector satisfied our research requirements.

161 312 621 224 222 648 In October, 1963, there were about 430 Bushmen living at nine waterholes in the !Kangwa administrative district. Over 70% of these people were organized into bands and depended on hunting and gathering for their subsistence. Although some 340 Bantu lived in the district they had not established a lord-client relationship over the Bushmen. This feudal type of social system exists elsewhere in the Kalahari but not in 114 the !Kangwa district. The author was the first white person to live in the district. The Marshall expeditions had touched the western edge of the district but had centered their research at /Gautscha, a camp about 40 miles west of our area.

The main field station was set up at Dobe, a small waterhole in Bechuanaland, two miles east of the Bechuanaland - South West Africa border. The author conducted research here for twelve months, except for intervals of work elsewhere in the Kalahari and study periods in Livingstone, Johannesburg, Windhoek and Capetown.

In October, 1964, Irven and Nancy DeVore joined the author

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

101 non-Bantu, click-speaking peoples with a tradition of hunting and gathering in their recent past. Thus we may define Bushmen as members of tribes who are acknowledged to be "sarwa" by themselves and others. The term "sarwa" thus includes peoples of varying physical type and economy, and of four distinct linguistic stocks within the click family of languages. The one characteristic common to them all is the tradition of hunting and gathering. The economic and linguistic divisions will be elaborated below.

Numbers and distribution

161 114 The Bushmen are numerically stronger than has been generally supposed. Estimates such as Schapera's 7,000-7,500 (1930), Keith's 6,000 (1948), and Coon's "few hundred" (1955) are far too low. Despite Tobias' careful estimate of 55,000 living Bushmen (1957), the older misconceptions still persist. As recently as 1963, Bohannan estimated the numbers of living Bushmen in the hundreds (Bohannan 1963:213).

162 127 The author's estimate, based on data available in 1964, shows a total figure rather smaller than that of Tobias' 55,000. It is estimated that there are about 44,100 Bushmen alive today. This figure is based on published sources and unofficial government estimates for Bechuanaland. For South West Africa, the figures are adapted from the Odendaal Commission Report (Republic of South Africa, 1964). For Angola,

161 the Tobias estimate is retained. The estimates for other
127 countries (Zambia, Rhodesia, South Africa) are informed guesses.

The national totals and the sources of information are:

Bechuanaland	24,600	Schapera, 1952; Silberbauer, 1965; Silberbauer, personal communication; Kuper, personal communication; author's field census.
South West Africa	15,000[1]	Republic of South Africa, 1964; Macintyre, personal communication.
Angola	4,000	Tobias, 1956,1957,1964, personal communication.
Republic of South Africa	100	Author's estimate.
Zambia	200	Author's estimate.
Rhodesia	200	Author's estimate.
TOTAL	44,100	

The distribution of these 44,100 Bushmen is illustrated in Map 2, p. 14.

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[1] The official 1960 census figure for Bushmen in S.W.A. is 11,762. The Odendaal Commissioners note in their report: "Statistical surveys of this group (the Bushmen) are made difficult by their nomadic way of life. According to the Department of Bantu Administration and Development these Bushmen number several thousands more" (Republic of South Africa, 1964:29, footnote 4). Since this view coincides with that of the author, the number of Bushmen in S.W.A. has been rounded out to 15,000.

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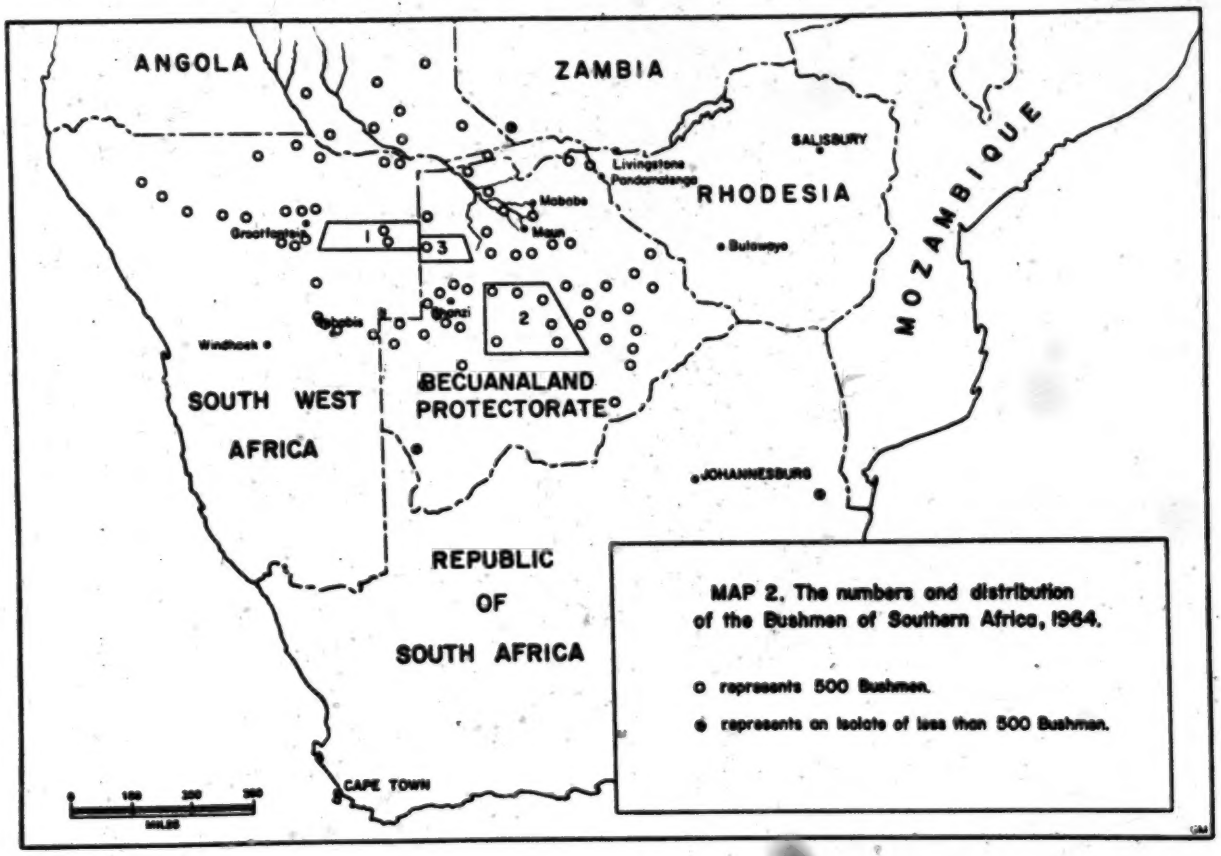
161


ANGOLA
ZAMBIA
SALISBURY
Livingstone
Pandamatenga
RHODESIA
Mababe
Maun
Gravelotte
1
3
Bulawayo
MOZAMBIQUE
Ghanzi
2
Windhoek
SOUTH WEST
AFRICA
BECUANALAND
PROTECTORATE
JOHANNESBURG
REPUBLIC
OF
SOUTH AFRICA
CAPE TOWN
0 100 200 300
MILES
MAP 2. The numbers and distribution of the Bushmen of Southern Africa, 1964.
o represents 500 Bushmen.
represents an isolate of less than 500 Bushmen.

The economic position

114 224 222 161 Tobias erred when he estimated that in 1956, 35,000 of the 55,000 Bushmen "lead a hunting and food-gathering life, barely removed from that of the late Upper Palaeolithic or of the South African Later Stone Age." (1957:33). The first comment concerns the numbers of Bushmen still hunting; the second the "primitiveness" of the modern Bushmen hunters.

162 131 464 648 224 Of the 15,000 Bushmen in South West Africa at least 9,500 are working on European farms. An additional 3,000 are either working for Bantu agriculturalists or practicing agriculture and stock-keeping themselves. (Republic of South Africa 1964:29,41). This leaves 2,500 as hunter-gatherers in South West Africa.

In Bechuanaland an estimated 16,300 Bushmen work on European farms or Bantu cattle posts. A further 2,000 are practicing a mixed agricultural and hunting way of life. The remaining 6,100 lead a hunting and gathering way of life. The main concentrations of the latter are in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (3,000) and in western Ngamiland (1,600).

The Batwa of the Lake Chrissie area have been working on European farms for nearly a century (Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955:3). The Bushmen in the Gemsbok Park are a major tourist attraction, but may do some hunting.

In Rhodesia, the Bushmen in the Wankie area are all

162 working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in
131 Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield
464 as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen
648 of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life.
224 (Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated at 200.

161 This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of
162 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty
224 percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more
222 reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely
[114] that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

162 The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial
224 and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-
222 gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most
178 isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with
184 their European and Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of
[221] the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend
[648] part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent
[312] to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share
[464] their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the
[233] young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds on a contract basis.

000 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

131 :goše, the first waterhole of the area. Continuing southwest
[133] from :goše the motor track parallels the course of a dry
river bed called the !angwadum for 23 miles until it meets
131 the South West Africa border track. Along this route from
312 :goše to the border one passes the waterholes of Kamburungu,
!angwa matse, !angwa, Bate, Kathikona, Mahopa, !Kabe, and
:thai. Each of these wells supports Bushman groups and Bantu
cattle posts. Following the border track north from its
intersection with the !angwadum one can reach Dobe which
supports a resident population of Bushmen but no Bantu.
[133] Turning south from the intersection, one crosses the low
ranges of the Aha Hills which are usually uninhabited and
arrives after 25 miles at /ai/ai, a large waterhole with over
one hundred Bushmen.

131 All these centers of habitation lie to the east and
361 south of Dobe. To the north, the nearest settlement is
n!aun!au at a distance of 40 miles and, to the west, the
nearest settlement is Tsumkwe, 35 miles away (see Map 8).

131 Eight naturally occurring waterholes support the bulk
312 of the Dobe area population which in November, 1964, stood
[161] at 763 people. There were 433 Bushmen residents, all but one
[563] of them members of the !Kung tribe. There were 340 Bantu,
eighty-five percent of whom were of the Herero tribe. The
remaining Bantu were Batawana, Mbukushu and Bayei.

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161
563 The waterholes and their respective Bushman and Bantu populations are listed in Table 2.

!Kung group structure

621
166 The definition of the !Kung living arrangements presented the most difficult problem of the field study. The !Kung were found to be living most frequently in camps that numbered from ten to thirty individuals. But the composition of these camps changed from month to month and from day to day.

The task of defining the stable membership units was complicated by the following factors:

1. the frequent shifts of individuals and families from one camp to another,
[574] 2. the high incidence of visiting between camps,
3. the presence of long-term visitors from outside the Dobe area,
4. the Dobe area residents who were living elsewhere on extended visits, and
[563] 5. the intermarriage and co-residence of Bushmen with Bantu.

These complications are in addition to the routine changes in group structure brought about by births, deaths, post-marital residence, and the seasonal subsistence cycle.

It became evident that flexibility is the basic premise
[121] of !Kung group structure. It would therefore be inappropriate to try to impose a formal model of organization on the data,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

TABLE 2

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• 161
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The Numbers and Distribution of the Bushman and Bantu Populations of the Dobe Area

Name of Waterhole and Location	Population Bushman	Population Bantu
1. !gose -- 23 miles east of Dobe	62	18
2. !angwa -- 13 miles east of Dobe	36	49
3. Bate -- 12 miles southeast of Dobe	45	21
4. Mahopa -- 7 miles east of Dobe	42	65
5. !Kabe -- 3 miles east of Dobe	8	12
6. !ubi -- 5 miles south of Dobe	52	65
7. /ai/ai -- 27 miles south of Dobe	109	67
8. Dobe	36	--
Three other wells, dug in recent years by the Bantu, support the remainder of the population:		
9. Kathikona -- 10 miles east of Dobe	1	8
10. !angwamatse -- 17 miles east of Dobe	9	23
11. Kamburunqu -- 19 miles east of Dobe	1	12
TOTALS	401[1]	340

[1]The total of 433 is arrived at by the addition of 32 !Kung who were outside the Dobe area at the time of the census.

621
166 such as the patrilineal band or composite band models current
121 in the literature (Steward 1955, Sahlins 1959, Service 1962).

121 An account of the situation at one waterhole will serve
621
312 to illustrate some of the dynamic processes at work in !Kung
621 group structure. At Dobe in October, 1963, there were two
312 camps, one with 28 members, the other with ten members. In
166
162 December, 18 members of the larger camp left on an extended
161 visit to Tsumkwe and the remaining ten people made a joint camp with the smaller group to form a camp of twenty people. In January, 1964, these two segments split up and abandoned Dobe altogether. The waterhole remained unoccupied until May, 1964, when the two segments recombined and were joined by 22 other people, who came in from five other camps. This group of 42 people wintered at Dobe in one camp. Then, in August the camp split up into a camp of twelve and a camp of 24. Six of the 22 people who had wintered at Dobe returned to other camps while 16 of these people remained at Dobe. The two Dobe camps (of twelve and 24) remained approximately stable for the remainder of the study (i.e. until January, 1965).

621 Thus at different times of the year the population of
312
Dobe was counted as follows:
161
162

October 1963	38 people in 2 camps
December 1963	20 people in 1 camp
Jan.-April 1964	nil.
May 1964	42 people in 1 camp
Aug. 1964 to Jan. 1965	36 people in 2 camps

621 312 Similar variations in group structure were observed at all the waterholes of the Dobe area. However, despite these shifts in the size and composition of camps there were two lines of evidence that indicated stability. First, there was a generally acknowledged nucleus of permanent territorial residents at each waterhole. Second, when camps split up they did so consistently along the same lines of fission. The presence of these two regularities provides a basis for a preliminary account of the living arrangements of !Kung Bushmen. The complete documentation and analysis of group structure will be presented in a later paper.

[125] The starting point for this account is a single complete census of the Dobe area made by the author in November, 1964. This was a good time for a census because it is the period of [221] the year when the camps are most stable. It was the end of the dry season when most of the Bushmen were restricted to their permanent waterholes.

621 161 162 This census showed a total population of 433 Bushmen divided among 35 living units. This figure of 433 includes ten individuals who died in the year preceding the census, and 32 others who were away from the area at the time of the census, so that the total number of Bushmen who were actually physically present in the area in November, 1964, was 391. The majority of the people (311 individuals, 72% of the total) were living in 15 independent hunting and gathering bands.

621
161 The remaining 122 individuals were living with the Bantu. The
162 diet of these latter people consisted of a combination of
[262] Bushmen wild foods and the products of the Bantu cattle. The complete census of the 35 living units is shown in Table 3.

The 15 bands ranged in size from nine to 52 individuals. There were five small bands (of 9, 12, 12, 12, and 13 members), nine bands of intermediate size (of 17, 19, 19, 21, 22, 22, 24, 27, and 30), and one large band with 52 members. The average band had 20.7 members and the median band had 19 members. The presence of twin modes in band size (at 12 and 22 members respectively) is perhaps a function of the domestic cycle,[1] but its significance remains to be explained.

621 Each of the bands has a nucleus of individuals who have a territorial claim to the land they occupy and who tend to spend the greater part of the year in residence in their territory. These core individuals are usually old people whose descendents and their spouses make up the bulk of the
[602] band's membership. Each of the larger bands has among its members one or more families who are collaterally or affinally related to the core individuals. These collaterals and affines do not express as strong a territorial claim to the band's land as do the core individuals and they tend to move around more frequently than do the core individuals. As

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[1] I am indebted to Adam Kuper for this suggestion (personal communication).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 48]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

TABLE 3

621 Census Breakdown of the 433 Dobe Area Bushmen, by Sex, Age,
• 161 and Living Unit Note: Independent Bands are Marked (B).
162

No.	Place	Name	Adults M	Adults F	Children M	Children F	TOTAL M	TOTAL F	TOTAL T
1.	Dobe(B)	n≠eysi	5	7	0	0	5	7	12
2.	Dobe(B)	≠qma≠qwe	7	6	5	6	12	12	24
3.	!xabe	Enamiti	3	5	0	0	3	5	8
4.	Mahopa	Enamoharadi	5	10	5	6	10	16	26
5.	Mahopa	Rotsa	3	5	0	1	3	6	9
6.	Mahopa	Kathikona	1	0	0	0	1	-	1
7.	Mahopa	Vethepa	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
8.	Mahopa	Yona	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
9.	!angwa	Isak	4	5	1	3	5	8	13
10.	!angwa(B)	bo	7	7	3	5	10	12	22
11.	!angwa	Noiye	1	2	1	-	2	2	4
12.	!angwa	Kangwadyata	2	1	1	1	3	2	5
13.	!angwa	Kamburungu	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
14.	!angwa	Vetetha	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
15.	Bate(B)	!xoma	7	8	3	3	10	11	21
16.	Bate	Liceku	5	5	1	1	6	6	12
17.	Bate	Kaku·una	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
18.	Bate	Kathedi (Mahura)	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
19.	!ubi(B)	Kamburu	11	20	13	8	24	28	52
20.	!goše(B)	/ise	7	9	1	5	8	14	22
21.	!goše(B)	/i!ay	6	5	1	-	7	5	12
22.	!goše(B)	bo	4	7	3	5	7	12	19
23.	!goše	IBatha	1	1	2	1	3	2	5
24.	!goše	Tubexo	1	1	2	-	3	1	4
25.	Nokaneng(B)	Kau≠dwa	5	6	-	2	5	8	13
26.	!gausa(B)	n≠isa	5	5	6	3	11	8	19
27.	/ai/ai(B)	//aun!a	3	5	1	3	4	8	12
28.	/ai/ai(B)	//aihan!a	2	3	1	3	3	6	9
29.	/ai/ai	Halingisi	3	5	1	1	4	6	10
30.	/ai/ai(B)	≠oma!xwa	11	12	4	3	15	15	30
31.	/ai/ai(B)	!Kum	4	6	2	5	6	11	17
32.	/ai/ai(B)	≠omažho	8	9	4	6	12	15	27
33.	/ai/ai	dumn!a	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
34.	/ai/ai	Kamakau	1	1	-	-	1	1	2
35.	/ai/ai	Kurmmehe	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
Totals			131	164	64	74	195	238	433

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

144 coming from the BaRotse and the BeChwana, is more strongly marked, especially in the Okavango-Zambesi basin. Here the Bushman tribes such as the Hukwe and the Galikwe, who have been longest in contact with the Bantu, are found to diverge most in appearance from the true Bushman type as seen south of the Molopo.

177 In culture, again, the Namib Bushmen and those south of the Molopo River form a separate division; the latter especially have 184 apparently been little affected by foreign influences, and in features such as art, ritual, and mythology have developed along special lines. The Northern tribes, on the other hand, have obviously been influenced in technology and several other aspects by contact with alien peoples. Their culture has consequently been modified and has deviated somewhat from that of their southern relatives. The North-Western tribes (Auen, Naron, and Kung) have certain well-marked features of social organization and religion not noticed further south, while the Heikum in many aspects of their culture show unmistakable signs of Hottentot and South-Western Bantu influence. The other Kalahari tribes, especially those to the north-east and in the extreme east, have been considerably influenced in material culture and to some extent also in religious beliefs and practices by the Chwana tribes among whom they live.

-184 These differences are important. At the same time, it must be noted that little is known of the Namib Bushmen, who now live as scattered remnants. The Southern Bushmen also are now almost completely extinct, and the only aspect of their culture at all carefully investigated is religion and mythology, preserved in the texts collected by Bleek, Lloyd, and Orpen. The North-Western tribes, on the other hand, are the most fully studied of all. It is possible therefore that some of the differences apparent between them and other Bushmen may be due simply to lack of the relevant information about the latter. The North-Eastern tribes, again, have not yet been investigated with the thoroughness and detail they deserve. Here also the possibility remains that further knowledge about them may reveal more features in common with the other Bushmen than are at present observable.

Numbers

● 161 The distribution of the Bushmen over so many distinct political areas, their general inaccessibility, their nomadic hunting life and consequent habit of living in small separate bands all combine to render difficult any attempt to arrive at a comprehensive figure of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

their numbers. To this must be added the fact that observers do not always clearly discriminate them from the Hottentots. Of the various estimates previously made, the majority go back some fifteen or twenty years, and offer little safe guidance to present conditions. The only area for which fairly reliable figures of recent date are available is South-West Africa, where in 1926 there were officially stated to be 3,600 Bushmen.[1] This figure would therefore include the Auen, Heikum, most of the Kung, a few of the Naron, the /nu//en, and other small tribes on the south-eastern border, and the remnants of the Namib Bushmen. Adopting it as a rough guide, one may safely assume that all the other Bushmen still found in Angola, the Kalahari desert, and the western districts of Southern Rhodesia, together with the few individuals in other parts, will be at least as numerous, especially when it is remembered that the Kalahari is the centre of the region now occupied by the Bushmen. We may therefore place the total number of Bushmen still in existence at a conservative minimum of about 7,000 to 7,500. Any more accurate estimate is impossible with the data at our disposal. The Bushmen may be far more numerous, but there is no ready means of ascertaining this. On the other hand, it is hardly likely, judging from even the limited data available, that they can be much fewer.

161

That formerly they were certainly far more numerous is unquestionable. The fact that they are now almost completely extinct in many parts where at one time they were found in large numbers is sufficient testimony to the great decrease they have suffered. This is especially noticeable in the Cape, where, as already mentioned, they were forcibly exterminated at the hands of successive invaders. In the case of the European settlers alone we know that during the eighteenth century frequent commandos were sent against the Bushmen in the attempt to end their depredations against stock. The figures available of the relentless destruction that followed make sad reading. In 1774, we are told, a commando in the Roggeveld killed 503 Bushmen and took 239 prisoners, while it is calculated that between the years 1785 and 1795 no fewer than 2,504 were killed and 669 made captive.[2] Since these by no means represent the total Bushman population of the Cape at that time, there is little reason to regard Fritsch's minimum estimate of 10,000 for the number of Bushmen

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[1] *Report on the Administration of South-West Africa for* 1926 (Union of S. Africa Parliamentary Bluebook, U.G. 22, 1927), p. 28.
[2] G. E. Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, vol. i, 1910, pp. 18–19.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen FX10

B 161 727

before these destructive raids as being in any way excessive.[1] In Orange Free State and Basutoland, too, where at one time the Bushmen were also very numerous, there are now apparently no more than a few stray individuals.

B 161 164

Even in South-West Africa their numbers seem to have declined a good deal within recent years. The German official estimate for 1913 gave the Bushman population of this territory as 8,098,[2] which may be contrasted with the 1926 figure of 3,600. Allowing for probable inaccuracies in the two estimates, there does nevertheless appear to be an undeniable decrease. This may be attributed largely to the ravages of disease, especially malaria, although other factors also must be considered. The present area of Bushman occupation in the North-West Kalahari is largely infested with malaria, and all observers agree that the Bushmen suffer heavily from this disease. Thus Kaufmann put the numbers of the Auen in 1908 at approximately 3,000, but adds that in the following year more than half the tribe was swept away by malaria, while in 1917, 1923, and 1925 the same disease was again attended by a considerable mortality among all the Bushman tribes in this area.[3] Infanticide, a practice definitely recorded among the North-Western tribes, also tends to keep the numbers down; while the disappearance of game and the enforcement against the Bushmen of the game laws serve the same end by making their mode of subsistence even more precarious than it was at the best of times.

B [847]

B 161

There seems little doubt that the Bushmen are steadily dying out as a race. What relentless persecution at the hands of other peoples has not achieved is being slowly accomplished by disease and racial intermixture. Racially pure Bushmen are already in a minority, and their ultimate absorption by their neighbours is probably inevitable.

HOTTENTOTS

B H 144

Racial History

By the time when European contact with South Africa was first established, the Bushmen in the Cape had already been reduced to living in isolated groups scattered about among the more numerous

[1] Fritsch, op. cit., 395.
[2] *Die deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee* 1912/1913: *Amtliche Jahresberichte*, p. 395.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 136, 159; *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 9, 1928, p. 990.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933

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South Nguni

The woman, partly through submissiveness to her husband, partly because equally curious to see strange people of a different garb, started out on the journey after a day or two of preparation, dressed in her best garments. She had an escort of thirty or forty Chainouquas for company and for protection against others, especially against the Kochoquas, with whom the Chainouquas were then at war. But while on the way she was attacked unawares by the Kochoquas in a big wood and killed. Her ornamentation, valuables and garments were all trodden under foot, and her escort put to flight. Leaving behind two or three men, they made for the Cape and Chaihantimo, to whom they reported the news of the tragedy. Thereupon he departed instantly to his own country with his people, in order to revenge himself in war against the Kochoquas for this outrage; but he was far too weak in numbers against them.[37]) 000

SONQUAS.

The Sonquas[38]) are a people dwelling in massive mountainous country. They number several thousands, and are very small in size, both men and women. They have no cattle, but live by shooting rock-rabbits[38a]) with the bow and arrow, which they use with remarkable skill. The rock-rabbits have their retreats under the rocks, on top of which they come to bask and play about during the heat of the day; the Sonquas then hit and shoot them down in great numbers with their arrows. They also go out hunting [101] [161] 224

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flight and returned to the great chief of the Chainuquas, who is said with his army to have gone to Chobona to ask for justice in the face of this insult, and assistance to revenge it" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 92-3; D., Dec. 31, 1658). Chaihantima appeared again at the Fort in 1661, when van Riebeeck drily remarks: "this is the same who had told us such stories about his wife having been brought up at the court of the Chobonas, having worn many jewels, and afterwards been killed by the Cochoquas. Though he still adheres to them, we can no longer believe him" (D., Aug. 3, 1661).

[38]) Sonqua, Souqua, Sanqua, etc., is the name applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen, and according to Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 3) is derived from the root *sa* (plur. *san*), meaning "aborigines or settlers proper". It is significant that van Riebeeck does not mention them at all in the list of tribes prepared for his successor, although they figure often enough in his journal. He says of them: "They are robbers, subject to none, and depending upon their arrows and assagays, treacherously robbing their neighbours of their cattle and their wives" (D., Oct. 31, 1657); and again: "The Soaquas, a tribe without cattle, dwelling beyond, among the mountains of Africa, and mostly robbers" (D., Nov. 8, 1660). 101

[38a]) *Hyrax capensis*, still commonly known in S. Africa as "dassies."

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

101 Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung
582 whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

619 The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the
[648] territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

648
162 About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28
[621] bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants
[177] other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

621 My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the
[114] years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

[162] FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

601 /Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1]
[595] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and
[596] extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal
[611] residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally,
[614] There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins
[835] are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

621 As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous
582 unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[113] [1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

/136 cont./ The approximate number of Auin,
162 naturally in the form of the very roughest estimate, is apparent from the following compilation:

There reside in the region of

Oas	about 300	persons
Dawis	" 150	"
Stampriet	" 250	"
Rooigrauwater	" 50	"
Korikas	" 150	"
Olifantskloof	" 200	"
Habakobis	" 100	"
Rietfontein	" 200	"
Tjumda	" 100	"
Go	" 150	"
Sidonitzaub	" 1,000	"
Karasburg	" 100	"
Epukiro	" 100	"
Ganab	" 100	"
Gam	" 100	"
Total	about 3,000	persons

[114] In my opinion the number of Bushmen living in the Kalahari (not only the Auin) has been consistently underestimated.

I wrote these lines in October, 1908. Today, in other words,
165 not yet a year later, I am forced to change my opinion, since
161 the malaria of the last rainy season has taken many victims and has decimated the Auin as well as the other tribes. According to the figures provided, I consider myself justified in suggesting that of the Auin estimated above at 3,000, only about half at most remain.

It is impossible to obtain more precise statistics since the
648 Bushmen successfully evade any kind of control. Even the administration of the protectorate takes account of this fact by dispensing from the outset with any registration or the like by the Kalahari Bushmen.

No special racial layers are to be distinguished among the
144 Auin, although it is doubtless true that certain individuals can be shown to have more Negro blood than others.

/136 cont./

142 The tribe at Gam in particular consists almost exclusively of comparatively large people who, even after a thorough washing, display a decidedly darker coloration than the other Auin.

● 162 According to my observations, there is something like one to two women for each man, and from two to three children for each woman.

162 847 [862] In this connection I would like to mention that newborn children are always killed if the mother is still nursing a child, which continues until about the third year of life. The killing is done immediately after birth by the mother, who buries the newborn child alive. The father has nothing to do with it. Since marital [853] intercourse continues during the nursing period and since this period lasts for about three years, it follows that approximately every third child is reared while those born in the meantime are killed without exception. This might well be a principal factor in the unquestionable decline in the population.

592 595 Since each woman has her special windscreen (hut), the man lives alternately with one and then another of his wives; the latter in turn have their children living with them, and it therefore follows that about three to four persons occupy each hut.

221 361 The size of the settlements (villages) is quite indefinite and changes according to the circumstances. During the dry season a settlement is formed usually by one to two families, whereas during the period of ample veld food, in other words, toward the end and shortly after /137/ [map appears here] /138/ the rainy season, sometimes up to 30 families join together to form a "village." In April, 1908, about 400 men were living in a settlement near Sidonitzaub. If their dependents are included, one will arrive at a figure of at least 1,000 persons.

[701] All the men are armed warriors.

161 As has already been noted, one can clearly observe a decrease in the population, which, judging by its rapid progress, can be designated as swiftly approaching extinction. Aside from infanti- [136] cide and malaria, the decrease of wild game may also be given as a reason for the population decline, since this decrease makes food more difficult to obtain. Older Auin state that in former times attacks by lions caused heavy losses.

[Text continues on page 7]

[18 cont.]

648 Nogau, the !Kung who are settled in the Sand Veld east of the Omuramba u Omatako are more hostile toward the Whites, and the attitude of the Whites and natives on the farms is correspondingly hostile toward them. This attitude is explained by the fact that only in recent times the Bushmen were forced out of the region west of the Omuramba and now have considerably reduced the scant living space of their brothers east of the dry bed. The living conditions in this region are hopeless. The !Kung live in symbiosis with the tribes along the Okovanggo. Lacking a stable social organization, lacking fixed dwellings in the narrower sense, the Bushmen is much less manageable than, say, the black farmers. Making the tribe collectively responsible, which is the best protection for the European, cannot be used against the Bushmen, and the likelihood of seizing a Bushman who has committed a crime on the edge of the police zone or outside it is zero. One must keep this in mind in dealing with them. On the other hand, I had no bad experiences with them.

[19] The Biological Bases of Life

1. The Number

161 Seiner has estimated the number of the !Kung at about 12,000. Since then, the wars of 1914-15, as well as the steady deterioration of the water conditions, have strongly curbed any increase, so that their number has certainly not risen in the last 20 years.

621 The basic social unit is the essentially patriarchal family horde, which on the average consists of one or two old men, four to six adult men, an equal number of women capable of bearing children, and a number of old matrons, as well as the 221 children. Toward the end of the winter they assemble in great 621 numbers at the few remaining watering places; they then meet again when the first veldkost ripens at certain places, frequently several hundreds of them; and then, when summer sets in, they again move in small groups to their family terrain. As examples, 162 I shall give four hordes for which I was able to determine the

!KUNG

[19 cont.]

approximate ages of the members:

162

	Horde I	Horde II	Horde III	Horde IV
Men	9	7	4	10
Old men	--	--	4	1
Women of child-bearing age	10	12	13	9
Matrons	4	9	7	6
Infants	6	6	7	2
Small children:				
Boys 1-4 years old	2	3	8	3
Girls 1-4 years old	3	4	6	1
Children:				
Boys 5-10 years old	4	4	?	?
Girls 5-10 years old	3	2	?	?
Young men	5	--	?	?
Young women	5	3	?	?

The above table thus has reference to 44 women capable of bearing children and to 38 marriages, of which two are polygamous. Four are widows. In these 38 marriages, there are 15 infants, mostly under one year old. To the extent it could be determined, 12 women were pregnant, and about five of them had [842] older infants. It would seem, then, that nursing beyond one year [853] affords no practical protection against a new conception.

833 183 The rule among the Nog-au that cohabitation with the mother may be renewed only when the baby is able to sit is well known, but it is not particularly observed.

165 With these 15 infants there should accordingly be 45 small children from one to four years old; in actual fact, however, there are only 30 small children, which gives an infant mortality rate of 33 per cent. This rate is no higher than is to be expected among primitive tribes in malaria regions; in fact, it is lower than in some native locations, such as East London.

[19 cont.]

●162 165 In the age group of five to ten years, the number remains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number [123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

[20] Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in

[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman [131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief 133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika [Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa], Berlin, 1906.

648 621 622 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and

128 Diagrams will be given to illustrate the homonymous method of applying terms,
601 but they do not illustrate a typical family. No Bushman family we know has as many
162 living children as in Diagram 4. Bushmen are completely nomadic and must carry
105 their young children and all their possessions, walking seventy or eighty miles or
847 more as they move from one wild crop of roots or nuts to another. They limit, by infanticide, the number of infants to those they can carry and care for. ≠Toma, one of our informants, helping me one day to construct one of these hypothetical illustrations, laughed and said, 'Who is this who has so many children? Is it an ostrich?'

DIAGRAM 2

601 In this illustration ego's */gu/na* is his FaFa. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the So and Da of his */gu/na*. They and ego use the adjacent generational terms, *tsu* and *//ga*, for each other.

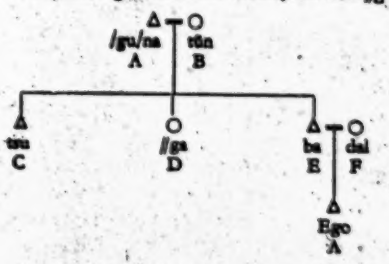
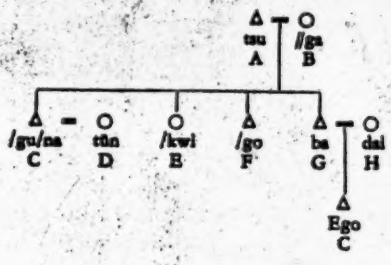


DIAGRAM 3

Here ego is named for his FaBr. In this case ego's FaFa is ego's */gu/na*'s Fa and ego's FaMo is his */gu/na*'s Mo; *tsu* and *//ga* are the terms used. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the Br and Si of ego's */gu/na*; the sibling terms are used. Ego applies the term *tũn* to the wife of his */gu/na*.



Diagrams 2 and 3 illustrate ego's application of terms to members of his */gu/na*'s family. Letters represent names. A person who is designated by the same letter as a person in a generation above him has been named for that person. The naming is customary and correct as far as it goes. Some of the children would be named for their mother's parents or siblings, but, as those persons would be ego's affines, until the affinal terms are given this aspect of the illustrations will be postponed.

There is a secondary application of the terms originally applied by ego to members of his */gu/na*'s nuclear family and spouse. Ego applies terms to persons who are named for the latter, and continues during his lifetime applying to persons descending from

Population.

161 [31] The Bushmen are scattered over an area of approximately 60,000 square miles. Of this area at least 50,000 square miles are practically unknown and otherwise uninhabited, being accessible with considerable difficulty only during the rainy season. It is extremely difficult, therefore, to arrive at a reliable conclusion as to their numbers. On a conservative basis they are estimated to number between 2,500 and 3,500, viz.:—

● 162

Kaukau Bushmen—	
!Kũng	500—800
Ssu-ǂgnassi	200—300
ǂAo-//ẽin	500—600
Ngami Bushmen—	
//Aikwe	50—75
/Nu-//ẽin	200—300
Hei-//om	1,000—1,500
/Huinin and /Geinin	75—100

Physical Characteristics.

164 With the exception of certain groups who are living in the more inaccessible portions of the Kalahari, most of the Bushmen show various degrees of intermixture with the Hottentots and Bantu. No uniform racial type is consequently met with among them. This fact is not to be wondered at when the various racial influences to which they have been exposed for centuries are taken into consideration. For geographical reasons the Bushmen in certain parts of the Kalahari did not suffer to the same extent from these influences as those who were in the line of migration of the invading races. Roughly speaking three characteristic types may be distinguished among them. The first, in which the Hottentot element would appear to be the dominant one, is seen among the *Hei-//om*, *ǂAo-//ẽin* and *Naron* in the Gobabis district and among the remnants still met with on the borders of Namaqualand. The second type approximates that of the Bantu and is seen particularly among the *Hei-//om* who live on the outskirts of Ovamboland. In the third, still met with only in the Kalahari, bush characteristics are still apparently predominant. As reliable information is not available on this subject, to the investigation of which but little attention has been directed up to the present, further reference to it would not serve any useful purpose.

Social Organisation.

The Family Group.

619 Each of the language groups into which the Bushmen have been classified consist of several main sub-divisions. Though for the sake of convenience the latter will be referred to as "tribes" in this report, there is no evidence of any tribal

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48'30" S, 181
20°34'36" E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but 131
extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and
Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch [123]
of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In [162]
it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and [648]
9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of
about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the [32]
region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and
preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north [192]
and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen- [82]
speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung 181
Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is sur- 182
vival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in
their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring
food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the [62]
mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their [570]
social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals
within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between [628]
bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on [971]
survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the
sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region 433
have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we re- 262
fer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of
a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired,
but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know 222
more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several 262
species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen
suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad
for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets.
Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this re-
gion as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman
groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any
water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are
the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-
resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these;
doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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!Kung

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Gathering Mangetti Nuts

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[182]

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[161]
[162]

[361]
[162]

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eral large groves of mangetti trees (*Ricinodendron rautanenii* Schinz) in the region, all on great waterless white sand dunes, and one extensive area in which *tsĩ* grows. *Tsĩ* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch) is the seed of the vine that runs along on the surface of the ground. Both mangetti nuts and *tsĩ* are excellent foods, rich in oils and proteins, and so important to the !Kung that they organize their lives to a considerable extent around them.

Each band, according to !Kung social structure, owns and lives within what we call a territory. The band, through its headman (in a way to be explained later), owns the veldkos and water resources within its territory. The territories are varied in size and shape and sometimes consist of portions that are not even contiguous. The boundaries are vague, for the need to draw fine boundary lines is not great. In the interior of the region, where water is so scant, in roughly 8000 square miles live only 17 bands, comprising 447 persons. The other bands and employed groups live on what we call the periphery of the region. The !Kung say that one cannot eat the ground itself so it does not matter to whom it belongs. It is the patches of veldkos that are clearly and jealously owned, and the territories are shaped in a general way around these patches. The !Kung of the interior have settled themselves in such a way that every band has access to areas of edible roots and to either a mangetti grove or a *tsĩ* patch. A few bands have both.

The strong concepts of ownership of veldkos by the band operate almost like a taboo. No external force is established to prevent one band from encroaching on another's veldkos or to prevent individuals from raiding veldkos patches to which they have no right. This is just not done. Fear of fighting is one of the deterrents. The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly

[p. 248]

342
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A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

342
[283]

digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

372
[594]
[213]

The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

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621
[162]
[101]
[372]

The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

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The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

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324

ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

[p. 256]

thighs, up the buttocks to the waist, and on the cheeks and forehead. 304
The !Kung say the stripes are made only for beauty* and are in imitation of gemsbok—big, stately gray antelopes with spectacular black markings.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The only social grouping above the family in 621
!Kung society is the autonomous band. A band is a group of families who live together, linked to one another and to the headman by kinship bonds, in a manner that will be illustrated presently. Nuclear families do not live alone among the !Kung. An extended family might do so, if it were a strong unit with enough young hunters and gatherers to sustain it; it would then be a band. Most of the Nyae Nyae bands were composed of several families [162] ●
and ranged in size from twenty or twenty-five to fifty or sixty members.

Each band belongs to its own territory, or, we can say, owns its territory 621
and the resources within it. Two or more bands may belong to the same 622
territory. The focus of the band's ownership of the territory is the headman, 423
who is called *kxau* (owner). He does not own the resources as private, individual property is owned, to withhold or give as he pleases. Members born to the band have a kind of inalienable right of their own to the resources. The headman personifies those rights and gives them organization and continuity. The continuity is expressed by the attachment of the headmanship to the territory. If a headman leaves the territory to live elsewhere—except temporarily for bride service—he ceases to be headman and the headmanship falls on someone else who remains in the territory.

!Kung society accords to the headman the authority to coordinate the 622
movements of his own people in relation to their consumption of resources, and his chief duty is to plan when and where the band will move. He should protect the resources from encroachment from outsiders.

When the band moves, the headman's position is at the head of the line. He chooses the site for the new werf and has the first choice of a spot for his own fire and scherm. He has no other rewards or prerogatives. He carries his own load and is as thin as the rest.

It is not a headman's duty, as headman, to instigate or organize hunting parties, trading trips, the making of artifacts, or gift giving, nor does he make marriage arrangements. Individuals instigate their own activities. A 622
headman is not in any formalized way a judge of his people, nor must he 627
punish a wrongdoer. He may have great influence, if he is an effective leader, but wrongdoing is judged and controlled by public opinion, usually expressed in talk. Occasionally a person who is wronged seeks to avenge himself by fighting, which is greatly deplored.

If a headman is too young or too old, or lacks personal qualities of 622

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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622 leadership, the people may turn quite informally to some other man for leadership in their daily life—ask him for help and advice, fall in with his plans. Such a leader has no authority and receives no honors or rewards.

Headmanship is inherited by the eldest son from the father. If that son dies or leaves the band, the headmanship passes to the next eldest son.

No strictly formulated rules, insofar as we know, provide for further succession. We have no observations of our own of situations in which a headman had no son.[10]

622 621 571 The rule of succession does not provide for a headmanship to pass collaterally to a headman's younger brother. However, a younger brother may set up a band of his own in the same territory if he does not prefer to live under the headmanship of his older brother or if he does not continue to live with his wife's people. The younger brother has his own rights to the veldkos and water that derive from his father and he can share them with his family and band. Nevertheless, as long as a son of the headman in rightful succession is living in the territory, he has higher authority and is responsible for the overall planning. Should the principal headman's band die out or realign itself, the collateral band led by the younger brother would become the principal one.

621 622 602 571 The bonds that bring the !Kung into membership in bands are the same consanguineous and affinal bonds on which a nuclear family is formed: the bonds of parent-offspring, siblings, and spouses. Everyone who lives in a !Kung band is linked by one of these bonds with the headman, sometimes directly or sometimes in a chainlike manner through one or two other persons. A description of a typical band will illustrate this point. Band II of Gautscha has forty-one members. The headman, Gao Beard, has two wives and four young children. With Gao Beard live his younger brother, one of his younger sisters, each with spouse and children, and his elderly, dependent and widowed mother. Gao asked his first wife's father, Old ≠Toma, whom he likes very much, to join his band. Old ≠Toma brought with him into the band his wife, a married son with wife and child, two younger sons, his wife's sister, and her son by a now divorced husband. He also brought sixteen other persons—Gau and his people. Gau belongs to another band but was at the time living in Band II because he had married, as a second wife, Old ≠Toma's wife's sister and, middle-aged though they are, he was in bride service to her people. After a time Gau can choose whether to stay on in Band II or to go back to the band in which he originated. He said that he thought he would decide to stay with Old ≠Toma and Gao Beard because he likes Old ≠Toma and because Gao Beard has a mangetti grove.

[162] [592] [583]

621 423 People retain throughout their lives their membership in the band in which they were born and their rights to its veldkos and water resources.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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174 [172] 1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at 177 the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or 131 exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

131 (3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as 162 listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

144 (4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into cate- [114] gories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

114 147 (5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been published by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

224 126 (6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

553 602 121 (7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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619 To this group belong also the few Bushmen in the south-east of South-West Africa, of whom may be mentioned the */auni* in the waterless regions of the Lower Nossob and the */nu//en* (called */nusan* by the Nama Hottentots) in the Upper Nossob and Auhoup valleys. Some of these still lead a more or less independent life, but the majority are in the service of interdwelling Bantu, Hottentots, and Bastards.[1] Further east, in the south of Bechuanaland Protectorate, other Bushmen of the same group are found in the service of the BeChwana among whom they live. They have no special name for themselves, and are known simply as *MaSarwa*, the Chwana term for all Bushmen.[2]

The tribes of the NORTHERN GROUP inhabit the greater portion of the Omaheke in the north-east of South-West Africa, including part of the Kaukauveld and the Oschimpolóveld. On the east they extend into Bechuanaland Protectorate, and on the north into Angola.

In the south of this region, between Sandfontein and Gam, are found the *//Kau //en*, called *ǂaukwe* by the Central Bushmen, *ǂausan* by the Nama, *MaKaukau* by the neighbouring Bantu, and commonly spoken of as the *Auen*. They are one of the few Bushman tribes still living in comparative independence, and appear to have retained their original mode of life and organization to a considerable extent, though not without a few traces of foreign influence. Their numbers [162] at the present time are estimated at between 500 and 600.[3]

Immediately north of them, and speaking a closely-related language, live the *!Khũ* or *!Kuŋ*, commonly called *Kung*, one of the largest and most independent of the Bushman tribes.[4] Their tribal name means simply "persons, people", but when used without an adjective signifies "Bushmen" to them. They occupy the whole north-east corner of South-West Africa, extending from about Grootfontein

[1] D. F. Bleek, in *Festschrift Meinhof*, 56–7; *idem*, *Comp. Voc.*, 2–3; Papst, "Die Kalahariwüste und ihre Bewohner," *Mitt. geogr. Ges. Jena*, xiv (1895), 48–54; J. F. Herbst, *Report on Rietfontein Area* (Cape Parliamentary Papers G. 53–1908).

[2] L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, Jena, 1907, pp. 650–78.

[3] The fullest account of this tribe is by H. Kaufmann, "Die ǂAuin, Ein Beitrag zur Buschmannforschung," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 135–60; cf. also Müller, "Ein Erkundungsritt in das Kaukauveld," *D. KolBl.*, xxxiii (1912), 530–41.

[4] H. Werner, "Anthropologische, ethnologische und ethnographische Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxviii (1906), 241–68; H. Vedder, "Grundriss einer Grammatik der Buschmannsprache vom Stamm der !Kũ-Buschmänner," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910–11), 5–24, 106–17; F. Seiner, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung der Omaheke in den Jahren 1910–12," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 225–316; von Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xlvi (1914), 1–7; V. Lebzelter, "Die religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khun-Buschmänner," *Festschrift P.W. Schmidt*, Vienna, 1928, 407–15; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten am oberen Omuramba und Ovambo (Südwestafrika)," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928–9), SitzBer [12]–[16].

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

619 in the west to the Okavango and Lake Ngami on the north and east. They are divided into four main local groups, the *!Ogowe* of the Lower Omuramba Omatako, the *Agau* south-east of Karakuwisa, the *Nogau* of Karakuwisa and the Upper Omuramba Omatako, and [197] the *‡Kungau* north of Tsintsabis and along the Okavango, all of which, however, speak the same language and have identical customs and [162] beliefs. Their numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 500 and 800, but if one may judge from the statements of reliable observers such as Seiner and von Zastrow this figure is a good deal too low.

[197] North of the Okavango, in Southern Angola, are found a number of other Bushmen speaking the same language as the Kung of South-West Africa and calling themselves by the same name, or sometimes by the names *!gei !kū*, "red people," or *!o !kū*, "forest people." They extend north up to about 15° S. lat., west to about 16° E. long., and east as far as the border of North-West Rhodesia. These Angola Kung, or *!O Kung*, as they will be spoken of here, have been con- [177 considerably influenced in mode of life and customs by the interdwelling 144] Bantu peoples who are their overlords, and are gradually being absorbed into them through racial intermixture. They are sometimes referred to by the names applied to them by the Bantu: *BaKhankala* or *VaNkala* in the west, *BaSukuwera* in the centre, and *VaShekeli* in the east.[1]

To the west and south-west of the Kung in South-West Africa are the *Hei-//om* or *Heikum* ("tree dwellers"), who are scattered over a large extent of the country, from north of the Etosha Pan and the outskirts of Ovamboland in Grootfontein and Outjo districts to near Rehoboth in the south.[2] This part of South-West Africa is fairly densely settled by other peoples as well, so that it is possible for only a few of these Bushmen to lead their native life. Most of them now work on farms, and except among the bands in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organization is said to have 619 disappeared completely. Whether free or in service, the majority now 197 speak a Nama dialect, and in culture and physical characters also they have been influenced to a very great extent by the Nama and the 177 Bergdama. The bands living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture, and are rapidly being

[1] (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.*, xxi (1927), 47–56; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928), 105–25.

[2] H. Werner, op. cit.; L. Fourie, "Preliminary Notes on Certain Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6), 49–63; *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, Cape Town, 1928, pp. 79–105.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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absorbed into the OvaMbo through racial intermixture. Werner, however, found some of them speaking a language of their own. The examples he gives of this show it to be closely related to the language of the Kung, so that the tribe can be regarded as falling within the Northern group of Bushmen. Its numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 1,000 and 1,500.

The CENTRAL GROUP is composed of many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of Bechuanaland Protectorate, especially in the Central and Northern Kalahari. The languages of these tribes differ in some respects from those of the two previous groups, and present many close similarities to the Hottentot languages.

In close proximity to the Auen, by whom they are termed *Naron* ("insignificant people"), live the *//aikwe*, one of the best known of the Bushman tribes.[1] They are found principally in Bechuanaland Protectorate, their territory extending from Sandfontein in the west to Ghansi in the north-east and Okwa in the south-east. Further north and east, as far as Lake Ngami, are the closely related *Tsaukwe*, *Tsonokwe*, *ʇamkwe* and *!giŋkwe*, all friendly tribes, whose languages the *//aikwe* understand, and whom they include with themselves in the collective designation *K"am-ka Kwe*, "Mouth's people."[2]

Beyond them, in the marshy region extending from Lakes Ngami and Linyati in the south to the Okavango delta at Andara in the north, live the *Bugakwe*, *ʇgarikwe*, and *ʇgokwe*, who all speak the same language and term themselves collectively */tannekwe*, "river people."[3] In the sandy plains north and east of these tribes, between Okavango River and the Kwando, are the *Hukwe*, called *MaKwengo* by the MaMbukushu and *MaSarwa* by the BaRotse amongst whom they live. Still further east, between the Lower Kwando and the Zambesi Rivers, and probably extending into North-West Rhodesia, are the *Galikwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaDennassena*.[4] In

[1] H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, Oldenburg n.d. (1891), pp. 388–99; S. Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, Berlin, 1907; Gentz, "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," *Globus*, lxxxiii (1903), 297–301; lxxxiv (1903), 156–9; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari*, Cambridge, 1928.

[2] Passarge, op. cit., 24; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 2.

[3] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland und seine Bewohner," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxvii (1905), 649–716; F. Seiner, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung des Gebiets zwischen Okawango und Sambesi (Caprivi-Zipvel) in den Jahren 1905 und 1906," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxii (1911), 1–111; *idem*, "Die Buschmänner des Okawango- und Sambesigebietes der Nordkalahari," *Globus*, xcvii (1910), 341–5, 357–60.

[4] Seiner, op. cit.; J. C. B. Statham, *With my Wife across Africa by Canoe and Caravan*, London, 1924, 255–7; J. H. Wilhelm, "Aus dem Wortschatz der !Kub- und der Hukwe-Buschmannsprachen," *Z. EingebSpr.*, xii (1922), 291–304.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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Namib desert strip and adjacent districts in South-West Africa.[1] 619
Their language is reported to be Nama, and they are sometimes said [197]
to be degenerate Hottentots who have lost their cattle and taken to a nomadic hunting and collecting life similar to that of the Bushmen. But the little we know about their customs and social organization shows that they are true Bushmen, although they have undoubtedly been considerably influenced in both culture and physical characters by the Hottentots. They were divided into several groups, each with its own distinctive name. The */geinin* in the true Namib desert between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//obanen* in the region round the junction of the Great Fish and Orange Rivers, and the */koma* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateaus have apparently disappeared completely; the *!ganin* in the region between Naauwkluft and Grootfontein S. are almost totally extinct, while the */huinin* in the southern extremity of the Huib plateau just north of the Orange River are still represented by a few families. The numbers of the two last groups together are [162]
estimated at between 75 and 100. Hahn, writing of these people in [532]
1879, says that they were then still painting on rocks.[2] This may be taken as convincing proof that they really are Bushmen, for the Hottentots do not practise this art at all. Their distribution, as well as the information we have about their habits and customs, seems to link them up with the Southern Group, but there is as yet no clear evidence in support of this view.

The above classification of the Bushmen into linguistic groups is 144
quite independent of and distinct from considerations of race and 197
culture. All Bushmen are of the same racial stock, and have 184
fundamentally the same culture, just as their languages are essentially related. At the same time, there are variations in both race and culture running counter to the linguistic distinctions.

Broadly speaking, it may be said with regard to racial characters 144
that the Bushmen living south of the Molopo River are purest in type. Those further north have all mixed to a varying extent principally with Bantu but also with Hottentots and Bergdama. In the west of this region there is perhaps more Hottentot blood, although in the north-west there has also been a good deal of intermixture with Bantu (chiefly OvaMbo) and Bergdama. In the east Bantu blood,

[1] L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 98–105; E. Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), 501–6; P. Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib, ihre Familien- und Rechtsverhältnisse," *Mitt. deutz. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 166–70; *idem*, "Aus der Namib," *Z. KolPol.*, xiii (1911), 301–8.

[2] T. Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 307–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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114 There is unfortunately no reliable information available as to the
131 extent of territory occupied by the band. The only writer to touch
621 on this question is Seiner, who estimates that in the Grootfontein district in the north-east of South-West Africa the average hunting territory covers about 700 sq. km.[1] This figure, however, cannot be regarded even as approximate, for it is based on what is almost certainly an excessive estimate of the total Bushman population in that district.

Size of the Band

162 The number of people who make up a band varies from tribe to
621 tribe, and even within the tribe itself, although it is never considerable. Some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen speak of bands containing from one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons,[2] but groups much smaller in size are also mentioned.[3] Certainly in more recent times the number of families living together seldom exceeded three or four.[4] The remnants of the Namib Bushmen now also live in very small groups of only a few persons,[5] and so do the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, where a band rarely has more than about twenty members.[6] Elsewhere Dornan states that he has seldom seen more than six or seven families together at a time, all told about thirty persons, and this was in a camp at permanent water.[7] The !O Kung in Angola are also found living together in very small bands. The largest group met by Miss Bleek consisted of sixteen men and fifteen women; everywhere else little parties were seen of from two to six men, with their wives and families.[8]

621 In considering these figures it must be remembered that the Cape
648 Bushmen were already being persecuted and dispersed, and their
[177] organization disintegrated, by their more powerful neighbours at the time when they came under observation, while the Namib Bushmen are now almost extinct and live in very unfavourable country. Whether they were formerly banded together in larger numbers there is no means of telling. The Hiechware and the !O Kung, again,

[1] Seiner, loc. cit.
[2] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 53.
[3] Burchell, op. cit., i, 456; Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 48; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 144.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii.
[5] Trenk, op. cit., 166; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Range, *Landeskunde . . . des Namalandes*, 73.
[6] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 90.
[7] Ibid., 130.
[8] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

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are the serfs of the interdwelling Bantu, and the conditions under which they live do not, therefore, permit of their association in large groups. 621 648

In the tribes to the north-west who still retain to some extent their own mode of life and organization the communities are on the whole somewhat larger, although the numbers fluctuate a good deal. 162 621 In the Kaukauveld Passarge frequently saw bands of up to thirty persons, and in the Mahuraveld of between twenty and twenty-five persons.[1] Among the Naron, again, Miss Bleek speaks of a camp containing from sixty to eighty persons,[2] while among the Auen, according to Kaufmann, up to thirty families, i.e. about one hundred persons, may be found camping together.[3] Both writers agree, however, in stating that the numbers may at times be considerably less. Müller visited eight camps of Bushmen in the Kaukauveld, and the figures given by him show that in six of them the population ranged between thirty and seventy, while the remaining two had one hundred and fifty and two hundred inhabitants respectively.[4] Seiner, again, states that the bands of the Kung average fifty persons, although he mentions two encampments in the vicinity of Karakuwisa which were considerably larger[5]; while among the Tannekwe he found five encampments of Bugakwe, whose population he estimates altogether as two hundred and twenty, eight of Garikwe containing all told about four hundred and thirty persons, and one of Gokwe with ninety.[6]

Not too much weight can be laid on the actual figures given, as for the most part they are based on what are obviously rough estimates, not accurate observations. There seems little doubt, however, that among the North-Western tribes the bands are on the whole more considerable than in any of the other tribes, and the average given by von François[7] of between fifty to sixty persons to a band may be taken as fairly representative, although as we have seen the numbers fluctuate a good deal. [114]

Part of the difficulty in obtaining accurate information about the size of the band lies in the fact that the families composing it are not always found living together in one encampment. Within the 166 361 621

[1] *Die Buschmänner*, 9, 10. [2] *The Naron*, 4. [3] "Die Auin," 136.
[4] "Erkundungsritt in das Kaukauveld," 530. The actual figures are: 150, 40, 70, 70, 200, 30, 50, and 30.
[5] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303, 302.
[6] "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Samberi," 104.
[7] *Nama und Damara*, 234.

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595 is the rule, but a second wife is not considered wrong; it is thought better for a man in such a case to marry the younger sister of his first wife, then the two will not quarrel.[1] Further east in this tribe three or four wives are not infrequent, and actually a man often marries the sisters and "cousins" of his first wife.[2] The Auen at Rietfontein all have only one wife, "because of the scarcity of food," while those at Gam on the average have two, and sometimes even five wives. The wife first married holds a higher social position than the rest, which may, however, says Kaufmann, be due merely to her greater age.[3] Among the Kung a second wife may be taken, if the first consents; but owing to the difficulty of providing for more than one wife, adds Lebzelter, polygynous marriages are extremely rare.[4] Of the Heikum, again, Fourie tells us that each man as a rule has two wives, who may or may not be related. The second wife is married some time after the first, who is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over her. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife, and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation.[5] Polygynous marriages are also found among the !O Kung of Angola and among the Hiechware, but are here said to be comparatively rare.[6]

The occurrence of such marriages implies a numerical [114] preponderance of women, or else that some of the men must remain [162] bachelors; but unfortunately in no instance are figures given to show the proportion of men and women, or even of monogamous and polygynous marriages, within the band. The motives for polygyny are also not clearly defined. We are told, however, that [622] chiefs among the Naron mostly had two wives,[7] so that here it may be [554] partly associated with rank; while among the Auen, and probably also among the Heikum, the second wife is often not taken until the first is old and past child-bearing. A similar statement is made by Barrow about the Cape Bushmen.[8] In such cases naturally only the older men have more than one wife.

The Cape and the Namib Bushmen, as previously mentioned, are 582 said to forbid marriage only between own brother and sister, parent and child; and so do the !O Kung of Angola. Beyond this no special prohibition or injunction appears to exist. Among the Heikum, on the other hand, the range of forbidden relatives is extended to include all cousins and nieces; while in all the North-Western tribes, including

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34. [2] Passarge, op. cit., 106. [3] Op. cit., 157. [4] Op. cit., 13–14.
[5] Op. cit., 92. [6] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112; Dornan, op. cit., 124.
[7] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37. [8] Loc. cit.

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171 They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for
551 example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face, and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life."

853 Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable
[862] food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

847 This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide found among the North-Western tribes.[1] Sexual intercourse between the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save
[163] abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession during the course of married life, and it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the
[844] bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children of different ages, both needing the shelter of their kaross, and to be carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second or third child is usually weaned, the one or two born in the interval being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among
[184] the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality
[165] caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore
● 162 small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; Kaufmann, op. cit., 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31–2; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

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middle-aged women who counted up to five children they had reared—the others were never mentioned. The eldest children were already married, the others quite small. 162

Childhood and Family Life

All Bushmen are very fond of their children, who receive love and care without stint.[1] Babies and young children are spoiled, and rarely corrected. The children begin to walk early, but long after a child can toddle it must still ride in its mother's kaross on food-gathering expeditions, giving her an additional burden to carry wherever she goes. When finally old enough to look after themselves, the youngsters go out with other children, trailing after the women or bigger girls. They have no special playthings; infants amuse themselves with sticks and stones and grasshoppers, playing about in the sand, while the young boys soon make themselves or are given little bows and wooden arrows, with which they shoot small birds and reptiles. 855 857 [524]

Both boys and girls go out with their elders on the daily excursions in search of food, even the babies go, riding in their mothers' karosses. The day is spent out in the open veld, and here the children receive most of their education. The girls accompany their mothers, from whom they learn to know the plants and animals, and their value as food, how to collect veldkos, and how to use the different implements and utensils. The bigger boys follow the men out hunting. Towards his eighth or ninth year each boy is provided by his father with a proper bow and arrows, which are, however, not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbok or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows, and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veldcraft. 868

In this way the children grow up in intimate contact with Nature, and acquire all the knowledge necessary for hunting and collecting. In the evening they run about near the huts, play various games, mostly denoting scenes of animal life, take part in the dances, or sit by the fire, listening to the talk of their elders, until they feel 857

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 18 sqq., 31–2; Passarge, op. cit., 100; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 133–5; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 89–90.

606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as " my son-in-law " or " my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidently they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

847 Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.

844 A pregnant woman is generally treated with great consideration. For the first confinement it is customary for her to [184] return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-//om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the 846 infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner 848 it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies 165 follow in rapid succession during the course of married life 847 but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. [845] It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five [162] or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood. Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance [593] is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among 553 the *Hei-//om* each child is generally given three names, [551] namely a first name, a second name and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother and the second name by the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

481 trees, and on our way we found a path where before there
487 had been none. We followed it, it led to camp, and at its end we found Gai and eighteen other Bushmen, whose feet as they had walked in single file had worn a track. As we ap-
609 proached, the eighteen strangers drew back and together, the women behind the men, babies in their arms, and watched us hostilely. Gai persuaded them to sit down, which they did, all together, and when we asked them if they were hungry they said yes, so we gave them a drink of water and set a big pot of cornmeal to cook on our fire. We gave them each tobacco, which they smoked while they waited for the cornmeal to cook.

621 In that band there were six men, five of them in their thir-
162 ties, five women who seemed much younger, and one woman
596 who was very old. There were also three young boys and three babies, two girls and a boy. We guessed from the looks of the people—and later found that we were right—that the band was a small extended family. The old woman seemed to be the key figure of the band, for with her were her two sons and three daughters, their wives and husbands, and their children. The sixth man—a boy, really—did not seem to belong in this tightly woven group, for he was not married, being too young; he seemed too young to be the child of the old woman, though too old to be her grandchild, and I wondered who he was. Witabe's father was not there, and on that trip we did not find him.

142 The three sisters of the band were all arrestingly beautiful. They looked alike, with very fine faces, slender features, large eyes, and they all wore handsome white bead ornaments. Heavy eyelids, set off by the pronounced, delicate bones of their faces, made them look of uncertain race, or like houris, and their slender bodies with skins slightly wrinkled made them seem of uncertain age. Perhaps the sun had made the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

142
291

Gai was afraid of us at first. He listened carefully to everything we said, but he would not speak.

Even among her own people Tsetchwe was lonely, for in her band there was no young woman but herself.

142
291
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854
301

[p. 112(B)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

731 days, although not all were completely cured; and many, feeling that their luck was very bad at Gautscha, decided to take
361 their chances at other places in the veld where, although there was no water, there were watery roots that could be scraped for moisture. One day many of the people walked away in single file, taking their belongings and carrying on their backs their relatives still too sick to travel, leaving Gautscha Pan deserted except for the three small family bands who made their permanent home there.

764 One day when we were traveling in the veld about twenty
888 miles from Gautscha we came upon an old man lying on his face on the sand in an open place. He was a member of one of the bands at Gautscha that tried to escape bad luck, and, thinking he was hurt, we stopped at once. But he was not hurt; when we came near him he did not get up, but turned his face away from us and lay as if dazed, pressing one hand to his forehead. We knew him; he was the only Bushman of any nation we had ever met or even heard of who had never
[582 881] married, this because Bushman men must shoot a buck and
162 undergo initiation before they can marry, which he had never done. Instead he lived with his sister, who took care of him and provided him with food, and who had been very ill during the plague at Gautscha. As we looked at him the headman of that band stepped out of the bushes and told us that the old man was not ill but grieving for his sister, who lay dead in a grove of thorn trees a little way beyond. The old man, who had been alone with his sister when she died, had been too weak from the illness to bury her, and had only been able to hide her body under a pile of stones. When the other members of the band had returned to the grove after a day or so of veld food-gathering, it had been too late, to dangerous because of the now roaming spirit, for them to assist

The economic position

114 224 222 161 Tobias erred when he estimated that in 1956, 35,000 of the 55,000 Bushmen "lead a hunting and food-gathering life, barely removed from that of the late Upper Palaeolithic or of the South African Later Stone Age." (1957:33). The first comment concerns the numbers of Bushmen still hunting; the second the "primitiveness" of the modern Bushmen hunters.

162 131 464 648 224 Of the 15,000 Bushmen in South West Africa at least 9,500 are working on European farms. An additional 3,000 are either working for Bantu agriculturalists or practicing agriculture and stock-keeping themselves. (Republic of South Africa 1964:29,41). This leaves 2,500 as hunter-gatherers in South West Africa.

In Bechuanaland an estimated 16,300 Bushmen work on European farms or Bantu cattle posts. A further 2,000 are practicing a mixed agricultural and hunting way of life. The remaining 6,100 lead a hunting and gathering way of life. The main concentrations of the latter are in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (3,000) and in western Ngamiland (1,600).

The Batwa of the Lake Chrissie area have been working on European farms for nearly a century (Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955:3). The Bushmen in the Gemsbok Park are a major tourist attraction, but may do some hunting.

In Rhodesia, the Bushmen in the Wankie area are all

162 working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in
131
464 Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield
648 as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen
224 of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life.
(Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated
at 200.

161 This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of
162
224 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty
222 percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more
[114] reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely
that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between
the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

162 The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial
224
222 and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-
178 gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most
isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with
184 their European and Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of
[221] the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend
[648] part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent
[312] to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share
[464] their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the
[233] young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds
on a contract basis.

000 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

177 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had
411 metal weapons, and utensils and clothing of European manu-
415
291 facture for at least 40 years.

• 162 Among the 34,800 Bushmen classified as non-hunting,
433 there are, of course, many degrees of economic development. At one extreme, there are the second generation farm Bushmen of the Grootfrontien, Gobabis and Ghanzi Districts who have permanently given up the traditional subsistence round. Other farm Bushmen spend the rainy season living in the veld and work on the farms only in the winter dry season.

Many of the Bushmen in Ngamiland and the Crown Lands have made an excellent adjustment to modern conditions. For instance the Mababe and Pandamatenga people enjoy a settled village life combined with hunting for cash furs with rifles and steel traps. Many of the men work for hunting safaris where they have gained a good reputation as trackers and gun bearers.

433 The distribution of the various economic patterns is plotted on Map 4. There are four categories:

1. Full time hunting and gathering
2. Bantu-associated peoples with traditional lord-client relations
3. Independent villages with cash hunting and wage labor
4. European farm workers.

The !Kung Bushmen

101 131 162 The !Kung are the most numerous of the surviving Bushman tribes. Of the estimated total of 13,000, about 3,000 live in Angola, 2,000 in Bechuanaland, and 8,000 in South West Africa. The !Kung occupy a remarkably large area. Their country extends from north to south for a distance of 500 miles, and from east to west for a distance of 300 miles (see Map 5).

101 197 553 19 Two criteria clearly distinguish the !Kung from all other Bushman peoples: their language and their unique system of personal naming. The !Kung language has phonological features in common with adjacent Tshu-khwe and Hottentot languages, such as the four click system and the strong glottal releases. However, the vocabulary and grammar of !Kung sets it apart from the other click languages. A lexicostatistic comparison of !Kung and Nharo showed a low incidence of cognates (11.5%). [114] [193] The grammar of !Kung has yet to be adequately described, but none of the preliminary work by Doke (1925), Bleek (1929), Maingard (1957), and Westphal (1962, 1963:244) has been able to demonstrate a genetic relationship of !Kung grammar to the grammars of the other click languages.

There are no semi-!Kung languages (although the vocabulary of the southern dialect has been influenced by contact with Nharo) and therefore a native speaker of !Kung is immediately identified as a member of the !Kung tribe. This holds

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553 the south to the Okavango River on the north. The !Kung name-relationship was first described by Lorna Marshall (1957:3ff) for the Bushmen at /Gauša Pan, South West Africa. It was found in 1964 that !Kung farm workers as far away as Gobabis, South West Africa, two hundred miles south of /Gauša, possessed the same repertoire of personal names, the same rules of name inheritance, and the same method for fictively linking unrelated individuals through the name relationship.

From the scanty evidence available on the Angola !Kung (Bleek 1928), it appears that the name relationship is not operative there. However, in Bechuanaland and South West Africa the presence of the institution is a reliable criterion for determining whether a Bushman is !Kung.[1]

101 There are three geographical divisions of the !Kung
131 Bushmen. The northern group, numbering about 4,000, live in
• 162 Angola and the far northern districts of South West Africa. The central group, numbering about 7,000, extend from the western margin of the Okavango Swamp in Bechuanaland as far as the farms of the Grootfontein district of South West Africa.
[241] The southern group (c. 2,000) are confined to the farms of the

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[1]Unpublished evidence on the southern ǂhũa Bushmen indicates that they possess a system of fictive kinship based on personal names, but the repertoire of names appears to be entirely different from that of the !Kung Bushmen (Heinz, Westphal, personal communications).

101 Ghanzi and Gobabis Districts and their immediate northern
131
162 hinterland. All three divisions speak mutually intelligible
[241] dialects of !Kung but only the central and southern divisions
[197] have the institution of the name relationship.
[551]
[184] The northern division peoples call themselves "!kũ"
101 meaning "people" (Bleek, 1928:106) and many ethnographers have adopted this as the general appelation for the tribe. There has been a bewildering variety of spellings of this name[1] and it is urgent that one standard form be chosen. It is recommended that !Kung be adopted as the standard appelation for the tribe, following the lead of Fourie (1928:83) and Marshall (1957, 1959, 1960, 1962, etc.). This is not the most phonetically accurate of the alternatives, but the controversy over spelling is an academic one because the majority of the "!Kung" do not recognize this as their tribal appelation at all!

The central division "!Kung" call themselves "zũ/wãsi" (zũ = "people"; /wã = "proper" or "true"; si = plural suffix). This translates as "the proper people" or "the true people". It also has the connotation of "just folks" which Elizabeth Marshall Thomas has appropriately rendered as "The Harmless People" (1959). Bushmen of the study area objected to the

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[1] At least fourteen different spellings are in the literature including: Kung, !Kũ, !Kun, Qhung, //Khun, ≠Kũng, ʗhũ, !xũ, !Khũ, !un, !Kung.

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[162]

this area is waterless and uninhabited. In the center is a ring of pans and a series of waterholes which support at present a population of 1,200 !Kung Bushmen. They occupy an area of about 3,500 square miles (70 miles from east to west x 50 miles from north to south). This central complex of water sources is surrounded by a belt of waterless, uninhabited country that varies in width from sixty miles, on the east and north, to over one hundred miles on the west and south. Access to the interior is limited. One line of wells links Tsumkwe in the interior with Grootfontein on the west.

[491] Two rarely used motor tracks join the interior with the Okavango swamp to the east. A police patrol road cut in 1954-55 runs from south to north along the B.P./S.W.A. border. The maximum vehicle speed obtainable on these tracks is 20 mph [177] and trucks pass through about once a month. The difficulty of the terrain, the lack of farming potential, and the scarcity of water have deterred European and Bantu penetration of the area.

[114] The distinction between periphery and interior has been applied to the country of the central !Kung by John Marshall (1957) and Lorna Marshall (1960:327ff). The present usage differs from that of the Marshalls. They applied the term "interior" to the Nyae Nyae ring of pans and regarded the waterholes at /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa as peripheral. Since

621
166 such as the patrilineal band or composite band models current
121 in the literature (Steward 1955, Sahlins 1959, Service 1962).

121 An account of the situation at one waterhole will serve
621
312 to illustrate some of the dynamic processes at work in !Kung
621 group structure. At Dobe in October, 1963, there were two
312 camps, one with 28 members, the other with ten members. In
166
162 December, 18 members of the larger camp left on an extended
161 visit to Tsumkwe and the remaining ten people made a joint camp with the smaller group to form a camp of twenty people. In January, 1964, these two segments split up and abandoned Dobe altogether. The waterhole remained unoccupied until May, 1964, when the two segments recombined and were joined by 22 other people, who came in from five other camps. This group of 42 people wintered at Dobe in one camp. Then, in August the camp split up into a camp of twelve and a camp of 24. Six of the 22 people who had wintered at Dobe returned to other camps while 16 of these people remained at Dobe. The two Dobe camps (of twelve and 24) remained approximately stable for the remainder of the study (i.e. until January, 1965).

621 Thus at different times of the year the population of
312 Dobe was counted as follows:
161
162

October 1963	38 people in 2 camps
December 1963	20 people in 1 camp
Jan.-April 1964	nil.
May 1964	42 people in 1 camp
Aug. 1964 to Jan. 1965	36 people in 2 camps

621 312 Similar variations in group structure were observed at all the waterholes of the Dobe area. However, despite these shifts in the size and composition of camps there were two lines of evidence that indicated stability. First, there was a generally acknowledged nucleus of permanent territorial residents at each waterhole. Second, when camps split up they did so consistently along the same lines of fission. The presence of these two regularities provides a basis for a preliminary account of the living arrangements of !Kung Bushmen. The complete documentation and analysis of group structure will be presented in a later paper.

[125] The starting point for this account is a single complete census of the Dobe area made by the author in November, 1964. This was a good time for a census because it is the period of [221] the year when the camps are most stable. It was the end of the dry season when most of the Bushmen were restricted to their permanent waterholes.

621 161 162 This census showed a total population of 433 Bushmen divided among 35 living units. This figure of 433 includes ten individuals who died in the year preceding the census, and 32 others who were away from the area at the time of the census, so that the total number of Bushmen who were actually physically present in the area in November, 1964, was 391. The majority of the people (311 individuals, 72% of the total) were living in 15 independent hunting and gathering bands.

621
161 The remaining 122 individuals were living with the Bantu. The
• 162 diet of these latter people consisted of a combination of
[262] Bushmen wild foods and the products of the Bantu cattle. The complete census of the 35 living units is shown in Table 3.

The 15 bands ranged in size from nine to 52 individuals. There were five small bands (of 9, 12, 12, 12, and 13 members), nine bands of intermediate size (of 17, 19, 19, 21, 22, 22, 24, 27, and 30), and one large band with 52 members. The average band had 20.7 members and the median band had 19 members. The presence of twin modes in band size (at 12 and 22 members respectively) is perhaps a function of the domestic cycle,[1] but its significance remains to be explained.

621 Each of the bands has a nucleus of individuals who have a territorial claim to the land they occupy and who tend to spend the greater part of the year in residence in their territory. These core individuals are usually old people whose descendents and their spouses make up the bulk of the
[602] band's membership. Each of the larger bands has among its members one or more families who are collaterally or affinally related to the core individuals. These collaterals and affines do not express as strong a territorial claim to the band's land as do the core individuals and they tend to move around more frequently than do the core individuals. As

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[1] I am indebted to Adam Kuper for this suggestion (personal communication).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 48]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

TABLE 3

621 Census Breakdown of the 433 Dobe Area Bushmen, by Sex, Age,
161 and Living Unit Note: Independent Bands are Marked (B).
162

No.	Place	Name	Adults M	Adults F	Children M	Children F	TOTAL M	TOTAL F	TOTAL T
1.	Dobe(B)	n≠eysi	5	7	0	0	5	7	12
2.	Dobe(B)	≠qma/kwe	7	6	5	6	12	12	24
3.	!xabe	Enamiti	3	5	0	0	3	5	8
4.	Mahopa	Enamoharadi	5	10	5	6	10	16	26
5.	Mahopa	Rotsa	3	5	0	1	3	6	9
6.	Mahopa	Kathikona	1	0	0	0	1	-	1
7.	Mahopa	Vethepa	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
8.	Mahopa	Yona	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
9.	!angwa	Isak	4	5	1	3	5	8	13
10.	!angwa(B)	bo	7	7	3	5	10	12	22
11.	!angwa	Noiye	1	2	1	-	2	2	4
12.	!angwa	Kangwadyata	2	1	1	1	3	2	5
13.	!angwa	Kamburungu	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
14.	!angwa	Vetetha	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
15.	Bate(B)	!xoma	7	8	3	3	10	11	21
16.	Bate	Liceku	5	5	1	1	6	6	12
17.	Bate	Kaku·una	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
18.	Bate	Kathedi (Mahura)	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
19.	!ubi(B)	Kamburu	11	20	13	8	24	28	52
20.	!goše(B)	/ise	7	9	1	5	8	14	22
21.	!goše(B)	/i!ay	6	5	1	-	7	5	12
22.	!goše(B)	bo	4	7	3	5	7	12	19
23.	!goše	IBatha	1	1	2	1	3	2	5
24.	!goše	Tubexo	1	1	2	-	3	1	4
25.	Nokaneng(B)	Kau≠dwa	5	6	-	2	5	8	13
26.	!gausa(B)	n≠isa	5	5	6	3	11	8	19
27.	/ai/ai(B)	//aun!a	3	5	1	3	4	8	12
28.	/ai/ai(B)	//aihan!a	2	3	1	3	3	6	9
29.	/ai/ai	Halingisi	3	5	1	1	4	6	10
30.	/ai/ai(B)	≠oma!xwa	11	12	4	3	15	15	30
31.	/ai/ai(B)	!Kum	4	6	2	5	6	11	17
32.	/ai/ai(B)	≠omažho	8	9	4	6	12	15	27
33.	/ai/ai	dumn!a	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
34.	/ai/ai	Kamakau	1	1	-	-	1	1	2
35.	/ai/ai	Kurmmehe	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
Totals			131	164	64	74	195	238	433

621 seem more appropriate to use the non-committal term "camp" and discard the term "band".[1]

563 Apart from the fifteen independent camps, there were 122
• 162 !Kung Bushmen living with the Bantu. Thirteen Bush women were married to Bantu men.[2] Five of these women had borne a total of nine children who were being raised as members of their fathers' tribes and are therefore not enumerated in the Bushman census. Some of the women had brought members of their families to live at their husbands' kraals. Twenty-eight of the !Kung Bushmen were living with their Bantu in-laws. In all, the wives of Bantu and their kinsmen account for 39 of the 122 !Kung living with Bantu. There were no cases of a Bantu girl marrying a !Kung man.

648 Some families of Bushmen live with and work for Bantu
464 families. Five young married men were working as cattle
233 herders. They brought their wives and children to live with them. In addition, seven unmarried !Kung boys were working on cattle and were living in the compounds of their employers. Several old couples and a widower, who were temporarily not

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[1]This follows the lead of James Woodburn, who in his analysis of Hadza group structure (1964) discards the term "band".

[2]One of the thirteen had actually married a N/hai Bushman (the only non-!Kung Bushman in the Dobe area). This man was culturally identified with the Bantu.

648
464 attached to an independent camp were living with the Bantu.
[233] These working Bushmen, with their spouses and families,
[162] numbered 44 people.

The Batawana headman, Isak Utuhile, was the only one of the Bantu residents to maintain a staff of retainers and their families. This sort of benevolent feudalism is a common practice throughout the Tswana tribal areas of Bechuanaland (Schapera 1953:28; Tagart 1933) but, with this one exception,
[162] is absent in the Dobe area. The headman supports four assistants (including a uniformed Bushman police constable) and their families, a total of 13 people.

Finally there was an Ad Hoc grouping of 26 !Kung who lived at the kraal of Enamoharadi, a Herero woman at Mahopa. These people lacked a territorial nucleus and therefore could
[224] not be considered as an independent camp. Several !Kung
[222] women helped with the domestic duties but the majority chose
[262] to use Mahopa as a base of operations for hunting and gathering and to drink the milk of Enamoharadi's cattle when it was offered to them.

361 Except for the women who are married to Bantu, most of
648 the !Kung remain only temporarily in Bantu villages, for periods ranging from one month to two years. Also it was observed that most of the !Kung living with Bantu spent at least half the year hunting and gathering. Furthermore many

175
648 The Bushman residents of Bechuanaland, however, were not immediately affected by these restrictions. They continued to hunt and gather on the South West side and to visit their kinsmen at localities in the Nyae Nyae area.

648 <u>The period of European presence, 1960-1965</u> - In 1960, the
177 South African Government put into operation its plan to civilize the !Kung Bushmen of the interior. A government station was set up at Tsumkwe where a borehole was sunk. Mr. C. V. McIntyre, the Bushman Affairs Commissioner, took up residence at Tsumkwe. The !Kung Bushmen from Nyae Nyae were
[241] ingathered and provided with rations of maize meal. After they had been settled around the borehole a program was initiated to teach them agriculture. Because of a series of drought years this program has not met with success.

[162] By 1964, over 800 !Kung Bushmen had been settled at Tsumkwe. Less than 50 of these people had come from the
[178] Bechuanaland side. It is not clear why the Bechuanaland
[162] !Kung have not participated in this program to a greater
[224] extent, but the fact remains that over 350 !Kung continue to
[222] hunt and gather in the Dobe area and seem to indicate no intention of moving to Tsumkwe.[1]

648 The latest development in the political situation in

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[1]Some B.P. Bushmen insist that they were refused permission to live at Tsumkwe. Others say they fear to go there.

311 361 beyond the area enclosed by the dotted line, and this line therefore accurately represents the total utilizable space of the Dobe area.

311 312 361 824 2. Point resources - In Map 15, the picture of land utilization was simplified by omitting the actual patterning of food resources. In fact, the extent and configuration of the intensively utilized areas is influenced by the location of the mongongo nut forests and the distance of these forests from the permanent waterholes. These resources are plotted in Map 16. For instance, in an area where the mongongo nuts within a walking radius of water are sufficient to support a camp throughout the year, a group's territory will be small. However, in an area where the mongongo nuts are less locally abundant, the territory must, of necessity, be much larger.

The people of !goše, for example, are fortunate in having a vast nut forest within a ten mile radius of their waterhole. [162] The nuts from this forest are abundant enough to support the 62 members of the !gose camp throughout the year. By contrast, the nut forests near Dobe are much less abundant than at !goše. [162] The 36 members of the Dobe camps have to walk farther (up to 18 miles at the end of the dry season) in order to collect the mongongo nuts. As a result, the effective annual territory of the Dobe people is larger than that of the !goše people, despite the fact that the population of Dobe is smaller than

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 147]

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361 The distribution of camps during the summer follows two phases. In the early phase when water is standing in a dozen or more localities camps are found at most waters. This is the time of maximum freedom of movement because ponds fill up in the usually waterless belts and make it possible for people to visit relatives 35-70 miles away.

The distribution of camps in December 1963 is illustrated in Map 17,.p.157.

The second phase of summer life begins as these smaller waters dry up in February and March. Then most of the Bushmen converge on the large summer waters such as !Gauša Pan (not to be confused with /Gauša Pan in the Nyae Nyae area).

!Gauša Pan in its peak season (Jan-March in 1964) was a pond 400 feet long and 125 feet across, located in a local
[162] drainage area between two dunes. In addition to a resident
[648] population of 40 Bushmen (augmented by dozens of temporary visitors) the pan supported four Bantu cattle posts with
[136] about 500 head of cattle. The pan was a watering place for kudu and wildebeeste and had resident flocks of red-billed teal, white-bellied stork and hammerkops. Within a 3 mile radius of the pan there were remains of at least ten abandoned Bushmen camps that had been occupied in previous years.

[162] Besides !Gauša there were four other big pans in the Dobe area, each of which supported large Bushmen camps (of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 158]

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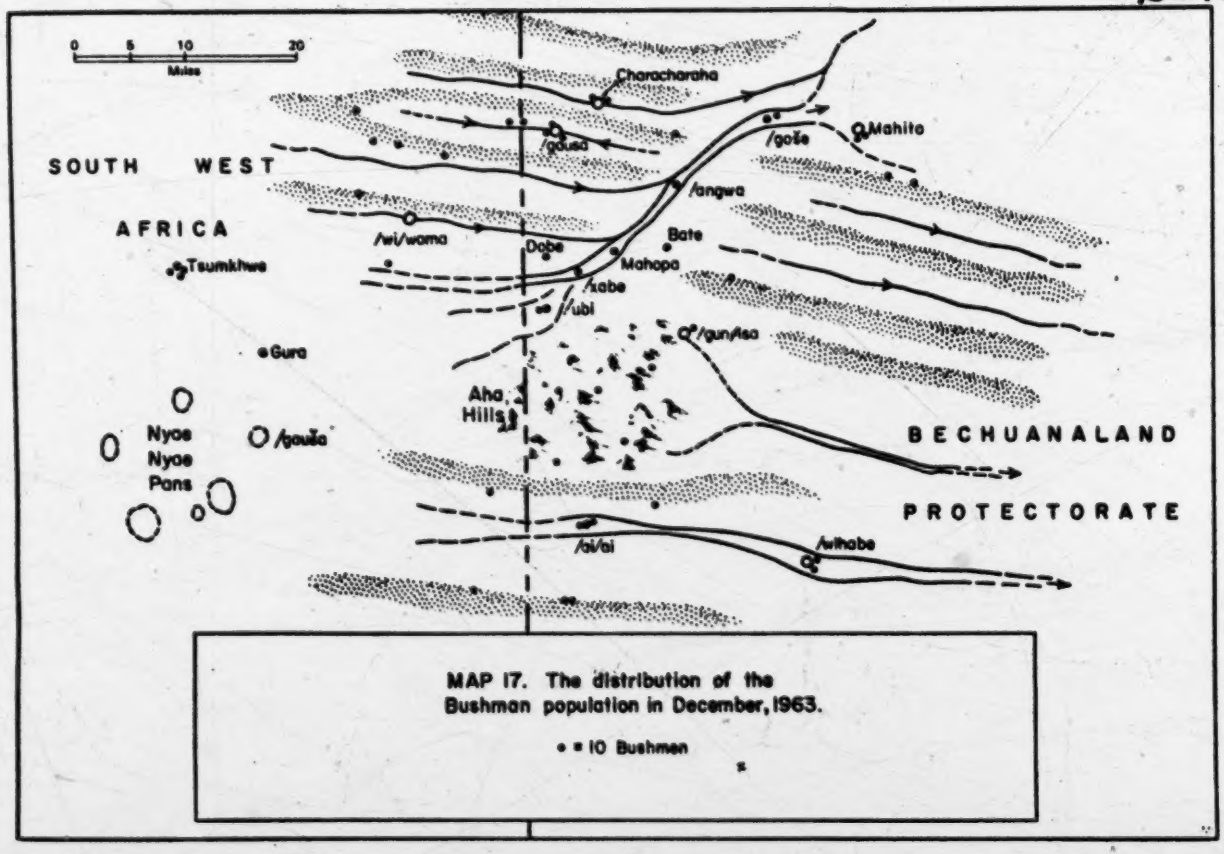
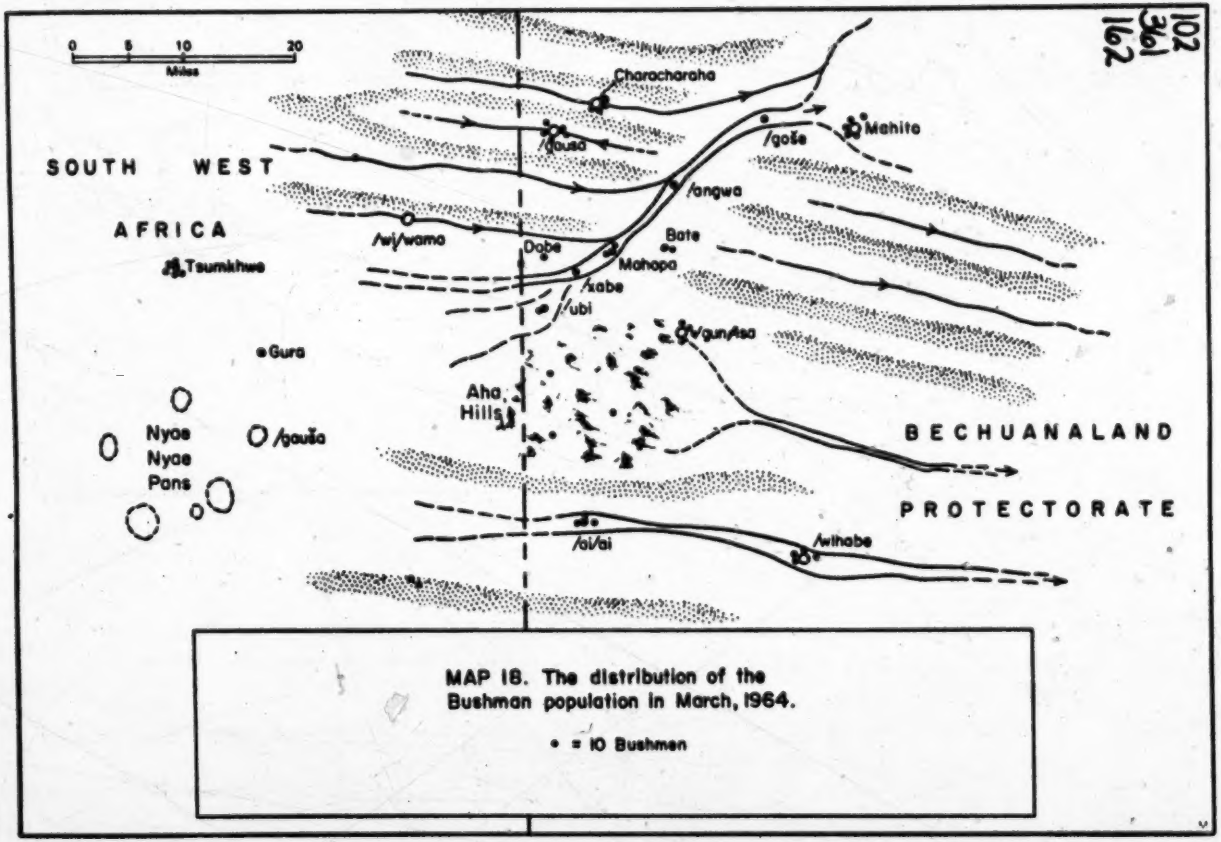


MAP 17. The distribution of the Bushman population in December, 1963.

• = 10 Bushmen

221
312 30 or more people) and Bantu cattle posts. These were located
361 at Characharaha, Mahito, !gun/isa and /wihabe. Map 18 illus-
• [162] trates the distribution of population during the late summer
(March 1964).p. 159.

221 Life at the summer pans is, by Bushman standards, luxur-
137 ious because all of the major and minor fruits, berries,
433
222 melons and leafy greens become available. There is a succes-
sion of ripening of the major foods throughout the summer
months. The first to ripen are the leafy greens (Dipcadi
and Talinum), followed by the sour plums (Ximenia caffra and
X. americana), then the melons (Citrullus lanatus and C.
naudinianus), and the Grewia berries (Grewia flava comes
first followed by six other species). By the time the plums
have become scarce the melons are ready for eating. As the
melons become worked out the Grewia berries ripen. Each of
six species of Grewia comes into ripeness at a different
time, so that every two weeks throughout the middle of
summer another species of Grewia became ready for eating.
Throughout the early part of the summer the mongongo nuts
are available but these are the nuts from the previous year's
fall. It is not until April that the current year's fall of
nuts occurs. And then a new cycle of working out from the
camp occurs. This illustrates again the selective gathering
habits of the !Kung Bushmen.



MAP 18. The distribution of the Bushman population in March, 1964.

• = 10 Bushmen

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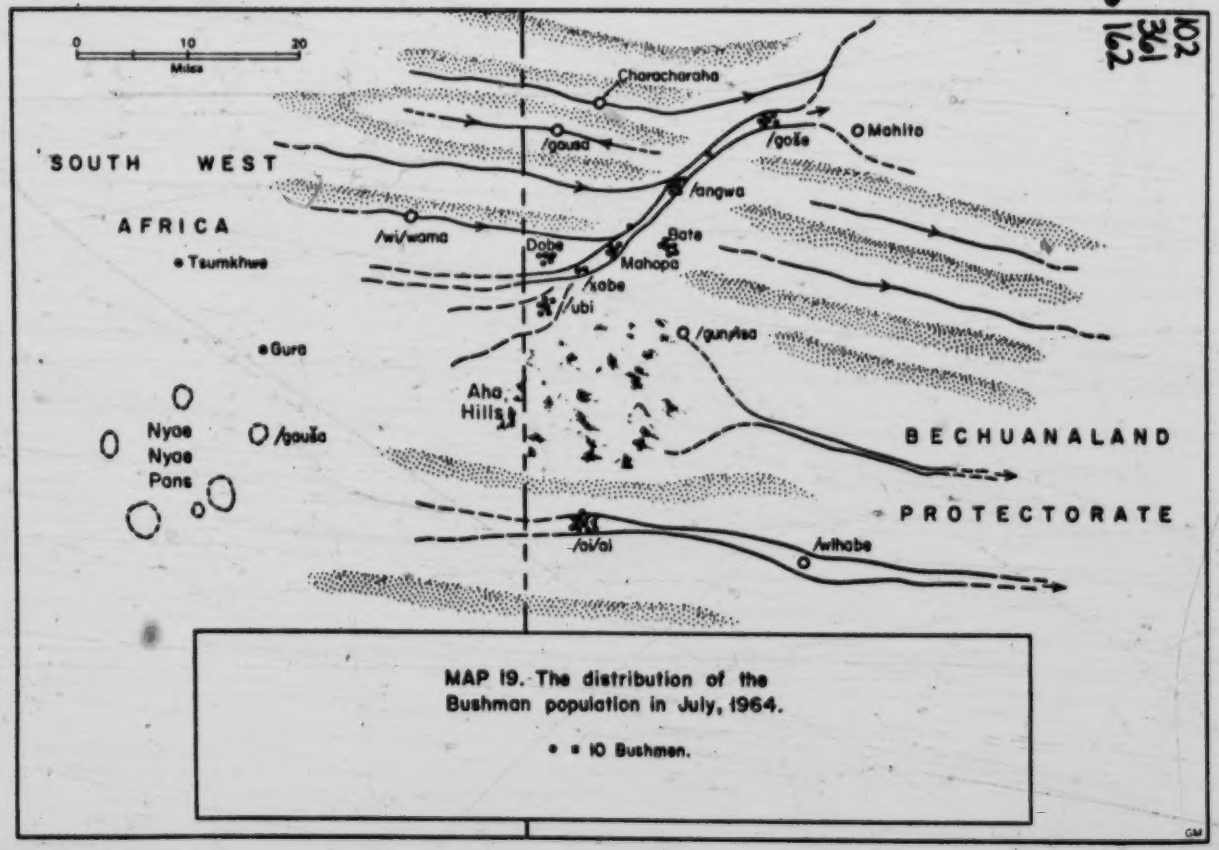

MAP 19. The distribution of the Bushman population in July, 1964.

• = 10 Bushmen.

224
[162] There were nine adult men resident at this camp but only
[361] seven did any hunting. The eighth man was blind and the ninth was crippled. The seven hunters were n≠eysin!a (60 yrs.) and his son ≠oma (35 yrs.); ≠oma//gwe (65 yrs.) and his three sons /ase (40 yrs.), ≠gau (35 yrs.), and n≠eysi (27 yrs.); and ≠gaun!a (40 yrs.), the son-in-law of n≠eysin!a.

[23] The most successful hunter, ≠oma (35 yrs.), hunted 16/28 days and killed four wart hogs and a bat-eared fox, all killed with the aid of dogs. Next was /ase (40 yrs), who hunted nine days. He snared two steenbok and a hare and killed a porcupine by cornering it in its burrow and digging it out.

Then there were the two old men both of whom hunted 16 days each. ≠oma//gwe snared a steenbok, a honey badger, a hare and a kori bustard, and collected a python. N≠eysin!a snared two steenbok.

Old ≠oma//gwe's two younger sons hunted nine and eight days, respectively. The older of the two, ≠gau, snared one korhaan; the youngest son, n≠eysi, also snared one korhaan.

Finally old n≠eysin!a's son-in-law, ≠gaun!a, hunted four days but killed nothing.

[146] The seven men hunted a total of 79 man-days and killed 18 animals; the total weight of meat is estimated at 454 lbs. In addition, they received gifts of meat from other camps

433
312 transhumant annual round, in which they alternate between their
221
361 rainy season range and their dry season range.

484 The Dobe area !Kung do not undertake long marches of
574 30-70 miles for the purpose of getting food. This task can be
628 readily fulfilled within a day's walk of their territorial water sources. When such long marches occur, they are invariably for the purposes of visiting, trading, and marital exchanges with relatives at distant camps. As such, these trips should not be confused with the normal routines of subsistence.

311 Range Size and Population Density -- By plotting the movements
433 of the various camps in their annual subsistence cycle, the
162 observer can derive a rough estimate of the total land area that is required to support the population of 430 Bushmen. It would be much more difficult to estimate the area necessary to support a single camp, because of the considerable overlap of territories and the frequent visiting between camps. It will be more useful to treat the entire population as a unit. It is estimated that the 800 square miles that lie within a six-mile radius of major water sources are sufficient to support the population for most of the year. Beyond this radius lies a hinterland which is rarely penetrated; perhaps a further 200 square miles of this hinterland is utilized in the course of a single year. Thus the total annual range of the Dobe area Bushmen may be estimated at 1,000 square miles. This calculation sets the effective population

311
433
162 density at ca. 43 persons per 100 square miles, or two-and-a-half square miles per person. This is a rather high density figure for desert-living hunters and gatherers. The higher figure is partly due to the fact that it represents the ratio of population to the actual land area utilized. This is a more meaningful way of expressing density than is a figure based on the ratio of population to the total land area that it appears to occupy. For instance, on a map, the Dobe area covers about 2,700 square miles; but the Bushmen actively utilize less than 40 per cent of this area. It is suggested that estimates of population density for other hunting and gathering peoples would give accordingly higher values if the criterion of actual use was employed in the calculation.

Conclusion

433 These eight lines of evidence constitute the case for a revision of the anthropological view of the Bushmen. Their way of life is not impoverished or precarious. Considering the environment in which they live, the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen lead an unexpectedly comfortable and secure existence. The evidence set out here assumes an added significance because this security of life was observed during a period of severe drought. Consequently the author witnessed the worst conditions that the !Kung would have to face. One can speculate that their

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

mountainous zone, where they could still preserve their hunting mode of life, until, when the written history of South Africa commences, they were roaming all over the territory south of the Zambesi River. Presumably they had by then largely exterminated their Boskop predecessors, although certain types of so-called "Strandlooper" skulls excavated along the south-east coast of the Cape have been regarded as evidence of occasional amalgamation between the two races.[1] The human palæontology of South Africa is, however, too little known for this phase of Bushman history to be accurately determined. 174

How far back their invasion dates there is also as yet no certain means of telling. The absolute chronology of the South African stone ages, the only possible source of information on this point, is so far completely undetermined.[2] Without the guidance it alone can afford, estimates of the antiquity of the Bushmen in South Africa must remain purely speculative. It is certain, judging by what is known of the history of the later invading peoples, that the Bushmen came into the country well over a thousand years ago, but at present no more definite or even approximate date can be assigned to their immigration. [172]

General Distribution

In their occupation of South Africa they seem to have extended over almost the whole region from the Zambesi in the north down to the south coast. Their relics, in the form of skeletal remains, culture deposits, pictorial art, and even place-names, are found widely scattered over most of this region, especially in the east and the south, and afford indisputable evidence of their former presence in many parts where they are no longer seen. Even well within historical 162 174

[1] Laing, op. cit., 906–7; cf. also a series of papers by Dart, Laing, and Gear on "Strandlooper" remains from Zitzikama, in *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, vols. xxi–xxiii (1924–6). The term "Strandlooper" (coast ranger), applied by several writers on the prehistory of S. Africa to the people associated with the kitchen middens found along the south and west coasts of the Cape, should be abandoned, as the latent implication that these people form a distinct racial group is not justified. For the most part they were merely Bushmen who took to the seashore, so that we have to deal with a particular mode of life rather than with a particular people (cf. Schapera, in *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii, p. 862). The "Strandlooper" remains referred to in the series of papers mentioned above represent a mixture of these coast-dwelling Bushmen and people of the Boskop type.

[2] It may be noted, however, that the industries associated with the Later Stone Age persisted until long after the arrival of the Europeans in S. Africa, and that as recently as 1927 Lowe came in contact with an old Bushman who was not only acquainted with the methods of making stone implements, but "actually struck flakes and demonstrated the secondary trimming of end- and side-scrapers" (Goodwin and Lowe, op. cit., 180).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

162 174 times Bushmen were living in districts from which they have now completely disappeared, or where perhaps only a few individuals still survive. This is the case in Natal, Basutoland, Orange Free State, and especially the Cape, in all of which, as recently as the middle of last century, the Bushmen were still fairly numerous.

But the encroachment of later invading peoples gradually ousted them from the more favourable districts which they occupied. First the Hottentots, advancing south along the west coast, drove them from the fertile plains to the mountain fastnesses of the interior. Then the Bantu, pressing down the east coast, overcame the fierce resistance of the little people upon whose ancient hunting grounds they trespassed. Other Bantu tribes, traversing the interior of the country, came into conflict with the Bushmen in the arid plains north and south of the Orange River and the Vaal and in the rugged mountains to the east. The European settler, in his turn pushing north and east and seeking fresh pastures for his growing herds, waged an equally relentless war against them. Before each successive invader the Bushmen, where they were not forcibly exterminated, had eventually to seek refuge in more unfavourable and inaccessible parts.[1]

162 At the present time they are found living principally in the Central and Northern Kalahari Desert and in the northern half of South-West Africa. On the north they extend into South-East Angola up to about 15 degrees S. latitude, on the east into the Tuli and adjacent districts of Southern Rhodesia, on the south into the region of the Nossob and Molopo Rivers, and on the west to the Etosha Pan in South-West Africa. Small isolated remnants are also met with in the vicinity of Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal, in the coastal province of Mossamedes in South-West Angola, and in the Namib desert strip along the coast of South-West Africa.

Everywhere else the Bushmen have been either exterminated, expelled, or incorporated racially by later invaders, although stray individuals may still be seen occasionally in the north-west districts of the Cape and sporadically in Orange Free State and the Transvaal. It is only in the Kalahari Desert and the north-eastern parts of South-West Africa that they still retain to any degree their original mode of life and organization. Even here they have all been affected to some

[1] A vivid account of the vain resistance offered by the Bushmen to the peoples encroaching upon them, and of the relentless manner in which they were persecuted, is given by Stow, op. cit., especially in chaps. ix–xii. Cf. also K. Barthel, "Völkerbewegungen auf der Südhälfte des afrikanischen Kontinents," *Mitt. Ver. Erdk. Leipzig*, 1893, pp. 8–20.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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extent by racial intermixture with other native peoples. In the Eastern and Central Kalahari, moreover, as well as in Angola, most of them are also in a state of servitude to the Bantu peoples among whom they live. Large bands of relatively independent Bushmen are now found only in the North-Western Kalahari and the adjoining districts of South-West Africa, especially in the Omaheke, Kaukauveld, and Ghansiveld. 162

Tribal Divisions

The Bushmen are divided into many different groups, each with its own distinctive language or dialect, and with a name. These groups will be spoken of here as tribes. The Bushmen do not appear to have any general or collective names for themselves. Such names have, however, been applied to them by most of the other inhabitants of South Africa. The Hottentots term them all *San*. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but Hahn interprets it as "aborigines, or settlers proper".[1] The names *Sunqua*, *Saunqua*, *Sonqua*, etc., by which the Bushmen are often referred to in the early records of the Cape, are merely verbal variations of its masc. plur. form *Sa(n)qua*. The Bantu peoples know the Bushmen by a variety of names, the most common of which are all cognate forms of the same root—*BaTwa* or *AbaTwa* (Zulu-Xosa), *BaRwa* (Suto), *MaSarwa* (Chwana), *OvaTwa* (Herero), etc. The meaning of this root has not been satisfactorily determined. A common interpretation is "people of the south", but this is not universally accepted; a more plausible alternative, perhaps, is "people of the wilderness". The name *Bushmen* itself goes back to the earliest Dutch settlers at the Cape, and is found as far back as 1685 in the Cape Records, where it occurs in several variations of its Dutch form—*Bosjesmans*, *Bosmanekens*, *Bosiesmans*, etc. It has now become generally adopted in ethnological literature and there seems no good reason why it should not be retained. 101 [619]

The languages of all the Bushmen tribes are of the same general structure, and can be regarded as belonging to one language family. They vary, however, in certain details of phonetics and especially of grammar and vocabulary, which permit of their classification into three main groups. To these the names Southern, Northern, and Central Groups respectively have been applied by Miss D. F. Bleek, 197 619

[1] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 1881, p. 3.

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197 619 on account of their relative geographical distribution. These names may also be used as affording a convenient means of grouping the different tribes.[1]

619 The SOUTHERN GROUP is distributed mainly over the region roughly south of the Tropic of Capricorn. Of the tribes included in it the [197] best known, both ethnologically and linguistically, are the */xam-ka !ke* (i.e. */xam* people), commonly spoken of as the "Cape Bushmen". They were formerly spread over the greater part of the Cape Province south of the Orange River, and seem to have been very numerous. [162] They have, however, been almost completely exterminated, and at the present time only a few individuals still survive in the north-western districts of the Province, where they are mostly employed as farm hands by Europeans.[2]

A similar fate has overtaken several other tribes of this group. The *//ŋ !ke* ("home people") of Griqualand West and Gordonia are now also represented by only a few individuals, the majority of whom are farm hands in the Langeberg District.[3] East of them, in Orange Free State and Basutoland, lived other Bushmen, of whose [162] language, folklore, and customs some records have been preserved, but who are now apparently quite extinct, and whose tribal name even is unknown.[4] They will be spoken of here as the "Basutoland Bushmen". Still further east, on the shores of Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal, live a few other Bushmen as farm hands, evidently remnants of a tribe that once roamed over the High Veld of the Transvaal. They do not seem to have retained their own Bushman [177 197] name, but use the term *BaTwa* applied to them by the neighbouring Amaswazi, a Bantu tribe, traces of much intercourse with whom are [144] seen in both appearance and speech.[5]

[1] D. F. Bleek, "The Distribution of Bushman Languages in S. Africa," *Festschrift Meinhof*, 1927, pp. 55–64; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 1929, pp. 1–6; cf. also I. Schapera, "The Tribal Divisions of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), pp. 68–73.

[2] The literature on this tribe is considerable, although most of it is fragmentary. The most useful sources are: J. Barrow, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, 2 vols., London, 1801–4; T. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," *Globus*, xviii (1870), Nos. 5–10; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, Breslau, 1872; W. H. I. Bleek, *A Brief Account of Bushman Folklore and Other Texts*, London, 1875; L. C. Lloyd, *A Short Account of Further Bushman Material Collected*, London, 1889; G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1905; W. H. I. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends: Bushman Folklore*, Cape Town, n.d. (1923).

[3] D. F. Bleek, art. cit. in *Festschrift Meinhof*, p. 56; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, p. 1.

[4] T. Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration au Nord-Est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, Paris, 1842; J. M. Orpen, "A Glimpse into the Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, ix (1774), 1–13, reprinted in *Folk-Lore*, xxx (1919), 139–56; S. S. Dornan, "Notes on the Bushmen of Basutoland," *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, xviii (1909), 437–50.

[5] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.

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171 They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for
551 example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face, and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life."

853 Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable
[862] food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

847 This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide found among the North-Western tribes.[1] Sexual intercourse between the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save
[163] abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession during the course of married life, and it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the
[844] bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children of different ages, both needing the shelter of their kaross, and to be carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second or third child is usually weaned, the one or two born in the interval being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among
[184] the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality
[165] caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore
162 small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; Kaufmann, op. cit., 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31–2; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

/156 cont./

584 The betrothal, which takes place immediately before the couple move into the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl's wrist, as can be seen in Photograph 44. Since, however, "betrothal" and "marriage" are separated only by the walk to the hut, the seizing of the bride's forearm may be regarded as concluding the marriage.

The seizing of the forearm is a fairly violent gesture, and on the way to the hut the bride allows herself in a certain sense to be dragged along. Could it be that this perhaps represents a vestige of an earlier custom of abducting the woman?

606 It is curious how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit down with her. If, for instance, he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law will go away. If he is absolutely forced to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.

163 I noted that most women had two or three children who were about two to three years apart (see p. 5).

591 The woman goes to the family or settlement of her husband, not the other way around. The fact that the young couple stays for some time in the settlement of the wife's parents, roughly until the first child is born, may have given rise to error. Later on, the couple always returns to the man's horde.

582 A man may not marry his own sister and likewise, naturally, neither his mother nor daughter. Other degrees of relationship constitute no absolute obstacle to marriage.

As a rule, however, one does not marry within his own family and, if possible, not even within his own horde. Preferably women are brought in from far away, often from groups speaking another language (Naroon, Genkuin, Hei-um [Heikum]).

851 The birth of a child does not necessitate a temporary separation of the marriage partners.

684 837 Marital fidelity seems to be observed to a fair extent. The adulterer is killed, and the wife is treated according to the temperament of the deceived husband, that is, she is given a more or less violent beating.

ZAUIN NAGAU

[72 cont.] THE SUITOR

584 brings his future parents-in-law presents in the form of game and
[583] veldkost, sometimes for more than a year. If matters go smoothly,
[585] he takes the girl to his hut after a while, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. If, in spite of her parents' consent, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to state her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man finally takes the girl forcibly into his hut. Should a man do vio-
684 lence to a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be

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Fig. 26. Nagau Girl in Festive Finery of Ostrich Egg Beads (Girls' Initiation).

killed. There are no special ceremonies when the marriage is
585 concluded. The engagement, undertaken before the couple settles in the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl around her wrist. Since, however, the "engagement" and "wedding" are separated in time only by the walk to the hut, the grasping of the bride's lower arm may be regarded as concluding the marriage. [Fig. 26 appears here.] The seizing of the lower arm is done rather violently, and on the walk to the hut the bride allows herself to be dragged along to a certain extent.
606 It is curious to note how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids his mother-in-law's company and does not sit with her. For example, when he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law goes away. If it is absolutely necessary for him to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.
163 Kaufmann observed that most of the women had two or three

[72 cont.]

163 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes
591 stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his
authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker
Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least
nominally.

Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
422
685 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is
punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial
district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same
serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand,
a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not
shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost
is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on
the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the individual's private property.

The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
628
721 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively
against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of
the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war
is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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she used when she was angry, a cat growling, and would be 159
affectionate to Toma and her sons. Very often, when she was 593
happy, she would dance a light, short dance to a song that she sang herself.

Tu had borne four children, four sons, to Toma, but the 163
first two sons had died. One of these had died at birth, "had died in the veld without a name," said Toma. The oldest living children, born after the others were dead, were a boy of about eight years old and a boy of five. While we were there in 1953, Tu bore her first daughter, a strawberry of a baby 553
who was named for two people—named first for Toma's sis- 123
ter, but also Norna for my mother; her name is Lorna, but Bushmen have trouble with the *l*. In order to fit us into their society, the Bushmen had given us names and niches in the kinship of Toma's family. My father was named for Toma's father, my mother was named for Toma's mother, my brother was named Toma for Toma, and I was called Dikai for Tu's sister. Toma therefore named his daughter for the person who was named for his mother—not at all unusual, as it often happens that a child may bear the names of two of its relations.

Now, hoping to find Toma once again, we started the truck 361
motors, fired a rifle, called and called, in case he might be living far from the water, but no sound came from the great veld to answer us and we began to search in the bush around the pan for signs that might show us where he was. We found two empty scherms built in the rainy season, their grass thatches gray with weather, their little piles of fire ashes sunk into the ground, and near these scherms we found the skull of a bird and the shoulder blade of an antelope, all white, bleached, and dry. Farther on we saw a tree where the woven grass nests of weaver birds were hanging empty, swinging

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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224 Toma's son said that he, too, had shot a buck during the
866 last rainy season, but while the hunters were following it a
857 rainstorm had come up and had washed the tracks away, forcing them to abandon the hunt, although for days they had searched the sky for the column of vultures that would show where the buck had fallen. Lions must have got it, said Toma, and eaten it in one night, and this was a great shame, for younger boys than his son had already proven themselves. They boy shrugged his shoulders at these words. He had been the first person we had met when we first had come to Gautscha Pan, and we had seen him in the veld, a naked child hardly more than an infant, standing in grass that came over his head with a toy bow and a wooden arrow in his hand. He was far from home, all by himself, but he had stood up to talk with us so boldly that our interpreter, vastly amused, had asked him what he would do if he met a lion, and with great self-possession Toma's son had said: "If he let me alone, I would let him go, but if he came for me, then we would fight."

Young Bushman boys do not always seem anxious to become adults. Like his son, in Toma's opinion, they prefer to play at hunting because as soon as they know how to hunt they have to, and hunting, say adult Bushmen, is very hard work. We felt, though, that it wouldn't be long before his son did succeed in killing an animal. Besides playing at hunting as a child he used to hunt beetles, moths, and large caterpillars by shooting them with thorns; but he was twelve now and seemed to have left his childhood behind, for while we talked his younger brother and sister played in the sand but he sat quietly with the men and listened.

163 Gao Big Feet and his wife, Dikai, Tu's sister, had had a
164 second baby, a little boy named Dabe ma, Little Dabe. Their first child, Little Gashe, now four, was blind in one eye, pos-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

sibly as the result of a very prevalent eye disease. He had been 163
blind when we knew him as a baby; now his infected eye had 164
shrunk away, leaving a socket. As I watched him, I noticed that his good eye had become infected too and bothered him; he had developed a habit of turning his head from side to side, squinting with his good eye, trying to see depth or judge distance, and also a habit of rubbing both eyes with his knuckles. When Dikai saw me watching him she pointed to her own eyes, then to Dabe's, to show that she and Dabe, too, had the infection, and when I said that I would give her medicine when we got back to Nama she nodded. "I was waiting for you to come," she said.

Hearing me speak of medicine, Little Gashe glared at me 164
balefully. I had treated his eyes before and perhaps he remembered that the medicine was painful, or perhaps he was afraid that I would harm his eyes. He scrambled into his mother's lap to nurse and, facing toward her for safety, glared at me over her shoulder. Little Dabe, seeing this, climbed into Dikai's lap too and she had to nurse them both, one on [862]
each knee, at each breast. Her lap became a battlefield. They kicked and pushed and got in each other's way.

Dikai and her two boys were only half of Gao Feet's fam- 595
ily, for he had another wife, his first wife, who had a daughter and a grandchild. We were not surprised that these people were not with Gao Feet; his two wives did not get along well. Since Dikai was young and pretty, Gao Feet spent his time with her. We asked Gao Feet where his first wife was, and he told us that she was living with her daughter's family and with Dikai's mother in a dry forest not far away where tsi was growing. We asked for other people, the other members of 621
Toma's large band, and Toma told us that they were well, living far away in a mangetti forest. Naturally, Toma's family had not seen this group for some time because of the dis-

[18 cont.]

134 The ground is covered with red sand (fox sand), which in the thorn bush areas changes to a firm, grayish-yellow; perhaps argillaceous sand. Chalk cliffs and other rocks are completely lacking. The Kaudum bed is perpetually covered with dense green grass. The sand pans have humous sand; only in the northeast near Schamatura is a peat-like swampy soil to be found with red, strongly ferruginous water. Forest fires are the order of the day, but they do little damage to the tree growth."

133 South of the Omuramba u Owambo there is a fairly large
134 number of limestone pans, which in part still contain water but are mostly dried up. The land there is drying up rapidly, according to both the Bushmen and the Europeans. During the rainy season the clayey soils are swampy, and at that time the
[136] dense bush forest is filled with myriads of mosquitoes, and
[164] malaria claims its victims from all races. The unhealthy situa-
648 tion, the difficulty of getting workers, and the irregularity of the rainfall have led to the abandonment of most of the farms outside Grootfontein, so that the Bushmen have actually gained ground there. The !Kung Bushmen outside the police zone live entirely according to their old customs and traditions. The in-
[578] dividual kin groups are in part hostile to one another. A kind
[619] of hereditary feud exists with the Hei//om, who are often attacked because of the women. The !Kung live on good terms with the farms along the northern boundary (Duwib, Keitsas, Keibeb, Kuntsas, Neitsas, Foxhof). Many of them work there for
[464] certain periods of time, and quite a few permanently; in particular, they like to let women and children work on the farms.
[177] Mr. Cleark, the owner of Keibeb, has trained a large number of
[439] them to make charcoal. These Bushmen make the charcoal out in the wilderness and deliver it. It is then resold to the mottramite mine in Abenab. Until the establishment of the police zone, a perpetual state of war existed between the police and the Bushmen. There are constant battles between the Herero of Otjituo and the !Kung because of livestock thefts. The Herero attack the Bushmen on horseback and kill them from the saddle with the kirri.

The Bushmen, who are not accustomed to shooting at rapidly moving targets, usually come out the losers. Like the

[44 cont.]

Toothache

142 I rarely saw irregularities in the position of the teeth, and
[515] never protruding or receding teeth. The only care given the teeth is the use of iron arrow points for toothpicks. The teeth are usually yellow, covered with dense layers of tartar, and because of the sand content of the vegetable diet, are quickly worn down
● 164 by chewing. Caries are extraordinarily common, but infections also occur through the exposure of the root canal as the teeth are
753 worn down. If a person has a severe toothache, //Gauab has stuck a needle into it, and the doctor must be called to get it out. If there is no general discomfort, however, then no dsao are there.
757 A little piece of wood is sharpened to a point at one end, held with the point against the root of the tooth, and then the tooth is knocked out with a stone. This instrument is called "oie."
147 Small children suffer considerable pain when they teethe; some-
753 times dsao (spirits of sickness) are also at work in this case. [Fig. 17 appears here.]

Sore Throat

753 A sore throat means that //Gauab has made a cord and is
755 drawing it tight around the patient's neck. The doctor must remove the cord from the patient; it is about 30 centimeters long and is like the trap cord (//kao); everyone can see it after the treatment.

Colds (X'ôã)

164 Grippe takes many victims among the Bushmen every year,
513 especially among those who are already tuberculous. In winter, colds are extraordinarily frequent, since the people lie almost naked around the fires. In the forest they are fairly well protected against the wind, but on the open plain the wind changes its direction at night while they are asleep, so that they not only catch cold but often receive severe burns around the stomach -- although this applies only to the men; the women sleep at a greater distance FROM THE FIRE.

[44 cont.]

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from the fire. As a cure for coughing and hoarseness, they chew the fibers of a sisal-like plant, which are twisted to make the trap cord. The plant is called kũi. It must be brought fresh from the forest. For chest pains, in recent times they have started drinking warm water to which much cooking salt is added.

[413] Fig. 17. !Kung Instrument for Knocking Out Teeth; actual size [as shown in original text].

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Circulatory Diseases

As among the Central African Pygmies, we find strong sinuosity of the arteria temporalis even among more youthful individuals. The heart quickly wears itself out as a result of the exhausting way of life and the great amount of running. The people try to increase its capabilities in every way possible. In order to stop the pounding of the heart and to run longer, they take the leaves of a tree with red fruit (in-gui). These leaves are chewed and swallowed. If this does no good, they chew the root of the ≠Na tree. If a person has a heart pain so that he cannot run, he takes roots of the Dormakar bush (!gu) and of the Hell bush (!gai !dsao), boils them both, and drinks the decoction. In case of angina pectoris, the skin of a boa constrictor is placed around the chest.

Gastrointestinal Disorders

753 It is interesting to note that the doctrine of the importance
[171] of the liver and gall bladder in the origin of disease, which we find among all primitive and civilized peoples up to the humoral medicine of the previous century, is already present among the Bushmen. When the gall bladder is full, one becomes sick and
[755] vomits gall. Then the region of the liver is massaged, just as is
[164] done in the case of liver pains. Enlargement of the liver as the result of chronic malaria is common. The moon, which dies
[821] every month, also has gall sickness, and moonlight is the juice of the gall bladder vomited by it. Moonlight and gall are known
[164] by the same word (goo). Spleen tumor is especially common
757 among children. They have no medicine against splenalgia.
278 They have no medicine for inducing vomiting. It is induced by putting the finger or a feather into the mouth. To stop vomiting, one chews little twigs of the goro tree. The bitter wood of the liana (χ'ǎǎ-χ'ǎñ) is chewed for stomach-ache. In case of con-
[753] stipation the doctor must practice magic, for it is assumed that
[755] the dsao have tied the stool in the intestine, and the doctor must loosen and extract the cord, just as in the case of an inflammation of the throat. The patient may not eat anything and drink very little. In case of diarrhea, even the bleeding kind, the same medicine is taken as in the case of stomach-aches. Intestinal
147 worms are unknown. We already know from earlier reports that the
262 gastrointestinal tract of the Bushman can take all kinds of things that we cannot take. As the result of habituation from early childhood on, he can digest meat that has gone bad and the like, without any trouble (1). After a long period of hunger, he can consume

1. I myself witnessed a drastic example of this. I had brought a side of bacon from Swakopmund, which supposedly had been preserved for all eternity according to a special process. When I brought it out, it had a hideous smell, and in order to prevent the Bushmen from taking it and getting sick, I had it hung high on a tree. The

[45 cont.]

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Bushmen stared longingly at the discolored lump of fat. Finally they sent a deputation to me, saying that they wanted the bacon for their dogs. The moment they received it, it was skillfully divided according to families and consumed in the course of a great feast, without any harmful effects.

enormous quantities, but such excesses as a rule are followed by an indisposition. The day after a major feast, almost all of them lie in the sun with stomach-ache and gripes. In other words, even a Bushman should not be credited with the impossible with regard to food; many things that seem repulsive to us, such as earthworms, lizards, thick grubs, mice, and the like, are in themselves not at all harmful to health, especially since the Bushman only eats them cooked or roasted. Bushmen who have grown up on the farms can take the same diet as the Whites or Blacks. On
147 the other hand, the wild Bushmen who have grown up on veldkost
262 and the flesh of wild animals cannot accustom themselves to the
648 work and prison diet of the Blacks. A term in jail of any great length means condemnation to a slow but sure death for most Bushmen. The prisoners show the symptoms of vitamin deficiency, become infirm, get edemata on their legs, dropsy, and unfailingly perish. In the initial stage severe sluggishness of the bowels sets in. Ample portions of fresh meat can keep the Bushman healthy even in imprisonment. The fact that Bushmen run away from the
[464] farms is based in most cases upon their inability to endure any
[146] longer the diet given them. The vitamin need of the Bushman who has grown up in the wilderness is undoubtedly much greater, and his longing for meat, which often appears pathological, can be explained as a physiological craving for vitamins.

Diseases of the Urogenital System

164
(755) Catarrhs of the bladder occur; in such cases a flat stone is warmed in the fire and placed on the bladder region. Hematuria, evidently the result of nephritis, was twice treated by my friend

164 [45 cont.]
[753] Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The
[192] terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no
[302] means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is
[593] usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin
842 hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy
[757] is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine
[278] for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is
841 done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband
[757] and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on
853 the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least
[826] until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished
164 by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care.
[515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky
[278] sap of a plant called timba.
[757]

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams
[145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long;
302 the toenails are often fissured.

[46 cont.]

Infectious Diseases

164 The Bushmen are plagued by the two most dangerous chronic infectious diseases, tuberculosis and malaria. Leprosy is absent.

Malaria appears every year during the rainy season. Bisob [757] roots are then thrown in the fire, and the smoke is inhaled. Small [278] children more commonly die of it. I did not see any cases of black water fever or malarial cachexia.

Tuberculosis is the common cause of death among the [165] Bushmen. I saw bone tuberculosis and swellings of the glands, as well as advanced cases of lung and throat tuberculosis. The poor people are helpless, and the frequent colds further the process in a dangerous fashion. As nomads living in small groups, they are generally spared the epidemics of the Whites and Blacks. Once an epidemic has made its appearance among them, however, they die in great numbers. It is interesting to note that the Bushmen are aware that contagious diseases exist. As such, however, they only know the above-mentioned skin disease (gari).

753 The other infectious general diseases are explained as an attack by many spirits of sickness upon the horde.

Assistance at Birth

844 When a young woman anticipates her first confinement, she remains near the huts because she is afraid. The older women cheer her up, and then a resting place is made of dried grass. The woman gives birth in a squatting position. In case of difficulties [845] during delivery, the lower part of the body is massaged. Medicine or manual assistance to expedite the delivery is not given. The umbilical cord is cut off with a quartz knife and buried.

[47] Wounds and Injuries

752 The most dangerous injury a Bushman can receive is through a poisoned arrow. The poisoned arrow is cut out, a piece of wood is held in the fire until it glows, and then it is used to

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the 553
surname of the mother and girls that of the father. Thus *|Uirob Geirob |Geibeb* married a woman *|Kao-tamas Gamanis |Harus* and begot two sons, namely *||Otoab ǂGonab |Garub* and *Gogob Gomob |Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras |Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *||Otoab* become *||Otoab ǂGonab |Garub |Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose.
A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nick- 551
names are common and are given to children when quite young. They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life.

The communities which have not been in contact with 164
civilization are remarkably free from infectious, contagious and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons when malaria becomes unduly prevalent the incidence of disease is very small among them. Sickness is in most instances 753
attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the affected person, to magical influences exercised by other persons or, when unduly prevalent, to something going wrong with the perpetual fire. Treatment is adminis- 757
tered by relatives and friends or in cases of acute or prolonged illness by an elder or doctor who is well versed in magical practice. Herbs of various descriptions are employed both internally and externally through incisions in the skin. Inunction with medicated ointments is also extensively resorted to. Surgical procedures are limited to incisions into the skin.
Burial of the dead is carried out almost universally at present. 764
Among the more primitive groups, however, the corpse is left [184]
in the hut which is simply pressed down so as to cover it.
After a death has taken place the camp is deserted and not 768
occupied again. Old people who are no longer able to help 888
themselves are left in the werft with a supply of food and water. The rest of the group then move off and do not return to it again.

Dances and Games.

Dancing and games of various kinds enter very largely into 535
the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first place among their social recreations. Some of the dances such as the *tsei*, *hāigi-ho*, and *ge-!ni* among the *ǂAo-||ēin* and *Aikwe* and the *|hawa-ǂnab* among the *Hei-||om* would appear to be of a religious nature, being danced only on ceremonial occasions, for example, during the initiation ceremonies. On the other hand dancing is often indulged in at night for pure pleasure, especially in times of plenty. The

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

291 Both men were thin, brown-skinned, and wore nothing but loincloths, and they looked very out of place next to us, among our big trucks and boxes of equipment, squatting naked like two frogs against the long grass and reddening sky of their country. We sat by the fire to talk with them, and it was the old man who answered our questions. His name was [194 Ukwane, and he seemed very old, for he spoke with a hesi-
551] tant, cracked voice that faded into a whisper at the end of every phrase, and whenever some of us would leave or join the group at the fire he would stare intently at us, frowning,
[164] leaning forward a little because he could barely see us, his eyes being filmed with cataracts, hazy blue.

142 Ukwane had great wrinkles lengthwise down his belly where his paunch had shrunk. His hands were knobbed and his shoulders stiff, yet his legs were as supple as a baby's, for
[514] he sat crouched with his knees in the air and his heels tucked up tight against his buttocks. His skin looked old, too, like
[303] old leather, hardened and black like a glove that has been left in the rain, and his curly hair was disheveled, uncut, untidy with pieces of straw.

609 Our questions frightened Ukwane, and often he was at a loss for something to reply. He thought we were policemen coming to look for some lost horses, for somehow a rumor had reached into the farthest corners of the veld that a European farmer had lost seven horses and all the people in the veld were afraid for their lives. The first thing he said was that he hadn't seen any horses and certainly hadn't taken them himself. He was too old, he said. We told him that we were not policemen and, besides, had never heard of the horses, but he was not reassured. He coughed and turned to the young man, who looked at us with nothing to say.

609 The young man was also very shy, but had a greater dignity
194 than Ukwane because of his cool, proud bearing. He said

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

greatly esteemed and is gathered from the crust of the pan in 317
moist balls. Bushmen sprinkle the surface with water in order
to roll up just the first layer where the salt lies. When the salt
balls dry, Bushmen crumble them into their food, preferring [263]
salt to all sweet things and honey. Once when we asked some
of the Gautscha people what they called themselves they re-
plied with this phrase: "We are a salty people, who come [101]
from a salty place."

In the dry season, two hundred people came to Gautscha 731
and lived in the bushes at the edge of the pan. This was an 361
enormous number for any area to support, but all had indis-
putable rights to be there, for either their fathers had drunk
at Gautscha or they had relatives whose fathers had; by the
rather complicated system, any Bushman may drink water
and gather veld food wherever his parents had a right to do
so, or may live with either his parents, his brothers or sisters,
or his wife at any place where the relative of his choice has
rights. There was water but not much food at Gautscha, and 731
all the people got thin and very hungry and sat around their
fires at night with sweat pouring from their bodies but with
nothing to eat; to make matters worse, one man coming for
a visit proved to be ill and gave his disease to everyone. It
was a disease that caused vomiting, high fevers, chest pains, [164]
and nosebleeds of great intensity—a woman whom I tried to
cure bled all one morning with blood squirting from her nos-
trils, pouring down over her arms and hands and dripping
from her elbows, making a dark pool on the ground. The dis-
ease struck all the people, from the youngest infants to the
oldest grandparents, and all the people lay for days scattered
all over the ground, too ill to move. We did everything we
could, of course; we provided food and medicine, firewood
and water, and took turns staying up all night to nurse the
people. As it happened, everyone got better within fourteen

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

224 Toma's son said that he, too, had shot a buck during the
866 last rainy season, but while the hunters were following it a
857 rainstorm had come up and had washed the tracks away, forcing them to abandon the hunt, although for days they had searched the sky for the column of vultures that would show where the buck had fallen. Lions must have got it, said Toma, and eaten it in one night, and this was a great shame, for younger boys than his son had already proven themselves. The boy shrugged his shoulders at these words. He had been the first person we had met when we first had come to Gautscha Pan, and we had seen him in the veld, a naked child hardly more than an infant, standing in grass that came over his head with a toy bow and a wooden arrow in his hand. He was far from home, all by himself, but he had stood up to talk with us so boldly that our interpreter, vastly amused, had asked him what he would do if he met a lion, and with great self-possession Toma's son had said: "If he let me alone, I would let him go, but if he came for me, then we would fight."

Young Bushman boys do not always seem anxious to become adults. Like his son, in Toma's opinion, they prefer to play at hunting because as soon as they know how to hunt they have to, and hunting, say adult Bushmen, is very hard work. We felt, though, that it wouldn't be long before his son did succeed in killing an animal. Besides playing at hunting as a child he used to hunt beetles, moths, and large caterpillars by shooting them with thorns; but he was twelve now and seemed to have left his childhood behind, for while we talked his younger brother and sister played in the sand but he sat quietly with the men and listened.

163 Gao Big Feet and his wife, Dikai, Tu's sister, had had a
164 second baby, a little boy named Dabe ma, Little Dabe. Their first child, Little Gashe, now four, was blind in one eye, pos-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

sibly as the result of a very prevalent eye disease. He had been 163
blind when we knew him as a baby; now his infected eye had 164
shrunk away, leaving a socket. As I watched him, I noticed
that his good eye had become infected too and bothered
him; he had developed a habit of turning his head from side
to side, squinting with his good eye, trying to see depth or
judge distance, and also a habit of rubbing both eyes with his
knuckles. When Dikai saw me watching him she pointed to
her own eyes, then to Dabe's, to show that she and Dabe, too,
had the infection, and when I said that I would give her medi-
cine when we got back to Nama she nodded. "I was waiting
for you to come," she said.

Hearing me speak of medicine, Little Gashe glared at me 164
balefully. I had treated his eyes before and perhaps he re-
membered that the medicine was painful, or perhaps he was
afraid that I would harm his eyes. He scrambled into his
mother's lap to nurse and, facing toward her for safety, glared
at me over her shoulder. Little Dabe, seeing this, climbed
into Dikai's lap too and she had to nurse them both, one on [862]
each knee, at each breast. Her lap became a battlefield. They
kicked and pushed and got in each other's way.

Dikai and her two boys were only half of Gao Feet's fam- 595
ily, for he had another wife, his first wife, who had a daughter
and a grandchild. We were not surprised that these people
were not with Gao Feet; his two wives did not get along well.
Since Dikai was young and pretty, Gao Feet spent his time
with her. We asked Gao Feet where his first wife was, and he
told us that she was living with her daughter's family and
with Dikai's mother in a dry forest not far away where tsi was
growing. We asked for other people, the other members of 621
Toma's large band, and Toma told us that they were well,
living far away in a mangetti forest. Naturally, Toma's fam-
ily had not seen this group for some time because of the dis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

648 work required on the farms, and also because certain members of the families were still here and now these families were broken forever.

● 164 On our way to see Short Kwi, the brother-in-law led us to the far end of the werf, behind a clump of bushes, to the scherm where Short Kwi lived. We saw him there, sitting with his wife and little daughter by the ashes of their fire, side by side, and we caught our breath at the sight of him. He looked tiny, no bigger than a child, and his flesh had wasted away so that his pale skin stretched tightly over all his bones. His leg was hidden by a blanket, his hands were as thin and fragile as a girl's, and his eyes were huge. He looked up at us when we came and smiled wanly, wryly, and his wife and daughter looked up at us and his wife also smiled wanly, but his daughter did not smile at all. The first thing Short Kwi did was to rearrange the blanket over his foot to hide his toes, but not before we had seen them, dry and black, dead entirely like the toes of a mummy. His leg was the first thing in his mind, but this was natural; we reminded him of better days.

302 824 We sat down at his fire to talk, all of us who had come from Nama and most of the people from his werf, and his wife gave those of us from Nama a palmful of sa, the finely powdered yellow-green leaves that smell halfway between roses and sage. We crossed our faces with it, sprinkling a stripe up the bridge of our noses to our foreheads and another stripe across our cheeks. It smelled very nice, a sweet present to give to someone who has arrived from a long journey. Hours later it was still fragrant and we could smell it, faintly, for days.

164 We asked Short Kwi to show us his leg and as he started to unwind the blanket the Bushmen from Nama leaned forward, fascinated, but the other Bushmen did not look because they had seen it before. Short Kwi drew back the blan-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955) 1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ket and revealed a tiny, skinny stick that was his leg wrapped 164
in some kind of rag, bound by a thong that tied the calf to the healthy thigh above, with the black foot showing below, and then he slowly and carefully unwound the thong and then the rag and opened it.

For once the people of Nama had not exaggerated a misfortune. The leg was even worse than they had described, all dead and black at the ankle, and above that, rotted away down to the bone, which was gray now, but while the foot was rotting and dry, the leg was rotting and wet and oozing a little black slime or juice. It was gangrene. A faint stench rose. Those of us who had not seen it had to look away, and Short Kwi, perceiving this, looked calmly down at the ground, at his ruined black leg, and he wrapped the rag around it again, tied his calf to his thigh with the thong, and covered it all with the blanket.

Short Kwi's wife had watched the whole thing with calmness and composure, her hands in her lap, and when the leg [301 415]
was covered she opened one of her hands, revealing a palmful of little white beads, which she began to drop, one by one, into a tiny bag she wore around her neck. With her head bent to see the mouth of the bag she looked very girlish and young; someone said something unusual, an unfamiliar word, and Short Kwi glanced at his wife to see if she had heard it but saw instead what she was doing, and he looked at her with such a deep look of adoration and affection that I wondered how it was she didn't feel it and look up. The word was the word for European doctor, *docteri*, which is not part of the usual vocabulary. Short Kwi's wife had not understood it and when she had finished dropping the beads into the bag she whispered to ask her husband what it meant. He answered her softly, in a masculine, affectionate way, and the other people chimed in, so for a moment everyone was speaking except

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

164 Short Kwi's wife, who looked around at them all gravely, listening, and when they had finished she nodded her head. "A medicine man of Europeans," they said.

"So," said she.

We talked about the foot for a while, for although he had covered it we could still see the toes. The people of the werf described how Short Kwi was bitten and everyone claimed credit for his part in saving Short Kwi's life. One man had killed the snake, another had cut the fang punctures, and others had given advice at the time and later. The leg had [752] swelled enormously and the medicine men had cut the swollen skin to let blood; the scars of this still showed on the healthy thigh above the blanket. All the people seemed very depressed when talking about it, though; for one reason, they ate meat less often, but also they truly admired him and did not seem to enjoy watching the disaster. Toma asked Short Kwi how he felt and Short Kwi said he thought that his leg had seemed to be getting a little better during the last few days.

582 It was almost evening, and we heard voices singing in the veld. Two women and a young girl were coming home from a trip for veld food. These three were also very happy to see us and the little girl kissed me but not the men, then asked for her mother, who lived at Nama and whom she had not seen for seasons, and we told her that her mother was well. The girl had been newly married and she was as pretty as she could be, with lots of beads, and with long ornaments of tsi nuts hanging beside her face. She wore a fine kaross which she had rubbed with red powder, often a sign to men that a [291 822 224 841] girl is menstruating, as perhaps she was, that men may be careful not to touch her and endanger their powers to hunt. [784] Marriage seemed to have agreed with her. She looked very

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

happy. She was only ten, but already she had lost her childish 582 [145] belly, although her breasts had not yet begun to grow.

Now everyone was in the werf and people had begun to go 593 back to their fires, leaving Short Kwi alone. When most peo- 514 164 ple were gone, Short Kwi's brother-in-law squatted beside 481 him and, taking his injured leg, began laboriously to help him move toward the veld, toward a little pathway that we had not noticed before. Short Kwi's wife had cleared the path; it led to a place in the veld where Short Kwi could urinate, and slowly, painfully, Short Kwi and his brother-in-law moved down it, the brother-in-law duckwalking, carrying the bad leg while Short Kwi—he who once could run great elands down —edged himself forward on his buttocks, using his hands to brace himself and his good leg to pull himself along.

We were not at his fire when he got back, but we could see 164 him through the trees, inching, and then, when Short Kwi was alone with his wife and daughter, we could watch him sitting by his fire, looking idly around. He was like a wild goose with pinioned wings, squatting there before his fire, watching the sky, the veld, and other people come and go.

Those of us from Nama made a camp apart from the werf, 361 through long grass as high as our chests, inside a little glade 521 of thorn trees. We cleared some of the grass and built a fire, and even then the Bushmen could not stop talking about Short Kwi, although they tried to change the subject; they spoke of him creeping along on his buttocks, even this impossible without someone to help, and all because he had failed to notice an adder that was waiting in his path. Of course, the Bushmen said, he was lucky to be alive. I felt that he was luckier than they supposed, because of his wife, that 593 quiet, gracious, gentle, pretty woman, and his grave little daughter, the image of her mother. The people felt, said

132 LATE in December or early in January the rains of summer—the "big rains"—begin. This is the season of water. Water collects in the hollows of the land; it seeps into the pans, changing them into shallow lakes; it melts the baked clay in the *omuramba* bottoms, and turns the Kalahari green.

132 This is the season when two nuts, the *tsi* and the *mangetti*—the most im-
262 portant and abundant of the wild desert foods—begin to mature. By
137 March, the *mangetti* forests sound with the falling nuts. Beside the summer storms—when water piles up uselessly on the reverberating earth—days on end are cloudy and, sometimes, a fine mist falls over parts of the northern Kalahari through the day and into the night. Now, the people eat many fruits. In the deeps of green thickets, ponderous flowers droop on slender
● [164] vines. Spring and summer, the times of bounty, are also the seasons of disease.

132 By the end of April, the afternoon skies begin to clear, the air dries, the wind seeks. It is autumn. In April, the *tsi* nuts ripen and the pods split, turning out their brown wealth. The many desert roots cease their activity and become firm and full, safe in

[p. 20]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

824
262

persists into the winter dry season (Silberbauer 1965).

The fruit of the baobab tree, Adansonia digitata, is another of the major foods. It is most important during winter but tends to rot if left on the ground and therefore cannot be eaten in all months of the year.

The vegetable ivory palm, Hyphaene ventricosa, has two edible parts. The fruit of the mature form is abundant but yields very little of food value. The dwarf form of the palm lacks fruit but the heart of the stalk is an important item of diet. This latter food has two distinct disadvantages. It is difficult to collect because the stiff palm fronds must [164] be laboriously hacked away to reach the heart. Also those who eat its fibrous pulp complain of stomach cramps and diarrhea. Therefore it is eaten only when more desirable foods are not available.

The nut of the morula tree, Sclerocarya caffra, is a delectable food, even tastier than the mongongo nut. But it rates low on the important criterion of ease of eating. The nut meats are small and crumble easily; so they must be carefully picked out of the shell with a thorn. This operation requires patience and it was observed that the women ate many more morula nuts than did the men. The morula tree is also important in subsistence because one of the species of beetle used in arrow poison feeds on its leaves.

312 at the waterholes consists primarily of roots and bulbs of the
221
824 genera: Eulophia, Vigna, Walleria, and Coccinia, and the edible sap of Acacia spp. and Terminalia sericea. It is this time of year that the heart of the dwarf vegetable ivory palm is eaten,
[164] (Hyphaene). Those who eat its fibrous pulp experience stomach cramps and diarrhea, but, as the Bushmen say, it make one's "mouth work" and gives one a sensation of a full stomach.
221 Hunting is arduous business in the heat and men who go out in
224 the early morning find it necessary to spend the mid-day hours resting in the shade. The principal animal killed is the springhare.

132 The first rains are convectional thundershowers. Their distribution is spotty. A storm may briefly inundate one area and miss entirely another area only a mile away.

312 The Bushmen observe the storm clouds travelling across
222 the horizon and try to judge where the showers have drenched
[821] the ground. They then set out in family groups in the direction of the rains. If they find that water has collected in the hollows of mongongo trees, they will stay in the nut groves for several days and eat nuts until the water is exhausted. They then fill their karosses with nuts and return to the permanent water. If, on reaching the nut groves, they find that no water has collected they will be forced to fill their karosses with nuts and return to camp the same day. In certain areas

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10.

and Middle Kalahari that it is scarcely possible to traverse parts of the country, and many routes can only be followed at such times as the pools have been filled by recent rain. H B 133

The winter climate is delightful. The heat during the other months is great, but there are occasional short, sudden, and therefore treacherous changes from extreme heat to cold. Malarial fever is prevalent, being particularly severe in the neighbourhood of the water-courses and other low-lying places, where during and immediately after the season of the heavy rains the dense bush, thick undergrowth, and rank vegetation afford excellent shelter to mosquitoes. The rainfall varies from about 8 inches in the south-west to more than 20 inches in the north and east; almost all the rain falls in the summer months, December to April, and chiefly in thunderstorms. Except in the north, none of this rainfall reaches the sea, the water being either evaporated directly or flowing into shallow depressions such as Lake Ngami and the Great Makarrikarri salt-pan. Over wide areas the country is so flat that the rain drains off partly in one direction, partly in another. H B. 132 164

The principal river in the north is the Okavango, which, rising in the Angola highlands, flows into the Okavango marshes, a region about a hundred miles in length and from ten to fifty miles in width. From this reed-choked swamp the river at certain seasons overflows on the north into the Kwando and so reaches the Zambesi, and on the south into Lake Ngami and the Botletle River, which feeds the Makarrikarri depression and the great sandy plains of the north-east. During the rains the whole of this region is covered with wide stretches of water, often extending far beyond the horizon. The Nossob, Molopo, and Kuruman Rivers in the south, which formerly drained the greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari into the Orange River, are now for the most part sandy beds bordered with trees, and water is seldom found except towards their heads. At the present time no water leaves this part of the Kalahari except through evaporation. The country appears to be suffering from progressive desiccation, but there is said to be good evidence of an abundant supply of water not far beneath the surface. H B 133

The rainfall, though very small in the west and south, enables a fair amount of vegetation to flourish, chiefly grasses, shrubs, and trees, except in certain areas where the soil is too saline. The great plains, more especially in the south, are covered with tough sun-bleached Bushman grass (*Aristida brevifolia*), growing knee-high and giving H B 137

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

Northern Damaraland to the south of the Karst region is a tract of extensive grass plains, from which emerge isolated eminences and a few mountain chains superimposed on the main plateau. Further south the whole country attains its highest elevation of over 6,000 feet in the Khomashochland of Windhoek district, while south and east of Windhoek rise the great Auas Mountains (highest altitude 7,886 feet), which form the watershed of South-West Africa. Deep clefts and gorges, widely-extended plains and high rugged peaks are characteristic of this region; valleys, too, expand in among the mountain groups, and are often of extreme fertility. To the south succeed the plateaus and table-topped mountains of Great Namaqualand. This part of the country is dominated by two longitudinal trenches, that of the Konkip to the west, that of the Great Fish River to the east. West of the former is a series of mountain ranges and elevated plains, among them being the Tsaras and Tiras Mountains and the Huib plateau, while to the east of it is the Hanam plateau. Still further east, beyond the Great Fish River, the Urinanib plateau overlooks the Kalahari. In the south-east the isolated Great and Little Karas Mountains rise to considerable heights, but the country is for the greater part flat or rolling. Eastward and north-east of these elevated tracts, the upland assumes a very level character, composed mainly of sand dune formation merging eventually everywhere into the sandveld of the Kalahari. H B 133

Although the northern half of South-West Africa falls within the Tropic of Capricorn, the climate is on the whole temperate rather than tropical. The extreme north and north-east are hot and trying to Europeans, and malaria is very prevalent there during the autumn; but on the central plateau the dryness of the air makes the summer heat easily supportable, and the country generally is healthy, with clear, bracing atmosphere and much wind. The winters are cold, and ice often forms upon the central and southern plateaus. Rain falls during the summer from October to April, but rarely during the winter season. The mean annual rainfall varies with the latitude, from 6 inches in the south to 12 inches in the centre and reaching 22 inches in the north. H B 132 [164]

Except for those rivers forming part of the northern and southern frontiers of the country—the Kunene, Okavango, and Orange—there are practically none which carry surface water all the year round. Almost all are simply dry sandy watercourses which become torrents for a short period after rain; but save in very wet seasons few of these H B 133

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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into Damaraland on the west, and on the east by way of the Transvaal bushveld and Natal to the south coast regions of Knysna and George. From the south it is naturally only sea birds that can be contributed to the fauna; the petrel family forms the characteristic element from this quarter, comprising a number of small petrels and whale birds, the "Cape pigeon" and "Cape hen", shearwaters and several albatrosses. The jackass penguin, breeding in immense numbers on the small islands off the south and west coasts, represents a truly antarctic contribution.

The reptilian fauna is particularly abundant, lizards and snakes especially being very numerous in many parts of the country. Of the latter, the cobra (genus *Naia*), the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*), and the ringhals (*Serpedon haemachates*) are among the more formidable poisonous representatives; the mamba (*Dendrasdis angusticeps*), most deadly of all, is found principally in the eastern parts of the country. The crocodile is extinct in the Cape Province and the Orange Free State, but is still found in the rivers of the eastern lowlands and the Northern Kalahari. The Arachidna are notable for the abundance of scorpions, and among the spiders for the large number of ground-dwelling forms living in burrows, with or without trapdoors, beneath stones, or as free-living hunting forms.

The insect fauna as a whole presents an extraordinarily large number of species, many of them extremely abundant. Locusts are conspicuous among the common plagues of the country, and from time to time issue in devastating swarms from their breeding grounds in the Kalahari and other more or less inaccessible dry regions. Bees, wasps, and ants are very richly represented; ants' eggs and the honey of wild bees provide the Bushmen with an important element of their diet. Mosquitoes and horse-flies are rarely very troublesome except in the moister parts of the country; the anophelene mosquito conveys malaria in the northern parts of South-West Africa and the Kalahari, as well as in the Low Veld of the east, while the tsetse fly (*Glossina*) carries cattle disease (nagana) in the Ngami country and a few localities to the east, but no case of sleeping-sickness has been known to occur. The widely-distributed termites are often destructive, but provide many animals and birds with their chief subsistence. Butterflies and moths, beetles and bugs all appear in numerous varieties, and one species of beetle, *Cladocera nigro-ornata*, forms the most potent ingredient in the arrow-poison of the Kalahari Bushmen.

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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B 161 727

before these destructive raids as being in any way excessive.[1] In Orange Free State and Basutoland, too, where at one time the Bushmen were also very numerous, there are now apparently no more than a few stray individuals.

B 161 164

Even in South-West Africa their numbers seem to have declined a good deal within recent years. The German official estimate for 1913 gave the Bushman population of this territory as 8,098,[2] which may be contrasted with the 1926 figure of 3,600. Allowing for probable inaccuracies in the two estimates, there does nevertheless appear to be an undeniable decrease. This may be attributed largely to the ravages of disease, especially malaria, although other factors also must be considered. The present area of Bushman occupation in the North-West Kalahari is largely infested with malaria, and all observers agree that the Bushmen suffer heavily from this disease. Thus Kaufmann put the numbers of the Auen in 1908 at approximately 3,000, but adds that in the following year more than half the tribe was swept away by malaria, while in 1917, 1923, and 1925 the same disease was again attended by a considerable mortality among all the Bushman tribes in this area.[3] Infanticide, a practice definitely recorded among the North-Western tribes, also tends to keep the numbers down; while the disappearance of game and the enforcement against the Bushmen of the game laws serve the same end by making their mode of subsistence even more precarious than it was at the best of times.

B [847]

B 161

There seems little doubt that the Bushmen are steadily dying out as a race. What relentless persecution at the hands of other peoples has not achieved is being slowly accomplished by disease and racial intermixture. Racially pure Bushmen are already in a minority, and their ultimate absorption by their neighbours is probably inevitable.

HOTTENTOTS

B H 144

Racial History

By the time when European contact with South Africa was first established, the Bushmen in the Cape had already been reduced to living in isolated groups scattered about among the more numerous

[1] Fritsch, op. cit., 395.
[2] *Die deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee* 1912/1913: *Amtliche Jahresberichte*, p. 395.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 136, 159; *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 9, 1928, p. 990.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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276 smoke sucked through the water by deep breaths into the lungs. A somewhat similar form of pipe is found among the Heikum and the Kung, but apparently water is not used here in smoking. Further [171] east, among the Hiechware, a method of ground-smoking is found similar to that obtaining among the neighbouring Bantu peoples. A small hole is made in the ground, into which the man puts the tobacco; he then inserts his pipe-stick through a small tunnel and smokes.[1]

Dagga is mixed with tobacco or smoked by itself whenever obtainable. The habit is said seriously to affect those addicted to it, both physically and morally. When taken in slight quantities the [164] herb has no visible ill-effects, but excessive indulgence is most deleterious to the health, and if persisted in sometimes causes mental aberration and frenzy.

273 Few of the Bushmen know how to make any kind of liquor themselves. The only exception, perhaps, are the Namib Bushmen, who, [171] after the manner of their Hottentot neighbours, brew a kind of mead out of honey. They are very partial to this drink, which plays an essential part in all their festivities.[2] The other Bushmen in general also do not seem to trade for any liquor, although they all appreciate alcohol and native beer when it is given to them. The Hiechware, [439] however, are said to be excessively fond of native beer, which they obtain by barter from the BeChwana; and, according to Dornan, they contrive to get drunk whenever they can.[3] Drunkenness as a rule is very exceptional among the rest of the Bushmen.

Sexual Life and Marriage

Conditions and Forms of Marriage

114 There is very little information about the relations of the sexes before marriage. Either the subject is not mentioned at all by our 836 authorities, or it is curtly dismissed in a short sentence. Kaufmann, for instance, reports of the Auen merely that prenuptial intercourse hardly ever seems to occur[4]; Lebzelter writes of the Kung that chastity is insisted upon before marriage[5]; while, on the other hand, all Miss Bleek has to say in this connection about the Naron is that

[1] Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 164 sq.; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 32; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 257; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 122–3.
[2] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 168; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.
[3] Op. cit., 121. [4] Op. cit., 156. [5] Op. cit., (16).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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Knowledge of Disease and Doctoring

164 The Bushmen in their own environment and leading their own mode of life seem on the whole to be a healthy and hardy people. Those communities in the north which have not been much in contact with civilization are said to be remarkably free from infectious, contagious, and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons, when malaria becomes unduly prevalent, the incidence of disease is very small amongst them. Malaria, however, carries off many victims, for the Bushmen do not seem able to withstand it better than other peoples. Kaufmann, as we have seen, records that in 1909 the mortality caused by it was especially high, whole villages dying out, so that the numbers of the Auen were reduced to less than half. Seiner, another trustworthy observer, states that [114] among the Kung fully 20 per cent of the deaths that occur, especially of children, may be attributed to it; and it is officially recorded that in the years 1917, 1923, and 1925 "large numbers" of Bushmen died from it along the north-eastern and eastern borders of South-West Africa. Smallpox, typhoid, dysentery, and phthisis are also mentioned as occurring in these parts, the latter being promoted by [276] excessive indulgence in tobacco and dagga smoking. Where contact [177] with other peoples is frequent, syphilis is often found, as well as measles, influenza, whooping-cough, scarlet fever, and other European diseases. European clothing and dwellings have a bad effect upon the Bushmen. They are particularly susceptible to pulmonary affections when removed from their natural surroundings, and a considerable number of those who have suffered from bronchitis, pneumonia, etc., subsequently succumb to tuberculosis. When [648] imprisoned, as many of them are in South-West Africa for cattle stealing or breaking the game laws, they rapidly decline in strength and die in great numbers, however kindly treated by the gaol authorities.[1]

753 Sickness in most instances is attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the person affected, to evil magic exercised against him by other persons, to the malicious interference of the ghosts of dead people who send the "spirits of disease" into 000 the patient's body, or to some similar supernatural cause. Treatment

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 139; Seiner, "Bericung der Omaheke," 293; Doman, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 140–4; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29–30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95; *Official Year Book of S.A.*, No. 8, pp. 983–6 *passim*.

/136 cont./ The approximate number of Auin,
162 naturally in the form of the very roughest estimate, is apparent from the following compilation:

There reside in the region of

Oas	about 300	persons
Dawis	" 150	"
Stampriet	" 250	"
Rooigrauwater	" 50	"
Korikas	" 150	"
Olifantskloof	" 200	"
Habakobis	" 100	"
Rietfontein	" 200	"
Tjumda	" 100	"
Go	" 150	"
Sidonitzaub	" 1,000	"
Karasburg	" 100	"
Epukiro	" 100	"
Ganab	" 100	"
Gam	" 100	"
Total	about 3,000	persons

[114] In my opinion the number of Bushmen living in the Kalahari (not only the Auin) has been consistently underestimated.

I wrote these lines in October, 1908. Today, in other words,
● 165 not yet a year later, I am forced to change my opinion, since
161 the malaria of the last rainy season has taken many victims and has decimated the Auin as well as the other tribes. According to the figures provided, I consider myself justified in suggesting that of the Auin estimated above at 3,000, only about half at most remain.

It is impossible to obtain more precise statistics since the
648 Bushmen successfully evade any kind of control. Even the administration of the protectorate takes account of this fact by dispensing from the outset with any registration or the like by the Kalahari Bushmen.

No special racial layers are to be distinguished among the
144 Auin, although it is doubtless true that certain individuals can be shown to have more Negro blood than others.

/159 cont./

278 752 [411] Poisoned arrows shot into the chest and abdomen are described as unconditionally deadly. Arrow wounds on extremities, as well as very superficial ones, are supposed to be curable under certain circumstances if immediate help is provided.

[751] There is no inoculation against arrow poison.

An older Auin suffering from badly inflamed eyes attributed [827] this illness to an arrow wound he had received many years earlier. His statement, of course, cannot be verified.

Malaria is endemic and annually exacts many lives. The ● 165 number of cases resulting in death was especially great in 1908-1909. Whole settlements are supposed to have died out. Epidemics were unknown even to the "oldest people."

Venereal diseases are blessings of civilization, but evidently not yet widespread.

Famine actually prevails every year toward the end of the 731 dry season, especially if the preceding rainy season has been poor. During this time, almost all the Auin are emaciated to skeletons. Death by hunger is not supposed to /160/ occur. After all, the Bushman always finds something to eat, even if it is only grass seeds.

The so-called doctors decidedly possess great experience 756 in medical matters, which, however, does not prevent them from practicing considerable charlatanism (see Section T).

W. Time Reckoning, Astonomy

805 The day is divided according to the position of the sun.

Certain time segments are indicated with great exactitude according to the position of the sun. If one asks a Bushman, "How far is it to the watering place?" he will point to the place in the sky that the sun will have reached by the time one gets there.

The concept of the month is known (gnui, "month").

The relation of the solar year to lunar months is unknown.

The Auin divides up the year, for which, incidentally, he has no definite, but rather only a very vague concept, as follows:

!KUNG

[19 cont.]

approximate ages of the members:

162

	Horde I	Horde II	Horde III	Horde IV
Men	9	7	4	10
Old men	--	--	4	1
Women of child-bearing age	10	12	13	9
Matrons	4	9	7	6
Infants	6	6	7	2
Small children:				
Boys 1-4 years old	2	3	8	3
Girls 1-4 years old	3	4	6	1
Children:				
Boys 5-10 years old	4	4	?	?
Girls 5-10 years old	3	2	?	?
Young men	5	--	?	?
Young women	5	3	?	?

The above table thus has reference to 44 women capable of bearing children and to 38 marriages, of which two are polygamous. Four are widows. In these 38 marriages, there are 15 infants, mostly under one year old. To the extent it could be determined, 12 women were pregnant, and about five of them had [842] older infants. It would seem, then, that nursing beyond one year [853] affords no practical protection against a new conception.

833 183 The rule among the Nog-au that cohabitation with the mother may be renewed only when the baby is able to sit is well known, but it is not particularly observed.

165 With these 15 infants there should accordingly be 45 small children from one to four years old; in actual fact, however, there are only 30 small children, which gives an infant mortality rate of 33 per cent. This rate is no higher than is to be expected among primitive tribes in malaria regions; in fact, it is lower than in some native locations, such as East London.

[19 cont.]

162 In the age group of five to ten years, the number re-
165 mains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number
[123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

[20] Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in
[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman
[131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief
133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika [Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa], Berlin, 1906.

648 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample
621 water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and
622

[31 cont.]

582 unmarried. Marriage is concluded at an early age. The age that
165 Bushmen attain is not great. There are relatively few old people among them, although some of them, it is true, attain a very
593 high age. The children must obey their parents even when they are grown up and married.

888 The Bushmen indignantly denied that they kill the old people or expose them in the bush. If someone is old, weak, or ill, then they simply walk more slowly or leave the sick person behind with a companion. My informants did report to me that dur-
[731] ing periods of extreme thirst not only old people, but also women and children who were unable to move on were left behind. This happened only in desperate circumstances, when those who were half-dead from thirst could not be helped in any case and a stay would have resulted in death for the whole kin group. As soon
764 as someone has died, all the women and girls sit around the corpse and weep. There is no singing on this occasion. Then some of the men go and dig a grave in the bush, cut off medium-sized pieces of wood, and place these in the bottom of the grave as a foundation, over which is spread the hay that the deceased was lying on. Then all take the body to the grave and bury it in a crouched position with the back toward the sunrise. Every relative must give a few glass beads and ornaments if the deceased is a woman. This finery is placed around the neck of the deceased. The corpse is rubbed down with green aromatic powder and ocher and is wrapped in its hides and blankets. They either throw thorn on the covered grave or make a four-cornered gutter in the sand around the grave and posts are pounded into the gutter to make a fence. The grave is now in the center of the fence, like the living person in the center of his hut. A cup of water and some food are put near the head area. Deceased men have bows, arrows, and their hunting bag placed on the chest. Children are given their miniature bows. The Bushmen say that they give the bows and arrows not because the deceased needs them for hunting in the beyond, but because they do not want to use the effects of the deceased, whom they loved. According to Vedder (1), the dead

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Bushleute, pp. 420-421.

[33 cont.]

224 has done the shooting must go home immediately and may not speak, eat, or drink, for if the hunter speaks with others, the kudu will not be found for a long time, and if he drinks water, the poison will become watery and will not be effective, and if he eats, the kudu will remain quiet and the poison will not work effectively. The next morning very early we must set out on the trail. The kudu is already dead. The people carry the meat home. [782] Then it is put on the socha [sacred] fire. The //Gauab must be given some of the meat. Whoever does not do this will be punished by the //Gauab with serious illness, and the people will say: 'That is just. The //Gauab has given him the game, why does he give nothing for //Gauab?'" Here, therefore, a true primitial offering is involved.

It is interesting that the Ogowe bury arrows in the sand at various watering places, with the poisoned tip pointing upward; they do this in shady spots that game animals like to use as resting [202] places, and by certain signs, such as tying together blades of tall grass and the like, they set up warnings (Von Zastrow and Vedder).

When a Bushman horde of today is able to hunt down half a dozen large antelopes in a year, it can consider itself lucky.

The porcupine is also commonly hunted, as are the scaly anteater and the fat aardvark, which is very common but difficult to catch. Monkeys are very rare; on the other hand, tree rats make a desirable addition to the diet. The ostrich is not uncommon in open terrain, and ostrich eggs are greatly coveted. Occasionally a boa constrictor, which tastes like a fat fish, or an iguana may round out the menu.

136 Among the animals which are in any way dangerous to human beings, the lion should be mentioned in particular. They occur in great numbers, but rarely stay in one place for a long [165] period of time. A considerable number of Bushmen become their 262 victims, especially in the north. Lions, leopards, hyenas, and jackals are neither hunted nor eaten; the same is true concerning [753] birds of prey. Eating leopard meat produces fever and eczema, [825] while eating the flesh of birds of prey produces temporary blindness and symptoms of sickness similar to acute sausage poisoning.

Poisonous snakes are not eaten; they are much rarer here than in the stony regions of the central and southern areas, and they do not constitute a noteworthy danger.

[46 cont.]

Infectious Diseases

164 The Bushmen are plagued by the two most dangerous chronic infectious diseases, tuberculosis and malaria. Leprosy is absent.

Malaria appears every year during the rainy season. Bisob [757] roots are then thrown in the fire, and the smoke is inhaled. Small [278] children more commonly die of it. I did not see any cases of black water fever or malarial cachexia.

Tuberculosis is the common cause of death among the [165] Bushmen. I saw bone tuberculosis and swellings of the glands, as well as advanced cases of lung and throat tuberculosis. The poor people are helpless, and the frequent colds further the process in a dangerous fashion. As nomads living in small groups, they are generally spared the epidemics of the Whites and Blacks. Once an epidemic has made its appearance among them, however, they die in great numbers. It is interesting to note that the Bushmen are aware that contagious diseases exist. As such, however, they only know the above-mentioned skin disease (gari).

753 The other infectious general diseases are explained as an attack by many spirits of sickness upon the horde.

Assistance at Birth

844 When a young woman anticipates her first confinement, she remains near the huts because she is afraid. The older women cheer her up, and then a resting place is made of dried grass. The woman gives birth in a squatting position. In case of difficulties [845] during delivery, the lower part of the body is massaged. Medicine or manual assistance to expedite the delivery is not given. The umbilical cord is cut off with a quartz knife and buried.

[47] Wounds and Injuries

752 The most dangerous injury a Bushman can receive is through a poisoned arrow. The poisoned arrow is cut out, a piece of wood is held in the fire until it glows, and then it is used to

606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as " my son-in-law " or " my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidently they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

847 Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.

844 A pregnant woman is generally treated with great considera-
[84] tion. For the first confinement it is customary for her to return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-//om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the
846 infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner
848 it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies
● 165 follow in rapid succession during the course of married life
847 but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted
[845] the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five
[162] or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood. Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance
[595] is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among
555 the *Hei-//om* each child is generally given three names,
[55] namely a first name, a second name and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother and the second name by the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

Ukane had asked his wife if her brother had returned. She 533
had answered "Yes," and Ukwane had composed the song about it out of guilt and sorrow.

"A Song of Shouting" was beautiful, too. When Ukwane had explained it to us and we had asked him to sing some more, he smiled at us and said that he was tired. But the day of jealousies, the fact that he had not found his piece of string, and the subject of his songs had put him in a mood, and presently he began to tell us what was in his heart.

He said that he was old and blind, and that he and his 533
wife could no longer support one another but had to depend 888
on Tsetchwe and Gai. Even Twikwe and Dasina were old and would not be strong much longer, and if Gai should leave them, perhaps to go to his Bakalahari father, the old people would perish surely.

Hearing Ukwane's cracked voice saying these sad things, his wife got up from her bed and sat beside him in silence. Soon Twikwe and Dasina joined him, too, so all the old people were there, crouching near the fire, their eyes gazing over its light out into the darkness.

Presently Dasina said: "It is bad to die because when you die you are all alone," and after being silent for a moment Ukwane told us how various members of his band, once a large one, had died, reducing their number to the hardy few who lived with him now. Both his father and his mother had died of thirst, and his children, his young nieces and nephews, [731
and his grandchildren had all died in an epidemic of smallpox 165]
three years before. That had been a horrifying season, and in the hottest time, when the sun was drying them all and the ground was too hot to walk on, the smallpox had come, and pox had got into people's mouths so that they could not eat, and the children had all died one morning and their young mothers had died before night.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

The Medicine Bees

222 THE DAY after the dance was the day before we left Nama to return to the United States. In all the time that we had stayed at Nama we had not been to Gautscha Pan, and now Toma said he wanted to go there to gather honey from the Gautscha baobab tree. Before we left, he sat in his werf telling me stories of people who thought that they could climb baobab trees but whose self-confidence had been excessive, because they had all fallen, each and every one.

481 222 165 Steinbok Gumtsa was one of these, said Toma, and he was an excellent climber. Baobabs that others could not climb he managed, and ate honey from the upper branches every time. One day, while watching bees fly about the top of the very high baobab at Gautscha Pan, Steinbok Gumtsa thought to bring himself luck and said: "I am going to climb, but I will slip and fall and be killed." The others told him not to try it, but he did. "He thought he was too good," said Toma, "and that is why he did fall. The others found him dead at the bottom."

One-eyed Nishi was another good climber. He also tried to reach the honey in the top of the Gautscha baobab, but he slipped and fell and the other Bushmen found him dead at

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the bottom too, "with his head driven down between his shoulders," said Toma laconically, hunching his own neck to show how it was.

A third man whom Toma did not name climbed for honey in the Gura baobab, a tree somewhat north of Gautscha Pan, and he also fell; but, happily, he survived his experience. His sister and her husband were below him, watching, and when they saw him fall they held out their arms to catch him. He fell through their arms, of course, but his fall was broken and though he was unconscious for a long time he finally did recover.

The moral of these stories, Toma said, was to show that young people should listen to older people and not act rashly. I believe that he thought I was going to try to climb the Gautscha baobab (which I had already done, though only to the lowest branch, fifteen feet from the ground), for he went on to say: "When Bushmen tell young people not to climb baobab trees they should listen. It is seldom that a person lives who falls from a baobab tree, they are so high. Even those good climbers I told you about, they all fell." I assured him that I did not even want to climb it and he said: "Good. When we who are experienced get the honey you can watch from below. Then you can see just as well."

The Gautscha baobab was somewhat east of the pan, and we could see it rising from the plain when we were almost a mile away from it. It loomed up at the horizon, towering, its mass of upper branches hazy because we were so far. As we moved toward it, it seemed to move away from us like a distant mountain, but gradually, after a long time, it began slowly to get larger, looming higher, its top branches reaching up to the sky, where the clouds of spring were already forming as the desert got ready for the rains, three months away.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

844 she lies on her side. The umbilical cord is not tied, but cut with a knife; the Auen use the sharp edge of a reed for this purpose, never anything else. A plaster of mud and leaves is put on the baby's abdomen, if there is much bleeding. Before, during, and immediately after the birth the mother may not be washed with water, nor may the child, which is simply wiped off with the soft grass and put into its mother's kaross. Among the Auen, when birth is difficult or when, [845] e.g., the woman is ill at the time of delivery, the magician is called in [755] to lighten the process, which he attempts to do by sucking with his mouth at the vagina and by "murmuring spells". This is the only instance recorded of any magical assistance being given at birth.

Immediately after the child is born and wiped clean it is simply 846 put into the kaross of its mother, who then returns to the camp. Among the Heikum and the Auen she is now for a week or more relieved of her normal daily duties, such as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. Among the Naron, however, she is said to resume her ordinary avocations immediately. Occasionally harder births occur, and then the woman may be quiet for a few days, [845] if she pulls through; but a really difficult birth means the death of both mother and child, as no method of helping is known save massage. In the event of the mother dying during or shortly after childbirth, [853] some other woman may suckle the child and rear it, if it lives; but [847] more often than not it is buried alive with its mother, especially among the wilder bands.

In this connection reference may be made to a practice recorded 853 by Seiner of the Kung, but not reported by any of the other writers on this or other tribes. He states the belief exists that if a child is placed too soon at its mother's breast both will die. Immediately after it is born the infant is therefore handed over to another woman to be suckled. Often enough, however, there is no suitable woman in the small band, and so the hungry infant makes futile attempts at several different dry breasts, to be returned finally, strengthless and dying, to the arms of its mother. He attributes the great infant [165] mortality chiefly to this practice, which often results in the infant's not receiving its mother's breast until too late.

845 Twin births are said to be very rare. Among the Auen and the Heikum one of twins is invariably killed by being buried alive by the 847 mother or one of her attendants immediately after the birth. If the children are of opposite sexes, it is always the boy who is killed in this way. Among the Kung, again, both are buried alive at birth, for it is

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

171 They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for
551 example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face, and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life."

853 Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable
[862] food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

847 This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide found among the North-Western tribes.[1] Sexual intercourse between the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save
[163] abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession during the course of married life, and it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the
[844] bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children of different ages, both needing the shelter of their kaross, and to be carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second or third child is usually weaned, the one or two born in the interval being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among
[184] the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality
[165] caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore
162 small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; Kaufmann, op. cit., 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31–2; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

000 [42 cont.]
622 the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is
372 the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo.
778 Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are
[262] "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a
784 very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language.
Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is
166 available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the
373 village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha
[596] fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they
252 have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha
264 fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave im-
621 mediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the
[462] windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire
he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does.
Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large
game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains
seated there, while the women and children make themselves
comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The
game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and
[262] shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children,
who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is
[622] consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has
the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The
hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has
described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

178 When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the
622 Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight
organization and a common leader. When Captain François went
beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable
support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note
that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of
Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a
Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a

2. He himself was a half-breed.

chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest
chief I heard of was "χ'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people.
[423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such,
621 by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-||om*, on the
[582 other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the
59] chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out
361 on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the
[184] *Hei-||om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial
[562] and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and
[882 boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away
342] from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also
[589] visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various
342 tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a
[462] husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations.
166 When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish
342 a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which
[622] his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated
[312] in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER FOUR

The Fire

AFTER a long talk with Gai and Ukwane we found that, because of a shortage of melons and roots, they did not like to live at the place where we found them, which was called Gu Nu, and they were planning to move. We asked them if they would mind our coming with them when they did move, and they, with great aplomb, showing no surprise at what must have seemed a strange request, said politely that they would not mind at all. We had good relations with them by that time and had already been living near them for several days. 166 648

As we would be asking them to spend time talking with us, we agreed to give them food, water, and firewood to make up for what they might gather if we were not taking their time, as well as salt and tobacco to make their hearts glad. It seemed to be a good arrangement, and they were as pleased as we.

Soon after that, when Ukwane had decided where to go, we packed up our camp, they packed up theirs, and we put everything on the trucks and drove away. The Bushmen all rode with us except the two oldest women, Kutera and Dasina, who said they were too tired to ride and preferred to walk. They did, too, taking with them all their possessions as 481 482

524

HAPPY LIFE of children includes such moments as these: a laughing game of "pull-away," above.

423 bodies—from day to day. If the water-
312 holes were not shared, some bands would be without permanent water.

621 Not all !Kung territories are of equal value in terms of food and
166 water. Some people have *mangetti* nuts, some have *tsi*, and some have
361 both. There is mild wealth, and gentle poverty in *Nyae Nyae*. Territories also change in value year by year. The rains may fail in some parts of *Nyae Nyae*, and fall in others. In normal years, *mangetti*'s in the north may become available earlier in the season than those of the western forests. Because of the flexibility of band composition, the bands gathering *mangetti*'s in such a favored area are enlarged by people who would otherwise have to wait.

This is usually a temporary situation, the newcomers having more the status of guests than members of the bands. Often, whole bands—headman and all—will visit kin in this manner. During years of dessication, the fact that a person has several choices of bands in which to live becomes vital to him—he can move from a hopeless place to perhaps a better one.

By such means, balance works out between the desert's resources and the numbers and distribution of !Kung who exploit them. No one district or *mangetti* forest could support more than a limited number of people. Only certain people possess the necessary kinship qualifications to join a band. The flexibility of their

[p. 87]

621 composition enables bands to swell
361 during lean years, while the concept
of association, through a headman,
to a district and a territory provides
●166 for the distribution of people throughout the barren land.

If a band were confined strictly to one territory, or could use the resources of another territory only over the bodies of the band that lived there, there would be many less *Nyae Nyae* !Kung—perhaps none at all.

823 The !Kung give various reasons for their preference of the territory they consider home. For some, it is where they were born. For others, it is where they spent their youth. And for some, it is where they are waiting in their old age. Hunters say they must know their territories—every pan and stretch of bush, every unusual tree—and they say that to amass such knowledge takes years. An old man we met while he was visiting for a few days from the west, said that the weather was more gentle in Debera, the place where he lived, and that, moreover, "there are no stones in Debera ground."

Early one autumn morning, blue and sweet, when dawn air was still fragile on our faces, a close !Kung friend stood beside me in /Gautcha Territory, looking across a pan that still smiled with water despite the late season. It was the pan where he had come, as a young man, to live with his bride. We were quiet, waiting for the rising sun. "/Gautcha is beautiful," he said.

[p. 88]

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsī, the men always ac-
462 company the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsī* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater por-
222 tion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging imple-
[412] ment is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were
[101] living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some
[484] to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles
[361] to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back
[854] to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to
[482] them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the
[372] bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as
252 meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes,
264 pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

222 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the
433 impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food
731 is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families
166 therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—
[582]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

in several different bands, and they may choose among them. A band that owned comparatively good resources would tend to attract more members than a band with scant veldkos. This flexibility of residence pattern is one of the reasons that one finds the bands of the interior of the Nyae Nyae region relatively in balance with their resources, and varying in size.

WATER • Two or more bands may share the ownership of a water hole. Water holes keep their own rough population balance because, if water is very scarce, people will go to live elsewhere when they have the possibility of doing so.

In the interior of this region, in roughly 8000 square miles, there are three water holes that can be called really permanent. In the driest years these do not fail. Four others dry up only in years of severe drought. Six more are semipermanent: in a very good year they may yield a little water right through, but in a dry year they are sure to dry up. When the semipermanent water holes go dry, the bands who own them may break up temporarily and the families may go to live with relatives who are at permanent water holes, or they may go as whole bands to another water hole where they have relatives.

Water is not owned as exclusively or as jealously as veldkos. Water seems to belong more to mankind, as the animals do, and the ownership of water holes emphasizes more the managing than the withholding of the water. The headman controls the water. His permission should be asked by travelers or visitors before taking water, "because he knows what he has and what can be done," we were told. We saw small temporary water holes marked with bundles of grass thrust into forked sticks. This was to tell visitors or travelers that the owners of the water hole were in residence, as it were, and were counting on the water. We believe that in these circumstances water would not be taken without permission. Occasions are not likely to arise where permission need be refused. The !Kung know where the others are, or are likely to be, at a given time and know how much water is available. They plan better than to get themselves into desperate situations.

One source of water appears to be owned by individuals. It is the rainwater that collects in hollow mangetti trees. The water in trees is not stolen by others who go to gather in the same mangetti forest. Water, incidentally, is the only beverage of the !Kung in the interior of the region. They have no alcoholic drinks and use no infusions of herbs.

HUNTING AND MEAT SHARING • !Kung hunting regulations do not confine the hunters to territories. The game animals belong to no one until they are shot, and the hunters may follow them anywhere the spoor leads and may cross the territorial boundaries of any band. If hunters have made a kill in the territory of a neighboring band, they would not fail to give a present of

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563 The waterholes and their respective Bushman and Bantu populations are listed in Table 2.

!Kung group structure

621
166 The definition of the !Kung living arrangements presented the most difficult problem of the field study. The !Kung were found to be living most frequently in camps that numbered from ten to thirty individuals. But the composition of these camps changed from month to month and from day to day.

The task of defining the stable membership units was complicated by the following factors:

1. the frequent shifts of individuals and families from one camp to another,
[574] 2. the high incidence of visiting between camps,
3. the presence of long-term visitors from outside the Dobe area,
4. the Dobe area residents who were living elsewhere on extended visits, and
[563] 5. the intermarriage and co-residence of Bushmen with Bantu.

These complications are in addition to the routine changes in group structure brought about by births, deaths, post-marital residence, and the seasonal subsistence cycle.

It became evident that flexibility is the basic premise
[121] of !Kung group structure. It would therefore be inappropriate to try to impose a formal model of organization on the data,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

621
166 such as the patrilineal band or composite band models current
121 in the literature (Steward 1955, Sahlins 1959, Service 1962).

121 An account of the situation at one waterhole will serve
621
312 to illustrate some of the dynamic processes at work in !Kung
621 group structure. At Dobe in October, 1963, there were two
312 camps, one with 28 members, the other with ten members. In
166
162 December, 18 members of the larger camp left on an extended
161 visit to Tsumkwe and the remaining ten people made a joint camp with the smaller group to form a camp of twenty people. In January, 1964, these two segments split up and abandoned Dobe altogether. The waterhole remained unoccupied until May, 1964, when the two segments recombined and were joined by 22 other people, who came in from five other camps. This group of 42 people wintered at Dobe in one camp. Then, in August the camp split up into a camp of twelve and a camp of 24. Six of the 22 people who had wintered at Dobe returned to other camps while 16 of these people remained at Dobe. The two Dobe camps (of twelve and 24) remained approximately stable for the remainder of the study (i.e. until January, 1965).

621 Thus at different times of the year the population of
312
Dobe was counted as follows:
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162

October 1963	38 people in 2 camps
December 1963	20 people in 1 camp
Jan.-April 1964	nil.
May 1964	42 people in 1 camp
Aug. 1964 to Jan. 1965	36 people in 2 camps

621
312 an old man and his sister. When the two Dobe groups divided,
16 the old man and his two married children went one way and the old woman and her three sons went the other.

The remaining two bands were living outside of the Dobe area at the time of the census. One of them was the band of 13 from !goše that had gone to Nokaneng. The other was a group of 19 individuals who came from South West Africa to spend the summer of 1963-64 in the Dobe area and had returned to Tsumkwe in May, 1964.

621 These brief notes indicate the extent to which bands
312 coalesce and split, change waterholes and move in and out of
166 the Dobe area. It does not take into account the corresponding
621 shifts made by individuals and families. In light of the above it is doubtful whether the use of the term "band" is legitimate in the context of Bushman group dynamics. The "band" may turn out to be an artifact of the observer's sampling technique and his theoretical preconceptions (see Chapter VII). Among the !Kung, for example, it appears that the cohesive social units are the extended families that make up the larger aggregations that have been called bands. This does not imply that the !Kung have what Steward (1955) called a "family level of organization" since the !Kung consistently live in aggregations of two to ten or more families. Until a complete analysis of the data is carried out, it would

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

are the serfs of the interdwelling Bantu, and the conditions under which they live do not, therefore, permit of their association in large groups. 621 648

In the tribes to the north-west who still retain to some extent their own mode of life and organization the communities are on the whole somewhat larger, although the numbers fluctuate a good deal. In the Kaukauveld Passarge frequently saw bands of up to thirty persons, and in the Mahuraveld of between twenty and twenty-five persons.[1] Among the Naron, again, Miss Bleek speaks of a camp containing from sixty to eighty persons,[2] while among the Auen, according to Kaufmann, up to thirty families, i.e. about one hundred persons, may be found camping together.[3] Both writers agree, however, in stating that the numbers may at times be considerably less. Müller visited eight camps of Bushmen in the Kaukauveld, and the figures given by him show that in six of them the population ranged between thirty and seventy, while the remaining two had one hundred and fifty and two hundred inhabitants respectively.[4] Seiner, again, states that the bands of the Kung average fifty persons, although he mentions two encampments in the vicinity of Karakuwisa which were considerably larger[5]; while among the Tannekwe he found five encampments of Bugakwe, whose population he estimates altogether as two hundred and twenty, eight of Garikwe containing all told about four hundred and thirty persons, and one of Gokwe with ninety.[6] 162 621

Not too much weight can be laid on the actual figures given, as for the most part they are based on what are obviously rough estimates, not accurate observations. There seems little doubt, however, that among the North-Western tribes the bands are on the whole more considerable than in any of the other tribes, and the average given by von François[7] of between fifty to sixty persons to a band may be taken as fairly representative, although as we have seen the numbers fluctuate a good deal. [114]

Part of the difficulty in obtaining accurate information about the size of the band lies in the fact that the families composing it are not always found living together in one encampment. Within the 166 361 621

[1] *Die Buschmänner*, 9, 10. [2] *The Naron*, 4. [3] "Die Auin," 136.
[4] "Erkundungsritt in das Kaukauveld," 530. The actual figures are: 150, 40, 70, 70, 200, 30, 30, and 30.
[5] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303, 302.
[6] "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 104.
[7] *Nama und Damara*, 234.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

166 territory occupied by the band its members roam about freely in
361 search of food, and family groups often separate from the main body
621 to wander about on their own account for a while. Of the Naron, for example, Miss Bleek writes that she has "sometimes seen three or four huts together, sometimes twenty, with from sixty to eighty inhabitants. Every few weeks a new hut appears, or a vacant space shows where one has gone"; and she adds that as the village is such a fluctuating quantity it is difficult to estimate the numbers of a band or a tribe.[1] Indeed it seems to be a feature in the life of some of the Northern tribes that during the dry season the families in the band scatter about separately, to come together again only in the rainy
[221] season, when there is an ample supply of water and "veldkos". Thus among the Auen only one or two families may be found living together in the dry season, while towards the end of and shortly after the rainy season, when the edible plants of the veld are abundant, up to thirty families may join together.[2] It is thus by no means unusual to find several small encampments of members of the same band scattered about over its hunting territory, a fact which may easily mislead casual observers with regard to its numbers.

On the other hand, it also appears that at times members of several
361 different bands may come together for a while. Passarge mentions
619 that in 1897, during an outbreak of rinderpest when cattle were
621 dying in great numbers in the Ghansiveld, Bushmen were drawn together from all parts of the vicinity by the abundance of animal food thus provided. At one spot he saw between one and two hundred of them, at another about one hundred, and these included both Auen and Naron.[3] In the Kwebe Hills, again, his camp was passed by about one hundred men returning to the Hainaveld from the sandveld. Together with their women and children this group must therefore have numbered from three to four hundred.[4] It is almost certain that these people too must have belonged to different bands and had only come together temporarily, but this is not definitely stated by Passarge. Kaufmann, again, mentions a camp of Auen at Sidonitsaub which in April, 1908, contained about four hundred men, or with women and children about one thousand persons
[622] all told. That these belonged to a number of different bands was

[1] *The Naron*, 4.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 138; cf. Passarge, op. cit., 42; Vialls, "Kalahari Masarwas," 30.
[3] Op. cit., 7, 8.
[4] Op. cit., 10.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in 372
the werft, as firemaking is a matter of serious import and the chief 622
is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off misfortune. The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out."

As an illustration he cites[1] the practices existing among the Heikum 166 ●
of the Etosha Pan. Here, when it becomes necessary to move camp, 361
as for example after a death has taken place, the whole community 622
takes up all its goods and chattels, and, led by the *gei-khoib* (chief), [768]
sets off in search of a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. "The chief then pro- 372
ceeds to the large tree (*/heis*) in the centre and kindles a fire under- 622
neath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *!norab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with [276]
it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-/ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*!ou-/ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-/ais* and the women may fetch fire from the *!ou-/ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-/ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the *!ou-/ais*. The *!ou-/ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-/ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be [621]
home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the *!heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new *!ou-/ais* kindled

[1] Op. cit., 87–8; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52–3.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

102
133
• 167
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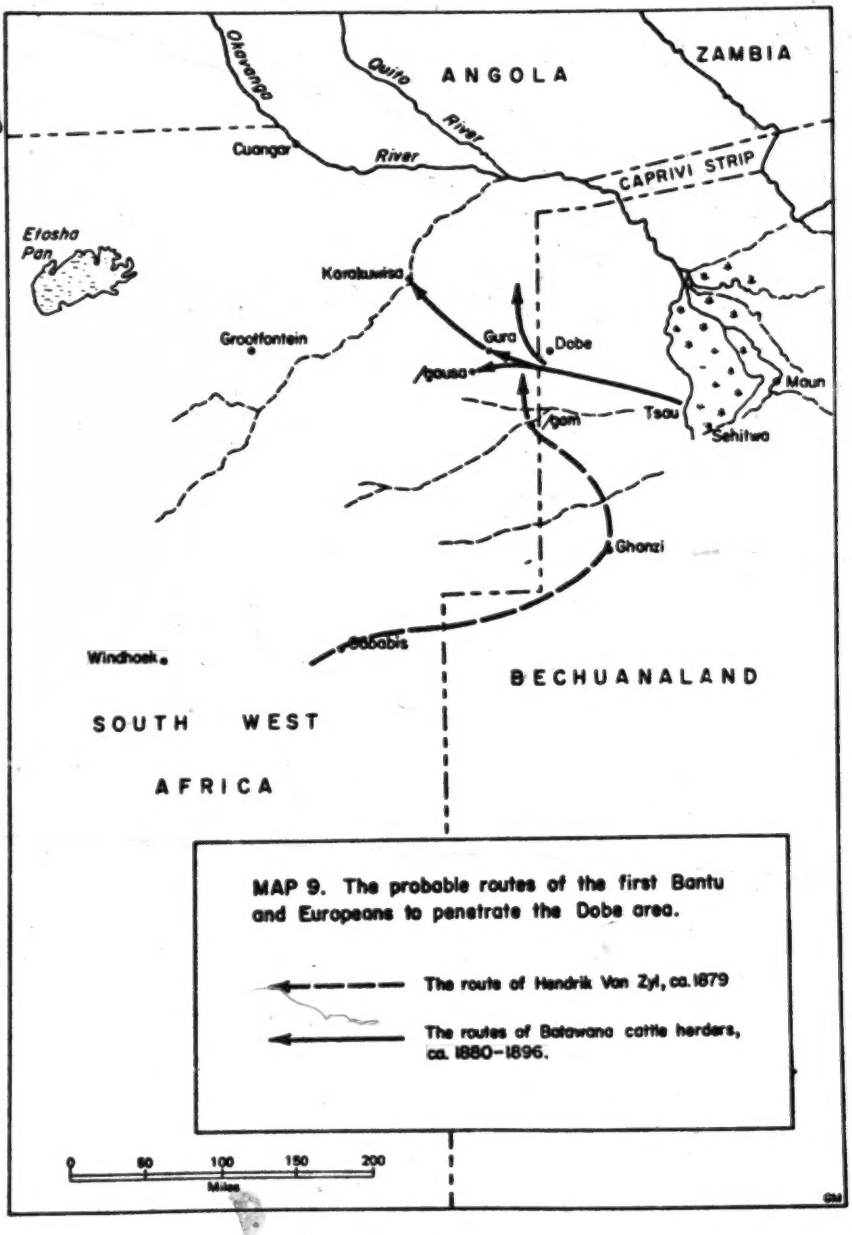

MAP 9. The probable routes of the first Bantu and Europeans to penetrate the Dobe area.

The route of Hendrik Van Zyl, ca. 1879

The routes of Batawana cattle herders, ca. 1880–1896.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

H B 105 311 312

the game. In the more arid parts the animals in the dry season concentrate in vast numbers about the rivers and waterholes and pans, to disperse widely as soon as the rains make life possible elsewhere. The same features of alternate concentration and dispersal can be observed in the life of the purely hunting tribes. The pastoral resources are on the whole excellent, there being no lack of grass or edible shrubs even during the dry season, and consequently cattle-keeping peoples are able to lead a favoured existence in these uplands. Agriculture is also practised to some extent, but is confined to the scattered alluvial tracts. As a means of subsistence it is rendered precarious by the frequent droughts which characterize the region. These often exercise a harmful effect on pastoralism as well, partly because of the ensuing lack of water, but mainly because the pasture is completely destroyed in many parts of the country. The plateaus of the Orange Free State, Cape Province, and Southern Bechuanaland are especially exposed to such catastrophes, but they are often enough marked in South-West Africa also, particularly in Great Namaqualand.

Further east and along the south coast the rainfall is high enough to place cultivation on a safe footing, while the country, where it is not covered with bush or forest, is composed of extensive grass flats which can be used as pasture land. Consequently, both agriculture and pastoralism are equally developed, the former being carried out on a far greater scale than in other parts of South Africa. Here, therefore, we find the most thickly settled zones, and the population is mainly sedentary, even although the pastoral tribes must still to some extent lead a nomadic life.

Migration Routes

H B 131 167

The geographical situation of South Africa has an obvious bearing upon the racial history of the country. Cut off by vast uninterrupted stretches of water from ready access on the west, south, and east, its most direct link with other regions is overland to the north. In the north-west the great forest regions of the Congo impose an effective barrier upon extensive human migrations, so that it is principally from the north-east that invading peoples have been able to enter the country.[1] The East African highlands are connected with the south by a favourable route passing between the escarpments in the east with their sharp descent to the fertile but fever-stricken coastlands,

[1] Cf. Passarge, *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 32–3; *idem*, *Südafrika*, pp. 163–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

and the elevated ridges and plateaus of Central Africa. The route bifurcates north of Lake Nyasa. The eastern branch leads to the broad coastal belt of the Rovuma-Rufiji region and down to the Zambesi delta, the western branch to the diversified plateau between Lakes Nyasa and Bangweolo and the Zambesi River.

H B 131 167

This diversified plateau region is important as the central point from which migration routes branch out into South Africa. Two principal routes may be distinguished, one leading to the south, the other to the west. The southward route, crossing the Zambesi just above or just below the famous gorge which begins at the Victoria Falls, leads through the Matabeleland plateau of Southern Rhodesia into the Northern Transvaal, avoiding the unhealthy coastlands of Portuguese East Africa on the east, and the waterless tracts of the Middle and Southern Kalahari on the west. Then, following the uplands of the great interior plateau, it leads down through the Western Transvaal and Orange Free State into the west of Cape Province, or, branching off through Zululand, passes along the south-east and south coast belt to rejoin the other line in the Cape Province. The westward route follows the southern equatorial watershed between the two well-watered regions of the Congo basin and the Northern Kalahari and so leads to the fertile and healthy highlands of Angola. Here it branches out on the north to Loanda and the Lower Congo, on the south over the Kunene into the highland plateaus of South-West Africa and across the Orange River into the Western Cape Province, where it meets the southward route.

These are the main lines of migration imposed above all on cattle-keeping peoples. The high steppes afford the best pasture and facilitate movement, and in addition are more healthy for men and animals than the low-lying coastlands or the moister portions of the interior with their malaria, tsetse fly and other infectious diseases. One other point must be noticed. South Africa by virtue of its geographical situation forms an ethnological cul-de-sac: the ocean on three sides bars all further progress. Hence invading peoples must either wipe out their predecessors completely or live side by side with them, the latter a condition likely to result in intermingling and the formation of hybrid races and cultures. Both processes have occurred frequently enough in the history of the country.

H B [144 721]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

585 [159] [183] then come with us when we leave tomorrow to gather *tsi*. He will hunt from that place and get us some meat.'

The ritual elements in the wedding ceremony, in so far as we observed, were as follows: (1) carrying the bride so that her feet do not touch the ground; (2) covering her head so that the sun does not shine upon it; (3) waiting till the sun has set before taking her to the wedding scherm; (4) the fact that the scherm is specially built and set apart from the others; (5) anointing with fat; (6) painting a design on the forehead and cheeks with powdered red stone; (7) lighting the wedding fire with brands from the fires of the bride's and groom's parents.

585 881 [174] Apart from the third and seventh, all these elements occur also in the Ceremony of the First Menstruation, a more elaborate and prolonged ceremony from which the /Kung wedding ceremony undoubtedly derives. The design on the face is the same; the girl's feet must not touch the ground from the instant her first menstruation begins to the end of the period, when she is washed and anointed with both eland or other fat and the oil of the *tsi* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch).[1] When the girl is taken to her special scherm or moved out of it to urinate or defecate she is carried on the back of a kinswoman. A kaross over her head shields her from the sun whether she is sitting in the scherm or being carried out.

Our endeavour to bring to light the meaning of the ritual elements yielded little. The meaning or origin of the design on the face, I was convinced, was not withheld but lost to memory, lore or myth. 'It is our custom' was all the people could tell me.

[171] About the ritual of the feet not touching the ground, the custom frequently observed by divine kings and menstruating girls, the /Kung had no more illumination. They think that the carrying is the overcoming of the girl's symbolized modesty about going to the arms of her bridegroom, which she should properly feign even if she is eager to go, and her reluctance to separate from her own family: I think that when the attendants take hold of the bride and groom by the arm and pull them a little they symbolize the overcoming of reluctance and modesty and perhaps there is even a vestige of bride capture in that gesture, but of the feet not touching the ground the meaning is lost. Obviously, however, in this society the bride is equated to the [174] menstruating girl. In the past the girl's wedding and her first menstruation may have been celebrated at one time.

The /Kung say that the sun is death-giving. When the three months of life-585 giving rains are past, the sun dries up the water pools. It kills the fresh leaves and 821 fruits, dries the roots and berries, and would scorch the people if they did not find shade and dig shallow pits and lie in them covered lightly with sand which they have moistened with their urine for coolness. They pity the morning star, the *kuli |gaishay*, which crosses the sky all day ahead of the sun, has no branches to carry for shade and 593 cannot turn aside to rest under a tree. The sun is a 'death thing' and the bride 585 is shielded from it.

602 The most important element of behaviour with respect to kinship in the wedding

[113] [1] Robert Story, *Some Plants Used by the Bushmen in Obtaining Food and Water*, Department of Agriculture, Division of Botany, Union of South Africa, Botanical Survey, Memoir No. 30, 1958, p. 25. Dr. Story was a member of the 1955 and 1957 expeditions. We gratefully acknowledge whatever botanical identifications we mention as his.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

tion is not necessary. ' A wife can get tired of loving her husband ', we were told, 586
' and just tell him to go away. '

We learned about seven divorces only in our sample. The middle-aged Khuan//a, the mother of the bridegroom, /Gunda, had left her first husband to marry her lover. Another middle-aged woman left her husband because he was on the point of marrying a second wife. Jealousy between the two young wives at Gam, lamented in song by the young husband, had been the cause of the third. The whims of young girls caused others. A girl named /Ungka, married to a considerably older man, hated him though he was good to her and gave her oil and ornaments for her hair. She cut off her hair and threw it, ornaments and all, into the fire. She thrust her head into the ashes and made herself filthy. In another instance, the girl took offence the first night of her marriage and left her young husband next day, to his painful chagrin. The lenient and patient parents of these girls arranged other marriages. Di/ai, the mother of [587] the bride /Nai, and now the wife of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, was divorced from two former husbands in her youth. And /U, her sister, while still very young had been persuaded by ≠Toma to leave her tall young husband from Gam and to marry him.

Our data on frequency of divorce are too scant to be significant. We have merely the impression that there seems to be some tendency for couples to separate while they are young and in whatever adolescent turbulence the /Kung experience, but that, on the other hand, there is considerable stability in marriage once a compatible mate is found. At least, no divorces occurred between 1952 and 1959 in eight of the bands of our sample. We lack data on the others.

Young children of divorced parents remain with the mother. As they grow to adolescence the girls usually stay with their mothers, the boys may go to their fathers or stay with their mothers or spend some time with each.

Although the /Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it. Divorce is untoward, disruptive; it can cause trouble. Anything other than peace and [181] harmony in human relations makes the /Kung uneasy.

Extra-marital sexual relations

Murdock points out that ' Our own culture includes a blanket taboo against 171
fornication, an over-all prohibition of all sexual intercourse outside of the marital relationship.'[1] He goes on to say that our society is highly aberrant in this and that ' from available evidence [however] it seems unlikely that a general prohibition of sex relations outside of marriage occurs in as many as five per cent of the peoples of the earth '.[2]

/Kung society has an over-all prohibition against any sexual relations outside of 837
marriage with one exception. It makes no requirements such as sexual hospitality or *jus primae noctis*. It makes no provision for sexual access to certain categories of kin or affines outside of marriage, such as BrWi. Premarital unchastity, unchastity of [836] widows, and prostitution are not among their social conventions. But */kamheri*, though not required, is either fully permitted or tolerated as not a very bad thing; I never reached certainty as to which of these attitudes the society adopted.

/Kamheri means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided

[1] Murdock, op. cit., p. 263. [2] Ibid., p. 264.

/135 cont./

114 accounts for the incompleteness and gaps in my data, defects which make themselves felt particularly in the last chapter. Thus, I could neither do the important section on linguistics nor make a collection of ethnological materials.

The observations and researches that I did undertake were repeatedly tested for their correctness to the best of my abilities. The possibility of error, of course, is nevertheless admitted without reservation.

Aminuis, August, 1908. Kaufmann.

General Observations

144 It is my conviction that the ǂAuin, as well as all other Kalahari Bushmen, do not represent a homogeneous race, but rather a people or, better still, several peoples who have lost their original character through mixture with one another and above all with peoples of other races (Bantu). At any rate, a number of Bergdamara [Bergdama] or Herero decidedly gives a stronger impression of derivation from the same mold than do the same number of Bushmen.

197 The linguistic differentiation of the individual tribes is sometimes so great that mutual intelligibility is impossible.

171 182 The apparent cultural homogeneity is probably based on the uniformity of the landscape that everywhere surrounds them and on the living conditions (Kalahari culture).

144 171 There is no doubt that an intimate relationship of some kind exists between the Hottentot and Bushmen. It may be that the Bushmen are degenerate Hottentot with some admixture of foreign blood, or, on the other hand, that the Hottentot are Bushmen with foreign admixture who have emancipated themselves from the Kalahari culture.

[114] 144 197 I believe I shall not be guilty of an indiscretion if I report that the ethnographer Dr. Pöch shares this view with me. In a private communication he writes to me from Kamelpan

/146 cont./

224 pitfall is put on the trail. I have never seen larger pitfalls for big game in the Auin region.

The jumping hare is held fast in its burrow (not pulled out!) [171] [411] and pressed against the end of it with the well-known angling stick of the South Africans, which among the Auin displays no special characteristics. A vertical hole is then dug from above, and the animal is taken out.

Hyrax. The exits of the burrow are blocked and then an opening is made (that is, dug in from the top).

Leopards are hunted only when several keen dogs are available. The animal is then covered by the dogs and killed with spears by several Bushmen. Without dogs, the Bushman dispenses with this sport, which every expert will understand.

The cheetah is pursued on foot by several people until it is exhausted and then killed with clubs and spears.

Hyenas are not hunted. They are smoked out only when a brood with young animals has been found in a hole in the ground, and the asphyxiated animals are then dug out.

The aardwolf is suffocated in his burrow by smoke and then dug out.

The jackal is not hunted since the Bushman supposedly does not get it anyway.

The wild dog (Lycaon pictus) is not hunted. I believe that in case of an encounter between the two the Bushman himself would usually constitute the game.

In isolated cases the skin of an ostrich, with a stick placed [237] in the neck, is used as a mask. The hunter slips into the skin after he has colored his legs with chalky soil. This mask is used [223] for hunting ostriches as well as other types of game.

The Bushman is unable to make other masks since he cannot [281] soften the skins of larger animals without changing their natural appearance. At the same time, the Auin described other masks to me so accurately that I could not doubt that their manufacture and use was known to them.

The characteristic sound of the young springbok, duiker, and klipbok is imitated with the lips while the nose is held with the index and middle finger.

The frightened scream of the young gemsbok and wildebeest is likewise imitated.

/149 cont./

249 The Auin have copied this procedure from the Bergdamara of
[177] Oas.
[273] The process of fermentation is unknown.
[i.e., of growing hemp.--Analyst]

K. Toys, Games, Sport

524 Little bows and arrows serve as children's toys.

A Chinese puzzle game is played by young and old, men and women alike. I have chosen the above designation because of the nature of the game.

The partners sit opposite each other in a crouch.

Both tap their thighs with both hands in rhythmic alternation and at the same time murmur meaningless inarticulate sounds.

One partner then suddenly extends his right or left hand toward the other or makes some other kind of motion with his hand. The point, now, is that the opponent must immediately extend the same hand or respond to the given motion with a similar one; in short, he must not allow himself to be confused. [Fig. 11 appears here.]

If, for instance, the opponent motions with the wrong hand or makes any other mistake, his partner very briefly signals his advantage by making a throwing motion with his hand or by striking his right index finger on his left fist (intended to signify: "I am breaking his, that is, the opponent's, head in two"). The game is not interrupted by these rapid signals.

/150/ The entire game is played at a fairly rapid speed.

Sometimes several men sit across from one another and take turns in the matches. Even little boys take part in the game of the adults.

[171] The Herero and Bergdamara play a similar game. The Auin, however, maintain that it is an original Bushman game.

Prizes are not awarded. They play purely for the "glory."

525 Game of chance: this bears great resemblance to the Chinese puzzle game, except that the participants also tap the ground with their knees. The "killing," that is, defeat of the opponent, is indicated by a loud exclamation without interrupting the progress of the game. The stakes (for instance, tobacco, food)

/150 cont./

526 there is a good supply of food, in other words, only during the crop season (rainy season). Sometimes, also, a heap of sand about one and a half meters high is piled up and one must throw over it.

The game is played for hours by boys and men with great shouts of joy.

[171] [177] This sport[1] is likewise practiced by the Kaffir and Herero. The Auin state that it is not an original Bushman game.

Wrestling (see Photo. 34). This seems to have a somewhat more serious character, since the victor deals severely with the loser and has nothing to do with him for a long time. Nonetheless, the Bushmen designate it as a game.

Shooting with bow and arrow (unpoisoned arrow tip toward the front). The target is a tschama or any other soft object, in order to spare the arrow. One by one, the competitors shoot from the same place. The winner receives a prize (food, a knife, or the like).

Spear throwing. The target (tschama) is placed on a stick planted in the ground.

At a distance of 20 meters, only one throw out of 30, performed by six men, hit the target.

The target was an insert from a flour box.

Prizes are offered.

Riding (see Photo. 35). Two men form a "horse," the third "rides." (Gabi, "to ride.")

[1] [i.e., of stick throwing.-Analyst]

L. Music

534 Musical bows of various sizes made of "rosinkis wood" with animal tendons. The striker is made of any kind of wood.

I have a suspicion that the two Auin in Photograph 38 cheated a bit, because one of them has a shooting bow while the other has taken up any old stick. It is likely that just at that moment they had no proper musical bow at hand. At the same time, of course, it is true that one can make "music" on any strung bow. This music, by the way, is clearly audible to other people, not only to the player.

533 /151/ There are no special musicians. On the other hand, one does find certain individuals who clearly take more joy in

/152 cont./

415 Mortars and pestles, as well as spoons of wood, are made (see Photo. 18).

[287] Painting and bark working are unknown.

171 The preparation of hides is the same as that practiced by the
281 Hottentot, Herero, Bergdamara, and Betschuana. Hence, I shall dispense with a description of the process.

The women's cosmetic described above is used to dye cloth-
281 ing made of hides. The dye is rubbed on with the ball of the
386 hand and is comparatively waterproof.

To be sure, it is questionable whether this process may be called "dyeing." The hides are already red from the tanning process, and the cosmetic scarcely changes the color. Perhaps it is better regarded as impregnation or greasing.

386 /153/ The colored stones that are pulverized and mixed with
438 fat to make the cosmetic are dug up near Kaitsaub (45 kilometers south of Gobabis) by the Hai//um Bushmen residing there, and they constitute an article of trade. [Fig. 12 appears here.]

The beautiful and durable cordage of the Auin is made of
283 the fiber of a wild agave. It looks so neat and clean that one might suspect its origin to have been in a European rope factory rather than in a Bushman settlement.

The cords are made in various strengths and are used for all kinds of purposes, mainly for the game snares.

Their manufacture is very simple and proceeds very rapidly.

The leaf is softened by tapping with a wooden stick, and it is then placed on a firm base. One hand holds a pointed stick or a blunt knife firmly on the leaf, while the other hand draws the leaf against the vertically held knife and toward the body. After this has been repeated several times, the strong fibers remain and are then rolled together into cords of the thickness and length desired.

Industrial use of Bushman cordage does not seem impossible to me.

412 As a drill, the lance point or an iron knife is used, frequently red-hot.

325 Only pieces of iron found accidentally are worked. The extraction of iron from ore is unknown.

Charcoal made from the giraffe acacia is the preferred fuel
[372] for ironworking.

[Text continues on page 43]

[5 cont.]

105 Ninde. They have stopped collecting veldkost and confine themselves to hunting, exchanging the products for vegetables and the like from the Mabunda [Bunda] and Luchazi, with whom they have a dependent relationship. Their time divisions are the same as those among the !Kung in the south.

The Angola Bushmen have two or three wives. Some of the married couples were cousins.

Each household has a number of calabashes, a few baskets, and a clay pot. Wooden pestles are used for pounding the grain, as in the south.

Among the Bushmen of Kunzumbia, the ear lobes and nasal septum are pierced. All adult men have tattooing on the forehead with vertical lines between the eyes. Furthermore, on the arm and chest they wear so-called "flesh marks" (2) [6] to

[171] 2. These are also found in Ongandjera and along the Natakanako Pan.

record the big game they have killed. The women, too, are tattooed. As weapons, besides bows and arrows, they have the kirri and a short knife. Spears are rare. Ironware, of course, is obtained in trade from the Bantu for the most part, although the Bushmen in Musombu already have their own forge.

[114] The rain dance is described by Bleek just as I have witnessed it. The women and girls stand in a group on one side, singing and clapping their hands, while the men also sing, but do not clap, and perform rhythmic movements with the upper part of the body and arms. They sing:

//nwa-se //kabama //gu a i-i New moon, come out, give us water
//nwa-se tatana //gu a i-i New moon, thunder water down for us
//nwa-se tala u//gu a i-i New moon, throw water down for us.

For the boys' initiation, the candidates withdraw into the forest with three medicine men for a month. There they dance at night, and occasionally the spirit Huwe appears at the dance. There is also a girl's initiation, and at that time another spirit, //Gaua, is supposed to lead the dance. The tattooing of the girls is done in his honor.

[9 cont.]

586 Up to the birth of the first child, the marriage is dis-
595 solvable, but not thereafter. Monogamy is the rule; where
596 there is polygamy, the first wife is the "head wife." The eldest
611 brother of the head wife is the family head. The boys belong to the family of the wife, and the daughters to the family of the father.

582 The strictest exogamy prevails. Son and daughter may marry neither into the father's kin group nor into the mother's
[587] kin group. On the other hand, a young widow is usually married by one of her brothers-in-law.

551 The following kin-group names were reported to me: !Nui-a, Dai, áben, orasi, Gombe, χ'am, χ'am-Kha.

805 The following times of the day are differentiated:

eruba, time before sunrise.

!khoasa, time of sunrise (N. khoa-am = to open, that is, the door for the sun is opened).

sorésa, "the sun shines."

sorésa ≠kam go, "the young sun goes," breakfast time. In effect, below the tropics one has the impression that the sun, after it has stood on the horizon for a while, moves toward the zenith with great speed.

sorésa !khoai go, "the sun goes back." Noon.

//gui-sa, "it declines (lies down)." Afternoon.

[512] ≠khai-am-go, "to rise and go." After hunting or searching for veldkost, the Bushmen usually take a rest before it is time to go home and start cooking (late afternoon).

≠kha-go, "to go through." (The sun goes through the gate of the night.) Dusk, sunset.

!khui-sa, to be evening.

dschu-ba, night (N. tsuχub).

821 These Bushmen have the idea that the old sun dies every night and a new, young sun appears the next morning. That the
[171] moon dies every month and is resurrected again is a notion so widespread in Africa that it is really unnecessary to make special mention of it.

805 The year begins when a new rainy season sets in.

//hauba, "storms rise." Rainy season.

[13 cont.]

776 !Khuwa and Erob were the same. In any case, the expression Ellob used by these people comes from Outjo, where there are a number of Christian Bushmen.

!Khuwa lives in the heavenly house χ'ain !nao gároba.
[772] The people in heaven eat only large flies, !Khu !Khua-i. The figure /Nawas is unknown. The evil antagonist of Huwe, //Gauab, is also absent. These Bushmen, however, have the same doctrine
[774] of the two souls as the !Kung of the east.

775 When someone dies, he becomes the property of !Khuwa; he is a !Khunga. The actual soul, χ'aobe, goes to the heavenly house, remains there, and does nothing but eat large flies. From the bodies of the dead [14] arise the //gauá-i, which run around in the bush and stir up trouble. They correspond to the akwapungu
[171] and azizi of the Ovambo. "But the actual souls of the Ovambo and the Bushmen go different ways; those of the Ovambo go under the earth where they have their fields and herds, but those of the Bushmen go up." Since the missionary Mr. Kylves expressed the desire to make some detailed studies of the Bushmen himself, I gladly left this attractive field of study to my kind host.

197 Finally, a number of words indicate that these people
192 are to be included in the Hei//om-Nama group, a point which
[101] is very striking with respect to the !Kung elments in their world view.

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Sun	shoreba	sóres
Moon	!háwa	//khab(*)
Stars	/nāmirō-i	/gamiros
Dome of the sky	shorche	≠kanis
Earth	/huwa	!hub-eib
Lightning	/harabé	náwab
Thunder	!nau	!gurub(*)
Rain	≠nanuba	/awib(*)
Lion	χ'amba	χ'ami
Leopard	!kui-oba	!arub(*)
Large bird	anite	--
Dog	arib	arib
Boa constrictor	!aoba	--
Zebra	χorebe	--

Gastrointestinal Disorders

753 It is interesting to note that the doctrine of the importance
[171] of the liver and gall bladder in the origin of disease, which we find among all primitive and civilized peoples up to the humoral medicine of the previous century, is already present among the Bushmen. When the gall bladder is full, one becomes sick and
[755] vomits gall. Then the region of the liver is massaged, just as is
[164] done in the case of liver pains. Enlargement of the liver as the result of chronic malaria is common. The moon, which dies
[821] every month, also has gall sickness, and moonlight is the juice of the gall bladder vomited by it. Moonlight and gall are known
[164] by the same word (goo). Spleen tumor is especially common
757 among children. They have no medicine against splenalgia.
278 They have no medicine for inducing vomiting. It is induced by putting the finger or a feather into the mouth. To stop vomiting, one chews little twigs of the goro tree. The bitter wood of the liana (χ'áá-χ'áñ) is chewed for stomach-ache. In case of con-
[753] stipation the doctor must practice magic, for it is assumed that
[755] the dsao have tied the stool in the intestine, and the doctor must loosen and extract the cord, just as in the case of an inflammation of the throat. The patient may not eat anything and drink very little. In case of diarrhea, even the bleeding kind, the same medicine is taken as in the case of stomach-aches. Intestinal
147 worms are unknown. We already know from earlier reports that the
262 gastrointestinal tract of the Bushman can take all kinds of things that we cannot take. As the result of habituation from early childhood on, he can digest meat that has gone bad and the like, without any trouble (1). After a long period of hunger, he can consume

1. I myself witnessed a drastic example of this. I had brought a side of bacon from Swakopmund, which supposedly had been preserved for all eternity according to a special process. When I brought it out, it had a hideous smell, and in order to prevent the Bushmen from taking it and getting sick, I had it hung high on a tree. The

[54 cont.]

171 of various religions have found entry here. Among the Bushmen
177 tribes I visited there is the common belief in a supreme good be-
171 ing, whose name varies. The people described here [55] call the
176 supreme being X'u, "the lord" or "the great captain" (1). It is

[782]

1. According to Vedder, the supreme being is Huwe (Tsumeb). When the first veld fruits ripen, an offering is brought before sunrise. A freshly broken twig is inserted into a piece of wood with a hole bored through it. The people are seated in a circle, and the eldest passes around a tobacco or dacha pipe made out of a tubular bone.

the same expression that the Cape Hottentot used in speaking to the German traveler Kolbe, with the same significance and pronunciation 705 (2). The name could not have come from the

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2. J. Schapera (The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, 1930) has critically referred to my observations on this point. In this connection I must note: the "great captain" among the eastern !Kung may rightfully be designated as "supreme being." I have already given his characteristics in my earlier publications.

[104]
[194]

The spelling is correctly X'u. I use X' to designate a click that is even lower than "!". It is also found in other words, such as X'Ame = lion. Since not all publishers provide this character, I have sometimes been forced to write "Khu" or "Chu." This word, which the !Kung, too, translate as "lord" or "great captain," was already found, as Schapera indicates, among the Cape Hottentot in 1705 as Khourou = "Supreme Ruler" and "Great Chief" or "Great Captain"; Kolbe gives a quite analogous citation a little later, and Hahn reports of one old Nama, "The people say,

[CONTINUES ON p. 108 - ANALYST]

[55 cont.]

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if it is thundering, the Lord (Khub, i.e., Tsui//Goab) is speaking; he is scolding them" [cited in English], Schapera, ibid., p. 381.

The belief in a great captain was therefore common to the !Kung Bushmen and the Cape Hottentot, and the great age of the reports from the Cape exclude the possibility that missionary influence was at work here. Just as among the !Kung, this belief is apparently of very great antiquity among Miss Bleek's Naron and not simply taken over from the Christian Hottentot. In Ovamboland the concept X'u merges with Huwe, and I believe that J. Schapera, too, regards Huwe, Chuwe, and X'u as identical. The fact that the eastern !Kung have the belief in a supreme being was not discovered by me; rather, this discovery was made as early as 1910 by H. Vedder.

[174]

Everyone must be struck by the fact that there is substantial agreement between the reports concerning the heavenly house that I took down among the eastern !Kung and the data that H. Vedder supplies concerning the /Gamab of the Honigkaffir of the Otavi mountains. To be sure, these regions are also close to each other geographically. The question now arises: did the !Kung take this doctrine over from the Honigkaffir, as Schapera appears to assume, or is the reverse the case? Among the Bergdama of the central region, where I was able to carry out extensive studies, especially in the reservation of Okombahe, there is scarcely anything of these conceptions of the Honigkaffir. The Bergdama are a Negro tribe that has completely lost its original culture and language and for a long

[55 cont.]

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time had a dependent relationship with the Bushmen, whose quite miserable imitators they had in part become. Even today Bergdama who want to become witch doctors go from Windhoek and Okombahe to the !Kung in order to learn there. If the conceptions of the Honigkaffir reported by H. Vedder were indeed ancient Negro cultural traditions, then it should surely be possible to find parallels and, at least in the names referring to the beyond, traces of the old language. Almost always among the Bantu the world of the beyond lies under the earth, whereas among the Khoisan it is in the sky. For all these reasons, I draw the conclusion that the Honigkaffir have taken over the doctrine of /Gamab from
[177] the !Kung. The expression Erob or Elotse, which is to be found among several Bushman tribes, undoubtedly goes back to Christian Hottentot influence. The two-fold names of the supreme being among various groups in Ovamboland, on the other hand, allows one to conclude that here only one new name for a well-known conception found entry, and,
[824] to be sure, with such intensity that the Hei//om, at the Etosha Pan, for example, name their most important medicinal root the Erob root. Moreover, just as among the Honigkaffir, among the Hei//om of the Etosha Pan, too, it is /Gamab who sends thunder and lightning and who kills people with shooting stars. J. Schapera recognizes that the conception of Huwe, Thora, and the mantis as creator, as the giver of rain and success in hunting, and as the protector of human beings is common to all Bushmen (ibid., p. 195) and also has its analogue among the Hottentot. He seems to regard this being as a rain god, however.

[55 cont.]

114 //Gaua, whose name varies, stands opposite
171 him as an antagonist who does harm to human
776 beings. Schapera believes that the original
[775] designation //Gaua stood for the spirits of the dead. This is largely correct. My researches in various places, however, show that all kinds of noncorporeal beings are understood by the term //Gaua, in other words, spirits in our sense, and immaterial forces of all kind. The great captain, of course, is regarded as actually corporeal by the !Kung. P. W. Schmidt, on the other hand, has regarded this //Gaua as the original god in heaven. A comparison of the facts of the history of religion may support this view.

114 If I understand Schapera correctly, we
776 agree that a benign high deity is indeed pres-
771 ent among the Bushmen, but one that he does not want to designate as the supreme being. I maintain, however, that this being must be so designated in accordance with general usage.
[774] The peoples of the Khoisan group, according to the evidence of the prehistoric finds, have an active history behind them; the most diverse races live on in them, and their culture in its optimal adaptation to environmental conditions is to be regarded as a residual culture. It is therefore self-evident that their world view should have a syncretistic character, especially since religious ideas are cultural elements with definite tendencies to diffuse widely. Like all human beings, the Bushmen and other primitives have thoughts that are fundamentally the same as ours.
[773] Even the Bushman has a distinct need to discover causality, but this need is felt less with regard to causal or conditional explanations for given conditions and more with regard

[55 cont.] WHATEVER I COULD GET FROM MY
114 individual informants I took down with the
771 exactness of a trained scientist, faithful to
776 the letter and with due regard for all pre-
[124] cautions. From these notations I have drawn the inevitable conclusion that a benign supreme being is a reality in their world picture.

776 surrounding Hei//om tribes, [56] for they use the word Somseb.
771 We should sooner think of Huwe. Huwe or Hue was what the !Kung Bushmen of Tsumeb examined by Vedder called the supreme being. I also know the expression Chuwa from the Bushmen of Ukuambi. This supreme being is conceived of in human form;
776 it looks like a Bushman and also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky
772 in a house that has two floors; his wife, whose name is unknown, lives on the lower floor, as well as many children. The souls
[775] of the deceased live on the upper floor. "The house" (it is supposed to be similar to, but not entirely like a Bushman windscreen) "is hairy on the outside, like a caterpillar." There are various things up there, but only a single house, namely, that of the captain. Honey, crickets, and fat flies are there in great abundance. The great captain lives on them. In addition, there are a great many butterflies. The following are regarded as the
776 functions of this supreme being:

1. In the opinion of some, the great captain made the sun, moon, and everything. In the opinion of others, the highest of the spirits, /Nawa, did this.

2. The great captain calls the doctors to their calling and gives them supernatural power.

3. He is the lord of the rain and the lightning.

4. Through the highest of the spirits he sends luck on the hunt or on the search for veldkost.

5. When someone thinks or speaks ill of him, he punishes
[688] him with lightning. He is not concerned about the other activities of his Bushman children, however, unless someone swears falsely.
695 The Kung have a regular oath, and one of my informants reported
776 the following to me:

When a group goes hunting and one of the participants is

[56 cont.]

695 not seen for the duration of the hunt, he is suspected of having
776 sneaked away. Then he swears by the great captain nuχu, and all believe him.

776 Ordinarily, however, the great captain has everything taken care of by the highest of the spirits and lesser spirits. The chief concern of the Bushmen, therefore, is to stay in the good graces of these spirits, but the great captain does offer protection against all evil spirits, and for that reason people turn to him
[782] with the following prayers in case of severe illness and before the start of a journey:

[57]

[539] χ'u, χ'u hũi mi, //kai tsao mi to 'oba !khu !gaise ≠ani u mĩ /nãna /ge a	Lord, Lord, help me, raise me. "the lord shall lead me well to the place,
!nore gana ti /ge a gana ti tsa /Nane /ã mi tsu (1)	where I am going, and he shall lead me back well, so that I come home safely."

1. Notation of the Dama interpreter.

[227] Before the hunt the doctors pray to the great captain for hunting luck. There is no doubt that the Bushmen conceive of this "great captain" as an all-powerful and at the same time benign being. His executive organ, as has been noted, is the highest of the Gauab. The latter is called "the Gauab" by the common people, but he has a name known only by the doctors, and saying it may have serious consequences. Since I finally
[123] had the honor to be regarded as an equal by the doctors, I learned his name. He is called /Nawa. They were unable to give me an interpretation of this name, but Miss Bleek, from dance songs of the Angola Kung, reports the word /Nwa-se, supposedly an abbreviation for Nwima-se = new moon. According to this, we
[174] might be able to see in this chief Gauab the high god of a lunar-
[771] mythological religion which has been superimposed as a foreign element upon the primitive monotheism of the χ'u or Huwe faith. As is always the case in such matters, the supreme being of the invading religion has been transformed into a more or less evil
[171] principle. It also functions as such in the belief of the Nama and

[57 cont.]

776 Dama, and the translation of Gauab as "devil" comes from this
[171] circle of ideas. A baptized !Kung in /Nuiseb also told me that the Bushmen had been made by the devil, for the latter, as the old doctors reported to me, had once said to things: "You shall
[773] be a kudu, you an eland, you a Bushman," etc., and so everything was. Among the !Kung Bushmen /Nawa is by no means always evil. He directly brings luck on the hunt, and a kind of primitial offering is sent to him in that small pieces of the flesh of the game are thrown into the fire.

/Nawa, however, usually also sends sickness, in part with, and in part without the consent of the great captain. /Nawa is neither in heaven nor on earth, but runs about on threads in the air, where the other small spirits also run about. Whether or not /Nawa
[821] has a wife is unknown. The wind has no role in the tall bush forest, but my experience among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari and the Namib indicates that /Nawa is also connected in some way with the wind, since his most personal appearance is in the violent wind spouts, and among the Naukluft Bushmen one is not supposed to speak ill of the wind because the Gauab would overturn the windscreen.

Aside from /Nawa, there is a whole host of other small spirits, such as those who are at the disposal of the great captain
[821] and /Nawa and live in the sky, where the stars are their campfires. They are the ones who steal the soul from human beings and take it to the great captain. Then there are those who, like /Nawa, run to and fro on threads stretching between heaven and earth. Very evil little spirits live in the water, and the forest and veld are peopled by the little Gauab. These, however, are only the
[775] flesh-born spirits of deceased human beings. And with this we come to

18. Doctrine of the Soul and Belief in Immortality

775 The life principle of human beings is the soul, cha. The
[774] same word also means heart. This cha is immortal. The Gauab who live among the stars take it to the great captain's house. The souls of all peoples, even those of the Whites, live there on the

[58 cont.]

[113] Specimens of Bushmen Folklore, London, 1910-11, pp. 10-13.

776 be especially significant. The !Kung at that time told of a being called /Chue, who transforms itself in turn into various fruit trees and veldkost plants, into a Herero, etc. One day he transformed himself into a //gui tree, his wife ate of it, the tree disappeared, and /Chue changed into a fly. Another time he even became a waterhole, then again a gecko; at night [59] he always changes back into a little human being. The Herero look for him, but cannot find him. /Chue then makes a fire and dies. His father sees this and then moves to his homeland on a large mountain called //Noa. We shall probably not go wrong if we identify this /Chue with Huwe. This Huwe, as is known, is sometimes equated with the great captain X'u. In this old setting he also has distinct traits of Heiseb.

782 The !Kung who were W.H.J. Bleek's informants were also
[534] familiar with a prayer song addressed to the new moon. In accompaniment, they blew on trumpets made of antelope horns. (Bleek-Lloyd, ibid., p. 15.)

787 The old !Kung called the prophesy sticks /Chu, which evidently is the same name again as that of the great captain and is in agreement with Dornan's report concerning the Masarwa that Modimo himself spoke from the prophesy sticks.

755 Vedder reports that in case of illness a messenger is sent
769 to an ancestor's grave and prays: A dsi-dsi mi !hâ tí /X'ai-a? (Why is my son ill?) ≠nu /kôa (to live in health).

774 While my informants denied the presence of any animistic
825 conceptions, the old !Kung believe that certain snakes, lizards,
775 and antelope found in the vicinity of graves represent spirits of the
171 dead (1), as they do among the Bantu.

1. W.H.J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd, ibid., p. 430.

[63 cont.]

764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not; in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] [174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [173] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

[69 cont.] I
524 have observed an analogous game among the Betschuana children
[171] in Epukiro.

The Elephant-Ostrich Game

Again a pile of sand serves as a substitute for a waterhole. Two boys come as elephants and want to drink. Two others imitate ostriches and will not let the elephants get water.

The Oxen Game

Three or four boys represent the oxen. One is regarded as the owner; another wants to steal them. After a little struggle, he gradually succeeds in doing so. Once he has stolen all of them, the game
[532] is over. (Compare the "ox stealing" among the Bergdama from Okombahe.) [Fig. 24 appears here.]

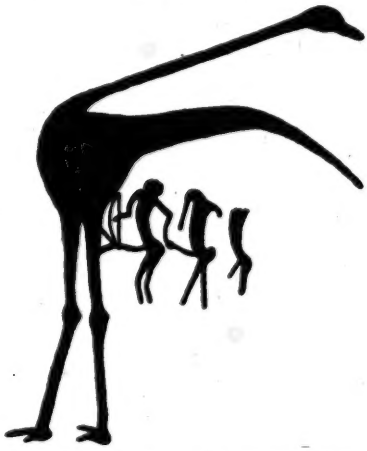


Fig. 24. Magical Contact between Hunters and Game (Salt River Valley, Kaofeld). From H. Obermaier and H. Kühn, Buschmannkunst [Bushman Art].

/246 cont./

142 The Herero, like the Bushmen, give the use of veld food,
147 especially the onion known as unki, as the cause of this peculiarity.
171 The attached photographs illustrate the swelling in the case of a Bushman (Fig. 3) and a Herero (Fig. 4).

The nose is sharply set off from the forehead and strikingly
142 small. The bridge of the nose is so flat that in some cases one can scarcely speak of a bridge of the nose; the area between the cheekbones is an almost level surface. The tip /247/ of the nose is small and pointed slightly upward. The largest diameter of the nostrils runs diagonally. The lips are narrow in comparison with those of most Negroes; their color is almost exactly that of the surrounding skin of the face.

The teeth of the majority of individuals are in pretty good condition; among the 39 persons I examined, I found only 28 carious teeth. In comparison with a European, the extreme wear of the teeth is striking; it progresses with age and is so marked in old people that the teeth are worn down to the roots, again a consequence of the way of life dependent upon a root diet. The incisors very slightly point forward.

The Heikum do not have artificial deformities of the teeth.
304 Several of those examined displayed the well-known Herero
648 deformity (filing down the inner sides of the two central upper incisors and removal of the four lower incisors) [Figs. 3 and 4 appear here], which is explained by the fact that these Bushmen had been Herero slaves in their childhood and were marked in the Herero manner by their former masters.

142 The ear is of normal size; its outline is rounded, not bent at an angle. The ear lobe is always joined to the head.

In spite of general gauntness, the marked development of the abdomen in most cases is striking, even among the adults.

The female breast is conical in the case of individuals who have not borne children; the region around the nipple is usually separated by a gentle furrow from the rest of the breast. The color of the nipple area is deep brown. The nipple is raised.

[304] Circumcision is not practiced by either men or women. Among the Heikum and Kung women I did not find the abnormally pro-
[144] nounced development of the buttocks, known as steatopygia, which is so common among Hottentot women. To my mind this is

/249 cont./

To indicate affirmation the head is thrown back and the
201 eyebrows are raised.

Otherwise, the physiognomic changes of expression are essentially like those of Europeans. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Bushman's facial mobility is considerably greater than that of a European, and even quite weak emotions are expressed by lively gestures.

If I may be permitted, I should like to emphasize here a
194 peculiarity of voice among the Bushmen; among the women especially the voice seems to me abnormally high-pitched. In my opinion the speech of a Heikum woman is pitched several notes higher, on the average, than that of a Herero woman. Evidently this peculiarity is connected with the smallness of the larynx of the Heikum people.

The anthropometric figures presented above are doubtless much
141 smaller than comparable ones for the Herero, Nama, and
144 Bergdamara [Bergdama] living in the immediate vicinity of the Bushmen. Nonetheless, as regards smallness, the Heikum certainly do not approach the Pygmies of Central Africa. Whether further ethnological and ethnographic investigations will uncover kindred traits among these peoples remains to be shown by further research.
144 That the Bushmen represent an almost pure race is apparent from the fact that the skin color is the same for almost all individuals, and from the evident uniformity in the structure of the body, especially of the face. In addition, the other native tribes of Southwest Africa show a pronounced aversion to racial mixture with the despised Bushmen.

I come now to some ethnological and ethnographic observa-
535 tions which to me seem worthy of interest. I was especially
[171] interested in the dances of the Heikum, of which one, the //o //au, shows no similarity to any other native dance with which I have become acquainted in Southwest and East Africa.

The //o //au dance (in Kung language: //ooskê) is a men's dance in which a series of dueling runs by the performing dancers are represented (Figs. 5 and 6). Six men, three to a side in opposing pairs, kneel in an area about three meters square, with a free space between the two rows. In the middle of this free area there is a pile of veld food. The men kneel down, hunched very

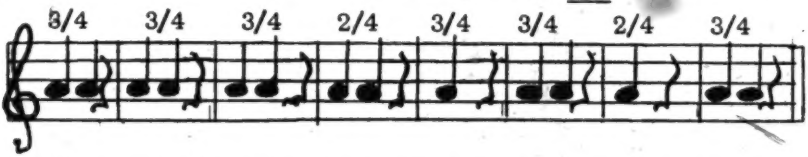
/251 cont./

533 Between the syllables hu and e a slight tremulo occurs, so that the entire song is reminiscent of yodeling. Instead of the sequence f-e-f-e-c, other tonal sequences were frequently sung, for instance, g-f-g-f-c or g-e-g-e-c. Even more complicated tonal sequences, reminiscent of our seventh chords, were not uncommon.

Singing is always accompanied by handclapping. The rhythm of the clapping is very curious; at any rate, it does not correspond to the feeling for musical rhythm that is familiar to Europeans. Two rhythms in particular have stayed in my memory, and I shall try to characterize them. The reader should think of a rhythm which, at least to my knowledge, does not exist in Aryan music, namely a 5/5 beat. Of the five fifths of this beat, they clap on the first, second, and fourth, while there are pauses on the third and fifth. The beat, in other words, would look as follows, if I designate the clapping sounds with ♩ and the pauses with 𝄽 :

etc.

Another clapping rhythm is the following, in which the three-quarter beat alternates with the two-quarter: /252/



535 Such a dance with musical accompaniment is the following, which I should like to designate as the pumpkin dance and which is reminiscent of a ball game frequently played by children in Germany. A number of women march at a rapid pace in goose step on a circular line, at the same time clapping rhythmically with their hands and singing. Among the Heikum the clapping is done
• [171] with the fingers spread apart, in contrast to the Herero, who clap with their fingers together. At the same time, a pumpkin [melon?] approximately the size of a child's head is thrown from one of the dancers to the other, and always backwards from the person in front to the person just behind her.

dangerous.' When they do they use the word *n/oi*. It is a word for gentle rain, and also a respect word. They use it for male rain when they are afraid of it and avoid its real name, */ga /go*.

The rains of the western Kalahari are local, falling from clouds which the winds herd. They may fill one pan and miss another. Laurence Marshall spent one whole night, tentless, in a drenching downpour, to find in the morning that a mile away no rain had fallen. But by and large the rains are sufficient in quantity and well enough dispersed to fill most of the water-holes, pans, and hollow trees, and to revive the growing things, so that the autumn months, which follow the rains, are good—the best of the year. Then the /Kung may travel anywhere within their territories to hunt and gather the fresh veldkos. The rains are life-giving.

Winter is the season of dryness. It is also the season of burning sun in the cloudless sky by day and freezing cold when the sun sets. Bitter winds catch up the sparks of the fires at night and whirl them in blazing streaks into the darkness. If water is left in an open bowl, it may be ice in the morning. By mid-winter, July, there has been no rain for three or four months. The pans and small water-holes are dry. Though there are still foods to be gathered, like the mangetti nuts in the northern forest, there is no water on the route, nor in the white sand dunes where the mangettis grow, and the people cannot carry enough in their ostrich-egg shells to go to the mangettis and return. In 7,500 square miles of the interior of the region around Nyae Nyae, there are only five water-holes which do not dry up in the winter and spring. The /Kung bands must gather around whatever permanent water-hole they belong to and restrict their hunting and gathering trips to conform one way or another to the problem of water. This region, incidentally, does not abound in tsama melons and, though there are succulent so-called ' water ' roots to be found, they seem not to be sufficient to support whole bands for long. The Nyae Nyae bands, it appears, cannot, or at least do not, base themselves for long periods away from their water-holes.

The spring months which follow the dry months of winter are the dangerous months. The sun is scorching. Fruits and leaves shrivel; the edible roots, stirred by the few tantalizing drops of the little rains, or just because it is spring, give up their juices to the first new shoots and are dry and bitter to eat. The people longingly await the rains, saying it is the sun which dries the water-holes and the plant foods. The /Kung of this region use one word for both sun and dryness, */kam*, and say the sun is death-giving.

In their beliefs about *n/ow*,[1] which they think influences the weather, as this paper will describe, they make an antithesis between rain and cold. This seems paradoxical when one experiences the devastating heat of the sun in September, October, and November, but the resolution of the paradox may lie in the fact that the hardships of the dry seasons begin with the rainless winter months and their bitterly cold nights, so that sun, dryness, cold and want become a complex which is in antithesis to rain and plenty. *N/ow* is called ' bad ' if it brings cold, ' good ' if it brings rain.

Mrs. Hoernlé[2] records a Hottentot belief called */nau*. The word appears to be

[1] We spell the /Kung word *n/ow* in this way because it rhymes with ' how '. We wish to distinguish it from another /Kung word, */nau*, which it closely resembles, but which has a slightly shorter, more closed sound. */Nau* means ' old man ', according to Miss Bleek's *Bushman Dictionary*. We heard it used as a term of respect in addressing old men.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., ' Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of */nau* among the Hottentots ', *Harvard African Studies*, ii (1918), pp. 73–77.

6:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

821 171 192 similar to the /Kung word *n/ow* in sound but refers to a different belief. In the /Kung belief, *n/ow* influences rain. The Hottentot concept of */nau* supposes a state of being which exists when people are in periods of crisis in their lives. Professor Schapera[1] says of the state of */nau*, summarizing Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis:

> All periods of crisis in the life of a Hottentot involve his separation from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis is exposed to danger on every side; he must retire from contact with other people, and take special care of himself. But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things upon which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence he is secluded, and must abstain scrupulously from his usual tasks.
>
> Such a person is said to be */nau*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay into that group of his people already possessing the new characteristic he has acquired, in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more.

Remarried persons or persons newly widowed are examples.

171 796 821 Mrs. Hoernlé records a rain ceremony of the Hottentots which has several elements in common with the /Kung belief about *n/ow*. The Hottentot ceremony is called the *guri≠ab* (yearly killing).[2] Professor Schapera's[3] description of the *guri≠ab*, which follows, is, as he says, based mainly on Mrs. Hoernlé's account.

> . . . It [the ceremony] is held, if possible, on the banks of a stream, and if there is no stream near by, then a trench is dug to simulate one. When the old men judge that the summer rains are due (about November or December), they tell the chief that it is time to hold the yearly feast, and he sends word to all the outlying families, and decides the time and spot for the ceremony.
>
> Each family contributes according to its means, all bringing milk, and those who can, some female animal, a cow or a ewe, which must be pregnant. The feast cannot be held at all without one pregnant animal. . . . fires are lit to cook the meat for the feast. In addition a fire is lit on the banks of the stream for the special part of the ceremony. The animals are killed and cut up very carefully, so as to preserve intact the uteri, which are kept till after the feast. Eating apparently goes on most of the time until all the food is finished.
>
> When the fire at the riverside is ready, and a channel has been made to the river or stream, the old men of the tribe who are good at prophesying take the uteri, hold them over the fire and pierce them with sticks so that the uterine fluid flows directly through the fire and down the river. At the same time milk in plenty and fat from the animals are thrown on the fire, so that liquid really flows, and great clouds of smoke rise into the sky. Meanwhile all the people round gather together in a great tribal dance, calling on *Tsui ||Goab* to send the rain in plenty, to make the ground soft and the grass green, so that they may have plenty of food for the year.

The uterine fluid, the fire and clouds of smoke rising into the sky, and the association of the ceremony with rain are the elements in the Hottentot belief which are similar to the elements in the /Kung Bushman belief of *n/ow*. But, though there are these interesting common elements, the /Kung concept differs largely from the Hottentot *guri≠ab*.

[1] Schapera, I., *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1931, pp. 256–7.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., 'A Hottentot Rain Ceremony', *Bantu Studies*, 1, No. 2 (May 1922), pp. 3–4.

[3] Schapera, op. cit., p. 379.

N/ow of the /Kung is something which influences weather, bringing rain if it is 821
'good' *n/ow*, or cold if it is 'bad' *n/ow*. Precisely what *n/ow* consists of was never made explicit. Nothing about it can be seen. One knows of its existence, the /Kung say, by observing its effects upon the weather.

N/ow exists in all human beings, the /Kung believe, and in certain big animals, 821
namely: giraffe, eland, gemsbok, kudu, hartebeest, and wildebeest. For the sake of 825
brevity I shall refer to these animals as the *n/ow* animals. Small animals do not have *n/ow*, according to the /Kung. We wanted to learn why, but the /Kung could only tell us that they were so created. Steenbok have positively no *n/ow* at all. Some informants claimed that duikers had none, others said that duikers' *n/ow* was undeveloped. Informants were also uncertain about springbok. There are very few springbok in the region and informants said they killed them so seldom that they had not observed whether or not they had *n/ow*. Possibly other large animals would be found to have *n/ow* if the question were further pursued.[1] There was no disagreement among /Kung 821
informants about other things; no other things have *n/ow*—not earth itself, nor vegetation nor other objects on earth; not water, clouds, rain, thunder or lightning, nor heavenly bodies. Not even the two Gods themselves have *n/ow* in them, neither [776]
the great one who lives in the eastern sky, nor his namesake (his */gwma*) who lives in the western sky, both of whom bear the names Huwe, Hishi, and ≠Gao/na, our informants told us.

N/ow gets into a human being in the womb. Exactly how this happens informants 821
could not tell us. It was our impression that they were not hiding information, for 843
they seemed willing enough to talk about *n/ow* and said it was not dangerous or 827
harmful in any way to speak freely about it. We think they simply did not know. One informant said, 'The child gets the *n/ow* in the womb and is born with it.' Another said, 'The *n/ow* is created in the womb.' Another said, 'The great Creator gives the [776]
n/ow and taught the people to do the things they do about it. He made all things and made all things to be known.' The *n/ow* acquired in the womb remains in a person all his life.

Some persons get a 'good' rain-bringing *n/ow*, others get a 'bad' cold-bringing *n/ow*. When we wanted to learn how this happened we were told that 'When the mother's uterine fluid flows into the ground, it makes a *n/ow* in the child which brings rain or a *n/ow* which does not bring rain'.

The mother has no voluntary control over this, nor has anyone else; and there is nothing, like medicine or magic, spell or ceremony, which can be used to cause the *n/ow* to be one kind or the other. Furthermore, the child does not inherit a good or bad *n/ow* from his mother or father or any ancestors. The philosophy, lore, or belief about the question of what causes the *n/ow* to be one or the other kind, whatever it may have been in the past, seems not to be known now with clarity or detail.

Two verbs were used in connexion with *n/ow*: to *≠gani* and to *||ghui*. The /Kung 192
say that the mother has *≠gani*(ed) the child if it gets a good *n/ow* and has *||ghui*(ed) it if 827

[1] Miss Lucy Lloyd (*A Short Account of Further Bushman Material, Third Report*, London, 1889, p. 19) mentions that a Bushman informant, Dia/-kwain by name, who worked with her and with Dr. Bleek before his death, and who came from the Katkop Mountains, south of the Orange River, told her that 'A baboon, when killed, resembles a man, in "making cloud"'. No more information was given in the report, but the concept of 'making cloud' suggests that possibly the now extinct or almost extinct Cape Bushmen had a belief which may have resembled in some ways the concept of *n/ow*. [171]

about it to others, unless it were a hunter caught in a storm alone in the veld; but an individual, even without necessarily expressing a consensus, we think might say to another, 'Why don't you burn some of your hair?', which would probably be enough to instigate the act. And, in all likelihood, it would be done with so little formality that the observer would not know anything was happening unless he knew what to watch for and were alerted.

There was no ceremony regularly performed by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae to ensure plentiful rain, like the Hottentots' *guri≠ab*. The Rain dance of the /Kung, which is danced often, all through the year, is a medicine dance, among several others, such as the Giraffe, Sun, Gemsbok, Honey, and Mamba dances. All these are 'strong' things, the /Kung believe. The dances so named have 'strong' medicine music. They are danced during the medicine men's ceremony to cure the sick and protect the people and drive away any of the *//gauasi*, the spirits of the dead, who might be lurking to bring some evil upon the people. The Rain dance has this as its purpose, not the control of weather.

One night when the Rain dance was being beautifully danced with a fine precision and vigour of clapping, singing, and stamping, which to us suggested fervour, we were watching it so intently that we had not noticed the sky. The first storm of the season had crept up behind us and suddenly burst over us like a bomb. We asked Gao if he believed the dance had brought the rain. He said that the rain was due to come. The dance had not brought it.

A *n/ow* animal, as well as a human, has either a good or a bad *n/ow*, but it seems not to be known clearly how it gets the one or the other. Good or bad *n/ow* is not correlated with one sex or one species. One giraffe, for example, either male or female, may have the rain-bringing, another the cold-bringing kind.

It seems that long or short horns may have something to do with good or bad *n/ow*, not the long-hornedness of gemsbok as compared with the short-hornedness of giraffes, but, within the species, the comparative length of horn. But one kind of *n/ow* is not inherent in short-hornedness nor is the other kind in long-hornedness. It is not so simple as that. And informants did not know what association, if any, the short or long horns may have with ≠Toma's vague idea that the short or long legs of a child in the womb might have something to do with the child's *n/ow*.

When a hunter kills a *n/ow* animal, he either *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) it. Like the mother who *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) her child at birth, the hunter has no voluntary control over this and cannot tell which he has done unless the effect is observed in the weather. A hunter with good or bad *n/ow* may *≠gani* or *//ghui* an animal which has either good or bad *n/ow* and long or short horns. The precise nature of the interaction remains obscure, but hunters took an interest in telling about the kind of *n/ow* they thought they had, and gave instances of observing the effects of their killing various types of animals. If a man should kill a female kudu with short horns and the water should freeze that night, it would be evident that he had *//ghui*(ed) the animal. He would expect to continue to *//ghui* short-horned female kudus. However, although a man's *n/ow* remains constant throughout his life, the way it interacts with other factors may change, and after a time he may find he has begun to *≠gani* short-horned female kudus. We think the /Kung became a little tired of our finding this complicated.

One day in September the sun blazed in the clear sky. The heat beat down upon us.

disks may represent two eland bulls, two eland cows, and a hyena, the fifth disk being the factor of ill fortune, and in this role they tell the hunters in what direction they should go and what success or difficulty to expect. The names of people who are absent may be attributed to the disks, which then give news of the people. As everyone knows where everyone is likely to be and what is likely to befall, the disks are more often right than wrong. They afforded us the amusement of a remarkable coincidence, which people so delight in, when they foretold quite precisely the return of one of our party who had been away and whom we had not expected nearly so soon. 787

It was entertaining to watch a session with the disks. A group of men would gather around the thrower. The thrower always had his say, but he was not allowed to pontificate. Everyone read the disks with him and gave his own interpretation. Sometimes the men would disagree and shout at each other in effect, 'Idiot, don't you see it means this?' At other times they were grave and intent, searching for the meaning. Whether they came to a consensus or went off, each holding to his own opinion, was never clear.

The Names of the Gods

The Names of the Great God 776

In present times the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region believe that there are two gods, one the great and one the lesser, that they have wives and children, and that they are attended by the spirits of the dead. [775]

These beings all live in the sky. The great god lives in the east at the place where the sun rises, the lesser god in the west where the sun sets.

The great god created himself. Then he created the lesser god. He created two wives, one for himself and one for the lesser god. The elder wife lives usually with the great god in the east, the younger one with the lesser god in the west, but, at any time the great god wishes, he may take both wives to live with him in the east. The wives bore six children to the gods, three boys and three girls. The great god created the earth and men and women and all things.

The great god named himself and then gave names to the lesser god and to their wives and children. He gave himself his names to praise himself. He said, 'I am *Hishe*. I am unknown, a stranger. No one can command me.' He praised himself also with the name */Gara* when he did something against the people, and the people said, 'He causes death among the people and causes the rain to thunder.' 'I am *≠Gaishi ≠gai*', said the great god. 'I am *chi dole*. I am a bad thing. I take my own way. No one can advise me.' His being the cause of sickness and death among the people was the reason for his giving himself many names, we were told. This was apparently a satisfying reason to the /Kung, who offered no other explanation. [761]

The great god has seven divine names and one earthly name, the last being *≠Gaolna*, Old ≠Gao. His earthly name, though not as common as some, is a man's name which we came upon fairly often. I call his seven other names 'divine' because they belong only to the gods. They are: [551 171]

Hishe	*/Gara*	*//Gamwa*
Hmwe	*Gani ga*	
Kxo	*≠Gaishi ≠gai*	

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

776 The name *Hishe*, Schapera tells us, is used by the Naron and Auen.[1] He thinks it
●171 may be a corruption of *Heitsi Eibib*, a mythical hero of the Hottentots.[2] As this name is not reported for other /Kung groups by Miss Bleek, Vedder, or Lebzelter, it is possible that it has been borrowed by the Nyae Nyae /Kung from the Auen. The Auen (also called Makaukau) live immediately south of the Nyae Nyae region.[3]

The name *Hnwe* is reported for Miss Lloyd's /Kung informants from Lake Ngami by Miss Bleek, for the /Kung at Tsumeb by Vedder, and for the eastern Kalahari group by Dornan, but not for the Auen or Naron, who said to Miss Bleek, as Schapera tells us,[4] that 'he [*Hnwe*] was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the "captain" of the white people'.

The name *Kxo* is something of a puzzle. I spelt it this way because I thought I heard both the *k* and the velar fricative sound *x*, as distinct from the name *Ko*.[5] I believe now that what I heard as *Kxo* is the name which Schapera tells us is spelt both *Xu* and *//Khu* by Lebzelter.[6] Lebzelter's account of *Xu* given him by the group he calls the eastern /Kung accords so closely with the Nyae Nyae /Kung's account of *Hishe—Hnwe—Kxo* that I feel certain that *Xu* and *Kxo* are conceptually the same being.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung did not have the name (or title) */khuba*, the Hottentot word for 'master', which Schapera tells us the Auen and Naron were beginning to borrow from the Nama when Miss Bleek worked with the Auen at Sandfontein.[7] Nor did they have *Thora* which Dornan heard among Bushmen of the eastern Kalahari.[8] And none of the informants we worked with knew the name *Erob* recorded by Lebzelter among the /Kung in the Oschimpoloveld. Schapera tells us that this name came from the Hebrew *Elohim*, a name used by missionaries among the Nama for 'God'.[9]

776 I shall have more to say about *//Gaowa* and *≠Gaolna* presently. The remaining three names, */Gara*, *Gani ga*, and *≠Gaishi ≠gai*, do not appear in the accounts of Bushman religion which Schapera analysed. I struggled to ascertain that they were names, not terms, titles, or descriptive phrases. So far, my evidence leads me to consider them names, but I could not trace their origin. My informants had no idea

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 182.

[2] Ibid., pp. 191, 374.

[3] For the location and extent of the Nyae Nyae region see Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Bands', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960, pp. 325–7.

[104 114] [4] Schapera, op. cit., p. 183.

[5] Some /Kung informants, /Ti/kay among them, claimed they did not know the name *Ko*. Others told us that *Ko* is a god of other people, a different god, not *≠Gao/na* or *//Gaowa*. They said, for example, that the white man's god is *Ko*. One informant said, in effect, that, even though *Ko* was a god of other people, he could kill anybody—white men, black men, and Bushmen. One is interested to note that *Ko* was the name of the female mantis god of the Bushmen of Basutoland, reported by Arbousset, as Schapera tells us (ibid., p. 181).

[6] 'Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*) or *Xowa*, "the Lord" or "the great captain", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Hawa* or *Ha'a*.' (Ibid., p. 183.)

Bushman languages present so many difficulties to those who are not experts in them—difficulties in recognizing the clicks and in sorting out variations in pronunciation between individuals even of the same group, as well as variations that are probably imposed by the position of the words in the sentence and by other grammatical configurations, &c.—that such discrepancies as *Kxo*, *Xu*, and *//Khu* are relatively slight. Fully aware of my own inadequacy in the language, I usually assume when I differ from another observer that the other is right and I am wrong. However, I cannot simply adopt another's rendering of the word without knowing if the discrepancy is due to dialectal differences or to my ignorance or what, and so must stick to my own approximations.

[7] Schapera, op. cit., pp. 182–3.

[8] Ibid., p. 185.

[9] Ibid., p. 190.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

/121 Marshall shows how specific customs reflect the dominant quest for water, and she portrays the feeling of Bushman culture as well as providing an ethnologist's construct. In this configurational model focusing on ethos, she indicates how derived themes or postulates, such as the stress on cooperation, relate to the most basic theme. Comparison of the !Kung Bushmen with the Mbuti Pygmies, the other foraging group represented in this book, reveals that even though these groups occupy very different habitats some features of their cultures are similar. These include not only elements of technology, for example, the use of poisoned arrows, but themes such as the stress on cooperation and the minimizing of intragroup conflicts, features that are a functional requisite for the close, face-to-face relationships in a foraging band. Thus a study of the Bushmen offers insight into what may be minimal and hence universal features of the foraging band as a culture type.

Bushman culture is also of interest to those concerned with African culture history, for archaeological remains of societies with a similar material culture have been discovered scattered over a much wider region of the eastern part of the continent than the Bushmen now occupy. Many anthropologists feel that the bearers of these early cultures were Bushmen, or Bushmanlike in racial type. An understanding of Bushman culture gives us insight into the cultural and behavioral setting to which the mute artifacts may have belonged.

about the author

/114 [10] Lorna Marshall lives in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and, with members of her family, has conducted several expeditions to the Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa (1951, 1952–1953, 1955, 1959, 1961), of Bechuanaland Protectorate (1955, 1961), and of southeast Angola (1959). She received her M.A. from Radcliffe College in 1928. Her writings include "The Kin Terminology System of the !Kung Bushmen" (1957), "N!ow" (1957), "Marriage among the !Kung Bushmen" (1959), "!Kung Bushman Bands" (1960), "Sharing, Talking and Giving: Relief of Social Tensions among !Kung Bushmen" (1961), and "!Kung Bushman Religious Beliefs" (1962).

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the
882 parents' fire.

855 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive
857 and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or
[136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and
[868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime,
857 singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults
[512] together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned
857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth
156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men,
[173] the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another
[171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation
[562] ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they
[535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from
[534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony.
[302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of
[304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

776 gods, the !Kung fear to do so because it displeases the gods and draws their attention and they say, "Who is calling my name?"

The lesser god who lives in the western sky is the namesake of the great god, who, as the belief goes, gave the lesser god all seven of his own divine names, but not his human name. Although they insist in this belief, the !Kung never used any name but *//Gauwa*, one of the seven divine names, when they referred to the lesser god and we never heard them actually use this name for the great god. It would seem, then, that the [171] lesser god is the old evil spirit, *//Gauwa*, who appears in the beliefs of the Hottentots and other Bushman language groups as the destroyer and the black chief, the one who sends death, disease, and misfortune. This evil spirit was an entity distinct from the good spirit who was variously named by Bushman groups *Hishe*, *Huwe*, and so on.

In present !Kung belief, however, neither the great god nor the lesser god is all evil or all good. Both are capable of being pleased or displeased with man and of sending favors or misfortunes. The lesser god is subservient to the great god and is supposed to do his bidding. The lesser god, however, has his own entity and does instigate his own actions, sometimes even disobeying the great god. Often they disagree between themselves.

The great god looks like a man, like a Bushman, but he is "the tallest of the Bushmen" and has long black hair that is not twisted and knotted like Bushman hair. He rides a horse across the sky—you can hear him—and he has a gun as well as bows and arrows. Some say he never comes to earth but always sends *//Gauwa*, or the spirits of the dead, the *//gauwasi*, to bring the good or evil that he sends to men. Only the greatest of medicine [258] men have ever seen him.

//Gauwa, however, is commonly seen by the medicine men. They describe him as small. One said he was about two feet tall; another, that he was as small as a guinea fowl; a third, that he was as small as a mouse. Several agreed that he was covered with yellow hairs. One, however, a humble man, said that while in trance he had seen *//Gauwa* and that he was like a gray mist.

782 RELIGIOUS PRACTICES • The !Kung say that they pray spontaneously to the gods. Whenever the thought comes to them they put their prayers into words and say or think them to themselves without any formality. When they speak in prayer to the great god they address him by the respectful term *!Nau*, used for any old man, or use a title *Gaoxa* (chief), or call him "father." Sometimes they use one of his names. The prayers, a mingling [181] of mild imprecation and pleading, reveal the major concerns of the !Kung: hunger, sickness, and death.[11]

776 The great god, responsible for sending sickness and death to men,
753 also created and gives to men a mystical curing power that is called *gaoxa*
779
755

121 view of the Bushmen. The present study is a contribution to this reorientation and, as such, has implications, not only for Bushman studies, but for the study of hunters and gatherers in general.

The study of subsistence ecology focusses attention on those aspects of the man/environment relation which pertain to the getting of food. Since there are populations of Bushmen available which still maintain a full-time, year-round, hunting and gathering way of life, an investigation of subsistence ecology can be founded on a firm empirical basis. The investigator does not have to rely on the memory of informants concerning conditions no longer in existence.

121 114 171 Another recent study - of the subsistence activities of Australian aborigines in Arnhem Land (McCarthy and McArthur 1960) - offers an instructive contrast to the present study. Both studies are concerned with the subsistence ecology of hunter-gatherers. The difference lies in the fact that the Australian groups studied spent the greater part of each year living on mission stations where they ate European foods. Consequently, the Australian scientists could observe traditional food getting for two week periods that were bracketed by periods of residence on the mission stations. The Bushman study, on the other hand, is a continuous record of hunting and gathering

121 222 224 activities extending over a fifteen month period. The Dobe area Bushmen were hunting and gathering for the simple reason that

433 subsistence base would be even more substantial during a year of higher rainfall. The Kalahari desert is by any account a marginal habitat for human occupation. Nevertheless it is apparent that the people who live there can satisfy their subsistence needs with a reasonable amount of effort and within a short compass of their waterholes.

The Subsistence Base of Other Hunter-Gatherers

It remains to be considered whether the !Kung Bushmen are exceptional among hunters and gatherers in that they have an unusually reliable subsistence base in the form of the mongongo nut.

171
433 A brief survey of the living hunting and gathering peoples indicates that the !Kung are quite typical of the general picture. For instance, the coastal Tierra del Fuegians, the California Indians, the Strandloopers of South Africa, and the Australian aborigines of Arnhem Land, the Cape York Peninsula, and New South Wales all possessed a superabundant staple of marine resources, especially shellfish. In the interior of California the acorn was the superabundant staple. Even the lowly Shoshoneans of the Great Basin who, because of scarce resources, were forced to exist at the "family level of organization" possessed a superabundant staple in the form of piñon nuts (Steward 1955). These nuts were so abundant that quantities could be collected and stored sufficient to last through the winter. Furthermore, the winter encampments typically consisted

171 433 of 20 or 30 families living in one locality (Steward 1955:105). Such a camp would contain upwards of 60 people and therefore would have been as large as the larger of the Dobe Bushmen winter camps. Even larger aggregations occurred among the Shoshone on the occasion of the communal rabbit hunts. In light of this, one suspects that the subsistence basis of the Shoshone was more secure than their ethnographer was prepared to allow.

It is not known what the staple food resource of the desert aborigines of Australia may have been, but there is compelling evidence that such a staple did exist. This is based on the fact that groups of 300-500 Aranda and Walbiri have been observed to congregate for four to five months at a time (Strehlow 1947:65; Meggitt 1962:55). Such concentrations of population could not have been possible without a super-abundant source of food.

It is suggested that the literature on the living hunters and gatherers of the world deserves to be reconsidered in light of this abundant food base. It appears that anthropologists have tended to underestimate hunting and gathering as a viable and persistent way of life. Despite the fact that non-agricultural peoples today are confined to the least attractive habitats of the world, there is evidence that human ingenuity, such as that displayed by the Dobe area Bushmen, can produce a substantial living from even the most unpromising environments.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

281 also have a larger apron behind, sometimes hanging from the shoulders,
291 more often tied round the waist, and almost meeting over or under the apron in front. In the north-east a leather loin-cloth drawn through a belt in the same way as that of the men, only somewhat longer, is often seen instead. A large kaross is also worn by the married women. This hangs from the right shoulder, passing under the left arm, and is tied again at the waist; it thus forms a convenient pouch, in which are carried the baby as well as supplies for the day, such as ostrich eggshells filled with water, edible roots and fruit, grass or firewood.

[854 Babies go naked, save for a trifling ornament, till they are about a
855] year old. The boys are then given a tiny belt with a semi-circular flap of leather in front, the girls a small apron decorated with leather tassels and beads. Their mother's kaross, however, continues to be
[862] their sole protection from the cold till they are weaned, when about three or four years old. The little girls then receive a tiny kaross hanging from the shoulders, the boys a small loin-cloth similar to that of the men. They do not wear a cloak of any kind till they are in their teens and are taken out to learn hunting.

301 All women and children and the younger men also wear ornaments.
237 Chief among these are ostrich egg-shell beads, the making of which is
171 one of the oldest Bushmen industries. Such beads, whole and in fragments, and at all stages of making, are found all over South Africa, from the kitchen-middens on the south coast as far north as the Okavango, where they form a standard article of barter between the Bushmen and their Bantu neighbours. They are made by the women. The eggshell is broken into small pieces which are softened in water and pierced with a small stone or iron borer. They are then threaded on to a strip of sinew and the rough edges chipped off with a horn. Soft bark fibre is next twisted between the beads, making the chain very taut, and the edges are finally rubbed smooth with a soft stone. The beads thus made are used as single chains or worked into more complicated ornaments. Bands of them are worn on the hair, sometimes encircling the whole head, more often tied to the hair on either side, while a long narrow strip may hang down the forehead or on to the neck behind. Necklaces and bracelets of these beads are also seen, and very long chains are fastened three or four times round the waist (Plate XI).

301 Besides these beads any other ornaments obtainable are worn by the women. These include arm and leg bands made of leather and bark strips or twisted from the tail hairs of a wildebeest or gnu, as

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lighting a new fire at the next encampment, although this is a practice which, as we have just seen, Fourie explicitly denies for the Heikum. 372 622 [114]

There is no indication at all in the available literature that similar usages relating to fire are found among the rest of the Bushmen, nor is there any further evidence of their occurrence among the tribes mentioned above. On the other hand the sacred fire also plays a very conspicuous part in the social and ritual life of the OvaHerero, OvaMbo, and Bergdama, all of them close neighbours of the Bushmen tribes among whom it is found, and with the last two of whom the Heikum at least have intermixed considerably. It is probable therefore that the special observances relating to fire among the Heikum and the Kung may represent borrowed elements of culture; but much fuller information is needed about them before this can be definitely asserted. Whatever their origin, however, these usages now obviously play an important part in the social life of the people. In particular, the fact that at the present time the chief of the band has certain exclusive functions in connection with fire is of outstanding significance in the whole sphere of public life, and one which cannot be dismissed merely because it may be due to the effects of contact with other peoples. To this point we shall have to return when discussing the political institutions of the Bushmen. [184] 171 372 [177] [622]

Special Usages relating to Food

There is not much information available about food taboos, but it appears that, in some of the tribes at least, certain foods are forbidden to persons at different stages of life. In the texts obtained by Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen there are preserved the details of some of the food taboos prevalent among this people. Thus little children were not allowed to eat the heart of the jackal (on account of this animal's great timidity), certain portions of the ostrich, or the tip of the springbok's tail; a menstruating girl might not eat game killed by the young men, lest she bring them ill luck—she had to eat only game taken by her father; a certain kind of tortoise was forbidden to young unmarried men and women, for fear of arousing the wrath of the rain; women were not allowed to eat the flesh of the lynx; the tail of the porcupine was forbidden to certain (unspecified) persons; while all refrained from eating a certain small portion of the flesh of the hare.[1] The published information relating 262 825 [841] [821] 262 [114]

[1] L. C. Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, cf. references in Index, s.v. "Food—not to be eaten."

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276 smoke sucked through the water by deep breaths into the lungs. A somewhat similar form of pipe is found among the Heikum and the Kung, but apparently water is not used here in smoking. Further [171] east, among the Hiechware, a method of ground-smoking is found similar to that obtaining among the neighbouring Bantu peoples. A small hole is made in the ground, into which the man puts the tobacco; he then inserts his pipe-stick through a small tunnel and smokes.[1]

Dagga is mixed with tobacco or smoked by itself whenever obtainable. The habit is said seriously to affect those addicted to it, both physically and morally. When taken in slight quantities the [164] herb has no visible ill-effects, but excessive indulgence is most deleterious to the health, and if persisted in sometimes causes mental aberration and frenzy.

273 Few of the Bushmen know how to make any kind of liquor themselves. The only exception, perhaps, are the Namib Bushmen, who, [171] after the manner of their Hottentot neighbours, brew a kind of mead out of honey. They are very partial to this drink, which plays an essential part in all their festivities.[2] The other Bushmen in general also do not seem to trade for any liquor, although they all appreciate alcohol and native beer when it is given to them. The Hiechware, [439] however, are said to be excessively fond of native beer, which they obtain by barter from the BeChwana; and, according to Dornan, they contrive to get drunk whenever they can.[3] Drunkenness as a rule is very exceptional among the rest of the Bushmen.

Sexual Life and Marriage

Conditions and Forms of Marriage

114 There is very little information about the relations of the sexes before marriage. Either the subject is not mentioned at all by our 836 authorities, or it is curtly dismissed in a short sentence. Kaufmann, for instance, reports of the Auen merely that prenuptial intercourse hardly ever seems to occur[4]; Lebzelter writes of the Kung that chastity is insisted upon before marriage[5]; while, on the other hand, all Miss Bleek has to say in this connection about the Naron is that

[1] Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 164 sq.; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 32; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 257; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 122–3.
[2] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 168; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 504.
[3] Op. cit., 121. [4] Op. cit., 156. [5] Op. cit., (16).

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believed that they bring ill-luck on the parents. What treatment is 845
adopted in the other tribes is not definitely stated; among the Naron 847
it appears that they are both allowed to live.

The exposure or killing of deformed children does not seem to occur
in any of the tribes. Abortion, however, is often induced by treading 847
on the body of the pregnant woman. It appears to be practised mainly
when she is unmarried, and therefore to imply that only married women
have the right to bear and rear children.

There is no account of any special ceremony held in connection 852
with birth, although if there is enough food—but only then—a
feast followed by a dance may be given by the parents. The child is 553
usually named shortly after birth, without special ceremony. The
name is given by the parents in consultation with the grandparents
and other relatives, and among most of the North-Western tribes is
generally that of some near relative. Boys, for instance, may receive
the name of a paternal grandfather or uncle, girls that of a maternal
grandmother or aunt. Often there is a squabble about the name
between the father's people and those of the mother; whichever [578]
party is in force generally succeeds in having its wishes adopted, and
the child is named after a member on that side of the family.[1]

The Heikum system of naming closely resembles that of the 171 ●
Hottentots, and has in all probability been taken over from them. 553
"Each child," says Fourie,[2] "is generally given three names, namely
a first name, a second name, and a surname. Names are not given
by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother,
and the second name by the old woman who assisted at the confine-
ment. Boys take the surname of the mother and girls that of the
father.[3] Thus */Uirob Geirob /Geibeb* married a woman */Kao-tamas* 171
Gamanis /Garus and begot two sons, namely *//Otoab /Gonab /Garub* 551
and *Gogob Gomob /Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras /Geibes*. Not
uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with
the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence
the names of *//Otoab* become *//Otoab /Gonab /Garub /Geibemab*.
This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used
for this purpose. A person is as a rule called by the first name only.
Nicknames are common, and are given to children when quite young.

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 30–1; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66.
[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 61.
[3] This feature is specially characteristic of the Hottentot system of name-giving. V. below, p. 267.

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171 They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for
551 example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face, and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life."

853 Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable
[862] food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

847 This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide found among the North-Western tribes.[1] Sexual intercourse between the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save
[163] abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession during the course of married life, and it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the
[844] bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children of different ages, both needing the shelter of their kaross, and to be carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second or third child is usually weaned, the one or two born in the interval being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among
[184] the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality
[165] caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore
162 small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; Kaufmann, op. cit., 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31–2; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

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adolescent boys, who remain in the camp for the occasion, are 881
summoned to pass in single file behind her hut. As they pass, each
presses his scrotum against her hand, passed through a small opening [751]
made by her mother in the back of the hut, and she touches it with
forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the boys against
swelling of the testicles, which is believed to result from contact, [841]
direct or indirect, with a menstruating woman or anything associated
with her. After all the boys have filed past and returned to their hut,
an old woman enters the girl's hut and rubs down her body with a
preparation of roots. The girl is then ceremonially taken to fetch
first water and then wood, which she brings at a run and places at
the hut of the old woman who cleansed her. After these have been
deposited the ceremony is over. This fetching of water and wood,
together with the cleansing, no doubt symbolizes the return of the
girl to the normal occupations of her daily life.

She is now a woman eligible for marriage, she lives in a new hut 882
built for her by her mother, accompanies the married women in their
daily occupations, and associates with them. The food collected 883
by her during the four or five days following the ceremony is
eaten only by very old women, e.g. the one who rubbed her down.
After that any food she gathers is shared with her mother. On
subsequent menstrual periods she may not go into the veld to gather [841]
veldkos, but must remain in the camp, and is fed by her mother.

In many of its details this ceremony closely resembles the puberty 171 ●
ceremony for girls among the Hottentots. There is a strong probability 881
that it may even have been taken over from the latter, by whom the
Heikum have unquestionably been influenced to a considerable
extent. At the same time, in the seclusion of the girl in a separate
hut, the avoidance of contact with men, and the performance of a
special dance, this ceremony also presents features noted in the
corresponding ceremonies of other Bushman tribes. The differences
apparent between it and the others may therefore be due merely to
the fact that it has been studied and recorded in much fuller detail.
Without further study of the other Bushman tribes no definite
assertion can be made on this point.

The puberty ceremony for girls among the !O Kung of Angola 184
differs in several important respects from those already noted. Every 304
girl, at her first menstruation, is placed in a separate hut, and kept 881
there until the new moon is seen. A dance is held in her honour on
the first nights; both sexes take part in this, but not the girl herself.

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411 is turned into the shaft; for shooting, the head is reversed, so that the rounded end is turned in and the poisoned end projects. In a more complex form based on the same principle, the head consists of two separate pieces of bone connected by a small link shaft or section of reed; the one piece is blunted at the tip, the other pointed and poisoned. Both pieces fit into the hollow of the main shaft of reed, and when the arrow is not required for use the blunted piece forms the projecting end of the head while the poisoned piece is in the shaft, but for shooting the head is reversed. This extremely interesting type [184] seems to be restricted in occurrence to these Bushman tribes, and is obviously directly correlated with the employment of poison as the effective agent of the arrow.

The tribes further north, such as the Northern Kung, the Heikum 411 and the !O Kung of Angola, nowadays generally use arrows with ●171 feathered wooden shafts and iron points only. These resemble in type the arrows of the neighbouring Bantu peoples, and may have been imitated from them.

All these arrows are rather fragile, and can never seriously wound any animal which they strike. For their effect reliance is placed upon the poisonous mixtures dotted or smeared over their points.[1] Many 278 ingredients of different kinds are used in these mixtures, the more common being the vegetable juices of *Acokanthera venenata*, *Haemanthus toxicarius* (*Amaryllis disticha*), and various species of *Euphorbia*; the venom of the larger poisonous snakes, such as the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*) and the cobra (*Naia haje*); the beetle *Cladocera nigro-ornata*; the "baviaan spinnekop" or trapdoor spider; and the "klip-gift" or "rock poison" (probably a form of 184 arsenic). Not all of these are in use among the Bushmen as a whole. There appears rather to be a fairly definite distribution of the various 278 mixtures, dependent upon the substances available in the different localities; and probably each tribe of Bushmen has its own particular formula, although this cannot be asserted definitely. For general purposes we may distinguish three main types of arrow poison: the Namib Bushmen and those of the north-west districts of the Cape use a purely vegetable poison; the Southern Bushmen generally and some other tribes, such as the Hiechware and the Kung, use a

[1] A comprehensive survey of the earlier literature on the subject is given by Schapera, "Bushman Arrow Poisons," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1923), 199–214. Two more recent papers of importance are: Hall and Whitehead, "A Pharmaco-Bacteriologic Study of African Poisoned Arrows," *J. Infectious Diseases*, xli (1927), 51–69; and Waterston, "The Bushman's Arrow-Poison Beetle," *Natural History Magazine*, ii (1929), 74–89.

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nowadays the thing is done in a haphazard manner, and generally passes as an accident. 222 [224] [311]

The collection of veldkos is done by both men and women; but whereas with the former it is incidental to their hunting, the latter are collectors only, and set out every day, usually in company, to go over several miles of land. The digging-sticks they use are from 3 to 4 feet long, and consist of pieces of hard wood, pointed at one end. In the south, where the veld is hard, and in the mountainous parts of the east these sticks were sometimes tipped with a buck's horn and weighted by means of a perforated stone ball passed over their lower end and wedged in (Plate IX); but in the Kalahari, where there is only sand to cope with, this is never found. The foods gathered are chiefly roots, bulbs, ground nuts, berries, melons, and, in fact, anything at all edible, the food naturally varying with the season of the year. At the same time, the women also catch all sorts of small animals which they come across—iguanas, tortoises, frogs, locusts, flying ants, etc.—and they gather dry sticks for the evening fire. [462] [412] [184]

Among the Heikum the following ceremony is observed in connection with the gathering of veldkos by the women. "It is practised," says Fourie,[1] "when the fruit of the */huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the */huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gaus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women to the *//gaus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the */heis*. Her husband now kindles the */hei-/ais*, and, after having applied */norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it." There is no known name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called */gao-ei-/un*. The ceremony in this form is not found in any of the other Bushman tribes, but is met with also in slightly different form among the Bergdama. The possibility of borrowing must therefore again be kept in mind; but, whether borrowed or not, the ceremony is of importance as indicating the development of a special ritual in connection with one of the principal sources of food supply. 222 622 [184] [171]

[1] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 58–7; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W.A." 98–9.

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554 887 band, such as migrations and hunting parties, appear rather to be regulated by the skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men generally.[1]

Among the North-Western tribes, on the other hand, where the 622 bands are on the whole more considerable in size, each band has a [184] recognized chief (*//exa* or *//exaba*, *gao-aob* or *gei-khoib*; the last two [192] words are of Hottentot origin).[2] The office is as a rule hereditary in the male line, descending from father to son, or, failing such, to the nearest male relative. The heir succeeds only when he attains maturity, i.e. when he has passed through the puberty ceremonies and has killed his first head of big game. During his minority there is no regency—things just go on, as Kaufmann says. Among the Heikum and the Kung, however, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds. This [184] rule of succession is so much at variance with what we know of the other North-Western Bushmen, and even of the structure of the band [171] in the two tribes mentioned, that, if the information be correct, the practice can only be regarded as due to the influence of the neighbouring OvaMbo, who are definitely organized on a matrilineal [611] basis. There is no other instance of matrilineal succession among the Bushmen.

No tribute or services are rendered to the chief, nor are there any special signs of chieftainship, such as a particular dress or mode of life. We are told by Miss Bleek that Naron chiefs mostly have two [595] wives, but whether this is in any way associated with their status is not made clear. The main functions of the chief apparently are to direct the movements of the people from place to place and to allocate the work for the day, to order the burning of the veld, and, in particular, to lead in war. Among the Heikum we also know that in him are vested certain other functions the performance of which is of vital importance to the welfare of the community. He alone, as we have seen, "is able to bring forth from fire the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune." The various beliefs and practices centring in the first fire kindled by him at every new encampment, while fully demonstrating the importance of this fire in the social life of the people, at the same time also reflect his religious significance and emphasize the dependence of the community upon him in this aspect of their life. He also, as we have

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109; Trenk, op. cit., 170; Seydel, op. cit., 304.

[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 154; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36–7; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 86–8; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 14.

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judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury 622
resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. 692
The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a [695]
decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band.
Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the 681
relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kirri or by stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property, assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but self-defence is in no way penalized.

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is 114
difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these 692
Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is 681
no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama [171]
Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, [184]
to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the other Bushman tribes.

Relations with Other Bands

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Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting 621
territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married [591]
man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also [574]
frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from [438]
one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also find the members of several different bands assembled together for a while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

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year or two, during which the dead person is never spoken of but 764
with veneration and tears.[1]

Several details in this account—the anointing, perfuming, and 114
examination of the body, as well as the burning of the hut—are not 764
met with in the descriptions of other independent observers, who as a rule remark merely that the corpse is buried with all its possessions and the place then deserted.[2] On the other hand, it is certain that many of the Southern Bushmen heaped stones on the graves of their dead. This custom may have originated merely from the desire to protect the body from the ravages of hyenas and other wild animals. It has, however, sometimes been given a religious significance owing to the fact, recorded by several of the older observers, that passing [769] natives would always add a branch or a stone to the heap. It is 114
unfortunately not always possible to gather whether the natives 764
referred to were Bushmen or Hottentots. The latter certainly have 769
various practices and beliefs connected with these grave heaps, of 171
which the usage just mentioned is one of the most common, but there is no fully reliable evidence of anything similar being observed by the Southern Bushmen.

In excavated graves the corpse is sometimes found lying on its 764
left side, with one or two large flat stones placed directly upon it. The interest attaching to these "burial stones" lies in the fact that [532] in a few cases, in association with cave burials along the south coast, they have been found with figures of human beings painted upon them in the typical Bushman style. It would be unprofitable to speculate upon the significance of such stones, as there is no record of any Bushmen having explained them to our authorities; but that they were related to some definite belief can hardly be doubted.[3]

The Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, as a rule bury a dead person on the morning following his death, and in any case not [763] before the death has been confirmed by the nearest neighbours. The relatives of the dead man and the neighbours accompany the corpse to the grave, uttering or singing a funeral dirge. The grave

[1] *Voyage d'Exploration au . . . Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 303–4.
[2] Campbell, *Missionary Travels in S. Africa*, 440; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 289; Fritsch, *Drei Jahre in Südafrika*, 242. The account given by Hahn (op. cit., 121) is obviously derived from Arbousset; that in Stow (op. cit., 126–9) from Arbousset, Campbell and Sparrman. The English translation of Arbousset (p. 363) renders "grossièrement parfumée" as "coarsely embalmed", which, as it is repeated in Stow, may have given rise to some misconception. There is nothing in the nature of real embalming among the Bushmen.
[3] Fritsch, loc. cit.; Haughton, in *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, xiii, 105–6; FitzSimons, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 301, 341.

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buchu on the grave and says *tabetu*, good-bye. All then move to another locality and avoid the spot for a couple of years; no one will remain in the vicinity, owing to fear of the ghost. After the funeral there are no further mourning rites.[1] [765] [768]

The burial customs of the Auen appear to be generally similar to those of the Naron.[2] The Kung bind the corpse in the same contracted position, and according to Lebzelter also smear it with ochre. The grave, round, shallow, and narrow, is dug by the men preferably under a termite hill, but if there is none in the vicinity any other suitable spot is chosen. The bottom is covered with branches, over which is spread the grass upon which the dead person last slept. The corpse is buried lying on one side; Vedder states that it faces no special direction, Lebzelter that the back is towards the east. Women are buried with their ornaments, men have their weapons placed on the breast, and children their small bows or digging-sticks. The grave is never again visited by the relatives; if their way leads past it, they go round in a tangent.[3] [769]

In the Eastern Kalahari the Bushmen likewise often bury dead people in the termite ant-hills that are so common all over the country. A hole is excavated in which the body is placed in a contracted position. The grave is then surrounded with a fence of thorn bushes to protect it from the jackals and hyenas. The "tame" Bushmen now also bury their dead in much the same manner as do the heathen BeChwana. A round hole three or four feet deep is excavated, in the side of which a recess is made. The corpse is placed in this recess, either sitting or lying on the left side, with the knees doubled up to the chin. The grave, as a rule, is near to the place where the dead person lived. Sometimes they do not take the trouble to excavate the grave, but use an ant-hill or the cleft of a rock. Here also there is apparently no fixed orientation of the corpse, for when Dornan asked his informants if they placed it with the face to the east, some said they did, others said they did not. When a man is buried, his weapons are placed in the grave with him, together with some meat and occasionally a little water, while a woman is buried with a few ostrich egg-shells, some berries and meat. As a rule the dead person's ornaments are also added, though amongst the tame Bushmen they may be removed. "This, however, is not [171]

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 109–10; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 158.
[3] Vedder, "Kû-Buschmannsprache," 8; Lebzelter, "!Kuñ-Buschleuten," 14.

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boys. This particular association, in other words, is peculiar to the North-Western Bushmen; but whether it has been borrowed or is simply a local development cannot be decided in the light of our present knowledge.

Finally, the Hottentots speak also of *Heitsi Eibib*, who seems to be a sort of ancestral hero, and who is worshipped at his "graves", where he is prayed to for success in hunting, etc. His mythological character in certain respects resembles that of the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen, but the latter is not the object of a grave cult, and this *Heitsi Eibib* primarily is. There is no being corresponding to him among the Northern Bushmen, although his name occurs, obviously as a borrowed element, in the *Heiseb* of the Heikum of Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga (among the former as that of a "bringer of blessings", among the latter as that of an "evil spirit"!), and possibly also in the *Hishe*, i.e. *Huwe*, of the Naron and Auen. Consequently this conception must be regarded as peculiar to the Hottentots.

The resemblances noted above are far-reaching, even when allowance is made for the by no means insignificant differences in detail. The Northern Bushmen especially seem to have many elements of religious belief virtually identical with those of the Hottentots. There has certainly been a good deal of mutual influence here, but the similarities not so much in detail as in general features are too numerous and too fundamental to be attributed solely to borrowing. Meticulous comparison must unfortunately be ruled out as at present inadvisable: we know far more about the religious system of the Hottentots than we do about that of the Bushmen, of which indeed the available information is so scanty that any elaborate discussion based on it can only be regarded as somewhat speculative. It can nevertheless be fairly confidently asserted that among both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots we find, in addition to the worship of the moon, the cult of mythical beings derived partly from animistic beliefs (*//Gaua*), and partly from the personification of the natural forces producing rain (*Tsui //Goab*, *Huwe*). It must be concluded therefore that both peoples have on the whole the same religious system, although there are obviously also considerable differences in detail which still have to be explained. The importance attaching to this community of beliefs is emphasized by the fact that this religious system differs essentially from that of the neighbouring Bantu.

The Southern Bushmen to some extent stand apart from the rest.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

FX13 Hottentot
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184 776 Bushmen of the Orange Free State, where, as we have seen, Campbell [192] mentions that the spirits attendant upon *Ko* (the Mantis) are called *Gauna*, and that after *Ko* has disappeared from the dance in which she was taking part, "her nymphs" also come and dance for a while. Nothing more is said about them, however.[1]

114 776 The problem now arises as to the real nature of these beings. The information relating to them is sometimes vague, sometimes inconsistent, and at all times obviously inadequate. No interpretation of their nature can therefore be regarded as fully reliable until it has been confirmed by a much more careful and detailed study in the field than has yet been made of the beliefs and usages connected with them. Moreover, as we shall see subsequently, the conception 171 of *//gaua* also figures prominently among the Hottentots and 776 Bergdama, whose religious beliefs and practices in general offer other features of resemblance to those of the Bushmen. A comparison of the Bushman concepts on the one hand and those of the Hottentots and Bergdama on the other, may thus succeed in throwing further light upon the problem, the final consideration of which may therefore be delayed until the religions of these peoples have also been passed in review.

177 776 Certain points arise, however, which may at once be dealt with. The notions of *!khuba* among the Naron and Auen, and of *Dzimo* among the Hiechware, may be set aside in the attempt to ascertain the real nature of Bushman religious conceptions. They have admittedly been taken over from other peoples, the former from the Nama, the latter from the BeChwana. *Erob*, mentioned by Lebzelter [797] as the name for the "Supreme Being" among the Western Kung and certain of the Heikum, is simply a corruption of the word *Elob*, from the Hebrew *Elohim*, which has been used by many missionaries among the Nama as a translation for "God".[2] Its occurrence among these Bushmen is therefore an obvious indication of Christian influence, entering either directly through the missionaries or, more probably, through contact with the Nama; and in this connection it must be remembered that almost all the Heikum now speak only

[1] *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 31–2.

[2] Pater Schmidt, in accepting Lebzelter's data as convincing evidence for the existence of a Supreme Being among the Bushmen, remarks about *Erob* ("Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 297, n. 4): "Wenn er christlichen Ursprungs sein soll, von Elob, aus Elohim, so darf man fragen, warum das Inlaut -*l* in *r* übergegangen wäre." To this it may be replied that the sound *l* does not occur at all in Nama, save in a few words taken over from European languages, and that in most borrowed words where it does occur the Nama form of the word replaces it by *r*. The transmutation of *Elob* into *Erob* therefore follows a definite law of phonetic change in Nama. Cf. on this point Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, pp. 18–19.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

H 754 648

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

B. H 771 171 821

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

B H 771 171 769 775 [192]

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word //*gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as /*hei* /*nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

B H [191]

B H 771 171 775 761 821

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word //*Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard //*Gaunab* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX10

who causes sickness or death. The Northern Bushmen likewise believe that he causes death, but do not seem to attach any special significance of evil to him, save where there has been Hottentot influence. He is associated by them more particularly with certain phenomena of nature, such as thunder and lightning, shooting stars, the wind, etc., so that Miss Bleek actually regards him as a personification of the wind and the storm, while Pater Schmidt looks upon him as an ancient sky god ("Himmelsgott").[1] Closer analysis shows, however, that the phenomena of nature regarded as manifestations of //*Gaua* by the Northern Bushmen are all looked upon primarily as mediums through which he inflicts misfortune and death; and similarly we find that among the Hottentots the whirlwind, the eclipse of the moon and the sun, the rainbow and the Aurora australis are all natural phenomena of ill omen specially connected with //*Gaunab*. Since the lightning is actually a frequent cause of death, while the other phenomena, such as comets, shooting stars and eclipses, are owing to their very nature readily regarded as ominous, it is perhaps not far-fetched to see in this the reason why they should have become specially connected with //*Gaua*, the cause of sickness and death.

The impression one gets, reviewing the evidence as a whole, is that among both the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen the term //*Gaua* has several different references, which, however, are not consistently distinguished by the people themselves. Sometimes it is used for the ghost of a dead person, sometimes as a collective name for these ghosts, sometimes, again, in the sense of a personified being with various special attributes. The beliefs regarding //*Gaua*, in other words, are not crystallized into clear-cut conceptions, but are vague, inconsistent, and ambiguous. Consequently those interpretations based solely upon the conception of //*Gaua* as a personified being must be rejected as one-sided and obviously inadequate. If any special interpretation is to be sought, and in the light of our present knowledge there is none which can be advanced with full confidence, the most fruitful approach would seem to be that //*Gaua* must be regarded as a vague conception founded upon the beliefs about the fate of the dead and the ways in which the latter can affect the living society.

//*Gaunab* in Hottentot mythology is in conflict with *Tsui* //*Goab*, the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124; W. Schmidt, "Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 295.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui* //*Goab* appears to be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hishe*, *Erob* or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Mantis, by the Bushmen of Basutoland. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain, food, recovery from illness, etc.

But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of //*Gamab*, whose name Vedder derives from the root //*gami*, "water," and whom he regards as "originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains". //*Gamab* is the only supernatural being of whom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death, abundance of food, etc., and he lives in "heaven" in a village where he gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama trace out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment of death till its arrival in //*Gamab's* village, and the life led there is minutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series of beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of Bergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western Bushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama, one feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a "sky dwelling" to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely attributed to Bergdama influence.

Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' puberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui* //*Goab* nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected with these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction, and one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern Bushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

[1] Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, i, 97 sqq.; *idem*, "The Berg Damara," 61 sqq.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX10

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They share with their Northern relatives and with the Hottentots the cult of the moon and several beliefs concerning the dead and natural phenomena, and the conception of the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen can possibly be linked up with that of *Huwe* among the Northern tribes. But the beliefs centring in the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen have no parallel further north, nor, on the other hand, do they seem to have anything exactly corresponding to either *Huwe* or *//Gaua*. Their mythology, again, is far more elaborate than that of the Hottentots, which in turn is more developed than that of the Northern Bushmen. Underlying these superficial, but unquestionably significant, differences, there is of course a great deal of fundamental similarity, as we have had occasion to note in our discussion of Bushman religion. As far as present indications go, it seems evident that while we can safely speak of one religious system common to all the Bushmen and Hottentots, we must also distinguish between the Southern Bushmen on the one hand and the Northern Bushmen and Hottentots on the other, and that a further distinction must be made in certain respects between the two latter. A good deal of further research in the field is still necessary, however, before we can finally disentangle borrowed elements from specifically local developments. The fact still remains that no really satisfactory account is available of the religion of any single Bushman tribe or of the Hottentots.

/160 cont./

805 cold dry season,
warm dry season,
short rainy season,
rainy season.

Just as these various seasons of the year tend to be very irregular in the Kalahari, the Auin's division of the year also is quite variable.

821 There is only one designation, a collective name, for the starry sky.

173 I have not been able to detect any traces of a "history."

Only events going back at most two generations are transmitted as an oral tradition.

●172 The Auin know nothing about the Bushman drawings.

At the watering place Kazupitzaub between Oas and Olifantskluft, in other words, in the Auin region, there are supposedly Bushman drawings on rock walls. The Auin call these drawings the "work of Satan." I should observe that this expression was given me by an interpreter who was unable to supply me with a better translation of the Bushman concept. In case I should once again go to this region, I shall report on this matter.

173 In their own opinion, the Auin have been living in the region they now occupy "as long as there have been human beings."

X. Counting and Calculating

802 Fingers and toes are used for counting.

Five is expressed by the word for hand, ten by two hands, 15 by two hands and one foot, 20 by two hands and two feet.

Among about 20 Rietfontein Auin, there was only one who could count beyond 20. I cannot say, however, whether this man may not have hit upon the idea through my suggestion. He counted up to 40.

[3 cont.]

123 the sum of the ethnological results obtained in each case is a func-
124 tion of the amount of "yellow" money that in each instance was available to me.

000 The results of my work, together with the space available to me, determined the size and content of this book. For the prehistoric cultures, I refer the reader to the first volume.

114 My original intention of giving a survey of those tribes
128 among whom I was unable to do research had to be abandoned in view of the amount of space placed at my disposal. I intend to do this in the final section of the third volume, where, along with the anthropological findings, an over-all survey of the cultural and racial history of South Africa is to be presented. I have
[127] referred to the literature at some length only in the accounts on the Bushmen tribes of South Africa. In particular the officers of the Imperial German Colonial Force performed extremely valuable pioneering work in this area. Their accounts, given with military exactitude, are unsurpassable and represent ethnological sources of the first rank.

126 Wherever I did not carry out the observations myself but wrote down the translations of my native interpreters, I have left them unchanged. Hence, I hope that the reader will not hold against me the stylistic defects that appear here and there. The native words for the most part were written down by my interpreters. I would have been happy if it had been possible for me to have all the texts checked by competent experts. This was impossible. I therefore request indulgence in case there are any errors in the linguistic transcription. At any rate, these people wrote their mother tongue. [Page 4 blank.]

[5] The Bushmen Tribes

172 In terms of geological eras, South Africa has undoubtedly been inhabited for as long a time as the other parts of the Old World. Naturally, the first cultures we know are those that possessed a stone industry. Among these the hand-ax industry, which is also the oldest elsewhere, is likewise widespread in South and Southwest Africa. Since Reck has most recently established

[5 cont.]

173 the Oldoway race as one of its carriers, the presence of a Eurafrican racial element from oldest times on may be regarded as certain also for South Africa. The carriers of this hand-ax industry, who, I am convinced, already carried on a kind of plant cultivation and were tied essentially to the forested zones, were later followed by a group of peoples and races with definite flake industries. Among these we may include the Katanga race and the other Australiform finds. A new wave of Eurafrican racial elements was brought by the carriers of the blade industries of the
174 Middle Stone Age of South Africa. Even today we are still unable to determine when the Bushman races adopted a Stone Age industry or even when they entered the country. Just as racially
[144] the Bushman incorporated remnants of all the preceding races or
[154] those that at one time existed side by side with them (Europoid -- Australiform), so their culture, varying from tribe to tribe, likewise constitutes a unity only in its optimal adaptation to the conditions of the environment. In its individual traits, on the other hand, it represents a residual culture whose stability depends on a selection intentionally and purposively carried out, and which resulted from foreign cultures from the Old Stone Age up to the present.

Chapter 1

The Bushmen of Angola

105 We are indebted to D. F. Bleek (1) for most of the data

[113] 1. D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," Bantu Studies, Vol. III, No. 2, 1928 Johannesburg. Further, Archiv für Anthropologie, 1930.

concerning the Angola Bushmen. The Bushmen are !Kung. The men are 159.3 (145.5-170) centimeters tall, the women 148.8 (135-161.3) centimeters. They live between the Msuma in the north, the Lomba in the south, and between Okawango and the

Chapter 7

The Bushmen of the North

114 Our best information concerning the Masarwa comes from Dornan (1) and Holub (2). In what follows an outline sketch will

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygrines and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

2. Holub, Die Masarwa.

be given of the culture of this tribe, based upon these two authors.

342 According to Dornan, the Masarwa once preferred to live in caves, where their ancestors had made paintings. The Bushmen in the Wankie and Ngami districts have plaited mats of grass [285] or reed, with which they cover their windscreens. Sometimes they make a kind of roof covered with grass; otherwise they have ordinary windscreens.

[532]
[172]

Fig. 21a. Representation of a Curing Scene. In the background, the female doctor who serves as oracle. (Eastern Cape Province. From J. P. Johnson, The Prehistoric Period in [113] South Africa, 1910.)

322 For the wood of the bow the Masarwa use very straight
411 little tree trunks. After the bark is removed, they are tied to a straight tree and left to dry. The wood is then given its final drying over the fire and is placed in water so that it will not splinter. The middle of the bow is also commonly wound with tendons. The bow is often greased and never unstrung. The finished bow is smoothed with a rough stone.

+ AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[78 cont.]

000 it with the fingers. [Fig. 29 appears here.]

224 [79] The lion is neither eaten nor hunted. The jackal and
262 leopard are eaten, as is the liver of the latter. Baboons are not
825 eaten, because they were formerly Bushmen.

304 The line of tattooing between the eyebrows make people
302 into leopards among the Nogau. The Naron smear themselves with red and black color. The other incisions and tattooing are made purely for adornment.

825 Among the Naron, millepedes are regarded as creatures
756 of Hise, and only doctors may touch them and make medicine of them. Among the Nogau and ǂAuin there are magical bones
787 that are used to predict the future. The Naron also believe that
●[172] the rock engravings stem from //gauwa.

Among the Auin it is forbidden to eat hyena flesh, and
262 likewise the flesh of the shabrack jackal because it is a dog.

The following important data supplied by Gentz (1) should

224
[114]
[113]

1. "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften [Some Contributions to Knowledge of the Southwest African Tribes]," Globus, Vol. 83, 1903.

be added:

"I have repeatedly found Bushman arrows on which the point, usually made of bone (for the most part ostrich bone), was made of wood. The game sling, reproduced in Figure 29, is constructed as follows: A strong string, four to five millimeters thick, which at one end terminates in a simple loop, is fastened at the other end to a flexible young tree or branch that is bent far over. A small, thinner string with a transverse stick is attached at the loop end. The string is placed around a small post driven into the ground at an angle, and it is prevented from slipping off by means of a flat piece of wood buried under the ground and planted against the free end of the transverse stick; the sling is placed in a circle on the ground over the flat piece of wood. The game, which follows its customary track to the

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

THE BUSHMEN OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

ORIGIN.

Evidence of a widespread primitive civilization is met with in South West Africa as in other parts of Southern Africa. There would appear to be but little reason to doubt that some branch of the Bushman family was originally associated with that civilization and that the Bushmen of to-day are descended from the aboriginal inhabitants of this sub-continent. The place and period of origin of the latter still remain unsolved. By some authorities it is maintained that in the remote past migration proceeded northwards and southwards from Central Africa; by others that a slow movement of the Aurignacians took place from Europe into and across Africa down to the Cape. On this subject Professor Sollas writes as follows: "It would thus appear that mural drawings, paintings or engravings, having many features in common, may be traced from the Dordogne across the Pyrenees into Spain, and beyond the Mediterranean into Morocco, Algeria, Oran and Egypt, over the Sahara, past the Victoria Nyanza, and thence on through Rhodesia, the Transvaal, and Orangia, to the southernmost extremity of Africa.

If, as their unity in subject and treatment suggests, these are all the work of the Bushmen or related tribes, then they afford precisely the kind of evidence which our hypothesis demands, and some of the Aurignacian people have really, as we supposed, passed in a slow migration across the whole of the broad territory which intervenes between Dordogne and the Cape. That the movement was towards the south is shown by the fact that the drawings become increasingly younger as we proceed in that direction. In France they are of Upper Palaeolithic age, in the north of Africa Neolithic, and in the south they are recent. From this again it follows that the migration must have occupied a long interval of time, during which the earth experienced more than one change of climate, and some of the animals which the artists took a special pleasure in depicting, such as the mammoth and the ancient Bubalus, became extinct.

We owe our knowledge of this great migration to a fortunate accident: had the passion for art which possessed the Bushmen been less strong or less enduring, it would probably have remained unsuspected to all time. It would be strange indeed if this were the sole migration of its kind; the chances are that it is but one among others, some of which may not be beyond our power to discover."

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope.

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

174 [172] 1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at 177 the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or 131 exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

131 (3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as 162 listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

144 (4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into cate- [114] gories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

114 147 (5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been published by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

224 126 (6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

553 102 121 (7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

Chapter II

HISTORY, DISTRIBUTION, AND TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Bushmen

Early History

174 The Bushmen were long regarded as the earliest human inhabitants of South Africa, and as having occupied the country from times of remote antiquity. This belief, most fully expressed in Stow's classical work, *The Native Races of South Africa*,[1] was not without some foundation. Of the peoples of South Africa of whom there is any definite historical record, the Bushmen are certainly the oldest; the other native peoples show in their traditions that when they first entered the country they found the Bushmen already scattered over the greater part of its surface; while the relics of the Bushmen, such as rock paintings, rock engravings, and stone implements, are distributed over a far more extensive area than was occupied by the people themselves within historical times, and frequently occur under conditions which postulate some antiquity.

172 It has now become fully established, however, that the Bushmen
174 were preceded in the occupation of South Africa by other peoples. Recent archæological investigation has shown that there existed in the country a number of different stone implement industries, clearly separated in time as well as in character.[2] These industries are grouped chronologically into the Earlier, Middle, and Later Stone Age Cultures. The stone implements and rock art associated with the Bushmen all belong to the Later Stone Age, and it is only in deposits of this Age that skeletal remains of the Bushmen have been found.

[1] G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa: A History of the Intrusion of the Hottentots and Bantu into the Hunting Grounds of the Bushmen, the Aborigines of the Country* (London, 1905), chaps. i–ii.

[2] The most useful general account of the prehistoric cultures of South Africa and their northern affinities is by M. C. Burkitt, *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint*, 1928, which contains a good bibliography. Cf. also the valuable sketch by A. J. H. Goodwin, "The Stone Ages in South Africa," *Africa*, ii (1929), 174–82, and the recent series of monographs by Goodwin and Lowe on *The Stone Age Cultures of South Africa* (Annals of the S. Afr. Museum, 27, 1929).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

The Earlier and Middle Stone Age Cultures must consequently be regarded as previous to the Bushmen. 172 ●

There is, moreover, a lack of continuity in type between the Middle and the Later Stone Cultures which precludes the possibility that the latter, and the Bushmen stone industries forming part of it, developed in South Africa out of the former. On the other hand, scattered all over East Africa, especially in Tanganyika Territory, Uganda, and Kenya, there are found stone implement industries and in some cases rock paintings so closely resembling those of the Bushmen that they must be regarded as of a common origin. These facts together lead to the conclusion that the stone industries associated in South Africa with the Bushmen were not indigenous to the country, but constitute an invading element which penetrated into it from the north-east and superseded the two pre-existing stone cultures. As yet no human remains have been found definitely associated with either of these preceding cultures, except in the case of the Still Bay Industry of the Middle Stone Age, from a deposit of which was recently excavated a skeleton belonging to the extinct racial type now termed "Boskopoid".[1] This racial type, of which other remains have been discovered, but with no clear archæological association, differs considerably from that of the Bushmen, and the two cannot be regarded as intimately related.[2] 174

All this suggests that the Bushmen themselves came into South Africa with their culture from the north-east. No skeletal remains have yet been discovered north of the Zambesi River similar to those of the Bushmen, however, nor are there any peoples living outside South Africa who may be regarded definitely as Bushman in race. Attempts have often been made to establish a connection between the Bushmen and the Pygmy peoples inhabiting the equatorial forests of Africa, more especially in the Congo region. The two groups of peoples certainly have various features in common. Both, for example, are short in stature, in both the hair is short and woolly, and the skin colour brownish-yellow. But in the shape of the head and above all in the build of the body they differ so markedly as to eliminate any possibility of racial identity. There seems to be no more intimate relationship between the Bushmen and the Pygmies than the fact that phylogenetically both are derived from a small variety of negro, 174 144

[1] Goodwin, op. cit., 180–1; Goodwin and Lowe, op. cit., 116.
[2] Cf. G. D. Laing, "The Relationship between Boskop, Bushman, and Negro Elements in the Formation of the Native Races of South Africa," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 905–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

mountainous zone, where they could still preserve their hunting mode of life, until, when the written history of South Africa commences, they were roaming all over the territory south of the Zambesi River. Presumably they had by then largely exterminated their Boskop predecessors, although certain types of so-called "Strandlooper" skulls excavated along the south-east coast of the Cape have been regarded as evidence of occasional amalgamation between the two races.[1] The human palæontology of South Africa is, however, too little known for this phase of Bushman history to be accurately determined. 174

How far back their invasion dates there is also as yet no certain means of telling. The absolute chronology of the South African stone ages, the only possible source of information on this point, is so far completely undetermined.[2] Without the guidance it alone can afford, estimates of the antiquity of the Bushmen in South Africa must remain purely speculative. It is certain, judging by what is known of the history of the later invading peoples, that the Bushmen came into the country well over a thousand years ago, but at present no more definite or even approximate date can be assigned to their immigration. [172]

General Distribution

In their occupation of South Africa they seem to have extended over almost the whole region from the Zambesi in the north down to the south coast. Their relics, in the form of skeletal remains, culture deposits, pictorial art, and even place-names, are found widely scattered over most of this region, especially in the east and the south, and afford indisputable evidence of their former presence in many parts where they are no longer seen. Even well within historical 162 174

[1] Laing, op. cit., 906–7; cf. also a series of papers by Dart, Laing, and Gear on "Strandlooper" remains from Zitzikama, in *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, vols. xxi–xxiii (1924–6). The term "Strandlooper" (coast ranger), applied by several writers on the prehistory of S. Africa to the people associated with the kitchen middens found along the south and west coasts of the Cape, should be abandoned, as the latent implication that these people form a distinct racial group is not justified. For the most part they were merely Bushmen who took to the seashore, so that we have to deal with a particular mode of life rather than with a particular people (cf. Schapera, in *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii, p. 862). The "Strandlooper" remains referred to in the series of papers mentioned above represent a mixture of these coast-dwelling Bushmen and people of the Boskop type.

[2] It may be noted, however, that the industries associated with the Later Stone Age persisted until long after the arrival of the Europeans in S. Africa, and that as recently as 1927 Lowe came in contact with an old Bushman who was not only acquainted with the methods of making stone implements, but "actually struck flakes and demonstrated the secondary trimming of end- and side-scrapers" (Goodwin and Lowe, op. cit., 180).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

532 172 [178] Perhaps the most remarkable feature in the whole culture of the Bushmen was their pictorial art, consisting of paintings and engravings executed on rock surfaces (Plate XIII).[1] The practice of this art has now almost completely died out, a necessary consequence of the virtual extermination of the artists themselves. Its study now belongs to the province of archæology, for save in a few rare instances it has proved impossible so far to find any living people who could interpret the designs or throw any light upon the social aspects of the art. The paintings and engravings remain as a very valuable record of an art that now seems to be lost; but they have proved a most important link in the chain of evidence connecting the Bushmen with the prehistoric cultures not only of South Africa but of East and North Africa also, as well as of South-Western Europe.[2]

Their distribution in South Africa extends from the Brandberg Mountains in South-West Africa to the upper reaches of the Tugela River in Natal, from the Humansdorp district on the south coast right up to the Zambesi River in the north. They are found especially over the greater part of the Cape, Griqualand West, Basutoland, Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Southern Rhodesia, but occur also in parts of South-West Africa, British Bechuanaland, and Natal. This distribution no longer coincides with that of the Bushmen themselves. It is impossible therefore to say whether all the tribes possessed the artistic talent or not. The Bushmen south of the Molopo River certainly painted down to a very recent date, and so did certain of the Namib groups.[3] The rocks in the north-west may be evidence that the ancestors of the Auen and the Kung also did so, but the present people certainly do not, and have not even any traditions relating to the art.[4] In the Kalahari itself, where most of the surviving Bushmen now live, the absence of suitable rock [135] material precludes the practice of the art. It is perhaps no wonder, therefore, that the tribes found there have not the faintest recollections of it. Dornan, however, states that the Bushmen living along the Sansokwe River, in the extreme Eastern Kalahari, were still painting a few years ago.[5]

[1] The literature on this aspect of Bushman culture is voluminous. The most useful general works are: Tongue, *Bushman Paintings*, 1909; Moszeik, *Die Malereien der Buschmänner*, 1910; Zeliżko, *Felsgravierungen der südafrikanischen Buschmänner*, 1925; Burkitt, *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint*, 1928, chaps. vii–ix, and bibliography.

[2] Cf. Schapera, "Some Stylistic Affinities of Bushman Art," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxii (1925), 504–15; Burkitt, op. cit., *passim*.

[3] The evidence is discussed by Moszeik, op. cit., 10–15; cf. Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, p. xiv; Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 306–7. [4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 41. [5] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 182, 188–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

The paintings are most frequently found on the walls of caves and rock shelters, occasionally on isolated rocks out in the open, and in a few rare instances, as we have seen, on small loose slabs of stone associated with cave burials. The engravings, on the other hand, occur as a rule on outstanding or outlying patches of rock out in the open. The mode of occurrence of these two forms of the art seems to have been determined by the nature of the rock surface available. Where the stone was soft or porous and provided large plane surfaces, paintings were generally made; where it was hard, and there was little prospect of the paints taking a good hold, engraving prevailed. This also explains to some extent why paintings are mostly found in the caves and rock shelters produced by the effects of erosion on the relatively soft shales or sandstones, while engravings are seen on the exposed surfaces of such hard rocks as quartzite, diorite, basalt, diabase, and phyllite. 172 532

The technical processes employed in the execution of the designs appear to have been fairly simple. As canvas the rock surface in its natural state was employed; broad plane surfaces were preferred, but where these were not at hand no trouble seems to have been taken either to polish the rough surface of the rock or to level it down in any way.

The only implements used in making the engravings were small pieces of hard stone with a fairly serviceable point. With these the artist would laboriously chip away at the rock surface until his design was completed. Some of the engravings consist of only an outline drawing produced by more or less rough pointing and punching, giving the design an appearance known as "pocked". The pocking is usually very shallow, but in some of the figures a comparatively deep groove has been made. Sometimes the outline is completely filled, so that the engraving consists in a design uniformly pocked over the surface. One also finds a continuous grooved outline combined with a shallow pocked body, and in the best specimens the rock surface surrounding the design has been chipped away, leaving a sort of bas-relief in which shading is often skilfully introduced. Some of the engravings in this style are very beautifully done, and it is indeed astonishing to what a degree of excellence the artists could attain, considering the material disadvantages under which they worked. [524]

The paintings are on the whole superior to and more elaborate than the engravings, and offered more scope for freedom of expression.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

172 532 [386] Several different colours were used, the most common being red, black, yellow, white, and brown. These were derived chiefly from mineral ores—red and brown from hæmatite, yellow from iron pyrites, white from zinc oxide, while black was obtained from burned wood. The mineral ores were carefully ground down or pounded to a powder, which was then mixed with bone-marrow or animal fat. The outline of the design was first drawn with a burned stick, and the paint, after being moistened with water or saliva, was then smeared on by means of a feather brush or specially prepared tendons.

Various technical styles are also observable in the paintings, chiefly as regards the use of colour. Paintings in which only the outline of the design is coloured are reported from Southern Rhodesia, but are not known elsewhere. As a rule the whole design is filled in with colour, although sometimes the outline is coloured differently from the body. The design is often coloured a uniform monochrome, so as to present, as it were, a silhouette of the object depicted, with no apparent trace of shading. Other designs are in polychrome. Sometimes the colours are sharply separated and seem to have been used to demarcate the various features of the object represented. Thus in the case of the eland we frequently find the horns and hoofs coloured black, the head and back in ochre, while the neck, belly, and legs are in white. In other cases the colours are skilfully blended into one another, producing the effect of modelling. The best specimens of the art are all in this style. It seems, nevertheless, that in the cruder forms at least the artist laid more stress upon the drawing itself than on the colouring. We often find, for instance, that the various limbs of an animal are in different colours, and examples are known where a leopard or lion has been painted a deep red, which cannot be put down to the absence of the natural colour, as in the same scene there are other designs coloured yellow.

The recent investigations of Burkitt have shown that the paintings and engravings are not all of the same age, but that a chronological, sequence can be seen in style and technique. Moreover, different styles of art occur in different geographical areas, and these different styles are sometimes found associated with different stone implement industries. Burkitt was able to demarcate three such regional groups
172 of art—the Southern Rhodesia group; the Central group, occurring
184 in the central districts of the Union of South Africa north and west
532 of the great escarpment bounding the interior plateau; and the Southern group, found chiefly south and east of the mountain

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

systems.[1] This grouping appears to have been formulated by him without taking into consideration the numerous specimens of the art found in the south-west Cape, and in South-West Africa, and can therefore scarcely be regarded as definitive, but it provides a most useful basis for the archaeological study of the paintings and engravings. 172 532 184 [114]

In Southern Rhodesia, according to him, there are three distinct series of paintings, which when found in superposition always occur in the same order. The oldest series are usually coloured a uniform flat red or yellow, occasionally found in outline only, and the figures are "nicely drawn". Certain paintings in a dark brownish-red are slightly more modern, and the style perhaps more developed, but they belong to the same series. The middle series are all in dark claret, and quite different from anything before, not only in colour, but also in style. There is a certain angularity about the figures; the paintings have clean, sharp outlines; the curves and angles of horns and bodies are well and finely drawn, and the style is vigorous and attractive. Finally we get paintings in earthy yellow, white, and the beginnings of polychrome. The style of art is quite different again and much less attractive, the animal figures heavier, the bodies less shapely, and the legs stiffer.

In the Central group the paintings are much more varied, and seem more modern than those in Southern Rhodesia. They are distinguished by wonderful developments of polychrome and the frequent occurrence of elaborate scenes of battles, dances, etc., such as are not found in Southern Rhodesia. Superposition is of much less importance, but it was noted that wherever paintings comparable in colour and style to the 'dark claret' series of Rhodesia occurred in superposition with any other colours or styles they were always undermost and therefore oldest. The rock engravings, which are most frequently met with in the central districts of the Orange Free State and the adjoining northern parts of the Cape lying immediately to the west, also belong to this art group. Its distribution coincides with that of the Upper Smithfield Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, and the paintings and engravings are always found associated with implements of this Industry.

The Southern art group, again, is invariably associated with the Wilton Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, which, like the Upper Smithfield Industry, is definitely of Bushman origin. The paintings are here totally dissimilar from and far inferior to those

[1] Op. cit., 116–19.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

172 184 532 of the preceding group. There are no polychromes. The figures for the most part are executed in a uniform bright red, almost vermilion, colour, and the rock background is also frequently reddened and smudgy as well. The animals are poorly drawn, the figures of human beings often large and angular, and the human hand is represented again and again, a feature never found in the Central group and not noted in Southern Rhodesia.

172 532 The objects depicted in these paintings and engravings are for the most part animals and human beings, though inanimate objects also figure occasionally, such as weapons, clothes, shields, trees, etc. Representations of animals hunted as big game—elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, many varieties of antelope, especially the wildebeest and eland, lion, ostrich, and others—all figure very prominently, either singly or in groups. The fidelity with which they are often drawn testifies not only to the Bushman's skill as an artist, but also to his intimate familiarity with and acute observation of the habits and peculiarities of the animals upon which he depended for his subsistence. Exceedingly interesting are the bigger group scenes. Domestic occupations, hunting scenes, cattle raids, tribal fights, dances, even incidents in mythology, all are represented here in the most realistic manner and with a wealth of action. These pictures of scenes and events in Bushman life history, painted by the native artists upon the walls of the caves and rock shelters which they so often inhabited, are invaluable as a record of the conditions under which the old Bushmen lived, and they both illustrate and supplement the descriptions given of these people by outside observers.

The paintings and engravings in general are remarkable not only for their realism, for the fidelity and accuracy with which many of the animal forms are depicted, but also for a freedom from the limitations to delineation in profile characterizing for the most part the drawings of primitive peoples.[1] The aspect usually shown is the profile view, readily explained by the fact that this is the most striking as well as most complete single aspect of quadrupeds, and also happens to be the view that can most easily be represented on a plane surface. There are no drawings in absolute profile; the four legs are always shown, the animal usually being either in motion or in some attitude where this view is possible. Attitudes of a kind

[1] An excellent critical appreciation of Bushman art is given by Roger Fry, "Bushman Paintings," *Burlington Magazine*, 1910, 333–8; cf. Balfour, Preface (pp. 3–10) to Tongue, *Bushman Paintings*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

PLATE XIII

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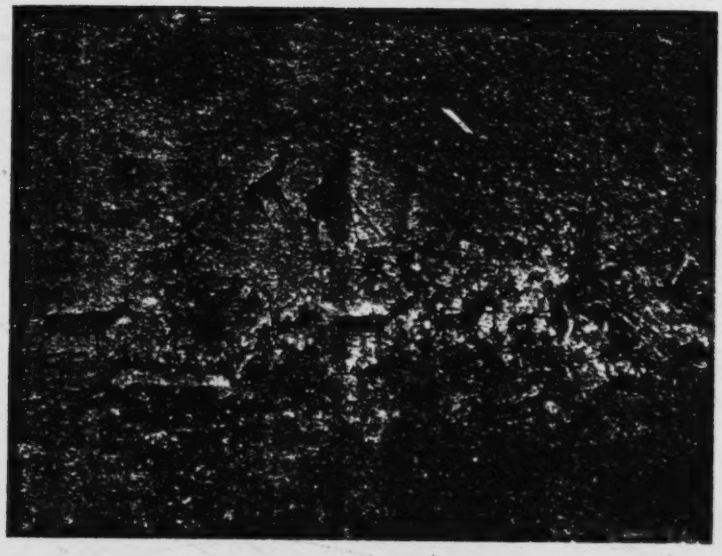
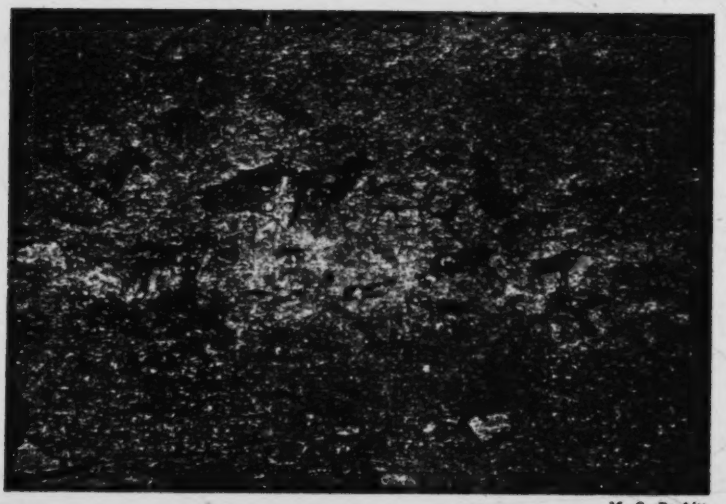


Painted Panel at Nswaguti, Matopos



M. C. Burkitt

Paintings at Domboshawa, near Salisbury
BUSHMAN PAINTINGS IN S. RHODESIA

(*face p.* 213

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

difficult to render were entered upon without hesitation, such as a kudu lying down or an eland turning its head round towards its back, and occasionally even an appreciation of the rudiments of perspective is to be noted, though only in a crude and uncertain form. The human figures are not so restricted to the profile aspect, but lack the accuracy and realism of the animal drawings. There seems to be a tendency here to impressionism, to seize on certain features of the body and to emphasize or exaggerate these, while others are minimized or ignored, and just sufficient is shown to indicate what the subject is. Often a man will appear all arms and legs and practically nothing else, while in women steatopygia is usually by far the most pronounced detail.

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In addition to single figures and such compositions as a hunter pursuing game or several animals grouped together, there are the interesting series of big group scenes—of cattle drives, dances, and battles—to show very well indeed how the principle underlying Bushman art was fundamentally realism. There is nothing truly schematic in a Bushman drawing. In a battle scene, for instance, it is difficult to pick out the warriors of the two sides; they are all mixed up confusedly, some charging, others flying, and here and there single combats go on at a distance from the main battle. More than this, the men are shown in every conceivable attitude—running, standing, kneeling, crouching, or turning sharply round in the middle of flight to face the enemy once more. "In fact," says Fry, "we have, in all its confusion, all its indeterminate variety and accident, a rough silhouette of the actual appearance of such a scene as viewed from above, for the Bushman makes this sacrifice of actual appearance to lucidity of statement—that he represents the figures as spread out over the ground, and not as seen one behind the other."

In the art as a whole therefore we find a definite attempt to portray objects and scenes as they actually appear at the moment, and not as what they may be conceived as ideally. The aspects selected are always represented faithfully, and the pictures in general emphasize the unity of the representations rather than their details. Conventionalization in any shape is rare, and possibly the only departure from realism is in the case of human beings, where there is the tendency to impressionism.

/160 cont./

805 cold dry season,
warm dry season,
short rainy season,
rainy season.

Just as these various seasons of the year tend to be very irregular in the Kalahari, the Auin's division of the year also is quite variable.

821 There is only one designation, a collective name, for the starry sky.

●173 I have not been able to detect any traces of a "history."

Only events going back at most two generations are transmitted as an oral tradition.

172 The Auin know nothing about the Bushman drawings.

At the watering place Kazupitzaub between Oas and Olifantskluft, in other words, in the Auin region, there are supposedly Bushman drawings on rock walls. The Auin call these drawings the "work of Satan." I should observe that this expression was given me by an interpreter who was unable to supply me with a better translation of the Bushman concept. In case I should once again go to this region, I shall report on this matter.

173 In their own opinion, the Auin have been living in the region they now occupy "as long as there have been human beings."

X. Counting and Calculating

802 Fingers and toes are used for counting.

Five is expressed by the word for hand, ten by two hands, 15 by two hands and one foot, 20 by two hands and two feet.

Among about 20 Rietfontein Auin, there was only one who could count beyond 20. I cannot say, however, whether this man may not have hit upon the idea through my suggestion. He counted up to 40.

[9 cont.]

805 shauba, cold season (N. sáob).

!kn-aba, hot season (N. !nái, warm).

535 Among dances, an ostrich and an ape dance were mentioned to me.

123 The studies, which began so promisingly, came to an end because I was evidently unable to present the village chief with enough presents. One evening a boy appeared and told me that the Bushmen had "had to go hunting." I continued to wait a number of days for the !Kung called by Mr. Eaddes. The messengers returned with the news that they had found no one. Another Sunday coat for the village mayor and some yellow money for the Bushmen, and priceless material could have been obtained.

[107] Chapter 3

The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of the Ondonga [Ndonga]

173 According to their tradition, these Bushmen came from Herero country. Hence they represent the connecting link between the "Saan" in the Gobabis district and the Hei//om [Heikum] of the north. The people as a whole designate them-
101 selves as Daman = the wealthy. The horde around Oshigambo calls itself //Huru-Khái. They call their dialect Cháraba. I do not be-
131 lieve that they live far in the interior of the Otjimpolo Veld. They have an enormous respect for the !Kung. The outermost cattle posts of the Ondonga probably coincide pretty much with
177 the boundaries of their territory. A number of them are Bantu-
142 ized and have small physiques. The others engage in hunting
439 and supply the black farmers with the flesh of wild game, hides,
648 ostrich egg beads, and poison. They serve as beaters on the great hunts of Chief Martin. At the court they count for nothing. The farmers like to see them. Little acts of assistance, a sack of berries or veldkost, soften the heart of the black housewife, so that here, as in Uukualuthi [among the Kualuthi?], there are a number of do-nothings who are nonetheless gladly received.

173 Of migration of the Bushmen from elsewhere no mention is made in local native traditions. The Hottentots, Hereros and Ovambos state that on their arrival the Bushmen were found in occupation and that the latter must have been living here ever since the creation of man. The Bushmen likewise believe that their present tribal divisions and distribution have been in existence since the very beginning of things when each tribe had its origin in a "first big Bushman" and a "first big Bushwoman" of its own by whom were handed down to their descendants the practices and customs still peculiar to and the territory still occupied by their respective tribes. Each of the existing tribes with its constituent elements is consequently looked upon as having been "born" in and having been in occupation of the same area from time immemorial. Although claiming descent from the aboriginal race they have lost all knowledge of the arts of painting and engraving. The rock paintings and carvings left by their ancestors are considered to be the works not of man but of the "devil."

[173 829] [174] [53]

174 The view that the present day Bushmen are composed of the remnants of their race driven back by the advance of stronger invading races from the north and south is not borne out by evidence arising out of recent investigations into the life and customs of this primitive people.

Distribution.

101 131 With the exception of a few isolated remnants on the north bank of the Orange River and along the edge of the Namib desert, the Bushmen are confined entirely to the Kalahari along the eastern and north-eastern borders and to the northern portions of the territory which adjoin Ovamboland.

The Bushmen of the Kalahari region consist of three main divisions, each speaking a language of its own, viz.: the */Nu-//ēin* or */Nu-san* in the south, the *Ngami* Bushmen in the centre and the *Kaukau* Bushmen in the north.

The *//Nu-//ēin* inhabit those portions of the Gobabis, Gibeon and Aroab districts which lie to the east of the Elephant and Auob rivers. The northern limit of their distribution is formed by a line running roughly from Naunas across Oas to the Elephant's River, crossing the Nosob a short distance below the junction of the Black and White Nosob Rivers.

The *Ngami* Bushmen are composed of a good many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In South West Africa they are represented by only a few groups of the *//Aikwe* tribe. These groups are known as the *Naron* and are distributed along the banks of the Chapman River as far as Oas.

The *Kaukau* Bushmen inhabit the greater portion of the Omaheke, including a part of the Kaukauveld and the

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 882 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the parents' fire.

855 857 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or [136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and [868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 857 [512] The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime, singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned 857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth 156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men, [173] the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another [171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation [562] ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they [535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from [534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony. [302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of [304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

of the !Kung who were independent at the time of the census had a history of living with Bantu for periods in the past.

It is difficult to determine to what extent the !Kung living arrangements have been affected by the Bantu presence, beyond stating the obvious facts, that, until the Bantu came, there could be no intermarriage and no opportunities for employment. At this stage of analysis, it would certainly be premature to attribute the fluidity of band membership to the effects of contact, since there is good evidence that this flexibility is adaptive in the context of traditional subsistence patterns (see Chapters VII and VIII).

A history of contact

127 This historical sketch of the period 1879-1965 is based on the testimony of informants resident in the Dobe area. Since none of the Bushmen and very few of the Bantu had any knowledge of the dates of historical events, these were provided by discussions with the British administration at Maun and by a survey of the early literature on the area.

173 The pre-contact period - There is no evidence in their oral tradition that the !Kung of the interior have migrated there from elsewhere. This corroborates the !Kung belief quoted by Lorna Marshall that "they have lived in the Nyae Nyae area since time began" (1960:325). The interior !Kung cannot, by their own account, be considered to be recent refugees from more favorable habitats.

[174]

174
439 The interior !Kung have had trading relations with Bantu
[411] peoples on their periphery for over eighty years. The evidence
[415] for this is the presence of iron-tipped weapons, pottery and
[276] tobacco. The present-day !Kung have no knowledge of iron-working or pottery-making and they do not raise tobacco. The old people state that their grandfathers had these things
[173] before the first non-Bushmen came to the interior. Men in
[411] their 60's and 70's today can remember their grandfathers telling them that they began hunting with bone arrows and did not obtain iron for arrows until they were well into adult
[411] life. The making of bone arrow heads is still common know-
[321] ledge today but, as there is an abundant supply of iron fencing
[325] wire, none of the men hunt with bone. The art of chipping
[178] flint is not known in the Dobe area. It is probable that
[324] these Bantu goods (and also some European goods such as beads and buttons) reached the interior through Bushman trading intermediaries some years before the arrival of the first Bantu and Europeans.

173 <u>Early contacts, 1879-1925</u> - There is disagreement among the !Kung about whether the Europeans or the Bantu were the first to penetrate the interior. Apparently the first pene-
175 trations occurred during the period 1875-1890. Hendrik Van
648 Zyl, a professional hunter, is the first European known to have reached the interior (Silberbauer 1965:114-115). In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56/57]

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central interior. John Marshall found that most of the meat brought in by the Nyae Nyae area hunters was from the large ungulates such as wildebeeste, eland and gemsbok. Small mammals such as springhare were rarely hunted (1957, and personal communication). By contrast, the most frequent kills in the Dobe area were the smaller animals: springhare, steenbok and duiker, whereas the killing of a large antelope was a rare and great event. Giraffe and eland were not hunted by the men of the Dobe area.

[173] The older Bushmen state that in the early days there were more game animals and more Bushmen in the central interior and that their forefathers used to hunt in large groups, killing giraffe, buffalo and even elephant.

At present, the most important single source of meat in the Bushman diet is wart hog. It was not the most frequent mammal killed. Springhare, steenbok and duiker were all killed more frequently than wart hog. But the southern African wart hog weighs about 170 lbs., whereas the springhare weighs only 7-1/2 lbs, the steenbok, 25 lbs., and the duiker 43 lbs. At the Dobe camp wart hog were killed at the rate of three per month throughout the study period. The edible portion of each carcass is about 50%. Therefore wart hog provided a regular supply of c. 255 lbs. of meat per month to the members of the Dobe camp.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

585 then come with us when we leave tomorrow to gather *tsi*. He will hunt from that
[159] place and get us some meat.'
[183] The ritual elements in the wedding ceremony, in so far as we observed, were as follows: (1) carrying the bride so that her feet do not touch the ground; (2) covering her head so that the sun does not shine upon it; (3) waiting till the sun has set before taking her to the wedding scherm; (4) the fact that the scherm is specially built and set apart from the others; (5) anointing with fat; (6) painting a design on the forehead and cheeks with powdered red stone; (7) lighting the wedding fire with brands from the fires of the bride's and groom's parents.

585 Apart from the third and seventh, all these elements occur also in the Ceremony of
881 the First Menstruation, a more elaborate and prolonged ceremony from which the
[174] /Kung wedding ceremony undoubtedly derives. The design on the face is the same; the girl's feet must not touch the ground from the instant her first menstruation begins to the end of the period, when she is washed and anointed with both eland or other fat and the oil of the *tsi* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch).[1] When the girl is taken to her special scherm or moved out of it to urinate or defecate she is carried on the back of a kinswoman. A kaross over her head shields her from the sun whether she is sitting in the scherm or being carried out.

Our endeavour to bring to light the meaning of the ritual elements yielded little. The meaning or origin of the design on the face, I was convinced, was not withheld but lost to memory, lore or myth. 'It is our custom' was all the people could tell me.

About the ritual of the feet not touching the ground, the custom frequently
[171] observed by divine kings and menstruating girls, the /Kung had no more illumination. They think that the carrying is the overcoming of the girl's symbolized modesty about going to the arms of her bridegroom, which she should properly feign even if she is eager to go, and her reluctance to separate from her own family: I think that when the attendants take hold of the bride and groom by the arm and pull them a little they symbolize the overcoming of reluctance and modesty and perhaps there is even a vestige of bride capture in that gesture, but of the feet not touching the ground the meaning is lost. Obviously, however, in this society the bride is equated to the
[174] menstruating girl. In the past the girl's wedding and her first menstruation may have been celebrated at one time.

The /Kung say that the sun is death-giving. When the three months of life-
585 giving rains are past, the sun dries up the water pools. It kills the fresh leaves and
821 fruits, dries the roots and berries, and would scorch the people if they did not find shade and dig shallow pits and lie in them covered lightly with sand which they have moistened with their urine for coolness. They pity the morning star, the *kuli |gaishay*, which crosses the sky all day ahead of the sun, has no branches to carry for shade and
593 cannot turn aside to rest under a tree. The sun is a 'death thing' and the bride
585 is shielded from it.
602 The most important element of behaviour with respect to kinship in the wedding

[113] [1] Robert Story, *Some Plants Used by the Bushmen in Obtaining Food and Water*, Department of Agriculture, Division of Botany, Union of South Africa, Botanical Survey, Memoir No. 30, 1958, p. 25. Dr. Story was a member of the 1955 and 1957 expeditions. We gratefully acknowledge whatever botanical identifications we mention as his.

[5 cont.]

173 the Oldoway race as one of its carriers, the presence of a Eurafrican racial element from oldest times on may be regarded as certain also for South Africa. The carriers of this hand-ax industry, who, I am convinced, already carried on a kind of plant cultivation and were tied essentially to the forested zones, were later followed by a group of peoples and races with definite flake industries. Among these we may include the Katanga race and the other Australiform finds. A new wave of Eurafrican racial elements was brought by the carriers of the blade industries of the
174 Middle Stone Age of South Africa. Even today we are still unable to determine when the Bushman races adopted a Stone Age industry or even when they entered the country. Just as racially
[144] the Bushman incorporated remnants of all the preceding races or
[154] those that at one time existed side by side with them (Europoid -- Australiform), so their culture, varying from tribe to tribe, likewise constitutes a unity only in its optimal adaptation to the conditions of the environment. In its individual traits, on the other hand, it represents a residual culture whose stability depends on a selection intentionally and purposively carried out, and which resulted from foreign cultures from the Old Stone Age up to the present.

Chapter 1

The Bushmen of Angola

105 We are indebted to D. F. Bleek (1) for most of the data

[113] 1. D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," Bantu Studies, Vol. III, No. 2, 1928 Johannesburg. Further, Archiv für Anthropologie, 1930.

concerning the Angola Bushmen. The Bushmen are !Kung. The men are 159.3 (145.5-170) centimeters tall, the women 148.8 (135-161.3) centimeters. They live between the Msuma in the north, the Lomba in the south, and between Okawango and the

[16 cont.]

[134] 137 saturation and ground water, is a dry forest of a different type which corresponds to Warburg's lowland forest and, in contrast to the light dry forest of the looser sand, is distinguished by a relatively high density. -- The dry forest steppe occupies the largest areas of the !Kung Veld, and [17] lowland forest and grass steppe form only modest enclaves in it. Within the dry forest, at those places where the nature of the terrain makes possible the accumulation and preservation of relatively significant quantities of water or ground humidity, there are individual trees that are to be regarded as remnants of a former compact lowland forest, and the floristic composition of such forest islands leads to the conclusion that the entire region, with the exception of the primary grass steppes, whose floor probably never displayed taller vegetation because of its sterility, was once covered by a lush lowland forest as is preserved in its finest form at present in the northern Kalahari and in the 'rain forest' of Victoria Falls."

101 By the !Kung Bushmen in the narrower sense, who are [131] divided into a northern group and an eastern group, I refer to those people who are located north of the police zone and south of the Okovanggo in the effluent region of the Omuramba u Owambo at the Löwenomuramba and on both sides of the lower and central Omuramba u Omatako. The groups in the source region of the Omuramba u Owambo have been studied by me in 174 greater detail. In former times, the !Kung undoubtedly lived much farther south and west. It is not improbable that they left the Grootfontein plain and the Otawi mountains under the pressure of the Hei//om, who in turn were forced out of the central region by the Herero. On the other side they undoubtedly gained space toward the south, for according to reports from the pre-war period, the Nogau were settled in the Sand Veld all the way to the vicinity of Otjituo, whereas today they have retreated 144 behind Alexeck. The racial composition of the !Kung Bushmen allows one to make a conclusion about their history. Among them we find a larger number of Europoid types than among the surrounding Bantu tribes. In addition, Austroloid influence is

[55 cont.]

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if it is thundering, the Lord (Khub, i.e., Tsui//Goab) is speaking; he is scolding them" [cited in English], Schapera, ibid., p. 381.

The belief in a great captain was therefore common to the !Kung Bushmen and the Cape Hottentot, and the great age of the reports from the Cape exclude the possibility that missionary influence was at work here. Just as among the !Kung, this belief is apparently of very great antiquity among Miss Bleek's Naron and not simply taken over from the Christian Hottentot. In Ovamboland the concept X'u merges with Huwe, and I believe that J. Schapera, too, regards Huwe, Chuwe, and X'u as identical. The fact that the eastern !Kung have the belief in a supreme being was not discovered by me; rather, this discovery was made as early as 1910 by H. Vedder.

[174]

Everyone must be struck by the fact that there is substantial agreement between the reports concerning the heavenly house that I took down among the eastern !Kung and the data that H. Vedder supplies concerning the /Gamab of the Honigkaffir of the Otavi mountains. To be sure, these regions are also close to each other geographically. The question now arises: did the !Kung take this doctrine over from the Honigkaffir, as Schapera appears to assume, or is the reverse the case? Among the Bergdama of the central region, where I was able to carry out extensive studies, especially in the reservation of Okombahe, there is scarcely anything of these conceptions of the Honigkaffir. The Bergdama are a Negro tribe that has completely lost its original culture and language and for a long

[55 cont.]

114 //Gaua, whose name varies, stands opposite
171 him as an antagonist who does harm to human
776 beings. Schapera believes that the original
[775] designation //Gaua stood for the spirits of the dead. This is largely correct. My researches in various places, however, show that all kinds of noncorporeal beings are understood by the term //Gaua, in other words, spirits in our sense, and immaterial forces of all kind. The great captain, of course, is regarded as actually corporeal by the !Kung. P. W. Schmidt, on the other hand, has regarded this //Gaua as the original god in heaven. A comparison of the facts of the history of religion may support this view.

114 If I understand Schapera correctly, we
776 agree that a benign high deity is indeed pres-
771 ent among the Bushmen, but one that he does not want to designate as the supreme being. I maintain, however, that this being must be so designated in accordance with general usage.
[174] The peoples of the Khoisan group, according to the evidence of the prehistoric finds, have an active history behind them; the most diverse races live on in them, and their culture in its optimal adaptation to environmental conditions is to be regarded as a residual culture. It is therefore self-evident that their world view should have a syncretistic character, especially since religious ideas are cultural elements with definite tendencies to diffuse widely. Like all human beings, the Bushmen and other primitives have thoughts that are fundamentally the same as ours.
[773] Even the Bushman has a distinct need to discover causality, but this need is felt less with regard to causal or conditional explanations for given conditions and more with regard

[56 cont.]

695 not seen for the duration of the hunt, he is suspected of having
776 sneaked away. Then he swears by the great captain nu χu, and all believe him.

776 Ordinarily, however, the great captain has everything taken care of by the highest of the spirits and lesser spirits. The chief concern of the Bushmen, therefore, is to stay in the good graces of these spirits, but the great captain does offer protection against all evil spirits, and for that reason people turn to him
[782] with the following prayers in case of severe illness and before the start of a journey:

[57]

[539] χ'u, χ'u hũi mi, //kai tsao mi	Lord, Lord, help me, raise me.
to 'oba !khu !gaise ≠ani u mĩ /nãna /ge a	"the lord shall lead me well to the place,
!nore gana ti /ge a gana ti tsa /Nane /ã mi tsu (1)	where I am going, and he shall lead me back well, so that I come home safely."

1. Notation of the Dama interpreter.

[224] Before the hunt the doctors pray to the great captain for hunting luck. There is no doubt that the Bushmen conceive of this "great captain" as an all-powerful and at the same time benign being. His executive organ, as has been noted, is the highest of the Gauab. The latter is called "the Gauab" by the common people, but he has a name known only by the doctors, and saying it may have serious consequences. Since I finally
[123] had the honor to be regarded as an equal by the doctors, I learned his name. He is called /Nawa. They were unable to give me an interpretation of this name, but Miss Bleek, from dance songs of the Angola Kung, reports the word /Nwa-se, supposedly an abbreviation for Nwima-se = new moon. According to this, we
[174] might be able to see in this chief Gauab the high god of a lunar-
[771] mythological religion which has been superimposed as a foreign element upon the primitive monotheism of the χ'u or Huwe faith. As is always the case in such matters, the supreme being of the invading religion has been transformed into a more or less evil
[171] principle. It also functions as such in the belief of the Nama and

[63 cont.]

764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not; in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, [174] an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [773] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

602 ugly, slovenly, or wanton. The women retaliate, perhaps accusing the men of being worthy only of castration or of unfaithful wives. We noticed that the /Kung do not call each other sons of bitches. They are not concerned with lineage.

602 It is not thought proper to make blatant or insulting sexual jokes with old persons. The deference which is shown to aged persons is expressed by moderation, and 888 the joking relationship between an old person and a considerably younger person, [603] especially between grandparents and grandchildren, becomes a cosy friendly intimacy without the sexual emphasis.

Though the /Kung enjoy the joking relationship, it was our impression that their 602 primary concern lay in the prohibition against joking. They said it would be 'madness' to joke with persons they should not joke with. When they meet strangers they do not dare to joke until they find out whether or not it is proper for them to do so. They gave us /Kung names. This placed us in the scheme of things and people could know what their status was with us.

The /Kung say they 'fear' (*koa*) to joke when they should not and they 'fear' (*koa*) the persons with whom joking is forbidden. The word *koa* is the same word that they use when they say they fear a lion or a mamba. They also use it to mean avoid. We think it holds the same combination of fear and respect that our word holds when we say we fear the Lord.

[828 A /Kung told us that joking was not only amusing but that it served a good pur- 865] pose in teaching people, young men especially, to hold their tempers and to have poise in their social relations. We thought that joking served a good purpose in [182 providing an outlet in laughter for aggression and various social restraints, but we [154] wondered if it had not primarily been developed as a response to restraints upon sexual intercourse. Incest must be a concern among a people who live in small bands 835] of consanguineous kin and close affines, bands which are isolated for the most part within their own territories except for more or less infrequent visits to other bands. The restraints which are considered to be good and necessary may be strengthened by the symbol of avoidance of sexual joking. Respect due to a parent has perhaps come to be associated with this symbol and this may account for joking being restricted with parents of both sexes. It seems that respect in general is not required between siblings; only sexual restraint is required and this is symbolized by the restriction in joking imposed on siblings of opposite sex, whereas ego may joke with a sibling of the same sex. It is possible that the culture allows joking between grandparents and grandchildren (with the rather few exceptions when the factor of the name intervenes to classify them in the non-joking category) because joking is associated with a welcome ease and intimacy of relationship and the great difference in age removes the necessity of symbolizing sexual restraint between them.

The Name-Relationship as a Factor in Social Consolidation

553 The /Kung believe that the name is somehow a part of the entity of a person and 601 that when one is named for a person one partakes of that person's entity in some way and in some degree. Informants could give us no further elucidation of this belief.

It seems evident that, when incorporated into the system of kinship terminology, •[174] the belief has produced the homonymous method of applying terms. It is our conjecture that the homonymous method was added to the system after the generational method had been established.

method had been established. The /Kõ and /Gikwe have not incorporated the belief into their terminological systems except in a very limited way. The /Kung, however, have done so, and appear to have adapted it as logically as possible to the generational method. They apply it only to somewhat distant relationships, namely, grandparents, grandchildren, collaterals, secondary affines, and name-relatives. They do not apply it in the close biological relationships of parent, offspring or sibling or in the primary affinal relationships. Consistency is maintained by the rule that a child must not be named for a parent.

We think that the term *!gu!na* came into the system with the homonymous method and that perhaps it used originally to be applied only to the person for whom ego is named. It is not strictly a kinship term, being composed of translateable words, 'big or old name'. We think it may have been superimposed upon *tun!ga* (which probably comes from the same root as *tũn*). *Tun!ga* may originally have been applied to grandfather, man-speaking as well as woman-speaking, and later *!gu!na* may have become associated with grandfather because so many men are named for their grandfathers. If this is so, an anomalous situation remains unresolved. *Tun!ga* is applied to consanguineous kin and affines and allows joking, woman-speaking. Man-speaking, it is applied only to affines and prohibits joking. If it was originally the term for grandfather, man-speaking, we reason that it should allow joking, and we cannot explain this anomaly.

Whatever may be the answer to these questions, the /Kung have put to good use the belief that persons who have the same name partake of each other's entities. This belief has given them the name-relationship.

It is our impression that the practice of applying terms to name-relatives has appealed to the /Kung and that they have developed it to the full. The /Kung apply a kinship term to every /Kung they meet or almost everyone. /Qui was the only informant who worked with us on this subject who had ever met a /Kung Bushman for whom he had no kinship term. He had met four who came from a distance and whose names were not among those commonly used in the Nyae Nyae region. Ta//ne was one of the names. Gao, who was present, told /Qui that he had a *tsu* named Ta//ne, and he and /Qui nodded together in agreement that they would find a way for /Qui to give Ta//ne a term should they meet again. We know two men who used the term *!go* for each other because each of them had a brother named Dam. The system seems to have been flexible and expansive in the application of terms to name-relatives.

The /Kung are small of stature and non-aggressive. They are timid and apprehensive of strangers. Their word for stranger is *ju dole*. *Ju* means person, *dole* means strange or harmful—one word for both concepts, in the /Kung language, as though they were a single concept. The /Kung have no social organization larger than the band of kin who live together but they have utilized the name-relationship to supply the cohesive factor which is supplied in other societies by various social structures. When a /Kung meets a stranger and finds that he has the same name as one of his kin and bestows a kinship term upon him, he is reassured and feels a sense of belonging.

Gao, the brother of /U, went on an errand for us to Khadum. Khadum is about 115 miles north of Gautscha and about 40 miles north of Cho/ana where we were staying at the time. He had never been to Khadum before, and the /Kung Bushmen who lived

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

THE BUSHMEN OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA.

ORIGIN.

Evidence of a widespread primitive civilisation is met with in South West Africa as in other parts of Southern Africa. There would appear to be but little reason to doubt that some branch of the Bushman family was originally associated with that civilization and that the Bushmen of to-day are descended from the aboriginal inhabitants of this sub-continent. The place and period of origin of the latter still remain unsolved. By some authorities it is maintained that in the remote past migration proceeded northwards and southwards from Central Africa; by others that a slow movement of the Aurignacians took place from Europe into and across Africa down to the Cape. On this subject Professor Sollas writes as follows: "It would thus appear that mural drawings, paintings or engravings, having many features in common, may be traced from the Dordogne across the Pyrenees into Spain, and beyond the Mediterranean into Morocco, Algeria, Oran and Egypt, over the Sahara, past the Victoria Nyanza, and thence on through Rhodesia, the Transvaal, and Orangia, to the southernmost extremity of Africa. 172 174

If, as their unity in subject and treatment suggests, these are all the work of the Bushmen or related tribes, then they afford precisely the kind of evidence which our hypothesis demands, and some of the Aurignacian people have really, as we supposed, passed in a slow migration across the whole of the broad territory which intervenes between Dordogne and the Cape. That the movement was towards the south is shown by the fact that the drawings become increasingly younger as we proceed in that direction. In France they are of Upper Palaeolithic age, in the north of Africa Neolithic, and in the south they are recent. From this again it follows that the migration must have occupied a long interval of time, during which the earth experienced more than one change of climate, and some of the animals which the artists took a special pleasure in depicting, such as the mammoth and the ancient Bubalus, became extinct.

We owe our knowledge of this great migration to a fortunate accident: had the passion for art which possessed the Bushmen been less strong or less enduring, it would probably have remained unsuspected to all time. It would be strange indeed if this were the sole migration of its kind; the chances are that it is but one among others, some of which may not be beyond our power to discover."

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

173 Of migration of the Bushmen from elsewhere no mention is made in local native traditions. The Hottentots, Hereros and Ovambos state that on their arrival the Bushmen were found in occupation and that the latter must have been living here ever since the creation of man. The Bushmen likewise believe that their present tribal divisions and distribution have been in existence since the very beginning of things when each tribe had its origin in a "first big Bushman" and a "first big Bushwoman" of its own by whom were handed down to their descendants the practices and customs still peculiar to and the territory still occupied by their respective tribes. Each of the existing tribes with its constituent elements is consequently looked upon as having been "born" in and having been in occupation of the same area from time immemorial. Although claiming descent from the aboriginal race they have lost all knowledge of the arts of painting and engraving. The rock paintings and carvings left by their ancestors are considered to be the works not of man but of the "devil."

[173 829] [174] [53]

174 The view that the present day Bushmen are composed of the remnants of their race driven back by the advance of stronger invading races from the north and south is not borne out by evidence arising out of recent investigations into the life and customs of this primitive people.

Distribution.

101 131 With the exception of a few isolated remnants on the north bank of the Orange River and along the edge of the Namib desert, the Bushmen are confined entirely to the Kalahari along the eastern and north-eastern borders and to the northern portions of the territory which adjoin Ovamboland.

The Bushmen of the Kalahari region consist of three main divisions, each speaking a language of its own, viz.: the *|Nu-||ẽin* or *|Nu-san* in the south, the *Ngami* Bushmen in the centre and the *Kaukau* Bushmen in the north.

The *||Nu-||ẽin* inhabit those portions of the Gobabis, Gibeon and Aroab districts which lie to the east of the Elephant and Auob rivers. The northern limit of their distribution is formed by a line running roughly from Naunas across Oas to the Elephant's River, crossing the Nosob a short distance below the junction of the Black and White Nosob Rivers.

The *Ngami* Bushmen are composed of a good many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In South West Africa they are represented by only a few groups of the *||Aikwe* tribe. These groups are known as the *Naron* and are distributed along the banks of the Chapman River as far as Oas.

The *Kaukau* Bushmen inhabit the greater portion of the Omaheke, including a part of the Kaukauveld and the

Oschimpoloveld. On the east they extend into the Bechuana- /01
land Protectorate and on the north into Angola. Among /31
them are included the *†Aukwe* or *‡Ao-||ŏin* in the south between Sandfontein and *|Gam*, the *Sau-‡gnassi* to the north-east and the *‡Kūng* to the northwest.

Next in importance and numbers to the Bushmen of the /01
Kalahari are the *Hei-||om* living in the vicinity of the /31
Etosha Pan and on the outskirts of Ovamboland in the Groot- /77
fontein and Outjo districts. They are generally believed to [174]
have resulted from the interbreeding of Hottentots with a now extinct tribe of Bushmen which originally inhabited the greater portion of the present Damaraland and Ovamboland. Their manner of life is still that of Bushmen but, unlike their [197]
neighbours of the Kalahari, they have no language of their own and speak a Nama dialect. Except among the groups in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organisation has disappeared almost completely. The groups living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture. In Eastern Ovamboland they are known by the Ovambo as *Ovachwagga;* in north-western Ovamboland they call themselves *Ovambo* Bushmen but are referred to by the Ukuanyama as *Wakeddi* or *Ovakeddi*. Both *Ovachwagga* and *Ovakeddi*, especially the [582]
latter, are being rapidly absorbed into the *Ovambo* through intermarriage. The *Ovachwagga* speak both the Ovambo and [191]
Hottentot languages. Among the *Ovakeddi*, on the other /97]
hand, only the older members of the various groups still have a knowledge of the latter language. Of the groups along the banks of and immediately to the north of the Ovambo Omuramba very little is known. To the west they are in contact with the *Hei-||om* of the Etosha region; to the north with the Ovambo and to the east with *!Kung* of the Oschimpoloveld or northern Omaheke. The *Hei-||om* of the remaining portions of Grootfontein and Outjo and of the districts of Otjiwarongo and Gobabis are scattered about on farms and are living in close association with Hottentots and Klip Kaffirs with whom they show various degrees of intermixture. In Gobabis there is only a small remnant, known locally also as the *Nama* or *Kakuja* Bushmen on account of the extent to which they have interbred with these races and the neighbouring tribes of the Kalahari.

Of the tribes which were left in Namaqualand during the /01
latter half of the last century only a few individuals have /31
survived. The *|Geinin* of the Namib between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *||Obanen* of the Huns Mountains, and the *|Koma-san* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateau have disappeared completely. The *|Huinin* are represented by a few groups at the southern extremity of the *|Huib* plateau and adjacent part of the Namib. The *!Ganin* of the Nauwkloof Mountains have likewise become almost totally extinct.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

114 at a distance to observe my mother and me. By the end of
131 our stay we had become friendly with them, and in 1952 we visited them again. We found them waiting confidently for us, living beside the track our trucks had made, as we had told them that we would come back if we were able, and this time we stayed with them for a year. In August 1955 we returned to them again, but before we did so we spent four months in Bechuanaland. We lived one month with a group of Naron and Kõ Bushmen at a place called Okwa (the two groups were mixed together because their territories happen to meet at that place), and almost two months with Gikwe Bushmen in the four-hundred-mile stretch of empty desert between Ghanzi, near the border of South-West Africa, and Molepolole, near the border of the Transvaal. Ghanzi is a small town with a post office and a store, the center of a group of rather extensive European farms. Molepolole is a great Bantu village of the Bakwena (Crocodile) Bechuana people, where a Chuana chieftain lives. The other month we spent traveling to the Gikwe, because they are very remote.

114 Nobody knows where the Bushmen originated, from what racial stocks they came, or when they came to Africa. But here and there throughout southern Africa, in mountain caves and on sheltered rocks, paintings and engravings are found which are known to have been made centuries ago, and are believed to have been made by Bushmen. It is hard to say for certain that Bushmen made the paintings because, to my
[531] knowledge, Bushmen do not paint on rocks or in caves now. However, Kung Bushmen do scratch designs on the bark of trees and on their ostrich eggshells. During each expedition I asked Bushmen to paint for me with paints and paper which I provided. Though none of the Bushmen we met had ever

seen paintings, photographs, or drawings of any kind, the 174 ● paintings they made for me could be said to resemble the paintings and engravings on the rocks.

If there is a resemblance, it is not surprising. The Bushmen, together with the Hottentot peoples, are known to have lived in South Africa long before the Bantus came. At one time it all was theirs to roam in, all the riverbanks and all the grasslands, all the hills and valleys where cedar trees grow, from the Cape to Rhodesia, from Angola to Mozambique. But during the waves of the early Bantu migrations, when the taller, energetic Bantu people with their chiefs and kings, witch doctors and armies of soldiers, their metal spears and axes, shields and maces, came walking down from central Africa driving their great herds of cattle before them, the Bushmen yielded their land to the stronger newcomers, after a few struggles, surely, and most of them were either killed, enslaved, or driven farther and farther back into the most remote parts of the country, where the Bantu people and their livestock could not live. But the Bushmen are very tough and hardy, all sinew and wire, with not an extra ounce of flesh to [147] carry, and possess great endurance of hunger and thirst, endurance to search through the grass roots all day looking for a vegetable to eat, or endurance to chase the antelope they shoot, which may take as many as four days to die and may walk as far as a hundred miles if the arrow was not particularly well placed. Bushmen are extremely observant, too, and 151 can follow the spoor of their wounded antelope over the hard- 174 est ground or recognize it among the spoor of a herd of other antelope of its kind, and if they miss the spoor and find it again, they know from individual characteristics of the footprint that it is their antelope and no other. Even a Bushman child walking along in the veld can tell his mother's footprints, can see at once the tiniest dry stalk among the grass

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

that marks an edible root, or see a scorpion hidden in the dust and jump over it. So Bushmen survive in the most rigorous places; they survive in the dense, mosquito-ridden papyrus swamps of the Okovango River, steaming like a jungle and dangerous with snakes and fever, where the River Bushmen live, the only Bushmen with plenty of water; they also survive on the vast, rolling steppes of central Bechuanaland, the territory of the Gikwe Bushmen, who for the nine dry months of the year have no water at all and do without it.

Besides the fact that Bushmen alone can live in the land they occupy, there is another reason for their remoteness and shyness. They are in many instances exploited by the Bantu farmers, and by a few of the European farmers, usually those who need free or almost free labor. Many Bantu farms and households have Bushman servants, or serfs, rather, as they usually come from the land on or near the farm, and when working they are paid nothing but are given food, tobacco, and sometimes cast-off clothing as wages. Some European farms in Bechuanaland and some in South-West Africa have Bushman laborers too, though most European farmers do not depend on Bushman labor. Those European farmers who do employ Bushmen usually pay wages, about ten shillings a month, plus a ration of food to each Bushman who is working, though not necessarily to his family, consisting of about a pound of cornmeal and a quart of milk a day, meat occasionally, and weekly a ration of tobacco. Perhaps the employer will add a set of clothing—that is, a pair of cast-off pants and a shirt—and perhaps a blanket every year, but occasionally they pay their labor in cast-off clothing and omit the ten shillings altogether.

European clothing is esteemed among Bushmen, for it is symbolic to them of a people mightier than themselves, and

132 themselves for the winter and in a state most suitable for food. The desert pales. Day and night, water evaporates from the pans; first becoming a film, then less than a film, with only the damp clay glistening. One noon, the clay begins to wrinkle in the sun. By June, the earth is dry: the land is fast and quietly held by winter.

132 Such would be a perfect round of seasons. In the periods of drought
731 that have come every few years in the recent past, however, there have been no such perfect seasons and all living things have, of necessity, fastened tenaciously to the drying earth and held on. Even in normal years, the weather is unbalanced: large areas of the Kalahari may be flooded, while others receive a sprinkling of rain in what amounts to drought conditions. In this land, and through these seasons, the !Kung nation lives.

[131] THE AREA in which the !Kung now
174 live is called *Nyae Nyae*. How long they have lived there is not

174 known. At one time, Bushmen lived throughout Africa from as far north as Angola and Tanganyika to, southward, the Cape of Good Hope. This was a time when few peoples shared that part of the continent. In southern Africa, beside the many Bushmen nations, there were Hottentots and pre-Bantu Negroes—some of whom were hunters and some of whom practiced agriculture. In the distances between the nations grew years of peace.

About five centuries ago, larger, stronger, Bantu-speaking peoples, who had cattle to pasture, entered southern Africa from the north. They came in two prongs, like the horns of a bull, prodding down the eastern and western highlands. In search of grazing land, these Bantus were themselves driven south by defeat in wars then current on the plains of East Africa. The established peoples of the south—the Bushmen, the Hottentots and pre-Bantus—were dislocated by this push and began to move, themselves. This flux has yet to come completely to rest.

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[181]

In such disturbed times, the Bushmen fare ill. They are not, and probably were not ever, a warlike people. Their society is not constructed for war, their culture dampens war. Yet, now, wars and battles began to scatter across the land, as groups of people—large and small, Bantu armies, itinerant raiders, the remnants of tiny nations and the dispossessed—marched and wandered in their search of conquest or safe distant places.

Some Bushmen nations were driven into pockets in the hills, where they died slowly. Some stayed on their land and were decimated and made slaves. Some resisted and, as one who spoke of his people told me: "We were soldiers in those days." Their armies changed into marauder bands that sometimes fought and often ran. Of these, the Heikum were an example—an embittered, scattered nation of travelers on the then uncertain grasslands of South West Africa. When, at

174 last, white and black met,—raiding one another for cattle across the Fish River—and the time of the Zulu and the Voortrekker was near, the classic period of the Bushmen was over.

131 THE AREA called *Nyae Nyae* lies on the border between South West Africa and Bechuanaland. It covers about 10,000 square miles, between 18°55′ and 21°0′ South latitude and 19°50′ to 21°25′ East longitude. In 133 the center of this area is a ring of *kalk* pans. *Nyae Nyae* is actually the name the !Kung gave to this ring of pans, although I have applied it to the whole area occupied by the !Kung nation. 136 There is game round these pans and, in small groups, everywhere in *Nyae Nyae*. Wild roots grow in the 137 bush that shrouds much of the territory. There is *tsi* in the south, while 133 *mangetti* forests crowd along the crests of white sand dunes in the south and east, and spread over the north. Their

137 nuts drop abundantly to the ground every year. There are ten permanent
133 waterholes—some clustered around the ring of the pans, the others set like infrequent jewels in a low limestone ridge along the eastern border. During the rains, small pans and hollows hold embroidered pools. Hollow trees also catch water and keep it until it turns brown, while several kinds of water roots can be counted on all year.

● 174 Until recently, few came and none but Bushmen stayed for long in *Nyae Nyae*, for there is not enough water to attract pastoral peoples, and the soils are not the best for crops. The !Kung say: "We have always been here, drinking the *Nyae Nyae* waters." Perhaps this "always" began at about the time when the western Bantu horn was moving southward through Ovamboland. All one can say for sure is that they came, possibly seeking sanctuary in the empty spaces of the Kalahari, found, in *Nyae Nyae*, a quiet

174 place, and stayed. In *Nyae Nyae*, the !Kung have since lived on unchanged —replacing only their bone arrow-
[411 points with metal ones, made from
177] the nails and wire that filtered into the desert after the Europeans' entry into South West Africa.

178 The !Kung nation cannot so live for much longer. Already their last lands are being occupied by the Herero nation—Bantu-speakers—who say: "The Bushmen are like our children. We feel obligated to care for them." It seems likely that, in a few years, these lands will be farmed by white people. Then, if the past of other Bushmen is any omen, some !Kung will become farm laborers, some will contract syphilis, some will die and some will breed. Few will marry.

000 SO MUCH for the little history and the brief geography. How do the !Kung live in *Nyae Nyae?* Human ecology is the study of the relation-

23. MENTZEL, O.F.
A complete and authentic geographical and topographical description of the famous and (all things considered) remarkable, African, Cape of Good Hope... translated from the original German by G.V. Marais and Dr. T. Hodge. Rev. and ed. by H. J. Mandelbrote. Cape Town, 1944. originally published in 1787. Part 3 vol. 2 of German ed. 113

p. 260-263 The Bushmen of the Cape Province
p. 308-309, 330, 332, 334 Battles between Bushman and settlers described

24. MOFFAT, Robert
Missionary Labours and scenes in Southern Africa. London, 1842. 624 p. illus.

p. 6-14 Origin and history of the Bushmen
p. 49-64 History of Kitchener's mission to the Bushman. This section includes a description of their way of life.

25. MOODIE, Donald and PHILIP, John
Correspondence between Donald Moodie, Esq. compiler and editor of the Cape Records and the Rev. John Philip D.D. relative to the production for publication of alleged "official authority" for the statement that in the year 1774 the whole race of Bushmen or Hottentots who had not submitted to servitude was ordered to be seized or extirpated. Cape Town. n.d. 76 p.

26. MOODIE, Donald, comp.
The record: or a series of official papers relative to the condition and treatment of the native tribes of South Africa. Cape Town, 1960.
Bushmen also known as Soaqua, Obiqua, Soeswa, Strandloopers, Vischman, Waterman. [101]

27. MOSSOP. E.E. ed.
The journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar (1779) with an English translation by A.W. van der Horst, and The journals of Jacobus Coetsé Jansz (1760) and William van Reenen (1791) with an English translation by Dr. E.E. Mossop. Cape Town, 1935.
In these journals Bushmen are referred to as: Chaboup, Thaboek, Tkaboeba and Samgomoka. The journals contain numerous references to the Bushmen, their hunting methods and social customs. [101]

28. PRINGLE, Thomas
Narrative of a residence in South Africa. London, 1834. 116 p.

p. 77-80 Pringle believed the Bushman to have originally been a pastoral people. Commandos against them described. [174]

29. SHAW, Barnabas
Memorials of Southern Africa by Barnabas Shaw, Wesleyan missionary resident in the country nearly twenty years. London, 1834. 346 p.

p. 27-33 Bushmen customs and appearance

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

LORNA MARSHALL · *The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert*[1]

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION · The Bushmen live in those parts of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa that lie in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate, in South West Africa, and in southeastern Angola. A few additional remnants of Bushman groups still exist in Northern Rhodesia and at Lake Chrissie in South Africa. In the past Bushmen had a much wider distribution.[2]

Many Bushmen live among, and some work for, the Bantu-speaking tribes in settlements where sufficient water resources have been developed to support cattle, and some Bushmen work for white farmers in the Ghanzi area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in South West Africa. However, many still live in small, independent, nomadic groups, widely dispersed in the vast areas of the desert.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise population count of the Bushmen, but a recent estimate gathered from various contemporary sources (Tobias 1956) indicates that in 1955 there were 55,531 Bushmen.[3] These figures are higher than any previously propounded (cf. Schapera 1939) and come as a surprise to many.

The Bushmen are linked with the Hottentots, a southern African people who resemble them physically and with whom they have linguistic affiliations, but who are a pastoral people with a more complex social structure. Bushmen and Hottentots together are called the *Khoisan* peoples, a coined term combining the Hottentots' term for themselves (*Khoi*) and their name for the Bushmen (*San*). The Khoisan peoples have been referred to as a distinct race (Murdock 1959: 8) or, as Howells puts it, "a major racial variety of man" (1959:306). The obscurity of their origins and racial affinities are in themselves subjects in which research continues and interesting postulations engage the attention of scientists in various fields.[4]

PHYSICAL FEATURES · The physical features of the Bushmen have drawn much attention from anthropologists. Bushmen are of small stature (adult males average approximately five feet two inches) WITH YELLOWISH BROWN SKIN THAT BECOMES HEAVILY WRINKLED IN OLD AGE.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope.

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

174 [172] 1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at 177 the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or 131 exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

131 (3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as 162 listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

144 (4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into cate- [114] gories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

114 (5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been pub- 147 lished by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

224 (6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed 126 in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

553 (7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential 402 beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. 121 A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

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of the !Kung who were independent at the time of the census had a history of living with Bantu for periods in the past.

It is difficult to determine to what extent the !Kung living arrangements have been affected by the Bantu presence, beyond stating the obvious facts, that, until the Bantu came, there could be no intermarriage and no opportunities for employment. At this stage of analysis, it would certainly be premature to attribute the fluidity of camp membership to the effects of contact, since there is good evidence that this flexibility is adaptive in the context of traditional subsistence patterns (see Chapters VII and VIII).

A history of contact

127 This historical sketch of the period 1879-1965 is based on the testimony of informants resident in the Dobe area. Since none of the Bushmen and very few of the Bantu had any knowledge of the dates of historical events, these were provided by discussions with the British administration at Maun and by a survey of the early literature on the area.

173 The pre-contact period - There is no evidence in their oral tradition that the !Kung of the interior have migrated there from elsewhere. This corroborates the !Kung belief quoted by Lorna Marshall that "they have lived in the Nyae Nyae area since time began" (1960:325). The interior !Kung cannot, by their own account, be considered to be recent refugees from more favorable habitats.

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439 The interior !Kung have had trading relations with Bantu
[411] peoples on their periphery for over eighty years. The evidence
[415] for this is the presence of iron-tipped weapons, pottery and
[276] tobacco. The present-day !Kung have no knowledge of iron-working or pottery-making and they do not raise tobacco. The old people state that their grandfathers had these things
[173] before the first non-Bushmen came to the interior. Men in
[411] their 60's and 70's today can remember their grandfathers telling them that they began hunting with bone arrows and did not obtain iron for arrows until they were well into adult
[411] life. The making of bone arrow heads is still common know-
[321] ledge today but, as there is an abundant supply of iron fencing
[325] wire, none of the men hunt with bone. The art of chipping
[178] flint is not known in the Dobe area. It is probable that
[324] these Bantu goods (and also some European goods such as beads and buttons) reached the interior through Bushman trading intermediaries some years before the arrival of the first Bantu and Europeans.

173 <u>Early contacts, 1879-1925</u> - There is disagreement among the !Kung about whether the Europeans or the Bantu were the first to penetrate the interior. Apparently the first pene-
175 trations occurred during the period 1875-1890. Hendrik Van
648 Zyl, a professional hunter, is the first European known to have reached the interior (Silberbauer 1965:114-115). In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56/67]

224 communication), there were no domesticated dogs in the South
231 African Later Stone Age until the arrival of the Bantu. It
[174] is not possible to say at present when dogs were introduced into !Kung Bushmen culture. The !Kung themselves say that they have had dogs "since time began".

Data on the hunting success of seven men of the Dobe winter camp will illustrate the importance of dogs in hunting. In July, 1964, during a four week period the seven men of the camp spent a total of seventy-nine man days hunting. Between them they killed a total of eighteen animals. The estimated total weight in meat of these eighteen kills was approximately 434 pounds. Six of the men lacked good hunting dogs. These men accounted for 110 pounds of meat or 25% of the total. The seventh man was the only one with a good hunting pack. With his dogs he killed the remaining 75% of the meat (324 pounds) including four adult wart hog.

[184] Considering the importance of dogs in Dobe area hunting it is interesting that dogs were not used for hunting by the Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae area (J. Marshall 1957; and personal communication).

224 Finally there were several limited techniques that required no specialized equipment. Occasionally men run down immature animals on foot. These are dispatched with a club of any handy piece of wood. Also, on occasion, the men

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

Chapter II

HISTORY, DISTRIBUTION, AND TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Bushmen

Early History

74 The Bushmen were long regarded as the earliest human inhabitants of South Africa, and as having occupied the country from times of remote antiquity. This belief, most fully expressed in Stow's classical work, *The Native Races of South Africa*,[1] was not without some foundation. Of the peoples of South Africa of whom there is any definite historical record, the Bushmen are certainly the oldest; the other native peoples show in their traditions that when they first entered the country they found the Bushmen already scattered over the greater part of its surface; while the relics of the Bushmen, such as rock paintings, rock engravings, and stone implements, are distributed over a far more extensive area than was occupied by the people themselves within historical times, and frequently occur under conditions which postulate some antiquity.

72 74 It has now become fully established, however, that the Bushmen were preceded in the occupation of South Africa by other peoples. Recent archæological investigation has shown that there existed in the country a number of different stone implement industries, clearly separated in time as well as in character.[2] These industries are grouped chronologically into the Earlier, Middle, and Later Stone Age Cultures. The stone implements and rock art associated with the Bushmen all belong to the Later Stone Age, and it is only in deposits of this Age that skeletal remains of the Bushmen have been found.

[1] G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa: A History of the Intrusion of the Hottentots and Bantu into the Hunting Grounds of the Bushmen, the Aborigines of the Country* (London, 1905), chaps. i–ii.

[2] The most useful general account of the prehistoric cultures of South Africa and their northern affinities is by M. C. Burkitt, *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint*, 1928, which contains a good bibliography. Cf. also the valuable sketch by A. J. H. Goodwin, "The Stone Age in South Africa," *Africa*, ii (1929), 174–82, and the recent series of monographs by Goodwin and Lowe on *The Stone Age Cultures of South Africa* (Annals of the S. Afr. Museum, 27, 1929).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

The Earlier and Middle Stone Age Cultures must consequently be regarded as previous to the Bushmen. 172

There is, moreover, a lack of continuity in type between the Middle and the Later Stone Cultures which precludes the possibility that the latter, and the Bushmen stone industries forming part of it, developed in South Africa out of the former. On the other hand, scattered all over East Africa, especially in Tanganyika Territory, Uganda, and Kenya, there are found stone implement industries and in some cases rock paintings so closely resembling those of the Bushmen that they must be regarded as of a common origin. These facts together lead to the conclusion that the stone industries associated in South Africa with the Bushmen were not indigenous to the country, but constitute an invading element which penetrated into it from the north-east and superseded the two pre-existing stone cultures. As yet no human remains have been found definitely associated with either of these preceding cultures, except in the case of the Still Bay Industry of the Middle Stone Age, from a deposit of which was recently excavated a skeleton belonging to the extinct racial type now termed "Boskopoid".[1] This racial type, of which other remains have been discovered, but with no clear archæological association, differs considerably from that of the Bushmen, and the two cannot be regarded as intimately related.[2] 174

All this suggests that the Bushmen themselves came into South Africa with their culture from the north-east. No skeletal remains have yet been discovered north of the Zambesi River similar to those of the Bushmen, however, nor are there any peoples living outside South Africa who may be regarded definitely as Bushman in race. Attempts have often been made to establish a connection between the Bushmen and the Pygmy peoples inhabiting the equatorial forests of Africa, more especially in the Congo region. The two groups of peoples certainly have various features in common. Both, for example, are short in stature, in both the hair is short and woolly, and the skin colour brownish-yellow. But in the shape of the head and above all in the build of the body they differ so markedly as to eliminate any possibility of racial identity. There seems to be no more intimate relationship between the Bushmen and the Pygmies than the fact that phylogenetically both are derived from a small variety of negro, 174 144

[1] Goodwin, op. cit., 180–1; Goodwin and Lowe, op. cit., 126.
[2] Cf. G. D. Laing, "The Relationship between Boskop, Bushman, and Negro Elements in the Formation of the Native Races of South Africa," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 905–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen F-X 10

174 to which main stock they are generally regarded as belonging. But they must be looked upon essentially as divergent branches which 144 have specialized along different lines.[1]

At the same time, although as a distinct racial type the Bushmen are now restricted to Africa south of the Zambesi River, traces of their former existence further north are found not only in culture. Physical features reminiscent of them are seen occasionally in various peoples of East-Central Africa, such as the Andorobo, Elgunono, and Doko, while between Abyssinia on the north and the Zambesi River on the south evidence of their absorption by the Nilotic and Bantu negroes is found in sporadic reversions of their type occurring in almost all the East African peoples.[2] Moreover, the Sandawe, a settled hunting people living west of the Irangi plateau in Tanganyika Territory, speak a language which in phonology (especially in the occurrence of "click" consonants), syntax, and vocabulary has certain by no means insignificant resemblances with the Khoisan languages of South Africa, and the Kanjegu of the same region are also said to have a click language.[3] There seems to be no great similarity in appearance between these peoples and the Bushmen; but, as Dempwolff suggests, it is quite probable that they were originally Bushmen who have since become considerably modified, first by intermixture with Hamitic immigrants into East Africa, and later by the incorporation of Bantu blood as well.

174 On the whole, therefore, the evidence seems to indicate that at a very early time the Bushmen occupied the hunting grounds of tropical East Africa, perhaps even to the confines of Abyssinia. That they are no longer to be found in this region may be ascribed to its extensive invasion by later Hamitic and Negro peoples. Harried by the encroachment of these more powerful races, the Bushmen, where they were not exterminated or absorbed, must gradually have passed southwards, keeping along the more open grasslands of the eastern

[1] The points of resemblance between the Bushmen and the Pygmies are fully discussed by F. von Luschan, "Pygmäen und Buschmänner," *Z. Ethn.*, xlvi (1914), 154–76, who is of the opinion that the two are closely related. The main arguments against this view may be seen in, e.g. H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, 1902, pp. 518 sqq., and R. Pöch, "Die Stellung der Buschmannrasse unter den übrigen Menschenrassen," *KorrBl. deuts. Ges. Anthrop.*, xlii (1911), 75–80. A. C. Haddon, in *The Races of Man*, 1924, pp. 17–18, gives short summaries of the physical characteristics of the two peoples, which bring out very clearly the essential points both of resemblance and of difference.

[2] A. C. Haddon, Presidential Address to Section H, *Rept. Brit. Assn.* (*South Africa Meeting*), 1905, p. 514.

[3] O. Dempwolff, *Die Sandawe*, 1916, esp. pp. 63–70; F. J. Bagshawe, "The Peoples of the Happy Valley," *J. Afr. Soc.*, xxiv (1924–5), 25 sqq., 117 sqq., 219 sqq., 328 sqq.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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mountainous zone, where they could still preserve their hunting mode of life, until, when the written history of South Africa commences, they were roaming all over the territory south of the Zambesi River. Presumably they had by then largely exterminated their Boskop predecessors, although certain types of so-called "Strandlooper" skulls excavated along the south-east coast of the Cape have been regarded as evidence of occasional amalgamation between the two races.[1] The human palæontology of South Africa is, however, too little known for this phase of Bushman history to be accurately determined. 174

How far back their invasion dates there is also as yet no certain means of telling. The absolute chronology of the South African stone ages, the only possible source of information on this point, is so far completely undetermined.[2] Without the guidance it alone can afford, estimates of the antiquity of the Bushmen in South Africa must remain purely speculative. It is certain, judging by what is known of the history of the later invading peoples, that the Bushmen came into the country well over a thousand years ago, but at present no more definite or even approximate date can be assigned to their immigration. [172]

General Distribution

In their occupation of South Africa they seem to have extended over almost the whole region from the Zambesi in the north down to the south coast. Their relics, in the form of skeletal remains, culture deposits, pictorial art, and even place-names, are found widely scattered over most of this region, especially in the east and the south, and afford indisputable evidence of their former presence in many parts where they are no longer seen. Even well within historical 162 174

[1] Laing, op. cit., 906–7; cf. also a series of papers by Dart, Laing, and Gear on "Strandlooper" remains from Zitzikama, in *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, vols. xxi–xxiii (1924–6). The term "Strandlooper" (coast ranger), applied by several writers on the prehistory of S. Africa to the people associated with the kitchen middens found along the south and west coasts of the Cape, should be abandoned, as the latent implication that these people form a distinct racial group is not justified. For the most part they were merely Bushmen who took to the seashore, so that we have to deal with a particular mode of life rather than with a particular people (cf. Schapera, in *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii, p. 862). The "Strandlooper" remains referred to in the series of papers mentioned above represent a mixture of these coast-dwelling Bushmen and people of the Boskop type.

[2] It may be noted, however, that the industries associated with the Later Stone Age persisted until long after the arrival of the Europeans in S. Africa, and that as recently as 1927 Lowe came in contact with an old Bushman who was not only acquainted with the methods of making stone implements, but "actually struck flakes and demonstrated the secondary trimming of end- and side-scrapers" (Goodwin and Lowe, op. cit., 180).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

162 times Bushmen were living in districts from which they have now
174 completely disappeared, or where perhaps only a few individuals still survive. This is the case in Natal, Basutoland, Orange Free State, and especially the Cape, in all of which, as recently as the middle of last century, the Bushmen were still fairly numerous.

But the encroachment of later invading peoples gradually ousted them from the more favourable districts which they occupied. First the Hottentots, advancing south along the west coast, drove them from the fertile plains to the mountain fastnesses of the interior. Then the Bantu, pressing down the east coast, overcame the fierce resistance of the little people upon whose ancient hunting grounds they trespassed. Other Bantu tribes, traversing the interior of the country, came into conflict with the Bushmen in the arid plains north and south of the Orange River and the Vaal and in the rugged mountains to the east. The European settler, in his turn pushing north and east and seeking fresh pastures for his growing herds, waged an equally relentless war against them. Before each successive invader the Bushmen, where they were not forcibly exterminated, had eventually to seek refuge in more unfavourable and inaccessible parts.[1]

162 At the present time they are found living principally in the Central and Northern Kalahari Desert and in the northern half of South-West Africa. On the north they extend into South-East Angola up to about 15 degrees S. latitude, on the east into the Tuli and adjacent districts of Southern Rhodesia, on the south into the region of the Nossob and Molopo Rivers, and on the west to the Etosha Pan in South-West Africa. Small isolated remnants are also met with in the vicinity of Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal, in the coastal province of Mossamedes in South-West Angola, and in the Namib desert strip along the coast of South-West Africa.

Everywhere else the Bushmen have been either exterminated, expelled, or incorporated racially by later invaders, although stray individuals may still be seen occasionally in the north-west districts of the Cape and sporadically in Orange Free State and the Transvaal. It is only in the Kalahari Desert and the north-eastern parts of South-West Africa that they still retain to any degree their original mode of life and organization. Even here they have all been affected to some

[1] A vivid account of the vain resistance offered by the Bushmen to the peoples encroaching upon them, and of the relentless manner in which they were persecuted, is given by Stow, op. cit., especially in chaps. ix–xii. Cf. also K. Barthel, "Völkerbewegungen auf der Südhälfte des afrikanischen Kontinents," *Mitt. Ver. Erdk. Leipzig*, 1893, pp. 8–20.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape. B H 144 B

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron. H 193 194 197

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail. B H 105

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and B H 144 174

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

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that the languages of both peoples belong to the same language family. It is possible also that their cultures were at one time essentially alike. The Hottentots, in other words, appear to have originally been a Bushman people. The differences now observable indicate, however, that they have diverged from the true Bushman type—to a slight extent only in race, but more noticeably in language, and above all, perhaps, in certain aspects of culture.[1]

These divergencies are generally attributed to the influence of Hamitic admixture. In support of this view may be adduced the fact that the grammatical peculiarities now separating the Hottentot languages from those of the Bushmen are characteristic of the Hamitic language family, while the cattle and sheep of the Hottentots are similar in breed to those of Equatorial and North-East Africa, originally introduced by the Hamites. It seems, therefore, that certain at least of the more important features which now distinguish the Hottentots from the Bushmen have been derived from some Hamitic source.

On the basis of this view, it is held by some writers that the Hottentots are a cross between early Hamitic-speaking pastoral invaders of South-West Africa and their Bushman forerunners. These invaders are said never to have been a numerous people, and to have largely recruited their female element from the Bushman tribes which they displaced, so that their type underwent a progressive change, until at last they had acquired many of the physical characters and a large element of the languages of the Bushmen.[2] According to this theory, the mixture of Hamites and Bushmen which produced the Hottentots would have taken place in South Africa. Against this having been the case may be urged not only the relatively late appearance of the Hottentots in South Africa, but also the small variability in their physical characters, as well as the absence of evidence for such intermixture on a large scale in historic times. On the other hand, the existence in Tanganyika Territory of Sandawe, a click language possessing numerous root and grammatical affinities with the Hottentot languages, and like them apparently owing its origin to a mixture of Bushman and Hamitic languages, suggests

[1] For a discussion of the evidence on which this conclusion is based see I. Schapera, "A Preliminary Consideration of the Relationship between the Hottentots and the Bushmen," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 833–66.

[2] This view is most clearly expressed by F. von Luschan, *The Racial Affinities of the Hottentots*, London, 1907 (reprinted from *Addresses and Papers delivered at the Joint Meeting of the British and South African Associations*, 1905, vol. iii); *idem*, "Hamitische Typen," in Meinhof, *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, Hamburg, 1912, pp. 252–3; cf. also F. Stuhlmann, *Handwerk und Industrie in Ostafrika*, Hamburg, 1910, pp. 140–1, 147.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

that the blending which gave rise to the Hottentots is more likely to have taken place in East Africa. This is supported by the fact that the pastoral habits of the Hottentots, with all the customs and traditions connected with this mode of life, were already developed before their ancestors came south.

B H 144 174

The most plausible theory of the racial origin of the Hottentots may therefore be that they have sprung out of a mixture of the old Bushman population of East Africa with an early immigration there of Hamites, who gave them their cattle and those peculiarities of language by which they are distinguished from the modern Bushmen.[1] So far as the slight indications of their legendary history go, they seem to have come originally from somewhere in the region of North-West Tanganyika, and to have wandered with their cattle and sheep between Lakes Tanganyika and Nyasa, and then, perhaps as the result of pressure from behind, across the high plateau of Central Africa, with their faces always towards the setting sun, until they came upon the "great waters" (i.e. the Atlantic), when they turned south, crossing the Kunene, and moved slowly onwards down the west coast of the continent.[2] How long they had been in possession of the coast regions in the south-west of Cape Colony before the Portuguese first saw them in the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay and later on at Mossel Bay, at the end of the fifteenth century, we have no means of knowing. The few facts that lead us to judge that they had not been in the south for many centuries are based on our knowledge of their movements on the eastern frontier, where in the early eighteenth century their advance guard, formed by a tribe known as the Gonaqua, came into contact with the Bantu peoples, who by that time were slowly pushing westwards along the southern coast of South Africa.

General Distribution

The early Dutch settlers at the Cape found the Hottentots thinly scattered in small loosely-organized groups all along the western and southern coasts of the country. Later expeditions inland revealed their existence beyond the Orange River to the north and north-east, and as far as the Kei River in the east. In their occupation of South Africa the Hottentots therefore extended formerly over almost the

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[1] For a more precise formulation of this theory, see Chap. III, s.v. "Relationship between Bushmen and Hottentots".

[2] Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, 1905, pp. 267–8; A. W. Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), p. 23.

[65 cont.]

101 north. Beyond this there is a great river and many black people
131 (Okawango). They know only the Herero as their western neighbors. In other words, they came much later than the latter. Unquestionably as recently as 20 years ago some people of this group were still settled along the central Omurambo Omatako, where F. Seiner reports them from Otjituo and Nuragas. The Naron live south of them, and to the southeast the ≠Auin. In the southwest, at least formerly, there were Bushmen of the Hei//om group and /Gowanin (Sand Kaffir). Probably these Hei//om were the people formerly designated as Saan. Nogau, ≠Auin, and Naron actually belong to
[10] the Kalahari group. Throughout the farm zone which formerly
[175] extended to the English frontier, the tribal units were more or less
648 destroyed, and there arose a mixed Bushman population which constantly replenished its numbers from the free tribes. On the other hand, however, Bushmen from the farm zone always went back to the bush, partly of their own free will and partly in flight from the police. In the Gobabis district the boundary of the police zone coincides with the land boundary. The relationships between the Whites and the Hereros on the one hand, and the Bushmen on the other, are therefore [66] very tense. A few years ago,
175 after the Bushmen had been prohibited from hunting big game,
648 they rebelled and declared a feud against the magistrate in Gobabis by shooting some arrows against the door of his house one night. The magistrate, Van Rynefeldt, wanted to hunt them down in the bush, but was struck by a poisoned arrow shot from ambush and died. A great roundup of Bushmen was organized and many of them were taken to the prison in Gobabis, where a number of them died as a
[178] result of the vitamin-poor diet. Since then the Bushmen in this region have again chosen a chief and represent a modest power. As a result of these conditions, it was much more difficult to gain
123 their confidence than in the north. In this respect, P. Watterott and the village mayor of Epukiro, Franz Arenat, were especially helpful to me. These Bushmen are of special interest since there
195 is a special women's language among them. It is called Hee-aziba he auseashu. It is in part also spoken by the children and is characterized by having many words that have no clicks. It was only with great difficulty that I was able to take down a few words, for example:

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439 The interior !Kung have had trading relations with Bantu
[411] peoples on their periphery for over eighty years. The evidence
[415] for this is the presence of iron-tipped weapons, pottery and
[276] tobacco. The present-day !Kung have no knowledge of iron-working or pottery-making and they do not raise tobacco. The old people state that their grandfathers had these things
[173] before the first non-Bushmen came to the interior. Men in
[411] their 60's and 70's today can remember their grandfathers telling them that they began hunting with bone arrows and did not obtain iron for arrows until they were well into adult
[411] life. The making of bone arrow heads is still common know-
[321] ledge today but, as there is an abundant supply of iron fencing
[325] wire, none of the men hunt with bone. The art of chipping
[178] flint is not known in the Dobe area. It is probable that
[324] these Bantu goods (and also some European goods such as beads and buttons) reached the interior through Bushman trading intermediaries some years before the arrival of the first Bantu and Europeans.

173 <u>Early contacts, 1879-1925</u> - There is disagreement among the !Kung about whether the Europeans or the Bantu were the first to penetrate the interior. Apparently the first pene-
175 trations occurred during the period 1875-1890. Hendrik Van
648 Zyl, a professional hunter, is the first European known to have reached the interior (Silberbauer 1965:114-115). In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56/57]

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648 late 1870's, Van Zyl was hunting elephant and rhinoceros in the Ghanzi District. In 1879, he camped at /gam and is known [563] to have visited /ai/ai and !ubi. One of the white hunters with Van Zyl had an affair with a !Kung woman named n/ahka; the descendents of this union are today living at !ubi. These people acknowledge their European ancestry but otherwise are culturally !Kung.

During roughly the same period, the Batawana cattle herders from the Tsau area on the Okavango swamps began to move their cattle out to summer waterholes in the west. By the 1890's, they had penetrated as far west as Karakuwisa in what was then German South West Africa. They had also established cattle posts at /ai/ai, Gura, and at /gauša Pan (see Map 9).

The Rinderpest epidemic of 1896-7, is an historical landmark throughout the stock raising areas of southern Africa. At the time of the outbreak only two Batawana families were summering their herds of cattle in the interior. The Ramadjagote family was at /Gauša Pan and the Ledimo family was at Gura. The Rinderpest devastated the herds on the Okavango but fortunately did not reach the central !Kung interior. When the two families drove their cattle back to the river after the epidemic had passed, it was found that theirs were the only herds left intact in western Ngamiland.

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The Ramadjagote and Ledimo families owe their present pre-eminent position in Batawana tribal affairs to that stroke of fortune, because in exchange for the use of their breeding stock the two families were granted by the tribe two vast tracts of land west of the Okavango swamps.

The Ledimo family received rights to hunt, to graze their cattle and to collect tribute over all the lands that lay west of the swamps and north of the Aha Hills. The Ramadajagote family received a similar concession over the lands that lay south of the Aha Hills (see Map 10). Both families have exercised these rights in Western Ngamiland until recent years and one of the senior Ledimos still maintains a cattle post at n!aun!au. However, in 1965, with the election of the first democratic government in Bechuanaland, these and other traditional concessions are being abolished.

It should be added that although the British declared a protectorate over Bechuanaland in 1896 (Sillery 1952:60ff), their official presence was not felt in the Dobe area until many years later. In 1934, Captain Webb of the Bechuanaland Police made the first official tour of duty to !angwa and /ai/ai.

The next historical event to affect the !Kung of the interior was the Herero-German War of 1904-07. In 1904, the Hereros of South West Africa rose in rebellion against a

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 60/61]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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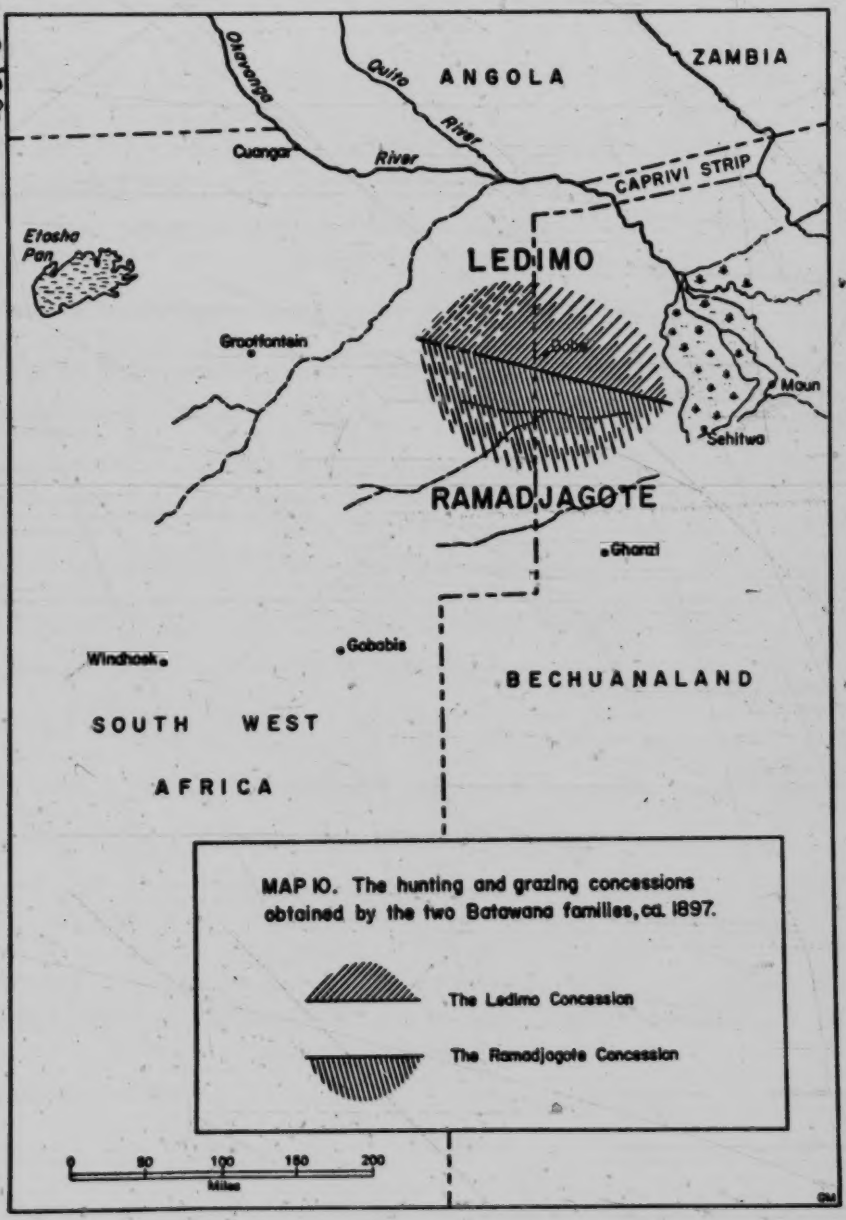

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cruel German administration. The Germans launched a genocidal campaign against the Hereros and succeeded in exterminating the majority of the tribe.[1] Several thousand Hereros, fleeing before the German patrols managed to escape east to Bechuanaland where the British government granted them asylum. Many of these refugees passed through the Dobe area on their way to safety and the details of their flight are remembered today by the older !Kung. One German patrol pursued the refugees as far as Gura, a well situated 30 miles west of Dobe, where they found an abandoned Batawana cattle post. Thinking that they had reached the frontier of British territory, they turned back, but before doing so, they carved a boundary marker on a baobab tree, which may still be seen today (see Map 11).

At the time of the rebellion none of the refugees had settled in the Dobe area. They all continued on to the Batawana villages on the swamps where they were given breeding stock and allowed to resume a normal life. Until the mid-1920's, the only non-Bushman presence in the interior was the annual summer hunting trips led by the Ramadjagote and Ledimo families.

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[1]The ghastly details are found in the Union of South Africa's official inquiry (1918).

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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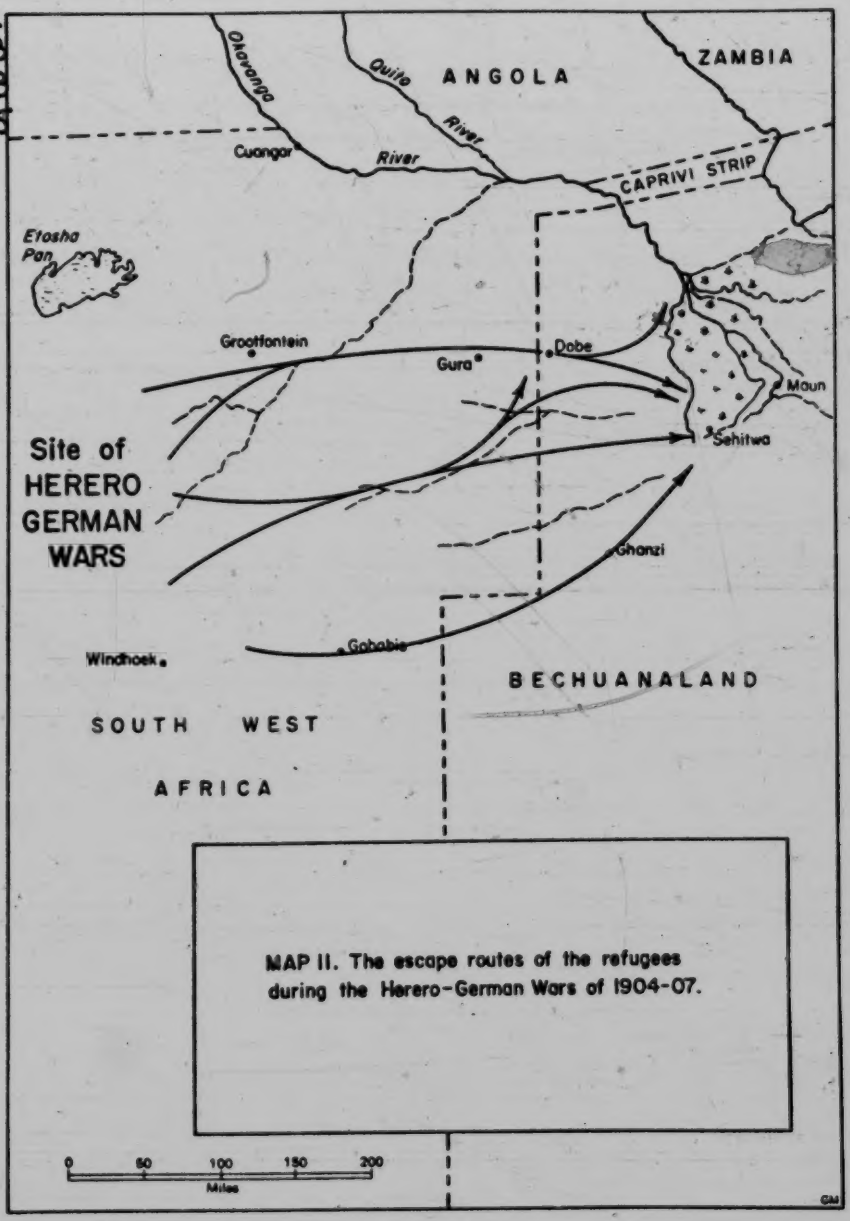

MAP II. The escape routes of the refugees during the Herero-German Wars of 1904-07.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Bantu settlement, 1925-1960 :- Around 1925, the first Bantu families came to live permanently in the Dobe area. These families and those that followed them were drawn largely from the Herero refugees who had settled in the Tsau area a generation before. They apparently decided to move up-country in order to escape the overcrowded and overgrazed conditions prevailing in the river districts. In the early 1930's, ten more families settled in the Dobe area. These newcomers deepened several of the natural waterholes and dug three new wells to bring the total number of permanent water sources to eleven. In 1934, Captain Webb visited the area and reported that the Bantu were occupying these waterholes on the Bechuanaland side and other waterholes on the South West Africa side of the border. Bantu families continued to settle in the Dobe area throughout the 1930's and 40's, until by 1948, there were an estimated 150 Bantu with 3,000 head of cattle resident up-country.

For many years the relations between Bantu and Bushmen had gone unregulated. There were reports of Bushmen stealing cattle and of retaliatory measures by the Bantu which included whipping Bushmen and coercing the young men into service as cattle boys. In 1948, the Batawana tribal administration appointed Isak Utuhile, a Mutawana man resident at .'Xabe, as the first official Headman of the Dobe area. This

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appointment was precipitated in part by the murder in 1946 of a Mukgalahadi man by a !Kung Bushman. It was many months before a police patrol could reach the Dobe area to arrest the suspect.[1] The tribal government felt at the time that a more permanent representative of their authority was required. Isak described as his terms of reference the prevention of cattle theft and the prevention of exploitation of Bushmen by the Bantu. Since 1948, Isak has administered customary law and judged disputes from his Kgotla (court) at !angwa.

The Bantu population of the Dobe area remained stable until 1954 when there occurred a major influx of Herero pastoralists from the Makakun area to the east. The circumstances that brought this move about are worth mentioning because this migration initiated a series of political events that have produced the present curious situation in the Dobe area.

In the late 1940's, there had been an expansion of Tsetse fly into cattle-raising areas that had formerly been free of fly. This forced hundreds of pastoralists to evacuate the infested areas and thus put an even greater pressure on the grazing in the shrinking fly-free areas. The Dobe area, which starts 60 miles west of the Tsetse fly front, appeared

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[1] The suspect, a young man named /oma, was arraigned in Maun in September, 1946, but for unknown reasons was never brought to trial.

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to offer to the displaced Hereros an attractive living space. Accordingly some 18 families totalling over 120 people with 4,000 head of cattle trekked west in 1954. But instead of settling at the Dobe area wells, these migrants "leap-frogged" these wells and trekked directly into South West Africa where they occupied the waterholes of the Nyae Nyae area. There was a long standing precedent for such a move. Pastoralists from Bechuanaland had been summering cattle in South West Africa since the 1890's, and some of the Dobe area Bantu spent the year round at their South West cattle posts.

The Marshall family had made their first expedition to the Nyae Nyae pans in 1951. At that time they found a few of the water sources supporting Bantu cattle posts. They returned on their second expedition in 1955 to find what appeared to be a major Bantu encroachment of the Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region. Their reports to the South West Administration led to the expulsion of these Herero in 1956 and the closing of the border to all movements of cattle. The Bantu were forced to withdraw to wells on the B.P. side and today the majority of them are bunched up at two wells within five miles of the border. Since 1957, the South African police have patrolled the border road and they have shot on sight any cattle that stray across the line into South West Africa.

175 648 The Bushman residents of Bechuanaland, however, were not immediately affected by these restrictions. They continued to hunt and gather on the South West side and to visit their kinsmen at localities in the Nyae Nyae area.

648 177 The period of European presence, 1960-1965 - In 1960, the South African Government put into operation its plan to civilize the !Kung Bushmen of the interior. A government station was set up at Tsumkwe where a borehole was sunk. Mr. C. V. McIntyre, the Bushman Affairs Commissioner, took up residence at Tsumkwe. The !Kung Bushmen from Nyae Nyae were [241] ingathered and provided with rations of maize meal. After they had been settled around the borehole a program was initiated to teach them agriculture. Because of a series of drought years this program has not met with success.

[162] By 1964, over 800 !Kung Bushmen had been settled at Tsumkwe. Less than 50 of these people had come from the [178] Bechuanaland side. It is not clear why the Bechuanaland [162] !Kung have not participated in this program to a greater [224] extent, but the fact remains that over 350 !Kung continue to [222] hunt and gather in the Dobe area and seem to indicate no intention of moving to Tsumkwe.[1]

648 The latest development in the political situation in

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[1]Some B.P. Bushmen insist that they were refused permission to live at Tsumkwe. Others say they fear to go there.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 , FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

101 Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung
582 whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

619 The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the
[648] territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their inter-
648 marrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

162 About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28
[621] bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants
[177] other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

621 My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the
[114] years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

[162] FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

601 /Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1]
[595] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and
[596] extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal
[611] residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally,
[614] There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins
[835] are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

621 As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous
582 unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[113] [1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

/138 cont./

177 Since contact with the Whites was established, wars have
721 apparently declined considerably, but even today they exact a decidedly heavy toll.

22 The Auin is at the lowest stage of human development; he is exclusively a collector and hunter.

This way of life is dictated to him by the nature of his en-
133 vironment. This part of the Kalahari, where the watering places
137 are sometimes 100 kilometers apart and very limited in number,
182 does not permit livestock raising, especially also since the tschama [sometimes spelled tsama, a kind of melon] enjoyed by the cattle is comparatively rare.

In the Auin region the plain dominates the landscape.
133 Primary rocks rise up here and there only along the river banks. So-called dunes give the landscape a gently hilly character, especially in the vicinity of the rivers (dry river beds which carry
137 water only after violent rains). The ground cover alternates between grass, shrub, and tree steppe and dense undergrowth. The
132 amount of precipitation is very small; the lack of sufficient statistical data makes it impossible to give a more precise estimate.

B. Dwellings and Furnishings

342 The typical form of the dwelling is the windscreen, in other words, the most primitive form of human habitation, which scarcely deserves the designation "hut." Its construction is completed in a few minutes. A few twigs are stuck loosely into the ground at the thicker end in a semicircle and propped against each other at the branching end. I have never seen the supports firmly fastened to one another, although I have examined several hundred huts. Grass is thrown on the framework, and the construction is finished. During the dry season the structures are usually built even more hastily and sometimes consist merely of a few bundles of grass that have been thrown loosely between the twigs of a living bush. The entire structure is often scarcely a meter high and has no roof. It is thus a genuine windscreen, intended to protect its inhabitants from drafts while they are lying down.

If the settlement remains at a particular place for only a few days, the people content themselves with the shadow of some

/141 cont./

302 Men and boys do not use this cosmetic, nor do old women, but only young women and girls.

The mixture is applied in circles on the cheeks (see Photo. 20, woman farthest to the left) but it is also rubbed on the body in any other place possible, such as on the arms or belly. Frequently the entire body is greased with it.

Among men a kind of black grease is used. This has "a pleasant odor," at least according to Bushman notions. It is [756] manufactured by the "doctor." The men smear it under and on the nose. It is questionable whether it is more a means of beautification or of enjoyment.

All male Auin have a green line over the root of the nose, 304 and usually also a crossbar under and at right angles to it. The crossbar is usually not colored (cf. Fig. 4).

Both lines consist of innumerable small transverse cuts. There are almost always two to four deep, especially conspicuous scars in the longer line. The length of the longitudinal line is usually from 2.5 to 3.5 centimeters, and that of the crossbar from one to 1.5 centimeters. Sometimes the longitudinal line is considerably longer and extends to the hairline. In the case of one Auin about 20 years old, no forehead tattoo was observed. In answer to questioning he replied that "it would be done later." On the other hand, I found a forehead tattoo on a quite undeveloped girl who [881] was at most eight years old. Hence it would seem that the tattoo is not connected with sexual maturity, an impression which the Auin themselves confirmed. One woman had two parallel longitudinal lines; another had two lines on each cheek, which in size and execution were like the vertical forehead line. Both were Auin by birth; in other words, they had not married into the tribe.

[177] According to the statements of the Auin, the forehead tattoo was copied from the Betschuana.

The forehead tattoo is called gi. Evidently no special significance is attached to it. Incidentally, I have seen the same tattoo among all the other Bushmen tribes. [Fig. 4 appears here.]

As a tool for making the countless little transverse incisions [412] that constitute the forehead tattoo, any sharpened little piece of iron may be used. I was unable to determine the pigment used to produce the green color, which is indelible.

/145 cont./

224 The main method of hunting is to stalk the game with bow and poisoned arrow. It is unnecessary, I believe, to emphasize that the Auin, like every Bushman, is an unsurpassed master of this art. He usually shoots at a distance of only a few paces. This manner of hunting is applicable to almost every type of game.

In the following I shall describe how the Auin customarily kill the main types of game. I have omitted stalking in those cases where it is naturally also a secondary method of hunting.

Gemsbok and wildebeest. The Bushman stays on the track for days on end and does not give the animal any rest. Finally he hunts it down to finish it off. A large tree branch with many twigs is thrust between the gemsbok's horns. While the gemsbok tries to rid itself of the branch, the Bushman severs its posterior flexing sinews or throws his spear at its shoulder blade.

Overtaking a gemsbok on foot sounds very much like a hunter's exaggeration, but the physiological explanation is that the Bushman simply does not allow the animal any rest for digestion and ruminating. After several hours an inflammation of the stomach sets in, which makes the animal almost incapable of movement.

The other large animals, such as the giraffe, eland, hartebeest, ostrich, and the springbok, cannot be approached in this way, and for them the Bushman confines himself to stalking. The small /146/ bucks can only be finished off when they are mired in wet ground.

[223] Guinea fowl are stealthily approached and killed by stones or a stick thrown at them.

The aardvark is dug out. The Bushman, however, tackles this laborious job only if the aardvark cannot go too deep, in other words, if it is suspected that rocky subsoil lies below the sand. For this purpose he uses a spade (obtained from the Whites) [177] which is usually the common property of the settlement. How he could accomplish it without a spade is unclear to me, since the aardvark digs about as rapidly as a practiced workman with a spade.

The porcupine and the anteater are likewise dug out.

Hares are hunted by throwing sticks at them. Hunting them, however, is said to be only rarely successful. Usually a small

/149 cont./

249 The Auin have copied this procedure[1] from the Bergdamara of
[177] Oas.
[273] The process of fermentation is unknown.

[1] [i.e., of growing hemp.-Analyst]

K. Toys, Games, Sport

524 Little bows and arrows serve as children's toys.

A Chinese puzzle game is played by young and old, men and women alike. I have chosen the above designation because of the nature of the game.

The partners sit opposite each other in a crouch.

Both tap their thighs with both hands in rhythmic alternation and at the same time murmur meaningless inarticulate sounds.

One partner then suddenly extends his right or left hand toward the other or makes some other kind of motion with his hand. The point, now, is that the opponent must immediately extend the same hand or respond to the given motion with a similar one; in short, he must not allow himself to be confused. [Fig. 11 appears here.]

If, for instance, the opponent motions with the wrong hand or makes any other mistake, his partner very briefly signals his advantage by making a throwing motion with his hand or by striking his right index finger on his left fist (intended to signify: "I am breaking his, that is, the opponent's, head in two"). The game is not interrupted by these rapid signals.

/150/ The entire game is played at a fairly rapid speed.

Sometimes several men sit across from one another and take turns in the matches. Even little boys take part in the game of the adults.

[171] The Herero and Bergdamara play a similar game. The Auin, however, maintain that it is an original Bushman game.

Prizes are not awarded. They play purely for the "glory."

525 Game of chance: this bears great resemblance to the Chinese puzzle game, except that the participants also tap the ground with their knees. The "killing," that is, defeat of the opponent, is indicated by a loud exclamation without interrupting the progress of the game. The stakes (for instance, tobacco, food)

/150 cont./

526 there is a good supply of food, in other words, only during the crop season (rainy season). Sometimes, also, a heap of sand about one and a half meters high is piled up and one must throw over it.

The game is played for hours by boys and men with great shouts of joy.

[171] This sport[1] is likewise practiced by the Kaffir and Herero.
[177] The Auin state that it is not an original Bushman game.

Wrestling (see Photo. 34). This seems to have a somewhat more serious character, since the victor deals severely with the loser and has nothing to do with him for a long time. Nonetheless, the Bushmen designate it as a game.

Shooting with bow and arrow (unpoisoned arrow tip toward the front). The target is a tschama or any other soft object, in order to spare the arrow. One by one, the competitors shoot from the same place. The winner receives a prize (food, a knife, or the like).

Spear throwing. The target (tschama) is placed on a stick planted in the ground.

At a distance of 20 meters, only one throw out of 30, performed by six men, hit the target.

The target was an insert from a flour box.

Prizes are offered.

Riding (see Photo. 35). Two men form a "horse," the third "rides." (Gabi, "to ride.")

[1] [i.e., of stick throwing.-Analyst]

L. Music

534 Musical bows of various sizes made of "rosinkis wood" with animal tendons. The striker is made of any kind of wood.

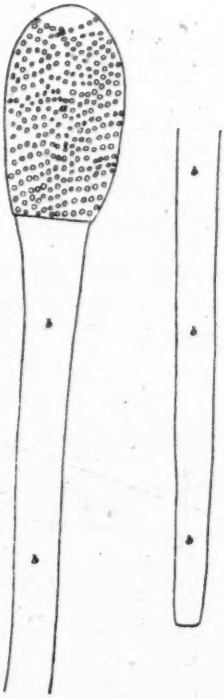
I have a suspicion that the two Auin in Photograph 38 cheated a bit, because one of them has a shooting bow while the other has taken up any old stick. It is likely that just at that moment they had no proper musical bow at hand. At the same time, of course, it is true that one can make "music" on any strung bow. This music, by the way, is clearly audible to other people, not only to the player.

533 /151/ There are no special musicians. On the other hand, one does find certain individuals who clearly take more joy in

/153 cont./

411
412

Fig. 12. Club. One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].



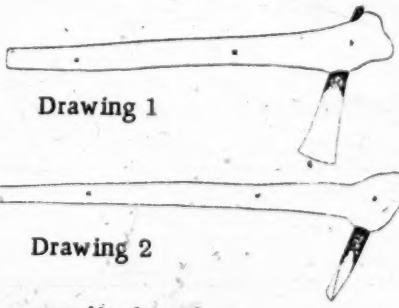
[177]

The club is an exceedingly rare imitation of a Makobe club and made by the Auin themselves.

a, knob of the club, showing burned-on decoration.

b b, handle.

Fig. 13. Ax. One-quarter natural size [as shown in original text].



Drawing 1

Drawing 2

Drawing 1. Ax with perpendicular edge:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

Drawing 2. Ax with horizontal blade:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

[439] The iron blades are obtained in trade from Makoba.

[1] Introduction

121 The purpose of my expedition, on which I was accompanied by my wife, Maria Lebzelter-Grammetbauer, was to study the anthropology and ethnology of the native tribes, especially of the Bushmen, as well as the archeology of South Africa. The original plan came from Professor Father Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D.
122 Repeated generous stipends from His Holiness Pope Pius XI made possible the continuation of the expedition, which was fostered with tireless zeal by Father Schmidt. The Austrian Government, by means of special administrative measures, made it possible for me to set out on this journey. Furthermore, the editor of Anthropos, Professor Father W. Koppers, repeatedly lent considerable support to the expeditionary fund. The Research Grant Board in Johannesburg granted me -- although for purely anthropological purposes -- a single subvention of 50 pounds.

114 I have already described the program and execution of my South African expedition in the first volume of this work. Here, before presenting the ethnological results, I should like to portray in rough outline how these results were arrived at. I must state in advance that there was a space of only three weeks between the time when the measures taken by the Austrian authorities made it certain that I could leave my homeland and my actual departure. Hence, a
[123] more detailed study of the native languages was out of the question. The conditions under which a person today can do ethnological field work are fundamentally different from those of the pioneering era.
[797] Through the activity of the missions, there is growing up among all
[177] tribes, except for the Bushmen, a stratum of intelligent individuals who, if not in this generation, certainly in the next, will take over
000 the research among their own people. I recall a lawyer's clerk in Natal (Swazi) who had acquired a pamphlet of ethnological lectures from Johannesburg and had learned it by heart. When he turned to a White ethnologist, in order to begin the practical work, the latter assured him that just as a race horse could not be used for plowing, so an ox could not be used for racing. Meanwhile, however, a number of very creditable works by natives have
115 already appeared in print. In my investigations I have always used native schoolteachers who had a command not only of the

[7 cont.]

222 825 The honey badger, !uisa (N. !ous), which leads to the bees, is followed ever so eagerly.

224 The common wild pig (gariba), the kudu (daub), the gemsbok χ'uaba (N. /gaib), and all the small antelopes are hunted. Pits are no longer known, although they used to dig them in former times.

If they decide to go hunting, sexual intercourse must be [834] avoided the night before. In the evening the hunters go into the forest and spend the night there. Before dawn they rise and pray:

[539] Pu, pu, Eró, /nari dsu /ari mate — God, tomorrow early we receive.

When a piece of game has been killed, one of the hunters cuts a piece of flesh from the animal's body and hands it to the leader of the hunt. This meat is called am-shái-khe. A fire is made, and this piece is placed on it. When it is roasted, the leader cuts off a piece and shouts:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, ha gore, ha gore i Khe Khandi ô — Erob, Erob, Erob, eat, eat With us flesh.

After a pause:

ha lĕ a lĕ ha góre o Khandi ô — Come! Come! Let us eat flesh.

Now the roasted flesh is consumed. Nothing is thrown away or left behind for Erob.

Then the game is cut up, and everyone goes home with his portion.

136 Snakes are not rare, although they are by no means as common as in the stony regions of the southwest.

The boa constrictor eats human beings; if it catches a Bushman, it starts to consume him at the legs!

132 821 731 In spite of the timber forest, the danger of drought is great. Erob sends rain. When there is a drought, the Bushmen dance and pray:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, /ga !goro /ga-wi -ma ta re — Erob, Erob, Erob, we are dying of thirst Water give us.

177 776 782 [8] It is very interesting to observe how in these certainly very ancient hunting and rain prayers the former old heathen gods' names Huwe and χ'amab were replaced by the Christian "Ellob."

I asked the people whether they knew any other prayers and received the following answer: "We know very well that

[8 cont.]

177 nothing can be done without Erob; we also pray to him whenever
776 somebody is ill, but we have no song for that, we do it in our
782 hearts." In these conceptions Christian influence is obvious.

881 They have no initiation for boys, but there is one for girls at the time of the first menstruation.

The girls' initiation is called "dorob."

At the onset of the menses, the girl becomes a "X'ába X'ábesa"; a special hut (omba) is built for her, where she is guarded by older women who feed her. The girl is allowed to eat anything, but nothing with her hands. When the menses end, a two-day festival begins, which terminates with a concluding dance. The candidate is seated in the center. Men and women go around
[534] her in a circle. The men blow on wooden trumpets. (These trumpets are made by the !Kung at only one place.) At the same time the drum is beaten (!guruba). At the conclusion, the women make "music." They clap their hands and sing:

[539] e-e-e-e-a-eje a jeja ni u u e . . .

Between times the drums and wooden trumpets sound.
539 Then the choral song of the men begins.

881 boro ai /i-he ≠hasa	Daughter my has become tall (just)
≠hau ge	Stand erect (tall)
/gai /ka uta (?) /noro-re	Good be now our little sunshine (1)

1. Literally: "Shine, you."

/ari ni tessa	Dance (2), sing, sue for her hand (3)

2. Literally: "Jump."

3. Literally: "Ask for!"

!goasa hi bare	People, be glad
Ti Komi !gǒǒ Kǒǒ...Kǒǒ... Kǒǒǒ	So, in this way, people, you should do it.

Then the dance begins anew.

[582] The engagement usually takes place long before the
585 girl's initiation. Hence the rule is that the wedding and the girl's
881

WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD
DAMA

[9 cont.]

805 shauba, cold season (N. sáob).

!kn-aba, hot season (N. !nái, warm).

535 Among dances, an ostrich and an ape dance were mentioned to me.

123 The studies, which began so promisingly, came to an end because I was evidently unable to present the village chief with enough presents. One evening a boy appeared and told me that the Bushmen had "had to go hunting." I continued to wait a number of days for the !Kung called by Mr. Eaddes. The messengers returned with the news that they had found no one. Another Sunday coat for the village mayor and some yellow money for the Bushmen, and priceless material could have been obtained.

[107 Chapter 3

The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of the Ondonga [Ndonga]

173 According to their tradition, these Bushmen came from Herero country. Hence they represent the connecting link between the "Saan" in the Gobabis district and the Hei//om [Heikum] of the north. The people as a whole designate them-
101 selves as Daman = the wealthy. The horde around Oshigambo calls itself //Huru-Khái. They call their dialect Cháraba. I do not be-
131 lieve that they live far in the interior of the Otjimpolo Veld. They have an enormous respect for the !Kung. The outermost cattle posts of the Ondonga probably coincide pretty much with
172 the boundaries of their territory. A number of them are Bantu-
142 ized and have small physiques. The others engage in hunting
439 and supply the black farmers with the flesh of wild game, hides,
648 ostrich egg beads, and poison. They serve as beaters on the great hunts of Chief Martin. At the court they count for nothing. The farmers like to see them. Little acts of assistance, a sack of berries or veldkost, soften the heart of the black housewife, so that here, as in Uukualuthi [among the Kualuthi?], there are a number of do-nothings who are nonetheless gladly received.

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

372 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in
881 the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other
184 hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not
585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the mar-
582 riage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A
595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 [12] A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

[12 cont.]

843 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-
262 buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut.
[553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are
[177] performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:

[539] //am ≠haiba, //am ≠haiba (?)
[782] The leader answers:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower
422 form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 The gathering of veldkost does not have the great signifi-
[184] cance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already
[462] commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd
[657] a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main
[233] OCCUPATION.

[12 cont.]

000 439 occupation. Even among the nomadic groups, however, meat, hides, and so forth are commonly traded for millet.

Also, the Blacks like to have veldkost on their table, [222] and the Bushmen, like our sponge and berry gatherers, use their knowledge to supply them and carry on petty trade with their veldkost, as well as with honey.

222 This is the reason that veldkost, which is either scarce 137 or not very tasty, is not gathered at all any more; indeed, the knowledge of its presence is even disappearing. We must also not forget that the black shepherd boys long ago acquired the knowledge of the Bushmen by observing them. As a result, the number of those interested has naturally climbed sharply, and the veldkost plants have become rare. The following kinds are still regularly gathered:

222 /airoba (ombimbo)	Sweetish, very starchy tubers, like large potatoes.
/érui (omauunga)	Galls on the leaves of the omsati tree.
≠gan-i (etarata)	Small fruit.
!Khui-i (oombi)	Dates.
!Korob-ke (oompali)	Bulbs at the roots of a liana.

251 . Dried meat is made from kudu flesh, which in part is 439 kept and in part sold.

278 [13] Arrow poison is made from the sap of a tree (Euphorbiacea), !Khores-Ke. The Ondonga themselves make no [439] arrow poison, but buy it from the Bushmen for one to two sh per 752 portion. There is no medicine against arrow poison. Deep incisions are made at the place where the arrow entered, and after blood has flowed freely from the wound, it is sucked. In the case of snakebite the same procedure is followed, and some arrow poison is placed on the wound (!!!).

278 Our Bushmen denied any knowledge of poisons added to 609 food. Only the "evil Bushmen" in the east had such knowledge, they claimed. This statement scarcely deserves credence.

177 In clothing, dwellings, and weapons, as well as ornaments, not much that is original remains. The process of Bantuization is much further advanced in the material culture than in the spiritual culture. It is, after all, easier to part with clothing than with ideas.

[14 cont.]

192
197

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Elephant	≠koá-ba	≠koáb
Hare	!kai-éba	!kàírab
Man	áure ba	áob
Woman	taréshа, taréqueta	taris
Child	/koá ruba	/gob
Encampment	//gaun-kwá	//gāus
Head	tanába	tanas
Eye	mu-i	mus
Ears	/gai-i	//noub
Mouth	am-ba	ams
Teeth	//gu-i	//gu-ĩ
Tongue	tamba	nami(*)
Nose	/kui-ba	/guis
Hand	!koam-ba	!omi
Foot	/gai-i	/eis
Ground	/kawa	khas
Arrow	/kaau-i	/ab(*)
Poison	!khore-ai	!gab, !gurub
Palm tree	/haiba	--

Of 29 words only six roots (*) show no relationship with Nama.

Chapter 5

The Bushmen of Uukualuthi

In all Uukualuthi, Uonkolonkathi, and Ombarantu, there are, reportedly, only two Bushmen left who understand the old language. Both of them are good-for-nothing loafers who go from one beer pot to another. Thanks to the kind offices of the missionary, Mrs. Aarni, Chief Moala made one of these men available to me. To be sure, he could not hold out for very long, and during the few days that he devoted to us, he was rarely sober. We had to limit our conversations to the forenoon. What I learned from him is a dying way of life that no longer has any continuity. The man faced the situation with the cheerful resignation of the

115
[177]

CHRONIC, GOOD-NATURED IMBIBER...

[18 cont.]

134 The ground is covered with red sand (fox sand), which in the thorn bush areas changes to a firm, grayish-yellow; perhaps argillaceous sand. Chalk cliffs and other rocks are completely lacking. The Kaudum bed is perpetually covered with dense green grass. The sand pans have humous sand; only in the northeast near Schamatura is a peat-like swampy soil to be found with red, strongly ferruginous water. Forest fires are the order of the day, but they do little damage to the tree growth."

133 South of the Omuramba u Owambo there is a fairly large
134 number of limestone pans, which in part still contain water but are mostly dried up. The land there is drying up rapidly, according to both the Bushmen and the Europeans. During the rainy season the clayey soils are swampy, and at that time the
[136] dense bush forest is filled with myriads of mosquitoes, and
[164] malaria claims its victims from all races. The unhealthy situa-
648 tion, the difficulty of getting workers, and the irregularity of the rainfall have led to the abandonment of most of the farms outside Grootfontein, so that the Bushmen have actually gained ground there. The !Kung Bushmen outside the police zone live entirely according to their old customs and traditions. The in-
[578] dividual kin groups are in part hostile to one another. A kind
[619] of hereditary feud exists with the Hei//om, who are often attacked because of the women. The !Kung live on good terms with the farms along the northern boundary (Duwib, Keitsas, Keibeb, Kuntsas, Neitsas, Foxhof). Many of them work there for
[464] certain periods of time, and quite a few permanently; in particular, they like to let women and children work on the farms.
[177] Mr. Cleark, the owner of Keibeb, has trained a large number of
[439] them to make charcoal. These Bushmen make the charcoal out in the wilderness and deliver it. It is then resold to the mottramite mine in Abenab. Until the establishment of the police zone, a perpetual state of war existed between the police and the Bushmen. There are constant battles between the Herero of Otjituo and the !Kung because of livestock thefts. The Herero attack the Bushmen on horseback and kill them from the saddle with the kirri.

The Bushmen, who are not accustomed to shooting at rapidly moving targets, usually come out the losers. Like the

[21 cont.]

157 them thought of asking a question about it. The Bushmen of
today at least do not believe that any kind of magic is concealed
[177] in the Europeans' machines. They learn to use European instru-
ments fairly quickly; in particular, they soon become familiar
with the rifle. Dornan reported that there was a large number
of improvised rifles that the Bushmen had adapted. In a new
environment, the Bushman is wholly self-possessed and coolly
[648] observant. He is highly adaptable. The girls, of whom a num-
ber are kept by farmers as concubines, are quite skillful at
[177] housekeeping. In Ovamboland they quickly adopt the living
habits and economic activities of the Bantu. An Ongandjera
Bushman acts as an instructor at the teacher's college in Oonipa.
He owns a small kraal that is well-maintained in Ovambo fashion
and, in addition, has built himself a round hut of tiles in which
[648] he keeps his "library." They seldom stay long on the farms, but
[147] probably in the main because the food does not agree with them.
609 The Bushmen are most distrustful of other people. Every armed
person whom they encounter is regarded from the outset as an
enemy. The Bushman is allowed to enter the regions of other tribes
only if he is unarmed. Even along the edge of the farm zone
the mutual distrust is so great that a Bushman who has been sent
to a farm as a messenger dares not leave the road, which is
regarded as a neutral zone, if another kin group has settled in
the vicinity. If two armed Bushmen who are strangers approach
each other, they disarm at first sight before they greet each
other. When a Bushman comes to a village or to a farmhouse,
he will put down his arms at a certain distance and sit down to
wait patiently, if need be for hours, until he is questioned. A
186 distinct sense of race is not apparent. Everything that does not
609 belong to one's own kin group is regarded as strange, even
hostile, except when common persecution causes a sense of
solidarity to spring up among all those who are persecuted. At
the same time, they very clearly possess a kind of sense of
humanity as a whole, that is, they do not believe that they are
the only people, and they are convinced, for example, that the
people of all races are received in the heavenly house. Their
602 conduct toward relatives is regulated by numerous customs, but
in general it is formal and almost ceremonial, even toward the
[593] wife and children. The Bushman is never importunate.
[157]

[21 cont.]

648 The Bushmen as a whole are despised by the other peoples, but in individual cases they are feared, and not least by the Whites. The Bushmen are familiar with this attitude and conduct themselves accordingly.

797 The Bushmen accept a foreign point of view only with
177 great difficulty, if at all. The mission, accordingly, can show no noteworthy success among them. On the other hand, they
157 usually grasp the intentions of others more quickly than the ordinarily more superficial Blacks. Consequently, they give brief and precise answers to the questions put to them. When asked questions that they do not want to answer, they remain silent. At the same time, in dealings with them one should note that they tire very quickly when they have to do mental work, and then they will not answer further questions, not because they do not want to, but because they are too tired.

181 The Bushmen are not generous. Nevertheless, allow-
[574] ing a stranger to partake of a meal, as well as giving him some
609 of the available water, is wholly matter-of-course with them.
[431] They very rarely, however, give any of their personal belongings, weapons, ornaments, hides, and so forth, as presents. If they themselves receive presents, they are obviously delighted.
(8) It is true that they do not express their gratitude with words,
577 [22] but anyone who does the Bushmen a kindness may be sure that they will manifest their gratitude by deeds to the point of self-sacrifice.

To help a fellow human being who is in trouble is a moral obligation. There is a report of a prospector who lost his
[648] way in the bush forest and was then saved by the Bushmen, with whom he could not even converse; they took care of him for several days and finally put him on the right path.

Agreements and promises are kept unconditionally by the Bushman, although it is true that he usually arrives a little too late. Once, when an ox from the ox-cart of the Catholic mission had to be left behind on the way to the Okovanggo, it was put in the care of the Bushmen and they were to deliver it at the time of the next full moon. The people kept their word, and the ox was delivered, well-fed, at the specified time.

As a comrade, the Bushman is reliable and faithful (1).

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648

1. A European had once illegally

[23 cont.]

105 and in the beyond by his traditional conceptions, and the preserva-
182 tion of this adaptation, in the spiritual as well as in the material realm, is achieved by means of a strict selection of all the cultural goods offered from the outside. This selection is consciously carried out. Put briefly: the Bushmen have hitherto refused higher
[177] economic forms not because they do not possess the ability to handle them, but because they did not want to adopt them. If the material preconditions collapse, then they adopt, step by step or all at once, totally different ways of life, as is shown by their Bantuization in Ovamboland and probably also by the formation of the Hottentot people through the adoption of livestock raising on the part of a number of Bushman tribes. Their average intelli-
[153] gence is no less than that of any other race. Every Bushman knows
[184] the entire spiritual heritage of his tribe.

Of the same Bushmen, F. Schinz (2) says:

[113] 2. F. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Leipzig, 1891.

181 "The Bushman is always faithful to his master and will follow him anywhere without pay; one need not worry about leaving him alone at the wagon and will rarely have to reprimand him for dishonesty. All travelers and hunters unanimously praise
[593] the great affection that exists between parents and children, which goes so far that the father or mother will sacrifice themselves in order to save their child. I was told [24] by the hunter L. that at the Okovanggo he once witnessed a scene in which a young Bushman, who was one of the members of the hunting expedition, was in danger of being trampled to death by an angry elephant that stormed toward him. At the last moment when his paralyzed companions had already given the boy up for lost, his father sprang forth and flung his throwing club at the forehead of the enormous animal. The elephant now turned against his new attacher and furiously crushed him under his feet, giving the son the opportunity to flee."

[114] My observations are fully in accord with those of Dornan (1)

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

3: Lebzelter--66 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

[36 cont.]

Dwellings

342 The dwelling of the Bushman consists of the simple windscreen, semicircular in form and about 150 centimeters high. On [177] several farms, however, even the Bushmen have taken to building beehive huts in the Herero manner. The windscreens in a settle- [361] ment more or less form a circle, and the socha fire is to be found [378] [372] near the windscreen of the village chief. During warm nights the [513] Bushmen do not sleep under the windscreen but outside it.

372

Fig. 3. Sticks for Firemaking, Kalahari Bushmen (Museum of Ethnology, Lurich).

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the
293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire
291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re-
[123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having
[124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in
[412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess
[325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in
[439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that,
[531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead em-
301 broidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are
[321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence
[556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are
[462] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around
[306] the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of
[302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to lengthen them.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire. [40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by
[439] the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be-
[422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should
[304] be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out
● 177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked
415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are
278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen.
805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions;
211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary.
[614] To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life
[888] is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements
[623] between the chief and the other old men.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 25]

[54 cont.]

756 house. The doctor then begins to pray: "Lord, help us, the chil-
789 dren are dying, we are dying of thirst and hunger." He prays and
787 begs until the captain says: "It is good, I shall send water so that
796 the children will have water and veldkost." Then the great captain again accompanies the doctor halfway down. As soon as the doctor is down below, he lets go of the thread which is immediately drawn up. Now the people dance and sing, for the rain has come:

[539] /gá-é dsó-jā /gaa	We rejoice now over the rain.
//ē gā djusā !kho ādshója /ga	Then we rejoice all together.
//ē gā hin a /gaa /gaa	Then the rain comes.
da //goá dshn !gu da adschŏéa χ'u	Then the people praise the lord.

532]

Fig. 21. Spirits of the Dead and Rain Animal (from Bleek, Rock Paintings in South Africa etc., Pl. 58).

776 Another !Kung said to me: "The great captain in the sky
821 sends the rain and all that comes from above. If he does not want to, everything remains shut up. The rain is opened up above; a great vlei is there. I do not know the name of the great captain. The Hei//om call him Som-seb."

17. Religion

771 After a critical look at the sum of the conceptions determining
177 the religious life of the !Kung, one recognizes, as would naturally be expected in the case of such an ancient people, that the elements

[54 cont.]

771 of various religions have found entry here. Among the Bushmen
177 tribes I visited there is the common belief in a supreme good be-
171 ing, whose name varies. The people described here [55] call the
176 supreme being X'u, "the lord" or "the great captain" (1). It is

[782]

1. According to Vedder, the supreme being is Huwe (Tsumeb). When the first veld fruits ripen, an offering is brought before sunrise. A freshly broken twig is inserted into a piece of wood with a hole bored through it. The people are seated in a circle, and the eldest passes around a tobacco or dacha pipe made out of a tubular bone.

the same expression that the Cape Hottentot used in speaking to the German traveler Kolbe, with the same significance and pronunciation 705 (2). The name could not have come from the

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2. J. Schapera (The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, 1930) has critically referred to my observations on this point. In this connection I must note: the "great captain" among the eastern !Kung may rightfully be designated as "supreme being." I have already given his characteristics in my earlier publications.

[104]
[194]

The spelling is correctly X'u. I use X' to designate a click that is even lower than "!". It is also found in other words, such as X'Ame = lion. Since not all publishers provide this character, I have sometimes been forced to write "Khu" or "Chu." This word, which the !Kung, too, translate as "lord" or "great captain," was already found, as Schapera indicates, among the Cape Hottentot in 1705 as Khourou = "Supreme Ruler" and "Great Chief" or "Great Captain"; Kolbe gives a quite analogous citation a little later, and Hahn reports of one old Nama, "The people say,

[CONTINUES ON p. 108 - ANALYST]

[55 cont.]

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time had a dependent relationship with the Bushmen, whose quite miserable imitators they had in part become. Even today Bergdama who want to become witch doctors go from Windhoek and Okombahe to the !Kung in order to learn there. If the conceptions of the Honigkaffir reported by H. Vedder were indeed ancient Negro cultural traditions, then it should surely be possible to find parallels and, at least in the names referring to the beyond, traces of the old language. Almost always among the Bantu the world of the beyond lies under the earth, whereas among the Khoisan it is in the sky. For all these reasons, I draw the conclusion that the Honigkaffir have taken over the doctrine of /Gamab from the !Kung. The expression Erob or Elotse, which is to be found among several Bushman tribes, undoubtedly goes back to Christian Hottentot influence. The two-fold names of the supreme being among various groups in Ovamboland, on the other hand, allows one to conclude that here only one new name for a well-known conception found entry, and, to be sure, with such intensity that the Hei//om, at the Etosha Pan, for example, name their most important medicinal root the Erob root. Moreover, just as among the Honigkaffir, among the Hei//om of the Etosha Pan, too, it is /Gamab who sends thunder and lightning and who kills people with shooting stars. J. Schapera recognizes that the conception of Huwe, Thora, and the mantis as creator, as the giver of rain and success in hunting, and as the protector of human beings is common to all Bushmen (ibid., p. 195) and also has its analogue among the Hottentot. He seems to regard this being as a rain god, however.

[177]

[824]

[60 cont.]

769 territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced
614 by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place (1).

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 434.

775 As has already been said, the Bushman does not believe
[626] in punishment after death. On the other hand, he is convinced that the evil that he himself has done will befall him or his dogs in the same way.

681 In former times banishment from the kin group was likewise
648 customary, and the exile would soon perish, since the Bushman
177 cannot survive by himself in the wilderness for any length of time. Nowadays, such individuals, just like those who were expelled from the Bantu tribes, move to land owned by Europeans and find work there. It is obvious that they do not help to improve the reputation of the Coloreds.

695 In cases of doubt, the Bushman swears by the great captain: nu X'u.

681 Instead of formal expulsion, the people may boycott out-
762 laws, who are thereby driven to such despair that they commonly commit suicide. Suicides also occur for other reasons.

21. Conflicts with Europeans

648 Before the police zone boundary was erected, the Bushmen found themselves in a latent state of war with their neighbors. Part of their list of sins will be cited here.

According to Toke, the !Kung near Keibeb in 1925 attacked eight Barotse [Lozi] and killed them, and purportedly ate them. Later, three Ovambo were attacked by surprise, killed,

[64 cont.]

825 existence. The appearance of the ring-necked snake indicates
[787] misfortune.

Animistic conceptions are more pervasive in the world
774 picture of the Masarwa (2). According to Dornan, each thing is a

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2. The Kalahari Bushmen (Dornan, op. cit., p. 165) have some knowledge of the stars. The Southern Cross is a giraffe, but the Cape Bushmen regard it as a group of lions. Some of the Bushmen regard the stars as animals or human beings who have gone up to the sky.

773 The following story is told: During the girls' initiation a girl who possessed magical powers nodded to some lions and they were immediately transformed into stars.

The Cape Bushmen told another story: During the girls' initiation a girl was quarreling with her mother because the latter refused to give her certain roots that may not be eaten at such times. The girl seized the roots and the ashes and threw them toward the sky. The roots became stars, the ashes became the Milky Way. -- Shooting stars signify misfortune.

774 kind of spirit. Human beings and animals can each transform
[825] themselves into the other. Individual doctors change into leopards, and many animals are regarded as other appearances of man, especially the springbok, the baboon, and a number of snakes. When a ring-necked snake approaches a village, it indicates
[177] death. Bantu influence is undoubtedly at work here.

The !Kung doctrine of two souls reappears in a different
[184] form among the Masarwa. The shadow of each thing, as well as
774 that of the human being, is its other soul. They believe that the
775 shadow soul remains in the vicinity of the grave, while the self walks in another place where it meets with the fathers. It is supposed to be warm there, and supposedly there is much game. In the beyond one acts the same as on this earth.

[74 cont.]

773 him. They go to their huts which are under the horizon in the
8 21 west. At night or during the day, respectively, they go back to
their huts in the east; one can hear them but cannot see them."

114 Kaufmann was unable to discover anything concrete con-
776 cerning the high gods of the ≠Auin. Concerning the Naron, Bleek
776 relates that a curious mixture of religious conceptions has come
about. A central position is occupied by Hise or Hyesa, who is
designated as !Khuba or !Xuba by the adult men. The old people
knew nothing about this. The Nama designate !Khub as master
or lord, and this word is used by a number of missionaries for
Christ. These elders maintain that this concept has been adopted
● [177] from the Nama. Formerly they only knew Hise, who lived in the
east. Hise is evidently the same as Heitsi Aibib (literally, "the
first tree").

The Naron relate that in olden times both the trees and the
773 animals were human beings who were transformed by Hise into
their present shapes. Then Hise called the chiefs of the Whites
and Blacks and said to them: "Take cows and goats and live with
them." But to the first chiefs of the Bushmen he said: "Take
the antelopes and live on them; make traps and hunt and live in
the bush."

The expression Huwu or Huwuba is known and is supposed to
776 designate the great captain of the men in the north. The details
given by Miss Bleek concerning //Gauwa are interesting. In the
opinion of the Naron and ≠Auin, //Gauwa is the spirit of a de-
[775] ceased person. Medicine men can also see these spirits; the
[777] women can only hear them. Many a woman declared that only
men who had gone through the initiation ceremony and who have
two scars between the eyebrows can become //Gauwa. A strong,
howling wind is also designated as //Gauwa, however. A few in-
dividuals also believe in a chief spirit by this name, who lives
near Hise in the east and to whose house the spirits return by day.
Some designate //Gauwa as the younger brother of Hise; others
identify him with the latter.

The Naron put both masculine and feminine endings on the
word Hise. Among the ≠Auin he appears during their dances at

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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THE KIN TERMINOLOGY SYSTEM OF THE /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THE Peabody Harvard Kalahari Expedition, under the leadership of Laurence K. Marshall, has made four field trips between 1950 and 1955 into the Kalahari Desert in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate to find and study Bushmen who were living in their own way, and not working for white farmers or for Negroes. The last of the four expeditions, that of 1955, was sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution as well as by the Peabody Museum of Harvard. 121 122

Our principal study was made with the /Kung Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. The Nyae Nyae region extends about 150 miles north and south, about 100 miles east and west, and is centred approximately at Gautscha Pan, which is located at *c.* 19° 48′ 30″ S. and 20° 34′ 36″ E. on the map of a survey of the area by the Administration of South West Africa dated 7.11.1935. The Nyae Nyae region is separated from the farmed areas of South West Africa by a stretch of waterless, uninhabited country over 100 miles wide. 131

We chose the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region for concentrated study because they are the least acculturated Bushmen we found.[1] They are non-literate, nomadic hunters and gatherers, with no agriculture or domesticated animals. They are completely self-reliant [121] 105 177

[1] On the expeditions we travelled extensively in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The groups of Bushmen we encountered were, in addition to the /Kung of Nyae Nyae, /Kung outside the Nyae Nyae region at Karakuwise, Nuragas, Khadum, and at water holes south of Gum in South West Africa, and at Kai Kai, Kubi and other places along the western border of Bechuanaland, where Chwana and Herero have cattle posts; Makaukau and Naron near Ghanzi, B. P.; /Kõ at Okwa and at Barachu, about 50 and 100 miles south of Ghanzi respectively; /Gikwe about 100 miles south-east of Ghanzi in the trackless sandy plain that lies between Ghanzi and Molepolole, where during the dry season there is no water; and //Ganakwe still farther south, below Chukudu. We studied the kinship terminology of the /Kõ and /Gikwe; Professor L. F. Maingard, for a time a member of the 1955 expedition, studied the /Kõ language, which has the labial (fifth) click of the southern group. [101]

Professor I. Schapera and Miss D. F. Bleek, in their Bushman studies, record information on these groups. For more data on the various names by which the groups are known and the areas in which they were found and the language groups into which Miss Bleek's studies place them, see especially Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 31 ff., and Bleek, D. F., 'The Distribution of Bushman Languages in South Africa', *Festschrift Meinhof*, pp. 55 ff.

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8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Oschimpoloveld. On the east they extend into the Bechuana- /01
land Protectorate and on the north into Angola. Among /131
them are included the *†Aukwe* or *‡Ao-//ŏin* in the south between Sandfontein and */Gam*, the *Ssu-‡gnassi* to the north-east and the *‡Küng* to the northwest.

Next in importance and numbers to the Bushmen of the /01
Kalahari are the *Hei-//om* living in the vicinity of the /131
Etosha Pan and on the outskirts of Ovamboland in the Groot- /177
fontein and Outjo districts. They are generally believed to [174]
have resulted from the interbreeding of Hottentots with a now extinct tribe of Bushmen which originally inhabited the greater portion of the present Damaraland and Ovamboland. Their manner of life is still that of Bushmen but, unlike their [197]
neighbours of the Kalahari, they have no language of their own and speak a Nama dialect. Except among the groups in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organisation has disappeared almost completely. The groups living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture. In Eastern Ovamboland they are known by the Ovambo as *Ovachwagga;* in north-western Ovamboland they call themselves *Ovambo* Bushmen but are referred to by the Ukuanyama as *Wakeddi* or *Ovakeddi*. Both *Ovachwagga* and *Ovakeddi*, especially the [582]
latter, are being rapidly absorbed into the *Ovambo* through intermarriage. The *Ovachwagga* speak both the Ovambo and [191
Hottentot languages. Among the *Ovakeddi*, on the other 197]
hand, only the older members of the various groups still have a knowledge of the latter language. Of the groups along the banks of and immediately to the north of the Ovambo Omuramba very little is known. To the west they are in contact with the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha region; to the north with the Ovambo and to the east with */Küng* of the Oschimpoloveld or northern Omaheke. The *Hei-//om* of the remaining portions of Grootfontein and Outjo and of the districts of Otjiwarongo and Gobabis are scattered about on farms and are living in close association with Hottentots and Klip Kaffirs with whom they show various degrees of intermixture. In Gobabis there is only a small remnant, known locally also as the *Nama* or *Kakuja* Bushmen on account of the extent to which they have interbred with these races and the neighbouring tribes of the Kalahari.

Of the tribes which were left in Namaqualand during the /01
latter half of the last century only a few individuals have /131
survived. The */Geinin* of the Namib between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//Obanen* of the Huns Mountains, and the */Koma-san* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateau have disappeared completely. The */Huinin* are represented by a few groups at the southern extremity of the */Huib* plateau and adjacent part of the Namib. The */Ganin* of the Nauwkloof Mountains have likewise become almost totally extinct.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

533 534 The young, unmarried man took a small musical instrument out of his hunting-bag, borrowed a dry tsama rind from one of the women, and, setting the instrument on the hollow rind, began to play. He filled the air with sweet, soft music, full of resonance and open, minor chords, even of rhythm and timbre as a music box would be.

The instrument itself was made of a small, flat piece of wood four or five inches square, with eleven metal prongs attached to it, arranged in two rows across two bridges. The melon rind acted as a resonator for the prongs, which were of different sizes and, when plucked, vibrated and rang like bells, in a scale which was not the octave and which I have never heard before. The name of the instrument is *te k'na,* and I believe that it is not native to Bushmen but traded from the Bantu people. Many Bushmen have them, though: Bushmen like music of any kind.

264 Soon the cornmeal was ready and we served it to the visitors on pieces of bark, in bowls formed from halves of tortoise shells, in tsama rinds. Bushmen have very little liquid food that does not come in its own natural container, and therefore they do not provide themselves with bowls. The [145 177] bowls they do have, carved from wood—an art learned from the Bantu people—are constantly in use as containers for small, loose objects, such as seeds or unstrung beads. Since the cornmeal was hot and runny, the people had some difficulty eating it with their fingers, but they got it down, the women hesitating a long time, watching the men, before they [609 538] dared to try it. I think they were afraid it would harm them, as I have heard many Bushman stories of strangers who poison tobacco or food. When they had eaten their servings and 264 609 578 found that they did not die, they had more, a morsel at a time. We might have presented the pot to let the people help themselves, but by now we knew better. Bushmen expect

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the buffalo's horn had wounded him. Otherwise, he looked 609
very well. All the people seemed well, especially the children.
Toma's oldest son wore a crown of badger skin with the long 291
hair standing up on it, and two safety pins that we had given 177
him, which he wore as earrings in his pierced ears. With all 301
this he looked bold as a pirate. His brother was nearly as big
as he was, and his sister, Norna, now three, was a slender,
graceful child who regarded the world with dark, wondering
eyes.

Norna's sixteen-year-old uncle, Tu's brother, was there too. 481
He was a lame boy; he had been crippled in one leg since 732
childhood and could hobble only with the help of a long stick.
People had despaired of him, believing that he would never
be able to hunt and therefore never marry or inherit the head-
manship of Gautscha Pan, but when we saw him now and
looked at him closely we noticed a fine row of scars between 881
his eyes and on his arms and chest and we knew that he had 304
hunted and killed an antelope and had been scarified in his
initiation. We had planned on this trip to give him presents
of all kinds, to make him rich, so that he could marry whether
he could hunt or not, but we saw now that this would not be
necessary. When he knew that we had noticed his scars he
told us in great detail the story of the hunt. He told us how he
had gone out with a group of hunters, how he had first seen [224]
the two horns of a kudu above a clump of bushes, how he had
silently hobbled near it, propped himself on his crutch, and
shot it with a poisoned arrow. The arrow had penetrated
deeply and the lame boy had returned to tell the others. They
had followed it with him for a day and in the evening had
found it dead. It was the lame boy's kudu, though; he shot it,
and to Bushmen that is the important thing. He was scarified [884]
with a paste made of the kudu's meat, and ever after that he
was a man.

174 place, and stayed. In *Nyae Nyae*, the !Kung have since lived on unchanged —replacing only their bone arrow-
[411 points with metal ones, made from the nails and wire that filtered into the
● 177] desert after the Europeans' entry into South West Africa.

178 The !Kung nation cannot so live for much longer. Already their last lands are being occupied by the Herero nation—Bantu-speakers—who say: "The Bushmen are like our children. We feel obligated to care for them." It seems likely that, in a few years, these lands will be farmed by white people. Then, if the past of other Bushmen is any omen, some !Kung will become farm laborers, some will contract syphilis, some will die and some will breed. Few will marry.

000 SO MUCH for the little history and the brief geography. How do the !Kung live in *Nyae Nyae?* Human ecology is the study of the relation-

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to the /Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae /Kung eat hearty meals of meat when they have been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount. They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger.

The /Kung are quite conscious of the value of meat-sharing and they talk about it, especially about the benefit of the mutual obligation it entails. The idea of sharing is deeply implanted and very successfully imposes its restraints. To keep meat without sharing is one of the things that just is not done.

Gift-giving

The custom of gift-giving comes, in my opinion, second only to meat-sharing in aiding the /Kung to avoid jealousy and ill will and to develop friendly relations. /Kung society puts considerable emphasis on gift-giving. Everything a person has may have been given to him and may be passed on to others in time. The /Kung make their artifacts, on the whole, of durable material and take good care of them. They last for generations and move in a slow eddy among the people. The dealings are only between individuals, but they are numerous and provide occasion, perhaps more than any one other activity does, for visits which bring whole bands into polite encounter.

We gave cowrie shells as parting gifts in 1951 to the women in ≠Toma's band, the band which first sponsored us and with which we stayed and did our consistent work, wherever they were, on each expedition. We had carefully observed that there were no cowrie shells among /Kung ornaments before we gave them. Ours were bought from a New York shell dealer, perhaps to the confusion of future archaeologists. We gave to each woman enough for a short necklace, one large brown shell and twenty smaller grey ones. In 1952 there was hardly a cowrie shell to be found in Band 1. They appeared, not as whole necklaces, but in ones and twos in people's ornaments to the edges of the region.

The /Kung have not developed special objects to use as gifts. Nor have they invested ordinary objects with special gift significance. What they give each other are the common artifacts and materials of everyday life (see Appendix). Some objects are more highly valued than others as gifts, as one would expect. I gathered that relative scarcity of material was a factor and that objects were appreciated for their beauty, workmanship, and appropriate size (a wide headband is better than a narrow one). People took an interest in remembering to whom an object had been given in the recent past, but the /Kung, who are present-oriented, do not place special value upon antiquity as such or systematically hold the distant past in mind.

The /Kung decorate their artifacts very little (they have developed music and dancing, not the plastic or pictorial arts), but they delight in ornaments with which to adorn themselves. The intrinsic beauty, the meaningfulness, and the relief to the monotony of yellow-brown skin and grey-brown leather karosses are all valued.

301 431 The most highly valued gifts are the traditional ornaments of ostrich egg-shell beads, especially the wide headbands and necklaces of five or six strings of beads reaching to the umbilicus. The creamy white is becoming to them. They like European beads also, of all colours, though white is definitely their preference. The only thing they do not like about beads, Gao Beard told us, is shortness of the string. After ornaments, the /Kung value implements or utensils, *||guashi* or dance rattles, which have required time and care to make, but perhaps more especially valued are metal objects and pots. The latter are obtained by trade. The /Kung do not trade among [438] themselves. They consider the procedure undignified and avoid it because it is too likely to stir up bad feelings. They trade with the Bantu, however, in the settlements along the B.P. border. The /Kung offer well-tanned antelope hides and ostrich egg 439 shell beads. For these they obtain tobacco, beads, knives, axes, malleable metal for making arrow-points and spear-blades, and occasional files and chisels, fire-strikers, and pots.

The odds are with the Bantu in the trading. Big, aggressive, and determined to 435 have what they want, they easily intimidate the Bushmen. Several /Kung informants 439 said that they tried not to trade with Herero if it was possible to avoid it because, although the Tswana were hard bargainers, the Herero were worse. /Qui said he had been forced by a Herero whom he was afraid to anger to trade the shirt and pants we had given him as our parting gift in 1952 for a small enamel pan and a little cup. /Ti/kay had more gumption. A Herero at the beginning of a negotiation with him brought out a good-sized pile of tobacco but took from it only a pinch when it was time to pay. /Ti/kay picked up the object he was trading and ran off. ≠Toma said with amused exaggeration that 'a very good Herero, a respectable one, will give a handful of tobacco for five cured steinbok skins. A bad Herero will give a pipeful (he showed the size of his fingernail) for three skins.' The Tswana values are a little better. A well-tanned gemsbok hide brings a pile of tobacco about 14 inches in diameter and about 4 inches high. The values vary. Some that were reported to us were three rooibok, duiker, or steinbok skins for a good-sized knife, five strings of ostrich egg-shell beads for a spear.

439 The /Kung have become dependent on metal, especially knives, axes, and arrow-points. They have been able to trade enough for every man to have these implements. [illegible] They could, however, exist without them and do still use a few bone and wood arrow-points. Poison makes their arrows deadly, not penetrating power. The pots are Ovambo or Okavango pottery (the /Kung make no pottery themselves) or European ironware. The /Kung like to have a pot around to borrow sometimes; not [458] everyone wants to carry one. They cook mostly in hot ashes. More for their novelty, I thought, than for their worth, the /Kung trade also for old oddments of cloth garments (they weave neither cloth nor mats), pieces of blankets, basins, &c.—things they do not really need—but which they like.

276 431 Tobacco they need 'to make the heart feel better'. Oddly enough for these passionate smokers, tobacco was not given so much emphasis in gift-giving as one might expect. They do make gifts of tobacco, but when anyone lights a pipe he passes it around anyway; all present drag smoke into their lungs until they almost faint and it has not mattered much who owned the tobacco.

302 431 Eland fat is a very highly valued gift. An eland provides so much fat that people

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can afford to be a little luxurious. They rub it on themselves and on their implements and they eat it. ≠Toma said that, when he had eland fat to give, he took shrewd note of certain objects he might like to have and gave their owners especially generous gifts of fat. 302 431

Real property and the sources of food and water are owned by the headman for the band and cannot be given away. However, meat, once it is distributed after the hunt, and veldkos, once it is gathered, become private property and may be given. Artifacts are privately owned by the individual man, woman, or child, as outrightly owned if received as a gift as if made by the individual. They borrow and lend a great deal—in itself this is one of the ways they support each other and aid themselves in maintaining social solidarity—but this does not blur the clarity of ownership. Each object acquires some markings of its own from the maker and from usage. It is easy for the /Kung, with their highly developed powers of observation and visual memory, to keep track of the commonest objects, know the ownership, and remember the history of the gifts. 422 431 [423]

As far as we know, no artifacts or materials are taboo as gifts. For instance, women may be given weapons, although it is taboo for women to touch them. 431 [989]

In quantity the gifts varied. One which /Ti/kay gave to ≠Toma was considered generous. It was a fine ostrich egg shell headband, three ostrich egg shells, and a well-tanned duiker skin as soft as suede. Another generous gift consisted of a knife, a spear, and a triple string of traded white European beads. Often gifts were less. The feelings persons have for each other, the degree of their past indebtedness, what they happen to possess and can give, determine the generosity of the gift.

The acquisition *per se* of the objects was seldom, I believe, of primary importance to most individuals in gift-giving—that is, if the objects were their own artifacts. As the /Kung come into more contact with Europeans—and this is already happening—they will feel sharply the lack of our things and will need and want more. It makes them feel inferior to be without clothes when they stand among strangers who are clothed. But in their own life and with their own artifacts they were comparatively free from material pressures. Except for food and water (important exceptions!) of which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have a sufficiency—but barely so, judging from the fact that all are thin though not emaciated—they all had what they needed or could make what they needed, for every man can and does make the things that men make and every woman the things that women make. No one was dependent upon acquiring objects by gift-giving. 182 431 [834]

They lived in a kind of material plenty because they adapted the tools of their living to materials which lay in abundance around them and which were free for anyone to take (wood, reeds, bone for weapons and implements, fibres for cordage, grass for shelters), or to materials which were at least sufficient for the needs of the population. The Nyae Nyae /Kung had hides enough for garments and bags; they kept extra hides when they needed them for new garments or when they wanted them for trade; otherwise they ate them. The /Kung could always use more ostrich egg-shells for beads to wear or trade with, but, as it is, enough are found for every woman to have a dozen or more shells for water containers—all she can carry—and a goodly number of bead ornaments. 182 433

In their nomadic hunting-gathering life, travelling from one source of food to 182 431

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/KUNG BUSHMAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS[1]

LORNA MARSHALL

MY purpose in this paper is to describe some of the religious beliefs held currently by the /Kung Bushmen of the interior bands of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. I shall limit the paper to a description of their concepts of the gods, the problem of evil, supplication, the spirits of the dead, and the ceremonial curing dance, but leave for another paper a more detailed account of medicine men, how they become medicine men, and more about their practices and beliefs. We gathered the information which I present principally on our expeditions of 1952–3 and 1955.

Schapera traces considerable borrowing in the past by the Bushmen from Hottentots and Bergdama.[2] I did not have opportunity to trace, to any significant extent, possible present-day borrowing or exchange of ideas, and can only report that contact, and therefore opportunity for exchange, takes place between the interior bands of /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region and the Tswana and Herero on the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung have contact also, but much less frequently, with Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south and through them to some extent with Naron in the Ghanzi region of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae occasionally see /Kung to the north of their region, who in turn see the Okavango and Ovambo tribes. Although the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not enough contact with white people before we came to absorb any Christian ideas directly from them, and no Christian missionary has been in the interior of the region, an influence of Christianity cannot be precluded because the Tswana do have contact with Christianity. Our own highly valued interpreter, Kernel Ledimo, who grew up near the border and spoke Bushman from his childhood, had been educated in an Anglican mission school. Although there has been contact with people who have Christian ideas, I do not recognize with certainty any Christian elements among /Kung beliefs.

One is left to wonder if the change in the concept of the nature of the gods, particularly in that of the great god, which appears when one compares the old tales with current concepts, was brought about entirely by the philosophical and logical powers of the /Kung themselves and by their adjustment to emotional needs, or whether influences from without played some part. I hope that the research of others may throw light on this point.

I should like to mention a few of the well-known Bushman beliefs, recorded in the past, which the present Nyae Nyae /Kung do *not* have and then proceed to a more systematic description of beliefs which they hold at present.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung have various beliefs and lore about the sun and moon, Canopus, the Pleiades, and other stars, and they have the well-known myth of the moon and the hare; but they do not attribute active divinity to the heavenly bodies, which are 'just stars', they say in effect, and we did not find that they either fear

[1] We are grateful for a grant towards the publication of this long article.

[2] I. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, London: Routledge, 1930. Reference is particularly to chapter vii.

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where the names came from ('The old people told us that he gave himself these names', they said) and I do not have sufficient relevant comparative material to throw possible light on the question. Informants said that ≠*Gaolna* was the oldest of the names of God and that */Gara* was the next oldest. 776

The Names of the Lesser God

The great god named the lesser god by giving him all of his own 'divine' names but not his human name, ≠*Gaolna*. 553 776

Having been named for the great god, the lesser god is the great god's namesake, his *!guma* (*!gu* is name, *ma* is small or younger), and the great god is the *!gu!na* (*!na* means old, older, or big).

The concept of the namesake, and of the relationship between the *!gu!na* and the *!guma*, is an important one in the /Kung kinship system.[1] */Gu!na* and *!guma* are always of the same sex, /Kung names being sex-linked. One shares in some mystical way the entity of the person for whom one is named. Incest taboos require that one must not marry the parent or offspring of one's *!gu!na* or *!guma*. Behaviour between a *!gu!na* and a *!guma* is as open and free from formal restrictions as any in /Kung society. They have the joking relationship. Only the usual respect of the young for the old is expected.

The opposite conditions exist between parent and child. A man must not name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Parent and offspring do not have the joking relationship.

It was interesting to me to find the great and lesser god in the *!gu!na–!guma* relationship rather than the father–son relationship, as it offers some evidence that the concept of the two gods is not influenced by the Christian concept of God, the father, and Jesus, the son. Also one comes to see that the father-son relationship would not serve the Bushmen as well as the *!gu!na–!guma* relationship in explaining the problem of evil, for a son would not present as sharp a duality, but, according to human standards, would express respect, obedience, deference, propriety, and assistance, which is not *in total* the function of the lesser god. 776 [177 773]

The Names of the Wives of the Gods

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe that ≠*Gaolna* gave all his own 'divine' names to both of the wives; *di*, the suffix which means 'female' is added: *Hishedi*, *Hnwedi*, *Kxodi*, */Garadi*, *Gani gadi*, ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gaidi*, *||Gamwadi*.

≠*Gaolna*, the great god's human name, is not applied to the wives, men's names never being given to women. One would say instead ≠*Gaolna a tsan*, '≠*Gaolna* his wife'. [553]

Each wife has a human name as well. The elder one, who usually lives alone with ≠*Gaolna*, is named *Khwovalna*, Old Khwova. The younger one is *||Gow*. (*||Gow* rhymes with *how*. The *ao* sound in the men's names Gao, ≠Gao, and /Gao I use arbitrarily and mean by it a slightly shorter, more closed sound, like the *ou* in *ouch*.) We knew only two women named *||Gow* but knew many Khwovas. [104] [553]

The wives of the gods may be referred to or addressed by a respect term, used [576]

[1] Cf. Lorna Marshall, 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, no. 1, Jan. 1957, pp. 1–25.

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sticks. /Kai /Kini cooked his food with the fire. Other people ate raw food. One day ≠*Gao/na* was walking in the veld and he came upon the place where /Kai /Kini was living. He was not there but his children were. They were eating cooked //*karu*. ≠*Gao/na* asked for some and found it very good. ' Oh, you eat nice cooked food,' said ≠*Gao/na*. ' How do you cook it? ' The children said, ' Our father has a nice thing and he always gives us cooked food. He does all the best for us.' ≠*Gao/na* said, ' I shall come back tomorrow and eat this kind of food again.' 539

Next day he went back. As he was walking along he saw /Kai /Kini and his children digging for food in the ground and he hid himself and watched. When they had gathered enough, they went back to their werf and /Kai /Kini went and got his fire sticks from the place where he had hidden them. He twirled and twirled and twirled the male stick against the female stick, saying, 'Fire will come; fire will come.' When the fire was made and the food was cooking, /Kai /Kini hid his fire sticks again. ≠*Gao/na* was watching all the time. When the food was dished up, he came out from his hiding-place and sat down by the fire and they all ate together.

After a while ≠*Gao/na* said, ' Now we must make a game to play ', and he made a *jani* toy, mounting it with a guinea-fowl feather, weighting it with a *tsi* nut. He tossed it into the air with his stick and, when it floated down, ran and caught it and tossed it up again and again without its ever falling to the ground. /Kai /Kini wanted to play. ≠*Gao/na* gave him the *jani*, but /Kai /Kini could not toss it high and did not get away from his house in following it. ≠*Gao/na* said the guinea-fowl feather was no good, they must put a big paouw feather on it. This they did and the *jani* flew high. ≠*Gao/na* then opened the wind and the wind blew from the eastern side and blew the *jani* toward the west. /Kai /Kini followed and followed it, fascinated, tossing it higher each time he caught it. ≠*Gao/na* followed /Kai /Kini and, when they came to the place where the fire sticks were hidden, he seized them and ran with them into the veld. As he ran he broke them into little pieces and then threw them the whole world over. ' All the world is going to get fire now ', he said. ' Fire, fire, go over the world.' Since then there has been fire in every piece of wood and all men can get it out and cook their food. /Kai /Kini stopped playing and looked at ≠*Gao/na*. ≠*Gao/na* told him, ' It is not right that you alone should have fire. From now on you will not be a person ', and he changed /Kai /Kini into a bird named ≠*orr*.

These events were told by the old old people. They happened long ago.

The Present Image: /Gao/na, *the Creator*

In his present image, the image of power, ≠*Gao/na*, the creator and controller of all things, is very different from the old protagonist. Bushman informants insisted on their belief, nevertheless, that ≠*Gao/na* of the tales and ≠*Gao/na*, the great god of the eastern sky, are one and the same. For them, through the name, one being has merged into the other and a continuity has been maintained. 776

The /Kung did not bring up the question of how his nature became so changed. I surmise that it may have been when the name *Hawe* found its way from the Bergdama to the /Kung, and the name *Hishe* from the Auen, that certain elements of the present image came in, changing the earthly old ≠*Gao/na* into a lofty sky god. But I know nothing about the names */Gara*, *Gani ga*, and ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gai* and nothing about the time or order in which the names may have been created by the /Kung, or adopted, or with which characteristic one or the other may be associated. I *am* sure that current emotional needs and the imaginations of the people who are now living have continued to be at work upon the image, interpreting it, re-creating it, and bringing it to its present form. [177 178]

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are big doors on the ends and small doors on the sides. Our informants believe that all the *||gamwasi* (spirits of the dead) live on the lower floor, and that *≠Gao/na* and his wife and children live on the upper floor. Although the house differs so much from a Bushman scherm, the /Kung use the same word for it, *choo*. No mortal has seen *≠Gao/na*'s dwelling place, not even the greatest of medicine men. The old people were told about it, but how they were told is not known. When *≠Gao/na* appears to the great medicine men he meets them somewhere else. 776

The image of the house accords with beliefs held by North-Western Bushmen as Schapera reports: 'But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Hnwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama.'[1]

The image accords in several respects also with that of the Eastern Kung, whom Lebzelter describes, except that in the belief of the Eastern Kung the spirits of the dead live on the upper floor and *≠Gao/na* on the lower.[2] The stone walls and the corrugated iron roof are the new elements, added as the Nyae Nyae /Kung visualize him in his present power, possessing and commanding all things. [177]

Only exceptionally great medicine men see *≠Gao/na*. If I understood correctly, this is not because he is generally invisible but because he comes near only to them. *≠Gao/na* is 'wild', as an animal is 'wild', meaning 'keeping his distance'. He has so much power in him that he is dangerous. If he came into a werf his power might destroy it. Some of the medicine men said that *≠Gao/na* would not come nearer than about a hundred yards, pointing to a tree to illustrate the distance. /Ti/kay, who claimed that he himself had never seen *≠Gao/na*, said that even a big medicine man is apt to be frightened when he sees *≠Gao/na* for the first time and might say, 'What does this man want? He is bad. I don't like him.' /Ti/kay continued, saying that even a *very* big medicine man, long in medicine, having seen *≠Gao/na* many times, would still be frightened, but when sickness came and he was curing and was full of power, he would keep a 'tight heart' and take a stick and would rush at *≠Gao/na* and hit him and yell, 'You sent a bad sickness. You must take it back.' And the sick person would get better. This is how all the medicine men habitually treat the lesser god and the spirits of the dead, whom they meet regularly at the medicine dances, but, as *≠Gao/na* does not come to the medicine dances, the great medicine man would encounter him only under special circumstances and would indeed need all his courage. 776 756

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 397.

[2] 'This "supreme being" [*Hnwe* or *Xu*] is regarded as anthropomorphic, he looks like a Bushman and he also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky in a house with two storeys, the lower of which is occupied by himself, his wife, whose name is unknown, and many children, while the upper is occupied, as already mentioned, by the souls of the dead (*xu*). In appearance this house is similar to the ordinary Bushman hut, although not quite the same, and its exterior is "hairy like a caterpillar." Honey, locusts, fat flies, and butterflies are found here in superabundance, and the "great captain" feeds upon these; the souls of the dead, however, merely sit around and eat nothing. *Xu* summons the magicians to their profession, and gives them supernatural powers; he is the lord over rain and lightning, as well as over the spirits, *||gamab*, and through the chief of the latter he sends good fortune in hunting or in the collection of veldkos. If anybody thinks or speaks evil of him, he punishes the evildoer with lightning; otherwise he takes no interest in the doings of his "Bushman children", except when somebody swears falsely by him, for the Kung have a regular oath in which they invoke him. He is prayed to by them in fixed form for rain, in case of severe illness, before going out hunting or before undertaking a dangerous journey' (Ibid., p. 184).

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drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope.

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

174 [172] 1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at ●177 the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or 131 exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

131 (3) 162 The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

144 (4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into cate- [114] gories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

114 147 (5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been published by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

224 126 (6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

553 102 121 (7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

177 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had
411 metal weapons, and utensils and clothing of European manu-
415
291 facture for at least 40 years.

162 Among the 34,800 Bushmen classified as non-hunting,
433 there are, of course, many degrees of economic development. At one extreme, there are the second generation farm Bushmen of the Grootfrontien, Gobabis and Ghanzi Districts who have permanently given up the traditional subsistence round. Other farm Bushmen spend the rainy season living in the veld and work on the farms only in the winter dry season.

Many of the Bushmen in Ngamiland and the Crown Lands have made an excellent adjustment to modern conditions. For instance the Mababe and Pandamatenga people enjoy a settled village life combined with hunting for cash furs with rifles and steel traps. Many of the men work for hunting safaris where they have gained a good reputation as trackers and gun bearers.

433 The distribution of the various economic patterns is plotted on Map 4. There are four categories:

1. Full time hunting and gathering
2. Bantu-associated peoples with traditional lord-client relations
3. Independent villages with cash hunting and wage labor
4. European farm workers

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131
312
133
[162]

this area is waterless and uninhabited. In the center is a ring of pans and a series of waterholes which support at present a population of 1,200 !Kung Bushmen. They occupy an area of about 3,500 square miles (70 miles from east to west x 50 miles from north to south). This central complex of water sources is surrounded by a belt of waterless, uninhabited country that varies in width from sixty miles, on the east and north, to over one hundred miles on the west and south. Access to the interior is limited. One line of wells links Tsumkwe in the interior with Grootfontein on the west.

[491] Two rarely used motor tracks join the interior with the Okavango swamp to the east. A police patrol road cut in 1954-55 runs from south to north along the B.P./S.W.A. border. The maximum vehicle speed obtainable on these tracks is 20 mph [199] and trucks pass through about once a month. The difficulty of the terrain, the lack of farming potential, and the scarcity of water have deterred European and Bantu penetration of the area.

[114] The distinction between periphery and interior has been applied to the country of the central !Kung by John Marshall (1957) and Lorna Marshall (1960:327ff). The present usage differs from that of the Marshalls. They applied the term "interior" to the Nyae Nyae ring of pans and regarded the waterholes at /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa as peripheral. Since

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648 The Bushman residents of Bechuanaland, however, were not immediately affected by these restrictions. They continued to hunt and gather on the South West side and to visit their kinsmen at localities in the Nyae Nyae area.

648 <u>The period of European presence, 1960-1965</u> - In 1960, the
177 South African Government put into operation its plan to civilize the !Kung Bushmen of the interior. A government station was set up at Tsumkwe where a borehole was sunk. Mr. C. V. McIntyre, the Bushman Affairs Commissioner, took up residence at Tsumkwe. The !Kung Bushmen from Nyae Nyae were
[241] ingathered and provided with rations of maize meal. After they had been settled around the borehole a program was initiated to teach them agriculture. Because of a series of drought years this program has not met with success.

[162] By 1964, over 800 !Kung Bushmen had been settled at Tsumkwe. Less than 50 of these people had come from the
[178] Bechuanaland side. It is not clear why the Bechuanaland
[162] !Kung have not participated in this program to a greater
[224] extent, but the fact remains that over 350 !Kung continue to
[222] hunt and gather in the Dobe area and seem to indicate no intention of moving to Tsumkwe.[1]

648 The latest development in the political situation in

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[1]Some B.P. Bushmen insist that they were refused permission to live at Tsumkwe. Others say they fear to go there.

412 The women possess several other tools which are of subsidiary importance in the food quest:

- wooden mortar and pestle
- wooden spatula for moving ashes
- carved wooden serving spoon
- tortoise shell bowl
- bundle of tail feathers for fanning the cooking fire
- pottery containers of Bantu manufacture
- iron pots and enamel bowls of European manufacture.

415 • 177 224 411 The mens' hunting kit represents the most evolved sector of Bushmen technology. It includes at least 19 different tools made from seven kinds of raw materials. The primary weapons include:

[177] 1. bow
[278] 2. arrow poison
[231] 3. spear
4. springhare probe
5. knobkerrie(club)
6. iron tipped arrows
7. quiver
8. hunting dogs
9. rope snares

Secondary weapons include:

[372] 10. fire drill
[177] 11. flint and steel fire making kits
[412] 12. digging stick
[283] 13. iron knife
[177]
14. iron adze-axe
15. carrying yoke
16. knotted net

Manufacturing and repairing tools include:

[278] [415] 17. poison-making kit; humeral cup, pestle, applicator

18. whet stones of basalt

[283] 19. wild cotton for polishing rope snares

These raw materials are also part of the man's kit:

[283] 1. sinew

2. twine of natural fibers

3. iron fencing wire

[278] 4. supply of poisonous grubs

[237] 5. bone chips for making arrow link shafts

[411] 6. grass stems for arrows

7. wood for bows, poles and spear shafts

224 411 The construction of the hunting arrow will illustrate the complexity of the weaponry. The arrow consists of a mainshaft about 13 inches in length made from the stem of the grass Phragmites communis (Story 1964:94). Into this is inserted a bone linkshaft about two inches long, carved from the humerus or femur of giraffe, kudu, or gemsbok. The linkshaft is joined to the metal arrowhead by a hollow sec- [177] tion of grass stem one inch in length. The arrow head is commonly made from iron fencing wire. It consists of a stiff length of wire four to five inches long. The tip of the arrow is beaten into a small triangular blade one half inch from base to apex and five-sixteenths of an inch at the base.

824 is not eaten. Next is a casing of granular-textured fruit
262 which is eaten. The fruit encloses the nut itself. This consists of a thick outer shell which must be cracked open with the nut-cracking stones. Within the thick shell is a softer inner shell which encloses the nut kernel which is the staple of the Bushman diet. This inner kernel is "packaged" within four protective layers and this explains its remarkable storage properties.

824 In the late summer and autumn months the Bushmen eat
252 large quantities of both the fruit and the nut. First the women boil potfuls of whole fruit in order to separate the outer flesh from the hard shell. The flesh of the fruit produces a delicious fruit puree that tastes like stewed prunes. After the fruit is eaten, the nuts themselves are set aside for later cracking and eating.

184 The summer hunting situation appears to vary from camp
221 to camp. At the !Gausa camp very little hunting was done.
224 [179] The resident men assisted the Bantu in cattle herding and they
[648] received calabashes of sour milk as payment. At Characharaha
[464] the men hunted more, killing gemsbok, python and porcupine. At one summer camp, Mokoro, where there were no Bantu resident, two young men killed four large buck in the space of one month (two kudu and two gemsbok). This Mokoro camp was an
[179] unusually successful one. The availability of cows' milk and meat no doubt lessens the men's incentive for hunting

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

197 619 on account of their relative geographical distribution. These names may also be used as affording a convenient means of grouping the different tribes.[1]

619 The SOUTHERN GROUP is distributed mainly over the region roughly south of the Tropic of Capricorn. Of the tribes included in it the [197] best known, both ethnologically and linguistically, are the */xam-ka !ke* (i.e. */xam* people), commonly spoken of as the "Cape Bushmen". They were formerly spread over the greater part of the Cape Province south of the Orange River, and seem to have been very numerous. [162] They have, however, been almost completely exterminated, and at the present time only a few individuals still survive in the north-western districts of the Province, where they are mostly employed as farm hands by Europeans.[2]

A similar fate has overtaken several other tribes of this group. The *//ŋ !ke* ("home people") of Griqualand West and Gordonia are now also represented by only a few individuals, the majority of whom are farm hands in the Langeberg District.[3] East of them, in Orange Free State and Basutoland, lived other Bushmen, of whose [162] language, folklore, and customs some records have been preserved, but who are now apparently quite extinct, and whose tribal name even is unknown.[4] They will be spoken of here as the "Basutoland Bushmen". Still further east, on the shores of Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal, live a few other Bushmen as farm hands, evidently remnants of a tribe that once roamed over the High Veld of the Transvaal. They do not seem to have retained their own Bushman [177 197] name, but use the term *BaTwa* applied to them by the neighbouring Amaswazi, a Bantu tribe, traces of much intercourse with whom are 144 seen in both appearance and speech.[5]

[1] D. F. Bleek, "The Distribution of Bushman Languages in S. Africa," *Festschrift Meinhof*, 1927, pp. 55–64; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 1929, pp. 1–6; cf. also I. Schapera, "The Tribal Divisions of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), pp. 68–73.

[2] The literature on this tribe is considerable, although most of it is fragmentary. The most useful sources are: J. Barrow, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, 2 vols., London, 1801–4; T. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," *Globus*, xviii (1870), Nos. 5–10; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, Breslau, 1872; W. H. I. Bleek, *A Brief Account of Bushman Folklore and Other Texts*, London, 1875; L. C. Lloyd, *A Short Account of Further Bushman Material Collected*, London, 1889; G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1905; W. H. I. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends: Bushman Folklore*, Cape Town, n.d. (1923).

[3] D. F. Bleek, art. cit. in *Festschrift Meinhof*, p. 56; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, p. 1.

[4] T. Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration au Nord-Est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, Paris, 1842; J. M. Orpen, "A Glimpse into the Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, ix (1774), 1–13, reprinted in *Folk-Lore*, xxx (1919), 139–56; S. S. Dornan, "Notes on the Bushmen of Basutoland," *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, xviii (1909), 437–50.

[5] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

619 in the west to the Okavango and Lake Ngami on the north and east. They are divided into four main local groups, the *!Ogowe* of the Lower Omuramba Omatako, the *Agau* south-east of Karakuwisa, the *Nogau* of Karakuwisa and the Upper Omuramba Omatako, and [197] the *ǂKungau* north of Tsintsabis and along the Okavango, all of which, however, speak the same language and have identical customs and [162] beliefs. Their numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 500 and 800, but if one may judge from the statements of reliable observers such as Seiner and von Zastrow this figure is a good deal too low.

[197] North of the Okavango, in Southern Angola, are found a number of other Bushmen speaking the same language as the Kung of South-West Africa and calling themselves by the same name, or sometimes by the names *!gei !kū*, "red people," or *!o !kū*, "forest people." They extend north up to about 15° S. lat., west to about 16° E. long., and east as far as the border of North-West Rhodesia. These Angola Kung, or *!O Kung*, as they will be spoken of here, have been con- [177 considerably influenced in mode of life and customs by the interdwelling 144] Bantu peoples who are their overlords, and are gradually being absorbed into them through racial intermixture. They are sometimes referred to by the names applied to them by the Bantu: *BaKhankala* or *VaNkala* in the west, *BaSukuwera* in the centre, and *VaShekeli* in the east.[1]

To the west and south-west of the Kung in South-West Africa are the *Hei-//om* or *Heikum* ("tree dwellers"), who are scattered over a large extent of the country, from north of the Etosha Pan and the outskirts of Ovamboland in Grootfontein and Outjo districts to near Rehoboth in the south.[2] This part of South-West Africa is fairly densely settled by other peoples as well, so that it is possible for only a few of these Bushmen to lead their native life. Most of them now work on farms, and except among the bands in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organization is said to have 619 disappeared completely. Whether free or in service, the majority now 197 speak a Nama dialect, and in culture and physical characters also they have been influenced to a very great extent by the Nama and the 177 Bergdama. The bands living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture, and are rapidly being

[1] (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.*, xxi (1927), 47–56; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928), 105–25.
[2] H. Werner, op. cit.; L. Fourie, "Preliminary Notes on Certain Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6), 49–63; *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, Cape Town, 1928, pp. 79–105.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

absorbed into the OvaMbo through racial intermixture. Werner, however, found some of them speaking a language of their own. The examples he gives of this show it to be closely related to the language of the Kung, so that the tribe can be regarded as falling within the Northern group of Bushmen. Its numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 1,000 and 1,500.

619 197 177 ● [162]

The CENTRAL GROUP is composed of many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of Bechuanaland Protectorate, especially in the Central and Northern Kalahari. The languages of these tribes differ in some respects from those of the two previous groups, and present many close similarities to the Hottentot languages.

619 197

In close proximity to the Auen, by whom they are termed *Naron* ("insignificant people"), live the *//aikwe*, one of the best known of the Bushman tribes.[1] They are found principally in Bechuanaland Protectorate, their territory extending from Sandfontein in the west to Ghansi in the north-east and Okwa in the south-east. Further north and east, as far as Lake Ngami, are the closely related *Tsaukwe*, *Tsonokwe*, *ǂamkwe* and *!giŋkwe*, all friendly tribes, whose languages the *//aikwe* understand, and whom they include with themselves in the collective designation *K"am-ka Kwe*, "Mouth's people."[2]

Beyond them, in the marshy region extending from Lakes Ngami and Linyati in the south to the Okavango delta at Andara in the north, live the *Bugakwe*, *ǂgarikwe*, and *ǂgokwe*, who all speak the same language and term themselves collectively */tannekwe*, "river people."[3] In the sandy plains north and east of these tribes, between Okavango River and the Kwando, are the *Hukwe*, called *MaKwengo* by the MaMbukushu and *MaSarwa* by the BaRotse amongst whom they live. Still further east, between the Lower Kwando and the Zambesi Rivers, and probably extending into North-West Rhodesia, are the *Galikwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaDennassena*.[4] In

[1] H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, Oldenburg n.d. (1891), pp. 388–99; S. Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, Berlin, 1907; Gentz, "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," *Globus*, lxxxiii (1903), 297–301; lxxxiv (1903), 156–9; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari*, Cambridge, 1928.

[2] Passarge, op. cit., 24; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 2.

[3] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland und seine Bewohner," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxvii (1905), 649–716; F. Seiner, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung des Gebiets zwischen Okawango und Sambesi (Caprivi-Zipvel) in den Jahren 1905 und 1906," *Mitt. deutz. Schutzgeb.*, xxii (1911), 1–111; *idem*, "Die Buschmänner des Okawango- und Sambesigebietes der Nordkalahari," *Globus*, xcvii (1910), 341–5, 357–60.

[4] Seiner, op. cit.; J. C. B. Statham, *With my Wife across Africa by Canoe and Caravan*, London, 1924, 255–7; J. H. Wilhelm, "Aus dem Wortschatz der !Kun- und der Hukwe-Buschmannsprachen," *Z. EingebSpr.*, xii (1922), 291–304.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushme, FX 18

619 physical characters and certain aspects of their culture, these tribes
197 differ somewhat from the Naron and allied tribes, but their languages are of the same type.

619 South-east of Lake Ngami, in and around the Hainaveld, live the *Tserekwe*, *ǂdukwe*, and *ǂkabakwe*.[1] Further east, along the Botletle River and the south-east Okavango basin, are the *Ohekwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaTete*. Closely related to them are the *MaHura*, who live along the Lower Botletle and Lake Kumadau, extending in the east to the Makarrikarri depression.[2] The name these people are known by is obviously of Bantu origin; what they call themselves has not been recorded. Finally, in the Tati district on the eastern border of Bechuanaland Protectorate, and extending into the adjacent districts of Southern Rhodesia, are still other Bushmen, whose own name is apparently *Hiechware*, "people of the open country,"[3] but who are commonly spoken of simply as *MaSarwa*, a name which, as previously mentioned, is applied by the BeChwana to Bushmen
[177 generally. All these tribes have evidently been long exposed to Bantu
144] influence, and are strongly mixed with Bantu blood. Some of them still lead their traditional mode of life, but they are all to some extent subject to their Bantu neighbours, often acting as their huntsmen and cattle herds, as well as being required to pay them a regular tribute.

In addition to the tribes included in these main linguistic groups, there are two other groups of Bushmen of whom mention must be made. In the coastal province of Mossamedes, South-West Angola, a number of Bushmen are found between the Capondo River on the north and the Korocas River on the south.[4] Very little is actually known of them. They are spoken of only by their Bantu names—
[177 *BaKwando*, *BaKwisso*, *BaKubei*, and *BaKorocas*—and appear to
144] have been considerably influenced in race and culture by the neighbouring Bantu. Their distribution suggests that they may belong to the Northern Group of Bushmen, but as no information is available about their language this cannot be definitely asserted.

619 The other group comprises the few isolated inhabitants of the
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[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 25; R. Pöch, "Ethnographische und geographische Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," *Petermann's Mitt.*, lviii (1912), 15–20 and map.

[2] Passarge, loc. cit.; Pöch, op. cit.

[3] S. S. Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 37–112; *idem*, "Tati Bushmen," *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. xii (1921), 205–8; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, London, 1925.

[4] J. Oliviera Ferreira Diniz, *Populações indígenas de Angola*, Coimbra, 1918, 477–91.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

144 coming from the BaRotse and the BeChwana, is more strongly marked, especially in the Okavango-Zambesi basin. Here the Bushman tribes such as the Hukwe and the Galikwe, who have been longest in contact with the Bantu, are found to diverge most in appearance from the true Bushman type as seen south of the Molopo.

177 In culture, again, the Namib Bushmen and those south of the Molopo River form a separate division; the latter especially have 184 apparently been little affected by foreign influences, and in features such as art, ritual, and mythology have developed along special lines. The Northern tribes, on the other hand, have obviously been influenced in technology and several other aspects by contact with alien peoples. Their culture has consequently been modified and has deviated somewhat from that of their southern relatives. The North-Western tribes (Auen, Naron, and Kung) have certain well-marked features of social organization and religion not noticed further south, while the Heikum in many aspects of their culture show unmistakable signs of Hottentot and South-Western Bantu influence. The other Kalahari tribes, especially those to the north-east and in the extreme east, have been considerably influenced in material culture and to some extent also in religious beliefs and practices by the Chwana tribes among whom they live.

184 These differences are important. At the same time, it must be noted that little is known of the Namib Bushmen, who now live as scattered remnants. The Southern Bushmen also are now almost completely extinct, and the only aspect of their culture at all carefully investigated is religion and mythology, preserved in the texts collected by Bleek, Lloyd, and Orpen. The North-Western tribes, on the other hand, are the most fully studied of all. It is possible therefore that some of the differences apparent between them and other Bushmen may be due simply to lack of the relevant information about the latter. The North-Eastern tribes, again, have not yet been investigated with the thoroughness and detail they deserve. Here also the possibility remains that further knowledge about them may reveal more features in common with the other Bushmen than are at present observable.

Numbers

181 The distribution of the Bushmen over so many distinct political areas, their general inaccessibility, their nomadic hunting life and consequent habit of living in small separate bands all combine to render difficult any attempt to arrive at a comprehensive figure of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Dress and Decoration

Bushmen

281 291 Save where there has been a good deal of contact with European influences, all the Bushmen wear garments made entirely from the skins of animals, usually some kind of buck taken in the chase.[1] Complete nudity is hardly ever found, though it is reported on hearsay evidence by Miss Bleek of some of the wilder bands of Auen and Naron. [462] All the clothes are made by the men, who prepare not only their own garments but also those of their wives and children.

The principal garment of the men among all the Bushmen consists in a triangular piece of skin, two ends of which are tied together round the loins, while the third is passed between the legs and knotted on behind. [177] Some of the North-Eastern Bushmen (Tannekwe, Hukwe, Galikwe), who have been much in contact with the Bantu, have adopted the form of loin-cloth worn by the latter, in which a piece of skin passed between the legs is drawn before and behind through a leather girdle tied round the loins. A skin cloak ("kaross") is also worn by most of the men, especially in cold weather or when on the [284] march. This is tied over the right shoulder by means of strips of skin attached to two ends, and hangs so as to cover the back and, if large enough, also the chest, while leaving the arms and left shoulder free. It is sometimes worn slung over both shoulders and tied under the chin. The head is usually uncovered, but skin caps are sometimes seen, as well as leather sandals tied round the ankle with thongs.

281 415 482 411 On the march the men carry a round bag slung on over the right shoulder and hanging on the left hip. In it are carried all sorts of small possessions and food. A longer skin bag, containing the weapons, fire-sticks, etc., is also hung over the left shoulder. Bark quivers for the arrows are sometimes found as well, more especially among the Southern and Namib Bushmen.

281 291 The women wear a hanging apron in front, consisting in a piece of skin attached to a leather belt passing round the loins. It is often ornamented with bead or leather tassels. A smaller apron, covering only the genitals, is sometimes worn beneath this. The older women

[1] The fullest descriptions of Bushman dress and decoration are given by: Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 428–30; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 33–40; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140–3; Werner, "Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbaschleute," 255–7; Seiner, "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 297–8; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 87–90; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 8–10; E. Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 101–10.

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621 101 *!gom* or omungete nut; and the *xom-khoin* the people who *xom* or scrape together, the name indicating their method of collecting salt on the Etosha Pan, along whose southern border they live.[1] How the bands are named in the other tribes is not clearly stated. In the [114] literature they are spoken of as a rule in terms of the locality they inhabit, but no indication is given whether this is also the name by which they call themselves and are known to their neighbours.

These hunting bands are grouped into what are here called "tribes". 619 101 A tribe consists of a number of neighbouring bands, the members of which all speak what they themselves regard as one language. Each tribe has its own distinctive name. In the Southern and Central linguistic groups this usually ends in the word *!ke* or *kwe* respectively, i.e. "people"; but in most cases the meaning of the name itself has not been recorded or can no longer be determined. The few tribal names which can be interpreted seem to refer to some general characteristic of the people themselves or of the country which they inhabit. The *//ŋ !ke*, for example, are the "home people"; the *!tanneckwe* the "river people"; the *Hiechware* the "people of the open country", and the *!o !kŭ* the "forest people", while the *!kŭ* (*Kung*) are simply "people", or, as they would interpret the name "Bushmen". The *Hei-//om*, again, derive their name from the [177] Hottentot words *heis*, tree or bush, and *//om*, to sleep, and are therefore the "tree-sleeping people", i.e. those who sleep under trees; while the term *Naron*, by which the *//aikwe* now sometimes speak of themselves, appears to have been applied to them originally by the Auen and to mean "people who are insignificant".

619 The tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group. It has no social [197] solidarity, and is of very little, if any, importance in regulating social life. There appears to be no tribal organization among the Bushmen, nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all the members of the tribe, nor is collective action ever taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. The tribe in fact is merely a loose aggregate of independent hunting bands which have a common language and name.

621 The band, and not the tribe, is the real political body among the Bushmen. Each band is autonomous, leading its own life independently of the others. Its affairs are as a rule regulated by the [623] skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men in general. In [622] the North-Western tribes, however, each band has also a chief, whose

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50.

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114 131 621 There is unfortunately no reliable information available as to the extent of territory occupied by the band. The only writer to touch on this question is Seiner, who estimates that in the Grootfontein district in the north-east of South-West Africa the average hunting territory covers about 700 sq. km.[1] This figure, however, cannot be regarded even as approximate, for it is based on what is almost certainly an excessive estimate of the total Bushman population in that district.

Size of the Band

162 621 The number of people who make up a band varies from tribe to tribe, and even within the tribe itself, although it is never considerable. Some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen speak of bands containing from one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons,[2] but groups much smaller in size are also mentioned.[3] Certainly in more recent times the number of families living together seldom exceeded three or four.[4] The remnants of the Namib Bushmen now also live in very small groups of only a few persons,[5] and so do the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, where a band rarely has more than about twenty members.[6] Elsewhere Dorman states that he has seldom seen more than six or seven families together at a time, all told about thirty persons, and this was in a camp at permanent water.[7] The !O Kung in Angola are also found living together in very small bands. The largest group met by Miss Bleek consisted of sixteen men and fifteen women; everywhere else little parties were seen of from two to six men, with their wives and families.[8]

621 648 [177] In considering these figures it must be remembered that the Cape Bushmen were already being persecuted and dispersed, and their organization disintegrated, by their more powerful neighbours at the time when they came under observation, while the Namib Bushmen are now almost extinct and live in very unfavourable country. Whether they were formerly banded together in larger numbers there is no means of telling. The Hiechware and the !O Kung, again,

[1] Seiner, loc. cit.
[2] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 53.
[3] Burchell, op. cit., i, 456; Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 48; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 144.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii.
[5] Trenk, op. cit., 166; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Range, *Landeskunde . . . des Namalandes*, 73.
[6] Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 90.
[7] Ibid., 130.
[8] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

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male relatives of the chief with their wives and families.[1] The relationship to one another of the families in the bands of the other North-Western tribes is not indicated by our authorities. It is reasonable, however, to expect that most of them at least will be similarly connected, since as a rule married sons with their wives and children will remain together in the same band as their father, while married daughters will leave it to join the bands of their husbands. Moreover, in case of divorce the children remain with their father, and although unweaned children must go with their mother, they can be claimed later by him if he likes.[2] 621 [114] [591] [586]

Dornan says that "the Bushmen of the Kalahari are divided into many small clans",[3] but the term "clan", as used by him, applies sometimes to what has here been called a tribe, and sometimes to a hunting band. He speaks also of exogamous "totemic families" and "totemic clans" among the Hiechware and adjoining tribes, but admits that here the occurrence of this "totemism" is the result of Bantu influence.[4] There is no evidence yet that definitely goes to show the existence of totemism among any of the other Bushman peoples. 114 614 [177]

Nor, as far as can be seen at present, is there any real clan organization among the Bushmen.[5] The bands of the Cape and Namib Bushmen and of the !O Kung are certainly not clans, while the little we know of the social structure of the band among the North-Western Bushmen does not in itself justify our regarding them as such. There is also nothing at all to indicate the existence of a clan organization cutting across the system of grouping into hunting bands.

It must again be emphasized, however, that our knowledge of the social organization of the Bushmen is fragmentary, and that there are many questions relating to the structure of the band about which no adequate information is available. We are nowhere told clearly, for instance, how membership of the band is determined among the North-Western Bushmen.[6] In general it would seem that children 621 611

[1] Op. cit., 86. [2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 34; Kaufmann, op. cit., 117.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 67. [4] Op. cit., 161; cf. 68, 128.
[5] The *clan* is commonly defined as "an exogamous, unilateral group of persons all the members of which are held to be related to one another and bound together by a common tie. This tie may be a belief in common descent from some ancestor, real or mythical, it may be the common possession of a totem, or the common habitation of a village or district" (*Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 5th ed., p. 55). A patrilineal clan is one of which membership is determined by descent traced through the male line, i.e. a person belongs to the clan of his father and his clansmen are related to him primarily through his father. A matrilineal clan is one in which descent is similarly traced through the mother.
[6] Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung (op. cit.), says curtly (p. 14) that a boy belongs to the family of his father, a girl to that of her mother ("Die Knaben gehoren zur Sippe des Vaters, die Mädchen zu der der Mutter"). This statement is at variance with all so far known about the Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed before it can be accepted as accurate. [114]

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CHAPTER V

SOCIAL HABITS AND CUSTOMS

DAILY LIFE AND FOOD

Daily and Seasonal Routine

THE life of the Bushmen is one long struggle for food. For their 221
subsistence they rely entirely on the natural products of their environment: their animal food is obtained mainly by hunting, and occasionally fishing, while their vegetable food consists of edible plants, roots, and fruits growing wild in the veld. Save where they [177]
have been very considerably influenced by other peoples, they neither practise agriculture nor keep domestic animals which can supply them with food in the way of meat or milk.

The very mode of their subsistence makes them all wanderers. As soon as the edible plants in the vicinity of one waterhole grow scarce, the people move on to another, following the movements of the game and the growth of the plants. In this way a few months are spent at one waterhole, then some months at another, perhaps at even a third or fourth, and it is often a year or more before the first is revisited.

In particular their movements are regulated according to the season 221
and the distribution of the rainfall upon which they are mainly 312
dependent for their food supply. In the Namib Desert and in the 423
Central and Northern Kalahari each band has different dry and rainy season quarters, to which it resorts as the growth of veldkos or the movements of the game necessitate. The Namib Bushmen roam about the sand dunes of their region during the rainy season and well into the dry season, but as soon as the water and the indispensable *Inaras* fruits found there are exhausted, they draw back into the mountains, where each band has its permanent waterholes.[1] Similarly the Bushmen in the Central Kalahari roam in the sandy plains during the rainy season, and still manage to live there for part of the dry season, even after standing water has disappeared, on succulent melons and roots; but when these also begin to fail the people are

[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166, 168.

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lighting a new fire at the next encampment, although this is a practice 372
which, as we have just seen, Fourie explicitly denies for the Heikum. 622
There is no indication at all in the available literature that similar [114]
usages relating to fire are found among the rest of the Bushmen, nor [184]
is there any further evidence of their occurrence among the tribes mentioned above. On the other hand the sacred fire also plays a 171
very conspicuous part in the social and ritual life of the OvaHerero, 372
OvaMbo, and Bergdama, all of them close neighbours of the Bushmen tribes among whom it is found, and with the last two of whom the Heikum at least have intermixed considerably. It is probable therefore that the special observances relating to fire among the Heikum and the [177]
Kung may represent borrowed elements of culture; but much fuller information is needed about them before this can be definitely asserted. Whatever their origin, however, these usages now obviously play an important part in the social life of the people. In particular, the fact that at the present time the chief of the band has certain ex- [622]
clusive functions in connection with fire is of outstanding significance in the whole sphere of public life, and one which cannot be dismissed merely because it may be due to the effects of contact with other peoples. To this point we shall have to return when discussing the political institutions of the Bushmen.

Special Usages relating to Food

There is not much information available about food taboos, but 262
it appears that, in some of the tribes at least, certain foods are forbidden 825
to persons at different stages of life. In the texts obtained by Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen there are preserved the details of some of the food taboos prevalent among this people. Thus little children were not allowed to eat the heart of the jackal (on account of this animal's great timidity), certain portions of the ostrich, or the tip of the springbok's tail; a menstruating girl might not eat game [841]
killed by the young men, lest she bring them ill luck—she had to eat only game taken by her father; a certain kind of tortoise was forbidden to young unmarried men and women, for fear of arousing [821]
the wrath of the rain; women were not allowed to eat the flesh of the lynx; the tail of the porcupine was forbidden to certain (unspecified) persons; while all refrained from eating a certain small 262
portion of the flesh of the hare.[1] The published information relating [114]

[1] L. C. Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, cf. references in Index, s.v. "Food—not to be eaten."

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that among the Bushmen all game is shared out among the members of the band. To what extent the same elaborate rules of division exist in the other tribes is difficult to determine. The only other indication of similar practices is found in the texts obtained by Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen. Only a selection of these have so far been published, and the information contained in them is rather fragmentary. But it appears that women, for example, were not permitted to eat the meat of the shoulder blades, lest the men subsequently prove unsuccessful in hunting; that the man who shot the animal might not take part in cutting it up; and the bones which were left over had to be carefully put aside in certain special ways.[1] Obviously such usages hint at an elaborate procedure in regard to the cutting up, distribution, and treatment of the meat; and one can only regret that all the details relating to them have not yet been made available.

Narcotics

As narcotics the Bushmen use chiefly tobacco and dagga (*Cannabis sativa*), the latter a herb with marked intoxicating effects. All grown-up people, and even small children, smoke tobacco when they can get it. They do not cultivate it themselves, although a few men among the Auen and the Naron are said to have made slight efforts to grow tobacco and dagga after the manner of their Bantu and Bergdama neighbours.[2] Almost all the tobacco used by the Bushmen is imported through trade or obtained by service with other peoples, and they are always extremely keen to acquire it.

In the north-west their pipes (Plate XI) are generally tubes of serpentine, some 3 inches long and rather wider at one end than at the other, which are cut and hollowed out with the iron spear point or with a knife, or even with a small stone drill. The hollow shin bones of small buck are also sometimes used, but nowadays the most prevalent form of pipe is an empty cartridge-case! Pipes consisting of an antelope horn were largely used by the Cape Bushmen. Near the point of the horn was made a hole, into which was inserted a reed tube, and on top of this was fitted an elongated clay bowl to hold the tobacco. When these pipes were used, some water was put into the horn, the mouth applied to the large orifice of the horn, and the

[1] Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 271 sqq.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 18; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148–9.

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taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own 591
//gaus his mother builds a hut for them."

A different form of marriage ceremony has been recorded for the 585
now extinct inhabitants of Basutoland and Orange Free State. Here, [184]
the consent of the bride having been obtained and also the approval of her parents, who received some kind of present, a day was fixed for the event. All the neighbours round about were invited to a feast. When they had all begun to make merry, the young man took the opportunity to seize the bride. This was the signal for her relatives to set upon him with their digging-sticks; they gave him a sound thrashing, and a general fight ensued. If the bridegroom managed to keep a tight hold through all this, the issue was decided, and he was a married man. If not, he would have to undergo a second ordeal some other time before he could again claim his bride.[1]

Among the North-Western Bushmen girls taken in war or found [727]
trespassing are also often held as wives by their captors.[2] Miss Bleek 583
indeed, says of the Naron that marriage is nominally by capture.[3] A young man wishing to marry comes with an older man to another village, ostensibly to pay a visit, and sits chatting, without mentioning his purpose. They look out for a good opportunity, and then carry off the girl to their own village. By this act she is married, whether she likes it or not. It seems, however, that talk about the marriage mostly precedes the "capture". "The mother thinks it proper to make a fuss, but if her objections are only for show, the men take no part in the matter, and the girl is led away, probably quite willingly, though etiquette demands some coyness. If, however, the mother really objects, thinks her daughter too young, or does not like the suitor, she rouses the men to action, and the would-be bridegroom and his friend have to depart." During Miss Bleek's stay at Sandfontein an attempt at real capture did occur, but the assailants were driven off in this way. In the old days, she adds, much fighting seems to have [721]
been caused by attempted capture; now fear of the white man tames [177]
down the affair.

Married Life

The relation between husband and wife in one of its aspects is [581]
sexual. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual intercourse 837

[1] Stow, op. cit., 96, quoting Miss L. C. Lemue; cf. Arbousset, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* (English trans., 1842), p. 351; Dornan, "Bushmen of Basutoland," 442.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 85.
[3] *Naron*, 33.

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184 304 881 During her seclusion a row of small parallel cuts, which are all blackened with ashes, is made on her face, or arms, or legs by her father or a male magician. Miss Bleek is convinced that these cuts are partly for ornament, but adds that there also appears to be a [776] religious element present, as one woman informant said that *//gäüa*, a supernatural personage, leads this dance, and that the cuts are made in his honour.[1] Both the scarifications and the presence of a supernatural being are foreign to the puberty ceremonies for girls in other Bushman tribes; but, as will be seen shortly, both occur (in somewhat different form) in the puberty ceremonies for boys among the North-Western tribes.

184 881 In all the ceremonies so far described, girls are required to pass through the rites individually as soon as they have their first period. Among the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, however, it appears from the very fragmentary data supplied by Dornan that girls are initiated in groups. The central feature of the ceremony, as described [304] by him, is an operation performed on each of the girls, which consists in the "perforation of the clitoris" (*sic*) with a stone knife, the operators being the older women.[2] If this information be correct, [177] we have here a ceremony in every way distinct from those of the other Bushmen, and one which can only be regarded as having been borrowed from the neighbouring BeChwana, whose puberty ceremonies for girls are of a somewhat similar nature.

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

881 Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after reaching the age of puberty, and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in hunting, especially in the pursuit of big game. Among the North-Western tribes this ceremony is carried out in a secluded spot in the bush, near which no woman may come.[3] Here all the eligible big boys from several neighbouring encampments are taken [756] by the old men, with a couple of magicians in charge; and here they remain for about a month, living together in a big hut or enclosure. During the first few days they are roughly handled and half-starved;

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122.
[2] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 159.
[3] Passarge, op. cit., 100–1; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23–5; *idem*, [114] "Buschmänner von Angola," 122; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 51; Fourie, op. cit., 91–2. Passarge states that the ceremony takes place during the dry season, i.e. at the coldest time of the year; Fourie, on the other hand, that it is always held during the rainy season, when food is plentiful. The other writers do not mention the time of year.

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304 881 The only other Bushman people among whom the occurrence of initiation rites for boys is definitely recorded are the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari. Here the main element seems to be circumcision. "The boys," according to Dornan,[1] "are operated on at the age of twelve years, all those of the same age being taken together once a year, as with them puberty comes on at an early age . . . (Then follows a description of the operation: the foreskin of the boy is seized by the operator, who pulls it forward over the gland as far as it will stretch, and then cuts it off close with one slash of a stone knife.) . . . They 881 are treated with considerable care for two or three weeks afterwards, and are fed upon meat . . . They are instructed in the traditional lore of the people, the religious observances and into the mysteries of generation. They are carefully informed that intercourse of [834] uncircumcized people is that of the beasts of the field, that in short it is fornication, as well as a good deal that will not bear to be put into print."

114 304 177 184 Although, as already mentioned, Dornan regards circumcision as an original Bushman custom, there can be little doubt that the Hiechware have taken it over from the BeChwana among whom they live. They are the only Bushman people among whom this practice is asserted to occur, while its absence from other Bushman tribes is explicitly affirmed by all writers. Consequently the puberty rites in the form described by Dornan must be regarded as introduced elements of culture. It is conceivable that the boys' puberty rites among the North-Western tribes should also be attributed to Bantu influence, since nothing similar to them appears to exist in the south. But in several of their details, especially in the introduction of the tribal deities and in the form of mutilation these rites differ considerably from the corresponding rites of the neighbouring South-Western and South-Central Bantu, while on the other hand they are intimately connected with both the economic activities and the religious beliefs of the Bushmen. It is difficult therefore to imagine their having been borrowed, unless it is conceded that they have undergone considerable modification in the process of adaptation. But whether borrowed or not—and the possibility of borrowing, although difficult to establish, is not entirely eliminated—these rites clearly separate the North-Western tribes from their Southern relatives in at least one important feature of culture.

[1] Op. cit., 158-60.

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detail. The simplest type has an unfeathered main shaft of hollow 411
reed about fifteen inches long, notched at one end to receive the 237
bowstring, and a head about six inches long (Plate IXf). The latter is made of either wood or a fragment of bone split off from the tibia of an ostrich, and is inserted into the hollow of the shaft. At the connection there is a binding of sinew round the end of the shaft, which prevents it from splitting and also keeps the head in place. The projecting end of the head is pared down to serve as a point. In many arrows of this type is found a small piece of quill neatly fastened in place with a binding of sinew about an inch and a half from the point so as to act as a barb. All this portion of the head is carefully smeared over with poison.

A modification of this type resulting in a foreshaft is often seen. 411
The head is not pointed, but is cut off square and notched about three inches from its junction with the main shaft. Into the notch is inserted [324]
and gummed down a small triangular point of flaked stone such as agate or chalcedony; in more recent times, since iron and then glass [177]
have become available, these are generally found used instead (Plate IXa, e).

Still a further modification is seen in the remarkably ingenious type of arrow which, with a few minor variations in detail, is found widespread among almost all the Bushman tribes (Plate IXc, g.). Its main shaft is also of reed, with a simple notch at one end to receive the bowstring. Into the hollow of the other end is inserted a foreshaft of bone or quill, occasionally of wood, varying in length from two to six inches, and kept in place by a tight binding of sinew round the end of the main shaft into which it fits. Its projecting end fits into what may be called a link shaft, also of reed, about an inch long. Finally into the other end of the link shaft is fitted the point of the arrow, about four inches long and generally barbed. The whole link shaft is completely bound over with sinew. The point is made either of bone or of iron; bone is found mainly in the southern arrows, but is not restricted to them, while iron is a later introduction now used by all the Bushmen wherever obtainable. The whole point, together with the sinew binding on the link shaft keeping it in place, is coated over with poison.

Some of the North-Western tribes (Naron, Auen, Kung) also have another type of arrow, with a reversible head of bone (Plate IXb, d). This is pared to a sharp point at one end, and rounded off at the other. For safety in carrying, the pointed end, which is the only one poisoned,

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and in minor quarrels it is the weapon of offence or defence. The 411
spears have long wooden shafts and an iron head about six inches long. The latter is obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu, [439]
but the spear itself is made by the Bushmen. For the shaft they pierce the end of a stick, then heat the tang of the iron head in the fire and insert it, binding the joint tightly with sinew.[1] Relatively few of the men possess these spears, and as they do not appear ever to have been [177]
used by the Southern Bushmen they can safely be regarded as weapons borrowed from the Bantu.

Methods of Hunting

The Bushmen, as already indicated, have a variety of devices for 224
catching game, the particular method employed being determined by the nature of the intended prey and the season of the year.[2] In some cases the animals are run down on foot. In this manner, for instance, small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, and even big game such as the gemsbok, are hunted during the "big rainy season" (late summer), when the ground, sodden with moisture, impedes the progress of the animals and causes them to fall an easy prey to the hunter, who on overtaking his quarry kills it with the kirri or the spear. This method cannot be employed for small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor, but in the hot part of the dry season young buck are easily caught in this way, as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. Many varieties of big game, such as the wildebeest and zebra, are also run down in the hot dry season. After a herd of game has been located, one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly, never once being allowed to rest, until it is exhausted and brought to bay, when the hunter comes up and kills it with the spear.

Burrowing animals, such as the spring hare (jerboa) and anteater, are caught in their holes by means of a long barbed stick. This is poked down the hole into the animal's flesh, either to drag it out or to transfix it while another man digs down to it. Snakes are sometimes caught in the same manner. The man who pulls out the snake runs fast, dragging it after him, while others throw kirris and spears at it; this cannot be done in grass or the snake may escape. Steenbok,

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 14; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4, 152; Gretschel, op. cit., 102–3.

[2] The fullest descriptions of the hunting life and methods of the Bushmen are given by Stow, op. cit., 80–94; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 667–8; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 45 sqq. (an exceptionally detailed and graphic account); Kaufmann, op. cit., 144–7; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 94 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 15–16; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 99 sqq. [114]

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226 more important as a mode of subsistence than hunting.[1] It[2] is also
[462] the work of the men. Among the Cape Bushmen, especially those
living along the banks of the Orange River, the principal method
[227] employed lay in the use of funnel-shaped traps of closely woven reeds,
about 3 feet long and 18 inches to 2 feet wide, narrowing towards the
mouth. These traps were stretched across the stream in a shallow
part, and while some men stood waiting behind them, others waded
up stream from a point below and drove the fish before them to the
reed traps, where they were then caught and thrown on shore.

In the Okavango basin this method is also used, but there is a variety
of others as well. Sometimes the fish in the lakes and rivers are speared
[177] from flat-bottomed boats, probably adopted from the MaMbukushu
[501] and MaKoba of the same region. Sometimes, again, small stone dams
are built from each bank so as to run out into the river in a slanting
direction, leaving a narrow opening in which is placed the reed trap.
The fish are either swept into these traps by the force of the current,
or are driven in by the Bushmen themselves. Or, again, reed fences
or stone dams are built straight across the beds of the dry courses
into which the river overflows at times of flood. When the flood has
reached its highest level, and the water begins to sink, the retreat of
the fish carried along into these courses is cut off, so that they are
easily caught.

Special Hunting Observances

224 The method of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons is
surrounded by all the Bushmen with various special usages and
304 beliefs. Charms to ensure good luck in the chase are found among
them all. With the North-Western tribes these most commonly take
the form of scarifications serving to endow the hunter with the
qualities of certain animals and enabling him to hunt them successfully.
The cuts are made as a rule on the arms, sometimes on the cheeks,
occasionally also on the back, chest, or belly. A tiny piece of meat is
then burned to ashes, which are rubbed into the wounds. The meat
[825] is that of an animal whose qualities are specially desirable, e.g. that
of the springbok for swiftness. These cuts are usually given to boys
soon after they begin to hunt, and are executed by old men who are
themselves successful hunters. The cuts made between the eyebrows

[1] Barrow, op. cit., i, 290, 300; Lichtenstein, op. cit., ii, 44; Alexander, op. cit., i, 237; Passarge, "Okawangosumpfland," 697–8; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296; Dornan, op. cit., 106–9.

[2] [i.e., fishing.—Analyst]

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Division of Labour

In the manufacture of these different utensils, implements, and 462
garments, as well as in the collection of food, there is no division of labour within the band save as between the two sexes. Every man is expected to be able to hunt, to make bows and arrows, and to do all the other things that are done by men; and in the same way every woman is expected to do the work recognized as pertaining to women. Some women, it is true, are more clever and industrious than others [463]
in making beads, some men better at hunting or at twisting rope and boring pipes, but all know how these things are done and none devotes his life to any one of them exclusively. The only special occupation [756]
is that of the magician, who in addition to having religious and magical functions is also the physician, but otherwise even he lives and works as do the rest, getting a few presents for his occasional services.

The division of labour between the sexes is clearly marked. A man hunts and snares game, fishes, collects veldkos as the opportunity arises while he is out hunting, prepares skins, makes the clothing for himself and his family, makes his own weapons, arrow-poison, firesticks, and other implements, twists rope, manufactures the larger wooden vessels and other utensils, makes fire, and occasionally assists the women in fetching wood and water. A woman builds the hut for her family, gathers veldkos and prepares the food, fetches wood and water, maintains the fire, makes her own ornaments, and is also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Among the Auen the beginnings of specialized labour are found in 184
that certain men work in iron, i.e. make spear and arrow heads and 463
other implements out of any pieces of iron they can obtain. The [326]
production of raw iron from the ore is unknown to all the Bushmen, who, as a rule, obtain whatever iron they use by barter from the [439]
neighbouring Bantu peoples. Among the !O Kung of Angola a further division of labour was found by Miss Bleek in a group at Rusembu, where only the good shots went hunting, while other men worked in iron, and another appeared to be the trader and honey gatherer.[1] But specialization of this kind is quite exceptional in Bushman life.

Trade

Although the Bushmen are thus able to draw from the resources 177
of their environment almost everything they really need, economically 439

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 153; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55.

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177 439 they are no longer self-sufficient. Contact with other peoples has made them familiar with various articles, especially iron and tobacco, which they now covet very greatly and in order to obtain which they carry on an extensive system of barter. Even within the band itself [437] there is a good deal of barter in such things as meat, clothing, veldkos, and utensils. Berries and roots, for example, are exchanged for tobacco or beads, skin bags for poisoned arrows, and so on. Trading [484] visits to other bands are also frequent. But the most common form of barter is with peoples of other races, especially the Bantu.

439 The !O Kung of Angola, unlike all the other Bushmen, do not go [184] out into the veld to collect vegetable foods. These are obtained by [222] barter. The younger men hunt, and trade part of the meat and skins obtained for the cereals, maize, potatoes, manioc, etc., of the Bantu among whom they live. Honey and wax are also collected and traded, sometimes with the Bantu for food and tobacco, now and again to Europeans for powder and cartridges. Wax is a good article of trade with Portuguese traders, and the Bushmen are therefore assiduous in collecting it. Besides foodstuffs they also obtain pots and baskets from the Bantu, as well as metal wares such as knives, arrow and spear heads, and beads.[1]

The Bushmen of the Okavango swamps, again, trade ostrich egg-shell beads, ivory, ostrich feathers, skins and horns with the inter-dwelling Bantu in return for tobacco and dagga, as well as iron and such iron goods as spear heads, hoes, and knives; while the Namib Bushmen exchange similar objects with Hottentots and Europeans for blankets, knives, tobacco, and coffee.[2]

Among the North-Western tribes there is a whole system of trade 438 relations between different tribes, extending from the Okavango in the north down almost to the Molopo.[3] In this the Naron and the Auen play the part of intermediaries, obtaining from the tribes further north the objects they desire, and then bartering them again further south as occasion arises. Egg-shell beads and tobacco are standard [436] articles in this trade, in the sense that they can always be bartered and may even be said to have a fixed value. From the Naron the Auen 438 procure skin garments and bags, for the making of which the former 439 are famous, giving them in return wooden pots, dishes, and spoons

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 52–3; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 108.
[2] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland," 701; *idem*, *Die Buschmänner*, 118–19; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.
[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, loc. cit.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 152–3; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37–8.

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a[illegible] make the heavens the theatre of numberless poetically-conceived 773
histories"—in which, as the texts obtained by him show, Bushman 821
mythology is extremely rich.[1]

The selections so far published from these texts are too few to 821
enable us to determine anything more about the nature of the worship 771
directed to these heavenly bodies, and especially about the ceremonies associated with them; but that such worship did actually exist is evident from the facts recorded above.

There is no mention of similar prayers among the Namib Bushmen, 776
but then no information at all is available about their ideas relating 782
to the heavenly bodies. Among the tribes further north we again 821
meet with moon worship. Both Naron and Auen still worship the [184]
Moon. They regard it as an old man, the Sun as a young girl, who is his wife. First the Moon pursues the Sun across the sky, later the Sun follows the Moon. They go down to their houses below the horizon in the west, then fly back at night across the earth to their houses in the east. They can be heard passing, but are not seen. The New Moon, when it appears, is invoked by the magicians, two of whom, man and woman, sit on the ground together, holding their hands out palms upward towards it, and say: "Give us rain that we [789]
may live." This worship of the Moon has penetrated into modern ideas also, for most of the people think that since the Moon is in the
sky and the God (*!khuba*) the white men and Nama speak of is also in [177]
the sky, therefore God is the Moon. Their ancestors used also to pray to certain stars, particularly the morning star and the Southern Cross; but these prayers, says Miss Bleek, are memories of long ago, whereas the moon worship is continued to-day by young as well as old.[2]

A prayer to the New Moon for food, given in the eighties of last 821
century by a Kung youth from near Lake Ngami, is also recorded [782]
in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd[3]; but according to Lebzelter
there is nowadays no trace at all among the Kung of either sun or [178]
moon worship. The sun is regarded as a woman, the moon as a man, 773
who originally lived upon earth and were carried about on the 821
shoulders of people; but the latter became tired of their burdens

[1] Bleek, "Resemblances in Bushman and Australian Mythology," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, Feb., 1874, 101–2; *idem*, *Bushman Texts*, 10–12, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 8, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 72–99 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Folklore," 304, 307.

[2] *Naron*, 26–7.

[3] *Bushman Folklore*, 414–15.

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or other worship directed to these bodies.[1] How far the absence 821
of moon worship must be attributed to the fact that these Bushmen [782]
have long been exposed to Bantu influence is difficult to say. In [777]
view of the comparative evidence afforded by the other Bushman tribes, however, as well as the fact that the Hiechware have certainly been considerably influenced by the BeChwana, this seems the most reasonable suggestion; although, as already noted, Dornan cannot [114]
be regarded as a fully reliable authority.

The evidence on the whole shows quite definitely that worship 821
of the heavenly bodies, and especially of the Moon, exists among 771
the Bushmen. In all the instances noted, the New Moon is prayed to; 782
in the case of the Cape Bushmen for food, although the details of the ceremony are not available, while among the Naron, Auen, and !O Kung there is a special ceremony at which it is invoked for rain. There is nothing to suggest that the Moon is conceived of as a supreme deity, or that it forms the object of an elaborate cult. [776]
At the same time the prayers and ceremonies noted clearly constitute an act of worship. They must therefore be regarded as part of the Bushman religion. The prayers and usages relating to the sun and the stars among the Cape Bushmen suggest a wider sidereal worship, which the scanty details from the Northern tribes would seem to bear out; but the worship of the Moon seems to be by far the most prominent.

Supernatural Beings

In other aspects of religion and mythology there appears to be 773
a good deal of variation in details among the different Bushmen 776
tribes. The most prominent figure in the mythology of the Cape [184]
Bushmen is the Mantis, round whom a whole cycle of myths has been formed. Besides his own proper name, */kaggen*, he possesses several others, as does also his wife, whose most usual name, however, is */huntu!katt!katten*, the Dassie or Rock Rabbit (*Hyrax capensis*). [825]
They have three children, a daughter, of whom there is no further mention; a son, */gaunu-ts'axau* (*/gaunu* is the name of a certain star, and *ts'axau* means "eye"), who in one of the tales is killed by baboons, and restored to life again by the Mantis; and another son, */kaggen-⊙pwa*, the young Mantis, who also figures in one of the tales, where his likeness to his father is commented upon. Besides his own children the Mantis has an adopted daughter, */xo*, the Porcupine. [825]

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 163.

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Ko ('ngo), 35

776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are
[787] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while
[224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is
[782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with
[756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant,
[791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians, who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded
[773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do
[184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his special protection.

Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis.
184 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to
776 Miss Lloyd several tales about */xwe*, a little personage not identified with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a variety of things. */xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

776 The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about *Hishe* or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys'
[88] puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people, bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans.
[756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws
[114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

177 From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the
776 idea of */khuba* or */xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba"). This is the

[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32–3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 301, 305–6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404–13.

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Nama word for "master, lord", and has been used by some missionaries for "God". The Naron and Auen were vague as to the nature of */khuba*. The old men did not know of him; the middle-aged men said *Hishe* was */khuba*; while some of the younger people said he was the sky, others that he dwelt in the sky; they prayed to him to let them live long and to make them well when ill. Women who when young had been kidnapped and held as slaves by Nama chiefs were very fluent on the subject of */khuba*; the others, remarks Miss Bleek, had evidently picked up the word without attaching any clear meaning to it, beyond that it was some sort of deity and that it was "good to pray to it". The same word (given by him in its vocative form */khutse*) was also found among the partly-disorganized groups of these Bushmen by Fourie, who translates it "God". 177 776 [648] [567]

A few of Miss Bleek's informants further mentioned *Huwu* or *Huwuba*, but they did not know much about him—he was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the "captain" of the white people.[1] 776 [177]

Huwu or *Hu'e* figures very prominently among the Kung, however. Miss Lloyd's young informants from near Lake Ngami only once mentioned him. They began the tale of the Moon and the Hare with the words, *Huwe* made all things; and in explanation said, *Huwe* made all things to eat (i.e. all animals that are eaten), and *Huwe* is a man.[2] Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, much further west, speaks of *Huwe* as a "good being", to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things. They pray to him for food, as we have already seen, at a special ceremony held once a year when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen, and they also in case of sickness call upon him to restore them to health.[3] [184] [773] [782] [796] [755]

Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*)[4] or *Xuwa*,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 24–6; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.
[3] "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.
[4] It may be mentioned here that Lebzelter is inconsistent in the orthography he employs: */Kuŋ* is elsewhere written *//Khun*, *//gauab* alternates with */gauab*, *gagorob* with */gau /gorob*, and so on. [114]

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everywhere he is regarded as the creator of all things, including mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.[1] 184 776 [821] [782] [224]

The lO Kung in Angola did not mention *Erob* or *Xuwa*, but spoke again of *Huwe*. Here, as we have seen, *Huwe* occasionally appears at the boys' puberty ceremonies and dances with the initiates, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double guise as man and woman. In the prayer to the New Moon his name may also be substituted for *//nwa-se*, but apart from this substitution there is no evidence of worship directed towards him. He is further said to appear to people in dreams.[2] Of the attributes found by Lebzelter for the "supreme being" among the Kung and the Heikum no mention at all is made by Miss Bleek. [787]

Huwe appears again among the Bushmen of the Eastern Kalahari. They believe, according to Dornan, in a spirit which they variously call *Dɨimo*, *Thora*, and *Huwe*. *Dɨimo* is a corruption of the Chwana word *Modimo*, nowadays generally rendered "God", and is, says Dornan, "largely used by the tame Bushmen with the same signification." *Thora* and *Huwe* are the regular Bushman words. *Huwe* is here spoken of as the good spirit who wards off disease, gives plenty, and protects the Bushmen from danger. When any danger threatens, they will call upon him; Dornan mentions having once heard some Bushmen of the Sansokwe River sing over and over again the words *Huwe ka hume ie ie*, *Huwe* come to our aid ie ie. More often, however, they speak of *Thora*. They say he made all things, but they are not sure where he dwells, or if he is a person. According to Dornan they look upon him as the Great One, who is over all things, who sends rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting. They often use *Thora* to ensure success in hunting; when, e.g. they have killed an animal they will praise him for bringing it under their arrows. This statement Dornan seems to have derived [177] [782] 114 776 224 [821]

[1] Lebzelter, op. cit., 410–12; cf. Schmidt, "Die alten Buschmann-Religion," 197, summarizing Lebzelter's data.

[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 14; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122, 123.

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776 First there is their chief or headman, simply termed *//gauab* by ordinary people, but whose real name, known to and uttered only by the magicians, is */nawa*. "Probably," suggests Lebzelter, "we [184] have to do here with the high god of another religion, and */nawa* is to be identified with *//nwa-se*, the New Moon of the Angola Kung." */nawa* or *//gauab* does good as well as evil. He is prayed to for [782] success in the chase, assists the hunters in their efforts, and receives [224] the first-offerings of any game taken; he is also, however, most [753] frequently the cause of illness. One informant, who had been baptized, spoke of him as the "devil" who had made the Kung; others, old magicians, credited him with giving rise to the existence and present mode of life of men and animals. He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.

775 The second group of spirits are the *//gauab* who stand at the service of the "great captain". As a rule they lie around their hearth-776 fires in the sky, the stars, and only come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead (*xa*) and bring them to *Xu*. The third group comprises the "small" *//gauab*, the ghosts of the dead, whose home is the grave but who roam about everywhere and are injurious to mankind; the fourth are the particularly malicious little spirits dwelling in the water; and finally there is the whole horde of the [753] spirits of disease, the *dsao*, small yellow mannikins with thick bellies, who at the command of any of the other spirits enter into people [756] and thus make them ill. It is the function of the magicians to remove them from the body of the patient.[1]

The Western Kung of the Oschimpoloveld have no such elaborate 184 world of spirits. Mention is made only of the */gagorob* or */gau/gorob*, 776 small spirits who roam about in the bush and do nothing but play practical jokes on people. "They are not the spirits of the dead," says Lebzelter, "and cannot therefore be compared with the *//gauab*."[2]

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan we meet again with *//gauab*, [192] or, as the name is here rendered, */gamab*. Owing to Christian influence [177] */gamab* is now spoken of as "the devil", but Lebzelter regards this being as a "demiurge", whom he equates with */nawa* or the principal *//gauab* of the Eastern Kung, and with */gamab* of the Bergdama and Nama. */gamab* is said by the Heikum to have created mankind and the world; the souls of the dead (*darish*) come to live with him,

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der /'Kkun-Buschmänner," 407–10; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 412.

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184 776 Bushmen of the Orange Free State, where, as we have seen, Campbell [192] mentions that the spirits attendant upon *Ko* (the Mantis) are called *Gauna*, and that after *Ko* has disappeared from the dance in which she was taking part, "her nymphs" also come and dance for a while. Nothing more is said about them, however.[1]

114 776 The problem now arises as to the real nature of these beings. The information relating to them is sometimes vague, sometimes inconsistent, and at all times obviously inadequate. No interpretation of their nature can therefore be regarded as fully reliable until it has been confirmed by a much more careful and detailed study in the field than has yet been made of the beliefs and usages connected with them. Moreover, as we shall see subsequently, the conception 171 of *//gaua* also figures prominently among the Hottentots and 776 Bergdama, whose religious beliefs and practices in general offer other features of resemblance to those of the Bushmen. A comparison of the Bushman concepts on the one hand and those of the Hottentots and Bergdama on the other, may thus succeed in throwing further light upon the problem, the final consideration of which may therefore be delayed until the religions of these peoples have also been passed in review.

177 776 Certain points arise, however, which may at once be dealt with. The notions of *!khuba* among the Naron and Auen, and of *Dʒimo* among the Hiechware, may be set aside in the attempt to ascertain the real nature of Bushman religious conceptions. They have admittedly been taken over from other peoples, the former from the Nama, the latter from the BeChwana. *Erob*, mentioned by Lebzelter [797] as the name for the "Supreme Being" among the Western Kung and certain of the Heikum, is simply a corruption of the word *Elob*, from the Hebrew *Elohim*, which has been used by many missionaries among the Nama as a translation for "God".[2] Its occurrence among these Bushmen is therefore an obvious indication of Christian influence, entering either directly through the missionaries or, more probably, through contact with the Nama; and in this connection it must be remembered that almost all the Heikum now speak only

[1] *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 31–2.

[2] Pater Schmidt, in accepting Lebzelter's data as convincing evidence for the existence of a Supreme Being among the Bushmen, remarks about *Erob* ("Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 397, n. 4): "Wenn er christlichen Ursprungs sein soll, von Elob, aus Elohim, so darf man fragen, warum das Inlaut -*l* in *r* übergegangen wäre." To this it may be replied that the sound *l* does not occur at all in Nama, save in a few words taken over from European languages, and that in most borrowed words where it does occur the Nama form of the word replaces it by *r*. The transmutation of *Elob* into *Erob* therefore follows a definite law of phonetic change in Nama. Cf. on this point Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, pp. 18–19.

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Nama. Nama influence is seen also in the word *Heiseb* found among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga. This is one of the names applied to the mythical hero more commonly known as *Heitsi Eibib*, who figures so prominently in the religious system of the Nama. Its absence from the other Bushman tribes is clearly suggestive, although the name *Hishe* found among the Naron and Auen may possibly be a corruption of it. The various current interpretations of *//gaua* as " the evil being ", " the devil " or " Satan " must likewise be dismissed as alien to native Bushman ideas. The word has been widely used by missionaries among the Nama for " Devil ", and there can be little doubt that it is ultimately from this source that such interpretations have been derived. 177 776 [184] [797]

All these direct symptoms of borrowing from other peoples show clearly that the religious conceptions of the Northern Bushmen as recorded above can by no means be regarded as untainted by foreign influences. The final interpretation of these conceptions will therefore have to take into account the religious ideas of the neighbouring peoples as well, especially of the Nama, in order that a full basis for discussion may be obtained. This is all the more necessary since the information relating to them as now held by the Bushmen is hardly sufficient to enable us to determine satisfactorily the full meaning attached to them by the people, to determine, that is, what part they really play in native life. For the moment, however, it may be of service if we attempt to reduce to some order the various accounts given by our authorities of these conceptions. 177 771

A general survey of the attributes said to be vested in the different beings figuring in the religion and mythology of the Northern Bushmen seems to show that on the whole we have to deal with two main conceptions. There is in the first place the conception known variously to the North-Western Bushmen as *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Xuwa*, *Hishe*, or *Erob*, and to the North-Eastern Bushmen as *Thora* or *Huwe*. By Lebzelter, whose account cannot be entirely freed from a suspicion of prejudice in favour of the monotheistic doctrine associated with the name of Pater W. Schmidt and his school of disciples, *Xu* or *Erob* is spoken of as an anthropomorphic " supreme good being " dwelling in a house in the sky, where he receives the souls of the dead. He is regarded as the creator; he controls the rain and its associated phenomena of thunder and lightning, and punishes evil-doers with lightning; he sends good fortune in hunting and in the collection of veldkos, is prayed to before and after hunting, and is 776 [184] [114] [821] [224] [782] [756]

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borders of the Desert, but are unknown to the Cape Bushmen and those of Griqualand West. Dornan maintains that they are original elements in the culture of the Bushmen, from whom they have been taken over by the Bantu. All the evidence, however, points in the other direction, for among the Bantu the use of divining bones of several different types is not only widespread, but also developed into an elaborate system of interpretation, while the way the Bushmen handle them shows that they do not know much about them. Moreover, it is found that the frequency of their use by the Bushmen coincides with the extent to which any tribe has been exposed to Bantu influence.[1]

Other minor beliefs and practices of the Bushmen are mentioned by writers on particular tribes, but consideration of them must be omitted in a general survey such as this. It may be noted, however, that among the Northern tribes amulets are often worn to ward off disease and other evils, while among all the Bushmen charms of various kinds are also carried to ensure good luck. Bad dreams are also regarded as evil omens, and precautions taken to counteract them. Among the Cape Bushmen, for instance, when a woman had had a bad dream, she banished it by plunging a stone into the fire, at the same time saying a spell. If she neglected to do this, the dream would accompany her when she went out to seek ants' larvae and prevent her from finding any. The Naron, in the same way, when they have had bad dreams put a bit of burning charcoal on the ground and pour water on it, then the bad dream flies away with the steam. Or, when a man is ill and *Hishe* sends bad dreams, he takes a stick after the sun has arisen, plants it in the ground between his knees, burns *buchu* and snuffs it, and recovers.[2]

[1] Werner, "Heikum und Kungbuschleute," 256; Kaufmann, "Auin," 159. Dornan, "Divination and Divining Bones," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 505–7; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 155–8; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28–9; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies*, 10–11.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 29.

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524 and pretend to dip it out. The 'snake' from time to time flicks
857 sand at them with his finger, he is supposed to be squirting water. The others start back and scream, then gather once more round the 'pool'. At last the 'snake' jumps up, seizes a victim and pretends to swallow it, which ends the game."[1]

533 Some of the children's games, as in the one just described, have songs or refrains attached to them, in which the words are occasionally
[535] obsolete. All the dances are also accompanied by singing, many of them having their own special tune, but here the tunes are often sung without words. Other songs, again, go with the playing of musical instruments. The tunes are as a rule very short, and are generally repeated over and over again without variation, so that the effect is rather monotonous. "All Bushmen sing," says Miss Bleek,[2] "but their tunes are not easy for a European to distinguish, much less to write down." And, referring to the dance tunes,
[535] she adds: "The time is perfect, but no two in a chorus seem to hit the same note, though the general burden of the tune is kept up. That is to say, they all go up together, but not from or to the same note, and they all go down together, each hitting any note they please."

Musical instruments are seldom used to accompany the dances,
534 although several different kinds are found.[3] Many of them are variations of the musical bow. The best known of these, the */goura*, was the favourite instrument in the south. It consists in an ordinary bow, in which one end of the string, instead of being fastened to the stave itself, is attached to a flexible piece of quill spliced to the end of the stave. This quill is held against the lips, and made to vibrate by strong expirations and inspirations of the breath, thus producing the effect of a stringed wind instrument. Another form of the musical bow, commonly known as the */gubo*, has a gourd or tortoise-shell attached to the stave of the bow so as to serve as a sounding-box. The instrument is played by picking at the string with a small piece of wood or bone. A development of this sometimes seen consists in playing it like a primitive sort of violin, with a small bow for sounding the string. This mode of playing was probably adopted
[177] from a European source, as the use of a bow after the manner of a

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 19. [2] Op. cit., 22.
[3] Stow, op. cit., 102–11; Passarge, op. cit., 95–8; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 111–12; Kaufmann, op. cit., 150–1; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 21–2; Balfour, "The Gours—A Stringed Wind Musical Instrument of the Bushmen and Hottentots," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxii (1902), 156–76.

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violin bow is not characteristic of South African native music, 534
although it is well known further north. Neither the */goura* nor the [177]
/gubo is very common among the Northern Bushmen, where the principal and in some cases the only form of musical bow is the hunting bow itself. One end of this is held between the teeth by the performer, who picks on the string with a small piece of wood or bone, varying the pitch by running his fingers up and down the string. Stow describes and figures other forms of the musical bow found among the Southern Bushmen, all of which have been developed out of the simple form.

Among other musical instruments, found principally among the [184]
Southern tribes, was a kind of reed flute or pipe, used with certain of the dances. These pipes were made of reeds cut to different sizes and lengths, so as to obtain a variety of notes. They were played by several performers at the same time, each with a distinct note to his pipe, and the effect lay in harmonizing the different notes. The "rommel pot", */koa*, was also sometimes used to accompany the dance. This was a drum or tambour made by stretching a piece of skin tightly over the mouth of a clay pot, a wooden calabash or a big tortoise-shell. The "ramakib", a sort of guitar made out of a hollowed piece of wood with a calabash or rough touch-board attached to one end, over which are drawn several strings, was, like the musical bow, used by soloists, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanying songs, but never with dances. There do not seem to be any professional musicians, although, as Kaufmann remarks, one does in fact find people who obviously take greater delight in music than others, and these are naturally the usual performers.

Decorative and Pictorial Art

Decorative art among the Bushmen is limited mainly to seriated 531
incisions of crude pattern found on the pottery of the Cape Bushmen, and to simple chevron patterns incised by the North-Western tribes upon the ostrich egg-shells used for storing water and upon their stone and bone pipes. Skin bags ornamented with similar patterns are also known, as well as wooden utensils and sticks decorated with line designs produced by burning. This form of art is as a whole very poorly developed, and of little intrinsic merit. It is not often met with.[1]

[1] Gretschel, op. cit., *passim*; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 672–3; Peringuey, *The Stone Ages of S. Africa*, chap. xiv; von Luschan, "Buschmann-Einritzungen auf Straussteiern," *Z. Ethn.*, lv, 31–40.

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Knowledge of Disease and Doctoring

164 The Bushmen in their own environment and leading their own mode of life seem on the whole to be a healthy and hardy people. Those communities in the north which have not been much in contact with civilization are said to be remarkably free from infectious, contagious, and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons, when malaria becomes unduly prevalent, the incidence of disease is very small amongst them. Malaria, however, carries off many victims, for the Bushmen do not seem able to withstand it better than other peoples. Kaufmann, as we have seen, records that in 1909 the mortality caused by it was especially high, whole villages dying out, so that the numbers of the Auen were reduced to less than half. Seiner, another trustworthy observer, states that [114] among the Kung fully 20 per cent of the deaths that occur, especially of children, may be attributed to it; and it is officially recorded that in the years 1917, 1923, and 1925 "large numbers" of Bushmen died from it along the north-eastern and eastern borders of South-West Africa. Smallpox, typhoid, dysentery, and phthisis are also mentioned as occurring in these parts, the latter being promoted by [276] excessive indulgence in tobacco and dagga smoking. Where contact [177] with other peoples is frequent, syphilis is often found, as well as measles, influenza, whooping-cough, scarlet fever, and other European diseases. European clothing and dwellings have a bad effect upon the Bushmen. They are particularly susceptible to pulmonary affections when removed from their natural surroundings, and a considerable number of those who have suffered from bronchitis, pneumonia, etc., subsequently succumb to tuberculosis. When [648] imprisoned, as many of them are in South-West Africa for cattle stealing or breaking the game laws, they rapidly decline in strength and die in great numbers, however kindly treated by the gaol authorities.[1]

753 Sickness in most instances is attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the person affected, to evil magic exercised against him by other persons, to the malicious interference of the ghosts of dead people who send the "spirits of disease" into 000 the patient's body, or to some similar supernatural cause. Treatment

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 139; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 140–4; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29–30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 91; *Official Year Book of S.A.*, No. 8, pp. 983–6 *passim*.

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eland, Castor and Pollux his wives; the Magellanic Clouds a steenbok; Orion's sword three male tortoises hung upon a stick, his belt three female tortoises so hung, etc. As these names indicate, there is a good deal of folklore centring in the stars, and indeed a considerable part of the vast collections of Cape Bushman lore made by Bleek and Lloyd relate to the heavenly bodies, which are regarded as once having been men or animals before being transformed into their present state. In one tale, for instance, it is related that a girl of the early race (preceding the Bushmen) wished for a little light, so that the people might see to return home by night. She therefore threw wood-ashes into the sky and these became the Milky Way. In another, again, it is told how a girl, at the time of her puberty seclusion, saw some people eating together at a dassie's house of branches. As a result they and the house, fixed by her looks, became stars in the sky, where they are now to be seen as the Corona Australis.[1] 184 821 184 773 821

The Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, according to Dornan, also "have considerable acquaintance with various groups or prominent stars, and have names for them", but the only one mentioned by him is the Southern Cross, referred to as the "giraffe star" and said to be somewhat like this animal in appearance.[2] 184 821

For shorter lengths of time the Bushmen go by the Moon, but they make no attempt to reckon how many moons there are in the year or in a season.[3] They observe the phases of the Moon closely, but seem to have no division of time into anything corresponding to weeks, although they readily pick up the European system of weeks when working for white people, and will come regularly on the seventh day for tobacco, etc. Otherwise, in their intercourse with white people, the wage, if not given daily, is demanded at the New Moon.[4] 805 [821] [177] [648]

The day is apparently divided according to the position of the sun, but no names have been recorded for any fixed divisions or parts of the day.

The notion of time is also used to indicate distance, for which there are no special units. Generally distance is reckoned by the time it 804 805 823

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10 sq.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 165.
[3] Lebzelter says, however ("Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15) that the Eastern Kung have a "vegetation year" of 10 months. The year is reckoned from one veldkos harvest to another. He omits to give any further details.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.

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804 takes to reach the place. If, for instance, a Bushman is asked how far a
805 certain waterhole is, he points to the part of the sky which the sun
823 will have reached by the time one gets to that waterhole; or, if it is far, he says: "One night on the way," or "two", etc.; or, again, if asked the length of a journey, he will name the places at which he slept or will sleep, touching a finger to his lips for each, then hold up the fingers, saying: "So many nights" (not days).[1]

802 In counting, they use only the numerals one and two quite
177 freely. Three they sometimes use, taking the Nama word for it, although they are more apt to speak of "two and one" than "three". For anything above three they generally make use of the word "many", although by the Northern Bushmen Nama or Bantu numerals may sometimes by substituted. These higher numerals, however, are evidently picked up from their neighbours by ear, and repeated without much consideration of their value, as, says Miss Bleek, a child of three will count in imitation of its seniors, varying the sequence of numerals each time. In some cases, among both the Cape
802 Bushmen and several of the North-Western tribes, such formations
[803] are also found as $4 = 2 + 2$, $5 = 2 + 2 + 1$, and so on up to ten. The numeral system of the Bushmen is thus essentially binary in principle. Occasionally, however, modifications occur suggestive of a quinary system. Thus in Naron the words for "four" mean "two fingers and two fingers", but "five" is "hand" (sometimes, however $2 + 2 + 1$ fingers), "ten" is "both hands", "fifteen" "both hands, one foot"; and the same system occurs in Auen. As these words indicate, the Bushmen count larger numbers on their fingers. In counting, they begin with the little finger of the left hand, touching each finger in turn on the lips, then continue in the same manner from the thumb of the right hand. As a rule, it may be added, nothing that they want to count exceeds ten, indeed, hardly ever reaches that numeral![2]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 38; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.

[2] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; cf. Schmidl, "Zahl und Zählen in Afrika," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, xlv (1915), pp. 194–5, for a useful summary sketch of Bushman numeral systems.

[pp. 221-446 not processed
for the FX10 Bushmen file.
see category 116, FX13 Hottentot]

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abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui //Goab* appears to be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hishe*, *Erob* or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Mantis, by the Bushmen of Basutoland. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain, food, recovery from illness, etc.

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But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of *//Gamab*, whose name Vedder derives from the root *//gami*, " water, " and whom he regards as " originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains ". *//Gamab* is the only supernatural being of whom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death, abundance of food, etc., and he lives in " heaven " in a village where he gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama trace out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment of death till its arrival in *//Gamab's* village, and the life led there is minutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series of beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of Bergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western Bushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama, one feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a " sky dwelling " to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely attributed to Bergdama influence.

B H 771 171 881

Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' puberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui //Goab* nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected with these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction, and one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern Bushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

[1] Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, i, 97 sqq. ; *idem*, " The Berg Damara," 61 sqq.

000 [42 cont.]
622 the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is
372 the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo.
778 Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are
[262] "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a
784 very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language.
Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is
166 available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the
372 village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha
[596] fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they
262 have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha
264 fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave im-
621 mediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the
[462] windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire
he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does.
Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large
game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains
seated there, while the women and children make themselves
comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The
game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and
[262] shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children,
who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is
[622] consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has
the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The
hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has
described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

178 When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the
622 Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight
organization and a common leader. When Captain Francois went
beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable
support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note
that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of
Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a
Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a

2. He himself was a half-breed.

chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest
chief I heard of was "χ'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

[42 cont.]

178 He died when his successor, Amme, was still a small boy. Amme,
622 however, was unable [43] to learn much from his father; he was not a good chief, and he died while still young. Since then the !Kung Bushmen have not had a supreme chief. One of my informants, Doctor X'amme, claimed to be the great-grandson of the great chief of the same name.

The following from Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) should

1. Op. cit., pp. 412, 424.

be mentioned:

593 "The father is the chief of the family. All must respect
596 him. Children may not call him by name. -- The chief's posi-
622

[276]

Fig. 15. Dacha Pipe of the !Kung Bushmen (from the Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart, 29464).

tion is generally passed from father to son. If the son is not yet an adult when his father dies, the father's younger brother takes
423 his place. Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited
614 from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

"There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 100 kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
532 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
535 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
323 customary.
302

A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the
304 custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
(751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

[63 cont.]

764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not; in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] [174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [773] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

[65 cont.]

101 north. Beyond this there is a great river and many black people
131 (Okawango). They know only the Herero as their western neighbors. In other words, they came much later than the latter. Unquestionably as recently as 20 years ago some people of this group were still settled along the central Omurambo Omatako, where F. Seiner reports them from Otjituo and Nuragas. The Naron live south of them, and to the southeast the ≠Auin. In the southwest, at least formerly, there were Bushmen of the Hei//om group and /Gowanin (Sand Kaffir). Probably these Hei//om were the people formerly designated as Saan. Nogau, ≠Auin, and Naron actually belong to
[101] the Kalahari group. Throughout the farm zone which formerly
[175] extended to the English frontier, the tribal units were more or less
648 destroyed, and there arose a mixed Bushman population which constantly replenished its numbers from the free tribes. On the other hand, however, Bushmen from the farm zone always went back to the bush, partly of their own free will and partly in flight from the police. In the Gobabis district the boundary of the police zone coincides with the land boundary. The relationships between the Whites and the Hereros on the one hand, and the Bushmen on the other, are therefore [66] very tense. A few years ago,
175 648 after the Bushmen had been prohibited from hunting big game, they rebelled and declared a feud against the magistrate in Gobabis by shooting some arrows against the door of his house one night. The magistrate, Van Rynefeldt, wanted to hunt them down in the bush, but was struck by a poisoned arrow shot from ambush and died. A great roundup of Bushmen was organized and many of them were taken to the prison in Gobabis, where a number of them died as a
[178] result of the vitamin-poor diet. Since then the Bushmen in this region have again chosen a chief and represent a modest power. As a result of these conditions, it was much more difficult to gain
123 their confidence than in the north. In this respect, P. Watterott and the village mayor of Epukiro, Franz Arenat, were especially helpful to me. These Bushmen are of special interest since there
195 is a special women's language among them. It is called Hee-aziba he auseashu. It is in part also spoken by the children and is characterized by having many words that have no clicks. It was only with great difficulty that I was able to take down a few words, for example:

[72 cont.]

169 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
591 couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker. Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least nominally.

Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
422 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is
685 punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand, a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the individual's private property.

The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
628 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively
721 against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

174 place, and stayed. In *Nyae Nyae*, the
!Kung have since lived on unchanged
[411 —replacing only their bone arrow-
points with metal ones, made from
177] the nails and wire that filtered into the
desert after the Europeans' entry into
South West Africa.

● 178 The !Kung nation cannot so live
for much longer. Already their last
lands are being occupied by the
Herero nation—Bantu-speakers—who
say: "The Bushmen are like our children. We feel obligated to care for them." It seems likely that, in a few years, these lands will be farmed by white people. Then, if the past of other Bushmen is any omen, some !Kung will become farm laborers, some will contract syphilis, some will die and some will breed. Few will marry.

000 SO MUCH for the little history and the brief geography. How do the !Kung live in *Nyae Nyae?* Human ecology is the study of the relation-

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

sticks. /Kai /Kini cooked his food with the fire. Other people ate raw food. One day ≠*Gao/na* was walking in the veld and he came upon the place where /Kai /Kini was living. He was not there but his children were. They were eating cooked //*karu*. ≠*Gao/na* asked for some and found it very good. 'Oh, you eat nice cooked food,' said ≠*Gao/na*. 'How do you cook it?' The children said, 'Our father has a nice thing and he always gives us cooked food. He does all the best for us.' ≠*Gao/na* said, 'I shall come back tomorrow and eat this kind of food again.' 539

Next day he went back. As he was walking along he saw /Kai /Kini and his children digging for food in the ground and he hid himself and watched. When they had gathered enough, they went back to their werf and /Kai /Kini went and got his fire sticks from the place where he had hidden them. He twirled and twirled and twirled the male stick against the female stick, saying, 'Fire will come; fire will come.' When the fire was made and the food was cooking, /Kai /Kini hid his fire sticks again. ≠*Gao/na* was watching all the time. When the food was dished up, he came out from his hiding-place and sat down by the fire and they all ate together.

After a while ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Now we must make a game to play', and he made a *jani* toy, mounting it with a guinea-fowl feather, weighting it with a *tsi* nut. He tossed it into the air with his stick and, when it floated down, ran and caught it and tossed it up again and again without its ever falling to the ground. /Kai /Kini wanted to play. ≠*Gao/na* gave him the *jani*, but /Kai /Kini could not toss it high and did not get away from his house in following it. ≠*Gao/na* said the guinea-fowl feather was no good, they must put a big paouw feather on it. This they did and the *jani* flew high. ≠*Gao/na* then opened the wind and the wind blew from the eastern side and blew the *jani* toward the west. /Kai /Kini followed and followed it, fascinated, tossing it higher each time he caught it. ≠*Gao/na* followed /Kai /Kini and, when they came to the place where the fire sticks were hidden, he seized them and ran with them into the veld. As he ran he broke them into little pieces and then threw them the whole world over. 'All the world is going to get fire now', he said. 'Fire, fire, go over the world.' Since then there has been fire in every piece of wood and all men can get it out and cook their food. /Kai /Kini stopped playing and looked at ≠*Gao/na*. ≠*Gao/na* told him, 'It is not right that you alone should have fire. From now on you will not be a person', and he changed /Kai /Kini into a bird named ≠*orr*.

These events were told by the old old people. They happened long ago.

The Present Image: /Gao/na, *the Creator*

In his present image, the image of power, ≠*Gao/na*, the creator and controller of all things, is very different from the old protagonist. Bushman informants insisted on their belief, nevertheless, that ≠*Gao/na* of the tales and ≠*Gao/na*, the great god of the eastern sky, are one and the same. For them, through the name, one being has merged into the other and a continuity has been maintained. 776

The /Kung did not bring up the question of how his nature became so changed. I surmise that it may have been when the name *Huwe* found its way from the Bergdama to the /Kung, and the name *Hishe* from the Auen, that certain elements of the present image came in, changing the earthly old ≠*Gao/na* into a lofty sky god. But I know nothing about the names /*Gara*, *Gani ga*, and ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gai* and nothing about the time or order in which the names may have been created by the /Kung, or adopted, or with which characteristic one or the other may be associated. I *am* sure that current emotional needs and the imaginations of the people who are now living have continued to be at work upon the image, interpreting it, re-creating it, and bringing it to its present form. [177 178]

162 working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in
131
464 Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield
648 as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen
224 of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life.
(Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated
at 200.

161 This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of
162
224 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty
222 percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more
[114] reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely
that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between
the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

162 The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial
224
222 and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-
178 gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most
isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with
184 their European and Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of
[221] the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend
[648] part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent
[312] to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share
[464] their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the
[233] young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds
on a contract basis.

000 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

174
439 The interior !Kung have had trading relations with Bantu
[411] peoples on their periphery for over eighty years. The evidence
[415] for this is the presence of iron-tipped weapons, pottery and
[276] tobacco. The present-day !Kung have no knowledge of iron-working or pottery-making and they do not raise tobacco. The old people state that their grandfathers had these things
[173] before the first non-Bushmen came to the interior. Men in
[411] their 60's and 70's today can remember their grandfathers telling them that they began hunting with bone arrows and did not obtain iron for arrows until they were well into adult
[411] life. The making of bone arrow heads is still common know-
[321] ledge today but, as there is an abundant supply of iron fencing
[325] wire, none of the men hunt with bone. The art of chipping
[178] flint is not known in the Dobe area. It is probable that
[324] these Bantu goods (and also some European goods such as beads and buttons) reached the interior through Bushman trading intermediaries some years before the arrival of the first Bantu and Europeans.

173 <u>Early contacts, 1879-1925</u> - There is disagreement among the !Kung about whether the Europeans or the Bantu were the first to penetrate the interior. Apparently the first pene-
175 trations occurred during the period 1875-1890. Hendrik Van
648 Zyl, a professional hunter, is the first European known to have reached the interior (Silberbauer 1965:114-115). In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56/57]

175
648 The Bushman residents of Bechuanaland, however, were not immediately affected by these restrictions. They continued to hunt and gather on the South West side and to visit their kinsmen at localities in the Nyae Nyae area.

648 <u>The period of European presence, 1960-1965</u> - In 1960, the
177 South African Government put into operation its plan to civilize the !Kung Bushmen of the interior. A government station was set up at Tsumkwe where a borehole was sunk. Mr. C. V. McIntyre, the Bushman Affairs Commissioner, took up residence at Tsumkwe. The !Kung Bushmen from Nyae Nyae were
[241] ingathered and provided with rations of maize meal. After they had been settled around the borehole a program was initiated to teach them agriculture. Because of a series of drought years this program has not met with success.

[162] By 1964, over 800 !Kung Bushmen had been settled at Tsumkwe. Less than 50 of these people had come from the
[178] Bechuanaland side. It is not clear why the Bechuanaland
[162] !Kung have not participated in this program to a greater
[224] extent, but the fact remains that over 350 !Kung continue to
[222] hunt and gather in the Dobe area and seem to indicate no intention of moving to Tsumkwe.[1]

648 The latest development in the political situation in

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[1]Some B.P. Bushmen insist that they were refused permission to live at Tsumkwe. Others say they fear to go there.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

with the exception of the southern half of South-West Africa and the western and central districts of the Cape. They are most densely settled in the eastern half of this region, i.e. in the Eastern Province and Native Territories of the Cape, Basutoland, Natal and Zululand, Swaziland, Transvaal, Southern Rhodesia, and Portuguese East Africa, while in the central and western portions—Orange Free State, British Bechuanaland, Bechuanaland Protectorate, and South-West Africa—they are much less numerous, although still greatly outnumbering the other native peoples. They are essentially negroes who have absorbed a varying amount of Hamitic blood, and therefore tend to differ somewhat in appearance from the Bergdama. Their languages belong to the great Bantu language family of Central and Southern Africa, and in grammatical structure and vocabulary are quite unlike those of the other South African native peoples. They are also on a higher level of culture, combining cultivation of crops with pastoralism as their principal means of subsistence, their communities are on the whole far larger, and their social organization is somewhat more complex.

H
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Of these four groups of native peoples, the Bushmen and the Hottentots have both declined considerably in strength and numbers as a result of the encroachment first of the Bantu and then of the European settlers. The whole culture of the Hottentots has fallen largely into decay, and the majority of the people have even lost their own language and adopted that of the Dutch; while such tribes of Bushmen as still survive appear to be gradually dying out or at least merging with their Bantu neighbours. The Bergdama seem to have suffered less in regard to numbers, but their culture too is undergoing rapid disintegration. The social cohesion of the people in all three instances has been almost completely broken down. As far as present economic or political importance is concerned, they are relatively negligible in problems of inter-racial relationship, while numerically they are so inferior to the whites as to be considered an insignificant minority.

The Bantu peoples, on the other hand, are still vigorous and powerful, and in their economic and political relations with the European inhabitants of the country present one of the most vital problems now confronting European civilization in South Africa. They greatly outnumber the white population, and appear to be steadily increasing, a fact which is giving rise to much apprehension on the part of the latter. Their social and political organization, too, is so

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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372 decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops
[412] for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-
[415] western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom,
[283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

824 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
285 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
[412] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

237 Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water,
[415] and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women
[306] make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops, and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small
412 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell
324 beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or
[439] three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by
[326] barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.

178 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
324 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
[323] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
[237] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while
[415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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and make the heavens the theatre of numberless poetically-conceived histories"—in which, as the texts obtained by him show, Bushman mythology is extremely rich.[1] 773 821

The selections so far published from these texts are too few to enable us to determine anything more about the nature of the worship directed to these heavenly bodies, and especially about the ceremonies associated with them; but that such worship did actually exist is evident from the facts recorded above. 821 771

There is no mention of similar prayers among the Namib Bushmen, but then no information at all is available about their ideas relating to the heavenly bodies. Among the tribes further north we again meet with moon worship. Both Naron and Auen still worship the Moon. They regard it as an old man, the Sun as a young girl, who is his wife. First the Moon pursues the Sun across the sky, later the Sun follows the Moon. They go down to their houses below the horizon in the west, then fly back at night across the earth to their houses in the east. They can be heard passing, but are not seen. The New Moon, when it appears, is invoked by the magicians, two of whom, man and woman, sit on the ground together, holding their hands out palms upward towards it, and say: "Give us rain that we may live." This worship of the Moon has penetrated into modern ideas also, for most of the people think that since the Moon is in the sky and the God (*!khuba*) the white men and Nama speak of is also in the sky, therefore God is the Moon. Their ancestors used also to pray to certain stars, particularly the morning star and the Southern Cross; but these prayers, says Miss Bleek, are memories of long ago, whereas the moon worship is continued to-day by young as well as old.[2] 776 782 821 [184] [189] [177]

A prayer to the New Moon for food, given in the eighties of last century by a Kung youth from near Lake Ngami, is also recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd[3]; but according to Lebzelter there is nowadays no trace at all among the Kung of either sun or moon worship. The sun is regarded as a woman, the moon as a man, who originally lived upon earth and were carried about on the shoulders of people; but the latter became tired of their burdens 821 [182] [178] 773 821

[1] Bleek, "Resemblances in Bushman and Australian Mythology," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, Feb., 1874, 101–2; *idem*, *Bushman Texts*, 10–12, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 8, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 72–99 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Folklore," 304, 307.

[2] *Naron*, 26–7.

[3] *Bushman Folklore*, 414–15.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people 184
by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, 776
/nawa or the chief of the *//gauab* figures as the creator, and, as the [821]
executive of *Xu*, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is [224]
honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success; [782]
he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems [753]
extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of *Huwe* [178]
on the one hand and of *//gaua* on the other have been blended or
confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make
this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explana- 114
tion may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek 178
and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies 776
for boys: according to the former, it is *Hishe* who figures in the 881
special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled [184]
by *Gaua*. *//gaua*, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's
puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar
confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do
the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a
suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that
one of Miss Bleek's informants identified *//gaua* with *Ndzambi*,
the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for
"God", while another spoke of *//gaua* as the "father" of the
Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of *Huwe*, *Thora*, or 184
the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the 776
source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food [224]
gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; [753]
and with the conception of *//gaua* first as the ghosts of the dead [821]
and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness [775]
and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder,
lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an
interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the
possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples;
it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from
the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions
common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

Magic and Magicians

In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the 756
mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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532 172 [178] Perhaps the most remarkable feature in the whole culture of the Bushmen was their pictorial art, consisting of paintings and engravings executed on rock surfaces (Plate XIII).[1] The practice of this art has now almost completely died out, a necessary consequence of the virtual extermination of the artists themselves. Its study now belongs to the province of archæology, for save in a few rare instances it has proved impossible so far to find any living people who could interpret the designs or throw any light upon the social aspects of the art. The paintings and engravings remain as a very valuable record of an art that now seems to be lost; but they have proved a most important link in the chain of evidence connecting the Bushmen with the prehistoric cultures not only of South Africa but of East and North Africa also, as well as of South-Western Europe.[2]

Their distribution in South Africa extends from the Brandberg Mountains in South-West Africa to the upper reaches of the Tugela River in Natal, from the Humansdorp district on the south coast right up to the Zambesi River in the north. They are found especially over the greater part of the Cape, Griqualand West, Basutoland, Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Southern Rhodesia, but occur also in parts of South-West Africa, British Bechuanaland, and Natal. This distribution no longer coincides with that of the Bushmen themselves. It is impossible therefore to say whether all the tribes possessed the artistic talent or not. The Bushmen south of the Molopo River certainly painted down to a very recent date, and so did certain of the Namib groups.[3] The rocks in the north-west may be evidence that the ancestors of the Auen and the Kung also did so, but the present people certainly do not, and have not even any traditions relating to the art.[4] In the Kalahari itself, where most of the surviving Bushmen now live, the absence of suitable rock [135] material precludes the practice of the art. It is perhaps no wonder, therefore, that the tribes found there have not the faintest recollections of it. Dornan, however, states that the Bushmen living along the Sansokwe River, in the extreme Eastern Kalahari, were still painting a few years ago.[5]

[1] The literature on this aspect of Bushman culture is voluminous. The most useful general works are: Tongue, *Bushman Paintings*, 1909; Moszeik, *Die Malereien der Buschmänner*, 1910; Zeliźko, *Felsgravierungen der südafrikanischen Buschmänner*, 1925; Burkitt, *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint*, 1928, chaps. vii–ix, and bibliography.

[2] Cf. Schapera, "Some Stylistic Affinities of Bushman Art," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxii (1925), 504–15; Burkitt, op. cit., *passim*.

[3] The evidence is discussed by Moszeik, op. cit., 10–15; cf. Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, p. xiv; Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 306–7. [4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 41. [5] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 182, 188–9.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

185 polygyny affords women—that none remain long without the support of a husband.
595 They just said they did not want to be second wives, nor did they want their husbands to take second wives, and protests and quarrels attended a husband's proposal to do so.

Marriage by capture

583 Marriage by capture was spoken of fairly frequently by the /Kung in conversation. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas and I questioned a number of informants about it and we are convinced that wives are not actually acquired by this means at present. Perhaps they were in the past. The /Kung are a present-oriented people who make
● [181] no concerted or consistent effort to retain their history and teach it to their children, and we obtained no significant data on their past customs. Nowadays the idea of capturing wives appears to be enjoyed by the men as a fantasy. The remarks of one /Gaishay illustrate what I mean. He weighs, at a good guess, about ninety pounds and looks like a miniature Mephistopheles. With a gleam he told me that if he wanted to take another wife he would go to her werf, seize her, throw her over his shoulder and run off with her. That is the way Bushmen do, he said, and he wished I could see him do so. I also wished that I could.

Arrangements for marriage

584 First marriages are arranged by the parents of the bride and groom, and second marriages also if the couple are still young. Adults, when both have been married before, may contract subsequent marriages themselves.

[611] Although there is a slight paternal emphasis in this society which recognizes bilateral descent, and the father names all his children, his authority is not clearly
[593] dominant over the mother's in the choice of a mate for their child. By and large, it appears that the father and mother talk things over and come to agreement. If they do not agree, it appears that the strength of personality of one or the other, the opinions of relatives, and various circumstances have weight in the decision.

Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may take the initiative and go to the other parents with the proposal. A go-between is not required, though it is possible that a friend will sometimes act as such. The parents visit and talk, and, if they all agree, the arrangement is thereby settled upon. They normally give each other gifts in honour of the occasion.

Property does not enter much into the consideration of the parents in arranging marriages for their children. No property settlement is made, no bride-price paid, no dower given, though at the time of the wedding a few gifts are exchanged.

Food and water must, one imagines, weigh in the parents' thinking when a marriage is being arranged, and may sometimes be a determining factor. However, there is a considerable amount of equalization in these supplies. Veldkos[1] and water-holes
423 are not owned by individuals but by headmen for their bands, in a way I shall describe in a paper on bands. In the Nyae Nyae region each band has access to a supply, else the people would be dead or somewhere else, and things balance out in

[1] *Veldkos* (field food) is an Afrikaans word used to refer to any kind of wild plant material which people gather to eat. Edible fruits, seeds, roots, tubers, leaves, all are included.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

tion is not necessary. 'A wife can get tired of loving her husband', we were told, 586
'and just tell him to go away.'

We learned about seven divorces only in our sample. The middle-aged Khuan//a, the mother of the bridegroom, /Gunda, had left her first husband to marry her lover. Another middle-aged woman left her husband because he was on the point of marrying a second wife. Jealousy between the two young wives at Gam, lamented in song by the young husband, had been the cause of the third. The whims of young girls caused others. A girl named /Ungka, married to a considerably older man, hated him though he was good to her and gave her oil and ornaments for her hair. She cut off her hair and threw it, ornaments and all, into the fire. She thrust her head into the ashes and made herself filthy. In another instance, the girl took offence the first night of her marriage and left her young husband next day, to his painful chagrin. The lenient and patient parents of these girls arranged other marriages. Di/ai, the mother of [587] the bride /Nai, and now the wife of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, was divorced from two former husbands in her youth. And /U, her sister, while still very young had been persuaded by ≠Toma to leave her tall young husband from Gam and to marry him.

Our data on frequency of divorce are too scant to be significant. We have merely the impression that there seems to be some tendency for couples to separate while they are young and in whatever adolescent turbulence the /Kung experience, but that, on the other hand, there is considerable stability in marriage once a compatible mate is found. At least, no divorces occurred between 1952 and 1959 in eight of the bands of our sample. We lack data on the others.

Young children of divorced parents remain with the mother. As they grow to adolescence the girls usually stay with their mothers, the boys may go to their fathers or stay with their mothers or spend some time with each.

Although the /Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it. Divorce is untoward, disruptive; it can cause trouble. Anything other than peace and [181] harmony in human relations makes the /Kung uneasy.

Extra-marital sexual relations

Murdock points out that 'Our own culture includes a blanket taboo against 171
fornication, an over-all prohibition of all sexual intercourse outside of the marital relationship.'[1] He goes on to say that our society is highly aberrant in this and that 'from available evidence [however] it seems unlikely that a general prohibition of sex relations outside of marriage occurs in as many as five per cent of the peoples of the earth'.[2]

/Kung society has an over-all prohibition against any sexual relations outside of 837
marriage with one exception. It makes no requirements such as sexual hospitality or *jus primae noctis*. It makes no provision for sexual access to certain categories of kin or affines outside of marriage, such as BrWi. Premarital unchastity, unchastity of [836] widows, and prostitution are not among their social conventions. But */kamheri*, though not required, is either fully permitted or tolerated as not a very bad thing; I never reached certainty as to which of these attitudes the society adopted.

/Kamheri means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided

[1] Murdock, op. cit., p. 263. [2] Ibid., p. 264.

[21 cont.]

648 The Bushmen as a whole are despised by the other peoples, but in individual cases they are feared, and not least by the Whites. The Bushmen are familiar with this attitude and conduct themselves accordingly.

797 The Bushmen accept a foreign point of view only with
177 great difficulty, if at all. The mission, accordingly, can show no noteworthy success among them. On the other hand, they
157 usually grasp the intentions of others more quickly than the ordinarily more superficial Blacks. Consequently, they give brief and precise answers to the questions put to them. When asked questions that they do not want to answer, they remain silent. At the same time, in dealings with them one should note that they tire very quickly when they have to do mental work, and then they will not answer further questions, not because they do not want to, but because they are too tired.

181 The Bushmen are not generous. Nevertheless, allow-
[574 ing a stranger to partake of a meal, as well as giving him some
609 of the available water, is wholly matter-of-course with them.
[431] They very rarely, however, give any of their personal belongings, weapons, ornaments, hides, and so forth, as presents. If they themselves receive presents, they are obviously delighted.
181 It is true that they do not express their gratitude with words,
577 [22] but anyone who does the Bushmen a kindness may be sure that they will manifest their gratitude by deeds to the point of self-sacrifice.

To help a fellow human being who is in trouble is a moral obligation. There is a report of a prospector who lost his
[648] way in the bush forest and was then saved by the Bushmen, with whom he could not even converse; they took care of him for several days and finally put him on the right path.

Agreements and promises are kept unconditionally by the Bushman, although it is true that he usually arrives a little too late. Once, when an ox from the ox-cart of the Catholic mission had to be left behind on the way to the Okovanggo, it was put in the care of the Bushmen and they were to deliver it at the time of the next full moon. The people kept their word, and the ox was delivered, well-fed, at the specified time.

As a comrade, the Bushman is reliable and faithful (1).

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1. A European had once illegally

[22 cont.]

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appropriated a number of little trees and planted them in front of his house. On one occasion when he was in town with his Bushmen, the original owner of the trees declared that in the afternoon he was going to see about it. The Bushmen heard this and disappeared. When the two Whites came to the farm, the little trees had disappeared. The Bushmen had run ahead and had hurriedly removed them on their own initiative.

181 The Bushmen are at all times courageous and steadfast people, characteristics which, indeed, their very way of life would produce.

831 The Bushmen strictly avoid talking about sexual matters
[864] in the presence of women and children. Just as in general they are a people without imagination, they do not have any form of the more subtle erotic phantasies.

The endless obscene stories that one hears from the Blacks as soon as he has gained their confidence are unknown among the Bushmen.

The sexual element is absent in their religious cele-
[535] brations, but it finds expression in many of their dances, which imitate the love play of animals.

834 On the whole, their sense of modesty cannot be denied, even though, naturally, they do not have such decent forms of conduct as the genteel Bantu, among whom it is regarded as extremely improper to look at the breasts of the women. The
[516] girls and women never sit in the typical squatting position, but rather sit on the ground with the legs crossed.

(576) Although the life of the Bushmen within the encampment is openly in view, those principles that we regard as natural tact are nonetheless observed.

(514) The Bushman performs his necessities at all times out of sight of the others, and love scenes are never enacted in public.

114 It is naturally very difficult to learn anything more
124 precise concerning the more intimate details of sexual life

[23 cont.]

105 and in the beyond by his traditional conceptions, and the preserva-
182 tion of this adaptation, in the spiritual as well as in the material realm, is achieved by means of a strict selection of all the cultural goods offered from the outside. This selection is consciously carried out. Put briefly: the Bushmen have hitherto refused higher
[177] economic forms not because they do not possess the ability to handle them, but because they did not want to adopt them. If the material preconditions collapse, then they adopt, step by step or all at once, totally different ways of life, as is shown by their Bantuization in Ovamboland and probably also by the formation of the Hottentot people through the adoption of livestock raising on the part of a number of Bushman tribes. Their average intelli-
[153] gence is no less than that of any other race. Every Bushman knows
[184] the entire spiritual heritage of his tribe.

Of the same Bushmen, F. Schinz (2) says:

[113] 2. F. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Leipzig, 1891.

181 "The Bushman is always faithful to his master and will follow him anywhere without pay; one need not worry about leaving him alone at the wagon and will rarely have to reprimand him for dishonesty. All travelers and hunters unanimously praise
[593] the great affection that exists between parents and children, which goes so far that the father or mother will sacrifice themselves in order to save their child. I was told [24] by the hunter L. that at the Okovanggo he once witnessed a scene in which a young Bushman, who was one of the members of the hunting expedition, was in danger of being trampled to death by an angry elephant that stormed toward him. At the last moment when his paralyzed companions had already given the boy up for lost, his father sprang forth and flung his throwing club at the forehead of the enormous animal. The elephant now turned against his new attacher and furiously crushed him under his feet, giving the son the opportunity to flee."

[114] My observations are fully in accord with those of Dornan (1)

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

[24 cont.]

181 He states:

181 593 "It has been asserted that the Bushmen have no feeling for one another. I have frequently heard it said that the mothers are cruel to their children and occasionally kill them when their burden becomes too great. As far as I can see, this is untrue. I have frequently seen Bushman mothers kiss their little ones, exactly as European women do, and when the children are ill, they go to all kinds of trouble. The fathers, it is true, are frequently gruff and rough, but never brutal to their children. The girls are usually seen in company with their mothers, the boys with the men. Between mother and daughter there is an intimate relationship of trust. It has also been asserted that Bushmen are ungrateful; this is also quite untrue. They show their feeling of gratitude neither to one another nor to the Whites, but anyone who gains their trust through kindness can tell that they are indeed grateful. They show their gratitude not by words but by deeds. If someone is in need or in distress and a Bushman friend is in the vicinity, the latter will stay by him to the bitter end."

181

The !Kung Bushman in particular is much more a rational than a sentimental person. The extraordinary difficulty that he encounters in obtaining his livelihood makes him extremely independent in his thinking. It was surprising to see the sureness with which not only men but women, too, were able to act as interpreters. Whereas among the Bantu it is difficult to keep the conversation on the subject, the Bushman always sticks to the point. Even the tribal traditions, insofar as superstitious conceptions are concerned, are not safe from the skepticism of the individual. For instance, I once asked a number of Bushmen whether they hunt lions. They answered in the negative, and when I said that this was probably because the lions harbored the spirits of eminent deceased Bushmen, they laughed and said that this was just a tale of the Hei//om Bushmen and some Bushman doctors who had learned this from them. Other men of the same tube, on the other hand, were firmly convinced that the spirits of great Bushmen doctors reside in the lions.

[124]

[775] [771]

181 771 There are also many stories about bush spirits, especially in the Otjimpolo Veld. My informants repeatedly observed, however, that they did not know whether there was any truth in them, because They had never seen any.

[24 cont.]

000 522 161 they had never seen any. A certain dry humor spiced their conversation. I once said to a Bushman: "If you tell me this, you will get whatever you want." He answered: "Good, I shall speak and you will give me your automobile." Their imagination is 157 123 very poor; in this respect they are much too accurate as observers of nature. Once a young Bushman woman with two children came to me and wanted to buy some sugar. I said to her: "I won't sell you anything, but you will get the sugar if you tell me some children's stories, for example, about animals." After some hesi- [538] tation she began the story of Arri, the guinea hen. It was no fairy tale, but a detailed account concerning this important food bird. She even imitated the calls of the guinea hen, "for example, when someone comes and there is danger, then they say, 'gannana he gannana he,' but when they are alone and enjoying themselves, then they go 'gi gi gi.'" The children had to imi- [861] tate this until they were able to mimic the sound accurately. Then it was the turn of the sand hen, which says, "gi ganna gi ganna"; then the ostrich, which goes, "hmm, hmm, hmm"; then the gum bird [Harzvogel], which says, "hai-dschi, hai-dschi," and the owl, "mhm, m."

3. Posture, Movement, Stamina

516 As a result of his marked lordosis, the Bushman never assumes a posture that would conform to our military ideal; he almost always stands with his stomach somewhat protruding.

481 The way the Bushmen run is very peculiar and would justify detailed study. [25] The run is really a continuous fast walk, in which the legs are kicked forward, but the lower thighs are never brought back high, as is the case with our runners. The body is held as straight as possible, and the head up, not forward (1).

[113] 1. E. v. Eickstedt (Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit [Ethnology and History of Mankind], p. 556) states: "The foot is put in a peculiar transverse position, which makes the track in the sand easily

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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method had been established. The /Kõ and /Gikwe have not incorporated the belief into their terminological systems except in a very limited way. The /Kung, however, have done so, and appear to have adapted it as logically as possible to the generational method. They apply it only to somewhat distant relationships, namely, grandparents, grandchildren, collaterals, secondary affines, and name-relatives. They do not apply it in the close biological relationships of parent, offspring or sibling or in the primary affinal relationships. Consistency is maintained by the rule that a child must not be named for a parent.

We think that the term *!gu!na* came into the system with the homonymous method and that perhaps it used originally to be applied only to the person for whom ego is named. It is not strictly a kinship term, being composed of translateable words, ' big or old name '. We think it may have been superimposed upon *tun!ga* (which probably comes from the same root as *tũn*). *Tun!ga* may originally have been applied to grandfather, man-speaking as well as woman-speaking, and later *!gu!na* may have become associated with grandfather because so many men are named for their grandfathers. If this is so, an anomalous situation remains unresolved. *Tun!ga* is applied to consanguineous kin and affines and allows joking, woman-speaking. Man-speaking, it is applied only to affines and prohibits joking. If it was originally the term for grandfather, man-speaking, we reason that it should allow joking, and we cannot explain this anomaly.

Whatever may be the answer to these questions, the /Kung have put to good use the belief that persons who have the same name partake of each other's entities. This belief has given them the name-relationship.

It is our impression that the practice of applying terms to name-relatives has appealed to the /Kung and that they have developed it to the full. The /Kung apply a kinship term to every /Kung they meet or almost everyone. /Qui was the only informant who worked with us on this subject who had ever met a /Kung Bushman for whom he had no kinship term. He had met four who came from a distance and whose names were not among those commonly used in the Nyae Nyae region. Ta//ne was one of the names. Gao, who was present, told /Qui that he had a *tsu* named Ta//ne, and he and /Qui nodded together in agreement that they would find a way for /Qui to give Ta//ne a term should they meet again. We know two men who used the term *!go* for each other because each of them had a brother named Dam. The system seems to have been flexible and expansive in the application of terms to name-relatives.

The /Kung are small of stature and non-aggressive. They are timid and apprehensive of strangers. Their word for stranger is *ju dole*. *Ju* means person, *dole* means strange or harmful—one word for both concepts, in the /Kung language, as though they were a single concept. The /Kung have no social organization larger than the band of kin who live together but they have utilized the name-relationship to supply the cohesive factor which is supplied in other societies by various social structures. When a /Kung meets a stranger and finds that he has the same name as one of his kin and bestows a kinship term upon him, he is reassured and feels a sense of belonging.

Gao, the brother of /U, went on an errand for us to Khadum. Khadum is about 115 miles north of Gautscha and about 40 miles north of Cho/ana where we were staying at the time. He had never been to Khadum before, and the /Kung Bushmen who lived

Bushmen who try to escape. But to escape from any master is 466
by no means impossible; Bushmen are not locked up at night 566
or guarded during the day. Even the chain gangs of Bushmen
that you may see in European settlements (Bushmen living [687]
near the farms are put in jail occasionally for killing giraffes
or stealing cattle) are always straggling down a road with a
defenseless guard trailing far behind, and we often wondered
why Bushmen were so docile, so easy to exploit, allowing
themselves to be badly treated and taken away from their
homes. Some people, like Tami, have no choice because they
have forgotten the fine skills required to live in the veld and
would die there. Some young Bushmen find the promise of
European clothing and customs too alluring to resist and are
willing to give up their own ways and customs for a shirt or a
ragged dress. Perhaps others welcome the promise of food
every day, even though they find that on the farms they are
poorer than ever, having little enough food, and when their
leather clothes fall into rags they cannot hunt to get new ones.
Perhaps, too, they are surprised to find their Bantu or Euro-
pean masters not always as dangerous as they feared.

But these things are not true of everyone. Many servants
long for their homes; many veld Bushmen hide from Euro-
peans for fear they will be taken away, for they know that a
European does not have to force them to come with him,
only to persuade them, and since they are afraid of him they
hear themselves agreeing to go, and, shortly after, find them-
selves working on his farm, angry with themselves and filled
with remorse.

We learned two reasons for the submissiveness of Bush- 181
men. One reason is that it is not in their nature to fight, not
in their experience to deal with people other than themselves.
They would much rather run, hide, and wait until a menace
has passed than to defend themselves forcefully, quite unlike

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

181 the Bantus, who are staunch and brave and in the past have waged great wars. But Bushmen deplore and misunderstand bravery. The heroes of their legends are always little jackals who trick, lie, and narrowly escape, rather than larger, bolder [538] animals such as lions (who in the Kalahari are something of a master race). In the Bushmen's stories, lions are always being scalded, singed, duped, cuckolded, or killed.

181 Bushmen cannot afford to fight with each other and almost 182 never do because their only real weapon is their arrow poison, 578 422 for which there is no antidote. But even were they to disregard this danger, Bushmen would try not to fight because they have no mechanism in their culture for dealing with disagreements other than to remove the causes of the disagreements. Their hold on life is too tenuous to permit quarreling among themselves. A Bushman will go to any lengths to avoid making other Bushmen jealous of him, and for this reason the few possessions that Bushmen have are constantly circling among the members of their groups. No one cares to keep a particularly good knife too long, even though he may want it desperately, because he will become the object of envy; as he sits by himself polishing a fine edge on the blade he will hear the soft voices of the other men in his band saying: "Look at him there, admiring his knife while we have nothing." Soon somebody will ask him for his knife, for everybody would like to have it, and he will give it away. Their culture insists that they share with each other, and it has never happened that a Bushman failed to share objects, food, or water with the other members of his band, for without very rigid co-operation Bushmen could not survive the famines and droughts that the Kalahari offers them.

181 The other reason for their submissiveness is that Bushmen, 609 whose possessions are only sticks and bones, beads made of eggshell and fragments of leather, are overwhelmed by the

possessions of Bantus and Europeans—horses and cattle, 181
dogs, melon lands, medicines, rifles, boots, and trucks—as 609
well as their enormous size, heavy necks and arms, great beards, and roaring voices. Europeans are beyond the powers of Bushmen's imagination, more awesome in stature, in possessions, in might, than even the Bushmen's god, who can be [776]
cajoled, who hunts with a bow and arrow. Bushmen consider the Europeans and the Bantus to be superior beings. Bantus [648]
and Europeans consider the Bushmen to be inferior beings, and, without resisting, a Bushman always bows to a European or a Bantu person's will.

Once an old man, a veld Bushman, told us the story of the 283
reim and the grass fiber. A reim is a leather rope which the 539
Bantus make by skinning a cow with a long, spiraling cut that goes around and around the body so that the hide comes off all in one piece a few inches wide and many yards long, which is then stretched and cured, making a piece of leather useful for harnessing oxen or building a hut.

"In the earliest days," the old man said, "the Bushmen and 539
the non-Bushmen were all one nation, and the great god 773
came to earth and gave them a rope. Half the rope was made of reim and half was made of grass fiber. The great god told all the people to pull on the rope, and the non-Bushmen came away with the reim, but the Bushmen got only the grass fiber. After that, the non-Bushmen had cattle and reims and all those things, but the Bushmen had only the things that are in the veld. If this ever happened again," the old man said, "I would tell the Bushmen to make sure they got the reim half."

So the distinction between people was caused by the great 181
god, and the Bushmen, who want only to be left in peace, do 609
not compete in issues which they cannot win. They are only [773]
frightened by other peoples and hope to be spared their atten-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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181 tion. Kung Bushmen call all strangers *zhu dole*, which means
609 "stranger" but, literally, "dangerous person"; they call all non-Bushmen *zo si*, which means "animals without hooves," because, they say, non-Bushmen are angry and dangerous like lions and hyenas. But Kung Bushmen call themselves *zhu twa si*, the harmless people. *Twa* means "just" or "only," in the sense that you say: "It was just the wind" or "It is only me."

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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481 well as great loads of melons, all of which we offered again
482 and again to carry for them, but because, they said, they might want to stop for the night or just refresh themselves along the way, they would not part with their bundles.

The place we went to was called Ai a ha'o; it was the pan where we had seen the lion. It took us almost all day to drive there, and shortly after we arrived Dasina and Kutera joined us, having traveled almost as fast as we. Those two old women must have walked at four or five miles an hour all the way, over veld so rough that the trucks couldn't go much faster.

342 Before dark, the Bushman women had built a werf, a clear-
361 ing of grass for each family with a shallow pit to sleep in and a place for the fire, all four clearings under the branches of a
353 single tree which would give them shade in the daytime. On the branches each person hung whatever there was to hang, quivers, skin bags, or aprons, and these things swung in the cold wind. The women gathered firewood and lit their fires,
757 562 and Dasina asked Twikwe to stand on her stomach because she was tired from her long walk and wanted a massage. Be-
574 fore they went to sleep the men and the three young boys
577 walked to our camp, about fifty feet away, to say good-night, but the women stayed at home because at night all Bushmen women stay at home. A woman does not even leave her fire to go to her neighbor's fire three feet away because people will say that she doesn't like to stay home; she speaks loudly to her neighbor instead. Bushmen are a rather conservative peo-
[181] ple, and they are very moral in that they keep their own rules.

574 The smoke in the west that Gai had seen when he roasted the tortoise intrigued him very much. Again and again he said that it was people's smoke, and one morning he said he wanted to go over to it, to look for the man who was Wita-

174 In such disturbed times, the Bushmen fare ill. They are not, and probably were not ever, a warlike people. [181] Their society is not constructed for war, their culture dampens war. Yet, now, wars and battles began to scatter across the land, as groups of people—large and small, Bantu armies, itinerant raiders, the remnants of tiny nations and the dispossessed—marched and wandered in their search of conquest or safe distant places.

Some Bushmen nations were driven into pockets in the hills, where they died slowly. Some stayed on their land and were decimated and made slaves. Some resisted and, as one who spoke of his people told me: "We were soldiers in those days." Their armies changed into marauder bands that sometimes fought and often ran. Of these, the Heikum were an example—an embittered, scattered nation of travelers on the then uncertain grasslands of South West Africa. When, at

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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7

THE !KUNG BUSHMEN OF THE KALAHARI DESERT

about the chapter

For the anthropologist, the Bushmen are one of the world's most intriguing peoples, as they are virtually unique physically, linguistically, and culturally. The physical anthropologist cannot place the Bushmen in any one of the recognized major racial groupings: Caucasoid, Mongoloid, or Negroid. Similarly, linguists have placed their language in a category, Khoisan, apart from other African language families. The velar "clicks" that characterize Khoisan languages are apparently found nowhere in the world outside of Africa.

The culture of the Bushmen shows the imprint of their harsh and barren desert habitat, and, as Marshall points out, the ethos of their culture is dominated by the quest for survival. Many Bushman cultural institutions are molded by certain ecological constants: water, the location of water holes, water-storing plants, and other edible wild plants, the movements of game. The size of the band, the daily cycle of labor, the low incidence of polygyny, are all aspects of culture marked in this way. Certain other Bushman institutions, however, are not simply cultural creations passively molded by habitat; rather, they give the Bushmen better than even odds to defy the limitations which their habitat imposes. Such culture patterns are their skillful hunting techniques, their institutionalized patterns of sharing, and their strong striving for cooperation and harmony. Few cultures give the observer such a rich opportunity to study the two-way interaction between habitat and culture.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48′30″ S. 181
20°34′36″ E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but 131
extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and
Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch 123
of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In 162
it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and 648
9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of
about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the 386
region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and
preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north 192
and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen- 182
speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung 181
Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is sur- 182
vival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in
their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring
food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the 621
mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their 578
social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals
within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between 628
bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on 971
survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the
sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region 433
have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we re- 262
fer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of
a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired,
but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know 222
more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several 262
species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen
suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad
for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets.
Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this region as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these; doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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224 602 they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. [574] This meat may be cooked and the quantities small. Visitors receive small amounts of cooked meat from their hosts. It ends in everybody getting some meat.

224 431 In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and primary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift giving. !Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift of meat at some time in the future. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously [571] according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift giving in general: the person gives to measure up to what is expected of him, to make friendly gestures, to win favor, to repay past favors and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation.

224 431 181 [154] [183] Aside from the practical advantage of using up meat while it is still fresh, the !Kung custom of meat sharing has enormous social value. It does a great deal to mitigate tensions. The fear of hunger is lessened. People are sustained by a web of mutual obligation. Moreover, they are fully conscious of these values, and the custom is so strongly established and so faithfully followed that the idea of not sharing is virtually unthinkable to the !Kung.

422 262 264 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the !Kung. When an individual receives a portion he owns it outright. He may give and share it further, as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very [261] important to the !Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

224 261 It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae !Kung eat hearty meals of meat when plenty appeared and they had been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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776 gods, the !Kung fear to do so because it displeases the gods and draws their attention and they say, "Who is calling my name?"

The lesser god who lives in the western sky is the namesake of the great god, who, as the belief goes, gave the lesser god all seven of his own divine names, but not his human name. Although they insist in this belief, the !Kung never used any name but *//Gauwa*, one of the seven divine names, when they referred to the lesser god and we never heard them [171] actually use this name for the great god. It would seem, then, that the lesser god is the old evil spirit, *//Gauwa*, who appears in the beliefs of the Hottentots and other Bushman language groups as the destroyer and the black chief, the one who sends death, disease, and misfortune. This evil spirit was an entity distinct from the good spirit who was variously named by Bushman groups *Hishe*, *Huwe*, and so on.

In present !Kung belief, however, neither the great god nor the lesser god is all evil or all good. Both are capable of being pleased or displeased with man and of sending favors or misfortunes. The lesser god is subservient to the great god and is supposed to do his bidding. The lesser god, however, has his own entity and does instigate his own actions, sometimes even disobeying the great god. Often they disagree between themselves.

The great god looks like a man, like a Bushman, but he is "the tallest of the Bushmen" and has long black hair that is not twisted and knotted like Bushman hair. He rides a horse across the sky—you can hear him—and he has a gun as well as bows and arrows. Some say he never comes to earth but always sends *//Gauwa*, or the spirits of the dead, the *//gauwasi*, [28] to bring the good or evil that he sends to men. Only the greatest of medicine men have ever seen him.

//Gauwa, however, is commonly seen by the medicine men. They describe him as small. One said he was about two feet tall; another, that he was as small as a guinea fowl; a third, that he was as small as a mouse. Several agreed that he was covered with yellow hairs. One, however, a humble man, said that while in trance he had seen *//Gauwa* and that he was like a gray mist.

782 RELIGIOUS PRACTICES • The !Kung say that they pray spontaneously to the gods. Whenever the thought comes to them they put their prayers into words and say or think them to themselves without any formality. When they speak in prayer to the great god they address him by the respectful term *!Nau*, used for any old man, or use a title *Gaoxa* (chief), or call him [181] "father." Sometimes they use one of his names. The prayers, a mingling of mild imprecation and pleading, reveal the major concerns of the !Kung: hunger, sickness, and death.[11]

776 The great god, responsible for sending sickness and death to men,
753 also created and gives to men a mystical curing power that is called *gaoxa*
778
755

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with 602
three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made.

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu/na* and *tŭn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *||ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a 182 183
touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and con- 582
sistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society 593
tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many cate- 602
gories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship as soon as marriage takes place.

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly 587
approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is 768
expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines.

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. 583
This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one 619
marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units
have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, [584]
as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened.

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in 595
which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power 554
or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, 556
but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give
them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries [422]
his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women [482]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

837 the wives consent. This is regarded as a concern of the couples involved rather than a concern of society as a whole. One man said, 'If you want to sleep with someone's wife, you get him to sleep with yours, then neither of you goes after the other with poisoned arrows.'

The word */kamheri* was used by //Ao, one of the young hunters, to express his deep [572] feeling of friendship for John Marshall. 'We are such friends that we are */kamheri*', he said, but, as John had no wife to exchange, this remark had its funny side which delighted the men.

No actual instance of */kamheri* came to our attention and we failed in finding out if it is now practised. One man in Gam lent his first wife to a unmarried friend, one of the gossips told us, because he was in love with his second and did not care any longer for the first, but this was a mere deviation from the rules, not an instance of */kamheri*.

We heard of several irregular sexual unions in addition to the above. Rape did not appear in stories or gossip. Fornication must be very rare because there is practically no one to fornicate with. Almost all females are married except very young girls and leathery old grandmothers. Adultery is the usual form for irregular unions 684 to take. Adultery, however, is sharply limited by several deterrents. One deterrent is 837 the incest taboo, of course, which forbids extra-marital sexual relations as rigorously as it does marriage with persons to whom the taboo is extended. The same internalized sanctions induce obedience to this rule as to the marriage regulations. The same gradation of feeling probably exists, and we expect that people comply strictly within the kindred and among close affines and are no doubt less strict with name relatives.

Ease of divorce must exert a modifying influence on adulterous unions. If a [586] married couple really want to change mates, nothing need deter them but the general difficulty of extricating themselves from the web of responsibilities which marriage entails.

In a sense, the impossibility of maintaining secrecy exerts a control over extra-151 marital relations. There is no privacy in a /Kung werf and the vast veld is not a cover. 153 The very life of these people depends on their being trained from childhood to 182 look sharply at things and to take into their attention what they see, for they must observe the most minute marks on vegetation to distinguish from the matted grasses the almost hair-thin brown vine stems that come up from the edible roots. Hunters memorize visual impressions and are able to follow the tracks of an individual animal in the midst of a large herd in a way that seems to us miraculous. It may be a week after a hunt that they return to recover an arrow that missed, miles from the werf, remembering where it lay in the vast monotonous sameness of grass and bush. They register every person's footprints in their minds, more vividly I am sure than we do faces, and read in the sand who walked where and how long ago.

185 The /Kung value control of anger, upholding self-control as an ideal, giving it group and individual approval and training for it. Despite this, volatile tempers 578 sometimes flare and burst out of all control. And always at hand are the little poisoned [411] arrows. They are formidable weapons. There is no antidote for the poison; at least our /Kung informants said they know none and told us of tragic deaths from the poison which would have been averted had they had an antidote.

684 Adultery, so exceedingly provocative of anger and vengeance, could be very

/135 cont./

114 accounts for the incompleteness and gaps in my data, defects which make themselves felt particularly in the last chapter. Thus, I could neither do the important section on linguistics nor make a collection of ethnological materials.

The observations and researches that I did undertake were repeatedly tested for their correctness to the best of my abilities. The possibility of error, of course, is nevertheless admitted without reservation.

Aminuis, August, 1908. Kaufmann.

General Observations

144 It is my conviction that the ǂAuin, as well as all other Kalahari Bushmen, do not represent a homogeneous race, but rather a people or, better still, several peoples who have lost their original character through mixture with one another and above all with peoples of other races (Bantu). At any rate, a number of Bergdamara [Bergdama] or Herero decidedly gives a stronger impression of derivation from the same mold than do the same number of Bushmen.

197 The linguistic differentiation of the individual tribes is sometimes so great that mutual intelligibility is impossible.

171 The apparent cultural homogeneity is probably based on the
182 uniformity of the landscape that everywhere surrounds them and on the living conditions (Kalahari culture).

There is no doubt that an intimate relationship of some kind
144 exists between the Hottentot and Bushmen. It may be that the
171 Bushmen are degenerate Hottentot with some admixture of foreign blood, or, on the other hand, that the Hottentot are Bushmen with foreign admixture who have emancipated themselves from the Kalahari culture.

[114] I believe I shall not be guilty of an indiscretion if I report
144 that the ethnographer Dr. Pöch shares this view with me. In a
197 private communication he writes to me from Kamelpan

/138 cont./

177 Since contact with the Whites was established, wars have
72 apparently declined considerably, but even today they exact a decidedly heavy toll.

22 The Auin is at the lowest stage of human development; he is exclusively a collector and hunter.

This way of life is dictated to him by the nature of his en-
133 vironment. This part of the Kalahari, where the watering places
137 are sometimes 100 kilometers apart and very limited in number,
182 does not permit livestock raising, especially also since the tschama [sometimes spelled tsama, a kind of melon] enjoyed by the cattle is comparatively rare.

In the Auin region the plain dominates the landscape.
133 Primary rocks rise up here and there only along the river banks. So-called dunes give the landscape a gently hilly character, especially in the vicinity of the rivers (dry river beds which carry
137 water only after violent rains). The ground cover alternates between grass, shrub, and tree steppe and dense undergrowth. The
132 amount of precipitation is very small; the lack of sufficient statistical data makes it impossible to give a more precise estimate.

B. Dwellings and Furnishings

342 The typical form of the dwelling is the windscreen, in other words, the most primitive form of human habitation, which scarcely deserves the designation "hut." Its construction is completed in a few minutes. A few twigs are stuck loosely into the ground at the thicker end in a semicircle and propped against each other at the branching end. I have never seen the supports firmly fastened to one another, although I have examined several hundred huts. Grass is thrown on the framework, and the construction is finished. During the dry season the structures are usually built even more hastily and sometimes consist merely of a few bundles of grass that have been thrown loosely between the twigs of a living bush. The entire structure is often scarcely a meter high and has no roof. It is thus a genuine windscreen, intended to protect its inhabitants from drafts while they are lying down.

If the settlement remains at a particular place for only a few days, the people content themselves with the shadow of some

[753] [23 cont.] THE SICK BUSHMEN LIE SILENT AND
157 patient, but a case of illness in a village upsets all its members, partly out of compassion, and partly out of fear of the spirits of sickness. The modes of conduct that I have described already permit certain conclusions concerning the structure of the psychological personality among the Bushmen. It is certainly impossible to compare the mental set of an intellectualized, highly domesticated European with that of these primitive hunters. There is absolutely no difference, however, between the simple European and the natives in their conception of life and their manner of
105 reacting to environmental influences. As I have already explained
182 in another place, we may speak of a law of inertia in cultural development (1). The primitive man is perfectly aware, perhaps

1. V. Lebzelter, "Persönlichkeit und Weltanschauung bei den Eingeborenen Südwestafrikas Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Leogesellschaft, 1932.

instinctively, perhaps by tradition, that the quantity of energy possessed by every individual is limited and that each expenditure of energy means wear on the life machine and, hence, the shortening of life. The individual, therefore, strives to attain, with the least possible expenditure of energy, what to his mind represents an optimal adaptation to the conditions of life, and to maintain this state of adaptation with the least possible expenditure of energy. The great difference between European civilization and many primitive cultures, including that of the Bushmen, lies in the fact that European culture as a whole finds itself in an unstable condition, which makes the attainment of an optimal state of adaptation possible to only a few of its members. Bushman culture, on the other hand, represents an optimal state of adaptation that can be automatically attained by each individual Bushman. In its way, therefore, it is more perfect than ours. No other people and no other race, given the same technical means and the same environmental conditions, could achieve a better adaptation. One can even speak of such an adaptation with respect to the spiritual culture. The life of the Bushman is made secure in this life

[23 cont.]

105 and in the beyond by his traditional conceptions, and the preserva-
182 tion of this adaptation, in the spiritual as well as in the material realm, is achieved by means of a strict selection of all the cultural goods offered from the outside. This selection is consciously carried out. Put briefly: the Bushmen have hitherto refused higher
[177] economic forms not because they do not possess the ability to handle them, but because they did not want to adopt them. If the material preconditions collapse, then they adopt, step by step or all at once, totally different ways of life, as is shown by their Bantuization in Ovamboland and probably also by the formation of the Hottentot people through the adoption of livestock raising on the part of a number of Bushman tribes. Their average intelli-
[153] gence is no less than that of any other race. Every Bushman knows
[184] the entire spiritual heritage of his tribe.

Of the same Bushmen, F. Schinz (2) says:

[113] 2. F. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Leipzig, 1891.

181 "The Bushman is always faithful to his master and will follow him anywhere without pay; one need not worry about leaving him alone at the wagon and will rarely have to reprimand him for dishonesty. All travelers and hunters unanimously praise
[593] the great affection that exists between parents and children, which goes so far that the father or mother will sacrifice themselves in order to save their child. I was told [24] by the hunter L. that at the Okovanggo he once witnessed a scene in which a young Bushman, who was one of the members of the hunting expedition, was in danger of being trampled to death by an angry elephant that stormed toward him. At the last moment when his paralyzed companions had already given the boy up for lost, his father sprang forth and flung his throwing club at the forehead of the enormous animal. The elephant now turned against his new attacher and furiously crushed him under his feet, giving the son the opportunity to flee."

[114] My observations are fully in accord with those of Dornan (1)

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

B /260 cont./

In addition to the Bushman language, the Heikum of the
191 Omatako also speak Nama, whereas the Kung of the Kaukau
● 182 Veld speak only their Bushman language. The reason for this
133 is readily seen if one realizes that the Kaukau Veld is an oasis enclosed on all sides by the large waterless stretches of the Kalahari, and hence is visited only during the rainy season by a few Betschuana hunters, but otherwise is completely isolated. Most of the Bushmen whom we encountered in the Kaukau Veld had never seen a white man prior to our arrival.

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Word List and Grammatical Outline of the Heikum and Kung Language

1. Persons

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Human being	tschu	tschu	Khóib
Man	tschu n|ō (|ə = männlich)*	tschu n|ō	áob
Woman	tsau	tschau	tarás
Son	daba |oma	daba |oma	|oab
Daughter	daba tsauma	daba tschauma	|oas
Brother	tsng	tsng	|gasab
My brother	mé tsng	me tsng	—
Sister	tsau tsng	tsau tsng	|gas
Father	ombá	ombā	dadáb
Mother	mdei	medei	máma
Grandfather	omba n|ā (n|a = alt)**	omba n|ā	aúda
Grandmother	tschau |á	tschau |á	aúmama
Master	gaucha	gaucha	gáob
Captain of a settlement	tschu gaucha	tschu gaucha	—
Servant	ǂëi	tschu nǂoa	|ān
Herero	Damá	Damá	Damán
Betschuana	Birin	ǂgabé	Birin
Ovambo	|ave	—	—

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*männlich, "male" **alt, "old"

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

602 ugly, slovenly, or wanton. The women retaliate, perhaps accusing the men of being worthy only of castration or of unfaithful wives. We noticed that the /Kung do not call each other sons of bitches. They are not concerned with lineage.

602 It is not thought proper to make blatant or insulting sexual jokes with old persons. The deference which is shown to aged persons is expressed by moderation, and 888 the joking relationship between an old person and a considerably younger person, [603] especially between grandparents and grandchildren, becomes a cosy friendly intimacy without the sexual emphasis.

Though the /Kung enjoy the joking relationship, it was our impression that their 602 primary concern lay in the prohibition against joking. They said it would be 'madness' to joke with persons they should not joke with. When they meet strangers they do not dare to joke until they find out whether or not it is proper for them to do so. They gave us /Kung names. This placed us in the scheme of things and people could know what their status was with us.

The /Kung say they 'fear' (*koa*) to joke when they should not and they 'fear' (*koa*) the persons with whom joking is forbidden. The word *koa* is the same word that they use when they say they fear a lion or a mamba. They also use it to mean avoid. We think it holds the same combination of fear and respect that our word holds when we say we fear the Lord.

[828 A /Kung told us that joking was not only amusing but that it served a good pur- 865] pose in teaching people, young men especially, to hold their tempers and to have poise in their social relations. We thought that joking served a good purpose in [182 providing an outlet in laughter for aggression and various social restraints, but we [154 wondered if it had not primarily been developed as a response to restraints upon sexual intercourse. Incest must be a concern among a people who live in small bands 835] of consanguineous kin and close affines, bands which are isolated for the most part within their own territories except for more or less infrequent visits to other bands. The restraints which are considered to be good and necessary may be strengthened by the symbol of avoidance of sexual joking. Respect due to a parent has perhaps come to be associated with this symbol and this may account for joking being restricted with parents of both sexes. It seems that respect in general is not required between siblings; only sexual restraint is required and this is symbolized by the restriction in joking imposed on siblings of opposite sex, whereas ego may joke with a sibling of the same sex. It is possible that the culture allows joking between grandparents and grandchildren (with the rather few exceptions when the factor of the name intervenes to classify them in the non-joking category) because joking is associated with a welcome ease and intimacy of relationship and the great difference in age removes the necessity of symbolizing sexual restraint between them.

The Name-Relationship as a Factor in Social Consolidation

553 The /Kung believe that the name is somehow a part of the entity of a person and 601 that when one is named for a person one partakes of that person's entity in some way and in some degree. Informants could give us no further elucidation of this belief.

It seems evident that, when incorporated into the system of kinship terminology, [174] the belief has produced the homonymous method of applying terms. It is our conjecture that the homonymous method was added to the system after the generational method had been established.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

602 there at once called him *ju dole*. He was in haste to say that he had heard that the father of one of the people at Khadum had the same name as his father and that another had
609 a brother named Gao. 'Oh,' said the Khadum people, in effect, 'so you are Gao's */gu/na*', and they took him to their fire and gave him a present of edible gum.

602 The name connexions of the /Kung of Nyae Nyae extend throughout the region. Thinking of Gautscha Pan as approximately the centre, the name connexions extend
619 about 80 miles to the south, and include the /Kung who live at Gum and at a few small water-holes south of Gum. To the north of Gautscha Pan they extend about 75
●182 miles to Samangaigai, and about 100 miles to Cho/ana, and may be said now to touch upon Khadum, 115 miles from Gautscha Pan. The country to the west, between Gautscha Pan and the farmed area of South West Africa, is waterless and uninhabited. To the east the /Kung name connexions reach some 60 or 80 miles to the cattle posts of Chwana and Herero at Kai Kai and Kubi, where some /Kung work as herdsmen and others visit and trade. The /Kung who live in this region are not *ju dole* to each other. The name-relationship makes them feel they are one people.

619 But there are edges to this sense of being one people. At Karakuwise to the north-west, about 100 miles away from the centre of the Nyae Nyae area, and at Nuragas, about 200 miles away, there are /Kung Bushmen. Although none of the Nyae Nyae people have been there, the people of Nyae Nyae know that those people speak the same language. However, the Karakuwise and the Nuragas people are distant, and they are *ju dole*. The people of Nyae Nyae say that they hear that the people of Nuragas put a strange poison into the pipes they give you to smoke which makes you become as thin as a stick and then die. The people of Nyae Nyae do not know the names of the people at Nuragas.

Résumé

000 LA TERMINOLOGIE DE LA PARENTÉ CHEZ LES BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

Les Boschimans /Kung sont des chasseurs et des ramasseurs nomades, qui ont eu très peu de contacts avec d'autres tribus ou avec des Européens; ils vivent en petites bandes de parents consanguins et d'affins proches, qui sont, pour la plupart, isolés à l'intérieur de leurs propres territoires, sauf pour des visites plus ou moins rares par d'autres bandes. Le système /Kung de terminologie de parenté présente deux aspects: d'après l'un, les termes sont appliqués suivant la situation biologique des personnes; d'après l'autre, les personnes sont classées avec d'autres, du fait qu'elles ont les mêmes noms. Du point de vue terminologique, deux personnes quelconques ne peuvent être apparentées simultanément de plus d'une façon, bien qu'elles puissent changer leur rapport terminologique par le mariage, ou, parfois, par le changement de leurs noms. En général, les termes employés indiquent l'âge biologique relatif des personnes qui s'appliquent mutuellement des termes de parenté. Les mêmes termes sont utilisés en s'adressant à une personne et en y faisant allusion. Pour les besoins de l'analyse, on peut distinguer entre deux systèmes de terminologie de parenté: le système A s'applique à des parents consanguins et aux personnes classées avec eux, soit par suite d'un rapport entre leurs noms, soit parce qu'elles se sont mariées avec ces parents. Le système B s'applique aux affins. Il y a trois catégories de termes dans le système A, selon leur emploi entre: (1) père ou mère et enfant; (2) 'siblings' (enfants de mêmes père et mère), et (3) générations. Dans cette dernière catégorie, la personne plus âgée emploie invariablement une forme diminutive en s'adressant, ou en faisant allusion, à la personne

181 the Bantus, who are staunch and brave and in the past have waged great wars. But Bushmen deplore and misunderstand bravery. The heroes of their legends are always little jackals who trick, lie, and narrowly escape, rather than larger, bolder [538] animals such as lions (who in the Kalahari are something of a master race). In the Bushmen's stories, lions are always being scalded, singed, duped, cuckolded, or killed.

181 Bushmen cannot afford to fight with each other and almost ●182 never do because their only real weapon is their arrow poison, 578 for which there is no antidote. But even were they to disregard this danger, Bushmen would try not to fight because 422 they have no mechanism in their culture for dealing with disagreements other than to remove the causes of the disagreements. Their hold on life is too tenuous to permit quarreling among themselves. A Bushman will go to any lengths to avoid making other Bushmen jealous of him, and for this reason the few possessions that Bushmen have are constantly circling among the members of their groups. No one cares to keep a particularly good knife too long, even though he may want it desperately, because he will become the object of envy; as he sits by himself polishing a fine edge on the blade he will hear the soft voices of the other men in his band saying: "Look at him there, admiring his knife while we have nothing." Soon somebody will ask him for his knife, for everybody would like to have it, and he will give it away. Their culture insists that they share with each other, and it has never happened that a Bushman failed to share objects, food, or water with the other members of his band, for without very rigid co-operation Bushmen could not survive the famines and droughts that the Kalahari offers them.

181 The other reason for their submissiveness is that Bushmen, 609 whose possessions are only sticks and bones, beads made of eggshell and fragments of leather, are overwhelmed by the

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YOUNG MOTHER bows her head as ornament for ear lobe is twisted to shape.

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ship between man and his natural environment. In such a relationship, two directions of cause and effect are implied. These two directions may be understood by two terms—adaption and control. Adaption means the effect wrought by the environment upon the body or the culture of man. Control is the effect wrought upon the environment by man, his body and his culture. In the one case, man conforms to the environment. In the other, man conforms the environment to his needs.

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THERE IS no ecological situation where either adaptation or control prevails to the exclusion of the other, for the fact of man's presence changes an environment, and the most effective technology, the most developed society, are—in part—responses to an environment. Every ecological relationship is a welter of compromise. Yet, there are extremes. If we take Western technological culture as one extreme—with control prevailing and America the exponent—the !Kung might be considered the opposite extreme, for the !Kung control their environment scarcely at all.

To the !Kung, in their environment, there are available a certain number of natural resources, in a certain geographical pattern. There are also available a certain number of !Kung. They have a culture. Living within their culture, they are able to exploit their environment. The first aspect of this ecological relationship is the fairly obvious relationship between !Kung technology and environment.

[p. 34]

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

182 With considerable empirical knowledge, the !Kung have arrived at workable solutions to the problems of subsistence. By means of their technology, they have managed to satisfy their basic needs and their many wants of life (at least, they satisfied them until they were exposed to the wealth of white men). The fact that their population is limited because of their technology is one result of this adaptation—of which infanticide is an occasional expression. That they live to all intents and purposes from day to day—having no real measure of surplus in the form of stored crops and

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[p. 35]

182 beasts ready to slaughter—is another indication that the !Kung have largely adapted to their environment. But the contrasting fact that the !Kung live in *Nyae Nyae* as easily as they do also indicates some measure of environmental control.

THE more complex aspects of the !Kung ecological relationship exist in areas other than their simple technology. That the !Kung are able to exploit their environment with a certain degree of efficiency is due in some measure to the structure of their society. Thus, the second aspect of the

182 ecological relationship is this one: the relationship between a certain number of natural resources, arranged in a certain environment, and a society that has developed in the presence of these resources and whose members are dependent on them.

Of course, their society did not come into being because the !Kung needed it to exploit their environment, nor is that society shaped only in accordance with environmental dictates. Indeed, some elements of !Kung society seem to exist in spite of the environment. There is reason to believe that their society has not basically

182 changed through periods when there was more water, more game, and probably more *veldkos*—the wild vegetable products of the land, gathered by the women of the bands — in South Africa, although this point might be debated on grounds that the !Kung depended more on hunting in previous periods. But it is that aspect of !Kung social structure, the functioning of which clearly seems to facilitate exploitation of their environment by means of their technology, that we shall discuss. These manifestations appear primarily adaptive in nature, although control is also discernible.

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the point, for the slightest prick, the least bit of poison getting in such a wound, would cause death.

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Depending on where the poisoned arrow hits, a small buck can die in a morning, a man in a few hours, a giraffe in four to five days. There is nothing that can be done for a man, short of amputating a limb or immediately excising the wound and cutting the nearby flesh to let the blood drain. Yet, the poison has no effect upon the game's meat. One can even eat the mixture with relative impunity; it must enter the bloodstream directly to be deadly.

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As subsistence activities, the men's and women's roles—hunting and gathering—are of unequal weight. Almost eighty per cent of the people's food is *veldkos*, more abundant than game in *Nyae Nyae*, and far more easily acquired. If from one summer to the next, a man kills twelve antelope, he feels he has had a good year.

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But, despite its relatively minor subsistence value, hunting is extremely important in !Kung culture. It has developed its body of technology, acquired a large tradition of beliefs, fostered a wealth of knowledge, and

MEAT FROM THE CHASE is shared by all among the band. An old woman, *below*, is skinning her portion of an ostrich.

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become both the measure of a man's ability and a test of his readiness to marry. Part of the explanation may come from the passion in hunting. Like their fires, the tales of hunting burn brightly for the !Kung in the night, warming their memories. Of equal or greater significance is the !Kung craving for meat and undoubtedly for protein. Unlike the sharing of *veldkos*, limited to the nuclear family, a complex system of distribution insures that everyone in the *werjt* will get a share of all game killed. This is done, they say, simply to prevent jealousy and the inevitable renunciations that go with it. The !Kung declare "We are a jealous people" and they try to keep jealousy at a minimum, for they fear it.

Still another aspect of hunting—perhaps the most important in terms of subsistence—is the by-products it provides. Sinew is used for thongs

[p. 56]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

can afford to be a little luxurious. They rub it on themselves and on their implements and they eat it. ≠Toma said that, when he had eland fat to give, he took shrewd note of certain objects he might like to have and gave their owners especially generous gifts of fat.

Real property and the sources of food and water are owned by the headman for the band and cannot be given away. However, meat, once it is distributed after the hunt, and veldkos, once it is gathered, become private property and may be given. Artifacts are privately owned by the individual man, woman, or child, as outrightly owned if received as a gift as if made by the individual. They borrow and lend a great deal—in itself this is one of the ways they support each other and aid themselves in maintaining social solidarity—but this does not blur the clarity of ownership. Each object acquires some markings of its own from the maker and from usage. It is easy for the /Kung, with their highly developed powers of observation and visual memory, to keep track of the commonest objects, know the ownership, and remember the history of the gifts.

As far as we know, no artifacts or materials are taboo as gifts. For instance, women may be given weapons, although it is taboo for women to touch them.

In quantity the gifts varied. One which /Ti/kay gave to ≠Toma was considered generous. It was a fine ostrich egg shell headband, three ostrich egg shells, and a well-tanned duiker skin as soft as suede. Another generous gift consisted of a knife, a spear, and a triple string of traded white European beads. Often gifts were less. The feelings persons have for each other, the degree of their past indebtedness, what they happen to possess and can give, determine the generosity of the gift.

The acquisition *per se* of the objects was seldom, I believe, of primary importance to most individuals in gift-giving—that is, if the objects were their own artifacts. As the /Kung come into more contact with Europeans—and this is already happening——they will feel sharply the lack of our things and will need and want more. It makes them feel inferior to be without clothes when they stand among strangers who are clothed. But in their own life and with their own artifacts they were comparatively free from material pressures. Except for food and water (important exceptions!) of which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have a sufficiency—but barely so, judging from the fact that all are thin though not emaciated—they all had what they needed or could make what they needed, for every man can and does make the things that men make and every woman the things that women make. No one was dependent upon acquiring objects by gift-giving.

They lived in a kind of material plenty because they adapted the tools of their living to materials which lay in abundance around them and which were free for anyone to take (wood, reeds, bone for weapons and implements, fibres for cordage, grass for shelters), or to materials which were at least sufficient for the needs of the population. The Nyae Nyae /Kung had hides enough for garments and bags; they kept extra hides when they needed them for new garments or when they wanted them for trade; otherwise they ate them. The /Kung could always use more ostrich egg-shells for beads to wear or trade with, but, as it is, enough are found for every woman to have a dozen or more shells for water containers—all she can carry—and a goodly number of bead ornaments.

In their nomadic hunting-gathering life, travelling from one source of food to

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

182 431 another through the seasons, always going back and forth between food and water, they carry their young children and their belongings. With plenty of most materials at hand to replace artifacts as required, the /Kung have not developed means of permanent storage and have not needed or wanted to encumber themselves with surpluses or duplicates. They do not even want to carry one of everything. They borrow what they do not own. With this ease, they have not hoarded, and the [556] accumulation of objects has not become associated with status. Instead of keeping things, they use them to express generosity and friendly intent, and to put people under obligation to make return tokens of friendship. And, even more specifically, [159] in my opinion, they mitigate jealousy and envy, to which they are prone, by passing things on to others. These are the objectives in gift-giving.

431 Except, as ≠Toma said, that it would be surprising to see a man give a present to a woman who was not related to him (and vice versa, I imagine), anyone may give to anyone. Degree or kind of kinship or affinity, having the joking relationship or lacking it, impose no requirements or restrictions, nor does status in the community in a conventional way. We did hear people say, however, that a headman may feel that he should lean well to the generous side in his giving, for his position as headman sets him out from the others a little and he wants whatever attention this attracts [602] not to be envious. Someone remarked that this could keep a headman poor.

The times of giving are determined almost entirely by the individual's convenience. The /Kung do not know their birthdays or anniversaries and have no special days of the year which they mark by giving gifts. Gifts are required by convention on only three ceremonial occasions. The type or quantity of the gift is not patterned but it should be generous. The occasions are betrothals and weddings, when the [585] parents exchange gifts and give to the young couple, and the ceremony of a baby's first haircut, when the *!gu!na*, the person for whom the baby is named, should give [852] him a fine present.

Relatives give to young people with the idea of setting them up in life. Gao Beard gave a spear and a kaross to his FaSiHuSo, saying it was his duty to see that the boy got some things because among the boy's relatives he was the most able to do so. The boy's father was very old, he explained. People expect to wait a long time for young people to make return gifts.

The two rigid requirements in gift-giving are that one must not refuse a proffered gift and that one must give in return. Demi said that, even if he might prefer not to be obligated to someone, he would accept and prepare to make his return gift. If a gift were to be refused, he continued, the giver would be terribly angry. He would [548] say, 'Something is very wrong here.' This could involve whole groups in tensions, bad words, taking sides—even 'a talk' might occur—just what the /Kung do not want. Demi said it does not happen: a /Kung never refuses a gift. And a /Kung does not fail to give in return. ≠Toma said that would be 'neglecting friendship'. A person would know that others thought him 'far-hearted' and 'this would worry him'.

In reciprocating one does not give the same object back again but something of comparable value. The interval of time between receiving and reciprocating varied from a few weeks to a few years. Propriety requires that there be no unseemly haste. The giving must not look like trading.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

7

THE !KUNG BUSHMEN OF THE KALAHARI DESERT

about the chapter

For the anthropologist, the Bushmen are one of the world's most intriguing peoples, as they are virtually unique physically, linguistically, and culturally. The physical anthropologist cannot place the Bushmen in any one of the recognized major racial groupings: Caucasoid, Mongoloid, or Negroid. Similarly, linguists have placed their language in a category, Khoisan, apart from other African language families. The velar "clicks" that characterize Khoisan languages are apparently found nowhere in the world outside of Africa.

The culture of the Bushmen shows the imprint of their harsh and barren desert habitat, and, as Marshall points out, the ethos of their culture is dominated by the quest for survival. Many Bushman cultural institutions are molded by certain ecological constants: water, the location of water holes, water-storing plants, and other edible wild plants, the movements of game. The size of the band, the daily cycle of labor, the low incidence of polygyny, are all aspects of culture marked in this way. Certain other Bushman institutions, however, are not simply cultural creations passively molded by habitat; rather, they give the Bushmen better than even odds to defy the limitations which their habitat imposes. Such culture patterns are their skillful hunting techniques, their institutionalized patterns of sharing, and their strong striving for cooperation and harmony. Few cultures give the observer such a rich opportunity to study the two-way interaction between habitat and culture.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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!Kung

guages, some now virtually extinct, were characterized by a fifth click made with the lips, called the kiss click (⊙). In addition to clicks, the Bushman languages have tones: high, middle, low, rising, and falling. Oswin Köhler has given special attention to tone as well as to other features in his study of Bushman languages, especially Barakwenga (Köhler 1962).

Each of the large divisions of the Bushman languages—the northern, central, and southern divisions (see Bleek 1956)—differs markedly from the others. Within each group are several languages, sometimes resembling each other enough to be considered merely dialects of the same language, but more often differing so widely as to be distinct, mutually quite unintelligible languages. The !Kung described in this chapter (Köhler's and Westphal's !Xũ) belong to the northern group.

HABITAT • The Kalahari Desert, some 1200 miles long, with a mean high altitude of about 3000 feet, forms part of the great plateau of southern Africa. It is a basin in form, covered with wind-blown sands, sometimes red, sometimes white, to a depth of 300 to 400 feet. The underlying rock crops out rarely in ridges and a few low hills.

Stamp (1953:78) classifies the Kalahari as a semidesert. Its conditions are not the most extreme. Our expeditions recorded daytime air temperatures in the shade up to 115° F. and sand temperatures in the sun up to 140° F. In winter the temperature at night falls below freezing but for most of the year the nights are temperate. Although they seem acclimated to the heat, the Bushmen appear to find the colder temperatures very uncomfortable and shiver violently if they are away from their fires when the cold south winds blow.[8]

The rainfall, which comes in summer thunderstorms—6 to 10 inches, increasing in the better-watered parts toward the north, according to Wellington (1955:61)—though slight, is sufficient to sustain a varied drought-resistant vegetation, and the country is covered with grass, brush, and scant small trees. In the northern and northwestern parts, the trees are more numerous and taller and include shivi groves and nut-bearing mangetti—important sources of food to the Bushmen. And in all the areas of the desert that Bushmen inhabit are found edible plants, in scant, far-apart patches perhaps, but existing. The vegetation, furthermore, provides material for fires, shelter, weapons, implements, tanning, poison for arrows, and juices (for example tsama melons, on which these people can live when there is no water). In short, this desert provides the things that make life possible; otherwise the Bushmen would be dead or somewhere else.

The desert is a forceful shaper of the outlines of Bushman culture, and both the possibilities it permits and the limitations it imposes have been meaningfully summarized by Robert Story in a personal communication:

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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182 312 [161] [648] 134 A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival, for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

137 [222] [224] [262] Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

224 [411] Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

101 197 [829] [184] LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bushmen cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local groupings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

[621] [622] The language groups have no political unity among or within themselves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

101 131 [197] The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ðassi* and who live in the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48′30″ S. 20°34′36″ E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and 9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen-speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is survival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we refer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired, but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets. Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this region as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these; doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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!Kung

Gathering Mangetti Nuts

eral large groves of mangetti trees (*Ricinodendron rautanenii* Schinz) in the region, all on great waterless white sand dunes, and one extensive area in which *tsĩ* grows. *Tsĩ* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch) is the seed of the vine that runs along on the surface of the ground. Both mangetti nuts and *tsĩ* are excellent foods, rich in oils and proteins, and so important to the !Kung that they organize their lives to a considerable extent around them.

Each band, according to !Kung social structure, owns and lives within what we call a territory. The band, through its headman (in a way to be explained later), owns the veldkos and water resources within its territory. The territories are varied in size and shape and sometimes consist of portions that are not even contiguous. The boundaries are vague, for the need to draw fine boundary lines is not great. In the interior of the region, where water is so scant, in roughly 8000 square miles live only 17 bands, comprising 447 persons. The other bands and employed groups live on what we call the periphery of the region. The !Kung say that one cannot eat the ground itself so it does not matter to whom it belongs. It is the patches of veldkos that are clearly and jealously owned, and the territories are shaped in a general way around these patches. The !Kung of the interior have settled themselves in such a way that every band has access to areas of edible roots and to either a mangetti grove or a *tsĩ* patch. A few bands have both.

The strong concepts of ownership of veldkos by the band operate almost like a taboo. No external force is established to prevent one band from encroaching on another's veldkos or to prevent individuals from raiding veldkos patches to which they have no right. This is just not done. Fear of fighting is one of the deterrents. The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly

[p. 248]

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The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or tsi, the men always ac-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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!Kung

in several different bands, and they may choose among them. A band that owned comparatively good resources would tend to attract more members than a band with scant veldkos. This flexibility of residence pattern is one of the reasons that one finds the bands of the interior of the Nyae Nyae region relatively in balance with their resources, and varying in size.

WATER • Two or more bands may share the ownership of a water hole. Water holes keep their own rough population balance because, if water is very scarce, people will go to live elsewhere when they have the possibility of doing so.

In the interior of this region, in roughly 8000 square miles, there are three water holes that can be called really permanent. In the driest years these do not fail. Four others dry up only in years of severe drought. Six more are semipermanent: in a very good year they may yield a little water right through, but in a dry year they are sure to dry up. When the semipermanent water holes go dry, the bands who own them may break up temporarily and the families may go to live with relatives who are at permanent water holes, or they may go as whole bands to another water hole where they have relatives.

Water is not owned as exclusively or as jealously as veldkos. Water seems to belong more to mankind, as the animals do, and the ownership of water holes emphasizes more the managing than the withholding of the water. The headman controls the water. His permission should be asked by travelers or visitors before taking water, "because he knows what he has and what can be done," we were told. We saw small temporary water holes marked with bundles of grass thrust into forked sticks. This was to tell visitors or travelers that the owners of the water hole were in residence, as it were, and were counting on the water. We believe that in these circumstances water would not be taken without permission. Occasions are not likely to arise where permission need be refused. The !Kung know where the others are, or are likely to be, at a given time and know how much water is available. They plan better than to get themselves into desperate situations.

One source of water appears to be owned by individuals. It is the rainwater that collects in hollow mangetti trees. The water in trees is not stolen by others who go to gather in the same mangetti forest. Water, incidentally, is the only beverage of the !Kung in the interior of the region. They have no alcoholic drinks and use no infusions of herbs.

HUNTING AND MEAT SHARING • !Kung hunting regulations do not confine the hunters to territories. The game animals belong to no one until they are shot, and the hunters may follow them anywhere the spoor leads and may cross the territorial boundaries of any band. If hunters have made a kill in the territory of a neighboring band, they would not fail to give a present of

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

224 meat to the owners of the territory should they happen to encounter them,
[43] but this is a gift, not an obligatory tribute. The vastness and emptiness of
the country allow this freedom in hunting rights and the wandering nature
[182] of the game requires that the hunters, if they are to succeed at all, be free
to look for game wherever they can find it.

222 The !Kung eagerly pick up tortoises, certain kinds of lizards, snakes, ostrich eggs, and grasshoppers, and they relish termites when these insects
[262] swarm out in nuptial flight. These items provide incidental delicacies and gathering them is like the gathering of veldkos. The person who gathers
224 them may keep them for himself and his own family. Men gladly shoot small
223 animals and birds if they happen upon them—wart hogs, duikers, other small antelope, porcupines, badgers, pythons, spring hares, ostriches, paouws, guinea fowl, red-winged partridges, occasional migrating geese, and other birds. They may keep them for their own families. They do not, however, devote their hunting time to the smaller animal creatures if they find fresh spoor of the larger ones. Hunting the big game animals that feed a whole band is the work of a man's prime and is incumbent on him.

224 Hunting parties usually consist of from two to four or five men. A man cannot hunt effectively alone in this country. Several parties hunting in different directions are more advantageous than one larger party. Any man may organize a hunting party, with relatives and friends from his own band or from neighboring bands—men he likes to hunt with. No one is formally a leader; the men talk and plan together and are likely to fall in with the suggestions of the one whom they consider the best hunter. Participation in any given hunting party is voluntary. What !Kung society urges is that the
[461] hunters hunt; it does not restrict the ways and means. The force of public
[626] opinion upon men not to sit in the werf, not to be lazy but to do their share, is tremendous.

The game the !Kung hunt deliberately and purposefully are the several big antelopes found in the region: eland, kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok. They also hunt the more rarely seen buffalo and occasionally manage to shoot a giraffe. Although there is this considerable variety of kind, there is not a great abundance of game. The herds are small and the hunts long and hard.[6] The antelope, because they can go for long periods without drinking, move and drift about anywhere in the vast monoto-
[409] nous veld and are very difficult to find. Hunters often search for days, covering scores of miles, before finding spoor fresh enough to follow, and they may
[411] follow it for days before catching up with the animal. Their little arrows kill by poison rather than by piercing deeply, and, when an animal is shot, if it is big, it may wander for three or four more days until it dies of the poison.
[136] Smaller animals succumb in a shorter time. The hunters must track the animal and find it before the lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals, or vultures de-
vour it.

121 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social
433 maturity by the young people and the support of the non-pro-
883 ductive elderly people are institutions which are possible
888
182 only in a society with a relatively secure subsistence base.

433 Water, Food, and Nomadism -- The special subsistence problems
312 faced by the Dobe area Bushmen concern the scarcity of water.
221
361 All of the eight natural permanent waterholes are situated in or near the beds of the main molapos. During the summer months, when temporary pools develop at a distance from permanent water, the Bushmen can move out to live at them. Except for a few weeks each year, the Bushmen spend their entire lives camped within an hour's walk of standing water. Only at the end of the dry season do some of the younger people undertake the long trips to the dry forests where they live by digging out the water-bearing roots. Since it is the custom of the Bushmen to return each evening to their main camps, it follows that areas within a single day's walk of standing water will be intensively utilized. Areas that lie beyond this radius will be rarely utilized even though they may be rich in food. The fact that the Bushmen can live well for most of the year within a six-mile radius of permanent water indicates that they do not lead a nomadic way of life. Each summer they move up-country to the seasonal waters and each winter they fall back on their permanent waterholes. In contrast to some Australian aboriginal groups, whose annual round consists of walking a circuit of many waterholes, the Dobe area Bushmen have a

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Chapter IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Tribe and Hunting Band

All the Bushmen in their native condition lead a nomadic hunting 222
and collecting life, roaming about in search of the game and wild 224
vegetable foods upon which they depend for their existence. The [182]
conditions of their subsistence necessarily prevent them from banding together permanently in any considerable numbers. Wherever they 621
still retain to any marked degree their original mode of life and organization they are found scattered over the land in small separate communities.[1] Each such community will be spoken of here as a hunting band. The members of a band share a common life, they see one another constantly, they co-operate in many ways, and they are all as a rule friendly and on fairly intimate terms. Each band also [619]
has occasional relations with other neighbouring bands, through intermarriage and trade, and visitors may pass from one to another. On the other hand, there are often quarrels between neighbouring [628]
bands, which may result in a prolonged state of feud and even lead directly to warfare.

The various bands among the Heikum are generally referred to 621
among each other by a name which indicates either the locality in 101
which they live, or describes some physical or other characteristic of the band itself or of its locality. The *se-khoin*, for example, are the people of the *seb* or plain; the */gom-khoin* the people who eat the

[1] The social organization of the Bushmen is one of the least-known aspects of their culture, and sadly needs careful and detailed investigation. The most reliable sources of information refer almost exclusively to the North-Western tribes: Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 1907; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910); (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.* 21 (1927); *idem*, *The Naron*, 1928; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928); L. Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. SW. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6); *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, 1928. The relevant literature on the other tribes is for the most part fragmentary, although some valuable data on the Namib Bushmen are given by Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), and by Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910). Where no special reference is made to any particular tribe the analysis given above must therefore be regarded as applying especially to the North-Western tribes, who are also the only Bushmen still leading a fairly independent life. [114]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

222 622 [184] A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to [782] [539] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the [462] [857] women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be [415] [237] plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the ● 182 Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of [221] life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the [621] migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this ever-present problem. 182 312 823

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially the */naras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season. In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then carefully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and resume their normal hunting life.[1] 312 [685] [824] [271] [221]

Industries and Trade

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are essentially domestic.[2] 511

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes 322 [342] [411] [412]

[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 51; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 297; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 51, 70–1, and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 671–3; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293–4.

[2] The most comprehensive account of Bushman Industries is to be found in Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 89–113, pl. xxiii–xxix, which relates chiefly to the Auen; cf. also van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 62–80; Passarge, op. cit., 81–94; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 297–301; Kaufmann, op. cit., 152–3; Schultze, op. cit., 658 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschi leute," 257; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 8–18 *passim*; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 103. [114]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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immune to the effects of snake and scorpion poison.[1] One of these 751
animals is killed, and its poison, diluted with water and urine, is rubbed in small quantities into small cuts made in the skin, or the poison sacs are pulped and boiled, and then swallowed in small doses. Schinz records an experiment made by himself on a Bushman doctor [114]
claiming this immunity.[2] He selected twelve scorpions and placed them, by means of forceps, on different parts of the man's body—hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. Almost all of them stung the flesh deeply once or twice, in every instance causing a large drop of white matter to appear; then they crawled about leisurely, but made no further attempts at stinging. "The old man maintained that he felt no pain, and I have no reason to distrust him, as he would hardly have allowed himself to be stung by scorpions on the most sensitive parts of his body, merely to satisfy my curiosity, if the poison would have had any effects on him; even a full hour after our attempt the spots where he had been stung showed not the slightest change." This experiment seems therefore to show that there may be some foundation to the claim of immunity. The [756]
inoculation was apparently made in this case during the apprenticeship of the "doctor", under the direction of his master. Our main authorities on the Bushmen do not mention this practice at all, but I have myself spoken to several detribalized Bushmen and Nama in Little Namaqualand who claimed a similar immunity. Unfortunately I neglected to inquire further into the matter, beyond ascertaining the means of immunization.

Knowledge of Times and Seasons

In their system of time-reckoning the Bushmen make use chiefly 805
of meteorological elements, based on recurrent changes in wind and weather, and of astronomical elements, based on observations of the sun, stars, and moon. Their larger divisions of time are the [221]
seasons, which, owing to their effect on the food supply and on the [182]
movements of the people, assume a pronounced importance in Bushman life. The division of the seasons is established by the rainfall. [132]
The Cape Bushmen distinguished four seasons, rendered by Bleek [184]
and Lloyd in the English equivalents of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but the exact meaning of the native terms is not given.

[1] Campbell, *Journey in S. Africa*, 441; Thompson, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 399; Cornell, *The Glamour of Prospecting*, 232.
[2] Op. cit., 395–6.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Categories 3 and 4: step-parents, &c; name relatives

The third category to which the incest taboo is extended, step-parents, &c., needs no elucidation.

The fourth category, certain name relatives, should be further described. The name relationship, described in the paper on kin terminology,[1] is connected with a system of naming children. The /Kung have no surnames. A /Kung father invariably names his first-born son or daughter for his parent of the same sex; usually the second-born for the parent of the child's mother; subsequent children for his own sibling or the sibling of the child's mother or the spouses of those siblings. He never names a child for himself or for the child's mother. Because this pattern of naming exists, the /Kung feel that if two non-consanguineous persons have the same name, they are likely to have had consanguineous connexions in the forgotten past, and from this concept the /Kung have developed what we called their name relationship. In a system too complex to summarize here they apply kin terms to persons on the basis of their names.

The names have passed from family to family, through intermarriage in the region, and from generation to generation, to such an extent that every /Kung of the region whom we interrogated on the subject had a kin term for every other /Kung, except for one man who had once met four /Kung from afar for whom he had no terms. This had made him uneasy.

The /Kung welcome the sense of belonging to an in-group which the name relationship affords them. They welcome also the fact that they know how to behave with people with respect to the avoidances. They fear (*koa*) to make a mistake about joking and sitting, they say, and feel secure in righteousness and propriety when they know what behaviour is correct and conform to it. The kin terms sort out the whole /Kung population of the region for them. They avoid joking with name relatives whose names classify them with kin or affines of the generation of parents, or with offspring or with a sibling of opposite sex or with great-grandparents. They may joke with name relatives whose names classify them with grandparents, a sibling of the same sex, or the spouse. (Cf. Figs. 2 and 3.)

The incest taboo is extended to name relatives. If ego is forbidden to marry them because of the way their names classify them, he also does not joke with them. But, as we shall see when we consider approved marriages, the system does not maintain perfect consistency between joking and marriage among name relatives, and it does not follow that if ego must not joke he therefore must not marry. The incest taboo is extended specifically to the following name relatives: (1) anyone who has the name of ego's parent or offspring; (2) the parent, offspring or sibling of opposite sex of anyone who has the same name as ego, (3) anyone who has the same name as ego's spouse's parent or his offspring's spouse. ≠Toma explained that it would 'sound as though' one had married his parent, child, or one of these close affines.

Deviations from the rules

The /Kung conform strictly to their marriage regulations in the first two categories, kindred and affines. None of the persons whose genealogical records we

[1] Marshall, op. cit., pp. 13–15, 22–23.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

183 gathered (about 175) had married lineal kin or collaterals, at least through first cousins.
582 However, informants told about two /Kung men in B.P. who had married their
835 cousins: we could not find out which type of cousins. What was interesting was the
605 attitude of the informants. They said the men should not have done this, but there was no talk of madness or danger or expressions of horror such as we had observed when incest was spoken of at other times. No punishments, social or divine, had been meted out, according to the informants. Some said they thought it was not too bad a thing for a man to do, especially if the woman were a FaSiDa, who is not, they said, so much like your sister as a MoSiDa. I believe that the anomaly of the system's allowing joking with cousins, although it prohibits marriage, mitigates, in all probability, the force of the incest taboo and accounts to some extent for the tolerance towards the breakers of this rule.

How much deviation there is in marrying second and third cousins we do not
[124] know. We soon gave up trying to gather data on relatives more remote than first cousins because informants so often did not know the names and we could not rely on the information.

582 One account came to our ears of a man who had violated the incest taboo with his
627 stepdaughter. He was /Gunda Legs, the MoBr of old Gau of Band 1, and he lived with Band 9. He is dead now. What he did was so outside the good and the normal
684 that it could be accounted for only by madness. He had drunk the milk of a young
835 gemsbok doe, the people told us, and this is what had made him mad. Something
159 came from his forehead and went in and out, a sort of swelling. After that he fell in love with his stepdaughter, ≠Nisa, and married her, and both she and her mother
[753] were his wives at the same time. The people ' laughed at him ' so much because he had made such a horrifying ' mistake ' that he took his stepdaughter and lived apart from his band—the only instance we know of a man and woman living alone. They had a son, ≠Toma, who died young. When /Gunda's madness waned he sometimes came back to his people; he would go again when his madness returned. People said they did not understand why ≠Nisa went with him. They mocked at her, said that she was *dole*, 'bad', and that it was ' nonsense ' to fall in love with one's stepfather. Our informants laughed uneasily when they told about it as they laugh when they
[154] tell of vultures eating their meat or of being chased by fierce bees when they try to take a honeycomb. There came to my mind a penetrating remark made by //Kushay, the wife of /Qui in Band 1, which might, I thought, be applied to ≠Nisa. //Kushay had said, ' When a Bushman girl goes against the customs of her people and people talk about her and say she is bad, she is very unhappy. She would hear the people talking and be ashamed and would come to them angry—angry because she is ashamed ', or, I thought, go away because she is ashamed.

183 Deviations occur in the fourth category. Two men we met had married women
553 with the same names as their mothers. A man named /Ti/kay married the daughter of another /Ti/kay, and there were other such instances. /Qui, the husband of the above
582 //Kushay in Band 1, said he proposed to do this himself. The girl's family had flatly
608 refused, but he was going to keep on trying. ≠Toma said he would not do this but
835 he sees some people doing these things. There are not enough women whom a man may properly marry, he said, and he would be in favour of changing the marriage prohibitions among name relatives so that a man need avoid only ugly women.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with 602
three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made.

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu/na* and *tŭn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *||ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a 182
touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and con- 183
sistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society 582
tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many cate- 593
gories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship 602
as soon as marriage takes place.

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly 587
approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is 768
expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines.

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. 583
This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one 619
marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, [584]
as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened.

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in 595
which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power 554
or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, 556
but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries [422]
his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women [482]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

side. /Gunda sat behind the line of boys, in a deep shadow, to show that he was 159
'ashamed' and respected (feared, *koa*) the wedding scherm. 585

One of the boys began to play, not their ceremonial music or special wedding music, but songs of the *//guashi*, as they call them, the little wordless melodies these [533] people compose about happenings in their lives, about pleasures or distress, about their moods. They play and sing these melodies for hours upon hours in the afternoons when they are resting or in the evenings by their fires, and they played for hours that night at the wedding fire.

Soon young guests began to arrive, the children of both werfs with whom /Nai played, all of them younger than the boys who attended /Gunda and the girls who carried /Nai. The youngest guest was the ubiquitous three-year-old boy who never missed anything. No adults came.

One boy brought four mangetti nuts with him and roasted, cracked, and ate them himself. That was all that appeared by way of a feast. Di/ai said that they would like to have given the children something to eat but there was nothing in the werf that night. Even though the others had had something to eat, the bride and groom would have had to abstain. They must not talk or eat, to show they are 'ashamed'. The young guests seemed to enjoy themselves, nevertheless, and were still singing and chatting when I left at midnight.

Soon after sunrise the following morning—/Gunda had already departed—/Nai's mother went to the wedding scherm and sat down beside the embers of the night's fire. /Nai stood shivering beside her in her little genital apron and the duiker skin [291] which women wear around their buttocks and up between their legs, but stripped of her kaross. The mother had brought a little fat (eland fat, if they had it, would be [825] used) and a bit of powdered red stone, one of the red earths (*/gam !gai gwoie*), mixed with fat. She rubbed /Nai all over with the fat, and drew a line on her forehead and [302] a circular design on her cheeks with the red powder mixed with fat. Over in werf 2, Gao, Nai's stepfather, presented /Gunda with a blanket.

This completed the wedding ceremony.

/Nai was a lively child who loved the dancing and singing games the girls play. 159
She often danced alone, tapping her bare feet on a stone in rapid rhythm or making a game of printing a design in the sand with tiny steps. She liked babies and as often 462
as not had her infant half-brother or some very small cousin tied to her back. That morning she appeared to turn into a housewife as though it were her next blithe step. When the women went to gather veldkos, she put on her own little duiker skin [222] kaross, took her digging-stick and went with them. At the end of the day, when they returned in the slanting sunset light, she had two big roots. She went straight to her own fire, blew on the embers, added wood, and sat down. Three ostrich egg shells [415] full of water and her digging-stick were her household goods. These she arranged beside the scherm. /Gunda came and sat down opposite her. She smiled at him and set the roots in the ashes to cook.

It has been said in talks with informants that the bridegroom must bring an 159
antelope which he himself has killed to the parents of the bride before the wedding, 183
but no animal had been brought; there had not been a scrap of meat in the werf for 585
days. I asked Di/ai about this. 'Oh, that,' she said in effect. 'Yes, he should give me an antelope, but we thought we would have the wedding first and that /Gunda would

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

585 then come with us when we leave tomorrow to gather *tsi*. He will hunt from that
[159] place and get us some meat.'
[183] The ritual elements in the wedding ceremony, in so far as we observed, were as follows: (1) carrying the bride so that her feet do not touch the ground; (2) covering her head so that the sun does not shine upon it; (3) waiting till the sun has set before taking her to the wedding scherm; (4) the fact that the scherm is specially built and set apart from the others; (5) anointing with fat; (6) painting a design on the forehead and cheeks with powdered red stone; (7) lighting the wedding fire with brands from the fires of the bride's and groom's parents.

585 Apart from the third and seventh, all these elements occur also in the Ceremony of
881 the First Menstruation, a more elaborate and prolonged ceremony from which the
[174] /Kung wedding ceremony undoubtedly derives. The design on the face is the same; the girl's feet must not touch the ground from the instant her first menstruation begins to the end of the period, when she is washed and anointed with both eland or other fat and the oil of the *tsi* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch).[1] When the girl is taken to her special scherm or moved out of it to urinate or defecate she is carried on the back of a kinswoman. A kaross over her head shields her from the sun whether she is sitting in the scherm or being carried out.

Our endeavour to bring to light the meaning of the ritual elements yielded little. The meaning or origin of the design on the face, I was convinced, was not withheld but lost to memory, lore or myth. 'It is our custom' was all the people could tell me.

About the ritual of the feet not touching the ground, the custom frequently
[171] observed by divine kings and menstruating girls, the /Kung had no more illumination. They think that the carrying is the overcoming of the girl's symbolized modesty about going to the arms of her bridegroom, which she should properly feign even if she is eager to go, and her reluctance to separate from her own family: I think that when the attendants take hold of the bride and groom by the arm and pull them a little they symbolize the overcoming of reluctance and modesty and perhaps there is even a vestige of bride capture in that gesture, but of the feet not touching the ground the meaning is lost. Obviously, however, in this society the bride is equated to the
[174] menstruating girl. In the past the girl's wedding and her first menstruation may have been celebrated at one time.

The /Kung say that the sun is death-giving. When the three months of life-
585 giving rains are past, the sun dries up the water pools. It kills the fresh leaves and
821 fruits, dries the roots and berries, and would scorch the people if they did not find shade and dig shallow pits and lie in them covered lightly with sand which they have moistened with their urine for coolness. They pity the morning star, the *kuli /gaishay*, which crosses the sky all day ahead of the sun, has no branches to carry for shade and
593 cannot turn aside to rest under a tree. The sun is a 'death thing' and the bride
585 is shielded from it.
602 The most important element of behaviour with respect to kinship in the wedding

[113] [1] Robert Story, *Some Plants Used by the Bushmen in Obtaining Food and Water*, Department of Agriculture, Division of Botany, Union of South Africa, Botanical Survey, Memoir No. 30, 1958, p. 25. Dr. Story was a member of the 1955 and 1957 expeditions. We gratefully acknowledge whatever botanical identifications we mention as his.

!KUNG

[19 cont.]

approximate ages of the members:

162

	Horde I	Horde II	Horde III	Horde IV
Men	9	7	4	10
Old men	--	--	4	1
Women of child-bearing age	10	12	13	9
Matrons	4	9	7	6
Infants	6	6	7	2
Small children:				
Boys 1-4 years old	2	3	8	3
Girls 1-4 years old	3	4	6	1
Children:				
Boys 5-10 years old	4	4	?	?
Girls 5-10 years old	3	2	?	?
Young men	5	--	?	?
Young women	5	3	?	?

The above table thus has reference to 44 women capable of bearing children and to 38 marriages, of which two are polygamous. Four are widows. In these 38 marriages, there are 15 infants, mostly under one year old. To the extent it could be determined, 12 women were pregnant, and about five of them had [842] older infants. It would seem, then, that nursing beyond one year [853] affords no practical protection against a new conception.

833 183 The rule among the Nog-au that cohabitation with the mother may be renewed only when the baby is able to sit is well known, but it is not particularly observed.

165 With these 15 infants there should accordingly be 45 small children from one to four years old; in actual fact, however, there are only 30 small children, which gives an infant mortality rate of 33 per cent. This rate is no higher than is to be expected among primitive tribes in malaria regions; in fact, it is lower than in some native locations, such as East London.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

daughter at the same time. Although he had blood ties with neither, this was analogous to marrying a daughter and it was thought the man must be mad to do so. Informants said specifically that /Kung do not marry uncles or aunts because they are 'like' parents. Cousins, they say, are 'like' siblings and nephews and nieces 'like' offspring. Marriage with any of these would be shocking. 582 684

In the genealogies of about 175 /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region there is no instance of marriage among any of the above-mentioned relatives. However, we heard of two first-cousin marriages among some distant /Kung. 582 [183]

A /Kung must not marry a person who has the same name as his parent. In the two instances we know where this rule was broken the people lied, admitting it only after someone else told us about it. A man must not marry a woman to whom he applies the term */utsu* (this seems to be regarded as a particularly stringent prohibition), nor may a woman marry a man she terms ≠*tum*. We know a man who broke this rule. His marriage with his */utsu* caused a scandal which was still reverberating after two years. [553 183] [684]

The preferred marriage among /Kung is with a non-consanguineous name-relative whom ego terms *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn* m.s. SiHu and HuBr are both termed *tun!ga* w.s. and BrWi and WiSi are termed *tũn* m.s. These are considered desirable marriages, especially the sororate, but neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory. [587]

Marriages with persons termed */umba* or */undai* are not forbidden. Persons who use the terms *tsu* and *||ga* for each other may marry unless one has the name of the other's parent. Persons who use the sibling terms may marry. These marriages, though not forbidden, are not preferred.

There is no category of persons with whom sexual intercourse is permitted by /Kung custom except the spouse. If illicit sexual intercourse is indulged in, it is carefully concealed. 837

The Joking Relationship

The joking relationship is an important element in /Kung culture. It is in the foreground of people's minds. The /Kung never once mentioned the generational aspect of their kin terminology system but whenever kinship matters were discussed they spoke of the joking relationship. The /Kung do not train their children to know the precise genealogical position of collaterals,[1] but they teach them the term to use and the joking status of the term. Sometimes an informant would not know whether, for instance, a relative he termed *tsu* was his FaBr, his MoBr or who, but would say that his parents taught him to use that term for the relative and that he must not joke with him. 602 [867] 601 602

The joking relationship creates a dichotomy which divides consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives into two groups. Every kinship term is associated with a joking status and the culture either allows ego to joke or prohibits him from joking with every person to whom he applies a kinship term.

[1] As to lineal kin, all our informants knew the precise genealogical position and names of their grandparents and grandchildren but many did not know the names of their great-grandparents. (We did not meet any /Kung who had a great-grandchild.)

A party of /Kung men had gone hunting towards the west. John, our son, was with 821
them. In the afternoon there appeared in the western sky three little white clouds, like 825
three powder-puffs in a neat row. They were the first clouds to be seen since the big rains had ended in March. We ran to each other, pointing them out. People felt happy. In the evening, when the hunters returned, ≠Toma came at once to me, before he put down his bow and quiver, and said that I could see for myself what it meant to ≠*gani* an animal. John had ≠*gani*(ed) the wildebeest he shot, and the clouds had appeared immediately above them. ≠Toma said this was what he had been trying all along to explain to me.

If a hunter knows with certainty that he has ≠*gani*(ed) or ‖*ghui*(ed) an animal, as it 821
was known when John killed the wildebeest that he had ≠*gani*(ed) it, he may take the 825
horns and the scalp and forehead bone and hang them in a tree, remembering where 789
they are and whether they had been ≠*gani*(ed) or ‖*ghui*(ed). If need should arise he could get the horns which were appropriate to the need and burn them in a specially made fire away from the cooking-fires. He would take a piece of the burning horn and point it to the sky saying '*goichi goichi goichi n/ow qui*'. This we were told is 'speaking *n/ow*'. The interpreters did not know and could not find out by questioning people what the words mean. We wonder if they are an archaic spell. The horns must be entirely consumed by the fire.

In *Bushman Folklore*[1] there is a reference to the burning of horns in a very interesting 773
myth about the Rain Bull, related to Dr. Bleek in 1878 by a Bushman from Strontbergen (30° S., 22° E.) whose dialect included the fifth click of the southern group, as the Katkop dialect does. In this myth a young woman cleverly saves herself from being carried away on the back of the Rain Bull to the water-pit where she would have been turned into a frog, and all of her people also would have become frogs. At the end of the myth the informant who related it said, 'The old women who had been out seeking food were those who came to burn horns, while they desired that the smell of the horns should go up, so that the Rain should not be angry with them.' 789

A hunter has another way of controlling the weather. To bring rain he would cut 821
the throat of an animal he had reason to believe he habitually ≠*gani*(ed), or to stop 825
rain, one he habitually ≠*ghui*(ed). The blood, which is ordinarily saved and eaten, [262]
would be allowed to flow on to the ground. A giraffe is the best animal for blood-letting. The forms and colours of the clouds are like giraffes, the /Kung remarked. We asked if human beings cut themselves and used their blood to start or stop rain as they do their urine or hair. The /Kung said, No, they did not. That would be unnecessarily painful.

As far as we know the /Kung did not attempt to control the weather by these means 183
while we were with them, as they did not resort to burning urine or hair of persons. 789
Perhaps this was because the weather took its normal, expected, seasonal course. 821
Furthermore, we did not experience its most severe extremes for very long periods, [132]
and found it on the whole quite bearable. Or perhaps the concept of controlling weather by means of burning urine, hair or horns or letting blood, exists more in lore than in active practice. Or perhaps the long unchanging months do not stimulate the idea of actively attempting to control weather and the people content themselves with 789
explaining rather than controlling. They appeared in many instances to have the 821

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., pp. 193 ff.

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

196 woman calls her brothers-in-law by words formed from this root,
601 but not her sisters-in-law; whereas a man does the opposite. The result is, that anyone calling a connexion tshō is called tshō by that person. Other connexions are called twi, a word which seems to mean "to tie", "to net", as twishiba "a riempi net", or "string bag". A woman calls both parents-in-law and son- and daughter-in-law twi, but a man calls his wife's parents simply "father" and "mother". I think he calls his son- and daughter-in-law twi, but have no clear examples.

591 Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parents' home and stay there till the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact, the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so. This does not explain why a man calls his wife's parents "father" and "mother".

606 A man is supposed not to speak to his mother-in-law, nor a woman to her father-in-law. Of the former I had personal evidence: my Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. As to not speaking, I think that means more—not sitting near, not consorting with a person, rather than never addressing him. A Naron granny gave
183 me a vivid description of the family settling the name of a new-
553 born child. The relations present all quarrel over it: the father
578 says, he wants the little girl called after one of his people, but the
606 mother's mother tells him that is not at all necessary, the baby is to be named after her. This shows that speech between the two is not absolutely forbidden.

There is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister
183 speaking or sitting together,—but here, too, the sitting, not the
593 speaking, is the important part. I have heard a fully grown brother and sister addressing each other, while passing at a good distance. This rule explains why the relationship between a man
604 and his brother's child is nearer than that with his sister's child,
601 the former being called ilku "son", the latter tshō, a more distant term; whereas a woman calls her sister's son "son", her brother's son tshō.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

deadly poisoned arrows are always at hand. Men have killed each other with them in quarrels—though rarely—and the /Kung fear fighting with a conscious and active fear. They speak about it often. Any expression of discord ('bad words') makes them uneasy. Their desire to avoid both hostility and rejection leads them to conform in high degree to the unspoken social law. If they do deviate they usually yield readily to expressed group opinion and reform their ways. I think that most /Kung cannot bear the sense of rejection which even mild disapproval makes them feel. They also conform strictly to certain specific useful customs which are like instruments for avoiding discord.

Talking and 'Talks'

I mention talking as an aid to peaceful social relations because it is so very much a part of the daily experience of the /Kung and, I believe, usefully serves three particular functions. It keeps up good open communication among the members of the band; through its constantly flowing expression it is a salutary outlet for emotions; and it serves as the principal sanction in social discipline. Songs are also used for social discipline. The /Kung say that a song composed specifically about someone's behaviour and sung to express disapproval, perhaps from the deepest shadow of the werf at night, is a very effective means of bringing people who deviate back into the pattern of approved behaviour. Nevertheless, during our observations, songs were not used as much as talking. If people disapprove of an individual's behaviour, they may criticize him or her directly, usually putting a question, 'Why do you do that?' or they may gossip a bit or make oblique hints. In the more intense instances 'a talk' may ensue.

The /Kung are the most loquacious people I know. Conversation in a /Kung werf is a constant sound like the sound of a brook, and as low and lapping, except for shrieks of laughter. People cluster together in little groups during the day, talking, perhaps making artifacts at the same time. At night families talk late by their fires, or visit at other family fires with their children between their knees or in their arms if the wind is cold.

There always seems to be plenty to talk about. People tell about events with much detail and repetition and discuss the comings and goings of their relatives and friends and make plans. Their greatest preoccupation and the subject they talk about most often, I think, is food. The men's imaginations turn to hunting. They converse musingly, as though enjoying a sort of day-dream together, about past hunts, telling over and over where game was found and who killed it. They wonder where the game is at present and say what fat bucks they hope to kill. They also plan their next hunts with practicality. Women (who, incidentally, do not talk as much as men) gave me the impression of talking more about who gave or did not give them food and their anxieties about not having food. They spoke to me about women who were remembered for being especially quick and able gatherers, but did not have pleasurable satisfaction in remembering their hot, monotonous, arduous days of digging and picking and trudging home with their heavy loads.

Another frequent subject of conversation is gift-giving. Men and women speak of the persons to whom they have given or propose to give gifts. They express satisfaction or dissatisfaction with what they have received. If someone has delayed

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

another or parts of themselves. In appearance and other characteristics the old ≠*Gao/na* was more man-like than supernatural. He lived on the earth among men. Like men he was subject to passions, hungers, sins, stupidities, failures, frustrations, and humiliations, but men imagine his to be on a larger scale and more grotesque than their own. Like Bushmen of today, his great concerns were hunger and sex. To the /Kung the two worst sins, the unthinkable, unspeakable sins, are cannibalism and incest. ≠*Gao/na* committed both these sins quite unconcernedly. He ate his older brother-in-law and his younger brother-in-law and raped his son's wife.

≠Gao/na, *his* Tun/ga (*the Fat Paouw*), *and the Pit*[1]

≠*Gao/na*'s wives were sisters. They had a brother who was a paouw. One day ≠*Gao/na* met the paouw, his *tun/ga*. [*Tun/ga* is the kin term for wife's brother older than the speaker.] His *tun/ga* was very fat. A fat paouw has bags of fat under his wings. ≠*Gao/na* and his *tun/ga* spoke together and parted. ≠*Gao/na* was surprised to see so much fat. He said, 'Oh, how fat my *tun/ga* is.' A few miles on they met again. ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Look, do you see that veld fire over there?' He pointed with his arm away up. The paouw said, 'Do you mean *that* fire?' He pointed, but only with a restricted gesture, keeping his wing to his side. 'No, ≠*Gao/na* said, 'THAT fire,' and he pointed with his arm far up, his whole armpit showing. 'I see it,' said the paouw, and he stretched his wing far up to point. ≠*Gao/na* was standing behind him. He seized the fat below the paouw's wing and cut it off and ran home. The paouw cursed ≠*Gao/na*. 'Break your bones and die,' he said. 'Die of a broken back or die of a broken neck,' he said.

≠*Gao/na* took the fat home and rubbed his wooden basins with it. His wives came home and found the wooden basins covered with fat and they asked him what he had eaten that was so fat. ≠*Gao/na* said that he got the fat from a puff adder. He said he beat it with a stick until the fat from the front went down the back to the middle, and beat the tail until the fat from the back went up the back to the middle. ≠*Gao/na* now planned how he would get his *tun/ga*. He slept that night. The next morning he set snares under the tree where the paouw went to eat gum. ≠*Gao/na* then met the paouw again. The paouw was wary and wouldn't come near. ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Why are you so wild with me?' [Wild is the opposite of tame, domesticated, or confident.] 'There is a tree there with gum under it but my eyes are not good enough to see it.' He said,' Let us have a contest; we shall see who can see the gum first. The one who sees it first must run and snatch it.' So they went to the tree and saw the gum. The paouw ran fast to get it, and ≠*Gao/na* ran too but he did not run so fast. The paouw snatched the gum and the snare caught him, and ≠*Gao/na* ran up and clubbed him, and carried him home. ≠*Gao/na*'s wives were out for veldkos. He put the fat from the other wing in a small pot and the body of the paouw in a big pot. When the wing fat was ready he ate it, and ate and ate, but he ate too much and he went out and had diarrhoea. The wives came home and suspected that perhaps he had killed their brother. The paouw began to expand in the pot and he swelled and swelled until *kaak!* the pot burst and pieces of meat came whizzing out so that ≠*Gao/na* had to duck away from them. When all the meat was out, the paouw came back together again and flew away. ≠*Gao/na* chased after him but the wives called to him, 'Come back, you forgot your stick.' ≠*Gao/na* came back and got his stick and ran after the paouw again. The wives called him, 'Come back, you forgot your

[1] I wish to acknowledge with gratitude and pleasure the assistance of our daughter, Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, in gathering the material of the old tales, as well as other data. The first tale is hers. In paraphrasing the tales, we adhered to the events, the ideas, and the details, incorporating them as they were told us, but we have put the tales into our own words, attempting to preserve something of the quality of the telling as it came to our ears.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

224 they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly
602 only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others.
[574] This meat may be cooked and the quantities small. Visitors receive small amounts of cooked meat from their hosts. It ends in everybody getting some meat.

224 In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and pri-
431 mary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift giving. !Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift of meat at some time in the future. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously
[571] according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift giving in general: the person gives to measure up to what is expected of him, to make friendly gestures, to win favor, to repay past favors and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation.

224 Aside from the practical advantage of using up meat while it is still
431 fresh, the !Kung custom of meat sharing has enormous social value. It does
181 a great deal to mitigate tensions. The fear of hunger is lessened. People are
[154] sustained by a web of mutual obligation. Moreover, they are fully conscious
[183] of these values, and the custom is so strongly established and so faithfully followed that the idea of not sharing is virtually unthinkable to the !Kung.

422 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the
262 !Kung. When an individual receives a portion he owns it outright. He may
264 give and share it further, as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very
[261] important to the !Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

224 It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they
261 gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae !Kung eat hearty meals of meat when plenty appeared and they had been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

595 they are jealous of each other, as they so often are, !Kung society demands of them that they preserve a decent semblance of harmony and, by self-control and silence, avoid disturbing other people with jealous wrangling.

582 621 587 The band itself, as a structured unit, is not a factor in regulating marriage. Persons may marry either within their bands or outside them if relationships and marriage regulations permit. Neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory, but marriage with a brother's wife or a sister's husband is considered to be good and suitable, particularly as a second marriage, should death or divorce make it possible for these affines to marry again. 582 These relationships are not especially preferred in first marriages.

Marriages are forbidden in !Kung society only on the basis of the incest taboo, which is very strongly felt. It rigorously prohibits the !Kung from marriage with members of the nuclear family. It also extends to stepparents, stepbrothers and stepsisters, stepchildren, and to three additional categories of persons: certain kin, certain affines, and certain name relatives, whose relationships are considered to resemble those of the nuclear family.[8]

582 183 The !Kung conform strictly to the marriage regulations where they feel the internal sanction strongly, as they do with close kin and affines. But with the more remote relatives, third cousins, and even second cousins, and with name relatives, they deviate without any apparent sense of guilt and without incurring the grave disapproval of society.

587 Widowers may marry again without restriction. A widow is supposed to wait until one rainy season has passed so that "the rain may wash the death away," but often she does not.

586 A couple may divorce without formality. This may be by mutual consent, or one spouse may simply leave the other. No religious or legal dispensation is involved and parental consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties for there is no dowry or bride-[587] price to be resolved. Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way, and they are free to remarry without restrictions. Although the !Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it because it is untoward and can cause trouble. Divorces are not uncommon among young people of about the age at which young people in our society would be getting married, but, once a compatible mate is found, there is a notable stability in the marriages.

837 !Kung society forbids any sexual relations outside marriage, with one exception, called */kamheri*. */Kamheri* means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided the wives consent. When deviations from the sexual regulations do occur, the usual form is adultery, since almost all Bushman women are in the married state from early youth. [835] But adultery meets with deterrents in this society. The strongly felt incest taboo prevents extramarital sexual relations as well as marriage with close relatives. Ease of divorce enables persons who really wish to change mates

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

184 while of the Aikwe (Naron) Passarge says that a man wishing to marry
582 must select his bride from another band, since marriage within the
621 band is not permitted.[1] A few cases were found by Miss Bleek among the Naron at Sandfontein in which both husband and wife were from one village. The fact, however, that such marriages were regarded by the people as being against the general rule indicates that here, too, the tendency is to insist on marriage outside the band.[2]

After marriage the wife generally goes to live with her husband's
591 people, although the young couple may remain for some time with
183 the wife's parents before finally settling at the husband's home.[3] As a rule, therefore, marriage is patrilocal. Among the Naron, however, this rule is not always strictly observed, although it is recognized. "Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parent's home and stay there until the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so."[4] Passarge
114 indeed, goes so far as to assert of this tribe that the man definitely
591 joins the family of his wife, and becomes a member of their band[5]—a fact which he interprets elsewhere as denoting that the Bushmen are a matrilineal people.[6] It is far more probable, however, that he was misled by the custom of temporary matrilocal marriage than that the condition he describes is the normal rule. There is no other evidence to support his statement that the Bushmen have matrilineal institutions.

In fact the prevailing rule in these tribes that marriage should be exogamous and patrilocal suggests rather the possibility that
621 the families constituting the band may be related to one another in the male line. The only definite statement to this effect is about the Heikum, of whom we are told by Fourie that a band consists of the

[1] Op. cit., 105
[2] *The Naron*, 34.
[3] Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Vedder, loc. cit.; Fourie, op. cit., 93; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," (14).
[4] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66; cf. *idem*, *The Naron*, 34.
[5] Op. cit., 106: "Der Mann schliesst sich der Familie seiner Frau an und wird ein Mitglied der anderen Sippe."
[6] *Südafrika*, p. 232: "Jeder Stamm setzt sich aus Sippen zusammen, die bis zum heutigen Tage die matriarchalische Organisation beibehalten haben. Das geht daraus hervor, dass der Mann bei der Heirat zu der Horde der Frau übergeht."

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

previously noted, plays an important part in the usages relating to game shot with the bow and arrow, as well as in the first-fruits ceremony; while among the Kung he is similarly responsible for the ceremony performed before the edible bulbs of the new season may be gathered. There is no record of similar religious and economic functions being vested in the chief in other Bushman tribes, so that, in the present light of our knowledge, such customs cannot be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture; but in the tribes where they do occur they obviously show that the chief may, in fact, exercise a considerable influenee in the life of the community. 622 [184]

On the whole the chief appears to be essentially a leader rather than a ruler. His actual authority over the members of his band is very slight, and dependent to a considerable extent upon his personality. If, for example, he is a man of strong character, or possesses a gun, he will have a correspondingly greater influence; but the only special authority he has is over the members of his own family, and he has no power to enforce his will outside it. He has nothing in the way of judicial functions, nor does he exercise any organized control over the members of the band. Great freedom of action prevails within the band, and as a rule every adult man can do as he pleases, provided, of course, that he does not infringe against recognized law and custom. In general the head of each family has control over the movements of his wife or wives and children—and over the latter only while they are small. No one really controls grown-up sons and daughters. [157] [593]

This absence of any organized system of public control does not imply that the Bushmen have no laws. On the contrary all their institutions, manners and customs serve to regulate the relations between the members of the band, and thus to maintain law and order. The child at birth comes into a world where there already exist definite forms of organization and behaviour, of ceremonial, of manners and fashions, and as he grows up he falls more or less unconsciously into acting and thinking like those around him, and in this way comes to conform to social norms. There are moreover more or less deliberate means of impressing upon young people the social sentiments necessary for the maintenance of the law and order of the community. The education they receive in the households of their parents and out in the veld, and above all the highly-important teachings at the puberty ceremonies for boys, instruct them in tribal lore and tradition, inculcate social norms, and determine their activities accordingly. 183 867 [881]

/156 cont./

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

/157/ Divorce rarely occurs, and then only when the woman
586 has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

In most cases, however, the woman remains with her hus-
[595] band even in old age, while he provides himself with one or two younger and stronger women.

The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

587 Widows are permitted to marry again after a certain time, as is also the case for divorced women.

589 There is no special dress for widows.

The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to
562 that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-
264 pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

[184] The Rietfontein Auin always have just one wife. The reason
595 for this is said to be that "little food" is available. The Auin from Gam, on the average, have two, sometimes five wives.

Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto de-
548 scribed, there are supposed to be prostitutes among the married
684 women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auin declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by
847 stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

[5 cont.]

173 the Oldoway race as one of its carriers, the presence of a Eurafrican racial element from oldest times on may be regarded as certain also for South Africa. The carriers of this hand-ax industry, who, I am convinced, already carried on a kind of plant cultivation and were tied essentially to the forested zones, were later followed by a group of peoples and races with definite flake industries. Among these we may include the Katanga race and the other Australiform finds. A new wave of Eurafrican racial elements was brought by the carriers of the blade industries of the
174 Middle Stone Age of South Africa. Even today we are still unable to determine when the Bushman races adopted a Stone Age industry or even when they entered the country. Just as racially
[144] the Bushman incorporated remnants of all the preceding races or
[154] those that at one time existed side by side with them (Europoid -- Australiform), so their culture, varying from tribe to tribe, likewise constitutes a unity only in its optimal adaptation to the conditions of the environment. In its individual traits, on the other hand, it represents a residual culture whose stability depends on a selection intentionally and purposively carried out, and which resulted from foreign cultures from the Old Stone Age up to the present.

Chapter 1

The Bushmen of Angola

105 We are indebted to D. F. Bleek (1) for most of the data

[113] 1. D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," Bantu Studies, Vol. III, No. 2, 1928 Johannesburg. Further, Archiv für Anthropologie, 1930.

concerning the Angola Bushmen. The Bushmen are !Kung. The men are 159.3 (145.5-170) centimeters tall, the women 148.8 (135-161.3) centimeters. They live between the Msuma in the north, the Lomba in the south, and between Okawango and the

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

372 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in
881 the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other
184 hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not
585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the mar-
582 riage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A
595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 [12] A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

[12 cont.]

843 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-
262 buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut.
[553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are
[177] performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:

[539] //am ≠haiba, //am ≠haiba (?)
[782] The leader answers:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower
422 form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 The gathering of veldkost does not have the great signifi-
[184] cance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already
[462] commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd
[857] a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main
[233] OCCUPATION.

[17 cont.]

144 obvious, and the southern Bushman race, that is, the one that displays the characteristics generally ascribed to the Bushmen as a whole, is found to be pure only to a modest degree which in-
137 creases toward the south. In the north, the !Kung Bushmen are
● 184 decidedly forest people, whereas in the Sand Veld they inhabit the shadeless low bush. The surface of the region consists of
134 areas of whitish sand, red toward the east and north, which is
137 streaked with strips of surface chalk. Along the Omuramba Omatako and parallel to it there are pseudo-dunes running north-northeast -- south-southwest and covered with dense thorn bushes. On the more clayey soils in the vicinity of the Omurambas [perhaps a local term for "rivers"] there is denser tropical dry forest. A reminder of more humid times is provided by three or four giant baobab trees that are dying.

Ludwig Zukowsky (1) reports on the fauna and flora:

[113]

> 1. "Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Säugetiere Deutschsüdwestafrikas [Contribution to the Knowledge of the Mammals of German Southwest Africa], " Archiv für Naturgeschichte, Vol. 90, No. 1, Part A, 1924.

137 "The Kung Veldt, a large deciduous broad-leaf forest
[136] region, bounded in the north by the Okovanggo, in the east by this river's flood area, in the south by the Dusche and Schadum, and in the west by the lower course of the Omuramba u'Omatako, is regarded by J.H. Wilhelm as a special faunal region, since here the most striking representatives of the Sand Veld, oryx, oribi, bubalis, guevei [blue duiker], and canis are absent and in their place new forms appear, such as damaliscus, schaeffia [?], and hippotragus. Red sand dominates the entire region, which is covered with sereng [Burkea africana], red bean trees [Copaifera coleosperma], mokussi (Baikiaca plurijuga), yellowwood [Terminalia sericea], dolf [Therocarpus erinaceus], and wild orange trees (Strychnos schumanniana). During the rainy season, when the trees are covered with leaves, the deciduous forest that covers the entire region remotely resembles a younger German beech forest. The chief tree is the sereng (Burkea africana) with its accompanying tree, the mokussi

[23 cont.]

105 and in the beyond by his traditional conceptions, and the preserva-
182 tion of this adaptation, in the spiritual as well as in the material realm, is achieved by means of a strict selection of all the cultural goods offered from the outside. This selection is consciously carried out. Put briefly: the Bushmen have hitherto refused higher
[177] economic forms not because they do not possess the ability to handle them, but because they did not want to adopt them. If the material preconditions collapse, then they adopt, step by step or all at once, totally different ways of life, as is shown by their Bantuization in Ovamboland and probably also by the formation of the Hottentot people through the adoption of livestock raising on the part of a number of Bushman tribes. Their average intelli-
[153] gence is no less than that of any other race. Every Bushman knows
[184] the entire spiritual heritage of his tribe.

Of the same Bushmen, F. Schinz (2) says:

[113] 2. F. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Leipzig, 1891.

181 "The Bushman is always faithful to his master and will follow him anywhere without pay; one need not worry about leaving him alone at the wagon and will rarely have to reprimand him for dishonesty. All travelers and hunters unanimously praise
[593] the great affection that exists between parents and children, which goes so far that the father or mother will sacrifice themselves in order to save their child. I was told [24] by the hunter L. that at the Okovanggo he once witnessed a scene in which a young Bushman, who was one of the members of the hunting expedition, was in danger of being trampled to death by an angry elephant that stormed toward him. At the last moment when his paralyzed companions had already given the boy up for lost, his father sprang forth and flung his throwing club at the forehead of the enormous animal. The elephant now turned against his new attacher and furiously crushed him under his feet, giving the son the opportunity to flee."

[114] My observations are fully in accord with those of Dornan (1)

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

[32 cont.]

224 423 go to the kin group to whom this territory belongs and take the men to the animal. Then it will be carefully divided down the middle; the hunter gets one half, and the owners get the other half. Nevertheless, quarrels are common, because there is only one of certain organs, such as the heart, liver, etc. These con- [184] ditions, however, exist only among the eastern !Kung. A Hei//om or a northern !Kung who is found hunting in the territory 224 of another tribe is regarded as an enemy. Boys' hunting is con- [857] fined to lizards, tree rats, and other rodents. They ordinarily [411] use the bird arrow, which is carved out of a piece of wood, but in contrast to the Ovambo, the older boys here already have [223] poisoned arrows. Young and old pursue the hunting of birds with great enthusiasm; in particular guinea fowl, sand hens, grouse, and the Pau [?] insofar as it occurs in this region. These fowl [262] and small bushbucks are the chief sources of the meat in the [136] native diet. The forest region of the eastern !Kung is poor in large game. Zebras are almost entirely absent, as is the wildebeest; the giraffe is very rare. The eland, kudu, hartebeest, and especially the gemsbok are relatively more common. Hunting drives are organized to hunt the elephant or rhinoceros. First, the elephant is separated from the herd. As soon as it has been cornered, one Bushman after another springs forward and throws his spear. It is also possible to hunt the elephant with poisoned arrows; there is a number of thinner spots in the skin at the front legs, and the marksman places as many arrows there as possible. The elephant does not die; it merely becomes sick. The hunter rushes home to get some other men, who then go to look for the elephant with spears. Pitfalls are made in the vicinity of the watering places, and a pointed pole is placed inside them. The Bushmen along the Okovanggo also hunt the hippopotamus with pitfalls. The eastern !Kung maintain that in ancient times the hippopotamus was also found in their land. The sling trap is made [223] in various sizes. The ostrich in particular is usually caught in such sling traps, which are provided with a piece of bone bleached by the sun. Small cats and the like are also caught with this trap. It is likewise placed on the trails of the bushbuck. Jackals and the like are caught by lying in wait for them as they come out of their dens and then beating them to death with the kirri.

[48 cont.]

755 from ostrich egg shells, had been put on by her proxy, Dube, a
756 very intelligent young woman. The latter, standing at the end of
796 the semicircle of seated women, conducted the ceremony. She
[276] was in a very good mood and alternately smoked her Bushman
[554] pipe and my cigarettes. There is a kind of hierarchy among the
women; those who were squatting were higher in rank than those
who were standing. All the women clapped their hands and sang
[533] in a monotonous rhythm: ehe, ehe, ehe, ehe, etc. This, I was
assured, was no song, but "music." Some hordes have bartered

[532]

Fig. 19. Sorcerer in a Bird Mask, Followed by Spirits of Sickness. (From Rock Paintings in South Africa. From Parts of the Eastern Province and Orange Free State. Copied by G. W. Stow. With an introduction and descriptive notes by Dorothea Bleek. London, Methuen, 1930.)

dance drums one and a half meters high from the Okawango, which on this occasion are played by men. [Fig. 19 appears
●[184] here.] Among the Bushmen of the Sand Veld the female leader of the ceremony does not wear the ornaments of the chief female doctor; instead, the ornaments are hung on a tree. The position of the chief female doctor is not permanently held by one person; the chief doctor on occasion imparts supernatural powers to her.

755 The five doctors had taken off all their ornaments and
756 were naked except for the front apron. They put themselves
786 into an autohypnotic state by means of crowing, by producing
796

[49 cont.]

755 chief spirit was not yet satisfied, she would appease him; the chief
756 spirit would voluntarily take the little spirits of sickness away, even
796 from the doctors. After these words the festival abruptly ended; the people went to their fires and lay down to sleep.

The candidate had passed his examination (1).

[184]
535
756
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1. Burchell (in the translation by Hellwald, Völkerkunde [Ethnology], II, p. 519) has given a similar account from the south: "One foot remains stationary, while the other is in rapid and irregular motion without any definite change of position. The movement of the arms is so slight as to be negligible. At the same time the dancer sings without pause and keeps time with the movements. Occasionally he lowers his body and then suddenly raises it again, until finally he sinks to the ground exhausted, but still singing and rhythmically moving his body in time with the song of the spectators. Even though only one person dances at a time, the company present nonetheless also has something to do, etc."

756
786
789
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When the excitement of the dance has reached its climax and the dancers have fallen into a kind of trance as a result of the continuous dance movement, the shrill singing, the drinking of coffee, and not least the tobacco smoke, which they keep in their mouths for minutes on end for the intoxicating effect, then the doctors, in order to demonstrate their resistance to fire, trample with bare feet on the red-hot embers taken from the campfire and spread out on the sand. In the case of a number of the younger ones, however, I believe that their resistance to fire was not quite as great as they would have one believe, and they carefully avoided the pieces that were

[64 cont.]

825 existence. The appearance of the ring-necked snake indicates
[187] misfortune.

Animistic conceptions are more pervasive in the world
774 picture of the Masarwa (2). According to Dornan, each thing is a

821 2. The Kalahari Bushmen (Dornan, op. cit., p. 165) have some knowledge of the stars. The Southern Cross is a giraffe, but the Cape Bushmen regard it as a group of lions. Some of the Bushmen regard the stars as animals or human beings who have gone up to the sky.

773 The following story is told: During the girls' initiation a girl who possessed magical powers nodded to some lions and they were immediately transformed into stars.

The Cape Bushmen told another story: During the girls' initiation a girl was quarreling with her mother because the latter refused to give her certain roots that may not be eaten at such times. The girl seized the roots and the ashes and threw them toward the sky. The roots became stars, the ashes became the Milky Way. -- Shooting stars signify misfortune.

774 kind of spirit. Human beings and animals can each transform
[825] themselves into the other. Individual doctors change into leopards, and many animals are regarded as other appearances of man, especially the springbok, the baboon, and a number of snakes. When a ring-necked snake approaches a village, it indicates
[177] death. Bantu influence is undoubtedly at work here.

The !Kung doctrine of two souls reappears in a different
● [184] form among the Masarwa. The shadow of each thing, as well as
774 that of the human being, is its other soul. They believe that the
775 shadow soul remains in the vicinity of the grave, while the self walks in another place where it meets with the fathers. It is supposed to be warm there, and supposedly there is much game. In the beyond one acts the same as on this earth.

[68 cont.]

142 Racially, these Bushmen are smaller and lighter in color than
144 those of the north and show the admixtures of the southern Bushman race to a much greater degree. There is constant coming and go-
648 ing in this region. Seiner (1) reports the following:

[113] 1. J. Seiner, "Der Verbindungsweg zwischen Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika und der Betschuanalandeisenbahn [The Line of Communication between German Southwest Africa and the Bechuanaland Railway]," Globus, Vol. 96, 1910.

"The Bushmen from around Rietfontein are friendly to the Germans and repeatedly supplied the station garrison with effective help against the Herero and Ovambandjeru passing through. At the time of my stay in January and February, 1907, there was a small village of the Au-nin, who belong to Passarge's Kaukau people, one kilometer north of the barracks, and a village of the Ai-khoe, whom Passarge includes among the Ngami people, one and a half kilometers southwest of the station. The Bushmen of the latter village were subject to the Au-nin, who called them Naru (subordinates, slaves). Since in June, 1908, Dr. Pöch found only Au-nin in Rietfontein, it would seem that the Ai-khoe, in the meantime had emigrated or were driven out by the Au-nin."

To some extent all these tribes represent a cultural unit. A
[184] 114 fine study by First Lieutenant Kaufmann (2) is available for the

[113] 2. Kaufmann, "Die ǂAu-in, "Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1910.

ǂAuin, and one by D.F.Bleek (3) for the Naron. I shall now compare

[113] 3. D.F.Bleek, "The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari," Publications of the School of African Life and Language, Cambridge, 1928.

these tribes with one another, and it is to be understood that only the data concerning the Nogau are my own.

/253 cont./

533 once in a while, one of the dancers emits a loud yell, usually in a high falsetto, and sometimes a trill which likewise is pitched as high as possible, depending entirely on the individual's emotional state.

The clapping at a dance is audible over a great distance. One evening when I approached the station, I could hear the clapping of the dancing women at a distance of three kilometers.

The dances I have described seem to be widely distributed
535 among the Bushmen. At any rate, I found all three of them with
184 only slight variations among the Kung people residing in the Kaukau Veld.

Concerning the diet of the Heikum Bushmen I was able to dis-
262 cover the following. I should add my regret at this point that I lacked the necessary background for giving the botanical names of the veld crops.

The diet is predominantly vegetable; however, the Bushman is by no means a despiser of flesh. On the contrary, whenever he can have animal food, he will utilize it for his kitchen. In so doing, he is so unselective that one could say he eats everything he can lay his hands on. I have even seen Bushmen consume hyena flesh with great pleasure. The flesh is obtained partly by
224 hunting with bow and arrow, and partly with game traps. I shall discuss the hunting weapons later; here I only want to mention a game snare which I had the opportunity to observe in the Kaukau Veld. A snare twisted from plant bast had been placed on a game trail, drawn upwards by means of a flexible stalk stuck into the ground, and fastened to the ground by means of wooden hooks. When the game touches the snare, releasing it from the hooks, the flexible stalk pulls the snare up and shut. Game is also caught in traps. I was shown an iron hook fastened to a bamboo stick about five meters long, which was used to pull out game that had fallen into the pits.

The animals of the Bushman's hunting domain include all kinds of antelopes, from the giant eland to the tiny duiker, giraffes, hogs, hares, and, in the way of birds, predominantly guinea fowl.

The Bushman, however, finds objects to enrich his cuisine even among lower animals. In the realm of the amphibians he prefers

/256 cont./

224 3. A piece of root wood, called /un /gei, is pierced and
301 worn on a bast string on the chest. This little piece of root has
828 its distinctive story. When the Bushmen are hunting and want a clear eye to see game, they scrape a bit off its surface and rub the powdery scrapings between the eyes and from there upward across the middle of the forehead to the hairline. They believe that they can increase their keenness of vision by this procedure. An experiment that I made with the powder produced no change on the skin that was treated and naturally did not have any visible effect on my keenness of vision.

4. Little wooden sticks which are used as oracular instruments,
301 especially by the Kung people of the Kaukau Veld.
787 These are four wooden sticks which are strung on a string and worn on the chest. They are about as long as a finger and about two centimeters wide. Two of them are about as thick as a finger; the two others are only a few millimeters thick. One end of the sticks is cut off smooth, and the other pointed. These four sticks are questioned for all imaginable purposes. If the Bushman wants to know where game is, where he is to expect an enemy, or which route he is to take, he asks his sticks. He does so in the following manner. He spreads a piece of leather in front of him and crouches on the ground. Then he places all four sticks parallel and on top of one another in his left hand, the back of the hand being turned toward the ground. With a sudden jerk, accompanied by clicking the tongue, he throws the little sticks on the cloth; naturally, the sticks are scattered with their tips pointing in various directions. Depending on the matter at hand, each little stick signifies something special. When I had a Bushman captain in the Kaukau Veld consult his oracle concerning the fate of our patrol, one of the thick sticks in this throw signified the oxcart that accompanied the patrol. A lively argument concerning the significance of the sticks in a given case frequently arises between the consulter of the oracle and the spectator; finally, the view of the more respected of the two apparently wins out.

/257/ The clothing of the Kung people in the Kaukau Veld
184 is essentially the same as that of the Heikum on the Omuramba
291 ua omatako; even the ornaments do not show any great differences.
301 Nevertheless, I was struck by certain peculiarities of the Kaukau people that I did not find among the Heikum.

648 self-reliant. No European farms or institutions such as hospitals, schools, missions, trading posts, labour-recruiting or tax-collecting offices have been established in the Nyae Nyae region. The first government official to go into the region, Mr. Claude McIntyre, Senior Welfare Officer of the Administration of South West Africa, came with our first expedition to Gautscha Pan in 1951. The contact of the /Kung of this region with the neighbouring Bantu-speaking Negro tribes consists of occasional trading trips or visits to their Bushman relatives who are working for Chwana or Herero in western Bechuanaland.

123 We lived for seventeen months with the /Kung of Nyae Nyae; for six weeks in 1951, for fourteen consecutive months in 1952–3, for six weeks again in 1955.

115 During this time we had several interpreters. We wish to express our gratitude particularly to two, Ngani and Kernel Ledimo, who had an exceptionally intelligent grasp of our purposes and problems and whose work was patient and precise. Ngani (this is his own preferred spelling of his name) is a Heikum Bushman who lived for many years with Mr. Courtney Clark in Grootfontein. Among the nine languages Ngani speaks are /Kung and English. Kernel Ledimo is a Chwana of the Batwana tribe who grew up among /Kung Bushmen on his father's cattle posts and was educated in an English school in Bechuanaland.

121 We made the kinship terminology of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region a subject
●184 of special study. Our investigation of the /Kõ and /Gikwe kinship terminology shows that there is not one system common to all Bushman groups. This paper deals only with the /Kung system.

124 Our method of study was first to take genealogies of the members of six bands, comprising about 175 persons. This took a good deal of time but was rewarding as a background which helped us to place in their web of relationships most of the 600
[123] /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region whom we came eventually to know by sight or name as we travelled about or as they visited us.

124 After we had gathered the genealogical material we began to ask people what kinship terms they used for each other. We asked many informants, going over and
601 over the same questions. The terms for parents, offspring, and siblings were easily learned. But the terms for grandparents, grandchildren, and all collaterals threw us into confusion. For each grandparent or grandchild, of either sex, we found that a person might use one of two terms (and one of these has an alternate); and a person might use one of three terms for each collateral, with an alternate, a diminutive, and a distinction man-speaking and woman-speaking to complicate matters. The same term might be applied to relatives on either the paternal or maternal side. We did not know for some time what factor determined, for instance, whether a person applied the term *a* or *b* to his FaFa or MoFa or the term *a*, *b*, or *c* to his FaBr, MoBr or some other collateral. When we asked we were usually told, 'It is our custom', but one informant gravely explained that 'God created people and told them what terms to use for each other. Parents have taught their children ever since what terms to use.' It was ≠Toma, perhaps our most intelligent informant, who at last figured out what it was we did not understand and told us what he had assumed everyone knew, that the term 'followed the name'. In other words there is a factor, which we finally called the factor of the name, which under certain circumstances determines what term the individual uses. We began afresh to gather information to understand and

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

test this factor and eventually we learned that there are two aspects to the /Kung system of kin terminology. In one terms are applied according to the biological position of the persons; in the other terms are applied because persons are classified with others by having the same names, in ways this paper will explain. The factor of the name has resulted in kin terms being applied by persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, but who are considered to be related through the factor of the name in what we call the name-relationship.

Miss Bleek in her paper on 'Bushman Terms of Relationship'[1] has recorded /Kung terms. Students of the subject interested in comparing her paper with this will find them in agreement to a considerable extent, but Miss Bleek's paper does not go so deeply into the terminology as this does nor does it bring out the significance of the factor of the name.[2]

Our material on /Kung kin terminology is presented in two parts. (I) The first part (A) deals with terms applied to consanguineous kin, and explains the factor of the name and the way the application of terms is extended through the factor of the name to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, in what we call the name-relationship; and (B) deals with terms applied to affines. (II) The second part deals with certain aspects of behaviour related to kin terminology, touching briefly upon marriage prohibitions and preferences from the point of view of terminology. It deals more fully with the joking relationship, an aspect of behaviour which relates closely to terminological categories. The paper finally touches upon the way the name-relationship serves as an amalgamating factor within a whole region among people who have no larger organized social units than autonomous bands, small ones of 10–15 persons up to large ones of 40–60 persons, composed of consanguineous kin and their affines.

Space does not permit here a description of the composition of bands, but we hope in a future publication to give data on the family and bands, on hunting and veldkos territories, marriage, residence, settlement patterns, and on the behaviour among kin in forming hunting and gathering parties, arrow-lending, meat-sharing, gift-giving, &c.

[1] D. F. Bleek, 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 57–70.

[2] Miss Bleek (ibid.) sometimes gives the descriptive phrase in place of, or in addition to, the term, as if we should say father's brother or mother's brother instead of uncle. For instance, *ba siŋ* is a descriptive phrase meaning father's younger brother or younger sister. There are differences of spelling. We should like to follow Miss Bleek's spelling, but we put down as best we could what we heard and cannot change over to her spelling because in the different areas the Bushmen's pronunciation may possibly have varied slightly. There are some terms given by Miss Bleek which we did not hear in the Nyae Nyae region. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae do not use the term *tsaw* for Br. We did not hear *||ge*, nor *soiŋ||ge*, nor *tsu* as a prefix to *siŋ*. Otherwise the terms we record are recognizable as the same terms which Miss Bleek records. Miss Bleek, on the other hand, does not record all the terms which we record as used in the Nyae Nyae area. The principal difference lies, we think, in her not taking into account the factor of the name. We think she had an inkling of there being such a factor among the /Kung she worked with, for she says they had a word */ku* which she thought meant 'kinsman' or 'namesake'. In any case, she does not show all the terms which in the Nyae Nyae region might be applied to grandparents, grandchildren and collaterals on both the paternal and maternal sides. A detailed comparison of the papers would show several examples, but one will suffice to illustrate the point. Miss Bleek records the terms for FaBr, *tsu*, and MoBr, *tsaw||ga*, giving the impression that the /Kung system makes a terminological distinction between the paternal and maternal siblings, whereas we found that in the Nyae Nyae area both terms, *tsu* and *tsaw||ga*, might be used for either FaBr or MoBr, and, besides, that the sibling term, elder Br, might also be used for FaBr or MoBr, as will be explained.

We have already stated that the generational terms *may* apply to all collateral kin 601
and to all lineal kin save those related by parent–child or sibling ties. Up to now we have been assuming, for the sake of orderly procedure, that a /Kung Bushman applies these terms, in the manner specified, to all consanguineous kin solely according to his *biological* position among them. This assumption is correct with respect to the parent–child and sibling relationships; in these instances the biological tie is the sole basis for classifying relatives. But for all other consanguineous relatives, as well as for many other persons besides, a factor other than the biological tie may determine the nature of the terminological relationship. We refer to *the factor of the name*.

The principle underlying the factor of the name is that persons who share the same name occupy identical positions in certain sectors of the kinship constellation we have called System A. Based on this principle, a method of classifying persons terminologically has been developed. We shall refer to this method as the *homonymous method*, and distinguish it from the *generational method* as set out in Diagram 1.

When it comes into conflict with the generational method, the homonymous method takes precedence. It has been developed and extended in the /Kung system more [184]
fully than in the /Gikwe and /Kõ systems, where it exists, but where it has remained minor, and is practised only among persons who do not have consanguineous or affinal ties. The /Kung, on the other hand, make wide use of the homonymous method.

The complicated system by which terms are applied in this method will be ex- 551
plained step by step, but first the customs followed by the /Kung in the naming of children will be described.

1. The /Kung have no surnames.

2. Names are sex-linked, hence men and women never have the same name.

3. Parent and child must not bear the same name in /Kung culture. The /Kung said it would be madness for a man to name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Our genealogies of about 175 /Kung show no deviation from this rule.

4. Children are always named for relatives, either consanguineous or affinal, 553
although they may bear the name of a non-related person as a second name. They are named for someone in the first or second ascending generation.

5. Fathers have the right to name both sons and daughters. A man invariably names his first-born son for his father (i.e. the child's FaFa) and his first-born daughter for his mother (i.e. the child's FaMo). If he has more than one wife, he names the first-born son and daughter of each wife for his father and mother respectively. Thus siblings, though they are not named for each other, often bear the same name, having been named for the same person. A man usually but not invariably names his second-born son for the child's MoFa and second-born daughter for her MoMo. Fifty-one per cent. of the /Kung in our records are named for their grandparents. Subsequent children are usually named for the siblings of their father or mother, or for the spouses of those siblings. Very rarely is a child named for other relatives. We have recorded two named for cousins of their parents. It is not their custom, /Kung informants told us, for them to name their children for the children's great-grandparents or for the siblings of the children's grandparents.

6. We have recorded about 46 men's names and about 41 women's names in use [551]
among the 600 people we know in the Nyae Nyae region.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

method had been established. The /Kõ and /Gikwe have not incorporated the belief into their terminological systems except in a very limited way. The /Kung, however, have done so, and appear to have adapted it as logically as possible to the generational method. They apply it only to somewhat distant relationships, namely, grandparents, grandchildren, collaterals, secondary affines, and name-relatives. They do not apply it in the close biological relationships of parent, offspring or sibling or in the primary affinal relationships. Consistency is maintained by the rule that a child must not be named for a parent.

We think that the term *!gu!na* came into the system with the homonymous method and that perhaps it used originally to be applied only to the person for whom ego is named. It is not strictly a kinship term, being composed of translateable words, ' big or old name '. We think it may have been superimposed upon *tun!ga* (which probably comes from the same root as *tũn*). *Tun!ga* may originally have been applied to grandfather, man-speaking as well as woman-speaking, and later *!gu!na* may have become associated with grandfather because so many men are named for their grandfathers. If this is so, an anomalous situation remains unresolved. *Tun!ga* is applied to consanguineous kin and affines and allows joking, woman-speaking. Man-speaking, it is applied only to affines and prohibits joking. If it was originally the term for grandfather, man-speaking, we reason that it should allow joking, and we cannot explain this anomaly.

Whatever may be the answer to these questions, the /Kung have put to good use the belief that persons who have the same name partake of each other's entities. This belief has given them the name-relationship.

It is our impression that the practice of applying terms to name-relatives has appealed to the /Kung and that they have developed it to the full. The /Kung apply a kinship term to every /Kung they meet or almost everyone. /Qui was the only informant who worked with us on this subject who had ever met a /Kung Bushman for whom he had no kinship term. He had met four who came from a distance and whose names were not among those commonly used in the Nyae Nyae region. Ta//ne was one of the names. Gao, who was present, told /Qui that he had a *tsu* named Ta//ne, and he and /Qui nodded together in agreement that they would find a way for /Qui to give Ta//ne a term should they meet again. We know two men who used the term *!go* for each other because each of them had a brother named Dam. The system seems to have been flexible and expansive in the application of terms to name-relatives.

The /Kung are small of stature and non-aggressive. They are timid and apprehensive of strangers. Their word for stranger is *ju dole*. *Ju* means person, *dole* means strange or harmful—one word for both concepts, in the /Kung language, as though they were a single concept. The /Kung have no social organization larger than the band of kin who live together but they have utilized the name-relationship to supply the cohesive factor which is supplied in other societies by various social structures. When a /Kung meets a stranger and finds that he has the same name as one of his kin and bestows a kinship term upon him, he is reassured and feels a sense of belonging.

Gao, the brother of /U, went on an errand for us to Khadum. Khadum is about 115 miles north of Gautscha and about 40 miles north of Cho/ana where we were staying at the time. He had never been to Khadum before, and the /Kung Bushmen who lived

As the spellings of the Bushman names on my herbarium specimens are from field notes, they are often different from the spellings given in this paper, which was done after I had had the opportunity of consulting the authors I have mentioned. It will be noticed that many of the plants do not have the full set of Bushman names. The main reason is that we were not in contact with the Eastern !khû speakers until we had passed Ghanzi, and lost contact successively with the |gikwe, ||ganakwe and !h5: speakers as the expedition drew to a close. Other reasons are that my field notes were sometimes inadequate, that I forgot to ask, and that some plants appeared restricted to certain areas and were not known to all the groups of Bushmen. 128 [184]

As the expedition was during the winter when most of the plants were in poor condition, very little photography was done in the field. Most of the photographs are from plants which were sent back to Pretoria and cultivated there, or from plants which grow naturally in the Transvaal. In this paper the plants and photographs are arranged according to de Dalla Torre and Harms (1900-1907). Specimen numbers are in brackets. 126 [128]

There is little doubt that the plants discussed here represent only a fraction of those used, for we covered a very small part of the area over which the Bushmen range, and this when probably most of the annuals were dead, when some foods were out of season and when the above ground parts of many bulbous and tuberous plants had withered and disappeared so that the plants themselves could not be found. 114

Because of poor yield, poor quality, difficulty in harvesting or lack of flavour, not many of the Bushman food plants would be worth cultivating in their present form for the use of civilised people, but they offer a large field to the plant breeder. The most promising have been noted accordingly in the text. 000

There were few bones around the Bushman encampments, but this does not necessarily mean that there is a scarcity of meat in their diet, for the bones might have been removed by porcupines (Alexander, 1956; Dart, 1957) or eaten by hyaenas. A more reliable indication was the scantiness of the Bushmen's skin coverings. There are sharp frosts in the Kalahari and sometimes bitter winds, and one may argue that the Bushmen would provide themselves with sufficient skins if they had a regular supply of meat, although admittedly they eat skins after charring them on the coals and pounding them in a mortar. Vegetable refuse from former meals and fresh vegetable food, however, were found at all the Bushman encampments, and additional gatherings were the permanent chore of the women and children and of the men to a lesser degree. The insanitary condition of the surroundings also provided unmistakable evidence that the bulk of their food was of vegetable origin. 262 [291] [132] [364]

Their knowledge of field botany was astonishingly good. It has to be, otherwise they would have no chance of survival in their arid country. Fragments of stem, dead leaves, and other small clues of this nature, after being unerringly identified, were all the Bushmen needed to find many of the storage organs they were seeking. Differences which escaped me would enable them to distinguish between edible and harmful plants, and they had a thorough knowledge of the areas and habitats in which their food plants grew. They must have an influence on the distribution of plants. 824 137X

X137 *Citrullus vulgaris* Schrad. (4937, 4999) Photograph 57.

!h5: Bushman.....	dam
||ganakwe Bushman...	n||an
|gikwe Bushman.....	n||an
Naron Bushman.....	n||a-!'
Eastern !khû Bushman	_t'a_ma

This plant, one of the melons and commonly known as the tsama, has stout six-foot vines half an inch in diameter at the base and a quarter of an inch at the tip. They are covered rather densely with light brown hairs, which turn white and stiff with age. The vines are usually prostrate, but occasionally festoon themselves over grasses and low shrubs with the help of small Y-shaped tendrils, curly at the tips. The leaves are borne on two-inch stalks and are hairy on the ribs, dull green, rough to the touch and deeply lobed. Each plant produces male and female flowers. They are an inch in diameter and pale yellow, and the fruits which follow are rounded and up to six inches in diameter and six and a half pounds in weight. As many as 34, of all sizes, have been counted on one plant. The rind, densely hairy when young but later quite smooth, is dark green mottled longitudinally with light green, and contains a crisp, juicy, tasteless white flesh in which numerous flattened brown seeds are embedded. The melons can endure heavy frosts without becoming spoilt, but the rest of the plant is very susceptible. The frosts, however, merely hastens its death for it is in any case an annual.

This melon is indigenous to south-west Asia and the warm dry regions throughout Africa. The water-melon is merely an improved variety of the same species, which has been known in Egypt and Babylonia since the beginning of history (Marloth, 1913-1925: III: II: 205). The tsama was widespread but patchy along the route of the expedition, and areas of abundant melon alternated with long stretches where it was not seen. It was not confined to the sand but grew also on the hard soil of the pans.

262 312 824 The tsama is unquestionably the most important plant to the Bushmen in this part of the Kalahari. They are known to use it as their sole source of water for months on end and it is extremely doubtful whether they would be able to live permanently in the Kalahari without it. Its importance is [184] shown by the fact that one group of Bushmen in the central Kalahari had [244] a small patch of tsama which they had grown from seed, and the Bushmen are not as a rule agriculturalists. Nevertheless, the tsama is not an infallible standby, for the reasons given in the discussion on *Citrullus naudinianus*, and when the need arises the Bushmen can and must substitute more meagre but at the same time more reliable sources of water, for example from *Sansevieria scabrifolia*. When it is used for drinking-water 252 the melon is opened at the top like an egg and the central portion cut out 262 and eaten. The rest of the pulp is then mashed inside the rind with a 312 stick to a watery mass which is half drunk and half eaten, the pips being put aside and later roasted and pounded (without being peeled) to make an edible meal. The melons are sometimes roasted before being eaten, which adds a little flavour, and they may be cut up and mixed with meat to form a stew, which is conveniently cooked in the rind itself. Although no bitter specimens of the tsama were found along the route of the expedition, they do occur. Their flesh is poisonous and unfit for human consumption, but their seeds are free of poison and edible after roasting.

At some villages of Bakalahari (which are a Bantu tribe), the tsama is regularly cultivated. These and wild melons are collected and stored under shelter, and goats, horses, cattle and even dogs are kept with tsama as the main source of water. The livestock use the melon more economi-

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people.
[423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such,
621 by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-//om*, on the
[582 other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the
59] chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are
361 placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the
[184] *Hei-//om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial
[563 and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and
[882 boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away
342] from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also
[589 visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various
342 tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a
[462 husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations.
166 When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who
342 deposits his household and other effects on the place on which
[622 his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated
[312 in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

372 *hei-doros*: The new *!ou-/ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gāus*
361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case
[132] only in times of drought when the game have moved far afield
622 and great difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos.
372 Further, people driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *//gāus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the *!ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.
372 Persistent ill-health among the members of the community
622 or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase
[751 may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after
77] consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the *!ou-/ais* are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new *!ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the hei-doros and applies *+norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it had been.
184 The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire is
372 met with among all the organised primitive groups. Want of space and time does not permit, however, of a detailed account being given of the superstitions which have gathered about this custom among the various tribes.

Family Life.

593 Each family within the group occupies its own hut Children sleep with their parents until they are strong enough to go about by themselves, when the boys join the others under the tree and the girls take up residence in the hut for unmarried girls.

512 The women rise early, light the fire and prepare the food for the morning meal which usually consists of veldkos. After having eaten, the men go out visiting or hunting or engage in some other occupation such as preparing skins, weapons, etc. The women accompany each other in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. When food is obtainable at no great distance they are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have to go far they may not reach home until late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they proceed to prepare food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water. The food is ready by the time the men arrive in the evening and the latter are able to partake of it without delay.

462 There is a sharp division of labour between the men and women of the group The former do the hunting and snaring of game, prepare the weapons, skins for clothing, snares, fire-

sticks pipes, etc., and occasionally assist the women in 462
fetching wood and water. The women build the huts, collect veldkos and prepare the food, make the fire and keep it going, gather wood, fetch water and manufacture ostrich eggshell beads for ornaments, etc. The latter are also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Infants and young children accompany their mothers on 857
their daily excursions in search of food until they are old enough to look after themselves. From that time onwards 855
the mothers take practically no share in their education which, 871
in the case of girls, is entrusted entirely to an old woman who lives in the hut with the young girls, and in the case of boys, to their fathers.

Little girls, while still with their mothers, are taught to 868
love and respect the old woman and to seek her company of 857
their own accord. After taking up residence with her they accompany her daily into the veld and thus gradually come to learn from her all the duties which will ultimately devolve upon them. Boys sleep under the tree in the centre of the camp at night or in a hut specially set apart for them. Each morning they accompany their fathers into the veld. At first they are given little bows and wooden arrows with which to amuse themselves. Towards the eighth or ninth year each is provided by his father with a proper bow and three arrows which, however, are not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbuck or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veld craft.

Initiation Ceremonies.

Both boys and girls, on reaching a marriageable age, are 881
subjected to certain ceremonies before being admitted to full membership of the group. These ceremonies vary consider- [134]
ably among the various tribes.

The following is an account of the girls' initiation ceremony as practised among the *Hei-//om* group around the Etosha Pan. As young girls (*ǂkham-khoidi*) approach the age of puberty they are placed in a hut called *ǂkham-khoidi* or *oaxai-khoidi oms* in which they sleep at night. During the daytime they gather veldkos either by themselves or in company with the married women. Men, whether married or single, may not enter the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* nor may they speak to the *ǂkham-khoidi*. The latter may, however, speak and be spoken to by the *axarogu*, but only at a distance so that no conversation of an intimate nature is possible without being overheard by the grown-up people. A man may on occasion address a *ǂkham-khois* by saying, "you must grow up so that I may marry you," but she will not reply. When addressed by a man, say, in the veld, she runs away to her

881 ceremony, which may last for a month or even longer. The latter, as practised among the *‡Ao-//ēin*, consists of several stages. On the first day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the smoke of the "devil's" fire (*//gāua-da*) and are required to partake of the "devil's" urine (*//gāua-/kam*). The proceedings of the second day begin with dancing before daybreak. After sunrise and at sunset they are given a small quantity of *//nōun* (one of the staple vegetable foods of the Kalahari Bushmen) to eat and a little water to drink. During the day their bodies are blackened from head to foot with powdered roasted *//nōun*. After partaking of the evening meal they retire to rest without dancing. On the morning of the third day they start dancing at sunrise and dance without interruption and without food or water all day long until sunset, when they go to sleep. On the following morning before sunrise their hands are washed with water by the elders and they are given a little *//nōun* to eat. Thereafter they are taken to a pan of water and required to walk through it. The rest of the day is spent in collecting veldkos. In the evening they are introduced to the "Devil" and partake of honey brought by the latter. On the fifth day their bodies are cleansed with chewed roasted *//nōun* and they are permitted to move about the camp and partake of food. They may, however, not speak to young unmarried women. As they retire to rest at night their bows and arrows are handed to them by the elders. From now onwards each lad is taken separately and required to prove his skill in stalking and killing game with bow and arrow. [304] Each one who passes through the test in a satisfactory manner is tattooed with meat taken from the animals shot by him and then permitted to return to the werft.

Courtship and Marriage, Death, Etc.

582 Marriage within the group is forbidden and is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. As a rule men do not go far for wives and intermarriage takes place between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women. The southern groups among the Bushmen 184 595 of the Kalahari are monogamous but as one proceeds northwards polygamy is met with. Among the *Hei-//om*, for example, each man has two wives as a rule. The wives may or may not be related. The second wife is taken some time after the first. The wife taken first is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over the second wife. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation. Polygamy is rarely met with among the *‡Ao-//ēin* and *Naron*. Exchange of wives

Exchange of wives 184
is practised among some of the Kalahari groups but not by 837
the *Hei-//om*.

Among the *Hei-//om* a young man eligible for marriage 584
is known as a *!gari-khoib*. When he desires to marry he first speaks about the matter to his best friend (*//hosab*) who then approaches the parents of the prospective bride. The latter will reply, "We are poor, we cannot afford to give our daughter away." Thereupon the *//hosab* returns to the suitor and tells him to go and speak to the mother himself. The suitor then proceeds to the *//gāus* of the girl's mother, taking his bow and arrows with him. On arrival at her hut he sits down some distance away and says, "I want your daughter." The mother replies, "We are too poor to give our daughter away," to which the suitor responds, "I have come myself to speak to you. If you die, I will bury you, if your husband dies I will bury him," thereby implying that he has become one of the family and prepared to share their sorrows and sufferings. The mother then replies, "You 584
are right, you may take her. I will do as you say and see 585
whether you will carry out your promises," and taking his bow and arrows, proceeds to her daughter's hut (*!gari-khois oms*) and places them in the hut. Then, without speaking to her daughter, she returns to her own hut. The daughter knows to whom the bow and arrows belong. The suitor goes to the girl's hut towards dusk but does not speak to her. Being still shy and afraid of men, she may run away but does not go to her mother's hut as she is afraid of being punished. He remains in the *!gari-khois oms*, sleeping in it at night and hunting during the day. If, after two or three days, she does not come back he returns to his *//gāus* and, after obtaining some beadwork from his mother and sister, presents it to his mother-in-law through his sister. He returns to his bride's hut in the meantime. The mother-in-law must accept the present (*//ama-xun*) as the marriage was completed when she took his bow and arrows and placed them in her daughter's hut. Towards midnight the mother takes her daughter to the *!gari-khois oms* and, if necessary, removes her there by force. The bride and bridegroom do not speak to each other nor, under normal circumstances, are the presents sent to her mother by the bridegroom until they have slept together. After the marriage has been consummated the husband goes out hunting to obtain meat for the *!gu-ǂa-ǂnab* or the dance after an animal was killed for the purpose of making a wife's leather skirt. The young couple continue to live in the *!gari-khois oms* for some months before taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own *//gāus* his mother builds a hut for them.

Parent-in-law taboo is met with among all the tribes. The 606
son-in-law neither looks at nor speaks to his mother-in-law, nor will he mention her name or enter her hut even in case of sickness or during her absence. When, in the absence of

606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as "my son-in-law" or "my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidently they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

847 Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.

844 A pregnant woman is generally treated with great consideration. For the first confinement it is customary for her to [84] return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-//om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the 846 infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner 848 it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies 165 follow in rapid succession during the course of married life 847 but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted [845] the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five [162] or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood. Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance [593] is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among 553 the *Hei-//om* each child is generally given three names, [55] namely a first name, a second name and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother and the second name by the

old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the 553
surname of the mother and girls that of the father. Thus *|Uirob Geirob |Geibeb* married a woman *|Kao-tamas Gamanis |Harus* and begot two sons, namely *||Otoab ǂGonab |Garub* and *Gogob Gomob |Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras |Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *||Otoab* become *||Otoab ǂGonab |Garub |Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose.
A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nick- 551
names are common and are given to children when quite young. They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life.

The communities which have not been in contact with 164
civilization are remarkably free from infectious, contagious and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons when malaria becomes unduly prevalent the incidence of disease is very small among them. Sickness is in most instances 753
attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the affected person, to magical influences exercised by other persons or, when unduly prevalent, to something
going wrong with the perpetual fire. Treatment is adminis- 757
tered by relatives and friends or in cases of acute or prolonged illness by an elder or doctor who is well versed in magical practice. Herbs of various descriptions are employed both internally and externally through incisions in the skin. Inunction with medicated ointments is also extensively resorted to. Surgical procedures are limited to incisions into the skin.
Burial of the dead is carried out almost universally at present. 764
Among the more primitive groups, however, the corpse is left [184]
in the hut which is simply pressed down so as to cover it.
After a death has taken place the camp is deserted and not 768
occupied again. Old people who are no longer able to help 888
themselves are left in the werft with a supply of food and water. The rest of the group then move off and do not return to it again.

Dances and Games.

Dancing and games of various kinds enter very largely into 535
the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first place among their social recreations. Some of the dances such as the *tsei*, *hāigi-ho*, and *ge-!ni* among the *ǂAo-||ēin* and *Aikwe* and the *|hawa-ǂnab* among the *Hei-||om* would appear to be of a religious nature, being danced only on ceremonial occasions, for example, during the initiation ceremonies. On the other hand dancing is often indulged in at night for pure pleasure, especially in times of plenty. The

524 thing. This they do one by one, each in turn beckoning to the others to come and see.

In the *surus-/hurub* (game of the ringhals snake) one woman acts as the snake, standing with her hand and forearm raised above the forehead. As the other women approach her she hisses and strikes with the raised hand after the manner of a snake, causing them to scream and retire. This game is said to be founded on the experience of a woman into whose eyes a snake spat while she was trying to drive mice out of a shrub by means of her stick.

The following are a few examples of the games played by the *‡Ao-//ein* and *//Aikwe* of the Kalahari, viz.: *Children's*: [857] a man bartering goods from a trader; cock ostriches fighting with elephants which have come to drink at waterhole; a fight between two opposing groups, small bows and wooden arrows being used; a python lying in wait for and capturing its prey at a waterhole. *Men's*, the ostrich game; throwing the *isani*, in which a thin, short-feathered stick, weighted at one end by means of a large bean (bauhinea esculenta), is flung into the air and kept going by catching it on a stick in its descent and flinging it up again; throwing the stick, in which each player has a thin stick, about three feet long, which he flings forcibly on to the ground in such manner as to make it rise into the air and shoot away from him. *Women's*, catching the ball in which a melon or round tuber is used for the purpose; the capture of brides by young men, etc.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

Food Supply, Etc.

137 The source of the food supply varies very considerably in 184 different localities. In some it is derived mainly from the 268 vegetable, in others from the animal, kingdom. The Kalahari and northern parts of the territory are rich in both plant and animal life and the Bushmen inhabiting those parts consequently have a fairly well-balanced dietary. In the central and southern Kalahari the most important among the vegetable foods are the *tsamma* (citrullus vulgaris), öintjes (cyperis edulis Dtr.) and *//nõun* (Bauhinea esculenta). As one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, *e.g.*, the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuandi, omuve, etc. In addition to the above numerous varieties of edible roots, bulbs, tubers, berries, etc., appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season.

223 Among the *Hei-//om* the following ceremony is observed in connection with the collection of veldkos by the women. It is practised when the fruit of the *‡huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the *‡huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gãus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered

are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women 222
to the *||gāus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the *!heis*. Her husband now kindles the *!hei|aus* and, after having applied *‡norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it. There is no name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called *!gao-ei-|un*.

Among insects, locusts, ants, scorpions, young bees and 262
honey are greatly relished. Frogs, lizards, snakes, etc., are also eaten. In fact, all living animals are eaten with the exception of the mole and the hyena, the former because its winter larder of öintjes forms a valuable and easily obtainable addition to the supplies of the Bushmen and the latter because it eats human corpses.

The methods used in the pursuit of game vary according 221
to the season, the year being divided into a cold, dry season 224
(winter), a hot, dry season (spring and early summer), a small, rainy season (September and October) and a big, rainy season (January to April). Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season in the case of such animals as guineafowl, bustard, aardvark, ostrich and small game. Pitfalls are not made use of except for hare and springhare as too much work is entailed in making them. Springhare and snakes are also caught by means of a long barbed stick which is passed into the burrows, the animal being transfixed and then dug out. During the big rainy season when the ground is sodden with moisture small buck such as duiker and stembuck are run down on foot and killed with a knob kirri. This method is not applicable to small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor. In the hot weather, however, young buck are easily caught in this manner as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. The gemsbuck does not tire easily. It is run down, therefore, only during the big rainy season when the soft ground impedes its progress and causes it to be caught comparatively easily. All other varieties of big game are run down in the hot, dry season. After a herd of game has been located one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly until it is exhausted and brought at bay, when it is killed with assegaai.

Bow and poisoned arrows are used all the year round. These 184 ●
weapons differ considerably in character in various localities. 411
The Kalahari bow is small compared with that used by the *!Kūng* of the Oschimpoloveld, and *Hei-||om* of the Etosha Pan region; the arrow consists of a reed shaft, bone foreshaft and bone or iron tip, whereas the latter use arrows with feathered wooden shafts and iron tips only. The poison also 184
varies in different localities. In southern Namaqualand it 278
is constituted of a mixture of plant juice (euphorbia), snake poison, scorpions and spiders; in the southern and central

184 Kalahari only insect poison is used, and further north and
278 north-west only plant poison.

224 All tribes observe certain customary practices in connection
[184] with the hunting of animals with bow and arrow. These vary considerably among the different tribes. The following is an account of the practice as met with among the *Hei-||om*. After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *||gāus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's trucks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals. The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is skinned by the men.

252 The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the purpose, is cut into
[237] sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then removed to the *||gāus* by the men who may occasionally be assisted by the women. On arrival at the *||gāus* all the meat is laid on the ground under the *!heis* either on sticks which were used in carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib*
224 (chief) now comes forward and if he finds that the *!hei-|ais*
622 (fire under the tree) has gone out he returns to his hut, brings
252 fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the meat in the meantime being hung on the *!heis* (tree in centre of camp). After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men—the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and "tastes" (tsū-tsū) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as *≠koms*.

224 All meat killed with bow and arrow is *so.ra* and may not
262 be partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, however, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *so.ra* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *so.ra*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *so.ra* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the

224 visits a *//gāus* for this purpose he kindles the *!hei-!ais*
622 with fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own.

224 Any want of success in the chase is generally attributed to
777 some chance incident. For example, a man, who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife had her periods, will not hunt again when she is in that condition nor will she eat any of the *‡noe-di* at such times. The meat of an animal
[262] killed by a dog may not be eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating. This prohibition is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. If, however, an animal is killed with bow and arrow after having been brought at bay by a dog, the meat is *so.ra* and women may eat the *‡noe-di*. The remains of an animal killed by a lion are not *so.ra* and may be partaken of by all individuals. Care, however, is taken not to offend the lion which likewise observes certain practices after each kill. After having had his fill he buries the sacrum and haunchbones and covers them over with the dung (stomach contents) of the animal. If he should be unsuccessful in hunting his prey he returns to the spot of the last kill, digs up the buried parts and inters them in another place. This he does to restore his luck and if he should find that the bones have been taken away he will follow the person who removed them right into the *//gāus*.

184 *So.ra* applies only to meat killed with bow and arrow and
224 as far as is known at present this practice exists among the
262 *Xom-khoin*, *!Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*. Among these
784 groups the meat of the following animals is *so.ra*, namely, steinbuck, duiker, springbuck, hartebeest, gemsbuck, kudu, wildebeest and giraffe. The eland, which is a comparatively rare visitor to the parts occupied by these groups is not killed at all by the *Xom-khoin* who believe that harm will befall any person who eats its meat. In other words the *Xom-khoin* consider the eland to be absolute *so.ra*. Among other groups the man who shoots an eland must, on returning to the *//gāus*, sleep under the *!hei* as intercourse with his wife will prevent the poison from killing the animal. The same applies to a person who shoots a giraffe.

412 The implements and utensils which are used in the collection and preparation of food are very few in number. Vegetable food is dug up with a sharpened stick, 2 to 5 feet in length.
252 Ö intjes, *//ñoun* and other similar plant foods are roasted in hot ashes covered with cinders. Ants (Bushman rice) are dealt with in a similar manner and then recovered again by means of a sieve of grass matting. Locusts are either roasted or boiled. Frogs, etc., are sometimes roasted over the fire on a wooden spit (braaistok) stuck into the ground. Birds, snakes, small antelope, etc., are prepared by placing them in a hollow made in the ashes with a flat paddle-shaped wooden scoop and covering them over with live coals. The meat of larger

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly 252
disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin
tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups [239]
use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roasted plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of 264
wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make 415
wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some 184
purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except 262
by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco 237
pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups, bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The *|Nu-||ēin* [184]
and *||Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the *‡Ao-||ēin* and other tribes living to the north. Articles [438]
made by the former form an important medium of exchange. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it [482]
also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large [415]
animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich egg-shells are used for carrying and storing water and for the [301
manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time 438]
form the most important article of barter among the *|Nu-||ēin*, *Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-||om*. Among the most [184
northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red 278]
ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omura* tree, are the 438]
principal media of exchange.

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit 121
me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive communities are surrounded.

[151] that marks an edible root, or see a scorpion hidden in the dust
174 and jump over it. So Bushmen survive in the most rigorous places; they survive in the dense, mosquito-ridden papyrus
131 swamps of the Okovango River, steaming like a jungle and
133 dangerous with snakes and fever, where the River Bushmen
[184] live, the only Bushmen with plenty of water; they also survive on the vast, rolling steppes of central Bechuanaland, the territory of the Gikwe Bushmen, who for the nine dry months of the year have no water at all and do without it.

609 Besides the fact that Bushmen alone can live in the land
563 they occupy, there is another reason for their remoteness and
648 shyness. They are in many instances exploited by the Bantu farmers, and by a few of the European farmers, usually those who need free or almost free labor. Many Bantu farms and households have Bushman servants, or serfs, rather, as they usually come from the land on or near the farm, and when working they are paid nothing but are given food, tobacco,
464 and sometimes cast-off clothing as wages. Some European
648 farms in Bechuanaland and some in South-West Africa have Bushman laborers too, though most European farmers do not depend on Bushman labor. Those European farmers who do employ Bushmen usually pay wages, about ten shillings a month, plus a ration of food to each Bushman who is working, though not necessarily to his family, consisting of about a pound of cornmeal and a quart of milk a day, meat occasionally, and weekly a ration of tobacco. Perhaps the employer will add a set of clothing—that is, a pair of cast-off pants and a shirt—and perhaps a blanket every year, but occasionally they pay their labor in cast-off clothing and omit the ten shillings altogether.

648 European clothing is esteemed among Bushmen, for it is
291 symbolic to them of a people mightier than themselves, and
439

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 In a short time we heard a rustle in the veld, and a young
854 woman who seemed to be in her early twenties stepped from the bushes. She was, Ukwane said, Gai's wife, and on her hip she carried a baby, a naked three-year-old who looked at us from his wide eyes fearlessly, then, realizing that we were strangers, buried his face in his mother's arm. His mother stroked him calmly and came toward us smiling and nodding her head graciously, although a little pulse was hammering in the V of her throat. We learned later that she had been sitting in the bushes very near us, and when she had seen her husband go by she had assumed that everything was all right and had come to greet us, not bothering to answer his cries.

142 She was a short, sturdy woman with round arms, long thighs, and short calves. She had a rather large belly and square, strong shoulders, and she wore a very tattered cape
281 or kaross over her back, with a small leather apron around her hips. She had no ornaments except a row of blue scars over
304 her eyes, a decoration, and she had allowed her hair to be-
302 come disheveled, long, and a little tangled, hanging down
184 over her ears in tight spirals, instead of having shaved it off as most Bushman women do. All this gave her a very matter-of-fact air, which was not deceiving, for she saw in a glance that we were harmless and, looking us over, sat down at once beside me.

304 Her baby pulled, twisted, and tugged at her, and from the way he behaved I judged that he kept her too busy to be for-
[854] ever cutting her hair or making bead ornaments. Besides, she told us later, if she wore ornaments, the baby pulled them off. She had her row of scars, though, delicate and arching over her brow, making her eyes seem wider; as well as a row of striped scars along her thighs. These, say Bushmen, are made to imitate the beauty of zebras, and many women wear them, having been decorated when they were still young. It

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

411 poison of several grubs, Gai dried the arrow by the fire, then
825 coated the foreshaft again. In all, he used ten grubs, all that
278 he had except two which were found to be shriveled and dead. The last coating he did not smear; pulling off the grub's head, he dotted the arrow with little spots of poison. He did not poison the arrowhead but only the foreshaft.

When the arrow was finished and the poison dried to lacquer on the shaft, Gai carefully collected all the cocoons and all the grub skins and burned them in the fire, keeping out of the smoke. He then called for a fresh tsama melon, which Witabe brought him and which he used to wash his hands. At last he put his arrow in his quiver and lit his pipe. He was through.

411 While we were there with the camera set up and loaded
184 we asked Gai to demonstrate for us the way he would shoot a bow, which he did, and we were surprised to see that the Gikwe, who use bows of the same size and shape and arrows of the same size as the Kung's, have a different arrow release. The Kung grip the arrow between the thumb and the side of the forefinger as they draw back on the string, but Gai gripped it between the first two fingers, holding his thumb back. He said that all other Gikwe do the same.

283 Ukane called to us from the werf and said that since we were here he would show us how a Gikwe Bushman makes a string. We went over to him, and he did make a string for us by pulling the tough fibers out of aloes and rolling them together on his thigh, leaving just enough fiber unwound at the end to splice with the next rolled section. The string was so strong that when he jerked it between his hands it neither broke nor raveled. It took him only a few minutes to make it,
[286] and he said that when he had many such strings he would tie them together to make himself a net.

As he worked, for the sake of efficiency, he held the fibers

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

"I hear you," said Ukwane, "but I would still like to go with 609
you to your country."

We told him then that we lived so far away and over so much water that if he went there he could never get back, and we said that even if he did go he might find that the longing of his heart to be back among his own people would be worse to suffer, harder to bear, than even hunger and thirst. "That is true," he said. "Perhaps."

That night we had, of course, not wanted to ask about the 761
customs and beliefs of Gikwe Bushmen concerning death; we wanted very much to know, but that night the people were grieved and with Bushmen death is always a bad subject. Another day, however, Ukwane and Dasina did tell us their funeral customs, which were similar to those of the 764
Kung, though not as elaborate. We learned that the Gikwe 184
dig a grave with digging-sticks, then bind the body with the arms crossed over the chest, the knees raised and bound, the ankles tied together, and the head resting on the fists, which are drawn up to the chin. The body is then wrapped in an old kaross and placed in a sitting position in the grave, braced upright by a forked stick. Each person present throws a handful of earth into the grave to "make the person remember them" and also to make the spirit go peacefully away. The grave is then filled up and covered with thorn branches to protect the dead person from wild animals, for a hyena will sometimes unearth a corpse.

While performing a funeral, and from the time of the fu- 764
neral on, the Bushmen always stay upwind from a grave, for 775
after death the spirit blows down the wind and will be harmful to the living. Gikwe Bushmen remain by a grave for at least three months—three moons, or longer—before they

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
Gikwe

764 move away because they cannot bear to leave the dead per-
775 son, because they want to make sure that animals do not spoil his body, and because, said Ukwane, "He is our person, whom we love. We do not want to leave until we have given up hope."

764 We learned one other thing, and that was that the Gikwe
775 put a medicine power, a fragrant brown powder made of an
789 herb called *sasa*, in the norstrils of the dead person, and
824 sprinkled his body with sasa before the burial. This, said Ukwane, is done to ensure heavy rain in the rainy season, but also it may well have to do with protecting the living from the spirit of the dead. We did not learn more about this because Bushmen will talk about any subject you may name except the subject of the spirits of the dead. The Kung respect and fear spirits more than any other thing, and only after a year of trying did we learn about them; the Gikwe seem to feel the same way, and for that reason we did not expect to learn very much. We did find, however, that the spirits
775 of the dead are called, at least sometimes, the *kwe be ha ki* (person who is not here), and that these spirits travel in the
[82] wind—not in open, blowing wind, but in whirlwinds; that is why the Gikwe Bushmen avoid whirlwinds, because a spirit might be there to carry them away. Once a whirlwind passing through our camp uprooted a tent and carried it spinning to the sky. Possibly, explained the Bushmen, a spirit of the dead thought that there was a person inside, although sometimes the spirits cause only mischief.

764 With the Kung, the funeral customs are very much the
● 184 same as those of the Gikwe. The body is folded into a sitting position and bound, but the head is bowed down to the knees. Beads and a kaross ornament the body, which is also lowered into the grave and buried upright, but thereafter the custom

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

differs from that of the Gikwe. The Kung, after filling in the 764
grave and protecting it with stones or thorn branches, break 184
the scherm of the dead person down over the grave, shatter all or most of his possessions, and strew the fragments over the grave together with sasa powder. Last, they kindle a fire in front of the now destroyed scherm and bend a reed, which they thrust into the ground, so that the grave, the fire, and the pointing reed make a line toward the place where the person who is now dead was born.

The Kung then abandon the grave immediately and for- 775
ever, for when darkness falls the spirit blows down the wind and remains near its grave for an indefinite time. Whenever the Kung pass near the grave they blow sasa toward it to ensure their safety.

The Kung are so afraid of the spirits of the dead that they do not feel it necessary to remain as guardians of the grave, or even until they have "given up hope." Occasionally their custom proves unfortunate, as it has happened that the buried person rose from his grave and followed his people to their new camp. We ourselves knew a Kung Bushman who had died, been buried, and was resurrected; he clambered out of his grave at night, followed his band to their new camp, and rejoined his family to live out a happy life. It must happen rather often that people are mistaken for dead and buried accidentally—often enough, at least, to necessitate a word in the language, for those people who do revive and manage to dig out of their shallow graves are called the *twi*.

The spirit that does not become a twi does not remain alone by the grave forever, but is found by the great god in his wanderings over the veld and is taken to his home in the east. There it is hung in a tree and smoked in a medicine smoke until it becomes a *gaua*, a spirit of the dead, and can serve the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

133 open and tilting, but the low hills and the forests veiled the great sweep of country, and the sun, the moon, and the horizon.

105 As soon as we were there we felt very familiar, very at
184 home. We knew quite a lot about Kung Bushmen, who in ways are different from Gikwe Bushmen—as the country is not as harsh, the Kung are a little grander, living together in larger numbers because they have veld food more abundantly, a little more extravagant with their time and their possessions. They build themselves grass huts or scherms, at least during the rains, and though they know vast sections of their country perfectly, being quite sure of the whereabouts of game and certain of the whereabouts of different types of veld food, they do not have to memorize the whereabouts of each root individually and store this information in their minds for future seasons, as the Gikwe do. The Kung are diligent and powerful hunters, although in some respects their country is harder to hunt in than the land of the Gikwe, more overgrown with brush and trees. But the Kung have metal-tipped arrows and complicated poison, and the men make a point of hunting often and well because their people love meat.

312 We knew their rolling veld with its baobab trees and hidden waters, for in Nyae Nyae the people do not have to scrape roots and suck melons, but are the possessors of deep waterholes where they can drink clear water almost all year long. We knew which stalks among the grass blades marked edible roots, and where game antelope might be found.

823 We knew not only the veld but the beings that live in the
776 sky above it, and knew the beings under the earth and in the four directions. We knew where the great god lives in the east with his tree and his medicine smoke with which he makes spirits of the dead from dead people. We knew his names, for

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

182 A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties
312 which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters
[161] them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival,
[648] for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in
the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been
comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity
134 and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level
mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily
available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant
when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated
with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy
soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage
organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thor-
ough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they
are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

137 Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still
have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again
[222] to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-
sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage
[224] organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre
[262] content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the
various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

224 Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking sur-
faces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed
with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not
[411] necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the
advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death
as certainly to big game as to small.

101 LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bush-
197 men cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings
and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans
refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking
[829] Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a mul-
titude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local group-
● [184] ings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the
language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while
they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within them-
[621] selves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band
[622] composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Or-
ganization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

101 The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a
131 group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ðassi* and who live in the
[197] Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

162 working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in
131 Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield
464 as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen
648 of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life.
224 (Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated at 200.

161 This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of
162 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty
224 percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more
222 reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely
[114] that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

162 The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial
224 and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-
222 gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most
178 isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with
184 their European and Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of
[221] the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend
[648] part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent
[312] to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share
[464] their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the
[233] young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds on a contract basis.

000 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

101 Ghanzi and Gobabis Districts and their immediate northern
131
162 hinterland. All three divisions speak mutually intelligible
[241] dialects of !Kung but only the central and southern divisions
[197] have the institution of the name relationship.
[551]
[184] The northern division peoples call themselves "!kũ"
101 meaning "people" (Bleek, 1928:106) and many ethnographers have adopted this as the general appelation for the tribe. There has been a bewildering variety of spellings of this name[1] and it is urgent that one standard form be chosen. It is recommended that !Kung be adopted as the standard appelation for the tribe, following the lead of Fourie (1928:83) and Marshall (1957, 1959, 1960, 1962, etc.). This is not the most phonetically accurate of the alternatives, but the controversy over spelling is an academic one because the majority of the "!Kung" do not recognize this as their tribal appelation at all!

The central division "!Kung" call themselves "zũ/wãsi" (zũ = "people"; /wã = "proper" or "true"; si = plural suffix). This translates as "the proper people" or "the true people". It also has the connotation of "just folks" which Elizabeth Marshall Thomas has appropriately rendered as "The Harmless People" (1959). Bushmen of the study area objected to the

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[1]At least fourteen different spellings are in the literature including: Kung, !Kũ, !Kun, Qhung, //Khun, ≠Kũng, ʗhũ, !xũ, !Khũ, :un, !Kung.

101 appelation "!Kung". They said it was a term of opprobrium used of them by the Bantu.

The southern division !Kung were the first of the tribe to appear in the ethnographic literature. They are described by Baines (1864) and Chapman (1868) as "Ma'kow'kow". Later workers have called them ≠Auin (Kaufmann 1910), //kau//en (Bleek 1928), ≠Ao-//ẽin (Fourie 1928), Makaukau, and Auen (Schapera 1930). All these forms appear to be corruptions of the name ≠d"au//ae, which is currently in use among the Bushmen of the Ghanzi District. This is the Nharo name for the !Kung Bushmen; it means literally "north side" and reflects the fact that the !Kung have traditionally been the northern neighbors of the Nharo. The !Kung commonly apply this label to themselves, saying "we are the ≠d"au//ae (north side) people".

[197] Since all three groups, calling themselves !Kũ, zũ/wãsi,
[184] and ≠d"au//ae, respectively, speak dialects of the same language, and since the latter two groups maintain a sense of ethnic identity through the name relation it is recommended that the name !Kung be adopted as the tribal appelation. It is the easiest of the three names to pronounce and it has had the widest currency in the literature.

[184] Of the three geographical divisions of !Kung, full time
[224] independent hunters and gatherers are found only among the
[222] central group.

184 648 222 241 439 The northern !Kung of Angola and Ovamboland are closely associated with Bantu agriculturalists. In 1925 Bleek observed that "In contradistinction to the southern !Kũ the women and children (i.e. of the Angola !Kung) are not collectors of wild food. Once or twice a year when certain berries ripen, the whole tribe goes out berry picking; otherwise they live by hunting and bartering part of the meat and skins obtained for the agricultural produce of their neighbors...." (1928:108). Westphal visited the Angola !Kung in 1964 and confirmed Bleek's observations (Westphal personal communication).

184 221 464 648 The southern division of !Kung work on the European farms in the Ghanzi and Gobabis districts. Many of them spend the summer months in the veld, hunting and gathering, but return each year to winter on the farms (Silberbauer n.d.).

Among the central division of !Kung are found Bantu-associated peoples, farm laborers, and independent traditional hunters and gatherers. In the Grootfontein district of South West Africa several thousand central !Kung are working on European farms. Along the Okavango river for 500 miles of its length from Cuangar in the northwest to Sehitwa on Lake Ngami, some further thousands of central !Kung live with, and work for, the Bantu of the following tribes:

131 184 648

131
• 184
648

Kuangari Bunja Sambiu Djiriku	in South West Africa
Mbukushu	in South West Africa and B. P.
Bayei Batawana Herero	in B. P.

[621] These !Kung may live in independent villages near a
[224] Bantu kraal and devote much of their time to hunting and
[222] gathering, or they may be incorporated into the compounds of
[464] their protectors and work as domestic servants and farm hands.

However, all of these Bantu-associated !Kung are in contact
131 with groups of more independent !Kung living inland. Ties
184 of real and fictive kinship and marriage link the river
602 dwelling !Kung with the !Kung of the dry interior. The loca-
582 tion of these non-!Kung peoples is shown in Map 6, p. 34.

131 Map 7 illustrates how the European and Bantu-associated !Kung form a ring of population around the peripheries of the northwest Kalahari. These settled areas enclose an interior of about 25,000 square miles, one third of which is in Bechuanaland and two thirds in South West Africa. Most of

131 Since the Nyae Nyae peoples are closely linked genealogically to
133 the peoples of /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa, and since their
312 several territories are surrounded by an uninhabited belt
619 60-100 miles in width, it seems more useful to include all the central water sources under the term "interior" and consider all the other river dwelling and farm !Kung as peripheral (see Map 7, p. 37).

121 This description of the subsistence ecology of !Kung
184 Bushmen therefore concerns the interior !Kung of the central
433 dialect division. It is not to be taken as representative of the !Kung in general, the great majority of whom are today living on European farms or working closely with Bantu.[1] It was pointed out in Chapter I that the selection of a study site was dictated by the necessity of finding a Bushman population living traditionally and independently. It was realized at the outset that such a population was not typical of the majority of !Kung.

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[1] A further stricture must be applied to the !Kung of the interior. In 1960 a Government Station was built at Tsumkwe, S.W.A. Since then the 800 interior !Kung on the South West African side of the border have settled there and are receiving instruction in agriculture. The 400 !Kung on the Bechuanaland side of the border have not been permitted to participate in this program. Therefore, during the period of the present study, only the interior !Kung in Bechuanaland were leading a year-round hunting and gathering way of life.

224 231 [174] communication), there were no domesticated dogs in the South African Later Stone Age until the arrival of the Bantu. It is not possible to say at present when dogs were introduced into !Kung Bushmen culture. The !Kung themselves say that they have had dogs "since time began".

Data on the hunting success of seven men of the Dobe winter camp will illustrate the importance of dogs in hunting. In July, 1964, during a four week period the seven men of the camp spent a total of seventy-nine man days hunting. Between them they killed a total of eighteen animals. The estimated total weight in meat of these eighteen kills was approximately 434 pounds. Six of the men lacked good hunting dogs. These men accounted for 110 pounds of meat or 25% of the total. The seventh man was the only one with a good hunting pack. With his dogs he killed the remaining 75% of the meat (324 pounds) including four adult wart hog.

[184] Considering the importance of dogs in Dobe area hunting it is interesting that dogs were not used for hunting by the Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae area (J. Marshall 1957; and personal communication).

224 Finally there were several limited techniques that required no specialized equipment. Occasionally men run down immature animals on foot. These are dispatched with a club of any handy piece of wood. Also, on occasion, the men

824 is not eaten. Next is a casing of granular-textured fruit
262 which is eaten. The fruit encloses the nut itself. This consists of a thick outer shell which must be cracked open with the nut-cracking stones. Within the thick shell is a softer inner shell which encloses the nut kernel which is the staple of the Bushman diet. This inner kernel is "packaged" within four protective layers and this explains its remarkable storage properties.

824 In the late summer and autumn months the Bushmen eat
252 large quantities of both the fruit and the nut. First the women boil potfuls of whole fruit in order to separate the outer flesh from the hard shell. The flesh of the fruit produces a delicious fruit puree that tastes like stewed prunes. After the fruit is eaten, the nuts themselves are set aside for later cracking and eating.

184 The summer hunting situation appears to vary from camp
221 to camp. At the !Gausa camp very little hunting was done.
224 [177] The resident men assisted the Bantu in cattle herding and they
[648] received calabashes of sour milk as payment. At Characharaha
[464] the men hunted more, killing gemsbok, python and porcupine. At one summer camp, Mokoro, where there were no Bantu resident, two young men killed four large buck in the space of one month (two kudu and two gemsbok). This Mokoro camp was an
[177] unusually successful one. The availability of cows' milk and meat no doubt lessens the men's incentive for hunting

221
222 during this period concentrate on tending their snarelines.
[462] Gradually the distance to the nuts increases as a wider and
[224] wider radius of nuts becomes eaten out. For instance, by the end of July there were no nuts within seven miles of the Dobe waterhole, and a day's collecting became a major undertaking. In order to reach the nuts, the women had to set out early in the morning and walk for 2-1/2 hours. In the nut forest they had to work for two hours to fill their karosses
[482] with nuts. On the return journey each woman was heavily loaded with c. 30 lbs. of whole nuts and the distance back to camp took 3-1/2 hours to cover. Thus on a late July collecting trip, the women would have to walk at least 14 miles to and from the nuts, plus another two miles in the nut forests, stooping and collecting. This adds up to eight hours of hard work in one day.

At this point, the effort required to gather mongongo nuts begins to outweigh the satisfaction derived from eating nuts and one observed a sharp decline in nut collecting in favor of the less desirable foods of classes II, III and IV. These latter foods had the advantage of being locally abundant in the vicinity of the permanent waterholes.

This transition from nuts to other foods occurred at Dobe
[184] at the end of July (in 1964). At !gose, where the nut forests are much denser, the gatherers continued their daily trips

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222 well into September. On the other hand, at /ai/ai, where 109
184 Bushmen were living, the local mongongo nuts were exhausted at the beginning of July.

Since each territory was known for a different selection of winter foods, the transition took a different form at each waterhole. At Dobe, the mongongo nuts were replaced as the staple of the diet by Baobab fruits (Adansonia) and vegetable ivory palm hearts (Hyphaene). At Bate the people shifted from mongongo nuts to Sclerocarya caffra nuts. At !angwa, the people concentrated on collecting Acacia spp. gums.

221 In general the diet of the Bushmen becomes much more
824 eclectic during the latter half of the winter. It was during
146 this season that the Bushmen took advantage of a wide selection of edible species. Instead of eating mongongo nuts with a few other species as "side dishes", the people had to diversify their diet in order to live well. During August and September no less than 25 species of roots, bulbs and edible gums formed the basis of the diet.

222 There was an alternative strategy to eating less desirable
312 foods. If a family was prepared to make the effort required to reach the nutting groves, they would fill their water containers (ostrich egg shells and the stomachs of antelope) and walk to the nuts. They would collect and eat there until

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Namib desert strip and adjacent districts in South-West Africa.[1] 619 Their language is reported to be Nama, and they are sometimes said [197] to be degenerate Hottentots who have lost their cattle and taken to a nomadic hunting and collecting life similar to that of the Bushmen. But the little we know about their customs and social organization shows that they are true Bushmen, although they have undoubtedly been considerably influenced in both culture and physical characters by the Hottentots. They were divided into several groups, each with its own distinctive name. The */geinin* in the true Namib desert between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//obanen* in the region round the junction of the Great Fish and Orange Rivers, and the */koma* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateaus have apparently disappeared completely; the *!ganin* in the region between Naauwkluft and Grootfontein S. are almost totally extinct, while the */huinin* in the southern extremity of the Huib plateau just north of the Orange River are still represented by a few families. The numbers of the two last groups together are [162] estimated at between 75 and 100. Hahn, writing of these people in [532] 1879, says that they were then still painting on rocks.[2] This may be taken as convincing proof that they really are Bushmen, for the Hottentots do not practise this art at all. Their distribution, as well as the information we have about their habits and customs, seems to link them up with the Southern Group, but there is as yet no clear evidence in support of this view.

The above classification of the Bushmen into linguistic groups is 144 quite independent of and distinct from considerations of race and 197 culture. All Bushmen are of the same racial stock, and have 184 fundamentally the same culture, just as their languages are essentially related. At the same time, there are variations in both race and culture running counter to the linguistic distinctions.

Broadly speaking, it may be said with regard to racial characters 144 that the Bushmen living south of the Molopo River are purest in type. Those further north have all mixed to a varying extent principally with Bantu but also with Hottentots and Bergdama. In the west of this region there is perhaps more Hottentot blood, although in the north-west there has also been a good deal of intermixture with Bantu (chiefly OvaMbo) and Bergdama. In the east Bantu blood,

[1] L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 98–105; E. Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), 501–6; P. Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib, ihre Familien- und Rechtsverhältnisse," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 166–70; *idem*, "Aus der Namib," *Z. KolPol.*, xiii (1911), 301–8.

[2] T. Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 307–8.

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144 coming from the BaRotse and the BeChwana, is more strongly marked, especially in the Okavango-Zambesi basin. Here the Bushman tribes such as the Hukwe and the Galikwe, who have been longest in contact with the Bantu, are found to diverge most in appearance from the true Bushman type as seen south of the Molopo.

177 In culture, again, the Namib Bushmen and those south of the Molopo River form a separate division; the latter especially have 184 apparently been little affected by foreign influences, and in features such as art, ritual, and mythology have developed along special lines. The Northern tribes, on the other hand, have obviously been influenced in technology and several other aspects by contact with alien peoples. Their culture has consequently been modified and has deviated somewhat from that of their southern relatives. The North-Western tribes (Auen, Naron, and Kung) have certain well-marked features of social organization and religion not noticed further south, while the Heikum in many aspects of their culture show unmistakable signs of Hottentot and South-Western Bantu influence. The other Kalahari tribes, especially those to the north-east and in the extreme east, have been considerably influenced in material culture and to some extent also in religious beliefs and practices by the Chwana tribes among whom they live.

184 These differences are important. At the same time, it must be noted that little is known of the Namib Bushmen, who now live as scattered remnants. The Southern Bushmen also are now almost completely extinct, and the only aspect of their culture at all carefully investigated is religion and mythology, preserved in the texts collected by Bleek, Lloyd, and Orpen. The North-Western tribes, on the other hand, are the most fully studied of all. It is possible therefore that some of the differences apparent between them and other Bushmen may be due simply to lack of the relevant information about the latter. The North-Eastern tribes, again, have not yet been investigated with the thoroughness and detail they deserve. Here also the possibility remains that further knowledge about them may reveal more features in common with the other Bushmen than are at present observable.

Numbers

181 The distribution of the Bushmen over so many distinct political areas, their general inaccessibility, their nomadic hunting life and consequent habit of living in small separate bands all combine to render difficult any attempt to arrive at a comprehensive figure of

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304 856 joint is usually removed during childhood, and the custom appears to be associated with some magical belief. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that the joint is cut off with a reed before the child sucks at all, and that the motive underlying the custom is that the child should live to grow up.[1] Other writers add that the operation is performed only on a child whose predecessor has died young, and is intended to protect it from a similar fate.[2] Various other interpretations have been given of the custom, but the one just mentioned appears to be the most probable. This form of mutilation does not [184] seem to occur to any extent in the Northern tribes. Seiner found it in a few persons among the Kung, but states that it was exceptional,[3] and there is no other record of its occurrence in these tribes.

304 Barrow further mentions that in a large band of Bushmen seen by him in the midlands of the Cape all the men had a small piece of wood [301] [136] or porcupine quill inserted through the perforated septum of the nose.[4] This practice is not reported definitely by any of the other writers on the Southern Bushmen, although it is hinted at by Bleek and Lloyd.[5] Hahn, however, speaks of it as occurring in a Bushman tribe in the South-West Kalahari, whom he therefore names "Nasenstockträger",[6] and recently Pöch has published the photograph of a woman from the waterhole/kang in the Southern Kalahari, in which it is seen very clearly.[7]

184 In the majority of Northern Bushmen at the present time, and 304 especially in the North-Western tribes, the most widespread form of 881 mutilation is scarification, which was quite unknown among the tribes 224 south of the Molopo.[8] Small cuts about an inch long are made in the skin, and ash black or other colouring matter is rubbed into the wounds, producing a slight but noticeable scar. In the women they are said to be made mostly for ornament only, on the face, thighs, and buttocks, but among the !O Kung of Angola they are also made in connection with the puberty ceremony for girls. In the men some of the cuts may also be purely ornamental, but many of them are definitely related to social and hunting observances. Thus all Naron, Auen, and Kung have a vertical cut or cuts between the eyebrows,

[1] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, p. 17.
[2] Arbousset, loc. cit.; Thompson, loc. cit.
[3] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 290
[4] Op. cit., vol. i, 276.
[5] *Bushman Folklore*, 329.
[6] "Die Buschmänner," 66.
[7] "Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," pl. v, fig. 2.
[8] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101, 108–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 141–2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 245–6; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, *The Naron*, 10–11.

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given to boys at their puberty ceremonies; other cuts are made to ensure good luck in hunting, while still others are the marks of successful hunters. These special cuts will all be discussed below in more detail.

According to Dornan the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari practise circumcision of boys and what appears to be a form of cliterodectomy in girls, both in connection with puberty ceremonies. These mutilations he regards as common to most Bushmen and as being truly Bushman in origin, even going so far as to advance the opinion that the neighbouring Bantu who also practise them have taken them over from the Bushmen.[1] This view cannot be upheld. Actually none of the other Bushmen known to us have either form of mutilation, so that these practices can by no means be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture. It is far more probable that the Hiechware have adopted them from the BeChwana, to whose influence they have long been exposed, just as they have adopted from them other elements of Bantu culture, both in technology and in religion. B 184 304 881

Hottentots H 304

Circumcision, as in the case of the Bushmen, was altogether unknown to the Hottentots. Kolb and several other early writers on the Cape Hottentots, however, state that at or before puberty the left testicle of every boy was excised.[2] It is difficult to decide how much truth there is in this statement, although Kolb gives a minute description of the rite and claims to have repeatedly made a personal examination of the victims themselves. Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Fritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac.[3] Certainly in more recent times the custom of excision, if it ever did exist (and one is inclined to believe that the older writers may be trusted in this respect), has completely disappeared; and it has never H [147]

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 158–60.
[2] Kolb, op. cit., 55 sqq.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 842; Wikar, "Berigt aan den Heer Joachim van Plettenberg," 98–9; other references summarized by Walk, "Initiationszeremonien . . . der südafrikanischen Stämme," 882 sqq.
[3] Fritsch, op. cit., 333–4.

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patriarch of any small group, though his authority is very limited." 621
This latter observation is also made by Seydel of the Namib Bushmen. [888]

The bands of these Bushmen may therefore be regarded as consisting of small groups of families all related by consanguinity or through marriage. Membership of the group is apparently not based on descent traced exclusively through either the male or the female line, since both married sons and married daughters with their spouses and children may belong to the same group. There is no definite statement as to whether marriage between members of the same 582
group is permitted or not. Generally it would seem that a wife is sought outside the group. Among the Cape Bushmen the only girl a man may not marry is his own sister. Marriage with first cousins (both ortho-cousins and cross-cousins) is sometimes found, but more often marriage takes place with "someone else", to quote Miss Bleek's words.[1] The same applies to the Namib Bushmen,[2] and similarly, among the !O Kung, "some of the married couples we met were cousins, but the majority were unrelated, as far as they knew. Some young married people stay with the man's family, others with the [591]
woman's."[3]

Among the North-Western Bushmen the bands, which here are 621
proportionately much larger, definitely tend to be exogamous. Fourie 184
says of the Heikum: "Marriage within the group is forbidden and 582
is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. [591]
As a rule men do not go far for wives, and intermarriage takes place [835]
between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women."[4] Among the Auen the only absolute prohibition on marriage is said to be between brother and sister, parent and child, but as a rule marriage does not take place between close relatives, and if possible also not between members of the same band. Wives are procured from a distance; often even [619]
from other tribes.[5] The Kung also marry outside their own band[6];

[1] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 59.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 92.
[4] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 156: "Die eigene Schwester darf nicht geheiratet werden, ebenso natürlich nicht Mutter und Tochter. Andere Verwandtschaft bilden kein absolutes Hindernis. Es ist aber die Regel, dass nicht innerhalb der eigenen Familie, auch möglichst nicht innerhalb der eigenen Horde geheiratet wird. Frauen werden mit Vorliebe weit hergeholt, oft von Stämmen anderer Sprache."
[5] Trenk, op. cit., 168.
[6] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910), 8.

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184 while of the Aikwe (Naron) Passarge says that a man wishing to marry
582 must select his bride from another band, since marriage within the
621 band is not permitted.[1] A few cases were found by Miss Bleek among the Naron at Sandfontein in which both husband and wife were from one village. The fact, however, that such marriages were regarded by the people as being against the general rule indicates that here, too, the tendency is to insist on marriage outside the band.[2]

After marriage the wife generally goes to live with her husband's
591 people, although the young couple may remain for some time with
183 the wife's parents before finally settling at the husband's home.[3] As a rule, therefore, marriage is patrilocal. Among the Naron, however, this rule is not always strictly observed, although it is recognized. "Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parent's home and stay there until the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so."[4] Passarge
114 indeed, goes so far as to assert of this tribe that the man definitely
591 joins the family of his wife, and becomes a member of their band[5]—a fact which he interprets elsewhere as denoting that the Bushmen are a matrilineal people.[6] It is far more probable, however, that he was misled by the custom of temporary matrilocal marriage than that the condition he describes is the normal rule. There is no other evidence to support his statement that the Bushmen have matrilineal institutions.

In fact the prevailing rule in these tribes that marriage should be exogamous and patrilocal suggests rather the possibility that
621 the families constituting the band may be related to one another in the male line. The only definite statement to this effect is about the Heikum, of whom we are told by Fourie that a band consists of the

[1] Op. cit., 105
[2] Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Vedder, loc. cit.; Fourie, op. cit., 93; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," (14).
[3] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66; cf. *idem*, *The Naron*, 34.
[4] Op. cit., 106: "Der Mann schliesst sich der Familie seiner Frau an und wird ein Mitglied der anderen Sippe."
[5] *Sudafrika*, p. 252: "Jeder Stamm setzt sich aus Sippen zusammen, die bis zum heutigen Tage die matriarchalische Organisation beibehalten haben. Das geht daraus hervor, dass der Mann bei der Heirat zu der Horde der Frau übergeht."
[6] *The Naron*, 34.

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611 belong to the band of which their father is a member. But, as already
621 mentioned, there are certain cases among the Naron where both married sons and married daughters with their respective spouses and children are found living in the same band. It would throw much light on the structure of the band if we could know whether all these children are regarded as members of the band in which their parents are living, or whether some distinction is made between the children of the married sons on the one hand and those of the married daughters on the other. Without further research in the field, however, no definite statement can be made on this crucial point. There is also nothing to indicate whether people who are related or claim to be related in the male line, or again those who are related or claim to be related in the female line, are specially bound together by ties of a ceremonial, legal or economic nature. Whether further research, therefore, will show the bands of the North-Western Bushmen to be clans is problematical. The trend of the available data gives no clear indication either way.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 Moving about constantly as they do in the search for food, the
221 Bushmen build no permanent homes. More or less fixed villages are
[184] found only among the tribes living in the Okavango-Zambesi region, but even here there are distinct quarters for the winter (dry season) and for the summer (rainy season). During the dry season the Tannekwe live in the marsh lands of the Okavango basin, where they have small villages surrounded with palisades, after the style of their Bantu neighbours. In the rainy season, however, these become uninhabitable. The people then move out to villages on the edge of the surrounding plains, where they also have their hunting grounds. The Hukwe on the plains north-east of Lake Ngami live in similar villages during the rainy season, from which they scatter about in family groups in the dry season to hunt and collect.[1]

Everywhere else the encampments of the Bushmen are temporary.
361 The tribes formerly living in the mountainous regions of the south
342 and east often made their homes in caves and under rock-shelters, in which relics of their occupation may still be found. Even to-day the Namib Bushmen, during the latter part of the dry season, also live chiefly in caves or under overhanging rock-shelters on the high

[1] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296, 297.

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mountains in the west of Great Namaqualand.[1] Most of the Bushmen, however, now live in flat country, where such natural shelters are denied them. Wherever they stay for more than a couple of days, crude bush huts are put up by the women. These are usually erected within walking distance of a waterhole, about an hour or two away. The people never live at the water itself, for fear of frightening away the game, which is most easily shot or trapped when coming to drink. 342 361 [462] [312] [224]

Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, "When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts."[2] 361 622 342 [372]

There seems to be as a rule no fixed form of settlement. All the families drinking at one waterhole may live in one group, or there may be several lots of huts scattered about in different directions. Among the Cape Bushmen, for example, one might find three or four huts standing together, or several huts dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, and the same appears to be true of the Naron.[3] 361

Among the Heikum, however, the camp is said to be laid out on a definite plan.[4] As a rule all the members of the band live in a common encampment or "werft" (*//gaus*). The huts of the married families are placed at a certain interval apart, and arranged in the form of an irregular circle. At or near the middle of the camp is situated a large tree, known as the */heis*. The hut of the chief (*gei-khoib*) is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. The brother of the *gei-khoib* live immediately to his left on the south side of the *//gaus*, and beyond them are placed the other married families of the community. The right or north side of the *//gaus* is reserved entirely for visiting sisters of the *gei-khoib* and their families, while any of his married daughters who may be visiting him erects her hut directly opposite to his at the furthest extremity of the camp. "This is done on account of the parent-in-law taboo (*tao-sas*) which [184] [606]

[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Mands and his Friends*, p. viii; *idem*, *The Naron*, 4.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[4] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50–3; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

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the ground and covered with grass. The description of the Naron hut given by Miss Bleek[1] applies equally to the huts of most of the other Northern Bushmen.[2] "The women do all the building here. The men may cut a few branches, but their wives plant them in a semicircle, tie the tops together with a thong or bark fibre, put smaller sticks in between them, and thatch the whole with grass, making a cosy little wind screen. In bad weather chunks of wood are often laid on top to keep the grass in place. The size and the care with which a hut is built vary with the season: in dry weather a very slight shelter suffices, just a little sloping screen perhaps made by sticking grass in the branches of a bush. As the rainy season approaches a proper semicircular hut is made, from four to five feet high, the opening to leeward of course, and when the rain really comes, the half circle is increased to about a three-quarter circle, often thereby changing the direction of the opening in accordance with the different wind. There is no door; the opening is about four feet high." The whole structure is easily put up, and is abandoned without misgiving. If the next halting place is near, the women carry some of the materials over; if not, new material is always at hand.

Among the Cape Bushmen light portable huts equally simple in make were sometimes seen. A few bent sticks formed the framework, which was covered with mats made of reeds laid side by side and neatly sewn together. The whole structure was hemispherical in shape, about four feet in diameter, and only some three feet in height. When the encampment broke up, the mats were rolled together, and used again at the next spot.[3] Somewhat larger huts made in the same way are also found among some of the North-Eastern tribes at the present time, e.g. the Hukwe and some of the Hiechware, but in general the grass hut is the prevailing kind.[4]

The floor in the interior of the hut is usually scooped out a little, making a sort of nest, in which the inmates sleep; this is lightly strewn with dry grass, which is often changed. In front of the hut is the fireplace, marked by a mound of ashes rising higher daily and sheltering the opening. Here all the cooking is done, save in wet weather, when it is often done inside the hut. At night a second little fire is made in the middle of the hut, or just inside the opening. Round

[1] Op. cit., 5.
[2] Cf. Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 81-2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 259; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 298.
[3] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275-6; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 43.
[4] Seiner, op. cit., 298; Dornan, op. cit., 90; Wilhelm, "Wortschatz . . . der Hukwe-Buschmannsprache," 301.

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Cooking

252 is done chiefly by the women, assisted by the children; in exceptional
[462] cases the men also may cook. Wild cucumbers, nuts, bulbs, and similar plant foods are baked in hot ashes covered with cinders. A bright fire is made and allowed to die down, a hole is scraped in the ashes with a flat, paddle-shaped wooden scoop, the food put in and covered over. It is then eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge, after being pounded up in wooden mortars or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood. Birds, snakes, small antelopes, etc., are baked in the same manner; ants are similarly treated, and then sifted through a mat of loosely-woven reeds, while locusts are either baked or boiled. *Grewia* berries are sometimes eaten as picked, stone and all, sometimes stamped in the mortar and swallowed uncooked. Some specially dainty kinds of meat are roasted over the fire on a wooden spit stuck into the ground. Other kinds of meat, again, as well as stamped
[439] locusts, *tsama* seeds and foods obtained from the white man, such as mealie meal, are cooked with water.

The "tame" Bushmen now use any sort of receptacle, such as a
415 paraffin or paint tin, for cooking purposes; the Auen and Naron
[439] in their more primitive condition used wooden pots, made by themselves or obtained by barter; while among the more Northern tribes clay pots obtained by barter from the OvaMbo and other Bantu tribes are sometimes found. The actual manufacture of clay pots by the
[184] Bushmen themselves seems to have been restricted to the tribes
[323] south of the Molopo. Food is eaten direct from the pot or from plates
[264] and bowls made of wood. Wooden spoons are sometimes found among the Northern tribes, but generally either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Fire is everywhere made by drilling a thin hard stick in another,
372 somewhat softer, in which there is a notch (Plate IX). This second stick is held firmly on the ground by one foot, while the drill-stick with its lower end pressed into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the hands until sparks come. A little dry grass is in readiness to catch the spark, and when it has caught alight dry wood is gradually added until a good fire has been set going.

In this connection reference must be made to certain special
372 observances relating to fire which have recently been recorded by
622 Fourie about the Heikum. "All fire," he says,[1] "is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to

[1] Op. cit., 87.

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lighting a new fire at the next encampment, although this is a practice which, as we have just seen, Fourie explicitly denies for the Heikum. 372 622

There is no indication at all in the available literature that similar usages relating to fire are found among the rest of the Bushmen, nor is there any further evidence of their occurrence among the tribes mentioned above. On the other hand the sacred fire also plays a very conspicuous part in the social and ritual life of the OvaHerero, OvaMbo, and Bergdama, all of them close neighbours of the Bushmen tribes among whom it is found, and with the last two of whom the Heikum at least have intermixed considerably. It is probable therefore that the special observances relating to fire among the Heikum and the Kung may represent borrowed elements of culture; but much fuller information is needed about them before this can be definitely asserted. Whatever their origin, however, these usages now obviously play an important part in the social life of the people. In particular, the fact that at the present time the chief of the band has certain exclusive functions in connection with fire is of outstanding significance in the whole sphere of public life, and one which cannot be dismissed merely because it may be due to the effects of contact with other peoples. To this point we shall have to return when discussing the political institutions of the Bushmen. [114] [184] 171 372 [177] [622]

Special Usages relating to Food

There is not much information available about food taboos, but it appears that, in some of the tribes at least, certain foods are forbidden to persons at different stages of life. In the texts obtained by Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen there are preserved the details of some of the food taboos prevalent among this people. Thus little children were not allowed to eat the heart of the jackal (on account of this animal's great timidity), certain portions of the ostrich, or the tip of the springbok's tail; a menstruating girl might not eat game killed by the young men, lest she bring them ill luck—she had to eat only game taken by her father; a certain kind of tortoise was forbidden to young unmarried men and women, for fear of arousing the wrath of the rain; women were not allowed to eat the flesh of the lynx; the tail of the porcupine was forbidden to certain (unspecified) persons; while all refrained from eating a certain small portion of the flesh of the hare.[1] The published information relating 262 825 [841] [821] 262 [114]

[1] L. C. Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, cf. references in Index, s.v. "Food—not to be eaten."

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the Heikum, there is also a definite tendency towards band exogamy.[1] 582
This means that in general courtship and marriage take place between persons belonging to different bands, and therefore to different localities.

As a rule boys and girls are not permitted to marry until they have reached the age of puberty, and have passed through the [881] puberty ceremonies.[2] Marriage generally takes place shortly afterwards. Among the Naron and the Auen, for example, most people are married by the time they are twenty, many of them, indeed, when they are several years younger, and so, too, among the Kung marriage takes place at quite an early age.[3]

Marriage Ceremonies

From the sketchy descriptions available about the marriage customs of the Bushmen, there does not appear to be any elaborate ceremonial 584 attaching to the process of courtship and marriage. The actual details recorded vary slightly from tribe to tribe, but in the main [184] features there is a considerable degree of uniformity.[4] The initiative lies as a rule in the hands of the prospective bridegroom. When he has found a suitable girl, he either himself or through an intermediary such as his best friend has to win the consent of her parents, above all of her mother, to whom he brings gifts in the form of game and vegetable foods, blankets, skins, beadwork, and so on. This period of courtship may last for a considerable time, often over a year or so. If no objection is taken to him, and his gifts are accepted, he after a 585 while simply takes the girl to his hut, and the marriage is regarded as settled. As a rule, this step is accompanied by a feast, in which the families and friends of both bride and bridegroom participate. Among the Northern and Namib Bushmen, indeed, it is obligatory on the bridegroom that he should kill a head of big game and present it to either the bride or her mother for the marriage feast. After marriage he also has to present his wife with a full woman's kaross, as well as other articles of clothing and ornaments, while she brings with her all her own property, mainly in the form of domestic utensils.

[1] Lebzelter says of the Kung: "Die Kinder der Vaterschwestern gelten als Vettern, unter ihnen ist die Ehe verboten. Dagegen sind die Kinder der Vaterbrüder Geschwister und man muss die Tochter des Vaterbruders heiraten, falls diese es verlangt" (op. cit., 14). This needs to be confirmed; it is at variance with the tendency to band exogamy noted among all the North-Western Bushmen, including the Kung.

[2] Passarge, op. cit., 101; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157, 158; Fourie, op. cit., 89, 91.

[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 33–4.

[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 504–5; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 258; Passarge, op. cit., 105; Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; Vedder, op. cit., 8; Dornan, op. cit., 124–8.

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taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own 591
//gaus his mother builds a hut for them."

A different form of marriage ceremony has been recorded for the 585
now extinct inhabitants of Basutoland and Orange Free State. Here, [184]
the consent of the bride having been obtained and also the approval of her parents, who received some kind of present, a day was fixed for the event. All the neighbours round about were invited to a feast. When they had all begun to make merry, the young man took the opportunity to seize the bride. This was the signal for her relatives to set upon him with their digging-sticks; they gave him a sound thrashing, and a general fight ensued. If the bridegroom managed to keep a tight hold through all this, the issue was decided, and he was a married man. If not, he would have to undergo a second ordeal some other time before he could again claim his bride.[1]

Among the North-Western Bushmen girls taken in war or found [727]
trespassing are also often held as wives by their captors.[2] Miss Bleek 583
indeed, says of the Naron that marriage is nominally by capture.[3] A young man wishing to marry comes with an older man to another village, ostensibly to pay a visit, and sits chatting, without mentioning his purpose. They look out for a good opportunity, and then carry off the girl to their own village. By this act she is married, whether she likes it or not. It seems, however, that talk about the marriage mostly precedes the "capture". "The mother thinks it proper to make a fuss, but if her objections are only for show, the men take no part in the matter, and the girl is led away, probably quite willingly, though etiquette demands some coyness. If, however, the mother really objects, thinks her daughter too young, or does not like the suitor, she rouses the men to action, and the would-be bridegroom and his friend have to depart." During Miss Bleek's stay at Sandfontein an attempt at real capture did occur, but the assailants were driven off in this way. In the old days, she adds, much fighting seems to have [721]
been caused by attempted capture; now fear of the white man tames [177]
down the affair.

Married Life

The relation between husband and wife in one of its aspects is [581]
sexual. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual intercourse 837

[1] Stow, op. cit., 96, quoting Miss L. C. Lemue; cf. Arbousset, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* (English trans., 1842), p. 351; Dorman, "Bushmen of Basutoland," 442.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 85.
[3] *Naron*, 33.

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when the wife is too old; she may then simply be sent back to her 586
people. Generally, however, she stays with her husband, who then
takes a second wife, younger and more active. The children of a [595]
divorced woman remain with their father, and are brought up by
his new wife.[1] Among the Heikum separation of husband and wife
may take place under various circumstances, as when the woman is
childless, but this, says Fourie, is entirely a matter for adjustment
between them. The wife on separation returns to her own group;
the present made to her mother at marriage is not returned to the
husband. The children are looked upon as belonging to the father,
but if husband and wife should separate the girls, according to Fourie,
are taken by the father and the sons by the mother.[2] This statement
runs counter to those given above about what happens in the other [114]
North-Western tribes under similar circumstances, and is almost
certainly inaccurate.

Among the Namib Bushmen divorce may result only from barrenness or adultery, and is at the discretion of the husband. If he decides to separate from his wife, he brings her back to her parents. The mature children remain with him, while the youngsters who have to go with their mother also come to him when grown up. After divorce both parties are at liberty to marry again as soon as they wish.[3]

Marriage is, of course, also dissolved by the death of either husband 587
or wife. As a rule the survivor may remarry. Among the Bushmen
of Basutoland, however, a widow is said to have found it difficult [589]
to get a second husband, owing perhaps, writes Arbousset,[4] to the [754]
popular belief that most of the deaths which occurred were due to [761]
witchcraft rather than disease. On the other hand, great attention
was paid to her in the camp, where no piece of game was ever eaten
without her having a share.

Further north this fear of marriage with a widow is not found. [184]
Among the Naron she may, if she likes, marry her late husband's
brother, but need not necessarily do so; she is quite at liberty to
marry another man. If she remarries, and if young enough most
widows do so, her new husband is expected to look after the children; [736]
otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. An unmarried
widow may stay near her late husband's people, or return to her own
group, as she pleases.[5] Widows among the Auen may also marry 587

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157.
[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 60.
[3] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505.
[4] Op. cit. (English trans.), 364.
[5] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 67.

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171 They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for
551 example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face, and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life."

853 Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable
[862] food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

847 This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide found among the North-Western tribes.[1] Sexual intercourse between the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save
[163] abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession during the course of married life, and it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the
[844] bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children of different ages, both needing the shelter of their kaross, and to be carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second or third child is usually weaned, the one or two born in the interval being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among
[184] the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality
[165] caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore
162 small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; Kaufmann, op. cit., 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31–2; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

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857 sleepy, and crawl on to the grass in the hut. No one sends them to bed.

So the children, during infancy and childhood, remain under the 593 tutelage and in the care of their parents. Once they are grown up, no one really controls them. The tie between parents and mature children is simply one of respect and love, but there is no lack of family affection. Grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives are also respected to some extent, according to character. Among 603 the Naron, grandparents, especially on the mother's side, take a great interest in their grandchildren, and often adopt one which has [597] been weaned, while among the Heikum orphans are generally adopted by the maternal grandparents. The grandmother is often [868] the person who teaches a child to speak. Between two sisters there is usually a close bond of affection, they are generally companions, 593 and help each other with their babies. In certain Cape Bushman tales the wife's unmarried sister is shown staying with her, as helper and nurse of the baby. On the other hand, among some of the North-Western tribes at least, there is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister speaking or sitting together. Here too, as in the case of the mother-in-law, the sitting and not the speaking appears to be the important part, for Miss Bleek records having heard an adult brother and sister address each other, while passing at a good distance.[1]

Girls' Puberty Ceremonies

881 The attainment of puberty is marked among all the Bushmen by the performance of certain ceremonies, through which the young people have to pass before being admitted to full membership of the group. Puberty ceremonies for girls are definitely found in all the [184] Bushman tribes, but corresponding ceremonies for boys appear to be restricted to the northern tribes. These ceremonies vary somewhat from tribe to tribe.

Among the Cape Bushmen a girl at the time of her first menstruation was in a state of taboo. "She is put into a tiny hut, made by her mother, with a very small aperture for the door, which her mother closes upon her. When she goes out, she looks down upon the ground; and when she returns to the hut, she sits and looks down. She does not go far, or walk about at this time. When presently she becomes a 'big girl', she is allowed to look about, and to look afar

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 59, 66–7; cf. *idem*, *Naron*, 32; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

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adolescent boys, who remain in the camp for the occasion, are 881
summoned to pass in single file behind her hut. As they pass, each
presses his scrotum against her hand, passed through a small opening [751]
made by her mother in the back of the hut, and she touches it with
forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the boys against
swelling of the testicles, which is believed to result from contact, [841]
direct or indirect, with a menstruating woman or anything associated
with her. After all the boys have filed past and returned to their hut,
an old woman enters the girl's hut and rubs down her body with a
preparation of roots. The girl is then ceremonially taken to fetch
first water and then wood, which she brings at a run and places at
the hut of the old woman who cleansed her. After these have been
deposited the ceremony is over. This fetching of water and wood,
together with the cleansing, no doubt symbolizes the return of the
girl to the normal occupations of her daily life.

She is now a woman eligible for marriage, she lives in a new hut 882
built for her by her mother, accompanies the married women in their
daily occupations, and associates with them. The food collected 883
by her during the four or five days following the ceremony is
eaten only by very old women, e.g. the one who rubbed her down.
After that any food she gathers is shared with her mother. On
subsequent menstrual periods she may not go into the veld to gather [841]
veldkos, but must remain in the camp, and is fed by her mother.

In many of its details this ceremony closely resembles the puberty 171
ceremony for girls among the Hottentots. There is a strong probability 881
that it may even have been taken over from the latter, by whom the
Heikum have unquestionably been influenced to a considerable
extent. At the same time, in the seclusion of the girl in a separate
hut, the avoidance of contact with men, and the performance of a
special dance, this ceremony also presents features noted in the
corresponding ceremonies of other Bushman tribes. The differences
apparent between it and the others may therefore be due merely to
the fact that it has been studied and recorded in much fuller detail.
Without further study of the other Bushman tribes no definite
assertion can be made on this point.

The puberty ceremony for girls among the !O Kung of Angola 184
differs in several important respects from those already noted. Every 304
girl, at her first menstruation, is placed in a separate hut, and kept 881
there until the new moon is seen. A dance is held in her honour on
the first nights; both sexes take part in this, but not the girl herself.

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184 304 881 During her seclusion a row of small parallel cuts, which are all blackened with ashes, is made on her face, or arms, or legs by her father or a male magician. Miss Bleek is convinced that these cuts are partly for ornament, but adds that there also appears to be a [776] religious element present, as one woman informant said that *//gäüa*, a supernatural personage, leads this dance, and that the cuts are made in his honour.[1] Both the scarifications and the presence of a supernatural being are foreign to the puberty ceremonies for girls in other Bushman tribes; but, as will be seen shortly, both occur (in somewhat different form) in the puberty ceremonies for boys among the North-Western tribes.

184 881 In all the ceremonies so far described, girls are required to pass through the rites individually as soon as they have their first period. Among the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, however, it appears from the very fragmentary data supplied by Dornan that girls are initiated in groups. The central feature of the ceremony, as described [304] by him, is an operation performed on each of the girls, which consists in the "perforation of the clitoris" (*sic*) with a stone knife, the operators being the older women.[2] If this information be correct, [177] we have here a ceremony in every way distinct from those of the other Bushmen, and one which can only be regarded as having been borrowed from the neighbouring BeChwana, whose puberty ceremonies for girls are of a somewhat similar nature.

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

881 Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after reaching the age of puberty, and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in hunting, especially in the pursuit of big game. Among the North-Western tribes this ceremony is carried out in a secluded spot in the bush, near which no woman may come.[3] Here all the eligible big boys from several neighbouring encampments are taken [756] by the old men, with a couple of magicians in charge; and here they remain for about a month, living together in a big hut or enclosure. During the first few days they are roughly handled and half-starved;

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122.
[2] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 159.
[3] Passarge, op. cit., 100–1; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23–5; *idem*, [114] "Buschmänner von Angola," 122; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 51; Fourie, op. cit., 91–2. Passarge states that the ceremony takes place during the dry season, i.e. at the coldest time of the year; Fourie, on the other hand, that it is always held during the rainy season, when food is plentiful. The other writers do not mention the time of year.

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at Sandfontein powdered acid roots are rubbed into the wounds to keep them from closing as they heal, but no colouring matter is applied; further east, however, according to Passarge, wood ash is rubbed in to make the wounds black. All men in the North-Western tribes have these cuts (see Frontispiece), which are supposed to make them "see well", i.e. to bring them good luck in hunting. After this operation the boys are permitted to return to the camp. They are now regarded as men, they can marry, and they take part in the councils of the men and associate with them. 304 881 [184] [224] 882

The rites described above appear to exist only in the North-Western tribes. There is no definite record of any puberty ceremonies for boys among the Southern Bushmen, and according to Miss Bleek the */nu//en*, one of the tribes falling in this division, distinctly denied that such ceremonies were held by them,[1] while in the same way their existence among the Namib Bushmen is emphatically denied by Trenk.[2] 84 881

It should be mentioned here, however, that from information obtained by Orpen from a member of the now extinct tribe of Basuto-land Bushmen it appears that there were certain dances connected with religious beliefs, the secrets of which were known only to the men initiated into them.[3] Campbell also records a dance of these Bushmen as described to him by an informant: "When the Bushmen dance, Ko (a deity) sometimes comes and informs them where game is to be procured; and when any animals are killed, certain parts of them may only be eaten by particular persons. She is a large, white figure, and sheds such a brightness around, that they can hardly see the fire for it; all see and hear her as she dances with them . . . They cannot feel what she is, but should a man be permitted to touch her, which seldom happens, she breathes hard upon his arm, and this makes him shoot better . . . After Ko comes up from the ground and dances a short time with them, she disappears, and is succeeded by her nymphs, who likewise dance a while with them."[4] The description of this dance at once reminds one of the puberty dances for boys among the North-Western Bushmen, where Huwe or Hishe also comes and dances with them, and there is the same suggestion that the ceremony is in some way connected with hunting; but there is nothing definite either in Campbell's account or in Orpen's to indicate that the dances referred to by them were in any way connected with puberty ceremonies for boys. 794 535 776 [881]

[1] *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 10.
[2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.
[3] "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Folk-Lore*, xxx, 142.
[4] Campbell, *Second Journey into South Africa*, ii, 31–2.

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304 881 The only other Bushman people among whom the occurrence of initiation rites for boys is definitely recorded are the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari. Here the main element seems to be circumcision. "The boys," according to Dornan,[1] "are operated on at the age of twelve years, all those of the same age being taken together once a year, as with them puberty comes on at an early age . . . (Then follows a description of the operation: the foreskin of the boy is seized by the operator, who pulls it forward over the gland as far as it will stretch, and then cuts it off close with one slash of a stone knife.) . . . They 881 are treated with considerable care for two or three weeks afterwards, and are fed upon meat . . . They are instructed in the traditional lore of the people, the religious observances and into the mysteries of generation. They are carefully informed that intercourse of [834] uncircumcized people is that of the beasts of the field, that in short it is fornication, as well as a good deal that will not bear to be put into print."

114 Although, as already mentioned, Dornan regards circumcision as an original Bushman custom, there can be little doubt that the 304 Hiechware have taken it over from the BeChwana among whom they 177 live. They are the only Bushman people among whom this practice is 184 asserted to occur, while its absence from other Bushman tribes is explicitly affirmed by all writers. Consequently the puberty rites in the form described by Dornan must be regarded as introduced elements of culture. It is conceivable that the boys' puberty rites among the North-Western tribes should also be attributed to Bantu influence, since nothing similar to them appears to exist in the south. But in several of their details, especially in the introduction of the tribal deities and in the form of mutilation these rites differ considerably from the corresponding rites of the neighbouring South-Western and South-Central Bantu, while on the other hand they are intimately connected with both the economic activities and the religious beliefs of the Bushmen. It is difficult therefore to imagine their having been borrowed, unless it is conceded that they have undergone considerable modification in the process of adaptation. But whether borrowed or not—and the possibility of borrowing, although difficult to establish, is not entirely eliminated—these rites clearly separate the North-Western tribes from their Southern relatives in at least one important feature of culture.

[1] Op. cit., 158–60.

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411 is turned into the shaft; for shooting, the head is reversed, so that the rounded end is turned in and the poisoned end projects. In a more complex form based on the same principle, the head consists of two separate pieces of bone connected by a small link shaft or section of reed; the one piece is blunted at the tip, the other pointed and poisoned. Both pieces fit into the hollow of the main shaft of reed, and when the arrow is not required for use the blunted piece forms the projecting end of the head while the poisoned piece is in the shaft, but for shooting the head is reversed. This extremely interesting type [184] seems to be restricted in occurrence to these Bushman tribes, and is obviously directly correlated with the employment of poison as the effective agent of the arrow.

The tribes further north, such as the Northern Kung, the Heikum 411 and the IO Kung of Angola, nowadays generally use arrows with 171 feathered wooden shafts and iron points only. These resemble in type the arrows of the neighbouring Bantu peoples, and may have been imitated from them.

All these arrows are rather fragile, and can never seriously wound any animal which they strike. For their effect reliance is placed upon the poisonous mixtures dotted or smeared over their points.[1] Many 278 ingredients of different kinds are used in these mixtures, the more common being the vegetable juices of *Acokanthera venenata*, *Haemanthus toxicarius* (*Amaryllis disticha*), and various species of *Euphorbia*; the venom of the larger poisonous snakes, such as the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*) and the cobra (*Naia haje*); the beetle *Cladocera nigro-ornata*; the "baviaan spinnekop" or trapdoor spider; and the "klip-gift" or "rock poison" (probably a form of arsenic). Not all of these are in use among the Bushmen as a whole. 184 There appears rather to be a fairly definite distribution of the various 278 mixtures, dependent upon the substances available in the different localities; and probably each tribe of Bushmen has its own particular formula, although this cannot be asserted definitely. For general purposes we may distinguish three main types of arrow poison: the Namib Bushmen and those of the north-west districts of the Cape use a purely vegetable poison; the Southern Bushmen generally and some other tribes, such as the Hiechware and the Kung, use a

[1] A comprehensive survey of the earlier literature on the subject is given by Schapera, "Bushman Arrow Poisons," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1923), 199–214. Two more recent papers of importance are: Hall and Whitehead, "A Pharmaco-Bacteriologic Study of African Poisoned Arrows," *J. Infectious Diseases*, xli (1927), 51–69; and Waterston, "The Bushman's Arrow-Poison Beetle," *Natural History Magazine*, ii (1929), 74–89.

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mixture of animal and vegetable poisons, the ingredients most frequently employed being snake poison and amaryllis juice (*Haemanthus toxicarius*); while most of the Kalahari tribes derive their arrow poison from the grub or chrysalis of the *Cladocera* beetle. 278 [184]

The method of preparing the second type of poison is to cut off the head of the snake, extract the poison sacs, dry them and pound them into a dust. This is then placed in a piece of ostrich egg-shell or the breastbone of an ostrich, and the vegetable juice being poured in the mixture is stirred with a piece of bone or stick. It is then boiled until it acquires the requisite degree of consistency, usually that of a thick jelly, brownish-red in colour. Where a purely vegetable substance is used, as in the case of the *Acokanthera* shrub, the method of preparation differs but slightly. The wood of the shrub is pounded into rough powder, which is put into a clay pot and boiled for some time. A lid is kept on, as the fumes are noxious, but the liquid is stirred occasionally. After a while the wood is taken out and the remainder allowed to simmer until it is reduced to a cupful of glutinous liquid. This is then taken to a *Euphorbia* tree, and mixed with the fresh milky sap drawn from its stem. The poison, a brownish substance similar in appearance to beeswax, is now ready for use. It is generally worked up into a lump, which when not wanted immediately is carried about, wrapped up in a bit of skin, in the long bag which every Bushman has. When the poison is required, the lump is heated in a bit of tortoise-shell, and the melted portion either smeared on the arrow-head with a brush of wood or bone, or else, as was the custom with the Cape Bushmen, placed in a "poison stone", a smooth flat pebble with a deep groove down the middle. The part of the arrow to be anointed is pressed down upon this and worked round and round until the poison coating has acquired the proper shape. If possible the poison is never touched with the fingers, and great care is taken that none adheres to the hands or nails during the process.

The insect *Cladocera nigro-ornata* which forms the main ingredient in the arrow poison of the Kalahari Bushmen is a small reddish-brown beetle which in early spring frequents certain bushes (*Commiphora dinteri Engl.*), and hatches its eggs on the branches. The grubs come out in summer, eat the leaves of the bushes and crawl into the sand beneath them, where they form cocoons. "In both these stages they are used as poison, but the cocoon is preferred. It is dried in the sun and can then be kept for some time and is easily [136]

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out by the hunter, who, however, keeps the skin, sinews, etc., for himself. 224

The Cape Bushmen occasionally dressed themselves up in the skin of an animal or in the feathers of an ostrich in order to approach the game unsuspected. A kind of saddle made of grass in which were stuck ostrich feathers was placed on the shoulders, while a long stick with the head curved to look like an ostrich was carried in the hand. The hunter by imitating the motions of the bird feeding, running or preening its feathers contrived to get as close to the flock as possible, always moving up wind, before discharging his poisoned arrow. In a well-known rock painting from Herschel reproduced by Stow[1] there is portrayed such a scene, in which the hunter is shown under the feathers of an ostrich, cautiously approaching, with poised arrow, a number of real ostriches who are feeding peacefully close by. Similar disguises are employed by the Namib Bushmen, but appear to be generally unknown among the tribes further north, although the ostrich disguise is reported by Dornan of the Hiechware and on hearsay by Kaufmann of the Auen. Various other ruses are known, however. Some men are very clever at imitating the calls of various birds and animals and by this means get quite close and thus secure their quarry. Again, "in the season when the young animals are not able to follow their dams, they are hidden by the mothers, who feed in the vicinity. The Bushmen having found where a young one is hidden, will go close up to it and imitate its cry. The mother, hearing the cry and thinking that some wild animal has attacked her calf, immediately rushes up to protect it, and is easily killed. Numbers of animals, more especially the smaller buck, are destroyed in this manner."[2]

223 825 [292] [532] [184] 224 825

Almost every Bushman village has also a large number of dogs which accompany their masters on the hunt.[3] These are the only domestic animals possessed by the Bushmen. They are lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half-starved and savage-tempered. They are quite silent on the spoor and never betray the presence of the hunters by barking, though they will snarl and sometimes bark if one approaches an encampment. "It is really wonderful," says Herbst, "with what courage these lean mongrels will tackle a leopard, a courage no doubt begotten of hunger and an absolute confidence in their masters, who, with their knobkerries, are never far behind so

224 [231]

[1] Stow, op. cit., pl. vii, facing p. 82.
[2] Dornan, op. cit., 305; cf. Kaufmann, op. cit., 146.
[3] Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 262–3; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Herbst, *Report on Riietfontein Area*, 6; Range, *Beiträge zur Landeskunde des Namalandes*, 73; Schultze, op. cit., 667; Dornan, op. cit., 103–4; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 16.

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Another method of trapping employed by the Bushmen of the Namib and of the North-West Cape was to poison the water in springs and so kill the game that came to drink there. The water was conducted a few yards from the spring into a specially-prepared pit, into which were thrown branches of the poisonous *Euphorbia*. The branches were kept down with stones, and the juice exuding from them rested like a scum on the water. The spring itself was fenced off or covered over, thus forcing the animals to drink from the pit. Zebras and other members of the equine species were especially susceptible to water poisoned in this way. Alexander states that near the River Keisu in South-West Africa he found the remains of no less than twenty horses lying close to such a poisoned waterhole.[1] 224 [278]

Traps proper as employed by the modern Bushmen are of two kinds. In one a stone or block of wood is placed in such a position that when the animal touches the exposed bait, the suspended weight falls down upon it. The other kind consists in snares (Plate XI), which are widespread among the Northern Bushmen, but do not appear ever to have been used by the Southern tribes. They are of various types, but the general principle is that a supple twig or sapling is bent down by means of a cord attached to a bait and ending in a noose. If the animal stirs the bait, the cord is released, the sapling springs back into the air, and the noose catches the throat or leg of the animal, which is carried up with it. In this way are caught not only birds and small quadrupeds, such as hares, wild cats, and jackals, but even small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, as well as leopards and ostriches. Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season; in the rainy season it must cease owing to the action of the damp on the cord. This is made from the bark fibre of *Sansevieria zeylanica*, which is shredded by means of a pointed stick, then rolled on the thigh into strands, which are twisted together. Thicker and thinner cords are made according to the game to be trapped.[2] [184] [221] [283]

Fishing

This is also practised wherever possible by all the Bushmen; indeed, among the tribes living in the Okavango swamps it is even 226

[1] Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, ii, 223; Paterson, *Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots*, 169; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167. Moffat describes how on one occasion he nearly died as a result of drinking water poisoned in this way (*Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 155–6).

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 667; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 77; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 199 sq.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 15.

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of boys at the puberty ceremonies are also said to have the function of making them "see better" in hunting.[1] Seydel briefly mentions the existence of similar practices among the Namib Bushmen. Cuts are made on the forehead or upper arm of a man in order that he may have better fortune in hunting. These cuts are made by a near relative of his, such as father, brother, or wife, and are given only to adults.[2] 224 304

There is no record of such scarifications among the Cape Bushmen, although here also a well-developed ritual existed in connection with hunting life. Unfortunately, only fragments of this have been recorded. They show that there were certain special precautions to be observed before going out on the hunt, and especially during that critical period when the game has been wounded but not yet taken. Thus, when an animal has been wounded, the flesh of the swift springbok may not be eaten by the hunter, as this would give strength to the movements of the wounded buck; he should rather eat the flesh of a slow-moving animal, especially of such as would strengthen the action of the poison. The moon must not be looked upon when following the spoor, lest the animal run too far—a belief also held by the Naron. The hunter's shadow, again, must not be allowed to fall upon game which lies dying; certain (unspecified) rules have to be observed when an eland has been shot; the bones of the dead animal must be treated in a certain way; Bushman girls perform special ceremonies, in order that their father's dogs may hunt well, while certain cuts must be made upon the bow when a baboon or hyena has been killed. Unfortunate shots are believed to be due to such causes as the children at home playing on a man's bed, and are also ascribed to the remissness of wives, while there even appears to be a belief that unsuccessful hunting may forebode evil to the hunter. Also it is held that after the death of a companion the hunters will be unlucky in springbok hunting, and certain (unspecified) remedial measures are resorted to.[3] [184] 224 [114]

Beliefs of a somewhat similar nature are found among the Heikum. As we have already seen, the meat of an animal killed with the bow and arrow is subject to minutely-prescribed rules of division and preparation. Moreover, a man who shoots an eland or giraffe must, on

[1] Chapman, op. cit., i, 56, 76, 81, 159; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 246; Passarge, op. cit., 108–9; Vedder, op. cit., 9; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 50, 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 114–15; *idem*, *Naron*, 11.

[2] "Aus der Namib," 505.

[3] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 19; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15–16, 19, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 66 sqq., 270 sqq.

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nowadays the thing is done in a haphazard manner, and generally passes as an accident. 222 [224] [311]

The collection of veldkos is done by both men and women; but whereas with the former it is incidental to their hunting, the latter are collectors only, and set out every day, usually in company, to go over several miles of land. The digging-sticks they use are from 3 to 4 feet long, and consist of pieces of hard wood, pointed at one end. In the south, where the veld is hard, and in the mountainous parts of the east these sticks were sometimes tipped with a buck's horn and weighted by means of a perforated stone ball passed over their lower end and wedged in (Plate IX); but in the Kalahari, where there is only sand to cope with, this is never found. The foods gathered are chiefly roots, bulbs, ground nuts, berries, melons, and, in fact, anything at all edible, the food naturally varying with the season of the year. At the same time, the women also catch all sorts of small animals which they come across—iguanas, tortoises, frogs, locusts, flying ants, etc.—and they gather dry sticks for the evening fire. [462] [412] [184]

Among the Heikum the following ceremony is observed in connection with the gathering of veldkos by the women. "It is practised," says Fourie,[1] "when the fruit of the */huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the */huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gaus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women to the *//gaus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the */heis*. Her husband now kindles the */hei-/ais*, and, after having applied */norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it." There is no known name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called */gao-ei-/un*. The ceremony in this form is not found in any of the other Bushman tribes, but is met with also in slightly different form among the Bergdama. The possibility of borrowing must therefore again be kept in mind; but, whether borrowed or not, the ceremony is of importance as indicating the development of a special ritual in connection with one of the principal sources of food supply. 222 622 [184] [171]

[1] "Customs of the Hai-//om," 56–7; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W.A." 98–9.

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222 622 [184] A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to [782] [539] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the [462] [857] women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in [415] ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be [237] plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 182 The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the [221] migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have [621] seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

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Division of Labour

In the manufacture of these different utensils, implements, and garments, as well as in the collection of food, there is no division of labour within the band save as between the two sexes. Every man is expected to be able to hunt, to make bows and arrows, and to do all the other things that are done by men; and in the same way every woman is expected to do the work recognized as pertaining to women. Some women, it is true, are more clever and industrious than others in making beads, some men better at hunting or at twisting rope and boring pipes, but all know how these things are done and none devotes his life to any one of them exclusively. The only special occupation is that of the magician, who in addition to having religious and magical functions is also the physician, but otherwise even he lives and works as do the rest, getting a few presents for his occasional services. 462 [463] [756]

The division of labour between the sexes is clearly marked. A man hunts and snares game, fishes, collects veldkos as the opportunity arises while he is out hunting, prepares skins, makes the clothing for himself and his family, makes his own weapons, arrow-poison, firesticks, and other implements, twists rope, manufactures the larger wooden vessels and other utensils, makes fire, and occasionally assists the women in fetching wood and water. A woman builds the hut for her family, gathers veldkos and prepares the food, fetches wood and water, maintains the fire, makes her own ornaments, and is also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Among the Auen the beginnings of specialized labour are found in that certain men work in iron, i.e. make spear and arrow heads and other implements out of any pieces of iron they can obtain. The production of raw iron from the ore is unknown to all the Bushmen, who, as a rule, obtain whatever iron they use by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples. Among the !O Kung of Angola a further division of labour was found by Miss Bleek in a group at Rusembu, where only the good shots went hunting, while other men worked in iron, and another appeared to be the trader and honey gatherer.[1] But specialization of this kind is quite exceptional in Bushman life. 184 463 [326] [439]

Trade

Although the Bushmen are thus able to draw from the resources of their environment almost everything they really need, economically 177 439

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 153; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55.

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177 439 they are no longer self-sufficient. Contact with other peoples has made them familiar with various articles, especially iron and tobacco, which they now covet very greatly and in order to obtain which they carry on an extensive system of barter. Even within the band itself [437] there is a good deal of barter in such things as meat, clothing, veldkos, and utensils. Berries and roots, for example, are exchanged for tobacco or beads, skin bags for poisoned arrows, and so on. Trading [484] visits to other bands are also frequent. But the most common form of barter is with peoples of other races, especially the Bantu.

439 The !O Kung of Angola, unlike all the other Bushmen, do not go out into the veld to collect vegetable foods. These are obtained by [184] barter. The younger men hunt, and trade part of the meat and skins [222] obtained for the cereals, maize, potatoes, manioc, etc., of the Bantu among whom they live. Honey and wax are also collected and traded, sometimes with the Bantu for food and tobacco, now and again to Europeans for powder and cartridges. Wax is a good article of trade with Portuguese traders, and the Bushmen are therefore assiduous in collecting it. Besides foodstuffs they also obtain pots and baskets from the Bantu, as well as metal wares such as knives, arrow and spear heads, and beads.[1]

The Bushmen of the Okavango swamps, again, trade ostrich egg-shell beads, ivory, ostrich feathers, skins and horns with the inter-dwelling Bantu in return for tobacco and dagga, as well as iron and such iron goods as spear heads, hoes, and knives; while the Namib Bushmen exchange similar objects with Hottentots and Europeans for blankets, knives, tobacco, and coffee.[2]

Among the North-Western tribes there is a whole system of trade 438 relations between different tribes, extending from the Okavango in the north down almost to the Molopo.[3] In this the Naron and the Auen play the part of intermediaries, obtaining from the tribes further north the objects they desire, and then bartering them again further south as occasion arises. Egg-shell beads and tobacco are standard [436] articles in this trade, in the sense that they can always be bartered and may even be said to have a fixed value. From the Naron the Auen 438 procure skin garments and bags, for the making of which the former 439 are famous, giving them in return wooden pots, dishes, and spoons

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 32–3; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 108.
[2] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland," 701; *idem*, *Die Buschmänner*, 118–19; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.
[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, loc. cit.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 152–3; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37–8.

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554 887 band, such as migrations and hunting parties, appear rather to be regulated by the skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men generally.[1]

Among the North-Western tribes, on the other hand, where the 622 bands are on the whole more considerable in size, each band has a [184] recognized chief (*//exa* or *//exaba*, *gao-aob* or *gei-khoib*; the last two [192] words are of Hottentot origin).[2] The office is as a rule hereditary in the male line, descending from father to son, or, failing such, to the nearest male relative. The heir succeeds only when he attains maturity, i.e. when he has passed through the puberty ceremonies and has killed his first head of big game. During his minority there is no regency—things just go on, as Kaufmann says. Among the Heikum and the Kung, however, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds. This [184] rule of succession is so much at variance with what we know of the [171] other North-Western Bushmen, and even of the structure of the band in the two tribes mentioned, that, if the information be correct, the practice can only be regarded as due to the influence of the neighbouring OvaMbo, who are definitely organized on a matrilineal [611] basis. There is no other instance of matrilineal succession among the Bushmen.

No tribute or services are rendered to the chief, nor are there any special signs of chieftainship, such as a particular dress or mode of life. We are told by Miss Bleek that Naron chiefs mostly have two [595] wives, but whether this is in any way associated with their status is not made clear. The main functions of the chief apparently are to direct the movements of the people from place to place and to allocate the work for the day, to order the burning of the veld, and, in particular, to lead in war. Among the Heikum we also know that in him are vested certain other functions the performance of which is of vital importance to the welfare of the community. He alone, as we have seen, "is able to bring forth from fire the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune." The various beliefs and practices centring in the first fire kindled by him at every new encampment, while fully demonstrating the importance of this fire in the social life of the people, at the same time also reflect his religious significance and emphasize the dependence of the community upon him in this aspect of their life. He also, as we have

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109; Trenk, op. cit., 170; Seydel, op. cit., 304.

[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 154; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36–7; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 86–8; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 14.

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previously noted, plays an important part in the usages relating to game shot with the bow and arrow, as well as in the first-fruits ceremony; while among the Kung he is similarly responsible for the ceremony performed before the edible bulbs of the new season may be gathered. There is no record of similar religious and economic functions being vested in the chief in other Bushman tribes, so that, in the present light of our knowledge, such customs cannot be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture; but in the tribes where they do occur they obviously show that the chief may, in fact, exercise a considerable influence in the life of the community. 622 [184]

On the whole the chief appears to be essentially a leader rather than a ruler. His actual authority over the members of his band is very slight, and dependent to a considerable extent upon his personality. If, for example, he is a man of strong character, or possesses a gun, he will have a correspondingly greater influence; but the only special authority he has is over the members of his own family, and he has no power to enforce his will outside it. He has nothing in the way of judicial functions, nor does he exercise any organized control over the members of the band. Great freedom of action prevails within the band, and as a rule every adult man can do as he pleases, provided, of course, that he does not infringe against recognized law and custom. In general the head of each family has control over the movements of his wife or wives and children—and over the latter only while they are small. No one really controls grown-up sons and daughters. [157] [593]

This absence of any organized system of public control does not imply that the Bushmen have no laws. On the contrary all their institutions, manners and customs serve to regulate the relations between the members of the band, and thus to maintain law and order. The child at birth comes into a world where there already exist definite forms of organization and behaviour, of ceremonial, of manners and fashions, and as he grows up he falls more or less unconsciously into acting and thinking like those around him, and in this way comes to conform to social norms. There are moreover more or less deliberate means of impressing upon young people the social sentiments necessary for the maintenance of the law and order of the community. The education they receive in the households of their parents and out in the veld, and above all the highly-important teachings at the puberty ceremonies for boys, instruct them in tribal lore and tradition, inculcate social norms, and determine their activities accordingly. 183 867 [881]

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among the Namib Bushmen the victim may take back not only the stolen property, but also all the thief's possessions. That blood vengeance is actually exercised in case of theft appears from the following incident recorded by Miss Bleek. An Auen man had a good deal of tobacco, most of which he hid in a tree. Returning later he found the tobacco gone, and human footprints round the tree. He followed the spoor to one of a cluster of huts, where he saw a Bushman sitting at the fire cutting the stolen tobacco. Although he had only a spear with him, he darted up and stabbed the thief to death. The man's wife, intervening, was also stabbed. Then the assailant tried to escape, but was shot in the side by a poisoned arrow from the group round the next fire. He succeeded in reaching his home, but died of the poison a few days later. Similarly, in the waterless regions of the Namib Desert, men on the hunt often store up supplies of water in ostrich egg-shells and also of meat. Another person coming upon this supply may take from it, but must follow the spoor of the owner, tell him about it, and recompense him. If this is not done the owner, when he discovers the loss, will follow the spoor of the thief until he finds him and will then kill him if he can.

Here, according to Trenk, homicide in case of theft and adultery is apparently not regarded as murder, but as punishment, and the relatives of the deceased may not take blood vengeance. But, as shown in the instance quoted from Miss Bleek, among other Bushmen homicide, whether deliberate or accidental, leads inevitably to blood vengeance, the relatives of the dead man combining to kill the murderer. This appears also from another instance recorded by Knudsen.[1] A Bushman, not far from Bethanie in South-West Africa, shot another in the leg with an arrow during a honey beer drinking-bout. The wounded man revenged himself on the spot by shooting his assailant in the heart and killing him. The dead man's brother pursued the killer, who fled, but could not overtake him, and so returned to the camp, where he met the man's wife carrying a child. He tore it from her, threw it up in the air and caught it on the point of his spear. The mother saved herself by fleeing, but two other women

still living, she may be handed over to them and they all have to leave the camp. Should the father be dead and the mother alive, the thief is still taken and given back to the latter, after the stolen property has been recovered. But, if she is an old offender, the mother is said to give her, through a son, to another person, to be burned to death. These facts, obtained from a single young informant, need, however, to be confirmed. The deliberate burning to death of people, for whatever reason, is not reported of any of the other Bushmen.

[1] Quoted in Moritz, "Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Deutsch-Südwestafrika," *Mitt. deutz. Schutzgeb.*, xxix (1916), 154.

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627 related to the homicide were killed by the brother. What happened
682 afterwards we are not told, but judging from what is known of blood revenge among the Bushmen it is hardly likely that the matter was allowed to rest there.

Among the Auen, for example, a son is obliged to exact blood
628 vengeance on the slayer of his father, a brother for his brother. If
682 the slayer himself is dead or out of reach, the feud extends to his nearest male relative. A son whose father has been killed is obliged to undertake vengeance as soon as he is grown up. His mother impresses this obligation upon him during his childhood, and as soon as he has caught his first head of big game the obligation must be carried out. He applies to his nearest relatives for help, which is given without question. In the same way whoever has to fear blood vengeance is supported by his relatives and the members of his band. Not only
[562] men but women also may become the objects of the blood feud, although as a rule the latter are taken and held as wives by their captors. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen the slayer is killed by the relatives of the dead man. All the male members of the latter's family combine to revenge his death; an arrow is shot at the slayer, and if this does not immediately kill him he is beaten to death with the kirri. Murderesses are also killed in this manner; but otherwise
[562] women, even for such serious offences as theft and adultery, are only punished by thrashing, although this may sometimes be very severely administered.

We are not told whether the killing of the slayer or his substitute leads to the cessation of the feud, but from an instance quoted by Kaufmann it apparently does not. An old Auen man from Olifantskloof was visiting a brother-in-law at Sidonitsaub. The host put out a snare, in which he caught a giant bustard. This was found by the guest, who took it out of the snare and began to consume it. While he was doing so, the host came up and observing the theft pierced him through the body with a spear. The slayer then fled, but was pursued by the relatives of the dead man and killed. Since then a blood feud has existed between these two bands, connected though they were by marriage.

The only exception to this general rule of self-help is recorded by
[184] Seydel of the Namib Bushmen.[1] He states, it is true, that in case of
622 minor offences self-help is frequently resorted to, but adds that all
692 serious offences are formally adjudicated. The court consists of one

[1] Seydel, op. cit., 303–6.

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judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury 622
resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. 692
The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a [695]
decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band.
Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the 681
relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kirri or by stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property, assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but self-defence is in no way penalized.

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is 114
difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these 692
Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is 681
no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama [171]
Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, [184]
to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the other Bushman tribes.

Relations with Other Bands

619
Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting 621
territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married [591]
man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also [574]
frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from [438]
one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also find the members of several different bands assembled together for a while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

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628 Naron, or the Auen and the !Ginkwe. This does not extend to the whole tribe, but only to the bands concerned. The Naron at Sandfontein, in the same way, were also hostile to the /nu//en in the south as well as to the Auen in the north; trespass and wife-stealing led to many fights between them.

628 726 701 [622] [887] [411] Fights between opposing bands are therefore by no means unusual, but the extent of each campaign is small.[1] The chiefs have general command in war, but their authority is scarcely greater than in peace, where, as we have seen, it is but slight. The older men with experience naturally have an influence corresponding to their knowledge and ability. Every man and youth takes part in a campaign, the weapons used being the ordinary hunting bow and arrow as well as the spear. The magician also fights, but without any special authority or functions. We have no eyewitness account of any such campaigns, but Kaufmann gives a description, obtained from a "trustworthy Kafir informant", which may serve to convey some idea of their nature. Among the Auen there is no formal declaration of war, but when a man wears a cap of aardwolf (*Proteles cristatus*) skin, then he is on the warpath. Several friendly villages came together and decided to attack another village. The war caps were put on, and after sunset the men marched in the direction of the enemy village. In the neighbourhood of the latter a halt was made and without lighting a fire, although it was the cold time of the year, they waited until the morning. After sunrise, when it was somewhat warmer, the village was surrounded and attacked from all sides, the spear being chiefly used. There was loud shouting and calling, but no special war cry; and in general everybody fought as he pleased.

628 721 628 726

628 727 If possible, all men are killed, and also boys, for fear of the blood feud. Women are never killed intentionally, but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women and girls are made captive and taken in marriage. All objects that can be used are also taken away, but the huts are not regarded as worth the burning. Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, the victors will under no circumstances deprive the vanquished of their territory or even occupy it, lest harm and disaster overtake them; on the other hand among the Kung, as already mentioned, disputes over the possession of land are among the prime causes of war. What happens to the land of the defeated group in other tribes is not stated. The

[184] [721]

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, op. cit., 85.

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spirit remains active about the place, and they do not want to offend it."[1] 775 769

The conflicting accounts of Dornan's informants as to the fate of the dead can be harmonized if we assume, in the light of Lebzelter's statements about the Kung and the Heikum, that these Eastern Kalahari Bushmen also distinguish between the soul and the ghost; but since there is nothing in Dornan's remarks to indicate definitely the existence of such a distinction, the assumption here made must be regarded as purely speculative. It will be noticed, further, that he describes here the practice of throwing a small stone on the grave in order to appease the spirit of the dead person. This practice, as we have already noted, has sometimes been said to exist among the Southern Bushmen also. Unfortunately it is not always possible to determine how far Dornan has recorded what are actually his own observations, for much in his book has obviously been inspired by the accounts of earlier writers on the Bushmen generally. What he has to say here must therefore also be received with caution, and cannot without further inquiry be accepted as an independent confirmation. 114 775 769 [184]

It appears on the whole that, among all the Bushmen, people are believed to continue their existence after death, sometimes in their own form, sometimes in another form, and may even manifest themselves to the living. There is also a vague, ill-defined fear of the dead person's haunting the living, but it would seem that as a rule no great harm is expected from this, although, as we shall see later, most of the North-Western tribes attribute sickness to the spirits of the dead. Another fact that emerges very prominently is the apparent absence of any organized cult of the dead as such—there seems to be nothing in the way of ancestor-worship, nor of any other form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated. The only concrete mention there is of dead people being prayed to refers to the Cape Bushmen. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that his father asked a certain dead magician for rain, which speedily followed; while another mentioned a prayer addressed by his mother to a dead magician who had power over game, in order that her husband's hunting might prove more fortunate.[2] The details given in both instances are too scanty to afford much basis for speculation, but can hardly be interpreted as implying more than that in certain cases dead magicians would be 775 [753] [769] 114 184 769 789

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 147–8. [2] *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 22.

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114 184 769 789 [775] asked to make use of the special powers they had possessed in life and apparently still retained, just as they would be approached when alive. The main conclusion to be drawn, in fact, is that these Bushmen do not regard dead people as wholly severed from the world of the living. There is certainly nothing here to warrant the assumption of any regular organized worship of the dead.

Worship of Heavenly Bodies

782 821 [794] Religious cult among the Cape Bushmen centres largely in the worship of the Heavenly Bodies, and especially of the Moon. Prayers directed by them to the Moon have been recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd, but unfortunately the details given are far too [114] scanty to throw much light upon the nature of the worship. One account, indeed, indicates that when the New Moon first appears every man prays to it, and Orpen also mentions having seen Bushmen throw sand in the air and shout out on seeing the crescent moon when it first appeared, but there is nothing else to suggest any special form of rite. The prayers themselves are chiefly prayers for food, and one of them, just lately published by Miss Bleek,[1] may be quoted as illustrating the form of invocation. It is spoken with raised right hand :—

539 782 821

Ho, my hand is this,
I shoot a springbok with my hand
By an arrow.

I lie down,
I will early kill a springbok
To-morrow.

Ho, Moon lying there,
Let me kill a springbok
To-morrow,
Let me eat a springbok;
With this arrow
Let me shoot a springbok
With this arrow;
Let me eat a springbok,
Let me eat filling my body
In the night which is here,
Let me fill my body.

Ho Moon lying there,
I dig out ants' food
To-morrow,
Let me eat it.

Ho Moon lying there,
I kill an ostrich to-morrow
With this arrow.

[1] "Bushman Folklore," *Africa*, ii (1929), 306.

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and make the heavens the theatre of numberless poetically-conceived 773
histories"—in which, as the texts obtained by him show, Bushman 821
mythology is extremely rich.[1]

The selections so far published from these texts are too few to 821
enable us to determine anything more about the nature of the worship 771
directed to these heavenly bodies, and especially about the ceremonies associated with them; but that such worship did actually exist is evident from the facts recorded above.

There is no mention of similar prayers among the Namib Bushmen, 776
but then no information at all is available about their ideas relating 782
to the heavenly bodies. Among the tribes further north we again 821
meet with moon worship. Both Naron and Auen still worship the [184]
Moon. They regard it as an old man, the Sun as a young girl, who is his wife. First the Moon pursues the Sun across the sky, later the Sun follows the Moon. They go down to their houses below the horizon in the west, then fly back at night across the earth to their houses in the east. They can be heard passing, but are not seen. The New Moon, when it appears, is invoked by the magicians, two of whom, man and woman, sit on the ground together, holding their hands out palms upward towards it, and say: "Give us rain that we [789]
may live." This worship of the Moon has penetrated into modern ideas also, for most of the people think that since the Moon is in the [177]
sky and the God (*!khuba*) the white men and Nama speak of is also in the sky, therefore God is the Moon. Their ancestors used also to pray to certain stars, particularly the morning star and the Southern Cross; but these prayers, says Miss Bleek, are memories of long ago, whereas the moon worship is continued to-day by young as well as old.[2]

A prayer to the New Moon for food, given in the eighties of last 821
century by a Kung youth from near Lake Ngami, is also recorded [782]
in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd[3]; but according to Lebzelter [178]
there is nowadays no trace at all among the Kung of either sun or 773
moon worship. The sun is regarded as a woman, the moon as a man, 821
who originally lived upon earth and were carried about on the shoulders of people; but the latter became tired of their burdens

[1] Bleek, "Resemblances in Bushman and Australian Mythology," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, Feb., 1874, 101–2; *idem*, *Bushman Texts*, 10–12, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 8, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 72–99 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Folklore," 304, 307.
[2] *Naron*, 26–7.
[3] *Bushman Folklore*, 414–15.

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821 [773] and left them lying alone, whereupon they ascended to the sky. This story, adds Lebzelter, is not believed in at all by the people, who told it to him with great laughter.[1]

Other prayers to the New Moon are found, however, among the [782] IO Kung in Angola. Miss Bleek describes a dance seen by her, [535] in which the women and girls stood in a group on one side singing and clapping their hands, while the men, singing also but not clapping, were in an irregular group on the other side, wriggling their whole bodies but otherwise hardly moving. The song accompanying this dance was a repetition of the words :—

[539]

//nwa-se //kalama //gu a i-i,	New Moon, come out, give water to us,
//nwa-se tasana //gu a i-i,	New Moon, thunder down water for us,
//nwa-se tala u //gu a i-i,	New Moon, shake down water for us.

Here also, as among the Naron and Auen, the Moon is therefore looked upon as the raingiver, and is prayed to as such—and rain, it must be remembered, makes the plants grow which feed the buck, hence it provides both vegetable and animal food. The New Moon is said to be either a child or a man, while the Full Moon is a woman. This distinction Miss Bleek interprets in the light of the difference in form presented by these two aspects of the Moon. In Naron and [193] Nama the masculine and feminine endings are given to the same [196] roots to denote respectively strong, tall, slender things and weak, short, round things. So here the New Moon may be called a man, because of its slenderness, the Full Moon a woman because of its round shape. The Moon is also held to be the elder sister, the sun the younger ; but apparently there are no special practices or beliefs regarding the latter, although one of Miss Bleek's informants said : " We sing to the Sun and the Stars as well as the Moon." No prayers [782] to the former are recorded, however.[2]

The only other Bushmen of whose ideas relating to the heavenly bodies we have information are the Hiechware. Dornan states that ● [184] he was unable to discover among them any special ceremonies connected with the sun and the moon, but that they certainly do reverence these bodies, although seeming to dread them more than anything else. They think they must keep on good terms with the sun and the moon if they are to be successful in hunting or anything [782] else they undertake. He could not, however, discover any prayers

[1] Religiösen Vorstellungen der *//Khun*-Buschmänner," 401 ; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh Buschleuten " 13.

[2] " Buschmänner von Angola," 53 ; *idem*, " Bushmen of Central Angola," 119–20, 122, 124.

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or other worship directed to these bodies.[1] How far the absence 821
of moon worship must be attributed to the fact that these Bushmen [782]
have long been exposed to Bantu influence is difficult to say. In [177]
view of the comparative evidence afforded by the other Bushman tribes, however, as well as the fact that the Hiechware have certainly been considerably influenced by the BeChwana, this seems the most reasonable suggestion; although, as already noted, Dornan cannot [114]
be regarded as a fully reliable authority.

The evidence on the whole shows quite definitely that worship 821
of the heavenly bodies, and especially of the Moon, exists among 771
the Bushmen. In all the instances noted, the New Moon is prayed to; 782
in the case of the Cape Bushmen for food, although the details of the ceremony are not available, while among the Naron, Auen, and IO Kung there is a special ceremony at which it is invoked for rain. There is nothing to suggest that the Moon is conceived of as a supreme deity, or that it forms the object of an elaborate cult. [776]
At the same time the prayers and ceremonies noted clearly constitute an act of worship. They must therefore be regarded as part of the Bushman religion. The prayers and usages relating to the sun and the stars among the Cape Bushmen suggest a wider sidereal worship, which the scanty details from the Northern tribes would seem to bear out; but the worship of the Moon seems to be by far the most prominent.

Supernatural Beings

In other aspects of religion and mythology there appears to be 773
a good deal of variation in details among the different Bushmen 776
tribes. The most prominent figure in the mythology of the Cape [184]
Bushmen is the Mantis, round whom a whole cycle of myths has been formed. Besides his own proper name, */kaggen*, he possesses several others, as does also his wife, whose most usual name, however, is */huntu!katt!katten*, the Dassie or Rock Rabbit (*Hyrax capensis*). [825]
They have three children, a daughter, of whom there is no further mention; a son, */gaunu-ts'axau* (*!gaunu* is the name of a certain star, and *ts'axau* means "eye"), who in one of the tales is killed by baboons, and restored to life again by the Mantis; and another son, */kaggen-⊙pwa*, the young Mantis, who also figures in one of the tales, where his likeness to his father is commented upon. Besides his own children the Mantis has an adopted daughter, */xo*, the Porcupine. [825]

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 163.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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782
821
[539]

O gallopers,
O gallopers,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it
821 to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other magicians have a similar power over the wind, */khwe*, and are protected by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind
[773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears the form of a bird.[1]

773 Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we
776 meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from
[184] those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object
[794] of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed that *'Kaang* (i.e. */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, *'Kue-'akeng-*
[761] *'teng*, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives
[821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put
[825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine
796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood"
535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant,
[773] Qing, described as follows: "*Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the song of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it, and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night.
[786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[104] [2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol *c* represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds.

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Ko ('ngo), as

776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are
[797] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while
[224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is
[782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with
[756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant,
[791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians, who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded
[773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do
[184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his special protection.

Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis.
184 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to
776 Miss Lloyd several tales about */xwe*, a little personage not identified with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a variety of things. */xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

776 The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about *Hishe* or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys'
[881] puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people, bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans.
[756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws
[114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the
177 idea of */khuba* or */xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba"). This is the
776

[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32–3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 501, 505–6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404–13.

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Nama word for "master, lord", and has been used by some 177
missionaries for "God". The Naron and Auen were vague as to 776
the nature of *!khuba*. The old men did not know of him; the middle-aged men said *Hishe* was *!khuba*; while some of the younger people said he was the sky, others that he dwelt in the sky; they prayed to him to let them live long and to make them well when ill. Women who when young had been kidnapped and held as slaves by Nama chiefs were very fluent on the subject of *!khuba*; the others, [648] remarks Miss Bleek, had evidently picked up the word without [567] attaching any clear meaning to it, beyond that it was some sort of deity and that it was "good to pray to it". The same word (given by him in its vocative form *!khutse*) was also found among the partly-disorganized groups of these Bushmen by Fourie, who translates it "God".

A few of Miss Bleek's informants further mentioned *Huwu* or 776
Huwuba, but they did not know much about him—he was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the [177] "captain" of the white people.[1]

Huwu or *Hu'e* figures very prominently among the Kung, however. [184] Miss Lloyd's young informants from near Lake Ngami only once mentioned him. They began the tale of the Moon and the Hare [773] with the words, *Huwe* made all things; and in explanation said, *Huwe* made all things to eat (i.e. all animals that are eaten), and *Huwe* is a man.[2] Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, much further west, speaks of *Huwe* as a "good being", to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things. They pray to him for food, as we have already seen, at a special ceremony held [792] once a year when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen, [796] and they also in case of sickness call upon him to restore them to [755] health.[3]

Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*)[4] or *Xuwa*,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 24–6; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.
[3] "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.
[4] It may be mentioned here that Lebzelter is inconsistent in the orthography he employs: *!Kuŋ* is elsewhere written *//Khun*, *//gowab* alternates with *!gowab*, *gagorob* with *!gau !gorob*, and so on. [114]

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776 "the Lord" or "the great captain", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Huwu* or *Hu's*. This "supreme being" is regarded as anthropomorphic, he looks like a Bushman and he also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky in a house with two storeys, the lower of which is occupied by himself, his wife, whose name is unknown, and many children, while the upper is occupied, as already mentioned, by the souls of the dead (*xa*). In appearance this house is similar to the ordinary Bushman hut, although not quite the same, and its exterior is "hairy like a caterpillar". Honey, locusts, fat flies, and butterflies [825] are found here in superabundance, and the "great captain" feeds [775] upon these; the souls of the dead, however, merely sit around and eat nothing. *Xu* summons the magicians to their profession, and [756] gives them supernatural powers; he is the lord over rain and lightning, as well as over the spirits, *//gauab*, and through the chief of the latter he sends good fortune in hunting or in the collection of veldkos. If anybody thinks or speaks evil of him, he punishes the evildoer with lightning; otherwise he takes no interest in the doings of his "Bushman children", except when somebody swears falsely by [782] him, for the Kung have a regular oath in which they invoke him. He is prayed to by them in fixed form for rain, in case of severe illness, before going out hunting or before undertaking a dangerous journey.[1]

The Western Kung of Ukuanyama (Oschimpoloveld) speak of [184] *Erob*, translated by Lebzelter as "God", who, like *Xu*, lives in a house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is [782] often prayed to, especially for rain and in hunting, as well as in case [224] of illness, "because he has made all things and can do everything and knows everything", and he is given the first offerings of the chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth, [821] and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.[2]

821 *Erob* also figures as the "supreme being" among the Heikum of 184 the Etosha Pan, although in prayers for rain and in case of illness he 776 is addressed as *Xu*. The group in North-Eastern Ondonga speak [782] of the "supreme being" as *Xamaba*, the groups at Ukuambi know him as *Erob* or *Xuwa*, and the group at Uukualuthi as *Erob*; and among them all, as among the Eastern Kung, he lives in the sky in a house to which the souls of the dead are brought. Almost

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //*Khun*-Buschmänner," 407-9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 13.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen," 412.

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everywhere he is regarded as the creator of all things, including mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.[1] 184 776 [821] [782] [224]

The IO Kung in Angola did not mention *Erob* or *Xuwa*, but spoke again of *Huwe*. Here, as we have seen, *Huwe* occasionally appears at the boys' puberty ceremonies and dances with the initiates, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double guise as man and woman. In the prayer to the New Moon his name may also be substituted for *//nwa-se*, but apart from this substitution there is no evidence of worship directed towards him. He is further said to appear to people in dreams.[2] Of the attributes found by Lebzelter for the "supreme being" among the Kung and the Heikum no mention at all is made by Miss Bleek. [787]

Huwe appears again among the Bushmen of the Eastern Kalahari. They believe, according to Dornan, in a spirit which they variously call *Dzimo*, *Thora*, and *Huwe*. *Dzimo* is a corruption of the Chwana word *Modimo*, nowadays generally rendered "God", and is, says Dornan, "largely used by the tame Bushmen with the same signification." *Thora* and *Huwe* are the regular Bushman words. *Huwe* is here spoken of as the good spirit who wards off disease, gives plenty, and protects the Bushmen from danger. When any danger threatens, they will call upon him; Dornan mentions having once heard some Bushmen of the Sansokwe River sing over and over again the words *Huwe ka hume ie ie*, *Huwe* come to our aid ie ie. More often, however, they speak of *Thora*. They say he made all things, but they are not sure where he dwells, or if he is a person. According to Dornan they look upon him as the Great One, who is over all things, who sends rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting. They often use *Thora* to ensure success in hunting; when, e.g. they have killed an animal they will praise him for bringing it under their arrows. This statement Dornan seems to have derived [177] [782] 114 776 224 [821]

[1] Lebzelter, op. cit., 410–12; cf. Schmidt, "Die alten Buschmann-Religion," 192, summarizing Lebzelter's data.

[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122, 123.

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114 from Chapman, who records that once when some Bushmen were
776 with him and he had killed a rhinoceros they threw some dust on
[224] its tail and spat in its eyes before they touched it, muttering meanwhile "some gibberish" to *Thora*, while on another occasion when he had killed some elephants a similar performance was again enacted by his Bushman attendants.

The distinction between *Thora* and *Huwe* is not quite clear from Dornan's account. In one place he seems to imply that the two words refer to the same conception. Elsewhere, however, he remarks: "Huwe seems an inferior kind of spirit to Thora, for at times the latter is invoked to come to his aid, as if the former were not powerful enough to defend himself and his children. Some Bushmen near the Tuli River sang the following words, in an agitated and melancholy
[539] voice: 'Thora ba Huwe i-e i-e, Thora come to the help of Huwe
[782] i-e i-e,' ad lib." From their attributes, however, it seems that the two conceptions *Thora* and *Huwe* are substantially the same. In all probability the name *Huwe* has drifted in from the west, which would explain why it is sometimes substituted for *Thora*, sometimes found alongside it.[1]

192 In addition to this being variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Erob*,
821 *Thora*, etc., all the Northern Bushmen also speak of *//gauwa* (*Gaua*,
[776] *//gaua*, *//gauab*, etc.). This word, as we have already seen, is used
[184] by the North-Western Bushmen for "a person who has died", or
[775] more precisely, as appears in certain cases, for the ghost of a dead person. It is, however, also used with a much wider application. Among the Naron and Auen at Sandfontein the wind is called *//gauwa* when it is strong and howls. One of the Naron tales recorded by Miss Bleek speaks of the wind as a man going about, and of *//gauwa* as a bird accompanying him. "*//gauwa* says: 'I make the wind and
192 thus go.'" Some of the people seemed to believe in a supreme
776 *//gauwa*, a being who lives in the east near *Hishe*, to whose house the
114 ghosts repair by day. They said he was *Hishe's* younger brother, while others said *//gauwa* was *Hishe*. Miss Bleek affirms that no ideas of good or bad qualities are connected with either of these beings, nor are they prayed to. Fourie, however, speaks of *Gaua* among the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron as a "bad being" or "Satan", to whom people dying a "bad death" are said to go,

[1] Dornan, op. cit., 148–50; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, I, 386, 81. The translation given by Dornan of the prayer in which *Thora* is asked to come to the aid of *Huwe* cannot be relied upon. In another place (*J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1917, p. 53) he renders the same words: "God leave (us) alone ie ie!"

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while those dying a "good death" go to *!khutse* (*!khuba*). "About the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1] 114 192 776 [773] [881]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say "*//gaua* thunders", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: "*//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndzambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God"); "we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to *//gaua*."[2] 184 192 776 [751] [821] [761] [775] [821] [881] [304] [782]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain" *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds. 114 184 776 [192] [821] [756] [787]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 14; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4.

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776 First there is their chief or headman, simply termed *//gauab* by ordinary people, but whose real name, known to and uttered only by the magicians, is */nawa*. "Probably," suggests Lebzelter, "we [184] have to do here with the high god of another religion, and */nawa* is to be identified with *//nwa-se*, the New Moon of the Angola Kung." */nawa* or *//gauab* does good as well as evil. He is prayed to for [782] success in the chase, assists the hunters in their efforts, and receives [224] the first-offerings of any game taken; he is also, however, most [753] frequently the cause of illness. One informant, who had been baptized, spoke of him as the "devil" who had made the Kung; others, old magicians, credited him with giving rise to the existence and present mode of life of men and animals. He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.

775 The second group of spirits are the *//gauab* who stand at the service of the "great captain". As a rule they lie around their hearth-776 fires in the sky, the stars, and only come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead (*xa*) and bring them to *Xu*. The third group comprises the "small" *//gauab*, the ghosts of the dead, whose home is the grave but who roam about everywhere and are injurious to mankind; the fourth are the particularly malicious little spirits dwelling in the water; and finally there is the whole horde of the [753] spirits of disease, the *dsao*, small yellow mannikins with thick bellies, who at the command of any of the other spirits enter into people and thus make them ill. It is the function of the magicians to remove [756] them from the body of the patient.[1]

The Western Kung of the Oschimpoloveld have no such elaborate 184 world of spirits. Mention is made only of the */gagorob* or */gau/gorob*, 776 small spirits who roam about in the bush and do nothing but play practical jokes on people. "They are not the spirits of the dead," says Lebzelter, "and cannot therefore be compared with the *//gauab*."[2]

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan we meet again with *//gauab*, [192] or, as the name is here rendered, */gamab*. Owing to Christian influence [177] */gamab* is now spoken of as "the devil", but Lebzelter regards this being as a "demiurge", whom he equates with */nawa* or the principal *//gauab* of the Eastern Kung, and with */gamab* of the Bergdama and Nama. */gamab* is said by the Heikum to have created mankind and the world; the souls of the dead (*darish*) come to live with him,

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der /!'Kłun-Buschmänner," 407–10; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 412.

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and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the "benefactress" *Ises*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.[1]

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was doubted.[2]

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are, according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan, "I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad, and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism in which two powers, one good, Thora or Huwe, and one bad, Khauna, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."[3]

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the

[1] Op. cit., 410. [2] Op. cit., 410–11.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167–8.

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184 776 Bushmen of the Orange Free State, where, as we have seen, Campbell [192] mentions that the spirits attendant upon *Ko* (the Mantis) are called *Gauna*, and that after *Ko* has disappeared from the dance in which she was taking part, " her nymphs " also come and dance for a while. Nothing more is said about them, however.[1]

114 776 The problem now arises as to the real nature of these beings. The information relating to them is sometimes vague, sometimes inconsistent, and at all times obviously inadequate. No interpretation of their nature can therefore be regarded as fully reliable until it has been confirmed by a much more careful and detailed study in the field than has yet been made of the beliefs and usages connected with them. Moreover, as we shall see subsequently, the conception 171 776 of *//gaua* also figures prominently among the Hottentots and Bergdama, whose religious beliefs and practices in general offer other features of resemblance to those of the Bushmen. A comparison of the Bushman concepts on the one hand and those of the Hottentots and Bergdama on the other, may thus succeed in throwing further light upon the problem, the final consideration of which may therefore be delayed until the religions of these peoples have also been passed in review.

177 776 Certain points arise, however, which may at once be dealt with. The notions of *!khuba* among the Naron and Auen, and of *Dzimo* among the Hiechware, may be set aside in the attempt to ascertain the real nature of Bushman religious conceptions. They have admittedly been taken over from other peoples, the former from the Nama, the latter from the BeChwana. *Erob*, mentioned by Lebzelter [797] as the name for the " Supreme Being " among the Western Kung and certain of the Heikum, is simply a corruption of the word *Elob*, from the Hebrew *Elohim*, which has been used by many missionaries among the Nama as a translation for " God ".[2] Its occurrence among these Bushmen is therefore an obvious indication of Christian influence, entering either directly through the missionaries or, more probably, through contact with the Nama; and in this connection it must be remembered that almost all the Heikum now speak only

[1] *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 31–2.

[2] Pater Schmidt, in accepting Lebzelter's data as convincing evidence for the existence of a Supreme Being among the Bushmen, remarks about *Erob* (" Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 397, n. 4): " Wenn er christlichen Ursprungs sein soll, von Elob, aus Elohim, so darf man fragen, warum das Inlaut -*l* in *r* übergegangen wäre." To this it may be replied that the sound *l* does not occur at all in Nama, save in a few words taken over from European languages, and that in most borrowed words where it does occur the Nama form of the word replaces it by *r*. The transmutation of *Elob* into *Erob* therefore follows a definite law of phonetic change in Nama. Cf. on this point Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, pp. 18–19.

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Nama. Nama influence is seen also in the word *Heiseb* found among 177
the Heikum of the Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga. This 776
is one of the names applied to the mythical hero more commonly known as *Heitsi Eibib*, who figures so prominently in the religious system of the Nama. Its absence from the other Bushman tribes [184]
is clearly suggestive, although the name *Hishe* found among the Naron and Auen may possibly be a corruption of it. The various current interpretations of *//gaua* as " the evil being ", " the devil " or " Satan " must likewise be dismissed as alien to native Bushman ideas. [797]
The word has been widely used by missionaries among the Nama for " Devil ", and there can be little doubt that it is ultimately from this source that such interpretations have been derived.

All these direct symptoms of borrowing from other peoples show 177
clearly that the religious conceptions of the Northern Bushmen as 771
recorded above can by no means be regarded as untainted by foreign influences. The final interpretation of these conceptions will therefore have to take into account the religious ideas of the neighbouring peoples as well, especially of the Nama, in order that a full basis for discussion may be obtained. This is all the more necessary since the information relating to them as now held by the Bushmen is hardly sufficient to enable us to determine satisfactorily the full meaning attached to them by the people, to determine, that is, what part they really play in native life. For the moment, however, it may be of service if we attempt to reduce to some order the various accounts given by our authorities of these conceptions.

A general survey of the attributes said to be vested in the different 776
beings figuring in the religion and mythology of the Northern Bushmen seems to show that on the whole we have to deal with two main conceptions. There is in the first place the conception known [184]
variously to the North-Western Bushmen as *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Xuwa*, *Hishe*, or *Erob*, and to the North-Eastern Bushmen as *Thora* or *Huwe*. By Lebzelter, whose account cannot be entirely freed from a suspicion [114]
of prejudice in favour of the monotheistic doctrine associated with the name of Pater W. Schmidt and his school of disciples, *Xu* or *Erob* is spoken of as an anthropomorphic " supreme good being " dwelling in a house in the sky, where he receives the souls of the dead. He is regarded as the creator; he controls the rain and its [821]
associated phenomena of thunder and lightning, and punishes evil-doers with lightning; he sends good fortune in hunting and in the [224]
collection of veldkos, is prayed to before and after hunting, and is [782] [756]

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776 honoured with certain ritual observances connected with the chase;
[782] he is also prayed to for rain, before travel, and in case of illness;
[224] and finally it is from him that the magicians obtain their special
[756] powers. By the Eastern Kung he is said to have a wife and many children; among the other Kung and the Heikum he figures alone.

Few of these attributes are mentioned by Miss Bleek in her remarks
184 upon *Hishe* among the Naron and Auen, and upon *Huwe* among the
776 !O !Kung. But there are certain points of agreement. *Hishe* dwells in
[775] a house in the east, to which the ghosts of the dead repair by day;
[224] he is regarded as the creator, and as the protector of game and hunting. On the other hand *Hishe-Huwe*, sometimes alone, sometimes in double
[881] guise as man and woman, sometimes "followed by children like
[114] baboons", figures prominently in the boys' puberty ceremonies, which are not referred to at all by Lebzelter. At the same time, since these ceremonies certainly have much to do with hunting, their association with *Hishe-Huwe* is not inconsistent with his character as protector of the game and hunting, although of course it is hardly likely that this provides the only explanation for his figuring in them. Nor
[782] is he ever prayed to among these tribes, save where the name *Huwe* is substituted by the !O !Kung for *//nwa-se*, the New Moon, in the prayer for rain. Most of the prayers for food and rain, however, are directed to the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon.

A closer agreement with Lebzelter's account is provided by Dornan's
[114] discussion of *Thora-Huwe* among the North-Eastern Bushmen. *Thora* is here said to be the creator who is over all things, he sends
[821] rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting, certain
[224] hunting observances are directed towards him, he wards off disease,
[753] and protects the Bushmen from danger.

It is possible also to find a connection in certain respects between *Huwe* and the conception of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen. Among the Cape Bushmen, it is true, the Mantis is primarily a mythological character, the central figure of an elaborate series of myths relating to him and his "family". He is never worshipped, but on
[782] the other hand, like *Huwe*, he has creative powers, and is also said to
[825] have made certain bucks and to protect them. Mention is further made by these Bushmen of an afterworld to which go the spirits
[775] of the dead, but there is nothing at all to link this up with the Mantis, just as there is nothing to link up the afterworld of the North-Eastern Bushmen with *Thora*. The resemblance between the Mantis and *Huwe* is far more noticeable among the Bushmen of Basutoland.

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Here also the Mantis is the central figure of many myths; but at the same time he is the creator, he causes life or death, he is especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food and good luck in hunting, and he is also connected with certain religious dances at which the "initiated men" (probably the magicians) cure illness. The elaborate mythological character of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen and his association with so many other figures in these myths preclude an absolute identification of him and *Huwe*. The resemblance in other respects, however, appears on the whole to be striking enough to warrant our connecting the two. 184 776 [761] [224] [782] [755]

The other outstanding conception is that of *//gaua*, *//gauab*, */gamab*, etc. In all the North-Western tribes the word *//gaua* is used in the first place for the ghosts of dead persons, and one cannot resist assuming that this is its fundamental significance. Among the Naron and Auen these ghosts, which as in all the other North-Western tribes can be seen by the magicians, walk about at night, and people are afraid of them, but not do expect real harm from them; among the Eastern Kung, however, all the *//gauab* are the cause of illness, some do mischief, while others come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead; among the Heikum of Ukuambi the ghosts move about on earth and do harm to people, while among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul goes to live with */gamab*, but may return to earth to kill people. In general therefore it would seem that dead people are regarded by the North-Western Bushmen as sources of injury, and especially as causing illness and even death. The same idea is conveyed by Dornan's statement, that the North-Eastern Bushmen avoid the grave of a dead person, "lest the spirit resent the intrusion." 184 775 [753] [753] [761] [769]

The word *//gaua* is, however, used also in the sense of a personified being, whose attributes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but appear on closer analysis to show a certain uniformity. The !O Kung ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*; when anyone is killed by lightning they say "*//gaua* took him", and people who had met their death in this way were said to sit in the sky as stars, which are looked upon as "*//gaua*'s fires". Among the Eastern Kung the stars are also the fires of the *//gauab*, a shooting star heralds the death of someone, while lightning is the medium through which *Xu* punishes or kills people. Among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga *xamaba* (*/gamab*) inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like, while 184 776 [192] [821] [775] [821] [753]

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184 776 among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan */gamab* makes thunder and [821] lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting stars. The Naron and Auen term a strong and howling wind *//gaua*, [825] while sometimes *//gaua* is said to be a bird which makes the wind. [777] Finally among the North-Eastern Bushmen *Khauna* is the source of [753] bad luck and disease, is injurious to people, and sends the thunder- [821] storm and lightning, the latter being regarded as his offspring. Further the "lightning bird", intimately associated with him, is feared and [825] may inflict death by lightning when molested. Here again we get the general impression of *//gaua* as the source of illness and death, [753] acting through the medium of the storm, lightning, and shooting stars.

184 In all this *//gaua* offers certain points of resemblance with the 776 conception of the Rain held by the Cape Bushmen. Among the latter the Rain is definitely personified, it appears in their myths 821 as a supernatural personage, generally in the form of an animal, and here it is said, "the Rain thunders, the Rain lightens." When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind and various transformations effected; the howling of the wind forebodes evil; and numerous observances have to be kept in order [761] not to anger the Rain and thereby provoke death. There is also [775] the belief that people killed by lightning are changed into stars; shooting stars are omens of death; the wind is sometimes spoken [825] of as a bird; and the flight over the camp of the *Scopus umbretta*, known to the North-Eastern Bushmen as the "lightning bird", here announces the death of someone. In this connection it may be added that among the Namib Bushmen thunder and lightning are said to command great reverence, and a person struck and killed by lightning is believed to have suffered death as a punishment for some past misdeed.[1]

184 In some cases, among the North-Western Bushmen, *//gaua* shares 776 certain of the attributes vested in *Huwe*. This appears most strikingly among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga, where *Huwe-Erob* does not figure at all, his place being taken by *xamaba*, who has most of the powers and privileges attributed to *Huwe-Erob* by the other [782] Heikum and the Kung. Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan [755] we find prayers addressed to *Erob* for rain and in illness, but at the [775] same time the "demiurge" */gamab* is mentioned as the creator who [821] receives the souls of the dead. Further, as we have just seen, */gamab*

[1] Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.

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makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people 184
by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, 776
/nawa or the chief of the *//gauab* figures as the creator, and, as the [821]
executive of *Xu*, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is [224]
honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success; [782]
he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems [753]
extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of *Huwe* [178]
on the one hand and of *//gaua* on the other have been blended or
confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make
this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explana- 114
tion may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek 178
and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies 776
for boys: according to the former, it is *Hishe* who figures in the 881
special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled [184]
by *Gaua*. *//gaua*, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's
puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar
confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do
the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a
suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that
one of Miss Bleek's informants identified *//gaua* with *Ndzambi*,
the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for
"God", while another spoke of *//gaua* as the "father" of the
Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of *Huwe*, *Thora*, or 184
the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the 776
source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food [224]
gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; [753]
and with the conception of *//gaua* first as the ghosts of the dead [821]
and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness [775]
and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder,
lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an
interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the
possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples;
it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from
the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions
common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

Magic and Magicians

In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the 756
mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

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756 supernatural powers, or who are able to control, either for social purposes or for their own ends, the spiritual forces upon which the social welfare depends. There is no English word which adequately describes them, but such persons may be loosely termed magicians.

Among the Cape Bushmen, these magicians, who might be of either sex, were called */gixa* (plural, */giten*). There is unfortunately [114] no information available as to how they acquired their powers, nor have we any clear description of the part they played in the life of the community. A few details about them may, however, be gathered from the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd. Some magicians were [821] rainmakers, who went out to catch the rain bull and lead it over the land bringing rain. Others, again, had special powers over particular [825] game animals, such as the springbok or the ostrich. Some magicians were able to assume and go about in the form of animals such as the lion, springbok, jackal, or a little bird; others, even when asleep, knew what was going about at night, and took care of the people, defending them from evil magicians. For some magicians could [754] cause illness by shooting with invisible arrows, and the patients would die, even though doctored; while some were said to eat the flesh of the dead. When a magician died an earthquake took place, [823] and his heart fell, as a shooting star, out of the sky into a waterhole. His powers, however, he continued to possess even after death, [775] for there are mentioned several occasions on which a dead rainmaker was asked to send rain or a game magician to give success in hunting.[1]

These beliefs, fragmentary as they are, show definitely that the magicians were held to possess supernatural powers, which they might use for good or evil; but, apart perhaps from the making of rain, there is nothing to link them up with any cult or public ceremony, or to indicate that they ever played the part of priests.

[184] Among the Naron and Auen, however, the magicians, as we have seen, function at the puberty ceremonies. They introduce *Hishe* [881] into the dances, and make the cuts between the eyebrows of the boys. [793] Among the Naron they are also the priests, who pray to the New Moon for rain; while among the Auen they make rain by sprinkling [821] on the ground a kind of red earth, which they fetch from afar and carry about with them. The magicians, both male and female, are

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 18; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 22.

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also the doctors of the community. The millipede, said to belong to *Hishe*, is only touched by them; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine. 756 [825]

Naron magicians (*tsho k'auba* or */nu k'auba*) do not dress or live differently from the rest of the community. "No one would know them apart," says Miss Bleek, "nor do they seem to have much influence to-day." The Auen seem to have many more magicians than the Naron, by whom they are looked up to in magic matters. Here, according to Kaufmann, the magicians, (*tsho k'au*, */nu k'au* or */geixa*) have their skulls shaved clean, and also carry a few ornaments which may not be worn by other people. The magic art in both tribes is learned by apprenticeship. During the month of the puberty ceremony one or two boys are taught their trade by the old magicians. At the next ceremony they return and are taught more; and boys who have been with a magician for many years can when they become older succeed their master.[1] [184] [868]

Magicians among the Kung are of two kinds, and both are called in especially for illness. The */u k'au*, who sucks out the disease from the body of the patient, is "an evil person, who speaks to no one and always looks black"; while the */ue k'au*, according to Vedder, is the ordinary worker in magic and the poison-mixer, and also prepares medicines from herbs and roots by cooking.[2] Lebzelter gives further information about the magicians. Both men and women can be summoned by the "great captain" to exercise this calling. The power they receive from him is greater than that of all the spirits with the exception of */nawa*, and is equal to that of the latter. Magicians are thus "born and not made", to use Lebzelter's expression, but nevertheless it appears that they have to learn the secrets of their calling by apprenticeship. They accompany the old magicians at least once in the search for medicine plants, and are then subjected to a test. The old magicians in the customary manner attempt to cure a sick person by sucking out the "disease poison" ("Krankheitsgift") or the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient; then they administer all the "disease poison" extracted by them to the initiates. If the latter do not die from this treatment, they have satisfactorily passed the test! [184] [755] [278] [787]

The magicians, apart from being able to cure illnesses by banishing the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient, also have the [787]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 139.
[2] "Grammatik der !kû-Buschmannsprache," 8-9.

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756 faculty of seeing and speaking to the *//gauab*, and only they know
[787] and utter the real name, */nawa*, of the chief of the latter. The evening
[782] before a hunting expedition they pray to *//gauab* for help, and certain
of them also have the power of conjuring down rain. This they
756 achieve in the following manner. When rain is needed, all the
789 people of the camp take part in a dance, during which they sing over and over again a mournful song lamenting the condition of hunger and thirst to which they are reduced. "Finally the great captain in the sky hears the lamentation. The magician goes outside the camp and sees that a thin cord is being let down from the sky. He climbs a certain way up this, but the great captain comes down to meet him half-way. As soon as the magician sees the great captain, he throws a powder up to him; whereupon the great captain lifts him up high and takes him into his house. There the magician prays to him: 'Lord, help us, the children are dying, we thirst and hunger.'
[782] So long does he pray and plead that at last the captain says: 'It is
[776] well, I shall send water, that the children may have water and veldkos.'
[821] Then he again accompanies the magician half-way down the cord. As soon as the latter has reached the ground, he releases his hold upon the cord, which is at once drawn up again. The rain follows immediately."[1]

184 Among the !O Kung in Angola there are also two kinds of magicians.
756 The */num-k'au* officiates at puberty dances, makes scarifications,
791 sees spirits, and also conjures up *//gaua*, while the *tsho-k'au* heals
[881] the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's
[787] body through sucking. For this he receives a present. Both men and women apparently can become magicians of either kind,
[755] if taught by an older practitioner. There is said to be no ceremony of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.[2]

It will be noticed that both terms which distinguish the two classes of magician among the Kung and the !O Kung are also found among the Naron and Auen for magicians. This would suggest that there is a similar division of functions in these tribes also, but neither Miss Bleek nor Kaufmann definitely states this.

773 The origin of magic among the Naron and Auen is said by Fourie
[789] to be attributed to *//gaua*, and he gives the following myth in confirmation.[3] "The Bushman *Tji-Tji* is said to have been initiated

[1] Lebzelter, "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 408–9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

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by *Gaua* 'on the other side' into the use of the small magic quiver. 773
Tji-Tji had killed a gemsbok. *Gaua* arrived on the scene and said, 'I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep here.' After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-Tji* remarked to *Gaua*, 'Give me that stuff (*//ai*).' The latter replied, 'If I give you the *//ai*, what will you pay me?' *Tji-Tji* answered, 'I will give you the horns.' *Gaua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *//ai* and before departing taught *Tji-Tji* the *//ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic."

The small magic quiver and arrows to which reference is here 754 114 made are no doubt the miniature weapons found among all the North-Western tribes. In a set seen by the writer the bow, made of a piece 411 of bone, was barely 10 cm. long, and the arrows, for which sharp 756 thorns were used, were small in proportion. Similar arrows [184] described by other writers consisted of a stalk of grass about 6 cm. long and a head of bone or hard wood about 4 cm. long. This head was sharpened at the end inserted into the grass stalk, while the protruding end was blunted.[1]

The range of these arrows is of course very limited, and different suggestions have been put forward as to their use. They are certainly not children's toys, as these miniature bows and arrows are used only by men, who carry them concealed about their persons. From various descriptions it appears that in some cases the arrows are definitely poisoned, and consequently among Germans the name "Bushman revolver" has become applied to these miniature sets. It is claimed that they are used as real weapons and that the poison on the arrow is strong enough to bring about the death of anybody struck by it. On the other hand, Miss Bleek says that among the Naron they are not poisoned, but are used by magicians who quarrel among themselves to settle their differences. "A medicine man wishing to destroy another, comes up close and shoots at the opponent's kaross with one of these arrows, blunt end foremost. The missile falls harmlessly to the ground, but the victim dies of the magic."[2] This statement is supported by the report of a case tried at Windhoek in 1912, where it was maintained, inter alia, that a poisoned arrow of this kind had been used against the accused. In the evidence, however, it was stated by several witnesses that these

[1] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," 116–17, and references.
[2] *Naron*, 28.

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114 arrows are not poisoned but are used for "witchcraft", and "if
411 they are shot in the direction of an enemy, be he 100 kilos or more
754 away, witchcraft will bring about his death".[1] The myth recorded
756 by Fourie also lends support to the idea that these arrows are used for magical purposes. It is possible, too, that something similar is implied in the statement, mentioned above, that among the Cape Bushmen magicians caused illness by shooting with invisible arrows, but it should be noted that no such weapons as those here described have yet been found among them.

789 Apart from the special magic practised by magicians and associated with them, there are among all the Bushmen various usages and beliefs of a nature which may be generally termed magical, and which
224 are apparently common property. Many of the hunting observances
787 already described fall into this category. So, too, does divination. Among the Cape Bushmen this occurs principally in the form of
[184] beliefs in the efficacy of omens, of which there are a great number with diverse significations. They say they feel in their bodies that certain things are going to happen; there is a kind of beating of the flesh which tells them things. Those who are stupid do not understand these teachings and disobey them, with the result that they get into trouble, are killed by a lion, and so on. These beatings tell those who understand them which way not to go, and which arrow it is better not to use, and also warn them when people are coming. They inform the hunter when game is close at hand, tell people where they can find the person for whom they are in search, i.e. which way to go, and so on.[2]

184 In the more northerly tribes is found the use of pieces of wood,
787 leather or bone as divining bones or dice. These are usually four in number, and roughly triangular in shape, two of them being broad, the other two longer and thinner. The former are called male, the latter female. In the Eastern Kalahari they are usually each marked in a special way and named, but this is not found further west. The bones may be owned and used by anyone, not only by magicians. They are used in a very crude manner: the inquirer goes on throwing them on to his kaross until he gets a favourable answer. Such bones are frequently found among the Northern and Central Kalahari Bushmen, and occasionally among those dwelling on the southern

[1] *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cd. 9146), 1918, p. 172.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17–18; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 330–9.

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borders of the Desert, but are unknown to the Cape Bushmen and those of Griqualand West. Dornan maintains that they are original elements in the culture of the Bushmen, from whom they have been taken over by the Bantu. All the evidence, however, points in the other direction, for among the Bantu the use of divining bones of several different types is not only widespread, but also developed into an elaborate system of interpretation, while the way the Bushmen handle them shows that they do not know much about them. Moreover, it is found that the frequency of their use by the Bushmen coincides with the extent to which any tribe has been exposed to Bantu influence.[1]

Other minor beliefs and practices of the Bushmen are mentioned by writers on particular tribes, but consideration of them must be omitted in a general survey such as this. It may be noted, however, that among the Northern tribes amulets are often worn to ward off disease and other evils, while among all the Bushmen charms of various kinds are also carried to ensure good luck. Bad dreams are also regarded as evil omens, and precautions taken to counteract them. Among the Cape Bushmen, for instance, when a woman had had a bad dream, she banished it by plunging a stone into the fire, at the same time saying a spell. If she neglected to do this, the dream would accompany her when she went out to seek ants' larvae and prevent her from finding any. The Naron, in the same way, when they have had bad dreams put a bit of burning charcoal on the ground and pour water on it, then the bad dream flies away with the steam. Or, when a man is ill and *Hishe* sends bad dreams, he takes a stick after the sun has arisen, plants it in the ground between his knees, burns *buchu* and snuffs it, and recovers.[2]

[1] Werner, "Heikum und Kungbuschleute," 256; Kaufmann, "Auin," 159, Dornan, "Divination and Divining Bones," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 505–7; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 155–8; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28–9; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies*, 10–11.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 29.

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violin bow is not characteristic of South African native music, 534
although it is well known further north. Neither the */goura* nor the [177]
/gubo is very common among the Northern Bushmen, where the principal and in some cases the only form of musical bow is the hunting bow itself. One end of this is held between the teeth by the performer, who picks on the string with a small piece of wood or bone, varying the pitch by running his fingers up and down the string. Stow describes and figures other forms of the musical bow found among the Southern Bushmen, all of which have been developed out of the simple form.

Among other musical instruments, found principally among the [184]
Southern tribes, was a kind of reed flute or pipe, used with certain of the dances. These pipes were made of reeds cut to different sizes and lengths, so as to obtain a variety of notes. They were played by several performers at the same time, each with a distinct note to his pipe, and the effect lay in harmonizing the different notes. The "rommel pot", */koa*, was also sometimes used to accompany the dance. This was a drum or tambour made by stretching a piece of skin tightly over the mouth of a clay pot, a wooden calabash or a big tortoise-shell. The "ramakib", a sort of guitar made out of a hollowed piece of wood with a calabash or rough touch-board attached to one end, over which are drawn several strings, was, like the musical bow, used by soloists, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanying songs, but never with dances. There do not seem to be any professional musicians, although, as Kaufmann remarks, one does in fact find people who obviously take greater delight in music than others, and these are naturally the usual performers.

Decorative and Pictorial Art

Decorative art among the Bushmen is limited mainly to seriated 531
incisions of crude pattern found on the pottery of the Cape Bushmen, and to simple chevron patterns incised by the North-Western tribes upon the ostrich egg-shells used for storing water and upon their stone and bone pipes. Skin bags ornamented with similar patterns are also known, as well as wooden utensils and sticks decorated with line designs produced by burning. This form of art is as a whole very poorly developed, and of little intrinsic merit. It is not often met with.[1]

[1] Gretschel, op. cit., *passim*; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 672–3; Peringuey, *The Stone Ages of S. Africa*, chap. xiv; von Luschan, "Buschmann-Einritzungen auf Strussiern," *Z. Ethn.*, lv, 31–40.

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172 532 [386] Several different colours were used, the most common being red, black, yellow, white, and brown. These were derived chiefly from mineral ores—red and brown from hæmatite, yellow from iron pyrites, white from zinc oxide, while black was obtained from burned wood. The mineral ores were carefully ground down or pounded to a powder, which was then mixed with bone-marrow or animal fat. The outline of the design was first drawn with a burned stick, and the paint, after being moistened with water or saliva, was then smeared on by means of a feather brush or specially prepared tendons.

Various technical styles are also observable in the paintings, chiefly as regards the use of colour. Paintings in which only the outline of the design is coloured are reported from Southern Rhodesia, but are not known elsewhere. As a rule the whole design is filled in with colour, although sometimes the outline is coloured differently from the body. The design is often coloured a uniform monochrome, so as to present, as it were, a silhouette of the object depicted, with no apparent trace of shading. Other designs are in polychrome. Sometimes the colours are sharply separated and seem to have been used to demarcate the various features of the object represented. Thus in the case of the eland we frequently find the horns and hoofs coloured black, the head and back in ochre, while the neck, belly, and legs are in white. In other cases the colours are skilfully blended into one another, producing the effect of modelling. The best specimens of the art are all in this style. It seems, nevertheless, that in the cruder forms at least the artist laid more stress upon the drawing itself than on the colouring. We often find, for instance, that the various limbs of an animal are in different colours, and examples are known where a leopard or lion has been painted a deep red, which cannot be put down to the absence of the natural colour, as in the same scene there are other designs coloured yellow.

The recent investigations of Burkitt have shown that the paintings and engravings are not all of the same age, but that a chronological, sequence can be seen in style and technique. Moreover, different styles of art occur in different geographical areas, and these different styles are sometimes found associated with different stone implement industries. Burkitt was able to demarcate three such regional groups 172 of art—the Southern Rhodesia group; the Central group, occurring 184 in the central districts of the Union of South Africa north and west 532 of the great escarpment bounding the interior plateau; and the Southern group, found chiefly south and east of the mountain

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systems.[1] This grouping appears to have been formulated by him without taking into consideration the numerous specimens of the art found in the south-west Cape, and in South-West Africa, and can therefore scarcely be regarded as definitive, but it provides a most useful basis for the archæological study of the paintings and engravings. 172 532 184 [114]

In Southern Rhodesia, according to him, there are three distinct series of paintings, which when found in superposition always occur in the same order. The oldest series are usually coloured a uniform flat red or yellow, occasionally found in outline only, and the figures are "nicely drawn". Certain paintings in a dark brownish-red are slightly more modern, and the style perhaps more developed, but they belong to the same series. The middle series are all in dark claret, and quite different from anything before, not only in colour, but also in style. There is a certain angularity about the figures; the paintings have clean, sharp outlines; the curves and angles of horns and bodies are well and finely drawn, and the style is vigorous and attractive. Finally we get paintings in earthy yellow, white, and the beginnings of polychrome. The style of art is quite different again and much less attractive, the animal figures heavier, the bodies less shapely, and the legs stiffer.

In the Central group the paintings are much more varied, and seem more modern than those in Southern Rhodesia. They are distinguished by wonderful developments of polychrome and the frequent occurrence of elaborate scenes of battles, dances, etc., such as are not found in Southern Rhodesia. Superposition is of much less importance, but it was noted that wherever paintings comparable in colour and style to the 'dark claret' series of Rhodesia occurred in superposition with any other colours or styles they were always undermost and therefore oldest. The rock engravings, which are most frequently met with in the central districts of the Orange Free State and the adjoining northern parts of the Cape lying immediately to the west, also belong to this art group. Its distribution coincides with that of the Upper Smithfield Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, and the paintings and engravings are always found associated with implements of this Industry.

The Southern art group, again, is invariably associated with the Wilton Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, which, like the Upper Smithfield Industry, is definitely of Bushman origin. The paintings are here totally dissimilar from and far inferior to those

[1] Op. cit., 116–19.

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172 of the preceding group. There are no polychromes. The figures
184 for the most part are executed in a uniform bright red, almost
532 vermilion, colour, and the rock background is also frequently reddened and smudgy as well. The animals are poorly drawn, the figures of human beings often large and angular, and the human hand is represented again and again, a feature never found in the Central group and not noted in Southern Rhodesia.

172 The objects depicted in these paintings and engravings are for the
532 most part animals and human beings, though inanimate objects also figure occasionally, such as weapons, clothes, shields, trees, etc. Representations of animals hunted as big game—elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, many varieties of antelope, especially the wildebeest and eland, lion, ostrich, and others—all figure very prominently, either singly or in groups. The fidelity with which they are often drawn testifies not only to the Bushman's skill as an artist, but also to his intimate familiarity with and acute observation of the habits and peculiarities of the animals upon which he depended for his subsistence. Exceedingly interesting are the bigger group scenes. Domestic occupations, hunting scenes, cattle raids, tribal fights, dances, even incidents in mythology, all are represented here in the most realistic manner and with a wealth of action. These pictures of scenes and events in Bushman life history, painted by the native artists upon the walls of the caves and rock shelters which they so often inhabited, are invaluable as a record of the conditions under which the old Bushmen lived, and they both illustrate and supplement the descriptions given of these people by outside observers.

The paintings and engravings in general are remarkable not only for their realism, for the fidelity and accuracy with which many of the animal forms are depicted, but also for a freedom from the limitations to delineation in profile characterizing for the most part the drawings of primitive peoples.[1] The aspect usually shown is the profile view, readily explained by the fact that this is the most striking as well as most complete single aspect of quadrupeds, and also happens to be the view that can most easily be represented on a plane surface. There are no drawings in absolute profile; the four legs are always shown, the animal usually being either in motion or in some attitude where this view is possible. Attitudes of a kind

[1] An excellent critical appreciation of Bushman art is given by Roger Fry, "Bushman Paintings," *Burlington Magazine*, 1910, 333–8; cf. Balfour, Preface (pp. 3–10) to Tongue, *Bushman Paintings*.

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immune to the effects of snake and scorpion poison.[1] One of these 751
animals is killed, and its poison, diluted with water and urine, is rubbed in small quantities into small cuts made in the skin, or the poison sacs are pulped and boiled, and then swallowed in small doses. Schinz records an experiment made by himself on a Bushman doctor [114]
claiming this immunity.[2] He selected twelve scorpions and placed them, by means of forceps, on different parts of the man's body—hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. Almost all of them stung the flesh deeply once or twice, in every instance causing a large drop of white matter to appear; then they crawled about leisurely, but made no further attempts at stinging. "The old man maintained that he felt no pain, and I have no reason to distrust him, as he would hardly have allowed himself to be stung by scorpions on the most sensitive parts of his body, merely to satisfy my curiosity, if the poison would have had any effects on him; even a full hour after our attempt the spots where he had been stung showed not the slightest change." This experiment seems therefore to show that there may be some foundation to the claim of immunity. The [756]
inoculation was apparently made in this case during the apprenticeship of the "doctor", under the direction of his master. Our main authorities on the Bushmen do not mention this practice at all, but I have myself spoken to several detribalized Bushmen and Nama in Little Namaqualand who claimed a similar immunity. Unfortunately I neglected to inquire further into the matter, beyond ascertaining the means of immunization.

Knowledge of Times and Seasons

In their system of time-reckoning the Bushmen make use chiefly 805
of meteorological elements, based on recurrent changes in wind and weather, and of astronomical elements, based on observations of the sun, stars, and moon. Their larger divisions of time are the [221]
seasons, which, owing to their effect on the food supply and on the [182]
movements of the people, assume a pronounced importance in Bushman life. The division of the seasons is established by the rainfall. [132]
The Cape Bushmen distinguished four seasons, rendered by Bleek [184]
and Lloyd in the English equivalents of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but the exact meaning of the native terms is not given.

[1] Campbell, *Journey in S. Africa*, 441; Thompson, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 399; Cornell, *The Glamour of Prospecting*, 232.
[2] Op. cit., 395–6.

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184 805 The Naron have three seasons: spring, when the birds mate and the first flowers come, from about August to October; summer, when it is hot and the rain falls, or is expected, from November to March; and winter, or the cold time, from April to July. The !O Kung also have three seasons: the cold dry time from about April to September, the first rains from then to about November, and the real rainy season from about December to March or April. The Auen, Kung, and Heikum, on the other hand, distinguish four seasons: the cold dry season (winter), the small or first rainy season (early spring), the hot, dry season (spring and early summer), and the big or second rainy season (late summer). When all the seasons have passed, a year is finished; but there is no clear conception of the year as a period of time, nor do they reckon in years. Mothers can tell in which season their babies were born, and for three or four years know how many seasons ago it was, but after that they get confused. Hence, for instance, no person knows his positive age, although his comparative age as regards the other members of the family is always well established.[1]

184 805 821 The Naron observe the sun sufficiently to know that it makes a shorter path in winter than in summer, but apparently the stars foretell the coming of the seasons better. When the Pleiades rise just before dawn, the cold is due; when they come before midnight, spring is at hand. Besides the Pleiades the Naron also have names for the Southern Cross, Orion, the Milky Way, and the Great Bear, which is just visible at Sandfontein; and they know when each constellation will rise and set in the different seasons.[2]

184 821 The other North-Western Bushmen apparently take no special interest in the stars. The !O Kung, for instance, as we have seen, speak of all the stars as *//gaua*'s fires, and have no separate names for any of them; and the same seems to be true of the Kung and Heikum. The Cape Bushmen, on the other hand, were close observers of the movements of the stars and constellations, and had names for a great many of them. Thus Archernar is the "Star-digging-stick's stone" or the "Digging-stick's stone of Canopus", while Canopus itself is the "Bushman's rice star"; the Pointers to the Southern Cross are male lions; α, β, and γ Crucis are lionesses; Aldebaran is a male hartebeest, and Orion is a female hartebeest; Procyon a male

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Comparative Vocabularies*, passim; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 110; *idem*, *Naron*, 39; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 160; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 99.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.

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eland, Castor and Pollux his wives; the Magellanic Clouds a steenbok; 184
Orion's sword three male tortoises hung upon a stick, his belt three 821
female tortoises so hung, etc. As these names indicate, there is
a good deal of folklore centring in the stars, and indeed a considerable 184
part of the vast collections of Cape Bushman lore made by Bleek 773
and Lloyd relate to the heavenly bodies, which are regarded as once 821
having been men or animals before being transformed into their present state. In one tale, for instance, it is related that a girl of the early race (preceding the Bushmen) wished for a little light, so that the people might see to return home by night. She therefore threw wood-ashes into the sky and these became the Milky Way. In another, again, it is told how a girl, at the time of her puberty seclusion, saw some people eating together at a dassie's house of branches. As a result they and the house, fixed by her looks, became stars in the sky, where they are now to be seen as the Corona Australis.[1]

The Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, according to Dornan, 184
also "have considerable acquaintance with various groups or 821
prominent stars, and have names for them", but the only one mentioned by him is the Southern Cross, referred to as the "giraffe star" and said to be somewhat like this animal in appearance.[2]

For shorter lengths of time the Bushmen go by the Moon, but 805
they make no attempt to reckon how many moons there are in the year or in a season.[3] They observe the phases of the Moon closely, [821]
but seem to have no division of time into anything corresponding to weeks, although they readily pick up the European system of weeks [177]
when working for white people, and will come regularly on the seventh day for tobacco, etc. Otherwise, in their intercourse with [648]
white people, the wage, if not given daily, is demanded at the New Moon.[4]

The day is apparently divided according to the position of the sun, but no names have been recorded for any fixed divisions or parts of the day.

The notion of time is also used to indicate distance, for which there 804
are no special units. Generally distance is reckoned by the time it 805
823

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10 sq.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 165.
[3] Lebzelter says, however ("Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15) that the Eastern Kung have a "vegetation year" of 10 months. The year is reckoned from one veldkos harvest to another. He omits to give any further details.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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what I was trying to say. They did, they said, and added that one sleeps very well 833
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trained by group approval to mould their conduct to acceptance. But often painful 626
jealousy does beset them, and the tensions are there, though to some extent hidden.

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would not marry a second wife, but one said it made him feel good to have two
women fighting over him. Most of the men said they wanted more than one wife.
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several, which they considered him rich enough to afford. One said he would not
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No property or other material advantage is given a first wife and no important
social advantages accrue. For instance, headmanship is inherited by the headman's [622]
eldest son by whichever wife he may be borne, and being the mother of a headman
does not place a woman above other mothers of sons.

It appeared to me that first wives were often at a disadvantage. Among the people we knew, the husbands favoured their younger, second wives with two exceptions: /Ti/kay of Band 9 favoured his first wife, the elder sister, and Gao, the headman of Band 2, favoured his first wife. Both were good-tempered, intelligent, able women. They appeared to take care of the young girls who were their co-wives, rather than to be served in any way by them. Other older first wives seemed sometimes to be dejected. One told me her husband always took the young second wife with him and, to her deep humiliation, sometimes left her, the first wife, to stay for a time with one or another family in the band, although she said to him, 'Why do you shame me so?'

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Kung

185 polygyny affords women—that none remain long without the support of a husband.
595 They just said they did not want to be second wives, nor did they want their husbands to take second wives, and protests and quarrels attended a husband's proposal to do so.

Marriage by capture

583 Marriage by capture was spoken of fairly frequently by the /Kung in conversation. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas and I questioned a number of informants about it and we are convinced that wives are not actually acquired by this means at present. Perhaps they were in the past. The /Kung are a present-oriented people who make [181] no concerted or consistent effort to retain their history and teach it to their children, and we obtained no significant data on their past customs. Nowadays the idea of capturing wives appears to be enjoyed by the men as a fantasy. The remarks of one /Gaishay illustrate what I mean. He weighs, at a good guess, about ninety pounds and looks like a miniature Mephistopheles. With a gleam he told me that if he wanted to take another wife he would go to her werf, seize her, throw her over his shoulder and run off with her. That is the way Bushmen do, he said, and he wished I could see him do so. I also wished that I could.

Arrangements for marriage

584 First marriages are arranged by the parents of the bride and groom, and second marriages also if the couple are still young. Adults, when both have been married before, may contract subsequent marriages themselves.

[611] Although there is a slight paternal emphasis in this society which recognizes bilateral descent, and the father names all his children, his authority is not clearly [593] dominant over the mother's in the choice of a mate for their child. By and large, it appears that the father and mother talk things over and come to agreement. If they do not agree, it appears that the strength of personality of one or the other, the opinions of relatives, and various circumstances have weight in the decision.

Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may take the initiative and go to the other parents with the proposal. A go-between is not required, though it is possible that a friend will sometimes act as such. The parents visit and talk, and, if they all agree, the arrangement is thereby settled upon. They normally give each other gifts in honour of the occasion.

Property does not enter much into the consideration of the parents in arranging marriages for their children. No property settlement is made, no bride-price paid, no dower given, though at the time of the wedding a few gifts are exchanged.

Food and water must, one imagines, weigh in the parents' thinking when a marriage is being arranged, and may sometimes be a determining factor. However, there is a considerable amount of equalization in these supplies. Veldkos[1] and water-holes
423 are not owned by individuals but by headmen for their bands, in a way I shall describe in a paper on bands. In the Nyae Nyae region each band has access to a supply, else the people would be dead or somewhere else, and things balance out in

[1] *Veldkos* (field food) is an Afrikaans word used to refer to any kind of wild plant material which people gather to eat. Edible fruits, seeds, roots, tubers, leaves, all are included.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

various ways. The affine who marries into the band, as long as he lives with the band, has a right to the water, to the hunting, and to the gathering of the wild foods, as members born to the band have. 423

I think that primarily the values and assets that parents seek in choosing mates for their children have to do with the kind of security which is attained through human responses and relations. Friends may want their children to marry because they know and trust each other. Or a family may want to increase its kinship bonds—and thereby its security—with certain bands for any number of reasons—among them could be food, water, or a desire to have supportihg friends in a certain area—and, like the crowned heads of Europe, the /Kung may deliberately seek to establish alliances through marriages. 581 185

Merging with such desires and to be balanced with them are the characteristics of the families concerned. The /Kung want their boys and girls to marry into upstanding families, among people who are ' able to feed themselves ', who are ' not lazy and not thin '. They do not want ' far-hearted ' in-laws who are not generous in food-sharing and gift-giving. /U, ≠Toma's wife, said she would take particular note of their generosity in giving bead ornaments to their children. She would not want a daughter of hers to marry among people who were stingy in that. Proper observance of the avoidances and other social regulations is an asset in in-laws, for they can then be assumed to have taught their children how to behave properly. 185 577 581

The individual's characteristics are also a concern. Parents of boys hope the girls to whom their sons are engaged will grow up to be good-looking, because, they say, a man takes pride in a beautiful wife. Xama, the mother of Gao, the headman of Band 2, said she had wanted for her son a light-skinned girl with good teeth who was not too thin and not too tall. But most important of all is a sweet temper, she said. A mother hopes, she said, that the girl will not be lazy or wander about visiting at night at other people's fires ' like a bitch '. The girl should observe the avoidances and the menstruation and other taboos, and in every way behave as a well brought up girl should. However, since the girls are engaged when they are very young, I suppose the parents of the boys can only watch them grow and hope. 185 581 826

Girls would not want a man ' as tall as a giraffe ', we were told. They would seek a smaller husband. /U's first husband, from whom she was divorced, is so tall (almost six feet) that people laugh and say, ' Did his mother have a dream with a *//gaua* (a spirit)? '

The girls themselves, all twitters and giggles, told me what they admire in the boys. They like a good hunter like /Gunda; and they like handsome teeth and a wide smile like young Tsamgao's; and straight, slender legs like //Ao's; and a fluid, swift walk like /Gao's; and they hate a big black belly like Gao's—the middle-aged medicine man in a band distant from Gautscha, to whom the young /Doin was married.

The parents of a girl want the boy to be responsible, kind to their daughter and, above all, a good provider—which means a good hunter. They want him to make his arrows straight, to shoot swiftly and accurately, to be able to run down an eland, and, most of all, they want a son-in-law whose heart says to him, ' Why am I sitting lazily here in the werf? Why do I not get up and go hunting? ' and who, in obedience to his heart, and the group's desire, and the magic which has been rubbed into his scarifications in the Ceremony of the First Killing, gets up and goes. [304] [881]

837 the wives consent. This is regarded as a concern of the couples involved rather than a concern of society as a whole. One man said, 'If you want to sleep with someone's wife, you get him to sleep with yours, then neither of you goes after the other with poisoned arrows.'

The word */kamheri* was used by ||Ao, one of the young hunters, to express his deep [572] feeling of friendship for John Marshall. 'We are such friends that we are */kamheri*', he said, but, as John had no wife to exchange, this remark had its funny side which delighted the men.

No actual instance of */kamheri* came to our attention and we failed in finding out if it is now practised. One man in Gam lent his first wife to a unmarried friend, one of the gossips told us, because he was in love with his second and did not care any longer for the first, but this was a mere deviation from the rules, not an instance of */kamheri*.

We heard of several irregular sexual unions in addition to the above. Rape did not appear in stories or gossip. Fornication must be very rare because there is practically no one to fornicate with. Almost all females are married except very young girls and leathery old grandmothers. Adultery is the usual form for irregular unions to take. Adultery, however, is sharply limited by several deterrents. One deterrent is 684 the incest taboo, of course, which forbids extra-marital sexual relations as rigorously 837 as it does marriage with persons to whom the taboo is extended. The same internalized sanctions induce obedience to this rule as to the marriage regulations. The same gradation of feeling probably exists, and we expect that people comply strictly within the kindred and among close affines and are no doubt less strict with name relatives.

Ease of divorce must exert a modifying influence on adulterous unions. If a [586] married couple really want to change mates, nothing need deter them but the general difficulty of extricating themselves from the web of responsibilities which marriage entails.

In a sense, the impossibility of maintaining secrecy exerts a control over extra-151 marital relations. There is no privacy in a /Kung werf and the vast veld is not a cover. 153 The very life of these people depends on their being trained from childhood to 182 look sharply at things and to take into their attention what they see, for they must observe the most minute marks on vegetation to distinguish from the matted grasses the almost hair-thin brown vine stems that come up from the edible roots. Hunters memorize visual impressions and are able to follow the tracks of an individual animal in the midst of a large herd in a way that seems to us miraculous. It may be a week after a hunt that they return to recover an arrow that missed, miles from the werf, remembering where it lay in the vast monotonous sameness of grass and bush. They register every person's footprints in their minds, more vividly I am sure than we do faces, and read in the sand who walked where and how long ago.

185 The /Kung value control of anger, upholding self-control as an ideal, giving it 578 group and individual approval and training for it. Despite this, volatile tempers [411] sometimes flare and burst out of all control. And always at hand are the little poisoned arrows. They are formidable weapons. There is no antidote for the poison; at least our /Kung informants said they know none and told us of tragic deaths from the poison which would have been averted had they had an antidote.

684 Adultery, so exceedingly provocative of anger and vengeance, could be very

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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[21 cont.]

157 them thought of asking a question about it. The Bushmen of
today at least do not believe that any kind of magic is concealed
[177] in the Europeans' machines. They learn to use European instru-
ments fairly quickly; in particular, they soon become familiar
with the rifle. Dornan reported that there was a large number
of improvised rifles that the Bushmen had adapted. In a new
environment, the Bushman is wholly self-possessed and coolly
observant. He is highly adaptable. The girls, of whom a num-
[648] ber are kept by farmers as concubines, are quite skillful at
housekeeping. In Ovamboland they quickly adopt the living
[177] habits and economic activities of the Bantu. An Ongandjera
Bushman acts as an instructor at the teacher's college in Oonipa.
He owns a small kraal that is well-maintained in Ovambo fashion
and, in addition, has built himself a round hut of tiles in which
[648] he keeps his "library." They seldom stay long on the farms, but
[147] probably in the main because the food does not agree with them.
609 The Bushmen are most distrustful of other people. Every armed
person whom they encounter is regarded from the outset as an
enemy. The Bushman is allowed to enter the regions of other tribes
only if he is unarmed. Even along the edge of the farm zone
the mutual distrust is so great that a Bushman who has been sent
to a farm as a messenger dares not leave the road, which is
regarded as a neutral zone, if another kin group has settled in
the vicinity. If two armed Bushmen who are strangers approach
each other, they disarm at first sight before they greet each
other. When a Bushman comes to a village or to a farmhouse,
he will put down his arms at a certain distance and sit down to
wait patiently, if need be for hours, until he is questioned. A
186 609 distinct sense of race is not apparent. Everything that does not
belong to one's own kin group is regarded as strange, even
hostile, except when common persecution causes a sense of
solidarity to spring up among all those who are persecuted. At
the same time, they very clearly possess a kind of sense of
humanity as a whole, that is, they do not believe that they are
the only people, and they are convinced, for example, that the
people of all races are received in the heavenly house. Their
602 conduct toward relatives is regulated by numerous customs, but
in general it is formal and almost ceremonial, even toward the
[593] wife and children. The Bushman is never importunate.
[157]

The !Kung Bushmen

101
131
162 The !Kung are the most numerous of the surviving Bushman tribes. Of the estimated total of 13,000, about 3,000 live in Angola, 2,000 in Bechuanaland, and 8,000 in South West Africa. The !Kung occupy a remarkably large area. Their country extends from north to south for a distance of 500 miles, and from east to west for a distance of 300 miles (see Map 5).

101
197
553 Two criteria clearly distinguish the !Kung from all other Bushman peoples: their language and their unique system of
19 personal naming. The !Kung language has phonological features in common with adjacent Tshu-khwe and Hottentot languages, such as the four click system and the strong glottal releases. However, the vocabulary and grammar of !Kung sets it apart from the other click languages. A lexicostatistic comparison of !Kung and Nharo showed a low incidence of cognates (11.5%).
[114] The grammar of !Kung has yet to be adequately described, but
[193] none of the preliminary work by Doke (1925), Bleek (1929), Maingard (1957), and Westphal (1962, 1963:244) has been able to demonstrate a genetic relationship of !Kung grammar to the grammars of the other click languages.

There are no semi-!Kung languages (although the vocabulary of the southern dialect has been influenced by contact with Nharo) and therefore a native speaker of !Kung is immediately identified as a member of the !Kung tribe. This holds

• 19 true even at the periphery of their distribution where !Kung speakers have been intermarrying with other Bushmen for generations.

551 553 The second diagnostic criterion is the !Kung system of naming. There is a finite repertoire of about ninety personal names among the !Kung of Bechuanaland and South West Africa. All names are sex specific, about forty-five are for men and forty-five for women. Personal names are transmitted from grandparent to grandchild according to explicit rules of precedence. First-born males are named after their paternal grandfather and first-born females after their paternal grandmother. Subsequent offspring are named for the maternal grandparents and if necessary further children are named for the siblings of their parents, again with the paternal side taking precedence. The !Kung feel that all people bearing a certain personal name are ultimately descended from the original bearer of that name. Thus all men named, for example, /oma, feel a fictive kinship for one another. They formalize this by addressing all namesakes older than ego as grandfather (!un!a - literally "older name") and all namesakes younger than ego as grandson (!uma - literally "younger name"). By the extension of primary kinship terms to unrelated namesakes, some 9,000 !Kung Bushmen are actually or potentially incorporated into a fictive kinship network. This network extends from the Ghanzi farms on

[13 cont.]

776 !Khuwa and Erob were the same. In any case, the expression Ellob used by these people comes from Outjo, where there are a number of Christian Bushmen.

!Khuwa lives in the heavenly house χ'ain !nao gároba.
[772] The people in heaven eat only large flies, !Khu !Khua-i. The figure /Nawas is unknown. The evil antagonist of Huwe, //Gauab, is also absent. These Bushmen, however, have the same doctrine
[774] of the two souls as the !Kung of the east.

775 When someone dies, he becomes the property of !Khuwa; he is a !Khunga. The actual soul, χ'aobe, goes to the heavenly house, remains there, and does nothing but eat large flies. From the bodies of the dead [14] arise the //gauá-i, which run around in the bush and stir up trouble. They correspond to the akwapungu
[171] and azizi of the Ovambo. "But the actual souls of the Ovambo and the Bushmen go different ways; those of the Ovambo go under the earth where they have their fields and herds, but those of the Bushmen go up." Since the missionary Mr. Kylves expressed the desire to make some detailed studies of the Bushmen himself, I gladly left this attractive field of study to my kind host.

197 Finally, a number of words indicate that these people
● 192 are to be included in the Hei//om-Nama group, a point which
[101] is very striking with respect to the !Kung elments in their world view.

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Sun	shoreba	sóres
Moon	!háwa	//khab(*)
Stars	/nāmirõ-i	/gamiros
Dome of the sky	shorche	≠kanis
Earth	/huwa	!hub-eib
Lightning	/harabé	náwab
Thunder	!nau	!gurub(*)
Rain	≠nanuba	/awib(*)
Lion	χ'amba	χ'ami
Leopard	!kui-oba	!arub(*)
Large bird	anite	--
Dog	arib	arib
Boa constrictor	!aoba	--
Zebra	χorebe	--

AKUANAMBUA
UUKUALUTHI

[14 cont.]

●192
197

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Elephant	≠koá-ba	≠koáb
Hare	!kai-éba	!kàirab
Man	áure ba	áob
Woman	taréṡha, taréqueta	taris
Child	/koá ruba	/gob
Encampment	//gaun-kwá	//gāus
Head	tanába	tanas
Eye	mu-i	mus
Ears	/gai-i	//noub
Mouth	am-ba	ams
Teeth	//gu-i	//gu-ĩ
Tongue	tamba	nami(*)
Nose	/kui-ba	/guis
Hand	!koam-ba	!omi
Foot	/gai-i	/eis
Ground	/kawa	khas
Arrow	/kaau-i	/ab(*)
Poison	!khore-ai	!gab, !gurub
Palm tree	/haiba	--

Of 29 words only six roots (*) show no relationship with Nama.

Chapter 5

The Bushmen of Uukualuthi

In all Uukualuthi, Uonkolonkathi, and Ombarantu, there
115 are, reportedly, only two Bushmen left who understand the old lan-
[177] guage. Both of them are good-for-nothing loafers who go from one beer pot to another. Thanks to the kind offices of the missionary, Mrs. Aarni, Chief Moala made one of these men available to me. To be sure, he could not hold out for very long, and during the few days that he devoted to us, he was rarely sober. We had to limit our conversations to the forenoon. What I learned from him is a dying way of life that no longer has any continuity. The man faced the situation with the cheerful resignation of the
CHRONIC, GOOD-NATURED IMBIBER ...

[26 cont.]

142 The athletic type thus represents the best realization of the human type among the races.

Since, from the day of conception on, environmental influences are predominantly of a harmful nature, the average type finally arrived at is the type formed by the average harmful effects, which, on the one hand, are of a hereditary and constitutional nature, and, on the other hand, are conditional effects during the individual's lifetime. The more unfavorable the living conditions are, the greater will be the harmful effect coefficient, and the more the average physical type will approach the asthenic. Only environmental improvement, brought about by high civilization, permits athletic forms to develop in considerable numbers.

According to our schema, we may designate the Bushmen as asthenic on the average, and the best developed among them as respiratory. In the case of many male individuals, there is an [146] ability for considerable fat accumulation, and on the farms I encountered a number of Bushmen who had adapted themselves to a flour diet and had considerable body weight.

The digestive type thus certainly does occur among them, [146] even though we must keep in mind that the diet, which is rich in meat and poor in carbohydrates, counteracts its development.

5. The Course of the Day

805 The !Kung Bushmen divide the 24 hour day into seven segments, which are:

[192] /gam X'á-o-a, dawn.
/gam do di /gii, time of sunrise.
!nai /kho, (the sun) is in the middle.
ha ti ≠náu, (the sun) will go down.
X'á-o ti ≠náu, the sun is now asleep.
/gu gǎ djo-o, one can no longer see the people because it is dark.
!a ds ĩ, midnight.

512 The division of the day varies somewhat with the season of the year. With the exception of the so-called hot season,

[38 cont.]

Weapons

411 The Bushman's chief weapons are the bow and arrows. The bow staff as a rule has a round transverse incision and tapers off slightly toward both ends. The !Kung of the Otjimpolo Veld, on the other hand, use palm wood like the Ovambo. There the wood of the bow is slightly convex on the outside and flat on the inside with squared sides. The string is made of leather, so that in the case of these bows the bow staff is more flexible than the string. A bow of the Otjimpolo Bushmen was 115 centimeters long and 13 centimeters high. The bows of the !Kung discussed here also have leather supports on both sides and commonly are

[291]
[531]

Fig. 9. Embroidered Front Apron of Leather (!Kung).

reinforced with sisal cord. The bows of the Hei//om seem to be differentiated from those of the !Kung primarily in [39] that the bow staff is flat on the outside and convex on the inside. In lieu of the leather strips, reinforcements of palm bast are also often used. The string, depending on the region, is a waxed plant fiber cord, animal tendon (kudu), or fine, twisted leather. The length is about 120 centimeters; the height, 20 centimeters. There are also much smaller bows, however, 95-110 centimeters long.

[283]

● 192 The wood of the !Kung bows is called !howa. The arrow
411 is made of wood. The shaft is called //gau; the feathering,

[39 cont.]

192 sometimes radial and sometimes in rows, is called !khui. The
411 incision at the lower end of the arrow shaft is called /gei. The arrow points are usually little triangular iron plates (//khai). The entire tip, including the binding and the poisoned part, is called !hui. [Figs. 10 and 11 appear here.]

411 The arrows are 65 to 68 centimeters long. They are usually poisoned. The poison, which looks like dark wax, is smeared
278 on little sticks and preserved in this way. It consists of five in-
[463] gredients, the most important of which is euphorbia sap. Only

[824]

Fig. 10. Buphane disticha Herb., Plant Used for Arrow Poison by the !Kung (Medley Wood, Natal Plants, VI, 1912).

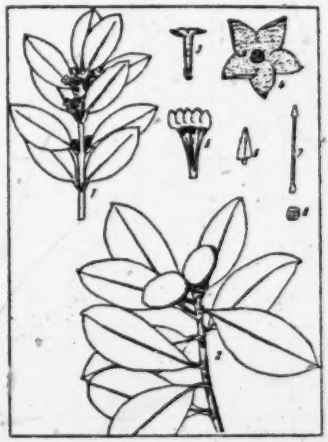

Fig. 11. Acocanthera venenata, Plant Used for Arrow Poison by the !Kung (Sim, The Forests and Forest Flora of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1907).

certain persons prepare the poison. They know that the plant poisons are not equally effective every year. Hence, a small bushbuck is shot first, then a larger animal (say, a leopard), and finally a gemsbok. Only when the proper results are obtained with all these animals is the poison traded.

411 The lances of the !Kung consist of a shaft about 160 centimeters long, which is greatly reduced in thickness toward the back end.

164 [45 cont.]
[753] Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The
[192] terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no
[302] means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is
[593] usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin
842 hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy
[757] is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine
[278] for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is
841 done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband
[757] and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on
853 the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least
[826] until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished
164 by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care.
[515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky
[278] sap of a plant called timba.
[757]

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams
[145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long;
302 the toenails are often fissured.

3: Lebzelter--128 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
NOGAU

[66 cont.]

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
●192 198 Evening	n !ŏn	áka uj	–
Shoulder	//kŏwi	schu !gnŏru	tuwi
Alone	n n/e	–	nŏ-e
Old	/gá	tsau !gna	X 'uwu
Dread	!goatschi	–	daŭ-tsi
Arm	//há	!gòm	X 'ùm
Armband	gama gama	–	gama gama
Ashes	do	–	dá dŏwa
Branch	!Khai ≠haŭsi	–	dá-i
Eye	/gá	–	schoŭ-dă
Ax	/i	–	–
Cheek	tsoŭ //á	/gám	–
Beard	tsi ≠khŏi	–	dschi-tŭe
Stomach	≠gu	–	dŭb
Leg	//gŭm	/gowí	ju Tăm↘
Mountain	//khámi	//khawí	ŭ káshe
Bee	so schum	schŭm	schŭm-si
Bitter	//ga↘	//gà	dschi da

3: Lebzelter--129 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
NOGAU

[66 cont.]

192
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	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Leaf	dorá	dorà	dschi do-a
Blind	schóŭ	/ga	–
Flower	ngó	gó	tsi-gu
Blood	/a↘	/ao↘	/ou↘
Bride	tsaú	á	–
Bridegroom	≠gou ≠khán	≠gnom	–
Firewood	nda	–	da
Well [for water]	//ga	–	ha
Chest	//goá	/goá	dschi-tŭa
Chameleon	!nobésa'	–	nábasa
Thumb	//gaŭ goë	≠goŭ	dóŭ dŭm
Thorn	//gái	–	/gai
Thirst	măm /gám	/gam	tăm-du
Egg	dschi !nŭ	gó	dschi nŭ
Lizard	!górŭ	!gorŭ	dorŭb
Intestines	!gusi	ssi	–
Fever	//gái	≠gi	–
Finger	!goŭ	!gou	dóu

3: Lebzelter--130 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
NOGAU

[66 cont.]

192
198

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Flame	da tǎli	–	tarí
Flesh	//khá	//khá	thá
Fly	soa soá	–	doá doá
Flea	soa soa /né	–	doá
Wing	!kóhi	–	dschi tǔi
River	≠nõ	–	nõ
Woman	tsao! gná	!gn-ná	tháũ
Poison	!óa	!o↘	–
Grass	//khei-si	//ei	ei-si
Hair	ñi !khói	!khoi	ikhoisi
Hand	!gaǔ !n	!gou	taúne
Neck	≠gai	–	rǔ-tè
Hard	≠khaǔ↘	–	dschi-tau
Hot	!khúi	–	û
Hunger	//kha-be	–	dawí
Porcupine	//gan↘	–	tam
Cold	//ga-ú	–	tse
Small	tsē ma	–	tsáma

3: Lebzelter--131 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
NOGAU

[66 cont.]

192
198

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Bone	≠ŭ	–	ŭ
Leather	!noŭ	–	thấu
Liver	dsché	–	tē
Light [easy]	schúi	–	da-sii
Man	!hoá	!hoá	hoá
Tired	≠oé	–	oe
Mouse	!hŭi	–	nui
Navel	né	–	ne
Night	/gu	/ngŭ	du
New	se	–	dise
Ear	/húi	–	m-húi
Guinea fowl	a di	–	á-ni
Pipe	!khó	–	oh
Smoke	da schŭá	–	dásua
[67]			
Rich	!gấŭcha	–	ti
Rib	≠khási	–	dási
Salt	dimí	–	diri
Shadow	!kha-di	–	khári
Bad	/khấŭ	–	!khã

[67 cont.]

● 192
198

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Beautiful	/hm	–	hm
Tobacco	shorŏ, schŏli	–	sŏ-re
Day	/gam ña	–	tai-khé
Forest	!goá	–	dain tu
Warm	//ŭ	–	tŭi
Road	//nǎma	–	nña
Water	!gŭ	–	du

[Fig. 22-23 appears here.]

211 [68] The accompanying figures show the incising on messenger staffs, in other words, a kind of picture writing. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., page 430, observed in this connection:

"Anyone who does not want to go to a friendly kin group (202) himself, but sends a messenger instead, must give this messenger a messenger staff. It is about as thick as a thumb and bears numerous signs of leaves, worms, caterpillars, pictures of human beings and animals, and other figures. The figures look almost as though they were burned in, but they are made in quite a different fashion. The peeled stick is warmed in the fire, and in the upper layer of wood thus softened the drawings are pricked point by point with an awl or a sharp thorn. When a figure is finished, one uses the core of the ero plum, which, when roasted, is black and can be used as a kind of paint, like a firm mass of fat. The black, oily color is spread over the figure and soaks into the pricked holes. The superfluous color is then wiped off with a soft piece of hide. The Bushmen claim that every friendly kin group knows the different messenger staffs of the chiefs of other friendly kin groups and that forging messenger staffs is a hopeless and impossible undertaking."

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[76 cont.]

411 The little bow (!naru) is made from the //ne bush and is
(192) much shorter than that of the !Kung. The arrow and the arrow point are called tschi. They have arrows with iron points like the !Kung, as well as others made of bone. The accompanying figures show the two types, which have already been sufficiently described by other authors. The arrow points found in older collections, on which the poison is applied not only at the tip but also in lines or dots of little lumps on the contact piece, are now no longer in use. The bows of the Naron are also small, and they likewise have two kinds of arrows. The arrow shafts are made of reed, which is used only in a few places. In addition, all these tribes have root-stock clubs. Spears (kuku) are bartered
[439] from the Ovambo in exchange for ostrich egg beads. Bleek
231 writes [77] of the Naron that formerly they had no dogs at all, and Kaufmann reports that the ≠Auin have very few dogs. The Nogau had all kinds of mongrels, but none of any peculiar strain. Two animal stories should be told in this connection:

539 1. A large bird killed a duiker. Then the hyena came and took the duiker. The hyena met the jackal. The jackal said: "Hyena, you should not go where you want to go, otherwise bad things will happen to you!" But the hyena went anyway, and the great bird (!gui) came and tied the hyena's feet together and made a fire by its feet. Since then the hyena has black legs and dares not kill anything living. But the jackal also went stealing, whereupon the great bird seized him and held him with his back to the fire; since then it has a black stripe across its back.

2. The lion came to the watering place; then the frog came out of the water and mocked the lion. The latter wanted to kill the frog, but only scratched it on its back; the frog quickly jumped into the water again, but since then it has black stripes on its back. [Fig. 27 appears here.]

10. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The clothing of the man consists of the cap, made from the hide of the jackal, the jumping hare, or the duiker, and the loincloth, sandals, and the hide bag. In general the clothing of these Bushmen is not essentially different from that of the Bushmen

B /260 cont./

191 In addition to the Bushman language, the Heikum of the
192 Omatako also speak Nama, whereas the Kung of the Kaukau
133 Veld speak only their Bushman language. The reason for this is readily seen if one realizes that the Kaukau Veld is an oasis enclosed on all sides by the large waterless stretches of the Kalahari, and hence is visited only during the rainy season by a few Betschuana hunters, but otherwise is completely isolated. Most of the Bushmen whom we encountered in the Kaukau Veld had never seen a white man prior to our arrival.

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Word List and Grammatical Outline of the Heikum and Kung Language

1. Persons

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Human being	tschu	tschu	Khóib
Man	tschu n|ō (|o = männlich)*	tschu n|ō	áob
Woman	tsau	tschau	tarás
Son	daba |oma	daba |oma	|oab
Daughter	daba tsauma	daba tschauma	|oas
Brother	tang	tang	|gasab
My brother	mé tang	me tang	—
Sister	tsau tang	tsau tang	|gas
Father	ombá	ombā	dadáb
Mother	mdei	medei	máma
Grandfather	omba n|ā (n|a = alt)**	omba n|ā	aúda
Grandmother	tschau |á	tschau |á	aúmama
Master	gaucha	gaucha	gáob
Captain of a settlement	tschu gaucha	tschu gaucha	—
Servant	ǂēi	tschu nǂoa	|ān
Herero	Damá	Damá	Damán
Betschuana	Birin	ǂgabé	Birin
Ovambo	|ave	—	—

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*männlich, "male" **alt, "old"

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Heikum	Kung	Nama	English
Gobá	Gobá	|navén	Ovambo from the Okovanggo
Nama	|á	Namán	Nama
|ung	|ung	—	White man
Hei ‖um	Hei ‖um	—	Heikum
|ung	|ung	—	Kung

2. Parts of the body

|né	|nē	tanás	Head
|ang	|ang	|aus	Neck
tsóa	|oa	‖áib	Breast
|u	|u	‖umss	Abdomen
|um	|um	|nub	Leg
ǂá	ǂá	‖oab	Arm
|gau	|gau	|gunub	Finger
ǂei	ǂei	|gunus	Toe
dang	dang	ǂaren	Buttocks
|ō	|ō	|gaab	Back
|nē |oí	|nē |oi (head)	|ub	Hair
|ā	|ā	mus	Eye
tsch:ung	tsch:ung	ǂguis	Nose
tschik úi	tschik úi	|houms	Beard
tschik ó	tschik ó	amss	Lip
ntăli	ntăli	nami	Tongue
ts:au	ts:au	‖unss	Teeth
|ui	|ui	ǂgăiss	Ear
|um	|um	sonís	Navel
tá	tá	χāb	Penis
sumgó	sum gó	ǂarás	Testicles
ntχoá	|oá	‖oás	Knee
|uru	|uru	|unib	Elbow
|au	|au	|umi	Hand
|nō	|nō	kob	Skin
|u	|u	ǂob	Bone
|oi	|ai	‖unib	Fat
|ā	|ā	‖ani	Flesh
|n	|ng	|aub	Blood
|χai	|χai	|eisen	Ill

3. Animals

|ó	|ō	ǂkoab	Elephant
|ō |gó	|o |gó	aure ǂkoab	male
|ō dē	|o dı	tararé ǂkoas	female
ǂoá	ǂoá	|naib	Giraffe
ǂoa |gō	ǂoa |gō	|naib	male
ǂoa dē	ǂoa dı	tararé |nais	female

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English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
192 Eland	|n	|n	|ani
Hartebeest	tz:ō	itz:ō	ǂănab
Wildebeest (gnu)	|ai	ǂnō	Gaub
Kudu	|óa	|óa	χaib
Duiker	|au	|u	|aub
Hog	|aru	|oa	dirib
Bird	tz:ába	ntχū	anin
Dog	ǂúi	ǂúi	arib
Lion	|eí	anteī	χam
Hyena	‖ui	‖ui	ǂirab

(The word //ui evidently arose onomatopoetically, since the cry of the hyena is a distinct "hui.")

Jackal	|iχa	—	|airib
Hare	|ai	|ai	|oab
Guinea fowl	ari	|nam	|inab
Ant	ǂu ǂu	|no |oani	ǂovirub
Horse	|nōé	|nōé	hab
Cattle	gummi	gummi	gumab
Bull	gummi |gō	gummi |gō	gumma |ōb
Ox	gummi tabiχa	gummi tabiχa	gumab
Cow	gummi dé	gummi dí	tararé gumas
Calf male	tzaume |ō	tzaume |ō	tsanob
female	tzaume de	tzaume dí	tsaurus
Plural male	tzaume |ōssen	—	—
female	tzaume dèssen	—	—
Feces	sang	si	χaub
Human tracks	tschu gussen	tschu gussen	daub

4. Weapons and Tools

Bow	|au	|au	khās
Arrow	‖au	‖au	|āb
Arrow feathers	|ui	|ui	|ambo
Arrow poison	k:augum	uma	|āb
Spear	|ú |u	|ú |u	|ei goab
Iron	|uri (Nama)	keie	|urib
Stool	|éisson	gacho	Stuhl (Dutch)
Hook for game traps	|ui	ǂang ǂang	—
Quiver	|guru	|guru	—
Leather loincloth of the men	sora	tsch:ora	—
Leather loincloth of the women	|u	|u	—

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Heikum	Kung	Nama	English
|ei	|ei	—	Shoulder hide of the women
‖ā	‖ā	|abas	Head covering
|oá	|ōé	‖arós	Shoe
réīma	rēima	ring (Dutch)	Ring
|ōu	|āuma	—	Awl for leather
|ei	|ī	|os	Axe
|ā	ǂei	goas	Knife
|á ta:u	ǂei tschu	goan ‖os	Cutting edge of a knife
da	|oá	|ein	Wood
|um	|um	|uis	Stone
ta:u	ta:u	‖aus	Settlement

5. Meteorological Concepts and Related Matters

|gam	|gam	sores	Sun
|ui	|ui	‖aab	Moon
|nq	|ng	|gamiros	Star
|á	|á	ǂoab	Wind
n |ga	|gā di |gam	|anub	Rain
n |ga	|ga di |gam	|anu ‖aib	Rainy season
|nui	|nui	‖aab	Month
kuli (nama)	kulika é	kuligu	Year
tschee (nama)	tschee	tzees	Day
|a |ang	|a |au	‖óaka	Morning
|uia (|ui =moon)	|ui	|oēs	Evening
|u	|u	tsúχub	Night
|u |n	|u di |n	tsuχub	Midnight
|gam kui	|aiu |ā	middag(Dutch)	Midday
a dagē ‖ang	kakē |gam dignau	netzees	Today
noi |uma	noi |uma	‖ari	Tomorrow
ama |gam nau	|gam dinau agaideú	‖ari	Yesterday
—	|gamga úndoa	aitzē	Day before yesterday
a |naussua	a |naussua	|audi	Cloud
k:ā	k:ā	|ovab	Sand
|ang	|ang	haiti	Tree
|ang nassi	|ang nassi	hei |ums	Bush
‖ai	‖ai	|ān	Grass

6. Diet and Related Matters

um	um	ǂun	Food
um	um	ǂun	To eat
natschng	natschng	ā	To drink
|:á	|:á	|ā	Hunger

4: Werner--30 D-5 (ca.1900) 1906 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Thirst	gam	gam	‖ā
I am hungry	mē |:ā	mē |:ā	—
I am thirsty	mē |gam	mē |gam	—
Spoon	hei ǂgam	hei ǂgam	‖oab
Plate	|nu	|nu	|ores
Pot	k:ō	k:ō	suss
Fire	ndā	ndā	|eis
Fire apparatus of stone	ǂoro (nama)	ǂoro (nama)	dorós
Fire apparatus of wood (twirling sticks)	dáni (ndā=Feuer)	dángl	—
To cook	|noa	|noa	sai
Meat	|ā	|ā	‖ani
Water	|u	|u	‖ami
Tobacco	maka (Herero)	maka (Herero)	Tabak(Dutch)
To smoke	χei	χ!	ǂei
Give me something to eat	na χei	—	—
Pipe	|nō	|ō	|os
Milk	gu	gu	dai
Egg	|u	tsch:unu	|uwus
Fat	|ai	|ai	‖unib
To roast	schang (nama)	|ānussen	sang
Kind of nut (veld crop)	|ō	|ā	‖naun

(Described in the text under No. 11.)

7. Verbs

(The prefix haga- expressing the infinitive has been omitted.)

Sleep	ts:ā	ts:ā	‖um
Go	ū	ū	|ung
Say	|noa	|noa	mi
Tell me	|noa mē	|noa mē	—
Make, do	ō	ō	di
See	hassé	hahoa	mo, go
Sit	|ō	|ō	ǂgu
Hit	ǂam	|ū	ǂnau
Seize	ngū	gúa	|kō
Kill	|ung	|á du	|am
Shoot (with bow)	tχā	|ā	‖au
Rifle	|abu (nama)	|noá	|abús
Run	|gā	|gá	|óē
Stand	n‖gá	|nu	mā
Laugh	tsi	tsi	āi
Hear	ts:ā	hats:ā	‖au
Smell	|u	|u	|aba

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Heikum	Kung	Nama	English
ga n	ga n	tzătză	Taste
nds:ō	|ō	|urib	Feel
,óa	|ăzo	||assen	Wash oneself
|abi (nama)	ha |uru	|abi	Ride
zχáni	demzam	ǂā	Dance
|a ń	|a ń	|aia ǂau	Enjoy oneself
dzn	ha |au	|ā	Be sad
|nai	|nai	nā	Bite
me ||ei ||ei	—	|ore	Request
|ā	|āma	batale(Dutch)	Pay
||ama (nama)	||ama (nama)	||amá	Buy
|hei	|hei	|au	Cut
||n	||n	|ei	Tie, fasten
kora	kora	oré	Untie, loosen

8. Adjectives

gats:ă	gats:ă	|ei	Good
ga |au	ga |au	zua	Evil
tχā	goá	|ham	Cowardly
ga |um (very)	|um	isá	Beautiful
kui	dā	|gam	Hot
|ā	|á	|aib	Cold
tz:ī	|u (= water)	|a	Wet
|au	|u |é	ǂnasa	Dry
ze |au	|au	|uli	White
|ang	|ang	|amr	Green
ǂangssen	||daun	|óa	Blue
dschō	dschō	ǂnań	Black
|ā	|ā	|uni	Yellow
|aissen	|ā	|abá	Red
|ósse	|ā?	|aisse	Rapid
auta:eá	aussehaú	|ausse	Slow
ts:éma	ta:éma	subusse	Soft
|χī	|χī	|arisse	Loud
|χóa |χei	|χóa	ǂgausib	Healthy
|χai	|χai	|aissen	Sick
|gao	|gao	|geissa	Strong
schui	|χá	subu	Weak
|ai oder |ē	|ē	||ōb	Dead
|oa |ē	|oa |ē	odide	Alive
|ang	|áo	gáro	Hard
kam	kam	tsau(ra)	Soft

9. Personal Pronouns

mē or mēhí	me	dita	I
tschoē é	tschoē é	saatz	You

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9. Personal Pronouns (cont.)

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
He	ǎhng	ǎhng	//eib
We	tschússe	tschússe	sáta
You	ts¦ǎ	ts¦ǎ	sado
They	ǎhng(?)	tschudi tsch¦ǎ	//ēin

10. Possessive Pronouns

My	mēhng	mēhng	ti
Your	tschoë ē (?)	atschi (?)	sa
His	ǎhng(?)	ǎhing(?)	//ēib
Our	tsu /ǎ	wesse tschisch hug(?)	—
Your	mi dsú	mi tsú	—
Their	i /ǎ	(?)	—

The forms followed by (?) could not be ascertained with certainty.

11. Interrogatives

When?	ǂum katewa	—	ma /b ai
Where?	kole wǎ	—	mǎ pa
How?	kole wǎ	—	mǎ pa
Why?	disse wǎ	—	dein /ǎroma
What?	atchissi	atchissi	táre

12. Plural Formation

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In Heikum, as in Kung, the plural is formed by affixing sen to the stem of the substantive; for example:

/ā eye,	/oí hair,
/āsen eyes.	/oisen hairs.

193 /267 cont./
insert the syllables na dō.

English	Heikum	Kung
I have slept	mē na do ts:ǎ	me /eia di ts:ǎ
You have slept	tschoē e na do ts a	tschoe e /eia di ts a

D. Imperative

The imperative is expressed by means of the verbal stem.

Sleep	ts:ǎ	ts:ǎ
Go	ū	ū

E. Infinitive

The infinitive is formed by attaching the prefix haga to the verbal stem.

To sleep	haga ts:ǎ	haga ts:ǎ
To go	haga u	haga u

15. Customary Phrases

●192 What is your name	a /u	tschoe ē or a tschuē
What are you saying	atchissi a di koia	atchissi a di koia
Where is he?	ahng kolewa wa	—
Give me	na mē	na mē
What do you want	atchissi wa	atchiss 'a diū
Yes	ts:ing	—
No	koē	koē
Come here	oē	oē

N/OW

LORNA MARSHALL

N/ow[1] is a belief concerning rain and cold which is held by the /Kung Bushmen in the region around Nyae Nyae in South West Africa.

About ten inches of rain falls in an average year in this part of the Kalahari Desert and sinks into the deep sands. There is no run-off in streams and there are few water holes. The rain is sufficient to support a covering vegetation of grass, shrubs, and scrubby trees. The vegetation includes numerous edible roots, tubers, leaves, fruits, and nuts, for which the Afrikaans language provides the convenient word *veldkos*.

The /Kung, the only inhabitants of the interior of this particular region, are nomadic hunters and gatherers. If the rains are poor and the veldkos dry and sparse, the people suffer. Rain, they say, is life-giving; sun is death-giving.

Summer is the season of the 'big rains' in the western Kalahari. 'Little rains'—a few scant showers—may fall in September, October, and November. The 'big rains' begin in late December or January and continue into March. The summer storms are awesome. Every day the winds drive monstrous clouds around the sky, which domes a horizon as flat as the sea. They breed the storms. Lightning streaks from them. Thunder roars and rumbles. The earth sucks in their deluges, hissing.

The /Kung say that thin clouds which give no rain are male. They call them */nw*.[2] The big rain clouds are female. White ones they call *//ga kwe disi*—*//ga* means cloud or rain, *disi* means females.[3] The enormous grey clouds with rain pouring from them the /Kung call */kwei* (zebras), because they are so fleet and, though a person may think he is far from the rain, it comes swiftly and is on him. We have seen Bushmen, caught without shelter in the storms, shivering so that their teeth chattered, saying they could perish in such rain.

Rain itself is male and female, */ga /go* and */ga di*. The men one day drew in the sand the spoor of male and female rain. Male rain spoor was made with all five fingers held stiffly and plunged deeply into the sand, to make big holes. Male rain breaks the trees and beats down the fruits, the men told us. It is (like) a fight, and may kill a person. Thunder and lightning accompany it, and sometimes hail. Female rain has tiny drops and does not spoil anything; it beautifies the trees and the grass and makes the veldkos grow. Its spoor was made by smoothing out a place in the sand and covering it closely with tiny dots. Gao said a person (anyone) may speak to the rain, saying, 'You are doing very well', or, 'Fall silently. Don't make such a noise. Don't be

[1] We wish to thank both Dr. Mary Douglas and Professor I. Schapera for reading the manuscript about *n/ow* and for making several helpful suggestions.

[2] The /Kung language has four clicks: / is the symbol for the dental click, ≠ for the alveolar, / for the alveolar palatal, and // for the lateral.

[3] We did not know how to translate *kwe*, which occurs very often. It seemed sometimes to be a sort of article and we did not work on it especially. We regret not having done so because Miss Bleek, in her *Bushman Dictionary* (American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1956), records in the Auen or //K"au-//en language, which she says is very like the /Kung and which she places south of the /Kung, the phrase: */ga -k"wisi*, meaning rain's hair or cloud. In /Kung */ga* and *//ga* both mean rain. We now wonder if *kwe* should be *kwi* and if it means hair in the phrase *//ga kwe disi*.

6:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

dangerous.' When they do they use the word *n/oi*. It is a word for gentle rain, and also a respect word. They use it for male rain when they are afraid of it and avoid its real name, */ga /go*.

The rains of the western Kalahari are local, falling from clouds which the winds herd. They may fill one pan and miss another. Laurence Marshall spent one whole night, tentless, in a drenching downpour, to find in the morning that a mile away no rain had fallen. But by and large the rains are sufficient in quantity and well enough dispersed to fill most of the water-holes, pans, and hollow trees, and to revive the growing things, so that the autumn months, which follow the rains, are good—the best of the year. Then the /Kung may travel anywhere within their territories to hunt and gather the fresh veldkos. The rains are life-giving.

Winter is the season of dryness. It is also the season of burning sun in the cloudless sky by day and freezing cold when the sun sets. Bitter winds catch up the sparks of the fires at night and whirl them in blazing streaks into the darkness. If water is left in an open bowl, it may be ice in the morning. By mid-winter, July, there has been no rain for three or four months. The pans and small water-holes are dry. Though there are still foods to be gathered, like the mangetti nuts in the northern forest, there is no water on the route, nor in the white sand dunes where the mangettis grow, and the people cannot carry enough in their ostrich-egg shells to go to the mangettis and return. In 7,500 square miles of the interior of the region around Nyae Nyae, there are only five water-holes which do not dry up in the winter and spring. The /Kung bands must gather around whatever permanent water-hole they belong to and restrict their hunting and gathering trips to conform one way or another to the problem of water. This region, incidentally, does not abound in tsama melons and, though there are succulent so-called 'water' roots to be found, they seem not to be sufficient to support whole bands for long. The Nyae Nyae bands, it appears, cannot, or at least do not, base themselves for long periods away from their water-holes.

The spring months which follow the dry months of winter are the dangerous months. The sun is scorching. Fruits and leaves shrivel; the edible roots, stirred by the few tantalizing drops of the little rains, or just because it is spring, give up their juices to the first new shoots and are dry and bitter to eat. The people longingly await the rains, saying it is the sun which dries the water-holes and the plant foods. The /Kung of this region use one word for both sun and dryness, */kam*, and say the sun is death-giving.

In their beliefs about *n/ow*,[1] which they think influences the weather, as this paper will describe, they make an antithesis between rain and cold. This seems paradoxical when one experiences the devastating heat of the sun in September, October, and November, but the resolution of the paradox may lie in the fact that the hardships of the dry seasons begin with the rainless winter months and their bitterly cold nights, so that sun, dryness, cold and want become a complex which is in antithesis to rain and plenty. *N/ow* is called 'bad' if it brings cold, 'good' if it brings rain.

Mrs. Hoernlé[2] records a Hottentot belief called */nau*. The word appears to be

[1] We spell the /Kung word *n/ow* in this way because it rhymes with 'how'. We wish to distinguish it from another /Kung word, */nau*, which it closely resembles, but which has a slightly shorter, more closed sound. */Nau* means 'old man', according to Miss Bleek's *Bushman Dictionary*. We heard it used as a term of respect in addressing old men.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., 'Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of */nau* among the Hottentots', *Harvard African Studies*, ii (1918), pp. 75–77.

821 171 192 similar to the /Kung word *n/ow* in sound but refers to a different belief. In the /Kung belief, *n/ow* influences rain. The Hottentot concept of */nau* supposes a state of being which exists when people are in periods of crisis in their lives. Professor Schapera[1] says of the state of */nau*, summarizing Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis:

> All periods of crisis in the life of a Hottentot involve his separation from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis is exposed to danger on every side; he must retire from contact with other people, and take special care of himself. But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things upon which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence he is secluded, and must abstain scrupulously from his usual tasks.
>
> Such a person is said to be */nau*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay into that group of his people already possessing the new characteristic he has acquired, in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more.

Remarried persons or persons newly widowed are examples.

171 796 821 Mrs. Hoernlé records a rain ceremony of the Hottentots which has several elements in common with the /Kung belief about *n/ow*. The Hottentot ceremony is called the *guri≠ab* (yearly killing).[2] Professor Schapera's[3] description of the *guri≠ab*, which follows, is, as he says, based mainly on Mrs. Hoernlé's account.

> . . . It [the ceremony] is held, if possible, on the banks of a stream, and if there is no stream near by, then a trench is dug to simulate one. When the old men judge that the summer rains are due (about November or December), they tell the chief that it is time to hold the yearly feast, and he sends word to all the outlying families, and decides the time and spot for the ceremony.
>
> Each family contributes according to its means, all bringing milk, and those who can, some female animal, a cow or a ewe, which must be pregnant. The feast cannot be held at all without one pregnant animal. . . . fires are lit to cook the meat for the feast. In addition a fire is lit on the banks of the stream for the special part of the ceremony. The animals are killed and cut up very carefully, so as to preserve intact the uteri, which are kept till after the feast. Eating apparently goes on most of the time until all the food is finished.
>
> When the fire at the riverside is ready, and a channel has been made to the river or stream, the old men of the tribe who are good at prophesying take the uteri, hold them over the fire and pierce them with sticks so that the uterine fluid flows directly through the fire and down the river. At the same time milk in plenty and fat from the animals are thrown on the fire, so that liquid really flows, and great clouds of smoke rise into the sky. Meanwhile all the people round gather together in a great tribal dance, calling on *Tsui ||Goab* to send the rain in plenty, to make the ground soft and the grass green, so that they may have plenty of food for the year.

The uterine fluid, the fire and clouds of smoke rising into the sky, and the association of the ceremony with rain are the elements in the Hottentot belief which are similar to the elements in the /Kung Bushman belief of *n/ow*. But, though there are these interesting common elements, the /Kung concept differs largely from the Hottentot *guri≠ab*.

[1] Schapera, I., *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 256–7.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., 'A Hottentot Rain Ceremony', *Bantu Studies*, i, No. 2 (May 1922), pp. 3–4.

[3] Schapera, op. cit., p. 379.

N/ow of the /Kung is something which influences weather, bringing rain if it is 821
'good' *n/ow*, or cold if it is 'bad' *n/ow*. Precisely what *n/ow* consists of was never made explicit. Nothing about it can be seen. One knows of its existence, the /Kung say, by observing its effects upon the weather.

N/ow exists in all human beings, the /Kung believe, and in certain big animals, 821
namely: giraffe, eland, gemsbok, kudu, hartebeest, and wildebeest. For the sake of 825
brevity I shall refer to these animals as the *n/ow* animals. Small animals do not have *n/ow*, according to the /Kung. We wanted to learn why, but the /Kung could only tell us that they were so created. Steenbok have positively no *n/ow* at all. Some informants claimed that duikers had none, others said that duikers' *n/ow* was undeveloped. Informants were also uncertain about springbok. There are very few springbok in the region and informants said they killed them so seldom that they had not observed whether or not they had *n/ow*. Possibly other large animals would be found to have *n/ow* if the question were further pursued.[1] There was no disagreement among /Kung 821
informants about other things; no other things have *n/ow*—not earth itself, nor vegetation nor other objects on earth; not water, clouds, rain, thunder or lightning, nor heavenly bodies. Not even the two Gods themselves have *n/ow* in them, neither [776]
the great one who lives in the eastern sky, nor his namesake (his */guma*) who lives in the western sky, both of whom bear the names Huwe, Hishi, and ≠Gao/na, our informants told us.

N/ow gets into a human being in the womb. Exactly how this happens informants 821
could not tell us. It was our impression that they were not hiding information, for 843
they seemed willing enough to talk about *n/ow* and said it was not dangerous or 827
harmful in any way to speak freely about it. We think they simply did not know. One informant said, 'The child gets the *n/ow* in the womb and is born with it.' Another said, 'The *n/ow* is created in the womb.' Another said, 'The great Creator gives the [776]
n/ow and taught the people to do the things they do about it. He made all things and made all things to be known.' The *n/ow* acquired in the womb remains in a person all his life.

Some persons get a 'good' rain-bringing *n/ow*, others get a 'bad' cold-bringing *n/ow*. When we wanted to learn how this happened we were told that 'When the mother's uterine fluid flows into the ground, it makes a *n/ow* in the child which brings rain or a *n/ow* which does not bring rain'.

The mother has no voluntary control over this, nor has anyone else; and there is nothing, like medicine or magic, spell or ceremony, which can be used to cause the *n/ow* to be one kind or the other. Furthermore, the child does not inherit a good or bad *n/ow* from his mother or father or any ancestors. The philosophy, lore, or belief about the question of what causes the *n/ow* to be one or the other kind, whatever it may have been in the past, seems not to be known now with clarity or detail.

Two verbs were used in connexion with *n/ow*: to *≠gani* and to *//ghui*. The /Kung 192
say that the mother has *≠gani*(ed) the child if it gets a good *n/ow* and has *//ghui*(ed) it if 827

[1] Miss Lucy Lloyd (*A Short Account of Further Bushman Material, Third Report*, London, 1889, p. 19) mentions that a Bushman informant, Dia/-kwain by name, who worked with her and with Dr. Bleek before his death, and who came from the Katkop Mountains, south of the Orange River, told her that 'A baboon, when killed, resembles a man, in "making cloud"'. No more information was given in the report, but the concept of 'making cloud' suggests that possibly the now extinct or almost extinct Cape Bushmen had a belief which may have resembled in some ways the concept of *n/ow*. [171]

it gets a bad *n/ow*. We heard the words used constantly in connexion with *n/ow* and rain and cold, but know of the use of only one of them in another connexion. The /Kung say that a child '*//ghui*(s) its name' if its teeth come late. We do not know precisely how to translate the words and hope that a linguist will some time throw more light on them.

≠Toma, one of our informants, pondering on the question of how the *n/ow* comes to be of one kind or the other in a person, said he thought the child's position in the womb and whether the child had long or short legs might have something to do with it, but he was not sure of this, and knew no more to tell us. A caul or a breech-birth does not make the *n/ow* good or bad, he thought. Other informants thought that severely deformed infants or twins might possibly be more likely than others to get a bad *n/ow*, but they too were uncertain. (Possibly this is because deformed infants and the weaker one of twins are killed at birth by /Kung mothers, so there is little occasion to think about the *n/ow* of such children.)

It is discovered what kind of *n/ow* a child has by observing the weather at the time of its birth or soon after. If it rains the people believe the *n/ow* of the child has brought the rain and are sure the *n/ow* is good. If water should freeze when the child was born or soon after, the child's *n/ow* would be known to be bad. Should the weather continue in its normal seasonal course and no great extreme or notable change occur, the child's *n/ow* will be thought to be probably of the rain-bringing or cold-bringing kind according to the type of weather which prevailed; but if the weather is extreme at the time of the birth there is a feeling of certainty about the kind of *n/ow* the child has acquired, as the /Kung believe the effect of the *n/ow* was clearly observable.

At death as well as at birth the *n/ow* of a human being influences the weather. A /Kung told us that his *n/ow* had brought heavy rain when he was born and that everyone knew he had a rain-bringing *n/ow*. He said his mother, who lived at some distance from where he lived, noticed the weather and, if rain came at an unusual time or was unusually heavy, she feared he had died and that his *n/ow* was causing the rain to come.

N/ow is said to exist in the bodies of human beings (presumably everywhere in them). Informants mentioned it particularly as associated with uterine fluid at the time of birth and with the urine and hair of humans.

Hair is associated with clouds by the /Giwke Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with whom we worked in 1955. They have a myth, told to us by the old headman, Oukwane, which says that God, whose name there is Pisiboro, and who is their one God, tore the black, black hair from his head and threw it into the sky to make the rain clouds.

In *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*,[1] Dr. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd record a belief about death, collected in 1875 in the Katkop dialect from the informant Dia/kwain, which refers to hair and clouds. We quote the statement:

> The hair of our head will resemble clouds, when we die, when we in this manner make clouds. These things are those which resemble clouds; and we think that (they) are clouds. We, who do not know, we are those who think in this manner, that (they) are clouds. We, who know, when we see that they are like this, we know that (they) are a person's clouds; (that they) are the hair of his head. We, who know, we are those who think thus, while we feel that we seeing recognize the clouds, how the clouds do in this manner form themselves.

[1] Bleek, W. H. I., and Lloyd, L. C., *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911, pp. 399–401.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER FIVE

Gai and Ukwane

At our camp in Ai a ha'o I had a small tent not high 136
enough to stand in, tied to a very small thorn tree. The tent was made of ragged, waterproof fabric which billowed in and out when the wind blew, and when lit from the inside by a candle at night looked luminous, pale green, like an aquarium or a lantern on the moon. The tent was a shade from the blazing sun at noon and a shelter from the wind, and through the thin canvas I could hear the creatures that passed at night—hares and small buck that made the long grass rustle, and occasionally small predatory animals, such as jackals, whose footsteps make a sound and which sometimes call "*tsa, tsa,*" their sad, loud cry that means in Gikwe "water, water." [192]

Whenever an animal called, someone would surely answer 524
it. People do this for fun, a hobby, answering every animal 825
except the lion. In the Kalahari it is considered safer to let the lion have the last word.

I had luckily pitched my tent in the sun, and during the 123
long cold period that followed our arrival at Ai a ha'o I was the only person who was warm because the tent kept out the

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam

193 a or ŋ or a nasalization of the vowel, as ǃkõũŋ "grandfather", ǂkā "brother", ⊙pwoŋ "son", ǂk'en "child's father-in-law".
[196] These endings are particularly interesting, as otherwise the
[601] ǂxam language has no signs of gender. Perhaps they show that in some former stage this was a language with genders, just as English still shows its old division into genders in its names for classes of people.

601 On the use of tata a Bushman said: "We say ǂbo, we say ǂ oa,
[192] but the children who are lately there say tata; they should say ǂbo. The habit of saying tata comes from the Boers."

193 ⊙pwa is the ǂxam diminutive; in allied dialects it denotes "child", which in ǂxam is ǃkwā. That ⊙poŋ "son" and ⊙pwaxai
196 "daughter" are derivatives is clear. I think that ⊙pwai-ǂhi
601 "father-in-law" is derived from ⊙pwa "child" and ǂhaŋ "to marry", the man whose child one marries. ⊙pwaitente would be the feminine form thereof. ǂha "husband", "wife" is certainly derived from ǂhaŋ.

The second, more unusual title for parents-in-law I cannot explain; ǃkwi is "person", but I have no example of any other use of ǂk'a, except that it seems part of the terms ǂk'en and ǂk'aiti, applied to the parents of a son- or daughter-in-law, or of a brother- or sister-in-law.

606 On a man's behaviour to his parents-in-law we have the following note: "They (the sons-in-law) do not talk to their mother-in-law in haste, for they are silent. Their father-in-law is the one with whom they talk. He (the son-in-law) acts like this, at another time he does not talk to his father-in-law; he merely talks to his wife, his wife is the one who talks to her father. He also acts like this to his mother-in-law, he speaks with her. He speaks with her, he is silent."

This looks as if there are occasions on which one or other of the wife's parents may be addressed, and others when they may
[538] not. I have noticed in their stories of the Mantis, that his adopted daughter's husband does not often address the Mantis directly, but says to his own son, "Tell Grandfather so-and-so," which the child does. However, in one story the two men speak directly to each other.

196 ǂkā, ǂkaxai "brother", "sister", may be derived from ǂka
601 "like", "to be like". In Nama ǂkàb means "the same". The adjective ǃkori simply means "big".

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Auen
Kung
Naron

Some ǂk'au ǂen terms are apparently borrowed from Naron, for instance, ǂwiakwe "brother-in-law" and ǂkū "greatniece". ǂwi ǂkwā would be the correct form, corresponding to ǂwi dzou "sister-in-law". ǂkū is simply Naron for "child". My informants lived on the border of the tribes, and so they often used Naron words or Naron forms of roots belonging to both. 196 601 [192]

The ǂkuŋ terms show more variety. ǂkū ǂnue seems to be "one namesake" or "first namesake" or "kinsman". ǂga and ǂge seem peculiar to this dialect. They may be northern forms of ǂkā "brother", or of the Naron ǂka.

On the relationship between son-in-law and father-in-law the following note appears in a ǂkuŋ story, explaining the sentence, "A person called him 'Kai-he'." 538

"The person did not say his (Karu's) name, but just called him by the little word which is his name, 'Ai-he.' His mother-in-law said, 'My son-in-law,' but his father-in-law did not call him 'My son-in-law', but addressed him as 'Ai-he'. And he heard his father-in-law. His father-in-law was a man, and respected his daughter, so did not say his daughter's husband's name, but merely called his son-in-law by his little name which was 'Ai-he'."

III. The Naron *or Bushmen of the Central Kalahari*

This tribe is less descriptive in its terms of relationship than its Northern and Southern neighbours, yet its system can hardly be called a classificatory one. Remarkable is the number of reciprocal titles used between different generations. Grandparents and grandchildren address each other as mama. Parents and children call each other by two forms of the same roots, either aba or ǂku. Aba is the verb "to bear", "to beget", also "to carry in a kaross". The father is the begetter, the child the begotten one. Eisha I take to be a contracted feminine form of the same. 601 196 601

ǂkuŋ is also used as "big, grown up", ǂkuŋ kwena means "grown-up people", ǂkuŋ ǂarro kwena "old people", literally "big bodied people". The application of this word to parents is easy to understand, but the use of a very similar form to designate children is not clear.

Likewise the word tahō is a puzzle. It is used for all grandchildren, but only for the father's parents. It is employed reciprocally between a mother's brother and a sister's child. A

– [Text continues on page 66]

14: Willet Y-4 (no date) 1965 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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(Deals with DZu/?oa : si and //ganakwe)

824
262

	81.	Grewia sp.	(berry)
	82.	Ziziphus mucronata	(berry)
[192]	83.	not determined - !Kung name -"todi"	(root)
	84.	not determined - !Kung name -"!!gwi"	(root)
	85.	not determined - !Kung name -"//aižeri"	(root)

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

554 887 band, such as migrations and hunting parties, appear rather to be regulated by the skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men generally.[1]

Among the North-Western tribes, on the other hand, where the 622 bands are on the whole more considerable in size, each band has a [184] recognized chief (*//exa* or *//exaba*, *gao-sob* or *gei-khoib*; the last two [192] words are of Hottentot origin).[2] The office is as a rule hereditary in the male line, descending from father to son, or, failing such, to the nearest male relative. The heir succeeds only when he attains maturity, i.e. when he has passed through the puberty ceremonies and has killed his first head of big game. During his minority there is no regency—things just go on, as Kaufmann says. Among the Heikum and the Kung, however, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds. This [184] rule of succession is so much at variance with what we know of the [171] other North-Western Bushmen, and even of the structure of the band in the two tribes mentioned, that, if the information be correct, the practice can only be regarded as due to the influence of the neighbouring OvaMbo, who are definitely organized on a matrilineal [611] basis. There is no other instance of matrilineal succession among the Bushmen.

No tribute or services are rendered to the chief, nor are there any special signs of chieftainship, such as a particular dress or mode of life. We are told by Miss Bleek that Naron chiefs mostly have two [595] wives, but whether this is in any way associated with their status is not made clear. The main functions of the chief apparently are to direct the movements of the people from place to place and to allocate the work for the day, to order the burning of the veld, and, in particular, to lead in war. Among the Heikum we also know that in him are vested certain other functions the performance of which is of vital importance to the welfare of the community. He alone, as we have seen, "is able to bring forth from fire the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune." The various beliefs and practices centring in the first fire kindled by him at every new encampment, while fully demonstrating the importance of this fire in the social life of the people, at the same time also reflect his religious significance and emphasize the dependence of the community upon him in this aspect of their life. He also, as we have

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109; Trenk, op. cit., 170; Seydel, op. cit., 304.

[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 154; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36–7; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 86–8; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 14.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

775 hands of the corpse at burial is meant to conciliate his soul. Trenk
[764] says they believe only in an "evil spirit", which they fear, but he
[776] throws no light upon the nature of this spirit. He adds, however, that, according to them, the souls of the dead fly about in the air and also speak to people, yet remain unseen, except by children, to whom they often show themselves in ghostlike animal forms of oxen, horses, or gemsbok.[1]

761 Of the tribes further north our information is somewhat more precise. Kaufmann, as we have seen, maintains that the Auen distinguish between those who die "good deaths" and those who die "bad deaths", and he adds that the latter are feared also after death. This distinction was not found by Miss Bleek among the Naron at Sandfontein, but is also reported by Fourie of the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron groups of the same district. He says
764 they believe in a "good being" named */khutse* and a "bad being"
775 named *Gaua*. People who die a "good death" are said to go to
[776] */khutse*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaua*. The former have a
[761] good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress. A deceased person is believed to move about in the form of a ghost at night. "*Buchu* is accordingly sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy, so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver, and arrows of the deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost returning to look for them." These usages are no doubt part of
[114] the funeral ceremony, but the context in which they are described does not make this clear.[2]

775 The word *Gaua*, or, more correctly, *//gāũa* or *//gāuwa*, which
[192] Fourie interprets as a "bad being" or "Satan", is, according to
[776] Miss Bleek, also used by the Auen and Naron in the sense of a "person
[114] who has died". Her male informants said that all people who die
[791] become *//gāuwa*, and the magicians can see them. The women, however, affirmed that only men who have been cut between the eyebrows (at the puberty ceremonies) become *//gāuwa*, and only such men can see them, though women sometimes hear them. "They evidently mean ghosts," comments Miss Bleek, "and have much the same vague fear of them as European peasants have. The ghosts

[1] "Buschleute der Namib," 168. [2] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

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walk at night and people are afraid of them, but they do not expect 775
real harm from them. If seen, the apparitions resemble people."[1]

The same word was given three meanings by some Kung youths [192] ●
from near Lake Ngami—"dream, ghost, spirit." It is met with again among the !O Kung of Angola, by whom it is sometimes used for "ghost", sometimes more impersonally. Miss Bleek was told by one of her female informants that when a person dies there rises from the grave the ghost, *//gāũa*, which can be seen by magicians. This woman claimed to be a magician, and said that she and her co-
workers could conjure up *//gāũa* by dancing and singing. In what [789]
form he appeared and whether she looked on the apparition as the spirit of the departed, or as some other spirit, she did not say. Another woman's death was described as follows: "She died, became a ghost, people saw the ghost, it went away and stayed in the bush."[2]

A good deal of new information on this subject is contained in [114]
the reports recently published by Lebzelter on his researches among the Kung and the Heikum.[3] The Eastern Kung, he says, believe that the vital principle ("Lebensprinzip") of a man is his soul, *xa*, which is immortal. When a man dies, this soul is fetched by the
spirits, *//Gauab*, whose hearth fires are the stars, and is taken by them [776]
to the sky hut ("Himmelshaus") of the "great captain" *Xu*. This hut has two storeys, in the upper of which dwell the souls of all people, including even those of the whites. They do nothing there and also eat nothing. The body is buried, but after a few days the flesh becomes "alive" and then disappears: out of it has arisen the *//gauab* of the dead person, in the form of a smaller image or "shade" which issues from the grave, hunts, eats, and drinks just as in life, and when tired goes to sleep in its house, the grave. These shades cannot enter into or transform themselves into stones, plants, or animals; apparently they retain the human form only. The Kung of the Oschimpoloveld, again, believe that every man has a soul, */gau-ba*, which after death comes into the "house of God" (*Erob*) in the sky. Dead people are therefore now the people who are with "God", and after a while "God" again makes living beings out of them.

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul, *darish*, goes up [776]
into the sky to */Gamab*, a "demiurge", who places the heart in cold
water and eats it

[1] *The Naron*, 26.
[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123, 124.
[3] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khun," 409–12 *passim*; *idem*, "Bei den 'Kun'-Buschleuten," 14.

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114 776 [224] from Chapman, who records that once when some Bushmen were with him and he had killed a rhinoceros they threw some dust on its tail and spat in its eyes before they touched it, muttering meanwhile "some gibberish" to *Thora*, while on another occasion when he had killed some elephants a similar performance was again enacted by his Bushman attendants.

The distinction between *Thora* and *Huwe* is not quite clear from Dornan's account. In one place he seems to imply that the two words refer to the same conception. Elsewhere, however, he remarks: "Huwe seems an inferior kind of spirit to Thora, for at times the latter is invoked to come to his aid, as if the former were not powerful enough to defend himself and his children. Some Bushmen near the Tuli River sang the following words, in an agitated and melancholy [539] voice: 'Thora ba Huwe i-e i-e, Thora come to the help [782] Huwe i-e i-e,' ad lib." From their attributes, however, it seems that the two conceptions *Thora* and *Huwe* are substantially the same. In all probability the name *Huwe* has drifted in from the west, which would explain why it is sometimes substituted for *Thora*, sometimes found alongside it.[1]

192 821 [776] [184] [775] In addition to this being variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Erob*, *Thora*, etc., all the Northern Bushmen also speak of *//gauwa* (*Gaua*, *//gaua*, *//gauab*, etc.). This word, as we have already seen, is used by the North-Western Bushmen for "a person who has died", or more precisely, as appears in certain cases, for the ghost of a dead person. It is, however, also used with a much wider application. Among the Naron and Auen at Sandfontein the wind is called *//gauwa* when it is strong and howls. One of the Naron tales recorded by Miss Bleek speaks of the wind as a man going about, and of *//gauwa* as a bird accompanying him. "*//gauwa* says: 'I make the wind and thus go.'" Some of the people seemed to believe in a supreme 192 776 114 *//gauwa*, a being who lives in the east near *Hishe*, to whose house the ghosts repair by day. They said he was *Hishe's* younger brother, while others said *//gauwa* was *Hishe*. Miss Bleek affirms that no ideas of good or bad qualities are connected with either of these beings, nor are they prayed to. Fourie, however, speaks of *Gaua* among the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron as a "bad being" or "Satan", to whom people dying a "bad death" are said to go,

[1] Dornan, op. cit., 148–50; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 386, 81. The translation given by Dornan of the prayer in which *Thora* is asked to come to the aid of *Huwe* cannot be relied upon. In another place (*J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1917, p. 53) he renders the same words: "God leave (us) alone ie ie!"

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while those dying a "good death" go to *!khutse* (*!khuba*). "About the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1] 114 192 776 [773] [881]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The 10 Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say "*//gaua* thunders", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: "*//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndzambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God"); "we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to *//gaua*."[2] 184 192 776 [751] [821] [761] [775] [821] [881] [304] [782]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain" *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds. 114 184 776 [192] [821] [756] [787]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 14; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4.

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776 First there is their chief or headman, simply termed *//gauab* by ordinary people, but whose real name, known to and uttered only by the magicians, is */nawa*. "Probably," suggests Lebzelter, "we [184] have to do here with the high god of another religion, and */nawa* is to be identified with *//nwa-se*, the New Moon of the Angola Kung." */nawa* or *//gauab* does good as well as evil. He is prayed to for [782] success in the chase, assists the hunters in their efforts, and receives [224] the first-offerings of any game taken; he is also, however, most [753] frequently the cause of illness. One informant, who had been baptized, spoke of him as the "devil" who had made the Kung; others, old magicians, credited him with giving rise to the existence and present mode of life of men and animals. He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.

775 The second group of spirits are the *//gauab* who stand at the service of the "great captain". As a rule they lie around their hearth-776 fires in the sky, the stars, and only come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead (*xa*) and bring them to *Xu*. The third group comprises the "small" *//gauab*, the ghosts of the dead, whose home is the grave but who roam about everywhere and are injurious to mankind; the fourth are the particularly malicious little spirits dwelling in the water; and finally there is the whole horde of the [753] spirits of disease, the *dsao*, small yellow mannikins with thick bellies, who at the command of any of the other spirits enter into people and thus make them ill. It is the function of the magicians to remove [756] them from the body of the patient.[1]

The Western Kung of the Oschimpoloveld have no such elaborate 184 world of spirits. Mention is made only of the */gagorob* or */gau/gorob*, 776 small spirits who roam about in the bush and do nothing but play practical jokes on people. "They are not the spirits of the dead," says Lebzelter, "and cannot therefore be compared with the *//gauab*."[2]

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan we meet again with *//gauab*, [192] or, as the name is here rendered, */gamab*. Owing to Christian influence [177] */gamab* is now spoken of as "the devil", but Lebzelter regards this being as a "demiurge", whom he equates with */nawa* or the principal *//gauab* of the Eastern Kung, and with */gamab* of the Bergdama and Nama. */gamab* is said by the Heikum to have created mankind and the world; the souls of the dead (*darish*) come to live with him,

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der *//'Khun*-Buschmänner," 407–10; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 412.

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and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the "benefactress" *Ises*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.[1]

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was doubted.[2]

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are, according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan, "I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad, and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism in which two powers, one good, Thora or Huwe, and one bad, Khauna, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."[3]

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the

[1] Op. cit., 410. [2] Op. cit., 410–11.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167–8.

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184 776 Bushmen of the Orange Free State, where, as we have seen, Campbell [192] mentions that the spirits attendant upon *Ko* (the Mantis) are called *Gauna*, and that after *Ko* has disappeared from the dance in which she was taking part, " her nymphs " also come and dance for a while. Nothing more is said about them, however.[1]

114 776 The problem now arises as to the real nature of these beings. The information relating to them is sometimes vague, sometimes inconsistent, and at all times obviously inadequate. No interpretation of their nature can therefore be regarded as fully reliable until it has been confirmed by a much more careful and detailed study in the field than has yet been made of the beliefs and usages connected with them. Moreover, as we shall see subsequently, the conception 171 776 of *//gaua* also figures prominently among the Hottentots and Bergdama, whose religious beliefs and practices in general offer other features of resemblance to those of the Bushmen. A comparison of the Bushman concepts on the one hand and those of the Hottentots and Bergdama on the other, may thus succeed in throwing further light upon the problem, the final consideration of which may therefore be delayed until the religions of these peoples have also been passed in review.

177 776 Certain points arise, however, which may at once be dealt with. The notions of *!khuba* among the Naron and Auen, and of *Dɪimo* among the Hiechware, may be set aside in the attempt to ascertain the real nature of Bushman religious conceptions. They have admittedly been taken over from other peoples, the former from the Nama, the latter from the BeChwana. *Erob*, mentioned by Lebzelter [797] as the name for the " Supreme Being " among the Western Kung and certain of the Heikum, is simply a corruption of the word *Elob*, from the Hebrew *Elohim*, which has been used by many missionaries among the Nama as a translation for " God ".[2] Its occurrence among these Bushmen is therefore an obvious indication of Christian influence, entering either directly through the missionaries or, more probably, through contact with the Nama; and in this connection it must be remembered that almost all the Heikum now speak only

[1] *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 31–2.

[2] Pater Schmidt, in accepting Lebzelter's data as convincing evidence for the existence of a Supreme Being among the Bushmen, remarks about *Erob* (" Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 397, n. 4): " Wenn er christlichen Ursprungs sein soll, von Elob, aus Elohim, so darf man fragen, warum das Inlaut -*l* in *r* übergegangen wäre." To this it may be replied that the sound *l* does not occur at all in Nama, save in a few words taken over from European languages, and that in most borrowed words where it does occur the Nama form of the word replaces it by *r*. The transmutation of *Elob* into *Erob* therefore follows a definite law of phonetic change in Nama. Cf. on this point Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, pp. 18–19.

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Here also the Mantis is the central figure of many myths; but at the same time he is the creator, he causes life or death, he is especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food and good luck in hunting, and he is also connected with certain religious dances at which the "initiated men" (probably the magicians) cure illness. The elaborate mythological character of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen and his association with so many other figures in these myths preclude an absolute identification of him and *Huwe*. The resemblance in other respects, however, appears on the whole to be striking enough to warrant our connecting the two. 184 776 [761] [224] [782] [755]

The other outstanding conception is that of *//gaua*, *//gauab*, */gamab*, etc. In all the North-Western tribes the word *//gaua* is used in the first place for the ghosts of dead persons, and one cannot resist assuming that this is its fundamental significance. Among the Naron and Auen these ghosts, which as in all the other North-Western tribes can be seen by the magicians, walk about at night, and people are afraid of them, but not do expect real harm from them; among the Eastern Kung, however, all the *//gauab* are the cause of illness, some do mischief, while others come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead; among the Heikum of Ukuambi the ghosts move about on earth and do harm to people, while among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul goes to live with */gamab*, but may return to earth to kill people. In general therefore it would seem that dead people are regarded by the North-Western Bushmen as sources of injury, and especially as causing illness and even death. The same idea is conveyed by Dornan's statement, that the North-Eastern Bushmen avoid the grave of a dead person, "lest the spirit resent the intrusion." 184 775 [753] [753] [761] [769]

The word *//gaua* is, however, used also in the sense of a personified being, whose attributes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but appear on closer analysis to show a certain uniformity. The !O Kung ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*; when anyone is killed by lightning they say "*//gaua* took him", and people who had met their death in this way were said to sit in the sky as stars, which are looked upon as "*//gaua*'s fires". Among the Eastern Kung the stars are also the fires of the *//gauab*, a shooting star heralds the death of someone, while lightning is the medium through which *Xu* punishes or kills people. Among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga *xamaba* (*/gamab*) inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like, while 184 776 [192] [821] [775] [821] [753]

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H
turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they 754
were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof! 648

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

B
The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions H
shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those 771
of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. 171
Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have 821
prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most
of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of
the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies.
This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu
peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

B
Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized H
family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice 771
in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, 171
although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots 769
dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples 775
the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above [192]
all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular
are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen
and the Hottentots use some form of the word //*gaua* for these ghosts, B
although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as /*hei* /*nun* and H
by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, [791]
the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and
consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them.
Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the
soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live
with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern
Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go,
without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural B
being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the H
Hottentots.

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the 771
word //*Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely 171
connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a 775
difference. The Hottentots regard //*Gaunab* primarily as an evil being, 761
821

[1] Op. cit., 122.

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buck". In connected narrative the subject is usually mentioned only once, and then not repeated; a second subject is repeated, but sentences or clauses without a subject refer back to the first subject, often long after it is last mentioned.

In the Southern languages, the sentences are generally fairly long and linked together by means of various conjunctions, while every verb has its subject expressed by means of a substantive or a pronoun. In *Nama* and to a lesser extent in *Hie* the same principle applies. In the Northern Bushman languages, and perhaps also in *Naron*, as far as one can judge, the sentences are usually short and strung together without conjunctions.

Note on Vocabulary

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The vocabularies of the Khoisan languages are necessarily very restricted along certain lines. Terms for abstract ideas are rare, and terms are of course lacking to indicate the many things not connected with the mode of life of the people. But in terms dealing with veld lore, wild animals, and birds, trees, herbs, and roots, the chase and all the wealth of description which that entails, the languages are remarkably rich.

A comparison of the vocabularies of the different languages shows that they have many words in common, and that even *Nama* shares a very large number of roots with one or other of the Bushman languages. Its greatest resemblances are with *Naron* and *Hie*, but many of its words occur in other Bushman languages also, sometimes in one, sometimes in another, even in the language spoken by the Lake Chrissie Bushmen of the Eastern Transvaal. There are, of course, many words in *Nama* which cannot be found in any of the other languages, but in the same way there are words in *!Khũ* or */Xam* which are peculiar to these languages. Frequently synonyms are found in *Nama* of which one word is also present in the Bushman languages, while another is not. If the languages are arranged according to similarity of roots, the Central Group shows most affinity with *Nama*, the Northern Group has less resemblance and the Southern Group still less. There is, however, no sharp line of distinction. The languages of the Kakia *Masarwa* and of the *//nu//en*, both of which belong to the Southern Group, have more in common with the Northern Group than has */Xam*, and *Hie* is a veritable link between the Northern Group and *Naron*, which again is a step nearer *Nama*.

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H
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9. Personal Pronouns (cont.)

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
He	ǎhng	ǎhng	//eib
We	tschússe	tschússe	sáta
You	ts¦ǎ	ts¦ǎ	sado
They	ǎhng(?)	tschudi tsch¦ǎ	//ēin

10. Possessive Pronouns

My	mēhng	mēhng	ti
Your	tschoë ē (?)	atschi (?)	sa
His	ǎhng(?)	ǎhing(?)	//ēib
Our	tsu /ǎ	wesse tschisch hug(?)	—
Your	mi dsú	mi tsú	—
Their	i /ǎ	(?)	—

The forms followed by (?) could not be ascertained with certainty.

11. Interrogatives

When?	ǂum katewa	—	ma /b ai
Where?	kole wǎ	—	mǎ pa
How?	kole wǎ	—	mǎ pa
Why?	disse wǎ	—	dein /ǎroma
What?	atchissi	atchissi	táre

12. Plural Formation

B
193

In Heikum, as in Kung, the plural is formed by affixing sen to the stem of the substantive; for example:

/ā eye, /āsen eyes.

/oi hair, /oisen hairs.

/266 cont./

13. Gender Differentiation

193 In order to differentiate gender, the Heikum and the Kung add to the substantive the syllable /ō for the masculine gender, and de or di for the feminine gender; for example:

eland antelope	/n
male	/n /ō
female	/n dē or /ndī

14. Conjugations

A. Present

In the present tense the form /ē di or a di intervenes between the personal pronoun and the verbal stem. tsía = to sleep.

English	Heikum	Kung
I sleep	mē /ē di tsǐǎ	mē /ē di tsǐǎ
You sleep	tschoë ē /ē di tsǐǎ	dschoë ē /ē di tsǐǎ
/267/		
He sleeps	ahng /ē di tsǐǎ or a di tsǐǎ	ahng /ē di tsǐǎ
We sleep	tschusse /ē di tsǐǎ	tschusse /ē di tsǐǎ
You sleep	tshǐǎ /ē di tsǐǎ	tschǐǎ /ē di tsǐǎ
They sleep	tschudi tschǐǎ tschu /ē di tsǐǎ	tschudi tschǐǎ tschu /e di tsǐǎ

B. Future

The future tense is formed by inserting the syllables /uma di between the personal pronoun and the verbal stem.

I shall sleep	mē /uma di tsǐǎ	me /uma di tsǐǎ
You will sleep	tschoë ē /uma di tsǐǎ	tschoë ē /uma di tsǐǎ etc.

C. Preterit

The Kung forms the preterit by inserting the syllables /eía di between the personal pronoun and the verbal stem; the Heikum

193 /267 cont./
insert the syllables na dō.

English	Heikum	Kung
I have slept	mē na do ts:ǎ	me /eia di ts:ǎ
You have slept	tschoë e na do ts a	tschoe e /eia di ts a

D. Imperative

The imperative is expressed by means of the verbal stem.

Sleep	ts:ǎ	ts:ǎ
Go	ū	ū

E. Infinitive

The infinitive is formed by attaching the prefix haga to the verbal stem.

To sleep	haga ts:ǎ	haga ts:ǎ
To go	haga u	haga u

15. Customary Phrases

192 What is your name	a /u	tschoe ē or a tschuē
What are you saying	atchissi a di koia	atchissi a di koia
Where is he?	ahng kolewa wa	—
Give me	na mē	na mē
What do you want	atchissi wa	atchiss 'a diū
Yes	ts:ing	—
No	koē	koē
Come here	oē	oē

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BANTU STUDIES

BUSHMAN TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

By D. F. Bleek

I. Southern Group: The ǂxam-ka-ǀ'e *or Bushmen of the old Cape Colony*

THE ǂxam-ka-ǀ'e follow the descriptive method of denoting relationships, though we find some general titles or possibly expressions of affection and respect among them. 601

Many of their terms of relationship allow an etymological explanation. Thus, ⊙a "father" is identical with ⊙a "out of", sometimes used as "to come out of". Xoa "mother" seems to be a feminine contracted form of the same word, xai being the feminine ending of ⊙pwaxai "daughter", and ǂkaxai "sister", the masculine forms of which are ⊙pwoŋ "son", and ǂkã "brother". 193 196 601

In Nama ⊙a is a vulgar word for "beget" or "bear", ⊙aĩ is "child", while xai signifies "to cohabit", xais being often used as "wife".

⊙a forms the plural ⊙akn-gu or ⊙kn-gu, which may denote "fathers" or "parents". Xoa forms xoakn-gu "mothers", often used where we should say "the older women" or "mother and her friends".

The words ibo, itau are terms of address, "my father," "my mother." Though i alone means "we", here it is used for "my". "One person is the one who says ibo," was a Bushman's explanation. "Our father" would be i ⊙a. Ibo sometimes becomes bobo. I think it may have some connexion with the Nama masculine ending ba, and itau with the Nama feminine plural ending ti or ts, corresponding to an old femine singular ta, now turned in Nama to sa. Taras is the Nama polite term for "woman", "mistress". Certainly ts, its, aiti appear as endings to feminine terms of relationship among the ǂxam-ka-ǀ'e as in ǂaiti "wife", "woman", ǀkoits "granny", ⊙pwaitents "mother-in-law", ǂk'aiti "child's mother-in-law". In some masculine terms of relationship we get

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193 n or ŋ or a nasalization of the vowel, as ǀkõĩŋ "grandfather",
[196] ǁkã "brother", ⊙pwoŋ "son", ǁk'en "child's father-in-law".
[601] These endings are particularly interesting, as otherwise the ǂxam language has no signs of gender. Perhaps they show that in some former stage this was a language with genders, just as English still shows its old division into genders in its names for classes of people.

601 On the use of tata a Bushman said: "We say ǀbo, we say i ea,
[192] but the children who are lately there say tata; they should say ǀbo. The habit of saying tata comes from the Boers."

⊙pwa is the ǂxam diminutive; in allied dialects it denotes
193 "child", which in ǂxam is ǀkwã. That ⊙poŋ "son" and ⊙pwaxai
196 "daughter" are derivatives is clear. I think that ⊙pwai-ǀhĩ
601 "father-in-law" is derived from ⊙pwa "child" and ǀhaŋ "to marry", the man whose child one marries. ⊙pwaitente would be the feminine form thereof. ǀha "husband", "wife" is certainly derived from ǀhaŋ.

The second, more unusual title for parents-in-law I cannot explain; ǀkwi is "person", but I have no example of any other use of ǁk'a, except that it seems part of the terms ǁk'en and ǁk'aiti, applied to the parents of a son- or daughter-in-law, or of a brother- or sister-in-law.

606 On a man's behaviour to his parents-in-law we have the following note: "They (the sons-in-law) do not talk to their mother-in-law in haste, for they are silent. Their father-in-law is the one with whom they talk. He (the son-in-law) acts like this, at another time he does not talk to his father-in-law; he merely talks to his wife, his wife is the one who talks to her father. He also acts like this to his mother-in-law, he speaks with her. He speaks with her, he is silent."

This looks as if there are occasions on which one or other of the wife's parents may be addressed, and others when they may
[538] not. I have noticed in their stories of the Mantis, that his adopted daughter's husband does not often address the Mantis directly, but says to his own son, "Tell Grandfather so-and-so," which the child does. However, in one story the two men speak directly to each other.

196 ǁkã, ǁkaxai "brother", "sister", may be derived from ǁka
601 "like", "to be like". In Nama ǁkàb means "the same". The adjective ǀkori simply means "big".

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601 I believe the term "sister" is used to a cousin who has been
[597] brought up as an adopted child in the speaker's family, just as a grandparent calls a grandchild "my child", if he adopts it.

[595] The ǂxam-ka-ǀ'e are monogamous, and in their folklore there is only one case of the punishment of incest, that of brother and sister.

I do not know whether the omissions in this table of relationships are accidental, or owing to the fact that the terms omitted are seldom or never used.

II. Northern Group: The ǂk'au ǂen (*Auen*), *and* ǀkuŋ *or Bushmen of the N.W. Kalahari*

●193 These tribes likewise use the descriptive method in denoting
601 terms of relationship. They, too, show in a few of such terms endings for masculine and feminine, which do not appear in any other nouns. For example: tsi or siŋ "brother", tsisi "sister", where we again find nasalization for the masculine, and si instead of ti for the feminine ending, or a prefixed di "female".

[193] Ma is the diminutive ending; ǀna means "big, grown up", ǂga
196 means "old, worn out". ǀku or ǀkū I think means "kinsman" or
601 "namesake". Thus the greatuncle is the "old kinsman", the mother's brother is the "big kinsman", the father's brother and sister are "little" ones, as are cousins, nephews and nieces, which would point to their having less influence. This rather contradicts the statement of the ǂk'au ǂen, that in case of a man's death, his brother must provide for his children. However, the father's brother is addressed as tshu or tsu, a term of affection applied in this tongue more to relations by marriage, but in ǀkuŋ, used by grandparents and grandchildren mutually, and by uncle and nephew. ǀko, the name for the mother's sister is, I think, a word related to ǀkoïte "grandmother", probably a feminine form of ǀku or ǀkōŋ. Mama used reciprocally by grandparents and grandchildren seems to be a term of affection.

Ba and tai are evidently related to the ǂxam terms of address to parents ibo, itau. There is no special word for husband or wife in these two dialects. ǀkwā and ǀkao are simply "man", and dzou and zau "woman". ǀkwā o m ba seems to mean "man of my father", which does not seem sense for the mother's father. Tai o dzou "mother of wife" is of course quite clear.

The !Kung Bushmen

101 131 162 The !Kung are the most numerous of the surviving Bushman tribes. Of the estimated total of 13,000, about 3,000 live in Angola, 2,000 in Bechuanaland, and 8,000 in South West Africa. The !Kung occupy a remarkably large area. Their country extends from north to south for a distance of 500 miles, and from east to west for a distance of 300 miles (see Map 5).

101 197 553 19 Two criteria clearly distinguish the !Kung from all other Bushman peoples: their language and their unique system of personal naming. The !Kung language has phonological features in common with adjacent Tshu-khwe and Hottentot languages, such as the four click system and the strong glottal releases. However, the vocabulary and grammar of !Kung sets it apart from the other click languages. A lexicostatistic comparison of !Kung and Nharo showed a low incidence of cognates (11.5%). [114] The grammar of !Kung has yet to be adequately described, but [193] none of the preliminary work by Doke (1925), Bleek (1929), Maingard (1957), and Westphal (1962, 1963:244) has been able to demonstrate a genetic relationship of !Kung grammar to the grammars of the other click languages.

There are no semi-!Kung languages (although the vocabulary of the southern dialect has been influenced by contact with Nharo) and therefore a native speaker of !Kung is immediately identified as a member of the !Kung tribe. This holds

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Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape.

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The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron.

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In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail.

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All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and

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821 and left them lying alone, whereupon they ascended to the sky.
[773] This story, adds Lebzelter, is not believed in at all by the people, who told it to him with great laughter.[1]

Other prayers to the New Moon are found, however, among the
[782] IO Kung in Angola. Miss Bleek describes a dance seen by her,
[535] in which the women and girls stood in a group on one side singing and clapping their hands, while the men, singing also but not clapping, were in an irregular group on the other side, wriggling their whole bodies but otherwise hardly moving. The song accompanying this dance was a repetition of the words :—

[539]

//nwa-se //kaboma //gu a i-i,	New Moon, come out, give water to us,
//nwa-se tatana //gu a i-i,	New Moon, thunder down water for us,
//nwa-se tala u //gu a i-i,	New Moon, shake down water for us.

Here also, as among the Naron and Auen, the Moon is therefore looked upon as the raingiver, and is prayed to as such—and rain, it must be remembered, makes the plants grow which feed the buck, hence it provides both vegetable and animal food. The New Moon is said to be either a child or a man, while the Full Moon is a woman. This distinction Miss Bleek interprets in the light of the difference in form presented by these two aspects of the Moon. In Naron and
[193] Nama the masculine and feminine endings are given to the same
[196] roots to denote respectively strong, tall, slender things and weak, short, round things. So here the New Moon may be called a man, because of its slenderness, the Full Moon a woman because of its round shape. The Moon is also held to be the elder sister, the sun the younger; but apparently there are no special practices or beliefs regarding the latter, although one of Miss Bleek's informants said: "We sing to the Sun and the Stars as well as the Moon." No prayers
[782] to the former are recorded, however.[2]

The only other Bushmen of whose ideas relating to the heavenly bodies we have information are the Hiechware. Dornan states that
[184] he was unable to discover among them any special ceremonies connected with the sun and the moon, but that they certainly do reverence these bodies, although seeming to dread them more than anything else. They think they must keep on good terms with the sun and the moon if they are to be successful in hunting or anything
[782] else they undertake. He could not, however, discover any prayers

[1] Religiösen Vorstellungen der *//Kaun*-Buschmänner," 401; *idem*, "Bei den |Kuh Buschleuten" 13.
[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 53; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 119–20, 122, 124.

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consonants, or nasal clicks alone often form complete syllables and whole words. Generally, however, syllables are made up of either (*a*) a consonant or consonant combination with following vowel or diphthong, or (*b*) a consonant or consonant combination, a vowel or diphthong, and a terminal consonant, which is invariably a nasal. Very many syllables commence with a click, and the quick succession of these clicks in speech is an outstanding feature in all the languages.

The variation of the musical pitch of the syllable is another most important feature of the Khoisan languages. Many words, phonetically alike, but bearing different meanings, are differentiated tonetically, the tone distinction being their only distinguishing feature in speech. Five significant tone levels have been discovered—high level, mid level, low level, falling, and rising. What part, if any, tone inflexion plays in syntax, in showing the relation of one idea to another, either expressed or unexpressed, is as yet quite uncertain. In this respect, as in many others, a good deal of work still remains to be done in the phonetic investigation of these languages.

Grammatical Processes

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Grammatical categories and syntactic relationships are expressed in a variety of ways, some of which are common to all the languages, while others are found in only a few of them. The main grammatical processes employed in all the Khoisan languages may be classified as follows: (*a*) the modification of the form of the radical element by (1) the use of a complex apparatus of suffixes, (2) the reduplication of the radical element, and (3) composition, the uniting into a single word of two or more different radical elements; (*b*) the extensive use of grammatical words or "auxiliary particles"; and (*c*) word order, the combination in a definite sequence of two or more denotative concepts to provide a new denotative concept.

(*a*) The radical elements of Khoisan words are to a very large extent, if not altogether, monosyllabic, and any additional elements can usually be shown to have a functional significance. Prefixes are altogether lacking, and infixes very few; the principal mechanism for modifying the form of the radical element so as to express a new denotative concept lies in the employment of suffixes.

(1) The apparatus of suffixes is very complex, and they are used for many different purposes. In some cases, although it is clear that the second syllable of a word is a suffixed element, it is difficult to determine the function of this suffix. As an illustration we may take

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the suffix *-kən*, *-gən* or *ŋ* found in the Southern Bushman languages (the different forms are due to phonetic sound changes). This suffix is separable from, i.e. is not always part of, the radical element, but can never occur by itself as an entity: when it does occur, it always forms part of a word. With substantives it is used to form the emphatic nominative. It is also used, however, with verbs, but in such cases it is by no means clear what function it fulfils. Similarly we find words in all the languages which invariably occur with the suffixed endings *-ra*, *-ri*, *-ro*, *-ru*, and so on, but here again no definite significance can as a rule be discovered for these suffixes.

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Certain suffixes must now be regarded as *passive*, i.e. they occur only in certain words, never in any others, even although no special meaning can be ascribed to them. In */Xam*, e.g. there are very many words always found with what is clearly the suffixed ending *-ru*, as in *//kuru*, stone knife, */xuru*, crow, *thuru*, to pluck; but the suffix here does not seem to have any determinate significance, nor is it actively employed to modify other radical elements.

Opposed to these we have the *active* suffixes, i.e. suffixes which can be added freely to any radical element, and which have a definite significance. In */Xam*, e.g. the suffix *-ko* has an alternative function: */aiti*, woman, */aitiko*, another woman; *tuu*, mouth, *tuuko*, another mouth. In *!Khũ* the suffix *-ma* is used to form the diminutive, e.g. *!kaŋ*, tree, *!kaŋma*, little tree. In *Hie*, *-re* is used to form the plural, e.g. *kxam*, lion, *kxamre*, lions. In *Nama* the endings *-b*, *-s*, and *i* are used to indicate the sexual gender of the substantive, e.g. *khoib*, man, *khois*, woman, *khoii*, human being. These selected illustrations will serve to indicate briefly how the suffixes are employed.

An interesting feature is the fact that suffixes which are passive in one language may be active in another. Thus, while *-ru* is passive in */Xam*, in *Nama* it may be added to verbal roots to indicate returning motion, as in *//a*, to go, *//aru*, to go back, to return.

Active suffixes are employed in all the languages with both substantives and verbs, as well as with other parts of speech. In substantives they are used to modify the meaning of the radical element so as to express such concepts as plurality, diminution, agency, sex (in *Nama* and *Naron* only), and negation: while in verbs they are employed to denote duration, mood, reflexion, reciprocation, etc. It is only in exceptional cases (as in */Xam* and *Hie*) that they are used for forming tenses.

This extensive use of suffixes is one of the most characteristic

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features in the grammatical mechanisms of the Khoisan languages, and the number of different suffixes as well as of the variety of uses to which they are put is exceedingly great.

(2) Reduplication of the radical element of a word is also of frequent occurrence. As an active grammatical process it is most marked in the Southern Bushman Group, especially in */Xam*, where it is the principal mechanism for forming the plural of substantives, and is also used with verbs to indicate causality or to give them a transitive meaning. In the Northern and Central Bushman languages and in *Nama* its chief function is to give the verb a causative significance; it is hardly ever used as a means of forming the plural. In all the languages, however, many words also occur in a permanently reduplicated form, where no apparent significance can be attached to the reduplication, i.e. it has become passive.

(3) Composition—the uniting into a single word of two or more radical elements—is another frequent mechanism. Its most usual form of occurrence is verb + verb, the second verbal root modifying the meaning of the first in some way, generally so as to indicate some sort of direction. Thus in */Xam* the two roots */kau*, to cut, and */hiŋ*, to go out, can be combined to form the new word */kau/hi(ŋ)*, to cut out, while in Nama we find similarly *!guŋ*, to stride, and *bee*, to move away, combined into *!guŋbee*, to go away; *uri*, to spring, and *ǂga*, to go home, combined into *uriǂga*, to leap into; and so on.

(*b*) Another characteristic feature of the Khoisan languages lies in the extensive use of grammatical words or auxiliary particles as a grammatical mechanism. These particles are most generally used to modify the significance of verbal roots, and two classes may be distinguished, according to their mode of occurrence and function.

(1) The verbal root is as a rule unaltered, save when such concepts as duration, mood, reciprocation are to be expressed. In such cases, as already indicated, suffixes are added to the radical element. Tense, however, is most frequently indicated by particles preceding the verbal root. These particles can never be used alone; they always occur before a verbal root, and their function always is to indicate tense. Thus in *Auen* the root of the verb remains unchanged throughout, and when used alone without any qualifying particles denotes the present or indefinite time. Other tenses are formed by the use of auxiliary particles preceding the verbal root, e.g. *ko*, *ku* (past tense), *ka* (future), *re*, *ore* (continuous action), etc. Similarly in */Xam* we have *haa* (past tense), */ne* (in narrative), *se*, *ka* (future), while in

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Nama there are *ta* (present time), *go* (recent time), *ni* (future), *gje* (perfect), etc.

(2) The second class consists of what may be termed *post-positions*, i.e. they invariably follow the word whose meaning they qualify. Their main function is to indicate direction. Thus in *!Khũ* the particle *daŋ*, when it follows a verb, means "under"; *!hare*, between; *!a*, in front of; while in *Naron* we have *!oo*, among, inside, *k'e*, on, upon, etc.

The number of these particles is extremely great, and their functions manifold. As a mechanism they are extensively used, and much of the difficulty in translating the Khoisan languages lies in the very abundance of them. It should be noted that they differ from prefixes or suffixes in that they do not immediately precede or follow the radical element whose meaning they qualify, but may be separated from it by the intervention of other words.

(*c*) Word order as a mechanism is more marked in some of the languages than in others. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups, and to some extent in *Hie*, word order is of great importance in determining meaning, as there is here no formal distinction between e.g. substantives and verbs, or between cases. In *Naron* and *Nama*, on the other hand, where such distinctions do occur, the order of words is not so significant.

There are two features perhaps calling for special mention in this connection. These are (1) the distinction between junction and nexus, and (2) the expression of the genitive or possessive relationship. The significance of word order in the first instance is best seen in *!Khũ*, where, in junction, the attribute precedes the substantive, e.g. *gai gaoxa*, the good chief, while in nexus the order of words is reversed: *gaoxa gai*, the chief is good. The other languages usually add auxiliary particles to indicate nexus, but we may compare, in *Hie*, *||koo hii*, the large tree, with *hii e kwa ||koo*, the tree is large.

In the genitive relationship the rule in all the languages is that the word denoting the possessor precedes the word denoting the object possessed. Generally a connecting particle is interpolated between the two words. In the Northern Bushman Group, however, there are no connecting particles, the relationship being indicated purely by apposition; hence, in *!Khũ*, we have *gaoxa tʃu*, the chief's hut, but *tʃu gaoxa* would be "the hut's chief". In *|Xam* also the connecting particle is omitted before certain kinds of substantive, so that we get simply *toi |ku*, ostrich's feather; cf. Nama, *||gũb |ons*,

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father's name. Here the importance of word order in determining meaning is clearly shown.

Syntax

Parts of Speech. There is no formal distinction between parts of speech in any of the Bushman languages save *Naron.* It is generally impossible to determine merely from the form of the word what part of speech it is, although it may be noted that clicks most often occur in substantives and verbs, and that pronouns, auxiliaries, and words in perpetual use rarely have them. It is chiefly from the position of a word in a sequence that we are able to distinguish its nature. Often the nature of the suffix, if there is one, enables us to some extent to determine whether a word is a substantive or a verb. Thus, in *!Khũ, igaŋma,* little tree, is recognizable as a substantive, because it has the diminutive suffix *-ma* used only with substantives; on the other hand, *s'aagwe,* to hear one another, is recognizable as a verb, because of the reciprocal verbal suffix *-gwe.* These distinctions, however, are due to secondary factors, and it is evident that from the form of the actual radical element no such distinctions of parts of speech can be made.

In *Naron* and the Hottentot languages there is the same lack of formal distinction between parts of speech. In these languages, however, substantives are nearly always recognizable by the fact that they have the sex-endings added to them. All substantives must have one or other of these endings, according to their gender, so that their nature can readily be recognized. In other parts of speech, however, it is not possible to distinguish between words save by their position in the sentence or by the presence of formal elements having a grammatical function peculiar to certain parts of speech.

Gender. Distinction of sex is formally recognized and expressed only in the Hottentot languages and in Naron, where there is a regular classification of all substantives into three grammatical sex-genders: masculine, feminine, and common. The gender is shown by the form of the suffix. In *Naron* the suffixes employed are *-ba* for the masc. sing. (shortened to *-b* in proper names), and *-sa* or *-se* (shortened to *-s* in proper names) for the fem. sing. There is no special suffix for the com. sing. Thus *kwe,* human being; *kweba,* man; *kwesa,* woman. In *Nama* the suffixes are *-b* for the masc. sing.; *-s* for the fem. sing.; and *-i* for the com. sing. Hence *khoii,* human-being; *khoib,* man; *khois,* woman. These suffixes in both languages change

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for the dual and plural. The forms they then assume will be noted under "Number".

In all the other Bushman languages there is no sex-gender of this kind. To distinguish sex, when necessary, the word for "man" or "woman" is used to qualify the primary substantive. In the Southern and Northern Bushman languages these qualifying words follow the substantive. Thus in */Xam*, *toi*, ostrich → *toi gwai*, cock ostrich; *toi /aiti*, hen ostrich; in */Khũ*, */kui*, ostrich → */kui //gɔ*, cock ostrich, and */kui di*, hen ostrich. In *Hie* they precede the substantive: *tʃo*, person → *kautʃo*, man, and *//gaitʃo*, woman. This mechanism is occasionally employed in *Nama* also where it is necessary to indicate sex in substantives having the common gender; e.g. */gwai*, child → *aore /gwai*, boy, and *tarare /gwai*, girl.

The Naron and Hottentot classification of substantives according to sex is, strictly speaking, found only in such cases where there is a natural distinction between the sexes, i.e. in the case of persons and animals. Other substantives, where no natural sex distinction is present, make use of the same suffixes, but here the classification is based on a different principle, which may be defined as that of quality. All substantives denoting objects which are strong, big, tall, or narrow take the masculine ending, while those denoting objects which are weak, small, low, or broad take the feminine ending. Thus in *Naron*, *hi* is any plant, but *hiba* (masc.) is a tree, and *hisa* (fem.) a low broad bush. Similarly in *Nama*, *gõab* (masc.) is a sword or big long knife, while *gõas* (fem.) is a pocket knife; */úib*, mountain, but */úis*, hillock, koppie. The same distinction between objects according to quality is found in */Xam*, although the mechanism for expressing it is different. Thus *toi gwai* may mean "big or strong ostrich" as well as "cock ostrich", and *toi /aiti* "weak or small ostrich, as well as "hen ostrich".

Number. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups and in *Hie* only two numbers are clearly recognized; in *Naron* and in the Hottentot Group, however, there is also a dual number. The distinction of number in all these languages applies almost entirely to substantives and pronouns only, and in a few cases to adjectives also; the verb as a rule remains unaltered in form, no matter what the number of the governing substantive may be.

In the method of forming plurals, */Xam* differs considerably from all the other Khoisan languages. Its plurals are formed chiefly by

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reduplication of the singular, either in full or contracted form; e.g. *|kou*, stone; *|koukən*, stones; *ti or tikən*, thing → *tikəntikən*; *||go||go*, whirlwind → *||gogən||gogən*; *!kwitən*, jackal → *!kwi!kwi*. In a few cases a plural ending is added either to the root or to the reduplication; such endings are *-gu*, only used for people (e.g. *mama*, mother → *mamagu*) *-dĩ* or *-de*, *-kən*, *-gən*, or *-ten*. A very few substantives remain unchanged in the plural.

In all the other Khoisan languages (including the other members of the Southern Group) the bulk of the plurals are formed by adding a special suffix to the singular. The chief plural suffixes are: in *Auen*, *-si*, e.g. *!num*, stone, *!numsi*, stones; in *!Khũ*, *-siŋ*, *-ŋ*, e.g. *gaoxa*, chief, *gaoxasiŋ*, chiefs; in *Hie*, *-re* or *-ra*, e.g. *kxam*, lion, *kxamre*, lions. In *Naron* and *Nama* the form of the suffix differs with the gender of the substantive. In *Naron* we have *-tʃi* or *-||kwa* (masc.; the latter is used only with men or personified animals); *-ʃi* (fem.), and *-ni* (common). Hence *kwe*, person → *kwe||kwa*, men, *kweʃi*, women, and *kwene*, people. In *Nama* the plural suffixes are: *-gu* (masc.), *-ti* (fem.), and *-n* (common), so that *khoii*, person → *khoigu*, men; *khoiti*, women; and *khoin*, people.

In all the Bushman languages the plural ending may be dropped with the numeral "two"; e.g. in *!Khũ*, *gome*, ox → *gomesiŋ*, oxen, but *gome tsa*, two oxen. Only in *Naron* and in the Hottentot languages is a special dual ending added; in *Naron* this is *-tʃera-* (masc.), *-ʃera* (fem.), and *-khara* (common), e.g. *kwetʃera*, two men, *kweʃera*, two women, and *kwekhara*, two people; while in *Nama* it is *-kha* (masc.) and *-ra* (fem. and com.), e.g. *khoikha*, two men; *khoira*, two women; *khoira*, two people.

Person. All the Khoisan languages recognize three classes of persons, corresponding to the person speaking, the person spoken to, and the person or thing spoken of, which they express by means of personal pronouns both singular and plural (in *Naron* and Hottentot also dual). There is no verbal declension in any of these languages; the class of person is ascertainable only from the personal pronoun. The Southern and Northern Groups and *Hie* make no distinction in the form of the pronoun according to the sex of the person; the first and second personal pronouns, that is, may be either masculine or feminine, the third personal pronoun masculine, feminine, or neuter, the gender being determinable only by the context, not by the form of the pronoun. The only exception recorded to this rule is in *Auen*, where the personal pronouns have no forms for the

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masculine and feminine in the singular, but distinguish them in the plural, thus:

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mihi, mi, I	*e !ka,* we (masc.)	*ehe, e,* we (fem.)
ahi, a, thou	*i !ka,* you (m.)	*ihi, i,* you (f.)
hai, ha, he, she, it	*si !ka,* they (m.)	*sia, si,* they (f.)

In *Naron*, on the other hand, there are really only four fundamental forms for pronouns, viz. *ti* for the first person singular, *si* or *ʃi* for the first person plural, *sa* for the second person, and *xa* for the third person. Features such as gender and number are denoted by the addition of special suffixes similar to those employed for the same purposes with substantives.

In *Nama*, again, it would seem that a fundamental distinction is made between persons present (i.e. speakers and hearers) and those not present and spoken of (third person), for in the former case the radical element is *sa* or *si*, person, number, and gender being distinguished by the use of special suffixes, while in the latter it is *//ẽĩ*, which is treated just like a substantive, i.e. to it are added the regular substantival suffixes for gender and number.

In the Southern Group and in *Nama* there are two forms for the pronoun in the first person plural, one form including the person addressed with the speaker, the other excluding him. In */Xam*, e.g., the inclusive form of the pronoun is *i*, the exclusive form *si*; while in Nama, where we have the following forms,

Dual masc., *sakhum, sikhum*;	fem. *sam, sim*;	common, *sam, sim*
Plur. m., *sagye, sigye*;	f., *sase, sise*;	c., *sada, sida*

the forms beginning with *sa* are inclusive, those with *si* exclusive.

This distinction between inclusive and exclusive forms does not appear to exist at all in any of the Northern and Central Bushman languages.

Possession. The possessive relationship in all the Khoisan languages is indicated by the fact that the qualifying substantive (possessor) precedes the primary substantive (possessed). In the Southern Group the two are connected by one of the particles *ka, ga, ta*, according to the sound following; in the Northern Group there is no such possessive particle; in the Central Group it is *dhe* in *Hie*, but is more often omitted, and *di* in *Naron*, just as in *Nama*. In certain cases these particles may be omitted, usually when the possessive relationship applies to relatives or parts of the body. The following renderings for "the man's hut" in the different languages will illustrate the general uniformity in the mode of expressing this relationship:

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|Xam.	*gwai-ka ||neiŋ* (but *gwai k'a*, the man's arm).
Auen.	*!kwa tʃ'u.*
!Khũ	*!ku tʃ'u*
Hie	*kautʃo dʒu.*
Naron	*kwem-di |nuuʃa.*
Nama	*khoib-di omi* (but *khoib ||gũb*, the man's father).

In each case the word for "man" precedes that for "hut"; in *|Xam*, *Naron*, and *Nama* there is a connecting particle, but not in the other languages.

A few words may be added regarding the modifications undergone by the personal pronominal forms to indicate the genitive relationship. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups there is no special form for the possessive pronoun, which is treated just like the substantive, e.g. in *|Xam*, *ŋ-ka ||neiŋ*, my hut, but *ŋ oa*, my father, and *ŋ k'a*, my arm; while in *!Khũ* we have *ha tʃu*, his hut. In *Hie*, however, there are special forms for the third personal pronouns: instead of *ehe*, he, she, it, we find *em*, his, her, its, and instead of *ere*, they, we have *thau eko*, their. In Naron the possessive pronouns for the first and second person singular are the radical forms for the personal pronouns, *ti* and *sa*, used as a rule without any ending. The possessive pronoun for the first person plural is either *sita* or *sita-di*, irrespective of gender; the second person plural would probably be formed with *-di*, although it hardly occurs, while the third person is treated in the same way as a substantive, always forming the genitive with the connecting particle *-di*. For example, *ti hooba*, my husband; *sa |kwa*, your child; *sita !nuu*, our country; *xam-di !nu*, his hut. In *Nama* there is sometimes no alteration of the pronominal form, save that in the first and second persons sing. the shortened forms *ti*, my, and *sa*, your, are used instead of *tita*, I, and *sats* or *sas*, you. Sometimes, however, a special possessive pronoun is used, formed by adding the personal suffixes to the particle *ã*; thus, *ãta*, my; *ãts*, your (masc.), *ãs*, your (fem.), etc. There is no modification of the pronominal form to agree with the sex or number of the object possessed, except in certain cases where the first personal possessive pronoun is placed after the substantive it qualifies. As a rule the possessive pronoun precedes the primary substantive, sometimes in direct apposition, without the connecting particle, as in *sa haab*, your horse, sometimes, however, with it, as in the alternative form *sa-di haab*.

Junction. The relationship between substantive and adjective is generally expressed by pure apposition, but there are variant forms in the different languages. In *|Xam* the rule is that the attribute

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follows the substantive it qualifies: *!k'e !kwiija*, the clever man. Often, however, the attribute is preceded by the relative particles *aa* (sing.) or *ee* (plur.): *!k'e aa !kwiija*, the clever man (lit. man who clever). Most attributes have the same form in sing. and plur., i.e. they undergo no modification for number; but attributes of size have separate forms in the plural: *||kho !kuiija*, the large bag, but *||kho||kho !kuii!kuiita*, large bags; *!k'e ||kxowa*, the tall man, but *!kwitən ||kxo||kxoka*, tall men.

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In *Auen* the few adjectives follow the substantives they qualify, and are not declined: *!nwi ʒee*, new moon; *!nwi ɟesi*, full moon. So, too, in *!Khũ*, they generally follow it, as in *!ganu dʒee*, new arm-ring, *tʃi !naa*, big thing; but sometimes they precede it, as in *gai gaoxa*, good chief. They undergo no modification in form for the plural: *gai gaoxasiŋ*, good chiefs.

In *Hie* the attribute invariably precedes the substantive, and remains unaltered in the plural: *||koo hii*, a large tree; *||koo hire*, large trees. In *Nama*, and apparently also in *Naron*, the attribute generally precedes the substantive, and in such cases undergoes no modifications in form: *!kxuha khoib*, a rich man; *gei tarás*, a big woman; *gei khoigu*, big men. If, however, it is desired to emphasize the attribute, it may follow the substantive, and in such cases takes the corresponding endings for gender and number: *aob geib*, a big man; *khoigu geigu*, big men; *tarati geiti*, big women.

Tense. The notion of time in all the Khoisan languages is to a very large extent expressed mainly by means of special auxiliary particles, which generally precede the verbal root, except in *Naron* and *Nama*, where an inverted form is found, of which mention will be made below. In a few instances the verbal stem itself may be modified by the use of special suffixes to indicate tense, but such occurrences are rare.

In */Xam* the verbal stem as a rule remains unmodified. Suffixation is, however, occasionally found, the main temporal suffixes being *-i*, indicating continuous action, and *-a*, *-ja*, or *-wa* used to denote completed action. Generally tense is expressed by means of auxiliary particles preceding the verbal stem; thus */ku* expresses continuous or repeated action, */ne* is used as a narrative past, *se* and *ka* express futurity, *siŋ* completed action, *haa* the remote past, *oa* corresponds to our pluperfect, etc.

In *Auen* there are no suffixes for tense. The root of the verb always remains unchanged, and used alone signifies present or

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indefinite time. Other tenses are formed by verbal particles preceding the root, such as *ko*, *ku* (past tense), *ka* (future), *re*, *o*, *ti* (narrative), *a* (repetition of tense in preceding clause), *o* (present, or an unfinished action). In *!Khũ* only one temporal suffix seems to occur, *-a*, which denotes habitual action with all tenses. Otherwise auxiliary particles are used which precede the verbal root: *o*, *ti* (present narrative), *go*, *gu* (past), *ga* (future).

E.g. (Auen) *mihi /nii*, I stay.
a o !goo, we are sitting.
ha ko uu kurikwa, he has gone to Kurikwas.
ha ka ts'a, he will sleep.
(!Khũ) *na ti u*, I go.
na go iiŋ, I saw.

In *Hei* there appears to be a clear distinction between completed and incompleted action, seen by the fact that in the former case the suffix *-aha* is always attached to the verb. Closer distinctions in tense are, as in the other languages, made by means of particles preceding the verb: *ka* . . *kwa* (past), *na* (future), *kwa* (narrative).

E.g. *tʃi kwa //gam*, I love;
tʃi na //gam, I shall love;
ka tʃi kwa //gam, I loved;
tʃi //gamaha, I have loved;
tʃi ka //gamaha, I had loved;
tʃi na //gamaha, I shall have loved.

Apart from this suffixing of *-aha* there is no alteration of the verbal root for tense.

In *Naron*, similarly, verbal roots do not alter for tense, which is expressed by placing auxiliary particles before or after the verbal root. Thus *tira ma*, I give; *tira ko ma*, I have given; *tira ka ma*, I shall be giving; *ma ra ko*, I am giving; *ma ra ka*, I shall be giving. The inversion of word order found in the last two examples is an alternative form, which can be employed with all the tenses; in such cases only the ending of the pronoun is used, not the full form, and the verbal root stands at the head of the sentence. This usage is not found in any of the other Bushman languages, but also occurs in Hottentot.

In *Nama* the employment of suffixes to denote habitual or continuous action is well marked, but it should be noted that the suffixes are attached not to the verbal stem, but to the auxiliary particles; e.g. *-ro* is used for the imperfect: *tita goro mũ*, I used to see; and *-re* for the perfect and pluperfect: *tita gjere ṃũ hã ĩ*, I had the habit of seeing. The following is a list of the more important particles:

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ta (present time): *sats ta mũ*, you see. After a vowel, *ta* → *ra*: *tita ra mũ*, I see. B

go (recent time): *tita go mũ*, I have seen. The order of words is sometimes reversed, as in Naron, the verb being placed first in the sentence: *mũ ta go*, I have seen. H 193

gje, *gjegje* (perfect): *tita gje mũ*, or *mũ ta gje*, I saw.

ni (future): *tita ni mũ*, or *mũ ta ni*, I shall see.

hã ĩ, when placed after the perfect form of the verb, forms the pluperfect: *tita gje mũ hã ĩ*, I had seen: when placed after the future, it forms the future perfect: *tita ni mũ hã ĩ*, I shall have seen.

In addition to these auxiliary particles there are in all the languages adverbs which have a temporal significance, and which are roughly equivalent to our "soon", "later", "yesterday", "to-day", etc. There do not appear to be any formative elements present in these words. Their occurrence should, however, be noted, as indicating that temporal concepts may find expression in other ways than by the use of special particles or suffixes; but these words belong to the vocabulary rather than to the grammar. The idea of time is implicit in their meaning, and is not indicated by any formal process.

Nexus. (*a*) *Copula.*—

In */Xam*, as has been shown, the attribute in junction generally follows directly upon the substantive, with no connecting particle. In copula the order of words is the same, but there is as a rule a connecting word, which may be either the particle *a* or *e* ("verb to be") or one of the verbal auxiliaries of tense; e.g. *hi /ku /hoakən*, they are black; *ha xukən siŋ /hoaka*, his face was black. In the present tense, however, there may frequently be no connecting particle at all: *si kx'ao*, we are cold; *h̄ akən*, they are handsome. Where the predicate is a substantive there is always a connecting particle: *//kxaŋ e !kwi*, the lion is a person.

In *!Khũ*, and apparently also in *Auen*, the predicative attribute always follows the substantive: cf. *gai gaoxa*, the good chief, with *gaoxa gai*, the chief is good. Where the predicate is an adjective there is no connecting particle at all, but where it is a substantive there is a special connecting word, *ua*; e.g. *na ua gaoxa*, I am a chief; *gaoxa ua baa*, the chief is a father.

In *Hie*, when an adjective is used predicatively, the primary substantive is connected to it by means of the personal pronoun and the auxiliary of tense; cf. *//koo hii*, a large tree, but *hii e kwā //koo*; *dʒunje abare*, black dogs, but *abare ere kwa dʒunje*, the dogs are black.

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That the connecting words may not always be present is seen from the following examples, but it will be noticed that the attribute always follows the primary substantive:

kxainje njaa, a cold wind; but *njaa kxainje*, the wind is cold.

haie dom, a swollen throat; but *tʃi dom haie*, my throat is swollen.

Where the predicate is a substantive, the connecting words are invariably present: */garo e kwa ǂkam*, the ostrich is king.

In *Nama* the predicative adjective is unaltered in form, but is always preceded by the verbal auxiliaries of tense; e.g. *gei khoib* or *khoib geib*, a big man, but *khoib gje a gei*, the man is big. The particle *a* here seems to correspond with that in */Xam*. Where the predicate is a substantive, it is regarded as an object, and accordingly takes the corresponding case-ending *-a*; e.g. *naab gje gao-aoba*, this is the chief; *nees gje ti haasa*, this is my mare (cf. *gao-aob*, chief; and *haas*, mare).

(*b*) *Predication of Action to Substantive.*

In */Xam* the predicate always follows the substantive and undergoes no modification in form to correspond with the number or person of the subject (i.e. there is no verbal conjugation). As a rule the verbal auxiliaries of tense intervene, but in connected narrative these may be omitted; e.g. */kxwaŋ /ku-g /ne kwi*, the child said; *haŋ ha /kutən*, he formerly sang; but cf. also, */kxwaŋ kwi*, the child said; *kaŋ tum*, I listen; */kaukakən /kweī*, the children jumped for joy.

In */Khū* also the verb is always unaltered in form and the order of words is the same as that in */Xam*. The personal pronouns have no special forms when used subjectively, though in the first person sing. the form *na* is generally used in preference to *mi*. The auxiliaries of tense may be used when necessary, but are often omitted, especially in connected discourse; e.g. *ha ti siŋ* or *ha siŋ*, he sees; *na go siŋ* or *na siŋ*, I had seen; *gaoxa go guu*, the chief took; *gaoxasiŋ go guu*, the chiefs took.

In *Hie* the same principle applies: there is no verbal conjugation, and the order of words is also subject + auxiliaries + main verb. Where, however, the subject is an animate object it often happens that the corresponding personal pronoun is added after the auxiliaries, and before the main verb; e.g. *tʃo ka ebe kwa //gam*, the man loved. The pronoun may, however, be omitted and only the verbal form expressed: *tʃo ka kawa //gam*. Where the subject is an inanimate object, this use of the personal pronoun is never found.

In *Nama* also there is no verbal conjugation. Two usages, however,

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are found with regard to the order of words. In the one, the subject, as in the Bushman languages, precedes the main verb; e.g. *tita ra mũ*, I see; *//ẽigu ra mũ*, they see. Sometimes, however, the main verb is placed at the beginning of the sentence. In such cases only the shortened form of the pronoun is used. It has already been mentioned that the radical elements of the personal pronouns are only three in number (*ti* for the first person sing.; *sa* and *si* for the second person sing., dual, and plur., and for the first person dual and plur.; and *//ẽi* for the third person), and that the distinctions according to sex and number are made by means of the regular personal suffixes added to these radicals. When the verb is placed at the beginning of the sentence, the radical elements are dropped from the pronominal forms, and only the personal suffixes are used to denote person as well as sex and number; e.g. *mũ ta ra*, I see; *mũ da ra*, we (com. gender) see. If the suffix consists of consonants only or of one vowel only, it is usually attached to the verbal root; e.g. *mũts ta*, you (fem. sing.) see; *mũs ta*, she sees; *mũn ta*, they (com. gender) see. Hence we can say either *//ẽib go mũ* or *mũb go*, he saw. A similar construction is found in *Naron*, but nowhere else in the Bushman languages.

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Apart from this special construction the relation of Subject to Predicate is in *Nama* expressed in exactly the same way as in the Bushman languages.

Case. The consideration of case has been left over till now, because, as will be seen, the recognition of most case distinctions depends upon the relation between substantive and verb. What is usually termed the "genitive" case is a category of a different kind, and depends primarily upon the relation between two substantives. Generally speaking, it may be said that none of the Bushman languages has a special form for the objective case, save in a few personal pronouns, chiefly first person sing., but all except *Naron* have a second emphatic nominative. In the Southern Group this is found with pronouns and substantives of all kinds, and is usually expressed by means of the suffix *-kən*, *gən*, or *tən*. In the Northern Group and in *Hie* it occurs chiefly in the personal pronouns, which have a longer form in such cases; e.g. in the Auen pronouns, of the forms *mihi*, *mi* (first sing.), *ahi*, *a* (second sing.), *hai*, *ha* (third sing.), the longer forms are the emphatic nominative, the shorter either nominative or accusative. This emphatic nominative is apparently not found in *Nama*, which, on the other hand, has a special form for

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the accusative, thus showing its position as a language not entirely Bushman.

In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups there is no formal recognition of the accusative (objective) case save by rule of position: the object always follows, the subject always precedes, the main verb. The order of words in these languages is almost invariably Subject, Predicate, Object. In *Hie* there is also no special form for the objective case, and the object can usually only be determined by rule of position, which is the same as in the two preceding groups. In *Naron*, on the other hand, there is no special sequence of words, and consequently it is by no means easy to distinguish between Subject and Object, as they are not formally discriminated in any way. The Object often stands first in the sentence, and the words seem tossed together in haphazard fashion. It is only by the context of situation that the sentence can be correctly interpreted.

In *Nama* there is a distinctive objective case, formed by adding the suffix *-a* to the nominative form of the substantive; thus *khoib*, man, becomes *khoiba* in the objective: *mũ ta go khoiba*, I saw the man. Here, of course, the order of words is not so significant, as the object can always be recognized by the termination; hence we may find *khoiba ta go mũ* as an alternative form. The personal pronouns apparently take the same case ending. It may be noted that in the copula if the predicate is a substantive it also takes the objective case ending: *neeb gje khoiba*, this is the man. If the substantive which is the object of a sentence is qualified by an attribute, only the latter has the case ending; e.g. *khoib geiba ta go mũ* or *mũ ta go khoib geiba*, I saw the big man. In this recognition of a distinct objective case *Nama* differs decidedly from all the Bushman languages, including *Naron*, with which in other respects it has so many points of close resemblance.

In connection with the objective case may be mentioned briefly the *passive voice*, which has a reversive function and makes the grammatical object the most important element in the sentence. In the Southern and Northern Bushman Groups there is no real passive; in the Central Group, on the other hand, it can be formed by adding the suffix *-ee*, *-e* or *-he* to the active root; thus in *Hie*, *tʃi kwa ||gam*, I love, but *tʃi kwa ||gamee*, I am loved; while in *Naron*, *tira xau*, I cut, but *tira xaue*, I am cut. So, too, in *Nama* the ending *-he* attached to the active root makes it passive: *tita ra mũhe*, I am seen, etc.

There is no "dative case", but in most of the languages we find

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an "applicative" form of the verb which has an equivalent significance. In */Xam* this is formed by the addition of the suffix *-a* to the verbal root; in */Khũ* by means of the verbal suffix *-/a*; and in *Nama* by the use of the suffix *-ba*, e.g. *//aa*, to wash, *//aaba*, to wash for somebody. In sentences the "dative" may also be indicated by order of words, the general rule being that the indirect object precedes the direct object; e.g. in */Khũ, naa mi //ga*, give me a knife. The English rendering is a literal translation of the Bushman sentence.

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The vocative case is formally expressed in all the Khoisan languages except *Hie*, a special suffix being added to the substantival root. In */Xam* the suffix is *-we*, e.g. *ibowe*, O father! */kaukənwe*, O children!; in */Khũ* it is *doa*, e.g. *tsau-(n)doa*, O woman!; and in *Naron* it is *dʒɛ*, e.g. *arugu-dʒɛ*, O dog! In *Nama* the vocative is expressed by means of special suffixes in the sing., and in the dual and plural by the alteration of the vowel in the suffixed gender ending; e.g. *khoib*, man; *khoĩtse*, O man! *khois*, woman; *khoise*, O woman! But *khoikha*, two men, becomes *khoikho* in the vocative; and *khoira*, two women, becomes *khoiro*; etc.

Word Order. Enough has already been adduced to show that the importance of word order differs in the various languages. In the Southern and Northern Groups the sequence of words in the sentence is fairly straightforward: the Subject precedes and the Object succeeds the Predicate. Where there are two objects the indirect generally comes before the direct. Attributes stand close to the substantives they qualify: in most cases they follow it in the Southern Group, while in the Northern Group they generally precede it. In *Hie* the order of words is not so rigid, and the object occasionally precedes the predicate. In *Naron* there is very little adherence to any fixed order: the whole sentence may be inverted, and combinations such as Object, Predicate, Subject, or Predicate, Subject, Object, or again Object, Subject, Predicate frequently occur, although the direct sequence of Subject, Predicate, Object is not impossible. In *Nama* also there is no rigid order of words, but this is compensated for by the fact that there is a special ending for the object, whereas in *Naron* the distinction between subject and object is often difficult to determine.

In all the languages of the Northern Group and in *Naron* the omission of the subject is frequent and confusing at times. If no subject at all is given, remarks Miss Bleek, the first person may be presupposed. "Saw a buck" may usually be translated "I saw a

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX10

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buck". In connected narrative the subject is usually mentioned only once, and then not repeated; a second subject is repeated, but sentences or clauses without a subject refer back to the first subject, often long after it is last mentioned.

In the Southern languages, the sentences are generally fairly long and linked together by means of various conjunctions, while every verb has its subject expressed by means of a substantive or a pronoun. In *Nama* and to a lesser extent in *Hie* the same principle applies. In the Northern Bushman languages, and perhaps also in *Naron*, as far as one can judge, the sentences are usually short and strung together without conjunctions.

Note on Vocabulary

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The vocabularies of the Khoisan languages are necessarily very restricted along certain lines. Terms for abstract ideas are rare, and terms are of course lacking to indicate the many things not connected with the mode of life of the people. But in terms dealing with veld lore, wild animals, and birds, trees, herbs, and roots, the chase and all the wealth of description which that entails, the languages are remarkably rich.

A comparison of the vocabularies of the different languages shows that they have many words in common, and that even *Nama* shares a very large number of roots with one or other of the Bushman languages. Its greatest resemblances are with *Naron* and *Hie*, but many of its words occur in other Bushman languages also, sometimes in one, sometimes in another, even in the language spoken by the Lake Chrissie Bushmen of the Eastern Transvaal. There are, of course, many words in *Nama* which cannot be found in any of the other languages, but in the same way there are words in *!Khũ* or */Xam* which are peculiar to these languages. Frequently synonyms are found in *Nama* of which one word is also present in the Bushman languages, while another is not. If the languages are arranged according to similarity of roots, the Central Group shows most affinity with *Nama*, the Northern Group has less resemblance and the Southern Group still less. There is, however, no sharp line of distinction. The languages of the Kakia *Masarwa* and of the *//nu//en*, both of which belong to the Southern Group, have more in common with the Northern Group than has */Xam*, and *Hie* is a veritable link between the Northern Group and *Naron*, which again is a step nearer *Nama*.

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[54 cont.]

171 of various religions have found entry here. Among the Bushmen
177 tribes I visited there is the common belief in a supreme good be-
171 ing, whose name varies. The people described here [55] call the
176 supreme being X'u, "the lord" or "the great captain" (1). It is

[782]

1. According to Vedder, the supreme being is Huwe (Tsumeb). When the first veld fruits ripen, an offering is brought before sunrise. A freshly broken twig is inserted into a piece of wood with a hole bored through it. The people are seated in a circle, and the eldest passes around a tobacco or dacha pipe made out of a tubular bone.

the same expression that the Cape Hottentot used in speaking to the German traveler Kolbe, with the same significance and pronunciation 705 (2). The name could not have come from the

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171
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2. J. Schapera (The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, 1930) has critically referred to my observations on this point. In this connection I must note: the "great captain" among the eastern !Kung may rightfully be designated as "supreme being." I have already given his characteristics in my earlier publications.

[104]
[194]

The spelling is correctly X'u. I use X' to designate a click that is even lower than "!". It is also found in other words, such as X'Ame = lion. Since not all publishers provide this character, I have sometimes been forced to write "Khu" or "Chu." This word, which the !Kung, too, translate as "lord" or "great captain," was already found, as Schapera indicates, among the Cape Hottentot in 1705 as Khourou = "Supreme Ruler" and "Great Chief" or "Great Captain"; Kolbe gives a quite analogous citation a little later, and Hahn reports of one old Nama, "The people say,

[CONTINUES ON p. 108 - ANALYST]

/241/

000 Anthropological, Ethnological, and Ethnographic Observations concerning the Heikum and Kung Bushmen (1), with an apdix on the languages of these Bushman Tribes (2).

1. Presented at the session of November 18, 1905 /of the Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte/.

121 2. The linguistic notes on the language of the Heikum Bushmen were gathered on the Omuramba Omatako, while the linguistic notes concerning the Kung Bushmen were taken down in a Kung settlement on the northern edge of the Kaukau Veld, approximately 15 kilometers west of Dobe.

A stay of several months in the vicinity of a Bushman settlement near Otjomavare, a watering place on the Omuramba ua omatako, about 50 kilometers south of Grootfontein and 120 kilometers northeast of Waterberg, gave me the opportunity to make a series of observations on the Bushmen, which, I believe, in part presents new information and in part complements and confirms what is already known. My first concern was to determine the size of the Bushmen, who are traditionally known as abnormally small, by obtaining absolute measurements. A closer acquaintance with this interesting people then led me to make further investigations that will be of interest to the ethnologist and the ethnographer.

I had to manufacture in part the instruments needed for making the anthropological measurements, but I hope that this circumstance has not diminished the accuracy of the results.

101 The Bushmen concerned call themselves "Heikum" people, a
[194] name in which the 'k' is to be replaced by the click indicated in
the Nama language by //. Thirty-one adults and eight children
124 were measured.

Of the adults 14 are men and 17 women.

128 I shall first present the average values of the absolute measurements, and then a number of proportional figures and indices.

/249 cont./

To indicate affirmation the head is thrown back and the
201 eyebrows are raised.

Otherwise, the physiognomic changes of expression are essentially like those of Europeans. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Bushman's facial mobility is considerably greater than that of a European, and even quite weak emotions are expressed by lively gestures.

If I may be permitted, I should like to emphasize here a
194 peculiarity of voice among the Bushmen; among the women especially the voice seems to me abnormally high-pitched. In my opinion the speech of a Heikum woman is pitched several notes higher, on the average, than that of a Herero woman. Evidently this peculiarity is connected with the smallness of the larynx of the Heikum people.

The anthropometric figures presented above are doubtless much
141 smaller than comparable ones for the Herero, Nama, and
144 Bergdamara [Bergdama] living in the immediate vicinity of the Bushmen. Nonetheless, as regards smallness, the Heikum certainly do not approach the Pygmies of Central Africa. Whether further ethnological and ethnographic investigations will uncover kindred traits among these peoples remains to be shown by further research.
144 That the Bushmen represent an almost pure race is apparent from the fact that the skin color is the same for almost all individuals, and from the evident uniformity in the structure of the body, especially of the face. In addition, the other native tribes of Southwest Africa show a pronounced aversion to racial mixture with the despised Bushmen.

I come now to some ethnological and ethnographic observa-
535 tions which to me seem worthy of interest. I was especially
[171] interested in the dances of the Heikum, of which one, the //o //au, shows no similarity to any other native dance with which I have become acquainted in Southwest and East Africa.

The //o //au dance (in Kung language: //ooskê) is a men's dance in which a series of dueling runs by the performing dancers are represented (Figs. 5 and 6). Six men, three to a side in opposing pairs, kneel in an area about three meters square, with a free space between the two rows. In the middle of this free area there is a pile of veld food. The men kneel down, hunched very

342 are filled with grass. The door is a hole scarcely a meter high;
[354] immediately behind it the fire burns almost continuously, so that, at least for the European, crawling into the hut presents considerable difficulties. Since the Bushmen are often forced to
[361] move their settlements because of the lack of veld food or because of the water conditions, they not infrequently content themselves with incomplete huts, which are not closed to form a full circle, but represent only a part, a segment of a hut, as it were, and give only scant protection against the sun.

For the rest, it is astonishing how hardened these practically
147 naked Bushmen are against the cold of the night which during the cold season is very sharp -- not infrequently below O° [centigrade].
[513] Unclothed except for the loincloth, they calmly go to sleep on the cold ground near a small fire, exposed to the icy night air, a thought that gives chills to Europeans, who are unable to sleep without three woolen blankets on such nights.

Concerning the much discussed racial position of the Bush-
144 men, I have already remarked above -- at least concerning the Heikum and Kung -- that their descent from the Hottentots, as is frequently asserted, seems doubtful to me. The Bushmen's smaller size, of course, can be accounted for by the debilitation of the race through centuries-long unfavorable living conditions. What argues against the notion of racial affinity, however, is the anthropological fact that steatopygia is not to be found among
197 the Heikum and Kung women, /260/ and, in addition, the language is totally different.

I attempted to collect a sample of the vocabulary and some grammatical characteristics of the language of the Heikum on the Omatako and of the Kung in the Kaukau Veld, which I present below. In doing this, it became evident that the languages of the Heikum and Kung are merely dialectically differentiated, while they seem to have almost no relationship to the Nama language. The click sounds, to be sure, are almost the same as
[194] those in the Hottentot language; hence, / designates the dental
[104] click, // the lateral click, ! the cerebral [retroflex] click, and ≠ the palatal click. By ⁝ I designate the sharp opening of the glottis in speaking the initial vowel, which frequently occurs between a consonant and a vowel or between two vowels of the same word, and which does not occur in this fashion in the Nama.

/267 cont./

16. Numbers

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English	Heikum	Kung	Name
1	tschin ≠ẽ	tschin ≠ẽ	/ai
2	tschi dzá	tschidzá	/gam
3	tschin /ǎni	tschin /ǎni	/oná
4	unsicher	unsicher	hagá
/268/			
5	/gau	/gau (/gau = hand)	—
6-9 quite uncertain among the Heikum and Kung			
10	/gau ≠eissen (finger) (toes)	/gau ≠eissen	—

Among the Heikum and Kung one can discover with certainty only the terms for 1, 2, 3, 5, and 10; all the other expressions are uncertain. It is noteworthy that 5 is designated by "hand," and 10 by "hand and toes."

Among the Heikum and Kung Bushmen the manner of counting on the fingers is the same.

To indicate 1, the little finger of the left hand is grasped with the index finger and thumb of the right hand and bent in the hollow of the hand; for 2, 3, and 4, the fourth, third, and second fingers of the left hand follow, and are bent in the hollow of the hand in the same manner. For 6, 7, 8, and 9, the same procedure is used with the right hand as was used with the left for 1, 2, 3, and 4. In order to indicate 10, the two hands, flat but slightly hollowed, are placed against each other with the palms together.

The Bushman likes to touch his lower lip briefly with the
201 tip of the little finger of his right hand before he goes through the motions of counting on his fingers.

194 It has proved impossible to determine whether in the language of the Heikum or the Kung the change of pitch in the pronunciation of vowels plays a part as it does in the language of the Hottentots.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Here are the parent–child terms:[1]

Fa	ba (b^ha)[2]
Mo	dai[3] (t^hai)
Mo (voc.)	aiya (āiya)
So	/ha (ŋ/^ha)
Da	≠khai (ŋ≠kxai)

These terms are subject to no modification. They are used by a person for no other relatives than his biological parents or offspring and no other terms can be applied in these relationships.

Sibling terms are as follows:

elder Br	/go (/o)
elder Si	/kwi (/kwi)
younger Br or Si	tsī (tsī)

The above terms are used for both full and half siblings. These terms are fixed to the sibling relationship in the sense that no other terms replace them under any condition; but, unlike the parent–child terms which are applied to no other relationship, the sibling terms are under certain circumstances extended to other relationships than that of biological sibling.

The generational terms are as follows:

Applied to males	*Applied to females*
tsu (tsū)	//ga (g//^ha)
/gu/na (/uŋ/^ha)	tūn (txūŋ)
tun/ga w.s. (txuŋ.g/a) alternate to /gu/na	

The terms are reciprocal. If a male ego applies the term *tsu* to a man, he is termed *tsu* by that man. Or, if a male ego terms a woman *//ga*, she terms him *tsu*. It is the same with the */gu/na–tūn* pair.

The above statements are subject to the qualification that, when using these terms, the older person invariably uses a diminutive form for the younger person. We shall list the diminutives here, and then, to avoid being cumbersome, omit them henceforth throughout the text. The diminutive is expressed by adding the suffix *ma*,

[1] The spelling of the Bushman terms used in this paper is an approximation. We represented the Bushman sounds as we heard them as nearly as we could without using symbols except for the clicks. The four clicks are symbolized as follows: dental /, alveolar ≠, alveolar palatal /, and lateral //.

[2] Mr. Ernst Westphal of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, when he visited our expedition at Gautscha Pan, took down the terms in phonetic symbols as /Kung informants pronounced them. We give his symbols in parentheses the first time the term is given. We wish to express our gratitude to him.

[3] Mr. Westphal spells the term for Mo with a *t* (t^hai), as does Miss Bleek (*tai*). Professor Clement M. Doke, in his outline of the phonetics of the language of the /Kung, *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 130–65, on p. 150 spells it *ŧai*. We feel apologetic about insisting on *dai*, but we thought we heard the voiced sound *d*. We wondered if the *d* derived from *di* which means female and occurs in the term *di/guna* which is applied to persons who have the same name as one's mother (cf. p. 9).

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553 7. Names are occasionally changed.

[551] 8. Nicknames are in common use. They are usually descriptive of physical characteristics, such as Gow Umbilicus or Gow Beard.

553 601 It must be kept in mind, as the description of the homonymous method of applying terms proceeds, that the /Kung distinguish between being named for, and having the same name as, a person. When one is named for someone, one is brought into the kinship constellation of that person. Merely fortuitously having the same name as someone does not do this to the same degree. We shall at first limit the description to situations where one is *named for* another.

A child is, as we have said, never named for a parent, nor is a child named for a sibling (though they may have the same name). In these categories of relationship, therefore, the homonymous method of applying terms is not operative. In other categories of relationship, however, when a person is named for another, he is, with respect to ego, terminologically taken out of his biological category and classified in the category of the person for whom he is named. Ego applies a term to him according to his homonymous classification.

There are three categories, with respect to ego, into which persons may be classified by their names. (1) The parent–child category: Although ego is never named for his parent, some of his relatives will be. (Some of his nephews and nieces, for example, would certainly be named for ego's Fa or Mo.) When this occurs, ego applies a term to that person which classifies the person with the parent of ego's for whom he or she was named. The terms are *tsu* applied to males, *||ga* applied to females. The terms *ba* and *dai* are applied, as we have said, only to the biological parents. The terms *tsu* and *||ga* are the terms applied to persons in generations adjacent to ego's (i.e. his parents' generation, cf. Diagram 1, p. 6), and are the terms used to classify persons terminologically in the parent category. The same terms would be used for persons named for ego's offspring who again would be terminologically classified as in adjacent generations with respect to ego. (2) The sibling category: If a person is named for ego's sibling, ego classifies him or her terminologically with that sibling and applies the sibling term, i.e. *!go* (elder Br), *!kwi* (elder Si) or *tsī* (younger Br or younger Si). (3) Ego's category: We consider that the third category is basically ego's category and that it includes persons who are classified by name or generation with ego. Persons may be classified in this category by being named for ego, or for ego's spouse, who is of the same terminological generation as ego. The person for whom ego is named and the spouse of that person are in this category. The way people are classified within it will be brought out as the description proceeds, but more information must first be given about the terms associated with it, namely: *!gu!na* (*tun!ga* w.s.) and *tūn*.

The term *!gu!na*, unlike any of the other terms, so far as we know, is a translateable word. */Gu*[1] means name, *!na* means big or old. The diminutive which derives from the term is *!guma*, small or young name. As terms *!gu!na* and *!guma* always occur modified with the augmentative or diminutive suffix, never simply as *!gu*, the word for name.

[114 ●194] [1] This is undoubtedly the word which Miss Bleek heard as */ku* (cf. 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', p. 62). It seemed to us particularly difficult to determine, when a word began with the alveolar palatal click, whether the consonant release was voiced or unvoiced. We have two opinions here, Miss Bleek's */ku* and our */gu*. Mr. Westphal hears no consonant, i.e. */ū*.

N/OW

LORNA MARSHALL

N/ow[1] is a belief concerning rain and cold which is held by the /Kung Bushmen in the region around Nyae Nyae in South West Africa.

About ten inches of rain falls in an average year in this part of the Kalahari Desert and sinks into the deep sands. There is no run-off in streams and there are few water holes. The rain is sufficient to support a covering vegetation of grass, shrubs, and scrubby trees. The vegetation includes numerous edible roots, tubers, leaves, fruits, and nuts, for which the Afrikaans language provides the convenient word *veldkos*.

The /Kung, the only inhabitants of the interior of this particular region, are nomadic hunters and gatherers. If the rains are poor and the veldkos dry and sparse, the people suffer. Rain, they say, is life-giving; sun is death-giving.

Summer is the season of the 'big rains' in the western Kalahari. 'Little rains'—a few scant showers—may fall in September, October, and November. The 'big rains' begin in late December or January and continue into March. The summer storms are awesome. Every day the winds drive monstrous clouds around the sky, which domes a horizon as flat as the sea. They breed the storms. Lightning streaks from them. Thunder roars and rumbles. The earth sucks in their deluges, hissing.

The /Kung say that thin clouds which give no rain are male. They call them */now*.[2] The big rain clouds are female. White ones they call *//ga kwe disi*—*//ga* means cloud or rain, *disi* means females.[3] The enormous grey clouds with rain pouring from them the /Kung call */kwesi* (zebras), because they are so fleet and, though a person may think he is far from the rain, it comes swiftly and is on him. We have seen Bushmen, caught without shelter in the storms, shivering so that their teeth chattered, saying they could perish in such rain.

Rain itself is male and female, */ga /go* and */ga di*. The men one day drew in the sand the spoor of male and female rain. Male rain spoor was made with all five fingers held stiffly and plunged deeply into the sand, to make big holes. Male rain breaks the trees and beats down the fruits, the men told us. It is (like) a fight, and may kill a person. Thunder and lightning accompany it, and sometimes hail. Female rain has tiny drops and does not spoil anything; it beautifies the trees and the grass and makes the veldkos grow. Its spoor was made by smoothing out a place in the sand and covering it closely with tiny dots. Gao said a person (anyone) may speak to the rain, saying, 'You are doing very well', or, 'Fall silently. Don't make such a noise. Don't be

[1] We wish to thank both Dr. Mary Douglas and Professor I. Schapera for reading the manuscript about *n/ow* and for making several helpful suggestions.

[2] The /Kung language has four clicks: / is the symbol for the dental click, ≠ for the alveolar, / for the alveolar palatal, and // for the lateral.

[3] We did not know how to translate *kwe*, which occurs very often. It seemed sometimes to be a sort of article and we did not work on it especially. We regret not having done so because Miss Bleek, in her *Bushman Dictionary* (American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1956), records in the Auen or //K"au-//en language, which she says is very like the /Kung and which she places south of the /Kung, the phrase */ga -k"wisi*, meaning rain's hair or cloud. In /Kung */ga* and *//ga* both mean rain. We now wonder if *kwe* should be *kwi* and if it means hair in the phrase *//ga kwe disi*.

There were more species of grass, and, particularly on the dunes, more of trees and shrubs. The fauna was also richer for there were buffalo and elephant and many waterfowl in addition to the animals found in the Kalahari.

The Bushman languages represented in this paper are classified according to Bleek's *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages* (1929). They are !h3:, the closely interrelated ||ganakwe, |gikwe and Naron, and Auen (see also Bleek, 1928: 60-64).

!h3: is a member of the southern group, in which the lip click is found, and a dialect of what Bleek calls |nu||en, S6 in her system of classification. Bleek's spelling is !k3:, but I heard the click aspirated. It is spoken in the neighbourhood of Lehututu, which is 150 miles south of Ghanzi.

||ganakwe is spoken to the east of Ghanzi, and has been studied by Maingard (1957).

The centre of the |gikwe language appears to be in the country to the south-east of Ghanzi. It is a member of Bleek's Central group, closely allied to Naron and easily understood by Naron speakers although many words are different. A curious feature of the phonetics is the occurrence of the ejective lateral explosive followed immediately by the velar glottal affricate (see Cole, 1955: 23 and Beach 1938: 222-223). The first sound is not mentioned in any papers that I have seen on the Bushman languages.

Naron is Bleek's C2. There is an error which is liable to confuse one on page 3 of her publication, where the languages of the Naron and Masarwa of Tati have been transposed. Naron should be under C2 and the Masarwa language under C1. A grammatical sketch of Naron is given in Bleek's paper of 1928.

Auen, Bleek's N1, is the eastern form of the !khû linguistic group and is spoken round Gautscha Pan. It was studied by Maingard when he was a member of this same expedition and an account of it is given in his paper of 1957. In this paper I refer to it as Eastern !khû.

The work done in the Kalahari was done through interpreters, and much of that in the northern area likewise, except towards the end of the expedition when through closer contact with the Bushmen for a longer time than in the south, I was able to acquire a smattering of the Eastern !khû language, enough to ask straightforward questions and to understand straightforward replies. The phonetics of the Bushman languages are a study in themselves, and I do not claim that my spellings and indications of the tones are exact. In the orthography I have followed Bleek (1929) with the following exceptions:—

1. I have placed the n first when it is combined with a click. It has been the convention to place the n after the click in the written Khoisan languages, the argument being that the n and the click are pronounced simultaneously (Meinhof, 1909: 5). To my ear the n is the first sound in the combination.
2. Bleek does not mention the voiced h, which sometimes follows a nasalised click. I have accordingly followed Doke (1936: 448) and used the symbol ɦ.

For easy reference, the symbols I have used are listed at the end of this introductory chapter.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

ORTHOGRAPHY.

The following are the approximate values of the letters and symbols used in the spelling of the Bushman names. They have been taken from Bleek's paper of 1929, pages 12-14. 104 194

b, d, h, k, l, m, n, r, s, w, z — as in English.
k', t' — as above, but with glottal closure.
g — as in *get*.
j — as in *yet*.
k' — the velar glottal affricate.
x — as German *ch*.
ŋ — as in *sing*.
ʃ — as in *ship*.
ʒ — as in vision.
ɾ — the flapped retroflex consonant.
| — the dental click.
! — the palato-alveolar click.
‖ — the lateral click.
ǂ — the alveolar click.
⊙ — the lip click.
a: — as in hard.
a — the same sound shortened.
ɑ — the same sound produced far back in the throat.
e — as in *air*.
e: — as in *say*.
ɛ — as in met.
i — as in hit.
i: — as in *me*.
ɔ: — as in haul.
ɔ — the same sound shortened.
o — as in notice.
u — as in put.
? — the glottal stop.
~ — over a letter denotes nasal pronunciation.
' — over a letter denotes accentuation of the syllable.

The middle tone is not marked, the high tone is marked by a dash above the line preceding the syllable, the low tone by one below the line, as ˉha, ₋ha; rising and falling tones are marked ʼha and ˌha.

The voiced h is written ɦ.

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, 142
and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff [48]
with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the
men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and
consequently they often seem younger than they are. They [194]
are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man 291
wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather
apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole
animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at [854
the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride, 482
and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which 415
are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people; 237]
they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though [515
they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair 302]
breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped
close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell
beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny [301]
bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear
leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several 609
months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find
them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe
that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the
grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and [342]
made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right 609
into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and 621
didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass until I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned, all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

609 pering in the grass near by. You can tell by these werfs that
621 there are Bushmen in an area, and also by their footprints on narrow trails which they share with the game and which run all through the desert. You may find footprints or you
[372] may see a little pile of white ash, the fire that a Bushman kindled where he spent the night. Otherwise, to find them you must depend on luck or on the fact that the Bushmen of an area may have heard something good about you and will not be too afraid.

105 Culturally and historically, the Bushmen are an interesting people, for they and the Hottentots, who belong to the same racial and language groups, are the earliest human inhabitants still living in southern Africa. There are now from thirty
[161] to fifty thousand Bushmen, who are divided into several language groups. Their languages are related to each other and
[197] to the Hottentot language, and are in what is known as the Khoisan language group, made up of most of the click languages spoken in South Africa. A click language has sharp pops and clicks made with the tongue in various parts of the mouth, combined with an implosion of the breath, very diffi-
[194] cult to understand, harder still to pronounce, as the slightest mistake may change the meaning of a word entirely. For example, the work *//kx'a*, which in one of the Bushman languages means *mangetti*, a certain kind of nut-bearing tree, is pronounced by making a lateral click for which the tongue is pulled sharply away from the sides of the mouth, producing the click one makes when calling a horse, followed by a scraped *k* turning to a *g*, followed by a glottal stop—a slight pause or tiny choking sound made as the back of the tongue stops the breath—which is followed at last by the vowel. To make a mistake is easy, and that is why non-Bushmen have a hard time learning the language, and why, when they do learn, they are often misunderstood.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

291 Both men were thin, brown-skinned, and wore nothing but loincloths, and they looked very out of place next to us, among our big trucks and boxes of equipment, squatting naked like two frogs against the long grass and reddening sky of their country. We sat by the fire to talk with them, and it was the old man who answered our questions. His name was
● [194 Ukwane, and he seemed very old, for he spoke with a hesi-
551] tant, cracked voice that faded into a whisper at the end of every phrase, and whenever some of us would leave or join the group at the fire he would stare intently at us, frowning,
[164 leaning forward a little because he could barely see us, his eyes being filmed with cataracts, hazy blue.

142 Ukwane had great wrinkles lengthwise down his belly where his paunch had shrunk. His hands were knobbed and his shoulders stiff, yet his legs were as supple as a baby's, for
[516 he sat crouched with his knees in the air and his heels tucked up tight against his buttocks. His skin looked old, too, like
[302 old leather, hardened and black like a glove that has been left in the rain, and his curly hair was disheveled, uncut, untidy with pieces of straw.

609 Our questions frightened Ukwane, and often he was at a loss for something to reply. He thought we were policemen coming to look for some lost horses, for somehow a rumor had reached into the farthest corners of the veld that a European farmer had lost seven horses and all the people in the veld were afraid for their lives. The first thing he said was that he hadn't seen any horses and certainly hadn't taken them himself. He was too old, he said. We told him that we were not policemen and, besides, had never heard of the horses, but he was not reassured. He coughed and turned to the young man, who looked at us with nothing to say.

609 The young man was also very shy, but had a greater dignity
194 than Ukwane because of his cool, proud bearing. He said

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

very little, and when he did speak it was in a voice so soft that 609
it was almost inaudible. Also, he held his hand in front of his 194
mouth with a finger against his lips, which muffled his words so that only Ukwane could understand them. This was what the young man intended; he meant for the old man to speak for them both and only wanted to help him through tight spots in the conversation.

The young man told us his name, though, which was Gai. 609
Gai sat crouching too, like Ukwane, and kept self-consciously shifting his position, pretending to be unconcerned. He glanced at us out of the corners of his eyes and smiled skeptically from time to time, for although he did not know us and, as we learned later, had not seen Europeans before, therefore had no way of judging our remarks and our expressions, he was younger than Ukwane, and prouder, and was afraid of showing his naïveté, afraid of seeming to believe a lie or disbelieving something that everyone should know was true.

Gai was extremely handsome. In fact, he was one of the 142
most beautiful human beings I have ever seen, tall for a Bushman, his head shaved, showing a strong, domed skull. His face was strong, too, a little heavy of bone, with a big jaw which he carried thrust forward and up so that he looked at you from the bottom of his eyes, a reserved gaze. His body was smooth and brown, built compactly, the body itself long in proportion to the arms and legs. Like all Bushmen, he was narrow of shoulder and hip, with a deep chest and a large belly, and when seen from the side as his belly relaxed he seemed wider from front to back than he was from side to side, very like a hunting animal whose chest is deep but narrow. Gai was also well dressed, not with a strip of leather like 291
Ukwane, but with a beautifully designed, worked, and fringed loincloth with two wide tabs at the back which he could spread to sit on. He wore a band around his hips, too,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

291 as a belt for the loincloth, with a fringe of leather strips so long that when he sat down the fringe lay on the ground.

We asked them where they lived, and Ukwane, who was afraid to answer, said he was old and did not remember. Gai said they lived many days' journey to the east. We asked if the huts beside our camp belonged to them, and they said no, they had never seen them before, neither did they have the slightest idea how they came to be there.

60? We gave them some more tobacco as a gesture of our good faith and we told them that we had come from America, hundreds of days' travel and across a great body of water, but of course they had never heard of America or the ocean and thought we meant the Okovango River, and at that they didn't really believe us, although they were too polite to tell [194] us so. "Merica," they said softly, with a beautiful, curled *r*, almost a *d* or an *l*. We said that we had come to visit them and to give them presents. We said that we were the friends of many Bushmen in the west where we had lived for a year, and had been given Bushman names, so we weren't entirely strangers. We told them the names, which made them smile, because of course they weren't Gikwe names, but Gai and Ukwane softened a little with this and admitted that, after all, the huts were theirs.

Finally they told us that a few nights ago they had been sitting at their fires, the two men, their wives and children, and one other family, when they had heard the sound of our trucks, which had frightened them so that they had run off into the veld in all directions, taking nothing with them except the few possessions that had come first to hand. Ukwane, warming a little, said that he had been so terrified that he had crawled away on his hands and knees, afraid to show his head above the tops of the bushes.

Presently they had found each other again and had settled

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

NOTE ON BUSHMAN ORTHOGRAPHY

By D. F. Bleek

IN writing the article on "Bushman Terms of Relationship" appearing in this issue of *Bantu Studies*, I have tried to follow the phonetic script of the International Phonetic Association, as far as I understand it, except for denoting clicks. For these I should be willing to use the symbols chosen by Mr. Doke for Zulu clicks, were they adequate for expressing all the click combinations found in Bushman; but they are not. 104 114 194

Had Mr. Doke seen fit to adopt one symbol for each implosive sound, regardless of the accompanying breathed sound, I could have used these symbols for three of the Bushman clicks. But unfortunately Mr. Doke has not followed that course, but has chosen three symbols for each implosive sound denoting a combination of the implosive sound with the sound made by the expulsion of the breath.

Every click has a double closure, one made by the front or tip of the tongue against the teeth, alveolar, or palate, or of the lips together, the other by the back of the tongue against the velum, as Mr. Doke has shown in his admirable experiments. In making the click alone, only the front closure is audibly released, the back closure might stay in position, for all we know, no breath being emitted from the lungs. We cannot call that click either unvoiced, voiced, or nasal. But in speaking, this implosive sound is accompanied or followed by breathed sounds. The back closure being in the position for "k" or "g", if the air is pressed against that closure while the click is made, it will produce a slight "k" or "g" sound in rushing out. These sound combinations are called by Mr. Doke and others unvoiced and voiced clicks. If the uvula is lowered while making the click, a nasal sound is produced.

For these three combinations Mr. Doke provides symbols. All three are found in Bushman, the first in very many examples; but there are words in which not the slightest "k" or "g" sound is audible with the click, the back release is silent. In others the back release is silent, but an aspirate follows before the vowel. Again, there may be a treble closure: front of tongue, back of

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

104 tongue, and glottis. The front of the tongue is released first,
114 making a click, then the back is exploded, making a sort of glottal
194 plosive. The fricative "x" may also be combined with the click. For these clicks or combinations of sound there is no provision in Mr. Doke's system, so to avoid confusion I have followed the old custom of all writers on Bushman and Hottentot, and used a sign for the click alone, expressing the other sounds by their ordinary symbols.

104 This may best be shown by examples. We find the dental or
194 alveolar click in the following combinations:—

Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
ǀa	to fight		
ǀka	to leave	ʇa	ca
ǀkha	stick	ʇha	c'a
ǀha	husband		
ǀxã	to shoot		
ǀk'a	river bed		
ǀga	hippopotamus	ɲa	gca
ǀna	head	ɲa	nca

The retroflex plosive click is found in the following combinations:—

Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
ǃa	along		
ǃkã	to await	ʈa	qa
ǃkhau	bee	ʈhau	q'au
ǃham	first		
ǃxa	sister-in-law's husband		
ǃk'ao	to skin		
ǃgã	frog	ɲa	gqa
ǃna	winter	ɲa	nqa

These combinations can be found with the retroflex fricative click, which corresponds more or less to the lateral click of Bantu. Bushmen do not make this click with the tongue against the teeth or side of the mouth, but place it in about the same position as for the last click, only they release it gently, as in making the dental click. I give as examples:—

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Bushman spelling.	English.	Mr. Doke's spelling.	Old Bantu spelling.
ǂa	to go		
ǂka	wet	ʒa	xa
ǂkhą̄	lion	ʒha	
ǂhagen	to equal		
ǂxā	again		
ǂk'ą ǂkwi	son's father-in-law		
ǂga	night	ʒa	gxa
ǂna	there	ŋa	nxa

\ below the line indicates a low intonation.

The same combinations can be found with the alveolar plosive click, which is made as the retroflex plosive click, only with the tongue pressure very far forward, almost on the teeth. For example :—

Bushman spelling.	English.
ǂabbakn	to burn
ǂkā	bare
ǂkhàra	wingfeather
ǂhau	to jump
ǂxamma	to fetch
ǂk'anna	to call
ǂgabbetn	to throw
ǂna	to forget

The fifth click, found only in Southern Bushman, is made by pressing the lips together and then sucking the air in. It is found in the following combinations :—

⊙pwa little, ⊙bu to rain gently, ⊙ho tree, ⊙mwainya to kiss.

In his "Notes on a problem in the mechanism of Zulu clicks", Mr. Doke speaks as if no "k" sound were heard in what he calls the "unvoiced" clicks. I think most people hear a very slight "k". Colonials, in using Zulu or Kafir names, very often omit the click and say the rest of the word as they hear it. They always get a "k" sound, *Cetywayo* becomes **Ketywayo**, *X'osa* becomes **Khosa**, and so forth. I do not know of any Bantu names with clicks that have turned into words beginning with a vowel on the lips of Colonials.

On the other hand Hottentot place names, when adopted by Colonials and stripped of their clicks, sometimes become words

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10

000 beginning with "k", such as *Kakamas*, *Karakhois*, from ǂkakamas, ǂkarakhois; and sometimes turn into words beginning with a vowel, as *Aus*, *Abiam*, *Oas*, from ǂaus, ǂabiam, ǂoas.

Moreover, by speaking of "unvoiced" clicks, Mr. Doke shows 104 that he is thinking of the expulsion of breath from the lungs, not 114 merely of the implosive phone, the click proper. In spite of my ●194 disagreeing with him on this point, I would adopt his symbols, were they adequate for Bushman transcription. As it is, I stick to the old signs long identified with the Hottentot and Bushman clicks, and sufficing for all purposes, rather than inventing a whole row of new symbols.

000 To Dr. Beech I tender hearty thanks for his kind help in explaining the phonetic script of the I.P.A., which would otherwise have remained a closed book to me. I only hope that this attempt at Bushman transcription may be clear to other students.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

142
301
302
622

A Headman ≠Toma is the leader of the main Guatscha band.

142 males average approximately five feet, two inches) with yellowish brown skin that becomes heavily wrinkled in old age. They have very little facial and body hair, and their short, black, head hair is so curly it spirals into peppercorn tufts. The Bushman face is flat and triangular; the brown eyes are set rather wide apart. A variety of eye folds narrow the apertures of the eyes. The nose is extremely broad with a very low bridge, the lips are everted but not protruding or only slightly so, and the ear is somewhat square in shape with a deeply rolled rim (helix). The Bushman body and limbs are slender; the frame is delicate. A notable feature is the inward curve of the small of the back. The penis is semierect. In women there is what is called the "Hottentot apron" (elongation of the *labia minora*). Steatopygia (fat on the buttocks) is invariably mentioned in the literature as one of the important physical characteristics of Bushman and Hottentot women and recorded as being very prominently developed in some. By comparison with the extreme examples that are seen among some Hottentot women and in illustrations, the northern and central Bushman women whom we observed did not have marked steatopygia, although some had buttocks that could be called plump.

197 LANGUAGE • Bushman languages and those of the Hottentots are classified as a language family known as Click or Khoisan (Greenberg 1955:80). [194] Clicks are so unusual as to be almost unique to Bushman and Hottentot (they occur also in two East African languages—Sandawe and Hatsa—according to Greenberg) and are so distinguishing a feature of these languages that much attention is given them.

194 The Khoisan clicks, striking implosive sounds, are velaric suction stops
197 (Heffner 1960:119; cf. Beach 1938:73 ff.). The northern and central Bushman languages have four, made with the tongue, as follows: the dental (/), lateral (//), alveolar (!), and palatal (≠). The southern Bushman lan-

[p. 244]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

guages, some now virtually extinct, were characterized by a fifth click made 194
with the lips, called the kiss click (⊙). In addition to clicks, the Bushman 197
languages have tones: high, middle, low, rising, and falling. Oswin Köhler [114]
has given special attention to tone as well as to other features in his study of Bushman languages, especially Barakwenga (Köhler 1962).

Each of the large divisions of the Bushman languages—the northern, 197
central, and southern divisions (see Bleek 1956)—differs markedly from the others. Within each group are several languages, sometimes resembling each other enough to be considered merely dialects of the same language, but more often differing so widely as to be distinct, mutually quite unintelligible languages. The !Kung described in this chapter (Köhler's and Westphal's !Xû) belong to the northern group.

HABITAT • The Kalahari Desert, some 1200 miles long, with a mean high 133
altitude of about 3000 feet, forms part of the great plateau of southern Africa. It is a basin in form, covered with wind-blown sands, sometimes red, [134]
sometimes white, to a depth of 300 to 400 feet. The underlying rock crops out rarely in ridges and a few low hills.

Stamp (1953:78) classifies the Kalahari as a semidesert. Its conditions 132
are not the most extreme. Our expeditions recorded daytime air temperatures in the shade up to 115° F. and sand temperatures in the sun up to 140° F. In winter the temperature at night falls below freezing but for most of the year the nights are temperate. Although they seem acclimated to the heat, the [147]
Bushmen appear to find the colder temperatures very uncomfortable and shiver violently if they are away from their fires when the cold south winds blow.[8]

The rainfall, which comes in summer thunderstorms—6 to 10 inches, in- 137
creasing in the better-watered parts toward the north, according to Welling- [132]
ton (1955:61)—though slight, is sufficient to sustain a varied drought-resistant vegetation, and the country is covered with grass, brush, and scant small trees. In the northern and northwestern parts, the trees are more [824]
numerous and taller and include shivi groves and nut-bearing mangetti—important sources of food to the Bushmen. And in all the areas of the desert that Bushmen inhabit are found edible plants, in scant, far-apart patches perhaps, but existing. The vegetation, furthermore, provides material for fires, 824
shelter, weapons, implements, tanning, poison for arrows, and juices (for example tsama melons, on which these people can live when there is no water). In short, this desert provides the things that make life possible; otherwise the Bushmen would be dead or somewhere else.

The desert is a forceful shaper of the outlines of Bushman culture, and 182
both the possibilities it permits and the limitations it imposes have been mean- [114]
ingfully summarized by Robert Story in a personal communication:

114 and we worked jointly at Dobe until the study terminated on January 8, 1965. The study dates and places are summarized in Table 1.

A note on orthography

197 The linguistic status of the !Kung Bushmen will be dis-
194 cussed in Chapter II. As there is still no general agreement among linguists on the phonemes of the !Kung language, a brief list of phonemes is offered here to facilitate the pronounciation of Bushman words used in the text.[1]

Vowels

1. i - as in English "fit, feet"
2. e - as in English "fate, fed"
3. ə - as in English "the, but"
4. u - as in English "book, boor"
5. o - as in English "bore, ball"
6. a - as in English "bat, bar"

Dipthongs

7. au - as in "cow, now, thou"
8. ai - as in "by, sky, bite"
9. ei - close to "bay, bait"
10. iu - no English equivalent; falls between "see" and "Sue"

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[1] A phonemic analysis of !Kung is in preparation and will be presented elsewhere. The present listing is oversimplified.

194

Consonants

11. b - as in English "bug"

12. d - as in English "die"

13. g - as in English "guy"

14. m - as in English "my"

15. n - as in English "nigh"

16. ŋ - as in English "sing"; as in Bantu "ngombe"

17. s - as in English "sigh"

18. z - as in English "zoo"

19. š - as in English "shy"

20. ž - as in French "jamais"

21. x - as in Afrikaans or Dutch "groote"

22. h - as in English "home"; also to indicate aspiration after a vowel or consonant

23. w - as in English "why, twin"

24. ts - as in Bantu "tsetse"

25. tz - no English equivalent

26. tč - as in English "church"

In addition there are a number of phonemes that are exotic to most speakers of English.

Clicks

27. / - dental click, produced by drawing the tip of the tongue sharply away from the lingual (back) surface of the upper incisors. In some dialects of English

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it is used to denote mild reproach. The sound is sometimes written "tch tch".

28. ≠ - alveolar click; the tongue position is the same for the dental click, but the blade (not the tip) is drawn sharply away. This produces a flat popping sound of shorter duration than the sound of the dental click.

29. // - lateral click; the tip of the tongue is pressed against the alveolar ridge, but the sound is produced by drawing the lateral edges of the tongue sharply away from the lingual side of the cheek teeth; the sound produced resembles that used when urging on a horse. There is no way of putting this into writing.

30. : - alveolar-palatal click; the tongue tip is pressed against the roof of the mouth and drawn sharply away; a hollow popping sound is produced.

31. ' - glottal stop; a brief closure of the vocal cords which does not in itself produce a sound but colors the following sound material by making its release more abrupt, as in the pronunciation of "bottle" in some Scottish dialects.

32. # - glottal flap; this sound apparently has never been described in human language. Pike's (1943,1947) exhaustive studies of phonetics and phonemics do not

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mention it. This is a glottal stop with a distinctly audible flap of the surfaces of the glottis. In !Kung it is one of the most common sounds following clicks.

33. r - dental-alveolar flap: this sound appears only medially in words. It has some of the sound quality of "l", "r", and "d" in the series: pa<u>ll</u>ette, pa<u>rr</u>ot, pa<u>dd</u>ed, when each is pronounced rapidly.

In addition there are three kinds of suprasegmental phonemes in !Kung: tone, nasality, and vowel pressing.

<u>Tone</u> There are five tone levels. The symbols are illustrated below, using a series of !Kung words that are distinguished by tone.

34. ¯di - "female" (high tone)

35. _di - "heavy" (low tone)

36. \di - "lightning" (low-falling tone)

37. ´di - species of insect (high-rising tone)

38. di - "crazy" (mid tone, no diacritic marker)

<u>Nasality</u> All vowels may be nasalized and this is phonemic. The symbol is the nasal modifier "~" above the vowel.

39. ĩ, ẽ, ɛ̃, ũ, ɔ̃

<u>Pressing</u> All vowels may be pressed or pharyngealized. This is represented by a dash below the affected

• 194 vowel. Thus:

40. i, e, ǫ, u, o

(Vowels that are both pressed and nasalized have both the subscript and the superscript viz: ĩ, ẽ, etc.)

The Bushman alphabet

For purposes of this study the !Kung Bushman alphabet reads as follows:

a, b, d, e, ə, g, h, i, m, n, ŋ, o, r, s, š, ts, tč, tz, u, w, x, z, ž, /, ≠, //, :, ', ",

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10.

Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape. B H 144 B.

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron. H 193 194 197

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail. B H 105

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and B H 144 174

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX 10.

B 197

as representative of the Southern Group.[1] Grammatical sketches are also available of *!Khũ* (*Kung*) and *||K'au ||en* (*Auen*), representing the Northern Group, and of *Hie* (the language of the Hiechware or "Tati Masarwa") and *Naron*, representing the Central Group[2]; but of the other Bushman languages, and this includes the great majority of those spoken in the Kalahari Desert at the present time, only short vacabularies at best have so far been published. Of the four Hottentot languages, again, the only one fully available for comparison is *Nama*, of which we possess several good grammatical studies and dictionaries.[3]

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B H 197

The following sketch in no way claims to provide a complete or even adequate comparative study of the Khoisan languages. It is intended merely to illustrate briefly the principal features characteristic of them, to show how far these features are shared by them all, and what differences exist. A note must be added on the method adopted in the discussion of grammar. This will be dealt with under two heads: (*a*) Grammatical Processes or Technique, i.e. the various mechanisms employed for the expression of meanings, and (*b*) Syntax, i.e. the ways in which the various grammatical categories are expressed. In the former case we consider the different formal processes of the languages and note what their functions are; in the latter we consider the different grammatical functions and categories and note the formal processes employed to express them. The two parts are therefore complementary, and between them should give a serviceable picture of the general grammatical structure.

PHONETICS[4]

B H 194

Except in the case of *!Khũ* and *Nama*[5] no detailed scientific studies have been made of the phonetic systems of the Khoisan languages.

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1911 (texts); D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Grammar," *Z. EingebSpr.*, xix (1928–9), 81–98; Meriggi, "Versuch einer Grammatik des /xam-Buschmännischen," ibid., 117–53, 188–205.

[2] Vedder, "Grundriss einer Grammatik der Buschmannsprache vom Stamm der !Kû-Buschmänner," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910–11), 5–24, 106–17; Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 37 ff., esp. 56–112; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 1928 (Grammatical Sketches: Naron, 51–60; Auen, 60–4); cf. also Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 1891 (Naron grammar and vocabulary, 540–52).

[3] The most useful sources are: Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 1909 (grammar and texts; bibliography); Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 1907 (texts 387–545); Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, vol. ii, 1923 (texts in the Bergdama dialect, 62–131); Kroenlein, *Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin*, 1889 (best dictionary).

[4] The orthography employed in the following pages and throughout the book is that recommended by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in its Memorandum I: *Practical Orthography of African Languages*, except in the case of the "clicks", for which the long-established conventional symbols are used.

[5] Doke, "The Phonetics of the Language of the ǂhû Bushmen," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1925), 129–65; Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 1–44.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX10.

Certain general features of importance shared by them all are readily observable, however. The vowels in many cases have a more or less obscure sound, i.e. they are slurred in pronunciation and their qualities are indefinite, so that several varieties may be heard of what is essentially the same vowel sound. Most vowels occur either long or short, and this length is at times a determining factor between words otherwise alike. Almost all the vowels, further, may be nasalized, and the presence or absence of nasalization is a factor in distinguishing words of different meanings otherwise phonetically identical. Diphthongs, finally, are very numerous.

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The consonants are subdivided into emitted consonants and reversed or implosive consonants. In the former class, "in the production of which the whole movement of the speech organs emits or drives the air outwards," velar and alveolar explosives, fricatives, and affricates predominate, which, in conjunction with the "clicks", give the languages a harsh staccato character. The affricate combinations are almost all unvoiced and ejective, i.e. accompanied by simultaneous glottal stop. Nasals are also very often heard in speech. On the negative side may be noted the absence of the labio-dentals *f* and *v* and the semi-vowel *l*, except occasionally in words incorporated from European languages.

The reversed or implosive consonants, "in the production of which the whole or a portion of the movement of the speech organs reverses or draws the air inwards," are the famous and much-discussed "clicks". They are produced by rarefying the air between some outer closure or point of tongue articulation and an inner closure formed either at the velum or the glottis, and then releasing the outer closure so that the air is sucked in sharply. The inner closure is subsequently released for the following vowel. The position of the outer closure varies with the different kinds of click. Four different positional types of click are used in all the Khoisan languages: dental, customarily represented by the symbol / ; alveolar, ǂ ; palato-alveolar (sometimes called cerebral), ! ; and lateral, //. Each of these may be pronounced unvoiced, voiced, or nasal, and in various combinations with other consonants. In the Southern Bushman Group there is further a bilabial unvoiced velaric click ("kiss click"), ., not met with elsewhere, while *!Khũ* also has a fifth type of click, the retroflex.

The grouping of sounds and the character of the syllable follow the same principles throughout. Single vowels, diphthongs, nasal

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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consonants, or nasal clicks alone often form complete syllables and whole words. Generally, however, syllables are made up of either (*a*) a consonant or consonant combination with following vowel or diphthong, or (*b*) a consonant or consonant combination, a vowel or diphthong, and a terminal consonant, which is invariably a nasal. Very many syllables commence with a click, and the quick succession of these clicks in speech is an outstanding feature in all the languages.

The variation of the musical pitch of the syllable is another most important feature of the Khoisan languages. Many words, phonetically alike, but bearing different meanings, are differentiated tonetically, the tone distinction being their only distinguishing feature in speech. Five significant tone levels have been discovered—high level, mid level, low level, falling, and rising. What part, if any, tone inflexion plays in syntax, in showing the relation of one idea to another, either expressed or unexpressed, is as yet quite uncertain. In this respect, as in many others, a good deal of work still remains to be done in the phonetic investigation of these languages.

Grammatical Processes

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Grammatical categories and syntactic relationships are expressed in a variety of ways, some of which are common to all the languages, while others are found in only a few of them. The main grammatical processes employed in all the Khoisan languages may be classified as follows: (*a*) the modification of the form of the radical element by (1) the use of a complex apparatus of suffixes, (2) the reduplication of the radical element, and (3) composition, the uniting into a single word of two or more different radical elements; (*b*) the extensive use of grammatical words or "auxiliary particles"; and (*c*) word order, the combination in a definite sequence of two or more denotative concepts to provide a new denotative concept.

(*a*) The radical elements of Khoisan words are to a very large extent, if not altogether, monosyllabic, and any additional elements can usually be shown to have a functional significance. Prefixes are altogether lacking, and infixes very few; the principal mechanism for modifying the form of the radical element so as to express a new denotative concept lies in the employment of suffixes.

(1) The apparatus of suffixes is very complex, and they are used for many different purposes. In some cases, although it is clear that the second syllable of a word is a suffixed element, it is difficult to determine the function of this suffix. As an illustration we may take

539 sandals.' ≠*Gao/na* came back and got his sandals and ran after the paouw again, but the paouw was gone by this time. ≠*Gao/na* cursed at his wives, 'You stupid lazy women, why were you so lazy that you lay down and didn't stir the pot?' The wives were much annoyed that ≠*Gao/na* had wanted to eat their brother.

Next day ≠*Gao/na* went hunting. While he was away his wives, because they were very annoyed, turned themselves into */qui twa* veldkos [a veldkos which is like small cucumbers]. When ≠*Gao/na* came home he saw the pile of ripe */qui twa* and ate them all. Then he came and sat by the fire. Soon he heard something laughing. He looked around but no one was there. He heard the laughing again and looked around. 'What is that?' he said, but he could see nothing. He heard the laughing again and again. 'Where is that laughing coming from?' he said. It was his wives inside him laughing at him and at this they kicked and kicked until they burst his stomach open and came out and were women again. ≠*Gao/na* was very surprised. How did he eat his wives? he wondered. */Naru*, a dung beetle, then came to sew up ≠*Gao/na*'s stomach. It was very sore. ≠*Gao/na* squirmed and struggled when */naru* pricked him. Then came a little *xwa xwa* fly. He took over the sewing and sewed so gently that it was only like a tickling. ≠*Gao/na* was healed and soothed and he slept.

Next day ≠*Gao/na* went hunting again. He was annoyed with his wives for tricking him into eating them and for laughing in his stomach and bursting him open. Presently he came upon some fruit. He said, 'Oh, if only I had my sister or mother to gather veldkos for me!' He turned back and told his wives where the fruit was and went on the other way. The wives went to gather the fruit, but ≠*Gao/na* with his medicine had made the heavy fruit able to fly from the tree and hit the women so that they ran away crying. [The /Kung who were telling the story made the sounds which the fruits made bombarding the women, slapping
[522] themselves, crying like the wives, and rolling over with laughter.]

The wives returned to their werf. They were quite sad because their husband had treated them in this way and they discussed what they would do to get even with him. Next day they went out for veldkos again. They came to a place which they decided was right for their plan. They dug a big pit. Into it they opened their bowels and the pit was full of faeces. They then went to their werf and waited for ≠*Gao/na*. When he returned they said, 'If only we had a brother, he would go and kill the little eland we saw.'

≠*Gao/na* said, 'My wives, *I* shall go for you.'

They said, 'We know you are lazy, but our brother would go.'

But ≠*Gao/na* said, 'No, my wives, I shall go for you tomorrow.' So they slept. The next day the wives led him to the place where they said they had seen the little eland, where they had made the pit. They said, 'There it is, by that tree. You must go quietly.'

≠*Gao/na* brought an arrow out to shoot the eland, but the wives said, 'You lazy man, do not shoot it; catch it.' So ≠*Gao/na* got out his spear and the wives said, 'You will let all the blood run out. We like the blood to eat. That is what we meant when we said we wished we had our brother here to kill the little eland.'

So ≠*Gao/na* put his spear away. The wives said, 'Right there is where the little eland is; you must jump on it and catch it. We shall go on either side to help you.' And, when they were near, they said, 'Jump and fall on it and catch it.'

≠*Gao/na* got all set and made himself steady. Then he jumped and fell into the pit and the wives ran in every direction, laughing and saying how lazy he was. There he was in the pit. He could not stand up. He slithered around 'like a snake', the people said with graphic gestures and shrieks of laughter. He got up and fell down again, he got up again and fell again, swearing at his wives and cursing them. 'These wives are very cruel.' [The people
● [195] imitated his voice, higher than a man's voice and mumbling.] When ≠*Gao/na* finally got out of the pit he went to a water-hole and washed himself and walked home in the evening thinking of what he would do to his wives to punish them.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

535 796 consciousness or deep unconsciousness.[1] They may become stiff or froth at the mouth or lie still as if in coma. Some of them habitually remain in trance only a short time, [756 others for hours. One man used to remain in a semi-trance for most of the day following a dance. 781]

[755] A Bushman curing cannot be fully described in words; it must be heard and I give only an outline here. The medicine man begins by dancing and singing with the others whatever medicine song is being sung. He then leaves the line of dancing men and leans, still singing, over the person he is going to cure. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The /Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. He grunts with shuddering, gurgling, gasping grunts which intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high, piercing, quavering yell. Finally the medicine man throws up his arms to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Gauwa* or the *//gauwasi*, with a sharp yelping cry of '*Kai Kai Kai*'. This shows that it is heavy work to draw the sickness out. The effect of the sound on one observer, myself, was striking—gooseflesh and a stopping of the breath which made it seem as though the heart stood still an instant. A medicine man goes to every person present, leaning over each to cure, even the babies, who, amazingly, [852] seldom cry, though he gurgles and gasps right into their ears. If someone is actually sick, he returns to him again and again through the night.

After the curing has been going on for some time, medicine men begin to reach their state of frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. Fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. They rush out into the darkness, where *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. 'Filthy face! Take away the sickness you have brought.' 'Uncovered penis[2]! You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away.' '*Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die.' At this point they may fall into deep unconsciousness or sink down semi-conscious, eyes closed, unable to walk.

The medicine men who have not reached their full frenzy or who have passed through it attend those who are in it. The /Kung believe that at such a time the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*. They call this 'half death'. It is a dangerous time and the man's body must be watched over and kept warm. The medicine men lean over the one who is in trance. They

[276] [1] The /Kung know about the drug called dagga. They told us that it grows in B.P. and that when they go to trade they sometimes get a little. They like to have some when they go hunting; it keeps one from feeling tired or discouraged, they say. They might take some at a dance if they had it, but they are not dependent on it or on any other substance to induce trance. The trances are psychologically induced.

[2] /Kung men swear a great deal. The swearing [195 plays always upon the themes of the genital organs, 578] sexual intercourse, incest, and excrement. In deprecation they call each other genital organs or tell each other to go and commit incest with their mothers, sisters, wives' mothers, or sons' wives. We have not recorded their saying 'daughter'. Is that thought so terrible to them that its expression is beyond even these hardened swearers? They use the same themes in their blasphemy against the gods. 'Uncovered' or 'thrown-away penis' may mean 'circumcised'. This is a great insult among the /Kung who do not circumcise but know that the Bantu do. 'Filthy face' means 'covered with excrement'.

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
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Xam

BANTU STUDIES

BUSHMAN TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

By D. F. Bleek

I. Southern Group: The ǂxam-ka-ǃ'e *or Bushmen of the old Cape Colony*

THE ǂxam-ka-ǃ'e follow the descriptive method of denoting relationships, though we find some general titles or possibly expressions of affection and respect among them. 601

Many of their terms of relationship allow an etymological explanation. Thus, ǂoa "father" is identical with ǂoa "out of", sometimes used as "to come out of". Xoa "mother" seems to be a feminine contracted form of the same word, xai being the feminine ending of ʘpwaxai "daughter", and ǁkaxai "sister", the masculine forms of which are ʘpwoŋ "son", and ǁkã "brother". 193 196 601

In Nama ǂoa is a vulgar word for "beget" or "bear", ǂoaĩ is "child", while xai signifies "to cohabit", xais being often used as "wife".

Oa forms the plural ǂoakn-gu or ǂkn-gu, which may denote "fathers" or "parents". Xoa forms xoakn-gu "mothers", often used where we should say "the older women" or "mother and her friends".

The words ibo, itau are terms of address, "my father," "my mother." Though i alone means "we", here it is used for "my". "One person is the one who says ibo," was a Bushman's explanation. "Our father" would be i ǂoa. Ibo sometimes becomes bobo. I think it may have some connexion with the Nama masculine ending ba, and itau with the Nama feminine plural ending ti or te, corresponding to an old femine singular ta, now turned in Nama to sa. Taras is the Nama polite term for "woman", "mistress". Certainly te, ite, aiti appear as endings to feminine terms of relationship among the ǂxam-ka-ǃ'e as in ǂaiti "wife", "woman", ǀkolte "granny", ʘpwaitente "mother-in-law", ǁk'aiti "child's mother-in-law". In some masculine terms of relationship we get

[p. 57]

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193 ã or ŋ or a nasalization of the vowel, as ǃkõŋ "grandfather", ǂkã "brother", ⊙pwoŋ "son", ǂk'en "child's father-in-law".

[196] [601] These endings are particularly interesting, as otherwise the ǂxam language has no signs of gender. Perhaps they show that in some former stage this was a language with genders, just as English still shows its old division into genders in its names for classes of people.

601 [192] On the use of tata a Bushman said: "We say ǂbo, we say ǂ oa, but the children who are lately there say tata; they should say ǂbo. The habit of saying tata comes from the Boers."

193 196 601 ⊙pwa is the ǂxam diminutive; in allied dialects it denotes "child", which in ǂxam is ǃkwã. That ⊙poŋ "son" and ⊙pwaxai "daughter" are derivatives is clear. I think that ⊙pwai-ǂhi "father-in-law" is derived from ⊙pwa "child" and ǂhaŋ "to marry", the man whose child one marries. ⊙pwaǂente would be the feminine form thereof. ǂha "husband", "wife" is certainly derived from ǂhaŋ.

The second, more unusual title for parents-in-law I cannot explain; ǃkwi is "person", but I have no example of any other use of ǂk'a, except that it seems part of the terms ǂk'en and ǂk'aiti, applied to the parents of a son- or daughter-in-law, or of a brother- or sister-in-law.

606 On a man's behaviour to his parents-in-law we have the following note: "They (the sons-in-law) do not talk to their mother-in-law in haste, for they are silent. Their father-in-law is the one with whom they talk. He (the son-in-law) acts like this, at another time he does not talk to his father-in-law; he merely talks to his wife, his wife is the one who talks to her father. He also acts like this to his mother-in-law, he speaks with her. He speaks with her, he is silent."

This looks as if there are occasions on which one or other of the wife's parents may be addressed, and others when they may [538] not. I have noticed in their stories of the Mantis, that his adopted daughter's husband does not often address the Mantis directly, but says to his own son, "Tell Grandfather so-and-so," which the child does. However, in one story the two men speak directly to each other.

196 601 ǂkã, ǂkaxai "brother", "sister", may be derived from ǂka "like", "to be like". In Nama ǂkàb means "the same". The adjective ǃkori simply means "big".

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I think ǃkõũ, ǃkoũe "grandfather", "grandmother" are derived from ǃkuũya "great", "large", "stout". These terms are used in addressing any elderly relatives, or people distinctly senior to the speaker, much as "Oom", "Tante" are used in Afrikaans. In the tables appended I give these titles, where they were specially mentioned in a list of terms of relationship, but in the folklore they are so widely used, that one might sometimes translate them "old man", "old woman". 196 601

I can give no explanation of the fact, that a woman calls her father's parents her "real" grandparents, and her mother's parents her "lent" ones, while a man reverses the process; his mother's parents are his "real" grandparents. My aunt, Dr. Lloyd, who took down this information, evidently made no inquiry, and to-day there are no Colonial Bushmen left capable of telling us. These adjectives are not used in ordinary conversation, any more than we use the terms "paternal", "maternal". 601 [124]

The Bushman did not explain why the mother's brother is called "son". I should say a particularly affectionate relationship is indicated. As to the title for the mother's sister, he said: "They are wont to say their 'grandmother' to their mother's sister, they say their 'grandmother' to her. A man says his 'daughter' to her. Then the man's aunt says her 'father' to him, for they (the mother and aunt) feel that they are women who are one. Bushmen say, women who are one, to the women of one house. When girls have one mother, they say they are women who are one."

ǃke means "companion", "friend", "someone loved". Xoa ǃke-ko means "mother's other friend" or "chum", of whom was said: "They make their other friend of one person; they say their other friend to her." 196 601

In certain ǃxam tales the wife's unmarried younger sister stays with her, as helper and baby-minder. An elder sister would be sure to be married. This sister I take to be the "other friend" of the wife, the "little sister-in-law" of the husband, the ǃkouki-©pwa. For this term is only applied to a little girl. [538]

I know of no marriage laws among the Bushmen to explain the title of sister being occasionally given to the father's or mother's sister's daughter. Bushmen sometimes marry a cousin of that or any other sort, but more often they marry someone else. The only girl a Bushman may not marry is his *own* sister. 582 601

[Text continues on page 62]

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601 I believe the term "sister" is used to a cousin who has been
[597] brought up as an adopted child in the speaker's family, just as a grandparent calls a grandchild "my child", if he adopts it.

[595] The ǂxam-ka-ǀ'e are monogamous, and in their folklore there is only one case of the punishment of incest, that of brother and sister.

I do not know whether the omissions in this table of relationships are accidental, or owing to the fact that the terms omitted are seldom or never used.

II. Northern Group: The ǂk'au ǂen (*Auen*), *and* ǀkuŋ *or Bushmen of the N.W. Kalahari*

193 These tribes likewise use the descriptive method in denoting
601 terms of relationship. They, too, show in a few of such terms endings for masculine and feminine, which do not appear in any other nouns. For example: tsi or siŋ "brother", tsisi "sister", where we again find nasalization for the masculine, and si instead of ti for the feminine ending, or a prefixed di "female".

[193] Ma is the diminutive ending; ǀna means "big, grown up", ǂga
● 196 means "old, worn out". ǀkũ or ǀkũ I think means "kinsman" or
601 "namesake". Thus the greatuncle is the "old kinsman", the mother's brother is the "big kinsman", the father's brother and sister are "little" ones, as are cousins, nephews and nieces, which would point to their having less influence. This rather contradicts the statement of the ǂk'au ǂen, that in case of a man's death, his brother must provide for his children. However, the father's brother is addressed as tshu or tsu, a term of affection applied in this tongue more to relations by marriage, but in ǀkuŋ, used by grandparents and grandchildren mutually, and by uncle and nephew. ǀko, the name for the mother's sister is, I think, a word related to ǀkoïte "grandmother", probably a feminine form of ǀku or ǀkõïŋ. Mama used reciprocally by grandparents and grandchildren seems to be a term of affection.

Ba and tai are evidently related to the ǂxam terms of address to parents ibo, itau. There is no special word for husband or wife in these two dialects. ǀkwã and ǀkao are simply "man", and dzou and zau "woman". ǀkwã o m ba seems to mean "man of my father", which does not seem sense for the mother's father. Tai o dzou "mother of wife" is of course quite clear.

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
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Auen
Kung
Naron

Some ǂk'au ǂen terms are apparently borrowed from **Naron**, for instance, **ǂwiakwe** "brother-in-law" and **ǂkū** "greatniece". **ǂwi ǂkwā** would be the correct form, corresponding to **ǂwi dzou** "sister-in-law". **ǂkū** is simply **Naron** for "child". My informants lived on the border of the tribes, and so they often used **Naron** words or **Naron** forms of roots belonging to both. 196 601 [192]

The **ǀkuŋ** terms show more variety. **ǀkū ǂnue** seems to be "one namesake" or "first namesake" or "kinsman". **ǂga** and **ǂge** seem peculiar to this dialect. They may be northern forms of **ǂkā** "brother", or of the **Naron ǂka**.

On the relationship between son-in-law and father-in-law the following note appears in a **ǀkuŋ** story, explaining the sentence, "A person called him 'Kai-he'." 538

"The person did not say his (Karu's) name, but just called him by the little word which is his name, 'Ai-he.' His mother-in-law said, 'My son-in-law,' but his father-in-law did not call him 'My son-in-law', but addressed him as 'Ai-he'. And he heard his father-in-law. His father-in-law was a man, and respected his daughter, so did not say his daughter's husband's name, but merely called his son-in-law by his little name which was 'Ai-he'."

III. The **Naron** *or Bushmen of the Central Kalahari*

This tribe is less descriptive in its terms of relationship than its Northern and Southern neighbours, yet its system can hardly be called a classificatory one. Remarkable is the number of reciprocal titles used between different generations. Grandparents and grandchildren address each other as **mama**. Parents and children call each other by two forms of the same roots, either **aba** or **ǂku**. **Aba** is the verb "to bear", "to beget", also "to carry in a kaross". The father is the begetter, the child the begotten one. **Eisha** I take to be a contracted feminine form of the same. 601 196 601

ǂkuŋ is also used as "big, grown up", **ǂkuŋ kwena** means "grown-up people", **ǂkuŋ ǂarro kwena** "old people", literally "big bodied people". The application of this word to parents is easy to understand, but the use of a very similar form to designate children is not clear.

Likewise the word **tshō** is a puzzle. It is used for all grandchildren, but only for the father's parents. It is employed reciprocally between a mother's brother and a sister's child. A

– [Text continues on page 66]

196 woman calls her brothers-in-law by words formed from this root,
601 but not her sisters-in-law; whereas a man does the opposite. The result is, that anyone calling a connexion tahō is called tahō by that person. Other connexions are called twi, a word which seems to mean "to tie", "to net", as twishiba "a riempi net", or "string bag". A woman calls both parents-in-law and son- and daughter-in-law twi, but a man calls his wife's parents simply "father" and "mother". I think he calls his son- and daughter-in-law twi, but have no clear examples.

Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to
591 be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parents' home and stay there till the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact, the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so. This does not explain why a man calls his wife's parents "father" and "mother".

A man is supposed not to speak to his mother-in-law, nor a
606 woman to her father-in-law. Of the former I had personal evidence: my Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. As to not speaking, I think that means more—not sitting near, not consorting with a person, rather than never addressing him. A Naron granny gave
183 me a vivid description of the family settling the name of a new-
553 born child. The relations present all quarrel over it: the father
578 says, he wants the little girl called after one of his people, but the
606 mother's mother tells him that is not at all necessary, the baby is to be named after her. This shows that speech between the two is not absolutely forbidden.

There is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister
183 speaking or sitting together,—but here, too, the sitting, not the
593 speaking, is the important part. I have heard a fully grown brother and sister addressing each other, while passing at a good distance. This rule explains why the relationship between a man
604 and his brother's child is nearer than that with his sister's child,
601 the former being called ||ku "son", the latter tahō, a more distant term; whereas a woman calls her sister's son "son", her brother's son tahō.

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
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Naron

Brother and sister are the only relations who are forbidden to marry, and by this, real brother and sister are meant, the children of one father and mother, not cousins. I never heard a title for any cousin, however related, though several were present Cousins sometimes marry, but more often a bride from a distance is procured. 582

A pair of sisters have a very close relationship. They are generally chums, and help each other with their babies. A child calls its mother's sister its "little mother". In speaking of the occasional bigamy found among the **Naron** in contrast to other Bushman tribes, an old man said to me: 593 [601] [604] 595

"A man may take a second wife, if he wishes. If they agree well, they live in one hut; if not, each makes herself a hut. A man had better take his wife's younger sister as his second wife; then they do not quarrel, but live in one hut."

ǁka in **ǁkasha** "maternal aunt" may be derived from **ǁkai** "together". **Ho** used as a verb means "to marry", also "to give birth to children". **Ti kweba** and **ti kwesa** mean simply "my man", "my woman"; they are more often used than **hoba** and **hosha**. 196 601

A widow may marry her late husband's brother, but need not do so. She is quite at liberty to marry any other man. If she remarries, her husband is expected to look after her children; otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. The widow may stay near her husband's people, or return to her own people, as she pleases. 587 [604]

Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, are very fond of adopting a grandchild. They will half adopt one, even during both parents' lifetime. The grandmother is generally the person who teaches a child to speak. 597 603 [868]

In concluding these notes on the tables of relationship, I should like to say that I know they are very incomplete. At the time of my stay among the **ǁkau ǁen** and **Naron** I had not realized the importance of this side of native life; nor apparently had my aunt, Dr. Lloyd, whose work I rely on for the **ǂxam** and **!kuŋ** tables. Still, I think sufficient has been collected to show the general trend of Bushman family ties. 114

One must always remember, that people depending on nature for their entire food supply, can only exist in very small, widely scattered groups. Families cannot be large. Drought and famine 105 161

[Text continues on page 70]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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[821] and left them lying alone, whereupon they ascended to the sky.
[773] This story, adds Lebzelter, is not believed in at all by the people, who told it to him with great laughter.[1]

Other prayers to the New Moon are found, however, among the
[782] IO Kung in Angola. Miss Bleek describes a dance seen by her,
[535] in which the women and girls stood in a group on one side singing and clapping their hands, while the men, singing also but not clapping, were in an irregular group on the other side, wriggling their whole bodies but otherwise hardly moving. The song accompanying this dance was a repetition of the words :—

[539]

//nwa-se //kakama //gu a i-i,	New Moon, come out, give water to us,
//nwa-se tatana //gu a i-i,	New Moon, thunder down water for us,
//nwa-se tala u //gu a i-i,	New Moon, shake down water for us.

Here also, as among the Naron and Auen, the Moon is therefore looked upon as the raingiver, and is prayed to as such—and rain, it must be remembered, makes the plants grow which feed the buck, hence it provides both vegetable and animal food. The New Moon is said to be either a child or a man, while the Full Moon is a woman. This distinction Miss Bleek interprets in the light of the difference in form presented by these two aspects of the Moon. In Naron and
[193] Nama the masculine and feminine endings are given to the same
[196] roots to denote respectively strong, tall, slender things and weak, short, round things. So here the New Moon may be called a man, because of its slenderness, the Full Moon a woman because of its round shape. The Moon is also held to be the elder sister, the sun the younger; but apparently there are no special practices or beliefs regarding the latter, although one of Miss Bleek's informants said: "We sing to the Sun and the Stars as well as the Moon." No prayers
[782] to the former are recorded, however.[2]

The only other Bushmen of whose ideas relating to the heavenly bodies we have information are the Hiechware. Dornan states that
[184] he was unable to discover among them any special ceremonies connected with the sun and the moon, but that they certainly do reverence these bodies, although seeming to dread them more than anything else. They think they must keep on good terms with the sun and the moon if they are to be successful in hunting or anything
[782] else they undertake. He could not, however, discover any prayers

[1] Religiösen Vorstellungen der *//Khun*-Buschmänner," 401; *idem*, "Bei den |Kuh Buschleuten" 13.
[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 53; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 119–20, 122, 124.

/135 cont./

114 accounts for the incompleteness and gaps in my data, defects which make themselves felt particularly in the last chapter. Thus, I could neither do the important section on linguistics nor make a collection of ethnological materials.

The observations and researches that I did undertake were repeatedly tested for their correctness to the best of my abilities. The possibility of error, of course, is nevertheless admitted without reservation.

Aminuis, August, 1908. Kaufmann.

General Observations

144 It is my conviction that the ǂAuin, as well as all other Kalahari Bushmen, do not represent a homogeneous race, but rather a people or, better still, several peoples who have lost their original character through mixture with one another and above all with peoples of other races (Bantu). At any rate, a number of Bergdamara [Bergdama] or Herero decidedly gives a stronger impression of derivation from the same mold than do the same number of Bushmen.

197 The linguistic differentiation of the individual tribes is sometimes so great that mutual intelligibility is impossible.

171 The apparent cultural homogeneity is probably based on the
182 uniformity of the landscape that everywhere surrounds them and on the living conditions (Kalahari culture).

There is no doubt that an intimate relationship of some kind
144 exists between the Hottentot and Bushmen. It may be that the
171 Bushmen are degenerate Hottentot with some admixture of foreign blood, or, on the other hand, that the Hottentot are Bushmen with foreign admixture who have emancipated themselves from the Kalahari culture.

[114] I believe I shall not be guilty of an indiscretion if I report
144 that the ethnographer Dr. Pöch shares this view with me. In a
197 private communication he writes to me from Kamelpan

/135 cont./

144 (Ngamiland): "I should like to observe briefly that the Kalahari
197 Bushmen are low in my estimation, both in respect to their language and to their appearance; I was able to confirm an extremely close relationship with the Nama [Hottentot], but in an old dialect no longer spoken today."

Since I lack the knowledge for making anthropological
141 measurements, I shall confine myself to /136/ presenting several ≠Auin types as I observed them. They may not be without value for comparative purposes.

I should like to add that in measuring physical height I obtained the following results:

Adult men (between 20 and 40 years of age)		
Average	1.51 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.62	meters
Minimum height	1.47	meters
Adult women (between 20 and 40 years of age)		
Average	1.45 1/2	meters
Maximum height	1.53	meters
Minimum height	1.38	meters

A. Geography and Statistics

The ≠Auin, as they call themselves and as they are known to
131 the neighboring Bushmen tribes, inhabit that part of the central Kalahari which is more or less immediately bounded by the watering places Rietfontein, Ganab, Gam, Sidonitzaub, Otjiamangombe, Tjumda, Ẹpukiro, Oas, Stampriet, Rooigrauwater, and Habakobis. Their territory lies for the greater part within the boundaries of the German protectorate. The adjoining sketch indicates as accurately as possible the geographic location, as well as the approximate territory of the neighboring Bushmen tribes. The
101 Hottentot designate the ≠Auin as ≠Au-San (Schinz), the inhabitants of the Chanse Veld as ≠Aukwé (Passarge), the Betschuana [Tswana] as Makaukau. The approximate number of Auin (1),

[104]

1. For the sake of simplicity I shall from now on omit the initial mark ++, which indicates the click.

[13 cont.]

776 !Khuwa and Erob were the same. In any case, the expression Ellob used by these people comes from Outjo, where there are a number of Christian Bushmen.

!Khuwa lives in the heavenly house χ'ain !nao gároba.
[772] The people in heaven eat only large flies, !Khu !Khua-i. The figure /Nawas is unknown. The evil antagonist of Huwe, //Gauab, is also absent. These Bushmen, however, have the same doctrine
[774] of the two souls as the !Kung of the east.

775 When someone dies, he becomes the property of !Khuwa; he is a !Khunga. The actual soul, χ'aobe, goes to the heavenly house, remains there, and does nothing but eat large flies. From the bodies of the dead [14] arise the //gauá-i, which run around in the bush and stir up trouble. They correspond to the akwapungu
[171] and azizi of the Ovambo. "But the actual souls of the Ovambo and the Bushmen go different ways; those of the Ovambo go under the earth where they have their fields and herds, but those of the Bushmen go up." Since the missionary Mr. Kylves expressed the desire to make some detailed studies of the Bushmen himself, I gladly left this attractive field of study to my kind host.

● 197 Finally, a number of words indicate that these people
192 are to be included in the Hei//om-Nama group, a point which
[101] is very striking with respect to the !Kung elments in their world view.

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Sun	shoreba	sóres
Moon	!háwa	//khab(*)
Stars	/nāmirō-i	/gamiros
Dome of the sky	shorche	≠kanis
Earth	/huwa	!hub-eib
Lightning	/harabé	nawab
Thunder	!nau	!gurub(*)
Rain	≠nanuba	/awib(*)
Lion	χ'amba	χ'ami
Leopard	!kui-oba	!arub(*)
Large bird	anite	--
Dog	arib	arib
Boa constrictor	!aoba	--
Zebra	χorebe	--

[14 cont.]

192
197

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Elephant	≠koá-ba	≠koáb
Hare	!kai-éba	!kàirab
Man	áure ba	áob
Woman	taréshа, taréqueta	taris
Child	/koá ruba	/gob
Encampment	//gaun-kwá	//gāus
Head	tanába	tanas
Eye	mu-i	mus
Ears	/gai-i	//noub
Mouth	am-ba	ams
Teeth	//gu-i	//gu-ĩ
Tongue	tamba	nami(*)
Nose	/kui-ba	/guis
Hand	!koam-ba	!omi
Foot	/gai-i	/eis
Ground	/kawa	khas
Arrow	/kaau-i	/ab(*)
Poison	!khore-ai	!gab, !gurub
Palm tree	/haiba	--

Of 29 words only six roots (*) show no relationship with Nama.

Chapter 5

The Bushmen of Uukualuthi

115
[177]

In all Uukualuthi, Uonkolonkathi, and Ombarantu, there are, reportedly, only two Bushmen left who understand the old language. Both of them are good-for-nothing loafers who go from one beer pot to another. Thanks to the kind offices of the missionary, Mrs. Aarni, Chief Moala made one of these men available to me. To be sure, he could not hold out for very long, and during the few days that he devoted to us, he was rarely sober. We had to limit our conversations to the forenoon. What I learned from him is a dying way of life that no longer has any continuity. The man faced the situation with the cheerful resignation of the CHRONIC, GOOD-NATURED IMBIBER...

[20 cont.]

101 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposed-
131 ly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are
[648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the
[631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief, the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notorious Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-
[197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do
[342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in
[301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh
[827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron
[411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations
[114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

342 are filled with grass. The door is a hole scarcely a meter high;
[354] immediately behind it the fire burns almost continuously, so that, at least for the European, crawling into the hut presents considerable difficulties. Since the Bushmen are often forced to
[361] move their settlements because of the lack of veld food or because of the water conditions, they not infrequently content themselves with incomplete huts, which are not closed to form a full circle, but represent only a part, a segment of a hut, as it were, and give only scant protection against the sun.

For the rest, it is astonishing how hardened these practically
147 naked Bushmen are against the cold of the night which during the cold season is very sharp -- not infrequently below O° [centigrade]. Unclothed except for the loincloth, they calmly go to sleep on
[513] the cold ground near a small fire, exposed to the icy night air, a thought that gives chills to Europeans, who are unable to sleep without three woolen blankets on such nights.

Concerning the much discussed racial position of the Bush-
144 men, I have already remarked above -- at least concerning the Heikum and Kung -- that their descent from the Hottentots, as is frequently asserted, seems doubtful to me. The Bushmen's smaller size, of course, can be accounted for by the debilitation of the race through centuries-long unfavorable living conditions. What argues against the notion of racial affinity, however, is the anthropological fact that steatopygia is not to be found among the Heikum and Kung women, /260/ and, in addition, the lan-
● 197 guage is totally different.

I attempted to collect a sample of the vocabulary and some grammatical characteristics of the language of the Heikum on the Omatako and of the Kung in the Kaukau Veld, which I present below. In doing this, it became evident that the languages of the Heikum and Kung are merely dialectically differentiated, while they seem to have almost no relationship to the Nama language. The click sounds, to be sure, are almost the same as
[194] those in the Hottentot language; hence, / designates the dental
[104] click, // the lateral click, ! the cerebral [retroflex] click, and ≠ the palatal click. By ⁝ I designate the sharp opening of the glottis in speaking the initial vowel, which frequently occurs between a consonant and a vowel or between two vowels of the same word, and which does not occur in this fashion in the Nama.

N/OW

LORNA MARSHALL

821 *N/ow*[1] is a belief concerning rain and cold which is held by the /Kung Bushmen in the region around Nyae Nyae in South West Africa.

132 About ten inches of rain falls in an average year in this part of the Kalahari Desert and sinks into the deep sands. There is no run-off in streams and there are few water
137 holes. The rain is sufficient to support a covering vegetation of grass, shrubs, and scrubby trees. The vegetation includes numerous edible roots, tubers, leaves, fruits, and nuts, for which the Afrikaans language provides the convenient word *veldkos*.

105 The /Kung, the only inhabitants of the interior of this particular region, are
821 nomadic hunters and gatherers. If the rains are poor and the veldkos dry and sparse, the people suffer. Rain, they say, is life-giving; sun is death-giving.

132 Summer is the season of the 'big rains' in the western Kalahari. 'Little rains'—a few scant showers—may fall in September, October, and November. The 'big rains' begin in late December or January and continue into March. The summer storms are awesome. Every day the winds drive monstrous clouds around the sky, which domes a horizon as flat as the sea. They breed the storms. Lightning streaks from them. Thunder roars and rumbles. The earth sucks in their deluges, hissing.

821 The /Kung say that thin clouds which give no rain are male. They call them */now*.[2] The big rain clouds are female. White ones they call */ga kwe disi*—*//ga* means cloud or rain, *disi* means females.[3] The enormous grey clouds with rain pouring from them the /Kung call */kwesi* (zebras), because they are so fleet and, though a person may think he is far from the rain, it comes swiftly and is on him. We have seen Bushmen, caught without shelter in the storms, shivering so that their teeth chattered, saying they could perish in such rain.

[532] Rain itself is male and female, */ga /go* and */ga di*. The men one day drew in the sand the spoor of male and female rain. Male rain spoor was made with all five fingers held stiffly and plunged deeply into the sand, to make big holes. Male rain breaks the trees and beats down the fruits, the men told us. It is (like) a fight, and may kill a person. Thunder and lightning accompany it, and sometimes hail. Female rain has tiny drops and does not spoil anything; it beautifies the trees and the grass and makes the veldkos grow. Its spoor was made by smoothing out a place in the sand and cover-
[532] ing it closely with tiny dots. Gao said a person (anyone) may speak to the rain, saying, 'You are doing very well', or, 'Fall silently. Don't make such a noise. Don't be

[1] We wish to thank both Dr. Mary Douglas and Professor I. Schapera for reading the manuscript about *n/ow* and for making several helpful suggestions.

[195] [2] The /Kung language has four clicks: / is the symbol for the dental click, ≠ for the alveolar, / for the alveolar palatal, and // for the lateral.

[114] [3] We did not know how to translate *kwe*, which
[192] occurs very often. It seemed sometimes to be a sort
[197] of article and we did not work on it especially. We regret not having done so because Miss Bleek, in her *Bushman Dictionary* (American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1956), records in the Auen or //K"au-//en language, which she says is very like the /Kung and which she places south of the /Kung, the phrase */ga -k"wisi*, meaning rain's hair or cloud. In /Kung */ga* and *//ga* both mean rain. We now wonder if *kwe* should be *kwi* and if it means hair in the phrase *//ga kwe disi*.

x137 There were more species of grass, and, particularly on the dunes, more of
136 trees and shrubs. The fauna was also richer for there were buffalo and elephant and many waterfowl in addition to the animals found in the Kalahari.

197 The Bushman languages represented in this paper are classified
[128] according to Bleek's *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages* (1929). They are !h5:, the closely interrelated ||ganakwe, |gikwe and Naron, and Auen (see also Bleek, 1928: 60-64).

!h5: is a member of the southern group, in which the lip click is
[194] found, and a dialect of what Bleek calls |nu||en, S6 in her system of classification. Bleek's spelling is !k5:, but I heard the click aspirated. It is spoken in the neighbourhood of Lehututu, which is 150 miles south of Ghanzi.

||ganakwe is spoken to the east of Ghanzi, and has been studied by Maingard (1957).

The centre of the |gikwe language appears to be in the country to the south-east of Ghanzi. It is a member of Bleek's Central group, closely allied to Naron and easily understood by Naron speakers although many
[194] words are different. A curious feature of the phonetics is the occurrence of the ejective lateral explosive followed immediately by the velar glottal affricate (see Cole, 1955: 23 and Beach 1938: 222-223). The first sound is not mentioned in any papers that I have seen on the Bushman languages.

[114] Naron is Bleek's C2. There is an error which is liable to confuse one on page 3 of her publication, where the languages of the Naron and Masarwa of Tati have been transposed. Naron should be under C2 and the Masarwa language under C1. A grammatical sketch of Naron is given in Bleek's paper of 1928.

Auen, Bleek's N1, is the eastern form of the !khû linguistic group and is spoken round Gautscha Pan. It was studied by Maingard when he was a member of this same expedition and an account of it is given in his paper of 1957. In this paper I refer to it as Eastern !khû.

124 The work done in the Kalahari was done through interpreters, and much of that in the northern area likewise, except towards the end of the expedition when through closer contact with the Bushmen for a longer time than in the south, I was able to acquire a smattering of the Eastern !khû language, enough to ask straightforward questions and to understand straightforward replies. The phonetics of the Bushman languages are a study in themselves, and I do not claim that my spellings and indications
104 of the tones are exact. In the orthography I have followed Bleek (1929)
194 with the following exceptions:—

1. I have placed the n first when it is combined with a click. It has been the convention to place the n after the click in the written Khoisan languages, the argument being that the n and the click are pronounced simultaneously (Meinhof, 1909: 5). To my ear the n is the first sound in the combination.
2. Bleek does not mention the voiced h, which sometimes follows a nasalised click. I have accordingly followed Doke (1936: 448) and used the symbol ɦ.

For easy reference, the symbols I have used are listed at the end of this introductory chapter.

Oschimpoloveld. On the east they extend into the Bechuana- 101
land Protectorate and on the north into Angola. Among 131
them are included the *‡Aukwe* or *‡Ao-//ĕin* in the south between Sandfontein and */Gam*, the *Ssu-‡gnassi* to the north-east and the *‡Küng* to the northwest.

Next in importance and numbers to the Bushmen of the 101
Kalahari are the *Hei-//om* living in the vicinity of the 131
Etosha Pan and on the outskirts of Ovamboland in the Groot- 177
fontein and Outjo districts. They are generally believed to [174]
have resulted from the interbreeding of Hottentots with a now extinct tribe of Bushmen which originally inhabited the greater portion of the present Damaraland and Ovamboland. Their manner of life is still that of Bushmen but, unlike their [197]
neighbours of the Kalahari, they have no language of their own and speak a Nama dialect. Except among the groups in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organisation has disappeared almost completely. The groups living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture. In Eastern Ovamboland they are known by the Ovambo as *Ovachwagga;* in north-western Ovamboland they call themselves *Ovambo* Bushmen but are referred to by the Ukuanyama as *Wakeddi* or *Ovakeddi*. Both *Ovachwagga* and *Ovakeddi*, especially the [582]
latter, are being rapidly absorbed into the *Ovambo* through intermarriage. The *Ovachwagga* speak both the Ovambo and [191
Hottentot languages. Among the *Ovakeddi*, on the other 197]
hand, only the older members of the various groups still have a knowledge of the latter language. Of the groups along the banks of and immediately to the north of the Ovambo Omuramba very little is known. To the west they are in contact with the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha region; to the north with the Ovambo and to the east with */Küng* of the Oschimpoloveld or northern Omaheke. The *Hei-//om* of the remaining portions of Grootfontein and Outjo and of the districts of Otjiwarongo and Gobabis are scattered about on farms and are living in close association with Hottentots and Klip Kaffirs with whom they show various degrees of intermixture. In Gobabis there is only a small remnant, known locally also as the *Nama* or *Kakuja* Bushmen on account of the extent to which they have interbred with these races and the neighbouring tribes of the Kalahari.

Of the tribes which were left in Namaqualand during the 101
latter half of the last century only a few individuals have 131
survived. The */Geinin* of the Namib between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//Obanen* of the Huns Mountains, and the */Koma-san* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateau have disappeared completely. The */Huinin* are represented by a few groups at the southern extremity of the */Huib* plateau and adjacent part of the Namib. The */Ganin* of the Nauwkloof Mountains have likewise become almost totally extinct.

609 pering in the grass near by. You can tell by these werfs that
621 there are Bushmen in an area, and also by their footprints on narrow trails which they share with the game and which run all through the desert. You may find footprints or you [372] may see a little pile of white ash, the fire that a Bushman kindled where he spent the night. Otherwise, to find them you must depend on luck or on the fact that the Bushmen of an area may have heard something good about you and will not be too afraid.

105 Culturally and historically, the Bushmen are an interesting people, for they and the Hottentots, who belong to the same racial and language groups, are the earliest human inhabitants still living in southern Africa. There are now from thirty [161] to fifty thousand Bushmen, who are divided into several language groups. Their languages are related to each other and [197] to the Hottentot language, and are in what is known as the Khoisan language group, made up of most of the click languages spoken in South Africa. A click language has sharp pops and clicks made with the tongue in various parts of the mouth, combined with an implosion of the breath, very diffi- [194] cult to understand, harder still to pronounce, as the slightest mistake may change the meaning of a word entirely. For example, the work *//kx'a*, which in one of the Bushman languages means *mangetti*, a certain kind of nut-bearing tree, is pronounced by making a lateral click for which the tongue is pulled sharply away from the sides of the mouth, producing the click one makes when calling a horse, followed by a scraped *k* turning to a *g*, followed by a glottal stop—a slight pause or tiny choking sound made as the back of the tongue stops the breath—which is followed at last by the vowel. To make a mistake is easy, and that is why non-Bushmen have a hard time learning the language, and why, when they do learn, they are often misunderstood.

14: Willet Y-4 (no date) 1965 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

7

THE !KUNG BUSHMEN OF THE KALAHARI DESERT

about the chapter

For the anthropologist, the Bushmen are one of the world's most intriguing peoples, as they are virtually unique physically, linguistically, and culturally. The physical anthropologist cannot place the Bushmen in any one of the recognized major racial groupings: Caucasoid, Mongoloid, or Negroid. Similarly, linguists have placed their language in a category, Khoisan, apart from other African language families. The velar "clicks" that characterize Khoisan languages are apparently found nowhere in the world outside of Africa.

The culture of the Bushmen shows the imprint of their harsh and barren desert habitat, and, as Marshall points out, the ethos of their culture is dominated by the quest for survival. Many Bushman cultural institutions are molded by certain ecological constants: water, the location of water holes, water-storing plants, and other edible wild plants, the movements of game. The size of the band, the daily cycle of labor, the low incidence of polygyny, are all aspects of culture marked in this way. Certain other Bushman institutions, however, are not simply cultural creations passively molded by habitat; rather, they give the Bushmen better than even odds to defy the limitations which their habitat imposes. Such culture patterns are their skillful hunting techniques, their institutionalized patterns of sharing, and their strong striving for cooperation and harmony. Few cultures give the observer such a rich opportunity to study the two-way interaction between habitat and culture.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

LORNA MARSHALL · *The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert*[1]

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION · The Bushmen live in those parts of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa that lie in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate, in South West Africa, and in southeastern Angola. A few additional remnants of Bushman groups still exist in Northern Rhodesia and at Lake Chrissie in South Africa. In the past Bushmen had a much wider distribution.[2]

Many Bushmen live among, and some work for, the Bantu-speaking tribes in settlements where sufficient water resources have been developed to support cattle, and some Bushmen work for white farmers in the Ghanzi area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in South West Africa. However, many still live in small, independent, nomadic groups, widely dispersed in the vast areas of the desert.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise population count of the Bushmen, but a recent estimate gathered from various contemporary sources (Tobias 1956) indicates that in 1955 there were 55,531 Bushmen.[3] These figures are higher than any previously propounded (cf. Schapera 1939) and come as a surprise to many.

The Bushmen are linked with the Hottentots, a southern African people who resemble them physically and with whom they have linguistic affiliations, but who are a pastoral people with a more complex social structure. Bushmen and Hottentots together are called the *Khoisan* peoples, a coined term combining the Hottentots' term for themselves (*Khoi*) and their name for the Bushmen (*San*). The Khoisan peoples have been referred to as a distinct race (Murdock 1959: 8) or, as Howells puts it, "a major racial variety of man" (1959:306). The obscurity of their origins and racial affinities are in themselves subjects in which research continues and interesting postulations engage the attention of scientists in various fields.[4]

PHYSICAL FEATURES · The physical features of the Bushmen have drawn much attention from anthropologists. Bushmen are of small stature (adult males average approximately five feet, two inches) WITH YELLOWISH BROWN SKIN THAT BECOMES HEAVILY WRINKLED IN OLD AGE.

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A Headman ≠Toma is the leader of the main Guatscha band.

142 males average approximately five feet, two inches) with yellowish brown skin that becomes heavily wrinkled in old age. They have very little facial and body hair, and their short, black, head hair is so curly it spirals into peppercorn tufts. The Bushman face is flat and triangular; the brown eyes are set rather wide apart. A variety of eye folds narrow the apertures of the eyes. The nose is extremely broad with a very low bridge, the lips are everted but not protruding or only slightly so, and the ear is somewhat square in shape with a deeply rolled rim (helix). The Bushman body and limbs are slender; the frame is delicate. A notable feature is the inward curve of the small of the back. The penis is semierect. In women there is what is called the "Hottentot apron" (elongation of the *labia minora*). Steatopygia (fat on the buttocks) is invariably mentioned in the literature as one of the important physical characteristics of Bushman and Hottentot women and recorded as being very prominently developed in some. By comparison with the extreme examples that are seen among some Hottentot women and in illustrations, the northern and central Bushman women whom we observed did not have marked steatopygia, although some had buttocks that could be called plump.

● 197 LANGUAGE • Bushman languages and those of the Hottentots are classified as a language family known as Click or Khoisan (Greenberg 1955:80).
[194] Clicks are so unusual as to be almost unique to Bushman and Hottentot (they occur also in two East African languages—Sandawe and Hatsa—according to Greenberg) and are so distinguishing a feature of these languages that much attention is given them.

194 The Khoisan clicks, striking implosive sounds, are velaric suction stops
197 (Heffner 1960:119; cf. Beach 1938:73 ff.). The northern and central Bushman languages have four, made with the tongue, as follows: the dental (/), lateral (//), alveolar (!), and palatal (≠). The southern Bushman lan-

[p. 244]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

guages, some now virtually extinct, were characterized by a fifth click made with the lips, called the kiss click (⊙). In addition to clicks, the Bushman languages have tones: high, middle, low, rising, and falling. Oswin Köhler has given special attention to tone as well as to other features in his study of Bushman languages, especially Barakwenga (Köhler 1962).

Each of the large divisions of the Bushman languages—the northern, central, and southern divisions (see Bleek 1956)—differs markedly from the others. Within each group are several languages, sometimes resembling each other enough to be considered merely dialects of the same language, but more often differing so widely as to be distinct, mutually quite unintelligible languages. The !Kung described in this chapter (Köhler's and Westphal's !Xû) belong to the northern group.

HABITAT • The Kalahari Desert, some 1200 miles long, with a mean high altitude of about 3000 feet, forms part of the great plateau of southern Africa. It is a basin in form, covered with wind-blown sands, sometimes red, sometimes white, to a depth of 300 to 400 feet. The underlying rock crops out rarely in ridges and a few low hills.

Stamp (1953:78) classifies the Kalahari as a semidesert. Its conditions are not the most extreme. Our expeditions recorded daytime air temperatures in the shade up to 115° F. and sand temperatures in the sun up to 140° F. In winter the temperature at night falls below freezing but for most of the year the nights are temperate. Although they seem acclimated to the heat, the Bushmen appear to find the colder temperatures very uncomfortable and shiver violently if they are away from their fires when the cold south winds blow.[8]

The rainfall, which comes in summer thunderstorms—6 to 10 inches, increasing in the better-watered parts toward the north, according to Wellington (1955:61)—though slight, is sufficient to sustain a varied drought-resistant vegetation, and the country is covered with grass, brush, and scant small trees. In the northern and northwestern parts, the trees are more numerous and taller and include shivi groves and nut-bearing mangetti—important sources of food to the Bushmen. And in all the areas of the desert that Bushmen inhabit are found edible plants, in scant, far-apart patches perhaps, but existing. The vegetation, furthermore, provides material for fires, shelter, weapons, implements, tanning, poison for arrows, and juices (for example tsama melons, on which these people can live when there is no water). In short, this desert provides the things that make life possible; otherwise the Bushmen would be dead or somewhere else.

The desert is a forceful shaper of the outlines of Bushman culture, and both the possibilities it permits and the limitations it imposes have been meaningfully summarized by Robert Story in a personal communication:

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

182 A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties
312 which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters
[161] them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival,
[648] for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in
the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been
134 comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity
and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level
mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily
available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant
when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated
with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy
soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage
organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thor-
ough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they
are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

137 Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still
have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again
[222] to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-
sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage
[224] organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre
[262] content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the
various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

224 Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking sur-
faces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed
with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not
[411] necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the
advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death
as certainly to big game as to small.

101 LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bush-
● 197 men cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings
and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans
refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking
[829] Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a mul-
titude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local group-
[184] ings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the
language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while
they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within them-
[621] selves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band
[622] composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Or-
ganization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

101 The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a
131 group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ǒassi* and who live in the
[197] Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48'30" S, 181
20°34'36" E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but 131
extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and
Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch [123]
of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In [162]
it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and [648]
9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of
about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the [882]
region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and
preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north [192]
and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen- [823]
speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung 181
Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is sur- 182
vival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in
their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring
food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the [621]
mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their [570]
social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals
within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between [625]
bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on [771]
survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the
sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region 433
have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we re- 262
fer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of
a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired,
but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know 222
more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several 262
species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen
suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad
for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets.
Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this region as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these; doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

114 and we worked jointly at Dobe until the study terminated on January 8, 1965. The study dates and places are summarized in Table 1.

A note on orthography

197 The linguistic status of the !Kung Bushmen will be dis-
194 cussed in Chapter II. As there is still no general agreement among linguists on the phonemes of the !Kung language, a brief list of phonemes is offered here to facilitate the pronounciation of Bushman words used in the text.[1]

Vowels

1. i - as in English "fit, feet"
2. e - as in English "fate, fed"
3. ə - as in English "the, but"
4. u - as in English "book, boor"
5. o - as in English "bore, ball"
6. a - as in English "bat, bar"

Dipthongs

7. au - as in "cow, now, thou"
8. ai - as in "by, sky, bite"
9. ei - close to "bay, bait"
10. iu - no English equivalent; falls between "see" and "Sue"

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[1] A phonemic analysis of !Kung is in preparation and will be presented elsewhere. The present listing is oversimplified.

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

101 Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a 142 satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical 144 type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included, and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland • 197 would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non- 121 Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West 224 Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A 222 464 strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting 648 and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many 241 233 thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

114 A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by 197 the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963). He has demonstrated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

101 [114] In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956). Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

Languages

• 197 114 Due to the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963), the classification and geography of the click languages has been put on a firmer footing. The author's observations confirm Westphal's scheme in its essentials, but differ on certain details.

197 Among the peoples called Sarwa there are two major linguistic subdivisions:

1. A group of genetically related languages which collectively and individually are related to the Nama and Korana dialects of Hottentot. These languages are called by Westphal Tshu-khwe and were formerly known as the Central group of Bushmen languages.

2. Three languages which are distinct from the Hottentot-related group and distinct from one another. These Westphal calls "Bush A, B, and C." Bush A used to be known as Northern Bushman, Bush B and C as Southern Bushman.

The distribution of these languages is plotted on Map 3, p. 16.

Tshu-khwe - Five related languages are distinguished here. It appears that adjacent dialects are mutually intelligible, but speakers of languages that are geographically separated cannot understand each other.

The five languages are:

Xũ - known as Kwengo in Barotseland, Hukwe in the Eastern

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

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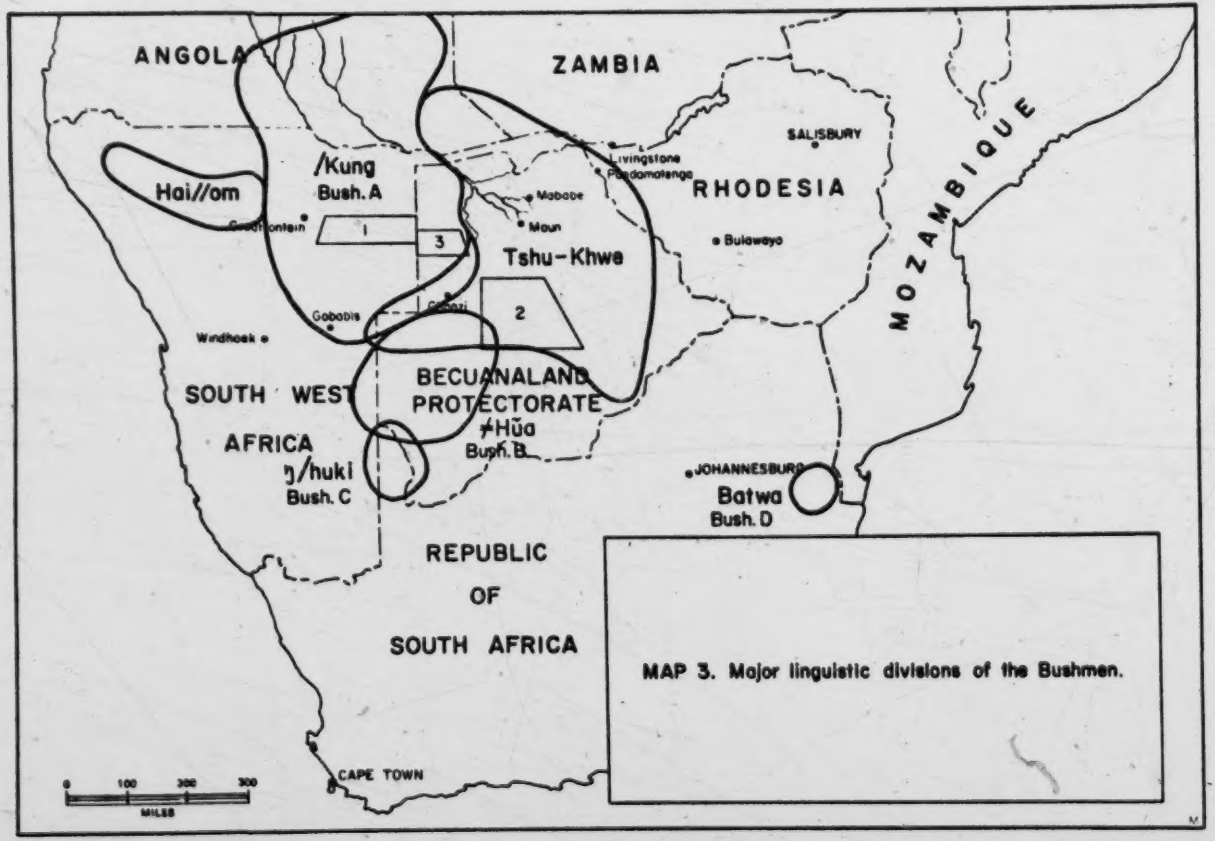

MAP 3. Major linguistic divisions of the Bushmen.

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Caprivi, and Bukakwe in the Western Caprivi; also found in southeastern Angola.

Shua - the major click language of the Panda-ma-tenga area; also includes Danisin and other dialects of the Mababe area.

//gabake - Hiechware and Ganade are included here; spoken at Panda-ma-tenga, Nata and possibly in the Wankie area; very closely related to Shua.

Deti - the language of the Tete or Tletle people who live along the Botlete River; not mutually intelligible with //gabake although they are genetically related.

Nharo - the main click language spoken on the Ghanzi Farms; there are several important related dialects: N/hai, spoken in the Lake Ngami area,[1] //gana of Central Bechuanaland, and /Gwi of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

197 114 For a more complete catalogue of dialects, the reader is referred to Westphal (1963:248ff). His use of the term Hottentot to apply to the above peoples who are ethnically Bushmen is unfortunate, since he has not demonstrated that the Tshu-khwe peoples are, in fact, derived from the Hottentot. It is more likely that both are derived from a common

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[1] Westphal considers this as a separate language. I found it to be only a dialect of Nharo.

• 197 [114] proto-Hottentot, proto-Bushman ancestor.

Bush - Unlike the five Tshu-khwe languages, the three Bush languages cannot, on the basis of accepted linguistic procedures, be shown to be genetically related. The author, in an attempt to replicate Westphal's vocabulary comparisons, made a lexicostatistic trial on two languages: Bush A (!Kung), and Kharo (a Tshu-khwe language). The percentage of cognates was 11.5% but no rules of regularized sound shifts could be demonstrated between the two languages. Therefore the possibility is strong that the incidence of cognates is fortuitous or due to borrowing. The same low order of cognation was found when Bush A was lexicostatistically compared with Bush B.

The three Bush languages are:

A. !Kung; the subject of this dissertation. Also known in the literature as Kung, !xũ, Auen, Kaukau, and //au//ei; !Kung speakers extend from the Ghanzi farms in the south through western Bechuanaland and northeastern South West Africa, north into Angola.

B. ʄhũa; also known as Magong, !xõ (not to be confused with !xũ), !xoŋ, ǂwaǂwani.[1] These people live south of Ghanzi farms and extend into the Kalahari Gemsbok Game Reserve of South Africa.

[1] ǂ is the symbol for the 5th Bushman click, known as the kiss click. This click is confined to Bush B, C and D languages and therefore not considered in the linguistic sketch of Chapter I.

• 197 C. -ŋ/huki; also known as ≠khomani (Doke 1936) and //n-!ke (Bleek 1929). A very small group now confined to the Gemsbok Park.

The numerical strength of the various Tshu-khwe and Bush languages are estimated as follows:

Xũ (Kwengo)	2,000
Shua (Danisin etc.)	3,000
//gabake (Hiechware etc.)	10,000
Deti (Tletle)	2,000
Nharo (/gwi, //gana etc.)	9,000
Bush A (!Kung)	13,000
Bush B (≠hũa)	1,600
Bush C (ŋ/huki)	50
TOTAL	40,650

The remaining 3,450 Bushmen of the estimated total of 44,100 include over 3,000 Hai//om (Heikum) in South West Africa. These people speak a dialect of Nama Hottentot and have a tradition of hunting and gathering although only a small proportion do so today. Also included in the remainder are a small group of people around Lake Chrissie in the
[101] Eastern Transvaal. They are locally known as Batwa and number
[114] less than one hundred. Westphal includes them as his Bush D language and calls them "//xegwi." (See also Lanham and Hallowes 1956; Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955).

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

The !Kung Bushmen

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162 The !Kung are the most numerous of the surviving Bushman tribes. Of the estimated total of 13,000, about 3,000 live in Angola, 2,000 in Bechuanaland, and 8,000 in South West Africa. The !Kung occupy a remarkably large area. Their country extends from north to south for a distance of 500 miles, and from east to west for a distance of 300 miles (see Map 5).

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19 Two criteria clearly distinguish the !Kung from all other Bushman peoples: their language and their unique system of personal naming. The !Kung language has phonological features in common with adjacent Tshu-khwe and Hottentot languages, such as the four click system and the strong glottal releases. However, the vocabulary and grammar of !Kung sets it apart from the other click languages. A lexicostatistic comparison of !Kung and Nharo showed a low incidence of cognates (11.5%).

[114] The grammar of !Kung has yet to be adequately described, but
[193] none of the preliminary work by Doke (1925), Bleek (1929), Maingard (1957), and Westphal (1962, 1963:244) has been able to demonstrate a genetic relationship of !Kung grammar to the grammars of the other click languages.

There are no semi-!Kung languages (although the vocabulary of the southern dialect has been influenced by contact with Nharo) and therefore a native speaker of !Kung is immediately identified as a member of the !Kung tribe. This holds

101 Ghanzi and Gobabis Districts and their immediate northern
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162 hinterland. All three divisions speak mutually intelligible
[241] dialects of !Kung but only the central and southern divisions
[197] have the institution of the name relationship.
[551]
[184] The northern division peoples call themselves "!kũ"
101 meaning "people" (Bleek, 1928:106) and many ethnographers have adopted this as the general appelation for the tribe. There has been a bewildering variety of spellings of this name[1] and it is urgent that one standard form be chosen. It is recommended that !Kung be adopted as the standard appelation for the tribe, following the lead of Fourie (1928:83) and Marshall (1957, 1959, 1960, 1962, etc.). This is not the most phonetically accurate of the alternatives, but the controversy over spelling is an academic one because the majority of the "!Kung" do not recognize this as their tribal appelation at all!

The central division "!Kung" call themselves "zũ/wãsi" (zũ = "people"; /wã = "proper" or "true"; si = plural suffix). This translates as "the proper people" or "the true people". It also has the connotation of "just folks" which Elizabeth Marshall Thomas has appropriately rendered as "The Harmless People" (1959). Bushmen of the study area objected to the

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[1] At least fourteen different spellings are in the literature including: Kung, !Kũ, !Kun, Ǫhung, //Khun, ʃKũng, ʗhũ, !xũ, !Khũ, ǃun, !Kung.

101 appelation "!Kung". They said it was a term of opprobrium used of them by the Bantu.

The southern division !Kung were the first of the tribe to appear in the ethnographic literature. They are described by Baines (1864) and Chapman (1868) as "Ma'kow'kow". Later workers have called them ≠Auin (Kaufmann 1910), //kau//en (Bleek 1928), ≠Ao-//ɛin (Fourie 1928), Makaukau, and Auen (Schapera 1930). All these forms appear to be corruptions of the name ≠d"au//ae, which is currently in use among the Bushmen of the Ghanzi District. This is the Nharo name for the !Kung Bushmen; it means literally "north side" and reflects the fact that the !Kung have traditionally been the northern neighbors of the Nharo. The !Kung commonly apply this label to themselves, saying "we are the ≠d"au//ae (north side) people".

[197] Since all three groups, calling themselves !Kũ, zũ/wãsi,
[184] and ≠d"au//ae, respectively, speak dialects of the same language, and since the latter two groups maintain a sense of ethnic identity through the name relation it is recommended that the name !Kung be adopted as the tribal appelation. It is the easiest of the three names to pronounce and it has had the widest currency in the literature.

[184] Of the three geographical divisions of !Kung, full time
[224] independent hunters and gatherers are found only among the
[222] central group.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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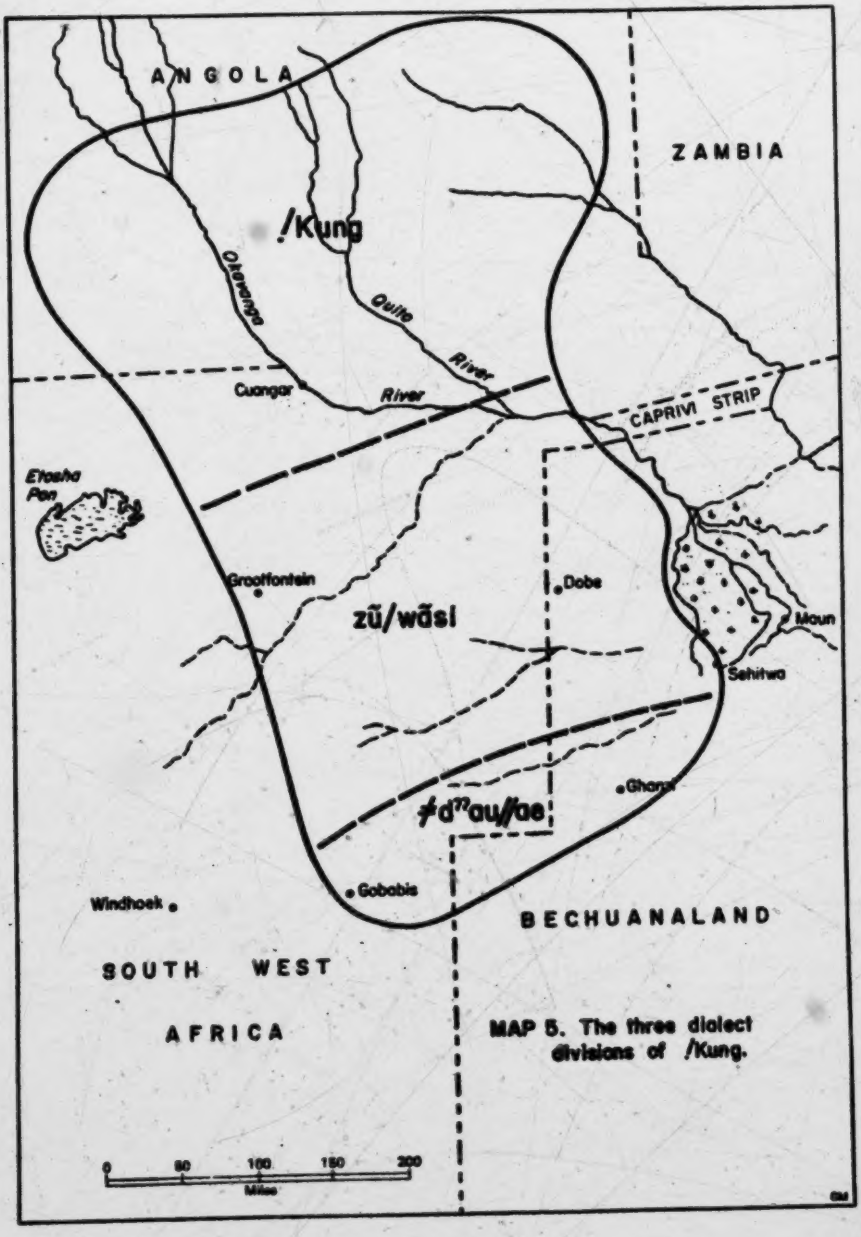

MAP 5. The three dialect divisions of /Kung.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

extent by racial intermixture with other native peoples. In the Eastern and Central Kalahari, moreover, as well as in Angola, most of them are also in a state of servitude to the Bantu peoples among whom they live. Large bands of relatively independent Bushmen are now found only in the North-Western Kalahari and the adjoining districts of South-West Africa, especially in the Omaheke, Kaukauveld, and Ghansiveld. 162

Tribal Divisions

The Bushmen are divided into many different groups, each with its own distinctive language or dialect, and with a name. These groups will be spoken of here as tribes. The Bushmen do not appear to have any general or collective names for themselves. Such names have, however, been applied to them by most of the other inhabitants of South Africa. The Hottentots term them all *San*. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but Hahn interprets it as "aborigines, or settlers proper".[1] The names *Sunqua*, *Saunqua*, *Sonqua*, etc., by which the Bushmen are often referred to in the early records of the Cape, are merely verbal variations of its masc. plur. form *Sa(n)qua*. The Bantu peoples know the Bushmen by a variety of names, the most common of which are all cognate forms of the same root—*BaTwa* or *AbaTwa* (Zulu-Xosa), *BaRwa* (Suto), *MaSarwa* (Chwana), *OvaTwa* (Herero), etc. The meaning of this root has not been satisfactorily determined. A common interpretation is "people of the south", but this is not universally accepted; a more plausible alternative, perhaps, is "people of the wilderness". The name *Bushmen* itself goes back to the earliest Dutch settlers at the Cape, and is found as far back as 1685 in the Cape Records, where it occurs in several variations of its Dutch form—*Bosjesmans*, *Bosmanekens*, *Bosiesmans*, etc. It has now become generally adopted in ethnological literature and there seems no good reason why it should not be retained. 101 [619]

The languages of all the Bushmen tribes are of the same general structure, and can be regarded as belonging to one language family. They vary, however, in certain details of phonetics and especially of grammar and vocabulary, which permit of their classification into three main groups. To these the names Southern, Northern, and Central Groups respectively have been applied by Miss D. F. Bleek, 197 619

[1] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 1881, p. 3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

197 619 on account of their relative geographical distribution. These names may also be used as affording a convenient means of grouping the different tribes.[1]

619 The SOUTHERN GROUP is distributed mainly over the region roughly south of the Tropic of Capricorn. Of the tribes included in it the [197] best known, both ethnologically and linguistically, are the */xam-ka !ke* (i.e. */xam* people), commonly spoken of as the "Cape Bushmen". They were formerly spread over the greater part of the Cape Province south of the Orange River, and seem to have been very numerous. [162] They have, however, been almost completely exterminated, and at the present time only a few individuals still survive in the north-western districts of the Province, where they are mostly employed as farm hands by Europeans.[2]

A similar fate has overtaken several other tribes of this group. The *//ŋ !ke* ("home people") of Griqualand West and Gordonia are now also represented by only a few individuals, the majority of whom are farm hands in the Langeberg District.[3] East of them, in Orange Free State and Basutoland, lived other Bushmen, of whose [162] language, folklore, and customs some records have been preserved, but who are now apparently quite extinct, and whose tribal name even is unknown.[4] They will be spoken of here as the "Basutoland Bushmen". Still further east, on the shores of Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal, live a few other Bushmen as farm hands, evidently remnants of a tribe that once roamed over the High Veld of the Transvaal. They do not seem to have retained their own Bushman [177 197 144] name, but use the term *BaTwa* applied to them by the neighbouring Amaswazi, a Bantu tribe, traces of much intercourse with whom are seen in both appearance and speech.[5]

[1] D. F. Bleek, "The Distribution of Bushman Languages in S. Africa," *Festschrift Meinhof*, 1927, pp. 55–64; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 1929, pp. 1–6; cf. also I. Schapera, "The Tribal Divisions of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), pp. 68–73.

[2] The literature on this tribe is considerable, although most of it is fragmentary. The most useful sources are: J. Barrow, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, 2 vols., London, 1801–4; T. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," *Globus*, xviii (1870), Nos. 5–10; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, Breslau, 1872; W. H. I. Bleek, *A Brief Account of Bushman Folklore and Other Texts*, London, 1875; L. C. Lloyd, *A Short Account of Further Bushman Material Collected*, London, 1889; G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1905; W. H. I. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends: Bushman Folklore*, Cape Town, n.d. (1923).

[3] D. F. Bleek, art. cit. in *Festschrift Meinhof*, p. 56; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, p. 1.

[4] T. Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration au Nord-Est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, Paris, 1842; J. M. Orpen, "A Glimpse into the Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, ix (1774), 1–13, reprinted in *Folk-Lore*, xxx (1919), 139–56; S. S. Dornan, "Notes on the Bushmen of Basutoland," *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, xviii (1909), 437–50.

[5] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.

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619 in the west to the Okavango and Lake Ngami on the north and east. They are divided into four main local groups, the *!Ogowe* of the Lower Omuramba Omatako, the *Agau* south-east of Karakuwisa, the *Nogau* of Karakuwisa and the Upper Omuramba Omatako, and [197] the *‡Kungau* north of Tsintsabis and along the Okavango, all of which, however, speak the same language and have identical customs and [162] beliefs. Their numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 500 and 800, but if one may judge from the statements of reliable observers such as Seiner and von Zastrow this figure is a good deal too low.

[197] North of the Okavango, in Southern Angola, are found a number of other Bushmen speaking the same language as the Kung of South-West Africa and calling themselves by the same name, or sometimes by the names *!gei !kū*, "red people," or *!o !kū*, "forest people." They extend north up to about 15° S. lat., west to about 16° E. long., and east as far as the border of North-West Rhodesia. These Angola [177 Kung, or *!O Kung*, as they will be spoken of here, have been considerably influenced in mode of life and customs by the interdwelling 144] Bantu peoples who are their overlords, and are gradually being absorbed into them through racial intermixture. They are sometimes referred to by the names applied to them by the Bantu: *BaKhankala* or *VaNkala* in the west, *BaSukuwera* in the centre, and *VaShekeli* in the east.[1]

To the west and south-west of the Kung in South-West Africa are the *Hei-//om* or *Heikum* ("tree dwellers"), who are scattered over a large extent of the country, from north of the Etosha Pan and the outskirts of Ovamboland in Grootfontein and Outjo districts to near Rehoboth in the south.[2] This part of South-West Africa is fairly densely settled by other peoples as well, so that it is possible for only a few of these Bushmen to lead their native life. Most of them now work on farms, and except among the bands in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organization is said to have 619 disappeared completely. Whether free or in service, the majority now 197 speak a Nama dialect, and in culture and physical characters also they have been influenced to a very great extent by the Nama and the 177 Bergdama. The bands living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture, and are rapidly being

[1] (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.*, xxi (1927), 47–56; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928), 105–25.

[2] H. Werner, op. cit.; L. Fourie, "Preliminary Notes on Certain Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6), 49–63; *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, Cape Town, 1928, pp. 79–105.

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absorbed into the OvaMbo through racial intermixture. Werner, however, found some of them speaking a language of their own. The examples he gives of this show it to be closely related to the language of the Kung, so that the tribe can be regarded as falling within the Northern group of Bushmen. Its numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 1,000 and 1,500.

The CENTRAL GROUP is composed of many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of Bechuanaland Protectorate, especially in the Central and Northern Kalahari. The languages of these tribes differ in some respects from those of the two previous groups, and present many close similarities to the Hottentot languages.

In close proximity to the Auen, by whom they are termed *Naron* ("insignificant people"), live the *//aikwe*, one of the best known of the Bushman tribes.[1] They are found principally in Bechuanaland Protectorate, their territory extending from Sandfontein in the west to Ghansi in the north-east and Okwa in the south-east. Further north and east, as far as Lake Ngami, are the closely related *Tsaukwe*, *Tsonokwe*, *ǂamkwe* and *!giŋkwe*, all friendly tribes, whose languages the *//aikwe* understand, and whom they include with themselves in the collective designation *K"am-ka Kwe*, "Mouth's people."[2]

Beyond them, in the marshy region extending from Lakes Ngami and Linyati in the south to the Okavango delta at Andara in the north, live the *Bugakwe*, *ǂgarikwe*, and *ǂgokwe*, who all speak the same language and term themselves collectively */tannekwe*, "river people."[3] In the sandy plains north and east of these tribes, between Okavango River and the Kwando, are the *Hukwe*, called *MaKwengo* by the MaMbukushu and *MaSarwa* by the BaRotse amongst whom they live. Still further east, between the Lower Kwando and the Zambesi Rivers, and probably extending into North-West Rhodesia, are the *Galikwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaDennassena*.[4] In

[1] H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, Oldenburg n.d. (1891), pp. 388–99; S. Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, Berlin, 1907; Gentz, "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," *Globus*, lxxxiii (1903), 297–301; lxxxiv (1903), 156–9; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari*, Cambridge, 1928.

[2] Passarge, op. cit., 24; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 2.

[3] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland und seine Bewohner," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxvii (1905), 649–716; F. Seiner, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung des Gebiets zwischen Okawango und Sambesi (Caprivi-Zipvel) in den Jahren 1905 und 1906," *Mitt. deutz. Schutzgeb.*, xxii (1911), 1–111; *idem*, "Die Buschmänner des Okawango- und Sambesigebietes der Nordkalahari," *Globus*, xcvii (1910), 341–5, 357–60.

[4] Seiner, op. cit.; J. C. B. Statham, *With my Wife across Africa by Canoe and Caravan*, London, 1924, 255–7; J. H. Wilhelm, "Aus dem Wortschatz der !Kun- und der Hukwe-Buschmannsprachen," *Z. EingebSpr.*, xii (1922), 291–304.

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619 physical characters and certain aspects of their culture, these tribes
197 differ somewhat from the Naron and allied tribes, but their languages are of the same type.

619 South-east of Lake Ngami, in and around the Hainaveld, live the *Tserekwe*, *ǂdukwe*, and *ǂkabakwe*.[1] Further east, along the Botletle River and the south-east Okavango basin, are the *Ohekwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaTete*. Closely related to them are the *MaHura*, who live along the Lower Botletle and Lake Kumadau, extending in the east to the Makarrikarri depression.[2] The name these people are known by is obviously of Bantu origin; what they call themselves has not been recorded. Finally, in the Tati district on the eastern border of Bechuanaland Protectorate, and extending into the adjacent districts of Southern Rhodesia, are still other Bushmen, whose own name is apparently *Hiechware*, "people of the open country,"[3] but who are commonly spoken of simply as *MaSarwa*, a name which, as previously mentioned, is applied by the BeChwana to Bushmen
[177 generally. All these tribes have evidently been long exposed to Bantu
144] influence, and are strongly mixed with Bantu blood. Some of them still lead their traditional mode of life, but they are all to some extent subject to their Bantu neighbours, often acting as their huntsmen and cattle herds, as well as being required to pay them a regular tribute.

In addition to the tribes included in these main linguistic groups, there are two other groups of Bushmen of whom mention must be made. In the coastal province of Mossamedes, South-West Angola, a number of Bushmen are found between the Capondo River on the north and the Korocas River on the south.[4] Very little is actually known of them. They are spoken of only by their Bantu names—
[177 *BaKwando*, *BaKwisso*, *BaKubai*, and *BaKorocas*—and appear to
144] have been considerably influenced in race and culture by the neighbouring Bantu. Their distribution suggests that they may belong to the Northern Group of Bushmen, but as no information is available about their language this cannot be definitely asserted.

619 The other group comprises the few isolated inhabitants of the
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[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 25; R. Pöch, "Ethnographische und geographische Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," *Petermann's Mitt.*, lviii (1912), 15–20 and map.

[2] Passarge, loc. cit.; Pöch, op. cit.

[3] S. S. Dorman, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 37–112; *idem*, "Tati Bushmen," *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. xii (1921), 205–8; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, London, 1925.

[4] J. Oliviera Ferreira Diniz, *Populaçoes indigenas de Angola*, Coimbra, 1918, 477–91.

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Namib desert strip and adjacent districts in South-West Africa.[1] 619
Their language is reported to be Nama, and they are sometimes said [197]
to be degenerate Hottentots who have lost their cattle and taken to a nomadic hunting and collecting life similar to that of the Bushmen. But the little we know about their customs and social organization shows that they are true Bushmen, although they have undoubtedly been considerably influenced in both culture and physical characters by the Hottentots. They were divided into several groups, each with its own distinctive name. The */geinin* in the true Namib desert between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//obanen* in the region round the junction of the Great Fish and Orange Rivers, and the */koma* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateaus have apparently disappeared completely; the *!ganin* in the region between Naauwkluft and Grootfontein S. are almost totally extinct, while the */huinin* in the southern extremity of the Huib plateau just north of the Orange River are still represented by a few families. The numbers of the two last groups together are [162]
estimated at between 75 and 100. Hahn, writing of these people in [532]
1879, says that they were then still painting on rocks.[2] This may be taken as convincing proof that they really are Bushmen, for the Hottentots do not practise this art at all. Their distribution, as well as the information we have about their habits and customs, seems to link them up with the Southern Group, but there is as yet no clear evidence in support of this view.

The above classification of the Bushmen into linguistic groups is 144
quite independent of and distinct from considerations of race and 197
culture. All Bushmen are of the same racial stock, and have 184
fundamentally the same culture, just as their languages are essentially related. At the same time, there are variations in both race and culture running counter to the linguistic distinctions.

Broadly speaking, it may be said with regard to racial characters 144
that the Bushmen living south of the Molopo River are purest in type. Those further north have all mixed to a varying extent principally with Bantu but also with Hottentots and Bergdama. In the west of this region there is perhaps more Hottentot blood, although in the north-west there has also been a good deal of intermixture with Bantu (chiefly OvaMbo) and Bergdama. In the east Bantu blood,

[1] L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 98–105; E. Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), 501–6; P. Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib, ihre Familien- und Rechtsverhältnisse," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 166–70; *idem*, "Aus der Namib," *Z. KolPol.*, xiii (1911), 301–8.

[2] T. Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 307–8.

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Bushmen FX10.

Hottentots. The nature of the relationship between these two peoples has given rise to much discussion. They are unquestionably allied in race, and, indeed, in appearance and bodily characters resemble each other so closely as to have often been confused. There are certain features, such as stature and the shape of the head, in which the Hottentots are actually found to differ somewhat from the Cape Bushmen, but differences of the same nature exist even between the Northern Bushmen and those of the Cape. B H 144 B

The two peoples also have much in common in language. Their speech has the same phonetic basis, characterized especially by the occurrence of several "click" consonants; many roots in the Hottentot languages are found with the same meanings in various Bushman languages; while in grammatical processes and categories there is also a fundamental correspondence, more particularly between the Hottentot and the Central Bushman languages. At the same time, the Hottentot languages have certain grammatical features, such as sex-gender, sex-denoting particles and a dual number, which do not occur in any of the Bushman languages save that of the Naron. H 193 194 197

In culture the differences are more readily apparent. While the Bushmen are hunters and collectors only, the Hottentots in addition are a pastoral people, with herds of long-horned straight-backed cattle and flocks of fat-tailed hairy sheep. They were also able to smelt metal ores for the manufacture of their implements, weapons, and ornaments, while the Bushmen have never learned to do so and still obtain whatever iron they use by barter from their more advanced neighbours. The Hottentots, again, do not appear ever to have possessed the art of painting and engraving on rock, so remarkable a feature in the culture of the Southern Bushmen; but, then, it should be noted, there is no direct evidence either that the Northern Bushmen were acquainted with this art. In social organization, habits, and customs there are likewise many far-reaching differences, but at the same time, as we shall see, the similarities in some respects are by no means insignificant. In religion, on the other hand, the similarities are occasionally very striking, although here again there are also important differences of detail. B H 105

All these points, both of resemblance and of difference, will be analysed below and discussed more in detail. It must here be mentioned, however, that the common elements indicated are on the whole significant enough to warrant the conclusion that the Hottentots are basically of the same racial stock as the Bushmen, and B H 144 174

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621 101 *!gom* or omungete nut; and the *xom-khoin* the people who *xom* or scrape together, the name indicating their method of collecting salt on the Etosha Pan, along whose southern border they live.[1] How the bands are named in the other tribes is not clearly stated. In the [114] literature they are spoken of as a rule in terms of the locality they inhabit, but no indication is given whether this is also the name by which they call themselves and are known to their neighbours.

These hunting bands are grouped into what are here called "tribes". 619 101 A tribe consists of a number of neighbouring bands, the members of which all speak what they themselves regard as one language. Each tribe has its own distinctive name. In the Southern and Central linguistic groups this usually ends in the word */ke* or *kwe* respectively, i.e. "people"; but in most cases the meaning of the name itself has not been recorded or can no longer be determined. The few tribal names which can be interpreted seem to refer to some general characteristic of the people themselves or of the country which they inhabit. The *//ŋ /ke*, for example, are the "home people"; the */tannekwe* the "river people"; the *Hiechware* the "people of the open country", and the */o /kũ* the "forest people", while the */kũ* (*Kung*) are simply "people", or, as they would interpret the name "Bushmen". The *Hei-//om*, again, derive their name from the [177] Hottentot words *heis*, tree or bush, and *//om*, to sleep, and are therefore the "tree-sleeping people", i.e. those who sleep under trees; while the term *Naron*, by which the *//aikwe* now sometimes speak of themselves, appears to have been applied to them originally by the Auen and to mean "people who are insignificant".

619 The tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group. It has no social [197] solidarity, and is of very little, if any, importance in regulating social life. There appears to be no tribal organization among the Bushmen, nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all the members of the tribe, nor is collective action ever taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. The tribe in fact is merely a loose aggregate of independent hunting bands which have a common language and name.

621 The band, and not the tribe, is the real political body among the Bushmen. Each band is autonomous, leading its own life independently of the others. Its affairs are as a rule regulated by the [623] skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men in general. In [622] the North-Western tribes, however, each band has also a chief, whose

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50.

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PART IV

CHAPTER XV

The Khoisan Languages

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The Bushmen, as we have previously seen, are divided into a number of separate tribes, each speaking a language or dialect of its own. These languages are all so clearly related that they must be regarded as belonging to the same language family. Owing to certain variations in phonetics, grammatical structure and vocabulary, they have been classified by Miss Bleek into three main groups, to which she applies the names Southern, Northern, and Central Groups respectively, in accordance with the relative geographical distribution of the tribes speaking them.[1] The Hottentot languages are on the whole strongly akin to those of the Bushmen, but at the same time differ from them all except Naron, in certain features showing an affinity with the Hamitic languages of North and North-East Africa. They have, therefore, been generally looked upon as essentially Hamitic languages, which have become greatly modified by the incorporation of Bushman elements, especially in phonetics and vocabulary.[2] It has recently been demonstrated, however, that fundamentally, they have far more in common with the Bushman than with the Hamitic languages.[3] They must accordingly be included with the former in the same language family, of which they constitute a fourth distinct group.

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Of the Bushman languages the only one at all well documented is */xam*, the language of the Cape Bushmen, which may be taken

[1] "The Distribution of Bushman Languages in S. Africa," *Festschrift Meinhof* (1927) 55–64; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 1929, 1–6.

[2] This view, already advocated in 1880 by Lepsius, following upon Dr. Bleek's indications, has been expressed most forcibly in recent times by Meinhof, who in his *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, 1912, selects Nama as a type language for illustrative purposes; cf. also his paper on "The Language of the Hottentots", in *Addresses delivered at the Joint Meeting of the British and S. African Associations*, 1905, vol. iii, 119–29. For criticisms of his standpoint, cf. Drexel, "Gliederung der afrikanischen Sprachen," *Anthropos*, xx (1925), 82 ff., and Planert, "Die Schnalzsprachen," *Bibliotheca Africana*, ii (1926), 298 ff.

[3] D. F. Bleek, ut cit.; Schapera, "The Relationship between the Hottentots and the Bushmen," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxiii (1926), 855 ff.; *idem*, *Comparative Grammar of the Khoisan Languages*, MS.; cf. also Planert, "Die Sprache der Hottentotten und Buschmänner," *Mitt. Sem. Or. Spr.*, viii (1905), Abt. iii, 104–76.

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as representative of the Southern Group.[1] Grammatical sketches are also available of *!Khũ* (*Kung*) and *||K'au ||en* (*Auen*), representing the Northern Group, and of *Hie* (the language of the Hiechware or "Tati Masarwa") and *Naron*, representing the Central Group[2]; but of the other Bushman languages, and this includes the great majority of those spoken in the Kalahari Desert at the present time, only short vacabularies at best have so far been published. Of the four Hottentot languages, again, the only one fully available for comparison is *Nama*, of which we possess several good grammatical studies and dictionaries.[3]

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The following sketch in no way claims to provide a complete or even adequate comparative study of the Khoisan languages. It is intended merely to illustrate briefly the principal features characteristic of them, to show how far these features are shared by them all, and what differences exist. A note must be added on the method adopted in the discussion of grammar. This will be dealt with under two heads: (*a*) Grammatical Processes or Technique, i.e. the various mechanisms employed for the expression of meanings, and (*b*) Syntax, i.e. the ways in which the various grammatical categories are expressed. In the former case we consider the different formal processes of the languages and note what their functions are; in the latter we consider the different grammatical functions and categories and note the formal processes employed to express them. The two parts are therefore complementary, and between them should give a serviceable picture of the general grammatical structure.

PHONETICS[4]

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Except in the case of *!Khũ* and *Nama*[5] no detailed scientific studies have been made of the phonetic systems of the Khoisan languages.

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1911 (texts); D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Grammar," *Z. EingebSpr.*, xix (1928–9), 81–98; Meriggi, "Versuch einer Grammatik des *|xam*-Buschmännischen," ibid., 117–53, 188–205.

[2] Vedder, "Grundriss einer Grammatik der Buschmannsprache vom Stamm der !Kũ-Buschmänner," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910–11), 5–24, 106–17; Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 37 ff., esp. 56–112; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 1928 (Grammatical Sketches: Naron, 51–60; Auen, 60–4); cf. also Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 1891 (Naron grammar and vocabulary, 540–52).

[3] The most useful sources are: Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 1909 (grammar and texts; bibliography); Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 1907 (texts 387–545); Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, vol. ii, 1923 (texts in the Bergdama dialect, 62–131); Kroenlein, *Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin*, 1889 (best dictionary).

[4] The orthography employed in the following pages and throughout the book is that recommended by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in its Memorandum I: *Practical Orthography of African Languages*, except in the case of the "clicks", for which the long-established conventional symbols are used.

[5] Doke, "The Phonetics of the Language of the ʗhũ Bushmen," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1925), 129–65; Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, 1–44.

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buck". In connected narrative the subject is usually mentioned only once, and then not repeated; a second subject is repeated, but sentences or clauses without a subject refer back to the first subject, often long after it is last mentioned.

In the Southern languages, the sentences are generally fairly long and linked together by means of various conjunctions, while every verb has its subject expressed by means of a substantive or a pronoun. In *Nama* and to a lesser extent in *Hie* the same principle applies. In the Northern Bushman languages, and perhaps also in *Naron*, as far as one can judge, the sentences are usually short and strung together without conjunctions.

Note on Vocabulary

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The vocabularies of the Khoisan languages are necessarily very restricted along certain lines. Terms for abstract ideas are rare, and terms are of course lacking to indicate the many things not connected with the mode of life of the people. But in terms dealing with veld lore, wild animals, and birds, trees, herbs, and roots, the chase and all the wealth of description which that entails, the languages are remarkably rich.

A comparison of the vocabularies of the different languages shows that they have many words in common, and that even *Nama* shares a very large number of roots with one or other of the Bushman languages. Its greatest resemblances are with *Naron* and *Hie*, but many of its words occur in other Bushman languages also, sometimes in one, sometimes in another, even in the language spoken by the Lake Chrissie Bushmen of the Eastern Transvaal. There are, of course, many words in *Nama* which cannot be found in any of the other languages, but in the same way there are words in *!Khũ* or */Xam* which are peculiar to these languages. Frequently synonyms are found in *Nama* of which one word is also present in the Bushman languages, while another is not. If the languages are arranged according to similarity of roots, the Central Group shows most affinity with *Nama*, the Northern Group has less resemblance and the Southern Group still less. There is, however, no sharp line of distinction. The languages of the Kakia *Masarwa* and of the *//nu//en*, both of which belong to the Southern Group, have more in common with the Northern Group than has */Xam*, and *Hie* is a veritable link between the Northern Group and *Naron*, which again is a step nearer *Nama*.

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[65 cont.]

101 north. Beyond this there is a great river and many black people
131 (Okawango). They know only the Herero as their western neighbors. In other words, they came much later than the latter. Unquestionably as recently as 20 years ago some people of this group were still settled along the central Omurambo Omatako, where F. Seiner reports them from Otjituo and Nuragas. The Naron live south of them, and to the southeast the ≠Auin. In the southwest, at least formerly, there were Bushmen of the Hei//om group and /Gowanin (Sand Kaffir). Probably these Hei//om were the people formerly designated as Saan. Nogau, ≠Auin, and Naron actually belong to
[101] the Kalahari group. Throughout the farm zone which formerly
[175] extended to the English frontier, the tribal units were more or less
648 destroyed, and there arose a mixed Bushman population which constantly replenished its numbers from the free tribes. On the other hand, however, Bushmen from the farm zone always went back to the bush, partly of their own free will and partly in flight from the police. In the Gobabis district the boundary of the police zone coincides with the land boundary. The relationships between the Whites and the Hereros on the one hand, and the Bushmen on the other, are therefore [66] very tense. A few years ago,
175 648 after the Bushmen had been prohibited from hunting big game, they rebelled and declared a feud against the magistrate in Gobabis by shooting some arrows against the door of his house one night. The magistrate, Van Rynefeldt, wanted to hunt them down in the bush, but was struck by a poisoned arrow shot from ambush and died. A great roundup of Bushmen was organized and many of them were taken to the prison in Gobabis, where a number of them died as a
[178] result of the vitamin-poor diet. Since then the Bushmen in this region have again chosen a chief and represent a modest power. As a result of these conditions, it was much more difficult to gain
123 their confidence than in the north. In this respect, P. Watterott and the village mayor of Epukiro, Franz Arenat, were especially helpful to me. These Bushmen are of special interest since there
198 is a special women's language among them. It is called Hee-aziba he auseashu. It is in part also spoken by the children and is characterized by having many words that have no clicks. It was only with great difficulty that I was able to take down a few words, for example:

3: Lebzelter--128 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
NOGAU

[66 cont.]

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
192 198 Evening	n !ŏn	áka uj	—
Shoulder	//kówi	schu !gnóru	tuwi
Alone	n n/e	—	nó-e
Old	/gá	tsau-!gna	X 'uwu
Dread	!goatschi	—	daú-tsi
Arm	//há	!gòm	X 'ùm
Armband	gama gama	—	gama gama
Ashes	do	—	dá dówa
Branch	!Khai ≠haúsi	—	dá-i
Eye	/gá	—	schoú-dă
Ax	/i	—	—
Cheek	tsoŭ //á	/gám	—
Beard	tsi ≠khói	—	dschi-tũe
Stomach	≠gu	—	dŭb
Leg	//gŭm	/gowí	ju Tăm↘
Mountain	//khámi	//khawí	ŭ káshe
Bee	so schum	schúm	schŭm-si
Bitter	//ga↘	//gà	dschi da

3: Lebzelter--129 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
NOGAU

[66 cont.]

192
198

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Leaf	dorá	dorà	dschi do-a
Blind	schóŭ	/ga	–
Flower	ngó	gó	tsi-gu
Blood	/a↘	/ao↘	/ou↘
Bride	tsaú	á	–
Bridegroom	≠gou ≠khán	≠gnom	–
Firewood	nda	–	da
Well [for water]	//ga	–	ha
Chest	//goá	/goá	dschi-túa
Chameleon	!nobésa'	–	nábasa
Thumb	//gaŭ goë	≠goŭ	dóŭ dŭm
Thorn	//gái	–	/gai
Thirst	măm /gám	/gam	tăm-du
Egg	dschi !nŭ	gó	dschi nŭ
Lizard	!górŭ	!gorŭ	dorŭb
Intestines	!gusi	ssi	–
Fever	//gái	≠gi	–
Finger	!goŭ	!gou	dóu

3: Lebzelter--130 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
NOGAU

[66 cont.]

192
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	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Flame	da tǎli	–	tarí
Flesh	//khá	//khá	thá
Fly	soa soá	–	doá doá
Flea	soa soa /ne	–	doá
Wing	!kóhi	–	dschi tǔi
River	≠nõ	–	nõ
Woman	tsao! gná	!gn-ná	thấŭ
Poison	!óa	!o↘	–
Grass	//khei-si	//ei	ei-si
Hair	ñi !khói	!khoi	ikhoisi
Hand	!gaŭ !n	!gou	taúne
Neck	≠gai	–	rŭ-tè
Hard	≠khaŭ↘	–	dschi-tau
Hot	!khúi	–	û
Hunger	//kha-be	–	dawí
Porcupine	//gan↘	–	tam
Cold	//ga-ú	–	tse
Small	tsē ma	–	tsáma

3: Lebzelter--131 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
NOGAU

[66 cont.]

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
192 198 Bone	≠ǔ	—	ǔ
Leather	!noŭ	—	thấu
Liver	dsché	—	tē
Light [easy]	schŭi	—	da-sii
Man	!hoá	!hoá	hoá
Tired	≠oé	—	oe
Mouse	!hŭi	—	nui
Navel	né	—	ne
Night	/gu	/ngŭ	du
New	se	—	dise
Ear	/húi	—	m-húi
Guinea fowl	a di	—	á-ni
Pipe	!khó	—	oh
Smoke	da schŭá	—	dásua
[67] Rich	!gấŭcha	—	ti
Rib	≠khási	—	dási
Salt	dimí	—	diri
Shadow	!kha-di	—	khári
Bad	/khấŭ	—	!khã

[67 cont.]

192
198

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Beautiful	/hm	–	hm
Tobacco	shorõ, schõli	–	sõ-re
Day	/gam ña	–	tai-khẽ
Forest	!goã	–	dain tu
Warm	//ũ	–	tũi
Road	//nãma	–	nña
Water	!gũ	–	du

[Fig. 22-23 appears here.]

211 [68] The accompanying figures show the incising on messenger staffs, in other words, a kind of picture writing. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., page 430, observed in this connection:

"Anyone who does not want to go to a friendly kin group (202) himself, but sends a messenger instead, must give this messenger a messenger staff. It is about as thick as a thumb and bears numerous signs of leaves, worms, caterpillars, pictures of human beings and animals, and other figures. The figures look almost as though they were burned in, but they are made in quite a different fashion. The peeled stick is warmed in the fire, and in the upper layer of wood thus softened the drawings are pricked point by point with an awl or a sharp thorn. When a figure is finished, one uses the core of the ero plum, which, when roasted, is black and can be used as a kind of paint, like a firm mass of fat. The black, oily color is spread over the figure and soaks into the pricked holes. The superfluous color is then wiped off with a soft piece of hide. The Bushmen claim that every friendly kin group knows the different messenger staffs of the chiefs of other friendly kin groups and that forging messenger staffs is a hopeless and impossible undertaking."

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Nature. 183: 1011-1013. April 11. 1949.

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173. TOBIAS, Phillip V.
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177. VAN HOEPEN, Iv. E.C.N.
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/248 cont./

142

	Number of persons examined	Second toe extending farthest	First toe extending farthest	First and second toe extending farthest	Second and third toe extending farthest
Men	14	9	1	4	0
Women	17	11	0	3	3
Children	8	7	1	0	0
Total	39	27	2	7	3

I was also able to gather some data concerning physiological
151 conditions. By means of Snellen charts, I discovered very keen sight for all the persons examined. Threefold visual keenness was attained by all those examined, and some had even higher degrees, up to sixfold.

The ticking of a watch could be heard at a distance of three meters by most of those examined.

I have frequently observed yawning among Bushmen.

The gait of the Bushmen has something very characteristic
48/ about it; in walking, they raise the knees surprisingly high, a custom that is explained by the nature of the country. Because of the low and commonly thorny shrubs through which they travel with uncovered legs, they are forced to raise their legs quite high in walking, and they maintain this gait even when they are moving across ground that has no growth on it. In addition, the achievements of these small inhabitants of the bush on the march and in running are quite enormous.

Bushmen who had been sent out on patrols by the station
[147] covered a distance of 130 kilometers in less than 48 hours without displaying visible signs of fatigue. They followed the cavalry troop, which frequently broke into a trot, happily and without difficulty on foot, trotting themselves whenever the troop accelerated its pace.

/249/ Extreme astonishment is expressed by opening the mouth
201 and eyes wide. I was able to observe this myself when I played a phonograph before the unsuspecting Bushmen. When the performance was over, the audience asked me whether the people who were in the apparatus and sang there also slept in it and received their food through the horn.

/249 cont./

To indicate affirmation the head is thrown back and the
201 eyebrows are raised.

Otherwise, the physiognomic changes of expression are essentially like those of Europeans. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Bushman's facial mobility is considerably greater than that of a European, and even quite weak emotions are expressed by lively gestures.

If I may be permitted, I should like to emphasize here a
194 peculiarity of voice among the Bushmen; among the women especially the voice seems to me abnormally high-pitched. In my opinion the speech of a Heikum woman is pitched several notes higher, on the average, than that of a Herero woman. Evidently this peculiarity is connected with the smallness of the larynx of the Heikum people.

The anthropometric figures presented above are doubtless much
141 smaller than comparable ones for the Herero, Nama, and
144 Bergdamara [Bergdama] living in the immediate vicinity of the Bushmen. Nonetheless, as regards smallness, the Heikum certainly do not approach the Pygmies of Central Africa. Whether further ethnological and ethnographic investigations will uncover kindred traits among these peoples remains to be shown by further research.
144 That the Bushmen represent an almost pure race is apparent from the fact that the skin color is the same for almost all individuals, and from the evident uniformity in the structure of the body, especially of the face. In addition, the other native tribes of Southwest Africa show a pronounced aversion to racial mixture with the despised Bushmen.

I come now to some ethnological and ethnographic observa-
535 tions which to me seem worthy of interest. I was especially
[171] interested in the dances of the Heikum, of which one, the //o //au, shows no similarity to any other native dance with which I have become acquainted in Southwest and East Africa.

The //o //au dance (in Kung language: //ooské) is a men's dance in which a series of dueling runs by the performing dancers are represented (Figs. 5 and 6). Six men, three to a side in opposing pairs, kneel in an area about three meters square, with a free space between the two rows. In the middle of this free area there is a pile of veld food. The men kneel down, hunched very

/267 cont./

16. Numbers

802

English	Heikum	Kung	Name
1	tschin ≠ē	tschin ≠ē	/ai
2	tschi dzá	tschidzá	/gam
3	tschin /ǎni	tschin /ǎni	/oná
4	unsicher	unsicher	hagá
/268/			
5	/gau	/gau	—
		(/gau = hand)	
6-9 quite uncertain among the Heikum and Kung			
10	/gau ≠eissen (finger) (toes)	/gau ≠eissen	—

Among the Heikum and Kung one can discover with certainty only the terms for 1, 2, 3, 5, and 10; all the other expressions are uncertain. It is noteworthy that 5 is designated by "hand," and 10 by "hand and toes."

Among the Heikum and Kung Bushmen the manner of counting on the fingers is the same.

To indicate 1, the little finger of the left hand is grasped with the index finger and thumb of the right hand and bent in the hollow of the hand; for 2, 3, and 4, the fourth, third, and second fingers of the left hand follow, and are bent in the hollow of the hand in the same manner. For 6, 7, 8, and 9, the same procedure is used with the right hand as was used with the left for 1, 2, 3, and 4. In order to indicate 10, the two hands, flat but slightly hollowed, are placed against each other with the palms together.

201 The Bushman likes to touch his lower lip briefly with the tip of the little finger of his right hand before he goes through the motions of counting on his fingers.

194 It has proved impossible to determine whether in the language of the Heikum or the Kung the change of pitch in the pronunciation of vowels plays a part as it does in the language of the Hottentots.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

574
[48] walk in single file, and they seemed very small, naked, and far away under the burned, pure sky, moving toward some remote destination where they hoped to find a man who had been walking away from them for almost a month, perhaps at some nameless little pan lost somewhere in the countryside, perhaps in a nameless bend of the omaramba. As they walked they zigzagged, avoiding small obstacles such as stones or thorn bushes, very incongruous with the enormity of the sky and the plains. The bow on Gai's shoulder made a bold upward curve.

A tree appeared on the horizon, and they veered toward it. When they reached it they sat in its shade, two shadows in the yellow grass, and a puff of smoke rose as they lit their pipes. We caught up to them and found Gai digging for a [222] *torabe* vegetable. He reached into the hole he had made and dragged it from its roots, brushed the dirt away, and chopped it into six pieces, giving one to each of us. We ate that for lunch. It was bitter and moist, firm as an apple and pleasant because it was wet. As we sat there we noticed the smoke of three veld fires which had suddenly risen, perhaps stirred by the wind far away, two small ones in the north and east, one large one in the south, its smoke reaching up to the sky first in little tendrils, then billowing in great clouds like the clouds in the sky but browner.

Gai and Witabe stood up, brushing sand from their legs, and walked into the sunlight again, turning toward the larger fire. Bushmen often set the veld alight to signal to each other, [201] but they do not send messages; a fire simply shows other people where they are, and even this is vague, as fires are sometimes set by natural causes.

137 After traveling several hours over the plains, we came to a little forest in a valley. A fire had been through there and had burned all the yellow grass from the ground, leaving black

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

severed vine from the bush it clung to and tossed it into the 222
sunlight. "Look," she said again, assuming that I would now recognize a ga vine when I saw one; but although I examined it closely, it still looked like any other vine to me.

Again she bent over the hole, leaning over so far that her [516]
head came between her knees, and grasped the huge root with both hands. She tugged so hard that I heard her joints crack, but the root was wedged and she couldn't move it. She took up her digging-stick again, panting now, and struck the rocks, and the point of her digging-stick splintered.

"Ai," she said, exasperated, sitting back on her heels to [516]
carve a new point with her knife. She bent again, pried at the rocks, pried at the root, but it was useless, she couldn't move it. Then she relaxed, resting for a moment as she rubbed her sore shoulders before she got to her feet and walked away, beckoning with her head for me to follow. We would leave it.

We wandered about haphazardly for a time, looking for a vine, and presently I saw one twisted around some grass blades, binding them together in a tuft. I pointed it out to her, but she smiled and shook her head, turning her hands [201]
palm upward in the gesture for nothing. She meant that it was a useless species of vine, marking nothing below. Later, as we walked along, she laughed. Twikwe was charmed by the mistakes the members of our expedition made, for they were always elementary and, to her, very diverting.

Keeping her eyes on the ground, Twikwe noticed a tiny crack in the sand. She scooped at it with the point of her digging-stick, tipped out a truffle, and picked it up almost without stopping. As we walked on she broke it in half, put half in her kaross, and offered half to me. I ate it. It was light brown and had a delicious, salty flavor. Truffles grow an inch

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

came up to us Gai swung Nhwakwe down, dangling him by the arm as he handed him to Tsetchwe, who took him at once and let him nurse. Bushman babies do not like to go for veld food because the sun is hot, there is nothing to eat except the raw roots, and there is nobody to play with, yet they do not like to be left at home alone either. This is a constant and insoluble problem for Bushman mothers.

After asking Gai more questions and, at his suggestion, roaming from one point to another over the veld in search of a bi, it came to John and me that he did not want to show us where one was growing. We understood this, for the bi roots of the veld are naturally limited and if we took one when the Bushmen did not need it, it would not be there when they did. We assured Gai that we did not want to eat it, only to see its vine, and at last he remembered, he said, where one was, far out in the veld and on the way to Okwa. But we were not discouraged and set off in that direction, and after a while we found it far away but not as far as Gai had said. It took us an hour to reach it, but we had traveled slowly because the women had stopped to gather melons along the way.

When we came to the center of an enormous plain with no tree or bush to mark the place, Gai stopped and, glancing around for a moment, pointed suddenly with his toe. After trying hard to see, we noticed a tiny shred of a vine wound around a grass blade; no part of the vine still touched the ground, as the vine had dried and parts of it had blown away. Gai had known where the bi was, he told us, because he had walked by it months ago in the last rainy season when the vine was still green, and he had remembered. He had assumed that it was still there because only his own people used the territory around it and if one of them had taken it he would have heard. Bushmen talk all the time about such things. He had had it in his mind to come back and get it

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

574 by now, cranky from the long ride; the bundles of tsi were unloaded, the bundles of belongings, and Tu's grass bed. Lazy
361 Kwi went off to find his wife and family, but the others, all
574 Toma's people, looked around for a place to live and finally chose a tall tree, where they dropped their bundles and began to clear grass. In a very short time the werf was ready, fires were lit, tsi was roasting, and several of the Bushmen who had watched us come had gathered there to see if they should have a share of the tsi. Of course everybody got some and then sat down to eat it, burying the nuts in the hot ashes and scooping them out again with a stick when they were done.
252 Dikai gave some tsi to me and said that I could use her fire, a
576 courtesy, so I buried the nuts in the ashes and when I thought they were done I poked for them with a stick but I couldn't find them. Pretty soon they began to explode with loud reports and puffs of gray ashes which showed where they were, but of course then it was too late. You might as well throw them away if you forget where they are, the Bushmen say.

252 Some of the newcomers were eating giraffe hide, roasting great pieces of it, dried and thick and curling; they passed chunks of it around and it looked like the soles of shoes, all that remained of a giraffe hunted long ago. When it was roasted the people put it in a wooden mortar and pounded it into powder, and then licked the powder off their palms. Again, Dikai gave some to me and I found that it was salty and not unpleasant, tasting like bacon.

201 Gao Feet plucked my elbow and when I turned to him he
576 pointed at Dikai, sitting on the other side of the fire. He had pointed his lips at her, pushing his lips forward and gesturing with his chin because Bushmen think it is rude to point with the finger. "She wants to tell you what is in her heart," he
609 said. I looked at Dikai and she passed her hand over her two sons' eyes, first Little Gashe, then Little Dabe, as they slept

SEATED YOUTH, above, enjoys a smoke as his companions make characteristic !Kung gesture—arm outstretched—to show they also wish a turn with the pipe. Because the !Kung crave tobacco, but grow none, they must trade for it—often disastrously—with the Bantu peoples on the borders of *Nyae Nyae*.

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[P. 78]

[33 cont.]

224 has done the shooting must go home immediately and may not speak, eat, or drink, for if the hunter speaks with others, the kudu will not be found for a long time, and if he drinks water, the poison will become watery and will not be effective, and if he eats, the kudu will remain quiet and the poison will not work effectively. The next morning very early we must set out on the trail. The kudu is already dead. The people carry the meat home.
[782] Then it is put on the socha [sacred] fire. The //Gauab must be given some of the meat. Whoever does not do this will be punished by the //Gauab with serious illness, and the people will say: 'That is just. The //Gauab has given him the game, why does he give nothing for //Gauab?'" Here, therefore, a true primitial offering is involved.

It is interesting that the Ogowe bury arrows in the sand at various watering places, with the poisoned tip pointing upward; they do this in shady spots that game animals like to use as resting
[202] places, and by certain signs, such as tying together blades of tall grass and the like, they set up warnings (Von Zastrow and Vedder).

When a Bushman horde of today is able to hunt down half a dozen large antelopes in a year, it can consider itself lucky.

The porcupine is also commonly hunted, as are the scaly anteater and the fat aardvark, which is very common but difficult to catch. Monkeys are very rare; on the other hand, tree rats make a desirable addition to the diet. The ostrich is not uncommon in open terrain, and ostrich eggs are greatly coveted. Occasionally a boa constrictor, which tastes like a fat fish, or an iguana may round out the menu.

136 Among the animals which are in any way dangerous to human beings, the lion should be mentioned in particular. They occur in great numbers, but rarely stay in one place for a long
[165] period of time. A considerable number of Bushmen become their
262 victims, especially in the north. Lions, leopards, hyenas, and jackals are neither hunted nor eaten; the same is true concerning
[753] birds of prey. Eating leopard meat produces fever and eczema,
[825] while eating the flesh of birds of prey produces temporary blindness and symptoms of sickness similar to acute sausage poisoning.

Poisonous snakes are not eaten; they are much rarer here than in the stony regions of the central and southern areas, and they do not constitute a noteworthy danger.

[67 cont.]

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	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Beautiful	/hm	–	hm
Tobacco	shorŏ, schŏli	–	sŏ-re
Day	/gam ña	–	tai-khé
Forest	!goá	–	dain tu
Warm	//ŭ	–	túi
Road	//nǎma	–	nña
Water	!gŭ	–	du

[Fig. 22-23 appears here.]

211 [68] The accompanying figures show the incising on messenger staffs, in other words, a kind of picture writing. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., page 430, observed in this connection:

"Anyone who does not want to go to a friendly kin group
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[75 cont.]

9. Hunting

224 Even today the western Kalahari has fairly abundant game, and life can be maintained at least to some extent by hunting. Before going to hunt, a tamana fruit (tse) is rubbed on the face. They also try to absorb the powers of the game by means of inoculation. For example, when a duiker has been killed, little pieces of the heart and ear are charred. This animal charcoal is then rubbed into an incision on the upper arm. Both in war and [202] hunting, people communicate by means of smoke signals. The chief hunting weapon [76] is the bow with the poisoned arrow. 278 The poison (1) is obtained from the cocoons of a beetle larva that

[113]

1. Lewin has devoted several studies to Bushman poisons ("Pfeilgifte der Buschmänner [Arrow Poisons of the Bushmen]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 44, 1912).

"When I was permitted to examine the first arrows armed with poison that Lichtenstein had brought home from his journey in the year 1806 and which are kept in the Museum for Ethnology here, I was able to establish that there is alkaloid in the poison, which initially had stimulating, and later paralyzing effects on spine and brain. Because of the small quantity of the material, nothing further could be determined, except for a curious color reaction that the alkaloid isolated from the poison produced with concentrated sulphuric acid.

"I have now succeeded in producing from the bulb of Haemanthus toxicarius, the 'poison bulb' of the old Dutch colonists, the most active ingredient, an alkaloid which chemically and toxically

[2 cont.]

123 ethnological work among them, for the time being, is quite im-
648 possible. Even among the Bushmen the matter was by no means simple. Old Khame, who later became my good friend and informant, at first refused to help, saying: "Why should I open my heart to you, since I know very well that you are my enemy." The native also senses very accurately whether the respect one shows him is genuine. Finally, through the way he is treated, he suffers from inferiority complexes that make dealings [3] with him even more difficult. I have treated the natives as though they were Europeans, but naturally with due regard for the native forms of conduct, and in my relations with them I can say that I have been successful.

123 A single serious conflict with the natives can mean the end of an expedition. It is not just that the colonial authorities rightly grant permission to cross the police zone only to those people who have proved capable of getting along with the natives; another reason is the fact that the transmission of news among the
[203] natives is extraordinarily rapid. The news of my measurements in Walvis Bay reached the Otjiwarongo Reserve within 14 days, and from there it reached Otjituo in the extreme northeast in a week, not, as one might think, by postal communication, but through migratory Herero. Upon my arrival in Otjituo the people there were already acquainted with my intentions and my personality. The reader may possibly object to my actual accounts on the ground that I have succeeded in providing a fully rounded picture for only a very few tribes. I can truthfully say that there was a sincere intention to investigate the material thoroughly
[122] everywhere. I carried on the investigations among the individual tribes for as long as I had money available. It is impossible, after all, to depend entirely on a single informant; instead, several informants are needed in every case. Ethnological inquiries are practically the only situations in which the natives have the opportunity to lay down conditions. I can force the native to string
123 wire, to harvest maize, or to herd cattle as much as I want at the
124 low price customary in the country, but I cannot force him to reveal his old tribal traditions. Not even the Bushmen wanted to take "brown money," but only "white" and "yellow." After I gained the confidence of the natives, as I can truthfully state,

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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manship is different from leadership, which is not hereditary. Leadership depends heavily on a man's character, his hunting prowess, and especially his ability to focus people's opinions. Usually headman and leader are the same person but, should a headman be too young—perhaps still in his mother's womb—or very old, a band will have a separate leader.

Theoretically, the right to refuse water to members of another band

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11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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belongs to the headman, although we never saw this done nor did we ever hear of such a thing. Neither leadership nor headmanship implies any overt coercive power over the other members of a band. Only as a sort of coagulation of group opinion can headman or leaders exert a control —which, even then, is not final. The leader, being the kind of person to whom others come when decisions must be made, is often an arbiter, in

[p. 74]

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208 quarrels, a focal point in discussion of plans, a comfort to the bereaved and a strength for those in doubt.

621 The functions of headman, as headman, are of a different nature.
602 In order to take up residence with a band, a person must have certain ties of kin with members of the band.
[591] Such a person may live with his own parents or siblings, or with his wife's parents or siblings. It is a wide choice, providing for flexibility—but within limits. There are, of course, exceptions, and visitors from other bands are never denied, but possession of some kinship tie seems to be a general requirement for residence which,

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire. [40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by
[439] the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be-
[422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should
[304] be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out
177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked
415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are
278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen.
805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions;
211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary.
[614] To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life
[888] is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements
[623] between the chief and the other old men.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 25]

[41 cont.]

622 between the chief and the other old men. When the village chief dies, it is not his eldest son, but the eldest son of his sister [Figs. 13 and 14 appear here] who takes over the village.

582 There are certain marriage prohibitions and requirements, which are illustrated by the following schema.

[534]

Fig. 13. Dance Drum of the !Kung (Kuntsas). (Greatly reduced.)

[805]
[211]

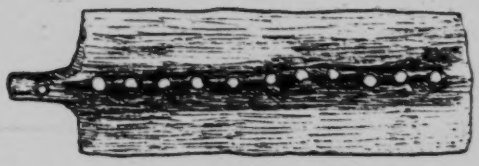

Fig. 14. Calendar Board of the !Kung (actual size [as shown in the original text]).

Father's brother X wife	Father X mother	Father's sister X husband
Brother--sister	A--sister	Cousin (male) -- cousin (female

If A is taken as an example, the children of his father's sister are his cousins. Marriage with these cousins is prohibited. On the other hand, A must marry the father's brother's daughter if she so desires. The man on his part, however, cannot force the

[67 cont.]

192
198

	Men's Speech	Women's Speech	Children's Speech
Beautiful	/hm	–	hm
Tobacco	shorŏ, schŏli	–	sŏ-re
Day	/gam ña	–	tai-khé
Forest	!goá	–	dain tu
Warm	//ŭ	–	túi
Road	//nǎma	–	nña
Water	!gŭ	–	du

[Fig. 22-23 appears here.]

211 [68] The accompanying figures show the incising on messenger staffs, in other words, a kind of picture writing. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., page 430, observed in this connection:

"Anyone who does not want to go to a friendly kin group (202) himself, but sends a messenger instead, must give this messenger a messenger staff. It is about as thick as a thumb and bears numerous signs of leaves, worms, caterpillars, pictures of human beings and animals, and other figures. The figures look almost as though they were burned in, but they are made in quite a different fashion. The peeled stick is warmed in the fire, and in the upper layer of wood thus softened the drawings are pricked point by point with an awl or a sharp thorn. When a figure is finished, one uses the core of the ero plum, which, when roasted, is black and can be used as a kind of paint, like a firm mass of fat. The black, oily color is spread over the figure and soaks into the pricked holes. The superfluous color is then wiped off with a soft piece of hide. The Bushmen claim that every friendly kin group knows the different messenger staffs of the chiefs of other friendly kin groups and that forging messenger staffs is a hopeless and impossible undertaking."

211

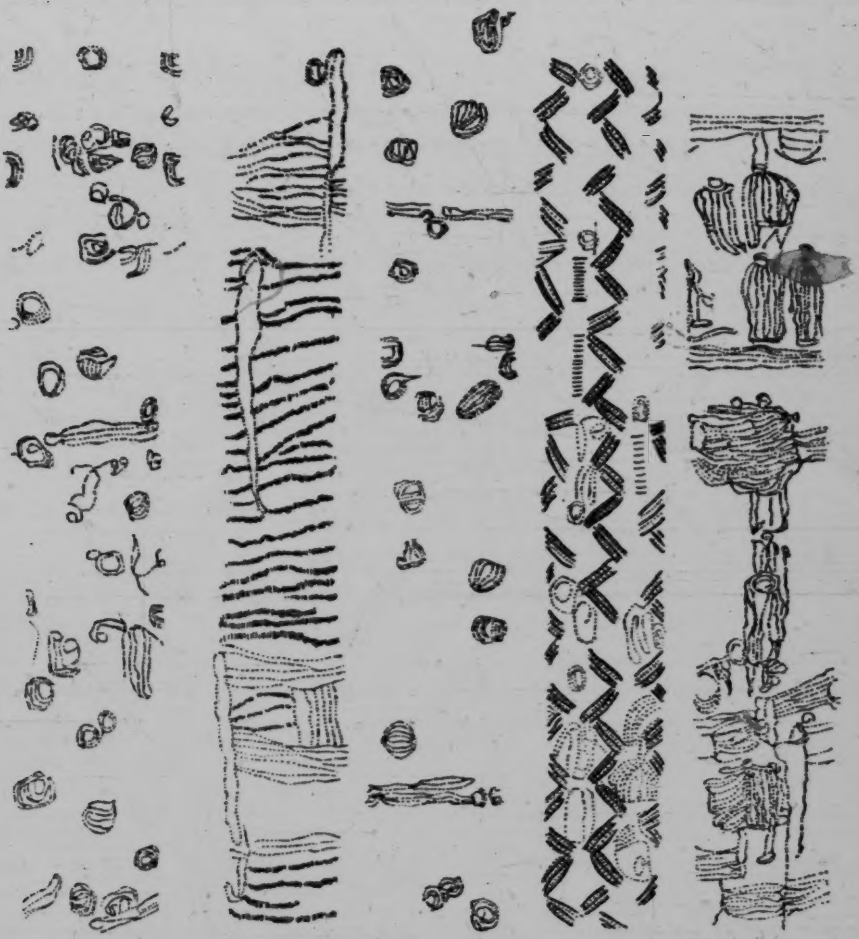

Fig. 22-23. The Incising Rolled off the Sticks of the Bushmen (Museum for Ethnology, Hamburg). Cf. also K. Weule, "Botenstäbe bei den Buschmännern. Eine südafrikanisch-australische Parallele [Messenger Staffs among the Bushmen. A South African-Australian Parallel]," Jahrbuch des Museums für Völkerkunde, Leipzig, Vol. 6, 1913-14.

/138 cont./

177 Since contact with the Whites was established, wars have
721 apparently declined considerably, but even today they exact a decidedly heavy toll.

●22 The Auin is at the lowest stage of human development; he is exclusively a collector and hunter.

This way of life is dictated to him by the nature of his en-
133 vironment. This part of the Kalahari, where the watering places
137 are sometimes 100 kilometers apart and very limited in number,
182 does not permit livestock raising, especially also since the tschama [sometimes spelled tsama, a kind of melon] enjoyed by the cattle is comparatively rare.

In the Auin region the plain dominates the landscape.
133 Primary rocks rise up here and there only along the river banks. So-called dunes give the landscape a gently hilly character, especially in the vicinity of the rivers (dry river beds which carry
137 water only after violent rains). The ground cover alternates between grass, shrub, and tree steppe and dense undergrowth. The
132 amount of precipitation is very small; the lack of sufficient statistical data makes it impossible to give a more precise estimate.

B. Dwellings and Furnishings

342 The typical form of the dwelling is the windscreen, in other words, the most primitive form of human habitation, which scarcely deserves the designation "hut." Its construction is completed in a few minutes. A few twigs are stuck loosely into the ground at the thicker end in a semicircle and propped against each other at the branching end. I have never seen the supports firmly fastened to one another, although I have examined several hundred huts. Grass is thrown on the framework, and the construction is finished. During the dry season the structures are usually built even more hastily and sometimes consist merely of a few bundles of grass that have been thrown loosely between the twigs of a living bush. The entire structure is often scarcely a meter high and has no roof. It is thus a genuine windscreen, intended to protect its inhabitants from drafts while they are lying down.

If the settlement remains at a particular place for only a few days, the people content themselves with the shadow of some

[423] have seen, individual rights may occasionally be recognized. All
422 portable property is generally owned by individuals, and theft is
[685] severely punished. Huts, which are really of no value, belong to the families occupying them; a man's clothes, weapons, skins, ornaments, utensils, and indeed everything that he makes belong to him alone to do with as he likes, and in the same way anything that a woman makes, e.g. her ornaments, or receives from her husband, e.g. her clothing, is her own property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission. Lebzelter,
867 indeed, goes so far as to assert that among the Kung the sense of private ownership is inculcated even into children. As soon as they are old enough, he says, their parents make for them small bows, digging-sticks, etc., and teach them that they themselves now own these objects and therefore must no longer take those of others.

Food, whether vegetable or animal, and water are also private
422 property, and belong to the person who has obtained them. Everyone
22 who has food is, however, expected to give to those who have none. Thus a man who shoots a buck or bird will cut it up, and share with the other people present—but the dividing is done by him, and the skin, sinews, etc., belong to him to be done with as he pleases. In the same way all veldkos is also shared by the members of the band. The result is that practically all food obtained is evenly distributed through the whole camp. But, as we have seen, caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water may be stored away, and these belong to the person who hides them and may not be used without his
[685] permission; while private rights may also be acquired over wild honey or ostrich eggs, and theft in such cases is severely punished.

The question of inheritance rarely arises, as generally most of a
428 man's possessions, especially his weapons and clothing, are buried
[768] with him. But during her lifetime a woman will often hand over her
[431] ornaments to her daughter; while among the Auen such of a man's belongings as are not buried with him, e.g. utensils and skins, are inherited by his eldest son. The younger sons and daughters get nothing, nor does the widow, but she keeps her own property. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, a man's weapons, clothing, sandals, cooking utensils, and hunting dogs are inherited by the eldest son. At the same time, he adds, the usage
[425] exists that as soon as the eldest son thus becomes sole heir to his late father, all the property he has himself hitherto possessed, such as weapons, clothing, etc., must go to his next brother. Widows and

/136 cont./

142 The tribe at Gam in particular consists almost exclusively of comparatively large people who, even after a thorough washing, display a decidedly darker coloration than the other Auin.

162 According to my observations, there is something like one to two women for each man, and from two to three children for each woman.

162 847 [862] In this connection I would like to mention that newborn children are always killed if the mother is still nursing a child, which continues until about the third year of life. The killing is done immediately after birth by the mother, who buries the newborn child alive. The father has nothing to do with it. Since marital [853] intercourse continues during the nursing period and since this period lasts for about three years, it follows that approximately every third child is reared while those born in the meantime are killed without exception. This might well be a principal factor in the unquestionable decline in the population.

592 595 Since each woman has her special windscreen (hut), the man lives alternately with one and then another of his wives; the latter in turn have their children living with them, and it therefore follows that about three to four persons occupy each hut.

221 361 The size of the settlements (villages) is quite indefinite and changes according to the circumstances. During the dry season a settlement is formed usually by one to two families, whereas during the period of ample veld food, in other words, toward the end and shortly after /137/ [map appears here] /138/ the rainy season, sometimes up to 30 families join together to form a "village." In April, 1908, about 400 men were living in a settlement near Sidonitzaub. If their dependents are included, one will arrive at a figure of at least 1,000 persons.

[701] All the men are armed warriors.

161 As has already been noted, one can clearly observe a decrease in the population, which, judging by its rapid progress, can be designated as swiftly approaching extinction. Aside from infanti- [136] cide and malaria, the decrease of wild game may also be given as a reason for the population decline, since this decrease makes food more difficult to obtain. Older Auin state that in former times attacks by lions caused heavy losses.

[Text continues on page 7]

[18 cont.]

648 Nogau, the !Kung who are settled in the Sand Veld east of the Omuramba u Omatako are more hostile toward the Whites, and the attitude of the Whites and natives on the farms is correspondingly hostile toward them. This attitude is explained by the fact that only in recent times the Bushmen were forced out of the region west of the Omuramba and now have considerably reduced the scant living space of their brothers east of the dry bed. The living conditions in this region are hopeless. The !Kung live in symbiosis with the tribes along the Okovanggo. Lacking a stable social organization, lacking fixed dwellings in the narrower sense, the Bushmen is much less manageable than, say, the black farmers. Making the tribe collectively responsible, which is the best protection for the European, cannot be used against the Bushmen, and the likelihood of seizing a Bushman who has committed a crime on the edge of the police zone or outside it is zero. One must keep this in mind in dealing with them. On the other hand, I had no bad experiences with them.

[19] The Biological Bases of Life

1. The Number

161 Seiner has estimated the number of the !Kung at about 12,000. Since then, the wars of 1914-15, as well as the steady deterioration of the water conditions, have strongly curbed any increase, so that their number has certainly not risen in the last 20 years.

621 The basic social unit is the essentially patriarchal family horde, which on the average consists of one or two old men, four to six adult men, an equal number of women capable of bearing children, and a number of old matrons, as well as the 221 children. Toward the end of the winter they assemble in great 621 numbers at the few remaining watering places; they then meet again when the first veldkost ripens at certain places, frequently several hundreds of them; and then, when summer sets in, they again move in small groups to their family terrain. As examples, 162 I shall give four hordes for which I was able to determine the

[27 cont.]

805 the like, but they have only ten months. They name them after terrestrial phenomena.

!Kai dsáa	It is cold (winter)	June
gama /ēi	The grass burns	July-August
!hoá sori	It is hot	September-October
!u shē	The rain begins	November
ǂkhŏ shē	The trees bloom	December
/hō //gāi	It is raining	January
!Khan //gai	The veldkost is coming up	February
!nâ -mâ	The veldkost is ripe	March
ao ré //kum //ká	The rain is stopping	April
!hoá //gai	The year is at an end	May

They reckon also from harvest to harvest.

●221 The most beautiful time in the life of the Bushman is March and April. Even those who live on the farms hurry into the wilderness at that time. At certain places where there are many fruit trees, such as the marula, the friendly kin groups gather from far and wide. Here the young men look for brides, and there is much dancing, because at this time the women are not tired from seeking veldkost which is now to be found everywhere. Hunting yields less at this time, since the game has water and pasture everywhere.

Soon, however, the leaves fall, the bush forest becomes red and yellow, the migratory birds fly northward, and then the first cold nights set in. Now the "Dsao" (spirits of sickness) come and [753] bring sickness to the chest. At the end of May and the beginning of July [sic] the first frosts set in. Now the Bushmen move to the watering places, which stay open for a long time. The nights now [374] become torture. Burns on the skin of the chest and abdomen oc- [513] cur frequently, because the Bushmen now lie very close to the fire to sleep. Around this time, some of the kin groups already begin to suffer distress, because the game moves to other regions where there is still some pasture. In July the grass is finally dry [224] enough so that it can be set afire. Now the entire steppe burns. The young grass again attracts the game; hunting improves. The hot season is the worst period; the resting places of the game are quite uncertain, veldkost becomes increasingly scant, and the

[27 cont.]

221 Bushmen shrink to miserable skeletons. Many of them at this
[648] time[1] run to the Blacks or Whites in order to earn something. In
[731] dry years no attention is paid to the kin group boundaries. All
[423] gather around the few water holes that are still open. As soon as the rain begins, conditions start to improve; the people start moving out in various directions, not to meet again until several months later at the time of the veldkost harvest here and there.

7. The Course of Life

584 I shall render in literal translation the account that my informant gave of the way a young man courts a girl:

If a young man wants to marry a girl, he must first speak to her and say: "I love you and want to marry you." If the girl is willing, she says first: "You must wait." Then she goes to her parents and asks them whether they have heard that the boy has spoken to her. The parents then ask whether the girl wants to marry the man. [28] If the girl says, "Yes," then the parents say, "He wants you; he has seen that you are good and hard-working; you may marry." If, however, the young man has thought the matter over and takes back his words, the girl goes to her parents once more, and the boy to his. The latter say: "You wanted it this way; nothing can be done about it." In case the girl definitely gives her consent, however, the young man brings all kinds of little presents and gives them to his future bride, who takes them to her parents. The parents-in-law must now in turn give presents. With the exchange of presents, the
[583] marriage is regarded as legally concluded.

[114] The hunting test described by Passarge (1) and others is not
224
584
[113]

1. Passarge, Die Buschmänner der Kalahari, 1907.

the rule. Some vain girls demand it, and sometimes young men will voluntarily go through with it in order to beat his rivals. This hunting test is carried out in the following manner. The boy goes hunting without weapons and pursues the game (as a rule,

1 [i.e. The hot season -- Analyst]

dangerous.' When they do they use the word *n/oi*. It is a word for gentle rain, and also a respect word. They use it for male rain when they are afraid of it and avoid its real name, */ga /go*. 821

The rains of the western Kalahari are local, falling from clouds which the winds herd. They may fill one pan and miss another. Laurence Marshall spent one whole night, tentless, in a drenching downpour, to find in the morning that a mile away no rain had fallen. But by and large the rains are sufficient in quantity and well enough dispersed to fill most of the water-holes, pans, and hollow trees, and to revive the growing things, so that the autumn months, which follow the rains, are good—the best of the year. Then the /Kung may travel anywhere within their territories to hunt and gather the fresh veldkos. The rains are life-giving. 132

Winter is the season of dryness. It is also the season of burning sun in the cloudless sky by day and freezing cold when the sun sets. Bitter winds catch up the sparks of the fires at night and whirl them in blazing streaks into the darkness. If water is left in an open bowl, it may be ice in the morning. By mid-winter, July, there has been no rain for three or four months. The pans and small water-holes are dry. Though there are still foods to be gathered, like the mangetti nuts in the northern forest, there is no water on the route, nor in the white sand dunes where the mangettis grow, and the people cannot carry enough in their ostrich-egg shells to go to the mangettis and return. In 7,500 square miles of the interior of the region around Nyae Nyae, there are only five water-holes which do not dry up in the winter and spring. The /Kung bands must gather around whatever permanent water-hole they belong to and restrict their hunting and gathering trips to conform one way or another to the problem of water. This region, incidentally, does not abound in tsama melons and, though there are succulent so-called 'water' roots to be found, they seem not to be sufficient to support whole bands for long. The Nyae Nyae bands, it appears, cannot, or at least do not, base themselves for long periods away from their water-holes. 312 [321 36] [137]

The spring months which follow the dry months of winter are the dangerous months. The sun is scorching. Fruits and leaves shrivel; the edible roots, stirred by the few tantalizing drops of the little rains, or just because it is spring, give up their juices to the first new shoots and are dry and bitter to eat. The people longingly await the rains, saying it is the sun which dries the water-holes and the plant foods. The /Kung of this region use one word for both sun and dryness, */kaw*, and say the sun is death-giving. 132 [821]

In their beliefs about *n/ow*,[1] which they think influences the weather, as this paper will describe, they make an antithesis between rain and cold. This seems paradoxical when one experiences the devastating heat of the sun in September, October, and November, but the resolution of the paradox may lie in the fact that the hardships of the dry seasons begin with the rainless winter months and their bitterly cold nights, so that sun, dryness, cold and want become a complex which is in antithesis to rain and plenty. *N/ow* is called 'bad' if it brings cold, 'good' if it brings rain. 821 [171 192]

Mrs. Hoernlé[2] records a Hottentot belief called */nau*. The word appears to be [26]

[1] We spell the /Kung word *n/ow* in this way because it rhymes with 'how'. We wish to distinguish it from another /Kung word, */naw*, which it closely resembles, but which has a slightly shorter, more closed sound. */Naw* means 'old man', according to Miss Bleek's *Bushman Dictionary*. We heard it used as a term of respect in addressing old men.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., 'Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of */naw* among the Hottentots', *Harvard African Studies*, ii (1918), pp. 75–77.

the *|hawa-omi* in a similar manner. The same procedure is gone through for three or four days in succession. On the last day, after the dancing has ceased, she is presented with various trinkets by the women who took part in the ceremony and, after she has been returned to the *|hawa-omi*, the *axarogu*, who are required to remain in the *||gāus* for the occasion, are summoned to pass in Indian file behind her hut. As they pass each presses his scrotum against her hand which is protruded through a very small opening made by her mother in the back of the hut and she touches it with forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the *axarogu* against [844 sexual disease (swelling of the testicles) which is caused by 751] treading on the place where a menstruating *!gari-khois* has urinated. If she does not touch the scrotum and such a lad should pass behind her while she has her periods, his testicles will become swollen. The same will happen if she were to tread on the urine of such a boy. When this happens the youth is said to be *!gou*. After all the *axarogu* have filed past and returned to their hut, an old woman enters the *|hawa-omi* and rubs her body down (*|u*) with a preparation of roots, the name and source of which could not be ascertained. Now two of the *≠kham-khoidi* come forward and take her to fetch water. This is done at a run, the water being brought quickly and placed at the hut of the old woman who rubbed her down. Then two other *≠kham-khoidi* take her to fetch wood. This is likewise done at a run and after the wood has been deposited the ceremony is over. She is now a woman and known as a *!gari-khois*. While the ceremony was in progress a new hut, which is known as the *!gari-khois* [882 *oms*, was built for her by her mother. In this she now takes up her residence until she marries.

The *≠gari-khois* is now eligible to marry and she accompanies 883 the married women on their various excursions for food, wood, etc., and associates with them. The food collected during the four or five days following her transition to womanhood is eaten only by very old women, *e.g.*, the one who rubbed her down. After that any food gathered by her is shared with her mother. She may subsequently not go to the veld to [844 gather veldkos while she is menstruating, but must remain in the *||gāus*. On such occasions she is fed by her mother.

Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after 881 reaching the age of puberty and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in the pursuit of game, especially big game. The ceremony is in reality a test of their powers of endurance and of their skill in the chase. It is always [221 carried out during the rainy season when food is plentiful. All the eligible lads are removed to a spot some distance away from the werft and placed under the charge of one or more of the elders of the group. An enclosure is made round a big tree and in this they are required to live for the time being. They sleep in the enclosure and the elders around the fire which is made at its entrance. Women are not permitted to approach or communicate with them during the course of the

are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women 222
to the *||gāus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the *!heis*. Her husband now kindles the *!hei|ais* and, after having applied *‡norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it. There is no name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called *!gao-ei-|un*.

Among insects, locusts, ants, scorpions, young bees and 262
honey are greatly relished. Frogs, lizards, snakes, etc., are also eaten. In fact, all living animals are eaten with the exception of the mole and the hyena, the former because its winter larder of öintjes forms a valuable and easily obtainable addition to the supplies of the Bushmen and the latter because it eats human corpses.

The methods used in the pursuit of game vary according 221
to the season, the year being divided into a cold, dry season 224
(winter), a hot, dry season (spring and early summer), a small, rainy season (September and October) and a big, rainy season (January to April). Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season in the case of such animals as guineafowl, bustard, aardvark, ostrich and small game. Pitfalls are not made use of except for hare and springhare as too much work is entailed in making them. Springhare and snakes are also caught by means of a long barbed stick which is passed into the burrows, the animal being transfixed and then dug out. During the big rainy season when the ground is sodden with moisture small buck such as duiker and stembuck are run down on foot and killed with a knob kirri. This method is not applicable to small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor. In the hot weather, however, young buck are easily caught in this manner as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. The gemsbuck does not tire easily. It is run down, therefore, only during the big rainy season when the soft ground impedes its progress and causes it to be caught comparatively easily. All other varieties of big game are run down in the hot, dry season. After a herd of game has been located one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly until it is exhausted and brought at bay, when it is killed with assegaai.

Bow and poisoned arrows are used all the year round. These 184
weapons differ considerably in character in various localities. 411
The Kalahari bow is small compared with that used by the *!Kūng* of the Oschimpoloveld, and *Hei-||om* of the Etosha Pan region; the arrow consists of a reed shaft, bone foreshaft and bone or iron tip, whereas the latter use arrows with feathered wooden shafts and iron tips only. The poison also 184
varies in different localities. In southern Namaqualand it 278
is constituted of a mixture of plant juice (euphorbia), snake poison, scorpions and spiders; in the southern and central

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

know, but Gai became embarassed and said gravely that 124 825
Pishiboro put that system there for reproduction and he alone knew how it worked.

Ukwane then said that he would explain instead, because 221 ●
he was an old man. Gai could not speak of sex in front of 831
women because it was both improper and dangerous and 784 826
would weaken his power to hunt, but Ukwane was too old 888
for hunting and, besides, was past the age when many of the 124
tabus concerning sex applied to him. Old Bushmen understand everything better anyway, young Bushmen say.

Ukwane knew a great deal. He named every major part, 124
inside and out, of the animal, even naming the major veins 825
and arteries that lead to and from the heart. We were not surprised to find that Bushmen, who prefer to be specific rather than general when dealing with minute things, distinguish more exterior parts of the body then we do. They have names, for example, for the inside of the elbow and the back of the knee. The *leg* of an animal means the hind leg, the front leg is the *arm*, and these are called by the same names as the arm and leg of human beings. Birds, too, fly with their arms and land on their legs, but I never could discover what insects do.

Ukwane went on to explain the various systems of the body, saying in the case of the urogenital system that liquid, which was "the little springboks," ran from the testicles into the kidneys, then down again and out the penis. He stuck to this version, too, even when Bill suggested that it might be otherwise. This does not mean that Bushmen think that urine [842] causes conception, for they recognize the role of semen, believing that it unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form a child.

Ukwane understood the course of food and water through 124
the digestive system, but said that food and water spread out 827

WOMEN OF WERFT gather children and possessions in preparation for march to a new campsite. A band can travel about ten miles a day, gathering food as it goes. The !Kung move in annual patterns: staying near waterholes in dry winter, visiting *mongetti* forests in moist summer, and *tsi* areas in fall.

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361
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[p.39]

222
484 food resources of *Nyae Nyae*. Instead, these are the *mangetti* and *tsi* nuts. Both are found only far from permanent water. Distance becomes more significant when one thinks not only of miles—but of time, footsteps, heat and carrying capacity. From the nearest western water, it is about twenty miles to a *mangetti* forest. The distance between *tsi* and the closest water is about seven miles. The [481] people calculate their marching ability at about ten miles a day, with women and children, although men can make forty if necessary. They gather food as they travel, for a day of traveling is just like any other day, with children and old people to be provided for.

221 IN order to exploit the environment successfully, with their limited technological equipment, the !Kung must move from place to place. The calendar of their movements is revealing. In winter, the people are forced to remain near the waterholes,

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

221 gathering in districts and making occasional trips to places where enough water-roots can be dug to support them for several days. When the "little rains" of spring come to *Nyae Nyae*, the land usually relents somewhat. Some of the small western and northern pans fill, and a hollow *mangetti* tree may have collected some water. The people, who keep track of conditions throughout *Nyae Nyae* from the reports of hunters and visitors, try to get to the *mangetti* forests as soon as possible, and bring

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

221 back as many nuts as they can carry.

THE "big rains" open the land. People travel to distant places and remove to the *mangetti* forests until autumn, when the *tsi* ripens. Then they remain in the *tsi* areas till the *tsi* nuts are exhausted—which sometimes happens before the small annual waters have evaporated — and finally make their way back to their permanent waterholes.

221 415 In such a transient life, the importance of light belongings — and

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415 of ostrich eggshells for carrying water and skin bags for food—is evident. With carrying bags and ostrich eggshells, the people can bring water to food and food to water. Partly because of their life of motion, the !Kung do not accumulate heavy wealth.

847 Infanticide is uncommon among the !Kung, but one of the various reasons for the practice is that a woman may feel she cannot carry another child when the band moves. Then, the baby is born into a tiny grave near the *werft*, and the grave is closed.

[p. 68]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or *tsf*, the men always ac-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

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digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

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[594]
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The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

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The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

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The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

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ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

[p. 256]

162 working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in
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464 Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield
648 as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen
224 of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life.
(Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated
at 200.

161 This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of
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224 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty
222 percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more
[114] reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely
that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between
the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

162 The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial
224
222 and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-
178 gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most
isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with
184 their European and Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of
[221] the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend
[648] part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent
[312] to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share
[464] their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the
[233] young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds
on a contract basis.

000 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

184 The northern !Kung of Angola and Ovamboland are closely
648 associated with Bantu agriculturalists. In 1925 Bleek ob-
222 served that "In contradistinction to the southern !Kũ the
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439 women and children (i.e. of the Angola !Kung) are not collectors of wild food. Once or twice a year when certain berries ripen, the whole tribe goes out berry picking; otherwise they live by hunting and bartering part of the meat and skins obtained for the agricultural produce of their neighbors...." (1928:108). Westphal visited the Angola !Kung in 1964 and confirmed Bleek's observations (Westphal personal communication).

184 The southern division of !Kung work on the European
• 221
464 farms in the Ghanzi and Gobabis districts. Many of them
648 spend the summer months in the veld, hunting and gathering, but return each year to winter on the farms (Silberbauer n.d.).

Among the central division of !Kung are found Bantu-associated peoples, farm laborers, and independent traditional hunters and gatherers. In the Grootfontein district of South West Africa several thousand central !Kung are working
131 on European farms. Along the Okavango river for 500 miles
184 of its length from Cuangar in the northwest to Sehitwa on
648 Lake Ngami, some further thousands of central !Kung live with, and work for, the Bantu of the following tribes:

621 312 Similar variations in group structure were observed at all the waterholes of the Dobe area. However, despite these shifts in the size and composition of camps there were two lines of evidence that indicated stability. First, there was a generally acknowledged nucleus of permanent territorial residents at each waterhole. Second, when camps split up they did so consistently along the same lines of fission. The presence of these two regularities provides a basis for a preliminary account of the living arrangements of !Kung Bushmen. The complete documentation and analysis of group structure will be presented in a later paper.

[125] The starting point for this account is a single complete census of the Dobe area made by the author in November, 1964. This was a good time for a census because it is the period of [221] the year when the camps are most stable. It was the end of the dry season when most of the Bushmen were restricted to their permanent waterholes.

621 161 162 This census showed a total population of 433 Bushmen divided among 35 living units. This figure of 433 includes ten individuals who died in the year preceding the census, and 32 others who were away from the area at the time of the census, so that the total number of Bushmen who were actually physically present in the area in November, 1964, was 391. The majority of the people (311 individuals, 72% of the total) were living in 15 independent hunting and gathering bands.

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361 standing water sources. Since the number of these water sources is limited, it follows that the areas around the water sources will be the most intensively utilized. The Bushmen know how to live on alternative sources of moisture such as Fockea monroi but only resort to this subsistence strategy for a week or two at a stretch.

It is a good rule of thumb for the Dobe area that the intensity of utilization of land varies inversely with the distance from standing water sources. Since a Bushman group
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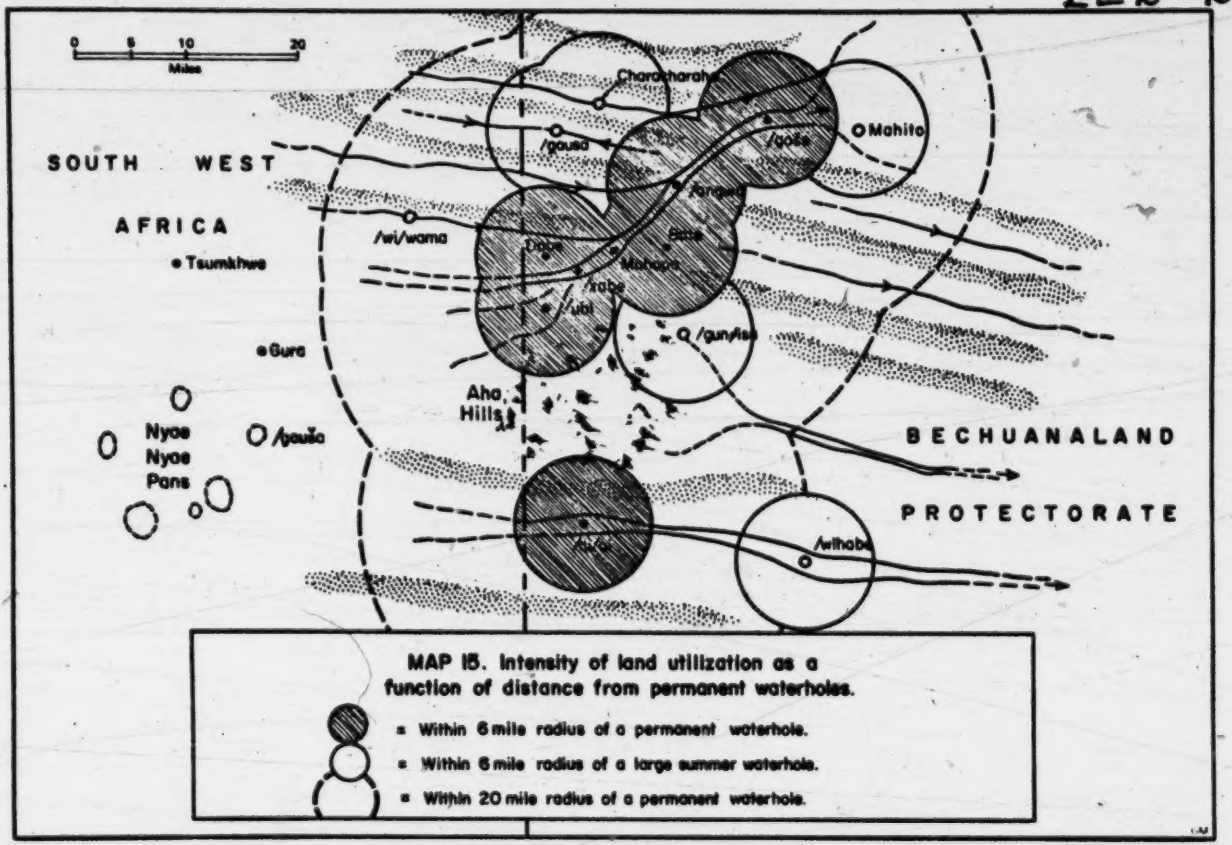
312 must spend the six dry months of the year at its permanent
361 waterhole, it is not surprising that the area within a walking
221 radius of this waterhole is intensively utilized. Similarly, since the Bushmen spend three months of the year at the large summer water sources, the areas within a walking radius of these water sources is also intensively utilized. During the brief period in December or January when there is standing water at many localities, the Bushmen can utilize areas that lie beyond a walking radius of the major water sources.

These three levels of intensity of utilization are illustrated schematically in Map 15. This scheme disregards for the moment the actual pattern of distribution of food resources peculiar to each territory. The shaded circles enclose all of the areas that are within a six mile radius of a permanent waterhole. These are the only areas that can be reached by

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 144]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0 5 10 20
Miles
SOUTH WEST
AFRICA
Tsumkhwe
Gura
Nyoe
Nyoe
Pans
/gausa
Aha
Hills
Charatsharaha
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Mahito
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BECHUANALAND
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MAP 15. Intensity of land utilization as a function of distance from permanent waterholes.
= Within 6 mile radius of a permanent waterhole.
= Within 6 mile radius of a large summer waterhole.
= Within 20 mile radius of a permanent waterhole.

311 a round trip hike of 12 miles or less.
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361 The distance of 12 miles was chosen for this illustration,
221 because this was close to the maximum distance that the Bushmen were willing to walk in a single day of food gathering. In the previous chapter it was mentioned that Bushmen hunters and gatherers do not stay away from their camps overnight. Therefore an individual hunter or gatherer will confine the day's activities to within a limited radius of his or her camp. These expressed preferences set the limits on the size of the winter areas of intense utilization.

A similar situation exists in the areas that are within a six mile radius of the main summer water sources. These are represented on Map 15 as unshaded circles. These further areas are intensively utilized during the summer months.

These areas of intensive utilization are surrounded by a belt of country that lies within a twenty mile radius of the permanent waterholes. Twenty miles was the average maximum distance from permanent water that the Bushmen were observed to range. This belt is enclosed by a dotted line in Map 15. It should be noted that the Bushmen groups spent on an average less than one month of the year working these areas. The great majority of their time was spent closer to the standing water sources.

311 The Dobe area Bushmen were not observed to make camps
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VIII. WATER AND THE SEASONAL ROUND

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The Kalahari desert is not a food poor area. Most of it is situated between the 10 and 20 inch isohyet and therefore it is marginal for cultivation (without irrigation), but the desert supports a remarkable abundance and variety of edible wild plants which have become genetically adapted to arid conditions.

Geographers have classified the Kalahari as "desert" because of the lack of surface water (Wellington 1955 etc.). This in turn is a function of the sandy terrain which supports surface water only during a brief summer season. In the few localities where the underlying geological formations are exposed, permanent standing water is found. And these point sources of water are usually surrounded by waterless belts of up to 200 miles in width. Edible plants on the other hand are widely distributed both in the immediate vicinity of water and at considerable distances from it. The geographical separation of food and water in certain seasons is the critical problem of !Kung Bushman subsistence.

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This is not a major problem during the rainy season when seasonal standing water may be found in close proximity to the concentrated food resources. Nor is this a major problem during the early winter when food is available around the

312 permanent water sources. Nevertheless for one season every
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433 year Bushmen must face a situation in which major foods and
824 permanent water are a considerable distance apart. How Bushmen arrange their lives to meet this situation will be illustrated by data from the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen.

312 According to the Bushmen, water has always existed in
824 the eight permanent waterholes of the Dobe area. Seven of
222 these waterholes are situated in or near the dry bed of one molapo, the !angwadum. The eighth, 25 miles to the south, is in the bed of another molapo, the /ai/aidum. These molapos lie in the center of a belt of flatlands which varies in width from 5-10 miles. It was pointed out in Chapter IV that the molapos interrupt the basic system of parallel dunes that cover most of the northwestern Kalahari. But it is only on these dunes that the primary Bushman food, the mongongo nut, is found. The result is that each of the eight waterholes is three to seven miles distant from the nearest grove of mongongo nuts. Thus gatherers who are camped at a permanent water must make a minimum daily round trip of six to fourteen miles in order to gather mongongo nuts. As the nearest nuts become exhausted the round trip distance becomes greater and greater, until it reaches a distance that is too far to walk in a day. This distance varies from camp to camp but 12 miles (6 miles out and 6 miles returning) was close to the maximum that the

312 221 The availability of water can be regarded as the most important determinant of Bushman subsistence activities. A season by season account of these activities will serve to illustrate how subsistence strategies take maximum advantage of water sources. The annual subsistence cycle is described under six headings:

1. First rains
2. Main rains
3. Autumn
4. Early winter
5. Late winter
6. Spring

1. <u>First rains</u>

The onset of the first rains finds the Bushmen clustered [361] around their permanent waterholes. It is this time of year [574] that camp membership is most stable because all areas are short of food and there are fewer incentives for visiting [132] other camps. Also the weather is hot with mean daily maxima of 100°F and walking is uncomfortable.

312 221 824 Food, in the vicinity of permanent water, is in short supply. Fruits, berries, melons and leafy greens, which appear only during the main rains, are nowhere available. The mongongo nuts are still abundant but are found only at distances of ten or more miles from the permanent waterholes. The diet

312 at the waterholes consists primarily of roots and bulbs of the
• 221 genera: Eulophia, Vigna, Walleria, and Coccinia, and the edible
824 sap of Acacia spp. and Terminalia sericea. It is this time of
year that the heart of the dwarf vegetable ivory palm is eaten,
[164] (Hyphaene). Those who eat its fibrous pulp experience stomach
cramps and diarrhea, but, as the Bushmen say, it make one's
"mouth work" and gives one a sensation of a full stomach.
221 Hunting is arduous business in the heat and men who go out in
224 the early morning find it necessary to spend the mid-day hours
resting in the shade. The principal animal killed is the
springhare.

132 The first rains are convectional thundershowers. Their
distribution is spotty. A storm may briefly inundate one area
and miss entirely another area only a mile away.

312 The Bushmen observe the storm clouds travelling across
222 the horizon and try to judge where the showers have drenched
[821] the ground. They then set out in family groups in the direction of the rains. If they find that water has collected in the hollows of mongongo trees, they will stay in the nut groves for several days and eat nuts until the water is exhausted. They then fill their karosses with nuts and return to the permanent water. If, on reaching the nut groves, they find that no water has collected they will be forced to fill their karosses with nuts and return to camp the same day. In certain areas

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361 The distribution of camps during the summer follows two phases. In the early phase when water is standing in a dozen or more localities camps are found at most waters. This is the time of maximum freedom of movement because ponds fill up in the usually waterless belts and make it possible for people to visit relatives 35-70 miles away.

The distribution of camps in December 1963 is illustrated in Map 17, p.157.

The second phase of summer life begins as these smaller waters dry up in February and March. Then most of the Bushmen converge on the large summer waters such as !Gauŭa Pan (not to be confused with /Gauŭa Pan in the Nyae Nyae area).

!Gauŭa Pan in its peak season (Jan-March in 1964) was a pond 400 feet long and 125 feet across, located in a local
[162] drainage area between two dunes. In addition to a resident
[648] population of 40 Bushmen (augmented by dozens of temporary visitors) the pan supported four Bantu cattle posts with
[136] about 500 head of cattle. The pan was a watering place for kudu and wildebeeste and had resident flocks of red-billed teal, white-bellied stork and hammerkops. Within a 3 mile radius of the pan there were remains of at least ten abandoned Bushmen camps that had been occupied in previous years.

[162] Besides !Gauŭa there were four other big pans in the Dobe area, each of which supported large Bushmen camps (of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 158]

221
312 30 or more people) and Bantu cattle posts. These were located
361 at Characharaha, Mahito, !gun/isa and /wihabe. Map 18 illus-
[162] trates the distribution of population during the late summer
(March 1964).p. 159.

221 Life at the summer pans is, by Bushman standards, luxur-
137 ious because all of the major and minor fruits, berries,
433 melons and leafy greens become available. There is a succes-
222 sion of ripening of the major foods throughout the summer months. The first to ripen are the leafy greens (Dipcadi and Talinum), followed by the sour plums (Ximenia caffra and X. americana), then the melons (Citrullus lanatus and C. naudinianus), and the Grewia berries (Grewia flava comes first followed by six other species). By the time the plums have become scarce the melons are ready for eating. As the melons become worked out the Grewia berries ripen. Each of six species of Grewia comes into ripeness at a different time, so that every two weeks throughout the middle of summer another species of Grewia became ready for eating. Throughout the early part of the summer the mongongo nuts are available but these are the nuts from the previous year's fall. It is not until April that the current year's fall of nuts occurs. And then a new cycle of working out from the camp occurs. This illustrates again the selective gathering habits of the !Kung Bushmen.

824 is not eaten. Next is a casing of granular-textured fruit
262 which is eaten. The fruit encloses the nut itself. This consists of a thick outer shell which must be cracked open with the nut-cracking stones. Within the thick shell is a softer inner shell which encloses the nut kernel which is the staple of the Bushman diet. This inner kernel is "packaged" within four protective layers and this explains its remarkable storage properties.

824 In the late summer and autumn months the Bushmen eat
252 large quantities of both the fruit and the nut. First the women boil potfuls of whole fruit in order to separate the outer flesh from the hard shell. The flesh of the fruit produces a delicious fruit puree that tastes like stewed prunes. After the fruit is eaten, the nuts themselves are set aside for later cracking and eating.

184 The summer hunting situation appears to vary from camp
221 to camp. At the !Gausa camp very little hunting was done.
224 [177] The resident men assisted the Bantu in cattle herding and they
[648] received calabashes of sour milk as payment. At Characharaha
[464] the men hunted more, killing gemsbok, python and porcupine. At one summer camp, Mokoro, where there were no Bantu resident, two young men killed four large buck in the space of one month (two kudu and two gemsbok). This Mokoro camp was an
[177] unusually successful one. The availability of cows' milk and meat no doubt lessens the men's incentive for hunting

000 meat no doubt lessens the men's incentive for hunting.

221 3. Autumn - which fell (in 1964) during April is the period
312 when these large summer waters are drying up. One by one the
361 big pans turn into muddy pools and the Bushmen abandon them. Some of the people join the camps established at the remaining summer waters while others fall back to their permanent waterholes in the main molapos.

!Gauša was the last of the summer waters to go dry. It was finally abandoned by May 1, 1964. By this date all the Bushmen had returned to the permanent waters and this marks the beginning of the winter subsistence cycle.

As mentioned previously the present study was made during a drought. There are indications in the literature that summer waters do not always dry out as early as May 1. The Bushmen themselves spoke of summer water persisting in previous years into the period of frost which does not come until June or July. It is also probable that the presence of Bantu cattle contributed to the premature drying out of the summer waters. However, these hypotheses cannot be tested except by further field work.

4. Early Winter

221 The winter season is not coterminous with the period of
312 food scarcity. This scarce period does not begin until mid-
433 winter and continues until the first rains. The first half

221 of winter from May to mid-July is a period of relative abun-
312
433 dance. This is due to the fact that the permanent waters
[361] have not been occupied during the summer months, and there is abundant food in their vicinity when the Bushmen return to
[824] them in May. Subsistence has a double base, including both the tail-end of the summer foods such as the Grewia berries, and the first series of winter roots and bulbs. Mongongo nuts are also locally available. The distribution of the Bushmen population during the winter of 1964 is shown in Map 19, p. 165.

221 The root foods are generally associated with the winter
824 subsistence. This is curious because as perennials the bulbs may be dug out at any time of the year. But the Bushmen do not concentrate on root foods during the summer months: they pass them over in favor of the foods of shorter duration, the fruits and melons. They state that they do not like the flavor of the root foods during the winter.

In May and June these root plants are exploited and the pressure on them increases through the winter as the nuts become locally exhausted. The major roots are Eulophia spp., Vigna dinteri, Walleria muricata, Coccinia spp., Coccinia rehmannii and Ceropegia spp. - nine species in all. These have edible bulbs or storage organs which range in size from one to three inches in diameter.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 166]

221 224 Winter is the snareline season. Each hunter who is wintering in his home territory starts to build his snare-lines in May and continues to refine and improve the lines 224 until the end of August when they are abandoned. The snare-line is built up as follows: the hunters of a camp agree beforehand where each man will set up his lines. A man surveys his snaring area for fresh tracks of steenbok which is the major animal snared. He gradually lays down an unobtrusive line of brush 600 to 900 feet long. The line zigzags from bush to bush until by degrees he closes off a tract of ground with a brush barrier. The object of this operation is to habituate the animals to cross his line at a limited number of gaps. Each day he inspects his line for fresh tracks. If the animals are breaching his line regularly at one gap, he then sets a rope snare in the gap.

The snare consists of a 3 foot length of rope, at one end of which is a noose. This noose is spread apart on the ground by a series of pegs. The center of the noose has a trigger. When the forefoot of an antelope falls within the noose the trigger is released. The other end of the noose is tied to a trimmed sapling. The sapling is bent in a taut arc. The animal crossing the gap steps into the noose and releases the trigger. When the trigger is released the sapling snaps back sharply and the noose tightens around the animal's foot.

TABLE 7

221 224 231 433

The kills made by the hunters of the Dobe camp during a 28-day period (6 July to 2 August 1964).

Date	Hunter	Species	Technique	estimated weight of meat
July				
7.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80 lbs.
7.	≠oma//gwe	steenbok	snare	12
9.	/ase	steenbok	snare	12
17.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
20.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
20.	≠oma//gwe	honey badger	snare	10
20.	≠oma//gwe	python	collected	20
21.	/ase	steenbok	snare	12
23.	n≠eysin!a	steenbok	snare	12
23.	≠oma//gwe	hare	snare	3
24.	≠oma	bat-eared fox	with dogs	4
27.	/ase	hare	snare	3
27.	≠gau	korhaan	snare	2
27.	n≠eysin!a	korhaan	snare	2
28.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
29.	≠oma//gwe	kori bustard	snare	10
30.	n≠eysin!a	steenbok	snare	12
31.	/ase	porcupine	cornered in burrow	20
				454 lbs.[1]

[1] In addition to the meat from these 18 kills, the Dobe Bushmen received gifts of meat from other camps. The weight of meat from these outside sources is estimated at 36 lbs. Therefore, the total meat eaten at Dobe was around 490 lbs.

224
146 totalling 36 lbs. This meat (490 lbs.) went to feed a camp of 42 people (exclusive of visitors).

A rough calculation of the weight of meat per person per day through this 28-day period gives a figure of 6-2/3 oz. of meat. The daily intake of vegetable foods per person during the same period can be estimated at 24 oz. (of mongongo nuts and various roots). Therefore a reasonable estimate of the ratio of meat to vegetables in the diet of this camp is 25%-75%.

This ratio is based on observations at one camp during
[114] one season only. It can be said, however, that George Silberbauer, Laurence and Lorna Marshall, and the author are in general agreement that meat comprises between 20% and 40% by weight of the Bushman diet (Silberbauer, 1965:28; Marshalls, personal communication).

5. Late Winter

221 There is a well-defined break point in the winter subsistence cycle between the early period (May, June and July) of relative abundance and the late winter and spring period
221 of increasing food scarcity (August-September). Through the
222 early winter the Bushmen concentrate on the mongongo nut groves
462 that are within a day's walk of permanent water. Groups of women go out once every three or four days, fill their karosses with nuts and return to the camp in the evening. The men

221
222 during this period concentrate on tending their snarelines.
[462] Gradually the distance to the nuts increases as a wider and
[224] wider radius of nuts becomes eaten out. For instance, by the end of July there were no nuts within seven miles of the Dobe waterhole, and a day's collecting became a major undertaking. In order to reach the nuts, the women had to set out early in the morning and walk for 2-1/2 hours. In the nut forest they had to work for two hours to fill their karosses
[482] with nuts. On the return journey each woman was heavily loaded with c. 30 lbs. of whole nuts and the distance back to camp took 3-1/2 hours to cover. Thus on a late July collecting trip, the women would have to walk at least 14 miles to and from the nuts, plus another two miles in the nut forests, stooping and collecting. This adds up to eight hours of hard work in one day.

At this point, the effort required to gather mongongo nuts begins to outweigh the satisfaction derived from eating nuts and one observed a sharp decline in nut collecting in favor of the less desirable foods of classes II, III and IV. These latter foods had the advantage of being locally abundant in the vicinity of the permanent waterholes.

This transition from nuts to other foods occurred at Dobe
[184] at the end of July (in 1964). At !gose, where the nut forests are much denser, the gatherers continued their daily trips

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222 w[illegible] into September. On the other hand, at /ai/ai, where 109
184 Bushmen were living, the local mongongo nuts were exhausted at the beginning of July.

Since each territory was known for a different selection of winter foods, the transition took a different form at each waterhole. At Dobe, the mongongo nuts were replaced as the staple of the diet by Baobab fruits (Adansonia) and vegetable ivory palm hearts (Hyphaene). At Bate the people shifted from mongongo nuts to Sclerocarya caffra nuts. At !angwa, the people concentrated on collecting Acacia spp. gums.

221 In general the diet of the Bushmen becomes much more
824 eclectic during the latter half of the winter. It was during
146 this season that the Bushmen took advantage of a wide selection of edible species. Instead of eating mongongo nuts with a few other species as "side dishes", the people had to diversify their diet in order to live well. During August and September no less than 25 species of roots, bulbs and edible gums formed the basis of the diet.

222 There was an alternative strategy to eating less desirable
312 foods. If a family was prepared to make the effort required to reach the nutting groves, they would fill their water containers (ostrich egg shells and the stomachs of antelope) and walk to the nuts. They would collect and eat there until

312 shells; this makes for a very bulky and unwieldy parcel. The
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222 stomach sacs, by contrast to the egg shells, have the distinct advantage of being weightless and occupying no space on the return trip, since when they are empty they dry and shrivel up.

221 The reader can now appreciate the complex logistics of
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312 Bushman subsistence activities during the late winter dry season. In view of the difficulty of collecting mongongo nuts during this season, it is not surprising that the people turn to an eclectic diet of roots, bulbs, and gums that are still available in the vicinity of permanent water.

222 Several variations in tactics were observed among the
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855 Dobe area Bushmen. One such variation was to leave the older
312 children behind in the care of relatives while the parents
482 made the long trips to the nut forests. By leaving behind two children at the main camp, the parents could effect savings of 30% in the weight of water that had to be carried out on a four day trip.

222 Another variation observed was the two-day-one-night
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312 overnight hike. Such a trip lasted only 36 hours and required
[482] only three ostrich egg shells of water per adult. By using this tactic, groups of ten or more people could make a rapid lightly loaded trip to the nut forests and return the following day heavily loaded with nuts. This was a difficult operation

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312 because it entailed two consecutive days of hardhiking on
482 short water rations. The object of such a trip was to get to
484 the nuts and back again as quickly as possible, before the physiological deficit of water was allowed to reduce efficiency.

221 The general object of the winter nutting trips was to
222 remain at the nut forests just long enough to eat a really
262 substantial quantity of nuts (about 400 nuts per adult). This marathon meal starts the moment that the Bushmen arrive at the nut camps and continues throughout their stay. It is interrupted for short periods when the Bushmen go out to col-
[539] lect nuts in the vicinity of their temporary camp. There is a Bushman saying that aptly applies to this situation: "It is better to carry food home in your stomach than on your back."

[224] Hunting rarely occurs at these overnight camps. The efforts of men and women alike are directed to eating as many nuts as possible in a short time.

[312] The most important variation in the late winter and spring subsistence tactics centers on the use of Fockea monroi as a source of water. This will be discussed below.

132 6. Early Spring

August is the last month of winter. The last of the freezing nights occurs at the first of the month and these are followed by warmer nights in the 40's and 50's and daily

132 highs in the 90's. The warmer weather heralds the onset of
312 spring which is the most difficult season of the year. Most
137 of the waterholes have no mongongo nuts within a ten mile
222 radius. The alternative foods, roots and bulbs, are being collected daily by some of the people, while others are making the long overnight journeys to the nut forests.

221 Since territories vary in the abundance of early spring
574 foods there was a noticeable tendency for families to visit
628 other camps. For instance in September, Bate still had a good supply of Sclerocarya caffra, nuts; and several families from Dobe, Mahopa, and !angwa converged upon Bate to eat these nuts. Similarly !ubi had a supply of Baobab fruits (Adansonia digititata) and other families made extended visits to relatives there. The maintenance of close ties between camps made possible a more equitable distribution of foodstuffs, so that, if there was scarcity at one camp, and food at another, the members of the first camp would not go hungry. This is one of the highly adaptive features of the fluidity of !Kung group structure.

[563] Some families fall back on the Herero villages at this
[431] time of year to beg for milk. This occurs especially among those people who have a sister or cousin married to a Bantu man. Both the Bushman and Herero codes of good manners demand that visiting in-laws be fed (L. Marshall 1961).

221 433 Unfortunately spring is the most difficult season for the Herero as well as for the Bushmen. The good grazing for livestock is miles distant from the waterholes. Consequently the cattle are in poor condition and their yield of milk is low.

251 It would be useful for the Bushmen to amass a surplus of food in anticipation of this scarce season. However, none of the 15 independent camps observed ever kept more than a few days supply of vegetable foods on hand. Surplus accumulation was not a feature of Bushmen food strategy except for one instructive case.

There was a noticeable attempt to create a small surplus 251 in the form of dried meat and hides. Each family maintained 285 a storage basket in the crotch of a young tree. By weaving a framework of branches and palm fronds and lining this with grass, they built up a rough basket for storing weapons, water containers and small amounts of food. The storage basket was built five feet above the ground which kept its contents safe from the reach of dogs and children. If a day's hunting had been unsuccessful, the members of a camp could invariably produce an emergency ration of dried meat or, more often, dried hide for the evening meal. People saved scraps of dried hide of kudu, gemsbok and wildebeeste from kills made weeks or 251 252 262 months previously. These scraps were softened by boiling or

251 were roasted in the coals of the fire and then pounded to
252 the consistency of coarse meal in the wooden mortar. This
262 roasted hide had the taste and texture of crisp crackling and was delicious when pounded and mixed with the flesh of roots of the genera Coccinia, Walleria and Eulophia. These stores of dried hide and meat did not serve as a staple surplus so much as an emergency delicacy to brighten the diet when a day's hunting had been unsuccessful.

221 The major food strategy during the hot dry spring was
222 the 7-14 day trip to the waterless country where mongongo nuts
312 were still plentiful. At these camps the only source of
361 water was the juice from the roots of Fockea monroi. Fockea
824 has an uneven distribution in the Dobe area. The Bushmen must camp in a nut forest that is in close proximity to patches of Fockea. The maximum period that a group was observed to live on Fockea roots was two weeks. The limitation is set by the density of Fockea plants in an area, and the amount of fluid that each plant holds. Life at the Fockea patches is difficult because people have to work hard to obtain water as well as food. Each Fockea root storage organ contains 8-16 ounces of recoverable moisture. Thus a daily ration of 72 ounces of water can be obtained by digging out 5-10 Fockea roots.

312 But the dilemma of living on Fockea lies in the fact that
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484 until 8:00 p.m. Before making camp we ate wild oranges along
123 the way (Strychnos [illegible]inosa) but these did not contain much
312 moisture. We camped at a point halfway between !wi/wama and Dobe and there shared out the last of the family's drinking water, which amounted to one quart for four adults and three children, that is c. 4-1/2 oz. for each of us.

484 November 8 - The camp awoke at 4:50 a.m. By 5:20 we had
123 packed and were under way, arriving home without incident at 7:30 a.m.

484 November 8-16 - This ended the author's participation in
312 the Fockea trip. Six members of the original group remained
361 at !wi/wama eating nuts and drinking the juice of Fockea. On the eleventh of November there was a heavy fall of rain at !wi/wama which created a temporary pool of water near their camp. This enabled them to extend their stay beyond the original plan of five days.

484 The same week that the rain fell, the pregnant woman of
361 the camp gave birth to a baby boy. The group remained at the
844 nut camp until the mother was strong enough to walk. Then they broke camp and returned to Dobe on November 16. Both mother and child appeared to be in fine condition.

132 The rain of November 11 was the first substantial fall
221 of the 1964-65 rainy season and initiated the subsistence activities associated with the late spring (see above). Thus

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221 this account of the seasonal round has come full circle to the starting point.

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433 In summary, there are, in effect, only three basic sets of subsistence conditions for the Bushmen:

1. Water everywhere - Food everywhere
2. Water limited - Food abundant
3. Water limited - Food scarce.

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[602] When the first set of conditions prevail during the rains of November through March, Bushman life is sweet. The camps can live near the most concentrated food sources within their territory, or share in the food supply of neighboring camps, or easily undertake the long trips to visit relatives at distant waterholes.

When the second set of conditions prevail, from April through July, freedom of movement is more restricted but food is still abundant enough to make life comfortable.

When the third set of conditions prevail, from August through October, the Bushmen must resort to increasingly arduous tactics in order to maintain a good diet, or, alternatively they must content themselves with foods of less desirability in terms of abundance, ease of collecting and nutritive value.

It is during the three lean months of the year that the Bushmen life approaches the precarious conditions that have

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come to be associated with the hunting and gathering way of life. However one should not lose sight of the fact that for nine or more months of each year the Bushmen can easily fulfill their food requirements without resorting to the more difficult (and, to our eyes, more dramatic) subsistence tactics.

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Abundance of Resources -- The habitat of the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen is rich in naturally-occurring foods. The three distinct plant associations - of the Dune, the Flats, and the Molapo - each support a distinctive constellation of food plants. By far the most important of these is the Dune association and its main constituent, the mongongo tree. From the vast groves of this tree, many thousands of nuts are harvested each year. The mongongo nut, because of its abundance and reliability, resembles a cultivated staple crop such as maize or rice. In terms of nutritional value - proteins and sugars - it even exceeds the cereal crops. Furthermore, it is drought-resistant so that the mongongo nut will still be abundant in dry years when cultivated crops fail. The excellent storage properties of the nut allow it to be harvested in all months of the year. This factor is especially important during the dry winter months when the short-term rainy season foods are not available. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the Bushmen are asked to explain why they have not taken to cultivation, they reply: "Why should we plant when there are so many mongongo nuts in the world?"

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Variety of Resources -- The mongongo nut is only one, albeit the most important, of the 85 species of edible plants available to the Bushmen. The existence of this variety of foodstuffs

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824 allows for a wide range of alternatives in subsistence
433 strategy. During the summer months the Bushmen have no prob-
824 lem other than to choose among the tastiest and most easily
221 collected foods; other species which are quite edible but less attractive are simply bypassed, so that gathering never exhausts all the available foods of an area.

During the dry season, when the fruits and melons have gone, the gatherers still have multiple options open to them. They may plan a hike to the molapos to collect the edible Acacia gums, or they may go to the flats to dig out roots and bulbs. Even at the end of the dry season, when the stronger members of a group are making the long hikes to the mongongo forests, the older, less mobile members can derive an adequate subsistence from an eclectic diet of minor foods which are closer to home.

433 Plants versus Game -- The security of Bushman subsistence
222 derives in part from the fact that meat is of secondary import-
224 ance to vegetables in the diet. The !Kung males are persistent, but not particularly successful hunters. Although hunting accounts for over half of the subsistence effort of a camp, meat comprises only 20-40 per cent of the diet. The basis of the Bushman diet is plant food, and meat has come to be regarded as a special treat. When meat is available, it is welcomed as a break from the routine of vegetable foods, but it is never

121 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social
433 maturity by the young people and the support of the non-pro-
883 ductive elderly people are institutions which are possible
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182 only in a society with a relatively secure subsistence base.

433 <u>Water, Food, and Nomadism</u> -- The special subsistence problems
312 faced by the Dobe area Bushmen concern the scarcity of water.
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361 All of the eight natural permanent waterholes are situated in or near the beds of the main molapos. During the summer months, when temporary pools develop at a distance from permanent water, the Bushmen can move out to live at them. Except for a few weeks each year, the Bushmen spend their entire lives camped within an hour's walk of standing water. Only at the end of the dry season do some of the younger people undertake the long trips to the dry forests where they live by digging out the water-bearing roots. Since it is the custom of the Bushmen to return each evening to their main camps, it follows that areas within a single day's walk of standing water will be intensively utilized. Areas that lie beyond this radius will be rarely utilized even though they may be rich in food. The fact that the Bushmen can live well for most of the year within a six-mile radius of permanent water indicates that they do not lead a nomadic way of life. Each summer they move up-country to the seasonal waters and each winter they fall back on their permanent waterholes. In contrast to some Australian aboriginal groups, whose annual round consists of walking a circuit of many waterholes, the Dobe area Bushmen have a

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361 transhumant annual round, in which they alternate between their rainy season range and their dry season range.

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628 The Dobe area !Kung do not undertake long marches of 30-70 miles for the purpose of getting food. This task can be readily fulfilled within a day's walk of their territorial water sources. When such long marches occur, they are invariably for the purposes of visiting, trading, and marital exchanges with relatives at distant camps. As such, these trips should not be confused with the normal routines of subsistence.

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162 Range Size and Population Density -- By plotting the movements of the various camps in their annual subsistence cycle, the observer can derive a rough estimate of the total land area that is required to support the population of 430 Bushmen. It would be much more difficult to estimate the area necessary to support a single camp, because of the considerable overlap of territories and the frequent visiting between camps. It will be more useful to treat the entire population as a unit. It is estimated that the 800 square miles that lie within a six-mile radius of major water sources are sufficient to support the population for most of the year. Beyond this radius lies a hinterland which is rarely penetrated; perhaps a further 200 square miles of this hinterland is utilized in the course of a single year. Thus the total annual range of the Dobe area Bushmen may be estimated at 1,000 square miles. This calculation sets the effective population

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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166 territory occupied by the band its members roam about freely in
361 search of food, and family groups often separate from the main body
621 to wander about on their own account for a while. Of the Naron, for example, Miss Bleek writes that she has "sometimes seen three or four huts together, sometimes twenty, with from sixty to eighty inhabitants. Every few weeks a new hut appears, or a vacant space shows where one has gone"; and she adds that as the village is such a fluctuating quantity it is difficult to estimate the numbers of a band or a tribe.[1] Indeed it seems to be a feature in the life of some of the Northern tribes that during the dry season the families in the band scatter about separately, to come together again only in the rainy
[221] season, when there is an ample supply of water and "veldkos". Thus among the Auen only one or two families may be found living together in the dry season, while towards the end of and shortly after the rainy season, when the edible plants of the veld are abundant, up to thirty families may join together.[2] It is thus by no means unusual to find several small encampments of members of the same band scattered about over its hunting territory, a fact which may easily mislead casual observers with regard to its numbers.

On the other hand, it also appears that at times members of several
361 different bands may come together for a while. Passarge mentions
619 that in 1897, during an outbreak of rinderpest when cattle were
621 dying in great numbers in the Ghansiveld, Bushmen were drawn together from all parts of the vicinity by the abundance of animal food thus provided. At one spot he saw between one and two hundred of them, at another about one hundred, and these included both Auen and Naron.[3] In the Kwebe Hills, again, his camp was passed by about one hundred men returning to the Hainaveld from the sandveld. Together with their women and children this group must therefore have numbered from three to four hundred.[4] It is almost certain that these people too must have belonged to different bands and had only come together temporarily, but this is not definitely stated by Passarge. Kaufmann, again, mentions a camp of Auen at Sidonitsaub which in April, 1908, contained about four hundred men, or with women and children about one thousand persons
[622] all told. That these belonged to a number of different bands was

[1] *The Naron*, 4.

[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 138; cf. Passarge, op. cit., 42; Vialls, "Kalahari Masarwas," 30.

[3] Op. cit., 7, 8.

[4] Op. cit., 10.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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611 621 belong to the band of which their father is a member. But, as already mentioned, there are certain cases among the Naron where both married sons and married daughters with their respective spouses and children are found living in the same band. It would throw much light on the structure of the band if we could know whether all these children are regarded as members of the band in which their parents are living, or whether some distinction is made between the children of the married sons on the one hand and those of the married daughters on the other. Without further research in the field, however, no definite statement can be made on this crucial point. There is also nothing to indicate whether people who are related or claim to be related in the male line, or again those who are related or claim to be related in the female line, are specially bound together by ties of a ceremonial, legal or economic nature. Whether further research, therefore, will show the bands of the North-Western Bushmen to be clans is problematical. The trend of the available data gives no clear indication either way.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 221 [184] Moving about constantly as they do in the search for food, the Bushmen build no permanent homes. More or less fixed villages are found only among the tribes living in the Okavango-Zambesi region, but even here there are distinct quarters for the winter (dry season) and for the summer (rainy season). During the dry season the Tannekwe live in the marsh lands of the Okavango basin, where they have small villages surrounded with palisades, after the style of their Bantu neighbours. In the rainy season, however, these become uninhabitable. The people then move out to villages on the edge of the surrounding plains, where they also have their hunting grounds. The Hukwe on the plains north-east of Lake Ngami live in similar villages during the rainy season, from which they scatter about in family groups in the dry season to hunt and collect.[1]

361 342 Everywhere else the encampments of the Bushmen are temporary. The tribes formerly living in the mountainous regions of the south and east often made their homes in caves and under rock-shelters, in which relics of their occupation may still be found. Even to-day the Namib Bushmen, during the latter part of the dry season, also live chiefly in caves or under overhanging rock-shelters on the high

[1] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296, 297.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Chapter V

SOCIAL HABITS AND CUSTOMS

Daily Life and Food

Daily and Seasonal Routine

The life of the Bushmen is one long struggle for food. For their 221 ●
subsistence they rely entirely on the natural products of their environment: their animal food is obtained mainly by hunting, and occasionally fishing, while their vegetable food consists of edible plants, roots, and fruits growing wild in the veld. Save where they [177]
have been very considerably influenced by other peoples, they neither practise agriculture nor keep domestic animals which can supply them with food in the way of meat or milk.

The very mode of their subsistence makes them all wanderers. As soon as the edible plants in the vicinity of one waterhole grow scarce, the people move on to another, following the movements of the game and the growth of the plants. In this way a few months are spent at one waterhole, then some months at another, perhaps at even a third or fourth, and it is often a year or more before the first is revisited.

In particular their movements are regulated according to the season 221
and the distribution of the rainfall upon which they are mainly 312
dependent for their food supply. In the Namib Desert and in the 423
Central and Northern Kalahari each band has different dry and rainy season quarters, to which it resorts as the growth of veldkos or the movements of the game necessitate. The Namib Bushmen roam about the sand dunes of their region during the rainy season and well into the dry season, but as soon as the water and the indispensable */naras* fruits found there are exhausted, they draw back into the mountains, where each band has its permanent waterholes.[1] Similarly the Bushmen in the Central Kalahari roam in the sandy plains during the rainy season, and still manage to live there for part of the dry season, even after standing water has disappeared, on succulent melons and roots; but when these also begin to fail the people are

[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166, 168.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

221 compelled to turn back to permanent waterholes. Thus in the rainy
312 season the Aikwe, Tsaukwe, /Amkwe, /Dukwe, and Tserekwe all hunt
423 in the wide sandveld pierced by the bed of the Letyahau, keeping to some extent to their respective hunting territories, but apparently also hunting together peacefully in the most central parts of the region. In the dry season, however, they turn back to the limestone pans of the Ghansiveld and Mahuraveld and to the river-courses of the Tauche-Botletle system, where permanent water is to be found.[1] The same alternation of residence with the seasons occurs, as we have seen, among the Tannekwe and the Hukwe, and may also be noted among the Kung and the Auen in the Omaheke and Kaukauveld.[2]

It is not only in alternation of residence that the change of season
[621] makes itself felt. In some cases it also affects the very cohesion of the band itself; for, as already mentioned, both among the Auen and among some of the Central Kalahari tribes the members of the band concentrate together during the rainy season when there is a more abundant supply of food, but as the dry season comes on the families scatter and wander off in different directions.

From their huts the people go out every day in search of food.
462 The women rise early, light the fire, and prepare the food for the
512 morning meal, which usually consists of veldkos left over from the previous evening. After having eaten, the men may go out hunting or visiting or engage in some other occupation, such as preparing skins, weapons, and utensils. The women accompany one another in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. "One may see a group of women and little children start off in one direction, single file of course, then some men in another, then four or five boys together, then girls, small and big, then some more men, and so on." When food is obtainable at no great distance, the women are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have far to go they may not reach home till late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they start the fires and proceed to prepare the food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water from the neighbouring waterhole.
[264] Food is ready by the time the men arrive in the late afternoon, and the evening meal, the principal meal of the day, is then eaten without delay. Meals are taken in common by the members of the family,
512 [574] each family eating at its own hut. Afterwards visits are usually

[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 31–2.
[2] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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372 622 by him by means of the *hei-doros*. The new */ou-/ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gaus* 361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case only in ● 221 times of drought when the game has moved far afield and great 672 difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos. Further, people 622 driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *//gaus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the */ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.

622 372 "Persistent ill-health among the members of the community or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the */ou-/ais*, are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new */ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the *hei-doros* and applies *!norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it has been."

114 372 622 "The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire," Fourie goes on to say, "is met with among all the organized primitive groups" of Bushmen in South-West Africa. The only previous information hinting at observances of this kind is found in a curt statement by Kaufmann that among the Auen the "captain" of a village sees to it that the fire does not go out. But he adds that there is no "sacred" fire, and attributes the guarding of the fire against extinction to the practical inconveniences of the method employed in making it.[1] Quite recently, however, Lebzelter has reported the occurrence of similar observances among the Kung, although his remarks on the subject are very scanty. He states merely that the Kung, like the Bergdama, have the sacred fire round which only the men may sit. "When the camp is moved," he concludes, "the head of the group takes with him a brand from this fire"[2]—presumably to use it for

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 139; "Der 'Kapitän' (Aichab) der Werft achtet darauf, dass das Feuer nicht ausgeht. Ein 'heiliges' Feuer ist nicht vorhanden. Die Bewahrung des Feuers vor dem Verlöschen geschieht lediglich aus praktischen Gründe, da das Feuerquirlen immerhin ziemlich anstrengend ist."

[2] "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 14: "Wie die Honigkaffern haben auch die !Kuh das Sochafeuer. Es ist dies das heilige Feuer, bei dem nur die Männer sein dürfen. Wenn die Werft übersiedelt, dann nimmt das Werftoberhaupt einen Feuerbrand mit Sochafeuer mit."

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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Chapter VI

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIFE

Land Tenure

Each hunting band among the Bushmen, as we have already noted, 423
claims rights of ownership over a certain stretch of land, and 621
vigorously resents trespass upon it by members of other bands. Within the band land is owned in common. The hunting territory belongs to the whole band, and all the members of the band have an equal right to hunt and collect over any part of it and to use the water in it. Often the members of the band are scattered apart, so that the same territory is exploited by the inhabitants of several [361] different encampments. These encampments, as we have seen, are not made up of any fixed number of families, but fluctuate a good deal in size. Whatever their momentary disposition, however, their [221] inhabitants always roam within a definitely limited area, and it is always the members of the same band who establish these different encampments within its bounds.

As the Bushmen practise neither agriculture nor pastoralism, there 423
is no question of cultivation or grazing rights. There is said, however, [222] to exist a certain private ownership of land among the Auen, in the sense that when a man burns a patch of veld in order to promote the growth of veldkos on it, he alone has a claim to its products. Others, even people living at the same encampment, may not gather veldkos on this patch without his permission.[1] Somewhat analogous to this 222
are the private rights recognized by all Bushmen over objects found 422
in the veld. A man who finds an ostrich nest with one or two eggs, for example, sticks an arrow in the ground close by as a sign of ownership, and waits until the tale of eggs is complete before carrying them off. Should another man take the marked eggs, the first finder follows the spoor to the thief's hut, and demands them back. If they are [685] restored, there is no fighting, but the thief does not escape reproaches [626] for wrongdoing, especially from the neighbours of the finder; while in case of refusal bloodshed almost inevitably follows. In the same

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 155.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Another method of trapping employed by the Bushmen of the Namib and of the North-West Cape was to poison the water in springs and so kill the game that came to drink there. The water was conducted a few yards from the spring into a specially-prepared pit, into which were thrown branches of the poisonous *Euphorbia*. The branches were kept down with stones, and the juice exuding from them rested like a scum on the water. The spring itself was fenced off or covered over, thus forcing the animals to drink from the pit. Zebras and other members of the equine species were especially susceptible to water poisoned in this way. Alexander states that near the River Keisu in South-West Africa he found the remains of no less than twenty horses lying close to such a poisoned waterhole.[1] 224 [278]

Traps proper as employed by the modern Bushmen are of two kinds. In one a stone or block of wood is placed in such a position that when the animal touches the exposed bait, the suspended weight falls down upon it. The other kind consists in snares (Plate XI), which are widespread among the Northern Bushmen, but do not appear ever to have been used by the Southern tribes. They are of various types, but the general principle is that a supple twig or sapling is bent down by means of a cord attached to a bait and ending in a noose. If the animal stirs the bait, the cord is released, the sapling springs back into the air, and the noose catches the throat or leg of the animal, which is carried up with it. In this way are caught not only birds and small quadrupeds, such as hares, wild cats, and jackals, but even small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, as well as leopards and ostriches. Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season; in the rainy season it must cease owing to the action of the damp on the cord. This is made from the bark fibre of *Sansevieria zeylanica*, which is shredded by means of a pointed stick, then rolled on the thigh into strands, which are twisted together. Thicker and thinner cords are made according to the game to be trapped.[2] [184] [221] [283]

Fishing

This is also practised wherever possible by all the Bushmen; indeed, among the tribes living in the Okavango swamps it is even 226

[1] Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, ii, 223; Paterson, *Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots*, 169; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167. Moffat describes how on one occasion he nearly died as a result of drinking water poisoned in this way (*Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 155–6).

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 667; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 77; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 199 sq.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 15.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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222 622 A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs [184] of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to [782] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, [539] please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the [462] women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in [857] ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be [415] plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre [237] or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 182 The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the [221] migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have [621] seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kõ-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this ever-present problem. 182 312 823

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially the *Inaras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season. In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then carefully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and resume their normal hunting life.[1] 312 [685] [824] [271] [221]

Industries and Trade

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are essentially domestic.[2] 511

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes 322 [342] [411] [412]

[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 51; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 297; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 51, 70–1, and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 671–3; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293–4.

[2] The most comprehensive account of Bushman Industries is to be found in Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 89–113, pl. xxiii–xxix, which relates chiefly to the Auen; cf. also van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 62–80; Passarge, op. cit., 81–94; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 297–301; Kaufmann op. cit., 152–3; Schultze, op. cit., 658 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschi leüte," 257; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 8–18 *passim*; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 103. [114]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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619 Bushmen from all parts of the Ghansiveld, even from different tribes,
621 owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again
[221] Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common
[423] hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery,
114 however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between
619 different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most
621 important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys'
[881] puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement
[574] that in the months of March and April different bands come together for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and
726 obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several
619 Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band,
621 although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

578 On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are
619 not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife-
621 stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the
628 form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially
[685] is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who
648 encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen,
685

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 137.
[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 13.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 134.
[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 154; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 13; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 85.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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immune to the effects of snake and scorpion poison.[1] One of these 751
animals is killed, and its poison, diluted with water and urine, is rubbed in small quantities into small cuts made in the skin, or the poison sacs are pulped and boiled, and then swallowed in small doses. Schinz records an experiment made by himself on a Bushman doctor [114]
claiming this immunity.[2] He selected twelve scorpions and placed them, by means of forceps, on different parts of the man's body—hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. Almost all of them stung the flesh deeply once or twice, in every instance causing a large drop of white matter to appear; then they crawled about leisurely, but made no further attempts at stinging. "The old man maintained that he felt no pain, and I have no reason to distrust him, as he would hardly have allowed himself to be stung by scorpions on the most sensitive parts of his body, merely to satisfy my curiosity, if the poison would have had any effects on him; even a full hour after our attempt the spots where he had been stung showed not the slightest change." This experiment seems therefore to show that there may be some foundation to the claim of immunity. The [756]
inoculation was apparently made in this case during the apprenticeship of the "doctor", under the direction of his master. Our main authorities on the Bushmen do not mention this practice at all, but I have myself spoken to several detribalized Bushmen and Nama in Little Namaqualand who claimed a similar immunity. Unfortunately I neglected to inquire further into the matter, beyond ascertaining the means of immunization.

Knowledge of Times and Seasons

In their system of time-reckoning the Bushmen make use chiefly 805
of meteorological elements, based on recurrent changes in wind and weather, and of astronomical elements, based on observations of the sun, stars, and moon. Their larger divisions of time are the [221]
seasons, which, owing to their effect on the food supply and on the [182]
movements of the people, assume a pronounced importance in Bushman life. The division of the seasons is established by the rainfall. [132]
The Cape Bushmen distinguished four seasons, rendered by Bleek [184]
and Lloyd in the English equivalents of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but the exact meaning of the native terms is not given.

[1] Campbell, *Journey in S. Africa*, 441; Thompson, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 399; Cornell, *The Glamour of Prospecting*, 232.
[2] Op. cit., 395–6.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

side. /Gunda sat behind the line of boys, in a deep shadow, to show that he was 159
' ashamed ' and respected (feared, *koa*) the wedding scherm. 585

One of the boys began to play, not their ceremonial music or special wedding music, but songs of the *||guashi*, as they call them, the little wordless melodies these [533] people compose about happenings in their lives, about pleasures or distress, about their moods. They play and sing these melodies for hours upon hours in the afternoons when they are resting or in the evenings by their fires, and they played for hours that night at the wedding fire.

Soon young guests began to arrive, the children of both werfs with whom /Nai played, all of them younger than the boys who attended /Gunda and the girls who carried /Nai. The youngest guest was the ubiquitous three-year-old boy who never missed anything. No adults came.

One boy brought four mangetti nuts with him and roasted, cracked, and ate them himself. That was all that appeared by way of a feast. Di/ai said that they would like to have given the children something to eat but there was nothing in the werf that night. Even though the others had had something to eat, the bride and groom would have had to abstain. They must not talk or eat, to show they are ' ashamed '. The young guests seemed to enjoy themselves, nevertheless, and were still singing and chatting when I left at midnight.

Soon after sunrise the following morning—/Gunda had already departed—/Nai's mother went to the wedding scherm and sat down beside the embers of the night's fire. /Nai stood shivering beside her in her little genital apron and the duiker skin [291] which women wear around their buttocks and up between their legs, but stripped of her kaross. The mother had brought a little fat (eland fat, if they had it, would be [825] used) and a bit of powdered red stone, one of the red earths (*|gam |gai gwoie*), mixed with fat. She rubbed /Nai all over with the fat, and drew a line on her forehead and [302] a circular design on her cheeks with the red powder mixed with fat. Over in werf 2, Gao, Nai's stepfather, presented /Gunda with a blanket.

This completed the wedding ceremony.

/Nai was a lively child who loved the dancing and singing games the girls play. 159
She often danced alone, tapping her bare feet on a stone in rapid rhythm or making a 462
game of printing a design in the sand with tiny steps. She liked babies and as often as not had her infant half-brother or some very small cousin tied to her back. That morning she appeared to turn into a housewife as though it were her next blithe step. When the women went to gather veldkos, she put on her own little duiker skin [222] kaross, took her digging-stick and went with them. At the end of the day, when they returned in the slanting sunset light, she had two big roots. She went straight to her own fire, blew on the embers, added wood, and sat down. Three ostrich egg shells [415] full of water and her digging-stick were her household goods. These she arranged beside the scherm. /Gunda came and sat down opposite her. She smiled at him and set the roots in the ashes to cook.

It has been said in talks with informants that the bridegroom must bring an 159
antelope which he himself has killed to the parents of the bride before the wedding, 183
but no animal had been brought; there had not been a scrap of meat in the werf for 585
days. I asked Di/ai about this. ' Oh, that,' she said in effect. ' Yes, he should give me an antelope, but we thought we would have the wedding first and that /Gunda would

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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logical father, as well as his mother's husband, should do something nice for him. 159
Perhaps when he receives his first assegai his begetter will give it, for that is a very 848
proud thing—but we do not know what the future holds for these people or where they will be by then.

The dominance of men

Wives are much desired by the young men, who usually wait for years for their 562
infant fiancées to grow up, and by men who want second wives, and by widowers. [581]
/Kung women are not only precious as mates, they are the food-gatherers and supply [222]
more of the daily food than the men do. Hunting[1] is very arduous in the Kalahari and [462]
the hunters succeed in bringing a big meat animal to the werf only about once or [224]
twice a month. Meanwhile women have dug roots and gathered berries and the other wild plant foods to feed their families every day. /Kung women in their two roles make a very great contribution.

In /Kung society, however, the magnitude of their contribution does not make women dominant. There are factors which bring the men forward clearly into dominance and leadership.

The primary factor is undoubtedly strength. /Kung men are small and slender, [142]
but they are wiry and vigorous. With their strength they carry and protect the very 147
life of their people. When they swing their weapons and implements and their small children on to their shoulders and stride out in front of the women, the image seems to reveal, as vividly as if a great artist had painted it, how the laden following women are borne up by the strength of their men and take heart from them.

Another factor which brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and 462
its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is only drudgery in digging and 562
picking in the hot sun and trudging back in the early evening to the werf with heavy [222]
roots and berries and babies all sagging in the pouches of their karosses, a small dead tree or two on one shoulder for the night fire, possibly another child astride the other shoulder. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh [262]
and are not very satisfying. There is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving [262]
for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally [224]
the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once, when an eland had been killed and the hunters were sighted [152]
with the meat on their backs, moving in a dark, lumpy, bobbing line in the golden grass, we heard the sound of voices in the werf rising in volume and pitch like the hum of excited bees. Some people ran toward the hunters, others crowded together at the edge of the werf, some danced up and down, the children squealed and ran about, the boys grappled and tussled together. The motion and sound had the effect of a vibration. Another time a young man who was said to be the best hunter in 462
the region (/Qui Hunter we called him, his people called him Short /Qui), had been 562
charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. 224
He knelt facing the creature till it was within close range and shot an arrow straight

[1] John Marshall has described /Kung hunting in his film, *The Hunters*, Peabody Museum Film Study Center, Harvard University, and in 'Man as Hunter', *Natural History*, the magazine of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, vol. lxvii, No. 6, June, and No. 7, August, 1958. [113]

/147 cont./

241 Agriculture is unknown. Only accidentally grown food plants are known.

222 311 In order to promote the growth of the veld crop, the Bushman burns off the grass. A Bergdamara with whom I rode across a burning grass veld said to me: "The Bushman is making his garden."

462 Work of the men:

Hunting
Occasional veld crop gathering
Collecting wood
Fetching water
Preparing hides
Making clothes
Making weapons and mortars
Making strings
Making fire by twirling

Work of the women:

Hut construction
Cooking
Veld crop collecting
Maintaining the fire
Getting wood
Getting water
Making women's clothes

412 The only "agricultural implement" is a digging stick (see Fig. 9).

222 For one who is not a botanist it is impossible to describe in intelligible terms, even roughly, the numerous wild food plants of the Auin. The collection of specimens must take the place of a description. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to make such a collection.

For the person who is familiar with the Southwest African veld crops, I shall give a list of some food plants, which, however, is by no means exhaustive.

Tschamma
Spiny tschamma
Ontjes of the Boers
Water tubers
So-called "wild potatoes"

/147 cont./

222 Rosinkis of the Boers
So-called "wild cucumbers"
Mushrooms which grow on termite hills

251 The veld crop that has been gathered is kept in the huts in
[415] little sacks made of duiker or ibex leather.

/148/ The Auin also stores small caches of provisions by burying sacks of veld crops; he likewise buries tschamma or ostrich egg shells filled with water. In the tops of large trees one often finds, aside from animal hides, provisions of veld crops which are kept there. [Fig. 9 appears here.]

423 Land is held in common, that is, it is the common property of a horde consisting of several families. The game in this territory, as well as the wood and the veld crops, is exclusively for the use of the members of the community that holds the land. The watering places that are to be found there are available for general use, but only if water is abundant. If water is scarce, the local group that holds the land has exclusive right to it.

361 The local groups sometimes live at considerable distances
423 from one another so that the same land is used by several settle-
621 ments. The settlements, after all, do not consist of a fixed number of families, but rather of those who are gathered together in fortuitous groupings as the occasion arises. Whatever the accidental composition of the settlements may be, their members always move within a definite area, and it is always the members of the same larger horde who form the settlements.

423 Friendly hordes permit tracking, that is, game that has been
619 wounded on the land of one horde may be pursued on the territory of a friendly horde. A part of the booty is allotted to the "landowner" within whose territory the game is killed. A definite
[685] agreement is required in each case since the Bushman attacks on sight any strange Bushman on his family's terrain.

628 Blood vengeance is not sought for a violation of territory if the local groups are especially friendly. The offender is driven off and, in addition, just as in Prussia, his "firearms" and booty are confiscated. The policing of the terrain is done by each Bushman on his communal land.

If women are caught trespassing, they are taken prisoner and
[721] led to the settlement of the owners of the terrain. This frequently leads to war if the women are harmed sexually during their captivity.

[Text continues on page 32]

Auen

301

Photo. 20.
Chains of Ostrich Egg Shells as Ornaments.

291

Photo. 22.
Children's Clothing.

222
412

Photo. 24.
Use of the Digging Stick (digging up veld food).

[7 cont.]

222 The honey badger, !uisa (N. !ous), which leads to the
825 bees, is followed ever so eagerly.

The common wild pig (gariba), the kudu (daub), the
224 gemsbok χ'uaba (N. /gaib), and all the small antelopes are hunted. Pits are no longer known, although they used to dig them in former times.

If they decide to go hunting, sexual intercourse must be
[834] avoided the night before. In the evening the hunters go into the forest and spend the night there. Before dawn they rise and pray:

[539] Pu, pu, Eró, /nari dsu /ari mate — God, tomorrow early we receive.

When a piece of game has been killed, one of the hunters cuts a piece of flesh from the animal's body and hands it to the leader of the hunt. This meat is called am-shái-khe. A fire is made, and this piece is placed on it. When it is roasted, the leader cuts off a piece and shouts:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, ha gore, ha gore — Erob, Erob, Erob, eat, eat
i Khe Khandi ô — With us flesh.

After a pause:

ha lĕ a lĕ ha góre o Khandi ô — Come! Come! Let us eat flesh.

Now the roasted flesh is consumed. Nothing is thrown away or left behind for Erob.

Then the game is cut up, and everyone goes home with his portion.

136 Snakes are not rare, although they are by no means as common as in the stony regions of the southwest.

The boa constrictor eats human beings; if it catches a Bushman, it starts to consume him at the legs!

132 In spite of the timber forest, the danger of drought is
821 great. Erob sends rain. When there is a drought, the Bushmen
731 dance and pray:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, /ga !goro — Erob, Erob, Erob, we are dying of thirst
/ga-wi -ma ta re — Water give us.

177 [8] It is very interesting to observe how in these certainly
776 very ancient hunting and rain prayers the former old heathen gods'
782 names Huwe and χ'amab were replaced by the Christian "Ellob."

I asked the people whether they knew any other prayers and received the following answer: "We know very well that

[12 cont.]

843 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-
262 buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut.
[553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are
[177] performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:
[539] //am ≠haiba, //am ≠haiba (?)
[782] The leader answers:
!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower
422 form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 The gathering of veldkost does not have the great signifi-
[184] cance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already
[462] commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd
[857] a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main
[233] OCCUPATION.

[12 cont.]

000 439 occupation. Even among the nomadic groups, however, meat, hides, and so forth are commonly traded for millet.

Also, the Blacks like to have veldkost on their table, [222] and the Bushmen, like our sponge and berry gatherers, use their knowledge to supply them and carry on petty trade with their veldkost, as well as with honey.

222 137 This is the reason that veldkost, which is either scarce or not very tasty, is not gathered at all any more; indeed, the knowledge of its presence is even disappearing. We must also not forget that the black shepherd boys long ago acquired the knowledge of the Bushmen by observing them. As a result, the number of those interested has naturally climbed sharply, and the veldkost plants have become rare. The following kinds are still regularly gathered:

222 /airoba (ombimbo)	Sweetish, very starchy tubers, like large potatoes.
/érui (omauungǎ)	Galls on the leaves of the omsati tree.
≠gan-i (etarata)	Small fruit.
!Khui-i (oombi)	Dates.
!Korob-ke (oompali)	Bulbs at the roots of a liana.

251 439 Dried meat is made from kudu flesh, which in part is kept and in part sold.

278 [13] Arrow poison is made from the sap of a tree (Euphorbiacea), !Khores-Ke. The Ondonga themselves make no [439] arrow poison, but buy it from the Bushmen for one to two sh per 752 portion. There is no medicine against arrow poison. Deep incisions are made at the place where the arrow entered, and after blood has flowed freely from the wound, it is sucked. In the case of snakebite the same procedure is followed, and some arrow poison is placed on the wound (!!!).

278 609 Our Bushmen denied any knowledge of poisons added to food. Only the "evil Bushmen" in the east had such knowledge, they claimed. This statement scarcely deserves credence.

177 In clothing, dwellings, and weapons, as well as ornaments, not much that is original remains. The process of Bantuization is much further advanced in the material culture than in the spiritual culture. It is, after all, easier to part with clothing than with ideas.

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself, who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year 1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and smoke it' " (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions
131 of this tribe:

"The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

[32 cont.]

222 Termites are captured in two ways. During the night holes are dug near the tall termite hills, and these holes are illuminated with wooden torches. A hide is placed on the floor of the hole, and soon so many termites are on it that the hide can be carried home. The second method is used to catch those termites that have no structures above ground, but have a network of corridors running horizontally immediately below the surface. A hole is dug deeper than the corridors, and the termites fall into it as they run frightened back and forth on their [33] horizontal paths. [821] This kind of termite serves as a weather prophet for the rain [787] doctor, since they construct the most openings facing upward when a rainy year is in prospect. The lion was not hunted. In olden 224 262 times, only the old people ate the large game. The flesh of predatory animals is forbidden to all children; on the other hand, there is no prohibition against eating hare.

224 Naturally, the Bushmen are very anxious to have success in hunting. !Khu himself, the great captain, brings luck in hunting. He orders the supreme //Gauab (/Nawa) to direct the arrow. The doctors always pray to the great captain to send hunting luck, but there is no specific formula. They do this "quietly to themselves." An old prospector in Kalkfeld told me that he had seen the following among the !Kung Bushmen: "Before they go hunting, they draw the outline of the animal in the sand and with all kinds of ceremonies they shoot an arrow into the drawing. Where the figure is hit, the game will also be struck."

I shall now render fairly literally the course of a kudu hunt as it was described to me by a Bushman: "When I have found a kudu track, then we follow it very quietly and when we have found the place where the kudu ate, then one must be very careful. One person goes ahead, and the others follow. Now, when I see the kudu standing, I take out the poisoned arrow and shoot. Then I look to see what the kudu is doing or shoot once more; then I follow him to see whether the arrow will drop out; if the arrow falls out, I take it and see how deeply it penetrated into the kudu. Then I have to go back to the other hunters and state exactly how everything was. Then we go home. One should not run after the kudu, but must leave it alone. The person who

[35 cont.]

312 Dolichos seineri Harms (eona), and the Convolvulacea Ipomoea
824 seineri Pilger (eawa); the enormous tubers of the latter two may weigh up to 150 kilograms. Considerably more important for the natives than these 'water roots' is the Curcurbitacea Citrullus naudinianus Hook. (orura of the Herero; gab of the Hottentot); without their juicy gourds, which occur in great quantities and for the most part are edible, most of the central Kalahari would be impassable during the dry season, even for the Bushmen."

Further, F. Galton (1) reports:

[113] 1. F. Galton, Tropisches Südafrika, p. 101.

312 "In practice, the first hopeful sign when people are look-
825 ing around for water is a flight of guinea fowl; next, following the habits of the land, each tree is carefully examined until a parrot is sighted, an object visible even at a great distance because the bird likes to sit on the uppermost branches. A parrot is rarely more than half an hour away from water, and the same applies to baboons. If one proceeds with careful observation and takes a probable direction, he will see doves flying about; then little birds are found in all the bushes, and they are close to it."

10. The Veldkost

222 Just as //Gauab accompanies the hunter on the chase, he is
776 also the companion of the women who go to look for veldkost. If //Gauab takes delight in a woman, he will break the bones of an animal, killing it, and will lead the woman to it. If, however, //Gauab is angry at a woman and she finds no veldkost, then she becomes angry, gets up early in the morning, abuses //Gauab, and then takes medicine and washes her face so that //Gauab will not recognize her. Then she goes into the veld and finds something.
[782] //Gauab receives no offerings from the veldkost. The celebration
222 of the first fruits of the veld described by Vedder is no longer held.
[887] The oldest woman is brought to eat samples of each type of veldkost that is brought home for the first time in the year. Then the second oldest woman takes a taste, and so on down the line.

[35 cont.]

●222 When all the old women have made their tests, then the children also get some, and the veldkost is, so to speak, made available for general consumption. When a woman has found a spot where [423] there is a great deal of veldkost, she makes a sign at this spot, and then everything growing there belongs to her. No one will take any of it.

[262] There were and still are a whole assortment of types of [888] socha veldkost reserved for the old people. [Fig. 3 appears here.]

11. Ergology

Fire

372 773 The Bushmen believe that there was a time when they had no fire. The following legend tells how they obtained it: "The ostrich had a firebrand under his wing. He, the owl, and Heiseb played together. Then the ostrich took fright at the owl because he thought the owl had horns. He advised all of them to sleep for a little while. When the owl was asleep, he blew at it and saw that it merely had little tufts of feathers and no horns on its head. Thereupon he awakened the two others again and invited them to go on playing. Then Heiseb said: 'Dear ostrich, please wave your wings.' The ostrich did so, and as a result its firebrand fell to the ground. Heiseb picked it up and threw it to the fig tree, and since then man has had fire." -- The narrative probably comes from the legend-circle of the Hei//om Hottentot. Otherwise, Heiseb never appears in !Kung stories. Two pieces of wood from the 372 fig tree are still used occasionally to make fire. For the most part, the most popular devices for making fire are a striking iron and flint; matches are less [36] prized. A pair of fire sticks, the sucking reeds, a few poisoned arrows, and a bird arrow make up the permanent inventory of the quiver.

[72 cont.]

169 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word 585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however, [583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy 582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes 591 stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron. 847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their 855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the 622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the [178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker. Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families. [701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least nominally.

Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership 422 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is 685 punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere 423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand, a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private [222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the [425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the individual's private property.

The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as 628 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively 721 against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

/253 cont./

224 the large bullfrog, whose bass voice resounds in all the puddles during the rainy season. The flesh of the frog is boiled with the
252 skin and bones, pounded to a paste in wooden vessels, and then eaten. Among the insects, grasshoppers and termites are used for
222 food. Both are roasted. In the brief time that they are winged, the termites are lured in such great numbers to a fire maintained for the purpose of catching them that it is an easy matter for the Bushman to collect a rich booty in a few hours. A special delicacy in the Bushman household is wild honey, which, as I was able to ascertain, is extremely tasty /254/ and is to be found in quantity on the Omuramba omatako as well as in the Kaukau Veld.

825 The bullfrog is called ntchei by the Bushmen (Herero: otjisume), the termite, /ui (Herero: othohumboli).

The vegetable diet naturally changes with the seasons and is
262 quite varied. I shall attempt to give a brief survey, though at
824 the same time I am aware that it can lay no claim to completeness.

1. The chamá or taba (Herero: omatanga). These are the roasted kernels of the Kaffir pumpkin [melon?], widely known here, which produce quite a tasty dish.

2. The //úni (Herero: omarunga); this is the Heikum Bushman name for the palm tree that is common in this region. The edible parts of the tree are the apple-sized fruit, whose skin has a sweetish taste reminiscent of St. John's bread, and the soft interior of the trunk. The latter is a whitish, soft, fibrous pulp, which the Bush-
[252] men prepare by cooking and pounding.

3. A species of white mushroom called naú by the Bushmen, majova by the Herero. The mushroom grows during the rainy season especially along the edges of termite hills; the diameter of its cap reaches about 20 centimeters. It is eaten raw as well as
[252] boiled. I do not know whether it is true that excessive eating of this mushroom has a detrimental effect on mental activity, as the Herero aver – ejova, plural majova, is the Herero word for stupid.

4. The unki, a well-known species of onion, about the size of a hazel nut, called //au by the Bushmen, is very common and forms an important part of the kitchen provisions, not only among the Bushmen, but also among the Herero.

[252] 5. The //guitcha of the Bushmen, ussessenga of the Herero,

X137 *Terfezia* spp. (5031, 5616) Photograph 1.

Naron Bushman..... ˌku-ts'i
Eastern Ikhû Bushman ˌtsu-ts'ɔ

In size, shape and colour these truffles resemble potatoes, but the skin is rough and they are not as heavy.

The genus Terfezia, which is allied to the European truffles, has been recorded from dry and sandy localities between the northern Cape Province and the Mediterranean region. There are 36 species, of which three are believed to occur in South West Africa and the Union. Some records are vague and incomplete, and cannot be checked. These southern species, all of which are edible, are not distinguishable except by microscopical examination. They may be found from April onwards to about July, when the season ends presumably through their disintergrating in the soil. Their presence depends upon the rainfall, as is shown by the following extract from a letter from Mr. G. Scholtz, of Ghanzi, whom I had asked to collect some for me. "Nature appears to be against you this year. I even offered five shillings per truffle, but according to the Bushmen (my offer was just laughed at) no rain, no truffles. And we certainly have had no rain, in fact the worst drought in Ghanzi's history."

It is uncertain whether they are root parasites or mycorrhizal fungi, and nothing definite is known as to the host plant favoured by any particular species. In the south-western Kalahari, near the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park, they are found in the dips between the sand dunes where *Aristida ciliata* is the dominant grass, but it has not yet been established whether they are connected with it or with some associated plant. Towards the Ghanzi area they were collected in a mixed grassveld of Aristida and Eragrostis species with scattered trees of *Acacia uncinata* and no *Aristida ciliata;* but here another species may have been involved.

222 The European truffles are usually collected with the aid of dogs or pigs, which can trace them by their scent, and rarely by two other methods. One of these is by observing where certain insects collect to lay their eggs, for their larvae feed on truffles and the eggs are laid near them. The other is to watch for cracks in the ground which the truffle sometimes causes as it grows. This is the method used in southern Africa. A good deal of practice is needed before it can be applied, for the cracks are slight, and are specially difficult to find where the surface has been disturbed by game or stock, or where they have been partly filled in by windblown sand, but matters are eased somewhat by the fact that there is seldom more than about three inches of sand covering the truffles and that they grow in patches.

252 They may be eaten boiled or roasted. The texture is like soft cheese.
262 They are not aromatic and the flavour is far inferior to that of the best European truffles.

Ophioglossum sarcophyllum Desv. (5142) Photograph 2.

X137 This unusual looking plant is one of the ferns. It is five inches high on the average, and somewhat fleshy, and consists of an erect stalk with a leaf-like undivided frond at the top. A thinner stalk which bears the spores rises from the mid-rib near the base of this frond.

X137 year. They produce an erect and robust plant with bright green leaves and numerous spreading underground rhizomes on which more bulbs are borne a few inches below the surface. Some stolons are produced above ground as well, from among the leaves. They afterwards turn downwards, entering the soil close to the parent plant and thereafter behaving in all respects like the rhizomes. The flowering stalk is three-angled and unjointed, with a cluster of compact, spiky inflorescences at the top, some on slender secondary stalks and some almost sessile. The parent plant is in a sense annual, for both it and the bulb producing it wither at the onset of winter, but the fresh bulbs which have been produced form new plants, and the species is capable of spreading very rapidly by this means. The bulbs are rounded, half an inch in diameter with a sharp point at the top, and covered with several papery brown layers which may be removed to expose a pale nut-like body.

Sedges usually favour damp places, but this species seemed equally at home in seepy areas and well-drained ones, and in the sandy country near Nama Pan it was common nearly everywhere, sometimes scattered among the grasses but more often in patches. Its range is from Cape Town to the Mediterranean, and it occurs in Australia also.

262 The bulbs are edible, and seemed to be a fairly important food of the northern Bushmen. The taste is sweetish and they have a crisp tex-
252 ture and a cloudy, very slightly astringent juice. Light roasting improves
● 222 the flavour. They are easily gathered by scratching away the top layer of soil, and their presence is often shown by the disturbed soil where they grow, for they are a favourite food with many birds and small animals, which scratch and burrow to find them. According to the *Flora Capensis* the plant " has been for nearly a century cultivated in Europe ".

X137 *Hyphaene ventricosa* Kirk (5301).

Eastern !khû Bushman !hani and !hani

This palm is bushy when young, but loses its bushy habit as it matures, forming a long clean stem 40 feet in height with a crown of leaves at the top and often with a slight swelling near the middle. The leaf has a strong woody rhachis up to six feet long, slightly hollowed above and rounded below, with a row of sharp hooked spines at intervals of an inch or so along each margin. At its tip it bears the leafy part which is two feet across and folded like a fan. The fruits, a little smaller than a tennis-ball, are covered with a glossy brown papery skin, and are borne in clusters.

Old an half-decayed fruits were found in the neighbourhood of Nama Pan, presumably where they had been discarded by Bushmen, but the palm trees themselves were not seen in this area. Only one specimen was found, 20 miles to the north-east. It was immature and had neither flowers nor fruits. According to available records, it was growing near the southern limit of its range, which extends to northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo.

262 There is a quarter-inch edible mealy layer immediately underlying the
114 skin of the fruit. It is fibrous and dry but sweetish, with a pleasant flavour, and may be gnawed off the hard inner shell into which it merges.
[272] The kernel in the centre of the mature fruit is hard and bony and inedible,
[252] but Chapman (1868 : II : 73) states that the milk of the young fruit may be used like that of the coconut, and that the whole of the young fruit may be EATEN AFTER BOILING, "PULP, RIND, AND ALL."

X137 place being taken by a few thick fleshy erect lobes, and from the woody remnants of old flowers in this particular species it could be seen that they had four lobes. The two species recorded from South West Africa are *Hydnora africana* and *Hydnora solmsiana*, parasitic respectively on species of Euphorbia and species of Acacia. Number 5162 is either a new species, or one of the known ones parasitic on a hitherto unrecorded host. The material collected was inadequate for specific determination, and the seeds which were planted did not germinate.

This Hydnora was seen only in the immediate neighbourhood of Nama Pan, where it appeared to be fairly frequent.

The host plant is a straggly shrub up to six feet high, with grayish woolly leaves an inch long. It has the characteristic four-winged fruits of the genus, and many remain on the twigs through the winter. It was not seen in the country to the south of Ghanzi, but was common from Ghanzi northwards, and is widely distributed in Portuguese East Africa, the Transvaal and Rhodesia. A glossy-leafed form of it is also known, but was not seen along the route of the expedition.

[262] The whole mass inside the Hydnora fruit is edible. It is astringent and slightly sweet, and is eaten raw. The fruits would be difficult to find if it were not that they are eaten by various animals. A litter of [222 824] half-eaten fruits and fragments of rind and shallow burrowings often show where the fruits have been excavated, and where more may be expected. They ripen about the end of August.

Talinum arnotii Hook. f. (5256) Photograph 14.

Eastern !khû Bushman ,!gwi-ja (stems and leaves)
≠k"arɔ (tuber)

During the winter there is seldom any sign of this plant above ground for the branches wither and die back with the first frosts. There is a perennial tuber a few inches underground, irregularly shaped and up to a pound in weight, crisp in texture and exuding a little cloudy astringent juice when injured. It has a brown skin and a reddish-brown zoned flesh. Although it is often eaten into hollows, presumably by rodents and insects, it is not eaten by the Bushmen. The stems appear in September and form a loose mat three feet in diameter on the surface of the ground. They are reddish-brown, prostrate and sappy, and the leaves are dull green and fleshy, channelled down the centre on the upper surface and with slightly crystalline appearance. The bright yellow flowers, which are produced in midsummer, are an inch across and quite showy, but open only in the heat of the day. They have two sepals and five petals. The flower-stalk starts bending when the flowers are mature, and by the time the fruits are fully formed it is curved sharply back. The fruits are the size of a small pea, shiny green and pointed at the tip, and covered by the withered remains of the perianth. They become yellow when ripe, with a papery shell and seeds the size of a pinhead.

The tubers of this plant were often unearthed in the more open parts round Nama Pan. I am doubtful whether it should be kept separate from *Talinum caffrum*, which is distributed from the Cape Province northwards to the Sudan and is very variable in its leaves and habit.

[262] The leaves and smaller branches of this species are used by the [252] Bushmen as a green vegetable. They are usually prepared by being pounded in a mortar to a paste which is dark green and slightly slimy and has a faintly acid taste with a flavour of lettuce.

262 252 [222] The sappy young tuber makes a good vegetable after baking or boiling. Those dug up by the Bushmen were about two pounds in weight and would not have been more than a few seasons old, for it is known from specimens grown from seed in Pretoria that it takes about ten years for them to reach 30 pounds. Burchell (1824: 589) says that they are astringent, but on tasting the 30-pound one mentioned I did not find it so. It was, however, rather tough and leathery.

With breeding, this might become a useful plant of cultivation.

X137 *Bauhinia macrantha* Oliv. (4887) Photograph 21.

!h5: Bushman.....	ǂintɛ
!ganakwe Bushman...	n|an|hɛ
ǂgikwe Bushman.....	n≠an≠ɛ
Naron Bushman.....	n≠i≠ei
Eastern !khû Bushman	≠ŋ≠wa

This species is usually a rigid three-foot shrub, but grows up to six feet where protected from fire and is sometimes found as a weak scrambler with stems up to 12 feet in length. Dinter (1912: 28) records one in the form of a tree five metres high, but this is quite exceptional. It has thin rather wiry twigs, some slightly curled at the tips, and alternate bilobed leaves which are shed during the winter. The younger parts are minutely hairy, but soon become glabrous. The flowers are borne at the tips of the twigs and are pure white and showy, with a pleasant scent and crisped petals. The pods are four inches long and one inch broad and contain five or six irregularly-shaped flattened beans.

Bauhinia macrantha has been recorded from near Molepolole, but is probably localised or uncommon there, for on the expedition it was first seen 60 miles northwest of Molepolole. From there on it was common, although there were occasional gaps in its distribution. It forms communities in open sandy grassy country, usually with the tips of the bushes just showing above the grasses, and has been recorded from the Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, South West Africa, Rhodesia and Angola. It has grown well as a cultivated ornamental shrub as far south as Grahamstown.

252 262 The ripe beans are extracted from the pods, roasted peeled and pounded into a pleasant-tasting coarse rather gritty meal, edible without further preparation. The beans may also be used when they are green, but then it is more convenient to roast the whole pod so that it can more easily be opened. They are not eaten raw, for unless cooked they have a burning taste. The pods are easily opened when mature by bending them across the middle, when the two halves spring apart. The halves form spirals as they dry.

The importance of this species as a food plant was shown by the heaps of empty pods which were found at many Bushman shelters and Bakalahari villages. There is, however, a great deal of labour involved in preparing the meal, because although the beans have a thin shell and are thus easy to crack, it still takes about 1,500 of them to produce a pound of air-dry meal.

A note on one of Schoenfelder's specimens in the National Herbarium states that the root is also edible when roasted.

Like *Bauhinia esculenta*, this might be a useful cultivated plant if improved by breeding.

was the host of the insect which they use for making their arrow poison. 824
and that it had harder roots than the other. The fruits, flowers and leaves might have shown the difference clearly, but no trace of them could be found, and though plants were sent to the Transvaal for growing they failed to become established.

In spite of its unpromising appearance, the non-poisonous one is a 312
useful source of water. This is in a sappy unbranched vertical underground 824
part about an inch and a half thick. The Bushmen excavate down its [222]
length as deeply as they can reach, then break it off and withdraw it.
They remove the thin outer skin and chew the remaining part, which is [271]
crisp and has a little tasteless sap. As a source of water it does not compare with the various species of Cucurbitaceae—weight for weight it contains far less, and the labour of digging it up is considerable. However, it must be a reliable standby when the Cucurbitaceae are not in fruit, and in the central Kalahari it is plentiful. In the southern part it is apparently absent, for it was not seen until 256 miles north-west of Molepolole.

Dichapetalum cymosum (Hook.) Engl. 5109, 5266, 5338 Photograph 24. 137X

Eastern Ikhû Bushman ma-ǀ

This plant produces a number of slender erect woody stems up to 12 inches high, sparingly branched and often buried in the sand at the base. The leaves are four inches long, numerous, sessile, alternate, broader in the upper half where they are about one and a half inches across, and tapering at the base, with a stiff papery texture and with veins prominent above and below. They have a slight bloom on the upper surface and the younger leaves at least have a pair of narrow hairy stipules at the base. The younger parts of the plant are hairy, but the hairs wear off with age, and during the winter the leaves turn brown and hard and finally drop. The flowers are scented and have white petals forked at the end, but as they are small and nearly covered by the sepals, they are not conspicuous. The fruits are like a loquat, and may be brown or yellow. The have one or two big seeds covered by a little flesh.

Dichapetalum is distributed widely but patchily from the northern Transvaal through to Angola and Rhodesia. On the expedition it was seen for the first time between Tsau and Kaikai, and beyond that it was fairly frequent but scattered. It was usually in open situations, and seldom where there was dense tree growth.

Though the leaves are extremely poisonous, the flesh of the fruits 262
is harmless and is eaten by the Bushmen. They emphasised that the flesh only could be used, and that the stone was poisonous. They did not mention the skin, but the following note on Schoenfelder's specimen 31, in the National Herbarium, indicates that it, too, is poisonous:—

> "Fruits like small yellow oranges are eaten peeled in great quantities by the Kung Bushmen. When still green can be eaten [252]
> after baking in hot ash. Used like fruit, fresh. The peel of the [278
> fruit is stamped and mixed with other food to poison stealing dogs 824]
> (Diriko)."

Marloth (1913-25: II: I: 120) and Engler (1912: 577) also refer to the edibility of the fruits.

There are four other plants of very similar appearance which could 137X
be confused with *Dichapetalum cymosum*, and although they were not collected on the expedition, their distribution does overlap. They are *Pachystigma pygmaeum*, *Pygmaeothamnus zeyheri*, *Parinari capense* and *Diospyros chamaethamnus*. The first two bear inedible fruits and may be

524 thing. This they do one by one, each in turn beckoning to the others to come and see.

In the *surus-/hurub* (game of the ringhals snake) one woman acts as the snake, standing with her hand and forearm raised above the forehead. As the other women approach her she hisses and strikes with the raised hand after the manner of a snake, causing them to scream and retire. This game is said to be founded on the experience of a woman into whose eyes a snake spat while she was trying to drive mice out of a shrub by means of her stick.

The following are a few examples of the games played by the *‡Ao-//ein* and *//Aikwe* of the Kalahari, viz.: *Children's*: 857 a man bartering goods from a trader; cock ostriches fighting with elephants which have come to drink at a waterhole; a fight between two opposing groups, small bows and wooden arrows being used; a python lying in wait for and capturing its prey at a waterhole. *Men's*, the ostrich game; throwing the *isani*, in which a thin, short-feathered stick, weighted at one end by means of a large bean (bauhinea esculenta), is flung into the air and kept going by catching it on a stick in its descent and flinging it up again; throwing the stick, in which each player has a thin stick, about three feet long, which he flings forcibly on to the ground in such manner as to make it rise into the air and shoot away from him. *Women's*, catching the ball in which a melon or round tuber is used for the purpose; the capture of brides by young men, etc.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

Food Supply, Etc.

137 The source of the food supply varies very considerably in 184 different localities. In some it is derived mainly from the 268 vegetable, in others from the animal, kingdom. The Kalahari and northern parts of the territory are rich in both plant and animal life and the Bushmen inhabiting those parts consequently have a fairly well-balanced dietary. In the central and southern Kalahari the most important among the vegetable foods are the *tsamma* (citrullus vulgaris), öintjes (cyperis edulis Dtr.) and *//nõun* (Bauhinea esculenta). As one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, *e.g.*, the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuandi, omuve, etc. In addition to the above numerous varieties of edible roots, bulbs, tubers, berries, etc., appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season.

223 Among the *Hei-//om* the following ceremony is observed in connection with the collection of veldkos by the women. It is practised when the fruit of the *‡huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the *‡huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gãus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered

are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women 222
to the *||gāus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the *!heis*. Her husband now kindles the *!hei|ais* and, after having applied *‡norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it. There is no name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called *!gaw-ei-|un*.

Among insects, locusts, ants, scorpions, young bees and 262
honey are greatly relished. Frogs, lizards, snakes, etc., are also eaten. In fact, all living animals are eaten with the exception of the mole and the hyena, the former because its winter larder of ōintjes forms a valuable and easily obtainable addition to the supplies of the Bushmen and the latter because it eats human corpses.

The methods used in the pursuit of game vary according 221
to the season, the year being divided into a cold, dry season 224
(winter), a hot, dry season (spring and early summer), a small, rainy season (September and October) and a big, rainy season (January to April). Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season in the case of such animals as guineafowl, bustard, aardvark, ostrich and small game. Pitfalls are not made use of except for hare and springhare as too much work is entailed in making them. Springhare and snakes are also caught by means of a long barbed stick which is passed into the burrows, the animal being transfixed and then dug out. During the big rainy season when the ground is sodden with moisture small buck such as duiker and stembuck are run down on foot and killed with a knob kirri. This method is not applicable to small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor. In the hot weather, however, young buck are easily caught in this manner as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. The gemsbuck does not tire easily. It is run down, therefore, only during the big rainy season when the soft ground impedes its progress and causes it to be caught comparatively easily. All other varieties of big game are run down in the hot, dry season. After a herd of game has been located one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly until it is exhausted and brought at bay, when it is killed with assegaai.

Bow and poisoned arrows are used all the year round. These 184
weapons differ considerably in character in various localities. 411
The Kalahari bow is small compared with that used by the *!Kūng* of the Oschimpoloveld, and *Hei-||om* of the Etosha Pan region; the arrow consists of a reed shaft, bone foreshaft and bone or iron tip, whereas the latter use arrows with feathered wooden shafts and iron tips only. The poison also 184
varies in different localities. In southern Namaqualand it 278
is constituted of a mixture of plant juice (euphorbia), snake poison, scorpions and spiders; in the southern and central

The Bushmen are one of the most primitive peoples living 105
on earth. Although most of their groups own some metal ob-
jects, Bushmen do not smelt or forge metal, but get it in trade [325
from their Bantu neighbors. They use soft metal in the mak- 439]
ing of a few tools such as knives, arrowheads, and little axes,
cold-hammering the metal into shape themselves. Bushmen
make the other tools they use from wood and bone, grass and
fiber, the things of the veld. They dig roots and pick berries [222]
to eat because they have no crops. The desert is too dry for
anything but desert plants to grow naturally, and Bushmen,
who quickly consume all the wild food available in one place,
cannot stay anywhere long enough to tend crops or wait for
them to grow.

There is not enough water to water livestock, and for this [231]
reason Bushmen have no domestic animals. Most of their
groups do not even have dogs. Instead of herding, Bushmen
hunt wild antelope with tiny arrows, sometimes made of soft, [224
traded metal, sometimes made of bone, and poisoned with a 278]
terrible poison extracted from a certain grub, a poison which
affects the nervous system of a creature and which is so deadly
that an antelope shot early in the morning with a single arrow
well placed in the body dies within the day. Hunting is very
difficult, for travel in the veld is thirsty and rigorous and the
antelope are clever, but as often as not the Bushmen hunters
shoot one and then they use it all. Most of the meat is dried [251]
to preserve it, causing it to last at least a few weeks, but
sooner or later every last bite of it is eaten, even the mucous
lining of the nostrils and the gristle inside the ears. They [262]
sometimes eat the hide, sometimes work it into leather to
use for clothing, and if the antelope bones are not all [281]
cracked for the marrow, pieces are worked into arrow points
to shoot another antelope.

In order to live as they do, Bushmen must travel through 105 361

also because, made of cloth instead of leather, it is more cling- 648
ing, therefore warmer and more comfortable, and dries faster 291
when wet. It is sought after and desired, it is got through em- 439
ployment; yet, even so, Bushmen hesitate to seek employment because they believe that they will be badly treated (as they sometimes are) and they often find the customary wage and food ration to be inadequate for anyone who must support a family. Supposedly, the wives of Bushmen laborers are [222
free to look on the farmer's land for roots and berries, as they 465]
would if they were living in the veld; but, as it happens, after a few years the supply of wild food around a farm becomes exhausted.

The Bantu farmers, being as a rule much poorer than the 648
European farmers, are less generous to their Bushman serfs. 464
They also give a food ration of cornmeal and milk but almost never meat, for any meat that may come into the Bantu kraal is eaten by the Bantus unless it is the carcass of a hyena or a leopard which the Bantu masters have killed for the pelt. The Bantus say: "Our Bushman servants are like our children; they herd our cattle for us and we feed them. A child does not ask for wages when he helps with the family work."

Besides this, the Bantus badly cheat the Bushmen who come in from the veld to trade cured antelope hides for metal and tobacco, sometimes asking several hides, worth several pounds apiece, for enough tobacco to fill the palm of the Bushman's hand, or for a piece of wire long enough to make an arrowhead. All in all, it does not benefit the Bushmen to 609
live anywhere near Bantu or European settlements, and that 648
is why the Bushmen of the veld run and hide when they see Europeans coming, believing that they may be taken by force (as they sometimes are), and why they avoid going to a Bantu settlement except to trade for tobacco when they feel

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

is a painful procedure. The cuts are made on the thighs and 304
forehead with a knife or ax blade, then charcoal is rubbed in, but the woman told us later that in her case it had been worth the pain and trouble because, she said, she was extremely ugly and had been made more beautiful.

Her baby's name was Nhwakwe, she told me, and after 551 276
that we were at a loss for conversation. I offered her a ciga- [609]
rette, which she declined, indicating that it made her cough. I was surprised, for she was the only Bushman I had ever met, man, woman, or child, who did not smoke.

Presently she smiled, pressed her hand to her chest, and 551
said: "Tsetchwe." It was her name. 609

"Elizabeth," I said, pointing to myself.

"Nisabe," she answered, pronouncing after me and inclining her head graciously. She looked me over carefully without really staring, which to Bushmen is rude. Then, having surely suspected that I was a woman, she put her hand on my breast gravely, and, finding that I was, she gravely touched her own breast. Many Bushmen do this; to them all Europeans look the same.

"*Tsau si*" (women), she said.

Then after a moment's pause, Tsetchwe began to teach me 609
a few words, the names of a few objects around us, grass, 222
rock, bean shell, so that we could have a conversation later. As she talked she took a handful of the beans out of her kaross, broke them open, and began to eat them. This is a [137]
wonderful, bitter bean, shaped like a lima bean, which grows on tiny bushes in patches throughout the Kalahari. When you [261]
eat these beans they burn your tongue, throat, and stomach, but they take away hunger and thirst. Besides the beans in her kaross, Tsetchwe, who began unloading, brought out a large, edible root which she had dug up—she must have been gathering food before we came—and put it in the shade of a

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GiKwe

609 bush beside her fireplace. Also, she brought out six round
222 green melons which are called *tsama* melons, and which, during the autumn, provide the only liquid available for all the Bushmen in the desert, and for all the game antelope be-
[271 sides. Under the green rind a tsama is very like a watermelon,
312] filled with small oval seeds and very watery in texture, but is itself pale green and smaller, the size of a small cantaloupe.
[516] Tsetchwe placed one between her feet and, gripping it firmly with her strong toes, chopped a hole in the top of it with her digging-stick; then, lifting the cap away like the lid of a jack-
271 o'-lantern, she mashed the pulp inside until it was liquid. She put the melon to her mouth and, tipping her head back, drank from it, using her long digging-stick to help push the pulp into her mouth, working it like an enormous chopstick, making a watery noise as she sucked. When Tsetchwe had collected a mouthful of seeds she put the melon down, took an old, dry tsama melon rind from her kaross, and spat the seeds into it to save them, for they can be roasted and eaten like nuts when they are dry. Tsetchwe drank all the liquid in
[264] the rind and seemed refreshed as she cast the empty rind over her shoulder and brushed off her mouth and hands.

609 At last Gai strode back into the werf, followed at a distance
621 by a group of three small boys and, much farther, by three old women who stood waist-deep in bushes, close together like three antelope, craning their necks to see us.

609 When they noticed Tsetchwe and Ukwane, they came for-
276 ward with more confidence, accepted tobacco, and, squatting
621 immediately, began to smoke. It had been months, Ukwane said, since they had used their last tobacco, had been reduced to smoking leaves, and they were very happy to have the tobacco we had give them. Bushmen love to smoke. They say
[261] that tobacco, as well as the wild beans, takes away hunger and thirst, and, besides that, it makes their hearts glad. One

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GiKwe

574
[48] walk in single file, and they seemed very small, naked, and far away under the burned, pure sky, moving toward some remote destination where they hoped to find a man who had been walking away from them for almost a month, perhaps at some nameless little pan lost somewhere in the countryside, perhaps in a nameless bend of the omaramba. As they walked they zigzagged, avoiding small obstacles such as stones or thorn bushes, very incongruous with the enormity of the sky and the plains. The bow on Gai's shoulder made a bold upward curve.

A tree appeared on the horizon, and they veered toward it. When they reached it they sat in its shade, two shadows in the yellow grass, and a puff of smoke rose as they lit their pipes. We caught up to them and found Gai digging for a [222] *torabe* vegetable. He reached into the hole he had made and dragged it from its roots, brushed the dirt away, and chopped it into six pieces, giving one to each of us. We ate that for lunch. It was bitter and moist, firm as an apple and pleasant because it was wet. As we sat there we noticed the smoke of three veld fires which had suddenly risen, perhaps stirred by the wind far away, two small ones in the north and east, one large one in the south, its smoke reaching up to the sky first in little tendrils, then billowing in great clouds like the clouds in the sky but browner.

Gai and Witabe stood up, brushing sand from their legs, and walked into the sunlight again, turning toward the larger fire. Bushmen often set the veld alight to signal to each other, [201] but they do not send messages; a fire simply shows other people where they are, and even this is vague, as fires are sometimes set by natural causes.

137 After traveling several hours over the plains, we came to a little forest in a valley. A fire had been through there and had burned all the yellow grass from the ground, leaving black

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GiKwe

ing great carcasses of fallen trees, some with the leaves on the 731
top still green, that were filling the air with the smell of their wood burning. The ground was still warm to walk on, but all the bushes, all the little succulents, all the vines that marked the water roots were gone; no snake or lizard or animal was there, all were burned or had gone; we saw only animal tracks half filled with ashes, and a few birds come to eat dead insects. We saw a pair of secretary birds and later a pair of [136]
paouw, huge gray birds that walk more than they fly, wandering through the ruins looking for dead reptiles.

As we walked, fine black powder rose to dust our legs, and now and then, off through the standing tree trunks and between the fallen trees' great upflung roots, little whirlwinds crossed back and forth, raising the dust in spiraled pillars. [321-
Bushmen say that whirlwinds show the presence of the spir- 775]
its of the dead.

Witabe's eyes searched over the ground, and when he saw 222
a small mound of earth he walked up to it and punctured it 262
with his toe. Out rushed a horde of ants, which had been safe in their tunnels when the fire passed and now began at once to repair their damaged mound. Witabe crouched among them and began to pick and eat them, selecting the soldier ants, ones with large heads and heavy jaws. He bit off the abdomens, tossing the heads away. Presently he offered some to us, as I had feared he would; as everyone else ate one, I did also, and found that it was not too unpleasant but sour and very watery, very like a blackberry before it is ripe. The workers, I am told, are tasteless, but the fighters are considered a near-delicacy; mine opened her jaws wide to fight my thumb before I ate her.

Later in the day, when the sun in the sky, the still burning 48
trees, and the fire-warmed sand made the air on the flats un- 487
bearably hot, we turned back to camp for the shade of our

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Gikwe

and leafy green vegetables that taste like rhubarb, have not 132 271 grown in yet; and so the Bushmen must go thirsty. People 137 have died of thirst in these false seasons.

Gathering veld food is the work of the Bushman women, 222 and I used to go with them quite often on their trips. We [462] sometimes stayed in the veld all day eating roots instead of drinking water. One day my brother came along to film the gathering of veld food, and as we were getting ready to leave, Gai also joined us. It is customary for Bushmen never to let a group of their women go anywhere with a Bantu or a European man unless a Bushman man goes with them to protect them. [609] Gai sauntered along behind us in his role of guardian, quite unhampered, as he had nothing with him but his loincloth. Dasina, Twikwe, and Tsetchwe walked in front, each with a digging-stick thrust in her belt like an enormous knife, each wearing a heavy cape, and Tsetchwe carrying her baby, who rode, carefree and swinging his feet, on her shoulder. John and I walked in the middle of the procession, and at the end came the three young boys, who did not stay in single file but ran all over the veld, ran circles around us, and shouted to each other happily.

We walked across the pan of Ai a ha'o through the fine, [137] soft grass, which left tiny, barbed seeds sticking to our legs. We walked through the brush on the opposite side and then over a wide plain, where we saw a herd of wildebeest. No one was armed, and when the wildebeest saw us, put down their heads, and ran, we could only watch helplessly as all that meat galloped away.

We walked until we came to a patch of tsama melons, perhaps twenty of them lying together, shiny, smooth, and green in the grass. The vine that once had nourished them had dried away and already some of the melons were turning yellow, overripe, ready to open and release their seeds.

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GiKwe

222 The women stopped and began to gather up the green melons, Twikwe picking them with a mechanical, stereotyped gesture. She first slipped her hand under a melon; then, twisting her elbow, she lifted the melon and held it pinched between the heel of her hand and her forearm, and with a scoop slipped it into the pocket of her kaross on the side. In a moment the side of her kaross was full, and she stood erect for an instant, looked at the sky, shifted her weight, and suddenly the melons rolled to the back of her kaross, leaving the side free for more. She was very efficient. In a moment she had a load. I was a little surprised at her, however, for now she would have to carry the melons with her all day whereas she might have gathered them on the way home. But Bushman women do not seem to mind this.

The women left behind the yellow melons which would have been bitter and rotten, touching them disappointedly with their toes instead. The false spring was hastening the time when all the melons would be gone, forcing the Bush-
222 men to eat roots as a staple diet, not as desirable because of
824 the uses that tsama melons have. Melons are eaten as both
[252] food and water, their pulp is added to meat which needs liquid for boiling, their seeds are roasted and eaten or ground into powder and used as flour, their rinds serve as mixing-
[415] bowls, as containers for small, loose objects, as cooking-pots with or without the pulp inside, as urine-containers for curing hides, as targets for the children's shooting practice, as children's drums, as resonators for musical instruments, and all this amounts to a serious loss for Bushmen when the melons rot or dry.

222 We went on until we were about two miles from camp. We were going to an almost imperceptible small hill, a place, said Twikwe, where a great deal of veld food grew. On the way a moving shadow caught our attention, and we looked up

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GiKwe

On the way a moving shadow caught our attention, and we looked up 222
to see a white-breasted, black-winged vulture sailing not far 136
above our heads, not stirring himself but riding the drafts and currents of the air. He was looking at us with hard eyes, his red face turned to look down, and suddenly he closed his great wings under his body, sweeping them down so far that the long wing feathers brushed together four feet under his belly. Then his wings swept up again and bore him on. I had never seen a vulture do that before. He did it only once, then made a circle all around us, looking down at us, his eyes cool in their red wrinkles; he rose higher and higher and soon he was gone. All over Africa the sky is full of vultures, but so high that you can seldom see them; any time you look up with binoculars, however, you will probably be able to see one sailing, waiting up there for a disaster.

We were going particularly to look for *bi*, a fibrous, watery 222
root that is the mainstay of the Bushmen's diet during the 136
hot season when the melons are gone. From the end of Au- 262
gust, when the spring begins, the heat increases in intensity until December and January, when the rains come, relieving the drought. During this hot, dry season the sand reflects the sun until the air all over the veld shudders and dances, until human beings and animals alike gasp for air and water. This is the hardest season of all for the Bushmen, yet most of them remain alive by going into the veld early in the morning in the cooler light of dawn to gather bi. The bi they find is 222
brought back to the werf before the sun is hot; it is scraped, 271
and the scrapings are squeezed dry. The people drink the 237
juice they squeeze. Then they dig shallow pits like graves for themselves in the shade. They urinate on the bi scrapings and line the pits with the now moist pulp, then lie in the pits and spend the day letting the moisture evaporating from the urine preserve the moisture in their bodies. They lie still all day and 222
at dusk go into the veld again to gather food, perhaps a few

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

222 roots or cucumbers, returning to their werf before it is utterly dark, for in the hot season the big snakes, too, move only at night, the mambas and the cobras out of their holes.

By the end of the season the Gikwe are emaciated from hunger and thirst, and it is because of this season that the Gikwe hear the jackals on the plains cry "Water, water."

222 When we reached the little hill Twikwe had mentioned
137 we found no bi root, but we found other kinds of veld food: a bush with red berries, several kinds of roots, and a spiny cucumber not three inches long, round and bristling with its spines like a sea urchin, handsome in its light-brown, yellow-striped skin. The young boys found five of these cucumbers lying in a crooked row on the sand, all put there by a vine which had mostly dried and shriveled away. We picked them and ate them. They have a watery green flesh which looks just like the flesh of a cucumber as we know it but which is sweet.

Witabe, noting the direction of the vine by the way it had deposited its cucumbers, traced it to its source and found a bit of it left above the ground, below the branches of a white-thorn bush. He said there would be an edible root there, and when he dug, there was.

Meanwhile, Gai had found a solid, stiff vine like a stalk among the roots of a gray bush which was the home of a small flock of birds. Just for fun, Gai chased the birds out; they would have gone anyway, but, frightened by him, they flew like little pellets in every direction, leaving behind a pale, soft grass nest blowing in the wind. Gai sat down facing the bush with the branch shadows all over him and dug with a digging-stick in the sand between his legs. The branches around his head got in his way, tickling his ears, causing him to slash impatiently at them with his digging-stick, and when

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

this did no good he endured the nuisance for a moment, then 222 flung himself down on his back, put up his long legs like a 137 fighting cock, and kicked the branches down.

He dug out a great deal of earth, throwing it behind him, and finally uncovered a *ga* root, big and dark with a warty surface all covered with lumps like a toad or a stone; a fascinating thing, for although it was large and nondescript, brownish gray in brown-gray sand, marked only by an old dry vine, it was life itself to Bushmen, bitter but quite moist even in the hottest season. Tsetchwe put the root in her kaross and we went off, Gai generously carrying the baby, taking him from Tsetchwe by the forearm and swinging him up to his shoul- [854] der. The baby rode astride Gai's neck with the soft kaross he wore draped over Gai's head. From the rear they were an apparition, as this made the baby's head, not much higher than Gai's, look like a tiny head on a man's tall, slender body.

We wanted very much to find a bi root, and while Gai, the baby, and my brother went off to look for one I waited behind with the women. We rested in a small circle in the dim shade of the grass, which, when we were sitting, came high above our heads so that all we could see was a circle of sky and, in the circle, the ragged, waxing moon. It had risen luxuriously in the daytime and was a pale, large crescent, pearl-colored in the sun. The moon is a root with a climbing [821] stalk, a vine. It can be eaten.

Giamakwe began to urinate right in our midst, crouching 514 and pulling his loincloth aside. Although the adults are slightly inhibited about this, the children are not, sometimes simply turning aside to urinate as one might turn aside to cough. Presently the young boys got up and ran away, and when they did Tsetchwe herself got to her feet, stepped aside, and urinated also, standing up but leaning forward. Bushman

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

514 women sometimes do this, but Bushman men crouch to urinate. "It is our law," they say.

264 222 While the women rested they had refreshed themselves with one of Twikwe's melons which Twikwe chopped for them by holding the melon between the soles of both feet and mashing its pulp with her digging-stick, which she held in both hands. Then they got up from their grass nest, sharpened their digging-sticks with Twikwe's knife, and set out to begin the search for food. They each chose a different direction and soon they were out of sight. I followed Twikwe to see 222 481 what she would find, hurrying to keep up as she trampled ahead of me on those spindly, awkward legs of hers, which she kicked out with each step in a walk like the walk of a clown. She kept her back straight, for it was still early and the load in her kaross was light.

222 As I could not speak many words of Gikwe, she didn't even try to talk, but paused from time to time instead to show me things. Once she crouched among the branches of a thorn bush and beckoned to me to show me a tiny vine winding around the bush's trunk. I nodded. It marked an edible root. She pinched the base of the vine where there was a faint touch of green, then, grasping her digging-stick, began to dig. The ground was quite hard, but she dug rapidly, her slender back curved as she squatted over the hole and the muscles of her thin arms swelling. After a long time she threw down her digging-stick and tugged at something in the bottom of the hole. She sat back, and in her hands was a huge stone, which she heaved aside.

"Look," she said, and I crawled beside her into the bush. She had made a hole three feet deep, a foot across, and at the bottom, dim in shadow, lay an immense gray root wedged securely between two stones. "Ga," she said. She ripped the

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GiKwe

severed vine from the bush it clung to and tossed it into the 222
sunlight. "Look," she said again, assuming that I would now recognize a ga vine when I saw one; but although I examined it closely, it still looked like any other vine to me.

Again she bent over the hole, leaning over so far that her [516]
head came between her knees, and grasped the huge root with both hands. She tugged so hard that I heard her joints crack, but the root was wedged and she couldn't move it. She took up her digging-stick again, panting now, and struck the rocks, and the point of her digging-stick splintered.

"Ai," she said, exasperated, sitting back on her heels to [516]
carve a new point with her knife. She bent again, pried at the rocks, pried at the root, but it was useless, she couldn't move it. Then she relaxed, resting for a moment as she rubbed her sore shoulders before she got to her feet and walked away, beckoning with her head for me to follow. We would leave it.

We wandered about haphazardly for a time, looking for a vine, and presently I saw one twisted around some grass blades, binding them together in a tuft. I pointed it out to her, but she smiled and shook her head, turning her hands [201]
palm upward in the gesture for nothing. She meant that it was a useless species of vine, marking nothing below. Later, as we walked along, she laughed. Twikwe was charmed by the mistakes the members of our expedition made, for they were always elementary and, to her, very diverting.

Keeping her eyes on the ground, Twikwe noticed a tiny crack in the sand. She scooped at it with the point of her digging-stick, tipped out a truffle, and picked it up almost without stopping. As we walked on she broke it in half, put half in her kaross, and offered half to me. I ate it. It was light brown and had a delicious, salty flavor. Truffles grow an inch

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GiKwe

222 or so below hard-surfaced ground and have no leaf nor stalk nor vine to show where they are, only the tiny crack made by the truffle swelling, which the Bushmen notice.

137 We had crossed a barren stretch of plain where only grass
222 was growing and were in another patch of low bushes where veld food also grew. The great plains of the Kalahari may seem undiversified, but really they are divided into countless little patches, some barren, some fertile, depending probably on the soil. In this veld-food patch Twikwe found another vine tangled in the lower branches of a thorn bush and she crawled in after it and began to dig. The thorns around her head, all smooth and shining white like jewels, were tickling her, but, unlike Gai, she delicately put up just one hand and picked off the very thorns that pricked her.

222 She resumed her digging and after perhaps twenty minutes as she followed down the vine she uncovered another ga root also wedged among stones. This ga was not as large as the other one, nor was it wedged as tightly, and when she grasped it, arched her back, and tugged, clenching her teeth and straining her thin arms, the rocks suddenly gave way and the ga flew loose, sending Twikwe crashing back among the thorns. She wiped the perspiration from her forehead with her thumb before she crawled out of the bush, dragging her root and her digging-stick. I noticed that the root was very wrinkled, as if it had shrunk. Twikwe struck at it with the point of her digging-stick, chipping out a fragment, which she put in her mouth. Then she spat, stood up, and walked away from it. When I, too, tasted it to see what was the matter I found that it was flaccid, dry, and very bitter, quite inedible. I looked inside the bush and saw that its vine had begun to turn a little green.

We went on, and passed a few dry melons on our way, yellow and empty, perhaps bitten by an antelope some time

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

ago. I kicked at one of them and a gray lizard ran out, straight 222 ●
and fast as an arrow. Then it turned around and ran back in again, having no place else to go.

Soon Twikwe found a third root and, after digging it out and tasting it, found it quite acceptable; putting it in her kaross, she went on to find a fourth. We found old, dry holes where Bushman women had dug out roots seasons ago, a few dry vines with bitter, useless roots below, and three more roots that proved to be edible, as well as two more melons, a few spiny cucumbers, a handful of berries from a tiny bush, and one more truffle. This would feed Twikwe and her two sons for one or two days, or perhaps would be shared with Ukwane and Kutera because Kutera, that day, had not [476] felt well enough to gather food of her own. Bushmen help each other, each Bushman woman contributing to the support of her own family and perhaps to the well-being of some very old people as well.

When Twikwe considered that she had enough, we turned back to find the others, and presently we came to the plain where we had left them. Twikwe called, and was answered by three or four voices very near by. Then, right in front of us as if from nowhere, the three boys, Tsetchwe, and Dasina appeared standing, having been crouching in the long grass. Twikwe and I joined them, and the Bushmen passed Twikwe's pipe, the short, wide antelope bone stuffed with tobacco. When it was passed to me I puffed it, too, but it was so strong and rank that it made me dizzy.

Soon we heard a wail, a sad crying out in the veld, and it was Gai and John returning with Nhwakwe, who had begun to miss his mother or want to go home. Gai looked cross and walked rapidly with his little burden riding on his shoulder, and even John seemed somewhat annoyed because of the noise and because they had not found a bi root. When they

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GiKwe

came up to us Gai swung Nhwakwe down, dangling him by the arm as he handed him to Tsetchwe, who took him at once and let him nurse. Bushman babies do not like to go for veld food because the sun is hot, there is nothing to eat except the raw roots, and there is nobody to play with, yet they do not like to be left at home alone either. This is a constant and insoluble problem for Bushman mothers.

After asking Gai more questions and, at his suggestion, roaming from one point to another over the veld in search of a bi, it came to John and me that he did not want to show us where one was growing. We understood this, for the bi roots of the veld are naturally limited and if we took one when the Bushmen did not need it, it would not be there when they did. We assured Gai that we did not want to eat it, only to see its vine, and at last he remembered, he said, where one was, far out in the veld and on the way to Okwa. But we were not discouraged and set off in that direction, and after a while we found it far away but not as far as Gai had said. It took us an hour to reach it, but we had traveled slowly because the women had stopped to gather melons along the way.

When we came to the center of an enormous plain with no tree or bush to mark the place, Gai stopped and, glancing [201] around for a moment, pointed suddenly with his toe. After trying hard to see, we noticed a tiny shred of a vine wound around a grass blade; no part of the vine still touched the ground, as the vine had dried and parts of it had blown away. Gai had known where the bi was, he told us, because he had walked by it months ago in the last rainy season when the vine was still green, and he had remembered. He had assumed that it was still there because only his own people used the territory around it and if one of them had taken it he would have heard. Bushmen talk all the time about such things. He had had it in his mind to come back and get it

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Ukwane eats a tsama melon, the source of food and all water for Bushmen during the drought.

[p. 112(c)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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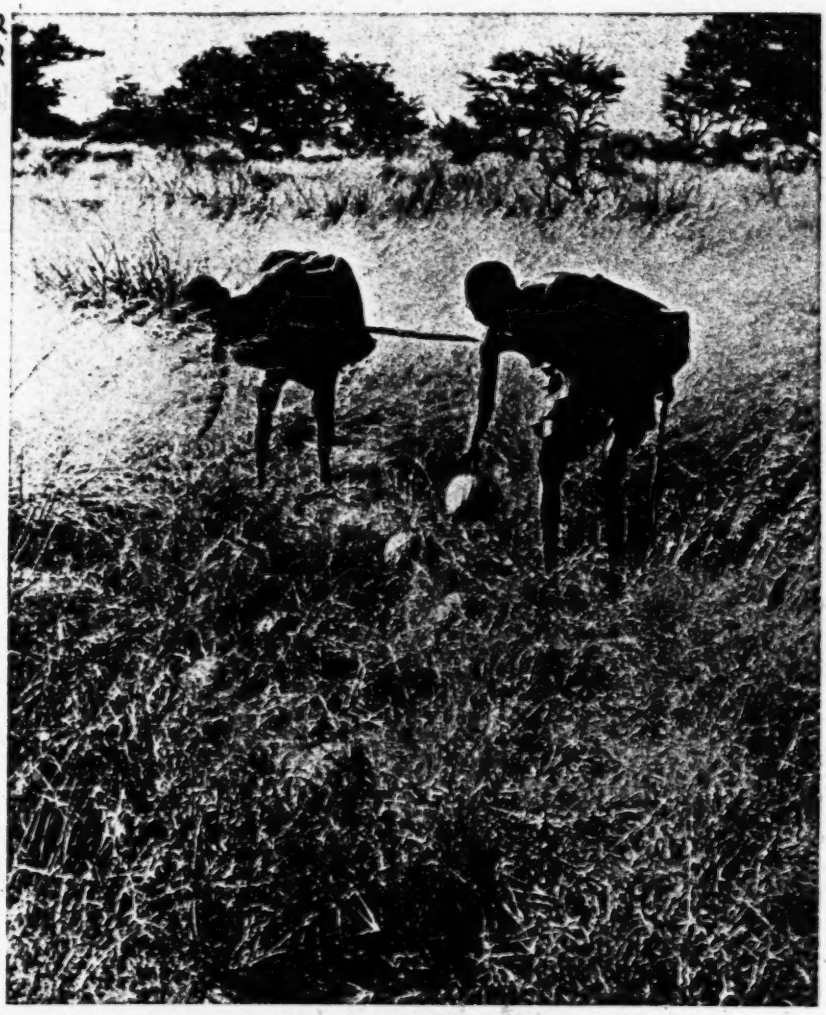


Tsama melons, on their vines, are almost hidden in the yellow grass, but Dasina and Twikwe find them.

[p. 112 (D)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

when the tsama melons were gone, but now, perhaps when he 222
saw its vine there and thought about it under the ground, he changed his mind. Squatting near the vine and digging with his hands, he soon had exposed it, two feet down and dark in shadow. He seized it and tore it from the earth.

It was shaped like a monstrous beet, with its vine coming from the top like a little stalk and its root bristling from the bottom like a tassel. It had a hard, bark-like crust and it was gray and hairy. Gai held it daintily by its vine, and, as dirt was still dropping off it he slapped and brushed it to clean it; then he held it high above the big cavity it had filled, looked at it with a rather satisfied smile, and said what nice water it would be.

We went home then, walking again in single file in a [481]
straight course over the veld, veering only once toward a [313]
fallen tree, where the women stopped to gather firewood. The [482]
women, walking first, were heavily loaded now with melons, roots, and firewood, Tsetchwe loaded most heavily of all because the baby rode on her shoulder. The women used their digging-sticks as canes because their knees were bending, and [481]
walked quickly, trying to get home as soon as possible. After the women came the young boys carrying nothing, and last of all came Gai, holding his bi by its tassel of root. Before long he hurried and caught up to Tsetchwe, and once again he took a turn with Nhwakwe, swinging him from Tsetchwe's shoulders to his own, where Nhwakwe rode happily, his tiny hands pressed over his father's eyes.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

into their scherms, and in the morning there was a lake of 132
shining water on the pan and lilies growing everywhere, where only their dry leaves had been before.

After that the rain came often. Some weeks it rained a lit- 132
tle every day, some weeks the rain became torrential and flat- 136
tened the Bushmen's grass scherms, but it made the veld rich and green, with flowers everywhere and all kinds of fruit, which grew on trees and stalks and bushes. The pan became the home of shore birds, marabou storks and flamingos. Leopards and lions drank there, game antelope waded through it, leaving deep tracks in the mud, and the Bushman children [515
sometimes danced in the shallows, their feet making flashing, 142]
rhythmic splashes, or bathed themselves until their skins were shining gold.

One night I went to the werf with a lantern and suddenly found myself beset by insects flying all around me, attracted by the light. It was the mating flight of white ants, which had come out of the ground in great numbers and now filled the air. The Bushman men were away on a hunting trip, un- [222
fortunately, but the women came to the light as quickly as 262]
the ants and began at once to catch them and stuff them into their mouths, saying "*gurico gum*" as they did so, *gurico* being the name of the ants and *gum* the word used for candy, for sweet gum that oozes from the trees, and for sweet caterpillars. Much faster than the women could eat, more and more ants came flying in a swarm as thick as a blizzard and already the ground was white with wings, for the ants, throwing themselves to the earth, would drop their wings instantly and begin to mate with each other in twos, in threes, even forming in great circles that turned as the ants ran scurrying to keep their positions, each one mounted with its forefeet on the back of the ant before it, pushed on by the ant behind. Sometimes an ant would fail to shed its wings and, finding

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

green-leafed vegetables, and sometimes many of the people 361
of the large extended bands come together to live, to hold 621
important ceremonies which require many people, and to enjoy each other's company. Sometimes they separate into very small bands because they can now go anywhere they wish, each family going to the part of the veld where the type of food grows that the family most enjoys. There is water every- 312
where, in small seasonal waterholes, in shallow salt pans, in hollow trees, and the people thrive and grow quite fat. One 222
of their favorite foods, one that grows in great abundance at 262
this season, is a ground nut called *tsi*, which grows on a trailing vine and is so fat that if you leave a kernel of it on a piece of paper it will leave a greasy stain. Tsi is regarded by the Kung Bushmen as a very powerful food, one of the pow- [778]
erful veld foods in which there is a special essence, something mysterious and magic which gives them a life force all their own so that it would be dangerous to eat them during the year if this life force were not first subdued or not first integrated with the life force of the people. These foods are 778
the mainstays of the Bushmen's diet, and are fat; and every 789
year people in their child-bearing years, when they consider themselves subject to harm, protect themselves against these foods by a ritual act.

The act of protection is called *choa*, and it is interesting because it differs from the protective rituals performed by agricultural peoples to save their crops or animals from harm, or to cause their increase. The Bushmen choa themselves not [842]
to protect their fertility, for decrease in the number of children is not a problem to them, but to make sure that they, the young adults and mainstays of the community, will not get thin and starve.

Those whom Bushmen call "old people," adults who have 789
had three children, are expected to protect themselves and 885
also to protect young people of the same sex.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

302 accumulating dust had turned him black. When the rains
came that year he had scrubbed himself with sand and water
and had turned paler than the palest gold. No one had recog-
[142] nized him for a minute and then people had made fun of
him, so he had let his coating accumulate again.

361 That night the old man, Lazy Kwi's father-in-law, decided
that his band would move with us to Nama, a pan near
Gautscha Pan, for he and Lazy Kwi believed that if we went
there they could help us find more bands of Bushmen whom
we had known. No one, he said, was living at Gautscha this
season and the people who belonged there were scattered
through the veld because the rains had been so good that
there was food and water everywhere. We said that we would
222 leave in the morning to begin the search, but the old man
hesitated to agree and finally told us that in the morning he
had planned to rob a bee tree, but after that he would be
free to go. As he had hoped, the following morning we went
with him on his trip for wild honey.

The bee tree was in a little forest about two miles from
Gam, a forest filled with tiny yellow leaves and tiny seed pods
blowing from the trees and scattered all through the grass,
which in places had been plowed up by a wild pig rooting for
bulbs. Because it was early in the morning and frosty, turtle
doves were singing and the clear air was filled with their
voices. Honey is always gathered at the coldest time of day,
for then the bees are dull and stupid and it takes them a
long time to collect their wits. The old man and Lazy Kwi
cleared some grass and lit a tiny fire; then, squatting beside it,
they warmed their hands, waiting for it to burn well, for they
would use its smoke to numb the bees. Lazy Kwi's wife and
222 her sister had come too; they did not join the men by the fire
271 but walked off in the bush, gathering sour berries for their
breakfast. The women in their wanderings found a hollow

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

tree, and, looking inside it, found that it was filled with rain 222 271 water. They told the rest of us, who went to get a drink. It was just a dead and blasted tree full of murky water, but, standing in front of it, Lazy Kwi began to fumble in his hunting-bag for his drinking-straw. He slipped the straw into a crack in the bark, drank, and held the straw for the next person. The straw was a reed with a hollow center and very hard to drink from, I found when my turn came to take a sip, for it was badly cracked. It was all one could do to suck hard enough to moisten one's tongue, the water was stagnant, and the reed tasted strongly of the inside of Lazy Kwi's hunting-bag, but everyone drank, and when they had enough they returned to the fire. Something must have reminded Lazy [64-8] Kwi of the European farmers on the way, for he announced naïvely: "They did not give me a shirt to put on my body."

When the fire was burning well the two men went to the 222 bee tree. It too was dead, taller than the others in the forest and quite conspicuous. Lazi Kwi knocked on it with his ax and it gave forth a hollow sound. Then Lazy Kwi picked a straw and poked it into a tiny hole in the wood, and when he withdrew it there was honey on it and two bees. One bee detached itself and stung Lazy Kwi on the ribs and Lazy Kwi shook his skin like a dog. His father-in-law came forward with a smoking branch and held this near the hole. He blew smoke inside and the bees began to moan, low and ominously, the moan mounting in volume as Lazy Kwi chopped a piece from the tree above the hive. Four or five bees flew out of their hole; one flew at me and stung my face. The sting felt like a blow and in a moment the side of my face was numb and swollen. Lazy Kwi saw what had happened and he [752] scratched the sting out with his fingernail. The old man by now had chopped away a large section of the tree and the bees poured down from the opening like water from a tap, but

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

222 the smoke had confused them and they did not sting, although they flew everywhere looking for us. The old man turned his back, hunched his head between his shoulders, and hid from them as one would hide if one were being pelted with stones. When the swarm had dispersed a little he finished the opening. The Bushmen say that when bees are disturbed they are vicious only at first. After a while they become disorganized and confused and they fly about but do not sting you. When you smoke bees you must be careful not [778 to burn them or smoke them too much because they are 825] magic creatures with medicine to control fire, and if you harm them they will cause fire to burn you. A young boy whom we knew once burned some bees, and that night, when he was asleep by the fire, the fire sought him out and burned the skin of his belly, touching him only and no one else.

Lazy Kwi and the old man did the work perfectly. They were not stung badly, the tree was open, and no bees were seriously harmed. Inside the tree we could see the brown combs hanging and the bees as thick as fur around them. Lazy Kwi took out the combs and put them in a wooden bowl, licking his fingers afterward, and before we went back we ate some of the honey. There were two kinds, old honey and new honey, and the new honey was pale yellow and very [26 2] sweet and mild, winter honey made from the small, dry flowers of the veld. The old honey was much sweeter and strong enough to burn your mouth. Before we left, the old man [515] and Lazy Kwi carefully wiped their hands and arms with grass, for they were covered with honey and things were beginning to stick to them. Then we went back to camp and in the afternoon we packed to go on toward Gautscha Pan.

415 482 Lazy Kwi packed a skin bag full of tsi nuts and the seeds [222] of baobab fruit, alum-like powdery stones that ripen at the start of the dry season. The old man had a huge net bag filled

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The water was darker now and roiled, and the stench was 222
stronger. We went on after the Bushman women to find gum in the trees and then went home, and after that I had not been back to Nama.

Since then, the heavy rains had come three times, filling 312
the waterhole and the lake and washing away the putrescence, leaving only the white bones sunk in the bottom of the well. Now the water of the lake seemed very pure indeed, with the ripples that the wind made shining like mica in the sun, and so clear that we could see every blade of grass and ice-cold stone on the bottom. Lazy Kwi and his family climbed [271]
down from the truck and squatted at the edge of the water to drink, scooping up water in their cupped hands. As they drank, Lazy Kwi found some Bushman footprints on the little shore which were many days old, just dents in the hard sand, but after glancing at them once or twice he said they were the footprints of strangers, a man barefoot, a woman in sandals, and a barefoot child, on their way to a place called Naru Ni, somewhere in the west. I don't know how he could tell all this, but I believe that he was right. Bushmen are always right when it comes to tracks, but also it is very unusual for Bushmen to travel through country that is not theirs, as these three must have been doing or Lazy Kwi would have known them. Naturally, we were very curious to know who they were and what they were doing, but their footprints told Lazy Kwi no more than that, and we never learned.

These were the only footprints that we found, but Lazy Kwi still believed that some of the people we had known at Gautscha in 1953 might be living there, especially Toma, the headman, for he had been there when Lazy Kwi had heard of him last.

. . .

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

had carried him there and it was there that the second group of farmers had found him, unable to escape or to resist, and they had taken him away. His wife was still waiting at Gautscha and Lazy Kwi had returned there to tell her that her husband had gone.

At the farm, though, Toma's luck had begun to turn. The farmer had gradually managed to heal his wounds with medicine and treatment, and by the start of the dry season Toma had felt quite well. One night, when the veld was quiet and dark, Toma had thanked the farmer in his heart, had gathered all the Bushmen on the farm together, and had led the people over the veld, all the way back to Nyae Nyae. It had been a long walk, a long way, but Toma had managed. Now, said Lazy Kwi, Toma's wound ached on cold days and sometimes his vision was blurry, but he was pleased with himself and pleased to be back in his own country.

Lazy Kwi was pleased with him too, and he smiled when he finished the story.

When the first light of morning came, the air was so cold that our breath made clouds. We got up, fed the fire, and cooked the remainder of last night's meat, then drove off in the jeep again, for in that early light we had seen the smoke of three veld fires on the horizon, one in the south, two in the west, perhaps kindled by Bushmen during the night, perhaps revived by the wind from old embers, and we planned to make a circle to investigate them all.

On the way we found a bee tree that had been raided for its honey and we believed that Toma had done it, although the break was old and the bees were gone away; but after looking at it a moment Lazy Kwi remembered that he had done it himself during the last rains. He remembered too that there had been very little honey and that he had got stung, and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

since that was all he remembered we went on again to the source of the first of the three fires.

It was there that we found Toma. He had been there all the time, only a few miles from where we had camped, and when he heard our jeep coming he watched us over the top of a bush before showing himself to see first who we were.

We saw him when he ran toward us. He was quite far off and we saw first his dark figure detach itself from the bush and run with long, swinging strides toward our jeep. He waved his arms and we knew at once that this, at last, was Toma. Before he reached us a second figure appeared from behind another bush and ran beside him, and we knew from the disjointed stride that this second man was Gao Big Feet, Toma's brother-in-law. We turned our jeep toward them and soon we met and the two men embraced us and laughed and said that they had known we would come back someday, and then they climbed in the jeep and took us to their werf, stopping first to get their spears and quivers, which they had left in the bushes, for no Bushman, no matter how excited, ever greets people with his weapons on his back because this might be taken as a sign that he was quarrelsome, looking for a fight.

Their werf was in a tiny thicket of thorn trees at the edge of the plain, screened in front by bushes, carefully concealed, but on a rise of ground where a man standing could easily scan the surrounding plain without being seen himself. There Toma and Gao Feet could observe the movements of the antelope that crossed the plains below them, waiting patient in the dappled shade of their trees' broad leaves as lions do. The two families stood in front of their bushes to meet us and they, too, embraced us and they all climbed in the jeep to do this, then climbed out again and stood back to see how we were.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

513 gether without speaking and then his wife lay down and he lay down and their fire began to die. Soon all the werf was dark.

513 In the morning, in the salmon dawn, the first light, we woke up to find doves singing and a fresh, warm wind blowing. It was easy to sleep now, and the people slept for hours, rolling away from their piles of ashes as the day warmed, until they lay curled or sprawled in all parts of the werf with Toma's son, by chance, asleep in the center, flat on his belly with his head in the curve of his arm, relaxed and strong and breathing deeply.

222 At noon the adults began to get up. The women went into
[252] the forest behind their werf for sticks to burn and a few roots to eat, and when they had built up their fires they roasted the roots and shared them with their families. Toma said that we would go back to Nama Pan right away, but his wife and the other women wanted to gather tsi; it was very abundant right beside the forest and they hated to leave all that food just lying there. "Perhaps other people will come here and eat it," said Tu, so Toma changed his mind and everyone took bags, nets, skins, anything that could be used as a container, and they spent the afternoon gathering tsi. They got mountains of it. There was plenty in the patch that they had chosen and with all of them picking the nuts from among the round leaves of the tsi plants they filled every bag, skin, and net that they had. They gathered almost three hundred pounds. The women felt so happy that they were singing a gay, light song in three or four parts. When the people had picked all they
431 could find, when every possible bag was full, they said they were ready to go to Nama, but when we brought the jeep and began to load it they were already busy with their endless preoccupation, that of giving and receiving, and had already

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

The Medicine Bees

222 THE DAY after the dance was the day before we left Nama to return to the United States. In all the time that we had stayed at Nama we had not been to Gautscha Pan, and now Toma said he wanted to go there to gather honey from the Gautscha baobab tree. Before we left, he sat in his werf telling me stories of people who thought that they could climb baobab trees but whose self-confidence had been excessive, because they had all fallen, each and every one.

481 222 165 Steinbok Gumtsa was one of these, said Toma, and he was an excellent climber. Baobabs that others could not climb he managed, and ate honey from the upper branches every time. One day, while watching bees fly about the top of the very high baobab at Gautscha Pan, Steinbok Gumtsa thought to bring himself luck and said: "I am going to climb, but I will slip and fall and be killed." The others told him not to try it, but he did. "He thought he was too good," said Toma, "and that is why he did fall. The others found him dead at the bottom."

One-eyed Nishi was another good climber. He also tried to reach the honey in the top of the Gautscha baobab, but he slipped and fell and the other Bushmen found him dead at

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the bottom too, "with his head driven down between his 481 shoulders," said Toma laconically, hunching his own neck to 222 165 show how it was.

A third man whom Toma did not name climbed for honey in the Gura baobab, a tree somewhat north of Gautscha Pan, and he also fell; but, happily, he survived his experience. His sister and her husband were below him, watching, and when they saw him fall they held out their arms to catch him. He fell through their arms, of course, but his fall was broken and though he was unconscious for a long time he finally did recover.

The moral of these stories, Toma said, was to show that 867 young people should listen to older people and not act rashly. I believe that he thought I was going to try to climb the Gautscha baobab (which I had already done, though only to the lowest branch, fifteen feet from the ground), for he went on to say: "When Bushmen tell young people not to climb baobab trees they should listen. It is seldom that a person lives who falls from a baobab tree, they are so high. Even those good climbers I told you about, they all fell." I assured him that I did not even want to climb it and he said: "Good. When we who are experienced get the honey you can watch from below. Then you can see just as well."

The Gautscha baobab was somewhat east of the pan, and 137 we could see it rising from the plain when we were almost a mile away from it. It loomed up at the horizon, towering, its mass of upper branches hazy because we were so far. As we moved toward it, it seemed to move away from us like a distant mountain, but gradually, after a long time, it began slowly to get larger, looming higher, its top branches reaching up to the sky, where the clouds of spring were already forming as the desert got ready for the rains, three months [132] away.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

still there. Bushmen do not eat squirrels because squirrels 224 have no meat on their bones. Birds of all kinds lived in the 136 great tree too, and there was a hawk's nest in the upper [262] branches; I once had seen the two gray hawks that built it, but now they too were gone.

It was the bees that interested the Bushmen, though, and 222 those of us who had come from Nama—Toma, Gao Feet, Crooked Kwi, Lazy Kwi, my brother, and I—sat among the rocks at the foot of the tree, the men planning what they would do. I was so tired from having been awake all night to watch the dance that I lay down on the stones and fell asleep, and when I awoke, in an hour or so, the men had built a fire but were still arguing about who would brave getting stung to find the honey. No one really wanted to do it; but I saw that Crooked Kwi was almost persuaded, being very amenable and the youngest person there. Sure enough, taking a smoldering brand in his teeth, he at last began to climb the pegs, clinging to them with his fingers and toes. Toma followed at a distance, cautiously, urging Crooked Kwi on, and the two climbed higher slowly, Crooked Kwi looking down from time to time to be encouraged. When he did, Gao Feet and Lazy Kwi would shout for him to continue. At last Crooked Kwi reached the branch beside the hive and squatted there, blowing on his brand to make it smoke while Toma climbed past him, around to another branch, where he, too, squatted with his feet apart and his hands on his knees exactly as though his feet were on the ground, the branch was so wide.

Crooked Kwi found the hole, a small opening, though even from the ground we could see a few bees humming idly outside, and blew the smoke from his brand into it, then, encouraged by Toma, reached his slender arm inside to find a honeycomb. He was stung, of course, and snapped his arm out instantly, though even then the bees were not angry, None

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

222 came out of the hole. From the ground below, Gao Feet called up to ask why Toma himself didn't try to reach the honey and Toma said: "No! I might get stung!" then went on talking loudly to encourage Crooked Kwi. But when Crooked Kwi tried to smoke the bees again he must have blown in too much smoke or perhaps a spark which set the hive on fire, for clouds of smoke and many bees poured out of the hole and dead bees began to drop to the ground like rain. It made me sad to see them lying there, furry yellow, covering the ground.

It is dangerous and bad to kill bees, and we paid for it. Crooked Kwi, slapping at the bees that stung him, climbed down as fast as he was able. He jumped the last few feet and, pushing through the people watching, ran out among the bushes, trying to elude the bees that followed him in a swarm shaped just like a cornucopia, the small end at the nape of Crooked Kwi's neck. No bees stung the rest of us, not even Toma, who was still clambering down. When Toma reached the ground he said that Crooked Kwi was no good because he had failed.

Thus Crooked Kwi paid for his crime, though the rest of us paid for it later. A few miles farther to the north, at Gura Pan, another baobab was growing. We could see the top of it from Gautscha and Toma said that we would try now to get honey there. When Crooked Kwi came back, rather embarrassed, we went on toward Gura, and even when we were far away from Gautscha we could still hear the bees that Crooked Kwi had angered moaning, a loud but sleepy sound. One of them must have followed us, for it stung my knee.

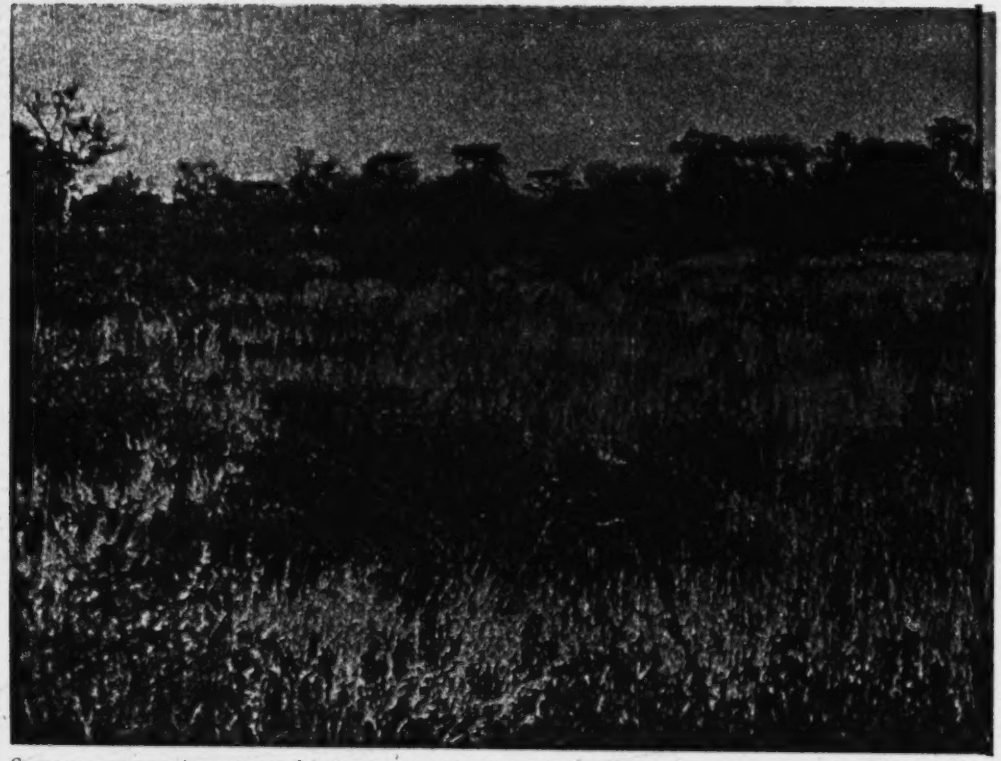
The Gura baobab was very tall, though not as wide as the baobab at Gautscha. The southern face of it had been charred by a veld fire and was also bristling with pegs, old ones, new ones, in trails or little pathways up its side, as Bushmen

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

had been robbing its hives of honey for years. Gao Feet said 222 that its hives were raided every few months or so and wondered if there would be any honey left for us. While pondering this question we stopped at the base of the tree and looked up, high above us, at a crack in its trunk where bees were flying, and in a moment, to my great surprise, the whole hive of them had poured down over our heads and were stinging us badly. We dropped everything that we carried and ran as fast as we could into the bushes, slapping wildly at ourselves, scattering in every direction, and each of us, as we reached thick bushes, hid in the branches, only to be routed out again by someone else pursued by bees, and in this way we were scattered further. Far from the hive though we were, the air around us was full of bees; they kept us hiding and cowering like jackals, peering out from under bushes, away from our water jars and ostrich eggs which we had dropped in our hurry, and they held us in this way for hours. We were tired 222 and wanted to go home, but we could not leave our water. I, 825 at least, was astonished that such a thing should have happened, but to the Bushmen it was no surprise. The bees, those magic, medicine creatures, were having their revenge. As a group, we were responsible for having killed the bees of another hive. The Bushmen were only surprised at themselves for not having foreseen the disaster. 778

In the middle of the afternoon my brother borrowed everybody's clothing and, swathing himself in it while the lenders 222 271 crouched naked in the bushes, braved the swarm and retrieved our water. Then we went back toward Gautscha, pausing on the way to dig a water root which Lazy Kwi had known was there. The root was quite large, very wet, and though it was as puckery as alum it did quench thirst.

Late afternoon had come now, and I was so tired that I sat down to lean against a bush, where I almost fell asleep. Toma



COLLECTION OF FOOD, in contrast to hunting, is women's work among the !Kung. Almost every day, they leave camp to gather *veldkos* (roots, berries, nuts and the smallest animals) in the wild bush. The basic tool is the digging

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[P.9]

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Kung

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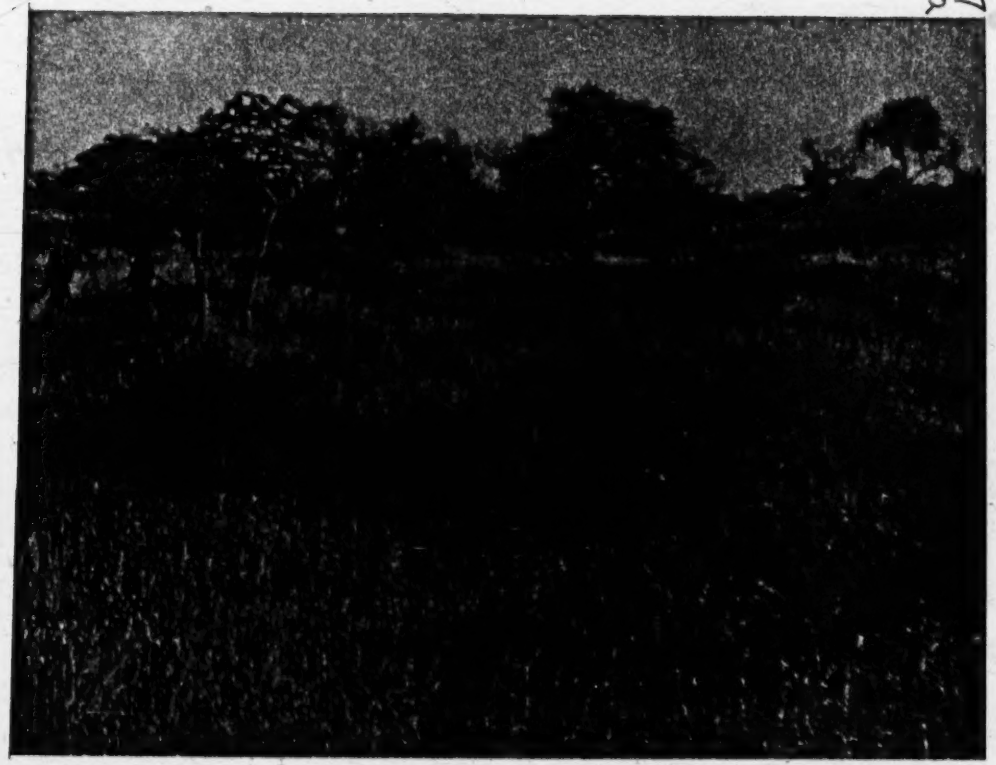

stick, fashioned by the man of the family from a tree-branch. Children soon learn, by watching, to identify more than a hundred edible wild plants. *Above*, four women, one with a young child, set off across the veld for food.

[P. 10]

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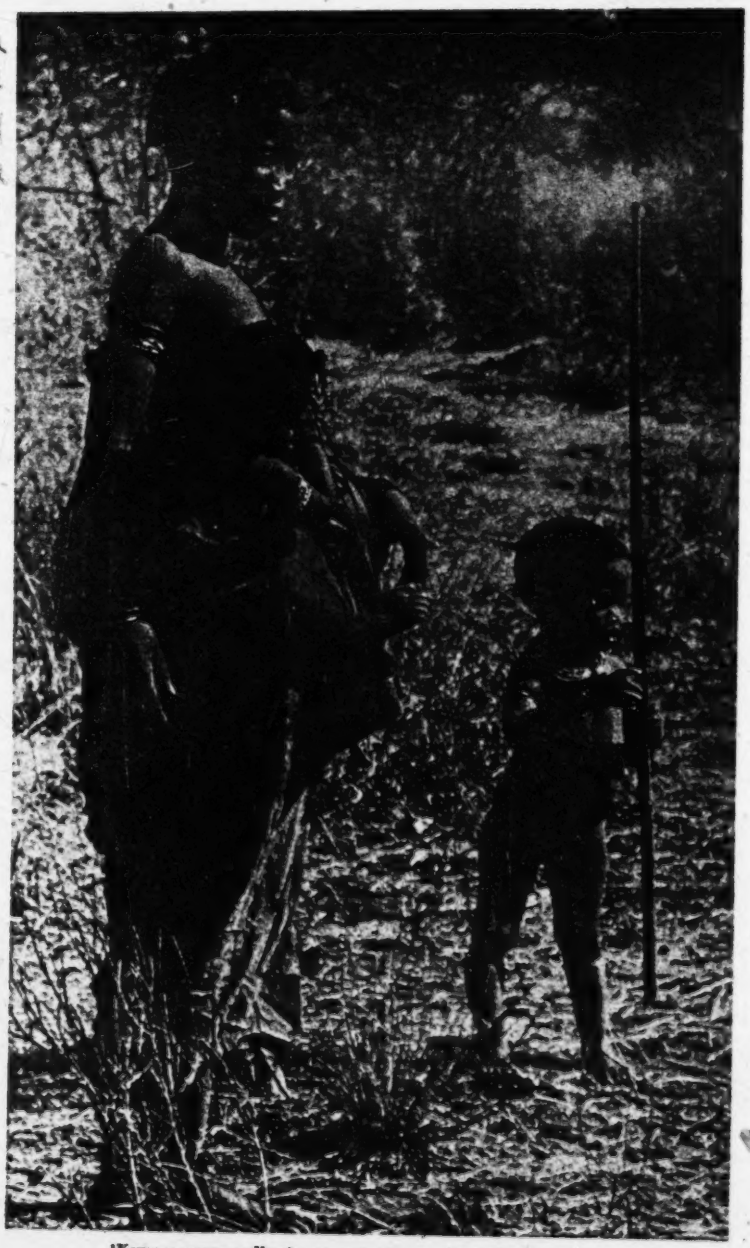

!Kung mother, collecting near camp, cradles a suckling daughter in a fold of her skin *kaross*, while her toddler son carries along a stick of his own.

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Most roots are dug up for food, but the root bold ones, above, are valued for their bark. When it is powdered and rubbed on, it turns the skin red.

[p. 13]

LITTLE ESCAPES the women's eyes in their intense search for food, *below*. Even small animals—like turtles and grasshoppers—are carefully gathered.

222

[p. 15]

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SKIN KAROSS, being stitched, *above*, is the !Kung's most important garment, while nuts from the *tsi* and *mangetti* trees (in pot, *below*) are chief food.

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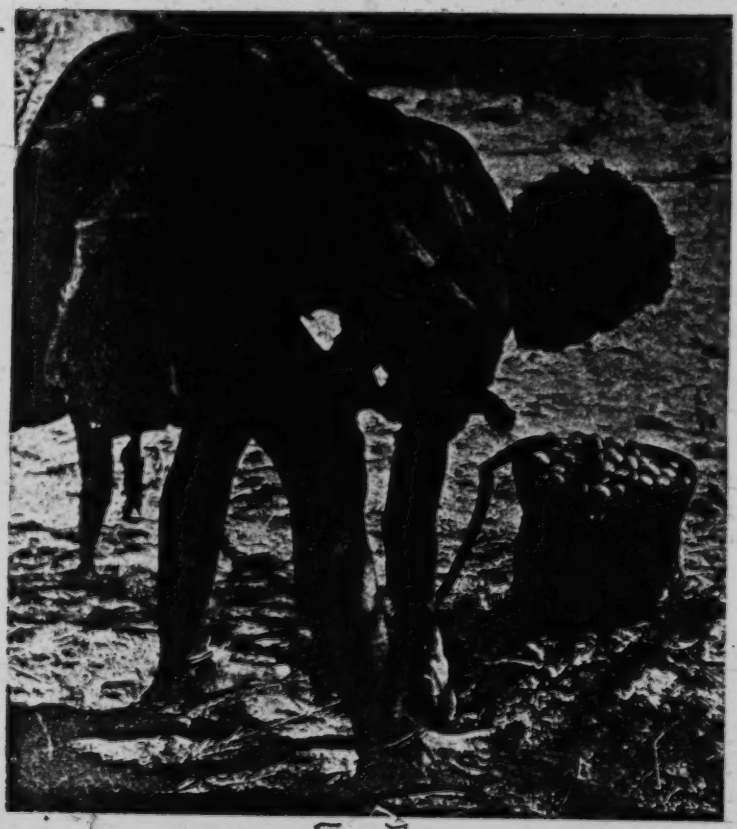

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DELOUSING is a courtesy among kinsmen: the salty-tasting lice are eaten.

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There are about 1,000 !Kung—gathered into 28 bands—who build their ephemeral camps, or *werft*'s, separately in an area of 10,000 square miles. The houses in the *werft*'s are of grass, pressed over a framework of sticks, making small quarter-shells, with their backs to the prevailing wind. Gossamer things, made of the same grass that sways and crowds against their doors, they are positioned in a loose pattern according to their occupants' kinship, and all are held—finally—by the headman, who builds his shelter under the tallest tree.

[622]

From a little distance, when the sound of voices is lost on the wind, one would not know a *werft* was near. The people never return to the same *werft*—preferring to build anew and saying it would not be safe from the spirits of the dead, or sanitary, to do so. Perhaps, also, they find it sad to see the little houses toppling, day by day, into the grass of the new year.

462

AS A STARTING POINT, labor among the !Kung is divided between two basic subsistence activities—hunting game and gathering *veldkos*. Men hunt, because their bodies are better suited to the chase. Women gather, because they could not leave their children for the long periods of hunting that men both enjoy and endure.

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Women's work—the technology of gathering—is simple and adaptable: the tools are easily acquired, the methods quickly learned. The constant necessity to provide and the almost daily edge of effort slowly bends the

[p.40]

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JOHN MARSHALL is one of a family that has been studying the Bushmen for nearly a decade, in expeditions to South West Africa by the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

● 222 !Kung women, who are slender-armed and do this monotonous work to the end of their lives. All roots—a major food—are gathered in identical fashion. The implement for this is a digging stick—made usually by a woman's husband from any of a number of hardwoods: the bark is peeled from a branch, a point is whittled sharp. Women, squatting, dig narrow holes in the earth with these sticks, and tug until the root they have reached comes free. Berries are picked—high ones jostled down with sticks and sought for carefully among the grass stems. Nuts are collected on the ground.

[412]

224 SMALL ANIMALS, such as tortoises and even grasshoppers, are sometimes captured by the women and brought home in the evening—such small creatures are also considered *veldkos*. The women, too, will kill snakes, even puff adders. When they see a puff adder, they gather around it in a little crowd, their high laughter tinkling while they drop large, heavy things on its flat head.

222 461 Averaged over a year, women gather on four or five days of each week—the number of days depending

[p.41]

222 on the season. In the long days of wilt-
461 ing between the October spring and the January summer, food is scarce and the women may go out every day into the failing veld, leaving their *werft* early in the morning and returning late in the afternoon. All
222 that a woman gathers belongs to her
422 alone, and of course is shared with her
593 family. She feeds her husband, her children and often a visitor or two, at her own hearth. No formal instruction
222 is practiced among the !Kung, with
868 the possible exception of certain kinds of religious teaching and what might be called an occasional hunting school.
857 Learning to gather comes from the children's observation of the more experienced women. Girls soon learn to
[824] recognize more than a hundred kinds of edible plants that grow in *Nyae Nyae*, as well as the seasons and places in which these plants grow. They learn to see tiny, shriveled root vines coiled around thorns in the thickets and, in the process, develop fine powers of observation. Possibly complementary to this lack of formal instruction, no formal pressure is exerted on young people to take up adult roles. Girls, if they wish, accompany their mothers on gathering trips. If they do not, they rarely feel guilty. A girl usually be-
[582] gins to feel responsible soon after she marries, which is often before puberty. But only when she has children of her own does a woman see the world through the eyes of a provider.

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WITH THE SUMMER RAINS, the nuts of the *mongoni* forests – related to the almond – begin to mature. The !Kung arrive as soon as possible to start collecting. In winter,

[p.43]

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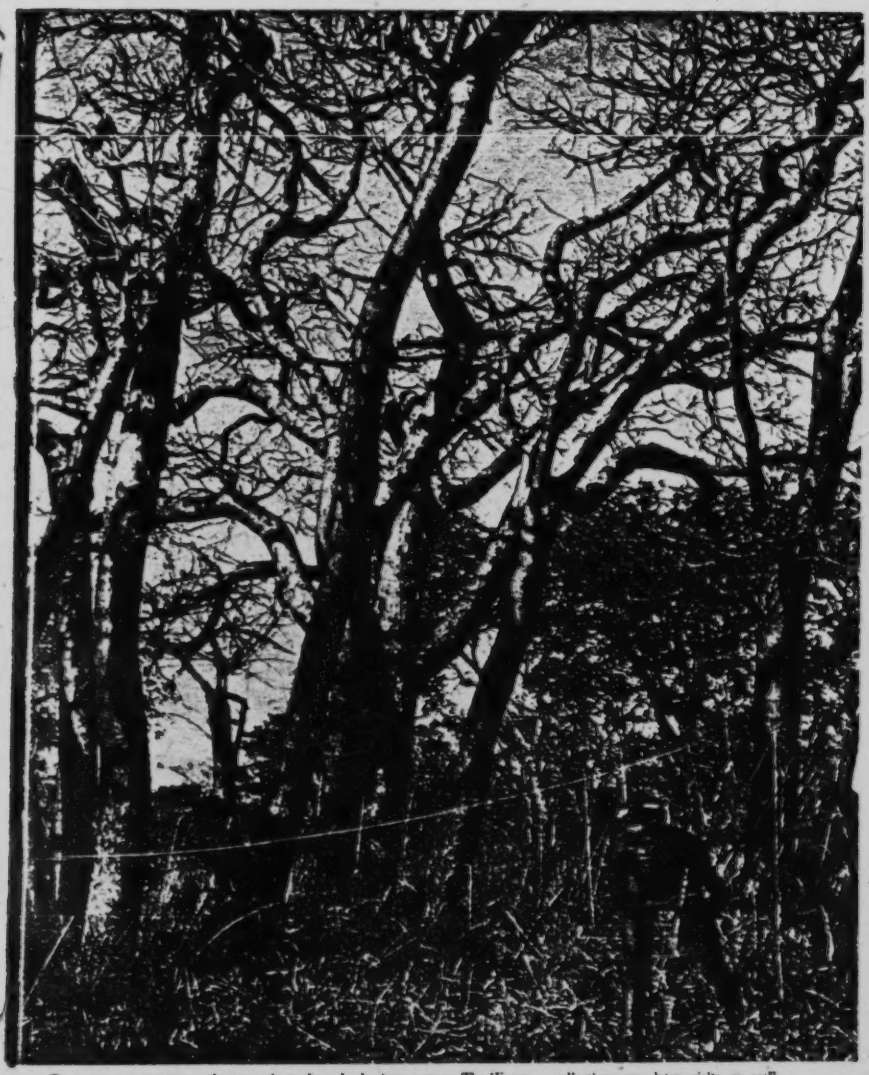

WITH THE SUMMER RAINS, the nuts of the *mongetti* forests – related to the almond – begin to mature. The !Kung arrive as soon as possible to start collecting, pay later visits as well. In winter, above, they search again.

[p.44]

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

312 TEN permanent waterholes, as we have seen, occur in two areas—around the ring of pans in the east center of *Nyae Nyae*, and along the eastern border. To the west, beyond the limit of the pans, there is no water in the long dry seasons. Around each permanent waterhole, the *veldkos* near enough to be gathered in a day are considered by the !Kung to be an integral part of that waterhole. This means that such a waterhole includes both the water itself and all the *veldkos* within a circle with a radius of some four miles. This area might be called a certain waterhole's "district," taking its name from the waterhole. When a man mentions a waterhole, he usually has such a district in mind.

● 222 484 Yet neither the *veldkos* in these districts nor the *veldkos* scattered between the districts, nor the game, which wanders, constitute the main

222 484 food resources of *Nyae Nyae*, Instead, these are the *mangetti* and *tsi* nuts. Both are found only far from permanent water. Distance becomes more significant when one thinks not only of miles—but of time, footsteps, heat and carrying capacity. From the nearest western water, it is about twenty miles to a *mangetti* forest. The distance between *tsi* and the closest water is about seven miles. The [481] people calculate their marching ability at about ten miles a day, with women and children, although men can make forty if necessary. They gather food as they travel, for a day of traveling is just like any other day, with children and old people to be provided for.

221 IN order to exploit the environment successfully, with their limited technological equipment, the !Kung must move from place to place. The calendar of their movements is revealing. In winter, the people are forced to remain near the waterholes,

776 [576] only for females, *kolidi*, a term which one may also apply to women when one wants to be especially polite and to honour them. It is used for women ' who possess lots of things ', the /Kung explained. *Gaoxadi*, the female form of one of the respect terms for the gods, may also be applied.

[222] *Khwova/na* is also called ' the mother of the bees '. When men go to look for honey they pray to her.

' The wives of the gods have the same work as their husbands. Their work is also strong ', we were told.

The Names of the Children of the Gods

The names of the six children of the gods are as follows: for the boys—*/Kwa ma*, *Nami*, */Kmg go*; for the girls—*/Kharu*, */Nai*, */Kow*. *Nami*, */Kharu*, and */Nai* are familiar names to me, the others are not. These names are from Robert Dyson's notes (for which I want to express my gratitude), and it is possible that the name he writes */Kow* is the same as the one I write *//Gow*. As I have said, such questions and discrepancies about words are very common.

In the myths, but not in the /Kung's current account of their beliefs, *≠Gao/na* has two other sons who are involved in many strange events with their father. Their [821] names are *Khan//a* and *Kxoma*. They were turned into the two stars in the vertical axis of the Southern Cross which now bear their names. Alpha Crux is *Khan//a*; Gamma Crux is *Kxoma*.

Miss Bleek was told that *Hishe* was sometimes ' followed by children like baboons '.[1] The image this gives of the divine children leaping and playing and following like infant baboons is amusing. The image which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have, however, is very different. ' The girls are fresh and beautiful ', they say, ' not ugly like Bushmen.' Their skin is the colour of Bushman skin but at its lightest shade (*gau*).

[775] The children are called little *//gauwasi* (*si* is the plural suffix). The spirits of the dead are also called *//gauwasi*. It is the children's special duty to carry the spirits of mortals, when they die, from the dead bodies to their ' father in the sky '. We were told that the little *//gauwasi* are helpful to humans. ' They watch over them and help to prevent *≠Gao/na* from getting angry.'

Terms of Respect and Disrespect

776 576 In addition to the names, the Nyae Nyae /Kung apply three terms of respectful address to the gods: *gaoxa*, *n/iha*, and */nau*. As I mentioned in my paper on the structure of bands,[2] the terms *gaoxa* and *n/iha* may be applied also to human chiefs, or to persons who are over others, like a district commissioner, and they are sometimes applied to a Bushman headman, although, to be strictly proper in /Kung, a headman is called *kxau*, ' owner '. *Gaoxa* is the more exalted term. Some informants felt that to call a man *gaoxa* was to compare him to the deity, which might anger the gods. Others felt that it ' sounded like a curse ' to call a man *gaoxa*. The term pleases *≠Gao/na*, however. When he hears it applied to himself he knows that the people respect and fear him and ' he has a good feeling about them '.

/Nau among the Nyae Nyae /Kung is a term of respect for any old man and it is

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 192.
[2] Cf. Lorna Marshall, ' /Kung Bushman Bands,' *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960, pp. 325–35.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

182 A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties
312 which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters
[161] them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival,
[648] for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity
134 and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

137 Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again
[222] to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage
[224] organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre
[262] content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

224 Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not
[411] necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

101 LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bush-
197 men cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking
[829] Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local group-
[184] ings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within them-
[621] selves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band
[622] composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

101 The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a
131 group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ōassi* and who live in the
[192] Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48′30″ S, 20°34′36″ E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and 9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen-speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is survival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we refer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired, but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets. Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this region as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these; doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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Gathering Mangetti Nuts

eral large groves of mangetti trees (*Ricinodendron rautanenii* Schinz) in the region, all on great waterless white sand dunes, and one extensive area in which *tsī* grows. *Tsī* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch) is the seed of the vine that runs along on the surface of the ground. Both mangetti nuts and *tsī* are excellent foods, rich in oils and proteins, and so important to the !Kung that they organize their lives to a considerable extent around them.

Each band, according to !Kung social structure, owns and lives within what we call a territory. The band, through its headman (in a way to be explained later), owns the veldkos and water resources within its territory. The territories are varied in size and shape and sometimes consist of portions that are not even contiguous. The boundaries are vague, for the need to draw fine boundary lines is not great. In the interior of the region, where water is so scant, in roughly 8000 square miles live only 17 bands, comprising 447 persons. The other bands and employed groups live on what we call the periphery of the region. The !Kung say that one cannot eat the ground itself so it does not matter to whom it belongs. It is the patches of veldkos that are clearly and jealously owned, and the territories are shaped in a general way around these patches. The !Kung of the interior have settled themselves in such a way that every band has access to areas of edible roots and to either a mangetti grove or a *tsī* patch. A few bands have both.

The strong concepts of ownership of veldkos by the band operate almost like a taboo. No external force is established to prevent one band from encroaching on another's veldkos or to prevent individuals from raiding veldkos patches to which they have no right. This is just not done. Fear of fighting is one of the deterrents. The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly

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The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or tsi, the men always ac-

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 462 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsī, the men always accompany the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsī* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater portion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging implement is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

222 [412] [101] [484] [361] [854] [482] [372]

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes, pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

252 264

222 433 731 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 166 [582] There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

224 meat to the owners of the territory should they happen to encounter them,
[43] but this is a gift, not an obligatory tribute. The vastness and emptiness of
[182] the country allow this freedom in hunting rights and the wandering nature of the game requires that the hunters, if they are to succeed at all, be free to look for game wherever they can find it.

222 The !Kung eagerly pick up tortoises, certain kinds of lizards, snakes, ostrich eggs, and grasshoppers, and they relish termites when these insects
[262] swarm out in nuptial flight. These items provide incidental delicacies and gathering them is like the gathering of veldkos. The person who gathers
224 them may keep them for himself and his own family. Men gladly shoot small
223 animals and birds if they happen upon them—wart hogs, duikers, other small antelope, porcupines, badgers, pythons, spring hares, ostriches, paouws, guinea fowl, red-winged partridges, occasional migrating geese, and other birds. They may keep them for their own families. They do not, however, devote their hunting time to the smaller animal creatures if they find fresh spoor of the larger ones. Hunting the big game animals that feed a whole band is the work of a man's prime and is incumbent on him.

224 Hunting parties usually consist of from two to four or five men. A man cannot hunt effectively alone in this country. Several parties hunting in different directions are more advantageous than one larger party. Any man may organize a hunting party, with relatives and friends from his own band or from neighboring bands—men he likes to hunt with. No one is formally a leader; the men talk and plan together and are likely to fall in with the suggestions of the one whom they consider the best hunter. Participation in any given hunting party is voluntary. What !Kung society urges is that the
[461] hunters hunt; it does not restrict the ways and means. The force of public
[626] opinion upon men not to sit in the werf, not to be lazy but to do their share, is tremendous.

The game the !Kung hunt deliberately and purposefully are the several big antelopes found in the region: eland, kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok. They also hunt the more rarely seen buffalo and occasionally manage to shoot a giraffe. Although there is this considerable variety of kind, there is not a great abundance of game. The herds are small and the hunts long and hard.[8] The antelope, because they can go for long periods without drinking, move and drift about anywhere in the vast monoto-
[484] nous veld and are very difficult to find. Hunters often search for days, cover-
ing scores of miles, before finding spoor fresh enough to follow, and they may
[411] follow it for days before catching up with the animal. Their little arrows kill by poison rather than by piercing deeply, and, when an animal is shot, if it is big, it may wander for three or four more days until it dies of the poison.
[136] Smaller animals succumb in a shorter time. The hunters must track the animal and find it before the lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals, or vultures devour it.

121 view of the Bushmen. The present study is a contribution to this reorientation and, as such, has implications, not only for Bushman studies, but for the study of hunters and gatherers in general.

The study of subsistence ecology focusses attention on those aspects of the man/environment relation which pertain to the getting of food. Since there are populations of Bushmen available which still maintain a full-time, year-round, hunting and gathering way of life, an investigation of subsistence ecology can be founded on a firm empirical basis. The investigator does not have to rely on the memory of informants concerning conditions no longer in existence.

121 114 171 Another recent study - of the subsistence activities of Australian aborigines in Arnhem Land (McCarthy and McArthur 1960) - offers an instructive contrast to the present study. Both studies are concerned with the subsistence ecology of hunter-gatherers. The difference lies in the fact that the Australian groups studied spent the greater part of each year living on mission stations where they ate European foods. Consequently, the Australian scientists could observe traditional food getting for two week periods that were bracketed by periods of residence on the mission stations. The Bushman study, on the other hand, is a continuous record of hunting and gathering

121 activities extending over a fifteen month period. The Dobe area

222 224 Bushmen were hunting and gathering for the simple reason that

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

121 there was no viable alternative locally available to them.
222
224 The presence of these conditions has made it possible not only to observe ongoing subsistence behavior, but also to attempt to understand the dynamics and the underlying rationale of hunting and gathering as a total way of life.

R.B.L.

Cambridge Mass.,
July 1965.

121 (George Silberbauer) was already conducting research among the Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

After DeVore's return to Harvard in September, the author surveyed the Ngamiland situation and found that the Bushman population in the northwestern sector satisfied our research requirements.

161 312 621 224 222 648 In October, 1963, there were about 430 Bushmen living at nine waterholes in the !Kangwa administrative district. Over 70% of these people were organized into bands and depended on hunting and gathering for their subsistence. Although some 340 Bantu lived in the district they had not established a lord-client relationship over the Bushmen. This feudal type of social system exists elsewhere in the Kalahari but not in 114 the !Kangwa district. The author was the first white person to live in the district. The Marshall expeditions had touched the western edge of the district but had centered their research at /Gautscha, a camp about 40 miles west of our area.

The main field station was set up at Dobe, a small waterhole in Bechuanaland, two miles east of the Bechuanaland - South West Africa border. The author conducted research here for twelve months, except for intervals of work elsewhere in the Kalahari and study periods in Livingstone, Johannesburg, Windhoek and Capetown.

In October, 1964, Irven and Nancy DeVore joined the author

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16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

101 Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a 142 satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical 144 type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included, and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland 197 would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non- 121 Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West 224 Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A 222 464 strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting 648 and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many 241 233 thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

114 A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by 197 the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963). He has demonstrated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

101 [114] In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956). Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

The economic position

114 224 222 161 Tobias erred when he estimated that in 1956, 35,000 of the 55,000 Bushmen "lead a hunting and food-gathering life, barely removed from that of the late Upper Palaeolithic or of the South African Later Stone Age." (1957:33). The first comment concerns the numbers of Bushmen still hunting; the second the "primitiveness" of the modern Bushmen hunters.

162 131 464 648 224 Of the 15,000 Bushmen in South West Africa at least 9,500 are working on European farms. An additional 3,000 are either working for Bantu agriculturalists or practicing agriculture and stock-keeping themselves. (Republic of South Africa 1964:29,41). This leaves 2,500 as hunter-gatherers in South West Africa.

In Bechuanaland an estimated 16,300 Bushmen work on European farms or Bantu cattle posts. A further 2,000 are practicing a mixed agricultural and hunting way of life. The remaining 6,100 lead a hunting and gathering way of life. The main concentrations of the latter are in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (3,000) and in western Ngamiland (1,600).

The Batwa of the Lake Chrissie area have been working on European farms for nearly a century (Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955:3). The Bushmen in the Gemsbok Park are a major tourist attraction, but may do some hunting.

In Rhodesia, the Bushmen in the Wankie area are all

162 working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in
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464 Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield
648 as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen
224 of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life.
(Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated
at 200.

161 This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of
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224 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty
• 222 percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more
[114] reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely
that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between
the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

162 The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial
224
222 and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-
178 gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most
isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with
184 their European and Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of
[221] the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend
[648] part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent
[312] to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share
[464] their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the
[233] young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds
on a contract basis.

000 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

101 appelation "!Kung". They said it was a term of opprobrium used of them by the Bantu.

The southern division !Kung were the first of the tribe to appear in the ethnographic literature. They are described by Baines (1864) and Chapman (1868) as "Ma'kow'kow". Later workers have called them ≠Auin (Kaufmann 1910), //kau//en (Bleek 1928), ≠Ao-//ǂin (Fourie 1928), Makaukau, and Auen (Schapera 1930). All these forms appear to be corruptions of the name ≠d"au//ae, which is currently in use among the Bushmen of the Ghanzi District. This is the Nharo name for the !Kung Bushmen; it means literally "north side" and reflects the fact that the !Kung have traditionally been the northern neighbors of the Nharo. The !Kung commonly apply this label to themselves, saying "we are the ≠d"au//ae (north side) people".

[197] Since all three groups, calling themselves !Kũ, zũ/wãsi,
[184] and ≠d"au//ae, respectively, speak dialects of the same language, and since the latter two groups maintain a sense of ethnic identity through the name relation it is recommended that the name !Kung be adopted as the tribal appelation. It is the easiest of the three names to pronounce and it has had the widest currency in the literature.

[184] Of the three geographical divisions of !Kung, full time
[224] independent hunters and gatherers are found only among the
[222] central group.

184 The northern !Kung of Angola and Ovamboland are closely
648 associated with Bantu agriculturalists. In 1925 Bleek ob-
222 served that "In contradistinction to the southern !Kũ the
241
439 women and children (i.e. of the Angola !Kung) are not collectors of wild food. Once or twice a year when certain berries ripen, the whole tribe goes out berry picking; otherwise they live by hunting and bartering part of the meat and skins obtained for the agricultural produce of their neighbors...." (1928:108). Westphal visited the Angola !Kung in 1964 and confirmed Bleek's observations (Westphal personal communication).

184 The southern division of !Kung work on the European
221
464 farms in the Ghanzi and Gobabis districts. Many of them
648 spend the summer months in the veld, hunting and gathering, but return each year to winter on the farms (Silberbauer n.d.).

Among the central division of !Kung are found Bantu-associated peoples, farm laborers, and independent traditional hunters and gatherers. In the Grootfontein district of South West Africa several thousand central !Kung are working
131 on European farms. Along the Okavango river for 500 miles
184 of its length from Cuangar in the northwest to Sehitwa on
648 Lake Ngami, some further thousands of central !Kung live with, and work for, the Bantu of the following tribes:

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648

Kuangari Bunja Sambiu Djiriku	in South West Africa
Mbukushu	in South West Africa and B. P.
Bayei Batawana Herero	in B. P.

[621] These !Kung may live in independent villages near a
[224] Bantu kraal and devote much of their time to hunting and
[222] gathering, or they may be incorporated into the compounds of
[464] their protectors and work as domestic servants and farm hands.
However, all of these Bantu-associated !Kung are in contact
131 with groups of more independent !Kung living inland. Ties
184 of real and fictive kinship and marriage link the river
602 dwelling !Kung with the !Kung of the dry interior. The loca-
582 tion of these non-!Kung peoples is shown in Map 6, p. 34.

131 Map 7 illustrates how the European and Bantu-associated !Kung form a ring of population around the peripheries of the northwest Kalahari. These settled areas enclose an interior of about 25,000 square miles, one third of which is in Bechuanaland and two thirds in South West Africa. Most of

III. THE DOBE AREA: ITS PEOPLES AND HISTORY

[3] Dobe, a small waterhole on the South West Africa/
[114] Bechuanaland border, ninety miles west of Nokaneng, B.P., was the location of the author's main field camp. The term, "Dobe area", as used in this report refers to the country
[3] within a thirty mile radius of the Dobe well. This includes the eleven permanent waterholes which support the entire population of Bushmen and Bantu in the Bechuanaland sector
[224] of the !Kung interior. The Dobe area also includes a large
[222] tract of ground in South West Africa where Bechuanaland Bushmen traditionally go to hunt and gather. It does not include the Nyae Nyae pans, /gam and Tsumkwe in South West Africa, or the more distant waterholes at n!aun!au, at !Audum, or at Tsodilo Hills in Bechuanaland (see Map 8).

Dobe is not the cultural or administrative center of the settlements of the interior !Kung. On the contrary, Dobe is the most isolated of the waterholes on the Bechuanaland side. The term "Dobe area" is applied here simply as a matter of convenience.

To reach the Dobe area by truck, one drives west from the Batawana town of Nokaneng which is situated on the western edge of the Okavango swamps. After traversing uninhabited country for 67 miles the traveller arrives at

648
464 attached to an independent camp were living with the Bantu.
[233] These working Bushmen, with their spouses and families,
[162] numbered 44 people.

The Batawana headman, Isak Utuhile, was the only one of the Bantu residents to maintain a staff of retainers and their families. This sort of benevolent feudalism is a common practice throughout the Tswana tribal areas of Bechuanaland (Schapera 1953:28; Tagart 1933) but, with this one exception,
[162] is absent in the Dobe area. The headman supports four assistants (including a uniformed Bushman police constable) and their families, a total of 13 people.

Finally there was an Ad Hoc grouping of 26 !Kung who lived at the kraal of Enamoharadi, a Herero woman at Mahopa. These people lacked a territorial nucleus and therefore could
[224] not be considered as an independent camp. Several !Kung
[222] women helped with the domestic duties but the majority chose
[262] to use Mahopa as a base of operations for hunting and gathering and to drink the milk of Enamoharadi's cattle when it was offered to them.

361 Except for the women who are married to Bantu, most of
648 the !Kung remain only temporarily in Bantu villages, for periods ranging from one month to two years. Also it was observed that most of the !Kung living with Bantu spent at least half the year hunting and gathering. Furthermore many

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648 The Bushman residents of Bechuanaland, however, were not immediately affected by these restrictions. They continued to hunt and gather on the South West side and to visit their kinsmen at localities in the Nyae Nyae area.

648 <u>The period of European presence, 1960-1965</u> - In 1960, the
177 South African Government put into operation its plan to civilize the !Kung Bushmen of the interior. A government station was set up at Tsumkwe where a borehole was sunk. Mr. C. V. McIntyre, the Bushman Affairs Commissioner, took up residence at Tsumkwe. The !Kung Bushmen from Nyae Nyae were
[241] ingathered and provided with rations of maize meal. After they had been settled around the borehole a program was initiated to teach them agriculture. Because of a series of drought years this program has not met with success.

[162] By 1964, over 800 !Kung Bushmen had been settled at Tsumkwe. Less than 50 of these people had come from the
[178] Bechuanaland side. It is not clear why the Bechuanaland
[162] !Kung have not participated in this program to a greater
[224] extent, but the fact remains that over 350 !Kung continue to
[222] hunt and gather in the Dobe area and seem to indicate no intention of moving to Tsumkwe.[1]

648 The latest development in the political situation in

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[1]Some B.P. Bushmen insist that they were refused permission to live at Tsumkwe. Others say they fear to go there.

V. SUBSISTENCE ECOLOGY: AN OVERVIEW OF PLANT AND ANIMAL RESOURCES

121 The concept of a hunting and gathering way of life has assumed a misleading connotation in the ethnographic literature. The term has come to imply a random precarious existence searching for food, an eking out of subsistence [433] of odds and ends. Since the present study is the first detailed analysis of the food habits of non-agricultural people, it should be stated at once that the Bushman subsistence is based on a systematic strategy of exploiting abundant food 222 resources. Very little of their food gathering is left to chance. Their knowledge of the local environment, of the habits of game and the growth phases of food plants is virtually exhaustive. In other words, the Bushmen know where the food is at each season of the year and they arrange their schedule of activities to take maximum advantage of these resources. They do not allow themselves to get into difficult situations, and even during the season of scarcity they have available several alternative strategies of getting food and water.

262 The security of their life is in part due to the fact 137 that the basis of their subsistence is plant foods which are 136 abundant, local and predictable. Meat is of secondary importance in the Bushman diet. Game animals, by contrast to

824 262 such as Boscia albitrunca and Bauhinia macrantha did not come into fruit in 1963-64 because of the drought. The majority were not eaten because of their unattractive taste and because more desirable foods were available.

These 85 species are listed alphabetically by class in Table 5, pp. 108-110.

The way in which the Bushmen arrange these 85 plants in order of their importance as foods suggests a productive analogy to the way they utilize space in subsistence activities.

262 222 The Bushmen typically occupy a camp for a period of weeks and eat their way out of it. For instance, at a camp in the mongongo forest, the members of the camp will exhaust the nuts within a one-mile radius the first week of occupation, within a two-mile radius the second week, and within a three-mile radius the third week. The longer a group lives at a camp, the farther they must travel each day to get food. This is a feature of daily subsistence that occurs at both winter and summer camps. For instance, at the Dobe winter camp, in June the gatherers were making daily round trips of six to nine miles to reach the mongongo nuts. By August the daily round trips had increased to twelve miles.

This progressive increase in walking distance occurs because the Bushmen are highly selective in their food habits. They do not eat out all the food in a given area. They start

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

262
222 by eating out the most desirable species and when these are exhausted they then turn to the less desirable species. Because the food resources are both varied and abundant, in any situation where the desirable foods are scarce the Bushmen have two basic alternatives in food strategy:

- first they may walk farther in order to continue to eat the more desirable species,
- or, they may remain closer to camp and exploit the less desirable food species.

For instance, at the Dobe winter camp mentioned above, by August the younger members were making the long round trip to the mongongo nuts, but the older members were exploiting foods of Classes III and IV which they had hitherto ignored and which were still abundant close to the Dobe waterhole. There was a general but not invariable tendency at each camp for the Class I and II foods to be locally exhausted first, then the Class III foods were exhausted and only then were the Class IV foods systematically gathered. One never observed the complete exhaustion of foods around a camp, because the Bushmen always moved camp long before the foods of Class IV had reached scarce levels.

These alternative strategies will be documented in later chapters. For the present one should bear in mind that !Kung subsistence always has two dimensions. There is a spatial

222 262 dimension in which the gatherers move farther and farther in order to eat the desirable foods, and a hierarchical dimension in which people remain in one area and eat their way through classes of species of decreasing desirability.

136 Animal Resources

The 223 known species of animals in the Dobe area are divided taxonomically as follows:

mammals	42 spp.
birds	75 spp.
reptiles and amphibians	24 spp.
invertebrates	82 spp.
TOTAL	223 spp.

262 825 Mammals - The mammals represent the highest percentage of animal biomass in the Dobe area and it is not surprising that the meat of mammals accounts for over 90% of the animal diet of the Bushmen. In all, 29 of the 42 mammal species are known to be eaten by the Bushmen and only seven mammal species are universally tabooed as food.

Personal, age specific, and sex specific taboos play an important role in the eating of mammals. No individual Bushman will eat all of the 29 eaten species and no two individuals have the same set of tabooed species. Each person has his own prescription of what species he may and may not eat. The mammals can be divided into seven degrees of taboos.

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262 the animal evidently has much better storage properties than
224 the flesh.
[251]

In general, the larger the animal killed, the more widely its meat is shared. The meat of springhare, hare, steenbok, and duiker is usually consumed by the hunter's immediate family. The meat of wart hog, antbear and porcupine is
[628] shared out among the members of a hunter's camp. The meat of kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok is shared out among the hunter's camp and among members of neighboring camps.

825 <u>Birds</u> - The eating of birds again illustrates the selective
262 food tastes of the Bushmen. Of the 75 species of birds
223 recorded only eight species were said to be eaten and of these only four species were observed to be systematically hunted. The four important game birds were:

crowned quinea fowl	red-billed francolin
Swainson's francolin	red-crested korhaan

The other birds eaten were:

Kori bustard	double-banded sandgrouse
Cape turtledove	red-billed teal

Snares were regularly set in order to capture guinea fowl, francolin and korhaan. Occasionally other birds triggered the snares. Usually these other species were fed to the dogs. Occasionally they were simply discarded.

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Only the eggs of the above eight species appeared to be

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[416]
[301]

gathered and eaten. With one exception all other birds eggs were ignored. The exception was the ostrich eggs which were highly prized as water containers and as material for making ostrich egg shell beads.

Reptiles and Amphibians

Only four species of reptile - two tortoises, one leguaan, and the rock python - were regarded by the Bushmen as edible. One species of frog, Pixiecephalus sp. was regarded as edible. Of these five species, the large leopard tortoise (Geochelone pardalis) is the most important food. These tortoises weigh 5-8 pounds. They are sluggish and easily collected. For this reason, the tortoises were the only species of vertebrate that were collected by the women. All other vertebrates were the exclusive concern of the men.

The rock python, a large non-poisonous snake, was regularly collected by the men. This provided c. 25 lbs. of meat per specimen. The pythons collected varied in length from 8-15 feet. The other three species were rarely observed to be eaten.

Invertebrates

Insects have traditionally been considered by ethnographers to be a major Bushman food (Bodenheimer 1951:137-195). However, among the Bushmen of the Dobe area insects played a minor role in the diet. One species of antlion and three

222 262 [825] species of beetles were observed to be eaten. Termites and locusts were not eaten. Honey is highly regarded as food by the Bushmen, and the hunters often investigated bees nests but honey was never observed to be eaten at the Dobe camp and only rarely at other camps.

262 824 825 In summary the plant and animal resources of the Dobe area include 85 plant and 54 animal species which are eaten. Closer examination reveals that only a small number of these edible species play a major role in the diet. Only 26 of the 139 edible species may be considered as major Bushman foods: 9 species of plants and 17 species of animals.

VI. ORGANIZATION AND TECHNOLOGY OF SUBSISTENCE

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462 There is a basic division of labor between the sexes: the men are hunters of game and the women gatherers of plant foods. The men, however, do combine gathering with hunting. For instance, if no game has been killed on a hunt the men will gather some vegetable food as they return at the end of the day so that they will not come home empty-handed. The organization of work is simple. The sexes are almost always segregated in food-getting activities. Typically the women of a camp will go out in groups of three to five, with a well-defined objective of which species they want to collect. They spend the day or part of it working over an area and return to the camp each evening with their food. They never remain out overnight.

224
462 The hunting groups of the men are smaller than the collecting groups of women. Typically two men will go out hunting together, but frequently an individual will go hunting alone. More rarely groups of three or four men go out. Hunting groups of five or more men were never observed during the study period. The Bushmen feel that too many participants spoil the hunt. The men very rarely stay out overnight. Even if they have shot an antelope in the afternoon they return to the main camp to sleep and early the next morning set out to

224 462 track the animal to the place where it has died. All the
[222] Dobe area Bushmen consistently hunted and collected within a 15-20 mile radius of their camps. Hunting trips of 3-10 days duration have been recorded in the literature on !Kung (e.g. L. Marshall 1960:331), but these extended trips were not a feature in the Dobe area.

222 224 462 The contrast in technology between the hunting equipment of the men and the gathering equipment of the women is striking. Only three elementary tools are required for the complete range of gathering tasks. On the other hand, the hunting kits consist of at least 19 complex weapons and devices, with sophisticated methods of manufacture and maintenance.

222 The three gathering tools are the kaross, the digging stick and the nut-cracking stones. With only these three items, a softened antelope hide, a sharpened stick, and a pair of unimproved rocks, the entire gamut of plant foods
[291] can be exploited. The kaross is the most important of the three. This is a one-piece combination garment-cum-carrying-device made from the hide of a gemsbok, kudu or wildebeeste.
[281] The raw hide is dried, the edges are trimmed and the hide is softened by a tanning agent from the plant Elephantorhiza burkei. The resulting garment is worn by the women draped
[482] over the back. When tied at the waist by a leather thong,
[291]

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[291] the lower half of the kaross conceals the wearer's backside while the upper half forms a pouch for carrying vegetable foods (as well as water containers, firewood and babies).

Since most of the Bushman foods are nuts and berries, ranging in size from 1/2 to 1-1/2 inches in diameter, and hundreds of these small foods make up a family's daily diet, Bushman life would not be possible without some means of carrying quantities of these small foods back to the camp or "home base". One cannot overstate the importance of the food-carrying device for Bushman life, and for the life of hunting and gathering peoples in general. This, I think, has implications for the evolution of human subsistence during the Pleistocene since a device for carrying vegetable foods would seem to be a prerequisite for human camp life.

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412 The digging stick is secondary in importance to the kaross because all but one of the major Bushman foods are nuts, berries and melons which do not have to be dug out of the ground. The typical digging stick is three feet long, three quarters of an inch in diameter and sharpened into a blade at one end. It is made from the thick straight stalks of the bushes of the genera Dichrostachys and Grewia. It [224] is not weighted by a bored stone. Apart from its obvious use for digging out edible roots and bulbs, the digging stick also plays an important role in mens' hunting activities.

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412 Four of the ten important game species (wart hog, antbear, porcupine, and springhare) live in underground burrows and it is often necessary after running an animal to ground for the hunter to excavate to the burrow in order to retrieve the
[482] carcass. The men also use the digging stick as a carrying yoke on which to bring home game.

412 The third tool is a pair of nut-cracking stones. Without
222 these it would be impossible to exploit the abundant mongongo nut (Ricinodendron) as food because of its extremely hard shell. Any reasonably hard stone may be used including the locally abundant limestone cobbles. The hammerstone is fist-sized and no flakes are struck off. The anvil stone may be any size and shape up to a weight of fifteen pounds. Neither of these stones is improved in any way and only the pecking marks show evidence of human use. The nut is held on the anvil stone between the fingertips of the left hand. With the hammerstone one delivers two to five sharp and dextrous blows which are sufficient to open the nut.

Through the generations, pairs of these stones have become distributed throughout the nut forests of the Dobe area. It is only occasionally necessary for a woman to carry her own cracking stones from one camp to another.

It may be useful to re-examine the Stone Age lithic assemblages with the nut-cracking stones in mind.

222 Also, on occasion, the men
262 scavenge meat from carnivore kills. If the day's hunt has
224 been unsuccessful a man may hack a piece of dried hide from a kill that may be several weeks old. Or, if several men are hunting together they may drive the lesser scavengers such as vultures and hyenas off a fresh kill. Scavenging is not a regular practice. It occurs only if the opportunity presents itself and if there is no other meat forthcoming.

VII. LAND UTILIZATION

361 During 1963-64, the Dobe area was divided into nine territories within which the 15 independent camps were operating. These nine territories together covered about two-thirds of the total area (see Map 14).

361 312 There was not a direct relationship between the number of permanent waterholes, the number of territories and the number of independent groups. Although all of the independent groups had access to a permanent water, some of the permanent waters supported several groups, while at other permanent waters independent groups were lacking.

The number of territories and number of groups at each waterhole is shown in Table 6.

[222] At :goše there were four camps but all these camps moved within the same collecting areas. Similarly, for part of the time, there were two camps at Dobe but both camps utilized the same groves of nut trees and the same summer waterholes.

On the other hand, at /ai/ai three of the five camps had their own territories, while two of the camps shared a territory. The jointly occupied territory lay to the north of the /ai/ai waterhole, and the three other camps operated to the west, to the south, and to the east of /ai/ai, respectively.

At the !angwa, Bate, and :ubi waterholes, the situation

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312 was simple. Each waterhole supported one independent camp and each camp had its own territory.

Two of the waterholes, Mahopa and !xabe, lacked independent camps and therefore were not part of a territory. [648] The Bushmen who drank at these waterholes lived in Bantu [222] villages. They collected food in the adjacent territories of other camps such as Dobe !ubi and !angwa (see Map 14).

361
602 The sharing of a single territory by two or more camps reflected the close kinship ties between the camps. This was obvious at Dobe where the leaders of the two camps were a brother and sister who often brought their two groups [562] together to make a common camp. It was also obvious at !goše where the four camps were led by descendants and collaterals of one old woman. In previous years these four independent groups at !goše had lived in one large camp.

361 The territorial arrangements of the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen, like their group structures, were extremely flexible. Most territories overlapped with one or more adjacent territories. The boundaries of territories were vaguely defined and there were areas between territories which were not claimed by any of the camps. The Bushmen did not conceive of territories as areas of exclusive occupation. The ~~concept of~~ territorial defense was lacking. Each territory consisted, in the words of Mrs. Marshall, of "a waterhole and a side" (L. Marshall 1960:334). This point is illustrated in Map 14.

361 Each of the groups moves in a "direction" from its waterhole.
312 For instance, the Dobe people move to the west and north, the !angwa people move to the northwest, and the !gose people move to the east.

361 The concept of territoriality as applied to the Bushmen differs from the concept used by zoologists in discussing the spatial arrangements of animals. The zoological usage refers to the exclusive use of space, by an organism or group of organisms who defend this space against competing members of the same species (Bourlière 1964:94-100).

By contrast the Bushmen groups do not defend boundaries and members of all groups travel freely between camps. However, land utilization is not at all a random phenomenon.
[222] The Bushmen population is organized into land-holding units,
[224] and the members of a unit tend to spend the greater part of the year hunting and gathering within a specific area.

Thus, in the context of this study, the term "territory" refers to <u>the area within which an independent camp moves during the annual subsistence cycle</u>.

361 The locations and spatial configurations of territories
824 are determined by the distribution of water and food resources.
[312] Each territory has within it a permanent waterhole, one or more seasonal water sources, and one or more mongongo nut forests. Every territory includes, in addition, a selection

312 permanent water sources. Nevertheless for one season every
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433 year Bushmen must face a situation in which major foods and
824 permanent water are a considerable distance apart. How Bushmen arrange their lives to meet this situation will be illustrated by data from the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen.

312 According to the Bushmen, water has always existed in
824
222 the eight permanent waterholes of the Dobe area. Seven of these waterholes are situated in or near the dry bed of one molapo, the !angwadum. The eighth, 25 miles to the south, is in the bed of another molapo, the /ai/aidum. These molapos lie in the center of a belt of flatlands which varies in width from 5-10 miles. It was pointed out in Chapter IV that the molapos interrupt the basic system of parallel dunes that cover most of the northwestern Kalahari. But it is only on these dunes that the primary Bushman food, the mongongo nut, is found. The result is that each of the eight waterholes is three to seven miles distant from the nearest grove of mongongo nuts. Thus gatherers who are camped at a permanent water must make a minimum daily round trip of six to fourteen miles in order to gather mongongo nuts. As the nearest nuts become exhausted the round trip distance becomes greater and greater, until it reaches a distance that is too far to walk in a day. This distance varies from camp to camp but 12 miles (6 miles out and 6 miles returning) was close to the maximum that the

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824 people were willing to walk in a single day for the purpose
222 of food gathering. In order to exploit food resources further than seven miles from water, the Bushmen feel that it is necessary to make a temporary camp at the food and stay overnight.

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222 The options available to Bushmen facing such a situation are three: 1) they may carry water to the food and live there until their water is exhausted; 2) they may move to the food and dig water-rich roots to satisfy their moisture requirements; or 3) they may wait until rainfall produces standing water nearer the desirable foods.

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147 There are no physiological short cuts to solving the water problem. There is no evidence that the Bushmen's daily water requirements are less than that of other peoples (Wyndham in press; Silberbauer 1965). Like all peoples, the Bushmen must drink water to live and their daily requirements are a function of such factors as ambient air temperature, wind velocity and the work they have to do[1] (Ladell 1958; Adolph et al. 1947).

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[1]Ladell, a physiologist specializing in problems of human life in arid regions has said: "It can be categorically stated that no man of any race, however acclimatized and trained, can survive in a hot desert climate without very liberal supplies of water; there is, and can be, no substitute for water and there is no remedy for its deficiency". (1958:85).

312 at the waterholes consists primarily of roots and bulbs of the
221 genera: Eulophia, Vigna, Walleria, and Coccinia, and the edible
824 sap of Acacia spp. and Terminalia sericea. It is this time of year that the heart of the dwarf vegetable ivory palm is eaten,
[164] (Hyphaene). Those who eat its fibrous pulp experience stomach cramps and diarrhea, but, as the Bushmen say, it make one's "mouth work" and gives one a sensation of a full stomach.
221 Hunting is arduous business in the heat and men who go out in
224 the early morning find it necessary to spend the mid-day hours resting in the shade. The principal animal killed is the springhare.

132 The first rains are convectional thundershowers. Their distribution is spotty. A storm may briefly inundate one area and miss entirely another area only a mile away.

312 The Bushmen observe the storm clouds travelling across
222 the horizon and try to judge where the showers have drenched
[821] the ground. They then set out in family groups in the direction of the rains. If they find that water has collected in the hollows of mongongo trees, they will stay in the nut groves for several days and eat nuts until the water is exhausted. They then fill their karosses with nuts and return to the permanent water. If, on reaching the nut groves, they find that no water has collected they will be forced to fill their karosses with nuts and return to camp the same day. In certain areas

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222 where the water bearing root Fockea monroi is available the Bushmen may extend their stay in the nutting groves by eating the juicy pulp of this root. If they are fortunate, this water source may tide them over to the next shower, part of which will accumulate in the hollows of trees.

13 The first rainfall, however brief, appears to have the general effect of triggering reproduction in animals, and initiating the growth phase in plants. Among the first of the summer foods to appear are the leafy greens Dipcadi glaucum and Talinum crispatulatum.

132 There is no well-defined boundary between the first rains of October and the main rains. J. Marshall mentions that during his periods of field work a gap occurred between the first and the main rains. In 1963 and 1964, however, the showers gradually increased in intensity and frequency from [433] October through December. The date of onset and the intensity of rainfall varies greatly from year to year and a delay of even a few weeks in the onset of rain can cause considerable hardship amongst the Bushmen. Furthermore, an initial rain followed by weeks of dry weather is a mixed blessing, for it brings the plants prematurely into leaf and they become scorched and damaged by the subsequent sunshine.

In 1963, the first rain fell on 8 October. In 1964, it did not fall until the 11 November and one noticed that the

132
433 physical condition of the Bushmen was visibly poorer in November 1964 by comparison with November 1963.

2. Main rains

132 The Bushmen say that a series of intense downpours
361 (measuring 2-3 inches) heralds the beginning of the main
[821] rains and ushers in their season of abundance. Such a fall occurred in 1963 at the end of November. The immediate effect of these downpours is to produce standing water in the small molapos that lie in the interstices of the dunes. When these seasonal waters become established, virtually the entire Bushman population moves out to live at them. Thus from December through March the permanent waterholes are largely deserted.

312 With the coming of the main rains, the summer foods
433 begin to ripen. These foods appear around the summer water
222 sources and they appear also around the permanent waterholes. It is significant, that, although foods become available at the permanent waterholes, the Bushmen tend to avoid these foods. They prefer to eat the foods that are around the summer waters. This illustrates one way that the Bushmen take maximum advantage of the more distant foods. They defer exploitation of the foods around the permanent waterhole until the winter when the alternative water sources have dried out.

221
312 30 or more people) and Bantu cattle posts. These were located
361 at Characharaha, Mahito, !gun/isa and /wihabe. Map 18 illus-
[162] trates the distribution of population during the late summer
(March 1964). p. 159.

221 Life at the summer pans is, by Bushman standards, luxur-
137 ious because all of the major and minor fruits, berries,
433
222 melons and leafy greens become available. There is a succes-
sion of ripening of the major foods throughout the summer
months. The first to ripen are the leafy greens (Dipcadi
and Talinum), followed by the sour plums (Ximenia caffra and
X. americana), then the melons (Citrullus lanatus and C.
naudinianus), and the Grewia berries (Grewia flava comes
first followed by six other species). By the time the plums
have become scarce the melons are ready for eating. As the
melons become worked out the Grewia berries ripen. Each of
six species of Grewia comes into ripeness at a different
time, so that every two weeks throughout the middle of
summer another species of Grewia became ready for eating.
Throughout the early part of the summer the mongongo nuts
are available but these are the nuts from the previous year's
fall. It is not until April that the current year's fall of
nuts occurs. And then a new cycle of working out from the
camp occurs. This illustrates again the selective gathering
habits of the !Kung Bushmen.

824 222 Citrullus lanatus - the well-known "tsamma" melon was one of the superabundant foods. It was intensively exploited throughout the mid-summer until it was exhausted within a radius of five miles of the !Gausa Pan. This is a remarkably successful plant around the areas of human habitation. It is an annual (Story 1964:20) and will sprout from seed wherever the pips have been discarded. It is interesting that the Bushmen do not consider cultivating this melon, a common practice among the neighboring Bantu.

Grewia flava berries were superabundant in the vicinity of !Gausa and Characharaha. The amount a woman could bring home was limited only by the speed at which she could pick them from the five-foot tall bushes. In addition, six other species of Grewia were locally available: (G. bicolor, G. flavescens, G. avellana, G. falcistipulata, G. retinervis, and G. subspathulata). It is interesting that, because G. flava has the tastiest berry of all the Grewias, the other six species were largely ignored until the G. flava had been exhausted within a six mile radius of !Gausa.

824 262 When the new crop of mongongo nuts falls, the gatherers can ignore the previous year's crop. The mongongo nut has two edible portions: an outer fruit and an inner kernel. Figure 3 on page 161 shows a mongongo nut in cross section magnified four times to show detail. The outer layer of skin

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 162]

224
146 totalling 36 lbs. This meat (490 lbs.) went to feed a camp of 42 people (exclusive of visitors).

A rough calculation of the weight of meat per person per day through this 28-day period gives a figure of 6-2/3 oz. of meat. The daily intake of vegetable foods per person during the same period can be estimated at 24 oz. (of mongongo nuts and various roots). Therefore a reasonable estimate of the ratio of meat to vegetables in the diet of this camp is 25%-75%.

This ratio is based on observations at one camp during
[114] one season only. It can be said, however, that George Silberbauer, Laurence and Lorna Marshall, and the author are in general agreement that meat comprises between 20% and 40% by weight of the Bushman diet (Silberbauer, 1965:28; Marshalls, personal communication).

5. Late Winter

221 There is a well-defined break point in the winter subsistence cycle between the early period (May, June and July) of relative abundance and the late winter and spring period
221 of increasing food scarcity (August-September). Through the
• 222 early winter the Bushmen concentrate on the mongongo nut groves
462 that are within a day's walk of permanent water. Groups of women go out once every three or four days, fill their karosses with nuts and return to the camp in the evening. The men

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222 during this period concentrate on tending their snarelines.
[462] Gradually the distance to the nuts increases as a wider and
[224] wider radius of nuts becomes eaten out. For instance, by the end of July there were no nuts within seven miles of the Dobe waterhole, and a day's collecting became a major undertaking. In order to reach the nuts, the women had to set out early in the morning and walk for 2-1/2 hours. In the nut forest they had to work for two hours to fill their karosses
[482] with nuts. On the return journey each woman was heavily loaded with c. 30 lbs. of whole nuts and the distance back to camp took 3-1/2 hours to cover. Thus on a late July collecting trip, the women would have to walk at least 14 miles to and from the nuts, plus another two miles in the nut forests, stooping and collecting. This adds up to eight hours of hard work in one day.

At this point, the effort required to gather mongongo nuts begins to outweigh the satisfaction derived from eating nuts and one observed a sharp decline in nut collecting in favor of the less desirable foods of classes II, III and IV. These latter foods had the advantage of being locally abundant in the vicinity of the permanent waterholes.

This transition from nuts to other foods occurred at Dobe
[184] at the end of July (in 1964). At !gose, where the nut forests are much denser, the gatherers continued their daily trips

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222 well into September. On the other hand, at /ai/ai, where 109
184 Bushmen were living, the local mongongo nuts were exhausted at the beginning of July.

Since each territory was known for a different selection of winter foods, the transition took a different form at each waterhole. At Dobe, the mongongo nuts were replaced as the staple of the diet by Baobab fruits (Adansonia) and vegetable ivory palm hearts (Hyphaene). At Bate the people shifted from mongongo nuts to Sclerocarya caffra nuts. At !angwa, the people concentrated on collecting Acacia spp. gums.

221 In general the diet of the Bushmen becomes much more
824 eclectic during the latter half of the winter. It was during
146 this season that the Bushmen took advantage of a wide selection of edible species. Instead of eating mongongo nuts with a few other species as "side dishes", the people had to diversify their diet in order to live well. During August and September no less than 25 species of roots, bulbs and edible gums formed the basis of the diet.

222 There was an alternative strategy to eating less desirable
312 foods. If a family was prepared to make the effort required to reach the nutting groves, they would fill their water containers (ostrich egg shells and the stomachs of antelope) and walk to the nuts. They would collect and eat there until

222 312 their water was exhausted. Water could only be carried out in sufficient quantities to support a family for two or three nights, so that at noon of the third or fourth day, a family was forced to return home.

312 The ability of a group to live away from a waterhole is strictly limited by its capacity for hauling water. The ostrich egg shell has an average capacity of 36 ounces (U.S.).[1] The contents of two eggs (72 ounces or 2-1/4 quarts U.S.) supplies the minimum daily fluid requirements of one adult. Bushmen informants consistently spoke of two eggs-ful as their minimum daily ration. When well-water was available, the Bushmen were observed to drink more than 72 ounces per day. Irven DeVore made a four-day study of the water intake of a group of 15 people in November, 1964. During this period he provided (from water drums) all the water that was drunk by a party of 15, including seven adults and eight children.

His observations are set out below:

1. Total water given out during a 72 hour period; 2,812 oz.
2. Average per 24 hour period; 937 oz.

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[136] [1] The Kalahari ostrich egg shell is smaller than that of other areas. The mean capacity of four eggs from the Dobe area is 35.8 ounces (U.S.). (The range of capacities is 33.5, 35. 35.5, and 39.5 ounces.) This compares with an egg from the Cape Province with a capacity of 42 ounces, and an egg from Kenya with a capacity of 46 ounces.

312 3. Average quantity of water provided to each adult per 24 hour period; 85 oz.

4. Average quantity of water provided to each child per 24 hour period; 43 oz.

Since the amount of water loss through sweat varies directly with the air temperature, an individual would require more than two eggs-full of water during the summer when the mean daily maximum temperature is 100°F. During the winter, when the mean daily maximum is 85°F, two eggs-full appear to be sufficient.

Similarly, the amount of water loss through sweat varies directly with the intensity of activity, so that an individual would require more water after a day of hard hiking in the sun than he would after a day of comparative inactivity in the shade of the nut forests.

For the present case (winter nut collecting trips) the two-egg figures will be taken as an average.

312 For every day of residence away from the permanent water,
484 an individual must carry with him, 72 ounces of water. There-
222 fore a person on a three day collecting trip must carry out four eggshells of water: one for the afternoon of the first day, two for the second day and one for the morning of the third day. Children under 10 years of age can manage on one egg shell of water per full day. Therefore, if a man and wife

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with three young children go to the nuts they must carry a minimum of 4+4+2+2+2 = 14 ostrich egg shells filled with water, four for each adult and two for each child. However, most women own only about six shells. By borrowing shells from other camp members they can bring the total up to the number required for a three day trip.

The antelope stomach sacs offer an increase in water-carrying capacity. A fresh sac will hold up to one gallon (U.S.), i.e. 128 ounces of water, which is the equivalent of 3-1/2 egg shells. Therefore, if a family of five owns two stomach sacs containing 256 ounces of water, this will provide them with one day's supply of water. The 14 egg shells hold three day's supply of water, so that, with two stomach sacs and 14 shells, the family of five can stay an extra day (three nights instead of two) away from the permanent waterhole.

Four days is the upper limit on the time that Bushmen can spend away from a waterhole without a supplement of water from plant sources. There are three reasons for setting the upper limit at four days. First, there is a limit to the number of containers available. Stomach sacs are very fragile and have a short useful life. As they rip they are sewn and this sewing makes their capacity smaller and smaller, so that after six months or so they are discarded. Ostrich egg shells, on the other hand, are much more durable

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and may stay in constant use for years. It is curious therefore that each family possesses less than 10 shells and must borrow shells in order to make these hiking trips to the nuts. The limited number of containers is probably the reason why members of a camp go out to the nuts in shifts. When one family returns, the camp's ostrich egg shells are pooled, and then another family may go out.

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A second limitation is the weight of water that can be carried. The 756 ounces of water required for four days at the nut forest weigh 47 lbs. Each empty ostrich egg shell weighs eight ounces; so that the 14 shells themselves weigh an additional seven lbs. Furthermore it is necessary for the parents to carry the younger children on their shoulders. So, in effect, the parents must walk out to the nut forests fully loaded with water and children and also return fully loaded with nuts and children. On the return trip the weight of the water is replaced by an equivalent weight of collected nuts.

The third limitation is set by the volume that the ostrich egg shells occupy in the carrying space of the kaross. The volume occupied by 14 ostrich egg shells is roughly equivalent to the volume occupied by 14 quart-sized milk bottles. When the time comes for the trip home the adults must pack into each kaross 20 lbs. of nuts, as well as the empty ostrich egg

312 shells; this makes for a very bulky and unwieldy parcel. The
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222 stomach sacs, by contrast to the egg shells, have the distinct advantage of being weightless and occupying no space on the return trip, since when they are empty they dry and shrivel up.

221 The reader can now appreciate the complex logistics of
222 Bushman subsistence activities during the late winter dry
312 season. In view of the difficulty of collecting mongongo nuts during this season, it is not surprising that the people turn to an eclectic diet of roots, bulbs, and gums that are still available in the vicinity of permanent water.

222 Several variations in tactics were observed among the
484 Dobe area Bushmen. One such variation was to leave the older
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312 children behind in the care of relatives while the parents
482 made the long trips to the nut forests. By leaving behind two children at the main camp, the parents could effect savings of 30% in the weight of water that had to be carried out on a four day trip.

222 Another variation observed was the two-day-one-night
484 overnight hike. Such a trip lasted only 36 hours and required
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[482] only three ostrich egg shells of water per adult. By using this tactic, groups of ten or more people could make a rapid lightly loaded trip to the nut forests and return the following day heavily loaded with nuts. This was a difficult operation

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312 because it entailed two consecutive days of hardhiking on
482 short water rations. The object of such a trip was to get to
484 the nuts and back again as quickly as possible, before the physiological deficit of water was allowed to reduce efficiency.

221 The general object of the winter nutting trips was to
222 remain at the nut forests just long enough to eat a really
262 substantial quantity of nuts (about 400 nuts per adult). This marathon meal starts the moment that the Bushmen arrive at the nut camps and continues throughout their stay. It is interrupted for short periods when the Bushmen go out to col-
[539] lect nuts in the vicinity of their temporary camp. There is a Bushman saying that aptly applies to this situation: "It is better to carry food home in your stomach than on your back."

[224] Hunting rarely occurs at these overnight camps. The efforts of men and women alike are directed to eating as many nuts as possible in a short time.

[312] The most important variation in the late winter and spring subsistence tactics centers on the use of Fockea monroi as a source of water. This will be discussed below.

132 6. Early Spring

August is the last month of winter. The last of the freezing nights occurs at the first of the month and these are followed by warmer nights in the 40's and 50's and daily

132 highs in the 90's. The warmer weather heralds the onset of
312 spring which is the most difficult season of the year. Most
137 of the waterholes have no mongongo nuts within a ten mile
222 radius. The alternative foods, roots and bulbs, are being collected daily by some of the people, while others are making the long overnight journeys to the nut forests.

221 Since territories vary in the abundance of early spring
574 foods there was a noticeable tendency for families to visit
628 other camps. For instance in September, Bate still had a good supply of Sclerocarya caffra, nuts; and several families from Dobe, Mahopa, and !angwa converged upon Bate to eat these nuts. Similarly !ubi had a supply of Baobab fruits (Adansonia digititata) and other families made extended visits to relatives there. The maintenance of close ties between camps made possible a more equitable distribution of foodstuffs, so that, if there was scarcity at one camp, and food at another, the members of the first camp would not go hungry. This is one of the highly adaptive features of the fluidity of !Kung group structure.

[563] Some families fall back on the Herero villages at this
[431] time of year to beg for milk. This occurs especially among those people who have a sister or cousin married to a Bantu man. Both the Bushman and Herero codes of good manners demand that visiting in-laws be fed (L. Marshall 1961).

251 were roasted in the coals of the fire and then pounded to
252 the consistency of coarse meal in the wooden mortar. This
262 roasted hide had the taste and texture of crisp crackling and was delicious when pounded and mixed with the flesh of roots of the genera Coccinia, Walleria and Eulophia. These stores of dried hide and meat did not serve as a staple surplus so much as an emergency delicacy to brighten the diet when a day's hunting had been unsuccessful.

221 The major food strategy during the hot dry spring was
222 the 7-14 day trip to the waterless country where mongongo nuts
312 were still plentiful. At these camps the only source of
361 water was the juice from the roots of Fockea monroi. Fockea
824 has an uneven distribution in the Dobe area. The Bushmen must camp in a nut forest that is in close proximity to patches of Fockea. The maximum period that a group was observed to live on Fockea roots was two weeks. The limitation is set by the density of Fockea plants in an area, and the amount of fluid that each plant holds. Life at the Fockea patches is difficult because people have to work hard to obtain water as well as food. Each Fockea root storage organ contains 8-16 ounces of recoverable moisture. Thus a daily ration of 72 ounces of water can be obtained by digging out 5-10 Fockea roots.

312 But the dilemma of living on Fockea lies in the fact that
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222 a great deal of energy must be expended in digging out these roots, and the concomitant of this expenditure of energy is a much greater fluid loss through sweating.

It was mentioned earlier that the body's daily water loss is in part a function of the intensity of activity. For instance, an individual who is resting in the shade will lose half the water that is lost by another individual who is walking in the sun.[1] When standing water is available, the amount of energy expended in obtaining water is small. An individual walks a few hundred yards from his camp to the waterhole, drinks his fill there, then fills his water containers and walks back to the shade of his camp. On the other hand, an individual who is living on Fockea roots must walk several miles per day in the sun and must dig out a number of large roots that are buried 12-18 inches deep in the hard soil of the molapos. Therefore an individual who drinks Fockea juice must first replace the considerable quantity of water that is lost through the effort of searching and digging the Fockea roots; this is in addition to the water that is lost in the course of normal daily activities such as hunting, food gathering and resting.

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[1] Adolph and associates (1947) present detailed analyses of this and other factors in sweat production.

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222 The net effect of this effort is that an individual must drink much more than the minimum daily requirement of 72 ounces of water. In fact, men who were living on Fockea roots, were observed to dig out between 15 and 20 of the roots per day. The quantity of water provided by these roots is estimated at 150-300 ounces, part of which went to provide water for the children of the camp.

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312 A description of one Fockea trip, in which the author participated, will serve to illustrate some of the difficulties of living away from standing water.

[123] This trip began on 6 November and ended on 16 November, 1964. The group consisted of 12 Bushmen (plus the author); there were three men, four women, and five children. One of the young women gave birth during her stay so the returning group consisted of 13 Bushmen.

November 6 - This group (minus one of the men who came out the following day) set out from the Dobe waterhole at 10:00

[103] a.m. They spent the day walking to a nut forest named !wi/wama which was situated eleven miles west of Dobe. The original plan was to remain there for five days.

[481] The pace was leisurely to suit the three older children
[855] (ages 12, 8, 6 respectively) who went on foot and the young
[843] woman who was in the terminal month of her pregnancy. On the way we stopped at intervals to eat seven different species of

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food plants and to rest in the shade. Towards evening we reached a patch of Fockea roots and spent an hour digging and eating them. Six roots were divided among our group of 12 people. At seven p.m. we made camp in the mongongo nut forests at !wi/wama. Within minutes of our arrival the four women had collected and were cracking mongongo nuts.

Before leaving Dobe, the Bushmen had filled 15 containers with water:

1 kudu stomach sac	4 quarts
2 enamel buckets	4 quarts
12 ostrich egg shells	13-1/2 quarts
Total water carried:	21-1/2 quarts (= c. 700 oz. or water)

On the outward journey, the 12 of us drank four of the ostrich egg shells which had been filled at the Dobe well, plus an estimated two quarts of water from Fockea roots. During the evening, no one drank water until just before bedtime when a further three quarts of water were divided out. Therefore, of the estimated total of 700 ounces of well water, 224 ounces (30%) had been consumed on the first day's hike. It is not known how long the remainder lasted because the author left the camp at the end of the second day.

November 7 - The group woke up at 5:40 a.m. The women were not satisfied with the location of the camp so we packed up and hiked west for another half mile to make camp at a new

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484 location closer to the nuts. By 7:00 a.m. this camp had been
312 deserted. The women and their children had gone to collect
[462] nuts and the men had set out to find Fockea roots and to hunt
[224] along the way. The men carried no water with them on the hunt. The author accompanied the men.

We walked south for several miles looking for fresh animal tracks and for patches of Fockea plants. We passed through two molapos where the Fockea plants were likely to exist, but to our disappointment we found none. It was 10:00 a.m. before we dug out the first Fockea of the day.
[132] By this time the morning coolness had disappeared and we had to walk and dig in the sun with shade temperatures about
312 100°F. The first Fockea worth digging were found 4-1/2 miles
824 south of our camp at !wi/wama. The roots were the size of a football and weighed about three pounds.

The flesh of Fockea is white and juicy with a spongy granular texture. The juice is milky in color and slightly astringent so that it smarts when accidentally rubbed into small cuts on the hands. There are two methods of extracting the moisture from the root. First, one cuts open the root with a knife and chops off chunks of the flesh inside. This may be eaten directly like watermelon. The disadvantage of this method is that one must swallow about three pounds of roughage in order to extract one pint of moisture; in other

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224 No game were seen except for a solitary female ostrich. We
[222] tracked her to her nest and collected her clutch of nine eggs. Each of the eggs was pounded in the sand to separate the amnion from the inside of the shell. This apparently kills the embryo inside the egg. These nine eggs were divided among the three of us. We then dug out four large Fockea roots intact, and we returned to the camp at 2:30 p.m. after a hike of nine miles.

484 The women of the camp had spent the early part of the
222 morning collecting nuts and Fockea and the rest of the day
462 sitting in the shade cracking nuts and squeezing the Fockea
312 juice. From 2:30 to 4:30 p.m. no one drank any of the water that had been brought the previous day.

484 At 4:30 p.m. the third man of the camp arrived from Dobe.
312 He brought with him one gallon of water in an enamel milk pail and portions of a dead kudu that he had scavenged from a carnivore kill on the way.

484 By this time I was experiencing symptoms of heat dis-
123 tress, (fever, lassitude, inability to swallow) and decided
312 to return to Dobe, because my continued presence would become a burden on the camp residents, none of whom, incidentally, showed any signs of heat discomfort.

One of the men, seeing my condition, offered to accompany me back to Dobe with his family. We left at sunset and walked

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824 allows for a wide range of alternatives in subsistence
433 strategy. During the summer months the Bushmen have no prob-
824 lem other than to choose among the tastiest and most easily
221 collected foods; other species which are quite edible but less attractive are simply bypassed, so that gathering never exhausts all the available foods of an area.

During the dry season, when the fruits and melons have gone, the gatherers still have multiple options open to them. They may plan a hike to the molapos to collect the edible Acacia gums, or they may go to the flats to dig out roots and bulbs. Even at the end of the dry season, when the stronger members of a group are making the long hikes to the mongongo forests, the older, less mobile members can derive an adequate subsistence from an eclectic diet of minor foods which are closer to home.

433 Plants versus Game -- The security of Bushman subsistence
222 derives in part from the fact that meat is of secondary import-
224 ance to vegetables in the diet. The !Kung males are persistent, but not particularly successful hunters. Although hunting accounts for over half of the subsistence effort of a camp, meat comprises only 20-40 per cent of the diet. The basis of the Bushman diet is plant food, and meat has come to be regarded as a special treat. When meat is available, it is welcomed as a break from the routine of vegetable foods, but it is never

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depended upon as a staple. Strictly speaking, the Bushmen should therefore be regarded as gatherer-hunters rather than hunter-gatherers.

The relative scarcity of game in the Dobe area may be related to the widespread diminution of the large African mammals during historic times. It is worth noting, however, that this diminution of game has not led to the collapse of the Bushman way of life. It is sometimes asserted that the decline of large game has contributed to the extinction of hunting-and-gathering peoples in Africa and elswhere. The evidence from the Dobe area refutes this assertion. The Bushmen there have elaborate and sophisticated methods for capturing smaller mammals, and the meat from these kills serves to supplement a diet primarily based on abundant plant resources. The burden of the evidence from this study suggests that the Dobe area Bushmen do not lead an impoverished way of life.

262 Diet Selectivity -- If the Bushmen were living close to the starvation level, then one would expect them to exploit every available source of nutrition. That their life is well above this level is indicated by the fact that, in a given season, they eat only the most attractive of the vegetable foods, and bypass many other available foods. In their meat eating habits the Bushmen show a similar selectivity. Only a few of the dozens of edible species of small mammals, birds, reptiles, and

262 insects that occur locally are regarded as food. Such animals as rodents, snakes, lizards, termites, and grasshoppers, which, in the literature, are included in the Bushman dietary, are despised by the Bushmen of the Dobe area. Even the more attractive larger mammals are hedged round by numerous age-specific, sex-specific, and personal taboos, so that no single Bushman may eat all of the thirty species of mammal that are considered edible. Ritual curers prescribe, for each individual, a series of species that would be highly injurious if the individual were to eat them. These prohibitions are strictly observed. For instance, the wife of ǂoma, the most successful wart-hog hunter, was forbidden to eat the meat of that species and she became sick to her stomach at the mere smell of cooking wart-hog meat. Such strongly-held aversions and selective tastes are cultural luxuries that are not usually associated with a starvation level subsistence.

<u>Leisure and Work</u> -- The getting of food is the most important 462 single activity in Bushman life. This task occupies, on the [512] average, 25 per cent of the womens' days and 40 per cent of the mens' days. The significant point, however, is that the majority of the time of both sexes is spent in non-subsistence [222] activities such as resting, talking, and visiting. In a typical [574] work period, a Bush woman will gather one day and then spend two or three days either resting in camp or visiting other camps,

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before she goes out to gather again. The hunters tend to work more frequently than the gatherers. Typically a man will go out on two or three consecutive days and then spend two or three days in camp. Unlike the women, who maintained a consistent gathering routine throughout the year, the hunting activity of the men came in intermittent bursts. It was not unusual for a man to hunt avidly for a week and then do no hunting at all for two weeks. Since hunting was an unpredictable business, and subject to magical control, hunters would sometimes experience a run of bad luck and would stop hunting for a month or longer. For instance, ǂoma, the best hunter of the Dobe camp, did not hunt at all for a three-month period in 1963 because he said that his luck had left him. He remained in camp, apparently awaiting inspiration, while his wife patiently provided food for him. Most of the men of the Dobe camp went through similar periods of inactivity.

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<u>Non-productive Camp Members</u> -- People who are under twenty years and over sixty-five years of age contribute very little to the food input of a camp. Young women are not expected to
[582]
contribute food until they are married. Girls typically marry
[574]
between the ages of fifteen and twenty, so it is not unusual to find healthy, active, teenagers visiting from camp to camp while their older relatives provide food for them. The assumption of adult responsibility by the boys is even more delayed.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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Chapter IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Tribe and Hunting Band

All the Bushmen in their native condition lead a nomadic hunting 222 ●
and collecting life, roaming about in search of the game and wild 224
vegetable foods upon which they depend for their existence. The [182]
conditions of their subsistence necessarily prevent them from banding
together permanently in any considerable numbers. Wherever they 621
still retain to any marked degree their original mode of life and
organization they are found scattered over the land in small separate
communities.[1] Each such community will be spoken of here as a
hunting band. The members of a band share a common life, they see
one another constantly, they co-operate in many ways, and they are
all as a rule friendly and on fairly intimate terms. Each band also [619]
has occasional relations with other neighbouring bands, through
intermarriage and trade, and visitors may pass from one to another.
On the other hand, there are often quarrels between neighbouring [628]
bands, which may result in a prolonged state of feud and even lead
directly to warfare.

The various bands among the Heikum are generally referred to 621
among each other by a name which indicates either the locality in 101
which they live, or describes some physical or other characteristic
of the band itself or of its locality. The *se-khoin*, for example, are the
people of the *seb* or plain; the */gom-khoin* the people who eat the

[1] The social organization of the Bushmen is one of the least-known aspects of their culture, and sadly needs careful and detailed investigation. The most reliable sources of information refer almost exclusively to the North-Western tribes: Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 1907; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910); (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.* 21 (1927); *idem*, *The Naron*, 1928; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928); L. Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. SW. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6); *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, 1928. The relevant literature on the other tribes is for the most part fragmentary, although some valuable data on the Namib Bushmen are given by Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), and by Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910). Where no special reference is made to any particular tribe the analysis given above must therefore be regarded as applying especially to the North-Western tribes, who are also the only Bushmen still leading a fairly independent life. [114]

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Chapter VI

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIFE

Land Tenure

Each hunting band among the Bushmen, as we have already noted, 423
claims rights of ownership over a certain stretch of land, and 621
vigorously resents trespass upon it by members of other bands. Within the band land is owned in common. The hunting territory belongs to the whole band, and all the members of the band have an equal right to hunt and collect over any part of it and to use the water in it. Often the members of the band are scattered apart, so that the same territory is exploited by the inhabitants of several different encampments. These encampments, as we have seen, are not [361] made up of any fixed number of families, but fluctuate a good deal in size. Whatever their momentary disposition, however, their [221] inhabitants always roam within a definitely limited area, and it is always the members of the same band who establish these different encampments within its bounds.

As the Bushmen practise neither agriculture nor pastoralism, there 423
is no question of cultivation or grazing rights. There is said, however, to exist a certain private ownership of land among the Auen, in the [222] sense that when a man burns a patch of veld in order to promote the growth of veldkos on it, he alone has a claim to its products. Others, even people living at the same encampment, may not gather veldkos on this patch without his permission.[1] Somewhat analogous to this 222
are the private rights recognized by all Bushmen over objects found 422
in the veld. A man who finds an ostrich nest with one or two eggs, for example, sticks an arrow in the ground close by as a sign of ownership, and waits until the tale of eggs is complete before carrying them off. Should another man take the marked eggs, the first finder follows the spoor to the thief's hut, and demands them back. If they are [685] restored, there is no fighting, but the thief does not escape reproaches [626] for wrongdoing, especially from the neighbours of the finder; while in case of refusal bloodshed almost inevitably follows. In the same

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 155.

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222 way private rights can be indicated over honey in a nest, or by a woman
422 who has located a spot with a specially abundant supply of veldkos. Whoever removes anything from such places is regarded as a thief.[1] It must be emphasized, however, that rights of this nature are only
[423] acquired by chance, and that apart from them there appears to be no restriction at all upon the free exploitation of the hunting territory and all its resources by any member of the band.

Hunting

224 Once they have passed through the puberty ceremonies, boys and
[883] girls participate in the full economic life of the band. All the men
[462] are hunters, and spend the greater part of their daily life in pursuing or ensnaring game. Their methods of hunting vary with the nature of the intended prey, and according to the season of the year.

Weapons

The principal method is by means of pursuit and the use of weapons.
411 The latter amongst all the Bushmen consist primarily of the bow and arrow.[2] The bows are small, and on the whole fairly crude and of simple make (Plate IXd). They are as a rule prepared from the wood
[824] of the *Grewia flava*, a thin length of which is cut and roughly shaped is such a way as to taper gradually almost to a point at the ends. The
[283] string is made either from two thin sinews twisted together or some-
[237] times, among the Northern tribes, from wood fibre worked into a
[284] strong cord. It is attached by a simple slip-knot and wound tightly several times round the basal end of the bow-stave, to which a small leather collar or sinew band is usually fixed to prevent the string from slipping when hitched over it. The stave is then bent and the string knotted to the other end, where it is kept in place by a leather band. The bow is kept permanently strung. Its stave is frequently strengthened with additional sinew bindings, especially round the centre, which prevent it from splitting and also form a convenient grip for the hand.

The arrows are complex in structure and vary considerably in

[1] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 120; *idem*, in *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, ix (1896), p. xvii; Vialls, "The Masarwa," 32; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.

[2] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), 113–17; cf. Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 68–71; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4; van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements," 80–5; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 94–6, 99–100.

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224 returning to the camp, sleep under the central tree and avoid sexual intercourse with his wife, lest the poison prove ineffective and the animal escape. The meat of an animal killed by a dog may not be [841] eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating; this is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. Any want of success is generally attributed to some chance accident; for example, a man who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife was menstruating will not hunt again while she is in that condition, nor will she eat any of the *!noe-di* at such times.[1]

These practices and beliefs obviously represent only a small portion of what must be an elaborate series of usages relating to hunting, but they suffice to indicate how the Bushmen, fully aware of the uncertainty attendant upon their efforts, seek to relieve their apprehensions and to obtain confidence by the aid of magic and taboo.

Collecting

224 Hunting in the old days was unquestionably the principal source 136 of subsistence in Bushman life. But with the decrease of the game 648 in their region and with the enforcement against them of the game 222 laws framed by the white man, its importance is diminishing, and at the present time the Bushmen depend very largely for the means of existence on the wild vegetable foods growing in the veld.

[241] Agriculture in any form is altogether unknown to them in their 222 traditional mode of life. The nearest they have got to it is found 224 in the practice observed by the North-Western tribes of burning the 311 veld at the end of the dry season.[2] This, it is said, is done primarily in order that the edible bulbs, roots, etc., should come up better during the approaching rainy season. It is also used, however, as a means of hunting, for the men spread round the fire in a semicircle and drive all the game rushing from it before them in a certain direction where some hunters are lying in wait; moreover, the new grass growing soon after the burning attracts the game, which returns to the area, and thus makes it good hunting ground. Incidentally the burning serves to kill off snakes, scorpions, and other noxious creatures. Men may only [423] burn in their own territory; to do so across the border, or to gather wood where others have burned, is a great offence. In former times, [622] among the Naron, the chiefs are said to have regulated the burning;

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 102.
[2] Jodtka, "Reise nach dem Okavango," *D. KolBl.*, xiii (1902), 491; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147, 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 17.

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nowadays the thing is done in a haphazard manner, and generally passes as an accident. 222 [224] [311]

The collection of veldkos is done by both men and women; but whereas with the former it is incidental to their hunting, the latter are collectors only, and set out every day, usually in company, to go over several miles of land. The digging-sticks they use are from 3 to 4 feet long, and consist of pieces of hard wood, pointed at one end. In the south, where the veld is hard, and in the mountainous parts of the east these sticks were sometimes tipped with a buck's horn and weighted by means of a perforated stone ball passed over their lower end and wedged in (Plate IX); but in the Kalahari, where there is only sand to cope with, this is never found. The foods gathered are chiefly roots, bulbs, ground nuts, berries, melons, and, in fact, anything at all edible, the food naturally varying with the season of the year. At the same time, the women also catch all sorts of small animals which they come across—iguanas, tortoises, frogs, locusts, flying ants, etc.—and they gather dry sticks for the evening fire. [462] [412] [184]

Among the Heikum the following ceremony is observed in connection with the gathering of veldkos by the women. "It is practised," says Fourie,[1] "when the fruit of the */huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the */huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gaus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women to the *//gaus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the */heis*. Her husband now kindles the */hei-/ais*, and, after having applied */norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it." There is no known name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called */gao-ei-/un*. The ceremony in this form is not found in any of the other Bushman tribes, but is met with also in slightly different form among the Bergdama. The possibility of borrowing must therefore again be kept in mind; but, whether borrowed or not, the ceremony is of importance as indicating the development of a special ritual in connection with one of the principal sources of food supply. 222 622 [184] [171]

[1] "Customs of the Hai-//om," 56–7; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W.A." 98–9.

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222 622 [184] A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to [782] [539] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 [462] [857] [415] [237] Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 182 [221] [621] The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

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177 439 they are no longer self-sufficient. Contact with other peoples has made them familiar with various articles, especially iron and tobacco, which they now covet very greatly and in order to obtain which they carry on an extensive system of barter. Even within the band itself [437] there is a good deal of barter in such things as meat, clothing, veldkos, and utensils. Berries and roots, for example, are exchanged for tobacco or beads, skin bags for poisoned arrows, and so on. Trading [484] visits to other bands are also frequent. But the most common form of barter is with peoples of other races, especially the Bantu.

439 The !O Kung of Angola, unlike all the other Bushmen, do not go [184] out into the veld to collect vegetable foods. These are obtained by [222] barter. The younger men hunt, and trade part of the meat and skins obtained for the cereals, maize, potatoes, manioc, etc., of the Bantu among whom they live. Honey and wax are also collected and traded, sometimes with the Bantu for food and tobacco, now and again to Europeans for powder and cartridges. Wax is a good article of trade with Portuguese traders, and the Bushmen are therefore assiduous in collecting it. Besides foodstuffs they also obtain pots and baskets from the Bantu, as well as metal wares such as knives, arrow and spear heads, and beads.[1]

The Bushmen of the Okavango swamps, again, trade ostrich egg-shell beads, ivory, ostrich feathers, skins and horns with the inter-dwelling Bantu in return for tobacco and dagga, as well as iron and such iron goods as spear heads, hoes, and knives; while the Namib Bushmen exchange similar objects with Hottentots and Europeans for blankets, knives, tobacco, and coffee.[2]

Among the North-Western tribes there is a whole system of trade 438 relations between different tribes, extending from the Okavango in the north down almost to the Molopo.[3] In this the Naron and the Auen play the part of intermediaries, obtaining from the tribes further north the objects they desire, and then bartering them again further south as occasion arises. Egg-shell beads and tobacco are standard [436] articles in this trade, in the sense that they can always be bartered and may even be said to have a fixed value. From the Naron the Auen 438 procure skin garments and bags, for the making of which the former 439 are famous, giving them in return wooden pots, dishes, and spoons

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 32–3; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 108.
[2] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland," 701; *idem*, *Die Buschmänner*, 118–19; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.
[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, loc. cit.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 132–3; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37–8.

/145 cont./

224 The main method of hunting is to stalk the game with bow and poisoned arrow. It is unnecessary, I believe, to emphasize that the Auin, like every Bushman, is an unsurpassed master of this art. He usually shoots at a distance of only a few paces. This manner of hunting is applicable to almost every type of game.

In the following I shall describe how the Auin customarily kill the main types of game. I have omitted stalking in those cases where it is naturally also a secondary method of hunting.

Gemsbok and wildebeest. The Bushman stays on the track for days on end and does not give the animal any rest. Finally he hunts it down to finish it off. A large tree branch with many twigs is thrust between the gemsbok's horns. While the gemsbok tries to rid itself of the branch, the Bushman severs its posterior flexing sinews or throws his spear at its shoulder blade.

Overtaking a gemsbok on foot sounds very much like a hunter's exaggeration, but the physiological explanation is that the Bushman simply does not allow the animal any rest for digestion and ruminating. After several hours an inflammation of the stomach sets in, which makes the animal almost incapable of movement.

The other large animals, such as the giraffe, eland, hartebeest, ostrich, and the springbok, cannot be approached in this way, and for them the Bushman confines himself to stalking. The small /146/ bucks can only be finished off when they are mired in wet ground.

Guinea fowl are stealthily approached and killed by stones [223] or a stick thrown at them.

The aardvark is dug out. The Bushman, however, tackles this laborious job only if the aardvark cannot go too deep, in other words, if it is suspected that rocky subsoil lies below the sand. For this purpose he uses a spade (obtained from the Whites) [177] which is usually the common property of the settlement. How he could accomplish it without a spade is unclear to me, since the aardvark digs about as rapidly as a practiced workman with a spade.

The porcupine and the anteater are likewise dug out.

Hares are hunted by throwing sticks at them. Hunting them, however, is said to be only rarely successful. Usually a small

/146 cont./

224 pitfall is put on the trail. I have never seen larger pitfalls for big game in the Auin region.

The jumping hare is held fast in its burrow (not pulled out!) [171] and pressed against the end of it with the well-known angling [411] stick of the South Africans, which among the Auin displays no special characteristics. A vertical hole is then dug from above, and the animal is taken out.

Hyrax. The exits of the burrow are blocked and then an opening is made (that is, dug in from the top).

Leopards are hunted only when several keen dogs are available. The animal is then covered by the dogs and killed with spears by several Bushmen. Without dogs, the Bushman dispenses with this sport, which every expert will understand.

The cheetah is pursued on foot by several people until it is exhausted and then killed with clubs and spears.

Hyenas are not hunted. They are smoked out only when a brood with young animals has been found in a hole in the ground, and the asphyxiated animals are then dug out.

The aardwolf is suffocated in his burrow by smoke and then dug out.

The jackal is not hunted since the Bushman supposedly does not get it anyway.

The wild dog (Lycaon pictus) is not hunted. I believe that in case of an encounter between the two the Bushman himself would usually constitute the game.

In isolated cases the skin of an ostrich, with a stick placed [237] in the neck, is used as a mask. The hunter slips into the skin after he has colored his legs with chalky soil. This mask is used ●[223] for hunting ostriches as well as other types of game.

The Bushman is unable to make other masks since he cannot [281] soften the skins of larger animals without changing their natural appearance. At the same time, the Auin described other masks to me so accurately that I could not doubt that their manufacture and use was known to them.

The characteristic sound of the young springbok, duiker, and klipbok is imitated with the lips while the nose is held with the index and middle finger.

The frightened scream of the young gemsbok and wildebeest is likewise imitated.

/146 cont./

223 In addition, hiding places are set up near ostrich nests in order to note the time when the young animals creep out of the egg. If the Auin wants to kill the ostrich hen in her nest, he waits for a moment when the hen has left the nest and sticks an arrow into the ground between the eggs, with the poisoned point upward. When the hen sits down to hatch her eggs, the poisoned point pierces her body and she dies after a few seconds. This perfidious form of hunting is the reason that one encounters many more ostrich cocks than hens in the Kalahari.

224 Hunting drives are used for gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, and springbok.

Hunting by fire is unknown.

The following animals are caught with snares: ibex, giant [223] bustard, duiker, ostrich, guinea fowl, Koran [?], aardvark, jumping hare, ground squirrel, sand grouse, Greek partridge, smaller species of cat, and small antelopes.

A snare is matter-of-course for animals that inhabit caves, for example, the aardvark. It is placed around the entrance and fastened to a tree. The animal then draws the snare up tight when it goes in or out of the cave.

223 224 For fowl and small bucks, long, special trails which the animals are forced to use are constructed of thorny shrubbery and provided with narrow openings. If the animal tries to go through the opening, its neck is caught in a snare. Bait, of course, is not necessary. Such special trails, of which I have seen specimens as long as 1,000 meters, by no means constitute an impassable corral; rather, they are constructed of very low branches, loosely lying next to one another, which the game could jump over without any difficulty. Generally, however, the animal ambles along such /147/ a trail until it finds a convenient opening.

223 Ostriches, giant bustards, Korane, guinea fowl, sand grouse, and Greek partridges are caught by means of the spring trap. A little tree, whose strength depends upon the game to be caught (for the ostrich, naturally, it has to be fairly strong), is bent down to the ground and held by means of a string. The string ends in a noose which is fastened to the ground with wooden pegs. Bait (usually a ball of resin) is put in the middle of the circle formed by the noose. By means of a simple connection, the

/147 cont./

223 noose is released when the animal takes the bait, and at the same time the gallows springs back and pulls the animal up in the air by its neck. Concerning the material used to make the noose, see page 41 . The arrowheads of the Auin are generally
411 poisoned. I have also found arrows which had only a single unpoisoned bone point. These are used for sport, perhaps also for killing small birds.

Manufacture of the arrow poison. Burkea africana (firewood
278 of the Bushmen) is inhabited during the rainy season by a beetle (or a species of termite?) which toward the end of the rainy season pupates in the soil under the tree. The larvae are dug up, killed, dried in the sun, and rubbed between stones.

Roots of the thorny tschamma (Cucumis heptactylus Naud.) are laid on red-hot coals, taken out warm, and the bitter sap pressed out. This sap is mixed with the poisonous paste, and the resulting dirty, reddish-brown preparation represents the finished arrow poison. The poison is applied to the arrow point in a layer several millimeters thick and dries there.

The Bushmen greatly fear their own arrow poison and always
278 carry the poisoned point hidden in the shaft. The poisoned end
411 is exposed only just before it is to be used. The layer of poison on the iron points, which because of their width cannot be concealed in the arrow shaft, is always wrapped with bast which is not taken off until the arrow is to be used. All Auin can make arrow poison and readily demonstrate the process.

224 The decorative scars described on page 16 are to be regarded
304 as hunting trophies.

The hunters supposedly tell exaggerated tales. Quarrels on
521 these occasions sometimes end in bloodshed.
578
[231] The only domestic animal is the dog.

The Bushman doctor is supposed to let blood for healing pur-
757 poses. For instance, in the case of a man who could not run well, bloody incisions were made in his upper thigh. On the other hand, I do not know whether this procedure can be described as "bloodletting." Scars from such incisions were shown to me several times.

413 The surgical instrument is a little sharpened piece of iron.

[32 cont.]

224 423 go to the kin group to whom this territory belongs and take the men to the animal. Then it will be carefully divided down the middle; the hunter gets one half, and the owners get the other half. Nevertheless, quarrels are common, because there is only one of certain organs, such as the heart, liver, etc. These con-
[184] ditions, however, exist only among the eastern !Kung. A Hei//om or a northern !Kung who is found hunting in the territory
224 of another tribe is regarded as an enemy. Boys' hunting is con-
[857] fined to lizards, tree rats, and other rodents. They ordinarily
[411] use the bird arrow, which is carved out of a piece of wood, but in contrast to the Ovambo, the older boys here already have
[223] poisoned arrows. Young and old pursue the hunting of birds with great enthusiasm; in particular guinea fowl, sand hens, grouse, and the Pau [?] insofar as it occurs in this region. These fowl
[262] and small bushbucks are the chief sources of the meat in the native diet. The forest region of the eastern !Kung is poor in
[136] large game. Zebras are almost entirely absent, as is the wildebeest; the giraffe is very rare. The eland, kudu, hartebeest, and especially the gemsbok are relatively more common. Hunting drives are organized to hunt the elephant or rhinoceros. First, the elephant is separated from the herd. As soon as it has been cornered, one Bushman after another springs forward and throws his spear. It is also possible to hunt the elephant with poisoned arrows; there is a number of thinner spots in the skin at the front legs, and the marksman places as many arrows there as possible. The elephant does not die; it merely becomes sick. The hunter rushes home to get some other men, who then go to look for the elephant with spears. Pitfalls are made in the vicinity of the watering places, and a pointed pole is placed inside them. The Bushmen along the Okovanggo also hunt the hippopotamus with pitfalls. The eastern !Kung maintain that in ancient times the hippopotamus was also found in their land. The sling trap is made
[223] in various sizes. The ostrich in particular is usually caught in such sling traps, which are provided with a piece of bone bleached by the sun. Small cats and the like are also caught with this trap. It is likewise placed on the trails of the bushbuck. Jackals and the like are caught by lying in wait for them as they come out of their dens and then beating them to death with the kirri.

[79 cont.]

224 water or Brak (salt) place and is prevented from turning off the track by thorn branches placed on either side of the worn track, steps on the little stick lying just below the ground, which moves it out of position and releases the end of the little transverse stick. The string, having lost its hold, releases the bent tree, which snapping back, tightens the noose around the leg of the game and holds the animal imprisoned until the Bushman brutally kills it with a number of blows of his kirri, which is carved out of hard
223 wood. For various kinds of fowl, doves, etc., the Bushman prepares similar slings with thinner string, which are set up in the same way except that the sling is not placed on the ground but is held two or three centimeters above the ground by means of little sticks planted in a circle. In the center of the circle, on a little stick loosely covered with sand, there are a few maize kernels or berries. When the bird picks them up, he moves the little stick out of position and finds his neck in the sling. -- As household
415 implements among the Kalahari Bushmen, in addition to the hollow
237 ostrich eggs used to carry water, I found water sacks made from the inner peritoneum of an animal, not unlike a pig's bladder; these water sacks are closed with a short stick and leather string.
[312] The ostrich eggs also serve the Bushmen as artificial watering places in the dry stretches of the water-poor steppe regions, in which a number of them are hidden under the sand.

415 "Among the other household utensils of the Bushmen, I also found flat, wooden vessels, wooden mortars, and earthen pots of various sizes. The wooden vessels, which are completely different from those of the Herero, are, according to their own state-
[439] ments, obtained in trade from their northern neighbors. The earthen pots likewise are not made by the Bushmen themselves. In form they are somewhat reminiscent of the wooden Omeira pots of the Herero and, as a Herero half-breed declared and demon-
600 strated to me, are manufactured in the following manner. A lump of soft and thoroughly kneaded clay is spread out over the naked, moistened knee, so that first of all it assumes the form of the knee. The calf of the leg must be pressed to the thigh in order to obtain the correct shape. Then the clay is carefully taken off, and the shape of the vessel is improved and perfected by kneading it with the fingers. Finally simple decorations are scratched into it with a

114

MR. MARSHALL has participated in all six expeditions to the Kalahari by Harvard's Peabody Museum. Two of the expeditions were in association with the Smithsonian Institution.

224 with the heat and exertion, the portly animals suffer a kind of stroke and have to take to the shade to recover. There, puffing and dizzy, the exhausted elands can be butchered by the deep-breathing hunters.

[223] The trap is a spring-pole snare, of which exists a small version for birds and a larger version for small bucks. Such trapping is usually practiced only by young boys, and even they seem to do it rarely, so that what could amount to an important food source is neglected by the !Kung. The men would rather be gone after the big game, absorbed in the heat and chance of hunting,

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

224 meat to the owners of the territory should they happen to encounter them,
[43] but this is a gift, not an obligatory tribute. The vastness and emptiness of
[182] the country allow this freedom in hunting rights and the wandering nature of the game requires that the hunters, if they are to succeed at all, be free to look for game wherever they can find it.

222 The !Kung eagerly pick up tortoises, certain kinds of lizards, snakes, ostrich eggs, and grasshoppers, and they relish termites when these insects
[212] swarm out in nuptial flight. These items provide incidental delicacies and gathering them is like the gathering of veldkos. The person who gathers
224 them may keep them for himself and his own family. Men gladly shoot small
223 animals and birds if they happen upon them—wart hogs, duikers, other small antelope, porcupines, badgers, pythons, spring hares, ostriches, paouws, guinea fowl, red-winged partridges, occasional migrating geese, and other birds. They may keep them for their own families. They do not, however, devote their hunting time to the smaller animal creatures if they find fresh spoor of the larger ones. Hunting the big game animals that feed a whole band is the work of a man's prime and is incumbent on him.

224 Hunting parties usually consist of from two to four or five men. A man cannot hunt effectively alone in this country. Several parties hunting in different directions are more advantageous than one larger party. Any man may organize a hunting party, with relatives and friends from his own band or from neighboring bands—men he likes to hunt with. No one is formally a leader; the men talk and plan together and are likely to fall in with the suggestions of the one whom they consider the best hunter. Participation in any given hunting party is voluntary. What !Kung society urges is that the
[461] hunters hunt; it does not restrict the ways and means. The force of public
[626] opinion upon men not to sit in the werf, not to be lazy but to do their share, is tremendous.

The game the !Kung hunt deliberately and purposefully are the several big antelopes found in the region: eland, kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok. They also hunt the more rarely seen buffalo and occasionally manage to shoot a giraffe. Although there is this considerable variety of kind, there is not a great abundance of game. The herds are small and the hunts long and hard.[6] The antelope, because they can go for long periods without drinking, move and drift about anywhere in the vast monoto-
[401] nous veld and are very difficult to find. Hunters often search for days, cover-
ing scores of miles, before finding spoor fresh enough to follow, and they may
[411] follow it for days before catching up with the animal. Their little arrows kill by poison rather than by piercing deeply, and, when an animal is shot, if it is big, it may wander for three or four more days until it dies of the poison.
[136] Smaller animals succumb in a shorter time. The hunters must track the animal and find it before the lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals, or vultures devour it.

825
262 the animal evidently has much better storage properties than
224 the flesh.
[251]

In general, the larger the animal killed, the more widely its meat is shared. The meat of springhare, hare, steenbok, and duiker is usually consumed by the hunter's immediate family. The meat of wart hog, antbear and porcupine is
[628] shared out among the members of a hunter's camp. The meat of kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok is shared out among the hunter's camp and among members of neighboring camps.

825 <u>Birds</u> - The eating of birds again illustrates the selective
262 food tastes of the Bushmen. Of the 75 species of birds
• 223 recorded only eight species were said to be eaten and of these only four species were observed to be systematically hunted. The four important game birds were:

crowned quinea fowl	red-billed francolin
Swainson's francolin	red-crested korhaan

The other birds eaten were:

Kori bustard	double-banded sandgrouse
Cape turtledove	red-billed teal

Snares were regularly set in order to capture guinea fowl, francolin and korhaan. Occasionally other birds triggered the snares. Usually these other species were fed to the dogs. Occasionally they were simply discarded.

222
262 Only the eggs of the above eight species appeared to be
825

000 Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

224 411 The !Kung weaponry consists of specialized weapons for killing, retrieving, and preparing different species of game. The bow and arrow are used to kill only the large antelopes, kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok. The thirteen-foot-long burrow probe is used exclusively for hooking springhare [223] which sleep in their burrows during the day time. Rope snares are set to trap small buck such as duiker and steenbok, as well as the game birds such as guinea fowl, francolin and 224 korhaan. Fire is used in two ways. First it is used to smoke 372 out or asphyxiate wart hog, antbear and porcupine that have [412] been cornered in burrows. If an animal dies in the burrow, it is then dug out by means of a digging stick. Fire is also used during late winter to set bush fires. These fires burn off the old cover of vegetation and encourage new growth which will attract game animals to the burned area.

224 411 The spear is not used as a weapon of attack, but is employed to finish off animals that have been weakened by [231] poisoned arrows or that have been wounded by the Bushmen dogs.

The knobkerrie(club) is also used to finish off wounded [223] or cornered animals. Occasionally it is used as a throwing [231] club to knock down small birds and squirrels. This appears to be more of a pastime than a serious technique since the animals knocked down this way are usually fed to the dogs or just cast aside.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

224 where bush is scarce, frequently seek shelter during the day in the numerous anteater holes. Finding a morning spoor leading to one of these holes, the hunter, silently as a cat, creeps up to the hole and plants himself before it, leaving a small open space under the left arm, for which the buck charges, when it is pinned and dealt a stunning blow over the head with the kirri held in the right hand. In this way numbers of these animals are killed. The kirri is also used for knocking down hares and game birds; it is thrown from a distance of twenty-five to thirty feet, and generally stuns the game so that it is easily [223] secured. Birds are preferably aimed at just when they are rising from the ground, as the slightest blow will then upset their balance and bring them down before they have time to escape.

Bigger game, such as the giraffe, eland, hartebeest, ostrich, and springbok are generally hunted with the bow and arrow, which are used all the year round. As a rule the men hunt alone, or a man and boy together. They find the spoor of an animal and follow it, finally creeping up to the leeward side on hands and knees, using all possible cover, and then raise themselves gently to shoot. Or else they lie in wait for the game on its way to the water, or in the vicinity of a place where it comes to lick salt. The men hide themselves between stones, or dig a hole in the ground, piling up the earth in front and sticking green branches on top to deceive the game. Occasionally, again, several men surround game in a pan, some standing to leeward ready to shoot, while the others drive from windward, approaching from different quarters.

Once he has wounded an animal, the hunter takes up its trail and follows it leisurely, knowing that he will ultimately reach the corpse, if the poison on the arrow has been at all effective. There is always the great danger, however, that if the buck has run too far, and he takes too long to reach it, hyenas or the vultures may have got there first. Also care must be taken that the animal does not run out of [423] the hunting territory, as it is then as good as lost, or, where the [621] neighbouring band is friendly enough to permit of its being followed over the border, the meat must be shared with the members of that band. When at last he comes up with the buck the hunter, if it is not already dead, dispatches it with the spear or kirri. He then cuts [252] it up, roasts and eats some of the meat, and carries the rest home; or, if near the huts, he may carry the whole buck home. If it is too big to manage, he will light a fire to summon the other members of the band to the spot. Everybody shares in the meat, which is doled

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

out by the hunter, who, however, keeps the skin, sinews, etc., for himself. 224

The Cape Bushmen occasionally dressed themselves up in the skin of an animal or in the feathers of an ostrich in order to approach the game unsuspected. A kind of saddle made of grass in which were stuck ostrich feathers was placed on the shoulders, while a long stick with the head curved to look like an ostrich was carried in the hand. The hunter by imitating the motions of the bird feeding, running or preening its feathers contrived to get as close to the flock as possible, always moving up wind, before discharging his poisoned arrow. In a well-known rock painting from Herschel reproduced by Stow[1] there is portrayed such a scene, in which the hunter is shown under the feathers of an ostrich, cautiously approaching, with poised arrow, a number of real ostriches who are feeding peacefully close by. Similar disguises are employed by the Namib Bushmen, but appear to be generally unknown among the tribes further north, although the ostrich disguise is reported by Dornan of the Hiechware and on hearsay by Kaufmann of the Auen. Various other ruses are known, however. Some men are very clever at imitating the calls of various birds and animals and by this means get quite close and thus secure their quarry. Again, "in the season when the young animals are not able to follow their dams, they are hidden by the mothers, who feed in the vicinity. The Bushmen having found where a young one is hidden, will go close up to it and imitate its cry. The mother, hearing the cry and thinking that some wild animal has attacked her calf, immediately rushes up to protect it, and is easily killed. Numbers of animals, more especially the smaller buck, are destroyed in this manner."[2]

223 825 [292] [532] [184] 224 825

Almost every Bushman village has also a large number of dogs which accompany their masters on the hunt.[3] These are the only domestic animals possessed by the Bushmen. They are lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half-starved and savage-tempered. They are quite silent on the spoor and never betray the presence of the hunters by barking, though they will snarl and sometimes bark if one approaches an encampment. "It is really wonderful," says Herbst, "with what courage these lean mongrels will tackle a leopard, a courage no doubt begotten of hunger and an absolute confidence in their masters, who, with their knobkerries, are never far behind so

224 [231]

[1] Stow, op. cit., pl. vii, facing p. 82.
[2] Dornan, op. cit., 105; cf. Kaufmann, op. cit., 146.
[3] Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 262–3; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Herbst, *Report on Rietfontein Area*, 6; Range, *Beiträge zur Landeskunde des Namalandes*, 73; Schultze, op. cit., 667; Dornan, op. cit., 103–4; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 16.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10 Kung

inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. 513 593
Individual adjustments are made.

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the will to hunt, good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt. It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness. 582 224 884 [304]

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of hunting is ceremonially linked with marriage. At the time of the wedding, the boy must bring to his bride's parents an animal that he himself has killed. The animal he brings must not be eaten by the bride. 585 224

A boy who never killed any large meat animal would not be given a wife, informants said. This was why the strange old deviant, /Gaishay, had remained a bachelor. For reasons no one understood he could not hunt; he gathered veldkos like a woman. Gossip had it that twice he had tried to drag a woman against her will into his scherm but had not succeeded. Informants remarked, 'Women like meat.' They do, but there is far more to it than that. 582 589 [462]

As John Marshall shows in his film, *The Hunters*, the primary sources of physical life, sex and food, are involved. In /Kung concept they are linked together, and, as they pertain to men, their duality is lifted to oneness in the being of the man, who is the sexually powerful male and the provider, the hunter. Power as a man and a male and worthiness and dignity are associated with hunting and not with the failure to hunt. 562 828 224

Since they are related, both the sexual and the hunting powers of the young man can be captured at once with a bride. For the first several years of marriage the boy goes to live with his bride's parents, or her people, should her parents be dead, to hunt for them. The parents of girls speak constantly of wanting their sons-in-law to provide them with food as though it were an obsession. 'We are old', they say, or 'We shall soon be old [whether this is actually true or not]; we need a young man to hunt for us'; 'our daughter's husband must get us something to eat'; 'we need karosses'; 'we want meat'—these are their refrains. 583 [591] [606]

Another value the /Kung place upon the boy's hunting during his bride-service appears in their belief that if the husband hunts for his wife and feeds her while she is still a growing child she becomes the more his. Food seems to be a main concern in bride-service, but the people also say that they want to be sure that the boy measures up in every way and will take good care of their daughter, and that the girl will have time to get used to her husband. [581] [593]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 Band 2. She was /Nai's second cousin (MoFaBrSoDa) and the first cousin once
585 removed of the groom (MoSiDaDa). The attendants were not selected for their precise relationship to the bride. They were the only young kinswomen present in the two bands. The girls sat down and chatted with /Nai for a moment and then stood up and, giggling and chattering, took /Nai by the arms. /Nai drew back. Then Xama pulled /Nai's arms over her shoulders, bent and took /Nai on to her back so that her feet did not touch the ground. Xama carried /Nai in this position to the wedding scherm, laid her down inside, to the left of the opening as one entered, in the dark shadow, and covered her over with the kaross. There /Nai remained. We did not see her again that night.

It is the custom for the parents to take brands from their own fires to light the wedding fire of the bride and groom. Presumably this was done, though I did not see it. When the girls arrived the fire was burning and a young man, a cousin of the groom, was tending it. The two girls sat down by the fire on the women's side.

562 /Kung men and women must sit on opposite sides of the fire.[1] They believe that if
834 male and female genital organs should touch the same spot on the ground the man's
352 hunting powers would be vitiated and the woman would get a sickness in her genito-urinary tract, not an ordinary, human, communicable disease but a magical one. The woman's side is to the left as one faces the entrance to the scherm, the men's to the right. The fire is always in front of the entrance if the scherm is built, but, more often than not, if the weather is good, or the people are travelling and staying
[342] only one night, or the wife is lazy, she hangs the family belongings in a bush and does not build a scherm. Then it is the custom to thrust two upright sticks into the ground to represent the entrance, so that the family may orient itself.

In the werf of Band 2, about twenty or thirty yards to the west, a group of boys had
159 come to /Gunda to attend him. They were all the young boys of the werf who
585 were approximately his age, two cousins (MoSiSo) and four of the sons of /Gunda's stepfather by his first wife. The boys made a show of catching /Gunda and held him by the arms for a moment, laughing and talking. Then they formed a line with /Gunda following at the end, walked to the wedding fire, and sat down on the men's

[1] This taboo reveals the association which, I
224 believe, the /Kung make between the hunting power
833 of men and the male sexual principle. Both must be protected, and sexual activity must be controlled and constrained lest the life-giving and food-producing force of men be weakened or drained away. During the period of a hunt a man must not have sexual intercourse—that is, while the man is looking for game and, after he has shot his little poisoned arrow into the animal, while he is tracking it for miles and waiting and watching for days till it dies of the poison. A hunt usually demands many days and nights of effort and privation.

[783] Too frequent indulgence in sexual intercourse with one's wife, even when no hunt is in progress, is believed to diminish a man's hunting power. Some
[841] men believed that once in five nights was best; others thought once in three nights was all right. Men who have the joking relationship constantly play upon the theme of excess, taunting each other: 'You do not know hunting, you know women', 'You cannot leave your wife long enough to hunt.'

The /Kung are less strict about another taboo. A woman is supposed not to touch a man's hunting gear at any time, because this would lessen his power to hunt. But I have often seen women touch assegais and quivers. Indeed it has sometimes been urgently necessary to do so when the children got hold of them, as, for instance, when the three-year-old ≠Gao, agile as a flea, took after us with his father's assegai, infuriated with us for some sudden notion of his own. There is a medicine called *gow gowne*, made from a plant, which may be rubbed on the weapons to purify them if they are touched by women, but I never saw this done and doubted if anyone bothered with it. The effect of a woman's touching the hunting gear is much stronger if she is menstruating. I assume they are more careful then.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

logical father, as well as his mother's husband, should do something nice for him. 159
Perhaps when he receives his first assegai his begetter will give it, for that is a very 848
proud thing—but we do not know what the future holds for these people or where they will be by then.

The dominance of men

Wives are much desired by the young men, who usually wait for years for their 562
infant fiancées to grow up, and by men who want second wives, and by widowers. [581]
/Kung women are not only precious as mates, they are the food-gatherers and supply [222]
more of the daily food than the men do. Hunting[1] is very arduous in the Kalahari and [462]
the hunters succeed in bringing a big meat animal to the werf only about once or [224]
twice a month. Meanwhile women have dug roots and gathered berries and the other wild plant foods to feed their families every day. /Kung women in their two roles make a very great contribution.

In /Kung society, however, the magnitude of their contribution does not make women dominant. There are factors which bring the men forward clearly into dominance and leadership.

The primary factor is undoubtedly strength. /Kung men are small and slender, [142]
but they are wiry and vigorous. With their strength they carry and protect the very 147
life of their people. When they swing their weapons and implements and their small children on to their shoulders and stride out in front of the women, the image seems to reveal, as vividly as if a great artist had painted it, how the laden following women are borne up by the strength of their men and take heart from them.

Another factor which brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and 462
its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is only drudgery in digging and 562
picking in the hot sun and trudging back in the early evening to the werf with heavy [222]
roots and berries and babies all sagging in the pouches of their karosses, a small dead tree or two on one shoulder for the night fire, possibly another child astride the other shoulder. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh [262]
and are not very satisfying. There is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving [262]
for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally [224]
the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once, when an eland had been killed and the hunters were sighted [152]
with the meat on their backs, moving in a dark, lumpy, bobbing line in the golden grass, we heard the sound of voices in the werf rising in volume and pitch like the hum of excited bees. Some people ran toward the hunters, others crowded together at the edge of the werf, some danced up and down, the children squealed and ran about, the boys grappled and tussled together. The motion and sound had the effect of a vibration. Another time a young man who was said to be the best hunter in the region (/Qui Hunter we called him, his people called him Short /Qui), had been 462
charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. 562
He knelt facing the creature till it was within close range and shot an arrow straight 224

[1] John Marshall has described /Kung hunting in his film, *The Hunters*, Peabody Museum Film Study Center, Harvard University, and in 'Man as Hunter', *Natural History*, the magazine of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, [113]
vol. lxvii, No. 6, June, and No. 7, August, 1958.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

562 into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by
[462] /Qui's wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes
[224] and the women, some of the plumes in their hair, danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of /Kung men and the way it should be.

By comparison with the men, the women are considerably more circumscribed in
157 knowledge, less ready for new experience, more suspicious and apprehensive of
562 strangers. They draw back and seem on the whole somewhat timid. The men protect them in many ways. They would not let the women ride with us in the truck, for instance, unless some of the men were with them.

The women expect the dependent role. They have their say in conversation but do not take part in the serious conclaves of the men, saying often, ' The men know these things. We do not know. The men must decide. ' And one woman said, 'A man can do everything—shoot and make fire. ' /Kung women are encouraged to be compliant by the fact that, in their love of peace, the /Kung like quiet, modest, gentle women. Overbearing, strident, demanding, or nagging women would disturb not only their own husbands but the whole werf. Disapproval of anyone's behaviour
[626] is expressed by the group in talk, and also by songs, such as the song of *The Two Baus*, which was composed about two loudly quarrelsome co-wives. When the two Baus heard this song strummed on the *||guashi* or hummed here and there in the shadows of the werf at night, they mended their ways.

Though the /Kung like gentleness and compliance in women, their society does
562 not impose extreme forms of obedience or subservience upon them and women are not ill treated. One man told Laurence Marshall that if he wanted to go somewhere and his wife wanted to go somewhere else he might have to talk, talk, talk, talk, talk, talk to persuade her.

We once saw a woman strike her husband on the head with her digging-stick in
562 a fit of frustration because he had coerced her to go with him when she wanted to
593 remain visiting her parents. He had coerced her swiftly and decisively by snatching her baby from her arms and walking ahead with it. In a flash the wife ran a few steps and hit him, then she went around in a circle, stamping her feet in great, high stamps like an enraged samurai in a Japanese print, then she followed her husband. I personally never saw a /Kung man hit a woman. This is not to say no /Kung ever did, but it is far from common.

The dominance of the /Kung men is more protective and life-giving than crushing to the women. On the whole a good balance seems to be attained and there is a notable freedom from quarrelling between husbands and wives. The instances of strife that we have mentioned are exceptional breaks in the usual peace of their well-adjusted human relations.

/142 cont./

527 ample food, they always "celebrate."

The tattoo artist receives no special fee; he is simply pro-
304 vided with food and shelter.

When the forehead tattoo is applied, the patient lies on his back with his head slightly raised. The skin of the forehead above the root of the nose is folded together and drawn up by a man using his thumbs and index fingers. The tattoo artist then makes the little transverse incisions in this fold of skin.

Among men, decorative scars take the place of a hunt record.
[224] For each piece of big game that a man has killed, he wears a horizontal decorative scar, on the right upper arm for male game and on the left upper arm for female game.
[858] Only boys, not men, have scars made for small game (duiker, ibex). Older successful hunters finally dispense altogether with having scars made, after they have enough of them to display.

These decorative scars are made in a manner similar to that used for the forehead tattoo. Sweat (blood) from the killed ani-
[237] mal is always rubbed into them, and usually also the green pigment. The hunting scars are made by any one of the older men. The length of the scars is approximately one-half to one centimeter, the breadth approximately one-quarter to one-half centimeter.

Decorative Scars (or Tattooing) among Women

Green decorative scars on the upper thigh and buttocks up to the waist are worn by all women. These scars can be seen in Photograph 14.

[887] The scars are made in the same way as the forehead tattoo, except that older women make them.

Further investigation was impossible since the Bushmen are very suspicious regarding their women. I am quite content to have succeeded in taking at least one photograph which illustrates these decorative scars tolerably well.

Men and women pierce their earlobes in precisely the same way as is customary among us.

Circumcision is not practiced.

According to statements of the Auin, the labia minora are sometimes clipped.

/144 cont./

411 quiver. Sometimes the arrows are in a special quiver made of
[237] eland horn or bark, which is closed off at both ends with a leather cover (see Photos. 29 and 32).

The Auin almost always carries in his quiver a small container like the arrow quiver of eland horn or bark just described, in which he keeps arrowheads, poison, and other small necessities for shooting.

The notched end of the arrow is pulled toward the chest when the bow is drawn.

714 The war cap is to be regarded as the sole battle ornament. It is made of aardwolf hide (see Photo. 21).

H. Hunting and Agriculture

224 Hunting is done both individually and in groups.

Hunting dogs are to be found in occasional, isolated instances,
[231] but then they are usually obtained from the Kaffir or Betschuana.
[439] The Auin maintain, however, that they know how to train hunting dogs. Collars and the like are not customary.

/145/ [Fig. 8 appears here.]

[422] I was unable to discover whether marks of ownership are applied to weapons and the like. On the other hand, I noticed that people immediately recognize their possessions.

There are no closed seasons on hunting.

The Auin prepares a kind of dried meat. Pieces of meat of any
251 length and width are cut very thin (almost transparent) and are dried on trees in the sun. This dried mass, as hard as wood and inedible to a European, keeps for weeks during the dry season. There must be an almost unlimited surplus of meat available, how-
[264] ever, if the Auin is to decide to preserve some, since he is accustomed to stuff himself to the point of unconsciousness. I have seen a single Bushman, without any help, consume a fully grown Klipbok weighing about six kilograms.

224 Undoubtedly there are especially industrious and impassioned huntsmen, as well as the opposite. I found some people who were absolutely useless on the hunt.

[Text continues on page 25]

/145 cont./

The main method of hunting is to stalk the game with bow
224 and poisoned arrow. It is unnecessary, I believe, to emphasize that the Auin, like every Bushman, is an unsurpassed master of this art. He usually shoots at a distance of only a few paces. This manner of hunting is applicable to almost every type of game.

In the following I shall describe how the Auin customarily kill the main types of game. I have omitted stalking in those cases where it is naturally also a secondary method of hunting.

Gemsbok and wildebeest. The Bushman stays on the track for days on end and does not give the animal any rest. Finally he hunts it down to finish it off. A large tree branch with many twigs is thrust between the gemsbok's horns. While the gemsbok tries to rid itself of the branch, the Bushman severs its posterior flexing sinews or throws his spear at its shoulder blade.

Overtaking a gemsbok on foot sounds very much like a hunter's exaggeration, but the physiological explanation is that the Bushman simply does not allow the animal any rest for digestion and ruminating. After several hours an inflammation of the stomach sets in, which makes the animal almost incapable of movement.

The other large animals, such as the giraffe, eland, hartebeest, ostrich, and the springbok, cannot be approached in this way, and for them the Bushman confines himself to stalking. The small /146/ bucks can only be finished off when they are mired in wet ground.

Guinea fowl are stealthily approached and killed by stones
[223] or a stick thrown at them.

The aardvark is dug out. The Bushman, however, tackles this laborious job only if the aardvark cannot go too deep, in other words, if it is suspected that rocky subsoil lies below the
[177] sand. For this purpose he uses a spade (obtained from the Whites) which is usually the common property of the settlement. How he could accomplish it without a spade is unclear to me, since the aardvark digs about as rapidly as a practiced workman with a spade.

The porcupine and the anteater are likewise dug out.

Hares are hunted by throwing sticks at them. Hunting them, however, is said to be only rarely successful. Usually a small

/146 cont./

224 pitfall is put on the trail. I have never seen larger pitfalls for big game in the Auin region.

The jumping hare is held fast in its burrow (not pulled out!) [171] and pressed against the end of it with the well-known angling [411] stick of the South Africans, which among the Auin displays no special characteristics. A vertical hole is then dug from above, and the animal is taken out.

Hyrax. The exits of the burrow are blocked and then an opening is made (that is, dug in from the top).

Leopards are hunted only when several keen dogs are available. The animal is then covered by the dogs and killed with spears by several Bushmen. Without dogs, the Bushman dispenses with this sport, which every expert will understand.

The cheetah is pursued on foot by several people until it is exhausted and then killed with clubs and spears.

Hyenas are not hunted. They are smoked out only when a brood with young animals has been found in a hole in the ground, and the asphyxiated animals are then dug out.

The aardwolf is suffocated in his burrow by smoke and then dug out.

The jackal is not hunted since the Bushman supposedly does not get it anyway.

The wild dog (Lycaon pictus) is not hunted. I believe that in case of an encounter between the two the Bushman himself would usually constitute the game.

In isolated cases the skin of an ostrich, with a stick placed [237] in the neck, is used as a mask. The hunter slips into the skin after he has colored his legs with chalky soil. This mask is used [223] for hunting ostriches as well as other types of game.

The Bushman is unable to make other masks since he cannot [281] soften the skins of larger animals without changing their natural appearance. At the same time, the Auin described other masks to me so accurately that I could not doubt that their manufacture and use was known to them.

The characteristic sound of the young springbok, duiker, and klipbok is imitated with the lips while the nose is held with the index and middle finger.

The frightened scream of the young gemsbok and wildebeest is likewise imitated.

/146 cont./

223 In addition, hiding places are set up near ostrich nests in order to note the time when the young animals creep out of the egg. If the Auin wants to kill the ostrich hen in her nest, he waits for a moment when the hen has left the nest and sticks an arrow into the ground between the eggs, with the poisoned point upward. When the hen sits down to hatch her eggs, the poisoned point pierces her body and she dies after a few seconds. This perfidious form of hunting is the reason that one encounters many more ostrich cocks than hens in the Kalahari.

224 Hunting drives are used for gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, and springbok.

Hunting by fire is unknown.

The following animals are caught with snares: ibex, giant [223] bustard, duiker, ostrich, guinea fowl, Koran [?], aardvark, jumping hare, ground squirrel, sand grouse, Greek partridge, smaller species of cat, and small antelopes.

A snare is matter-of-course for animals that inhabit caves, for example, the aardvark. It is placed around the entrance and fastened to a tree. The animal then draws the snare up tight when it goes in or out of the cave.

223 224 For fowl and small bucks, long, special trails which the animals are forced to use are constructed of thorny shrubbery and provided with narrow openings. If the animal tries to go through the opening, its neck is caught in a snare. Bait, of course, is not necessary. Such special trails, of which I have seen specimens as long as 1,000 meters, by no means constitute an impassable corral; rather, they are constructed of very low branches, loosely lying next to one another, which the game could jump over without any difficulty. Generally, however, the animal ambles along such /147/ a trail until it finds a convenient opening.

223 Ostriches, giant bustards, Korane, guinea fowl, sand grouse, and Greek partridges are caught by means of the spring trap. A little tree, whose strength depends upon the game to be caught (for the ostrich, naturally, it has to be fairly strong), is bent down to the ground and held by means of a string. The string ends in a noose which is fastened to the ground with wooden pegs. Bait (usually a ball of resin) is put in the middle of the circle formed by the noose. By means of a simple connection, the

/147 cont./

223 noose is released when the animal takes the bait, and at the same time the gallows springs back and pulls the animal up in the air by its neck. Concerning the material used to make the noose, see page 41 . The arrowheads of the Auin are generally
411 poisoned. I have also found arrows which had only a single unpoisoned bone point. These are used for sport, perhaps also for killing small birds.

Manufacture of the arrow poison. Burkea africana (firewood
278 of the Bushmen) is inhabited during the rainy season by a beetle (or a species of termite?) which toward the end of the rainy season pupates in the soil under the tree. The larvae are dug up, killed, dried in the sun, and rubbed between stones.

Roots of the thorny tschamma (Cucumis heptactylus Naud.) are laid on red-hot coals, taken out warm, and the bitter sap pressed out. This sap is mixed with the poisonous paste, and the resulting dirty, reddish-brown preparation represents the finished arrow poison. The poison is applied to the arrow point in a layer several millimeters thick and dries there.

The Bushmen greatly fear their own arrow poison and always
278 carry the poisoned point hidden in the shaft. The poisoned end
411 is exposed only just before it is to be used. The layer of poison on the iron points, which because of their width cannot be concealed in the arrow shaft, is always wrapped with bast which is not taken off until the arrow is to be used. All Auin can make arrow poison and readily demonstrate the process.

224 The decorative scars described on page 16 are to be regarded
304 as hunting trophies.

The hunters supposedly tell exaggerated tales. Quarrels on
521 these occasions sometimes end in bloodshed.
578
[231] The only domestic animal is the dog.

The Bushman doctor is supposed to let blood for healing pur-
757 poses. For instance, in the case of a man who could not run well, bloody incisions were made in his upper thigh. On the other hand, I do not know whether this procedure can be described as "bloodletting." Scars from such incisions were shown to me several times.

413 The surgical instrument is a little sharpened piece of iron.

[6 cont.]

101 account refers only to the latter.

821 [7] The sky is designated by them as !nanu áiba Éroba Kharésa ("rain house of god").

776 For god they have the expressions "Erob" and "χ'amab."

775 only "Erob" is used in prayers. χ'amab (1) has been preserved

1. χ indicates a very low gutteral click, for which I know of no notation.

in χ'amá //gu Khe = "people who are with god," in other words, the souls of the deceased in heaven. Everyone goes there, the good as well as the bad. Erob has no wife and no children. A human being has only one soul (!gau-ba). This soul goes to the heavenly house and remains there "until Erob makes new people from it." Here is a belief in the transmigration of souls, which, it must be admitted, is not thought through any further.

No spirits of the dead remain on earth. There are little

776 bush spirits, the gangorob; they are harmless and do nothing. There are no evil little spirits. They supposedly know nothing about Heiseb and /Nawa.

136 The supply of game is ample in the tall dry forests of the Otjimpolo Veld. There are also fish in the rainy season. The

[825] Bushmen call them "shiba" (Ovambo: oshi or ochi); in other words, originally they had no word for them.

224 The Bushmen are helpless against the lion (χ'oréba).

[825] They leave a region as soon as lions make it unsafe. "There is no point in hunting them."

The leopard (χ'nába) is hunted with dogs (ariba). The

[439] chiefs of Amboland pay a good price for the skin, since little princes and princesses are not carried in a litter made of cowhide, but in a leopard skin. The jackal (≠Khai-eba) and the Löffelhund (//arúba) [a fox-like wild dog of the subfamily Octocyoninae] are hunted with enthusiasm. "Aruba" probably corresponds to N. //arob = striped jackal.

Wild dogs, "Khere," !nube (N. !goub) are preferably

[825] avoided. No notice is taken of the hyena, ≠Khai-lasa (N. ≠heirab),

[262] and it is not eaten. When they come near the camp, it is not a

[787] good sign.

[7 cont.]

222 825 The honey badger, !uisa (N. !ous), which leads to the bees, is followed ever so eagerly.

●224 The common wild pig (gariba), the kudu (daub), the gemsbok χ'uaba (N. /gaib), and all the small antelopes are hunted. Pits are no longer known, although they used to dig them in former times.

[834] If they decide to go hunting, sexual intercourse must be avoided the night before. In the evening the hunters go into the forest and spend the night there. Before dawn they rise and pray:

[539] Pu, pu, Eró, /nari dsu /ari mate — God, tomorrow early we receive.

When a piece of game has been killed, one of the hunters cuts a piece of flesh from the animal's body and hands it to the leader of the hunt. This meat is called am-shái-khe. A fire is made, and this piece is placed on it. When it is roasted, the leader cuts off a piece and shouts:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, ha gore, ha gore — Erob, Erob, Erob, eat, eat
i Khe Khandi ô — With us flesh.

After a pause:

ha lĕ a lĕ ha góre o Khandi ô — Come! Come! Let us eat flesh.

Now the roasted flesh is consumed. Nothing is thrown away or left behind for Erob.

Then the game is cut up, and everyone goes home with his portion.

136 Snakes are not rare, although they are by no means as common as in the stony regions of the southwest.

The boa constrictor eats human beings; if it catches a Bushman, it starts to consume him at the legs!

132 821 731 In spite of the timber forest, the danger of drought is great. Erob sends rain. When there is a drought, the Bushmen dance and pray:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, /ga !goro — Erob, Erob, Erob, we are dying of thirst
/ga-wi -ma ta re — Water give us.

177 776 782 [8] It is very interesting to observe how in these certainly very ancient hunting and rain prayers the former old heathen gods' names Huwe and χ'amab were replaced by the Christian "Ellob."

I asked the people whether they knew any other prayers and received the following answer: "We know very well that

[12 cont.]

843 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-
262 buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut.
[553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

●224 At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are
[177] performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:

[539] //am ≠haiba, //am ≠haiba (?)
[782] The leader answers:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower
422 form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 The gathering of veldkost does not have the great signifi-
[184] cance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already
[462] commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd
[857] a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main
[233] OCCUPATION.

/14 cont./

000 chronic, good-natured imbiber . . .

776 In heaven there is one god, Erob. Lightning (dábara)
[821] and rain (!nanus) are sent by him. He calls heaven χ'ameiba.
This word is very interesting. It can mean both "place of the
/15/ souls (χ'a) " or "place of the χ'amab." The souls
[775] (um-ské) go to heaven after death. "This is what they say,"
said the man, "I haven't been there yet."

He did not know Gauab and Heiseb. Concerning other spirits, he said that people had mentioned them, but he did not believe in them. The spirits are supposedly called "gangarob."
756 The old Bushmen had neither doctors nor medicines against ill-
753 nesses. To my question about what made people ill, he responded with philosophical equanimity: "If one becomes ill, he is ill like an animal." He knew nothing about the sun (soris)
[821] and moon (χ'ab). A sacred fire is unknown to him.
[778]

● 224 Of greatest interest is his report, undoubtedly based
782 upon autopsy, concerning an initial offering at the hunt. I give the report in literal translation:

"Before people go out to the hunt, they meet at an omsati tree (//Khaia-aib). There a fire is made. Each hunter rips off a number of leaves, spits on them, and throws them into the fire as he shouts:

[539] Érob, Érob, áu tere! God, God, help us!

"When the game has been killed, one first cuts a piece each from the lung, liver, and stomach and throws each piece singly to the side, saying all the while:

Érob úre, Érob úre! God take, God take!

[539] "Then they start to eat."

This function is performed by the one who has killed the game.

881 The following was communicated to me concerning the
585 social organization:

There are initiation ceremonies. The celebration of the first menstruation originally coincided with the wedding. On the first day of menstruation the girl went into a pontok especially constructed for this purpose. Then there was dancing for two or three days, and after the cessation of the menses the girl went to

[27 cont.]

805 the like, but they have only ten months. They name them after terrestrial phenomena.

!Kai dsáa	It is cold (winter)	June
gama /ēi	The grass burns	July-August
!hoá sori	It is hot	September-October
!u shē	The rain begins	November
≠khŏ shē	The trees bloom	December
/hō //gāi	It is raining	January
!Khan //gai	The veldkost is coming up	February
!nâ -mâ	The veldkost is ripe	March
ao ré //kum //ká	The rain is stopping	April
!hoá //gai	The year is at an end	May

They reckon also from harvest to harvest.

221 The most beautiful time in the life of the Bushman is March and April. Even those who live on the farms hurry into the wilderness at that time. At certain places where there are many fruit trees, such as the marula, the friendly kin groups gather from far and wide. Here the young men look for brides, and there is much dancing, because at this time the women are not tired from seeking veldkost which is now to be found everywhere. Hunting yields less at this time, since the game has water and pasture everywhere.

Soon, however, the leaves fall, the bush forest becomes red and yellow, the migratory birds fly northward, and then the first cold nights set in. Now the "Dsao" (spirits of sickness) come and [753] bring sickness to the chest. At the end of May and the beginning of July [sic] the first frosts set in. Now the Bushmen move to the watering places, which stay open for a long time. The nights now [374] become torture. Burns on the skin of the chest and abdomen oc- [513] cur frequently, because the Bushmen now lie very close to the fire to sleep. Around this time, some of the kin groups already begin to suffer distress, because the game moves to other regions where there is still some pasture. In July the grass is finally dry [224] enough so that it can be set afire. Now the entire steppe burns. The young grass again attracts the game; hunting improves. The hot season is the worst period; the resting places of the game are quite uncertain, veldkost becomes increasingly scant, and the

[27 cont.]

221 Bushmen shrink to miserable skeletons. Many of them at this
[648] time! run to the Blacks or Whites in order to earn something. In
[731] dry years no attention is paid to the kin group boundaries. All
[423] gather around the few water holes that are still open. As soon as the rain begins, conditions start to improve; the people start moving out in various directions, not to meet again until several months later at the time of the veldkost harvest here and there.

7. The Course of Life

584 I shall render in literal translation the account that my informant gave of the way a young man courts a girl:

If a young man wants to marry a girl, he must first speak to her and say: "I love you and want to marry you." If the girl is willing, she says first: "You must wait." Then she goes to her parents and asks them whether they have heard that the boy has spoken to her. The parents then ask whether the girl wants to marry the man. [28] If the girl says, "Yes," then the parents say, "He wants you; he has seen that you are good and hard-working; you may marry." If, however, the young man has thought the matter over and takes back his words, the girl goes to her parents once more, and the boy to his. The latter say: "You wanted it this way; nothing can be done about it." In case the girl definitely gives her consent, however, the young man brings all kinds of little presents and gives them to his future bride, who takes them to her parents. The parents-in-law must now in turn give presents. With the exchange of presents, the
[583] marriage is regarded as legally concluded.

[114] The hunting test described by Passarge (1) and others is not
224
584
[113]

1. Passarge, Die Buschmänner der Kalahari, 1907.

the rule. Some vain girls demand it, and sometimes young men will voluntarily go through with it in order to beat his rivals. This hunting test is carried out in the following manner. The boy goes hunting without weapons and pursues the game (as a rule,

1 [i.e. The hot season -- Analyst]

[28 cont.]

224 a gemsbok) until it is tired and then drives it to the vicinity of
584 the hut of his intended. The pursuit of such a large antelope is not as difficult as it looks, for these ruminants are seized with serious cramps if they are not given time to settle down to ruminate. In other words, the pursuit of such a large antelope simply involves continually disturbing the animal for a long period of time. Then the young man calls to the people and asks them for weapons. All of them leap up, and the girl, too, stands up and watches as her people run with the spears. The hunter kills the game before her eyes. Then they bring the meat and cook it, and the girl says: "That is a courageous hunter; I want to marry
584 him." It is not unusual, however, for a young man to marry far away from his relatives, without having asked for the consent of his parents. In that case, the young woman must stay with her parents while the husband returns home and reports the marriage to his parents. The latter say: "How can you do this, when we don't know whether it will turn out all right?" The husband, however, says: "I have already done it, and I am merely telling you." Thereupon the parents answer: "Well, it's all right."
[591] Then the husband returns to his young wife, or to her kin group and brings his wife and child to his own kin group, where they are received. According to Vedder (Tsumeb), the young man sends a messenger with a piece of game to the father of the girl of his choice. If the father accepts the game, the betrothal is regarded
583 as concluded. As soon as the youth moves to the encampment of
591 his father-in-law, the marriage is regarded as concluded. He
[585] must work for a year for his father-in-law and deliver all hunting spoils to him, but he may not enter the hut of his parents-in-law. Once the first child is born, he moves with wife and child to his kin group.

585 Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report on the conclusion of a
535

[113] 2. Von Zastrow and Vedder, "Die Buschmänner," p. 417, in Schultze-Ewarth, Das Eingeborenenrecht, Vol. II.

marriage:

"There is much dancing. The animal dances have a pervasive erotic element. In one of the first dances the bridegroom

[28 cont.]

535 makes his appearance as the bull of some animal species that the
585 two kin groups especially prize. He takes his place in the row of dancing men. Across from them the women have taken up their position in a long row and accompany the dance by stamping, singing, and clapping their hands. The bride stands among them. She is in no way distinguished from the other women and girls. After a few turns, the bridegroom steps out of the row of men, goes dancing toward the bride, seizes her, and dances back again. The bride then comes from the row of women, clapping her hands, stamping, and singing as she moves toward the bridegroom; without touching him, she turns back, keeping her face turned toward the bridegroom, and rejoins the row of female dancers. With this, the external formality of concluding the marriage in front of many witnesses is over.

583 "It is the young man's duty, however, to leave his paternal
591 kin group for a year and to work for his parents-in-law. This means that any spoils he gets from hunting must be left in his mother-in-law's hut. He, of course, gets his piece during the distribution of the meat, but he is not yet regarded as the actual provider for his young wife, who, as before, receives her share of the meat from her mother, although she searches for veldkost for herself and her husband.

(224) "As a hunter, the man eats only the flesh of the rump.
262 The women and children receive the legs and intestines. Children are not allowed to eat certain parts; for example, a child may
(825) not eat the heart of a jackal. The child would not become sick
(828) by doing so, but since the jackal is very cowardly, the child would also become cowardly.

591 [29] "After the first year of marriage with its obligatory service, the young wife follows her husband to the encampment where the man's father or his kin group resides.

845 "If the child is so weak that it probably will not live,
847 or if it has a physical defect, it is buried alive on the same day, with or without the consent of the father and mother.

553 "The name of the child is given by the father. This is
852 done a few days after birth. The father spits on the child's chest and calls it by name. Others sprinkle it with water from a well.

[30 cont.]

881 old people are seated. The young man may not eat any of the meat; he may only drink the soup, which is also rubbed on him. From now on he is regarded as an adult, a marriageable man;
582 584 his parents ask him whether he wants to be married. The boy commonly replies: "I am still weak and do not know whether I can take good care of her." Then the parents allow him to wait until he himself wants to marry. Von Zastrow and Vedder (p. 415) report the following concerning the boys' initiation:

[31] "On this occasion the boys are told how they must
881 conduct themselves when they go out to seek a wife, and how they
[867] must behave towards a mother-in-law. To sit down by an evening
[584] fire next to an adult girl is tantamount to a marriage proposal, even if not a word is spoken. Under no circumstances may one
[606] look at the mother-in-law. They also practice animal dances in the bush, the kind that are performed by the men later at joyous celebrations, and also in times of distress. Finally, the young
[304] Bushman receives the tribal marking, a number of skin incisions on the cheek below the temple. Each tribe has a certain number of skin incisions. In order to make them stand out clearly even
[386] after healing, pulverized charcoal is put into the incisions. As a result, the tribal marking later looks like a black streak on the yellow skin.

224 "There is nothing against applying another mark on the
304 future huntsman during this celebration, namely, the hunting
881 inoculation. This must be done by a man who has special powers and knowledge at his disposal. In order to sharpen the future hunter's eye for game generally and certain game in particular, it is necessary to make a deep incision between the eyes over the root of the nose, into which the practiced hand of the surgeon sprinkles a powder of dried and pulverized parts of all kinds of game.

"The inoculation may later be repeated several times if the hunter has no luck in hunting.

881 "A person who has received the tribal marking is now re-
884 garded as a Bush 'man'; he can make his own bow and arrows, like those of the old people, and go hunting with them. Also, the way is now open for him to found a family."

582 It practically never happens that a Bushman remains

[31 cont.]

764 of the Bushmen are tied up in a crouched position and buried under termite hills.

"The corpse is usually lowered in such a way that it is received by a man standing in the grave. Aside from those who bring the corpse and dig the grave, no one goes to the interment. The corpse is buried either in a crouched posture or lying in a crouched position. In the case of the crouched posture, the face is eastward, and the elbows rest on the knees, while the hands are on either side of the head. In the case of the crouched position, the corpse is placed on the left side. The left hand is placed under the head, giving the appearance of a sleeping person. The face likewise looks toward the east.

766 [32] "Before their interment, feared men, such as sorcerers who had a malign influence and others who were feared in life, but not women, are firmly tied up with thongs of game hide in the crouched posture described above; then, in some cases, the spine is crushed with a stone or ax, as a result of which the head can be bent even lower and placed between the knees. Tied up in this fashion, they are thrown into a fissure in the earth, into an anteater's hole, or into a small cave."

8. The Hunt

423 It is well known that wherever the Bushmen live more or
● 224 less undisturbed, each kin group has its precisely defined hunting
[621] territory. Vedder believes that the engravings of game tracks indicate old boundaries, as do the stone heaps which are usually designated as Heiseb graves. In any case the question arises as to who actually established these boundaries. My informants stated unanimously that the division stems from the time when the Bushmen still had a supreme chief. There seems to be some authority, however, even today, since in the bush veld the boundary lines are drawn with reference to certain trees, which, in general do not have too long a life. The Bushmen move back and forth within their hunting territories. It sometimes happens that a young hunter is not thoroughly familiar with the boundaries or that wounded game crosses the boundary. In this case the hunter must

[32 cont.]

224 423 go to the kin group to whom this territory belongs and take the men to the animal. Then it will be carefully divided down the middle; the hunter gets one half, and the owners get the other half. Nevertheless, quarrels are common, because there is only one of certain organs, such as the heart, liver, etc. These con-
[184] ditions, however, exist only among the eastern !Kung. A Hei//om or a northern !Kung who is found hunting in the territory
224 of another tribe is regarded as an enemy. Boys' hunting is con-
[857] fined to lizards, tree rats, and other rodents. They ordinarily
[411] use the bird arrow, which is carved out of a piece of wood, but in contrast to the Ovambo, the older boys here already have
[223] poisoned arrows. Young and old pursue the hunting of birds with great enthusiasm; in particular guinea fowl, sand hens, grouse, and the Pau [?] insofar as it occurs in this region. These fowl
[262] and small bushbucks are the chief sources of the meat in the native diet. The forest region of the eastern !Kung is poor in
[136] large game. Zebras are almost entirely absent, as is the wildebeest; the giraffe is very rare. The eland, kudu, hartebeest, and especially the gemsbok are relatively more common. Hunting drives are organized to hunt the elephant or rhinoceros. First, the elephant is separated from the herd. As soon as it has been cornered, one Bushman after another springs forward and throws his spear. It is also possible to hunt the elephant with poisoned arrows; there is a number of thinner spots in the skin at the front legs, and the marksman places as many arrows there as possible. The elephant does not die; it merely becomes sick. The hunter rushes home to get some other men, who then go to look for the elephant with spears. Pitfalls are made in the vicinity of the watering places, and a pointed pole is placed inside them. The Bushmen along the Okovanggo also hunt the hippopotamus with pitfalls. The eastern !Kung maintain that in ancient times the hippopotamus was also found in their land. The sling trap is made
[223] in various sizes. The ostrich in particular is usually caught in such sling traps, which are provided with a piece of bone bleached by the sun. Small cats and the like are also caught with this trap. It is likewise placed on the trails of the bushbuck. Jackals and the like are caught by lying in wait for them as they come out of their dens and then beating them to death with the kirri.

[32 cont.]

222 Termites are captured in two ways. During the night holes are dug near the tall termite hills, and these holes are illuminated with wooden torches. A hide is placed on the floor of the hole, and soon so many termites are on it that the hide can be carried home. The second method is used to catch those termites that have no structures above ground, but have a network of corridors running horizontally immediately below the surface. A hole is dug deeper than the corridors, and the termites fall into it as they run frightened back and forth on their [33] horizontal paths. [821] This kind of termite serves as a weather prophet for the rain [787] doctor, since they construct the most openings facing upward when ●224 a rainy year is in prospect. The lion was not hunted. In olden 262 times, only the old people ate the large game. The flesh of predatory animals is forbidden to all children; on the other hand, there is no prohibition against eating hare.

224 Naturally, the Bushmen are very anxious to have success in hunting. !Khu himself, the great captain, brings luck in hunting. He orders the supreme //Gauab (/Nawa) to direct the arrow. The doctors always pray to the great captain to send hunting luck, but there is no specific formula. They do this "quietly to themselves." An old prospector in Kalkfeld told me that he had seen the following among the !Kung Bushmen: "Before they go hunting, they draw the outline of the animal in the sand and with all kinds of ceremonies they shoot an arrow into the drawing. Where the figure is hit, the game will also be struck."

I shall now render fairly literally the course of a kudu hunt as it was described to me by a Bushman: "When I have found a kudu track, then we follow it very quietly and when we have found the place where the kudu ate, then one must be very careful. One person goes ahead, and the others follow. Now, when I see the kudu standing, I take out the poisoned arrow and shoot. Then I look to see what the kudu is doing or shoot once more; then I follow him to see whether the arrow will drop out; if the arrow falls out, I take it and see how deeply it penetrated into the kudu. Then I have to go back to the other hunters and state exactly how everything was. Then we go home. One should not run after the kudu, but must leave it alone. The person who

[33 cont.]

224 has done the shooting must go home immediately and may not speak, eat, or drink, for if the hunter speaks with others, the kudu will not be found for a long time, and if he drinks water, the poison will become watery and will not be effective, and if he eats, the kudu will remain quiet and the poison will not work effectively. The next morning very early we must set out on the trail. The kudu is already dead. The people carry the meat home. [782] Then it is put on the socha [sacred] fire. The //Gauab must be given some of the meat. Whoever does not do this will be punished by the //Gauab with serious illness, and the people will say: 'That is just. The //Gauab has given him the game, why does he give nothing for //Gauab?'" Here, therefore, a true primitial offering is involved.

It is interesting that the Ogowe bury arrows in the sand at various watering places, with the poisoned tip pointing upward; they do this in shady spots that game animals like to use as resting [202] places, and by certain signs, such as tying together blades of tall grass and the like, they set up warnings (Von Zastrow and Vedder).

When a Bushman horde of today is able to hunt down half a dozen large antelopes in a year, it can consider itself lucky.

The porcupine is also commonly hunted, as are the scaly anteater and the fat aardvark, which is very common but difficult to catch. Monkeys are very rare; on the other hand, tree rats make a desirable addition to the diet. The ostrich is not uncommon in open terrain, and ostrich eggs are greatly coveted. Occasionally a boa constrictor, which tastes like a fat fish, or an iguana may round out the menu.

136 Among the animals which are in any way dangerous to human beings, the lion should be mentioned in particular. They occur in great numbers, but rarely stay in one place for a long [165] period of time. A considerable number of Bushmen become their 262 victims, especially in the north. Lions, leopards, hyenas, and jackals are neither hunted nor eaten; the same is true concerning [753] birds of prey. Eating leopard meat produces fever and eczema, [825] while eating the flesh of birds of prey produces temporary blindness and symptoms of sickness similar to acute sausage poisoning.

Poisonous snakes are not eaten; they are much rarer here than in the stony regions of the central and southern areas, and they do not constitute a noteworthy danger.

[34 cont.]

312 Concerning other water-containing trees, F. Seiner re-
824 ports:

"The water-containing trees always have two or more trunks, and the source of the water is to be sought up where the branches fork. If the saddle formed where the branches separate shows a hole, a hollow area is traced in the adjoining part of the trunk, which may contain up to 60 liters of water. The water is obtained by tying, Bushman fashion, a small bundle of dry grass, or better still, a handkerchief, to the tip of a stick and inserting it in the hollow. When the stick is drawn out, the water drips

Fig. 1. !Kung at a Bushman Well.

from the saturated bundle or cloth, which is pressed out over a cup. [Fig. 2 appears here.]

[35] "The most important water roots are the Asclepiadacea Fockea damarana Schltr. (ehoe), the Leguminosa

[532]
[224]

Fig. 2. //Gauab drives the game toward the hunters (from
[113] Kühn and Obermann, Buschmannkunst [Bushman Art]).

[53 cont.]

821 rain comes down and the clouds extend over the whole world. The rain that has come down to earth does not stay there; the clouds again come forth from the earth. The rain obeys the great cap-
776 821 tain. In a storm the great captain knocks down the trees. If a person says something bad about him, however, punishment is not long in coming. X 'u says to the rain: "You must now go and kill him." And the rain goes and kills the man with lightning. But when the great captain says to the rain, "You must go now and punish him," then the lightning merely strikes the windscreen so that the whole thing collapses and the evildoer is thrown out.
[752] Then the people come running, rub the unconscious person with medicine, and burn his skin with red-hot pieces of wood until he comes to again.

Thus the angry great captain metes out punishment.

751 The Bushman concerned, however, is far from either pri-
[782] vately or publicly begging the great captain for forgiveness. He
823 is convinced that this would do no good. On the contrary, he
821 puts his confidence in the following procedure: It is known that where lightning strikes quartz sand, so-called lightning tubes or fulgurites arise. This phenomenon has not remained hidden from the sharp eye of the Bushmen. My friends told me: There where lightning has struck one usually finds a stone called "rain tooth." The person brushed by lightning scratches his skin with this stone,
[224] rubs in medicine which is supposed to bring luck in hunting, and
[777] tries to hunt down a gemsbok. If he succeeds, he cooks the meat of the gemsbok with the rain tooth. If there is a second person in the horde who has previously been brushed by lightning, that person must eat the meat with him. Then medicine is made from this meat and other ingredients, and this is placed in the horn of a small bushbuck and carried around the neck by the person concerned.

751 When the "rain" comes again, he again goes to the hut
821 of the person struck, walks through the fire where the buck was cooked, takes a bone of the buck (these bones remain lying on the spot), and goes with it into the nearest tree. The bone cooks in the tree, and the scum comes out on the side and the fat below. When the rain has passed, the bone is again pulled out and cooked with gemsbok horn and duiker horn and flesh; then it is

[56 cont.]

695 not seen for the duration of the hunt, he is suspected of having
776 sneaked away. Then he swears by the great captain nuχu, and all believe him.

776 Ordinarily, however, the great captain has everything taken care of by the highest of the spirits and lesser spirits. The chief concern of the Bushmen, therefore, is to stay in the good graces of these spirits, but the great captain does offer protection against all evil spirits, and for that reason people turn to him
[763] with the following prayers in case of severe illness and before the start of a journey:

[57]

[539] χ'u, χ'u hũi mi, //kai tsao mi to 'oba !khu !gaise ≠ani u mĩ /nãna /ge a	Lord, Lord, help me, raise me. "the lord shall lead me well to the place,
!nore gana ti /ge a gana ti tsa /Nane /ã mi tsu (1)	where I am going, and he shall lead me back well, so that I come home safely."

1. Notation of the Dama interpreter.

[224] Before the hunt the doctors pray to the great captain for hunting luck. There is no doubt that the Bushmen conceive of this "great captain" as an all-powerful and at the same time benign being. His executive organ, as has been noted, is the highest of the Gauab. The latter is called "the Gauab" by the common people, but he has a name known only by the doctors, and saying it may have serious consequences. Since I finally
[123] had the honor to be regarded as an equal by the doctors, I learned his name. He is called /Nawa. They were unable to give me an interpretation of this name, but Miss Bleek, from dance songs of the Angola Kung, reports the word /Nwa-se, supposedly an abbreviation for Nwima-se = new moon. According to this, we
[174] might be able to see in this chief Gauab the high god of a lunar-
[771] mythological religion which has been superimposed as a foreign element upon the primitive monotheism of the χ'u or Huwe faith. As is always the case in such matters, the supreme being of the invading religion has been transformed into a more or less evil
[171] principle. It also functions as such in the belief of the Nama and

[59 cont.]

20. Law

671 The norms of natural law among the Bushmen are the
627 same as among us. The family head is at the same time the supreme judge. Since even the nearest kin group is regarded in a sense as a foreign state, however, the boundaries between law, war, and vengeance are exceedingly fluid. The domain of law, therefore, is actually confined to the family. Since the only
[681] punishment that can be effectively inflicted is the death penalty, it is rarely applied among married men, [60] for the judges and executioners must provide for the condemned man's survivors. In olden times the women condemned to death were burned or beaten to death with the kirri, and the men were killed with the poisoned arrow.

423 The right to personal possession of utilitarian objects, honey, and certain types of veldkost is strictly respected. The soil is common property of the kin group, as is any big game
●[224] that is killed. If a wounded animal dies in the domain of the neighboring kin group, the hunter must go there and report it.
[578] The dead prey must then be divided. Since, however, there are some unpaired organs, fighting and killing easily arise concern-
[627] ing them. Blood vengeance is practiced, but can be resolved through negotiation.

423 "Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited
614 from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

[361] "There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 1,000 [sic] kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions, come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

769 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's terri-
614 tory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's

[63 cont.]

764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not, in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] [174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [773] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

[75 cont.]

9. Hunting

●224 Even today the western Kalahari has fairly abundant game, and life can be maintained at least to some extent by hunting. Before going to hunt, a tamana fruit (tse) is rubbed on the face. They also try to absorb the powers of the game by means of inoculation. For example, when a duiker has been killed, little pieces of the heart and ear are charred. This animal charcoal is then rubbed into an incision on the upper arm. Both in war and [202] hunting, people communicate by means of smoke signals. The chief hunting weapon [76] is the bow with the poisoned arrow.
278 The poison (1) is obtained from the cocoons of a beetle larva that

[113]

1. Lewin has devoted several studies to Bushman poisons ("Pfeilgifte der Buschmänner [Arrow Poisons of the Bushmen]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 44, 1912).

"When I was permitted to examine the first arrows armed with poison that Lichtenstein had brought home from his journey in the year 1806 and which are kept in the Museum for Ethnology here, I was able to establish that there is alkaloid in the poison, which initially had stimulating, and later paralyzing effects on spine and brain. Because of the small quantity of the material, nothing further could be determined, except for a curious color reaction that the alkaloid isolated from the poison produced with concentrated sulphuric acid.

"I have now succeeded in producing from the bulb of Haemanthus toxicarius, the 'poison bulb' of the old Dutch colonists, the most active ingredient, an alkaloid which chemically and toxically

411
283

Fig. 28. Bows of the Nogau. (1/3 actual size [as shown in original text]).

224

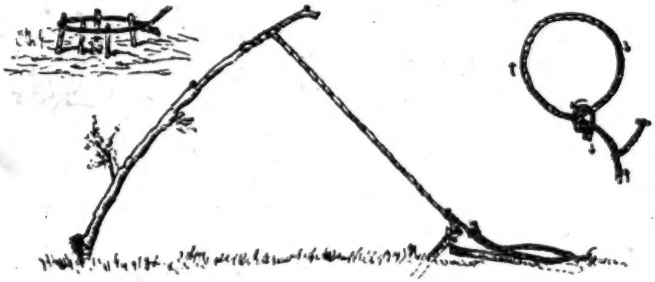

Fig. 29. Game Trap (from Gentz, Globus, Vol. 83, 1903).

[78 cont.]

it with the fingers. [Fig. 29 appears here.]

[79] The lion is neither eaten nor hunted. The jackal and leopard are eaten, as is the liver of the latter. Baboons are not eaten, because they were formerly Bushmen.

The line of tattooing between the eyebrows make people into leopards among the Nogau. The Naron smear themselves with red and black color. The other incisions and tattooing are made purely for adornment.

Among the Naron, millepedes are regarded as creatures of Hise, and only doctors may touch them and make medicine of them. Among the Nogau and ǂAuin there are magical bones that are used to predict the future. The Naron also believe that the rock engravings stem from //gauwa.

Among the Auin it is forbidden to eat hyena flesh, and likewise the flesh of the shabrack jackal because it is a dog.

The following important data supplied by Gentz (1) should

1. "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften [Some Contributions to Knowledge of the Southwest African Tribes]," Globus, Vol. 83, 1903.

be added:

"I have repeatedly found Bushman arrows on which the point, usually made of bone (for the most part ostrich bone), was made of wood. The game sling, reproduced in Figure 29, is constructed as follows: A strong string, four to five millimeters thick, which at one end terminates in a simple loop, is fastened at the other end to a flexible young tree or branch that is bent far over. A small, thinner string with a transverse stick is attached at the loop end. The string is placed around a small post driven into the ground at an angle, and it is prevented from slipping off by means of a flat piece of wood buried under the ground and planted against the free end of the transverse stick; the sling is placed in a circle on the ground over the flat piece of wood. The game, which follows its customary track to the

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAO

[79 cont.]

224 water or Brak (salt) place and is prevented from turning off the track by thorn branches placed on either side of the worn track, steps on the little stick lying just below the ground, which moves it out of position and releases the end of the little transverse stick. The string, having lost its hold, releases the bent tree, which snapping back, tightens the noose around the leg of the game and holds the animal imprisoned until the Bushman brutally kills it with a number of blows of his kirri, which is carved out of hard
223 wood. For various kinds of fowl, doves, etc., the Bushman prepares similar slings with thinner string, which are set up in the same way except that the sling is not placed on the ground but is held two or three centimeters above the ground by means of little sticks planted in a circle. In the center of the circle, on a little stick loosely covered with sand, there are a few maize kernels or berries. When the bird picks them up, he moves the little stick out of position and finds his neck in the sling. -- As household
415 implements among the Kalahari Bushmen, in addition to the hollow
237 ostrich eggs used to carry water, I found water sacks made from the inner peritoneum of an animal, not unlike a pig's bladder; these water sacks are closed with a short stick and leather string.
[312] The ostrich eggs also serve the Bushmen as artificial watering places in the dry stretches of the water-poor steppe regions, in which a number of them are hidden under the sand.

415 "Among the other household utensils of the Bushmen, I also found flat, wooden vessels, wooden mortars, and earthen pots of various sizes. The wooden vessels, which are completely differ-
[439] ent from those of the Herero, are, according to their own statements, obtained in trade from their northern neighbors. The earthen pots likewise are not made by the Bushmen themselves. In form they are somewhat reminiscent of the wooden Omeira pots of the Herero and, as a Herero half-breed declared and demon-
600 strated to me, are manufactured in the following manner. A lump of soft and thoroughly kneaded clay is spread out over the naked, moistened knee, so that first of all it assumes the form of the knee. The calf of the leg must be pressed to the thigh in order to obtain the correct shape. Then the clay is carefully taken off, and the shape of the vessel is improved and perfected by kneading it with the fingers. Finally simple decorations are scratched into it with a

3: Lebzelter--167 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

224

1. !Kung. Setting a Trap.

2. Ostrich in the Trap (!Kung; Sand Veld).

Plate IX.

/253 cont./

533 once in a while, one of the dancers emits a loud yell, usually in a high falsetto, and sometimes a trill which likewise is pitched as high as possible, depending entirely on the individual's emotional state.

The clapping at a dance is audible over a great distance. One evening when I approached the station, I could hear the clapping of the dancing women at a distance of three kilometers.

The dances I have described seem to be widely distributed
535 among the Bushmen. At any rate, I found all three of them with
184 only slight variations among the Kung people residing in the Kaukau Veld.

Concerning the diet of the Heikum Bushmen I was able to dis-
262 cover the following. I should add my regret at this point that I lacked the necessary background for giving the botanical names of the veld crops.

The diet is predominantly vegetable; however, the Bushman is by no means a despiser of flesh. On the contrary, whenever he can have animal food, he will utilize it for his kitchen. In so doing, he is so unselective that one could say he eats everything he can lay his hands on. I have even seen Bushmen consume hyena flesh with great pleasure. The flesh is obtained partly by
224 hunting with bow and arrow, and partly with game traps. I shall discuss the hunting weapons later; here I only want to mention a game snare which I had the opportunity to observe in the Kaukau Veld. A snare twisted from plant bast had been placed on a game trail, drawn upwards by means of a flexible stalk stuck into the ground, and fastened to the ground by means of wooden hooks. When the game touches the snare, releasing it from the hooks, the flexible stalk pulls the snare up and shut. Game is also caught in traps. I was shown an iron hook fastened to a bamboo stick about five meters long, which was used to pull out game that had fallen into the pits.

The animals of the Bushman's hunting domain include all kinds of antelopes, from the giant eland to the tiny duiker, giraffes, hogs, hares, and, in the way of birds, predominantly guinea fowl.

The Bushman, however, finds objects to enrich his cuisine even among lower animals. In the realm of the amphibians he prefers

/253 cont./

224 the large bullfrog, whose bass voice resounds in all the puddles during the rainy season. The flesh of the frog is boiled with the
252 skin and bones, pounded to a paste in wooden vessels, and then eaten. Among the insects, grasshoppers and termites are used for
222 food. Both are roasted. In the brief time that they are winged, the termites are lured in such great numbers to a fire maintained for the purpose of catching them that it is an easy matter for the Bushman to collect a rich booty in a few hours. A special delicacy in the Bushman household is wild honey, which, as I was able to ascertain, is extremely tasty /254/ and is to be found in quantity on the Omuramba omatako as well as in the Kaukau Veld.

825 The bullfrog is called ntchei by the Bushmen (Herero: otjisume), the termite, /ui (Herero: othohumboli).

The vegetable diet naturally changes with the seasons and is
262 quite varied. I shall attempt to give a brief survey, though at
824 the same time I am aware that it can lay no claim to completeness.

1. The chamá or taba (Herero: omatanga). These are the roasted kernels of the Kaffir pumpkin [melon?], widely known here, which produce quite a tasty dish.

2. The //ǔni (Herero: omarunga); this is the Heikum Bushman name for the palm tree that is common in this region. The edible parts of the tree are the apple-sized fruit, whose skin has a sweetish taste reminiscent of St. John's bread, and the soft interior of the trunk. The latter is a whitish, soft, fibrous pulp, which the Bush-
[252] men prepare by cooking and pounding.

3. A species of white mushroom called naũ by the Bushmen, majova by the Herero. The mushroom grows during the rainy season especially along the edges of termite hills; the diameter of its cap reaches about 20 centimeters. It is eaten raw as well as
[252] boiled. I do not know whether it is true that excessive eating of this mushroom has a detrimental effect on mental activity, as the Herero aver — ejova, plural majova, is the Herero word for stupid.

4. The unki, a well-known species of onion, about the size of a hazel nut, called //au by the Bushmen, is very common and forms an important part of the kitchen provisions, not only among the Bushmen, but also among the Herero.

[252] 5. The //guitcha of the Bushmen, ussessenga of the Herero,

/255 cont./

281 The hair is removed from the hides. After the skinning, the hides are stretched out on the ground for two days, exposed to the sun; then the hair is removed, and subsequently the juice of a red tuber is rubbed into the hides on the inside. After they have been prepared in this manner, they are buried in the ground for a longer period of time and are then ready for use.

281 Not infrequently the Bushmen wear sandals which they cut from antelope hide in the simplest manner imaginable. A leather sole is fastened with three thongs to a leather ring lying over the instep and drawn tight below the ankle. One thong runs between the first and the second toe, while the two others run inside and outside the foot.

301 The children go about quite naked. Despite this sparseness of clothing, the feeling for ornamentation finds full expression.

Many ornamental objects serve as amulets which are worn for a great variety of purposes. The women are more richly adorned than the men. Whereas the latter frequently content themselves with arm rings made of antelope leather, the women are usually overloaded with ornamental objects. One of the favorite women's ornaments is a necklace made of ostrich egg shells. The shells [321] are worked into small, approximately penny-sized circular disks which are pierced in the middle and strung on a leather thong. Arm and leg rings are made of the same materials.

In place of the little ostrich egg disks, colored glass beads [439] obtained in trade are frequently used for necklaces and arm rings. One sees many a woman walking along with a tortoise-shell box hanging on her chest, /256/ which is decorated with bead-studded leather strips and used as a container for tobacco.

Pierced pieces of root, distinguished by natural rings notched at regular intervals, are strung on leather thongs for necklaces.

224 301 I found the following ornamental objects which simultaneously served the function of an amulet:

1. Little pieces of dried antelope flesh are worn on the chest in the belief that the wearer will not lack meat to eat so long as he wears these guarantees.

2. The same significance is attached to dried antelope ears which are worn in a small leather bag on the chest.

/256 cont./

224 3. A piece of root wood, called /un /gei, is pierced and
301 worn on a bast string on the chest. This little piece of root has
828 its distinctive story. When the Bushmen are hunting and want a clear eye to see game, they scrape a bit off its surface and rub the powdery scrapings between the eyes and from there upward across the middle of the forehead to the hairline. They believe that they can increase their keenness of vision by this procedure. An experiment that I made with the powder produced no change on the skin that was treated and naturally did not have any visible effect on my keenness of vision.

4. Little wooden sticks which are used as oracular instruments,
301 especially by the Kung people of the Kaukau Veld.
787 These are four wooden sticks which are strung on a string and worn on the chest. They are about as long as a finger and about two centimeters wide. Two of them are about as thick as a finger; the two others are only a few millimeters thick. One end of the sticks is cut off smooth, and the other pointed. These four sticks are questioned for all imaginable purposes. If the Bushman wants to know where game is, where he is to expect an enemy, or which route he is to take, he asks his sticks. He does so in the following manner. He spreads a piece of leather in front of him and crouches on the ground. Then he places all four sticks parallel and on top of one another in his left hand, the back of the hand being turned toward the ground. With a sudden jerk, accompanied by clicking the tongue, he throws the little sticks on the cloth; naturally, the sticks are scattered with their tips pointing in various directions. Depending on the matter at hand, each little stick signifies something special. When I had a Bushman captain in the Kaukau Veld consult his oracle concerning the fate of our patrol, one of the thick sticks in this throw signified the oxcart that accompanied the patrol. A lively argument concerning the significance of the sticks in a given case frequently arises between the consulter of the oracle and the spectator; finally, the view of the more respected of the two apparently wins out.

/257/ The clothing of the Kung people in the Kaukau Veld
184 is essentially the same as that of the Heikum on the Omuramba
291 ua omatako; even the ornaments do not show any great differences.
301 Nevertheless, I was struck by certain peculiarities of the Kaukau people that I did not find among the Heikum.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

FOREWORD.

X137 312 151 224 823 124 121

The Kalahari is not a sandy desert in the sense that it is devoid of vegetation; it is the absence of surface water which makes the region such a hazard to human habitation. It is the last refuge of the Bushman. Primitive though he is, he survived in this inhospitable environment owing to his acute powers of perception and his fine appreciation of the gifts of nature. He is a skilled hunter with his bow and arrow and has an intimate knowledge of the natural resources of food and water. Dr. Story compliments him by saying that his knowledge was usually imparted cheerfully and with humour and "always with intelligence".

The Division of Botany was grateful to accept the invitation for Dr. Story to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition of 1955. This was the fifth expedition of its kind and had as its objective the further documentation of the way of life of the Bushman. Dr. Story's assignment was to investigate the plants used by them in obtaining food and water.

It is inevitable that, with the advance of civilisation, the remnants of this interesting race will lose its intimate contact with nature and in the end its very identity. Wishing to complete their records before this happens the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody organisation, is, as we go to press, returning on yet another expedition. The Division of Botany is glad of this opportunity to continue the collection of data on the plants of economic importance to the Bushmen in the Kalahari.

The balance in nature between supply and demand is of endless interest to the ecologist. In times of plenty—when vegetation is abundant—the animal population increases: in times of poverty—when the vegetation is reduced by the prevailing climatic conditions—the animal population is reduced by the effects of hunger and thirst. So it is with the primitive human, who is dependent for his survival on the animal and plant life which surrounds him. Overpopulation at any time spells destruction for him at a later date. It is obvious too, that primitive man must have had a strong influence on the distribution and density of edible wild plants. Some will have become more widespread and others less numerous. More and more examples of rare species among the tuberous rooted *Asclepiadaceae* have come to light during the botanical exploration of southern Africa. It is felt that the edibility of these and some other tuberous rooted plants, in a large measure, accounts for their sparse distribution.

XC137

Dr. Story's observations support this view, and many other interesting facts are recorded in his preliminary report on the vegetable aspect of the Bushman's diet.

R. A. Dyer,
Chief: Division of Botany and
Director of Botanical Survey.

Pretoria,
October, 1957.

are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women 222
to the *||gãus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the *!heis*. Her husband now kindles the *!hei|ais* and, after having applied *‡norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it. There is no name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called *!gao-ei-|un*.

Among insects, locusts, ants, scorpions, young bees and 262
honey are greatly relished. Frogs, lizards, snakes, etc., are also eaten. In fact, all living animals are eaten with the exception of the mole and the hyena, the former because its winter larder of öintjes forms a valuable and easily obtainable addition to the supplies of the Bushmen and the latter because it eats human corpses.

The methods used in the pursuit of game vary according 221
to the season, the year being divided into a cold, dry season 224
(winter), a hot, dry season (spring and early summer), a small, rainy season (September and October) and a big, rainy season (January to April). Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season in the case of such animals as guineafowl, bustard, aardvark, ostrich and small game. Pitfalls are not made use of except for hare and springhare as too much work is entailed in making them. Springhare and snakes are also caught by means of a long barbed stick which is passed into the burrows, the animal being transfixed and then dug out. During the big rainy season when the ground is sodden with moisture small buck such as duiker and stembuck are run down on foot and killed with a knob kirri. This method is not applicable to small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor. In the hot weather, however, young buck are easily caught in this manner as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. The gemsbuck does not tire easily. It is run down, therefore, only during the big rainy season when the soft ground impedes its progress and causes it to be caught comparatively easily. All other varieties of big game are run down in the hot, dry season. After a herd of game has been located one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly until it is exhausted and brought at bay, when it is killed with assegaai.

Bow and poisoned arrows are used all the year round. These 184
weapons differ considerably in character in various localities. 411
The Kalahari bow is small compared with that used by the *!Kũng* of the Oschimpoloveld, and *Hei-||om* of the Etosha Pan region; the arrow consists of a reed shaft, bone foreshaft and bone or iron tip, whereas the latter use arrows with feathered wooden shafts and iron tips only. The poison also 184
varies in different localities. In southern Namaqualand it 276
is constituted of a mixture of plant juice (euphorbia), snake poison, scorpions and spiders; in the southern and central

184 Kalahari only insect poison is used, and further north and
278 north-west only plant poison.

224 All tribes observe certain customary practices in connection
[184] with the hunting of animals with bow and arrow. These vary considerably among the different tribes. The following is an account of the practice as met with among the *Hei-||om*. After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *||gāus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals. The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is skinned by the men.
252 The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the purpose, is cut into
[237] sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then removed to the *||gāus* by the men who may occasionally be assisted by the women. On arrival at the *||gāus* all the meat is laid on the ground under the *!heis* either on sticks which were used in carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib*
224 (chief) now comes forward and if he finds that the *!hei-|ais*
622 (fire under the tree) has gone out he returns to his hut, brings
252 fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the meat in the meantime being hung on the *!heis* (tree in centre of camp). After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men—the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and "tastes" (tsũ-tsũ) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as *≠koms*.

224 All meat killed with bow and arrow is *so.ra* and may not
266 be partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, however, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *so.ra* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *so.ra*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *so.ra* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

224

Snare for Small Game.

[FACING p. 101]

hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*ǂei-ti*). Her 224 262
portion is known as the *ǂnoe-di* and is the only meat which may be partaken of by women. The *ǂnoe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the *ǂkham-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The *ǂnoe-di*, however, may not be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *||gāus*. It is not brought under the *!heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The *ǂkham-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women [784] partake of any other meat than the *ǂnoe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu* (youths) is known as *!om-||gani* and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles, etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at the *axarogudi ǂgaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the *!heis* [252] or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *xora* to him and if he [784] eats any other part, *e.g.*, the *ǂkoms* he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *xo-eis* and include portions about two finger breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *Xo-eis* may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *ǂnoe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *xo-||gani*, under which is included the *ǂkoms*. The latter may be eaten only under the *!heis*. After it has [264] been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is [841] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *ǂkoms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib* and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat 224
killed by the members of an outlying *||gāus*, the *gei-khoib* 622
likewise having to taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the *||gāus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *||gāus*. In all such cases the *xo-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he

224 visits a *//gāus* for this purpose he kindles the *!hei-/ais*
622 with fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own.

224 Any want of success in the chase is generally attributed to
777 some chance incident. For example, a man, who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife had her periods, will not hunt again when she is in that condition nor will she eat any of the *‡noe-di* at such times. The meat of an animal
[262] killed by a dog may not be eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating. This prohibition is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. If, however, an animal is killed with bow and arrow after having been brought at bay by a dog, the meat is *so.ra* and women may eat the *‡noe-di*. The remains of an animal killed by a lion are not *so.ra* and may be partaken of by all individuals. Care, however, is taken not to offend the lion which likewise observes certain practices after each kill. After having had his fill he buries the sacrum and haunchbones and covers them over with the dung (stomach contents) of the animal. If he should be unsuccessful in hunting his prey he returns to the spot of the last kill, digs up the buried parts and inters them in another place. This he does to restore his luck and if he should find that the bones have been taken away he will follow the person who removed them right into the *//gāus*.

184 *So.ra* applies only to meat killed with bow and arrow and
224 as far as is known at present this practice exists among the
262 *Xom-khoin*, *!Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*. Among these
784 groups the meat of the following animals is *so.ra*, namely, steinbuck, duiker, springbuck, hartebeest, gemsbuck, kudu, wildebeest and giraffe. The eland, which is a comparatively rare visitor to the parts occupied by these groups is not killed at all by the *Xom-khoin* who believe that harm will befall any person who eats its meat. In other words the *Xom-khoin* consider the eland to be absolute *so.ra*. Among other groups the man who shoots an eland must, on returning to the *//gāus*, sleep under the *!heis* as intercourse with his wife will prevent the poison from killing the animal. The same applies to a person who shoots a giraffe.

412 The implements and utensils which are used in the collection and preparation of food are very few in number. Vegetable food is dug up with a sharpened stick, 2 to 5 feet in length.
252 Ontjes, *//ñoun* and other similar plant foods are roasted in hot ashes covered with cinders. Ants (Bushman rice) are dealt with in a similar manner and then recovered again by means of a sieve of grass matting. Locusts are either roasted or boiled. Frogs, etc., are sometimes roasted over the fire on a wooden spit (braaistok) stuck into the ground. Birds, snakes, small antelope, etc., are prepared by placing them in a hollow made in the ashes with a flat paddle-shaped wooden scoop and covering them over with live coals. The meat of larger

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

The Bushmen are one of the most primitive peoples living 105
on earth. Although most of their groups own some metal ob-
jects, Bushmen do not smelt or forge metal, but get it in trade [325
from their Bantu neighbors. They use soft metal in the mak- 439]
ing of a few tools such as knives, arrowheads, and little axes,
cold-hammering the metal into shape themselves. Bushmen
make the other tools they use from wood and bone, grass and
fiber, the things of the veld. They dig roots and pick berries [222]
to eat because they have no crops. The desert is too dry for
anything but desert plants to grow naturally, and Bushmen,
who quickly consume all the wild food available in one place,
cannot stay anywhere long enough to tend crops or wait for
them to grow.

There is not enough water to water livestock, and for this [231]
reason Bushmen have no domestic animals. Most of their
groups do not even have dogs. Instead of herding, Bushmen
hunt wild antelope with tiny arrows, sometimes made of soft, [224
traded metal, sometimes made of bone, and poisoned with a 278]
terrible poison extracted from a certain grub, a poison which
affects the nervous system of a creature and which is so deadly
that an antelope shot early in the morning with a single arrow
well placed in the body dies within the day. Hunting is very
difficult, for travel in the veld is thirsty and rigorous and the
antelope are clever, but as often as not the Bushmen hunters
shoot one and then they use it all. Most of the meat is dried [251]
to preserve it, causing it to last at least a few weeks, but
sooner or later every last bite of it is eaten, even the mucous
lining of the nostrils and the gristle inside the ears. They [262]
sometimes eat the hide, sometimes work it into leather to
use for clothing, and if the antelope bones are not all [281]
cracked for the marrow, pieces are worked into arrow points
to shoot another antelope.

In order to live as they do, Bushmen must travel through 105
361

thing for him. She was his daughter, so she was glad to do it, [888] but my sister and I thought he was just an old man who sat 159 and coughed and spit. He didn't like the Europeans or the 563 black people either, and my father didn't either, and that is why we lived on the other side of the police zone. On one side were the police boys with camels—that was in the old days with the camel patrol [2]—and on the other side the lions and the Bushmen asked for your pass.

"One day my father went hunting and he was gone two [224] days. Then my sister said: 'He must have shot a giraffe.' A giraffe is royal game, you know, and you can go to jail if you kill one, only my father didn't know it then.

"Yes, and that day two police boys came on camels and a 159 white man on a camel. The police boys had a rifle and the 563 white policeman had a rifle and a little gun in his hand. They 625 had a Nurigaas Bushman walking with them, but he didn't come near us because he was ashamed. One police boy spoke the language of the Bushmen, and he said: 'Where is the old man who lives here?' and my mother pointed to my grandfather and she said: 'This is the one,' but the police boy said: 'Not that one, I want your husband. Where is he?' 'I don't know,' said my mother, but the police boy said: 'How can an old woman like you lie to me?' and my mother just covered up her face and said nothing. Then the police boy and the Nurigaas Bushman found my father's spoor off in the veld, and they all followed him with the police boy and the Nurigaas Bushman walking and the white man and the other police boy on the camels. Next morning they came back with my father, they had his hands tied behind and a rope around his neck and he was running behind the camel. His face was

[2] Until quite recently, the police who had occasion to go into the desert rode on camels because camels could endure desert conditions far better than horses, and could go through soft sand where trucks could not.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
G/Kwe

could have found his shallow pit at any time of the day or night.

Nobody was there; everyone had run away. We sat down and waited while Gai put his hands to his mouth and shouted, trying to summon the people back again. When nobody came or even answered him, he flung his pipe to the ground and marched off to find them among the bushes, alternately shouting to his hidden relatives and muttering to himself, for they might be far away and the day was getting warm.

We sat in the middle ground between the depressions so that we wouldn't risk stepping on or crushing anybody's hidden things, for, without knowing it, a European can in a moment trample through a Bushman's cache, breaking the delicate bone or wooden objects, bending the reed arrows, or crushing eggshell beads. Also, among certain groups of Bushmen, every fire has a man's side and a woman's side, determined by the position of the fire as you face the doorway of the scherm, the man's side being on the right, the woman's on the left. If a man sits on the woman's side, or where a woman has been sitting, he will become impotent and will also lose his power to hunt, and if a woman sits where a man has been sitting, she will get a disease in her vagina. Something intangible, invisible, but dangerously powerful, remains on the ground. We did not know which side was which of this werf's fires, or even for sure where the fires were; we did not even know that the Gikwe had this custom, for we had learned it from Kung Bushmen, but we knew that if they did they would not welcome our contaminating their ground. We would have liked to look around, but the best thing we could do was to keep our big boots and our bodies away from their delicate, fragile, almost invisible community.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

142 The third old woman was Ukwane's wife, and her name
621 was Kutera. She was the oldest of the four women by many years, and much the frailest; her arms and legs were spindly, and she was so thin that her slender bones stuck out. She moved slowly, feebly, and spoke in a high, thin voice like the piping of a little bird. She didn't even have the big belly that Bushmen usually have; instead, her belly clung to her backbone and she looked like a little, dry bird skeleton, ready to splinter or be blown away.

The other members of the group were the three young boys. One, Giamakwe, about eleven years old, was the son of Ukwane's old age, and the other two, Wite and Witabe, about ten and fourteen, were the sons of Twikwe and the man who ran away. All were extremely thin, with arms and legs like matchsticks, and each wore a tiny rag of a loincloth that had been cast off by someone else and cut down to their sizes—just tokens of modesty, as the boys were not covered
857 up at all. But they were very gay and active; their shyness of
621 us vanished immediately and was replaced by excitement; they whirled and spun like dervishes when they saw the gemsbok, played leapfrog, jounced each other, and ran circles around the werf, followed by the baby, Nhwakwe, who chased them like a puppy and could not keep up. He would tire from time to time, fall into his mother's lap to nurse, and then, refreshed, would rush headlong after the three boys again. He never did catch them, but this did not make him angry or make him cry.

● 224 When everyone was present, looking hungrily at the gemsbok on the jeep with a swarm of redheaded flies already at its mouth, Gai and Ukwane got their knives and rolled the gemsbok to the ground. She fell with a hard bounce, a thump as her legs or her long horns struck, and a huff as gas rushed from her open mouth. She lay stiffly, looking awkward with

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

her hind leg raised, looking wild with her cocoa-colored mane 224 that stood stiff and straight along the bowed crest of her neck, wild with her great horns sharp enough to prick your finger, and her pale, half-open eyes.

Gai squatted beside her and began to stroke her udder. He 224-272 squeezed a teat and milk squirted into his palm, and as he licked it off, Ukwane squatted beside him. The gemsbok was big enough for both men to squat at her udder milking, Ukwane under her lifted thigh. I was told that when the men had first followed her, they had come upon a gemsbok calf wedged high up in the fork of a tree. A leopard had killed it and left it there, and as the men tried to climb the tree to pull it down, robbing the leopard, the mother gemsbok had reappeared and challenged them, so they had killed her instead. That is why her udder was filled with milk. Her beige hide, we noticed, had been raked by the leopard's claws.

Almost everyone came by with a palm outstretched for a squirt of milk. Ukwane called for me to come, too, and, stroking the milk veins in her udder the way one does when milking a cow, he milked a white stream into my palm which I licked away. The milk was strong and rank and gamy, not at all like the mild, sweet-tasting milk of cows. It smelled like the intestines, too, perhaps because the animal was dead, perhaps because the odor of intestines and the milk both came from the strong, harsh grass of the country. Yet it was liquid, and the Bushmen milked her dry.

Afterward, Gai and Ukwane butchered her, Gai preparing 224-237 himself by casually sharpening his knife on her narrow, heart-shaped hoof. Always working so that her wounded side was up, they cut her skin free, not spilling a drop of blood. Near the carcass they dug a shallow pit, which they lined with the skin, hair side down, and as blood would well up into the cuts they made butchering, they would collect it and place it in

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

224 237 this bowl. The carcass itself, now red and pink and white, they rolled onto a bed of leaves and branches to keep it clean and cut off the front and hind legs of the upper side, forming a bowl of the carcass so that no liquid would escape. They pulled out the intestine, cleaning each length carefully, first squeezing out all fecal matter, then turning the intestine inside out over a stick and scraping it clean. A lot of liquid ran from the intestines, which was saved with the blood in the bowl of the body.

224 237 272 Next, the two men removed the rumen, the first stomach of ruminant animals, where the grass they bolt hurriedly is kept in quantities to be coughed up and chewed thoroughly when the animal is lying in the shade. Ukwane lifted the rumen out carefully, like a great water sack that might burst suddenly, and hurried with it to the pit lined with the skin. There he slit it and water gushed out, every drop saved by the skin. Ukwane and Gai removed handfuls of the contents, a yellow, pulpy mass of partially digested grass, and they squeezed each handful dry into bowls, tsama-melon rinds, and ostrich-egg water-containers that the women had brought forward. They did not mind two great white worms that were discovered living in the rumen, for as soon as enough water was collected, the people all had a long, satisfying drink. Some was pressed on me by Tsetchwe; I could not bring myself to drink it, but I did taste it and found that it was not too unpleasant, although it also tasted strongly as intestines smell. It was fresh, however, it was only the liquid from grass, and I thought that if I had no other water I too could drink the water of rumen.

Also, the people drank the blood, scooping it out in handfuls to their faces. Soon they were stained with it; the three old women looked very savage, and Gishe, our interpreter,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

asked Ukwane for some, which Ukwane gave him. Gishe said: 224
"I have been living among Europeans for a long time, but I 237
remember now who I am." 272

From the body of that gemsbok the Bushmen bailed out 251
several bucketfuls of liquid, enough to supply them for almost a week. They cut the meat into strips which they would dry in the sun and use as they needed them, also enough for a week or perhaps even longer, as there were only a few people and the gemsbok was almost as big as a cow.

Tsetchwe had built a tiny fire beneath a tsama melon, an 252
empty melon with the top cut away, and when she received [224
her share of the meat—for any animal is divided at once by a 422]
rigid system of rules, some meat given to each person rather than kept as a communal supply or portioned to families—she cut a small piece and stuffed it into the melon, where melon juice, heated through the rind, was boiling now. It cooked like meat in a stew, and when it was done Tsetchwe emptied the melon into a bowl, fanned it to cool it, and then 264
ate some, putting a strip of meat into her mouth and hacking off a bite with her husband's knife. She was ravenously hungry and she ate almost all, while her baby, lying in her [853]
lap, nursed from her breast. The last piece she saved for him; she put one end of it into his mouth and, as he bit down, flashed the great knife under his nose to cut him a small enough morsel.

The gemsbok had vanished. All that remained from the 224
butchering was the pile of squeezed, dry grass from the ru- 422
men and a few lumps of feces that the redheaded flies buzzed over. The meat, bones, head, hide, and brushlike tail all now [237]
belonged to people, and all the people had carried their portions away. Gai owned two hind legs and a front leg, Tsetchwe had meat from the back, Ukwane had the other front

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

224+ 422 leg, his wife had one of the feet and the stomach, the young boys had lengths of intestine. Twikwe had received the head and Dasina the udder.

It seems very unequal when you watch Bushmen divide a kill, yet it is their system, and in the end no person eats more than any other. That day Ukwane gave Gai still another piece because Gai was his relation, Gai gave meat to Dasina because she was his wife's mother. After the meat had been divided again in this way and cooked, the cooked food was shared. No one, of course, contested Gai's large share, because he had been the hunter and by their law that much belonged to him. No one doubted that he would share his large amount with others, and they were not wrong, of course; he did. It is not the amount eaten by any person but the formal ownership of every part that matters to Bushmen.

It was already evening and the sun sat on the flat veld like an enormous, flaming mountain. It sank, and its orange color was echoed in the three families' fires as the people warmed themselves and cooked their meat.

224+ 857 The following day the three young boys, feeling vigorous with all the meat they had eaten, went out to play in the veld and came back at noon with a tortoise, a lizard, and a tiny rabbit, a baby one that they had been able to run down. The young boys would have had to divide any substantial game with the adults, but since these animals were so small the boys were allowed to keep them. Small animals are divided among the children and cooked for them by one of their parents.

Wite carried in the rabbit, still alive, across his shoulders, pretending that it was very heavy and that he was tired and worn, as though he were a hunter carrying home a buck. When he threw the rabbit down, a soft ball of gray fur with

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

the innocent eyes of a baby and pretty, drop-shaped ears that 224 857
were pink inside, it rushed at him and bit his finger. A dire fate awaited it; Ukwane caught it and pinched its throat.

The tortoise was given to Nhwakwe, the baby, as the spoils of a hunt are always shared, and Gai, his father, took it to 252
roast it for him.

First, Gai scooped a shallow pit in the sand in front of his sleeping-place, which he filled with burning sticks. Beside him, old Twikwe held the tortoise on its back, but the tortoise urinated brown urine and Twikwe let it stand up. It stood looking at the flames, blinking its hard black eyes, then started to walk away. But Twikwe caught it again and held it, idly turning it over and over while she talked with Gai about other things, about smoke they had noticed on the southern horizon which Gai said was Bushmen's smoke. Gai said he planned to go to see the people some day soon, and as he spoke he took the tortoise from Twikwe and laid it on its back, where it rested with its feet out and its neck bent, in the position that would be correct, if it were standing. Gai took a burning stick from the fire and set it against the tortoise's belly. The tortoise kicked violently and jerked its head, urinating profuse amounts of the brown urine which ran over Gai's hand, but the heat had its effect, the two hard, central plates on the shell of the belly peeled back, and Gai thrust his hand inside. The smoldering shell reeked and the tortoise struggled violently, but Gai slit the belly with his knife and pulled out the intestine.

The tortoise by now had retreated part way into its shell, trying to hide there, gazing out from between its front knees. Gai reached the heart, which was still beating, and flipped it onto the ground, where it jerked violently for a moment, almost jumping, then relaxed to a more spasmodic beating, all by itself and dusty, now ignored. Gai pinched the gall away

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

ashes and little black, charred thorn bushes, but the flames had not touched the leaves on the trees. These remained yellow-green, orange, and silver, tangled and confused above the black, breaking away from the branches when the wind blew and falling like autumn leaves in New England. The whole valley would have been very like New England except that there were leopards in the forest; as we looked around we found a leopard's tracks. We rested in the shade on the side of the valley, and as we sat quietly we heard the sound of hoofs in the valley below, and we saw through the bushes the dark backs of a herd of wildebeest, walking along in single file, first the cows, then the larger bulls, their curved cow horns making them look for all the world like a herd of small, dark cattle.

Gai was on his feet in an instant, his bow in his hand, and, like a leopard springing, he jumped past us and ran, silent and half crouching, through the bushes beside them, but he had no arrow, and when he got near enough to shoot he had to stand up and shoot a grass blade after them, partly for practice, as a Bushman hunter will never miss a chance to practice his aim, but partly because Gai was still too young to be able to resist making them run. They threw up their heads, snorting like horses, and galloped away, leaving behind them a great cloud of dust. Gai ran after, his heels pounding, and was gone in a few great perfect strides, as if a hawk had left us with a few stiff beats of its wings.

Witabe, too, was completely absorbed. Although he did not run after the wildebeests, he got to his feet and gazed after them, unconsciously making a gesture with his hand representing the head and horns of a wildebeest. He moved his hand in time with their running, saying softly: "Huh, huh, boo. Huh, huh, boo," the sound of their breath and grunting as they ran.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 same age, yet we learned later that it was so. We asked the boy to come into the jeep, which he did, watched by the others. We gave everyone a present of a large handful of tobacco, and drove over the burned grass, more crowded even than we had been before.

522 On the way home we saw and shot a springbok, as there was no meat left in camp. The bullet hit the springbok in the stomach and partly eviscerated him, causing him to jump and kick before he finally died. The Bushmen thought that this was terribly funny and they laughed, slapping their thighs and kicking their heels to imitate the springbok, showing no pity at all, but then they regard animals with great detatchment. When the springbok died we tied him to the front of the jeep and drove on. The radiator boiled all the way, causing the body to decompose. Drops of blood and drops of moisture from the springbok blew back over us, mixed with the reek of decay and with a cloud of flies which we drove too slowly to escape, and which, spattered as we were, became very attracted to us. Only the Bushmen remained in good spirits, as they were pleased to see the meat and pleased with the amusement the springbok had given them.

522 224 On the way we saw an enormous hole in the earth, dug by an aardvark months ago. We stopped, and the Bushmen on their hands and knees crawled into it until all three were out of sight. After a while they backed out, one by one, reported that it was a very big hole indeed, and got back into the jeep. But before we could drive away Witabe jumped out again. He had noticed a mound of grass which looked like a haystack, it was so big, as high as a man's knees and as broad as it was tall. It was, said Gai, built by a mouse, a kind of nest, and at Witabe's request he got on top of it and jumped up and down to frighten out whatever lived inside. He was right: presently a mouse did come rushing out to vanish im-

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mediately down a hole. Gai continued treading in the half- 522
hearted hope of another mouse, with a disappointed, intent 224
expression on his face because the first had escaped him. Witabe, on the jeep, suddenly thought the whole performance so funny that he burst into laughter and laughed until he didn't make a sound, until tears ran out of his eyes and onto his belly, until he could hardly breathe, all to see Gai, the sole support of eleven people, the great hunter and provider, treading on top of a straw pile to chase away a mouse.

Gai was a little abashed and he stopped treading, but he did put his hand into the nest and pulled out the mouse's bed, a little ball of finer grass mixed with the mouse's own fur. Gai pulled it apart to show how it was made. We saw the mouse again when Witabe poked it out of the hole with a stick, but it ran back in at once, this time for good, so we went on, leaving the mouse with his home in a shambles and his soft bed gone.

We got back to camp late in the afternoon, and Tsetchwe 854
was so glad to see us that she threw her arms around me and held up her baby for me to kiss. She and I were the only young women for miles around, so there was a bond between us. She often gave me her baby to mind—not an easy job because Nhwakwe was as innocent as he was bold, and I had once taken him from under the wheels of a truck that was about to move. I had carried him to the werf for safety, but he hadn't stayed long; in a short time we had seen the grass moving at the edge of camp and Nhwakwe had appeared once more, this time dragging a toy, having walked the long distance all by himself and having navigated purely by a sense of direction, for the thick grass was high above his head.

Tsetchwe did not kiss her husband or even greet him, as 576
Bushmen are accustomed to short absences from each other 593
and it is not the custom for men and women to kiss. They

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wives were for, and he climbed up the tree and possessed 539
them, and they conceived, and when the children were born they dropped from the tree like fruit.

Then the whole family came down, and as they were walking away Pishiboro found a night adder's home. Only the baby snakes were there; the parents had gone out. The Pishiboro family laughed at the baby snakes because they had such ugly faces, and when they had laughed all they could they went home to their scherm. That night the baby snakes told their mother what had happened, and in the morning, when Pishiboro returned for another laugh, the baby snakes were dancing and the mother snake was hiding in a little hole she had made. Pishiboro, too, began to dance, and when he danced by the hole the mother snake jumped out and bit him, and although he ran away the poison was working in him, and soon he was ill and in great pain.

The omarambas, the dry valleys in the land, are furrows that Pishiboro made on his way home because he suffered so much, and the hills at the sides of the omarambas were made by his kicking feet.

Pishiboro died from the snake bite, and now all the water that flows in the rivers in the north, all the rain, and all the water that collects in pools is the rottenness of Pishiboro, liquid made as his dead body began to decay.

After that, Ukwane stopped telling stories. He brightened 224 ●
the fire by adding a stick, and the light showed everyone's face. Firelight does not dispel darkness. It just shows things in the darkness while the darkness is still there. Behind Ukwane's back we saw the shapes of the young boys bending over something, and we asked Ukwane what they were about. He told us that they were setting a snare for a mouse, a

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224 mouse which had troubled the people greatly by chewing their karosses and biting holes in their melons, which made the melons dry.

We looked at the snare. It was made of a tiny sinew cord tied to the bending branch of a bush with a noose on the free end spread open with tiny sticks pushed in a circle into the ground, one of which was a trigger, baited with a melon seed. The ground was swept clean, and melon seeds were scattered around alluringly.

The young boys then went back to the werf and lay down on the ground, naked in the frost, as the older people lay nearer the fires. Tsetchwe and Gai lay side by side, the baby in Tsetchwe's arms, and everyone went to sleep for the night, and we went home.

In the morning, even before the sun rose, we went back to the werf to see if the mouse had been captured. We found the young boys already at the snare, standing in the cold grass with their arms hugged against their chests for warmth. They looked discouraged, and we saw that the snare was dangling helpless and empty. The cord was bitten through, all the tsama seeds were gone, and the earth was printed confidently with the prints of the mouse's feet.

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574 do not meet very often, and when they do the children play
621 together day and night. All the young boys were extremely
857 happy to see each other and expressed their joy by starting their game at once, wasting neither time nor breath to say hello. Before the adults of the visiting band had set their bundles on the ground two little horses with their riders had run past, the riders trying to unseat each other.

574 They played all afternoon and into the evening while the
621 adults went about the business of setting up a camp. I went
361 to the new werf to watch and found that the women had stored away their belongings, stuffing some of their bundles among the tree roots, hanging others from the branches, and were now clearing grass, each woman clearing a small circle for her family. Soon five circles were formed, not quite touching, all sheltered by the branches and all in the space of a few square feet. I helped one woman pull grass, for she was clearing it tuft by tuft, pulling it up with her hands, and as I did this I felt something cold and firm in the grass I was holding, and, looking down, I saw that I was holding an asp. I dropped it, one of the Bushman men ran up to kill it, and one of the
[262] women lifted it between her fingers and placed it in her kaross. Later it would be cooked and eaten by a child.

224 That same afternoon, some of the members of our expedi-
574 tion went hunting and shot a gemsbok, which was brought back to camp and given to Ukwane to divide. This was, perhaps, a great mistake on our part, for Ukwane gave the entire carcass to the newcomers except for the head, one foot, and a little of the liquid from the rumen, which he kept for his own people. Twikwe dug a pit in the veld and roasted the head in it, and that night, while the newcomers were still butchering, drying, and cooking their larger share, the mem-

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bers of Ukwane's band cut little strips from the cheeks of the gemsbok and sustained themselves with that.

An atmosphere of tension and strain pervaded over the whole werf. The Okwa people had arrived primed with jealousy, and had surely accused Ukwane of selfishness; the false spring, the dry conditions at Okwa had surely given their jealousy momentum. By giving most of the gemsbok to the newcomers, Ukwane had done all he could, for he had shown with his immediate generosity, and with the magnitude of his gesture, that they had nothing to fear from him. Of course, the members of his own band were as jealous of the newcomers as the newcomers were of them, but Ukwane surely felt that the internal struggles of his own band, easier to cope with, would be forgotten sooner.

The tension showed itself in struggles over food. Twikwe made a soup from a bone of the foot, mixing it in the rind of one of the melons she had gathered, and when it was cooked she drank it herself out of the tsama rind, watched all the time by her son Wite. When she could stand his hungry eyes no longer, she put her bowl on the ground so that both of them could scoop up the broth with tortoise shells. After they had eaten part of it, Twikwe decided that it was time to pass the bowl to Kutera, who sat a little distance from them, eating nothing, looking very scrawny and trying not to watch. Twikwe started to do so; then, remembering her son, who was still hungry, she reached behind her for a second tsama rind, a little one, which she would fill for him. In this way she would, of course, have none left for herself, but she preferred to share. Adults are used to hunger, and it seems that the older Bushmen become, the less they mind deprivation. Children are different, and as their needs are considered more pressing than the adults', they are accustomed to receiving

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chance to look at everyone else and see who was there, we 621
found among the Bushmen one entire band, six people, who once had lived at Gautscha. These were an old man, his two daughters, his son, his grandson, and his son-in-law, a man 551
named Lazy Kwi. Because Kung Bushmen have relatively few names in use, resulting in the fact that many, many people have the same name—one man we knew had two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama, called after his mother, whose name was also Xama—they distinguish their various Xamas and Kwis with nicknames.

Lazy Kwi was a kind, warmhearted man, devoted to his family, and was named Lazy, an insulting name, only because he was not a good hunter. He was heavy-footed, there- 224 262
fore noisy, and not an excellent shot; but he was a good trapper and got meat for his family by snaring birds and lizards. But because he did not hunt he never owned large shares of meat and ate only what came to him by the Bushmen's system of dividing, which put him in the role of poor relation and sometimes forced him to eat what others would not touch. Once he had suppressed his pride and eaten a badger. Although the other Bushmen had turned up their noses at this rank meat, he had said: "I am the badger-eating man," laughing off their scorn to hide his shame. He had eaten it sadly, and the sweet taste of it had sickened him and had made him vomit and retch for the rest of the day. Luckily for 224 [441]
his family, his father-in-law made beautiful arrows and in the hunting system of Bushmen the man who gives or lends the arrow with which a buck is shot is automatically the owner of a large share of the meat. His father-in-law often lent arrows and often got meat. In fact, the old man had a domi- 888
nant voice in the running of the family, for though old men 621
may be aged and consumptive, those younger than they do what they say. Far from being derogatory, "Old" is a term of

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123 As we lay in our blankets, before we went to sleep, Lazy Kwi told us a story, told us something that had happened to him and to Toma while we had been away.

224 After Toma had mistaken the trucks of the farmers for our trucks, the rains had come. After the rains, when the veld was lush and tropical, when Gautscha Pan was full of water and succulent reeds, several herds of animals that do not ordinarily live in the desert had migrated south from the swamps and marshes of the Okovango River to eat the sweet grass of the pans. A herd of elephants had come and gone by, but some small herds of buffalo had come and these had stayed in the veld of Nyae Nyae, living among the pans.

One day the buffalo had come to Gautscha, and Toma, crouching on a limb of the baobab tree, had seen them wallowing in the pan and had taken his bow and arrow and, running fast and silently, had circled behind them, then had crept toward them, and from the reeds at the edge of the pan had shot a big male. The herd had bolted and Toma, after having inspected the tracks so that he would know his wounded bull when he saw its track again, had gone home. He had waited a day and a half, longer than usual because of the danger, and when the time had passed, returned with Lazy Kwi to the spot where the buffalo had been wounded. There he and Lazy Kwi had taken up the trail. The buffalo had separated from its herd and the two men had followed it silently, carefully, aware of the danger, avoiding the trail when it led through bushes. When, that night, they had not found the buffalo but knew from the freshness and pattern of the tracks that it was near and restless, they had waited in the veld, eating nothing themselves so that the buffalo would not eat and gain strength, remaining awake, moving around so that they would not get stiff but remaining silent so that the

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buffalo, not hearing them, would relax, lie down, and itself 224 get stiff and sore. In the morning the two men had found where the buffalo had slept, also a damp spot of its urine with black flecks in it (which I believe were flecks of blood) and Toma had pushed a poison arrow into the spot of urine so that the buffalo would be unable to urinate again, unable to rid itself of more poison.

The men had followed the buffalo's track for three days, knowing from its footprints that it was getting weaker, staggering, and in the morning of the fourth day they had come over a rise of ground and had seen it far ahead of them, lying on its side as if dead. The two men wisely had not gone up to it, but had squatted where they were to watch it, remaining this way for most of the day, and when the buffalo had not even flicked its tail or heaved its sides in breathing, Toma had considered it safe enough to approach. He had done this cautiously, very carefully, balancing his long spear in his hand, but just as Toma had stood near the buffalo, spear poised for the stab that would kill it surely, the buffalo had lurched to its feet, had chased Toma, and had tossed him on its horns.

The great boss, the heavy mass of horn on the buffalo's 752 forehead, had cracked Toma's ribs and one curved horn had hooked in Toma's side, passing through his body and out his back. Toma had lain unconscious and Lazy Kwi had carried [482] him home; later, other hunters of Toma's band had found the buffalo truly dead, partly eaten by vultures, and had taken the meat; but nothing, no medicines or cures that the Bushmen had used, had helped Toma, and the people had expected him to die.

Gautscha was the country of Toma's wife, and when Toma 752 had realized how sick he was he had wanted to return to his 648 own people, the people of Gam. Lazy Kwi and another man

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the buffalo's horn had wounded him. Otherwise, he looked 609
very well. All the people seemed well, especially the children.
Toma's oldest son wore a crown of badger skin with the long 291
hair standing up on it, and two safety pins that we had given 177
him, which he wore as earrings in his pierced ears. With all 301
this he looked bold as a pirate. His brother was nearly as big
as he was, and his sister, Norna, now three, was a slender,
graceful child who regarded the world with dark, wondering
eyes.

Norna's sixteen-year-old uncle, Tu's brother, was there too. 481
He was a lame boy; he had been crippled in one leg since 732
childhood and could hobble only with the help of a long stick.
People had despaired of him, believing that he would never
be able to hunt and therefore never marry or inherit the head-
manship of Gautscha Pan, but when we saw him now and
looked at him closely we noticed a fine row of scars between 881
his eyes and on his arms and chest and we knew that he had 304
hunted and killed an antelope and had been scarified in his
initiation. We had planned on this trip to give him presents
of all kinds, to make him rich, so that he could marry whether
he could hunt or not, but we saw now that this would not be
necessary. When he knew that we had noticed his scars he
told us in great detail the story of the hunt. He told us how he
had gone out with a group of hunters, how he had first seen [224] ●
the two horns of a kudu above a clump of bushes, how he had
silently hobbled near it, propped himself on his crutch, and
shot it with a poisoned arrow. The arrow had penetrated
deeply and the lame boy had returned to tell the others. They
had followed it with him for a day and in the evening had
found it dead. It was the lame boy's kudu, though; he shot it,
and to Bushmen that is the important thing. He was scarified [884]
with a paste made of the kudu's meat, and ever after that he
was a man.

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224 Toma's son said that he, too, had shot a buck during the
866 last rainy season, but while the hunters were following it a
857 rainstorm had come up and had washed the tracks away, forcing them to abandon the hunt, although for days they had searched the sky for the column of vultures that would show where the buck had fallen. Lions must have got it, said Toma, and eaten it in one night, and this was a great shame, for younger boys than his son had already proven themselves. They boy shrugged his shoulders at these words. He had been the first person we had met when we first had come to Gautscha Pan, and we had seen him in the veld, a naked child hardly more than an infant, standing in grass that came over his head with a toy bow and a wooden arrow in his hand. He was far from home, all by himself, but he had stood up to talk with us so boldly that our interpreter, vastly amused, had asked him what he would do if he met a lion, and with great self-possession Toma's son had said: "If he let me alone, I would let him go, but if he came for me, then we would fight."

Young Bushman boys do not always seem anxious to become adults. Like his son, in Toma's opinion, they prefer to play at hunting because as soon as they know how to hunt they have to, and hunting, say adult Bushmen, is very hard work. We felt, though, that it wouldn't be long before his son did succeed in killing an animal. Besides playing at hunting as a child he used to hunt beetles, moths, and large caterpillars by shooting them with thorns; but he was twelve now and seemed to have left his childhood behind, for while we talked his younger brother and sister played in the sand but he sat quietly with the men and listened.

163 Gao Big Feet and his wife, Dikai, Tu's sister, had had a
164 second baby, a little boy named Dabe ma, Little Dabe. Their first child, Little Gashe, now four, was blind in one eye, pos-

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621 tance, but Toma said now that he would take us to see them
someday soon because he believed that we would be able to
help them; one man in their band, a man called Short Kwi, or
sometimes Kwi the Hunter, had been bitten in the leg by a
puff adder and was very badly hurt. We got the impression
159 that he had been bitten recently and, hoping that we might
621 draw the poison from the wound, we said that we would leave
752 at once. But Toma said that it had happened during the last
rainy season, so there was no use hurrying; other Bushmen
had cut the wound and had sucked the poison, saving Short
Kwi's life, but his leg was so badly hurt that he couldn't use
it. It had turned black, said Toma, and black liquid ran out
at the wound. We thought then that there would be nothing
we could do to help; but perhaps rumor had exaggerated the
misfortune, and so we told Toma that we would certainly go
to do what we could.

224 Short Kwi came from a famous family; he was the younger
159 brother of the man who murdered Toma's father, but Short
Kwi was famous in his own right, famous as a hunter. He
often killed more game in a year than many other men kill in
their lives, a great hunter among a hunting people. The other
Bushmen told stories about him—about the time he had
killed four wildebeests in a herd of many, about the time he
had killed an eland, a wildebeest, and a wild pig all in one
day. It was his technique of hunting to be relentless in his
pursuit; therefore, if he shot an animal and suspected others
to be in the vicinity he would let the wounded animal run
where it would while he hunted on and shot another, and
another, and when all were as good as dead he would rest,
then return to pick up the trail of the one that he felt would
die the soonest. He almost never lost an animal, for his eyes
[151] were sharp and he could follow a cold trail over hard ground
and even over stones; he could tell from fallen leaves whether

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the wind or passing feet had disarranged them; and the meat 224 159 that resulted from his prolific hunting was never wasted, for 151 he would bring other hunters to help him dry it, then carry it [251 476] off to a werf somewhere to share with others.

He knew the habits of animals from the ways of the largest 159 antelope all the way down to the smallest species of mice; in 825 fact, he must have known animals very well, for he could always find them. He knew when he was in danger and when he was safe, and he was as brave as he was careful. Once, Short 159 Kwi, John, and two other hunters were tracking a bull wilde- 224 beest that one of the hunters had shot. They came upon it 157 lying down, surrounded by a very large pride of lions. There were twenty or thirty lions in all, having got there first and claiming the wildebeest as their own, for the bushes were full of lions walking back and forth, watching several other lions brave the fallen wildebeest, still able to protect itself with its horns. The braver lions were standing near the wildebeest, obviously steeling themselves for the attack, when the hunters arrived. The Bushmen had followed the wildebeest's trail through thorns and over the parching desert and were not to be deprived, and, speaking softly to the lions, they said: "We know you are strong, Big Lions, we know you are brave, but this meat is ours and you must give it back to us."

Even after these words the lions did not give ground. Their round eyes watched the hunters and they began to growl, and the four men, quite unarmed except for their arrows and a spear (to use a spear would have been folly), said respectfully: "Great Lions, Old Lions, this meat belongs to us," and then advanced on the lions, throwing little stones and clods of dirt. The lions in the bushes began to back away, while the braver lions stood their ground until a clod struck one of them, causing him to huff and run back a little. At this, the courage of the other lions broke and they all turned and

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159 224 scrambled for the safety of their companions, by now quite 157 far away.

The hunters, victorious in this battle of nerves, had the bull wildebeest all to themselves, but now found that they could not approach it either. Having fended off the lions (it thought), it now tried to lunge to its feet to fend off the men. Short Kwi borrowed the spear from its owner and hurled it into the wildebeest's neck, where it stuck fast. Now they had no weapon at all. Their arrows would be useless. The sticks and stones they threw at the spear did not dislodge it and all their efforts to retrieve it by creeping up on the wildebeest from behind did not succeed, for as soon as one of them would edge near enough to touch the spear the wildebeest would toss its horns so quickly that the man would have to jump back, grazed. At last, while one of the men distracted the wildebeest from the front, Short Kwi backed off and rushed at it, jumped over it, and, as he passed over its back, jerked the spear free. The bull lunged and the curved horns hooked upward, but too late. Short Kwi was gone. Wanting a picture, John asked Short Kwi to do it again, but Short Kwi shook his head. "This time he will remember," Short Kwi said, and dispatched the bull by hurling the spear into its throat.

159 224 593 823 Sometimes, as on these occasions, Short Kwi hunted with others, but mostly he hunted alone. He knew every bush and stone in the area of thousands of square miles that he ranged over, and he lived for hunting. Caring more for this, his passion, than for society, he often hunted as he did when we had first heard of him, alone in the veld with only his wife—a young woman who was intelligent and gay and almost pretty, to whom Short Kwi was devoted—his baby daughter, and his mother-in-law.

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We had met him for the first time at Gautscha. He had 159 224
come in from the veld one night to visit his brother, and we
had met him in the morning. Short Kwi was a young, small
man, shorter than his wife and so slender that he looked al-
most like a child. With long, light feet that took him every-
where, with heavy thighs but light calves like the thin shanks [142]
of a greyhound, and with a narrow, deep chest and lungs that
never winded, he was obviously built for hunting. In the rainy
season when the veld was soft and muddy he often hunted
with only a spear and ran the great antelopes down, for
though their hooves sunk and split in the mud, causing them
eventually to tire, Short Kwi never tired and his strong legs
bore him after them relentlessly, sweeping him down the long
plains like a wind of death.

His life in the veld seemed lonely, but I doubt that it was;
he had his wife, who adored him, for company in the eve-
nings, and although she may have missed companionship
more than he did, they were both shy, both quiet, and it may [573]
be that they both enjoyed their life apart. Short Kwi hunted
most of the time. He would hunt on and on and when word
would reach the large band of his wife's family that he had
killed, the band would go out to where the animal was, dry
the meat, and eat it. When there was enough meat Short
Kwi would rest, would relax in the sun, would talk with his
wife or make himself a new skin bag or garment, and when
word would reach him that all the meat was gone he would
move again. The men of his wife's family hunted too, of
course, but never as successfully as he, yet his great ability set [578
him so far apart from ordinary mortals that for once the 554]
Bushmen forgot their jealousy and agreed that he was the
best hunter the Kalahari had ever known.

It is a custom among Bushman hunters to cut strips of skin 301 224

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301 from the foreheads of the antelope they kill and fashion them
224 into bracelets which their wives wear on their arms. Short Kwi's wife and daughter wore dozens of these; their arms were covered and heavy with them. Short Kwi himself wore
[29] no ornament of any kind, nothing except a crown of badger
43] hair which he owned for a while but later gave to Toma, the very crown that Toma's son now wore.

752 One day, said Toma, Short Kwi had been walking in the
224 veld and had failed to watch where he was going. He had
159 stepped on the tail of a puff adder, which had risen up and bitten his leg, just below the knee. It was a rare and terrible accident; in all the time we had been in the Kalahari we had known of only two people besides Short Kwi who had been harmed by snakes—a young boy bitten by a mamba who had died the day he was bitten, and a young woman who had been pulled into a waterhole by a water python and had drowned. Usually, snakes move away when you come near them, or if they don't, you can usually see them; but you can't walk with your eyes on the ground all the time, especially if you are hunting, as Short Kwi had been. His misfortune was regarded as a horrible accident and it was felt that the spirits of the dead were to blame. They had led Short Kwi down the very path the puff adder had chosen, and perhaps had even placed the snake where his foot was sure to fall. Toma and Goa Feet were very depressed to think of it. Although the talk turned to other things, Gao Feet mentioned the accident again and again; everything seemed to remind him of it. At last Toma said to us: "Perhaps you can help him hunt again. Since he was bitten his people have had no meat."

648 Toma told us that he had been with Short Kwi near Nama
609 Pan when the third group of white farmers had arrived. The farmers had looked at Short Kwi and had offered to cut his leg off for him then and there. This had frightened the Bush-

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164 Short Kwi's wife, who looked around at them all gravely, listening, and when they had finished she nodded her head. "A medicine man of Europeans," they said.

"So," said she.

We talked about the foot for a while, for although he had covered it we could still see the toes. The people of the werf described how Short Kwi was bitten and everyone claimed credit for his part in saving Short Kwi's life. One man had killed the snake, another had cut the fang punctures, and others had given advice at the time and later. The leg had [152] swelled enormously and the medicine men had cut the swollen skin to let blood; the scars of this still showed on the healthy thigh above the blanket. All the people seemed very depressed when talking about it, though; for one reason, they ate meat less often, but also they truly admired him and did not seem to enjoy watching the disaster. Toma asked Short Kwi how he felt and Short Kwi said he thought that his leg had seemed to be getting a little better during the last few days.

582 It was almost evening, and we heard voices singing in the veld. Two women and a young girl were coming home from a trip for veld food. These three were also very happy to see us and the little girl kissed me but not the men, then asked for her mother, who lived at Nama and whom she had not seen for seasons, and we told her that her mother was well. The girl had been newly married and she was as pretty as she could be, with lots of beads, and with long ornaments of tsi nuts hanging beside her face. She wore a fine kaross which she had rubbed with red powder, often a sign to men that a [291 822 224 841] girl is menstruating, as perhaps she was, that men may be careful not to touch her and endanger their powers to hunt. 784 Marriage seemed to have agreed with her. She looked very

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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three-legged dog. This morning, though, he did not look at 151
anyone and seemed more silent even than he had been before.

The men made a carriage of their arms and lifted Short 482
Kwi to the top of the truck, and in the process one of them 151
lost his footing so that Short Kwi was jounced, which must have hurt him although he did not show it, Bushmen being very good at concealing pain or despair. His wife climbed on to help make him comfortable and to receive their bundles, which were being handed up, and at the sight of this his baby 152
began to cry without a sound, slow tears rolling down her cheeks and dropping to the ground. I lifted the baby and tried to play with her, jumping a little and smiling to make her smile, although of course I could not cheer her, and when Short Kwi's wife looked over the truck's side the baby twisted away from me and held up her arms.

When Short Kwi was ready we asked who would come 224
with us, and most of his relatives decided to wait and join us 857
later because one of the young boys, a child of twelve or so, 866
had shot his first buck two days before and as the buck had still not been found, the people did not want to leave it. Toma's son himself wanted to remain because, it turned out, the buck had been shot with an arrow which he had given to another boy, who in turn had given it to the young hunter, and Toma's son, as original owner of the arrow, wanted his rightful share of the meat. When Toma said that his son could wait if he wanted but that we couldn't wait for him, his son turned to some other little boys who stood near him and began discussing the possibility of his joining the search for the animal. It was very interesting to see this conversation, these adult dealings beginning among the ten- and twelve-year-olds, these new, young hunters, these small figures of hope and strength, and we waited a long time while

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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224 Toma's son rubbed his head with his tough little fingers to
857 make up his mind. Finally he left his friends and climbed on
866 the truck. Home was too far to walk to, he said, and he was going to forfeit. As we drove away, his friends ran after us, shouting that they would bring him his share if they were able.

151 We reached Nama Pan late in the afternoon. Toma and
152 Gao Feet cleared a werf for Short Kwi, and when he was
757 settled comfortably with his back against a tree and with soft grass and blankets arranged all around him he said softly, just to himself and anyone else who might be listening, that during the night his leg had fallen off. After he said this he began to cry, and Gao Feet slowly crouched beside him, unwound the blanket slowly, and untied the bark, then gently lifted the knee away from the calf, which remained on the ground, just like the leg of a mummy. When the calf had fallen off, Short Kwi had pushed the two pieces back together again. Short Kwi was crying and biting his hand and his wife was crying, and Toma and Gao Feet stood beside him for a minute looking, the expression on their faces as dark as night.
766 Then they picked up the leg and carried it away to the veld, where they buried it in a hole, exactly as if it were a person, they were so sad.

152 Later, when we had dressed the stump, Toma and Gao Feet came back to sit with Short Kwi and talk with him. Gao Feet told about a Bantu man he had seen far in the north who had been injured in a mine accident and had been fitted with a false foot. Short Kwi could have one too, Gao said; but Toma said, almost too depressed to speak: "What does it matter? He is a cripple now."

521 Then the men went away and left Short Kwi to rest, and
758 during the evening the children and young people were talk-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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137 It was noon when we reached the tree; we broke through the bushes that surrounded it and came into its clearing, a circle thirty yards across of stony, barren ground from which the long roots had sucked the nourishment, and in the middle of the circle the great tree rose, pink-skinned and mighty, the claimer of two lives, twenty feet in diameter and almost two hundred feet high. Its lower branches were heavy and enormous, but the branches got smaller toward the top, the upper ones very thin, crisscrossing each other like lace. On the eastern face of the tree there were no branches; the pink
137 481 trunk towered up and up, smooth and bare. On this side was an ascending row of pegs driven in by Bushmen long ago who had been after honey, used in later years by Bushmen hunters trying to rob the hives again or to scan the countryside for game. The pegs led from the ground around the trunk to the lowest branch, then up the trunk again to the next branch, ending finally at the top of the great tree, almost out of sight.

I knew this old tree very well, for during the year that we had lived at Gautscha we had camped beside it. It had been the home of many creatures then; and now the eastern face of the tree, the great bare slab rising like pink stone, was pocked with little holes. Some of them were empty, surely, but some had tufts of dry grass showing in the openings, little creatures' nests, and here and there, between the roots or in the forks of branches, were the caves of larger animals.

224 Bees had lived in a hole among the branches halfway up,
136 though Toma said the bees had now moved higher; a mongoose had lived in a little cave between the roots on the south side, though now the mongoose was dead, snared and killed by Toma's son; a python that had lived in a hole on the north side was also dead, killed and eaten by an old Bushman woman we had known; but a colony of green-furred squirrels that had lived on the lowest branches, we saw, were

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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still there. Bushmen do not eat squirrels because squirrels 224
have no meat on their bones. Birds of all kinds lived in the 136
great tree too, and there was a hawk's nest in the upper [262]
branches; I once had seen the two gray hawks that built it, but now they too were gone.

It was the bees that interested the Bushmen, though, and 222
those of us who had come from Nama—Toma, Gao Feet, Crooked Kwi, Lazy Kwi, my brother, and I—sat among the rocks at the foot of the tree, the men planning what they would do. I was so tired from having been awake all night to watch the dance that I lay down on the stones and fell asleep, and when I awoke, in an hour or so, the men had built a fire but were still arguing about who would brave getting stung to find the honey. No one really wanted to do it; but I saw that Crooked Kwi was almost persuaded, being very amenable and the youngest person there. Sure enough, taking a smoldering brand in his teeth, he at last began to climb the pegs, clinging to them with his fingers and toes. Toma followed at a distance, cautiously, urging Crooked Kwi on, and the two climbed higher slowly, Crooked Kwi looking down from time to time to be encouraged. When he did, Gao Feet and Lazy Kwi would shout for him to continue. At last Crooked Kwi reached the branch beside the hive and squatted there, blowing on his brand to make it smoke while Toma climbed past him, around to another branch, where he, too, squatted with his feet apart and his hands on his knees exactly as though his feet were on the ground, the branch was so wide.

Crooked Kwi found the hole, a small opening, though even from the ground we could see a few bees humming idly outside, and blew the smoke from his brand into it, then, encouraged by Toma, reached his slender arm inside to find a honeycomb. He was stung, of course, and snapped his arm out instantly, though even then the bees were not angry, None

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222 !Kung women, who are slender-armed and do this monotonous work to the end of their lives. All roots—a major food—are gathered in identical fashion. The implement for this is a digging stick—made usually by a woman's husband from any of a number of hardwoods: the bark is peeled from a branch, a point is whittled sharp. Women, squatting, dig narrow holes in the earth with these sticks, and tug until the root they have reached comes free. Berries are picked—high ones jostled down with sticks and sought for carefully among the grass stems. Nuts are collected on the ground.

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224 SMALL ANIMALS, such as tortoises and even grasshoppers, are sometimes captured by the women and brought home in the evening—such small creatures are also considered *veldkos*. The women, too, will kill snakes, even puff adders. When they see a puff adder, they gather around it in a little crowd, their high laughter tinkling while they drop large, heavy things on its flat head.

222 461 Averaged over a year, women gather on four or five days of each week—the number of days depending

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11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10 Kung

HUNTSMEN OF NYAE NYAE

The !Kung still practice man's oldest craft

By John Marshall

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HUNTING is the work of men. !Kung hunters range the land, seeking the agile game. The men walk rapidly, never lowering their eyes, making sure of the awkward ground with their dextrous feet. They glance swiftly over the distances of the country and, with their good vision and knowledge of what to look for, see any moving thing. As girls learn gathering, boys learn most of hunting on their own. They hunt little birds in the grass around the *werft* houses. They impale beetles with tiny arrows shot from toy bows. Tracking, which is the most difficult part

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Chief weapons of !Kung are bow and poisoned arrows (in quiver, above).

[p. 45]

224 of hunting, is learned last of all.
868 Hunters must be able to recognize the spoor of one wounded wildebeest out of a herd of fifty, and follow that track across desert ground which is almost as hard as stone.

224 The usual techniques of hunting are well adapted to the Kalahari terrain and, except on rare occasions, do not change—no matter what the animal may be. The !Kung hunt an eland and a duiker in the same manner; the idea is to get to the animal just as quickly as possible. The hunters feel that the longer they creep and wait, the more time the

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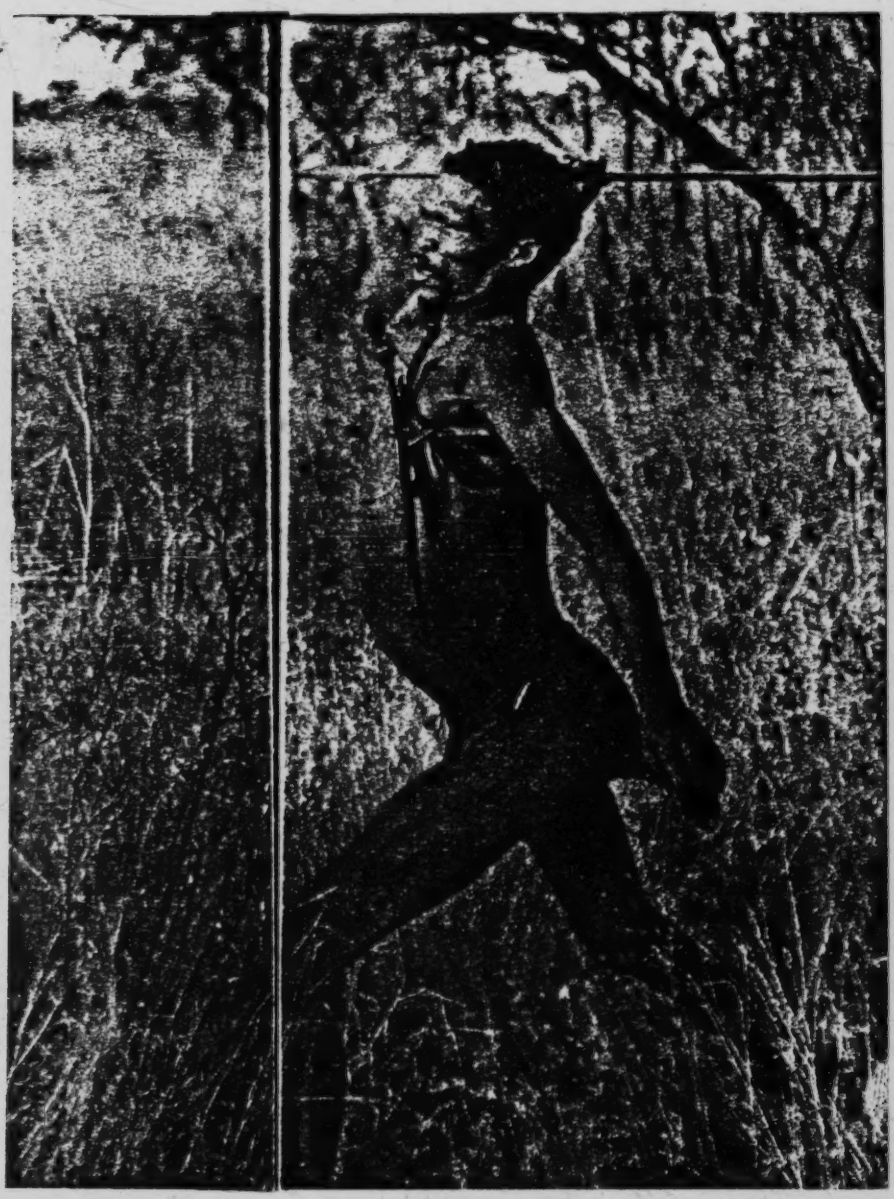

At end of chase, with quarry stricken, spears may be used on big game.

224 animal will have to decide what to do. I have seen a man, using this principle, run crouched across a perfectly open flat, with grass no higher than his knees, and come within twenty yards of a wildebeest who was watching him all the time. Of course the men use cover when they can, but they use it quickly and deftly, keeping on their feet and running bent and bunched so that their arms will not wave and attract unnecessary attention. Although their arrows are true and straight, they are unfeathered and therefore not very accurate. At fifty yards, a !Kung hunter can only feel sure of hitting a kudu somewhere.

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Among the less frequently used techniques of hunting are trapping, the use of blinds built near the pans (manned at night during the rains) and a technique of running down fat elands in the dry season when, what

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Mr. Marshall has participated in all six expeditions to the Kalahari by Harvard's Peabody Museum. Two of the expeditions were in association with the Smithsonian Institution.

224 with the heat and exertion, the portly animals suffer a kind of stroke and have to take to the shade to recover. There, puffing and dizzy, the exhausted elands can be butchered by the deep-breathing hunters.

[223] The trap is a spring-pole snare, of which exists a small version for birds and a larger version for small bucks. Such trapping is usually practiced only by young boys, and even they seem to do it rarely, so that what could amount to an important food source is neglected by the !Kung. The men would rather be gone after the big game, absorbed in the heat and chance of hunting,

221L than to be squatting around the edges of the pans, making little guises with sticks and string into which guinea fowl invariably fall.

224 278 The technology of hunting is the most complex in !Kung culture, and the most involved aspect of that technology is their amazing poison. Without it, the little unfeathered arrows, driven by a light bow, would be useless against big game. With the poison, a !Kung hunter could kill an elephant although, perhaps fortunately, for both, the two seldom encounter one another.

224 278 825 THERE are four kinds of poison—a root (which is rarely used), two grubs and the pod of a tree. One of the two kinds of grub is the larva of an unidentified beetle that lives in a bush; the other is the larva of a beetle that lives in certain Murula trees, identified as *Diamphidia sim-*

HUNTER'S BOOTY, in addition to meat for the pot, includes much-needed raw materials for !Kung economy. Skins of smaller animals are cut into the breechclouts worn by the men, and, *above*, are sometimes ingeniously peeled off, almost in one piece, and turned into bags, with the legs serving as straps.

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plex. This identity, however, is complicated by the presence of still a third beetle, a parasitic one that apparently lives on the grubs of *Diamphidia simplex*, so that it is not now clear *which* is the poisonous grub. The Bushmen are aware of the parasite and feel that its grub does contain poison. They say it "runs around and runs away." They may be speaking of the beetle, for it is difficult to imagine a grub running, and the grub may be so similar to the young *Diamphidia* that the !Kung simply confuse the two. Lastly, still a fourth insect—smaller, and hairy—said to become easily inflamed, is occasionally encountered among the grubs. It is possible that this is the insect that has a poisonous larva: in any case, somewhere in the community is a poisonous grub, and how the Bushmen found it we have no idea.

Assuming *Diamphidia* to be the

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BAGS FOR FOOD, above, like eggshells for water, give !Kung some freedom in moving. Food may be brought to water or water carried far into the desert.

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poison-bearer, its cycle is somewhat as follows: the beetle lays its eggs in the Murula tree leaves. Hatching in the rains, the grubs migrate down the trunk, progressing through a number of growth stages. Finally, they make their cocoons under the ground near the tree. In these cocoons, they struggle through metamorphosis and emerge as small, bravely-colored beetles in the New Year's rains, providing the Bushmen have not already dug them up. The hunters know the particular trees frequented by the beetles and make expeditions to them at least twice a year to replenish their supply. Then the grubs are dug up, and used on the spot or kept in their cocoons, depending on the man's needs.

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The poisoning of !Kung arrows is a long process, with a number of variations. The most common poison is a mixture of the grub and the previously mentioned tree-pod. The grubs are crushed and the pod is warmed until its contents melt slightly and can be crushed with the grubs. This mixture is thinned with the copious spit which results from chewing any of a variety of barks and is then smeared on the foreshaft of the arrow—but cleaned immaculately off

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the point, for the slightest prick, the least bit of poison getting in such a wound, would cause death.

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Depending on where the poisoned arrow hits, a small buck can die in a morning, a man in a few hours, a giraffe in four to five days. There is nothing that can be done for a man, short of amputating a limb or immediately excising the wound and cutting the nearby flesh to let the blood drain. Yet, the poison has no effect upon the game's meat. One can even eat the mixture with relative impunity: it must enter the bloodstream directly to be deadly.

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As subsistence activities, the men's and women's roles—hunting and gathering—are of unequal weight. Almost eighty per cent of the people's food is *veldkos*, more abundant than game in *Nyae Nyae*, and far more easily acquired. If from one summer to the next, a man kills twelve antelope, he feels he has had a good year.

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But, despite its relatively minor subsistence value, hunting is extremely important in !Kung culture. It has developed its body of technology, acquired a large tradition of beliefs, fostered a wealth of knowledge, and

MEAT FROM THE CHASE is shared by all among the band. An old woman, *below*, is skinning her portion of an ostrich.

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become both the measure of a man's ability and a test of his readiness to marry. Part of the explanation may come from the passion in hunting. Like their fires, the tales of hunting burn brightly for the !Kung in the night, warming their memories. Of equal or greater significance is the !Kung craving for meat and undoubtedly for protein. Unlike the sharing of *veldkos*, limited to the nuclear family, a complex system of distribution insures that everyone in the *werft* will get a share of all game killed. This is done, they say, simply to prevent jealousy and the inevitable renunciations that go with it. The !Kung declare "We are a jealous people" and they try to keep jealousy at a minimum, for they fear it.

Still another aspect of hunting—perhaps the most important in terms of subsistence—is the by-products it provides. Sinew is used for thongs

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516 uproarious, derisive laughter. All this is joking and one should not take offence.
[522] The /Kung say this teaches young persons to keep their tempers.

In contrast to the joking is their care in other aspects of conduct to avoid giving offence. ≠Toma said, for instance, that, if he were forming a hunting party and a man whom he did not want asked to join him, he would be careful to refuse indirectly by making some excuse and try not to offend the man.

521 Gossip which can stir up trouble is discouraged. People do gossip but usually
518 discreetly, in low voices, with near and trusted relatives and friends. It is best to mind one's own business, they say.

People are expected to control their tempers and do so to a remarkable degree.
152 If they are angry, aggrieved, or frustrated, they tend to mope rather than to become
518 aggressive, expressing their feelings in low mutters to their close relatives and friends.
626 ≠Toma told us that he had lost his temper twice when he was a young man and on one occasion had knocked his father down. On the other he had pushed his wife into hot ashes. It had so frightened him to realize that he could lose control of himself and behave in this violent way that, he said, he had not lost his temper since.

Meat-sharing

224 The /Kung custom of sharing meat helps to keep stress and hostility over food at
416 a low intensity. The practical value of using up the meat when it is fresh is obvious to
518 all and the /Kung are fully aware of the enormous social value of the custom. The fear of hunger is mitigated; the person one shares with will share in turn when he gets meat and people are sustained by a web of mutual obligation. If there is hunger, it is commonly shared. There are no distinct haves and have-nots. One is not alone.

To have a concept of the potential stress and jealousy which meat-sharing mitigates in /Kung society one has only to imagine one family eating meat and others not when they are settled only five or ten feet apart in a firelit werf and there are no walls for privacy. The veld does not hide secret killing and eating because actions are printed in its sands for all to read. The idea of eating alone and not sharing is shocking to the /Kung. It makes them shriek with an uneasy laughter. Lions could do that, they say, not men.

224 The custom of meat-sharing applies only to the big game animals. Small animals the size of duikers or smaller, birds, tortoises, lizards, grasshoppers, snakes, and ostrich eggs are picked up incidentally and belong to the person who shoots, snares, finds or catches them. He may keep these for himself and his immediate family and may share them as he chooses, as if they were veldkos. ≠Toma says that, if there is only a little, he and his family eat a meal and give a little to anyone who happens to be near by at the time.

Meat-sharing applies to the big animals which are deliberately hunted by organized hunting parties. In the Nyae Nyae region they are kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok, warthogs and ostrich. Eland are found less commonly and buffalo rarely. The Nyae Nyae hunters managed to shoot giraffe occasionally. Giraffe are royal game by S.W.A. law, but the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not known this. When they were told, they called them 'Morrisi cows'. (Mr. Robert Morris was the Commissioner of Native Affairs at Runtu.)

The system by which meat is shared begins with the hunters, but the composition

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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of the hunting party is not a matter of convention or of anxious concern. Hunting parties are freely organized by men who like to hunt with each other. No categories of kin or affines are prohibited from hunting together, whether they have a joking relationship or not or practise the sitting and speaking taboo. Men from different bands may hunt together.

A father has authority over his sons and sons-in-law and could tell them to go hunting or to accompany him and would expect them to obey. In other relationships participation in a hunting party is voluntary. Any man may instigate a hunt and may ask others to join. No one is formally in command of a party, unless he is the father with his sons or sons-in-law, but often an informal kind of leadership develops out of skill and judgement and the men fall in with the plans and suggestions of the best hunter or reach agreement among themselves somehow.

Hunting parties are usually composed of from two to four or five men. One hunter alone is at a disadvantage. A man cannot leave the meat unguarded from lions, hyaenas, jackals, and vultures while he goes to bring help from the band to carry it nor can he carry it alone. Only occasionally are parties larger than four or five. For two parties to hunt in different directions would be more advantageous than to form a larger single party.

When the kill is made the hunters have the prerogative of eating the liver on the spot and may eat more of the meat until their hunger is satisfied. If they are far from the band, they may eat the parts that are especially perishable or most awkward to carry, like the head, and they sometimes eat the cherished marrow. They then carry the animal to the band, either in its parts, bones and all, or, if the animal is very big, leaving most of the bones and cutting the meat into strips which dry in the sun to biltong and are more easily carried on the carrying-sticks. The blood is carried in bags made of the stomach, rumen, and bladder.

The gall bladder and testicles are discarded at the kill. Eventually the hooves are thrown away and usually the picked bones and horns. (The /Kung make only a few artifacts of bone and horn which last a long time and seldom need replacing.) Sinews are kept for making cord. The hide would be skinned off whole and tanned if it were suitable for a kaross and someone wanted a new kaross at the time. Otherwise, the hide is dried, pounded up, and eaten. Hides are quite tasty. Feet are picked of every tissue; gristle is dried and pounded. Soft parts, such as the foetus, udder, heart, lungs, brains, and blood, are often given to old people with poor teeth. Intestines are enjoyed and desired by all. The meat of the rump, back, chest, and neck is highly appreciated. Nothing is wasted; all is distributed.

The owner of the animal is the owner of the first arrow to be effectively shot into the animal so that it penetrates enough for its poison to work. That person is responsible for the distribution. The headman of the band is not the one to distribute the meat by virtue of his headmanship, unless he happens to be at the same time the owner of the arrow. The owner may or may not be one of the hunters.

Hunters have arrows which they acquire in three different ways. Each man makes arrows for himself, shaping the points (usually now of metal, but still possibly of bone or wood) with some slight distinction so that he will know them from the arrows of other men. Secondly, arrows are given as gifts. The man who made the arrow or who himself acquired it as a gift, may give it to someone else, either a man or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend.

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or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. Thirdly, people lend arrows to one another. The status of the arrow plays its part in the distribution of the animal killed with it. There is much giving and lending of arrows. The society seems to want to extinguish in every way possible the concept of the meat belonging to the hunter.

A hunter chooses which arrow he will use. The owner of the arrow—who *ipso facto* owns the animal—may therefore be the hunter himself, who has chosen to use an arrow he made or one that was given him, or he may be a person who lent the arrow to the hunter.

There may be several hunters in the hunting party and several arrows in the animal, but this seems to cause no confusion or conflict. Every arrow is known, of course. The hunters may see which first penetrates effectively so that its poison could account for the kill. But I think that often it is arranged beforehand who will own the animal. A man asking another to accompany him might say, 'Come and help me get a buck.' Or 'Old Gau lent me an arrow and asked me to hunt for him. You come too.'

I think there is little or no dissension as to who owned the animal because it is not a cause for great stress; each hunter gets a share of the meat anyway. I think also that a man wants sometimes to be the owner of the meat in order to start the distribution off in the direction of his own kin and affines, but that one is also content sometimes not to have the onus of the main distribution.

The first distribution of the animal is made in large portions usually to five or six persons. They are the owner of the arrow, the giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not one the owner had made himself), and the hunters. The meat, always uncooked in the first distribution, is given on the bone, unless the animal is large and the meat has been cut into strips at the kill.

In a second distribution the several persons who got meat in the first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. This meat also is given uncooked. The amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution close kinship is the factor which sets the pattern of the giving. Certain obligations are compulsory. A man's first obligation at this point, we were told, is to give to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous portions as he can, while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. The meat may be cooked and the quantities small.

Visitors, even though they are not close kin or affines, are given meat by the people whom they are visiting. This is a strongly felt social rule. Visitors may receive small quantities of cooked meat, which is like being asked to dinner.

Name relatives often receive generous portions of meat because they have the same name as the giver or because their names associate them with his close kin, but this seems to be more a favour than an absolute rule. ≠Toma said there were far too many men named ≠Toma for him to give them special consideration.

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It ends in everybody getting some meat.

In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and primary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift-giving. /Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself in the end, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift some time in the future. Such factors as the category of relationship of kin, affines, or non-related persons, the joking relationship, status, and band affiliation impose no pattern on this giving. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift-giving in general: to measure up to what is expected of them, to make friendly gestures, to win favour, to repay past favours and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation. I am sure that when feelings of genuine generosity and real friendliness exist they would also be expressed by giving.

In the parts and quantities of meat first distributed or given in the later waves of sharing there seemed to be no taboo and no rigidity of rule.

The distribution of an eland which was killed by Gao Beard, headman of Band 2, will serve as an example. There were more than a hundred /Kung at Gautscha at the time of the hunt. Both Gautscha bands (Bands 1 and 2) were present. Bands 3, 4, and 7 were visiting and there was a sprinkling of visitors from other bands.

The hunting party was composed of four men: Gao Beard; his first wife's brother, //Ao, and his own brother, /Qui, both of whom lived with him in Band 2; his brother-in-law, /Naishi, the husband of his sister, //Kushay. They were visiting at the time.

The party had hunted for eight days without success in heat so exhausting that they had to lie covered with sand through the middle part of the day.

/Qui was the first to see the eland. It was a huge one. As /Qui had been asked to come on the hunt by his brother to help him, he told Gao Beard where the eland was and did not shoot at it himself.

Two boys joined the men to track the eland after it was shot. The party tracked it for three days and then found it dead from the poison. They cut up the meat and brought it to the werf at Gautscha, which was two days' travel away. The hunt had lasted thirteen days in all.

Gao Beard was himself the owner of the arrow. The arrow had been given by one person to another five times. /Gao Music (Band 1), who made it, gave it to his sister, /Goishay, who gave it to her husband, ≠Gao, headman of Band 3. He gave it to his brother, Gao, also of Band 3, who gave it to his wife, Di/ai. Di/ai gave it to Gao Beard, her brother, who shot the eland with it and who was responsible for the distribution of the meat.

Gao Beard first gave meat to the hunters who helped him, as was the custom. To /Naishi he gave a forequarter and to //Ao a forequarter and the head. (The hunters usually received a forequarter or hindquarter or an equivalent amount. The head was an extra gift.) The two boys who helped track got nothing—because their fathers would give them some, we were told. To our astonishment, /Qui was given nothing. Gao Beard explained that his brother would eat from his pot. (Actually he

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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229 might eat more in this way as he would not have to share that cooked meat with anyone but his wife and child.)

Gao Beard's sister, Di/ai, who had given him the arrow, received the meat of the back and throat and the intestines.

Gao Beard kept the meat of the neck for himself and in a second wave of distribution gave the rest of the meat as follows:

To his first wife, //Kushay, he gave both hindquarters, the meat of the chest, the lungs, part of the liver and one hind foot. To his mother he gave the meat of the belly and one hind foot. To his sister, //Kushay, and to /Gasa, the wife of his brother, /Qui, he gave one front foot each.

The amount given to his first wife was enormous. In addition to giving to her co-wife, also named //Kushay, and their children, she was to give a large portion of it to her parents, who lived with them in Band 2. (On other occasions the man had given directly to his wife's parents—not through his wife.) When the meat was cut up, //Kushay gave to her father, Old ≠Toma, four bundles of strips of clear raw meat (it was somewhat dried by then). There were about ten or twelve strips to a bundle, about 2½ to 3 feet long. We guessed the weight in all to be about 60 to 70 pounds. She gave meat also to her two younger brothers, /Gao and /Gunda. (Her other brother, //Ao, who had been one of the hunters, had got his share from Gao Beard.) She gave to her co-wife's father (≠Gao, Band 4) and to Old /Gaishay, her co-wife's MoFa, headman of Band 4. She then gave to six other persons, all in Band 1. They were her cousin, Old Gau (her FaSiSo) and his two daughters, and two other cousins (FaSiDas), Di/ai and /U, and /U's husband, ≠Toma.

The giving of raw meat went on. Old ≠Toma gave to eighteen people: his wife, six affines, three kin, two name relatives (i.e. a visitor because his father's name was ≠Toma, and Old /Gasa because her deceased husband's name was ≠Toma), and six other persons. Telling us the reasons for giving to the last six, whose kin or affinal connexions with ≠Toma, if any, were so remote we did not bother to trace them, he said of one, 'He is an old man whom I like in my heart', and of another, 'He was hungry for meat.' In the end Old ≠Toma gave some of the meat back to his daughter, //Kushay.

Di/ai (Band 3), the giver of the arrow, gave raw meat to six persons: her husband's mother, brother and two sisters (in Band 2), a visitor who was her HuSiHuBr, and her mother's brother, headman of the visiting Band 7.

Persons who had by this time received substantial amounts of raw meat began giving to others. We recorded 63 gifts of raw meat. Doubtless there were more. After the raw meat was given, there was further sharing of the individual's portions, cooked or raw, with parents, offspring, spouses, and other persons who live together.

264 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the /Kung. When
422 an individual receives a portion of meat he owns it outright for himself. He may give and share it further as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often
[252] roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very important

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to the /Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae /Kung eat hearty meals of meat when they have been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount. They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger.

The /Kung are quite conscious of the value of meat-sharing and they talk about it, especially about the benefit of the mutual obligation it entails. The idea of sharing is deeply implanted and very successfully imposes its restraints. To keep meat without sharing is one of the things that just is not done.

Gift-giving

The custom of gift-giving comes, in my opinion, second only to meat-sharing in aiding the /Kung to avoid jealousy and ill will and to develop friendly relations. /Kung society puts considerable emphasis on gift-giving. Everything a person has may have been given to him and may be passed on to others in time. The /Kung make their artifacts, on the whole, of durable material and take good care of them. They last for generations and move in a slow eddy among the people. The dealings are only between individuals, but they are numerous and provide occasion, perhaps more than any one other activity does, for visits which bring whole bands into polite encounter.

We gave cowrie shells as parting gifts in 1951 to the women in ≠Toma's band, the band which first sponsored us and with which we stayed and did our consistent work, wherever they were, on each expedition. We had carefully observed that there were no cowrie shells among /Kung ornaments before we gave them. Ours were bought from a New York shell dealer, perhaps to the confusion of future archaeologists. We gave to each woman enough for a short necklace, one large brown shell and twenty smaller grey ones. In 1952 there was hardly a cowrie shell to be found in Band 1. They appeared, not as whole necklaces, but in ones and twos in people's ornaments to the edges of the region.

The /Kung have not developed special objects to use as gifts. Nor have they invested ordinary objects with special gift significance. What they give each other are the common artifacts and materials of everyday life (see Appendix). Some objects are more highly valued than others as gifts, as one would expect. I gathered that relative scarcity of material was a factor and that objects were appreciated for their beauty, workmanship, and appropriate size (a wide headband is better than a narrow one). People took an interest in remembering to whom an object had been given in the recent past, but the /Kung, who are present-oriented, do not place special value upon antiquity as such or systematically hold the distant past in mind.

The /Kung decorate their artifacts very little (they have developed music and dancing, not the plastic or pictorial arts), but they delight in ornaments with which to adorn themselves. The intrinsic beauty, the meaningfulness, and the relief to the monotony of yellow-brown skin and grey-brown leather karosses are all valued.

SINEWS

Made and used by men

bow-strings
wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison adheres well to sinew)
binding for hafts
snares

Made by men, used by all

strings for *//guashi* (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

fine rolled cord

HORN

Made and used by men

horns fitted with leather covers for carrying arrow-points
horns for cupping

Used by all

horns for pipes
horns for spoons

SHELL

Made by men, used by all

ostrich egg-shell water-containers
tortoise-shell dippers
tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

ostrich egg-shell beads

FEATHERS

Used by boys on *jani* toys
Worn by all occasionally in hair

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

WOOD

Made and used by men

bows
spear handles
axe or adze handles
knife handles
knife sheaths
spring-hare hook handles[1]
fire-making sticks
hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

digging sticks
carrying sticks
stirring sticks
mortars and pestles
bowls
spoons
fire scrapers
//guashi (musical instrument)
one-stringed violin
jani toys
beads

Made by women

frames for scherms

FIBRES

(from *sansevieria*, aloe, */nua* tree roots, other roots)

Rolled by men and women

cord

Made and used by men

carrying-nets
snares

Made and used by all

ornaments

GRASS

Made by men and women

stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-containers
ornaments

Made by women

scherms

Made by children

toys of grass folded and woven to suggest animals

Used by all for beds

[1] Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying. They carry only the hook around with them and whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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776 It was characteristic of the /Kung that none of the medicine men whom we knew
756 claimed to have seen ≠*Gao!na*. They were not great enough, they said. The /Kung
[156] do not wish to risk drawing upon themselves the invidious attention of mortals or the whimsical displeasure of the gods by setting themselves up noticeably before others. Some said that they had been told by their parents of only one great medicine man among their neighbouring bands who had seen ≠*Gao!na*. His name was Gao. He died long ago.

776 Although ≠*Gao!na* comes only to the great medicine men 'in the flesh', so to speak,
787 he appears to anyone in dreams and 'helps all his people'. A hunter said that
[224] ≠*Gao!na* stands beside one in one's dream and says, 'You have been walking and walking and you got nothing. Today I shall give you meat.' The hunter gets up and goes out on to the veld. He sees an animal and shoots it. ≠*Gao!na* may say, on the other hand, 'These days you will not find an animal even if you hunt'; and it will be the truth. He may tell you in a dream where to find honey in a tree or where to
[756 find an ant hill. He gives power to the medicine men in dreams and also medicine
533] songs. A medicine woman described vividly how he had taught her a medicine song which she then gave to her people. He stood beside her instructing her to sing the song over and over until she had learned it.

//GAUWA, THE LESSER GOD

776 Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung the word //*Gauwa* has three interpretations. First,
[775] a //*gauwa* is the spirit of a dead person; the spirits of the dead in the plural are //*gauwasi*. Second, the Nyae Nyae /Kung, as we have said, call the children born to the gods 'little //*gauwasi*'. Third, they apply the name //*Gauwa* to both the great and the lesser god. It is one of the seven names they have in common. In the current beliefs of the Nyae Nyae /Kung there is not a being called //*Gauwa* who is a separate entity apart from the great and the lesser god.

Among other Bushmen and the Hottentots, //*Gauwa* was a being distinct from the other being who is variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, &c. As I interpret the present belief of the /Kung, the lesser god is that old, traditional //*Gauwa*. He has been transmuted, however, from the old image to a new one, as the old protagonist, ≠*Gao!na*, was transmuted into the great god. //*Gauwa*'s name has been attributed to the great god as the great god's names have been attributed to him. The two beings remain separate entities in the *!gu!na–!guma* relationship.

I base the interpretation that the lesser god is the traditional //*Gauwa* on the facts that many of his attributes are the same as or similar to those of the traditional being and that I did not hear people use any other name for him but //*Gauwa* and did not once hear the name //*Gauwa* used for the great god when people spoke spontaneously of him, although they insisted that it was one of the seven names which the gods have in common.

Excerpts from Schapera indicate that //*Gauwa* was generally the destroyer. Vedder reports that the /Kung at Tsumeb expect only evil from him and think of him as opposed to *Huwe*. But Lebzelter's Eastern Kung believed that he was good as well as evil, that he helped hunters, and some thought he was the creator. 'He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.'[1] By the Heikum also he was

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188.

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Z. für Ethn. 38(3): 241-268. 1906.

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15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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182 A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties
312 which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters
[161] them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival,
[648] for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in
the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been
134 comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity
and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

137 Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still
[222] have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again
to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-
sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage
● [224] organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre
[262] content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the
various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

224 Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not
[411] necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

101 LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bush-
197 men cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking
[829] Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local group-
[184] ings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within them-
[621] selves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band
[622] composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

101 The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a
131 group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ŏassi* and who live in the
[192] Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

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in several different bands, and they may choose among them. A band that owned comparatively good resources would tend to attract more members than a band with scant veldkos. This flexibility of residence pattern is one of the reasons that one finds the bands of the interior of the Nyae Nyae region relatively in balance with their resources, and varying in size.

WATER • Two or more bands may share the ownership of a water hole. Water holes keep their own rough population balance because, if water is very scarce, people will go to live elsewhere when they have the possibility of doing so.

In the interior of this region, in roughly 8000 square miles, there are three water holes that can be called really permanent. In the driest years these do not fail. Four others dry up only in years of severe drought. Six more are semipermanent: in a very good year they may yield a little water right through, but in a dry year they are sure to dry up. When the semipermanent water holes go dry, the bands who own them may break up temporarily and the families may go to live with relatives who are at permanent water holes, or they may go as whole bands to another water hole where they have relatives.

Water is not owned as exclusively or as jealously as veldkos. Water seems to belong more to mankind, as the animals do, and the ownership of water holes emphasizes more the managing than the withholding of the water. The headman controls the water. His permission should be asked by travelers or visitors before taking water, "because he knows what he has and what can be done," we were told. We saw small temporary water holes marked with bundles of grass thrust into forked sticks. This was to tell visitors or travelers that the owners of the water hole were in residence, as it were, and were counting on the water. We believe that in these circumstances water would not be taken without permission. Occasions are not likely to arise where permission need be refused. The !Kung know where the others are, or are likely to be, at a given time and know how much water is available. They plan better than to get themselves into desperate situations.

One source of water appears to be owned by individuals. It is the rainwater that collects in hollow mangetti trees. The water in trees is not stolen by others who go to gather in the same mangetti forest. Water, incidentally, is the only beverage of the !Kung in the interior of the region. They have no alcoholic drinks and use no infusions of herbs.

HUNTING AND MEAT SHARING • !Kung hunting regulations do not confine the hunters to territories. The game animals belong to no one until they are shot, and the hunters may follow them anywhere the spoor leads and may cross the territorial boundaries of any band. If hunters have made a kill in the territory of a neighboring band, they would not fail to give a present of

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224 meat to the owners of the territory should they happen to encounter them,
[43] but this is a gift, not an obligatory tribute. The vastness and emptiness of
[182] the country allow this freedom in hunting rights and the wandering nature of the game requires that the hunters, if they are to succeed at all, be free to look for game wherever they can find it.

222 The !Kung eagerly pick up tortoises, certain kinds of lizards, snakes, ostrich eggs, and grasshoppers, and they relish termites when these insects
[262] swarm out in nuptial flight. These items provide incidental delicacies and gathering them is like the gathering of veldkos. The person who gathers
224 them may keep them for himself and his own family. Men gladly shoot small
223 animals and birds if they happen upon them—wart hogs, duikers, other small antelope, porcupines, badgers, pythons, spring hares, ostriches, paouws, guinea fowl, red-winged partridges, occasional migrating geese, and other birds. They may keep them for their own families. They do not, however, devote their hunting time to the smaller animal creatures if they find fresh spoor of the larger ones. Hunting the big game animals that feed a whole band is the work of a man's prime and is incumbent on him.

224 Hunting parties usually consist of from two to four or five men. A man cannot hunt effectively alone in this country. Several parties hunting in different directions are more advantageous than one larger party. Any man may organize a hunting party, with relatives and friends from his own band or from neighboring bands—men he likes to hunt with. No one is formally a leader; the men talk and plan together and are likely to fall in with the suggestions of the one whom they consider the best hunter. Participation in any given hunting party is voluntary. What !Kung society urges is that the
[461] hunters hunt; it does not restrict the ways and means. The force of public
[626] opinion upon men not to sit in the werf, not to be lazy but to do their share, is tremendous.

The game the !Kung hunt deliberately and purposefully are the several big antelopes found in the region: eland, kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok. They also hunt the more rarely seen buffalo and occasionally manage to shoot a giraffe. Although there is this considerable variety of kind, there is not a great abundance of game. The herds are small and the hunts long and hard.[6] The antelope, because they can go for long periods without drinking, move and drift about anywhere in the vast monoto-
[484] nous veld and are very difficult to find. Hunters often search for days, cover-
ing scores of miles, before finding spoor fresh enough to follow, and they may
[411] follow it for days before catching up with the animal. Their little arrows kill by poison rather than by piercing deeply, and, when an animal is shot, if it is big, it may wander for three or four more days until it dies of the poison.
[136] Smaller animals succumb in a shorter time. The hunters must track the animal and find it before the lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals, or vultures devour it.

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!Kung

vour it. Thus, according to our observations, a !Kung band gets on an average 224 ●
only about fifteen to eighteen large animals in a usual year.

The meat of the large game animals does not belong to the hunters to do with as they choose. However, they always have the prerogative of eating the [242] liver at the site of the kill and, if their hunger is not satisfied, they may eat more. The bulk of the meat is then carried to the band, where it is distributed among the members according to a system. The meat belongs to the owner of the first arrow that penetrates the animal so that it stays in. He has the responsibility of making the first distribution.

Anyone in the band may be the owner of the arrow. A hunter carries 224
arrows he acquires in three different ways. Each man has his own that he 411
makes himself, shaping the points with some little distinction so that he 422
will know them from the arrows of other men. In addition he carries 426
arrows that have been given or lent to him. When an arrow is given to him, 431
he is the owner as much as if he had made it himself, but if he uses that 571
arrow he must make a special gift of meat to the donor. When he uses an arrow that is loaned to him, he merely shoots for the person who lent it and who remains the owner of the arrow. !Kung society makes a great deal of giving and lending arrows. Women and old men, as well as men in their hunting prime, receive arrows as gifts and may give them or lend them to a hunter, asking him to shoot for them. A hunter cannot refuse an arrow— [576] as a person cannot refuse any gift—without offending the giver. He accepts the arrow and with it an obligation, but he gives or lends arrows in return and involves others in obligation to him. Hunters choose to use one or another of their arrows, with the result that the responsibility of distributing the meat, with its advantages and obligations, is shared by members of the band as is the meat itself.

In the first distribution the whole animal is divided among a few 224
persons, who receive whole sections on the bone, unless the animal is so large that the meat has to be cut off in strips to be carried. The first of these persons are the hunters, each of whom gets a fore- or hindquarter or the equivalent. The giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not matle by the owner himself) receives a generous portion. The owner of the arrow, who may be one of the hunters, or anybody, keeps the rest.

In the second distribution, the several persons who got meat in the 224
first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. The 602
amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution, close kinship is the factor that sets the pattern of giving. A man's first obligation at this point [606] is to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous [593] portions as he can while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if

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224 602 they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. [574] This meat may be cooked and the quantities small. Visitors receive small amounts of cooked meat from their hosts. It ends in everybody getting some meat.

224 431 In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and primary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift giving. !Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift of meat at some time in the future. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously [571] according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift giving in general: the person gives to measure up to what is expected of him, to make friendly gestures, to win favor, to repay past favors and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation.

224 431 181 Aside from the practical advantage of using up meat while it is still fresh, the !Kung custom of meat sharing has enormous social value. It does a great deal to mitigate tensions. The fear of hunger is lessened. People are [154] sustained by a web of mutual obligation. Moreover, they are fully conscious [183] of these values, and the custom is so strongly established and so faithfully followed that the idea of not sharing is virtually unthinkable to the !Kung.

422 262 264 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the !Kung. When an individual receives a portion he owns it outright. He may give and share it further, as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very [261] important to the !Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

224 261 It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae !Kung eat hearty meals of meat when plenty appeared and they had been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not 251
uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming 261
journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and tsi when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to 261
food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food 576
or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food 433
and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung 462
society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no 562
extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly 562
strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous 147
and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of 562
hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing 462
splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable 262
foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. 224
The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's [535]
wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The 342
building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's [463]
work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a [32]
woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. [861]
She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and traditionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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The *Choa* Ceremony The mother takes the girl's hands to scrape the tsi out of the ashes.

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[224]

choa-ed. The old woman who attends her performs this part of the ceremony (or her mother may do so). She scrapes a root called *sha sha* into the water hole. To *choa* the veldkos, the old woman takes the girl's hands in hers and together they place the veldkos in the fire. When it is cooked, they scrape it out together and the old woman puts *sha sha* in her mouth, chews it, and blows on the girl's hands and on the veldkos. This protects the girl from having an upset stomach. Each veldkos must be *choa*-ed the first time the girl eats it after the First Menstruation ceremony.

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[224]

No ceremonials mark subsequent menstruation periods, and the women do not seclude themselves during the flow or avoid gathering veldkos or dipping water from the water hole. They continue only to practice certain avoidances that in general have to do with men's hunting. The menstruating woman must not touch hunting gear; it would be very bad, for the arrows would be useless. She must not have sexual intercourse with her husband; it would make him tired and thin. Men in the years of their hunting prime should not talk or listen to talk about menstruation, for to do so might make them lazy in hunting.

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The girls who are married before their first menstruation have the same menstruation ceremony when the time comes as do the unmarried girls.

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[852]

There is no genital mutilation practiced among the girls and women of the !Kung. Girls are scarified, but not at the time of the menstruation ceremony. The scarification is begun when the girl is about seven or eight and is continued little by little over several years. Stripes are made on the legs,

[p. 266]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

174 [172] 1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at 177 the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or 131 exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

131 (3) 162 The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

144 (4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into cate- [114] gories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

114 (5) 147 Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been published by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

● 224 (6) 126 The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

553 (7) 602 121 I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

121 view of the Bushmen. The present study is a contribution to this reorientation and, as such, has implications, not only for Bushman studies, but for the study of hunters and gatherers in general.

The study of subsistence ecology focusses attention on those aspects of the man/environment relation which pertain to the getting of food. Since there are populations of Bushmen available which still maintain a full-time, year-round, hunting and gathering way of life, an investigation of subsistence ecology can be founded on a firm empirical basis. The investigator does not have to rely on the memory of informants concerning conditions no longer in existence.

121 114 171 Another recent study - of the subsistence activities of Australian aborigines in Arnhem Land (McCarthy and McArthur 1960) - offers an instructive contrast to the present study. Both studies are concerned with the subsistence ecology of hunter-gatherers. The difference lies in the fact that the Australian groups studied spent the greater part of each year living on mission stations where they ate European foods. Consequently, the Australian scientists could observe traditional food getting for two week periods that were bracketed by periods of residence on the mission stations. The Bushman study, on the other hand, is a continuous record of hunting and gathering activities extending over a fifteen month period. The Dobe area 121 222 224 Bushmen were hunting and gathering for the simple reason that

121 there was no viable alternative locally available to them.
222
224 The presence of these conditions has made it possible not only to observe ongoing subsistence behavior, but also to attempt to understand the dynamics and the underlying rationale of hunting and gathering as a total way of life.

R.B.L.

Cambridge Mass.,
July 1965.

121 (George Silberbauer) was already conducting research among the Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

After DeVore's return to Harvard in September, the author surveyed the Ngamiland situation and found that the Bushman population in the northwestern sector satisfied our research requirements.

161 312 621 224 222 648 In October, 1963, there were about 430 Bushmen living at nine waterholes in the !Kangwa administrative district. Over 70% of these people were organized into bands and depended on hunting and gathering for their subsistence. Although some 340 Bantu lived in the district they had not established a lord-client relationship over the Bushmen. This feudal type of social system exists elsewhere in the Kalahari but not in 114 the !Kangwa district. The author was the first white person to live in the district. The Marshall expeditions had touched the western edge of the district but had centered their research at /Gautscha, a camp about 40 miles west of our area.

The main field station was set up at Dobe, a small waterhole in Bechuanaland, two miles east of the Bechuanaland - South West Africa border. The author conducted research here for twelve months, except for intervals of work elsewhere in the Kalahari and study periods in Livingstone, Johannesburg, Windhoek and Capetown.

In October, 1964, Irven and Nancy DeVore joined the author

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

101 Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a 142 satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical 144 type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included, and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland 197 would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non- 121 Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West 224 Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A 222 strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting 464 648 and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many 241 thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or 233 practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

114 A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by 197 the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963). He has demonstrated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

10α [114] In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956). Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

The economic position

114 224 222 161 Tobias erred when he estimated that in 1956, 35,000 of the 55,000 Bushmen "lead a hunting and food-gathering life, barely removed from that of the late Upper Palaeolithic or of the South African Later Stone Age." (1957:33). The first comment concerns the numbers of Bushmen still hunting; the second the "primitiveness" of the modern Bushmen hunters.

162 131 464 648 224 Of the 15,000 Bushmen in South West Africa at least 9,500 are working on European farms. An additional 3,000 are either working for Bantu agriculturalists or practicing agriculture and stock-keeping themselves. (Republic of South Africa 1964:29,41). This leaves 2,500 as hunter-gatherers in South West Africa.

In Bechuanaland an estimated 16,300 Bushmen work on European farms or Bantu cattle posts. A further 2,000 are practicing a mixed agricultural and hunting way of life. The remaining 6,100 lead a hunting and gathering way of life. The main concentrations of the latter are in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (3,000) and in western Ngamiland (1,600).

The Batwa of the Lake Chrissie area have been working on European farms for nearly a century (Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955:3). The Bushmen in the Gemsbok Park are a major tourist attraction, but may do some hunting.

In Rhodesia, the Bushmen in the Wankie area are all

162 working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in
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464 Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield
648 as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen
• 224 of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life.
(Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated
at 200.

161 This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of
162
224 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty
222 percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more
[114] reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely
that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between
the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

162 The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial
224
222 and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-
178 gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most
isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with
184 their European ard Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of
[221]
[648] the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend
part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent
[312] to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share
[464] their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the
[233] young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds
on a contract basis.

000 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

101 appelation "!Kung". They said it was a term of opprobrium used of them by the Bantu.

The southern division !Kung were the first of the tribe to appear in the ethnographic literature. They are described by Baines (1864) and Chapman (1868) as "Ma'kow'kow". Later workers have called them ≠Auin (Kaufmann 1910), //kau//en (Bleek 1928), ≠Ao-//ẽin (Fourie 1928), Makaukau, and Auen (Schapera 1930). All these forms appear to be corruptions of the name ≠d"au//ae, which is currently in use among the Bushmen of the Ghanzi District. This is the Nharo name for the !Kung Bushmen; it means literally "north side" and reflects the fact that the !Kung have traditionally been the northern neighbors of the Nharo. The !Kung commonly apply this label to themselves, saying "we are the ≠d"au//ae (north side) people".

[197] Since all three groups, calling themselves !Kũ, zũ/wãsi,
[184] and ≠d"au//ae, respectively, speak dialects of the same language, and since the latter two groups maintain a sense of ethnic identity through the name relation it is recommended that the name !Kung be adopted as the tribal appelation. It is the easiest of the three names to pronounce and it has had the widest currency in the literature.

[184] Of the three geographical divisions of !Kung, full time
[224] independent hunters and gatherers are found only among the
[222] central group.

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Kuangari Bunja Sambiu Djiriku	in South West Africa
Mbukushu	in South West Africa and B. P.
Bayei Batawana Herero	in B. P.

[621] These !Kung may live in independent villages near a
[224] Bantu kraal and devote much of their time to hunting and
[222] gathering, or they may be incorporated into the compounds of
[464] their protectors and work as domestic servants and farm hands.
However, all of these Bantu-associated !Kung are in contact
131 with groups of more independent !Kung living inland. Ties
184 of real and fictive kinship and marriage link the river
602 dwelling !Kung with the !Kung of the dry interior. The loca-
582 tion of these non-!Kung peoples is shown in Map 6, p. 34.

131 Map 7 illustrates how the European and Bantu-associated !Kung form a ring of population around the peripheries of the northwest Kalahari. These settled areas enclose an interior of about 25,000 square miles, one third of which is in Bechuanaland and two thirds in South West Africa. Most of

III. THE DOBE AREA: ITS PEOPLES AND HISTORY

131 Dobe, a small waterhole on the South West Africa/
[114] Bechuanaland border, ninety miles west of Nokaneng, B.P., was the location of the author's main field camp. The term, "Dobe area", as used in this report refers to the country
[312] within a thirty mile radius of the Dobe well. This includes the eleven permanent waterholes which support the entire population of Bushmen and Bantu in the Bechuanaland sector
[224] of the !Kung interior. The Dobe area also includes a large
[222] tract of ground in South West Africa where Bechuanaland Bushmen traditionally go to hunt and gather. It does not include the Nyae Nyae pans, /gam and Tsumkwe in South West Africa, or the more distant waterholes at n!aun!au, at !audum, or at Tsodilo Hills in Bechuanaland (see Map 8).

Dobe is not the cultural or administrative center of the settlements of the interior !Kung. On the contrary, Dobe is the most isolated of the waterholes on the Bechuanaland side. The term "Dobe area" is applied here simply as a matter of convenience.

To reach the Dobe area by truck, one drives west from the Batawana town of Nokaneng which is situated on the western edge of the Okavango swamps. After traversing uninhabited country for 67 miles the traveller arrives at

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464 attached to an independent camp were living with the Bantu.
[233] These working Bushmen, with their spouses and families,
[162] numbered 44 people.

The Batawana headman, Isak Utuhile, was the only one of the Bantu residents to maintain a staff of retainers and their families. This sort of benevolent feudalism is a common practice throughout the Tswana tribal areas of Bechuanaland (Schapera 1953:28; Tagart 1933) but, with this one exception,
[162] is absent in the Dobe area. The headman supports four assistants (including a uniformed Bushman police constable) and their families, a total of 13 people.

Finally there was an Ad Hoc grouping of 26 !Kung who lived at the kraal of Enamoharadi, a Herero woman at Mahopa. These people lacked a territorial nucleus and therefore could
[224] not be considered as an independent camp. Several !Kung
[222] women helped with the domestic duties but the majority chose
[262] to use Mahopa as a base of operations for hunting and gathering and to drink the milk of Enamoharadi's cattle when it was offered to them.

361 Except for the women who are married to Bantu, most of
648 the !Kung remain only temporarily in Bantu villages, for periods ranging from one month to two years. Also it was observed that most of the !Kung living with Bantu spent at least half the year hunting and gathering. Furthermore many

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648 The Bushman residents of Bechuanaland, however, were not immediately affected by these restrictions. They continued to hunt and gather on the South West side and to visit their kinsmen at localities in the Nyae Nyae area.

648 <u>The period of European presence, 1960-1965</u> - In 1960, the
177 South African Government put into operation its plan to civilize the !Kung Bushmen of the interior. A government station was set up at Tsumkwe where a borehole was sunk. Mr. C. V. McIntyre, the Bushman Affairs Commissioner, took up residence at Tsumkwe. The !Kung Bushmen from Nyae Nyae were
[241] ingathered and provided with rations of maize meal. After they had been settled around the borehole a program was initiated to teach them agriculture. Because of a series of drought years this program has not met with success.

[162] By 1964, over 800 !Kung Bushmen had been settled at Tsumkwe. Less than 50 of these people had come from the
[178] Bechuanaland side. It is not clear why the Bechuanaland
[162] !Kung have not participated in this program to a greater
[224] extent, but the fact remains that over 350 !Kung continue to
[222] hunt and gather in the Dobe area and seem to indicate no intention of moving to Tsumkwe.[1]

648 The latest development in the political situation in

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[1]Some B.P. Bushmen insist that they were refused permission to live at Tsumkwe. Others say they fear to go there.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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Fifth are species that are eaten only by old women for whom the food taboos of adult life have been lifted:

lion	caracul
leopard	zebra
jackal	

Sixth is a species that is eaten only by ritual curers for magical purposes:

cape polecat (zorilla)

Finally there are seven species that are universally tabooed. These include the carnivorous species that are said to eat people:

spotted hyena	brown hyena
wild dog	wild cat

as well as three species of primates that the Bushmen say are close relatives of man:

vervet monkey	baboon
galago	

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The small mammals, such as rodents, bats, and squirrels, are not hunted or eaten. The Bushmen said that no taboos were associated with these species. However, these species were not worth killing because each carried only a few ounces of meat. Occasionally squirrels that are found dead or accidentally caught in snares are fed to the dogs.

The important point in terms of food resources is that

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262 all hunters may hunt every species regardless of whether a
224 given species is personally tabooed.

In actual practice only ten species of mammal were consistently hunted by the Dobe area Bushmen. These are: kudu, wildebeeste, gemsbok, steenbok, duiker, wart hog, antbear, porcupine, springhare, and common hare.

In addition to the above a further ten species were observed to be occasionally killed and eaten. These include:

pangolin	bat-eared fox
genet	honey badger
aardwolf	cheetah
slender mongoose	jackal
caracul	cape polecat

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262 The Bushmen generally consider the meat of herbivorous mammals as the most desirable food. The meat of insectivorous mammals such as antbear, pangolin and bat-eared fox is less highly prized. The meat of carnivores is generally undesirable but nevertheless eaten by at least some people, when it is available. At the bottom of the list of preferences is the meat of hyena and wild dog. The Bushman explanation is that since these species eat people, to eat their meat is indirectly an act of cannibalism.

[224] There is evidence of regional and historical variation in the species systematically hunted by the !Kung of the

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central interior. John Marshall found that most of the meat brought in by the Nyae Nyae area hunters was from the large ungulates such as wildebeeste, eland and gemsbok. Small mammals such as springhare were rarely hunted (1957, and personal communication). By contrast, the most frequent kills in the Dobe area were the smaller animals: springhare, steenbok and duiker, whereas the killing of a large antelope was a rare and great event. Giraffe and eland were not hunted by the men of the Dobe area.

[173] The older Bushmen state that in the early days there were more game animals and more Bushmen in the central interior and that their forefathers used to hunt in large groups, killing giraffe, buffalo and even elephant.

At present, the most important single source of meat in the Bushman diet is wart hog. It was not the most frequent mammal killed. Springhare, steenbok and duiker were all killed more frequently than wart hog. But the southern African wart hog weighs about 170 lbs., whereas the springhare weighs only 7-1/2 lbs, the steenbok, 25 lbs., and the duiker 43 lbs. At the Dobe camp wart hog were killed at the rate of three per month throughout the study period. The edible portion of each carcass is about 50%. Therefore wart hog provided a regular supply of c. 255 lbs. of meat per month to the members of the Dobe camp.

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Steenbok and duiker were the next in importance because of the frequency with which they were killed, especially during the winter when they were systematically trapped and during late spring when the young could be easily run down on foot.

Springhare were the most frequent animal killed. The 7-1/2 lb. carcass has a high percentage of edible meat (60%) and the killing rate in some seasons was as high as 10 per week.

It is difficult to evaluate the large antelopes, kudu, wildebeeste, and gemsbok in terms of their dietary importance because they were rarely killed. A hunter who had killed five large antelopes in a year was considered to be above average. Most of the hunters killed one or two per year, Even a single kill, however, provides a massive return in meat. The average dead weights[1] of these species are:

kudu (M)	600 lbs.
kudu (F)	350 lbs.
gemsbok (M)	444 lbs.
gemsbok (F)	514 lbs.
wildebeeste (M)	550 lbs.
wildebeeste (F)	450 lbs.

[1]All the mammal weights quoted in this study were provided by Reay Smithers (personal communications).

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224 By killing one male kudu (600 lbs.) with a weight 24 times greater than that of a steenbok (25 lbs.) a hunter would provide his camp with a quantity of meat roughly equivalent to that provided by 20 steenbok (assuming that the kudu has a somewhat lower ratio of edible to inedible parts than does a steenbok).

[628] On the face of it, hunting large antelope would appear to have overwhelming advantages in terms of meat. However, when news of such a kill reaches neighboring camps, dozens of friends and relatives descend upon the killer's camp to assist him in disposing of the meat. Thus at the end of several jovial days the superabundance of meat disappears and the fortunate hunter is out looking for meat again. The killing of a large antelope therefore has more prestige value than nutritional value to the family of the man who killed it.

This pattern of sharing large kills beyond the boundaries of a camp is ecologically adaptive because meat spoils quickly, especially during the rainy season and it is often necessary to eat meat that is in danger of becoming rotten.

825 The Bushmen know how to make biltong (dried strips of meat)
262 but rarely do this. This infrequency of making biltong is
224
251 probably both a cause and an effect of sharing meat widely. The only part of a large antelope kill that is consistently set aside for future consumption is the hide. This part of

825
262 the animal evidently has much better storage properties than
224 the flesh.
[251]

In general, the larger the animal killed, the more widely its meat is shared. The meat of springhare, hare, steenbok, and duiker is usually consumed by the hunter's immediate family. The meat of wart hog, antbear and porcupine is
[228] shared out among the members of a hunter's camp. The meat of kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok is shared out among the hunter's camp and among members of neighboring camps.

825 Birds - The eating of birds again illustrates the selective
262 food tastes of the Bushmen. Of the 75 species of birds
223 recorded only eight species were said to be eaten and of these only four species were observed to be systematically hunted. The four important game birds were:

crowned quinea fowl	red-billed francolin
Swainson's francolin	red-crested korhaan

The other birds eaten were:

Kori bustard	double-banded sandgrouse
Cape turtledove	red-billed teal

Snares were regularly set in order to capture guinea fowl, francolin and korhaan. Occasionally other birds triggered the snares. Usually these other species were fed to the dogs. Occasionally they were simply discarded.

222 Only the eggs of the above eight species appeared to be
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VI. ORGANIZATION AND TECHNOLOGY OF SUBSISTENCE

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224 There is a basic division of labor between the sexes:
462 the men are hunters of game and the women gatherers of plant foods. The men, however, do combine gathering with hunting. For instance, if no game has been killed on a hunt the men will gather some vegetable food as they return at the end of the day so that they will not come home empty-handed. The organization of work is simple. The sexes are almost always segregated in food-getting activities. Typically the women of a camp will go out in groups of three to five, with a well-defined objective of which species they want to collect. They spend the day or part of it working over an area and return to the camp each evening with their food. They never remain out overnight.

224 The hunting groups of the men are smaller than the col-
462 lecting groups of women. Typically two men will go out hunting together, but frequently an individual will go hunting alone. More rarely groups of three or four men go out. Hunting groups of five or more men were never observed during the study period. The Bushmen feel that too many participants spoil the hunt. The men very rarely stay out overnight. Even if they have shot an antelope in the afternoon they return to the main camp to sleep and early the next morning set out to

224 462 [222] track the animal to the place where it has died. All the Dobe area Bushmen consistently hunted and collected within a 15-20 mile radius of their camps. Hunting trips of 3-10 days duration have been recorded in the literature on !Kung (e.g. L. Marshall 1960:331), but these extended trips were not a feature in the Dobe area.

222 224 462 The contrast in technology between the hunting equipment of the men and the gathering equipment of the women is striking. Only three elementary tools are required for the complete range of gathering tasks. On the other hand, the hunting kits consist of at least 19 complex weapons and devices, with sophisticated methods of manufacture and maintenance.

222 The three gathering tools are the <u>kaross</u>, the digging stick and the nut-cracking stones. With only these three items, a softened antelope hide, a sharpened stick, and a pair of unimproved rocks, the entire gamut of plant foods [291] can be exploited. The kaross is the most important of the three. This is a one-piece combination garment-cum-carrying-device made from the hide of a gemsbok, kudu or wildebeeste. [281] The raw hide is dried, the edges are trimmed and the hide is softened by a tanning agent from the plant <u>Elephantorhiza burkei</u>. The resulting garment is worn by the women draped [482] over the back. When tied at the waist by a leather thong, [291]

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482 the lower half of the kaross conceals the wearer's backside
[291] while the upper half forms a pouch for carrying vegetable foods (as well as water containers, firewood and babies).

Since most of the Bushman foods are nuts and berries, ranging in size from 1/2 to 1-1/2 inches in diameter, and hundreds of these small foods make up a family's daily diet, Bushman life would not be possible without some means of carrying quantities of these small foods back to the camp or "home base". One cannot overstate the importance of the food-carrying device for Bushman life, and for the life of hunting and gathering peoples in general. This, I think, has implications for the evolution of human subsistence during the Pleistocene since a device for carrying vegetable foods would seem to be a prerequisite for human camp life.

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412 The digging stick is secondary in importance to the kaross because all but one of the major Bushman foods are nuts, berries and melons which do not have to be dug out of the ground. The typical digging stick is three feet long, three quarters of an inch in diameter and sharpened into a blade at one end. It is made from the thick straight stalks of the bushes of the genera Dichrostachys and Grewia. It
[224] is not weighted by a bored stone. Apart from its obvious use for digging out edible roots and bulbs, the digging stick also plays an important role in mens' hunting activities.

224
412 Four of the ten important game species (wart hog, antbear, porcupine, and springhare) live in underground burrows and it is often necessary after running an animal to ground for the hunter to excavate to the burrow in order to retrieve the [482] carcass. The men also use the digging stick as a carrying yoke on which to bring home game.

412 The third tool is a pair of nut-cracking stones. Without
222 these it would be impossible to exploit the abundant mongongo nut (Ricinodendron) as food because of its extremely hard shell. Any reasonably hard stone may be used including the locally abundant limestone cobbles. The hammerstone is fist-sized and no flakes are struck off. The anvil stone may be any size and shape up to a weight of fifteen pounds. Neither of these stones is improved in any way and only the pecking marks show evidence of human use. The nut is held on the anvil stone between the fingertips of the left hand. With the hammerstone one delivers two to five sharp and dextrous blows which are sufficient to open the nut.

Through the generations, pairs of these stones have become distributed throughout the nut forests of the Dobe area. It is only occasionally necessary for a woman to carry her own cracking stones from one camp to another.

It may be useful to re-examine the Stone Age lithic assemblages with the nut-cracking stones in mind.

412 The women possess several other tools which are of subsidiary importance in the food quest:

- wooden mortar and pestle
- wooden spatula for moving ashes
- carved wooden serving spoon
- tortoise shell bowl
- bundle of tail feathers for fanning the cooking fire
- pottery containers of Bantu manufacture
- iron pots and enamel bowls of European manufacture.

415 177 224 411 The mens' hunting kit represents the most evolved sector of Bushmen technology. It includes at least 19 different tools made from seven kinds of raw materials. The primary weapons include:

[177] 1. bow
[278] 2. arrow poison
[231] 3. spear
4. springhare probe
5. knobkerrie(club)
6. iron tipped arrows
7. quiver
8. hunting dogs
9. rope snares

Secondary weapons include:

[312] 10. fire drill
[177] 11. flint and steel fire making kits
[412] 12. digging stick
[283] 13. iron knife
[177] 14. iron adze-axe
15. carrying yoke
16. knotted net

Manufacturing and repairing tools include:

[278] 17. poison-making kit; humeral cup, pestle, applicator

[415] 18. whet stones of basalt

[283] 19. wild cotton for polishing rope snares

These raw materials are also part of the man's kit:

[283] 1. sinew

2. twine of natural fibers

3. iron fencing wire

[278] 4. supply of poisonous grubs

[237] 5. bone chips for making arrow link shafts

[411] 6. grass stems for arrows

7. wood for bows, poles and spear shafts

224 411 The construction of the hunting arrow will illustrate the complexity of the weaponry. The arrow consists of a mainshaft about 13 inches in length made from the stem of the grass Phragmites communis (Story 1964:94). Into this is inserted a bone linkshaft about two inches long, carved from the humerus or femur of giraffe, kudu, or gemsbok. The linkshaft is joined to the metal arrowhead by a hollow sec-
[177] tion of grass stem one inch in length. The arrow head is commonly made from iron fencing wire. It consists of a stiff length of wire four to five inches long. The tip of the arrow is beaten into a small triangular blade one half inch from base to apex and five-sixteenths of an inch at the base.

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411 The butt end of the arrow and the two joints are bound by strands of sinew. In some arrows the iron shaft itself is
224 bound with sinew. It is the iron shaft to which the arrow
411 poison is applied. Care is taken to avoid spreading poison
278 on the tip of the arrow. The poison is obtained from the pupal forms of the Chrysomelid beetles Diamphidia sp. and
[415] Polyclada sp. The poison is prepared by squeezing the contents of several pupae into a cup made from the proximal end of the humerus of a large antelope such as gemsbok or kudu. The only additions to the poison mixture observed to be used were saliva and the juice or gum of the several species of Acacia. The use of the latter was optional. Often, without further preliminaries, the Bushmen squeezed the contents of the grub directly on to the iron arrow shaft.

[412] The pupae are mixed with a slender wooden pestle into a thin orange paste, which is then applied directly to the iron arrow shaft using a spatulate applicator especially made for this purpose. The poisoned arrow is then allowed to dry near the fire. After a few minutes it is ready for use.

There are undoubtedly regional variations in the preparation of arrow poison. The ethnographic literature lists at least a dozen substances and recipes that are claimed to be used by the !Kung Bushmen in preparing arrow poison (see Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

000 Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

224 411 The !Kung weaponry consists of specialized weapons for killing, retrieving, and preparing different species of game. The bow and arrow are used to kill only the large antelopes, kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok. The thirteen-foot-long burrow probe is used exclusively for hooking springhare [223] which sleep in their burrows during the day time. Rope snares are set to trap small buck such as duiker and steenbok, as well as the game birds such as guinea fowl, francolin and 224 korhaan. Fire is used in two ways. First it is used to smoke 372 out or asphyxiate wart hog, antbear and porcupine that have [412] been cornered in burrows. If an animal dies in the burrow, it is then dug out by means of a digging stick. Fire is also used during late winter to set bush fires. These fires burn off the old cover of vegetation and encourage new growth which will attract game animals to the burned area.

224 411 The spear is not used as a weapon of attack, but is employed to finish off animals that have been weakened by [231] poisoned arrows or that have been wounded by the Bushmen dogs.

The knobkerrie(club) is also used to finish off wounded [223] or cornered animals. Occasionally it is used as a throwing [231] club to knock down small birds and squirrels. This appears to be more of a pastime than a serious technique since the animals knocked down this way are usually fed to the dogs or just cast aside.

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The pack of hunting dogs is perhaps the most important weapon at the disposal of the hunters. Most men own one or more dogs, but few men have developed and trained an effective hunting pack. The possession of such a pack gives a hunter a considerable advantage in killing. A good pack may number only three dogs. Often two men will pool their dogs and make a temporary pack of four or five dogs. The dogs are the crucial factor in the successful hunting of wart hog. They can run a wart hog to ground where it can be smoked out at the hunter's leisure or they may bring a hog to bay on the surface, attacking and harassing it until the hunter can close in with his spear.

The dogs are equally important in the hunting of steenbok and duiker. A good pack may often run ahead of a hunter and attack and kill the quarry before the hunter has arrived on the scene. This is the most common way that the immature of steenbok, duiker, and wart hog are killed. The dogs are generally helpful in tracking all game where their sense of smell supplements the hunters' remarkable visual acuity. The typical Bushman dog is a small animal (twenty inches tall at the shoulder) of undistinguished appearance. It is a shorthaired breed varying in color from black to buff with many piebald forms. The blood lines are difficult to trace. According to Brian Fagan (personal

224 231 [174] communication), there were no domesticated dogs in the South African Later Stone Age until the arrival of the Bantu. It is not possible to say at present when dogs were introduced into !Kung Bushmen culture. The !Kung themselves say that they have had dogs "since time began".

Data on the hunting success of seven men of the Dobe winter camp will illustrate the importance of dogs in hunting. In July, 1964, during a four week period the seven men of the camp spent a total of seventy-nine man days hunting. Between them they killed a total of eighteen animals. The estimated total weight in meat of these eighteen kills was approximately 434 pounds. Six of the men lacked good hunting dogs. These men accounted for 110 pounds of meat or 25% of the total. The seventh man was the only one with a good hunting pack. With his dogs he killed the remaining 75% of the meat (324 pounds) including four adult wart hog.

[184] Considering the importance of dogs in Dobe area hunting it is interesting that dogs were not used for hunting by the Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae area (J. Marshall 1957; and personal communication).

224 Finally there were several limited techniques that required no specialized equipment. Occasionally men run down immature animals on foot. These are dispatched with a club of any handy piece of wood. Also, on occasion, the men

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Also, on occasion, the men scavenge meat from carnivore kills. If the day's hunt has been unsuccessful a man may hack a piece of dried hide from a kill that may be several weeks old. Or, if several men are hunting together they may drive the lesser scavengers such as vultures and hyenas off a fresh kill. Scavenging is not a regular practice. It occurs only if the opportunity presents itself and if there is no other meat forthcoming.

361 Each of the groups moves in a "direction" from its waterhole.
312 For instance, the Dobe people move to the west and north, the !angwa people move to the northwest, and the !gose people move to the east.

361 The concept of territoriality as applied to the Bushmen differs from the concept used by zoologists in discussing the spatial arrangements of animals. The zoological usage refers to the exclusive use of space, by an organism or group of organisms who defend this space against competing members of the same species (Bourlière 1964:94-100).

By contrast the Bushmen groups do not defend boundaries and members of all groups travel freely between camps. However, land utilization is not at all a random phenomenon.
[222] The Bushmen population is organized into land-holding units,
[224] and the members of a unit tend to spend the greater part of the year hunting and gathering within a specific area.

Thus, in the context of this study, the term "territory" refers to <u>the area within which an independent camp moves during the annual subsistence cycle</u>.

361 The locations and spatial configurations of territories
824 are determined by the distribution of water and food resources.
[312] Each territory has within it a permanent waterhole, one or more seasonal water sources, and one or more mongongo nut forests. Every territory includes, in addition, a selection

312 at the waterholes consists primarily of roots and bulbs of the
221 genera: Eulophia, Vigna, Walleria, and Coccinia, and the edible
824 sap of Acacia spp. and Terminalia sericea. It is this time of year that the heart of the dwarf vegetable ivory palm is eaten,
[164] (Hyphaene). Those who eat its fibrous pulp experience stomach cramps and diarrhea, but, as the Bushmen say, it make one's "mouth work" and gives one a sensation of a full stomach.

221 Hunting is arduous business in the heat and men who go out in
224 the early morning find it necessary to spend the mid-day hours resting in the shade. The principal animal killed is the springhare.

132 The first rains are convectional thundershowers. Their distribution is spotty. A storm may briefly inundate one area and miss entirely another area only a mile away.

312 The Bushmen observe the storm clouds travelling across
222 the horizon and try to judge where the showers have drenched
[821] the ground. They then set out in family groups in the direction of the rains. If they find that water has collected in the hollows of mongongo trees, they will stay in the nut groves for several days and eat nuts until the water is exhausted. They then fill their karosses with nuts and return to the permanent water. If, on reaching the nut groves, they find that no water has collected they will be forced to fill their karosses with nuts and return to camp the same day. In certain areas

824 is not eaten. Next is a casing of granular-textured fruit
262 which is eaten. The fruit encloses the nut itself. This consists of a thick outer shell which must be cracked open with the nut-cracking stones. Within the thick shell is a softer inner shell which encloses the nut kernel which is the staple of the Bushman diet. This inner kernel is "packaged" within four protective layers and this explains its remarkable storage properties.

824 In the late summer and autumn months the Bushmen eat
252 large quantities of both the fruit and the nut. First the women boil potfuls of whole fruit in order to separate the outer flesh from the hard shell. The flesh of the fruit produces a delicious fruit puree that tastes like stewed prunes. After the fruit is eaten, the nuts themselves are set aside for later cracking and eating.

184 The summer hunting situation appears to vary from camp
221 to camp. At the !Gausa camp very little hunting was done.
224 [177] The resident men assisted the Bantu in cattle herding and they
[648] received calabashes of sour milk as payment. At Characharaha
[464] the men hunted more, killing gemsbok, python and porcupine. At one summer camp, Mokoro, where there were no Bantu resident, two young men killed four large buck in the space of one month (two kudu and two gemsbok). This Mokoro camp was an
[177] unusually successful one. The availability of cows' milk and meat no doubt lessens the men's incentive for hunting

221 Winter is the snareline season. Each hunter who is
224 wintering in his home territory starts to build his snare-
lines in May and continues to refine and improve the lines
224 until the end of August when they are abandoned. The snare-
line is built up as follows: the hunters of a camp agree
beforehand where each man will set up his lines. A man surveys
his snaring area for fresh tracks of steenbok which is the
major animal snared. He gradually lays down an unobtrusive
line of brush 600 to 900 feet long. The line zigzags from
bush to bush until by degrees he closes off a tract of ground
with a brush barrier. The object of this operation is to
habituate the animals to cross his line at a limited number
of gaps. Each day he inspects his line for fresh tracks.
If the animals are breaching his line regularly at one gap,
he then sets a rope snare in the gap.

The snare consists of a 3 foot length of rope, at one
end of which is a noose. This noose is spread apart on the
ground by a series of pegs. The center of the noose has a
trigger. When the forefoot of an antelope falls within the
noose the trigger is released. The other end of the noose is
tied to a trimmed sapling. The sapling is bent in a taut arc.
The animal crossing the gap steps into the noose and releases
the trigger. When the trigger is released the sapling snaps
back sharply and the noose tightens around the animal's foot.

224 The snared animal is not injured. It hangs suspended on the rope and struggles to break free, but if the hunter has tied his knots well he will arrive on his daily inspection to find the snared buck thrashing around the sapling. He then dispatches the buck with a club or spear, repairs the damage to the brush fence, and resets the snare.

At the height of the snaring season each hunter will have three lines in operation. Each line will have 7-9 gaps set with snares. The Dobe camp hunters who had set 20-25 separate snares averaged one small animal per hunter per week throughout the winter. A hunter's success in snaring depends upon his interpretation of game tracks and the patience with which he habituates the animals to crossing his lines where he wants them to. The hunters operate snarelines only in the winter because at other times of the year both the hunters and the quarry are ranging farther into the desert and the men do not remain long enough at one camp to build and maintain the snarelines.

[278] [231] In addition to the snarelines, the hunters carry out a full range of hunting activities including big game hunting with poison arrows, hunting wart-hog with dogs, and probing burrows for springhare, porcupine and antbear.

Table 7 lists all the kills made by the hunters of the Dobe camp during the 28 day period from 6 July to 2 August 1964.

TABLE 7

221 The kills made by the hunters of the Dobe camp during a 28-
224 day period (6 July to 2 August 1964).
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Date	Hunter	Species	Technique	estimated weight of meat
July				
7.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80 lbs.
7.	≠oma//gwe	steenbok	snare	12
9.	/ase	steenbok	snare	12
17.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
20.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
20.	≠oma//gwe	honey badger	snare	10
20.	≠oma//gwe	python	collected	20
21.	/ase	steenbok	snare	12
23.	n≠eysin!a	steenbok	snare	12
23.	≠oma//gwe	hare	snare	3
24.	≠oma	bat-eared fox	with dogs	4
27.	/ase	hare	snare	3
27.	≠gau	korhaan	snare	2
27.	n≠eysin!a	korhaan	snare	2
28.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
29.	≠oma//gwe	kori bustard	snare	10
30.	n≠eysin!a	steenbok	snare	12
31.	/ase	porcupine	cornered in burrow	20
				454 lbs.[1]

[428] [1] In addition to the meat from these 18 kills, the Dobe Bushmen received gifts of meat from other camps. The weight of meat from these outside sources is estimated at 36 lbs. Therefore, the total meat eaten at Dobe was around 490 lbs.

224 [162] [361] There were nine adult men resident at this camp but only seven did any hunting. The eighth man was blind and the ninth was crippled. The seven hunters were n≠eysin!a (60 yrs.) and his son ≠oma (35 yrs.); ≠oma//gwe (65 yrs.) and his three sons /ase (40 yrs.), ≠gau (35 yrs.), and n≠eysi (27 yrs.); and ≠gaun!a (40 yrs.), the son-in-law of n≠eysin!a.

[231] The most successful hunter, ≠oma (35 yrs.), hunted 16/28 days and killed four wart hogs and a bat-eared fox, all killed with the aid of dogs. Next was /ase (40 yrs), who hunted nine days. He snared two steenbok and a hare and killed a porcupine by cornering it in its burrow and digging it out.

Then there were the two old men both of whom hunted 16 days each. ≠oma//gwe snared a steenbok, a honey badger, a hare and a kori bustard, and collected a python. N≠eysin!a snared two steenbok.

Old ≠oma//gwe's two younger sons hunted nine and eight days, respectively. The older of the two, ≠gau, snared one korhaan; the youngest son, n≠eysi, also snared one korhaan.

Finally old n≠eysin!a's son-in-law, ≠gaun!a, hunted four days but killed nothing.

[146] The seven men hunted a total of 79 man-days and killed 18 animals; the total weight of meat is estimated at 454 lbs. In addition, they received gifts of meat from other camps

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146 totalling 36 lbs. This meat (490 lbs.) went to feed a camp of 42 people (exclusive of visitors).

A rough calculation of the weight of meat per person per day through this 28-day period gives a figure of 6-2/3 oz. of meat. The daily intake of vegetable foods per person during the same period can be estimated at 24 oz. (of mongongo nuts and various roots). Therefore a reasonable estimate of the ratio of meat to vegetables in the diet of this camp is 25%-75%.

This ratio is based on observations at one camp during [114] one season only. It can be said, however, that George Silberbauer, Laurence and Lorna Marshall, and the author are in general agreement that meat comprises between 20% and 40% by weight of the Bushman diet (Silberbauer, 1965:28; Marshalls, personal communication).

5. Late Winter

221 There is a well-defined break point in the winter subsistence cycle between the early period (May, June and July) of relative abundance and the late winter and spring period 221 of increasing food scarcity (August-September). Through the 222 early winter the Bushmen concentrate on the mongongo nut groves 462 that are within a day's walk of permanent water. Groups of women go out once every three or four days, fill their karosses with nuts and return to the camp in the evening. The men

221
222 during this period concentrate on tending their snarelines.
[462] Gradually the distance to the nuts increases as a wider and
[224] wider radius of nuts becomes eaten out. For instance, by the end of July there were no nuts within seven miles of the Dobe waterhole, and a day's collecting became a major undertaking. In order to reach the nuts, the women had to set out early in the morning and walk for 2-1/2 hours. In the nut forest they had to work for two hours to fill their karosses
[482] with nuts. On the return journey each woman was heavily loaded with c. 30 lbs. of whole nuts and the distance back to camp took 3-1/2 hours to cover. Thus on a late July collecting trip, the women would have to walk at least 14 miles to and from the nuts, plus another two miles in the nut forests, stooping and collecting. This adds up to eight hours of hard work in one day.

At this point, the effort required to gather mongongo nuts begins to outweigh the satisfaction derived from eating nuts and one observed a sharp decline in nut collecting in favor of the less desirable foods of classes II, III and IV. These latter foods had the advantage of being locally abundant in the vicinity of the permanent waterholes.

This transition from nuts to other foods occurred at Dobe
[184] at the end of July (in 1964). At !gose, where the nut forests are much denser, the gatherers continued their daily trips

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312 because it entailed two consecutive days of hardhiking on
482 short water rations. The object of such a trip was to get to
484 the nuts and back again as quickly as possible, before the physiological deficit of water was allowed to reduce efficiency.

221 The general object of the winter nutting trips was to
222 remain at the nut forests just long enough to eat a really
262 substantial quantity of nuts (about 400 nuts per adult). This marathon meal starts the moment that the Bushmen arrive at the nut camps and continues throughout their stay. It is interrupted for short periods when the Bushmen go out to col-
[539] lect nuts in the vicinity of their temporary camp. There is a Bushman saying that aptly applies to this situation: "It is better to carry food home in your stomach than on your back."

[224] Hunting rarely occurs at these overnight camps. The efforts of men and women alike are directed to eating as many nuts as possible in a short time.

[312] The most important variation in the late winter and spring subsistence tactics centers on the use of Fockea monroi as a source of water. This will be discussed below.

132 6. Early Spring

August is the last month of winter. The last of the freezing nights occurs at the first of the month and these are followed by warmer nights in the 40's and 50's and daily

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484 location closer to the nuts. By 7:00 a.m. this camp had been
312 deserted. The women and their children had gone to collect
[462] nuts and the men had set out to find Fockea roots and to hunt
[224] along the way. The men carried no water with them on the hunt. The author accompanied the men.

We walked south for several miles looking for fresh animal tracks and for patches of Fockea plants. We passed through two molapos where the Fockea plants were likely to exist, but to our disappointment we found none. It was 10:00 a.m. before we dug out the first Fockea of the day.
[132] By this time the morning coolness had disappeared and we had to walk and dig in the sun with shade temperatures about
312 100°F. The first Fockea worth digging were found 4-1/2 miles
824 south of our camp at !wi/wama. The roots were the size of a football and weighed about three pounds.

The flesh of Fockea is white and juicy with a spongy granular texture. The juice is milky in color and slightly astringent so that it smarts when accidentally rubbed into small cuts on the hands. There are two methods of extracting the moisture from the root. First, one cuts open the root with a knife and chops off chunks of the flesh inside. This may be eaten directly like watermelon. The disadvantage of this method is that one must swallow about three pounds of roughage in order to extract one pint of moisture; in other

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824 words, 15 lbs. of roughage per day for the minimum water requirment. This is the most efficient means of processing water from Fockea roots because the digestive system can convert all the moisture that is in the Fockea flesh.

However, the Bushmen say (and I can corroborate this) that a man cannot swallow 15 pounds of pulp per day. The stomach becomes full long before one's thirst is quenched. It is probable also that such a great quantity of roughage would put an intolerable burden on the human digestive system, even of people whose digestive systems are accustomed to processing quantities of fibrous roughage.

The more common way of extracting moisture from the root is to squeeze the juice out by hand. The juice may be squeezed directly into the mouth, or squeezed into a cup and then drunk. This is a less efficient way of extracting moisture because much of the juice remains in the fibers after squeezing. Also some of the juice runs down the arms. It does offer a distinct psychological advantage, however, because one is able to drink the juice and thus satisfy the swallowing reflex which is connected with the neurophysiological sensation of thirst (Ladell 1958). Eating the flesh of Fockea does not satisfy this sensation.

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224 The men continued to eat and drink Fockea from 10:00 a.m. to 12:20 p.m. Then we started to hunt in a northerly direction.
[312]
[824]

484
224 No game were seen except for a solitary female ostrich. We
[222] tracked her to her nest and collected her clutch of nine eggs. Each of the eggs was pounded in the sand to separate the amnion from the inside of the shell. This apparently kills the embryo inside the egg. These nine eggs were divided among the three of us. We then dug out four large Fockea roots intact, and we returned to the camp at 2:30 p.m. after a hike of nine miles.

484 The women of the camp had spent the early part of the
222 morning collecting nuts and Fockea and the rest of the day
462 sitting in the shade cracking nuts and squeezing the Fockea
312 juice. From 2:30 to 4:30 p.m. no one drank any of the water that had been brought the previous day.

484 At 4:30 p.m. the third man of the camp arrived from Dobe.
312 He brought with him one gallon of water in an enamel milk pail and portions of a dead kudu that he had scavenged from a carnivore kill on the way.

484 By this time I was experiencing symptoms of heat dis-
123 tress, (fever, lassitude, inability to swallow) and decided
312 to return to Dobe, because my continued presence would become a burden on the camp residents, none of whom, incidentally, showed any signs of heat discomfort.

One of the men, seeing my condition, offered to accompany me back to Dobe with his family. We left at sunset and walked

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824 allows for a wide range of alternatives in subsistence
433 strategy. During the summer months the Bushmen have no prob-
824 lem other than to choose among the tastiest and most easily
221 collected foods; other species which are quite edible but less attractive are simply bypassed, so that gathering never exhausts all the available foods of an area.

During the dry season, when the fruits and melons have gone, the gatherers still have multiple options open to them. They may plan a hike to the molapos to collect the edible Acacia gums, or they may go to the flats to dig out roots and bulbs. Even at the end of the dry season, when the stronger members of a group are making the long hikes to the mongongo forests, the older, less mobile members can derive an adequate subsistence from an eclectic diet of minor foods which are closer to home.

433 Plants versus Game -- The security of Bushman subsistence
222 derives in part from the fact that meat is of secondary import-
224 ance to vegetables in the diet. The !Kung males are persistent, but not particularly successful hunters. Although hunting accounts for over half of the subsistence effort of a camp, meat comprises only 20-40 per cent of the diet. The basis of the Bushman diet is plant food, and meat has come to be regarded as a special treat. When meat is available, it is welcomed as a break from the routine of vegetable foods, but it is never

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depended upon as a staple. Strictly speaking, the Bushmen should therefore be regarded as gatherer-hunters rather than hunter-gatherers.

The relative scarcity of game in the Dobe area may be related to the widespread diminution of the large African mammals during historic times. It is worth noting, however, that this diminution of game has not led to the collapse of the Bushman way of life. It is sometimes asserted that the decline of large game has contributed to the extinction of hunting-and-gathering peoples in Africa and elswhere. The evidence from the Dobe area refutes this assertion. The Bushmen there have elaborate and sophisticated methods for capturing smaller mammals, and the meat from these kills serves to supplement a diet primarily based on abundant plant resources. The burden of the evidence from this study suggests that the Dobe area Bushmen do not lead an impoverished way of life.

262 <u>Diet Selectivity</u> -- If the Bushmen were living close to the starvation level, then one would expect them to exploit every available source of nutrition. That their life is well above this level is indicated by the fact that, in a given season, they eat only the most attractive of the vegetable foods, and bypass many other available foods. In their meat eating habits the Bushmen show a similar selectivity. Only a few of the dozens of edible species of small mammals, birds, reptiles, and

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574 before she goes out to gather again. The hunters tend to
462 work more frequently than the gatherers. Typically a man will
[224] go out on two or three consecutive days and then spend two or three days in camp. Unlike the women, who maintained a consistent gathering routine throughout the year, the hunting activity of the men came in intermittent bursts. It was not unusual for a man to hunt avidly for a week and then do no hunting at all for two weeks. Since hunting was an unpredictable business, and subject to magical control, hunters would sometimes experience a run of bad luck and would stop hunting for a month or longer. For instance, ≠oma, the best hunter of the Dobe camp, did not hunt at all for a three-month period in 1963 because he said that his luck had left him. He remained in camp, apparently awaiting inspiration, while his wife patiently provided food for him. Most of the men of the Dobe camp went through similar periods of inactivity.

883 <u>Non-productive Camp Members</u> -- People who are under twenty
[887] years and over sixty-five years of age contribute very little to the food input of a camp. Young women are not expected to
[582] contribute food until they are married. Girls typically marry
[574] between the ages of fifteen and twenty, so it is not unusual to find healthy, active, teenagers visiting from camp to camp while their older relatives provide food for them. The assumption of adult responsibility by the boys is even more delayed.

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224 A boy does not begin to play-hunt until he is twelve years old, and seven or eight years may pass before he kills his first buck, an event which signals his entry into manhood.

[648] Nowadays many adolescent boys spend several years working on
[464] the Bantu cattle posts where they receive clothing and rations.
[582] This interval of work undoubtedly delays their attainment of social maturity and boys do not normally marry until they reach their middle twenties. It is significant that, upon marriage, practically all of the young men return to the camps and take up hunting as a full time occupation.

888 The aged hold a respected position in Bushman society. They are the effective as well as the titular leaders of the camps. The oldest people are fed and cared for by their children and grandchildren long after their productive years have
888 passed. The blind, the senile and the crippled are held in
734 awe and respect by the Bushmen, because they often possess special ritual and technical skills. For instance, /wan!a, the eighty year old female leader of the !gose camps, was senile and partially blind, but she was recognized as the leading exponent of the Women's Curing Dance. The two male elders of the !gose camps were both totally blind, but this did not prevent their active participation in decision-making and in ritual curing.

000 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social

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304 joint is usually removed during childhood, and the custom appears
856 to be associated with some magical belief. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that the joint is cut off with a reed before the child sucks at all, and that the motive underlying the custom is that the child should live to grow up.[1] Other writers add that the operation is performed only on a child whose predecessor has died young, and is intended to protect it from a similar fate.[2] Various other interpretations have been given of the custom, but the one just mentioned appears to be the most probable. This form of mutilation does not
[184] seem to occur to any extent in the Northern tribes. Seiner found it in a few persons among the Kung, but states that it was exceptional,[3] and there is no other record of its occurrence in these tribes.

304 Barrow further mentions that in a large band of Bushmen seen by him in the midlands of the Cape all the men had a small piece of wood
[301] or porcupine quill inserted through the perforated septum of the
[136] nose.[4] This practice is not reported definitely by any of the other writers on the Southern Bushmen, although it is hinted at by Bleek and Lloyd.[5] Hahn, however, speaks of it as occurring in a Bushman tribe in the South-West Kalahari, whom he therefore names "Nasenstockträger",[6] and recently Pöch has published the photograph of a woman from the waterhole/kang in the Southern Kalahari, in which it is seen very clearly.[7]

184 In the majority of Northern Bushmen at the present time, and
304 especially in the North-Western tribes, the most widespread form of mutilation is scarification, which was quite unknown among the tribes
881 south of the Molopo.[8] Small cuts about an inch long are made in the
224 skin, and ash black or other colouring matter is rubbed into the wounds, producing a slight but noticeable scar. In the women they are said to be made mostly for ornament only, on the face, thighs, and buttocks, but among the !O Kung of Angola they are also made in connection with the puberty ceremony for girls. In the men some of the cuts may also be purely ornamental, but many of them are definitely related to social and hunting observances. Thus all Naron, Auen, and Kung have a vertical cut or cuts between the eyebrows,

[1] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, p. 17.
[2] Arbousset, loc. cit.; Thompson, loc. cit.
[3] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 290
[4] Op. cit., vol. i, 276.
[5] *Bushman Folklore*, 329.
[6] "Die Buschmänner," 66.
[7] "Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," pl. v, fig. 2.
[8] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101, 108–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 141–2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 245–6; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, *The Naron*, 10–11.

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given to boys at their puberty ceremonies; other cuts are made to ensure good luck in hunting, while still others are the marks of successful hunters. These special cuts will all be discussed below in more detail.

According to Dornan the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari practise circumcision of boys and what appears to be a form of cliterodectomy in girls, both in connection with puberty ceremonies. These mutilations he regards as common to most Bushmen and as being truly Bushman in origin, even going so far as to advance the opinion that the neighbouring Bantu who also practise them have taken them over from the Bushmen.[1] This view cannot be upheld. Actually none of the other Bushmen known to us have either form of mutilation, so that these practices can by no means be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture. It is far more probable that the Hiechware have adopted them from the BeChwana, to whose influence they have long been exposed, just as they have adopted from them other elements of Bantu culture, both in technology and in religion. B 184 304 881

Hottentots H

Circumcision, as in the case of the Bushmen, was altogether unknown to the Hottentots. Kolb and several other early writers on the Cape Hottentots, however, state that at or before puberty the left testicle of every boy was excised.[2] It is difficult to decide how much truth there is in this statement, although Kolb gives a minute description of the rite and claims to have repeatedly made a personal examination of the victims themselves. Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Fritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac.[3] Certainly in more recent times the custom of excision, if it ever did exist (and one is inclined to believe that the older writers may be trusted in this respect), has completely disappeared; and it has never 304 H [147]

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 158–60.
[2] Kolb, op. cit., 55 sqq.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 842; Wikar, "Berigt aan den Heer Joachim van Plettenberg," 98–9; other references summarized by Walk, "Initiationszeremonien . . . der südafrikanischen Stämme," 882 sqq.
[3] Fritsch, op. cit., 333–4.

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Chapter IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Tribe and Hunting Band

All the Bushmen in their native condition lead a nomadic hunting 222
and collecting life, roaming about in search of the game and wild 224
vegetable foods upon which they depend for their existence. The [182]
conditions of their subsistence necessarily prevent them from banding
together permanently in any considerable numbers. Wherever they 621
still retain to any marked degree their original mode of life and
organization they are found scattered over the land in small separate
communities.[1] Each such community will be spoken of here as a
hunting band. The members of a band share a common life, they see
one another constantly, they co-operate in many ways, and they are
all as a rule friendly and on fairly intimate terms. Each band also [619]
has occasional relations with other neighbouring bands, through
intermarriage and trade, and visitors may pass from one to another.
On the other hand, there are often quarrels between neighbouring [628]
bands, which may result in a prolonged state of feud and even lead
directly to warfare.

The various bands among the Heikum are generally referred to 621
among each other by a name which indicates either the locality in 101
which they live, or describes some physical or other characteristic
of the band itself or of its locality. The *se-khoin*, for example, are the
people of the *seb* or plain; the */gom-khoin* the people who eat the

[1] The social organization of the Bushmen is one of the least-known aspects of their culture, and sadly needs careful and detailed investigation. The most reliable sources of information refer almost exclusively to the North-Western tribes: Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 1907; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910); (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.* 21 (1927); *idem, The Naron*, 1928; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928); L. Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. SW. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6); *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, 1928. The relevant literature on the other tribes is for the most part fragmentary, although some valuable data on the Namib Bushmen are given by Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), and by Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910). Where no special reference is made to any particular tribe the analysis given above must therefore be regarded as applying especially to the North-Western tribes, who are also the only Bushmen still leading a fairly independent life. [114]

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mountains in the west of Great Namaqualand.[1] Most of the Bushmen, however, now live in flat country, where such natural shelters are denied them. Wherever they stay for more than a couple of days, crude bush huts are put up by the women. These are usually erected within walking distance of a waterhole, about an hour or two away. The people never live at the water itself, for fear of frightening away the game, which is most easily shot or trapped when coming to drink. 342 361 [462] [312] [224]

Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, "When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts."[2] 361 622 342 [372]

There seems to be as a rule no fixed form of settlement. All the families drinking at one waterhole may live in one group, or there may be several lots of huts scattered about in different directions. Among the Cape Bushmen, for example, one might find three or four huts standing together, or several huts dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, and the same appears to be true of the Naron.[3] 361

Among the Heikum, however, the camp is said to be laid out on a definite plan.[4] As a rule all the members of the band live in a common encampment or "werft" (*//gaus*). The huts of the married families are placed at a certain interval apart, and arranged in the form of an irregular circle. At or near the middle of the camp is situated a large tree, known as the */heis*. The hut of the chief (*gei-khoib*) is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. The brother of the *gei-khoib* live immediately to his left on the south side of the *//gaus*, and beyond them are placed the other married families of the community. The right or north side of the *//gaus* is reserved entirely for visiting sisters of the *gei-khoib* and their families, while any of his married daughters who may be visiting him erects her hut directly opposite to his at the furthest extremity of the camp. "This is done on account of the parent-in-law taboo (*tao-sas*) which [184] [606]

[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii; *idem*, *The Naron*, 4.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[4] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 10-2; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

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361 [606] exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes." Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent [882] young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young men; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of married people. The dancing place is to the west within the circle.

"The large tree (*!heis*) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved 361 562 as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely, [622] the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for kindling the principal fire (*!ou-|ais*) or for other menial purposes when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this *!heis*. Under [372] [224] it is made the first fire (*!hei-|ais*) on the establishment of a new *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed in the chase."[1]

Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among 114 all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the 361 only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. "Where several families live together," he says, "the huts are ranged in a circle, the head of the group ("Dorfälteste") living in the east."[3]

Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families 592 are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they [595] get on well; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share [882] a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree, and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with [589] a boy; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone, are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

342 The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52. [2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4–5; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 51; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138.

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262 to these taboos is unfortunately so fragmentary that little can be
[114] gathered of the ideas underlying them. Several of them are
undoubtedly connected with wider ritual observances, e.g. the taboo
[821] imposed on menstruating girls, and again that associated with a
[821] certain belief about the rain; but of the others no full explanation is
[773] available, although the taboo on the portion of the hare may possibly
[761] be linked up with the Bushman myth of the origin of death, in which
the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the
[825] promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon.

Among the Naron, again, "It does not seem," says Miss Bleek,[1] "as if many taboos in the food line still existed. Paauw meat and ostrich eggs are chiefly given to old men as the greatest delicacies. Some say young children, or girls till they have had their first baby, are not to eat steenbok, lest they remain small, but others tell me that all meat is eaten by everyone. Honey touched by a baboon must not be eaten, or you will die." Among the Auen, young girls and boys apparently may not eat game at all, otherwise they will remain thin; while water
[841] and food collected by a menstruating woman may be partaken of only by herself and old people—it "makes others weak".[2]

About the Heikum we have far more information on this point,
224 thanks to the excellent description given by Fourie of certain
[114] of their hunting observances.[3] The details he gives throw such a wealth of new light upon this aspect of Bushman life that they may be quoted in full. "After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *//gaus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals.
224 The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout
252 for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is
[462] skinned by the men. The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the
[281] purpose, is cut into sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is
then removed to the *//gaus* by the men who may occasionally be
[462] assisted by the women. On arrival at the *//gaus* all the meat is laid

[1] *The Naron*, 7. [2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140, 157.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 100–2; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 54–6.

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on the ground under the */heis* either on sticks which were used in 224
carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib* (chief) now comes forward 252
and if he finds that the */hei-/ais* (fire under the tree) has gone out he 224
returns to his hut, brings fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is 252
absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the 622
meat in the meantime being hung on the */heis* (tree in centre of camp).
After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men— [372]
the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and 'tastes' (*tsa-tsa*) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers [264]
and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as *ǂkoms*.

"All meat killed with bow and arrow is *soxa* [taboo] and may not be 224
partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, how- 262
ever, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut [622]
up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *soxa* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *soxa*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *soxa* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*ǂei-ti*). Her portion is known as the *ǂnoe-di* and is the only meat which may be partaken of by women. The *ǂnoe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the *ǂkham-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The *ǂnoe-di*, however, may not [622]
be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *//gaus*. It is not brought under the */heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the [252]
fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The *ǂkham-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women partake of any other meat than the *ǂnoe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an

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224 animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu*
262 (youths) is known as */om-//gani*, and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles,
224 etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at
252 the *axarogudi ǂgaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the
262 animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the */heis* or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him, and if he eats any other part, e.g. the *ǂkoms*, he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions of about two finger-breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis*
[574] may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *ǂnoe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-//gani*,
[264] under which is included the *ǂkoms*. The latter may be eaten only under the */heis*. After it has been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is
[841] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *ǂkoms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib*, and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

"A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat killed by
224 the members of an outlying *//gaus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to
262 taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the
622 *//gaus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *//gaus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he visits a *//gaus* for this purpose he kindles the */hei-/ais* with
[372] fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own."

114 Apart from the light it throws upon certain functions of the chief,
224 this account illustrates admirably both the existence of special ritual observances in regard to game killed in the chase, and the fact that
[622] food obtained in this way is shared among all the people present at the encampment. This latter feature has also been noted by other writers on the different Bushman tribes,[1] and it can safely be asserted

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 55; Kaufmann, op. cit., 155–6 D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, pp. viii–ix; *idem*, *The Naron*, 16.

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that among the Bushmen all game is shared out among the members of the band. To what extent the same elaborate rules of division exist in the other tribes is difficult to determine. The only other indication of similar practices is found in the texts obtained by Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen. Only a selection of these have so far been published, and the information contained in them is rather fragmentary. But it appears that women, for example, were not permitted to eat the meat of the shoulder blades, lest the men subsequently prove unsuccessful in hunting; that the man who shot the animal might not take part in cutting it up; and the bones which were left over had to be carefully put aside in certain special ways.[1] Obviously such usages hint at an elaborate procedure in regard to the cutting up, distribution, and treatment of the meat; and one can only regret that all the details relating to them have not yet been made available.

Narcotics

As narcotics the Bushmen use chiefly tobacco and dagga (*Cannabis sativa*), the latter a herb with marked intoxicating effects. All grown-up people, and even small children, smoke tobacco when they can get it. They do not cultivate it themselves, although a few men among the Auen and the Naron are said to have made slight efforts to grow tobacco and dagga after the manner of their Bantu and Bergdama neighbours.[2] Almost all the tobacco used by the Bushmen is imported through trade or obtained by service with other peoples, and they are always extremely keen to acquire it.

In the north-west their pipes (Plate XI) are generally tubes of serpentine, some 3 inches long and rather wider at one end than at the other, which are cut and hollowed out with the iron spear point or with a knife, or even with a small stone drill. The hollow shin bones of small buck are also sometimes used, but nowadays the most prevalent form of pipe is an empty cartridge-case! Pipes consisting of an antelope horn were largely used by the Cape Bushmen. Near the point of the horn was made a hole, into which was inserted a reed tube, and on top of this was fitted an elongated clay bowl to hold the tobacco. When these pipes were used, some water was put into the horn, the mouth applied to the large orifice of the horn, and the

[1] Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 271 sqq.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 18; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148–9.

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at Sandfontein powdered acid roots are rubbed into the wounds to keep them from closing as they heal, but no colouring matter is applied; further east, however, according to Passarge, wood ash is rubbed in to make the wounds black. All men in the North-Western tribes have these cuts (see Frontispiece), which are supposed to make them "see well", i.e. to bring them good luck in hunting. After this operation the boys are permitted to return to the camp. They are now regarded as men, they can marry, and they take part in the councils of the men and associate with them. 304 881 [184] [224] 882

The rites described above appear to exist only in the North-Western tribes. There is no definite record of any puberty ceremonies for boys among the Southern Bushmen, and according to Miss Bleek the */nu//en*, one of the tribes falling in this division, distinctly denied that such ceremonies were held by them,[1] while in the same way their existence among the Namib Bushmen is emphatically denied by Trenk.[2] 84 881

It should be mentioned here, however, that from information obtained by Orpen from a member of the now extinct tribe of Basuto-land Bushmen it appears that there were certain dances connected with religious beliefs, the secrets of which were known only to the men initiated into them.[3] Campbell also records a dance of these Bushmen as described to him by an informant: "When the Bushmen dance, Ko (a deity) sometimes comes and informs them where game is to be procured; and when any animals are killed, certain parts of them may only be eaten by particular persons. She is a large, white figure, and sheds such a brightness around, that they can hardly see the fire for it; all see and hear her as she dances with them . . . They cannot feel what she is, but should a man be permitted to touch her, which seldom happens, she breathes hard upon his arm, and this makes him shoot better . . . After Ko comes up from the ground and dances a short time with them, she disappears, and is succeeded by her nymphs, who likewise dance a while with them."[4] The description of this dance at once reminds one of the puberty dances for boys among the North-Western Bushmen, where Huwe or Hishe also comes and dances with them, and there is the same suggestion that the ceremony is in some way connected with hunting; but there is nothing definite either in Campbell's account or in Orpen's to indicate that the dances referred to by them were in any way connected with puberty ceremonies for boys. 794 535 776 [881]

[1] *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 10.
[2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.
[3] "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Folk-Lore*, xxx, 142.
[4] Campbell, *Second Journey into South Africa*, ii, 31–2.

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222 way private rights can be indicated over honey in a nest, or by a woman
422 who has located a spot with a specially abundant supply of veldkos. Whoever removes anything from such places is regarded as a thief.[1] It must be emphasized, however, that rights of this nature are only
[423] acquired by chance, and that apart from them there appears to be no restriction at all upon the free exploitation of the hunting territory and all its resources by any member of the band.

Hunting

224 Once they have passed through the puberty ceremonies, boys and
[883] girls participate in the full economic life of the band. All the men
[462] are hunters, and spend the greater part of their daily life in pursuing or ensnaring game. Their methods of hunting vary with the nature of the intended prey, and according to the season of the year.

Weapons

The principal method is by means of pursuit and the use of weapons.
411 The latter amongst all the Bushmen consist primarily of the bow and arrow.[2] The bows are small, and on the whole fairly crude and of simple make (Plate IXd). They are as a rule prepared from the wood
[824] of the *Grewia flava*, a thin length of which is cut and roughly shaped is such a way as to taper gradually almost to a point at the ends. The
[283] string is made either from two thin sinews twisted together or some-
[237] times, among the Northern tribes, from wood fibre worked into a
[284] strong cord. It is attached by a simple slip-knot and wound tightly several times round the basal end of the bow-stave, to which a small leather collar or sinew band is usually fixed to prevent the string from slipping when hitched over it. The stave is then bent and the string knotted to the other end, where it is kept in place by a leather band. The bow is kept permanently strung. Its stave is frequently strengthened with additional sinew bindings, especially round the centre, which prevent it from splitting and also form a convenient grip for the hand.

The arrows are complex in structure and vary considerably in

[1] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 120; *idem*, in *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, ix (1896), p. xvii; Vialls, "The Masarwa," 32; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.

[2] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), 113–17; cf. Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 68–71; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4; van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements," 80–5; Greischel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 94–6, 99–100.

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278 transported. When wanted for use, the insect inside is rubbed to powder on a half tortoise-shell, then mixed with the juice obtained either from the spiked cucumber (*Citrullus caffer*) or from the 'hakdoorn' (*Zizyphus mucronata*). They heat the cucumber root in the ashes, knock it on the ground, then wring out the liquid it contains. The bark of the 'hakdoorn' is chewed, and the juice spat into the dish of poison. This juice is clear, bitter, and sticky and adheres to the arrow point, on to which it is dabbed with a flattened stick after being mixed with the poison. The poisonous matter becomes very hard and dry and is apt to fly off into the eyes if the arrow is carelessly handled. Bushmen always warn one of this and say the eyes become much inflamed if even a tiny grain of dried poison gets into them." Any mixture left over is wound round a stick and carried with the arrows in the long bag; presumably it must be heated again if it is to be put on to further arrow-heads.[1]

There does not appear to be any sort of ceremonial attaching to
114 the process of preparing the poison, nor is the work of doing so the
278 function of any particular person. There are, indeed, one or two hints at something of this kind, but nothing which can be regarded as fully reliable.[2] All our principal authorities state that in general any man who needs poison prepares it for himself when he wants it.[3]

None of the Bushman poisons is instantaneous in its effect, although
224 as a rule the smaller the animal the quicker the action. Generally
278 the wounded animal runs on as if unhurt, and the hunter follows on its spoor until he finds the dead body; sometimes this is within half an hour, sometimes many hours elapse before the poison proves effective, and often enough it is not till the next day that he can obtain his meat. That the poison is fatal once it gets to the blood, cannot be doubted. Once the arrow pierces the skin of the animal the Bushman has no fear that it may escape him; it may travel perhaps forty or more miles after being wounded, but its progress becomes slower and weaker, until finally it falls down dead.

In addition to bows and arrows, the Northern tribes also make
411 use in hunting of throwing-sticks ("knob kirris") and spears. The former is a round-headed stick of hard wood, usually *Acacia*, about
[412] two feet in length, and pointed at the lower end to serve also as a digging-stick. It is used for knocking down birds and small mammals,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 14.
[2] These statements are summarised by Schapera, op. cit., 206.
[3] In addition to the references given by Schapera, loc. cit.; cf. Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 34.

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and in minor quarrels it is the weapon of offence or defence. The 411
spears have long wooden shafts and an iron head about six inches long. The latter is obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu, [439]
but the spear itself is made by the Bushmen. For the shaft they pierce the end of a stick, then heat the tang of the iron head in the fire and insert it, binding the joint tightly with sinew.[1] Relatively few of the men possess these spears, and as they do not appear ever to have been [177]
used by the Southern Bushmen they can safely be regarded as weapons borrowed from the Bantu.

Methods of Hunting

The Bushmen, as already indicated, have a variety of devices for 224
catching game, the particular method employed being determined by the nature of the intended prey and the season of the year.[2] In some cases the animals are run down on foot. In this manner, for instance, small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, and even big game such as the gemsbok, are hunted during the "big rainy season" (late summer), when the ground, sodden with moisture, impedes the progress of the animals and causes them to fall an easy prey to the hunter, who on overtaking his quarry kills it with the kirri or the spear. This method cannot be employed for small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor, but in the hot part of the dry season young buck are easily caught in this way, as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. Many varieties of big game, such as the wildebeest and zebra, are also run down in the hot dry season. After a herd of game has been located, one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly, never once being allowed to rest, until it is exhausted and brought to bay, when the hunter comes up and kills it with the spear.

Burrowing animals, such as the spring hare (jerboa) and anteater, are caught in their holes by means of a long barbed stick. This is poked down the hole into the animal's flesh, either to drag it out or to transfix it while another man digs down to it. Snakes are sometimes caught in the same manner. The man who pulls out the snake runs fast, dragging it after him, while others throw kirris and spears at it; this cannot be done in grass or the snake may escape. Steenbok,

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 14; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4, 152; Gretschel, op. cit., 102–3.

[2] The fullest descriptions of the hunting life and methods of the Bushmen are given by [114]
Stow, op. cit., 80–94; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 667–8; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 45 sqq. (an exceptionally detailed and graphic account); Kaufmann, op. cit., 144–7; Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 94 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 15–16; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 99 sqq.

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224 where bush is scarce, frequently seek shelter during the day in the numerous anteater holes. Finding a morning spoor leading to one of these holes, the hunter, silently as a cat, creeps up to the hole and plants himself before it, leaving a small open space under the left arm, for which the buck charges, when it is pinned and dealt a stunning blow over the head with the kirri held in the right hand. In this way numbers of these animals are killed. The kirri is also used for knocking down hares and game birds; it is thrown from a distance of twenty-five to thirty feet, and generally stuns the game so that it is easily [223] secured. Birds are preferably aimed at just when they are rising from the ground, as the slightest blow will then upset their balance and bring them down before they have time to escape.

Bigger game, such as the giraffe, eland, hartebeest, ostrich, and springbok are generally hunted with the bow and arrow, which are used all the year round. As a rule the men hunt alone, or a man and boy together. They find the spoor of an animal and follow it, finally creeping up to the leeward side on hands and knees, using all possible cover, and then raise themselves gently to shoot. Or else they lie in wait for the game on its way to the water, or in the vicinity of a place where it comes to lick salt. The men hide themselves between stones, or dig a hole in the ground, piling up the earth in front and sticking green branches on top to deceive the game. Occasionally, again, several men surround game in a pan, some standing to leeward ready to shoot, while the others drive from windward, approaching from different quarters.

Once he has wounded an animal, the hunter takes up its trail and follows it leisurely, knowing that he will ultimately reach the corpse, if the poison on the arrow has been at all effective. There is always the great danger, however, that if the buck has run too far, and he takes too long to reach it, hyenas or the vultures may have got there first. Also care must be taken that the animal does not run out of [423] the hunting territory, as it is then as good as lost, or, where the [621] neighbouring band is friendly enough to permit of its being followed over the border, the meat must be shared with the members of that band. When at last he comes up with the buck the hunter, if it is not already dead, dispatches it with the spear or kirri. He then cuts [252] it up, roasts and eats some of the meat, and carries the rest home; or, if near the huts, he may carry the whole buck home. If it is too big to manage, he will light a fire to summon the other members of the band to the spot. Everybody shares in the meat, which is doled

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out by the hunter, who, however, keeps the skin, sinews, etc., for himself. 224

The Cape Bushmen occasionally dressed themselves up in the skin of an animal or in the feathers of an ostrich in order to approach the game unsuspected. A kind of saddle made of grass in which were stuck ostrich feathers was placed on the shoulders, while a long stick with the head curved to look like an ostrich was carried in the hand. The hunter by imitating the motions of the bird feeding, running or preening its feathers contrived to get as close to the flock as possible, always moving up wind, before discharging his poisoned arrow. In a well-known rock painting from Herschel reproduced by Stow[1] there is portrayed such a scene, in which the hunter is shown under the feathers of an ostrich, cautiously approaching, with poised arrow, a number of real ostriches who are feeding peacefully close by. Similar disguises are employed by the Namib Bushmen, but appear to be generally unknown among the tribes further north, although the ostrich disguise is reported by Dornan of the Hiechware and on hearsay by Kaufmann of the Auen. Various other ruses are known, however. Some men are very clever at imitating the calls of various birds and animals and by this means get quite close and thus secure their quarry. Again, "in the season when the young animals are not able to follow their dams, they are hidden by the mothers, who feed in the vicinity. The Bushmen having found where a young one is hidden, will go close up to it and imitate its cry. The mother, hearing the cry and thinking that some wild animal has attacked her calf, immediately rushes up to protect it, and is easily killed. Numbers of animals, more especially the smaller buck, are destroyed in this manner."[2]

223 825 [292] [532] [184] 224 825

Almost every Bushman village has also a large number of dogs which accompany their masters on the hunt.[3] These are the only domestic animals possessed by the Bushmen. They are lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half-starved and savage-tempered. They are quite silent on the spoor and never betray the presence of the hunters by barking, though they will snarl and sometimes bark if one approaches an encampment. "It is really wonderful," says Herbst, "with what courage these lean mongrels will tackle a leopard, a courage no doubt begotten of hunger and an absolute confidence in their masters, who, with their knobkerries, are never far behind so

224 [231]

[1] Stow, op. cit., pl. vii, facing p. 82.
[2] Dornan, op. cit., 105; cf. Kaufmann, op. cit., 146.
[3] Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 262–3; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Herbst, *Report on Riesfontein Area*, 6; Range, *Beiträge zur Landeskunde des Namalandes*, 73; Schultze, op. cit., 667; Dornan, op. cit., 103–4; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 16.

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224 soon as the dog has gripped his prey." Among the Naron these dogs are procured from BeChwana, Bergdama or white men in order [23] to hunt jackals, leopards, lynxes and other animals whose skins are [439] valued for making karosses. The skins so obtained are brought to the giver of the dog and bought by him at his own price for tobacco or trade goods, chiefly the former. The dogs are sometimes used by the people to catch hares and small buck for their larder, but are never taken out to hunt larger game.

In addition to these different methods of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons, the Bushmen employ various methods of trapping. Pitfalls are often made during the dry season in the path to a waterhole or along river banks, and covered with bushes. In the Central and Northern Kalahari these pits are about four yards long and deep, and not quite a yard wide. They are dug with the ordinary digging-stick in such a way that a small wall of earth is left standing in the middle, but not reaching to the surface. Large animals in attempting to escape out of the pit jump on to this partition wall, where they remain hopelessly suspended on their belly. Other pits of the same nature, especially among the Southern Bushmen, often have pointed stakes placed in the middle. They serve to catch big game animals, such as rhinoceros, which are then killed with the spear, and in particular those, like zebras and antelopes, which come down in herds to drink at the water. In former times, when there was a far greater abundance [136] of game, whole valleys were sometimes enclosed, and large numbers of men combined to drive a herd of game down from the heights into the trap in the valley. Galton describes one of the most remarkable works of this kind. "We passed a magnificent set of pitfalls which the Bushmen who live about these hills had made. The whole breadth of the valley was staked and bushed across. At intervals the fence was broken, and there broken deep pitfalls were made. [313] The strength and size of timber that was used gave me a great idea of Bushman industry, for every tree had to be burned down and carried away from the hills, and yet the scale of the undertaking would have excited astonishment in far more civilized nations. When a herd of animals was seen among the hills, the Bushmen drove them through this valley up to the fence; this was too high for them to jump, so that they were obliged to make for the gaps, and there they tumbled into the pitfalls."[1]

[1] *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*, 106; cf. Wikar, "Berigt aan den . . . Heer van Plettenberg," 88–9; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 386–7; Chapman, op. cit., ii, 80–1; Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland und seine Bewohner," 695; *idem*, *Die Buschmänner*, 78–9.

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Another method of trapping employed by the Bushmen of the Namib and of the North-West Cape was to poison the water in springs and so kill the game that came to drink there. The water was conducted a few yards from the spring into a specially-prepared pit, into which were thrown branches of the poisonous *Euphorbia*. The branches were kept down with stones, and the juice exuding from them rested like a scum on the water. The spring itself was fenced off or covered over, thus forcing the animals to drink from the pit. Zebras and other members of the equine species were especially susceptible to water poisoned in this way. Alexander states that near the River Keisu in South-West Africa he found the remains of no less than twenty horses lying close to such a poisoned waterhole.[1] 224 [278]

Traps proper as employed by the modern Bushmen are of two kinds. In one a stone or block of wood is placed in such a position that when the animal touches the exposed bait, the suspended weight falls down upon it. The other kind consists in snares (Plate XI), which are widespread among the Northern Bushmen, but do not appear ever to have been used by the Southern tribes. They are of various types, but the general principle is that a supple twig or sapling is bent down by means of a cord attached to a bait and ending in a noose. If the animal stirs the bait, the cord is released, the sapling springs back into the air, and the noose catches the throat or leg of the animal, which is carried up with it. In this way are caught not only birds and small quadrupeds, such as hares, wild cats, and jackals, but even small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, as well as leopards and ostriches. Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season; in the rainy season it must cease owing to the action of the damp on the cord. This is made from the bark fibre of *Sansevieria zeylanica*, which is shredded by means of a pointed stick, then rolled on the thigh into strands, which are twisted together. Thicker and thinner cords are made according to the game to be trapped.[2] [184] [221] [283]

Fishing

This is also practised wherever possible by all the Bushmen; indeed, among the tribes living in the Okavango swamps it is even 226

[1] Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, ii, 223; Paterson, *Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots*, 169; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167. Moffat describes how on one occasion he nearly died as a result of drinking water poisoned in this way (*Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 155–6).

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 667; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 77; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 199 sq.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 15.

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226 more important as a mode of subsistence than hunting.[1] It[2] is also
[462] the work of the men. Among the Cape Bushmen, especially those living along the banks of the Orange River, the principal method
[227] employed lay in the use of funnel-shaped traps of closely woven reeds, about 3 feet long and 18 inches to 2 feet wide, narrowing towards the mouth. These traps were stretched across the stream in a shallow part, and while some men stood waiting behind them, others waded up stream from a point below and drove the fish before them to the reed traps, where they were then caught and thrown on shore.

In the Okavango basin this method is also used, but there is a variety of others as well. Sometimes the fish in the lakes and rivers are speared
[177] from flat-bottomed boats, probably adopted from the MaMbukushu
[501] and MaKoba of the same region. Sometimes, again, small stone dams are built from each bank so as to run out into the river in a slanting direction, leaving a narrow opening in which is placed the reed trap. The fish are either swept into these traps by the force of the current, or are driven in by the Bushmen themselves. Or, again, reed fences or stone dams are built straight across the beds of the dry courses into which the river overflows at times of flood. When the flood has reached its highest level, and the water begins to sink, the retreat of the fish carried along into these courses is cut off, so that they are easily caught.

Special Hunting Observances

224 The method of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons is
304 surrounded by all the Bushmen with various special usages and beliefs. Charms to ensure good luck in the chase are found among them all. With the North-Western tribes these most commonly take the form of scarifications serving to endow the hunter with the qualities of certain animals and enabling him to hunt them successfully. The cuts are made as a rule on the arms, sometimes on the cheeks, occasionally also on the back, chest, or belly. A tiny piece of meat is then burned to ashes, which are rubbed into the wounds. The meat
[825] is that of an animal whose qualities are specially desirable, e.g. that of the springbok for swiftness. These cuts are usually given to boys soon after they begin to hunt, and are executed by old men who are themselves successful hunters. The cuts made between the eyebrows

[1] Barrow, op. cit., i, 290, 300; Lichtenstein, op. cit., ii, 44; Alexander, op. cit., i, 237; Passarge, "Okawangoumpfland," 697–8; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296; Dornan, op. cit., 106–9.

[2] [i.e., fishing.—Analyst]

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of boys at the puberty ceremonies are also said to have the function of making them "see better" in hunting.[1] Seydel briefly mentions the existence of similar practices among the Namib Bushmen. Cuts are made on the forehead or upper arm of a man in order that he may have better fortune in hunting. These cuts are made by a near relative of his, such as father, brother, or wife, and are given only to adults.[2] 224 304

There is no record of such scarifications among the Cape Bushmen, although here also a well-developed ritual existed in connection with hunting life. Unfortunately, only fragments of this have been recorded. They show that there were certain special precautions to be observed before going out on the hunt, and especially during that critical period when the game has been wounded but not yet taken. Thus, when an animal has been wounded, the flesh of the swift springbok may not be eaten by the hunter, as this would give strength to the movements of the wounded buck; he should rather eat the flesh of a slow-moving animal, especially of such as would strengthen the action of the poison. The moon must not be looked upon when following the spoor, lest the animal run too far—a belief also held by the Naron. The hunter's shadow, again, must not be allowed to fall upon game which lies dying; certain (unspecified) rules have to be observed when an eland has been shot; the bones of the dead animal must be treated in a certain way; Bushman girls perform special ceremonies, in order that their father's dogs may hunt well, while certain cuts must be made upon the bow when a baboon or hyena has been killed. Unfortunate shots are believed to be due to such causes as the children at home playing on a man's bed, and are also ascribed to the remissness of wives, while there even appears to be a belief that unsuccessful hunting may forebode evil to the hunter. Also it is held that after the death of a companion the hunters will be unlucky in springbok hunting, and certain (unspecified) remedial measures are resorted to.[3] [184] 224 [114]

Beliefs of a somewhat similar nature are found among the Heikum. As we have already seen, the meat of an animal killed with the bow and arrow is subject to minutely-prescribed rules of division and preparation. Moreover, a man who shoots an eland or giraffe must, on

[1] Chapman, op. cit., i, 56, 76, 81, 159; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 246; Passarge, op. cit., 108–9; Vedder, op. cit., 9; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 50, 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 114–15; *idem*, *Naron*, 11.

[2] "Aus der Namib," 505.

[3] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 19; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15–16, 19, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 66 sqq., 270 sqq.

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224 returning to the camp, sleep under the central tree and avoid sexual intercourse with his wife, lest the poison prove ineffective and the animal escape. The meat of an animal killed by a dog may not be [841] eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating; this is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. Any want of success is generally attributed to some chance accident; for example, a man who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife was menstruating will not hunt again while she is in that condition, nor will she eat any of the *ǂnoe-di* at such times.[1]

These practices and beliefs obviously represent only a small portion of what must be an elaborate series of usages relating to hunting, but they suffice to indicate how the Bushmen, fully aware of the uncertainty attendant upon their efforts, seek to relieve their apprehensions and to obtain confidence by the aid of magic and taboo.

Collecting

224 Hunting in the old days was unquestionably the principal source
136 of subsistence in Bushman life. But with the decrease of the game
648 in their region and with the enforcement against them of the game
222 laws framed by the white man, its importance is diminishing, and at the present time the Bushmen depend very largely for the means of existence on the wild vegetable foods growing in the veld.

[241] Agriculture in any form is altogether unknown to them in their
222 traditional mode of life. The nearest they have got to it is found
224 in the practice observed by the North-Western tribes of burning the
311 veld at the end of the dry season.[2] This, it is said, is done primarily in order that the edible bulbs, roots, etc., should come up better during the approaching rainy season. It is also used, however, as a means of hunting, for the men spread round the fire in a semicircle and drive all the game rushing from it before them in a certain direction where some hunters are lying in wait; moreover, the new grass growing soon after the burning attracts the game, which returns to the area, and thus makes it good hunting ground. Incidentally the burning serves to kill off snakes, scorpions, and other noxious creatures. Men may only [423] burn in their own territory; to do so across the border, or to gather wood where others have burned, is a great offence. In former times, [622] among the Naron, the chiefs are said to have regulated the burning;

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 102.
[2] Jodika, "Reise nach dem Okavango," *D. KolBl.*, xiii (1902), 491; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147, 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 17.

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nowadays the thing is done in a haphazard manner, and generally passes as an accident. 222 224 [311]

The collection of veldkos is done by both men and women; but whereas with the former it is incidental to their hunting, the latter are collectors only, and set out every day, usually in company, to go over several miles of land. The digging-sticks they use are from 3 to 4 feet long, and consist of pieces of hard wood, pointed at one end. In the south, where the veld is hard, and in the mountainous parts of the east these sticks were sometimes tipped with a buck's horn and weighted by means of a perforated stone ball passed over their lower end and wedged in (Plate IX); but in the Kalahari, where there is only sand to cope with, this is never found. The foods gathered are chiefly roots, bulbs, ground nuts, berries, melons, and, in fact, anything at all edible, the food naturally varying with the season of the year. At the same time, the women also catch all sorts of small animals which they come across—iguanas, tortoises, frogs, locusts, flying ants, etc.—and they gather dry sticks for the evening fire. [462] [412] [184]

Among the Heikum the following ceremony is observed in connection with the gathering of veldkos by the women. "It is practised," says Fourie,[1] "when the fruit of the */huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the */huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gaus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women to the *//gaus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the */heis*. Her husband now kindles the */hei-/ais*, and, after having applied */norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it." There is no known name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called */gao-ei-/un*. The ceremony in this form is not found in any of the other Bushman tribes, but is met with also in slightly different form among the Bergdama. The possibility of borrowing must therefore again be kept in mind; but, whether borrowed or not, the ceremony is of importance as indicating the development of a special ritual in connection with one of the principal sources of food supply. 222 622 [184] [171]

[1] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56–7; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W.A." 98–9.

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681 There are, further, various sanctions by which non-fulfilment or the breach of any recognized custom is penalized, and which thus also serve as another and more direct means of securing conformance with the pattern of social life. In this category we may place ritual sanctions, where any departure from a prescribed rule of conduct is followed automatically by evil results, without any direct interference on the part of the community. The breaking of a taboo, for instance, is [784] held to produce serious consequences, such as death or disease or ill-luck in the chase. Thus among the Cape Bushmen, as we have seen, girls who do not observe the restrictions imposed upon them at the time of puberty are believed to change into frogs, while men who are seen by the girls at this time become permanently fixed in whatever position they then occupy, and so on. And again there are the [224] numerous observances and avoidances associated with hunting, which if neglected will result in ill-success, the loss of a wounded animal, etc. All sanctions of this sort—and in the preceding pages we have had occasion to notice a good many of them—may be regarded as legal mechanisms, in the sense that they operate to maintain the observance of accepted usages and customs.

627 Other breaches of custom, however, involve the direct intervention of the members of the community. In general, when disputes arise [578] between the members of the band—among the Naron they are said [692] to be infrequent—there is no appeal to any supreme authority, for, as we have just noted, there is no such authority, nor are cases of wrongdoing or quarrels referred to the chiefs where these exist. The only remedy is self-help. But in so far as self-help is the recognized mode of reaction, it must also be regarded as a legal institution. Blood vengeance indeed is the principal, if not the only, recognized way of dealing with serious offences committed against a person even by members of the same band.[1]

The principal actions penalized in this way are adultery, theft, and [684] homicide. In the case of adultery, as we have already seen, the injured husband attempts to kill the adulterer, if he possibly can, while the unfaithful wife is beaten and in some cases divorced. Theft also [685] provokes blood vengeance, when the thief refuses to restore the stolen property.[2] Even if he does, he is reproached for his deed, and

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 155; Trenk, op. cit., 169; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35–6.

[2] According to one of the texts published by Bleek and Lloyd (*Bushman Folklore*, 416–25), among the Kung a man who steals in the camp is killed by the others present, who all shoot at him with their arrows. A married woman who steals is also sometimes shot by her own husband. More frequently, however, she is burned alive in a hut; although, if her parents are

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but formerly even to Europeans. In the Cape, for example, "If the white man were a passing hunter and friendly, if he shared his bag with the Bushmen, he was welcomed and could travel through the territory in peace; but when the settlers came in, permanently occupying the land at the springs, and doing great execution among the game, then the Bushmen retaliated by shooting the intruders or killing their stock. Whereupon the white man, unaware of any unfriendly behaviour on his part, dubbed the Bushman an untamable savage and a thief, and did his best to imprison or shoot him. Hence the war of extermination, which has reduced the race of Colonial Bushmen to its present vanishing figure."[1] 648 685

Among the Auen, when neighbouring bands are on friendly terms, wounded game may be followed by the members of the one on to the territory of the other. A portion of the game must, however, be given to the owners of the land. Refusal to do so is always dangerous. Where the bands are very friendly it does not necessarily lead to bloodshed; the trespasser is merely driven away, and his weapons and game confiscated. Otherwise, however, he is killed. Women caught trespassing are seized and taken to the camp of their captors; this often leads to war, when they are violated. And again the killing of a man by the members of another band always results in a state of feud. 619 621 685 [224] [628]

It may happen that between two bands there is so strong a feud of this nature that a meeting between their members invariably leads to bloodshed. It is probably due to this, says Kaufmann, that among the Auen many bands are so antagonistic that violation of the territorial bounds leads to immediate punishment by death; and he cites the bands at Gam and Rietfontein, between whom there was a long-standing enmity. Among the Kung there is also much hostility between neighbouring bands, especially when, as occasionally happens, an attempt is made by one band to take from another the land it occupies, if this is very rich in veldkos. The oppressed band, if the weaker, must move, but the fights are conducted with great bitterness, and the deep enmity aroused extends over generations. A similar condition of feud is reported to have existed between several bands of the Namib Bushmen, where, for example, in 1907 the people of Buntveldschuhhorn, in consequence of such a state of hostility, led an attack on those living at Aurus. Feud is also common between bands belonging to tribes of different speech, e.g. the Auen and the 628 685 628

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii.

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PLATE XI

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a b c d

British Museum

BUSHMAN ORNAMENTS AND UTENSILS

a. Serpentine and Bone Pipes
b. Bone awl
c. Waistband of Ostrich egg-shell beads
d. Tortoise-shell box for holding *buchu*

224

L. Fourie

BUSHMAN SNARE FOR HUNTING GAME

[*face p.* 158]

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 Ko ('ngo), as

776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are
[787] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while
[224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is
[782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with
[756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant,
[791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians, who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded
[793] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do
[184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his special protection.

Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis.
184 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to
776 Miss Lloyd several tales about */xwe*, a little personage not identified with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a variety of things. */xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

776 The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about *Hishe* or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys'
[881] puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people, bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans.
[756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws
[114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the
177 idea of */khuba* or */xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba").
776 This is the

[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32–3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 501, 505–6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404–13.

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776 "the Lord" or "the great captain", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Huwu* or *Hu's*. This "supreme being" is regarded as anthropomorphic, he looks like a Bushman and he also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky in a house with two storeys, the lower of which is occupied by himself, his wife, whose name is unknown, and many children, while the upper is occupied, as already mentioned, by the souls of the dead (*xa*). In appearance this house is similar to the ordinary Bushman hut, although not quite the same, and its exterior is "hairy like a caterpillar". Honey, locusts, fat flies, and butterflies [825] are found here in superabundance, and the "great captain" feeds [775] upon these; the souls of the dead, however, merely sit around and eat nothing. *Xu* summons the magicians to their profession, and [756] gives them supernatural powers; he is the lord over rain and lightning, as well as over the spirits, *//gauab*, and through the chief of the latter he sends good fortune in hunting or in the collection of veldkos. If anybody thinks or speaks evil of him, he punishes the evildoer with lightning; otherwise he takes no interest in the doings of his "Bushman children", except when somebody swears falsely by [782] him, for the Kung have a regular oath in which they invoke him. He is prayed to by them in fixed form for rain, in case of severe illness, before going out hunting or before undertaking a dangerous journey.[1]

The Western Kung of Ukuanyama (Oschimpoloveld) speak of [184] *Erob*, translated by Lebzelter as "God", who, like *Xu*, lives in a house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is [782] often prayed to, especially for rain and in hunting, as well as in case [224] of illness, "because he has made all things and can do everything and knows everything", and he is given the first offerings of the [821] chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth, and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.[2]

821 184 *Erob* also figures as the "supreme being" among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan, although in prayers for rain and in case of illness he 776 is addressed as *Xu*. The group in North-Eastern Ondonga speak [782] of the "supreme being" as *Xamaba*, the groups at Ukuambi know him as *Erob* or *Xuwa*, and the group at Uukualuthi as *Erob*; and among them all, as among the Eastern Kung, he lives in the sky in a house to which the souls of the dead are brought. Almost

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //*Khun*-Buschmänner," 407-9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen," 412.

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everywhere he is regarded as the creator of all things, including mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.[1] 184 776 [821] [782] [224]

The !O Kung in Angola did not mention *Erob* or *Xuwa*, but spoke again of *Huwe*. Here, as we have seen, *Huwe* occasionally appears at the boys' puberty ceremonies and dances with the initiates, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double guise as man and woman. In the prayer to the New Moon his name may also be substituted for *//nwa-se*, but apart from this substitution there is no evidence of worship directed towards him. He is further said to appear to people in dreams.[2] Of the attributes found by Lebzelter for the "supreme being" among the Kung and the Heikum no mention at all is made by Miss Bleek. [787]

Huwe appears again among the Bushmen of the Eastern Kalahari. They believe, according to Dornan, in a spirit which they variously call *Dzimo*, *Thora*, and *Huwe*. *Dzimo* is a corruption of the Chwana word *Modimo*, nowadays generally rendered "God", and is, says Dornan, "largely used by the tame Bushmen with the same signification." *Thora* and *Huwe* are the regular Bushman words. *Huwe* is here spoken of as the good spirit who wards off disease, gives plenty, and protects the Bushmen from danger. When any danger threatens, they will call upon him; Dornan mentions having once heard some Bushmen of the Sansokwe River sing over and over again the words *Huwe ka hume ie ie*, *Huwe* come to our aid ie ie. More often, however, they speak of *Thora*. They say he made all things, but they are not sure where he dwells, or if he is a person. According to Dornan they look upon him as the Great One, who is over all things, who sends rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting. They often use *Thora* to ensure success in hunting; when, e.g. they have killed an animal they will praise him for bringing it under their arrows. This statement Dornan seems to have derived [177] [782] 114 776 224 [821]

[1] Lebzelter, op. cit., 410–12; cf. Schmidt, "Die alten Buschmann-Religion," 197, summarizing Lebzelter's data.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 14; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122, 123.

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114 776 [224] from Chapman, who records that once when some Bushmen were with him and he had killed a rhinoceros they threw some dust on its tail and spat in its eyes before they touched it, muttering meanwhile "some gibberish" to *Thora*, while on another occasion when he had killed some elephants a similar performance was again enacted by his Bushman attendants.

The distinction between *Thora* and *Huwe* is not quite clear from Dornan's account. In one place he seems to imply that the two words refer to the same conception. Elsewhere, however, he remarks: "Huwe seems an inferior kind of spirit to Thora, for at times the latter is invoked to come to his aid, as if the former were not powerful enough to defend himself and his children. Some Bushmen near the Tuli River sang the following words, in an agitated and melancholy [539] voice: 'Thora ba Huwe i-e i-e, Thora come to the help of Huwe [782] i-e i-e,' ad lib." From their attributes, however, it seems that the two conceptions *Thora* and *Huwe* are substantially the same. In all probability the name *Huwe* has drifted in from the west, which would explain why it is sometimes substituted for *Thora*, sometimes found alongside it.[1]

192 821 [776] [184] [775] In addition to this being variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Erob*, *Thora*, etc., all the Northern Bushmen also speak of *//gauwa* (*Gaua*, *//gaua*, *//gauab*, etc.). This word, as we have already seen, is used by the North-Western Bushmen for "a person who has died", or more precisely, as appears in certain cases, for the ghost of a dead person. It is, however, also used with a much wider application. Among the Naron and Auen at Sandfontein the wind is called *//gauwa* when it is strong and howls. One of the Naron tales recorded by Miss Bleek speaks of the wind as a man going about, and of *//gauwa* as a bird accompanying him. "*//gauwa* says: 'I make the wind and thus go.'" Some of the people seemed to believe in a supreme 192 776 114 *//gauwa*, a being who lives in the east near *Hishe*, to whose house the ghosts repair by day. They said he was *Hishe's* younger brother, while others said *//gauwa* was *Hishe*. Miss Bleek affirms that no ideas of good or bad qualities are connected with either of these beings, nor are they prayed to. Fourie, however, speaks of *Gaua* among the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron as a "bad being" or "Satan", to whom people dying a "bad death" are said to go,

[1] Dornan, op. cit., 148–50; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 386, 81. The translation given by Dornan of the prayer in which *Thora* is asked to come to the aid of *Huwe* cannot be relied upon. In another place (*J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1917, p. 53) he renders the same words: "God leave (us) alone ie ie!"

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776 First there is their chief or headman, simply termed *//gauab* by ordinary people, but whose real name, known to and uttered only by the magicians, is */nawa*. "Probably," suggests Lebzelter, "we [184] have to do here with the high god of another religion, and */nawa* is to be identified with *//nwa-se*, the New Moon of the Angola Kung." */nawa* or *//gauab* does good as well as evil. He is prayed to for [782] success in the chase, assists the hunters in their efforts, and receives [224] the first-offerings of any game taken; he is also, however, most [753] frequently the cause of illness. One informant, who had been baptized, spoke of him as the "devil" who had made the Kung; others, old magicians, credited him with giving rise to the existence and present mode of life of men and animals. He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.

775 The second group of spirits are the *//gauab* who stand at the service of the "great captain". As a rule they lie around their hearth-776 fires in the sky, the stars, and only come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead (*xa*) and bring them to *Xu*. The third group comprises the "small" *//gauab*, the ghosts of the dead, whose home is the grave but who roam about everywhere and are injurious to mankind; the fourth are the particularly malicious little spirits dwelling in the water; and finally there is the whole horde of the [753] spirits of disease, the *dsao*, small yellow mannikins with thick bellies, who at the command of any of the other spirits enter into people and thus make them ill. It is the function of the magicians to remove [756] them from the body of the patient.[1]

The Western Kung of the Oschimpoloveld have no such elaborate 184 world of spirits. Mention is made only of the */gagorob* or */gau/gorob*, 776 small spirits who roam about in the bush and do nothing but play practical jokes on people. "They are not the spirits of the dead," says Lebzelter, "and cannot therefore be compared with the *//gauab*."[2]

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan we meet again with *//gauab*, [192] or, as the name is here rendered, */gamab*. Owing to Christian influence [177] */gamab* is now spoken of as "the devil", but Lebzelter regards this being as a "demiurge", whom he equates with */nawa* or the principal *//gauab* of the Eastern Kung, and with */gamab* of the Bergdama and Nama. */gamab* is said by the Heikum to have created mankind and the world; the souls of the dead (*darish*) come to live with him,

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der /'Kłun-Buschmänner," 407–10; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 412.

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Nama. Nama influence is seen also in the word *Heiseb* found among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga. This is one of the names applied to the mythical hero more commonly known as *Heitsi Eibib*, who figures so prominently in the religious system of the Nama. Its absence from the other Bushman tribes is clearly suggestive, although the name *Hishe* found among the Naron and Auen may possibly be a corruption of it. The various current interpretations of *//gaua* as " the evil being ", " the devil " or " Satan " must likewise be dismissed as alien to native Bushman ideas. The word has been widely used by missionaries among the Nama for " Devil ", and there can be little doubt that it is ultimately from this source that such interpretations have been derived. 177 776 [184] [797]

All these direct symptoms of borrowing from other peoples show clearly that the religious conceptions of the Northern Bushmen as recorded above can by no means be regarded as untainted by foreign influences. The final interpretation of these conceptions will therefore have to take into account the religious ideas of the neighbouring peoples as well, especially of the Nama, in order that a full basis for discussion may be obtained. This is all the more necessary since the information relating to them as now held by the Bushmen is hardly sufficient to enable us to determine satisfactorily the full meaning attached to them by the people, to determine, that is, what part they really play in native life. For the moment, however, it may be of service if we attempt to reduce to some order the various accounts given by our authorities of these conceptions. 177 771

A general survey of the attributes said to be vested in the different beings figuring in the religion and mythology of the Northern Bushmen seems to show that on the whole we have to deal with two main conceptions. There is in the first place the conception known variously to the North-Western Bushmen as *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Xuwa*, *Hishe*, or *Erob*, and to the North-Eastern Bushmen as *Thora* or *Huwe*. By Lebzelter, whose account cannot be entirely freed from a suspicion of prejudice in favour of the monotheistic doctrine associated with the name of Pater W. Schmidt and his school of disciples, *Xu* or *Erob* is spoken of as an anthropomorphic " supreme good being " dwelling in a house in the sky, where he receives the souls of the dead. He is regarded as the creator; he controls the rain and its associated phenomena of thunder and lightning, and punishes evil-doers with lightning; he sends good fortune in hunting and in the collection of veldkos, is prayed to before and after hunting, and is 776 [184] [114] [821] [224] [782] [756]

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776 honoured with certain ritual observances connected with the chase;
[782] he is also prayed to for rain, before travel, and in case of illness;
[224] and finally it is from him that the magicians obtain their special
[756] powers. By the Eastern Kung he is said to have a wife and many children; among the other Kung and the Heikum he figures alone.

Few of these attributes are mentioned by Miss Bleek in her remarks
184 upon *Hishe* among the Naron and Auen, and upon *Huwe* among the
776 !O !Kung. But there are certain points of agreement. *Hishe* dwells in
[775] a house in the east, to which the ghosts of the dead repair by day;
[224] he is regarded as the creator, and as the protector of game and hunting. On the other hand *Hishe-Huwe*, sometimes alone, sometimes in double
[881] guise as man and woman, sometimes "followed by children like
[114] baboons", figures prominently in the boys' puberty ceremonies, which are not referred to at all by Lebzelter. At the same time, since these ceremonies certainly have much to do with hunting, their association with *Hishe-Huwe* is not inconsistent with his character as protector of the game and hunting, although of course it is hardly likely that this provides the only explanation for his figuring in them. Nor
[782] is he ever prayed to among these tribes, save where the name *Huwe* is substituted by the !O !Kung for *//nwa-se*, the New Moon, in the prayer for rain. Most of the prayers for food and rain, however, are directed to the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon.

A closer agreement with Lebzelter's account is provided by Dornan's
[114] discussion of *Thora-Huwe* among the North-Eastern Bushmen. *Thora* is here said to be the creator who is over all things, he sends
[821] rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting, certain
[224] hunting observances are directed towards him, he wards off disease,
[753] and protects the Bushmen from danger.

It is possible also to find a connection in certain respects between *Huwe* and the conception of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen. Among the Cape Bushmen, it is true, the Mantis is primarily a mythological character, the central figure of an elaborate series of myths relating to him and his "family". He is never worshipped, but on
[782] the other hand, like *Huwe*, he has creative powers, and is also said to
[825] have made certain bucks and to protect them. Mention is further made by these Bushmen of an afterworld to which go the spirits
[775] of the dead, but there is nothing at all to link this up with the Mantis, just as there is nothing to link up the afterworld of the North-Eastern Bushmen with *Thora*. The resemblance between the Mantis and *Huwe* is far more noticeable among the Bushmen of Basutoland.

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Here also the Mantis is the central figure of many myths; but at the same time he is the creator, he causes life or death, he is especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food and good luck in hunting, and he is also connected with certain religious dances at which the "initiated men" (probably the magicians) cure illness. The elaborate mythological character of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen and his association with so many other figures in these myths preclude an absolute identification of him and *Huwe*. The resemblance in other respects, however, appears on the whole to be striking enough to warrant our connecting the two. 184 776 [761] [224] [782] [755]

The other outstanding conception is that of *//gaua*, *//gauab*, */gamab*, etc. In all the North-Western tribes the word *//gaua* is used in the first place for the ghosts of dead persons, and one cannot resist assuming that this is its fundamental significance. Among the Naron and Auen these ghosts, which as in all the other North-Western tribes can be seen by the magicians, walk about at night, and people are afraid of them, but not do expect real harm from them; among the Eastern Kung, however, all the *//gauab* are the cause of illness, some do mischief, while others come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead; among the Heikum of Ukuambi the ghosts move about on earth and do harm to people, while among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul goes to live with */gamab*, but may return to earth to kill people. In general therefore it would seem that dead people are regarded by the North-Western Bushmen as sources of injury, and especially as causing illness and even death. The same idea is conveyed by Dornan's statement, that the North-Eastern Bushmen avoid the grave of a dead person, "lest the spirit resent the intrusion." 184 775 [753] [753] [761] [769]

The word *//gaua* is, however, used also in the sense of a personified being, whose attributes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but appear on closer analysis to show a certain uniformity. The !O Kung ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*; when anyone is killed by lightning they say "*//gaua* took him", and people who had met their death in this way were said to sit in the sky as stars, which are looked upon as "*//gaua*'s fires". Among the Eastern Kung the stars are also the fires of the *//gauab*, a shooting star heralds the death of someone, while lightning is the medium through which *Xu* punishes or kills people. Among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga *xamaba* (*/gamab*) inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like, while 184 776 [192] [821] [775] [821] [753]

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makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people 184
by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, 776
/nawa or the chief of the *//gauab* figures as the creator, and, as the [821]
executive of *Xu*, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is [224]
honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success; [782]
he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems [753]
extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of *Huwe* [178]
on the one hand and of *//gaua* on the other have been blended or
confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make
this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explana- 114
tion may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek 178
and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies 776
for boys: according to the former, it is *Hishe* who figures in the 881
special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled [184]
by *Gaua*. *//gaua*, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's
puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar
confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do
the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a
suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that
one of Miss Bleek's informants identified *//gaua* with *Ndzambi*,
the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for
"God", while another spoke of *//gaua* as the "father" of the
Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of *Huwe*, *Thora*, or 184
the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the 776
source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food [224]
gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; [753]
and with the conception of *//gaua* first as the ghosts of the dead [821]
and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness [775]
and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder,
lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an
interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the
possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples;
it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from
the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions
common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

Magic and Magicians

In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the 756
mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

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114 arrows are not poisoned but are used for "witchcraft", and "if
411 they are shot in the direction of an enemy, be he 100 kilos or more
754 away, witchcraft will bring about his death".[1] The myth recorded
756 by Fourie also lends support to the idea that these arrows are used for magical purposes. It is possible, too, that something similar is implied in the statement, mentioned above, that among the Cape Bushmen magicians caused illness by shooting with invisible arrows, but it should be noted that no such weapons as those here described have yet been found among them.

789 Apart from the special magic practised by magicians and associated with them, there are among all the Bushmen various usages and beliefs of a nature which may be generally termed magical, and which
● 224 are apparently common property. Many of the hunting observances
787 already described fall into this category. So, too, does divination.
[184] Among the Cape Bushmen this occurs principally in the form of beliefs in the efficacy of omens, of which there are a great number with diverse significations. They say they feel in their bodies that certain things are going to happen; there is a kind of beating of the flesh which tells them things. Those who are stupid do not understand these teachings and disobey them, with the result that they get into trouble, are killed by a lion, and so on. These beatings tell those who understand them which way not to go, and which arrow it is better not to use, and also warn them when people are coming. They inform the hunter when game is close at hand, tell people where they can find the person for whom they are in search, i.e. which way to go, and so on.[2]

184 In the more northerly tribes is found the use of pieces of wood,
787 leather or bone as divining bones or dice. These are usually four in number, and roughly triangular in shape, two of them being broad, the other two longer and thinner. The former are called male, the latter female. In the Eastern Kalahari they are usually each marked in a special way and named, but this is not found further west. The bones may be owned and used by anyone, not only by magicians. They are used in a very crude manner: the inquirer goes on throwing them on to his kaross until he gets a favourable answer. Such bones are frequently found among the Northern and Central Kalahari Bushmen, and occasionally among those dwelling on the southern

[1] *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cd. 9146), 1918, p. 172.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17–18; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 330–9.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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Bushmen FX10
South Nguni

The woman, partly through submissiveness to her husband, partly because equally curious to see strange people of a different garb, started out on the journey after a day or two of preparation, dressed in her best garments. She had an escort of thirty or forty Chainouquas for company and for protection against others, especially against the Kochoquas, with whom the Chainouquas were then at war. But while on the way she was attacked unawares by the Kochoquas in a big wood and killed. Her ornamentation, valuables and garments were all trodden under foot, and her escort put to flight. Leaving behind two or three men, they made for the Cape and Chaihantimo, to whom they reported the news of the tragedy. Thereupon he departed instantly to his own country with his people, in order to revenge himself in war against the Kochoquas for this outrage; but he was far too weak in numbers against them.[37])

000

SONQUAS.

The Sonquas[38]) are a people dwelling in massive mountainous country. They number several thousands, and are very small in size, both men and women. They have no cattle, but live by shooting rock-rabbits[38a]) with the bow and arrow, which they use with remarkable skill. The rock-rabbits have their retreats under the rocks, on top of which they come to bask and play about during the heat of the day; the Sonquas then hit and shoot them down in great numbers with their arrows. They also go out hunting

[101] [161] 224

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flight and returned to the great chief of the Chainuquas, who is said with his army to have gone to Chobona to ask for justice in the face of this insult, and assistance to revenge it" (*Letters desp.*, iii, 92-3; D., Dec. 31, 1658). Chaihantima appeared again at the Fort in 1661, when van Riebeeck drily remarks: "this is the same who had told us such stories about his wife having been brought up at the court of the Chobonas, having worn many jewels, and afterwards been killed by the Cochoquas. Though he still adheres to them, we can no longer believe him" (D., Aug. 3, 1661).

[38]) Sonqua, Souqua, Sanqua, etc., is the name applied by the Hottentots to the Bushmen, and according to Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 3) is derived from the root *sa* (plur. *san*), meaning "aborigines or settlers proper". It is significant that van Riebeeck does not mention them at all in the list of tribes prepared for his successor, although they figure often enough in his journal. He says of them: "They are robbers, subject to none, and depending upon their arrows and assagays, treacherously robbing their neighbours of their cattle and their wives" (D., Oct. 31, 1657); and again: "The Soaquas, a tribe without cattle, dwelling beyond, among the mountains of Africa, and mostly robbers" (D., Nov. 8, 1660). 101

[38a]) *Hyrax capensis*, still commonly known in S. Africa as "dassies."

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

big game, especially wild horses and mules. There are in [224] those parts wild horses and mules, both so beautifully bred out by nature that no painter is skilful enough to paint 136 them true to life with all their colouring. The horses have buttocks extraordinarily dappled, and over the rest of the body are striped yellow, black, red and pure sky blue. The mules are also striped, white and chestnut brown, but not dappled, and are uncommonly beautiful.[39]) The Sonquas in 439 1662 brought the skin of one of these beasts to the Cape, which our countrymen bartered from them for tobacco and other things. It was then filled with straw and hung up for show in the hall of the Fort, as something curious and uncommon, which it also is, to be seen by the people of the incoming ships.[40])

The meat of the rock-rabbits constitutes a pleasant food 262 for the Sonquas, who live principally on it and on certain 231 roots growing in the ground. They also keep many hunting 224 dogs,[40a]) trained to hunt the rock-rabbits which are their principal food, and knowing how to drag these animals out of their holes.

They are extremely great plunderers and marauders. 721 They steal from other Hottentots all the cattle they can get, with which they then flee immediately to the mountains, where they cannot be found in their retreats and hidden caves by anybody, not even by other Hottentots.

Their huts, made only of branches twined together, 342 without woven mats, and covered solely with rushes, are 361 several thousand in number; for they move about from one place to another, and never break up the huts, but erect still others wherever they camp.

Their little cloaks are sewn together from the skins of 291 the wild oxen which live on the rocks. The women have a *quitazol* or sunshade of ostrich feathers, tied on and about the head, to protect themselves from the heat and burning of the sun's piercing rays.

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had shot a wild horse below the mane in the neck. This horse was 136 very beautifully gray dappled over its whole body, except behind from the back over the buttocks and along the legs which were flame-coloured, with white, sky blue and reddish brown stripes, wonderfully beautiful . . . It had small ears like a horse. The stuffed heads and pieces of skin which the Hottentots sometimes brought to us belong evidently to another sort, as they have long ears, though extraordinarily, curiously and beautifully flame-coloured in white and chestnut brown."

[40a]) Dogs were the only domestic animals kept by the Bushmen. 231 They were generally lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half starved and savage tempered, but excellent assistants in the chase, for 224 which they were mainly employed.

[62 cont.]

293 Like the prehistoric Bushmen, these people, too, wear forehead bands, into which the arrows are stuck during the hunt.

726 Dornan (p. 139) reports that the Kalahari Bushmen hold
754 dances before the start of a war, and on these occasions they shoot little poisoned arrows from equally small bows in the direction of the enemy or of the sun. They believe that in so doing they are killing the shadow spirit of the enemy. They do not like to give these miniature bows and arrows to anyone because they are afraid that they might come into the possession of their enemies and thus bring about their own deaths.

226 Fishing is still quite well developed among the Masarwa people. Stone walls are sometimes built in the river, in which weir-baskets are set, or they sit in the river bed next to one another with weir-baskets, while women and children drive the fish toward them. In smaller waterholes, grass and brush are piled up on one side. Then the Bushmen step into the water and push the grass wall ahead of them, thus driving the fish into a corner. Individual fish are also speared with the assagai. According to Hodson, the best fishermen are the Bakoba Bushmen on the Okovanggo. They have harpoons and rush nets that are drawn diagonally across the river.

278 G. A. Farini (3) had an opportunity to observe the

[113] 3. G. A. Farini, Durch die Kalahariwüste [Through the Kalahari Desert], Leipzig, 1886.

manufacture of arrow poison in the Chanse Veld. The men gathered at a certain place; women were not allowed to be present. The sap was removed from about 30 to 40 poisonous bulbs by means
[535] of successive incisions and was collected in a pan. As each incision was made, the Bushmen danced in a circle, making a kind of grunt. Then a hyena hide was spread out with the hair side down, and on it was spread the contents of the bags that contained the dried heads of poisonous snakes, as well as two pieces of reed approximately 15 centimeters long. Then a number of freshly killed poisonous snakes were brought. The poison sacs were removed amidst singing and the clapping of hands. Meanwhile the pan containing the poison had been put on the fire and was boiling;

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Another method of trapping employed by the Bushmen of the Namib and of the North-West Cape was to poison the water in springs and so kill the game that came to drink there. The water was conducted a few yards from the spring into a specially-prepared pit, into which were thrown branches of the poisonous *Euphorbia*. The branches were kept down with stones, and the juice exuding from them rested like a scum on the water. The spring itself was fenced off or covered over, thus forcing the animals to drink from the pit. Zebras and other members of the equine species were especially susceptible to water poisoned in this way. Alexander states that near the River Keisu in South-West Africa he found the remains of no less than twenty horses lying close to such a poisoned waterhole.[1] 224 [278]

Traps proper as employed by the modern Bushmen are of two kinds. In one a stone or block of wood is placed in such a position that when the animal touches the exposed bait, the suspended weight falls down upon it. The other kind consists in snares (Plate XI), which are widespread among the Northern Bushmen, but do not appear ever to have been used by the Southern tribes. They are of various types, but the general principle is that a supple twig or sapling is bent down by means of a cord attached to a bait and ending in a noose. If the animal stirs the bait, the cord is released, the sapling springs back into the air, and the noose catches the throat or leg of the animal, which is carried up with it. In this way are caught not only birds and small quadrupeds, such as hares, wild cats, and jackals, but even small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, as well as leopards and ostriches. Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season; in the rainy season it must cease owing to the action of the damp on the cord. This is made from the bark fibre of *Sansevieria zeylanica*, which is shredded by means of a pointed stick, then rolled on the thigh into strands, which are twisted together. Thicker and thinner cords are made according to the game to be trapped.[2] [184] [221] [283]

Fishing

This is also practised wherever possible by all the Bushmen; indeed, among the tribes living in the Okavango swamps it is even 226

[1] Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, ii, 223; Paterson, *Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots*, 169; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167. Moffat describes how on one occasion he nearly died as a result of drinking water poisoned in this way (*Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 155–6).

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 667; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 77; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 199 sq.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 15.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

226 more important as a mode of subsistence than hunting.[1] It[2] is also
[462] the work of the men. Among the Cape Bushmen, especially those living along the banks of the Orange River, the principal method
[227] employed lay in the use of funnel-shaped traps of closely woven reeds, about 3 feet long and 18 inches to a feet wide, narrowing towards the mouth. These traps were stretched across the stream in a shallow part, and while some men stood waiting behind them, others waded up stream from a point below and drove the fish before them to the reed traps, where they were then caught and thrown on shore.

In the Okavango basin this method is also used, but there is a variety of others as well. Sometimes the fish in the lakes and rivers are speared
[177] from flat-bottomed boats, probably adopted from the MaMbukushu
[501] and MaKoba of the same region. Sometimes, again, small stone dams are built from each bank so as to run out into the river in a slanting direction, leaving a narrow opening in which is placed the reed trap. The fish are either swept into these traps by the force of the current, or are driven in by the Bushmen themselves. Or, again, reed fences or stone dams are built straight across the beds of the dry courses into which the river overflows at times of flood. When the flood has reached its highest level, and the water begins to sink, the retreat of the fish carried along into these courses is cut off, so that they are easily caught.

Special Hunting Observances

224 The method of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons is
304 surrounded by all the Bushmen with various special usages and beliefs. Charms to ensure good luck in the chase are found among them all. With the North-Western tribes these most commonly take the form of scarifications serving to endow the hunter with the qualities of certain animals and enabling him to hunt them successfully. The cuts are made as a rule on the arms, sometimes on the cheeks, occasionally also on the back, chest, or belly. A tiny piece of meat is then burned to ashes, which are rubbed into the wounds. The meat
[825] is that of an animal whose qualities are specially desirable, e.g. that of the springbok for swiftness. These cuts are usually given to boys soon after they begin to hunt, and are executed by old men who are themselves successful hunters. The cuts made between the eyebrows

[1] Barrow, op. cit., i, 290, 300; Lichtenstein, op. cit., ii, 44; Alexander, op. cit., i, 237; Passarge, "Okawangosumpfland," 697–8; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296; Dornan, op. cit., 106–9.

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Bushmen FX10

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[2] [i.e., fishing.—Analyst]

/144 cont./

411 quiver. Sometimes the arrows are in a special quiver made of
[237] eland horn or bark, which is closed off at both ends with a leather cover (see Photos. 29 and 32).

The Auin almost always carries in his quiver a small container like the arrow quiver of eland horn or bark just described, in which he keeps arrowheads, poison, and other small necessities for shooting.

The notched end of the arrow is pulled toward the chest when the bow is drawn.

714 The war cap is to be regarded as the sole battle ornament. It is made of aardwolf hide (see Photo. 21).

H. Hunting and Agriculture

224 Hunting is done both individually and in groups.

Hunting dogs are to be found in occasional, isolated instances,
[231] [439] but then they are usually obtained from the Kaffir or Betschuana. The Auin maintain, however, that they know how to train hunting dogs. Collars and the like are not customary.

/145/ [Fig. 8 appears here.]

[422] I was unable to discover whether marks of ownership are applied to weapons and the like. On the other hand, I noticed that people immediately recognize their possessions.

There are no closed seasons on hunting.

The Auin prepares a kind of dried meat. Pieces of meat of any
251 length and width are cut very thin (almost transparent) and are dried on trees in the sun. This dried mass, as hard as wood and inedible to a European, keeps for weeks during the dry season. There must be an almost unlimited surplus of meat available, how-
[264] ever, if the Auin is to decide to preserve some, since he is accustomed to stuff himself to the point of unconsciousness. I have seen a single Bushman, without any help, consume a fully grown Klipbok weighing about six kilograms.

224 Undoubtedly there are especially industrious and impassioned huntsmen, as well as the opposite. I found some people who were absolutely useless on the hunt.

[Text continues on page 25]

/147 cont./

223 noose is released when the animal takes the bait, and at the same time the gallows springs back and pulls the animal up in the air by its neck. Concerning the material used to make the noose, see page 41 . The arrowheads of the Auin are generally
411 poisoned. I have also found arrows which had only a single unpoisoned bone point. These are used for sport, perhaps also for killing small birds.

Manufacture of the arrow poison. Burkea africana (firewood
278 of the Bushmen) is inhabited during the rainy season by a beetle (or a species of termite?) which toward the end of the rainy season pupates in the soil under the tree. The larvae are dug up, killed, dried in the sun, and rubbed between stones.

Roots of the thorny tschamma (Cucumis heptactylus Naud.) are laid on red-hot coals, taken out warm, and the bitter sap pressed out. This sap is mixed with the poisonous paste, and the resulting dirty, reddish-brown preparation represents the finished arrow poison. The poison is applied to the arrow point in a layer several millimeters thick and dries there.

The Bushmen greatly fear their own arrow poison and always
278 carry the poisoned point hidden in the shaft. The poisoned end
411 is exposed only just before it is to be used. The layer of poison on the iron points, which because of their width cannot be concealed in the arrow shaft, is always wrapped with bast which is not taken off until the arrow is to be used. All Auin can make arrow poison and readily demonstrate the process.

224 The decorative scars described on page 16 are to be regarded
304 as hunting trophies.

The hunters supposedly tell exaggerated tales. Quarrels on
521 these occasions sometimes end in bloodshed.
578

The only domestic animal is the dog.
[231]

The Bushman doctor is supposed to let blood for healing pur-
757 poses. For instance, in the case of a man who could not run well, bloody incisions were made in his upper thigh. On the other hand, I do not know whether this procedure can be described as "bloodletting." Scars from such incisions were shown to me several times.

413 The surgical instrument is a little sharpened piece of iron.

#AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[76 cont.]

411 [192] The little bow (!naru) is made from the //ne bush and is much shorter than that of the !Kung. The arrow and the arrow point are called tschi. They have arrows with iron points like the !Kung, as well as others made of bone. The accompanying figures show the two types, which have already been sufficiently described by other authors. The arrow points found in older collections, on which the poison is applied not only at the tip but also in lines or dots of little lumps on the contact piece, are now no longer in use. The bows of the Naron are also small, and they likewise have two kinds of arrows. The arrow shafts are made of reed, which is used only in a few places. In addition, all these tribes have root-stock clubs. Spears (kuku) are bartered [439] from the Ovambo in exchange for ostrich egg beads. Bleek 231 writes [77] of the Naron that formerly they had no dogs at all, and Kaufmann reports that the ǂAuin have very few dogs. The Nogau had all kinds of mongrels, but none of any peculiar strain. Two animal stories should be told in this connection:

539 1. A large bird killed a duiker. Then the hyena came and took the duiker. The hyena met the jackal. The jackal said: "Hyena, you should not go where you want to go, otherwise bad things will happen to you!" But the hyena went anyway, and the great bird (!gui) came and tied the hyena's feet together and made a fire by its feet. Since then the hyena has black legs and dares not kill anything living. But the jackal also went stealing, whereupon the great bird seized him and held him with his back to the fire; since then it has a black stripe across its back.

2. The lion came to the watering place; then the frog came out of the water and mocked the lion. The latter wanted to kill the frog, but only scratched it on its back; the frog quickly jumped into the water again, but since then it has black stripes on its back. [Fig. 27 appears here.]

10. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The clothing of the man consists of the cap, made from the hide of the jackal, the jumping hare, or the duiker, and the loincloth, sandals, and the hide bag. In general the clothing of these Bushmen is not essentially different from that of the Bushmen

3: Lebzelter--161 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

231
291
342
516

Camp of the !Kung along the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

291
516

The author Negotiating with !Kung Bushmen in the Otjimpolo Veld.

Plate III. !Kung

The Bushmen are one of the most primitive peoples living 105
on earth. Although most of their groups own some metal ob-
jects, Bushmen do not smelt or forge metal, but get it in trade [325
from their Bantu neighbors. They use soft metal in the mak- 439]
ing of a few tools such as knives, arrowheads, and little axes,
cold-hammering the metal into shape themselves. Bushmen
make the other tools they use from wood and bone, grass and
fiber, the things of the veld. They dig roots and pick berries [222]
to eat because they have no crops. The desert is too dry for
anything but desert plants to grow naturally, and Bushmen,
who quickly consume all the wild food available in one place,
cannot stay anywhere long enough to tend crops or wait for
them to grow.

There is not enough water to water livestock, and for this [231]
reason Bushmen have no domestic animals. Most of their
groups do not even have dogs. Instead of herding, Bushmen
hunt wild antelope with tiny arrows, sometimes made of soft, [224-
traded metal, sometimes made of bone, and poisoned with a 278]
terrible poison extracted from a certain grub, a poison which
affects the nervous system of a creature and which is so deadly
that an antelope shot early in the morning with a single arrow
well placed in the body dies within the day. Hunting is very
difficult, for travel in the veld is thirsty and rigorous and the
antelope are clever, but as often as not the Bushmen hunters
shoot one and then they use it all. Most of the meat is dried [251]
to preserve it, causing it to last at least a few weeks, but
sooner or later every last bite of it is eaten, even the mucous
lining of the nostrils and the gristle inside the ears. They [262]
sometimes eat the hide, sometimes work it into leather to
use for clothing, and if the antelope bones are not all [281]
cracked for the marrow, pieces are worked into arrow points
to shoot another antelope.

In order to live as they do, Bushmen must travel through 105
361

412 The women possess several other tools which are of subsidiary importance in the food quest:

- wooden mortar and pestle
- wooden spatula for moving ashes
- carved wooden serving spoon
- tortoise shell bowl
- bundle of tail feathers for fanning the cooking fire
- pottery containers of Bantu manufacture
- iron pots and enamel bowls of European manufacture.

415 177 224 411 The mens' hunting kit represents the most evolved sector of Bushmen technology. It includes at least 19 different tools made from seven kinds of raw materials. The primary weapons include:

[177] 1. bow
[278] 2. arrow poison
[231] 3. spear
4. springhare probe
5. knobkerrie(club)
6. iron tipped arrows
7. quiver
8. hunting dogs
9. rope snares

Secondary weapons include:

[312] 10. fire drill
[177] 11. flint and steel fire making kits
[412] 12. digging stick
[283] 13. iron knife
[177]
14. iron adze-axe
15. carrying yoke
16. knotted net

000 Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

224 The !Kung weaponry consists of specialized weapons for
411 killing, retrieving, and preparing different species of game. The bow and arrow are used to kill only the large antelopes, kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok. The thirteen-foot-long burrow probe is used exclusively for hooking springhare
[223] which sleep in their burrows during the day time. Rope snares are set to trap small buck such as duiker and steenbok, as well as the game birds such as guinea fowl, francolin and
224 korhaan. Fire is used in two ways. First it is used to smoke
372 out or asphyxiate wart hog, antbear and porcupine that have
[412] been cornered in burrows. If an animal dies in the burrow, it is then dug out by means of a digging stick. Fire is also used during late winter to set bush fires. These fires burn off the old cover of vegetation and encourage new growth which will attract game animals to the burned area.

224 The spear is not used as a weapon of attack, but is
411 employed to finish off animals that have been weakened by
[231] poisoned arrows or that have been wounded by the Bushmen dogs.

The knobkerrie(club) is also used to finish off wounded
[223] or cornered animals. Occasionally it is used as a throwing
[231] club to knock down small birds and squirrels. This appears to be more of a pastime than a serious technique since the animals knocked down this way are usually fed to the dogs or just cast aside.

224
• 231 The pack of hunting dogs is perhaps the most important weapon at the disposal of the hunters. Most men own one or more dogs, but few men have developed and trained an effective hunting pack. The possession of such a pack gives a hunter a considerable advantage in killing. A good pack may number only three dogs. Often two men will pool their dogs and make a temporary pack of four or five dogs. The dogs are the crucial factor in the successful hunting of wart hog. They can run a wart hog to ground where it can be smoked out at the hunter's leisure or they may bring a hog to bay on the surface, attacking and harassing it until the hunter can close in with his spear.

The dogs are equally important in the hunting of steenbok and duiker. A good pack may often run ahead of a hunter and attack and kill the quarry before the hunter has arrived on the scene. This is the most common way that the immature of steenbok, duiker, and wart hog are killed. The dogs are generally helpful in tracking all game where their sense of smell supplements the hunters' remarkable visual acuity. The typical Bushman dog is a small animal (twenty inches tall at the shoulder) of undistinguished appearance. It is a shorthaired breed varying in color from black to buff with many piebald forms. The blood lines are difficult to trace. According to Brian Fagan (personal

224 231 [174] communication), there were no domesticated dogs in the South African Later Stone Age until the arrival of the Bantu. It is not possible to say at present when dogs were introduced into !Kung Bushmen culture. The !Kung themselves say that they have had dogs "since time began".

Data on the hunting success of seven men of the Dobe winter camp will illustrate the importance of dogs in hunting. In July, 1964, during a four week period the seven men of the camp spent a total of seventy-nine man days hunting. Between them they killed a total of eighteen animals. The estimated total weight in meat of these eighteen kills was approximately 434 pounds. Six of the men lacked good hunting dogs. These men accounted for 110 pounds of meat or 25% of the total. The seventh man was the only one with a good hunting pack. With his dogs he killed the remaining 75% of the meat (324 pounds) including four adult wart hog.

[184] Considering the importance of dogs in Dobe area hunting it is interesting that dogs were not used for hunting by the Bushmen of the Nyae Nyae area (J. Marshall 1957; and personal communication).

224 Finally there were several limited techniques that required no specialized equipment. Occasionally men run down immature animals on foot. These are dispatched with a club of any handy piece of wood. Also, on occasion, the men

224 The snared animal is not injured. It hangs suspended on the rope and struggles to break free, but if the hunter has tied his knots well he will arrive on his daily inspection to find the snared buck thrashing around the sapling. He then dispatches the buck with a club or spear, repairs the damage to the brush fence, and resets the snare.

At the height of the snaring season each hunter will have three lines in operation. Each line will have 7-9 gaps set with snares. The Dobe camp hunters who had set 20-25 separate snares averaged one small animal per hunter per week throughout the winter. A hunter's success in snaring depends upon his interpretation of game tracks and the patience with which he habituates the animals to crossing his lines where he wants them to. The hunters operate snarelines only in the winter because at other times of the year both the hunters and the quarry are ranging farther into the desert and the men do not remain long enough at one camp to build and maintain the snarelines.

[278] [231] In addition to the snarelines, the hunters carry out a full range of hunting activities including big game hunting with poison arrows, hunting wart-hog with dogs, and probing burrows for springhare, porcupine and antbear.

Table 7 lists all the kills made by the hunters of the Dobe camp during the 28 day period from 6 July to 2 August 1964.

TABLE 7

221 224 • 231 433

The kills made by the hunters of the Dobe camp during a 28-day period (6 July to 2 August 1964).

Date	Hunter	Species	Technique	estimated weight of meat
July				
7.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80 lbs.
7.	≠oma//gwe	steenbok	snare	12
9.	/ase	steenbok	snare	12
17.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
20.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
20.	≠oma//gwe	honey badger	snare	10
20.	≠oma//gwe	python	collected	20
21.	/ase	steenbok	snare	12
23.	n≠eysin!a	steenbok	snare	12
23.	≠oma//gwe	hare	snare	3
24.	≠oma	bat-eared fox	with dogs	4
27.	/ase	hare	snare	3
27.	≠gau	korhaan	snare	2
27.	n≠eysin!a	korhaan	snare	2
28.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
29.	≠oma//gwe	kori bustard	snare	10
30.	n≠eysin!a	steenbok	snare	12
31.	/ase	porcupine	cornered in burrow	20
				454 lbs.[1]

[628] [1] In addition to the meat from these 18 kills, the Dobe Bushmen received gifts of meat from other camps. The weight of meat from these outside sources is estimated at 36 lbs. Therefore, the total meat eaten at Dobe was around 490 lbs.

224 [162] [361] There were nine adult men resident at this camp but only seven did any hunting. The eighth man was blind and the ninth was crippled. The seven hunters were n≠eysin!a (60 yrs.) and his son ≠oma (35 yrs.); ≠oma//gwe (65 yrs.) and his three sons /ase (40 yrs.), ≠gau (35 yrs.), and n≠eysi (27 yrs.); and ≠gaun!a (40 yrs.), the son-in-law of n≠eysin!a.

[231] The most successful hunter, ≠oma (35 yrs.), hunted 16/28 days and killed four wart hogs and a bat-eared fox, all killed with the aid of dogs. Next was /ase (40 yrs), who hunted nine days. He snared two steenbok and a hare and killed a porcupine by cornering it in its burrow and digging it out.

Then there were the two old men both of whom hunted 16 days each. ≠oma//gwe snared a steenbok, a honey badger, a hare and a kori bustard, and collected a python. N≠eysin!a snared two steenbok.

Old ≠oma//gwe's two younger sons hunted nine and eight days, respectively. The older of the two, ≠gau, snared one korhaan; the youngest son, n≠eysi, also snared one korhaan.

Finally old n≠eysin!a's son-in-law, ≠gaun!a, hunted four days but killed nothing.

[146] The seven men hunted a total of 79 man-days and killed 18 animals; the total weight of meat is estimated at 454 lbs. In addition, they received gifts of meat from other camps

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

H B 137 [231]

verdure may be found, such as various Acacias, the principal of which are the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Ana (*Acacia albida*). The leaves and pods of the latter provide the staple food for the cattle, sheep and goats in these parts. Other characteristic vegetable growths are the inflammable candle bush (*Sarcocaulon Burmanni*) and, in the area inland from Walvis Bay, the famous *!naras* (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*), a leafless cucurbitaceous plant with an edible melon-like fruit which when in season forms practically the sole article of diet of the natives. In one or two spots is found the most remarkable of all, the unique gymnosperm, *Welwitschia mirabilis*, which during a long lifetime produces only two pairs of leaves.

H B [262]

H B 133

At the Olifants River commences another tract of country, characterized by mountains of the folded type, which extend in parallel ranges, separated by wide valleys, over the whole southern portion of the Cape Province as far east as Humansdorp. From the narrow coastal strip fringing this tract the ground rises more or less abruptly to the mountains of the Folded Belt. To the west the rise is gradual through the fertile Goudini valley of Worcester district; further eastward the vegetation and climate partake more and more of the Karroo character, the Oudtshoorn valley and the many kloofs to the east being generally known as the Southern Karroo. The scenery here rapidly changes to bare uninteresting veld, traversed by deep gullies which are generally dry in the summer. In all directions the landscape is bounded by barren-looking mountains, whose steep, rocky sides appear from a distance to be entirely destitute of vegetation. Nothing can exceed the contrast between the scenery on the opposite slopes of the coast ranges: the traveller from the south, after ascending through luxuriant vegetation, frequently clothed in mist, emerges suddenly into a region of precipices and rocks, where rain may not have fallen for months. The soil in the valleys, however, is fertile when it can be brought under irrigation.

H B [132 137]

H B 132

The total annual rainfall is by no means deficient, the average for the region being about 29·5 inches, although it varies greatly according to locality. The average for the Cape Peninsula is 40 inches, most of it falling on the eastern side of Table Mountain. Immediately to the east of Cape Town and as far as Knysna there is a decrease to between 15 and 20 inches. The rainfall then becomes more abundant, the well-wooded Knysna itself being one of the best-watered districts of South Africa, with an average rainfall of 40 inches. Further inland, except on the mountain slopes, the rainfall is much less, and the range

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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out by the hunter, who, however, keeps the skin, sinews, etc., for himself. 224

The Cape Bushmen occasionally dressed themselves up in the skin of an animal or in the feathers of an ostrich in order to approach the game unsuspected. A kind of saddle made of grass in which were stuck ostrich feathers was placed on the shoulders, while a long stick with the head curved to look like an ostrich was carried in the hand. The hunter by imitating the motions of the bird feeding, running or preening its feathers contrived to get as close to the flock as possible, always moving up wind, before discharging his poisoned arrow. In a well-known rock painting from Herschel reproduced by Stow[1] there is portrayed such a scene, in which the hunter is shown under the feathers of an ostrich, cautiously approaching, with poised arrow, a number of real ostriches who are feeding peacefully close by. Similar disguises are employed by the Namib Bushmen, but appear to be generally unknown among the tribes further north, although the ostrich disguise is reported by Dornan of the Hiechware and on hearsay by Kaufmann of the Auen. Various other ruses are known, however. Some men are very clever at imitating the calls of various birds and animals and by this means get quite close and thus secure their quarry. Again, "in the season when the young animals are not able to follow their dams, they are hidden by the mothers, who feed in the vicinity. The Bushmen having found where a young one is hidden, will go close up to it and imitate its cry. The mother, hearing the cry and thinking that some wild animal has attacked her calf, immediately rushes up to protect it, and is easily killed. Numbers of animals, more especially the smaller buck, are destroyed in this manner."[2]

223 825 [292] [532] [184] 224 825

Almost every Bushman village has also a large number of dogs which accompany their masters on the hunt.[3] These are the only domestic animals possessed by the Bushmen. They are lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half-starved and savage-tempered. They are quite silent on the spoor and never betray the presence of the hunters by barking, though they will snarl and sometimes bark if one approaches an encampment. "It is really wonderful," says Herbst, "with what courage these lean mongrels will tackle a leopard, a courage no doubt begotten of hunger and an absolute confidence in their masters, who, with their knobkerries, are never far behind so

224 [231]

[1] Stow, op. cit., pl. vii, facing p. 82.
[2] Dornan, op. cit., 305; cf. Kaufmann, op. cit., 146.
[3] Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 262–3; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Herbst, *Report on Riietfontein Area*, 6; Range, *Beiträge zur Landeskunde des Namalandes*, 73; Schultze, op. cit., 667; Dornan, op. cit., 103–4; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 16.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

224 soon as the dog has gripped his prey." Among the Naron these dogs are procured from BeChwana, Bergdama or white men in order [231] to hunt jackals, leopards, lynxes and other animals whose skins are [439] valued for making karosses. The skins so obtained are brought to the giver of the dog and bought by him at his own price for tobacco or trade goods, chiefly the former. The dogs are sometimes used by the people to catch hares and small buck for their larder, but are never taken out to hunt larger game.

In addition to these different methods of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons, the Bushmen employ various methods of trapping. Pitfalls are often made during the dry season in the path to a waterhole or along river banks, and covered with bushes. In the Central and Northern Kalahari these pits are about four yards long and deep, and not quite a yard wide. They are dug with the ordinary digging-stick in such a way that a small wall of earth is left standing in the middle, but not reaching to the surface. Large animals in attempting to escape out of the pit jump on to this partition wall, where they remain hopelessly suspended on their belly. Other pits of the same nature, especially among the Southern Bushmen, often have pointed stakes placed in the middle. They serve to catch big game animals, such as rhinoceros, which are then killed with the spear, and in particular those, like zebras and antelopes, which come down in herds to drink at the water. In former times, when there was a far greater abundance [136] of game, whole valleys were sometimes enclosed, and large numbers of men combined to drive a herd of game down from the heights into the trap in the valley. Galton describes one of the most remarkable works of this kind. "We passed a magnificent set of pitfalls which the Bushmen who live about these hills had made. The whole breadth of the valley was staked and bushed across. At intervals the fence was broken, and there broken deep pitfalls were made. [313] The strength and size of timber that was used gave me a great idea of Bushman industry, for every tree had to be burned down and carried away from the hills, and yet the scale of the undertaking would have excited astonishment in far more civilized nations. When a herd of animals was seen among the hills, the Bushmen drove them through this valley up to the fence; this was too high for them to jump, so that they were obliged to make for the gaps, and there they tumbled into the pitfalls."[1]

[1] *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*, 106; cf. Wikar, "Berigt aan den . . . Heer van Plettenberg," 88–9; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, I, 386–7; Chapman, op. cit., ii, 80–1; Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland und seine Bewohner," 695; *idem*, *Die Buschmänner*, 78–9.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

big game, especially wild horses and mules. There are in [224]
those parts wild horses and mules, both so beautifully bred
out by nature that no painter is skilful enough to paint 136
them true to life with all their colouring. The horses have
buttocks extraordinarily dappled, and over the rest of the
body are striped yellow, black, red and pure sky blue. The
mules are also striped, white and chestnut brown, but not
dappled, and are uncommonly beautiful.[39]) The Sonquas in 439
1662 brought the skin of one of these beasts to the Cape,
which our countrymen bartered from them for tobacco and
other things. It was then filled with straw and hung up for
show in the hall of the Fort, as something curious and
uncommon, which it also is, to be seen by the people of the
incoming ships.[40])

The meat of the rock-rabbits constitutes a pleasant food 262
for the Sonquas, who live principally on it and on certain
roots growing in the ground. They also keep many hunting 231
dogs,[40a]) trained to hunt the rock-rabbits which are their 224
principal food, and knowing how to drag these animals out
of their holes.

They are extremely great plunderers and marauders. 721
They steal from other Hottentots all the cattle they can get,
with which they then flee immediately to the mountains,
where they cannot be found in their retreats and hidden
caves by anybody, not even by other Hottentots.

Their huts, made only of branches twined together, 342
without woven mats, and covered solely with rushes, are
several thousand in number; for they move about from one 361
place to another, and never break up the huts, but erect
still others wherever they camp.

Their little cloaks are sewn together from the skins of 291
the wild oxen which live on the rocks. The women have a
quitazol or sunshade of ostrich feathers, tied on and about
the head, to protect themselves from the heat and burning
of the sun's piercing rays.

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had shot a wild horse below the mane in the neck. This horse was 136
very beautifully gray dappled over its whole body, except behind
from the back over the buttocks and along the legs which were
flame-coloured, with white, sky blue and reddish brown stripes,
wonderfully beautiful . . . It had small ears like a horse. The
stuffed heads and pieces of skin which the Hottentots sometimes
brought to us belong evidently to another sort, as they have
long ears, though extraordinarily, curiously and beautifully
flame-coloured in white and chestnut brown."

[40a]) Dogs were the only domestic animals kept by the Bushmen. 231
They were generally lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half starved
and savage tempered, but excellent assistants in the chase, for 224
which they were mainly employed.

[12 cont.]

843 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-
262 buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut.
[553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are
[177] performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:
[539] //am ≠haiba, //am ≠haiba (?)
[782] The leader answers:
!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower
422 form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 The gathering of veldkost does not have the great signifi-
[184] cance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already
[462] commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd
[657] a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main
[233] OCCUPATION.

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

101 Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a 142 satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical 144 type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included, and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland 197 would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non- 121 Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West 224 Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A 222 strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting 464 and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many 648 thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or 241 233 practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

114 A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by 197 the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963). He has demonstrated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

101 In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is [114] adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956). Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

162 working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in
131 Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield
464 as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen
648 of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life.
224 (Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated at 200.

161 This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of
162 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty
224 percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more
222 reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely
[114] that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

162 The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial
224 and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-
222 gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most
178 isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with
184 their European and Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of
[221] the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend
[648] part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent
[312] to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share
[464] their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the
[233] young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds on a contract basis.

000 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

621 seem more appropriate to use the non-committal term "camp" and discard the term "band".[1]

563 Apart from the fifteen independent camps, there were 122
162 !Kung Bushmen living with the Bantu. Thirteen Bush women were married to Bantu men.[2] Five of these women had borne a total of nine children who were being raised as members of their fathers' tribes and are therefore not enumerated in the Bushman census. Some of the women had brought members of their families to live at their husbands' kraals. Twenty-eight of the !Kung Bushmen were living with their Bantu in-laws. In all, the wives of Bantu and their kinsmen account for 39 of the 122 !Kung living with Bantu. There were no cases of a Bantu girl marrying a !Kung man.

648 Some families of Bushmen live with and work for Bantu
464 families. Five young married men were working as cattle
• 233 herders. They brought their wives and children to live with them. In addition, seven unmarried !Kung boys were working on cattle and were living in the compounds of their employers. Several old couples and a widower, who were temporarily not

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[1]This follows the lead of James Woodburn, who in his analysis of Hadza group structure (1964) discards the term "band".

[2]One of the thirteen had actually married a N/hai Bushman (the only non-!Kung Bushman in the Dobe area). This man was culturally identified with the Bantu.

648
464 attached to an independent camp were living with the Bantu.
[233] These working Bushmen, with their spouses and families,
[162] numbered 44 people.

The Batawana headman, Isak Utuhile, was the only one of the Bantu residents to maintain a staff of retainers and their families. This sort of benevolent feudalism is a common practice throughout the Tswana tribal areas of Bechuanaland (Schapera 1953:28; Tagart 1933) but, with this one exception,
[162] is absent in the Dobe area. The headman supports four assistants (including a uniformed Bushman police constable) and their families, a total of 13 people.

Finally there was an Ad Hoc grouping of 26 !Kung who lived at the kraal of Enamoharadi, a Herero woman at Mahopa. These people lacked a territorial nucleus and therefore could
[224] not be considered as an independent camp. Several !Kung
[222] women helped with the domestic duties but the majority chose
[262] to use Mahopa as a base of operations for hunting and gathering and to drink the milk of Enamoharadi's cattle when it was offered to them.

361 Except for the women who are married to Bantu, most of
648 the !Kung remain only temporarily in Bantu villages, for periods ranging from one month to two years. Also it was observed that most of the !Kung living with Bantu spent at least half the year hunting and gathering. Furthermore many

/140 cont./

I spoke with a number of elderly Auin about this, and they
266 were by no means indignant at the suggestion. Their reasoning was approximately the following: "Our parents never told us one should eat human flesh. If other old people were to enjoy it, then we could do it also."

In view of the low cultural level of the Bushmen, the absence of anthropophagy is, in my opinion, very striking.

D. Ornaments and Hairdressing

301 The following ornaments were observed.

Among men:

Neck ring, a thin wooden ring made from the so-called rosinkis bush and tied together to form a circle, decorated with lines scratched on it. Arm rings. Three to 20 simple braided rings (see Photos. 3 and 4). The iron beads probably come from
[439] the eastern Kaffir tribes. The rings are made from the web of a
[237] tree spider (Stegodyphus dumicola Pocock?). A number of strings are bunched together in a ball, and this is "noodled" with the flat of the hand on the upper thigh into strings of the approximate thickness of a knitting needle. The strings are then wound together in pairs and the ring is closed by "noodling together."

Rings around the wrists. The same rings as those worn on the upper arm. In addition, simple rings three to five millimeters wide, made of game leather, as well as individual rings made of
[439] iron or copper wire. The latter are said to have been bartered from Batauana.

Lower leg. Some men and women wear one or two leather rings directly below the knee on one or both legs. These leather rings are somewhat wider than the leather rings around the wrists (see Photos. 12 and 14).

Among women:

Head ornaments. Various combinations of chains of ostrich egg shells, as shown in Photograph 20. Sometimes only a piece of such a Molentza chain is braided into the hair of the forehead (see Photo. 36, woman dancing on the left). I also found this ornament on one man.

/142 cont./

527 ample food, they always "celebrate."

The tattoo artist receives no special fee; he is simply pro-
304 vided with food and shelter.

When the forehead tattoo is applied, the patient lies on his back with his head slightly raised. The skin of the forehead above the root of the nose is folded together and drawn up by a man using his thumbs and index fingers. The tattoo artist then makes the little transverse incisions in this fold of skin.

Among men, decorative scars take the place of a hunt record.
[224] For each piece of big game that a man has killed, he wears a horizontal decorative scar, on the right upper arm for male game and on the left upper arm for female game.
[858] Only boys, not men, have scars made for small game (duiker, ibex). Older successful hunters finally dispense altogether with having scars made, after they have enough of them to display.

These decorative scars are made in a manner similar to that used for the forehead tattoo. Sweat (blood) from the killed ani-
[237] mal is always rubbed into them, and usually also the green pigment. The hunting scars are made by any one of the older men. The length of the scars is approximately one-half to one centimeter, the breadth approximately one-quarter to one-half centimeter.

Decorative Scars (or Tattooing) among Women

Green decorative scars on the upper thigh and buttocks up to the waist are worn by all women. These scars can be seen in Photograph 14.

[887] The scars are made in the same way as the forehead tattoo, except that older women make them.

Further investigation was impossible since the Bushmen are very suspicious regarding their women. I am quite content to have succeeded in taking at least one photograph which illustrates these decorative scars tolerably well.

Men and women pierce their earlobes in precisely the same way as is customary among us.

Circumcision is not practiced.

According to statements of the Auin, the labia minora are sometimes clipped.

/144 cont./

411 quiver. Sometimes the arrows are in a special quiver made of
[237] eland horn or bark, which is closed off at both ends with a leather cover (see Photos. 29 and 32).

The Auin almost always carries in his quiver a small container like the arrow quiver of eland horn or bark just described, in which he keeps arrowheads, poison, and other small necessities for shooting.

The notched end of the arrow is pulled toward the chest when the bow is drawn.

714 The war cap is to be regarded as the sole battle ornament. It is made of aardwolf hide (see Photo. 21).

H. Hunting and Agriculture

224 Hunting is done both individually and in groups.

Hunting dogs are to be found in occasional, isolated instances,
[231] [439] but then they are usually obtained from the Kaffir or Betschuana. The Auin maintain, however, that they know how to train hunting dogs. Collars and the like are not customary.

/145/ [Fig. 8 appears here.]

[422] I was unable to discover whether marks of ownership are applied to weapons and the like. On the other hand, I noticed that people immediately recognize their possessions.

There are no closed seasons on hunting.

The Auin prepares a kind of dried meat. Pieces of meat of any
251 length and width are cut very thin (almost transparent) and are dried on trees in the sun. This dried mass, as hard as wood and inedible to a European, keeps for weeks during the dry season. There must be an almost unlimited surplus of meat available, how-
[264] ever, if the Auin is to decide to preserve some, since he is accustomed to stuff himself to the point of unconsciousness. I have seen a single Bushman, without any help, consume a fully grown Klipbok weighing about six kilograms.

224 Undoubtedly there are especially industrious and impassioned huntsmen, as well as the opposite. I found some people who were absolutely useless on the hunt.

[Text continues on page 25]

/146 cont./

224 pitfall is put on the trail. I have never seen larger pitfalls for big game in the Auin region.

The jumping hare is held fast in its burrow (not pulled out!) [171] and pressed against the end of it with the well-known angling [411] stick of the South Africans, which among the Auin displays no special characteristics. A vertical hole is then dug from above, and the animal is taken out.

Hyrax. The exits of the burrow are blocked and then an opening is made (that is, dug in from the top).

Leopards are hunted only when several keen dogs are available. The animal is then covered by the dogs and killed with spears by several Bushmen. Without dogs, the Bushman dispenses with this sport, which every expert will understand.

The cheetah is pursued on foot by several people until it is exhausted and then killed with clubs and spears.

Hyenas are not hunted. They are smoked out only when a brood with young animals has been found in a hole in the ground, and the asphyxiated animals are then dug out.

The aardwolf is suffocated in his burrow by smoke and then dug out.

The jackal is not hunted since the Bushman supposedly does not get it anyway.

The wild dog (Lycaon pictus) is not hunted. I believe that in case of an encounter between the two the Bushman himself would usually constitute the game.

In isolated cases the skin of an ostrich, with a stick placed [237] in the neck, is used as a mask. The hunter slips into the skin after he has colored his legs with chalky soil. This mask is used [223] for hunting ostriches as well as other types of game.

The Bushman is unable to make other masks since he cannot [281] soften the skins of larger animals without changing their natural appearance. At the same time, the Auin described other masks to me so accurately that I could not doubt that their manufacture and use was known to them.

The characteristic sound of the young springbok, duiker, and klipbok is imitated with the lips while the nose is held with the index and middle finger.

The frightened scream of the young gemsbok and wildebeest is likewise imitated.

/151 cont./

533 music than others. I have observed a man who played his musical bow in every spare moment.

Rhythmic hand clapping accompanies singing.

534 Dance rattles (guri) are made of the cocoons of a night
237 butterfly. These cocoons are strung on strings and dried. While the cocoons are still soft, little stones or pieces of ostrich egg shell are pressed into the inner cavity and the soft envelope is closed over them (see Photo. 39).

The rattles, when they are dried and hard, are strung and
535 fastened to the ankle. They are supposed to be used at all dances.

War dance (see Photos. 41 and 42).

The women sit or stand, clapping their hands and singing, while the men crouch or stand opposite them. One man slides out of the row on his knees toward the row of women and makes war-like gestures, as though he were evading an arrow, flinging a spear, etc.

One of the women thrusts out an arm and utters a brief, deep cry, thereby indicating that a spear has been thrown or an arrow shot. The man pretends he is wounded and screams. If he is "dead," he crawls back, and a new solo dancer takes his place. Women, too, are sometimes "dead" or "wounded."

Indecisive battles are indicated.

Here, too, there are very passionate dancers, both male and female, as well as those who have a special talent for mimicry.

The porcupine dance (see Photo. 40) is performed only by men. A number of men stand facing one another, stamp the ground rhythmically, and utter loud shouts. One of them is the "porcupine," which is beaten to death by another man or stabbed with a spear. Everything is indicated by motions.

Eland bull dance. I was unable to learn the nature of this dance, but apparently the rutting lust of the eland is imitated.

M. Means of Transportation

487 Bush paths are formed by the Bushmen on the main lines of traffic, for instance, from the settlement to water. When a
648 Bushman uses the pad (that is, the road of the Whites), he has an

/153 cont./

325 A jackal tail fastened to a stick is used to fan the fire.

[237] A hollow reed serves as a bellows, through which one blows with his mouth to fan the fire. Whether this actually suffices to bring the iron to a red heat, however, I am unable to say.

412 Two rocks take the place of hammer and anvil. Should iron tools, such as an ax or the like, happen to be available to the Auin, these are naturally preferred.

Two pieces of green wood roughly fastened together like pincers serve as tongs.

326 The smiths (only a few, usually older people know this trade) are respected, as is shown by the fact that they are "provided with food everywhere," which is apparently the way the Auin customarily express their special esteem. [Fig. 13 appears here.]

/154/ P. Political Conditions

721 The Auin, like all Bushmen, is very warlike. Every man and youth is a warrior and capable in the use of weapons.

[714] There is no declaration of war, but if a Bushman is wearing his cap of aardwolf hide, he is on the warpath (see Photo. 21).

Special training in the handling of weapons is unnecessary, since daily life forces the Auin to use his weapons constantly in hunting.

726 I myself have not witnessed any of their wars. A reliable Kaffir described an Auin campaign, in which he participated, as follows:

Several friendly settlements decided to join in an attack on another Auin settlement. They put on their war caps and after sundown marched off in the direction of the enemy. They halted in the vicinity of the enemy settlement and, without lighting a fire (this was during the cold season!), waited for morning. After sunrise, when it had become a little warmer, they surrounded the settlement and attacked it from all sides.

My informant related that the Auin had attacked with great determination and had primarily used the lance.

The attack was made with loud shrieks and cries; no special war cry was recognized.

[79 cont.]

224 water or Brak (salt) place and is prevented from turning off the track by thorn branches placed on either side of the worn track, steps on the little stick lying just below the ground, which moves it out of position and releases the end of the little transverse stick. The string, having lost its hold, releases the bent tree, which snapping back, tightens the noose around the leg of the game and holds the animal imprisoned until the Bushman brutally kills it with a number of blows of his kirri, which is carved out of hard
223 wood. For various kinds of fowl, doves, etc., the Bushman prepares similar slings with thinner string, which are set up in the same way except that the sling is not placed on the ground but is held two or three centimeters above the ground by means of little sticks planted in a circle. In the center of the circle, on a little stick loosely covered with sand, there are a few maize kernels or berries. When the bird picks them up, he moves the little stick out of position and finds his neck in the sling. -- As household
415 implements among the Kalahari Bushmen, in addition to the hollow
237 ostrich eggs used to carry water, I found water sacks made from the inner peritoneum of an animal, not unlike a pig's bladder; these water sacks are closed with a short stick and leather string.
[312] The ostrich eggs also serve the Bushmen as artificial watering places in the dry stretches of the water-poor steppe regions, in which a number of them are hidden under the sand.

415 "Among the other household utensils of the Bushmen, I also found flat, wooden vessels, wooden mortars, and earthen pots of various sizes. The wooden vessels, which are completely different from those of the Herero, are, according to their own state-
[439] ments, obtained in trade from their northern neighbors. The earthen pots likewise are not made by the Bushmen themselves. In form they are somewhat reminiscent of the wooden Omeira pots of the Herero and, as a Herero half-breed declared and demon-
000 strated to me, are manufactured in the following manner. A lump of soft and thoroughly kneaded clay is spread out over the naked, moistened knee, so that first of all it assumes the form of the knee. The calf of the leg must be pressed to the thigh in order to obtain the correct shape. Then the clay is carefully taken off, and the shape of the vessel is improved and perfected by kneading it with the fingers. Finally simple decorations are scratched into it with a

184 Kalahari only insect poison is used, and further north and
278 north-west only plant poison.

224 All tribes observe certain customary practices in connection
[187] with the hunting of animals with bow and arrow. These vary considerably among the different tribes. The following is an account of the practice as met with among the *Hei-||om*. After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *||gāus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals. The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is skinned by the men.
252 The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the purpose, is cut into
[237] sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then removed to the *||gāus* by the men who may occasionally be assisted by the women. On arrival at the *||gāus* all the meat is laid on the ground under the *!hei̇s* either on sticks which were used in carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib*
224 (chief) now comes forward and if he finds that the *!hei-|ais*
622 (fire under the tree) has gone out he returns to his hut, brings
252 fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the meat in the meantime being hung on the *!hei̇s* (tree in centre of camp). After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men—the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and "tastes" (tsũ-tsũ) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as *≠koms*.

224 All meat killed with bow and arrow is *so.ra* and may not
262 be partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, however, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *so.ra* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *so.ra*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *so.ra* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly 252
disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin
tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups [237]
use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roast-
ed plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or
porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on
a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of 264
wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make 415
wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or
tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some 184
purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except 262
by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it
comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are
generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild
Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the
case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not
suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and
eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco 237
pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game
on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups,
bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The *|Nu-||ĕin* [184]
and *||Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the
ǂAo-||ĕin and other tribes living to the north. Articles [438]
made by the former form an important medium of exchange.
The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows
and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it [482]
also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari
groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft
and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich
and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into
knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into
spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during
the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required
for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large [415]
animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for
collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich egg-
shells are used for carrying and storing water and for the [301
manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time 438]
form the most important article of barter among the *|Nu-||ĕin*, *Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-||om*. Among the most [184
northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red [278]
ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omura* tree, are the 438]
principal media of exchange.

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit 121
me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious
beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive
communities are surrounded.

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, 142
and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff [481]
with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the
men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and
consequently they often seem younger than they are. They [194]
are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man 291
wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather
apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole
animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at [854
the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride, 482]
and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which [415
are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people; 237]
they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though [515
they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair 302]
breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped
close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell
beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny [301]
bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear
leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several 609
months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find
them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe
that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the
grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and [342]
made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right 609
into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and 621
didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass until I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned, all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 Gai on the hood to point the way. From his higher position he noticed the long horns of a gemsbok in the grass and he signaled for the jeep to stop. Then he, John, and Theunis, taking a rifle, slipped out of the jeep and ran off after it, bent over and crouched so low that only their backs showed, as the backs of animals would, gliding above the grass. The gemsbok saw them and ran away toward a patch of heavy bush in the plain, the great V of horns a crown over its head. The men ran after, standing now, and in an hour they came back to where Ukwane and I were waiting, lying on our stomachs under the jeep to be in shade, saying that they had killed it. We drove to the spot where the gemsbok, a female, lay and brought her with us, a present to offer the other Bushmen.

361 We drove for several hours and at last we came to a wide plain, grown over heavily with small trees of slender trunks, with a few short branches sprouting leaves, like fence posts. Gai directed us to one of the smaller trees in the center of the plain and told us to stop. He climbed down and looked [237 276] around over the veld, then bent and picked up a small pipe, a piece of the leg bone of an antelope. He asked us for a match, lit his pipe, and smoked it.

At last we noticed on the other side of the tree two shallow depressions scooped in the sand and lined with grass, like [513] the shallow, scooped nests of shore birds on a beach—the homes of the families, where the people could lie curled up [132] just below the surface of the plain to let the cold night wind which blows across the veld pass over them.

Other than the depressions, except for a small pile of brown, twisted bean shells, no sign would show that people lived there. Later we saw another scooped pit and a stick thrust upright in the ground beside it, right at our feet, which [423] was Gai's place; the stick was to mark the spot, although Gai

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

her hind leg raised, looking wild with her cocoa-colored mane 224
that stood stiff and straight along the bowed crest of her neck, wild with her great horns sharp enough to prick your finger, and her pale, half-open eyes.

Gai squatted beside her and began to stroke her udder. He 224
squeezed a teat and milk squirted into his palm, and as he 272
licked it off, Ukwane squatted beside him. The gemsbok was big enough for both men to squat at her udder milking, Ukwane under her lifted thigh. I was told that when the men had first followed her, they had come upon a gemsbok calf wedged high up in the fork of a tree. A leopard had killed it and left it there, and as the men tried to climb the tree to pull it down, robbing the leopard, the mother gemsbok had reappeared and challenged them, so they had killed her instead. That is why her udder was filled with milk. Her beige hide, we noticed, had been raked by the leopard's claws.

Almost everyone came by with a palm outstretched for a squirt of milk. Ukwane called for me to come, too, and, stroking the milk veins in her udder the way one does when milking a cow, he milked a white stream into my palm which I licked away. The milk was strong and rank and gamy, not at all like the mild, sweet-tasting milk of cows. It smelled like the intestines, too, perhaps because the animal was dead, perhaps because the odor of intestines and the milk both came from the strong, harsh grass of the country. Yet it was liquid, and the Bushmen milked her dry.

Afterward, Gai and Ukwane butchered her, Gai preparing 224
himself by casually sharpening his knife on her narrow, heart- 237
shaped hoof. Always working so that her wounded side was up, they cut her skin free, not spilling a drop of blood. Near the carcass they dug a shallow pit, which they lined with the skin, hair side down, and as blood would well up into the cuts they made butchering, they would collect it and place it in

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

224 this bowl. The carcass itself, now red and pink and white,
237 they rolled onto a bed of leaves and branches to keep it clean and cut off the front and hind legs of the upper side, forming a bowl of the carcass so that no liquid would escape. They pulled out the intestine, cleaning each length carefully, first squeezing out all fecal matter, then turning the intestine inside out over a stick and scraping it clean. A lot of liquid ran from the intestines, which was saved with the blood in the bowl of the body.

224 Next, the two men removed the rumen, the first stomach
237
272 of ruminant animals, where the grass they bolt hurriedly is kept in quantities to be coughed up and chewed thoroughly when the animal is lying in the shade. Ukwane lifted the rumen out carefully, like a great water sack that might burst suddenly, and hurried with it to the pit lined with the skin. There he slit it and water gushed out, every drop saved by the skin. Ukwane and Gai removed handfuls of the contents, a yellow, pulpy mass of partially digested grass, and they squeezed each handful dry into bowls, tsama-melon rinds, and ostrich-egg water-containers that the women had brought forward. They did not mind two great white worms that were discovered living in the rumen, for as soon as enough water was collected, the people all had a long, satisfying drink. Some was pressed on me by Tsetchwe; I could not bring myself to drink it, but I did taste it and found that it was not too unpleasant, although it also tasted strongly as intestines smell. It was fresh, however, it was only the liquid from grass, and I thought that if I had no other water I too could drink the water of rumen.

Also, the people drank the blood, scooping it out in handfuls to their faces. Soon they were stained with it; the three old women looked very savage, and Gishe, our interpreter,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

asked Ukwane for some, which Ukwane gave him. Gishe said: 224
"I have been living among Europeans for a long time, but I 237 272
remember now who I am."

From the body of that gemsbok the Bushmen bailed out 251
several bucketfuls of liquid, enough to supply them for almost a week. They cut the meat into strips which they would dry in the sun and use as they needed them, also enough for a week or perhaps even longer, as there were only a few people and the gemsbok was almost as big as a cow.

Tsetchwe had built a tiny fire beneath a tsama melon, an 252
empty melon with the top cut away, and when she received [224
her share of the meat—for any animal is divided at once by a 422]
rigid system of rules, some meat given to each person rather than kept as a communal supply or portioned to families—she cut a small piece and stuffed it into the melon, where melon juice, heated through the rind, was boiling now. It cooked like meat in a stew, and when it was done Tsetchwe emptied the melon into a bowl, fanned it to cool it, and then 264
ate some, putting a strip of meat into her mouth and hacking off a bite with her husband's knife. She was ravenously hungry and she ate almost all, while her baby, lying in her [253]
lap, nursed from her breast. The last piece she saved for him; she put one end of it into his mouth and, as he bit down, flashed the great knife under his nose to cut him a small enough morsel.

The gemsbok had vanished. All that remained from the 224
butchering was the pile of squeezed, dry grass from the ru- 422
men and a few lumps of feces that the redheaded flies buzzed over. The meat, bones, head, hide, and brushlike tail all now [237]
belonged to people, and all the people had carried their portions away. Gai owned two hind legs and a front leg, Tsetchwe had meat from the back, Ukwane had the other front

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

"Walks-Before-the-Sun," was just starting its journey across 821
the sky. This planet, which we call the morning star and which is a different one from time to time, rises just before the sun and walks all day across the sky looking for shade. Every day, say Bushmen, the sun overtakes it and scorches it, and though people walking can cut branches from trees to [293]
put up over their heads as parasols, the poor star finds no branches in the sky.

Over the moon the Firewood Star was sinking too. This is a real star, the star by which the Bushmen, when they see it rising, can tell if they have enough firewood to last the night.

When the sun was up, when the moon and all the stars 281
were gone, we went as usual to the werf, where we found 237
Ukwane curing fox skins with urine, the only liquid he had. It was not fresh urine either; it was rank, saved for days by all the people, collected in tsama rinds. We had noticed a stench, but we had not known what it was. To be certain, we asked Ukwane, and he said: "Water."

"What water?" we asked, knowing there was none.

"The water that all the people in the Kalahari have to use."

"Is it urine?"

"Yes, it is," he said.

The skins were from five Delalandes or long-eared foxes which Ukwane had snared three seasons ago. He had stretched and scraped the skins but had not cured them because until now he had not had the time. A few days ago he had told his people to begin saving urine so that he could cure and soften the hides. They had, and he now poured urine onto each skin, letting it soak, then rubbed the skin hard between his hands. He repeated this process again and again, 281
working one skin at a time, and before long the skins were moist all through, and when they were dry they were as soft as chamois. Ukwane said that he was going to trade the soft

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

825 mash the insides, then pull off the head and squeeze the in-
278 sides out like toothpaste from a tube. Both kinds of poison are equally good, they say.

Perhaps the two types of pupae are the pupae of two different kinds of beetles. Perhaps they are from the same beetle but in different stages of development. Perhaps they really are males and females, as Bushmen are often scientifically
[821] accurate, but, as Bushmen also have male and female rain clouds, perhaps not.

[439] Kung Bushmen, who use metal arrows obtained by trading
824 animal skins for wire with the Bantus, have a complicated
825 system of poisoning in which they use several ingredients for
278 the poison paste. One of these is a binding fluid, used because the pure poison squeezed from the grub will not adhere well to metal but must be made binding and sticky. The binding material comes from the bark of a tree. They chew
[415 the bark thoroughly and spit the mash into a little mortar
237] made from the knee bone of an antelope, a nice little cup, into which the Bushmen have squeezed the milky juice of sansevieria plants, got by wringing the heavy, thick leaves. This juice has an irritating effect when it is dissolved in a wound and causes the antelope to rub and scratch its wounded spot against a tree, which stimulates circulation in the area, which carries the poison more quickly through the body, which hastens death.

The paste in the mortar is thoroughly mixed, then smeared with a straw on the foreshaft of arrows, never on the head, for if the sharp edges of the head were poisoned any child might accidentally nick himself and die. When the arrow is poisoned it is propped up by a fire and the poison is allowed to dry into a shiny dark paste, to be melted again by the
411 moisture and warmth of an antelope's flank.
825
278 Gai had stored his poison cocoons in a tiny bag inside his

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

On the way a moving shadow caught our attention, and we looked up to see a white-breasted, black-winged vulture sailing not far above our heads, not stirring himself but riding the drafts and currents of the air. He was looking at us with hard eyes, his red face turned to look down, and suddenly he closed his great wings under his body, sweeping them down so far that the long wing feathers brushed together four feet under his belly. Then his wings swept up again and bore him on. I had never seen a vulture do that before. He did it only once, then made a circle all around us, looking down at us, his eyes cool in their red wrinkles; he rose higher and higher and soon he was gone. All over Africa the sky is full of vultures, but so high that you can seldom see them; any time you look up with binoculars, however, you will probably be able to see one sailing, waiting up there for a disaster.

We were going particularly to look for *bi*, a fibrous, watery root that is the mainstay of the Bushmen's diet during the hot season when the melons are gone. From the end of August, when the spring begins, the heat increases in intensity until December and January, when the rains come, relieving the drought. During this hot, dry season the sand reflects the sun until the air all over the veld shudders and dances, until human beings and animals alike gasp for air and water. This is the hardest season of all for the Bushmen, yet most of them remain alive by going into the veld early in the morning in the cooler light of dawn to gather bi. The bi they find is brought back to the werf before the sun is hot; it is scraped, and the scrapings are squeezed dry. The people drink the juice they squeeze. Then they dig shallow pits like graves for themselves in the shade. They urinate on the bi scrapings and line the pits with the now moist pulp, then lie in the pits and spend the day letting the moisture evaporating from the urine preserve the moisture in their bodies. They lie still all day and at dusk go into the veld again to gather food, perhaps a few

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

The old man who had never shot a buck, who had never married, now almost blind, too thin, and without people.

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291
516
589
888

Tu made Noma clothes of ostrich-eggshell beads, an art taught to Bushmen by the gemsbok people.

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301
302
237

[p. 176 (G)]

MEAT FROM THE CHASE is shared by all among the band. An old woman, *below*, is skinning her portion of an ostrich.

224
182

[621
262
578]

237

become both the measure of a man's ability and a test of his readiness to marry. Part of the explanation may come from the passion in hunting. Like their fires, the tales of hunting burn brightly for the !Kung in the night, warming their memories. Of equal or greater significance is the !Kung craving for meat and undoubtedly for protein. Unlike the sharing of *veldkos*, limited to the nuclear family, a complex system of distribution insures that everyone in the *werft* will get a share of all game killed. This is done, they say, simply to prevent jealousy and the inevitable renunciations that go with it. The !Kung declare "We are a jealous people" and they try to keep jealousy at a minimum, for they fear it.

Still another aspect of hunting—perhaps the most important in terms of subsistence—is the by-products it provides. Sinew is used for thongs

[p. 56]

237 and bowstrings, horn makes spoons and small containers: most needed of all are the skins—converted into bags and nets for carrying, and into clothes. Men wear only a breech-clout. Women wear modesty aprons, often one in front and one behind, as well as a piece of soft skin, clasped between their buttocks and thighs, when menstruating. Both men and women wear *kaross*'s. The *kaross*, or skin cloak, is the most important garment and everyone tries to have one. If a man has only one *kaross*, and he is a good man, he will give it to his wife and do without—for, to a woman, a *kaross* is essential. In it, she is modest. In it, she carries the roots she has gathered in the day and the baby who must go where she goes. Her *kaross* is her warmth at night, her softness on the cold ground. It breaks the blind wind and roofs away the narrow rain.

291
281
[841]
[482]

[p. 57]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

577 685 The /Kung stole nothing from us. Even when we went away on trips, leaving several bands of /Kung settled around our camp site, we left our supplies and equipment unlocked in the open or in our tents with confidence that nothing would be stolen. Things that we lost or forgot in the werf were returned to us, even two cigarettes in a crumpled package.

Stealing without being discovered is practically impossible in /Kung life because the /Kung know everybody's footprints and every object. Respect for ownership is strong. But, apart from that, /Ti/kay said, 'Stealing would cause nothing but trouble. It might cause fighting.' [578]

Conclusion

578 During seventeen and a half months when I lived with the Nyae Nyae /Kung at Gautscha (with Bands 1 and 2 and many visitors—usually about sixty to seventy-five persons), I personally saw four flare-ups of discord and heard of three others which occurred in neighbouring bands during that period. All were resolved before they became serious quarrels. Of the seven, four were flare-ups of sexual jealousy. One was 'the talk' about Khuan//a's gift. Two were very minor disagreements about going somewhere, when Gao Beard's frustrated young wife hit him on the head with her digging-stick and when /Ti/kay gave his brother a shove for refusing to accompany him. None were about food. We considered, judging from that sample, that the /Kung managed very well to keep tensions from turning into hostility, to avoid arousing jealousy and ill will, to cohere, and to achieve the comfort and security which they so desire in human relations.

APPENDIX

!Kung Bushman Artifacts

ANIMAL MATERIALS

Hides

281 462 *Made and used by men*

- breech clouts
- oracle disks
- head-dresses (a few, worn in dances) [337]
- caps (a few) [534]

Made by men, used by women

- genital aprons [321]
- small karosses worn around buttocks or for carrying babies

Made by men, used by all

- karosses
- bags (sewn)
- bags of whole skins
- tobacco pouches of scrota
- bracelets, armbands, knee and ankle bands [337]
- necklaces
- thongs

Cocoons

Made by men

- dance rattles

Bone

Made and used by men

- connecting parts for arrow-shafts
- arrow-points (few)
- dishes for mixing poison

Made and used by women

- fresh bone, pounded to powder, is used to clean and soften karosses

Birds' Nests

Used by men and women

- tobacco pouches (nests of the penduline tit, *Anthoscopus minutus*)

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Sinews

Made and used by men

bow-strings
wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison adheres well to sinew)
binding for hafts
snares

Made by men, used by all

strings for *//guashi* (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

fine rolled cord

Horn

Made and used by men

horns fitted with leather covers for carrying arrow-points
horns for cupping

Used by all

horns for pipes
horns for spoons

Shell

Made by men, used by all

ostrich egg-shell water-containers
tortoise-shell dippers
tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

ostrich egg-shell beads

Feathers

Used by boys on *jani* toys
Worn by all occasionally in hair

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

Wood

Made and used by men

bows
spear handles
axe or adze handles
knife handles
knife sheaths
spring-hare hook handles[1]
fire-making sticks
hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

digging sticks
carrying sticks
stirring sticks
mortars and pestles
bowls
spoons
fire scrapers
//guashi (musical instrument)
one-stringed violin
jani toys
beads

Made by women

frames for scherms

Fibres

(from *sansevieria*, aloe, */nua* tree roots, other roots)

Rolled by men and women

cord

Made and used by men

carrying-nets
snares

Made and used by all

ornaments

Grass

Made by men and women

stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-containers
ornaments

Made by women

scherms

Made by children

toys of grass folded and woven to suggest animals

Used by all for beds

[1] Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying. They carry only the hook around with them and whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or tsi, the men always ac-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

136 Order Coleoptera

Blister beetles 2 spp.

Click beetles 6 spp.

Dung beetle 3 spp.

Poisonous beetles 2 spp.

Other beetles 2 spp.

136 262 Insects do not play an important role in the diet. One species of antlion (determination pending) had an annual outbreak around the end of November. Tens of thousands pupate within a 36 hour period and the Bushmen eat them by the hundreds. In 1963, the outbreak occurred on November, 24, in 1964, on December 3.

Three different species of click beetle were eaten in March, 1964. These were considered a delicacy rather than a staple. The Bushmen said that certain grasshoppers and caterpillars were edible but they were not observed to eat them.

262 237 Honey is considered by all authors to be a major Bushman food (Bodenheimer 1951). It is curious therefore that it was rarely observed to be collected or eaten.

136 278 By far the most important insects for subsistence are the two[1] species of beetle used by the Bushmen for poisoning

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[1]Possibly as many as eight species of poison grub are used by the !Kung Bushmen! Koch (1958) collected five new species that the !Kung said were used for poisoning arrows. (See Shaw et al., 1963).

Manufacturing and repairing tools include:

[278] 17. poison-making kit; humeral cup, pestle, applicator

[415] 18. whet stones of basalt

[283] 19. wild cotton for polishing rope snares

These raw materials are also part of the man's kit:

[283] 1. sinew

2. twine of natural fibers

3. iron fencing wire

[278] 4. supply of poisonous grubs

[237] 5. bone chips for making arrow link shafts

[411] 6. grass stems for arrows

7. wood for bows, poles and spear shafts

224 411 The construction of the hunting arrow will illustrate the complexity of the weaponry. The arrow consists of a mainshaft about 13 inches in length made from the stem of the grass Phragmites communis (Story 1964:94). Into this is inserted a bone linkshaft about two inches long, carved from the humerus or femur of giraffe, kudu, or gemsbok. The linkshaft is joined to the metal arrowhead by a hollow sec-
[177] tion of grass stem one inch in length. The arrow head is commonly made from iron fencing wire. It consists of a stiff length of wire four to five inches long. The tip of the arrow is beaten into a small triangular blade one half inch from base to apex and five-sixteenths of an inch at the base.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

281 also have a larger apron behind, sometimes hanging from the shoulders,
291 more often tied round the waist, and almost meeting over or under the apron in front. In the north-east a leather loin-cloth drawn through a belt in the same way as that of the men, only somewhat longer, is often seen instead. A large kaross is also worn by the married women. This hangs from the right shoulder, passing under the left arm, and is tied again at the waist; it thus forms a convenient pouch, in which are carried the baby as well as supplies for the day, such as ostrich eggshells filled with water, edible roots and fruit, grass or firewood.

[854 Babies go naked, save for a trifling ornament, till they are about a
855] year old. The boys are then given a tiny belt with a semi-circular flap of leather in front, the girls a small apron decorated with leather tassels and beads. Their mother's kaross, however, continues to be
[862] their sole protection from the cold till they are weaned, when about three or four years old. The little girls then receive a tiny kaross hanging from the shoulders, the boys a small loin-cloth similar to that of the men. They do not wear a cloak of any kind till they are in their teens and are taken out to learn hunting.

301 All women and children and the younger men also wear ornaments.
237 Chief among these are ostrich egg-shell beads, the making of which is
171 one of the oldest Bushmen industries. Such beads, whole and in fragments, and at all stages of making, are found all over South Africa, from the kitchen-middens on the south coast as far north as the Okavango, where they form a standard article of barter between the Bushmen and their Bantu neighbours. They are made by the women. The eggshell is broken into small pieces which are softened in water and pierced with a small stone or iron borer. They are then threaded on to a strip of sinew and the rough edges chipped off with a horn. Soft bark fibre is next twisted between the beads, making the chain very taut, and the edges are finally rubbed smooth with a soft stone. The beads thus made are used as single chains or worked into more complicated ornaments. Bands of them are worn on the hair, sometimes encircling the whole head, more often tied to the hair on either side, while a long narrow strip may hang down the forehead or on to the neck behind. Necklaces and bracelets of these beads are also seen, and very long chains are fastened three or four times round the waist (Plate XI).

301 Besides these beads any other ornaments obtainable are worn by the women. These include arm and leg bands made of leather and bark strips or twisted from the tail hairs of a wildebeest or gnu, as

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

that among the Bushmen all game is shared out among the members of 114
the band. To what extent the same elaborate rules of division exist 224
in the other tribes is difficult to determine. The only other indication of similar practices is found in the texts obtained by Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen. Only a selection of these have so far been published, and the information contained in them is rather fragmentary. But it appears that women, for example, were not [262]
permitted to eat the meat of the shoulder blades, lest the men subsequently prove unsuccessful in hunting; that the man who shot the animal might not take part in cutting it up; and the bones which were left over had to be carefully put aside in certain special ways.[1] Obviously such usages hint at an elaborate procedure in regard to the cutting up, distribution, and treatment of the meat; and one can only regret that all the details relating to them have not yet been made available.

Narcotics

As narcotics the Bushmen use chiefly tobacco and dagga 276
(*Cannabis sativa*), the latter a herb with marked intoxicating effects. All grown-up people, and even small children, smoke tobacco when they can get it. They do not cultivate it themselves, although [249]
a few men among the Auen and the Naron are said to have made [177]
slight efforts to grow tobacco and dagga after the manner of their Bantu and Bergdama neighbours.[2] Almost all the tobacco used by the [439]
Bushmen is imported through trade or obtained by service with other peoples, and they are always extremely keen to acquire it.

In the north-west their pipes (Plate XI) are generally tubes of [324]
serpentine, some 3 inches long and rather wider at one end than at the other, which are cut and hollowed out with the iron spear point or with a knife, or even with a small stone drill. The hollow shin [237]
bones of small buck are also sometimes used, but nowadays the most prevalent form of pipe is an empty cartridge-case! Pipes consisting [177]
of an antelope horn were largely used by the Cape Bushmen. Near [321]
the point of the horn was made a hole, into which was inserted a reed tube, and on top of this was fitted an elongated clay bowl to hold the tobacco. When these pipes were used, some water was put into the horn, the mouth applied to the large orifice of the horn, and the

[1] Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 271 sqq.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 18; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

222 way private rights can be indicated over honey in a nest, or by a woman
422 who has located a spot with a specially abundant supply of veldkos. Whoever removes anything from such places is regarded as a thief.[1] It must be emphasized, however, that rights of this nature are only
[423] acquired by chance, and that apart from them there appears to be no restriction at all upon the free exploitation of the hunting territory and all its resources by any member of the band.

Hunting

224 Once they have passed through the puberty ceremonies, boys and
[883] girls participate in the full economic life of the band. All the men
[462] are hunters, and spend the greater part of their daily life in pursuing or ensnaring game. Their methods of hunting vary with the nature of the intended prey, and according to the season of the year.

Weapons

The principal method is by means of pursuit and the use of weapons.
411 The latter amongst all the Bushmen consist primarily of the bow and arrow.[2] The bows are small, and on the whole fairly crude and of simple make (Plate IXd). They are as a rule prepared from the wood
[824] of the *Grewia flava*, a thin length of which is cut and roughly shaped is such a way as to taper gradually almost to a point at the ends. The
[283] string is made either from two thin sinews twisted together or some-
[237] times, among the Northern tribes, from wood fibre worked into a
[284] strong cord. It is attached by a simple slip-knot and wound tightly several times round the basal end of the bow-stave, to which a small leather collar or sinew band is usually fixed to prevent the string from slipping when hitched over it. The stave is then bent and the string knotted to the other end, where it is kept in place by a leather band. The bow is kept permanently strung. Its stave is frequently strengthened with additional sinew bindings, especially round the centre, which prevent it from splitting and also form a convenient grip for the hand.

The arrows are complex in structure and vary considerably in

[1] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 120; *idem*, in *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, ix (1896), p. xvii; Vialls, "The Masarwa," 32; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.

[2] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), 113–17; cf. Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 68–71; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4; van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements," 80–5; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 94–6, 99–100.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

detail. The simplest type has an unfeathered main shaft of hollow reed about fifteen inches long, notched at one end to receive the bowstring, and a head about six inches long (Plate IXf). The latter is made of either wood or a fragment of bone split off from the tibia of an ostrich, and is inserted into the hollow of the shaft. At the connection there is a binding of sinew round the end of the shaft, which prevents it from splitting and also keeps the head in place. The projecting end of the head is pared down to serve as a point. In many arrows of this type is found a small piece of quill neatly fastened in place with a binding of sinew about an inch and a half from the point so as to act as a barb. All this portion of the head is carefully smeared over with poison. 411 237

A modification of this type resulting in a foreshaft is often seen. The head is not pointed, but is cut off square and notched about three inches from its junction with the main shaft. Into the notch is inserted and gummed down a small triangular point of flaked stone such as agate or chalcedony; in more recent times, since iron and then glass have become available, these are generally found used instead (Plate IXa, e). 411 [324] [177]

Still a further modification is seen in the remarkably ingenious type of arrow which, with a few minor variations in detail, is found widespread among almost all the Bushman tribes (Plate IXc, g.). Its main shaft is also of reed, with a simple notch at one end to receive the bowstring. Into the hollow of the other end is inserted a foreshaft of bone or quill, occasionally of wood, varying in length from two to six inches, and kept in place by a tight binding of sinew round the end of the main shaft into which it fits. Its projecting end fits into what may be called a link shaft, also of reed, about an inch long. Finally into the other end of the link shaft is fitted the point of the arrow, about four inches long and generally barbed. The whole link shaft is completely bound over with sinew. The point is made either of bone or of iron; bone is found mainly in the southern arrows, but is not restricted to them, while iron is a later introduction now used by all the Bushmen wherever obtainable. The whole point, together with the sinew binding on the link shaft keeping it in place, is coated over with poison.

Some of the North-Western tribes (Naron, Auen, Kung) also have another type of arrow, with a reversible head of bone (Plate IXb, d). This is pared to a sharp point at one end, and rounded off at the other. For safety in carrying, the pointed end, which is the only one poisoned,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

222 622 [184] A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to [782] [539] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the [462] [857] women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be [415] plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre [237] or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 182 The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the [221] migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have [621] seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kõ-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

322 decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops
[412] for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-
[415] western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom,
[283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

824 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
285 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
[412] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

237 Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water,
[415] and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops,
[306] and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small
412 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell
324 beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or
[439] three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by
[326] barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.

178 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
324 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
[323] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
[237] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while
[415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

/147 cont./

241 Agriculture is unknown. Only accidentally grown food plants are known.

In order to promote the growth of the veld crop, the Bushman
222 burns off the grass. A Bergdamara with whom I rode across a
311 burning grass veld said to me: "The Bushman is making his garden."

462 Work of the men:

Hunting
Occasional veld crop gathering
Collecting wood
Fetching water
Preparing hides
Making clothes
Making weapons and mortars
Making strings
Making fire by twirling

Work of the women:

Hut construction
Cooking
Veld crop collecting
Maintaining the fire
Getting wood
Getting water
Making women's clothes

The only "agricultural implement" is a digging stick
412 (see Fig. 9).

For one who is not a botanist it is impossible to describe in
222 intelligible terms, even roughly, the numerous wild food plants of the Auin. The collection of specimens must take the place of a description. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to make such a collection.

For the person who is familiar with the Southwest African veld crops, I shall give a list of some food plants, which, however, is by no means exhaustive.

Tschamma
Spiny tschamma
Ontjes of the Boers
Water tubers
So-called "wild potatoes"

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope.

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

101 Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a 142 satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical 144 type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included, and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland 197 would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non- 121 Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West 224 Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A 222 464 strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting 648 and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many 241 thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or 233 practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

114 A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by 197 the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963). He has demonstrated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

101 [114] In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956). Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

551
553 the south to the Okavango River on the north. The !Kung name-relationship was first described by Lorna Marshall (1957:3ff) for the Bushmen at /Gauša Pan, South West Africa. It was found in 1964 that !Kung farm workers as far away as Gobabis, South West Africa, two hundred miles south of /Gauša, possessed the same repertoire of personal names, the same rules of name inheritance, and the same method for fictively linking unrelated individuals through the name relationship.

From the scanty evidence available on the Angola !Kung (Bleek 1928), it appears that the name relationship is not operative there. However, in Bechuanaland and South West Africa the presence of the institution is a reliable criterion for determining whether a Bushman is !Kung.[1]

101 There are three geographical divisions of the !Kung
131 Bushmen. The northern group, numbering about 4,000, live in
162 Angola and the far northern districts of South West Africa. The central group, numbering about 7,000, extend from the western margin of the Okavango Swamp in Bechuanaland as far as the farms of the Grootfontein district of South West Africa.
[241] The southern group (c. 2,000) are confined to the farms of the

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[1]Unpublished evidence on the southern ǂhũa Bushmen indicates that they possess a system of fictive kinship based on personal names, but the repertoire of names appears to be entirely different from that of the !Kung Bushmen (Heinz, Westphal, personal communications).

101 Ghanzi and Gobabis Districts and their immediate northern
131 hinterland. All three divisions speak mutually intelligible
162 dialects of !Kung but only the central and southern divisions
[241] have the institution of the name relationship.
[197]
[551]
[184] The northern division peoples call themselves "!kũ"
101 meaning "people" (Bleek, 1928:106) and many ethnographers have adopted this as the general appelation for the tribe. There has been a bewildering variety of spellings of this name[1] and it is urgent that one standard form be chosen. It is recommended that !Kung be adopted as the standard appelation for the tribe, following the lead of Fourie (1928:83) and Marshall (1957, 1959, 1960, 1962, etc.). This is not the most phonetically accurate of the alternatives, but the controversy over spelling is an academic one because the majority of the "!Kung" do not recognize this as their tribal appelation at all!

The central division "!Kung" call themselves "zũ/wãsi" (zũ = "people"; /wã = "proper" or "true"; si = plural suffix). This translates as "the proper people" or "the true people". It also has the connotation of "just folks" which Elizabeth Marshall Thomas has appropriately rendered as "The Harmless People" (1959). Bushmen of the study area objected to the

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[1] At least fourteen different spellings are in the literature including: Kung, !Kũ, !Kun, Qhung, //Khun, ≠Kũng, ʗhũ, !xũ, !Khũ, :un, !Kung.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

184 The northern !Kung of Angola and Ovamboland are closely
648 associated with Bantu agriculturalists. In 1925 Bleek ob-
222 served that "In contradistinction to the southern !Kũ the
241 women and children (i.e. of the Angola !Kung) are not col-
439 lectors of wild food. Once or twice a year when certain berries ripen, the whole tribe goes out berry picking; otherwise they live by hunting and bartering part of the meat and skins obtained for the agricultural produce of their neighbors...." (1928:108). Westphal visited the Angola !Kung in 1964 and confirmed Bleek's observations (Westphal personal communication).

184 The southern division of !Kung work on the European
221 farms in the Ghanzi and Gobabis districts. Many of them
464 spend the summer months in the veld, hunting and gathering,
648 but return each year to winter on the farms (Silberbauer n.d.).

Among the central division of !Kung are found Bantu-associated peoples, farm laborers, and independent traditional hunters and gatherers. In the Grootfontein district of South West Africa several thousand central !Kung are working
131 on European farms. Along the Okavango river for 500 miles
184 of its length from Cuangar in the northwest to Sehitwa on
648 Lake Ngami, some further thousands of central !Kung live with, and work for, the Bantu of the following tribes:

175
648 The Bushman residents of Bechuanaland, however, were not immediately affected by these restrictions. They continued to hunt and gather on the South West side and to visit their kinsmen at localities in the Nyae Nyae area.

648 <u>The period of European presence, 1960-1965</u> - In 1960, the
177 South African Government put into operation its plan to civilize the !Kung Bushmen of the interior. A government station was set up at Tsumkwe where a borehole was sunk. Mr. C. V. McIntyre, the Bushman Affairs Commissioner, took up residence at Tsumkwe. The !Kung Bushmen from Nyae Nyae were
[241] ingathered and provided with rations of maize meal. After they had been settled around the borehole a program was initiated to teach them agriculture. Because of a series of drought years this program has not met with success.

[162] By 1964, over 800 !Kung Bushmen had been settled at Tsumkwe. Less than 50 of these people had come from the
[178] Bechuanaland side. It is not clear why the Bechuanaland
[162] !Kung have not participated in this program to a greater
[224] extent, but the fact remains that over 350 !Kung continue to
[222] hunt and gather in the Dobe area and seem to indicate no intention of moving to Tsumkwe.[1]

648 The latest development in the political situation in

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[1]Some B.P. Bushmen insist that they were refused permission to live at Tsumkwe. Others say they fear to go there.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

224 returning to the camp, sleep under the central tree and avoid sexual intercourse with his wife, lest the poison prove ineffective and the animal escape. The meat of an animal killed by a dog may not be [841] eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating; this is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. Any want of success is generally attributed to some chance accident; for example, a man who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife was menstruating will not hunt again while she is in that condition, nor will she eat any of the *ǂnoe-di* at such times.[1]

These practices and beliefs obviously represent only a small portion of what must be an elaborate series of usages relating to hunting, but they suffice to indicate how the Bushmen, fully aware of the uncertainty attendant upon their efforts, seek to relieve their apprehensions and to obtain confidence by the aid of magic and taboo.

Collecting

224 Hunting in the old days was unquestionably the principal source
136 of subsistence in Bushman life. But with the decrease of the game
648 in their region and with the enforcement against them of the game
222 laws framed by the white man, its importance is diminishing, and at the present time the Bushmen depend very largely for the means of existence on the wild vegetable foods growing in the veld.

[241] Agriculture in any form is altogether unknown to them in their
222 traditional mode of life. The nearest they have got to it is found
224 in the practice observed by the North-Western tribes of burning the
311 veld at the end of the dry season.[2] This, it is said, is done primarily in order that the edible bulbs, roots, etc., should come up better during the approaching rainy season. It is also used, however, as a means of hunting, for the men spread round the fire in a semicircle and drive all the game rushing from it before them in a certain direction where some hunters are lying in wait; moreover, the new grass growing soon after the burning attracts the game, which returns to the area, and thus makes it good hunting ground. Incidentally the burning serves to kill off snakes, scorpions, and other noxious creatures. Men may only [423] burn in their own territory; to do so across the border, or to gather wood where others have burned, is a great offence. In former times, [622] among the Naron, the chiefs are said to have regulated the burning;

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 102.
[2] Jodika, "Reise nach dem Okavango," *D. KolBl.*, xiii (1902), 491; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147, 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 17.

X137 *Citrullus vulgaris* Schrad. (4937, 4999) Photograph 57.

!h5: Bushman.....	dam
!ganakwe Bushman...	n|an
|gikwe Bushman.....	n|an
Naron Bushman.....	n|a-ǂ
Eastern !khû Bushman	-t'a-ma

This plant, one of the melons and commonly known as the tsama, has stout six-foot vines half an inch in diameter at the base and a quarter of an inch at the tip. They are covered rather densely with light brown hairs, which turn white and stiff with age. The vines are usually prostrate, but occasionally festoon themselves over grasses and low shrubs with the help of small Y-shaped tendrils, curly at the tips. The leaves are borne on two-inch stalks and are hairy on the ribs, dull green, rough to the touch and deeply lobed. Each plant produces male and female flowers. They are an inch in diameter and pale yellow, and the fruits which follow are rounded and up to six inches in diameter and six and a half pounds in weight. As many as 34, of all sizes, have been counted on one plant. The rind, densely hairy when young but later quite smooth, is dark green mottled longitudinally with light green, and contains a crisp, juicy, tasteless white flesh in which numerous flattened brown seeds are embedded. The melons can endure heavy frosts without becoming spoilt, but the rest of the plant is very susceptible. The frosts, however, merely hastens its death for it is in any case an annual.

This melon is indigenous to south-west Asia and the warm dry regions throughout Africa. The water-melon is merely an improved variety of the same species, which has been known in Egypt and Babylonia since the beginning of history (Marloth, 1913-1925: III: II: 205). The tsama was widespread but patchy along the route of the expedition, and areas of abundant melon alternated with long stretches where it was not seen. It was not confined to the sand but grew also on the hard soil of the pans.

262 312 824 [184] [244] The tsama is unquestionably the most important plant to the Bushmen in this part of the Kalahari. They are known to use it as their sole source of water for months on end and it is extremely doubtful whether they would be able to live permanently in the Kalahari without it. Its importance is shown by the fact that one group of Bushmen in the central Kalahari had a small patch of tsama which they had grown from seed, and the Bushmen are not as a rule agriculturalists. Nevertheless, the tsama is not an infallible standby, for the reasons given in the discussion on *Citrullus naudinianus*, and when the need arises the Bushmen can and must substitute more meagre but at the same time more reliable sources of water, for example from *Sansevieria scabrifolia*. When it is used for drinking-water 252 262 312 the melon is opened at the top like an egg and the central portion cut out and eaten. The rest of the pulp is then mashed inside the rind with a stick to a watery mass which is half drunk and half eaten, the pips being put aside and later roasted and pounded (without being peeled) to make an edible meal. The melons are sometimes roasted before being eaten, which adds a little flavour, and they may be cut up and mixed with meat to form a stew, which is conveniently cooked in the rind itself. Although no bitter specimens of the tsama were found along the route of the expedition, they do occur. Their flesh is poisonous and unfit for human consumption, but their seeds are free of poison and edible after roasting.

At some villages of Bakalahari (which are a Bantu tribe), the tsama is regularly cultivated. These and wild melons are collected and stored under shelter, and goats, horses, cattle and even dogs are kept with tsama as the main source of water. The livestock use the melon more economi-

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531

Fig. 11. Pipe Plug. One-half natural size
[as shown in the original].

An example of Auin decoration.

The design is scratched on the wood with a needle; the dots are pricked in.

a, hole for a string
a^1, side view
b b, long part
c, point
d, side view of the point

The Bushman second from the right in Photo. 1 is wearing the pipe plug around his neck.

276
439 The hemp is cultivated by the Kaffir in Oas, by the Betschuana in Chanse Veld, and probably also by White farmers. The Auin acquire it through barter.

The Auin maintain, furthermore, that they are capable of
249 growing hemp themselves. This "cultivation" is done in the following manner: in soft sandy soil a circular area, 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter, is surrounded by a little dam a few centimeters high. Using one finger, ten to 15 holes are made in the area surrounded by the dam, and a hemp seed is placed in each hole. The "seedbed" is then kept well under water.

/149 cont./

249 [177] [273] The Auin have copied this procedure[1] from the Bergdamara of Oas.

The process of fermentation is unknown.

[1] [i.e., of growing hemp.-Analyst]

K. Toys, Games, Sport

524 Little bows and arrows serve as children's toys.

A Chinese puzzle game is played by young and old, men and women alike. I have chosen the above designation because of the nature of the game.

The partners sit opposite each other in a crouch.

Both tap their thighs with both hands in rhythmic alternation and at the same time murmur meaningless inarticulate sounds.

One partner then suddenly extends his right or left hand toward the other or makes some other kind of motion with his hand. The point, now, is that the opponent must immediately extend the same hand or respond to the given motion with a similar one; in short, he must not allow himself to be confused. [Fig. 11 appears here.]

If, for instance, the opponent motions with the wrong hand or makes any other mistake, his partner very briefly signals his advantage by making a throwing motion with his hand or by striking his right index finger on his left fist (intended to signify: "I am breaking his, that is, the opponent's, head in two"). The game is not interrupted by these rapid signals.

/150/ The entire game is played at a fairly rapid speed.

Sometimes several men sit across from one another and take turns in the matches. Even little boys take part in the game of the adults.

[171] The Herero and Bergdamara play a similar game. The Auin, however, maintain that it is an original Bushman game.

Prizes are not awarded. They play purely for the "glory."

525 Game of chance: this bears great resemblance to the Chinese puzzle game, except that the participants also tap the ground with their knees. The "killing," that is, defeat of the opponent, is indicated by a loud exclamation without interrupting the progress of the game. The stakes (for instance, tobacco, food)

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

that among the Bushmen all game is shared out among the members of the band. To what extent the same elaborate rules of division exist in the other tribes is difficult to determine. The only other indication of similar practices is found in the texts obtained by Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen. Only a selection of these have so far been published, and the information contained in them is rather fragmentary. But it appears that women, for example, were not permitted to eat the meat of the shoulder blades, lest the men subsequently prove unsuccessful in hunting; that the man who shot the animal might not take part in cutting it up; and the bones which were left over had to be carefully put aside in certain special ways.[1] Obviously such usages hint at an elaborate procedure in regard to the cutting up, distribution, and treatment of the meat; and one can only regret that all the details relating to them have not yet been made available.

114 224 [262]

Narcotics

As narcotics the Bushmen use chiefly tobacco and dagga (*Cannabis sativa*), the latter a herb with marked intoxicating effects. All grown-up people, and even small children, smoke tobacco when they can get it. They do not cultivate it themselves, although a few men among the Auen and the Naron are said to have made slight efforts to grow tobacco and dagga after the manner of their Bantu and Bergdama neighbours.[2] Almost all the tobacco used by the Bushmen is imported through trade or obtained by service with other peoples, and they are always extremely keen to acquire it.

276 [249] [177] [439]

In the north-west their pipes (Plate XI) are generally tubes of serpentine, some 3 inches long and rather wider at one end than at the other, which are cut and hollowed out with the iron spear point or with a knife, or even with a small stone drill. The hollow shin bones of small buck are also sometimes used, but nowadays the most prevalent form of pipe is an empty cartridge-case! Pipes consisting of an antelope horn were largely used by the Cape Bushmen. Near the point of the horn was made a hole, into which was inserted a reed tube, and on top of this was fitted an elongated clay bowl to hold the tobacco. When these pipes were used, some water was put into the horn, the mouth applied to the large orifice of the horn, and the

[324] [237] [177] [321]

[1] Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 271 sqq.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 18; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148–9.

/144 cont./

411 quiver. Sometimes the arrows are in a special quiver made of
[237] eland horn or bark, which is closed off at both ends with a leather cover (see Photos. 29 and 32).

The Auin almost always carries in his quiver a small container like the arrow quiver of eland horn or bark just described, in which he keeps arrowheads, poison, and other small necessities for shooting.

The notched end of the arrow is pulled toward the chest when the bow is drawn.

714 The war cap is to be regarded as the sole battle ornament. It is made of aardwolf hide (see Photo. 21).

H. Hunting and Agriculture

224 Hunting is done both individually and in groups.

Hunting dogs are to be found in occasional, isolated instances,
[231] but then they are usually obtained from the Kaffir or Betschuana.
[439] The Auin maintain, however, that they know how to train hunting dogs. Collars and the like are not customary.

/145/ [Fig. 8 appears here.]

[422] I was unable to discover whether marks of ownership are applied to weapons and the like. On the other hand, I noticed that people immediately recognize their possessions.

There are no closed seasons on hunting.

The Auin prepares a kind of dried meat. Pieces of meat of any
251 length and width are cut very thin (almost transparent) and are dried on trees in the sun. This dried mass, as hard as wood and inedible to a European, keeps for weeks during the dry season. There must be an almost unlimited surplus of meat available, how-
[264] ever, if the Auin is to decide to preserve some, since he is accustomed to stuff himself to the point of unconsciousness. I have seen a single Bushman, without any help, consume a fully grown Klipbok weighing about six kilograms.

224 Undoubtedly there are especially industrious and impassioned huntsmen, as well as the opposite. I found some people who were absolutely useless on the hunt.

[Text continues on page 25]

/147 cont./

222 Rosinkis of the Boers
So-called "wild cucumbers"
Mushrooms which grow on termite hills

● 251 [415] The veld crop that has been gathered is kept in the huts in little sacks made of duiker or ibex leather.

/148/ The Auin also stores small caches of provisions by burying sacks of veld crops; he likewise buries tschamma or ostrich egg shells filled with water. In the tops of large trees one often finds, aside from animal hides, provisions of veld crops which are kept there. [Fig. 9 appears here.]

423 Land is held in common, that is, it is the common property of a horde consisting of several families. The game in this territory, as well as the wood and the veld crops, is exclusively for the use of the members of the community that holds the land. The watering places that are to be found there are available for general use, but only if water is abundant. If water is scarce, the local group that holds the land has exclusive right to it.

361 423 621 The local groups sometimes live at considerable distances from one another so that the same land is used by several settlements. The settlements, after all, do not consist of a fixed number of families, but rather of those who are gathered together in fortuitous groupings as the occasion arises. Whatever the accidental composition of the settlements may be, their members always move within a definite area, and it is always the members of the same larger horde who form the settlements.

423 619 Friendly hordes permit tracking, that is, game that has been wounded on the land of one horde may be pursued on the territory of a friendly horde. A part of the booty is allotted to the "landowner" within whose territory the game is killed. A definite [685] agreement is required in each case since the Bushman attacks on sight any strange Bushman on his family's terrain.

628 Blood vengeance is not sought for a violation of territory if the local groups are especially friendly. The offender is driven off and, in addition, just as in Prussia, his "firearms" and booty are confiscated. The policing of the terrain is done by each Bushman on his communal land.

If women are caught trespassing, they are taken prisoner and [721] led to the settlement of the owners of the terrain. This frequently leads to war if the women are harmed sexually during their captivity.

[Text continues on page 32]

[12 cont.]

000 439 occupation. Even among the nomadic groups, however, meat, hides, and so forth are commonly traded for millet.

Also, the Blacks like to have veldkost on their table, [222] and the Bushmen, like our sponge and berry gatherers, use their knowledge to supply them and carry on petty trade with their veldkost, as well as with honey.

222 This is the reason that veldkost, which is either scarce 137 or not very tasty, is not gathered at all any more; indeed, the knowledge of its presence is even disappearing. We must also not forget that the black shepherd boys long ago acquired the knowledge of the Bushmen by observing them. As a result, the number of those interested has naturally climbed sharply, and the veldkost plants have become rare. The following kinds are still regularly gathered:

222 /airoba (ombimbo) Sweetish, very starchy tubers, like large potatoes.
/érui (omauunga) Galls on the leaves of the omsati tree.
≠gan-i (etarata) Small fruit.
!Khui-i (oombi) Dates.
!Korob-ke (oompali) Bulbs at the roots of a liana.

251 439 Dried meat is made from kudu flesh, which in part is kept and in part sold.

278 [13] Arrow poison is made from the sap of a tree (Euphorbiacea), !Khores-Ke. The Ondonga themselves make no [439] arrow poison, but buy it from the Bushmen for one to two sh per 752 portion. There is no medicine against arrow poison. Deep incisions are made at the place where the arrow entered, and after blood has flowed freely from the wound, it is sucked. In the case of snakebite the same procedure is followed, and some arrow poison is placed on the wound (!!!).

278 609 Our Bushmen denied any knowledge of poisons added to food. Only the "evil Bushmen" in the east had such knowledge, they claimed. This statement scarcely deserves credence.

177 In clothing, dwellings, and weapons, as well as ornaments, not much that is original remains. The process of Bantuization is much further advanced in the material culture than in the spiritual culture. It is, after all, easier to part with clothing than with ideas.

[62 cont.]

278 one person after another stepped up to the pan and threw his share of snake poison into it. Then the pan was removed from the fire.
[535] The Bushmen now performed a new dance, in which they imitated the convulsions of animals dying from the poison. After another half hour the poison was clear, and when everyone had convinced himself that it was the right color, a red mineral powder was added and thoroughly stirred into it. Then poisonous spiders were taken out of the reeds and thrown into the [63] pan. These came from the Langen Mountain in the Cape Colony, in other words, had been brought from afar. When the mass had thickened somewhat more, the arrows were smeared with it and dried in the shade (ibid., p. 380).

595 These Bushmen, the M'Kabba, are monogamists.

563 Farini maintains (ibid., p. 171) that he met a black Pygmy who came from the tribe of the Kara-Kara north of Amboland (1).

1. At the mission station Urikualuthi I was told by the missionary, Mrs. Quarni, who has made most meritorious contributions to investigations of the country, that shortly before the war a number of black Pygmies who lived in the swamps along the Kunene had come to Chief Moala. She saw these people.

252 Concerning the food of the Bushmen, Dornan has the following to report: The Marsawa [sic] eat meat either roasted or grilled, rarely boiled, because they believe that the latter will
251 make them sick. The Bushmen of Basutoland cut the meat into tiny pieces, mixed it with fat, and then sewed it into hide sacks as preserved meat. As reserves in case of famine, the Kalahari Bushmen keep giraffe skins on tall trees. Veldkost is stored in turtle shells and ostrich eggs, as is water. The Basutoland Bushmen gathered grass seeds and stored them for times of hunger.

252 The tsama are prepared in the following manner: A hole is dug, and a fire is made in it. As soon as the soil is sufficiently

The following observations were made in the Transvaal near Pretoria, where infestation by *Cirina forda* is frequently so heavy that the affected trees may be readily recognised from a distance from the way in which the leaves are stripped. The caterpillar is prepared for food by being grasped by the head and squeezed through the thumb and forefinger of the free hand with a milking action. This clears out the bowel contents, and no further preparation is necessary before the boiling which follows. The head is rather hard and may be removed, but this is not necessary. After light boiling or roasting the caterpillars are dried in the sun and may be stored without deteriorating for several months. They are slightly oily but crisp in texture, with the smell and flavour of kippers. 252 [251]

Bauhinia esculenta Burch. (5160) Photographs 19 and 20. 137X

Eastern Ikhû Bushman tai: (the seed)
nii̧ (the storage organ)

This plant is a runner in open grassveld, with numerous slender vines up to 18 feet long, the youngest parts of them covered with a fine brown tomentum. They bear inch-long Y-shaped tendrils, but the plant is not a climber. The vines die back during the winter but do not disintegrate as readily as those of the Cucurbitaceae, and are conspicuous until the new runners are produced from the perennial underground stem. The leaves, which are soft and reddish-brown when young but turn leathery and glaucous as they grow older, are deeply bilobed, with a small spur between the lobes. The plant bears showy yellow flowers in December, and the pods ripen from April onwards. At first they are soft and reddish brown, then light green and, when ripe, brown and woody. They contain up to six flattened seeds about the size of one's thumb nail, consisting of a hard shell and a soft nutty edible inner part. The plant is easily seen because of the craters it forms where the soil is stony—craters a yard or more across, edged with a ring of stones which appear to have been forced to the surface by the stem beneath. The details of this crater formation, however, are not known.

This Bauhinia is curiously patchy in its distribution. Although it is plentiful in some places near Vryburg, it was not seen along the route of the expedition until a point 400 miles north of Vryburg, that is, 127 miles before Ghanzi was reached, and I have no record of it after leaving the Ghanzi area until the expedition crossed the border into South West Africa near Gam, after which it was again plentiful. It occurs in communities sometimes miles across, with the plants in these communities scattered 20 to 30 yards apart. On the expedition it was seen growing only on deep sand or where there were outcrops of limestone, and near Pretoria it has so far been seen only on the dolomite, but it has been grown successfully in Pretoria on neutral shaly soils. It has been recorded from the northern Cape Province, the western Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa.

Although the seeds are not pleasant to eat when raw, they are excellent after roasting, and analysis figures show that they are rich in protein and oil. The roasting should be carried out slowly, otherwise they may shatter with a rather disconcerting report, and to avoid this they are often roasted in sand, which probably gives a slower and more even heat. They may also be boiled to make a porridge or a drink. They will last through the winter in the field without spoiling but become scarce towards the spring, probably through being covered with wind-blown sand and being eaten by animals. 262 252 146

The plant was widely distributed along our route, sometimes in the open grassland and sometimes in the belts of woodland, but was not common. It has been recorded from Angola, South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Transvaal. 137X

The fruits are edible but not very palatable, for they consist of large stones and only a little pulp, sweet and slightly mucilaginous. Nevertheless, according to a note on one of Schoenfelder's specimens (Schoenfelder No. 8, in the National Herbarium) they are a staple food not only of the Bushmen but also of several Bantu tribes, and can be kept when thoroughly ripe. 262 [251]

Grewia flava DC. (4941, 5024) Photograph 30. 137X

!h3': Bushman.....	,n‖a:
‖ganakwe Bushman...	,k"um
‖gikwe Bushman.....	,k"wam
Naron Bushman.....	,k"um
Eastern !khû Bushman	,n|ŋ

A rigid shrub about five feet high with numerous erect straight stems, often branching below the soil and so appearing unconnected. They are softly hairy when young. Old stems have a smooth dark bark and are sometimes slightly angled. The serrate leaves, which are shed in winter, are dull gray-green above and covered with a fine silvery down below, and make an attractive background for the bright yellow flowers which come out in midsummer. The fruits are half an inch across, usually four-lobed, and brownish-yellow when ripe.

Grewia flava is known from the four provinces of the Union, and from South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. It occurred nearly everywhere along the route of the expedition and was one of the commonest shrubs of the central Kalahari, but only one of all the thousands of plants seen was in fruit.

The fruits have a little edible sweet pulp surrounding the seeds. They are an important Bushman food, not so much because of their quality as because of their abundance, and because they can be kept if they are first dried. They are then soaked in water or cooked before being eaten. 262 [251] [252]

Grewia flavescens Juss. (5053).

A lax deciduous shrub or scrambler up to 12 feet in height, with slender stems which often become four-angled in older specimens, and with leaves, flowers and fruits similar to those of *Grewia retinervis*. There was little of it fruiting, but whether the season was over or whether it is naturally not a heavy yielder is uncertain. 137X

This species has a wide distribution through tropical Africa. It was not seen south of Ghanzi, but was scattered from Ghanzi northwards to Gautscha Pan.

Its fruits are eaten by the Bushmen. As most of the Grewias were leafless and as there were more species towards the north, it became increasingly difficult to estimate the frequency of each when once the Ghanzi area had been passed, and nothing can be said as to the relative importance of the northern species in the Bushman diet. 262

X137 *Grewia retinervis* Burret (4875, 5066) Photograph 31.

!hɔ: Bushman.....	⊚bɔ:
||ganakwe Bushman...	||?ani
|gikwe Bushman.....	||gani
Naron Bushman.....	||gani
Eastern !khû Bushman	!gwa

A straggly many-stemmed five-foot shrub, sometimes a weak scrambler up to 10 feet high. The stems are half an inch thick at the base, rounded and slightly woolly when young, slightly flattened and glabrous when old, and tough and pliant. Its leavers are alternate, pale green, one and a half inches long and an inch wide, ovate with a pointed tip, toothed, and roughly hairy to the touch. They wither and fall soon after being frosted, but if out of reach of the frost remain on the bushes at least until the end of July. The plant bears spreading yellow flowers half an inch wide, and fruits the size of a pea, with a papery brown skin enclosing a few large pips and some fibrous mealy material. *Grewia retinervis* is closely allied to *Grewia flavescens*, so much so that I doubt whether the two should be considered anything more than varieties of one species. The differences are that *Grewia flavescens* is usually taller, and not so conspicuously veined on the upper surface of the leaves. Mr. B. de Winter, of the National Herbarium, Pretoria, has observed also that its older stems are square in section and those of *Grewia retinervis* are flattened.

Grewia retinervis was scattered over most of the area covered by the expedition, and common in the central Kalahari, specially in open grassy country. It has been recorded from the northern Cape and the Transvaal as well as South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

262 The fruits are edible. They ripen in winter, and have a slightly sweet
251 taste and a pleasant flavour. They may be stored after being dried, and
252] are then soaked or boiled before being eaten. The crop, if one may judge from the 1955 season, is abundant, and the amount fairly constant for all the bushes. The fruits form an important part of the Bushmen diet,
[146 although little of them appears digestible. The roughage is voided almost
147] unchanged, in enormous faecal masses up to two and a half inches in diameter.

824 The dry stems of this plant nearly always contain the tunnelings of
372 grubs, and the tunnellings are packed with their excreta in the form of a brown, pith-like substance which forms a useful tinder. The Bushmen split the stems down the centre, make a slight depression in the flat surface and use this as a socket for the fire-drill.

X137 *Grewia* sp. aff. *Grewia bicolor* Juss. (5056).

Eastern !khû Bushman gamak'wɔ:

A slender shrub up to six feet high, with many sparingly branched stems. The leaves are one and a half inches by one inch, very finely toothed, dark green above and pale below, pointed at the tip and rounded at the base. Both surfaces are covered with a fine grayish felt which is thicker on the lower surface. Typical *Grewia bicolor* has wool on the lower surface only. The fruits are the size of a pea, and have a little flesh covering usually one big seed. No flowers were seen.

This is another of the plants with a distribution which begins in the Ghanzi area and extends northwards, and the remarks made as to the distribution and importance of *Grewia flavescens* apply here also.

[262] The fruits are edible.

X137 *Strychnos cocculoides* Bak. (4916) Photograph 37.

||ganakwe Bushman... ,|guwa

A 15-foot tree, erect and rather slender, sometimes unarmed and sometimes with very sharp paired curved thorns a little less than half an inch long. The leaves, which are also paired, are soft, minutely hairy and an inch and a half long and an inch wide with three prominent veins branching from near the base, one central and two near the margins. The old bark is dark gray, corky and deeply fissured, but the young twigs have a smooth bark densely covered with a fine down. The tree produces small greenish flowers massed into heads three quarters of an inch in diameter. The fruits are a little over a pound in weight and four inches in diameter, the size and shape of a gem squash, with the same type of hard rind, green when immature and turning pale brown when ripe. The seeds inside are embedded in a strongly aromatic pale pulp.

Strychnos cocculoides is recorded from the western Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Angola and central tropical Africa. On the expedition it was seen scattered through only one belt of heavy sand which began 136 miles north-west of Molepolole and ended 35 miles further on.

262 The fruits have an unusual and pleasant flavour, and according to a note on one of Schoenfelder's specimens in the National Herbarium the seeds may be eaten as well as the pulp. Galpin (1925: 22), who describes this tree under the name *Strychnos schumanniana*, states that the fruit may be picked green and ripened by burying it in sand. It will keep for several months without going bad. [251]

X137 *Strychnos pungens* Solered. (5447) Photograph 38.

An eight-foot bent evergreen tree with a spreading crown and paired hard shiny leaves with a sharp spine at the tip. It bears insignificant greenish flowers in compact small bunches in the axils of the leaves. The fruits and the veins in the leaves are similar to those of *Strychnos cocculoides*, and it has the same general distribution. Only one specimen was seen, near the northermost point reached by the expedition.

The fruits contain a pleasant edible pulp which is, however, not considered as good as that of *Strychnos cocculoides*. [262]

Raphionacme burkei N.E. Br. (4997) Photograph 39.

!h5: Bushman..... bi:
||ganakwe Bushman... bi:
|gikwe Bushman..... bi:
Naron Bushman..... bi:

Nearly all of the plant is six inches below ground, in the form of a rounded storage organ about five pounds in weight and six inches in diameter, slightly flattened on top. It has a brown skin, and is pale yellow inside with flecks of white latex on the cut surface. It is connected by a "neck" a little thicker than a pencil to the above-ground parts, which consists of a few sparingly-branched erect stems, slender but wiry, six inches high and bearing narrow grayish-green leaves. The flowers, which are borne in small clusters, are greenish and inconspicuous, the fruits slender, three inches long and as a rule in pairs. The stems exude a milky juice when injured. They are not easily seen even in summer, and in winter less so, for the leaves are shed and the stems die back.

The Bushmen are one of the most primitive peoples living 105
on earth. Although most of their groups own some metal objects, Bushmen do not smelt or forge metal, but get it in trade [325
from their Bantu neighbors. They use soft metal in the mak- 439]
ing of a few tools such as knives, arrowheads, and little axes, cold-hammering the metal into shape themselves. Bushmen make the other tools they use from wood and bone, grass and fiber, the things of the veld. They dig roots and pick berries [222]
to eat because they have no crops. The desert is too dry for anything but desert plants to grow naturally, and Bushmen, who quickly consume all the wild food available in one place, cannot stay anywhere long enough to tend crops or wait for them to grow.

There is not enough water to water livestock, and for this [231]
reason Bushmen have no domestic animals. Most of their groups do not even have dogs. Instead of herding, Bushmen hunt wild antelope with tiny arrows, sometimes made of soft, [224+
traded metal, sometimes made of bone, and poisoned with a 278]
terrible poison extracted from a certain grub, a poison which affects the nervous system of a creature and which is so deadly that an antelope shot early in the morning with a single arrow well placed in the body dies within the day. Hunting is very difficult, for travel in the veld is thirsty and rigorous and the antelope are clever, but as often as not the Bushmen hunters shoot one and then they use it all. Most of the meat is dried [251]
to preserve it, causing it to last at least a few weeks, but sooner or later every last bite of it is eaten, even the mucous lining of the nostrils and the gristle inside the ears. They [262]
sometimes eat the hide, sometimes work it into leather to use for clothing, and if the antelope bones are not all [281]
cracked for the marrow, pieces are worked into arrow points to shoot another antelope.

In order to live as they do, Bushmen must travel through 105 361

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

asked Ukwane for some, which Ukwane gave him. Gishe said: 224
"I have been living among Europeans for a long time, but I 237
remember now who I am." 272

From the body of that gemsbok the Bushmen bailed out 251
several bucketfuls of liquid, enough to supply them for almost a week. They cut the meat into strips which they would dry in the sun and use as they needed them, also enough for a week or perhaps even longer, as there were only a few people and the gemsbok was almost as big as a cow.

Tsetchwe had built a tiny fire beneath a tsama melon, an 252
empty melon with the top cut away, and when she received [224
her share of the meat—for any animal is divided at once by a 422]
rigid system of rules, some meat given to each person rather than kept as a communal supply or portioned to families—she cut a small piece and stuffed it into the melon, where melon juice, heated through the rind, was boiling now. It cooked like meat in a stew, and when it was done Tsetchwe emptied the melon into a bowl, fanned it to cool it, and then 264
ate some, putting a strip of meat into her mouth and hacking off a bite with her husband's knife. She was ravenously hungry and she ate almost all, while her baby, lying in her [853]
lap, nursed from her breast. The last piece she saved for him; she put one end of it into his mouth and, as he bit down, flashed the great knife under his nose to cut him a small enough morsel.

The gemsbok had vanished. All that remained from the 224
butchering was the pile of squeezed, dry grass from the ru- 422
men and a few lumps of feces that the redheaded flies buzzed over. The meat, bones, head, hide, and brushlike tail all now [237]
belonged to people, and all the people had carried their portions away. Gai owned two hind legs and a front leg, Tsetchwe had meat from the back, Ukwane had the other front

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

132 that the great trains dragging hampered its mating, would
136 twist and thrash and struggle, squeezing the wings between its thorax and abdomen, which did break off the wings but left the stubs. More and more ants were flying to the light and their circles were growing bigger and bigger until we couldn't move without stepping on them, but the women, getting more excited and moving very quickly, as if responding to the pace and the excitement of the ants, scooped them up and ate them as fast as they landed, spitting out the silver wings as one would spit out chaff. Over our heads a few night birds and many bats were flying, catching and eating the ants before they reached the ground, and around our feet huge pink hunting-spiders rushed in and out of the swarm, dragging the ants from their acts of copulation and carrying them away to eat them in the dark.

Before long the flight had ended. Only a few late-coming ants bumped against the light, the night birds and bats were gone, and the spiders had run away. Nothing was left but the white wings like petals all over the ground and the wings that were caught in people's throats or stuck to their faces. The women, quite composed now, brushed themselves off, and one of them sang a song:

[539]

Gurico gum, ah
Ah, ah.

[251] I noticed that each woman had managed to save a little bag or vegetable husk full of ants for her husband. These they put away.

132 That was in the late spring, a fertile season full of promise, and when it was over the best season of the year began, called the Veld Food Season, which starts some time in
361 March. The big rains have ended, the air is warm but not
621 hot, the veld is filled with water, game, fruit, roots, and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the wind or passing feet had disarranged them; and the meat 224 159 that resulted from his prolific hunting was never wasted, for 151 he would bring other hunters to help him dry it, then carry it [251 476] off to a werf somewhere to share with others.

He knew the habits of animals from the ways of the largest 159 antelope all the way down to the smallest species of mice; in 825 fact, he must have known animals very well, for he could always find them. He knew when he was in danger and when he was safe, and he was as brave as he was careful. Once, Short 159 Kwi, John, and two other hunters were tracking a bull wilde- 224 beest that one of the hunters had shot. They came upon it 157 lying down, surrounded by a very large pride of lions. There were twenty or thirty lions in all, having got there first and claiming the wildebeest as their own, for the bushes were full of lions walking back and forth, watching several other lions brave the fallen wildebeest, still able to protect itself with its horns. The braver lions were standing near the wildebeest, obviously steeling themselves for the attack, when the hunters arrived. The Bushmen had followed the wildebeest's trail through thorns and over the parching desert and were not to be deprived, and, speaking softly to the lions, they said: "We know you are strong, Big Lions, we know you are brave, but this meat is ours and you must give it back to us."

Even after these words the lions did not give ground. Their round eyes watched the hunters and they began to growl, and the four men, quite unarmed except for their arrows and a spear (to use a spear would have been folly), said respectfully: "Great Lions, Old Lions, this meat belongs to us," and then advanced on the lions, throwing little stones and clods of dirt. The lions in the bushes began to back away, while the braver lions stood their ground until a clod struck one of them, causing him to huff and run back a little. At this, the courage of the other lions broke and they all turned and

of the hunting party is not a matter of convention or of anxious concern. Hunting parties are freely organized by men who like to hunt with each other. No categories of kin or affines are prohibited from hunting together, whether they have a joking relationship or not or practise the sitting and speaking taboo. Men from different bands may hunt together. 224

A father has authority over his sons and sons-in-law and could tell them to go hunting or to accompany him and would expect them to obey. In other relationships participation in a hunting party is voluntary. Any man may instigate a hunt and may ask others to join. No one is formally in command of a party, unless he is the father with his sons or sons-in-law, but often an informal kind of leadership develops out of skill and judgement and the men fall in with the plans and suggestions of the best hunter or reach agreement among themselves somehow. [593]

Hunting parties are usually composed of from two to four or five men. One hunter alone is at a disadvantage. A man cannot leave the meat unguarded from lions, hyaenas, jackals, and vultures while he goes to bring help from the band to carry it nor can he carry it alone. Only occasionally are parties larger than four or five. For two parties to hunt in different directions would be more advantageous than to form a larger single party.

When the kill is made the hunters have the prerogative of eating the liver on the spot and may eat more of the meat until their hunger is satisfied. If they are far from the band, they may eat the parts that are especially perishable or most awkward to carry, like the head, and they sometimes eat the cherished marrow. They then carry the animal to the band, either in its parts, bones and all, or, if the animal is very big, leaving most of the bones and cutting the meat into strips which dry in the sun to biltong and are more easily carried on the carrying-sticks. The blood is carried in bags made of the stomach, rumen, and bladder. [951] [415]

The gall bladder and testicles are discarded at the kill. Eventually the hooves are thrown away and usually the picked bones and horns. (The /Kung make only a few artifacts of bone and horn which last a long time and seldom need replacing.) Sinews are kept for making cord. The hide would be skinned off whole and tanned if it were suitable for a kaross and someone wanted a new kaross at the time. Otherwise, the hide is dried, pounded up, and eaten. Hides are quite tasty. Feet are picked of every tissue; gristle is dried and pounded. Soft parts, such as the foetus, udder, heart, lungs, brains, and blood, are often given to old people with poor teeth. Intestines are enjoyed and desired by all. The meat of the rump, back, chest, and neck is highly appreciated. Nothing is wasted; all is distributed. [331] [283] [281] [886]

The owner of the animal is the owner of the first arrow to be effectively shot into the animal so that it penetrates enough for its poison to work. That person is responsible for the distribution. The headman of the band is not the one to distribute the meat by virtue of his headmanship, unless he happens to be at the same time the owner of the arrow. The owner may or may not be one of the hunters. [400] [624]

Hunters have arrows which they acquire in three different ways. Each man makes arrows for himself, shaping the points (usually now of metal, but still possibly of bone or wood) with some slight distinction so that he will know them from the arrows of other men. Secondly, arrows are given as gifts. The man who made the arrow or who himself acquired it as a gift, may give it to someone else, either a man or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. 422 224 411 [931]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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FIG. 13. One of the hunters (in the background) brings a hindquarter of meat to the owner of the arrow and lays it on branches beside his scherm

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FIG. 14. Kham, a lame man, swings himself along with two sticks. He cannot hunt. Meat which some relatives or friends have given him hangs on the tree. His wife pounds some food with mortar and pestle

[p. 240-D]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

to the /Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae /Kung eat hearty meals of meat when they have been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount. They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger.

The /Kung are quite conscious of the value of meat-sharing and they talk about it, especially about the benefit of the mutual obligation it entails. The idea of sharing is deeply implanted and very successfully imposes its restraints. To keep meat without sharing is one of the things that just is not done.

Gift-giving

The custom of gift-giving comes, in my opinion, second only to meat-sharing in aiding the /Kung to avoid jealousy and ill will and to develop friendly relations. /Kung society puts considerable emphasis on gift-giving. Everything a person has may have been given to him and may be passed on to others in time. The /Kung make their artifacts, on the whole, of durable material and take good care of them. They last for generations and move in a slow eddy among the people. The dealings are only between individuals, but they are numerous and provide occasion, perhaps more than any one other activity does, for visits which bring whole bands into polite encounter.

We gave cowrie shells as parting gifts in 1951 to the women in ≠Toma's band, the band which first sponsored us and with which we stayed and did our consistent work, wherever they were, on each expedition. We had carefully observed that there were no cowrie shells among /Kung ornaments before we gave them. Ours were bought from a New York shell dealer, perhaps to the confusion of future archaeologists. We gave to each woman enough for a short necklace, one large brown shell and twenty smaller grey ones. In 1952 there was hardly a cowrie shell to be found in Band 1. They appeared, not as whole necklaces, but in ones and twos in people's ornaments to the edges of the region.

The /Kung have not developed special objects to use as gifts. Nor have they invested ordinary objects with special gift significance. What they give each other are the common artifacts and materials of everyday life (see Appendix). Some objects are more highly valued than others as gifts, as one would expect. I gathered that relative scarcity of material was a factor and that objects were appreciated for their beauty, workmanship, and appropriate size (a wide headband is better than a narrow one). People took an interest in remembering to whom an object had been given in the recent past, but the /Kung, who are present-oriented, do not place special value upon antiquity as such or systematically hold the distant past in mind.

The /Kung decorate their artifacts very little (they have developed music and dancing, not the plastic or pictorial arts), but they delight in ornaments with which to adorn themselves. The intrinsic beauty, the meaningfulness, and the relief to the monotony of yellow-brown skin and grey-brown leather karosses are all valued.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not 251
uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming 261
journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to 261
food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food 576
or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food 433
and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung 462
society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no 562
extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly 562
strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous 147
and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of 562
hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing 462
splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable 262
foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. 224
The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's [535]
wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The 342
building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's [463]
work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a [137]
woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. [461]
She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

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224 By killing one male kudu (600 lbs.) with a weight 24 times greater than that of a steenbok (25 lbs.) a hunter would provide his camp with a quantity of meat roughly equivalent to that provided by 20 steenbok (assuming that the kudu has a somewhat lower ratio of edible to inedible parts than does a steenbok).

[628] On the face of it, hunting large antelope would appear to have overwhelming advantages in terms of meat. However, when news of such a kill reaches neighboring camps, dozens of friends and relatives descend upon the killer's camp to assist him in disposing of the meat. Thus at the end of several jovial days the superabundance of meat disappears and the fortunate hunter is out looking for meat again. The killing of a large antelope therefore has more prestige value than nutritional value to the family of the man who killed it.

This pattern of sharing large kills beyond the boundaries of a camp is ecologically adaptive because meat spoils quickly, especially during the rainy season and it is often necessary to eat meat that is in danger of becoming rotten.

825 The Bushmen know how to make biltong (dried strips of meat)
262 but rarely do this. This infrequency of making biltong is
224
251 probably both a cause and an effect of sharing meat widely. The only part of a large antelope kill that is consistently set aside for future consumption is the hide. This part of

825
262 the animal evidently has much better storage properties than
224 the flesh.
• [251]

In general, the larger the animal killed, the more widely its meat is shared. The meat of springhare, hare, steenbok, and duiker is usually consumed by the hunter's immediate family. The meat of wart hog, antbear and porcupine is
[628] shared out among the members of a hunter's camp. The meat of kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok is shared out among the hunter's camp and among members of neighboring camps.

825 <u>Birds</u> - The eating of birds again illustrates the selective
262 food tastes of the Bushmen. Of the 75 species of birds
223 recorded only eight species were said to be eaten and of these only four species were observed to be systematically hunted. The four important game birds were:

crowned quinea fowl	red-billed francolin
Swainson's francolin	red-crested korhaan

The other birds eaten were:

Kori bustard	double-banded sandgrouse
Cape turtledove	red-billed teal

Snares were regularly set in order to capture guinea fowl, francolin and korhaan. Occasionally other birds triggered the snares. Usually these other species were fed to the dogs. Occasionally they were simply discarded.

222
262 Only the eggs of the above eight species appeared to be
825

221 433 Unfortunately spring is the most difficult season for the Herero as well as for the Bushmen. The good grazing for livestock is miles distant from the waterholes. Consequently the cattle are in poor condition and their yield of milk is low.

251 It would be useful for the Bushmen to amass a surplus of food in anticipation of this scarce season. However, none of the 15 independent camps observed ever kept more than a few days supply of vegetable foods on hand. Surplus accumulation was not a feature of Bushmen food strategy except for one instructive case.

There was a noticeable attempt to create a small surplus 251 in the form of dried meat and hides. Each family maintained 285 a storage basket in the crotch of a young tree. By weaving a framework of branches and palm fronds and lining this with grass, they built up a rough basket for storing weapons, water containers and small amounts of food. The storage basket was built five feet above the ground which kept its contents safe from the reach of dogs and children. If a day's hunting had been unsuccessful, the members of a camp could invariably produce an emergency ration of dried meat or, more often, dried hide for the evening meal. People saved scraps of dried hide of kudu, gemsbok and wildebeeste from kills made weeks or 251 252 months previously. These scraps were softened by boiling or 262

251 were roasted in the coals of the fire and then pounded to
252 the consistency of coarse meal in the wooden mortar. This
262 roasted hide had the taste and texture of crisp crackling and was delicious when pounded and mixed with the flesh of roots of the genera Coccinia, Walleria and Eulophia. These stores of dried hide and meat did not serve as a staple surplus so much as an emergency delicacy to brighten the diet when a day's hunting had been unsuccessful.

221 The major food strategy during the hot dry spring was
222 the 7-14 day trip to the waterless country where mongongo nuts
312 were still plentiful. At these camps the only source of
361 water was the juice from the roots of Fockea monroi. Fockea
824 has an uneven distribution in the Dobe area. The Bushmen must camp in a nut forest that is in close proximity to patches of Fockea. The maximum period that a group was observed to live on Fockea roots was two weeks. The limitation is set by the density of Fockea plants in an area, and the amount of fluid that each plant holds. Life at the Fockea patches is difficult because people have to work hard to obtain water as well as food. Each Fockea root storage organ contains 8-16 ounces of recoverable moisture. Thus a daily ration of 72 ounces of water can be obtained by digging out 5-10 Fockea roots.

312 But the dilemma of living on Fockea lies in the fact that
824
222

[36 cont.]

Cooking and Cooking Utensils

354 Lumps of surface limestone are generally used as hearthstones.
412 Here and there, as a great rarity, one finds a pounding stone of quartzite.

To pound the veldkost, small mortars, carved out of wood, with conical or hemispherical bottoms are used. In case the mortars become damaged, holes are made on either side of the crack, and the flaw is drawn together with bast strips and also smeared over with resin. The shape of the pestle, which is from 50 centimeters to one meter long, is shown in Figure 7.

415 Originally these !Kung had no pots and probably had no
[252] way of boiling anything. The usual manner of preparing food even today is to roast and grill it on and between hot stones. Nowadays,
[431] every horde owns a number of pots acquired from the Okawango.
[482] These pots have bast or tendon plaiting around them, by which they are fastened when carried on the march. The Okawango people
[439] gladly exchange these water pots, which they have carried with them on the waterless stretch, for food from the Bushmen in the area between Karakowisa and Nuragas.

416 Small cast-iron tripods are a very popular article. A
417 longish, crudely carved stirring stick, as well as a piece of hardwood for arranging the fire, completes the inventory of the Bushman kitchen. Spoons are unknown.

Clothing

291 The clothing of the woman, as has already been repeatedly described, consists of a front apron and a back apron, made of soft leather, and a leather cloak something like a pelerine. Usually she also has a carrying hide for the baby. Generally, the child does
[854] not sit on her back, as among the Blacks, but on the side of her hip.
[415] In addition, the woman has the large veld bag in which she keeps the
[412] finds from her collecting. On the march, the woman is equipped with the simple digging stick, pointed at the bottom.

The men are clothed only with the modesty apron and in addition

000 [42 cont.]
622 the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is
372 the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo.
778 Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are
[262] "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a
784 very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language.
Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is
166 available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the
373 village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha
[596] fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they
[illegible] have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha
264 fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave im-
621 mediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the
[462] windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire
he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does.
Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large
game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains
seated there, while the women and children make themselves
comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The
game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and
[262] shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children,
who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is
[622] consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has
the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The
hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has
described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

178 When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the
622 Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight
organization and a common leader. When Captain François went
beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable
support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note
that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of
Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a
Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a

2. He himself was a half-breed.

chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest
chief I heard of was "χ'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

[62 cont.]

278 one person after another stepped up to the pan and threw his share of snake poison into it. Then the pan was removed from the fire.
[535] The Bushmen now performed a new dance, in which they imitated the convulsions of animals dying from the poison. After another half hour the poison was clear, and when everyone had convinced himself that it was the right color, a red mineral powder was added and thoroughly stirred into it. Then poisonous spiders were taken out of the reeds and thrown into the [63] pan. These came from the Langen Mountain in the Cape Colony, in other words, had been brought from afar. When the mass had thickened somewhat more, the arrows were smeared with it and dried in the shade (ibid., p. 380).

595 These Bushmen, the M'Kabba, are monogamists.

563 Farini maintains (ibid., p. 171) that he met a black Pygmy who came from the tribe of the Kara-Kara north of Amboland (1).

1. At the mission station Urikualuthi I was told by the missionary, Mrs. Quarni, who has made most meritorious contributions to investigations of the country, that shortly before the war a number of black Pygmies who lived in the swamps along the Kunene had come to Chief Moala. She saw these people.

252 Concerning the food of the Bushmen, Dornan has the following to report: The Marsawa [sic] eat meat either roasted or grilled, rarely boiled, because they believe that the latter will
251 make them sick. The Bushmen of Basutoland cut the meat into tiny pieces, mixed it with fat, and then sewed it into hide sacks as preserved meat. As reserves in case of famine, the Kalahari Bushmen keep giraffe skins on tall trees. Veldkost is stored in turtle shells and ostrich eggs, as is water. The Basutoland Bushmen gathered grass seeds and stored them for times of hunger.

252 The tsama are prepared in the following manner: A hole is dug, and a fire is made in it. As soon as the soil is sufficiently

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

532 Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
535 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
323 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
302 customary.

304 A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
(751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

/253 cont./

224 the large bullfrog, whose bass voice resounds in all the puddles during the rainy season. The flesh of the frog is boiled with the
252 skin and bones, pounded to a paste in wooden vessels, and then eaten. Among the insects, grasshoppers and termites are used for
222 food. Both are roasted. In the brief time that they are winged, the termites are lured in such great numbers to a fire maintained for the purpose of catching them that it is an easy matter for the Bushman to collect a rich booty in a few hours. A special delicacy in the Bushman household is wild honey, which, as I was able to ascertain, is extremely tasty /254/ and is to be found in quantity on the Omuramba omatako as well as in the Kaukau Veld.

825 The bullfrog is called ntchei by the Bushmen (Herero: otjisume), the termite, /ui (Herero: othohumboli).

The vegetable diet naturally changes with the seasons and is
262 quite varied. I shall attempt to give a brief survey, though at
824 the same time I am aware that it can lay no claim to completeness.

1. The chamá or taba (Herero: omatanga). These are the roasted kernels of the Kaffir pumpkin [melon?], widely known here, which produce quite a tasty dish.

2. The //ǔni (Herero: omarunga); this is the Heikum Bushman name for the palm tree that is common in this region. The edible parts of the tree are the apple-sized fruit, whose skin has a sweetish taste reminiscent of St. John's bread, and the soft interior of the trunk. The latter is a whitish, soft, fibrous pulp, which the Bush-
[252] men prepare by cooking and pounding.

3. A species of white mushroom called naú by the Bushmen, majova by the Herero. The mushroom grows during the rainy season especially along the edges of termite hills; the diameter of its cap reaches about 20 centimeters. It is eaten raw as well as
[252] boiled. I do not know whether it is true that excessive eating of this mushroom has a detrimental effect on mental activity, as the Herero aver — ejova, plural majova, is the Herero word for stupid.

4. The unki, a well-known species of onion, about the size of a hazel nut, called //au by the Bushmen, is very common and forms an important part of the kitchen provisions, not only among the Bushmen, but also among the Herero.

[252] 5. The //guitcha of the Bushmen, ussessenga of the Herero,

/254 cont./

262 824 [252] is a tuberous fruit, eaten roasted, whose taste is reminiscent of potatoes.

6. A similar tuberous fruit is the ondubi of the Herero; the plant has rose-colored blossoms and long lanceolate leaves.

7. The árugu (Herero: omakungu), a type of cucumber. The plant is a climber whose fruits resemble our cucumbers; they reach the length of a finger and, when they ripen, become bright [252] red in color. They are roasted in ashes and eaten warm.

8. The //ániba (Herero: maramba), a small bush with a bean-like fruit, similar in appearance and taste to our broad beans.

9. The sng of the Kung Bushmen; this is a large climber with double-lobate leaves whose mighty root is greatly prized by the Bushmen as a water tuber. The fruit is the size of a walnut and consists of two cotyledons enclosed by a rind which in its fresh state is soft and becomes very hard when dry. Between the fruit and the rind there is a small quantity of a whitish, slimy fluid which keeps the interior of the rind /255/ lubricated. After re- [252] moval of the rind, the fruit is dried and roasted and then has the taste of the groundnut which is so common in East Africa. Its use has a distinctly laxative effect.

10. Like the Herero, the Bushmen are acquainted with other water tubers. The Herero word chue designates a smaller root with a very high water content, which has the shape and size of our beet.

11. The /a fruit of the Kung people is a nut slightly larger than the walnut, whose kernel, in a hard shell, tastes like our hazelnut. The hard inner shell is enclosed by a softer outer shell [252] which has a distinctively sweet taste and which the Bushmen boil to a sauce which in appearance and taste is distinctly reminiscent of applesauce.

291 There is not much to be said about the clothing of the Heikum. The men content themselves in most cases with a leather loincloth which is fastened in the back and front to a belt tied around the waist.

The women wear the same kind of leather cloth of slightly greater length around their loins and tie a second hide from one shoulder to the opposite hip.

X137 *Terfezia* spp. (5031, 5616) Photograph 1.

Naron Bushman..... ˌku-tsʼı
Eastern ǂkhû Bushman ˌtsu-tsʼɔ

In size, shape and colour these truffles resemble potatoes, but the skin is rough and they are not as heavy.

The genus Terfezia, which is allied to the European truffles, has been recorded from dry and sandy localities between the northern Cape Province and the Mediterranean region. There are 36 species, of which three are believed to occur in South West Africa and the Union. Some records are vague and incomplete, and cannot be checked. These southern species, all of which are edible, are not distinguishable except by microscopical examination. They may be found from April onwards to about July, when the season ends presumably through their disintergrating in the soil. Their presence depends upon the rainfall, as is shown by the following extract from a letter from Mr. G. Scholtz, of Ghanzi, whom I had asked to collect some for me. "Nature appears to be against you this year. I even offered five shillings per truffle, but according to the Bushmen (my offer was just laughed at) no rain, no truffles. And we certainly have had no rain, in fact the worst drought in Ghanzi's history."

It is uncertain whether they are root parasites or mycorrhizal fungi, and nothing definite is known as to the host plant favoured by any particular species. In the south-western Kalahari, near the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park, they are found in the dips between the sand dunes where *Aristida ciliata* is the dominant grass, but it has not yet been established whether they are connected with it or with some associated plant. Towards the Ghanzi area they were collected in a mixed grassveld of Aristida and Eragrostis species with scattered trees of *Acacia uncinata* and no *Aristida ciliata;* but here another species may have been involved.

222 The European truffles are usually collected with the aid of dogs or pigs, which can trace them by their scent, and rarely by two other methods. One of these is by observing where certain insects collect to lay their eggs, for their larvae feed on truffles and the eggs are laid near them. The other is to watch for cracks in the ground which the truffle sometimes causes as it grows. This is the method used in southern Africa. A good deal of practice is needed before it can be applied, for the cracks are slight, and are specially difficult to find where the surface has been disturbed by game or stock, or where they have been partly filled in by windblown sand, but matters are eased somewhat by the fact that there is seldom more than about three inches of sand covering the truffles and that they grow in patches.

252 They may be eaten boiled or roasted. The texture is like soft cheese.
262 They are not aromatic and the flavour is far inferior to that of the best European truffles.

Ophioglossum sarcophyllum Desv. (5142) Photograph 2.

X137 This unusual looking plant is one of the ferns. It is five inches high on the average, and somewhat fleshy, and consists of an erect stalk with a leaf-like undivided frond at the top. A thinner stalk which bears the spores rises from the mid-rib near the base of this frond.

A few specimens were collected at Gam, on damp sand which was moist from the run-off from adjacent rock outcrops. It is usually found in places like this, where the dampness is conserved, but after good rains its distribution is not restricted, except that it occurs more in the open and does not grow under dense bush. In favourable localities it is sometimes massed, and may be collected in quantity. It occurs throughout southern Africa. 137X

It is used by various Native tribes as a spinach, and may also be eaten raw. It tastes like lettuce but is slightly sweeter and lacks the crisp texture of lettuce. 262

Typha capensis Rohr. (5302) Photograph 3.

Eastern !khû Bushman dza-dza

A cosmopolitan and well-known plant, known in South Africa as the bull-rush, and easily recognisable from its inflorescence which forms a compact brown spike two feet or more in length at the tops of the five-foot flowering culms. This is in two parts, variously divided so that the lower may be equal to the upper, or shorter, or longer. The lower part consists of the female flowers and is sausage-shaped and brown, with the flowering culm running through its centre. Immediately above this is a spike of male flowers, similar except that it is more open and often yellowish from the masses of pollen it contains. The leaves are strap-shaped, usually an inch wide and six feet long, erect and fairly rigid and very slightly twisted along their length. It is a gregarious plant and always grows near water. 137X

A little was growing round a permanent spring at the edge of Gautscha Pan, and was the only patch seen during the trip.

The top (male) part of the inflorescence is eaten raw by the Bushmen. It has the rich and familiar flavour of bee-bread. Dinter (1912:17) states that the rhizome of this plant is the thickness of one's finger and about two feet long, and may after drying and husking be beaten to a reddish meal which is rich in starch and may be used in the same way as meal from cereals. I have tried the rhizome myself. It is heavy and succulent when fresh, and loses water slowly. When dry it has a puffy outer zone of tissue which may be stripped off to expose a hard central cylinder containing the reddish starch to which Dinter refers. As the starch does not crumble readily it is difficult to beat out, and it is full of fibres which may however easily be removed by sifting. It may be boiled to make a brown porridge of good quality except that it is more glutinous than any porridge normally used by us. 252 262

137X

Mariscus congestus C. B. Cl. (5166) Photograph 4.

Naron Bushman..... n!ani
Eastern !khû Bushman !gewu

This plant is one of the sedges, a group closely related and similar to the grasses but distinguishable by certain rather subtle differences which most laymen as well as botanists are familiar with. One of the main ones is that their flowering stalks are usually three-angled and solid while those of the grasses are usually round and hollow. The species in question could not, in its withered winter condition, be named in the field, but bulbs which were collected grew well in cultivation and flowered in Pretoria that same

X137 year. They produce an erect and robust plant with bright green leaves and numerous spreading underground rhizomes on which more bulbs are borne a few inches below the surface. Some stolons are produced above ground as well, from among the leaves. They afterwards turn downwards, entering the soil close to the parent plant and thereafter behaving in all respects like the rhizomes. The flowering stalk is three-angled and unjointed, with a cluster of compact, spiky inflorescences at the top, some on slender secondary stalks and some almost sessile. The parent plant is in a sense annual, for both it and the bulb producing it wither at the onset of winter, but the fresh bulbs which have been produced form new plants, and the species is capable of spreading very rapidly by this means. The bulbs are rounded, half an inch in diameter with a sharp point at the top, and covered with several papery brown layers which may be removed to expose a pale nut-like body.

Sedges usually favour damp places, but this species seemed equally at home in seepy areas and well-drained ones, and in the sandy country near Nama Pan it was common nearly everywhere, sometimes scattered among the grasses but more often in patches. Its range is from Cape Town to the Mediterranean, and it occurs in Australia also.

262 The bulbs are edible, and seemed to be a fairly important food of the northern Bushmen. The taste is sweetish and they have a crisp tex-
●252 ture and a cloudy, very slightly astringent juice. Light roasting improves
222 the flavour. They are easily gathered by scratching away the top layer of soil, and their presence is often shown by the disturbed soil where they grow, for they are a favourite food with many birds and small animals, which scratch and burrow to find them. According to the *Flora Capensis* the plant "has been for nearly a century cultivated in Europe".

X137 *Hyphaene ventricosa* Kirk (5301).

Eastern !khû Bushman !hani and !hani

This palm is bushy when young, but loses its bushy habit as it matures, forming a long clean stem 40 feet in height with a crown of leaves at the top and often with a slight swelling near the middle. The leaf has a strong woody rhachis up to six feet long, slightly hollowed above and rounded below, with a row of sharp hooked spines at intervals of an inch or so along each margin. At its tip it bears the leafy part which is two feet across and folded like a fan. The fruits, a little smaller than a tennis-ball, are covered with a glossy brown papery skin, and are borne in clusters.

Old an half-decayed fruits were found in the neighbourhood of Nama Pan, presumably where they had been discarded by Bushmen, but the palm trees themselves were not seen in this area. Only one specimen was found, 20 miles to the north-east. It was immature and had neither flowers nor fruits. According to available records, it was growing near the southern limit of its range, which extends to northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo.

262 There is a quarter-inch edible mealy layer immediately underlying the
114 skin of the fruit. It is fibrous and dry but sweetish, with a pleasant flavour, and may be gnawed off the hard inner shell into which it merges.
[272] The kernel in the centre of the mature fruit is hard and bony and inedible,
[252] but Chapman (1868:II:73) states that the milk of the young fruit may be used like that of the coconut, and that the whole of the young fruit may be eaten after boiling, "pulp, rind, and all."

be eaten after boiling, "pulp, rind and all". Dinter (1912:21-22) says also that the Bushmen use the heart of the palm as a green vegetable, and that a sweet sap may be tapped from the upper part of the stem and fermented to make an alcoholic drink. He gives the yield of fruits from one palm as between 20 and 50 kilograms (48 to 120 lb.). His reference to the heart of the palm is obscure, but Chapman (1868:I:55-56), who is more explicit, says that this is the core of the young trunk. 262 114 [273]

Aloe rubrolutea Schinz (5135). 137X

Eastern !khũ Bushman n||ɔru

This species was in full bloom in early August, and made a striking show with its spikes of brick-red flowers. The plants formed rosettes of leaves 12 inches across, producing a slender erect five-foot flowering stalk. Among the hundreds of speciments seen there were none arborescent, although elsewhere arborescent forms are common (Reynolds 1950: 328). Those seen at Nama Pan were similar in habit to *Aloe zebrina*.

Aloe rubrolutea was seen only on the rocky outcrops near Nama Pan and Gam, growing in patches of an acre or so, but it has a wide distribution extending from South West Africa through the Bechuanaland Protectorate to the northern Transvaal and Portuguese East Africa.

The flowers are stripped off the flowering stalk and pounded to make a spinach-like vegetable. Although the Bushmen said that they did not eat the leaves, they were tasted raw and boiled and were found to be juicy and not unpleasant, and to have no harmful effects. They would be a good source of water in an emergency. 252 262

Aloe zebrina Bak. (4995). 137X

!hɔ: Bushman..... !!ganja
!!ganakwe Bushman n||ɔru
!gikwe Bushman... n||uru
Naron Bushman... n||ɔru

The plant forms a rosette of rigid dark green leaves which have pale transverse bands and numerous sharp teeth along the margins. It may have a stem 30 centimetres long (Reynolds, 1950: 282), but those seen on the expedition were stemless. The flowering stalks were three or four feet high. The sap in the epidermis of the leaves is greenish-yellow. It oozes out of the vessels fairly quickly if a leaf is cut across, and hardens and changes colour on exposure to the air, becoming brown and glassy. The bulk of the sap, which is in the inner part of the leaf, is colourless and translucent, and does not ooze out if the leaf is cut.

Only one small clump of this Aloe was seen, on deep sand about 80 miles directly south-east of Ghanzi. It is, however, recorded from Angola and South West Africa and across the continent to the east.

The Bushmen stated that the leaves were a good source of water. One of these plants was sent to Pretoria and grew well in cultivation. On being tested, the leaves proved extremely unpleasant, not because of any bad taste but because their sap is in the form of a thick, revolting slime. Boiling or roasting did nothing towards making them more palatable. Either the Bushmen were confusing this Aloe with another species, or it 262 312 824

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

262 271 824 [114] is eaten only when they are in the greatest need. Reynolds (1950: 285), quoting W. B. Hooker, states that its flowers may be eaten after boiling, but I did not think of asking the Bushmen about this, and they did not volunteer any information.

X137 *Dipcadi* sp. (5163, 5307).

!h5: Bushman..... n!ɔm
Naron Bushman..... n!ɔm
Eastern !khû Bushman n!umʃé:

Although the above-ground parts had been killed by frost, enough remained for the plant to be identified as a species of Dipcadi. The bulbs were two inches below the surface of the soil, in appearance like a small onion. They were planted in Pretoria, but although they were still alive two years after being collected, they had failed to produce leaves or flowers up to the time this report was written.

Specimens were collected at Nama Pan, in parkland on sandy soil. As the plant was recognised and named by one of the southern !h5: Bushmen who was with us, it probably extends into the Kalahari well south of Ghanzi.

[262] The bulbs are edible after cooking.

Scilla sp. near *Scilla lancifolia* Bak. (5190) Photograph 5.

Eastern !khû Bushman tû

This plant has a rounded two-inch bulb covered with a thick layer of dark brown papery scales. In the summer it produces three or four spreading leaves, usually six inches long but up to 10, and one and a half inches wide at the widest part. They are thin but fleshy, strap-shaped (but in section widely V-shaped near the base), and light green, sometimes faintly mottled with darker green. The inflorescence is four inches long and the flowers small and not conspicuous, with purple stamens and a recurved perianth.

It was common in shallow sand overlying rock near Gautscha Pan and Nama Pan but was not easy to find because the leaves and inflorescences had been frosted, and blown away by the wind by the time the expedition had reached those parts. A number of bulbs collected there produced leaves and flowers in Pretoria the following summer, and it was from these plants that the notes were made.

[252 262] The bulb is edible after roasting but I have not tried it personally.

It would be dangerous to experiment with plants like this if what the Bushmen say is true, for it could be easily confused with another species which has an inedible bulb. The inedible species (No. 5181) is shown in photograph 6 and may be distinguished by its longer bulb and longer leaves (10 inches long and over, and two inches wide at the widest part). They have a translucent fringed margin, are pointed, narrowly V-shaped in section and more numerous, about 12 to a plant. In addition, the

N137 Two storage organs of this plant were found by the Bushmen near Nama Pan in August 1955. They lay dormant for a further 16 months after being planted in Pretoria, then both plants grew out and flowered within a few weeks of each other. The parts above ground disappear during the winter for they are very susceptible to frost.

[262] The storage organ is edible. It has a pasty texture and little taste if [252] eaten raw, but is improved by baking.

Eulophia sp. nearest *E. pillansii* Bol. (5279, 5304) Photograph 9.

Eastern !khû Bushman ≠gɔ?ɔ

An erect stemless plant with four or five spreading glabrous grass-like leaves half an inch wide and 11 inches long, prominently three-keeled on the back and grooved above, and fairly soft and lax. They rise in tufts, each one from a corm the size and shape of a slightly flattened golf ball with "eyes" on the upper surface and short stout roots below. The corms have a brown skin covering a white fairly firm flesh. They are often linked together five or six at a time, and are to be found an inch or two below the sand. The above-ground parts die back during the winter and usually disappear without trace before the next season's growth begins. The plant flowers after the new leaves appear and has the flowers arranged alternately in an open inflorescence at the end of a 12-inch flowering stalk. They are yellow and green, and about half an inch long.

A few corms were found by chance in two places near Nama Pan, in the shelter of small thickets. They flowered in Pretoria but could not be matched with any of the named specimens in the National Herbarium and the species may be undescribed.

[252] The corms are edible raw or roasted. They were peppery when tasted [262] in Pretoria, probably because they had been planted too near the surface and had become green through the action of the light. At Nama Pan they were mild and tasteless with a pasty texture.

Eulophia sp. (5213, 5306) Photograph 10.

Eastern !khû Bushman ≠gawu

The corms of this orchid are a little bigger and coarser than those of the other species of Eulophia (numbers 5279 and 5304) but are otherwise similar. The leaves are erect, somewhat curved, eight inches long and slightly more than half an inch wide, pale yellowish-green, rigid and firmly fleshy, with a channel running down the upper surface and a corresponding keel on the lower surface. This plant grew well but did not flower in cultivation in Pretoria and the species has not been determined.

It was found in the same locality as the other Eulophia and under similar conditions.

[262] The corms of the two species are used in the same way by the Bushmen, and cannot be distinguished by taste or texture.

Ximenia americana L. var. *microphylla* Welw. ex Oliv. (5061) Photograph 11.

!hɔ: Bushman..... n≠ ?uri
!ganakwe Bushman... n≠ ?uri
|gikwe Bushman..... ≠ɔti
Naron Bushman..... n≠ ?uri

Very like the following species (*Ximenia caffra*), but except for the flowers glabrous throughout and with smaller glaucous leaves which tend to fold along the midrib and droop, giving it a rather unattractive look. Its fruits are lighter in colour, and smaller. The two species were often found growing together, but no evidence of hybridisation was seen.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

X137 place being taken by a few thick fleshy erect lobes, and from the woody remnants of old flowers in this particular species it could be seen that they had four lobes. The two species recorded from South West Africa are *Hydnora africana* and *Hydnora solmsiana*, parasitic respectively on species of Euphorbia and species of Acacia. Number 5162 is either a new species, or one of the known ones parasitic on a hitherto unrecorded host. The material collected was inadequate for specific determination, and the seeds which were planted did not germinate.

This Hydnora was seen only in the immediate neighbourhood of Nama Pan, where it appeared to be fairly frequent.

The host plant is a straggly shrub up to six feet high, with grayish woolly leaves an inch long. It has the characteristic four-winged fruits of the genus, and many remain on the twigs through the winter. It was not seen in the country to the south of Ghanzi, but was common from Ghanzi northwards, and is widely distributed in Portuguese East Africa, the Transvaal and Rhodesia. A glossy-leafed form of it is also known, but was not seen along the route of the expedition.

[262] The whole mass inside the Hydnora fruit is edible. It is astringent and slightly sweet, and is eaten raw. The fruits would be difficult to find if it were not that they are eaten by various animals. A litter of [222 824] half-eaten fruits and fragments of rind and shallow burrowings often show where the fruits have been excavated, and where more may be expected. They ripen about the end of August.

Talinum arnotii Hook. f. (5256) Photograph 14.

Eastern !khû Bushman ‖gwi-ja (stems and leaves)
≠k'aro (tuber)

During the winter there is seldom any sign of this plant above ground for the branches wither and die back with the first frosts. There is a perennial tuber a few inches underground, irregularly shaped and up to a pound in weight, crisp in texture and exuding a little cloudy astringent juice when injured. It has a brown skin and a reddish-brown zoned flesh. Although it is often eaten into hollows, presumably by rodents and insects, it is not eaten by the Bushmen. The stems appear in September and form a loose mat three feet in diameter on the surface of the ground. They are reddish-brown, prostrate and sappy, and the leaves are dull green and fleshy, channelled down the centre on the upper surface and with slightly crystalline appearance. The bright yellow flowers, which are produced in midsummer, are an inch across and quite showy, but open only in the heat of the day. They have two sepals and five petals. The flower-stalk starts bending when the flowers are mature, and by the time the fruits are fully formed it is curved sharply back. The fruits are the size of a small pea, shiny green and pointed at the tip, and covered by the withered remains of the perianth. They become yellow when ripe, with a papery shell and seeds the size of a pinhead.

The tubers of this plant were often unearthed in the more open parts round Nama Pan. I am doubtful whether it should be kept separate from *Talinum caffrum*, which is distributed from the Cape Province northwards to the Sudan and is very variable in its leaves and habit.

[262] The leaves and smaller branches of this species are used by the [252] Bushmen as a green vegetable. They are usually prepared by being pounded in a mortar to a paste which is dark green and slightly slimy and has a faintly acid taste with a flavour of lettuce.

Pollichia campestris Ait. (4963, 5040) Photograph 15. 137

A small grey-green bush with much-branched slender soft stems, fairly compact when growing in the open but usually found as a semi-scrambler up to four feet high. The leaves arise in tufts of about three, the tufts being opposite each other and at intervals of anything up to an inch along the stem. They are lanceolate and usually under half an inch long. The plant bears what at first sight appear to be fleshy translucent fruits like small white or yellowish mulberries, but which are actually parts of the flowers.

This is a widespread plant throughout Africa, and was seen at intervals all along the route taken by the expedition.

The fleshy parts of the flowers are edible and sweet, with a queer earthy flavour, and are loosely attached so that they may be easily collected by pulling the stems through the hands. The plant, however, did not appear common enough to be of importance as a food. [262]

Boscia albitrunca (Burch.) Gilg and Benedict (4998, 5208) Photograph 16.

!hɔ: Bushman.....	ɬhun
ǂganakwe Bushman...	n|ʃu-ni
|gikwe Bushman.....	n|ʃu-ni
Naron Bushman.....	n|ʃu-ni
Eastern !khû Bushman	zã

This is a rather variable tree, sometimes with erect branches and sometimes with a spreading crown, usually bearing many thin twigs with much dead wood among them. The bark is sometimes loose, dark and coarsely fissured and sometimes white and flaky. The species was also often seen in the form of a many-stemmed shrub about four feet high. It is evergreen, and did not seem to be at all affected by the heavy frosts that were experienced in the central Kalahari. The leaves arise singly or in bunches of four or five from small knobs on the twigs, and are leathery and about one inch long and a third as wide. Although the flowers are small and inconspicuous as individuals, they are borne in masses towards the tips of the twigs and make quite a show. In the Cape and the Transvaal at least the tree appears to be sporadic in its flowering. The fruits are borne on half-inch jointed stalks, and are half an inch in diameter, pale-skinned and translucent, with several large stones surrounded by a thin, watery pulp.

The tree was scattered evenly throughout the country from Molepolole to Ghanzi and Gautscha Pan, and has been recorded from the Cape Province northwards to the tropics. It occurred singly, occasionally in open communities, but it was never seen to form thickets.

The fruits are eaten by the Bushmen, but they do not make pleasant eating, for the pulp has a rather slimy texture and a sickly-sweet taste. [262]

Sim (1907:123) refers to a meal which is prepared from the roots by drying and beating them. The resulting meal is then sifted to remove the fibres and may be made into a porridge. There are reports of gastro-intestinal disturbances after the eating of Boscia roots, but the reports have not been confirmed, and Steyn (1934: 561) fed large quantities to a rabbit without ill effects. It is suspected that people are susceptible only when they are not accustomed to this food. The Bushmen were not asked about their use of the roots, and did not volunteer any information. [252] [114 124]

The older trees are often hollow, and form natural reservoirs for rain water which is tapped by the Bushmen. (See Adansonia.) 312 824

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

The following observations were made in the Transvaal near Pretoria, where infestation by *Cirina forda* is frequently so heavy that the affected trees may be readily recognised from a distance from the way in which the leaves are stripped. The caterpillar is prepared for food by being grasped by the head and squeezed through the thumb and forefinger of the free hand with a milking action. This clears out the bowel contents, and no further preparation is necessary before the boiling which follows. The head is rather hard and may be removed, but this is not necessary. After light boiling or roasting the caterpillars are dried in the sun and may be stored without deteriorating for several months. They are slightly oily but crisp in texture, with the smell and flavour of kippers. 252 [251]

Bauhinia esculenta Burch. (5160) Photographs 19 and 20. 137X

Eastern Ikhû Bushman tsi: (the seed)
nǁŋ (the storage organ)

This plant is a runner in open grassveld, with numerous slender vines up to 18 feet long, the youngest parts of them covered with a fine brown tomentum. They bear inch-long Y-shaped tendrils, but the plant is not a climber. The vines die back during the winter but do not disintegrate as readily as those of the Cucurbitaceae, and are conspicuous until the new runners are produced from the perennial underground stem. The leaves, which are soft and reddish-brown when young but turn leathery and glaucous as they grow older, are deeply bilobed, with a small spur between the lobes. The plant bears showy yellow flowers in December, and the pods ripen from April onwards. At first they are soft and reddish brown, then light green and, when ripe, brown and woody. They contain up to six flattened seeds about the size of one's thumb nail, consisting of a hard shell and a soft nutty edible inner part. The plant is easily seen because of the craters it forms where the soil is stony—craters a yard or more across, edged with a ring of stones which appear to have been forced to the surface by the stem beneath. The details of this crater formation, however, are not known.

This Bauhinia is curiously patchy in its distribution. Although it is plentiful in some places near Vryburg, it was not seen along the route of the expedition until a point 400 miles north of Vryburg, that is, 127 miles before Ghanzi was reached, and I have no record of it after leaving the Ghanzi area until the expedition crossed the border into South West Africa near Gam, after which it was again plentiful. It occurs in communities sometimes miles across, with the plants in these communities scattered 20 to 30 yards apart. On the expedition it was seen growing only on deep sand or where there were outcrops of limestone, and near Pretoria it has so far been seen only on the dolomite, but it has been grown successfully in Pretoria on neutral shaly soils. It has been recorded from the northern Cape Province, the western Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa.

Although the seeds are not pleasant to eat when raw, they are excellent after roasting, and analysis figures show that they are rich in protein and oil. The roasting should be carried out slowly, otherwise they may shatter with a rather disconcerting report, and to avoid this they are often roasted in sand, which probably gives a slower and more even heat. They may also be boiled to make a porridge or a drink. They will last through the winter in the field without spoiling but become scarce towards the spring, probably through being covered with wind-blown sand and being eaten by animals. 262 252 146

262 252 [222] The sappy young tuber makes a good vegetable after baking or boiling. Those dug up by the Bushmen were about two pounds in weight and would not have been more than a few seasons old, for it is known from specimens grown from seed in Pretoria that it takes about ten years for them to reach 30 pounds. Burchell (1824: 589) says that they are astringent, but on tasting the 30-pound one mentioned I did not find it so. It was, however, rather tough and leathery.

With breeding, this might become a useful plant of cultivation.

X137 *Bauhinia macrantha* Oliv. (4887) Photograph 21.

!h5: Bushman.....	ǂintɛ
!ganakwe Bushman...	n|an|hɛ
ǂgikwe Bushman.....	nǂanǂɛ
Naron Bushman.....	nǂiǂei
Eastern !khû Bushman	ǂŋǂwa

This species is usually a rigid three-foot shrub, but grows up to six feet where protected from fire and is sometimes found as a weak scrambler with stems up to 12 feet in length. Dinter (1912: 28) records one in the form of a tree five metres high, but this is quite exceptional. It has thin rather wiry twigs, some slightly curled at the tips, and alternate bilobed leaves which are shed during the winter. The younger parts are minutely hairy, but soon become glabrous. The flowers are borne at the tips of the twigs and are pure white and showy, with a pleasant scent and crisped petals. The pods are four inches long and one inch broad and contain five or six irregularly-shaped flattened beans.

Bauhinia macrantha has been recorded from near Molepolole, but is probably localised or uncommon there, for on the expedition it was first seen 60 miles northwest of Molepolole. From there on it was common, although there were occasional gaps in its distribution. It forms communities in open sandy grassy country, usually with the tips of the bushes just showing above the grasses, and has been recorded from the Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, South West Africa, Rhodesia and Angola. It has grown well as a cultivated ornamental shrub as far south as Grahamstown.

252 262 The ripe beans are extracted from the pods, roasted peeled and pounded into a pleasant-tasting coarse rather gritty meal, edible without further preparation. The beans may also be used when they are green, but then it is more convenient to roast the whole pod so that it can more easily be opened. They are not eaten raw, for unless cooked they have a burning taste. The pods are easily opened when mature by bending them across the middle, when the two halves spring apart. The halves form spirals as they dry.

The importance of this species as a food plant was shown by the heaps of empty pods which were found at many Bushman shelters and Bakalahari villages. There is, however, a great deal of labour involved in preparing the meal, because although the beans have a thin shell and are thus easy to crack, it still takes about 1,500 of them to produce a pound of air-dry meal.

A note on one of Schoenfelder's specimens in the National Herbarium states that the root is also edible when roasted.

Like *Bauhinia esculenta*, this might be a useful cultivated plant if improved by breeding.

137X

Vigna dinteri Harms (5227, 5310) Photograph 22.

!hɔ̃: Bushman..... |iĩi
Naron Bushman..... |iĩi
Eastern !khû Bushman ʃa:

A leafy twiner which climbs through trees and shrubs to a height of six feet or so. It produces numerous slender stems like a runner bean, and the leaves too are similar, being alternate and made up of three pointed and often lobed leaflets two inches long and half as broad. The terminal leaflet has a stalk over a quarter of an inch long, but the side leaflets are very shortly stalked. There are two narrowly triangular stipules where the leaf-stalk joins the stem, an eighth of an inch long and fixed at the base. The whole plant is finely hairy, but less so on the upper surface of the leaves than on the lower. The flowers are also like those of the runner bean, creamy to brownish-yellow, and are borne several at a time on a stalk up to five inches long. The pods are three inches long, circular in section and less than a quarter of an inch in diameter, and the seeds are bean-shaped but small, the size of a match-head. On a branching system of roots nine inches below the surface of the soil are borne swellings the size of potatoes, but more regular in outline and without the lobing which is so common with potatoes. In shape they vary from spherical through ovoid to long and only slightly thickened, and arise apparently in no particular order, for very small ones and large ones may be found next to one another on the same root, the spacing between them ranging from a fraction of an inch to a foot. The axis of the root (which is usually a little less than a quarter of an inch thick) passes through the centre of the swellings. As the plants were seen during the winter, there was very little remaining of the leaves and stems, and I have no information as to their frequency. Only two specimens were found, both in the neighbourhood of Nama Pan, and both in fairly thick mixed scrub in sand. Because of their habit of growth, it is unlikely that they would be found in open grasslands. The root swellings were planted in Pretoria and produced vigorous plants which flowered and set seed normally. The swellings themselves, however, were found to have been heavily infested with eelworm in their new habitat, and when they were replanted no further plants were produced.

Vigna dinteri has seldom been collected, and, as far as I know, only in South West Africa, though it is very likely that it extends into Angola and the Bechuanaland Protectorate as well. The fact that it is known to the !hɔ̃: Bushmen indicates that it may extend into the central Kalahari.

The swellings on the roots are edible raw or cooked, and are a pleasant and satisfying food. When raw they have a flavour which has been likened to that of grean beans. This is fainter after cooking. [262] [252]

It would be worth while investigating this plant with a view to bringing it into cultivation.

Vigna triloba Walp. (5257).

Eastern !khû Bushman ga·ni

Although occasionally reported as a trailer in grasslands, the more usual form of this plant is a twiner very similar in habit to *Vigna dinteri*. It has the same type of trifoliolate leaf as well, but the leaflets may vary widely in different plants, being simple or lobed, hairy or almost glabrous, sometimes long and narrow and sometimes almost as broad as they are long. Some of the forms would be indistinguishable vegetatively from *Vigna dinteri* if it were not for a difference in the stipules. In *Vigna*

X137 *triloba* they are what is known as dorsifixed, that is they are fixed a little way up from the base so that the stipule is free at both ends. The flowers are the same size in the two species and have the same long stalk, but those of *Vigna triloba* are predominantly purple. They tend to open in the early morning and to close during the heat of the day.

Vigna triloba is reported from a variety of soils and is widespread through southern Africa, but it was not seen on the expedition until the Nama Pan area was reached.

262 It has a finger-thick tap-root which is edible after boiling or roasting, [252] although fibrous and slightly bitter. In mature plants it may extend downwards further than can conveniently be dug, but it is easily broken off. There appear to have been no previous records of its use as a food plant.

X137 *Commiphora pyracanthoides* Engl. (5137) Photograph 23.

Eastern !khû Bushman n|ñ

A deciduous, rigid, twiggy two-foot shrub with spine-tipped twigs, branches that curve downwards, and a bark that is pale green and flaky on the older parts and grayish on the young twigs. The flowers are less than a quarter of an inch long and inconspicuous, and are borne in bunches on small knobs scattered along the twigs. Male and female flowers are on separate plants. The knobs also bear the leaves, which appear after the flowers and are glaucous, simple and finely serrate, and about three quarters of an inch long and half an inch wide. The fruits are "ovoid, about the size of a green pea, though reddish brown when ripe. When the fruits are ripe, the fleshy covering may be easily split apart in two halves exposing the black seed with a red aril covering it partly at the base and extending in four slender 'fingers', producing an intriguing pattern". (Codd, 1951:87.)

The species extends from South West Africa to the northern Transvaal, but was uncommon in the area round Nama Pan. One specimen collected there was grown in Pretoria. Leaves and flowers were obtained in the summer following, and from this material the determination was made possible.

[262] The plant exudes an edible gum from injuries and is a useful source 312 of water in an emergency, the water being in a sappy underground organ 824 which is like that of one of the following species of Commiphora, No. 4994. It is known as a water plant among the Bantu of the Transvaal as well.

X137 *Commiphora* spp. (4994 edible, 5030 inedible).

4994		5030	
!h5: Bushman..	dʒǎ	|gikwe Bushman	!ana
|gikwe Bushman	dʒǎ		
Naron Bushman	|uri		

Two species of Commiphora were collected in the Kalahari south of Ghanzi. They were completely deciduous rigid two-foot shrubs with many sharply-tipped twigs and a flaky bark. At first sight they were identical, and even close examination revealed no bigger difference than that one of them was a little more of a thicket than the other and slightly 8.24 grayer. The Bushmen, however, stated emphatically that the grayish one [278] was poisonous and the other not. They said also that the grayish one WAS THE HOST OF THE INSECT WHICH THEY USE FOR [825] MAKING THEIR ARROW POISON, AND THAT IT HAD HARDER ROOTS THAN THE OTHER.

was the host of the insect which they use for making their arrow poison, and that it had harder roots than the other. The fruits, flowers and leaves might have shown the difference clearly, but no trace of them could be found, and though plants were sent to the Transvaal for growing they failed to become established. 824

In spite of its unpromising appearance, the non-poisonous one is a useful source of water. This is in a sappy unbranched vertical underground part about an inch and a half thick. The Bushmen excavate down its length as deeply as they can reach, then break it off and withdraw it. They remove the thin outer skin and chew the remaining part, which is crisp and has a little tasteless sap. As a source of water it does not compare with the various species of Cucurbitaceae—weight for weight it contains far less, and the labour of digging it up is considerable. However, it must be a reliable standby when the Cucurbitaceae are not in fruit, and in the central Kalahari it is plentiful. In the southern part it is apparently absent, for it was not seen until 256 miles north-west of Molepolole. 312 824 [222] [271]

Dichapetalum cymosum (Hook.) Engl. 5109, 5266, 5338 Photograph 24. 137X

Eastern Ikhû Bushman ma-l

This plant produces a number of slender erect woody stems up to 12 inches high, sparingly branched and often buried in the sand at the base. The leaves are four inches long, numerous, sessile, alternate, broader in the upper half where they are about one and a half inches across, and tapering at the base, with a stiff papery texture and with veins prominent above and below. They have a slight bloom on the upper surface and the younger leaves at least have a pair of narrow hairy stipules at the base. The younger parts of the plant are hairy, but the hairs wear off with age, and during the winter the leaves turn brown and hard and finally drop. The flowers are scented and have white petals forked at the end, but as they are small and nearly covered by the sepals, they are not conspicuous. The fruits are like a loquat, and may be brown or yellow. The have one or two big seeds covered by a little flesh.

Dichapetalum is distributed widely but patchily from the northern Transvaal through to Angola and Rhodesia. On the expedition it was seen for the first time between Tsau and Kaikai, and beyond that it was fairly frequent but scattered. It was usually in open situations, and seldom where there was dense tree growth.

Though the leaves are extremely poisonous, the flesh of the fruits is harmless and is eaten by the Bushmen. They emphasised that the flesh only could be used, and that the stone was poisonous. They did not mention the skin, but the following note on Schoenfelder's specimen 31, in the National Herbarium, indicates that it, too, is poisonous:— 262

> "Fruits like small yellow oranges are eaten peeled in great quantities by the Kung Bushmen. When still green can be eaten after baking in hot ash. Used like fruit, fresh. The peel of the fruit is stamped and mixed with other food to poison stealing dogs (Diriko)." [252] [278 824]

Marloth (1913-25: II: I: 120) and Engler (1912: 577) also refer to the edibility of the fruits.

There are four other plants of very similar appearance which could be confused with *Dichapetalum cymosum*, and although they were not collected on the expedition, their distribution does overlap. They are *Pachystigma pygmaeum*, *Pygmaeothamnus zeyheri*, *Parinari capense* and *Diospyros chamaethamnus*. The first two bear inedible fruits and may be 137X

X137 [262] distinguished by their having opposite leaves. The latter two bear edible fruits and like *Dichapetalum* have alternate leaves. The differences are that *Parinari capense* has leaves dark green above and covered with a white felt below, and that *Diospyros chamaethamnus* has no stipules.

Another species, *Dichapetalum venenatum*, has been described, but is in my opinion not specifically distinct from *Dichapetalum cymosum*.

Ricinodendron rautanenii Schinz (5336) Photograph 25.

Eastern !khũ Bushman ,||k"a:

The trees seen on the expedition were about 25 feet high and were then (at the end of August) quite bare, resembling slender baobabs, with similar but thinner stems, and smooth bark and stubby branches. Specimens collected elsewhere showed that the leaves are digitately compound, with about five leaflets and two prominent green glands at the top of the leaf-stalk. They are dark green above and pale below and covered with a pale to brownish powdery wool which is found on the young twigs and fruits also. The trees are either male or female. The small creamy flowers are borne in bunches towards the tips of the twigs and the female flowers give rise to reddish fruits the size of a small plum, consisting of a thin pulp surrounding a very hard nut. This is light coloured like an almond, thick and strong and marked all over with numerous small pores.

The only trees seen were on heavy sand near the banks of the Eiseb omuramba, 29 miles from Gam on the way to Windhoek, where they were dominant in a belt several miles wide. They formed a woodland, with the trees spaced about 25 yards apart. Herbarium records show that this is the usual mode of occurrence. The species has been recorded from South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa.

252 262 The pulp of the fruit is edible raw or stewed. It does not readily go bad, but in time it dries and shrivels and in this condition, turned hard and crumbly, is still a wholesome food, edible raw or cooked. The stone contains one or two firm white-fleshed kernels which are, like the pulp, edible raw or cooked. The tree is an important source of Bushman food because of the quality and quantity of its fruit and because the fruits remain good for a long time even without being stored. Those seen on the expedition were on the ground beneath the trees and were still perfectly good to eat. The tree is additionally useful in that it sometimes collects [312 824] and holds rain water in hollows in its trunk (see Adansonia).

X137 *Sclerocarya caffra* Sond. (5292) Photograph 26.

Eastern !khũ Bushman -gai

A few mature specimens were seen, about 20 feet high, and a few young ones. The mature trees had a single clean bole with a flaking bark and a branching rounded crown, and were very different in appearance from the young ones which consisted of four or five thick and sappy unbranched stems about five feet high, with a smooth brown bark. This was in August, and all were quite leafless. The following description is taken from Codd (1951):— "The leaves are pinnate with three or four pairs of well-spaced leaflets and a terminal leaflet. The leaflets are oval, smooth, tapering to an abrupt point and are about one and a half inches long and one inch wide. Flowers are inconspicuous and are produced in small sprays just before the appearance of the young leaves, some trees

The plant was widely distributed along our route, sometimes in the open grassland and sometimes in the belts of woodland, but was not common. It has been recorded from Angola, South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Transvaal. 137X

The fruits are edible but not very palatable, for they consist of large stones and only a little pulp, sweet and slightly mucilaginous. Nevertheless, according to a note on one of Schoenfelder's specimens (Schoenfelder No. 8, in the National Herbarium) they are a staple food not only of the Bushmen but also of several Bantu tribes, and can be kept when thoroughly ripe. 262 [251]

Grewia flava DC. (4941, 5024) Photograph 30. 137X

!h3: Bushman.....	,n|a:
||ganakwe Bushman...	,k"um
|gikwe Bushman.....	,k"wam
Naron Bushman.....	,k"um
Eastern !khû Bushman	,n|ŋ

A rigid shrub about five feet high with numerous erect straight stems, often branching below the soil and so appearing unconnected. They are softly hairy when young. Old stems have a smooth dark bark and are sometimes slightly angled. The serrate leaves, which are shed in winter, are dull gray-green above and covered with a fine silvery down below, and make an attractive background for the bright yellow flowers which come out in midsummer. The fruits are half an inch across, usually four-lobed, and brownish-yellow when ripe.

Grewia flava is known from the four provinces of the Union, and from South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. It occurred nearly everywhere along the route of the expedition and was one of the commonest shrubs of the central Kalahari, but only one of all the thousands of plants seen was in fruit.

The fruits have a little edible sweet pulp surrounding the seeds. They are an important Bushman food, not so much because of their quality as because of their abundance, and because they can be kept if they are first dried. They are then soaked in water or cooked before being eaten. 262 [251] [252]

Grewia flavescens Juss. (5053).

A lax deciduous shrub or scrambler up to 12 feet in height, with slender stems which often become four-angled in older specimens, and with leaves, flowers and fruits similar to those of *Grewia retinervis*. There was little of it fruiting, but whether the season was over or whether it is naturally not a heavy yielder is uncertain. 137X

This species has a wide distribution through tropical Africa. It was not seen south of Ghanzi, but was scattered from Ghanzi northwards to Gautscha Pan.

Its fruits are eaten by the Bushmen. As most of the Grewias were leafless and as there were more species towards the north, it became increasingly difficult to estimate the frequency of each when once the Ghanzi area had been passed, and nothing can be said as to the relative importance of the northern species in the Bushman diet. 262

X137 *Grewia retinervis* Burret (4875, 5066) Photograph 31.

!hɔ: Bushman.....	⊙bɔ:
||ganakwe Bushman...	||ʔani
|gikwe Bushman.....	||gani
Naron Bushman.....	||gani
Eastern !khû Bushman'	!gwa

A straggly many-stemmed five-foot shrub, sometimes a weak scrambler up to 10 feet high. The stems are half an inch thick at the base, rounded and slightly woolly when young, slightly flattened and glabrous when old, and tough and pliant. Its leavers are alternate, pale green, one and a half inches long and an inch wide, ovate with a pointed tip, toothed, and roughly hairy to the touch. They wither and fall soon after being frosted, but if out of reach of the frost remain on the bushes at least until the end of July. The plant bears spreading yellow flowers half an inch wide, and fruits the size of a pea, with a papery brown skin enclosing a few large pips and some fibrous mealy material. *Grewia retinervis* is closely allied to *Grewia flavescens*, so much so that I doubt whether the two should be considered anything more than varieties of one species. The differences are that *Grewia flavescens* is usually taller, and not so conspicuously veined on the upper surface of the leaves. Mr. B. de Winter, of the National Herbarium, Pretoria, has observed also that its older stems are square in section and those of *Grewia retinervis* are flattened.

Grewia retinervis was scattered over most of the area covered by the expedition, and common in the central Kalahari, specially in open grassy country. It has been recorded from the northern Cape and the Transvaal as well as South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

262 The fruits are edible. They ripen in winter, and have a slightly sweet
[251 taste and a pleasant flavour. They may be stored after being dried, and
252] are then soaked or boiled before being eaten. The crop, if one may judge from the 1955 season, is abundant, and the amount fairly constant for all the bushes. The fruits form an important part of the Bushmen diet,
[146 although little of them appears digestible. The roughage is voided almost
147] unchanged, in enormous faecal masses up to two and a half inches in diameter.

824 The dry stems of this plant nearly always contain the tunnelings of
372 grubs, and the tunnellings are packed with their excreta in the form of a brown, pith-like substance which forms a useful tinder. The Bushmen split the stems down the centre, make a slight depression in the flat surface and use this as a socket for the fire-drill.

X137 *Grewia* sp. aff. *Grewia bicolor* Juss. (5056).

Eastern !khû Bushman gamak"wɔ:

A slender shrub up to six feet high, with many sparingly branched stems. The leaves are one and a half inches by one inch, very finely toothed, dark green above and pale below, pointed at the tip and rounded at the base. Both surfaces are covered with a fine grayish felt which is thicker on the lower surface. Typical *Grewia bicolor* has wool on the lower surface only. The fruits are the size of a pea, and have a little flesh covering usually one big seed. No flowers were seen.

This is another of the plants with a distribution which begins in the Ghanzi area and extends northwards, and the remarks made as to the distribution and importance of *Grewia flavescens* apply here also.

[262] The fruits are edible.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

Adansonia digitata L. Photograph 32. 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman ≠m

The Baobab, as it is commonly called, is shown in photograph 32. Its stem may have a circumference of up to 148 feet, and makes it quite unmistakable. In winter it is leafless but in summer it bears dense dark-green foliage. The flowers are pure white and up to six inches across, and the fruits, as described by Codd (1951: 120) are " oblong or egg-shaped, five to six inches or more in length and three to four inches in diameter, with a woody shell which is softly grey-velvety on the outside ".

The southernmost specimens were seen in the neighbourhood of Ghanzi, and from there it occurred sporadically to Gautscha Pan, the furthest point north reached by the expedition. There were big gaps in its distribution and it was rare throughout, but in some parts of the Transvaal it occurs abundantly and may have an unbroken distribution over many square miles of country. It is widely distributed in the drier regions of north and south tropical Africa.

Inside the shell of the fruit is a white, pith-like substance which may be eaten raw, or ground up and stirred into water to make a drink, or boiled to make a porridge. It has an acid-sweet taste. The seeds which are embedded in the flesh are also edible and are eaten like nuts. In other parts of Africa they are prepared in a somewhat involved way which includes protracted boiling, fermenting and drying. There are several records of the fact that the young leaves make quite a good substitute for spinach, but as the expedition was during the winter and as the trees are deciduous, I cannot say whether the Bushmen know of this, nor whether the trees we saw were of the glabrous variety which is the one used for spinach. No seedlings were seen. It is known that the white shoot from the germinating seed can be used as a substitute for asparagus, and that the tender root of the very young Baobab is also edible (Dalziel, 1937: 113). The trees are often hollow, and like *Boscia albitrunca* and *Ricinodendron rautenii* may act as reservoirs for rain water which can be used in times of scarcity. The Bushmen reach it by fitting hollow grass stalks end to end to form a tube, and sucking it out. A further product of the Baobab is a large caterpillar which feeds upon the leaves and which is an important article of food aming the Natives of the northern Transvaal. It is recorded also from South West Africa, and is very likely known to and used by the Bushmen.

252 262 [272] 271 312 824 262 136 825

Ochna pulchra Hook. (5273) Photograph 33. 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman !i and !e:i

A semi-deciduous tree with a clean but usually rather twisted bole which is white to light gray and has a peeling bark. The branches are bent and rigid and the wood brittle. They bear glossy light green alternate leaves which are almost sessile and usually entire, rarely with a very finely toothed margin. The tree has an attractive appearance even in winter, and the young leaves add to this in the spring for they range from pale green to reddish-brown. The flowers are borne in early summer, in showy scented bunches. They have yellow petals and a green calyx, which persists after the petals have fallen and turns bright red. The fruits are hard and green when immature but turn fleshy and black as they ripen. There are usually two or three, the size and shape of small beans, attached to a fleshy red swelling in the centre of the flower. The leaves have been suspected of causing poisoning in stock, but tests carried out on mammals have so far been inconclusive. (Uys and Thomas 1952, Steyn, 1949: 125.)

X137 *Ochna pulchra* is well known and widely distributed from the Transvaal to Northern Rhodesia and Angola. It was frequently seen in southern Bechuanaland and again in the north, but there was a gap between of about 200 miles where it was not recorded. Ghanzi was approximately in the centre of this gap. In the parts traversed by the expedition it was seen growing only on deep sand or in rocky soil.

252 262 The Bushmen stated that the ripe fruits when boiled in water yield a fat, which can be skimmed from the surface and used as food. This is confirmed by the notes on the specimen collected by E. B. W. Schoenfelder (number 28):—

> "Fruit when still green eaten after roasting in ash (Kung). When black and ripe cooked with water and the fat skimmed and preserved. The cooked fruit is eaten with pips (Kung and Diriko)."

X137 *Combretum apiculatum* Sond. Photograph 34.

Eastern !khû Bushman ||aja

A small tree or many-stemmed shrub, usually about 10 feet high in the drier areas. It has paired rather stiff pale green glabrous leaves with a varnished appearance, which turn yellow in the autumn and persist on the tree well into the winter before being shed. The flowers are small and greenish-yellow and would be insignificant except that they are numerous and massed at the ends of the twigs. The fruits have four papery wings and are about an inch in diameter.

Combretum apiculatum is widespread and often common, extending from Northern and Southern Rhodesia through the Bechuanaland Protectorate to South West Africa and through the northern Transvaal to Natal, but it was not seen along the route of the expedition until the Gautscha Pan area was reached, where it occurred sparingly.

[262] The Bushmen stated that it produces an edible gum. I have been able to confirm this in the Transvaal, but observed that the gum is produced only rarely.

Combretum coriaceum Schinz (5052, 5270, 5330).

Eastern !khû Bushman ≠gwa

An evergreen tree with paired stiff gray-green leaves. It is usually rather erect and in these parts seldom more than about 10 feet high, though it grows up to 30 feet under moister conditions in the northern Transvaal. The flowers appear towards the beginning of September. They are yellowish in colour and small, but crowded into showy little masses towards the tips of the twigs. The four-winged fruits are reddish-brown, and dry and papery.

It has been recorded from tropical Africa southwards to the Transvaal and Natal, but under a variety of names. Along the route from Molepolole to the north it was first seen 67 miles before Ghanzi. From there to Gautscha Pan it was fairly common except in the neighbourhood of Lake Ngami and the Okavango swamps.

[262] Although the tree produces an edible gum, it does so too rarely to be of importance as a food supply.

By the spring there may be nothing left to mark the position of the plant. 137X
How extraordinarily observant the Bushmen are was well shown when they 824
were asked if they could find a specimen and demonstrate its use. One man guided the party for four miles across country featureless except for clumps of trees to a spot where he knew of one growing. It was found after a short search—nothing more than two or three small sticks among the grasses, with the bark shredding into white silky fibres.

Raphionacme burkei is found from South West Africa through the 137X
Bechuanaland Protectorate into the northern Transvaal and the northern Cape. Two specimens were seen in the central Kalahari, and the species was determined from one of them which was sent to Pretoria for cultivation and flowered there in the following summer.

It is a well-known source of water among the Bushmen of the Kala- 271
hari. They extract the water from the storage organ by planing a pile 312
of shavings off it with the edge of a split stick, and then squeezing the 824
shavings in the hand and allowing the water to run into the mouth. This rather roundabout way of doing things appears to be without good reason, because the flesh of the storage organ may be chewed without any ill effect. It is firm and crisp, slightly fibrous, and faintly bitter.

Pentarrhinum insipidum E. Mey. (5171, 5191) Photograph 40. 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman n!ɔ-ʃu and n!wa-ʃu

A leafy deciduous climber up to 10 feet high, and a vigorous grower which may completely cover the host tree. It has freely branching lax stems which are quite tough in spite of being only a matter of an eighth of an inch in thickness. They are covered with a fine white down which is just perceptible to the naked eye, and when broken they exude a little milky juice, so little that it is easily overlooked. At intervals of about five inches arise pairs of leaves, deeply cordate at the base, and with long stalks. In the younger stages they are minutely hairy but they become glabrous or nearly so as they grow older. The flowers rise in a group on a three-inch slender stalk from between the leaves. They are brownish with a yellow or white central portion, small and faintly scented. The fruits are occasionally produced in pairs but are more usually solitary. They are beaked, three inches long and half as wide, covered with blunt prickles, longitudinally wrinkled and dull green.

At Nama Pan this was a frequent climber among the trees, and it is widespread over southern Africa. It was not, however, seen in the country south of Ghanzi.

At maturity the fruits are hard and woody and packed with the fine 262
silky hairs that form the pappus of the seeds, but when green they are 252
softer and may be eaten raw or cooked as a vegetable, and may be stored for three weeks before they deteriorate. Their rather copious white latex is quite harmless. They have a crisp texture when raw and a pleasant flavour, nutty and faintly peppery. When boiled they are reminiscent of Asparagus. When the seeds inside have turned brown the fruit will be found too hard to make good eating. The leaves, too, may be eaten raw as a salad, and are used that way by some Transvaal Natives, but the Bushmen method of preparation is to pound them to a pulp in a wooden mortar.

Pentarrhinum insipidum grows well from seed and is a rapid producer 137X
of green material. It might be a useful fodder plant for domestic stock.

X137 *Sarcostemma viminale* R. Br. (4993, 5170) Photograph 41.

Eastern !khû Bushman |gubu|gubu

A leafless climber, reaching a height of 10 feet or so, with gray-green jointed branching stems as thick as a pencil and containing a large quantity of pure white latex. They bear yellowish strongly scented flowers, and fruits shaped like a slender carrot. The plant is occasionally found growing in the open, away from any support, in the form of a dense clump of ascending stems about three feet high.

It is widespread in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and through the drier parts of all four provinces of the Union.

262 There are records from the Cape Province, Natal and the Transvaal that the stems and fruits of this plant are eaten by the Natives, either cooked as a vegetable or raw as a salad, and I have eaten the raw stems in the Cape Province. They have no distinctive flavour. It is a dangerous plant to eat, for there is a poisonous strain of it which is not visibly distinguishable from the edible one (Dyer, 1937: 123), and which, if eaten in sufficient quantity, causes death after symptoms like those produced by strychnine. The Bushmen said that they never used it for food. I have no information as to its use or otherwise in the central Kalahari, where it also occurs. Presumably it would be safe for food where browsed by animals, which often happens and is easily seen.

X137 *Ceropegia tentaculata* N.E. Br. (5220) Photograph 42.

!h3: Bushman..... |ala
Naron Bushman..... !?aru
Eastern !khû Bushman !ama

A twiner up to eight feet high, minutely hairy, with opposite almost fleshy leaves about an inch long rising at intervals of two to three inches. The flowers which are produced on short stalks in a group of half a dozen or so are three quarters of an inch long and tubular, with a swollen base and lobes at the top produced into slender threads. The fruits are paired, four inches long, very slender, gray and filled with seeds attached to a silky pappus. The plant has a tuber a few inches below the surface of the soil, the size of a flattened apple, with a distinct hollow at the top from which the stem rises and with a rounded base which produces many short and slender roots. It is the colour of a new potato.

Ceropegia tentaculata has seldom been collected, and is recorded only from South West Africa. One specimen was found growing in deep sand in the shelter of a thicket about twenty miles south-west of Nama Pan. As it was recognised and named by one of the !h3: Bushmen who was with the expedition in South West Africa, it probably occurs also in the Bechuanaland Protectorate in the southern Kalahari, which is the home of these people.

[252 262] The tuber is edible when roasted.

Ceropegia sp. near *Ceropegia leucotaenia* K. Schum. (5309) Photograph 43

Eastern !khû Bushman |gwi-ts'ou

The above-ground parts are pubescent, otherwise similar to those of *Ceropegia tentaculata*. The flowers also arise in groups but have a shorter tube, about half an inch long, with the processes of the lobes connected at the tips. The processes are dark brown and covered with slender hairs.

The plant has a shallow tuber which is about as big as a billiard ball but bell-shaped, with fine roots sprouting from the flattened base. It is similar in colour to the tuber of *Ceropegia tentaculata*. 137X

Only one specimen was collected, in the shelter of bushes on sandy loam near Nama Pan. It was cultivated in Pretoria and flowered in January, 1956.

The tuber is edible when roasted. [252 262]

Ceropegia sp. near *Ceropegia lugardae* N.E. Br. (5264) Photograph 44.

Eastern !khû Bushman n!wi:

In the above-ground parts the plant is like No. 5226 (*Ceropegia* sp. near *Ceropegia mozambicensis*), but it is more leafy and the flowers have a single instead of double swelling at the base. It has a similar bunch of pencil-shaped roots.

One specimen was collected in shallow sand overlying rock at Nama Pan. It flowered in cultivation at Pretoria at the end of March, 1956.

The roots are edible when roasted and in texture and flavour like those of No. 5226. [252 262]

Ceropegia sp. near *Ceropegia mozambicensis* Schltr. (5226) Photograph 45.

!h5: Bushman..... ,gu:-n||a
Naron Bushman..... ,gu:-n||a
Eastern !khû Bushman -n||ama

A twiner with very sparsely hairy stems and leaves similar to those of *Ceropegia tentaculata*. The differences are that the flowers are borne in pairs on a peduncle about one inch long, one flower maturing long before the other, and that the flowers have a double swelling at the base and at the top are broadly funnel-shaped, with erect folded dark brown broad lobes connected at the tips and edged with sparse hairs. The tube is greenish, spotted with purple. The stem arises from a bunch of pale fleshy roots about six inches below the surface of the soil, the size of pencils but tapering at the ends and constricted at the top so that they are easily broken off.

Only one specimen was seen. It was growing in the shelter of a thicket on deep sand about 20 miles south-west of Nama Pan. It flowered in cultivation in Pretoria in January 1956.

The roots are edible when roasted. They taste somewhat like a potato, but are firmer and have a flavour of their own. They have no fibre and the plant would be worth investigating for improvement and cultivation as a vegetable. [252 262]

Duvalia polita N.E. Br. (5187) Photograph 46.

Eastern !khû Bushman -da:daba

A sprawling succulent plant. The fleshy stems are glabrous, uniformly gray-green and four inches high, with usually six longitudinal rows of soft spines with a deep crease between each row. They rise from underground runners which are white and lack the distinct spininess of the stems. The corolla-lobes surround a prominent fleshy basal ring, and are dark brown, sometimes with vibratile hairs similar to those of *Caralluma knobelii* and sometimes irregularly flecked with yellowish-green. The

Y137 specific name, which means *polished*, refers to the shiny appearance of the corolla-lobes towards the base. The fruits, borne in pairs, are between a half and a quarter of an inch in thickness and six inches long, tapering at the end and containing numerous flattened seeds with a silky pappus.

Although it has a wide range across tropical and sub-tropical Africa, it is uncommon, and only one specimen was collected on the expedition, under the shelter of scrub at the edge of a rocky outcrop at Nama Pan.

[252 262 312] The stems are edible raw or roasted, but have a bitter taste. They are sappy enough to be a useful source of water.

Caralluma knobelii (Phill.) Phill. (5094, 4914) Photograph 47.

!h5: Bushman..... -≠aberr
||ganakwe Bushman... -da:daba
|gikwe Bushman..... -da:daba
Naron Bushman..... -da:daba
Eastern !khû Bushman -da:daba

The plant consists of a number of stubby, succulent erect stems four inches in height and half an inch in diameter. They are glabrous and dull bluish-green, mottled faintly with a darker green and square in section, with four rows of sharp and fairly hard-tipped spines. They exude a clear greenish juice when cut. The flowers are white to greenish, with dark purple blotches and edged with sparse delicate knobbed hairs known as vibratile hairs because of the way they are moved about by even the gentlest breeze. The stems arise from underground runners which have the same form as the erect stems except that they are white, and more slender.

This species, which is known only from the Kalahari, was found in various places on deep sand between Molepolole and Ghanzi, but was nowhere common. It was in the shelter of trees and scrub, and was not seen in the open.

[252 262] The whole plant is edible raw or roasted, but the underground portions are better than those above ground, which tend to become bitter. [312] They have a peculiar smoky flavour which is not unpleasant, and their abundant juice makes them a useful source of water.

Stapelia kwebensis N. E. Br. (5140) Photograph 48.

Eastern !khû Bushman -da:daba

Similar in habit to *Caralluma knobelii*, but with dull green downy stems and rounded instead of sharp corners. The spines too are shorter and tipped with small erect leaves. It has dark brown flowers with slender lobes ridged on the upper surface and radiating out from a shallow central pit.

Only one specimen was collected on the expedition, on a rocky outcrop at Gam, but the species is widely distributed in South West Africa except in the extreme south and it is known from the northern Transvaal as well.

[252 262] The stems are edible, raw or roasted.

Fockea sp. (5136, 5236).

Eastern !khû Bushman '!xwa:

One of the two specimens collected was in the open among rubble at the edge of a sheet of rock at Gam, a plant with fleshy stems 12 inches high, and the only one of its kind seen in that vicinity. The other specimen was growing with several more in stony scrub-covered ground near Gautscha Pan, and appeared similar except that the stems were thicker and were twining to a height of several feet among the other bushes. The

X137 older stems often form the points of characteristic zig-zags. The fruits are red when ripe and contain about five seeds. They open by means of a latitudinal break (circumscissile dehiscence) so that the skin at the end of the fruit comes off like a cap. The central jelly-like portion of the fruit, which has the seeds embedded in it, often remains behind when the cap is removed. The plant is deciduous, and the vine dies back if the winter is severe. It arises from a pale brown rootstock the size and shape of a large pear, which in the three specimens collected was partly above the level of the ground.

Its range is from the northern Cape Province, the Transvaal and Zululand through to Rhodesia and South West Africa. It was collected south of Ghanzi and again in the neighbourhood of Gautscha Pan, but was nowhere common. It is a woodland plant and does not occur in the grasslands.

[262 252] The fruits are sweetish and edible when ripe. The rootstock is bitter and is not eaten, but the stems and leaves are boiled to produce a spinach which is fairly palatable, but stringy. It is eaten also by certain Natives in the northern Transvaal.

Corallocarpus welwitschii (Naud.) Hook. f. (5315) Photograph 54.

Eastern !khû Bushman !gwara!ai

The fruits of this plant have a short but fairly distinct stalk, and its rootstock has a faint unpleasant smell when freshly dug. In all other respects it appears to be identical with *Corallocarpus sphaerocarpus*.

It has been recorded from the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, but so far not from the Union. The only specimen found on the expedition was growing in sand under trees at Nama Pan. It grew well in cultivation at Pretoria.

[262 252] There is no information on the edibility or otherwise of the vine, but the ripe fruits may be eaten raw. They are sickly sweet and flavourless. The Bushmen stated that the rootstock is edible after being cooked, but I found it too bitter to eat.

Momordica balsamina L. (4929, 4970, 5003) Photograph 55.

A climber over grass and low bushes or a runner over the ground, with sharply-lobed light green leaves about two inches across arising singly at intervals of a few inches along the numerous lax, slender stems. It has three-inch spiralling tendrils rising at the bases of the leaves. It is glabrous, with a soft, attractive look, but has a strongly unpleasant smell when bruised. The flowers are an inch across, pale yellow and after the usual Cucurbitaceous pattern as shown in the photograph of *Coccinia rehmannii*. The fruits, green when immature, are an attractive orange when ripe, one and a half inches long and an inch in diameter, with about ten longitudinal rows of short blunt prickles, and contain half a dozen seeds enveloped in a crimson pulp. The skin of the ripe fruit splits longitudinally and almost explosively when it is handled. The plant is an annual according to the *Flora Capensis*, but those in the Kalahari remained alive through the winter and put out fresh vines in the early spring to replace the frosted growth of the previous season.

It has been recorded from the four provinces of the Union and from Portuguese East Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, and although it was not noticed north of Ghanzi, it was widespread to the south.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

The fruit, according to the label on one of the herbarium specimens, is "very poisonous", but there appears to be no satisfactory proof of this. The Bechuana state that the crimson pulp round the seeds is edible, and I ate it without any harmful effects. It is sweetish but has a rather unpleasant slimy texture. 137A [262]

Citrullus naudinianus (Sond.) Hook. f. (4983, 4984, 5272) Photograph 56.

!h5: Bushman.....	||gan
||ganakwe Bushman...	gã:
|gikwe Bushman.....	gã:
Naron Bushman.....	gã:
Eastern !khũ Bushman	tʃa

This viné, commonly known as the Gemsbok komkommer, is a runner on the sand and not a climber. It has a tap-root the shape of a large carrot, which may be three inches or more in diameter at the top and three feet long, and which grows hard and woody with age. The younger roots are full of juice and intensely bitter, and cannot be eaten by human beings, although many showed signs of having been eaten by animals. The runners, which may reach a length of 30 feet, are stouter than those of the related *Cucumis hookeri* and No. 4895 (see page 50), and unlike them and those of *Citrullus vulgaris* are fairly frost-resistant. Many were still green during the heavy frosts experienced on the expedition, and were even putting out fresh leaves. They often have a zig-zag growth form and may root at the nodes. Apparently they die back after a few seasons, for live and dead runners were common. The leaves, borne on a one-inch or two-inch stalk, are dull green, lobed, very rough to the touch, and between two and four inches long. A stout slightly hooked tendril rises at the base of each leaf and is usually about as long as the leaf-stalk. The fruits vary in shape from ovoid to nearly spherical, and weigh about half a pound. The skin is covered with thick soft spines a quarter to half an inch long, and is pale yellow when the fruits are ripe. They can stand heavy frost without spoiling, and are eaten by many different animals.

The plant has been recorded from the sandy parts of the north-western Cape Province and Orange Free State, the Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, South West Africa, Angola and Northern and Southern Rhodesia. On the expedition the runners were common between Molepolole and Ghanzi but the fruits, in tens or in hundreds, were in patches sometimes many miles apart. The plants were not found on the firmer "pan" soils and were much less common north of Ghanzi.

The fruits have a thin rind containing numerous flattened white seeds embedded in a green translucent jelly-like flesh which may be eaten raw or roasted and has a distinctive, slightly rank flavour. The pips and skin are often roasted separately and pounded to make en edible meal. As a source of water this plant comes next in importance to *Citrullus vulgaris*, but like *Citrullus vulgaris* (and *Cucumis hookeri*) it cannot be depended upon where there have not previously been adequate rains, for the water in its perennial tap-root is not in itself enough to produce a crop of fruit. [262] [252] [312]

Citrullus naudinianus has possibilities as a cultivated plant.

X137 *Citrullus vulgaris* Schrad. (4937, 4999) Photograph 57.

!h5: Bushman.....	dam
!ganakwe Bushman...	n!an
!gikwe Bushman.....	n!an
Naron Bushman.....	n!a-ǂ
Eastern !khû Bushman	_t'a_ma

This plant, one of the melons and commonly known as the tsama, has stout six-foot vines half an inch in diameter at the base and a quarter of an inch at the tip. They are covered rather densely with light brown hairs, which turn white and stiff with age. The vines are usually prostrate, but occasionally festoon themselves over grasses and low shrubs with the help of small Y-shaped tendrils, curly at the tips. The leaves are borne on two-inch stalks and are hairy on the ribs, dull green, rough to the touch and deeply lobed. Each plant produces male and female flowers. They are an inch in diameter and pale yellow, and the fruits which follow are rounded and up to six inches in diameter and six and a half pounds in weight. As many as 34, of all sizes, have been counted on one plant. The rind, densely hairy when young but later quite smooth, is dark green mottled longitudinally with light green, and contains a crisp, juicy, tasteless white flesh in which numerous flattened brown seeds are embedded. The melons can endure heavy frosts without becoming spoilt, but the rest of the plant is very susceptible. The frosts, however, merely hastens its death for it is in any case an annual.

This melon is indigenous to south-west Asia and the warm dry regions throughout Africa. The water-melon is merely an improved variety of the same species, which has been known in Egypt and Babylonia since the beginning of history (Marloth, 1913-1925: III: II: 205). The tsama was widespread but patchy along the route of the expedition, and areas of abundant melon alternated with long stretches where it was not seen. It was not confined to the sand but grew also on the hard soil of the pans.

262 312 824 [184] [244] The tsama is unquestionably the most important plant to the Bushmen in this part of the Kalahari. They are known to use it as their sole source of water for months on end and it is extremely doubtful whether they would be able to live permanently in the Kalahari without it. Its importance is shown by the fact that one group of Bushmen in the central Kalahari had a small patch of tsama which they had grown from seed, and the Bushmen are not as a rule agriculturalists. Nevertheless, the tsama is not an infallible standby, for the reasons given in the discussion on *Citrullus naudinianus*, and when the need arises the Bushmen can and must substitute more meagre but at the same time more reliable sources of water, for example from *Sansevieria scabrifolia*. When it is used for drinking-water 252 262 312 the melon is opened at the top like an egg and the central portion cut out and eaten. The rest of the pulp is then mashed inside the rind with a stick to a watery mass which is half drunk and half eaten, the pips being put aside and later roasted and pounded (without being peeled) to make an edible meal. The melons are sometimes roasted before being eaten, which adds a little flavour, and they may be cut up and mixed with meat to form a stew, which is conveniently cooked in the rind itself. Although no bitter specimens of the tsama were found along the route of the expedition, they do occur. Their flesh is poisonous and unfit for human consumption, but their seeds are free of poison and edible after roasting.

At some villages of Bakalahari (which are a Bantu tribe), the tsama is regularly cultivated. These and wild melons are collected and stored under shelter, and goats, horses, cattle and even dogs are kept with tsama as the main source of water. The livestock use the melon more economi-

The storage organs[1] are firm but juicy and may be eaten raw or cooked. The flavour is pleasant, rather like that of a turnip, and if they are eaten raw they are a valuable source of water. They were an important article of food to the Bushmen we met in the central Kalahari, and the plant would be worth investigating with a view to cultivation after improvement through breeding. 262 [252 312]

Coccinia rehmannii Cogn. (4954, 5029). Photograph 61. 137A

!h5: Bushman.....	m@waje:
!ganakwe Bushman...	|ga:
|gikwe Bushman.....	|ga:
Naron Bushman.....	|ga:
Eastern !khû Bushman	|ga:

A vine, climbing by means of tendrils to a height of six or eight feet, and bearing on half-inch petioles a dense growth of dark green leaves which are deeply and irregularly lobed and very variable in size and shape. They have a rough texture from minute scattered white hairs, more numerous on the upper surface and pointing forward. The stems are slender and angled, and bear a few of these hairs also. The plants are either male or female, and both male and female flowers are trumpet-shaped with short triangular petals, pale yellow and three quarters of an inch across. The fruits are three quarters of an inch long, with a bulbous base and a rather thick neck, green mottled with white when immature and red when they ripen in the autumn. The old stems die back during the winter and new ones are produced the following spring from a perennial tuber buried about four inches below the surface of the ground. The tuber tapers gradually when young, but thickens and assumes various shapes as it grows older, and the bark, from being smooth, becomes rough and fissured. It does not "bleed" if injured superficially, but from deep injuries it exudes a clear astringent mucilage.

Specimens on the expedition were found not in the open grasslands, but always growing in shelter under a bush or in a thicket It was midwinter and they were dormant, represented above ground by a few fragments of dry and leafless stringy stem among the twigs of the sheltering tree, and in consequence exceedingly difficult to find. Even after the presence of the plant had been established the finding of the tuber presented difficulties, for the connection with the vine overhead was often broken. The plant appeared to be occasional but widespread in the parts through which we travelled, and three tubers, all of which were successfully cultivated in Pretoria, were collected in different parts of the Kalahari. It is recorded also from the Cape Province, the Transvaal and South West Africa.

Besides providing food, the tubers are sappy enough to be a useful source of water, but they must be roasted first for they cannot be eaten raw. Older woodier tubers are best boiled, but even so the fibre is so tough that it is ejected after being chewed. At all stages the tubers are rather tasteless. They are known also to the Natives in some parts of the Transvaal, and eaten by them, but in this land of relative plenty they are not a popular food. The fruits also are edible, but rather sickly sweet and flavourless. Doubtless they are used by the Bushmen, but I failed to ask them. 252 262 312

1 [CUCUMIS; see CATEGORY 116, p.50 FOR DESCRIPTION --ANALYST]

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

X137 *Coccinia sessilifolia* (Sond.) Cogn. (5167) Photograph 62.

Eastern !khû Bushman ˜k'i:dwa

A vine with many slender stems and bluish-green sessile leaves, deeply and irregularly lobed but usually less so than those of *Coccinia rehmannii*. The are covered with tiny raised scales on the upper surface, which sometimes show through on the lower surface as dots, and although hairs are present they are nearly all confined to the margins and too small to be seen by the naked eye. The tendrils are produced at the base of the leaves. Male and female flowers are borne on different plants. They are superficially alike, and similar to those of *Coccinia rehmannii*. The fruits are ovoid, three inches long and one in diameter, and are bright red when ripe. The leaves drop during the winter, and the vines also wither and disintegrate, but fresh ones arise in the spring from a perennial tuber weighing up to 25 pounds or so and similar in all respects to the tuber of *Coccinia rehmannii*.

Although the plant has a wide distribution on a variety of soils in the Cape Province, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, it was not seen on the expedition until Nama Pan was reached, where it was growing under the shelter of trees in sand. Two tubers, which happened to be male and female respectively, were sent to Pretoria, and flowers and fruits were produced in the summer of 1955-56.

262 252 Both tuber and fruit are edible. The tuber, which is prepared by roasting or boiling, is fibrous and rather tasteless. The fruits may be eaten raw when ripe, and although sweet are without much flavour. They are best used for food when gathered green and cooked as a vegetable. Their texture is then fairly firm and their flavour like that of Asparagus. [136] An added advantage of using them green is that one avoids the larva of a certain fly which, in Pretoria at any rate, often heavily infests the more mature fruit.

114 X137 It is of interest to note that although there is a record in the National Herbarium that birds eat the fruit and that the tubers are dug out and eaten by buck, there is no record of the fact that the plant is eaten by human beings. On the contrary, the information on one specimen is "Fruit is very poisonous to children" and on another "Toxic".

184 Kalahari only insect poison is used, and further north and
278 north-west only plant poison.

224 All tribes observe certain customary practices in connection
[184] with the hunting of animals with bow and arrow. These vary considerably among the different tribes. The following is an account of the practice as met with among the *Hei-||om*. After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *||!gāus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals. The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is skinned by the men.

252 The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the purpose, is cut into
[237] sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then removed to the *||!gāus* by the men who may occasionally be assisted by the women. On arrival at the *||!gāus* all the meat is laid on the ground under the *!heis* either on sticks which were used in carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib*
224 (chief) now comes forward and if he finds that the *!hei-|ais*
622 (fire under the tree) has gone out he returns to his hut, brings
252 fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the meat in the meantime being hung on the *!heis* (tree in centre of camp). After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men—the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and "tastes" (tsū-tsū) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as *≠koms*.

224 All meat killed with bow and arrow is *so.ra* and may not
262 be partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, however, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *so.ra* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *so.ra*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *so.ra* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the

hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*ǂei-ti*). Her 224 portion is known as the *ǂnoe-di* and is the only meat which 262 may be partaken of by women. The *ǂnoe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the *ǂkham-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The *ǂnoe-di*, however, may not be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *||gãus*. It is not brought under the *!heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The *ǂkham-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women [784] partake of any other meat than the *ǂnoe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu* (youths) is known as *!om-||gani* and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles, etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at the *axarogudi ǂgaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the *!heis* [252] ● or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *sora* to him and if he [784] eats any other part, *e.g.*, the *ǂkoms* he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions about two finger breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis* may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *ǂnoe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-||gani*, under which is included the *ǂkoms*. The latter may be eaten only under the *!heis*. After it has [264] been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is [84] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *ǂkoms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib* and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat 224 killed by the members of an outlying *||gãus*, the *gei-khoib*, 622 likewise having to taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the *||gãus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *||gãus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he

224 visits a *||gūus* for this purpose he kindles the *!kei-|ais*
622 with fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own.

224 Any want of success in the chase is generally attributed to
777 some chance incident. For example, a man, who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife had her periods, will not hunt again when she is in that condition nor will she eat any of the *‡noe-di* at such times. The meat of an animal
[262] killed by a dog may not be eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating. This prohibition is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. If, however, an animal is killed with bow and arrow after having been brought at bay by a dog, the meat is *so.ra* and women may eat the *‡noe-di*. The remains of an animal killed by a lion are not *so.ra* and may be partaken of by all individuals. Care, however, is taken not to offend the lion which likewise observes certain practices after each kill. After having had his fill he buries the sacrum and haunchbones and covers them over with the dung (stomach contents) of the animal. If he should be unsuccessful in hunting his prey he returns to the spot of the last kill, digs up the buried parts and inters them in another place. This he does to restore his luck and if he should find that the bones have been taken away he will follow the person who removed them right into the *||gūus*.

184 *So.ra* applies only to meat killed with bow and arrow and
224 as far as is known at present this practice exists among the
262 *Xom-khoin*, *|Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*. Among these
784 groups the meat of the following animals is *so.ra*, namely, steinbuck, duiker, springbuck, hartebeest, gemsbuck, kudu, wildebeest and giraffe. The eland, which is a comparatively rare visitor to the parts occupied by these groups is not killed at all by the *Xom-khoin* who believe that harm will befall any person who eats its meat. In other words the *Xom-khoin* consider the eland to be absolute *so.ra*. Among other groups the man who shoots an eland must, on returning to the *||gūus*, sleep under the *!kei-s* as intercourse with his wife will prevent the poison from killing the animal. The same applies to a person who shoots a giraffe.

412 The implements and utensils which are used in the collection and preparation of food are very few in number. Vegetable food is dug up with a sharpened stick, 2 to 5 feet in length.
252 Ointjes, *||ñoun* and other similar plant foods are roasted in hot ashes covered with cinders. Ants (Bushman rice) are dealt with in a similar manner and then recovered again by means of a sieve of grass matting. Locusts are either roasted or boiled. Frogs, etc., are sometimes roasted over the fire on a wooden spit (braaistok) stuck into the ground. Birds, snakes, small antelope, etc., are prepared by placing them in a hollow made in the ashes with a flat paddle-shaped wooden scoop and covering them over with live coals. The meat of larger

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly 252
disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin
tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups [437]
use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roast-
ed plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or
porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on
a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of 264
wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make 415
wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or
tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some 184
purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except 262
by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it
comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are
generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild
Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the
case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not
suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and
eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco 237
pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game
on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups,
bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The *|Nu-||ĕin* [184]
and *||Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the
‡Ao-||ĕin and other tribes living to the north. Articles [438]
made by the former form an important medium of exchange.
The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows
and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it [482]
also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari
groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft
and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich
and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into
knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into
spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during
the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required
for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large [415]
animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for
collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich egg-
shells are used for carrying and storing water and for the [301
manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time 438]
form the most important article of barter among the *|Nu-
||ĕin, Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-||om*. Among the most [184
northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red [278]
ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omura* tree, are the 438]
principal media of exchange.

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit 121
me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious
beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive
communities are surrounded.

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Gikwe

asked Ukwane for some, which Ukwane gave him. Gishe said: 224
"I have been living among Europeans for a long time, but I 237 272
remember now who I am."

From the body of that gemsbok the Bushmen bailed out 251
several bucketfuls of liquid, enough to supply them for almost a week. They cut the meat into strips which they would dry in the sun and use as they needed them, also enough for a week or perhaps even longer, as there were only a few people and the gemsbok was almost as big as a cow.

Tsetchwe had built a tiny fire beneath a tsama melon, an 252
empty melon with the top cut away, and when she received [224
her share of the meat—for any animal is divided at once by a 422]
rigid system of rules, some meat given to each person rather than kept as a communal supply or portioned to families—she cut a small piece and stuffed it into the melon, where melon juice, heated through the rind, was boiling now. It cooked like meat in a stew, and when it was done Tsetchwe emptied the melon into a bowl, fanned it to cool it, and then 264
ate some, putting a strip of meat into her mouth and hacking off a bite with her husband's knife. She was ravenously hungry and she ate almost all, while her baby, lying in her [253]
lap, nursed from her breast. The last piece she saved for him; she put one end of it into his mouth and, as he bit down, flashed the great knife under his nose to cut him a small enough morsel.

The gemsbok had vanished. All that remained from the 224
butchering was the pile of squeezed, dry grass from the ru- 422
men and a few lumps of feces that the redheaded flies buzzed over. The meat, bones, head, hide, and brushlike tail all now [237]
belonged to people, and all the people had carried their portions away. Gai owned two hind legs and a front leg, Tsetchwe had meat from the back, Ukwane had the other front

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GiKwe

the innocent eyes of a baby and pretty, drop-shaped ears that 224 857
were pink inside, it rushed at him and bit his finger. A dire fate awaited it; Ukwane caught it and pinched its throat.

The tortoise was given to Nhwakwe, the baby, as the spoils of a hunt are always shared, and Gai, his father, took it to 252
roast it for him.

First, Gai scooped a shallow pit in the sand in front of his sleeping-place, which he filled with burning sticks. Beside him, old Twikwe held the tortoise on its back, but the tortoise urinated brown urine and Twikwe let it stand up. It stood looking at the flames, blinking its hard black eyes, then started to walk away. But Twikwe caught it again and held it, idly turning it over and over while she talked with Gai about other things, about smoke they had noticed on the southern horizon which Gai said was Bushmen's smoke. Gai said he planned to go to see the people some day soon, and as he spoke he took the tortoise from Twikwe and laid it on its back, where it rested with its feet out and its neck bent, in the position that would be correct, if it were standing. Gai took a burning stick from the fire and set it against the tortoise's belly. The tortoise kicked violently and jerked its head, urinating profuse amounts of the brown urine which ran over Gai's hand, but the heat had its effect, the two hard, central plates on the shell of the belly peeled back, and Gai thrust his hand inside. The smoldering shell reeked and the tortoise struggled violently, but Gai slit the belly with his knife and pulled out the intestine.

The tortoise by now had retreated part way into its shell, trying to hide there, gazing out from between its front knees. Gai reached the heart, which was still beating, and flipped it onto the ground, where it jerked violently for a moment, almost jumping, then relaxed to a more spasmodic beating, all by itself and dusty, now ignored. Gai pinched the gall away

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GiKwe

252 from the yellow liver and threw that away, but he left the liver and the surrounding fat because he meant for that to be eaten.

The baby, Nhwakwe, who owned the tortoise, came to sit by his father, leaning on Gai's leg and watching, looking smiling into the belly of the tortoise. A tortoise is such a slow tough creature that its body can function although its heart is gone. Nhwakwe put his wrists to his forehead to [524] imitate in a most charming manner the way in which the tortoise was trying to hide. Nhwake looked just like the tortoise.

Gai frowned with concentration and worked with his mouth open, pulled down at the corners. When the intestines were removed, Gai stuffed the cavity with green leaves of the [263] kind that "make your gums numb," say the Bushmen, added for flavor, I believe. The tortoise at this retreated far into its shell with its legs pulled in tightly, and Gai heated the doors again to curl them down. Then he packed the opening with grass and the tortoise's dung, capped it with a tsama-melon cap, and put the tortoise into the oven that was prepared for it like a shallow little grave which the tortoise just fitted, a final agony, for the tortoise once more kicked and struggled as Gai raked hot coals over it. The steam escaping from the moist flesh caused the ashes to bubble and boil, and it was over; the meat was in the pot.

Gai flung the intestines away and sat down near his wife to smoke, and I, who wished that they could at least have killed 539 [776] the tortoise first, thought of the story of Pishiboro and one of his wives, an elephant. Pishiboro is one of the names of God.

One night, when Pishiboro and his younger brother were sleeping, the elephant wife took them both and rolled them between her thighs, which caused them great discomfort. The younger brother said to Pishiboro: "Let us go away now

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GiKwe

152 The Bushmen as well as the gods ignore the suffering of animals. When they opened the pit and took out the tortoise
264 several hours later it did look delicious, and the meat, which came easily off the small, thick bones, smelled delicious brewed in the green leaves, and the thin young boys smiled happily and brought their tsama rinds to be filled from the mortar where Gai put the pieces he had picked off and had pounded to make them even and small.

262 While there was gemsbok meat and tortoise meat, the rabbit was hot worth eating, and it hung from the tree, where it dried, like a little husk, to be moistened again and eaten when nothing else was left. It swung in the breeze like a leaf, like a tiny, eerie ornament.

252 The lizard was eaten that evening by the three young boys,
264 who built a fire of their own, where they sat like hunters back from a hunt; with the red light of the fire on their thin faces, making their eyes bright, they roasted the lizard in the coals and ate it, and pulled its tiny bones out of their teeth.

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222 The women stopped and began to gather up the green melons, Twikwe picking them with a mechanical, stereotyped gesture. She first slipped her hand under a melon; then, twisting her elbow, she lifted the melon and held it pinched between the heel of her hand and her forearm, and with a scoop slipped it into the pocket of her kaross on the side. In a moment the side of her kaross was full, and she stood erect for an instant, looked at the sky, shifted her weight, and suddenly the melons rolled to the back of her kaross, leaving the side free for more. She was very efficient. In a moment she had a load. I was a little surprised at her, however, for now she would have to carry the melons with her all day whereas she might have gathered them on the way home. But Bushman women do not seem to mind this.

The women left behind the yellow melons which would have been bitter and rotten, touching them disappointedly with their toes instead. The false spring was hastening the time when all the melons would be gone, forcing the Bush-
222 men to eat roots as a staple diet, not as desirable because of
824 the uses that tsama melons have. Melons are eaten as both
[252] food and water, their pulp is added to meat which needs liquid for boiling, their seeds are roasted and eaten or ground into powder and used as flour, their rinds serve as mixing-
[415] bowls, as containers for small, loose objects, as cooking-pots with or without the pulp inside, as urine-containers for curing hides, as targets for the children's shooting practice, as children's drums, as resonators for musical instruments, and all this amounts to a serious loss for Bushmen when the melons rot or dry.

222 We went on until we were about two miles from camp. We were going to an almost imperceptible small hill, a place, said Twikwe, where a great deal of veld food grew. On the way a moving shadow caught our attention, and we looked up

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484 with their families on trips that would take them only hours if they were traveling alone. We stopped a fourth time in the middle of the vast plain, for John had seen a shattered ostrich egg on the ground and wanted to let the Bushmen gather it to make beads. Toma motioned him to drive on. The egg, he thought, belonged to a man named Crooked Kwi, who had left it there one season and would return for it someday soon. Toma had heard of this event from Crooked Kwi [457] himself when they had seen each other last, and, observing that the shell fragments were gathered into a pile, he supposed that this must be the very egg that Crooked Kwi had mentioned. It was just where Crooked Kwi had said it would be, too.

361 We left the eggshells behind in the immense plain and went on our way toward the eastern rim. When we got there we found the rest of Gao Feet's family—his older and uglier first wife, his old mother-in-law, his first wife's daughter, and his daughter's husband, none other than Crooked Kwi himself. These people were living in a most beautiful glade of thorn bushes that were growing thickly together among tall trees, their branches arching just over people's heads. A fire had cleared out all the grass and leaves, leaving just the brown earth and the gray lace of branches; the people were brown and their things were brown and white and the ashes of their fires were gray in the little hollows on the ground, for these people, too, had built no scherms. Tu got right out of the [252] jeep and went straight to a fire, where she began to crack some of her tsi nuts between a stick and a stone.

608 The rest of us exchanged greetings and the old woman, 551 Dikai's mother, embraced me. "You are my daughter. I bore you," she said. When I had first come to Gautscha Pan I had been named Dikai for her daughter, and among the Kung one is strongly identified with the person one is named for; as the

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namesake of Dikai, I had acquired her set of relationships and 608
was expected to follow the rules that applied to her. I could 551
act in a familiar way with those people whom she treated familiarly and was expected to avoid those whom she avoided. I called Dikai "Big Name," the term usually applied in such a relationship, she called me "Little Name," her nephews called me "Aunt," her mother called me "Daughter," and often her husband, Gao Feet, with roars of laughter, would say he would marry me someday.

We sat down in the werf in the delicate shade of the arching 281
branches and Dikai's mother produced a bag full of tsi nuts, 445 252
which the people began to roast and eat. The bag was made of the entire skin of a duiker—a little nocturnal antelope no bigger than a small dog—turned inside out with the legs tied together as handles, the neck tied off as the bottom of the bag and the rump open as the top. When it was full of tsi it was solid and formed and looked eerily like a little, headless duiker.

When the day was over and the sky was getting dark I 512
made a camp for myself a few feet from the werf. The Bush- 609
man children helped me pull the grass. We built a fire in our clearing and I cooked some beans and tsi nuts that Dikai's mother had given me for myself and the children, and as Bushmen from the werf began to come over I cooked more and more. There wasn't much—the Bushmen had only half a day's supply and we hadn't expected to be away from camp so long. Everyone had a little, though, and afterward we filled ourselves up with water and we smoked. It was very cold. Be- 513
fore the night was over, the water we had in our water pail had turned to ice. On nights such as this the Bushmen prefer to sit up and talk, to keep their minds off the fact that the air is cold and they are naked and hungry, rather than to try to sleep; they wait to sleep the following day, warm in the sun.

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gether without speaking and then his wife lay down and he lay down and their fire began to die. Soon all the werf was dark.

In the morning, in the salmon dawn, the first light, we woke up to find doves singing and a fresh, warm wind blowing. It was easy to sleep now, and the people slept for hours, rolling away from their piles of ashes as the day warmed, until they lay curled or sprawled in all parts of the werf with Toma's son, by chance, asleep in the center, flat on his belly with his head in the curve of his arm, relaxed and strong and breathing deeply.

At noon the adults began to get up. The women went into the forest behind their werf for sticks to burn and a few roots to eat, and when they had built up their fires they roasted the roots and shared them with their families. Toma said that we would go back to Nama Pan right away, but his wife and the other women wanted to gather tsi; it was very abundant right beside the forest and they hated to leave all that food just lying there. "Perhaps other people will come here and eat it," said Tu, so Toma changed his mind and everyone took bags, nets, skins, anything that could be used as a container, and they spent the afternoon gathering tsi. They got mountains of it. There was plenty in the patch that they had chosen and with all of them picking the nuts from among the round leaves of the tsi plants they filled every bag, skin, and net that they had. They gathered almost three hundred pounds. The women felt so happy that they were singing a gay, light song in three or four parts. When the people had picked all they could find, when every possible bag was full, they said they were ready to go to Nama, but when we brought the jeep and began to load it they were already busy with their endless preoccupation, that of giving and receiving, and had already

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by now, cranky from the long ride; the bundles of tsi were unloaded, the bundles of belongings, and Tu's grass bed. Lazy Kwi went off to find his wife and family, but the others, all Toma's people, looked around for a place to live and finally chose a tall tree, where they dropped their bundles and began to clear grass. In a very short time the werf was ready, fires were lit, tsi was roasting, and several of the Bushmen who had watched us come had gathered there to see if they should have a share of the tsi. Of course everybody got some and then sat down to eat it, burying the nuts in the hot ashes and scooping them out again with a stick when they were done. Dikai gave some tsi to me and said that I could use her fire, a courtesy, so I buried the nuts in the ashes and when I thought they were done I poked for them with a stick but I couldn't find them. Pretty soon they began to explode with loud reports and puffs of gray ashes which showed where they were, but of course then it was too late. You might as well throw them away if you forget where they are, the Bushmen say.

Some of the newcomers were eating giraffe hide, roasting great pieces of it, dried and thick and curling; they passed chunks of it around and it looked like the soles of shoes, all that remained of a giraffe hunted long ago. When it was roasted the people put it in a wooden mortar and pounded it into powder, and then licked the powder off their palms. Again, Dikai gave some to me and I found that it was salty and not unpleasant, tasting like bacon.

Gao Feet plucked my elbow and when I turned to him he pointed at Dikai, sitting on the other side of the fire. He had pointed his lips at her, pushing his lips forward and gesturing with his chin because Bushmen think it is rude to point with the finger. "She wants to tell you what is in her heart," he said. I looked at Dikai and she passed her hand over her two sons' eyes, first Little Gashe, then Little Dabe, as they slept

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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521 lifted her head and her face showed in the firelight; her eyes shone quite yellow and she looked dangerous, like a leopard, as she glared in the direction of his voice.

361 On my way home I passed Lazy Kwi's house, which his
342 wife had started in his absence, and as she had planned a large scherm and had already built the framework, many large branches stuck upright in the ground, but had not yet covered it with grass, I could see Lazy Kwi inside. He was between me and his fire, and in silhouette against the red light he looked like a creature in a cage, for he was peering through the lattice of branches to see who was passing by. I stopped
252 to show who I was, and noticed a bird roasting by his fire, a little duck which must have been snared by Lazy Kwi's old father-in-law. It was plucked and trussed and tied to a stick which was pushed into the ground so that the duck hung over the coals. It looked about done to me, so I asked Lazy Kwi, who was obviously alone with it, awake only to tend it, if it wasn't ready, and Lazy Kwi looked first at me, then at the
805 duck, then up at the sky, and shook his head. He was timing
821 it by a star, he explained, and the star had risen but wasn't high enough yet, so I said good-night and went home and left him in his lattice; and just before I went to sleep I heard great shouts of laughter, for Toma had found someone who hadn't heard the lion story and was telling it again.

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IN ANNUAL CEREMONY, *above*, a girl is guided as she lifts a *tsi* nut from the fire. She is now free to eat *tsi* for a year.

[p. 58]

might eat more in this way as he would not have to share that cooked meat with anyone but his wife and child.)

Gao Beard's sister, Di/ai, who had given him the arrow, received the meat of the back and throat and the intestines.

Gao Beard kept the meat of the neck for himself and in a second wave of distribution gave the rest of the meat as follows:

To his first wife, //Kushay, he gave both hindquarters, the meat of the chest, the lungs, part of the liver and one hind foot. To his mother he gave the meat of the belly and one hind foot. To his sister, //Kushay, and to /Gasa, the wife of his brother, /Qui, he gave one front foot each.

The amount given to his first wife was enormous. In addition to giving to her co-wife, also named //Kushay, and their children, she was to give a large portion of it to her parents, who lived with them in Band 2. (On other occasions the man had given directly to his wife's parents—not through his wife.) When the meat was cut up, //Kushay gave to her father, Old ≠Toma, four bundles of strips of clear raw meat (it was somewhat dried by then). There were about ten or twelve strips to a bundle, about 2½ to 3 feet long. We guessed the weight in all to be about 60 to 70 pounds. She gave meat also to her two younger brothers, /Gao and /Gunda. (Her other brother, //Ao, who had been one of the hunters, had got his share from Gao Beard.) She gave to her co-wife's father (≠Gao, Band 4) and to Old /Gaishay, her co-wife's MoFa, headman of Band 4. She then gave to six other persons, all in Band 1. They were her cousin, Old Gau (her FaSiSo) and his two daughters, and two other cousins (FaSiDas), Di/ai and /U, and /U's husband, ≠Toma.

The giving of raw meat went on. Old ≠Toma gave to eighteen people: his wife, six affines, three kin, two name relatives (i.e. a visitor because his father's name was ≠Toma, and Old /Gasa because her deceased husband's name was ≠Toma), and six other persons. Telling us the reasons for giving to the last six, whose kin or affinal connexions with ≠Toma, if any, were so remote we did not bother to trace them, he said of one, 'He is an old man whom I like in my heart', and of another, 'He was hungry for meat.' In the end Old ≠Toma gave some of the meat back to his daughter, //Kushay.

Di/ai (Band 3), the giver of the arrow, gave raw meat to six persons: her husband's mother, brother and two sisters (in Band 2), a visitor who was her HuSiHuBr, and her mother's brother, headman of the visiting Band 7.

Persons who had by this time received substantial amounts of raw meat began giving to others. We recorded 63 gifts of raw meat. Doubtless there were more. After the raw meat was given, there was further sharing of the individual's portions, cooked or raw, with parents, offspring, spouses, and other persons who live together.

Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the /Kung. When an individual receives a portion of meat he owns it outright for himself. He may give and share it further as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very important

301 The most highly valued gifts are the traditional ornaments of ostrich egg-shell beads,
431 especially the wide headbands and necklaces of five or six strings of beads reaching to the umbilicus. The creamy white is becoming to them. They like European beads also, of all colours, though white is definitely their preference. The only thing they do not like about beads, Gao Beard told us, is shortness of the string. After ornaments, the /Kung value implements or utensils, *//guashi* or dance rattles, which have required time and care to make, but perhaps more especially valued are metal objects and pots. The latter are obtained by trade. The /Kung do not trade among
[438] themselves. They consider the procedure undignified and avoid it because it is too likely to stir up bad feelings. They trade with the Bantu, however, in the settlements along the B.P. border. The /Kung offer well-tanned antelope hides and ostrich egg
439 shell beads. For these they obtain tobacco, beads, knives, axes, malleable metal for making arrow-points and spear-blades, and occasional files and chisels, fire-strikers, and pots.

The odds are with the Bantu in the trading. Big, aggressive, and determined to
435 have what they want, they easily intimidate the Bushmen. Several /Kung informants said that they tried not to trade with Herero if it was possible to avoid it because,
439 although the Tswana were hard bargainers, the Herero were worse. /Qui said he had been forced by a Herero whom he was afraid to anger to trade the shirt and pants we had given him as our parting gift in 1952 for a small enamel pan and a little cup. /Ti/kay had more gumption. A Herero at the beginning of a negotiation with him brought out a good-sized pile of tobacco but took from it only a pinch when it was time to pay. /Ti/kay picked up the object he was trading and ran off. ≠Toma said with amused exaggeration that 'a very good Herero, a respectable one, will give a handful of tobacco for five cured steinbok skins. A bad Herero will give a pipeful (he showed the size of his fingernail) for three skins.' The Tswana values are a little better. A well-tanned gemsbok hide brings a pile of tobacco about 14 inches in diameter and about 4 inches high. The values vary. Some that were reported to us were three rooibok, duiker, or steinbok skins for a good-sized knife, five strings of ostrich egg-shell beads for a spear.

439 The /Kung have become dependent on metal, especially knives, axes, and arrow-
[109] points. They have been able to trade enough for every man to have these implements.
[411] They could, however, exist without them and do still use a few bone and wood arrow-points. Poison makes their arrows deadly, not penetrating power. The pots are Ovambo or Okavango pottery (the /Kung make no pottery themselves) or European ironware. The /Kung like to have a pot around to borrow sometimes; not
[850] everyone wants to carry one. They cook mostly in hot ashes. More for their novelty, I thought, than for their worth, the /Kung trade also for old oddments of cloth garments (they weave neither cloth nor mats), pieces of blankets, basins, &c.—things they do not really need—but which they like.

Tobacco they need 'to make the heart feel better'. Oddly enough for these pas-
276 sionate smokers, tobacco was not given so much emphasis in gift-giving as one might
431 expect. They do make gifts of tobacco, but when anyone lights a pipe he passes it around anyway; all present drag smoke into their lungs until they almost faint and it has not mattered much who owned the tobacco.

302 Eland fat is a very highly valued gift. An eland provides so much fat that people
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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsī, the men always ac-
462 company the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsī* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater por-
222 tion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging imple-
[412] ment is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were
[101] living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some
[489] to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles
[361] to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back
[854] to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to
[482] them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the
[372] bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as
● 252 meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes,
264 pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

222 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the
433 impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food
231 is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families
166 therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—
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15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

224 they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly
602 only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others.
[574] This meat may be cooked and the quantities small. Visitors receive small amounts of cooked meat from their hosts. It ends in everybody getting some meat.

224 In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and pri-
431 mary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift giving. !Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift of meat at some time in the future. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously
[571] according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift giving in general: the person gives to measure up to what is expected of him, to make friendly gestures, to win favor, to repay past favors and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation.

224 Aside from the practical advantage of using up meat while it is still
431 fresh, the !Kung custom of meat sharing has enormous social value. It does
181 a great deal to mitigate tensions. The fear of hunger is lessened. People are
[154] sustained by a web of mutual obligation. Moreover, they are fully conscious
[183] of these values, and the custom is so strongly established and so faithfully followed that the idea of not sharing is virtually unthinkable to the !Kung.

422 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the
● 262 !Kung. When an individual receives a portion he owns it outright. He may
264 give and share it further, as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very
[261] important to the !Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

224 It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they
261 gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae !Kung eat hearty meals of meat when plenty appeared and they had been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and traditionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

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The *Choa* Ceremony The mother takes the girl's hands to scrape the tsi out of the ashes.

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choa-ed. The old woman who attends her performs this part of the ceremony (or her mother may do so). She scrapes a root called *sha sha* into the water hole. To *choa* the veldkos, the old woman takes the girl's hands in hers and together they place the veldkos in the fire. When it is cooked, they scrape it out together and the old woman puts *sha sha* in her mouth, chews it, and blows on the girl's hands and on the veldkos. This protects the girl from having an upset stomach. Each veldkos must be *choa*-ed the first time the girl eats it after the First Menstruation ceremony.

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No ceremonials mark subsequent menstruation periods, and the women do not seclude themselves during the flow or avoid gathering veldkos or dipping water from the water hole. They continue only to practice certain avoidances that in general have to do with men's hunting. The menstruating woman must not touch hunting gear; it would be very bad, for the arrows would be useless. She must not have sexual intercourse with her husband; it would make him tired and thin. Men in the years of their hunting prime should not talk or listen to talk about menstruation, for to do so might make them lazy in hunting.

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The girls who are married before their first menstruation have the same menstruation ceremony when the time comes as do the unmarried girls.

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There is no genital mutilation practiced among the girls and women of the !Kung. Girls are scarified, but not at the time of the menstruation ceremony. The scarification is begun when the girl is about seven or eight and is continued little by little over several years. Stripes are made on the legs,

[p. 266]

824 is not eaten. Next is a casing of granular-textured fruit
262 which is eaten. The fruit encloses the nut itself. This consists of a thick outer shell which must be cracked open with the nut-cracking stones. Within the thick shell is a softer inner shell which encloses the nut kernel which is the staple of the Bushman diet. This inner kernel is "packaged" within four protective layers and this explains its remarkable storage properties.

824 In the late summer and autumn months the Bushmen eat
252 large quantities of both the fruit and the nut. First the women boil potfuls of whole fruit in order to separate the outer flesh from the hard shell. The flesh of the fruit produces a delicious fruit puree that tastes like stewed prunes. After the fruit is eaten, the nuts themselves are set aside for later cracking and eating.

184 The summer hunting situation appears to vary from camp
221 to camp. At the !Gausa camp very little hunting was done.
224 The resident men assisted the Bantu in cattle herding and they
[177] received calabashes of sour milk as payment. At Characharaha
[648] the men hunted more, killing gemsbok, python and porcupine.
[464] At one summer camp, Mokoro, where there were no Bantu resident, two young men killed four large buck in the space of one month (two kudu and two gemsbok). This Mokoro camp was an
[177] unusually successful one. The availability of cows' milk and meat no doubt lessens the men's incentive for hunting

221 Unfortunately spring is the most difficult season for the
433 Herero as well as for the Bushmen. The good grazing for livestock is miles distant from the waterholes. Consequently the cattle are in poor condition and their yield of milk is low.

251 It would be useful for the Bushmen to amass a surplus of food in anticipation of this scarce season. However, none of the 15 independent camps observed ever kept more than a few days supply of vegetable foods on hand. Surplus accumulation was not a feature of Bushmen food strategy except for one instructive case.

There was a noticeable attempt to create a small surplus
251 in the form of dried meat and hides. Each family maintained
285 a storage basket in the crotch of a young tree. By weaving a framework of branches and palm fronds and lining this with grass, they built up a rough basket for storing weapons, water containers and small amounts of food. The storage basket was built five feet above the ground which kept its contents safe from the reach of dogs and children. If a day's hunting had been unsuccessful, the members of a camp could invariably produce an emergency ration of dried meat or, more often, dried hide for the evening meal. People saved scraps of dried hide of kudu, gemsbok and wildebeeste from kills made weeks or
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• 252 months previously. These scraps were softened by boiling or
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251 were roasted in the coals of the fire and then pounded to
252 the consistency of coarse meal in the wooden mortar. This
262 roasted hide had the taste and texture of crisp crackling and was delicious when pounded and mixed with the flesh of roots of the genera Coccinia, Walleria and Eulophia. These stores of dried hide and meat did not serve as a staple surplus so much as an emergency delicacy to brighten the diet when a day's hunting had been unsuccessful.

221 The major food strategy during the hot dry spring was
222 the 7-14 day trip to the waterless country where mongongo nuts
312 were still plentiful. At these camps the only source of
361 water was the juice from the roots of Fockea monroi. Fockea
824 has an uneven distribution in the Dobe area. The Bushmen must camp in a nut forest that is in close proximity to patches of Fockea. The maximum period that a group was observed to live on Fockea roots was two weeks. The limitation is set by the density of Fockea plants in an area, and the amount of fluid that each plant holds. Life at the Fockea patches is difficult because people have to work hard to obtain water as well as food. Each Fockea root storage organ contains 8-16 ounces of recoverable moisture. Thus a daily ration of 72 ounces of water can be obtained by digging out 5-10 Fockea roots.

312 But the dilemma of living on Fockea lies in the fact that
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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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exchanged from hut to hut, the women going to one hut, the men to another, and so on. Only the owners sit in a hut, while the visitors gather round the fire outside. The little children play about everywhere, the bigger boys and girls by themselves. There is no fixed time for going to sleep. As a rule the people turn in to bed fairly early, but if it is a fine evening dancing may be started and kept up till late, everybody taking part except the old people and the little children.[1] 572 [574] [535]

Food and Fire

The Bushmen will eat almost anything that can be eaten. Of animal foods the favourite is game of all kinds, when it can be obtained, and they are also very fond of hare, spring hare, guinea fowl, korhaan, partridge, ostrich, and other birds, as well as birds' eggs. Fish too are eaten wherever they can be caught, and among the Bushmen of the Okavango swamps are a staple article of diet. Anteaters, ant bears, tortoises, porcupines, bull frogs, snakes, and lizards are greatly relished, while among insects locusts, scorpions, beetles, young bees and honey, termites, flying ants and ants' eggs are also eaten. In fact all kinds of living animals are made use of as food, with the almost universal exception of the baboon and the hyena—the former "on account of its being so like a man", the latter "because it eats human corpses". 262 [825]

The most important vegetable foods in the Southern and Central Kalahari are the *tsama* (*Citrullus vulgaris*), "uintjies" (*Cyperus edulis Dtr.*), *Grewia* berries, and the *//noun* (*Bauhinea esculenta*); in the Namib the */naras* fruit (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*) forms almost the sole article of diet when in season; while as one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, such as the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuande, and omuve. In addition numerous other varieties of edible roots, berries, cucumbers, tubers, melons, and ground nuts appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season, when they form the principal part of the daily menu.[2] [824]

Much of the food is eaten raw, but the Bushmen know how to prepare and cook it. Each family prepares its own food. Cooking 252 [592]

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 32; Fourie, "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 88.

[2] Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 54 sqq.; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 234–5; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 659 sqq.; Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 139–40, 144 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 253–5; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 114 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 6–7; Fourie, op. cit., 98 sq.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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Cooking

252 is done chiefly by the women, assisted by the children; in exceptional
[462] cases the men also may cook. Wild cucumbers, nuts, bulbs, and similar plant foods are baked in hot ashes covered with cinders. A bright fire is made and allowed to die down, a hole is scraped in the ashes with a flat, paddle-shaped wooden scoop, the food put in and covered over. It is then eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge, after being pounded up in wooden mortars or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood. Birds, snakes, small antelopes, etc., are baked in the same manner; ants are similarly treated, and then sifted through a mat of loosely-woven reeds, while locusts are either baked or boiled. *Grewia* berries are sometimes eaten as picked, stone and all, sometimes stamped in the mortar and swallowed uncooked. Some specially dainty kinds of meat are roasted over the fire on a wooden spit stuck into the ground. Other kinds of meat, again, as well as stamped
[439] locusts, *tsama* seeds and foods obtained from the white man, such as mealie meal, are cooked with water.

The "tame" Bushmen now use any sort of receptacle, such as a
415 paraffin or paint tin, for cooking purposes; the Auen and Naron
[439] in their more primitive condition used wooden pots, made by themselves or obtained by barter; while among the more Northern tribes clay pots obtained by barter from the OvaMbo and other Bantu tribes are sometimes found. The actual manufacture of clay pots by the
[184] Bushmen themselves seems to have been restricted to the tribes
[323] south of the Molopo. Food is eaten direct from the pot or from plates
[264] and bowls made of wood. Wooden spoons are sometimes found among the Northern tribes, but generally either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Fire is everywhere made by drilling a thin hard stick in another,
372 somewhat softer, in which there is a notch (Plate IX). This second stick is held firmly on the ground by one foot, while the drill-stick with its lower end pressed into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the hands until sparks come. A little dry grass is in readiness to catch the spark, and when it has caught alight dry wood is gradually added until a good fire has been set going.

In this connection reference must be made to certain special
372 observances relating to fire which have recently been recorded by
622 Fourie about the Heikum. "All fire," he says,[1] "is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to

[1] Op. cit., 87,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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262 to these taboos is unfortunately so fragmentary that little can be
[114] gathered of the ideas underlying them. Several of them are
undoubtedly connected with wider ritual observances, e.g. the taboo
[821] imposed on menstruating girls, and again that associated with a
[821] certain belief about the rain; but of the others no full explanation is
available, although the taboo on the portion of the hare may possibly
[773] be linked up with the Bushman myth of the origin of death, in which
[761] the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the
[825] promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon.

Among the Naron, again, "It does not seem," says Miss Bleek,[1] "as if many taboos in the food line still existed. Paauw meat and ostrich eggs are chiefly given to old men as the greatest delicacies. Some say young children, or girls till they have had their first baby, are not to eat steenbok, lest they remain small, but others tell me that all meat is eaten by everyone. Honey touched by a baboon must not be eaten, or you will die." Among the Auen, young girls and boys apparently may not eat game at all, otherwise they will remain thin; while water
[841] and food collected by a menstruating woman may be partaken of only by herself and old people—it "makes others weak".[2]

About the Heikum we have far more information on this point,
224 thanks to the excellent description given by Fourie of certain
[114] of their hunting observances.[3] The details he gives throw such a wealth of new light upon this aspect of Bushman life that they may be quoted in full. "After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *//gaus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals.
224 The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout
252 for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is
[462] skinned by the men. The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the
[281] purpose, is cut into sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then removed to the *//gaus* by the men who may occasionally be
[462] assisted by the women. On arrival at the *//gaus* all the meat is laid

[1] *The Naron*, 7. [2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140, 157.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 100–2; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 54–6.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

on the ground under the */heis* either on sticks which were used in 224
carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib* (chief) now comes forward 252
and if he finds that the */hei-/ais* (fire under the tree) has gone out he 224
returns to his hut, brings fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is 252
absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the 622
meat in the meantime being hung on the */heis* (tree in centre of camp).
After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men— [372]
the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and 'tastes' (*tsa-tsa*) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers [264]
and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as *//koms*.

"All meat killed with bow and arrow is *soxa* [taboo] and may not be 224
partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, how- 262
ever, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut [622]
up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *soxa* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *soxa*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *soxa* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*//ei-ti*). Her portion is known as the *//noe-di* and is the only meat which may be partaken of by women. The *//noe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the *//kham-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The *//noe-di*, however, may not [622]
be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *//gaus*. It is not brought under the */heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the [252]
fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The *//kham-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women partake of any other meat than the *//noe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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224 animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu*
262 (youths) is known as */om-//gani*, and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles,
224 etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at
● 252 the *axarogudi ǂgaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the
262 animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the */heis* or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him, and if he eats any other part, e.g. the *ǂkoms*, he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions of about two finger-breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis*
[574] may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *ǂnoe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-//gani*,
[264] under which is included the *ǂkoms*. The latter may be eaten only under the */heis*. After it has been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is
[841] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *ǂkoms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib*, and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

"A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat killed by
224 the members of an outlying *//gaus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to
262 taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the
622 *//gaus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *//gaus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he visits a *//gaus* for this purpose he kindles the */hei-/ais* with
[372] fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own."

Apart from the light it throws upon certain functions of the chief,
114 this account illustrates admirably both the existence of special ritual
224 observances in regard to game killed in the chase, and the fact that
[622] food obtained in this way is shared among all the people present at the encampment. This latter feature has also been noted by other writers on the different Bushman tribes,[1] and it can safely be asserted

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 55; Kaufmann, op. cit., 155–6 D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, pp. viii–ix; *idem*, *The Naron*, 16.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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224 where bush is scarce, frequently seek shelter during the day in the numerous anteater holes. Finding a morning spoor leading to one of these holes, the hunter, silently as a cat, creeps up to the hole and plants himself before it, leaving a small open space under the left arm, for which the buck charges, when it is pinned and dealt a stunning blow over the head with the kirri held in the right hand. In this way numbers of these animals are killed. The kirri is also used for knocking down hares and game birds; it is thrown from a distance of twenty-five to thirty feet, and generally stuns the game so that it is easily [223] secured. Birds are preferably aimed at just when they are rising from the ground, as the slightest blow will then upset their balance and bring them down before they have time to escape.

Bigger game, such as the giraffe, eland, hartebeest, ostrich, and springbok are generally hunted with the bow and arrow, which are used all the year round. As a rule the men hunt alone, or a man and boy together. They find the spoor of an animal and follow it, finally creeping up to the leeward side on hands and knees, using all possible cover, and then raise themselves gently to shoot. Or else they lie in wait for the game on its way to the water, or in the vicinity of a place where it comes to lick salt. The men hide themselves between stones, or dig a hole in the ground, piling up the earth in front and sticking green branches on top to deceive the game. Occasionally, again, several men surround game in a pan, some standing to leeward ready to shoot, while the others drive from windward, approaching from different quarters.

Once he has wounded an animal, the hunter takes up its trail and follows it leisurely, knowing that he will ultimately reach the corpse, if the poison on the arrow has been at all effective. There is always the great danger, however, that if the buck has run too far, and he takes too long to reach it, hyenas or the vultures may have got there first. Also care must be taken that the animal does not run out of [423] the hunting territory, as it is then as good as lost, or, where the [621] neighbouring band is friendly enough to permit of its being followed over the border, the meat must be shared with the members of that band. When at last he comes up with the buck the hunter, if it is not already dead, dispatches it with the spear or kirri. He then cuts [252] it up, roasts and eats some of the meat, and carries the rest home; or, if near the huts, he may carry the whole buck home. If it is too big to manage, he will light a fire to summon the other members of the band to the spot. Everybody shares in the meat, which is doled

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

is a painful procedure. The cuts are made on the thighs and 304
forehead with a knife or ax blade, then charcoal is rubbed in, but the woman told us later that in her case it had been worth the pain and trouble because, she said, she was extremely ugly and had been made more beautiful.

Her baby's name was Nhwakwe, she told me, and after 551 276
that we were at a loss for conversation. I offered her a ciga- [609]
rette, which she declined, indicating that it made her cough. I was surprised, for she was the only Bushman I had ever met, man, woman, or child, who did not smoke.

Presently she smiled, pressed her hand to her chest, and 551
said: "Tsetchwe." It was her name. 609

"Elizabeth," I said, pointing to myself.

"Nisabe," she answered, pronouncing after me and inclining her head graciously. She looked me over carefully without really staring, which to Bushmen is rude. Then, having surely suspected that I was a woman, she put her hand on my breast gravely, and, finding that I was, she gravely touched her own breast. Many Bushmen do this; to them all Europeans look the same.

"*Tsau si*" (women), she said.

Then after a moment's pause, Tsetchwe began to teach me 609
a few words, the names of a few objects around us, grass, 222
rock, bean shell, so that we could have a conversation later. As she talked she took a handful of the beans out of her
kaross, broke them open, and began to eat them. This is a [37]
wonderful, bitter bean, shaped like a lima bean, which grows
on tiny bushes in patches throughout the Kalahari. When you [261]
eat these beans they burn your tongue, throat, and stomach, but they take away hunger and thirst. Besides the beans in her kaross, Tsetchwe, who began unloading, brought out a large, edible root which she had dug up—she must have been gathering food before we came—and put it in the shade of a

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 bush beside her fireplace. Also, she brought out six round
222 green melons which are called *tsama* melons, and which, during the autumn, provide the only liquid available for all the Bushmen in the desert, and for all the game antelope be-
[271 sides. Under the green rind a tsama is very like a watermelon,
312] filled with small oval seeds and very watery in texture, but is itself pale green and smaller, the size of a small cantaloupe.
[516] Tsetchwe placed one between her feet and, gripping it firmly with her strong toes, chopped a hole in the top of it with her digging-stick; then, lifting the cap away like the lid of a jack-
271 o'-lantern, she mashed the pulp inside until it was liquid. She put the melon to her mouth and, tipping her head back, drank from it, using her long digging-stick to help push the pulp into her mouth, working it like an enormous chopstick, making a watery noise as she sucked. When Tsetchwe had collected a mouthful of seeds she put the melon down, took an old, dry tsama melon rind from her kaross, and spat the seeds into it to save them, for they can be roasted and eaten like nuts when they are dry. Tsetchwe drank all the liquid in
[264] the rind and seemed refreshed as she cast the empty rind over her shoulder and brushed off her mouth and hands.

609 At last Gai strode back into the werf, followed at a distance
621 by a group of three small boys and, much farther, by three old women who stood waist-deep in bushes, close together like three antelope, craning their necks to see us.

609 When they noticed Tsetchwe and Ukwane, they came for-
276 ward with more confidence, accepted tobacco, and, squatting
621 immediately, began to smoke. It had been months, Ukwane said, since they had used their last tobacco, had been reduced to smoking leaves, and they were very happy to have the tobacco we had give them. Bushmen love to smoke. They say
[261] that tobacco, as well as the wild beans, takes away hunger and thirst, and, besides that, it makes their hearts glad. One

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Twikwe was a lanky old woman. She sometimes wound a medicine string around her belly to ward hunger away.

This is Gai's house, this bare sand under the branch of a tree.

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[p. 112(E)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

262 578 152 more. Twikwe herself had among her possessions a fiber string, which, she said, she kept to wind around her belly [261] when she was very hungry for the purpose of warding the hunger away.

Wite was tired and cross, and his patience was worn thin by hunger, and when he saw what his mother was doing he realized that he would have less food than he had expected. He lost his temper, shrieked at Twikwe, and tried to keep her from reaching the little rind so that she would have no container to give him a smaller share in—a very Bushman-like thing to do, instead of trying to snatch the large, full rind, perhaps—and the two of them struggled, each tugging at the little rind and each exclaiming wildly. The old woman won the struggle and filled the rind with soup, using her tortoise shell as a spoon, hindered once again by Wite, who snatched the spoon away, still trying to prevent her filling the small rind for him. Twikwe struggled for the spoon, and, seeing that he was going to lose it, Wite quickly ladled an extra spoonful into the little rind and sat back resigned while Twikwe thrust the little rind toward him. He took it finally and sat sulkily, not eating, but with his lips pressed against the side of the rind, his eyes hard and shining, staring at nothing over the top. Twikwe handed the larger share to Kutera, who pretended not to have noticed the struggle and who thanked Twikwe in an ingratiating way.

There was another struggle over food that evening, started as a malicious joke by Gai. When Gai saw Wite with a strip of meat from the gemsbok's cheek he snatched it out of Wite's hand and pretended to eat it. When Wite, tried beyond endurance, burst into tears and flew at Gai, Gai ran away and really did eat the meat, chewing as he ran, keeping just out of Wite's reach. The chase ended under a tree, where Gai, seizing a branch, grappled Wite with his legs and swung

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

224 602 they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. [574] This meat may be cooked and the quantities small. Visitors receive small amounts of cooked meat from their hosts. It ends in everybody getting some meat.

224 431 In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and primary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift giving. !Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift of meat at some time in the future. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously [571] according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift giving in general: the person gives to measure up to what is expected of him, to make friendly gestures, to win favor, to repay past favors and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation.

224 431 181 [154] [103] Aside from the practical advantage of using up meat while it is still fresh, the !Kung custom of meat sharing has enormous social value. It does a great deal to mitigate tensions. The fear of hunger is lessened. People are sustained by a web of mutual obligation. Moreover, they are fully conscious of these values, and the custom is so strongly established and so faithfully followed that the idea of not sharing is virtually unthinkable to the !Kung.

422 262 264 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the !Kung. When an individual receives a portion he owns it outright. He may give and share it further, as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very [261] important to the !Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

224 261 It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae !Kung eat hearty meals of meat when plenty appeared and they had been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not 251
uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming 261
journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to 261
food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food 576
or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food 433
and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung 462
society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no 562
extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly 562
strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous 147
and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of 562
hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing 462
splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable 262
foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. 224
The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's [535]
wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The 342
building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's [462]
work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a [137]
woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. [461]
She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

logical father, as well as his mother's husband, should do something nice for him. 159
Perhaps when he receives his first assegai his begetter will give it, for that is a very 848
proud thing—but we do not know what the future holds for these people or where they will be by then.

The dominance of men

Wives are much desired by the young men, who usually wait for years for their 562
infant fiancées to grow up, and by men who want second wives, and by widowers. [581]
/Kung women are not only precious as mates, they are the food-gatherers and supply [222]
more of the daily food than the men do. Hunting[1] is very arduous in the Kalahari and [462]
the hunters succeed in bringing a big meat animal to the werf only about once or [224]
twice a month. Meanwhile women have dug roots and gathered berries and the other wild plant foods to feed their families every day. /Kung women in their two roles make a very great contribution.

In /Kung society, however, the magnitude of their contribution does not make women dominant. There are factors which bring the men forward clearly into dominance and leadership.

The primary factor is undoubtedly strength. /Kung men are small and slender, [142] 147
but they are wiry and vigorous. With their strength they carry and protect the very life of their people. When they swing their weapons and implements and their small children on to their shoulders and stride out in front of the women, the image seems to reveal, as vividly as if a great artist had painted it, how the laden following women are borne up by the strength of their men and take heart from them.

Another factor which brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and 462
its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is only drudgery in digging and 562
picking in the hot sun and trudging back in the early evening to the werf with heavy [222]
roots and berries and babies all sagging in the pouches of their karosses, a small dead tree or two on one shoulder for the night fire, possibly another child astride the other shoulder. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh [262]
and are not very satisfying. There is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving [262]
for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally [224]
the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once, when an eland had been killed and the hunters were sighted [152]
with the meat on their backs, moving in a dark, lumpy, bobbing line in the golden grass, we heard the sound of voices in the werf rising in volume and pitch like the hum of excited bees. Some people ran toward the hunters, others crowded together at the edge of the werf, some danced up and down, the children squealed and ran about, the boys grappled and tussled together. The motion and sound had the effect of a vibration. Another time a young man who was said to be the best hunter in the region (/Qui Hunter we called him, his people called him Short /Qui), had been 462
charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. 562
He knelt facing the creature till it was within close range and shot an arrow straight 224

[1] John Marshall has described /Kung hunting in his film, *The Hunters*, Peabody Museum Film Study Center, Harvard University, and in 'Man as Hunter', *Natural History*, the magazine of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, vol. lxvii, No. 6, June, and No. 7, August, 1958. [113]

/139 cont./

412 Mortars are made of wood and have a stone floor. Their
322 construction is extremely laborious. A block of wood is buried in the ground, stamped down, and then hollowed out with the iron point of the lance or a knife. For this purpose, the iron is sometimes heated. Fire is not used. The wooden pestle is furnished with a stone at one end. The stone on the floor of the
[381] mortar is cemented with tree resin.

[373] Burning branches are used as a kind of torch, but only briefly in the vicinity of the fire.

Photograph 18 illustrates the shape of the mortar and the pestle. The mortar is made of soft wood hollowed out with a lance point. Fire is not used to hollow it out (see above).

Household utensils. Two flat stones to pound hard veld
415 fruit. Spoons crudely carved out of wood. Wooden pot or empty ostrich eggs /140/ with a round hole as water containers. Fre-
[531] quently some kind of decoration is applied. Digging stick
[412] pointed at one end.

Ornamentation. Unfortunately I did not have time to ob-
301 tain more precise data concerning ornamentation. Ornaments
531 are attached to many objects and consist of such things as ostrich eggs and pipe plugs (which are worn on a string around the neck).

Generally speaking, the Auin has three meals a day (morn-
264 ing, afternoon, and evening). If he has enough food, however, he may eat all day long, with the necessary intervals, and, if it is not too cold, even during the night.

There is no special menu. Whatever is available is eaten.
● 262 The hyena is not eaten because it "devours corpses." The leopard is supposedly not eaten by all the people. The reason for this is unknown to me. The shabrack jackal is frequently spurned because it "is a dog." On the other hand, they like to eat the silver jackal, because it "does not eat vermin."

[858] Young girls who have not yet menstruated and boys before
[882] they have reached adulthood may not eat game meat because if they did, they would "remain skinny."

I have never observed any traces of cannibalism. Further-
266 more, I was told by old, experienced natives of other races (Klipp Kaffir) that they had never heard of Bushmen eating human flesh.

[6 cont.]

101 account refers only to the latter.

821 [7] The sky is designated by them as !nanu áiba Éroba Kharésa ("rain house of god").

776 For god they have the expressions "Erob" and "χ'amab."
775 only "Erob" is used in prayers. χ'amab (1) has been preserved

1. χ indicates a very low gutteral click, for which I know of no notation.

in χ'amá //gu Khe = "people who are with god," in other words, the souls of the deceased in heaven. Everyone goes there, the good as well as the bad. Erob has no wife and no children. A human being has only one soul (!gau-ba). This soul goes to the heavenly house and remains there "until Erob makes new people from it." Here is a belief in the transmigration of souls, which, it must be admitted, is not thought through any further.

No spirits of the dead remain on earth. There are little
776 bush spirits, the gangorob; they are harmless and do nothing. There are no evil little spirits. They supposedly know nothing about Heiseb and /Nawa.

136 The supply of game is ample in the tall dry forests of the Otjimpolo Veld. There are also fish in the rainy season. The
[825] Bushmen call them "shiba" (Ovambo: oshi or ochi); in other words, originally they had no word for them.

224 The Bushmen are helpless against the lion (χ'oréba).
[825] They leave a region as soon as lions make it unsafe. "There is no point in hunting them."

The leopard (χ'nába) is hunted with dogs (ariba). The
[439] chiefs of Amboland pay a good price for the skin, since little princes and princesses are not carried in a litter made of cowhide, but in a leopard skin. The jackal (≠Khai-eba) and the Löffelhund (//arúba) [a fox-like wild dog of the subfamily Octocyoninae] are hunted with enthusiasm. "Aruba" probably corresponds to N. //arob = striped jackal.

Wild dogs, "Khere," !nube (N. !goub) are preferably
[825] avoided. No notice is taken of the hyena, ≠Khai-lasa (N. ≠heirab),
[262] and it is not eaten. When they come near the camp, it is not a
[767] good sign.

[12 cont.]

843 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-
262 buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut.
[553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are
[177] performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:

[539] //am ≠haiba, //am ≠haiba (?)
[782] The leader answers:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower
422 form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 The gathering of veldkost does not have the great signifi-
[184] cance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already
[462] commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd
[657] a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main
[233] OCCUPATION.

[13 cont.]

Chapter 4

The Bushmen of Ukuambi

115 At an outpost of the Finnish Ukuambi Mission, where I undertook anthropological measurements, I encountered a Bushman from the hordes that live on the northern bank of the Etosha Pan and stand in a loose dependent relationship partly with Ipumbo, partly with Shanika. I was able to converse with him only a few hours.

101 These Bushmen in Ukuambi, as well as at other places, belong to the Ezimo of the Akuanambua. They themselves are [614] divided into a number of exogamous kin groups. My informant belonged to the clan Ari-Ari. The tribe calls itself Akese or Kere and comes from the region between Okaukuejo and Outjo. Today this tribal organization is broken up. The following names -- formerly independent hordes which now live mixed together -- were mentioned to me: /Aru-Kwe, Ashuche, Asécha, !Kuru-Kwei, A !Kha-ta-bé, A-Hei-tére, A !gnuri.

648 Insofar as these Bushmen do not already lead the life of the Bantu farmers, they are hunters, spies, and occasionally also executioners for the chiefs. They manufacture ostrich egg beads [+39] and poison. For twelve good ostrich eggs they receive a fat ox. The Ovambo have quite a peculiar outlook in this respect. They spurn the perfectly good eggs of their hens. The ordinarily somewhat "disreputable" ostrich eggs are purchased for dear money as a delicacy.

611 The sons belong to the family of the father, the daughters to that of the mother. The men are not allowed to eat hares, 262 but the women and children do. The eating of hyenas and boa constrictors is prohibited to all.

776 Concerning their religious conceptions I was able to discover the following: In the sky dwells the great captain !Khuwa, which means the same as Huwe. In answer to the question about God, however, he stated that this was Erob, which naturally coincides with the name for God, Ellob, of the Rhenish Mission. The name !Khuwa only occurred casually in the conversation. He was unable to give a clear answer to my question as to whether

[28 cont.]

535 makes his appearance as the bull of some animal species that the
585 two kin groups especially prize. He takes his place in the row of dancing men. Across from them the women have taken up their position in a long row and accompany the dance by stamping, singing, and clapping their hands. The bride stands among them. She is in no way distinguished from the other women and girls. After a few turns, the bridegroom steps out of the row of men, goes dancing toward the bride, seizes her, and dances back again. The bride then comes from the row of women, clapping her hands, stamping, and singing as she moves toward the bridegroom; without touching him, she turns back, keeping her face turned toward the bridegroom, and rejoins the row of female dancers. With this, the external formality of concluding the marriage in front of many witnesses is over.

583 "It is the young man's duty, however, to leave his paternal
591 kin group for a year and to work for his parents-in-law. This means that any spoils he gets from hunting must be left in his mother-in-law's hut. He, of course, gets his piece during the distribution of the meat, but he is not yet regarded as the actual provider for his young wife, who, as before, receives her share of the meat from her mother, although she searches for veldkost for herself and her husband.

(224) "As a hunter, the man eats only the flesh of the rump.
262 The women and children receive the legs and intestines. Children are not allowed to eat certain parts; for example, a child may
(825) not eat the heart of a jackal. The child would not become sick
(828) by doing so, but since the jackal is very cowardly, the child would also become cowardly.

591 [29] "After the first year of marriage with its obligatory service, the young wife follows her husband to the encampment where the man's father or his kin group resides.

845 "If the child is so weak that it probably will not live,
847 or if it has a physical defect, it is buried alive on the same day, with or without the consent of the father and mother.

553 "The name of the child is given by the father. This is
852 done a few days after birth. The father spits on the child's chest and calls it by name. Others sprinkle it with water from a well.

[32 cont.]

224 423 go to the kin group to whom this territory belongs and take the men to the animal. Then it will be carefully divided down the middle; the hunter gets one half, and the owners get the other half. Nevertheless, quarrels are common, because there is only one of certain organs, such as the heart, liver, etc. These con-
[184] ditions, however, exist only among the eastern !Kung. A Hei//om or a northern !Kung who is found hunting in the territory
224 of another tribe is regarded as an enemy. Boys' hunting is con-
[857] fined to lizards, tree rats, and other rodents. They ordinarily
[411] use the bird arrow, which is carved out of a piece of wood, but in contrast to the Ovambo, the older boys here already have
[223] poisoned arrows. Young and old pursue the hunting of birds with great enthusiasm; in particular guinea fowl, sand hens, grouse, and the Pau [?] insofar as it occurs in this region. These fowl
[262] and small bushbucks are the chief sources of the meat in the native diet. The forest region of the eastern !Kung is poor in
[136] large game. Zebras are almost entirely absent, as is the wildebeest; the giraffe is very rare. The eland, kudu, hartebeest, and especially the gemsbok are relatively more common. Hunting drives are organized to hunt the elephant or rhinoceros. First, the elephant is separated from the herd. As soon as it has been cornered, one Bushman after another springs forward and throws his spear. It is also possible to hunt the elephant with poisoned arrows; there is a number of thinner spots in the skin at the front legs, and the marksman places as many arrows there as possible. The elephant does not die; it merely becomes sick. The hunter rushes home to get some other men, who then go to look for the elephant with spears. Pitfalls are made in the vicinity of the watering places, and a pointed pole is placed inside them. The Bushmen along the Okovanggo also hunt the hippopotamus with pitfalls. The eastern !Kung maintain that in ancient times the hippopotamus was also found in their land. The sling trap is made
[223] in various sizes. The ostrich in particular is usually caught in such sling traps, which are provided with a piece of bone bleached by the sun. Small cats and the like are also caught with this trap. It is likewise placed on the trails of the bushbuck. Jackals and the like are caught by lying in wait for them as they come out of their dens and then beating them to death with the kirri.

[32 cont.]

222 Termites are captured in two ways. During the night holes are dug near the tall termite hills, and these holes are illuminated with wooden torches. A hide is placed on the floor of the hole, and soon so many termites are on it that the hide can be carried home. The second method is used to catch those termites that have no structures above ground, but have a network of corridors running horizontally immediately below the surface. A hole is dug deeper than the corridors, and the termites fall into it as they run frightened back and forth on their [33] horizontal paths. [821] This kind of termite serves as a weather prophet for the rain [787] doctor, since they construct the most openings facing upward when a rainy year is in prospect. The lion was not hunted. In olden 224 262 times, only the old people ate the large game. The flesh of predatory animals is forbidden to all children; on the other hand, there is no prohibition against eating hare.

224 Naturally, the Bushmen are very anxious to have success in hunting. !Khu himself, the great captain, brings luck in hunting. He orders the supreme //Gauab (/Nawa) to direct the arrow. The doctors always pray to the great captain to send hunting luck, but there is no specific formula. They do this "quietly to themselves." An old prospector in Kalkfeld told me that he had seen the following among the !Kung Bushmen: "Before they go hunting, they draw the outline of the animal in the sand and with all kinds of ceremonies they shoot an arrow into the drawing. Where the figure is hit, the game will also be struck."

I shall now render fairly literally the course of a kudu hunt as it was described to me by a Bushman: "When I have found a kudu track, then we follow it very quietly and when we have found the place where the kudu ate, then one must be very careful. One person goes ahead, and the others follow. Now, when I see the kudu standing, I take out the poisoned arrow and shoot. Then I look to see what the kudu is doing or shoot once more; then I follow him to see whether the arrow will drop out; if the arrow falls out, I take it and see how deeply it penetrated into the kudu. Then I have to go back to the other hunters and state exactly how everything was. Then we go home. One should not run after the kudu, but must leave it alone. The person who

[33 cont.]

224 has done the shooting must go home immediately and may not speak, eat, or drink, for if the hunter speaks with others, the kudu will not be found for a long time, and if he drinks water, the poison will become watery and will not be effective, and if he eats, the kudu will remain quiet and the poison will not work effectively. The next morning very early we must set out on the trail. The kudu is already dead. The people carry the meat home. [782] Then it is put on the socha [sacred] fire. The //Gauab must be given some of the meat. Whoever does not do this will be punished by the //Gauab with serious illness, and the people will say: 'That is just. The //Gauab has given him the game, why does he give nothing for //Gauab?'" Here, therefore, a true primitial offering is involved.

It is interesting that the Ogowe bury arrows in the sand at various watering places, with the poisoned tip pointing upward; they do this in shady spots that game animals like to use as resting [202] places, and by certain signs, such as tying together blades of tall grass and the like, they set up warnings (Von Zastrow and Vedder).

When a Bushman horde of today is able to hunt down half a dozen large antelopes in a year, it can consider itself lucky.

The porcupine is also commonly hunted, as are the scaly anteater and the fat aardvark, which is very common but difficult to catch. Monkeys are very rare; on the other hand, tree rats make a desirable addition to the diet. The ostrich is not uncommon in open terrain, and ostrich eggs are greatly coveted. Occasionally a boa constrictor, which tastes like a fat fish, or an iguana may round out the menu.

136 Among the animals which are in any way dangerous to human beings, the lion should be mentioned in particular. They occur in great numbers, but rarely stay in one place for a long [165] period of time. A considerable number of Bushmen become their victims, especially in the north. Lions, leopards, hyenas, and ●262 jackals are neither hunted nor eaten; the same is true concerning [753] birds of prey. Eating leopard meat produces fever and eczema, [825] while eating the flesh of birds of prey produces temporary blindness and symptoms of sickness similar to acute sausage poisoning.

Poisonous snakes are not eaten; they are much rarer here than in the stony regions of the central and southern areas, and they do not constitute a noteworthy danger.

[35 cont.]

222 When all the old women have made their tests, then the children also get some, and the veldkost is, so to speak, made available for general consumption. When a woman has found a spot where
[423] there is a great deal of veldkost, she makes a sign at this spot, and then everything growing there belongs to her. No one will take any of it.

[262] There were and still are a whole assortment of types of
[888] socha veldkost reserved for the old people. [Fig. 3 appears here.]

11. Ergology

Fire

372 The Bushmen believe that there was a time when they had
773 no fire. The following legend tells how they obtained it: "The ostrich had a firebrand under his wing. He, the owl, and Heiseb played together. Then the ostrich took fright at the owl because he thought the owl had horns. He advised all of them to sleep for a little while. When the owl was asleep, he blew at it and saw that it merely had little tufts of feathers and no horns on its head. Thereupon he awakened the two others again and invited them to go on playing. Then Heiseb said: 'Dear ostrich, please wave your wings.' The ostrich did so, and as a result its firebrand fell to the ground. Heiseb picked it up and threw it to the fig tree, and since then man has had fire." -- The narrative probably comes from the legend-circle of the Hei//om Hottentot. Otherwise, Heiseb never appears in !Kung stories. Two pieces of wood from the
372 fig tree are still used occasionally to make fire. For the most part, the most popular devices for making fire are a striking iron and flint; matches are less [36] prized. A pair of fire sticks, the sucking reeds, a few poisoned arrows, and a bird arrow make up the permanent inventory of the quiver.

000 [42 cont.]
622 the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is
372 the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo.
778 Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are
[262] "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a
784 very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language.
Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is
166 available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the
373 village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha
[596] fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they
252 have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha
264 fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave im-
621 mediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the
[462] windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire
he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does.
Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large
game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains
seated there, while the women and children make themselves
comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The
game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and
[262] shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children,
who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is
[622] consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has
the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The
hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has
described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

178 When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the
622 Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight
organization and a common leader. When Captain François went
beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable
support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note
that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of
Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a
Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a

2. He himself was a half-breed.

chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest
chief I heard of was "χ'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

Gastrointestinal Disorders

753 [171] It is interesting to note that the doctrine of the importance of the liver and gall bladder in the origin of disease, which we find among all primitive and civilized peoples up to the humoral medicine of the previous century, is already present among the Bushmen. When the gall bladder is full, one becomes sick and [755] vomits gall. Then the region of the liver is massaged, just as is done in the case of liver pains. Enlargement of the liver as the [164] result of chronic malaria is common. The moon, which dies [821] every month, also has gall sickness, and moonlight is the juice of the gall bladder vomited by it. Moonlight and gall are known [164] by the same word (goo). Spleen tumor is especially common among children. They have no medicine against splenalgia. 757 278 They have no medicine for inducing vomiting. It is induced by putting the finger or a feather into the mouth. To stop vomiting, one chews little twigs of the goro tree. The bitter wood of the liana (χ'áá-χ'áñ) is chewed for stomach-ache. In case of con- [753] stipation the doctor must practice magic, for it is assumed that [755] the dsao have tied the stool in the intestine, and the doctor must loosen and extract the cord, just as in the case of an inflammation of the throat. The patient may not eat anything and drink very little. In case of diarrhea, even the bleeding kind, the same medicine is taken as in the case of stomach-aches. Intestinal 147 worms are unknown. We already know from earlier reports that the 262 gastrointestinal tract of the Bushman can take all kinds of things that we cannot take. As the result of habituation from early childhood on, he can digest meat that has gone bad and the like, without any trouble (1). After a long period of hunger, he can consume

1. I myself witnessed a drastic example of this. I had brought a side of bacon from Swakopmund, which supposedly had been preserved for all eternity according to a special process. When I brought it out, it had a hideous smell, and in order to prevent the Bushmen from taking it and getting sick, I had it hung high on a tree. The

[45 cont.]

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262

Bushmen stared longingly at the discolored lump of fat. Finally they sent a deputation to me, saying that they wanted the bacon for their dogs. The moment they received it, it was skillfully divided according to families and consumed in the course of a great feast, without any harmful effects.

enormous quantities, but such excesses as a rule are followed by an indisposition. The day after a major feast, almost all of them lie in the sun with stomach-ache and gripes. In other words, even a Bushman should not be credited with the impossible with regard to food; many things that seem repulsive to us, such as earthworms, lizards, thick grubs, mice, and the like, are in themselves not at all harmful to health, especially since the Bushman only eats them cooked or roasted. Bushmen who have grown up on the farms can take the same diet as the Whites or Blacks. On
147 the other hand, the wild Bushmen who have grown up on veldkost
262 and the flesh of wild animals cannot accustom themselves to the
648 work and prison diet of the Blacks. A term in jail of any great length means condemnation to a slow but sure death for most Bushmen. The prisoners show the symptoms of vitamin deficiency, become infirm, get edemata on their legs, dropsy, and unfailingly perish. In the initial stage severe sluggishness of the bowels sets in. Ample portions of fresh meat can keep the Bushman healthy even in imprisonment. The fact that Bushmen run away from the
[464] farms is based in most cases upon their inability to endure any
[146] longer the diet given them. The vitamin need of the Bushman who has grown up in the wilderness is undoubtedly much greater, and his longing for meat, which often appears pathological, can be explained as a physiological craving for vitamins.

Diseases of the Urogenital System

164 Catarrhs of the bladder occur; in such cases a flat stone
(755) is warmed in the fire and placed on the bladder region. Hematuria, evidently the result of nephritis, was twice treated by my friend

[68 cont.]

1. Birth and Childhood

844 Among the ≠Auin, the husband of a woman in childbed slings the string of his bow around her stomach, but he is not present at the birth itself. The cord is severed with the tip of a reed splinter.

Among the Naron and Nogau, the delivery proceeds as it does
844 among the !Kung; an old woman usually provides assistance, however.

Twins (Hoi-holi) are not desired; among the Nogau one of
845 them is killed.

Among the Nogau, the father gives the child its name.
553] There the child has its umbilical cord severed by means of a
844 sharp quartz splinter. A woman in childbed may not eat blood and head meat. Until the child is able to sit up, the husband
[833] may not cohabit with the mother. The latter custom is also found among the Betschuana. Nogau children are not allowed to eat
262 the flesh of the wildcat and of two birds (tsugnussi and /gui).
[114] Kaufmann has made some observations concerning children's
524 games; Bleek also provides some data:

Among the ≠Auin little bows and arrows serve as children's toys. The same applies to the Naron and Nagau [sic]. Stilts
[481] are known among the Auin and are used by men and boys. Con-
524 cerning children's games among the Naron, Miss Bleek reports:

The Game of the Big Water Snake

A boy crawls on his stomach to a small pile of sand which is supposed to represent the waterhole. At some distance from it, the children sit in a row, one behind the other, in such a way that each one sits between the legs of the one behind him; he puts his hands on the shoulder of the person in front of him. The biggest child [69] always sits at the front, the smallest at the back. They sing a song that in part is no longer intelligible. (Probably in the children's language.) This big "snake" now moves very slowly around the waterhole, while the water snake from time to time throws sand on it; then the others withdraw. At the end the snake catches one from the row and "eats it." I

[69 cont.]

881 assistants, the boys go into the bush. On the first day two vertical incisions are made on the forehead; then they sing throughout the night and dance to the melody: "Ije, ije, aije, aije . . .
[539] oho, oho," etc.

On the morning of the second day, the incisions on the
[304] forehead are extended to the root of the nose and the hairline. On the afternoon of this day the elders call the youths together to look for veldkost. The elder loosens the roots with his digging stick, and as he does so the candidates place their hands on the arm doing the work. The boys must then dig the roots out of the ground with their hands, without the help of tools. "From now on they can look for veldkost themselves, for now they have been taught."

After this lesson they return to the place where the women are. [70] Food is prepared there for both the men and the candidates; the candidates are allowed to eat only veldkost, no meat. Then they dance, together with the women and girls, for a night and half a day.

In the afternoon the candidates go hunting. They must bag three animals: a small duiker, a guinea fowl, and a bullfrog. They take their prey and assemble with the older instructors at a remote place, the three kinds of meat are cooked together, the meat is eaten by the elders, and the bodies of the boys are washed all over with the soup. From now on they may eat the three ani-
[262] mals, hitherto forbidden to them. Now they again dance and
[539] sing: "Oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu" (long drawn-out).

≠Auin: The candidates from neighboring villages go into
881 the bush under the leadership of the doctor, and they live there on veldkost for a few weeks. During this time they receive instructions in secret matters. Kaufmann reports the following
[535] dance: A boy gets up on the back of another, and both of them wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier swinging from one leg to the other as rapidly as possible without moving forward, and both of them yell "hu, hu." They actually attain manhood, which gives them the right to marry, only through the hunting test. Tattooing is not connected
[304] with the declaration of manhood.

AUIN
NARON
NOGAU
HEI//OM

[76 cont.]

113

South African Journal of Science, Vol. 25, 1928.

J. Moir, J.S.A., Chemical Institute, VII, 1924, p. 28.

J. Moir and J. Lewis, J.S.A., Chemical Institute, VIII, 1925, p. 11.

H. H. Curson, Some Little-known South African Poisonous Plants and their Effects in Stock. Thesis for Diploma of F.R.C.V.S., 1926.

278 lives on the roots of an acacia. The Bushman carries several of these cocoons around with him, like cartridges, in an antelope horn. If the arrow tip is to be poisoned, a fire is made, some of the acacia resin that the Bushman always carries is smeared on the arrow tip, and then a cocoon is broken and its contents rubbed on the tip. On one occasion one of my Bushmen had overlooked a small wound on his thumb, through which the poison penetrated into his blood stream. The penetration of the poison was not very painful; he merely had a feeling "as though warm water was penetrating into his flesh." The arm was considerably swollen for a week. The others made numerous incisions and [752] scarifications with glowing sticks on him in order to save him. ●[262] The flesh of the animal killed in this way is eaten raw, poisonous.

278 Von François (2) reports that the Hei//om of this region

[113] 2. Von François, "Reiseberichte Windhuk-Gobabis [Travel Report, Windhoek-Gobabis]," Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, V., 1892.

prepare their poison from the milky sap of the Apocynacea adenium Boehmianum. When exposed to the sun, it first becomes violet and then black. It is kept in little leather sacks and in case of need is warmed and mixed with the sap of the Habas root and applied to the arrow tips with flat sticks. These Bushmen still [411] used grooved stones to direct the arrow shaft.

[78 cont.]

it with the fingers. [Fig. 29 appears here.]

[79] The lion is neither eaten nor hunted. The jackal and leopard are eaten, as is the liver of the latter. Baboons are not eaten, because they were formerly Bushmen.

The line of tattooing between the eyebrows make people into leopards among the Nogau. The Naron smear themselves with red and black color. The other incisions and tattooing are made purely for adornment.

Among the Naron, millepedes are regarded as creatures of Hise, and only doctors may touch them and make medicine of them. Among the Nogau and ǂAuin there are magical bones that are used to predict the future. The Naron also believe that the rock engravings stem from //gauwa.

Among the Auin it is forbidden to eat hyena flesh, and likewise the flesh of the shabrack jackal because it is a dog.

The following important data supplied by Gentz (1) should be added:

1. "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften [Some Contributions to Knowledge of the Southwest African Tribes]," Globus, Vol. 83, 1903.

"I have repeatedly found Bushman arrows on which the point, usually made of bone (for the most part ostrich bone), was made of wood. The game sling, reproduced in Figure 29, is constructed as follows: A strong string, four to five millimeters thick, which at one end terminates in a simple loop, is fastened at the other end to a flexible young tree or branch that is bent far over. A small, thinner string with a transverse stick is attached at the loop end. The string is placed around a small post driven into the ground at an angle, and it is prevented from slipping off by means of a flat piece of wood buried under the ground and planted against the free end of the transverse stick; the sling is placed in a circle on the ground over the flat piece of wood. The game, which follows its customary track to the

/253 cont./

533 once in a while, one of the dancers emits a loud yell, usually in a high falsetto, and sometimes a trill which likewise is pitched as high as possible, depending entirely on the individual's emotional state.

The clapping at a dance is audible over a great distance. One evening when I approached the station, I could hear the clapping of the dancing women at a distance of three kilometers.

The dances I have described seem to be widely distributed
535 among the Bushmen. At any rate, I found all three of them with
184 only slight variations among the Kung people residing in the Kaukau Veld.

Concerning the diet of the Heikum Bushmen I was able to dis-
262 cover the following. I should add my regret at this point that I lacked the necessary background for giving the botanical names of the veld crops.

The diet is predominantly vegetable; however, the Bushman is by no means a despiser of flesh. On the contrary, whenever he can have animal food, he will utilize it for his kitchen. In so doing, he is so unselective that one could say he eats everything he can lay his hands on. I have even seen Bushmen consume hyena flesh with great pleasure. The flesh is obtained partly by
224 hunting with bow and arrow, and partly with game traps. I shall discuss the hunting weapons later; here I only want to mention a game snare which I had the opportunity to observe in the Kaukau Veld. A snare twisted from plant bast had been placed on a game trail, drawn upwards by means of a flexible stalk stuck into the ground, and fastened to the ground by means of wooden hooks. When the game touches the snare, releasing it from the hooks, the flexible stalk pulls the snare up and shut. Game is also caught in traps. I was shown an iron hook fastened to a bamboo stick about five meters long, which was used to pull out game that had fallen into the pits.

The animals of the Bushman's hunting domain include all kinds of antelopes, from the giant eland to the tiny duiker, giraffes, hogs, hares, and, in the way of birds, predominantly guinea fowl.

The Bushman, however, finds objects to enrich his cuisine even among lower animals. In the realm of the amphibians he prefers

/253 cont./

224 the large bullfrog, whose bass voice resounds in all the puddles during the rainy season. The flesh of the frog is boiled with the
252 skin and bones, pounded to a paste in wooden vessels, and then eaten. Among the insects, grasshoppers and termites are used for
222 food. Both are roasted. In the brief time that they are winged, the termites are lured in such great numbers to a fire maintained for the purpose of catching them that it is an easy matter for the Bushman to collect a rich booty in a few hours. A special delicacy in the Bushman household is wild honey, which, as I was able to ascertain, is extremely tasty /254/ and is to be found in quantity on the Omuramba omatako as well as in the Kaukau Veld.

825 The bullfrog is called ntchei by the Bushmen (Herero: otjisume), the termite, /ui (Herero: othohumboli).

The vegetable diet naturally changes with the seasons and is
● 262 quite varied. I shall attempt to give a brief survey, though at
824 the same time I am aware that it can lay no claim to completeness.

1. The chamá or taba (Herero: omatanga). These are the roasted kernels of the Kaffir pumpkin [melon?], widely known here, which produce quite a tasty dish.

2. The //ǔni (Herero: omarunga); this is the Heikum Bushman name for the palm tree that is common in this region. The edible parts of the tree are the apple-sized fruit, whose skin has a sweetish taste reminiscent of St. John's bread, and the soft interior of the trunk. The latter is a whitish, soft, fibrous pulp, which the Bush-
[252] men prepare by cooking and pounding.

3. A species of white mushroom called naú by the Bushmen, majova by the Herero. The mushroom grows during the rainy season especially along the edges of termite hills; the diameter of its cap reaches about 20 centimeters. It is eaten raw as well as
[252] boiled. I do not know whether it is true that excessive eating of this mushroom has a detrimental effect on mental activity, as the Herero aver – ejova, plural majova, is the Herero word for stupid.

4. The unki, a well-known species of onion, about the size of a hazel nut, called //au by the Bushmen, is very common and forms an important part of the kitchen provisions, not only among the Bushmen, but also among the Herero.

[252] 5. The //guitcha of the Bushmen, ussessenga of the Herero,

/254 cont./

262 is a tuberous fruit, eaten roasted, whose taste is reminiscent of
824 potatoes.
[252] 6. A similar tuberous fruit is the ondubi of the Herero; the plant has rose-colored blossoms and long lanceolate leaves.

7. The árugu (Herero: omakungu), a type of cucumber. The plant is a climber whose fruits resemble our cucumbers; they reach the length of a finger and, when they ripen, become bright
[252] red in color. They are roasted in ashes and eaten warm.

8. The //ániba (Herero: maramba), a small bush with a bean-like fruit, similar in appearance and taste to our broad beans.

9. The sng of the Kung Bushmen; this is a large climber with double-lobate leaves whose mighty root is greatly prized by the Bushmen as a water tuber. The fruit is the size of a walnut and consists of two cotyledons enclosed by a rind which in its fresh state is soft and becomes very hard when dry. Between the fruit and the rind there is a small quantity of a whitish, slimy fluid which keeps the interior of the rind /255/ lubricated. After re-
[252] moval of the rind, the fruit is dried and roasted and then has the taste of the groundnut which is so common in East Africa. Its use has a distinctly laxative effect.

10. Like the Herero, the Bushmen are acquainted with other water tubers. The Herero word chue designates a smaller root with a very high water content, which has the shape and size of our beet.

11. The /a fruit of the Kung people is a nut slightly larger than the walnut, whose kernel, in a hard shell, tastes like our hazelnut. The hard inner shell is enclosed by a softer outer shell
[252] which has a distinctively sweet taste and which the Bushmen boil to a sauce which in appearance and taste is distinctly reminiscent of applesauce.

291 There is not much to be said about the clothing of the Heikum. The men content themselves in most cases with a leather loincloth which is fastened in the back and front to a belt tied around the waist.

The women wear the same kind of leather cloth of slightly greater length around their loins and tie a second hide from one shoulder to the opposite hip.

A party of /Kung men had gone hunting towards the west. John, our son, was with 821
them. In the afternoon there appeared in the western sky three little white clouds, like 825
three powder-puffs in a neat row. They were the first clouds to be seen since the big rains had ended in March. We ran to each other, pointing them out. People felt happy. In the evening, when the hunters returned, ≠Toma came at once to me, before he put down his bow and quiver, and said that I could see for myself what it meant to ≠*gani* an animal. John had ≠*gani*(ed) the wildebeest he shot, and the clouds had appeared immediately above them. ≠Toma said this was what he had been trying all along to explain to me.

If a hunter knows with certainty that he has ≠*gani*(ed) or ‖*ghui*(ed) an animal, as it 821
was known when John killed the wildebeest that he had ≠*gani*(ed) it, he may take the 825
horns and the scalp and forehead bone and hang them in a tree, remembering where 789
they are and whether they had been ≠*gani*(ed) or ‖*ghui*(ed). If need should arise he could get the horns which were appropriate to the need and burn them in a specially made fire away from the cooking-fires. He would take a piece of the burning horn and point it to the sky saying '*goichi goichi goichi n/ow qui*'. This we were told is 'speaking *n/ow*'. The interpreters did not know and could not find out by questioning people what the words mean. We wonder if they are an archaic spell. The horns must be entirely consumed by the fire.

In *Bushman Folklore*[1] there is a reference to the burning of horns in a very interesting 773
myth about the Rain Bull, related to Dr. Bleek in 1878 by a Bushman from Strontbergen (30° S., 22° E.) whose dialect included the fifth click of the southern group, as the Katkop dialect does. In this myth a young woman cleverly saves herself from being carried away on the back of the Rain Bull to the water-pit where she would have been turned into a frog, and all of her people also would have become frogs. At the end of the myth the informant who related it said, 'The old women who had been out seeking food were those who came to burn horns, while they desired that the smell of the horns should go up, so that the Rain should not be angry with them.' 789

A hunter has another way of controlling the weather. To bring rain he would cut 821
the throat of an animal he had reason to believe he habitually ≠*gani*(ed), or to stop 825
rain, one he habitually ≠*ghui*(ed). The blood, which is ordinarily saved and eaten, [262]
would be allowed to flow on to the ground. A giraffe is the best animal for blood-letting. The forms and colours of the clouds are like giraffes, the /Kung remarked. We asked if human beings cut themselves and used their blood to start or stop rain as they do their urine or hair. The /Kung said, No, they did not. That would be unnecessarily painful.

As far as we know the /Kung did not attempt to control the weather by these means 183
while we were with them, as they did not resort to burning urine or hair of persons. 789
Perhaps this was because the weather took its normal, expected, seasonal course. 821
Furthermore, we did not experience its most severe extremes for very long periods, [132]
and found it on the whole quite bearable. Or perhaps the concept of controlling weather by means of burning urine, hair or horns or letting blood, exists more in lore than in active practice. Or perhaps the long unchanging months do not stimulate the idea of actively attempting to control weather and the people content themselves with 789
explaining rather than controlling. They appeared in many instances to have the 821

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., pp. 193 ff.

As the spellings of the Bushman names on my herbarium specimens are from field notes, they are often different from the spellings given in this paper, which was done after I had had the opportunity of consulting the authors I have mentioned. It will be noticed that many of the plants do not have the full set of Bushman names. The main reason is that we were not in contact with the Eastern !khû speakers until we had passed Ghanzi, and lost contact successively with the |gikwe, ||ganakwe and !h5: speakers as the expedition drew to a close. Other reasons are that my field notes were sometimes inadequate, that I forgot to ask, and that some plants appeared restricted to certain areas and were not known to all the groups of Bushmen. 128 [184]

As the expedition was during the winter when most of the plants were in poor condition, very little photography was done in the field. Most of the photographs are from plants which were sent back to Pretoria and cultivated there, or from plants which grow naturally in the Transvaal. In this paper the plants and photographs are arranged according to de Dalla Torre and Harms (1900-1907). Specimen numbers are in brackets. 126 [128]

There is little doubt that the plants discussed here represent only a fraction of those used, for we covered a very small part of the area over which the Bushmen range, and this when probably most of the annuals were dead, when some foods were out of season and when the above ground parts of many bulbous and tuberous plants had withered and disappeared so that the plants themselves could not be found. 114

Because of poor yield, poor quality, difficulty in harvesting or lack of flavour, not many of the Bushman food plants would be worth cultivating in their present form for the use of civilised people, but they offer a large field to the plant breeder. The most promising have been noted accordingly in the text. 000

There were few bones around the Bushman encampments, but this does not necessarily mean that there is a scarcity of meat in their diet, for the bones might have been removed by porcupines (Alexander, 1956; Dart, 1957) or eaten by hyaenas. A more reliable indication was the scantiness of the Bushmen's skin coverings. There are sharp frosts in the Kalahari and sometimes bitter winds, and one may argue that the Bushmen would provide themselves with sufficient skins if they had a regular supply of meat, although admittedly they eat skins after charring them on the coals and pounding them in a mortar. Vegetable refuse from former meals and fresh vegetable food, however, were found at all the Bushman encampments, and additional gatherings were the permanent chore of the women and children and of the men to a lesser degree. The insanitary condition of the surroundings also provided unmistakable evidence that the bulk of their food was of vegetable origin. 262 [291] [132] [364]

Their knowledge of field botany was astonishingly good. It has to be, otherwise they would have no chance of survival in their arid country. Fragments of stem, dead leaves, and other small clues of this nature, after being unerringly identified, were all the Bushmen needed to find many of the storage organs they were seeking. Differences which escaped me would enable them to distinguish between edible and harmful plants, and they had a thorough knowledge of the areas and habitats in which their food plants grew. They must have an influence on the distribution of plants. 824 137X

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

SYNOPSIS AND DESCRIPTIONS.

128 The synopsis is intended as a guide only, and leads to groups of plants and usually not to species. The descriptions and photographs should make the final identification possible, but it should be remembered that there are many Bushman food plants which were not seen on the expedition and which are therefore not described in this paper.

I have taken for granted that the reader will realise that the measurements of plants and their organs vary, and for this reason I have usually given what I consider to be the average and have omitted most words like "approximately" and "about".

Technical terms have been avoided except for the following:—

Axil of leaf—the angle between the leaf and the stem;
glabrous—without hairs;
glaucous—bluish-green, or covered with a bloom;
pappus—a tuft of hairs on a seed;
perianth—petals and sepals;
rhizome—an underground stem;
tomentum—dense short hairs;
tuber—a roundish succulent underground stem.

UNDERGROUND PARTS EDIBLE.

137 262 Trees or shrubs	*Bauhinia macrantha.* *Boscia albitrunca.* *Commiphora* spp.
Prostrate runners	*Bauhinia esculenta.* *Cucumis* sp.
Climbers or scramblers:—	
Scramblers	*Ipomoea verbascoidea.*
Twiners	*Ceropegia* spp.
With tendrils	*Coccinia* spp. *Corallocarpus welwitschii.*
Fleshy finger-like angled erect stems	*Caralluma knobelii.* *Duvalia polita.* *Stapelia kweberris*
Without chlorophyll	*Hydnora* sp. *Terfezia* sp
Wiry 12" stems	*Ipomoea* sp. *Raphionacme burkei.*
Monocotyledons (strap-shaped or grass-like leaves):—	
Bulb with papery coverings	*Dipcadi* sp. *Mariscus congestus.* *Scilla* sp.
Rounded storage organ without papery coverings	*Eulophia* spp. *Walleria* sp.
Horizontal rhizome	*Sansevieria scabrifolia.* *Typha capensis.*

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

ABOVE-GROUND PARTS EDIBLE.

137X
262

Trees shrubs or palms:—	
Thorny or spiny—	
Large fruits more than 1½″ in diameter.....	*Hyphaene ventricosa.*
	Strychnos spp.
Small fruits less than 1½″ in diameter.....	*Commiphora pyracontholdes.*
	Ximenia spp.
	Ziziphus mucronata.
Pods.....	*Acacia* spp.
Not thorny or spiny—	
Leaves compound—	
Stems more than 2′ thick.....	*Adansonia digitata.*
	Ricinodendron rautanenii.
Stems less than 2′ thick.....	*Burkea africana.*
	Lannea edulis.
	Rhus commiphoroides.
	Sclerocarya caffra.
Leaves simple—	
Fruits winged.....	*Combretum* spp.
	Terminalia sericea.
Fruits not winged—	
Leaves bilobed.....	*Bauhinia macrantha.*
Leaves not bilobed—	
Leaves hairy.....	*Dichapetalum cymosum.*
	Ehretia rigida.
	Grewia spp.
	Royena sericea.
	Strychnos cocculoides.
Leaves glabrous.....	*Boscia albitrunca.*
	Ochna pulchra.
Prostrate runners—	
Stems and leaves fleshy.....	*Talinum arnotii.*
Leaves bilobed.....	*Bauhinia esculenta.*
Fruits spiky.....	*Citrullus naudinianus.*
	Cucumis hookeri.
	Momordica balsamina.
Fruits smooth.....	*Citrullus vulgaris.*
Climbers or scramblers—	
No tendrils.....	*Pentarrhinum insipidum.*
	Pollichia campestris.
	Sarcostemma viminale.
Tendrils—	
Fruits spiky.....	*Cucumis metuliferus.*
	Momordica balsamina.
Fruits smooth.....	*Coccinia* spp.
	Corallocarpus spp.
Fleshy finger-like angled erect stems.....	*Caralluma knobelii.*
	Duvalia polita.
	Stapelia kwebensis.
Fleshy slender round erect stems.....	*Sarcostemma viminale.*
	Talinum arnotii.
Slender lax stems about 1′ high.....	*Pollichia campestris.*
Stemless, with one soft leaf.....	*Ophioglossum sarcophyllum.*
Monocotyledons (strap-shaped leaves or fleshy leaves with spiny margin).....	*Dipcadi* sp.
	Aloe spp.
	Typha capensis.

X137 *Terfezia* spp. (5031, 5616) Photograph 1.

Naron Bushman..... ˌku-ts'i
Eastern ǂkhû Bushman ˌtsu-ts'ɔ

In size, shape and colour these truffles resemble potatoes, but the skin is rough and they are not as heavy.

The genus Terfezia, which is allied to the European truffles, has been recorded from dry and sandy localities between the northern Cape Province and the Mediterranean region. There are 36 species, of which three are believed to occur in South West Africa and the Union. Some records are vague and incomplete, and cannot be checked. These southern species, all of which are edible, are not distinguishable except by microscopical examination. They may be found from April onwards to about July, when the season ends presumably through their disintergrating in the soil. Their presence depends upon the rainfall, as is shown by the following extract from a letter from Mr. G. Scholtz, of Ghanzi, whom I had asked to collect some for me. "Nature appears to be against you this year. I even offered five shillings per truffle, but according to the Bushmen (my offer was just laughed at) no rain, no truffles. And we certainly have had no rain, in fact the worst drought in Ghanzi's history."

It is uncertain whether they are root parasites or mycorrhizal fungi, and nothing definite is known as to the host plant favoured by any particular species. In the south-western Kalahari, near the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park, they are found in the dips between the sand dunes where *Aristida ciliata* is the dominant grass, but it has not yet been established whether they are connected with it or with some associated plant. Towards the Ghanzi area they were collected in a mixed grassveld of Aristida and Eragrostis species with scattered trees of *Acacia uncinata* and no *Aristida ciliata;* but here another species may have been involved.

222 The European truffles are usually collected with the aid of dogs or pigs, which can trace them by their scent, and rarely by two other methods. One of these is by observing where certain insects collect to lay their eggs, for their larvae feed on truffles and the eggs are laid near them. The other is to watch for cracks in the ground which the truffle sometimes causes as it grows. This is the method used in southern Africa. A good deal of practice is needed before it can be applied, for the cracks are slight, and are specially difficult to find where the surface has been disturbed by game or stock, or where they have been partly filled in by windblown sand, but matters are eased somewhat by the fact that there is seldom more than about three inches of sand covering the truffles and that they grow in patches.

252 They may be eaten boiled or roasted. The texture is like soft cheese.
262 They are not aromatic and the flavour is far inferior to that of the best European truffles.

Ophioglossum sarcophyllum Desv. (5142) Photograph 2.

X137 This unusual looking plant is one of the ferns. It is five inches high on the average, and somewhat fleshy, and consists of an erect stalk with a leaf-like undivided frond at the top. A thinner stalk which bears the spores rises from the mid-rib near the base of this frond.

A few specimens were collected at Gam, on damp sand which was moist from the run-off from adjacent rock outcrops. It is usually found in places like this, where the dampness is conserved, but after good rains its distribution is not restricted, except that it occurs more in the open and does not grow under dense bush. In favourable localities it is sometimes massed, and may be collected in quantity. It occurs throughout southern Africa. 137X

It is used by various Native tribes as a spinach, and may also be eaten raw. It tastes like lettuce but is slightly sweeter and lacks the crisp texture of lettuce. 262

Typha capensis Rohr. (5302) Photograph 3.

Eastern !khû Bushman dza-dza

A cosmopolitan and well-known plant, known in South Africa as the bull-rush, and easily recognisable from its inflorescence which forms a compact brown spike two feet or more in length at the tops of the five-foot flowering culms. This is in two parts, variously divided so that the lower may be equal to the upper, or shorter, or longer. The lower part consists of the female flowers and is sausage-shaped and brown, with the flowering culm running through its centre. Immediately above this is a spike of male flowers, similar except that it is more open and often yellowish from the masses of pollen it contains. The leaves are strap-shaped, usually an inch wide and six feet long, erect and fairly rigid and very slightly twisted along their length. It is a gregarious plant and always grows near water. 137X

A little was growing round a permanent spring at the edge of Gautscha Pan, and was the only patch seen during the trip.

The top (male) part of the inflorescence is eaten raw by the Bushmen. It has the rich and familiar flavour of bee-bread. Dinter (1912:17) states that the rhizome of this plant is the thickness of one's finger and about two feet long, and may after drying and husking be beaten to a reddish meal which is rich in starch and may be used in the same way as meal from cereals. I have tried the rhizome myself. It is heavy and succulent when fresh, and loses water slowly. When dry it has a puffy outer zone of tissue which may be stripped off to expose a hard central cylinder containing the reddish starch to which Dinter refers. As the starch does not crumble readily it is difficult to beat out, and it is full of fibres which may however easily be removed by sifting. It may be boiled to make a brown porridge of good quality except that it is more glutinous than any porridge normally used by us. 252 262

137X

Mariscus congestus C. B. Cl. (5166) Photograph 4.

Naron Bushman..... n̄lani
Eastern !khû Bushman !gewu

This plant is one of the sedges, a group closely related and similar to the grasses but distinguishable by certain rather subtle differences which most laymen as well as botanists are familiar with. One of the main ones is that their flowering stalks are usually three-angled and solid while those of the grasses are usually round and hollow. The species in question could not, in its withered winter condition, be named in the field, but bulbs which were collected grew well in cultivation and flowered in Pretoria that same

X137 year. They produce an erect and robust plant with bright green leaves and numerous spreading underground rhizomes on which more bulbs are borne a few inches below the surface. Some stolons are produced above ground as well, from among the leaves. They afterwards turn downwards, entering the soil close to the parent plant and thereafter behaving in all respects like the rhizomes. The flowering stalk is three-angled and unjointed, with a cluster of compact, spiky inflorescences at the top, some on slender secondary stalks and some almost sessile. The parent plant is in a sense annual, for both it and the bulb producing it wither at the onset of winter, but the fresh bulbs which have been produced form new plants, and the species is capable of spreading very rapidly by this means. The bulbs are rounded, half an inch in diameter with a sharp point at the top, and covered with several papery brown layers which may be removed to expose a pale nut-like body.

Sedges usually favour damp places, but this species seemed equally at home in seepy areas and well-drained ones, and in the sandy country near Nama Pan it was common nearly everywhere, sometimes scattered among the grasses but more often in patches. Its range is from Cape Town to the Mediterranean, and it occurs in Australia also.

262 The bulbs are edible, and seemed to be a fairly important food of the northern Bushmen. The taste is sweetish and they have a crisp tex-
252 ture and a cloudy, very slightly astringent juice. Light roasting improves
222 the flavour. They are easily gathered by scratching away the top layer of soil, and their presence is often shown by the disturbed soil where they grow, for they are a favourite food with many birds and small animals, which scratch and burrow to find them. According to the *Flora Capensis* the plant "has been for nearly a century cultivated in Europe".

X137 *Hyphaene ventricosa* Kirk (5301).

Eastern !khũ Bushman !hani and !hɛni

This palm is bushy when young, but loses its bushy habit as it matures, forming a long clean stem 40 feet in height with a crown of leaves at the top and often with a slight swelling near the middle. The leaf has a strong woody rhachis up to six feet long, slightly hollowed above and rounded below, with a row of sharp hooked spines at intervals of an inch or so along each margin. At its tip it bears the leafy part which is two feet across and folded like a fan. The fruits, a little smaller than a tennis-ball, are covered with a glossy brown papery skin, and are borne in clusters.

Old an half-decayed fruits were found in the neighbourhood of Nama Pan, presumably where they had been discarded by Bushmen, but the palm trees themselves were not seen in this area. Only one specimen was found, 20 miles to the north-east. It was immature and had neither flowers nor fruits. According to available records, it was growing near the southern limit of its range, which extends to northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo.

262 There is a quarter-inch edible mealy layer immediately underlying the
114 skin of the fruit. It is fibrous and dry but sweetish, with a pleasant flavour, and may be gnawed off the hard inner shell into which it merges.
[272] The kernel in the centre of the mature fruit is hard and bony and inedible,
[252] but Chapman (1868:II:73) states that the milk of the young fruit may be used like that of the coconut, and that the whole of the young fruit may be EATEN AFTER BOILING, "PULP, RIND, AND ALL."

be eaten after boiling, "pulp, rind and all". Dinter (1912:21-22) says also that the Bushmen use the heart of the palm as a green vegetable, and that a sweet sap may be tapped from the upper part of the stem and fermented to make an alcoholic drink. He gives the yield of fruits from one palm as between 20 and 50 kilograms (48 to 120 lb.). His reference to the heart of the palm is obscure, but Chapman (1868:I:55-56), who is more explicit, says that this is the core of the young trunk. 262 114 [273]

Aloe rubrolutea Schinz (5135). 137X

Eastern !khũ Bushman n|oru

This species was in full bloom in early August, and made a striking show with its spikes of brick-red flowers. The plants formed rosettes of leaves 12 inches across, producing a slender erect five-foot flowering stalk. Among the hundreds of speciments seen there were none arborescent, although elsewhere arborescent forms are common (Reynolds 1950: 328). Those seen at Nama Pan were similar in habit to *Aloe zebrina*.

Aloe rubrolutea was seen only on the rocky outcrops near Nama Pan and Gam, growing in patches of an acre or so, but it has a wide distribution extending from South West Africa through the Bechuanaland Protectorate to the northern Transvaal and Portuguese East Africa.

The flowers are stripped off the flowering stalk and pounded to make a spinach-like vegetable. Although the Bushmen said that they did not eat the leaves, they were tasted raw and boiled and were found to be juicy and not unpleasant, and to have no harmful effects. They would be a good source of water in an emergency. 252 262

Aloe zebrina Bak. (4995). 137X

!h5: Bushman..... ||ganja
||ganakwe Bushman n||oru
||gikwe Bushman... n||uru
Naron Bushman... n||oru

The plant forms a rosette of rigid dark green leaves which have pale transverse bands and numerous sharp teeth along the margins. It may have a stem 30 centimetres long (Reynolds, 1950: 282), but those seen on the expedition were stemless. The flowering stalks were three or four feet high. The sap in the epidermis of the leaves is greenish-yellow. It oozes out of the vessels fairly quickly if a leaf is cut across, and hardens and changes colour on exposure to the air, becoming brown and glassy. The bulk of the sap, which is in the inner part of the leaf, is colourless and translucent, and does not ooze out if the leaf is cut.

Only one small clump of this Aloe was seen, on deep sand about 80 miles directly south-east of Ghanzi. It is, however, recorded from Angola and South West Africa and across the continent to the east.

The Bushmen stated that the leaves were a good source of water. One of these plants was sent to Pretoria and grew well in cultivation. On being tested, the leaves proved extremely unpleasant, not because of any bad taste but because their sap is in the form of a thick, revolting slime. Boiling or roasting did nothing towards making them more palatable. Either the Bushmen were confusing this Aloe with another species, or it 262 312 824

262 271 824 [114] is eaten only when they are in the greatest need. Reynolds (1950: 285), quoting W. B. Hooker, states that its flowers may be eaten after boiling, but I did not think of asking the Bushmen about this, and they did not volunteer any information.

X137 *Dipcadi* sp. (5163, 5307).

!h5: Bushman..... n!ɦom
Naron Bushman..... n!ɔm
Eastern !khû Bushman n!umʃé:

Although the above-ground parts had been killed by frost, enough remained for the plant to be identified as a species of Dipcadi. The bulbs were two inches below the surface of the soil, in appearance like a small onion. They were planted in Pretoria, but although they were still alive two years after being collected, they had failed to produce leaves or flowers up to the time this report was written.

Specimens were collected at Nama Pan, in parkland on sandy soil. As the plant was recognised and named by one of the southern !h5: Bushmen who was with us, it probably extends into the Kalahari well south of Ghanzi.

[262] The bulbs are edible after cooking.

Scilla sp. near *Scilla lancifolia* Bak. (5190) Photograph 5.

Eastern !khû Bushman tû

This plant has a rounded two-inch bulb covered with a thick layer of dark brown papery scales. In the summer it produces three or four spreading leaves, usually six inches long but up to 10, and one and a half inches wide at the widest part. They are thin but fleshy, strap-shaped (but in section widely V-shaped near the base), and light green, sometimes faintly mottled with darker green. The inflorescence is four inches long and the flowers small and not conspicuous, with purple stamens and a recurved perianth.

It was common in shallow sand overlying rock near Gautscha Pan and Nama Pan but was not easy to find because the leaves and inflorescences had been frosted, and blown away by the wind by the time the expedition had reached those parts. A number of bulbs collected there produced leaves and flowers in Pretoria the following summer, and it was from these plants that the notes were made.

[252 262] The bulb is edible after roasting but I have not tried it personally.

It would be dangerous to experiment with plants like this if what the Bushmen say is true, for it could be easily confused with another species which has an inedible bulb. The inedible species (No. 5181) is shown in photograph 6 and may be distinguished by its longer bulb and longer leaves (10 inches long and over, and two inches wide at the widest part). They have a translucent fringed margin, are pointed, narrowly V-shaped in section and more numerous, about 12 to a plant. In addition, the

M137 Two storage organs of this plant were found by the Bushmen near Nama Pan in August 1955. They lay dormant for a further 16 months after being planted in Pretoria, then both plants grew out and flowered within a few weeks of each other. The parts above ground disappear during the winter for they are very susceptible to frost.

[262] The storage organ is edible. It has a pasty texture and little taste if [252] eaten raw, but is improved by baking.

Eulophia sp. nearest *E. pillansii* Bol. (5279, 5304) Photograph 9.

Eastern !khû Bushman ≠gɔ?ɔ

An erect stemless plant with four or five spreading glabrous grass-like leaves half an inch wide and 11 inches long, prominently three-keeled on the back and grooved above, and fairly soft and lax. They rise in tufts, each one from a corm the size and shape of a slightly flattened golf ball with "eyes" on the upper surface and short stout roots below. The corms have a brown skin covering a white fairly firm flesh. They are often linked together five or six at a time, and are to be found an inch or two below the sand. The above-ground parts die back during the winter and usually disappear without trace before the next season's growth begins. The plant flowers after the new leaves appear and has the flowers arranged alternately in an open inflorescence at the end of a 12-inch flowering stalk. They are yellow and green, and about half an inch long.

A few corms were found by chance in two places near Nama Pan, in the shelter of small thickets. They flowered in Pretoria but could not be matched with any of the named specimens in the National Herbarium and the species may be undescribed.

[252] The corms are edible raw or roasted. They were peppery when tasted [262] in Pretoria, probably because they had been planted too near the surface and had become green through the action of the light. At Nama Pan they were mild and tasteless with a pasty texture.

Eulophia sp. (5213, 5306) Photograph 10.

Eastern !khû Bushman ≠gawu

The corms of this orchid are a little bigger and coarser than those of the other species of Eulophia (numbers 5279 and 5304) but are otherwise similar. The leaves are erect, somewhat curved, eight inches long and slightly more than half an inch wide, pale yellowish-green, rigid and firmly fleshy, with a channel running down the upper surface and a corresponding keel on the lower surface. This plant grew well but did not flower in cultivation in Pretoria and the species has not been determined.

It was found in the same locality as the other Eulophia and under similar conditions.

[262] The corms of the two species are used in the same way by the Bushmen, and cannot be distinguished by taste or texture.

Ximenia americana L. var. *microphylla* Welw. ex Oliv. (5061) Photograph 11.

!hɔ: Bushman.....	n≠ ?uri
!ganakwe Bushman...	n≠ ?uri
!gikwe Bushman.....	≠ɔ?i
Naron Bushman.....	n≠ ?uri

Very like the following species (*Ximenia caffra*), but except for the flowers glabrous throughout and with smaller glaucous leaves which tend to fold along the midrib and droop, giving it a rather unattractive look. Its fruits are lighter in colour, and smaller. The two species were often found growing together, but no evidence of hybridisation was seen.

X137 place being taken by a few thick fleshy erect lobes, and from the woody remnants of old flowers in this particular species it could be seen that they had four lobes. The two species recorded from South West Africa are *Hydnora africana* and *Hydnora solmsiana*, parasitic respectively on species of Euphorbia and species of Acacia. Number 5162 is either a new species, or one of the known ones parasitic on a hitherto unrecorded host. The material collected was inadequate for specific determination, and the seeds which were planted did not germinate.

This Hydnora was seen only in the immediate neighbourhood of Nama Pan, where it appeared to be fairly frequent.

The host plant is a straggly shrub up to six feet high, with grayish woolly leaves an inch long. It has the characteristic four-winged fruits of the genus, and many remain on the twigs through the winter. It was not seen in the country to the south of Ghanzi, but was common from Ghanzi northwards, and is widely distributed in Portuguese East Africa, the Transvaal and Rhodesia. A glossy-leafed form of it is also known, but was not seen along the route of the expedition.

[262] The whole mass inside the Hydnora fruit is edible. It is astringent and slightly sweet, and is eaten raw. The fruits would be difficult to find if it were not that they are eaten by various animals. A litter of [222 824] half-eaten fruits and fragments of rind and shallow burrowings often show where the fruits have been excavated, and where more may be expected. They ripen about the end of August.

Talinum arnotii Hook. f. (5256) Photograph 14.

Eastern !khû Bushman !gwi-ja (stems and leaves)
≠k"arɔ (tuber)

During the winter there is seldom any sign of this plant above ground for the branches wither and die back with the first frosts. There is a perennial tuber a few inches underground, irregularly shaped and up to a pound in weight, crisp in texture and exuding a little cloudy astringent juice when injured. It has a brown skin and a reddish-brown zoned flesh. Although it is often eaten into hollows, presumably by rodents and insects, it is not eaten by the Bushmen. The stems appear in September and form a loose mat three feet in diameter on the surface of the ground. They are reddish-brown, prostrate and sappy, and the leaves are dull green and fleshy, channelled down the centre on the upper surface and with slightly crystalline appearance. The bright yellow flowers, which are produced in midsummer, are an inch across and quite showy, but open only in the heat of the day. They have two sepals and five petals. The flower-stalk starts bending when the flowers are mature, and by the time the fruits are fully formed it is curved sharply back. The fruits are the size of a small pea, shiny green and pointed at the tip, and covered by the withered remains of the perianth. They become yellow when ripe, with a papery shell and seeds the size of a pinhead.

The tubers of this plant were often unearthed in the more open parts round Nama Pan. I am doubtful whether it should be kept separate from *Talinum caffrum*, which is distributed from the Cape Province northwards to the Sudan and is very variable in its leaves and habit.

[262] The leaves and smaller branches of this species are used by the [252] Bushmen as a green vegetable. They are usually prepared by being pounded in a mortar to a paste which is dark green and slightly slimy and has a faintly acid taste with a flavour of lettuce.

Pollichia campestris Ait. (4963, 5040) Photograph 15. 137/x

A small grey-green bush with much-branched slender soft stems, fairly compact when growing in the open but usually found as a semi-scrambler up to four feet high. The leaves arise in tufts of about three, the tufts being opposite each other and at intervals of anything up to an inch along the stem. They are lanceolate and usually under half an inch long. The plant bears what at first sight appear to be fleshy translucent fruits like small white or yellowish mulberries, but which are actually parts of the flowers.

This is a widespread plant throughout Africa, and was seen at intervals all along the route taken by the expedition.

The fleshy parts of the flowers are edible and sweet, with a queer earthy flavour, and are loosely attached so that they may be easily collected by pulling the stems through the hands. The plant, however, did not appear common enough to be of importance as a food. [262]

Boscia albitrunca (Burch.) Gilg and Benedict (4998, 5208) Photograph 16.

!h5: Bushman.....	≠hun
!ganakwe Bushman...	n|ßu-ni
|gikwe Bushman.....	n|ßu-ni
Naron Bushman.....	n|ßu-ni
Eastern !khū Bushman	zā

This is a rather variable tree, sometimes with erect branches and sometimes with a spreading crown, usually bearing many thin twigs with much dead wood among them. The bark is sometimes loose, dark and coarsely fissured and sometimes white and flaky. The species was also often seen in the form of a many-stemmed shrub about four feet high. It is evergreen, and did not seem to be at all affected by the heavy frosts that were experienced in the central Kalahari. The leaves arise singly or in bunches of four or five from small knobs on the twigs, and are leathery and about one inch long and a third as wide. Although the flowers are small and inconspicuous as individuals, they are borne in masses towards the tips of the twigs and make quite a show. In the Cape and the Transvaal at least the tree appears to be sporadic in its flowering. The fruits are borne on half-inch jointed stalks, and are half an inch in diameter, pale-skinned and translucent, with several large stones surrounded by a thin, watery pulp.

The tree was scattered evenly throughout the country from Molepolole to Ghanzi and Gautscha Pan, and has been recorded from the Cape Province northwards to the tropics. It occurred singly, occasionally in open communities, but it was never seen to form thickets.

The fruits are eaten by the Bushmen, but they do not make pleasant eating, for the pulp has a rather slimy texture and a sickly-sweet taste. [262]

Sim (1907:123) refers to a meal which is prepared from the roots by drying and beating them. The resulting meal is then sifted to remove the fibres and may be made into a porridge. There are reports of gastro-intestinal disturbances after the eating of Boscia roots, but the reports have not been confirmed, and Steyn (1934: 561) fed large quantities to a rabbit without ill effects. It is suspected that people are susceptible only when they are not accustomed to this food. The Bushmen were not asked about their use of the roots, and did not volunteer any information. [252] [114 124]

The older trees are often hollow, and form natural reservoirs for rain water which is tapped by the Bushmen. (See Adansonia.) 312 824

Acacia species.

X137 The species of Acacia mentioned in this paper often exude edible [262] gum from injuries on the stem. It is a safe assumption that the gum from species that are not mentioned would also be edible, for none are known to be poisonous. All African species have alternate bipinnate leaves of the pattern shown in the photograph of *Acacia heteracantha*, and all are thorny.

Acacia detinens Burch. (4947, 5070, 5206).

!h5: Bushman.....	ǂwa
!ganakwe Bushman...	ǂwa
!gikwe Bushman.....	ǂk'uwa
Naron Bushman.....	ǂwa
Eastern !khû Bushman	!göû

A rigid shrub usually seven or eight feet high, with a smooth dark bark and paired hooked thorns a quarter of an inch long. It makes a bright show towards the end of August, for it is deciduous and the flowers appear in profusion before the new spring leaves. The flowers are scented and creamy, and massed in round heads up to half an inch across. The pods are flat and papery, two inches long and half an inch wide.

This was the most widespread of all the Acacias seen on the expedition, and was scattered all along the route. It is found in the northern Cape Province, the northern Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, South West Africa, Angola, and Northern and Southern Rhodesia.

[262] It produces an edible gum.

Acacia dulcis Marl. and Engl. (5042).

A semi-deciduous tree usually about 25 feet high, with a number of erect three-inch stems arising from a common rootstock, and with a pale papery bark which has a tendency to peal. The thorns are paired and strongly hooked, a quarter of an inch long, stout, sharp and numerous. The flowers are borne in pale yellow spikes, and the pods which follow are flat and papery.

Only a few specimens were seen along the route of the expedition, all of them within a radius of 40 miles or so of Ghanzi. The tree occurs in the north-eastern Transvaal, the northern Cape Province, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, South West Africa, Angola and Nyasaland.

[262] Its gum is said to be of a particularly good quality.

Acacia fleckii Schinz (4943, 5067, 5205).

Eastern !khû Bushman n≠ŋ

A semi-deciduous shrub from six to eight feet high, very similar to *Acacia dulcis*, with the same pale flaky bark and hooked thorns and the same type of flower and pod, but with a different habit and usually finer leaflets.

Except between the Mabeleapudi hills and Tsau, where it was not noted, it was plentiful all along the route of the expedition. Its range is from the northern Transvaal through the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa to Angola.

[262] It produces an edible gum.

Acacia giraffae Burch. (4945, 5069). 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman |ana

A tree, usually erect, with an umbrella-shaped crown and grayish foliage, darker green in the spring. Recognition is made easy by the gray woody pods, which are velvety on the surface and the size and shape of a flattened kidney, and which are to be found on and around the tree at all seasons. The flowers, which begin to appear in September, are scented and borne in small bright yellow heads, and the thorns are in pairs and stout. The bark is gray and fissured, and the crown rather dense, with much dead twiggy wood in it.

This tree was found all along the route between Molepolole and Gautscha Pan. As a rule it was scattered, but in one area, between Lake Ngami in the south and Tsau in the north, along the border of the Okavango swamps, it was the dominant tree. Some magnificent old specimens up to 30 feet in height were seen here. On the heavy sand between Molepolole and Ghanzi, however, it often occurred in the form of a shrub about six feet high. It is known from the northern Cape Province, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, South West Africa and Angola.

Its gum is edible, slightly astringent but quite good to eat when fresh and clear. It becomes discoloured at times and is then less palatable. [262]

Acacia heteracantha Burch. (5341) Photograph 17.

Eastern !khû Bushman |gali

This tree usually has an umbrella-shaped or flat crown and a delicate lacy appearance because of its slender twigs and fine leaflets. The flowers are borne in round white heads and produce small clusters of tightly curled pods. Like *Acacia uncinata* if has straight as well as hooked thorns.

It has been recorded from South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the northern parts of all four provinces of the Union, and extends as far north as Tanganyika, yet in spite of this wide distribution it was not seen between Molepolole and the Ghanzi area. There is at present no explanation for this strange gap in the centre of its distribution.

It produces an edible gum. [262]

Acacia uncinata Engl. (4950).

!hɔ: Bushman.....	!ɔla
||ganakwe Bushman...	'!û
|gikwe Bushman.....	'!û
Naron Bushman.....	'||gû
Eastern !khû Bushman	'!gû

A spreading 20 foot high tree, with a fissured bark and paired thorns, some of them straight and slender but most short and hooked. In this it resembles *Acacia heteracantha*, but its pods are straight and not curly as those of *Acacia heteracantha* are, and it is a stouter tree. The flowers are borne in round yellow heads half an inch in diameter.

There was no commoner Acacia than this from Molepolole to the Ghanzi area, but north of Ghanzi it became scarcer, and patchy in its distribution. It extends from the northern Cape Province through South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protcetorate to Angola.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

[262] 411 824 It furnishes the Bushmen not only with an edible gum, but also with the material for making quivers. These are made from the lateral roots, which are a foot or so below the surface. A suitably straight length is exposed and cut through, and after the cortex has been loosened by gently pounding it, it may be slipped off the woody central portion. The tube so obtained is then covered at one end with skin. The roots of this tree, like those of *Acacia giraffae*, have a most unpleasant smell when cut, something which is not apparent in the above-ground parts.

X137 ***Burkea africana*** **Hook. (5332) Photograph 18.**

Eastern Ikhû Bushman -Ik'u

An evergreen tree, with attractive drooping grayish compound leaves which are silvery when young. The tips of the youngest twigs are covered with a dense reddish pubescence, but this soon wears off and the older branches and the stem have a dark brown rough bark. The flowers are small but massed in showy hanging spikes six inches long and as thick as a pencil. They are cream-coloured and scented, and produce flat one-seeded or two-seeded pods two inches long. In the Transvaal the tree has a spreading crown. Beyond Tsau the habit was very different—the branches were ascending and shorter and gave the tree a slender appearance almost like a Lombardy poplar.

It is a widespread species in tropical Africa, extending from the Magaliesberg northwards to Abyssinia and Nigeria (Codd, 1951:61). Along the route of the expedition it was scattered from the south up to a point 171 miles from Molepolole, after which it was not seen again until 65 miles north-west of Tsau. It was found only on heavy sand, and beyond Tsau where sand and hard soil sometimes alternated at intervals of a mile or so the corresponding zones of Burkea were sharply defined. The central gap in its distribution is probably a climatic one, for there was deep sand in this area and conditions were apparently ideal for Burkea.

136 262 Burkea occasionally produces a little edible gum from injuries, but it is more important indirectly because of being the host of at least two edible caterpillars, one being the larva of the moth *Nudaurelia bellina* Westwood. This caterpillar is in length and thickness slightly bigger than one's little finger. It is marked with black dots on a yellowish-green ground, with a black transverse band just below each segment and a row of stiff black bristles on each segment. It is recorded from South West Africa and is no doubt known to the Bushmen and eaten by them, but as the expedition passed through those parts too early in the season no specimens of the caterpillar were seen. The Bushmen did bring in the pupae of what they said was an edible caterpillar, and Mr. L. Vari of the Transvaal Museum was unable to distinguish them from the pupae of *Nudaurelia bellina*. One cannot, however, assume from this that they are in fact the same, for the pupae of different species in this group may be indistinguishable.

136 Another caterpillar found on Burkea and recorded also from South West Africa is the larva of the moth *Cirina forda* Westwood. It is black below and silvery or golden yellow above, with a line of black markings down the centre of the back. It is sparsely covered with long white hairs. Many other species of caterpillars have similar hairs which are extremely irritant, but these are quite harmless.

The following observations were made in the Transvaal near Pretoria, where infestation by *Cirina forda* is frequently so heavy that the affected trees may be readily recognised from a distance from the way in which the leaves are stripped. The caterpillar is prepared for food by being grasped by the head and squeezed through the thumb and forefinger of the free hand with a milking action. This clears out the bowel contents, and no further preparation is necessary before the boiling which follows. The head is rather hard and may be removed, but this is not necessary. After light boiling or roasting the caterpillars are dried in the sun and may be stored without deteriorating for several months. They are slightly oily but crisp in texture, with the smell and flavour of kippers. 252 [251]

Bauhinia esculenta Burch. (5160) Photographs 19 and 20. 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman tsi: (the seed)
nlɨ̃ (the storage organ)

This plant is a runner in open grassveld, with numerous slender vines up to 18 feet long, the youngest parts of them covered with a fine brown tomentum. They bear inch-long Y-shaped tendrils, but the plant is not a climber. The vines die back during the winter but do not disintegrate as readily as those of the Cucurbitaceae, and are conspicuous until the new runners are produced from the perennial underground stem. The leaves, which are soft and reddish-brown when young but turn leathery and glaucous as they grow older, are deeply bilobed, with a small spur between the lobes. The plant bears showy yellow flowers in December, and the pods ripen from April onwards. At first they are soft and reddish brown, then light green and, when ripe, brown and woody. They contain up to six flattened seeds about the size of one's thumb nail, consisting of a hard shell and a soft nutty edible inner part. The plant is easily seen because of the craters it forms where the soil is stony—craters a yard or more across, edged with a ring of stones which appear to have been forced to the surface by the stem beneath. The details of this crater formation, however, are not known.

This Bauhinia is curiously patchy in its distribution. Although it is plentiful in some places near Vryburg, it was not seen along the route of the expedition until a point 400 miles north of Vryburg, that is, 127 miles before Ghanzi was reached, and I have no record of it after leaving the Ghanzi area until the expedition crossed the border into South West Africa near Gam, after which it was again plentiful. It occurs in communities sometimes miles across, with the plants in these communities scattered 20 to 30 yards apart. On the expedition it was seen growing only on deep sand or where there were outcrops of limestone, and near Pretoria it has so far been seen only on the dolomite, but it has been grown successfully in Pretoria on neutral shaly soils. It has been recorded from the northern Cape Province, the western Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa.

Although the seeds are not pleasant to eat when raw, they are excellent after roasting, and analysis figures show that they are rich in protein and oil. The roasting should be carried out slowly, otherwise they may shatter with a rather disconcerting report, and to avoid this they are often roasted in sand, which probably gives a slower and more even heat. They may also be boiled to make a porridge or a drink. They will last through the winter in the field without spoiling but become scarce towards the spring, probably through being covered with wind-blown sand and being eaten by animals. 262 252 146

262 252 [222] The sappy young tuber makes a good vegetable after baking or boiling. Those dug up by the Bushmen were about two pounds in weight and would not have been more than a few seasons old, for it is known from specimens grown from seed in Pretoria that it takes about ten years for them to reach 30 pounds. Burchell (1824: 589) says that they are astringent, but on tasting the 30-pound one mentioned I did not find it so. It was, however, rather tough and leathery.

With breeding, this might become a useful plant of cultivation.

X137 *Bauhinia macrantha* Oliv. (4887) Photograph 21.

!h5: Bushman.....	ǂintɛ
!ganakwe Bushman...	n|an|hɛ
!gikwe Bushman.....	n≠an≠ɛ
Naron Bushman.....	n≠i≠ei
Eastern !khû Bushman	≠ɛ≠wa

This species is usually a rigid three-foot shrub, but grows up to six feet where protected from fire and is sometimes found as a weak scrambler with stems up to 12 feet in length. Dinter (1912: 28) records one in the form of a tree five metres high, but this is quite exceptional. It has thin rather wiry twigs, some slightly curled at the tips, and alternate bilobed leaves which are shed during the winter. The younger parts are minutely hairy, but soon become glabrous. The flowers are borne at the tips of the twigs and are pure white and showy, with a pleasant scent and crisped petals. The pods are four inches long and one inch broad and contain five or six irregularly-shaped flattened beans.

Bauhinia macrantha has been recorded from near Molepolole, but is probably localised or uncommon there, for on the expedition it was first seen 60 miles northwest of Molepolole. From there on it was common, although there were occasional gaps in its distribution. It forms communities in open sandy grassy country, usually with the tips of the bushes just showing above the grasses, and has been recorded from the Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, South West Africa, Rhodesia and Angola. It has grown well as a cultivated ornamental shrub as far south as Grahamstown.

252 262 The ripe beans are extracted from the pods, roasted peeled and pounded into a pleasant-tasting coarse rather gritty meal, edible without further preparation. The beans may also be used when they are green, but then it is more convenient to roast the whole pod so that it can more easily be opened. They are not eaten raw, for unless cooked they have a burning taste. The pods are easily opened when mature by bending them across the middle, when the two halves spring apart. The halves form spirals as they dry.

The importance of this species as a food plant was shown by the heaps of empty pods which were found at many Bushman shelters and Bakalahari villages. There is, however, a great deal of labour involved in preparing the meal, because although the beans have a thin shell and are thus easy to crack, it still takes about 1,500 of them to produce a pound of air-dry meal.

A note on one of Schoenfelder's specimens in the National Herbarium states that the root is also edible when roasted.

Like *Bauhinia esculenta*, this might be a useful cultivated plant if improved by breeding.

137X

Vigna dinteri Harms (5227, 5310) Photograph 22.

!hɔ: Bushman..... |iti
Naron Bushman..... |iti
Eastern !khû Bushman ʃa:

A leafy twiner which climbs through trees and shrubs to a height of six feet or so. It produces numerous slender stems like a runner bean, and the leaves too are similar, being alternate and made up of three pointed and often lobed leaflets two inches long and half as broad. The terminal leaflet has a stalk over a quarter of an inch long, but the side leaflets are very shortly stalked. There are two narrowly triangular stipules where the leaf-stalk joins the stem, an eighth of an inch long and fixed at the base. The whole plant is finely hairy, but less so on the upper surface of the leaves than on the lower. The flowers are also like those of the runner bean, creamy to brownish-yellow, and are borne several at a time on a stalk up to five inches long. The pods are three inches long, circular in section and less than a quarter of an inch in diameter, and the seeds are bean-shaped but small, the size of a match-head. On a branching system of roots nine inches below the surface of the soil are borne swellings the size of potatoes, but more regular in outline and without the lobing which is so common with potatoes. In shape they vary from spherical through ovoid to long and only slightly thickened. and arise apparently in no particular order, for very small ones and large ones may be found next to one another on the same root, the spacing between them ranging from a fraction of an inch to a foot. The axis of the root (which is usually a little less than a quarter of an inch thick) passes through the centre of the swellings. As the plants were seen during the winter, there was very little remaining of the leaves and stems, and I have no information as to their frequency. Only two specimens were found, both in the neighbourhood of Nama Pan, and both in fairly thick mixed scrub in sand. Because of their habit of growth, it is unlikely that they would be found in open grasslands. The root swellings were planted in Pretoria and produced vigorous plants which flowered and set seed normally. The swellings themselves, however, were found to have been heavily infested with eelworm in their new habitat, and when they were replanted no further plants were produced.

Vigna dinteri has seldom been collected, and, as far as I know, only in South West Africa, though it is very likely that it extends into Angola and the Bechuanaland Protectorate as well. The fact that it is known to the !hɔ: Bushmen indicates that it may extend into the central Kalahari.

The swellings on the roots are edible raw or cooked, and are a pleasant and satisfying food. When raw they have a flavour which has been likened to that of grean beans. This is fainter after cooking. [262] [252]

It would be worth while investigating this plant with a view to bringing it into cultivation.

Vigna triloba Walp. (5257).

Eastern !khû Bushman ga·ni

Although occasionally reported as a trailer in grasslands, the more usual form of this plant is a twiner very similar in habit to *Vigna dinteri*. It has the same type of trifoliolate leaf as well, but the leaflets may vary widely in different plants, being simple or lobed, hairy or almost glabrous, sometimes long and narrow and sometimes almost as broad as they are long. Some of the forms would be indistinguishable vegetatively from *Vigna dinteri* if it were not for a difference in the stipules. In *Vigna*

X137 *triloba* they are what is known as dorsifixed, that is they are fixed a little way up from the base so that the stipule is free at both ends. The flowers are the same size in the two species and have the same long stalk, but those of *Vigna triloba* are predominantly purple. They tend to open in the early morning and to close during the heat of the day.

Vigna triloba is reported from a variety of soils and is widespread through southern Africa, but it was not seen on the expedition until the Nama Pan area was reached.

262 It has a finger-thick tap-root which is edible after boiling or roasting, [252] although fibrous and slightly bitter. In mature plants it may extend downwards further than can conveniently be dug, but it is easily broken off. There appear to have been no previous records of its use as a food plant.

X137 *Commiphora pyracanthoides* Engl. (5137) Photograph 23.

Eastern !khũ Bushman n|ʃo

A deciduous, rigid, twiggy two-foot shrub with spine-tipped twigs, branches that curve downwards, and a bark that is pale green and flaky on the older parts and grayish on the young twigs. The flowers are less than a quarter of an inch long and inconspicuous, and are borne in bunches on small knobs scattered along the twigs. Male and female flowers are on separate plants. The knobs also bear the leaves, which appear after the flowers and are glaucous, simple and finely serrate, and about three quarters of an inch long and half an inch wide. The fruits are "ovoid, about the size of a green pea, though reddish brown when ripe. When the fruits are ripe, the fleshy covering may be easily split apart in two halves exposing the black seed with a red aril covering it partly at the base and extending in four slender 'fingers', producing an intriguing pattern". (Codd, 1951:87.)

The species extends from South West Africa to the northern Transvaal, but was uncommon in the area round Nama Pan. One specimen collected there was grown in Pretoria. Leaves and flowers were obtained in the summer following, and from this material the determination was made possible.

[262] The plant exudes an edible gum from injuries and is a useful source 312 of water in an emergency, the water being in a sappy underground organ 824 which is like that of one of the following species of Commiphora, No. 4994. It is known as a water plant among the Bantu of the Transvaal as well.

X137 *Commiphora* spp. (4994 edible, 5030 inedible).

4994		5030	
!hɔ: Bushman..	dʒã	|gikwe Bushman	!ana
|gikwe Bushman	dʒã		
Naron Bushman	|uri		

Two species of Commiphora were collected in the Kalahari south of Ghanzi. They were completely deciduous rigid two-foot shrubs with many sharply-tipped twigs and a flaky bark. At first sight they were identical, and even close examination revealed no bigger difference than that one of them was a little more of a thicket than the other and slightly 824 grayer. The Bushmen, however, stated emphatically that the grayish one [278] was poisonous and the other not. They said also that the grayish one WAS THE HOST OF THE INSECT WHICH THEY USE FOR [825] MAKING THEIR ARROW POISON, AND THAT IT HAD HARDER ROOTS THAN THE OTHER.

was the host of the insect which they use for making their arrow poison, and that it had harder roots than the other. The fruits, flowers and leaves might have shown the difference clearly, but no trace of them could be found, and though plants were sent to the Transvaal for growing they failed to become established. 824

In spite of its unpromising appearance, the non-poisonous one is a useful source of water. This is in a sappy unbranched vertical underground part about an inch and a half thick. The Bushmen excavate down its length as deeply as they can reach, then break it off and withdraw it. They remove the thin outer skin and chew the remaining part, which is crisp and has a little tasteless sap. As a source of water it does not compare with the various species of Cucurbitaceae—weight for weight it contains far less, and the labour of digging it up is considerable. However, it must be a reliable standby when the Cucurbitaceae are not in fruit, and in the central Kalahari it is plentiful. In the southern part it is apparently absent, for it was not seen until 256 miles north-west of Molepolole. 312 824 [222] [271]

Dichapetalum cymosum (Hook.) Engl. 5109, 5266, 5338 Photograph 24. 137X

Eastern Ikhû Bushman ma-l

This plant produces a number of slender erect woody stems up to 12 inches high, sparingly branched and often buried in the sand at the base. The leaves are four inches long, numerous, sessile, alternate, broader in the upper half where they are about one and a half inches across, and tapering at the base, with a stiff papery texture and with veins prominent above and below. They have a slight bloom on the upper surface and the younger leaves at least have a pair of narrow hairy stipules at the base. The younger parts of the plant are hairy, but the hairs wear off with age, and during the winter the leaves turn brown and hard and finally drop. The flowers are scented and have white petals forked at the end, but as they are small and nearly covered by the sepals, they are not conspicuous. The fruits are like a loquat, and may be brown or yellow. The have one or two big seeds covered by a little flesh.

Dichapetalum is distributed widely but patchily from the northern Transvaal through to Angola and Rhodesia. On the expedition it was seen for the first time between Tsau and Kaikai, and beyond that it was fairly frequent but scattered. It was usually in open situations, and seldom where there was dense tree growth.

Though the leaves are extremely poisonous, the flesh of the fruits is harmless and is eaten by the Bushmen. They emphasised that the flesh only could be used, and that the stone was poisonous. They did not mention the skin, but the following note on Schoenfelder's specimen 31, in the National Herbarium, indicates that it, too, is poisonous:— 262

> "Fruits like small yellow oranges are eaten peeled in great quantities by the Kung Bushmen. When still green can be eaten after baking in hot ash. Used like fruit, fresh. The peel of the fruit is stamped and mixed with other food to poison stealing dogs (Diriko)." [252] [278 824]

Marloth (1913-25: II: I: 120) and Engler (1912: 577) also refer to the edibility of the fruits.

There are four other plants of very similar appearance which could be confused with *Dichapetalum cymosum*, and although they were not collected on the expedition, their distribution does overlap. They are *Pachystigma pygmaeum*, *Pygmaeothamnus zeyheri*, *Parinari capense* and *Diospyros chamaethamnus*. The first two bear inedible fruits and may be 137X

X137 [262] distinguished by their having opposite leaves. The latter two bear edible fruits and like *Dichapetalum* have alternate leaves. The differences are that *Parinari capense* has leaves dark green above and covered with a white felt below, and that *Diospyros chamaethamnus* has no stipules.

Another species, *Dichapetalum venenatum*, has been described, but is in my opinion not specifically distinct from *Dichapetalum cymosum*.

Ricinodendron rautanenii Schinz (5336) Photograph 25.

Eastern !khũ Bushman ,||k'a:

The trees seen on the expedition were about 25 feet high and were then (at the end of August) quite bare, resembling slender baobabs, with similar but thinner stems, and smooth bark and stubby branches. Specimens collected elsewhere showed that the leaves are digitately compound, with about five leaflets and two prominent green glands at the top of the leaf-stalk. They are dark green above and pale below and covered with a pale to brownish powdery wool which is found on the young twigs and fruits also. The trees are either male or female. The small creamy flowers are borne in bunches towards the tips of the twigs and the female flowers give rise to reddish fruits the size of a small plum, consisting of a thin pulp surrounding a very hard nut. This is light coloured like an almond, thick and strong and marked all over with numerous small pores.

The only trees seen were on heavy sand near the banks of the Eiseb omuramba, 29 miles from Gam on the way to Windhoek, where they were dominant in a belt several miles wide. They formed a woodland, with the trees spaced about 25 yards apart. Herbarium records show that this is the usual mode of occurrence. The species has been recorded from South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa.

252 262 The pulp of the fruit is edible raw or stewed. It does not readily go bad, but in time it dries and shrivels and in this condition, turned hard and crumbly, is still a wholesome food, edible raw or cooked. The stone contains one or two firm white-fleshed kernels which are, like the pulp, edible raw or cooked. The tree is an important source of Bushman food because of the quality and quantity of its fruit and because the fruits remain good for a long time even without being stored. Those seen on the expedition were on the ground beneath the trees and were still perfectly good to eat. The tree is additionally useful in that it sometimes collects [312 824] and holds rain water in hollows in its trunk (see Adansonia).

X137 *Sclerocarya caffra* Sond. (5292) Photograph 26.

Eastern !khũ Bushman ..gai

A few mature specimens were seen, about 20 feet high, and a few young ones. The mature trees had a single clean bole with a flaking bark and a branching rounded crown, and were very different in appearance from the young ones which consisted of four or five thick and sappy unbranched stems about five feet high, with a smooth brown bark. This was in August, and all were quite leafless. The following description is taken from Codd (1951):— "The leaves are pinnate with three or four pairs of well-spaced leaflets and a terminal leaflet. The leaflets are oval, smooth, tapering to an abrupt point and are about one and a half inches long and one inch wide. Flowers are inconspicuous and are produced in small sprays just before the appearance of the young leaves, some trees

being predominantly male and others mainly fruit-bearing. The edible fruits are somewhat oblong in shape about the size of a small plum, consisting of a firm skin, pale yellow when ripe, enclosing a large hard kernel, to which adheres a soft whitish, fibrous flesh, with a sweet-acid refreshing flavour." 137X

These trees are recorded from tropical Africa southwards as far as Pretoria and Natal, but they were not seen along the route of the expedition south of Nama Pan. They were growing in sandy soil in fairly thick mixed bush.

Sclerocarya is well known as a wild fruit-tree throughout this range, and the fruits are eaten by many different animals as well as by man. They fall when still immature, but ripen quickly on the ground and become strongly aromatic. The Bushmen make use of the fruit after the pulp has been eaten or has rotted away, for the stone which remains contains a little oily flesh with a pleasant nutty flavour. However, as the stone is very hard and makes up 90 per cent of the whole, the labour involved in smashing it and extracting the flesh is considerable. The Imperial Institute, which investigated the stones to see whether the oil could be produced on a commercial scale, concluded that such a scheme would not be worth while. 262

Lannea edulis (Sond.) Engl. var. *glabrescens* Engl. (5185) Photograph 27. 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman gaga-ʃe

A plant with a thick underground trunk, from the crown of which arise a number of thin stems a few inches high, bearing 12-inch compound leaves. The leaves seen in the field had all been killed by frost but had not fallen although it was at the end of winter. They had a stiff, papery texture and appeared completely glabrous to the naked eye, but a few stellate hairs could be seen along the veins when the leaf was put under the lens. The following notes on the fruits are taken from the pamphlet by Verdoorn (1938:22):— "The ovary has four erect styles the remains of which can be seen as four little points on the mature fruits. The fruit which is only about half an inch long, is scarlet until it ripens, at which stage it turns purplish black. There is only a small amount of flesh but it is juicy and pleasantly sour. The stone is just over a quarter of an inch long, oblong and laterally compressed with the surface somewhat pitted."

One specimen was found during the expedition, growing in open woodland on sandy soil near Nama Pan, but the Bushmen stated that it becomes more frequent towards the north. It is widespread through the northern Transvaal and occurs in Southern and Northern Rhodesia as well as the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa. The glabrous form is rarer than the form with hairy leaves.

It is quite well known throughout its range because of its edible fruits, but it appears to be a rather sporadic bearer. [262]

Rhus commiphoroides Engl. and Gilg (4889).

A semi-deciduous spreading shrub up to six feet in height with rigid branches and downy twigs, many of them spine-tipped. The leaves, which are also downy on both surfaces, are borne on a stalk a third of an inch long and consist of three obovate leaflets, toothed in the upper half and dull green. The minute flowers are greenish and inconspicuous and in lax sprays at the ends of the branches. The fruits are borne in clusters and are a quarter of an inch long and kidney-shaped. They are dry and have a papery brittle skin which is purple with glaucous bloom.

A137 The plant was uncommon along the route of the expedition although it has a wide distribution from the northern Cape and the Transvaal through the Bechuanaland Protectorate to South West Africa and Southern and Northern Rhodesia.

[262] The fruits are edible. They have a sour taste and a strong aroma and little more than that for they consist mainly of the skin and the stone.

[263] The leaves are sometimes used by the Bushmen for flavouring meat.

Ziziphus mucronata Willd. (4873, 5202) Photograph 28.

!h5: Bushman.....	le:i
!ganakwe Bushman...	,!aja
|gikwe Bushman.....	≠k"ɛrɔ
Naron Bushman.....	≠k"aru
Eastern !khû Bushman	,n≠a:

A semi-deciduous shrub or tree up to 12 feet high, twiggy and profusely branched, with the older branches drooping at the ends to give it a rounded shape. As a rule it is very thorny, with the thorns in pairs, of which one is hooked and the other straight. Thornless specimens have been reported, but are rare, and none were seen along the route of the expedition. The plant has alternate dark green shiny toothed leaves, tapering to a point at the tip and with three or four prominent veins branching from near a rounded base. They are stalked, and glabrous or nearly so. The flowers are in small greenish clusters and are not conspicuous. The fruits are ripe in early winter, but the trees bear sporadically and the crop varies greatly in quantity in individual trees. The fruit is brown and a third of an inch in diameter, with a shiny brown papery skin surrounding a thin layer of rather dry, mealy substance and a large stone.

This tree is widespread from the Sudan to the Cape Province. It was uncommon on the deep Kalahari sand but fairly frequent in the hard soil round the edges of the pans, where it sometimes formed open communities.

[262] The mealy substance in the fruits is sweetish and is eaten by the Bushmen, but it is not pleasant even by their standards.

Grewia avellana Hiern (4959, 5269) Photograph 29.

!h5: Bushman.....	n!ɔ≠udi
!ganakwe Bushman...	n!ɔ≠udi
|gikwe Bushman.....	!gam-tsa
Naron Bushman.....	dʒudʒubu
Eastern !khû Bushman	drwa:ma and zɔ:ma

Because of its habit, this one of the few Grewias distinct from the many which look alike. It occurs as a number of slender erect 18-inch stems in patches a yard across, bare in winter except where sheltered from the frost. It has also been recorded as a shrub four feet high. In summer the stems are leafy enough to trap the wind-blown sand, so that they are usually found growing up through a slight hummock. The leaves, borne on very short stalks and measuring one and a half inches by an inch, are alternate, serrate, roughly hairy, prominently veined and dull green. The flowers have narrow white petals and are half an inch across. The fruits are a shiny dark brown, half an inch in diameter and characteristically lobed, being known in Sechuana by a name which means *the buttocks of the queen*. Only a few specimens were found in fruit, which suggests that the season was over by the time the expedition started from Molepolole (mid June).

The plant was widely distributed along our route, sometimes in the open grassland and sometimes in the belts of woodland, but was not common. It has been recorded from Angola, South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Transvaal. 137X

The fruits are edible but not very palatable, for they consist of large stones and only a little pulp, sweet and slightly mucilaginous. Nevertheless, according to a note on one of Schoenfelder's specimens (Schoenfelder No. 8, in the National Herbarium) they are a staple food not only of the Bushmen but also of several Bantu tribes, and can be kept when thoroughly ripe. 262 [251]

Grewia flava DC. (4941, 5024) Photograph 30. 137X

!h3': Bushman.....	,n|a:
|ganakwe Bushman...	,k'um
|gikwe Bushman.....	,k'wam
Naron Bushman.....	,k'um
Eastern !khū Bushman	,n|ŋ

A rigid shrub about five feet high with numerous erect straight stems, often branching below the soil and so appearing unconnected. They are softly hairy when young. Old stems have a smooth dark bark and are sometimes slightly angled. The serrate leaves, which are shed in winter, are dull gray-green above and covered with a fine silvery down below, and make an attractive background for the bright yellow flowers which come out in midsummer. The fruits are half an inch across, usually four-lobed, and brownish-yellow when ripe.

Grewia flava is known from the four provinces of the Union, and from South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. It occurred nearly everywhere along the route of the expedition and was one of the commonest shrubs of the central Kalahari, but only one of all the thousands of plants seen was in fruit.

The fruits have a little edible sweet pulp surrounding the seeds. They are an important Bushman food, not so much because of their quality as because of their abundance, and because they can be kept if they are first dried. They are then soaked in water or cooked before being eaten. 262 [251] [252]

Grewia flavescens Juss. (5053).

A lax deciduous shrub or scrambler up to 12 feet in height, with slender stems which often become four-angled in older specimens, and with leaves, flowers and fruits similar to those of *Grewia retinervis*. There was little of it fruiting, but whether the season was over or whether it is naturally not a heavy yielder is uncertain. 137X

This species has a wide distribution through tropical Africa. It was not seen south of Ghanzi, but was scattered from Ghanzi northwards to Gautscha Pan.

Its fruits are eaten by the Bushmen. As most of the Grewias were leafless and as there were more species towards the north, it became increasingly difficult to estimate the frequency of each when once the Ghanzi area had been passed, and nothing can be said as to the relative importance of the northern species in the Bushman diet. 262

X137 *Grewia retinervis* Burret (4875, 5066) Photograph 31.

!hɔ: Bushman.....	⊙bɔ:
||ganakwe Bushman...	||?ani
|gikwe Bushman.....	||gani
Naron Bushman.....	||gani
Eastern !khû Bushman	|gwa

A straggly many-stemmed five-foot shrub, sometimes a weak scrambler up to 10 feet high. The stems are half an inch thick at the base, rounded and slightly woolly when young, slightly flattened and glabrous when old, and tough and pliant. Its leavers are alternate, pale green, one and a half inches long and an inch wide, ovate with a pointed tip, toothed, and roughly hairy to the touch. They wither and fall soon after being frosted, but if out of reach of the frost remain on the bushes at least until the end of July. The plant bears spreading yellow flowers half an inch wide, and fruits the size of a pea, with a papery brown skin enclosing a few large pips and some fibrous mealy material. *Grewia retinervis* is closely allied to *Grewia flavescens*, so much so that I doubt whether the two should be considered anything more than varieties of one species. The differences are that *Grewia flavescens* is usually taller, and not so conspicuously veined on the upper surface of the leaves. Mr. B. de Winter, of the National Herbarium, Pretoria, has observed also that its older stems are square in section and those of *Grewia retinervis* are flattened.

Grewia retinervis was scattered over most of the area covered by the expedition, and common in the central Kalahari, specially in open grassy country. It has been recorded from the northern Cape and the Transvaal as well as South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

262 The fruits are edible. They ripen in winter, and have a slightly sweet
[251 taste and a pleasant flavour. They may be stored after being dried, and
252] are then soaked or boiled before being eaten. The crop, if one may judge from the 1955 season, is abundant, and the amount fairly constant for all the bushes. The fruits form an important part of the Bushmen diet,
[146 although little of them appears digestible. The roughage is voided almost
147] unchanged, in enormous faecal masses up to two and a half inches in diameter.

824 The dry stems of this plant nearly always contain the tunnelings of
372 grubs, and the tunnellings are packed with their excreta in the form of a brown, pith-like substance which forms a useful tinder. The Bushmen split the stems down the centre, make a slight depression in the flat surface and use this as a socket for the fire-drill.

X137 *Grewia* sp. aff. *Grewia bicolor* Juss. (5056).

Eastern !khû Bushman gamak"wɔ:

A slender shrub up to six feet high, with many sparingly branched stems. The leaves are one and a half inches by one inch, very finely toothed, dark green above and pale below, pointed at the tip and rounded at the base. Both surfaces are covered with a fine grayish felt which is thicker on the lower surface. Typical *Grewia bicolor* has wool on the lower surface only. The fruits are the size of a pea, and have a little flesh covering usually one big seed. No flowers were seen.

This is another of the plants with a distribution which begins in the Ghanzi area and extends northwards, and the remarks made as to the distribution and importance of *Grewia flavescens* apply here also.

[262] The fruits are edible.

Adansonia digitata L. Photograph 32. 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman ≠m

The Baobab, as it is commonly called, is shown in photograph 32. Its stem may have a circumference of up to 148 feet, and makes it quite unmistakable. In winter it is leafless but in summer it bears dense dark-green foliage. The flowers are pure white and up to six inches across, and the fruits, as described by Codd (1951: 120) are "oblong or egg-shaped, five to six inches or more in length and three to four inches in diameter, with a woody shell which is softly grey-velvety on the outside".

The southernmost specimens were seen in the neighbourhood of Ghanzi, and from there it occurred sporadically to Gautscha Pan, the furthest point north reached by the expedition. There were big gaps in its distribution and it was rare throughout, but in some parts of the Transvaal it occurs abundantly and may have an unbroken distribution over many square miles of country. It is widely distributed in the drier regions of north and south tropical Africa.

Inside the shell of the fruit is a white, pith-like substance which may be eaten raw, or ground up and stirred into water to make a drink, or boiled to make a porridge. It has an acid-sweet taste. The seeds which are embedded in the flesh are also edible and are eaten like nuts. In other parts of Africa they are prepared in a somewhat involved way which includes protracted boiling, fermenting and drying. There are several records of the fact that the young leaves make quite a good substitute for spinach, but as the expedition was during the winter and as the trees are deciduous, I cannot say whether the Bushmen know of this, nor whether the trees we saw were of the glabrous variety which is the one used for spinach. No seedlings were seen. It is known that the white shoot from the germinating seed can be used as a substitute for asparagus, and that the tender root of the very young Baobab is also edible (Dalziel, 1937: 113). The trees are often hollow, and like *Boscia albitrunca* and *Ricinodendron rautenii* may act as reservoirs for rain water which can be used in times of scarcity. The Bushmen reach it by fitting hollow grass stalks end to end to form a tube, and sucking it out. A further product of the Baobab is a large caterpillar which feeds upon the leaves and which is an important article of food aming the Natives of the northern Transvaal. It is recorded also from South West Africa, and is very likely known to and used by the Bushmen.

252 262 [272] 271 312 824 262 136 825

Ochna pulchra Hook. (5273) Photograph 33. 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman !i and !e:i

A semi-deciduous tree with a clean but usually rather twisted bole which is white to light gray and has a peeling bark. The branches are bent and rigid and the wood brittle. They bear glossy light green alternate leaves which are almost sessile and usually entire, rarely with a very finely toothed margin. The tree has an attractive appearance even in winter, and the young leaves add to this in the spring for they range from pale green to reddish-brown. The flowers are borne in early summer, in showy scented bunches. They have yellow petals and a green calyx, which persists after the petals have fallen and turns bright red. The fruits are hard and green when immature but turn fleshy and black as they ripen. There are usually two or three, the size and shape of small beans, attached to a fleshy red swelling in the centre of the flower. The leaves have been suspected of causing poisoning in stock, but tests carried out on mammals have so far been inconclusive. (Uys and Thomas 1952, Steyn, 1949: 125.)

X137 *Ochna pulchra* is well known and widely distributed from the Transvaal to Northern Rhodesia and Angola. It was frequently seen in southern Bechuanaland and again in the north, but there was a gap between of about 200 miles where it was not recorded. Ghanzi was approximately in the centre of this gap. In the parts traversed by the expedition it was seen growing only on deep sand or in rocky soil.

252 262 The Bushmen stated that the ripe fruits when boiled in water yield a fat, which can be skimmed from the surface and used as food. This is confirmed by the notes on the specimen collected by E. B. W. Schoenfelder (number 28):—

> "Fruit when still green eaten after roasting in ash (Kung). When black and ripe cooked with water and the fat skimmed and preserved. The cooked fruit is eaten with pips (Kung and Diriko)."

X137 *Combretum apiculatum* Sond. Photograph 34.

Eastern !khû Bushman ǂaja

A small tree or many-stemmed shrub, usually about 10 feet high in the drier areas. It has paired rather stiff pale green glabrous leaves with a varnished appearance, which turn yellow in the autumn and persist on the tree well into the winter before being shed. The flowers are small and greenish-yellow and would be insignificant except that they are numerous and massed at the ends of the twigs. The fruits have four papery wings and are about an inch in diameter.

Combretum apiculatum is widespread and often common, extending from Northern and Southern Rhodesia through the Bechuanaland Protectorate to South West Africa and through the northern Transvaal to Natal, but it was not seen along the route of the expedition until the Gautscha Pan area was reached, where it occurred sparingly.

[262] The Bushmen stated that it produces an edible gum. I have been able to confirm this in the Transvaal, but observed that the gum is produced only rarely.

Combretum coriaceum Schinz (5052, 5270, 5330).

Eastern !khû Bushman ≠gwa

An evergreen tree with paired stiff gray-green leaves. It is usually rather erect and in these parts seldom more than about 10 feet high, though it grows up to 30 feet under moister conditions in the northern Transvaal. The flowers appear towards the beginning of September. They are yellowish in colour and small, but crowded into showy little masses towards the tips of the twigs. The four-winged fruits are reddish-brown, and dry and papery.

It has been recorded from tropical Africa southwards to the Transvaal and Natal, but under a variety of names. Along the route from Molepolole to the north it was first seen 67 miles before Ghanzi. From there to Gautscha Pan it was fairly common except in the neighbourhood of Lake Ngami and the Okavango swamps.

[262] Although the tree produces an edible gum, it does so too rarely to be of importance as a food supply.

137X

Combretum imberbe Wawra (5204) Photograph 35.

Eastern !khû Bushman ≠ɔ

There were some magnificent specimens of this tree seen on the expedition, up to 40 feet in height, but the average was about 20 feet. It is rather sturdy as a rule, with a clean bole and light gray bark which is deeply fissured in all directions, and rigid branches and twigs. When young these are opposite or sub-opposite, straight, and often tipped with a hard spine, but as they grow older the spiny character is lost and the growth form becomes crooked so that the symmetry is masked. The tree has small opposite gray leaves an inch long and half as wide, and like the other species of Combretum it bears four-winged fruits and small inflorescences of yellowish flowers.

It was frequently seen in the Ghanzi area and to the north of Ghanzi, but not to the south, although it has been recorded from as far south as Vredefort in the Orange Free State. Its range is from Natal and the Transvaal through to tropical Africa.

It exudes an edible gum, but only rarely. [262]

Terminalia sericea Burch. Photograph 36.

Eastern !khû Bushman ~dzɔ and za~ɔ

Sometimes a graceful, erect, 30-foot tree with horizontal branches and a dark gray fibrous bark, and sometimes a much-branched shrub two or three feet high. The twigs tend to curve upwards slightly and bear towards the tips bunches of soft alternate leaves three inches long and an inch wide, darker on the under surface and covered with a fine silvery down. The tree is seldom completely deciduous, and many of the fruits also remain on the twigs through the winter. They are reddish and consist of a flattened seed with a wide membranous margin which forms a wing and aids their distribution through the wind. The flowers are borne in creamy catkins and have a strong and rather offensive smell. Another characteristic feature is that the twigs often have walnut-sized galls round them.

This species was common all along the route of the expedition, and has a wide distribution from east and west tropical Africa to the northern parts of the Cape Province and the Transvaal. It is usually on deep sand, and usually in communtities.

It sometimes produces an edible gum from injuries in the stem. [262]

Royena sericea Bernh. (5018, 5249).

A many-stemmed deciduous shrub up to six feet high, with a dark bark and crooked branches. The dull green leaves are obovate, sometimes pointed, alternate, velvety when young, usually one inch by half an inch but sometimes much smaller, and they tend to be crowded towards the tips of the twigs. Its flowers are creamy, inconspicuous but scented, with the petals tightly furled in the bud. The fruits are half an inch long, ovoid and with a smooth skin which turns red when the fruits are ripe. They contain several large seeds and a little yellowish pulp.

This shrub was widely scattered north of the Ghanzi area and rarer still to the south, where only one small clump was found.

No information was obtained from the Bushmen about it, but the pulp of the fruits is known to be edible and would no doubt be used in an emergency. It is faintly sweet, and insipid. [262]

X137 *Strychnos cocculoides* Bak. (4916) Photograph 37.

||ganakwe Bushman... ,|guwa

A 15-foot tree, erect and rather slender, sometimes unarmed and sometimes with very sharp paired curved thorns a little less than half an inch long. The leaves, which are also paired, are soft, minutely hairy and an inch and a half long and an inch wide with three prominent veins branching from near the base, one central and two near the margins. The old bark is dark gray, corky and deeply fissured, but the young twigs have a smooth bark densely covered with a fine down. The tree produces small greenish flowers massed into heads three quarters of an inch in diameter. The fruits are a little over a pound in weight and four inches in diameter, the size and shape of a gem squash, with the same type of hard rind, green when immature and turning pale brown when ripe. The seeds inside are embedded in a strongly aromatic pale pulp.

Strychnos cocculoides is recorded from the western Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Angola and central tropical Africa. On the expedition it was seen scattered through only one belt of heavy sand which began 136 miles north-west of Molepolole and ended 35 miles further on.

262 The fruits have an unusual and pleasant flavour, and according to a note on one of Schoenfelder's specimens in the National Herbarium the seeds may be eaten as well as the pulp. Galpin (1925: 22), who describes this tree under the name *Strychnos schumanniana*, states that the fruit may [251] be picked green and ripened by burying it in sand. It will keep for several months without going bad.

X137 *Strychnos pungens* Solered. (5447) Photograph 38.

An eight-foot bent evergreen tree with a spreading crown and paired hard shiny leaves with a sharp spine at the tip. It bears insignificant greenish flowers in compact small bunches in the axils of the leaves. The fruits and the veins in the leaves are similar to those of *Strychnos cocculoides*, and it has the same general distribution. Only one specimen was seen, near the northermost point reached by the expedition.

[262] The fruits contain a pleasant edible pulp which is, however, not considered as good as that of *Strychnos cocculoides*.

Raphionacme burkei N.E. Br. (4997) Photograph 39.

!h5: Bushman..... bi:
||ganakwe Bushman... bi:
|gikwe Bushman..... bi:
Naron Bushman..... bi:

Nearly all of the plant is six inches below ground, in the form of a rounded storage organ about five pounds in weight and six inches in diameter, slightly flattened on top. It has a brown skin, and is pale yellow inside with flecks of white latex on the cut surface. It is connected by a "neck" a little thicker than a pencil to the above-ground parts, which consists of a few sparingly-branched erect stems, slender but wiry, six inches high and bearing narrow grayish-green leaves. The flowers, which are borne in small clusters, are greenish and inconspicuous, the fruits slender, three inches long and as a rule in pairs. The stems exude a milky juice when injured. They are not easily seen even in summer, and in winter less so, for the leaves are shed and the stems die back.

By the spring there may be nothing left to mark the position of the plant. 137X
How extraordinarily observant the Bushmen are was well shown when they 824
were asked if they could find a specimen and demonstrate its use. One man guided the party for four miles across country featureless except for clumps of trees to a spot where he knew of one growing. It was found after a short search—nothing more than two or three small sticks among the grasses, with the bark shredding into white silky fibres.

Raphionacme burkei is found from South West Africa through the 137X
Bechuanaland Protectorate into the northern Transvaal and the northern Cape. Two specimens were seen in the central Kalahari, and the species was determined from one of them which was sent to Pretoria for cultivation and flowered there in the following summer.

It is a well-known source of water among the Bushmen of the Kala- 271
hari. They extract the water from the storage organ by planing a pile 312
of shavings off it with the edge of a split stick, and then squeezing the 824
shavings in the hand and allowing the water to run into the mouth. This rather roundabout way of doing things appears to be without good reason, because the flesh of the storage organ may be chewed without any ill effect. It is firm and crisp, slightly fibrous, and faintly bitter.

Pentarrhinum insipidum E. Mey. (5171, 5191) Photograph 40. 137X

Eastern !khũ Bushman n!ɔ-ʃu and n!wa-ʃu

A leafy deciduous climber up to 10 feet high, and a vigorous grower which may completely cover the host tree. It has freely branching lax stems which are quite tough in spite of being only a matter of an eighth of an inch in thickness. They are covered with a fine white down which is just perceptible to the naked eye, and when broken they exude a little milky juice, so little that it is easily overlooked. At intervals of about five inches arise pairs of leaves, deeply cordate at the base, and with long stalks. In the younger stages they are minutely hairy but they become glabrous or nearly so as they grow older. The flowers rise in a group on a three-inch slender stalk from between the leaves. They are brownish with a yellow or white central portion, small and faintly scented. The fruits are occasionally produced in pairs but are more usually solitary. They are beaked, three inches long and half as wide, covered with blunt prickles, longitudinally wrinkled and dull green.

At Nama Pan this was a frequent climber among the trees, and it is widespread over southern Africa. It was not, however, seen in the country south of Ghanzi.

At maturity the fruits are hard and woody and packed with the fine 262
silky hairs that form the pappus of the seeds, but when green they are 252
softer and may be eaten raw or cooked as a vegetable, and may be stored for three weeks before they deteriorate. Their rather copious white latex is quite harmless. They have a crisp texture when raw and a pleasant flavour, nutty and faintly peppery. When boiled they are reminiscent of Asparagus. When the seeds inside have turned brown the fruit will be found too hard to make good eating. The leaves, too, may be eaten raw as a salad, and are used that way by some Transvaal Natives, but the Bushmen method of preparation is to pound them to a pulp in a wooden mortar.

Pentarrhinum insipidum grows well from seed and is a rapid producer 137X
of green material. It might be a useful fodder plant for domestic stock.

X137 *Sarcostemma viminale* R. Br. (4993, 5170) Photograph 41.

Eastern !khû Bushman |gubu|gubu

A leafless climber, reaching a height of 10 feet or so, with gray-green jointed branching stems as thick as a pencil and containing a large quantity of pure white latex. They bear yellowish strongly scented flowers, and fruits shaped like a slender carrot. The plant is occasionally found growing in the open, away from any support, in the form of a dense clump of ascending stems about three feet high.

It is widespread in South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and through the drier parts of all four provinces of the Union.

●262 There are records from the Cape Province, Natal and the Transvaal that the stems and fruits of this plant are eaten by the Natives, either cooked as a vegetable or raw as a salad, and I have eaten the raw stems in the Cape Province. They have no distinctive flavour. It is a dangerous plant to eat, for there is a poisonous strain of it which is not visibly distinguishable from the edible one (Dyer, 1937: 123), and which, if eaten in sufficient quantity, causes death after symptoms like those produced by strychnine. The Bushmen said that they never used it for food. I have no information as to its use or otherwise in the central Kalahari, where it also occurs. Presumably it would be safe for food where browsed by animals, which often happens and is easily seen.

X137 *Ceropegia tentaculata* N.E. Br. (5220) Photograph 42.

!h5: Bushman..... ‖ala
Naron Bushman..... !?aru
Eastern !khû Bushman !ama

A twiner up to eight feet high, minutely hairy, with opposite almost fleshy leaves about an inch long rising at intervals of two to three inches. The flowers which are produced on short stalks in a group of half a dozen or so are three quarters of an inch long and tubular, with a swollen base and lobes at the top produced into slender threads. The fruits are paired, four inches long, very slender, gray and filled with seeds attached to a silky pappus. The plant has a tuber a few inches below the surface of the soil, the size of a flattened apple, with a distinct hollow at the top from which the stem rises and with a rounded base which produces many short and slender roots. It is the colour of a new potato.

Ceropegia tentaculata has seldom been collected, and is recorded only from South West Africa. One specimen was found growing in deep sand in the shelter of a thicket about twenty miles south-west of Nama Pan. As it was recognised and named by one of the !h5: Bushmen who was with the expedition in South West Africa, it probably occurs also in the Bechuanaland Protectorate in the southern Kalahari, which is the home of these people.

[252 262] The tuber is edible when roasted.

Ceropegia sp. near *Ceropegia leucotaenia* K. Schum. (5309) Photograph 43

Eastern !khû Bushman |gwi-ts'ou

The above-ground parts are pubescent, otherwise similar to those of *Ceropegia tentaculata*. The flowers also arise in groups but have a shorter tube, about half an inch long, with the processes of the lobes connected at the tips. The processes are dark brown and covered with slender hairs.

The plant has a shallow tuber which is about as big as a billiard ball but bell-shaped, with fine roots sprouting from the flattened base. It is similar in colour to the tuber of *Ceropegia tentaculata*. 137X

Only one specimen was collected, in the shelter of bushes on sandy loam near Nama Pan. It was cultivated in Pretoria and flowered in January, 1956.

The tuber is edible when roasted. [252 262]

Ceropegia sp. near *Ceropegia lugardae* N.E. Br. (5264) Photograph 44.

Eastern !khû Bushman n!wi:

In the above-ground parts the plant is like No. 5226 (*Ceropegia* sp. near *Ceropegia mozambicensis*), but it is more leafy and the flowers have a single instead of double swelling at the base. It has a similar bunch of pencil-shaped roots.

One specimen was collected in shallow sand overlying rock at Nama Pan. It flowered in cultivation at Pretoria at the end of March, 1956.

The roots are edible when roasted and in texture and flavour like those of No. 5226. [252 262]

Ceropegia sp. near *Ceropegia mozambicensis* Schltr. (5226) Photograph 45.

!h5: Bushman..... ,gu:_n||a
Naron Bushman..... ,gu:_n||a
Eastern !khû Bushman _n||ama

A twiner with very sparsely hairy stems and leaves similar to those of *Ceropegia tentaculata*. The differences are that the flowers are borne in pairs on a peduncle about one inch long, one flower maturing long before the other, and that the flowers have a double swelling at the base and at the top are broadly funnel-shaped, with erect folded dark brown broad lobes connected at the tips and edged with sparse hairs. The tube is greenish, spotted with purple. The stem arises from a bunch of pale fleshy roots about six inches below the surface of the soil, the size of pencils but tapering at the ends and constricted at the top so that they are easily broken off.

Only one specimen was seen. It was growing in the shelter of a thicket on deep sand about 20 miles south-west of Nama Pan. It flowered in cultivation in Pretoria in January 1956.

The roots are edible when roasted. They taste somewhat like a potato, but are firmer and have a flavour of their own. They have no fibre and the plant would be worth investigating for improvement and cultivation as a vegetable. [252 262]

Duvalia polita N.E. Br. (5187) Photograph 46.

Eastern !khû Bushman -da:daba

A sprawling succulent plant. The fleshy stems are glabrous, uniformly gray-green and four inches high, with usually six longitudinal rows of soft spines with a deep crease between each row. They rise from underground runners which are white and lack the distinct spininess of the stems. The corolla-lobes surround a prominent fleshy basal ring, and are dark brown, sometimes with vibratile hairs similar to those of *Caralluma knobelii* and sometimes irregularly flecked with yellowish-green. The

Y137 specific name, which means *polished*, refers to the shiny appearance of the corolla-lobes towards the base. The fruits, borne in pairs, are between a half and a quarter of an inch in thickness and six inches long, tapering at the end and containing numerous flattened seeds with a silky pappus.

Although it has a wide range across tropical and sub-tropical Africa, it is uncommon; and only one specimen was collected on the expedition, under the shelter of scrub at the edge of a rocky outcrop at Nama Pan.

[252 262 312] The stems are edible raw or roasted, but have a bitter taste. They are sappy enough to be a useful source of water.

Caralluma knobelii (Phill.) Phill. (5094, 4914) Photograph 47.

!h5: Bushman.....	-≠abɛrɛ
ǂganakwe Bushman...	-da:daba
ǂgikwe Bushman.....	-da:daba
Naron Bushman.....	-da:daba
Eastern !khû Bushman	-da:daba

The plant consists of a number of stubby, succulent erect stems four inches in height and half an inch in diameter. They are glabrous and dull bluish-green, mottled faintly with a darker green and square in section, with four rows of sharp and fairly hard-tipped spines. They exude a clear greenish juice when cut. The flowers are white to greenish, with dark purple blotches and edged with sparse delicate knobbed hairs known as vibratile hairs because of the way they are moved about by even the gentlest breeze. The stems arise from underground runners which have the same form as the erect stems except that they are white, and more slender.

This species, which is known only from the Kalahari, was found in various places on deep sand between Molepolole and Ghanzi, but was nowhere common. It was in the shelter of trees and scrub, and was not seen in the open.

[252 262] The whole plant is edible raw or roasted, but the underground portions are better than those above ground, which tend to become bitter. They have a peculiar smoky flavour which is not unpleasant, and their [312] abundant juice makes them a useful source of water.

Stapelia kwebensis N. E. Br. (5140) Photograph 48.

Eastern !khû Bushman -da:daba

Similar in habit to *Caralluma knobelii*, but with dull green downy stems and rounded instead of sharp corners. The spines too are shorter and tipped with small erect leaves. It has dark brown flowers with slender lobes ridged on the upper surface and radiating out from a shallow central pit.

Only one specimen was collected on the expedition, on a rocky outcrop at Gam, but the species is widely distributed in South West Africa except in the extreme south and it is known from the northern Transvaal as well.

[252 262] The stems are edible, raw or roasted.

Fockea sp. (5136, 5236).

Eastern !khû Bushman ˈ!xwa:

One of the two specimens collected was in the open among rubble at the edge of a sheet of rock at Gam, a plant with fleshy stems 12 inches high, and the only one of its kind seen in that vicinity. The other specimen was growing with several more in stony scrub-covered ground near Gautscha Pan, and appeared similar except that the stems were thicker and were twining to a height of several feet among the other bushes. The

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leaves drop during the winter, but a few were still to be seen, linear, paired, and about three inches long and half an inch wide, and there was one fruit, as long as the leaves and shaped like a small cigar. The stems rise from a brown-skinned underground storage organ which may be more than a foot in length and up to five inches in diameter. It is often oddly shaped if growing in rocky ground, as these all were, and has a rather spongy texture, a combination which makes it difficult to dig up without damage. Several were brought in at a Bushman encampment about 20 miles south-west of Nama Pan, but none of them were entire. The specimens I collected were lost in transit to Pretoria, and though they could be placed in the genus Fockea from what had been seen in the field, the species is unknown. 137X

The storage organ is eaten raw by the Bushmen. The flesh is white and rather flabby, with a faint but pleasant flavour of coconut ice. As well as being a food it is juicy enough to be a useful source of water. It could possibly be bred into a plant worth cultivating. [262] [312]

Ipomoea verbascoidea Choisy (5223, 5319) Photograph 49.

Eastern !khũ Bushman n!oru

Tubers and seeds of this species failed to grow in cultivation in Pretoria. The notes which follow were made partly from herbarium specimens, for the plants were quite leafless when they were seen in the field in August. They were conspicuous in spite of their bareness, because of the small pure white masses of wool in which the seeds were embedded. These masses were scattered along numerous slender twigs that arose from a group of sturdy, cane-like stems, half an inch thick and eight feet long or more. The stems are scramblers, or, if no trees are at hand, lax and spreading. They exude a little milky juice when cut. The stalked leaves are simple, rounded, and up to four inches across, and bear in their axils single large purple flowers of the typical Convolvulaceous (morning glory) type. The plant is covered with a white wool except on the upper surface of the leaves, where it is sparsely hairy.

Two plants were seen on the expedition, both in the neighbourhood of Nama Pan, and both on sand and among fairly dense mixed scrub. There are records of the species from South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Angola.

A note on one of the herbarium specimens states that the fruits are edible, but this was not mentioned by the Bushmen. They did however state that the storage organs were used as a source of water. These are six inches below the soil, sometimes partly exposed and partly eaten by animals. They are firm and juicy, and those seen were the size of a football, with a white flesh and a dark brown skin. The water may be extracted by chewing the flesh or by pounding it and squeezing the pulp. [262] 312 [271]

Ipomoea sp. (5179) Photograph 50.

Eastern !khũ Bushman !garube 137X

A slender plant with three or four bluish-reen leaves up to three inches long, borne on a four-inch erect stalk and themselves erect, and deeply and narrowly lobed. There are usually three or four tubers to each plant. They are found at any depth down to nine inches, and are variously shaped but regular in outline, typically the size and shape of a large apple with a slight depression on top, where they are connected at intervals of

(137 a foot or so to an underground stem which branches and turns unexpectedly in various directions. They have a thick brown skin with a bronzy sheen, are slightly bitter to the taste and exude a little latex when the skin is broken. No flowers were seen in the field, and although specimens cultivated in Pretoria made good growth, they did not produce flowers. No fresh leaves were seen in the field either. They are evidently very susceptible to the cold, for it was noticed that the cultivated specimens dropped theirs before the first frosts.

Fragments of this plant which had been killed by frosts were scattered plentifully through the open grassy sandy areas near Nama Pan, and the tubers were often unearthed while other plants were being dug up.

262] The Bushmen stated that they did not eat the tubers, but that they were eaten by buck.

The leaves of this plant cannot be distinguished from the leaves of *Ipomoea bolusiana*. *Ipomoea bolusiana* is known to have an edible tuber (Schinz, 1888: 271, Boss, 1934: 87), and from the available herbarium specimens and the literature it appears that it is single, and immediately below the surface of the ground. Because these two facts are in conflict with what was seen and what was reported by the Bushmen, it is doubtful whether the plant from Nama Pan is the same species.

Ehretia rigida (Thunb.) Druce Photograph 51.

!h5: Bushman.....	ǁga
ǁganakwe Bushman...	ǁgawu
|gikwe Bushman.....	ǁga
Naron Bushman.....	ǁga

A shrub, usually about six feet high, with a pale gray bark, a rigid, erect habit and a mass of branches, which in older plants spread out and turn downwards to give a "weepy" appearance. New growth is straight and smooth, and there is a very fine rusty wool on the youngest twigs. It contrasts strongly with the older growth, which is usually knobby and crooked and quite glabrous. The leaves are elliptic or obovate, stiff, minutely hairy and shortly stalked. They are scattered evenly along the new growth, but on the old growth they are crowded on dwarf shoots averaging an inch in length. Their dull green colour makes the plant rather unattractive, but it can become showy when the small blue or white flowers are out. The fruits are the size of a pea, soft and red when ripe and often with the withered remains of the style persisting.

Ehretia is found in all four provinces of the Union and in South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Rhodesia. It was scattered through the Kalahari south of Ghanzi but was not recorded in the north, and was never common and never gregarious.

[262] The fruits may be eaten raw when ripe, but are insipid, with a sickly-sweet taste and a faint and rather unpleasant flavour.

Rhigozum brevispinosum O.Ktze. (4946, 5255).

!h5: Bushman.....	ˌǁha:
ǁganakwe Bushman...	n|ɔ-ji
|gikwe Bushman.....	ˌt'a:
Naron Bushman.....	n|ɔ-ji

An erect, slender deciduous shrub up to 10 feet high, with opposite branches and opposite blunt spines which develop into branches like the spines of *Catophractes alexandri*. There is a small tuft of wool below each spine, from which is produced a bunch of six or eight leaves an

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x137 older stems often form the points of characteristic zig-zags. The fruits are red when ripe and contain about five seeds. They open by means of a latitudinal break (circumscissile dehiscence) so that the skin at the end of the fruit comes off like a cap. The central jelly-like portion of the fruit, which has the seeds embedded in it, often remains behind when the cap is removed. The plant is deciduous, and the vine dies back if the winter is severe. It arises from a pale brown rootstock the size and shape of a large pear, which in the three specimens collected was partly above the level of the ground.

Its range is from the northern Cape Province, the Transvaal and Zululand through to Rhodesia and South West Africa. It was collected south of Ghanzi and again in the neighbourhood of Gautscha Pan, but was nowhere common. It is a woodland plant and does not occur in the grasslands.

[262 252] The fruits are sweetish and edible when ripe. The rootstock is bitter and is not eaten, but the stems and leaves are boiled to produce a spinach which is fairly palatable, but stringy. It is eaten also by certain Natives in the northern Transvaal.

Corallocarpus welwitschii (Naud.) Hook. f. (5315) Photograph 54.

Eastern !khû Bushman !gwara!ai

The fruits of this plant have a short but fairly distinct stalk, and its rootstock has a faint unpleasant smell when freshly dug. In all other respects it appears to be identical with *Corallocarpus sphaerocarpus*.

It has been recorded from the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, but so far not from the Union. The only specimen found on the expedition was growing in sand under trees at Nama Pan. It grew well in cultivation at Pretoria.

[262 252] There is no information on the edibility or otherwise of the vine, but the ripe fruits may be eaten raw. They are sickly sweet and flavourless. The Bushmen stated that the rootstock is edible after being cooked, but I found it too bitter to eat.

Momordica balsamina L. (4929, 4970, 5003) Photograph 55.

A climber over grass and low bushes or a runner over the ground, with sharply-lobed light green leaves about two inches across arising singly at intervals of a few inches along the numerous lax, slender stems. It has three-inch spiralling tendrils rising at the bases of the leaves. It is glabrous, with a soft, attractive look, but has a strongly unpleasant smell when bruised. The flowers are an inch across, pale yellow and after the usual Cucurbitaceous pattern as shown in the photograph of *Coccinia rehmannii*. The fruits, green when immature, are an attractive orange when ripe, one and a half inches long and an inch in diameter, with about ten longitudinal rows of short blunt prickles, and contain half a dozen seeds enveloped in a crimson pulp. The skin of the ripe fruit splits longitudinally and almost explosively when it is handled. The plant is an annual according to the *Flora Capensis*, but those in the Kalahari remained alive through the winter and put out fresh vines in the early spring to replace the frosted growth of the previous season.

It has been recorded from the four provinces of the Union and from Portuguese East Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, and although it was not noticed north of Ghanzi, it was widespread to the south.

The fruit, according to the label on one of the herbarium specimens, is " very poisonous ", but there appears to be no satisfactory proof of this. The Bechuana state that the crimson pulp round the seeds is edible, and I ate it without any harmful effects. It is sweetish but has a rather unpleasant slimy texture. 1317X [262]

Citrullus naudinianus (Sond.) Hook. f. (4983, 4984, 5272) Photograph 56.

!h5: Bushman.....	||gan
||ganakwe Bushman...	gä:
|gikwe Bushman.....	gä:
Naron Bushman.....	gä:
Eastern !khû Bushman	tʃa

This vine, commonly known as the Gemsbok komkommer, is a runner on the sand and not a climber. It has a tap-root the shape of a large carrot, which may be three inches or more in diameter at the top and three feet long, and which grows hard and woody with age. The younger roots are full of juice and intensely bitter, and cannot be eaten by human beings, although many showed signs of having been eaten by animals. The runners, which may reach a length of 30 feet, are stouter than those of the related *Cucumis hookeri* and No. 4895 (see page 50), and unlike them and those of *Citrullus vulgaris* are fairly frost-resistant. Many were still green during the heavy frosts experienced on the expedition, and were even putting out fresh leaves. They often have a zig-zag growth form and may root at the nodes. Apparently they die back after a few seasons, for live and dead runners were common. The leaves, borne on a one-inch or two-inch stalk, are dull green, lobed, very rough to the touch, and between two and four inches long. A stout slightly hooked tendril rises at the base of each leaf and is usually about as long as the leaf-stalk. The fruits vary in shape from ovoid to nearly spherical, and weigh about half a pound. The skin is covered with thick soft spines a quarter to half an inch long, and is pale yellow when the fruits are ripe. They can stand heavy frost without spoiling, and are eaten by many different animals.

The plant has been recorded from the sandy parts of the north-western Cape Province and Orange Free State, the Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, South West Africa, Angola and Northern and Southern Rhodesia. On the expedition the runners were common between Molepolole and Ghanzi but the fruits, in tens or in hundreds, were in patches sometimes many miles apart. The plants were not found on the firmer " pan " soils and were much less common north of Ghanzi.

The fruits have a thin rind containing numerous flattened white seeds embedded in a green translucent jelly-like flesh which may be eaten raw or roasted and has a distinctive, slightly rank flavour. The pips and skin are often roasted separately and pounded to make en edible meal. As a source of water this plant comes next in importance to *Citrullus vulgaris*, but like *Citrullus vulgaris* (and *Cucumis hookeri*) it cannot be depended upon where there have not previously been adequate rains, for the water in its perennial tap-root is not in itself enough to produce a crop of fruit. [262] [252] [312]

Citrullus naudinianus has possibilities as a cultivated plant.

X137 *Citrullus vulgaris* Schrad. (4937, 4999) Photograph 57.

!h5: Bushman.....	dam
||ganakwe Bushman...	n||an
|gikwe Bushman.....	n||an
Naron Bushman.....	n||a-ĩ
Eastern !khû Bushman	_t'a_ma

This plant, one of the melons and commonly known as the tsama, has stout six-foot vines half an inch in diameter at the base and a quarter of an inch at the tip. They are covered rather densely with light brown hairs, which turn white and stiff with age. The vines are usually prostrate, but occasionally festoon themselves over grasses and low shrubs with the help of small Y-shaped tendrils, curly at the tips. The leaves are borne on two-inch stalks and are hairy on the ribs, dull green, rough to the touch and deeply lobed. Each plant produces male and female flowers. They are an inch in diameter and pale yellow, and the fruits which follow are rounded and up to six inches in diameter and six and a half pounds in weight. As many as 34, of all sizes, have been counted on one plant. The rind, densely hairy when young but later quite smooth, is dark green mottled longitudinally with light green, and contains a crisp, juicy, tasteless white flesh in which numerous flattened brown seeds are embedded. The melons can endure heavy frosts without becoming spoilt, but the rest of the plant is very susceptible. The frosts, however, merely hastens its death for it is in any case an annual.

This melon is indigenous to south-west Asia and the warm dry regions throughout Africa. The water-melon is merely an improved variety of the same species, which has been known in Egypt and Babylonia since the beginning of history (Marloth, 1913-1925: III: II: 205). The tsama was widespread but patchy along the route of the expedition, and areas of abundant melon alternated with long stretches where it was not seen. It was not confined to the sand but grew also on the hard soil of the pans.

262 312 824 [184] [244] The tsama is unquestionably the most important plant to the Bushmen in this part of the Kalahari. They are known to use it as their sole source of water for months on end and it is extremely doubtful whether they would be able to live permanently in the Kalahari without it. Its importance is shown by the fact that one group of Bushmen in the central Kalahari had a small patch of tsama which they had grown from seed, and the Bushmen are not as a rule agriculturalists. Nevertheless, the tsama is not an infallible standby, for the reasons given in the discussion on *Citrullus naudinianus*, and when the need arises the Bushmen can and must substitute more meagre but at the same time more reliable sources of water, for example from *Sansevieria scabrifolia*. When it is used for drinking-water

252 262 312 the melon is opened at the top like an egg and the central portion cut out and eaten. The rest of the pulp is then mashed inside the rind with a stick to a watery mass which is half drunk and half eaten, the pips being put aside and later roasted and pounded (without being peeled) to make an edible meal. The melons are sometimes roasted before being eaten, which adds a little flavour, and they may be cut up and mixed with meat to form a stew, which is conveniently cooked in the rind itself. Although no bitter specimens of the tsama were found along the route of the expedition, they do occur. Their flesh is poisonous and unfit for human consumption, but their seeds are free of poison and edible after roasting.

At some villages of Bakalahari (which are a Bantu tribe), the tsama is regularly cultivated. These and wild melons are collected and stored under shelter, and goats, horses, cattle and even dogs are kept with tsama as the main source of water. The livestock use the melon more economi-

cally than the Bantu and Bushmen do, for they eat the rind as well. Large animals, and this according to Livingstone (1857: 48) includes the carnivora, are able to broach the tsama rind unaided, but evidently the smaller animals do not find this easy, for many tsamas were seen with the marks of teeth on them, showing where animals had attempted unsuccessfully to reach the pulp inside. As for the rodents, whose burrows were seen by the thousand all through the central Kalahari, they are well equiped for making holes in the rind, and apparently have little difficulty, for hollowed-out tsamas were frequently seen.

Cucumis hookeri Naud. (5012, 5028, 5047) Photograph 58. 137X

!h3: Bushman..... n≠ɔ?nu
Naron Bushman..... n≠ɔ?nu

An annual vine with slender straight stems up to six feet long, and a shallow spreading root system. It produces tendrils and may occasionally trail over low shrublets and tufts of grass, but normally it is a runner over the surface of the sand. All parts are covered with minute stiff white hairs, which are densest on the leaves, particularly on the under surface, and make them rough to the touch. They arise singly at intervals of up to four inches, vary from one to three inches in length, and are dark green with large rounded lobes, and stalks up to one and a half inches long. The tendrils arise at the base of the leaves. They are an inch long and are tightly curled at the tip. Both male and female flowers, borne on the same plant, are yellow and trumpet-shaped with triangular petals, and an inch in diameter. The fruits are the size of a hen's egg, brown with six or seven longitudinal lighter stripes and covered with soft but fairly stout prickles, the flesh being green, transparent and almost jelly-like, with the smell of cucumber.

This is a widespread species through the drier and sandier parts of the northern Cape, the Transvaal, Southern Rhodesia, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa. It was found all along the route of the expedition in the open grasslands, and sometimes in great abundance. The fruits were undamaged although the leaves and runners had been killed by frost by the time the expedition passed through the Kalahari.

The fruits have a slightly sour taste but are good to eat, and as they have none of the thick white layer of firm flesh which surrounds the pulp of the cultivated cucumber they contain proportionately more moisture and are a useful source of water. Bitter fruits are known to occur in some strains of this species and are to be avoided, not only because of their unpleasant taste but also because they are poisonous. 262

Cucumis metuliferus E. Mey. (5098) Photograph 59. 137X

An annual climber over trees and shrubs with angled, sometimes almost winged 10-foot vines thickly covered with stiff brown hairs and bearing the leaves at intervals of three inches or so. The leaves, which are covered with similar hairs, have three or four rounded or acute lobes and small teeth along the margins. They are up to three inches long and arise from a two-inch stalk, at the base of which is a tightly-spiralling tendril. The flowers are trumpet-shaped, yellow and, including the small triangular petals, about an inch across. The immature fruits are dark green mottled with lighter green. They ripen during the winter and are then bright orange, five inches long and half as wide, and armed with hard and exceedingly sharp spines which can injure the skin if carelessly handled. They have a thin rind covering a green transparent flesh in which the seeds are embedded.

The storage organs! are firm but juicy and may be eaten raw or cooked. The flavour is pleasant, rather like that of a turnip, and if they are eaten raw they are a valuable source of water. They were an important article of food to the Bushmen we met in the central Kalahari, and the plant would be worth investigating with a view to cultivation after improvement through breeding. 262 [252 312]

Coccinia rehmannii Cogn. (4954, 5029) Photograph 61. 137X

!h5: Bushman.....	m⊕wajé:
‖ganakwe Bushman...	‖ga:
‖gikwe Bushman.....	‖ga:
Naron Bushman.....	‖ga:
Eastern !khû Bushman	‖ga:

A vine, climbing by means of tendrils to a height of six or eight feet, and bearing on half-inch petioles a dense growth of dark green leaves which are deeply and irregularly lobed and very variable in size and shape. They have a rough texture from minute scattered white hairs, more numerous on the upper surface and pointing forward. The stems are slender and angled, and bear a few of these hairs also. The plants are either male or female, and both male and female flowers are trumpet-shaped with short triangular petals, pale yellow and three quarters of an inch across. The fruits are three quarters of an inch long, with a bulbous base and a rather thick neck, green mottled with white when immature and red when they ripen in the autumn. The old stems die back during the winter and new ones are produced the following spring from a perennial tuber buried about four inches below the surface of the ground. The tuber tapers gradually when young, but thickens and assumes various shapes as it grows older, and the bark, from being smooth, becomes rough and fissured. It does not "bleed" if injured superficially, but from deep injuries it exudes a clear astringent mucilage.

Specimens on the expedition were found not in the open grasslands, but always growing in shelter under a bush or in a thicket It was midwinter and they were dormant, represented above ground by a few fragments of dry and leafless stringy stem among the twigs of the sheltering tree, and in consequence exceedingly difficult to find. Even after the presence of the plant had been established the finding of the tuber presented difficulties, for the connection with the vine overhead was often broken. The plant appeared to be occasional but widespread in the parts through which we travelled, and three tubers, all of which were successfully cultivated in Pretoria, were collected in different parts of the Kalahari. It is recorded also from the Cape Province, the Transvaal and South West Africa.

Besides providing food, the tubers are sappy enough to be a useful source of water, but they must be roasted first for they cannot be eaten raw. Older woodier tubers are best boiled, but even so the fibre is so tough that it is ejected after being chewed. At all stages the tubers are rather tasteless. They are known also to the Natives in some parts of the Transvaal, and eaten by them, but in this land of relative plenty they are not a popular food. The fruits also are edible, but rather sickly sweet and flavourless. Doubtless they are used by the Bushmen, but I failed to ask them. 252 262 312

1 [CUCUMIS; see CATEGORY 116, p.50 FOR DESCRIPTION --ANALYST]

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

X137 *Coccinia sessilifolia* (Sond.) Cogn. (5167) Photograph 62.

Eastern !khû Bushman ¯k'!:dwa

A vine with many slender stems and bluish-green sessile leaves, deeply and irregularly lobed but usually less so than those of *Coccinia rehmannii*. The are covered with tiny raised scales on the upper surface, which sometimes show through on the lower surface as dots, and although hairs are present they are nearly all confined to the margins and too small to be seen by the naked eye. The tendrils are produced at the base of the leaves. Male and female flowers are borne on different plants. They are superficially alike, and similar to those of *Coccinia rehmannii*. The fruits are ovoid, three inches long and one in diameter, and are bright red when ripe. The leaves drop during the winter, and the vines also wither and disintegrate, but fresh ones arise in the spring from a perennial tuber weighing up to 25 pounds or so and similar in all respects to the tuber of *Coccinia rehmannii*.

Although the plant has a wide distribution on a variety of soils in the Cape Province, the Orange Free State, the Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, it was not seen on the expedition until Nama Pan was reached, where it was growing under the shelter of trees in sand. Two tubers, which happened to be male and female respectively, were sent to Pretoria, and flowers and fruits were produced in the summer of 1955-56.

262 252 Both tuber and fruit are edible. The tuber, which is prepared by roasting or boiling, is fibrous and rather tasteless. The fruits may be eaten raw when ripe, and although sweet are without much flavour. They are best used for food when gathered green and cooked as a vegetable. Their texture is then fairly firm and their flavour like that of Asparagus. [136] An added advantage of using them green is that one avoids the larva of a certain fly which, in Pretoria at any rate, often heavily infests the more mature fruit.

114 X137 It is of interest to note that although there is a record in the National Herbarium that birds eat the fruit and that the tubers are dug out and eaten by buck, there is no record of the fact that the plant is eaten by human beings. On the contrary, the information on one specimen is "Fruit is very poisonous to children" and on another "Toxic".

881 companions saying, "I dare not speak to you." The married
[867 women visit the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* and instruct the inmates
868] in various domestic matters, *e.g.*, the way to clean and tidy their huts, to remain quiet when their husbands are cross, to prepare their husbands' food separately from their own, to pick up and beat the kudu skin on returning home in the evening so that the husband does not sleep on the previous day's dirt, etc. They further teach them to gather wood, to make the fire, to take away the ashes and so forth. At the onset of the first menstruation the girl tells her mother or, in case she has no mother, her best friend (*/hosas*), who then reports to one of the married women, not necessarily to the *gei-khois*. She is then isolated in a small round hut which is
[343] completely closed in except for a small entrance. It is known as the */hawa-omi* (hut for waiting) and is situated close to the *ǂkham-khoidi oms*. She is required to remain inside the */hawa-omi* and dare not show herself outside. No fire is made in the hut. She is fed by her mother or, in the absence of the latter, by another married woman. She is not visited by anybody except the person who feeds her. No medicine is given to her. Daily applications of */gub*, a red powder obtained by pulverising the bark of a tree, and of the roasted and powdered fat-containing seed of the *ǂerob* tree are made to her hair by the attendant. She may be given veldkos, but
[262] is not allowed to partake of meat. No man, not even the girl's father, may pass close to the */hawa-omi* or attempt to speak to her. She remains in the */hawa-omi* as long as the flow lasts. When it has ceased she informs her mother or the woman who has been attending her. The latter tells the
535 other married women and they all prepare to dance the
881 */hawa-ǂnab* (menstruation dance). This dance takes place during the day and men may not take part in it. They may, however, remain in the *//gāus* while it is going on or enter it when returning from the veld. The *ǂkham-khoidi* are also excluded from it. The */hawa-ǂnab* may be continued for three or four days. When the dance is about to begin an old woman, generally the *gei-khois*, holding a jackal tail duster, takes up a position some distance in front of the */hawa-omi*, and, dancing in one spot as if marking time, shouts *Ki-ri-ri-ri-ri-ri* to waken the initiate and to summon the other women. The latter then emerge from their huts and, dancing as they come along, take up position behind the */hawa-omi*. Two of them dance forward, passing one on each side of the little hut, towards its entrance and, as they reach the latter, the initiate comes out and the old woman stops shouting. After covering her whole head and face with a duiker skin kaross (*/gan-tab*), leaving only the eyes visible, each of the women takes an arm and, the other women coming into line from behind the hut, all dance towards the old woman who leads the way to the */hurn-ǂgab*. Here they dance, the feet being thrown out sideways, always abreast of each other, with the old woman leading. Men are not permitted to watch the
881 dance. When the dance is about to end they return her to

524 thing. This they do one by one, each in turn beckoning to the others to come and see.

In the *surus-/hurub* (game of the ringhals snake) one woman acts as the snake, standing with her hand and forearm raised above the forehead. As the other women approach her she hisses and strikes with the raised hand after the manner of a snake, causing them to scream and retire. This game is said to be founded on the experience of a woman into whose eyes a snake spat while she was trying to drive mice out of a shrub by means of her stick.

The following are a few examples of the games played by the *‡Ao-//ein* and *//Aikwe* of the Kalahari, viz.: *Children's*: [857] a man bartering goods from a trader; cock ostriches fighting with elephants which have come to drink at waterhole; a fight between two opposing groups, small bows and wooden arrows being used; a python lying in wait for and capturing its prey at a waterhole. *Men's*, the ostrich game; throwing the *isani*, in which a thin, short-feathered stick, weighted at one end by means of a large bean (bauhinea esculenta), is flung into the air and kept going by catching it on a stick in its descent and flinging it up again; throwing the stick, in which each player has a thin stick, about three feet long, which he flings forcibly on to the ground in such manner as to make it rise into the air and shoot away from him. *Women's*, catching the ball in which a melon or round tuber is used for the purpose; the capture of brides by young men, etc.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

Food Supply, Etc.

137 The source of the food supply varies very considerably in
184 different localities. In some it is derived mainly from the
268 vegetable, in others from the animal, kingdom. The Kalahari and northern parts of the territory are rich in both plant and animal life and the Bushmen inhabiting those parts consequently have a fairly well-balanced dietary. In the central and southern Kalahari the most important among the vegetable foods are the *tsamma* (citrullus vulgaris), öintjes (cyperis edulis Dtr.) and *//nōun* (Bauhinea esculenta). As one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, *e.g.*, the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuandi, omuve, etc. In addition to the above numerous varieties of edible roots, bulbs, tubers, berries, etc., appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season.

222 Among the *Hei-//om* the following ceremony is observed in connection with the collection of veldkos by the women. It is practised when the fruit of the *‡huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the *‡huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gāus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered

are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women 222
to the *||gāus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the *!heis*. Her husband now kindles the *!hei|ais* and, after having applied *‡norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it. There is no name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called *!gao-ei-|un*.

Among insects, locusts, ants, scorpions, young bees and 262
honey are greatly relished. Frogs, lizards, snakes, etc., are also eaten. In fact, all living animals are eaten with the exception of the mole and the hyena, the former because its winter larder of öintjes forms a valuable and easily obtainable addition to the supplies of the Bushmen and the latter because it eats human corpses.

The methods used in the pursuit of game vary according 221
to the season, the year being divided into a cold, dry season 224
(winter), a hot, dry season (spring and early summer), a small, rainy season (September and October) and a big, rainy season (January to April). Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season in the case of such animals as guineafowl, bustard, aardvark, ostrich and small game. Pitfalls are not made use of except for hare and springhare as too much work is entailed in making them. Springhare and snakes are also caught by means of a long barbed stick which is passed into the burrows, the animal being transfixed and then dug out. During the big rainy season when the ground is sodden with moisture small buck such as duiker and stembuck are run down on foot and killed with a knob kirri. This method is not applicable to small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor. In the hot weather, however, young buck are easily caught in this manner as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. The gemsbuck does not tire easily. It is run down, therefore, only during the big rainy season when the soft ground impedes its progress and causes it to be caught comparatively easily. All other varieties of big game are run down in the hot, dry season. After a herd of game has been located one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly until it is exhausted and brought at bay, when it is killed with assegaai.

Bow and poisoned arrows are used all the year round. These 184
weapons differ considerably in character in various localities. 411
The Kalahari bow is small compared with that used by the *!Kūng* of the Oschimpoloveld, and *Hei-||om* of the Etosha Pan region; the arrow consists of a reed shaft, bone foreshaft and bone or iron tip, whereas the latter use arrows with feathered wooden shafts and iron tips only. The poison also 184
varies in different localities. In southern Namaqualand it 278
is constituted of a mixture of plant juice (euphorbia), snake poison, scorpions and spiders; in the southern and central

184 Kalahari only insect poison is used, and further north and
278 north-west only plant poison.

224 All tribes observe certain customary practices in connection
[184] with the hunting of animals with bow and arrow. These vary considerably among the different tribes. The following is an account of the practice as met with among the *Hei-||om*. After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *||gāus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals. The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is skinned by the men.
252 The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the purpose, is cut into
[237] sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then removed to the *||gāus* by the men who may occasionally be assisted by the women. On arrival at the *||gāus* all the meat is laid on the ground under the *!heis* either on sticks which were used in carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib*
224 (chief) now comes forward and if he finds that the *!hei-|ais*
622 (fire under the tree) has gone out he returns to his hut, brings
252 fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the meat in the meantime being hung on the *!heis* (tree in centre of camp). After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men—the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and "tastes" (tsū-tsū) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as *≠koms*.

224 All meat killed with bow and arrow is *so.ra* and may not
262 be partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, however, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *so.ra* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *so.ra*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *so.ra* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the

hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*ǂei-ti*). Her 224 portion is known as the *ǂnoe-di* and is the only meat which 262 may be partaken of by women. The *ǂnoe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the *ǂkham-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The *ǂnoe-di*, however, may not be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *||gāus*. It is not brought under the *!heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The *ǂkham-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women [784] partake of any other meat than the *ǂnoe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu* (youths) is known as *!om-||gani* and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles, etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at the *axarogudi ǂgaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the *!heis* [252] or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him and if he [784] eats any other part, *e.g.*, the *ǂkoms* he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions about two finger breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis* may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *ǂnoe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-||gani*, under which is included the *ǂkoms*. The latter may be eaten only under the *!heis*. After it has [264] been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is [847] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *ǂkoms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib* and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat 224 killed by the members of an outlying *||gāus*, the *gei-khoib* 622 likewise having to taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the *||gāus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *||gāus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he

224 visits a *||gāus* for this purpose he kindles the *!hei-|ais*
622 with fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own.

224 Any want of success in the chase is generally attributed to
777 some chance incident. For example, a man, who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife had her periods, will not hunt again when she is in that condition nor will she eat any of the *ǂnoe-di* at such times. The meat of an animal
[262] killed by a dog may not be eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating. This prohibition is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. If, however, an animal is killed with bow and arrow after having been brought at bay by a dog, the meat is *so.ra* and women may eat the *ǂnoe-di*. The remains of an animal killed by a lion are not *so.ra* and may be partaken of by all individuals. Care, however, is taken not to offend the lion which likewise observes certain practices after each kill. After having had his fill he buries the sacrum and haunchbones and covers them over with the dung (stomach contents) of the animal. If he should be unsuccessful in hunting his prey he returns to the spot of the last kill, digs up the buried parts and inters them in another place. This he does to restore his luck and if he should find that the bones have been taken away he will follow the person who removed them right into the *||gāus*.

184 *So.ra* applies only to meat killed with bow and arrow and
224 as far as is known at present this practice exists among the
262 *Xom-khoin*, *|Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*. Among these
784 groups the meat of the following animals is *so.ra*, namely, steinbuck, duiker, springbuck, hartebeest, gemsbuck, kudu, wildebeest and giraffe. The eland, which is a comparatively rare visitor to the parts occupied by these groups is not killed at all by the *Xom-khoin* who believe that harm will befall any person who eats its meat. In other words the *Xom-khoin* consider the eland to be absolute *so.ra*. Among other groups the man who shoots an eland must, on returning to the *||gāus*, sleep under the *!hei* as intercourse with his wife will prevent the poison from killing the animal. The same applies to a person who shoots a giraffe.

412 The implements and utensils which are used in the collection and preparation of food are very few in number. Vegetable food is dug up with a sharpened stick, 2 to 5 feet in length.
252 Ontjes, *||ñoun* and other similar plant foods are roasted in hot ashes covered with cinders. Ants (Bushman rice) are dealt with in a similar manner and then recovered again by means of a sieve of grass matting. Locusts are either roasted or boiled. Frogs, etc., are sometimes roasted over the fire on a wooden spit (braaistok) stuck into the ground. Birds, snakes, small antelope, etc., are prepared by placing them in a hollow made in the ashes with a flat paddle-shaped wooden scoop and covering them over with live coals. The meat of larger

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly 252
disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin
tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups [237]
use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roasted plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of 264
wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make 415
wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some 184
purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except 262
by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco 237
pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups, bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The *|Nu-||ĕin* [184]
and *||Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the *≠Ao-||ĕin* and other tribes living to the north. Articles [438]
made by the former form an important medium of exchange. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it [482]
also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large [415]
animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich egg-shells are used for carrying and storing water and for the 301
manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time 438
form the most important article of barter among the *|Nu-||ĕin*, *Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-||om*. Among the most 184
northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red 278
ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omura* tree, are the 438
principal media of exchange.

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit 121
me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive communities are surrounded.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

137 is one it is the biggest thing in all the landscape, dominating all the veld, more impressive than any mountain. It can be as much as two hundred feet high and thirty feet in diameter. It has great, thick branches that sprout haphazardly from the sides of the trunk and reach like stretching arms into the sky. The bark is thin and smooth and rather pink, and sags in folds toward the base of the tree like the skin on an elephant's leg, which is why a baobab is sometimes called an elephant tree. Its trunk is soft and pulpy, like a carrot instead of wooden, and if you lean against it you find that it is warm from the sun and you expect to hear a great heart beating inside. In the spring, encouraged by moisture, these giants put out huge white flowers resembling gardenias, white as moons and fragrant, that face down toward the earth; during the [262] summer they bear alum-like dry fruits, shaped like pears, which can be eaten. In the Kalahari there is no need of hills. The great baobabs standing in the plains, the wind, and the seasons are enough.

132 Usually in the hot months only small winds blow, leaving a whisper of dry leaves and a ripple of grass as though a snake has gone by, but occasionally there is a windy day when all the low trees of the veld are in motion, swinging and dipping, and the grass blows forward and back. When there is no wind, heat accumulates in the air and rises in thick, shuddering waves that distort everything you see, the temperature rises to 120° Fahrenheit and more, and the air feels heavy, pressing against you, hard to breathe.

June and July are the months of winter. Then water left standing freezes at night, and with the first light of morning all the trees and grass leaves are brittle with frost. The days warm slowly to perhaps 80° at noon, but by night when the sun sets yellow and far, far away over the flat veld the cold creeps back, freezing the moisture from the dark air so that

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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The Bushmen are one of the most primitive peoples living 105
on earth. Although most of their groups own some metal ob-
jects, Bushmen do not smelt or forge metal, but get it in trade [325
from their Bantu neighbors. They use soft metal in the mak- 439]
ing of a few tools such as knives, arrowheads, and little axes,
cold-hammering the metal into shape themselves. Bushmen
make the other tools they use from wood and bone, grass and
fiber, the things of the veld. They dig roots and pick berries [222]
to eat because they have no crops. The desert is too dry for
anything but desert plants to grow naturally, and Bushmen,
who quickly consume all the wild food available in one place,
cannot stay anywhere long enough to tend crops or wait for
them to grow.

There is not enough water to water livestock, and for this [231]
reason Bushmen have no domestic animals. Most of their
groups do not even have dogs. Instead of herding, Bushmen
hunt wild antelope with tiny arrows, sometimes made of soft, [224
traded metal, sometimes made of bone, and poisoned with a 278]
terrible poison extracted from a certain grub, a poison which
affects the nervous system of a creature and which is so deadly
that an antelope shot early in the morning with a single arrow
well placed in the body dies within the day. Hunting is very
difficult, for travel in the veld is thirsty and rigorous and the
antelope are clever, but as often as not the Bushmen hunters
shoot one and then they use it all. Most of the meat is dried [251]
to preserve it, causing it to last at least a few weeks, but
sooner or later every last bite of it is eaten, even the mucous
lining of the nostrils and the gristle inside the ears. They [262]
sometimes eat the hide, sometimes work it into leather to
use for clothing, and if the antelope bones are not all [281]
cracked for the marrow, pieces are worked into arrow points
to shoot another antelope.

In order to live as they do, Bushmen must travel through 105 361

that white people used to hunt Bushmen and wanted to kill 159
us for our land. The farmer took me to his farm and I pulled 563
weeds and watched his cattle. He gave me milk and corn- [465
meal, but I didn't like it. I told him milk was for babies and 262]
I wanted him to take me back to my country, but he laughed at me.

"He called me Goliath because I was so small. Goliath, come here. Goliath, watch my calves. And later he gave me a shirt to cover my body and then I went to work for another master, who gave me a goat, and then I worked for my [465]
last master, who paid me shillings. But I am leaving here too because in South-West Africa they pay better. I am a father now, you know."

The day Tami left, I walked over the veld toward a road to say good-by to him, and when I got halfway there I found that he had come halfway to say good-by to me. He was holding his goat by the horns, and behind him his wife, wearing a horrid rag of a European dress, was standing with the baby inside the front of the dress. I gave Tami a knife and his wife a scarf of mine, although I had nothing to give to the baby, and they said good-by to me and turned, Tami dragging the goat around, pretending to be very jaunty, and they set out walking toward the road that leads to South-West Africa.

Times have changed since Tami's father died. In those 648
days, to be sure, there was a great deal more friction between Bushmen and non-Bushmen than there is now because the Bushmen who lived near the farms of European or Bantu farmers quite often killed cattle. It is sometimes said that they did so because they were unable to distinguish between cattle and wild game, or that the cattle drove away the wild game so that the Bushmen would have had no meat if they had not killed the cattle, but I very much doubt that either of these things was true. Most probably, the Bushmen found

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152 The Bushmen as well as the gods ignore the suffering of animals. When they opened the pit and took out the tortoise
264 several hours later it did look delicious, and the meat, which came easily off the small, thick bones, smelled delicious brewed in the green leaves, and the thin young boys smiled happily and brought their tsama rinds to be filled from the mortar where Gai put the pieces he had picked off and had pounded to make them even and small.

262 While there was gemsbok meat and tortoise meat, the rabbit was not worth eating, and it hung from the tree, where it dried, like a little husk, to be moistened again and eaten when nothing else was left. It swung in the breeze like a leaf, like a tiny, eerie ornament.

252 The lizard was eaten that evening by the three young boys,
264 who built a fire of their own, where they sat like hunters back from a hunt; with the red light of the fire on their thin faces, making their eyes bright, they roasted the lizard in the coals and ate it, and pulled its tiny bones out of their teeth.

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ing great carcasses of fallen trees, some with the leaves on the 731
top still green, that were filling the air with the smell of their wood burning. The ground was still warm to walk on, but all the bushes, all the little succulents, all the vines that marked the water roots were gone; no snake or lizard or animal was there, all were burned or had gone; we saw only animal tracks half filled with ashes, and a few birds come to eat dead insects. We saw a pair of secretary birds and later a pair of [136]
paouw, huge gray birds that walk more than they fly, wandering through the ruins looking for dead reptiles.

As we walked, fine black powder rose to dust our legs, and now and then, off through the standing tree trunks and between the fallen trees' great upflung roots, little whirlwinds crossed back and forth, raising the dust in spiraled pillars. [821
Bushmen say that whirlwinds show the presence of the spir- 775]
its of the dead.

Witabe's eyes searched over the ground, and when he saw 222
a small mound of earth he walked up to it and punctured it 262
with his toe. Out rushed a horde of ants, which had been safe in their tunnels when the fire passed and now began at once to repair their damaged mound. Witabe crouched among them and began to pick and eat them, selecting the soldier ants, ones with large heads and heavy jaws. He bit off the abdomens, tossing the heads away. Presently he offered some to us, as I had feared he would; as everyone else ate one, I did also, and found that it was not too unpleasant but sour and very watery, very like a blackberry before it is ripe. The workers, I am told, are tasteless, but the fighters are considered a near-delicacy; mine opened her jaws wide to fight my thumb before I ate her.

Later in the day, when the sun in the sky, the still burning 481
trees, and the fire-warmed sand made the air on the flats un- 487
bearably hot, we turned back to camp for the shade of our

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576 show affection openly only to people of the same sex and
593 to their children. Tsetchwe looked at Gai, though, and she smiled.

124 . Twikwe greeted us by smiling her wry smile and saying:
825 "So."

262 The springbok was thrown to the ground, but before it could go into the pot, Bill Donnellan, the doctor, came over to the werf to dissect it, this being an opportunity to find what the Bushmen thought about the systems of the body and what they knew about anatomy.

Gai agreed to tell what he knew, so the springbok was dragged to a sandy spot and a small fire was built—just two crossed sticks with one or two coals and a tiny flame, yet it warmed us, as the evening was becoming very cold. All the people sat around to watch as Bill opened the belly of the springbok and rolled it onto its back. He pointed to the diaphragm and asked what it was. Gai told him the name. "What is it for?" Bill asked.

"We eat it."

"Is it for anything else?"

"We don't know. We just eat it."

"What about the liver?"

"We eat the liver."

"Does the liver do anything for the springbok?"

"It stays there and then we kill him and eat it."

"And what about the stomach?"

"We Bushmen eat the stomach, too, and all the things in the springbok."

"Doesn't the stomach do anything for the springbok?"

"Yes, he eats grass which goes in there and makes him fat, and then we eat the fat."

124 Unwilling to give up easily, Bill passed on to the urogenital
825 system, which is, after all, exterior and which anyone should

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enclosed in the tiny brown pupa casings with brittle shells 825
like eggshells, exactly the color of the earth around them, and 278
are found only among the roots of certain trees and bushes. Nothing edible grows among the roots, and although the marula kaffra has edible nuts that drop and are gathered from the surface of the ground, there would be no likely reason for Bushmen to be digging there. Bushmen do eat certain bee- [262]
tles, certain ants, and certain caterpillars, which, they say, are sweet as honey, but even if a Bushman were to eat a poison beetle he would not die (unless he had a cracked lip or an ulcer) because the poison works only in the blood stream, and even the black meat of an antelope taken from the site of the arrow wound can be eaten with impunity.

Only people who pay the closest attention to every tiny object and who investigate all its possibilities could ever have discovered a thing like this.

I not only do not know if the beetles used by the Kung are the same kind as those used by the Gikwe; I also do not know if the Kung use only one kind, for I have seen Kung Bushmen take two kinds of pupa from the roots of the same tree, from cocoons that appeared to be exactly alike. Even the Kung do not know, when they see a cocoon, which kind it is. One kind of pupa is small and pure yellow with a black head, a thorax, an abdomen, and six small legs. The other kind is larger, fatter, and orange, with no noticeable body sections such as thorax and abdomen, but more like a caterpillar, the same all the way down. The yellow pupae, the Bushmen say, are males, with sacks of poison only under their front legs. To get the poison Bushmen pull off a leg and squeeze out a single drop, discarding the rest of the body. The orange pupae are said to be females, with poison throughout the entire body. To get poison from these, Bushmen tap the grub all over to

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On the way a moving shadow caught our attention, and we looked up 222
to see a white-breasted, black-winged vulture sailing not far 136
above our heads, not stirring himself but riding the drafts and currents of the air. He was looking at us with hard eyes, his red face turned to look down, and suddenly he closed his great wings under his body, sweeping them down so far that the long wing feathers brushed together four feet under his belly. Then his wings swept up again and bore him on. I had never seen a vulture do that before. He did it only once, then made a circle all around us, looking down at us, his eyes cool in their red wrinkles; he rose higher and higher and soon he was gone. All over Africa the sky is full of vultures, but so high that you can seldom see them; any time you look up with binoculars, however, you will probably be able to see one sailing, waiting up there for a disaster.

We were going particularly to look for *bi*, a fibrous, watery 222
root that is the mainstay of the Bushmen's diet during the 136
hot season when the melons are gone. From the end of Au- 262
gust, when the spring begins, the heat increases in intensity until December and January, when the rains come, relieving the drought. During this hot, dry season the sand reflects the sun until the air all over the veld shudders and dances, until human beings and animals alike gasp for air and water. This is the hardest season of all for the Bushmen, yet most of them remain alive by going into the veld early in the morning in the cooler light of dawn to gather bi. The bi they find is 222
brought back to the werf before the sun is hot; it is scraped, 271
and the scrapings are squeezed dry. The people drink the 237
juice they squeeze. Then they dig shallow pits like graves for themselves in the shade. They urinate on the bi scrapings and line the pits with the now moist pulp, then lie in the pits and spend the day letting the moisture evaporating from the urine preserve the moisture in their bodies. They lie still all day and 222
at dusk go into the veld again to gather food, perhaps a few

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Ukwane eats a tsama melon, the source of food and all water for Bushmen during the drought.

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574 do not meet very often, and when they do the children play
621 together day and night. All the young boys were extremely
857 happy to see each other and expressed their joy by starting their game at once, wasting neither time nor breath to say hello. Before the adults of the visiting band had set their bundles on the ground two little horses with their riders had run past, the riders trying to unseat each other.

574 They played all afternoon and into the evening while the
621 adults went about the business of setting up a camp. I went
361 to the new werf to watch and found that the women had stored away their belongings, stuffing some of their bundles among the tree roots, hanging others from the branches, and were now clearing grass, each woman clearing a small circle for her family. Soon five circles were formed, not quite touching, all sheltered by the branches and all in the space of a few square feet. I helped one woman pull grass, for she was clearing it tuft by tuft, pulling it up with her hands, and as I did this I felt something cold and firm in the grass I was holding, and, looking down, I saw that I was holding an asp. I dropped it, one of the Bushman men ran up to kill it, and one of the
[20] women lifted it between her fingers and placed it in her kaross. Later it would be cooked and eaten by a child.

224 That same afternoon, some of the members of our expedi-
574 tion went hunting and shot a gemsbok, which was brought back to camp and given to Ukwane to divide. This was, perhaps, a great mistake on our part, for Ukwane gave the entire carcass to the newcomers except for the head, one foot, and a little of the liquid from the rumen, which he kept for his own people. Twikwe dug a pit in the veld and roasted the head in it, and that night, while the newcomers were still butchering, drying, and cooking their larger share, the mem-

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bers of Ukwane's band cut little strips from the cheeks of the 224 574
gemsbok and sustained themselves with that.

An atmosphere of tension and strain pervaded over the 574
whole werf. The Okwa people had arrived primed with jeal- 578
ousy, and had surely accused Ukwane of selfishness; the false spring, the dry conditions at Okwa had surely given their jealousy momentum. By giving most of the gemsbok to the newcomers, Ukwane had done all he could, for he had shown with his immediate generosity, and with the magnitude of his gesture, that they had nothing to fear from him. Of course, the members of his own band were as jealous of the newcomers as the newcomers were of them, but Ukwane surely felt that the internal struggles of his own band, easier to cope with, would be forgotten sooner.

The tension showed itself in struggles over food. Twikwe 262
made a soup from a bone of the foot, mixing it in the rind of 578
one of the melons she had gathered, and when it was cooked 152
she drank it herself out of the tsama rind, watched all the time by her son Wite. When she could stand his hungry eyes no longer, she put her bowl on the ground so that both of them could scoop up the broth with tortoise shells. After they had eaten part of it, Twikwe decided that it was time to pass the bowl to Kutera, who sat a little distance from them, eating nothing, looking very scrawny and trying not to watch. Twikwe started to do so; then, remembering her son, who was still hungry, she reached behind her for a second tsama rind, a little one, which she would fill for him. In this way she would, of course, have none left for herself, but she preferred to share. Adults are used to hunger, and it seems that the older Bushmen become, the less they mind deprivation. Children are different, and as their needs are considered more pressing than the adults', they are accustomed to receiving

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more. Twikwe herself had among her possessions a fiber string, which, she said, she kept to wind around her belly when she was very hungry for the purpose of warding the hunger away.

Wite was tired and cross, and his patience was worn thin by hunger, and when he saw what his mother was doing he realized that he would have less food than he had expected. He lost his temper, shrieked at Twikwe, and tried to keep her from reaching the little rind so that she would have no container to give him a smaller share in—a very Bushman-like thing to do, instead of trying to snatch the large, full rind, perhaps—and the two of them struggled, each tugging at the little rind and each exclaiming wildly. The old woman won the struggle and filled the rind with soup, using her tortoise shell as a spoon, hindered once again by Wite, who snatched the spoon away, still trying to prevent her filling the small rind for him. Twikwe struggled for the spoon, and, seeing that he was going to lose it, Wite quickly ladled an extra spoonful into the little rind and sat back resigned while Twikwe thrust the little rind toward him. He took it finally and sat sulkily, not eating, but with his lips pressed against the side of the rind, his eyes hard and shining, staring at nothing over the top. Twikwe handed the larger share to Kutera, who pretended not to have noticed the struggle and who thanked Twikwe in an ingratiating way.

There was another struggle over food that evening, started as a malicious joke by Gai. When Gai saw Wite with a strip of meat from the gemsbok's cheek he snatched it out of Wite's hand and pretended to eat it. When Wite, tried beyond endurance, burst into tears and flew at Gai, Gai ran away and really did eat the meat, chewing as he ran, keeping just out of Wite's reach. The chase ended under a tree, where Gai, seizing a branch, grappled Wite with his legs and swung

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him off the ground. Wite did not resist, but swung limp and 262 578
resigned, and when Gai released him he started to walk away. 152
Gai had eaten all the meat except one morsel, and this he tossed to Wite, who picked it up from the ground and ate it apathetically.

Only the baby set a good example. I had picked him up and 262
was carrying him when the three young boys of Ukwane's band noticed that he was mouthing something and holding something else in his hand. For a joke they extended their palms, telling him to share what he had in his hand, and he gave it readily. It was only the crackly skin that flakes off bones when they are roasted, quite flavorless, impossible to chew; Nhwakwe was only playing with it and the boys only pretended to take a bite, then threw it away. But either the baby didn't see them reject it or didn't care because in a moment he made them another present, the meat that he had been holding in his mouth. The young boys didn't see where he got it and they were about to eat it when Nhwakwe opened his mouth to smile and they noticed. They threw it down, but the baby spat some onto his finger and offered it to them anyway, and when they didn't take it he smeared it on their chests.

After the unhappy hour of eating, the people of Ukwane's band, their appetites dulled even though their bellies were not full, seemed more relaxed and the young boys went off to 572
join the boys from the visiting band. The youngsters were 857
always friends. The tensions suffered by all the members of 152
both the bands did not affect their enjoyment of each other.

That evening the boys sat down near one of the fires to 578
talk, and they told each other all the things that had hap- 522
pened since they last had met, perhaps a year before. Most of 152
the incidents had happened fairly recently and most amounted to anecdotes about the other members of the

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into their scherms, and in the morning there was a lake of 132
shining water on the pan and lilies growing everywhere, where only their dry leaves had been before.

After that the rain came often. Some weeks it rained a lit- 132
tle every day, some weeks the rain became torrential and flat- 136
tened the Bushmen's grass scherms, but it made the veld rich and green, with flowers everywhere and all kinds of fruit, which grew on trees and stalks and bushes. The pan became the home of shore birds, marabou storks and flamingos. Leopards and lions drank there, game antelope waded through it, leaving deep tracks in the mud, and the Bushman children [515
sometimes danced in the shallows, their feet making flashing, 142]
rhythmic splashes, or bathed themselves until their skins were shining gold.

One night I went to the werf with a lantern and suddenly found myself beset by insects flying all around me, attracted by the light. It was the mating flight of white ants, which had come out of the ground in great numbers and now filled the air. The Bushman men were away on a hunting trip, un- [222
fortunately, but the women came to the light as quickly as 262]
the ants and began at once to catch them and stuff them into their mouths, saying "*gurico gum*" as they did so, *gurico* being the name of the ants and *gum* the word used for candy, for sweet gum that oozes from the trees, and for sweet caterpillars. Much faster than the women could eat, more and more ants came flying in a swarm as thick as a blizzard and already the ground was white with wings, for the ants, throwing themselves to the earth, would drop their wings instantly and begin to mate with each other in twos, in threes, even forming in great circles that turned as the ants ran scurrying to keep their positions, each one mounted with its forefeet on the back of the ant before it, pushed on by the ant behind. Sometimes an ant would fail to shed its wings and, finding

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green-leafed vegetables, and sometimes many of the people 361
of the large extended bands come together to live, to hold 621
important ceremonies which require many people, and to enjoy each other's company. Sometimes they separate into very small bands because they can now go anywhere they wish, each family going to the part of the veld where the type of food grows that the family most enjoys. There is water every- 312
where, in small seasonal waterholes, in shallow salt pans, in hollow trees, and the people thrive and grow quite fat. One
of their favorite foods, one that grows in great abundance at 222 262
this season, is a ground nut called *tsi*, which grows on a trailing vine and is so fat that if you leave a kernel of it on a piece of paper it will leave a greasy stain. Tsi is regarded by the Kung Bushmen as a very powerful food, one of the pow- [778]
erful veld foods in which there is a special essence, something mysterious and magic which gives them a life force all their own so that it would be dangerous to eat them during the year if this life force were not first subdued or not first integrated with the life force of the people. These foods are 778
the mainstays of the Bushmen's diet, and are fat; and every 789
year people in their child-bearing years, when they consider themselves subject to harm, protect themselves against these foods by a ritual act.

The act of protection is called *choa*, and it is interesting because it differs from the protective rituals performed by agricultural peoples to save their crops or animals from harm, or to cause their increase. The Bushmen choa themselves not [842]
to protect their fertility, for decrease in the number of children is not a problem to them, but to make sure that they, the young adults and mainstays of the community, will not get thin and starve.

Those whom Bushmen call "old people," adults who have 789
had three children, are expected to protect themselves and 885
also to protect young people of the same sex.

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789 also to protect young people of the same sex. The choa ceremonies are performed in the Veld Food Season for each of the powerful veld foods as they ripen. The ceremony itself is simple; in order to choa tsi, for example, an old woman simply chews a mouthful of tsi with a few bites of a root called *shasha* if shasha is available or any one of certain other permissible roots if shasha is not, and spits the resulting paste into her palms. If she is choaing herself she washes her hands in the paste; if she is choaing a younger woman she rubs the paste on the young woman's arms and chest. It is an important ceremony, for no young person would think of eating tsi without it, but it is at the same time a casual, household ceremony, done without fuss or audience; oftener than not, it will be performed in the morning before breakfast, say, or when the woman is resting for a moment in the veld, ceasing her digging to drink a sip of water. It is a powerful ceremony, though, for the woman choaed may then eat tsi in safety for a whole year, until the next season when it ripens again.

731 That year, in the Veld Food Season, there was a tragedy and also a wedding. The tragedy took place late one afternoon when a baby girl, playing house with a real fire, burned down her grandfather's grass scherm, thus destroying everything her grandparents owned, everything they had made over a lifetime. The two old people had been very industrious and the wife a prolific maker of ostrich-eggshell beads.

At the start of the blaze a great crowd of people gathered, arriving just in time to see the baby girl run out of the scherm as it collapsed in flames behind her. She ran straight to her [262] mother and sat at her feet, ignoring the great crowd of people and placidly eating one of her grandfather's leather sandals which she had rescued from the fire and which, she found, had been cooked to a turn. No one was angry with the child,

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chance to look at everyone else and see who was there, we 621
found among the Bushmen one entire band, six people, who once had lived at Gautscha. These were an old man, his two daughters, his son, his grandson, and his son-in-law, a man 551
named Lazy Kwi. Because Kung Bushmen have relatively few names in use, resulting in the fact that many, many people have the same name—one man we knew had two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama, called after his mother, whose name was also Xama—they distinguish their various Xamas and Kwis with nicknames.

Lazy Kwi was a kind, warmhearted man, devoted to his family, and was named Lazy, an insulting name, only because he was not a good hunter. He was heavy-footed, there- 224 262
fore noisy, and not an excellent shot; but he was a good trapper and got meat for his family by snaring birds and lizards. But because he did not hunt he never owned large shares of meat and ate only what came to him by the Bushmen's system of dividing, which put him in the role of poor relation and sometimes forced him to eat what others would not touch. Once he had suppressed his pride and eaten a badger. Although the other Bushmen had turned up their noses at this rank meat, he had said: "I am the badger-eating man," laughing off their scorn to hide his shame. He had eaten it sadly, and the sweet taste of it had sickened him and had made him vomit and retch for the rest of the day. Luckily for 224 [541]
his family, his father-in-law made beautiful arrows and in the hunting system of Bushmen the man who gives or lends the arrow with which a buck is shot is automatically the owner of a large share of the meat. His father-in-law often lent arrows and often got meat. In fact, the old man had a domi- 888
nant voice in the running of the family, for though old men 621
may be aged and consumptive, those younger than they do what they say. Far from being derogatory, "Old" is a term of

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222 the smoke had confused them and they did not sting, although they flew everywhere looking for us. The old man turned his back, hunched his head between his shoulders, and hid from them as one would hide if one were being pelted with stones. When the swarm had dispersed a little he finished the opening. The Bushmen say that when bees are disturbed they are vicious only at first. After a while they become disorganized and confused and they fly about but do not sting you. When you smoke bees you must be careful not [778] to burn them or smoke them too much because they are 825 magic creatures with medicine to control fire, and if you harm them they will cause fire to burn you. A young boy whom we knew once burned some bees, and that night, when he was asleep by the fire, the fire sought him out and burned the skin of his belly, touching him only and no one else.

Lazy Kwi and the old man did the work perfectly. They were not stung badly, the tree was open, and no bees were seriously harmed. Inside the tree we could see the brown combs hanging and the bees as thick as fur around them. Lazy Kwi took out the combs and put them in a wooden bowl, licking his fingers afterward, and before we went back we ate some of the honey. There were two kinds, old honey and new honey, and the new honey was pale yellow and very [462] sweet and mild, winter honey made from the small, dry flowers of the veld. The old honey was much sweeter and strong enough to burn your mouth. Before we left, the old man [515] and Lazy Kwi carefully wiped their hands and arms with grass, for they were covered with honey and things were beginning to stick to them. Then we went back to camp and in the afternoon we packed to go on toward Gautscha Pan.

415 482 Lazy Kwi packed a skin bag full of tsi nuts and the seeds [222] of baobab fruit, alum-like powdery stones that ripen at the start of the dry season. The old man had a huge net bag filled

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133 was coming from it, and though the adult Bushmen knew
136 what to expect and didn't waste time investigating, only pausing for a moment at the brink to glance inside, then going on, the children stopped to gaze and I stopped with them. The sides of the well overhung the water in a lip about four feet high. The water itself was the color of clay, and on its smooth surface a hairy back and a pair of pointed ears were floating, the back and ears of a drowned hyena floating on its belly with its nose pointing straight to the bottom. White maggots crept from one ear to the other and the rotting smell rose from the corpse. Obviously, the hyena had been thirsty and when trying to drink had fallen in and drowned. A little boy who was watching the hyena, fascinated, began to howl faintly, "Mmm//ao, mmm//ao," the way a hyena howls, but putting a click in it the way Bushmen usually do, and then for my benefit acted the scene as it must have taken place. He rolled out his tongue and edged his hand toward the lip of the well, then jerked away, staring at the water with yearning eyes and saying: "No, I can't reach it. Yes, I must." He edged his hand toward the lip again, then shrieked "Ai! Ai!", waved his arms, pawed the air as the hyena had pawed the sides of the well, twisted his head from side to side, eyes starting, then closed his eyes and let his head roll back, his face calm and his lips parted, turning his hands limply, palms up. "Finished," he said.

"Yes," I said. "Too bad."

[262] "Oh, hyenas are worthless animals," he said. He meant that they were not good to eat. Then he ran off and after a short time came back with a long stick, which he pushed into the water. "Help me stir," he said, so I did, and presently the carcasses of two wild dogs and a vulture bobbed to the surface, rolled over slowly, legs in the air, and sank again. "You see?" he said triumphantly. "Many things die here."

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still there. Bushmen do not eat squirrels because squirrels have no meat on their bones. Birds of all kinds lived in the great tree too, and there was a hawk's nest in the upper branches; I once had seen the two gray hawks that built it, but now they too were gone.

It was the bees that interested the Bushmen, though, and those of us who had come from Nama—Toma, Gao Feet, Crooked Kwi, Lazy Kwi, my brother, and I—sat among the rocks at the foot of the tree, the men planning what they would do. I was so tired from having been awake all night to watch the dance that I lay down on the stones and fell asleep, and when I awoke, in an hour or so, the men had built a fire but were still arguing about who would brave getting stung to find the honey. No one really wanted to do it; but I saw that Crooked Kwi was almost persuaded, being very amenable and the youngest person there. Sure enough, taking a smoldering brand in his teeth, he at last began to climb the pegs, clinging to them with his fingers and toes. Toma followed at a distance, cautiously, urging Crooked Kwi on, and the two climbed higher slowly, Crooked Kwi looking down from time to time to be encouraged. When he did, Gao Feet and Lazy Kwi would shout for him to continue. At last Crooked Kwi reached the branch beside the hive and squatted there, blowing on his brand to make it smoke while Toma climbed past him, around to another branch, where he, too, squatted with his feet apart and his hands on his knees exactly as though his feet were on the ground, the branch was so wide.

Crooked Kwi found the hole, a small opening, though even from the ground we could see a few bees humming idly outside, and blew the smoke from his brand into it, then, encouraged by Toma, reached his slender arm inside to find a honeycomb. He was stung, of course, and snapped his arm out instantly, though even then the bees were not angry, None

132 LATE in December or early in January the rains of summer—the "big rains"—begin. This is the season of water. Water collects in the hollows of the land; it seeps into the pans, changing them into shallow lakes; it melts the baked clay in the *omuramba* bottoms, and turns the Kalahari green.

132 This is the season when two nuts, the *tsi* and the *mangetti*—the most im-
262 portant and abundant of the wild desert foods—begin to mature. By
137 March, the *mangetti* forests sound with the falling nuts. Beside the summer storms—when water piles up uselessly on the reverberating earth—days on end are cloudy and, sometimes, a fine mist falls over parts of the northern Kalahari through the day and into the night. Now, the people eat many fruits. In the deeps of green thickets, ponderous flowers droop on slender
[164] vines. Spring and summer, the times of bounty, are also the seasons of disease.

132 By the end of April, the afternoon skies begin to clear, the air dries, the wind seeks. It is autumn. In April, the *tsi* nuts ripen and the pods split, turning out their brown wealth. The many desert roots cease their activity and become firm and full, safe in

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DELOUSING is a courtesy among kinsmen: the salty-tasting lice are eaten.

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There are about 1,000 !Kung—gathered into 28 bands—who build their ephemeral camps, or *werft*'s, separately in an area of 10,000 square miles. The houses in the *werft*'s are of grass, pressed over a framework of sticks, making small quarter-shells, with their backs to the prevailing wind. Gossamer things, made of the same grass that sways and crowds against their doors, they are positioned in a loose pattern according to their occupants' kinship, and all are held—finally—by the headman, who builds his shelter under the tallest tree.

[622]

From a little distance, when the sound of voices is lost on the wind, one would not know a *werft* was near. The people never return to the same *werft*—preferring to build anew and saying it would not be safe from the spirits of the dead, or sanitary, to do so. Perhaps, also, they find it sad to see the little houses toppling, day by day, into the grass of the new year.

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AS A STARTING POINT, labor among the !Kung is divided between two basic subsistence activities—hunting game and gathering *veldkos*. Men hunt, because their bodies are better suited to the chase. Women gather, because they could not leave their children for the long periods of hunting that men both enjoy and endure.

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Women's work—the technology of gathering—is simple and adaptable: the tools are easily acquired, the methods quickly learned. The constant necessity to provide and the almost daily edge of effort slowly bends the

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the point, for the slightest prick, the least bit of poison getting in such a wound, would cause death.

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[752]

Depending on where the poisoned arrow hits, a small buck can die in a morning, a man in a few hours, a giraffe in four to five days. There is nothing that can be done for a man, short of amputating a limb or immediately excising the wound and cutting the nearby flesh to let the blood drain. Yet, the poison has no effect upon the game's meat. One can even eat the mixture with relative impunity: it must enter the bloodstream directly to be deadly.

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As subsistence activities, the men's and women's roles—hunting and gathering—are of unequal weight. Almost eighty per cent of the people's food is *veldkos*, more abundant than game in *Nyae Nyae*, and far more easily acquired. If from one summer to the next, a man kills twelve antelope, he feels he has had a good year.

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But, despite its relatively minor subsistence value, hunting is extremely important in !Kung culture. It has developed its body of technology, acquired a large tradition of beliefs, fostered a wealth of knowledge, and

MEAT FROM THE CHASE is shared by all among the band. An old woman, *below*, is skinning her portion of an ostrich.

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become both the measure of a man's ability and a test of his readiness to marry. Part of the explanation may come from the passion in hunting. Like their fires, the tales of hunting burn brightly for the !Kung in the night, warming their memories. Of equal or greater significance is the !Kung craving for meat and undoubtedly for protein. Unlike the sharing of *veldkos*, limited to the nuclear family, a complex system of distribution insures that everyone in the *werft* will get a share of all game killed. This is done, they say, simply to prevent jealousy and the inevitable renunciations that go with it. The !Kung declare "We are a jealous people" and they try to keep jealousy at a minimum, for they fear it.

Still another aspect of hunting—perhaps the most important in terms of subsistence—is the by-products it provides. Sinew is used for thongs

[p. 56]

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182 A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties
312 which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters
[161] them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival,
[648] for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in
the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been
comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity
134 and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level
mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily
available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant
when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated
with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy
soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage
organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thor-
ough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they
are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

137 Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still
[222] have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again
to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-
sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage
[224] organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre
[262] content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the
various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

224 Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking sur-
faces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed
with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not
[411] necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the
advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death
as certainly to big game as to small.

101 LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bush-
197 men cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings
and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans
refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking
[829] Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a mul-
titude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local group-
[184] ings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the
language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while
they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within them-
[621] selves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band
[622] composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Or-
ganization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

101 The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a
131 group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ŏassi* and who live in the
[197] Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

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square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48'30" S. 181
20°34'36" E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but 131
extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and
Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch [123]
of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In [162]
it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and [648]
9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of
about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the [382]
region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and
preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north [192]
and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen- [829]
speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung 181
Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is sur- 182
vival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in
their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring
food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the [62]
mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their [570]
social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals
within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between [628]
bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on [770]
survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the
sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region 433
have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we re- 262
fer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of
a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired,
but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know 222
more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several 262
species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen
suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad
for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets.
Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this re-
gion as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman
groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any
water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are
the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-
resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these;
doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

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!Kung

Gathering Mangetti Nuts

eral large groves of mangetti trees (*Ricinodendron rautanenii* Schinz) in the region, all on great waterless white sand dunes, and one extensive area in which *tsī* grows. *Tsī* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch) is the seed of the vine that runs along on the surface of the ground. Both mangetti nuts and *tsī* are excellent foods, rich in oils and proteins, and so important to the !Kung that they organize their lives to a considerable extent around them.

Each band, according to !Kung social structure, owns and lives within what we call a territory. The band, through its headman (in a way to be explained later), owns the veldkos and water resources within its territory. The territories are varied in size and shape and sometimes consist of portions that are not even contiguous. The boundaries are vague, for the need to draw fine boundary lines is not great. In the interior of the region, where water is so scant, in roughly 8000 square miles live only 17 bands, comprising 447 persons. The other bands and employed groups live on what we call the periphery of the region. The !Kung say that one cannot eat the ground itself so it does not matter to whom it belongs. It is the patches of veldkos that are clearly and jealously owned, and the territories are shaped in a general way around these patches. The !Kung of the interior have settled themselves in such a way that every band has access to areas of edible roots and to either a mangetti grove or a *tsī* patch. A few bands have both.

The strong concepts of ownership of veldkos by the band operate almost like a taboo. No external force is established to prevent one band from encroaching on another's veldkos or to prevent individuals from raiding veldkos patches to which they have no right. This is just not done. Fear of fighting is one of the deterrents. The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly

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!Kung

The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or tsi, the men always ac-

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224 meat to the owners of the territory should they happen to encounter them,
[43] but this is a gift, not an obligatory tribute. The vastness and emptiness of
[182] the country allow this freedom in hunting rights and the wandering nature of the game requires that the hunters, if they are to succeed at all, be free to look for game wherever they can find it.

222 The !Kung eagerly pick up tortoises, certain kinds of lizards, snakes, ostrich eggs, and grasshoppers, and they relish termites when these insects
[262] swarm out in nuptial flight. These items provide incidental delicacies and gathering them is like the gathering of veldkos. The person who gathers
224 them may keep them for himself and his own family. Men gladly shoot small
223 animals and birds if they happen upon them—wart hogs, duikers, other small antelope, porcupines, badgers, pythons, spring hares, ostriches, paouws, guinea fowl, red-winged partridges, occasional migrating geese, and other birds. They may keep them for their own families. They do not, however, devote their hunting time to the smaller animal creatures if they find fresh spoor of the larger ones. Hunting the big game animals that feed a whole band is the work of a man's prime and is incumbent on him.

224 Hunting parties usually consist of from two to four or five men. A man cannot hunt effectively alone in this country. Several parties hunting in different directions are more advantageous than one larger party. Any man may organize a hunting party, with relatives and friends from his own band or from neighboring bands—men he likes to hunt with. No one is formally a leader; the men talk and plan together and are likely to fall in with the suggestions of the one whom they consider the best hunter. Participation in any given hunting party is voluntary. What !Kung society urges is that the
[461] hunters hunt; it does not restrict the ways and means. The force of public
[626] opinion upon men not to sit in the werf, not to be lazy but to do their share, is tremendous.

The game the !Kung hunt deliberately and purposefully are the several big antelopes found in the region: eland, kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok. They also hunt the more rarely seen buffalo and occasionally manage to shoot a giraffe. Although there is this considerable variety of kind, there is not a great abundance of game. The herds are small and the hunts long and hard.[8] The antelope, because they can go for long periods without drinking, move and drift about anywhere in the vast monoto-
[409] nous veld and are very difficult to find. Hunters often search for days, cover-
ing scores of miles, before finding spoor fresh enough to follow, and they may
[411] follow it for days before catching up with the animal. Their little arrows kill by poison rather than by piercing deeply, and, when an animal is shot, if it is big, it may wander for three or four more days until it dies of the poison.
[136] Smaller animals succumb in a shorter time. The hunters must track the animal and find it before the lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals, or vultures devour it.

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!Kung

vour it. Thus, according to our observations, a !Kung band gets on an average 224
only about fifteen to eighteen large animals in a usual year.

The meat of the large game animals does not belong to the hunters to do with as they choose. However, they always have the prerogative of eating the [242] liver at the site of the kill and, if their hunger is not satisfied, they may eat more. The bulk of the meat is then carried to the band, where it is distributed among the members according to a system. The meat belongs to the owner of the first arrow that penetrates the animal so that it stays in. He has the responsibility of making the first distribution.

Anyone in the band may be the owner of the arrow. A hunter carries 224
arrows he acquires in three different ways. Each man has his own that he 411
makes himself, shaping the points with some little distinction so that he 422
will know them from the arrows of other men. In addition he carries 426
arrows that have been given or lent to him. When an arrow is given to him, 431
he is the owner as much as if he had made it himself, but if he uses that 571
arrow he must make a special gift of meat to the donor. When he uses an arrow that is loaned to him, he merely shoots for the person who lent it and who remains the owner of the arrow. !Kung society makes a great deal of giving and lending arrows. Women and old men, as well as men in their hunting prime, receive arrows as gifts and may give them or lend them to a hunter, asking him to shoot for them. A hunter cannot refuse an arrow— [576] as a person cannot refuse any gift—without offending the giver. He accepts the arrow and with it an obligation, but he gives or lends arrows in return and involves others in obligation to him. Hunters choose to use one or another of their arrows, with the result that the responsibility of distributing the meat, with its advantages and obligations, is shared by members of the band as is the meat itself.

In the first distribution the whole animal is divided among a few 224
persons, who receive whole sections on the bone, unless the animal is so large that the meat has to be cut off in strips to be carried. The first of these persons are the hunters, each of whom gets a fore- or hindquarter or the equivalent. The giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not made by the owner himself) receives a generous portion. The owner of the arrow, who may be one of the hunters, or anybody, keeps the rest.

In the second distribution, the several persons who got meat in the 224
first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. The 602
amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution, close kinship is the factor that sets the pattern of giving. A man's first obligation at this point [606] is to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous [593] portions as he can while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if

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They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not 251
uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming 261
journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to 261
food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food 576
or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food 433
and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung 462
society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no 562
extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly 562
strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous 147
and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of 562
hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing 462
splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable 262
foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. 224
The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's [535]
wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The 342
building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's 463
work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a [137]
woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. [461]
She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

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other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not 881
compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not [575]
form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship
groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and tradi- 884
tionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony [224]
is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first
killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female.
The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten [262]
ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another 884
male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the 304
first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms,
chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed
into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a
heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I
not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl 881
by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special
scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross
because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the
ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the
back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the
menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the
ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys [562]
must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become
highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who 881
are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland 535
Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland [533]
Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even [531]
the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect [602]
to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking
relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside.
They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang
strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old
men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate
the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly
erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and 881
fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the [302]
people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and [257]
the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

621 161 The remaining 122 individuals were living with the Bantu. The
162 diet of these latter people consisted of a combination of
[262] Bushmen wild foods and the products of the Bantu cattle. The complete census of the 35 living units is shown in Table 3.

The 15 bands ranged in size from nine to 52 individuals. There were five small bands (of 9, 12, 12, 12, and 13 members), nine bands of intermediate size (of 17, 19, 19, 21, 22, 22, 24, 27, and 30), and one large band with 52 members. The average band had 20.7 members and the median band had 19 members. The presence of twin modes in band size (at 12 and 22 members respectively) is perhaps a function of the domestic cycle,[1] but its significance remains to be explained.

621 Each of the bands has a nucleus of individuals who have a territorial claim to the land they occupy and who tend to spend the greater part of the year in residence in their territory. These core individuals are usually old people whose descendents and their spouses make up the bulk of the
[602] band's membership. Each of the larger bands has among its members one or more families who are collaterally or affinally related to the core individuals. These collaterals and affines do not express as strong a territorial claim to the band's land as do the core individuals and they tend to move around more frequently than do the core individuals. As

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[1] I am indebted to Adam Kuper for this suggestion (personal communication).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 48]

648
464 attached to an independent camp were living with the Bantu.
[233] These working Bushmen, with their spouses and families,
[162] numbered 44 people.

The Batawana headman, Isak Utuhile, was the only one of the Bantu residents to maintain a staff of retainers and their families. This sort of benevolent feudalism is a common practice throughout the Tswana tribal areas of Bechuanaland (Schapera 1953:28; Tagart 1933) but, with this one exception,
[162] is absent in the Dobe area. The headman supports four assistants (including a uniformed Bushman police constable) and their families, a total of 13 people.

Finally there was an Ad Hoc grouping of 26 !Kung who lived at the kraal of Enamoharadi, a Herero woman at Mahopa. These people lacked a territorial nucleus and therefore could
[224] not be considered as an independent camp. Several !Kung
[222] women helped with the domestic duties but the majority chose
[262] to use Mahopa as a base of operations for hunting and gathering and to drink the milk of Enamoharadi's cattle when it was offered to them.

361 Except for the women who are married to Bantu, most of
648 the !Kung remain only temporarily in Bantu villages, for periods ranging from one month to two years. Also it was observed that most of the !Kung living with Bantu spent at least half the year hunting and gathering. Furthermore many

137 The major trees of the dune association are:

Ricinodendron rautanenii[1]

Burkea africana

Pterocarpus angolensis

Baikiaea plurijuga

Terminalia sericea

Other important constituents include:

Combretum mechowianum

Bauhinia macrantha

Ximenia caffra

Strychnos pungens

S. spinosa

Guibourtia coleosperma

[262] Ricinodendron rautanenii (the mongongo nut), the major food of the Dobe area Bushmen, is found only on the crests of [312] the fixed dunes. Because of the loose nature of the soils there is no standing water on the dunes at any season of the year. The only source of water on the dunes is the rain water which collects in the crotches of the mongongo trees from November to March. Although the volume of water stored is minute, the proximity of the supply to the nut groves makes this an important source of water for the Bushmen.

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[1]The common tree species were identified with the aid of Miller (1952).

136 Finally there are three peripheral species that are resident on the edges of the area.

vervet - common at Tsodilo, not observed in the Dobe area

baboon - common on the Okavango River, said to penetrate the desert, not observed

serval - reported to be present, not seen.

136 Of these 40 odd species only ten were observed to be
262 regularly hunted and eaten by the Bushmen. These are ranked in order of dietary importance.

1. wart hog	6. wildebeeste
2. kudu	7. spring hare
3. duiker	8. porcupine
4. steenbok	9. ant bear
5. gemsbok	10. hare

136 <u>Birds</u>: Seventy-five species were recorded during the study. These were identified with the aid of Roberts (1957) and Smithers (1963). The most common resident species are listed here. Very common species are marked by an asterisk.

*ostrich	secretary bird
*yellow billed kite	martial eagle
red-billed francolin	Swainson's francolin
*crowned guinea fowl	kori bustard
*crowned plover	*blacksmith plover

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double-banded sandgrouse	cape turtle dove
Meyer's parrot	*grey loerie
lilac-breasted roller	*grey hornbill
yellow-billed hornbill	cardinal woodpecker
*fork-tailed drongo	penduline tit
*pied babbler	yellow-bellied bush warbler
Marico flycatcher	Crimson-breasted shrike
*long-tailed shrike	white-browed sparrow weaver

The common summer migrants recorded were:

hammerkop	white-bellied stork
red-billed teal	white-faced duck
European swallow	

[262] Bird meat and eggs are not an important item of diet among the Dobe Bushmen. Only eight species were observed to be eaten:

red-billed francolin	Swainson's francolin
crowned guinea fowl	kori bustard
red-crested korhaan	double-banded sandgrouse
cape turtle dove	red-billed teal

Curiously, ostrich are not hunted for meat. They are tracked, [415] however, in order to find the nests. The eggshells are used as canteens for water.

<u>Reptiles and Amphibians</u>: Nine different species of snakes were seen. Only four could be identified taxonomically.

136 Two species of frog:

1. Pyxiecephalus adspersus
2. Rana anchietae

[262] Of these twenty-four species, five were recorded as eaten:

1. rock python
2. large leopard tortoise
3. small leopard tortoise
4. land leguaan
5. the bullfrog Pyxiecephalus

[126] Invertebrates: Only a small percentage of the countless insects and other invertebrates present at Dobe were collected. One box of specimens was lost in the mail. Other identifications are pending. Below are listed thirteen species of invertebrates and a further sixty-nine species of insects.

Class Arachnida	Scorpions 2 spp.
	Spiders 3 spp.
	Ticks 2 spp.
Class Myriapoda	Centipede 1 sp.
	Millipede 1 sp.
Class Hirudinea	Leech 1 sp.
Class Unionidae	Freshwater clam 1 sp.
Class Helicidae	Land snails 2 spp.
Class Insecta	
Order Dictyoptera	
	Cockroach 1 sp.

136 Order Coleoptera

Blister beetles 2 spp.

Click beetles 6 spp.

Dung beetle 3 spp.

Poisonous beetles 2 spp.

Other beetles 2 spp.

136 262 Insects do not play an important role in the diet. One species of antlion (determination pending) had an annual outbreak around the end of November. Tens of thousands pupate within a 36 hour period and the Bushmen eat them by the hundreds. In 1963, the outbreak occurred on November, 24, in 1964, on December 3.

Three different species of click beetle were eaten in March, 1964. These were considered a delicacy rather than a staple. The Bushmen said that certain grasshoppers and caterpillars were edible but they were not observed to eat them.

262 239 Honey is considered by all authors to be a major Bushman food (Bodenheimer 1951). It is curious therefore that it was rarely observed to be collected or eaten.

136 278 By far the most important insects for subsistence are the two[1] species of beetle used by the Bushmen for poisoning

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[1]Possibly as many as eight species of poison grub are used by the !Kung Bushmen! Koch (1958) collected five new species that the !Kung said were used for poisoning arrows. (See Shaw et al., 1963).

132 805 dates of onset and termination of the main rains. For instance, in 1963-64, the major rains were concentrated in an eight-day period in late November and early December and were very light during the next three months. In the following rainy season, 1964-65, the major rains came later. They were only just beginning when we left the study area in [137] January, 1965. During the period of the main rains, the [312] major summer foods (fruits, berries, melons) make their [262] appearance, and there is standing water in the molapos far from the permanent wells.

3. ≠obe (autumn) -- The autumn season is brief. In [312] 1964, it fell in April after the rains had ceased. The weather remains warm and the high evaporation rates rapidly dry out the pools of summer water.

4. :gum (winter) -- This cold dry season extends from May through August. It is heralded by a sharp drop in nightly temperatures and during 1964 the Dobe area experienced six weeks of freezing or near-freezing nights in June and July. The days are clear and, by tropical standards, cool, often characterized by strong dessicating winds from the south and west with gusts estimated at up to 40 knots. [312] Water is available only at the permanent wells and plant foods [262] become increasingly scarce as the season progresses.

5. :ga (early spring) -- This season begins in late

132 August with a rapid increase in daily temperatures and ends
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[312] in October or November with the onset of the first rains. It
[262] is a hot dry period during which water and food supply reach their annual low levels. However, the increasing day-length appears to prepare the flora and fauna for the season of reproduction which is triggered by the first rains.

Rainfall

Until 1961 there was no weather station in the central !Kung interior. In that year a rain gauge and other recording instruments were established at Tsumkhwe, South West Africa, a government station 35 miles west of Dobe. The data from this station are not available to the author. The only other sources of rainfall data are the author's fifteen-month series of measurements made at Dobe (1963-64) and the long-term records from stations on the periphery of the Kalahari. The peripheral stations and their rainfall are listed below:

South West Africa

Epukiro - (200 miles southwest of Dobe) - 13.2 inches per annum.

Grootfontein - (200 miles west of Dobe and 1,000 feet higher in elevation) - 17.3 inches per annum.

Bechuanaland Protectorate

Ghanzi - (175 miles south of Dobe) - 18.5 inches per annum.

132 Maun - (175 miles east of Dobe) - 18.6 inches per annum.

The rainfall recorded at Dobe for 1964 was only 6.9 inches. This is a much lower figure than that from any of the peripheral stations but it is within the range of annual rainfall estimated by the Marshalls. During their several expeditions to the central interior from 1951-59, they estimated that the annual rainfall varied between 6 and 10 inches (L. Marshall, 1965).

The period 1963-65 was one of severe drought in Bechuanaland. There were many instances of crop failures and drying up of waterholes throughout the Protectorate. Although it is not possible to judge accurately without comparative data for other years, it is probable that the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen experienced an unusually difficult subsistence situation during the period of the author's resi-
[262]dence. Because the Bushmen subsist on hardy wild foods which are drought-resistant, they did not suffer the hardships experienced by their Bantu neighbors whose crops failed three years in succession. However, it is possible that the Bushmen had to work harder, walk farther and dig deeper in 1963-64, than they would have had the rainfall been more abundant. This possibility should be kept in mind when evaluating their annual subsistence cycle (Chapter VIII).

The monthly record of rainfall at Dobe is shown in Figure 2, p. 94.

V. SUBSISTENCE ECOLOGY: AN OVERVIEW OF PLANT AND ANIMAL RESOURCES

121 The concept of a hunting and gathering way of life has assumed a misleading connotation in the ethnographic literature. The term has come to imply a random precarious existence searching for food, an eking out of subsistence [433] of odds and ends. Since the present study is the first detailed analysis of the food habits of non-agricultural people, it should be stated at once that the Bushman subsistence is based on a systematic strategy of exploiting abundant food 222 resources. Very little of their food gathering is left to chance. Their knowledge of the local environment, of the habits of game and the growth phases of food plants is virtually exhaustive. In other words, the Bushmen know where the food is at each season of the year and they arrange their schedule of activities to take maximum advantage of these resources. They do not allow themselves to get into difficult situations, and even during the season of scarcity they have available several alternative strategies of getting food and water.

262 The security of their life is in part due to the fact 137 that the basis of their subsistence is plant foods which are 136 abundant, local and predictable. Meat is of secondary importance in the Bushman diet. Game animals, by contrast to

262 plants, are scarce and unpredictable and people never depend
137 on meat for their basic subsistance. Therefore the well-
136 being of the Bushmen as a population can be viewed as the
433 product of two factors: the abundance of food resources in their environment, and the intelligence and sophistication which informs their exploitation of these resources.

512 Although the getting of food is the major activity of
433 Bushman life and is a major focus of Bushman thought, the greater part of the waking life of the Bushmen is given over to social, religious and trading activities that are largely independent of the food quest.

Their emphasis on non-subsistence activities becomes clear when daily records are kept of the activities of the
[126] members of a camp. For example, a diary of activities was kept for the Dobe camp during July, 1964. This record was made during mid-winter, a season of comparative scarcity. It
[462] was found that the 23 adults of this camp spent less than half of their days in subsistence activities, an average of 23% of the time for the women and 40% of the time for the
[574] men. The majority of their waking hours were spent visiting
[521] other camps, entertaining visitors, resting, talking, hut building, and making tools, clothing, and ornaments.

Plant Resources

137 There are well over 200 species of plants and 230 species
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136 of animals named and known by the Dobe area Bushmen. Of
[126] these 420 species, 350 species were collected and identified
433 by the author. Two-thirds of the plant species and half of
824 the animal species are utilized by the Bushmen. Of these,
825 they classify 85 species of plants and 54 species of animals as edible. It is therefore evident that the Bushmen have a remarkably broad subsistence base. On closer examination, however, one finds that the Bushmen are highly selective in their food habits. In fact, only nine species of plants constituted about three-quarters of the total vegetable diet; and one species alone, the mongongo nut, accounted for at least half of the total. Furthermore, of the 54 animal species eaten, only 17 species were consistently hunted.

824 A plant species may be regarded by the Bushmen as a
262 major food for one or more of several reasons. Certain foods are prized because of their abundance or because of the long season during which they are available. Other foods are prized because of the ease with which they are collected. For this reason fruits are generally more popular than roots since the latter have to be dug out of the ground. Then there are foods which are especially good tasting and/or believed to be highly nutritious. The various plant foods are evaluated pragmatically and rationally and few species
825 are restricted by magico-religious taboos. This is in sharp
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262 contrast to the evaluation of animal foods all of which fall under taboos of varying strictness.

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262 By using these criteria of abundance, duration of eating season, ease of exploitation, tastiness and nutritional value, the Bushmen have arranged the universe of edible plants hierarchically in terms of the overall desirability of each species as food.

This scheme divides the 85 edible species into six classes:

I.	Primary	1 species
II.	Major	8 spp.
III.	Minor	14 spp.
IV.	Supplementary	32 spp.
V.	Rare	13 spp.
VI.	Problematic	17 spp.
TOTAL		85 species

I. Primary food - All Bushmen of the Dobe area agree that their primary food is the nut of the mongongo (mangetti) tree: *Ricinodendron rautanenii*. This food rates high on all the criteria of desirability described above. It is superabundant (millions of nuts rot on the ground each year for want of eating); it is eaten in all months of the year; it is easy to collect, has a delicious taste, and is highly

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824 nutritious.[1]

It should be added that meat is considered by all the Bushmen as a primary food. Informants agreed that an ideal diet should consist primarily of meat and mongongo nuts. In actual practice this ideal is not always attained.

II. Major foods - After Ricinodendron there are eight species that Bushmen consider as major foods but none of these rate high on all five criteria of desirability. There are three species which are superabundant in quantity and delicious to the taste, but are available for only a short period of the year. They flourish during the rains but by winter, three months later, they have become shrivelled and dried out. The three summer species are: Grewia flava, the morethlwa berry; Ximenia caffra, the sour plum; and Citrullus
[312] lanatus, the famous Tsama melon. The latter species also serves as an alternative source of water but this is not important in terms of food strategy because the season of Tsama melons coincides with the season of abundant standing water. Among the /gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, the Tsama melon is a more important source of water because it

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[146] [1] The nut of Ricinodendron has been chemically analyzed (quoted in Watt and Breyer-Brandwijk 1962:428). The kernel of the nut was found to yield 60%, by weight, of a quick-drying fixed oil, rich in proteins. The fruit of the nut, which is also eaten by the !Kung Bushmen, yielded, among other constituents, 31% saccharose and 7.9% protein.

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persists into the winter dry season (Silberbauer 1965).

The fruit of the baobab tree, Adansonia digitata, is another of the major foods. It is most important during winter but tends to rot if left on the ground and therefore cannot be eaten in all months of the year.

The vegetable ivory palm, Hyphaene ventricosa, has two edible parts. The fruit of the mature form is abundant but yields very little of food value. The dwarf form of the palm lacks fruit but the heart of the stalk is an important item of diet. This latter food has two distinct disadvantages. It is difficult to collect because the stiff palm fronds must [164] be laboriously hacked away to reach the heart. Also those who eat its fibrous pulp complain of stomach cramps and diarrhea. Therefore it is eaten only when more desirable foods are not available.

The nut of the morula tree, Sclerocarya caffra, is a delectable food, even tastier than the mongongo nut. But it rates low on the important criterion of ease of eating. The nut meats are small and crumble easily; so they must be carefully picked out of the shell with a thorn. This operation requires patience and it was observed that the women ate many more morula nuts than did the men. The morula tree is also important in subsistence because one of the species of beetle used in arrow poison feeds on its leaves.

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Bauhinia esculenta, the "Tsi bean", ranks with Ricinodendron as the primary food of the Nyae Nyae Pan area (L. Marshall 1965), where both the beans and roots are eaten. In the Dobe area, however, this species of Bauhinia has a spotty distribution. In order to reach the large groves, the Dobe area Bushmen must travel long distances to the borders of the Nyae Nyae area. Because of this factor, the "Tsi bean" is not popular in the Dobe area, where the alternative primary food, Ricinodendron, is locally abundant.

[312] The last of these eight major species is, in a sense, the most important, not because of its abundance or its food value (it is neither plentiful nor nutritious) but because of its water storage properties. This is the plant, Fockea monroi, the root of which may contain up to a pint of water. At the end of the dry season when food has become exhausted within a walking radius of the permanent waterholes, people often move into the waterless bush where food is still plentiful. Here they are able to live for one or two weeks by digging out and drinking the juice of the Fockea roots.

It may be useful to think of Ricinodendron and Fockea as the "alpha" and "omega" of the Bushman food plants. The first, Ricinodendron, is the food that carries the Bushmen through the months and years, while the second, Fockea, is the critical plant that enables the Bushmen to eat well through

the short but severe dry hot season.

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III. Minor foods - Next in importance to these nine species is a series of 14 species which rate high on one or two of the criteria of desirability. These include seven species of edible roots and bulbs (including Coccinia spp., Eulophia spp., Lapeirousia spp., Vigna spp., and Walleria spp.) which taken individually are not important but as a class they become a major item of diet during the winter dry season. This is the time of year when the more abundant summer fruits and melons are not available. The winter foods include as well the edible gum from the trees Terminalia sericea and Acacia mellifera.

Five of these minor foods occur only during the summer. These include the berries of three species of the genus Grewia, and the edible leaves of the species Dipcadi glaucum and Talinum crispatulatum.

All of the species of Class III are seasonally limited. When available, each species was eaten several times a week. On this basis they can be distinguished from the major foods of Classes I and II which were eaten daily.

IV. Supplementary foods - There were 32 species of plants which were supplementary to foods of Classes I, II, and III, or which were eaten when the more desirable foods had become locally exhausted. The list comprises ten species

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262 of fruits and berries (including five species of Grewia), two species of melon, one species of leafy green, ten species of edible gum, and nine species of roots. The roots taken as a class were especially important during the winter season when the fruits and berries were not available. In general, the foods of Class IV were both less abundant and less tasty than the corresponding foods of Class III.

V. Rare foods - This class of foods includes 13 species which were observed to be eaten only on a few occasions. Nevertheless, several of these were classified as important foods by the Bushmen. For instance, the fruit of Guibourtia coleosperma was considered excellent eating, but this tree bears fruit only once in several years. Had the study been carried out during a year when Guibourtia was in fruit, it might have ranked higher. Maguire (n.d.), who did botanical research near Dobe in 1952-53, has listed Guibourtia as a major food.

Most of the foods in Class V were locally uncommon. These include two species of fruit, eight species of root, and the curious parasitic plant Hydnora sp. which bears an underground fruit (Story 1958:19-20).

VI. Problematic foods - Finally there are seventeen species which the Bushmen said were edible but which were not observed to be eaten during the study period. Some of these

824 262 such as Boscia albitrunca and Bauhinia macrantha did not come into fruit in 1963-64 because of the drought. The majority were not eaten because of their unattractive taste and because more desirable foods were available.

These 85 species are listed alphabetically by class in Table 5, pp. 108-110.

The way in which the Bushmen arrange these 85 plants in order of their importance as foods suggests a productive analogy to the way they utilize space in subsistence activities.

262 222 The Bushmen typically occupy a camp for a period of weeks and eat their way out of it. For instance, at a camp in the mongongo forest, the members of the camp will exhaust the nuts within a one-mile radius the first week of occupation, within a two-mile radius the second week, and within a three-mile radius the third week. The longer a group lives at a camp, the farther they must travel each day to get food. This is a feature of daily subsistence that occurs at both winter and summer camps. For instance, at the Dobe winter camp, in June the gatherers were making daily round trips of six to nine miles to reach the mongongo nuts. By August the daily round trips had increased to twelve miles.

This progressive increase in walking distance occurs because the Bushmen are highly selective in their food habits. They do not eat out all the food in a given area. They start

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111]

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TABLE 5

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THE 85 SPECIES OF BUSHMAN FOODS ARRANGED, BY CLASSES, IN ORDER OF DECREASING DESIRABILITY

Class I. Primary Food

1.	Ricinodendron rautanenii	(fruit and nut)

Class II. Major Foods

2.	Adansonia digitata	(fruit)
3.	Bauhinia esculenta	(beans and root)
4.	Citrullus lanatus	(melon)
5.	Fockea monroi	(root)
6.	Grewia flava	(berry)
7.	Hyphaene ventricosa	(fruit and stalk)
8.	Sclerocarya caffra	(fruit and nut)
9.	Ximenia caffra	(fruit)

Class III. Minor Foods

10.	Acacia mellifera	(gum)
11.	Coccinia rehmannii	(root)
12.	Coccinia sp. (or Trochomeria sp.)	(root)
13.	Diospyros chamaethamnus	(fruit)
14.	Dipcadi glaucum	(leaves)
15.	Eulophia sp.	(root)
16.	Eulophia sp.	(root)
17.	Grewia bicolor	(berry)
18.	Grewia flavescens	(berry)
19.	Lapeirousia coerulea	(bulb)
20.	Talinum crispatulatum	(leaves)
21.	Terminalia seridesa	(gum)
22.	Vigna dinteri	(root)
23.	Walleria muricata	(bulb)

Class IV. Supplementary Foods

24.	Acacia erubescens (var. A. dulcis)	(gum)
25.	A. fleckii	(gum)
26.	A. gillettiae (var. A. uncinata)	(gum)
27.	A. giraffae	(gum)
28.	A. heteracantha	(gum)
29.	Annona stenophylla	(fruit)
30.	Burkea africana	(gum)
31.	Ceropegia sp. nr. C. leucotaenia	(bulb)
32.	C. sp. nr. C. mozambicensis	(bulb)
33.	Citrullus naudinianus	(melon)
34.	Coccinia sessilifolia	(melon and root)
35.	C. sp.	(root)

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36.	Combretum imberbe	(gum)
37.	C. mechowianum	(gum)
38.	Cyperus fulgens	(bulb)
39.	C. sp.	(bulb)
40.	Dichrostachys glomerata	(gum)
41.	Dipcadi longifolia	(bulb)
42.	D. sp.	(bulb)
43.	Grewia avellana	(berry)
44.	G. falcistipulata	(berry)
45.	G. retinervis	(berry)
46.	G. subspathulata	(berry)
47.	G. sp.	(berry)
48.	Mukia maderaspatana	(leaves)
49.	Raphionacme sp.	(root)
50.	R. sp.	(root)
51.	Strychnos spinosa	(fruit)
52.	Terminalia prunioides	(gum)
53.	Vangueria longicalyx	(fruit)
54.	V. infausta	(fruit)
55.	Ximenia americana	(fruit)

Class V. Rare Foods

56.	Corallocarpus welwitschii	(root)
57.	Cucumis sp.	(root)
58.	Guibourtia coleosperma	(berry)
59.	Hydnora sp.	(root)
60.	Ipomoea verbascoidea	(root)
61.	Lapeirousia sp.	(bulb)
62.	Nymphaea sp.	(root)
63.	Ochna pulchra	(berry)
64.	Raphionacme burkei	(root)
65.	R. sp.	(root)
66.	Salacia lubberti	(fruit)
67.	Strychnos pungens	(fruit)
68.	Vigna unguiciculata	(root)

Class VI. Problematic Foods

69.	Acacia karoo	(gum)
70.	Amaranthus sp.	(leaves)
71.	Aristida gracilior	(seeds)
72.	Bauhinia macrantha	(beans)
73.	Boscia albitrunca	(fruit)
74.	Cephalocroton pueschellii	(fruit)
75.	Clerodendrum uncinatum	(fruit)
76.	Combretum psidioides	(gum)
77.	C. zeyheri	(gum)
78.	Dichapetalum cymosum	(fruit)
79.	Dichrostachys cinerea	(gum)
80.	Dipcadi longifolium	(bulb)
81.		

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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824
262 81. Grewia sp. (berry)
82. Ziziphus mucronata (berry)
[192] 83. not determined - !Kung name -"todi" (root)
84. not determined - !Kung name -"!gwi" (root)
85. not determined - !Kung name -"//aižeri" (root)

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222 by eating out the most desirable species and when these are exhausted they then turn to the less desirable species. Because the food resources are both varied and abundant, in any situation where the desirable foods are scarce the Bushmen have two basic alternatives in food strategy:

- first they may walk farther in order to continue to eat the more desirable species,
- or, they may remain closer to camp and exploit the less desirable food species.

For instance, at the Dobe winter camp mentioned above, by August the younger members were making the long round trip to the mongongo nuts, but the older members were exploiting foods of Classes III and IV which they had hitherto ignored and which were still abundant close to the Dobe waterhole. There was a general but not invariable tendency at each camp for the Class I and II foods to be locally exhausted first, then the Class III foods were exhausted and only then were the Class IV foods systematically gathered. One never observed the complete exhaustion of foods around a camp, because the Bushmen always moved camp long before the foods of Class IV had reached scarce levels.

These alternative strategies will be documented in later chapters. For the present one should bear in mind that !Kung subsistence always has two dimensions. There is a spatial

222 262 dimension in which the gatherers move farther and farther in order to eat the desirable foods, and a hierarchical dimension in which people remain in one area and eat their way through classes of species of decreasing desirability.

136 Animal Resources

The 223 known species of animals in the Dobe area are divided taxonomically as follows:

mammals	42 spp.
birds	75 spp.
reptiles and amphibians	24 spp.
invertebrates	82 spp.
TOTAL	223 spp.

262 825 Mammals - The mammals represent the highest percentage of animal biomass in the Dobe area and it is not surprising that the meat of mammals accounts for over 90% of the animal diet of the Bushmen. In all, 29 of the 42 mammal species are known to be eaten by the Bushmen and only seven mammal species are universally tabooed as food.

Personal, age specific, and sex specific taboos play an important role in the eating of mammals. No individual Bushman will eat all of the 29 eaten species and no two individuals have the same set of tabooed species. Each person has his own prescription of what species he may and may not eat. The mammals can be divided into seven degrees of taboos.

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First, there are nine species which are eaten by all people regardless of sex and age, although there are restrictions on the anatomical parts. For instance, women may not eat kudu intestines, but may eat the meat of the extremities. This class of animals includes:

giraffe	hartebeeste
eland	kudu
roan antelope	duiker
gemsbok	hare
wildebeeste	

A second group of species may be eaten by all except premenstrual adolescent girls. The mammals include:

steenbok	springhare

Third are the species that are eaten by most people. Individuals may not eat one or another of these species because of personal dietary restrictions set by the ritual curers:

wart hog	porcupine
buffalo	bat-eared fox
antbear	pangolin

Fourth are species that are eaten by a few people of both sexes and are avoided by most people:

genet	slender mongoose
honey badger	banded mongoose
aardwolf	cheetah

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Fifth are species that are eaten only by old women for whom the food taboos of adult life have been lifted:

lion	caracul
leopard	zebra
jackal	

Sixth is a species that is eaten only by ritual curers for magical purposes:

cape polecat (zorilla)

Finally there are seven species that are universally tabooed. These include the carnivorous species that are said to eat people:

spotted hyena	brown hyena
wild dog	wild cat

as well as three species of primates that the Bushmen say are close relatives of man:

vervet monkey	baboon
galago	

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The small mammals, such as rodents, bats, and squirrels, are not hunted or eaten. The Bushmen said that no taboos were associated with these species. However, these species were not worth killing because each carried only a few ounces of meat. Occasionally squirrels that are found dead or accidentally caught in snares are fed to the dogs.

The important point in terms of food resources is that

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262 all hunters may hunt every species regardless of whether a
224 given species is personally tabooed.

In actual practice only ten species of mammal were consistently hunted by the Dobe area Bushmen. These are: kudu, wildebeeste, gemsbok, steenbok, duiker, wart hog, antbear, porcupine, springhare, and common hare.

In addition to the above a further ten species were observed to be occasionally killed and eaten. These include:

pangolin	bat-eared fox
genet	honey badger
aardwolf	cheetah
slender mongoose	jackal
caracul	cape polecat

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262 The Bushmen generally consider the meat of herbivorous mammals as the most desirable food. The meat of insectivorous mammals such as antbear, pangolin and bat-eared fox is less highly prized. The meat of carnivores is generally undesirable but nevertheless eaten by at least some people, when it is available. At the bottom of the list of preferences is the meat of hyena and wild dog. The Bushman explanation is that since these species eat people, to eat their meat is indirectly an act of cannibalism.

[224] There is evidence of regional and historical variation in the species systematically hunted by the !Kung of the

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central interior. John Marshall found that most of the meat brought in by the Nyae Nyae area hunters was from the large ungulates such as wildebeeste, eland and gemsbok. Small mammals such as springhare were rarely hunted (1957, and personal communication). By contrast, the most frequent kills in the Dobe area were the smaller animals: springhare, steenbok and duiker, whereas the killing of a large antelope was a rare and great event. Giraffe and eland were not hunted by the men of the Dobe area.

[173] The older Bushmen state that in the early days there were more game animals and more Bushmen in the central interior and that their forefathers used to hunt in large groups, killing giraffe, buffalo and even elephant.

At present, the most important single source of meat in the Bushman diet is wart hog. It was not the most frequent mammal killed. Springhare, steenbok and duiker were all killed more frequently than wart hog. But the southern African wart hog weighs about 170 lbs., whereas the springhare weighs only 7-1/2 lbs, the steenbok, 25 lbs., and the duiker 43 lbs. At the Dobe camp wart hog were killed at the rate of three per month throughout the study period. The edible portion of each carcass is about 50%. Therefore wart hog provided a regular supply of c. 255 lbs. of meat per month to the members of the Dobe camp.

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Steenbok and duiker were the next in importance because of the frequency with which they were killed, especially during the winter when they were systematically trapped and during late spring when the young could be easily run down on foot.

Springhare were the most frequent animal killed. The 7-1/2 lb. carcass has a high percentage of edible meat (60%) and the killing rate in some seasons was as high as 10 per week.

It is difficult to evaluate the large antelopes, kudu, wildebeeste, and gemsbok in terms of their dietary importance because they were rarely killed. A hunter who had killed five large antelopes in a year was considered to be above average. Most of the hunters killed one or two per year, Even a single kill, however, provides a massive return in meat. The average dead weights[1] of these species are:

kudu (M)	600 lbs.
kudu (F)	350 lbs.
gemsbok (M)	444 lbs.
gemsbok (F)	514 lbs.
wildebeeste (M)	550 lbs.
wildebeeste (F)	450 lbs.

[1]All the mammal weights quoted in this study were provided by Reay Smithers (personal communications).

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224 By killing one male kudu (600 lbs.) with a weight 24 times greater than that of a steenbok (25 lbs.) a hunter would provide his camp with a quantity of meat roughly equivalent to that provided by 20 steenbok (assuming that the kudu has a somewhat lower ratio of edible to inedible parts than does a steenbok).

[628] On the face of it, hunting large antelope would appear to have overwhelming advantages in terms of meat. However, when news of such a kill reaches neighboring camps, dozens of friends and relatives descend upon the killer's camp to assist him in disposing of the meat. Thus at the end of several jovial days the superabundance of meat disappears and the fortunate hunter is out looking for meat again. The killing of a large antelope therefore has more prestige value than nutritional value to the family of the man who killed it.

This pattern of sharing large kills beyond the boundaries of a camp is ecologically adaptive because meat spoils quickly, especially during the rainy season and it is often necessary to eat meat that is in danger of becoming rotten.

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251 The Bushmen know how to make biltong (dried strips of meat) but rarely do this. This infrequency of making biltong is probably both a cause and an effect of sharing meat widely. The only part of a large antelope kill that is consistently set aside for future consumption is the hide. This part of

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the animal evidently has much better storage properties than the flesh.

In general, the larger the animal killed, the more widely its meat is shared. The meat of springhare, hare, steenbok, and duiker is usually consumed by the hunter's immediate family. The meat of wart hog, antbear and porcupine is [628] shared out among the members of a hunter's camp. The meat of kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok is shared out among the hunter's camp and among members of neighboring camps.

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<u>Birds</u> - The eating of birds again illustrates the selective food tastes of the Bushmen. Of the 75 species of birds recorded only eight species were said to be eaten and of these only four species were observed to be systematically hunted. The four important game birds were:

crowned quinea fowl	red-billed francolin
Swainson's francolin	red-crested korhaan

The other birds eaten were:

Kori bustard	double-banded sandgrouse
Cape turtledove	red-billed teal

Snares were regularly set in order to capture guinea fowl, francolin and korhaan. Occasionally other birds triggered the snares. Usually these other species were fed to the dogs. Occasionally they were simply discarded.

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Only the eggs of the above eight species appeared to be

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gathered and eaten. With one exception all other birds eggs were ignored. The exception was the ostrich eggs which were highly prized as water containers and as material for making ostrich egg shell beads.

Reptiles and Amphibians

Only four species of reptile - two tortoises, one leguaan, and the rock python - were regarded by the Bushmen as edible. One species of frog, Pixiecephalus sp. was regarded as edible. Of these five species, the large leopard tortoise (Geochelone pardalis) is the most important food. These tortoises weigh 5-8 pounds. They are sluggish and easily collected. For this reason, the tortoises were the only species of vertebrate that were collected by the women. All other vertebrates were the exclusive concern of the men.

The rock python, a large non-poisonous snake, was regularly collected by the men. This provided c. 25 lbs. of meat per specimen. The pythons collected varied in length from 8-15 feet. The other three species were rarely observed to be eaten.

Invertebrates

Insects have traditionally been considered by ethnographers to be a major Bushman food (Bodenheimer 1951:137-195). However, among the Bushmen of the Dobe area insects played a minor role in the diet. One species of antlion and three

222 262 [825] species of beetles were observed to be eaten. Termites and locusts were not eaten. Honey is highly regarded as food by the Bushmen, and the hunters often investigated bees nests but honey was never observed to be eaten at the Dobe camp and only rarely at other camps.

262 824 825 In summary the plant and animal resources of the Dobe area include 85 plant and 54 animal species which are eaten. Closer examination reveals that only a small number of these edible species play a major role in the diet. Only 26 of the 139 edible species may be considered as major Bushman foods: 9 species of plants and 17 species of animals.

222 Also, on occasion, the men
262 scavenge meat from carnivore kills. If the day's hunt has
224 been unsuccessful a man may hack a piece of dried hide from a kill that may be several weeks old. Or, if several men are hunting together they may drive the lesser scavengers such as vultures and hyenas off a fresh kill. Scavenging is not a regular practice. It occurs only if the opportunity presents itself and if there is no other meat forthcoming.

824 222 Citrullus lanatus - the well-known "tsamma" melon was one of the superabundant foods. It was intensively exploited throughout the mid-summer until it was exhausted within a radius of five miles of the !Gausa Pan. This is a remarkably successful plant around the areas of human habitation. It is an annual (Story 1964:20) and will sprout from seed wherever the pips have been discarded. It is interesting that the Bushmen do not consider cultivating this melon, a common practice among the neighboring Bantu.

Grewia flava berries were superabundant in the vicinity of !Gausa and Characharaha. The amount a woman could bring home was limited only by the speed at which she could pick them from the five-foot tall bushes. In addition, six other species of Grewia were locally available: (G. bicolor, G. flavescens, G. avellana, G. falcistipulata, G. retinervis, and G. subspathulata). It is interesting that, because G. flava has the tastiest berry of all the Grewias, the other six species were largely ignored until the G. flava had been exhausted within a six mile radius of !Gausa.

824 262 When the new crop of mongongo nuts falls, the gatherers can ignore the previous year's crop. The mongongo nut has two edible portions: an outer fruit and an inner kernel. Figure 3 on page 161 shows a mongongo nut in cross section magnified four times to show detail. The outer layer of skin

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 162]

824 is not eaten. Next is a casing of granular-textured fruit
262 which is eaten. The fruit encloses the nut itself. This consists of a thick outer shell which must be cracked open with the nut-cracking stones. Within the thick shell is a softer inner shell which encloses the nut kernel which is the staple of the Bushman diet. This inner kernel is "packaged" within four protective layers and this explains its remarkable storage properties.

824 In the late summer and autumn months the Bushmen eat
252 large quantities of both the fruit and the nut. First the women boil potfuls of whole fruit in order to separate the outer flesh from the hard shell. The flesh of the fruit produces a delicious fruit puree that tastes like stewed prunes. After the fruit is eaten, the nuts themselves are set aside for later cracking and eating.

184 The summer hunting situation appears to vary from camp
221 to camp. At the !Gausa camp very little hunting was done.
224 [177] The resident men assisted the Bantu in cattle herding and they
[648] received calabashes of sour milk as payment. At Characharaha
[464] the men hunted more, killing gemsbok, python and porcupine. At one summer camp, Mokoro, where there were no Bantu resident, two young men killed four large buck in the space of one month (two kudu and two gemsbok). This Mokoro camp was an
[177] unusually successful one. The availability of cows' milk and meat no doubt lessens the men's incentive for hunting

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312 because it entailed two consecutive days of hardhiking on
482 short water rations. The object of such a trip was to get to
484 the nuts and back again as quickly as possible, before the physiological deficit of water was allowed to reduce efficiency.

221 The general object of the winter nutting trips was to
222 remain at the nut forests just long enough to eat a really
• 262 substantial quantity of nuts (about 400 nuts per adult). This marathon meal starts the moment that the Bushmen arrive at the nut camps and continues throughout their stay. It is interrupted for short periods when the Bushmen go out to col-
[539] lect nuts in the vicinity of their temporary camp. There is a Bushman saying that aptly applies to this situation: "It is better to carry food home in your stomach than on your back."

[224] Hunting rarely occurs at these overnight camps. The efforts of men and women alike are directed to eating as many nuts as possible in a short time.

[312] The most important variation in the late winter and spring subsistence tactics centers on the use of Fockea monroi as a source of water. This will be discussed below.

132 6. Early Spring

August is the last month of winter. The last of the freezing nights occurs at the first of the month and these are followed by warmer nights in the 40's and 50's and daily

221 Unfortunately spring is the most difficult season for the
433 Herero as well as for the Bushmen. The good grazing for livestock is miles distant from the waterholes. Consequently the cattle are in poor condition and their yield of milk is low.

251 It would be useful for the Bushmen to amass a surplus of food in anticipation of this scarce season. However, none of the 15 independent camps observed ever kept more than a few days supply of vegetable foods on hand. Surplus accumulation was not a feature of Bushmen food strategy except for one instructive case.

There was a noticeable attempt to create a small surplus
251 in the form of dried meat and hides. Each family maintained
285 a storage basket in the crotch of a young tree. By weaving a framework of branches and palm fronds and lining this with grass, they built up a rough basket for storing weapons, water containers and small amounts of food. The storage basket was built five feet above the ground which kept its contents safe from the reach of dogs and children. If a day's hunting had been unsuccessful, the members of a camp could invariably produce an emergency ration of dried meat or, more often, dried hide for the evening meal. People saved scraps of dried hide of kudu, gemsbok and wildebeeste from kills made weeks or
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252 months previously. These scraps were softened by boiling or
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251 were roasted in the coals of the fire and then pounded to
252 the consistency of coarse meal in the wooden mortar. This
262 roasted hide had the taste and texture of crisp crackling and was delicious when pounded and mixed with the flesh of roots of the genera Coccinia, Walleria and Eulophia. These stores of dried hide and meat did not serve as a staple surplus so much as an emergency delicacy to brighten the diet when a day's hunting had been unsuccessful.

221 The major food strategy during the hot dry spring was
222 the 7-14 day trip to the waterless country where mongongo nuts
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361 were still plentiful. At these camps the only source of
824 water was the juice from the roots of Fockea monroi. Fockea has an uneven distribution in the Dobe area. The Bushmen must camp in a nut forest that is in close proximity to patches of Fockea. The maximum period that a group was observed to live on Fockea roots was two weeks. The limitation is set by the density of Fockea plants in an area, and the amount of fluid that each plant holds. Life at the Fockea patches is difficult because people have to work hard to obtain water as well as food. Each Fockea root storage organ contains 8-16 ounces of recoverable moisture. Thus a daily ration of 72 ounces of water can be obtained by digging out 5-10 Fockea roots.

312 But the dilemma of living on Fockea lies in the fact that
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depended upon as a staple. Strictly speaking, the Bushmen should therefore be regarded as gatherer-hunters rather than hunter-gatherers.

The relative scarcity of game in the Dobe area may be related to the widespread diminution of the large African mammals during historic times. It is worth noting, however, that this diminution of game has not led to the collapse of the Bushman way of life. It is sometimes asserted that the decline of large game has contributed to the extinction of hunting-and-gathering peoples in Africa and elswhere. The evidence from the Dobe area refutes this assertion. The Bushmen there have elaborate and sophisticated methods for capturing smaller mammals, and the meat from these kills serves to supplement a diet primarily based on abundant plant resources. The burden of the evidence from this study suggests that the Dobe area Bushmen do not lead an impoverished way of life.

262 <u>Diet Selectivity</u> -- If the Bushmen were living close to the starvation level, then one would expect them to exploit every available source of nutrition. That their life is well above this level is indicated by the fact that, in a given season, they eat only the most attractive of the vegetable foods, and bypass many other available foods. In their meat eating habits the Bushmen show a similar selectivity. Only a few of the dozens of edible species of small mammals, birds, reptiles, and

262 insects that occur locally are regarded as food. Such animals as rodents, snakes, lizards, termites, and grasshoppers, which, in the literature, are included in the Bushman dietary, are despised by the Bushmen of the Dobe area. Even the more attractive larger mammals are hedged round by numerous age-specific, sex-specific, and personal taboos, so that no single Bushman may eat all of the thirty species of mammal that are considered edible. Ritual curers prescribe, for each individual, a series of species that would be highly injurious if the individual were to eat them. These prohibitions are strictly observed. For instance, the wife of ǂoma, the most successful wart-hog hunter, was forbidden to eat the meat of that species and she became sick to her stomach at the mere smell of cooking wart-hog meat. Such strongly-held aversions and selective tastes are cultural luxuries that are not usually associated with a starvation level subsistence.

462 [512] <u>Leisure and Work</u> -- The getting of food is the most important single activity in Bushman life. This task occupies, on the average, 25 per cent of the womens' days and 40 per cent of the mens' days. The significant point, however, is that the majority of the time of both sexes is spent in non-subsistence activities such as resting, talking, and visiting. In a typical [222] [574] work period, a Bush woman will gather one day and then spend two or three days either resting in camp or visiting other camps,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

H B 137 [231]

verdure may be found, such as various Acacias, the principal of which are the Kameeldoorn (*Acacia giraffae*) and the Ana (*Acacia albida*). The leaves and pods of the latter provide the staple food for the cattle, sheep and goats in these parts. Other characteristic vegetable growths are the inflammable candle bush (*Sarcocaulon Burmanni*) and, in the area inland from Walvis Bay, the famous *!naras* (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*), a leafless cucurbitaceous plant with an edible melon-like fruit which when in season forms practically the sole article of diet of the natives. In one or two spots is found the most remarkable of all, the unique gymnosperm, *Welwitschia mirabilis*, which during a long lifetime produces only two pairs of leaves.

H B [262]

H B 133

At the Olifants River commences another tract of country, characterized by mountains of the folded type, which extend in parallel ranges, separated by wide valleys, over the whole southern portion of the Cape Province as far east as Humansdorp. From the narrow coastal strip fringing this tract the ground rises more or less abruptly to the mountains of the Folded Belt. To the west the rise is gradual through the fertile Goudini valley of Worcester district; further eastward the vegetation and climate partake more and more of the Karroo character, the Oudtshoorn valley and the many kloofs to the east being generally known as the Southern Karroo. The scenery here rapidly changes to bare uninteresting veld, traversed by deep gullies which are generally dry in the summer. In all directions the landscape is bounded by barren-looking mountains, whose steep, rocky sides appear from a distance to be entirely destitute of vegetation. Nothing can exceed the contrast between the scenery on the opposite slopes of the coast ranges: the traveller from the south, after ascending through luxuriant vegetation, frequently clothed in mist, emerges suddenly into a region of precipices and rocks, where rain may not have fallen for months. The soil in the valleys, however, is fertile when it can be brought under irrigation.

H B [132] 137

H B 132

The total annual rainfall is by no means deficient, the average for the region being about 29·5 inches, although it varies greatly according to locality. The average for the Cape Peninsula is 40 inches, most of it falling on the eastern side of Table Mountain. Immediately to the east of Cape Town and as far as Knysna there is a decrease to between 15 and 20 inches. The rainfall then becomes more abundant, the well-wooded Knysna itself being one of the best-watered districts of South Africa, with an average rainfall of 40 inches. Further inland, except on the mountain slopes, the rainfall is much less, and the range

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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H B 136

into Damaraland on the west, and on the east by way of the Transvaal bushveld and Natal to the south coast regions of Knysna and George. From the south it is naturally only sea birds that can be contributed to the fauna; the petrel family forms the characteristic element from this quarter, comprising a number of small petrels and whale birds, the "Cape pigeon" and "Cape hen", shearwaters and several albatrosses. The jackass penguin, breeding in immense numbers on the small islands off the south and west coasts, represents a truly antarctic contribution.

The reptilian fauna is particularly abundant, lizards and snakes especially being very numerous in many parts of the country. Of the latter, the cobra (genus *Naia*), the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*), and the ringhals (*Serpedon haemachates*) are among the more formidable poisonous representatives; the mamba (*Dendrasdis angusticeps*), most deadly of all, is found principally in the eastern parts of the country. The crocodile is extinct in the Cape Province and the Orange Free State, but is still found in the rivers of the eastern lowlands and the Northern Kalahari. The Arachidna are notable for the abundance of scorpions, and among the spiders for the large number of ground-dwelling forms living in burrows, with or without trapdoors, beneath stones, or as free-living hunting forms.

The insect fauna as a whole presents an extraordinarily large number of species, many of them extremely abundant. Locusts are conspicuous among the common plagues of the country, and from time to time issue in devastating swarms from their breeding grounds in the Kalahari and other more or less inaccessible dry regions. Bees, wasps, and ants are very richly represented; ants' eggs and the honey of wild bees provide the Bushmen with an important element of their diet. Mosquitoes and horse-flies are rarely very troublesome except in the moister parts of the country; the anophelene mosquito conveys malaria in the northern parts of South-West Africa and the Kalahari, as well as in the Low Veld of the east, while the tsetse fly (*Glossina*) carries cattle disease (nagana) in the Ngami country and a few localities to the east, but no case of sleeping-sickness has been known to occur. The widely-distributed termites are often destructive, but provide many animals and birds with their chief subsistence. Butterflies and moths, beetles and bugs all appear in numerous varieties, and one species of beetle, *Cladocera nigro-ornata*, forms the most potent ingredient in the arrow-poison of the Kalahari Bushmen.

B [262]
H B [164]
B [411]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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142 arm is the shortest on record. In the Northern tribes measured by
[141] Seiner and Werner the index of span-breadth to stature is just over 100, whereas in Europeans it is about 103 and in the Central African Pygmies as much as 106. The hands and feet are very small and narrow in proportion, the fingers and toes short and stumpy.

The outline of the body is sunken and angular, and all projections are strongly marked. The shoulders are angular, and the shoulder-blades and collar-bones stand out very strongly, owing to the thinness of the muscles and the lack of adipose tissue in the skin. The chest as a rule is fairly well developed, though its appearance is sometimes vitiated by the variable conditions of the abdomen, and especially
[262] by the frequent occurrence of a pendulous belly, chiefly in young people, as the result of unfavourable diet, unrestricted gorging, and the frequent alternation between starvation and plenty. Where the food supply is at all regular, this abnormal protuberance is rarely seen. The buttocks are small but often seem prominent owing to the curious inward curvature of the spine in the lumbo-sacral region. The penis,
[147] even when not in a state of erection, often extends horizontally in a semi-erect condition. This remarkable feature, portrayed also in many of the Bushman paintings of human beings, has been regarded by some recent writers, such as von Luschan and Seiner, as a special racial characteristic of the Bushmen.

The Northern Bushmen do not differ very markedly in build from their Southern relatives, although the "Bastard" tribes are on the whole better developed physically. They have stronger limbs, with arms and legs slightly longer in proportion; the shoulders are more rounded, and the chest seen to better advantage. The protuberant abdomen and the marked hollow of the back due to the lumbo-sacral curvature are present in most individuals. The hands and feet are
[147 slightly bigger, the fingers and toes longer. The horizontal projection
144] of the penis was noted by Seiner in about three-fifths of the men he examined. He states that with admixture of Bantu blood it begins to droop, so that there does appear to be some racial significance attached to this feature. Its occurrence has not yet been physiologically explained, although Seiner suggests that it may be due to a strong development of the *Ligamentum suspensorium penis*.

142 The female body, like that of the male, is generally slender, the
147 limbs slight, the hands and feet small. In mature women, however, there is often found a strong accumulation of fat on the thighs and especially on the buttocks, a character known as steatopygia, which

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exchanged from hut to hut, the women going to one hut, the men to another, and so on. Only the owners sit in a hut, while the visitors gather round the fire outside. The little children play about everywhere, the bigger boys and girls by themselves. There is no fixed time for going to sleep. As a rule the people turn in to bed fairly early, but if it is a fine evening dancing may be started and kept up till late, everybody taking part except the old people and the little children.[1] 572 [574] [535]

Food and Fire

The Bushmen will eat almost anything that can be eaten. Of animal foods the favourite is game of all kinds, when it can be obtained, and they are also very fond of hare, spring hare, guinea fowl, korhaan, partridge, ostrich, and other birds, as well as birds' eggs. Fish too are eaten wherever they can be caught, and among the Bushmen of the Okavango swamps are a staple article of diet. Anteaters, ant bears, tortoises, porcupines, bull frogs, snakes, and lizards are greatly relished, while among insects locusts, scorpions, beetles, young bees and honey, termites, flying ants and ants' eggs are also eaten. In fact all kinds of living animals are made use of as food, with the almost universal exception of the baboon and the hyena—the former "on account of its being so like a man", the latter "because it eats human corpses". 262 [825]

The most important vegetable foods in the Southern and Central Kalahari are the *tsama* (*Citrullus vulgaris*), "uintjies" (*Cyperus edulis Dtr.*), *Grewia* berries, and the *//noun* (*Bauhinea esculenta*); in the Namib the *!naras* fruit (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*) forms almost the sole article of diet when in season; while as one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, such as the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuande, and omuve. In addition numerous other varieties of edible roots, berries, cucumbers, tubers, melons, and ground nuts appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season, when they form the principal part of the daily menu.[2] [824]

Much of the food is eaten raw, but the Bushmen know how to prepare and cook it. Each family prepares its own food. Cooking 252 [592]

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 32; Fourie, "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 88.

[2] Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 54 sqq.; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 234–5; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 659 sqq.; Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 139–40, 144 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 253–5; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 114 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 6–7; Fourie, op. cit., 98 sq.

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lighting a new fire at the next encampment, although this is a practice which, as we have just seen, Fourie explicitly denies for the Heikum. 372 622 [114]

There is no indication at all in the available literature that similar usages relating to fire are found among the rest of the Bushmen, nor is there any further evidence of their occurrence among the tribes mentioned above. On the other hand the sacred fire also plays a very conspicuous part in the social and ritual life of the OvaHerero, OvaMbo, and Bergdama, all of them close neighbours of the Bushmen tribes among whom it is found, and with the last two of whom the Heikum at least have intermixed considerably. It is probable therefore that the special observances relating to fire among the Heikum and the Kung may represent borrowed elements of culture; but much fuller information is needed about them before this can be definitely asserted. Whatever their origin, however, these usages now obviously play an important part in the social life of the people. In particular, the fact that at the present time the chief of the band has certain exclusive functions in connection with fire is of outstanding significance in the whole sphere of public life, and one which cannot be dismissed merely because it may be due to the effects of contact with other peoples. To this point we shall have to return when discussing the political institutions of the Bushmen. [184] 171 372 [177] [622]

Special Usages relating to Food

There is not much information available about food taboos, but it appears that, in some of the tribes at least, certain foods are forbidden to persons at different stages of life. In the texts obtained by Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen there are preserved the details of some of the food taboos prevalent among this people. Thus little children were not allowed to eat the heart of the jackal (on account of this animal's great timidity), certain portions of the ostrich, or the tip of the springbok's tail; a menstruating girl might not eat game killed by the young men, lest she bring them ill luck—she had to eat only game taken by her father; a certain kind of tortoise was forbidden to young unmarried men and women, for fear of arousing the wrath of the rain; women were not allowed to eat the flesh of the lynx; the tail of the porcupine was forbidden to certain (unspecified) persons; while all refrained from eating a certain small portion of the flesh of the hare.[1] The published information relating 262 825 [841] [821] 262 [114]

[1] L. C. Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, cf. references in Index, s.v. "Food—not to be eaten."

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262 [114] to these taboos is unfortunately so fragmentary that little can be gathered of the ideas underlying them. Several of them are undoubtedly connected with wider ritual observances, e.g. the taboo [821] imposed on menstruating girls, and again that associated with a [821] certain belief about the rain; but of the others no full explanation is [773] available, although the taboo on the portion of the hare may possibly [761] be linked up with the Bushman myth of the origin of death, in which [825] the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon.

Among the Naron, again, "It does not seem," says Miss Bleek,[1] "as if many taboos in the food line still existed. Paauw meat and ostrich eggs are chiefly given to old men as the greatest delicacies. Some say young children, or girls till they have had their first baby, are not to eat steenbok, lest they remain small, but others tell me that all meat is eaten by everyone. Honey touched by a baboon must not be eaten, or you will die." Among the Auen, young girls and boys apparently may not eat game at all, otherwise they will remain thin; while water [841] and food collected by a menstruating woman may be partaken of only by herself and old people—it "makes others weak".[2]

About the Heikum we have far more information on this point, 224 thanks to the excellent description given by Fourie of certain [114] of their hunting observances.[3] The details he gives throw such a wealth of new light upon this aspect of Bushman life that they may be quoted in full. "After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *//gaus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals. 224 The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout 252 for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is [462] skinned by the men. The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the [281] purpose, is cut into sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then removed to the *//gaus* by the men who may occasionally be [462] assisted by the women. On arrival at the *//gaus* all the meat is laid

[1] *The Naron*, 7.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140, 157.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 100–2; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 54–6.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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on the ground under the */heis* either on sticks which were used in 224
carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib* (chief) now comes forward 252
and if he finds that the */hei-/ais* (fire under the tree) has gone out he 224
returns to his hut, brings fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is 252
absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the 622
meat in the meantime being hung on the */heis* (tree in centre of camp).
After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men— [372]
the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and 'tastes' (*tsa-tsa*) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers [264]
and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as */koms*.

"All meat killed with bow and arrow is *soxa* [taboo] and may not be 224
partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, how- 262
ever, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut [622]
up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *soxa* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *soxa*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *soxa* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*/ei-ti*). Her portion is known as the */noe-di* and is the only meat which may be partaken of by women. The */noe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the */kham-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The */noe-di*, however, may not [622]
be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *//gaus*. It is not brought under the */heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the [252]
fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The */kham-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women partake of any other meat than the */noe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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224 animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu*
262 (youths) is known as */om-//gani*, and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles,
224 etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at
252 the *axarogudi ǂgaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the
262 animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the */heis* or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him, and if he eats any other part, e.g. the *ǂkoms*, he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions of about two finger-breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis*
[574] may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *ǂnoe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-//gani*,
[264] under which is included the *ǂkoms*. The latter may be eaten only under the */heis*. After it has been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is
[841] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *ǂkoms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib*, and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

"A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat killed by
224 the members of an outlying *//gaus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to
262 taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the
622 *//gaus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *//gaus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he visits a *//gaus* for this purpose he kindles the */hei-/ais* with
[372] fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own."

Apart from the light it throws upon certain functions of the chief,
114 this account illustrates admirably both the existence of special ritual
224 observances in regard to game killed in the chase, and the fact that
[622] food obtained in this way is shared among all the people present at the encampment. This latter feature has also been noted by other writers on the different Bushman tribes,[1] and it can safely be asserted

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 55; Kaufmann, op. cit., 155–6 D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, pp. viii–ix; *idem*, *The Naron*, 16.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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that among the Bushmen all game is shared out among the members of the band. To what extent the same elaborate rules of division exist in the other tribes is difficult to determine. The only other indication of similar practices is found in the texts obtained by Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen. Only a selection of these have so far been published, and the information contained in them is rather fragmentary. But it appears that women, for example, were not permitted to eat the meat of the shoulder blades, lest the men subsequently prove unsuccessful in hunting; that the man who shot the animal might not take part in cutting it up; and the bones which were left over had to be carefully put aside in certain special ways.[1] Obviously such usages hint at an elaborate procedure in regard to the cutting up, distribution, and treatment of the meat; and one can only regret that all the details relating to them have not yet been made available.

114 224 [262]

Narcotics

As narcotics the Bushmen use chiefly tobacco and dagga (*Cannabis sativa*), the latter a herb with marked intoxicating effects. All grown-up people, and even small children, smoke tobacco when they can get it. They do not cultivate it themselves, although a few men among the Auen and the Naron are said to have made slight efforts to grow tobacco and dagga after the manner of their Bantu and Bergdama neighbours.[2] Almost all the tobacco used by the Bushmen is imported through trade or obtained by service with other peoples, and they are always extremely keen to acquire it.

276 [249] [177] [439]

In the north-west their pipes (Plate XI) are generally tubes of serpentine, some 3 inches long and rather wider at one end than at the other, which are cut and hollowed out with the iron spear point or with a knife, or even with a small stone drill. The hollow shin bones of small buck are also sometimes used, but nowadays the most prevalent form of pipe is an empty cartridge-case! Pipes consisting of an antelope horn were largely used by the Cape Bushmen. Near the point of the horn was made a hole, into which was inserted a reed tube, and on top of this was fitted an elongated clay bowl to hold the tobacco. When these pipes were used, some water was put into the horn, the mouth applied to the large orifice of the horn, and the

[324] [237] [177] [321]

[1] Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 271 sqq.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 18; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148–9.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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big game, especially wild horses and mules. There are in those parts wild horses and mules, both so beautifully bred out by nature that no painter is skilful enough to paint them true to life with all their colouring. The horses have buttocks extraordinarily dappled, and over the rest of the body are striped yellow, black, red and pure sky blue. The mules are also striped, white and chestnut brown, but not dappled, and are uncommonly beautiful.[39]) The Sonquas in 1662 brought the skin of one of these beasts to the Cape, which our countrymen bartered from them for tobacco and other things. It was then filled with straw and hung up for show in the hall of the Fort, as something curious and uncommon, which it also is, to be seen by the people of the incoming ships.[40])

[224] 136 439

The meat of the rock-rabbits constitutes a pleasant food for the Sonquas, who live principally on it and on certain roots growing in the ground. They also keep many hunting dogs,[40a]) trained to hunt the rock-rabbits which are their principal food, and knowing how to drag these animals out of their holes.

262 231 224

They are extremely great plunderers and marauders. They steal from other Hottentots all the cattle they can get, with which they then flee immediately to the mountains, where they cannot be found in their retreats and hidden caves by anybody, not even by other Hottentots.

721

Their huts, made only of branches twined together, without woven mats, and covered solely with rushes, are several thousand in number; for they move about from one place to another, and never break up the huts, but erect still others wherever they camp.

342 361

Their little cloaks are sewn together from the skins of the wild oxen which live on the rocks. The women have a *quitazol* or sunshade of ostrich feathers, tied on and about the head, to protect themselves from the heat and burning of the sun's piercing rays.

291

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had shot a wild horse below the mane in the neck. This horse was very beautifully gray dappled over its whole body, except behind from the back over the buttocks and along the legs which were flame-coloured, with white, sky blue and reddish brown stripes, wonderfully beautiful . . . It had small ears like a horse. The stuffed heads and pieces of skin which the Hottentots sometimes brought to us belong evidently to another sort, as they have long ears, though extraordinarily, curiously and beautifully flame-coloured in white and chestnut brown."

136

[40a]) Dogs were the only domestic animals kept by the Bushmen. They were generally lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half starved and savage tempered, but excellent assistants in the chase, for which they were mainly employed.

231 224

A137 The plant was uncommon along the route of the expedition although it has a wide distribution from the northern Cape and the Transvaal through the Bechuanaland Protectorate to South West Africa and Southern and Northern Rhodesia.

[262] The fruits are edible. They have a sour taste and a strong aroma and little more than that for they consist mainly of the skin and the stone.

[263] The leaves are sometimes used by the Bushmen for flavouring meat.

Ziziphus mucronata Willd. (4873, 5202) Photograph 28.

!hɔ: Bushman.....	!e:i
!ganakwe Bushman...	ˌ!aja
ǂgikwe Bushman.....	≠k"erɔ
Naron Bushman.....	≠k"aru
Eastern !khû Bushman	ˌn≠a:

A semi-deciduous shrub or tree up to 12 feet high, twiggy and profusely branched, with the older branches drooping at the ends to give it a rounded shape. As a rule it is very thorny, with the thorns in pairs, of which one is hooked and the other straight. Thornless specimens have been reported, but are rare, and none were seen along the route of the expedition. The plant has alternate dark green shiny toothed leaves, tapering to a point at the tip and with three or four prominent veins branching from near a rounded base. They are stalked, and glabrous or nearly so. The flowers are in small greenish clusters and are not conspicuous. The fruits are ripe in early winter, but the trees bear sporadically and the crop varies greatly in quantity in individual trees. The fruit is brown and a third of an inch in diameter, with a shiny brown papery skin surrounding a thin layer of rather dry, mealy substance and a large stone.

This tree is widespread from the Sudan to the Cape Province. It was uncommon on the deep Kalahari sand but fairly frequent in the hard soil round the edges of the pans, where it sometimes formed open communities.

[262] The mealy substance in the fruits is sweetish and is eaten by the Bushmen, but it is not pleasant even by their standards.

Grewia avellana Hiern (4959, 5269) Photograph 29.

!hɔ: Bushman.....	n!ɔ≠udi
!ganakwe Bushman...	n!ɔ≠udi
ǂgikwe Bushman.....	!gam-tsa
Naron Bushman.....	dʒudʒubu
Eastern !khû Bushman	dzwa:ma and zɔ:ma

Because of its habit, this one of the few Grewias distinct from the many which look alike. It occurs as a number of slender erect 18-inch stems in patches a yard across, bare in winter except where sheltered from the frost. It has also been recorded as a shrub four feet high. In summer the stems are leafy enough to trap the wind-blown sand, so that they are usually found growing up through a slight hummock. The leaves, borne on very short stalks and measuring one and a half inches by an inch, are alternate, serrate, roughly hairy, prominently veined and dull green. The flowers have narrow white petals and are half an inch across. The fruits are a shiny dark brown, half an inch in diameter and characteristically lobed, being known in Sechuana by a name which means *the buttocks of the queen*. Only a few specimens were found in fruit, which suggests that the season was over by the time the expedition started from Molepolole (mid June).

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

252 from the yellow liver and threw that away, but he left the liver and the surrounding fat because he meant for that to be eaten.

The baby, Nhwakwe, who owned the tortoise, came to sit by his father, leaning on Gai's leg and watching, looking smiling into the belly of the tortoise. A tortoise is such a slow tough creature that its body can function although its heart is gone. Nhwakwe put his wrists to his forehead to [524] imitate in a most charming manner the way in which the tortoise was trying to hide. Nhwake looked just like the tortoise.

Gai frowned with concentration and worked with his mouth open, pulled down at the corners. When the intestines were removed, Gai stuffed the cavity with green leaves of the [263] kind that "make your gums numb," say the Bushmen, added for flavor, I believe. The tortoise at this retreated far into its shell with its legs pulled in tightly, and Gai heated the doors again to curl them down. Then he packed the opening with grass and the tortoise's dung, capped it with a tsama-melon cap, and put the tortoise into the oven that was prepared for it like a shallow little grave which the tortoise just fitted, a final agony, for the tortoise once more kicked and struggled as Gai raked hot coals over it. The steam escaping from the moist flesh caused the ashes to bubble and boil, and it was over; the meat was in the pot.

Gai flung the intestines away and sat down near his wife to smoke, and I, who wished that they could at least have killed 539 [776] the tortoise first, thought of the story of Pishiboro and one of his wives, an elephant. Pishiboro is one of the names of God.

One night, when Pishiboro and his younger brother were sleeping, the elephant wife took them both and rolled them between her thighs, which caused them great discomfort. The younger brother said to Pishiboro: "Let us go away now

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

greatly esteemed and is gathered from the crust of the pan in 317
moist balls. Bushmen sprinkle the surface with water in order
to roll up just the first layer where the salt lies. When the salt
balls dry, Bushmen crumble them into their food, preferring [263]
salt to all sweet things and honey. Once when we asked some
of the Gautscha people what they called themselves they re-
plied with this phrase: "We are a salty people, who come [101]
from a salty place."

In the dry season, two hundred people came to Gautscha 731
and lived in the bushes at the edge of the pan. This was an 361
enormous number for any area to support, but all had indis-
putable rights to be there, for either their fathers had drunk
at Gautscha or they had relatives whose fathers had; by the
rather complicated system, any Bushman may drink water
and gather veld food wherever his parents had a right to do
so, or may live with either his parents, his brothers or sisters,
or his wife at any place where the relative of his choice has
rights. There was water but not much food at Gautscha, and 731
all the people got thin and very hungry and sat around their
fires at night with sweat pouring from their bodies but with
nothing to eat; to make matters worse, one man coming for
a visit proved to be ill and gave his disease to everyone. It
was a disease that caused vomiting, high fevers, chest pains, [164]
and nosebleeds of great intensity—a woman whom I tried to
cure bled all one morning with blood squirting from her nos-
trils, pouring down over her arms and hands and dripping
from her elbows, making a dark pool on the ground. The dis-
ease struck all the people, from the youngest infants to the
oldest grandparents, and all the people lay for days scattered
all over the ground, too ill to move. We did everything we
could, of course; we provided food and medicine, firewood
and water, and took turns staying up all night to nurse the
people. As it happened, everyone got better within fourteen

/139 cont./

412 Mortars are made of wood and have a stone floor. Their
322 construction is extremely laborious. A block of wood is buried in the ground, stamped down, and then hollowed out with the iron point of the lance or a knife. For this purpose, the iron is sometimes heated. Fire is not used. The wooden pestle is furnished with a stone at one end. The stone on the floor of the
[381] mortar is cemented with tree resin.

[379] Burning branches are used as a kind of torch, but only briefly in the vicinity of the fire.

Photograph 18 illustrates the shape of the mortar and the pestle. The mortar is made of soft wood hollowed out with a lance point. Fire is not used to hollow it out (see above).

Household utensils. Two flat stones to pound hard veld
415 fruit. Spoons crudely carved out of wood. Wooden pot or empty ostrich eggs /140/ with a round hole as water containers. Fre-
[531] quently some kind of decoration is applied. Digging stick
[412] pointed at one end.

Ornamentation. Unfortunately I did not have time to ob-
301 tain more precise data concerning ornamentation. Ornaments
531 are attached to many objects and consist of such things as ostrich eggs and pipe plugs (which are worn on a string around the neck).

● 264 Generally speaking, the Auin has three meals a day (morning, afternoon, and evening). If he has enough food, however, he may eat all day long, with the necessary intervals, and, if it is not too cold, even during the night.

There is no special menu. Whatever is available is eaten.
262 The hyena is not eaten because it "devours corpses." The leopard is supposedly not eaten by all the people. The reason for this is unknown to me. The shabrack jackal is frequently spurned because it "is a dog." On the other hand, they like to eat the silver jackal, because it "does not eat vermin."

[858] Young girls who have not yet menstruated and boys before
[882] they have reached adulthood may not eat game meat because if they did, they would "remain skinny."

I have never observed any traces of cannibalism. Further-
266 more, I was told by old, experienced natives of other races (Klipp Kaffir) that they had never heard of Bushmen eating human flesh.

/144 cont./

411 quiver. Sometimes the arrows are in a special quiver made of
[237] eland horn or bark, which is closed off at both ends with a leather cover (see Photos. 29 and 32).

The Auin almost always carries in his quiver a small container like the arrow quiver of eland horn or bark just described, in which he keeps arrowheads, poison, and other small necessities for shooting.

The notched end of the arrow is pulled toward the chest when the bow is drawn.

714 The war cap is to be regarded as the sole battle ornament. It is made of aardwolf hide (see Photo. 21).

H. Hunting and Agriculture

224 Hunting is done both individually and in groups.

Hunting dogs are to be found in occasional, isolated instances,
[231] but then they are usually obtained from the Kaffir or Betschuana.
[439] The Auin maintain, however, that they know how to train hunting dogs. Collars and the like are not customary.

/145/ [Fig. 8 appears here.]

[422] I was unable to discover whether marks of ownership are applied to weapons and the like. On the other hand, I noticed that people immediately recognize their possessions.

There are no closed seasons on hunting.

The Auin prepares a kind of dried meat. Pieces of meat of any
251 length and width are cut very thin (almost transparent) and are dried on trees in the sun. This dried mass, as hard as wood and inedible to a European, keeps for weeks during the dry season. There must be an almost unlimited surplus of meat available, how-
[264] ever, if the Auin is to decide to preserve some, since he is accustomed to stuff himself to the point of unconsciousness. I have seen a single Bushman, without any help, consume a fully grown Klipbok weighing about six kilograms.

224 Undoubtedly there are especially industrious and impassioned huntsmen, as well as the opposite. I found some people who were absolutely useless on the hunt.

[Text continues on page 25]

/156 cont./

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

/157/ Divorce rarely occurs, and then only when the woman
586 has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

In most cases, however, the woman remains with her hus-
[595] band even in old age, while he provides himself with one or two younger and stronger women.

The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

587 Widows are permitted to marry again after a certain time, as is also the case for divorced women.

589 There is no special dress for widows.

The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to
562 that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-
264 pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

[184] The Rietfontein Auin always have just one wife. The reason
595 for this is said to be that "little food" is available. The Auin from Gam, on the average, have two, sometimes five wives.

Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto de-
548 scribed, there are supposed to be prostitutes among the married
684 women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auin declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by
847 stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

[26 cont.]

512 from about August 20th to the end of December, the following daily routine is normally observed. Before dawn, it becomes very cold, the people wake up, and the boys stir up the fire and put on it the remains of the evening meal. The old people move closer to the fire and go on sleeping until the sun comes up. Then they have their breakfast, which consists of the remains of the [462] evening meal. The able men now go hunting. The women continue to sit around the fire for awhile and nurse their children. [462] At about 10 o'clock the women and children, as well as the girls, go out in a group to look for veldkost. Almost every woman [482] old enough to bear children carries a child on her back, while a second child often rides on her shoulders. The smaller boys stay at home and help the old people, who get up about an hour later [361] to fetch water. The huts are never located close to the water: 1. because people get sick close to the water; 2. because the lions come there; 3. because the game would be frightened away. The watering place itself is visited quite irregularly, because in disturbed times the enemy lurks there, and occasionally also the police. The male and female doctors go into the bush, usually not very far, alone or only with a disciple, to gather medicine. Around four o'clock in the afternoon the women come back and begin to cook. Around this time, too, the men begin to return with the spoils of the hunt. When the sun goes down, [264] they all sit by the fire and eat. Each family has its own fire. Then some will continue to chat for awhile, while others go to sleep, and gradually it becomes quiet.

[264] They do not eat at noon. From eleven to four o'clock the camp is deserted, and even the old people sleep somewhere in the forest. The hunters and the women collecting veldkost also [27] take a long midday rest during the hot afternoon hours. During the hot season, on the other hand, they set out soon after midnight to hunt and search for veldkost, because later in the day the sand is too hot to walk on.

6. The Divisions of the Year

805 The Bushmen reckon time according to full moons, for example, agreeing to meet after three or four full moons, and

000 [42 cont.]
622 the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is
392 the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo.
778 Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are
[262] "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a
784 very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language.
Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is
166 available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the
373 village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha
[596] fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they
352 have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha
264 fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave im-
621 mediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the
[462] windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire
he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does.
Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large
game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains
seated there, while the women and children make themselves
comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The
game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and
[262] shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children,
who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is
[622] consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has
the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The
hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has
described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

178 When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the
622 Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight
organization and a common leader. When Captain Francois went
beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable
support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note
that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of
Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a
Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a

2. He himself was a half-breed.

chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest
chief I heard of was "χ'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

/257 cont./

276 that has been cut off are very popular. The cut surface of the end of the horn is pressed to the mouth, and the smoke is sucked into the lungs in a deep draught. Very frequently simple cartridges are used as primitive, but nevertheless serviceable tobacco pipes. [439] Clay pipes, which are not uncommon in the Kaukau Veld, are imported from the Betschuana.

/258/ A common kitchen utensil is a large, flat wooden 415 spoon with a bent handle, which, however, is not used to place food in the mouth, but only to fill vessels. The Bushmen eat with [264] their fingers; they drink their soups from the communal wooden bowl and polish up the rest with a crooked index finger and by licking it out with the tongue.

As pots they use pumpkin [melon?] vessels bound with leather [482] thongs and carried over the shoulder on sticks.

As a special display object in many a hut one finds a large clay vessel with strong walls and decorated with white bands that [439] have been notched into it. This vessel is imported from the Ovambo.

The tools for firemaking command special interest. The 372 Bushman is acquainted with two, the dáni and the //oro.

The dáni (dã = fire) consists of two wooden sticks, each about 40 centimeters long. The rounded-off end of the one stick fits into a pan-like cavity at the end of the other stick. The edge of the pan is provided with a little opening through which the glowing wood that has been rubbed to tinder can be emptied onto a smooth stone during the fire-twirling. The Bushman can make fire with this tool in less than half a minute.

The other firemaking device known to the Bushmen is the [439] //oro, a flint with striking ring and tinder box, imported from the Betschuana.

A tool that in addition to its use in leather working also serves 412 medical purposes is a pointed iron needle about 20 centimeters long and three millimeters thick, carried in a narrow leather sheath by almost every male Bushman. The needle is used with great skill [752] for the removal of thorns from the skin, an operation which the Bushman naturally must frequently demand of his medicine man.

In addition to the above-mentioned hunting implements, the 482 game snare and game hook, I was shown a wooden staff, approximately one and a half meters long and worked with some skill, which is used for carrying game over the shoulder,

hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*‡ei-ti*). Her 224 portion is known as the *‡noe-di* and is the only meat which 262 may be partaken of by women. The *‡noe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the *‡kham-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The *‡noe-di*, however, may not be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *||gāus*. It is not brought under the *!heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The *‡kham-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women [784] partake of any other meat than the *‡noe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu* (youths) is known as *!om-||gani* and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles, etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at the *axarogudi ‡gaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the *!heis* [252] or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *sara* to him and if he [784] eats any other part, *e.g.*, the *‡koms* he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions about two finger breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis* may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *‡noe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-||gani*, under which is included the *‡koms*. The latter may be eaten only under the *!heis*. After it has [264] been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is [84] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *‡koms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib* and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat 224 killed by the members of an outlying *||gāus*, the *gei-khoib*, 622 likewise having to taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the *||gāus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *||gāus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly 252
disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin
tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups [439]
use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roasted plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of 264
wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make 415
wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some 184
purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except 262
by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco 237
pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups, bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The *|Nu-||ĕin* [184]
and *||Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the *‡Ao-||ĕin* and other tribes living to the north. Articles [438]
made by the former form an important medium of exchange. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it [482]
also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large [415]
animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich egg-shells are used for carrying and storing water and for the [301
manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time 438]
form the most important article of barter among the *|Nu-||ĕin*, *Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-||om*. Among the most [184
northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red 278
ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omura* tree, are the 438
principal media of exchange.

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit 121
me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive communities are surrounded.

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GiKwe

609 bush beside her fireplace. Also, she brought out six round
222 green melons which are called *tsama* melons, and which, during the autumn, provide the only liquid available for all the Bushmen in the desert, and for all the game antelope be-
[271 sides. Under the green rind a tsama is very like a watermelon,
312] filled with small oval seeds and very watery in texture, but is itself pale green and smaller, the size of a small cantaloupe.
[516] Tsetchwe placed one between her feet and, gripping it firmly with her strong toes, chopped a hole in the top of it with her digging-stick; then, lifting the cap away like the lid of a jack-
271 o'-lantern, she mashed the pulp inside until it was liquid. She put the melon to her mouth and, tipping her head back, drank from it, using her long digging-stick to help push the pulp into her mouth, working it like an enormous chopstick, making a watery noise as she sucked. When Tsetchwe had collected a mouthful of seeds she put the melon down, took an old, dry tsama melon rind from her kaross, and spat the seeds into it to save them, for they can be roasted and eaten like nuts when they are dry. Tsetchwe drank all the liquid in
[264] the rind and seemed refreshed as she cast the empty rind over her shoulder and brushed off her mouth and hands.

609 At last Gai strode back into the werf, followed at a distance
621 by a group of three small boys and, much farther, by three old women who stood waist-deep in bushes, close together like three antelope, craning their necks to see us.

609 When they noticed Tsetchwe and Ukwane, they came for-
276 ward with more confidence, accepted tobacco, and, squatting
621 immediately, began to smoke. It had been months, Ukwane said, since they had used their last tobacco, had been reduced to smoking leaves, and they were very happy to have the tobacco we had give them. Bushmen love to smoke. They say
[261] that tobacco, as well as the wild beans, takes away hunger and thirst, and, besides that, it makes their hearts glad. One

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Gikwe

asked Ukwane for some, which Ukwane gave him. Gishe said: 224
"I have been living among Europeans for a long time, but I 237
remember now who I am." 272

From the body of that gemsbok the Bushmen bailed out 251
several bucketfuls of liquid, enough to supply them for almost a week. They cut the meat into strips which they would dry in the sun and use as they needed them, also enough for a week or perhaps even longer, as there were only a few people and the gemsbok was almost as big as a cow.

Tsetchwe had built a tiny fire beneath a tsama melon, an 252
empty melon with the top cut away, and when she received [224
her share of the meat—for any animal is divided at once by a 422]
rigid system of rules, some meat given to each person rather than kept as a communal supply or portioned to families—she cut a small piece and stuffed it into the melon, where melon juice, heated through the rind, was boiling now. It cooked like meat in a stew, and when it was done Tsetchwe emptied the melon into a bowl, fanned it to cool it, and then 264
ate some, putting a strip of meat into her mouth and hacking off a bite with her husband's knife. She was ravenously hungry and she ate almost all, while her baby, lying in her [253]
lap, nursed from her breast. The last piece she saved for him; she put one end of it into his mouth and, as he bit down, flashed the great knife under his nose to cut him a small enough morsel.

The gemsbok had vanished. All that remained from the 224
butchering was the pile of squeezed, dry grass from the ru- 422
men and a few lumps of feces that the redheaded flies buzzed over. The meat, bones, head, hide, and brushlike tail all now [237]
belonged to people, and all the people had carried their portions away. Gai owned two hind legs and a front leg, Tsetchwe had meat from the back, Ukwane had the other front

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152 The Bushmen as well as the gods ignore the suffering of animals. When they opened the pit and took out the tortoise
264 several hours later it did look delicious, and the meat, which came easily off the small, thick bones, smelled delicious brewed in the green leaves, and the thin young boys smiled happily and brought their tsama rinds to be filled from the mortar where Gai put the pieces he had picked off and had pounded to make them even and small.

262 While there was gemsbok meat and tortoise meat, the rabbit was not worth eating, and it hung from the tree, where it dried, like a little husk, to be moistened again and eaten when nothing else was left. It swung in the breeze like a leaf, like a tiny, eerie ornament.

252 The lizard was eaten that evening by the three young boys,
264 who built a fire of their own, where they sat like hunters back from a hunt; with the red light of the fire on their thin faces, making their eyes bright, they roasted the lizard in the coals and ate it, and pulled its tiny bones out of their teeth.

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wrinkles, perhaps they were older than they seemed. They glared coldly at us with jealous, narrowed eyes and held their heads back like three cobras, quite unlike their brothers' wives, young girls, unmistakably Bushman, who did not look at us at all.

The men seemed very big and heavy, with a lot of muscle and fat on their bones for Bushmen. Gai came right out and asked them how it was they looked so well, and they answered with the usual Bushman pessimism: "We have some meat here but we have no water. We may look well, but we are hungry."

Gai sat down beside them with his back to them, and as he talked he pulled his breakfast, which was a biscuit that we had brought with us, out of his hunting-bag. He took a big bite, causing the eyes of all the newcomers to open. "Gai is a great captain now," said William, the interpreter, in Afrikaans. "There he is eating European food." The man who sat next to Gai and who seemed to be the oldest began to laugh a hard, humorless laugh, stretching out his hand at once for the biscuit. Gai sighed and went on eating indifferently, but the man, who could hardly contain his envy, laughed his long, dry laugh again, edging crablike closer to Gai until his outstretched hand was almost at Gai's mouth. Gai broke off the largest part of the biscuit at last and handed it inconspicuously under his left arm to the man, who had a bite, passed it to the other men, who also had a bite and in turn gave it finally to the women, who each ate a morsel very suspiciously. The man beside Gai laughed on and on, watching Gai from half-closed eyes, but Gai, who had a great deal of self-possession, did not seem disturbed.

Presently the smell of the cornmeal cooking filled the air, and the sound of its bubbling in the pot caused the man to stop his laughing and everyone else to talk pleasantly at last.

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533 534 The young, unmarried man took a small musical instrument out of his hunting-bag, borrowed a dry tsama rind from one of the women, and, setting the instrument on the hollow rind, began to play. He filled the air with sweet, soft music, full of resonance and open, minor chords, even of rhythm and timbre as a music box would be.

The instrument itself was made of a small, flat piece of wood four or five inches square, with eleven metal prongs attached to it, arranged in two rows across two bridges. The melon rind acted as a resonator for the prongs, which were of different sizes and, when plucked, vibrated and rang like bells, in a scale which was not the octave and which I have never heard before. The name of the instrument is *te k'na*, and I believe that it is not native to Bushmen but traded from the Bantu people. Many Bushmen have them, though: Bushmen like music of any kind.

264 Soon the cornmeal was ready and we served it to the visitors on pieces of bark, in bowls formed from halves of tortoise shells, in tsama rinds. Bushmen have very little liquid food that does not come in its own natural container, and therefore they do not provide themselves with bowls. The [445 177] bowls they do have, carved from wood—an art learned from the Bantu people—are constantly in use as containers for small, loose objects, such as seeds or unstrung beads. Since the cornmeal was hot and runny, the people had some difficulty eating it with their fingers, but they got it down, the women hesitating a long time, watching the men, before they [609 538] dared to try it. I think they were afraid it would harm them, as I have heard many Bushman stories of strangers who poison tobacco or food. When they had eaten their servings and 264 609 578 found that they did not die, they had more, a morsel at a time. We might have presented the pot to let the people help themselves, but by now we knew better. Bushmen expect

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Gikwe

each other to share, yet in strange situations they sometimes 264
distrust each other, and it was always better for us to assume 609
the blame for any inequality, real or fancied, than to make 578
people quarrel. Bushmen are very quick to blame; yet also in their hearts they want everything to work out smoothly, and are therefore also quick to forgive, especially strangers who know no better.

Although he was hungry, Gai refused to eat, preferring to play the te k'na instrument while watching the food vanish into the mouths of others rather than arouse more jealousy. That day he ate nothing but the bite of biscuit in the morning and a root at night. When the pot was empty, the man who had been laughing seized it and scraped its sides with a stick, eating and dividing the burned, hard crust. The newcomers acted badly, but this would not have been so if Gai had not arrived with us.

The sun was in the zenith, and we felt we had to go in order to be in camp before night. We were faced with the problem of what to tell the newcomers. They would surely want to come with us, but our supplies would not sustain eighteen more people, and if they came they would disrupt the harmony with their jealousies. Ukwane and Gai would be forced to share what we gave them, which was only enough for themselves and their families. No one would have enough, yet no one would leave; so before we left we explained to the newcomers that we could not take them with us because we did not have enough food to feed them or enough water for them to drink. "We hear you," they said.

We were about to leave when Gai came forward with his 609
arm around the shoulders of the young, unmarried man and said that we had to bring this boy with us. We said that we would. "Because he is my son," Gai added.

We were very surprised, for they seemed to be almost the

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514 women sometimes do this, but Bushman men crouch to urinate. "It is our law," they say.

264 222 While the women rested they had refreshed themselves with one of Twikwe's melons which Twikwe chopped for them by holding the melon between the soles of both feet and mashing its pulp with her digging-stick, which she held in both hands. Then they got up from their grass nest, sharpened their digging-sticks with Twikwe's knife, and set out to begin the search for food. They each chose a different direction and soon they were out of sight. I followed Twikwe to see 222 481 what she would find, hurrying to keep up as she trampled ahead of me on those spindly, awkward legs of hers, which she kicked out with each step in a walk like the walk of a clown. She kept her back straight, for it was still early and the load in her kaross was light.

222 As I could not speak many words of Gikwe, she didn't even try to talk, but paused from time to time instead to show me things. Once she crouched among the branches of a thorn bush and beckoned to me to show me a tiny vine winding around the bush's trunk. I nodded. It marked an edible root. She pinched the base of the vine where there was a faint touch of green, then, grasping her digging-stick, began to dig. The ground was quite hard, but she dug rapidly, her slender back curved as she squatted over the hole and the muscles of her thin arms swelling. After a long time she threw down her digging-stick and tugged at something in the bottom of the hole. She sat back, and in her hands was a huge stone, which she heaved aside.

"Look," she said, and I crawled beside her into the bush. She had made a hole three feet deep, a foot across, and at the bottom, dim in shadow, lay an immense gray root wedged securely between two stones. "Ga," she said. She ripped the

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Twikwe was a lanky old woman. She sometimes wound a medicine string around her belly to ward hunger away.

This is Gai's house, this bare sand under the branch of a tree.

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It occurs in varying degrees of intensity. It is a repeating of something over and over and over again. For instance, whether it is actually so or not, someone may be reiterating that he has no food or that no one has given him food. The remarks are made in the presence of other individuals, but the other individuals do not respond in the manner of a discussion or conversation. In an extreme instance we saw a woman visitor go into a kind of semi-trance and say over and over for perhaps half an hour or so in ≠Toma's presence that he had not given her as much meat as was her due. It was not said like an accusation. It was said as though he were not there. I had the eerie feeling that I was present in someone else's dream. ≠Toma did not argue or oppose her. He continued doing whatever he was doing and let her go on. 154 521 518 621

All these ways of talking, I believe, aid the /Kung in maintaining their peaceful social relations by keeping everyone in touch with what others are thinking and feeling, releasing tensions, and keeping pressures from building up until they burst out in aggressive acts.

Aspects of Good Manners

In /Kung society good manners require that, when /Kung meet other /Kung who are strangers, all the men should lay down their weapons and approach each other unarmed. ≠Toma, leader of Band 1, approached us unarmed the first time we met. After we were accepted and given Bushman names, we were no longer strangers and we never observed the practice again. 516 [123]

Good manners require that visitors be received courteously and asked to sit by the fire. The woman whose fire it is may welcome the visitor by taking a pinch of the sweet smelling *sa* powder, which she carries in a little tortoise shell hung from her neck, and sprinkling it on the visitor's head in a line from the top of the head to the forehead. 514 [302]

Good manners in eating express restraint. A person does not reveal eagerness or take more than a modest share. When a visitor comes to the fire of a family who are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a little distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share. On several occasions we gave small gifts of corned beef to be shared with a group. The person who received the food from us would take only a mouthful. Once an old headman only licked his fingers. The lump of food would be passed from one to another. Each would take a modest bite. The last person often got the most. I found it moving to see so much restraint about taking food among people who are all thin and often hungry, for whom food is a source of constant anxiety. We observed no unmannerly behaviour, no cheating and no encroachment about food. Although informants said that quarrels had occasionally occurred in the past between members of a band over the time to go to gather veldkos, and although we observed expressions of dissatisfaction, no quarrels of any kind arose over food during our observations. 264 [524] [518]

Good manners in general should be inoffensive. Any behaviour which is likely to stir up trouble is regarded with apprehension and disapproval by the /Kung. In view of this, the joking relationship has its interesting side. Men and women who have the joking relationship insult each other in a facetious way and also point out actual faults or remark on actual episodes which embarrass a person. Everyone joins in the 516 522

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might eat more in this way as he would not have to share that cooked meat with anyone but his wife and child.)

Gao Beard's sister, Di/ai, who had given him the arrow, received the meat of the back and throat and the intestines.

Gao Beard kept the meat of the neck for himself and in a second wave of distribution gave the rest of the meat as follows:

To his first wife, //Kushay, he gave both hindquarters, the meat of the chest, the lungs, part of the liver and one hind foot. To his mother he gave the meat of the belly and one hind foot. To his sister, //Kushay, and to /Gasa, the wife of his brother, /Qui, he gave one front foot each.

The amount given to his first wife was enormous. In addition to giving to her co-wife, also named //Kushay, and their children, she was to give a large portion of it to her parents, who lived with them in Band 2. (On other occasions the man had given directly to his wife's parents—not through his wife.) When the meat was cut up, //Kushay gave to her father, Old ≠Toma, four bundles of strips of clear raw meat (it was somewhat dried by then). There were about ten or twelve strips to a bundle, about 2½ to 3 feet long. We guessed the weight in all to be about 60 to 70 pounds. She gave meat also to her two younger brothers, /Gao and /Gunda. (Her other brother, //Ao, who had been one of the hunters, had got his share from Gao Beard.) She gave to her co-wife's father (≠Gao, Band 4) and to Old /Gaishay, her co-wife's MoFa, headman of Band 4. She then gave to six other persons, all in Band 1. They were her cousin, Old Gau (her FaSiSo) and his two daughters, and two other cousins (FaSiDas), Di/ai and /U, and /U's husband, ≠Toma.

The giving of raw meat went on. Old ≠Toma gave to eighteen people: his wife, six affines, three kin, two name relatives (i.e. a visitor because his father's name was ≠Toma, and Old /Gasa because her deceased husband's name was ≠Toma), and six other persons. Telling us the reasons for giving to the last six, whose kin or affinal connexions with ≠Toma, if any, were so remote we did not bother to trace them, he said of one, 'He is an old man whom I like in my heart', and of another, 'He was hungry for meat.' In the end Old ≠Toma gave some of the meat back to his daughter, //Kushay.

Di/ai (Band 3), the giver of the arrow, gave raw meat to six persons: her husband's mother, brother and two sisters (in Band 2), a visitor who was her HuSiHuBr, and her mother's brother, headman of the visiting Band 7.

Persons who had by this time received substantial amounts of raw meat began giving to others. We recorded 63 gifts of raw meat. Doubtless there were more. After the raw meat was given, there was further sharing of the individual's portions, cooked or raw, with parents, offspring, spouses, and other persons who live together.

Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the /Kung. When an individual receives a portion of meat he owns it outright for himself. He may give and share it further as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very important

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FIG. 15. It is polite to sit aside and wait to be asked to share someone's portion of meat

FIG. 16. A father and child in anxious reverie

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FIG. 17. All the possessions of Gao Medicine (left) and his wife, Di/ai

[p. 240-E]

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to the /Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae /Kung eat hearty meals of meat when they have been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount. They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger.

The /Kung are quite conscious of the value of meat-sharing and they talk about it, especially about the benefit of the mutual obligation it entails. The idea of sharing is deeply implanted and very successfully imposes its restraints. To keep meat without sharing is one of the things that just is not done.

Gift-giving

The custom of gift-giving comes, in my opinion, second only to meat-sharing in aiding the /Kung to avoid jealousy and ill will and to develop friendly relations. /Kung society puts considerable emphasis on gift-giving. Everything a person has may have been given to him and may be passed on to others in time. The /Kung make their artifacts, on the whole, of durable material and take good care of them. They last for generations and move in a slow eddy among the people. The dealings are only between individuals, but they are numerous and provide occasion, perhaps more than any one other activity does, for visits which bring whole bands into polite encounter.

We gave cowrie shells as parting gifts in 1951 to the women in ≠Toma's band, the band which first sponsored us and with which we stayed and did our consistent work, wherever they were, on each expedition. We had carefully observed that there were no cowrie shells among /Kung ornaments before we gave them. Ours were bought from a New York shell dealer, perhaps to the confusion of future archaeologists. We gave to each woman enough for a short necklace, one large brown shell and twenty smaller grey ones. In 1952 there was hardly a cowrie shell to be found in Band 1. They appeared, not as whole necklaces, but in ones and twos in people's ornaments to the edges of the region.

The /Kung have not developed special objects to use as gifts. Nor have they invested ordinary objects with special gift significance. What they give each other are the common artifacts and materials of everyday life (see Appendix). Some objects are more highly valued than others as gifts, as one would expect. I gathered that relative scarcity of material was a factor and that objects were appreciated for their beauty, workmanship, and appropriate size (a wide headband is better than a narrow one). People took an interest in remembering to whom an object had been given in the recent past, but the /Kung, who are present-oriented, do not place special value upon antiquity as such or systematically hold the distant past in mind.

The /Kung decorate their artifacts very little (they have developed music and dancing, not the plastic or pictorial arts), but they delight in ornaments with which to adorn themselves. The intrinsic beauty, the meaningfulness, and the relief to the monotony of yellow-brown skin and grey-brown leather karosses are all valued.

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsī the men always ac-
462 company the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsī* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater por-
222 tion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging imple-
[412] ment is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were
[101] living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some
[484] to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles
[361] to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back
[854] to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to
[482] them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the
[372] bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as
252 meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes,
● 264 pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

222 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the
433 impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food
731 is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families
166 therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—
[582]

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224 they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly
602 only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others.
[574] This meat may be cooked and the quantities small. Visitors receive small amounts of cooked meat from their hosts. It ends in everybody getting some meat.

224 In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and pri-
431 mary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift giving. !Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift of meat at some time in the future. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously
[571] according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift giving in general: the person gives to measure up to what is expected of him, to make friendly gestures, to win favor, to repay past favors and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation.

224 Aside from the practical advantage of using up meat while it is still
431 fresh, the !Kung custom of meat sharing has enormous social value. It does
181 a great deal to mitigate tensions. The fear of hunger is lessened. People are
[154] sustained by a web of mutual obligation. Moreover, they are fully conscious
[183] of these values, and the custom is so strongly established and so faithfully followed that the idea of not sharing is virtually unthinkable to the !Kung.

422 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the
262 !Kung. When an individual receives a portion he owns it outright. He may
● 264 give and share it further, as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very
[261] important to the !Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

224 It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they
261 gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae !Kung eat hearty meals of meat when plenty appeared and they had been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount.

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221 compelled to turn back to permanent waterholes. Thus in the rainy
312 season the Aikwe, Tsaukwe, /Amkwe, /Dukwe, and Tserekwe all hunt
423 in the wide sandveld pierced by the bed of the Letyahau, keeping to some extent to their respective hunting territories, but apparently also hunting together peacefully in the most central parts of the region. In the dry season, however, they turn back to the limestone pans of the Ghansiveld and Mahuraveld and to the river-courses of the Tauche-Botletle system, where permanent water is to be found.[1] The same alternation of residence with the seasons occurs, as we have seen, among the Tannekwe and the Hukwe, and may also be noted among the Kung and the Auen in the Omaheke and Kaukauveld.[2]

It is not only in alternation of residence that the change of season
[621] makes itself felt. In some cases it also affects the very cohesion of the band itself; for, as already mentioned, both among the Auen and among some of the Central Kalahari tribes the members of the band concentrate together during the rainy season when there is a more abundant supply of food, but as the dry season comes on the families scatter and wander off in different directions.

From their huts the people go out every day in search of food.
462 The women rise early, light the fire, and prepare the food for the
512 morning meal, which usually consists of veldkos left over from the previous evening. After having eaten, the men may go out hunting or visiting or engage in some other occupation, such as preparing skins, weapons, and utensils. The women accompany one another in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. "One may see a group of women and little children start off in one direction, single file of course, then some men in another, then four or five boys together, then girls, small and big, then some more men, and so on." When food is obtainable at no great distance, the women are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have far to go they may not reach home till late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they start the fires and proceed to prepare the food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water from the neighbouring waterhole.
[264] Food is ready by the time the men arrive in the late afternoon, and the evening meal, the principal meal of the day, is then eaten without delay. Meals are taken in common by the members of the family,
512 each family eating at its own hut. Afterwards visits are usually
[574]

[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 31–2.
[2] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303.

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Cooking

252 is done chiefly by the women, assisted by the children; in exceptional
[462] cases the men also may cook. Wild cucumbers, nuts, bulbs, and similar plant foods are baked in hot ashes covered with cinders. A bright fire is made and allowed to die down, a hole is scraped in the ashes with a flat, paddle-shaped wooden scoop, the food put in and covered over. It is then eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge, after being pounded up in wooden mortars or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood. Birds, snakes, small antelopes, etc., are baked in the same manner; ants are similarly treated, and then sifted through a mat of loosely-woven reeds, while locusts are either baked or boiled. *Grewia* berries are sometimes eaten as picked, stone and all, sometimes stamped in the mortar and swallowed uncooked. Some specially dainty kinds of meat are roasted over the fire on a wooden spit stuck into the ground. Other kinds of meat, again, as well as stamped
[439] locusts, *tsama* seeds and foods obtained from the white man, such as mealie meal, are cooked with water.

The "tame" Bushmen now use any sort of receptacle, such as a
415 paraffin or paint tin, for cooking purposes; the Auen and Naron
[439] in their more primitive condition used wooden pots, made by themselves or obtained by barter; while among the more Northern tribes clay pots obtained by barter from the OvaMbo and other Bantu tribes are sometimes found. The actual manufacture of clay pots by the
[184] Bushmen themselves seems to have been restricted to the tribes
[323] south of the Molopo. Food is eaten direct from the pot or from plates
[264] and bowls made of wood. Wooden spoons are sometimes found among the Northern tribes, but generally either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Fire is everywhere made by drilling a thin hard stick in another,
372 somewhat softer, in which there is a notch (Plate IX). This second stick is held firmly on the ground by one foot, while the drill-stick with its lower end pressed into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the hands until sparks come. A little dry grass is in readiness to catch the spark, and when it has caught alight dry wood is gradually added until a good fire has been set going.

In this connection reference must be made to certain special
372 observances relating to fire which have recently been recorded by
622 Fourie about the Heikum. "All fire," he says,[1] "is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to

[1] Op. cit., 87.

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on the ground under the */heis* either on sticks which were used in 224
carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib* (chief) now comes forward 252
and if he finds that the */hei-/ais* (fire under the tree) has gone out he 224
returns to his hut, brings fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is 252
absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the 622
meat in the meantime being hung on the */heis* (tree in centre of camp). After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men— [372]
the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and 'tastes' (*tsa-tsa*) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers [264] ●
and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as */koms*.

"All meat killed with bow and arrow is *soxa* [taboo] and may not be 224
partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, how- 262
ever, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut [622]
up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *soxa* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *soxa*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *soxa* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*/ei-ti*). Her portion is known as the */noe-di* and is the only meat which may be partaken of by women. The */noe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the *//kham-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The */noe-di*, however, may not [622]
be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *//gaus*. It is not brought under the */heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the [252]
fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The *//kham-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women partake of any other meat than the */noe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an

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224 animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu*
262 (youths) is known as */om-//gani*, and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles,
224 etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at
252 the *axarogudi ǂgaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the
262 animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the */heis* or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him, and if he eats any other part, e.g. the *ǂkoms*, he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions of about two finger-breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis*
[574] may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *ǂnoe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-//gani*,
[264] under which is included the *ǂkoms*. The latter may be eaten only under the */heis*. After it has been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is
[841] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *ǂkoms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib*, and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

"A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat killed by
224 the members of an outlying *//gaus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to
262 taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the
622 *//gaus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *//gaus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he visits a *//gaus* for this purpose he kindles the */hei-/ais* with
[372] fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own."

Apart from the light it throws upon certain functions of the chief,
114 this account illustrates admirably both the existence of special ritual
224 observances in regard to game killed in the chase, and the fact that
[622] food obtained in this way is shared among all the people present at the encampment. This latter feature has also been noted by other writers on the different Bushman tribes,[1] and it can safely be asserted

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 55; Kaufmann, op. cit., 155–6 D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, pp. viii–ix; *idem*, *The Naron*, 16.

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only to the treatment of women and their paramours; nothing is 114 684
said of the wife's remedies when her husband is unfaithful.

Besides this sexual relation between husband and wife, there is 581
also the economic relation. The two share the same hut, and take their [264] [462]
meals in common. It is the duty of the wife to build the hut, to provide the vegetable food, the firewood and water, and to cook the meals; while it is the duty of the husband to provide game for himself and his wife, to make her clothes and certain of her utensils. The economic 562
burden of the woman has led some writers to depreciate her status, 593
but on the whole it would seem that the women are the companions of their husbands, not their servants, and will often take their own way, in spite of the man's wishes. The position of the wife within the household is, in fact, hardly inferior to that of her husband, who, it is said, is often enough henpecked by her![1]

In addition to establishing this special relationship between husband 591
and wife, marriage leads also to the formation of further special 606
relationships, especially with the parents-in-law. After marriage, as we have seen, the young couple may remain for some time with the wife's parents before finally taking up their residence in the husband's group. Among the Kung and the neighbouring tribes to the east the [583]
husband has during this period of temporary matrilocal residence to hunt for his parents-in-law and to supply them in this way with animal food. If he neglects to do this, says Vedder, his wife may be taken away from him.[2] We thus get a special economic relationship between a man and his wife's parents, based directly upon the fact of his marriage. Probably something similar exists among the other Bushman tribes having temporary matrilocal residence, but no concrete information is available about them in this connection.

Among almost all the Bushmen, moreover, marriage further 606
creates a special form of etiquette between a man and his parents-in-law, and in some cases between a woman and her husband's parents. Thus among the Kung the husband has to avoid his mother-in-law, the wife apparently also her father-in-law. The wife's parents do not enter the hut of the young couple, nor again may the husband enter their hut. The game which he kills for his father-in-law he lays down in front of the latter's hut.[3] Similarly among the Naron a man is not

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; Chapman, op. cit., i, 291; Lebzelter, op. cit., 14. For an unsympathetic account of the wife's status, cf. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 122.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 8; Chapman, op. cit., i, 258.
[3] Vedder, loc. cit.; Chapman, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 63.

/139 cont./

412 Mortars are made of wood and have a stone floor. Their
322 construction is extremely laborious. A block of wood is buried in the ground, stamped down, and then hollowed out with the iron point of the lance or a knife. For this purpose, the iron is sometimes heated. Fire is not used. The wooden pestle is furnished with a stone at one end. The stone on the floor of the
[381] mortar is cemented with tree resin.

[379] Burning branches are used as a kind of torch, but only briefly in the vicinity of the fire.

Photograph 18 illustrates the shape of the mortar and the pestle. The mortar is made of soft wood hollowed out with a lance point. Fire is not used to hollow it out (see above).

Household utensils. Two flat stones to pound hard veld
415 fruit. Spoons crudely carved out of wood. Wooden pot or empty ostrich eggs /140/ with a round hole as water containers. Fre-
[531] quently some kind of decoration is applied. Digging stick
[412] pointed at one end.

Ornamentation. Unfortunately I did not have time to ob-
301 tain more precise data concerning ornamentation. Ornaments
531 are attached to many objects and consist of such things as ostrich eggs and pipe plugs (which are worn on a string around the neck).

Generally speaking, the Auin has three meals a day (morn-
264 ing, afternoon, and evening). If he has enough food, however, he may eat all day long, with the necessary intervals, and, if it is not too cold, even during the night.

There is no special menu. Whatever is available is eaten.
262 The hyena is not eaten because it "devours corpses." The leopard is supposedly not eaten by all the people. The reason for this is unknown to me. The shabrack jackal is frequently spurned because it "is a dog." On the other hand, they like to eat the silver jackal, because it "does not eat vermin."

[858] Young girls who have not yet menstruated and boys before
[882] they have reached adulthood may not eat game meat because if they did, they would "remain skinny."

● 266 I have never observed any traces of cannibalism. Furthermore, I was told by old, experienced natives of other races (Klipp Kaffir) that they had never heard of Bushmen eating human flesh.

/140 cont./

266 I spoke with a number of elderly Auin about this, and they were by no means indignant at the suggestion. Their reasoning was approximately the following: "Our parents never told us one should eat human flesh. If other old people were to enjoy it, then we could do it also."

In view of the low cultural level of the Bushmen, the absence of anthropophagy is, in my opinion, very striking.

D. Ornaments and Hairdressing

301 The following ornaments were observed.

Among men:

Neck ring, a thin wooden ring made from the so-called rosinkis bush and tied together to form a circle, decorated with lines scratched on it. Arm rings. Three to 20 simple braided rings (see Photos. 3 and 4). The iron beads probably come from [439] the eastern Kaffir tribes. The rings are made from the web of a [237] tree spider (Stegodyphus dumicola Pocock?). A number of strings are bunched together in a ball, and this is "noodled" with the flat of the hand on the upper thigh into strings of the approximate thickness of a knitting needle. The strings are then wound together in pairs and the ring is closed by "noodling together."

Rings around the wrists. The same rings as those worn on the upper arm. In addition, simple rings three to five millimeters wide, made of game leather, as well as individual rings made of [439] iron or copper wire. The latter are said to have been bartered from Batauana.

Lower leg. Some men and women wear one or two leather rings directly below the knee on one or both legs. These leather rings are somewhat wider than the leather rings around the wrists (see Photos. 12 and 14).

Among women:

Head ornaments. Various combinations of chains of ostrich egg shells, as shown in Photograph 20. Sometimes only a piece of such a Molentza chain is braided into the hair of the forehead (see Photo. 36, woman dancing on the left). I also found this ornament on one man.

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776 782 In spite of their reluctance to say the gods' names in serious discussion, the /Kung say them in blasphemy. (The word for cursing or blasphemy is *za*. Cursing is also called 'mouth-medicine'.) The medicine men curse the gods when they are combating their evil intents in the curing ceremony. A light-hearted blasphemy also occurs among the /Kung, as among ourselves, and the names slip from men's mouths in an insouciant way, as though they did not really mean them, as we say 'God Almighty!' or 'Jesus Christ!' in our inconsequential swearing.

I wondered if we should find that certain names were more closely associated with certain phenomena, like lightning or rain, or with special functions, such as presiding over childbirth, but all my inquiries on this theme led me to the conclusion that the names do not have such associations. There appears to be, however, a vague tendency, though not a strict rule, to associate some names more with benefaction, others more with ill treatment of the people. *Gani ga*, which is a very respectful name, seemed to come to mind when they wanted to show that they were well disposed towards the god and wanted to thank him or ask him sweetly to help them. */Gara* and *≠Gaishi ≠gai* we heard spoken in anger. They are 'scolding' names. One man used *Hnwe* when he spoke of the greatness and power of the god, saying '*Hnwe* was the tallest of the Bushmen, a great man with many names', and *Hishe* was the name used when the creator said, 'I am *Hishe*. I am unknown.' *Kxo* was not often uttered. The name *//Gauwa* will be discussed later.

Two Images of *≠GAO/NA*

≠Gao/na, *the Protagonist of the Old Tales*

776 539 *≠Gao/na*, we were told, was the oldest name of the great god. Through that name the /Kung identify the great god with an old *≠Gao/na*, the protagonist of many ancient tales. Some sense of logical necessity, I believe, compelled the /Kung to merge the two concepts so that they say, when they are asked, that the *≠Gao/na* of the tales and the great god are the same being, but this is a forced and superficial verbal resolution, for the two beings could hardly be more different. The people, I believe, really imagine them as different, and behave in quite a different manner as they speak of them. They tell the tales of the old *≠Gao/na*'s doings without restraint, [522] say his name aloud, howl and roll on the ground with laughter at his humiliations, whereas, when they speak of the great one in the east, they whisper and avoid his name. Yet they think that somehow in the rightness of things these two beings must be one, so one they are said to be.

The old *≠Gao/na* was a kind of culture hero. He had supernatural powers. He could change himself into other forms and could change people into animals, bring people back to life, &c. He was a great magician, with powers over magic substances and objects. But, although he gave fire to mankind, he could not be called a great [372] benefactor of mankind. He wanted fire for himself because he liked cooked food and gave the fire to man rather as an afterthought. He was not very much concerned with man or with man's morals. He was not the death-giver, involved in the mysterious inevitable necessity of death, or a wrathful punisher, like Jehovah. Such vengeance as he took was not a mighty vengeance but only a getting back at those who tricked [266] him. And usually his reason for killing someone was his own hunger. In those older days, according to the tales, people were always eating one another or parts of one

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another or parts of themselves. In appearance and other characteristics the old ≠*Gao/na* was more man-like than supernatural. He lived on the earth among men. Like men he was subject to passions, hungers, sins, stupidities, failures, frustrations, and humiliations, but men imagine his to be on a larger scale and more grotesque than their own. Like Bushmen of today, his great concerns were hunger and sex. To the /Kung the two worst sins, the unthinkable, unspeakable sins, are cannibalism and incest. ≠*Gao/na* committed both these sins quite unconcernedly. He ate his older brother-in-law and his younger brother-in-law and raped his son's wife.

≠Gao/na, *his* Tun/ga (*the Fat Paouw*), *and the Pit*[1]

≠*Gao/na*'s wives were sisters. They had a brother who was a paouw. One day ≠*Gao/na* met the paouw, his *tun/ga*. [*Tun/ga* is the kin term for wife's brother older than the speaker.] His *tun/ga* was very fat. A fat paouw has bags of fat under his wings. ≠*Gao/na* and his *tun/ga* spoke together and parted. ≠*Gao/na* was surprised to see so much fat. He said, 'Oh, how fat my *tun/ga* is.' A few miles on they met again. ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Look, do you see that veld fire over there?' He pointed with his arm away up. The paouw said, 'Do you mean *that* fire?' He pointed, but only with a restricted gesture, keeping his wing to his side. 'No, ≠*Gao/na* said, 'THAT fire,' and he pointed with his arm far up, his whole armpit showing. 'I see it,' said the paouw, and he stretched his wing far up to point. ≠*Gao/na* was standing behind him. He seized the fat below the paouw's wing and cut it off and ran home. The paouw cursed ≠*Gao/na*. 'Break your bones and die,' he said. 'Die of a broken back or die of a broken neck,' he said.

≠*Gao/na* took the fat home and rubbed his wooden basins with it. His wives came home and found the wooden basins covered with fat and they asked him what he had eaten that was so fat. ≠*Gao/na* said that he got the fat from a puff adder. He said he beat it with a stick until the fat from the front went down the back to the middle, and beat the tail until the fat from the back went up the back to the middle. ≠*Gao/na* now planned how he would get his *tun/ga*. He slept that night. The next morning he set snares under the tree where the paouw went to eat gum. ≠*Gao/na* then met the paouw again. The paouw was wary and wouldn't come near. ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Why are you so wild with me?' [Wild is the opposite of tame, domesticated, or confident.] 'There is a tree there with gum under it but my eyes are not good enough to see it.' He said,' Let us have a contest; we shall see who can see the gum first. The one who sees it first must run and snatch it.' So they went to the tree and saw the gum. The paouw ran fast to get it, and ≠*Gao/na* ran too but he did not run so fast. The paouw snatched the gum and the snare caught him, and ≠*Gao/na* ran up and clubbed him, and carried him home. ≠*Gao/na*'s wives were out for veldkos. He put the fat from the other wing in a small pot and the body of the paouw in a big pot. When the wing fat was ready he ate it, and ate and ate, but he ate too much and he went out and had diarrhoea. The wives came home and suspected that perhaps he had killed their brother. The paouw began to expand in the pot and he swelled and swelled until *koah!* the pot burst and pieces of meat came whizzing out so that ≠*Gao/na* had to duck away from them. When all the meat was out, the paouw came back together again and flew away. ≠*Gao/na* chased after him but the wives called to him, 'Come back, you forgot your stick.' ≠*Gao/na* came back and got his stick and ran after the paouw again. The wives called him, 'Come back, you forgot your

[1] I wish to acknowledge with gratitude and pleasure the assistance of our daughter, Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, in gathering the material of the old tales, as well as other data. The first tale is hers. In paraphrasing the tales, we adhered to the events, the ideas, and the details, incorporating them as they were told us, but we have put the tales into our own words, attempting to preserve something of the quality of the telling as it came to our ears.

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

in several different bands, and they may choose among them. A band that owned comparatively good resources would tend to attract more members than a band with scant veldkos. This flexibility of residence pattern is one of the reasons that one finds the bands of the interior of the Nyae Nyae region relatively in balance with their resources, and varying in size.

WATER • Two or more bands may share the ownership of a water hole. Water holes keep their own rough population balance because, if water is very scarce, people will go to live elsewhere when they have the possibility of doing so.

In the interior of this region, in roughly 8000 square miles, there are three water holes that can be called really permanent. In the driest years these do not fail. Four others dry up only in years of severe drought. Six more are semipermanent: in a very good year they may yield a little water right through, but in a dry year they are sure to dry up. When the semipermanent water holes go dry, the bands who own them may break up temporarily and the families may go to live with relatives who are at permanent water holes, or they may go as whole bands to another water hole where they have relatives.

Water is not owned as exclusively or as jealously as veldkos. Water seems to belong more to mankind, as the animals do, and the ownership of water holes emphasizes more the managing than the withholding of the water. The headman controls the water. His permission should be asked by travelers or visitors before taking water, "because he knows what he has and what can be done," we were told. We saw small temporary water holes marked with bundles of grass thrust into forked sticks. This was to tell visitors or travelers that the owners of the water hole were in residence, as it were, and were counting on the water. We believe that in these circumstances water would not be taken without permission. Occasions are not likely to arise where permission need be refused. The !Kung know where the others are, or are likely to be, at a given time and know how much water is available. They plan better than to get themselves into desperate situations.

One source of water appears to be owned by individuals. It is the rainwater that collects in hollow mangetti trees. The water in trees is not stolen by others who go to gather in the same mangetti forest. Water, incidentally, is the only beverage of the !Kung in the interior of the region. They have no alcoholic drinks and use no infusions of herbs.

HUNTING AND MEAT SHARING • !Kung hunting regulations do not confine the hunters to territories. The game animals belong to no one until they are shot, and the hunters may follow them anywhere the spoor leads and may cross the territorial boundaries of any band. If hunters have made a kill in the territory of a neighboring band, they would not fail to give a present of

[10 cont.]

539 χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!
[821]
● 271
731 [11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They
[888] do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and
[758] the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune. Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own.
271 One must have experienced personally the feeling that overcomes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can drink again!

539 3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a
782 journey:
[484] χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

[755] 4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor performs his ceremonies.

χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai khaíra téve God, let our people rise again.

789 5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil: Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

821 They do not know anything to say about the sun (sorésa). The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

753 Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those
776 persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this, and there is no spirit of sickness.

776 There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the bush. They play tricks.

775 A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know
[756] what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

[22 cont.]

114 without compromising oneself. Only old people are suitable
124 informants, since they are no longer eager for renown.

In view of the hard life that the people lead, sexuality,
831 naturally, is not excessively developed. Perverse manipulations are evidently unknown, since my informants did not even understand questions on this subject.

833 Normal sexual intercourse is usually performed in the bush during the time between the evening meal and the rising
● 271 of the moon. Long periods of thirst result in almost total im-
147 potence.

157 Despite all the formality, they have an unbridled
578 temperament which frequently expresses itself in violent emotional explosions over trivial affairs, which then may easily lead to serious consequences since the poisoned arrow is always at hand. For example, I was told the following story: A Bushman worked on a farm for quite a long time and, with his belly fat from eating maize, came to visit his thin companions. His brother made fun of him for being so fat, saying that he could not run any more, whereupon the fat one retorted: "Just the same, I'll live longer than you." After this brief exchange of words, the scrawny brother stabbed the fat one. -- A film com-
157 pany once wanted to make a film among the !Kung who are
648 settled behind Keibeb; the film was to be called: "When the First Whites Came into the Land." The chief of this horde had a [23] pair of old German military trousers as an emblem of his office and when he was requested to take them off, he responded with the declaration that he would take off his trousers only if the White did the same, whereupon he received a box on the ears that put him and his companions in such a rage that the film company preferred to depart in order to avoid a catastrophe.
157 That they can also be quick at repartee is shown by the following story which was repeatedly told to me by Europeans: A Bushman had been accused of poaching. The magistrate asked him: "Don't you know that these animals belong to the king (royal game)?" The Bushman answered: "I saw no 'brand' (property mark)."

As a chief or family head, the Bushman is bossy and
[593] unyielding, which is understandable in view of the rigidity of his whole conception of life. The sick Bushmen lie silent and

262 271 824 [114] is eaten only when they are in the greatest need. Reynolds (1950: 285), quoting W. B. Hooker, states that its flowers may be eaten after boiling, but I did not think of asking the Bushmen about this, and they did not volunteer any information.

X137 *Dipcadi* sp. (5163, 5307).

!h5: Bushman.....	n!fɔm
Naron Bushman.....	n!ɔm
Eastern !khû Bushman	n!umʃé:

Although the above-ground parts had been killed by frost, enough remained for the plant to be identified as a species of Dipcadi. The bulbs were two inches below the surface of the soil, in appearance like a small onion. They were planted in Pretoria, but although they were still alive two years after being collected, they had failed to produce leaves or flowers up to the time this report was written.

Specimens were collected at Nama Pan, in parkland on sandy soil. As the plant was recognised and named by one of the southern !h5: Bushmen who was with us, it probably extends into the Kalahari well south of Ghanzi.

[262] The bulbs are edible after cooking.

Scilla sp. near *Scilla lancifolia* Bak. (5190) Photograph 5.

Eastern !khû Bushman tû

This plant has a rounded two-inch bulb covered with a thick layer of dark brown papery scales. In the summer it produces three or four spreading leaves, usually six inches long but up to 10, and one and a half inches wide at the widest part. They are thin but fleshy, strap-shaped (but in section widely V-shaped near the base), and light green, sometimes faintly mottled with darker green. The inflorescence is four inches long and the flowers small and not conspicuous, with purple stamens and a recurved perianth.

It was common in shallow sand overlying rock near Gautscha Pan and Nama Pan but was not easy to find because the leaves and inflorescences had been frosted, and blown away by the wind by the time the expedition had reached those parts. A number of bulbs collected there produced leaves and flowers in Pretoria the following summer, and it was from these plants that the notes were made.

[252 262] The bulb is edible after roasting but I have not tried it personally.

It would be dangerous to experiment with plants like this if what the Bushmen say is true, for it could be easily confused with another species which has an inedible bulb. The inedible species (No. 5181) is shown in photograph 6 and may be distinguished by its longer bulb and longer leaves (10 inches long and over, and two inches wide at the widest part). They have a translucent fringed margin, are pointed, narrowly V-shaped in section and more numerous, about 12 to a plant. In addition, the

was the host of the insect which they use for making their arrow poison, and that it had harder roots than the other. The fruits, flowers and leaves might have shown the difference clearly, but no trace of them could be found, and though plants were sent to the Transvaal for growing they failed to become established. 824

In spite of its unpromising appearance, the non-poisonous one is a useful source of water. This is in a sappy unbranched vertical underground part about an inch and a half thick. The Bushmen excavate down its length as deeply as they can reach, then break it off and withdraw it. They remove the thin outer skin and chew the remaining part, which is crisp and has a little tasteless sap. As a source of water it does not compare with the various species of Cucurbitaceae—weight for weight it contains far less, and the labour of digging it up is considerable. However, it must be a reliable standby when the Cucurbitaceae are not in fruit, and in the central Kalahari it is plentiful. In the southern part it is apparently absent, for it was not seen until 256 miles north-west of Molepolole. 312 824 [222] [271]

Dichapetalum cymosum (Hook.) Engl. 5109, 5266, 5338 Photograph 24. 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman ma-!

This plant produces a number of slender erect woody stems up to 12 inches high, sparingly branched and often buried in the sand at the base. The leaves are four inches long, numerous, sessile, alternate, broader in the upper half where they are about one and a half inches across, and tapering at the base, with a stiff papery texture and with veins prominent above and below. They have a slight bloom on the upper surface and the younger leaves at least have a pair of narrow hairy stipules at the base. The younger parts of the plant are hairy, but the hairs wear off with age, and during the winter the leaves turn brown and hard and finally drop. The flowers are scented and have white petals forked at the end, but as they are small and nearly covered by the sepals, they are not conspicuous. The fruits are like a loquat, and may be brown or yellow. The have one or two big seeds covered by a little flesh.

Dichapetalum is distributed widely but patchily from the northern Transvaal through to Angola and Rhodesia. On the expedition it was seen for the first time between Tsau and Kaikai, and beyond that it was fairly frequent but scattered. It was usually in open situations, and seldom where there was dense tree growth.

Though the leaves are extremely poisonous, the flesh of the fruits is harmless and is eaten by the Bushmen. They emphasised that the flesh only could be used, and that the stone was poisonous. They did not mention the skin, but the following note on Schoenfelder's specimen 31, in the National Herbarium, indicates that it, too, is poisonous:— 262

> "Fruits like small yellow oranges are eaten peeled in great quantities by the Kung Bushmen. When still green can be eaten after baking in hot ash. Used like fruit, fresh. The peel of the fruit is stamped and mixed with other food to poison stealing dogs (Diriko)." [252] [278 824]

Marloth (1913-25: II: I: 120) and Engler (1912: 577) also refer to the edibility of the fruits.

There are four other plants of very similar appearance which could be confused with *Dichapetalum cymosum*, and although they were not collected on the expedition, their distribution does overlap. They are *Pachystigma pygmaeum*, *Pygmaeothamnus zeyheri*, *Parinari capense* and *Diospyros chamaethamnus*. The first two bear inedible fruits and may be 137X

137X

Adansonia digitata L. Photograph 32.

Eastern !khû Bushman ≠m

The Baobab, as it is commonly called, is shown in photograph 32. Its stem may have a circumference of up to 148 feet, and makes it quite unmistakable. In winter it is leafless but in summer it bears dense dark-green foliage. The flowers are pure white and up to six inches across, and the fruits, as described by Codd (1951: 120) are "oblong or egg-shaped, five to six inches or more in length and three to four inches in diameter, with a woody shell which is softly grey-velvety on the outside".

The southernmost specimens were seen in the neighbourhood of Ghanzi, and from there it occurred sporadically to Gautscha Pan, the furthest point north reached by the expedition. There were big gaps in its distribution and it was rare throughout, but in some parts of the Transvaal it occurs abundantly and may have an unbroken distribution over many square miles of country. It is widely distributed in the drier regions of north and south tropical Africa.

Inside the shell of the fruit is a white, pith-like substance which may be eaten raw, or ground up and stirred into water to make a drink, or boiled to make a porridge. It has an acid-sweet taste. The seeds which are embedded in the flesh are also edible and are eaten like nuts. In other parts of Africa they are prepared in a somewhat involved way which includes protracted boiling, fermenting and drying. There are several records of the fact that the young leaves make quite a good substitute for spinach, but as the expedition was during the winter and as the trees are deciduous, I cannot say whether the Bushmen know of this, nor whether the trees we saw were of the glabrous variety which is the one used for spinach. No seedlings were seen. It is known that the white shoot from the germinating seed can be used as a substitute for asparagus, and that the tender root of the very young Baobab is also edible (Dalziel, 1937: 113). The trees are often hollow, and like *Boscia albitrunca* and *Ricinodendron rautenii* may act as reservoirs for rain water which can be used in times of scarcity. The Bushmen reach it by fitting hollow grass stalks end to end to form a tube, and sucking it out. A further product of the Baobab is a large caterpillar which feeds upon the leaves and which is an important article of food aming the Natives of the northern Transvaal. It is recorded also from South West Africa, and is very likely known to and used by the Bushmen.

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262
[272]
271
312
824
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825

137X

Ochna pulchra Hook. (5273) Photograph 33.

Eastern !khû Bushman !i and !e:i

A semi-deciduous tree with a clean but usually rather twisted bole which is white to light gray and has a peeling bark. The branches are bent and rigid and the wood brittle. They bear glossy light green alternate leaves which are almost sessile and usually entire, rarely with a very finely toothed margin. The tree has an attractive appearance even in winter, and the young leaves add to this in the spring for they range from pale green to reddish-brown. The flowers are borne in early summer, in showy scented bunches. They have yellow petals and a green calyx, which persists after the petals have fallen and turns bright red. The fruits are hard and green when immature but turn fleshy and black as they ripen. There are usually two or three, the size and shape of small beans, attached to a fleshy red swelling in the centre of the flower. The leaves have been suspected of causing poisoning in stock, but tests carried out on mammals have so far been inconclusive. (Uys and Thomas 1952, Steyn, 1949: 125.)

By the spring there may be nothing left to mark the position of the plant. 137X
How extraordinarily observant the Bushmen are was well shown when they 824
were asked if they could find a specimen and demonstrate its use. One man guided the party for four miles across country featureless except for clumps of trees to a spot where he knew of one growing. It was found after a short search—nothing more than two or three small sticks among the grasses, with the bark shredding into white silky fibres.

Raphionacme burkei is found from South West Africa through the 137X
Bechuanaland Protectorate into the northern Transvaal and the northern Cape. Two specimens were seen in the central Kalahari, and the species was determined from one of them which was sent to Pretoria for cultivation and flowered there in the following summer.

It is a well-known source of water among the Bushmen of the Kala- 271
hari. They extract the water from the storage organ by planing a pile 312
of shavings off it with the edge of a split stick, and then squeezing the 824
shavings in the hand and allowing the water to run into the mouth. This rather roundabout way of doing things appears to be without good reason, because the flesh of the storage organ may be chewed without any ill effect. It is firm and crisp, slightly fibrous, and faintly bitter.

Pentarrhinum insipidum E. Mey. (5171, 5191) Photograph 40. 137X

Eastern !khū Bushman n!ɔ-ʃu and n!wa-ʃu

A leafy deciduous climber up to 10 feet high, and a vigorous grower which may completely cover the host tree. It has freely branching lax stems which are quite tough in spite of being only a matter of an eighth of an inch in thickness. They are covered with a fine white down which is just perceptible to the naked eye, and when broken they exude a little milky juice, so little that it is easily overlooked. At intervals of about five inches arise pairs of leaves, deeply cordate at the base, and with long stalks. In the younger stages they are minutely hairy but they become glabrous or nearly so as they grow older. The flowers rise in a group on a three-inch slender stalk from between the leaves. They are brownish with a yellow or white central portion, small and faintly scented. The fruits are occasionally produced in pairs but are more usually solitary. They are beaked, three inches long and half as wide, covered with blunt prickles, longitudinally wrinkled and dull green.

At Nama Pan this was a frequent climber among the trees, and it is widespread over southern Africa. It was not, however, seen in the country south of Ghanzi.

At maturity the fruits are hard and woody and packed with the fine 262
silky hairs that form the pappus of the seeds, but when green they are 252
softer and may be eaten raw or cooked as a vegetable, and may be stored for three weeks before they deteriorate. Their rather copious white latex is quite harmless. They have a crisp texture when raw and a pleasant flavour, nutty and faintly peppery. When boiled they are reminiscent of Asparagus. When the seeds inside have turned brown the fruit will be found too hard to make good eating. The leaves, too, may be eaten raw as a salad, and are used that way by some Transvaal Natives, but the Bushmen method of preparation is to pound them to a pulp in a wooden mortar.

Pentarrhinum insipidum grows well from seed and is a rapid producer 137X
of green material. It might be a useful fodder plant for domestic stock.

leaves drop during the winter, but a few were still to be seen, linear, paired, and about three inches long and half an inch wide, and there was one fruit, as long as the leaves and shaped like a small cigar. The stems rise from a brown-skinned underground storage organ which may be more than a foot in length and up to five inches in diameter. It is often oddly shaped if growing in rocky ground, as these all were, and has a rather spongy texture, a combination which makes it difficult to dig up without damage. Several were brought in at a Bushman encampment about 20 miles south-west of Nama Pan, but none of them were entire. The specimens I collected were lost in transit to Pretoria, and though they could be placed in the genus Fockea from what had been seen in the field, the species is unknown. 137X

The storage organ is eaten raw by the Bushmen. The flesh is white and rather flabby, with a faint but pleasant flavour of coconut ice. As well as being a food it is juicy enough to be a useful source of water. It could possibly be bred into a plant worth cultivating. [262] [312]

Ipomoea verbascoidea Choisy (5223, 5319) Photograph 49.

Eastern !khū Bushman n!oru

Tubers and seeds of this species failed to grow in cultivation in Pretoria. The notes which follow were made partly from herbarium specimens, for the plants were quite leafless when they were seen in the field in August. They were conspicuous in spite of their bareness, because of the small pure white masses of wool in which the seeds were embedded. These masses were scattered along numerous slender twigs that arose from a group of sturdy, cane-like stems, half an inch thick and eight feet long or more. The stems are scramblers, or, if no trees are at hand, lax and spreading. They exude a little milky juice when cut. The stalked leaves are simple, rounded, and up to four inches across, and bear in their axils single large purple flowers of the typical Convolvulaceous (morning glory) type. The plant is covered with a white wool except on the upper surface of the leaves, where it is sparsely hairy.

Two plants were seen on the expedition, both in the neighbourhood of Nama Pan, and both on sand and among fairly dense mixed scrub. There are records of the species from South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Angola.

A note on one of the herbarium specimens states that the fruits are edible, but this was not mentioned by the Bushmen. They did however state that the storage organs were used as a source of water. These are six inches below the soil, sometimes partly exposed and partly eaten by animals. They are firm and juicy, and those seen were the size of a football, with a white flesh and a dark brown skin. The water may be extracted by chewing the flesh or by pounding it and squeezing the pulp. [262] 312 [271]

Ipomoea sp. (5179) Photograph 50.

Eastern !khū Bushman !garube 137X

A slender plant with three or four bluish-reen leaves up to three inches long, borne on a four-inch erect stalk and themselves erect, and deeply and narrowly lobed. There are usually three or four tubers to each plant. They are found at any depth down to nine inches, and are variously shaped but regular in outline, typically the size and shape of a large apple with a slight depression on top, where they are connected at intervals of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

into a new place, although now they had no scherms. For the 609
next days they had waited and listened, and when they had heard our truck leave they had assumed that we were gone, and had returned to get the rest of their things. Then they had noticed our trucks, and believing that they were surrounded and had fallen into our trap, they had come to surrender. Ukwane felt more relaxed and laughed at this, a [152]
warm, wheezy chuckle, showing a few teeth, slapping his chest and coughing from the smoke which he had been inhaling deeply. Seeing Ukwane, the rest of us laughed, too, but Gai only stiffened and smiled an icy smile. Behind his head the sun was setting, small and red, away over the edge of the flat plain, making all the little, distant trees against it look black and very lonely; and the new moon followed after into the salmon light, a heavy crescent flat on its back and bow-shaped, yellow and malevolent like the smile.

Before they went to sleep that night, the two men accepted a second bucketful of water as a present. The bucket they would return, but the water was for them alone, an enormous [271]
present in the desert, for which they were very grateful. They began to drink from it, scooping the water up with their hands and, later, lifting the bucket to drink from its rim. After that they lay down, naked as they were on the bare 513
ground, close to the fire, with their knees bent, letting as much skin as possible be exposed to the heat. The warm smoke and ashes blew over them and they went to sleep on their sides as Bushmen always must, with one ear on the ground but with the other up and listening, to hear what comes along. Because it was cold they woke up often, and every time they woke they drank, so in the morning only the bottom of the pail had water in it, frozen into a circle of ice.

The next day the two men agreed to take some of us to 609
their werf, and we drove off with Ukwane in the jeep and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 bush beside her fireplace. Also, she brought out six round
222 green melons which are called *tsama* melons, and which, during the autumn, provide the only liquid available for all the Bushmen in the desert, and for all the game antelope be-
[271 312] sides. Under the green rind a tsama is very like a watermelon, filled with small oval seeds and very watery in texture, but is itself pale green and smaller, the size of a small cantaloupe.
[516] Tsetchwe placed one between her feet and, gripping it firmly with her strong toes, chopped a hole in the top of it with her digging-stick; then, lifting the cap away like the lid of a jack-
271 o'-lantern, she mashed the pulp inside until it was liquid. She put the melon to her mouth and, tipping her head back, drank from it, using her long digging-stick to help push the pulp into her mouth, working it like an enormous chopstick, making a watery noise as she sucked. When Tsetchwe had collected a mouthful of seeds she put the melon down, took an old, dry tsama melon rind from her kaross, and spat the seeds into it to save them, for they can be roasted and eaten like nuts when they are dry. Tsetchwe drank all the liquid in
[264] the rind and seemed refreshed as she cast the empty rind over her shoulder and brushed off her mouth and hands.

609 At last Gai strode back into the werf, followed at a distance
621 by a group of three small boys and, much farther, by three old women who stood waist-deep in bushes, close together like three antelope, craning their necks to see us.

609 When they noticed Tsetchwe and Ukwane, they came for-
276 ward with more confidence, accepted tobacco, and, squatting
621 immediately, began to smoke. It had been months, Ukwane said, since they had used their last tobacco, had been reduced to smoking leaves, and they were very happy to have the tobacco we had give them. Bushmen love to smoke. They say
[261] that tobacco, as well as the wild beans, takes away hunger and thirst, and, besides that, it makes their hearts glad. One

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER SIX

Veld Food

132 271 137 WITH the warm air came a series of long, fat clouds sailing from the north like slow dirigibles, some of them showering down a few drops of rain. We were amazed to see rain in winter, the dry season, something we had not seen before, and we asked Ukwane about it. He said that it was not unusual for rain to come in the wintertime but very hard on the people of the desert, as it fools the wild vegetables from which the Bushmen get their water.

There are many kinds of wild roots which can be eaten in winter, and each is marked among the grass blades by an almost invisible dry thread of a vine. The roots are swollen with liquid by which the plants preserve their life during the drought. When the plants feel the onset of spring, warm air and raindrops, the dry vines suck moisture out of the watery roots, turn green, and put out tiny leaves, and in this way, if the false spring lasts, the roots are soon sucked dry entirely. Bushmen cannot get enough water from eating the vines and leaves. The plants do not bear fruit until summer; the spring-season vegetables, such as little onions, pods like pea pods,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

and leafy green vegetables that taste like rhubarb, have not 132 271 grown in yet; and so the Bushmen must go thirsty. People 137 have died of thirst in these false seasons.

Gathering veld food is the work of the Bushman women, 222 and I used to go with them quite often on their trips. We [462] sometimes stayed in the veld all day eating roots instead of drinking water. One day my brother came along to film the gathering of veld food, and as we were getting ready to leave, Gai also joined us. It is customary for Bushmen never to let a group of their women go anywhere with a Bantu or a Euro- [609] pean man unless a Bushman man goes with them to protect them. Gai sauntered along behind us in his role of guardian, quite unhampered, as he had nothing with him but his loincloth. Dasina, Twikwe, and Tsetchwe walked in front, each with a digging-stick thrust in her belt like an enormous knife, each wearing a heavy cape, and Tsetchwe carrying her baby, who rode, carefree and swinging his feet, on her shoulder. John and I walked in the middle of the procession, and at the end came the three young boys, who did not stay in single file but ran all over the veld, ran circles around us, and shouted to each other happily.

We walked across the pan of Ai a ha'o through the fine, [137] soft grass, which left tiny, barbed seeds sticking to our legs. We walked through the brush on the opposite side and then over a wide plain, where we saw a herd of wildebeest. No one was armed, and when the wildebeest saw us, put down their heads, and ran, we could only watch helplessly as all that meat galloped away.

We walked until we came to a patch of tsama melons, perhaps twenty of them lying together, shiny, smooth, and green in the grass. The vine that once had nourished them had dried away and already some of the melons were turning yellow, overripe, ready to open and release their seeds.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

On the way a moving shadow caught our attention, and we looked up to see a white-breasted, black-winged vulture sailing not far above our heads, not stirring himself but riding the drafts and currents of the air. He was looking at us with hard eyes, his red face turned to look down, and suddenly he closed his great wings under his body, sweeping them down so far that the long wing feathers brushed together four feet under his belly. Then his wings swept up again and bore him on. I had never seen a vulture do that before. He did it only once, then made a circle all around us, looking down at us, his eyes cool in their red wrinkles; he rose higher and higher and soon he was gone. All over Africa the sky is full of vultures, but so high that you can seldom see them; any time you look up with binoculars, however, you will probably be able to see one sailing, waiting up there for a disaster.

We were going particularly to look for *bi*, a fibrous, watery root that is the mainstay of the Bushmen's diet during the hot season when the melons are gone. From the end of August, when the spring begins, the heat increases in intensity until December and January, when the rains come, relieving the drought. During this hot, dry season the sand reflects the sun until the air all over the veld shudders and dances, until human beings and animals alike gasp for air and water. This is the hardest season of all for the Bushmen, yet most of them remain alive by going into the veld early in the morning in the cooler light of dawn to gather bi. The bi they find is brought back to the werf before the sun is hot; it is scraped, and the scrapings are squeezed dry. The people drink the juice they squeeze. Then they dig shallow pits like graves for themselves in the shade. They urinate on the bi scrapings and line the pits with the now moist pulp, then lie in the pits and spend the day letting the moisture evaporating from the urine preserve the moisture in their bodies. They lie still all day and at dusk go into the veld again to gather food, perhaps a few

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

302 accumulating dust had turned him black. When the rains
came that year he had scrubbed himself with sand and water
and had turned paler than the palest gold. No one had recog-
[142] nized him for a minute and then people had made fun of
him, so he had let his coating accumulate again.

361 That night the old man, Lazy Kwi's father-in-law, decided
that his band would move with us to Nama, a pan near
Gautscha Pan, for he and Lazy Kwi believed that if we went
there they could help us find more bands of Bushmen whom
we had known. No one, he said, was living at Gautscha this
season and the people who belonged there were scattered
through the veld because the rains had been so good that
there was food and water everywhere. We said that we would
222 leave in the morning to begin the search, but the old man
hesitated to agree and finally told us that in the morning he
had planned to rob a bee tree, but after that he would be
free to go. As he had hoped, the following morning we went
with him on his trip for wild honey.

The bee tree was in a little forest about two miles from
Gam, a forest filled with tiny yellow leaves and tiny seed pods
blowing from the trees and scattered all through the grass,
which in places had been plowed up by a wild pig rooting for
bulbs. Because it was early in the morning and frosty, turtle
doves were singing and the clear air was filled with their
voices. Honey is always gathered at the coldest time of day,
for then the bees are dull and stupid and it takes them a
long time to collect their wits. The old man and Lazy Kwi
cleared some grass and lit a tiny fire; then, squatting beside it,
they warmed their hands, waiting for it to burn well, for they
would use its smoke to numb the bees. Lazy Kwi's wife and
222 her sister had come too; they did not join the men by the fire
271 but walked off in the bush, gathering sour berries for their
breakfast. The women in their wanderings found a hollow

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

tree, and, looking inside it, found that it was filled with rain 222 271
water. They told the rest of us, who went to get a drink. It was just a dead and blasted tree full of murky water, but, standing in front of it, Lazy Kwi began to fumble in his hunting-bag for his drinking-straw. He slipped the straw into a crack in the bark, drank, and held the straw for the next person. The straw was a reed with a hollow center and very hard to drink from, I found when my turn came to take a sip, for it was badly cracked. It was all one could do to suck hard enough to moisten one's tongue, the water was stagnant, and the reed tasted strongly of the inside of Lazy Kwi's hunting-bag, but everyone drank, and when they had enough they returned to the fire. Something must have reminded Lazy [648]
Kwi of the European farmers on the way, for he announced naïvely: "They did not give me a shirt to put on my body."

When the fire was burning well the two men went to the 222
bee tree. It too was dead, taller than the others in the forest and quite conspicuous. Lazi Kwi knocked on it with his ax and it gave forth a hollow sound. Then Lazy Kwi picked a straw and poked it into a tiny hole in the wood, and when he withdrew it there was honey on it and two bees. One bee detached itself and stung Lazy Kwi on the ribs and Lazy Kwi shook his skin like a dog. His father-in-law came forward with a smoking branch and held this near the hole. He blew smoke inside and the bees began to moan, low and ominously, the moan mounting in volume as Lazy Kwi chopped a piece from the tree above the hive. Four or five bees flew out of their hole; one flew at me and stung my face. The sting felt like a blow and in a moment the side of my face was numb and swollen. Lazy Kwi saw what had happened and he [752]
scratched the sting out with his fingernail. The old man by now had chopped away a large section of the tree and the bees poured down from the opening like water from a tap, but

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The water was darker now and roiled, and the stench was 222
stronger. We went on after the Bushman women to find gum in the trees and then went home, and after that I had not been back to Nama.

Since then, the heavy rains had come three times, filling 312
the waterhole and the lake and washing away the putrescence, leaving only the white bones sunk in the bottom of the well. Now the water of the lake seemed very pure indeed, with the ripples that the wind made shining like mica in the sun, and so clear that we could see every blade of grass and ice-cold stone on the bottom. Lazy Kwi and his family climbed [271]
down from the truck and squatted at the edge of the water to drink, scooping up water in their cupped hands. As they drank, Lazy Kwi found some Bushman footprints on the little shore which were many days old, just dents in the hard sand, but after glancing at them once or twice he said they were the footprints of strangers, a man barefoot, a woman in sandals, and a barefoot child, on their way to a place called Naru Ni, somewhere in the west. I don't know how he could tell all this, but I believe that he was right. Bushmen are always right when it comes to tracks, but also it is very unusual for Bushmen to travel through country that is not theirs, as these three must have been doing or Lazy Kwi would have known them. Naturally, we were very curious to know who they were and what they were doing, but their footprints told Lazy Kwi no more than that, and we never learned.

These were the only footprints that we found, but Lazy Kwi still believed that some of the people we had known at Gautscha in 1953 might be living there, especially Toma, the headman, for he had been there when Lazy Kwi had heard of him last.

. . .

9: Thomas. T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

484 women who are pregnant, or people who are ill. In fact, the
482 long journeys for the two kinds of nuts are undertaken only
422
431 by strong adults, who therefore must gather for all those who stay behind. The system of Bushmen in these matters ensures that everybody gets enough. As it turned out, that afternoon we found that both Tu and Lazy Kwi had filled bags belonging to Lazy Kwi's wife, the bag that Lazy Kwi filled being the only one he had with him, and in this way his wife, who wasn't there and who so far knew nothing of her windfall, owned two bags of food which she would probably share with Lazy Kwi, who actually, that day, owned none.

At last, when many bags had changed hands, when everything movable including Tu's bag of grass—which she had emptied, tying the grass into a bundle with a strip of bark in order to free the bag for tsi—had been loaded into the jeep,
484 the people began to climb in and the jeep sank down on its springs, groaning dangerously as each person got on it and found a place to sit. When finally everyone was on and the springs still had not broken we drove away with extreme caution, barely moving when we came to bumps, with Toma and Gao Feet sitting on the hood and pointing the way to Nama.

522 As we crept along Toma told a lion story concerning some Bantu people at Kai Kai who tried to rid themselves of three lions that were attacking their cattle. As his story was extremely funny, his voice was often drowned out by the laughter of the others. He spoke so fast we could not understand him, but his wife laughed until she cried. Toma told the funniest parts of the story two or three times.

● 271 Just before we got to Nama, when the shadows of the bushes reached far over the veld and the western sky was blood red, thick with smoke, we reached a tiny waterhole

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

with empty veld around it, veld without veld food, without 271
tracks of game, and we stopped to drink. The waterhole's name was Nam Ta Kwara (Here Is Nothing). Crooked Kwi was the only one who was thirsty, so he climbed alone out of the jeep, the hunting-bow on his shoulder arching over his [516]
head, and walked to the water's edge, where he crouched on the white sand all pocked by the tiny feet of birds to dip up water in one long hand and drink it out of his palm. With his body bent easily, his back arched, he was so graceful and lithe that he looked like a serpent or an otter and I wondered again why his name was Crooked Kwi. A white moth touched the surface of the water to drink beside him, and afterward a wasp.

Behind Kwi's head the smoke in the north and west was so thick it seemed that all the Belgian Congo and Angola were in flames, and the sun was swallowed by the smoke, and a gray, soft darkness fell long before the sun had really set.

When we got near Nama Pan it was dark and we saw our 574
camp by its fires, but greatly expanded now as there were perhaps twenty fires where before there had been three. It looked like the camp of an army, for there were fires all over the rise above the pan, arranged in little groups, cluster by cluster, each fire casting light on the branches of a little tree or bush. These were the fires of Bushmen who had come in our absence and at the sight of them the Bushmen in the jeep put up their heads to see who the newcomers were.

At camp many people had got to their feet and were standing silhouetted by their fires as they peered into the dark; they had undoubtedly been listening to the sound of our jeep for hours, and when we stopped there was a crowd already waiting. The people who had been riding, relieved to have arrived at last, climbed out stretching to greet them. The children were taken out, yawning sleepily, the youngest ones whining

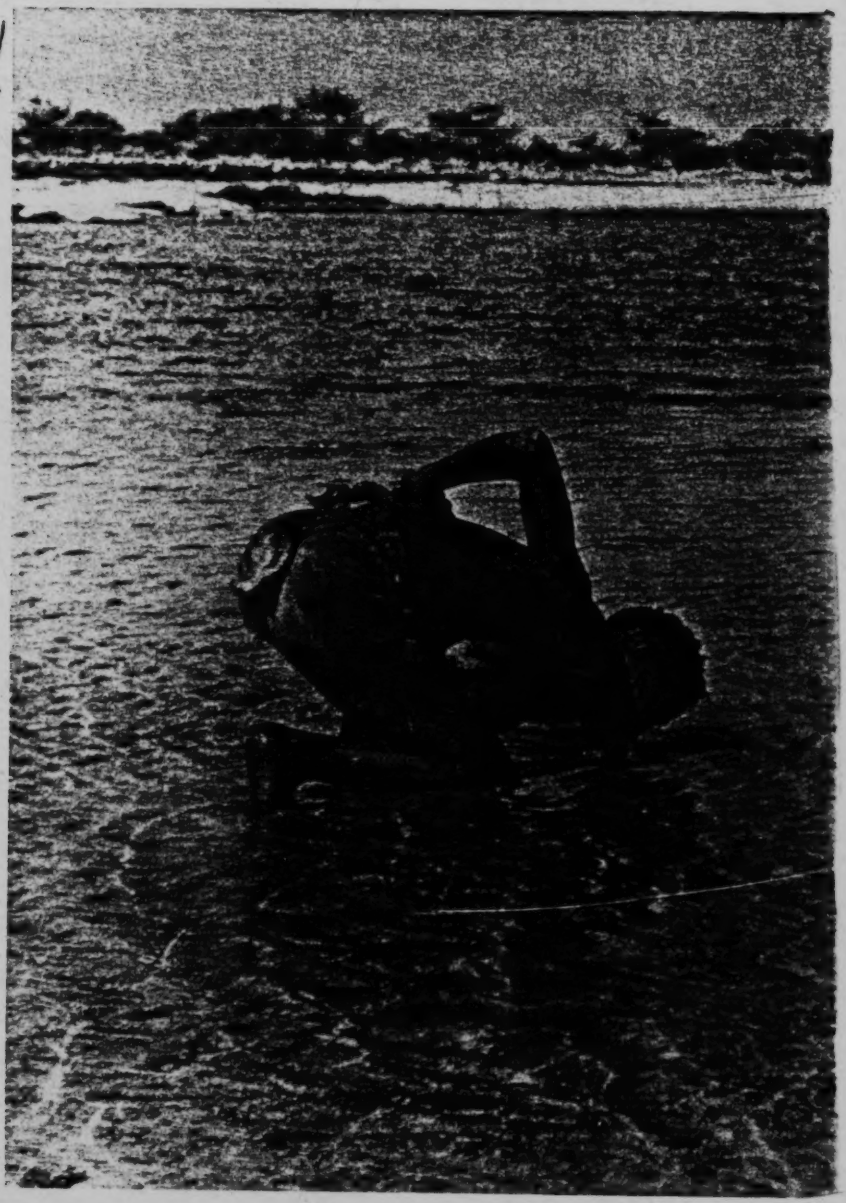
9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

had been robbing its hives of honey for years. Gao Feet said 222
that its hives were raided every few months or so and wondered if there would be any honey left for us. While pondering this question we stopped at the base of the tree and looked up, high above us, at a crack in its trunk where bees were flying, and in a moment, to my great surprise, the whole hive of them had poured down over our heads and were stinging us badly. We dropped everything that we carried and ran as fast as we could into the bushes, slapping wildly at ourselves, scattering in every direction, and each of us, as we reached thick bushes, hid in the branches, only to be routed out again by someone else pursued by bees, and in this way we were scattered further. Far from the hive though we were, the air around us was full of bees; they kept us hiding and cowering like jackals, peering out from under bushes, away from our water jars and ostrich eggs which we had dropped in our hurry, and they held us in this way for hours. We were tired 222 825
and wanted to go home, but we could not leave our water. I, 778
at least, was astonished that such a thing should have happened, but to the Bushmen it was no surprise. The bees, those magic, medicine creatures, were having their revenge. As a group, we were responsible for having killed the bees of another hive. The Bushmen were only surprised at themselves for not having foreseen the disaster.

In the middle of the afternoon my brother borrowed every- 222
body's clothing and, swathing himself in it while the lenders 271
crouched naked in the bushes, braved the swarm and retrieved our water. Then we went back toward Gautscha, pausing on the way to dig a water root which Lazy Kwi had known was there. The root was quite large, very wet, and though it was as puckery as alum it did quench thirst.

Late afternoon had come now, and I was so tired that I sat 000
down to lean against a bush, where I almost fell asleep. Toma

271
516



[8.19]

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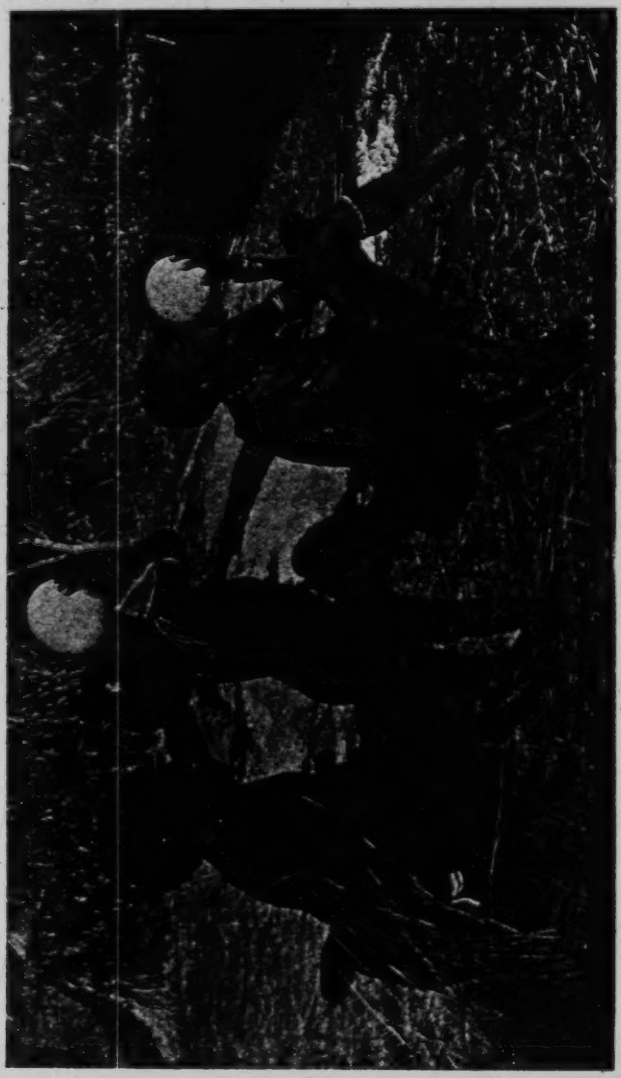

For the rest of the year, above, they fill their eggshells from permanent waterholes, dig for water roots.

[p. 22]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed 182
in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, 312
however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this 823
ever-present problem.

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried 312
in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is [685]
one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have
given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially [824]
the *Inaras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve [271]
thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season.
In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface
at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious
filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass
indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube
to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully
suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then care-
fully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource
fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the [221]
permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the
rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and
resume their normal hunting life.[1]

Industries and Trade

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the 511
Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their
household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they
can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are
essentially domestic.[2]

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and 322
spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, [342]
the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other [411]
burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is
gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes [412]

[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 51; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 297; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 51, 70–1, and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 671–3; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293–4.

[2] The most comprehensive account of Bushman industries is to be found in Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 89–113, pl. xxiii–xxix, which relates chiefly to the Auen; cf. also van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 62–80; Passarge, op. cit., 81–94; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 297–301; Kaufmann op. cit., 152–3; Schultze, op. cit., 658 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschi leute," 257; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 8–18 *passim*; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 103. [114]

X137 year. They produce an erect and robust plant with bright green leaves and numerous spreading underground rhizomes on which more bulbs are borne a few inches below the surface. Some stolons are produced above ground as well, from among the leaves. They afterwards turn downwards, entering the soil close to the parent plant and thereafter behaving in all respects like the rhizomes. The flowering stalk is three-angled and unjointed, with a cluster of compact, spiky inflorescences at the top, some on slender secondary stalks and some almost sessile. The parent plant is in a sense annual, for both it and the bulb producing it wither at the onset of winter, but the fresh bulbs which have been produced form new plants, and the species is capable of spreading very rapidly by this means. The bulbs are rounded, half an inch in diameter with a sharp point at the top, and covered with several papery brown layers which may be removed to expose a pale nut-like body.

Sedges usually favour damp places, but this species seemed equally at home in seepy areas and well-drained ones, and in the sandy country near Nama Pan it was common nearly everywhere, sometimes scattered among the grasses but more often in patches. Its range is from Cape Town to the Mediterranean, and it occurs in Australia also.

262 The bulbs are edible, and seemed to be a fairly important food of the northern Bushmen. The taste is sweetish and they have a crisp tex-
252 ture and a cloudy, very slightly astringent juice. Light roasting improves
222 the flavour. They are easily gathered by scratching away the top layer of soil, and their presence is often shown by the disturbed soil where they grow, for they are a favourite food with many birds and small animals, which scratch and burrow to find them. According to the *Flora Capensis* the plant " has been for nearly a century cultivated in Europe ".

X137 *Hyphaene ventricosa* Kirk (5301).

Eastern !khû Bushman !hani and !heni

This palm is bushy when young, but loses its bushy habit as it matures, forming a long clean stem 40 feet in height with a crown of leaves at the top and often with a slight swelling near the middle. The leaf has a strong woody rhachis up to six feet long, slightly hollowed above and rounded below, with a row of sharp hooked spines at intervals of an inch or so along each margin. At its tip it bears the leafy part which is two feet across and folded like a fan. The fruits, a little smaller than a tennis-ball, are covered with a glossy brown papery skin, and are borne in clusters.

Old an half-decayed fruits were found in the neighbourhood of Nama Pan, presumably where they had been discarded by Bushmen, but the palm trees themselves were not seen in this area. Only one specimen was found, 20 miles to the north-east. It was immature and had neither flowers nor fruits. According to available records, it was growing near the southern limit of its range, which extends to northern Rhodesia and the Belgian Congo.

262 There is a quarter-inch edible mealy layer immediately underlying the
114 skin of the fruit. It is fibrous and dry but sweetish, with a pleasant flavour, and may be gnawed off the hard inner shell into which it merges.
[272] The kernel in the centre of the mature fruit is hard and bony and inedible,
[252] but Chapman (1868:II:73) states that the milk of the young fruit may be used like that of the coconut, and that the whole of the young fruit may " BE EATEN AFTER BOILING, "PULP, RIND, AND ALL.

137X

Adansonia digitata L. Photograph 32.

Eastern !khû Bushman ≠m

The Baobab, as it is commonly called, is shown in photograph 32. Its stem may have a circumference of up to 148 feet, and makes it quite unmistakable. In winter it is leafless but in summer it bears dense dark-green foliage. The flowers are pure white and up to six inches across, and the fruits, as described by Codd (1951: 120) are "oblong or egg-shaped, five to six inches or more in length and three to four inches in diameter, with a woody shell which is softly grey-velvety on the outside".

The southernmost specimens were seen in the neighbourhood of Ghanzi, and from there it occurred sporadically to Gautscha Pan, the furthest point north reached by the expedition. There were big gaps in its distribution and it was rare throughout, but in some parts of the Transvaal it occurs abundantly and may have an unbroken distribution over many square miles of country. It is widely distributed in the drier regions of north and south tropical Africa.

Inside the shell of the fruit is a white, pith-like substance which may be eaten raw, or ground up and stirred into water to make a drink, or boiled to make a porridge. It has an acid-sweet taste. The seeds which are embedded in the flesh are also edible and are eaten like nuts. In other parts of Africa they are prepared in a somewhat involved way which includes protracted boiling, fermenting and drying. There are several records of the fact that the young leaves make quite a good substitute for spinach, but as the expedition was during the winter and as the trees are deciduous, I cannot say whether the Bushmen know of this, nor whether the trees we saw were of the glabrous variety which is the one used for spinach. No seedlings were seen. It is known that the white shoot from the germinating seed can be used as a substitute for asparagus, and that the tender root of the very young Baobab is also edible (Dalziel, 1937: 113). The trees are often hollow, and like *Boscia albitrunca* and *Ricinodendron rautenii* may act as reservoirs for rain water which can be used in times of scarcity. The Bushmen reach it by fitting hollow grass stalks end to end to form a tube, and sucking it out. A further product of the Baobab is a large caterpillar which feeds upon the leaves and which is an important article of food aming the Natives of the northern Transvaal. It is recorded also from South West Africa, and is very likely known to and used by the Bushmen.

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[272]
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312
824
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825

137X

Ochna pulchra Hook. (5273) Photog ıph 33.

Eastern !khû Bushman !i and !e:i

A semi-deciduous tree with a clean but usually rather twisted bole which is white to light gray and has a peeling bark. The branches are bent and rigid and the wood brittle. They bear glossy light green alternate leaves which are almost sessile and usually entire, rarely with a very finely toothed margin. The tree has an attractive appearance even in winter, and the young leaves add to this in the spring for they range from pale green to reddish-brown. The flowers are borne in early summer, in showy scented bunches. They have yellow petals and a green calyx, which persists after the petals have fallen and turns bright red. The fruits are hard and green when immature but turn fleshy and black as they ripen. There are usually two or three, the size and shape of small beans, attached to a fleshy red swelling in the centre of the flower. The leaves have been suspected of causing poisoning in stock, but tests carried out on mammals have so far been inconclusive. (Uys and Thomas 1952, Steyn, 1949: 125.)

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

her hind leg raised, looking wild with her cocoa-colored mane 224
that stood stiff and straight along the bowed crest of her neck, wild with her great horns sharp enough to prick your finger, and her pale, half-open eyes.

Gai squatted beside her and began to stroke her udder. He 224-
squeezed a teat and milk squirted into his palm, and as he 272
licked it off, Ukwane squatted beside him. The gemsbok was big enough for both men to squat at her udder milking, Ukwane under her lifted thigh. I was told that when the men had first followed her, they had come upon a gemsbok calf wedged high up in the fork of a tree. A leopard had killed it and left it there, and as the men tried to climb the tree to pull it down, robbing the leopard, the mother gemsbok had reappeared and challenged them, so they had killed her instead. That is why her udder was filled with milk. Her beige hide, we noticed, had been raked by the leopard's claws.

Almost everyone came by with a palm outstretched for a squirt of milk. Ukwane called for me to come, too, and, stroking the milk veins in her udder the way one does when milking a cow, he milked a white stream into my palm which I licked away. The milk was strong and rank and gamy, not at all like the mild, sweet-tasting milk of cows. It smelled like the intestines, too, perhaps because the animal was dead, perhaps because the odor of intestines and the milk both came from the strong, harsh grass of the country. Yet it was liquid, and the Bushmen milked her dry.

Afterward, Gai and Ukwane butchered her, Gai preparing 224-
himself by casually sharpening his knife on her narrow, heart- 237
shaped hoof. Always working so that her wounded side was up, they cut her skin free, not spilling a drop of blood. Near the carcass they dug a shallow pit, which they lined with the skin, hair side down, and as blood would well up into the cuts they made butchering, they would collect it and place it in

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

221 this bowl. The carcass itself, now red and pink and white,
237 they rolled onto a bed of leaves and branches to keep it clean and cut off the front and hind legs of the upper side, forming a bowl of the carcass so that no liquid would escape. They pulled out the intestine, cleaning each length carefully, first squeezing out all fecal matter, then turning the intestine inside out over a stick and scraping it clean. A lot of liquid ran from the intestines, which was saved with the blood in the bowl of the body.

224 Next, the two men removed the rumen, the first stomach
237
272 of ruminant animals, where the grass they bolt hurriedly is kept in quantities to be coughed up and chewed thoroughly when the animal is lying in the shade. Ukwane lifted the rumen out carefully, like a great water sack that might burst suddenly, and hurried with it to the pit lined with the skin. There he slit it and water gushed out, every drop saved by the skin. Ukwane and Gai removed handfuls of the contents, a yellow, pulpy mass of partially digested grass, and they squeezed each handful dry into bowls, tsama-melon rinds, and ostrich-egg water-containers that the women had brought forward. They did not mind two great white worms that were discovered living in the rumen, for as soon as enough water was collected, the people all had a long, satisfying drink. Some was pressed on me by Tsetchwe; I could not bring myself to drink it, but I did taste it and found that it was not too unpleasant, although it also tasted strongly as intestines smell. It was fresh, however, it was only the liquid from grass, and I thought that if I had no other water I too could drink the water of rumen.

Also, the people drank the blood, scooping it out in handfuls to their faces. Soon they were stained with it; the three old women looked very savage, and Gishe, our interpreter,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

asked Ukwane for some, which Ukwane gave him. Gishe said: 224
"I have been living among Europeans for a long time, but I 237
remember now who I am." 272

From the body of that gemsbok the Bushmen bailed out 251
several bucketfuls of liquid, enough to supply them for almost a week. They cut the meat into strips which they would dry in the sun and use as they needed them, also enough for a week or perhaps even longer, as there were only a few people and the gemsbok was almost as big as a cow.

Tsetchwe had built a tiny fire beneath a tsama melon, an 252
empty melon with the top cut away, and when she received [224
her share of the meat—for any animal is divided at once by a 422]
rigid system of rules, some meat given to each person rather than kept as a communal supply or portioned to families—she cut a small piece and stuffed it into the melon, where melon juice, heated through the rind, was boiling now. It cooked like meat in a stew, and when it was done Tsetchwe emptied the melon into a bowl, fanned it to cool it, and then 264
ate some, putting a strip of meat into her mouth and hacking off a bite with her husband's knife. She was ravenously hungry and she ate almost all, while her baby, lying in her [253]
lap, nursed from her breast. The last piece she saved for him; she put one end of it into his mouth and, as he bit down, flashed the great knife under his nose to cut him a small enough morsel.

The gemsbok had vanished. All that remained from the 224
butchering was the pile of squeezed, dry grass from the ru- 422
men and a few lumps of feces that the redheaded flies buzzed over. The meat, bones, head, hide, and brushlike tail all now [237]
belonged to people, and all the people had carried their portions away. Gai owned two hind legs and a front leg, Tsetchwe had meat from the back, Ukwane had the other front

/149 cont./

249 The Auin have copied this procedure[1] from the Bergdamara of
[177] Oas.
[273] The process of fermentation is unknown.

[1] [i.e., of growing hemp.-Analyst]

K. Toys, Games, Sport

524 Little bows and arrows serve as children's toys.

A Chinese puzzle game is played by young and old, men and women alike. I have chosen the above designation because of the nature of the game.

The partners sit opposite each other in a crouch.

Both tap their thighs with both hands in rhythmic alternation and at the same time murmur meaningless inarticulate sounds.

One partner then suddenly extends his right or left hand toward the other or makes some other kind of motion with his hand. The point, now, is that the opponent must immediately extend the same hand or respond to the given motion with a similar one; in short, he must not allow himself to be confused. [Fig. 11 appears here.]

If, for instance, the opponent motions with the wrong hand or makes any other mistake, his partner very briefly signals his advantage by making a throwing motion with his hand or by striking his right index finger on his left fist (intended to signify: "I am breaking his, that is, the opponent's, head in two"). The game is not interrupted by these rapid signals.

/150/ The entire game is played at a fairly rapid speed.

Sometimes several men sit across from one another and take turns in the matches. Even little boys take part in the game of the adults.

[171] The Herero and Bergdamara play a similar game. The Auin, however, maintain that it is an original Bushman game.

Prizes are not awarded. They play purely for the "glory."

525 Game of chance: this bears great resemblance to the Chinese puzzle game, except that the participants also tap the ground with their knees. The "killing," that is, defeat of the opponent, is indicated by a loud exclamation without interrupting the progress of the game. The stakes (for instance, tobacco, food)

be eaten after boiling, "pulp, rind and all". Dinter (1912:21-22) says also that the Bushmen use the heart of the palm as a green vegetable, and that a sweet sap may be tapped from the upper part of the stem and fermented to make an alcoholic drink. He gives the yield of fruits from one palm as between 20 and 50 kilograms (48 to 120 lb.). His reference to the heart of the palm is obscure, but Chapman (1868:I:55-56), who is more explicit, says that this is the core of the young trunk. 262 114 [273]

Aloe rubrolutea Schinz (5135). 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman n||oru

This species was in full bloom in early August, and made a striking show with its spikes of brick-red flowers. The plants formed rosettes of leaves 12 inches across, producing a slender erect five-foot flowering stalk. Among the hundreds of speciments seen there were none arborescent, although elsewhere arborescent forms are common (Reynolds 1950: 328). Those seen at Nama Pan were similar in habit to *Aloe zebrina*.

Aloe rubrolutea was seen only on the rocky outcrops near Nama Pan and Gam, growing in patches of an acre or so, but it has a wide distribution extending from South West Africa through the Bechuanaland Protectorate to the northern Transvaal and Portuguese East Africa.

The flowers are stripped off the flowering stalk and pounded to make a spinach-like vegetable. Although the Bushmen said that they did not eat the leaves, they were tasted raw and boiled and were found to be juicy and not unpleasant, and to have no harmful effects. They would be a good source of water in an emergency. 252 262

Aloe zebrina Bak. (4995). 137X

!hɔ: Bushman..... ||ganja
||ganakwe Bushman n||oru
|gikwe Bushman... n||uru
Naron Bushman... n||oru

The plant forms a rosette of rigid dark green leaves which have pale transverse bands and numerous sharp teeth along the margins. It may have a stem 30 centimetres long (Reynolds, 1950: 282), but those seen on the expedition were stemless. The flowering stalks were three or four feet high. The sap in the epidermis of the leaves is greenish-yellow. It oozes out of the vessels fairly quickly if a leaf is cut across, and hardens and changes colour on exposure to the air, becoming brown and glassy. The bulk of the sap, which is in the inner part of the leaf, is colourless and translucent, and does not ooze out if the leaf is cut.

Only one small clump of this Aloe was seen, on deep sand about 80 miles directly south-east of Ghanzi. It is, however, recorded from Angola and South West Africa and across the continent to the east.

The Bushmen stated that the leaves were a good source of water. One of these plants was sent to Pretoria and grew well in cultivation. On being tested, the leaves proved extremely unpleasant, not because of any bad taste but because their sap is in the form of a thick, revolting slime. Boiling or roasting did nothing towards making them more palatable. Either the Bushmen were confusing this Aloe with another species, or it 262 312 824

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

276 smoke sucked through the water by deep breaths into the lungs. A somewhat similar form of pipe is found among the Heikum and the Kung, but apparently water is not used here in smoking. Further [171] east, among the Hiechware, a method of ground-smoking is found similar to that obtaining among the neighbouring Bantu peoples. A small hole is made in the ground, into which the man puts the tobacco; he then inserts his pipe-stick through a small tunnel and smokes.[1]

Dagga is mixed with tobacco or smoked by itself whenever obtainable. The habit is said seriously to affect those addicted to it, both physically and morally. When taken in slight quantities the [164] herb has no visible ill-effects, but excessive indulgence is most deleterious to the health, and if persisted in sometimes causes mental aberration and frenzy.

● 273 Few of the Bushmen know how to make any kind of liquor themselves. The only exception, perhaps, are the Namib Bushmen, who, [171] after the manner of their Hottentot neighbours, brew a kind of mead out of honey. They are very partial to this drink, which plays an essential part in all their festivities.[2] The other Bushmen in general also do not seem to trade for any liquor, although they all appreciate alcohol and native beer when it is given to them. The Hiechware, [439] however, are said to be excessively fond of native beer, which they obtain by barter from the BeChwana; and, according to Dornan, they contrive to get drunk whenever they can.[3] Drunkenness as a rule is very exceptional among the rest of the Bushmen.

Sexual Life and Marriage

Conditions and Forms of Marriage

114 There is very little information about the relations of the sexes before marriage. Either the subject is not mentioned at all by our 836 authorities, or it is curtly dismissed in a short sentence. Kaufmann, for instance, reports of the Auen merely that prenuptial intercourse hardly ever seems to occur[4]; Lebzelter writes of the Kung that chastity is insisted upon before marriage[5]; while, on the other hand, all Miss Bleek has to say in this connection about the Naron is that

[1] Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 164 sq.; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 531; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 257; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 532-3.
[2] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 168; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 504.
[3] Op. cit., 121. [4] Op. cit., 136. [5] Op. cit., (16).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

764 is a deep hole, narrowing towards the top; its bottom is covered with small bushes, the corpse, wrapped up in its kaross, is laid upon these, then covered over with bushes, upon which finally small white stones are heaped till ground-level is reached. The surface of the [825] grave, like the corpse itself, is sprinkled with water mixed with vegetable "medicine"; this, says Seydel, is intended to keep jackals [766] and hyenas from the grave. Children are buried in the same manner, but the ceremony is simpler, only the nearest relatives accompanying the corpse to the grave.[1] Trenk gives some additional details. [775] The thickened sap of a certain small bush (*dawes*) is placed in the hands of the dead person, so that "his soul, when it reaches the 'evil spirit', may not do harm to other people, and will find rich [535] food in its other existence". At the funeral a fire is lit at the grave, round which is then held a dance accompanied by a funeral song; and all the women must weep for a day. A funeral feast follows, 765 in which honey beer plays no small part. A widow as a sign of [273] mourning cuts a round spot out of the hair over her forehead, a widower a parting directly over the middle of the head. How long the mourning lasts is not clearly stated, but, as we have already noted, a full season must elapse before the surviving partner may remarry.[2]

764 Among the Naron, as soon as a person has died those present raise a short, very distinct cry which lets the whole camp know of the [763] death. The body, wrapped up in the kaross worn by the dead person in life, is brought into a contracted position, the knees being bent up against the chest, the arms crossed and the hands laid on the shoulders, and is tied up like this with rope for purposes of transport. It is then laid near the fire, while the women howl and weep over it. Burial takes place as soon as possible after death. If this occurs at night, then on the following day; if in the morning, then on the same day. The grave is a deep, round hole, dug with the hands and digging-stick at a spot where the soil is not hard. Two or three men carry the body there, a man jumps in, receives it as it is lowered down by the ropes, and places it lying on the left side facing the east. Why this position is customary they do not know. The dead are buried in all their clothes and ornaments, and all their possessions are placed in the grave, or if too long, as in the case of a bow or spear, are hung on a bush close by. Then the grave is filled, and bushes or stones are thrown on top to keep the animals off. All the village [765] is present, and the women weep. Next day a near relative burns

[1] "Aus der Namib," 504.

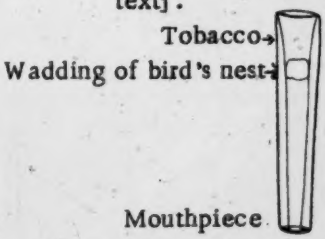
[2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

412

Fig. 9. Digging Stick. One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].

[276] a, stick; b, point for digging; b^1, the same viewed from the side.

Fig. 10. Tobacco Pipe (cross-section). One-half natural size [as shown in original text].



/148 cont./

628 captivity. Blood vengeance is exacted by the Bushmen for
684 adultery under all circumstances.

J. Luxuries

276 Tobacco, which is exclusively an imported product, is
[439] greatly coveted. A pipe of tobacco is the Auin's greatest pleasure. [Fig. 10 appears here.]

Taking snuff is unknown.

Everybody smokes, including little children.

The Auin manufacture a tobacco pipe (see Fig. 10) from a
324 soft red stone (serpentine) which supposedly is found only at the watering place Korikas. Indeed, immediately above the source, one does find a kind of modest quarry there.

/149/ A fragment of this stone is conically hollowed out with a lance point or an iron knife and then shaved down on the outside toward the hollow until the wall is about two to four millimeters thick. This pipe resembles an ordinary conical cigar
276 tip. A wadding made from the nest of the weaver bird (?) prevents the tobacco from falling out.

Occasionally one will also see a pipe plug or cleaner which usually is made of rosinkis wood without the bark and is attrac-
[531] tively decorated with a kind of pyrography. The decoration consists of lines and dots scratched in with a red-hot needle. The hairline precision of the lines is particularly striking.

The pipe plug (see Fig. 11) is worn around the neck on a chain of glass beads or on a leather belt (see also Photo. 1, the second man from the right).

The Auin only occasionally receives tobacco, either from
[439] the Whites when he performs services for them as a messenger,
[648] guide, and the like, or from Kaffirs employed by Whites, who exchange it for veld food.

Hemp or dacha of the Kaffirs (haium of the Auin).

Hemp is smoked in the ordinary tobacco pipes with equal passion by men and women.

I did not see anyone who had become ill from smoking hemp. The Auin themselves were only aware that its enjoyment sometimes produces nausea.

276
531

Fig. 11. Pipe Plug. One-half natural size [as shown in the original].

An example of Auin decoration.

The design is scratched on the wood with a needle; the dots are pricked in.

a, hole for a string
a^1, side view
b b, long part
c, point
d, side view of the point

The Bushman second from the right in Photo. 1 is wearing the pipe plug around his neck.

276
439 The hemp is cultivated by the Kaffir in Oas, by the Betschuana in Chanse Veld, and probably also by White farmers. The Auin acquire it through barter.

249 The Auin maintain, furthermore, that they are capable of growing hemp themselves. This "cultivation" is done in the following manner: in soft sandy soil a circular area, 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter, is surrounded by a little dam a few centimeters high. Using one finger, ten to 15 holes are made in the area surrounded by the dam, and a hemp seed is placed in each hole. The "seedbed" is then kept well under water.

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself, who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year 1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and smoke it' " (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions
131 of this tribe:

"The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

[42 cont.]

178 He died when his successor, Amme, was still a small boy. Amme,
622 however, was unable [43] to learn much from his father; he was not a good chief, and he died while still young. Since then the !Kung Bushmen have not had a supreme chief. One of my informants, Doctor X'amme, claimed to be the great-grandson of the great chief of the same name.

The following from Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) should

1. Op. cit., pp. 412, 424.

be mentioned:

593 "The father is the chief of the family. All must respect
596 him. Children may not call him by name. -- The chief's posi-
622

●[276]

Fig. 15. Dacha Pipe of the !Kung Bushmen (from the Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart, 29464).

tion is generally passed from father to son. If the son is not yet an adult when his father dies, the father's younger brother takes
423 his place. Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited
614 from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

"There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 100 kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

[48 cont.]

755 from ostrich egg shells, had been put on by her proxy, Dube, a
756 very intelligent young woman. The latter, standing at the end of
796 the semicircle of seated women, conducted the ceremony. She
[276] was in a very good mood and alternately smoked her Bushman
[554] pipe and my cigarettes. There is a kind of hierarchy among the women; those who were squatting were higher in rank than those who were standing. All the women clapped their hands and sang in a monotonous rhythm: ehe, ehe, ehe, ehe, etc. This, I was
[533] assured, was no song, but "music." Some hordes have bartered

[532]

Fig. 19. Sorcerer in a Bird Mask, Followed by Spirits of Sickness. (From Rock Paintings in South Africa. From Parts of the Eastern Province and Orange Free State. Copied by G. W. Stow. With an introduction and descriptive notes by Dorothea Bleek. London, Methuen, 1930.)

dance drums one and a half meters high from the Okawango, which on this occasion are played by men. [Fig. 19 appears
[184] here.] Among the Bushmen of the Sand Veld the female leader of the ceremony does not wear the ornaments of the chief female doctor; instead, the ornaments are hung on a tree. The position of the chief female doctor is not permanently held by one person; the chief doctor on occasion imparts supernatural powers to her.

755 The five doctors had taken off all their ornaments and
756 were naked except for the front apron. They put themselves
786 into an autohypnotic state by means of crowing, by producing
796

/257 cont./

301 people that I did not find among the Heikum. The Kung of the Kaukau Veld had rings braided from wildebeest tail hairs as arm and neck ornaments, and had made similar arm and leg rings from twisted grass. Furthermore they wore strings of twisted bast criss-crossed over the chest in considerable numbers. In addition, in the Kaukau Veld I found neck rings of dried and braided antelope tendons and, in larger numbers than among the Heikum, copper, [439] brass, and iron rings. The latter are obtained by the Kung Bushmen of the Kaukau Veld through trade with the Ovambo [Ambo] and Betschuana [Tswana] in exchange for ostrich eggs and antelope hides.

Like their clothing, the house furnishings of the Bushmen are 415 also very simple and quickly enumerated.

Wooden pans of various sizes, without handles, are generally found in every hut. For the pounding of food, the Bushmen use a cylindrical, mortar-like wooden vessel with thick walls and a [412] very strong bottom. A heavy staff about 30 centimeters long and four centimeters thick is used for pounding.

For chairs, they use wooden stools which by European standards 352 are absurdly small. They consist of two circular wooden disks scarcely the size of a hand and joined by two wooden rods. They stand about ten centimeters high.

There are plenty of axes in the villages. They consist of 412 small iron blades attached to thick wooden handles. The shape of the axe shows that the value of the iron necessitates frugal use of this valuable metal. The force of the blow, which in the case of European axes is produced by the weight of the iron part, is achieved by the Bushmen through a club-like enlargement of the wooden handle near the end of the axe. Side by side with axes that have a longitudinally-placed cutting edge, one also finds axes with a transverse cutting edge.

A common tool is the knife for removing hair from animal skins. This knife consists of a short, transverse iron blade imbedded in a wooden handle.

There are various kinds of tobacco pipes. The Bushmen, who 276 find a leaf tobacco in the bush throughout the year, are experts at making an improvised pipe bowl from a root tubercle in the shortest possible time. Large pipes made of the end of a kudu horn

/257 cont./

276 that has been cut off are very popular. The cut surface of the end of the horn is pressed to the mouth, and the smoke is sucked into the lungs in a deep draught. Very frequently simple cartridges are used as primitive, but nevertheless serviceable tobacco pipes.
[439] Clay pipes, which are not uncommon in the Kaukau Veld, are imported from the Betschuana.

415 /258/ A common kitchen utensil is a large, flat wooden spoon with a bent handle, which, however, is not used to place food in the mouth, but only to fill vessels. The Bushmen eat with
[264] their fingers; they drink their soups from the communal wooden bowl and polish up the rest with a crooked index finger and by licking it out with the tongue.

As pots they use pumpkin [melon?] vessels bound with leather
[482] thongs and carried over the shoulder on sticks.

As a special display object in many a hut one finds a large clay vessel with strong walls and decorated with white bands that
[439] have been notched into it. This vessel is imported from the Ovambo.

372 The tools for firemaking command special interest. The Bushman is acquainted with two, the dáni and the //oro.

The dáni (dǎ = fire) consists of two wooden sticks, each about 40 centimeters long. The rounded-off end of the one stick fits into a pan-like cavity at the end of the other stick. The edge of the pan is provided with a little opening through which the glowing wood that has been rubbed to tinder can be emptied onto a smooth stone during the fire-twirling. The Bushman can make fire with this tool in less than half a minute.

The other firemaking device known to the Bushmen is the
[439] //oro, a flint with striking ring and tinder box, imported from the Betschuana.

A tool that in addition to its use in leather working also serves
412 medical purposes is a pointed iron needle about 20 centimeters long and three millimeters thick, carried in a narrow leather sheath by almost every male Bushman. The needle is used with great skill
[752] for the removal of thorns from the skin, an operation which the Bushman naturally must frequently demand of his medicine man.

482 In addition to the above-mentioned hunting implements, the game snare and game hook, I was shown a wooden staff, approximately one and a half meters long and worked with some skill, which is used for carrying game over the shoulder,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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unmarried son or two, and their daughters' children. Bush- 105
men are polygynous, and a man is allowed by custom to have 621
as many wives as he can afford, depending on how well he [595]
hunts—usually a man can afford only one wife, sometimes two (often a pair of sisters), and once we heard of a man with four wives. For this reason there are often more women than men in a band.

The immediate family, a man, his wife, or wives, and chil- 105
dren, is the only solid social unit; otherwise the small bands 592
are always breaking up and recombining with other small 621
bands as the structures of single families change, through marriages, divorces, deaths, or as the family decides to pay a prolonged visit to a different group of relatives.

Any Bushman will either be related by blood or marriage 105
or will be acquainted with all the other Bushmen in his area 602
but this is as far as Bushmen go in their affinities. They do 609
not recognize as their own people strange Bushmen who speak the same language; in fact, they suspect and fear them as they do any stranger.

We have visited four of the Bushman language groups, two 114-
of which we stayed with for long periods of time. In 1951, 131
after a survey expedition to learn where Bushmen could be found, we went into the Nyae Nyae area of South-West Africa, close to the border of Bechuanaland, to look for Kung Bushmen. We found a band living near a waterhole, as it was June, the drought of the year, and we stayed with them for four months. At first only a few Bushmen were there, but as [609
the news spread that we were friendly, more and more peo- 276]
ple came to visit us and receive presents of tobacco and salt, for Bushmen love to smoke but rarely have tobacco, which they get in trade. Also, most of the Bushmen had never seen a European before, none had ever seen a European woman, and they came by dozens to sit together in a cluster

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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609 Gai on the hood to point the way. From his higher position he noticed the long horns of a gemsbok in the grass and he signaled for the jeep to stop. Then he, John, and Theunis, taking a rifle, slipped out of the jeep and ran off after it, bent over and crouched so low that only their backs showed, as the backs of animals would, gliding above the grass. The gemsbok saw them and ran away toward a patch of heavy bush in the plain, the great V of horns a crown over its head. The men ran after, standing now, and in an hour they came back to where Ukwane and I were waiting, lying on our stomachs under the jeep to be in shade, saying that they had killed it. We drove to the spot where the gemsbok, a female, lay and brought her with us, a present to offer the other Bushmen.

361 We drove for several hours and at last we came to a wide plain, grown over heavily with small trees of slender trunks, with a few short branches sprouting leaves, like fence posts. Gai directed us to one of the smaller trees in the center of the plain and told us to stop. He climbed down and looked [237] [276] around over the veld, then bent and picked up a small pipe, a piece of the leg bone of an antelope. He asked us for a match, lit his pipe, and smoked it.

At last we noticed on the other side of the tree two shallow depressions scooped in the sand and lined with grass, like [513] the shallow, scooped nests of shore birds on a beach—the homes of the families, where the people could lie curled up [132] just below the surface of the plain to let the cold night wind which blows across the veld pass over them.

Other than the depressions, except for a small pile of brown, twisted bean shells, no sign would show that people lived there. Later we saw another scooped pit and a stick thrust upright in the ground beside it, right at our feet, which [1-23] was Gai's place; the stick was to mark the spot, although Gai

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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is a painful procedure. The cuts are made on the thighs and 304
forehead with a knife or ax blade, then charcoal is rubbed in, but the woman told us later that in her case it had been worth the pain and trouble because, she said, she was extremely ugly and had been made more beautiful.

Her baby's name was Nhwakwe, she told me, and after 551 276 that we were at a loss for conversation. I offered her a ciga- [609] rette, which she declined, indicating that it made her cough. I was surprised, for she was the only Bushman I had ever met, man, woman, or child, who did not smoke.

Presently she smiled, pressed her hand to her chest, and 551 said: "Tsetchwe." It was her name. 609

"Elizabeth," I said, pointing to myself.

"Nisabe," she answered, pronouncing after me and inclining her head graciously. She looked me over carefully without really staring, which to Bushmen is rude. Then, having surely suspected that I was a woman, she put her hand on my breast gravely, and, finding that I was, she gravely touched her own breast. Many Bushmen do this; to them all Europeans look the same.

"*Tsau si*" (women), she said.

Then after a moment's pause, Tsetchwe began to teach me 609 a few words, the names of a few objects around us, grass, 222 rock, bean shell, so that we could have a conversation later. As she talked she took a handful of the beans out of her kaross, broke them open, and began to eat them. This is a [137] wonderful, bitter bean, shaped like a lima bean, which grows on tiny bushes in patches throughout the Kalahari. When you [261] eat these beans they burn your tongue, throat, and stomach, but they take away hunger and thirst. Besides the beans in her kaross, Tsetchwe, who began unloading, brought out a large, edible root which she had dug up—she must have been gathering food before we came—and put it in the shade of a

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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609 bush beside her fireplace. Also, she brought out six round
222 green melons which are called *tsama* melons, and which, during the autumn, provide the only liquid available for all the Bushmen in the desert, and for all the game antelope be-
[271 312] sides. Under the green rind a tsama is very like a watermelon, filled with small oval seeds and very watery in texture, but is itself pale green and smaller, the size of a small cantaloupe.
[516] Tsetchwe placed one between her feet and, gripping it firmly with her strong toes, chopped a hole in the top of it with her digging-stick; then, lifting the cap away like the lid of a jack-
271 o'-lantern, she mashed the pulp inside until it was liquid. She put the melon to her mouth and, tipping her head back, drank from it, using her long digging-stick to help push the pulp into her mouth, working it like an enormous chopstick, making a watery noise as she sucked. When Tsetchwe had collected a mouthful of seeds she put the melon down, took an old, dry tsama melon rind from her kaross, and spat the seeds into it to save them, for they can be roasted and eaten like nuts when they are dry. Tsetchwe drank all the liquid in
[264] the rind and seemed refreshed as she cast the empty rind over her shoulder and brushed off her mouth and hands.

609 At last Gai strode back into the werf, followed at a distance
621 by a group of three small boys and, much farther, by three old women who stood waist-deep in bushes, close together like three antelope, craning their necks to see us.

609 When they noticed Tsetchwe and Ukwane, they came for-
● 276 ward with more confidence, accepted tobacco, and, squatting
621 immediately, began to smoke. It had been months, Ukwane said, since they had used their last tobacco, had been reduced to smoking leaves, and they were very happy to have the tobacco we had give them. Bushmen love to smoke. They say
[261] that tobacco, as well as the wild beans, takes away hunger and thirst, and, besides that, it makes their hearts glad. One

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of the old women, Dasina, who was Tsetchwe's mother, inhaled too deeply and began to faint. Tsetchwe half turned her mother so that everyone would not see her, and, putting an arm around her for support, let the old woman lean on her shoulder. Our interpreter laughed, and Tsetchwe turned to glare. Tsetchwe's back was exactly like her mother's, broad but curved in at the waist, the old woman's a little bloated but Tsetchwe's young and strong. 609 276 621

Another old woman was smoking, too, puffing on a short, wide pipe cut from a leg bone of some large antelope, so big that she had to stuff one end with grass to keep the tobacco inside. She almost unhinged her jaw each time she puffed. She would inhale and spit, cough, and inhale again without a sign of dizziness, and when she saw Dasina faint she too laughed out loudly. Her name, she told us, was Twikwe.

Twikwe was skinny and tall as a man, with long, lanky arms that she flung about in the air, gesturing, and long legs that jerked when she walked. She wore only a short piece of leather that reached from her waist to her thighs, and we could see that she was wrinkled from head to foot, her skin hanging in long, vertical wrinkles down her thighs and belly, like an old apple that has dried. She talked incessantly and loudly, always opening and closing her mouth, and she joked, for Ukwane and the young boys near her laughed at everything she said. She was telling how her husband had outdistanced her as they were running away and was surely running still. Every now and then she stopped her talk to shout out to him, jeering, saying that he was depriving himself of tobacco and should come back; then everyone would listen, but no sound came from him, no answer. He never did come back, and in the weeks we were there we never saw him. Perhaps he was running away from Twikwe, for we later learned that he was living in a valley with his other wife. 142 156 593 621 [596]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe

above the earth in a layer. We were crouching at a fire we had built, warming our hands against the cold, when the sun came up. We heard birds singing in the fresh air as if nothing had happened, then the sound of faint pounding far away, a mortar being struck with a pestle. Soon we heard a second mortar join the first as another woman began breakfast for her family, and we knew that two women meant perhaps six people, therefore a band.

Gai stood up and stretched his legs, then took a tiny coal from our fire between his thumb and finger and dropped it into his pipe, inhaling deeply and holding the smoke in his lungs while he handed the pipe to Witabe, who also puffed and returned the pipe, when at last Gai exhaled, spat, and scooped the pipe through the sand, extinguishing the fire and saving the rest of the tobacco. He stuck the pipe in his belt, flung his great kaross over his chest to warm his belly, and strode off in the direction of the sound, the ragged edges of his great cape swinging at his ankles as his strong feet carried him away. He walked under a burned log that had partly fallen and was braced up by another tree, and as he did the white ashes blew from it and the light of dawn shone through the ash like light through a flurry of snow.

Later in the day, when we had eaten cornmeal for breakfast, while we waited for Gai to come back, we went down to the flats below our hilltop to inspect the damage of the fire. The land below our camp was in utter desolation, startling and ruined, a desert of ash. We found only the orange sand and black ashes still in the shape of the grass blades that made them, black ashes below burned bushes still in the shape of the leaves that made them, and, on the ground, flat, perfect skeletons of vines, just in the shape of the vines that made them but black, in powder, disintegrating into dust when the wind touched them. All around us lay the smolder-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

361 We got out and sat with them in their werf to talk before deciding what we would do next. Looking around, we saw that only the two families lived here, for there were only two sleeping-places, set, for the sake of a little privacy, on the opposite sides of one of the scrawny trees. The women had not built huts, but had scooped little hollows for themselves and their husbands which they had lined with soft grass bedding, and had put up two arching sticks at each of these hollows to mark the place where the door would be if a scherm had been there, for the Kung as well as the Gikwe need a sense of place. In fact, the Kung need it even more, for without their grass and marking-sticks the Kung feel homeless. Their sleeping hollows were like the soft grass nests of pheasants, hidden in the leaves.

276 The Bushmen all lit pipes and passed them—each pipe
576 reached everybody, everybody shared and smoked, and the pipes circled slowly for an hour or more until the tobacco was gone. There was a brass pipe made of an old cartridge, a bone one, a horn one, and last of all a copper one that tasted very bad. The Bushmen cracked roasted tsi nuts and passed the fat little kernels around to each other, offering them on the
609 palms of their hands. My brother told Toma that he had missed tsi because there was none in America.

"What?" said Toma. "No tsi? Why didn't you plant some?"

"The soil is a little strong for it," said John.

"So."

"But tsi is good."

"No good," said Toma sadly. "I used to be fat. Now I am thin." He stuck out his leg and slapped at it. "Where is my fat?" he said.

He did not seem to be thinner than he used to be, though; he had only a scar on his belly and a scar on his back where

SEATED YOUTH, above, enjoys a smoke as his companions make characteristic !Kung gesture—arm outstretched—to show they also wish a turn with the pipe. Because the !Kung crave tobacco, but grow none, they must trade for it—often disastrously—with the Bantu peoples on the borders of *Nyae Nyae*.

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[P. 78]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

FIG. 21. Gao Beard hammers out a spear blade. His young second wife sits composedly beside him at the family fire. She did not build a scherm for Gao when they settled this time. The upright sticks around their grass bed serve to symbolize home. The object which looks like a club behind Gao is an adze handle. His fire scraper lies in front of him

516

FIG. 22. A man cooking meat in a Bantu clay pot (obtained by trade)

[415]
[439]

FIG. 23. Smoking a soapstone pipe

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142

FIG. 24. Old Demi, grey-haired, is in his seventies. We figured his age roughly from his telling us that when he was a young adult he was, by chance, an unwilling witness lying under a log to a skirmish of the German–Herero war

[P. 240-G]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

301 The most highly valued gifts are the traditional ornaments of ostrich egg-shell beads,
431 especially the wide headbands and necklaces of five or six strings of beads reaching to the umbilicus. The creamy white is becoming to them. They like European beads also, of all colours, though white is definitely their preference. The only thing they do not like about beads, Gao Beard told us, is shortness of the string. After ornaments, the /Kung value implements or utensils, *||gwashi* or dance rattles, which have required time and care to make, but perhaps more especially valued are metal objects and pots. The latter are obtained by trade. The /Kung do not trade among
[438] themselves. They consider the procedure undignified and avoid it because it is too likely to stir up bad feelings. They trade with the Bantu, however, in the settlements along the B.P. border. The /Kung offer well-tanned antelope hides and ostrich egg
439 shell beads. For these they obtain tobacco, beads, knives, axes, malleable metal for making arrow-points and spear-blades, and occasional files and chisels, fire-strikers, and pots.

The odds are with the Bantu in the trading. Big, aggressive, and determined to
435 have what they want, they easily intimidate the Bushmen. Several /Kung informants
439 said that they tried not to trade with Herero if it was possible to avoid it because, although the Tswana were hard bargainers, the Herero were worse. /Qui said he had been forced by a Herero whom he was afraid to anger to trade the shirt and pants we had given him as our parting gift in 1952 for a small enamel pan and a little cup. /Ti/kay had more gumption. A Herero at the beginning of a negotiation with him brought out a good-sized pile of tobacco but took from it only a pinch when it was time to pay. /Ti/kay picked up the object he was trading and ran off. ≠Toma said with amused exaggeration that 'a very good Herero, a respectable one, will give a handful of tobacco for five cured steinbok skins. A bad Herero will give a pipeful (he showed the size of his fingernail) for three skins.' The Tswana values are a little better. A well-tanned gemsbok hide brings a pile of tobacco about 14 inches in diameter and about 4 inches high. The values vary. Some that were reported to us were three rooibok, duiker, or steinbok skins for a good-sized knife, five strings of ostrich egg-shell beads for a spear.

439 The /Kung have become dependent on metal, especially knives, axes, and arrow-
[100] points. They have been able to trade enough for every man to have these implements.
[411] They could, however, exist without them and do still use a few bone and wood arrow-points. Poison makes their arrows deadly, not penetrating power. The pots are Ovambo or Okavango pottery (the /Kung make no pottery themselves) or European ironware. The /Kung like to have a pot around to borrow sometimes; not
[050] everyone wants to carry one. They cook mostly in hot ashes. More for their novelty, I thought, than for their worth, the /Kung trade also for old oddments of cloth garments (they weave neither cloth nor mats), pieces of blankets, basins, &c.—things they do not really need—but which they like.

276 Tobacco they need 'to make the heart feel better'. Oddly enough for these pas-
431 sionate smokers, tobacco was not given so much emphasis in gift-giving as one might expect. They do make gifts of tobacco, but when anyone lights a pipe he passes it around anyway; all present drag smoke into their lungs until they almost faint and it has not mattered much who owned the tobacco.

302 Eland fat is a very highly valued gift. An eland provides so much fat that people
431

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

535 consciousness or deep unconsciousness.[1] They may become stiff or froth at the mouth
796 or lie still as if in coma. Some of them habitually remain in trance only a short time,
[756 others for hours. One man used to remain in a semi-trance for most of the day fol-
787] lowing a dance.

[755] A Bushman curing cannot be fully described in words; it must be heard and I give only an outline here. The medicine man begins by dancing and singing with the others whatever medicine song is being sung. He then leaves the line of dancing men and leans, still singing, over the person he is going to cure. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The /Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. He grunts with shuddering, gurgling, gasping grunts which intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high, piercing, quavering yell. Finally the medicine man throws up his arms to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Ganwa* or the *//ganwasi*, with a sharp yelping cry of '*Kai Kai Kai*'. This shows that it is heavy work to draw the sickness out. The effect of the sound on one observer, myself, was striking—gooseflesh and a stopping of the breath which made it seem as though the heart stood still an instant. A medicine man goes to every person present, leaning over each to cure, even the babies, who, amazingly,
[852] seldom cry, though he gurgles and gasps right into their ears. If someone is actually sick, he returns to him again and again through the night.

After the curing has been going on for some time, medicine men begin to reach their state of frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. Fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. They rush out into the darkness, where *//Ganwa* and the *//ganwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. 'Filthy face! Take away the sickness you have brought.' 'Uncovered penis[2]! You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away.' '*Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die.' At this point they may fall into deep unconsciousness or sink down semi-conscious, eyes closed, unable to walk.

The medicine men who have not reached their full frenzy or who have passed through it attend those who are in it. The /Kung believe that at such a time the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Ganwa* and the *//ganwasi*. They call this 'half death'. It is a dangerous time and the man's body must be watched over and kept warm. The medicine men lean over the one who is in trance. They

[276] [1] The /Kung know about the drug called dagga. They told us that it grows in B.P. and that when they go to trade they sometimes get a little. They like to have some when they go hunting; it keeps one from feeling tired or discouraged, they say. They might take some at a dance if they had it, but they are not dependent on it or on any other substance to induce trance. The trances are psychologically induced.

[2] /Kung men swear a great deal. The swearing
[195 plays always upon the themes of the genital organs,
578] sexual intercourse, incest, and excrement. In deprecation they call each other genital organs or tell each other to go and commit incest with their mothers, sisters, wives' mothers, or sons' wives. We have not recorded their saying 'daughter'. Is that thought so terrible to them that its expression is beyond even these hardened swearers? They use the same themes in their blasphemy against the gods. 'Uncovered' or 'thrown-away penis' may mean 'circumcised'. This is a great insult among the /Kung who do not circumcise but know that the Bantu do. 'Filthy face' means 'covered with excrement'.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

174
439 The interior !Kung have had trading relations with Bantu
[411] peoples on their periphery for over eighty years. The evidence
[415] for this is the presence of iron-tipped weapons, pottery and
[276] tobacco. The present-day !Kung have no knowledge of iron-working or pottery-making and they do not raise tobacco. The old people state that their grandfathers had these things
[173] before the first non-Bushmen came to the interior. Men in
[411] their 60's and 70's today can remember their grandfathers telling them that they began hunting with bone arrows and did not obtain iron for arrows until they were well into adult
[411] life. The making of bone arrow heads is still common know-
[321] ledge today but, as there is an abundant supply of iron fencing
[325] wire, none of the men hunt with bone. The art of chipping
[178] flint is not known in the Dobe area. It is probable that
[324] these Bantu goods (and also some European goods such as beads and buttons) reached the interior through Bushman trading intermediaries some years before the arrival of the first Bantu and Europeans.

173 <u>Early contacts, 1879-1925</u> - There is disagreement among the !Kung about whether the Europeans or the Bantu were the first to penetrate the interior. Apparently the first pene-
175 trations occurred during the period 1875-1890. Hendrik Van
648 Zyl, a professional hunter, is the first European known to have reached the interior (Silberbauer 1965:114-115). In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56/57]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in the werft, as firemaking is a matter of serious import and the chief is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off misfortune. The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out." 372 622

As an illustration he cites[1] the practices existing among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan. Here, when it becomes necessary to move camp, as for example after a death has taken place, the whole community takes up all its goods and chattels, and, led by the *gei-khoib* (chief), sets off in search of a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. "The chief then proceeds to the large tree (*/heis*) in the centre and kindles a fire underneath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *!norab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-/ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*/ou-/ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-/ais* and the women may fetch fire from the */ou-/ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-/ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the */ou-/ais*. The */ou-/ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-/ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the */heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new */ou-/ais* kindled

166 361 622 [768] 372 622 [276] [621]

[1] Op. cit., 87-8; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 32-3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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that among the Bushmen all game is shared out among the members of the band. To what extent the same elaborate rules of division exist in the other tribes is difficult to determine. The only other indication of similar practices is found in the texts obtained by Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen. Only a selection of these have so far been published, and the information contained in them is rather fragmentary. But it appears that women, for example, were not permitted to eat the meat of the shoulder blades, lest the men subsequently prove unsuccessful in hunting; that the man who shot the animal might not take part in cutting it up; and the bones which were left over had to be carefully put aside in certain special ways.[1] Obviously such usages hint at an elaborate procedure in regard to the cutting up, distribution, and treatment of the meat; and one can only regret that all the details relating to them have not yet been made available.

Narcotics

As narcotics the Bushmen use chiefly tobacco and dagga (*Cannabis sativa*), the latter a herb with marked intoxicating effects. All grown-up people, and even small children, smoke tobacco when they can get it. They do not cultivate it themselves, although a few men among the Auen and the Naron are said to have made slight efforts to grow tobacco and dagga after the manner of their Bantu and Bergdama neighbours.[2] Almost all the tobacco used by the Bushmen is imported through trade or obtained by service with other peoples, and they are always extremely keen to acquire it.

In the north-west their pipes (Plate XI) are generally tubes of serpentine, some 3 inches long and rather wider at one end than at the other, which are cut and hollowed out with the iron spear point or with a knife, or even with a small stone drill. The hollow shin bones of small buck are also sometimes used, but nowadays the most prevalent form of pipe is an empty cartridge-case! Pipes consisting of an antelope horn were largely used by the Cape Bushmen. Near the point of the horn was made a hole, into which was inserted a reed tube, and on top of this was fitted an elongated clay bowl to hold the tobacco. When these pipes were used, some water was put into the horn, the mouth applied to the large orifice of the horn, and the

[1] Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 171 sqq.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 18; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

276 smoke sucked through the water by deep breaths into the lungs. A somewhat similar form of pipe is found among the Heikum and the Kung, but apparently water is not used here in smoking. Further [171] east, among the Hiechware, a method of ground-smoking is found similar to that obtaining among the neighbouring Bantu peoples. A small hole is made in the ground, into which the man puts the tobacco; he then inserts his pipe-stick through a small tunnel and smokes.[1]

Dagga is mixed with tobacco or smoked by itself whenever obtainable. The habit is said seriously to affect those addicted to it, both physically and morally. When taken in slight quantities the [164] herb has no visible ill-effects, but excessive indulgence is most deleterious to the health, and if persisted in sometimes causes mental aberration and frenzy.

273 Few of the Bushmen know how to make any kind of liquor themselves. The only exception, perhaps, are the Namib Bushmen, who, [171] after the manner of their Hottentot neighbours, brew a kind of mead out of honey. They are very partial to this drink, which plays an essential part in all their festivities.[2] The other Bushmen in general also do not seem to trade for any liquor, although they all appreciate alcohol and native beer when it is given to them. The Hiechware, [439] however, are said to be excessively fond of native beer, which they obtain by barter from the BeChwana; and, according to Dornan, they contrive to get drunk whenever they can.[3] Drunkenness as a rule is very exceptional among the rest of the Bushmen.

Sexual Life and Marriage

Conditions and Forms of Marriage

114 There is very little information about the relations of the sexes before marriage. Either the subject is not mentioned at all by our 836 authorities, or it is curtly dismissed in a short sentence. Kaufmann, for instance, reports of the Auen merely that prenuptial intercourse hardly ever seems to occur[4]; Lebzelter writes of the Kung that chastity is insisted upon before marriage[5]; while, on the other hand, all Miss Bleek has to say in this connection about the Naron is that

[1] Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 164 sq.; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 321; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 257; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 122-3.
[2] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 168; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.
[3] Op. cit., 121. [4] Op. cit., 136. [5] Op. cit., (16).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot

Bushmen FX10

PLATE XI

276
412
301
415

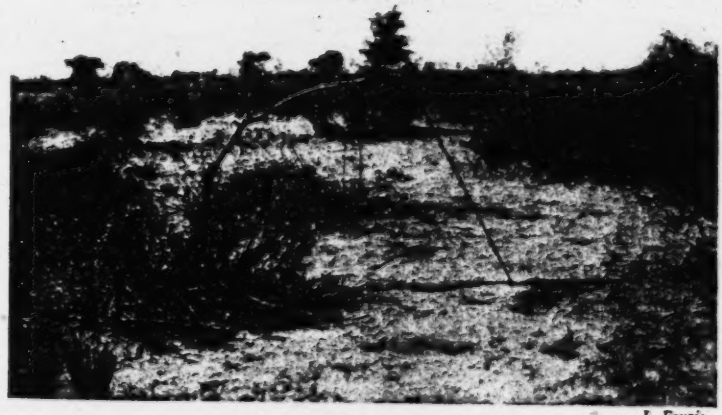
a b c d

British Museum

BUSHMAN ORNAMENTS AND UTENSILS

a. Serpentine and Bone Pipes
b. Bone awl
c. Waistband of Ostrich egg-shell beads
d. Tortoise-shell box for holding *buchu*

224



L. Fourie

BUSHMAN SNARE FOR HUNTING GAME

[*face p.* 158]

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Knowledge of Disease and Doctoring

164 The Bushmen in their own environment and leading their own mode of life seem on the whole to be a healthy and hardy people. Those communities in the north which have not been much in contact with civilization are said to be remarkably free from infectious, contagious, and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons, when malaria becomes unduly prevalent, the incidence of disease is very small amongst them. Malaria, however, carries off many victims, for the Bushmen do not seem able to withstand it better than other peoples. Kaufmann, as we have seen, records that in 1909 the mortality caused by it was especially high, whole villages dying out, so that the numbers of the Auen were reduced to less than half. Seiner, another trustworthy observer, states that [114] among the Kung fully 20 per cent of the deaths that occur, especially of children, may be attributed to it; and it is officially recorded that in the years 1917, 1923, and 1925 "large numbers" of Bushmen died from it along the north-eastern and eastern borders of South-West Africa. Smallpox, typhoid, dysentery, and phthisis are also mentioned as occurring in these parts, the latter being promoted by [276] excessive indulgence in tobacco and dagga smoking. Where contact [177] with other peoples is frequent, syphilis is often found, as well as measles, influenza, whooping-cough, scarlet fever, and other European diseases. European clothing and dwellings have a bad effect upon the Bushmen. They are particularly susceptible to pulmonary affections when removed from their natural surroundings, and a considerable number of those who have suffered from bronchitis, pneumonia, etc., subsequently succumb to tuberculosis. When [648] imprisoned, as many of them are in South-West Africa for cattle stealing or breaking the game laws, they rapidly decline in strength and die in great numbers, however kindly treated by the gaol authorities.[1]

753 Sickness in most instances is attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the person affected, to evil magic exercised against him by other persons, to the malicious interference of the ghosts of dead people who send the "spirits of disease" into 000 the patient's body, or to some similar supernatural cause. Treatment

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 139; Seiner, "Bevölkerung der Omaheke," 293; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 140–4; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29–30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95; *Official Year Book of S.A.*, No. 8, pp. 983–6 *passim*.

/147 cont./

223 noose is released when the animal takes the bait, and at the same time the gallows springs back and pulls the animal up in the air by its neck. Concerning the material used to make the noose, see page 41 . The arrowheads of the Auin are generally
411 poisoned. I have also found arrows which had only a single unpoisoned bone point. These are used for sport, perhaps also for killing small birds.

Manufacture of the arrow poison. Burkea africana (firewood
278 of the Bushmen) is inhabited during the rainy season by a beetle (or a species of termite?) which toward the end of the rainy season pupates in the soil under the tree. The larvae are dug up, killed, dried in the sun, and rubbed between stones.

Roots of the thorny tschamma (Cucumis heptactylus Naud.) are laid on red-hot coals, taken out warm, and the bitter sap pressed out. This sap is mixed with the poisonous paste, and the resulting dirty, reddish-brown preparation represents the finished arrow poison. The poison is applied to the arrow point in a layer several millimeters thick and dries there.

The Bushmen greatly fear their own arrow poison and always
278 carry the poisoned point hidden in the shaft. The poisoned end
411 is exposed only just before it is to be used. The layer of poison on the iron points, which because of their width cannot be concealed in the arrow shaft, is always wrapped with bast which is not taken off until the arrow is to be used. All Auin can make arrow poison and readily demonstrate the process.

224 The decorative scars described on page 16 are to be regarded
304 as hunting trophies.

The hunters supposedly tell exaggerated tales. Quarrels on
521 these occasions sometimes end in bloodshed.
578
[231] The only domestic animal is the dog.

The Bushman doctor is supposed to let blood for healing pur-
757 poses. For instance, in the case of a man who could not run well, bloody incisions were made in his upper thigh. On the other hand, I do not know whether this procedure can be described as "bloodletting." Scars from such incisions were shown to me several times.

/413 The surgical instrument is a little sharpened piece of iron.

/159 cont./

756 with a considerable portion of actual experience and knowledge.

The doctors are paid for their efforts.

There are also female doctors.

I have observed no sign of hostility toward Whites among [648] these people. They know how to evade observation, however, even better than the ordinary Bushman, and that says a good deal.

Only the doctor may eat a certain kind of poisonous snake, apparently the so-called black mamba, which I regard as an older type of cobra.

U. Totemism

771 I was unable to observe any indications that might lead one to deduce the existence of totemism.

V. Medicine

A man who was suffering from headache had colored his 755 forehead with a black grease that supposedly had curative powers and had wound a thin thong firmly around his head. Our household remedy of firmly squeezing the sides of the aching head with both hands was familiar to the Auin.

● 278 The Bushman doctor makes an antidote from the black 752 mamba, which he alone may eat. This antidote is supposed to help against the bites of all snakes, except that of the mamba itself.

He dries and pulverizes the lungs, gall, and liver, as well as the poisonous fangs with the poison glands. This powder is stirred into a paste with the fat of the same snake, and the paste, so I was informed, is rubbed into the enlarged wound, which has first been sucked out.

At the same time, various deep incisions are made on the upper arm and chest, from which considerable blood flows.

Poisons that work internally are not manufactured. The Auin 278 maintain, however, that the arrow poison also works internally.

The manufacture of arrow poison was described above.

/159 cont./

278 752 [411] Poisoned arrows shot into the chest and abdomen are described as unconditionally deadly. Arrow wounds on extremities, as well as very superficial ones, are supposed to be curable under certain circumstances if immediate help is provided.

[751] There is no inoculation against arrow poison.

[827] An older Auin suffering from badly inflamed eyes attributed this illness to an arrow wound he had received many years earlier. His statement, of course, cannot be verified.

165 Malaria is endemic and annually exacts many lives. The number of cases resulting in death was especially great in 1908-1909. Whole settlements are supposed to have died out. Epidemics were unknown even to the "oldest people."

Venereal diseases are blessings of civilization, but evidently not yet widespread.

731 Famine actually prevails every year toward the end of the dry season, especially if the preceding rainy season has been poor. During this time, almost all the Auin are emaciated to skeletons. Death by hunger is not supposed to /160/ occur. After all, the Bushman always finds something to eat, even if it is only grass seeds.

756 The so-called doctors decidedly possess great experience in medical matters, which, however, does not prevent them from practicing considerable charlatanism (see Section T).

W. Time Reckoning, Astonomy

805 The day is divided according to the position of the sun.

Certain time segments are indicated with great exactitude according to the position of the sun. If one asks a Bushman, "How far is it to the watering place?" he will point to the place in the sky that the sun will have reached by the time one gets there.

The concept of the month is known (gnui, "month").

The relation of the solar year to lunar months is unknown.

The Auin divides up the year, for which, incidentally, he has no definite, but rather only a very vague concept, as follows:

[12 cont.]

000 439 occupation. Even among the nomadic groups, however, meat, hides, and so forth are commonly traded for millet.

Also, the Blacks like to have veldkost on their table, [222] and the Bushmen, like our sponge and berry gatherers, use their knowledge to supply them and carry on petty trade with their veldkost, as well as with honey.

222 137 This is the reason that veldkost, which is either scarce or not very tasty, is not gathered at all any more; indeed, the knowledge of its presence is even disappearing. We must also not forget that the black shepherd boys long ago acquired the knowledge of the Bushmen by observing them. As a result, the number of those interested has naturally climbed sharply, and the veldkost plants have become rare. The following kinds are still regularly gathered:

222 /airoba (ombimbo)	Sweetish, very starchy tubers, like large potatoes.
/érui (omauungǎ)	Galls on the leaves of the omsati tree.
≠gan-i (esarata)	Small fruit.
!Khui-i (oombi)	Dates.
!Korob-ke (oompali)	Bulbs at the roots of a liana.

251 439 Dried meat is made from kudu flesh, which in part is kept and in part sold.

● 278 [13] Arrow poison is made from the sap of a tree (Euphorbiacea), !Khores-Ke. The Ondonga themselves make no [439] arrow poison, but buy it from the Bushmen for one to two sh per 752 portion. There is no medicine against arrow poison. Deep incisions are made at the place where the arrow entered, and after blood has flowed freely from the wound, it is sucked. In the case of snakebite the same procedure is followed, and some arrow poison is placed on the wound (!!!).

278 609 Our Bushmen denied any knowledge of poisons added to food. Only the "evil Bushmen" in the east had such knowledge, they claimed. This statement scarcely deserves credence.

177 In clothing, dwellings, and weapons, as well as ornaments, not much that is original remains. The process of Bantuization is much further advanced in the material culture than in the spiritual culture. It is, after all, easier to part with clothing than with ideas.

[39 cont.]

192 sometimes radial and sometimes in rows, is called !khui. The
411 incision at the lower end of the arrow shaft is called /gei. The arrow points are usually little triangular iron plates (//khai). The entire tip, including the binding and the poisoned part, is called !hui. [Figs. 10 and 11 appear here.]

411 The arrows are 65 to 68 centimeters long. They are usually poisoned. The poison, which looks like dark wax, is smeared
● 278 on little sticks and preserved in this way. It consists of five in-
[463] gredients, the most important of which is euphorbia sap. Only

[824]

Fig. 10. Buphane disticha Herb., Plant Used for Arrow Poison by the !Kung (Medley Wood, Natal Plants, VI, 1912).

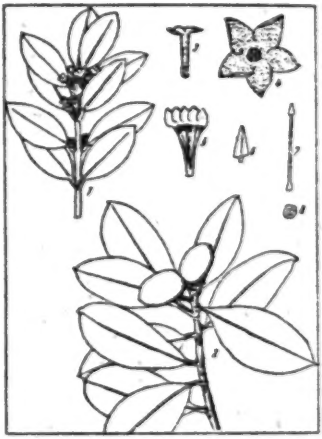

Fig. 11. Acocanthera venenata, Plant Used for Arrow Poison by the !Kung (Sim, The Forests and Forest Flora of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1907).

certain persons prepare the poison. They know that the plant poisons are not equally effective every year. Hence, a small bushbuck is shot first, then a larger animal (say, a leopard), and finally a gemsbok. Only when the proper results are obtained with all these animals is the poison traded.

411 The lances of the !Kung consist of a shaft about 160 centimeters long, which is greatly reduced in thickness toward the back end.

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire. [40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by
[439] the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be-
[422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should
[304] be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out
177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked
415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are
278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen.
805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions;
211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary.
[614] To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so
[888] great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements
[623] between the chief and the other old men.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 25]

[43 cont.]

423 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's terri-
614 tory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them.
769 The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place.

13. Illnesses and Treatment

826 The anatomical knowledge of the Bushmen is quite extensive as a result of their way of life as hunters.

The heart is regarded as the seat of life, and the breath
[761] has some connection with the heart. Their surgical knowledge is
752 confined to the extraction of thorns by means of an awl-like in-
757 strument and to the relatively effective bandaging of hand and leg
278 fractures. Their supply of medicines, on the other hand, is very limited. In what follows, I shall list the common illnesses and their treatment.

Eye Inflammation

752 Both dry and exudative eye inflammations, caused by sand and irritating grass seeds, are extremely widespread, and blear eyes are the rule among older people. These diseases, however, are not nearly as grave among the !Kung living in the forest as, say, among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari or among those
[826] of Naukluft. Among the latter, blear eyes are even regarded as signs of beauty in young girls. Ordinary eye inflammations that pass in a short period of time mean nothing. They are treated by
[753] rubbing with fat. If the ailment lasts for a longer period of time, then //Gauab [Fig. 16 appears here] certainly had something to
[755] do with it; the doctor is called in and, after some treatment, produces a "little black medicine" from the eye.

[44 cont.]

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from the fire. As a cure for coughing and hoarseness, they chew the fibers of a sisal-like plant, which are twisted to make the trap cord. The plant is called kûi. It must be brought fresh from the forest. For chest pains, in recent times they have started drinking warm water to which much cooking salt is added.

[413] Fig. 17. !Kung Instrument for Knocking Out Teeth; actual size [as shown in original text].

Circulatory Diseases

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751

As among the Central African Pygmies, we find strong sinuosity of the arteria temporalis even among more youthful individuals. The heart quickly wears itself out as a result of the exhausting way of life and the great amount of running. The people try to increase its capabilities in every way possible. In order to stop the pounding of the heart and to run longer, they take the leaves of a tree with red fruit (in-gui). These leaves are chewed and swallowed. If this does no good, they chew the root of the ≠Na tree. If a person has a heart pain so that he cannot run, he takes roots of the Dormakar bush (!gu) and of the Hell bush (!gai !dsao), boils them both, and drinks the decoction. In case of angina pectoris, the skin of a boa constrictor is placed around the chest.

Gastrointestinal Disorders

753 It is interesting to note that the doctrine of the importance
[171] of the liver and gall bladder in the origin of disease, which we find among all primitive and civilized peoples up to the humoral medicine of the previous century, is already present among the Bushmen. When the gall bladder is full, one becomes sick and
[755] vomits gall. Then the region of the liver is massaged, just as is done in the case of liver pains. Enlargement of the liver as the
[164] result of chronic malaria is common. The moon, which dies
[821] every month, also has gall sickness, and moonlight is the juice of the gall bladder vomited by it. Moonlight and gall are known
[164] by the same word (goo). Spleen tumor is especially common
757 among children. They have no medicine against splenalgia.
278 They have no medicine for inducing vomiting. It is induced by putting the finger or a feather into the mouth. To stop vomiting, one chews little twigs of the goro tree. The bitter wood of the liana (χ'ãã-χ'ãñ) is chewed for stomach-ache. In case of con-
[753] stipation the doctor must practice magic, for it is assumed that
[755] the dsao have tied the stool in the intestine, and the doctor must loosen and extract the cord, just as in the case of an inflammation of the throat. The patient may not eat anything and drink very little. In case of diarrhea, even the bleeding kind, the same medicine is taken as in the case of stomach-aches. Intestinal
147 worms are unknown. We already know from earlier reports that the
262 gastrointestinal tract of the Bushman can take all kinds of things that we cannot take. As the result of habituation from early childhood on, he can digest meat that has gone bad and the like, without any trouble (1). After a long period of hunger, he can consume

1. I myself witnessed a drastic example of this. I had brought a side of bacon from Swakopmund, which supposedly had been preserved for all eternity according to a special process. When I brought it out, it had a hideous smell, and in order to prevent the Bushmen from taking it and getting sick, I had it hung high on a tree. The

[45 cont.]

164 [753] [192] [302] [593] 842 [757] [278] 841 [757] 853 [826] 164

Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care. [515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky [278] [757] sap of a plant called timba.

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams [145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long; 302 the toenails are often fissured.

[46 cont.]

Infectious Diseases

164 The Bushmen are plagued by the two most dangerous chronic infectious diseases, tuberculosis and malaria. Leprosy is absent.

Malaria appears every year during the rainy season. Bisob [757] roots are then thrown in the fire, and the smoke is inhaled. Small [278] children more commonly die of it. I did not see any cases of black water fever or malarial cachexia.

Tuberculosis is the common cause of death among the [165] Bushmen. I saw bone tuberculosis and swellings of the glands, as well as advanced cases of lung and throat tuberculosis. The poor people are helpless, and the frequent colds further the process in a dangerous fashion. As nomads living in small groups, they are generally spared the epidemics of the Whites and Blacks. Once an epidemic has made its appearance among them, however, they die in great numbers. It is interesting to note that the Bushmen are aware that contagious diseases exist. As such, however, they only know the above-mentioned skin disease (gari).

753 The other infectious general diseases are explained as an attack by many spirits of sickness upon the horde.

Assistance at Birth

844 When a young woman anticipates her first confinement, she remains near the huts because she is afraid. The older women cheer her up, and then a resting place is made of dried grass. The woman gives birth in a squatting position. In case of difficulties [845] during delivery, the lower part of the body is massaged. Medicine or manual assistance to expedite the delivery is not given. The umbilical cord is cut off with a quartz knife and buried.

[47] Wounds and Injuries

752 The most dangerous injury a Bushman can receive is through a poisoned arrow. The poisoned arrow is cut out, a piece of wood is held in the fire until it glows, and then it is used to

[47 cont.]

752 burn the wounded person at many places on his body. When the poison smells the warmth, it gathers at these places; incisions are then made there, and the blood is sucked out by means of a cupping glass made of gemsbok horn. The wounded person may neither sit nor lie down; he must be walked about for twenty-four hours. After this time he either dies or is cured. The method helps only in rare cases.

Snakebite is the second great danger. If one makes an
751 incision in the lower part of the calf and rubs scrapings from a
824 bisob root into it, the snakes smell this and do not come out of
825 hiding. [Fig. 18 appears here.] When a person has to run great distances, bisob dust is mixed with fat and applied
752 to the legs. In case someone is nevertheless
(411) bitten by a snake, the treatment is analogous to that used for arrow wounds. Injuries to the feet caused by thorns are very common. Injuries that pass through the aponeurosis are regarded as deadly. They practically always become infected. Even though wound infections take a less malignant and a slower course than among Europeans, they nonetheless sometimes lead to death. The only medicine
(278) used is bisob powder scattered in the wound.

Fig. 18. Kirri of the !Kung.

756 Some doctors claimed to be immune
751 to snake and scorpion bites.

What Vedder observed among the Bergdama is reported in a similar manner by Schinz:

"With the intention of testing the latter characteristic, I one day persuaded an old sorcerer visiting us in Noi !as on Ngami Lake to undertake an experiment with 12 scorpions (Buthus randus Simon) picked out by myself and having an average length of eight centimeters. In order to prevent any possibility of deception, I put the animals on the various parts of his body with tweezers, on the hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. As a rule they then immediately and excitedly moved the long postabdomen back and forth and jabbed violently once or twice into the flesh of the guinea

[50 cont.]

751 concerning the witch doctors:

756 [51] "The sorcerer can protect himself against the malignant spirits of evil deceased persons. After all, he can see them and knows the means for defending himself against them. The ordinary Bushman has no eye for them, but he has a means of keeping them at arm's length. In a small leather bag about as long as a finger [411] he keeps a bow carved out of horn and numerous horn arrows stuck in a shaft of sour grass [Cyperaceae]. If he has occasion to fear evil spirits, he shoots these miniature arrows in all directions with his miniature bow. Now the evil spirits cannot get at him.

"Since in addition he has the belief that an object merely thrown in the direction of a hated person in some mysterious fashion enters that person's body and gravely harms him, he likewise uses his miniature bow to keep a pursuer or enemy off his neck by shooting an arrow, with a curse, in the direction where he imagines his enemy to be, even when he knows that this person is miles away from him."

Whereas I myself and the highly experienced J. Lunkenbein regard these Bushman revolvers as harmless magical instruments, 411 [114] Seiner has a different opinion:

"The 'revolver' is a definite instrument of murder carried hidden in the modesty apron. The bow is ten centimeters long, the arrows are from ten to 12 centimeters long, and with the former they are put in a little bag adorned with beads. In addition it should be noted that the arrows, which are wrapped crosswise with little bands of tendon, are poisoned by being smeared with [278] little bits from the body of the arrow poison caterpillar. The Bushman ordinarily crushes a few of the caterpillars, which are available only in December and January, living on a few Commiphora shrubs (Commiphora dinteri, C. seineri) or as pupa at the roots under the ground, in a bone vessel with a little wooden stick that is always in the quivers; then he smears the arrow with some sticky stuff, such as wax or resin, whereupon he brushes the arrow with the viscous, slimy caterpillar mass, which, after drying, covers the arrow as a more or less thick brown crust. Up to a distance of seven meters it is possible to puncture the skin, drawing blood, with this miniature arrow; if the arrow tip were not blunt but pointed, like the one placed in the grass shaft, the arrow would

[62 cont.]

293 Like the prehistoric Bushmen, these people, too, wear forehead bands, into which the arrows are stuck during the hunt.

726 Dornan (p. 139) reports that the Kalahari Bushmen hold
754 dances before the start of a war, and on these occasions they shoot little poisoned arrows from equally small bows in the direction of the enemy or of the sun. They believe that in so doing they are killing the shadow spirit of the enemy. They do not like to give these miniature bows and arrows to anyone because they are afraid that they might come into the possession of their enemies and thus bring about their own deaths.

226 Fishing is still quite well developed among the Masarwa people. Stone walls are sometimes built in the river, in which weir-baskets are set, or they sit in the river bed next to one another with weir-baskets, while women and children drive the fish toward them. In smaller waterholes, grass and brush are piled up on one side. Then the Bushmen step into the water and push the grass wall ahead of them, thus driving the fish into a corner. Individual fish are also speared with the assagai. According to Hodson, the best fishermen are the Bakoba Bushmen on the Okovanggo. They have harpoons and rush nets that are drawn diagonally across the river.

● 278 G. A. Farini (3) had an opportunity to observe the

[113] 3. G. A. Farini, Durch die Kalahariwüste [Through the Kalahari Desert], Leipzig, 1886.

manufacture of arrow poison in the Chanse Veld. The men gathered at a certain place; women were not allowed to be present. The sap was removed from about 30 to 40 poisonous bulbs by means
[535] of successive incisions and was collected in a pan. As each incision was made, the Bushmen danced in a circle, making a kind of grunt. Then a hyena hide was spread out with the hair side down, and on it was spread the contents of the bags that contained the dried heads of poisonous snakes, as well as two pieces of reed approximately 15 centimeters long. Then a number of freshly killed poisonous snakes were brought. The poison sacs were removed amidst singing and the clapping of hands. Meanwhile the pan containing the poison had been put on the fire and was boiling;

[62 cont.]

278 one person after another stepped up to the pan and threw his share of snake poison into it. Then the pan was removed from the fire.
[535] The Bushmen now performed a new dance, in which they imitated the convulsions of animals dying from the poison. After another half hour the poison was clear, and when everyone had convinced himself that it was the right color, a red mineral powder was added and thoroughly stirred into it. Then poisonous spiders were taken out of the reeds and thrown into the [63] pan. These came from the Langen Mountain in the Cape Colony, in other words, had been brought from afar. When the mass had thickened somewhat more, the arrows were smeared with it and dried in the shade (ibid., p. 380).

595 These Bushmen, the M'Kabba, are monogamists.

563 Farini maintains (ibid., p. 171) that he met a black Pygmy who came from the tribe of the Kara-Kara north of Amboland (1).

1. At the mission station Urikualuthi I was told by the missionary, Mrs. Quarni, who has made most meritorious contributions to investigations of the country, that shortly before the war a number of black Pygmies who lived in the swamps along the Kunene had come to Chief Moala. She saw these people.

252 Concerning the food of the Bushmen, Dornan has the following to report: The Marsawa [sic] eat meat either roasted or grilled, rarely boiled, because they believe that the latter will
251 make them sick. The Bushmen of Basutoland cut the meat into tiny pieces, mixed it with fat, and then sewed it into hide sacks as preserved meat. As reserves in case of famine, the Kalahari Bushmen keep giraffe skins on tall trees. Veldkost is stored in turtle shells and ostrich eggs, as is water. The Basutoland Bushmen gathered grass seeds and stored them for times of hunger.

252 The tsama are prepared in the following manner: A hole is dug, and a fire is made in it. As soon as the soil is sufficiently

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
532 535 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
323 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
302 customary.

A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the
304 custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
(751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 684 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

≠AUIN
NAROON
NOGAU

[74 cont.]

776 one time as a man and at another time as a woman.

7. Medicine

The curing practices of the Nogau Bushmen are very primi-
757 tive. They have nothing for snakebite and nothing for arrow poison.

Eland fat is a universal medicine. For the common eye
278 inflammations this fat is smeared into the eye; for headaches warm eland fat is dripped into the ear; for a cold the nostrils and nose are smeared with eland fat.

Sickness comes either from the evil head Gauab or from
753 sorcerers. The ailment is caused by a little Gauab who has settled
[754] in the body. The more gravely ill a person is, the more Gauana have entered into him. The doctors are able to draw out these
755 spirits of sickness; they do it in a fashion analogous to that prac-
756 ticed by the !Kung. There are also female doctors.

The spirits of sickness are regarded here as much more ma-
753 terial than among the !Kung; such a Gauab looks like a human
776 being, but he may also appear as a lion, a wildebeest, or a snake. Once the Gauab has been drawn out of the body, it runs away and speaks to no one.

The sorcerers in particular like to transform themselves into
756 lions. Among the Bushmen farther north [75] it is supposedly
[825] the case that when they see a wildebeest in the bush, for example, it is not a wildebeest at all, but a Gauab. The doctors receive their power from the highest Gauab (/gaua //gaicha). He is the one who appears in the wind spouts. As among the Bantu, the doctors must go to school for several years with older colleagues.
[754] They are not only able to cure, but also to practice magic in the bad sense, in that they induce /Gaua //gaicha to make ill anyone whom they want to harm.

"Whoever wants to become a sorcerer must go to school with another witch doctor. When someone is struck by lightning, it is said that Gauab struck him down with his knife. Some then become great doctors and often speak with Gauab. Gauab also comes as a wind spout."

[75 cont.]

9. Hunting

224 Even today the western Kalahari has fairly abundant game, and life can be maintained at least to some extent by hunting. Before going to hunt, a tamana fruit (tse) is rubbed on the face. They also try to absorb the powers of the game by means of inoculation. For example, when a duiker has been killed, little pieces of the heart and ear are charred. This animal charcoal is then rubbed into an incision on the upper arm. Both in war and
[202] hunting, people communicate by means of smoke signals. The chief hunting weapon [76] is the bow with the poisoned arrow.
278 The poison (1) is obtained from the cocoons of a beetle larva that

[113]

1. Lewin has devoted several studies to Bushman poisons ("Pfeilgifte der Buschmänner [Arrow Poisons of the Bushmen]," Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 44, 1912).

"When I was permitted to examine the first arrows armed with poison that Lichtenstein had brought home from his journey in the year 1806 and which are kept in the Museum for Ethnology here, I was able to establish that there is alkaloid in the poison, which initially had stimulating, and later paralyzing effects on spine and brain. Because of the small quantity of the material, nothing further could be determined, except for a curious color reaction that the alkaloid isolated from the poison produced with concentrated sulphuric acid.

"I have now succeeded in producing from the bulb of Haemanthus toxicarius, the 'poison bulb' of the old Dutch colonists, the most active ingredient, an alkaloid which chemically and toxically

[76 cont.]

•278

corresponds to the active ingredient of the poison taken from the arrow. I gave it the name Haemanthin.

"After the subcutaneous injection of animals with the water soluble albumin isolated from Blepharida larvae six to seven milimeters long, disturbances of movement set in fairly rapidly. Food is no longer taken. It makes doves vomit, and, like rabbits, they also get diarrhea. They become quiet, they huddle motionless, and their eyelids, which for a time move almost ceaselessly, finally are affected by the lethargy or inability to move. The eyes are closed. The animals then fall into a sleep-like state and perish, but commonly only after many hours of difficult breathing. Dissection shows changes in the kidney."

A survey of the poisonous plants of South Africa has been supplied by J. M. Watt. In South Africa over five hundred species are used as medicinal plants, and 150 are regarded as dangerous poisonous plants. Most of the poisonous plants known to date have an effect like digitalis. The old arrow-poison plants of the Bushmen, Acokanthera venenata and A. spectabilis, which have been examined in greater detail by Moir, Lewis, and Curson, also belong to this category. It is striking that the poison has an extraordinary chemical and physical stability. For poisoning per os, Boweia volubilis is commonly used by the natives.

[137]

Literature: J.M.Watt, M.B., "The Present Position of our Knowledge of South African Medicinal and poisonous Plants,"

[113]

AUIN
NARON
NOGAU
HEI//OM

[76 cont.]

113

South African Journal of Science, Vol. 25, 1928.

J. Moir, J.S.A., Chemical Institute, VII, 1924, p. 28.

J. Moir and J. Lewis, J.S.A., Chemical Institute, VIII, 1925, p. 11.

H. H. Curson, Some Little-known South African Poisonous Plants and their Effects in Stock. Thesis for Diploma of F.R.C.V.S., 1926.

●278 lives on the roots of an acacia. The Bushman carries several of these cocoons around with him, like cartridges, in an antelope horn. If the arrow tip is to be poisoned, a fire is made, some of the acacia resin that the Bushman always carries is smeared on the arrow tip, and then a cocoon is broken and its contents rubbed on the tip. On one occasion one of my Bushmen had overlooked a small wound on his thumb, through which the poison penetrated into his blood stream. The penetration of the poison was not very painful; he merely had a feeling "as though warm water was penetrating into his flesh." The arm was considerably swollen for a week. The others made numerous incisions and [752] scarifications with glowing sticks on him in order to save him. [262] The flesh of the animal killed in this way is eaten raw, poisonous.

278 Von François (2) reports that the Hei//om of this region

[113]

2. Von François, "Reiseberichte Windhuk-Gobabis [Travel Report, Windhoek-Gobabis]," Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, V., 1892.

prepare their poison from the milky sap of the Apocynacea adenium Boehmianum. When exposed to the sun, it first becomes violet and then black. It is kept in little leather sacks and in case of need is warmed and mixed with the sap of the Habas root and applied to the arrow tips with flat sticks. These Bushmen still [411] used grooved stones to direct the arrow shaft.

/258 cont./

000 which is used for carrying game over the shoulder.

411 Still to be mentioned are the weapons of the Bushmen. These are limited essentially to the bow and arrow. The bow consists of firm, flexible wood which tapers toward the ends.

[283] The bowstring is made by twisting together separated strands of gemsbok tendons.

The arrows have a very peculiar construction. The shaft is a piece of reed approximately 60 centimeters long, which is feathered at the lower end. A piece of eland bone, approximately 15 centimeters long, which has been sharpened to a point on both sides and carefully rounded by filing on stones, is inserted at the upper end of the shaft in such a manner that it can easily be taken out and reversed. The front end of the reed shaft, which is designed for the insertion of the bone arrowhead, /259/ is wrapped with bast in order to give it the necessary resistance. The two ends of the arrowhead are treated differently. The shorter and blunter tip is left free of poison and serves solely for hunting purposes. The
● 278 longer and more pointed end is covered with a brown, resin-like poisonous mass. It is very difficult to obtain any definite information from the Bushmen concerning the origin of this poison. They shyly evade questions about it.

I was able to ascertain only one fact, namely, that it is obtained by making incisions in the bark of a tree called chi (Herero: otjindombo). The arrowhead is dipped in the sap of the bark and
411 heated over the fire.

In addition to the bow and arrow, one also finds simple, unworked kirris, and -- at least among the Bushmen of the Kaukau Veld -- throwing spears with iron points that are obtained from the Ovambo in trade.

Arrow shafts and arrowheads are carried on the back in separate leather quivers.

They also use simple, feathered wooden arrows with pointed ends for fowl.

The dwellings are as simple as the whole way of life of the
342 Bushmen. The huts are only a little taller than a man and about three meters in diameter; they are set up by embedding sticks in the ground. These poles, which form the framework, are joined in the center, making a dome shape, and the interstices

X137 *triloba* they are what is known as dorsifixed, that is they are fixed a little way up from the base so that the stipule is free at both ends. The flowers are the same size in the two species and have the same long stalk, but those of *Vigna triloba* are predominantly purple. They tend to open in the early morning and to close during the heat of the day.

Vigna triloba is reported from a variety of soils and is widespread through southern Africa, but it was not seen on the expedition until the Nama Pan area was reached.

262 It has a finger-thick tap-root which is edible after boiling or roasting,
[252] although fibrous and slightly bitter. In mature plants it may extend downwards further than can conveniently be dug, but it is easily broken off. There appear to have been no previous records of its use as a food plant.

X137 *Commiphora pyracanthoides* Engl. (5137) Photograph 23.

Eastern !khũ Bushman a|ño

A deciduous, rigid, twiggy two-foot shrub with spine-tipped twigs, branches that curve downwards, and a bark that is pale green and flaky on the older parts and grayish on the young twigs. The flowers are less than a quarter of an inch long and inconspicuous, and are borne in bunches on small knobs scattered along the twigs. Male and female flowers are on separate plants. The knobs also bear the leaves, which appear after the flowers and are glaucous, simple and finely serrate, and about three quarters of an inch long and half an inch wide. The fruits are "ovoid, about the size of a green pea, though reddish brown when ripe. When the fruits are ripe, the fleshy covering may be easily split apart in two halves exposing the black seed with a red aril covering it partly at the base and extending in four slender 'fingers', producing an intriguing pattern". (Codd, 1951:87.)

The species extends from South West Africa to the northern Transvaal, but was uncommon in the area round Nama Pan. One specimen collected there was grown in Pretoria. Leaves and flowers were obtained in the summer following, and from this material the determination was made possible.

[262] The plant exudes an edible gum from injuries and is a useful source
312 of water in an emergency, the water being in a sappy underground organ
824 which is like that of one of the following species of Commiphora, No. 4994. It is known as a water plant among the Bantu of the Transvaal as well.

X137 *Commiphora* spp. (4994 edible, 5030 inedible).

4994		5030	
!hɔ: Bushman..	dʒã	|gikwe Bushman	!ana
|gikwe Bushman	dʒã		
Naron Bushman	|uri		

Two species of Commiphora were collected in the Kalahari south of Ghanzi. They were completely deciduous rigid two-foot shrubs with many sharply-tipped twigs and a flaky bark. At first sight they were identical, and even close examination revealed no bigger difference than that one of them was a little more of a thicket than the other and slightly
8.24 grayer. The Bushmen, however, stated emphatically that the grayish one
[278] was poisonous and the other not. They said also that the grayish one
[825] WAS THE HOST OF THE INSECT WHICH THEY USE FOR MAKING THEIR ARROW POISON, AND THAT IT HAD HARDER ROOTS THAN THE OTHER.

was the host of the insect which they use for making their arrow poison, and that it had harder roots than the other. The fruits, flowers and leaves might have shown the difference clearly, but no trace of them could be found, and though plants were sent to the Transvaal for growing they failed to become established. 824

In spite of its unpromising appearance, the non-poisonous one is a useful source of water. This is in a sappy unbranched vertical underground part about an inch and a half thick. The Bushmen excavate down its length as deeply as they can reach, then break it off and withdraw it. They remove the thin outer skin and chew the remaining part, which is crisp and has a little tasteless sap. As a source of water it does not compare with the various species of Cucurbitaceae—weight for weight it contains far less, and the labour of digging it up is considerable. However, it must be a reliable standby when the Cucurbitaceae are not in fruit, and in the central Kalahari it is plentiful. In the southern part it is apparently absent, for it was not seen until 256 miles north-west of Molepolole. 312 824 [222] [271]

Dichapetalum cymosum (Hook.) Engl. 5109, 5266, 5338 Photograph 24. 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman ma-!

This plant produces a number of slender erect woody stems up to 12 inches high, sparingly branched and often buried in the sand at the base. The leaves are four inches long, numerous, sessile, alternate, broader in the upper half where they are about one and a half inches across, and tapering at the base, with a stiff papery texture and with veins prominent above and below. They have a slight bloom on the upper surface and the younger leaves at least have a pair of narrow hairy stipules at the base. The younger parts of the plant are hairy, but the hairs wear off with age, and during the winter the leaves turn brown and hard and finally drop. The flowers are scented and have white petals forked at the end, but as they are small and nearly covered by the sepals, they are not conspicuous. The fruits are like a loquat, and may be brown or yellow. The have one or two big seeds covered by a little flesh.

Dichapetalum is distributed widely but patchily from the northern Transvaal through to Angola and Rhodesia. On the expedition it was seen for the first time between Tsau and Kaikai, and beyond that it was fairly frequent but scattered. It was usually in open situations, and seldom where there was dense tree growth.

Though the leaves are extremely poisonous, the flesh of the fruits is harmless and is eaten by the Bushmen. They emphasised that the flesh only could be used, and that the stone was poisonous. They did not mention the skin, but the following note on Schoenfelder's specimen 31, in the National Herbarium, indicates that it, too, is poisonous:— 262

> "Fruits like small yellow oranges are eaten peeled in great quantities by the Kung Bushmen. When still green can be eaten after baking in hot ash. Used like fruit, fresh. The peel of the fruit is stamped and mixed with other food to poison stealing dogs (Diriko)." [252] [278] 824

Marloth (1913-25: II: I: 120) and Engler (1912: 577) also refer to the edibility of the fruits.

There are four other plants of very similar appearance which could be confused with *Dichapetalum cymosum*, and although they were not collected on the expedition, their distribution does overlap. They are *Pachystigma pygmaeum*, *Pygmaeothamnus zeyheri*, *Parinari capense* and *Diospyros chamaethamnus*. The first two bear inedible fruits and may be 137X

are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women 222
to the *||gāus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the *!heis*. Her husband now kindles the *!hei|ais* and, after having applied *‡norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it. There is no name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called *!gao-ei-|un*.

Among insects, locusts, ants, scorpions, young bees and 262
honey are greatly relished. Frogs, lizards, snakes, etc., are also eaten. In fact, all living animals are eaten with the exception of the mole and the hyena, the former because its winter larder of öintjes forms a valuable and easily obtainable addition to the supplies of the Bushmen and the latter because it eats human corpses.

The methods used in the pursuit of game vary according 221
to the season, the year being divided into a cold, dry season 224
(winter), a hot, dry season (spring and early summer), a small, rainy season (September and October) and a big, rainy season (January to April). Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season in the case of such animals as guineafowl, bustard, aardvark, ostrich and small game. Pitfalls are not made use of except for hare and springhare as too much work is entailed in making them. Springhare and snakes are also caught by means of a long barbed stick which is passed into the burrows, the animal being transfixed and then dug out. During the big rainy season when the ground is sodden with moisture small buck such as duiker and stembuck are run down on foot and killed with a knob kirri. This method is not applicable to small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor. In the hot weather, however, young buck are easily caught in this manner as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. The gemsbuck does not tire easily. It is run down, therefore, only during the big rainy season when the soft ground impedes its progress and causes it to be caught comparatively easily. All other varieties of big game are run down in the hot, dry season. After a herd of game has been located one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly until it is exhausted and brought at bay, when it is killed with assegaai.

Bow and poisoned arrows are used all the year round. These 184
weapons differ considerably in character in various localities. 411
The Kalahari bow is small compared with that used by the *!Kūng* of the Oschimpoloveld, and *Hei-||om* of the Etosha Pan region; the arrow consists of a reed shaft, bone foreshaft and bone or iron tip, whereas the latter use arrows with feathered wooden shafts and iron tips only. The poison also 184
varies in different localities. In southern Namaqualand it 276
is constituted of a mixture of plant juice (euphorbia), snake poison, scorpions and spiders; in the southern and central

184 Kalahari only insect poison is used, and further north and
278 north-west only plant poison.

224 All tribes observe certain customary practices in connection
[184] with the hunting of animals with bow and arrow. These vary considerably among the different tribes. The following is an account of the practice as met with among the *Hei-||om*. After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *||gāus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals. The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is skinned by the men.
252 The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the purpose, is cut into
[237] sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then removed to the *||gāus* by the men who may occasionally be assisted by the women. On arrival at the *||gāus* all the meat is laid on the ground under the *!heis* either on sticks which were used in carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib*
224 (chief) now comes forward and if he finds that the *!hei-|ais*
622 (fire under the tree) has gone out he returns to his hut, brings
252 fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the meat in the meantime being hung on the *!heis* (tree in centre of camp). After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men—the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and "tastes" (tsũ-tsũ) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as *≠koms*.

224 All meat killed with bow and arrow is *so.ra* and may not
262 be partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, however, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *so.ra* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *so.ra*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *so.ra* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly 252
disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin
tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups [439]
use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roasted plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of 264
wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make 415
wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some 184
purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except 262
by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco 237
pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups, bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The *|Nu-||ēin* [184]
and *||Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the *ǂAo-||ēin* and other tribes living to the north. Articles [438]
made by the former form an important medium of exchange. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it [482]
also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large [415]
animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich egg-shells are used for carrying and storing water and for the [301
manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time 438]
form the most important article of barter among the *|Nu-||ēin*, *Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-||om*. Among the most [184
northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red [278]
ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omura* tree, are the 438]
principal media of exchange.

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit [21]
me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive communities are surrounded.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

The Bushmen are one of the most primitive peoples living 105
on earth. Although most of their groups own some metal ob-
jects, Bushmen do not smelt or forge metal, but get it in trade 325
from their Bantu neighbors. They use soft metal in the mak- 439
ing of a few tools such as knives, arrowheads, and little axes,
cold-hammering the metal into shape themselves. Bushmen
make the other tools they use from wood and bone, grass and
fiber, the things of the veld. They dig roots and pick berries 222
to eat because they have no crops. The desert is too dry for
anything but desert plants to grow naturally, and Bushmen,
who quickly consume all the wild food available in one place,
cannot stay anywhere long enough to tend crops or wait for
them to grow.

There is not enough water to water livestock, and for this 231
reason Bushmen have no domestic animals. Most of their
groups do not even have dogs. Instead of herding, Bushmen
hunt wild antelope with tiny arrows, sometimes made of soft, 224
traded metal, sometimes made of bone, and poisoned with a 278
terrible poison extracted from a certain grub, a poison which
affects the nervous system of a creature and which is so deadly
that an antelope shot early in the morning with a single arrow
well placed in the body dies within the day. Hunting is very
difficult, for travel in the veld is thirsty and rigorous and the
antelope are clever, but as often as not the Bushmen hunters
shoot one and then they use it all. Most of the meat is dried 251
to preserve it, causing it to last at least a few weeks, but
sooner or later every last bite of it is eaten, even the mucous
lining of the nostrils and the gristle inside the ears. They 262
sometimes eat the hide, sometimes work it into leather to
use for clothing, and if the antelope bones are not all 281
cracked for the marrow, pieces are worked into arrow points
to shoot another antelope.

In order to live as they do, Bushmen must travel through 105 361

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

411 123 825 321 turned the arrow over and over, sighting down its length to see if it was straight. It was.

123 411 825 278 Gai then surprised us somewhat by taking from his hunting-bag twelve round nut-like tiny shells which we recognized as the cocoons or pupa cases of the poison grubs, the source of poison for the Bushmen's deadly little arrows. Gai said he would poison his arrow, a process which he seemed to find more interesting than making it, and we said we would be very glad to see. We wondered where he had got the grubs, for he and Ukwane had both told us that there were no poison grubs anywhere near Ai a ha'o, and he said he had received them from the people whom we had met in the Okwa Omaramba, as they had plenty there.

825 278 We regretted very much that we had never seen a tree or shrub that houses the poison grubs of the Gikwe, and that we had never been able to catch one of the adults of the beetle that in its pupa stage is poisonous. Gai said that his grubs came from between the roots of a bush, called in Gikwe simply a poison bush. We do not know if the grubs are the same as the grubs used by Kung Bushmen, which live among the roots of a tree, called by the Kung a poison tree, called by us marula kaffra. The grubs of the Kung are from the beetle *diamphidia simplex*, which lays its eggs on the leaves of the tree. Once, all in one afternoon at a single tree of Kung Bushmen, I was shown by a young hunter the yellow eggs on a leaf, the young larvae just hatched, which the hunter said crawl down the tree under the bark to pupate in the earth among the roots, and the pupae of this beetle.

It has always amazed me that the Bushmen ever discovered these beetles, which are only one species among thousands in South Africa, and which the Bushmen say are poisonous only in their pupa stage. The pupae themselves are

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
Gikwe

enclosed in the tiny brown pupa casings with brittle shells 825
like eggshells, exactly the color of the earth around them, and 278
are found only among the roots of certain trees and bushes. Nothing edible grows among the roots, and although the marula kaffra has edible nuts that drop and are gathered from the surface of the ground, there would be no likely reason for Bushmen to be digging there. Bushmen do eat certain bee- [262]
tles, certain ants, and certain caterpillars, which, they say, are sweet as honey, but even if a Bushman were to eat a poison beetle he would not die (unless he had a cracked lip or an ulcer) because the poison works only in the blood stream, and even the black meat of an antelope taken from the site of the arrow wound can be eaten with impunity.

Only people who pay the closest attention to every tiny object and who investigate all its possibilities could ever have discovered a thing like this.

I not only do not know if the beetles used by the Kung are the same kind as those used by the Gikwe; I also do not know if the Kung use only one kind, for I have seen Kung Bushmen take two kinds of pupa from the roots of the same tree, from cocoons that appeared to be exactly alike. Even the Kung do not know, when they see a cocoon, which kind it is. One kind of pupa is small and pure yellow with a black head, a thorax, an abdomen, and six small legs. The other kind is larger, fatter, and orange, with no noticeable body sections such as thorax and abdomen, but more like a caterpillar, the same all the way down. The yellow pupae, the Bushmen say, are males, with sacks of poison only under their front legs. To get the poison Bushmen pull off a leg and squeeze out a single drop, discarding the rest of the body. The orange pupae are said to be females, with poison throughout the entire body. To get poison from these, Bushmen tap the grub all over to

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

825 mash the insides, then pull off the head and squeeze the in-
278 sides out like toothpaste from a tube. Both kinds of poison are equally good, they say.

Perhaps the two types of pupae are the pupae of two different kinds of beetles. Perhaps they are from the same beetle but in different stages of development. Perhaps they really are males and females, as Bushmen are often scientifically
[821] accurate, but, as Bushmen also have male and female rain clouds, perhaps not.

[439] Kung Bushmen, who use metal arrows obtained by trading
824 animal skins for wire with the Bantus, have a complicated
825 system of poisoning in which they use several ingredients for
278 the poison paste. One of these is a binding fluid, used because the pure poison squeezed from the grub will not adhere well to metal but must be made binding and sticky. The binding material comes from the bark of a tree. They chew
[415 the bark thoroughly and spit the mash into a little mortar
237] made from the knee bone of an antelope, a nice little cup, into which the Bushmen have squeezed the milky juice of sansevieria plants, got by wringing the heavy, thick leaves. This juice has an irritating effect when it is dissolved in a wound and causes the antelope to rub and scratch its wounded spot against a tree, which stimulates circulation in the area, which carries the poison more quickly through the body, which hastens death.

The paste in the mortar is thoroughly mixed, then smeared with a straw on the foreshaft of arrows, never on the head, for if the sharp edges of the head were poisoned any child might accidentally nick himself and die. When the arrow is poisoned it is propped up by a fire and the poison is allowed to dry into a shiny dark paste, to be melted again by the
441 moisture and warmth of an antelope's flank.
825
278 Gai had stored his poison cocoons in a tiny bag inside his

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

hunting-bag, and when he came to poison his arrow he took them all out and felt them, shook them, to see if they were fresh. Then he took his arrow, his cocoons, and a scrap of leather he had been saving which was so thin and ragged it had very little use, and, moving all these things to a place in the grass far away from the werf, he sat down to work. He did not work in the werf because a drop of poison might be spilled and months later would still be dangerous. 411 825 278

Gai first spread out his rag as a work table and arranged his cocoons upon it. Then he called Witabe, who was watching from the werf, and asked for a fire, which Witabe brought in the form of a few sticks in one hand and a live coal from one of the werf fires in the bare palm of his other hand.

At last Gai was ready and his fire burning. After inspecting his fingers carefully for cracks in the skin and telling us to sit upwind from him so that no drops of poison would blow on us, he scratched open one of the cocoons. The shell was as brittle as a little seed pod. It opened easily and Gai fished inside carefully with a straw, dragging out the grub, which struggled feebly with one slight, almost imperceptible convulsion and then lay alive but motionless, curled in a U on the palm of Gai's hand. The cocoon was small and the grub must have filled it entirely, for, once outside, the grub seemed twice as large as its casing. It was a yellow one, like the kind the Kung call males, but I cannot say for certain that it was exactly the same.

Gai laid it across his thumbnail and tapped it gently, mixing the insides. Then he twisted off the head, squeezed the body, forced the paste inside onto the shaft of his arrow, and smeared it evenly with his straw. Gikwe Bushmen do not have to use a binding fluid, for their bone arrows hold the poison very well.

After the foreshaft was coated evenly all around with the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

411 poison of several grubs, Gai dried the arrow by the fire, then
825 coated the foreshaft again. In all, he used ten grubs, all that
278 he had except two which were found to be shriveled and dead. The last coating he did not smear; pulling off the grub's head, he dotted the arrow with little spots of poison. He did not poison the arrowhead but only the foreshaft.

When the arrow was finished and the poison dried to lacquer on the shaft, Gai carefully collected all the cocoons and all the grub skins and burned them in the fire, keeping out of the smoke. He then called for a fresh tsama melon, which Witabe brought him and which he used to wash his hands. At last he put his arrow in his quiver and lit his pipe. He was through.

411 While we were there with the camera set up and loaded
184 we asked Gai to demonstrate for us the way he would shoot a bow, which he did, and we were surprised to see that the Gikwe, who use bows of the same size and shape and arrows of the same size as the Kung's, have a different arrow release. The Kung grip the arrow between the thumb and the side of the forefinger as they draw back on the string, but Gai gripped it between the first two fingers, holding his thumb back. He said that all other Gikwe do the same.

283 Ukane called to us from the werf and said that since we were here he would show us how a Gikwe Bushman makes a string. We went over to him, and he did make a string for us by pulling the tough fibers out of aloes and rolling them together on his thigh, leaving just enough fiber unwound at the end to splice with the next rolled section. The string was so strong that when he jerked it between his hands it neither broke nor raveled. It took him only a few minutes to make it,
[286] and he said that when he had many such strings he would tie them together to make himself a net.

As he worked, for the sake of efficiency, he held the fibers

224 than to be squatting around the edges of the pans, making little guises with sticks and string into which guinea fowl invariably fall.

224 The technology of hunting is the most complex in !Kung culture, and the most involved aspect of that 278 technology is their amazing poison. Without it, the little unfeathered arrows, driven by a light bow, would be useless against big game. With the poison, a !Kung hunter could kill an elephant although, perhaps fortunately, for both, the two seldom encounter one another.

224 THERE are four kinds of poison—a root (which is rarely used), two 278 grubs and the pod of a tree. One of 825 the two kinds of grub is the larva of an unidentified beetle that lives in a bush; the other is the larva of a beetle that lives in certain Murula trees, identified as *Diamphidia sim-*

224
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plex. This identity, however, is complicated by the presence of still a third beetle, a parasitic one that apparently lives on the grubs of *Diamphidia simplex*, so that it is not now clear *which* is the poisonous grub. The Bushmen are aware of the parasite and feel that its grub does contain poison. They say it "runs around and runs away." They may be speaking of the beetle, for it is difficult to imagine a grub running, and the grub may be so similar to the young *Diamphidia* that the !Kung simply confuse the two. Lastly, still a fourth insect—smaller, and hairy—said to become easily inflamed, is occasionally encountered among the grubs. It is possible that this is the insect that has a poisonous larva: in any case, somewhere in the community is a poisonous grub, and how the Bushmen found it we have no idea.

Assuming *Diamphidia* to be the

[p.52]

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BAGS FOR FOOD, *above*, like eggshells for water, give !Kung some freedom in moving. Food may be brought to water or water carried far into the desert.

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poison-bearer, its cycle is somewhat as follows: the beetle lays its eggs in the Murula tree leaves. Hatching in the rains, the grubs migrate down the trunk, progressing through a number of growth stages. Finally, they make their cocoons under the ground near the tree. In these cocoons, they struggle through metamorphosis and emerge as small, bravely-colored beetles in the New Year's rains, providing the Bushmen have not already dug them up. The hunters know the particular trees frequented by the beetles and make expeditions to them at least twice a year to replenish their supply. Then the grubs are dug up, and used on the spot or kept in their cocoons, depending on the man's needs.

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The poisoning of !Kung arrows is a long process, with a number of variations. The most common poison is a mixture of the grub and the previously mentioned tree-pod. The grubs are crushed and the pod is warmed until its contents melt slightly and can be crushed with the grubs. This mixture is thinned with the copious spit which results from chewing any of a variety of barks and is then smeared on the foreshaft of the arrow—but cleaned immaculately off

[p. 53]

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the point, for the slightest prick, the least bit of poison getting in such a wound, would cause death.

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Depending on where the poisoned arrow hits, a small buck can die in a morning, a man in a few hours, a giraffe in four to five days. There is nothing that can be done for a man, short of amputating a limb or immediately excising the wound and cutting the nearby flesh to let the blood drain. Yet, the poison has no effect upon the game's meat. One can even eat the mixture with relative impunity: it must enter the bloodstream directly to be deadly.

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As subsistence activities, the men's and women's roles—hunting and gathering—are of unequal weight. Almost eighty per cent of the people's food is *veldkos*, more abundant than game in *Nyae Nyae*, and far more easily acquired. If from one summer to the next, a man kills twelve antelope, he feels he has had a good year.

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But, despite its relatively minor subsistence value, hunting is extremely important in !Kung culture. It has developed its body of technology, acquired a large tradition of beliefs, fostered a wealth of knowledge, and

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POISON IS SMEARED on arrow's metal foreshaft, but carefully cleaned away from point. Commonest poison is made of tree pods mashed with beetle grubs.

[p. 62]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

821 them or seek to gain beneficent influence from them. As far as we know they do not pray to them for food as the Cape Bushmen are said once to have done, or for rain as the Naron and Auen and /O /Kung do.[1]

The /Kung beliefs about rain, which I do not describe in detail in this paper, include the idea that rain is life-giving and makes the food plants and other vegetation grow, whereas the sun is death-giving. The /Kung do not now formally personify or deify rain or worship it, but may retain a vestige of an ancient personification of rain in praying to it, in a manner of speaking, as they also do to lightning. 'Fall silently, rain. Do not make such a noise. Do not be dangerous', they say. Or, to lightning, 'Do not come against me. Go to the other side.'

825 The /Kung do not attribute divinity to the mantis but, in calling it 'the servant of *//Gaiwa*', perhaps they preserve a vestige or an echo of the Cape Bushman belief in */kaggen*. If they injure a mantis which is walking on them or throw one into the fire, [753] '*//Gaiwa* would see this and say that his servant was being ill treated and would punish the person. He would make the person sick'. Mantises are *chi dole* (*chi*, thing; *dole*, bad) not because they harm you—they only prick and tickle you—but because they belong to *//Gaiwa* and people are afraid of the 'owner'. The old people told them these things. We saw the /Kung hold mantises, however, without exhibiting fear or the uncanny fascinated feeling I had when I watched them (especially the huge female who lived with me, with her consort seemingly permanently attached to her, and fascinated me by never seeming to take her eyes off me as she made her slow and stately progress around the tent at night).

The /Kung react in quite a different way to millepedes. They say there are two kinds. The large one they call *ko ko chi nahe*; the small one they call *choba* or *zoba*. One day a boy picked up a millepede and threw it toward a group of women. They jumped up and fled, shrieking. Talking about it afterwards, they explained that 'even men are afraid of millepedes'. (We observed several incidents of people jump- [753] ing and running from them.) They are very dangerous, the /Kung say. If one gets on you, the shock of fright you feel could kill you. 'Millepedes work with *//Gaiwa*. He sends them to eat your nose when you are asleep.' If you put a *choba* in the fire when the *n/i* berries (*Grewia flava* D.C.) are still green, the berries will not ripen [278] properly and will not be sweet. If the /Kung find the ash of a millepede which has been burned in a veld fire and has kept its shape, they take the ash for a medicine. (Cf. Schapera's account that among the Naron and Auen 'the millipede, said to belong to *Hishe*, is only touched by them [magicians]; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine.'[2])

774 825 The /Kung do not believe that animals have spirits or souls or that earthly objects (such as trees or water, for example) are entered by spirits or are themselves animated by having spirits of their own.

787 Divination is a secular practice among the /Kung. The oracle disks may be thrown and read by any man. They are five leather disks about two-and-a-half to three inches in diameter. The man who throws them gathers them into his cupped hands, flings them with a spreading motion on to a kaross on the ground, and reads what they reveal or predict. Different personifications are attributed to the disks, according to what the people want to learn from them. If advice about a hunt is wanted, the

[1] Schapera, op. cit., pp. 176–7. [2] Ibid., p. 197.

161. STANFORD, W.E.
Statement of Silayi with reference to his life among the Bushmen, Trans. Roy. Soc. S.Afr. 6: 435-440. 1910. 113
(Silayi, a Tembu, lived with Bushmen for three years).

162. STIGAND, A.G.
Notes on N'Gamiland.
Trans. Roy. Soc. S.Afr. 3: 379-391. 1913.
p. 386-388 Details method of making poison by Masarwa. Mentions swamp or river Bushmen. [278] [101]

163. STOW, George W.
Account of an interview with tribe of Bushmans in South Africa.
Jour. Brit. Anthr. Inst. 3: 244-247. June, 1873.
(In the Langeberg mountains).

164. STOW, George W.
The native races of South Africa: a history of the intrusion of the Hottentots and Bantu into the hunting grounds of the Bushmen, the aborigines of the country. ed. by G.M. Theal. London, 1905. 618 p. illus. map.

165. TAGART, E.S.B.
Report on the conditions existing among the Masarwa in the Bamangwato Reserve of the Buchuanaland Protectorate and certain other matters appertaining to the natives living therein and memorandum thereon by the administration of the territory. Pretoria, 1933. 24 p. Reprinted from the official gazette of the High Commissioner for S.A. v. 122, no. 1662, May 12th, 1933. 24 p.
(Deals with the "Masarwa" employed by the Bamangwato).

166. THOMAS, Elizabeth Marshall
The harmless people. London, 1959. 266 p. illus.

167. TINDALL, Henry
Two lectures on Great Namaqualand and its inhabitants delivered before the Mechanics Institute, Cape Town. Cape Town, 1856. 47 p.
Bushmen. p. 20-25-32.

168. TOBIAS, Phillip V.
Bushmen of the Kalahari. illus. map.
Man. 58 (36): 33-40. 1957.

169. TOBIAS, Phillip V.
Bushmen of the Kalahari.
World Digest 37(221): 93-94.
(Condensation of article in Man. Roy. Anth. Inst. London).

136 Order Coleoptera

Blister beetles 2 spp.

Click beetles 6 spp.

Dung beetle 3 spp.

Poisonous beetles 2 spp.

Other beetles 2 spp.

136 262 Insects do not play an important role in the diet. One species of antlion (determination pending) had an annual outbreak around the end of November. Tens of thousands pupate within a 36 hour period and the Bushmen eat them by the hundreds. In 1963, the outbreak occurred on November, 24, in 1964, on December 3.

Three different species of click beetle were eaten in March, 1964. These were considered a delicacy rather than a staple. The Bushmen said that certain grasshoppers and caterpillars were edible but they were not observed to eat them.

262 237 Honey is considered by all authors to be a major Bushman food (Bodenheimer 1951). It is curious therefore that it was rarely observed to be collected or eaten.

136 278 By far the most important insects for subsistence are the two[1] species of beetle used by the Bushmen for poisoning

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[1]Possibly as many as eight species of poison grub are used by the !Kung Bushmen! Koch (1958) collected five new species that the !Kung said were used for poisoning arrows. (See Shaw et al., 1963).

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278 arrows: Diamphidia nigro-ornata and Polycada flexuosa. These are described in Chapter VI.

Climate

132 [133] The Kalahari Desert has a mean elevation of 3,000 feet above sea level and lies within the summer rainfall area of Southern Africa. These factors contribute to a climatic regime that is characterized by hot summers with a three to four month rainy season, and by moderate to cool winters without rainfall.

132 805 Five seasons may be distinguished in the Dobe area. Most Bushmen recognize five (although some divide the year into eight or more seasons) and their scheme will be followed here.

Seasons

1. !huma (spring rains) -- The Bushman year begins in October or November with the onset of the first rains. These consist of light convectional thundershowers that often fall on one area and miss other areas entirely. The first rains have the effect of triggering growth and reproduction in the flora and fauna and may overnight transform the landscape from a parched and dry state to one of lush greenery.

2. bara (main summer rains) -- These rains fall from December to March and coincide with the season of plentiful food. There is a wide variation from year to year in the

412 The women possess several other tools which are of subsidiary importance in the food quest:

- wooden mortar and pestle
- wooden spatula for moving ashes
- carved wooden serving spoon
- tortoise shell bowl
- bundle of tail feathers for fanning the cooking fire
- pottery containers of Bantu manufacture
- iron pots and enamel bowls of European manufacture.

415 177 224 411 The mens' hunting kit represents the most evolved sector of Bushmen technology. It includes at least 19 different tools made from seven kinds of raw materials. The primary weapons include:

[177] 1. bow
[278] 2. arrow poison
[231] 3. spear
4. springhare probe
5. knobkerrie(club)
6. iron tipped arrows
7. quiver
8. hunting dogs
9. rope snares

Secondary weapons include:

[312] 10. fire drill
[177] 11. flint and steel fire making kits
[412] 12. digging stick
[283] 13. iron knife
[177] 14. iron adze-axe
15. carrying yoke
16. knotted net

Manufacturing and repairing tools include:

[278] 17. poison-making kit; humeral cup, pestle, applicator

[415] 18. whet stones of basalt

[283] 19. wild cotton for polishing rope snares

These raw materials are also part of the man's kit:

[283] 1. sinew

2. twine of natural fibers

3. iron fencing wire

[278] 4. supply of poisonous grubs

[237] 5. bone chips for making arrow link shafts

[411] 6. grass stems for arrows

7. wood for bows, poles and spear shafts

224 411 The construction of the hunting arrow will illustrate the complexity of the weaponry. The arrow consists of a mainshaft about 13 inches in length made from the stem of the grass Phragmites communis (Story 1964:94). Into this is inserted a bone linkshaft about two inches long, carved from the humerus or femur of giraffe, kudu, or gemsbok. The linkshaft is joined to the metal arrowhead by a hollow sec-
[177] tion of grass stem one inch in length. The arrow head is commonly made from iron fencing wire. It consists of a stiff length of wire four to five inches long. The tip of the arrow is beaten into a small triangular blade one half inch from base to apex and five-sixteenths of an inch at the base.

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411 The butt end of the arrow and the two joints are bound by strands of sinew. In some arrows the iron shaft itself is
224 bound with sinew. It is the iron shaft to which the arrow
411 poison is applied. Care is taken to avoid spreading poison
• 278 on the tip of the arrow. The poison is obtained from the pupal forms of the Chrysomelid beetles Diamphidia sp. and
[415] Polyclada sp. The poison is prepared by squeezing the contents of several pupae into a cup made from the proximal end of the humerus of a large antelope such as gemsbok or kudu. The only additions to the poison mixture observed to be used were saliva and the juice or gum of the several species of Acacia. The use of the latter was optional. Often, without further preliminaries, the Bushmen squeezed the contents of the grub directly on to the iron arrow shaft.

[412] The pupae are mixed with a slender wooden pestle into a thin orange paste, which is then applied directly to the iron arrow shaft using a spatulate applicator especially made for this purpose. The poisoned arrow is then allowed to dry near the fire. After a few minutes it is ready for use.

There are undoubtedly regional variations in the preparation of arrow poison. The ethnographic literature lists at least a dozen substances and recipes that are claimed to be used by the !Kung Bushmen in preparing arrow poison (see Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

224 The snared animal is not injured. It hangs suspended on the rope and struggles to break free, but if the hunter has tied his knots well he will arrive on his daily inspection to find the snared buck thrashing around the sapling. He then dispatches the buck with a club or spear, repairs the damage to the brush fence, and resets the snare.

At the height of the snaring season each hunter will have three lines in operation. Each line will have 7-9 gaps set with snares. The Dobe camp hunters who had set 20-25 separate snares averaged one small animal per hunter per week throughout the winter. A hunter's success in snaring depends upon his interpretation of game tracks and the patience with which he habituates the animals to crossing his lines where he wants them to. The hunters operate snarelines only in the winter because at other times of the year both the hunters and the quarry are ranging farther into the desert and the men do not remain long enough at one camp to build and maintain the snarelines.

[278] [231] In addition to the snarelines, the hunters carry out a full range of hunting activities including big game hunting with poison arrows, hunting wart-hog with dogs, and probing burrows for springhare, porcupine and antbear.

Table 7 lists all the kills made by the hunters of the Dobe camp during the 28 day period from 6 July to 2 August 1964.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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411 is turned into the shaft; for shooting, the head is reversed, so that the rounded end is turned in and the poisoned end projects. In a more complex form based on the same principle, the head consists of two separate pieces of bone connected by a small link shaft or section of reed; the one piece is blunted at the tip, the other pointed and poisoned. Both pieces fit into the hollow of the main shaft of reed, and when the arrow is not required for use the blunted piece forms the projecting end of the head while the poisoned piece is in the shaft, but for shooting the head is reversed. This extremely interesting type [184] seems to be restricted in occurrence to these Bushman tribes, and is obviously directly correlated with the employment of poison as the effective agent of the arrow.

411 The tribes further north, such as the Northern Kung, the Heikum and the !O Kung of Angola, nowadays generally use arrows with 171 feathered wooden shafts and iron points only. These resemble in type the arrows of the neighbouring Bantu peoples, and may have been imitated from them.

All these arrows are rather fragile, and can never seriously wound any animal which they strike. For their effect reliance is placed upon the poisonous mixtures dotted or smeared over their points.[1] Many 278 ingredients of different kinds are used in these mixtures, the more common being the vegetable juices of *Acokanthera venenata*, *Haemanthus toxicarius* (*Amaryllis disticha*), and various species of *Euphorbia*; the venom of the larger poisonous snakes, such as the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*) and the cobra (*Naia haje*); the beetle *Cladocera nigro-ornata*; the "baviaan spinnekop" or trapdoor spider; and the "klip-gift" or "rock poison" (probably a form of 184 arsenic). Not all of these are in use among the Bushmen as a whole. There appears rather to be a fairly definite distribution of the various 278 mixtures, dependent upon the substances available in the different localities; and probably each tribe of Bushmen has its own particular formula, although this cannot be asserted definitely. For general purposes we may distinguish three main types of arrow poison: the Namib Bushmen and those of the north-west districts of the Cape use a purely vegetable poison; the Southern Bushmen generally and some other tribes, such as the Hiechware and the Kung, use a

[1] A comprehensive survey of the earlier literature on the subject is given by Schapera, "Bushman Arrow Poisons," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1925), 199–214. Two more recent papers of importance are: Hall and Whitehead, "A Pharmaco-Bacteriologic Study of African Poisoned Arrows," *J. Infectious Diseases*, xli (1927), 51–69; and Waterston, "The Bushman's Arrow-Poison Beetle," *Natural History Magazine*, ii (1929), 74–89.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

mixture of animal and vegetable poisons, the ingredients most frequently employed being snake poison and amaryllis juice (*Haemanthus toxicarius*); while most of the Kalahari tribes derive their arrow poison from the grub or chrysalis of the *Cladocera* beetle. 278 [184]

The method of preparing the second type of poison is to cut off the head of the snake, extract the poison sacs, dry them and pound them into a dust. This is then placed in a piece of ostrich egg-shell or the breastbone of an ostrich, and the vegetable juice being poured in the mixture is stirred with a piece of bone or stick. It is then boiled until it acquires the requisite degree of consistency, usually that of a thick jelly, brownish-red in colour. Where a purely vegetable substance is used, as in the case of the *Acokanthera* shrub, the method of preparation differs but slightly. The wood of the shrub is pounded into rough powder, which is put into a clay pot and boiled for some time. A lid is kept on, as the fumes are noxious, but the liquid is stirred occasionally. After a while the wood is taken out and the remainder allowed to simmer until it is reduced to a cupful of glutinous liquid. This is then taken to a *Euphorbia* tree, and mixed with the fresh milky sap drawn from its stem. The poison, a brownish substance similar in appearance to beeswax, is now ready for use. It is generally worked up into a lump, which when not wanted immediately is carried about, wrapped up in a bit of skin, in the long bag which every Bushman has. When the poison is required, the lump is heated in a bit of tortoise-shell, and the melted portion either smeared on the arrow-head with a brush of wood or bone, or else, as was the custom with the Cape Bushmen, placed in a "poison stone", a smooth flat pebble with a deep groove down the middle. The part of the arrow to be anointed is pressed down upon this and worked round and round until the poison coating has acquired the proper shape. If possible the poison is never touched with the fingers, and great care is taken that none adheres to the hands or nails during the process.

The insect *Cladocera nigro-ornata* which forms the main ingredient in the arrow poison of the Kalahari Bushmen is a small reddish-brown beetle which in early spring frequents certain bushes (*Commiphora dinteri Engl.*), and hatches its eggs on the branches. The grubs come out in summer, eat the leaves of the bushes and crawl into the sand beneath them, where they form cocoons. "In both these stages they are used as poison, but the cocoon is preferred. It is dried in the sun and can then be kept for some time and is easily [136]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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278 transported. When wanted for use, the insect inside is rubbed to powder on a half tortoise-shell, then mixed with the juice obtained either from the spiked cucumber (*Citrullus caffer*) or from the 'hakdoorn' (*Zizyphus mucronata*). They heat the cucumber root in the ashes, knock it on the ground, then wring out the liquid it contains. The bark of the 'hakdoorn' is chewed, and the juice spat into the dish of poison. This juice is clear, bitter, and sticky and adheres to the arrow point, on to which it is dabbed with a flattened stick after being mixed with the poison. The poisonous matter becomes very hard and dry and is apt to fly off into the eyes if the arrow is carelessly handled. Bushmen always warn one of this and say the eyes become much inflamed if even a tiny grain of dried poison gets into them." Any mixture left over is wound round a stick and carried with the arrows in the long bag; presumably it must be heated again if it is to be put on to further arrow-heads.[1]

114 There does not appear to be any sort of ceremonial attaching to
278 the process of preparing the poison, nor is the work of doing so the function of any particular person. There are, indeed, one or two hints at something of this kind, but nothing which can be regarded as fully reliable.[2] All our principal authorities state that in general any man who needs poison prepares it for himself when he wants it.[3]

224 None of the Bushman poisons is instantaneous in its effect, although as a rule the smaller the animal the quicker the action. Generally
278 the wounded animal runs on as if unhurt, and the hunter follows on its spoor until he finds the dead body; sometimes this is within half an hour, sometimes many hours elapse before the poison proves effective, and often enough it is not till the next day that he can obtain his meat. That the poison is fatal once it gets to the blood, cannot be doubted. Once the arrow pierces the skin of the animal the Bushman has no fear that it may escape him; it may travel perhaps forty or more miles after being wounded, but its progress becomes slower and weaker, until finally it falls down dead.

411 In addition to bows and arrows, the Northern tribes also make use in hunting of throwing-sticks ("knob kirris") and spears. The former is a round-headed stick of hard wood, usually *Acacia*, about
[412] two feet in length, and pointed at the lower end to serve also as a digging-stick. It is used for knocking down birds and small mammals,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 14.
[2] These statements are summarised by Schapera, op. cit., 206.
[3] In addition to the references given by Schapera, loc. cit.; cf. Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 14.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Another method of trapping employed by the Bushmen of the Namib and of the North-West Cape was to poison the water in springs and so kill the game that came to drink there. The water was conducted a few yards from the spring into a specially-prepared pit, into which were thrown branches of the poisonous *Euphorbia*. The branches were kept down with stones, and the juice exuding from them rested like a scum on the water. The spring itself was fenced off or covered over, thus forcing the animals to drink from the pit. Zebras and other members of the equine species were especially susceptible to water poisoned in this way. Alexander states that near the River Keisu in South-West Africa he found the remains of no less than twenty horses lying close to such a poisoned waterhole.[1] 224 [278]

Traps proper as employed by the modern Bushmen are of two kinds. In one a stone or block of wood is placed in such a position that when the animal touches the exposed bait, the suspended weight falls down upon it. The other kind consists in snares (Plate XI), which are widespread among the Northern Bushmen, but do not appear ever to have been used by the Southern tribes. They are of various types, but the general principle is that a supple twig or sapling is bent down by means of a cord attached to a bait and ending in a noose. If the animal stirs the bait, the cord is released, the sapling springs back into the air, and the noose catches the throat or leg of the animal, which is carried up with it. In this way are caught not only birds and small quadrupeds, such as hares, wild cats, and jackals, but even small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, as well as leopards and ostriches. Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season; in the rainy season it must cease owing to the action of the damp on the cord. This is made from the bark fibre of *Sansevieria zeylanica*, which is shredded by means of a pointed stick, then rolled on the thigh into strands, which are twisted together. Thicker and thinner cords are made according to the game to be trapped.[2] [184] [221] [283]

Fishing

This is also practised wherever possible by all the Bushmen; indeed, among the tribes living in the Okavango swamps it is even 226

[1] Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, ii, 223; Paterson, *Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots*, 169; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167. Moffat describes how on one occasion he nearly died as a result of drinking water poisoned in this way (*Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 155–6).

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 667; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 77; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 199 sq.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 15.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

also the doctors of the community. The millipede, said to belong to *Hishe*, is only touched by them; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine. 756 [825]

Naron magicians (*tsho k'auba* or */nu k'auba*) do not dress or live differently from the rest of the community. "No one would know them apart," says Miss Bleek, "nor do they seem to have much influence to-day." The Auen seem to have many more magicians than the Naron, by whom they are looked up to in magic matters. Here, [184] according to Kaufmann, the magicians, (*tsho k'au*, */nu k'au* or */geixa*) have their skulls shaved clean, and also carry a few ornaments which may not be worn by other people. The magic art in both tribes is learned by apprenticeship. During the month of the puberty ceremony one or two boys are taught their trade by the old magicians. [868] At the next ceremony they return and are taught more; and boys who have been with a magician for many years can when they become older succeed their master.[1]

Magicians among the Kung are of two kinds, and both are called in especially for illness. [184] The */u k'au*, who sucks out the disease from the body of the patient, is "an evil person, who speaks to no one and always looks black"; [755] while the */ue k'au*, according to Vedder, is the ordinary worker in magic and the poison-mixer, and also prepares medicines from herbs and roots by cooking.[2] [278] Lebzelter gives further information about the magicians. Both men and women can be summoned by the "great captain" to exercise this [787] calling. The power they receive from him is greater than that of all the spirits with the exception of */nawa*, and is equal to that of the latter. Magicians are thus "born and not made", to use Lebzelter's expression, but nevertheless it appears that they have to learn the secrets of their calling by apprenticeship. They accompany the old magicians at least once in the search for medicine plants, and are then subjected to a test. The old magicians in the customary manner attempt to cure a sick person by sucking out the "disease poison" ("Krankheitsgift") or the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient; then they administer all the "disease poison" extracted by them to the initiates. If the latter do not die from this treatment, they have satisfactorily passed the test!

The magicians, apart from being able to cure illnesses by banishing the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient, also have the [787]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 159.
[2] "Grammatik der !kû-Buschmannsprache," 8-9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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Treatment

is administered by relatives or friends, or in cases of acute and prolonged illness by a magician well versed in medical practices, who is paid for his services. In cases of the latter kind a very common method employed is massage, leading up to the extraction of foreign bodies ("disease-poisons", "spirits of disease", etc.) believed to have been introduced into the patient and thus causing his illness. When the "doctor" feels that the foreign body has been brought near enough to the surface by his treatment, he sucks the part affected and then, with a retching sound, triumphantly spits out the object he is supposed to have sucked from the patient's body. Stones, pieces of bark, small bones, etc., are thus extracted from the affected part of the patient, who in consequence is cured![1] Lebzelter records also that, while the "doctor" is busy performing this cure, the relatives and friends standing round pray to the "supreme being" to make the patient well again; and, as we have seen, the use of prayers in case of severe illness is mentioned by several other writers as well.[2]

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[782]

More practical forms of treatment are also found, however.[3] Herbs and roots of various kinds are extensively employed as medicines. Sometimes they are burned to ashes which are then rubbed into small cuts made in the patient's body, sometimes they are boiled and given as a decoction. How far they actually do have curative effects is difficult to say, as no special study appears to have been made of their pharmacological properties, nor, save in a few instances, have they even been identified. But Dornan mentions that "for blackwater they use a plant called qilika (*Anacoampseros rhodesica*) by the Matabele; dysentery *Monsonia ovata*, and *Euclea lanceolata*; for various other diseases, *Cannabis sativa*, *Solanum nigrum*, *Lippia asperifolia* (malaria), *Cratalaria burkeana*, *Pterocarpus angolensis*, *Datura stramonium*, *Indigofera senegalensis*, and *Bauhinea reticulata*".[4] Burns, open sores, headaches, etc., are treated by rubbing medicated ointments on the part affected. Chapman describes another method of treatment undergone by himself. "Having a frightful headache from the heat of the sun, I resort to my usual Bushman remedy, at the expense of having my forehead ornamented with blisters dotted all over it the next morning. April [his Bushman guide] has a root

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[824]

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[1] A good eyewitness account of this treatment is given by Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 340–1; cf. also D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29.

[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 411; cf. pp. 183 sq. above.

[3] Nolte, "Krankheiten und Heilmittel der Nama und Buschminner," *D. Kol-Ztg.*, 1896, p. 629 sq.; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 119, 282–3; ii, 74, 182; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Dornan, loc. cit.; Vedder, "Grammatik der ǂKŏ-Buschmannsprache," 8–9; Fourie, loc. cit.

[4] Op. cit., 142.

[114]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

752 which he puts into the fire, and brands me all over the forehead, heating it again and again. It is the heat of the fire that gives the relief, not the root, nor any of his genuflexions over me."[1] Surgical practice seems to be limited to incisions made in the skin, but Vedder notes that cupping is also employed among the Kung. Incisions are made in the patient's skin and covered with the horn of an animal, through which the blood is then sucked out.[2]

The existence of specific antidotes for arrow poisoning is reported
●278 by several of the older writers, but their statements lack confirmation.
752 The effects of such a wound, as far as can be ascertained, are almost
[114] invariably fatal.[3] The Naron also have no antidote for snake poison, the effects of which they try to counteract by tying the snake skin round the bite. Kaufmann, however, records that among the Auen the magician makes out of the black mamba, which he alone may eat, an antidote supposed to act against all snake bites except that of the mamba itself. He dries and powders the lungs, gall, and liver, as well as the poison in the fangs, and mixes this powder with the fat of the snake. The salve thus made is rubbed into the wound, which is first sucked out. At the same time several deep cuts are made in the upper arm, from which blood is allowed to stream freely.[4] There is nothing
[114] in Kaufmann's account to indicate whether this information is based on personal observation or merely upon hearsay, so that it must be received with caution. Chapman, a careful obser[illegible] whose hunting expeditions brought him into frequent close contact with the Bushmen in the North-West Kalahari, describes another form of antidote with which he himself saw the Bushmen cure themselves of snake bite. This is a creeping tendrilous plant, called "eokam" by the Bushmen, but unfortunately not identified by him. About eight or ten of its seeds, either eaten or taken as a decoction, act as an emetic. The dose is repeated about three times, when the patient is cured. "They also tattoo and scarify their bodies, and make an incision near the wound, which they suck with some of the root, chewed, in their mouths. This is evidently to prevent the poison acting upon the gums in case of bleeding. The sucking out of the poison is not necessary, but is done by way of precaution. Bushmen having a bit of this root on their necks laugh at snake-bites."[5]

751 Other writers mention that "doctors" sometimes render themselves

[1] Op. cit., ii, 182. [2] Loc. cit.
[3] The question is discussed by Schapera, "Bushman Arrow Poisons," 212-13.
[4] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 19; Kaufmann, op. cit., 159. [5] Op. cit., ii, 74.

/146 cont./

224 pitfall is put on the trail. I have never seen larger pitfalls for big game in the Auin region.

The jumping hare is held fast in its burrow (not pulled out!) and pressed against the end of it with the well-known angling [171] [411] stick of the South Africans, which among the Auin displays no special characteristics. A vertical hole is then dug from above, and the animal is taken out.

Hyrax. The exits of the burrow are blocked and then an opening is made (that is, dug in from the top).

Leopards are hunted only when several keen dogs are available. The animal is then covered by the dogs and killed with spears by several Bushmen. Without dogs, the Bushman dispenses with this sport, which every expert will understand.

The cheetah is pursued on foot by several people until it is exhausted and then killed with clubs and spears.

Hyenas are not hunted. They are smoked out only when a brood with young animals has been found in a hole in the ground, and the asphyxiated animals are then dug out.

The aardwolf is suffocated in his burrow by smoke and then dug out.

The jackal is not hunted since the Bushman supposedly does not get it anyway.

The wild dog (Lycaon pictus) is not hunted. I believe that in case of an encounter between the two the Bushman himself would usually constitute the game.

In isolated cases the skin of an ostrich, with a stick placed [237] in the neck, is used as a mask. The hunter slips into the skin after he has colored his legs with chalky soil. This mask is used [223] for hunting ostriches as well as other types of game.

The Bushman is unable to make other masks since he cannot [281] soften the skins of larger animals without changing their natural appearance. At the same time, the Auin described other masks to me so accurately that I could not doubt that their manufacture and use was known to them.

The characteristic sound of the young springbok, duiker, and klipbok is imitated with the lips while the nose is held with the index and middle finger.

The frightened scream of the young gemsbok and wildebeest is likewise imitated.

/152 cont./

415 Mortars and pestles, as well as spoons of wood, are made (see Photo. 18).

[287] Painting and bark working are unknown.

171 The preparation of hides is the same as that practiced by the Hottentot, Herero, Bergdamara, and Betschuana. Hence, I shall
281 dispense with a description of the process.

The women's cosmetic described above is used to dye cloth-
281 ing made of hides. The dye is rubbed on with the ball of the
386 hand and is comparatively waterproof.

To be sure, it is questionable whether this process may be called "dyeing." The hides are already red from the tanning process, and the cosmetic scarcely changes the color. Perhaps it is better regarded as impregnation or greasing.

386 /153/ The colored stones that are pulverized and mixed with
438 fat to make the cosmetic are dug up near Kaitsaub (45 kilometers south of Gobabis) by the Hai//um Bushmen residing there, and they constitute an article of trade. [Fig. 12 appears here.]

The beautiful and durable cordage of the Auin is made of
283 the fiber of a wild agave. It looks so neat and clean that one might suspect its origin to have been in a European rope factory rather than in a Bushman settlement.

The cords are made in various strengths and are used for all kinds of purposes, mainly for the game snares.

Their manufacture is very simple and proceeds very rapidly.

The leaf is softened by tapping with a wooden stick, and it is then placed on a firm base. One hand holds a pointed stick or a blunt knife firmly on the leaf, while the other hand draws the leaf against the vertically held knife and toward the body. After this has been repeated several times, the strong fibers remain and are then rolled together into cords of the thickness and length desired.

Industrial use of Bushman cordage does not seem impossible to me.

412 As a drill, the lance point or an iron knife is used, frequently red-hot.

Only pieces of iron found accidentally are worked. The ex-
325 traction of iron from ore is unknown.

Charcoal made from the giraffe acacia is the preferred fuel
[372] for ironworking.

[Text continues on page 43]

/255 cont./

281 The hair is removed from the hides. After the skinning, the hides are stretched out on the ground for two days, exposed to the sun; then the hair is removed, and subsequently the juice of a red tuber is rubbed into the hides on the inside. After they have been prepared in this manner, they are buried in the ground for a longer period of time and are then ready for use.

Not infrequently the Bushmen wear sandals which they cut
291 from antelope hide in the simplest manner imaginable. A leather sole is fastened with three thongs to a leather ring lying over the instep and drawn tight below the ankle. One thong runs between the first and the second toe, while the two others run inside and outside the foot.

The children go about quite naked. Despite this sparseness
301 of clothing, the feeling for ornamentation finds full expression.

Many ornamental objects serve as amulets which are worn for a great variety of purposes. The women are more richly adorned than the men. Whereas the latter frequently content themselves with arm rings made of antelope leather, the women are usually overloaded with ornamental objects. One of the favorite women's ornaments is a necklace made of ostrich egg shells. The shells
[321] are worked into small, approximately penny-sized circular disks which are pierced in the middle and strung on a leather thong. Arm and leg rings are made of the same materials.

In place of the little ostrich egg disks, colored glass beads
[439] obtained in trade are frequently used for necklaces and arm rings. One sees many a woman walking along with a tortoise-shell box hanging on her chest, /256/ which is decorated with bead-studded leather strips and used as a container for tobacco.

Pierced pieces of root, distinguished by natural rings notched at regular intervals, are strung on leather thongs for necklaces.

224 I found the following ornamental objects which simultaneously
301 served the function of an amulet:

1. Little pieces of dried antelope flesh are worn on the chest in the belief that the wearer will not lack meat to eat so long as he wears these guarantees.

2. The same significance is attached to dried antelope ears which are worn in a small leather bag on the chest.

The Bushmen are one of the most primitive peoples living 105
on earth. Although most of their groups own some metal objects, Bushmen do not smelt or forge metal, but get it in trade [325
from their Bantu neighbors. They use soft metal in the mak- 439]
ing of a few tools such as knives, arrowheads, and little axes, cold-hammering the metal into shape themselves. Bushmen make the other tools they use from wood and bone, grass and fiber, the things of the veld. They dig roots and pick berries [222]
to eat because they have no crops. The desert is too dry for anything but desert plants to grow naturally, and Bushmen, who quickly consume all the wild food available in one place, cannot stay anywhere long enough to tend crops or wait for them to grow.

There is not enough water to water livestock, and for this [231]
reason Bushmen have no domestic animals. Most of their groups do not even have dogs. Instead of herding, Bushmen hunt wild antelope with tiny arrows, sometimes made of soft, [224
traded metal, sometimes made of bone, and poisoned with a 278]
terrible poison extracted from a certain grub, a poison which affects the nervous system of a creature and which is so deadly that an antelope shot early in the morning with a single arrow well placed in the body dies within the day. Hunting is very difficult, for travel in the veld is thirsty and rigorous and the antelope are clever, but as often as not the Bushmen hunters shoot one and then they use it all. Most of the meat is dried [251]
to preserve it, causing it to last at least a few weeks, but sooner or later every last bite of it is eaten, even the mucous lining of the nostrils and the gristle inside the ears. They [262]
sometimes eat the hide, sometimes work it into leather to use for clothing, and if the antelope bones are not all [281] ●
cracked for the marrow, pieces are worked into arrow points to shoot another antelope.

In order to live as they do, Bushmen must travel through 105
361

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

"Walks-Before-the-Sun," was just starting its journey across 821
the sky. This planet, which we call the morning star and which is a different one from time to time, rises just before the sun and walks all day across the sky looking for shade. Every day, say Bushmen, the sun overtakes it and scorches it, and though people walking can cut branches from trees to [293]
put up over their heads as parasols, the poor star finds no branches in the sky.

Over the moon the Firewood Star was sinking too. This is a real star, the star by which the Bushmen, when they see it rising, can tell if they have enough firewood to last the night.

When the sun was up, when the moon and all the stars 281
were gone, we went as usual to the werf, where we found 237
Ukwane curing fox skins with urine, the only liquid he had. It was not fresh urine either; it was rank, saved for days by all the people, collected in tsama rinds. We had noticed a stench, but we had not known what it was. To be certain, we asked Ukwane, and he said: "Water."

"What water?" we asked, knowing there was none.

"The water that all the people in the Kalahari have to use."

"Is it urine?"

"Yes, it is," he said.

The skins were from five Delalandes or long-eared foxes which Ukwane had snared three seasons ago. He had stretched and scraped the skins but had not cured them because until now he had not had the time. A few days ago he had told his people to begin saving urine so that he could cure and soften the hides. They had, and he now poured urine onto each skin, letting it soak, then rubbed the skin hard between his hands. He repeated this process again and again, 281
working one skin at a time, and before long the skins were moist all through, and when they were dry they were as soft as chamois. Ukwane said that he was going to trade the soft

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

281 skins with Bakalahari people for tobacco when we had gone and when the tobacco we had given him had all been used. We asked how much he would get and he measured an imaginary pile in the palm of his hand—not much for four or five days' work, although the skins of Delalandes foxes are quite small.

136 There were Delalandes foxes living not far from Ai a ha'o, a colony of them, for they always live together. I saw them often and they were charming creatures, fuzzy with huge ears and black stockings. I have always admired them, for although they have no defenses, can neither run fast nor fight, they are not afraid to go mousing far from their burrows. Then, when they are surprised by a menace, they have to run home, and they start off all together and run and run, humping on and on at an even pace, neither speeding nor slacking, until long after you first saw them they disappear into their holes. They are humble creatures, but persistent and brave. One member of our expedition hunted them for months with rifle and shotgun, trying to get a specimen for a museum in the United States, but I am glad to say he never succeeded. Ukwane caught them, though, the easy way. He set five snares for them at five mouse-runs in the grass; five foxes strangled in the snares, and Ukwane came around the following day to gather them up.

123 825 321 411 We filmed Ukwane working the skins. Then we found the shoulder blade of the gemsbok we had shot weeks ago still lying in the werf and we asked Gai to make an arrowhead out of it so we could film that, too. It was the right kind of bone, the kind that Bushmen use. The small antelope and even some of the larger ones, such as springbok and wildebeest, have bones which are too fragile to penetrate another antelope's heavy hide. Gai agreed to make the arrow; he broke off the scapular spine and pushed it into a fresh tsama melon to

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

namesake of Dikai, I had acquired her set of relationships and 608
was expected to follow the rules that applied to her. I could 551
act in a familiar way with those people whom she treated familiarly and was expected to avoid those whom she avoided. I called Dikai "Big Name," the term usually applied in such a relationship, she called me "Little Name," her nephews called me "Aunt," her mother called me "Daughter," and often her husband, Gao Feet, with roars of laughter, would say he would marry me someday.

We sat down in the werf in the delicate shade of the arching 281
branches and Dikai's mother produced a bag full of tsi nuts, 415
which the people began to roast and eat. The bag was made 252
of the entire skin of a duiker—a little nocturnal antelope no bigger than a small dog—turned inside out with the legs tied together as handles, the neck tied off as the bottom of the bag and the rump open as the top. When it was full of tsi it was solid and formed and looked eerily like a little, headless duiker.

When the day was over and the sky was getting dark I 512
made a camp for myself a few feet from the werf. The Bush- 609
man children helped me pull the grass. We built a fire in our clearing and I cooked some beans and tsi nuts that Dikai's mother had given me for myself and the children, and as Bushmen from the werf began to come over I cooked more and more. There wasn't much—the Bushmen had only half a day's supply and we hadn't expected to be away from camp so long. Everyone had a little, though, and afterward we filled ourselves up with water and we smoked. It was very cold. Be- 513
fore the night was over, the water we had in our water pail had turned to ice. On nights such as this the Bushmen prefer to sit up and talk, to keep their minds off the fact that the air is cold and they are naked and hungry, rather than to try to sleep; they wait to sleep the following day, warm in the sun.

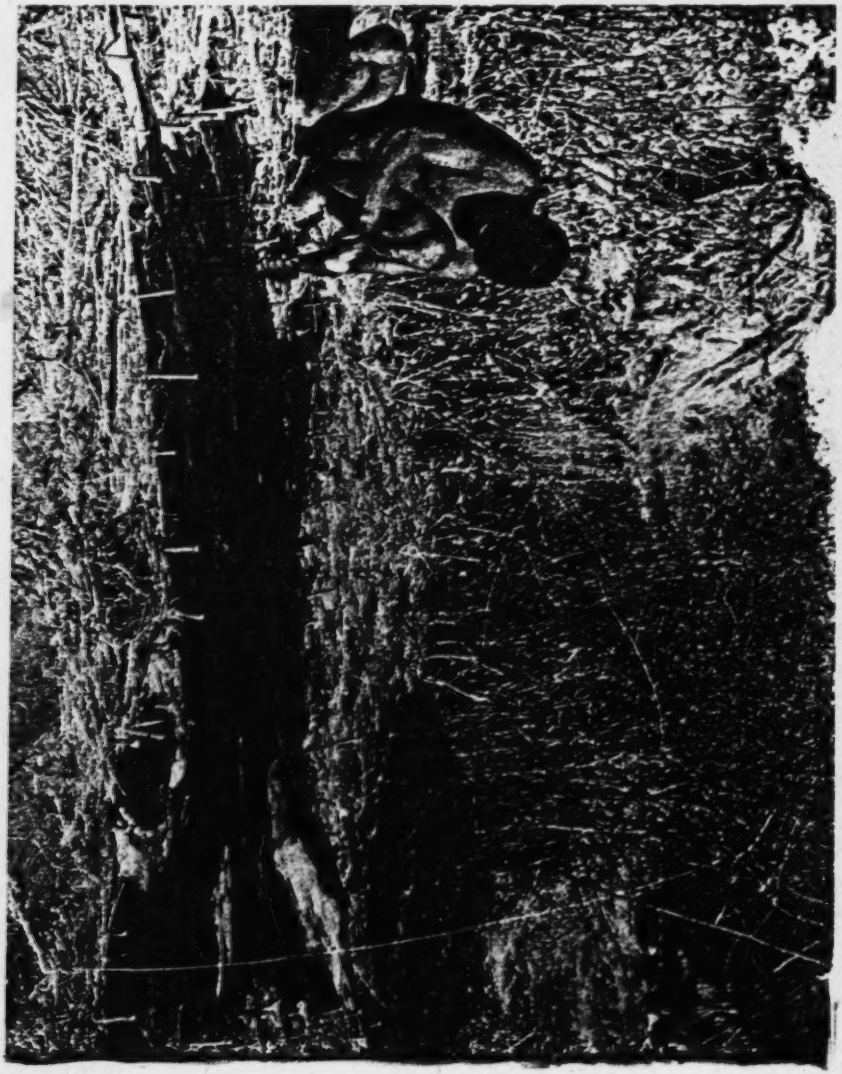
Il: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

HUNTER'S BOOTY, in addition to meat for the pot, includes much-needed raw materials for !Kung economy. Skins of smaller animals are cut into the breechclouts worn by the men, and, *above*, are sometimes ingeniously peeled off, almost in one piece, and turned into bags, with the legs serving as straps.

224
281
415

[P. 51]

281



LARGE HIDE IS STAKED OUT, above, to be cured. This may become a cloak (*karosa*), the most important !Kung garment.

[p.55]

237 and bowstrings. horn makes spoons and small containers: most needed of all are the skins—converted into bags and nets for carrying, and into clothes. Men wear only a breech-
291 clout. Women wear modesty aprons,
281 often one in front and one behind, as well as a piece of soft skin, clasped
[841] between their buttocks and thighs, when menstruating. Both men and women wear *kaross's*. The *kaross*, or skin cloak, is the most important garment and everyone tries to have one. If a man has only one *kaross*, and he is a good man, he will give it to his wife and do without—for, to a woman, a *kaross* is essential. In it, she is modest. In it, she carries the
[482] roots she has gathered in the day and the baby who must go where she goes. Her *kaross* is her warmth at night, her softness on the cold ground. It breaks the blind wind and roofs away the narrow rain.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

of the hunting party is not a matter of convention or of anxious concern. Hunting parties are freely organized by men who like to hunt with each other. No categories of kin or affines are prohibited from hunting together, whether they have a joking relationship or not or practise the sitting and speaking taboo. Men from different bands may hunt together.

A father has authority over his sons and sons-in-law and could tell them to go hunting or to accompany him and would expect them to obey. In other relationships participation in a hunting party is voluntary. Any man may instigate a hunt and may ask others to join. No one is formally in command of a party, unless he is the father with his sons or sons-in-law, but often an informal kind of leadership develops out of skill and judgement and the men fall in with the plans and suggestions of the best hunter or reach agreement among themselves somehow.

Hunting parties are usually composed of from two to four or five men. One hunter alone is at a disadvantage. A man cannot leave the meat unguarded from lions, hyaenas, jackals, and vultures while he goes to bring help from the band to carry it nor can he carry it alone. Only occasionally are parties larger than four or five. For two parties to hunt in different directions would be more advantageous than to form a larger single party.

When the kill is made the hunters have the prerogative of eating the liver on the spot and may eat more of the meat until their hunger is satisfied. If they are far from the band, they may eat the parts that are especially perishable or most awkward to carry, like the head, and they sometimes eat the cherished marrow. They then carry the animal to the band, either in its parts, bones and all, or, if the animal is very big, leaving most of the bones and cutting the meat into strips which dry in the sun to biltong and are more easily carried on the carrying-sticks. The blood is carried in bags made of the stomach, rumen, and bladder.

The gall bladder and testicles are discarded at the kill. Eventually the hooves are thrown away and usually the picked bones and horns. (The /Kung make only a few artifacts of bone and horn which last a long time and seldom need replacing.) Sinews are kept for making cord. The hide would be skinned off whole and tanned if it were suitable for a kaross and someone wanted a new kaross at the time. Otherwise, the hide is dried, pounded up, and eaten. Hides are quite tasty. Feet are picked of every tissue; gristle is dried and pounded. Soft parts, such as the foetus, udder, heart, lungs, brains, and blood, are often given to old people with poor teeth. Intestines are enjoyed and desired by all. The meat of the rump, back, chest, and neck is highly appreciated. Nothing is wasted; all is distributed.

The owner of the animal is the owner of the first arrow to be effectively shot into the animal so that it penetrates enough for its poison to work. That person is responsible for the distribution. The headman of the band is not the one to distribute the meat by virtue of his headmanship, unless he happens to be at the same time the owner of the arrow. The owner may or may not be one of the hunters.

Hunters have arrows which they acquire in three different ways. Each man makes arrows for himself, shaping the points (usually now of metal, but still possibly of bone or wood) with some slight distinction so that he will know them from the arrows of other men. Secondly, arrows are given as gifts. The man who made the arrow or who himself acquired it as a gift, may give it to someone else, either a man or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The /Kung stole nothing from us. Even when we went away on trips, leaving several bands of /Kung settled around our camp site, we left our supplies and equipment unlocked in the open or in our tents with confidence that nothing would be stolen. Things that we lost or forgot in the werf were returned to us, even two cigarettes in a crumpled package.

Stealing without being discovered is practically impossible in /Kung life because the /Kung know everybody's footprints and every object. Respect for ownership is strong. But, apart from that, /Ti/kay said, 'Stealing would cause nothing but trouble. It might cause fighting.'

Conclusion

During seventeen and a half months when I lived with the Nyae Nyae /Kung at Gautscha (with Bands 1 and 2 and many visitors—usually about sixty to seventy-five persons), I personally saw four flare-ups of discord and heard of three others which occurred in neighbouring bands during that period. All were resolved before they became serious quarrels. Of the seven, four were flare-ups of sexual jealousy. One was 'the talk' about Khuan//a's gift. Two were very minor disagreements about going somewhere, when Gao Beard's frustrated young wife hit him on the head with her digging-stick and when /Ti/kay gave his brother a shove for refusing to accompany him. None were about food. We considered, judging from that sample, that the /Kung managed very well to keep tensions from turning into hostility, to avoid arousing jealousy and ill will, to cohere, and to achieve the comfort and security which they so desire in human relations.

APPENDIX

/Kung Bushman Artifacts

ANIMAL MATERIALS

Hides

Made and used by men

- breech clouts
- oracle disks
- head-dresses (a few, worn in dances)
- caps (a few)

Made by men, used by women

- genital aprons
- small karosses worn around buttocks or for carrying babies

Made by men, used by all

- karosses
- bags (sewn)
- bags of whole skins
- tobacco pouches of scrota
- bracelets, armbands, knee and ankle bands
- necklaces
- thongs

Cocoons

Made by men

- dance rattles

Bone

Made and used by men

- connecting parts for arrow-shafts
- arrow-points (few)
- dishes for mixing poison

Made and used by women

- fresh bone, pounded to powder, is used to clean and soften karosses

Birds' Nests

Used by men and women

- tobacco pouches (nests of the penduline tit, *Anthoscopus minutus*)

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Sinews

Made and used by men

bow-strings
wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison adheres well to sinew)
binding for hafts
snares

Made by men, used by all

strings for *//gwashi* (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

fine rolled cord

Horn

Made and used by men

horns fitted with leather covers for carrying arrow-points
horns for cupping

Used by all

horns for pipes
horns for spoons

Shell

Made by men, used by all

ostrich egg-shell water-containers
tortoise-shell dippers
tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

ostrich egg-shell beads

Feathers

Used by boys on *jani* toys
Worn by all occasionally in hair

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

Wood

Made and used by men

bows
spear handles
axe or adze handles
knife handles
knife sheaths
spring-hare hook handles[1]
fire-making sticks
hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

digging sticks
carrying sticks
stirring sticks
mortars and pestles
bowls
spoons
fire scrapers
//gwashi (musical instrument)
one-stringed violin
jani toys
beads

Made by women

frames for scherms

Fibres

(from *sansevieria*, aloe, */nos* tree roots, other roots)

Rolled by men and women

cord

Made and used by men

carrying-nets
snares

Made and used by all

ornaments

Grass

Made by men and women

stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-containers
ornaments

Made by women

scherms

Made by children

toys of grass folded and woven to suggest animals

Used by all for beds

[1] Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying. They carry only the hook around with them and whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais, bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae-Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

224 462 [222] track the animal to the place where it has died. All the Dobe area Bushmen consistently hunted and collected within a 15-20 mile radius of their camps. Hunting trips of 3-10 days duration have been recorded in the literature on !Kung (e.g. L. Marshall 1960:331), but these extended trips were not a feature in the Dobe area.

222 224 462 The contrast in technology between the hunting equipment of the men and the gathering equipment of the women is striking. Only three elementary tools are required for the complete range of gathering tasks. On the other hand, the hunting kits consist of at least 19 complex weapons and devices, with sophisticated methods of manufacture and maintenance.

222 The three gathering tools are the kaross, the digging stick and the nut-cracking stones. With only these three items, a softened antelope hide, a sharpened stick, and a pair of unimproved rocks, the entire gamut of plant foods [291] can be exploited. The kaross is the most important of the three. This is a one-piece combination garment-cum-carrying-device made from the hide of a gemsbok, kudu or wildebeeste. [281] The raw hide is dried, the edges are trimmed and the hide is softened by a tanning agent from the plant Elephantorhiza burkei. The resulting garment is worn by the women draped [482] over the back. When tied at the waist by a leather thong, [291]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen FX10

Dress and Decoration

Bushmen

281 291 Save where there has been a good deal of contact with European influences, all the Bushmen wear garments made entirely from the skins of animals, usually some kind of buck taken in the chase.[1] Complete nudity is hardly ever found, though it is reported on hearsay evidence by Miss Bleek of some of the wilder bands of Auen and Naron. [462] All the clothes are made by the men, who prepare not only their own garments but also those of their wives and children.

The principal garment of the men among all the Bushmen consists in a triangular piece of skin, two ends of which are tied together round the loins, while the third is passed between the legs and knotted on behind. [177] Some of the North-Eastern Bushmen (Tannekwe, Hukwe, Galikwe), who have been much in contact with the Bantu, have adopted the form of loin-cloth worn by the latter, in which a piece of skin passed between the legs is drawn before and behind through a leather girdle tied round the loins. A skin cloak ("kaross") is also worn by most of the men, especially in cold weather or when on the [284] march. This is tied over the right shoulder by means of strips of skin attached to two ends, and hangs so as to cover the back and, if large enough, also the chest, while leaving the arms and left shoulder free. It is sometimes worn slung over both shoulders and tied under the chin. The head is usually uncovered, but skin caps are sometimes seen, as well as leather sandals tied round the ankle with thongs.

281 415 482 411 On the march the men carry a round bag slung on over the right shoulder and hanging on the left hip. In it are carried all sorts of small possessions and food. A longer skin bag, containing the weapons, fire-sticks, etc., is also hung over the left shoulder. Bark quivers for the arrows are sometimes found as well, more especially among the Southern and Namib Bushmen.

281 291 The women wear a hanging apron in front, consisting in a piece of skin attached to a leather belt passing round the loins. It is often ornamented with bead or leather tassels. A smaller apron, covering only the genitals, is sometimes worn beneath this. The older women

[1] The fullest descriptions of Bushman dress and decoration are given by: Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 428–30; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 33–40; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140–3; Werner, "Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 215–7; Seiner, "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 297–8; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 87–90; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 8–10; E. Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 101–10.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushme ^ FX 10

281 also have a larger apron behind, sometimes hanging from the shoulders, more often tied round the waist, and almost meeting over or under
291 the apron in front. In the north-east a leather loin-cloth drawn through a belt in the same way as that of the men, only somewhat longer, is often seen instead. A large kaross is also worn by the married women. This hangs from the right shoulder, passing under the left arm, and is tied again at the waist; it thus forms a convenient pouch, in which are carried the baby as well as supplies for the day, such as ostrich eggshells filled with water, edible roots and fruit, grass or firewood.

[854 Babies go naked, save for a trifling ornament, till they are about a
855] year old. The boys are then given a tiny belt with a semi-circular flap of leather in front, the girls a small apron decorated with leather tassels and beads. Their mother's kaross, however, continues to be
[862] their sole protection from the cold till they are weaned, when about three or four years old. The little girls then receive a tiny kaross hanging from the shoulders, the boys a small loin-cloth similar to that of the men. They do not wear a cloak of any kind till they are in their teens and are taken out to learn hunting.

301 All women and children and the younger men also wear ornaments.
237 Chief among these are ostrich egg-shell beads, the making of which is one of the oldest Bushmen industries. Such beads, whole and in
171 fragments, and at all stages of making, are found all over South Africa, from the kitchen-middens on the south coast as far north as the Okavango, where they form a standard article of barter between the Bushmen and their Bantu neighbours. They are made by the women. The eggshell is broken into small pieces which are softened in water and pierced with a small stone or iron borer. They are then threaded on to a strip of sinew and the rough edges chipped off with a horn. Soft bark fibre is next twisted between the beads, making the chain very taut, and the edges are finally rubbed smooth with a soft stone. The beads thus made are used as single chains or worked into more complicated ornaments. Bands of them are worn on the hair, sometimes encircling the whole head, more often tied to the hair on either side, while a long narrow strip may hang down the forehead or on to the neck behind. Necklaces and bracelets of these beads are also seen, and very long chains are fastened three or four times round the waist (Plate XI).

301 Besides these beads any other ornaments obtainable are worn by the women. These include arm and leg bands made of leather and bark strips or twisted from the tail hairs of a wildebeest or gnu, as

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262 to these taboos is unfortunately so fragmentary that little can be
[114] gathered of the ideas underlying them. Several of them are
undoubtedly connected with wider ritual observances, e.g. the taboo
[821] imposed on menstruating girls, and again that associated with a
[821] certain belief about the rain; but of the others no full explanation is
[773] available, although the taboo on the portion of the hare may possibly
[761] be linked up with the Bushman myth of the origin of death, in which
[825] the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon.

Among the Naron, again, "It does not seem," says Miss Bleek,[1] "as if many taboos in the food line still existed. Paauw meat and ostrich eggs are chiefly given to old men as the greatest delicacies. Some say young children, or girls till they have had their first baby, are not to eat steenbok, lest they remain small, but others tell me that all meat is eaten by everyone. Honey touched by a baboon must not be eaten, or you will die." Among the Auen, young girls and boys apparently may not eat game at all, otherwise they will remain thin; while water
[841] and food collected by a menstruating woman may be partaken of only by herself and old people—it "makes others weak".[2]

About the Heikum we have far more information on this point,
224 thanks to the excellent description given by Fourie of certain
[114] of their hunting observances.[3] The details he gives throw such a wealth of new light upon this aspect of Bushman life that they may be quoted in full. "After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *//gaus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals.
224 The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout
252 for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is
[462] skinned by the men. The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the
[281] purpose, is cut into sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then removed to the *//gaus* by the men who may occasionally be
[462] assisted by the women. On arrival at the *//gaus* all the meat is laid

[1] *The Naron*, 7.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140, 157.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 100–2; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 54–6.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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322 decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops
[412] for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-
[415] western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom,
[283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

824 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
285 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
[412] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

237 Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water,
[415] and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women
[306] make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops, and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small
412 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell
324 beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by
[439] barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few
[326] smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.

178 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
324 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
[323] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

● 281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
[237] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while
[415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

/152 cont./

415 Mortars and pestles, as well as spoons of wood, are made (see Photo. 18).

[287] Painting and bark working are unknown.

The preparation of hides is the same as that practiced by the
171 Hottentot, Herero, Bergdamara, and Betschuana. Hence, I shall
281 dispense with a description of the process.

The women's cosmetic described above is used to dye cloth-
281 ing made of hides. The dye is rubbed on with the ball of the
386 hand and is comparatively waterproof.

To be sure, it is questionable whether this process may be called "dyeing." The hides are already red from the tanning process, and the cosmetic scarcely changes the color. Perhaps it is better regarded as impregnation or greasing.

386 /153/ The colored stones that are pulverized and mixed with
438 fat to make the cosmetic are dug up near Kaitsaub (45 kilometers south of Gobabis) by the Hai//um Bushmen residing there, and they constitute an article of trade. [Fig. 12 appears here.]

The beautiful and durable cordage of the Auin is made of
283 the fiber of a wild agave. It looks so neat and clean that one might suspect its origin to have been in a European rope factory rather than in a Bushman settlement.

The cords are made in various strengths and are used for all kinds of purposes, mainly for the game snares.

Their manufacture is very simple and proceeds very rapidly.

The leaf is softened by tapping with a wooden stick, and it is then placed on a firm base. One hand holds a pointed stick or a blunt knife firmly on the leaf, while the other hand draws the leaf against the vertically held knife and toward the body. After this has been repeated several times, the strong fibers remain and are then rolled together into cords of the thickness and length desired.

Industrial use of Bushman cordage does not seem impossible to me.

412 As a drill, the lance point or an iron knife is used, frequently red-hot.

Only pieces of iron found accidentally are worked. The ex-
325 traction of iron from ore is unknown.

Charcoal made from the giraffe acacia is the preferred fuel
[372] for ironworking.

[Text continues on page 43]

[38 cont.]

Weapons

411 The Bushman's chief weapons are the bow and arrows. The bow staff as a rule has a round transverse incision and tapers off slightly toward both ends. The !Kung of the Otjimpolo Veld, on the other hand, use palm wood like the Ovambo. There the wood of the bow is slightly convex on the outside and flat on the inside with squared sides. The string is made of leather, so that in the case of these bows the bow staff is more flexible than the string. A bow of the Otjimpolo Bushmen was 115 centimeters long and 13 centimeters high. The bows of the !Kung discussed here also have leather supports on both sides and commonly are

[291]
[531]

Fig. 9. Embroidered Front Apron of Leather (!Kung).

reinforced with sisal cord. The bows of the Hei//om seem to be differentiated from those of the !Kung primarily in [39] that the bow staff is flat on the outside and convex on the inside. In lieu of the leather strips, reinforcements of palm bast are also often used. The string, depending on the region, is a waxed plant (283) fiber cord, animal tendon (kudu), or fine, twisted leather. The length is about 120 centimeters; the height, 20 centimeters. There are also much smaller bows, however, 95-110 centimeters long.

192 The wood of the !Kung bows is called !howa. The arrow
411 is made of wood. The shaft is called //gau; the feathering,

[77 cont.]

291 [301] in the north, but they have far more ostrich egg pearls.

11. Weapons

The ≠Auin have the throwing lance; the digging stick is
411 occasionally also used for striking and as a throwing club. The
[439] lance points are bartered from Ngami Lake. The upper end of the shaft is bound with a strip of antelope skin or tendons. The shaft tapers off toward the end. The lance points are distinguished as male and female. The male points have blunt barbs. The points are often provided with a leather cap. The lance points also serve as a knife and universal instrument. The spear points are kept well hidden. Among the Naron, spears
411 439 are very rare today; they are obtained from Ovamboland in exchange for chains of ostrich egg beads. The same is true of the Nogau, who, however, obtain their spear points in part from the Ovambo and in part from the Okawango by way of the !Kung.

The bow of the ≠Auin is small;
411 the string is twisted out of animal
[283] tendons and is pushed up on one side and fastened on the other. The arrows are made of reed. At the bottom of the shaft there is a shallow notch, and the end is wound with grass. Similarly, we find a notch at the upper end where the point is inserted. The length of the arrow shaft is from 48 to 52 centimeters. The points are made either of iron or bone; in the latter case ostrich bones are used. The bone arrowhead is pointed at both ends, one of which is inserted

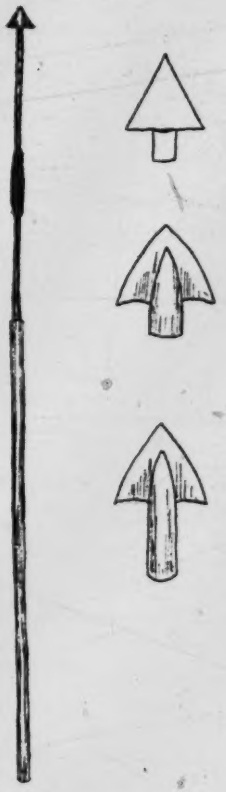

Fig. 27. Arrows of the Nogau.

411
283

Fig. 28. Bows of the Nogau. (1/3 actual size [as shown in original text]).

224

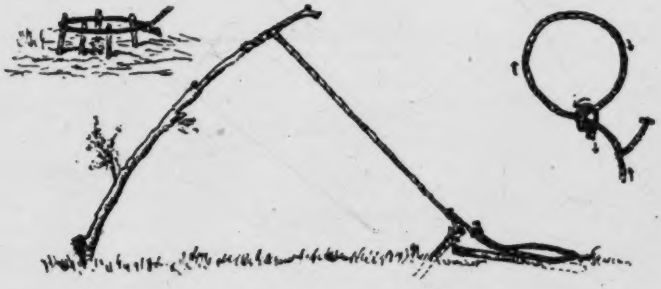

Fig. 29. Game Trap (from Gentz, Globus, Vol. 83, 1903).

/258 cont./

000 which is used for carrying game over the shoulder.

411 Still to be mentioned are the weapons of the Bushmen. These are limited essentially to the bow and arrow. The bow consists of firm, flexible wood which tapers toward the ends.

[283] The bowstring is made by twisting together separated strands of gemsbok tendons.

The arrows have a very peculiar construction. The shaft is a piece of reed approximately 60 centimeters long, which is feathered at the lower end. A piece of eland bone, approximately 15 centimeters long, which has been sharpened to a point on both sides and carefully rounded by filing on stones, is inserted at the upper end of the shaft in such a manner that it can easily be taken out and reversed. The front end of the reed shaft, which is designed for the insertion of the bone arrowhead, /259/ is wrapped with bast in order to give it the necessary resistance. The two ends of the arrowhead are treated differently. The shorter and blunter tip is left free of poison and serves solely for hunting purposes. The
278 longer and more pointed end is covered with a brown, resin-like poisonous mass. It is very difficult to obtain any definite information from the Bushmen concerning the origin of this poison. They shyly evade questions about it.

I was able to ascertain only one fact, namely, that it is obtained by making incisions in the bark of a tree called chi (Herero: otjindombo). The arrowhead is dipped in the sap of the bark and
411 heated over the fire.

In addition to the bow and arrow, one also finds simple, unworked kirris, and -- at least among the Bushmen of the Kaukau Veld -- throwing spears with iron points that are obtained from the Ovambo in trade.

Arrow shafts and arrowheads are carried on the back in separate leather quivers.

They also use simple, feathered wooden arrows with pointed ends for fowl.

The dwellings are as simple as the whole way of life of the
342 Bushmen. The huts are only a little taller than a man and about three meters in diameter; they are set up by embedding sticks in the ground. These poles, which form the framework, are joined in the center, making a dome shape, and the interstices

older leaves are marked at the base on the lower surface with narrow wavy black bands. Specimens were collected in sandy soil in open parkland near Nama Pan and flowered in Pretoria the following summer. The leaves and inflorescences, like those of the edible species, die back during the winter. 137x

Neither of the two species could be named in the National Herbarium, for the genus is not well documented and badly in need of revision.

Sansevieria scabrifolia Dinter (4951) Photograph 7.

!h5: Bushman.....	|xa-ji
|ganakwe Bushman...	!gwi:
|gikwe Bushman.....	!gwi:
Naron Bushman.....	!gwi:
Eastern !khũ Bushman	!hwi:

A stemless plant with bunches of stiff, erect, strap-like leaves 10 inches long and a little less than an inch wide, concave on the front or upper surface and rounded on the back, and without a midrib. They rise at intervals of a foot or so, and in tufts of up to a dozen, from a brown-skinned horizontal rhizome three inches below the ground, and are light green mottled with dark green. They are tough and fibrous rather than succulent, which is the term that has been used to describe the leaves of closely allied species. The plants may occur singly but are more often massed in communities 20 to 50 yards across. Those sent to Pretoria for growing have never thrived and never flowered, nor were they seen flowering in the field, but it is known that the inflorescence is spike-like along a 12-inch flowering stalk, and that it consists of crowded usually off-white flowers half an inch across. Flowering seems to occur rather rarely and sporadically in the genus as a whole.

This species was widespread and fairly frequent north and south of Ghanzi. It was not found in the open grassland but always among trees and scrub, though not necessarily shaded by them.

The rhizome is a useful source of water. It has a crisp, white fibrous flesh which is juicy and, although slightly bitter, not unpleasant. There are several species of Sansevieria growing in cultivation in Pretoria all alike in habit, and all have been tested. There is no perceptible difference in the taste or juiciness of any of them. 312 824

The leaf fibres of the plant described are used by the Bushmen in making a string of surprisingly good quality. 283 824

Wallera nutans Kirk (5311) Photograph 8.

Eastern !khũ Bushman tʃũ

The plants are about six inches high, with a slender erect central stem bearing paired light green grass-like leaves, strongly keeled and somewhat fleshy and faintly crystalline on the surface. Both the stem and the keel of the leaves are sparsely covered with short soft spines. Three or four strongly scented nodding flowers are borne, superficially very like potato flowers. There is a firm round storage organ a few inches below the surface of the ground, slightly larger than a golf ball and the colour of a new potato. 137x

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

possessions of Bantus and Europeans—horses and cattle, 181
dogs, melon lands, medicines, rifles, boots, and trucks—as 609
well as their enormous size, heavy necks and arms, great beards, and roaring voices. Europeans are beyond the powers of Bushmen's imagination, more awesome in stature, in possessions, in might, than even the Bushmen's god, who can be [776]
cajoled, who hunts with a bow and arrow. Bushmen consider the Europeans and the Bantus to be superior beings. Bantus [648]
and Europeans consider the Bushmen to be inferior beings, and, without resisting, a Bushman always bows to a European or a Bantu person's will.

Once an old man, a veld Bushman, told us the story of the 283
reim and the grass fiber. A reim is a leather rope which the 539
Bantus make by skinning a cow with a long, spiraling cut that goes around and around the body so that the hide comes off all in one piece a few inches wide and many yards long, which is then stretched and cured, making a piece of leather useful for harnessing oxen or building a hut.

"In the earliest days," the old man said, "the Bushmen and 539
the non-Bushmen were all one nation, and the great god 773
came to earth and gave them a rope. Half the rope was made of reim and half was made of grass fiber. The great god told all the people to pull on the rope, and the non-Bushmen came away with the reim, but the Bushmen got only the grass fiber. After that, the non-Bushmen had cattle and reims and all those things, but the Bushmen had only the things that are in the veld. If this ever happened again," the old man said, "I would tell the Bushmen to make sure they got the reim half."

So the distinction between people was caused by the great 181
god, and the Bushmen, who want only to be left in peace, do 609
not compete in issues which they cannot win. They are only [773]
frightened by other peoples and hope to be spared their atten-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

411 poison of several grubs, Gai dried the arrow by the fire, then
825 coated the foreshaft again. In all, he used ten grubs, all that
278 he had except two which were found to be shriveled and dead. The last coating he did not smear; pulling off the grub's head, he dotted the arrow with little spots of poison. He did not poison the arrowhead but only the foreshaft.

When the arrow was finished and the poison dried to lacquer on the shaft, Gai carefully collected all the cocoons and all the grub skins and burned them in the fire, keeping out of the smoke. He then called for a fresh tsama melon, which Witabe brought him and which he used to wash his hands. At last he put his arrow in his quiver and lit his pipe. He was through.

411 While we were there with the camera set up and loaded
184 we asked Gai to demonstrate for us the way he would shoot a bow, which he did, and we were surprised to see that the Gikwe, who use bows of the same size and shape and arrows of the same size as the Kung's, have a different arrow release. The Kung grip the arrow between the thumb and the side of the forefinger as they draw back on the string, but Gai gripped it between the first two fingers, holding his thumb back. He said that all other Gikwe do the same.

● 283 Ukane called to us from the werf and said that since we were here he would show us how a Gikwe Bushman makes a string. We went over to him, and he did make a string for us by pulling the tough fibers out of aloes and rolling them together on his thigh, leaving just enough fiber unwound at the end to splice with the next rolled section. The string was so strong that when he jerked it between his hands it neither broke nor raveled. It took him only a few minutes to make it,
[286] and he said that when he had many such strings he would tie them together to make himself a net.

As he worked, for the sake of efficiency, he held the fibers

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

in a fold of his belly and held the finished end of the cord be- 283 ●
tween his toes. Then, as he finished a section, he would pull with his toe, moving the cord into a new position while with his hand he removed a new tuft of fibers from his belly. It was very efficient. The cord almost finished itself. It seemed to me then that this use of a belly fold might once have given someone the idea of a vice or clamp, or the pulling foot the idea of a pedal.

The day turned out to be a very eventful one. In the after- 136
noon someone discovered that a large snake had occupied a hole right next to our camp. We all went to see the track, and found it so fresh and so enormous that we shook the Bushmen from their afternoon naps to tell us what we had found. Ukwane came alone, saying that he would know as well as anyone, and after looking at the track for a moment and following it out into the veld a way, he returned to say that the snake was still in the hole.

From the size of the track, which was as wide as the rut of a cartwheel, we could see for ourselves that the snake was about fourteen feet long, and from the straightness of the track, from the fact that it had no parallel scratches on its sides which would mark it as the track of a python, Ukwane could tell that it was made by a mamba, the deadliest snake in all Africa, second-deadliest in all the world, a snake that can travel almost as fast as a horse can run and whose poison will kill an adult human being in ten minutes or so.

The snake had come only that morning, perhaps attracted by a colony of bushy little rats that lived around our camp, and induced to move by the warm sun, which must have set his great length in motion out on the veld somewhere.

The members of our expedition felt that something should be done, so while my father brought a shotgun, Ledimo, the interpreter, lit a fire near the hole, then lit gasoline-soaked

of the hunting party is not a matter of convention or of anxious concern. Hunting parties are freely organized by men who like to hunt with each other. No categories of kin or affines are prohibited from hunting together, whether they have a joking relationship or not or practise the sitting and speaking taboo. Men from different bands may hunt together.

A father has authority over his sons and sons-in-law and could tell them to go hunting or to accompany him and would expect them to obey. In other relationships participation in a hunting party is voluntary. Any man may instigate a hunt and may ask others to join. No one is formally in command of a party, unless he is the father with his sons or sons-in-law, but often an informal kind of leadership develops out of skill and judgement and the men fall in with the plans and suggestions of the best hunter or reach agreement among themselves somehow.

Hunting parties are usually composed of from two to four or five men. One hunter alone is at a disadvantage. A man cannot leave the meat unguarded from lions, hyaenas, jackals, and vultures while he goes to bring help from the band to carry it nor can he carry it alone. Only occasionally are parties larger than four or five. For two parties to hunt in different directions would be more advantageous than to form a larger single party.

When the kill is made the hunters have the prerogative of eating the liver on the spot and may eat more of the meat until their hunger is satisfied. If they are far from the band, they may eat the parts that are especially perishable or most awkward to carry, like the head, and they sometimes eat the cherished marrow. They then carry the animal to the band, either in its parts, bones and all, or, if the animal is very big, leaving most of the bones and cutting the meat into strips which dry in the sun to biltong and are more easily carried on the carrying-sticks. The blood is carried in bags made of the stomach, rumen, and bladder.

The gall bladder and testicles are discarded at the kill. Eventually the hooves are thrown away and usually the picked bones and horns. (The /Kung make only a few artifacts of bone and horn which last a long time and seldom need replacing.) Sinews are kept for making cord. The hide would be skinned off whole and tanned if it were suitable for a kaross and someone wanted a new kaross at the time. Otherwise, the hide is dried, pounded up, and eaten. Hides are quite tasty. Feet are picked of every tissue; gristle is dried and pounded. Soft parts, such as the foetus, udder, heart, lungs, brains, and blood, are often given to old people with poor teeth. Intestines are enjoyed and desired by all. The meat of the rump, back, chest, and neck is highly appreciated. Nothing is wasted; all is distributed.

The owner of the animal is the owner of the first arrow to be effectively shot into the animal so that it penetrates enough for its poison to work. That person is responsible for the distribution. The headman of the band is not the one to distribute the meat by virtue of his headmanship, unless he happens to be at the same time the owner of the arrow. The owner may or may not be one of the hunters.

Hunters have arrows which they acquire in three different ways. Each man makes arrows for himself, shaping the points (usually now of metal, but still possibly of bone or wood) with some slight distinction so that he will know them from the arrows of other men. Secondly, arrows are given as gifts. The man who made the arrow or who himself acquired it as a gift, may give it to someone else, either a man or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Sinews

Made and used by men

bow-strings
wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison adheres well to sinew)
binding for hafts
snares

Made by men, used by all

strings for *//guashi* (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

fine rolled cord

Horn

Made and used by men

horns fitted with leather covers for carrying arrow-points
horns for cupping

Used by all

horns for pipes
horns for spoons

Shell

Made by men, used by all

ostrich egg-shell water-containers
tortoise-shell dippers
tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

ostrich egg-shell beads

Feathers

Used by boys on *jani* toys
Worn by all occasionally in hair

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

Wood

Made and used by men

bows
spear handles
axe or adze handles
knife handles
knife sheaths
spring-hare hook handles[1]
fire-making sticks
hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

digging sticks
carrying sticks
stirring sticks
mortars and pestles
bowls
spoons
fire scrapers
//guashi (musical instrument)
one-stringed violin
jani toys
beads

Made by women

frames for scherms

Fibres

(from *sansevieria*, aloe, */ma* tree roots, other roots)

Rolled by men and women

cord

Made and used by men

carrying-nets
snares

Made and used by all

ornaments

Grass

Made by men and women

stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-containers
ornaments

Made by women

scherms

Made by children

toys of grass folded and woven to suggest animals

Used by all for beds

[1] Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying. They carry only the hook around with them and whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

342
585
516

A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

342
[283]

digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

372
[594]
[213]

The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

361
621
[162]
[101]
[372]

The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

361
221

The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

412
324

ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

[p. 256]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae-Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi'* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

412 The women possess several other tools which are of subsidiary importance in the food quest:

- wooden mortar and pestle
- wooden spatula for moving ashes
- carved wooden serving spoon
- tortoise shell bowl
- bundle of tail feathers for fanning the cooking fire
- pottery containers of Bantu manufacture
- iron pots and enamel bowls of European manufacture.

415 177 224 411 The mens' hunting kit represents the most evolved sector of Bushmen technology. It includes at least 19 different tools made from seven kinds of raw materials. The primary weapons include:

[177] 1. bow
[278] 2. arrow poison
[231] 3. spear
4. springhare probe
5. knobkerrie(club)
6. iron tipped arrows
7. quiver
8. hunting dogs
9. rope snares

Secondary weapons include:

[312] 10. fire drill
[177] 11. flint and steel fire making kits
[412] 12. digging stick
[283] 13. iron knife
[177] 14. iron adze-axe
15. carrying yoke
16. knotted net

Manufacturing and repairing tools include:

[278] 17. poison-making kit; humeral cup, pestle, applicator

[415] 18. whet stones of basalt

[283] 19. wild cotton for polishing rope snares

These raw materials are also part of the man's kit:

[283] 1. sinew

2. twine of natural fibers

3. iron fencing wire

[278] 4. supply of poisonous grubs

[237] 5. bone chips for making arrow link shafts

[411] 6. grass stems for arrows

7. wood for bows, poles and spear shafts

224 411 The construction of the hunting arrow will illustrate the complexity of the weaponry. The arrow consists of a mainshaft about 13 inches in length made from the stem of the grass Phragmites communis (Story 1964:94). Into this is inserted a bone linkshaft about two inches long, carved from the humerus or femur of giraffe, kudu, or gemsbok. The linkshaft is joined to the metal arrowhead by a hollow sec-
[177] tion of grass stem one inch in length. The arrow head is commonly made from iron fencing wire. It consists of a stiff length of wire four to five inches long. The tip of the arrow is beaten into a small triangular blade one half inch from base to apex and five-sixteenths of an inch at the base.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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Hunting

224 Once they have passed through the puberty ceremonies, boys and
[883] girls participate in the full economic life of the band. All the men
[462] are hunters, and spend the greater part of their daily life in pursuing or ensnaring game. Their methods of hunting vary with the nature of the intended prey, and according to the season of the year.

Weapons

The principal method is by means of pursuit and the use of weapons.
411 The latter amongst all the Bushmen consist primarily of the bow and arrow.[2] The bows are small, and on the whole fairly crude and of simple make (Plate IXd). They are as a rule prepared from the wood
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[283] string is made either from two thin sinews twisted together or some-
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[284] strong cord. It is attached by a simple slip-knot and wound tightly several times round the basal end of the bow-stave, to which a small leather collar or sinew band is usually fixed to prevent the string from slipping when hitched over it. The stave is then bent and the string knotted to the other end, where it is kept in place by a leather band. The bow is kept permanently strung. Its stave is frequently strengthened with additional sinew bindings, especially round the centre, which prevent it from splitting and also form a convenient grip for the hand.

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[2] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), 113–17; cf. Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 68–71; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4; van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements," 80–3; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 94–6, 99–100.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Another method of trapping employed by the Bushmen of the Namib and of the North-West Cape was to poison the water in springs and so kill the game that came to drink there. The water was conducted a few yards from the spring into a specially-prepared pit, into which were thrown branches of the poisonous *Euphorbia*. The branches were kept down with stones, and the juice exuding from them rested like a scum on the water. The spring itself was fenced off or covered over, thus forcing the animals to drink from the pit. Zebras and other members of the equine species were especially susceptible to water poisoned in this way. Alexander states that near the River Keisu in South-West Africa he found the remains of no less than twenty horses lying close to such a poisoned waterhole.[1] 224 [278]

Traps proper as employed by the modern Bushmen are of two kinds. In one a stone or block of wood is placed in such a position that when the animal touches the exposed bait, the suspended weight falls down upon it. The other kind consists in snares (Plate XI), which are widespread among the Northern Bushmen, but do not appear ever to have been used by the Southern tribes. They are of various types, but the general principle is that a supple twig or sapling is bent down by means of a cord attached to a bait and ending in a noose. If the animal stirs the bait, the cord is released, the sapling springs back into the air, and the noose catches the throat or leg of the animal, which is carried up with it. In this way are caught not only birds and small quadrupeds, such as hares, wild cats, and jackals, but even small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, as well as leopards and ostriches. Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season; in the rainy season it must cease owing to the action of the damp on the cord. This is made from the bark fibre of *Sansevieria zeylanica*, which is shredded by means of a pointed stick, then rolled on the thigh into strands, which are twisted together. Thicker and thinner cords are made according to the game to be trapped.[2] [184] [221] [283]

Fishing

This is also practised wherever possible by all the Bushmen; indeed, among the tribes living in the Okavango swamps it is even 226

[1] Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, ii, 223; Paterson, *Four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots*, 169; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167. Moffat describes how on one occasion he nearly died as a result of drinking water poisoned in this way (*Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 155–6).

[2] Schultze, op. cit., 667; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 77; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 199 sq.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 15.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

322 decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops
[412] for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-
[415] western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom,
[283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

824 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
285 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
[412] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

237 Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water,
[415] and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women
[306] make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops, and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small
412 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell
324 beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by
[439] barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few
[326] smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.
178 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
324 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
[323] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
[237] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while
[415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

411
284

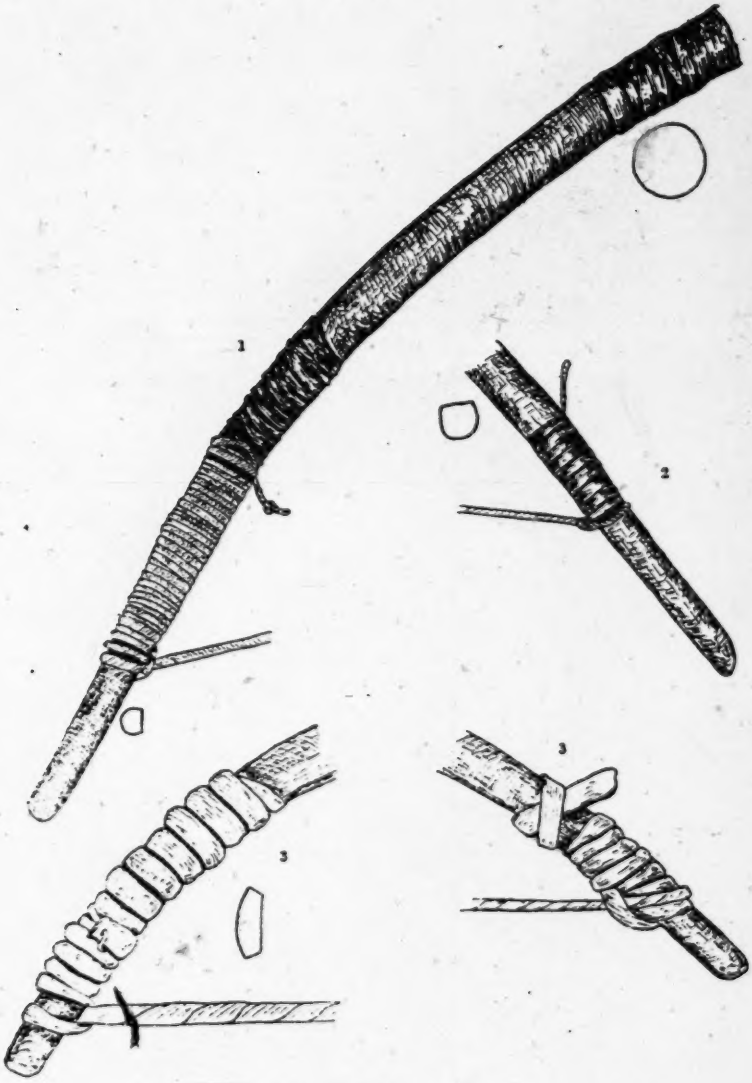

Fig. 12. Bows of the !Kung.

1. Keitsas.
2. Kuntsas.
3. Otjimpolo Veld.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Dress and Decoration

Bushmen

281 Save where there has been a good deal of contact with European
291 influences, all the Bushmen wear garments made entirely from the skins of animals, usually some kind of buck taken in the chase.[1] Complete nudity is hardly ever found, though it is reported on hearsay evidence by Miss Bleek of some of the wilder bands of Auen and Naron.
[462] All the clothes are made by the men, who prepare not only their own garments but also those of their wives and children.

The principal garment of the men among all the Bushmen consists in a triangular piece of skin, two ends of which are tied together round the loins, while the third is passed between the legs and knotted
[177] on behind. Some of the North-Eastern Bushmen (Tannekwe, Hukwe, Galikwe), who have been much in contact with the Bantu, have adopted the form of loin-cloth worn by the latter, in which a piece of skin passed between the legs is drawn before and behind through a leather girdle tied round the loins. A skin cloak (" kaross ") is also worn by most of the men, especially in cold weather or when on the
284 march. This is tied over the right shoulder by means of strips of skin attached to two ends, and hangs so as to cover the back and, if large enough, also the chest, while leaving the arms and left shoulder free. It is sometimes worn slung over both shoulders and tied under the chin. The head is usually uncovered, but skin caps are sometimes seen, as well as leather sandals tied round the ankle with thongs.

281 On the march the men carry a round bag slung on over the right
415 shoulder and hanging on the left hip. In it are carried all sorts of small
482 possessions and food. A longer skin bag, containing the weapons, fire-sticks, etc., is also hung over the left shoulder. Bark quivers
411 for the arrows are sometimes found as well, more especially among the Southern and Namib Bushmen.

281 The women wear a hanging apron in front, consisting in a piece of
291 skin attached to a leather belt passing round the loins. It is often ornamented with bead or leather tassels. A smaller apron, covering only the genitals, is sometimes worn beneath this. The older women

[1] The fullest descriptions of Bushman dress and decoration are given by: Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 428–30; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 33–40; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140–3; Werner, "Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 251–7; Seiner, "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 297–8; Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 87–90; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 8–10; E. Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 101–10.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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/152 cont./

804 reflective and sly facial expression is exactly the same as ours.

O. Techniques

A definite domestic industry is present. Whatever the Auin
439 really needs, he is able to manufacture for himself. All im-
511 ported objects are luxury items. I make an exception in the case of the iron lance points, but I believe that if necessary the Bushman could even do without them.

463 The beginnings of a division of labor can be seen in the fact that only certain individuals practice the smith's trade, which, incidentally, does not extend to the manufacture of lance points.

323 Pottery is unknown.

439 Pots, supposedly from the Okovangga, are to be found sporadically. The Auin, however, is unable to repair such a vessel, as by puttying.

285 Rings of braided grass are manufactured. I myself have never seen them, since they are only made of young, but no longer green grass, in other words, shortly after the rainy season.

[294] It is said that at the same time of year certain special artists braid hat-like head coverings.

The grass rings and hats have only a limited durability, for in September and October there was none left for me to see.

[415] Sieves are made of parallel grass leaves joined together by thin strings. They are used to strain food.

"Kirris" are made with attractive decorations (Fig. 12).

413 A root stock with a knotty end is peeled and made smooth.
531 A kind of pyrography is practiced on it by wrapping it, leaving bare spaces, with a long strip of the wet bark that was peeled off, and then placing the entire stick in red-hot coals. The unwrapped parts burn to a black color, while the other parts remain white.

I could not learn the purpose of these decorated sticks among the Auin. They use rough, pointed sticks for digging sticks. The kirris, therefore, seem to be luxury articles.

412 Iron knives, sharpened pieces of iron, or lance points are used as tools. As an example of pyrography, see the pipe plug, page 33.

[62]

Chapter 7

The Bushmen of the North

114 Our best information concerning the Masarwa comes from Dornan (1) and Holub (2). In what follows an outline sketch will

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygrines and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

2. Holub, Die Masarwa.

be given of the culture of this tribe, based upon these two authors.

342 According to Dornan, the Masarwa once preferred to live in caves, where their ancestors had made paintings. The Bushmen in the Wankie and Ngami districts have plaited mats of grass [285] or reed, with which they cover their windscreens. Sometimes they make a kind of roof covered with grass; otherwise they have ordinary windscreens.

[532]
[172]

Fig. 21a. Representation of a Curing Scene. In the background, the female doctor who serves as oracle. (Eastern Cape Province. From J. P. Johnson, The Prehistoric Period in
[113] South Africa, 1910.)

322 For the wood of the bow the Masarwa use very straight
411 little tree trunks. After the bark is removed, they are tied to a straight tree and left to dry. The wood is then given its final drying over the fire and is placed in water so that it will not splinter. The middle of the bow is also commonly wound with tendons. The bow is often greased and never unstrung. The finished bow is smoothed with a rough stone.

221 Unfortunately spring is the most difficult season for the
433 Herero as well as for the Bushmen. The good grazing for livestock is miles distant from the waterholes. Consequently the cattle are in poor condition and their yield of milk is low.

251 It would be useful for the Bushmen to amass a surplus of food in anticipation of this scarce season. However, none of the 15 independent camps observed ever kept more than a few days supply of vegetable foods on hand. Surplus accumulation was not a feature of Bushmen food strategy except for one instructive case.

There was a noticeable attempt to create a small surplus
251 in the form of dried meat and hides. Each family maintained
• 285 a storage basket in the crotch of a young tree. By weaving a framework of branches and palm fronds and lining this with grass, they built up a rough basket for storing weapons, water containers and small amounts of food. The storage basket was built five feet above the ground which kept its contents safe from the reach of dogs and children. If a day's hunting had been unsuccessful, the members of a camp could invariably produce an emergency ration of dried meat or, more often, dried hide for the evening meal. People saved scraps of dried hide of kudu, gemsbok and wildebeeste from kills made weeks or
251
252 months previously. These scraps were softened by boiling or
262

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

the ground and covered with grass. The description of the Naron hut given by Miss Bleek[1] applies equally to the huts of most of the other Northern Bushmen.[2] "The women do all the building here. The men may cut a few branches, but their wives plant them in a semicircle, tie the tops together with a thong or bark fibre, put smaller sticks in between them, and thatch the whole with grass, making a cosy little wind screen. In bad weather chunks of wood are often laid on top to keep the grass in place. The size and the care with which a hut is built vary with the season: in dry weather a very slight shelter suffices, just a little sloping screen perhaps made by sticking grass in the branches of a bush. As the rainy season approaches a proper semicircular hut is made, from four to five feet high, the opening to leeward of course, and when the rain really comes, the half circle is increased to about a three-quarter circle, often thereby changing the direction of the opening in accordance with the different wind. There is no door; the opening is about four feet high." The whole structure is easily put up, and is abandoned without misgiving. If the next halting place is near, the women carry some of the materials over; if not, new material is always at hand.

Among the Cape Bushmen light portable huts equally simple in make were sometimes seen. A few bent sticks formed the framework, which was covered with mats made of reeds laid side by side and neatly sewn together. The whole structure was hemispherical in shape, about four feet in diameter, and only some three feet in height. When the encampment broke up, the mats were rolled together, and used again at the next spot.[3] Somewhat larger huts made in the same way are also found among some of the North-Eastern tribes at the present time, e.g. the Hukwe and some of the Hiechware, but in general the grass hut is the prevailing kind.[4]

The floor in the interior of the hut is usually scooped out a little, making a sort of nest, in which the inmates sleep; this is lightly strewn with dry grass, which is often changed. In front of the hut is the fireplace, marked by a mound of ashes rising higher daily and sheltering the opening. Here all the cooking is done, save in wet weather, when it is often done inside the hut. At night a second little fire is made in the middle of the hut, or just inside the opening. Round

[1] Op. cit., 5.
[2] Cf. Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 81-2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 259; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 298.
[3] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275-6; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 43.
[4] Seiner, op. cit., 298; Dornan, op. cit., 90; Wilhelm, "Wortschatz . . . der Hukwe-Buschmannsprache," 301.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

372 decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops
[412] for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-
[415] western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom,
[283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

824 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
285 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
[412] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

237 Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water,
[415] and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women
[306] make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops, and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small
412 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell
324 beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by
[439] barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few
[326] smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.
178 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
324 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
[323] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
[237] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while
[415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

411 poison of several grubs, Gai dried the arrow by the fire, then
825 coated the foreshaft again. In all, he used ten grubs, all that
278 he had except two which were found to be shriveled and dead. The last coating he did not smear; pulling off the grub's head, he dotted the arrow with little spots of poison. He did not poison the arrowhead but only the foreshaft.

When the arrow was finished and the poison dried to lacquer on the shaft, Gai carefully collected all the cocoons and all the grub skins and burned them in the fire, keeping out of the smoke. He then called for a fresh tsama melon, which Witabe brought him and which he used to wash his hands. At last he put his arrow in his quiver and lit his pipe. He was through.

411 While we were there with the camera set up and loaded
184 we asked Gai to demonstrate for us the way he would shoot a bow, which he did, and we were surprised to see that the Gikwe, who use bows of the same size and shape and arrows of the same size as the Kung's, have a different arrow release. The Kung grip the arrow between the thumb and the side of the forefinger as they draw back on the string, but Gai gripped it between the first two fingers, holding his thumb back. He said that all other Gikwe do the same.

283 Ukane called to us from the werf and said that since we were here he would show us how a Gikwe Bushman makes a string. We went over to him, and he did make a string for us by pulling the tough fibers out of aloes and rolling them together on his thigh, leaving just enough fiber unwound at the end to splice with the next rolled section. The string was so strong that when he jerked it between his hands it neither broke nor raveled. It took him only a few minutes to make it,
[286] and he said that when he had many such strings he would tie them together to make himself a net.

As he worked, for the sake of efficiency, he held the fibers

/152 cont./

415 Mortars and pestles, as well as spoons of wood, are made (see Photo. 18).

[287] Painting and bark working are unknown.

The preparation of hides is the same as that practiced by the
171 Hottentot, Herero, Bergdamara, and Betschuana. Hence, I shall
281 dispense with a description of the process.

The women's cosmetic described above is used to dye cloth-
281 ing made of hides. The dye is rubbed on with the ball of the
386 hand and is comparatively waterproof.

To be sure, it is questionable whether this process may be called "dyeing." The hides are already red from the tanning process, and the cosmetic scarcely changes the color. Perhaps it is better regarded as impregnation or greasing.

386 /153/ The colored stones that are pulverized and mixed with
438 fat to make the cosmetic are dug up near Kaitsaub (45 kilometers south of Gobabis) by the Hai//um Bushmen residing there, and they constitute an article of trade. [Fig. 12 appears here.]

The beautiful and durable cordage of the Auin is made of
283 the fiber of a wild agave. It looks so neat and clean that one might suspect its origin to have been in a European rope factory rather than in a Bushman settlement.

The cords are made in various strengths and are used for all kinds of purposes, mainly for the game snares.

Their manufacture is very simple and proceeds very rapidly.

The leaf is softened by tapping with a wooden stick, and it is then placed on a firm base. One hand holds a pointed stick or a blunt knife firmly on the leaf, while the other hand draws the leaf against the vertically held knife and toward the body. After this has been repeated several times, the strong fibers remain and are then rolled together into cords of the thickness and length desired.

Industrial use of Bushman cordage does not seem impossible to me.

412 As a drill, the lance point or an iron knife is used, frequently red-hot.

Only pieces of iron found accidentally are worked. The ex-
325 traction of iron from ore is unknown.

Charcoal made from the giraffe acacia is the preferred fuel
[372] for ironworking.

[Text continues on page 43]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

482

1. Women return in the evening after the day's digging and gathering of wild roots and berries

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2. A husband, wife, and their son at their family fire cooking their supper of two wild roots which the wife brought. Her genital apron is a fine one ornamented with beads

[p. 348-A]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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301
516

142
302

5. The two wives of /Ti/kay sit at their family fire, /Naoka the elder sister to the left, /Nai the younger, with her son on her lap, to the right. Between them are Bau, /Naoka's daughter, already married for two years, and /Goishay, their old mother

6. /Nai, the young bride, the morning after the wedding. showing the design painted on her face by her mother with powdered red stone and fat

[p. 348-C]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

side. /Gunda sat behind the line of boys, in a deep shadow, to show that he was 159
' ashamed ' and respected (feared, *koa*) the wedding scherm. 585

One of the boys began to play, not their ceremonial music or special wedding music, but songs of the *//guashi*, as they call them, the little wordless melodies these [533] people compose about happenings in their lives, about pleasures or distress, about their moods. They play and sing these melodies for hours upon hours in the afternoons when they are resting or in the evenings by their fires, and they played for hours that night at the wedding fire.

Soon young guests began to arrive, the children of both werfs with whom /Nai played, all of them younger than the boys who attended /Gunda and the girls who carried /Nai. The youngest guest was the ubiquitous three-year-old boy who never missed anything. No adults came.

One boy brought four mangetti nuts with him and roasted, cracked, and ate them himself. That was all that appeared by way of a feast. Di/ai said that they would like to have given the children something to eat but there was nothing in the werf that night. Even though the others had had something to eat, the bride and groom would have had to abstain. They must not talk or eat, to show they are ' ashamed '. The young guests seemed to enjoy themselves, nevertheless, and were still singing and chatting when I left at midnight.

Soon after sunrise the following morning—/Gunda had already departed—/Nai's mother went to the wedding scherm and sat down beside the embers of the night's fire. /Nai stood shivering beside her in her little genital apron and the duiker skin [291] which women wear around their buttocks and up between their legs, but stripped of her kaross. The mother had brought a little fat (eland fat, if they had it, would be [825] used) and a bit of powdered red stone, one of the red earths (*/gam !gai gwoie*), mixed with fat. She rubbed /Nai all over with the fat, and drew a line on her forehead and a circular design on her cheeks with the red powder mixed with fat. Over in werf 2, [302] Gao, Nai's stepfather, presented /Gunda with a blanket.

This completed the wedding ceremony.

/Nai was a lively child who loved the dancing and singing games the girls play. 159
She often danced alone, tapping her bare feet on a stone in rapid rhythm or making a 462
game of printing a design in the sand with tiny steps. She liked babies and as often as not had her infant half-brother or some very small cousin tied to her back. That morning she appeared to turn into a housewife as though it were her next blithe step. When the women went to gather veldkos, she put on her own little duiker skin [222] kaross, took her digging-stick and went with them. At the end of the day, when they returned in the slanting sunset light, she had two big roots. She went straight to her own fire, blew on the embers, added wood, and sat down. Three ostrich egg shells [415] full of water and her digging-stick were her household goods. These she arranged beside the scherm. /Gunda came and sat down opposite her. She smiled at him and set the roots in the ashes to cook.

It has been said in talks with informants that the bridegroom must bring an 159
antelope which he himself has killed to the parents of the bride before the wedding, 183
but no animal had been brought; there had not been a scrap of meat in the werf for 585
days. I asked Di/ai about this. ' Oh, that,' she said in effect. ' Yes, he should give me an antelope, but we thought we would have the wedding first and that /Gunda would

/142 cont./

304 Also, in rare cases the labia minora are supposedly stretched by pulling them with the hand.

F. Clothing

291 The clothing of the Auin can be seen in Photographs 25 and 26.

Men's Clothing

a) Cap made of hide (jackal, jumping hare, Erdmännchen [field mouse?], cat).

a[1]) War cap made of the hide of the aardwolf (see also Photo. 21), only worn in war.

b) Loincloths, always made of ibex hide. A string runs from the loincloth back through the buttock crease and is fastened tightly to the hip band from which the loincloth is suspended in front. The entire contraption has somewhat the same effect as a suspensory in that the scrotum is raised somewhat (see Photos. 9-11).

c) Cloak, always made of ibex hide.

[415] d) Collecting bag, always made of ibex hide.

In addition, one often sees sandals made of the hide of a large antelope, or sandals for running (see Fig. 5). [Fig. 5 appears here.]

Further, there is a kind of fan consisting of a jackal tail [293] fastened to the end of a stick, as well as gaiters made of antelope skin. The latter are /143/ worn by men and women, particularly in thorny terrain. In shape they resemble the Greek greaves.

Women's Clothing (see Photos. 27 and 28)

a) Head ornament. On less festive occasions, a cap styled like the men's peace cap is often worn instead of the head ornament. Usually the head is uncovered on top.

b) Modesty apron. As can be seen in Photographs 12-to 14, this consists of a bundle of leather strips suspended from a string

[Text continues on page 19]

291

Fig. 5. Sandals

Fig. 5a Fig. 5b

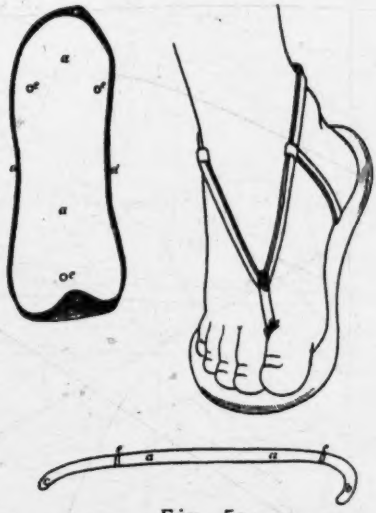

Fig. 5c

Fig. 5a. A sandal for running, viewed from below: a, flat part; b, tip bent under; c, back part bent under; d, edges bent under; e, holes for the thong fastenings.

Fig. 5b. Fastening of the sandal.

Fig. 5c. Side view of a sandal for running: a, flat part; b, tip; c, back; e, holes for the thongs.

The sandals for running are attached under the ball of the foot and in size exactly fit it. The entire sandal is bent downward in such a way that it increases the thrust of the body when the foot pushes in running. It is made of very hard gemsbok leather.

/143 cont./

291 around the hip. The modesty apron with ostrich egg shell ornaments shown in Photograph 12 on the woman farthest to the left is supposed to have been traded from Makoba [the Koba?]. I have never seen a back apron.

c) Cloak of duiker or ibex hide. This always covers the buttocks.

d) Collecting bag (like the men's bag).

f) Digging stick.

Children's Clothing (see Photo. 22)

Girls: modesty apron and cloak.

Boys: loincloth and cloak. A collecting bag is carried by
[415] both boys and girls.

The children receive the loincloth or modesty apron when they are about five years old.

The articles of clothing are sewed. Holes are drilled with
294 an iron awl, made of any little piece of iron picked up somewhere,
[412] or with a bone splinter. The sewing is done by drawing animal tendons through the holes.

123 When I photographed some Auin women in the nude (1), I had
834

1. I am fully aware that the following is not to be regarded as a "denial of the sense of shame." I have mentioned the matter here simply because I could not fit it in elsewhere.

to take care that all the Auin men, who incidentally, had given their consent, were removed. Several Whites and Herero, on the other hand, were allowed to remain.

G. Weapons (see Photos. 25 and 26)

411
[412] f) Digging stick, also used for beating and as a throwing club.

g) Bow and arrows.

h) Throwing lance.

Auen

142
291
516
[415]

Auin from Olifantskluft. Photo. 1.

Photo. 3.

Photo. 5
Auin from Rietfontein (North)

Auen

142
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301

≠Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Age about 22 30 35 years

Photo. 8 [see Photo. 7]

≠Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Photo. 10 [see Photo. 9]

Photo. 12
≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)

Auen

142
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Photo. 13
ǂAuin from Rietfontein (North)

342

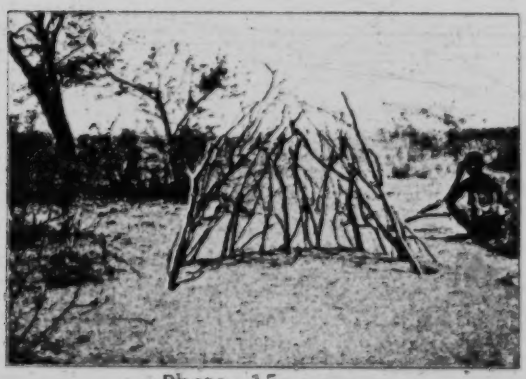

Photo. 15.
Framework of Windscreens.

Photo. 17.
Flimsy Wind-
screen in
the Dry
Season.

972

Auen

Photo. 19.
Manipulation of Device for Firemaking.

291
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Photo. 21.
War Cap and Peace Cap.

411

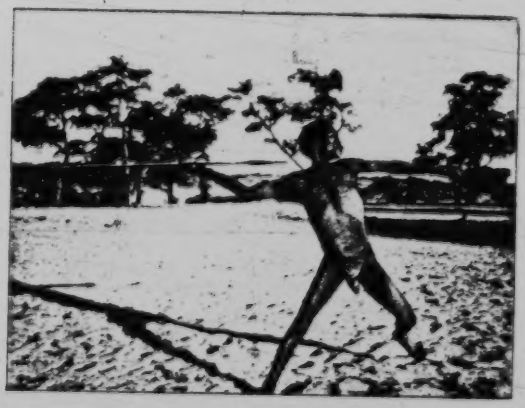

Photo. 23.
Throwing
Lance.

Auen

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Photo. 20.
Chains of Ostrich Egg Shells as Ornaments.

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Photo. 22.
Children's Clothing.

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412

Photo. 24.
Use of the Digging Stick (digging up veld food).

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411
412

Auen

Clothing and Equipment.

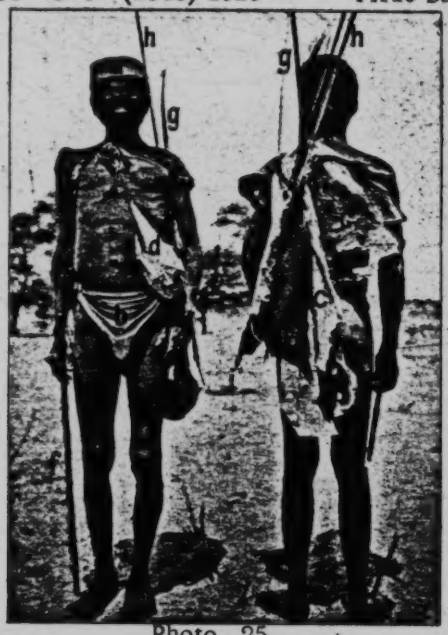

Photo. 25.

a through d, see p. 20; e, quiver; f, digging stick; g, bow; h, throwing lance; i, cover for the lance point.

291
301

Photo. 27.
Clothing and Equipment.

Auen

291
411
412

Clothing and Equipment.

Photo. 26 [see Photo. 25]

291
301

Photo. 28 [see Photo. 27] Clothing and Equipment.

[36 cont.]

Cooking and Cooking Utensils

354 Lumps of surface limestone are generally used as hearthstones.
412 Here and there, as a great rarity, one finds a pounding stone of quartzite.

To pound the veldkost, small mortars, carved out of wood, with conical or hemispherical bottoms are used. In case the mortars become damaged, holes are made on either side of the crack, and the flaw is drawn together with bast strips and also smeared over with resin. The shape of the pestle, which is from 50 centimeters to one meter long, is shown in Figure 7.

415 Originally these !Kung had no pots and probably had no
[252] way of boiling anything. The usual manner of preparing food even today is to roast and grill it on and between hot stones. Nowadays,
[439] every horde owns a number of pots acquired from the Okawango.
[482] These pots have bast or tendon plaiting around them, by which they are fastened when carried on the march. The Okawango people
[439] gladly exchange these water pots, which they have carried with them on the waterless stretch, for food from the Bushmen in the area between Karakowisa and Nuragas.

416 Small cast-iron tripods are a very popular article. A
417 longish, crudely carved stirring stick, as well as a piece of hardwood for arranging the fire, completes the inventory of the Bushman kitchen. Spoons are unknown.

Clothing

● 291 The clothing of the woman, as has already been repeatedly described, consists of a front apron and a back apron, made of soft leather, and a leather cloak something like a pelerine. Usually she also has a carrying hide for the baby. Generally, the child does
[854] not sit on her back, as among the Blacks, but on the side of her hip.
[415] In addition, the woman has the large veld bag in which she keeps the
[412] finds from her collecting. On the march, the woman is equipped with the simple digging stick, pointed at the bottom.

The men are clothed only with the modesty apron and in addition

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the
293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire
291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re-
[123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having
[124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in
[412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess
[325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in
[439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that,
[531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead em-
301 broidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are
[321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence
[556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are
[462] [306] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of
[302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to lengthen them.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

[38 cont.]

Weapons

411 The Bushman's chief weapons are the bow and arrows. The bow staff as a rule has a round transverse incision and tapers off slightly toward both ends. The !Kung of the Otjimpolo Veld, on the other hand, use palm wood like the Ovambo. There the wood of the bow is slightly convex on the outside and flat on the inside with squared sides. The string is made of leather, so that in the case of these bows the bow staff is more flexible than the string. A bow of the Otjimpolo Bushmen was 115 centimeters long and 13 centimeters high. The bows of the !Kung discussed here also have leather supports on both sides and commonly are

[291]
[531]

Fig. 9. Embroidered Front Apron of Leather (!Kung).

reinforced with sisal cord. The bows of the Hei//om seem to be differentiated from those of the !Kung primarily in [39] that the bow staff is flat on the outside and convex on the inside. In lieu of the leather strips, reinforcements of palm bast are also often used. The string, depending on the region, is a waxed plant [283] fiber cord, animal tendon (kudu), or fine, twisted leather. The length is about 120 centimeters; the height, 20 centimeters. There are also much smaller bows, however, 95-110 centimeters long.

192 The wood of the !Kung bows is called !howa. The arrow
411 is made of wood. The shaft is called //gau; the feathering,

[76 cont.]

411 The little bow (!naru) is made from the //ne bush and is
[192] much shorter than that of the !Kung. The arrow and the arrow point are called tschi. They have arrows with iron points like the !Kung, as well as others made of bone. The accompanying figures show the two types, which have already been sufficiently described by other authors. The arrow points found in older collections, on which the poison is applied not only at the tip but also in lines or dots of little lumps on the contact piece, are now no longer in use. The bows of the Naron are also small, and they likewise have two kinds of arrows. The arrow shafts are made of reed, which is used only in a few places. In addition, all these tribes have root-stock clubs. Spears (kuku) are bartered
[431] from the Ovambo in exchange for ostrich egg beads. Bleek
231 writes [77] of the Naron that formerly they had no dogs at all, and Kaufmann reports that the ≠Auin have very few dogs. The Nogau had all kinds of mongrels, but none of any peculiar strain. Two animal stories should be told in this connection:

539 1. A large bird killed a duiker. Then the hyena came and took the duiker. The hyena met the jackal. The jackal said: "Hyena, you should not go where you want to go, otherwise bad things will happen to you!" But the hyena went anyway, and the great bird (!gui) came and tied the hyena's feet together and made a fire by its feet. Since then the hyena has black legs and dares not kill anything living. But the jackal also went stealing, whereupon the great bird seized him and held him with his back to the fire; since then it has a black stripe across its back.

2. The lion came to the watering place; then the frog came out of the water and mocked the lion. The latter wanted to kill the frog, but only scratched it on its back; the frog quickly jumped into the water again, but since then it has black stripes on its back. [Fig. 27 appears here.]

10. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The clothing of the man consists of the cap, made from the hide of the jackal, the jumping hare, or the duiker, and the loincloth, sandals, and the hide bag. In general the clothing of these Bushmen is not essentially different from that of the Bushmen

[77 cont.]

291 [301] in the north, but they have far more ostrich egg pearls.

11. Weapons

The ≠Auin have the throwing lance; the digging stick is
411 occasionally also used for striking and as a throwing club. The
[439] lance points are bartered from Ngami Lake. The upper end of the shaft is bound with a strip of antelope skin or tendons. The shaft tapers off toward the end. The lance points are distinguished as male and female. The male points have blunt barbs. The points are often provided with a leather cap. The lance points also serve as a knife and universal instrument. The spear points are kept well hidden. Among the Naron, spears
411 439 are very rare today; they are obtained from Ovamboland in exchange for chains of ostrich egg beads. The same is true of the Nogau, who, however, obtain their spear points in part from the Ovambo and in part from the Okawango by way of the !Kung.

The bow of the ≠Auin is small;
411 [283] the string is twisted out of animal tendons and is pushed up on one side and fastened on the other. The arrows are made of reed. At the bottom of the shaft there is a shallow notch, and the end is wound with grass. Similarly, we find a notch at the upper end where the point is inserted. The length of the arrow shaft is from 48 to 52 centimeters. The points are made either of iron or bone; in the latter case ostrich bones are used. The bone arrowhead is pointed at both ends, one of which is inserted

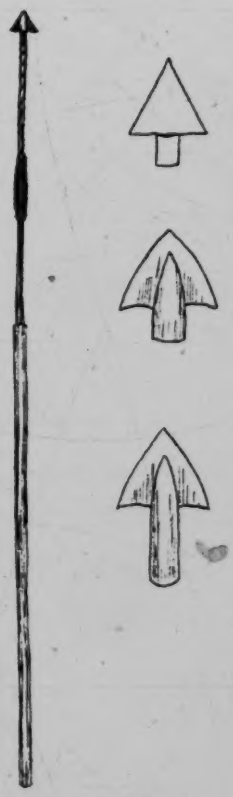

Fig. 27. Arrows of the Nogau.

3: Lebzelter--161 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

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Camp of the !Kung along the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

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The author Negotiating with !Kung Bushmen in the Otjimpolo Veld.

Plate III. !Kung

3: Lebzelter--163 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

!KUNG

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Plate V. !Kung Bushmen from the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

3: Lebzelter--164 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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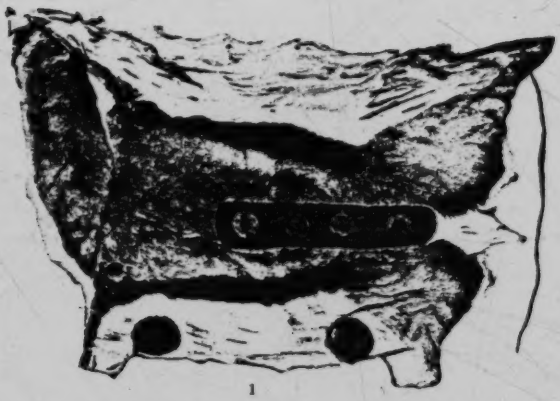

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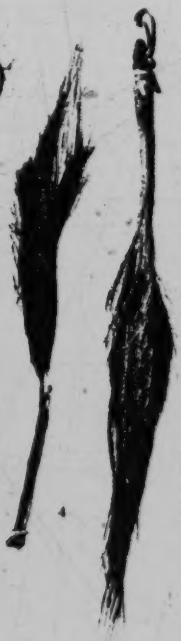

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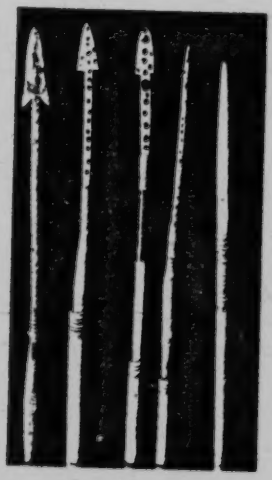

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Plate VI

1. Back Apron (Betschuana), 2. Neck Band (Bushmen), 3. Grass Armbands, 4. Fly Swatters (!Kung), 5. Hide Sack (Kaunas Hottentot), (Museum for Ethnology, Berlin).

6. Bushman Arrows (Cape Province ?) (Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart).

3: Lebzelter--165 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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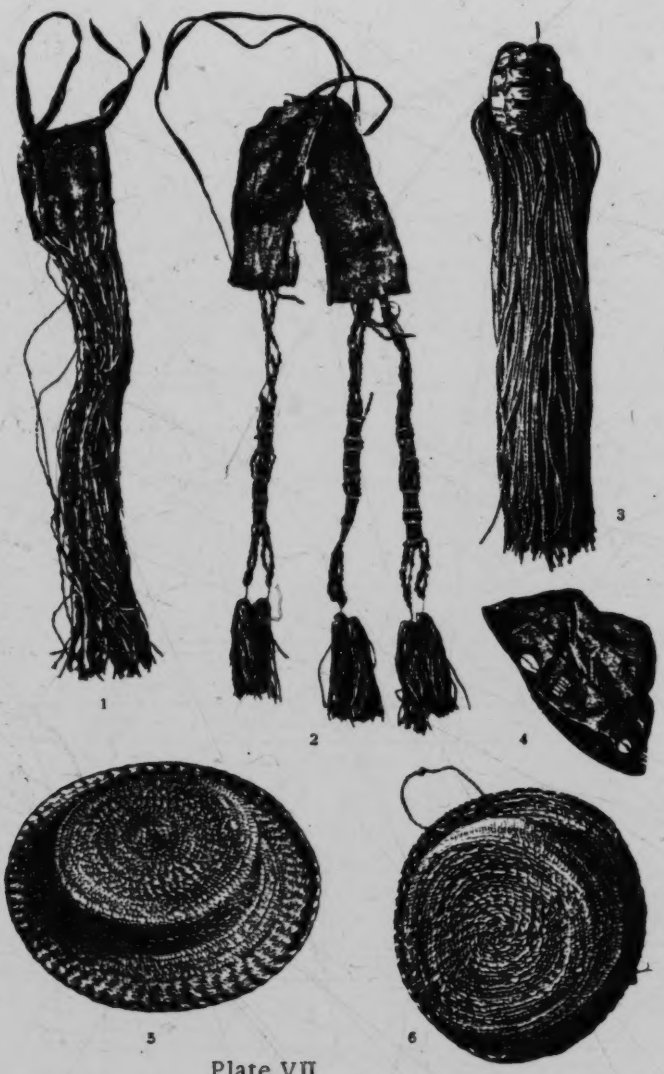

Plate VII

1. Apron for Little Girls (Nama and Hei//om)
2. Women's Apron (Region of Gobabis)
3. Perfume Box (Herero)
4-6. Bushman Caps and Straw Hats of the Bushmen (!Kung)
(1-4 and 6, Ethnology Museum, Berlin, 5. Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart)

3: Lebzelter--166 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

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Plate VIII. Children of the !Kung Bushmen.

/241 cont./

128 Tables giving all the /242/ measurements for each individual, are attached, as are forms for the observations concerning the descriptive characteristics of the individuals measured.

141 The average values for the adults measured are as follows:

	Men	Women
1. Body height	155.3	149.7
2. Height of the chin above the ground	135.7	130.6

[142] [291] [301] [342] [516]

Fig. 1. Heikum Bushmen. Men.

3. Height of the navel above the ground	93.2	90.4
4. Height of the upper edge of the symphysis above the ground	82.2	79.6
[Fig. 1 appears here.]		
5. Height of the acromion above the ground	130.5	124.9
6. Height of the elbow joint above the ground	99.9	96.5
7. Height of the projection of the radius above the ground	76.0	73.4

4: Werner--4 D-5 (ca. 1900) 1906

/243 cont./	FX10 Bushmen Men	FX10 Heikum Women
28. Width between the inner corners of the eyes	3.6	3.5
29. Width of the mouth	4.7	4.5
30. Width between the two jaw angles	9.5	8.8
31. Distance from the chin to the root of the nose	9.8	9.6

[291] [342]

Fig. 2. Heikum Bushmen. Women.

32. Distance from the chin to the hairline	16.6	15.9
33. Length of the nose	4.0	3.9
34. Width of the nose	4.1	3.8
/244/		
35. Distance from the chin to the tragus	13.3	12.3
36. Distance from the root of the nose to the tragus	11.7	11.3
37. Length of the thumb	5.1	5.1
38. Length of the middle finger	8.4	8.2
39. Width of the hand where the fingers join	6.8	6.5
40. Length of the foot	22.6	21.5

/247 cont./

144 conclusive evidence /248/ against any notion of racial kinship between the Bushmen and the Hottentot.

The arms are thin and not very muscular; the hands are small
142 and very delicate. In contrast to the musculature of the arms, that of the legs is better developed. The arch of the foot is good; only in one case did I observe flat feet.

The big toe is pointed straight and shows neither a deviation

[291]
[301]
[516]

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

toward the median line of the foot nor one away from it.

In most cases the second toe extends farthest, but in two cases it was exceeded by the first toe. The second and first or second and third toe of some of the others examined extended the same distance. The following table gives more exact information on this matter:

/254 cont./

262 824 [252] is a tuberous fruit, eaten roasted, whose taste is reminiscent of potatoes.

6. A similar tuberous fruit is the ondubi of the Herero; the plant has rose-colored blossoms and long lanceolate leaves.

7. The árugu (Herero: omakungu), a type of cucumber. The plant is a climber whose fruits resemble our cucumbers; they reach the length of a finger and, when they ripen, become bright [252] red in color. They are roasted in ashes and eaten warm.

8. The //ániba (Herero: maramba), a small bush with a bean-like fruit, similar in appearance and taste to our broad beans.

9. The sng of the Kung Bushmen; this is a large climber with double-lobate leaves whose mighty root is greatly prized by the Bushmen as a water tuber. The fruit is the size of a walnut and consists of two cotyledons enclosed by a rind which in its fresh state is soft and becomes very hard when dry. Between the fruit and the rind there is a small quantity of a whitish, slimy fluid which keeps the interior of the rind /255/ lubricated. After re- [252] moval of the rind, the fruit is dried and roasted and then has the taste of the groundnut which is so common in East Africa. Its use has a distinctly laxative effect.

10. Like the Herero, the Bushmen are acquainted with other water tubers. The Herero word chue designates a smaller root with a very high water content, which has the shape and size of our beet.

11. The /a fruit of the Kung people is a nut slightly larger than the walnut, whose kernel, in a hard shell, tastes like our hazelnut. The hard inner shell is enclosed by a softer outer shell [252] which has a distinctively sweet taste and which the Bushmen boil to a sauce which in appearance and taste is distinctly reminiscent of applesauce.

● 291 There is not much to be said about the clothing of the Heikum. The men content themselves in most cases with a leather loincloth which is fastened in the back and front to a belt tied around the waist.

The women wear the same kind of leather cloth of slightly greater length around their loins and tie a second hide from one shoulder to the opposite hip.

/255 cont./

281 The hair is removed from the hides. After the skinning, the hides are stretched out on the ground for two days, exposed to the sun; then the hair is removed, and subsequently the juice of a red tuber is rubbed into the hides on the inside. After they have been prepared in this manner, they are buried in the ground for a longer period of time and are then ready for use.

291 Not infrequently the Bushmen wear sandals which they cut from antelope hide in the simplest manner imaginable. A leather sole is fastened with three thongs to a leather ring lying over the instep and drawn tight below the ankle. One thong runs between the first and the second toe, while the two others run inside and outside the foot.

301 The children go about quite naked. Despite this sparseness of clothing, the feeling for ornamentation finds full expression.

Many ornamental objects serve as amulets which are worn for a great variety of purposes. The women are more richly adorned than the men. Whereas the latter frequently content themselves with arm rings made of antelope leather, the women are usually overloaded with ornamental objects. One of the favorite women's ornaments is a necklace made of ostrich egg shells. The shells [321] are worked into small, approximately penny-sized circular disks which are pierced in the middle and strung on a leather thong. Arm and leg rings are made of the same materials.

In place of the little ostrich egg disks, colored glass beads [439] obtained in trade are frequently used for necklaces and arm rings. One sees many a woman walking along with a tortoise-shell box hanging on her chest, /256/ which is decorated with bead-studded leather strips and used as a container for tobacco.

Pierced pieces of root, distinguished by natural rings notched at regular intervals, are strung on leather thongs for necklaces.

224 301 I found the following ornamental objects which simultaneously served the function of an amulet:

1. Little pieces of dried antelope flesh are worn on the chest in the belief that the wearer will not lack meat to eat so long as he wears these guarantees.

2. The same significance is attached to dried antelope ears which are worn in a small leather bag on the chest.

/256 cont./

224 3. A piece of root wood, called /un /gei, is pierced and
301 worn on a bast string on the chest. This little piece of root has
828 its distinctive story. When the Bushmen are hunting and want a clear eye to see game, they scrape a bit off its surface and rub the powdery scrapings between the eyes and from there upward across the middle of the forehead to the hairline. They believe that they can increase their keenness of vision by this procedure. An experiment that I made with the powder produced no change on the skin that was treated and naturally did not have any visible effect on my keenness of vision.

4. Little wooden sticks which are used as oracular instruments,
301 especially by the Kung people of the Kaukau Veld.
787 These are four wooden sticks which are strung on a string and worn on the chest. They are about as long as a finger and about two centimeters wide. Two of them are about as thick as a finger; the two others are only a few millimeters thick. One end of the sticks is cut off smooth, and the other pointed. These four sticks are questioned for all imaginable purposes. If the Bushman wants to know where game is, where he is to expect an enemy, or which route he is to take, he asks his sticks. He does so in the following manner. He spreads a piece of leather in front of him and crouches on the ground. Then he places all four sticks parallel and on top of one another in his left hand, the back of the hand being turned toward the ground. With a sudden jerk, accompanied by clicking the tongue, he throws the little sticks on the cloth; naturally, the sticks are scattered with their tips pointing in various directions. Depending on the matter at hand, each little stick signifies something special. When I had a Bushman captain in the Kaukau Veld consult his oracle concerning the fate of our patrol, one of the thick sticks in this throw signified the oxcart that accompanied the patrol. A lively argument concerning the significance of the sticks in a given case frequently arises between the consulter of the oracle and the spectator; finally, the view of the more respected of the two apparently wins out.

/257/ The clothing of the Kung people in the Kaukau Veld
184 is essentially the same as that of the Heikum on the Omuramba
291 ua omatako; even the ornaments do not show any great differences.
301 Nevertheless, I was struck by certain peculiarities of the Kaukau people that I did not find among the Heikum.

As the spellings of the Bushman names on my herbarium specimens 128
are from field notes, they are often different from the spellings given in this paper, which was done after I had had the opportunity of consulting the authors I have mentioned. It will be noticed that many of the plants do not have the full set of Bushman names. The main reason is that we were not in contact with the Eastern !khû speakers until we had passed Ghanzi, and lost contact successively with the |gikwe, ||ganakwe and !h3: speakers as the expedition drew to a close. Other reasons are that my field notes were sometimes inadequate, that I forgot to ask, and that some [184]
plants appeared restricted to certain areas and were not known to all the groups of Bushmen.

As the expedition was during the winter when most of the plants were 126
in poor condition, very little photography was done in the field. Most of the photographs are from plants which were sent back to Pretoria and cultivated there, or from plants which grow naturally in the Transvaal. In [128]
this paper the plants and photographs are arranged according to de Dalla Torre and Harms (1900-1907). Specimen numbers are in brackets.

There is little doubt that the plants discussed here represent only a 114
fraction of those used, for we covered a very small part of the area over which the Bushmen range, and this when probably most of the annuals were dead, when some foods were out of season and when the above ground parts of many bulbous and tuberous plants had withered and disappeared so that the plants themselves could not be found.

Because of poor yield, poor quality, difficulty in harvesting or lack of 000
flavour, not many of the Bushman food plants would be worth cultivating in their present form for the use of civilised people, but they offer a large field to the plant breeder. The most promising have been noted accordingly in the text.

There were few bones around the Bushman encampments, but this 262
does not necessarily mean that there is a scarcity of meat in their diet, for the bones might have been removed by porcupines (Alexander, 1956; Dart, 1957) or eaten by hyaenas. A more reliable indication was the [291]
scantiness of the Bushmen's skin coverings. There are sharp frosts in the [132]
Kalahari and sometimes bitter winds, and one may argue that the Bushmen would provide themselves with sufficient skins if they had a regular supply of meat, although admittedly they eat skins after charring them on the coals and pounding them in a mortar. Vegetable refuse from former meals and fresh vegetable food, however, were found at all the Bushman encampments, and additional gatherings were the permanent chore of the women and children and of the men to a lesser degree. The insanitary condition of the surroundings also provided unmistakable [364]
evidence that the bulk of their food was of vegetable origin.

Their knowledge of field botany was astonishingly good. It has to 824
be, otherwise they would have no chance of survival in their arid country. Fragments of stem, dead leaves, and other small clues of this nature, after being unerringly identified, were all the Bushmen needed to find many of the storage organs they were seeking. Differences which escaped me would enable them to distinguish between edible and harmful plants, and they had a thorough knowledge of the areas and habitats in which their food plants grew. They must have an influence on the distribution of plants, 137X

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Wakeldi Women (Hei //om).
S.W. Ovamboland.

[FACING p. 81]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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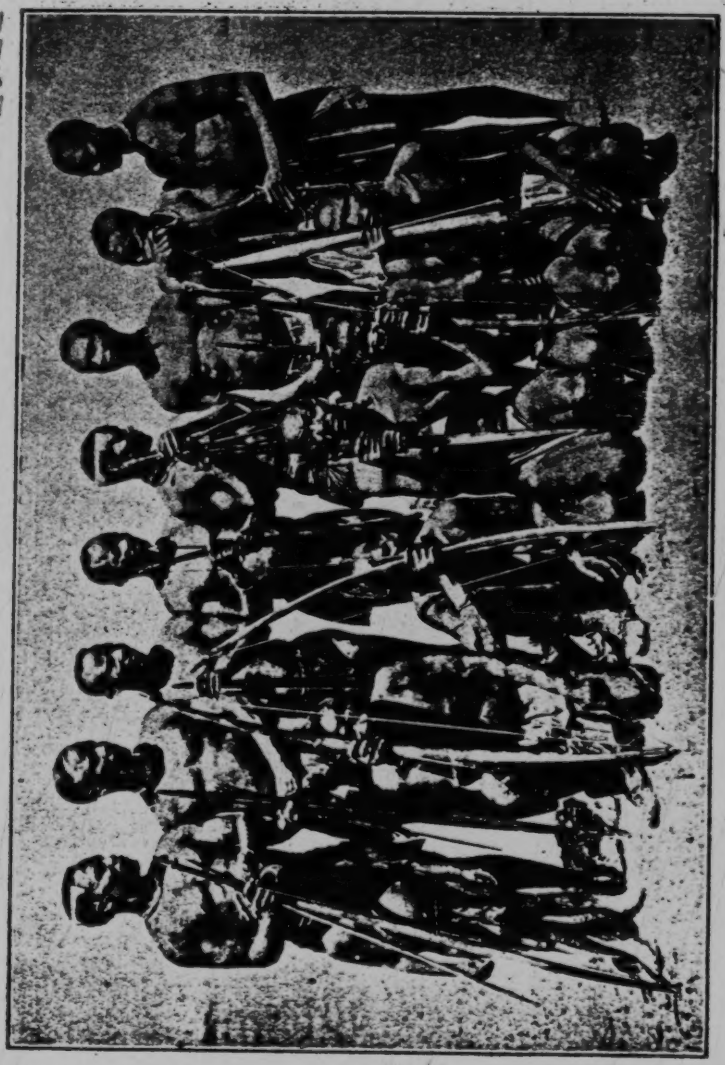

Wakeddi Bushmen (Hei //om).
N.W. Ovamboland.

[FACING p.100]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, 142
and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff [48]
with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the
men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and
consequently they often seem younger than they are. They [194]
are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man 291
wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather
apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole
animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at [854
the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride, 482
and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which 415
are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people; 237]
they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though [515
they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair 302]
breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped
close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell
beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny [30]
bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear
leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several 609
months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find
them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe
that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the
grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and [342]
made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right 609
into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and 621
didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass un-
til I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which
was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around
it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned,
all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

that marks an edible root, or see a scorpion hidden in the dust and jump over it. So Bushmen survive in the most rigorous places; they survive in the dense, mosquito-ridden papyrus swamps of the Okovango River, steaming like a jungle and dangerous with snakes and fever, where the River Bushmen live, the only Bushmen with plenty of water; they also survive on the vast, rolling steppes of central Bechuanaland, the territory of the Gikwe Bushmen, who for the nine dry months of the year have no water at all and do without it.

Besides the fact that Bushmen alone can live in the land they occupy, there is another reason for their remoteness and shyness. They are in many instances exploited by the Bantu farmers, and by a few of the European farmers, usually those who need free or almost free labor. Many Bantu farms and households have Bushman servants, or serfs, rather, as they usually come from the land on or near the farm, and when working they are paid nothing but are given food, tobacco, and sometimes cast-off clothing as wages. Some European farms in Bechuanaland and some in South-West Africa have Bushman laborers too, though most European farmers do not depend on Bushman labor. Those European farmers who do employ Bushmen usually pay wages, about ten shillings a month, plus a ration of food to each Bushman who is working, though not necessarily to his family, consisting of about a pound of cornmeal and a quart of milk a day, meat occasionally, and weekly a ration of tobacco. Perhaps the employer will add a set of clothing—that is, a pair of cast-off pants and a shirt—and perhaps a blanket every year, but occasionally they pay their labor in cast-off clothing and omit the ten shillings altogether.

European clothing is esteemed among Bushmen, for it is symbolic to them of a people mightier than themselves, and

also because, made of cloth instead of leather, it is more cling- 648
ing, therefore warmer and more comfortable, and dries faster 291
when wet. It is sought after and desired, it is got through em- 439
ployment; yet, even so, Bushmen hesitate to seek employment because they believe that they will be badly treated (as they sometimes are) and they often find the customary wage and food ration to be inadequate for anyone who must support a family. Supposedly, the wives of Bushmen laborers are [222
free to look on the farmer's land for roots and berries, as they 465]
would if they were living in the veld; but, as it happens, after a few years the supply of wild food around a farm becomes exhausted.

The Bantu farmers, being as a rule much poorer than the 648
European farmers, are less generous to their Bushman serfs. 464
They also give a food ration of cornmeal and milk but almost never meat, for any meat that may come into the Bantu kraal is eaten by the Bantus unless it is the carcass of a hyena or a leopard which the Bantu masters have killed for the pelt. The Bantus say: "Our Bushman servants are like our children; they herd our cattle for us and we feed them. A child does not ask for wages when he helps with the family work."

Besides this, the Bantus badly cheat the Bushmen who come in from the veld to trade cured antelope hides for metal and tobacco, sometimes asking several hides, worth several pounds apiece, for enough tobacco to fill the palm of the Bushman's hand, or for a piece of wire long enough to make an arrowhead. All in all, it does not benefit the Bushmen to 609
live anywhere near Bantu or European settlements, and that 648
is why the Bushmen of the veld run and hide when they see Europeans coming, believing that they may be taken by force (as they sometimes are), and why they avoid going to a Bantu settlement except to trade for tobacco when they feel

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

291 Both men were thin, brown-skinned, and wore nothing but loincloths, and they looked very out of place next to us, among our big trucks and boxes of equipment, squatting naked like two frogs against the long grass and reddening sky of their country. We sat by the fire to talk with them, and it was the old man who answered our questions. His name was
[194 Ukwane, and he seemed very old, for he spoke with a hesi-
551] tant, cracked voice that faded into a whisper at the end of every phrase, and whenever some of us would leave or join the group at the fire he would stare intently at us, frowning,
[164] leaning forward a little because he could barely see us, his eyes being filmed with cataracts, hazy blue.

142 Ukwane had great wrinkles lengthwise down his belly where his paunch had shrunk. His hands were knobbed and his shoulders stiff, yet his legs were as supple as a baby's, for
[514] he sat crouched with his knees in the air and his heels tucked up tight against his buttocks. His skin looked old, too, like
[302] old leather, hardened and black like a glove that has been left in the rain, and his curly hair was disheveled, uncut, untidy with pieces of straw.

609 Our questions frightened Ukwane, and often he was at a loss for something to reply. He thought we were policemen coming to look for some lost horses, for somehow a rumor had reached into the farthest corners of the veld that a European farmer had lost seven horses and all the people in the veld were afraid for their lives. The first thing he said was that he hadn't seen any horses and certainly hadn't taken them himself. He was too old, he said. We told him that we were not policemen and, besides, had never heard of the horses, but he was not reassured. He coughed and turned to the young man, who looked at us with nothing to say.

609 The young man was also very shy, but had a greater dignity
194 than Ukwane because of his cool, proud bearing. He said

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

very little, and when he did speak it was in a voice so soft that 609
it was almost inaudible. Also, he held his hand in front of his 194
mouth with a finger against his lips, which muffled his words so that only Ukwane could understand them. This was what the young man intended; he meant for the old man to speak for them both and only wanted to help him through tight spots in the conversation.

The young man told us his name, though, which was Gai. 609
Gai sat crouching too, like Ukwane, and kept self-consciously shifting his position, pretending to be unconcerned. He glanced at us out of the corners of his eyes and smiled skeptically from time to time, for although he did not know us and, as we learned later, had not seen Europeans before, therefore had no way of judging our remarks and our expressions, he was younger than Ukwane, and prouder, and was afraid of showing his naïveté, afraid of seeming to believe a lie or disbelieving something that everyone should know was true.

Gai was extremely handsome. In fact, he was one of the 142
most beautiful human beings I have ever seen, tall for a Bushman, his head shaved, showing a strong, domed skull. His face was strong, too, a little heavy of bone, with a big jaw which he carried thrust forward and up so that he looked at you from the bottom of his eyes, a reserved gaze. His body was smooth and brown, built compactly, the body itself long in proportion to the arms and legs. Like all Bushmen, he was narrow of shoulder and hip, with a deep chest and a large belly, and when seen from the side as his belly relaxed he seemed wider from front to back than he was from side to side, very like a hunting animal whose chest is deep but narrow. Gai was also well dressed, not with a strip of leather like 291
Ukwane, but with a beautifully designed, worked, and fringed loincloth with two wide tabs at the back which he could spread to sit on. He wore a band around his hips, too,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

291 as a belt for the loincloth, with a fringe of leather strips so long that when he sat down the fringe lay on the ground.

We asked them where they lived, and Ukwane, who was afraid to answer, said he was old and did not remember. Gai said they lived many days' journey to the east. We asked if the huts beside our camp belonged to them, and they said no, they had never seen them before, neither did they have the slightest idea how they came to be there.

609 We gave them some more tobacco as a gesture of our good faith and we told them that we had come from America, hundreds of days' travel and across a great body of water, but of course they had never heard of America or the ocean and thought we meant the Okovango River, and at that they didn't really believe us, although they were too polite to tell 19 us so. "Merica," they said softly, with a beautiful, curled *r*, almost a *d* or an *l*. We said that we had come to visit them and to give them presents. We said that we were the friends of many Bushmen in the west where we had lived for a year, and had been given Bushman names, so we weren't entirely strangers. We told them the names, which made them smile, because of course they weren't Gikwe names, but Gai and Ukwane softened a little with this and admitted that, after all, the huts were theirs.

Finally they told us that a few nights ago they had been sitting at their fires, the two men, their wives and children, and one other family, when they had heard the sound of our trucks, which had frightened them so that they had run off into the veld in all directions, taking nothing with them except the few possessions that had come first to hand. Ukwane, warming a little, said that he had been so terrified that he had crawled away on his hands and knees, afraid to show his head above the tops of the bushes.

Presently they had found each other again and had settled

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 In a short time we heard a rustle in the veld, and a young
854 woman who seemed to be in her early twenties stepped from the bushes. She was, Ukwane said, Gai's wife, and on her hip she carried a baby, a naked three-year-old who looked at us from his wide eyes fearlessly, then, realizing that we were strangers, buried his face in his mother's arm. His mother stroked him calmly and came toward us smiling and nodding her head graciously, although a little pulse was hammering in the V of her throat. We learned later that she had been sitting in the bushes very near us, and when she had seen her husband go by she had assumed that everything was all right and had come to greet us, not bothering to answer his cries.

142 She was a short, sturdy woman with round arms, long thighs, and short calves. She had a rather large belly and square, strong shoulders, and she wore a very tattered cape
291 or kaross over her back, with a small leather apron around her hips. She had no ornaments except a row of blue scars over
304 her eyes, a decoration, and she had allowed her hair to be-
302 come disheveled, long, and a little tangled, hanging down
184 over her ears in tight spirals, instead of having shaved it off as most Bushman women do. All this gave her a very matter-of-fact air, which was not deceiving, for she saw in a glance that we were harmless and, looking us over, sat down at once beside me.

304 Her baby pulled, twisted, and tugged at her, and from the way he behaved I judged that he kept her too busy to be for-
[854] ever cutting her hair or making bead ornaments. Besides, she told us later, if she wore ornaments, the baby pulled them off. She had her row of scars, though, delicate and arching over her brow, making her eyes seem wider; as well as a row of striped scars along her thighs. These, say Bushmen, are made to imitate the beauty of zebras, and many women wear them, having been decorated when they were still young. It

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Gai was afraid of us at first. He listened carefully to everything we said, but he would not speak.

Even among her own people Tsetchwe was lonely, for in her band there was no young woman but herself.

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[p. 112(B)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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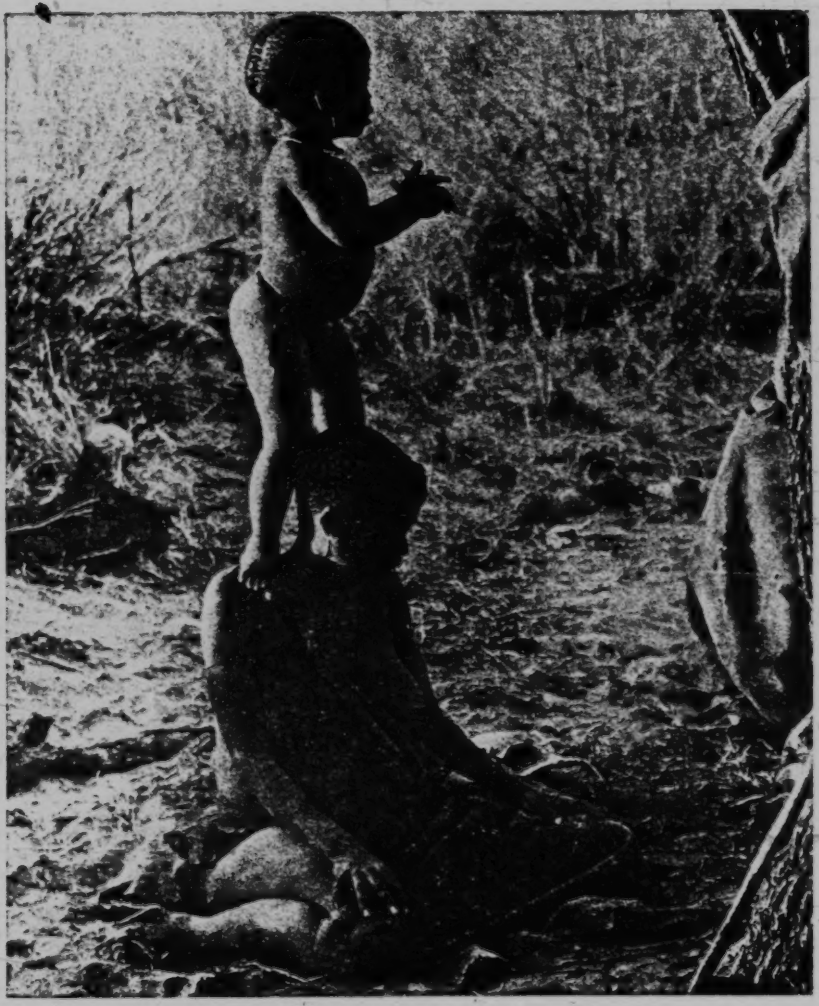

He climbed to her shoulder and stood there triumphantly without holding on, gazing around like a child on a hill.

[p. 112 (F)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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The jealous men from Okwa.

[p. 112(G)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Long reeds almost filled the waterhole at Gautscha.

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Alone at his fire, Ukwane plays a mood song.

[p. 176(A)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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I sometimes received presents of gum from trees, or soft, sweet caterpillars.

Toma the leader.

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[p. 176(B)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Crooked Kwi and his wife, who once had run away from him.

Dikai made a bow from a branch, an arrow from a reed, and gave them to her younger son.

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[p. 176(C)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Toma's son, the new owner of Short Kwi's crown of badger hair.

The young musician—the lonely, brooding man who played the guashi.

[p. 176(D)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Beautiful Ungka's cousin, and the little girl who was content to follow her and be her handmaiden.

[p. 176(E)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

The old man who had never shot a buck, who had never married, now almost blind, too thin, and without people.

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Tu made Norna clothes of ostrich-eggshell beads, an art taught to Bushmen by the gemsbok people.

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[p. 176 (G)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the buffalo's horn had wounded him. Otherwise, he looked 609
very well. All the people seemed well, especially the children.
Toma's oldest son wore a crown of badger skin with the long 291
hair standing up on it, and two safety pins that we had given 177
him, which he wore as earrings in his pierced ears. With all 301
this he looked bold as a pirate. His brother was nearly as big
as he was, and his sister, Norna, now three, was a slender,
graceful child who regarded the world with dark, wondering
eyes.

Norna's sixteen-year-old uncle, Tu's brother, was there too. 481
He was a lame boy; he had been crippled in one leg since 732
childhood and could hobble only with the help of a long stick.
People had despaired of him, believing that he would never
be able to hunt and therefore never marry or inherit the head-
manship of Gautscha Pan, but when we saw him now and
looked at him closely we noticed a fine row of scars between 881
his eyes and on his arms and chest and we knew that he had 304
hunted and killed an antelope and had been scarified in his
initiation. We had planned on this trip to give him presents
of all kinds, to make him rich, so that he could marry whether
he could hunt or not, but we saw now that this would not be
necessary. When he knew that we had noticed his scars he
told us in great detail the story of the hunt. He told us how he [224]
had gone out with a group of hunters, how he had first seen
the two horns of a kudu above a clump of bushes, how he had
silently hobbled near it, propped himself on his crutch, and
shot it with a poisoned arrow. The arrow had penetrated
deeply and the lame boy had returned to tell the others. They
had followed it with him for a day and in the evening had
found it dead. It was the lame boy's kudu, though; he shot it,
and to Bushmen that is the important thing. He was scarified [884]
with a paste made of the kudu's meat, and ever after that he
was a man.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

301 from the foreheads of the antelope they kill and fashion them
224 into bracelets which their wives wear on their arms. Short Kwi's wife and daughter wore dozens of these; their arms
[29 were covered and heavy with them. Short Kwi himself wore
43] no ornament of any kind, nothing except a crown of badger hair which he owned for a while but later gave to Toma, the very crown that Toma's son now wore.

752 One day, said Toma, Short Kwi had been walking in the
224 veld and had failed to watch where he was going. He had
159 stepped on the tail of a puff adder, which had risen up and bitten his leg, just below the knee. It was a rare and terrible accident; in all the time we had been in the Kalahari we had known of only two people besides Short Kwi who had been harmed by snakes—a young boy bitten by a mamba who had died the day he was bitten, and a young woman who had been pulled into a waterhole by a water python and had drowned. Usually, snakes move away when you come near them, or if they don't, you can usually see them; but you can't walk with your eyes on the ground all the time, especially if you are hunting, as Short Kwi had been. His misfortune was regarded as a horrible accident and it was felt that the spirits of the dead were to blame. They had led Short Kwi down the very path the puff adder had chosen, and perhaps had even placed the snake where his foot was sure to fall. Toma and Goa Feet were very depressed to think of it. Although the talk turned to other things, Gao Feet mentioned the accident again and again; everything seemed to remind him of it. At last Toma said to us: "Perhaps you can help him hunt again. Since he was bitten his people have had no meat."

648 Toma told us that he had been with Short Kwi near Nama
609 Pan when the third group of white farmers had arrived. The farmers had looked at Short Kwi and had offered to cut his leg off for him then and there. This had frightened the Bush-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955) 1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

164 Short Kwi's wife, who looked around at them all gravely, listening, and when they had finished she nodded her head. "A medicine man of Europeans," they said.

"So," said she.

We talked about the foot for a while, for although he had covered it we could still see the toes. The people of the werf described how Short Kwi was bitten and everyone claimed credit for his part in saving Short Kwi's life. One man had killed the snake, another had cut the fang punctures, and others had given advice at the time and later. The leg had [752] swelled enormously and the medicine men had cut the swollen skin to let blood; the scars of this still showed on the healthy thigh above the blanket. All the people seemed very depressed when talking about it, though; for one reason, they ate meat less often, but also they truly admired him and did not seem to enjoy watching the disaster. Toma asked Short Kwi how he felt and Short Kwi said he thought that his leg had seemed to be getting a little better during the last few days.

582 It was almost evening, and we heard voices singing in the veld. Two women and a young girl were coming home from a trip for veld food. These three were also very happy to see us and the little girl kissed me but not the men, then asked for her mother, who lived at Nama and whom she had not seen for seasons, and we told her that her mother was well. The girl had been newly married and she was as pretty as she could be, with lots of beads, and with long ornaments of tsi nuts hanging beside her face. She wore a fine kaross which [291 822 224 841 784] she had rubbed with red powder, often a sign to men that a girl is menstruating, as perhaps she was, that men may be careful not to touch her and endanger their powers to hunt. Marriage seemed to have agreed with her. She looked very

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!Kung mother, collecting near camp, cradles a suckling daughter in a fold of her skin *kaross*, while her toddler son carries along a stick of his own.

[p. 11]

Il: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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YOUNG COUPLE stands, shyly smiling, at outskirts of *merfi*. Marriage among the !Kung, as in the case here, often occurs before the girls reach puberty.

237 and bowstrings. horn makes spoons and small containers: most needed of all are the skins—converted into bags and nets for carrying. and into clothes. Men wear only a breech-
291 clout. Women wear modesty aprons,
281 often one in front and one behind,
[841] as well as a piece of soft skin. clasped between their buttocks and thighs. when menstruating. Both men and women wear *kaross*'s. The *kaross*, or skin cloak, is the most important garment and everyone tries to have one. If a man has only one *kaross*, and he is a good man. he will give it to his wife and do without—for. to a woman. a *kaross* is essential. In it, she is modest. In it. she carries the
[482] roots she has gathered in the day and the baby who must go where she goes. Her *kaross* is her warmth at night. her softness on the cold ground. It breaks the blind wind and roofs away the narrow rain.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

FIG. 1. The clustered scherms of a /Kung werf (left) are hardly visible in the grass and brush of the veld

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[516]

FIG. 2. Groups from Band 1 and visitors sitting at three family fires

FIG. 3. Khoan//a thinking things over after 'the talk'

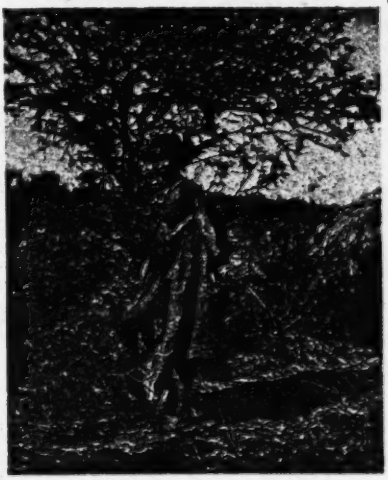

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FIG. 4. /U, the wife of ≠Toma, with an expression which is characteristic of her

[p. 240-A]

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsī, the men always ac-
462 company the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsī* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater por-
222 tion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging imple-
[412] ment is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were
[101] living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some
[489] to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles
[361] to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back
[854] to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to
[482] them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the
[372] bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as
252 meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes,
264 pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

222 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the
433 impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food
231 is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families
166 therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—
[582]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi'* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

to do so. Lack of privacy makes it almost impossible to keep an affair secret, 837 and violent jealousy and anger can be aroused. Fearing any disruptive force, [852] the !Kung disapprove.

LIFE CYCLE

CHILD TRAINING • !Kung parents are gentle, 854 protective, and permissive with all their children and express their affection especially with babies. It is a most common sight to see fathers fondly kissing them with pursed lips and smacks. The mother, wherever she goes, carries [853] her infant tied to her left side, skin to skin, in a little leather sling where it can reach her breast. When she sits, she takes the infant out of its sling, holds it, lets it nurse the other breast.

The !Kung believe that long nursing is essential to the survival and 853 development of their children and encourage them to continue until they 862 are three or four or older. These people practice infanticide and, in explain- [847] ing it, say that they must space their babies so that each will be able to nurse long enough to ensure his having strong legs. An infant cannot thrive on their harsh foods, they say, even though they chew the food and put it into the infants' mouths, and the mother cannot support two entirely with her milk, excellent though !Kung lactation appears to be. They supplement the milk with adult food as soon as the child can eat it, so that a child is accustomed to it and ready to be weaned at three or four when the next baby comes. But, even so, the mother weans gradually, letting the older child have a drink of milk occasionally through the day. If the mother does not have or keep another baby but still has milk, she will allow or encourage her child to continue nursing. Other children tend to make fun of a child who nurses until he is six or so, and, in response to their teasing, a child may wean himself quite abruptly.

Babies are naked and, since there are no floors but the desert sand, 854 not much is made of their urinating wherever they are. When they defecate, they are wiped with grass and the fecal matter is cleaned up at once by some older child or adult and carried off. As soon as children can walk fairly 863 well they are led by the hand and encouraged to go out of the werf for their toilet needs, at first for the sake of cleanliness and, as they grow older, for the sake of modesty as well. (!Kung adults are exceedingly modest about [291] uncovering their genitalia. Their incest taboo influences this behavior, I think, very strongly.)

Infants sleep in their mothers' arms. Young children sleep wrapped 513 in karosses beside their parents' fire. Boys from the age of about eleven or 882 twelve sleep at a boys' fire, not far from the family of one of them. Girls at [857] that age go to sleep with a grandmother or some widow, or several of them

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The *Choa* Ceremony The mother takes the girl's hands to scrape the *tsi* out of the ashes.

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[224]

choa-ed. The old woman who attends her performs this part of the ceremony (or her mother may do so). She scrapes a root called *sha sha* into the water hole. To *choa* the veldkos, the old woman takes the girl's hands in hers and together they place the veldkos in the fire. When it is cooked, they scrape it out together and the old woman puts *sha sha* in her mouth, chews it, and blows on the girl's hands and on the veldkos. This protects the girl from having an upset stomach. Each veldkos must be *choa*-ed the first time the girl eats it after the First Menstruation ceremony.

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[224]

No ceremonials mark subsequent menstruation periods, and the women do not seclude themselves during the flow or avoid gathering veldkos or dipping water from the water hole. They continue only to practice certain avoidances that in general have to do with men's hunting. The menstruating woman must not touch hunting gear; it would be very bad, for the arrows would be useless. She must not have sexual intercourse with her husband; it would make him tired and thin. Men in the years of their hunting prime should not talk or listen to talk about menstruation, for to do so might make them lazy in hunting.

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The girls who are married before their first menstruation have the same menstruation ceremony when the time comes as do the unmarried girls.

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[852]

There is no genital mutilation practiced among the girls and women of the !Kung. Girls are scarified, but not at the time of the menstruation ceremony. The scarification is begun when the girl is about seven or eight and is continued little by little over several years. Stripes are made on the legs,

[p. 266]

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance A medicine man is going into a trance.

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to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Gauwa* or the *//gauwasi*, who are there beyond the firelight, with a sharp, yelping cry of "*kai kai kai*."

The medicine men are usually only in shallow trance at this point, but, when the curing has been going on for some time, they begin to reach a state of patterned frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. They believe that fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. The medicine men rush out into the darkness, where *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. "Filthy face!" they screech. "Take away the sickness you have brought. You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away. . . . *Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die." At this point the medicine man may fall down in deep trance and appear to be unconscious or semiconscious, with eyes closed, stiff as a board, unable to walk. This stage of trance may last only a brief time or may continue for hours—even into the next day. Gradually it is resolved and the medicine man takes up his normal activities.

[372]

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The !Kung believe that at the time of deep trance the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*. They call this "half death." It is a dangerous time. The women must continue to sing the medicine music. The man's body must be watched over, rubbed, and kept warm by other medicine men who are in less deep trance.

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The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a

[p. 272]

177 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had
411 metal weapons, and utensils and clothing of European manu-
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291 facture for at least 40 years.

162 Among the 34,800 Bushmen classified as non-hunting,
433 there are, of course, many degrees of economic development. At one extreme, there are the second generation farm Bushmen of the Grootfrontien, Gobabis and Ghanzi Districts who have permanently given up the traditional subsistence round. Other farm Bushmen spend the rainy season living in the veld and work on the farms only in the winter dry season.

Many of the Bushmen in Ngamiland and the Crown Lands have made an excellent adjustment to modern conditions. For instance the Mababe and Pandamatenga people enjoy a settled village life combined with hunting for cash furs with rifles and steel traps. Many of the men work for hunting safaris where they have gained a good reputation as trackers and gun bearers.

433 The distribution of the various economic patterns is plotted on Map 4. There are four categories:

1. Full time hunting and gathering
2. Bantu-associated peoples with traditional lord-client relations
3. Independent villages with cash hunting and wage labor
4. European farm workers

224 track the animal to the place where it has died. All the
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[222] Dobe area Bushmen consistently hunted and collected within a 15-20 mile radius of their camps. Hunting trips of 3-10 days duration have been recorded in the literature on !Kung (e.g. L. Marshall 1960:331), but these extended trips were not a feature in the Dobe area.

222 The contrast in technology between the hunting equipment
224
462 of the men and the gathering equipment of the women is striking. Only three elementary tools are required for the complete range of gathering tasks. On the other hand, the hunting kits consist of at least 19 complex weapons and devices, with sophisticated methods of manufacture and maintenance.

222 The three gathering tools are the <u>kaross</u>, the digging stick and the nut-cracking stones. With only these three items, a softened antelope hide, a sharpened stick, and a pair of unimproved rocks, the entire gamut of plant foods
[291] can be exploited. The kaross is the most important of the three. This is a one-piece combination garment-cum-carrying-device made from the hide of a gemsbok, kudu or wildebeeste.
[281] The raw hide is dried, the edges are trimmed and the hide is softened by a tanning agent from the plant <u>Elephantorhiza burkei</u>. The resulting garment is worn by the women draped
[482] over the back. When tied at the waist by a leather thong,
[291]

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482 the lower half of the kaross conceals the wearer's backside
[291] while the upper half forms a pouch for carrying vegetable foods (as well as water containers, firewood and babies).

Since most of the Bushman foods are nuts and berries, ranging in size from 1/2 to 1-1/2 inches in diameter, and hundreds of these small foods make up a family's daily diet, Bushman life would not be possible without some means of carrying quantities of these small foods back to the camp or "home base". One cannot overstate the importance of the food-carrying device for Bushman life, and for the life of hunting and gathering peoples in general. This, I think, has implications for the evolution of human subsistence during the Pleistocene since a device for carrying vegetable foods would seem to be a prerequisite for human camp life.

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412 The digging stick is secondary in importance to the kaross because all but one of the major Bushman foods are nuts, berries and melons which do not have to be dug out of the ground. The typical digging stick is three feet long, three quarters of an inch in diameter and sharpened into a blade at one end. It is made from the thick straight stalks of the bushes of the genera Dichrostachys and Grewia. It
[224] is not weighted by a bored stone. Apart from its obvious use for digging out edible roots and bulbs, the digging stick also plays an important role in mens' hunting activities.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Dress and Decoration

Bushmen

281 Save where there has been a good deal of contact with European
291 influences, all the Bushmen wear garments made entirely from the skins of animals, usually some kind of buck taken in the chase.[1] Complete nudity is hardly ever found, though it is reported on hearsay evidence by Miss Bleek of some of the wilder bands of Auen and Naron.
[142] All the clothes are made by the men, who prepare not only their own garments but also those of their wives and children.

The principal garment of the men among all the Bushmen consists in a triangular piece of skin, two ends of which are tied together round the loins, while the third is passed between the legs and knotted
[177] on behind. Some of the North-Eastern Bushmen (Tannekwe, Hukwe, Galikwe), who have been much in contact with the Bantu, have adopted the form of loin-cloth worn by the latter, in which a piece of skin passed between the legs is drawn before and behind through a leather girdle tied round the loins. A skin cloak ("kaross") is also worn by most of the men, especially in cold weather or when on the
[284] march. This is tied over the right shoulder by means of strips of skin attached to two ends, and hangs so as to cover the back and, if large enough, also the chest, while leaving the arms and left shoulder free. It is sometimes worn slung over both shoulders and tied under the chin. The head is usually uncovered, but skin caps are sometimes seen, as well as leather sandals tied round the ankle with thongs.

281 On the march the men carry a round bag slung on over the right
415 shoulder and hanging on the left hip. In it are carried all sorts of small
482 possessions and food. A longer skin bag, containing the weapons,
411 fire-sticks, etc., is also hung over the left shoulder. Bark quivers for the arrows are sometimes found as well, more especially among the Southern and Namib Bushmen.

281 The women wear a hanging apron in front, consisting in a piece of
291 skin attached to a leather belt passing round the loins. It is often ornamented with bead or leather tassels. A smaller apron, covering only the genitals, is sometimes worn beneath this. The older women

[1] The fullest descriptions of Bushman dress and decoration are given by: Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 428–30; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 33–40; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140–3; Werner, "Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kung-Buschleute," 351–7; Seiner, "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 297–8; Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 87–90; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 8–10; E. Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 101–10.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushme ^ FX 10

also have a larger apron behind, sometimes hanging from the shoulders, more often tied round the waist, and almost meeting over or under the apron in front. In the north-east a leather loin-cloth drawn through a belt in the same way as that of the men, only somewhat longer, is often seen instead. A large kaross is also worn by the married women. This hangs from the right shoulder, passing under the left arm, and is tied again at the waist; it thus forms a convenient pouch, in which are carried the baby as well as supplies for the day, such as ostrich eggshells filled with water, edible roots and fruit, grass or firewood.

Babies go naked, save for a trifling ornament, till they are about a year old. The boys are then given a tiny belt with a semi-circular flap of leather in front, the girls a small apron decorated with leather tassels and beads. Their mother's kaross, however, continues to be their sole protection from the cold till they are weaned, when about three or four years old. The little girls then receive a tiny kaross hanging from the shoulders, the boys a small loin-cloth similar to that of the men. They do not wear a cloak of any kind till they are in their teens and are taken out to learn hunting.

All women and children and the younger men also wear ornaments. Chief among these are ostrich egg-shell beads, the making of which is one of the oldest Bushmen industries. Such beads, whole and in fragments, and at all stages of making, are found all over South Africa, from the kitchen-middens on the south coast as far north as the Okavango, where they form a standard article of barter between the Bushmen and their Bantu neighbours. They are made by the women. The eggshell is broken into small pieces which are softened in water and pierced with a small stone or iron borer. They are then threaded on to a strip of sinew and the rough edges chipped off with a horn. Soft bark fibre is next twisted between the beads, making the chain very taut, and the edges are finally rubbed smooth with a soft stone. The beads thus made are used as single chains or worked into more complicated ornaments. Bands of them are worn on the hair, sometimes encircling the whole head, more often tied to the hair on either side, while a long narrow strip may hang down the forehead or on to the neck behind. Necklaces and bracelets of these beads are also seen, and very long chains are fastened three or four times round the waist (Plate XI).

Besides these beads any other ornaments obtainable are worn by the women. These include arm and leg bands made of leather and bark strips or twisted from the tail hairs of a wildebeest or gnu, as

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Round

354 513 this the inmates sleep, each curled up with knees to breast and covered
[291] by the kaross, which thus serves as a cloak by day and a blanket by
night. The ashes of this fire are swept up every morning and added
356 to the heap outside. The neighbourhood of the huts is kept fairly
clean. Gnawed bones are thrown on a pile, then carried out to the
bushes by the women, who also sweep the huts out with a branch,
and clean up any mess made by the little children. No dirt is allowed
anywhere near the encampment.[1]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. vi; *idem*, *The Naron*, 5.

2:Schapera E-4,5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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L. Fourie

GROUP OF AUEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN
Notice the clothing and ornaments, and the mode of carrying the babies

[*face p.* 118

[facing p. 118]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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●291
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[Facing p. 122]

L. Fourie

AUEN GIRL

L. Fourie

NARON WOMAN IN CEREMONIAL DRESS OF BEADWORK

[*face p.* 122

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

big game, especially wild horses and mules. There are in [224]
those parts wild horses and mules, both so beautifully bred
out by nature that no painter is skilful enough to paint 136
them true to life with all their colouring. The horses have
buttocks extraordinarily dappled, and over the rest of the
body are striped yellow, black, red and pure sky blue. The
mules are also striped, white and chestnut brown, but not
dappled, and are uncommonly beautiful.[39]) The Sonquas in 439
1662 brought the skin of one of these beasts to the Cape,
which our countrymen bartered from them for tobacco and
other things. It was then filled with straw and hung up for
show in the hall of the Fort, as something curious and
uncommon, which it also is, to be seen by the people of the
incoming ships.[40])

The meat of the rock-rabbits constitutes a pleasant food 262
for the Sonquas, who live principally on it and on certain
roots growing in the ground. They also keep many hunting 231
dogs,[40a]) trained to hunt the rock-rabbits which are their 224
principal food, and knowing how to drag these animals out
of their holes.

They are extremely great plunderers and marauders. 721
They steal from other Hottentots all the cattle they can get,
with which they then flee immediately to the mountains,
where they cannot be found in their retreats and hidden
caves by anybody, not even by other Hottentots.

Their huts, made only of branches twined together, 342
without woven mats, and covered solely with rushes, are
several thousand in number; for they move about from one 361
place to another, and never break up the huts, but erect
still others wherever they camp.

Their little cloaks are sewn together from the skins of 291
the wild oxen which live on the rocks. The women have a
quitazol or sunshade of ostrich feathers, tied on and about
the head, to protect themselves from the heat and burning
of the sun's piercing rays.

---

had shot a wild horse below the mane in the neck. This horse was 136
very beautifully gray dappled over its whole body, except behind
from the back over the buttocks and along the legs which were
flame-coloured, with white, sky blue and reddish brown stripes,
wonderfully beautiful . . . It had small ears like a horse. The
stuffed heads and pieces of skin which the Hottentots sometimes
brought to us belong evidently to another sort, as they have
long ears, though extraordinarily, curiously and beautifully
flame-coloured in white and chestnut brown."

[40a]) Dogs were the only domestic animals kept by the Bushmen. 231
They were generally lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half starved
and savage tempered, but excellent assistants in the chase, for 224
which they were mainly employed.

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Naron (//aikwe) Woman in Ceremonial Dress of Ostrich Shell Beadwork.
Sandfontein, Gobabis.

[FACING p. 89]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

481 hurrying because one of the little boys had found a millipede
825 and was trotting behind them carrying it. Bushman women do not like millipedes; millipedes make them very nervous. Someone persuaded the child to drop it, which he did reluctantly. It was a giant, shiny black and a foot long, and it ran away with the front of its body in the air, its head bent like a curbed horse. The little boy watched it go.

515 The women walked through the acacia trees and reached the pan, the shining lake, red now with sunset, and even though the air was getting cool the children ran in the shallow water, splashing, the women crouched on the rocks to bathe. They took off their karosses and bathed their arms and legs and faces, washing all the dust away, then brushed their teeth with their fingers. Beautiful Ungka called for Little Dabe and hung her ornaments on him while she bathed. He ran through the water playing, splashing with the other children, quite unconscious of his gorgeous array. Beautiful Ungka was so supple that as she sat bathing she could lay her body down on the rocks between her raised knees, which she did to reach the water, saving herself the trouble of moving forward.

● 292 After they had bathed, the young girls made aloe circlets for their heads, red in the red light of the sky, and they seemed very innocent and beautiful, fresh and clean; they dressed themselves slowly as the sun went down, then walked into the water, where they danced, slowly, idly, kicking to make a rhythmic splash.

854 Little Dabe, on the shore now, found the rocks hard on his feet and began to wail, and all alone on top of the rocks, picking his feet up one after the other, he was like a peacock in his ornaments, with his complaining, raucous cry. Beauti-
854 ful Ungka carried him then, although she too was barefoot,
415 bouncing him up and down while the other women rinsed
and filled their ostrich eggshells.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

out by the hunter, who, however, keeps the skin, sinews, etc., for himself. 224

The Cape Bushmen occasionally dressed themselves up in the skin of an animal or in the feathers of an ostrich in order to approach the game unsuspected. A kind of saddle made of grass in which were stuck ostrich feathers was placed on the shoulders, while a long stick with the head curved to look like an ostrich was carried in the hand. The hunter by imitating the motions of the bird feeding, running or preening its feathers contrived to get as close to the flock as possible, always moving up wind, before discharging his poisoned arrow. In a well-known rock painting from Herschel reproduced by Stow[1] there is portrayed such a scene, in which the hunter is shown under the feathers of an ostrich, cautiously approaching, with poised arrow, a number of real ostriches who are feeding peacefully close by. Similar disguises are employed by the Namib Bushmen, but appear to be generally unknown among the tribes further north, although the ostrich disguise is reported by Dornan of the Hiechware and on hearsay by Kaufmann of the Auen. Various other ruses are known, however. Some men are very clever at imitating the calls of various birds and animals and by this means get quite close and thus secure their quarry. Again, "in the season when the young animals are not able to follow their dams, they are hidden by the mothers, who feed in the vicinity. The Bushmen having found where a young one is hidden, will go close up to it and imitate its cry. The mother, hearing the cry and thinking that some wild animal has attacked her calf, immediately rushes up to protect it, and is easily killed. Numbers of animals, more especially the smaller buck, are destroyed in this manner."[2] 223 825 [292] [532] [184] 224 825

Almost every Bushman village has also a large number of dogs which accompany their masters on the hunt.[3] These are the only domestic animals possessed by the Bushmen. They are lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half-starved and savage-tempered. They are quite silent on the spoor and never betray the presence of the hunters by barking, though they will snarl and sometimes bark if one approaches an encampment. "It is really wonderful," says Herbst, "with what courage these lean mongrels will tackle a leopard, a courage no doubt begotten of hunger and an absolute confidence in their masters, who, with their knobkerries, are never far behind so 224 [231]

[1] Stow, op. cit., pl. vii, facing p. 82.
[2] Dornan, op. cit., 105; cf. Kaufmann, op. cit., 146.
[3] Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 262–3; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Herbst, *Report on Riietfontein Area*, 6; Range, *Beiträge zur Landeskunde des Namalandes*, 73; Schultze, op. cit., 667; Dornan, op. cit., 103–4; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 16.

/142 cont./

304 Also, in rare cases the labia minora are supposedly stretched by pulling them with the hand.

F. Clothing

291 The clothing of the Auin can be seen in Photographs 25 and 26.

Men's Clothing

a) Cap made of hide (jackal, jumping hare, Erdmännchen [field mouse?], cat).

a[1]) War cap made of the hide of the aardwolf (see also Photo. 21), only worn in war.

b) Loincloths, always made of ibex hide. A string runs from the loincloth back through the buttock crease and is fastened tightly to the hip band from which the loincloth is suspended in front. The entire contraption has somewhat the same effect as a suspensory in that the scrotum is raised somewhat (see Photos. 9-11).

c) Cloak, always made of ibex hide.

[415] d) Collecting bag, always made of ibex hide.

In addition, one often sees sandals made of the hide of a large antelope, or sandals for running (see Fig. 5). [Fig. 5 appears here.]

Further, there is a kind of fan consisting of a jackal tail [293] fastened to the end of a stick, as well as gaiters made of antelope skin. The latter are /143/ worn by men and women, particularly in thorny terrain. In shape they resemble the Greek greaves.

Women's Clothing (see Photos. 27 and 28)

a) Head ornament. On less festive occasions, a cap styled like the men's peace cap is often worn instead of the head ornament. Usually the head is uncovered on top.

b) Modesty apron. As can be seen in Photographs 12 to 14, this consists of a bundle of leather strips suspended from a string

[Text continues on page 19]

[36 cont.]
291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the
293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire
291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re-
[123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having
[124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in
[412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess
[325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in
[439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that,
[531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead embroidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich
301 egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are
[321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence
[556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are
[462] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around
[306] the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of
[302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to lengthen them.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

[62 cont.]

293 Like the prehistoric Bushmen, these people, too, wear forehead bands, into which the arrows are stuck during the hunt.

726 Dornan (p. 139) reports that the Kalahari Bushmen hold
754 dances before the start of a war, and on these occasions they shoot little poisoned arrows from equally small bows in the direction of the enemy or of the sun. They believe that in so doing they are killing the shadow spirit of the enemy. They do not like to give these miniature bows and arrows to anyone because they are afraid that they might come into the possession of their enemies and thus bring about their own deaths.

226 Fishing is still quite well developed among the Masarwa people. Stone walls are sometimes built in the river, in which weir-baskets are set, or they sit in the river bed next to one another with weir-baskets, while women and children drive the fish toward them. In smaller waterholes, grass and brush are piled up on one side. Then the Bushmen step into the water and push the grass wall ahead of them, thus driving the fish into a corner. Individual fish are also speared with the assagai. According to Hodson, the best fishermen are the Bakoba Bushmen on the Okovanggo. They have harpoons and rush nets that are drawn diagonally across the river.

278 G. A. Farini (3) had an opportunity to observe the

[113] 3. G. A. Farini, Durch die Kalahariwüste [Through the Kalahari Desert], Leipzig, 1886.

manufacture of arrow poison in the Chanse Veld. The men gathered at a certain place; women were not allowed to be present. The sap was removed from about 30 to 40 poisonous bulbs by means
[535] of successive incisions and was collected in a pan. As each incision was made, the Bushmen danced in a circle, making a kind of grunt. Then a hyena hide was spread out with the hair side down, and on it was spread the contents of the bags that contained the dried heads of poisonous snakes, as well as two pieces of reed approximately 15 centimeters long. Then a number of freshly killed poisonous snakes were brought. The poison sacs were removed amidst singing and the clapping of hands. Meanwhile the pan containing the poison had been put on the fire and was boiling;

3: Lebzelter--164 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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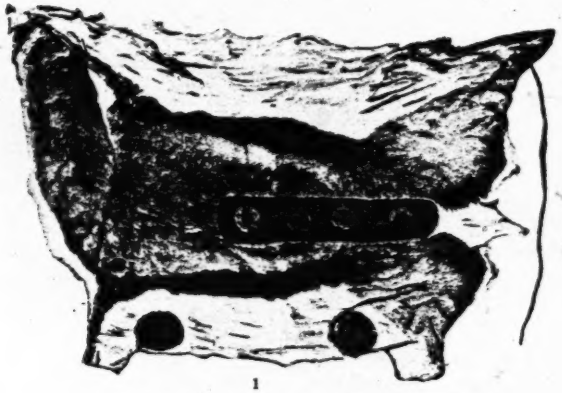

Plate VI

1. Back Apron (Betschuana), 2. Neck Band (Bushmen), 3. Grass Armbands, 4. Fly Swatters (!Kung), 5. Hide Sack (Kaunas Hottentot), (Museum for Ethnology, Berlin).

6. Bushman Arrows (Cape Province ?) (Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart).

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

"Walks-Before-the-Sun," was just starting its journey across 821
the sky. This planet, which we call the morning star and which is a different one from time to time, rises just before the sun and walks all day across the sky looking for shade. Every day, say Bushmen, the sun overtakes it and scorches it, and though people walking can cut branches from trees to [293] put up over their heads as parasols, the poor star finds no branches in the sky.

Over the moon the Firewood Star was sinking too. This is a real star, the star by which the Bushmen, when they see it rising, can tell if they have enough firewood to last the night.

When the sun was up, when the moon and all the stars 281
were gone, we went as usual to the werf, where we found 237
Ukwane curing fox skins with urine, the only liquid he had. It was not fresh urine either; it was rank, saved for days by all the people, collected in tsama rinds. We had noticed a stench, but we had not known what it was. To be certain, we asked Ukwane, and he said: "Water."

"What water?" we asked, knowing there was none.

"The water that all the people in the Kalahari have to use."

"Is it urine?"

"Yes, it is," he said.

The skins were from five Delalandes or long-eared foxes which Ukwane had snared three seasons ago. He had stretched and scraped the skins but had not cured them because until now he had not had the time. A few days ago he had told his people to begin saving urine so that he could cure and soften the hides. They had, and he now poured urine onto each skin, letting it soak, then rubbed the skin hard between his hands. He repeated this process again and again, 281
working one skin at a time, and before long the skins were moist all through, and when they were dry they were as soft as chamois. Ukwane said that he was going to trade the soft

/143 cont./

291 around the hip. The modesty apron with ostrich egg shell ornaments shown in Photograph 12 on the woman farthest to the left is supposed to have been traded from Makoba [the Koba?]. I have never seen a back apron.

c) Cloak of duiker or ibex hide. This always covers the buttocks.

d) Collecting bag (like the men's bag).

f) Digging stick.

Children's Clothing (see Photo. 22)

Girls: modesty apron and cloak.

Boys: loincloth and cloak. A collecting bag is carried by
[415] both boys and girls.

The children receive the loincloth or modesty apron when they are about five years old.

The articles of clothing are sewed. Holes are drilled with
294 an iron awl, made of any little piece of iron picked up somewhere,
[412] or with a bone splinter. The sewing is done by drawing animal tendons through the holes.

123 When I photographed some Auin women in the nude (1), I had
834

1. I am fully aware that the following is not to be regarded as a "denial of the sense of shame." I have mentioned the matter here simply because I could not fit it in elsewhere.

to take care that all the Auin men, who incidentally, had given their consent, were removed. Several Whites and Herero, on the other hand, were allowed to remain.

G. Weapons (see Photos. 25 and 26)

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[412] f) Digging stick, also used for beating and as a throwing club.

g) Bow and arrows.

h) Throwing lance.

/152 cont./

804 reflective and sly facial expression is exactly the same as ours.

O. Techniques

439 511 A definite domestic industry is present. Whatever the Auin really needs, he is able to manufacture for himself. All imported objects are luxury items. I make an exception in the case of the iron lance points, but I believe that if necessary the Bushman could even do without them.

463 The beginnings of a division of labor can be seen in the fact that only certain individuals practice the smith's trade, which, incidentally, does not extend to the manufacture of lance points.

323 Pottery is unknown.

439 Pots, supposedly from the Okovangga, are to be found sporadically. The Auin, however, is unable to repair such a vessel, as by puttying.

285 Rings of braided grass are manufactured. I myself have never seen them, since they are only made of young, but no longer green grass, in other words, shortly after the rainy season.

[294] It is said that at the same time of year certain special artists braid hat-like head coverings.

The grass rings and hats have only a limited durability, for in September and October there was none left for me to see.

[415] Sieves are made of parallel grass leaves joined together by thin strings. They are used to strain food.

"Kirris" are made with attractive decorations (Fig. 12).

413 531 A root stock with a knotty end is peeled and made smooth. A kind of pyrography is practiced on it by wrapping it, leaving bare spaces, with a long strip of the wet bark that was peeled off, and then placing the entire stick in red-hot coals. The unwrapped parts burn to a black color, while the other parts remain white.

I could not learn the purpose of these decorated sticks among the Auin. They use rough, pointed sticks for digging sticks. The kirris, therefore, seem to be luxury articles.

412 Iron knives, sharpened pieces of iron, or lance points are used as tools. As an example of pyrography, see the pipe plug, page 33.

294

SKIN KAROSS, being stitched, *above*, is the !Kung's most important garment, while nuts from the *tsi* and *mongetti* trees (in pot, *below*) are chief food.

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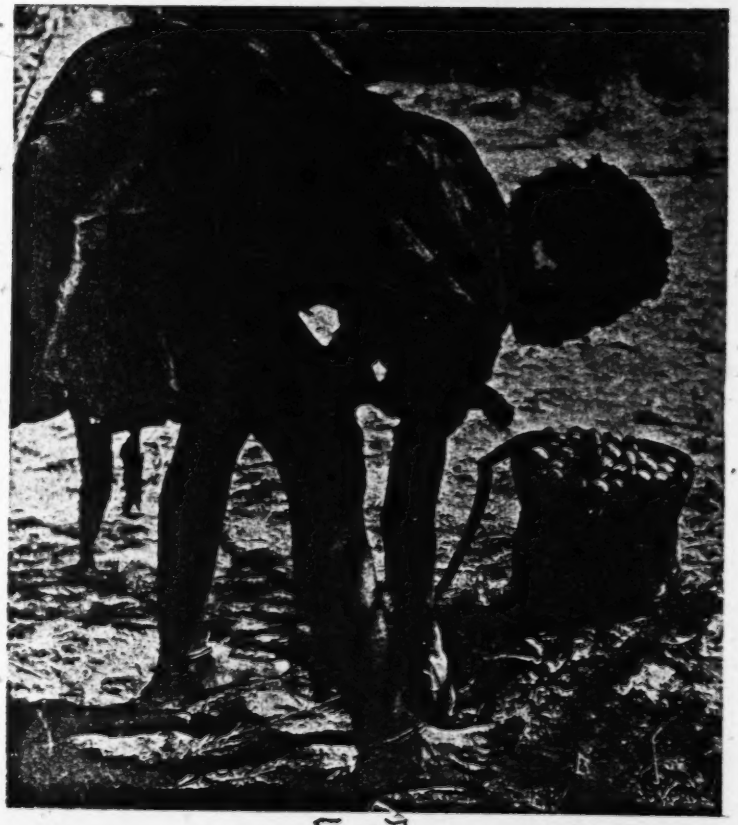

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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1. Women return in the evening after the day's digging and gathering of wild roots and berries

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2. A husband, wife, and their son at their family fire cooking their supper of two wild roots which the wife brought. Her genital apron is a fine one ornamented with beads

[p. 348-A]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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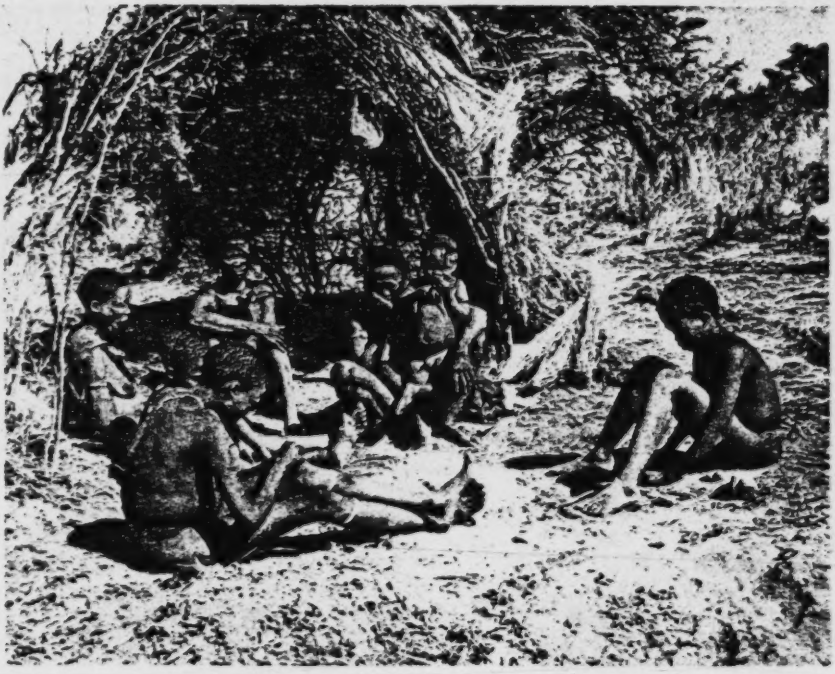

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3. Gau (centre) with his two wives in front of their scherm. The younger second wife, Khuan//a, holds her son in her arms. The three boys in front are the sons of Be, the first wife, at Gau's right

4. /Ti/kay in the best of moods

[p. 348-B]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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516

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302

5. The two wives of /Ti/kay sit at their family fire, /Naoka the elder sister to the left, /Nai the younger, with her son on her lap, to the right. Between them are Bau, /Naoka's daughter, already married for two years, and /Goishay, their old mother

6. /Nai, the young bride, the morning after the wedding. showing the design painted on her face by her mother with powdered red stone and fat

[p. 348-C]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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7. The wedding scherm, the morning after the wedding. To the right are /Gunda, the bridegroom, and one of the boys who attended him, playing the //guashi. /Nai is to the left with her two attendants beside her. Tsamgao has gone to sit by the girls instead of remaining on the men's side

8. ≠Toma the leader

[p. 348-D]

/139 cont./

412 Mortars are made of wood and have a stone floor. Their
322 construction is extremely laborious. A block of wood is buried in the ground, stamped down, and then hollowed out with the iron point of the lance or a knife. For this purpose, the iron is sometimes heated. Fire is not used. The wooden pestle is furnished with a stone at one end. The stone on the floor of the
[381] mortar is cemented with tree resin.

[379] Burning branches are used as a kind of torch, but only briefly in the vicinity of the fire.

Photograph 18 illustrates the shape of the mortar and the pestle. The mortar is made of soft wood hollowed out with a lance point. Fire is not used to hollow it out (see above).

Household utensils. Two flat stones to pound hard veld
415 fruit. Spoons crudely carved out of wood. Wooden pot or empty ostrich eggs /140/ with a round hole as water containers. Fre-
[531] quently some kind of decoration is applied. Digging stick
[412] pointed at one end.

301 Ornamentation. Unfortunately I did not have time to ob-
531 tain more precise data concerning ornamentation. Ornaments are attached to many objects and consist of such things as ostrich eggs and pipe plugs (which are worn on a string around the neck).

Generally speaking, the Auin has three meals a day (morn-
264 ing, afternoon, and evening). If he has enough food, however, he may eat all day long, with the necessary intervals, and, if it is not too cold, even during the night.

There is no special menu. Whatever is available is eaten.
262 The hyena is not eaten because it "devours corpses." The leopard is supposedly not eaten by all the people. The reason for this is unknown to me. The shabrack jackal is frequently spurned because it "is a dog." On the other hand, they like to eat the silver jackal, because it "does not eat vermin."

[858] Young girls who have not yet menstruated and boys before
[882] they have reached adulthood may not eat game meat because if they did, they would "remain skinny."

I have never observed any traces of cannibalism. Further-
266 more, I was told by old, experienced natives of other races (Klipp Kaffir) that they had never heard of Bushmen eating human flesh.

/140 cont./

I spoke with a number of elderly Auin about this, and they
266 were by no means indignant at the suggestion. Their reasoning was approximately the following: "Our parents never told us one should eat human flesh. If other old people were to enjoy it, then we could do it also."

In view of the low cultural level of the Bushmen, the absence of anthropophagy is, in my opinion, very striking.

D. Ornaments and Hairdressing

●301 The following ornaments were observed.

Among men:

Neck ring, a thin wooden ring made from the so-called rosinkis bush and tied together to form a circle, decorated with lines scratched on it. Arm rings. Three to 20 simple braided rings (see Photos. 3 and 4). The iron beads probably come from
[439] the eastern Kaffir tribes. The rings are made from the web of a
[237] tree spider (Stegodyphus dumicola Pocock?). A number of strings are bunched together in a ball, and this is "noodled" with the flat of the hand on the upper thigh into strings of the approximate thickness of a knitting needle. The strings are then wound together in pairs and the ring is closed by "noodling together."

Rings around the wrists. The same rings as those worn on the upper arm. In addition, simple rings three to five millimeters wide, made of game leather, as well as individual rings made of
[439] iron or copper wire. The latter are said to have been bartered from Batauana.

Lower leg. Some men and women wear one or two leather rings directly below the knee on one or both legs. These leather rings are somewhat wider than the leather rings around the wrists (see Photos. 12 and 14).

Among women:

Head ornaments. Various combinations of chains of ostrich egg shells, as shown in Photograph 20. Sometimes only a piece of such a Molentza chain is braided into the hair of the forehead (see Photo. 36, woman dancing on the left). I also found this ornament on one man.

/140 cont./

301 Earrings of Molentza chain; necklaces of glass beads. Rings on arms, wrists, and legs as among the men.

[756] The "Bushman doctor" wears special ornaments that other people are not permitted to wear. Unfortunately, I was not able to obtain any of these ornaments.

[882] Girls, it is said, do not start wearing ornaments until after their first menses.

[796] All the ornaments are worn for dances and ceremonies. The headdress of the women in Photograph 20 is worn only on special festive occasions.

302 [756] [301] The "doctor" has his head shaved smooth. I did not notice a special hairdress. The men frequently stick individual loose ostrich feathers in ~~the hair,~~ while the women like to braid brass or iron beads into the hair. In addition, the women use a kind of pomade made of various pulverized plant parts which are combined with fat from antelope skin.

Men sometimes cut their head-hair with a knife or a piece of glass.

There is no differentiation in hair style between girls and married women.

[386] The hair is frequently dyed with a mixture of fat and red clay. I am uncertain, however, whether or not this is a means of making the hair fall out in places. On the other hand, in that case there would probably have to be another ingredient /141/ in this mixture that I was unable to discover.

In case a beard is present, which does not occur often, it is neither cut nor removed in any other way.

[142] Pubic hair is sparse and is sometimes shaved off (with a piece of glass). It is said that women have no pubic hair at all.

E. Artificial Deformities

A kind of cosmetic of a reddish-brown color is used by the women.

It consists of a mixture of fat and red clay (see Section D above) and is manufactured by the women themselves.

[535] This cosmetic is regarded solely as a means of beautification and is used especially at festivals (dances).

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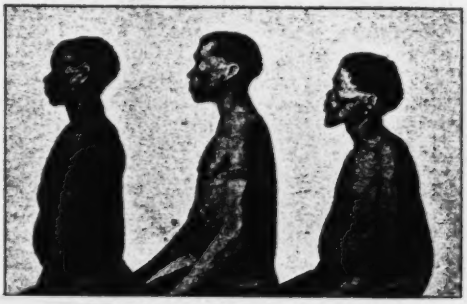
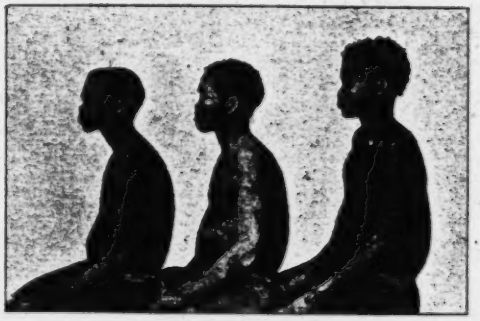
Photo. 2 [see Photo. 1]
ǂAuin from Olifantskluft

●[301]



Age about 45 50 35 years
Photo. 4 [see Photo. 3]



Age about 17 25 22 years
Photo. 6 [see Photo. 5]
ǂAuin from Rietfontein (North)

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≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Photo. 7

≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Photo. 9

Photo. 11

≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)

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≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Age about 22 30 35 years

Photo. 8 [see Photo. 7]

≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Photo. 10 [see Photo. 9]

Photo. 12
≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)

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Photo. 20.
Chains of Ostrich Egg Shells as Ornaments.

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Photo. 22.
Children's Clothing.

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Photo. 24.
Use of the Digging Stick (digging up veld food).

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Clothing and Equipment.

Photo. 25.

a through d, see p. 20; e, quiver; f, digging stick; g, bow; h, throwing lance; i, cover for the lance point.

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Photo. 27.
Clothing and Equipment.

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Clothing and Equipment.

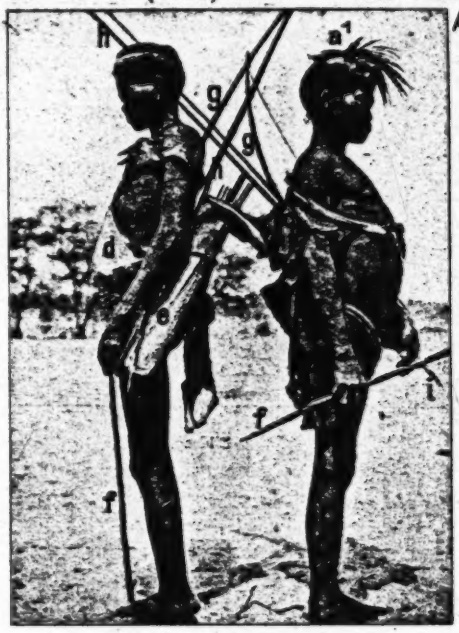

Photo. 26 [see Photo. 25]

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Photo. 28 [see Photo. 27] Clothing and Equipment.

[20 cont.]

101 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposed-
131 ly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are
[648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the
[631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief, the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notorious Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-
[197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do
[342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in
[301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh
[827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron
[411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations
[114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

[36 cont.]
291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the
293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire
291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re-
[123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having
[124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in
[412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess
[325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in
[439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that,
[531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead embroidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich
● 301 egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are
[321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence
[556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are
[462] [306] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of
[302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to lengthen them.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

[38 cont.]

412 415 Fig. 4. Wooden Mortars of the !Kung. (1/4 natural size [as shown in the original text]).

Fig. 5. Wooden Vessels of the !Kung.

Fig. 6. Large Wooden Bowl of the !Kung (probably imported from the north — Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 2158).

Fig. 7. Pestle and Digging Stick or the !Kung (greatly reduced).

Fig. 8. (1) Digging Stick with !Kwe; (2) Veld Hoe (Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 1278 and 1497).

301 lengthen them. Some people possess such a great number of these chains that they cover the entire forehead. Children often wear small rectangular pendants, and women have large, medallion-like round ones that are worn like a diadem in the middle of the forehead. Little chains of small ostrich egg beads up to five centimeters long are worn as ear pendants. Children are also given armbands and anklebands made of ostrich egg beads. Brass beads from ancient times are rare and are worn exclusively as hair pendants, as are copper beads. Glass beads are not greatly valued, and only blue ones are worn, if any. On the other hand, beads made from aromatic wood are common. Longer chains of alter-
[756] nating wood and ostrich egg beads and worn in the hair are insignia of the female doctors. The men have tight little leather straps
[827] at the wrists and ankles, which probably serve to strengthen the
[411] musculature in running and using the bow. In addition, they have a few armbands of brass or iron. Every man and woman wears a string around the neck, which has one or two appetite sticks (see
[777] below) and various talismans attached at the front. Finally, a little horn containing various kinds of medicine is worn around the neck by many of the men. The younger women and girls
[303] usually also possess a tortoise shell powder box of the kind described below for the Dama. Body painting is scarcely practiced;
[302] concerning tattooing, see page 56. The children occasionally wear armbands that they make themselves with grass or various fruits.

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
532 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
535 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
323 customary.
302

A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the
304 custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
(751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

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[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
[842] spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
843 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
845 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

[301 789 303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

!Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course, are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she
584 is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

[72 cont.] THE SUITOR

584 brings his future parents-in-law presents in the form of game and
[583] veldkost, sometimes for more than a year. If matters go smoothly,
[585] he takes the girl to his hut after a while, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. If, in spite of her parents' consent, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to state her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man finally takes the girl forcibly into his hut. Should a man do vio-
684 lence to a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be

301

Fig. 26. Nagau Girl in Festive Finery of Ostrich Egg Beads (Girls' Initiation).

killed. There are no special ceremonies when the marriage is
585 concluded. The engagement, undertaken before the couple settles in the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl around her wrist. Since, however, the "engagement" and "wedding" are separated in time only by the walk to the hut, the grasping of the bride's lower arm may be regarded as concluding the marriage. [Fig. 26 appears here.] The seizing of the lower arm is done rather violently, and on the walk to the hut the bride allows herself to be dragged along to a certain extent.
606 It is curious to note how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids his mother-in-law's company and does not sit with her. For example, when he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law goes away. If it is absolutely necessary for him to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.
163 Kaufmann observed that most of the women had two or three

[77 cont.]

291 in the north, but they have far more ostrich egg pearls.
[301]

11. Weapons

The ≠Auin have the throwing lance; the digging stick is
411 occasionally also used for striking and as a throwing club. The
[439] lance points are bartered from Ngami Lake. The upper end of the shaft is bound with a strip of antelope skin or tendons. The shaft tapers off toward the end. The lance points are distinguished as male and female. The male points have blunt barbs. The points are often provided with a leather cap. The lance points also serve as a knife and universal instrument. The spear points are kept well hidden. Among the Naron, spears
411 are very rare today; they are ob-
439 tained from Ovamboland in exchange for chains of ostrich egg beads. The same is true of the Nogau, who, however, obtain their spear points in part from the Ovambo and in part from the Okawango by way of the !Kung.

The bow of the ≠Auin is small;
411 the string is twisted out of animal
[283] tendons and is pushed up on one side and fastened on the other. The arrows are made of reed. At the bottom of the shaft there is a shallow notch, and the end is wound with grass. Similarly, we find a notch at the upper end where the point is inserted. The length of the arrow shaft is from 48 to 52 centimeters. The points are made either of iron or bone; in the latter case ostrich bones are used. The bone arrowhead is pointed at both ends, one of which is inserted

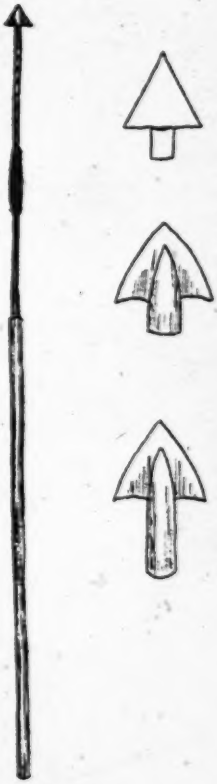

Fig. 27. Arrows of the Nogau.

3: Lebzelter--163 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Plate V. !Kung Bushmen from the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

3: Lebzelter--164 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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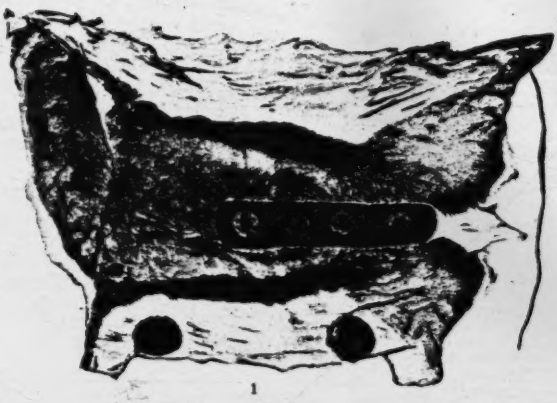

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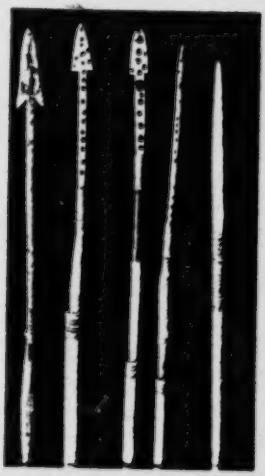

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Plate VI

1. Back Apron (Betschuana), 2. Neck Band (Bushmen), 3. Grass Armbands, 4. Fly Swatters (!Kung), 5. Hide Sack (Kaunas Hottentot), (Museum for Ethnology, Berlin).

6. Bushman Arrows (Cape Province ?) (Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart).

3: Lebzelter--166 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

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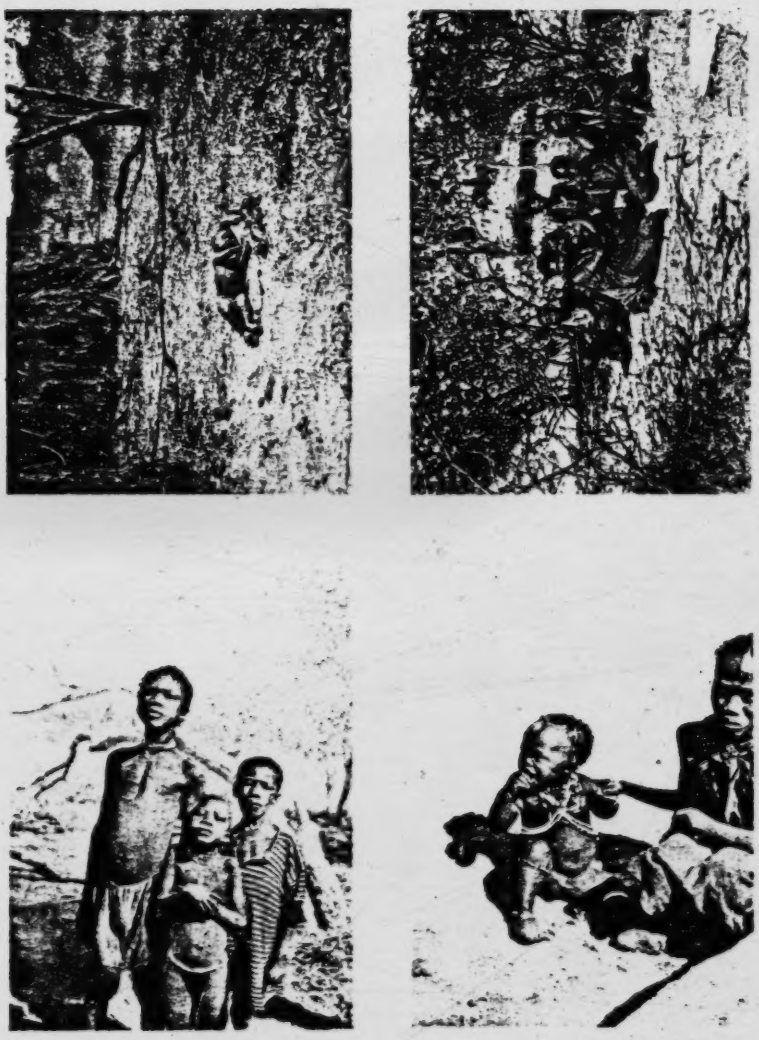

Plate VIII. Children of the !Kung Bushmen.

3: Lebzelter--168 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Plate X. !Kung Types from the Otjimpolo Veld.

/241 cont./

128 Tables giving all the /242/ measurements for each individual, are attached, as are forms for the observations concerning the descriptive characteristics of the individuals measured.

141 The average values for the adults measured are as follows:

	Men	Women
1. Body height	155.3	149.7
2. Height of the chin above the ground	135.7	130.6

[142] [291] [301] [342] [516]

Fig. 1. Heikum Bushmen. Men.

3. Height of the navel above the ground	93.2	90.4
4. Height of the upper edge of the symphysis above the ground	82.2	79.6
[Fig. 1 appears here.]		
5. Height of the acromion above the ground	130.5	124.9
6. Height of the elbow joint above the ground	99.9	96.5
7. Height of the projection of the radius above the ground	76.0	73.4

/247 cont./

144 conclusive evidence /248/ against any notion of racial kinship between the Bushmen and the Hottentot.

The arms are thin and not very muscular; the hands are small
142 and very delicate. In contrast to the musculature of the arms, that of the legs is better developed. The arch of the foot is good; only in one case did I observe flat feet.

The big toe is pointed straight and shows neither a deviation

[291]
[301]
[516]

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

toward the median line of the foot nor one away from it.

In most cases the second toe extends farthest, but in two cases it was exceeded by the first toe. The second and first or second and third toe of some of the others examined extended the same distance. The following table gives more exact information on this matter:

/255 cont./

281 The hair is removed from the hides. After the skinning, the hides are stretched out on the ground for two days, exposed to the sun; then the hair is removed, and subsequently the juice of a red tuber is rubbed into the hides on the inside. After they have been prepared in this manner, they are buried in the ground for a longer period of time and are then ready for use.

291 Not infrequently the Bushmen wear sandals which they cut from antelope hide in the simplest manner imaginable. A leather sole is fastened with three thongs to a leather ring lying over the instep and drawn tight below the ankle. One thong runs between the first and the second toe, while the two others run inside and outside the foot.

301 The children go about quite naked. Despite this sparseness of clothing, the feeling for ornamentation finds full expression.

Many ornamental objects serve as amulets which are worn for a great variety of purposes. The women are more richly adorned than the men. Whereas the latter frequently content themselves with arm rings made of antelope leather, the women are usually overloaded with ornamental objects. One of the favorite women's ornaments is a necklace made of ostrich egg shells. The shells [321] are worked into small, approximately penny-sized circular disks which are pierced in the middle and strung on a leather thong. Arm and leg rings are made of the same materials.

In place of the little ostrich egg disks, colored glass beads [439] obtained in trade are frequently used for necklaces and arm rings. One sees many a woman walking along with a tortoise-shell box hanging on her chest, /256/ which is decorated with bead-studded leather strips and used as a container for tobacco.

Pierced pieces of root, distinguished by natural rings notched at regular intervals, are strung on leather thongs for necklaces.

224 I found the following ornamental objects which simultaneously
301 served the function of an amulet:

1. Little pieces of dried antelope flesh are worn on the chest in the belief that the wearer will not lack meat to eat so long as he wears these guarantees.

2. The same significance is attached to dried antelope ears which are worn in a small leather bag on the chest.

/256 cont./

224 3. A piece of root wood, called /un /gei, is pierced and
301 worn on a bast string on the chest. This little piece of root has
828 its distinctive story. When the Bushmen are hunting and want a clear eye to see game, they scrape a bit off its surface and rub the powdery scrapings between the eyes and from there upward across the middle of the forehead to the hairline. They believe that they can increase their keenness of vision by this procedure. An experiment that I made with the powder produced no change on the skin that was treated and naturally did not have any visible effect on my keenness of vision.

4. Little wooden sticks which are used as oracular instruments,
301 especially by the Kung people of the Kaukau Veld.
787 These are four wooden sticks which are strung on a string and worn on the chest. They are about as long as a finger and about two centimeters wide. Two of them are about as thick as a finger; the two others are only a few millimeters thick. One end of the sticks is cut off smooth, and the other pointed. These four sticks are questioned for all imaginable purposes. If the Bushman wants to know where game is, where he is to expect an enemy, or which route he is to take, he asks his sticks. He does so in the following manner. He spreads a piece of leather in front of him and crouches on the ground. Then he places all four sticks parallel and on top of one another in his left hand, the back of the hand being turned toward the ground. With a sudden jerk, accompanied by clicking the tongue, he throws the little sticks on the cloth; naturally, the sticks are scattered with their tips pointing in various directions. Depending on the matter at hand, each little stick signifies something special. When I had a Bushman captain in the Kaukau Veld consult his oracle concerning the fate of our patrol, one of the thick sticks in this throw signified the oxcart that accompanied the patrol. A lively argument concerning the significance of the sticks in a given case frequently arises between the consulter of the oracle and the spectator; finally, the view of the more respected of the two apparently wins out.

/257/ The clothing of the Kung people in the Kaukau Veld
184 is essentially the same as that of the Heikum on the Omuramba
291 ua omatako; even the ornaments do not show any great differences.
301 Nevertheless, I was struck by certain peculiarities of the Kaukau people that I did not find among the Heikum.

/257 cont./

301 people that I did not find among the Heikum. The Kung of the Kaukau Veld had rings braided from wildebeest tail hairs as arm and neck ornaments, and had made similar arm and leg rings from twisted grass. Furthermore they wore strings of twisted bast criss-crossed over the chest in considerable numbers. In addition, in the Kaukau Veld I found neck rings of dried and braided antelope tendons and, in larger numbers than among the Heikum, copper, [439] brass, and iron rings. The latter are obtained by the Kung Bushmen of the Kaukau Veld through trade with the Ovambo [Ambo] and Betschuana [Tswana] in exchange for ostrich eggs and antelope hides.

Like their clothing, the house furnishings of the Bushmen are 415 also very simple and quickly enumerated.

Wooden pans of various sizes, without handles, are generally found in every hut. For the pounding of food, the Bushmen use a cylindrical, mortar-like wooden vessel with thick walls and a [412] very strong bottom. A heavy staff about 30 centimeters long and four centimeters thick is used for pounding.

For chairs, they use wooden stools which by European standards 352 are absurdly small. They consist of two circular wooden disks scarcely the size of a hand and joined by two wooden rods. They stand about ten centimeters high.

There are plenty of axes in the villages. They consist of 412 small iron blades attached to thick wooden handles. The shape of the axe shows that the value of the iron necessitates frugal use of this valuable metal. The force of the blow, which in the case of European axes is produced by the weight of the iron part, is achieved by the Bushmen through a club-like enlargement of the wooden handle near the end of the axe. Side by side with axes that have a longitudinally-placed cutting edge, one also finds axes with a transverse cutting edge.

A common tool is the knife for removing hair from animal skins. This knife consists of a short, transverse iron blade imbedded in a wooden handle.

There are various kinds of tobacco pipes. The Bushmen, who 276 find a leaf tobacco in the bush throughout the year, are experts at making an improvised pipe bowl from a root tubercle in the shortest possible time. Large pipes made of the end of a kudu horn

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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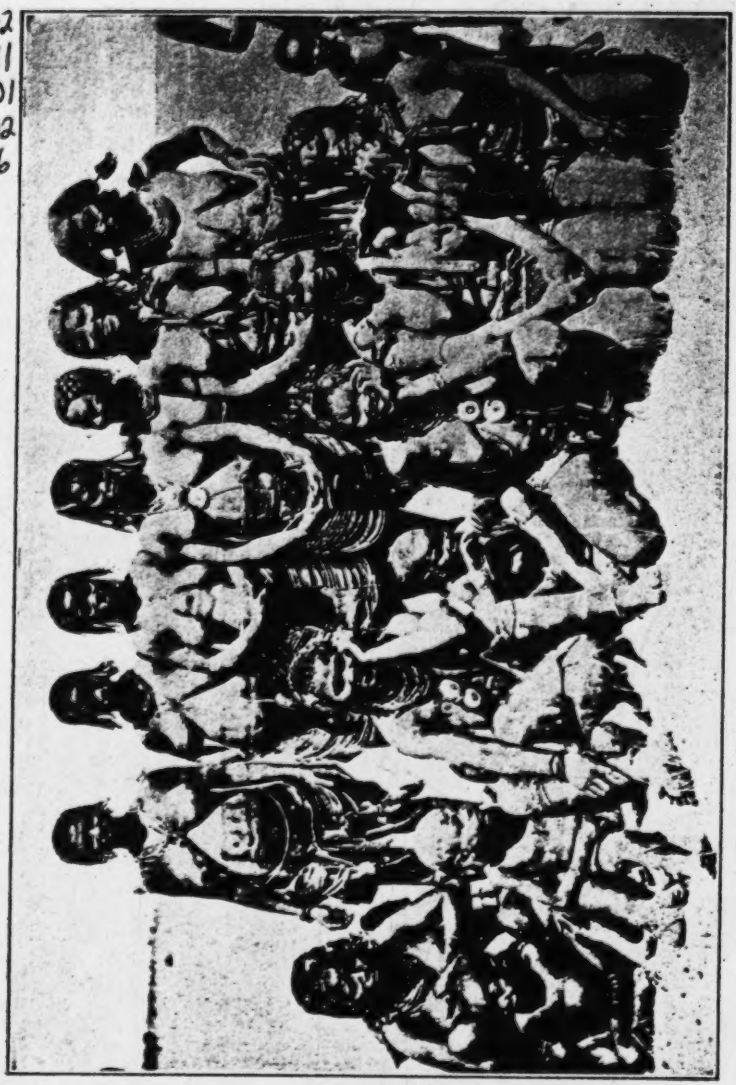

Wakeldi Women (Hei //om).
N.W. Ovamboland.

[FACING p. 81]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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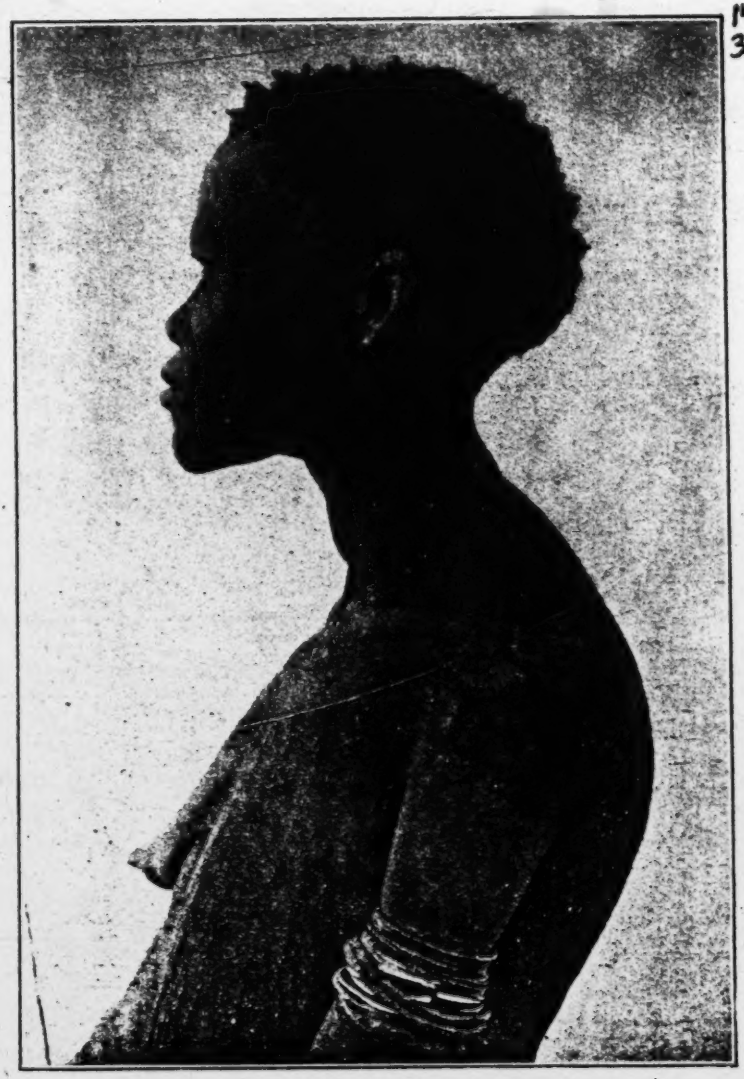

ǂAo //ein Bushwoman.
Epukiro.

[FACING p. 88A]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Naron (//aikwe) Woman in Ceremonial Dress of Ostrich Shell Beadwork.
Sandfontein, Gobabis.

[FACING p. 89]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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≠Ao //ein Maiden.
Epukiro.

[FACING p.97

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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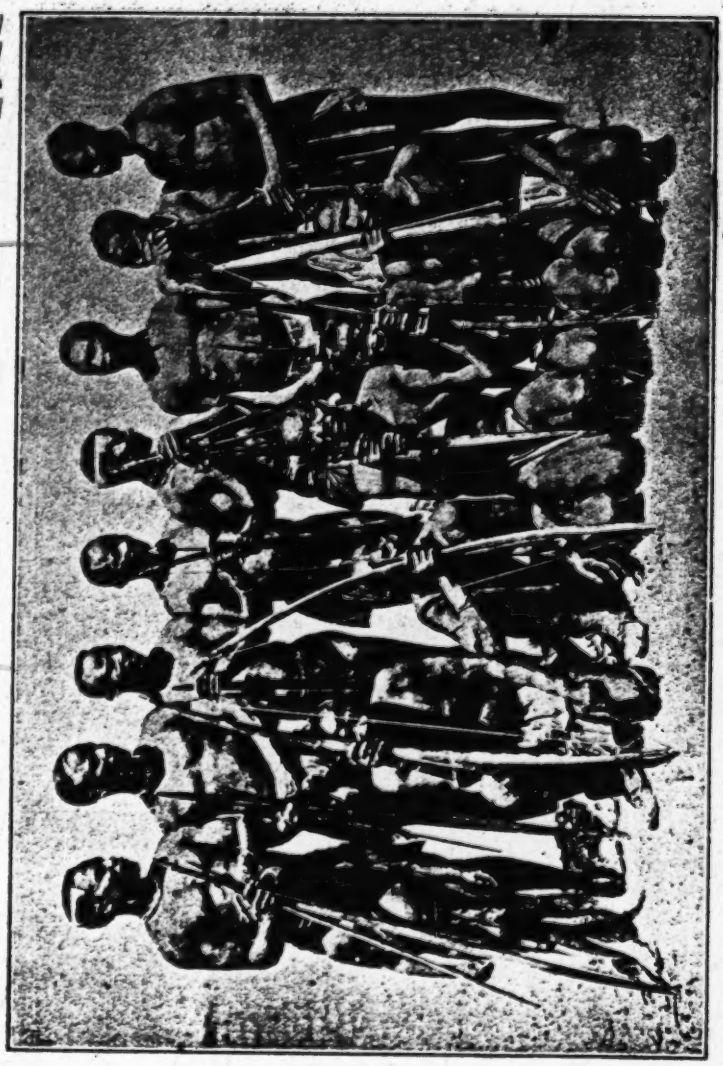

Wakeddi Bushmen (Hei //om).
N.W. Ovamboland.

[FACING p.100]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly 252
disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin
tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups [739]
use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roasted plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of 264
wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make 415
wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some 184
purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except 262
by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco 237
pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups, bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The *|Nu-||ĕin* [184]
and *||Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the *‡Ao-||ĕin* and other tribes living to the north. Articles [438]
made by the former form an important medium of exchange. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it [482]
also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large [415]
animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich egg-shells are used for carrying and storing water and for the [301]
manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time [438]
form the most important article of barter among the *|Nu-||ĕin, Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-||om*. Among the most [184]
northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red [278]
ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omura* tree, are the [438]
principal media of exchange.

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit [121]
me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive communities are surrounded.

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, 142
and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff [46]
with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the
men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and
consequently they often seem younger than they are. They [194]
are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man 291
wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather
apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole
animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at [854 482 415 237]
the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride,
and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which
are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people;
they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though [515
they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair 302]
breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped
close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell
beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny [301]
bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear
leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several 609
months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find
them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe
that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the
grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and [343]
made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right 609
into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and 621
didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass until I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned, all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

136 the great veld fires had burned away the dry grass farther in the north, causing new green grass to spring up, luring the antelope to come there. We saw fires very near us and we wondered if the Bushmen had followed the game to the north.

361 609 One day we came to a tiny, low forest where we decided to camp for the night. As we searched among the little trees for firewood, we came upon three scherms, three little huts, built by Bushmen and abandoned very recently. The ashes of the fires were still warm. The people who lived there had surely heard us and had run away, leaving many of their possessions behind. We found a pot, burned black from use, a few white beads, a quiver with arrows, and a digging-stick, which is a branch a few feet long with the bark peeled off and the twigs trimmed away, sharpened at one end and used by Bushmen as a spade to break the hard ground when they dig roots. We then found footprints made by the people when they had rushed off in all directions; and later, as we followed the tracks, we even found the prints of hands and knees where someone had crawled hastily across an open place.

441 442 445 301

609 The discovery of these huts made us very hopeful, as we had traveled much farther than we had expected. We felt confident that Gishe, who had been born near our very campsite, would be able to track the people and find them, or that they would be plagued by curiosity and finally visit us. They did not, however; nor did they come back for their possessions, nor was Gishe able to find them. He had been living on a farm for many years and was no longer an expert tracker; and after the night dew had fallen during the evening that we found the werf, the tracks were old.

Of course, it was useless for us to wander around the veld hoping to stumble upon fresh tracks, although we tried the following day without success. We also sent Gishe to look for

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Gai was afraid of us at first. He listened carefully to everything we said, but he would not speak.

Even among her own people Tsetchwe was lonely, for in her band there was no young woman but herself.

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[p. 112(B)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Twikwe was a lanky old woman. She sometimes wound a medicine string around her belly to ward hunger away.

This is Gai's house, this bare sand under the branch of a tree.

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[p. 112(E)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

584 One day the young man killed a little buck and, according to custom, gave most of it to his bride's parents, thus proving that he hunted well and would provide for them and their daughter. With this the engagement was sealed. Shortly after-
585 ward the mothers of the bride and groom built a scherm for the young couple which they furnished with wood and water and enlivened with a fire, kindled by brands from their own fires. Very early the following day the bride's mother adorned
[301] the bride, washing her, hanging white bead ornaments from
[322] her hair, rubbing her clothing with red, sweet-smelling pow-
831 der, a symbol to Bushmen of beauty. Then, sitting her upon one large kaross, they covered her with another and left her to spend the day motionless, waiting for evening, when the union would take place.

788 It is common in Bushman ceremonies for a person at a transitional moment of life to be raised from the ground and hidden from the sun, as though suspended between earth and sky. Young people on the day of their first marriage are protected in this way; so are newborn babies, and so are girls
[84] on the day of their first menstruation. At a funeral, too, the body before burial is covered and raised from the ground, and perhaps all this is because a person is especially susceptible to damage at times of life when change is taking place, when, perhaps, a person is as delicate and fragile as a new moth emerged from a cocoon.

585 Because the sun brings death, no ceremony or part of any
[821 ceremony is performed when the sun is strong; but when
761] evening came and the sun itself was dying, the groom was led to his new home by his three brothers, who took him by the hands and pulled him there, forced him, for custom demanded that he show reluctance. The bride, according to custom, refused to go to her husband and had to be picked up by another little girl and carried to him. In the drama of re-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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I sometimes received presents of gum from trees, or soft, sweet caterpillars.

Toma the leader.

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[p. 176(B)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Crooked Kwi and his wife, who once had run away from him.

Dikai made a bow from a branch, an arrow from a reed, and gave them to her younger son.

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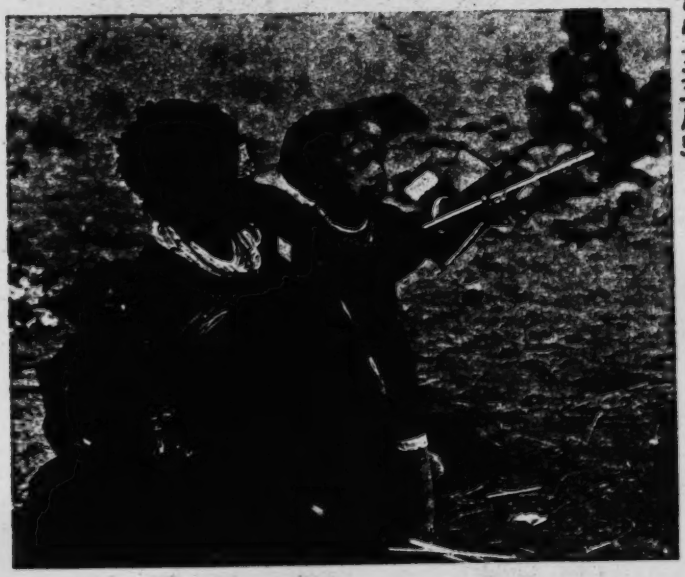

[p. 176(C)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Toma's son, the new owner of Short Kwi's crown of badger hair.

The young musician—the lonely, brooding man who played the guashi.

[p. 176(D)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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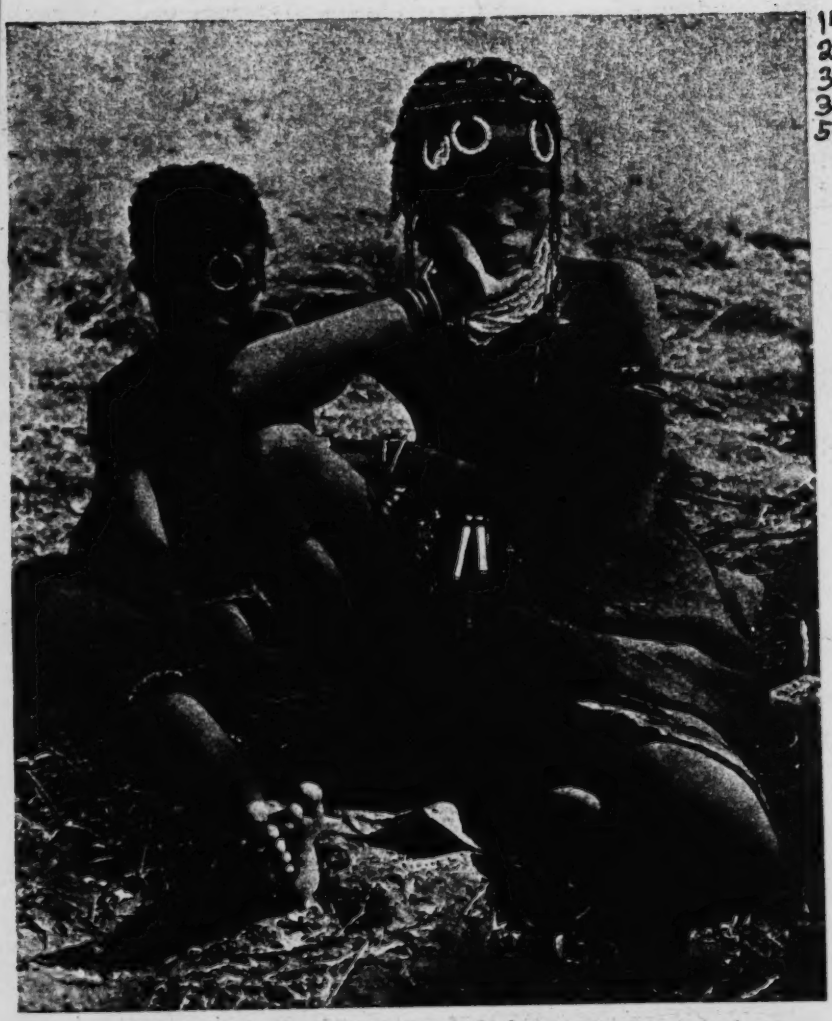

Beautiful Ungka's cousin, and the little girl who was content to follow her and be her handmaiden.

[p. 176(E)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Beautiful Ungka, the lily of the field.

[p. 176 (F)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

The old man who had never shot a buck, who had never married, now almost blind, too thin, and without people.

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Tu made Norna clothes of ostrich-eggshell beads, an art taught to Bushmen by the gemsbok people.

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[p. 176 (G)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

142 159 622 sometimes he would abandon his gravity and laugh a high, reaching laugh that one could hear from far away, a laugh that came from his very soul, or, as Bushmen say, from his stomach. He listened diplomatically and intently whenever 159 153 he was spoken to, staring at the gound, and had a habit of echoing, in a loud falsetto voice, the important phrases of every sentence he was told.

"We went to Keitsa Pan," someone might say to him.

"To Keitsa," Toma would reply.

". . . and we slept there, but the blind flies were very bad . . ."

"Oh, bad, bad . . ."

". . . but in the morning we saw two porcupines . . ."

". . . yes, porcupines . . ."

". . . and we killed them there. We made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry."

159 Toma was considered to be very fortunate in his marriage. 142 Of course it was through his wife, Tu, that he gained the leadership of the Gautscha people, his life free in the veld rather than in serfdom, and his two young sons, but besides all this his wife was beautiful, having a smooth face and great, clear eyes like a cat. Also, she was five feet tall, considered to be a very desirable height, and although no Bushman has ever been too fat, Tu was not too thin and her arms and legs were round. She had soft blue scars curving on her fore- [304] head which made her eyes seem to lift at the corners, and blue scars on her thighs that showed when she walked. Her 159 chief virtues, in the eyes of Bushmen, were that she deco- 577 rated herself with ornaments in her hair and kept her hands [515 and face washed, thus demonstrating that she cared what she 301] looked like, rather than letting herself go now that she was married. To show that she observed propriety, cared what

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the buffalo's horn had wounded him. Otherwise, he looked 609
very well. All the people seemed well, especially the children.
Toma's oldest son wore a crown of badger skin with the long 291
hair standing up on it, and two safety pins that we had given 177
him, which he wore as earrings in his pierced ears. With all 301
this he looked bold as a pirate. His brother was nearly as big
as he was, and his sister, Norna, now three, was a slender,
graceful child who regarded the world with dark, wondering
eyes.

Norna's sixteen-year-old uncle, Tu's brother, was there too. 481
He was a lame boy; he had been crippled in one leg since 732
childhood and could hobble only with the help of a long stick.
People had despaired of him, believing that he would never
be able to hunt and therefore never marry or inherit the head-
manship of Gautscha Pan, but when we saw him now and
looked at him closely we noticed a fine row of scars between 881
his eyes and on his arms and chest and we knew that he had 304
hunted and killed an antelope and had been scarified in his
initiation. We had planned on this trip to give him presents
of all kinds, to make him rich, so that he could marry whether
he could hunt or not, but we saw now that this would not be
necessary. When he knew that we had noticed his scars he
told us in great detail the story of the hunt. He told us how he
had gone out with a group of hunters, how he had first seen [224]
the two horns of a kudu above a clump of bushes, how he had
silently hobbled near it, propped himself on his crutch, and
shot it with a poisoned arrow. The arrow had penetrated
deeply and the lame boy had returned to tell the others. They
had followed it with him for a day and in the evening had
found it dead. It was the lame boy's kudu, though; he shot it,
and to Bushmen that is the important thing. He was scarified [884]
with a paste made of the kudu's meat, and ever after that he
was a man.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

We had met him for the first time at Gautscha. He had 159 224
come in from the veld one night to visit his brother, and we had met him in the morning. Short Kwi was a young, small man, shorter than his wife and so slender that he looked almost like a child. With long, light feet that took him everywhere, with heavy thighs but light calves like the thin shanks [442] of a greyhound, and with a narrow, deep chest and lungs that never winded, he was obviously built for hunting. In the rainy season when the veld was soft and muddy he often hunted with only a spear and ran the great antelopes down, for though their hooves sunk and split in the mud, causing them eventually to tire, Short Kwi never tired and his strong legs bore him after them relentlessly, sweeping him down the long plains like a wind of death.

His life in the veld seemed lonely, but I doubt that it was; he had his wife, who adored him, for company in the evenings, and although she may have missed companionship more than he did, they were both shy, both quiet, and it may [573] be that they both enjoyed their life apart. Short Kwi hunted most of the time. He would hunt on and on and when word would reach the large band of his wife's family that he had killed, the band would go out to where the animal was, dry the meat, and eat it. When there was enough meat Short Kwi would rest, would relax in the sun, would talk with his wife or make himself a new skin bag or garment, and when word would reach him that all the meat was gone he would move again. The men of his wife's family hunted too, of course, but never as successfully as he, yet his great ability set [578 554] him so far apart from ordinary mortals that for once the Bushmen forgot their jealousy and agreed that he was the best hunter the Kalahari had ever known.

It is a custom among Bushman hunters to cut strips of skin 301 224

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

301 from the foreheads of the antelope they kill and fashion them
224 into bracelets which their wives wear on their arms. Short Kwi's wife and daughter wore dozens of these; their arms were covered and heavy with them. Short Kwi himself wore
[29 no ornament of any kind, nothing except a crown of badger
43] hair which he owned for a while but later gave to Toma, the very crown that Toma's son now wore.

752 One day, said Toma, Short Kwi had been walking in the
224 veld and had failed to watch where he was going. He had
159 stepped on the tail of a puff adder, which had risen up and bitten his leg, just below the knee. It was a rare and terrible accident; in all the time we had been in the Kalahari we had known of only two people besides Short Kwi who had been harmed by snakes—a young boy bitten by a mamba who had died the day he was bitten, and a young woman who had been pulled into a waterhole by a water python and had drowned. Usually, snakes move away when you come near them, or if they don't, you can usually see them; but you can't walk with your eyes on the ground all the time, especially if you are hunting, as Short Kwi had been. His misfortune was regarded as a horrible accident and it was felt that the spirits of the dead were to blame. They had led Short Kwi down the very path the puff adder had chosen, and perhaps had even placed the snake where his foot was sure to fall. Toma and Goa Feet were very depressed to think of it. Although the talk turned to other things, Gao Feet mentioned the accident again and again; everything seemed to remind him of it. At last Toma said to us: "Perhaps you can help him hunt again. Since he was bitten his people have had no meat."

648 Toma told us that he had been with Short Kwi near Nama
609 Pan when the third group of white farmers had arrived. The farmers had looked at Short Kwi and had offered to cut his leg off for him then and there. This had frightened the Bush-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ket and revealed a tiny, skinny stick that was his leg wrapped 164
in some kind of rag, bound by a thong that tied the calf to the healthy thigh above, with the black foot showing below, and then he slowly and carefully unwound the thong and then the rag and opened it.

For once the people of Nama had not exaggerated a misfortune. The leg was even worse than they had described, all dead and black at the ankle, and above that, rotted away down to the bone, which was gray now, but while the foot was rotting and dry, the leg was rotting and wet and oozing a little black slime or juice. It was gangrene. A faint stench rose. Those of us who had not seen it had to look away, and Short Kwi, perceiving this, looked calmly down at the ground, at his ruined black leg, and he wrapped the rag around it again, tied his calf to his thigh with the thong, and covered it all with the blanket.

Short Kwi's wife had watched the whole thing with calmness and composure, her hands in her lap, and when the leg [301] was covered she opened one of her hands, revealing a palm- [415]
ful of little white beads, which she began to drop, one by one, into a tiny bag she wore around her neck. With her head bent to see the mouth of the bag she looked very girlish and young; someone said something unusual, an unfamiliar word, and Short Kwi glanced at his wife to see if she had heard it but saw instead what she was doing, and he looked at her with such a deep look of adoration and affection that I wondered how it was she didn't feel it and look up. The word was the word for European doctor, *docteri*, which is not part of the usual vocabulary. Short Kwi's wife had not understood it and when she had finished dropping the beads into the bag she whispered to ask her husband what it meant. He answered her softly, in a masculine, affectionate way, and the other people chimed in, so for a moment everyone was speaking except

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

he had better go anyway. The old woman will just have to 609
cry."

Short Kwi's wife began to put her things in a skin bag. She seemed to be resigned. Short Kwi did not say a word, but he smiled, and he seemed to be in good spirits, ready for whatever might happen to him.

Short Kwi's wife called her daughter and when her daugh- 301
ter came she took one of the child's arms; another woman 609
took the other, and together they stripped off every ornament the daughter wore, every bead string in her hair, every band of antelope skin on her arms, the great wealth of them that once had shown how Short Kwi had hunted, and they did it quickly, cutting some and pulling others although it hurt the little girl and she cried sadly. The two women piled the ornaments in a mound which grew higher and higher, to be left with Tu for safekeeping. Perhaps Short Kwi was resigned to leaving, but we thought then that his wife was not.

When the little girl's arms were stripped completely Short 609
Kwi's wife let her go free to rub the pale stripes that the bands had left and to wipe away her own tears. Short Kwi's wife then stood up to ask us to feed her mother when she came. We said we would.

Everything had happened so quickly that we hadn't had a chance to think or plan, and when we looked at Short Kwi and his wife now and pictured them in the streets of Windhoek, we knew we had to do something, so my mother and I and our interpreter, Ledimo, took Short Kwi's wife aside so that no one would be embarrassed and told her everything we could imagine that she would have to know in order to take care of herself and Short Kwi in the city; we racked our brains and started with the simplest things. We taught her how to open a safety pin; we told her how to find a toilet and

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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!KUNG MOTHER, collecting near camp, cradles a suckling daughter in a fold of her skin *kaross*, while her toddler son carries along a stick of his own.

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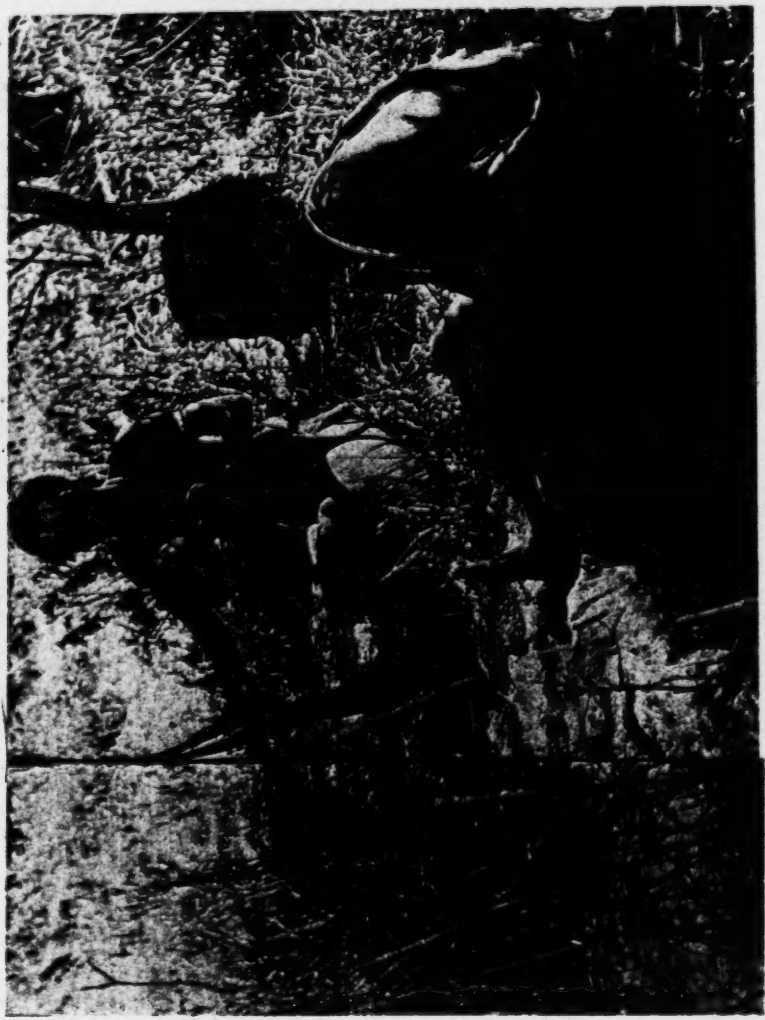

Most acorn are dug up for food, but the ones held out, above, are valued for their bark. When it is powdered and rubbed on, it turns the skin red.

[p. 13]

11:Marshall E-S (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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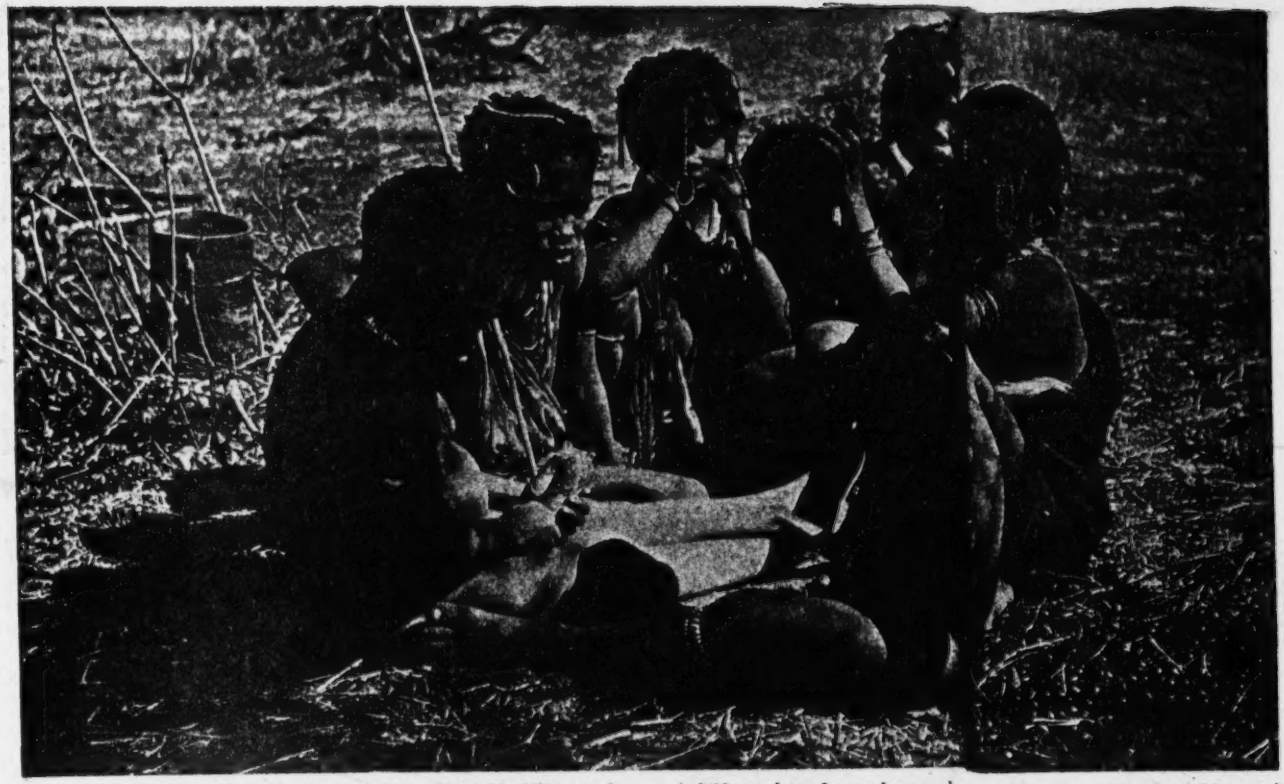
HUNTER'S LIFE is not all hunger and privation. *Above*, a young !Kung belle amuses herself with stringed instrument.

BUT AGE COMES SOON: bracelets, beads and pendants that adorn this mature !Kung matron contrast with seamed face.



FEWNESS OF NUMBERS in desert's vast expanse may help account for characteristic !Kung habit of huddling together in company, as in case of this group of children, *above*. Items of personal adornment – eggshell disks, often in strings with seed beads, and hoops of traded wire – show parental affection.

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HUDDLING HABIT is noticeable again in this gathering of women and children at !Kungser/t. Well-ornamented child, *foreground*, is still at breast.

[p. 24]

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YOUNG MOTHER bows her head as ornament for ear lobe is twisted to shape.

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ship between man and his natural environment. In such a relationship, two directions of cause and effect are implied. These two directions may be understood by two terms—adaption and control. Adaption means the effect wrought by the environment upon the body or the culture of man. Control is the effect wrought upon the environment by man, his body and his culture. In the one case, man conforms to the environment. In the other, man conforms the environment to his needs.

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THERE IS no ecological situation where either adaptation or control prevails to the exclusion of the other, for the fact of man's presence changes an environment, and the most effective technology, the most developed society, are—in part—responses to an environment. Every ecological relationship is a welter of compromise. Yet, there are extremes. If we take Western technological culture as one extreme—with control prevailing and America the exponent—the !Kung might be considered the opposite extreme, for the !Kung control their environment scarcely at all.

To the !Kung, in their environment, there are available a certain number of natural resources, in a certain geographical pattern. There are also available a certain number of !Kung. They have a culture. Living within their culture, they are able to exploit their environment. The first aspect of this ecological relationship is the fairly obvious relationship between !Kung technology and environment.

[p. 34]

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[301]

to a thong. When lived upon, the veld earth soon turns to dust, as seen here. In the rains of the coming year, the rank veld grass will have grown again across the floor of the deserted *werfi*—to toss in the passing, desert winds.

[p. 77]

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[301]

!Kung parents cherish the children their harsh environment permits them to raise. A mother, above, fits ornamental headband to her small daughter.

FATHERS TAKE PRIDE in their growing sons, to whom will pass both the task of hunting for the band and the many skills and traditions of !Kung hunters.

[p. 84]

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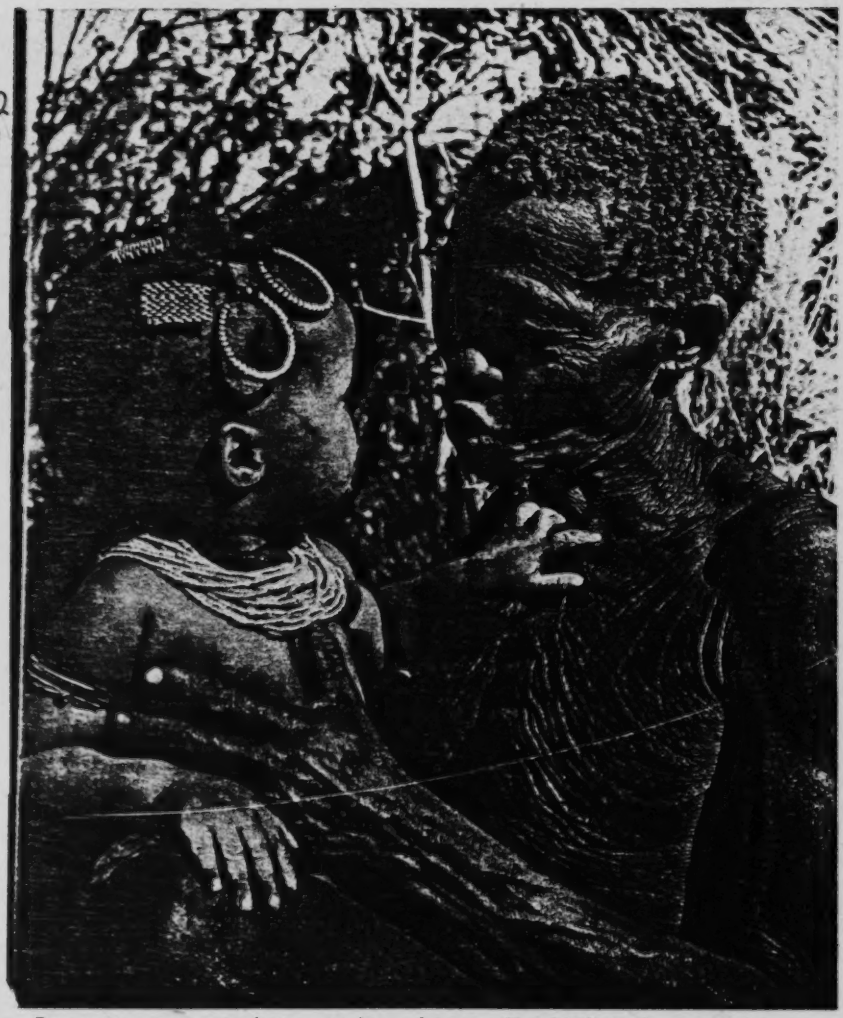

THE ROAD FROM YOUTH TO AGE is a short one among these desert dwellers, as witness the father and daughter here. It is a sparse life, and the hunter who can count twelve antelope killed in a year feels he has had a good season.

[p.86]

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[p.89]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

FIG. 1. The clustered scherms of a /Kung werf (left) are hardly visible in the grass and brush of the veld

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[516]

FIG. 2. Groups from Band 1 and visitors sitting at three family fires

FIG. 3. Khoan//a thinking things over after 'the talk'

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FIG. 4. /U, the wife of ≠Toma, with an expression which is characteristic of her

[p. 240-A]

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FIG. 5. Old /Gam making ostrich egg-shell beads. Some cowrie shells from the South Seas (via New York) dangle among her ornaments

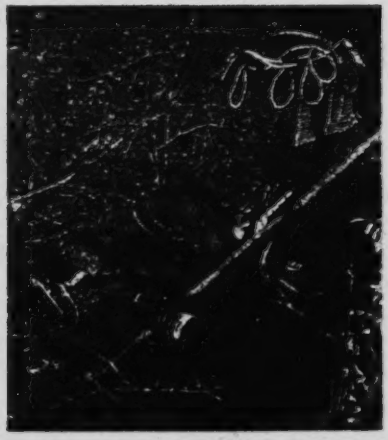

FIG. 6. Powers of observation are highly trained. This girl had seen, in the tangle of grass, a dry, hair-thin, brown vine stem which revealed that there was an edible root to be dug

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FIG. 7. Talking in the afternoon

FIG. 8. ≠Toma laughing

[p. 240-B]

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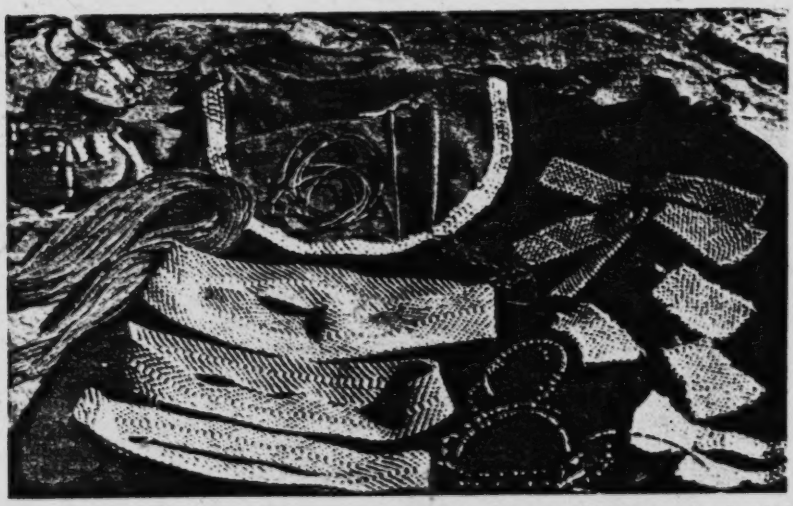

FIG. 18. Traditional /Kung women's ornaments. The genital apron (upper middle) has a border of ostrich egg-shell beads sewn on. Some traded wire, an awl, and a sheath for the awl lie on it. The head-bands are of three widths. The tortoise-shell cosmetic containers (for sweet-smelling *sa* powder) are ornamented with beads. There is a roll of fibre cord (left). The bead head ornaments (to the right) are associated with sex. The rectangular ones are said to be male; the triangular ones female

[142]

FIG. 19. A girl wears a headband made of traded beads around her head and a traditional Bushman ostrich egg-shell bead headband around her neck. Her bracelets (lower arm) are made of grass and of vegetable fibre cord

FIG. 20. The upper arm armlets with tabs are made from forehead hide of large animals which a young hunter has killed for his bride. Those from male bucks are worn on the young woman's right arm; those from female bucks on the left

[P 240-F]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

to the /Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae /Kung eat hearty meals of meat when they have been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount. They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger.

The /Kung are quite conscious of the value of meat-sharing and they talk about it, especially about the benefit of the mutual obligation it entails. The idea of sharing is deeply implanted and very successfully imposes its restraints. To keep meat without sharing is one of the things that just is not done.

Gift-giving

The custom of gift-giving comes, in my opinion, second only to meat-sharing in aiding the /Kung to avoid jealousy and ill will and to develop friendly relations. /Kung society puts considerable emphasis on gift-giving. Everything a person has may have been given to him and may be passed on to others in time. The /Kung make their artifacts, on the whole, of durable material and take good care of them. They last for generations and move in a slow eddy among the people. The dealings are only between individuals, but they are numerous and provide occasion, perhaps more than any one other activity does, for visits which bring whole bands into polite encounter.

We gave cowrie shells as parting gifts in 1951 to the women in ≠Toma's band, the band which first sponsored us and with which we stayed and did our consistent work, wherever they were, on each expedition. We had carefully observed that there were no cowrie shells among /Kung ornaments before we gave them. Ours were bought from a New York shell dealer, perhaps to the confusion of future archaeologists. We gave to each woman enough for a short necklace, one large brown shell and twenty smaller grey ones. In 1952 there was hardly a cowrie shell to be found in Band 1. They appeared, not as whole necklaces, but in ones and twos in people's ornaments to the edges of the region.

The /Kung have not developed special objects to use as gifts. Nor have they invested ordinary objects with special gift significance. What they give each other are the common artifacts and materials of everyday life (see Appendix). Some objects are more highly valued than others as gifts, as one would expect. I gathered that relative scarcity of material was a factor and that objects were appreciated for their beauty, workmanship, and appropriate size (a wide headband is better than a narrow one). People took an interest in remembering to whom an object had been given in the recent past, but the /Kung, who are present-oriented, do not place special value upon antiquity as such or systematically hold the distant past in mind.

The /Kung decorate their artifacts very little (they have developed music and dancing, not the plastic or pictorial arts), but they delight in ornaments with which to adorn themselves. The intrinsic beauty, the meaningfulness, and the relief to the monotony of yellow-brown skin and grey-brown leather karosses are all valued.

301 431 The most highly valued gifts are the traditional ornaments of ostrich egg-shell beads, especially the wide headbands and necklaces of five or six strings of beads reaching to the umbilicus. The creamy white is becoming to them. They like European beads also, of all colours, though white is definitely their preference. The only thing they do not like about beads, Gao Beard told us, is shortness of the string. After ornaments, the /Kung value implements or utensils, *//gwashi* or dance rattles, which have required time and care to make, but perhaps more especially valued are metal objects and pots. The latter are obtained by trade. The /Kung do not trade among [438] themselves. They consider the procedure undignified and avoid it because it is too likely to stir up bad feelings. They trade with the Bantu, however, in the settlements along the B.P. border. The /Kung offer well-tanned antelope hides and ostrich egg 439 shell beads. For these they obtain tobacco, beads, knives, axes, malleable metal for making arrow-points and spear-blades, and occasional files and chisels, fire-strikers, and pots.

The odds are with the Bantu in the trading. Big, aggressive, and determined to 435 have what they want, they easily intimidate the Bushmen. Several /Kung informants said that they tried not to trade with Herero if it was possible to avoid it because, 439 although the Tswana were hard bargainers, the Herero were worse. /Qui said he had been forced by a Herero whom he was afraid to anger to trade the shirt and pants we had given him as our parting gift in 1952 for a small enamel pan and a little cup. /Ti/kay had more gumption. A Herero at the beginning of a negotiation with him brought out a good-sized pile of tobacco but took from it only a pinch when it was time to pay. /Ti/kay picked up the object he was trading and ran off. ≠Toma said with amused exaggeration that 'a very good Herero, a respectable one, will give a handful of tobacco for five cured steinbok skins. A bad Herero will give a pipeful (he showed the size of his fingernail) for three skins.' The Tswana values are a little better. A well-tanned gemsbok hide brings a pile of tobacco about 14 inches in diameter and about 4 inches high. The values vary. Some that were reported to us were three rooibok, duiker, or steinbok skins for a good-sized knife, five strings of ostrich egg-shell beads for a spear.

439 The /Kung have become dependent on metal, especially knives, axes, and arrow-points. They have been able to trade enough for every man to have these implements. [109] They could, however, exist without them and do still use a few bone and wood [410] arrow-points. Poison makes their arrows deadly, not penetrating power. The pots are Ovambo or Okavango pottery (the /Kung make no pottery themselves) or European ironware. The /Kung like to have a pot around to borrow sometimes; not [058] everyone wants to carry one. They cook mostly in hot ashes. More for their novelty, I thought, than for their worth, the /Kung trade also for old oddments of cloth garments (they weave neither cloth nor mats), pieces of blankets, basins, &c.—things they do not really need—but which they like.

276 431 Tobacco they need 'to make the heart feel better'. Oddly enough for these passionate smokers, tobacco was not given so much emphasis in gift-giving as one might expect. They do make gifts of tobacco, but when anyone lights a pipe he passes it around anyway; all present drag smoke into their lungs until they almost faint and it has not mattered much who owned the tobacco.

302 431 Eland fat is a very highly valued gift. An eland provides so much fat that people

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A Headman ≠Toma is the leader of the main Guatscha band.

142 males average approximately five feet, two inches) with yellowish brown skin that becomes heavily wrinkled in old age. They have very little facial and body hair, and their short, black, head hair is so curly it spirals into peppercorn tufts. The Bushman face is flat and triangular; the brown eyes are set rather wide apart. A variety of eye folds narrow the apertures of the eyes. The nose is extremely broad with a very low bridge, the lips are everted but not protruding or only slightly so, and the ear is somewhat square in shape with a deeply rolled rim (helix). The Bushman body and limbs are slender; the frame is delicate. A notable feature is the inward curve of the small of the back. The penis is semierect. In women there is what is called the "Hottentot apron" (elongation of the *labia minora*). Steatopygia (fat on the buttocks) is invariably mentioned in the literature as one of the important physical characteristics of Bushman and Hottentot women and recorded as being very prominently developed in some. By comparison with the extreme examples that are seen among some Hottentot women and in illustrations, the northern and central Bushman women whom we observed did not have marked steatopygia, although some had buttocks that could be called plump.

197 LANGUAGE • Bushman languages and those of the Hottentots are classified as a language family known as Click or Khoisan (Greenberg 1955:80).
[194] Clicks are so unusual as to be almost unique to Bushman and Hottentot (they occur also in two East African languages—Sandawe and Hatsa—according to Greenberg) and are so distinguishing a feature of these languages that much attention is given them.

194 The Khoisan clicks, striking implosive sounds, are velaric suction stops
197 (Heffner 1960:119; cf. Beach 1938:73 ff.). The northern and central Bushman languages have four, made with the tongue, as follows: the dental (/), lateral (//), alveolar (!), and palatal (≠). The southern Bushman lan-

[p. 244]

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 when the people go to gather mangettis or tsī the men always ac-
462 company the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsī* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater por-
222 tion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging imple-
[412] ment is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were
[101] living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some
[484] to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles
[361] to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back
[854] to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to
[482] them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the
[372] bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as
252 meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes,
264 pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

222 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the
433 impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food
731 is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families
166 therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—
[582]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

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The *Choa* Ceremony The mother takes the girl's hands to scrape the *tsi* out of the ashes.

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choa-ed. The old woman who attends her performs this part of the ceremony (or her mother may do so). She scrapes a root called *sha sha* into the water hole. To *choa* the veldkos, the old woman takes the girl's hands in hers and together they place the veldkos in the fire. When it is cooked, they scrape it out together and the old woman puts *sha sha* in her mouth, chews it, and blows on the girl's hands and on the veldkos. This protects the girl from having an upset stomach. Each veldkos must be *choa*-ed the first time the girl eats it after the First Menstruation ceremony.

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No ceremonials mark subsequent menstruation periods, and the women do not seclude themselves during the flow or avoid gathering veldkos or dipping water from the water hole. They continue only to practice certain avoidances that in general have to do with men's hunting. The menstruating woman must not touch hunting gear; it would be very bad, for the arrows would be useless. She must not have sexual intercourse with her husband; it would make him tired and thin. Men in the years of their hunting prime should not talk or listen to talk about menstruation, for to do so might make them lazy in hunting.

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The girls who are married before their first menstruation have the same menstruation ceremony when the time comes as do the unmarried girls.

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There is no genital mutilation practiced among the girls and women of the !Kung. Girls are scarified, but not at the time of the menstruation ceremony. The scarification is begun when the girl is about seven or eight and is continued little by little over several years. Stripes are made on the legs,

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance A medicine man is going into a trance.

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to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Gauwa* or the *//gauwasi*, who are there beyond the firelight, with a sharp, yelping cry of "*kai kai kai*."

The medicine men are usually only in shallow trance at this point, but, when the curing has been going on for some time, they begin to reach a state of patterned frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. They believe that fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. The medicine men rush out into the darkness, where *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. "Filthy face!" they screech. "Take away the sickness you have brought. You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away. . . . *Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die." At this point the medicine man may fall down in deep trance and appear to be unconscious or semiconscious, with eyes closed, stiff as a board, unable to walk. This stage of trance may last only a brief time or may continue for hours—even into the next day. Gradually it is resolved and the medicine man takes up his normal activities.

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The !Kung believe that at the time of deep trance the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*. They call this "half death." It is a dangerous time. The women must continue to sing the medicine music. The man's body must be watched over, rubbed, and kept warm by other medicine men who are in less deep trance.

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The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a

[p. 272]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the !Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy. 553 602 121 [229]

(8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts. 582

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband stepbrother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself. 582 551

(9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty. 532 [301] [304]

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees. 000

(10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people 622 562

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gathered and eaten. With one exception all other birds eggs were ignored. The exception was the ostrich eggs which were highly prized as water containers and as material for making ostrich egg shell beads.

Reptiles and Amphibians

Only four species of reptile - two tortoises, one leguaan, and the rock python - were regarded by the Bushmen as edible. One species of frog, Pixiecephalus sp. was regarded as edible. Of these five species, the large leopard tortoise (Geochelone pardalis) is the most important food. These tortoises weigh 5-8 pounds. They are sluggish and easily collected. For this reason, the tortoises were the only species of vertebrate that were collected by the women. All other vertebrates were the exclusive concern of the men.

The rock python, a large non-poisonous snake, was regularly collected by the men. This provided c. 25 lbs. of meat per specimen. The pythons collected varied in length from 8-15 feet. The other three species were rarely observed to be eaten.

Invertebrates

Insects have traditionally been considered by ethnographers to be a major Bushman food (Bodenheimer 1951:137-195). However, among the Bushmen of the Dobe area insects played a minor role in the diet. One species of antlion and three

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

281 also have a larger apron behind, sometimes hanging from the shoulders,
291 more often tied round the waist, and almost meeting over or under the apron in front. In the north-east a leather loin-cloth drawn through a belt in the same way as that of the men, only somewhat longer, is often seen instead. A large kaross is also worn by the married women. This hangs from the right shoulder, passing under the left arm, and is tied again at the waist; it thus forms a convenient pouch, in which are carried the baby as well as supplies for the day, such as ostrich eggshells filled with water, edible roots and fruit, grass or firewood.

[854 Babies go naked, save for a trifling ornament, till they are about a
855] year old. The boys are then given a tiny belt with a semi-circular flap of leather in front, the girls a small apron decorated with leather tassels and beads. Their mother's kaross, however, continues to be
[862] their sole protection from the cold till they are weaned, when about three or four years old. The little girls then receive a tiny kaross hanging from the shoulders, the boys a small loin-cloth similar to that of the men. They do not wear a cloak of any kind till they are in their teens and are taken out to learn hunting.

● 301 All women and children and the younger men also wear ornaments.
237 Chief among these are ostrich egg-shell beads, the making of which is
171 one of the oldest Bushmen industries. Such beads, whole and in fragments, and at all stages of making, are found all over South Africa, from the kitchen-middens on the south coast as far north as the Okavango, where they form a standard article of barter between the Bushmen and their Bantu neighbours. They are made by the women. The eggshell is broken into small pieces which are softened in water and pierced with a small stone or iron borer. They are then threaded on to a strip of sinew and the rough edges chipped off with a horn. Soft bark fibre is next twisted between the beads, making the chain very taut, and the edges are finally rubbed smooth with a soft stone. The beads thus made are used as single chains or worked into more complicated ornaments. Bands of them are worn on the hair, sometimes encircling the whole head, more often tied to the hair on either side, while a long narrow strip may hang down the forehead or on to the neck behind. Necklaces and bracelets of these beads are also seen, and very long chains are fastened three or four times round the waist (Plate XI).

301 Besides these beads any other ornaments obtainable are worn by the women. These include arm and leg bands made of leather and bark strips or twisted from the tail hairs of a wildebeest or gnu, as

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX 10

well as grass chains and bracelets, berries and shells. Glass beads and iron or wire bracelets obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples or from European traders are also in great demand. The men usually content themselves with leather and bark bands, worn round the arm above the biceps and on the leg below the knee.

There is no special style of hair-dressing. The hair is as a rule kept in its natural form, although occasionally the whole or part of the scalp is shaved clean. Some women, however, uncurl little clusters of hair and roll them out with fat, so that they hang down a couple of inches, making a fringe round the head, while girls often tie small ornaments such as beads or shells into their hair.

Washing is altogether unknown, save among those Bushmen who have been much with Europeans. Generally both young and old rub their face and body with fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*, a sweet-smelling powder ground by the women from various kinds of aromatic shrub. Many women carry small tortoise-shells filled with powdered *buchu*, and use a bit of soft bird's nest or else a piece of jackal's tail as a puff (Plate XI). The face and body are also often painted, especially before a dance, not only by the younger women and girls, but occasionally even by the young men. The colours found are chiefly red and black, the former obtained from clay, the latter from charcoal. Both are mixed with fat, and the mixture is smeared on with a finger.

Hottentots

With the advent of European civilization, much of the original Hottentot culture has disappeared. Their clothing especially has been almost everywhere completely replaced by garments of European pattern, and it is rarely, if at all, that the old native dress can still be seen. But from the descriptions of the earlier writers it is possible to obtain a fairly clear picture of what the Hottentots wore before European clothing became so widely adopted as now to be their universal dress.[1]

The clothing of both men and women consisted principally in front and rear aprons of skin, depending from a leather thong tied

[1] The fullest descriptions of the old Hottentot dress are given by: P. Kolb, *Reise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 1719 (new ed. by P. Germann, 1922), 84–96; Fritsch, op. cit., 309–13, 357–8, 373; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 205–7; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 83–6; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 233–52 *passim*, 207–11 (decoration); Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 183–94 (dress and decoration).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

304 joint is usually removed during childhood, and the custom appears
856 to be associated with some magical belief. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that the joint is cut off with a reed before the child sucks at all, and that the motive underlying the custom is that the child should live to grow up.[1] Other writers add that the operation is performed only on a child whose predecessor has died young, and is intended to protect it from a similar fate.[2] Various other interpretations have been given of the custom, but the one just mentioned
[184] appears to be the most probable. This form of mutilation does not seem to occur to any extent in the Northern tribes. Seiner found it in a few persons among the Kung, but states that it was exceptional,[3] and there is no other record of its occurrence in these tribes.

304 Barrow further mentions that in a large band of Bushmen seen by
[301] him in the midlands of the Cape all the men had a small piece of wood
[136] or porcupine quill inserted through the perforated septum of the nose.[4] This practice is not reported definitely by any of the other writers on the Southern Bushmen, although it is hinted at by Bleek and Lloyd.[5] Hahn, however, speaks of it as occurring in a Bushman tribe in the South-West Kalahari, whom he therefore names "Nasenstockträger",[6] and recently Pöch has published the photograph of a woman from the waterhole/kang in the Southern Kalahari, in which it is seen very clearly.[7]

184 In the majority of Northern Bushmen at the present time, and
304 especially in the North-Western tribes, the most widespread form of
231 mutilation is scarification, which was quite unknown among the tribes
224 south of the Molopo.[8] Small cuts about an inch long are made in the skin, and ash black or other colouring matter is rubbed into the wounds, producing a slight but noticeable scar. In the women they are said to be made mostly for ornament only, on the face, thighs, and buttocks, but among the !O Kung of Angola they are also made in connection with the puberty ceremony for girls. In the men some of the cuts may also be purely ornamental, but many of them are definitely related to social and hunting observances. Thus all Naron, Auen, and Kung have a vertical cut or cuts between the eyebrows,

[1] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, p. 17.
[2] Arbousset, loc. cit.; Thompson, loc. cit.
[3] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 290
[4] Op. cit., vol. i, 276.
[5] *Bushman Folklore*, 329.
[6] "Die Buschmänner," 66.
[7] "Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," pl. v, fig. 2.
[8] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101, 108–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 141–2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 245–6; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, *The Naron*, 10–11.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10
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L. Fourie

GROUP OF AUEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN
Notice the clothing and ornaments, and the mode of carrying the babies

[facing p. 118]

[see p. 118

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

142
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301
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L. Fourie

AUEN GIRL

L. Fourie

NARON WOMAN IN CEREMONIAL DRESS OF BEADWORK

[facing p. 122]

[face p. 122

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

PLATE XI

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412
●301
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a b c d

British Museum

BUSHMAN ORNAMENTS AND UTENSILS

a. Serpentine and Bone Pipes
b. Bone awl
c. Waistband of Ostrich egg-shell beads
d. Tortoise-shell box for holding *buchu*

224

L. Fourie

BUSHMAN SNARE FOR HUNTING GAME

[*face p.* 158]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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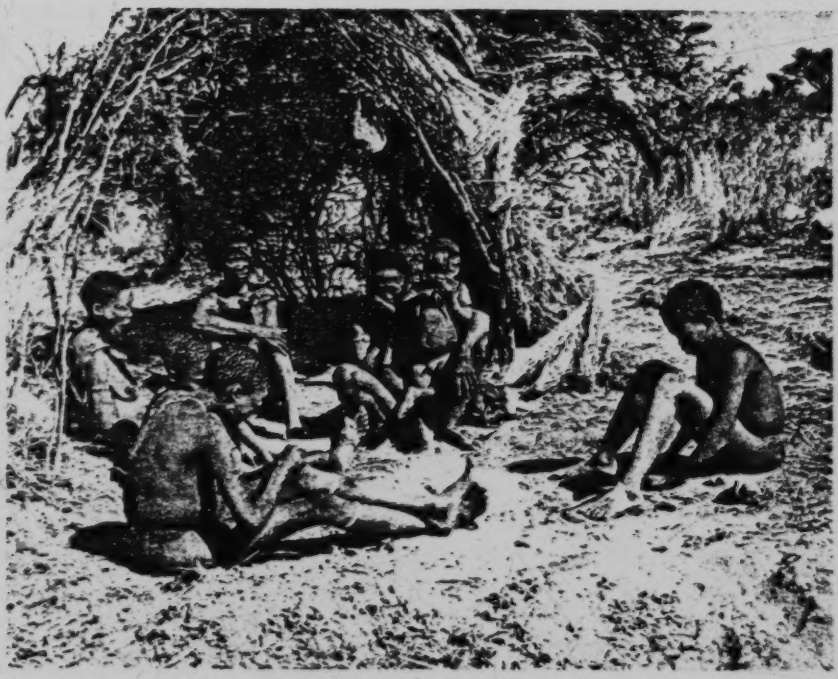

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3. Gau (centre) with his two wives in front of their scherm. The younger second wife, Khuan//a, holds her son in her arms. The three boys in front are the sons of Be, the first wife, at Gau's right

4. /Ti/kay in the best of moods

[p. 348-B]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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5. The two wives of /Ti/kay sit at their family fire, /Naoka the elder sister to the left, /Nai the younger, with her son on her lap, to the right. Between them are Bau, /Naoka's daughter, already married for two years, and /Goishay, their old mother

6. /Nai, the young bride, the morning after the wedding, showing the design painted on her face by her mother with powdered red stone and fat

[p. 348-C]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

side. /Gunda sat behind the line of boys, in a deep shadow, to show that he was 159
' ashamed ' and respected (feared, *koa*) the wedding scherm. 585

One of the boys began to play, not their ceremonial music or special wedding music, but songs of the *||guashi*, as they call them, the little wordless melodies these [533] people compose about happenings in their lives, about pleasures or distress, about their moods. They play and sing these melodies for hours upon hours in the afternoons when they are resting or in the evenings by their fires, and they played for hours that night at the wedding fire.

Soon young guests began to arrive, the children of both werfs with whom /Nai played, all of them younger than the boys who attended /Gunda and the girls who carried /Nai. The youngest guest was the ubiquitous three-year-old boy who never missed anything. No adults came.

One boy brought four mangetti nuts with him and roasted, cracked, and ate them himself. That was all that appeared by way of a feast. Di/ai said that they would like to have given the children something to eat but there was nothing in the werf that night. Even though the others had had something to eat, the bride and groom would have had to abstain. They must not talk or eat, to show they are ' ashamed '. The young guests seemed to enjoy themselves, nevertheless, and were still singing and chatting when I left at midnight.

Soon after sunrise the following morning—/Gunda had already departed—/Nai's mother went to the wedding scherm and sat down beside the embers of the night's fire. /Nai stood shivering beside her in her little genital apron and the duiker skin [291] which women wear around their buttocks and up between their legs, but stripped of her kaross. The mother had brought a little fat (eland fat, if they had it, would be [825] used) and a bit of powdered red stone, one of the red earths (*|gam !gai gwoie*), mixed with fat. She rubbed /Nai all over with the fat, and drew a line on her forehead and a circular design on her cheeks with the red powder mixed with fat. Over in werf 2, [302] Gao, Nai's stepfather, presented /Gunda with a blanket.

This completed the wedding ceremony.

/Nai was a lively child who loved the dancing and singing games the girls play. 159
She often danced alone, tapping her bare feet on a stone in rapid rhythm or making a 462
game of printing a design in the sand with tiny steps. She liked babies and as often as not had her infant half-brother or some very small cousin tied to her back. That morning she appeared to turn into a housewife as though it were her next blithe step. When the women went to gather veldkos, she put on her own little duiker skin [222] kaross, took her digging-stick and went with them. At the end of the day, when they returned in the slanting sunset light, she had two big roots. She went straight to her own fire, blew on the embers, added wood, and sat down. Three ostrich egg shells [415] full of water and her digging-stick were her household goods. These she arranged before the scherm. /Gunda came and sat down opposite her. She smiled at him and set the roots in the ashes to cook.

It has been said in talks with informants that the bridegroom must bring an 159
antelope which he himself has killed to the parents of the bride before the wedding, 183
but no animal had been brought; there had not been a scrap of meat in the werf for 585
days. I asked Di/ai about this. ' Oh, that,' she said in effect. ' Yes, he should give me an antelope, but we thought we would have the wedding first and that /Gunda would

/140 cont./

301 Earrings of Molentza chain; necklaces of glass beads. Rings on arms, wrists, and legs as among the men.

[756] The "Bushman doctor" wears special ornaments that other people are not permitted to wear. Unfortunately, I was not able to obtain any of these ornaments.

[882] Girls, it is said, do not start wearing ornaments until after their first menses.

[796] All the ornaments are worn for dances and ceremonies. The headdress of the women in Photograph 20 is worn only on special festive occasions.

302 [756] [301] The "doctor" has his head shaved smooth. I did not notice a special hairdress. The men frequently stick individual loose ostrich feathers in the hair, while the women like to braid brass or iron beads into the hair. In addition, the women use a kind of pomade made of various pulverized plant parts which are combined with fat from antelope skin.

Men sometimes cut their head-hair with a knife or a piece of glass.

There is no differentiation in hair style between girls and married women.

[386] The hair is frequently dyed with a mixture of fat and red clay. I am uncertain, however, whether or not this is a means of making the hair fall out in places. On the other hand, in that case there would probably have to be another ingredient /141/ in this mixture that I was unable to discover.

In case a beard is present, which does not occur often, it is neither cut nor removed in any other way.

[142] Pubic hair is sparse and is sometimes shaved off (with a piece of glass). It is said that women have no pubic hair at all.

E. Artificial Deformities

A kind of cosmetic of a reddish-brown color is used by the women.

It consists of a mixture of fat and red clay (see Section D above) and is manufactured by the women themselves.

[535] This cosmetic is regarded solely as a means of beautification and is used especially at festivals (dances).

/141 cont./

302 Men and boys do not use this cosmetic, nor do old women, but only young women and girls.

The mixture is applied in circles on the cheeks (see Photo. 20, woman farthest to the left), but it is also rubbed on the body in any other place possible, such as on the arms or belly. Frequently the entire body is greased with it.

Among men a kind of black grease is used. This has "a pleasant odor," at least according to Bushman notions. It is [756] manufactured by the "doctor." The men smear it under and on the nose. It is questionable whether it is more a means of beautification or of enjoyment.

All male Auin have a green line over the root of the nose, 304 and usually also a crossbar under and at right angles to it. The crossbar is usually not colored (cf. Fig. 4).

Both lines consist of innumerable small transverse cuts. There are almost always two to four deep, especially conspicuous scars in the longer line. The length of the longitudinal line is usually from 2.5 to 3.5 centimeters, and that of the crossbar from one to 1.5 centimeters. Sometimes the longitudinal line is considerably longer and extends to the hairline. In the case of one Auin about 20 years old, no forehead tattoo was observed. In answer to questioning he replied that "it would be done later." On the other hand, I found a forehead tattoo on a quite undeveloped girl who [881] was at most eight years old. Hence it would seem that the tattoo is not connected with sexual maturity,-an impression which the Auin themselves confirmed. One woman had two parallel longitudinal lines; another had two lines on each cheek, which in size and execution were like the vertical forehead line. Both were Auin by birth; in other words, they had not married into the tribe.

[177] According to the statements of the Auin, the forehead tattoo was copied from the Betschuana.

The forehead tattoo is called gi. Evidently no special significance is attached to it. Incidentally, I have seen the same tattoo among all the other Bushmen tribes. [Fig. 4 appears here.]

As a tool for making the countless little transverse incisions [412] that constitute the forehead tattoo, any sharpened little piece of iron may be used. I was unable to determine the pigment used to produce the green color, which is indelible.

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the 293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 291 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re- [123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having [124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in [412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess [325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in [439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that, [531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead embroidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich 301 egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are [321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence [556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are [462] [306] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of [302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to LENGTHEN THEM.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

[38 cont.]

412 Fig. 4. Wooden Mortars of the !Kung. (1/4 natural size [as shown
415 in the original text]).

Fig. 5. Wooden Vessels of the !Kung.

Fig. 6. Large Wooden Bowl of the !Kung (probably imported from the north — Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 2158).

Fig. 7. Pestle and Digging Stick or the !Kung (greatly reduced).

Fig. 8. (1) Digging Stick with !Kwe; (2) Veld Hoe (Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 1278 and 1497).

301 lengthen them. Some people possess such a great number of these chains that they cover the entire forehead. Children often wear small rectangular pendants, and women have large, medallion-like round ones that are worn like a diadem in the middle of the forehead. Little chains of small ostrich egg beads up to five centimeters long are worn as ear pendants. Children are also given armbands and anklebands made of ostrich egg beads. Brass beads from ancient times are rare and are worn exclusively as hair pendants, as are copper beads. Glass beads are not greatly valued, and only blue ones are worn, if any. On the other hand, beads made from aromatic wood are common. Longer chains of alter-
[756] nating wood and ostrich egg beads and worn in the hair are insignia of the female doctors. The men have tight little leather straps
[827] at the wrists and ankles, which probably serve to strengthen the
[411] musculature in running and using the bow. In addition, they have a few armbands of brass or iron. Every man and woman wears a string around the neck, which has one or two appetite sticks (see
[777] below) and various talismans attached at the front. Finally, a little horn containing various kinds of medicine is worn around the neck by many of the men. The younger women and girls
[303] usually also possess a tortoise shell powder box of the kind described below for the Dama. Body painting is scarcely practiced;
[302] concerning tattooing, see page 56. The children occasionally wear armbands that they make themselves with grass or various fruits.

164 [45 cont.]
[753] Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The
[192] terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no
[302] means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is
[593] usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin
842 hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy
[757] is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine
[278] for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is
841 done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband
[757] and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on
853 the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least
[826] until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished
164 by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care.
[515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky
[278] sap of a plant called timba.
[757]

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams
[145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long;
302 the toenails are often fissured.

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
532 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
535
323 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
302 customary.

A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the
304 custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
(751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

[78 cont.]

000 it with the fingers. [Fig. 29 appears here.]

224 [79] The lion is neither eaten nor hunted. The jackal and
262 leopard are eaten, as is the liver of the latter. Baboons are not
825 eaten, because they were formerly Bushmen.

304 The line of tattooing between the eyebrows make people
302 into leopards among the Nogau. The Naron smear themselves with red and black color. The other incisions and tattooing are made purely for adornment.

825 Among the Naron, millepedes are regarded as creatures
756 of Hise, and only doctors may touch them and make medicine of them. Among the Nogau and ǂAuin there are magical bones
787 that are used to predict the future. The Naron also believe that
[172] the rock engravings stem from //gauwa.

Among the Auin it is forbidden to eat hyena flesh, and
262 likewise the flesh of the shabrack jackal because it is a dog.

The following important data supplied by Gentz (1) should

224
[114]
[113]

1. "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften [Some Contributions to Knowledge of the Southwest African Tribes]," Globus, Vol. 83, 1903.

be added:

"I have repeatedly found Bushman arrows on which the point, usually made of bone (for the most part ostrich bone), was made of wood. The game sling, reproduced in Figure 29, is constructed as follows: A strong string, four to five millimeters thick, which at one end terminates in a simple loop, is fastened at the other end to a flexible young tree or branch that is bent far over. A small, thinner string with a transverse stick is attached at the loop end. The string is placed around a small post driven into the ground at an angle, and it is prevented from slipping off by means of a flat piece of wood buried under the ground and planted against the free end of the transverse stick; the sling is placed in a circle on the ground over the flat piece of wood. The game, which follows its customary track to the

3: Lebzelter--163 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

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[854]

Plate V. !Kung Bushmen from the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

/245 cont./

142 millimeters. Two or three hairs form a tight unit. A number of such units are clustered into a tuft that forms an almost impenetrable tangle of hair. The yellowish-brown skin of the head is visible between the tufts, so that the surface of the skull gives the impression of an area with black spots. Extensive variations are
302 to be found in the manner of dressing the hair, but all Bushmen from time to time have their head hair cut. The women commonly leave an edge of longer hair uncut and let it fall horizontally toward the back from the hairline on the forehead. Frequently also an oval area is shaved on the skull or on the edge of the forehead down to the ears.

I did not observe any loss of hair, even among old persons, but
145 I did notice graying, not, however, to the same extent as among Europeans.

304 Tattooing is very popular among the Heikum Bushmen.

I found three types of tattooing:

1. An ornamental tattoo. This consists of parallel longitudinal incisions about one centimeter in length and arranged in rows. These rows of incisions are to be found predominantly on the face, on cheeks, temples, and foreheads, and especially among women they frequently radiate towards the middle of the face which, however, is left clear. The ornamental tattoo is also to be found on other parts of the body at any number of places, such as the chest, the abdomen, the upper arm, and the upper thigh. The incisions are quite superficial and give the appearance of fine black lines. The bluish-black coloration of the scars is achieved by rubbing charcoal into the freshly-made incisions.

2. Deeper incisions, which correspondingly leave heavier scars, form the forehead tattoo which is common to all Heikum Bushmen with no age or sex distinctions. The tattoo consists of several parallel vertical incisions about two centimeters in length between the eyebrows. As a result of this tattoo there is a number, usually five, of deep and closely adjoining folds between the eyebrows, giving even younger individuals an older appearance. In the case of older persons the base of the scars /246/ is raised by the formation of keloids, so that the region between the eyebrows has the appearance of a cock's comb.

It is recorded from South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, the Transvaal, Portuguese East Africa and Natal. On the expedition it was not seen north of the Ghanzi area but near Ghanzi and to the south it was widely scattered, and sometimes fairly common in small patches. 137

The fruits are edible, and the remarks on the fruits of *Ximenia caffra* apply to the fruits of this species also. Ripe fruits were found at Ghanzi in July, although fruiting is usually over by then. [824]

Ximenia caffra Sond. (4949) Photograph 12.

!hɔ: Bushman.....	n≠ ?uri
||ganakwe Bushman...	n≠ ?uri
gikwe Bushman.....	≠ɔ!i
Naron Bushman.....	n≠ ?uri

A stout or straggly evergreen bush or small tree, usually about six feet high, with soft brittle branches and knobby rough twigs which are densely leafy and sometimes end in a sharp spine. There are often spines in the axils of the leaves as well. The leaves are dark green and tend to curve backwards slightly, and they and the young twigs are softly hairy. The flowers appear in early summer. They are massed along the twigs and have four recurved green petals with conspicuous white hairs on the inside. The fruit is the size of a plum, and an attractive light red.

It probably occurs in Angola, for it has been recorded from northern South West Africa near the Angola border. It is also known from Northern and Southern Rhodesia, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, the Transvaal, Portuguese East Africa and Natal. Like the other species of *Ximenia*, it was not seen along the route of the expedition north of the Ghanzi area.

The fruit is edible. It has a bitter skin and a large stone, and a reddish pulp between them, pleasantly flavoured but astringent and sour, and particularly sour next to the stone. It is at its best when over-ripe, for it does not become soft and unpleasant as many fruits do, but dries out slightly, becoming wrinkled in the process and more mellow, with the flavour of a prune. The stone is rich in oil, but this is said to be very pungent (Marloth, 1913-1932: I: 165) and to contain a rubbery substance (Schweikerdt, 1937: 179-182). The Bushmen use it to anoint themselves but do not consider it edible. It has been tested in England for possible commercial uses, but it was decided that the oil was not worth extracting. [302 824]

Hydnora sp. (5162) Photograph 13.

Eastern !khû Bushman ||hɔk ?am

This curious plant is parasitic on the roots of *Combretum hereroense*. It is almost completely subterranean and is without chlorophyll. There is very little of the plant until it produces its flowers and fruits, which are much larger than the vegetative parts. The fruits are buried a few inches deep and are the size and shape of a pomegranate, but have a dark roughened woody shell split by many fine irregular cracks. The inner skin which shows through is red until the fruit ripens, when it becomes white. If the fruit is cut open a large, slightly sticky mass of pin-head brownish seeds is exposed, embedded in a pasty matrix which fills the inside of the fruit but is separate from the shell. Flowering was over by the time the first specimens were seen, but it is known that the flowers of this genus have a smell of carrion and that they protrude above the ground, where they can be reached by the insects necessary to bring about their fertilisation. They have no petals or sepals in the usual sense, their

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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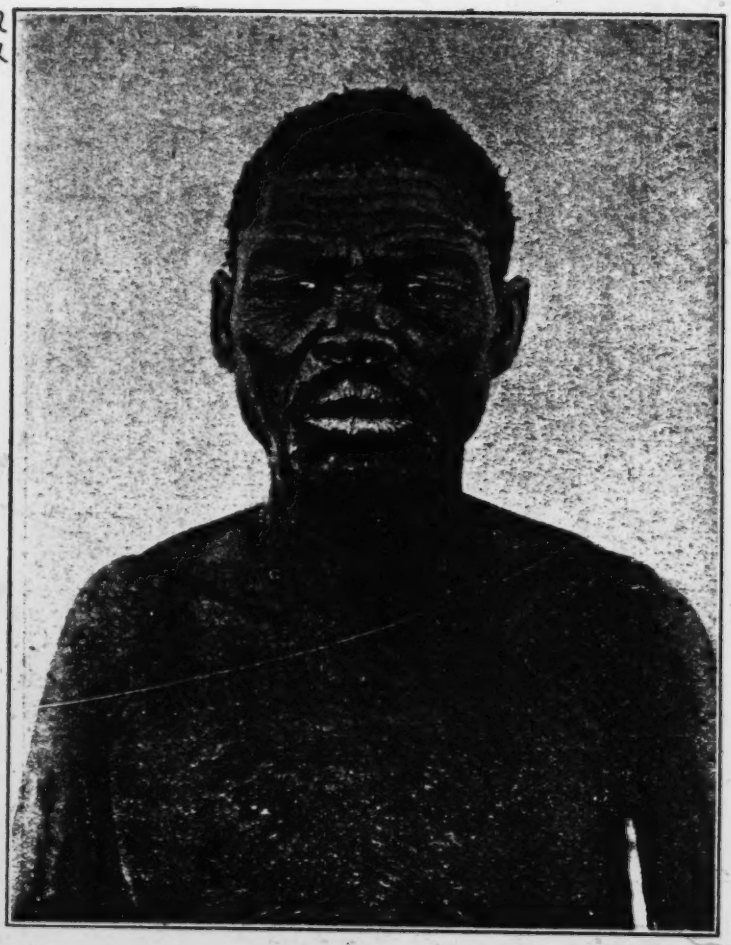

/nu-//ein Bushman.
Gobabis.

[FACING p. 80]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Wakeddi Women (Hei //om).
N.W. Ovamboland.

[FACING p. 81]

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, 142
and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff [148]
with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the
men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and
consequently they often seem younger than they are. They [194]
are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man 291
wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather
apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole
animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at [854
the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride, 482
and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which 415
are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people; 237]
they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though [515
they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair 302]
breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped
close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell
beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny [301]
bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear
leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several 609
months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find
them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe
that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the
grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and [343]
made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right 609
into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and 621
didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass un-
til I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which
was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around
it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned,
all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

291 Both men were thin, brown-skinned, and wore nothing but loincloths, and they looked very out of place next to us, among our big trucks and boxes of equipment, squatting naked like two frogs against the long grass and reddening sky of their country. We sat by the fire to talk with them, and it was the old man who answered our questions. His name was [194 Ukwane, and he seemed very old, for he spoke with a hesi-551] tant, cracked voice that faded into a whisper at the end of every phrase, and whenever some of us would leave or join the group at the fire he would stare intently at us, frowning, [104 leaning forward a little because he could barely see us, his eyes being filmed with cataracts, hazy blue.

142 Ukwane had great wrinkles lengthwise down his belly where his paunch had shrunk. His hands were knobbed and his shoulders stiff, yet his legs were as supple as a baby's, for [514 he sat crouched with his knees in the air and his heels tucked up tight against his buttocks. His skin looked old, too, like [302 old leather, hardened and black like a glove that has been left in the rain, and his curly hair was disheveled, uncut, untidy with pieces of straw.

609 Our questions frightened Ukwane, and often he was at a loss for something to reply. He thought we were policemen coming to look for some lost horses, for somehow a rumor had reached into the farthest corners of the veld that a European farmer had lost seven horses and all the people in the veld were afraid for their lives. The first thing he said was that he hadn't seen any horses and certainly hadn't taken them himself. He was too old, he said. We told him that we were not policemen and, besides, had never heard of the horses, but he was not reassured. He coughed and turned to the young man, who looked at us with nothing to say.

609 The young man was also very shy, but had a greater dignity 194 than Ukwane because of his cool, proud bearing. He said

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 In a short time we heard a rustle in the veld, and a young
854 woman who seemed to be in her early twenties stepped from the bushes. She was, Ukwane said, Gai's wife, and on her hip she carried a baby, a naked three-year-old who looked at us from his wide eyes fearlessly, then, realizing that we were strangers, buried his face in his mother's arm. His mother stroked him calmly and came toward us smiling and nodding her head graciously, although a little pulse was hammering in the V of her throat. We learned later that she had been sitting in the bushes very near us, and when she had seen her husband go by she had assumed that everything was all right and had come to greet us, not bothering to answer his cries.

142 She was a short, sturdy woman with round arms, long thighs, and short calves. She had a rather large belly and square, strong shoulders, and she wore a very tattered cape
291 or kaross over her back, with a small leather apron around her hips. She had no ornaments except a row of blue scars over
304 her eyes, a decoration, and she had allowed her hair to be-
302 come disheveled, long, and a little tangled, hanging down
184 over her ears in tight spirals, instead of having shaved it off as most Bushman women do. All this gave her a very matter-of-fact air, which was not deceiving, for she saw in a glance that we were harmless and, looking us over, sat down at once beside me.

304 Her baby pulled, twisted, and tugged at her, and from the way he behaved I judged that he kept her too busy to be for-
[854] ever cutting her hair or making bead ornaments. Besides, she told us later, if she wore ornaments, the baby pulled them off. She had her row of scars, though, delicate and arching over her brow, making her eyes seem wider; as well as a row of striped scars along her thighs. These, say Bushmen, are made to imitate the beauty of zebras, and many women wear them, having been decorated when they were still young. It

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

513 a loud baby snore, saliva from his open mouth moistening Gai's dark skin, but Gai absolutely silent in the fast, still sleep of a hunter. Only Twikwe was not sleeping. She lay on her belly with her chin propped up with one hand as she built a precarious little toy hut out of strips of bark, carefully, the way one builds a card house. When I came by to look at the people she looked at me with her amused, wise-woman's eyes.

515 In the afternoon the young boys naturally woke up first, as they were so entwined that the movement of one was bound to wake the others, and began sleepily to delouse each other, taking turns in pairs, one lying with his head in his partner's lap while his partner searched through his hair, catching and biting the lice he found. Then they cut each other's hair with a razor blade they had got from someone in our expedition, cutting away certain tufts of hair and leaving certain others until patterns on each head were formed, ranging from scalplocks to rather fine designs. One boy had only two tufts left on his entire scalp, one on each side, like a pair of horns; another boy had an egg-shaped pattern of tufts but with two holes of bare scalp showing so that when he bent his head he accidentally presented an oval face with a pair of staring eyes. All the patterns were supposed to be geometric, never intentionally having fantastic or representative designs. Wite's head was shaved entirely, his partner having shown no imagination at all; and his bare head made his ears seem even larger and more pointed, his face more elfin even than before.

It was a gray, hazy afternoon. Below the fine overcast were clusters of little white clouds all grouped together like white flowers. In the west a greak cloudbank was gathering, an ominous sign.

Later, when the young boys had dispersed to play horse and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

dren to the farms. The mothers and the children had never 648 609
returned.

The farmer who had taken the Chuana couple's son had offered him food and clothes but no wages. When his mother had refused to let him go, the farmer had told her that she herself would have to leave Gam and move to Bechuanaland (there has always been a dispute about the border between the two countries, which affects the Chuana people who try to move across). The woman, assuming that the farmer was a government official, had been too frightened by this threat to prevent her son from leaving. She had been building a large new house, even planning to put a pane of glass in the little window, but she had been too discouraged to finish it, believing that she would have to leave it soon.

It was extremely sad to sit there talking about such things. The Chuana man held his head in his hands and his wife was almost crying, and it seemed very empty and lonely there on the hot gray ground with flies all around us in the air and birds flying above.

When we went back to our camp it was already dark and 372
we found that Lazy Kwi, his wife, and all her family had moved in beside us to be near us. They seemed rather cheerful because they were all together, and they expressed their optimism by burning an entire log. This is prodigal for Bushmen, who usually burn just one small stick at a time, or at most the end of a small log, letting the fire work up the log by inches. The people sat with their legs stretched out, allowing the fire to warm them, and in the firelight their skins seemed blood red, all except Lazy Kwi, whose skin was as dark as the night. Lazy Kwi was always changing color. When 302
we first had met him we had thought he must be the darkest-skinned Bushman anywhere, but this was only so because he had rubbed himself all over with medicine paste and the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

302 accumulating dust had turned him black. When the rains came that year he had scrubbed himself with sand and water and had turned paler than the palest gold. No one had recog-
[142] nized him for a minute and then people had made fun of him, so he had let his coating accumulate again.

361 That night the old man, Lazy Kwi's father-in-law, decided that his band would move with us to Nama, a pan near Gautscha Pan, for he and Lazy Kwi believed that if we went there they could help us find more bands of Bushmen whom we had known. No one, he said, was living at Gautscha this season and the people who belonged there were scattered through the veld because the rains had been so good that there was food and water everywhere. We said that we would
222 leave in the morning to begin the search, but the old man hesitated to agree and finally told us that in the morning he had planned to rob a bee tree, but after that he would be free to go. As he had hoped, the following morning we went with him on his trip for wild honey.

The bee tree was in a little forest about two miles from Gam, a forest filled with tiny yellow leaves and tiny seed pods blowing from the trees and scattered all through the grass, which in places had been plowed up by a wild pig rooting for bulbs. Because it was early in the morning and frosty, turtle doves were singing and the clear air was filled with their voices. Honey is always gathered at the coldest time of day, for then the bees are dull and stupid and it takes them a long time to collect their wits. The old man and Lazy Kwi cleared some grass and lit a tiny fire; then, squatting beside it, they warmed their hands, waiting for it to burn well, for they would use its smoke to numb the bees. Lazy Kwi's wife and
222 her sister had come too; they did not join the men by the fire
271 but walked off in the bush, gathering sour berries for their breakfast. The women in their wanderings found a hollow

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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I sometimes received presents of gum from trees, or soft, sweet caterpillars.

Toma the leader.

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[p. 176(B)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Crooked Kwi and his wife, who once had run away from him.

Dikai made a bow from a branch, an arrow from a reed, and gave them to her younger son.

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[p. 176(C)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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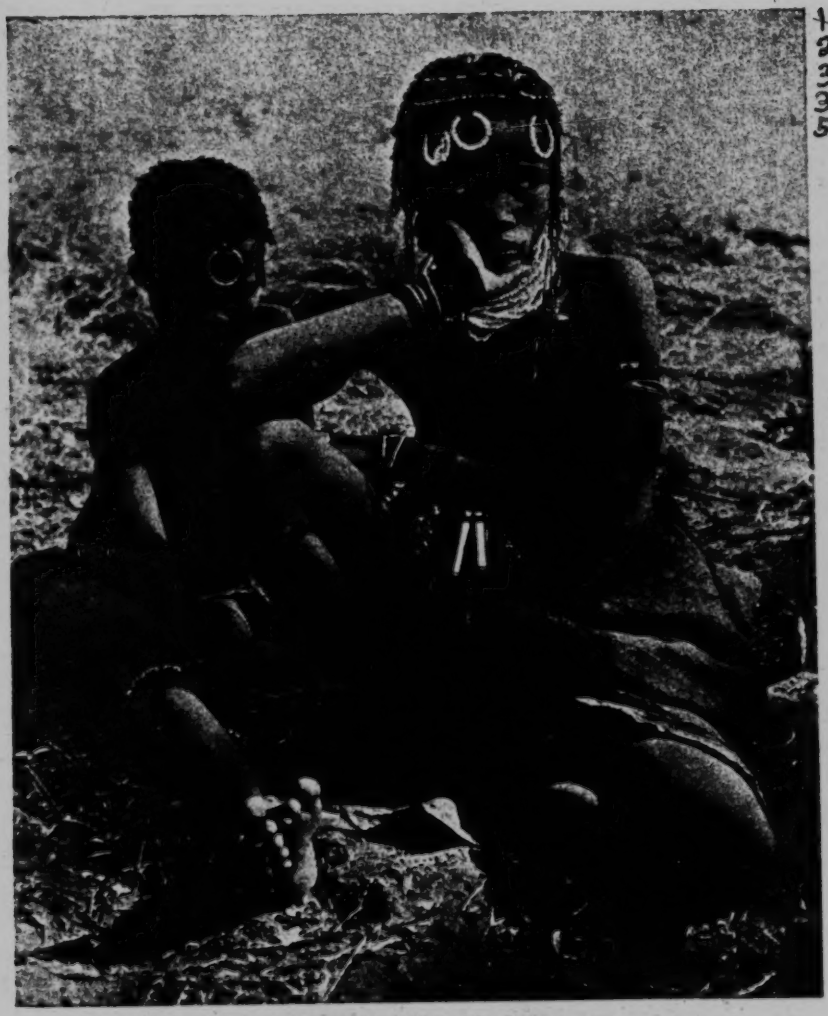
Toma's son, the new owner of Short Kwi's crown of badger hair.

The young musician—the lonely, brooding man who played the guashi.

[p. 176(D)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10



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Beautiful Ungka's cousin, and the little girl who was content to follow her and be her handmaiden.

[p. 176(E)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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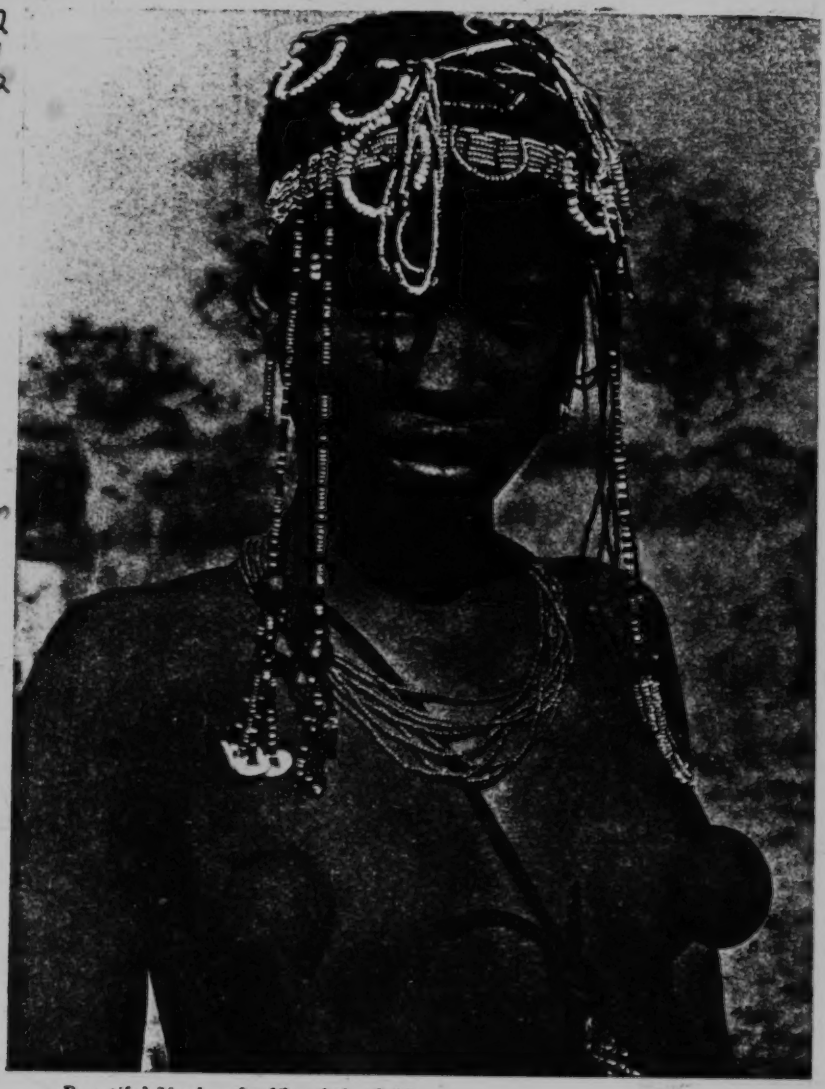

Beautiful Ungka, the lily of the field.

[p. 176 (F)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

The old man who had never shot a buck, who had never married, now almost blind, too thin, and without people.

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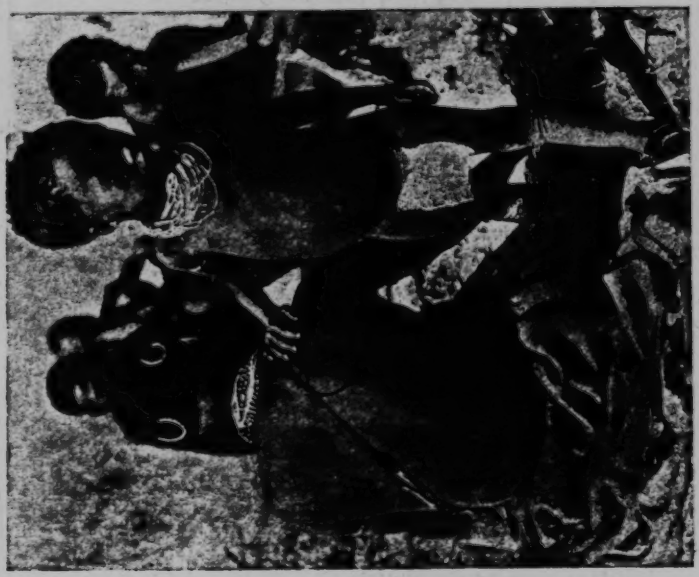

Tu made Noma clothes of ostrich-eggshell beads, an art taught to Bushmen by the gemsbok people.

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[p. 176 (G)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

them with his moods and when he stopped playing and they 533
went away, they, too, were brooding.

Many young people had come to Nama, and together they 857
made Nama very gay. The boys played a game with wands, 526
throwing the wands at a hummock of ground and watching them bounce off and sail into the grass on the other side, the nearest that Bushmen come to a competitive game, for the young boys like to see whose wand goes the farthest.

The girls played a singing game with a melon. They would stand in a row that formed a half-circle dancing in place while the girl at one end would spring into the middle of the circle and toss a melon to the girl next to her in line. The game is accompanied by a rapid, intricate song of several parts sung [533] in falsetto voices, as pretty to hear as the game is pretty to see, for the girls dance with their arms and heads as well as with their feet, like the dancers of Bali.

At that time there were only two adolescent unmarried 882
girls at Nama. One of these was Beautiful Ungka, the other was her cousin, and they both lived with the cousin's parents at one of the werfs of the people from Gam. They were both extremely beautiful and they were lilies of the field. Since they were their parents' only children, they had no younger brothers or sisters to mind, and did nothing at all from one [572] day to the next but adorn and amuse themselves, and this they did together, for they were the best of friends. They were straight and slender, with pale-gold skin not yet darkened and [1+2] weathered by the sun of the veld, and they had flat bellies and high, small breasts. Beautiful Ungka had nipples like knobs, rounded like balls. Both girls wore ornamented aprons, soft leather capes—the best that there is. Many bead ornaments 302
hung from their hair and swung when they walked, and almost hid their handsome faces.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

648 work required on the farms, and also because certain members of the families were still here and now these families were broken forever.

164 On our way to see Short Kwi, the brother-in-law led us to the far end of the werf, behind a clump of bushes, to the scherm where Short Kwi lived. We saw him there, sitting with his wife and little daughter by the ashes of their fi[illegible] side by side, and we caught our breath at the sight of him. He looked tiny, no bigger than a child, and his flesh had wasted away so that his pale skin stretched tightly over all his bones. His leg was hidden by a blanket, his hands were as thin and fragile as a girl's, and his eyes were huge. He looked up at us when we came and smiled wanly, wryly, and his wife and daughter looked up at us and his wife also smiled wanly, but his daughter did not smile at all. The first thing Short Kwi did was to rearrange the blanket over his foot to hide his toes, but not before we had seen them, dry and black, dead entirely like the toes of a mummy. His leg was the first thing in his mind, but this was natural; we reminded him of better days.

302 824 We sat down at his fire to talk, all of us who had come from Nama and most of the people from his werf, and his wife gave those of us from Nama a palmful of sa, the finely powdered yellow-green leaves that smell halfway between roses and sage. We crossed our faces with it, sprinkling a stripe up the bridge of our noses to our foreheads and another stripe across our cheeks. It smelled very nice, a sweet present to give to someone who has arrived from a long journey. Hours later it was still fragrant and we could smell it, faintly, for days.

164 We asked Short Kwi to show us his leg and as he started to unwind the blanket the Bushmen from Nama leaned forward, fascinated, but the other Bushmen did not look because they had seen it before. Short Kwi drew back the blan-

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

It occurs in varying degrees of intensity. It is a repeating of something over and over and over again. For instance, whether it is actually so or not, someone may be reiterating that he has no food or that no one has given him food. The remarks are made in the presence of other individuals, but the other individuals do not respond in the manner of a discussion or conversation. In an extreme instance we saw a woman visitor go into a kind of semi-trance and say over and over for perhaps half an hour or so in ≠Toma's presence that he had not given her as much meat as was her due. It was not said like an accusation. It was said as though he were not there. I had the eerie feeling that I was present in someone else's dream. ≠Toma did not argue or oppose her. He continued doing whatever he was doing and let her go on.

All these ways of talking, I believe, aid the /Kung in maintaining their peaceful social relations by keeping everyone in touch with what others are thinking and feeling, releasing tensions, and keeping pressures from building up until they burst out in aggressive acts.

Aspects of Good Manners

In /Kung society good manners require that, when /Kung meet other /Kung who are strangers, all the men should lay down their weapons and approach each other unarmed. ≠Toma, leader of Band 1, approached us unarmed the first time we met. After we were accepted and given Bushman names, we were no longer strangers and we never observed the practice again.

Good manners require that visitors be received courteously and asked to sit by the fire. The woman whose fire it is may welcome the visitor by taking a pinch of the sweet smelling *sa* powder, which she carries in a little tortoise shell hung from her neck, and sprinkling it on the visitor's head in a line from the top of the head to the forehead.

Good manners in eating express restraint. A person does not reveal eagerness or take more than a modest share. When a visitor comes to the fire of a family who are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a little distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share. On several occasions we gave small gifts of corned beef to be shared with a group. The person who received the food from us would take only a mouthful. Once an old headman only licked his fingers. The lump of food would be passed from one to another. Each would take a modest bite. The last person often got the most. I found it moving to see so much restraint about taking food among people who are all thin and often hungry, for whom food is a source of constant anxiety. We observed no unmannerly behaviour, no cheating and no encroachment about food. Although informants said that quarrels had occasionally occurred in the past between members of a band over the time to go to gather veldkos, and although we observed expressions of dissatisfaction, no quarrels of any kind arose over food during our observations.

Good manners in general should be inoffensive. Any behaviour which is likely to stir up trouble is regarded with apprehension and disapproval by the /Kung. In view of this, the joking relationship has its interesting side. Men and women who have the joking relationship insult each other in a facetious way and also point out actual faults or remark on actual episodes which embarrass a person. Everyone joins in the

301 The most highly valued gifts are the traditional ornaments of ostrich egg-shell beads,
431 especially the wide headbands and necklaces of five or six strings of beads reaching to the umbilicus. The creamy white is becoming to them. They like European beads also, of all colours, though white is definitely their preference. The only thing they do not like about beads, Gao Beard told us, is shortness of the string. After ornaments, the /Kung value implements or utensils, *//gwashi* or dance rattles, which have required time and care to make, but perhaps more especially valued are metal objects and pots. The latter are obtained by trade. The /Kung do not trade among
[438] themselves. They consider the procedure undignified and avoid it because it is too likely to stir up bad feelings. They trade with the Bantu, however, in the settlements along the B.P. border. The /Kung offer well-tanned antelope hides and ostrich egg
439 shell beads. For these they obtain tobacco, beads, knives, axes, malleable metal for making arrow-points and spear-blades, and occasional files and chisels, fire-strikers, and pots.

The odds are with the Bantu in the trading. Big, aggressive, and determined to
435 have what they want, they easily intimidate the Bushmen. Several /Kung informants said that they tried not to trade with Herero if it was possible to avoid it because,
439 although the Tswana were hard bargainers, the Herero were worse. /Qui said he had been forced by a Herero whom he was afraid to anger to trade the shirt and pants we had given him as our parting gift in 1952 for a small enamel pan and a little cup. /Ti/kay had more gumption. A Herero at the beginning of a negotiation with him brought out a good-sized pile of tobacco but took from it only a pinch when it was time to pay. /Ti/kay picked up the object he was trading and ran off. ≠Toma said with amused exaggeration that ' a very good Herero, a respectable one, will give a handful of tobacco for five cured steinbok skins. A bad Herero will give a pipeful (he showed the size of his fingernail) for three skins.' The Tswana values are a little better. A well-tanned gemsbok hide brings a pile of tobacco about 14 inches in diameter and about 4 inches high. The values vary. Some that were reported to us were three rooibok, duiker, or steinbok skins for a good-sized knife, five strings of ostrich egg-shell beads for a spear.

439 The /Kung have become dependent on metal, especially knives, axes, and arrow-
[100] points. They have been able to trade enough for every man to have these implements.
[4 88] They could, however, exist without them and do still use a few bone and wood arrow-points. Poison makes their arrows deadly, not penetrating power. The pots are Ovambo or Okavango pottery (the /Kung make no pottery themselves) or European ironware. The /Kung like to have a pot around to borrow sometimes; not
[050] everyone wants to carry one. They cook mostly in hot ashes. More for their novelty, I thought, than for their worth, the /Kung trade also for old oddments of cloth garments (they weave neither cloth nor mats), pieces of blankets, basins, &c.—things they do not really need—but which they like.

276 Tobacco they need ' to make the heart feel better '. Oddly enough for these pas-
431 sionate smokers, tobacco was not given so much emphasis in gift-giving as one might expect. They do make gifts of tobacco, but when anyone lights a pipe he passes it around anyway; all present drag smoke into their lungs until they almost faint and it has not mattered much who owned the tobacco.

302 Eland fat is a very highly valued gift. An eland provides so much fat that people
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12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

can afford to be a little luxurious. They rub it on themselves and on their implements and they eat it. ≠Toma said that, when he had eland fat to give, he took shrewd note of certain objects he might like to have and gave their owners especially generous gifts of fat.

Real property and the sources of food and water are owned by the headman for the band and cannot be given away. However, meat, once it is distributed after the hunt, and veldkos, once it is gathered, become private property and may be given. Artifacts are privately owned by the individual man, woman, or child, as outrightly owned if received as a gift as if made by the individual. They borrow and lend a great deal—in itself this is one of the ways they support each other and aid themselves in maintaining social solidarity—but this does not blur the clarity of ownership. Each object acquires some markings of its own from the maker and from usage. It is easy for the /Kung, with their highly developed powers of observation and visual memory, to keep track of the commonest objects, know the ownership, and remember the history of the gifts.

As far as we know, no artifacts or materials are taboo as gifts. For instance, women may be given weapons, although it is taboo for women to touch them.

In quantity the gifts varied. One which /Ti/kay gave to ≠Toma was considered generous. It was a fine ostrich egg shell headband, three ostrich egg shells, and a well-tanned duiker skin as soft as suede. Another generous gift consisted of a knife, a spear, and a triple string of traded white European beads. Often gifts were less. The feelings persons have for each other, the degree of their past indebtedness, what they happen to possess and can give, determine the generosity of the gift.

The acquisition *per se* of the objects was seldom, I believe, of primary importance to most individuals in gift-giving—that is, if the objects were their own artifacts. As the /Kung come into more contact with Europeans—and this is already happening——they will feel sharply the lack of our things and will need and want more. It makes them feel inferior to be without clothes when they stand among strangers who are clothed. But in their own life and with their own artifacts they were comparatively free from material pressures. Except for food and water (important exceptions!) of which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have a sufficiency—but barely so, judging from the fact that all are thin though not emaciated—they all had what they needed or could make what they needed, for every man can and does make the things that men make and every woman the things that women make. No one was dependent upon acquiring objects by gift-giving.

They lived in a kind of material plenty because they adapted the tools of their living to materials which lay in abundance around them and which were free for anyone to take (wood, reeds, bone for weapons and implements, fibres for cordage, grass for shelters), or to materials which were at least sufficient for the needs of the population. The Nyae Nyae /Kung had hides enough for garments and bags; they kept extra hides when they needed them for new garments or when they wanted them for trade; otherwise they ate them. The /Kung could always use more ostrich egg-shells for beads to wear or trade with, but, as it is, enough are found for every woman to have a dozen or more shells for water containers—all she can carry—and a goodly number of bead ornaments.

In their nomadic hunting-gathering life, travelling from one source of food to

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

VEGETABLE MATERIALS (*contd.*)

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824

Reeds

Made and used by men

arrowshafts

Used by women

strips for tying frames of scherms and for tying grass on scherms in times of high wind

Worn by all as head and chest bands

Bark

Made and used by men

quivers

Tsi Nuts

Used by all as beads

Used by boys as weights for *jani* toy

STONE

324
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[302]

Made by men

arrow-straighteners
pipes

Used by men for

sharpening blades
hammers
anvils
weights to stretch nets
marking graves

Used by women

powdered red earth for ceremonial markings on face

OBTAINED BY TRADE WITH BANTU

439

Malleable Metal and Wire

Made and used by men

arrow-points
spear-blades
spring-hare hooks

Made by men, used by all

pipes
awls

Used by men

knives
axes or adzes
chisels (few)
files (few
fire-strikers) (few)

Used by all

beads—copper, glass, shell, &c.
pots—Bantu clay, European iron
pipes (few), European briar, old cartridge-shells
receptacles (few)
old scraps of garments and blankets
oddments such as buttons for ornaments

Résumé

LE PARTAGE ET LE PARLER: SOULAGEMENT DES TENSIONS SOCIALES CHEZ LES BANDES DE BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

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Dans cette communication, l'auteur décrit plusieurs coutumes de Boschimans /Kung dans la région Nyae Nyae de l'Afrique du sud-ouest, coutumes qui les ont aidés à maintenir des relations pacifiques au sein de leurs groupes et entre les divers groupes de la région. Ces coutumes ont été observées au cours des expéditions Marshall de 1951–9. Les modifications

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A Headman ≠Toma is the leader of the main Guatscha band.

142 males average approximately five feet, two inches) with yellowish brown skin that becomes heavily wrinkled in old age. They have very little facial and body hair, and their short, black, head hair is so curly it spirals into peppercorn tufts. The Bushman face is flat and triangular; the brown eyes are set rather wide apart. A variety of eye folds narrow the apertures of the eyes. The nose is extremely broad with a very low bridge, the lips are everted but not protruding or only slightly so, and the ear is somewhat square in shape with a deeply rolled rim (helix). The Bushman body and limbs are slender; the frame is delicate. A notable feature is the inward curve of the small of the back. The penis is semierect. In women there is what is called the "Hottentot apron" (elongation of the *labia minora*). Steatopygia (fat on the buttocks) is invariably mentioned in the literature as one of the important physical characteristics of Bushman and Hottentot women and recorded as being very prominently developed in some. By comparison with the extreme examples that are seen among some Hottentot women and in illustrations, the northern and central Bushman women whom we observed did not have marked steatopygia, although some had buttocks that could be called plump.

197 LANGUAGE • Bushman languages and those of the Hottentots are classified as a language family known as Click or Khoisan (Greenberg 1955:80).
[194] Clicks are so unusual as to be almost unique to Bushman and Hottentot (they occur also in two East African languages—Sandawe and Hatsa—according to Greenberg) and are so distinguishing a feature of these languages that much attention is given them.

194 The Khoisan clicks, striking implosive sounds, are velaric suction stops
197 (Heffner 1960:119; cf. Beach 1938:73 ff.). The northern and central Bushman languages have four, made with the tongue, as follows: the dental (/), lateral (//), alveolar (!), and palatal (≠). The southern Bushman lan-

[p. 244]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the
882 parents' fire.

855 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive
857 and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or
[136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and
[868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime,
857 singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults
[512] together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned
857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth
156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 PUBERTY · When the fathers of the present old men were young men,
[173] the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another
[171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation
[562] ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they
[535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from
[534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony.
[302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of
[304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or
other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and traditionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

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The *Choa* Ceremony The mother takes the girl's hands to scrape the tsi out of the ashes.

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[224]

choa-ed. The old woman who attends her performs this part of the ceremony (or her mother may do so). She scrapes a root called *sha sha* into the water hole. To *choa* the veldkos, the old woman takes the girl's hands in hers and together they place the veldkos in the fire. When it is cooked, they scrape it out together and the old woman puts *sha sha* in her mouth, chews it, and blows on the girl's hands and on the veldkos. This protects the girl from having an upset stomach. Each veldkos must be *choa*-ed the first time the girl eats it after the First Menstruation ceremony.

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No ceremonials mark subsequent menstruation periods, and the women do not seclude themselves during the flow or avoid gathering veldkos or dipping water from the water hole. They continue only to practice certain avoidances that in general have to do with men's hunting. The menstruating woman must not touch hunting gear; it would be very bad, for the arrows would be useless. She must not have sexual intercourse with her husband; it would make him tired and thin. Men in the years of their hunting prime should not talk or listen to talk about menstruation, for to do so might make them lazy in hunting.

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The girls who are married before their first menstruation have the same menstruation ceremony when the time comes as do the unmarried girls.

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There is no genital mutilation practiced among the girls and women of the !Kung. Girls are scarified, but not at the time of the menstruation ceremony. The scarification is begun when the girl is about seven or eight and is continued little by little over several years. Stripes are made on the legs,

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance A medicine man is going into a trance.

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to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Gauwa* or the *//gauwasi*, who are there beyond the firelight, with a sharp, yelping cry of "*kai kai kai*."

The medicine men are usually only in shallow trance at this point, but, when the curing has been going on for some time, they begin to reach a state of patterned frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. They believe that fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. The medicine men rush out into the darkness, where *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. "Filthy face!" they screech. "Take away the sickness you have brought. You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away. . . . *Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die." At this point the medicine man may fall down in deep trance and appear to be unconscious or semiconscious, with eyes closed, stiff as a board, unable to walk. This stage of trance may last only a brief time or may continue for hours—even into the next day. Gradually it is resolved and the medicine man takes up his normal activities.

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The !Kung believe that at the time of deep trance the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*. They call this "half death." It is a dangerous time. The women must continue to sing the medicine music. The man's body must be watched over, rubbed, and kept warm by other medicine men who are in less deep trance.

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The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a

[p. 272]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX 10

well as grass chains and bracelets, berries and shells. Glass beads and iron or wire bracelets obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples or from European traders are also in great demand. The men usually content themselves with leather and bark bands, worn round the arm above the biceps and on the leg below the knee. B 301 [437]

There is no special style of hair-dressing. The hair is as a rule kept in its natural form, although occasionally the whole or part of the scalp is shaved clean. Some women, however, uncurl little clusters of hair and roll them out with fat, so that they hang down a couple of inches, making a fringe round the head, while girls often tie small ornaments such as beads or shells into their hair. B 302 B [301]

Washing is altogether unknown, save among those Bushmen who have been much with Europeans. Generally both young and old rub their face and body with fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*, a sweet-smelling powder ground by the women from various kinds of aromatic shrub. Many women carry small tortoise-shells filled with powdered *buchu*, and use a bit of soft bird's nest or else a piece of jackal's tail as a puff (Plate XI). The face and body are also often painted, especially before a dance, not only by the younger women and girls, but occasionally even by the young men. The colours found are chiefly red and black, the former obtained from clay, the latter from charcoal. Both are mixed with fat, and the mixture is smeared on with a finger. B 515 302 [415] B [386]

Hottentots

With the advent of European civilization, much of the original Hottentot culture has disappeared. Their clothing especially has been almost everywhere completely replaced by garments of European pattern, and it is rarely, if at all, that the old native dress can still be seen. But from the descriptions of the earlier writers it is possible to obtain a fairly clear picture of what the Hottentots wore before European clothing became so widely adopted as now to be their universal dress.[1] H 291 177

The clothing of both men and women consisted principally in front and rear aprons of skin, depending from a leather thong tied H 291 281

[1] The fullest descriptions of the old Hottentot dress are given by: P. Kolb, *Reise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 1719 (new ed. by P. Germann, 1922), 84–96; Fritsch, op. cit., 309–13, 357–8, 373; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 205–7; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 83–6; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 233–52 *passim*, 207–11 (decoration); Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 183–94 (dress and decoration).

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

[Facing p. 118]

L. Fourie

GROUP OF AUEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN
Notice the clothing and ornaments, and the mode of carrying the babies

[*face p.* 118

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Chapter VIII

ART AND KNOWLEDGE

Dancing and Music

535 Dances and games of various kinds enter very largely into the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first place among their social recreations. Some dances are definitely of a ritual character, being held only on ceremonial occasions, e.g. the eland bull dance at a girl's puberty ceremony, the */gi* dance at the boys' puberty ceremony, and the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood" among the Bushmen of Basutoland. On the other hand, dancing is often indulged in purely for pleasure, especially in times of plenty, and may take place any fine moonlit night, when the people have had a good meal, and there are enough of them to make it festive. "The girls begin clapping their hands and singing, standing near the huts. Soon a couple of youths turn up and start dancing round in front of them. Then more join, older men and women take part, till [887] the whole crowd, save a few grandfathers, are singing and dancing."[1] On these occasions the young women and girls frequently stripe [302] their faces with black and red paint, occasionally the young men do [534] so too, and most of the dancers tie round their legs strings of dry cocoons which give out a peculiar rattling sound. They may dance half the night through or even go right on till morning.

The dances are on the whole fairly simple in character and are all of more or less the same nature (Plate XII).[2] The dancers, generally men only, go round and round in a circle in single file, stamping rather than dancing in time with the tune; the women form the band and stand at one side, clapping their hands and singing, while the men who are dancing also sing. "In some dances a woman occasionally leaves the line of singers and dances round beside some man, who pays her attention in gesture, either holding a reed over her

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 22.

[2] Stow, *Native Races*, 111–24; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 249–53; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 103–5; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 150–1; D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95–7; Gentz, "Die südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 156–7.

[38 cont.]

412 Fig. 4. Wooden Mortars of the !Kung. (1/4 natural size [as shown
415 in the original text]).

Fig. 5. Wooden Vessels of the !Kung.

Fig. 6. Large Wooden Bowl of the !Kung (probably imported from the north — Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 2158).

Fig. 7. Pestle and Digging Stick or the !Kung (greatly reduced).

Fig. 8. (1) Digging Stick with !Kwe; (2) Veld Hoe (Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 1278 and 1497).

301 lengthen them. Some people possess such a great number of these chains that they cover the entire forehead. Children often wear small rectangular pendants, and women have large, medallion-like round ones that are worn like a diadem in the middle of the forehead. Little chains of small ostrich egg beads up to five centimeters long are worn as ear pendants. Children are also given armbands and anklebands made of ostrich egg beads. Brass beads from ancient times are rare and are worn exclusively as hair pendants, as are copper beads. Glass beads are not greatly valued, and only blue ones are worn, if any. On the other hand, beads made from aromatic wood are common. Longer chains of alter-
[756] nating wood and ostrich egg beads and worn in the hair are insignia of the female doctors. The men have tight little leather straps
[827] at the wrists and ankles, which probably serve to strengthen the
[411] musculature in running and using the bow. In addition, they have a few armbands of brass or iron. Every man and woman wears a string around the neck, which has one or two appetite sticks (see
[777] below) and various talismans attached at the front. Finally, a little horn containing various kinds of medicine is worn around the neck by many of the men. The younger women and girls
[303] usually also possess a tortoise shell powder box of the kind described below for the Dama. Body painting is scarcely practiced;
[302] concerning tattooing, see page 56. The children occasionally wear armbands that they make themselves with grass or various fruits.

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
[842] spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
843 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
845 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

[301 789 303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

*Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
584 are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

3: Lebzelter--165 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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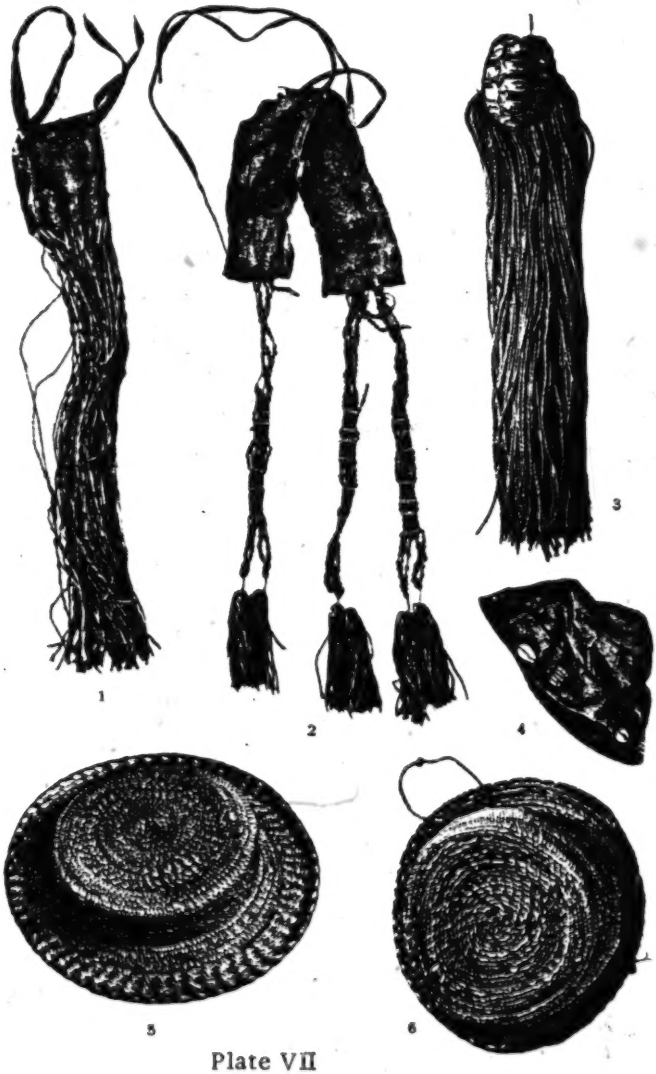

Plate VII

1. Apron for Little Girls (Nama and Hei//om)
2. Women's Apron (Region of Gobabis)
3. Perfume Box (Herero)
4-6. Bushman Caps and Straw Hats of the Bushmen (!Kung)
(1-4 and 6, Ethnology Museum, Berlin; 5. Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart)

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

572 A sound and a fragrance accompanied them wherever they
882 went; the sound was the sound of their ornaments clanking
574 like crockery, dry and dull, and the fragrance was heavy and
[303] sweet, the perfume of the leaves of *sa* and the wood of *tchambuti*, which Bushman women grind to powder and rub on their bodies. We would always hear these two girls coming, for they talked loudly, and a moment later we would see them appear around a bend in the path, one in front of the other, heads high and eyes cast downward, as light and long as two Egyptian sacred cats. Usually they were followed by a homely little girl years younger than they were, a forlorn little creature who would run errands for them and was content to trot after them and be their handmaiden, and usually they were on their way to visit a friend of theirs, a young married girl who was visiting at Toma's werf. When the two beauties would arrive to visit her, their married friend would stop whatever she was doing and the three of them would sit together in some shady spot to string beads or weave blossoms into crowns which they would wear, the blossoms fetched by the handmaiden, who searched the veld for aloes, the only flowers blooming in that season.

882 While they were stringing beads or weaving blossoms, a
572 group of young boys would gather to play the wand game, and
857 now and then, of course, a wand would land among the girls and the boys would jostle each other to retrieve it. The girl of Toma's werf treated these happenings with gaiety, for she was responsive and kind, but the other two wouldn't even turn their heads to see. Beautiful Ungka had been married, after all, and kidnapped, and widowed and divorced; grown men had fought over her and it was natural that the jostling of young boys would seem trivial. She would laugh behind her hand at them, though, then pull a long face when they would turn around to see.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

various ways. The affine who marries into the band, as long as he lives with the band, has a right to the water, to the hunting, and to the gathering of the wild foods, as members born to the band have. 423

I think that primarily the values and assets that parents seek in choosing mates for their children have to do with the kind of security which is attained through human responses and relations. Friends may want their children to marry because they know and trust each other. Or a family may want to increase its kinship bonds—and thereby its security—with certain bands for any number of reasons—among them could be food, water, or a desire to have supportihg friends in a certain area—and, like the crowned heads of Europe, the /Kung may deliberately seek to establish alliances through marriages. 581 185

Merging with such desires and to be balanced with them are the characteristics of the families concerned. The /Kung want their boys and girls to marry into upstanding families, among people who are ' able to feed themselves ', who are ' not lazy and not thin '. They do not want ' far-hearted ' in-laws who are not generous in food-sharing and gift-giving. /U, ≠Toma's wife, said she would take particular note of their generosity in giving bead ornaments to their children. She would not want a daughter of hers to marry among people who were stingy in that. Proper observance of the avoidances and other social regulations is an asset in in-laws, for they can then be assumed to have taught their children how to behave properly. 185 577 581

The individual's characteristics are also a concern. Parents of boys hope the girls to whom their sons are engaged will grow up to be good-looking, because, they say, a man takes pride in a beautiful wife. Xama, the mother of Gao, the headman of Band 2, said she had wanted for her son a light-skinned girl with good teeth who was not too thin and not too tall. But most important of all is a sweet temper, she said. A mother hopes, she said, that the girl will not be lazy or wander about visiting at night at other people's fires ' like a bitch '. The girl should observe the avoidances and the menstruation and other taboos, and in every way behave as a well brought up girl should. However, since the girls are engaged when they are very young, I suppose the parents of the boys can only watch them grow and hope. 185 581 826

Girls would not want a man ' as tall as a giraffe ', we were told. They would seek a smaller husband. /U's first husband, from whom she was divorced, is so tall (almost six feet) that people laugh and say, ' Did his mother have a dream with a *//gaus* (a spirit)? '

The girls themselves, all twitters and giggles, told me what they admire in the boys. They like a good hunter like /Gunda; and they like handsome teeth and a wide smile like young Tsamgao's; and straight, slender legs like //Ao's; and a fluid, swift walk like /Gao's; and they hate a big black belly like Gao's—the middle-aged medicine man in a band distant from Gautscha, to whom the young /Doin was married.

The parents of a girl want the boy to be responsible, kind to their daughter and, above all, a good provider—which means a good hunter. They want him to make his arrows straight, to shoot swiftly and accurately, to be able to run down an eland, and, most of all, they want a son-in-law whose heart says to him, ' Why am I sitting lazily here in the werf? Why do I not get up and go hunting? ' and who, in obedience to his heart, and the group's desire, and the magic which has been rubbed into his scarifications in the Ceremony of the First Killing, gets up and goes. [304] [881]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. 513 593
Individual adjustments are made.

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the will to hunt, good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt. It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness. 582 224 884 [304]

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of hunting is ceremonially linked with marriage. At the time of the wedding, the boy must bring to his bride's parents an animal that he himself has killed. The animal he brings must not be eaten by the bride. 585 224

A boy who never killed any large meat animal would not be given a wife, informants said. This was why the strange old deviant, /Gaishay, had remained a bachelor. For reasons no one understood he could not hunt; he gathered veldkos like a woman. Gossip had it that twice he had tried to drag a woman against her will into his scherm but had not succeeded. Informants remarked, 'Women like meat.' They do, but there is far more to it than that. 582 589 [462]

As John Marshall shows in his film, *The Hunters*, the primary sources of physical life, sex and food, are involved. In /Kung concept they are linked together, and, as they pertain to men, their duality is lifted to oneness in the being of the man, who is the sexually powerful male and the provider, the hunter. Power as a man and a male and worthiness and dignity are associated with hunting and not with the failure to hunt. 562 828 224

Since they are related, both the sexual and the hunting powers of the young man can be captured at once with a bride. For the first several years of marriage the boy goes to live with his bride's parents, or her people, should her parents be dead, to hunt for them. The parents of girls speak constantly of wanting their sons-in-law to provide them with food as though it were an obsession. 'We are old', they say, or 'We shall soon be old [whether this is actually true or not]; we need a young man to hunt for us'; 'our daughter's husband must get us something to eat'; 'we need karosses'; 'we want meat'—these are their refrains. 583 [591] [606]

Another value the /Kung place upon the boy's hunting during his bride-service appears in their belief that if the husband hunts for his wife and feeds her while she is still a growing child she becomes the more his. Food seems to be a main concern in bride-service, but the people also say that they want to be sure that the boy measures up in every way and will take good care of their daughter, and that the girl will have time to get used to her husband. [581] [593]

/141 cont./

302 Men and boys do not use this cosmetic, nor do old women, but only young women and girls.

The mixture is applied in circles on the cheeks (see Photo. 20, woman farthest to the left), but it is also rubbed on the body in any other place possible, such as on the arms or belly. Frequently the entire body is greased with it.

Among men a kind of black grease is used. This has "a pleasant odor," at least according to Bushman notions. It is [756] manufactured by the "doctor." The men smear it under and on the nose. It is questionable whether it is more a means of beautification or of enjoyment.

All male Auin have a green line over the root of the nose, 304 and usually also a crossbar under and at right angles to it. The crossbar is usually not colored (cf. Fig. 4).

Both lines consist of innumerable small transverse cuts. There are almost always two to four deep, especially conspicuous scars in the longer line. The length of the longitudinal line is usually from 2.5 to 3.5 centimeters, and that of the crossbar from one to 1.5 centimeters. Sometimes the longitudinal line is considerably longer and extends to the hairline. In the case of one Auin about 20 years old, no forehead tattoo was observed. In answer to questioning he replied that "it would be done later." On the other hand, I found a forehead tattoo on a quite undeveloped girl who [881] was at most eight years old. Hence it would seem that the tattoo is not connected with sexual maturity, an impression which the Auin themselves confirmed. One woman had two parallel longitudinal lines; another had two lines on each cheek, which in size and execution were like the vertical forehead line. Both were Auin by birth; in other words, they had not married into the tribe.

[177] According to the statements of the Auin, the forehead tattoo was copied from the Betschuana.

The forehead tattoo is called gi. Evidently no special significance is attached to it. Incidentally, I have seen the same tattoo among all the other Bushmen tribes. [Fig. 4 appears here.]

As a tool for making the countless little transverse incisions [412] that constitute the forehead tattoo, any sharpened little piece of iron may be used. I was unable to determine the pigment used to produce the green color, which is indelible.

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Fig. 4. Forehead Tattoo.
One-third natural size [as shown in the original text].

a, Longitudinal line
b, Crossbar
} Both formed by countless small incisions which are indicated by the lines.

c, Deeper and longer incisions in the crossbar.

Usually green pigment is rubbed into the tattoo.

Boys and girls are tattooed at about 12 to 14 years of age (also earlier and later) and, of course, by the "doctor" or by the "woman doctor." Special ceremonies or the like are not observed on this occasion, but the operation is performed in the bush away from the settlement. As many young people as possible come from several settlements to be tattooed, but in any case this is only for practical reasons. On this occasion
527 festivities are also held, that is, eating and dancing, but these festivities are only indirectly connected with the tattooing. Whenever several /142/ Bushmen are together, if they have

/142 cont./

527 ample food, they always "celebrate."

The tattoo artist receives no special fee; he is simply pro-
304 vided with food and shelter.

When the forehead tattoo is applied, the patient lies on his back with his head slightly raised. The skin of the forehead above the root of the nose is folded together and drawn up by a man using his thumbs and index fingers. The tattoo artist then makes the little transverse incisions in this fold of skin.

Among men, decorative scars take the place of a hunt record.
[224] For each piece of big game that a man has killed, he wears a horizontal decorative scar, on the right upper arm for male game and on the left upper arm for female game.
[858] Only boys, not men, have scars made for small game (duiker, ibex). Older successful hunters finally dispense altogether with having scars made, after they have enough of them to display.

These decorative scars are made in a manner similar to that used for the forehead tattoo. Sweat (blood) from the killed ani-
[237] mal is always rubbed into them, and usually also the green pigment. The hunting scars are made by any one of the older men. The length of the scars is approximately one-half to one centimeter, the breadth approximately one-quarter to one-half centimeter.

Decorative Scars (or Tattooing) among Women

Green decorative scars on the upper thigh and buttocks up to the waist are worn by all women. These scars can be seen in Photograph 14.

[887] The scars are made in the same way as the forehead tattoo, except that older women make them.

Further investigation was impossible since the Bushmen are very suspicious regarding their women. I am quite content to have succeeded in taking at least one photograph which illustrates these decorative scars tolerably well.

Men and women pierce their earlobes in precisely the same way as is customary among us.

Circumcision is not practiced.

According to statements of the Auin, the labia minora are sometimes clipped.

/142 cont./

Also, in rare cases the labia minora are supposedly stretched by 304 pulling them with the hand.

F. Clothing

291 The clothing of the Auin can be seen in Photographs 25 and 26.

Men's Clothing

a) Cap made of hide (jackal, jumping hare, Erdmännchen [field mouse?], cat).

a[1]) War cap made of the hide of the aardwolf (see also Photo. 21), only worn in war.

b) Loincloths, always made of ibex hide. A string runs from the loincloth back through the buttock crease and is fastened tightly to the hip band from which the loincloth is suspended in front. The entire contraption has somewhat the same effect as a suspensory in that the scrotum is raised somewhat (see Photos. 9-11).

c) Cloak, always made of ibex hide.

[415] d) Collecting bag, always made of ibex hide.

In addition, one often sees sandals made of the hide of a large antelope, or sandals for running (see Fig. 5). [Fig. 5 appears here.]

Further, there is a kind of fan consisting of a jackal tail [293] fastened to the end of a stick, as well as gaiters made of antelope skin. The latter are /143/ worn by men and women, particularly in thorny terrain. In shape they resemble the Greek greaves.

Women's Clothing (see Photos. 27 and 28)

a) Head ornament. On less festive occasions, a cap styled like the men's peace cap is often worn instead of the head ornament. Usually the head is uncovered on top.

b) Modesty apron. As can be seen in Photographs 12 to 14, this consists of a bundle of leather strips suspended from a string

[Text continues on page 19]

/147 cont./

223 noose is released when the animal takes the bait, and at the same time the gallows springs back and pulls the animal up in the air by its neck. Concerning the material used to make the noose, see page 41 . The arrowheads of the Auin are generally
411 poisoned. I have also found arrows which had only a single unpoisoned bone point. These are used for sport, perhaps also for killing small birds.

Manufacture of the arrow poison. Burkea africana (firewood
278 of the Bushmen) is inhabited during the rainy season by a beetle (or a species of termite?) which toward the end of the rainy season pupates in the soil under the tree. The larvae are dug up, killed, dried in the sun, and rubbed between stones.

Roots of the thorny tschamma (Cucumis heptactylus Naud.) are laid on red-hot coals, taken out warm, and the bitter sap pressed out. This sap is mixed with the poisonous paste, and the resulting dirty, reddish-brown preparation represents the finished arrow poison. The poison is applied to the arrow point in a layer several millimeters thick and dries there.

The Bushmen greatly fear their own arrow poison and always
278 carry the poisoned point hidden in the shaft. The poisoned end
411 is exposed only just before it is to be used. The layer of poison on the iron points, which because of their width cannot be concealed in the arrow shaft, is always wrapped with bast which is not taken off until the arrow is to be used. All Auin can make arrow poison and readily demonstrate the process.

224 The decorative scars described on page 16 are to be regarded
304 as hunting trophies.

The hunters supposedly tell exaggerated tales. Quarrels on
521 these occasions sometimes end in bloodshed.
578

The only domestic animal is the dog.
[231]

The Bushman doctor is supposed to let blood for healing pur-
757 poses. For instance, in the case of a man who could not run well, bloody incisions were made in his upper thigh. On the other hand, I do not know whether this procedure can be described as "bloodletting." Scars from such incisions were shown to me several times.

413 The surgical instrument is a little sharpened piece of iron.

/157 cont./

The water and food collected by menstruating women are
841 consumed only by the women themselves and old people; the younger ones "it makes weak."

593 The authority of the parents practically ceases as soon as
858 the children are in a position to provide food for themselves.

A child is named soon after birth by the grandfather or grand-
553 mother (whether on the paternal or the maternal side was not determined).

Boys reach puberty between 14 and 16 years of age and girls
145 between 13 and 15 years of age (estimates).

The declaration of a boy's maturity is a special event in the
881 life of the Bushman. Under the leadership of the "doctor," several youths from neighboring settlements march into the bush and live together there for some weeks on the veld crop. During this time they receive some sort of instruction in secret affairs. Young and old Auin alike, whom I interrogated separately, denied that this instruction pertains to sexual matters. To the question of what they did during their stay in the bush, I always received the answer: "They dance." They did, indeed, describe for me a kind of dance which decidedly has something childishly mysteri-
[535] ous about it. A boy seats himself "piggyback" on the back of another, and both wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier tramping with his feet as rapidly as possible without moving forward, while both of them utter a low "hu, hu" in as horrifying a manner as possible.

It is indeed difficult to imagine that this interesting occupation should last for weeks, interrupted only by sleeping and eating.

In addition, the young people seem to be treated quite badly in the course of this preparation and to receive little to eat; all of them concurred in the opinion that it is "miserable."

I learned through hints that the candidates for manhood play all kinds of tricks on neighboring villages during the night and play as "ghosts" a bit, as well as stealing food.

The actual attainment of manhood, after which the boys are
[884] warriors and are allowed to marry, is not solely dependent on attending the preparation, but also on the killing of the first piece of big game.

Tattooing is not connected with the official attainment of
[304] manhood

[30 cont.]

881 old people are seated. The young man may not eat any of the meat; he may only drink the soup, which is also rubbed on him. From now on he is regarded as an adult, a marriageable man;
582 584 his parents ask him whether he wants to be married. The boy commonly replies: "I am still weak and do not know whether I can take good care of her." Then the parents allow him to wait until he himself wants to marry. Von Zastrow and Vedder (p. 415) report the following concerning the boys' initiation:

[31] "On this occasion the boys are told how they must
881 conduct themselves when they go out to seek a wife, and how they
[867] must behave towards a mother-in-law. To sit down by an evening
[584] fire next to an adult girl is tantamount to a marriage proposal, even if not a word is spoken. Under no circumstances may one
[606] look at the mother-in-law. They also practice animal dances in the bush, the kind that are performed by the men later at joyous celebrations, and also in times of distress. Finally, the young
[304] Bushman receives the tribal marking, a number of skin incisions on the cheek below the temple. Each tribe has a certain number of skin incisions. In order to make them stand out clearly even
[386] after healing, pulverized charcoal is put into the incisions. As a result, the tribal marking later looks like a black streak on the yellow skin.

224 "There is nothing against applying another mark on the
304 future huntsman during this celebration, namely, the hunting
881 inoculation. This must be done by a man who has special powers and knowledge at his disposal. In order to sharpen the future hunter's eye for game generally and certain game in particular, it is necessary to make a deep incision between the eyes over the root of the nose, into which the practiced hand of the surgeon sprinkles a powder of dried and pulverized parts of all kinds of game.

"The inoculation may later be repeated several times if the hunter has no luck in hunting.

881 "A person who has received the tribal marking is now re-
884 garded as a Bush 'man'; he can make his own bow and arrows, like those of the old people, and go hunting with them. Also, the way is now open for him to found a family."

582 It practically never happens that a Bushman remains

[39 cont.]

41 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire.

[40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by
[439] the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be-
[422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should
●[304] be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out
177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked
415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are
278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen.
805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions;
211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary.
[614] To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so
[888] great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements
[623] between the chief and the other old men.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 25]

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
532 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
535 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
323 customary.
302

A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the
304 custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
[751] its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
[836] between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

[69 cont.]

881 assistants, the boys go into the bush. On the first day two vertical incisions are made on the forehead; then they sing throughout the night and dance to the melody: "Ije, ije, aije, aije . . .
[539] oho, oho," etc.

On the morning of the second day, the incisions on the
[304] forehead are extended to the root of the nose and the hairline. On the afternoon of this day the elders call the youths together to look for veldkost. The elder loosens the roots with his digging stick, and as he does so the candidates place their hands on the arm doing the work. The boys must then dig the roots out of the ground with their hands, without the help of tools. "From now on they can look for veldkost themselves, for now they have been taught."

After this lesson they return to the place where the women are. [70] Food is prepared there for both the men and the candidates; the candidates are allowed to eat only veldkost, no meat. Then they dance, together with the women and girls, for a night and half a day.

In the afternoon the candidates go hunting. They must bag three animals: a small duiker, a guinea fowl, and a bullfrog. They take their prey and assemble with the older instructors at a remote place, the three kinds of meat are cooked together, the meat is eaten by the elders, and the bodies of the boys are washed all over with the soup. From now on they may eat the three ani-
[262] mals, hitherto forbidden to them. Now they again dance and
[539] sing: "Oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu" (long drawn-out).

≠Auin: The candidates from neighboring villages go into
881 the bush under the leadership of the doctor, and they live there on veldkost for a few weeks. During this time they receive instructions in secret matters. Kaufmann reports the following
[535] dance: A boy gets up on the back of another, and both of them wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier swinging from one leg to the other as rapidly as possible without moving forward, and both of them yell "hu, hu." They actually attain manhood, which gives them the right to marry, only through the hunting test. Tattooing is not connected
[304] with the declaration of manhood.

7 AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[78 cont.]

000 it with the fingers. [Fig. 29 appears here.]

224 [79] The lion is neither eaten nor hunted. The jackal and
262 leopard are eaten, as is the liver of the latter. Baboons are not
825 eaten, because they were formerly Bushmen.

●304 The line of tattooing between the eyebrows make people
302 into leopards among the Nogau. The Naron smear themselves with red and black color. The other incisions and tattooing are made purely for adornment.

825 Among the Naron, millepedes are regarded as creatures
756 of Hise, and only doctors may touch them and make medicine of them. Among the Nogau and ǂAuin there are magical bones
787 that are used to predict the future. The Naron also believe that
[172] the rock engravings stem from //gauwa.

Among the Auin it is forbidden to eat hyena flesh, and
262 likewise the flesh of the shabrack jackal because it is a dog.

The following important data supplied by Gentz (1) should

224
[114]
[113]

1. "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften [Some Contributions to Knowledge of the Southwest African Tribes]," Globus, Vol. 83, 1903.

be added:

"I have repeatedly found Bushman arrows on which the point, usually made of bone (for the most part ostrich bone), was made of wood. The game sling, reproduced in Figure 29, is constructed as follows: A strong string, four to five millimeters thick, which at one end terminates in a simple loop, is fastened at the other end to a flexible young tree or branch that is bent far over. A small, thinner string with a transverse stick is attached at the loop end. The string is placed around a small post driven into the ground at an angle, and it is prevented from slipping off by means of a flat piece of wood buried under the ground and planted against the free end of the transverse stick; the sling is placed in a circle on the ground over the flat piece of wood. The game, which follows its customary track to the

/245 cont./

142 millimeters. Two or three hairs form a tight unit. A number of such units are clustered into a tuft that forms an almost impenetrable tangle of hair. The yellowish-brown skin of the head is visible between the tufts, so that the surface of the skull gives the impression of an area with black spots. Extensive variations are
302 to be found in the manner of dressing the hair, but all Bushmen from time to time have their head hair cut. The women commonly leave an edge of longer hair uncut and let it fall horizontally toward the back from the hairline on the forehead. Frequently also an oval area is shaved on the skull or on the edge of the forehead down to the ears.

145 I did not observe any loss of hair, even among old persons, but I did notice graying, not, however, to the same extent as among Europeans.

304 Tattooing is very popular among the Heikum Bushmen.

I found three types of tattooing:

1. An ornamental tattoo. This consists of parallel longitudinal incisions about one centimeter in length and arranged in rows. These rows of incisions are to be found predominantly on the face, on cheeks, temples, and foreheads, and especially among women they frequently radiate towards the middle of the face which, however, is left clear. The ornamental tattoo is also to be found on other parts of the body at any number of places, such as the chest, the abdomen, the upper arm, and the upper thigh. The incisions are quite superficial and give the appearance of fine black lines. The bluish-black coloration of the scars is achieved by rubbing charcoal into the freshly-made incisions.

2. Deeper incisions, which correspondingly leave heavier scars, form the forehead tattoo which is common to all Heikum Bushmen with no age or sex distinctions. The tattoo consists of several parallel vertical incisions about two centimeters in length between the eyebrows. As a result of this tattoo there is a number, usually five, of deep and closely adjoining folds between the eyebrows, giving even younger individuals an older appearance. In the case of older persons the base of the scars /246/ is raised by the formation of keloids, so that the region between the eyebrows has the appearance of a cock's comb.

/246 cont./

304 3. The third and most curious is a manner of tattooing which I should like to designate as the antelope tattoo, a kind of inoculation that I have seen in no other native African tribe. This type of tattoo is used only by males and consists of the following: Through parallel incisions little pieces of antelope flesh, especially gemsbok flesh, are placed under the skin of male children, with the idea that the child thus inoculated will have the speed of the antelopes in running. The incisions are most commonly made on the buttocks, but they are also to be found on the chest, abdomen, and back.

[827]

757 One also commonly finds scars all over the body from blood-letting incisions "to draw off" illnesses.

Viewed from above, the head shows no peculiarities, although 142 dolichocephaly does not seem to me to be as marked among the Bushmen as it is among the Bantu Negroes. The protuberance at the back of the head is so little developed that it can scarcely be felt on most individuals.

The profile view of the face permits one to recognize a clear alveolar prognathy. In the case of most individuals the upper lip in the profile view extends beyond the tip of the nose. The edge of hair around the fairly straight forehead runs in an even curve from one ear to the other.

The bones of the eyebrow arches protrude sharply, while the forehead bulge is only slightly developed.

The cheekbones with the widely-projecting zygomatic arches form prominences jutting out sharply in the temporal and cheek region.

Most Bushmen show a striking prominence of the parotid gland 142 region, which in the case of some individuals swells out so that it 147 is actually hemispherical. I was unable to determine whether the swelling is caused more by hypertrophy of the parotid gland or by a particularly strong development of the chewing musculature. This swelling of the parotid gland region is, I believe, not a racial peculiarity of the Bushmen, but rather a consequence of their way of life which necessitates a root diet requiring very heavy use of the chewing apparatus. At any rate, I observed the same peculiarity among the Herero, who for a long time were dependent upon veld food.

/246 cont./

The Herero, like the Bushmen, give the use of veld food,
142 especially the onion known as unki, as the cause of this peculiarity.
147 The attached photographs illustrate the swelling in the case of a
171 Bushman (Fig. 3) and a Herero (Fig. 4).

The nose is sharply set off from the forehead and strikingly
142 small. The bridge of the nose is so flat that in some cases one can scarcely speak of a bridge of the nose; the area between the cheekbones is an almost level surface. The tip /247/ of the nose is small and pointed slightly upward. The largest diameter of the nostrils runs diagonally. The lips are narrow in comparison with those of most Negroes; their color is almost exactly that of the surrounding skin of the face.

The teeth of the majority of individuals are in pretty good condition; among the 39 persons I examined, I found only 28 carious teeth. In comparison with a European, the extreme wear of the teeth is striking; it progresses with age and is so marked in old people that the teeth are worn down to the roots, again a consequence of the way of life dependent upon a root diet. The incisors very slightly point forward.

The Heikum do not have artificial deformities of the teeth.
● 304 Several of those examined displayed the well-known Herero
648 deformity (filing down the inner sides of the two central upper incisors and removal of the four lower incisors) [Figs. 3 and 4 appear here], which is explained by the fact that these Bushmen had been Herero slaves in their childhood and were marked in the Herero manner by their former masters.

The ear is of normal size; its outline is rounded, not bent at an
142 angle. The ear lobe is always joined to the head.

In spite of general gauntness, the marked development of the abdomen in most cases is striking, even among the adults.

The female breast is conical in the case of individuals who have not borne children; the region around the nipple is usually separated by a gentle furrow from the rest of the breast. The color of the nipple area is deep brown. The nipple is raised.

[304] Circumcision is not practiced by either men or women. Among the Heikum and Kung women I did not find the abnormally pronounced development of the buttocks, known as steatopygia, which
[144] is so common among Hottentot women. To my mind this is

881 ceremony, which may last for a month or even longer. The latter, as practised among the *‡Ao-//ēin*, consists of several stages. On the first day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the smoke of the "devil's" fire (*//gāua-da*) and are required to partake of the "devil's" urine (*//gāua-/kam*). The proceedings of the second day begin with dancing before daybreak. After sunrise and at sunset they are given a small quantity of *//nōun* (one of the staple vegetable foods of the Kalahari Bushmen) to eat and a little water to drink. During the day their bodies are blackened from head to foot with powdered roasted *//nōun*. After partaking of the evening meal they retire to rest without dancing. On the morning of the third day they start dancing at sunrise and dance without interruption and without food or water all day long until sunset, when they go to sleep. On the following morning before sunrise their hands are washed with water by the elders and they are given a little *//nōun* to eat. Thereafter they are taken to a pan of water and required to walk through it. The rest of the day is spent in collecting veldkos. In the evening they are introduced to the "Devil" and partake of honey brought by the latter. On the fifth day their bodies are cleansed with chewed roasted *//nōun* and they are permitted to move about the camp and partake of food. They may, however, not speak to young unmarried women. As they retire to rest at night their bows and arrows are handed to them by the elders. From now onwards each lad is taken separately and required to prove his skill in stalking and killing game with bow and arrow. [304] Each one who passes through the test in a satisfactory manner is tattooed with meat taken from the animals shot by him and then permitted to return to the werft.

Courtship and Marriage, Death, Etc.

582 Marriage within the group is forbidden and is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. As a rule men do not go far for wives and intermarriage takes place between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women. The southern groups among the Bushmen 184 595 of the Kalahari are monogamous but as one proceeds northwards polygamy is met with. Among the *Hei-//om*, for example, each man has two wives as a rule. The wives may or may not be related. The second wife is taken some time after the first. The wife taken first is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over the second wife. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation. Polygamy is rarely met with among the *‡Ao-//ēin* and *Naron*. Exchange of wives

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 In a short time we heard a rustle in the veld, and a young
854 woman who seemed to be in her early twenties stepped from the bushes. She was, Ukwane said, Gai's wife, and on her hip she carried a baby, a naked three-year-old who looked at us from his wide eyes fearlessly, then, realizing that we were strangers, buried his face in his mother's arm. His mother stroked him calmly and came toward us smiling and nodding her head graciously, although a little pulse was hammering in the V of her throat. We learned later that she had been sitting in the bushes very near us, and when she had seen her husband go by she had assumed that everything was all right and had come to greet us, not bothering to answer his cries.

142 She was a short, sturdy woman with round arms, long thighs, and short calves. She had a rather large belly and square, strong shoulders, and she wore a very tattered cape
291 or kaross over her back, with a small leather apron around her hips. She had no ornaments except a row of blue scars over
304 her eyes, a decoration, and she had allowed her hair to be-
302 come disheveled, long, and a little tangled, hanging down
184 over her ears in tight spirals, instead of having shaved it off as most Bushman women do. All this gave her a very matter-of-fact air, which was not deceiving, for she saw in a glance that we were harmless and, looking us over, sat down at once beside me.

304 Her baby pulled, twisted, and tugged at her, and from the way he behaved I judged that he kept her too busy to be for-
[854] ever cutting her hair or making bead ornaments. Besides, she told us later, if she wore ornaments, the baby pulled them off. She had her row of scars, though, delicate and arching over her brow, making her eyes seem wider; as well as a row of striped scars along her thighs. These, say Bushmen, are made to imitate the beauty of zebras, and many women wear them, having been decorated when they were still young. It

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

is a painful procedure. The cuts are made on the thighs and 304
forehead with a knife or ax blade, then charcoal is rubbed in, but the woman told us later that in her case it had been worth the pain and trouble because, she said, she was extremely ugly and had been made more beautiful.

Her baby's name was Nhwakwe, she told me, and after 551 276
that we were at a loss for conversation. I offered her a ciga- [609]
rette, which she declined, indicating that it made her cough. I was surprised, for she was the only Bushman I had ever met, man, woman, or child, who did not smoke.

Presently she smiled, pressed her hand to her chest, and 551
said: "Tsetchwe." It was her name. 609

"Elizabeth," I said, pointing to myself.

"Nisabe," she answered, pronouncing after me and inclining her head graciously. She looked me over carefully without really staring, which to Bushmen is rude. Then, having surely suspected that I was a woman, she put her hand on my breast gravely, and, finding that I was, she gravely touched her own breast. Many Bushmen do this; to them all Europeans look the same.

"*Tsau si*" (women), she said.

Then after a moment's pause, Tsetchwe began to teach me 609
a few words, the names of a few objects around us, grass, 222
rock, bean shell, so that we could have a conversation later. As she talked she took a handful of the beans out of her kaross, broke them open, and began to eat them. This is a [137]
wonderful, bitter bean, shaped like a lima bean, which grows on tiny bushes in patches throughout the Kalahari. When you [261]
eat these beans they burn your tongue, throat, and stomach, but they take away hunger and thirst. Besides the beans in her kaross, Tsetchwe, who began unloading, brought out a large, edible root which she had dug up—she must have been gathering food before we came—and put it in the shade of a

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

142 159 sometimes he would abandon his gravity and laugh a high, 622 reaching laugh that one could hear from far away, a laugh that came from his very soul, or, as Bushmen say, from his stomach. He listened diplomatically and intently whenever 159 153 he was spoken to, staring at the gound, and had a habit of echoing, in a loud falsetto voice, the important phrases of every sentence he was told.

"We went to Keitsa Pan," someone might say to him.

"To Keitsa," Toma would reply.

". . . and we slept there, but the blind flies were very bad . . ."

"Oh, bad, bad . . ."

". . . but in the morning we saw two porcupines . . ."

". . . yes, porcupines . . ."

". . . and we killed them there. We made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry."

159 Toma was considered to be very fortunate in his marriage. 142 Of course it was through his wife, Tu, that he gained the leadership of the Gautscha people, his life free in the veld rather than in serfdom, and his two young sons, but besides all this his wife was beautiful, having a smooth face and great, clear eyes like a cat. Also, she was five feet tall, considered to be a very desirable height, and although no Bushman has ever been too fat, Tu was not too thin and her arms and legs were round. She had soft blue scars curving on her fore- [304] head which made her eyes seem to lift at the corners, and blue scars on her thighs that showed when she walked. Her 159 chief virtues, in the eyes of Bushmen, were that she deco- 577 rated herself with ornaments in her hair and kept her hands [515 and face washed, thus demonstrating that she cared what she 301] looked like, rather than letting herself go now that she was married. To show that she observed propriety, cared what

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the buffalo's horn had wounded him. Otherwise, he looked 609
very well. All the people seemed well, especially the children.
Toma's oldest son wore a crown of badger skin with the long 291
hair standing up on it, and two safety pins that we had given 177
him, which he wore as earrings in his pierced ears. With all 301
this he looked bold as a pirate. His brother was nearly as big
as he was, and his sister, Norna, now three, was a slender,
graceful child who regarded the world with dark, wondering
eyes.

Norna's sixteen-year-old uncle, Tu's brother, was there too. 481
He was a lame boy; he had been crippled in one leg since 732
childhood and could hobble only with the help of a long stick.
People had despaired of him, believing that he would never
be able to hunt and therefore never marry or inherit the head-
manship of Gautscha Pan, but when we saw him now and
looked at him closely we noticed a fine row of scars between 881
his eyes and on his arms and chest and we knew that he had 304
hunted and killed an antelope and had been scarified in his
initiation. We had planned on this trip to give him presents
of all kinds, to make him rich, so that he could marry whether
he could hunt or not, but we saw now that this would not be
necessary. When he knew that we had noticed his scars he
told us in great detail the story of the hunt. He told us how he
had gone out with a group of hunters, how he had first seen [224]
the two horns of a kudu above a clump of bushes, how he had
silently hobbled near it, propped himself on his crutch, and
shot it with a poisoned arrow. The arrow had penetrated
deeply and the lame boy had returned to tell the others. They
had followed it with him for a day and in the evening had
found it dead. It was the lame boy's kudu, though; he shot it,
and to Bushmen that is the important thing. He was scarified [884]
with a paste made of the kudu's meat, and ever after that he
was a man.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the
882 parents' fire.

855 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive
857 and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or
[136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and
[868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime,
857 singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults
[512] together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned
857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth
156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men,
[173] the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another
[171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation
[562] ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they
[535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from
[534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony.
[302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of
[304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and traditionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

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The *Choa* Ceremony The mother takes the girl's hands to scrape the tsi out of the ashes.

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[224]

choa-ed. The old woman who attends her performs this part of the ceremony (or her mother may do so). She scrapes a root called *sha sha* into the water hole. To *choa* the veldkos, the old woman takes the girl's hands in hers and together they place the veldkos in the fire. When it is cooked, they scrape it out together and the old woman puts *sha sha* in her mouth, chews it, and blows on the girl's hands and on the veldkos. This protects the girl from having an upset stomach. Each veldkos must be *choa*-ed the first time the girl eats it after the First Menstruation ceremony.

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[224]

No ceremonials mark subsequent menstruation periods, and the women do not seclude themselves during the flow or avoid gathering veldkos or dipping water from the water hole. They continue only to practice certain avoidances that in general have to do with men's hunting. The menstruating woman must not touch hunting gear; it would be very bad, for the arrows would be useless. She must not have sexual intercourse with her husband; it would make him tired and thin. Men in the years of their hunting prime should not talk or listen to talk about menstruation, for to do so might make them lazy in hunting.

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The girls who are married before their first menstruation have the same menstruation ceremony when the time comes as do the unmarried girls.

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There is no genital mutilation practiced among the girls and women of the !Kung. Girls are scarified, but not at the time of the menstruation ceremony. The scarification is begun when the girl is about seven or eight and is continued little by little over several years. Stripes are made on the legs,

[p. 266]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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thighs, up the buttocks to the waist, and on the cheeks and forehead. 304
The !Kung say the stripes are made only for beauty* and are in imitation of gemsbok—big, stately gray antelopes with spectacular black markings.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The only social grouping above the family in 621
!Kung society is the autonomous band. A band is a group of families who live together, linked to one another and to the headman by kinship bonds, in a manner that will be illustrated presently. Nuclear families do not live alone among the !Kung. An extended family might do so, if it were a strong unit with enough young hunters and gatherers to sustain it; it would then be a band. Most of the Nyae Nyae bands were composed of several families [162]
and ranged in size from twenty or twenty-five to fifty or sixty members.

Each band belongs to its own territory, or, we can say, owns its territory 621
and the resources within it. Two or more bands may belong to the same 622
territory. The focus of the band's ownership of the territory is the headman, 423
who is called *kxau* (owner). He does not own the resources as private, individual property is owned, to withhold or give as he pleases. Members born to the band have a kind of inalienable right of their own to the resources. The headman personifies those rights and gives them organization and continuity. The continuity is expressed by the attachment of the headmanship to the territory. If a headman leaves the territory to live elsewhere—except temporarily for bride service—he ceases to be headman and the headmanship falls on someone else who remains in the territory.

!Kung society accords to the headman the authority to coordinate the 622
movements of his own people in relation to their consumption of resources, and his chief duty is to plan when and where the band will move. He should protect the resources from encroachment from outsiders.

When the band moves, the headman's position is at the head of the line. He chooses the site for the new werf and has the first choice of a spot for his own fire and scherm. He has no other rewards or prerogatives. He carries his own load and is as thin as the rest.

It is not a headman's duty, as headman, to instigate or organize hunting parties, trading trips, the making of artifacts, or gift giving, nor does he make marriage arrangements. Individuals instigate their own activities. A 622
headman is not in any formalized way a judge of his people, nor must he 627
punish a wrongdoer. He may have great influence, if he is an effective leader, but wrongdoing is judged and controlled by public opinion, usually expressed in talk. Occasionally a person who is wronged seeks to avenge himself by fighting, which is greatly deplored.

If a headman is too young or too old, or lacks personal qualities of 622

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the !Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy.

(8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts.

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband stepbrother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself.

(9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty.

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees.

(10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

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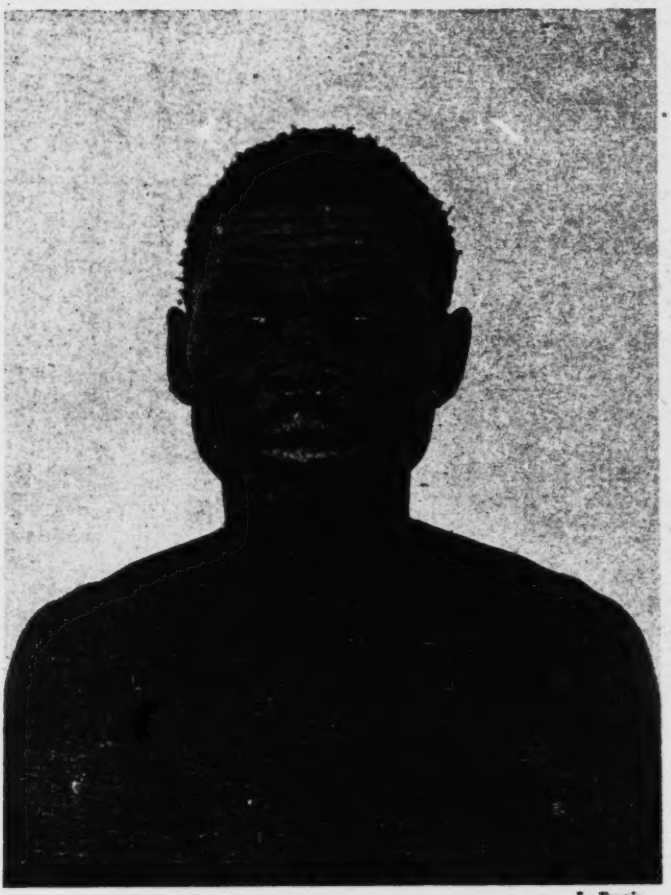

L. Fourie

AUEN BUSHMAN
Showing initiation cuts between eyebrows

[FRONTISPIECE]
[FACING p. iii]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

and other odds and ends are also worn as finery or as charms. But formerly armlets of ivory and copper were found among the men, while the women wore iron and copper rings and armlets, as well as necklaces of ostrich eggshell beads, teeth, or shells. Frequently also they sewed strips of raw hide round their legs in the form of rings, which, when dry, rattled against each other and made a noise when they moved. Copper trinkets and rings were worn in the ears by people of both sexes, or were attached freely to the knots of their hair. All these have now given place to glass beads, glass or wire bangles, and similar objects obtained from European traders.

H 301 177 H [439]

Washing in water was rarely met with, and was certainly by no means customary. The toilet was performed with moist cow-dung rubbed plentifully all over the body, allowed to dry slightly, and then rolled off in lumps with the palm of the hand. To give the skin suppleness it was also generally rubbed with fat, kept in small receptacles of horn covered with leather and often carried about on the person. The women especially would smear the whole body with it, the men at least the face, scalp, hands, and arms. Both men and women also freely used *buchu*; the men powdered mainly the neck and the armpits, the women the whole body. The powder was kept in small tortoise-shell boxes, made by closing with resin the openings at the back of the shell and at the sides, so that a vessel remained with only one opening, that for the head. In Kolb's time the women would on festive occasions paint red spots on the forehead, cheek, and chin; and even to-day among the Naman the girls on such occasions still paint various patterns on their faces with a mixture of fat and the powder ground from a soft red stone such as haematite. There was no special style of dressing the hair, although occasionally part of the scalp was shaved clean and the remaining knots decorated with all sorts of small trinkets.

H 515 302 H [415] H [415 321] H [386]

Bodily Mutilations

Bushmen

Various forms of bodily mutilation are practised by the Bushmen. Perhaps the best known of these is the removal of a finger joint, as a rule that of one of the little fingers. The older writers on the Southern Bushmen frequently mention it as occurring in some men and women, as well as in children, but it is not universally found.[1] The

B 304 856

[1] E.g. Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, vol. i, 289; Arbousset, *Voyage d'Exploration au . . . Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 493; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 329; G. Thompson, *Travels . . . in S. Africa*, i, 43.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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304 856 joint is usually removed during childhood, and the custom appears to be associated with some magical belief. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that the joint is cut off with a reed before the child sucks at all, and that the motive underlying the custom is that the child should live to grow up.[1] Other writers add that the operation is performed only on a child whose predecessor has died young, and is intended to protect it from a similar fate.[2] Various other interpretations have been given of the custom, but the one just mentioned appears to be the most probable. This form of mutilation does not [184] seem to occur to any extent in the Northern tribes. Seiner found it in a few persons among the Kung, but states that it was exceptional,[3] and there is no other record of its occurrence in these tribes.

304 Barrow further mentions that in a large band of Bushmen seen by [301] him in the midlands of the Cape all the men had a small piece of wood [136] or porcupine quill inserted through the perforated septum of the nose.[4] This practice is not reported definitely by any of the other writers on the Southern Bushmen, although it is hinted at by Bleek and Lloyd.[5] Hahn, however, speaks of it as occurring in a Bushman tribe in the South-West Kalahari, whom he therefore names "Nasenstockträger",[6] and recently Pöch has published the photograph of a woman from the waterhole/kang in the Southern Kalahari, in which it is seen very clearly.[7]

184 In the majority of Northern Bushmen at the present time, and 304 especially in the North-Western tribes, the most widespread form of 881 mutilation is scarification, which was quite unknown among the tribes 224 south of the Molopo.[8] Small cuts about an inch long are made in the skin, and ash black or other colouring matter is rubbed into the wounds, producing a slight but noticeable scar. In the women they are said to be made mostly for ornament only, on the face, thighs, and buttocks, but among the !O Kung of Angola they are also made in connection with the puberty ceremony for girls. In the men some of the cuts may also be purely ornamental, but many of them are definitely related to social and hunting observances. Thus all Naron, Auen, and Kung have a vertical cut or cuts between the eyebrows,

[1] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, p. 17.
[2] Arbousset, loc. cit.; Thompson, loc. cit.
[3] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 290
[4] Op. cit., vol. i, 276.
[5] *Bushman Folklore*, 329.
[6] "Die Buschmänner," 66.
[7] "Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," pl. v, fig. 2.
[8] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101, 108–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 141–2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 245–6; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, *The Naron*, 10–11.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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B 184 304 224 881

given to boys at their puberty ceremonies; other cuts are made to ensure good luck in hunting, while still others are the marks of successful hunters. These special cuts will all be discussed below in more detail.

B 184 304 881

According to Dornan the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari practise circumcision of boys and what appears to be a form of cliterodectomy in girls, both in connection with puberty ceremonies. These mutilations he regards as common to most Bushmen and as being truly Bushman in origin, even going so far as to advance the opinion that the neighbouring Bantu who also practise them have taken them over from the Bushmen.[1] This view cannot be upheld. Actually none of the other Bushmen known to us have either form of mutilation, so that these practices can by no means be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture. It is far more probable that the Hiechware have adopted them from the BeChwana, to whose influence they have long been exposed, just as they have adopted from them other elements of Bantu culture, both in technology and in religion.

Hottentots

H 304

Circumcision, as in the case of the Bushmen, was altogether unknown to the Hottentots. Kolb and several other early writers on the Cape Hottentots, however, state that at or before puberty the left testicle of every boy was excised.[2] It is difficult to decide how much truth there is in this statement, although Kolb gives a minute description of the rite and claims to have repeatedly made a personal examination of the victims themselves. Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Fritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac.[3] Certainly in more recent times the custom of excision, if it ever did exist (and one is inclined to believe that the older writers may be trusted in this respect), has completely disappeared; and it has never

H [147]

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 158–60.
[2] Kolb, op. cit., 55 sqq.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 842; Wikar, "Berigt aan den Heer Joachim van Plettenberg," 98–9; other references summarized by Walk, "Initiationszeremonien . . . der südafrikanischen Stämme," 882 sqq.
[3] Fritsch, op. cit., 333–4.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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Bushmen FX10

adolescent boys, who remain in the camp for the occasion, are 881
summoned to pass in single file behind her hut. As they pass, each
presses his scrotum against her hand, passed through a small opening [751]
made by her mother in the back of the hut, and she touches it with
forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the boys against
swelling of the testicles, which is believed to result from contact, [841]
direct or indirect, with a menstruating woman or anything associated
with her. After all the boys have filed past and returned to their hut,
an old woman enters the girl's hut and rubs down her body with a
preparation of roots. The girl is then ceremonially taken to fetch
first water and then wood, which she brings at a run and places at
the hut of the old woman who cleansed her. After these have been
deposited the ceremony is over. This fetching of water and wood,
together with the cleansing, no doubt symbolizes the return of the
girl to the normal occupations of her daily life.

She is now a woman eligible for marriage, she lives in a new hut 882
built for her by her mother, accompanies the married women in their
daily occupations, and associates with them. The food collected 883
by her during the four or five days following the ceremony is
eaten only by very old women, e.g. the one who rubbed her down.
After that any food she gathers is shared with her mother. On
subsequent menstrual periods she may not go into the veld to gather [841]
veldkos, but must remain in the camp, and is fed by her mother.

In many of its details this ceremony closely resembles the puberty 171
ceremony for girls among the Hottentots. There is a strong probability 881
that it may even have been taken over from the latter, by whom the
Heikum have unquestionably been influenced to a considerable
extent. At the same time, in the seclusion of the girl in a separate
hut, the avoidance of contact with men, and the performance of a
special dance, this ceremony also presents features noted in the
corresponding ceremonies of other Bushman tribes. The differences
apparent between it and the others may therefore be due merely to
the fact that it has been studied and recorded in much fuller detail.
Without further study of the other Bushman tribes no definite
assertion can be made on this point.

The puberty ceremony for girls among the !O Kung of Angola 184
differs in several important respects from those already noted. Every 304
girl, at her first menstruation, is placed in a separate hut, and kept 881
there until the new moon is seen. A dance is held in her honour on
the first nights; both sexes take part in this, but not the girl herself.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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184 304 881 During her seclusion a row of small parallel cuts, which are all blackened with ashes, is made on her face, or arms, or legs by her father or a male magician. Miss Bleek is convinced that these cuts are partly for ornament, but adds that there also appears to be a [776] religious element present, as one woman informant said that *//gäüa*, a supernatural personage, leads this dance, and that the cuts are made in his honour.[1] Both the scarifications and the presence of a supernatural being are foreign to the puberty ceremonies for girls in other Bushman tribes; but, as will be seen shortly, both occur (in somewhat different form) in the puberty ceremonies for boys among the North-Western tribes.

184 881 In all the ceremonies so far described, girls are required to pass through the rites individually as soon as they have their first period. Among the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, however, it appears from the very fragmentary data supplied by Dornan that girls are initiated in groups. The central feature of the ceremony, as described [304] by him, is an operation performed on each of the girls, which consists in the "perforation of the clitoris" (*sic*) with a stone knife, the operators being the older women.[2] If this information be correct, [177] we have here a ceremony in every way distinct from those of the other Bushmen, and one which can only be regarded as having been borrowed from the neighbouring BeChwana, whose puberty ceremonies for girls are of a somewhat similar nature.

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

881 Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after reaching the age of puberty, and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in hunting, especially in the pursuit of big game. Among the North-Western tribes this ceremony is carried out in a secluded spot in the bush, near which no woman may come.[3] Here all the eligible big boys from several neighbouring encampments are taken [756] by the old men, with a couple of magicians in charge; and here they remain for about a month, living together in a big hut or enclosure. During the first few days they are roughly handled and half-starved;

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122.
[2] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 159.
[3] Passarge, op. cit., 100–1; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23–5; *idem*, [114] "Buschmänner von Angola," 122; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 51; Fourie, op. cit., 91–2. Passarge states that the ceremony takes place during the dry season, i.e. at the coldest time of the year; Fourie, on the other hand, that it is always held during the rainy season, when food is plentiful. The other writers do not mention the time of year.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

881 smoke of the 'devil's' fire (*//gäüa-da*) and are required to partake of the 'devil's' urine (*//gäüa-/kam*). The proceedings of the second day begin with dancing before daybreak. After sunrise and at sunset they are given a small quantity of *//nöun* (one of the staple vegetable foods of the Kalahari Bushmen) to eat and a little water to drink. During the day their bodies are blackened from head to foot with powdered roasted *//nöun*. After partaking of the evening meal they retire to rest without dancing. On the morning of the third day they start dancing at sunrise and dance without interruption and without food or water all day long until sunset, when they go to sleep. On the following morning before sunrise, their hands are washed with water by the elders and they are given a little *//noun* to eat. Thereafter they are taken to a pan of water and required to walk through it. The rest of the day is spent in collecting veldkos. In the evening they are introduced to the 'Devil' and partake of honey brought by the latter. On the fifth day their bodies are cleansed with chewed roasted *//nöun*, and they are permitted to move about the camp and partake of food. They may, however, not speak to young unmarried women. As they retire to rest at night their bows and arrows are handed to them by the elders. From now onwards, each lad is taken separately and required to prove his skill in stalking and killing game with bow and arrow. Each one who [304] passes through the test in a satisfactory manner is tattooed with meat taken from the animals shot by him and then permitted to return to the werft."

The introduction to the "Devil" mentioned in this account [535] obviously refers to the dance in which Hishe or Huwe, as the case may be, appears before the boys. The hunting test almost certainly forms an essential part of the ceremony in the other tribes as well, judging from a curt remark by Miss Bleek in another context that the boys' initiation rites "certainly have much to do with hunting",[1] but there is no concrete information on this point. The "tattooing", 881 or rather cicatrization, referred to by Fourie is confirmed by all the 304 other writers on the puberty ceremonies of the North-Western Bushmen. Among the Kung the boys receive these cuts (*/gi* cuts) between the eyebrows, and, among the Naron and Auen, also on the back between the shoulder blades. They consist of from one to three vertical incisions, about half an inch to an inch long, and are made by the magicians in charge of the ceremonies. Among the Naron

[1] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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at Sandfontein powdered acid roots are rubbed into the wounds to keep them from closing as they heal, but no colouring matter is applied; further east, however, according to Passarge, wood ash is rubbed in to make the wounds black. All men in the North-Western tribes have these cuts (see Frontispiece), which are supposed to make them "see well", i.e. to bring them good luck in hunting. After this operation the boys are permitted to return to the camp. They are now regarded as men, they can marry, and they take part in the councils of the men and associate with them. 304 881 [184] [224] 882

The rites described above appear to exist only in the North-Western tribes. There is no definite record of any puberty ceremonies for boys among the Southern Bushmen, and according to Miss Bleek the */nu//en*, one of the tribes falling in this division, distinctly denied that such ceremonies were held by them,[1] while in the same way their existence among the Namib Bushmen is emphatically denied by Trenk.[2] 84 881

It should be mentioned here, however, that from information obtained by Orpen from a member of the now extinct tribe of Basuto-land Bushmen it appears that there were certain dances connected with religious beliefs, the secrets of which were known only to the men initiated into them.[3] Campbell also records a dance of these Bushmen as described to him by an informant: "When the Bushmen dance, Ko (a deity) sometimes comes and informs them where game is to be procured; and when any animals are killed, certain parts of them may only be eaten by particular persons. She is a large, white figure, and sheds such a brightness around, that they can hardly see the fire for it; all see and hear her as she dances with them . . . They cannot feel what she is, but should a man be permitted to touch her, which seldom happens, she breathes hard upon his arm, and this makes him shoot better . . . After Ko comes up from the ground and dances a short time with them, she disappears, and is succeeded by her nymphs, who likewise dance a while with them."[4] The description of this dance at once reminds one of the puberty dances for boys among the North-Western Bushmen, where Huwe or Hishe also comes and dances with them, and there is the same suggestion that the ceremony is in some way connected with hunting; but there is nothing definite either in Campbell's account or in Orpen's to indicate that the dances referred to by them were in any way connected with puberty ceremonies for boys. 794 535 776 [881]

[1] *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 10.
[2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.
[3] "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Folk-Lore*, xxx, 142.
[4] Campbell, *Second Journey into South Africa*, ii, 31–2.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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304 881 The only other Bushman people among whom the occurrence of initiation rites for boys is definitely recorded are the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari. Here the main element seems to be circumcision. "The boys," according to Dornan,[1] "are operated on at the age of twelve years, all those of the same age being taken together once a year, as with them puberty comes on at an early age . . . (Then follows a description of the operation: the foreskin of the boy is seized by the operator, who pulls it forward over the gland as far as it will stretch, and then cuts it off close with one slash of a stone knife.) . . . They 881 are treated with considerable care for two or three weeks afterwards, and are fed upon meat . . . They are instructed in the traditional lore of the people, the religious observances and into the mysteries of generation. They are carefully informed that intercourse of [834] uncircumcized people is that of the beasts of the field, that in short it is fornication, as well as a good deal that will not bear to be put into print."

114 304 177 184 Although, as already mentioned, Dornan regards circumcision as an original Bushman custom, there can be little doubt that the Hiechware have taken it over from the BeChwana among whom they live. They are the only Bushman people among whom this practice is asserted to occur, while its absence from other Bushman tribes is explicitly affirmed by all writers. Consequently the puberty rites in the form described by Dornan must be regarded as introduced elements of culture. It is conceivable that the boys' puberty rites among the North-Western tribes should also be attributed to Bantu influence, since nothing similar to them appears to exist in the south. But in several of their details, especially in the introduction of the tribal deities and in the form of mutilation these rites differ considerably from the corresponding rites of the neighbouring South-Western and South-Central Bantu, while on the other hand they are intimately connected with both the economic activities and the religious beliefs of the Bushmen. It is difficult therefore to imagine their having been borrowed, unless it is conceded that they have undergone considerable modification in the process of adaptation. But whether borrowed or not—and the possibility of borrowing, although difficult to establish, is not entirely eliminated—these rites clearly separate the North-Western tribes from their Southern relatives in at least one important feature of culture.

[1] Op. cit., 158–60.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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226 more important as a mode of subsistence than hunting.[1] It[2] is also
[462] the work of the men. Among the Cape Bushmen, especially those
living along the banks of the Orange River, the principal method
[227] employed lay in the use of funnel-shaped traps of closely woven reeds,
about 3 feet long and 18 inches to 2 feet wide, narrowing towards the
mouth. These traps were stretched across the stream in a shallow
part, and while some men stood waiting behind them, others waded
up stream from a point below and drove the fish before them to the
reed traps, where they were then caught and thrown on shore.

In the Okavango basin this method is also used, but there is a variety
of others as well. Sometimes the fish in the lakes and rivers are speared
[177] from flat-bottomed boats, probably adopted from the MaMbukushu
[501] and MaKoba of the same region. Sometimes, again, small stone dams
are built from each bank so as to run out into the river in a slanting
direction, leaving a narrow opening in which is placed the reed trap.
The fish are either swept into these traps by the force of the current,
or are driven in by the Bushmen themselves. Or, again, reed fences
or stone dams are built straight across the beds of the dry courses
into which the river overflows at times of flood. When the flood has
reached its highest level, and the water begins to sink, the retreat of
the fish carried along into these courses is cut off, so that they are
easily caught.

Special Hunting Observances

224 The method of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons is
surrounded by all the Bushmen with various special usages and
● 304 beliefs. Charms to ensure good luck in the chase are found among
them all. With the North-Western tribes these most commonly take
the form of scarifications serving to endow the hunter with the
qualities of certain animals and enabling him to hunt them successfully.
The cuts are made as a rule on the arms, sometimes on the cheeks,
occasionally also on the back, chest, or belly. A tiny piece of meat is
then burned to ashes, which are rubbed into the wounds. The meat
[825] is that of an animal whose qualities are specially desirable, e.g. that
of the springbok for swiftness. These cuts are usually given to boys
soon after they begin to hunt, and are executed by old men who are
themselves successful hunters. The cuts made between the eyebrows

[1] Barrow, op. cit., i, 290, 300; Lichtenstein, op. cit., ii, 44; Alexander, op. cit., i, 237; Passarge, "Okawangosumpfland," 697–8; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296; Dornan, op. cit., 106–9.

[2] [i.e., fishing.—Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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of boys at the puberty ceremonies are also said to have the function of making them "see better" in hunting.[1] Seydel briefly mentions the existence of similar practices among the Namib Bushmen. Cuts are made on the forehead or upper arm of a man in order that he may have better fortune in hunting. These cuts are made by a near relative of his, such as father, brother, or wife, and are given only to adults.[2] 224 304

There is no record of such scarifications among the Cape Bushmen, although here also a well-developed ritual existed in connection with hunting life. Unfortunately, only fragments of this have been recorded. They show that there were certain special precautions to be observed before going out on the hunt, and especially during that critical period when the game has been wounded but not yet taken. Thus, when an animal has been wounded, the flesh of the swift springbok may not be eaten by the hunter, as this would give strength to the movements of the wounded buck; he should rather eat the flesh of a slow-moving animal, especially of such as would strengthen the action of the poison. The moon must not be looked upon when following the spoor, lest the animal run too far—a belief also held by the Naron. The hunter's shadow, again, must not be allowed to fall upon game which lies dying; certain (unspecified) rules have to be observed when an eland has been shot; the bones of the dead animal must be treated in a certain way; Bushman girls perform special ceremonies, in order that their father's dogs may hunt well, while certain cuts must be made upon the bow when a baboon or hyena has been killed. Unfortunate shots are believed to be due to such causes as the children at home playing on a man's bed, and are also ascribed to the remissness of wives, while there even appears to be a belief that unsuccessful hunting may forebode evil to the hunter. Also it is held that after the death of a companion the hunters will be unlucky in springbok hunting, and certain (unspecified) remedial measures are resorted to.[3] [184] 224 [114]

Beliefs of a somewhat similar nature are found among the Heikum. As we have already seen, the meat of an animal killed with the bow and arrow is subject to minutely-prescribed rules of division and preparation. Moreover, a man who shoots an eland or giraffe must, on

[1] Chapman, op. cit., i, 56, 76, 81, 159; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 246; Passarge, op. cit., 108–9; Vedder, op. cit., 9; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 50, 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 114–15; *idem*, *Naron*, 11.

[2] "Aus der Namib," 505.

[3] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 19; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15–16, 19, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 66 sqq., 270 sqq.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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764 often done, as they dislike touching or interfering in any way with a corpse, owing to the fear of bad luck." After the funeral 765 they usually indulge in a funeral feast, then desert the locality, and [768] never mention the dead person's name afterwards. "That they are much affected by death is certain, for they often weep at such times, especially if the deceased be a person of some importance, and bitterly lament his departure from amongst them." Signs of mourning are infrequent. Sometimes they paint their faces with white and black stripes as a sign that they have had a death in their encampment; and Dornan adds that he has heard of their painting the whole body with red and white stripes, but has never himself seen any thus decorated.[1]

Beliefs Concerning the Dead

All the accounts given above are admittedly inadequate. They 114 agree, however, in stating that the dead person is buried in a con- 764 tracted position with all his possessions, and in implying the absence 768 of any elaborate and prolonged funeral ceremony and rites of mourning. No attempt appears to have been made to ascertain what explanation the Bushmen themselves have to offer for burying the dead person with all his possessions, except only in the case of the Kung, of whom we are told by Lebzelter that their reason for placing these objects in the grave is not that the dead person may be able to use them in the future world, but because people do not want to make any further use of objects belonging to a person whom they loved while he was alive.[2]

All the descriptions of the funeral ceremonies of the Bushmen [769] point also to a vague fear of the dead person, expressed most forcibly in the fact that after the funeral the place is abandoned and perhaps never revisited. What belief underlies this fear, and what the Bushmen 775 hold to be the fate of the dead, are not always easy to determine. Stow mentions the belief, reported to him of some Southern Bushmen, that at some undefined spot on the banks of the Orange River there is a place called *'too'ga*, to which after death they will all go; and [304] that to ensure a safe journey there they all cut off the joint of the little finger of one hand. "This they consider is a guarantee that they will be able to arrive there without difficulty, and that upon their arrival they will be feasted with locusts and honey, while those who have neglected this rite will have to travel there upon their

[1] Dornan, op. cit., 144–6. [2] Op. cit., 14.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

while those dying a "good death" go to *!khutse* (*!khuba*). "About the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1] 114 192 776 [773] [881]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say "*//gaua* thunders", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: "*//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndzambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God"); "we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to *//gaua*."[2] 184 192 776 [751] [821] [761] [775] [821] [881] [304] [782]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain" *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds. 114 184 776 192 [821] [756] [787]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4.

306

306 JEWELRY MANUFACTURE--cutting, polishing, and mounting of gems; specialized work in precious metals; lapidary art; manufacture of valuable ornaments and costume jewelry; specialized jewelers; etc. See also:

Nonprofessional manufacture of ornaments . . . 301
Work in ivory and mother-of-pearl 321
Smiths and their crafts 326
Manufacture of silverware and gold plate . . . 328
Lapidary tools 413

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the
293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire
291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re-
[123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having
[124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in
[412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess
[325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in
[439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that,
[531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead em-
301 broidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are
[321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence
[556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are
[462]
[306] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of
[302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to lengthen them.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

142
301
516
[212]
[306]

[151]

FIG. 5. Old /Gam making ostrich egg-shell beads. Some cowrie shells from the South Seas (via New York) dangle among her ornaments

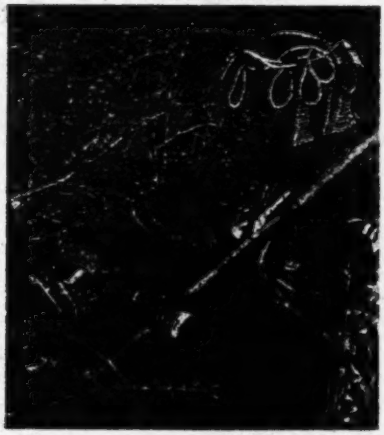

FIG. 6. Powers of observation are highly trained. This girl had seen, in the tangle of grass, a dry, hair-thin, brown vine stem which revealed that there was an edible root to be dug

342
516

[142]
[301]

FIG. 7. Talking in the afternoon

FIG. 8. ≠Toma laughing

[p. 240-B]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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372 decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops
[412] for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-
[415] western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom,
[283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

824 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
285 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
[412] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

237 Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water,
[415] and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women
[306] make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops, and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small
412 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell
324 beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or
[439] three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by
[326] barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.

178 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
324 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
[323] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
[237] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while
[415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

311

311 LAND USE--completeness and efficiency with which the potentialities of the land and its resources are utilized; distribution of waste land, forests, pasture, tilled land, and areas of settlement and industrial use; diversification and specialization (e.g., monoculture); trends, etc. See also:

Natural resources 13
Animal husbandry 23
Agriculture 24
Settlements 36
Conservation 185
Forestry 313
Productive capacity of the economy 433

/147 cont./

241 Agriculture is unknown. Only accidentally grown food plants are known.

In order to promote the growth of the veld crop, the Bushman 222 burns off the grass. A Bergdamara with whom I rode across a 311 burning grass veld said to me: "The Bushman is making his garden."

462 Work of the men:

Hunting
Occasional veld crop gathering
Collecting wood
Fetching water
Preparing hides
Making clothes
Making weapons and mortars
Making strings
Making fire by twirling

Work of the women:

Hut construction
Cooking
Veld crop collecting
Maintaining the fire
Getting wood
Getting water
Making women's clothes

The only "agricultural implement" is a digging stick 412 (see Fig. 9).

For one who is not a botanist it is impossible to describe in 222 intelligible terms, even roughly, the numerous wild food plants of the Auin. The collection of specimens must take the place of a description. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to make such a collection.

For the person who is familiar with the Southwest African veld crops, I shall give a list of some food plants, which, however, is by no means exhaustive.

Tschamma
Spiny tschamma
Ontjes of the Boers
Water tubers
So-called "wild potatoes"

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

organisation among them. The various so-called tribes bear 619
distinctive names, mostly of Bushmen or Hottentot origin, the significance of which is in most instances no longer known. Judging by the practice which still exists among the Bushmen they are in all probability descriptive either of the territory occupied by certain groups or of some physical or other characteristic of such territory or groups. Each tribe is composed of a number of family groups all of whom claim relationship to each other through a common tribal ancestor. Thus, for example, according to the traditions of the *‡Ao-||ẽin* all the groups constituting that tribe are descended from a "first big *‡Ao-||ẽin* Bushman." A similar belief likewise exists among other tribes. Nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all members of the tribe is met with among them, nor is collective action taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. Each family group 619
forms an independent unit by itself, possessing its own group 621
area and authority over and specific rights within such area only. In relation to other groups it is collectively responsible for the actions of each of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the groups concerned and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. On occasion, however, a weak group will seek and sometimes obtain assistance from a stronger one, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature. The most common causes of inter-group [628]
quarrels are trespass, theft and adultery. The ensuing conflicts generally assume the form of a blood feud which is continued until a more or less equal toll of life has been taken by both sides. Women are never killed intentionally during [727]
the course of these feuds but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women are made captive and taken in marriage. Further as far as can be ascertained under no circumstances will the victors deprive the vanquished of their territory or occupy such territory lest harm or disaster should overtake them. The more widely separated groups of the tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct personal contact with each other and generally live in such superstitious fear and dread of each other that the members of one will not undertake journeys into the territory of another, even when accompanied by Europeans. The [91]
group areas are separated from each other by neutral zones into which nobody will venture except during the course of visits. These zones are usually formed by belts of trees, open flats, water courses, etc. Territorial boundaries are observed [123]
in a most scrupulous manner even by closely related groups who are living on the most friendly terms with each other. Each family is inseparably united to its habitat and has a superstitious dread of any locality but its own. The result is that even the members of completely disorganised groups are loth to seek employment outside the boundaries of their ancestral territory.

361
433 sibling of the leaders of the two Dobe camps, and therefore
602 has an unquestionable claim to the Dobe resources. N!ain!a
574 has two married daughters whom she frequently visits. One lives at !angwa and the other at Bate. These two daughters and their husbands make reciprocal visits to Dobe about once a month. N!ain!a has a classificatory uncle at !ubi. During the winter she would make daily trips to collect the Baobab fruits that are available only at !ubi. Her uncle, in turn, would make reciprocal visits to collect the vegetable ivory fruits which are abundant around Dobe. Thus N!ain!a maintains active claims in three of the territories adjacent to her own.

N/eysin!a (N!ain!a's older brother) is unlike N!ain!a in that he prefers to remain in his home territory rather than visit other camps. N/eysin!a's kinship ties with members of other camps are numerous but the reciprocal obligations implicit in these kinship ties remain latent because N/eysin!a rarely visits his relatives in other camps.

361 Inter-territorial visiting is perhaps the most important single principle of land utilization among the Dobe area Bush-
• 311 men. Concerning land utilization <u>within</u> the individual territory, three significant features should be noted.

First, each of the territories borders on an uninhabited hinterland of indefinite size (see Map 14). Because of this, it is difficult to derive an estimate, in square miles, of the

311 area of each territory.

[312] Second, the area and shape of an individual territory is
[824] influenced by the distance between the important resources within it, such as water sources and mongongo nut forests. It is these point resources and not the spaces between them that are the significant features of the landscape.

Third, territories overlap each other and there is disagreement as to the ownership of these overlapping areas. Most Bushmen say that these areas are owned by all, which means, in effect, that they are owned by no one.

Each of these features will be discussed in detail.

1. Hinterland - It was mentioned earlier that the Dobe area
[312] was surrounded by a belt of uninhabited country. Except for a few summer months there is no standing water in this belt and, as a consequence, the Dobe area people rarely bother to hunt and gather within it. This outer belt is not lacking
[136] in food resources, however. Surveys of the country by Land-
[137] Rover indicate that the game and plant foods there are even more abundant than they are within the traditional territories. Why then are these resources so infrequently utilized?

311 The answer lies in the fact that the Bushmen can usually
312 satisfy their annual subsistence requirements within a radius
361 of 15-20 miles from their permanent waterholes. Whenever possible the Bushmen prefer to make their camp sites at

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standing water sources. Since the number of these water sources is limited, it follows that the areas around the water sources will be the most intensively utilized. The Bushmen know how to live on alternative sources of moisture such as Fockea monroi but only resort to this subsistence strategy for a week or two at a stretch.

It is a good rule of thumb for the Dobe area that the intensity of utilization of land varies inversely with the distance from standing water sources. Since a Bushman group must spend the six dry months of the year at its permanent waterhole, it is not surprising that the area within a walking radius of this waterhole is intensively utilized. Similarly, since the Bushmen spend three months of the year at the large summer water sources, the areas within a walking radius of these water sources is also intensively utilized. During the brief period in December or January when there is standing water at many localities, the Bushmen can utilize areas that lie beyond a walking radius of the major water sources.

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These three levels of intensity of utilization are illustrated schematically in Map 15. This scheme disregards for the moment the actual pattern of distribution of food resources peculiar to each territory. The shaded circles enclose all of the areas that are within a six mile radius of a permanent waterhole. These are the only areas that can be reached by

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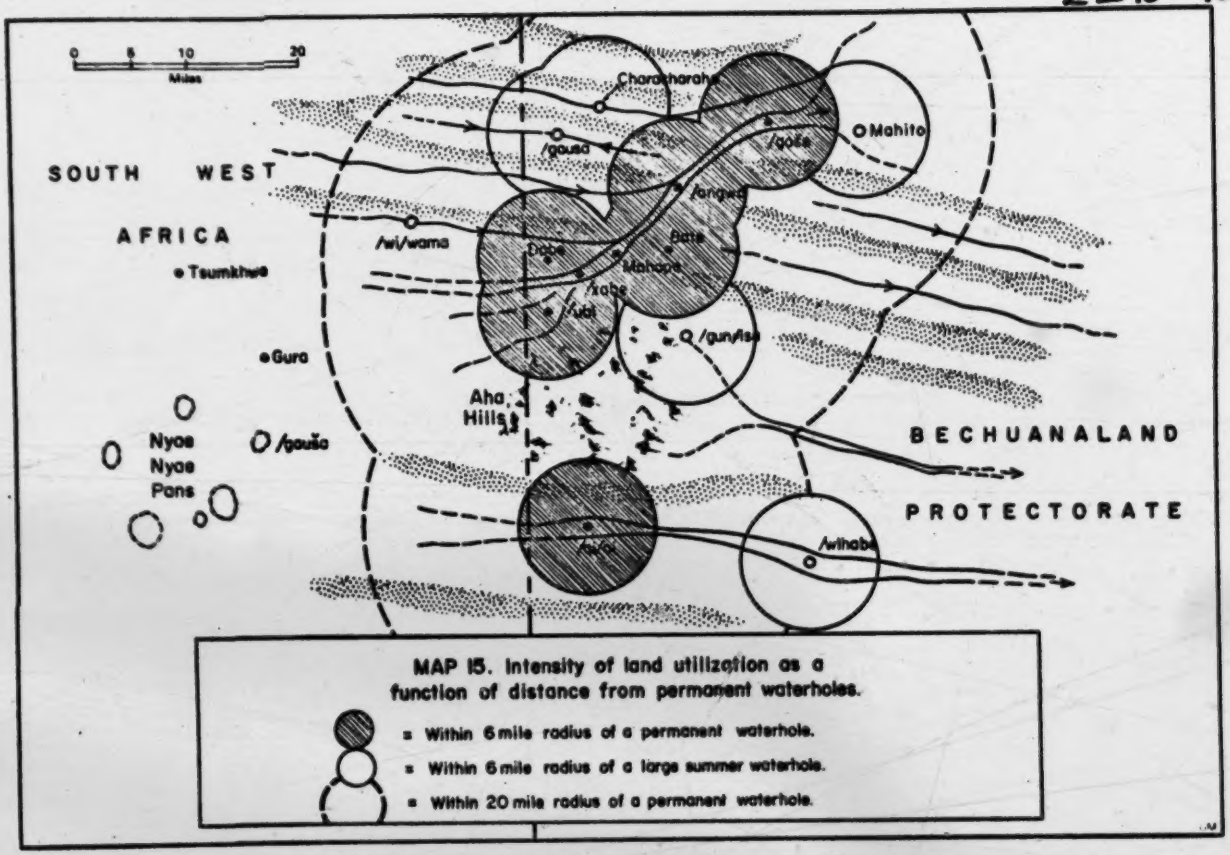

MAP 15. Intensity of land utilization as a function of distance from permanent waterholes.

= Within 6 mile radius of a permanent waterhole.

= Within 6 mile radius of a large summer waterhole.

= Within 20 mile radius of a permanent waterhole.

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a round trip hike of 12 miles or less.

The distance of 12 miles was chosen for this illustration, because this was close to the maximum distance that the Bushmen were willing to walk in a single day of food gathering. In the previous chapter it was mentioned that Bushmen hunters and gatherers do not stay away from their camps overnight. Therefore an individual hunter or gatherer will confine the day's activities to within a limited radius of his or her camp. These expressed preferences set the limits on the size of the winter areas of intense utilization.

A similar situation exists in the areas that are within a six mile radius of the main summer water sources. These are represented on Map 15 as unshaded circles. These further areas are intensively utilized during the summer months.

These areas of intensive utilization are surrounded by a belt of country that lies within a twenty mile radius of the permanent waterholes. Twenty miles was the average maximum distance from permanent water that the Bushmen were observed to range. This belt is enclosed by a dotted line in Map 15. It should be noted that the Bushmen groups spent on an average less than one month of the year working these areas. The great majority of their time was spent closer to the standing water sources.

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The Dobe area Bushmen were not observed to make camps

311 361 beyond the area enclosed by the dotted line, and this line therefore accurately represents the total utilizable space of the Dobe area.

311 312 361 824 2. Point resources In Map 15, the picture of land utilization was simplified by omitting the actual patterning of food resources. In fact, the extent and configuration of the intensively utilized areas is influenced by the location of the mongongo nut forests and the distance of these forests from the permanent waterholes. These resources are plotted in Map 16. For instance, in an area where the mongongo nuts within a walking radius of water are sufficient to support a camp throughout the year, a group's territory will be small. However, in an area where the mongongo nuts are less locally abundant, the territory must, of necessity, be much larger.

The people of !goše, for example, are fortunate in having a vast nut forest within a ten mile radius of their waterhole. [162] The nuts from this forest are abundant enough to support the 62 members of the !gose camp throughout the year. By contrast, the nut forests near Dobe are much less abundant than at !goše. [162] The 36 members of the Dobe camps have to walk farther (up to 18 miles at the end of the dry season) in order to collect the mongongo nuts. As a result, the effective annual territory of the Dobe people is larger than that of the !goše people, despite the fact that the population of Dobe is smaller than

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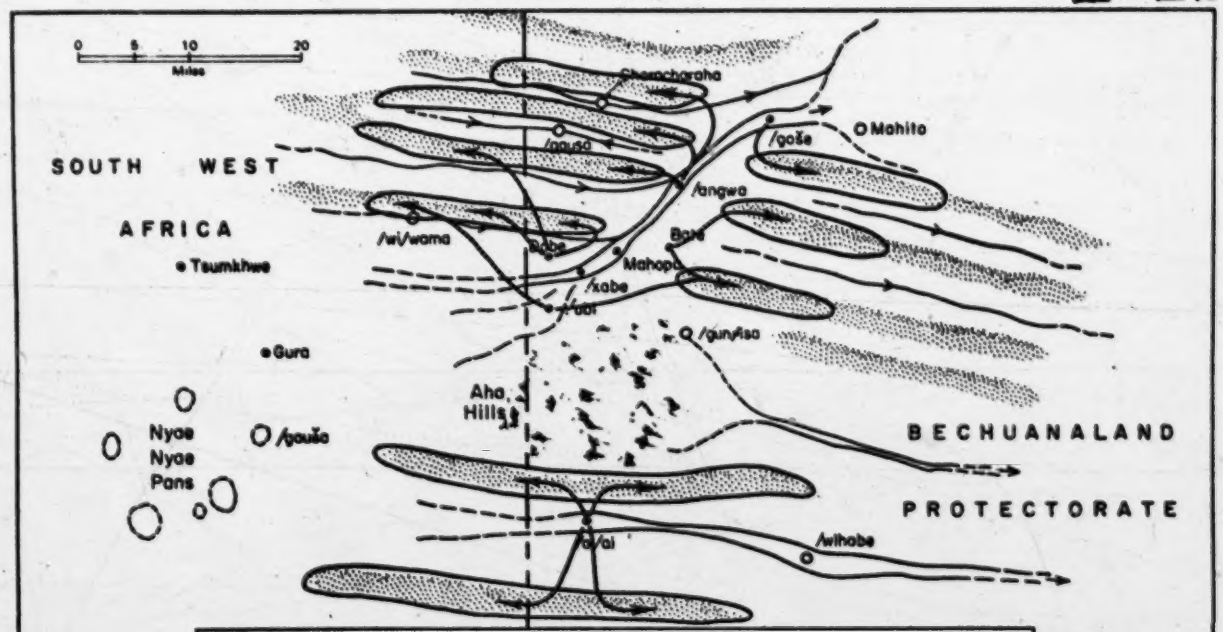

MAP 16. The mongongo nut forests intensively utilized by the Dobe area Bushmen.

= Mongongo nut forests.

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the population of !gose (this is illustrated in Map 14 as well as in Map 16).

A further example will serve to illustrate how point resources influence the size of territories. It was mentioned above that each territory contains one or more large summer water sources. In most cases these summer waters are less than 12 miles from the permanent waterholes. In one case, however, the summer water is 23 miles distant from the permanent waterhole. The summer water at /wihabe belongs to the group of 27 people that works to the east of /ai/ai (see Map 14). This group lays claim to the land between /ai/ai and /wihabe. But they do not utilize this area in their subsistence activities. Rather they hike through it in order to move from one point resource to another, i.e. from their winter water at /ai/ai to their summer water at /wihabe.

3. Territorial overlap - Territories are so loosely defined by the Dobe area !Kung that certain areas are claimed by none of the camps and consequently are utilized by everyone. Wherever territories adjoin, there is a belt of "no-man's land" for which no one is prepared to make a definite statement of ownership. This uncertainty is usually expressed by informants as follows: "The owners of this land died long ago, today we don't know who owns it."

The Aha Hills illustrate this territorial overlap. The

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hills hold standing water only during the summer months. During this season, the members of two /ai/ai camps, the !ubi camp, and the Bate camp mingle freely at its water sources. This mingling of groups also occurs at some of the large summer pans such as !gauša and čharačharaha where members of different winter groups come together for weeks or even months.

The foregoing discussion has highlighted the flexible nature of !Kung Bushmen territoriality. This flexibility is manifested in the frequency of visiting between waterholes, the vagueness of territorial boundaries and the existence of food areas that are said to belong to nobody.

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312 transhumant annual round, in which they alternate between their
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361 rainy season range and their dry season range.

484 The Dobe area !Kung do not undertake long marches of
574 30-70 miles for the purpose of getting food. This task can be
628 readily fulfilled within a day's walk of their territorial water sources. When such long marches occur, they are invariably for the purposes of visiting, trading, and marital exchanges with relatives at distant camps. As such, these trips should not be confused with the normal routines of subsistence.

311 Range Size and Population Density -- By plotting the movements
433 of the various camps in their annual subsistence cycle, the
162 observer can derive a rough estimate of the total land area that is required to support the population of 430 Bushmen. It would be much more difficult to estimate the area necessary to support a single camp, because of the considerable overlap of territories and the frequent visiting between camps. It will be more useful to treat the entire population as a unit. It is estimated that the 800 square miles that lie within a six-mile radius of major water sources are sufficient to support the population for most of the year. Beyond this radius lies a hinterland which is rarely penetrated; perhaps a further 200 square miles of this hinterland is utilized in the course of a single year. Thus the total annual range of the Dobe area Bushmen may be estimated at 1,000 square miles. This calculation sets the effective population

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162 density at ca. 43 persons per 100 square miles, or two-and-a-half square miles per person. This is a rather high density figure for desert-living hunters and gatherers. The higher figure is partly due to the fact that it represents the ratio of population to the actual land area utilized. This is a more meaningful way of expressing density than is a figure based on the ratio of population to the total land area that it appears to occupy. For instance, on a map, the Dobe area covers about 2,700 square miles, but the Bushmen actively utilize less than 40 per cent of this area. It is suggested that estimates of population density for other hunting and gathering peoples would give accordingly higher values if the criterion of actual use was employed in the calculation.

Conclusion

433 These eight lines of evidence constitute the case for a revision of the anthropological view of the Bushmen. Their way of life is not impoverished or precarious. Considering the environment in which they live, the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen lead an unexpectedly comfortable and secure existence. The evidence set out here assumes an added significance because this security of life was observed during a period of severe drought. Consequently the author witnessed the worst conditions that the !Kung would have to face. One can speculate that their

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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valleys of the north-west are the wide "vloers" of Carnarvon and Calvinia, more or less well-defined flat areas a few miles wide and thinly covered with brackish silt.

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Owing to the great range in rainfall and altitude there is a considerable diversity of conditions in this region. While the north-western parts are little better than desert, the more favoured districts to the south and east are well covered with permanently-occupied farms, although agriculture is restricted to the alluvial tracts. The vegetation is everywhere of a semi-desert character. The greater part of the country supports only a sparse and incomplete covering of shrublets and stunted, skeleton-like bushes, most of which belong to the family *Compositae*. In spite of their unpromising appearance when burnt up by the rays of the summer sun, they afford excellent sustenance for stock even in the driest seasons, and at the present time they provide nourishment to millions of sheep and goats, supporting one of the great wool growing industries of the world. Thorny plants, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants abound in places, but trees, principally Acacias, appear as a rule only along the dry sandy river-beds. Grasses are frequent in the rainy season, but nowhere form the dominant feature of the vegetation.

H B 132 133 137

The High Veld of the Orange Free State and the Southern Transvaal is essentially an extension eastwards of the Upper Karroo, but has a much better rainfall. Lying for the most part over 5,000 feet above sea-level, and with an invigorating climate, it is perhaps the most favourable region in the Union for a white population. The rainfall ranges from about 20 to 35 inches, and occurs principally during the summer months in thunderstorms. The winters are dry and cold, and severe frosts are by no means uncommon. The streams are often perennial. The country generally presents a most monotonous type of scenery, consisting of vast rolling plains, although as one travels westward towards drier regions the surface becomes flatter or more varied by steep-sided flat-topped hills. It is essentially grass country and for the most part devoid of indigenous trees, except along the river-banks, which are frequently clothed with willows and mimosas; shrubs are found on the koppies, while growing among the grasses are large numbers of bulbous and tuberous plants.

The Coastal Regions

H B 133

The country between the escarpment and the ocean is considerably smaller than the interior plateau, but as regards climate and structure

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Environment and Culture

The possibilities of exploitation this region offers to people lacking the highly-developed technical equipment of modern European civilization vary considerably. The ways in which the Bushmen and Hottentots utilize the natural resources of their surroundings will be discussed in some detail in later chapters. Here a rapid survey may be made of the factors conditioning the distribution and mode of life generally of the natives inhabiting the country.[1]

H B 105

The most important consideration naturally is water. Animal and plant life are there in sufficient quantity to support human existence, provided a supply of water is near. Man in his primitive condition is dependent entirely on surface water for the satisfaction of his needs, for he has not the means now possessed by civilized man for getting at the water in the depths below. The amount of surface water therefore determines the density of population in any one area, and the water available in a given area, together with the density of the vegetation, determines the number and size of the settlements in that area.

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The character of the country, moreover, limits at once the types of culture that can become indigenous there. South Africa even under modern conditions can only carry on agriculture in certain parts, and most of the country could never support a primitive population of pure agriculturists. It is only in the well-watered districts to the north and east and along the south coast that native agriculture has been developed to any extent. On the other hand, there is an abundant fauna and a sufficiency of vegetable life to afford good subsistence to men. The type of culture then that we would *a priori* expect to find here would be one based largely on hunting and collecting. This is exactly what we do find. The abundance of game formerly existing in South Africa makes it readily comprehensible that hunting at one time played a great role in all parts of the country, and therefore that hunting peoples were distributed all over its surface. All the native peoples of South Africa, whatever other means of subsistence they have, rely to some extent at least for food on the products of the chase and on the edible bulbs and roots of the veld.

H B 105 311

A country, however, which can support great numbers of buck

[1] For special discussions of the South African environment in relation to man, cf. Passarge, op. cit., pp. 162–75; *idem*, "Die Grundlinien im ethnographischen Bilde der Kalahari-Region," *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 20–36, 68–88; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), pp. 14–28.

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and other grass and herb-eating animals will also support other species of these animals, provided that conditions such as the absence of the tsetse fly and other pests are favourable. Hence we also find pastoral tribes, who have come in from other regions bringing with them great herds of cattle and immense flocks of sheep and goats. One important point must, however, be noticed. Country which, under modern farming conditions, will only carry a small herd of cattle, sheep, and goats, used formerly to carry large herds of well-fed antelopes and zebras. The explanation is that each wild species is specially adapted to living on certain bushes or plants, and that many natural foodstuffs useless to farm stock were made use of by one species or another of wild game. It must also be remembered that the wild game was not restricted by farm boundaries; it was free to shift its ground according to the seasons and the supplies of food and water. For the same reasons a nomadic life was imposed on the native tribes keeping domestic animals, although nowadays with the extension of the European settlements the areas over which free movement is possible have become greatly restricted.

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Viewed in this light, the natural regions of South Africa which have been described above are seen to differ widely in their value for culture. Certain parts of the country, such as the Namib desert strip and the interior of Bushmanland, are largely uninhabitable. The rainfall in both is exceedingly slight, and there is practically no surface water all the year round. In parts of the Namib, however, the river-courses from the mountains of the South-West African plateau periodically carry water, which is dammed up in a few places by rocky outcrops in the river beds, and above all there is the *!naras* melon, whose fruit is sufficiently succulent to provide a substitute for water. Agriculture is completely out of the question. The thin scattered population which the region can support is forced to lead a nomadic hunting life, although in the east, towards the borders of the plateau, the grass which flourishes during the rainy season occasionally permits of pastoralism.

The greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari lacks surface water during the dry season only. The water supply at other times is generally sufficient to permit of temporary settlements, although the porous sand covering of the surface absorbs all the rainfall, so that except in the pans and other waterholes the standing water rapidly disappears. The region is sparsely inhabited, and mostly by nomadic peoples. Agriculture is again impossible, save in a few tracts to the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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east, where the soil is more favourable, but the rainfall is too uncertain to enable grain to be grown with a reasonable prospect of success. The abundance of grass in many parts, especially during the rainy season, affords good pasture to cattle, but the region is above all an excellent hunting ground, and formerly at least it was extraordinarily rich in game. Hence its inhabitants are in the first place hunting peoples, and their life is conditioned by the movements of the game. At the beginning of the rainy season the animals wander out of the permanently-watered regions encircling the desert into its sandy plains, where water is found only in pans, pools, and waterholes. The hunters follow them. As the dry season sets in and the water in the pans begins to shrink, part of the game returns to the watered regions, part of it, however, continues to live in the plains on the *tsama* melons and other succulent plants—and the hunters do the same.

In the well-watered Northern Kalahari three great streams, the Okavango, Kwando, and Zambesi, overflow on to the flat land, in some parts continuously, in others periodically, and thus give rise to an extensive region of swamps. This marshy region is excellent hunting and fishing ground. Its population, more numerous and densely settled than in the rest of the Kalahari, is therefore primarily concerned with these two pursuits. The natives indeed are actually forced to resort in part to fishing, since for motives of security they live mainly on the small islands between the swamps and the rivers. The periodic rise of the rivers annually floods wide stretches of the country, resulting in displacements and wanderings of the game. Consequently, the natives also must roam, partly because their habitations are flooded out, partly because they must follow the animals. Both agriculture and pastoralism are also carried out in parts of the country. The cattle pasture in the sandveld away from the swamps, while the marshy region can only be used for the cultivation of crops, since for wide stretches it is infested by the tsetse.

The upland regions encircling the Kalahari basin on the south-east, south, and west, have for the most part a scanty rainfall. The permanent settlement of this belt during the dry season is therefore restricted to the scattered waterholes, which occur in river beds, on mountain slopes or in depressions on the hard soil. Waterless stretches from 40 to 100 miles in extent are no rarity, so that the settlements are frequently distributed far apart over the land. Here, as in other regions of South Africa, hunting must depend on the movements of

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the game. In the more arid parts the animals in the dry season concentrate in vast numbers about the rivers and waterholes and pans, to disperse widely as soon as the rains make life possible elsewhere. The same features of alternate concentration and dispersal can be observed in the life of the purely hunting tribes. The pastoral resources are on the whole excellent, there being no lack of grass or edible shrubs even during the dry season, and consequently cattle-keeping peoples are able to lead a favoured existence in these uplands. Agriculture is also practised to some extent, but is confined to the scattered alluvial tracts. As a means of subsistence it is rendered precarious by the frequent droughts which characterize the region. These often exercise a harmful effect on pastoralism as well, partly because of the ensuing lack of water, but mainly because the pasture is completely destroyed in many parts of the country. The plateaus of the Orange Free State, Cape Province, and Southern Bechuanaland are especially exposed to such catastrophes, but they are often enough marked in South-West Africa also, particularly in Great Namaqualand.

Further east and along the south coast the rainfall is high enough to place cultivation on a safe footing, while the country, where it is not covered with bush or forest, is composed of extensive grass flats which can be used as pasture land. Consequently, both agriculture and pastoralism are equally developed, the former being carried out on a far greater scale than in other parts of South Africa. Here, therefore, we find the most thickly settled zones, and the population is mainly sedentary, even although the pastoral tribes must still to some extent lead a nomadic life.

Migration Routes

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The geographical situation of South Africa has an obvious bearing upon the racial history of the country. Cut off by vast uninterrupted stretches of water from ready access on the west, south, and east, its most direct link with other regions is overland to the north. In the north-west the great forest regions of the Congo impose an effective barrier upon extensive human migrations, so that it is principally from the north-east that invading peoples have been able to enter the country.[1] The East African highlands are connected with the south by a favourable route passing between the escarpments in the east with their sharp descent to the fertile but fever-stricken coastlands,

[1] Cf. Passarge, *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 32–3; *idem*, *Südafrika*, pp. 163–7.

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Bushmen FX10

office is hereditary. His authority is very slight, and apparently 621
exercised mainly in regulating the movements of the people from [622]
place to place, and in leading in war.

Each band also acts as a unit in its relations with other bands of 619
the same or of neighbouring tribes, and in such relations it is 621
collectively responsible for the actions of any of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the bands concerned, and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. Occasionally, it is true, a weak band may seek and obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature.[1]

The band is also the land-owning group. Each band possesses its 423
own hunting territory, to which it is restricted, and exercises authority 621
over and specific rights within this territory only.[2] The members of the band roam about freely all over their own land, but do not [438]
trespass on their neighbours' territory, although single persons and small parties may occasionally pay short visits across the border, mostly for trading purposes. As a result of this territorial segregation it may often happen that the more widely separated bands of [619]
a tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct contact with each other.

There are no special boundary marks between the areas occupied by different hunting bands. The limits of each area are as a rule defined by various natural landmarks, such as sand dunes, koppies, river-beds, vleis, springs, or even trees. These are well known to the people themselves and carefully observed. In some cases the areas [311]
of different bands are separated by neutral zones, formed by belts of trees, open flats, watercourses, etc. Nobody will venture into these except during the course of a visit. In particular, however, each hunting territory is defined by the waterholes in it. These constitute the real property of the band. The encampments are always erected [361]
near them, all the game on the land around them or drinking at the water may be hunted only by members of the band, and similarly only they may gather "veldkos" (wild vegetable foods) in the vicinity. The infringement of territorial rights in this respect is one [628]
of the main causes of dispute between neighbouring bands, and almost invariably leads to bloodshed.

[1] The relations between different bands are discussed more fully below in Chapter VI, s.v. "Relations with Other Bands"; vide p. 155.

[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 156; Passarge, op. cit., 31–2; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 4; Fourie, "The Bushmen," 85; Lebzelter "Bei den ǁKuñ-Buschleuten," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928–9), SitzBer. (12).

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224 returning to the camp, sleep under the central tree and avoid sexual intercourse with his wife, lest the poison prove ineffective and the animal escape. The meat of an animal killed by a dog may not be [841] eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating; this is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. Any want of success is generally attributed to some chance accident; for example, a man who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife was menstruating will not hunt again while she is in that condition, nor will she eat any of the *ǂnoe-di* at such times.[1]

These practices and beliefs obviously represent only a small portion of what must be an elaborate series of usages relating to hunting, but they suffice to indicate how the Bushmen, fully aware of the uncertainty attendant upon their efforts, seek to relieve their apprehensions and to obtain confidence by the aid of magic and taboo.

Collecting

224 Hunting in the old days was unquestionably the principal source 136 of subsistence in Bushman life. But with the decrease of the game 648 in their region and with the enforcement against them of the game 222 laws framed by the white man, its importance is diminishing, and at the present time the Bushmen depend very largely for the means of existence on the wild vegetable foods growing in the veld.

[241] Agriculture in any form is altogether unknown to them in their 222 traditional mode of life. The nearest they have got to it is found 224 in the practice observed by the North-Western tribes of burning the 311 veld at the end of the dry season.[2] This, it is said, is done primarily in order that the edible bulbs, roots, etc., should come up better during the approaching rainy season. It is also used, however, as a means of hunting, for the men spread round the fire in a semicircle and drive all the game rushing from it before them in a certain direction where some hunters are lying in wait; moreover, the new grass growing soon after the burning attracts the game, which returns to the area, and thus makes it good hunting ground. Incidentally the burning serves to kill off snakes, scorpions, and other noxious creatures. Men may only [423] burn in their own territory; to do so across the border, or to gather wood where others have burned, is a great offence. In former times, [622] among the Naron, the chiefs are said to have regulated the burning;

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 102.
[2] Jodika, "Reise nach dem Okavango," *D. KolBl.*, xiii (1902), 491; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147, 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 17.

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nowadays the thing is done in a haphazard manner, and generally passes as an accident. 222 [224] [311]

The collection of veldkos is done by both men and women; but whereas with the former it is incidental to their hunting, the latter are collectors only, and set out every day, usually in company, to go over several miles of land. The digging-sticks they use are from 3 to 4 feet long, and consist of pieces of hard wood, pointed at one end. In the south, where the veld is hard, and in the mountainous parts of the east these sticks were sometimes tipped with a buck's horn and weighted by means of a perforated stone ball passed over their lower end and wedged in (Plate IX); but in the Kalahari, where there is only sand to cope with, this is never found. The foods gathered are chiefly roots, bulbs, ground nuts, berries, melons, and, in fact, anything at all edible, the food naturally varying with the season of the year. At the same time, the women also catch all sorts of small animals which they come across—iguanas, tortoises, frogs, locusts, flying ants, etc.—and they gather dry sticks for the evening fire. [462] [412] [184]

Among the Heikum the following ceremony is observed in connection with the gathering of veldkos by the women. "It is practised," says Fourie,[1] "when the fruit of the */huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the */huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gaus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women to the *//gaus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the */heis*. Her husband now kindles the */hei-/ais*, and, after having applied */norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it." There is no known name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called */gao-ei-/un*. The ceremony in this form is not found in any of the other Bushman tribes, but is met with also in slightly different form among the Bergdama. The possibility of borrowing must therefore again be kept in mind; but, whether borrowed or not, the ceremony is of importance as indicating the development of a special ritual in connection with one of the principal sources of food supply. 222 622 [184] [171]

[1] "Customs of the Hai-//om," 56–7; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W.A." 98–9.

[33 cont.]

136 Among the dangerous insects, the anopheles mosquito naturally comes first. It is present in enormous numbers during the [34] rainy season. In some places, small reddish-brown ticks are common. The Glossina [tsetse fly] seems to be absent; I encountered them only in the Kunene swamps. Among human parasites, bugs and fleas are practically unknown; on the other hand, lice are extraordinarily common, without being especially noticed by their owners.

9. The Water Supply

●312 During the dry season, the water supply plays a decisive role. Every Bushman carries in his quiver the two reed tubes for the so-called Bushman well. It is by no means true, however, that the Bushmen are able to obtain water in this way at any time and place. It is only in places where some dampness is still visible [Fig. 1 appears here] that the earth is loosened with a digging stick, and then the reed, which, by inserting the parts into each other, may be over a meter long, is sunk into the ground. As the accompanying figure shows, the Bushman does not keep the drainage reed and the sucking reed in his mouth simultaneously. The representations which suggest this might well be completely false; instead, the Bushman has the sucking reed in the right-hand corner of his mouth, and as soon as he has his mouth full of water he lets it flow into the closed hollow of his left hand in which the drainage reed is placed. The water gained in this way is of course thoroughly mixed with saliva. It cannot be kept for any length of time.

312 824 Water reservoirs are also provided by the few baobab trees, which contain puddles of water in their interiors. An artful method is used in the Sand Veld. A palm tree is drilled halfway up its trunk; then the palm pith is scraped out as far as possible, and the opening is carefully sealed. The water rising from the roots gathers in this hollow and has a good taste.

Among the thirst-quenching roots, that of a liana (!gõa) was named in particular.

[34 cont.]

312 Concerning other water-containing trees, F. Seiner re-
624 ports:

"The water-containing trees always have two or more trunks, and the source of the water is to be sought up where the branches fork. If the saddle formed where the branches separate shows a hole, a hollow area is traced in the adjoining part of the trunk, which may contain up to 60 liters of water. The water is obtained by tying, Bushman fashion, a small bundle of dry grass, or better still, a handkerchief, to the tip of a stick and inserting it in the hollow. When the stick is drawn out, the water drips

Fig. 1. !Kung at a Bushman Well.

from the saturated bundle or cloth, which is pressed out over a cup. [Fig. 2 appears here.]

[35] "The most important water roots are the Asclepiadacea Fockea damarana Schltr. (ehoe), the Leguminosa

[532]
[224]

Fig. 2. //Gauab drives the game toward the hunters (from
[113] Kühn and Obermann, Buschmannkunst [Bushman Art]).

[35 cont.]

312 824 Dolichos seineri Harms (eona), and the Convolvulacea Ipomoea seineri Pilger (eawa); the enormous tubers of the latter two may weigh up to 150 kilograms. Considerably more important for the natives than these 'water roots' is the Curcurbitacea Citrullus naudinianus Hook. (orura of the Herero; gab of the Hottentot); without their juicy gourds, which occur in great quantities and for the most part are edible, most of the central Kalahari would be impassable during the dry season, even for the Bushmen."

Further, F. Galton (1) reports:

[113] 1. F. Galton, Tropisches Südafrika, p. 101.

312 825 "In practice, the first hopeful sign when people are looking around for water is a flight of guinea fowl; next, following the habits of the land, each tree is carefully examined until a parrot is sighted, an object visible even at a great distance because the bird likes to sit on the uppermost branches. A parrot is rarely more than half an hour away from water, and the same applies to baboons. If one proceeds with careful observation and takes a probable direction, he will see doves flying about; then little birds are found in all the bushes, and they are close to it."

10. The Veldkost

222 776 Just as //Gauab accompanies the hunter on the chase, he is also the companion of the women who go to look for veldkost. If //Gauab takes delight in a woman, he will break the bones of an animal, killing it, and will lead the woman to it. If, however, //Gauab is angry at a woman and she finds no veldkost, then she becomes angry, gets up early in the morning, abuses //Gauab, and then takes medicine and washes her face so that //Gauab will not recognize her. Then she goes into the veld and finds something. [782] //Gauab receives no offerings from the veldkost. The celebration 222 of the first fruits of the veld described by Vedder is no longer held. [887] The oldest woman is brought to eat samples of each type of veldkost that is brought home for the first time in the year. Then the second oldest woman takes a taste, and so on down the line.

≠ AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[77 cont.]

411 into the reed shaft while the other is poisoned. In other cases, the short arrowhead is joined to a bone spindle by means of a connecting piece made of grass, and this bone spindle is in turn fixed into the shaft so that the arrow is tripartite. The arrows are either carried in the quiver already assembled, or the points [78] are kept in small containers of bark or horn closed off at both ends by leather caps. Three bows of the Nogau had lengths [411] of 89, 95, and 100 centimeters. Animal tendons are used.

[714] The battle insigne of the ≠Auin is a war cap made from the hide of the aardwolf. The bow of the Naron is made of Grevia 411 wood and is about a meter long. Not only tendons but also plant fibers are used for the bowstring. The plant strings are a surrogate that the Bushmen are forced to use today due to the lack of game. The bow itself is reinforced at the ends with a binding of tendons or leather.

The arrow shafts resemble those of the ≠Auin, as do the points. The iron points are not removable and are called male. The metal is obtained from the north and is worked cold by the [325] ≠Auin. The Naron themselves make no iron arrowheads. [Fig. 28 appears here.]

Whereas during Kaufmann's time the ≠Auin did not have the kirri, the Naron have it today; its lower end is sharpened to a point so that it can also be used as a digging stick. The Nogau, though not too commonly, have throwing clubs that [411] correspond to those of the Dama and Herero, but are more crudely worked.

Concerning the Naron, Bleek also mentions harpoons with long, composite shafts, which serve to get jumping hares and the like out of their holes. This tool will be described in greater detail under the Dama [untranslated].

Like all Bushmen, the Nogau make fire by rubbing two 372 sticks together. The female stick is called Dane-di, the male Dane-≠goa. Firemaking itself is designated as Dalisi, one of the many strange words without clicks that we find among the Nogau.

Bushman wells are likewise used and are called //a-si.

312 The girls have a toy (gai-dum) consisting of several sticks of various kinds, which they wear on the chest. They drum on 524 IT WITH THE FINGERS.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 155]

[79 cont.]

224 water or Brak (salt) place and is prevented from turning off the track by thorn branches placed on either side of the worn track, steps on the little stick lying just below the ground, which moves it out of position and releases the end of the little transverse stick. The string, having lost its hold, releases the bent tree, which snapping back, tightens the noose around the leg of the game and holds the animal imprisoned until the Bushman brutally kills it with a number of blows of his kirri, which is carved out of hard
223 wood. For various kinds of fowl, doves, etc., the Bushman prepares similar slings with thinner string, which are set up in the same way except that the sling is not placed on the ground but is held two or three centimeters above the ground by means of little sticks planted in a circle. In the center of the circle, on a little stick loosely covered with sand, there are a few maize kernels or berries. When the bird picks them up, he moves the little stick out of position and finds his neck in the sling. -- As household
415 implements among the Kalahari Bushmen, in addition to the hollow
237 ostrich eggs used to carry water, I found water sacks made from the inner peritoneum of an animal, not unlike a pig's bladder; these water sacks are closed with a short stick and leather string.
[312] The ostrich eggs also serve the Bushmen as artificial watering places in the dry stretches of the water-poor steppe regions, in which a number of them are hidden under the sand.

415 "Among the other household utensils of the Bushmen, I also found flat, wooden vessels, wooden mortars, and earthen pots of various sizes. The wooden vessels, which are completely different from those of the Herero, are, according to their own state-
[439] ments, obtained in trade from their northern neighbors. The earthen pots likewise are not made by the Bushmen themselves. In form they are somewhat reminiscent of the wooden Omeira pots of the Herero and, as a Herero half-breed declared and demon-
600 strated to me, are manufactured in the following manner. A lump of soft and thoroughly kneaded clay is spread out over the naked, moistened knee, so that first of all it assumes the form of the knee. The calf of the leg must be pressed to the thigh in order to obtain the correct shape. Then the clay is carefully taken off, and the shape of the vessel is improved and perfected by kneading it with the fingers. Finally simple decorations are scratched into it with a

6:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

dangerous.' When they do they use the word *n/oi*. It is a word for gentle rain, and also a respect word. They use it for male rain when they are afraid of it and avoid its real name, */ga /go*.

The rains of the western Kalahari are local, falling from clouds which the winds herd. They may fill one pan and miss another. Laurence Marshall spent one whole night, tentless, in a drenching downpour, to find in the morning that a mile away no rain had fallen. But by and large the rains are sufficient in quantity and well enough dispersed to fill most of the water-holes, pans, and hollow trees, and to revive the growing things, so that the autumn months, which follow the rains, are good—the best of the year. Then the /Kung may travel anywhere within their territories to hunt and gather the fresh veldkos. The rains are life-giving.

Winter is the season of dryness. It is also the season of burning sun in the cloudless sky by day and freezing cold when the sun sets. Bitter winds catch up the sparks of the fires at night and whirl them in blazing streaks into the darkness. If water is left in an open bowl, it may be ice in the morning. By mid-winter, July, there has been no rain for three or four months. The pans and small water-holes are dry. Though there are still foods to be gathered, like the mangetti nuts in the northern forest, there is no water on the route, nor in the white sand dunes where the mangettis grow, and the people cannot carry enough in their ostrich-egg shells to go to the mangettis and return. In 7,500 square miles of the interior of the region around Nyae Nyae, there are only five water-holes which do not dry up in the winter and spring. The /Kung bands must gather around whatever permanent water-hole they belong to and restrict their hunting and gathering trips to conform one way or another to the problem of water. This region, incidentally, does not abound in tsama melons and, though there are succulent so-called 'water' roots to be found, they seem not to be sufficient to support whole bands for long. The Nyae Nyae bands, it appears, cannot, or at least do not, base themselves for long periods away from their water-holes.

The spring months which follow the dry months of winter are the dangerous months. The sun is scorching. Fruits and leaves shrivel; the edible roots, stirred by the few tantalizing drops of the little rains, or just because it is spring, give up their juices to the first new shoots and are dry and bitter to eat. The people longingly await the rains, saying it is the sun which dries the water-holes and the plant foods. The /Kung of this region use one word for both sun and dryness, */kam*, and say the sun is death-giving.

In their beliefs about *n/ow*,[1] which they think influences the weather, as this paper will describe, they make an antithesis between rain and cold. This seems paradoxical when one experiences the devastating heat of the sun in September, October, and November, but the resolution of the paradox may lie in the fact that the hardships of the dry seasons begin with the rainless winter months and their bitterly cold nights, so that sun, dryness, cold and want become a complex which is in antithesis to rain and plenty. *N/ow* is called 'bad' if it brings cold, 'good' if it brings rain.

Mrs. Hoernlé[2] records a Hottentot belief called */nau*. The word appears to be

[1] We spell the /Kung word *n/ow* in this way because it rhymes with 'how'. We wish to distinguish it from another /Kung word, */nau*, which it closely resembles, but which has a slightly shorter, more closed sound. */Nau* means 'old man', according to Miss Bleek's *Bushman Dictionary*. We heard it used as a term of respect in addressing old men.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., 'Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of */nau* among the Hottentots', *Harvard African Studies*, ii (1918), pp. 75–77.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

FOREWORD.

The Kalahari is not a sandy desert in the sense that it is devoid of vegetation; it is the absence of surface water which makes the region such a hazard to human habitation. It is the last refuge of the Bushman. Primitive though he is, he survived in this inhospitable environment owing to his acute powers of perception and his fine appreciation of the gifts of nature. He is a skilled hunter with his bow and arrow and has an intimate knowledge of the natural resources of food and water. Dr. Story compliments him by saying that his knowledge was usually imparted cheerfully and with humour and "always with intelligence".

The Division of Botany was grateful to accept the invitation for Dr. Story to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition of 1955. This was the fifth expedition of its kind and had as its objective the further documentation of the way of life of the Bushman. Dr. Story's assignment was to investigate the plants used by them in obtaining food and water.

It is inevitable that, with the advance of civilisation, the remnants of this interesting race will lose its intimate contact with nature and in the end its very identity. Wishing to complete their records before this happens the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody organisation, is, as we go to press, returning on yet another expedition. The Division of Botany is glad of this opportunity to continue the collection of data on the plants of economic importance to the Bushmen in the Kalahari.

The balance in nature between supply and demand is of endless interest to the ecologist. In times of plenty—when vegetation is abundant—the animal population increases: in times of poverty—when the vegetation is reduced by the prevailing climatic conditions—the animal population is reduced by the effects of hunger and thirst. So it is with the primitive human, who is dependent for his survival on the animal and plant life which surrounds him. Overpopulation at any time spells destruction for him at a later date. It is obvious too, that primitive man must have had a strong influence on the distribution and density of edible wild plants. Some will have become more widespread and others less numerous. More and more examples of rare species among the tuberous rooted *Asclepiadaceae* have come to light during the botanical exploration of southern Africa. It is felt that the edibility of these and some other tuberous rooted plants, in a large measure, accounts for their sparse distribution.

Dr. Story's observations support this view, and many other interesting facts are recorded in his preliminary report on the vegetable aspect of the Bushman's diet.

R. A. Dyer,
Chief: Division of Botany and
Director of Botanical Survey.

Pretoria,
October, 1957.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

INTRODUCTION.

Early in 1955 the Chief of the Union Government Division of Botany 121
received a request through the British Museum for a botanist to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition, which in the winter of that year was to make a study of the Bushmen of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa. The duties of the botanist would be to investigate and report upon the plants used by the Bushmen in obtaining food and drink, and this task was assigned to me in my capacity as one of the Botanical Survey Officers of the Division of Botany.

I joined the expedition on 10th June at Molepolole, after it had been 122
some weeks in the field, and we thereafter travelled along the route shown on the map, reaching Windhoek on 2nd September.

There were two main areas of study, one in the country south of 133
Ghanzi and the other north of Ghanzi. The southern area, part of the Kalahari Desert, was remarkably uniform in every way. The surface [134]
was deep loose sand, gently undulating and with occasional shallow depressions of firm dark soil known as pans, which collect a little water after rain. We did not see a hill after leaving Molepolole until the Ghanzi area was reached, nor a stone, except for shelves of limestone in some of the pans. There was no permanent water in the 300 miles between [312]
Kudumalapshwe and the Ghanzi farms, but Khungwane waterhole and Khomodimo Pan had not yet dried up. Khungwane held one or two thousand gallons and Khomodimo contained a pond about thirty yards across and a foot or so deep. It provided a home, rather unexpectedly, [136]
for a coot (*Fulica cristata*) and a water-scorpion (one of the *Nepidae*). There are no records of the central Kalahari rainfall, but it would be [132]
between 18·5 and 19·6 inches, which are the mean annual figures for Ghanzi and Molepolole respectively. In spite of this low rainfall, and although we were there in the dry season, we found that the sand a few inches below the surface and down to at least three feet was damp enough to retain its form when squeezed in the hand. One specimen of a species 136
of Breviceps was found in the sand, a small burrowing frog which does not swim or jump and which passes through its tadpole stage in a mass of frothy material which surrounds the eggs. The commonest animals were the rodents whose burrows and tracks were in thousands along our route. The game included gemsbok, springbok, hartebees, eland, blue wildebees, giraffe and smaller antelopes and hares. Of the carnivora, lions, leopards, wild dogs, jackals and hyaenas were present. Ostriches and bustards were seen and occasional small birds of various species, but birds were on the whole poorly represented. The vegetation was mainly grassland, usually 137x
about four feet tall and mixed with many shrubs a little taller. Trees were seldom absent for more than a few miles at a stretch, and were scattered to form a parkland or in belts thick enough to hamper the progress of our lorries through them.

The northern area was much more varied, with the undulations 133
sometimes forming distinct rises and dales. Hills, however, were still absent, although there were occasional outcrops of limestone and other rock. The soils were for the most part fairly firm, but sandy nevertheless, [134]
and damp below the surface. From time to time we crossed zones of purer loose sand, slightly raised above the surrounding country and known as dunes. A number of permanent waterholes, groups of large pans and a rainfall estimated to be about 20 inches a year (Department of Transport [132]
1953) made this area better watered than the Kalahari, and better wooded. 137x

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

be eaten after boiling, "pulp, rind and all". Dinter (1912:21-22) says also that the Bushmen use the heart of the palm as a green vegetable, and that a sweet sap may be tapped from the upper part of the stem and fermented to make an alcoholic drink. He gives the yield of fruits from one palm as between 20 and 50 kilograms (48 to 120 lb.). His reference to the heart of the palm is obscure, but Chapman (1868:I:55-56), who is more explicit, says that this is the core of the young trunk. 262 114 [273]

Aloe rubrolutea Schinz (5135). 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman n||ɔru

This species was in full bloom in early August, and made a striking show with its spikes of brick-red flowers. The plants formed rosettes of leaves 12 inches across, producing a slender erect five-foot flowering stalk. Among the hundreds of speciments seen there were none arborescent, although elsewhere arborescent forms are common (Reynolds 1950: 328). Those seen at Nama Pan were similar in habit to *Aloe zebrina*.

Aloe rubrolutea was seen only on the rocky outcrops near Nama Pan and Gam, growing in patches of an acre or so, but it has a wide distribution extending from South West Africa through the Bechuanaland Protectorate to the northern Transvaal and Portuguese East Africa.

The flowers are stripped off the flowering stalk and pounded to make a spinach-like vegetable. Although the Bushmen said that they did not eat the leaves, they were tasted raw and boiled and were found to be juicy and not unpleasant, and to have no harmful effects. They would be a good source of water in an emergency. 252 262

Aloe zebrina Bak. (4995). 137Y

!hɔ: Bushman..... !ganja
!ganakwe Bushman n||ɔru
!gikwe Bushman... n||uru
Naron Bushman... n||ɔru

The plant forms a rosette of rigid dark green leaves which have pale transverse bands and numerous sharp teeth along the margins. It may have a stem 30 centimetres long (Reynolds, 1950: 282), but those seen on the expedition were stemless. The flowering stalks were three or four feet high. The sap in the epidermis of the leaves is greenish-yellow. It oozes out of the vessels fairly quickly if a leaf is cut across, and hardens and changes colour on exposure to the air, becoming brown and glassy. The bulk of the sap, which is in the inner part of the leaf, is colourless and translucent, and does not ooze out if the leaf is cut.

Only one small clump of this Aloe was seen, on deep sand about 80 miles directly south-east of Ghanzi. It is, however, recorded from Angola and South West Africa and across the continent to the east.

The Bushmen stated that the leaves were a good source of water. One of these plants was sent to Pretoria and grew well in cultivation. On being tested, the leaves proved extremely unpleasant, not because of any bad taste but because their sap is in the form of a thick, revolting slime. Boiling or roasting did nothing towards making them more palatable. Either the Bushmen were confusing this Aloe with another species, or it 262 312 824

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

older leaves are marked at the base on the lower surface with narrow wavy black bands. Specimens were collected in sandy soil in open parkland near Nama Pan and flowered in Pretoria the following summer. The leaves and inflorescences, like those of the edible species, die back during the winter. 137x

Neither of the two species could be named in the National Herbarium, for the genus is not well documented and badly in need of revision.

Sansevieria scabrifolia Dinter (4951) Photograph 7.

!h5: Bushman.....	|xa-ji
|ganakwe Bushman...	!gwi:
|gikwe Bushman.....	!gwi:
Naron Bushman.....	!gwi:
Eastern !khû Bushman	!hwi:

A stemless plant with bunches of stiff, erect, strap-like leaves 10 inches long and a little less than an inch wide, concave on the front or upper surface and rounded on the back, and without a midrib. They rise at intervals of a foot or so, and in tufts of up to a dozen, from a brown-skinned horizontal rhizome three inches below the ground, and are light green mottled with dark green. They are tough and fibrous rather than succulent, which is the term that has been used to describe the leaves of closely allied species. The plants may occur singly but are more often massed in communities 20 to 50 yards across. Those sent to Pretoria for growing have never thrived and never flowered, nor were they seen flowering in the field, but it is known that the inflorescence is spike-like along a 12-inch flowering stalk, and that it consists of crowded usually off-white flowers half an inch across. Flowering seems to occur rather rarely and sporadically in the genus as a whole.

This species was widespread and fairly frequent north and south of Ghanzi. It was not found in the open grassland but always among trees and scrub, though not necessarily shaded by them.

The rhizome is a useful source of water. It has a crisp, white fibrous flesh which is juicy and, although slightly bitter, not unpleasant. There are several species of Sansevieria growing in cultivation in Pretoria all alike in habit, and all have been tested. There is no perceptible difference in the taste or juiciness of any of them. 3 12 824

The leaf fibres of the plant described are used by the Bushmen in making a string of surprisingly good quality. 283 824

Wallera nutans Kirk (5311) Photograph 8.

Eastern !khû Bushman t/ûi

The plants are about six inches high, with a slender erect central stem bearing paired light green grass-like leaves, strongly keeled and somewhat fleshy and faintly crystalline on the surface. Both the stem and the keel of the leaves are sparsely covered with short soft spines. Three or four strongly scented nodding flowers are borne, superficially very like potato flowers. There is a firm round storage organ a few inches below the surface of the ground, slightly larger than a golf ball and the colour of a new potato. 137x

Pollichia campestris Ait. (4963, 5040) Photograph 15. 137

A small grey-green bush with much-branched slender soft stems, fairly compact when growing in the open but usually found as a semi-scrambler up to four feet high. The leaves arise in tufts of about three, the tufts being opposite each other and at intervals of anything up to an inch along the stem. They are lanceolate and usually under half an inch long. The plant bears what at first sight appear to be fleshy translucent fruits like small white or yellowish mulberries, but which are actually parts of the flowers.

This is a widespread plant throughout Africa, and was seen at intervals all along the route taken by the expedition.

The fleshy parts of the flowers are edible and sweet, with a queer earthy flavour, and are loosely attached so that they may be easily collected by pulling the stems through the hands. The plant, however, did not appear common enough to be of importance as a food. [262]

Boscia albitrunca (Burch.) Gilg and Benedict (4998, 5208) Photograph 16.

!h3: Bushman.....	≠hun
ǁganakwe Bushman...	n|ßu-ni
|gikwe Bushman.....	n|ßu-ni
Naron Bushman.....	n|ßu-ni
Eastern !khû Bushman	zã

This is a rather variable tree, sometimes with erect branches and sometimes with a spreading crown, usually bearing many thin twigs with much dead wood among them. The bark is sometimes loose, dark and coarsely fissured and sometimes white and flaky. The species was also often seen in the form of a many-stemmed shrub about four feet high. It is evergreen, and did not seem to be at all affected by the heavy frosts that were experienced in the central Kalahari. The leaves arise singly or in bunches of four or five from small knobs on the twigs, and are leathery and about one inch long and a third as wide. Although the flowers are small and inconspicuous as individuals, they are borne in masses towards the tips of the twigs and make quite a show. In the Cape and the Transvaal at least the tree appears to be sporadic in its flowering. The fruits are borne on half-inch jointed stalks, and are half an inch in diameter, pale-skinned and translucent, with several large stones surrounded by a thin, watery pulp.

The tree was scattered evenly throughout the country from Molepolole to Ghanzi and Gautscha Pan, and has been recorded from the Cape Province northwards to the tropics. It occurred singly, occasionally in open communities, but it was never seen to form thickets.

The fruits are eaten by the Bushmen, but they do not make pleasant eating, for the pulp has a rather slimy texture and a sickly-sweet taste. [262]

Sim (1907:123) refers to a meal which is prepared from the roots by drying and beating them. The resulting meal is then sifted to remove the fibres and may be made into a porridge. There are reports of gastro-intestinal disturbances after the eating of Boscia roots, but the reports have not been confirmed, and Steyn (1934: 561) fed large quantities to a rabbit without ill effects. It is suspected that people are susceptible only when they are not accustomed to this food. The Bushmen were not asked about their use of the roots, and did not volunteer any information. [252] [114 124]

The older trees are often hollow, and form natural reservoirs for rain water which is tapped by the Bushmen. (See Adansonia.) 312 824

X137 *triloba* they are what is known as dorsifixed, that is they are fixed a little way up from the base so that the stipule is free at both ends. The flowers are the same size in the two species and have the same long stalk, but those of *Vigna triloba* are predominantly purple. They tend to open in the early morning and to close during the heat of the day.

Vigna triloba is reported from a variety of soils and is widespread through southern Africa, but it was not seen on the expedition until the Nama Pan area was reached.

262 It has a finger-thick tap-root which is edible after boiling or roasting, [252] although fibrous and slightly bitter. In mature plants it may extend downwards further than can conveniently be dug, but it is easily broken off. There appear to have been no previous records of its use as a food plant.

X137 *Commiphora pyracanthoides* Engl. (5137) Photograph 23.

Eastern !khũ Bushman n|ñɔ

A deciduous, rigid, twiggy two-foot shrub with spine-tipped twigs, branches that curve downwards, and a bark that is pale green and flaky on the older parts and grayish on the young twigs. The flowers are less than a quarter of an inch long and inconspicuous, and are borne in bunches on small knobs scattered along the twigs. Male and female flowers are on separate plants. The knobs also bear the leaves, which appear after the flowers and are glaucous, simple and finely serrate, and about three quarters of an inch long and half an inch wide. The fruits are "ovoid, about the size of a green pea, though reddish brown when ripe. When the fruits are ripe, the fleshy covering may be easily split apart in two halves exposing the black seed with a red aril covering it partly at the base and extending in four slender 'fingers', producing an intriguing pattern". (Codd, 1951:87.)

The species extends from South West Africa to the northern Transvaal, but was uncommon in the area round Nama Pan. One specimen collected there was grown in Pretoria. Leaves and flowers were obtained in the summer following, and from this material the determination was made possible.

[262] The plant exudes an edible gum from injuries and is a useful source ●312 of water in an emergency, the water being in a sappy underground organ 824 which is like that of one of the following species of Commiphora, No. 4994. It is known as a water plant among the Bantu of the Transvaal as well.

X137 *Commiphora* spp. (4994 edible, 5030 inedible).

4994		5030	
!hɔ: Bushman..	dʒǎ	|gikwe Bushman	!ana
|gikwe Bushman	dʒǎ		
Naron Bushman	|uri		

Two species of Commiphora were collected in the Kalahari south of Ghanzi. They were completely deciduous rigid two-foot shrubs with many sharply-tipped twigs and a flaky bark. At first sight they were identical, and even close examination revealed no bigger difference than that one of them was a little more of a thicket than the other and slightly 8.24 grayer. The Bushmen, however, stated emphatically that the grayish one [278] was poisonous and the other not. They said also that the grayish one WAS THE HOST OF THE INSECT WHICH THEY USE FOR [825] MAKING THEIR ARROW POISON, AND THAT IT HAD HARDER ROOTS THAN THE OTHER.

was the host of the insect which they use for making their arrow poison, and that it had harder roots than the other. The fruits, flowers and leaves might have shown the difference clearly, but no trace of them could be found, and though plants were sent to the Transvaal for growing they failed to become established. 824

In spite of its unpromising appearance, the non-poisonous one is a useful source of water. This is in a sappy unbranched vertical underground part about an inch and a half thick. The Bushmen excavate down its length as deeply as they can reach, then break it off and withdraw it. They remove the thin outer skin and chew the remaining part, which is crisp and has a little tasteless sap. As a source of water it does not compare with the various species of Cucurbitaceae—weight for weight it contains far less, and the labour of digging it up is considerable. However, it must be a reliable standby when the Cucurbitaceae are not in fruit, and in the central Kalahari it is plentiful. In the southern part it is apparently absent, for it was not seen until 256 miles north-west of Molepolole. 312 824 [222] [271]

Dichapetalum cymosum (Hook.) Engl. 5109, 5266, 5338 Photograph 24. 137X

Eastern Ikhû Bushman ma-ĩ

This plant produces a number of slender erect woody stems up to 12 inches high, sparingly branched and often buried in the sand at the base. The leaves are four inches long, numerous, sessile, alternate, broader in the upper half where they are about one and a half inches across, and tapering at the base, with a stiff papery texture and with veins prominent above and below. They have a slight bloom on the upper surface and the younger leaves at least have a pair of narrow hairy stipules at the base. The younger parts of the plant are hairy, but the hairs wear off with age, and during the winter the leaves turn brown and hard and finally drop. The flowers are scented and have white petals forked at the end, but as they are small and nearly covered by the sepals, they are not conspicuous. The fruits are like a loquat, and may be brown or yellow. The have one or two big seeds covered by a little flesh.

Dichapetalum is distributed widely but patchily from the northern Transvaal through to Angola and Rhodesia. On the expedition it was seen for the first time between Tsau and Kaikai, and beyond that it was fairly frequent but scattered. It was usually in open situations, and seldom where there was dense tree growth.

Though the leaves are extremely poisonous, the flesh of the fruits is harmless and is eaten by the Bushmen. They emphasised that the flesh only could be used, and that the stone was poisonous. They did not mention the skin, but the following note on Schoenfelder's specimen 31, in the National Herbarium, indicates that it, too, is poisonous:— 262

> "Fruits like small yellow oranges are eaten peeled in great quantities by the Kung Bushmen. When still green can be eaten after baking in hot ash. Used like fruit, fresh. The peel of the fruit is stamped and mixed with other food to poison stealing dogs (Diriko)." [252] [278] 824]

Marloth (1913-25: II: I: 120) and Engler (1912: 577) also refer to the edibility of the fruits.

There are four other plants of very similar appearance which could be confused with *Dichapetalum cymosum*, and although they were not collected on the expedition, their distribution does overlap. They are *Pachystigma pygmaeum*, *Pygmaeothamnus zeyheri*, *Parinari capense* and *Diospyros chamaethamnus*. The first two bear inedible fruits and may be 137X

X137 [262] distinguished by their having opposite leaves. The latter two bear edible fruits and like *Dichapetalum* have alternate leaves. The differences are that *Parinari capense* has leaves dark green above and covered with a white felt below, and that *Diospyros chamaethamnus* has no stipules.

Another species, *Dichapetalum venenatum*, has been described, but is in my opinion not specifically distinct from *Dichapetalum cymosum*.

Ricinodendron rautanenii Schinz (5336) Photograph 25.

Eastern !khũ Bushman ,||k"a:

The trees seen on the expedition were about 25 feet high and were then (at the end of August) quite bare, resembling slender baobabs, with similar but thinner stems, and smooth bark and stubby branches. Specimens collected elsewhere showed that the leaves are digitately compound, with about five leaflets and two prominent green glands at the top of the leaf-stalk. They are dark green above and pale below and covered with a pale to brownish powdery wool which is found on the young twigs and fruits also. The trees are either male or female. The small creamy flowers are borne in bunches towards the tips of the twigs and the female flowers give rise to reddish fruits the size of a small plum, consisting of a thin pulp surrounding a very hard nut. This is light coloured like an almond, thick and strong and marked all over with numerous small pores.

The only trees seen were on heavy sand near the banks of the Eiseb omuramba, 29 miles from Gam on the way to Windhoek, where they were dominant in a belt several miles wide. They formed a woodland, with the trees spaced about 25 yards apart. Herbarium records show that this is the usual mode of occurrence. The species has been recorded from South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa.

252 262 The pulp of the fruit is edible raw or stewed. It does not readily go bad, but in time it dries and shrivels and in this condition, turned hard and crumbly, is still a wholesome food, edible raw or cooked. The stone contains one or two firm white-fleshed kernels which are, like the pulp, edible raw or cooked. The tree is an important source of Bushman food because of the quality and quantity of its fruit and because the fruits remain good for a long time even without being stored. Those seen on the expedition were on the ground beneath the trees and were still perfectly [312 824] good to eat. The tree is additionally useful in that it sometimes collects and holds rain water in hollows in its trunk (see Adansonia).

X137 *Sclerocarya caffra* Sond. (5292) Photograph 26.

Eastern !khũ Bushman -gxi

A few mature specimens were seen, about 20 feet high, and a few young ones. The mature trees had a single clean bole with a flaking bark and a branching rounded crown, and were very different in appearance from the young ones which consisted of four or five thick and sappy unbranched stems about five feet high, with a smooth brown bark. This was in August, and all were quite leafless. The following description is taken from Codd (1951):— "The leaves are pinnate with three or four pairs of well-spaced leaflets and a terminal leaflet. The leaflets are oval, smooth, tapering to an abrupt point and are about one and a half inches long and one inch wide. Flowers are inconspicuous and are produced in small sprays just before the appearance of the young leaves, some trees

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

137X

Adansonia digitata L. Photograph 32.

Eastern !khû Bushman ≠m

The Baobab, as it is commonly called, is shown in photograph 32. Its stem may have a circumference of up to 148 feet, and makes it quite unmistakable. In winter it is leafless but in summer it bears dense dark-green foliage. The flowers are pure white and up to six inches across, and the fruits, as described by Codd (1951: 120) are " oblong or egg-shaped, five to six inches or more in length and three to four inches in diameter, with a woody shell which is softly grey-velvety on the outside ".

The southernmost specimens were seen in the neighbourhood of Ghanzi, and from there it occurred sporadically to Gautscha Pan, the furthest point north reached by the expedition. There were big gaps in its distribution and it was rare throughout, but in some parts of the Transvaal it occurs abundantly and may have an unbroken distribution over many square miles of country. It is widely distributed in the drier regions of north and south tropical Africa.

Inside the shell of the fruit is a white, pith-like substance which may be eaten raw, or ground up and stirred into water to make a drink, or boiled to make a porridge. It has an acid-sweet taste. The seeds which are embedded in the flesh are also edible and are eaten like nuts. In other parts of Africa they are prepared in a somewhat involved way which includes protracted boiling, fermenting and drying. There are several records of the fact that the young leaves make quite a good substitute for spinach, but as the expedition was during the winter and as the trees are deciduous, I cannot say whether the Bushmen know of this, nor whether the trees we saw were of the glabrous variety which is the one used for spinach. No seedlings were seen. It is known that the white shoot from the germinating seed can be used as a substitute for asparagus, and that the tender root of the very young Baobab is also edible (Dalziel, 1937: 113). The trees are often hollow, and like *Boscia albitrunca* and *Ricinodendron rautenii* may act as reservoirs for rain water which can be used in times of scarcity. The Bushmen reach it by fitting hollow grass stalks end to end to form a tube, and sucking it out. A further product of the Baobab is a large caterpillar which feeds upon the leaves and which is an important article of food aming the Natives of the northern Transvaal. It is recorded also from South West Africa, and is very likely known to and used by the Bushmen.

252
262
[272]
271
312●
824
262
136
825

137X

Ochna pulchra Hook. (5273) Photograph 33.

Eastern !khû Bushman !i and !e:i

A semi-deciduous tree with a clean but usually rather twisted bole which is white to light gray and has a peeling bark. The branches are bent and rigid and the wood brittle. They bear glossy light green alternate leaves which are almost sessile and usually entire, rarely with a very finely toothed margin. The tree has an attractive appearance even in winter, and the young leaves add to this in the spring for they range from pale green to reddish-brown. The flowers are borne in early summer, in showy scented bunches. They have yellow petals and a green calyx, which persists after the petals have fallen and turns bright red. The fruits are hard and green when immature but turn fleshy and black as they ripen. There are usually two or three, the size and shape of small beans, attached to a fleshy red swelling in the centre of the flower. The leaves have been suspected of causing poisoning in stock, but tests carried out on mammals have so far been inconclusive. (Uys and Thomas 1952, Steyn, 1949: 125.)

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

By the spring there may be nothing left to mark the position of the plant. 137X
How extraordinarily observant the Bushmen are was well shown when they 824
were asked if they could find a specimen and demonstrate its use. One man guided the party for four miles across country featureless except for clumps of trees to a spot where he knew of one growing. It was found after a short search—nothing more than two or three small sticks among the grasses, with the bark shredding into white silky fibres.

Raphionacme burkei is found from South West Africa through the 137X
Bechuanaland Protectorate into the northern Transvaal and the northern Cape. Two specimens were seen in the central Kalahari, and the species was determined from one of them which was sent to Pretoria for cultivation and flowered there in the following summer.

It is a well-known source of water among the Bushmen of the Kala- 271
hari. They extract the water from the storage organ by planing a pile 312●
of shavings off it with the edge of a split stick, and then squeezing the 824
shavings in the hand and allowing the water to run into the mouth. This rather roundabout way of doing things appears to be without good reason, because the flesh of the storage organ may be chewed without any ill effect. It is firm and crisp, slightly fibrous, and faintly bitter.

Pentarrhinum insipidum E. Mey. (5171, 5191) Photograph 40. 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman n!ɔ-ʃu and n!wa-ʃu

A leafy deciduous climber up to 10 feet high, and a vigorous grower which may completely cover the host tree. It has freely branching lax stems which are quite tough in spite of being only a matter of an eighth of an inch in thickness. They are covered with a fine white down which is just perceptible to the naked eye, and when broken they exude a little milky juice, so little that it is easily overlooked. At intervals of about five inches arise pairs of leaves, deeply cordate at the base, and with long stalks. In the younger stages they are minutely hairy but they become glabrous or nearly so as they grow older. The flowers rise in a group on a three-inch slender stalk from between the leaves. They are brownish with a yellow or white central portion, small and faintly scented. The fruits are occasionally produced in pairs but are more usually solitary. They are beaked, three inches long and half as wide, covered with blunt prickles, longitudinally wrinkled and dull green.

At Nama Pan this was a frequent climber among the trees, and it is widespread over southern Africa. It was not, however, seen in the country south of Ghanzi.

At maturity the fruits are hard and woody and packed with the fine 262
silky hairs that form the pappus of the seeds, but when green they are 252
softer and may be eaten raw or cooked as a vegetable, and may be stored for three weeks before they deteriorate. Their rather copious white latex is quite harmless. They have a crisp texture when raw and a pleasant flavour, nutty and faintly peppery. When boiled they are reminiscent of Asparagus. When the seeds inside have turned brown the fruit will be found too hard to make good eating. The leaves, too, may be eaten raw as a salad, and are used that way by some Transvaal Natives, but the Bushmen method of preparation is to pound them to a pulp in a wooden mortar.

Pentarrhinum insipidum grows well from seed and is a rapid producer 137X
of green material. It might be a useful fodder plant for domestic stock.

7;Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

Y137 specific name, which means *polished*, refers to the shiny appearance of the corolla-lobes towards the base. The fruits, borne in pairs, are between a half and a quarter of an inch in thickness and six inches long, tapering at the end and containing numerous flattened seeds with a silky pappus.

Although it has a wide range across tropical and sub-tropical Africa, it is uncommon; and only one specimen was collected on the expedition, under the shelter of scrub at the edge of a rocky outcrop at Nama Pan.

[252 262 312] The stems are edible raw or roasted, but have a bitter taste. They are sappy enough to be a useful source of water.

Caralluma knobelii (Phill.) Phill. (5094, 4914) Photograph 47.

!h5: Bushman.....	-≠aberr
ǂganakwe Bushman...	-da:daba
|gikwe Bushman.....	-da:daba
Naron Bushman.....	-da:daba
Eastern !khû Bushman	-da:daba

The plant consists of a number of stubby, succulent erect stems four inches in height and half an inch in diameter. They are glabrous and dull bluish-green, mottled faintly with a darker green and square in section, with four rows of sharp and fairly hard-tipped spines. They exude a clear greenish juice when cut. The flowers are white to greenish, with dark purple blotches and edged with sparse delicate knobbed hairs known as vibratile hairs because of the way they are moved about by even the gentlest breeze. The stems arise from underground runners which have the same form as the erect stems except that they are white, and more slender.

This species, which is known only from the Kalahari, was found in various places on deep sand between Molepolole and Ghanzi, but was nowhere common. It was in the shelter of trees and scrub, and was not seen in the open.

[252 262] The whole plant is edible raw or roasted, but the underground portions are better than those above ground, which tend to become bitter. [312] They have a peculiar smoky flavour which is not unpleasant, and their abundant juice makes them a useful source of water.

Stapelia kwebensis N. E. Br. (5140) Photograph 48.

Eastern !khû Bushman -da:daba

Similar in habit to *Caralluma knobelii*, but with dull green downy stems and rounded instead of sharp corners. The spines too are shorter and tipped with small erect leaves. It has dark brown flowers with slender lobes ridged on the upper surface and radiating out from a shallow central pit.

Only one specimen was collected on the expedition, on a rocky outcrop at Gam, but the species is widely distributed in South West Africa except in the extreme south and it is known from the northern Transvaal as well.

[252 262] The stems are edible, raw or roasted.

Fockea sp. (5136, 5236).

Eastern !khû Bushman '!xwa:

One of the two specimens collected was in the open among rubble at the edge of a sheet of rock at Gam, a plant with fleshy stems 12 inches high, and the only one of its kind seen in that vicinity. The other specimen was growing with several more in stony scrub-covered ground near Gautscha Pan, and appeared similar except that the stems were thicker and were twining to a height of several feet among the other bushes. The

leaves drop during the winter, but a few were still to be seen, linear, paired, and about three inches long and half an inch wide, and there was one fruit, as long as the leaves and shaped like a small cigar. The stems rise from a brown-skinned underground storage organ which may be more than a foot in length and up to five inches in diameter. It is often oddly shaped if growing in rocky ground, as these all were, and has a rather spongy texture, a combination which makes it difficult to dig up without damage. Several were brought in at a Bushman encampment about 20 miles south-west of Nama Pan, but none of them were entire. The specimens I collected were lost in transit to Pretoria, and though they could be placed in the genus Fockea from what had been seen in the field, the species is unknown. 137X

The storage organ is eaten raw by the Bushmen. The flesh is white and rather flabby, with a faint but pleasant flavour of coconut ice. As well as being a food it is juicy enough to be a useful source of water. It could possibly be bred into a plant worth cultivating. [262] [312]

Ipomoea verbascoidea Choisy (5223, 5319) Photograph 49.

Eastern !khû Bushman n!oru

Tubers and seeds of this species failed to grow in cultivation in Pretoria. The notes which follow were made partly from herbarium specimens, for the plants were quite leafless when they were seen in the field in August. They were conspicuous in spite of their bareness, because of the small pure white masses of wool in which the seeds were embedded. These masses were scattered along numerous slender twigs that arose from a group of sturdy, cane-like stems, half an inch thick and eight feet long or more. The stems are scramblers, or, if no trees are at hand, lax and spreading. They exude a little milky juice when cut. The stalked leaves are simple, rounded, and up to four inches across, and bear in their axils single large purple flowers of the typical Convolvulaceous (morning glory) type. The plant is covered with a white wool except on the upper surface of the leaves, where it is sparsely hairy.

Two plants were seen on the expedition, both in the neighbourhood of Nama Pan, and both on sand and among fairly dense mixed scrub. There are records of the species from South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Angola.

A note on one of the herbarium specimens states that the fruits are edible, but this was not mentioned by the Bushmen. They did however state that the storage organs were used as a source of water. These are six inches below the soil, sometimes partly exposed and partly eaten by animals. They are firm and juicy, and those seen were the size of a football, with a white flesh and a dark brown skin. The water may be extracted by chewing the flesh or by pounding it and squeezing the pulp. [262] 312 [271]

Ipomoea sp. (5179) Photograph 50.

Eastern !khû Bushman !garube 137X

A slender plant with three or four bluish-reen leaves up to three inches long, borne on a four-inch erect stalk and themselves erect, and deeply and narrowly lobed. There are usually three or four tubers to each plant. They are found at any depth down to nine inches, and are variously shaped but regular in outline, typically the size and shape of a large apple with a slight depression on top, where they are connected at intervals of

The fruit, according to the label on one of the herbarium specimens, is "very poisonous", but there appears to be no satisfactory proof of this. The Bechuana state that the crimson pulp round the seeds is edible, and I ate it without any harmful effects. It is sweetish but has a rather unpleasant slimy texture. [1 38X] [262]

Citrullus naudinianus (Sond.) Hook. f. (4983, 4984, 5272) Photograph 56.

!h5: Bushman.....	||gan
||ganakwe Bushman...	gã:
|gikwe Bushman.....	gã:
Naron Bushman.....	gã:
Eastern !khũ Bushman	t/a

This vine, commonly known as the Gemsbok komkommer, is a runner on the sand and not a climber. It has a tap-root the shape of a large carrot, which may be three inches or more in diameter at the top and three feet long, and which grows hard and woody with age. The younger roots are full of juice and intensely bitter, and cannot be eaten by human beings, although many showed signs of having been eaten by animals. The runners, which may reach a length of 30 feet, are stouter than those of the related *Cucumis hookeri* and No. 4895 (see page 50), and unlike them and those of *Citrullus vulgaris* are fairly frost-resistant. Many were still green during the heavy frosts experienced on the expedition, and were even putting out fresh leaves. They often have a zig-zag growth form and may root at the nodes. Apparently they die back after a few seasons, for live and dead runners were common. The leaves, borne on a one-inch or two-inch stalk, are dull green, lobed, very rough to the touch, and between two and four inches long. A stout slightly hooked tendril rises at the base of each leaf and is usually about as long as the leaf-stalk. The fruits vary in shape from ovoid to nearly spherical, and weigh about half a pound. The skin is covered with thick soft spines a quarter to half an inch long, and is pale yellow when the fruits are ripe. They can stand heavy frost without spoiling, and are eaten by many different animals.

The plant has been recorded from the sandy parts of the north-western Cape Province and Orange Free State, the Transvaal, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, South West Africa, Angola and Northern and Southern Rhodesia. On the expedition the runners were common between Molepolole and Ghanzi but the fruits, in tens or in hundreds, were in patches sometimes many miles apart. The plants were not found on the firmer "pan" soils and were much less common north of Ghanzi.

The fruits have a thin rind containing numerous flattened white seeds embedded in a green translucent jelly-like flesh which may be eaten raw or roasted and has a distinctive, slightly rank flavour. The pips and skin are often roasted separately and pounded to make en edible meal. As a source of water this plant comes next in importance to *Citrullus vulgaris*, but like *Citrullus vulgaris* (and *Cucumis hookeri*) it cannot be depended upon where there have not previously been adequate rains, for the water in its perennial tap-root is not in itself enough to produce a crop of fruit. [262] [252] [312]

Citrullus naudinianus has possibilities as a cultivated plant.

X137 *Citrullus vulgaris* Schrad. (4937, 4999) Photograph 57.

!h5: Bushman.....	dam
||ganakwe Bushman...	n||an
|gikwe Bushman.....	n||an
Naron Bushman.....	n||a-ǂ
Eastern !khû Bushman	_t'a_ma

This plant, one of the melons and commonly known as the tsama, has stout six-foot vines half an inch in diameter at the base and a quarter of an inch at the tip. They are covered rather densely with light brown hairs, which turn white and stiff with age. The vines are usually prostrate, but occasionally festoon themselves over grasses and low shrubs with the help of small Y-shaped tendrils, curly at the tips. The leaves are borne on two-inch stalks and are hairy on the ribs, dull green, rough to the touch and deeply lobed. Each plant produces male and female flowers. They are an inch in diameter and pale yellow, and the fruits which follow are rounded and up to six inches in diameter and six and a half pounds in weight. As many as 34, of all sizes, have been counted on one plant. The rind, densely hairy when young but later quite smooth, is dark green mottled longitudinally with light green, and contains a crisp, juicy, tasteless white flesh in which numerous flattened brown seeds are embedded. The melons can endure heavy frosts without becoming spoilt, but the rest of the plant is very susceptible. The frosts, however, merely hastens its death for it is in any case an annual.

This melon is indigenous to south-west Asia and the warm dry regions throughout Africa. The water-melon is merely an improved variety of the same species, which has been known in Egypt and Babylonia since the beginning of history (Marloth, 1913-1925: III: II: 205). The tsama was widespread but patchy along the route of the expedition, and areas of abundant melon alternated with long stretches where it was not seen. It was not confined to the sand but grew also on the hard soil of the pans.

262 312 824 [184] [244]

The tsama is unquestionably the most important plant to the Bushmen in this part of the Kalahari. They are known to use it as their sole source of water for months on end and it is extremely doubtful whether they would be able to live permanently in the Kalahari without it. Its importance is shown by the fact that one group of Bushmen in the central Kalahari had a small patch of tsama which they had grown from seed, and the Bushmen are not as a rule agriculturalists. Nevertheless, the tsama is not an infallible standby, for the reasons given in the discussion on *Citrullus naudinianus*, and when the need arises the Bushmen can and must substitute more meagre but at the same time more reliable sources of water, for example from *Sansevieria scabrifolia*. When it is used for drinking-water the melon is opened at the top like an egg and the central portion cut out and eaten. The rest of the pulp is then mashed inside the rind with a stick to a watery mass which is half drunk and half eaten, the pips being put aside and later roasted and pounded (without being peeled) to make an edible meal. The melons are sometimes roasted before being eaten, which adds a little flavour, and they may be cut up and mixed with meat to form a stew, which is conveniently cooked in the rind itself. Although no bitter specimens of the tsama were found along the route of the expedition, they do occur. Their flesh is poisonous and unfit for human consumption, but their seeds are free of poison and edible after roasting.

252 262 312

At some villages of Bakalahari (which are a Bantu tribe), the tsama is regularly cultivated. These and wild melons are collected and stored under shelter, and goats, horses, cattle and even dogs are kept with tsama as the main source of water. The livestock use the melon more economi-

The storage organs[1] are firm but juicy and may be eaten raw or cooked. The flavour is pleasant, rather like that of a turnip, and if they are eaten raw they are a valuable source of water. They were an important article of food to the Bushmen we met in the central Kalahari, and the plant would be worth investigating with a view to cultivation after improvement through breeding. 262 [252 312]

Coccinia rehmannii Cogn. (4954, 5029) Photograph 61. 137X

!h5: Bushman.....	m@waje:
!ganakwe Bushman...	!ga:
!gikwe Bushman.....	!ga:
Naron Bushman.....	!ga:
Eastern !khû Bushman	!ga:

A vine, climbing by means of tendrils to a height of six or eight feet, and bearing on half-inch petioles a dense growth of dark green leaves which are deeply and irregularly lobed and very variable in size and shape. They have a rough texture from minute scattered white hairs, more numerous on the upper surface and pointing forward. The stems are slender and angled, and bear a few of these hairs also. The plants are either male or female, and both male and female flowers are trumpet-shaped with short triangular petals, pale yellow and three quarters of an inch across. The fruits are three quarters of an inch long, with a bulbous base and a rather thick neck, green mottled with white when immature and red when they ripen in the autumn. The old stems die back during the winter and new ones are produced the following spring from a perennial tuber buried about four inches below the surface of the ground. The tuber tapers gradually when young, but thickens and assumes various shapes as it grows older, and the bark, from being smooth, becomes rough and fissured. It does not "bleed" if injured superficially, but from deep injuries it exudes a clear astringent mucilage.

Specimens on the expedition were found not in the open grasslands, but always growing in shelter under a bush or in a thicket It was midwinter and they were dormant, represented above ground by a few fragments of dry and leafless stringy stem among the twigs of the sheltering tree, and in consequence exceedingly difficult to find. Even after the presence of the plant had been established the finding of the tuber presented difficulties, for the connection with the vine overhead was often broken. The plant appeared to be occasional but widespread in the parts through which we travelled, and three tubers, all of which were successfully cultivated in Pretoria, were collected in different parts of the Kalahari. It is recorded also from the Cape Province, the Transvaal and South West Africa.

Besides providing food, the tubers are sappy enough to be a useful source of water, but they must be roasted first for they cannot be eaten raw. Older woodier tubers are best boiled, but even so the fibre is so tough that it is ejected after being chewed. At all stages the tubers are rather tasteless. They are known also to the Natives in some parts of the Transvaal, and eaten by them, but in this land of relative plenty they are not a popular food. The fruits also are edible, but rather sickly sweet and flavourless. Doubtless they are used by the Bushmen, but I failed to ask them. 252 262 312

1 [CUCUMIS; see CATEGORY 116, p.50 FOR DESCRIPTION --ANALYST]

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people. [423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such, 621 by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-//om*, on the [582 other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the 591] chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are 361 placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the [184] *Hei-//om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial [562] and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and [882 boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away 342] from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various 342 tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a [462] husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations. When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish 166 a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who 342 deposits his household and other effects on the place on which [622] his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated [312] in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 bush beside her fireplace. Also, she brought out six round
222 green melons which are called *tsama* melons, and which, during the autumn, provide the only liquid available for all the Bushmen in the desert, and for all the game antelope be-
[271 sides. Under the green rind a tsama is very like a watermelon,
312] filled with small oval seeds and very watery in texture, but is itself pale green and smaller, the size of a small cantaloupe.
[516] Tsetchwe placed one between her feet and, gripping it firmly with her strong toes, chopped a hole in the top of it with her digging-stick; then, lifting the cap away like the lid of a jack-
271 o'-lantern, she mashed the pulp inside until it was liquid. She put the melon to her mouth and, tipping her head back, drank from it, using her long digging-stick to help push the pulp into her mouth, working it like an enormous chopstick, making a watery noise as she sucked. When Tsetchwe had collected a mouthful of seeds she put the melon down, took an old, dry tsama melon rind from her kaross, and spat the seeds into it to save them, for they can be roasted and eaten like nuts when they are dry. Tsetchwe drank all the liquid in
[264] the rind and seemed refreshed as she cast the empty rind over her shoulder and brushed off her mouth and hands.

609 At last Gai strode back into the werf, followed at a distance
621 by a group of three small boys and, much farther, by three old women who stood waist-deep in bushes, close together like three antelope, craning their necks to see us.

609 When they noticed Tsetchwe and Ukwane, they came for-
276 ward with more confidence, accepted tobacco, and, squatting
621 immediately, began to smoke. It had been months, Ukwane said, since they had used their last tobacco, had been reduced to smoking leaves, and they were very happy to have the tobacco we had give them. Bushmen love to smoke. They say
[261] that tobacco, as well as the wild beans, takes away hunger and thirst, and, besides that, it makes their hearts glad. One

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

133 open and tilting, but the low hills and the forests veiled the great sweep of country, and the sun, the moon, and the horizon.

105 As soon as we were there we felt very familiar, very at
184 home. We knew quite a lot about Kung Bushmen, who in ways are different from Gikwe Bushmen—as the country is not as harsh, the Kung are a little grander, living together in larger numbers because they have veld food more abundantly, a little more extravagant with their time and their possessions. They build themselves grass huts or scherms, at least during the rains, and though they know vast sections of their country perfectly, being quite sure of the whereabouts of game and certain of the whereabouts of different types of veld food, they do not have to memorize the whereabouts of each root individually and store this information in their minds for future seasons, as the Gikwe do. The Kung are diligent and powerful hunters, although in some respects their country is harder to hunt in than the land of the Gikwe, more overgrown with brush and trees. But the Kung have metal-tipped arrows and complicated poison, and the men make a point of hunting often and well because their people love meat.

312 We knew their rolling veld with its baobab trees and hidden waters, for in Nyae Nyae the people do not have to scrape roots and suck melons, but are the possessors of deep waterholes where they can drink clear water almost all year long. We knew which stalks among the grass blades marked edible roots, and where game antelope might be found.

823 We knew not only the veld but the beings that live in the
776 sky above it, and knew the beings under the earth and in the four directions. We knew where the great god lives in the east with his tree and his medicine smoke with which he makes spirits of the dead from dead people. We knew his names, for

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

said to be ant lions which at night rise from the bottoms of their little traps of sand.

Since we had lived a year in Nyae Nyae we knew the round of the seasons, which Kung Bushmen say are six in number. We came there in July, in winter and the start of the drought, the coldest season. August was bitterly cold and also dry, but in September the air began to get warmer and heralded the next season, called "little winds before the rain," a season of whirlwinds, drought, and clouds of dust. In October, suddenly and presenting a startling sight, a thorn tree near our camp turned quite green and the heat began to be intense. This was the start of the springtime, the dryest, hottest time of all the year and a time of starvation, for the water in the waterholes gets very low until only a little remains on the bottoms and the wild roots push sap into their vines so that the vines turn green and sprout but the roots themselves are shriveled. This was the worst season of the year for the people. Before this, during the winter, the large extended band that we had gone to visit was separated into little family groups that were scattered through the veld, living at little waterholes that did not keep their water all year long. During the dry season the water in these waterholes vanished, causing the small family bands to gather at the last sure waterhole of the area, a waterhole called Gautscha, which was beside a huge flat pan called Gautscha Pan.

There was one rather large band that always lived at Gautscha and numbered some forty people, who divided themselves into sometimes three, sometimes four family groups. They thought themselves lucky to live there, for Gautscha was considered to be a sort of paradise, where the waterhole was cool and deep, and (it was said) game gathered at all times to lick the salt, for Gautscha was a salt pan. It was the salt that made Gautscha most desirable, because salt is

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

green-leafed vegetables, and sometimes many of the people 361
of the large extended bands come together to live, to hold 621
important ceremonies which require many people, and to enjoy each other's company. Sometimes they separate into very small bands because they can now go anywhere they wish, each family going to the part of the veld where the type of food grows that the family most enjoys. There is water every- 312
where, in small seasonal waterholes, in shallow salt pans, in hollow trees, and the people thrive and grow quite fat. One of their favorite foods, one that grows in great abundance at 222 262
this season, is a ground nut called *tsi*, which grows on a trailing vine and is so fat that if you leave a kernel of it on a piece of paper it will leave a greasy stain. Tsi is regarded by the Kung Bushmen as a very powerful food, one of the pow- [778]
erful veld foods in which there is a special essence, something mysterious and magic which gives them a life force all their own so that it would be dangerous to eat them during the year if this life force were not first subdued or not first integrated with the life force of the people. These foods are 778
the mainstays of the Bushmen's diet, and are fat; and every 789
year people in their child-bearing years, when they consider themselves subject to harm, protect themselves against these foods by a ritual act.

The act of protection is called *choa*, and it is interesting because it differs from the protective rituals performed by agricultural peoples to save their crops or animals from harm, or to cause their increase. The Bushmen choa themselves not [842]
to protect their fertility, for decrease in the number of children is not a problem to them, but to make sure that they, the young adults and mainstays of the community, will not get thin and starve.

Those whom Bushmen call "old people," adults who have 789
had three children, are expected to protect themselves and 885
also to protect young people of the same sex.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The water was darker now and roiled, and the stench was 222
stronger. We went on after the Bushman women to find gum in the trees and then went home, and after that I had not been back to Nama.

Since then, the heavy rains had come three times, filling 312
the waterhole and the lake and washing away the putrescence, leaving only the white bones sunk in the bottom of the well. Now the water of the lake seemed very pure indeed, with the ripples that the wind made shining like mica in the sun, and so clear that we could see every blade of grass and ice-cold stone on the bottom. Lazy Kwi and his family climbed [271]
down from the truck and squatted at the edge of the water to drink, scooping up water in their cupped hands. As they drank, Lazy Kwi found some Bushman footprints on the little shore which were many days old, just dents in the hard sand, but after glancing at them once or twice he said they were the footprints of strangers, a man barefoot, a woman in sandals, and a barefoot child, on their way to a place called Naru Ni, somewhere in the west. I don't know how he could tell all this, but I believe that he was right. Bushmen are always right when it comes to tracks, but also it is very unusual for Bushmen to travel through country that is not theirs, as these three must have been doing or Lazy Kwi would have known them. Naturally, we were very curious to know who they were and what they were doing, but their footprints told Lazy Kwi no more than that, and we never learned.

These were the only footprints that we found, but Lazy Kwi still believed that some of the people we had known at Gautscha in 1953 might be living there, especially Toma, the headman, for he had been there when Lazy Kwi had heard of him last.

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WATER IS KEY to life in the Kalahari; only ten permanent waterholes. Above, in all the !Kung territory, there are a man fills his ostrich-egg "bottle."

[p. 21]

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For the rest of the year, above, they fill their eggshells from permanent waterholes, dig for water roots.

[p. 22]

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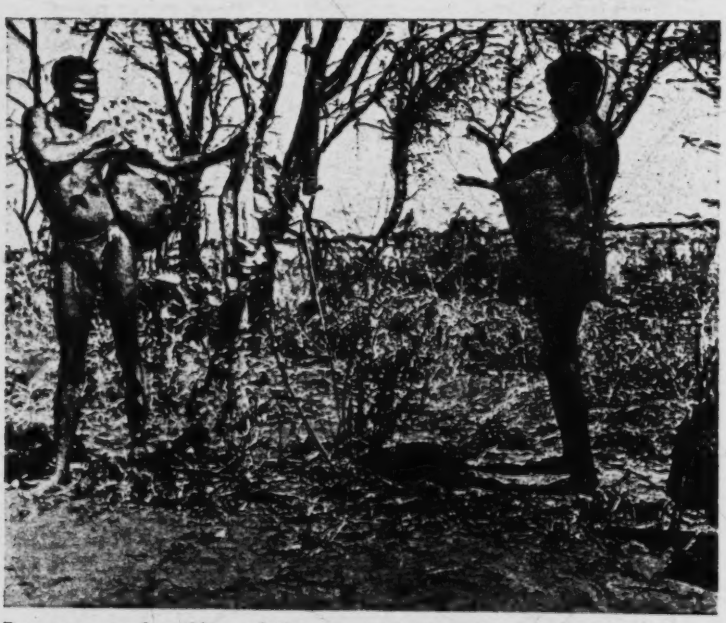

BAGS FOR FOOD, above, like eggshells for water, give !Kung some freedom in moving. Food may be brought to water or water carried far into the desert.

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poison-bearer, its cycle is somewhat as follows: the beetle lays its eggs in the Murula tree leaves. Hatching in the rains, the grubs migrate down the trunk, progressing through a number of growth stages. Finally, they make their cocoons under the ground near the tree. In these cocoons, they struggle through metamorphosis and emerge as small, bravely-colored beetles in the New Year's rains, providing the Bushmen have not already dug them up. The hunters know the particular trees frequented by the beetles and make expeditions to them at least twice a year to replenish their supply. Then the grubs are dug up, and used on the spot or kept in their cocoons, depending on the man's needs.

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The poisoning of !Kung arrows is a long process, with a number of variations. The most common poison is a mixture of the grub and the previously mentioned tree-pod. The grubs are crushed and the pod is warmed until its contents melt slightly and can be crushed with the grubs. This mixture is thinned with the copious spit which results from chewing any of a variety of barks and is then smeared on the foreshaft of the arrow—but cleaned immaculately off

[p. 53]

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

• 312 TEN permanent waterholes, as we have seen, occur in two areas—around the ring of pans in the east center of *Nyae Nyae*, and along the eastern border. To the west, beyond the limit of the pans, there is no water in the long dry seasons. Around each permanent waterhole, the *veldkos* near enough to be gathered in a day are considered by the !Kung to be an integral part of that waterhole. This means that such a waterhole includes both the water itself and all the *veldkos* within a circle with a radius of some four miles. This area might be called a certain waterhole's "district," taking its name from the waterhole. When a man mentions a waterhole, he usually has such a district in mind.

222 484 Yet neither the *veldkos* in these districts nor the *veldkos* scattered between the districts, nor the game, which wanders, constitute the main

622 areas, baobab trees, and—most im-
423 portant—*mangetti* trees that hold water in their trunks, and *tsi* areas. It is these "owned" features, and the direction from the waterhole in which they lie, that define a territory. Since, as we have seen, *mangetti*'s and *tsi* are the most important !Kung resources, they are the main determinants of a direction.

But animals are *not* owned. Neatly bounded sections of the countryside are *not* owned. A territory, therefore can best be defined as the combination of a permanent waterhole and a direction: the !Kung so define it by the word "side." One headman's territory is said to be on this "side."

361 JUST as the Kalahari's scant re-
621 sources of food and water are distributed in accordance with a geo-
622 graphical pattern, the !Kung bands are distributed in accordance with both a geographical and a social pattern. Natural resources are the focal points in the geographical pattern of band distribution: headmen are the focal points in the social pattern. In a sense, headmen tie together the two patterns, the concept of headmanship being the embodiment of a certain quantity of resources in a person around whom a band can take shape and operate. Because of their kin ties with a headman, the people living round him, clustering their *skerms* around his and moving with him over his territory, feel right in being where they are.

622 The headman receives no special
554 privileges. He is no more wealthy than other men. If he is a leader, he may assume responsibility and speak out. But, as headman, he need not speak, for headmanship is a silent office and while the headman lives—by his waterhole or out somewhere on his territory with his band—he serves his whole purpose.

423 Most of the permanent waterholes
312 have two !Kung bands associated with them, and the *tsi* areas are likewise shared by bands from the same and different waterholes. Such sharing may come about because two brothers (only one of whom may be the true headman) live together and feel they possess joint claims. It may come about through the passage of time, which confuses genealogies and lets claims, once tenuous, become firm through usage. The !Kung are a people of present tense, living—in their minds as well as with their

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HAPPY LIFE of children includes such moments as these: a laughing game of "pull-away," above.

423 bodies—from day to day. If the water-
312 holes were not shared, some bands would be without permanent water.

621 Not all !Kung territories are of equal value in terms of food and
166 water. Some people have *mangetti* nuts, some have *tsi*, and some have
361 both. There is mild wealth, and gentle poverty in *Nyae Nyae*. Territories also change in value year by year. The rains may fail in some parts of *Nyae Nyae*, and fall in others. In normal years, *mangetti*'s in the north may become available earlier in the season than those of the western forests. Because of the flexibility of band composition, the bands gathering *mangetti*'s in such a favored area are enlarged by people who would otherwise have to wait.

This is usually a temporary situation, the newcomers having more the status of guests than members of the bands. Often, whole bands—headman and all—will visit kin in this manner. During years of dessication, the fact that a person has several choices of bands in which to live becomes vital to him—he can move from a hopeless place to perhaps a better one.

BY such means, balance works out between the desert's resources and the numbers and distribution of !Kung who exploit them. No one district or *mangetti* forest could support more than a limited number of people. Only certain people possess the necessary kinship qualifications to join a band. The flexibility of their

[p. 87]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

182 A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties
312 which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters
[161] them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival,
[648] for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in
the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been
134 comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity
and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

137 Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still
[222] have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again
to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-
[224] sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage
[262] organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre
content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

224 Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not
[411] necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

101 LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bush-
197 men cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking
[829] Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local group-
[184] ings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within them-
[621] selves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band
[622] composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

101 The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a
131 group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ŏassi* and who live in the
[192] Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or *tsi*, the men always ac-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

in several different bands, and they may choose among them. A band that 628
owned comparatively good resources would tend to attract more members 166
than a band with scant veldkos. This flexibility of residence pattern is one [621]
of the reasons that one finds the bands of the interior of the Nyae Nyae re- [182]
gion relatively in balance with their resources, and varying in size.

WATER • Two or more bands may share the ownership of a water hole. 312
Water holes keep their own rough population balance because, if water is 361
very scarce, people will go to live elsewhere when they have the possibility of [423]
doing so.

In the interior of this region, in roughly 8000 square miles, there are three water holes that can be called really permanent. In the driest years these do not fail. Four others dry up only in years of severe drought. Six more are semipermanent: in a very good year they may yield a little water right through, but in a dry year they are sure to dry up. When the semipermanent [62]
water holes go dry, the bands who own them may break up temporarily and the families may go to live with relatives who are at permanent water holes, or they may go as whole bands to another water hole where they have relatives.

Water is not owned as exclusively or as jealously as veldkos. Water 312
seems to belong more to mankind, as the animals do, and the ownership of 423
water holes emphasizes more the managing than the withholding of the water. The headman controls the water. His permission should be asked by travelers [622]
or visitors before taking water, "because he knows what he has and what can be done," we were told. We saw small temporary water holes marked with bundles of grass thrust into forked sticks. This was to tell visitors or travelers that the owners of the water hole were in residence, as it were, and were counting on the water. We believe that in these circumstances water would not be taken without permission. Occasions are not likely to arise where permission need be refused. The !Kung know where the others are, or are likely to be, at a given time and know how much water is available. They plan better than to get themselves into desperate situations.

One source of water appears to be owned by individuals. It is the rainwater that collects in hollow mangetti trees. The water in trees is not stolen by others who go to gather in the same mangetti forest. Water, incidentally, [27]
is the only beverage of the !Kung in the interior of the region. They have no alcoholic drinks and use no infusions of herbs.

HUNTING AND MEAT SHARING • !Kung hunting regulations do not confine 224
the hunters to territories. The game animals belong to no one until they are shot, and the hunters may follow them anywhere the spoor leads and may cross the territorial boundaries of any band. If hunters have made a kill in [43]
the territory of a neighboring band, they would not fail to give a present of

121 (George Silberbauer) was already conducting research among the Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

After DeVore's return to Harvard in September, the author surveyed the Ngamiland situation and found that the Bushman population in the northwestern sector satisfied our research requirements.

161 312 621 224 222 648 In October, 1963, there were about 430 Bushmen living at nine waterholes in the !Kangwa administrative district. Over 70% of these people were organized into bands and depended on hunting and gathering for their subsistence. Although some 340 Bantu lived in the district they had not established a lord-client relationship over the Bushmen. This feudal type of social system exists elsewhere in the Kalahari but not in 114 the !Kangwa district. The author was the first white person to live in the district. The Marshall expeditions had touched the western edge of the district but had centered their research at /Gautscha, a camp about 40 miles west of our area.

The main field station was set up at Dobe, a small waterhole in Bechuanaland, two miles east of the Bechuanaland - South West Africa border. The author conducted research here for twelve months, except for intervals of work elsewhere in the Kalahari and study periods in Livingstone, Johannesburg, Windhoek and Capetown.

In October, 1964, Irven and Nancy DeVore joined the author

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

162 working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in
131 Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield
464 as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen
648 of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life.
224 (Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated at 200.

161 This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of
162 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty
224 percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more
222 reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely
[114] that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

162 The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial
224 and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-
222 gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most
178 isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with
184 their European and Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of
[221] the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend
[648] part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent
[312] to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share
[464] their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the
[233] young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds on a contract basis.

000 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

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this area is waterless and uninhabited. In the center is a ring of pans and a series of waterholes which support at present a population of 1,200 !Kung Bushmen. They occupy an area of about 3,500 square miles (70 miles from east to west x 50 miles from north to south). This central complex of water sources is surrounded by a belt of waterless, uninhabited country that varies in width from sixty miles, on the east and north, to over one hundred miles on the west and south. Access to the interior is limited. One line of wells links Tsumkwe in the interior with Grootfontein on the west.

[491] Two rarely used motor tracks join the interior with the Okavango swamp to the east. A police patrol road cut in 1954-55 runs from south to north along the B.P./S.W.A. border. The maximum vehicle speed obtainable on these tracks is 20 mph [177] and trucks pass through about once a month. The difficulty of the terrain, the lack of farming potential, and the scarcity of water have deterred European and Bantu penetration of the area.

[114] The distinction between periphery and interior has been applied to the country of the central !Kung by John Marshall (1957) and Lorna Marshall (1960:327ff). The present usage differs from that of the Marshalls. They applied the term "interior" to the Nyae Nyae ring of pans and regarded the waterholes at /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa as peripheral. Since

Since the Nyae Nyae peoples are closely linked genealogically to the peoples of /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa, and since their several territories are surrounded by an uninhabited belt 60-100 miles in width, it seems more useful to include all the central water sources under the term "interior" and consider all the other river dwelling and farm !Kung as peripheral (see Map 7, p. 37).

This description of the subsistence ecology of !Kung Bushmen therefore concerns the interior !Kung of the central dialect division. It is not to be taken as representative of the !Kung in general, the great majority of whom are today living on European farms or working closely with Bantu.[1] It was pointed out in Chapter I that the selection of a study site was dictated by the necessity of finding a Bushman population living traditionally and independently. It was realized at the outset that such a population was not typical of the majority of !Kung.

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[1] A further stricture must be applied to the !Kung of the interior. In 1960 a Government Station was built at Tsumkwe, S.W.A. Since then the 800 interior !Kung on the South West African side of the border have settled there and are receiving instruction in agriculture. The 400 !Kung on the Bechuanaland side of the border have not been permitted to participate in this program. Therefore, during the period of the present study, only the interior !Kung in Bechuanaland were leading a year-round hunting and gathering way of life.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

III. THE DOBE AREA: ITS PEOPLES AND HISTORY

[3] Dobe, a small waterhole on the South West Africa/
[114] Bechuanaland border, ninety miles west of Nokaneng, B.P., was the location of the author's main field camp. The term, "Dobe area", as used in this report refers to the country
[3] within a thirty mile radius of the Dobe well. This includes the eleven permanent waterholes which support the entire population of Bushmen and Bantu in the Bechuanaland sector
[224] of the !Kung interior. The Dobe area also includes a large
[222] tract of ground in South West Africa where Bechuanaland Bushmen traditionally go to hunt and gather. It does not include the Nyae Nyae pans, /gam and Tsumkwe in South West Africa, or the more distant waterholes at n!aun!au, at !audum, or at Tsodilo Hills in Bechuanaland (see Map 8).

Dobe is not the cultural or administrative center of the settlements of the interior !Kung. On the contrary, Dobe is the most isolated of the waterholes on the Bechuanaland side. The term "Dobe area" is applied here simply as a matter of convenience.

To reach the Dobe area by truck, one drives west from the Batawana town of Nokaneng which is situated on the western edge of the Okavango swamps. After traversing uninhabited country for 67 miles the traveller arrives at

131 [133] !goše, the first waterhole of the area. Continuing southwest from !goše the motor track parallels the course of a dry river bed called the !angwadum for 23 miles until it meets

131 312 the South West Africa border track. Along this route from !goše to the border one passes the waterholes of Kamburungu, !angwa matse, !angwa, Bate, Kathikona, Mahopa, !Kabe, and !ôbai. Each of these wells supports Bushman groups and Bantu cattle posts. Following the border track north from its intersection with the !angwadum one can reach Dobe which supports a resident population of Bushmen but no Bantu.

[133] Turning south from the intersection, one crosses the low ranges of the Aha Hills which are usually uninhabited and arrives after 25 miles at /ai/ai, a large waterhole with over one hundred Bushmen.

131 361 All these centers of habitation lie to the east and south of Dobe. To the north, the nearest settlement is n!aun!au at a distance of 40 miles and, to the west, the nearest settlement is Tsumkwe, 35 miles away (see Map 8).

131 312 [161] Eight naturally occurring waterholes support the bulk of the Dobe area population which in November, 1964, stood at 763 people. There were 433 Bushmen residents, all but one

[563] of them members of the !Kung tribe. There were 340 Bantu, eighty-five percent of whom were of the Herero tribe. The remaining Bantu were Batawana, Mbukushu and Bayei.

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563 The waterholes and their respective Bushman and Bantu populations are listed in Table 2.

!Kung group structure

621
166 The definition of the !Kung living arrangements presented the most difficult problem of the field study. The !Kung were found to be living most frequently in camps that numbered from ten to thirty individuals. But the composition of these camps changed from month to month and from day to day.

The task of defining the stable membership units was complicated by the following factors:

1. the frequent shifts of individuals and families from one camp to another,
[574] 2. the high incidence of visiting between camps,
3. the presence of long-term visitors from outside the Dobe area,
4. the Dobe area residents who were living elsewhere on extended visits, and
[563] 5. the intermarriage and co-residence of Bushmen with Bantu.

These complications are in addition to the routine changes in group structure brought about by births, deaths, post-marital residence, and the seasonal subsistence cycle.

It became evident that flexibility is the basic premise
[121] of !Kung group structure. It would therefore be inappropriate to try to impose a formal model of organization on the data,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

TABLE 2

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The Numbers and Distribution of the Bushman and Bantu Populations of the Dobe Area

Name of Waterhole and Location	Population Bushman	Population Bantu
1. !gose -- 23 miles east of Dobe	62	18
2. !angwa -- 13 miles east of Dobe	36	49
3. Bate -- 12 miles southeast of Dobe	45	21
4. Mahopa -- 7 miles east of Dobe	42	65
5. !Kabe -- 3 miles east of Dobe	8	12
6. !ubi -- 5 miles south of Dobe	52	65
7. /ai/ai -- 27 miles south of Dobe	109	67
8. Dobe	36	--
Three other wells, dug in recent years by the Bantu, support the remainder of the population:		
9. Kathikona -- 10 miles east of Dobe	1	8
10. !angwamatse -- 17 miles east of Dobe	9	23
11. Kamburungu -- 19 miles east of Dobe	1	12
TOTALS	401[1]	340

[1]The total of 433 is arrived at by the addition of 32 !Kung who were outside the Dobe area at the time of the census.

621
166 such as the patrilineal band or composite band models current
121 in the literature (Steward 1955, Sahlins 1959, Service 1962).

121 An account of the situation at one waterhole will serve
621
312 to illustrate some of the dynamic processes at work in !Kung
621 group structure. At Dobe in October, 1963, there were two
312 camps, one with 28 members, the other with ten members. In
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162 December, 18 members of the larger camp left on an extended
161 visit to Tsumkwe and the remaining ten people made a joint camp with the smaller group to form a camp of twenty people. In January, 1964, these two segments split up and abandoned Dobe altogether. The waterhole remained unoccupied until May, 1964, when the two segments recombined and were joined by 22 other people, who came in from five other camps. This group of 42 people wintered at Dobe in one camp. Then, in August the camp split up into a camp of twelve and a camp of 24. Six of the 22 people who had wintered at Dobe returned to other camps while 16 of these people remained at Dobe. The two Dobe camps (of twelve and 24) remained approximately stable for the remainder of the study (i.e. until January, 1965).

621 Thus at different times of the year the population of
312 Dobe was counted as follows:
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October 1963	38 people in 2 camps
December 1963	20 people in 1 camp
Jan.-April 1964	nil.
May 1964	42 people in 1 camp
Aug. 1964 to Jan. 1965	36 people in 2 camps

621 Similar variations in group structure were observed at
• 312 all the waterholes of the Dobe area. However, despite these shifts in the size and composition of camps there were two lines of evidence that indicated stability. First, there was a generally acknowledged nucleus of permanent territorial residents at each waterhole. Second, when camps split up they did so consistently along the same lines of fission. The presence of these two regularities provides a basis for a preliminary account of the living arrangements of !Kung Bushmen. The complete documentation and analysis of group structure will be presented in a later paper.

[125] The starting point for this account is a single complete census of the Dobe area made by the author in November, 1964. This was a good time for a census because it is the period of
[221] the year when the camps are most stable. It was the end of the dry season when most of the Bushmen were restricted to their permanent waterholes.

621 This census showed a total population of 433 Bushmen
161 divided among 35 living units. This figure of 433 includes
162 ten individuals who died in the year preceding the census, and 32 others who were away from the area at the time of the census, so that the total number of Bushmen who were actually physically present in the area in November, 1964, was 391. The majority of the people (311 individuals, 72% of the total) were living in 15 independent hunting and gathering bands.

621 territoriality and band membership are closely linked they will be discussed together in Chapter VII.

621 312 16 A note on the history of each waterhole during the period 1963-64 will serve to illustrate some dynamic features of group structure.

1. <u>!goše</u> - There were three bands living at this waterhole at the time of the census, numbering 12, 19, and 22 individuals, respectively. These three bands had lived in one large camp from 1961-64. In mid-1964, they split into four bands. One group of 13 went to Nokaneng on an extended visit. The other three bands, totalling 53 people, remained at !gose. The territorial nucleus of the three bands that remained consisted of the descendents of one very old woman and her three nephews.

2. <u>!anqwa</u> - One band of 22 individuals was living here. The nucleus of this group included again a very old woman, her daughter and her son. Most of the members of the group were siblings of the daughter's husband. This band made a common camp with the members of the Batawana headman's staff. In July, 1964, they set up an independent camp.

3. <u>Bate</u> - One band of 21 members was living here. The nucleus consisted of two old women who were sisters and the two married offspring of these sisters. The remainder of the band consisted of affines of the sisters' children. In

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late 1964, this entire band left Bate and shifted to !Xabe, a waterhole about seven miles away.

4. Mahopa - In 1964, there were no bands at this waterhole although some 43 Bushmen lived here in Bantu villages.

5. !Xabe - No band had lived here for several years until the group arrived from Bate.

6. !ubi - One band of 52 members was living here. The nucleus consisted of an old man and his two sisters. The old man and 31 other members of this band alternate yearly between Tsumkwe, South West Africa, and !ubi, Bechuanaland. They appeared to be in the process of shifting permanently out of the Dobe area. The two sisters and 18 other people continued to live at !ubi.

7. /ai/ai - In November, 1964, there were five bands here with 9, 12, 17, 27, and 30 members, respectively. Each band has a nucleus of an old man or woman and their married offspring. In October, 1963, most of these people were living in one large camp of 83 members. In 1964, this camp broke up into six smaller groups. One group went south to /gam and five groups remained. In addition, a number of people came from /gam to live at /ai/ai, thus producing the present situation of five camps totalling 95 individuals.

8. Dobe - There were two bands here of 12 and 24 people, respectively. The territorial nucleus consisted of

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an old man and his sister. When the two Dobe groups divided, the old man and his two married children went one way and the old woman and her three sons went the other.

The remaining two bands were living outside of the Dobe area at the time of the census. One of them was the band of 13 from !goše that had gone to Nokaneng. The other was a group of 19 individuals who came from South West Africa to spend the summer of 1963-64 in the Dobe area and had returned to Tsumkwe in May, 1964.

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These brief notes indicate the extent to which bands coalesce and split, change waterholes and move in and out of the Dobe area. It does not take into account the corresponding

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shifts made by individuals and families. In light of the above it is doubtful whether the use of the term "band" is legitimate in the context of Bushman group dynamics. The "band" may turn out to be an artifact of the observer's sampling technique and his theoretical preconceptions (see Chapter VII). Among the !Kung, for example, it appears that the cohesive social units are the extended families that make up the larger aggregations that have been called bands. This does not imply that the !Kung have what Steward (1955) called a "family level of organization" since the !Kung consistently live in aggregations of two to ten or more families. Until a complete analysis of the data is carried out, it would

137 The major trees of the dune association are:

Ricinodendron rautanenii[1]

Burkea africana

Pterocarpus angolensis

Baikiaea plurijuga

Terminalia sericea

Other important constituents include:

Combretum mechowianum

Bauhinia macrantha

Ximenia caffra

Strychnos pungens

S. spinosa

Guibourtia coleosperma

[262] Ricinodendron rautanenii (the mongongo nut), the major food of the Dobe area Bushmen, is found only on the crests of [312] the fixed dunes. Because of the loose nature of the soils there is no standing water on the dunes at any season of the year. The only source of water on the dunes is the rain water which collects in the crotches of the mongongo trees from November to March. Although the volume of water stored is minute, the proximity of the supply to the nut groves makes this an important source of water for the Bushmen.

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[1]The common tree species were identified with the aid of Miller (1952).

137 These include:

Combretum imberbe

Hyphaene ventricosa

Dichrostachys glomerata

Grewia flava

The most important food plants of the Molapo association are:

Adansonia digitata

Hyphaene ventricosa

Grewia flava

Citrullus lanatus var. vulgaris

312 The molapo zones, being the lowest parts of the landscape, contain all the sources of permanent and seasonal standing water.

The permanent waterholes are confined to main river bottoms where the limestone is exposed. Most of these waterholes are natural fissures in the rock, but all have been improved and maintained either by the Bushmen themselves or the Bantu cattle herders.

The seasonal waters that exist for one to six months of each year are found both in the main river bottoms and in the dune interstices where local drainage patterns produce a catchment. These latter vary in size from small depressions 25 feet in diameter and a few inches deep, which hold water

312 for a few weeks after heavy rains, to great ponds up to 400 feet long which may hold water several months after the rains have ceased.

134 137 III. The 'Flats' Association: Intermediate in elevation between the dunes and the molapos are plains of buff to white compacted sands. These plains or flats support a vegetation which has affinities to both the dune and molapo associations. It also contains species that are not found elsewhere.

The flats may be divided into two intergrading types on the basis of soil differences:

a) looser buff sands supporting species that extend into the dune association and also several other diagnostic species.

b) compacted white sands supporting species that extend into the molapo association as well as several other diagnostic species.

III. a) Flats of loose sand have the following diagnostic species:

Lonchocarpus nelsii

Acacia giraffae

A. gilletiae

A. fleckii

as well as:

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vegetation and water.

133 Map 13 shows the physiography of the Dobe area. The area
• 312 enclosed is approximately 2,700 sq. miles. The large river course (upper right) flows from west to east (it runs about once in ten years) and contains four of the eight permanent natural waterholes in the area. Three additional waterholes are located on limestone flats within a few miles of the main course. The eighth waterhole is in the large molapo at the southern edge of the map. In addition, there are three small wells which have been dug by the Bantu in recent years. All are situated in the main !angwa molapo.

Six interdune molapos are shown by single black lines. The waters of three of these may reach the main river in flood years. In most years, however, they fill internal drainage basins only. The directions of flow are indicated by the arrows. Five of the larger summer waters are represented
133 as open circles in the molapos. The map shows clearly how the main molapos and the hills interrupt the east-west parallel orientation of the dunes. The areas not represented as dunes, molapos, or hills are flats and transitional vegetation zones. It will be noticed that west of Dobe the flats extend in a broad band 10 miles deep on either side of the molapo. Elsewhere the flats form narrow belts between the dunes and molapos.

Map 13 will be used in subsequent chapters as a base map

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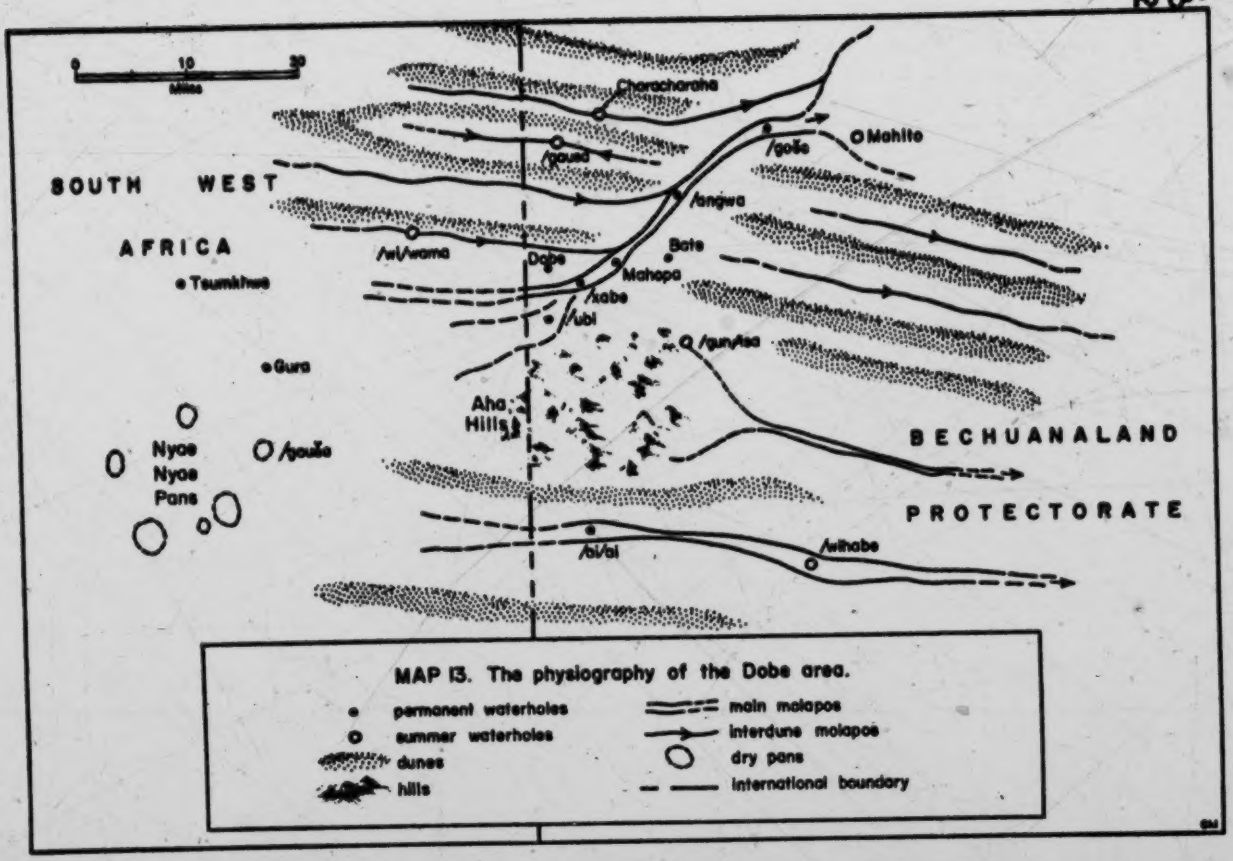

MAP 13. The physiography of the Dobe area.

- permanent waterholes
- summer waterholes
- dunes
- hills
- main molapos
- interdune molapos
- dry pans
- international boundary

132 805 dates of onset and termination of the main rains. For instance, in 1963-64, the major rains were concentrated in an eight-day period in late November and early December and were very light during the next three months. In the following rainy season, 1964-65, the major rains came later. They were only just beginning when we left the study area in [137] January, 1965. During the period of the main rains, the [312] major summer foods (fruits, berries, melons) make their [262] appearance, and there is standing water in the molapos far from the permanent wells.

3. ≠obe (autumn) -- The autumn season is brief. In [312] 1964, it fell in April after the rains had ceased. The weather remains warm and the high evaporation rates rapidly dry out the pools of summer water.

4. :gum (winter) -- This cold dry season extends from May through August. It is heralded by a sharp drop in nightly temperatures and during 1964 the Dobe area experienced six weeks of freezing or near-freezing nights in June and July. The days are clear and, by tropical standards, cool, often characterized by strong dessicating winds from the south and west with gusts estimated at up to 40 knots. [312] Water is available only at the permanent wells and plant foods [262] become increasingly scarce as the season progresses.

5. :gã (early spring) -- This season begins in late

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[262]

August with a rapid increase in daily temperatures and ends in October or November with the onset of the first rains. It is a hot dry period during which water and food supply reach their annual low levels. However, the increasing day-length appears to prepare the flora and fauna for the season of reproduction which is triggered by the first rains.

Rainfall

Until 1961 there was no weather station in the central !Kung interior. In that year a rain gauge and other recording instruments were established at Tsumkhwe, South West Africa, a government station 35 miles west of Dobe. The data from this station are not available to the author. The only other sources of rainfall data are the author's fifteen-month series of measurements made at Dobe (1963-64) and the long-term records from stations on the periphery of the Kalahari. The peripheral stations and their rainfall are listed below:

South West Africa

Epukiro - (200 miles southwest of Dobe) - 13.2 inches per annum.

Grootfontein - (200 miles west of Dobe and 1,000 feet higher in elevation) - 17.3 inches per annum.

Bechuanaland Protectorate

Ghanzi - (175 miles south of Dobe) - 18.5 inches per annum.

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824 nutritious.[1]

It should be added that meat is considered by all the Bushmen as a primary food. Informants agreed that an ideal diet should consist primarily of meat and mongongo nuts. In actual practice this ideal is not always attained.

II. Major foods - After Ricinodendron there are eight species that Bushmen consider as major foods but none of these rate high on all five criteria of desirability. There are three species which are superabundant in quantity and delicious to the taste, but are available for only a short period of the year. They flourish during the rains but by winter, three months later, they have become shrivelled and dried out. The three summer species are: Grewia flava, the morethlwa berry; Ximenia caffra, the sour plum; and Citrullus [312] lanatus, the famous Tsama melon. The latter species also serves as an alternative source of water but this is not important in terms of food strategy because the season of Tsama melons coincides with the season of abundant standing water. Among the /gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, the Tsama melon is a more important source of water because it

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[146] [1] The nut of Ricinodendron has been chemically analyzed (quoted in Watt and Breyer-Brandwijk 1962:428). The kernel of the nut was found to yield 60%, by weight, of a quick-drying fixed oil, rich in proteins. The fruit of the nut, which is also eaten by the !Kung Bushmen, yielded, among other constituents, 31% saccharose and 7.9% protein.

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Bauhinia esculenta, the "Tsi bean", ranks with Ricinodendron as the primary food of the Nyae Nyae Pan area (L. Marshall 1965), where both the beans and roots are eaten. In the Dobe area, however, this species of Bauhinia has a spotty distribution. In order to reach the large groves, the Dobe area Bushmen must travel long distances to the borders of the Nyae Nyae area. Because of this factor, the "Tsi bean" is not popular in the Dobe area, where the alternative primary food, Ricinodendron, is locally abundant.

[312] The last of these eight major species is, in a sense, the most important, not because of its abundance or its food value (it is neither plentiful nor nutritious) but because of its water storage properties. This is the plant, Fockea monroi, the root of which may contain up to a pint of water. At the end of the dry season when food has become exhausted within a walking radius of the permanent waterholes, people often move into the waterless bush where food is still plentiful. Here they are able to live for one or two weeks by digging out and drinking the juice of the Fockea roots.

It may be useful to think of Ricinodendron and Fockea as the "alpha" and "omega" of the Bushman food plants. The first, Ricinodendron, is the food that carries the Bushmen through the months and years, while the second, Fockea, is the critical plant that enables the Bushmen to eat well through

VII. LAND UTILIZATION

361 During 1963-64, the Dobe area was divided into nine territories within which the 15 independent camps were operating. These nine territories together covered about two-thirds of the total area (see Map 14).

361 312 There was not a direct relationship between the number of permanent waterholes, the number of territories and the number of independent groups. Although all of the independent groups had access to a permanent water, some of the permanent waters supported several groups, while at other permanent waters independent groups were lacking.

The number of territories and number of groups at each waterhole is shown in Table 6.

[222] At !goše there were four camps but all these camps moved within the same collecting areas. Similarly, for part of the time, there were two camps at Dobe but both camps utilized the same groves of nut trees and the same summer waterholes.

On the other hand, at /ai/ai three of the five camps had their own territories, while two of the camps shared a territory. The jointly occupied territory lay to the north of the /ai/ai waterhole, and the three other camps operated to the west, to the south, and to the east of /ai/ai, respectively.

At the !angwa, Bate, and !ubi waterholes, the situation

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 136]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

TABLE 6

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The number of camps and the number of territories based on each of the permanent waterholes in the Dobe area.

Name of Waterhole	No. of Independent Camps	No. of Territories
1. :goše	4	1
2. :angwa	1	1
3. Bate	1	1
4. Mahopa	0	0
5. :xabe	0	0
6. :ubi	1	1
7. Dobe	2	1
8. /ai/ai	5	4
	14[1]	9

[1]The 15th independent group had its permanent waterhole at Tsumkhwe, outside the Dobe area.

361
312 was simple. Each waterhole supported one independent camp and each camp had its own territory.

Two of the waterholes, Mahopa and !xabe, lacked independent camps and therefore were not part of a territory.

[648] The Bushmen who drank at these waterholes lived in Bantu
[222] villages. They collected food in the adjacent territories of other camps such as Dobe !ubi and !angwa (see Map 14).

361 The sharing of a single territory by two or more camps
602 reflected the close kinship ties between the camps. This was obvious at Dobe where the leaders of the two camps were a brother and sister who often brought their two groups
[562] together to make a common camp. It was also obvious at !goše where the four camps were led by descendants and collaterals of one old woman. In previous years these four independent groups at !goše had lived in one large camp.

361 The territorial arrangements of the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen, like their group structures, were extremely flexible. Most territories overlapped with one or more adjacent territories. The boundaries of territories were vaguely defined and there were areas between territories which were not claimed by any of the camps. The Bushmen did not conceive of territories as areas of exclusive occupation. The concept of territorial defense was lacking. Each territory consisted, in the words of Mrs. Marshall, of "a waterhole and a side" (L. Marshall 1960:334). This point is illustrated in Map 14.

361 Each of the groups moves in a "direction" from its waterhole.
• 312 For instance, the Dobe people move to the west and north, the !angwa people move to the northwest, and the !gose people move to the east.

361 The concept of territoriality as applied to the Bushmen differs from the concept used by zoologists in discussing the spatial arrangements of animals. The zoological usage refers to the exclusive use of space, by an organism or group of organisms who defend this space against competing members of the same species (Bourlière 1964:94-100).

By contrast the Bushmen groups do not defend boundaries and members of all groups travel freely between camps. However, land utilization is not at all a random phenomenon.
[222] The Bushmen population is organized into land-holding units,
[224] and the members of a unit tend to spend the greater part of the year hunting and gathering within a specific area.

Thus, in the context of this study, the term "territory" refers to <u>the area within which an independent camp moves during the annual subsistence cycle</u>.

361 The locations and spatial configurations of territories
824 are determined by the distribution of water and food resources.
[312] Each territory has within it a permanent waterhole, one or more seasonal water sources, and one or more mongongo nut forests. Every territory includes, in addition, a selection

311 area of each territory.

[312] Second, the area and shape of an individual territory is
[824] influenced by the distance between the important resources within it, such as water sources and mongongo nut forests. It is these point resources and not the spaces between them that are the significant features of the landscape.

Third, territories overlap each other and there is disagreement as to the ownership of these overlapping areas. Most Bushmen say that these areas are owned by all, which means, in effect, that they are owned by no one.

Each of these features will be discussed in detail.

1. Hinterland - It was mentioned earlier that the Dobe area
[312] was surrounded by a belt of uninhabited country. Except for a few summer months there is no standing water in this belt and, as a consequence, the Dobe area people rarely bother to hunt and gather within it. This outer belt is not lacking
[136] in food resources, however. Surveys of the country by Land-
[137] Rover indicate that the game and plant foods there are even more abundant than they are within the traditional territories. Why then are these resources so infrequently utilized?

311 The answer lies in the fact that the Bushmen can usually
312 satisfy their annual subsistence requirements within a radius
361 of 15-20 miles from their permanent waterholes. Whenever possible the Bushmen prefer to make their camp sites at

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312 standing water sources. Since the number of these water
361 sources is limited, it follows that the areas around the water sources will be the most intensively utilized. The Bushmen know how to live on alternative sources of moisture such as Fockea monroi but only resort to this subsistence strategy for a week or two at a stretch.

It is a good rule of thumb for the Dobe area that the intensity of utilization of land varies inversely with the distance from standing water sources. Since a Bushman group
311 must spend the six dry months of the year at its permanent
312 waterhole, it is not surprising that the area within a walking
361 radius of this waterhole is intensively utilized. Similarly,
221 since the Bushmen spend three months of the year at the large summer water sources, the areas within a walking radius of these water sources is also intensively utilized. During the brief period in December or January when there is standing water at many localities, the Bushmen can utilize areas that lie beyond a walking radius of the major water sources.

These three levels of intensity of utilization are illustrated schematically in Map 15. This scheme disregards for the moment the actual pattern of distribution of food resources peculiar to each territory. The shaded circles enclose all of the areas that are within a six mile radius of a permanent waterhole. These are the only areas that can be reached by

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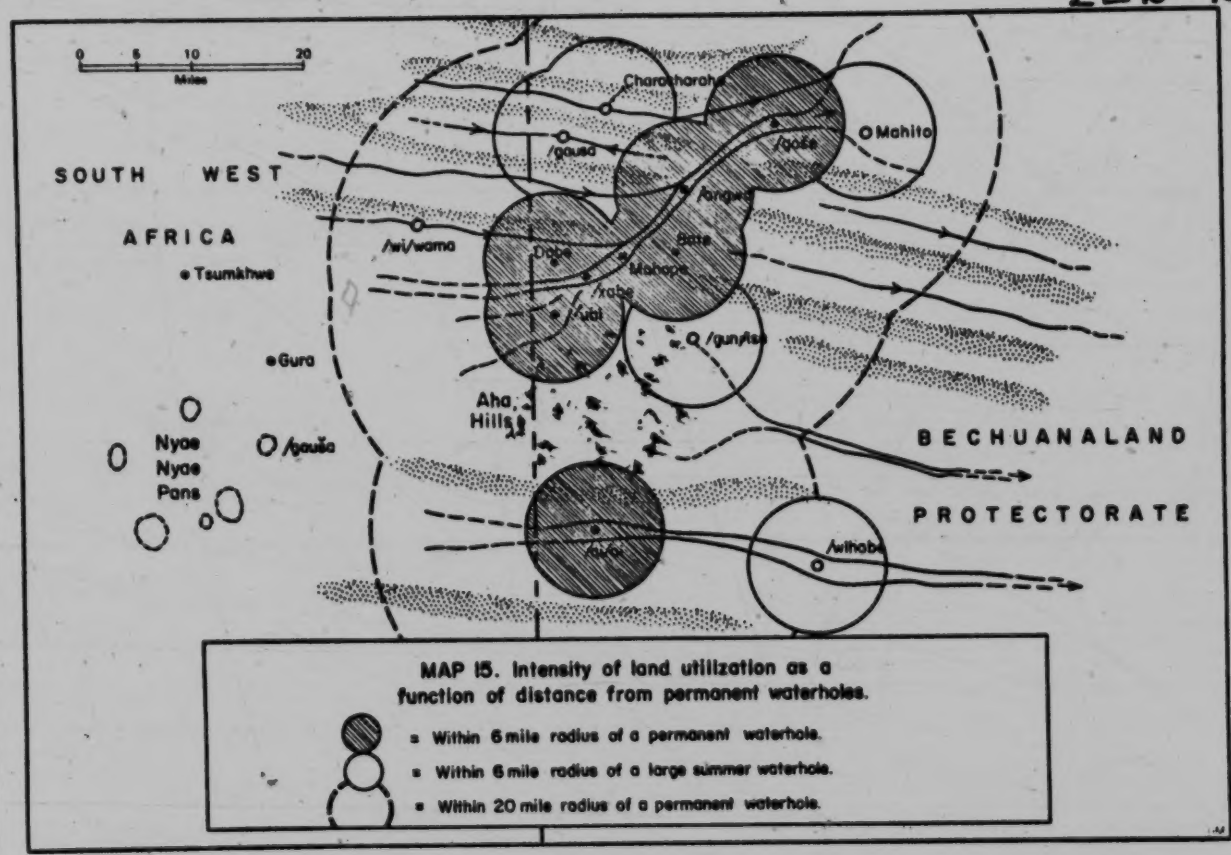

MAP 15. Intensity of land utilization as a function of distance from permanent waterholes.

- Within 6 mile radius of a permanent waterhole.
- Within 6 mile radius of a large summer waterhole.
- Within 20 mile radius of a permanent waterhole.

311 a round trip hike of 12 miles or less.
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361 The distance of 12 miles was chosen for this illustration,
221 because this was close to the maximum distance that the Bushmen were willing to walk in a single day of food gathering. In the previous chapter it was mentioned that Bushmen hunters and gatherers do not stay away from their camps overnight. Therefore an individual hunter or gatherer will confine the day's activities to within a limited radius of his or her camp. These expressed preferences set the limits on the size of the winter areas of intense utilization.

A similar situation exists in the areas that are within a six mile radius of the main summer water sources. These are represented on Map 15 as unshaded circles. These further areas are intensively utilized during the summer months.

These areas of intensive utilization are surrounded by a belt of country that lies within a twenty mile radius of the permanent waterholes. Twenty miles was the average maximum distance from permanent water that the Bushmen were observed to range. This belt is enclosed by a dotted line in Map 15. It should be noted that the Bushmen groups spent on an average less than one month of the year working these areas. The great majority of their time was spent closer to the standing water sources.

311 The Dobe area Bushmen were not observed to make camps
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311 beyond the area enclosed by the dotted line, and this line
361 therefore accurately represents the total utilizable space of the Dobe area.

311 2. Point resources - In Map 15, the picture of land utili-
• 312 zation was simplified by omitting the actual patterning of
361 food resources. In fact, the extent and configuration of
824 the intensively utilized areas is influenced by the location of the mongongo nut forests and the distance of these forests from the permanent waterholes. These resources are plotted in Map 16. For instance, in an area where the mongongo nuts within a walking radius of water are sufficient to support a camp throughout the year, a group's territory will be small. However, in an area where the mongongo nuts are less locally abundant, the territory must, of necessity, be much larger.

The people of !goše, for example, are fortunate in having a vast nut forest within a ten mile radius of their waterhole.
[162] The nuts from this forest are abundant enough to support the 62 members of the !gose camp throughout the year. By contrast, the nut forests near Dobe are much less abundant than at !goše.
[162] The 36 members of the Dobe camps have to walk farther (up to 18 miles at the end of the dry season) in order to collect the mongongo nuts. As a result, the effective annual territory of the Dobe people is larger than that of the !goše people, despite the fact that the population of Dobe is smaller than

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 147]

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the population of !gose (this is illustrated in Map 14 as well as in Map 16).

A further example will serve to illustrate how point resources influence the size of territories. It was mentioned above that each territory contains one or more large summer water sources. In most cases these summer waters are less than 12 miles from the permanent waterholes. In one case, however, the summer water is 23 miles distant from the permanent waterhole. The summer water at /wihabe belongs to the group of 27 people that works to the east of /ai/ai (see Map 14). This group lays claim to the land between /ai/ai and /wihabe. But they do not utilize this area in their subsistence activities. Rather they hike through it in order to move from one point resource to another, i.e. from their winter water at /ai/ai to their summer water at /wihabe.

3. Territorial overlap - Territories are so loosely defined by the Dobe area !Kung that certain areas are claimed by none of the camps and consequently are utilized by everyone. Wherever territories adjoin, there is a belt of "no-man's land" for which no one is prepared to make a definite statement of ownership. This uncertainty is usually expressed by informants as follows: "The owners of this land died long ago, today we don't know who owns it."

The Aha Hills illustrate this territorial overlap. The

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[628]

hills hold standing water only during the summer months. During this season, the members of two /ai/ai camps, the !ubi camp, and the Bate camp mingle freely at its water sources. This mingling of groups also occurs at some of the large summer pans such as !gauŠa and čharačharaha where members of different winter groups come together for weeks or even months.

The foregoing discussion has highlighted the flexible nature of !Kung Bushmen territoriality. This flexibility is manifested in the frequency of visiting between waterholes, the vagueness of territorial boundaries and the existence of food areas that are said to belong to nobody.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

VIII. WATER AND THE SEASONAL ROUND

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137 The Kalahari desert is not a food poor area. Most of it is situated between the 10 and 20 inch isohyet and therefore it is marginal for cultivation (without irrigation), but the desert supports a remarkable abundance and variety of edible wild plants which have become genetically adapted to arid conditions.

Geographers have classified the Kalahari as "desert" because of the lack of surface water (Wellington 1955 etc.). This in turn is a function of the sandy terrain which supports surface water only during a brief summer season. In the few localities where the underlying geological formations are exposed, permanent standing water is found. And these point sources of water are usually surrounded by waterless belts of up to 200 miles in width. Edible plants on the other hand are widely distributed both in the immediate vicinity of water and at considerable distances from it. The geographical separation of food and water in certain seasons is the critical problem of !Kung Bushman subsistence.

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This is not a major problem during the rainy season when seasonal standing water may be found in close proximity to the concentrated food resources. Nor is this a major problem during the early winter when food is available around the

312 permanent water sources. Nevertheless for one season every
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433 year Bushmen must face a situation in which major foods and
824 permanent water are a considerable distance apart. How Bushmen arrange their lives to meet this situation will be illustrated by data from the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen.

312 According to the Bushmen, water has always existed in
824 the eight permanent waterholes of the Dobe area. Seven of
222 these waterholes are situated in or near the dry bed of one molapo, the !angwadum. The eighth, 25 miles to the south, is in the bed of another molapo, the /ai/aidum. These molapos lie in the center of a belt of flatlands which varies in width from 5-10 miles. It was pointed out in Chapter IV that the molapos interrupt the basic system of parallel dunes that cover most of the northwestern Kalahari. But it is only on these dunes that the primary Bushman food, the mongongo nut, is found. The result is that each of the eight waterholes is three to seven miles distant from the nearest grove of mongongo nuts. Thus gatherers who are camped at a permanent water must make a minimum daily round trip of six to fourteen miles in order to gather mongongo nuts. As the nearest nuts become exhausted the round trip distance becomes greater and greater, until it reaches a distance that is too far to walk in a day. This distance varies from camp to camp but 12 miles (6 miles out and 6 miles returning) was close to the maximum that the

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824 people were willing to walk in a single day for the purpose
222 of food gathering. In order to exploit food resources further than seven miles from water, the Bushmen feel that it is necessary to make a temporary camp at the food and stay overnight.

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222 The options available to Bushmen facing such a situation are three: 1) they may carry water to the food and live there until their water is exhausted; 2) they may move to the food and dig water-rich roots to satisfy their moisture requirements; or 3) they may wait until rainfall produces standing water nearer the desirable foods.

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147 There are no physiological short cuts to solving the water problem. There is no evidence that the Bushmen's daily water requirements are less than that of other peoples (Wyndham in press; Silberbauer 1965). Like all peoples, the Bushmen must drink water to live and their daily requirements are a function of such factors as ambient air temperature, wind velocity and the work they have to do[1] (Ladell 1958; Adolph et al. 1947).

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[1]Ladell, a physiologist specializing in problems of human life in arid regions has said: "It can be categorically stated that no man of any race, however acclimatized and trained, can survive in a hot desert climate without very liberal supplies of water; there is, and can be, no substitute for water and there is no remedy for its deficiency". (1958:85).

312 221 The availability of water can be regarded as the most important determinant of Bushman subsistence activities. A season by season account of these activities will serve to illustrate how subsistence strategies take maximum advantage of water sources. The annual subsistence cycle is described under six headings:

1. First rains
2. Main rains
3. Autumn
4. Early winter
5. Late winter
6. Spring

1. <u>First rains</u>

The onset of the first rains finds the Bushmen clustered [361] around their permanent waterholes. It is this time of year [574] that camp membership is most stable because all areas are short of food and there are fewer incentives for visiting [132] other camps. Also the weather is hot with mean daily maxima of 100°F and walking is uncomfortable.

312 221 824 Food, in the vicinity of permanent water, is in short supply. Fruits, berries, melons and leafy greens, which appear only during the main rains, are nowhere available. The mongongo nuts are still abundant but are found only at distances of ten or more miles from the permanent waterholes. The diet

312 at the waterholes consists primarily of roots and bulbs of the
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824 genera: Eulophia, Vigna, Walleria, and Coccinia, and the edible sap of Acacia spp. and Terminalia sericea. It is this time of year that the heart of the dwarf vegetable ivory palm is eaten,
[164] (Hyphaene). Those who eat its fibrous pulp experience stomach cramps and diarrhea, but, as the Bushmen say, it make one's "mouth work" and gives one a sensation of a full stomach.

221 Hunting is arduous business in the heat and men who go out in
224 the early morning find it necessary to spend the mid-day hours resting in the shade. The principal animal killed is the springhare.

132 The first rains are convectional thundershowers. Their distribution is spotty. A storm may briefly inundate one area and miss entirely another area only a mile away.

312 The Bushmen observe the storm clouds travelling across
222 the horizon and try to judge where the showers have drenched
[821] the ground. They then set out in family groups in the direction of the rains. If they find that water has collected in the hollows of mongongo trees, they will stay in the nut groves for several days and eat nuts until the water is exhausted. They then fill their karosses with nuts and return to the permanent water. If, on reaching the nut groves, they find that no water has collected they will be forced to fill their karosses with nuts and return to camp the same day. In certain areas

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Round

354
513 this the inmates sleep, each curled up with knees to breast and covered
[291] by the kaross, which thus serves as a cloak by day and a blanket by night. The ashes of this fire are swept up every morning and added
356 to the heap outside. The neighbourhood of the huts is kept fairly clean. Gnawed bones are thrown on a pile, then carried out to the bushes by the women, who also sweep the huts out with a branch, and clean up any mess made by the little children. No dirt is allowed anywhere near the encampment.[1]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. vi; *idem*, *The Naron*, 5.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kgalagadi FV4

B 136 dangerous for us there, so we withdrew. We should have loved to see them, and we were sorry to leave their patch of bush.

K 131 We looked in the open ground near the lions' thicket for 361 signs of Bushmen, but we found none, so we went on over the flat plains and the next day we came to a long dip in the country, forested with small trees, the last place, said Theunis, where anyone except Bushmen lived. It was the rainy-season K village of a few Bakalaharis, a Bantu people who years ago 221 lost all their cattle and went into the desert, where they live a life very much like the life of Bushmen except that they raise goats. During the rains they graze their goats at little posts of theirs, far away in the veld. We set off toward the village, planning to ask the people there if they knew of Bushmen K farther on, but as we went over the ridge and down into the 166 valley we came upon all the villagers walking toward us, driv- 484 ing donkeys and herds of goats, a surprising sight in that lonely country. There were about sixty people in all, tall, K dark-skinned Bakalahari men carrying bows and arrows, fol- [141 482] lowed by their women, who carried heavy bundles on their backs, supported by tumplines around their foreheads, which made their eyes bulge and their lower jaws stick out. Among B [357 482 854] them walked their Bushman servants, old wrinkled men and women, young girls with their babies, lithe young hunters, small, light-skinned, all carrying great loads of household goods belonging to the Bakalaharis, with the youngest Bushman children riding on top of the loads. Some of the Bush- K [492] man boys were driving herds of goats, some of the older Bushman women drove herds of scrubby gray donkeys which were also heavily loaded with bundles of hides, sticks used to build K houses, bags of belongings, and baby goats too young to walk. 484 We were surprised to see them and we stopped. Some of

/136 cont./

142 The tribe at Gam in particular consists almost exclusively of comparatively large people who, even after a thorough washing, display a decidedly darker coloration than the other Auin.

162 According to my observations, there is something like one to two women for each man, and from two to three children for each woman.

162 847 [862] In this connection I would like to mention that newborn children are always killed if the mother is still nursing a child, which continues until about the third year of life. The killing is done immediately after birth by the mother, who buries the newborn child alive. The father has nothing to do with it. Since marital [853] intercourse continues during the nursing period and since this period lasts for about three years, it follows that approximately every third child is reared while those born in the meantime are killed without exception. This might well be a principal factor in the unquestionable decline in the population.

592 595 Since each woman has her special windscreen (hut), the man lives alternately with one and then another of his wives; the latter in turn have their children living with them, and it therefore follows that about three to four persons occupy each hut.

221 ●361 The size of the settlements (villages) is quite indefinite and changes according to the circumstances. During the dry season a settlement is formed usually by one to two families, whereas during the period of ample veld food, in other words, toward the end and shortly after /137/ [map appears here] /138/ the rainy season, sometimes up to 30 families join together to form a "village." In April, 1908, about 400 men were living in a settlement near Sidonitzaub. If their dependents are included, one will arrive at a figure of at least 1,000 persons.

[701] All the men are armed warriors.

161 As has already been noted, one can clearly observe a decrease in the population, which, judging by its rapid progress, can be designated as swiftly approaching extinction. Aside from infanti- [136] cide and malaria, the decrease of wild game may also be given as a reason for the population decline, since this decrease makes food more difficult to obtain. Older Auin state that in former times attacks by lions caused heavy losses.

[Text continues on page 7]

/147 cont./

222 Rosinkis of the Boers
So-called "wild cucumbers"
Mushrooms which grow on termite hills

251 The veld crop that has been gathered is kept in the huts in
[415] little sacks made of duiker or ibex leather.

/148/ The Auin also stores small caches of provisions by burying sacks of veld crops; he likewise buries tschamma or ostrich egg shells filled with water. In the tops of large trees one often finds, aside from animal hides, provisions of veld crops which are kept there. [Fig. 9 appears here.]

423 Land is held in common, that is, it is the common property of a horde consisting of several families. The game in this territory, as well as the wood and the veld crops, is exclusively for the use of the members of the community that holds the land. The watering places that are to be found there are available for general use, but only if water is abundant. If water is scarce, the local group that holds the land has exclusive right to it.

361 The local groups sometimes live at considerable distances
423 from one another so that the same land is used by several settle-
621 ments. The settlements, after all, do not consist of a fixed number of families, but rather of those who are gathered together in fortuitous groupings as the occasion arises. Whatever the accidental composition of the settlements may be, their members always move within a definite area, and it is always the members of the same larger horde who form the settlements.

Friendly hordes permit tracking, that is, game that has been
423 wounded on the land of one horde may be pursued on the territory
619 of a friendly horde. A part of the booty is allotted to the "landowner" within whose territory the game is killed. A definite
[685] agreement is required in each case since the Bushman attacks on sight any strange Bushman on his family's terrain.

Blood vengeance is not sought for a violation of territory if
628 the local groups are especially friendly. The offender is driven off and, in addition, just as in Prussia, his "firearms" and booty are confiscated. The policing of the terrain is done by each Bushman on his communal land.

If women are caught trespassing, they are taken prisoner and
[721] led to the settlement of the owners of the terrain. This frequently leads to war if the women are harmed sexually during their captivity.

[Text continues on page 32]

[26 cont.]

512 from about August 20th to the end of December, the following daily routine is normally observed. Before dawn, it becomes very cold, the people wake up, and the boys stir up the fire and put on it the remains of the evening meal. The old people move closer to the fire and go on sleeping until the sun comes up. Then they have their breakfast, which consists of the remains of the [462] evening meal. The able men now go hunting. The women continue to sit around the fire for awhile and nurse their children. [462] At about 10 o'clock the women and children, as well as the girls, go out in a group to look for veldkost. Almost every woman [482] old enough to bear children carries a child on her back, while a second child often rides on her shoulders. The smaller boys stay at home and help the old people, who get up about an hour later [361] to fetch water. The huts are never located close to the water: 1. because people get sick close to the water; 2. because the lions come there; 3. because the game would be frightened away. The watering place itself is visited quite irregularly, because in disturbed times the enemy lurks there, and occasionally also the police. The male and female doctors go into the bush, usually not very far, alone or only with a disciple, to gather medicine. Around four o'clock in the afternoon the women come back and begin to cook. Around this time, too, the men begin to return with the spoils of the hunt. When the sun goes down, [264] they all sit by the fire and eat. Each family has its own fire. Then some will continue to chat for awhile, while others go to sleep, and gradually it becomes quiet.

[264] They do not eat at noon. From eleven to four o'clock the camp is deserted, and even the old people sleep somewhere in the forest. The hunters and the women collecting veldkost also [27] take a long midday rest during the hot afternoon hours. During the hot season, on the other hand, they set out soon after midnight to hunt and search for veldkost, because later in the day the sand is too hot to walk on.

6. The Divisions of the Year

805 The Bushmen reckon time according to full moons, for example, agreeing to meet after three or four full moons, and

[36 cont.]

Dwellings

342 The dwelling of the Bushman consists of the simple windscreen, semicircular in form and about 150 centimeters high. On [177] several farms, however, even the Bushmen have taken to building beehive huts in the Herero manner. The windscreens in a settle- [361] ment more or less form a circle, and the socha fire is to be found [378] [372] near the windscreen of the village chief. During warm nights the [513] Bushmen do not sleep under the windscreen but outside it.

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Fig. 3. Sticks for Firemaking, Kalahari Bushmen (Museum of Ethnology, Lurich).

[59 cont.]

20. Law

671 627 The norms of natural law among the Bushmen are the same as among us. The family head is at the same time the supreme judge. Since even the nearest kin group is regarded in a sense as a foreign state, however, the boundaries between law, war, and vengeance are exceedingly fluid. The domain of law, therefore, is actually confined to the family. Since the only [681] punishment that can be effectively inflicted is the death penalty, it is rarely applied among married men, [60] for the judges and executioners must provide for the condemned man's survivors. In olden times the women condemned to death were burned or beaten to death with the kirri, and the men were killed with the poisoned arrow.

423 The right to personal possession of utilitarian objects, honey, and certain types of veldkost is strictly respected. The soil is common property of the kin group, as is any big game [224] that is killed. If a wounded animal dies in the domain of the neighboring kin group, the hunter must go there and report it. [578] The dead prey must then be divided. Since, however, there are some unpaired organs, fighting and killing easily arise concern- [627] ing them. Blood vengeance is practiced, but can be resolved through negotiation.

423 614 "Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

[361] "There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 1,000 [sic] kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions, come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

769 614 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's territory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's

/259 cont./

342 are filled with grass. The door is a hole scarcely a meter high;
[354] immediately behind it the fire burns almost continuously, so that, at least for the European, crawling into the hut presents considerable difficulties. Since the Bushmen are often forced to
● [361] move their settlements because of the lack of veld food or because of the water conditions, they not infrequently content themselves with incomplete huts, which are not closed to form a full circle, but represent only a part, a segment of a hut, as it were, and give only scant protection against the sun.

For the rest, it is astonishing how hardened these practically
147 naked Bushmen are against the cold of the night which during the cold season is very sharp -- not infrequently below 0^{0} [centigrade].
[513] Unclothed except for the loincloth, they calmly go to sleep on the cold ground near a small fire, exposed to the icy night air, a thought that gives chills to Europeans, who are unable to sleep without three woolen blankets on such nights.

Concerning the much discussed racial position of the Bush-
144 men, I have already remarked above -- at least concerning the Heikum and Kung -- that their descent from the Hottentots, as is frequently asserted, seems doubtful to me. The Bushmen's smaller size, of course, can be accounted for by the debilitation of the race through centuries-long unfavorable living conditions. What argues against the notion of racial affinity, however, is the anthropological fact that steatopygia is not to be found among the Heikum and Kung women, /260/ and, in addition, the lan-
197 guage is totally different.

I attempted to collect a sample of the vocabulary and some grammatical characteristics of the language of the Heikum on the Omatako and of the Kung in the Kaukau Veld, which I present below. In doing this, it became evident that the languages of the Heikum and Kung are merely dialectically differentiated, while they seem to have almost no relationship to the Nama language. The click sounds, to be sure, are almost the same as
[194] those in the Hottentot language; hence, / designates the dental
[104] click, // the lateral click, ! the cerebral [retroflex] click, and ≠ the palatal click. By ⁝ I designate the sharp opening of the glottis in speaking the initial vowel, which frequently occurs between a consonant and a vowel or between two vowels of the same word, and which does not occur in this fashion in the Nama.

6:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

dangerous.' When they do they use the word *n/oi*. It is a word for gentle rain, and also a respect word. They use it for male rain when they are afraid of it and avoid its real name, */ga /go*.

The rains of the western Kalahari are local, falling from clouds which the winds herd. They may fill one pan and miss another. Laurence Marshall spent one whole night, tentless, in a drenching downpour, to find in the morning that a mile away no rain had fallen. But by and large the rains are sufficient in quantity and well enough dispersed to fill most of the water-holes, pans, and hollow trees, and to revive the growing things, so that the autumn months, which follow the rains, are good—the best of the year. Then the /Kung may travel anywhere within their territories to hunt and gather the fresh veldkos. The rains are life-giving.

Winter is the season of dryness. It is also the season of burning sun in the cloudless sky by day and freezing cold when the sun sets. Bitter winds catch up the sparks of the fires at night and whirl them in blazing streaks into the darkness. If water is left in an open bowl, it may be ice in the morning. By mid-winter, July, there has been no rain for three or four months. The pans and small water-holes are dry. Though there are still foods to be gathered, like the mangetti nuts in the northern forest, there is no water on the route, nor in the white sand dunes where the mangettis grow, and the people cannot carry enough in their ostrich-egg shells to go to the mangettis and return. In 7,500 square miles of the interior of the region around Nyae Nyae, there are only five water-holes which do not dry up in the winter and spring. The /Kung bands must gather around whatever permanent water-hole they belong to and restrict their hunting and gathering trips to conform one way or another to the problem of water. This region, incidentally, does not abound in tsama melons and, though there are succulent so-called 'water' roots to be found, they seem not to be sufficient to support whole bands for long. The Nyae Nyae bands, it appears, cannot, or at least do not, base themselves for long periods away from their water-holes.

The spring months which follow the dry months of winter are the dangerous months. The sun is scorching. Fruits and leaves shrivel; the edible roots, stirred by the few tantalizing drops of the little rains, or just because it is spring, give up their juices to the first new shoots and are dry and bitter to eat. The people longingly await the rains, saying it is the sun which dries the water-holes and the plant foods. The /Kung of this region use one word for both sun and dryness, */kaw*, and say the sun is death-giving.

In their beliefs about *n/ow*,[1] which they think influences the weather, as this paper will describe, they make an antithesis between rain and cold. This seems paradoxical when one experiences the devastating heat of the sun in September, October, and November, but the resolution of the paradox may lie in the fact that the hardships of the dry seasons begin with the rainless winter months and their bitterly cold nights, so that sun, dryness, cold and want become a complex which is in antithesis to rain and plenty. *N/ow* is called 'bad' if it brings cold, 'good' if it brings rain.

Mrs. Hoernlé[2] records a Hottentot belief called */naw*. The word appears to be

[1] We spell the /Kung word *n/ow* in this way because it rhymes with 'how'. We wish to distinguish it from another /Kung word, */naw*, which it closely resembles, but which has a slightly shorter, more closed sound. */Naw* means 'old man', according to Miss Bleek's *Bushman Dictionary*. We heard it used as a term of respect in addressing old men.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., 'Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of */naw* among the Hottentots', *Harvard African Studies*, ii (1918), pp. 75–77.

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people. [423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such, 621 by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-//om*, on the [582 other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the 591] chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out 361 on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the [184] *Hei-//om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial [562] and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and [882 boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away 342] from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various 342 tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a [462] husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations. When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish 166 a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who 342 deposits his household and other effects on the place on which [622] his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated [312] in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

distribution of the rainfall upon which it is mainly dependent for its food supply. 361

The Group Fire.

All fire is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in the werft as fire-making is a matter of serious import and the chief is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune. The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out. As an illustration of this may be cited the practice as it exists among the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha Pan. When among the latter it becomes necessary to move camp, as for example, after a death has taken place, the whole community take up all their goods and chattels and, led by the *geikhoib* (chief), set off in search for a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. The chief then proceeds to the large tree (*!heis*) in the centre and kindles a fire underneath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *//norab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-//ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*!ou-ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-//ais* and the women may fetch fire from the *!ou-//ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-//ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the *!ou-//ais*. The *!ou-//ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-//ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the *!heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new *!ou-//ais* kindled by him by means of the hei-doros.

372 [622] 361 622 [768] 372 372 622 [619]

372 *hei-doros*. The new *!ou-/ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the
361 members of the community may not be living in the *//gāus*
[132] (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case only in times of drought when the game have moved far afield
622 and great difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos.
372 Further, people driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *//gāus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the *!ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.
372 Persistent ill-health among the members of the community
622 or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase
[751 may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after
777] consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the *!ou-/ais* are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new *!ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the hei-doros and applies *!norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it had been.
184 The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire is
372 met with among all the organised primitive groups. Want of space and time does not permit, however, of a detailed account being given of the superstitions which have gathered about this custom among the various tribes.

Family Life

593 Each family within the group occupies its own hut. Children sleep with their parents until they are strong enough to go about by themselves, when the boys join the others under the tree and the girls take up residence in the hut for unmarried girls.

512 The women rise early, light the fire and prepare the food for the morning meal which usually consists of veldkos. After having eaten, the men go out visiting or hunting or engage in some other occupation such as preparing skins, weapons, etc. The women accompany each other in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. When food is obtainable at no great distance they are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have to go far they may not reach home until late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they proceed to prepare food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water. The food is ready by the time the men arrive in the evening and the latter are able to partake of it without delay.

462 There is a sharp division of labour between the men and women of the group. The former do the hunting and snaring of game, prepare the weapons, skins for clothing, snares, fire-

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The Bushmen are one of the most primitive peoples living 105
on earth. Although most of their groups own some metal objects, Bushmen do not smelt or forge metal, but get it in trade 325
from their Bantu neighbors. They use soft metal in the making of a few tools such as knives, arrowheads, and little axes, 439
cold-hammering the metal into shape themselves. Bushmen make the other tools they use from wood and bone, grass and fiber, the things of the veld. They dig roots and pick berries [222]
to eat because they have no crops. The desert is too dry for anything but desert plants to grow naturally, and Bushmen, who quickly consume all the wild food available in one place, cannot stay anywhere long enough to tend crops or wait for them to grow.

There is not enough water to water livestock, and for this [231]
reason Bushmen have no domestic animals. Most of their groups do not even have dogs. Instead of herding, Bushmen hunt wild antelope with tiny arrows, sometimes made of soft, [224-
traded metal, sometimes made of bone, and poisoned with a 278]
terrible poison extracted from a certain grub, a poison which affects the nervous system of a creature and which is so deadly that an antelope shot early in the morning with a single arrow well placed in the body dies within the day. Hunting is very difficult, for travel in the veld is thirsty and rigorous and the antelope are clever, but as often as not the Bushmen hunters shoot one and then they use it all. Most of the meat is dried [251]
to preserve it, causing it to last at least a few weeks, but sooner or later every last bite of it is eaten, even the mucous lining of the nostrils and the gristle inside the ears. They [262]
sometimes eat the hide, sometimes work it into leather to use for clothing, and if the antelope bones are not all [281]
cracked for the marrow, pieces are worked into arrow points to shoot another antelope.

In order to live as they do, Bushmen must travel through 105 361

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105 the veld, changing their abode every few days in search of
361 food. Because of their way of life, they do not need villages to live in, so they rarely bother to build strong scherms, making small domes of grass for themselves instead, just a little shade for their heads, grass which the wind soon blows away. Sometimes they do not even bother with this, but push little sticks into the ground to mark their places. They sleep beside the sticks and arrange their few possessions around them, symbols of their homes.

105 Although Bushmen are a roaming people and therefore
361 seem to be homeless and vague about their country, each
823 group of them has a very specific territory which that group
[621] alone may use, and they respect their boundaries rigidly. Each group also knows its own territory very well; although it may be several hundred square miles in area, the people who live there know every bush and stone, every convolution of the ground, and have usually named every place in it where a certain kind of veld food may grow, even if that place is only a few yards in diameter, or where there is only a patch of tall arrow grass or a bee tree, and in this way each group of people knows many hundred places by name. Even if you are traveling randomly with Bushmen and ask at any time on the journey for the name of the place where you happen to be standing, they will probably be able to tell you. They themselves always like to know exactly where they are.

105 The social structure of Bushmen is not complicated. They
621 have no chiefs or kings, only headmen who in function are virtually indistinguishable from the people they lead, and sometimes a band will not even have a headman. A leader is not really necessary, however, because the Bushmen roam about together in small family bands rarely numbering more than twenty people. A band may consist of an old man and his wife, their daughters, the daughters' husbands, perhaps an

136 the great veld fires had burned away the dry grass farther in the north, causing new green grass to spring up, luring the antelope to come there. We saw fires very near us and we wondered if the Bushmen had followed the game to the north.

361 609 One day we came to a tiny, low forest where we decided to camp for the night. As we searched among the little trees for firewood, we came upon three scherms, three little huts, built by Bushmen and abandoned very recently. The ashes of the fires were still warm. The people who lived there had surely heard us and had run away, leaving many of their possessions behind. We found a pot, burned black from use, a few white beads, a quiver with arrows, and a digging-stick, which is a branch a few feet long with the bark peeled off and the twigs trimmed away, sharpened at one end and used by Bushmen as a spade to break the hard ground when they dig roots. We then found footprints made by the people when they had rushed off in all directions; and later, as we followed the tracks, we even found the prints of hands and knees where someone had crawled hastily across an open place.

411 412 415 301

609 The discovery of these huts made us very hopeful, as we had traveled much farther than we had expected. We felt confident that Gishe, who had been born near our very campsite, would be able to track the people and find them, or that they would be plagued by curiosity and finally visit us. They did not, however; nor did they come back for their possessions, nor was Gishe able to find them. He had been living on a farm for many years and was no longer an expert tracker; and after the night dew had fallen during the evening that we found the werf, the tracks were old.

Of course, it was useless for us to wander around the veld hoping to stumble upon fresh tracks, although we tried the following day without success. We also sent Gishe to look for

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GiKwe

609 Gai on the hood to point the way. From his higher position he noticed the long horns of a gemsbok in the grass and he signaled for the jeep to stop. Then he, John, and Theunis, taking a rifle, slipped out of the jeep and ran off after it, bent over and crouched so low that only their backs showed, as the backs of animals would, gliding above the grass. The gemsbok saw them and ran away toward a patch of heavy bush in the plain, the great V of horns a crown over its head. The men ran after, standing now, and in an hour they came back to where Ukwane and I were waiting, lying on our stomachs under the jeep to be in shade, saying that they had killed it. We drove to the spot where the gemsbok, a female, lay and brought her with us, a present to offer the other Bushmen.

361 We drove for several hours and at last we came to a wide plain, grown over heavily with small trees of slender trunks, with a few short branches sprouting leaves, like fence posts. Gai directed us to one of the smaller trees in the center of the plain and told us to stop. He climbed down and looked around over the veld, then bent and picked up a small pipe, a piece of the leg bone of an antelope. He asked us for a match, lit his pipe, and smoked it.

At last we noticed on the other side of the tree two shallow depressions scooped in the sand and lined with grass, like the shallow, scooped nests of shore birds on a beach—the homes of the families, where the people could lie curled up just below the surface of the plain to let the cold night wind which blows across the veld pass over them.

Other than the depressions, except for a small pile of brown, twisted bean shells, no sign would show that people lived there. Later we saw another scooped pit and a stick thrust upright in the ground beside it, right at our feet, which was Gai's place; the stick was to mark the spot, although Gai

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could have found his shallow pit at any time of the day or night.

Nobody was there; everyone had run away. We sat down and waited while Gai put his hands to his mouth and shouted, trying to summon the people back again. When nobody came or even answered him, he flung his pipe to the ground and marched off to find them among the bushes, alternately shouting to his hidden relatives and muttering to himself, for they might be far away and the day was getting warm.

We sat in the middle ground between the depressions so that we wouldn't risk stepping on or crushing anybody's hidden things, for, without knowing it, a European can in a moment trample through a Bushman's cache, breaking the delicate bone or wooden objects, bending the reed arrows, or crushing eggshell beads. Also, among certain groups of Bushmen, every fire has a man's side and a woman's side, determined by the position of the fire as you face the doorway of the scherm, the man's side being on the right, the woman's on the left. If a man sits on the woman's side, or where a woman has been sitting, he will become impotent and will also lose his power to hunt, and if a woman sits where a man has been sitting, she will get a disease in her vagina. Something intangible, invisible, but dangerously powerful, remains on the ground. We did not know which side was which of this werf's fires, or even for sure where the fires were; we did not even know that the Gikwe had this custom, for we had learned it from Kung Bushmen, but we knew that if they did they would not welcome our contaminating their ground. We would have liked to look around, but the best thing we could do was to keep our big boots and our bodies away from their delicate, fragile, almost invisible community.

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GiKwe

481 well as great loads of melons, all of which we offered again
482 and again to carry for them, but because, they said, they might want to stop for the night or just refresh themselves along the way, they would not part with their bundles.

The place we went to was called Ai a ha'o; it was the pan where we had seen the lion. It took us almost all day to drive there, and shortly after we arrived Dasina and Kutera joined us, having traveled almost as fast as we. Those two old women must have walked at four or five miles an hour all the way, over veld so rough that the trucks couldn't go much faster.

342 Before dark, the Bushman women had built a werf, a clear-
361 ing of grass for each family with a shallow pit to sleep in and a place for the fire, all four clearings under the branches of a
353 single tree which would give them shade in the daytime. On the branches each person hung whatever there was to hang, quivers, skin bags, or aprons, and these things swung in the cold wind. The women gathered firewood and lit their fires,
757 562 and Dasina asked Twikwe to stand on her stomach because she was tired from her long walk and wanted a massage. Before they went to sleep the men and the three young boys
574 577 walked to our camp, about fifty feet away, to say good-night, but the women stayed at home because at night all Bushmen women stay at home. A woman does not even leave her fire to go to her neighbor's fire three feet away because people will say that she doesn't like to stay home; she speaks loudly to her neighbor instead. Bushmen are a rather conservative peo-
[181] ple, and they are very moral in that they keep their own rules.

574 The smoke in the west that Gai had seen when he roasted the tortoise intrigued him very much. Again and again he said that it was people's smoke, and one morning he said he wanted to go over to it, to look for the man who was Wita-

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GiKwe

574 do not meet very often, and when they do the children play
621 together day and night. All the young boys were extremely
857 happy to see each other and expressed their joy by starting their game at once, wasting neither time nor breath to say hello. Before the adults of the visiting band had set their bundles on the ground two little horses with their riders had run past, the riders trying to unseat each other.

574 They played all afternoon and into the evening while the
621 adults went about the business of setting up a camp. I went
361 to the new werf to watch and found that the women had stored away their belongings, stuffing some of their bundles among the tree roots, hanging others from the branches, and were now clearing grass, each woman clearing a small circle for her family. Soon five circles were formed, not quite touching, all sheltered by the branches and all in the space of a few square feet. I helped one woman pull grass, for she was clearing it tuft by tuft, pulling it up with her hands, and as I did this I felt something cold and firm in the grass I was holding, and, looking down, I saw that I was holding an asp. I dropped it, one of the Bushman men ran up to kill it, and one of the
[20] women lifted it between her fingers and placed it in her kaross. Later it would be cooked and eaten by a child.

224 That same afternoon, some of the members of our expedi-
574 tion went hunting and shot a gemsbok, which was brought back to camp and given to Ukwane to divide. This was, perhaps, a great mistake on our part, for Ukwane gave the entire carcass to the newcomers except for the head, one foot, and a little of the liquid from the rumen, which he kept for his own people. Twikwe dug a pit in the veld and roasted the head in it, and that night, while the newcomers were still butchering, drying, and cooking their larger share, the mem-

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Kung

said to be ant lions which at night rise from the bottoms of their little traps of sand.

Since we had lived a year in Nyae Nyae we knew the round of the seasons, which Kung Bushmen say are six in number. We came there in July, in winter and the start of the drought, the coldest season. August was bitterly cold and also dry, but in September the air began to get warmer and heralded the next season, called "little winds before the rain," a season of whirlwinds, drought, and clouds of dust. In October, suddenly and presenting a startling sight, a thorn tree near our camp turned quite green and the heat began to be intense. This was the start of the springtime, the dryest, hottest time of all the year and a time of starvation, for the water in the waterholes gets very low until only a little remains on the bottoms and the wild roots push sap into their vines so that the vines turn green and sprout but the roots themselves are shriveled. This was the worst season of the year for the people. Before this, during the winter, the large extended band that we had gone to visit was separated into little family groups that were scattered through the veld, living at little waterholes that did not keep their water all year long. During the dry season the water in these waterholes vanished, causing the small family bands to gather at the last sure waterhole of the area, a waterhole called Gautscha, which was beside a huge flat pan called Gautscha Pan.

There was one rather large band that always lived at Gautscha and numbered some forty people, who divided themselves into sometimes three, sometimes four family groups. They thought themselves lucky to live there, for Gautscha was considered to be a sort of paradise, where the waterhole was cool and deep, and (it was said) game gathered at all times to lick the salt, for Gautscha was a salt pan. It was the salt that made Gautscha most desirable, because salt is

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greatly esteemed and is gathered from the crust of the pan in 317
moist balls. Bushmen sprinkle the surface with water in order
to roll up just the first layer where the salt lies. When the salt
balls dry, Bushmen crumble them into their food, preferring [263]
salt to all sweet things and honey. Once when we asked some
of the Gautscha people what they called themselves they re-
plied with this phrase: "We are a salty people, who come [101]
from a salty place."

In the dry season, two hundred people came to Gautscha 731
and lived in the bushes at the edge of the pan. This was an 361
enormous number for any area to support, but all had indis-
putable rights to be there, for either their fathers had drunk
at Gautscha or they had relatives whose fathers had; by the
rather complicated system, any Bushman may drink water
and gather veld food wherever his parents had a right to do
so, or may live with either his parents, his brothers or sisters,
or his wife at any place where the relative of his choice has
rights. There was water but not much food at Gautscha, and 731
all the people got thin and very hungry and sat around their
fires at night with sweat pouring from their bodies but with
nothing to eat; to make matters worse, one man coming for
a visit proved to be ill and gave his disease to everyone. It
was a disease that caused vomiting, high fevers, chest pains, [164]
and nosebleeds of great intensity—a woman whom I tried to
cure bled all one morning with blood squirting from her nos-
trils, pouring down over her arms and hands and dripping
from her elbows, making a dark pool on the ground. The dis-
ease struck all the people, from the youngest infants to the
oldest grandparents, and all the people lay for days scattered
all over the ground, too ill to move. We did everything we
could, of course; we provided food and medicine, firewood
and water, and took turns staying up all night to nurse the
people. As it happened, everyone got better within fourteen

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731 days, although not all were completely cured; and many, feeling that their luck was very bad at Gautscha, decided to take
361 their chances at other places in the veld where, although there was no water, there were watery roots that could be scraped for moisture. One day many of the people walked away in single file, taking their belongings and carrying on their backs their relatives still too sick to travel, leaving Gautscha Pan deserted except for the three small family bands who made their permanent home there.

764 One day when we were traveling in the veld about twenty
888 miles from Gautscha we came upon an old man lying on his face on the sand in an open place. He was a member of one of the bands at Gautscha that tried to escape bad luck, and, thinking he was hurt, we stopped at once. But he was not hurt; when we came near him he did not get up, but turned his face away from us and lay as if dazed, pressing one hand to his forehead. We knew him; he was the only Bushman of any nation we had ever met or even heard of who had never
[562 881] married, this because Bushman men must shoot a buck and
162 undergo initiation before they can marry, which he had never done. Instead he lived with his sister, who took care of him and provided him with food, and who had been very ill during the plague at Gautscha. As we looked at him the headman of that band stepped out of the bushes and told us that the old man was not ill but grieving for his sister, who lay dead in a grove of thorn trees a little way beyond. The old man, who had been alone with his sister when she died, had been too weak from the illness to bury her, and had only been able to hide her body under a pile of stones. When the other members of the band had returned to the grove after a day or so of veld food-gathering, it had been too late, too dangerous because of the now roaming spirit, for them to assist

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the old man with a funeral, and they had had to abandon his 764-
sister's body as it was. 888

The headman lifted the old man from the ground and we saw that he had not been weeping but had only been lying inert and helpless, powerless now to keep himself erect. On our truck he lay just where we put him, motionless, prone, all the way back. We passed the grove where his sister lay, a grove of high white trees with red beans on their branches, and the old man did not turn his head to look.

After that, the situation for the people who remained at 361 ●
Gautscha got better because the summer came. Great cloud- 132
banks like mountains formed at the horizon, dispersed themselves in brown haze, and formed again, getting larger day by day. Some of the bands who had left Gautscha began to return and once again the countryside was populous, the air filled with the murmur of voices and the smell of smoke from the many fires. Some of the men went hunting and shot a giraffe, so there was lots of meat for a while.

One day some of us went to a place called Kubi Pan to see a cheetah that was supposed to live there, but instead we saw a flock of guinea fowl walking along in single file as people do, raising a cloud of dust. Two of them began to fight because it was their mating season. When we got to Kubi it was evening and the clouds on the horizon were very thick, and just when the sun set into them the full moon rose on the other side, causing a balance of the two great bodies over the earth.

It seemed to be an auspicious night. On the way home we 789
felt something electric in the air and when we got to Gau- 535
tscha the moon had risen high and pale in the clouds and we found that the Bushmen were dancing the rain dance. Everyone was there, the women all singing and the men wheeling

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132 that the great trains dragging hampered its mating, would
136 twist and thrash and struggle, squeezing the wings between its thorax and abdomen, which did break off the wings but left the stubs. More and more ants were flying to the light and their circles were growing bigger and bigger until we couldn't move without stepping on them, but the women, getting more excited and moving very quickly, as if responding to the pace and the excitement of the ants, scooped them up and ate them as fast as they landed, spitting out the silver wings as one would spit out chaff. Over our heads a few night birds and many bats were flying, catching and eating the ants before they reached the ground, and around our feet huge pink hunting-spiders rushed in and out of the swarm, dragging the ants from their acts of copulation and carrying them away to eat them in the dark.

Before long the flight had ended. Only a few late-coming ants bumped against the light, the night birds and bats were gone, and the spiders had run away. Nothing was left but the white wings like petals all over the ground and the wings that were caught in people's throats or stuck to their faces. The women, quite composed now, brushed themselves off, and one of them sang a song:

[539]

Gurico gum, ah
Ah, ah.

[251] I noticed that each woman had managed to save a little bag or vegetable husk full of ants for her husband. These they put away.

132 That was in the late spring, a fertile season full of promise, and when it was over the best season of the year began, called the Veld Food Season, which starts some time in
361 March. The big rains have ended, the air is warm but not
621 hot, the veld is filled with water, game, fruit, roots, and

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green-leafed vegetables, and sometimes many of the people 361
of the large extended bands come together to live, to hold 621
important ceremonies which require many people, and to enjoy each other's company. Sometimes they separate into very small bands because they can now go anywhere they wish, each family going to the part of the veld where the type of food grows that the family most enjoys. There is water everywhere, in small seasonal waterholes, in shallow salt pans, in hollow trees, and the people thrive and grow quite fat. One 312
of their favorite foods, one that grows in great abundance at 222 262
this season, is a ground nut called *tsi*, which grows on a trailing vine and is so fat that if you leave a kernel of it on a piece of paper it will leave a greasy stain. Tsi is regarded by the Kung Bushmen as a very powerful food, one of the powerful veld foods in which there is a special essence, something mysterious and magic which gives them a life force all their own so that it would be dangerous to eat them during the year if this life force were not first subdued or not first integrated with the life force of the people. These foods are 778
the mainstays of the Bushmen's diet, and are fat; and every 789
year people in their child-bearing years, when they consider themselves subject to harm, protect themselves against these foods by a ritual act. [778]

The act of protection is called *choa*, and it is interesting because it differs from the protective rituals performed by agricultural peoples to save their crops or animals from harm, or to cause their increase. The Bushmen choa themselves not [842] to protect their fertility, for decrease in the number of children is not a problem to them, but to make sure that they, the young adults and mainstays of the community, will not get thin and starve.

Those whom Bushmen call "old people," adults who have 789
had three children, are expected to protect themselves and 885
also to protect young people of the same sex.

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302 accumulating dust had turned him black. When the rains came that year he had scrubbed himself with sand and water and had turned paler than the palest gold. No one had recog-
[142] nized him for a minute and then people had made fun of him, so he had let his coating accumulate again.

361 That night the old man, Lazy Kwi's father-in-law, decided that his band would move with us to Nama, a pan near Gautscha Pan, for he and Lazy Kwi believed that if we went there they could help us find more bands of Bushmen whom we had known. No one, he said, was living at Gautscha this season and the people who belonged there were scattered through the veld because the rains had been so good that there was food and water everywhere. We said that we would
222 leave in the morning to begin the search, but the old man hesitated to agree and finally told us that in the morning he had planned to rob a bee tree, but after that he would be free to go. As he had hoped, the following morning we went with him on his trip for wild honey.

The bee tree was in a little forest about two miles from Gam, a forest filled with tiny yellow leaves and tiny seed pods blowing from the trees and scattered all through the grass, which in places had been plowed up by a wild pig rooting for bulbs. Because it was early in the morning and frosty, turtle doves were singing and the clear air was filled with their voices. Honey is always gathered at the coldest time of day, for then the bees are dull and stupid and it takes them a long time to collect their wits. The old man and Lazy Kwi cleared some grass and lit a tiny fire; then, squatting beside it, they warmed their hands, waiting for it to burn well, for they would use its smoke to numb the bees. Lazy Kwi's wife and
222 her sister had come too; they did not join the men by the fire
271 but walked off in the bush, gathering sour berries for their breakfast. The women in their wanderings found a hollow

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she used when she was angry, a cat growling, and would be 159
affectionate to Toma and her sons. Very often, when she was 593
happy, she would dance a light, short dance to a song that she sang herself.

Tu had borne four children, four sons, to Toma, but the 163
first two sons had died. One of these had died at birth, "had died in the veld without a name," said Toma. The oldest living children, born after the others were dead, were a boy of about eight years old and a boy of five. While we were there in 1953, Tu bore her first daughter, a strawberry of a baby 553
who was named for two people—named first for Toma's sis- 123
ter, but also Norna for my mother; her name is Lorna, but Bushmen have trouble with the *l*. In order to fit us into their society, the Bushmen had given us names and niches in the kinship of Toma's family. My father was named for Toma's father, my mother was named for Toma's mother, my brother was named Toma for Toma, and I was called Dikai for Tu's sister. Toma therefore named his daughter for the person who was named for his mother—not at all unusual, as it often happens that a child may bear the names of two of its relations.

Now, hoping to find Toma once again, we started the truck 361 ●
motors, fired a rifle, called and called, in case he might be living far from the water, but no sound came from the great veld to answer us and we began to search in the bush around the pan for signs that might show us where he was. We found two empty scherms built in the rainy season, their grass thatches gray with weather, their little piles of fire ashes sunk into the ground, and near these scherms we found the skull of a bird and the shoulder blade of an antelope, all white, bleached, and dry. Farther on we saw a tree where the woven grass nests of weaver birds were hanging empty, swinging

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

361 with the wind, which made us think of the empty scherms, and still farther we found one more empty dwelling, the tiny grass nest of a mouse that hung on a bush, from a thorn.

We went around and around the pan in three huge circles, occasionally calling Toma's name, and when at last we were sure that no one was there we went back to the pan and sat in the shade of some bushes to think. Lazy Kwi sat with his chin in his hands, gazing into the sunlit veld. He was sure, he said, that no one lived at Gautscha Pan, so there was no use going there. Toma and his family had not lived at Nama for a whole season and since wind and rain had erased all traces of their passing we could not tell where they had gone. Lazy Kwi thought for a long time and at last he said that he had heard from the Bantu people at Gam that Toma had been indentured by Bantu people at another cattle post called Kai Kai, near Gam, and had been set to work minding a herd of goats. Lazy Kwi had not believed that this could have happened, but now he said that it was possible and in that case Toma would have to live not far from Kai Kai, somewhere in the veld but not too far from water. And there was such a place, said Lazy Kwi, but in the east and far from Nama Pan.

It was early afternoon, so hot that even the insects of the veld were silent. We decided to leave at once in order to reach the waterhole that Lazy Kwi had mentioned before night. We put a little meat, some water, and our blankets in the jeep, and my brother and I, Lazy Kwi and Ledimo, the interpreter, got ready to go, leaving the others to make a camp.

855 Before we left, Lazy Kwi took leave of his family, then got
593 his bag of tsi beans and baobab seeds from his wife and put a handful or two into another bag which he would take with him, leaving the larger share with her. When his little son saw what he was doing and realized that his father was preparing

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

since that was all he remembered we went on again to the source of the first of the three fires.

It was there that we found Toma. He had been there all the time, only a few miles from where we had camped, and when he heard our jeep coming he watched us over the top of a bush before showing himself to see first who we were.

We saw him when he ran toward us. He was quite far off and we saw first his dark figure detach itself from the bush and run with long, swinging strides toward our jeep. He waved his arms and we knew at once that this, at last, was Toma. Before he reached us a second figure appeared from behind another bush and ran beside him, and we knew from the disjointed stride that this second man was Gao Big Feet, Toma's brother-in-law. We turned our jeep toward them and soon we met and the two men embraced us and laughed and said that they had known we would come back someday, and then they climbed in the jeep and took us to their werf, stopping first to get their spears and quivers, which they had left in the bushes, for no Bushman, no matter how excited, ever greets people with his weapons on his back because this might be taken as a sign that he was quarrelsome, looking for a fight.

Their werf was in a tiny thicket of thorn trees at the edge of the plain, screened in front by bushes, carefully concealed, but on a rise of ground where a man standing could easily scan the surrounding plain without being seen himself. There Toma and Gao Feet could observe the movements of the antelope that crossed the plains below them, waiting patient in the dappled shade of their trees' broad leaves as lions do. The two families stood in front of their bushes to meet us and they, too, embraced us and they all climbed in the jeep to do this, then climbed out again and stood back to see how we were.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

361 We got out and sat with them in their werf to talk before deciding what we would do next. Looking around, we saw that only the two families lived here, for there were only two sleeping-places, set, for the sake of a little privacy, on the opposite sides of one of the scrawny trees. The women had not built huts, but had scooped little hollows for themselves and their husbands which they had lined with soft grass bedding, and had put up two arching sticks at each of these hollows to mark the place where the door would be if a scherm had been there, for the Kung as well as the Gikwe need a sense of place. In fact, the Kung need it even more, for without their grass and marking-sticks the Kung feel homeless. Their sleeping hollows were like the soft grass nests of pheasants, hidden in the leaves.

276 The Bushmen all lit pipes and passed them—each pipe
576 reached everybody, everybody shared and smoked, and the pipes circled slowly for an hour or more until the tobacco was gone. There was a brass pipe made of an old cartridge, a bone one, a horn one, and last of all a copper one that tasted very bad. The Bushmen cracked roasted tsi nuts and passed the fat little kernels around to each other, offering them on the
609 palms of their hands. My brother told Toma that he had missed tsi because there was none in America.

"What?" said Toma. "No tsi? Why didn't you plant some?"

"The soil is a little strong for it," said John.

"So."

"But tsi is good."

"No good," said Toma sadly. "I used to be fat. Now I am thin." He stuck out his leg and slapped at it. "Where is my fat?" he said.

He did not seem to be thinner than he used to be, though; he had only a scar on his belly and a scar on his back where

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

484 with their families on trips that would take them only hours if they were traveling alone. We stopped a fourth time in the middle of the vast plain, for John had seen a shattered ostrich egg on the ground and wanted to let the Bushmen gather it to make beads. Toma motioned him to drive on. The egg, he thought, belonged to a man named Crooked Kwi, who had left it there one season and would return for it someday soon. Toma had heard of this event from Crooked Kwi [457] himself when they had seen each other last, and, observing that the shell fragments were gathered into a pile, he supposed that this must be the very egg that Crooked Kwi had mentioned. It was just where Crooked Kwi had said it would be, too.

361 We left the eggshells behind in the immense plain and went on our way toward the eastern rim. When we got there we found the rest of Gao Feet's family—his older and uglier first wife, his old mother-in-law, his first wife's daughter, and his daughter's husband, none other than Crooked Kwi himself. These people were living in a most beautiful glade of thorn bushes that were growing thickly together among tall trees, their branches arching just over people's heads. A fire had cleared out all the grass and leaves, leaving just the brown earth and the gray lace of branches; the people were brown and their things were brown and white and the ashes of their fires were gray in the little hollows on the ground, for these people, too, had built no scherms. Tu got right out of the [252] jeep and went straight to a fire, where she began to crack some of her tsi nuts between a stick and a stone.

608 The rest of us exchanged greetings and the old woman,
551 Dikai's mother, embraced me. "You are my daughter. I bore you," she said. When I had first come to Gautscha Pan I had been named Dikai for her daughter, and among the Kung one is strongly identified with the person one is named for; as the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

574 by now, cranky from the long ride; the bundles of tsi were unloaded, the bundles of belongings, and Tu's grass bed. Lazy
361 Kwi went off to find his wife and family, but the others, all
574 Toma's people, looked around for a place to live and finally chose a tall tree, where they dropped their bundles and began to clear grass. In a very short time the werf was ready, fires were lit, tsi was roasting, and several of the Bushmen who had watched us come had gathered there to see if they should have a share of the tsi. Of course everybody got some and then sat down to eat it, burying the nuts in the hot ashes and scooping them out again with a stick when they were done.
253 Dikai gave some tsi to me and said that I could use her fire, a
576 courtesy, so I buried the nuts in the ashes and when I thought they were done I poked for them with a stick but I couldn't find them. Pretty soon they began to explode with loud reports and puffs of gray ashes which showed where they were, but of course then it was too late. You might as well throw them away if you forget where they are, the Bushmen say.

252 Some of the newcomers were eating giraffe hide, roasting great pieces of it, dried and thick and curling; they passed chunks of it around and it looked like the soles of shoes, all that remained of a giraffe hunted long ago. When it was roasted the people put it in a wooden mortar and pounded it into powder, and then licked the powder off their palms. Again, Dikai gave some to me and I found that it was salty and not unpleasant, tasting like bacon.

201 Gao Feet plucked my elbow and when I turned to him he
576 pointed at Dikai, sitting on the other side of the fire. He had pointed his lips at her, pushing his lips forward and gesturing with his chin because Bushmen think it is rude to point with the finger. "She wants to tell you what is in her heart," he
609 said. I looked at Dikai and she passed her hand over her two sons' eyes, first Little Gashe, then Little Dabe, as they slept

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

521 lifted her head and her face showed in the firelight; her eyes shone quite yellow and she looked dangerous, like a leopard, as she glared in the direction of his voice.

361 342 On my way home I passed Lazy Kwi's house, which his wife had started in his absence, and as she had planned a large scherm and had already built the framework, many large branches stuck upright in the ground, but had not yet covered it with grass, I could see Lazy Kwi inside. He was between me and his fire, and in silhouette against the red light he looked like a creature in a cage, for he was peering through the lattice of branches to see who was passing by. I stopped 252 to show who I was, and noticed a bird roasting by his fire, a little duck which must have been snared by Lazy Kwi's old father-in-law. It was plucked and trussed and tied to a stick which was pushed into the ground so that the duck hung over the coals. It looked about done to me, so I asked Lazy Kwi, who was obviously alone with it, awake only to tend it, if it wasn't ready, and Lazy Kwi looked first at me, then at the 805 821 duck, then up at the sky, and shook his head. He was timing it by a star, he explained, and the star had risen but wasn't high enough yet, so I said good-night and went home and left him in his lattice; and just before I went to sleep I heard great shouts of laughter, for Toma had found someone who hadn't heard the lion story and was telling it again.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

521 young boys began to speak sounds that were for all the world like the sounds of English, with flat, almost nasal tones, perfect in cadence and inflection, and the people laughed again.

000 Because it was getting close to noon and the sun, now only veiled by the smoke, was burning over our heads, we decided to start our search for Short Kwi. After Toma, Toma's son, Gao Fect, and Lazy Kwi decided to go with us and the others decided to stay at home, we got on the truck and drove away, lurching over the stones at the edge of camp and out to the wild veld, to the west, where the soft wind was blowing and the horizon seemed dim because of the smoke. Ledimo, the interpreter, came too, and my brother and myself, and that night we slept in the veld, not even bothering to build a fire, but eating a few handfuls of cold food and sleeping in our blankets around the truck. The following afternoon we reached the werf of Short Kwi and his people. This werf, too, was hidden in the bushes and if the men of the band hadn't come out into the plain to meet us we might have gone by it,

361 for Toma himself hadn't known exactly where it was. They came out because they knew it would be us they were meeting, for, they explained later, the European farmers couldn't possibly have found them there.

Six men and several young boys suddenly stepped from the bushes and appeared in front of our truck, all of them brown and naked and waving wildly to us, and the truck stopped so fast that those of us on top were nearly thrown off, and we all climbed down to greet them.

591 602 Three of the men were brothers, the brothers-in-law of Short Kwi, for their old mother had a strong hold on her family and kept them all beside her. Her sons and her daughters all lived with her; the sons at least might have been expected to live with the families of their wives, but they had never left her and they were here with her now. They stood

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

together in front of the truck and when we climbed down 591 602 they embraced us.

We went on toward the werf with these men and boys 609 clinging to the sides of the truck and laughing loudly at those 576 among them who were raked by thorn branches that the truck drove through, and at the edge of the werf we saw the women standing all together, waving and calling to us, and we stopped again and they too embraced us and kissed me, and the little children gravely shook my hand.

Short Kwi's mother-in-law was there with a wide and toothless smile, her face all wrinkled like a little shriveled pear, and many other people, among them the old man who had never shot a buck and whose sister had died in the forest; he now was nobody's close relative and we noticed he had lost an eye and seemed even more malevolent and sad. He greeted us distantly, but the others were enthusiastic. The little children tried to climb on me and finally someone put a baby in my arms. The baby bit me, but he meant me no harm, for when he bit I felt the sharp edge of a new tooth coming, which probably itched.

We passed through the bushes and came into the werf, 361 where the people had obviously been living for a long time, judging by the size of the ash heaps at the fires and the depth of the nests that people had dug for themselves. Looking around, it came to us that many people whom we had expected to see were not there, Short Kwi for one, and his wife. When we asked for them, Short Kwi's brother-in-law said that he would take us to see him presently. When we asked for 648 the others who were missing—among them the man with two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama—we were told that these people had all been taken by the farmers and had never been seen again. We were very sad to hear it, for many of them were too old to have to do the heavy

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

happy. She was only ten, but already she had lost her childish 382 [145] belly, although her breasts had not yet begun to grow.

Now everyone was in the werf and people had begun to go 593 back to their fires, leaving Short Kwi alone. When most peo- 514 164 ple were gone, Short Kwi's brother-in-law squatted beside 481 him and, taking his injured leg, began laboriously to help him move toward the veld, toward a little pathway that we had not noticed before. Short Kwi's wife had cleared the path; it led to a place in the veld where Short Kwi could urinate, and slowly, painfully, Short Kwi and his brother-in-law moved down it, the brother-in-law duckwalking, carrying the bad leg while Short Kwi—he who once could run great elands down —edged himself forward on his buttocks, using his hands to brace himself and his good leg to pull himself along.

We were not at his fire when he got back, but we could see 164 him through the trees, inching, and then, when Short Kwi was alone with his wife and daughter, we could watch him sitting by his fire, looking idly around. He was like a wild goose with pinioned wings, squatting there before his fire, watching the sky, the veld, and other people come and go.

Those of us from Nama made a camp apart from the werf, 361 through long grass as high as our chests, inside a little glade 521 of thorn trees. We cleared some of the grass and built a fire, and even then the Bushmen could not stop talking about Short Kwi, although they tried to change the subject; they spoke of him creeping along on his buttocks, even this impossible without someone to help, and all because he had failed to notice an adder that was waiting in his path. Of course, the Bushmen said, he was lucky to be alive. I felt that he was luckier than they supposed, because of his wife, that 593 quiet, gracious, gentle, pretty woman, and his grave little daughter, the image of her mother. The people felt, said

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

That was beautiful, the sun, and there was no sound as it 133
went down except the sound of doves calling among the trees on the far bank, whirring, cooing, a call that was pulsing and thick, urgent, throbbing, rising in intensity as the sun got dimmer, reaching a peak as the sun disappeared. It was as though they had brought it down, and when it was gone there was no sound at all; the silence was complete.

Gautscha Pan was more than a mile square and we, Europeans and Bushmen alike, held our breath with the majesty of it, its great solitude, the great drama of sunset going on reflected in its water for no eyes to look at; and when the sun was down and the colors of the veld were dull and dark we started home, but that was an impressive last look at a place and the last I ever saw of Gautscha Pan.

In the morning our trucks were packed and ready. We were 609
not happy to leave and the Bushmen were not happy to have us go. We gave them presents of all kinds, presents of pipes, of knives, of beads, of clothing, of cornmeal and tobacco; and all this pleased them, but Dikai cried when we said good-by and asked me if I would ever come back. I said that I hoped so and she kissed me and I felt wet tears on her face.

The people who had come from Gam wanted to ride a 361 ●
little way back with us to a mangetti forest, and we were glad to have them, but the others, Toma and his band, Gao Feet and his family, wanted to return to the tsi fields where we had found them, the veld food at Nama being almost gone, and before we left they had their bundles packed and were ready to go; as our trucks moved away they waved good-by and before we were out of sight we looked back and saw their small groups going in every direction, scattering to the four winds. When we reached the mangetti forest the others climbed

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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36 down, helping the children; Lazy Kwi and his wife were with them and they stood by the truck until we left and even then, when we had driven on, they were still looking at us and Lazy Kwi watched us out of sight. I saw him standing among the thorn trees, smaller and smaller in the distance, and just before he disappeared he waved.

That evening we camped beside an omaramba where the air was warm and pale, lit by the three-quarter moon; the wind made the dry leaves of a mangetti tree over our heads tap together and before we went to sleep we heard a leopard coughing far away, then growling nearer, a rattle, a rumble of a growl. In the morning we got up long before dawn because of a veld fire that someone had seen coming toward us; it made a huge red light in the black sky, like the open doors of an inferno, but as the dawn winds lifted it blew back on itself and went out. The sky slowly got gray, then pale rose, and then, hundreds of miles away, the great sun lifted from the veld's horizon and with the light we found the leopard's footprints which he had left as he had walked around us, in two great circles, as though he had cast a spell.

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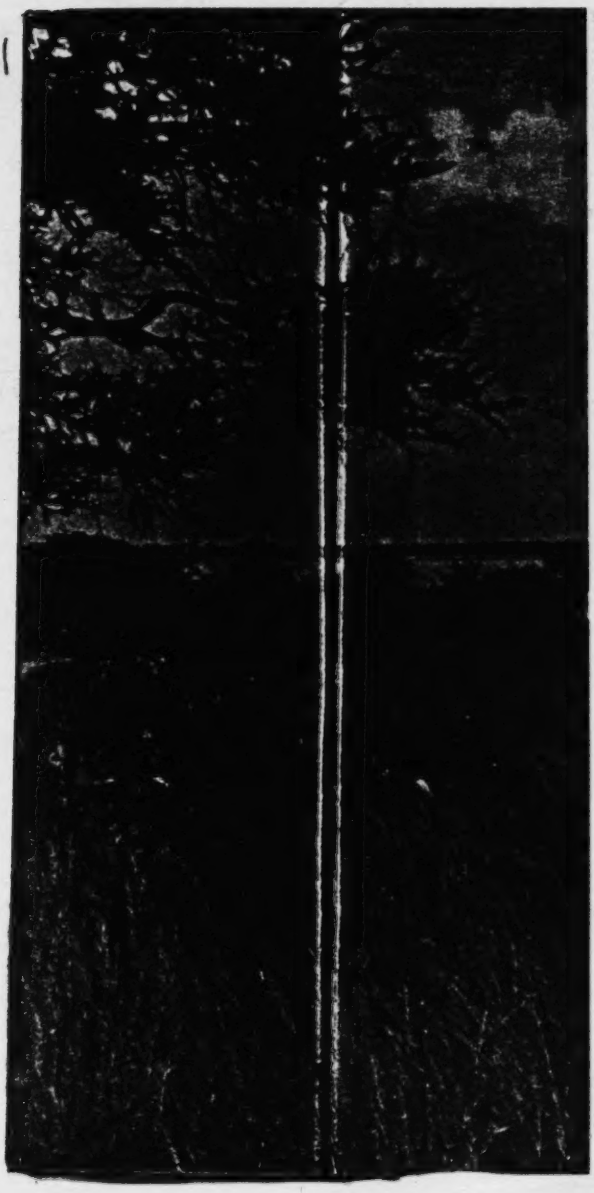

!Kung band's camp, *left*, is set up in shelter of overhanging trees. The thousand !Kung in this area are divided into twenty-eight such nomadic bands.

[p.3]

WOMEN OF WERFT gather children and possessions in preparation for march to a new campsite. A band can travel about ten miles a day, gathering food as it goes. The !Kung move in annual patterns: staying near waterholes in dry winter, visiting *mangetti* forests in moist summer, and *tsi* areas in fall.

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DELOUSING is a courtesy among kinsmen: the salty-tasting lice are eaten.

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There are about 1,000 !Kung—gathered into 28 bands—who build their ephemeral camps, or *werft*'s, separately in an area of 10,000 square miles. The houses in the *werft*'s are of grass, pressed over a framework of sticks, making small quarter-shells, with their backs to the prevailing wind. Gossamer things, made of the same grass that sways and crowds against their doors, they are positioned in a loose pattern according to their occupants' kinship, and all are held—finally—by the headman, who builds his shelter under the tallest tree.

[622]

From a little distance, when the sound of voices is lost on the wind, one would not know a *werft* was near. The people never return to the same *werft*—preferring to build anew and saying it would not be safe from the spirits of the dead, or sanitary, to do so. Perhaps, also, they find it sad to see the little houses toppling, day by day, into the grass of the new year.

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AS A STARTING POINT, labor among the !Kung is divided between two basic subsistence activities—hunting game and gathering *veldkos*. Men hunt, because their bodies are better suited to the chase. Women gather, because they could not leave their children for the long periods of hunting that men both enjoy and endure.

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Women's work—the technology of gathering—is simple and adaptable: the tools are easily acquired, the methods quickly learned. The constant necessity to provide and the almost daily edge of effort slowly bends the

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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THAT the !Kung live in small bands, flexible in their composition and spread widely over their Kalahari world, is owing in good part to their environment and to the technological means by which they cope with it. But the effect of the environment, carrying through the technology, penetrates the structure of the bands themselves and influences the way in which the !Kung distribute themselves around their resources.

[p. 71]

622 areas, baobab trees, and—most important—*mangetti* trees that hold
423 water in their trunks, and *tsi* areas. It is these "owned" features, and the direction from the waterhole in which they lie, that define a territory. Since, as we have seen, *mangetti*'s and *tsi* are the most important !Kung resources, they are the main determinants of a direction.

But animals are *not* owned. Neatly bounded sections of the countryside are *not* owned. A territory, therefore can best be defined as the combination of a permanent waterhole and a direction: the !Kung so define it by the word "side." One headman's territory is said to be on this "side."

361 JUST as the Kalahari's scant re-
621 sources of food and water are distributed in accordance with a geo-
622 graphical pattern, the !Kung bands are distributed in accordance with both a geographical and a social pattern. Natural resources are the focal points in the geographical pattern of band distribution: headmen are the focal points in the social pattern. In a sense, headmen tie together the two patterns, the concept of headmanship being the embodiment of a certain quantity of resources in a person around whom a band can take shape and operate. Because of their kin ties with a headman, the people living round him, clustering their *skerms* around his and moving with him over his territory, feel right in being where they are.

622 The headman receives no special
554 privileges. He is no more wealthy than other men. If he is a leader, he may assume responsibility and speak out. But, as headman, he need not speak, for headmanship is a silent office and while the headman lives—by his waterhole or out somewhere on his territory with his band—he serves his whole purpose.

423 Most of the permanent waterholes have two !Kung bands associated
312 with them, and the *tsi* areas are likewise shared by bands from the same and different waterholes. Such sharing may come about because two brothers (only one of whom may be the true headman) live together and feel they possess joint claims. It may come about through the passage of time, which confuses genealogies and lets claims, once tenuous, become firm through usage. The !Kung are a people of present tense, living—in their minds as well as with their

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HAPPY LIFE of children includes such moments as these: a laughing game of "pull-away," above.

423 bodies—from day to day. If the water-
312 holes were not shared, some bands would be without permanent water.

621 Not all !Kung territories are of equal value in terms of food and
166 water. Some people have *mangetti* nuts, some have *tsi*, and some have
361 both. There is mild wealth, and gentle poverty in *Nyae Nyae*. Territories also change in value year by year. The rains may fail in some parts of *Nyae Nyae*, and fall in others. In normal years, *mangetti*'s in the north may become available earlier in the season than those of the western forests. Because of the flexibility of band composition, the bands gathering *mangetti*'s in such a favored area are enlarged by people who would otherwise have to wait.

This is usually a temporary situation, the newcomers having more the status of guests than members of the bands. Often, whole bands—headman and all—will visit kin in this manner. During years of dessication, the fact that a person has several choices of bands in which to live becomes vital to him—he can move from a hopeless place to perhaps a better one.

BY such means, balance works out between the desert's resources and the numbers and distribution of !Kung who exploit them. No one district or *mangetti* forest could support more than a limited number of people. Only certain people possess the necessary kinship qualifications to join a band. The flexibility of their

[p. 87]

621 composition enables bands to swell during lean years, while the concept
● 361 of association, through a headman, to a district and a territory provides
166 for the distribution of people throughout the barren land.

If a band were confined strictly to one territory, or could use the resources of another territory only over the bodies of the band that lived there, there would be many less *Nyae Nyae* !Kung—perhaps none at all.

823 The !Kung give various reasons for their preference of the territory they consider home. For some, it is where they were born. For others, it is where they spent their youth. And for some, it is where they are waiting in their old age. Hunters say they must know their territories—every pan and stretch of bush, every unusual tree—and they say that to amass such knowledge takes years. An old man we met while he was visiting for a few days from the west, said that the weather was more gentle in Debera, the place where he lived, and that, moreover, "there are no stones in Debera ground."

Early one autumn morning, blue and sweet, when dawn air was still fragile on our faces, a close !Kung friend stood beside me in /Gautcha Territory, looking across a pan that still smiled with water despite the late season. It was the pan where he had come, as a young man, to live with his bride. We were quiet, waiting for the rising sun. "/Gautcha is beautiful," he said.

[p. 88]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

LORNA MARSHALL · *The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert*[1]

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION · The Bushmen live in those parts of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa that lie in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate, in South West Africa, and in southeastern Angola. A few additional remnants of Bushman groups still exist in Northern Rhodesia and at Lake Chrissie in South Africa. In the past Bushmen had a much wider distribution.[2]

Many Bushmen live among, and some work for, the Bantu-speaking tribes in settlements where sufficient water resources have been developed to support cattle, and some Bushmen work for white farmers in the Ghanzi area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in South West Africa. However, many still live in small, independent, nomadic groups, widely dispersed in the vast areas of the desert.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise population count of the Bushmen, but a recent estimate gathered from various contemporary sources (Tobias 1956) indicates that in 1955 there were 55,531 Bushmen.[3] These figures are higher than any previously propounded (cf. Schapera 1939) and come as a surprise to many.

The Bushmen are linked with the Hottentots, a southern African people who resemble them physically and with whom they have linguistic affiliations, but who are a pastoral people with a more complex social structure. Bushmen and Hottentots together are called the *Khoisan* peoples, a coined term combining the Hottentots' term for themselves (*Khoi*) and their name for the Bushmen (*San*). The Khoisan peoples have been referred to as a distinct race (Murdock 1959: 8) or, as Howells puts it, "a major racial variety of man" (1959:306). The obscurity of their origins and racial affinities are in themselves subjects in which research continues and interesting postulations engage the attention of scientists in various fields.[4]

PHYSICAL FEATURES · The physical features of the Bushmen have drawn much attention from anthropologists. Bushmen are of small stature (adult males average approximately five feet, two inches) WITH YELLOWISH BROWN SKIN THAT BECOMES HEAVILY WRINKLED IN OLD AGE.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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Gathering Mangetti Nuts

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eral large groves of mangetti trees (*Ricinodendron rautanenii* Schinz) in the region, all on great waterless white sand dunes, and one extensive area in which *tsĩ* grows. *Tsĩ* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch) is the seed of the vine that runs along on the surface of the ground. Both mangetti nuts and *tsĩ* are excellent foods, rich in oils and proteins, and so important to the !Kung that they organize their lives to a considerable extent around them.

Each band, according to !Kung social structure, owns and lives within what we call a territory. The band, through its headman (in a way to be explained later), owns the veldkos and water resources within its territory. The territories are varied in size and shape and sometimes consist of portions that are not even contiguous. The boundaries are vague, for the need to draw fine boundary lines is not great. In the interior of the region, where water is so scant, in roughly 8000 square miles live only 17 bands, comprising 447 persons. The other bands and employed groups live on what we call the periphery of the region. The !Kung say that one cannot eat the ground itself so it does not matter to whom it belongs. It is the patches of veldkos that are clearly and jealously owned, and the territories are shaped in a general way around these patches. The !Kung of the interior have settled themselves in such a way that every band has access to areas of edible roots and to either a mangetti grove or a *tsĩ* patch. A few bands have both.

The strong concepts of ownership of veldkos by the band operate almost like a taboo. No external force is established to prevent one band from encroaching on another's veldkos or to prevent individuals from raiding veldkos patches to which they have no right. This is just not done. Fear of fighting is one of the deterrents. The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly

[p. 248]

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 when the people go to gather mangettis or tsi, the men always ac-
462 company the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsi* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater por-
222 tion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging imple-
[412] ment is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were
[101] living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some
[484] to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles
[361] to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back
[854] to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to
[482] them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the
[372] bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as
252 meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes,
264 pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

222 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the
433 impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food
731 is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families
166 therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—
[582]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

in several different bands, and they may choose among them. A band that owned comparatively good resources would tend to attract more members than a band with scant veldkos. This flexibility of residence pattern is one of the reasons that one finds the bands of the interior of the Nyae Nyae region relatively in balance with their resources, and varying in size.

WATER • Two or more bands may share the ownership of a water hole. Water holes keep their own rough population balance because, if water is very scarce, people will go to live elsewhere when they have the possibility of doing so.

In the interior of this region, in roughly 8000 square miles, there are three water holes that can be called really permanent. In the driest years these do not fail. Four others dry up only in years of severe drought. Six more are semipermanent: in a very good year they may yield a little water right through, but in a dry year they are sure to dry up. When the semipermanent water holes go dry, the bands who own them may break up temporarily and the families may go to live with relatives who are at permanent water holes, or they may go as whole bands to another water hole where they have relatives.

Water is not owned as exclusively or as jealously as veldkos. Water seems to belong more to mankind, as the animals do, and the ownership of water holes emphasizes more the managing than the withholding of the water. The headman controls the water. His permission should be asked by travelers or visitors before taking water, "because he knows what he has and what can be done," we were told. We saw small temporary water holes marked with bundles of grass thrust into forked sticks. This was to tell visitors or travelers that the owners of the water hole were in residence, as it were, and were counting on the water. We believe that in these circumstances water would not be taken without permission. Occasions are not likely to arise where permission need be refused. The !Kung know where the others are, or are likely to be, at a given time and know how much water is available. They plan better than to get themselves into desperate situations.

One source of water appears to be owned by individuals. It is the rainwater that collects in hollow mangetti trees. The water in trees is not stolen by others who go to gather in the same mangetti forest. Water, incidentally, is the only beverage of the !Kung in the interior of the region. They have no alcoholic drinks and use no infusions of herbs.

HUNTING AND MEAT SHARING • !Kung hunting regulations do not confine the hunters to territories. The game animals belong to no one until they are shot, and the hunters may follow them anywhere the spoor leads and may cross the territorial boundaries of any band. If hunters have made a kill in the territory of a neighboring band, they would not fail to give a present of

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A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

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digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

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The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

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The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

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The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

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ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

[p. 256]

131 !goše, the first waterhole of the area. Continuing southwest
[133] from !goše the motor track parallels the course of a dry
river bed called the !angwadum for 23 miles until it meets
131 the South West Africa border track. Along this route from
312 !goše to the border one passes the waterholes of Kamburungu,
!angwa matse, !angwa, Bate, Kathikona, Mahopa, !Kabe, and
!ôhai. Each of these wells supports Bushman groups and Bantu
cattle posts. Following the border track north from its
intersection with the !angwadum one can reach Dobe which
supports a resident population of Bushmen but no Bantu.
[133] Turning south from the intersection, one crosses the low
ranges of the Aha Hills which are usually uninhabited and
arrives after 25 miles at /ai/ai, a large waterhole with over
one hundred Bushmen.

131 All these centers of habitation lie to the east and
361 south of Dobe. To the north, the nearest settlement is
n!aun!au at a distance of 40 miles and, to the west, the
nearest settlement is Tsumkwe, 35 miles away (see Map 8).

131 Eight naturally occurring waterholes support the bulk
312 of the Dobe area population which in November, 1964, stood
[161] at 763 people. There were 433 Bushmen residents, all but one
[563] of them members of the !Kung tribe. There were 340 Bantu,
eighty-five percent of whom were of the Herero tribe. The
remaining Bantu were Batawana, Mbukushu and Bayei.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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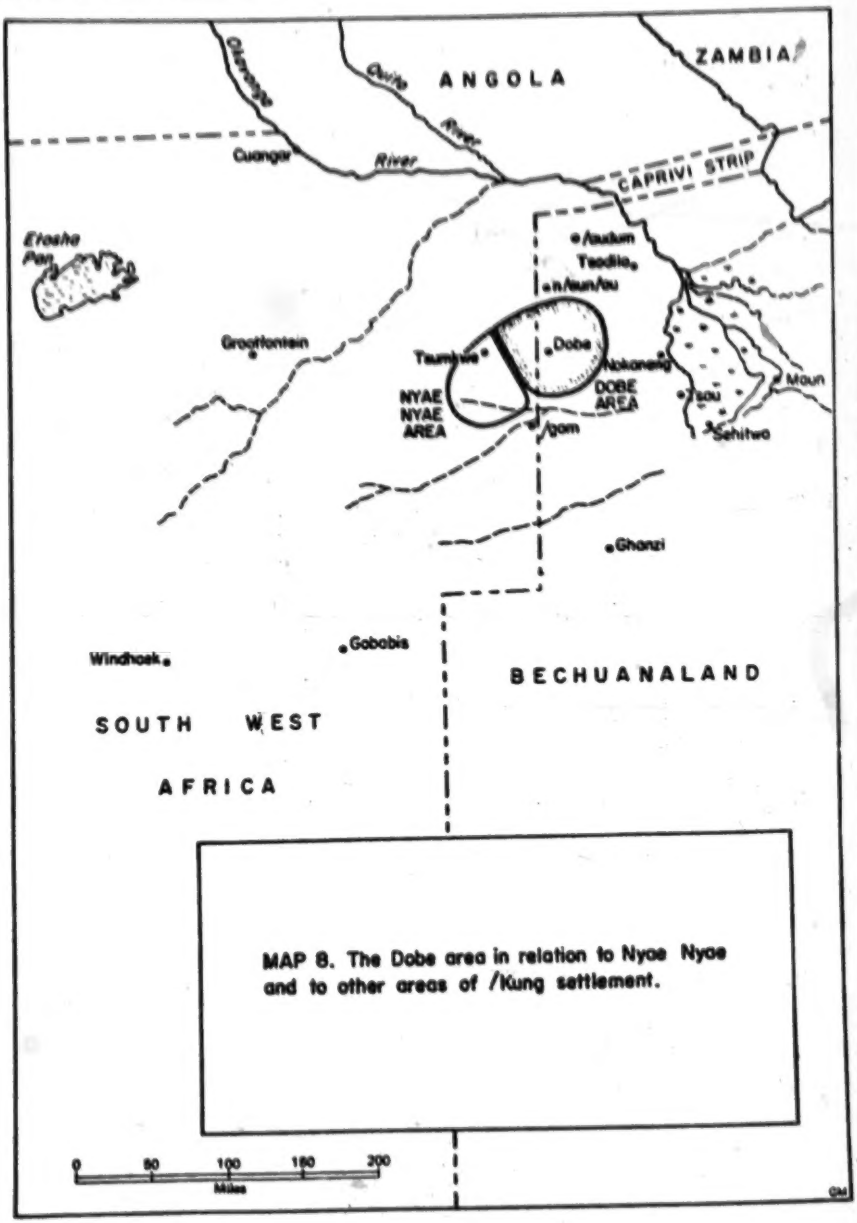

MAP 8. The Dobe area in relation to Nyae Nyae and to other areas of /Kung settlement.

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464 attached to an independent camp were living with the Bantu.
[233] These working Bushmen, with their spouses and families,
[162] numbered 44 people.

The Batawana headman, Isak Utuhile, was the only one of the Bantu residents to maintain a staff of retainers and their families. This sort of benevolent feudalism is a common practice throughout the Tswana tribal areas of Bechuanaland (Schapera 1953:28; Tagart 1933) but, with this one exception,
[162] is absent in the Dobe area. The headman supports four assistants (including a uniformed Bushman police constable) and their families, a total of 13 people.

Finally there was an Ad Hoc grouping of 26 !Kung who lived at the kraal of Enamoharadi, a Herero woman at Mahopa. These people lacked a territorial nucleus and therefore could
[224] not be considered as an independent camp. Several !Kung
[222] women helped with the domestic duties but the majority chose
[262] to use Mahopa as a base of operations for hunting and gathering and to drink the milk of Enamoharadi's cattle when it was offered to them.

• 361 Except for the women who are married to Bantu, most of
648 the !Kung remain only temporarily in Bantu villages, for periods ranging from one month to two years. Also it was observed that most of the !Kung living with Bantu spent at least half the year hunting and gathering. Furthermore many

of the !Kung who were independent at the time of the census had a history of living with Bantu for periods in the past.

It is difficult to determine to what extent the !Kung living arrangements have been affected by the Bantu presence, beyond stating the obvious facts, that, until the Bantu came, there could be no intermarriage and no opportunities for employment. At this stage of analysis, it would certainly be premature to attribute the fluidity of band membership to the effects of contact, since there is good evidence that this flexibility is adaptive in the context of traditional subsistence patterns (see Chapters VII and VIII).

A history of contact

127 This historical sketch of the period 1879-1965 is based on the testimony of informants resident in the Dobe area. Since none of the Bushmen and very few of the Bantu had any knowledge of the dates of historical events, these were provided by discussions with the British administration at Maun and by a survey of the early literature on the area.

173 The pre-contact period - There is no evidence in their oral tradition that the !Kung of the interior have migrated there from elsewhere. This corroborates the !Kung belief quoted by Lorna Marshall that "they have lived in the Nyae

[174] Nyae area since time began" (1960:325). The interior !Kung cannot, by their own account, be considered to be recent refugees from more favorable habitats.

VII. LAND UTILIZATION

361 During 1963-64, the Dobe area was divided into nine territories within which the 15 independent camps were operating. These nine territories together covered about two-thirds of the total area (see Map 14).

361 312 There was not a direct relationship between the number of permanent waterholes, the number of territories and the number of independent groups. Although all of the independent groups had access to a permanent water, some of the permanent waters supported several groups, while at other permanent waters independent groups were lacking.

The number of territories and number of groups at each waterhole is shown in Table 6.

[222] At !goše there were four camps but all these camps moved within the same collecting areas. Similarly, for part of the time, there were two camps at Dobe but both camps utilized the same groves of nut trees and the same summer waterholes.

On the other hand, at /ai/ai three of the five camps had their own territories, while two of the camps shared a territory. The jointly occupied territory lay to the north of the /ai/ai waterhole, and the three other camps operated to the west, to the south, and to the east of /ai/ai, respectively.

At the !angwa, Bate, and !ubi waterholes, the situation

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 136]

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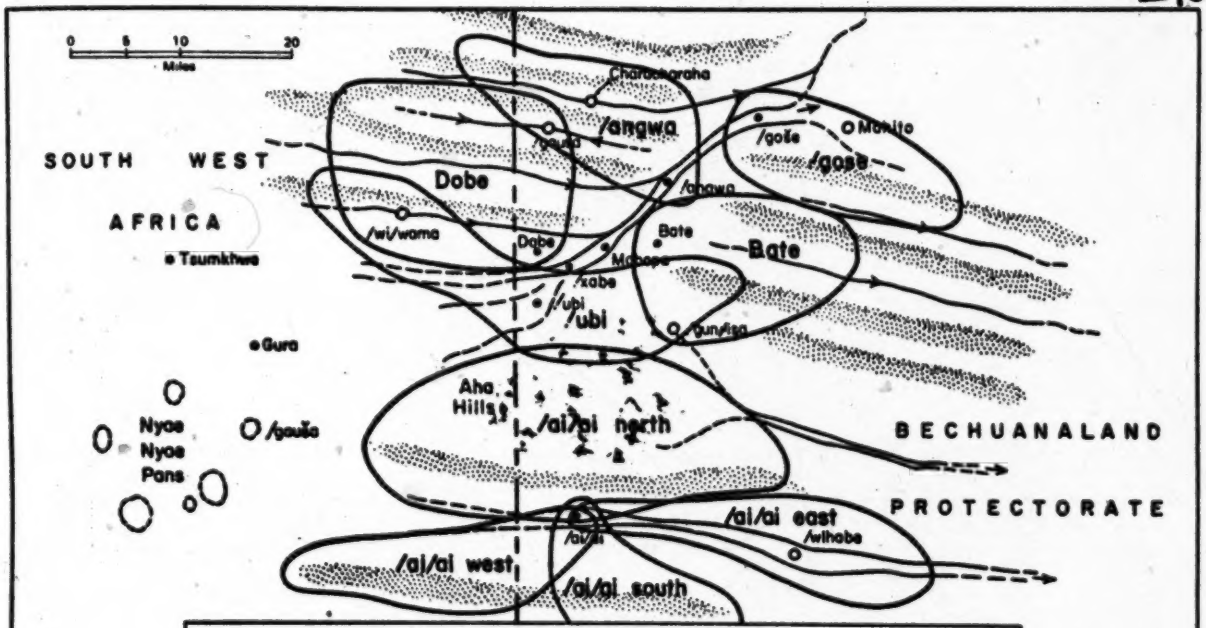

MAP 14. The nine territorial divisions of the Dobe area Bushmen in 1964

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

TABLE 6

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The number of camps and the number of territories based on each of the permanent waterholes in the Dobe area.

Name of Waterhole	No. of Independent Camps	No. of Territories
1. !goše	4	1
2. !angwa	1	1
3. Bate	1	1
4. Mahopa	0	0
5. !xabe	0	0
6. !ubi	1	1
7. Dobe	2	1
8. /ai/ai	5	4
	14[1]	9

[1]The 15th independent group had its permanent waterhole at Tsumkhwe, outside the Dobe area.

361 312 was simple. Each waterhole supported one independent camp and each camp had its own territory.

Two of the waterholes, Mahopa and !xabe, lacked independent camps and therefore were not part of a territory. [648] The Bushmen who drank at these waterholes lived in Bantu [222] villages. They collected food in the adjacent territories of other camps such as Dobe !ubi and !angwa (see Map 14).

361 602 The sharing of a single territory by two or more camps reflected the close kinship ties between the camps. This was obvious at Dobe where the leaders of the two camps were a brother and sister who often brought their two groups [562] together to make a common camp. It was also obvious at !goše where the four camps were led by descendants and collaterals of one old woman. In previous years these four independent groups at !goše had lived in one large camp.

361 The territorial arrangements of the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen, like their group structures, were extremely flexible. Most territories overlapped with one or more adjacent territories. The boundaries of territories were vaguely defined and there were areas between territories which were not claimed by any of the camps. The Bushmen did not conceive of territories as areas of exclusive occupation. The concept of territorial defense was lacking. Each territory consisted, in the words of Mrs. Marshall, of "a waterhole and a side" (L. Marshall 1960:334). This point is illustrated in Map 14.

361 Each of the groups moves in a "direction" from its waterhole.
312 For instance, the Dobe people move to the west and north, the !angwa people move to the northwest, and the !gose people move to the east.

361 The concept of territoriality as applied to the Bushmen differs from the concept used by zoologists in discussing the spatial arrangements of animals. The zoological usage refers to the exclusive use of space, by an organism or group of organisms who defend this space against competing members of the same species (Bourlière 1964:94-100).

By contrast the Bushmen groups do not defend boundaries and members of all groups travel freely between camps. However, land utilization is not at all a random phenomenon.
[222] The Bushmen population is organized into land-holding units,
[224] and the members of a unit tend to spend the greater part of the year hunting and gathering within a specific area.

Thus, in the context of this study, the term "territory" refers to <u>the area within which an independent camp moves during the annual subsistence cycle</u>.

361 The locations and spatial configurations of territories
824 are determined by the distribution of water and food resources.
[312] Each territory has within it a permanent waterhole, one or more seasonal water sources, and one or more mongongo nut forests. Every territory includes, in addition, a selection

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824 of summer foods such as the berries of Grewia spp. and melons of the Citrullus vines, and a selection of winter foods such as roots of the genera Vigna and Coccinia, and edible gums from the genera Acacia, Terminalia, and Burkea.

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824 No two territories have the same constellation of plant foods and no single territory provides the complete inventory of 85 species of plant foods. The Bushmen are well aware of the variations in plant resources between the several territories and there is general agreement on the "strong" and "weak" points of each territory. For instance, !ubi is famous for its Baobab fruits (Adansonia digitata), a food which most other territories lack. /ai/ai is known for the abundance of its wild orange trees (Strychnos spp.) but is considered "weak" in vegetable ivory palms (Hyphaene ventricosa) which are rare south of the Aha Hills. Dobe, on the other hand, is said to be "strong" in vegetable ivory palms and "weak" in the wild orange trees. Bate is famous for its groves of trees bearing the morula nut (Sclerocarya caffra) but is "weak" in trees bearing the mongongo nut
[152] (Ricinodendron rautanenii). Furthermore, local variations in seasonal rainfall may produce an abundance of food in one territory and leave another territory with a food scarcity.

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433 The important point is that every territory has enough food to sustain at least some of its members throughout the

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433 year, but that territorial arrangements are flexible enough to permit people to collect and eat freely in territories other than their own. Thus there were no instances recorded of the members of one camp going hungry while there was still food available at other camps.

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602 Ecologically, the net effect of this flexibility of territories is to produce an equitable distribution of food resources throughout the population. Kinship, real and fictive, is the social mechanism which makes possible this equitable distribution. Each independent camp maintains ties of kinship and marriage with members of every other independent camp. Implicit in every kinship tie is an obligation to share food and water. When relatives are living together, the obligations are manifested in daily exchanges of food and in mutual aid. When relatives are living at

361 different camps these obligations are latent. An individual
433 who visits another camp will invariably set up his or her hut
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574 beside the hut of the member of the other camp to whom he or she has the closest kinship tie. The visitor is secure in the knowledge that the members of the camp will respect his or her claim to the resources of the area.

The principles of intercamp visiting will be illustrated by an example from the Dobe camp. N!ain!a, a woman about 55 years old, is a member of the Dobe camp. She is a younger

361 433 602 574 sibling of the leaders of the two Dobe camps, and therefore has an unquestionable claim to the Dobe resources. N!ain!a has two married daughters whom she frequently visits. One lives at !angwa and the other at Bate. These two daughters and their husbands make reciprocal visits to Dobe about once a month. N!ain!a has a classificatory uncle at !ubi. During the winter she would make daily trips to collect the Baobab fruits that are available only at !ubi. Her uncle, in turn, would make reciprocal visits to collect the vegetable ivory fruits which are abundant around Dobe. Thus N!ain!a maintains active claims in three of the territories adjacent to her own.

N/eysin!a (N!ain!a's older brother) is unlike N!ain!a in that he prefers to remain in his home territory rather than visit other camps. N/eysin!a's kinship ties with members of other camps are numerous but the reciprocal obligations implicit in these kinship ties remain latent because N/eysin!a rarely visits his relatives in other camps.

361 Inter-territorial visiting is perhaps the most important single principle of land utilization among the Dobe area Bush-
311 men. Concerning land utilization <u>within</u> the individual territory, three significant features should be noted.

First, each of the territories borders on an uninhabited hinterland of indefinite size (see Map 14). Because of this, it is difficult to derive an estimate, in square miles, of the

311 area of each territory.

[312] Second, the area and shape of an individual territory is
[824] influenced by the distance between the important resources within it, such as water sources and mongongo nut forests. It is these point resources and not the spaces between them that are the significant features of the landscape.

Third, territories overlap each other and there is disagreement as to the ownership of these overlapping areas. Most Bushmen say that these areas are owned by all, which means, in effect, that they are owned by no one.

Each of these features will be discussed in detail.

1. Hinterland - It was mentioned earlier that the Dobe area
[312] was surrounded by a belt of uninhabited country. Except for a few summer months there is no standing water in this belt and, as a consequence, the Dobe area people rarely bother to hunt and gather within it. This outer belt is not lacking
[136] in food resources, however. Surveys of the country by Land-
[137] Rover indicate that the game and plant foods there are even more abundant than they are within the traditional territories. Why then are these resources so infrequently utilized?

311 The answer lies in the fact that the Bushmen can usually
312 satisfy their annual subsistence requirements within a radius
361 of 15-20 miles from their permanent waterholes. Whenever possible the Bushmen prefer to make their camp sites at

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standing water sources. Since the number of these water sources is limited, it follows that the areas around the water sources will be the most intensively utilized. The Bushmen know how to live on alternative sources of moisture such as Fockea monroi but only resort to this subsistence strategy for a week or two at a stretch.

It is a good rule of thumb for the Dobe area that the intensity of utilization of land varies inversely with the distance from standing water sources. Since a Bushman group must spend the six dry months of the year at its permanent waterhole, it is not surprising that the area within a walking radius of this waterhole is intensively utilized. Similarly, since the Bushmen spend three months of the year at the large summer water sources, the areas within a walking radius of these water sources is also intensively utilized. During the brief period in December or January when there is standing water at many localities, the Bushmen can utilize areas that lie beyond a walking radius of the major water sources.

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These three levels of intensity of utilization are illustrated schematically in Map 15. This scheme disregards for the moment the actual pattern of distribution of food resources peculiar to each territory. The shaded circles enclose all of the areas that are within a six mile radius of a permanent waterhole. These are the only areas that can be reached by

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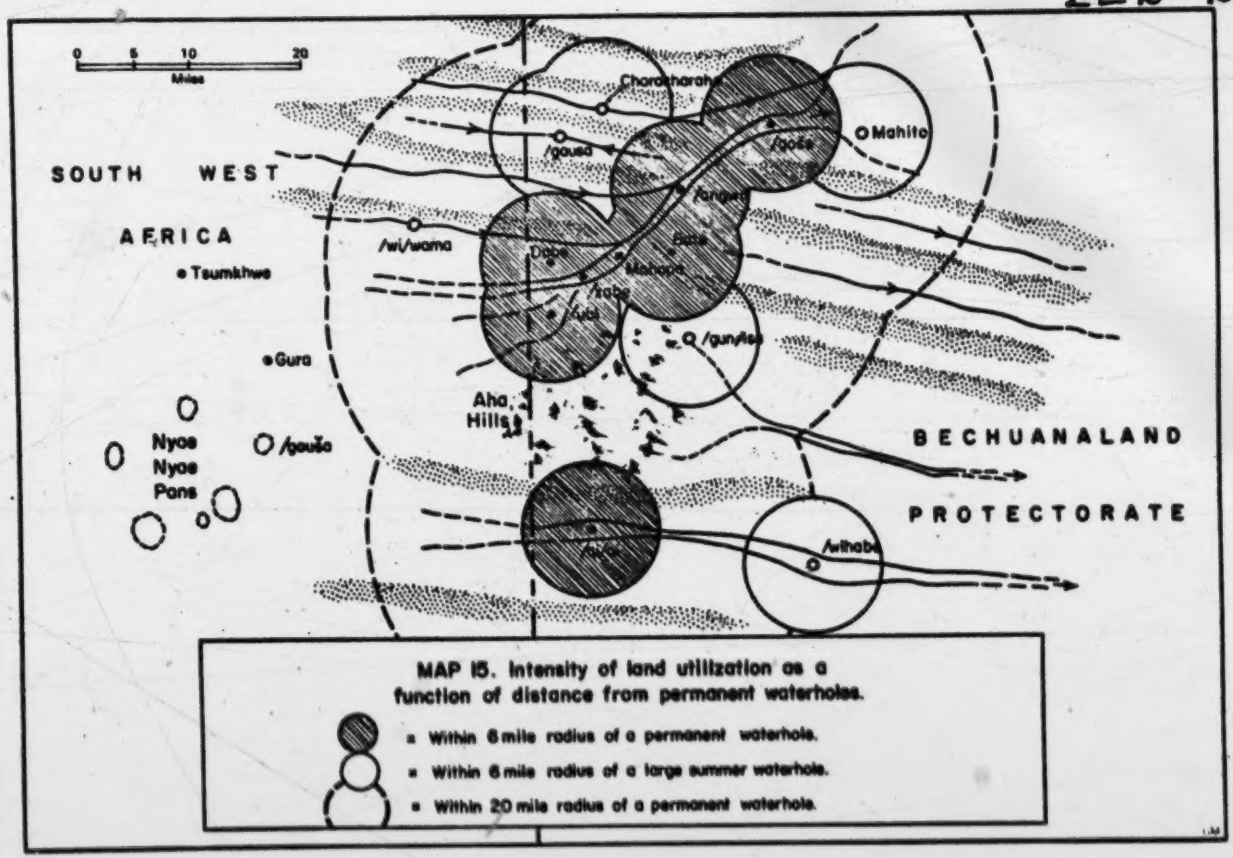

MAP 15. Intensity of land utilization as a function of distance from permanent waterholes.

- Within 6 mile radius of a permanent waterhole.
- Within 6 mile radius of a large summer waterhole.
- Within 20 mile radius of a permanent waterhole.

311 a round trip hike of 12 miles or less.
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361 The distance of 12 miles was chosen for this illustration,
221 because this was close to the maximum distance that the Bushmen were willing to walk in a single day of food gathering. In the previous chapter it was mentioned that Bushmen hunters and gatherers do not stay away from their camps overnight. Therefore an individual hunter or gatherer will confine the day's activities to within a limited radius of his or her camp. These expressed preferences set the limits on the size of the winter areas of intense utilization.

A similar situation exists in the areas that are within a six mile radius of the main summer water sources. These are represented on Map 15 as unshaded circles. These further areas are intensively utilized during the summer months.

These areas of intensive utilization are surrounded by a belt of country that lies within a twenty mile radius of the permanent waterholes. Twenty miles was the average maximum distance from permanent water that the Bushmen were observed to range. This belt is enclosed by a dotted line in Map 15. It should be noted that the Bushmen groups spent on an average less than one month of the year working these areas. The great majority of their time was spent closer to the standing water sources.

311 The Dobe area Bushmen were not observed to make camps
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311 beyond the area enclosed by the dotted line, and this line
361 therefore accurately represents the total utilizable space of the Dobe area.

311 2. Point resources - In Map 15, the picture of land utili-
312 zation was simplified by omitting the actual patterning of
361 food resources. In fact, the extent and configuration of
824 the intensively utilized areas is influenced by the location of the mongongo nut forests and the distance of these forests from the permanent waterholes. These resources are plotted in Map 16. For instance, in an area where the mongongo nuts within a walking radius of water are sufficient to support a camp throughout the year, a group's territory will be small. However, in an area where the mongongo nuts are less locally abundant, the territory must, of necessity, be much larger.

The people of !goše, for example, are fortunate in having a vast nut forest within a ten mile radius of their waterhole.
[162] The nuts from this forest are abundant enough to support the 62 members of the !gose camp throughout the year. By contrast, the nut forests near Dobe are much less abundant than at !goše.
[162] The 36 members of the Dobe camps have to walk farther (up to 18 miles at the end of the dry season) in order to collect the mongongo nuts. As a result, the effective annual territory of the Dobe people is larger than that of the !goše people, despite the fact that the population of Dobe is smaller than

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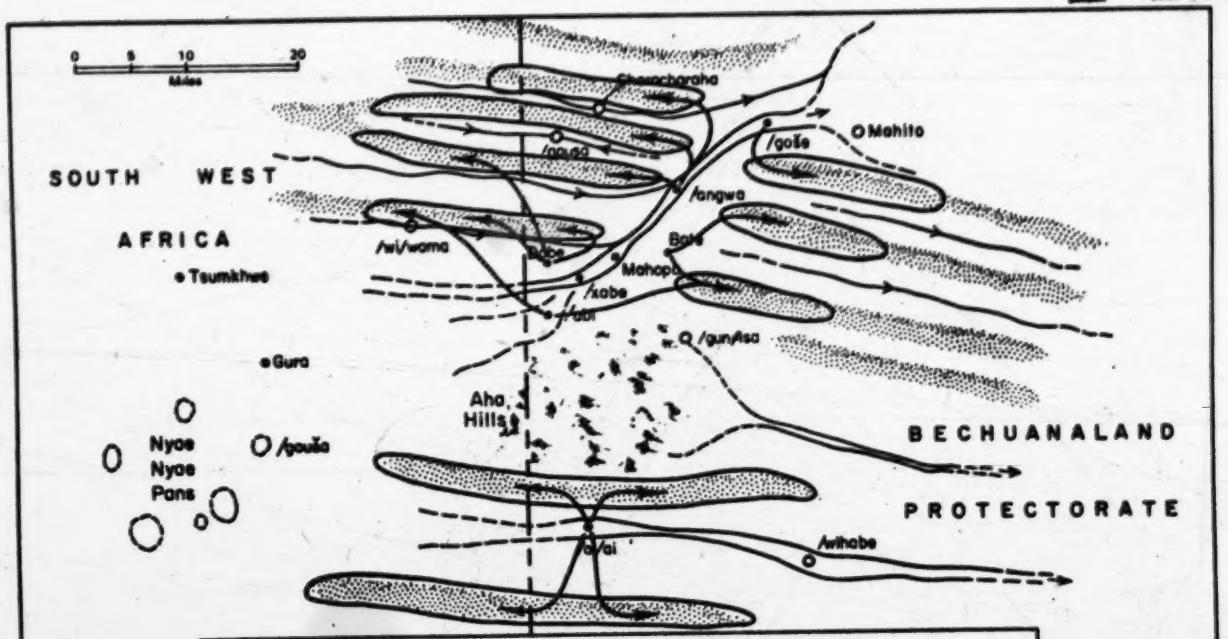

MAP 16. The mongongo nut forests intensively utilized by the Dobe area Bushmen.

= Mongongo nut forests.

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the population of !gose (this is illustrated in Map 14 as well as in Map 16).

A further example will serve to illustrate how point resources influence the size of territories. It was mentioned above that each territory contains one or more large summer water sources. In most cases these summer waters are less than 12 miles from the permanent waterholes. In one case, however, the summer water is 23 miles distant from the permanent waterhole. The summer water at /wihabe belongs to the group of 27 people that works to the east of /ai/ai (see Map 14). This group lays claim to the land between /ai/ai and /wihabe. But they do not utilize this area in their subsistence activities. Rather they hike through it in order to move from one point resource to another, i.e. from their winter water at /ai/ai to their summer water at /wihabe.

3. Territorial overlap - Territories are so loosely defined by the Dobe area !Kung that certain areas are claimed by none of the camps and consequently are utilized by everyone. Wherever territories adjoin, there is a belt of "no-man's land" for which no one is prepared to make a definite statement of ownership. This uncertainty is usually expressed by informants as follows: "The owners of this land died long ago, today we don't know who owns it."

The Aha Hills illustrate this territorial overlap. The

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hills hold standing water only during the summer months. During this season, the members of two /ai/ai camps, the !ubi camp, and the Bate camp mingle freely at its water sources. This mingling of groups also occurs at some of the large summer pans such as !gauba and čharačharaha where members of different winter groups come together for weeks or even months.

The foregoing discussion has highlighted the flexible nature of !Kung Bushmen territoriality. This flexibility is manifested in the frequency of visiting between waterholes, the vagueness of territorial boundaries and the existence of food areas that are said to belong to nobody.

312 221 The availability of water can be regarded as the most important determinant of Bushman subsistence activities. A season by season account of these activities will serve to illustrate how subsistence strategies take maximum advantage of water sources. The annual subsistence cycle is described under six headings:

1. First rains
2. Main rains
3. Autumn
4. Early winter
5. Later winter
6. Spring

1. <u>First rains</u>

The onset of the first rains finds the Bushmen clustered [361] around their permanent waterholes. It is this time of year [574] that camp membership is most stable because all areas are short of food and there are fewer incentives for visiting [132] other camps. Also the weather is hot with mean daily maxima of 100°F and walking is uncomfortable.

312 221 824 Food, in the vicinity of permanent water, is in short supply. Fruits, berries, melons and leafy greens, which appear only during the main rains, are nowhere available. The mongongo nuts are still abundant but are found only at distances of ten or more miles from the permanent waterholes. The diet

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433 physical condition of the Bushmen was visibly poorer in November 1964 by comparison with November 1963.

2. Main rains

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[821] The Bushmen say that a series of intense downpours (measuring 2-3 inches) heralds the beginning of the main rains and ushers in their season of abundance. Such a fall occurred in 1963 at the end of November. The immediate effect of these downpours is to produce standing water in the small molapos that lie in the interstices of the dunes. When these seasonal waters become established, virtually the entire Bushman population moves out to live at them. Thus from December through March the permanent waterholes are largely deserted.

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222 With the coming of the main rains, the summer foods begin to ripen. These foods appear around the summer water sources and they appear also around the permanent waterholes. It is significant, that, although foods become available at the permanent waterholes, the Bushmen tend to avoid these foods. They prefer to eat the foods that are around the summer waters. This illustrates one way that the Bushmen take maximum advantage of the more distant foods. They defer exploitation of the foods around the permanent waterhole until the winter when the alternative water sources have dried out.

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361 The distribution of camps during the summer follows two phases. In the early phase when water is standing in a dozen or more localities camps are found at most waters. This is the time of maximum freedom of movement because ponds fill up in the usually waterless belts and make it possible for people to visit relatives 35-70 miles away.

The distribution of camps in December 1963 is illustrated in Map 17, p.157.

The second phase of summer life begins as these smaller waters dry up in February and March. Then most of the Bushmen converge on the large summer waters such as !Gauŝa Pan (not to be confused with /Gauŝa Pan in the Nyae Nyae area).

!Gauŝa Pan in its peak season (Jan-March in 1964) was a pond 400 feet long and 125 feet across, located in a local [162] drainage area between two dunes. In addition to a resident [648] population of 40 Bushmen (augmented by dozens of temporary visitors) the pan supported four Bantu cattle posts with [136] about 500 head of cattle. The pan was a watering place for kudu and wildebeeste and had resident flocks of red-billed teal, white-bellied stork and hammerkops. Within a 3 mile radius of the pan there were remains of at least ten abandoned Bushmen camps that had been occupied in previous years.

[162] Besides !Gauŝa there were four other big pans in the Dobe area, each of which supported large Bushmen camps (of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 158]

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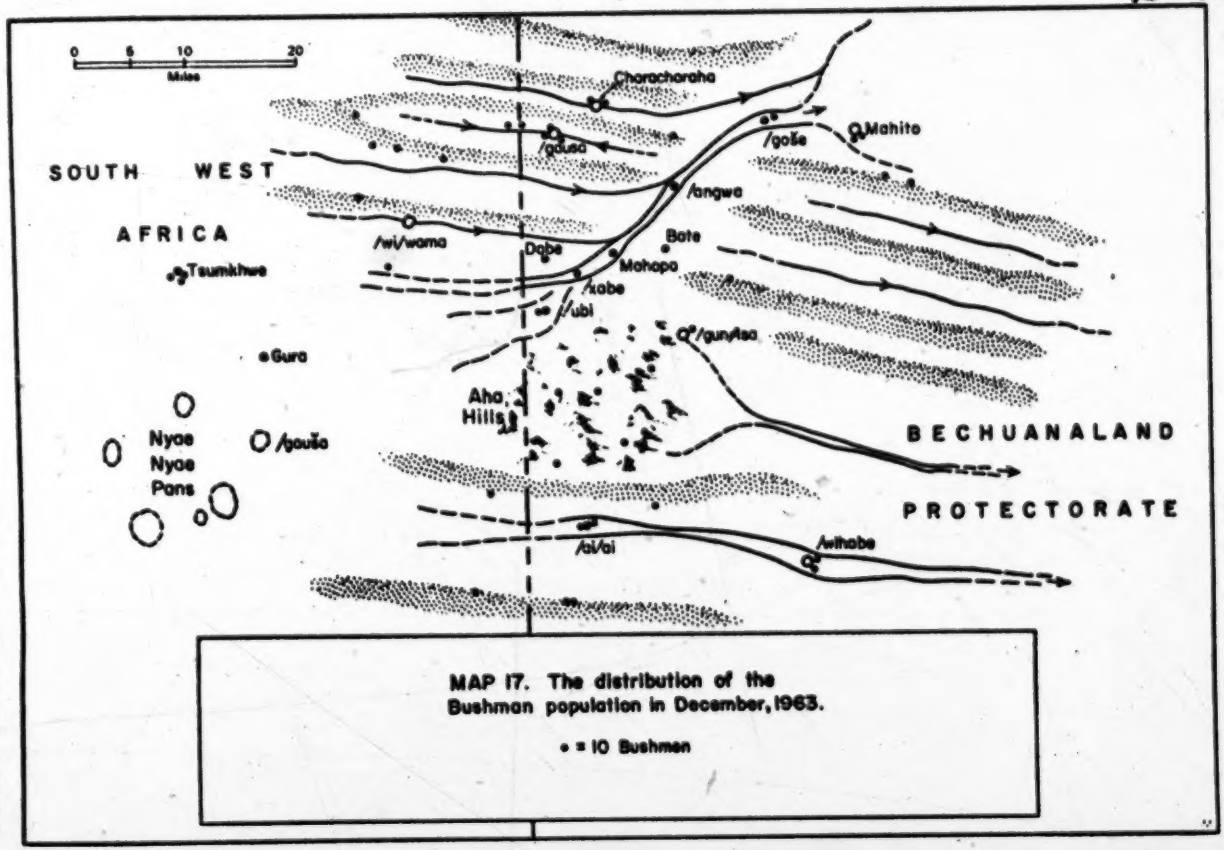

MAP 17. The distribution of the Bushman population in December, 1963.

• = 10 Bushmen

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[162]

30 or more people) and Bantu cattle posts. These were located at Characharaha, Mahito, !gun/isa and /wihabe. Map 18 illustrates the distribution of population during the late summer (March 1964).p. 159.

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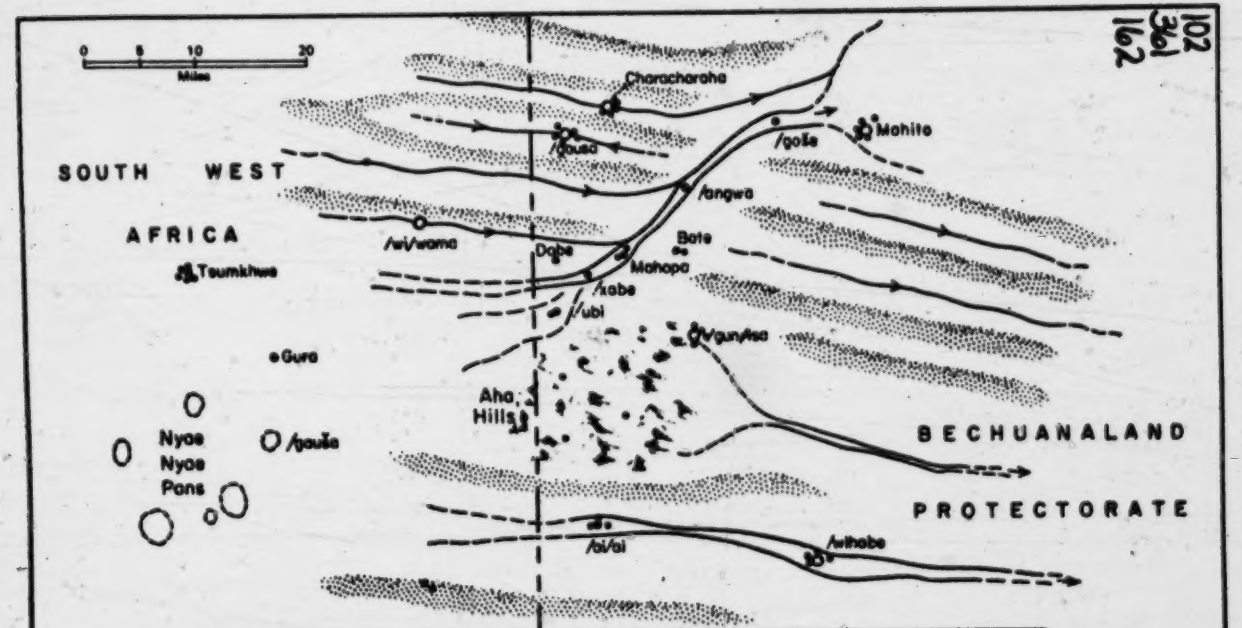
Life at the summer pans is, by Bushman standards, luxurious because all of the major and minor fruits, berries, melons and leafy greens become available. There is a succession of ripening of the major foods throughout the summer months. The first to ripen are the leafy greens (Dipcadi and Talinum), followed by the sour plums (Ximenia caffra and X. americana), then the melons (Citrullus lanatus and C. naudinianus), and the Grewia berries (Grewia flava comes first followed by six other species). By the time the plums have become scarce the melons are ready for eating. As the melons become worked out the Grewia berries ripen. Each of six species of Grewia comes into ripeness at a different time, so that every two weeks throughout the middle of summer another species of Grewia became ready for eating. Throughout the early part of the summer the mongongo nuts are available but these are the nuts from the previous year's fall. It is not until April that the current year's fall of nuts occurs. And then a new cycle of working out from the camp occurs. This illustrates again the selective gathering habits of the !Kung Bushmen.



MAP 18. The distribution of the Bushman population in March, 1964.

• = 10 Bushmen

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000 meat no doubt lessens the men's incentive for hunting.

221 3. Autumn - which fell (in 1964) during April is the period
312 when these large summer waters are drying up. One by one the
• 361 big pans turn into muddy pools and the Bushmen abandon them. Some of the people join the camps established at the remaining summer waters while others fall back to their permanent waterholes in the main molapos.

!Gauŝa was the last of the summer waters to go dry. It was finally abandoned by May 1, 1964. By this date all the Bushmen had returned to the permanent waters and this marks the beginning of the winter subsistence cycle.

As mentioned previously the present study was made during a drought. There are indications in the literature that summer waters do not always dry out as early as May 1. The Bushmen themselves spoke of summer water persisting in previous years into the period of frost which does not come until June or July. It is also probable that the presence of Bantu cattle contributed to the premature drying out of the summer waters. However, these hypotheses cannot be tested except by further field work.

4. Early Winter

221 The winter season is not coterminous with the period of
312 food scarcity. This scarce period does not begin until mid-
433 winter and continues until the first rains. The first half

221 of winter from May to mid-July is a period of relative abun-
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433 dance. This is due to the fact that the permanent waters
[361] have not been occupied during the summer months, and there is abundant food in their vicinity when the Bushmen return to
[824] them in May. Subsistence has a double base, including both the tail-end of the summer foods such as the Grewia berries, and the first series of winter roots and bulbs. Mongongo nuts are also locally available. The distribution of the Bushmen population during the winter of 1964 is shown in Map 19, p. 165.

221 The root foods are generally associated with the winter
824 subsistence. This is curious because as perennials the bulbs may be dug out at any time of the year. But the Bushmen do not concentrate on root foods during the summer months: they pass them over in favor of the foods of shorter duration, the fruits and melons. They state that they do not like the flavor of the root foods during the winter.

In May and June these root plants are exploited and the pressure on them increases through the winter as the nuts become locally exhausted. The major roots are Eulophia spp., Vigna dinteri, Walleria muricata, Coccinia spp., Coccinia rehmannii and Ceropegia spp. - nine species in all. These have edible bulbs or storage organs which range in size from one to three inches in diameter.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 166]

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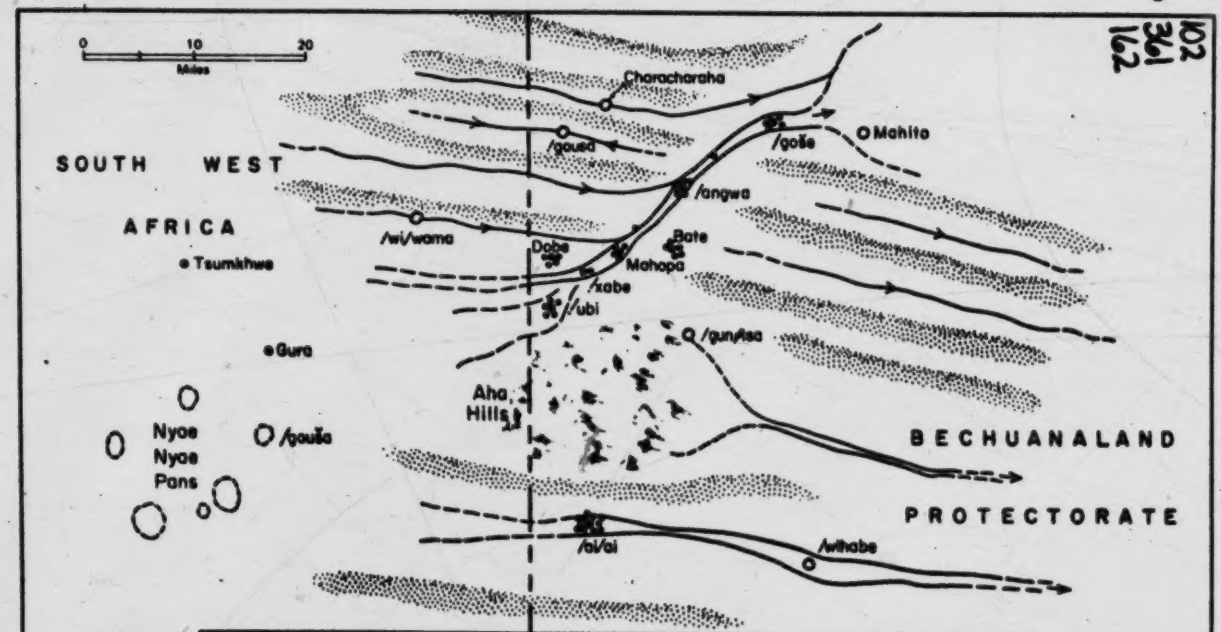

MAP 19. The distribution of the Bushman population in July, 1964.

• = 10 Bushmen.

224 [162] There were nine adult men resident at this camp but only
[361] seven did any hunting. The eighth man was blind and the ninth was crippled. The seven hunters were n≠eysin!a (60 yrs.) and his son ≠oma (35 yrs.); ≠oma//gwe (65 yrs.) and his three sons /ase (40 yrs.), ≠gau (35 yrs.), and n≠eysi (27 yrs.); and ≠gaun!a (40 yrs.), the son-in-law of n≠eysin!a.

[231] The most successful hunter, ≠oma (35 yrs.), hunted 16/28 days and killed four wart hogs and a bat-eared fox, all killed with the aid of dogs. Next was /ase (40 yrs), who hunted nine days. He snared two steenbok and a hare and killed a porcupine by cornering it in its burrow and digging it out.

Then there were the two old men both of whom hunted 16 days each. ≠oma//gwe snared a steenbok, a honey badger, a hare and a kori bustard, and collected a python. N≠eysin!a snared two steenbok.

Old ≠oma//gwe's two younger sons hunted nine and eight days, respectively. The older of the two, ≠gau, snared one korhaan; the youngest son, n≠eysi, also snared one korhaan.

Finally old n≠eysin!a's son-in-law, ≠gaun!a, hunted four days but killed nothing.

[146] The seven men hunted a total of 79 man-days and killed 18 animals; the total weight of meat is estimated at 454 lbs. In addition, they received gifts of meat from other camps

251 were roasted in the coals of the fire and then pounded to
252 the consistency of coarse meal in the wooden mortar. This
262 roasted hide had the taste and texture of crisp crackling and was delicious when pounded and mixed with the flesh of roots of the genera Coccinia, Walleria and Eulophia. These stores of dried hide and meat did not serve as a staple surplus so much as an emergency delicacy to brighten the diet when a day's hunting had been unsuccessful.

221 The major food strategy during the hot dry spring was
222 the 7-14 day trip to the waterless country where mongongo nuts
312 were still plentiful. At these camps the only source of
361 water was the juice from the roots of Fockea monroi. Fockea
824 has an uneven distribution in the Dobe area. The Bushmen must camp in a nut forest that is in close proximity to patches of Fockea. The maximum period that a group was observed to live on Fockea roots was two weeks. The limitation is set by the density of Fockea plants in an area, and the amount of fluid that each plant holds. Life at the Fockea patches is difficult because people have to work hard to obtain water as well as food. Each Fockea root storage organ contains 8-16 ounces of recoverable moisture. Thus a daily ration of 72 ounces of water can be obtained by digging out 5-10 Fockea roots.

312 But the dilemma of living on Fockea lies in the fact that
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484 until 8:00 p.m. Before making camp we ate wild oranges along
123 the way (Strychnos spinosa) but these did not contain much
312 moisture. We camped at a point halfway between !wi/wama and Dobe and there shared out the last of the family's drinking water, which amounted to one quart for four adults and three children, that is c. 4-1/2 oz. for each of us.

484 November 8 - The camp awoke at 4:50 a.m. By 5:20 we had
123 packed and were under way, arriving home without incident at 7:30 a.m.

484 November 8-16 - This ended the author's participation in
312 the Fockea trip. Six members of the original group remained
361 at !wi/wama eating nuts and drinking the juice of Fockea. On the eleventh of November there was a heavy fall of rain at !wi/wama which created a temporary pool of water near their camp. This enabled them to extend their stay beyond the original plan of five days.

484 The same week that the rain fell, the pregnant woman of
361 the camp gave birth to a baby boy. The group remained at the
844 nut camp until the mother was strong enough to walk. Then they broke camp and returned to Dobe on November 16. Both mother and child appeared to be in fine condition.

132 The rain of November 11 was the first substantial fall
221 of the 1964-65 rainy season and initiated the subsistence activities associated with the late spring (see above). Thus

121 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social
433 maturity by the young people and the support of the non-pro-
883 ductive elderly people are institutions which are possible
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182 only in a society with a relatively secure subsistence base.

433 Water, Food, and Nomadism -- The special subsistence problems
312 faced by the Dobe area Bushmen concern the scarcity of water.
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361 All of the eight natural permanent waterholes are situated in or near the beds of the main molapos. During the summer months, when temporary pools develop at a distance from permanent water, the Bushmen can move out to live at them. Except for a few weeks each year, the Bushmen spend their entire lives camped within an hour's walk of standing water. Only at the end of the dry season do some of the younger people undertake the long trips to the dry forests where they live by digging out the water-bearing roots. Since it is the custom of the Bushmen to return each evening to their main camps, it follows that areas within a single day's walk of standing water will be intensively utilized. Areas that lie beyond this radius will be rarely utilized even though they may be rich in food. The fact that the Bushmen can live well for most of the year within a six-mile radius of permanent water indicates that they do not lead a nomadic way of life. Each summer they move up-country to the seasonal waters and each winter they fall back on their permanent waterholes. In contrast to some Australian aboriginal groups, whose annual round consists of walking a circuit of many waterholes, the Dobe area Bushmen have a

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361 transhumant annual round, in which they alternate between their rainy season range and their dry season range.

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628 The Dobe area !Kung do not undertake long marches of 30-70 miles for the purpose of getting food. This task can be readily fulfilled within a day's walk of their territorial water sources. When such long marches occur, they are invariably for the purposes of visiting, trading, and marital exchanges with relatives at distant camps. As such, these trips should not be confused with the normal routines of subsistence.

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162 Range Size and Population Density -- By plotting the movements of the various camps in their annual subsistence cycle, the observer can derive a rough estimate of the total land area that is required to support the population of 430 Bushmen. It would be much more difficult to estimate the area necessary to support a single camp, because of the considerable overlap of territories and the frequent visiting between camps. It will be more useful to treat the entire population as a unit. It is estimated that the 800 square miles that lie within a six-mile radius of major water sources are sufficient to support the population for most of the year. Beyond this radius lies a hinterland which is rarely penetrated; perhaps a further 200 square miles of this hinterland is utilized in the course of a single year. Thus the total annual range of the Dobe area Bushmen may be estimated at 1,000 square miles. This calculation sets the effective population

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office is hereditary. His authority is very slight, and apparently 621
exercised mainly in regulating the movements of the people from [622]
place to place, and in leading in war.

Each band also acts as a unit in its relations with other bands of 619
the same or of neighbouring tribes, and in such relations it is 621
collectively responsible for the actions of any of its members. When
differences arise they are confined to the bands concerned, and not
participated in by the rest of the tribe. Occasionally, it is true, a
weak band may seek and obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour,
but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature.[1]

The band is also the land-owning group. Each band possesses its 423
own hunting territory, to which it is restricted, and exercises authority 621
over and specific rights within this territory only.[2] The members
of the band roam about freely all over their own land, but do not [438]
trespass on their neighbours' territory, although single persons and
small parties may occasionally pay short visits across the border,
mostly for trading purposes. As a result of this territorial segregation
it may often happen that the more widely separated bands of [619]
a tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct contact with
each other.

There are no special boundary marks between the areas occupied
by different hunting bands. The limits of each area are as a rule
defined by various natural landmarks, such as sand dunes, koppies,
river-beds, vleis, springs, or even trees. These are well known to the
people themselves and carefully observed. In some cases the areas
of different bands are separated by neutral zones, formed by belts of [311]
trees, open flats, watercourses, etc. Nobody will venture into these
except during the course of a visit. In particular, however, each
hunting territory is defined by the waterholes in it. These constitute
the real property of the band. The encampments are always erected [361]
near them, all the game on the land around them or drinking at the
water may be hunted only by members of the band, and similarly
only they may gather "veldkos" (wild vegetable foods) in the
vicinity. The infringement of territorial rights in this respect is one [628]
of the main causes of dispute between neighbouring bands, and
almost invariably leads to bloodshed.

[1] The relations between different bands are discussed more fully below in Chapter VI, s.v. "Relations with Other Bands"; vide p. 155

[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 156; Passarge, op. cit., 31–2; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 4; Fourie, "The Bushmen," 85; Lebzelter "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928–9), SitzBer. (12).

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are the serfs of the interdwelling Bantu, and the conditions under which they live do not, therefore, permit of their association in large groups. 621 648

In the tribes to the north-west who still retain to some extent their own mode of life and organization the communities are on the whole somewhat larger, although the numbers fluctuate a good deal. 162 621 In the Kaukauveld Passarge frequently saw bands of up to thirty persons, and in the Mahuraveld of between twenty and twenty-five persons.[1] Among the Naron, again, Miss Bleek speaks of a camp containing from sixty to eighty persons,[2] while among the Auen, according to Kaufmann, up to thirty families, i.e. about one hundred persons, may be found camping together.[3] Both writers agree, however, in stating that the numbers may at times be considerably less. Müller visited eight camps of Bushmen in the Kaukauveld, and the figures given by him show that in six of them the population ranged between thirty and seventy, while the remaining two had one hundred and fifty and two hundred inhabitants respectively.[4] Seiner, again, states that the bands of the Kung average fifty persons, although he mentions two encampments in the vicinity of Karakuwisa which were considerably larger[5]; while among the Tannekwe he found five encampments of Bugakwe, whose population he estimates altogether as two hundred and twenty, eight of Garikwe containing all told about four hundred and thirty persons, and one of Gokwe with ninety.[6]

Not too much weight can be laid on the actual figures given, as for the most part they are based on what are obviously rough estimates, not accurate observations. [114] There seems little doubt, however, that among the North-Western tribes the bands are on the whole more considerable than in any of the other tribes, and the average given by von François[7] of between fifty to sixty persons to a band may be taken as fairly representative, although as we have seen the numbers fluctuate a good deal.

Part of the difficulty in obtaining accurate information about the size of the band lies in the fact that the families composing it are not always found living together in one encampment. Within the 166 361 621

[1] *Die Buschmänner*, 9, 10. [2] *The Naron*, 4. [3] "Die Auin," 136.
[4] "Erkundungsritt in das Kaukauveld," 530. The actual figures are: 150, 40, 70, 70, 200, 30, 50, and 30.
[5] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303, 302.
[6] "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 104.
[7] *Nama und Damara*, 234.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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166 territory occupied by the band its members roam about freely in
361 search of food, and family groups often separate from the main body
621 to wander about on their own account for a while. Of the Naron, for example, Miss Bleek writes that she has "sometimes seen three or four huts together, sometimes twenty, with from sixty to eighty inhabitants. Every few weeks a new hut appears, or a vacant space shows where one has gone"; and she adds that as the village is such a fluctuating quantity it is difficult to estimate the numbers of a band or a tribe.[1] Indeed it seems to be a feature in the life of some of the Northern tribes that during the dry season the families in the band scatter about separately, to come together again only in the rainy
[221] season, when there is an ample supply of water and "veldkos". Thus among the Auen only one or two families may be found living together in the dry season, while towards the end of and shortly after the rainy season, when the edible plants of the veld are abundant, up to thirty families may join together.[2] It is thus by no means unusual to find several small encampments of members of the same band scattered about over its hunting territory, a fact which may easily mislead casual observers with regard to its numbers.

On the other hand, it also appears that at times members of several
361 different bands may come together for a while. Passarge mentions
619 that in 1897, during an outbreak of rinderpest when cattle were
621 dying in great numbers in the Ghansiveld, Bushmen were drawn together from all parts of the vicinity by the abundance of animal food thus provided. At one spot he saw between one and two hundred of them, at another about one hundred, and these included both Auen and Naron.[3] In the Kwebe Hills, again, his camp was passed by about one hundred men returning to the Hainaveld from the sandveld. Together with their women and children this group must therefore have numbered from three to four hundred.[4] It is almost certain that these people too must have belonged to different bands and had only come together temporarily, but this is not definitely stated by Passarge. Kaufmann, again, mentions a camp of Auen at Sidonitsaub which in April, 1908, contained about four hundred men, or with women and children about one thousand persons
[622] all told. That these belonged to a number of different bands was

[1] *The Naron*, 4.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 138; cf. Passarge, op. cit., 42; Vialls, "Kalahari Masarwas," 30.
[3] Op. cit., 7, 8.
[4] Op. cit., 10.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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obvious from the fact that although several chiefs were present, there was no common supreme chief.[1] Such gatherings are only temporary in nature, and produced by some special circumstance. They cannot therefore be regarded as indicative of the normal groupings of the Bushmen. 361 619 621 [622]

Social Structure of the Band

Within the band the only division is into families. The family among the Bushmen consists of a man and his wife or wives, together with their dependent children. It is a unit of outstanding importance in their social and economic life. The members of a family usually live together in one hut; the children until they are mature remain under the direct control of their parents, are nourished and are educated by them; husband and wife jointly contribute to the maintenance of their household, and the domestic tasks and industries are apportioned between them according to fixed custom. The family, moreover, has much freedom of movement, and, as already mentioned, single families will often roam about separately for a while within the territory of their band. 592 [595]

The relationship between the different families constituting a band is seldom defined clearly by the various observers. In particular the information available about the kinship organization of the Bushmen is very inadequate. Miss Bleek has recently published lists of relationship terms for each of the three main linguistic groups defined by her.[2] From these it appears that among all the Bushmen there are, in addition to various descriptive terms of relationship, also certain terms applied not to individuals but to whole groups of different relatives, while still others are used reciprocally between people standing in a particular relationship to each other. Relationship terms of the last two types, when found in other societies, are usually indicative of a definite organization of the community on the basis of kinship; and it is probable therefore that some such organization exists among the Bushmen as well. Unfortunately the lists given by Miss Bleek appear to be drawn from vocabulary sources rather than from an actual study of kinship itself, and cannot therefore be used with any degree of confidence. In any case they throw 114 601 602 621 114 601 114 602

[1] Op. cit., 138, 155. It should be mentioned here that the figures given by Kaufmann are, as a rule, far in excess of those given by other writers of about the same time and on the same district (e.g. Müller, German official estimate), and cannot therefore be accepted without question. [114]

[2] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1924), 57–70.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

611 621 belong to the band of which their father is a member. But, as already mentioned, there are certain cases among the Naron where both married sons and married daughters with their respective spouses and children are found living in the same band. It would throw much light on the structure of the band if we could know whether all these children are regarded as members of the band in which their parents are living, or whether some distinction is made between the children of the married sons on the one hand and those of the married daughters on the other. Without further research in the field, however, no definite statement can be made on this crucial point. There is also nothing to indicate whether people who are related or claim to be related in the male line, or again those who are related or claim to be related in the female line, are specially bound together by ties of a ceremonial, legal or economic nature. Whether further research, therefore, will show the bands of the North-Western Bushmen to be clans is problematical. The trend of the available data gives no clear indication either way.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 221 [184] Moving about constantly as they do in the search for food, the Bushmen build no permanent homes. More or less fixed villages are found only among the tribes living in the Okavango-Zambesi region, but even here there are distinct quarters for the winter (dry season) and for the summer (rainy season). During the dry season the Tannekwe live in the marsh lands of the Okavango basin, where they have small villages surrounded with palisades, after the style of their Bantu neighbours. In the rainy season, however, these become uninhabitable. The people then move out to villages on the edge of the surrounding plains, where they also have their hunting grounds. The Hukwe on the plains north-east of Lake Ngami live in similar villages during the rainy season, from which they scatter about in family groups in the dry season to hunt and collect.[1]

361 342 Everywhere else the encampments of the Bushmen are temporary. The tribes formerly living in the mountainous regions of the south and east often made their homes in caves and under rock-shelters, in which relics of their occupation may still be found. Even to-day the Namib Bushmen, during the latter part of the dry season, also live chiefly in caves or under overhanging rock-shelters on the high

[1] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296, 297.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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mountains in the west of Great Namaqualand.[1] Most of the Bushmen, however, now live in flat country, where such natural shelters are denied them. Wherever they stay for more than a couple of days, crude bush huts are put up by the women. These are usually erected within walking distance of a waterhole, about an hour or two away. The people never live at the water itself, for fear of frightening away the game, which is most easily shot or trapped when coming to drink. 342 361 [462] [312] [224]

Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, "When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts."[2] 361 622 342 [372]

There seems to be as a rule no fixed form of settlement. All the families drinking at one waterhole may live in one group, or there may be several lots of huts scattered about in different directions. Among the Cape Bushmen, for example, one might find three or four huts standing together, or several huts dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, and the same appears to be true of the Naron.[3] 361

Among the Heikum, however, the camp is said to be laid out on a definite plan.[4] As a rule all the members of the band live in a common encampment or "werft" (*//gaus*). The huts of the married families are placed at a certain interval apart, and arranged in the form of an irregular circle. At or near the middle of the camp is situated a large tree, known as the */heis*. The hut of the chief (*gei-khoib*) is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. The brother of the *gei-khoib* live immediately to his left on the south side of the *//gaus*, and beyond them are placed the other married families of the community. The right or north side of the *//gaus* is reserved entirely for visiting sisters of the *gei-khoib* and their families, while any of his married daughters who may be visiting him erects her hut directly opposite to his at the furthest extremity of the camp. "This is done on account of the parent-in-law taboo (*tao-sas*) which [184] [606]

[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii; *idem*, *The Naron*, 4.
[3] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50–2; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[4] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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361 [606] exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes." Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent [882] young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young men; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of married people. The dancing place is to the west within the circle.

"The large tree (*!heis*) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved 361 562 as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely, [622] the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for kindling the principal fire (*!ou-|ais*) or for other menial purposes when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this *!heis*. Under [372] it is made the first fire (*!hei-|ais*) on the establishment of a new [224] *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed in the chase."[1]

Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among 114 all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the 361 only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. "Where several families live together," he says, "the huts are ranged in a circle, the head of the group ("Dorfälteste") living in the east."[3]

Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families 592 are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they [595] get on well; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share [882] a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree, and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with [589] a boy; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone, are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

342 The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52. [2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4-5; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 51; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in the werft, as firemaking is a matter of serious import and the chief is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off misfortune. The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out." 372 622

As an illustration he cites[1] the practices existing among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan. Here, when it becomes necessary to move camp, as for example after a death has taken place, the whole community takes up all its goods and chattels, and, led by the *gei-khoib* (chief), sets off in search of a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. "The chief then proceeds to the large tree (*/heis*) in the centre and kindles a fire underneath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *!norab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-/ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*/ou-/ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-/ais* and the women may fetch fire from the */ou-/ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-/ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the */ou-/ais*. The */ou-/ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-/ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the */heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new */ou-/ais* kindled

166 361 622 [768] 372 622 [276] [621]

[1] Op. cit., 87–8; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52–3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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372 by him by means of the *hei-doros*. The new */ou-/ais* now serves to
622 supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gaus* (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case only in
361 221 times of drought when the game has moved far afield and great
672 difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos. Further, people
622 driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *//gaus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the */ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.

622 "Persistent ill-health among the members of the community or diffi-
372 culty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the */ou-/ais*, are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new */ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the *hei-doros* and applies */norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it has been."

114 "The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire," Fourie goes on to say, "is met with among all the organized primitive
372 groups" of Bushmen in South-West Africa. The only previous
622 information hinting at observances of this kind is found in a curt statement by Kaufmann that among the Auen the "captain" of a village sees to it that the fire does not go out. But he adds that there is no "sacred" fire, and attributes the guarding of the fire against extinction to the practical inconveniences of the method employed in making it.[1] Quite recently, however, Lebzelter has reported the occurrence of similar observances among the Kung, although his remarks on the subject are very scanty. He states merely that the Kung, like the Bergdama, have the sacred fire round which only the men may sit. "When the camp is moved," he concludes, "the head of the group takes with him a brand from this fire"[2]—presumably to use it for

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 139; "Der 'Kapitän' (Aichab) der Werft achtet darauf, dass das Feuer nicht ausgeht. Ein 'heiliges' Feuer ist nicht vorhanden. Die Bewahrung des Feuers vor dem Verlöschen geschieht lediglich aus praktischen Gründe, da das Feuerquirlen immerhin ziemlich anstrengend ist."

[2] "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 14: "Wie die Honigkaffern haben auch die !Kuñ das Sochafeuer. Es ist dies das heilige Feuer, bei dem nur die Männer sein dürfen. Wenn die Werft übersiedelt, dann nimmt das Werftoberhaupt einen Feuerbrand mit Sochafeuer mit."

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Chapter VI

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIFE

Land Tenure

Each hunting band among the Bushmen, as we have already noted, 423
claims rights of ownership over a certain stretch of land, and 621
vigorously resents trespass upon it by members of other bands. Within the band land is owned in common. The hunting territory belongs to the whole band, and all the members of the band have an equal right to hunt and collect over any part of it and to use the water in it. Often the members of the band are scattered apart, so that the same territory is exploited by the inhabitants of several [361]
different encampments. These encampments, as we have seen, are not made up of any fixed number of families, but fluctuate a good deal in size. Whatever their momentary disposition, however, their [221]
inhabitants always roam within a definitely limited area, and it is always the members of the same band who establish these different encampments within its bounds.

As the Bushmen practise neither agriculture nor pastoralism, there 423
is no question of cultivation or grazing rights. There is said, however, to exist a certain private ownership of land among the Auen, in the [222]
sense that when a man burns a patch of veld in order to promote the growth of veldkos on it, he alone has a claim to its products. Others, even people living at the same encampment, may not gather veldkos on this patch without his permission.[1] Somewhat analogous to this 222
are the private rights recognized by all Bushmen over objects found 422
in the veld. A man who finds an ostrich nest with one or two eggs, for example, sticks an arrow in the ground close by as a sign of ownership, and waits until the tale of eggs is complete before carrying them off. Should another man take the marked eggs, the first finder follows the spoor to the thief's hut, and demands them back. If they are [685]
restored, there is no fighting, but the thief does not escape reproaches [626]
for wrongdoing, especially from the neighbours of the finder; while in case of refusal bloodshed almost inevitably follows. In the same

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 155.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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big game, especially wild horses and mules. There are in [224]
those parts wild horses and mules, both so beautifully bred
out by nature that no painter is skilful enough to paint 136
them true to life with all their colouring. The horses have
buttocks extraordinarily dappled, and over the rest of the
body are striped yellow, black, red and pure sky blue. The
mules are also striped, white and chestnut brown, but not
dappled, and are uncommonly beautiful.[39]) The Sonquas in 439
1662 brought the skin of one of these beasts to the Cape,
which our countrymen bartered from them for tobacco and
other things. It was then filled with straw and hung up for
show in the hall of the Fort, as something curious and
uncommon, which it also is, to be seen by the people of the
incoming ships.[40])

The meat of the rock-rabbits constitutes a pleasant food 262
for the Sonquas, who live principally on it and on certain 231
roots growing in the ground. They also keep many hunting
dogs,[40a]) trained to hunt the rock-rabbits which are their 224
principal food, and knowing how to drag these animals out
of their holes.

They are extremely great plunderers and marauders. 721
They steal from other Hottentots all the cattle they can get,
with which they then flee immediately to the mountains,
where they cannot be found in their retreats and hidden
caves by anybody, not even by other Hottentots.

Their huts, made only of branches twined together, 342
without woven mats, and covered solely with rushes, are
several thousand in number; for they move about from one 361
place to another, and never break up the huts, but erect
still others wherever they camp.

Their little cloaks are sewn together from the skins of 291
the wild oxen which live on the rocks. The women have a
quitazol or sunshade of ostrich feathers, tied on and about
the head, to protect themselves from the heat and burning
of the sun's piercing rays.

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had shot a wild horse below the mane in the neck. This horse was 136
very beautifully gray dappled over its whole body, except behind
from the back over the buttocks and along the legs which were
flame-coloured, with white, sky blue and reddish brown stripes,
wonderfully beautiful . . . It had small ears like a horse. The
stuffed heads and pieces of skin which the Hottentots sometimes
brought to us belong evidently to another sort, as they have
long ears, though extraordinarily, curiously and beautifully
flame-coloured in white and chestnut brown."

[40a]) Dogs were the only domestic animals kept by the Bushmen. 231
They were generally lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half starved
and savage tempered, but excellent assistants in the chase, for 224
which they were mainly employed.

As the spellings of the Bushman names on my herbarium specimens are from field notes, they are often different from the spellings given in this paper, which was done after I had had the opportunity of consulting the authors I have mentioned. It will be noticed that many of the plants do not have the full set of Bushman names. The main reason is that we were not in contact with the Eastern !khû speakers until we had passed Ghanzi, and lost contact successively with the |gikwe, ||ganakwe and !hɔ: speakers as the expedition drew to a close. Other reasons are that my field notes were sometimes inadequate, that I forgot to ask, and that some plants appeared restricted to certain areas and were not known to all the groups of Bushmen. 128 [184]

As the expedition was during the winter when most of the plants were in poor condition, very little photography was done in the field. Most of the photographs are from plants which were sent back to Pretoria and cultivated there, or from plants which grow naturally in the Transvaal. In this paper the plants and photographs are arranged according to de Dalla Torre and Harms (1900-1907). Specimen numbers are in brackets. 126 [128]

There is little doubt that the plants discussed here represent only a fraction of those used, for we covered a very small part of the area over which the Bushmen range, and this when probably most of the annuals were dead, when some foods were out of season and when the above ground parts of many bulbous and tuberous plants had withered and disappeared so that the plants themselves could not be found. 114

Because of poor yield, poor quality, difficulty in harvesting or lack of flavour, not many of the Bushman food plants would be worth cultivating in their present form for the use of civilised people, but they offer a large field to the plant breeder. The most promising have been noted accordingly in the text. 000

There were few bones around the Bushman encampments, but this does not necessarily mean that there is a scarcity of meat in their diet, for the bones might have been removed by porcupines (Alexander, 1956; Dart, 1957) or eaten by hyaenas. A more reliable indication was the scantiness of the Bushmen's skin coverings. There are sharp frosts in the Kalahari and sometimes bitter winds, and one may argue that the Bushmen would provide themselves with sufficient skins if they had a regular supply of meat, although admittedly they eat skins after charring them on the coals and pounding them in a mortar. Vegetable refuse from former meals and fresh vegetable food, however, were found at all the Bushman encampments, and additional gatherings were the permanent chore of the women and children and of the men to a lesser degree. The insanitary condition of the surroundings also provided unmistakable evidence that the bulk of their food was of vegetable origin. 262 [291] [132] [364]

Their knowledge of field botany was astonishingly good. It has to be, otherwise they would have no chance of survival in their arid country. Fragments of stem, dead leaves, and other small clues of this nature, after being unerringly identified, were all the Bushmen needed to find many of the storage organs they were seeking. Differences which escaped me would enable them to distinguish between edible and harmful plants, and they had a thorough knowledge of the areas and habitats in which their food plants grew. They must have an influence on the distribution of plants, 824 137X

/138 cont./

342 bushes and dispense altogether with any construction.

Tree houses are unknown. In any case, they would be possible only in the Kaukau Veld (baobab), since in the Auin region proper the trees are too weak for this purpose.

Each woman has her own windscreen. If she does not have one, she will live under a special bush.

[882] Young girls and young unmarried men sometimes live in special "girls' houses" or "bachelors' houses," separated according to sex.

34 Any kind of special buildings, like meeting houses, storage rooms, and so forth, are unknown.

514 There is little neatness in the vicinity of the huts. Special toilets do not exist. The sole consideration with regard to evacuation is to be hidden from sight. One finds great accumulations of feces away from the main direction of the wind. The practice of burying excrement, common among the Herero, apparently does not occur.

768 The pontok (windscreen) is by no means a valuable possession. After the owner's death the entire horde leaves the locality. Hence any question about the inheritance of the hut is an empty one.

342 There is no door, and it would not be easy to attach one, considering the construction of the hut. In this connection it should be mentioned that things are left carelessly lying around in the settlements, even when all the people are absent. In any 685 case a theft would be paid for with the death of the thief. Since [151] the Bushman knows the footprints of every person in the region, the culprit would always be found. In this respect the Bushman operates as reliably as the best police dog.

352 They lie upon grass covered with a few tanned hides. There 513 are no other household furnishings.

/139/ C. Food

372 The doro (fire-making instrument) (Fig. 1) consists of two round sticks of the Burkea africana. Several round, flat hollows

[Text continues on page 10]

/139/

372
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Fig. 1. Doro (fire sticks)
A. Twirling stick
aa, Long part
b, Rounded end to be put in bored holes
B, Stick with bored holes
cc, Long part
ddd, Bored holes

Fig. 2. Stick with tree resin to glue the wrapping on the arrow
a, Stick
b, Tree resin

Fig. 3. Stick with arrow poison:
a, Stick
b, Spindle of poison, which is wrapped

1/2 natural size
[as shown in original text]

/139 cont./

372 are made in one of the sticks, and the rounded end of the other stick fits into them. [Figs. 1, 2, and 3 appear here.]

The first stick is placed on the ground and held down with both feet. The other stick is placed with its round end in one of the hollows, and it is twirled as rapidly as possible between the flat palms of the hands. As can be seen in the picture Photo. 19), the hands slide downward during this process, and frequently a second man immediately starts at the top when the hands of the first operator have moved all the way down. A kind of tinder of thoroughly dried birds' nests (weaver bird?) is placed around the bored hole. The fine dust from the twirling begins to smoulder after a few minutes, and the tinder is then fanned to a flame by blowing with the mouth.

[622] The "captain" (aichab) of the settlement sees to it that the fire does not go out. A "sacred" fire does not exist. Keeping the fire from going out is a matter of sheer practicality since twirling to make fire is, after all, fairly strenuous.

354 A few stones, which, incidentally, are not found everywhere in the Kalahari, represent the hearth. In rainy weather cooking is done inside the windscreen.

462 The woman does the cooking while the children help her. In exceptional cases the paterfamilias may busy himself at the cooking fire.

On occasion all the members of a family will go out to get water and wood. Construction of the house is purely woman's work. Bachelors' huts are likewise built by the women of the horde.

415 439 Wooden cooking pots exist. Supposedly they are obtained through barter from the Ambo.

The Auin either carves primitive spoons out of wood himself,
322 or he obtains them through barter from the region of the Ngami
415 [439] [Lake Ngami?]. Frequently special artists at carving are to be found among the older men. The upper, concave part of a
415 small turtle shell, whose lower, flat side has been cut off, often
[321] serves as a spoon.

These shells are also used as drinking vessels, and, along with hollowed-out tschama, they are the only drinking vessels that I found.

/152 cont./

415 Mortars and pestles, as well as spoons of wood, are made (see Photo. 18).

[287] Painting and bark working are unknown.

The preparation of hides is the same as that practiced by the
171 Hottentot, Herero, Bergdamara, and Betschuana. Hence, I shall
281 dispense with a description of the process.

The women's cosmetic described above is used to dye cloth-
281 ing made of hides. The dye is rubbed on with the ball of the
386 hand and is comparatively waterproof.

To be sure, it is questionable whether this process may be called "dyeing." The hides are already red from the tanning process, and the cosmetic scarcely changes the color. Perhaps it is better regarded as impregnation or greasing.

386 /153/ The colored stones that are pulverized and mixed with
438 fat to make the cosmetic are dug up near Kaitsaub (45 kilometers south of Gobabis) by the Hai//um Bushmen residing there, and they constitute an article of trade. [Fig. 12 appears here.]

The beautiful and durable cordage of the Auin is made of
283 the fiber of a wild agave. It looks so neat and clean that one might suspect its origin to have been in a European rope factory rather than in a Bushman settlement.

The cords are made in various strengths and are used for all kinds of purposes, mainly for the game snares.

Their manufacture is very simple and proceeds very rapidly.

The leaf is softened by tapping with a wooden stick, and it is then placed on a firm base. One hand holds a pointed stick or a blunt knife firmly on the leaf, while the other hand draws the leaf against the vertically held knife and toward the body. After this has been repeated several times, the strong fibers remain and are then rolled together into cords of the thickness and length desired.

Industrial use of Bushman cordage does not seem impossible to me.

412 As a drill, the lance point or an iron knife is used, frequently red-hot.

Only pieces of iron found accidentally are worked. The ex-
325 traction of iron from ore is unknown.

Charcoal made from the giraffe acacia is the preferred fuel
[372] for ironworking.

[Text continues on page 43]

Auen

●972

Photo. 19.
Manipulation of Device for Firemaking.

291
714

Photo. 21.
War Cap and Peace Cap.

411

Photo. 23.
Throwing
Lance.

/10 cont./

123 Since I was able to become quite friendly with their "foreman," who possesses a small farm, I discovered some details concerning their outlook on life.

776 They believe in a supreme being which is not conceived of as a human being and which they call X'amaba. Here we have H. Vedder's /Gamab of the Bergdama.

773 X'amaba made everything, the sun, the moon, the stars, and also human beings. First he made the Whites, then the Blacks, and finally the Bushmen. They are unable to say how X'amaba made human beings.

●[372] The old Bushmen say that fire comes from the devil.
[776] Heiseb is the devil, according to them. Heiseb and the ostrich played together. The ostrich had the fire on his arm. While dancing the ostrich spread his wings, and Heiseb took the fire from him. Heiseb threw the fire brand behind him. There was a bush which started to burn. And there the people discovered the fire.

776 Heiseb is evil and only does evil. He is conceived as human in form. No one knows where he came from.

X'amaba, on the other hand, is benevolent. People pray to him for help.

539 I took down the following prayers:

782 1. Prayer for rain: In olden times pieces of wood were
821 cut from the !Hawewa tree. It could not be felled. These pieces of wood were thrown into the fire, and as soon as the pungent smoke rose upward, the people sang in chorus:

X'amaba duwa /gam-i-i a a God, give water to drink.
X'amaba duwa /gam-i-i !hanusa God, give water rain,
anita(?) a a so that we may drink.

2. Prayer of thanks for rain: When the rain has finally come, a dance of joy is performed, and the following is sung:

X'ámaba X'ámaba X'ámaba God, God, God
tũta tũta We have received, we have received
!hanusa /gam-i-i !hanusa /gam-i-i Rain water, rain water
tara ái /gam ái !hanusa tutasi We can drink, drink water, receive water.

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

372 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in
881 the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other
184 hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not
585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the mar-
582 riage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A
595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 [12] A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself, who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year 1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and smoke it' " (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions
131 of this tribe:

"The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

[35 cont.]

222 When all the old women have made their tests, then the children also get some, and the veldkost is, so to speak, made available for general consumption. When a woman has found a spot where
[423] there is a great deal of veldkost, she makes a sign at this spot, and then everything growing there belongs to her. No one will take any of it.

[262] There were and still are a whole assortment of types of
[888] socha veldkost reserved for the old people. [Fig. 3 appears here.]

11. Ergology

Fire

372 The Bushmen believe that there was a time when they had
773 no fire. The following legend tells how they obtained it: "The ostrich had a firebrand under his wing. He, the owl, and Heiseb played together. Then the ostrich took fright at the owl because he thought the owl had horns. He advised all of them to sleep for a little while. When the owl was asleep, he blew at it and saw that it merely had little tufts of feathers and no horns on its head. Thereupon he awakened the two others again and invited them to go on playing. Then Heiseb said: 'Dear ostrich, please wave your wings.' The ostrich did so, and as a result its firebrand fell to the ground. Heiseb picked it up and threw it to the fig tree, and since then man has had fire." -- The narrative probably comes from the legend-circle of the Hei//om Hottentot. Otherwise, Heiseb never appears in !Kung stories. Two pieces of wood from the
372 fig tree are still used occasionally to make fire. For the most part, the most popular devices for making fire are a striking iron and flint; matches are less [36] prized. A pair of fire sticks, the sucking reeds, a few poisoned arrows, and a bird arrow make up the permanent inventory of the quiver.

[36 cont.]

Dwellings

342 The dwelling of the Bushman consists of the simple windscreen, semicircular in form and about 150 centimeters high. On [177] several farms, however, even the Bushmen have taken to building beehive huts in the Herero manner. The windscreens in a settle- [361] ment more or less form a circle, and the socha fire is to be found [378] near the windscreen of the village chief. During warm nights the [372] Bushmen do not sleep under the windscreen but outside it. [513]

372

Fig. 3. Sticks for Firemaking, Kalahari Bushmen (Museum of Ethnology, Lurich).

[42 cont.]

000 622 372 778 [262] 784 the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo. Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language. Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave immediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does. Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains seated there, while the women and children make themselves comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children, who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

166 372 [596] 252 264 621 [462] [262] [622]

178 622 When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight organization and a common leader. When Captain François went beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a

2. He himself was a half-breed.

chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest chief I heard of was "χ'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

≠ AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[77 cont.]

41) into the reed shaft while the other is poisoned. In other cases, the short arrowhead is joined to a bone spindle by means of a connecting piece made of grass, and this bone spindle is in turn fixed into the shaft so that the arrow is tripartite. The arrows are either carried in the quiver already assembled, or the points [78] are kept in small containers of bark or horn closed off at both ends by leather caps. Three bows of the Nogau had lengths [41] of 89, 95, and 100 centimeters. Animal tendons are used.

The battle insigne of the ≠Auin is a war cap made from the [714] hide of the aardwolf. The bow of the Naron is made of Grevia 41) wood and is about a meter long. Not only tendons but also plant fibers are used for the bowstring. The plant strings are a surrogate that the Bushmen are forced to use today due to the lack of game. The bow itself is reinforced at the ends with a binding of tendons or leather.

The arrow shafts resemble those of the ≠Auin, as do the points. The iron points are not removable and are called male. The metal is obtained from the north and is worked cold by the [325] ≠Auin. The Naron themselves make no iron arrowheads. [Fig. 28 appears here.]

Whereas during Kaufmann's time the ≠Auin did not have the kirri, the Naron have it today; its lower end is sharpened to a point so that it can also be used as a digging stick. The Nogau, though not too commonly, have throwing clubs that [411] correspond to those of the Dama and Herero, but are more crudely worked.

Concerning the Naron, Bleek also mentions harpoons with long, composite shafts, which serve to get jumping hares and the like out of their holes. This tool will be described in greater detail under the Dama [untranslated].

Like all Bushmen, the Nogau make fire by rubbing two 372 sticks together. The female stick is called Dane-di, the male Dane-≠goa. Firemaking itself is designated as Dalisi, one of the many strange words without clicks that we find among the Nogau.

Bushman wells are likewise used and are called //a-si.

312 The girls have a toy (gai-dum) consisting of several sticks of various kinds, which they wear on the chest. They drum on 524 IT WITH THE FINGERS.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 155]

/257 cont./

276 that has been cut off are very popular. The cut surface of the end of the horn is pressed to the mouth, and the smoke is sucked into the lungs in a deep draught. Very frequently simple cartridges are used as primitive, but nevertheless serviceable tobacco pipes.
[439] Clay pipes, which are not uncommon in the Kaukau Veld, are imported from the Betschuana.

/258/ A common kitchen utensil is a large, flat wooden
415 spoon with a bent handle, which, however, is not used to place food in the mouth, but only to fill vessels. The Bushmen eat with
[264] their fingers; they drink their soups from the communal wooden bowl and polish up the rest with a crooked index finger and by licking it out with the tongue.

As pots they use pumpkin [melon?] vessels bound with leather
[482] thongs and carried over the shoulder on sticks.

As a special display object in many a hut one finds a large clay vessel with strong walls and decorated with white bands that
[439] have been notched into it. This vessel is imported from the Ovambo.

● 372 The tools for firemaking command special interest. The Bushman is acquainted with two, the dáni and the //oro.

The dáni (dǂ = fire) consists of two wooden sticks, each about 40 centimeters long. The rounded-off end of the one stick fits into a pan-like cavity at the end of the other stick. The edge of the pan is provided with a little opening through which the glowing wood that has been rubbed to tinder can be emptied onto a smooth stone during the fire-twirling. The Bushman can make fire with this tool in less than half a minute.

The other firemaking device known to the Bushmen is the
[439] //oro, a flint with striking ring and tinder box, imported from the Betschuana.

A tool that in addition to its use in leather working also serves
412 medical purposes is a pointed iron needle about 20 centimeters long and three millimeters thick, carried in a narrow leather sheath by almost every male Bushman. The needle is used with great skill
[752] for the removal of thorns from the skin, an operation which the Bushman naturally must frequently demand of his medicine man.

In addition to the above-mentioned hunting implements, the
482 game snare and game hook, I was shown a wooden staff, approximately one and a half meters long and worked with some skill, which is used for carrying game over the shoulder,

X137 *Grewia retinervis* Burret (4875, 5066) Photograph 31.

!h5: Bushman.....	⊙b5:
‖ganakwe Bushman...	‖?ani
|gikwe Bushman.....	‖gani
Naron Bushman.....	‖gani
Eastern !khû Bushman	!gwa

A straggly many-stemmed five-foot shrub, sometimes a weak scrambler up to 10 feet high. The stems are half an inch thick at the base, rounded and slightly woolly when young, slightly flattened and glabrous when old, and tough and pliant. Its leavers are alternate, pale green, one and a half inches long and an inch wide, ovate with a pointed tip, toothed, and roughly hairy to the touch. They wither and fall soon after being frosted, but if out of reach of the frost remain on the bushes at least until the end of July. The plant bears spreading yellow flowers half an inch wide, and fruits the size of a pea, with a papery brown skin enclosing a few large pips and some fibrous mealy material. *Grewia retinervis* is closely allied to *Grewia flavescens*, so much so that I doubt whether the two should be considered anything more than varieties of one species. The differences are that *Grewia flavescens* is usually taller, and not so conspicuously veined on the upper surface of the leaves. Mr. B. de Winter, of the National Herbarium, Pretoria, has observed also that its older stems are square in section and those of *Grewia retinervis* are flattened.

Grewia retinervis was scattered over most of the area covered by the expedition, and common in the central Kalahari, specially in open grassy country. It has been recorded from the northern Cape and the Transvaal as well as South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

262 The fruits are edible. They ripen in winter, and have a slightly sweet
[251 taste and a pleasant flavour. They may be stored after being dried, and
252] are then soaked or boiled before being eaten. The crop, if one may judge from the 1955 season, is abundant, and the amount fairly constant for all the bushes. The fruits form an important part of the Bushmen diet,
[146 although little of them appears digestible. The roughage is voided almost
147] unchanged, in enormous faecal masses up to two and a half inches in diameter.

824 The dry stems of this plant nearly always contain the tunnelings of
372 grubs, and the tunnellings are packed with their excreta in the form of a brown, pith-like substance which forms a useful tinder. The Bushmen split the stems down the centre, make a slight depression in the flat surface and use this as a socket for the fire-drill.

X137 *Grewia* sp. aff. *Grewia bicolor* Juss. (5056).

Eastern !khû Bushman gamak"wɔ:

A slender shrub up to six feet high, with many sparingly branched stems. The leaves are one and a half inches by one inch, very finely toothed, dark green above and pale below, pointed at the tip and rounded at the base. Both surfaces are covered with a fine grayish felt which is thicker on the lower surface. Typical *Grewia bicolor* has wool on the lower surface only. The fruits are the size of a pea, and have a little flesh covering usually one big seed. No flowers were seen.

This is another of the plants with a distribution which begins in the Ghanzi area and extends northwards, and the remarks made as to the distribution and importance of *Grewia flavescens* apply here also.

[262] The fruits are edible.

inch long and less than a quarter of an inch wide. No flowers were seen on the expedition, but from herbarium records it is known that they are yellow and tubular and produce papery pods two inches long and half an inch wide. The pods split down their centre when they are mature. 137X

This plant is known from the northern Cape, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, and was widespread and fairly frequent north and south of Ghanzi.

Although it is not an edible plant it is nevertheless a producer of food, for all the Bushman digging-sticks seen were made from it. The only preparation is that the bark is peeled off, the spines trimmed, and one of the ends cut at a slant. The stick is about four feet long. In sandy soils and for the type of digging usually required it is a more efficient tool than a spade. It may be made to loosen a narrow cylinder of earth, and this cylinder, if a little wider than the object sought, is all that is necessary. With a spade on the other hand it is usually impossible to avoid a funnel-shaped excavation which entails the removal of far more soil. 322 412 824

Catophractes alexandri D. Don (4893) Photograph 52. 137X

!h3: Bushman.....	n!ain!ai
||ganakwe Bushman...	!ga:!gaba
|gikwe Bushman.....	ga:giba:
Naron Bushman.....	n!ain!ai

A five-foot erect silvery bush with opposite leaves, some brightly coloured in the autumn and winter. They often bear slender sharp spines in their axils, which afterwards develop into branches and bear leaves and spines in their turn. The leaves and younger woody parts are covered with a dense white wool, but this afterwards disappears from the woody parts and they become a reddish brown. The flowers, which are about two inches long, are white, trumpet-shaped and showy, and produce a pod covered with short blunt prickles and up to three inches long, dark and woody when mature and splitting down the centre. The seeds have a circular membranous wing round them.

The plant is recorded from Angola, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Transvaal. It was fairly frequent south and north of Ghanzi, in patches down the banks of pans, on limestone, and occasionally also on slight slopes in sandy country.

Catophractes alexandri is not a food plant but deserves mention because of its importance in the preparation of food—it is used as a fire-drill together with *Grewia retinervis*, as is described in the notes on that species. 372 412 824

Corallocarpus sphaerocarpus Cogn. (5020, 5138, 5230) Photograph 53. 137X

|gikwe Bushman.....	|hurugu
Naron Bushman.....	|hɔrɔ
Eastern !khû Bushman	|hɔrɔ

A very variable plant creeping by means of tendrils over shrubs and low trees, and with sparse leaves, dissected or lobed and rough to the touch, rising in groups or singly from nodes on the rather sappy stem. The leaves are not flat even when perfectly fresh, but inrolled slightly at the margins as though they were beginning to wilt. Three or four sessile half-inch ovoid fruits are borne in a cluster at the nodes as well, which in

distribution of the rainfall upon which it is mainly dependent 361
for its food supply.

The Group Fire.

All fire is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled 372
by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the [622]
community. Every man and woman knows how to use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in the werft as fire-making is a matter of serious import and the chief is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune. The first fire kindled in
a new camp is never allowed to die out. As an illustration 361
of this may be cited the practice as it exists among the 622
Hei-//om of the Etosha Pan. When among the latter it [768]
becomes necessary to move camp, as for example, after a 372
death has taken place, the whole community take up all their goods and chattels and, led by the *geikhoib* (chief), set off in search for a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. The chief then proceeds to the large tree (*!heis*) in the centre and kindles a fire underneath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *!norab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-!ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*!ou-ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-!ais* and the women may fetch fire from the *!ou-!ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-!ais* go out, as sometimes happens 372
during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except 622
by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the *!ou-!ais*. The *!ou-!ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-!ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such [617]
an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the *!heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new *!ou-!ais* kindled by him by means of the hei-doros.

372 *hei-doros*: The new *!ou-|ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *||gāus*
361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case
[132] only in times of drought when the game have moved far afield
622 and great difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos.
372 Further, people driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *||gāus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the *!ou-|ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.
372 Persistent ill-health among the members of the community
622 or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase
[751 may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after
777] consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the *!ou-|ais* are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new *!ou-|ais* in front of his hut with the hei-doros and applies *norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it had been.
184 The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire is
372 met with among all the organised primitive groups. Want of space and time does not permit, however, of a detailed account being given of the superstitions which have gathered about this custom among the various tribes.

Family Life

593 Each family within the group occupies its own hut. Children sleep with their parents until they are strong enough to go about by themselves, when the boys join the others under the tree and the girls take up residence in the hut for unmarried girls.

512 The women rise early, light the fire and prepare the food for the morning meal which usually consists of veldkos. After having eaten, the men go out visiting or hunting or engage in some other occupation such as preparing skins, weapons, etc. The women accompany each other in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. When food is obtainable at no great distance they are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have to go far they may not reach home until late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they proceed to prepare food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water. The food is ready by the time the men arrive in the evening and the latter are able to partake of it without delay.

462 There is a sharp division of labour between the men and women of the group. The former do the hunting and snaring of game, prepare the weapons, skins for clothing, snares, fire-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

609 pering in the grass near by. You can tell by these werfs that
621 there are Bushmen in an area, and also by their footprints on narrow trails which they share with the game and which run all through the desert. You may find footprints or you [372] may see a little pile of white ash, the fire that a Bushman kindled where he spent the night. Otherwise, to find them you must depend on luck or on the fact that the Bushmen of an area may have heard something good about you and will not be too afraid.

105 Culturally and historically, the Bushmen are an interesting people, for they and the Hottentots, who belong to the same racial and language groups, are the earliest human inhabitants still living in southern Africa. There are now from thirty [161] to fifty thousand Bushmen, who are divided into several language groups. Their languages are related to each other and [197] to the Hottentot language, and are in what is known as the Khoisan language group, made up of most of the click languages spoken in South Africa. A click language has sharp pops and clicks made with the tongue in various parts of the mouth, combined with an implosion of the breath, very diffi- [194] cult to understand, harder still to pronounce, as the slightest mistake may change the meaning of a word entirely. For example, the work *//kx'a*, which in one of the Bushman languages means *mangetti*, a certain kind of nut-bearing tree, is pronounced by making a lateral click for which the tongue is pulled sharply away from the sides of the mouth, producing the click one makes when calling a horse, followed by a scraped *k* turning to a g, followed by a glottal stop—a slight pause or tiny choking sound made as the back of the tongue stops the breath—which is followed at last by the vowel. To make a mistake is easy, and that is why non-Bushmen have a hard time learning the language, and why, when they do learn, they are often misunderstood.

9:.Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

dren to the farms. The mothers and the children had never 648 609
returned.

The farmer who had taken the Chuana couple's son had offered him food and clothes but no wages. When his mother had refused to let him go, the farmer had told her that she herself would have to leave Gam and move to Bechuanaland (there has always been a dispute about the border between the two countries, which affects the Chuana people who try to move across). The woman, assuming that the farmer was a government official, had been too frightened by this threat to prevent her son from leaving. She had been building a large new house, even planning to put a pane of glass in the little window, but she had been too discouraged to finish it, believing that she would have to leave it soon.

It was extremely sad to sit there talking about such things. The Chuana man held his head in his hands and his wife was almost crying, and it seemed very empty and lonely there on the hot gray ground with flies all around us in the air and birds flying above.

When we went back to our camp it was already dark and 372
we found that Lazy Kwi, his wife, and all her family had moved in beside us to be near us. They seemed rather cheerful because they were all together, and they expressed their optimism by burning an entire log. This is prodigal for Bushmen, who usually burn just one small stick at a time, or at most the end of a small log, letting the fire work up the log by inches. The people sat with their legs stretched out, allowing the fire to warm them, and in the firelight their skins seemed blood red, all except Lazy Kwi, whose skin was as dark as the night. Lazy Kwi was always changing color. When 302
we first had met him we had thought he must be the darkest-skinned Bushman anywhere, but this was only so because he had rubbed himself all over with medicine paste and the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

513 That night it was so cold that no one wanted to leave the fire and when finally everyone was at my camp, settled close to each other, side by side, with their bellies warmed by the heat and their shoulders covered by their capes, their backs
521 turned against the enormous veld where the cold wind blew and where the dark was coming, they began to entertain themselves with conversation, their favorite pastime.

516 The adults held their elbows on their raised knees and cupped their hands under their chins to cast little shadows into their eyes, for in this way they could see clearly over the bright fire. Close to the fire even the children were not cold. The older children sat up like the adults, although they were naked and the adults had capes, and the younger children slept in their parents' arms, warm between the fire and their parents' skin.

136 Before the darkness had come totally I left the fire to look through the little forest for wood, and as soon as I was off among the trees a way I was quite alone; I could not see the firelight and the voices did not reach me, and as I walked around in the frost and the gloom I could hear my footsteps crackling the grass. When I stopped walking to pick up an icy stick I could still hear the grass crackling, and when I looked around I saw, not too far away, a pair of mongooses, a male and a female, with five little ones. They were eating seeds from the pods of a plant and when they saw me they ran, all in an orderly line, and when they were gone the forest seemed very empty, for I could see through the trees to the desolate plains beyond, and up through the branches to the sky, where stars were showing, far away. A partridge rose in front of me—I had chased it from its bed. I could hear it calling as it flew, lost out in the veld now, and when I had a
313 bundle of sticks I found my way home.

372 Dikai had been out for sticks in the opposite direction and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

when we looked at the pile we had, we judged that we had 313 372
enough for the night, but we burned only one at a time to save them.

For a while, sitting at the fire, everyone was quite gay. The 521
adults began to talk about food they had gathered and eaten and Toma's children asked me to tell them a story. "A true story," they said. Casting about in my mind for a story that would amuse them, I remembered a night when we were camped on our way to the Gikwe Bushmen in Bechuanaland and six lions had come into our camp. Someone in our party had shot at them and had wounded two of them, and then we had followed the wounded ones on foot through the darkness, a dangerous business, had finally found one and killed it, and had found the other one dead in the morning. I tried to say all this in Kung, but though I could understand quite a bit of it and could speak on some subjects, this time I found that my vocabulary was lacking; all I could say was "We killed two lions," a terse statement, and though the children were looking at me wide-eyed, I couldn't go on and had to get John to finish the story. "Ah," said the children when the story was told, not nearly as impressed as I had thought they would be, but then I myself had seen their father walk through a valley where several lions were roaring, at night, alone, armed only with a spear, depending on his wits for safety and on the fact that lions have a musky odor. He had been in our camp on one side of the valley when he had heard the lions roaring, and had slipped across among them in order to be with his wife and children, asleep on the other side.

Crooked Kwi, his wife, and his daughter had all turned 374
away from the fire to warm their backs. They sat in a row, Kwi first, then the baby, then his wife. They were relaxed and they had let their heads tilt back to look at the sky. Crooked 555
Kwi and his wife were very young, and, being one of the few

FIRE IS MADE, *below*, with a drill. Upright stick is rolled between palms, one end socketed in another piece of wood.

●372

[p. 60]

13: Marshall

FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

372 ●

[For the text of the myth of how people received fire from the Great God ǂGao! na, see category 539.]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

776 782 In spite of their reluctance to say the gods' names in serious discussion, the /Kung say them in blasphemy. (The word for cursing or blasphemy is *za*. Cursing is also called 'mouth-medicine'.) The medicine men curse the gods when they are combating their evil intents in the curing ceremony. A light-hearted blasphemy also occurs among the /Kung, as among ourselves, and the names slip from men's mouths in an insouciant way, as though they did not really mean them, as we say 'God Almighty!' or 'Jesus Christ!' in our inconsequential swearing.

I wondered if we should find that certain names were more closely associated with certain phenomena, like lightning or rain, or with special functions, such as presiding over childbirth, but all my inquiries on this theme led me to the conclusion that the names do not have such associations. There appears to be, however, a vague tendency, though not a strict rule, to associate some names more with benefaction, others more with ill treatment of the people. *Gani ga*, which is a very respectful name, seemed to come to mind when they wanted to show that they were well disposed towards the god and wanted to thank him or ask him sweetly to help them. */Gara* and *≠Gaishi ≠gai* we heard spoken in anger. They are 'scolding' names. One man used *Hnwe* when he spoke of the greatness and power of the god, saying '*Hnwe* was the tallest of the Bushmen, a great man with many names', and *Hishe* was the name used when the creator said, 'I am *Hishe*. I am unknown.' *Kxo* was not often uttered. The name *//Gauwa* will be discussed later.

Two Images of *≠GAO/NA*

≠Gao/na, *the Protagonist of the Old Tales*

776 539 *≠Gao/na*, we were told, was the oldest name of the great god. Through that name the /Kung identify the great god with an old *≠Gao/na*, the protagonist of many ancient tales. Some sense of logical necessity, I believe, compelled the /Kung to merge the two concepts so that they say, when they are asked, that the *≠Gao/na* of the tales and the great god are the same being, but this is a forced and superficial verbal resolution, for the two beings could hardly be more different. The people, I believe, really imagine them as different, and behave in quite a different manner as they speak of them. They tell the tales of the old *≠Gao/na*'s doings without restraint, [522] say his name aloud, howl and roll on the ground with laughter at his humiliations, whereas, when they speak of the great one in the east, they whisper and avoid his name. Yet they think that somehow in the rightness of things these two beings must be one, so one they are said to be.

The old *≠Gao/na* was a kind of culture hero. He had supernatural powers. He could change himself into other forms and could change people into animals, bring people back to life, &c. He was a great magician, with powers over magic substances and objects. But, although he gave fire to mankind, he could not be called a great [372] benefactor of mankind. He wanted fire for himself because he liked cooked food and gave the fire to man rather as an afterthought. He was not very much concerned with man or with man's morals. He was not the death-giver, involved in the mysterious inevitable necessity of death, or a wrathful punisher, like Jehovah. Such vengeance as he took was not a mighty vengeance but only a getting back at those who tricked [266] him. And usually his reason for killing someone was his own hunger. In those older days, according to the tales, people were always eating one another or parts of one

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsī, the men always ac-
462 company the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with tsī and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater por-
222 tion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging imple-
[412] ment is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were
[101] living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some
[484] to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles
[361] to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back
[854] to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to
[482] them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the
[372] bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as
252 meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes,
264 pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

222 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the
433 impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food
731 is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families
166 therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—
[582]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

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[283]

digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

● 372
[579]
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The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

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The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

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The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

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ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

[p. 256]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance A medicine man is going into a trance.

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to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Gauwa* or the *//gauwasi*, who are there beyond the firelight, with a sharp, yelping cry of "*kai kai kai*."

The medicine men are usually only in shallow trance at this point, but, when the curing has been going on for some time, they begin to reach a state of patterned frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. They believe that fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. The medicine men rush out into the darkness, where *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. "Filthy face!" they screech. "Take away the sickness you have brought. You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away. . . . *Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die." At this point the medicine man may fall down in deep trance and appear to be unconscious or semiconscious, with eyes closed, stiff as a board, unable to walk. This stage of trance may last only a brief time or may continue for hours—even into the next day. Gradually it is resolved and the medicine man takes up his normal activities.

[372]

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The !Kung believe that at the time of deep trance the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*. They call this "half death." It is a dangerous time. The women must continue to sing the medicine music. The man's body must be watched over, rubbed, and kept warm by other medicine men who are in less deep trance.

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The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a

[p. 272]

412 The women possess several other tools which are of subsidiary importance in the food quest:

- wooden mortar and pestle
- wooden spatula for moving ashes
- carved wooden serving spoon
- tortoise shell bowl
- bundle of tail feathers for fanning the cooking fire
- pottery containers of Bantu manufacture
- iron pots and enamel bowls of European manufacture.

415 177 224 411 The mens' hunting kit represents the most evolved sector of Bushmen technology. It includes at least 19 different tools made from seven kinds of raw materials. The primary weapons include:

[177]	1. bow	6. iron tipped arrows
[278]	2. arrow poison	7. quiver
[231]	3. spear	8. hunting dogs
	4. springhare probe	9. rope snares
	5. knobkerrie(club)	

Secondary weapons include:

[312]	10. fire drill	14. iron adze-axe
[177]	11. flint and steel fire making kits	15. carrying yoke
[412]	12. digging stick	16. knotted net
[283]	13. iron knife	
[177]		

000 Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

224 411 The !Kung weaponry consists of specialized weapons for killing, retrieving, and preparing different species of game. The bow and arrow are used to kill only the large antelopes, kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok. The thirteen-foot-long burrow probe is used exclusively for hooking springhare [223] which sleep in their burrows during the day time. Rope snares are set to trap small buck such as duiker and steenbok, as well as the game birds such as guinea fowl, francolin and 224 korhaan. Fire is used in two ways. First it is used to smoke • 372 out or asphyxiate wart hog, antbear and porcupine that have [412] been cornered in burrows. If an animal dies in the burrow, it is then dug out by means of a digging stick. Fire is also used during late winter to set bush fires. These fires burn off the old cover of vegetation and encourage new growth which will attract game animals to the burned area.

224 411 The spear is not used as a weapon of attack, but is employed to finish off animals that have been weakened by [231] poisoned arrows or that have been wounded by the Bushmen dogs.

The knobkerrie(club) is also used to finish off wounded [223] or cornered animals. Occasionally it is used as a throwing [231] club to knock down small birds and squirrels. This appears to be more of a pastime than a serious technique since the animals knocked down this way are usually fed to the dogs or just cast aside.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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mountains in the west of Great Namaqualand.[1] Most of the Bushmen, however, now live in flat country, where such natural shelters are denied them. Wherever they stay for more than a couple of days, crude bush huts are put up by the women. These are usually erected within walking distance of a waterhole, about an hour or two away. The people never live at the water itself, for fear of frightening away the game, which is most easily shot or trapped when coming to drink. 342 361 [462] [312] [224]

Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, "When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts."[2] 361 622 342 [372]

There seems to be as a rule no fixed form of settlement. All the families drinking at one waterhole may live in one group, or there may be several lots of huts scattered about in different directions. Among the Cape Bushmen, for example, one might find three or four huts standing together, or several huts dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, and the same appears to be true of the Naron.[3] 361

Among the Heikum, however, the camp is said to be laid out on a definite plan.[4] As a rule all the members of the band live in a common encampment or "werft" (*//gaus*). The huts of the married families are placed at a certain interval apart, and arranged in the form of an irregular circle. At or near the middle of the camp is situated a large tree, known as the */heis*. The hut of the chief (*gei-khoib*) is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. The brother of the *gei-khoib* live immediately to his left on the south side of the *//gaus*, and beyond them are placed the other married families of the community. The right or north side of the *//gaus* is reserved entirely for visiting sisters of the *gei-khoib* and their families, while any of his married daughters who may be visiting him erects her hut directly opposite to his at the furthest extremity of the camp. "This is done on account of the parent-in-law taboo (*tao-sas*) which [184] [606]

[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166. [2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii; *idem*, *The Naron*, 4.
[4] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 30–2; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

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361 [606] exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes." Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent [882] young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young men; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of married people. The dancing place is to the west within the circle.

"The large tree (*!heis*) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved 361 as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women 562 are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely, [622] the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for kindling the principal fire (*!ou-/ais*) or for other menial purposes when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this *!heis*. Under [372] it is made the first fire (*!hei-/ais*) on the establishment of a new [224] *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed in the chase."[1]

Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among 114 all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the 361 only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. "Where several families live together," he says, "the huts are ranged in a circle, the head of the group ("Dorfälteste") living in the east."[3]

Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families 592 are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they [595] get on well; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share [882] a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree, and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with [589] a boy; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone, are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting 342 as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52. [2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4-5; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 51; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138.

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Cooking

252 is done chiefly by the women, assisted by the children; in exceptional
[462] cases the men also may cook. Wild cucumbers, nuts, bulbs, and similar plant foods are baked in hot ashes covered with cinders. A bright fire is made and allowed to die down, a hole is scraped in the ashes with a flat, paddle-shaped wooden scoop, the food put in and covered over. It is then eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge, after being pounded up in wooden mortars or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood. Birds, snakes, small antelopes, etc., are baked in the same manner; ants are similarly treated, and then sifted through a mat of loosely-woven reeds, while locusts are either baked or boiled. *Grewia* berries are sometimes eaten as picked, stone and all, sometimes stamped in the mortar and swallowed uncooked. Some specially dainty kinds of meat are roasted over the fire on a wooden spit stuck into the ground. Other kinds of meat, again, as well as stamped
[439] locusts, *tsama* seeds and foods obtained from the white man, such as mealie meal, are cooked with water.

The "tame" Bushmen now use any sort of receptacle, such as a
415 paraffin or paint tin, for cooking purposes; the Auen and Naron
[439] in their more primitive condition used wooden pots, made by themselves or obtained by barter; while among the more Northern tribes clay pots obtained by barter from the OvaMbo and other Bantu tribes are sometimes found. The actual manufacture of clay pots by the
[184] Bushmen themselves seems to have been restricted to the tribes
[323] south of the Molopo. Food is eaten direct from the pot or from plates
[264] and bowls made of wood. Wooden spoons are sometimes found among the Northern tribes, but generally either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Fire is everywhere made by drilling a thin hard stick in another,
372 somewhat softer, in which there is a notch (Plate IX). This second stick is held firmly on the ground by one foot, while the drill-stick with its lower end pressed into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the hands until sparks come. A little dry grass is in readiness to catch the spark, and when it has caught alight dry wood is gradually added until a good fire has been set going.

In this connection reference must be made to certain special
372 observances relating to fire which have recently been recorded by
622 Fourie about the Heikum. "All fire," he says,[1] "is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to

[1] Op. cit., 87,

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use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in the werft, as firemaking is a matter of serious import and the chief is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off misfortune. The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out." 372 622

As an illustration he cites[1] the practices existing among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan. Here, when it becomes necessary to move camp, as for example after a death has taken place, the whole community takes up all its goods and chattels, and, led by the *gei-khoib* (chief), sets off in search of a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. " The chief then proceeds to the large tree (*/heis*) in the centre and kindles a fire underneath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *†norab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-/ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*/ou-/ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-/ais* and the women may fetch fire from the */ou-/ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-/ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the */ou-/ais*. The */ou-/ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-/ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the */heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new */ou-/ais* kindled

166 361 622 [768] 372 622 [276] [621]

[1] Op. cit., 87–8; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52–3.

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372 by him by means of the *hei-doros*. The new */ou-/ais* now serves to
622 supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gaus* (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case only in
361 221 times of drought when the game has moved far afield and great
672 difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos. Further, people
622 driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *//gaus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the */ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.

622 "Persistent ill-health among the members of the community or diffi-
372 culty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the */ou-/ais*, are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new */ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the *hei-doros* and applies */norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it has been."

114 "The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire," Fourie goes on to say, "is met with among all the organized primitive
372 groups" of Bushmen in South-West Africa. The only previous
622 information hinting at observances of this kind is found in a curt statement by Kaufmann that among the Auen the "captain" of a village sees to it that the fire does not go out. But he adds that there is no "sacred" fire, and attributes the guarding of the fire against extinction to the practical inconveniences of the method employed in making it.[1] Quite recently, however, Lebzelter has reported the occurrence of similar observances among the Kung, although his remarks on the subject are very scanty. He states merely that the Kung, like the Bergdama, have the sacred fire round which only the men may sit. "When the camp is moved," he concludes, "the head of the group takes with him a brand from this fire"[2]—presumably to use it for

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 139: "Der 'Kapitän' (Aichab) der Werft achtet darauf, dass das Feuer nicht ausgeht. Ein 'heiliges' Feuer ist nicht vorhanden. Die Bewahrung des Feuers vor dem Verlöschen geschieht lediglich aus praktischen Gründe, da das Feuerquirlen immerhin ziemlich anstrengend ist."

[2] "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 14: "Wie die Honigkaffern haben auch die !Kuñ das Sochafeuer. Es ist dies das heilige Feuer, bei dem nur die Männer sein dürfen. Wenn die Werft übersiedelt, dann nimmt das Werftoberhaupt einen Feuerbrand mit Sochafeuer mit."

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lighting a new fire at the next encampment, although this is a practice 372 which, as we have just seen, Fourie explicitly denies for the Heikum. 622

There is no indication at all in the available literature that similar [114] usages relating to fire are found among the rest of the Bushmen, nor [184] is there any further evidence of their occurrence among the tribes mentioned above. On the other hand the sacred fire also plays a 171 very conspicuous part in the social and ritual life of the OvaHerero, OvaMbo, and Bergdama, all of them close neighbours of the Bushmen 372 tribes among whom it is found, and with the last two of whom the Heikum at least have intermixed considerably. It is probable therefore that the special observances relating to fire among the Heikum and the [177] Kung may represent borrowed elements of culture; but much fuller information is needed about them before this can be definitely asserted. Whatever their origin, however, these usages now obviously play an important part in the social life of the people. In particular, the fact that at the present time the chief of the band has certain ex- [622] clusive functions in connection with fire is of outstanding significance in the whole sphere of public life, and one which cannot be dismissed merely because it may be due to the effects of contact with other peoples. To this point we shall have to return when discussing the political institutions of the Bushmen.

Special Usages relating to Food

There is not much information available about food taboos, but 262 it appears that, in some of the tribes at least, certain foods are forbidden 825 to persons at different stages of life. In the texts obtained by Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen there are preserved the details of some of the food taboos prevalent among this people. Thus little children were not allowed to eat the heart of the jackal (on account of this animal's great timidity), certain portions of the ostrich, or the tip of the springbok's tail; a menstruating girl might not eat game [841] killed by the young men, lest she bring them ill luck—she had to eat only game taken by her father; a certain kind of tortoise was forbidden to young unmarried men and women, for fear of arousing [821] the wrath of the rain; women were not allowed to eat the flesh of the lynx; the tail of the porcupine was forbidden to certain (unspecified) persons; while all refrained from eating a certain small 262 portion of the flesh of the hare.[1] The published information relating [114]

[1] L. C. Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, cf. references in Index, s.v. "Food—not to be eaten."

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on the ground under the */heis* either on sticks which were used in 224
carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib* (chief) now comes forward 252
and if he finds that the */hei-/ais* (fire under the tree) has gone out he 224
returns to his hut, brings fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is 252
absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the 622
meat in the meantime being hung on the */heis* (tree in centre of camp). After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men— [372] ●
the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and 'tastes' (*tsa-tsa*) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers [264] and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as *!koms*.

"All meat killed with bow and arrow is *saxa* [taboo] and may not be 224
partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, how- 262
ever, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut [622]
up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *saxa* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *saxa*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *saxa* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*!ei-ti*). Her portion is known as the *!noe-di* and is the only meat which may be partaken of by women. The *!noe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the *!kham-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The *!noe-di*, however, may not [622] be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *//gaus*. It is not brought under the */heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the [252] fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The *!kham-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women partake of any other meat than the *!noe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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224 animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu*
262 (youths) is known as */om-//gani*, and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles,
224 etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at
252 the *axarogudi ǂgaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the
262 animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the */heis* or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him, and if he eats any other part, e.g. the *ǂkoms*, he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions of about two finger-breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis*
[574] may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *ǂnoe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-//gani*,
[264] under which is included the *ǂkoms*. The latter may be eaten only under the */heis*. After it has been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is
[841] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *ǂkoms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib*, and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

"A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat killed by
224 the members of an outlying *//gaus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to
262 taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the
622 *//gaus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *//gaus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he visits a *//gaus* for this purpose he kindles the */hei-/ais* with
[372] fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own."

Apart from the light it throws upon certain functions of the chief,
114 this account illustrates admirably both the existence of special ritual
224 observances in regard to game killed in the chase, and the fact that
[622] food obtained in this way is shared among all the people present at the encampment. This latter feature has also been noted by other writers on the different Bushman tribes,[1] and it can safely be asserted

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 55; Kaufmann, op. cit., 155–6 D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, pp. viii–ix; *idem*, *The Naron*, 16.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

821 The first appearance of this star in the evening sky is also the
788 occasion for the performance of a certain ceremony. In the words
372 of Dr. Bleek's informant, "The Bushmen perceive Canopus, they say to a child: 'Give me yonder piece of wood, that I may put (the end of) it (in the fire), that I may point (it) burning (towards) grandmother; for, grandmother carries Bushman rice; grandmother shall make a little warmth for us; for she coldly comes out; the sun shall warm grandmother's eye for us." About the same time as Canopus, Sirius appears, and a similar ceremony takes place; the man who first saw the star is asked to "burn (a stick) for us (towards) Sirius; that the sun may shining come out for us; that Sirius may not coldly come out". He holds the end of the stick in the fire until it has caught alight, and then points it towards the star, moving it up and down quickly. "He sings; he sings (about) Canopus, he sings (about) Sirius; he points to them with fire, that they may twinkle like each other. He throws fire at them. He covers himself up entirely (including his head) in (his) kaross and lies down. He arises, he sits down; while he does not again lie down; because he feels that he has worked, putting Sirius into the sun's warmth; so that Sirius may warmly come out."[1] Both these stars appear in winter, hence the cold is connected with them. The ceremony just described is therefore almost certainly a warming incantation. It is said also that it will make the stars rise higher, for the higher they stand above the eastern horizon at sunrise, and the more brightly they twinkle, the more nearly winter draws to an end.

773 In the mythology the stars are held to have once been animals
821 or people of the Early Race, in some cases people who had been transformed upon breaking some taboo. Many of the stars and constellations, as Dr. Bleek points out, bear names which they apparently owe only to the fact that they are seen at certain times when the animals or other objects whose names they bear come into season or are most abundant. This would suggest the close connection between them and the food supply. "Of course," he adds, "when such names as steinbok, hartebeest, eland, anteater, lion, tortoise, etc., had once become attached to certain stars or constellations, fancy might step in and try to discover the shapes of those animals (or other objects) in the configuration of the stars; whilst, at the same time, mythological personification would begin its work,

[1] *Bushman Folklore*, 338–41.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the "benefactress" *Ises*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.[1]

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was doubted.[2]

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are, according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan, "I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad, and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism in which two powers, one good, Thora or Huwe, and one bad, Khauna, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."[3]

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the

[1] Op. cit., 410.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167–8.
[3] Op. cit., 410–11.

/139 cont./

412 Mortars are made of wood and have a stone floor. Their
322 construction is extremely laborious. A block of wood is buried in the ground, stamped down, and then hollowed out with the iron point of the lance or a knife. For this purpose, the iron is sometimes heated. Fire is not used. The wooden pestle is furnished with a stone at one end. The stone on the floor of the
[381] mortar is cemented with tree resin.

[373] Burning branches are used as a kind of torch, but only briefly in the vicinity of the fire.

Photograph 18 illustrates the shape of the mortar and the pestle. The mortar is made of soft wood hollowed out with a lance point. Fire is not used to hollow it out (see above).

Household utensils. Two flat stones to pound hard veld
415 fruit. Spoons crudely carved out of wood. Wooden pot or empty ostrich eggs /140/ with a round hole as water containers. Fre-
[531] quently some kind of decoration is applied. Digging stick
[412] pointed at one end.

Ornamentation. Unfortunately I did not have time to ob-
301 tain more precise data concerning ornamentation. Ornaments
531 are attached to many objects and consist of such things as ostrich eggs and pipe plugs (which are worn on a string around the neck).

Generally speaking, the Auin has three meals a day (morn-
264 ing, afternoon, and evening). If he has enough food, however, he may eat all day long, with the necessary intervals, and, if it is not too cold, even during the night.

There is no special menu. Whatever is available is eaten.
262 The hyena is not eaten because it "devours corpses." The leopard is supposedly not eaten by all the people. The reason for this is unknown to me. The shabrack jackal is frequently spurned because it "is a dog." On the other hand, they like to eat the silver jackal, because it "does not eat vermin."

[858] Young girls who have not yet menstruated and boys before
[882] they have reached adulthood may not eat game meat because if they did, they would "remain skinny."

I have never observed any traces of cannibalism. Further-
266 more, I was told by old, experienced natives of other races (Klipp Kaffir) that they had never heard of Bushmen eating human flesh.

[27 cont.]

805 the like, but they have only ten months. They name them after terrestrial phenomena.

!Kai dsǎa	It is cold (winter)	June
gama /ěi	The grass burns	July-August
!hoǎ sori	It is hot	September-October
!u shē	The rain begins	November
ǂkhǒ shē	The trees bloom	December
/hō //gāi	It is raining	January
!Khan //gai	The veldkost is coming up	February
!nǎ -mǎ	The veldkost is ripe	March
ao rě //kum //kǎ	The rain is stopping	April
!hoǎ //gai	The year is at an end	May

They reckon also from harvest to harvest.

221 The most beautiful time in the life of the Bushman is March and April. Even those who live on the farms hurry into the wilderness at that time. At certain places where there are many fruit trees, such as the marula, the friendly kin groups gather from far and wide. Here the young men look for brides, and there is much dancing, because at this time the women are not tired from seeking veldkost which is now to be found everywhere. Hunting yields less at this time, since the game has water and pasture everywhere.

Soon, however, the leaves fall, the bush forest becomes red and yellow, the migratory birds fly northward, and then the first cold nights set in. Now the "Dsao" (spirits of sickness) come and [753] bring sickness to the chest. At the end of May and the beginning of July [sic] the first frosts set in. Now the Bushmen move to the watering places, which stay open for a long time. The nights now [374] become torture. Burns on the skin of the chest and abdomen oc- [513] cur frequently, because the Bushmen now lie very close to the fire to sleep. Around this time, some of the kin groups already begin to suffer distress, because the game moves to other regions where there is still some pasture. In July the grass is finally dry [224] enough so that it can be set afire. Now the entire steppe burns. The young grass again attracts the game; hunting improves. The hot season is the worst period; the resting places of the game are quite uncertain, veldkost becomes increasingly scant, and the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Toma the Leader

374 It was very cold and the wind blew all night long, sweeping the haze from the sky and leaving the brilliant hard white moon. In the bitter hour before morning we were all too cold to sleep, so we got up, finding that the Bushmen had risen before us and were crouched shivering on the ground between the small fires, partly sheltered by the grass.

133 When the sun rose the air got a little warmer and shortly
137 after dawn we moved away from the camping-place, on toward Nama. We went through little forests, over slanting plains bordered with trees, past an outcrop of rock where I once had seen a leopard lying on his side, sunning his white belly, past a graceful tree which was one of the trees where the people of Nyae Nyae got their poison. At noon we reached Nama Pan.

Nama was a grassy field in the center of a scrub forest, and in the field was a great rock slide, basin-shaped, which now was filled with crystal water, and around the water was a beach of sand six inches wide. Around this beach the green grass grew, very dark, almost rotten with the water, the rich earth, and the sunlight.

. . .

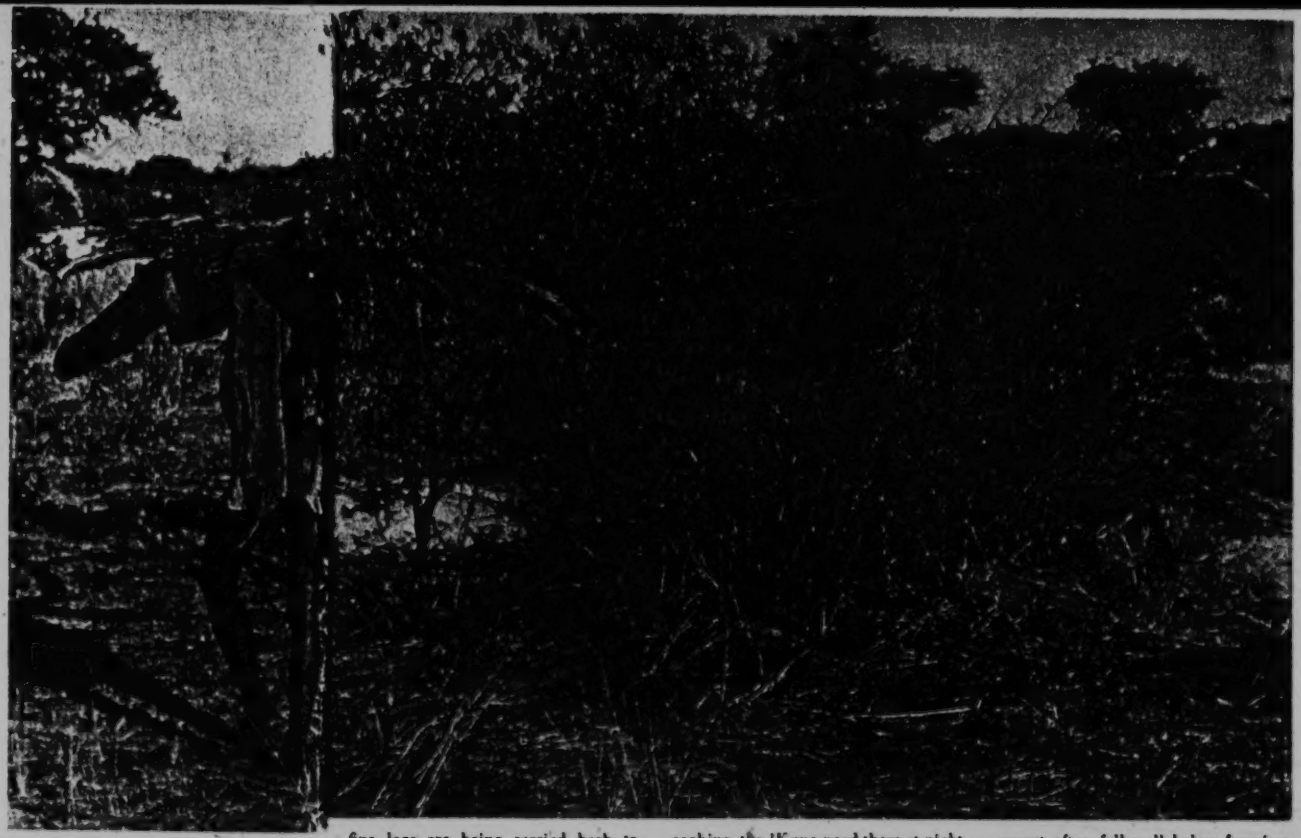
9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

when we looked at the pile we had, we judged that we had 313 372
enough for the night, but we burned only one at a time to save them.

For a while, sitting at the fire, everyone was quite gay. The 521
adults began to talk about food they had gathered and eaten and Toma's children asked me to tell them a story. "A true story," they said. Casting about in my mind for a story that would amuse them, I remembered a night when we were camped on our way to the Gikwe Bushmen in Bechuanaland and six lions had come into our camp. Someone in our party had shot at them and had wounded two of them, and then we had followed the wounded ones on foot through the darkness, a dangerous business, had finally found one and killed it, and had found the other one dead in the morning. I tried to say all this in Kung, but though I could understand quite a bit of it and could speak on some subjects, this time I found that my vocabulary was lacking; all I could say was "We killed two lions," a terse statement, and though the children were looking at me wide-eyed, I couldn't go on and had to get John to finish the story. "Ah," said the children when the story was told, not nearly as impressed as I had thought they would be, but then I myself had seen their father walk through a valley where several lions were roaring, at night, alone, armed only with a spear, depending on his wits for safety and on the fact that lions have a musky odor. He had been in our camp on one side of the valley when he had heard the lions roaring, and had slipped across among them in order to be with his wife and children, asleep on the other side.

Crooked Kwi, his wife, and his daughter had all turned 374
away from the fire to warm their backs. They sat in a row, Kwi first, then the baby, then his wife. They were relaxed and they had let their heads tilt back to look at the sky. Crooked 555
Kwi and his wife were very young, and, being one of the few

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung



FIREWOOD FOR CAMP is another prize to be sought from the veld. Here, two fine logs are being carried back to the *werft* for fuel. Besides fires for cooking, the !Kung need them at night for warmth, since temperatures after sunset often fall well below freezing. Each family shelter has its own fire.

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[P. 30]

/139 cont./

412 Mortars are made of wood and have a stone floor. Their
322 construction is extremely laborious. A block of wood is buried in the ground, stamped down, and then hollowed out with the iron point of the lance or a knife. For this purpose, the iron is sometimes heated. Fire is not used. The wooden pestle is furnished with a stone at one end. The stone on the floor of the
[381] mortar is cemented with tree resin.

[379] Burning branches are used as a kind of torch, but only briefly in the vicinity of the fire.

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I have never observed any traces of cannibalism. Further-
266 more, I was told by old, experienced natives of other races (Klipp Kaffir) that they had never heard of Bushmen eating human flesh.

/140 cont./

301 Earrings of Molentza chain; necklaces of glass beads. Rings on arms, wrists, and legs as among the men.

[756] The "Bushman doctor" wears special ornaments that other people are not permitted to wear. Unfortunately, I was not able to obtain any of these ornaments.

[882] Girls, it is said, do not start wearing ornaments until after their first menses.

[796] All the ornaments are worn for dances and ceremonies. The headdress of the women in Photograph 20 is worn only on special festive occasions.

302 [756] [301] The "doctor" has his head shaved smooth. I did not notice a special hairdress. The men frequently stick individual loose ostrich feathers in the hair, while the women like to braid brass or iron beads into the hair. In addition, the women use a kind of pomade made of various pulverized plant parts which are combined with fat from antelope skin.

Men sometimes cut their head-hair with a knife or a piece of glass.

There is no differentiation in hair style between girls and married women.

[386] The hair is frequently dyed with a mixture of fat and red clay. I am uncertain, however, whether or not this is a means of making the hair fall out in places. On the other hand, in that case there would probably have to be another ingredient /141/ in this mixture that I was unable to discover.

In case a beard is present, which does not occur often, it is neither cut nor removed in any other way.

[142] Pubic hair is sparse and is sometimes shaved off (with a piece of glass). It is said that women have no pubic hair at all.

E. Artificial Deformities

A kind of cosmetic of a reddish-brown color is used by the women.

It consists of a mixture of fat and red clay (see Section D above) and is manufactured by the women themselves.

[535] This cosmetic is regarded solely as a means of beautification and is used especially at festivals (dances).

/152 cont./

415 Mortars and pestles, as well as spoons of wood, are made (see Photo. 18).

[287] Painting and bark working are unknown.

The preparation of hides is the same as that practiced by the
171 Hottentot, Herero, Bergdamara, and Betschuana. Hence, I shall
281 dispense with a description of the process.

The women's cosmetic described above is used to dye cloth-
281 ing made of hides. The dye is rubbed on with the ball of the
386 hand and is comparatively waterproof.

To be sure, it is questionable whether this process may be called "dyeing." The hides are already red from the tanning process, and the cosmetic scarcely changes the color. Perhaps it is better regarded as impregnation or greasing.

386 /153/ The colored stones that are pulverized and mixed with
438 fat to make the cosmetic are dug up near Kaitsaub (45 kilometers south of Gobabis) by the Hai//um Bushmen residing there, and they constitute an article of trade. [Fig. 12 appears here.]

The beautiful and durable cordage of the Auin is made of
283 the fiber of a wild agave. It looks so neat and clean that one might suspect its origin to have been in a European rope factory rather than in a Bushman settlement.

The cords are made in various strengths and are used for all kinds of purposes, mainly for the game snares.

Their manufacture is very simple and proceeds very rapidly.

The leaf is softened by tapping with a wooden stick, and it is then placed on a firm base. One hand holds a pointed stick or a blunt knife firmly on the leaf, while the other hand draws the leaf against the vertically held knife and toward the body. After this has been repeated several times, the strong fibers remain and are then rolled together into cords of the thickness and length desired.

Industrial use of Bushman cordage does not seem impossible to me.

412 As a drill, the lance point or an iron knife is used, frequently red-hot.

Only pieces of iron found accidentally are worked. The ex-
325 traction of iron from ore is unknown.

Charcoal made from the giraffe acacia is the preferred fuel
[372] for ironworking.

[Text continues on page 43]

!KUNG

[30 cont.]

881 old people are seated. The young man may not eat any of the meat; he may only drink the soup, which is also rubbed on him. From now on he is regarded as an adult, a marriageable man; 882 584 his parents ask him whether he wants to be married. The boy commonly replies: "I am still weak and do not know whether I can take good care of her." Then the parents allow him to wait until he himself wants to marry. Von Zastrow and Vedder (p. 415) report the following concerning the boys' initiation:

[31] "On this occasion the boys are told how they must 881 conduct themselves when they go out to seek a wife, and how they [867] must behave towards a mother-in-law. To sit down by an evening [584] fire next to an adult girl is tantamount to a marriage proposal, even if not a word is spoken. Under no circumstances may one [606] look at the mother-in-law. They also practice animal dances in the bush, the kind that are performed by the men later at joyous celebrations, and also in times of distress. Finally, the young [304] Bushman receives the tribal marking, a number of skin incisions on the cheek below the temple. Each tribe has a certain number of skin incisions. In order to make them stand out clearly even [386] after healing, pulverized charcoal is put into the incisions. As a result, the tribal marking later looks like a black streak on the yellow skin.

224 "There is nothing against applying another mark on the 304 future huntsman during this celebration, namely, the hunting 881 inoculation. This must be done by a man who has special powers and knowledge at his disposal. In order to sharpen the future hunter's eye for game generally and certain game in particular, it is necessary to make a deep incision between the eyes over the root of the nose, into which the practiced hand of the surgeon sprinkles a powder of dried and pulverized parts of all kinds of game.

"The inoculation may later be repeated several times if the hunter has no luck in hunting.

881 "A person who has received the tribal marking is now re- 884 garded as a Bush 'man'; he can make his own bow and arrows, like those of the old people, and go hunting with them. Also, the way is now open for him to found a family."

582 It practically never happens that a Bushman remains

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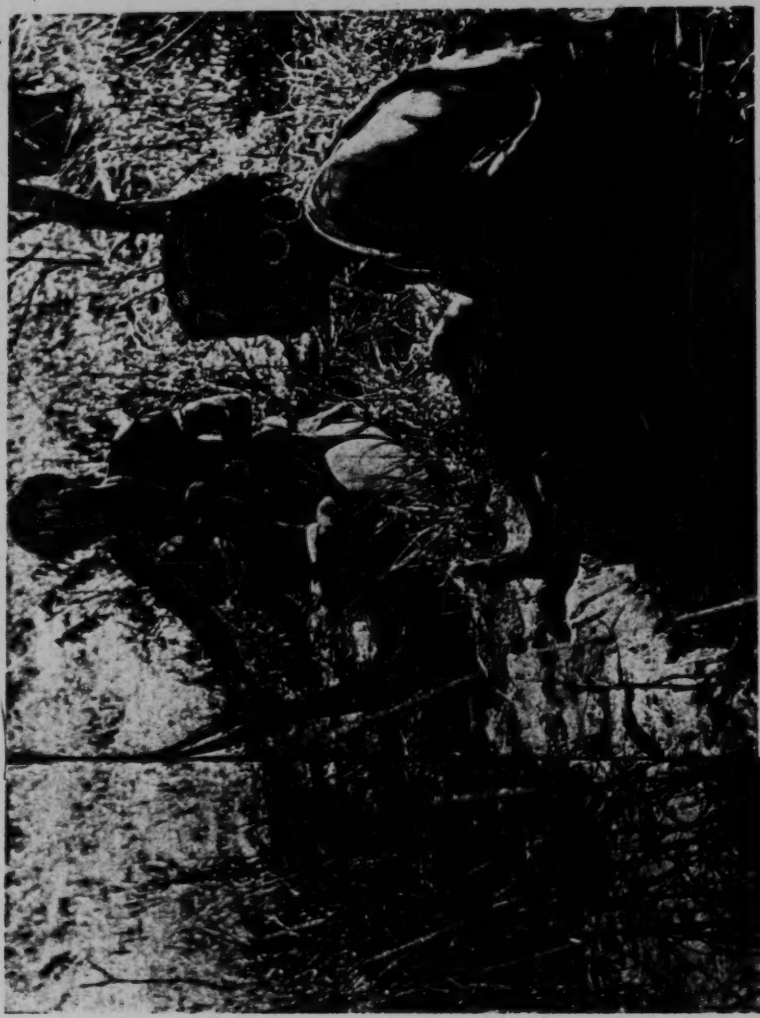

Most roots are dug up for food, but the ones held out, above, are valued for their bark. When it is powdered and rubbed on, it turns the skin red.

[p. 13]

312
222 where the water bearing root Fockea monroi is available the Bushmen may extend their stay in the nutting groves by eating the juicy pulp of this root. If they are fortunate, this water source may tide them over to the next shower, part of which will accumulate in the hollows of trees.

13 The first rainfall, however brief, appears to have the general effect of triggering reproduction in animals, and initiating the growth phase in plants. Among the first of the summer foods to appear are the leafy greens Dipcadi glaucum and Talinum crispatulatum.

132 There is no well-defined boundary between the first rains of October and the main rains. J. Marshall mentions that during his periods of field work a gap occurred between the first and the main rains. In 1963 and 1964, however, the showers gradually increased in intensity and frequency from [433] October through December. The date of onset and the intensity of rainfall varies greatly from year to year and a delay of even a few weeks in the onset of rain can cause considerable hardship amongst the Bushmen. Furthermore, an initial rain followed by weeks of dry weather is a mixed blessing, for it brings the plants prematurely into leaf and they become scorched and damaged by the subsequent sunshine.

In 1963, the first rain fell on 8 October. In 1964, it did not fall until the 11 November and one noticed that the

132
433 physical condition of the Bushmen was visibly poorer in November 1964 by comparison with November 1963.

2. Main rains

132 The Bushmen say that a series of intense downpours
361 (measuring 2-3 inches) heralds the beginning of the main
[821] rains and ushers in their season of abundance. Such a fall occurred in 1963 at the end of November. The immediate effect of these downpours is to produce standing water in the small molapos that lie in the interstices of the dunes. When these seasonal waters become established, virtually the entire Bushman population moves out to live at them. Thus from December through March the permanent waterholes are largely deserted.

312 With the coming of the main rains, the summer foods
433 begin to ripen. These foods appear around the summer water
222 sources and they appear also around the permanent waterholes. It is significant, that, although foods become available at the permanent waterholes, the Bushmen tend to avoid these foods. They prefer to eat the foods that are around the summer waters. This illustrates one way that the Bushmen take maximum advantage of the more distant foods. They defer exploitation of the foods around the permanent waterhole until the winter when the alternative water sources have dried out.

221
312
361 The distribution of camps during the summer follows two phases. In the early phase when water is standing in a dozen or more localities camps are found at most waters. This is the time of maximum freedom of movement because ponds fill up in the usually waterless belts and make it possible for people to visit relatives 35-70 miles away.

The distribution of camps in December 1963 is illustrated in Map 17, p.157.

The second phase of summer life begins as these smaller waters dry up in February and March. Then most of the Bushmen converge on the large summer waters such as !Gauša Pan (not to be confused with /Gauša Pan in the Nyae Nyae area).

!Gauša Pan in its peak season (Jan-March in 1964) was a pond 400 feet long and 125 feet across, located in a local
[162] drainage area between two dunes. In addition to a resident
[648] population of 40 Bushmen (augmented by dozens of temporary visitors) the pan supported four Bantu cattle posts with
[136] about 500 head of cattle. The pan was a watering place for kudu and wildebeeste and had resident flocks of red-billed teal, white-bellied stork and hammerkops. Within a 3 mile radius of the pan there were remains of at least ten abandoned Bushmen camps that had been occupied in previous years.

[162] Besides !Gauša there were four other big pans in the Dobe area, each of which supported large Bushmen camps (of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 158]

221
312 30 or more people) and Bantu cattle posts. These were located
361 at Characharaha, Mahito, !gun/isa and /wihabe. Map 18 illus-
[162] trates the distribution of population during the late summer
(March 1964).p. 159.

221 Life at the summer pans is, by Bushman standards, luxur-
137 ious because all of the major and minor fruits, berries,
433
222 melons and leafy greens become available. There is a succes-
sion of ripening of the major foods throughout the summer
months. The first to ripen are the leafy greens (Dipcadi
and Talinum), followed by the sour plums (Ximenia caffra and
X. americana), then the melons (Citrullus lanatus and C.
naudinianus), and the Grewia berries (Grewia flava comes
first followed by six other species). By the time the plums
have become scarce the melons are ready for eating. As the
melons become worked out the Grewia berries ripen. Each of
six species of Grewia comes into ripeness at a different
time, so that every two weeks throughout the middle of
summer another species of Grewia became ready for eating.
Throughout the early part of the summer the mongongo nuts
are available but these are the nuts from the previous year's
fall. It is not until April that the current year's fall of
nuts occurs. And then a new cycle of working out from the
camp occurs. This illustrates again the selective gathering
habits of the !Kung Bushmen.

000 meat no doubt lessens the men's incentive for hunting.

221 3. Autumn - which fell (in 1964) during April is the period
• 312 when these large summer waters are drying up. One by one the
361 big pans turn into muddy pools and the Bushmen abandon them. Some of the people join the camps established at the remaining summer waters while others fall back to their permanent waterholes in the main molapos.

!Gauša was the last of the summer waters to go dry. It was finally abandoned by May 1, 1964. By this date all the Bushmen had returned to the permanent waters and this marks the beginning of the winter subsistence cycle.

As mentioned previously the present study was made during a drought. There are indications in the literature that summer waters do not always dry out as early as May 1. The Bushmen themselves spoke of summer water persisting in previous years into the period of frost which does not come until June or July. It is also probable that the presence of Bantu cattle contributed to the premature drying out of the summer waters. However, these hypotheses cannot be tested except by further field work.

4. Early Winter

221 The winter season is not coterminous with the period of
312 food scarcity. This scarce period does not begin until mid-
433 winter and continues until the first rains. The first half

221 of winter from May to mid-July is a period of relative abun-
312 dance. This is due to the fact that the permanent waters
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[361] have not been occupied during the summer months, and there is abundant food in their vicinity when the Bushmen return to
[824] them in May. Subsistence has a double base, including both the tail-end of the summer foods such as the Grewia berries, and the first series of winter roots and bulbs. Mongongo nuts are also locally available. The distribution of the Bushmen population during the winter of 1964 is shown in Map 19, p. 165.

221 The root foods are generally associated with the winter
824 subsistence. This is curious because as perennials the bulbs may be dug out at any time of the year. But the Bushmen do not concentrate on root foods during the summer months: they pass them over in favor of the foods of shorter duration, the fruits and melons. They state that they do not like the flavor of the root foods during the winter.

In May and June these root plants are exploited and the pressure on them increases through the winter as the nuts become locally exhausted. The major roots are Eulophia spp., Vigna dinteri, Walleria muricata, Coccinia spp., Coccinia rehmannii and Ceropegia spp. - nine species in all. These have edible bulbs or storage organs which range in size from one to three inches in diameter.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 166]

221
222 well into September. On the other hand, at /ai/ai, where 109
184 Bushmen were living, the local mongongo nuts were exhausted at the beginning of July.

Since each territory was known for a different selection of winter foods, the transition took a different form at each waterhole. At Dobe, the mongongo nuts were replaced as the staple of the diet by Baobab fruits (Adansonia) and vegetable ivory palm hearts (Hyphaene). At Bate the people shifted from mongongo nuts to Sclerocarya caffra nuts. At !angwa, the people concentrated on collecting Acacia spp. gums.

221 In general the diet of the Bushmen becomes much more
824 eclectic during the latter half of the winter. It was during
146 this season that the Bushmen took advantage of a wide selection of edible species. Instead of eating mongongo nuts with a few other species as "side dishes", the people had to diversify their diet in order to live well. During August and September no less than 25 species of roots, bulbs and edible gums formed the basis of the diet.

222 There was an alternative strategy to eating less desirable
312 foods. If a family was prepared to make the effort required to reach the nutting groves, they would fill their water containers (ostrich egg shells and the stomachs of antelope) and walk to the nuts. They would collect and eat there until

222 their water was exhausted. Water could only be carried out
312 in sufficient quantities to support a family for two or three nights, so that at noon of the third or fourth day, a family was forced to return home.

312 The ability of a group to live away from a waterhole is strictly limited by its capacity for hauling water. The ostrich egg shell has an average capacity of 36 ounces (U.S.).[1] The contents of two eggs (72 ounces or 2-1/4 quarts U.S.) supplies the minimum daily fluid requirements of one adult. Bushmen informants consistently spoke of two eggs-ful as their minimum daily ration. When well-water was available, the Bushmen were observed to drink more than 72 ounces per day. Irven DeVore made a four-day study of the water intake of a group of 15 people in November, 1964. During this period he provided (from water drums) all the water that was drunk by a party of 15, including seven adults and eight children.

His observations are set out below:

1. Total water given out during a 72 hour period; 2,812 oz.
2. Average per 24 hour period; 937 oz.

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[136] [1] The Kalahari ostrich egg shell is smaller than that of other areas. The mean capacity of four eggs from the Dobe area is 35.8 ounces (U.S.). (The range of capacities is 33.5, 35. 35.5, and 39.5 ounces.) This compares with an egg from the Cape Province with a capacity of 42 ounces, and an egg from Kenya with a capacity of 46 ounces.

• 312 3. Average quantity of water provided to each adult per 24 hour period; 85 oz.

4. Average quantity of water provided to each child per 24 hour period; 43 oz.

Since the amount of water loss through sweat varies directly with the air temperature, an individual would require more than two eggs-full of water during the summer when the mean daily maximum temperature is 100°F. During the winter, when the mean daily maximum is 85°F, two eggs-full appear to be sufficient.

Similarly, the amount of water loss through sweat varies directly with the intensity of activity, so that an individual would require more water after a day of hard hiking in the sun than he would after a day of comparative inactivity in the shade of the nut forests.

For the present case (winter nut collecting trips) the two-egg figures will be taken as an average.

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For every day of residence away from the permanent water, an individual must carry with him, 72 ounces of water. Therefore a person on a three day collecting trip must carry out four eggshells of water: one for the afternoon of the first day, two for the second day and one for the morning of the third day. Children under 10 years of age can manage on one egg shell of water per full day. Therefore, if a man and wife

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222 with three young children go to the nuts they must carry a minimum of 4+4+2+2+2 = 14 ostrich egg shells filled with water, four for each adult and two for each child. However, most [426] women own only about six shells. By borrowing shells from other camp members they can bring the total up to the number required for a three day trip.

The antelope stomach sacs offer an increase in water-carrying capacity. A fresh sac will hold up to one gallon (U.S.), i.e. 128 ounces of water, which is the equivalent of 3-1/2 egg shells. Therefore, if a family of five owns two stomach sacs containing 256 ounces of water, this will provide them with one day's supply of water. The 14 egg shells hold three day's supply of water, so that, with two stomach sacs and 14 shells, the family of five can stay an extra day (three nights instead of two) away from the permanent waterhole.

Four days is the upper limit on the time that Bushmen can spend away from a waterhole without a supplement of water from plant sources. There are three reasons for setting the upper limit at four days. First, there is a limit to the number of containers available. Stomach sacs are very fragile and have a short useful life. As they rip they are sewn and this sewing makes their capacity smaller and smaller, so that after six months or so they are discarded. Ostrich egg shells, on the other hand, are much more durable

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and may stay in constant use for years. It is curious therefore that each family possesses less than 10 shells and must borrow shells in order to make these hiking trips to the nuts. The limited number of containers is probably the reason why members of a camp go out to the nuts in shifts. When one family returns, the camp's ostrich egg shells are pooled, and then another family may go out.

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A second limitation is the weight of water that can be carried. The 756 ounces of water required for four days at the nut forest weigh 47 lbs. Each empty ostrich egg shell weighs eight ounces; so that the 14 shells themselves weigh an additional seven lbs. Furthermore it is necessary for the parents to carry the younger children on their shoulders. So, in effect, the parents must walk out to the nut forests fully loaded with water and children and also return fully loaded with nuts and children. On the return trip the weight of the water is replaced by an equivalent weight of collected nuts.

The third limitation is set by the volume that the ostrich egg shells occupy in the carrying space of the kaross. The volume occupied by 14 ostrich egg shells is roughly equivalent to the volume occupied by 14 quart-sized milk bottles. When the time comes for the trip home the adults must pack into each kaross 20 lbs. of nuts, as well as the empty ostrich egg

312 shells; this makes for a very bulky and unwieldy parcel. The
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222 stomach sacs, by contrast to the egg shells, have the distinct advantage of being weightless and occupying no space on the return trip, since when they are empty they dry and shrivel up.

221 The reader can now appreciate the complex logistics of
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312 Bushman subsistence activities during the late winter dry season. In view of the difficulty of collecting mongongo nuts during this season, it is not surprising that the people turn to an eclectic diet of roots, bulbs, and gums that are still available in the vicinity of permanent water.

222 Several variations in tactics were observed among the
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855 Dobe area Bushmen. One such variation was to leave the older
312 children behind in the care of relatives while the parents
482 made the long trips to the nut forests. By leaving behind two children at the main camp, the parents could effect savings of 30% in the weight of water that had to be carried out on a four day trip.

222 Another variation observed was the two-day-one-night
484 overnight hike. Such a trip lasted only 36 hours and required
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[482] only three ostrich egg shells of water per adult. By using this tactic, groups of ten or more people could make a rapid lightly loaded trip to the nut forests and return the following day heavily loaded with nuts. This was a difficult operation

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312 because it entailed two consecutive days of hardhiking on
482 short water rations. The object of such a trip was to get to
484 the nuts and back again as quickly as possible, before the physiological deficit of water was allowed to reduce efficiency.

221 The general object of the winter nutting trips was to
222 remain at the nut forests just long enough to eat a really
262 substantial quantity of nuts (about 400 nuts per adult). This marathon meal starts the moment that the Bushmen arrive at the nut camps and continues throughout their stay. It is interrupted for short periods when the Bushmen go out to col-
[539] lect nuts in the vicinity of their temporary camp. There is a Bushman saying that aptly applies to this situation: "It is better to carry food home in your stomach than on your back."

[224] Hunting rarely occurs at these overnight camps. The efforts of men and women alike are directed to eating as many nuts as possible in a short time.

[312] The most important variation in the late winter and spring subsistence tactics centers on the use of Fockea monroi as a source of water. This will be discussed below.

132 6. Early Spring

August is the last month of winter. The last of the freezing nights occurs at the first of the month and these are followed by warmer nights in the 40's and 50's and daily

132 highs in the 90's. The warmer weather heralds the onset of
312 spring which is the most difficult season of the year. Most
137 of the waterholes have no mongongo nuts within a ten mile
222 radius. The alternative foods, roots and bulbs, are being collected daily by some of the people, while others are making the long overnight journeys to the nut forests.

221 Since territories vary in the abundance of early spring
574 foods there was a noticeable tendency for families to visit
628 other camps. For instance in September, Bate still had a good supply of Sclerocarya caffra, nuts; and several families from Dobe, Mahopa, and !angwa converged upon Bate to eat these nuts. Similarly !ubi had a supply of Baobab fruits (Adansonia digititata) and other families made extended visits to relatives there. The maintenance of close ties between camps made possible a more equitable distribution of foodstuffs, so that, if there was scarcity at one camp, and food at another, the members of the first camp would not go hungry. This is one of the highly adaptive features of the fluidity of !Kung group structure.

[563] Some families fall back on the Herero villages at this
[431] time of year to beg for milk. This occurs especially among those people who have a sister or cousin married to a Bantu man. Both the Bushman and Herero codes of good manners demand that visiting in-laws be fed (L. Marshall 1961).

251 were roasted in the coals of the fire and then pounded to
252 the consistency of coarse meal in the wooden mortar. This
262 roasted hide had the taste and texture of crisp crackling and was delicious when pounded and mixed with the flesh of roots of the genera Coccinia, Walleria and Eulophia. These stores of dried hide and meat did not serve as a staple surplus so much as an emergency delicacy to brighten the diet when a day's hunting had been unsuccessful.

221 The major food strategy during the hot dry spring was
222 the 7-14 day trip to the waterless country where mongongo nuts
312 were still plentiful. At these camps the only source of
361 water was the juice from the roots of Fockea monroi. Fockea
824 has an uneven distribution in the Dobe area. The Bushmen must camp in a nut forest that is in close proximity to patches of Fockea. The maximum period that a group was observed to live on Fockea roots was two weeks. The limitation is set by the density of Fockea plants in an area, and the amount of fluid that each plant holds. Life at the Fockea patches is difficult because people have to work hard to obtain water as well as food. Each Fockea root storage organ contains 8-16 ounces of recoverable moisture. Thus a daily ration of 72 ounces of water can be obtained by digging out 5-10 Fockea roots.

312 But the dilemma of living on Fockea lies in the fact that
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312 824 222 a great deal of energy must be expended in digging out these roots, and the concomitant of this expenditure of energy is a much greater fluid loss through sweating.

It was mentioned earlier that the body's daily water loss is in part a function of the intensity of activity. For instance, an individual who is resting in the shade will lose half the water that is lost by another individual who is walking in the sun.[1] When standing water is available, the amount of energy expended in obtaining water is small. An individual walks a few hundred yards from his camp to the waterhole, drinks his fill there, then fills his water containers and walks back to the shade of his camp. On the other hand, an individual who is living on Fockea roots must walk several miles per day in the sun and must dig out a number of large roots that are buried 12-18 inches deep in the hard soil of the molapos. Therefore an individual who drinks Fockea juice must first replace the considerable quantity of water that is lost through the effort of searching and digging the Fockea roots; this is in addition to the water that is lost in the course of normal daily activities such as hunting, food gathering and resting.

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[1] Adolph and associates (1947) present detailed analyses of this and other factors in sweat production.

312 824 222 The net effect of this effort is that an individual must drink much more than the minimum daily requirement of 72 ounces of water. In fact, men who were living on Fockea roots, were observed to dig out between 15 and 20 of the roots per day. The quantity of water provided by these roots is estimated at 150-300 ounces, part of which went to provide water for the children of the camp.

222 484 312 A description of one Fockea trip, in which the author participated, will serve to illustrate some of the difficulties of living away from standing water.

[123] This trip began on 6 November and ended on 16 November, 1964. The group consisted of 12 Bushmen (plus the author); there were three men, four women, and five children. One of the young women gave birth during her stay so the returning group consisted of 13 Bushmen.

November 6 - This group (minus one of the men who came out the following day) set out from the Dobe waterhole at 10:00 [103] a.m. They spent the day walking to a nut forest named !wi/wama which was situated eleven miles west of Dobe. The original plan was to remain there for five days.

[481] The pace was leisurely to suit the three older children [855] (ages 12, 8, 6 respectively) who went on foot and the young [843] woman who was in the terminal month of her pregnancy. On the way we stopped at intervals to eat seven different species of

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food plants and to rest in the shade. Towards evening we reached a patch of Fockea roots and spent an hour digging and eating them. Six roots were divided among our group of 12 people. At seven p.m. we made camp in the mongongo nut forests at !wi/wama. Within minutes of our arrival the four women had collected and were cracking mongongo nuts.

Before leaving Dobe, the Bushmen had filled 15 containers with water:

1 kudu stomach sac	4 quarts
2 enamel buckets	4 quarts
12 ostrich egg shells	13-1/2 quarts
Total water carried:	21-1/2 quarts (= c. 700 oz. or water)

On the outward journey, the 12 of us drank four of the ostrich egg shells which had been filled at the Dobe well, plus an estimated two quarts of water from Fockea roots. During the evening, no one drank water until just before bedtime when a further three quarts of water were divided out. Therefore, of the estimated total of 700 ounces of well water, 224 ounces (30%) had been consumed on the first day's hike. It is not known how long the remainder lasted because the author left the camp at the end of the second day.

November 7 - The group woke up at 5:40 a.m. The women were not satisfied with the location of the camp so we packed up and hiked west for another half mile to make camp at a new

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484 location closer to the nuts. By 7:00 a.m. this camp had been
312 deserted. The women and their children had gone to collect
[462] nuts and the men had set out to find Fockea roots and to hunt
[224] along the way. The men carried no water with them on the hunt. The author accompanied the men.

We walked south for several miles looking for fresh animal tracks and for patches of Fockea plants. We passed through two molapos where the Fockea plants were likely to exist, but to our disappointment we found none. It was 10:00 a.m. before we dug out the first Fockea of the day.
[132] By this time the morning coolness had disappeared and we had to walk and dig in the sun with shade temperatures about
312 100°F. The first Fockea worth digging were found 4-1/2 miles
824 south of our camp at !wi/wama. The roots were the size of a football and weighed about three pounds.

The flesh of Fockea is white and juicy with a spongy granular texture. The juice is milky in color and slightly astringent so that it smarts when accidentally rubbed into small cuts on the hands. There are two methods of extracting the moisture from the root. First, one cuts open the root with a knife and chops off chunks of the flesh inside. This may be eaten directly like watermelon. The disadvantage of this method is that one must swallow about three pounds of roughage in order to extract one pint of moisture; in other

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words, 15 lbs. of roughage per day for the minimum water requirment. This is the most efficient means of processing water from Fockea roots because the digestive system can convert all the moisture that is in the Fockea flesh.

However, the Bushmen say (and I can corroborate this) that a man cannot swallow 15 pounds of pulp per day. The stomach becomes full long before one's thirst is quenched. It is probable also that such a great quantity of roughage would put an intolerable burden on the human digestive system, even of people whose digestive systems are accustomed to processing quantities of fibrous roughage.

The more common way of extracting moisture from the root is to squeeze the juice out by hand. The juice may be squeezed directly into the mouth, or squeezed into a cup and then drunk. This is a less efficient way of extracting moisture because much of the juice remains in the fibers after squeezing. Also some of the juice runs down the arms. It does offer a distinct psychological advantage, however, because one is able to drink the juice and thus satisfy the swallowing reflex which is connected with the neurophysiological sensation of thirst (Ladell 1958). Eating the flesh of Fockea does not satisfy this sensation.

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The men continued to eat and drink Fockea from 10:00 a.m. to 12:20 p.m. Then we started to hunt in a northerly direction.

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224 No game were seen except for a solitary female ostrich. We
[222] tracked her to her nest and collected her clutch of nine eggs. Each of the eggs was pounded in the sand to separate the amnion from the inside of the shell. This apparently kills the embryo inside the egg. These nine eggs were divided among the three of us. We then dug out four large Fockea roots intact, and we returned to the camp at 2:30 p.m. after a hike of nine miles.

484 The women of the camp had spent the early part of the
222 morning collecting nuts and Fockea and the rest of the day
462 sitting in the shade cracking nuts and squeezing the Fockea
• 312 juice. From 2:30 to 4:30 p.m. no one drank any of the water that had been brought the previous day.

484 At 4:30 p.m. the third man of the camp arrived from Dobe.
312 He brought with him one gallon of water in an enamel milk pail and portions of a dead kudu that he had scavenged from a carnivore kill on the way.

484 By this time I was experiencing symptoms of heat dis-
123 tress, (fever, lassitude, inability to swallow) and decided
312 to return to Dobe, because my continued presence would become a burden on the camp residents, none of whom, incidentally, showed any signs o" heat discomfort.

One of the men, seeing my condition, offered to accompany me back to Dobe with his family. We left at sunset and walked

484 until 8:00 p.m. Before making camp we ate wild oranges along
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312 the way (Strychnos spinosa) but these did not contain much moisture. We camped at a point halfway between !wi/wama and Dobe and there shared out the last of the family's drinking water, which amounted to one quart for four adults and three children, that is c. 4-1/2 oz. for each of us.

484 November 8 - The camp awoke at 4:50 a.m. By 5:20 we had
123 packed and were under way, arriving home without incident at 7:30 a.m.

484 November 8-16 - This ended the author's participation in
312 the Fockea trip. Six members of the original group remained
361 at !wi/wama eating nuts and drinking the juice of Fockea. On the eleventh of November there was a heavy fall of rain at !wi/wama which created a temporary pool of water near their camp. This enabled them to extend their stay beyond the original plan of five days.

484 The same week that the rain fell, the pregnant woman of
361 the camp gave birth to a baby boy. The group remained at the
844 nut camp until the mother was strong enough to walk. Then they broke camp and returned to Dobe on November 16. Both mother and child appeared to be in fine condition.

132 The rain of November 11 was the first substantial fall
221 of the 1964-65 rainy season and initiated the subsistence activities associated with the late spring (see above). Thus

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221 this account of the seasonal round has come full circle to the starting point.

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433 In summary, there are, in effect, only three basic sets of subsistence conditions for the Bushmen:

1. Water everywhere - Food everywhere
2. Water limited - Food abundant
3. Water limited - Food scarce.

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312 When the first set of conditions prevail during the rains
433 of November through March, Bushman life is sweet. The camps
[628] can live near the most concentrated food sources within their
[674] territory, or share in the food supply of neighboring camps,
[602] or easily undertake the long trips to visit relatives at distant waterholes.

When the second set of conditions prevail, from April through July, freedom of movement is more restricted but food is still abundant enough to make life comfortable.

When the third set of conditions prevail, from August through October, the Bushmen must resort to increasingly arduous tactics in order to maintain a good diet, or, alternatively they must content themselves with foods of less desirability in terms of abundance, ease of collecting and nutritive value.

It is during the three lean months of the year that the Bushmen life approaches the precarious conditions that have

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come to be associated with the hunting and gathering way of life. However one should not lose sight of the fact that for nine or more months of each year the Bushmen can easily fulfill their food requirements without resorting to the more difficult (and, to our eyes, more dramatic) subsistence tactics.

121 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social
433 maturity by the young people and the support of the non-pro-
883 ductive elderly people are institutions which are possible
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182 only in a society with a relatively secure subsistence base.

433 Water, Food, and Nomadism -- The special subsistence problems
• 312 faced by the Dobe area Bushmen concern the scarcity of water.
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361 All of the eight natural permanent waterholes are situated in or near the beds of the main molapos. During the summer months, when temporary pools develop at a distance from permanent water, the Bushmen can move out to live at them. Except for a few weeks each year, the Bushmen spend their entire lives camped within an hour's walk of standing water. Only at the end of the dry season do some of the younger people undertake the long trips to the dry forests where they live by digging out the water-bearing roots. Since it is the custom of the Bushmen to return each evening to their main camps, it follows that areas within a single day's walk of standing water will be intensively utilized. Areas that lie beyond this radius will be rarely utilized even though they may be rich in food. The fact that the Bushmen can live well for most of the year within a six-mile radius of permanent water indicates that they do not lead a nomadic way of life. Each summer they move up-country to the seasonal waters and each winter they fall back on their permanent waterholes. In contrast to some Australian aboriginal groups, whose annual round consists of walking a circuit of many waterholes, the Dobe area Bushmen have a

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361 transhumant annual round, in which they alternate between their rainy season range and their dry season range.

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628 The Dobe area !Kung do not undertake long marches of 30-70 miles for the purpose of getting food. This task can be readily fulfilled within a day's walk of their territorial water sources. When such long marches occur, they are invariably for the purposes of visiting, trading, and marital exchanges with relatives at distant camps. As such, these trips should not be confused with the normal routines of subsistence.

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162 Range Size and Population Density -- By plotting the movements of the various camps in their annual subsistence cycle, the observer can derive a rough estimate of the total land area that is required to support the population of 430 Bushmen. It would be much more difficult to estimate the area necessary to support a single camp, because of the considerable overlap of territories and the frequent visiting between camps. It will be more useful to treat the entire population as a unit. It is estimated that the 800 square miles that lie within a six-mile radius of major water sources are sufficient to support the population for most of the year. Beyond this radius lies a hinterland which is rarely penetrated; perhaps a further 200 square miles of this hinterland is utilized in the course of a single year. Thus the total annual range of the Dobe area Bushmen may be estimated at 1,000 square miles. This calculation sets the effective population

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

H B 133 132 [137]

a most desolate appearance. Verdure is entirely wanting, the numerous gullies are empty, and the low ranges of ironstone koppies which dot the plains seem to reflect the heat as from a mirror. The vegetation is composed very largely of drought-resisting thorn bushes, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants. Grasses appear only in exceptionally wet years, while trees are usually absent, except along the dry river-courses and on the mountain slopes in the east, where the rainfall is highest. Till the early years of the nineteenth century the Great Karroo was regarded as a desert unfit for man or beast; since then well-sinking and donkey transport have bettered the conditions, and the region has gradually become occupied.

H B [312 492]

Fauna

H B 136

The great variety of habitat provided by the country taken as a whole has naturally favoured the development of a varied and abundant fauna.[1] South Africa has long been renowned for the wealth of its larger forms of animal life, although with the advance of European settlement and colonization the numbers have been rapidly reduced, particularly of certain classes of big game. The native inhabitants had certainly done something to reduce the numbers and affect the distribution of the fauna, but a balance had been reached which still left the country richly stocked. The Cape was full of game when the first European settlers established themselves there 250 years ago, and in their gradual spread inland the white men found the same abundance of fine forms of animal life in each new tract of country that they entered. A few decades were enough to convert each newly-opened district from a hunter's paradise into a stock-farming country, and the increase of veld-burning carried the destruction into other zones of life. But over large parts of South Africa the face of the country itself has been little changed on the whole, and a good deal of the original fauna has survived, even on much of the enclosed land.

The mammalian fauna is, or rather was, characterized by the great abundance and variety of antelopes, the presence of such remarkable "living fossils" as the elephant, giraffe, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and aardvark, as well as of the buffalo, zebra, and quagga, and the abundance of carnivora, large and small. During the eighteenth

[1] An excellent short account is given by Dr. E. L. Gill, "Descriptive Sketch of the Fauna of South Africa," *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 9, pp. 31–41. Cf. also Passarge, op. cit., pp. 78–86.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10.

Environment and Culture

The possibilities of exploitation this region offers to people lacking the highly-developed technical equipment of modern European civilization vary considerably. The ways in which the Bushmen and Hottentots utilize the natural resources of their surroundings will be discussed in some detail in later chapters. Here a rapid survey may be made of the factors conditioning the distribution and mode of life generally of the natives inhabiting the country.[1]

H B 105

The most important consideration naturally is water. Animal and plant life are there in sufficient quantity to support human existence, provided a supply of water is near. Man in his primitive condition is dependent entirely on surface water for the satisfaction of his needs, for he has not the means now possessed by civilized man for getting at the water in the depths below. The amount of surface water therefore determines the density of population in any one area, and the water available in a given area, together with the density of the vegetation, determines the number and size of the settlements in that area.

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The character of the country, moreover, limits at once the types of culture that can become indigenous there. South Africa even under modern conditions can only carry on agriculture in certain parts, and most of the country could never support a primitive population of pure agriculturists. It is only in the well-watered districts to the north and east and along the south coast that native agriculture has been developed to any extent. On the other hand, there is an abundant fauna and a sufficiency of vegetable life to afford good subsistence to men. The type of culture then that we would *a priori* expect to find here would be one based largely on hunting and collecting. This is exactly what we do find. The abundance of game formerly existing in South Africa makes it readily comprehensible that hunting at one time played a great role in all parts of the country, and therefore that hunting peoples were distributed all over its surface. All the native peoples of South Africa, whatever other means of subsistence they have, rely to some extent at least for food on the products of the chase and on the edible bulbs and roots of the veld.

H B 105 311

A country, however, which can support great numbers of buck

[1] For special discussions of the South African environment in relation to man, cf. Passarge, op. cit., pp. 162–75; *idem*, "Die Grundlinien im ethnographischen Bilde der Kalahari-Region," *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 20–36, 68–88; (Mrs.) A. W. Hoernlé, "South-West Africa as a Primitive Culture Area," *S. Afr. Geog. J.*, vi (1923), pp. 14–28.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10.

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and other grass and herb-eating animals will also support other species of these animals, provided that conditions such as the absence of the tsetse fly and other pests are favourable. Hence we also find pastoral tribes, who have come in from other regions bringing with them great herds of cattle and immense flocks of sheep and goats. One important point must, however, be noticed. Country which, under modern farming conditions, will only carry a small herd of cattle, sheep, and goats, used formerly to carry large herds of well-fed antelopes and zebras. The explanation is that each wild species is specially adapted to living on certain bushes or plants, and that many natural foodstuffs useless to farm stock were made use of by one species or another of wild game. It must also be remembered that the wild game was not restricted by farm boundaries; it was free to shift its ground according to the seasons and the supplies of food and water. For the same reasons a nomadic life was imposed on the native tribes keeping domestic animals, although nowadays with the extension of the European settlements the areas over which free movement is possible have become greatly restricted.

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Viewed in this light, the natural regions of South Africa which have been described above are seen to differ widely in their value for culture. Certain parts of the country, such as the Namib desert strip and the interior of Bushmanland, are largely uninhabitable. The rainfall in both is exceedingly slight, and there is practically no surface water all the year round. In parts of the Namib, however, the river-courses from the mountains of the South-West African plateau periodically carry water, which is dammed up in a few places by rocky outcrops in the river beds, and above all there is the *!naras* melon, whose fruit is sufficiently succulent to provide a substitute for water. Agriculture is completely out of the question. The thin scattered population which the region can support is forced to lead a nomadic hunting life, although in the east, towards the borders of the plateau, the grass which flourishes during the rainy season occasionally permits of pastoralism.

The greater part of the Middle and Southern Kalahari lacks surface water during the dry season only. The water supply at other times is generally sufficient to permit of temporary settlements, although the porous sand covering of the surface absorbs all the rainfall, so that except in the pans and other waterholes the standing water rapidly disappears. The region is sparsely inhabited, and mostly by nomadic peoples. Agriculture is again impossible, save in a few tracts to the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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east, where the soil is more favourable, but the rainfall is too uncertain to enable grain to be grown with a reasonable prospect of success. The abundance of grass in many parts, especially during the rainy season, affords good pasture to cattle, but the region is above all an excellent hunting ground, and formerly at least it was extraordinarily rich in game. Hence its inhabitants are in the first place hunting peoples, and their life is conditioned by the movements of the game. At the beginning of the rainy season the animals wander out of the permanently-watered regions encircling the desert into its sandy plains, where water is found only in pans, pools, and waterholes. The hunters follow them. As the dry season sets in and the water in the pans begins to shrink, part of the game returns to the watered regions, part of it, however, continues to live in the plains on the *tsama* melons and other succulent plants—and the hunters do the same.

In the well-watered Northern Kalahari three great streams, the Okavango, Kwando, and Zambesi, overflow on to the flat land, in some parts continuously, in others periodically, and thus give rise to an extensive region of swamps. This marshy region is excellent hunting and fishing ground. Its population, more numerous and densely settled than in the rest of the Kalahari, is therefore primarily concerned with these two pursuits. The natives indeed are actually forced to resort in part to fishing, since for motives of security they live mainly on the small islands between the swamps and the rivers. The periodic rise of the rivers annually floods wide stretches of the country, resulting in displacements and wanderings of the game. Consequently, the natives also must roam, partly because their habitations are flooded out, partly because they must follow the animals. Both agriculture and pastoralism are also carried out in parts of the country. The cattle pasture in the sandveld away from the swamps, while the marshy region can only be used for the cultivation of crops, since for wide stretches it is infested by the tsetse.

The upland regions encircling the Kalahari basin on the south-east, south, and west, have for the most part a scanty rainfall. The permanent settlement of this belt during the dry season is therefore restricted to the scattered waterholes, which occur in river beds, on mountain slopes or in depressions on the hard soil. Waterless stretches from 40 to 100 miles in extent are no rarity, so that the settlements are frequently distributed far apart over the land. Here, as in other regions of South Africa, hunting must depend on the movements of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the game. In the more arid parts the animals in the dry season concentrate in vast numbers about the rivers and waterholes and pans, to disperse widely as soon as the rains make life possible elsewhere. The same features of alternate concentration and dispersal can be observed in the life of the purely hunting tribes. The pastoral resources are on the whole excellent, there being no lack of grass or edible shrubs even during the dry season, and consequently cattle-keeping peoples are able to lead a favoured existence in these uplands. Agriculture is also practised to some extent, but is confined to the scattered alluvial tracts. As a means of subsistence it is rendered precarious by the frequent droughts which characterize the region. These often exercise a harmful effect on pastoralism as well, partly because of the ensuing lack of water, but mainly because the pasture is completely destroyed in many parts of the country. The plateaus of the Orange Free State, Cape Province, and Southern Bechuanaland are especially exposed to such catastrophes, but they are often enough marked in South-West Africa also, particularly in Great Namaqualand.

Further east and along the south coast the rainfall is high enough to place cultivation on a safe footing, while the country, where it is not covered with bush or forest, is composed of extensive grass flats which can be used as pasture land. Consequently, both agriculture and pastoralism are equally developed, the former being carried out on a far greater scale than in other parts of South Africa. Here, therefore, we find the most thickly settled zones, and the population is mainly sedentary, even although the pastoral tribes must still to some extent lead a nomadic life.

Migration Routes

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The geographical situation of South Africa has an obvious bearing upon the racial history of the country. Cut off by vast uninterrupted stretches of water from ready access on the west, south, and east, its most direct link with other regions is overland to the north. In the north-west the great forest regions of the Congo impose an effective barrier upon extensive human migrations, so that it is principally from the north-east that invading peoples have been able to enter the country.[1] The East African highlands are connected with the south by a favourable route passing between the escarpments in the east with their sharp descent to the fertile but fever-stricken coastlands,

[1] Cf. Passarge, *Z. Ges. Erdk. Berlin*, 1905, pp. 32–3; *idem*, *Südafrika*, pp. 163–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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mountains in the west of Great Namaqualand.[1] Most of the Bushmen, however, now live in flat country, where such natural shelters are denied them. Wherever they stay for more than a couple of days, crude bush huts are put up by the women. These are usually erected within walking distance of a waterhole, about an hour or two away. The people never live at the water itself, for fear of frightening away the game, which is most easily shot or trapped when coming to drink. 342 361 [462] [312] [224]

Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, "When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts."[3] 361 622 342 [372]

There seems to be as a rule no fixed form of settlement. All the families drinking at one waterhole may live in one group, or there may be several lots of huts scattered about in different directions. Among the Cape Bushmen, for example, one might find three or four huts standing together, or several huts dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, and the same appears to be true of the Naron.[5] 361

Among the Heikum, however, the camp is said to be laid out on a definite plan.[6] As a rule all the members of the band live in a common encampment or "werft" (*//gaus*). The huts of the married families are placed at a certain interval apart, and arranged in the form of an irregular circle. At or near the middle of the camp is situated a large tree, known as the */heis*. The hut of the chief (*gei-khoib*) is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. The brother of the *gei-khoib* live immediately to his left on the south side of the *//gaus*, and beyond them are placed the other married families of the community. The right or north side of the *//gaus* is reserved entirely for visiting sisters of the *gei-khoib* and their families, while any of his married daughters who may be visiting him erects her hut directly opposite to his at the furthest extremity of the camp. "This is done on account of the parent-in-law taboo (*tao-sas*) which [184] [606]

[1] Trunk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii; *idem*, *The Naron*, 4.
[3] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50–2; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[4] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Chapter V

SOCIAL HABITS AND CUSTOMS

Daily Life and Food

Daily and Seasonal Routine

The life of the Bushmen is one long struggle for food. For their 221
subsistence they rely entirely on the natural products of their environment: their animal food is obtained mainly by hunting, and occasionally fishing, while their vegetable food consists of edible plants, roots, and fruits growing wild in the veld. Save where they [177]
have been very considerably influenced by other peoples, they neither practise agriculture nor keep domestic animals which can supply them with food in the way of meat or milk.

The very mode of their subsistence makes them all wanderers. As soon as the edible plants in the vicinity of one waterhole grow scarce, the people move on to another, following the movements of the game and the growth of the plants. In this way a few months are spent at one waterhole, then some months at another, perhaps at even a third or fourth, and it is often a year or more before the first is revisited.

In particular their movements are regulated according to the season 221
and the distribution of the rainfall upon which they are mainly 312
dependent for their food supply. In the Namib Desert and in the 423
Central and Northern Kalahari each band has different dry and rainy season quarters, to which it resorts as the growth of veldkos or the movements of the game necessitate. The Namib Bushmen roam about the sand dunes of their region during the rainy season and well into the dry season, but as soon as the water and the indispensable */naras* fruits found there are exhausted, they draw back into the mountains, where each band has its permanent waterholes.[1] Similarly the Bushmen in the Central Kalahari roam in the sandy plains during the rainy season, and still manage to live there for part of the dry season, even after standing water has disappeared, on succulent melons and roots; but when these also begin to fail the people are

[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166, 168.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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221 compelled to turn back to permanent waterholes. Thus in the rainy
●312 season the Aikwe, Tsaukwe, /Amkwe, /Dukwe, and Tserekwe all hunt
423 in the wide sandveld pierced by the bed of the Letyahau, keeping to some extent to their respective hunting territories, but apparently also hunting together peacefully in the most central parts of the region. In the dry season, however, they turn back to the limestone pans of the Ghansiveld and Mahuraveld and to the river-courses of the Tauche-Botletle system, where permanent water is to be found.[1] The same alternation of residence with the seasons occurs, as we have seen, among the Tannekwe and the Hukwe, and may also be noted among the Kung and the Auen in the Omaheke and Kaukauveld.[2]

It is not only in alternation of residence that the change of season
[621] makes itself felt. In some cases it also affects the very cohesion of the band itself; for, as already mentioned, both among the Auen and among some of the Central Kalahari tribes the members of the band concentrate together during the rainy season when there is a more abundant supply of food, but as the dry season comes on the families scatter and wander off in different directions.

From their huts the people go out every day in search of food.
462 The women rise early, light the fire, and prepare the food for the
512 morning meal, which usually consists of veldkos left over from the previous evening. After having eaten, the men may go out hunting or visiting or engage in some other occupation, such as preparing skins, weapons, and utensils. The women accompany one another in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. "One may see a group of women and little children start off in one direction, single file of course, then some men in another, then four or five boys together, then girls, small and big, then some more men, and so on." When food is obtainable at no great distance, the women are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have far to go they may not reach home till late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they start the fires and proceed to prepare the food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water from the neighbouring waterhole.
[264] Food is ready by the time the men arrive in the late afternoon, and the evening meal, the principal meal of the day, is then eaten without delay. Meals are taken in common by the members of the family,
512 each family eating at its own hut. Afterwards visits are usually
[574]

[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 31–2.
[2] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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222 622 [184] A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to [782] [539] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 [462] [857] [415] [237] Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 182 [221] [621] The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this ever-present problem. 182 312 823

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially the *Inaras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season. In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then carefully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and resume their normal hunting life.[1] 312 [685] [824] [271] [221]

Industries and Trade

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are essentially domestic.[2] 511

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes 322 [342] [411] [412]

[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 51; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 297; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 51, 70–1, and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 671–3; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293–4.

[2] The most comprehensive account of Bushman Industries is to be found in Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 89–113, pl. xxiii–xxix, which relates chiefly to the Auen; cf. also van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 62–80; Passarge, op. cit., 81–94; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 297–301; Kaufmann, op. cit., 152–3; Schultze, op. cit., 658 *sqq.*; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschileute," 257; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 8–18 *passim*; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 103. [114]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

159 right, saying that Gai may have *thought* the Bakalahari was his real father, but that Ukwane knew better. I expect that Ukwane was right at that, for Gai certainly looked like a Bushman.

But whether father or stepfather, Gai said, the Bakalahari kept sending messages to Gai with Bushmen who might be passing through Ai a ha'o telling him to come back to Chukudu (probably to work), but Gai never did. Gai was too clever.

512 At noon the sun had warmed the air a little, although there was still an edge of frost, and the women got up and walked [313] off together into the veld to search for wood. In an hour or so they came back heavily loaded, Tsetchwe with her kaross [482] bulging with melons, perhaps twenty in all, a great load of 854 wood on top of them piled higher than her head, and Nhwakwe riding on top of it all. Even in the cold air she perspired, and as her load must have weighed almost a hundred pounds, she walked leaning forward.

By night the cold had deepened. The Bushman boys came [513] out of my tent and went home for dinner, then lay by the fires to sleep when the adults curled up in the shallow pits. The moon rose, a frosty circle, hard as a coin, and before we went to sleep that night we heard a jackal calling "tsa," out on the plains.

"Tsa," called one of the Bushmen, answering him.

"Tsa!" the jackal replied.

821 In the morning we were very pleased to find that the cold had broken. We woke up to find the sun just rising, and on the other edge the moon just sinking down, lustrous and pale in a current of balmy air coming warm from the equator. In the east, only the planets showed of all the stars; one of them,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

when the tsama melons were gone, but now, perhaps when he 222
saw its vine there and thought about it under the ground, he changed his mind. Squatting near the vine and digging with his hands, he soon had exposed it, two feet down and dark in shadow. He seized it and tore it from the earth.

It was shaped like a monstrous beet, with its vine coming from the top like a little stalk and its root bristling from the bottom like a tassel. It had a hard, bark-like crust and it was gray and hairy. Gai held it daintily by its vine, and, as dirt was still dropping off it he slapped and brushed it to clean it; then he held it high above the big cavity it had filled, looked at it with a rather satisfied smile, and said what nice water it would be.

We went home then, walking again in single file in a [481]
straight course over the veld, veering only once toward a [313]
fallen tree, where the women stopped to gather firewood. The [482]
women, walking first, were heavily loaded now with melons, roots, and firewood, Tsetchwe loaded most heavily of all because the baby rode on her shoulder. The women used their digging-sticks as canes because their knees were bending, and [481]
walked quickly, trying to get home as soon as possible. After the women came the young boys carrying nothing, and last of all came Gai, holding his bi by its tassel of root. Before long he hurried and caught up to Tsetchwe, and once again he took a turn with Nhwakwe, swinging him from Tsetchwe's shoulders to his own, where Nhwakwe rode happily, his tiny hands pressed over his father's eyes.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

513 That night it was so cold that no one wanted to leave the fire and when finally everyone was at my camp, settled close to each other, side by side, with their bellies warmed by the heat and their shoulders covered by their capes, their backs
521 turned against the enormous veld where the cold wind blew and where the dark was coming, they began to entertain themselves with conversation, their favorite pastime.

516 The adults held their elbows on their raised knees and cupped their hands under their chins to cast little shadows into their eyes, for in this way they could see clearly over the bright fire. Close to the fire even the children were not cold. The older children sat up like the adults, although they were naked and the adults had capes, and the younger children slept in their parents' arms, warm between the fire and their parents' skin.

136 Before the darkness had come totally I left the fire to look through the little forest for wood, and as soon as I was off among the trees a way I was quite alone; I could not see the firelight and the voices did not reach me, and as I walked around in the frost and the gloom I could hear my footsteps crackling the grass. When I stopped walking to pick up an icy stick I could still hear the grass crackling, and when I looked around I saw, not too far away, a pair of mongooses, a male and a female, with five little ones. They were eating seeds from the pods of a plant and when they saw me they ran, all in an orderly line, and when they were gone the forest seemed very empty, for I could see through the trees to the desolate plains beyond, and up through the branches to the sky, where stars were showing, far away. A partridge rose in front of me—I had chased it from its bed. I could hear it calling as it flew, lost out in the veld now, and when I had a
313 bundle of sticks I found my way home.

372 Dikai had been out for sticks in the opposite direction and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

when we looked at the pile we had, we judged that we had 313 372
enough for the night, but we burned only one at a time to save them.

For a while, sitting at the fire, everyone was quite gay. The 521
adults began to talk about food they had gathered and eaten and Toma's children asked me to tell them a story. "A true story," they said. Casting about in my mind for a story that would amuse them, I remembered a night when we were camped on our way to the Gikwe Bushmen in Bechuanaland and six lions had come into our camp. Someone in our party had shot at them and had wounded two of them, and then we had followed the wounded ones on foot through the darkness, a dangerous business, had finally found one and killed it, and had found the other one dead in the morning. I tried to say all this in Kung, but though I could understand quite a bit of it and could speak on some subjects, this time I found that my vocabulary was lacking; all I could say was "We killed two lions," a terse statement, and though the children were looking at me wide-eyed, I couldn't go on and had to get John to finish the story. "Ah," said the children, when the story was told, not nearly as impressed as I had thought they would be, but then I myself had seen their father walk through a valley where several lions were roaring, at night, alone, armed only with a spear, depending on his wits for safety and on the fact that lions have a musky odor. He had been in our camp on one side of the valley when he had heard the lions roaring, and had slipped across among them in order to be with his wife and children, asleep on the other side.

Crooked Kwi, his wife, and his daughter had all turned 374
away from the fire to warm their backs. They sat in a row, Kwi first, then the baby, then his wife. They were relaxed and they had let their heads tilt back to look at the sky. Crooked 555
Kwi and his wife were very young, and, being one of the few

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FIRWOOD FOR CAMP is another prize to be sought from the veld. Here, two fine logs are being carried back to the werf for fuel. Besides fires for cooking, the !Kung need them at night for warmth, since temperatures after sunset often fall well below freezing. Each family shelter has its own fire.

[p. 30]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

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digging-stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

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The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

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The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

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The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

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ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

[p. 256]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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224 soon as the dog has gripped his prey." Among the Naron these dogs are procured from BeChwana, Bergdama or white men in order [231] to hunt jackals, leopards, lynxes and other animals whose skins are [439] valued for making karosses. The skins so obtained are brought to the giver of the dog and bought by him at his own price for tobacco or trade goods, chiefly the former. The dogs are sometimes used by the people to catch hares and small buck for their larder, but are never taken out to hunt larger game.

In addition to these different methods of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons, the Bushmen employ various methods of trapping. Pitfalls are often made during the dry season in the path to a waterhole or along river banks, and covered with bushes. In the Central and Northern Kalahari these pits are about four yards long and deep, and not quite a yard wide. They are dug with the ordinary digging-stick in such a way that a small wall of earth is left standing in the middle, but not reaching to the surface. Large animals in attempting to escape out of the pit jump on to this partition wall, where they remain hopelessly suspended on their belly. Other pits of the same nature, especially among the Southern Bushmen, often have pointed stakes placed in the middle. They serve to catch big game animals, such as rhinoceros, which are then killed with the spear, and in particular those, like zebras and antelopes, which come down in herds to drink at the water. In former times, when there was a far greater abundance [136] of game, whole valleys were sometimes enclosed, and large numbers of men combined to drive a herd of game down from the heights into the trap in the valley. Galton describes one of the most remarkable works of this kind. "We passed a magnificent set of pitfalls which the Bushmen who live about these hills had made. The whole breadth of the valley was staked and bushed across. At intervals the fence was broken, and there broken deep pitfalls were made. [313] The strength and size of timber that was used gave me a great idea of Bushman industry, for every tree had to be burned down and carried away from the hills, and yet the scale of the undertaking would have excited astonishment in far more civilized nations. When a herd of animals was seen among the hills, the Bushmen drove them through this valley up to the fence; this was too high for them to jump, so that they were obliged to make for the gaps, and there they tumbled into the pitfalls."[1]

[1] *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*, 106; cf. Wikar, "Berigt aan den . . . Heer van Plettenberg," 88–9; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 386–7; Chapman, op. cit., ii, 80–1; Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland und seine Bewohner," 697; *idem*, *Die Buschmänner*, 78–9.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

said to be ant lions which at night rise from the bottoms of their little traps of sand.

Since we had lived a year in Nyae Nyae we knew the round of the seasons, which Kung Bushmen say are six in number. We came there in July, in winter and the start of the drought, the coldest season. August was bitterly cold and also dry, but in September the air began to get warmer and heralded the next season, called "little winds before the rain," a season of whirlwinds, drought, and clouds of dust. In October, suddenly and presenting a startling sight, a thorn tree near our camp turned quite green and the heat began to be intense. This was the start of the springtime, the dryest, hottest time of all the year and a time of starvation, for the water in the waterholes gets very low until only a little remains on the bottoms and the wild roots push sap into their vines so that the vines turn green and sprout but the roots themselves are shriveled. This was the worst season of the year for the people. Before this, during the winter, the large extended band that we had gone to visit was separated into little family groups that were scattered through the veld, living at little waterholes that did not keep their water all year long. During the dry season the water in these waterholes vanished, causing the small family bands to gather at the last sure waterhole of the area, a waterhole called Gautscha, which was beside a huge flat pan called Gautscha Pan.

There was one rather large band that always lived at Gautscha and numbered some forty people, who divided themselves into sometimes three, sometimes four family groups. They thought themselves lucky to live there, for Gautscha was considered to be a sort of paradise, where the waterhole was cool and deep, and (it was said) game gathered at all times to lick the salt, for Gautscha was a salt pan. It was the salt that made Gautscha most desirable, because salt is

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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greatly esteemed and is gathered from the crust of the pan in 317 ●
moist balls. Bushmen sprinkle the surface with water in order
to roll up just the first layer where the salt lies. When the salt
balls dry, Bushmen crumble them into their food, preferring [263]
salt to all sweet things and honey. Once when we asked some
of the Gautscha people what they called themselves they re-
plied with this phrase: "We are a salty people, who come [101]
from a salty place."

In the dry season, two hundred people came to Gautscha 731
and lived in the bushes at the edge of the pan. This was an 361
enormous number for any area to support, but all had indis-
putable rights to be there, for either their fathers had drunk
at Gautscha or they had relatives whose fathers had; by the
rather complicated system, any Bushman may drink water
and gather veld food wherever his parents had a right to do
so, or may live with either his parents, his brothers or sisters,
or his wife at any place where the relative of his choice has
rights. There was water but not much food at Gautscha, and 731
all the people got thin and very hungry and sat around their
fires at night with sweat pouring from their bodies but with
nothing to eat; to make matters worse, one man coming for
a visit proved to be ill and gave his disease to everyone. It
was a disease that caused vomiting, high fevers, chest pains, [164]
and nosebleeds of great intensity—a woman whom I tried to
cure bled all one morning with blood squirting from her nos-
trils, pouring down over her arms and hands and dripping
from her elbows, making a dark pool on the ground. The dis-
ease struck all the people, from the youngest infants to the
oldest grandparents, and all the people lay for days scattered
all over the ground, too ill to move. We did everything we
could, of course; we provided food and medicine, firewood
and water, and took turns staying up all night to nurse the
people. As it happened, everyone got better within fourteen

/139 cont./

372 are made in one of the sticks, and the rounded end of the other stick fits into them. [Figs. 1, 2, and 3 appear here.]

The first stick is placed on the ground and held down with both feet. The other stick is placed with its round end in one of the hollows, and it is twirled as rapidly as possible between the flat palms of the hands. As can be seen in the picture Photo. 19), the hands slide downward during this process, and frequently a second man immediately starts at the top when the hands of the first operator have moved all the way down. A kind of tinder of thoroughly dried birds' nests (weaver bird?) is placed around the bored hole. The fine dust from the twirling begins to smoulder after a few minutes, and the tinder is then fanned to a flame by blowing with the mouth.

[622] The "captain" (aichab) of the settlement sees to it that the fire does not go out. A "sacred" fire does not exist. Keeping the fire from going out is a matter of sheer practicality since twirling to make fire is, after all, fairly strenuous.

354 A few stones, which, incidentally, are not found everywhere in the Kalahari, represent the hearth. In rainy weather cooking is done inside the windscreen.

462 The woman does the cooking while the children help her. In exceptional cases the paterfamilias may busy himself at the cooking fire.

On occasion all the members of a family will go out to get water and wood. Construction of the house is purely woman's work. Bachelors' huts are likewise built by the women of the horde.

415 439 Wooden cooking pots exist. Supposedly they are obtained through barter from the Ambo.

The Auin either carves primitive spoons out of wood himself, 322 or he obtains them through barter from the region of the Ngami 415 [439] [Lake Ngami?]. Frequently special artists at carving are to be found among the older men. The upper, concave part of a 415 small turtle shell, whose lower, flat side has been cut off, often [321] serves as a spoon.

These shells are also used as drinking vessels, and, along with hollowed-out tschama, they are the only drinking vessels that I found.

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the 293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 291 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re- [123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having [124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in [412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess [325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in [439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that, [531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead embroidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich 301 egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are [321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence [556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are [462] [306] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of [302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to LENGTHEN THEM.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

/255 cont./

281 The hair is removed from the hides. After the skinning, the hides are stretched out on the ground for two days, exposed to the sun; then the hair is removed, and subsequently the juice of a red tuber is rubbed into the hides on the inside. After they have been prepared in this manner, they are buried in the ground for a longer period of time and are then ready for use.

Not infrequently the Bushmen wear sandals which they cut
281 from antelope hide in the simplest manner imaginable. A leather sole is fastened with three thongs to a leather ring lying over the instep and drawn tight below the ankle. One thong runs between the first and the second toe, while the two others run inside and outside the foot.

The children go about quite naked. Despite this sparseness
301 of clothing, the feeling for ornamentation finds full expression.

Many ornamental objects serve as amulets which are worn for a great variety of purposes. The women are more richly adorned than the men. Whereas the latter frequently content themselves with arm rings made of antelope leather, the women are usually overloaded with ornamental objects. One of the favorite women's ornaments is a necklace made of ostrich egg shells. The shells
[321] are worked into small, approximately penny-sized circular disks which are pierced in the middle and strung on a leather thong. Arm and leg rings are made of the same materials.

In place of the little ostrich egg disks, colored glass beads
[439] obtained in trade are frequently used for necklaces and arm rings. One sees many a woman walking along with a tortoise-shell box hanging on her chest, /256/ which is decorated with bead-studded leather strips and used as a container for tobacco.

Pierced pieces of root, distinguished by natural rings notched at regular intervals, are strung on leather thongs for necklaces.

224 I found the following ornamental objects which simultaneously
301 served the function of an amulet:

1. Little pieces of dried antelope flesh are worn on the chest in the belief that the wearer will not lack meat to eat so long as he wears these guarantees.

2. The same significance is attached to dried antelope ears which are worn in a small leather bag on the chest.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

281 skins with Bakalahari people for tobacco when we had gone and when the tobacco we had given him had all been used. We asked how much he would get and he measured an imaginary pile in the palm of his hand—not much for four or five days' work, although the skins of Delalandes foxes are quite small.

136 There were Delalandes foxes living not far from Ai a ha'o, a colony of them, for they always live together. I saw them often and they were charming creatures, fuzzy with huge ears and black stockings. I have always admired them, for although they have no defenses, can neither run fast nor fight, they are not afraid to go mousing far from their burrows. Then, when they are surprised by a menace, they have to run home, and they start off all together and run and run, humping on and on at an even pace, neither speeding nor slacking, until long after you first saw them they disappear into their holes. They are humble creatures, but persistent and brave. One member of our expedition hunted them for months with rifle and shotgun, trying to get a specimen for a museum in the United States, but I am glad to say he never succeeded. Ukwane caught them, though, the easy way. He set five snares for them at five mouse-runs in the grass; five foxes strangled in the snares, and Ukwane came around the following day to gather them up.

123 825 321 411 We filmed Ukwane working the skins. Then we found the shoulder blade of the gemsbok we had shot weeks ago still lying in the werf and we asked Gai to make an arrowhead out of it so we could film that, too. It was the right kind of bone, the kind that Bushmen use. The small antelope and even some of the larger ones, such as springbok and wildebeest, have bones which are too fragile to penetrate another antelope's heavy hide. Gai agreed to make the arrow; he broke off the scapular spine and pushed it into a fresh tsama melon to

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GIKwe

let it soak. When it was moist all the way through he called to us and we then filmed him making the arrow. 123 825 321 ● 411

We took a long time setting up the cameras, reading light meters, focusing the lenses, and finally took a picture with the still camera. To our astonishment, when the shutter clicked Gai let out a great huff of breath. One of the interpreters must have told him at some time to be absolutely still, and he had begun holding his breath when he had first seen the camera. We thanked him and told him he need never do it again, but we laughed and he was embarrassed.

Always, Bushmen were wonderful people to film. They were totally unselfconscious, never looked at the camera, and, furthermore, had infinite patience. They would stop what they were doing, wait, start again and repeat what they had done before, making each repeated action seem miraculously as if it were being done for the first time. But on this occasion Gai got bored. He had a quiverful of arrows anyway, and while he waited for us to load the camera the arrow he was working got brittle and dry. When this happened he had to suck it until it was moist again, then whittle some more.

He made the foreshaft of the arrow first, chopping with his knife to hack the rough shape of it, pausing occasionally to hone the knife blade on the tough sole of his foot, then cocking his head and squinting down the blade to see the edge. He then carefully whittled the head, leaving a tiny spine up the middle for strength but shaving the edges so thin that you could see light through them. As he worked, though, he yawned and sighed with boredom and now and then he would pause to sing a nonsense song, "bibibi di bo," by flapping his lower lip with his finger.

When the arrowhead was finished he fitted it into a reed shaft exactly the right size and bound it in place with a bit of fine sinew which he had also sucked to moisten. Then he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

411 123 825 321 turned the arrow over and over, sighting down its length to see if it was straight. It was.

123 411 825 278 Gai then surprised us somewhat by taking from his hunting-bag twelve round nut-like tiny shells which we recognized as the cocoons or pupa cases of the poison grubs, the source of poison for the Bushmen's deadly little arrows. Gai said he would poison his arrow, a process which he seemed to find more interesting than making it, and we said we would be very glad to see. We wondered where he had got the grubs, for he and Ukwane had both told us that there were no poison grubs anywhere near Ai a ha'o, and he said he had received them from the people whom we had met in the Okwa Omaramba, as they had plenty there.

825 278 We regretted very much that we had never seen a tree or shrub that houses the poison grubs of the Gikwe, and that we had never been able to catch one of the adults of the beetle that in its pupa stage is poisonous. Gai said that his grubs came from between the roots of a bush, called in Gikwe simply a poison bush. We do not know if the grubs are the same as the grubs used by Kung Bushmen, which live among the roots of a tree, called by the Kung a poison tree, called by us marula kaffra. The grubs of the Kung are from the beetle *diamphidia simplex*, which lays its eggs on the leaves of the tree. Once, all in one afternoon at a single tree of Kung Bushmen, I was shown by a young hunter the yellow eggs on a leaf, the young larvae just hatched, which the hunter said crawl down the tree under the bark to pupate in the earth among the roots, and the pupae of this beetle.

It has always amazed me that the Bushmen ever discovered these beetles, which are only one species among thousands in South Africa, and which the Bushmen say are poisonous only in their pupa stage. The pupae themselves are

of the hunting party is not a matter of convention or of anxious concern. Hunting parties are freely organized by men who like to hunt with each other. No categories of kin or affines are prohibited from hunting together, whether they have a joking relationship or not or practise the sitting and speaking taboo. Men from different bands may hunt together. 224

A father has authority over his sons and sons-in-law and could tell them to go hunting or to accompany him and would expect them to obey. In other relationships participation in a hunting party is voluntary. Any man may instigate a hunt and may ask others to join. No one is formally in command of a party, unless he is the father with his sons or sons-in-law, but often an informal kind of leadership develops out of skill and judgement and the men fall in with the plans and suggestions of the best hunter or reach agreement among themselves somehow. [543]

Hunting parties are usually composed of from two to four or five men. One hunter alone is at a disadvantage. A man cannot leave the meat unguarded from lions, hyaenas, jackals, and vultures while he goes to bring help from the band to carry it nor can he carry it alone. Only occasionally are parties larger than four or five. For two parties to hunt in different directions would be more advantageous than to form a larger single party.

When the kill is made the hunters have the prerogative of eating the liver on the spot and may eat more of the meat until their hunger is satisfied. If they are far from the band, they may eat the parts that are especially perishable or most awkward to carry, like the head, and they sometimes eat the cherished marrow. They then carry the animal to the band, either in its parts, bones and all, or, if the animal is very big, leaving most of the bones and cutting the meat into strips which dry in the sun to biltong and are more easily carried on the carrying-sticks. The blood is carried in bags made of the stomach, rumen, and bladder. [851] [415]

The gall bladder and testicles are discarded at the kill. Eventually the hooves are thrown away and usually the picked bones and horns. (The /Kung make only a few artifacts of bone and horn which last a long time and seldom need replacing.) Sinews are kept for making cord. The hide would be skinned off whole and tanned if it were suitable for a kaross and someone wanted a new kaross at the time. Otherwise, the hide is dried, pounded up, and eaten. Hides are quite tasty. Feet are picked of every tissue; gristle is dried and pounded. Soft parts, such as the foetus, udder, heart, lungs, brains, and blood, are often given to old people with poor teeth. Intestines are enjoyed and desired by all. The meat of the rump, back, chest, and neck is highly appreciated. Nothing is wasted; all is distributed. [321] [283] [281] [885]

The owner of the animal is the owner of the first arrow to be effectively shot into the animal so that it penetrates enough for its poison to work. That person is responsible for the distribution. The headman of the band is not the one to distribute the meat by virtue of his headmanship, unless he happens to be at the same time the owner of the arrow. The owner may or may not be one of the hunters. [409] [624]

Hunters have arrows which they acquire in three different ways. Each man makes arrows for himself, shaping the points (usually now of metal, but still possibly of bone or wood) with some slight distinction so that he will know them from the arrows of other men. Secondly, arrows are given as gifts. The man who made the arrow or who himself acquired it as a gift, may give it to someone else, either a man or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. 422 204 411 [93]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

577 685 The /Kung stole nothing from us. Even when we went away on trips, leaving several bands of /Kung settled around our camp site, we left our supplies and equipment unlocked in the open or in our tents with confidence that nothing would be stolen. Things that we lost or forgot in the werf were returned to us, even two cigarettes in a crumpled package.

Stealing without being discovered is practically impossible in /Kung life because the /Kung know everybody's footprints and every object. Respect for ownership is strong. But, apart from that, /Ti/kay said, 'Stealing would cause nothing but trouble. It might cause fighting.' [578]

Conclusion

578 During seventeen and a half months when I lived with the Nyae Nyae /Kung at Gautscha (with Bands 1 and 2 and many visitors—usually about sixty to seventy-five persons), I personally saw four flare-ups of discord and heard of three others which occurred in neighbouring bands during that period. All were resolved before they became serious quarrels. Of the seven, four were flare-ups of sexual jealousy. One was 'the talk' about Khuan//a's gift. Two were very minor disagreements about going somewhere, when Gao Beard's frustrated young wife hit him on the head with her digging-stick and when /Ti/kay gave his brother a shove for refusing to accompany him. None were about food. We considered, judging from that sample, that the /Kung managed very well to keep tensions from turning into hostility, to avoid arousing jealousy and ill will, to cohere, and to achieve the comfort and security which they so desire in human relations.

APPENDIX

/Kung Bushman Artifacts

ANIMAL MATERIALS

Hides

281 462 *Made and used by men*

- breech clouts
- oracle disks
- [237] head-dresses (a few, worn in dances)
- [534] caps (a few)

Made by men, used by women

- [321] genital aprons
- small karosses worn around buttocks or for carrying babies

Made by men, used by all

- karosses
- bags (sewn)
- bags of whole skins
- tobacco pouches of scrota
- [237] bracelets, armbands, knee and ankle bands
- necklaces
- thongs

Cocoons

Made by men

- dance rattles

Bone

Made and used by men

- connecting parts for arrow-shafts
- arrow-points (few)
- dishes for mixing poison

Made and used by women

- fresh bone, pounded to powder, is used to clean and soften karosses

Birds' Nests

Used by men and women

- tobacco pouches (nests of the penduline tit, *Anthoscopus minutus*)

SINEWS

Made and used by men

bow-strings
wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison adheres well to sinew)
binding for hafts
snares

Made by men, used by all

strings for *//gwashi* (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

fine rolled cord

HORN

Made and used by men

horns fitted with leather covers for carrying arrow-points
horns for cupping

Used by all

horns for pipes
horns for spoons

SHELL

Made by men, used by all

ostrich egg-shell water-containers
tortoise-shell dippers
tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

ostrich egg-shell beads

FEATHERS

Used by boys on *jani* toys
Worn by all occasionally in hair

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

WOOD

Made and used by men

bows
spear handles
axe or adze handles
knife handles
knife sheaths
spring-hare hook handles[1]
fire-making sticks
hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

digging sticks
carrying sticks
stirring sticks
mortars and pestles
bowls
spoons
fire scrapers
//gwashi (musical instrument)
one-stringed violin
jani toys
beads

Made by women

frames for scherms

FIBRES

(from *sansevieria*, aloe, */mna* tree roots, other roots)

Rolled by men and women

cord

Made and used by men

carrying-nets
snares

Made and used by all

ornaments

GRASS

Made by men and women

stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-containers
ornaments

Made by women

scherms

Made by children

toys of grass folded and woven to suggest animals

Used by all for beds

[1] Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying. They carry only the hook around with them and whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

174
439 The interior !Kung have had trading relations with Bantu
[411] peoples on their periphery for over eighty years. The evidence
[415] for this is the presence of iron-tipped weapons, pottery and
[276] tobacco. The present-day !Kung have no knowledge of iron-
working or pottery-making and they do not raise tobacco. The
old people state that their grandfathers had these things
[173] before the first non-Bushmen came to the interior. Men in
[411] their 60's and 70's today can remember their grandfathers
telling them that they began hunting with bone arrows and did
not obtain iron for arrows until they were well into adult
[411] life. The making of bone arrow heads is still common know-
[321] ledge today but, as there is an abundant supply of iron fencing
[325] wire, none of the men hunt with bone. The art of chipping
[178] flint is not known in the Dōbe area. It is probable that
[324] these Bantu goods (and also some European goods such as beads
and buttons) reached the interior through Bushman trading
intermediaries some years before the arrival of the first
Bantu and Europeans.

173 <u>Early contacts, 1879-1925</u> - There is disagreement among
the !Kung about whether the Europeans or the Bantu were the
first to penetrate the interior. Apparently the first pene-
175 trations occurred during the period 1875-1890. Hendrik Van
648 Zyl, a professional hunter, is the first European known to
have reached the interior (Silberbauer 1965:114-115). In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56/57]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

FX13 Hottentot
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that among the Bushmen all game is shared out among the members of the band. To what extent the same elaborate rules of division exist in the other tribes is difficult to determine. The only other indication of similar practices is found in the texts obtained by Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen. Only a selection of these have so far been published, and the information contained in them is rather fragmentary. But it appears that women, for example, were not permitted to eat the meat of the shoulder blades, lest the men subsequently prove unsuccessful in hunting; that the man who shot the animal might not take part in cutting it up; and the bones which were left over had to be carefully put aside in certain special ways.[1] Obviously such usages hint at an elaborate procedure in regard to the cutting up, distribution, and treatment of the meat; and one can only regret that all the details relating to them have not yet been made available.

114 224 [262]

Narcotics

As narcotics the Bushmen use chiefly tobacco and dagga (*Cannabis sativa*), the latter a herb with marked intoxicating effects. All grown-up people, and even small children, smoke tobacco when they can get it. They do not cultivate it themselves, although a few men among the Auen and the Naron are said to have made slight efforts to grow tobacco and dagga after the manner of their Bantu and Bergdama neighbours.[2] Almost all the tobacco used by the Bushmen is imported through trade or obtained by service with other peoples, and they are always extremely keen to acquire it.

276 [249] [177] [439]

In the north-west their pipes (Plate XI) are generally tubes of serpentine, some 3 inches long and rather wider at one end than at the other, which are cut and hollowed out with the iron spear point or with a knife, or even with a small stone drill. The hollow shin bones of small buck are also sometimes used, but nowadays the most prevalent form of pipe is an empty cartridge-case! Pipes consisting of an antelope horn were largely used by the Cape Bushmen. Near the point of the horn was made a hole, into which was inserted a reed tube, and on top of this was fitted an elongated clay bowl to hold the tobacco. When these pipes were used, some water was put into the horn, the mouth applied to the large orifice of the horn, and the

[324] [237] [177] [321]

[1] Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 271 sqq.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 18; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

372 decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops
[412] for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-
[415] western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom,
[283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

824 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
285 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
[412] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

237 Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water,
[415] and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women
[306] make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops, and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small
412 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell
324 beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or
[439] three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by
[326] barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.
178 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
324 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
[323] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
[237] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while
[415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

/139 cont./

372 are made in one of the sticks, and the rounded end of the other stick fits into them. [Figs. 1, 2, and 3 appear here.]

The first stick is placed on the ground and held down with both feet. The other stick is placed with its round end in one of the hollows, and it is twirled as rapidly as possible between the flat palms of the hands. As can be seen in the picture Photo. 19), the hands slide downward during this process, and frequently a second man immediately starts at the top when the hands of the first operator have moved all the way down. A kind of tinder of thoroughly dried birds' nests (weaver bird?) is placed around the bored hole. The fine dust from the twirling begins to smoulder after a few minutes, and the tinder is then fanned to a flame by blowing with the mouth.

[622] The "captain" (aichab) of the settlement sees to it that the fire does not go out. A "sacred" fire does not exist. Keeping the fire from going out is a matter of sheer practicality since twirling to make fire is, after all, fairly strenuous.

354 A few stones, which, incidentally, are not found everywhere in the Kalahari, represent the hearth. In rainy weather cooking is done inside the windscreen.

462 The woman does the cooking while the children help her. In exceptional cases the paterfamilias may busy himself at the cooking fire.

On occasion all the members of a family will go out to get water and wood. Construction of the house is purely woman's work. Bachelors' huts are likewise built by the women of the horde.

415 439 Wooden cooking pots exist. Supposedly they are obtained through barter from the Ambo.

The Auin either carves primitive spoons out of wood himself, ● 322 or he obtains them through barter from the region of the Ngami 415 [439] [Lake Ngami?]. Frequently special artists at carving are to be found among the older men. The upper, concave part of a 415 small turtle shell, whose lower, flat side has been cut off, often [321] serves as a spoon.

These shells are also used as drinking vessels, and, along with hollowed-out tschama, they are the only drinking vessels that I found.

/139 cont./

412 Mortars are made of wood and have a stone floor. Their
322 construction is extremely laborious. A block of wood is buried in the ground, stamped down, and then hollowed out with the iron point of the lance or a knife. For this purpose, the iron is sometimes heated. Fire is not used. The wooden pestle is furnished with a stone at one end. The stone on the floor of the
[381] mortar is cemented with tree resin.

[373] Burning branches are used as a kind of torch, but only briefly in the vicinity of the fire.

Photograph 18 illustrates the shape of the mortar and the pestle. The mortar is made of soft wood hollowed out with a lance point. Fire is not used to hollow it out (see above).

Household utensils. Two flat stones to pound hard veld
415 fruit. Spoons crudely carved out of wood. Wooden pot or empty ostrich eggs /140/ with a round hole as water containers. Fre-
[531] quently some kind of decoration is applied. Digging stick
[412] pointed at one end.

Ornamentation. Unfortunately I did not have time to ob-
301 tain more precise data concerning ornamentation. Ornaments
531 are attached to many objects and consist of such things as ostrich eggs and pipe plugs (which are worn on a string around the neck).

Generally speaking, the Auin has three meals a day (morn-
264 ing, afternoon, and evening). If he has enough food, however, he may eat all day long, with the necessary intervals, and, if it is not too cold, even during the night.

There is no special menu. Whatever is available is eaten.
262 The hyena is not eaten because it "devours corpses." The leopard is supposedly not eaten by all the people. The reason for this is unknown to me. The shabrack jackal is frequently spurned because it "is a dog." On the other hand, they like to eat the silver jackal, because it "does not eat vermin."

[858] Young girls who have not yet menstruated and boys before
[882] they have reached adulthood may not eat game meat because if they did, they would "remain skinny."

I have never observed any traces of cannibalism. Further-
266 more, I was told by old, experienced natives of other races (Klipp Kaffir) that they had never heard of Bushmen eating human flesh.

3: Lebzelter--119 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
MASARWA

[62]

Chapter 7

The Bushmen of the North

114 Our best information concerning the Masarwa comes from Dornan (1) and Holub (2). In what follows an outline sketch will

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygrines and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

2. Holub, Die Masarwa.

be given of the culture of this tribe, based upon these two authors.

342 According to Dornan, the Masarwa once preferred to live in caves, where their ancestors had made paintings. The Bushmen in the Wankie and Ngami districts have plaited mats of grass [285] or reed, with which they cover their windscreens. Sometimes they make a kind of roof covered with grass; otherwise they have ordinary windscreens.

[532]
[172]

Fig. 21a. Representation of a Curing Scene. In the background, the female doctor who serves as oracle. (Eastern Cape Province. From J. P. Johnson, The Prehistoric Period in [113] South Africa, 1910.)

● 322 For the wood of the bow the Masarwa use very straight
411 little tree trunks. After the bark is removed, they are tied to a straight tree and left to dry. The wood is then given its final drying over the fire and is placed in water so that it will not splinter. The middle of the bow is also commonly wound with tendons. The bow is often greased and never unstrung. The finished bow is smoothed with a rough stone.

inch long and less than a quarter of an inch wide. No flowers were seen on the expedition, but from herbarium records it is known that they are yellow and tubular and produce papery pods two inches long and half an inch wide. The pods split down their centre when they are mature. 137X

This plant is known from the northern Cape, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, and was widespread and fairly frequent north and south of Ghanzi.

Although it is not an edible plant it is nevertheless a producer of food, for all the Bushman digging-sticks seen were made from it. The only preparation is that the bark is peeled off, the spines trimmed, and one of the ends cut at a slant. The stick is about four feet long. In sandy soils and for the type of digging usually required it is a more efficient tool than a spade. It may be made to loosen a narrow cylinder of earth, and this cylinder, if a little wider than the object sought, is all that is necessary. With a spade on the other hand it is usually impossible to avoid a funnel-shaped excavation which entails the removal of far more soil. 322● 412 824

Catophractes alexandri D. Don (4893) Photograph 52. 137X

!hɔ: Bushman.....	n!ain!ai
‖ganakwe Bushman...	!ga:!gaba
|gikwe Bushman.....	ga:giba:
Naron Bushman.....	n!ain!ai

A five-foot erect silvery bush with opposite leaves, some brightly coloured in the autumn and winter. They often bear slender sharp spines in their axils, which afterwards develop into branches and bear leaves and spines in their turn. The leaves and younger woody parts are covered with a dense white wool, but this afterwards disappears from the woody parts and they become a reddish brown. The flowers, which are about two inches long, are white, trumpet-shaped and showy, and produce a pod covered with short blunt prickles and up to three inches long, dark and woody when mature and splitting down the centre. The seeds have a circular membranous wing round them.

The plant is recorded from Angola, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Transvaal. It was fairly frequent south and north of Ghanzi, in patches down the banks of pans, on limestone, and occasionally also on slight slopes in sandy country.

Catophractes alexandri is not a food plant but deserves mention because of its importance in the preparation of food—it is used as a fire-drill together with *Grewia retinervis*, as is described in the notes on that species. 372 412 824

Corallocarpus sphaerocarpus Cogn. (5020, 5138, 5230) Photograph 53. 137X

|gikwe Bushman.....	|hurugu
Naron Bushman.....	|hɔrɔ
Eastern !khû Bushman	|hɔrɔ

A very variable plant creeping by means of tendrils over shrubs and low trees, and with sparse leaves, dissected or lobed and rough to the touch, rising in groups or singly from nodes on the rather sappy stem. The leaves are not flat even when perfectly fresh, but inrolled slightly at the margins as though they were beginning to wilt. Three or four sessile half-inch ovoid fruits are borne in a cluster at the nodes as well, which in

Sinews

Made and used by men

bow-strings
wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison adheres well to sinew)
binding for hafts
snares

Made by men, used by all

strings for *||guashi* (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

fine rolled cord

Horn

Made and used by men

horns fitted with leather covers for carrying arrow-points
horns for cupping

Used by all

horns for pipes
horns for spoons

Shell

Made by men, used by all

ostrich egg-shell water-containers
tortoise-shell dippers
tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

ostrich egg-shell beads

Feathers

Used by boys on *jani* toys
Worn by all occasionally in hair

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

Wood

Made and used by men

bows
spear handles
axe or adze handles
knife handles
knife sheaths
spring-hare hook handles[1]
fire-making sticks
hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

digging sticks
carrying sticks
stirring sticks
mortars and pestles
bowls
spoons
fire scrapers
||guashi (musical instrument)
one-stringed violin
jani toys
beads

Made by women

frames for scherms

Fibres

(from *sansevieria*, aloe, */nos* tree roots, other roots)

Rolled by men and women

cord

Made and used by men

carrying-nets
snares

Made and used by all

ornaments

Grass

Made by men and women

stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-containers
ornaments

Made by women

scherms

Made by children

toys of grass folded and woven to suggest animals

Used by all for beds

[1] Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying. They carry only the hook around with them and whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this ever-present problem. 182 312 823

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially the *Inaras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season. In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then carefully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and resume their normal hunting life.[1] 312 [685] [824] [271] [221]

Industries and Trade

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are essentially domestic.[2] 511

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes 322 [342] [411] [412]

[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 51; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 297; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 51, 70–1, and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 671–3; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293–4.

[2] The most comprehensive account of Bushman industries is to be found in Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 89–113, pl. xxiii–xxix, which relates chiefly to the Auen; cf. also van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 62–80; Passarge, op. cit., 81–94; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 297–301; Kaufmann, op. cit., 152–3; Schultze, op. cit., 658 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschileute," 257; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 8–18 *passim*; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 105. [114]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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322 decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops
[412] for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-
[415] western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom,
[283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

824 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
285 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
[412] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

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[326] barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.

178 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
324 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
[323] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
[237] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while
[415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

/152 cont./

804 reflective and sly facial expression is exactly the same as ours.

O. Techniques

A definite domestic industry is present. Whatever the Auin
439 really needs, he is able to manufacture for himself. All im-
511 ported objects are luxury items. I make an exception in the case of the iron lance points, but I believe that if necessary the Bushman could even do without them.

463 The beginnings of a division of labor can be seen in the fact that only certain individuals practice the smith's trade, which, incidentally, does not extend to the manufacture of lance points.

● 323 Pottery is unknown.

439 Pots, supposedly from the Okovangga, are to be found sporadically. The Auin, however, is unable to repair such a vessel, as by puttying.

285 Rings of braided grass are manufactured. I myself have never seen them, since they are only made of young, but no longer green grass, in other words, shortly after the rainy season.

[294] It is said that at the same time of year certain special artists braid hat-like head coverings.

The grass rings and hats have only a limited durability, for in September and October there was none left for me to see.

[415] Sieves are made of parallel grass leaves joined together by thin strings. They are used to strain food.

"Kirris" are made with attractive decorations (Fig. 12).

413 A root stock with a knotty end is peeled and made smooth.
531 A kind of pyrography is practiced on it by wrapping it, leaving bare spaces, with a long strip of the wet bark that was peeled off, and then placing the entire stick in red-hot coals. The unwrapped parts burn to a black color, while the other parts remain white.

I could not learn the purpose of these decorated sticks among the Auin. They use rough, pointed sticks for digging sticks. The kirris, therefore, seem to be luxury articles.

412 Iron knives, sharpened pieces of iron, or lance points are used as tools. As an example of pyrography, see the pipe plug, page 33.

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

532 535 Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.

323 302 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is customary.

304 A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and (751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 836 684 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-

584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen

582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may

304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.

881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse

(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the

761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In

764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;

178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Cooking

252 is done chiefly by the women, assisted by the children; in exceptional
[462] cases the men also may cook. Wild cucumbers, nuts, bulbs, and similar plant foods are baked in hot ashes covered with cinders. A bright fire is made and allowed to die down, a hole is scraped in the ashes with a flat, paddle-shaped wooden scoop, the food put in and covered over. It is then eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge, after being pounded up in wooden mortars or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood. Birds, snakes, small antelopes, etc., are baked in the same manner; ants are similarly treated, and then sifted through a mat of loosely-woven reeds, while locusts are either baked or boiled. *Grewia* berries are sometimes eaten as picked, stone and all, sometimes stamped in the mortar and swallowed uncooked. Some specially dainty kinds of meat are roasted over the fire on a wooden spit stuck into the ground. Other kinds of meat, again, as well as stamped
[439] locusts, *tsama* seeds and foods obtained from the white man, such as mealie meal, are cooked with water.

The "tame" Bushmen now use any sort of receptacle, such as a
415 paraffin or paint tin, for cooking purposes; the Auen and Naron
[439] in their more primitive condition used wooden pots, made by themselves or obtained by barter; while among the more Northern tribes clay pots obtained by barter from the OvaMbo and other Bantu tribes are sometimes found. The actual manufacture of clay pots by the
[184] Bushmen themselves seems to have been restricted to the tribes
● [323] south of the Molopo. Food is eaten direct from the pot or from plates
[264] and bowls made of wood. Wooden spoons are sometimes found among the Northern tribes, but generally either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Fire is everywhere made by drilling a thin hard stick in another,
372 somewhat softer, in which there is a notch (Plate IX). This second stick is held firmly on the ground by one foot, while the drill-stick with its lower end pressed into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the hands until sparks come. A little dry grass is in readiness to catch the spark, and when it has caught alight dry wood is gradually added until a good fire has been set going.

In this connection reference must be made to certain special
372 observances relating to fire which have recently been recorded by
622 Fourie about the Heikum. "All fire," he says,[1] "is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to

[1] Op. cit., 87.

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/148 cont./

628 captivity. Blood vengeance is exacted by the Bushmen for
684 adultery under all circumstances.

J. Luxuries

276 Tobacco, which is exclusively an imported product, is
[439] greatly coveted. A pipe of tobacco is the Auin's greatest pleasure. [Fig. 10 appears here.]

Taking snuff is unknown.

Everybody smokes, including little children.

The Auin manufacture a tobacco pipe (see Fig. 10) from a
324 soft red stone (serpentine) which supposedly is found only at the watering place Korikas. Indeed, immediately above the source, one does find a kind of modest quarry there.

/149/ A fragment of this stone is conically hollowed out with a lance point or an iron knife and then shaved down on the outside toward the hollow until the wall is about two to four millimeters thick. This pipe resembles an ordinary conical cigar
276 tip. A wadding made from the nest of the weaver bird (?) prevents the tobacco from falling out.

Occasionally one will also see a pipe plug or cleaner which usually is made of rosinkis wood without the bark and is attrac-
[531] tively decorated with a kind of pyrography. The decoration consists of lines and dots scratched in with a red-hot needle. The hairline precision of the lines is particularly striking.

The pipe plug (see Fig. 11) is worn around the neck on a chain of glass beads or on a leather belt (see also Photo. 1, the second man from the right).

The Auin only occasionally receives tobacco, either from
[439] the Whites when he performs services for them as a messenger,
[648] guide, and the like, or from Kaffirs employed by Whites, who exchange it for veld food.

Hemp or dacha of the Kaffirs (haium of the Auin).

Hemp is smoked in the ordinary tobacco pipes with equal passion by men and women.

I did not see anyone who had become ill from smoking hemp. The Auin themselves were only aware that its enjoyment sometimes produces nausea.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

VEGETABLE MATERIALS (*contd.*)

462
824

REEDS

Made and used by men
arrowshafts

Used by women
strips for tying frames of scherms and for tying grass on scherms in times of high wind

Worn by all as head and chest bands

BARK

Made and used by men
quivers

TSI NUTS

Used by all as beads
Used by boys as weights for *jani* toy

STONE

Made by men
324 arrow-straighteners
462 pipes
[300] *Used by men for*
sharpening blades
hammers
anvils
weights to stretch nets
marking graves

Used by women
powdered red earth for ceremonial markings on face

OBTAINED BY TRADE WITH BANTU

439

MALLEABLE METAL AND WIRE

Made and used by men
arrow-points
spear-blades
spring-hare hooks

Made by men, used by all
pipes
awls

Used by men
knives
axes or adzes
chisels (few)
files (few
fire-strikers) (few)

Used by all
beads—copper, glass, shell, &c.
pots—Bantu clay, European iron
pipes (few), European briar, old cartridge-shells
receptacles (few)
old scraps of garments and blankets
oddments such as buttons for ornaments

Résumé

LE PARTAGE ET LE PARLER: SOULAGEMENT DES TENSIONS SOCIALES CHEZ LES BANDES DE BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

000 DANS cette communication, l'auteur décrit plusieurs coutumes de Boschimans /Kung dans la région Nyae Nyae de l'Afrique du sud-ouest, coutumes qui les ont aidés à maintenir des relations pacifiques au sein de leurs groupes et entre les divers groupes de la région. Ces coutumes ont été observées au cours des expéditions Marshall de 1951–9. Les modifications

342
585
516

A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

342
[283]

digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

372
[594]
[213]

The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

361
621
[162]
[101]
[372]

The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

361
221

The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

412
324

ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

[p. 256]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

174
439 The interior !Kung have had trading relations with Bantu
[411] peoples on their periphery for over eighty years. The evidence
[415] for this is the presence of iron-tipped weapons, pottery and
[276] tobacco. The present-day !Kung have no knowledge of iron-working or pottery-making and they do not raise tobacco. The old people state that their grandfathers had these things
[173] before the first non-Bushmen came to the interior. Men in
[411] their 60's and 70's today can remember their grandfathers telling them that they began hunting with bone arrows and did not obtain iron for arrows until they were well into adult
[411] life. The making of bone arrow heads is still common know-
[321] ledge today but, as there is an abundant supply of iron fencing
[325] wire, none of the men hunt with bone. The art of chipping
[178] flint is not known in the Dobe area. It is probable that
[324] these Bantu goods (and also some European goods such as beads and buttons) reached the interior through Bushman trading intermediaries some years before the arrival of the first Bantu and Europeans.

173 Early contacts, 1879-1925 - There is disagreement among the !Kung about whether the Europeans or the Bantu were the first to penetrate the interior. Apparently the first pene-
175 trations occurred during the period 1875-1890. Hendrik Van
648 Zyl, a professional hunter, is the first European known to have reached the interior (Silberbauer 1965:114-115). In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56/67]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

that among the Bushmen all game is shared out among the members of the band. To what extent the same elaborate rules of division exist in the other tribes is difficult to determine. The only other indication of similar practices is found in the texts obtained by Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen. Only a selection of these have so far been published, and the information contained in them is rather fragmentary. But it appears that women, for example, were not permitted to eat the meat of the shoulder blades, lest the men subsequently prove unsuccessful in hunting; that the man who shot the animal might not take part in cutting it up; and the bones which were left over had to be carefully put aside in certain special ways.[1] Obviously such usages hint at an elaborate procedure in regard to the cutting up, distribution, and treatment of the meat; and one can only regret that all the details relating to them have not yet been made available.

Narcotics

As narcotics the Bushmen use chiefly tobacco and dagga (*Cannabis sativa*), the latter a herb with marked intoxicating effects. All grown-up people, and even small children, smoke tobacco when they can get it. They do not cultivate it themselves, although a few men among the Auen and the Naron are said to have made slight efforts to grow tobacco and dagga after the manner of their Bantu and Bergdama neighbours.[2] Almost all the tobacco used by the Bushmen is imported through trade or obtained by service with other peoples, and they are always extremely keen to acquire it.

In the north-west their pipes (Plate XI) are generally tubes of serpentine, some 3 inches long and rather wider at one end than at the other, which are cut and hollowed out with the iron spear point or with a knife, or even with a small stone drill. The hollow shin bones of small buck are also sometimes used, but nowadays the most prevalent form of pipe is an empty cartridge-case! Pipes consisting of an antelope horn were largely used by the Cape Bushmen. Near the point of the horn was made a hole, into which was inserted a reed tube, and on top of this was fitted an elongated clay bowl to hold the tobacco. When these pipes were used, some water was put into the horn, the mouth applied to the large orifice of the horn, and the

[1] Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 271 sqq.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 18; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

detail. The simplest type has an unfeathered main shaft of hollow 411
reed about fifteen inches long, notched at one end to receive the 237
bowstring, and a head about six inches long (Plate IXf). The latter is made of either wood or a fragment of bone split off from the tibia of an ostrich, and is inserted into the hollow of the shaft. At the connection there is a binding of sinew round the end of the shaft, which prevents it from splitting and also keeps the head in place. The projecting end of the head is pared down to serve as a point. In many arrows of this type is found a small piece of quill neatly fastened in place with a binding of sinew about an inch and a half from the point so as to act as a barb. All this portion of the head is carefully smeared over with poison.

A modification of this type resulting in a foreshaft is often seen. 411
The head is not pointed, but is cut off square and notched about three inches from its junction with the main shaft. Into the notch is inserted [324] ●
and gummed down a small triangular point of flaked stone such as agate or chalcedony; in more recent times, since iron and then glass [197]
have become available, these are generally found used instead (Plate IXa, e).

Still a further modification is seen in the remarkably ingenious type of arrow which, with a few minor variations in detail, is found widespread among almost all the Bushman tribes (Plate IXc, g.). Its main shaft is also of reed, with a simple notch at one end to receive the bowstring. Into the hollow of the other end is inserted a foreshaft of bone or quill, occasionally of wood, varying in length from two to six inches, and kept in place by a tight binding of sinew round the end of the main shaft into which it fits. Its projecting end fits into what may be called a link shaft, also of reed, about an inch long. Finally into the other end of the link shaft is fitted the point of the arrow, about four inches long and generally barbed. The whole link shaft is completely bound over with sinew. The point is made either of bone or of iron; bone is found mainly in the southern arrows, but is not restricted to them, while iron is a later introduction now used by all the Bushmen wherever obtainable. The whole point, together with the sinew binding on the link shaft keeping it in place, is coated over with poison.

Some of the North-Western tribes (Naron, Auen, Kung) also have another type of arrow, with a reversible head of bone (Plate IXb, d). This is pared to a sharp point at one end, and rounded off at the other. For safety in carrying, the pointed end, which is the only one poisoned,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

322 decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops
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[415] western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom,
[283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

824 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
285 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
[412] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

237 Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water,
[415] and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women
[306] make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops, and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small
412 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell
324 beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or
[439] three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by
[326] barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.

178 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
324 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
[323] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
[237] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while
[415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

/152 cont./

415 Mortars and pestles, as well as spoons of wood, are made (see Photo. 18).

[287] Painting and bark working are unknown.

The preparation of hides is the same as that practiced by the
171 Hottentot, Herero, Bergdamara, and Betschuana. Hence, I shall
281 dispense with a description of the process.

The women's cosmetic described above ~~is used to~~ dye cloth-
281 ing made of hides. The dye is rubbed on with the ball of the
386 hand and is comparatively waterproof.

To be sure, it is questionable whether this process may be called "dyeing." The hides are already red from the tanning process, and the cosmetic scarcely changes the color. Perhaps it is better regarded as impregnation or greasing.

386 /153/ The colored stones that are pulverized and mixed with
438 fat to make the cosmetic are dug up near Kaitsaub (45 kilometers south of Gobabis) by the Hai//um Bushmen residing there, and they constitute an article of trade. [Fig. 12 appears here.]

The beautiful and durable cordage of the Auin is made of
283 the fiber of a wild agave. It looks so neat and clean that one might suspect its origin to have been in a European rope factory rather than in a Bushman settlement.

The cords are made in various strengths and are used for all kinds of purposes, mainly for the game snares.

Their manufacture is very simple and proceeds very rapidly. The leaf is softened by tapping with a wooden stick, and it is then placed on a firm base. One hand holds a pointed stick or a blunt knife firmly on the leaf, while the other hand draws the leaf against the vertically held knife and toward the body. After this has been repeated several times, the strong fibers remain and are then rolled together into cords of the thickness and length desired.

Industrial use of Bushman cordage does not seem impossible to me.

412 As a drill, the lance point or an iron knife is used, frequently red-hot.

Only pieces of iron found accidentally are worked. The ex-
● 325 traction of iron from ore is unknown.

Charcoal made from the giraffe acacia is the preferred fuel
[372] for ironworking.

[Text continues on page 43]

/153 cont./

325 A jackal tail fastened to a stick is used to fan the fire.
[237] A hollow reed serves as a bellows, through which one blows with his mouth to fan the fire. Whether this actually suffices to bring the iron to a red heat, however, I am unable to say.

412 Two rocks take the place of hammer and anvil. Should iron tools, such as an ax or the like, happen to be available to the Auin, these are naturally preferred.

Two pieces of green wood roughly fastened together like pincers serve as tongs.

326 The smiths (only a few, usually older people know this trade) are respected, as is shown by the fact that they are "provided with food everywhere," which is apparently the way the Auin customarily express their special esteem. [Fig. 13 appears here.]

/154/ P. Political Conditions

721 The Auin, like all Bushmen, is very warlike. Every man and youth is a warrior and capable in the use of weapons.

[714] There is no declaration of war, but if a Bushman is wearing his cap of aardwolf hide, he is on the warpath (see Photo. 21).

Special training in the handling of weapons is unnecessary, since daily life forces the Auin to use his weapons constantly in hunting.

726 I myself have not witnessed any of their wars. A reliable Kaffir described an Auin campaign, in which he participated, as follows:

Several friendly settlements decided to join in an attack on another Auin settlement. They put on their war caps and after sundown marched off in the direction of the enemy. They halted in the vicinity of the enemy settlement and, without lighting a fire (this was during the cold season!), waited for morning. After sunrise, when it had become a little warmer, they surrounded the settlement and attacked it from all sides.

My informant related that the Auin had attacked with great determination and had primarily used the lance.

The attack was made with loud shrieks and cries; no special war cry was recognized.

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the
293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire
291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re-
[123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having
[124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in
[412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess
[325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in
[439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that,
[531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead em-
301 broidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are
[321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence
[556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are
[462] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around
[306] the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of
[302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to lengthen them.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[77 cont.]

411 into the reed shaft while the other is poisoned. In other cases, the short arrowhead is joined to a bone spindle by means of a connecting piece made of grass, and this bone spindle is in turn fixed into the shaft so that the arrow is tripartite. The arrows are either carried in the quiver already assembled, or the points [78] are kept in small containers of bark or horn closed off at both ends by leather caps. Three bows of the Nogau had lengths [411] of 89, 95, and 100 centimeters. Animal tendons are used.

The battle insigne of the ≠Auin is a war cap made from the [714] hide of the aardwolf. The bow of the Naron is made of Grevia 411 wood and is about a meter long. Not only tendons but also plant fibers are used for the bowstring. The plant strings are a surrogate that the Bushmen are forced to use today due to the lack of game. The bow itself is reinforced at the ends with a binding of tendons or leather.

The arrow shafts resemble those of the ≠Auin, as do the points. The iron points are not removable and are called male. The metal is obtained from the north and is worked cold by the [325] ≠Auin. The Naron themselves make no iron arrowheads. [Fig. 28 appears here.]

Whereas during Kaufmann's time the ≠Auin did not have the kirri, the Naron have it today; its lower end is sharpened to a point so that it can also be used as a digging stick. The Nogau, though not too commonly, have throwing clubs that [411] correspond to those of the Dama and Herero, but are more crudely worked.

Concerning the Naron, Bleek also mentions harpoons with long, composite shafts, which serve to get jumping hares and the like out of their holes. This tool will be described in greater detail under the Dama [untranslated].

Like all Bushmen, the Nogau make fire by rubbing two 372 sticks together. The female stick is called Dane-di, the male Dane-≠goa. Firemaking itself is designated as Dalisi, one of the many strange words without clicks that we find among the Nogau.

Bushman wells are likewise used and are called //a-si.

312 The girls have a toy (gai-dum) consisting of several sticks of various kinds, which they wear on the chest. They drum on 524 IT WITH THE FINGERS.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 155]

The Bushmen are one of the most primitive peoples living 105
on earth. Although most of their groups own some metal objects, Bushmen do not smelt or forge metal, but get it in trade [325
from their Bantu neighbors. They use soft metal in the mak- 439]
ing of a few tools such as knives, arrowheads, and little axes, cold-hammering the metal into shape themselves. Bushmen make the other tools they use from wood and bone, grass and fiber, the things of the veld. They dig roots and pick berries [222]
to eat because they have no crops. The desert is too dry for anything but desert plants to grow naturally, and Bushmen, who quickly consume all the wild food available in one place, cannot stay anywhere long enough to tend crops or wait for them to grow.

There is not enough water to water livestock, and for this [231]
reason Bushmen have no domestic animals. Most of their groups do not even have dogs. Instead of herding, Bushmen hunt wild antelope with tiny arrows, sometimes made of soft, [224-
traded metal, sometimes made of bone, and poisoned with a 278]
terrible poison extracted from a certain grub, a poison which affects the nervous system of a creature and which is so deadly that an antelope shot early in the morning with a single arrow well placed in the body dies within the day. Hunting is very difficult, for travel in the veld is thirsty and rigorous and the antelope are clever, but as often as not the Bushmen hunters shoot one and then they use it all. Most of the meat is dried [251]
to preserve it, causing it to last at least a few weeks, but sooner or later every last bite of it is eaten, even the mucous lining of the nostrils and the gristle inside the ears. They [262]
sometimes eat the hide, sometimes work it into leather to use for clothing, and if the antelope bones are not all [281]
cracked for the marrow, pieces are worked into arrow points to shoot another antelope.

In order to live as they do, Bushmen must travel through 105 361

174
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FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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824 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
285 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
[412] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

237 Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water,
[415] and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women
[306] make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops, and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small
412 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell
324 beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by
[439] barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few
[326] smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.

178 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
324 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
[323] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
[237] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while
[415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Division of Labour

In the manufacture of these different utensils, implements, and garments, as well as in the collection of food, there is no division of labour within the band save as between the two sexes. Every man is expected to be able to hunt, to make bows and arrows, and to do all the other things that are done by men; and in the same way every woman is expected to do the work recognized as pertaining to women. Some women, it is true, are more clever and industrious than others in making beads, some men better at hunting or at twisting rope and boring pipes, but all know how these things are done and none devotes his life to any one of them exclusively. The only special occupation is that of the magician, who in addition to having religious and magical functions is also the physician, but otherwise even he lives and works as do the rest, getting a few presents for his occasional services. 462 [463] [756]

The division of labour between the sexes is clearly marked. A man hunts and snares game, fishes, collects veldkos as the opportunity arises while he is out hunting, prepares skins, makes the clothing for himself and his family, makes his own weapons, arrow-poison, firesticks, and other implements, twists rope, manufactures the larger wooden vessels and other utensils, makes fire, and occasionally assists the women in fetching wood and water. A woman builds the hut for her family, gathers veldkos and prepares the food, fetches wood and water, maintains the fire, makes her own ornaments, and is also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Among the Auen the beginnings of specialized labour are found in that certain men work in iron, i.e. make spear and arrow heads and other implements out of any pieces of iron they can obtain. The production of raw iron from the ore is unknown to all the Bushmen, who, as a rule, obtain whatever iron they use by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples. Among the !O Kung of Angola a further division of labour was found by Miss Bleek in a group at Rusembu, where only the good shots went hunting, while other men worked in iron, and another appeared to be the trader and honey gatherer.[1] But specialization of this kind is quite exceptional in Bushman life. 184 463 [326] [439]

Trade

Although the Bushmen are thus able to draw from the resources of their environment almost everything they really need, economically 177 439

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 153; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55.

/138 cont./

342 bushes and dispense altogether with any construction.

Tree houses are unknown. In any case, they would be possible only in the Kaukau Veld (baobab), since in the Auin region proper the trees are too weak for this purpose.

Each woman has her own windscreen. If she does not have one, she will live under a special bush.

[882] Young girls and young unmarried men sometimes live in special "girls' houses" or "bachelors' houses," separated according to sex.

● 34 Any kind of special buildings, like meeting houses, storage rooms, and so forth, are unknown.

514 There is little neatness in the vicinity of the huts. Special toilets do not exist. The sole consideration with regard to evacuation is to be hidden from sight. One finds great accumulations of feces away from the main direction of the wind. The practice of burying excrement, common among the Herero, apparently does not occur.

768 The pontok (windscreen) is by no means a valuable possession. After the owner's death the entire horde leaves the locality. Hence any question about the inheritance of the hut is an empty one.

342 There is no door, and it would not be easy to attach one, considering the construction of the hut. In this connection it should be mentioned that things are left carelessly lying around in the settlements, even when all the people are absent. In any 685 case a theft would be paid for with the death of the thief. Since [151] the Bushman knows the footprints of every person in the region, the culprit would always be found. In this respect the Bushman operates as reliably as the best police dog.

352 They lie upon grass covered with a few tanned hides. There 513 are no other household furnishings.

/139/ C. Food

372 The doro (fire-making instrument) (Fig. 1) consists of two round sticks of the Burkea africana. Several round, flat hollows

[Text continues on page 10]

[482] 559 556 595 [422] [431] in the pouches of their karosses along with their babies. This puts a strict limit upon any desire to possess great quantities of property in movables. Furthermore, gift-giving keeps all personal property moving in a current through the region and no one possesses very much more than another. The determining factors in obtaining more than one wife are apt to be the personalities of the individuals and the man's ability to hunt. 'Women love meat', we were told, and like their husbands to be good hunters.

595 The number of wives a man may have is not regulated by social rules but by his ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. None of the nine polygynists in the band had more than two. However, we heard of a man named Gao, now dead, who had had four wives all at one time. He had been a fabulous hunter and maker of arrows and was the father of the /Ti/kay who is the husband of two sisters, /Naoka and /Nai, in Band 9.

Only two of the nine pairs of co-wives had traceable consanguineous relationship. The above /Ti/kay's wives were sisters—the only ones—and, in Band 10, Old ≠Gao's younger wife, /Ghia, was the BrDa of his older wife, Bau.

[601] */Kwi*, sister, is the term which co-wives apply to each other, unless they have the same name, in which case they term each other *!gu!na*. The /Kung, though they do not institutionalize the sororate, say it is a good idea to marry sisters because they are not so likely to be jealous of each other as other women. /Ti/kay's wives, who appeared to live in harmony and affection and to support each other, provided an example of the validity of this opinion.

Marriage to the same man gives co-wives the joking relationship, and they do not observe the sitting or the name avoidance, though they may have avoided each other before marriage.

[342] /Kung co-wives share one scherm and one family fire. The scherm, the little shelter of branches and grass which the women build, a half hemisphere in shape, is only 3 to 4 ft. wide on the open side, about 3 ft. deep at the centre, perhaps 4 to 5 ft. high at the peak. In it and in front of it, beside their one fire, the two wives live, share their man, share the food they gather, share the work of fetching water and wood, nurse each other's babies, and co-operate in whatever degree of harmony their spirits can attain.

513 Husbands and wives may sleep separately or lie close together, side by side, or feet to feet. The woman holds her infant in her arms. Young children sleep near by bundled together, two or three in one kaross. Girls at about seven or eight go to sleep with a grandmother or a widowed friend or relative. The boys of the band, beginning at the same age, all sleep at a boys' fire.

[595] [821] /Ti/kay (Band 9), husband of the two attractive sisters, sees to it that his wives lie close to him, especially on cold nights, one on each side. Sleeping thus they were like the three stars of Orion which we call the Belt, but which the /Kung say are three zebras, two females with a male between them.

513 833 It is under such conditions that the /Kung usually have sexual intercourse—at night, in their sleeping place. They cover themselves with their karosses and are very discreet. The position is to lie on the side, the man at the back of the woman. Men pull the labia of the women before intercourse. The wives of /Ti/kay told me that they took pleasure in intercourse. I asked them if they had orgasms. We had

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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1. Women return in the evening after the day's digging and gathering of wild roots and berries

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2. A husband, wife, and their son at their family fire cooking their supper of two wild roots which the wife brought. Her genital apron is a fine one ornamented with beads

[p. 348-A]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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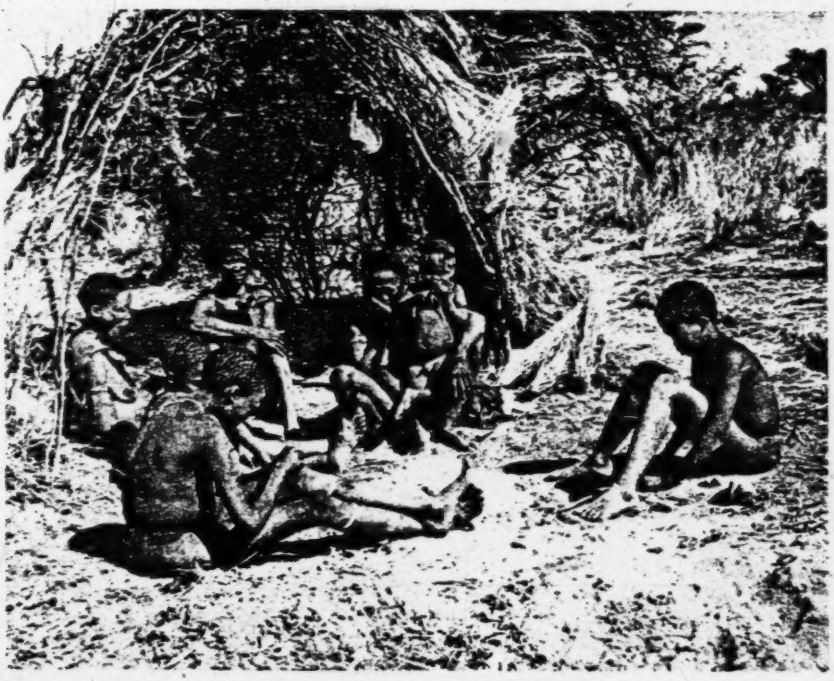

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3. Gau (centre) with his two wives in front of their scherm. The younger second wife, Khuan//a, holds her son in her arms. The three boys in front are the sons of Be, the first wife, at Gau's right

4. /Ti/kay in the best of moods

[p. 348-B]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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7. The wedding scherm, the morning after the wedding. To the right are /Gunda, the bridegroom, and one of the boys who attended him, playing the //guashi. /Nai is to the left with her two attendants beside her. Tsamgao has gone to sit by the girls instead of remaining on the men's side

8. ≠Toma the leader

[p. 348-D]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 Band 2. She was /Nai's second cousin (MoFaBrSoDa) and the first cousin once
585 removed of the groom (MoSiDaDa). The attendants were not selected for their precise relationship to the bride. They were the only young kinswomen present in the two bands. The girls sat down and chatted with /Nai for a moment and then stood up and, giggling and chattering, took /Nai by the arms. /Nai drew back. Then Xama pulled /Nai's arms over her shoulders, bent and took /Nai on to her back so that her feet did not touch the ground. Xama carried /Nai in this position to the wedding scherm, laid her down inside, to the left of the opening as one entered, in the dark shadow, and covered her over with the kaross. There /Nai remained. We did not see her again that night.

It is the custom for the parents to take brands from their own fires to light the wedding fire of the bride and groom. Presumably this was done, though I did not see it. When the girls arrived the fire was burning and a young man, a cousin of the groom, was tending it. The two girls sat down by the fire on the women's side.

562 /Kung men and women must sit on opposite sides of the fire.[1] They believe that if
834 male and female genital organs should touch the same spot on the ground the man's
352 hunting powers would be vitiated and the woman would get a sickness in her genito-urinary tract, not an ordinary, human, communicable disease but a magical one. The woman's side is to the left as one faces the entrance to the scherm, the men's to the right. The fire is always in front of the entrance if the scherm is built, but, more often than not, if the weather is good, or the people are travelling and staying
[342] only one night, or the wife is lazy, she hangs the family belongings in a bush and does not build a scherm. Then it is the custom to thrust two upright sticks into the ground to represent the entrance, so that the family may orient itself.

In the werf of Band 2, about twenty or thirty yards to the west, a group of boys had
159 come to /Gunda to attend him. They were all the young boys of the werf who
585 were approximately his age, two cousins (MoSiSo) and four of the sons of /Gunda's stepfather by his first wife. The boys made a show of catching /Gunda and held him by the arms for a moment, laughing and talking. Then they formed a line with /Gunda following at the end, walked to the wedding fire, and sat down on the men's

[1] This taboo reveals the association which, I
224 believe, the /Kung make between the hunting power
833 of men and the male sexual principle. Both must be protected, and sexual activity must be controlled and constrained lest the life-giving and food-producing force of men be weakened or drained away. During the period of a hunt a man must not have sexual intercourse—that is, while the man is looking for game and, after he has shot his little poisoned arrow into the animal, while he is tracking it for miles and waiting and watching for days till it dies of the poison. A hunt usually demands many days and nights of effort and privation.

[783] Too frequent indulgence in sexual intercourse with one's wife, even when no hunt is in progress, is
[841] believed to diminish a man's hunting power. Some men believed that once in five nights was best; others thought once in three nights was all right. Men who have the joking relationship constantly play upon the theme of excess, taunting each other: 'You do not know hunting, you know women', 'You cannot leave your wife long enough to hunt.'

The /Kung are less strict about another taboo. A woman is supposed not to touch a man's hunting gear at any time, because this would lessen his power to hunt. But I have often seen women touch assegais and quivers. Indeed it has sometimes been urgently necessary to do so when the children got bold of them, as, for instance, when the three-year-old ≠Gao, agile as a flea, took after us with his father's assegai, infuriated with us for some sudden notion of his own. There is a medicine called *gow gowna*, made from a plant, which may be rubbed on the weapons to purify them if they are touched by women, but I never saw this done and doubted if anyone bothered with it. The effect of a woman's touching the hunting gear is much stronger if she is menstruating. I assume they are more careful then.

/138 cont./

177 Since contact with the Whites was established, wars have
721 apparently declined considerably, but even today they exact a decidedly heavy toll.

22 The Auin is at the lowest stage of human development; he is exclusively a collector and hunter.

This way of life is dictated to him by the nature of his en-
133 vironment. This part of the Kalahari, where the watering places
137 are sometimes 100 kilometers apart and very limited in number,
182 does not permit livestock raising, especially also since the tschama [sometimes spelled tsama, a kind of melon] enjoyed by the cattle is comparatively rare.

In the Auin region the plain dominates the landscape.
133 Primary rocks rise up here and there only along the river banks. So-called dunes give the landscape a gently hilly character, especially in the vicinity of the rivers (dry river beds which carry
137 water only after violent rains). The ground cover alternates between grass, shrub, and tree steppe and dense undergrowth. The
132 amount of precipitation is very small; the lack of sufficient statistical data makes it impossible to give a more precise estimate.

B. Dwellings and Furnishings

342 The typical form of the dwelling is the windscreen, in other words, the most primitive form of human habitation, which scarcely deserves the designation "hut." Its construction is completed in a few minutes. A few twigs are stuck loosely into the ground at the thicker end in a semicircle and propped against each other at the branching end. I have never seen the supports firmly fastened to one another, although I have examined several hundred huts. Grass is thrown on the framework, and the construction is finished. During the dry season the structures are usually built even more hastily and sometimes consist merely of a few bundles of grass that have been thrown loosely between the twigs of a living bush. The entire structure is often scarcely a meter high and has no roof. It is thus a genuine windscreen, intended to protect its inhabitants from drafts while they are lying down.

If the settlement remains at a particular place for only a few days, the people content themselves with the shadow of some

/138 cont./

342 bushes and dispense altogether with any construction.

Tree houses are unknown. In any case, they would be possible only in the Kaukau Veld (baobab), since in the Auin region proper the trees are too weak for this purpose.

Each woman has her own windscreen. If she does not have one, she will live under a special bush.

[882] Young girls and young unmarried men sometimes live in special "girls' houses" or "bachelors' houses," separated according to sex.

34 Any kind of special buildings, like meeting houses, storage rooms, and so forth, are unknown.

There is little neatness in the vicinity of the huts. Special
514 toilets do not exist. The sole consideration with regard to evacuation is to be hidden from sight. One finds great accumulations of feces away from the main direction of the wind. The practice of burying excrement, common among the Herero, apparently does not occur.

The pontok (windscreen) is by no means a valuable possession.
768 After the owner's death the entire horde leaves the locality. Hence any question about the inheritance of the hut is an empty one.

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342 considering the construction of the hut. In this connection it should be mentioned that things are left carelessly lying around in the settlements, even when all the people are absent. In any
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[151] the Bushman knows the footprints of every person in the region, the culprit would always be found. In this respect the Bushman operates as reliably as the best police dog.

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/139/ C. Food

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[Text continues on page 10]

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Photo. 13
≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)

●342

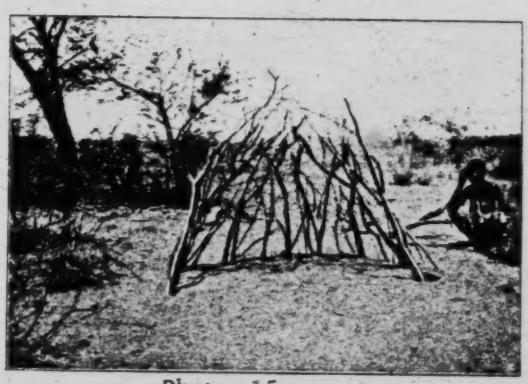

Photo. 15.
Framework of Windscreens.

Photo. 17.
Flimsy Wind-
screen in
the Dry
Season.

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Auen

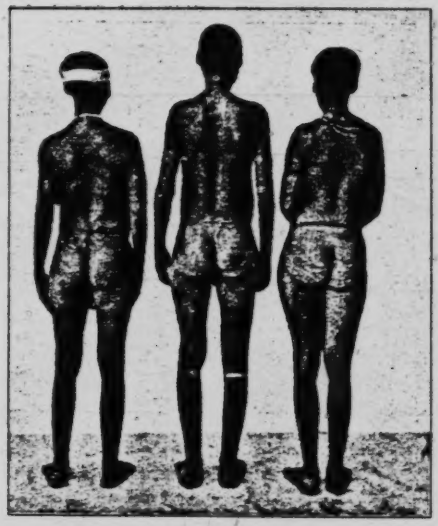

Photo. 14 [see Photo. 13]
≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)

●342

Photo. 16.
Windscreen Half-covered.

[415]
[516]

Photo. 18.
Windscreen (covered) and Mortar with Pestle.

[20 cont.]

101 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposed-
131 ly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are
[648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the
[631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief, the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notorious Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-
[197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do
[342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in
[301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh
[827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron
[411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations
[114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

[36 cont.]

Dwellings

342 The dwelling of the Bushman consists of the simple windscreen, semicircular in form and about 150 centimeters high. On [177] several farms, however, even the Bushmen have taken to building beehive huts in the Herero manner. The windscreens in a settle- [361] ment more or less form a circle, and the socha fire is to be found [378] near the windscreen of the village chief. During warm nights the [372] Bushmen do not sleep under the windscreen but outside it. [513]

372

Fig. 3. Sticks for Firemaking, Kalahari Bushmen (Museum of Ethnology, Lurich).

3: Lebzelter--119 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
MASARWA

[62]

Chapter 7

The Bushmen of the North

114 Our best information concerning the Masarwa comes from Dornan (1) and Holub (2). In what follows an outline sketch will

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygrines and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

2. Holub, Die Masarwa.

be given of the culture of this tribe, based upon these two authors.

342 According to Dornan, the Masarwa once preferred to live in caves, where their ancestors had made paintings. The Bushmen in the Wankie and Ngami districts have plaited mats of grass [285] or reed, with which they cover their windscreens. Sometimes they make a kind of roof covered with grass; otherwise they have ordinary windscreens.

[532]
[172]

Fig. 21a. Representation of a Curing Scene. In the background, the female doctor who serves as oracle. (Eastern Cape Province. From J. P. Johnson, The Prehistoric Period in [113] South Africa, 1910.)

322 For the wood of the bow the Masarwa use very straight
411 little tree trunks. After the bark is removed, they are tied to a straight tree and left to dry. The wood is then given its final drying over the fire and is placed in water so that it will not splinter. The middle of the bow is also commonly wound with tendons. The bow is often greased and never unstrung. The finished bow is smoothed with a rough stone.

3: Lebzelter--160 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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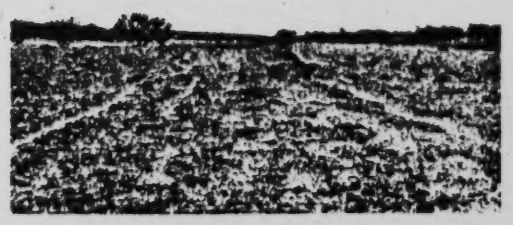
[342]

1. !Kung Huts in the Bush Veld.

2. Summer Landscape in the !Kung Veld.



3. The Omuramba u Omatako south of Otjituo.

4. Winter Landscape in the Sand Veld.

Plate II. Landscapes on the !Kung Veld.

3: Lebzelter--161 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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Camp of the !Kung along the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

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516

The author Negotiating with !Kung Bushmen in the Otjimpolo Veld.

Plate III. !Kung

3: Lebzelter--162 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung
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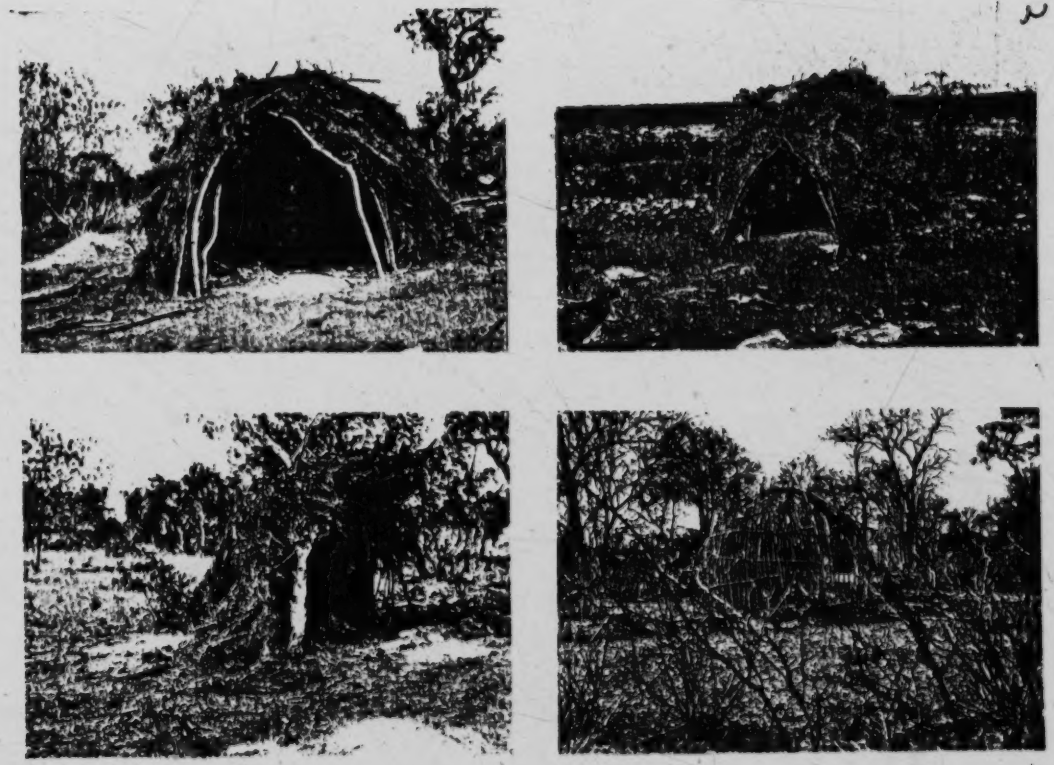

Plate IV. Windscreens and Huts of the !Kung.

/241 cont./

128 Tables giving all the /242/ measurements for each individual, are attached, as are forms for the observations concerning the descriptive characteristics of the individuals measured.

141 The average values for the adults measured are as follows:

	Men	Women
1. Body height	155.3	149.7
2. Height of the chin above the ground	135.7	130.6

[142] [291] [301] [342] [516]

Fig. 1. Heikum Bushmen. Men.

3. Height of the navel above the ground	93.2	90.4
4. Height of the upper edge of the symphysis above the ground. [Fig. 1 appears here.]	82.2	79.6
5. Height of the acromion above the ground	130.5	124.9
6. Height of the elbow joint above the ground	99.9	96.5
7. Height of the projection of the radius above the ground	76.0	73.4

4: Werner--4 D-5 (ca. 1900) 1906 FX10 Bushmen FX10 Heikum

/243 cont./

	Men	Women
28. Width between the inner corners of the eyes	3.6	3.5
29. Width of the mouth	4.7	4.5
30. Width between the two jaw angles	9.5	8.8
31. Distance from the chin to the root of the nose	9.8	9.6

[291] [342]

Fig. 2. Heikum Bushmen. Women.

32. Distance from the chin to the hairline	16.6	15.9
33. Length of the nose	4.0	3.9
34. Width of the nose	4.1	3.8
/244/		
35. Distance from the chin to the tragus	13.3	12.3
36. Distance from the root of the nose to the tragus	11.7	11.3
37. Length of the thumb	5.1	5.1
38. Length of the middle finger	8.4	8.2
39. Width of the hand where the fingers join	6.8	6.5
40. Length of the foot	22.6	21.5

/258 cont./

000 which is used for carrying game over the shoulder.

411 Still to be mentioned are the weapons of the Bushmen. These are limited essentially to the bow and arrow. The bow consists of firm, flexible wood which tapers toward the ends.

[283] The bowstring is made by twisting together separated strands of gemsbok tendons.

The arrows have a very peculiar construction. The shaft is a piece of reed approximately 60 centimeters long, which is feathered at the lower end. A piece of eland bone, approximately 15 centimeters long, which has been sharpened to a point on both sides and carefully rounded by filing on stones, is inserted at the upper end of the shaft in such a manner that it can easily be taken out and reversed. The front end of the reed shaft, which is designed for the insertion of the bone arrowhead, /259/ is wrapped with bast in order to give it the necessary resistance. The two ends of the arrowhead are treated differently. The shorter and blunter tip is left free of poison and serves solely for hunting purposes. The
278 longer and more pointed end is covered with a brown, resin-like poisonous mass. It is very difficult to obtain any definite information from the Bushmen concerning the origin of this poison. They shyly evade questions about it.

I was able to ascertain only one fact, namely, that it is obtained by making incisions in the bark of a tree called chi (Herero: otjindombo). The arrowhead is dipped in the sap of the bark and
411 heated over the fire.

In addition to the bow and arrow, one also finds simple, unworked kirris, and -- at least among the Bushmen of the Kaukau Veld -- throwing spears with iron points that are obtained from the Ovambo in trade.

Arrow shafts and arrowheads are carried on the back in separate leather quivers.

They also use simple, feathered wooden arrows with pointed ends for fowl.

● 342 The dwellings are as simple as the whole way of life of the Bushmen. The huts are only a little taller than a man and about three meters in diameter; they are set up by embedding sticks in the ground. These poles, which form the framework, are joined in the center, making a dome shape, and the interstices

/259 cont./

342 are filled with grass. The door is a hole scarcely a meter high;
[354] immediately behind it the fire burns almost continuously, so that, at least for the European, crawling into the hut presents considerable difficulties. Since the Bushmen are often forced to
[361] move their settlements because of the lack of veld food or because of the water conditions, they not infrequently content themselves with incomplete huts, which are not closed to form a full circle, but represent only a part, a segment of a hut, as it were, and give only scant protection against the sun.

For the rest, it is astonishing how hardened these practically
147 naked Bushmen are against the cold of the night which during the cold season is very sharp -- not infrequently below O° [centigrade]. Unclothed except for the loincloth, they calmly go to sleep on
[513] the cold ground near a small fire, exposed to the icy night air, a thought that gives chills to Europeans, who are unable to sleep without three woolen blankets on such nights.

Concerning the much discussed racial position of the Bush-
144 men, I have already remarked above -- at least concerning the Heikum and Kung -- that their descent from the Hottentots, as is frequently asserted, seems doubtful to me. The Bushmen's smaller size, of course, can be accounted for by the debilitation of the race through centuries-long unfavorable living conditions. What argues against the notion of racial affinity, however, is the anthropological fact that steatopygia is not to be found among the Heikum and Kung women, /260/ and, in addition, the lan-
197 guage is totally different.

I attempted to collect a sample of the vocabulary and some grammatical characteristics of the language of the Heikum on the Omatako and of the Kung in the Kaukau Veld, which I present below. In doing this, it became evident that the languages of the Heikum and Kung are merely dialectically differentiated, while they seem to have almost no relationship to the Nama language. The click sounds, to be sure, are almost the same as
[194] those in the Hottentot language; hence, / designates the dental
[104] click, // the lateral click, ! the cerebral [retroflex] click, and ≠ the palatal click. By ⋮ I designate the sharp opening of the glottis in speaking the initial vowel, which frequently occurs between a consonant and a vowel or between two vowels of the same word, and which does not occur in this fashion in the Nama.

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people. [423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such, 621 by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-//om*, on the [582 other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the 591] chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out 361 on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the [184] *Hei-//om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial [562] and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and [882 boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away 342] from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various 342 tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a [462] husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations. When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish 166 a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who 342 deposits his household and other effects on the place on which [622] his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated [312] in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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137

ǂAo //ǂin Werf.

[p. 88 B]

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, 142
and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff [48]
with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the
men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and
consequently they often seem younger than they are. They [194]
are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man 291
wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather
apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole
animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at [854 482 415 237]
the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride,
and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which
are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people;
they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though [515 302]
they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair
breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped
close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell
beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny [301]
bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear
leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several 609
months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find
them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe
that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the
grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and [342]
made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right 609
into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and 621
didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass until I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned, all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GIKwe

could have found his shallow pit at any time of the day or night.

Nobody was there; everyone had run away. We sat down and waited while Gai put his hands to his mouth and shouted, trying to summon the people back again. When nobody came or even answered him, he flung his pipe to the ground and marched off to find them among the bushes, alternately shouting to his hidden relatives and muttering to himself, for they might be far away and the day was getting warm.

We sat in the middle ground between the depressions so that we wouldn't risk stepping on or crushing anybody's hidden things, for, without knowing it, a European can in a moment trample through a Bushman's cache, breaking the delicate bone or wooden objects, bending the reed arrows, or crushing eggshell beads. Also, among certain groups of Bushmen, every fire has a man's side and a woman's side, determined by the position of the fire as you face the doorway of the scherm, the man's side being on the right, the woman's on the left. If a man sits on the woman's side, or where a woman has been sitting, he will become impotent and will also lose his power to hunt, and if a woman sits where a man has been sitting, she will get a disease in her vagina. Something intangible, invisible, but dangerously powerful, remains on the ground. We did not know which side was which of this werf's fires, or even for sure where the fires were; we did not even know that the Gikwe had this custom, for we had learned it from Kung Bushmen, but we knew that if they did they would not welcome our contaminating their ground. We would have liked to look around, but the best thing we could do was to keep our big boots and our bodies away from their delicate, fragile, almost invisible community.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

481 well as great loads of melons, all of which we offered again
482 and again to carry for them, but because, they said, they might want to stop for the night or just refresh themselves along the way, they would not part with their bundles.

The place we went to was called Ai a ha'o; it was the pan where we had seen the lion. It took us almost all day to drive there, and shortly after we arrived Dasina and Kutera joined us, having traveled almost as fast as we. Those two old women must have walked at four or five miles an hour all the way, over veld so rough that the trucks couldn't go much faster.

342 Before dark, the Bushman women had built a werf, a clear-
361 ing of grass for each family with a shallow pit to sleep in and a place for the fire, all four clearings under the branches of a single tree which would give them shade in the daytime. On
353 the branches each person hung whatever there was to hang, quivers, skin bags, or aprons, and these things swung in the cold wind. The women gathered firewood and lit their fires,
757 562 and Dasina asked Twikwe to stand on her stomach because she was tired from her long walk and wanted a massage. Before they went to sleep the men and the three young boys
574 577 walked to our camp, about fifty feet away, to say good-night, but the women stayed at home because at night all Bushmen women stay at home. A woman does not even leave her fire to go to her neighbor's fire three feet away because people will say that she doesn't like to stay home; she speaks loudly to her neighbor instead. Bushmen are a rather conservative peo-
[181] ple, and they are very moral in that they keep their own rules.

574 The smoke in the west that Gai had seen when he roasted the tortoise intrigued him very much. Again and again he said that it was people's smoke, and one morning he said he wanted to go over to it, to look for the man who was Wita-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Twikwe was a lanky old woman. She sometimes wound a medicine string around her belly to ward hunger away.

This is Gai's house, this bare sand under the branch of a tree.

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[p. 112(E)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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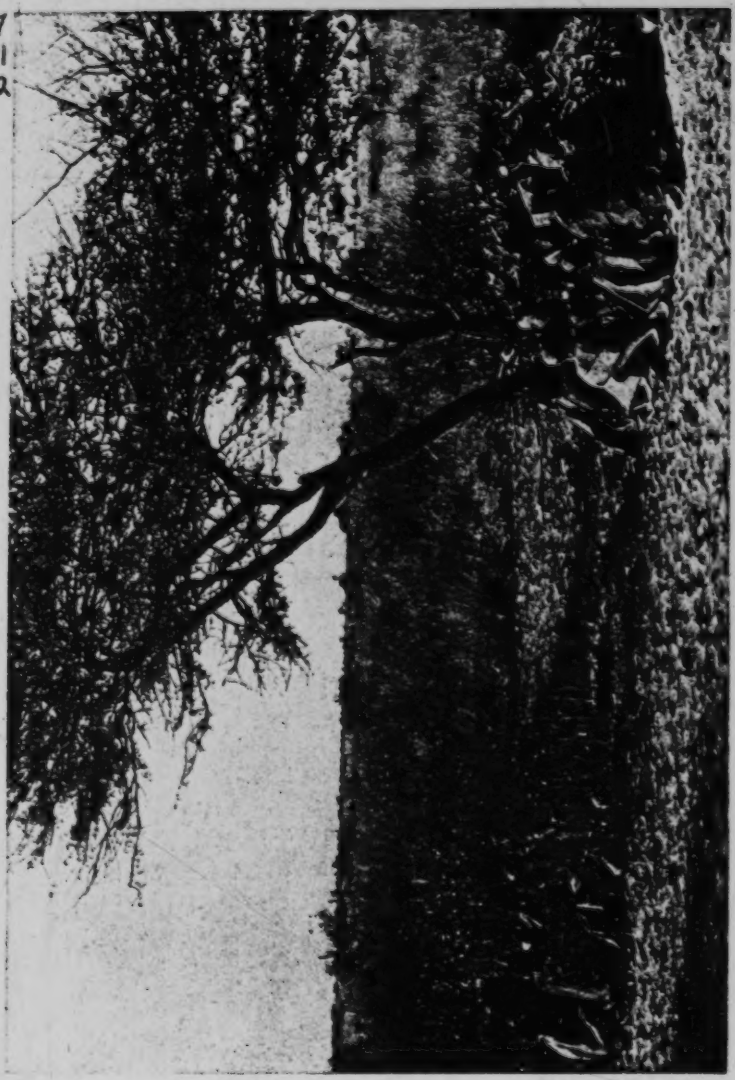

The people from Okwa camped right beside Ukwane; the two wents were shaded by the same little tree.

[p. 112 (H)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

361 We got out and sat with them in their werf to talk before deciding what we would do next. Looking around, we saw that only the two families lived here, for there were only two sleeping-places, set, for the sake of a little privacy, on the opposite sides of one of the scrawny trees. The women had not built huts, but had scooped little hollows for themselves and their husbands which they had lined with soft grass bedding, and had put up two arching sticks at each of these hollows to mark the place where the door would be if a scherm had been there, for the Kung as well as the Gikwe need a sense of place. In fact, the Kung need it even more, for without their grass and marking-sticks the Kung feel homeless. Their sleeping hollows were like the soft grass nests of pheasants, hidden in the leaves.

276 The Bushmen all lit pipes and passed them—each pipe
576 reached everybody, everybody shared and smoked, and the pipes circled slowly for an hour or more until the tobacco was gone. There was a brass pipe made of an old cartridge, a bone one, a horn one, and last of all a copper one that tasted very bad. The Bushmen cracked roasted tsi nuts and passed the fat little kernels around to each other, offering them on the
609 palms of their hands. My brother told Toma that he had missed tsi because there was none in America.

"What?" said Toma. "No tsi? Why didn't you plant some?"

"The soil is a little strong for it," said John.

"So."

"But tsi is good."

"No good," said Toma sadly. "I used to be fat. Now I am thin." He stuck out his leg and slapped at it. "Where is my fat?" he said.

He did not seem to be thinner than he used to be, though; he had only a scar on his belly and a scar on his back where

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

521 lifted her head and her face showed in the firelight; her eyes shone quite yellow and she looked dangerous, like a leopard, as she glared in the direction of his voice.

361 On my way home I passed Lazy Kwi's house, which his
342 wife had started in his absence, and as she had planned a large scherm and had already built the framework, many large branches stuck upright in the ground, but had not yet covered it with grass, I could see Lazy Kwi inside. He was between me and his fire, and in silhouette against the red light he looked like a creature in a cage, for he was peering through the lattice of branches to see who was passing by. I stopped
252 to show who I was, and noticed a bird roasting by his fire, a little duck which must have been snared by Lazy Kwi's old father-in-law. It was plucked and trussed and tied to a stick which was pushed into the ground so that the duck hung over the coals. It looked about done to me, so I asked Lazy Kwi, who was obviously alone with it, awake only to tend it, if it wasn't ready, and Lazy Kwi looked first at me, then at the
[805 82] duck, then up at the sky, and shook his head. He was timing it by a star, he explained, and the star had risen but wasn't high enough yet, so I said good-night and went home and left him in his lattice; and just before I went to sleep I heard great shouts of laughter, for Toma had found someone who hadn't heard the lion story and was telling it again.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

very sleek and prosperous, for they were staggering under 574
loads of food, their bags and nets bulging with tsi and their 602
carrying-poles strung with the meat of the gemsbok. They put down their loads and the women began immediately to make a large and busy werf on the far side of Toma's. In a very short time the werf was built and strewn with food and objects, and the people sitting among their possessions looked so comfortable and settled that one would never have thought that they had just arrived.

The old woman, Short Kwi's mother-in-law, did cry when she found her daughter gone. She squatted sadly on the ground and wiped her tears from her wrinkled, dusty cheeks with her fingers. All her relatives, clustered around her, trying to comfort her, telling her that, after all, her daughter would return, that she herself would be looked after and not allowed to starve, and presently the old woman stopped crying, wiped [342] ●
her eyes, and got up to build herself a tiny hut, a shade of grass and branches.

That night, when darkness fell, when the moon rose blood 857
red among the trees and the frogs in the pan began their sing- 533
ing, we were again sitting by our fire, again hosts to a good many visitors, when we heard high voices singing a medicine song. We stood up to look over the grass and saw a fire where no werf was, with five young girls around it singing, clapping a rhythm, their faces lit red by the fire and their backs lit palely by the moon. They were all alone there, far from their homes.

We asked our visitors if there was going to be a dance, 857
which did not seem likely, everyone being in such low spirits, 535
and those who wanted to dance said yes while those who didn't said no. Soon some little children joined the dance, though, among them Little Gashe and Little Dabe. Little 000

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

TREES AND SHRUBS of campsite provide convenient racks for family possessions, and even partial support for the sketchy *skerms* (screens) built in the dry winter, *above*, little more than bunches of grass caught on a few sticks.

342

[P.6]

137 Africa, these valleys once flowed—draining water from the high edges into the Basin. Now the sand has wandered into these valleys also.

132 There are four seasons in the Kalahari, two are brief. Winter begins in May and lasts through September. It is a healthful season. Of the foods available to gatherers in winter, roots are the most abundant. The earth is dry: the days are warm and clear, but cold in the shade; the nights are chill. Temperatures sink to 20° F. and below when the night wind turns, blowing from the antarctic south. On some hazeless nights, when the empty air seems insufficient protection from the cold of space, the morning ground will be wet with heavy dew. However, the smoke from a thousand African veld fires often thickens the skies of noon, reddens the setting sun and keeps the nights warmer and the earth dry.

At the end of September, clouds be-

[342]

FOR RAINY SEASON, the open-fronted grass shelters are more substantial.

[p. 8]

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DELOUSING is a courtesy among kinsmen: the salty-tasting lice are eaten.

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There are about 1,000 !Kung—gathered into 28 bands—who build their ephemeral camps, or *werft*'s, separately in an area of 10,000 square miles. The houses in the *werft*'s are of grass, pressed over a framework of sticks, making small quarter-shells, with their backs to the prevailing wind. Gossamer things, made of the same grass that sways and crowds against their doors, they are positioned in a loose pattern according to their occupants' kinship, and all are held—finally—by the headman, who builds his shelter under the tallest tree.

[622]

From a little distance, when the sound of voices is lost on the wind, one would not know a *werft* was near. The people never return to the same *werft*—preferring to build anew and saying it would not be safe from the spirits of the dead, or sanitary, to do so. Perhaps, also, they find it sad to see the little houses toppling, day by day, into the grass of the new year.

462

AS A STARTING POINT, labor among the !Kung is divided between two basic subsistence activities—hunting game and gathering *veldkos*. Men hunt, because their bodies are better suited to the chase. Women gather, because they could not leave their children for the long periods of hunting that men both enjoy and endure.

222

Women's work—the technology of gathering—is simple and adaptable: the tools are easily acquired, the methods quickly learned. The constant necessity to provide and the almost daily edge of effort slowly bends the

[p.40]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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[212]
[306]

[151]

FIG. 5. Old /Gam making ostrich egg-shell beads. Some cowrie shells from the South Seas (via New York) dangle among her ornaments

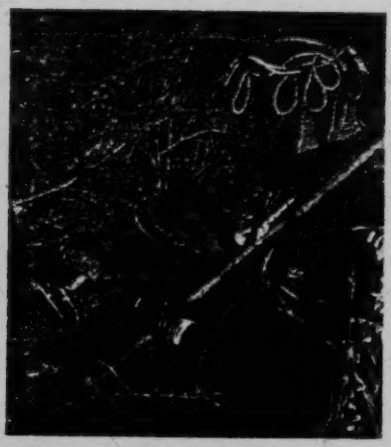

FIG. 6. Powers of observation are highly trained. This girl had seen, in the tangle of grass, a dry, hair-thin, brown vine stem which revealed that there was an edible root to be dug

● 342
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[142]
[301]

FIG. 7. Talking in the afternoon

FIG. 8. ≠Toma laughing

[p. 240-B]

FIG. 13. One of the hunters (in the background) brings a hindquarter of meat to the owner of the arrow and lays it on branches beside his scherm

FIG. 14. Kham, a lame man, swings himself along with two sticks. He cannot hunt. Meat which some relatives or friends have given him hangs on the tree. His wife pounds some food with mortar and pestle

[p. 240-D]

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15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not 251
uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming 261
journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to 261
food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food 576
or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food 433
and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung 462
society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no 562
extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly 562
strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous 147
and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of 562
hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing 462
splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable 262
foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. 224
The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's [535]
wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The 342
building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's [462]
work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a [37]
woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. [461]
She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

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[283]

digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

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[599]
[213]

The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

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[101]
[372]

The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

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The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

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ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

[p. 256]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

342

PLATE VI

L. Fourie

CRUDE BUSHMAN WINDSCREEN

[facing p. 86]

[*face p.* 86

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

611 621 belong to the band of which their father is a member. But, as already mentioned, there are certain cases among the Naron where both married sons and married daughters with their respective spouses and children are found living in the same band. It would throw much light on the structure of the band if we could know whether all these children are regarded as members of the band in which their parents are living, or whether some distinction is made between the children of the married sons on the one hand and those of the married daughters on the other. Without further research in the field, however, no definite statement can be made on this crucial point. There is also nothing to indicate whether people who are related or claim to be related in the male line, or again those who are related or claim to be related in the female line, are specially bound together by ties of a ceremonial, legal or economic nature. Whether further research, therefore, will show the bands of the North-Western Bushmen to be clans is problematical. The trend of the available data gives no clear indication either way.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 221 [184] Moving about constantly as they do in the search for food, the Bushmen build no permanent homes. More or less fixed villages are found only among the tribes living in the Okavango-Zambesi region, but even here there are distinct quarters for the winter (dry season) and for the summer (rainy season). During the dry season the Tannekwe live in the marsh lands of the Okavango basin, where they have small villages surrounded with palisades, after the style of their Bantu neighbours. In the rainy season, however, these become uninhabitable. The people then move out to villages on the edge of the surrounding plains, where they also have their hunting grounds. The Hukwe on the plains north-east of Lake Ngami live in similar villages during the rainy season, from which they scatter about in family groups in the dry season to hunt and collect.[1]

361 342 Everywhere else the encampments of the Bushmen are temporary. The tribes formerly living in the mountainous regions of the south and east often made their homes in caves and under rock-shelters, in which relics of their occupation may still be found. Even to-day the Namib Bushmen, during the latter part of the dry season, also live chiefly in caves or under overhanging rock-shelters on the high

[1] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296, 297.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

mountains in the west of Great Namaqualand.[1] Most of the Bushmen, however, now live in flat country, where such natural shelters are denied them. Wherever they stay for more than a couple of days, crude bush huts are put up by the women. These are usually erected within walking distance of a waterhole, about an hour or two away. The people never live at the water itself, for fear of frightening away the game, which is most easily shot or trapped when coming to drink. 342 361 [462] [312] [224]

Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, "When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts."[2] 361 622 342 [372]

There seems to be as a rule no fixed form of settlement. All the families drinking at one waterhole may live in one group, or there may be several lots of huts scattered about in different directions. Among the Cape Bushmen, for example, one might find three or four huts standing together, or several huts dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, and the same appears to be true of the Naron.[3] 361

Among the Heikum, however, the camp is said to be laid out on a definite plan.[4] As a rule all the members of the band live in a common encampment or "werft" (*//gaus*). The huts of the married families are placed at a certain interval apart, and arranged in the form of an irregular circle. At or near the middle of the camp is situated a large tree, known as the */heis*. The hut of the chief (*gei-khoib*) is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. The brother of the *gei-khoib* live immediately to his left on the south side of the *//gaus*, and beyond them are placed the other married families of the community. The right or north side of the *//gaus* is reserved entirely for visiting sisters of the *gei-khoib* and their families, while any of his married daughters who may be visiting him erects her hut directly opposite to his at the furthest extremity of the camp. "This is done on account of the parent-in-law taboo (*tao-sas*) which [184] [606]

[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii; *idem*, *The Naron*, 4.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[4] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50–2; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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361 [606] exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes." Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent [882] young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young men; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of married people. The dancing place is to the west within the circle.

"The large tree (*!heis*) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved 361 562 as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely, [622] the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for kindling the principal fire (*!ou-/ais*) or for other menial purposes when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this *!heis*. Under [372] it is made the first fire (*!hei-/ais*) on the establishment of a new [224] *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed in the chase."[1]

Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among 114 all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the 361 only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. "Where several families live together," he says, "the huts are ranged in a circle, the head of the group ("Dorfälteste") living in the east."[3]

Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families 592 are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they [595] get on well; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share [882] a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree, and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with [589] a boy; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone, are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

342 The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52. [2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4–5; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 51; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138.

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the ground and covered with grass. The description of the Naron hut given by Miss Bleek[1] applies equally to the huts of most of the other Northern Bushmen.[2] "The women do all the building here. The men may cut a few branches, but their wives plant them in a semicircle, tie the tops together with a thong or bark fibre, put smaller sticks in between them, and thatch the whole with grass, making a cosy little wind screen. In bad weather chunks of wood are often laid on top to keep the grass in place. The size and the care with which a hut is built vary with the season: in dry weather a very slight shelter suffices, just a little sloping screen perhaps made by sticking grass in the branches of a bush. As the rainy season approaches a proper semicircular hut is made, from four to five feet high, the opening to leeward of course, and when the rain really comes, the half circle is increased to about a three-quarter circle, often thereby changing the direction of the opening in accordance with the different wind. There is no door; the opening is about four feet high." The whole structure is easily put up, and is abandoned without misgiving. If the next halting place is near, the women carry some of the materials over; if not, new material is always at hand.

Among the Cape Bushmen light portable huts equally simple in make were sometimes seen. A few bent sticks formed the framework, which was covered with mats made of reeds laid side by side and neatly sewn together. The whole structure was hemispherical in shape, about four feet in diameter, and only some three feet in height. When the encampment broke up, the mats were rolled together, and used again at the next spot.[3] Somewhat larger huts made in the same way are also found among some of the North-Eastern tribes at the present time, e.g. the Hukwe and some of the Hiechware, but in general the grass hut is the prevailing kind.[4]

The floor in the interior of the hut is usually scooped out a little, making a sort of nest, in which the inmates sleep; this is lightly strewn with dry grass, which is often changed. In front of the hut is the fireplace, marked by a mound of ashes rising higher daily and sheltering the opening. Here all the cooking is done, save in wet weather, when it is often done inside the hut. At night a second little fire is made in the middle of the hut, or just inside the opening. Round

[1] Op. cit., 5.
[2] Cf. Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 81-2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 259; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 298.
[3] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275-6; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 43.
[4] Seiner, op. cit., 298; Dornan, op. cit., 90; Wilhelm, "Wortschatz . . . der Hukwe-Buschmannsprache," 301.

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finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed 182
in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, 312
however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this 823
ever-present problem.

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried 312
in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is [685]
one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have
given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially [824]
the *Inaras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve [271]
thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season.
In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface
at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious
filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass
indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube
to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully
suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then care-
fully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource
fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the [221]
permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the
rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and
resume their normal hunting life.[1]

Industries and Trade

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the 511
Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their
household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they
can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are
essentially domestic.[2]

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and 322
spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, [342]
the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other [411]
burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is
gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes [412]

[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 51; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 297; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 51, 70–1, and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 671–3; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293–4.

[2] The most comprehensive account of Bushman industries is to be found in Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 89–113, pl. xxiii-xxix, which relates chiefly to the Auen; cf. also van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 62–80; Passarge, op. cit., 81–94; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 297–301; Kaufmann, op. cit., 152–3; Schultze, op. cit., 658 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschileute," 257; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 8–18 *passim*; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 103. [114]

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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big game, especially wild horses and mules. There are in those parts wild horses and mules, both so beautifully bred out by nature that no painter is skilful enough to paint them true to life with all their colouring. The horses have buttocks extraordinarily dappled, and over the rest of the body are striped yellow, black, red and pure sky blue. The mules are also striped, white and chestnut brown, but not dappled, and are uncommonly beautiful.[39]) The Sonquas in 1662 brought the skin of one of these beasts to the Cape, which our countrymen bartered from them for tobacco and other things. It was then filled with straw and hung up for show in the hall of the Fort, as something curious and uncommon, which it also is, to be seen by the people of the incoming ships.[40])

[224] 136 439

The meat of the rock-rabbits constitutes a pleasant food for the Sonquas, who live principally on it and on certain roots growing in the ground. They also keep many hunting dogs,[40a]) trained to hunt the rock-rabbits which are their principal food, and knowing how to drag these animals out of their holes.

262 231 224

They are extremely great plunderers and marauders. They steal from other Hottentots all the cattle they can get, with which they then flee immediately to the mountains, where they cannot be found in their retreats and hidden caves by anybody, not even by other Hottentots.

721

Their huts, made only of branches twined together, without woven mats, and covered solely with rushes, are several thousand in number; for they move about from one place to another, and never break up the huts, but erect still others wherever they camp.

342 361

Their little cloaks are sewn together from the skins of the wild oxen which live on the rocks. The women have a *quitazol* or sunshade of ostrich feathers, tied on and about the head, to protect themselves from the heat and burning of the sun's piercing rays.

291

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had shot a wild horse below the mane in the neck. This horse was very beautifully gray dappled over its whole body, except behind from the back over the buttocks and along the legs which were flame-coloured, with white, sky blue and reddish brown stripes, wonderfully beautiful . . . It had small ears like a horse. The stuffed heads and pieces of skin which the Hottentots sometimes brought to us belong evidently to another sort, as they have long ears, though extraordinarily, curiously and beautifully flame-coloured in white and chestnut brown."

136

[40a]) Dogs were the only domestic animals kept by the Bushmen. They were generally lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half starved and savage tempered, but excellent assistants in the chase, for which they were mainly employed.

231 224

NARON
≠AUIN
NOGAU

[70 cont.]

881 Among the Naron, on the other hand, they must first pass the hunting test before they are admitted to the boys' initiation. Ten or 12 candidates are taken into the bush and must live for a month on veldkost, which is sprinkled with a medicine by the doctor before it is eaten. Women are not allowed to come near the camp.

During one of the nocturnal dances, Hise appears, dances [776] around the circle, and is then driven away by the medicine man. (767) Some say Hise looks like a woman; others describe him as a be- 535 ing three feet tall, with a flat head, large eyes, black body, 881 wings and claws (one is reminded of the spirit bird Engorori, which appears at the initiation of the Ovambo, or of the Neida Gamaseb of the Bergdama).

Some old ≠Auin saw two beings, one male and one female, 767 who looked like lions but walked upright; they were followed by children who looked like baboons.

Evidently masked dances, are involved here. The younger 535 men no longer see this Hise; the doctors explain to them that he 881 came, but could only be seen by the medicine men.

A special dance for Hise is an imitation of a bird's movements. In olden times the people also danced in pairs, while they sang in refrain: "Ostrich stomach, Hise stomach, hu, hu, hu."

The /Di dance is likewise dedicated to Hise. At this dance the men wear the dance rattles described above, as is also done for profane dances, but in addition they wear white or black ostrich feathers.

3. The Girls' Initiation

Among the Nogau when a girl has her first menstruation, 881 there is a celebration. Throughout the first day the girl must stay [343] in a closed, arbor-like pontok especially constructed for her. She is only given something to drink, nothing to eat. The women gather from far and near and perform dances around this arbor. These festivities last for five days, and only one man is present as a leader of the ceremony. During these five days the girl is regarded as "poisonous" and may not touch anything, not even

881 companions saying, "I dare not speak to you." The married
[867 women visit the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* and instruct the inmates
868] in various domestic matters, *e.g.*, the way to clean and tidy their huts, to remain quiet when their husbands are cross, to prepare their husbands' food separately from their own, to pick up and beat the kudu skin on returning home in the evening so that the husband does not sleep on the previous day's dirt, etc. They further teach them to gather wood, to make the fire, to take away the ashes and so forth. At the onset of the first menstruation the girl tells her mother or, in case she has no mother, her best friend (*!hosas*), who then reports to one of the married women, not necessarily to the *gei-khois*. She is then isolated in a small round hut which is
[343] completely closed in except for a small entrance. It is known as the *!hawa-omi* (hut for waiting) and is situated close to the *ǂkham-khoidi oms*. She is required to remain inside the *!hawa-omi* and dare not show herself outside. No fire is made in the hut. She is fed by her mother or, in the absence of the latter, by another married woman. She is not visited by anybody except the person who feeds her. No medicine is given to her. Daily applications of *!gub*, a red powder obtained by pulverising the bark of a tree, and of the roasted and powdered fat-containing seed of the *ǂerob* tree are made to her hair by the attendant. She may be given veldkos, but
[262] is not allowed to partake of meat. No man, not even the girl's father, may pass close to the *!hawa-omi* or attempt to speak to her. She remains in the *!hawa-omi* as long as the flow lasts. When it has ceased she informs her mother or the woman who has been attending her. The latter tells the
535 other married women and they all prepare to dance the
881 *!hawa-ǂnab* (menstruation dance). This dance takes place during the day and men may not take part in it. They may, however, remain in the *!!gāus* while it is going on or enter it when returning from the veld. The *ǂkham-khoidi* are also excluded from it. The *!hawa-ǂnab* may be continued for three or four days. When the dance is about to begin an old woman, generally the *gei-khois*, holding a jackal tail duster, takes up a position some distance in front of the *!hawa-omi*, and, dancing in one spot as if marking time, shouts *Ki-ri-ri-ri-ri-ri* to waken the initiate and to summon the other women. The latter then emerge from their huts and, dancing as they come along, take up position behind the *!hawa-omi*. Two of them dance forward, passing one on each side of the little hut, towards its entrance and, as they reach the latter, the initiate comes out and the old woman stops shouting. After covering her whole head and face with a duiker skin kaross (*!gan-tab*), leaving only the eyes visible, each of the women takes an arm and, the other women coming into line from behind the hut, all dance towards the old woman who leads the way to the *!hura-ǂgab*. Here they dance, the feet being thrown out sideways, always abreast of each other, with the old woman leading. Men are not permitted to watch the
881 dance. When the dance is about to end they return her to

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 Band 2. She was /Nai's second cousin (MoFaBrSoDa) and the first cousin once
585 removed of the groom (MoSiDaDa). The attendants were not selected for their precise relationship to the bride. They were the only young kinswomen present in the two bands. The girls sat down and chatted with /Nai for a moment and then stood up and, giggling and chattering, took /Nai by the arms. /Nai drew back. Then Xama pulled /Nai's arms over her shoulders, bent and took /Nai on to her back so that her feet did not touch the ground. Xama carried /Nai in this position to the wedding scherm, laid her down inside, to the left of the opening as one entered, in the dark shadow, and covered her over with the kaross. There /Nai remained. We did not see her again that night.

It is the custom for the parents to take brands from their own fires to light the wedding fire of the bride and groom. Presumably this was done, though I did not see it. When the girls arrived the fire was burning and a young man, a cousin of the groom, was tending it. The two girls sat down by the fire on the women's side.

562 /Kung men and women must sit on opposite sides of the fire.[1] They believe that if
834 male and female genital organs should touch the same spot on the ground the man's
352 hunting powers would be vitiated and the woman would get a sickness in her genito-urinary tract, not an ordinary, human, communicable disease but a magical one. The woman's side is to the left as one faces the entrance to the scherm, the men's to the right. The fire is always in front of the entrance if the scherm is built, but, more often than not, if the weather is good, or the people are travelling and staying
[342] only one night, or the wife is lazy, she hangs the family belongings in a bush and does not build a scherm. Then it is the custom to thrust two upright sticks into the ground to represent the entrance, so that the family may orient itself.

In the werf of Band 2, about twenty or thirty yards to the west, a group of boys had
159 come to /Gunda to attend him. They were all the young boys of the werf who
585 were approximately his age, two cousins (MoSiSo) and four of the sons of /Gunda's stepfather by his first wife. The boys made a show of catching /Gunda and held him by the arms for a moment, laughing and talking. Then they formed a line with /Gunda following at the end, walked to the wedding fire, and sat down on the men's

[1] This taboo reveals the association which, I
224 believe, the /Kung make between the hunting power
833 of men and the male sexual principle. Both must be protected, and sexual activity must be controlled and constrained lest the life-giving and food-producing force of men be weakened or drained away. During the period of a hunt a man must not have sexual intercourse—that is, while the man is looking for game and, after he has shot his little poisoned arrow into the animal, while he is tracking it for miles and waiting and watching for days till it dies of the poison. A hunt usually demands many days and nights of effort and privation.

[783] Too frequent indulgence in sexual intercourse with one's wife, even when no hunt is in progress, is believed to diminish a man's hunting power. Some
[841] men believed that once in five nights was best; others thought once in three nights was all right. Men who have the joking relationship constantly play upon the theme of excess, taunting each other: 'You do not know hunting, you know women', 'You cannot leave your wife long enough to hunt.'

The /Kung are less strict about another taboo. A woman is supposed not to touch a man's hunting gear at any time, because this would lessen his power to hunt. But I have often seen women touch assegais and quivers. Indeed it has sometimes been urgently necessary to do so when the children got hold of them, as, for instance, when the three-year-old ≠Gao, agile as a flea, took after us with his father's assegai, infuriated with us for some sudden notion of his own. There is a medicine called *gow gowna*, made from a plant, which may be rubbed on the weapons to purify them if they are touched by women, but I never saw this done and doubted if anyone bothered with it. The effect of a woman's touching the hunting gear is much stronger if she is menstruating. I assume they are more careful then.

/138 cont./

342 bushes and dispense altogether with any construction.

Tree houses are unknown. In any case, they would be possible only in the Kaukau Veld (baobab), since in the Auin region proper the trees are too weak for this purpose.

Each woman has her own windscreen. If she does not have one, she will live under a special bush.

[882] Young girls and young unmarried men sometimes live in special "girls' houses" or "bachelors' houses," separated according to sex.

34 Any kind of special buildings, like meeting houses, storage rooms, and so forth, are unknown.

514 There is little neatness in the vicinity of the huts. Special toilets do not exist. The sole consideration with regard to evacuation is to be hidden from sight. One finds great accumulations of feces away from the main direction of the wind. The practice of burying excrement, common among the Herero, apparently does not occur.

768 The pontok (windscreen) is by no means a valuable possession. After the owner's death the entire horde leaves the locality. Hence any question about the inheritance of the hut is an empty one.

342 There is no door, and it would not be easy to attach one, considering the construction of the hut. In this connection it should be mentioned that things are left carelessly lying around in the settlements, even when all the people are absent. In any 685 case a theft would be paid for with the death of the thief. Since [151] the Bushman knows the footprints of every person in the region, the culprit would always be found. In this respect the Bushman operates as reliably as the best police dog.

● 352 They lie upon grass covered with a few tanned hides. There 513 are no other household furnishings.

/139/ C. Food

372 The doro (fire-making instrument) (Fig. 1) consists of two round sticks of the Burkea africana. Several round, flat hollows

[Text continues on page 10]

/257 cont./

301 people that I did not find among the Heikum. The Kung of the Kaukau Veld had rings braided from wildebeest tail hairs as arm and neck ornaments, and had made similar arm and leg rings from twisted grass. Furthermore they wore strings of twisted bast criss-crossed over the chest in considerable numbers. In addition, in the Kaukau Veld I found neck rings of dried and braided antelope tendons and, in larger numbers than among the Heikum, copper, [439] brass, and iron rings. The latter are obtained by the Kung Bushmen of the Kaukau Veld through trade with the Ovambo [Ambo] and Betschuana [Tswana] in exchange for ostrich eggs and antelope hides.

Like their clothing, the house furnishings of the Bushmen are 415 also very simple and quickly enumerated.

Wooden pans of various sizes, without handles, are generally found in every hut. For the pounding of food, the Bushmen use a cylindrical, mortar-like wooden vessel with thick walls and a [412] very strong bottom. A heavy staff about 30 centimeters long and four centimeters thick is used for pounding.

For chairs, they use wooden stools which by European standards ●352 are absurdly small. They consist of two circular wooden disks scarcely the size of a hand and joined by two wooden rods. They stand about ten centimeters high.

There are plenty of axes in the villages. They consist of 412 small iron blades attached to thick wooden handles. The shape of the axe shows that the value of the iron necessitates frugal use of this valuable metal. The force of the blow, which in the case of European axes is produced by the weight of the iron part, is achieved by the Bushmen through a club-like enlargement of the wooden handle near the end of the axe. Side by side with axes that have a longitudinally-placed cutting edge, one also finds axes with a transverse cutting edge.

A common tool is the knife for removing hair from animal skins. This knife consists of a short, transverse iron blade imbedded in a wooden handle.

There are various kinds of tobacco pipes. The Bushmen, who 276 find a leaf tobacco in the bush throughout the year, are experts at making an improvised pipe bowl from a root tubercle in the shortest possible time. Large pipes made of the end of a kudu horn

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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[4] Seiner, op. cit., 298; Dornan, op. cit., 90; Wilhelm, "Wortschatz . . . der Hukwe-Buschmannsprache," 301.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

481 well as great loads of melons, all of which we offered again
482 and again to carry for them, but because, they said, they might want to stop for the night or just refresh themselves along the way, they would not part with their bundles.

The place we went to was called Ai a ha'o; it was the pan where we had seen the lion. It took us almost all day to drive there, and shortly after we arrived Dasina and Kutera joined us, having traveled almost as fast as we. Those two old women must have walked at four or five miles an hour all the way, over veld so rough that the trucks couldn't go much faster.

342 Before dark, the Bushman women had built a werf, a clear-
361 ing of grass for each family with a shallow pit to sleep in and a place for the fire, all four clearings under the branches of a single tree which would give them shade in the daytime. On
● 353 the branches each person hung whatever there was to hang, quivers, skin bags, or aprons, and these things swung in the cold wind. The women gathered firewood and lit their fires,
757 and Dasina asked Twikwe to stand on her stomach because
562 she was tired from her long walk and wanted a massage. Before they went to sleep the men and the three young boys
574 walked to our camp, about fifty feet away, to say good-night,
577 but the women stayed at home because at night all Bushmen women stay at home. A woman does not even leave her fire to go to her neighbor's fire three feet away because people will say that she doesn't like to stay home; she speaks loudly to her neighbor instead. Bushmen are a rather conservative peo-
[181] ple, and they are very moral in that they keep their own rules.

574 The smoke in the west that Gai had seen when he roasted the tortoise intrigued him very much. Again and again he said that it was people's smoke, and one morning he said he wanted to go over to it, to look for the man who was Wita-

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Khuan//a, the mother of the bridegroom. They claimed that Khuan//a was stingy— 159
and worse. /Nai's stepfather, Gao, had given a present of beads to one of his relatives. 578
A knife which was gradually making its way to him as a return gift had been diverted 584
by Khuan//a to one of her relatives. Khuan//a, some claimed, was 'like that!' /Nai's MoSi, /U, the wife of ≠Toma, said in a voice that could be heard across the werf that Khuan//a had 'borrowed' a coal from her fire one day without asking. At this, Khuan//a had with quiet dignity risen from her fire place and walked off to the water-hole. /U also said, but in a low voice, that Khuan//a, while she was still married to Bo, had been sleeping in the bushes with Gau till the people said to Gau 'What are you doing with Khuan//a?' She then left Bo and married Gau, although they were distant relatives, in some way we never could trace, who should not marry. Gau loved Khuan//a so much, /U sniffed, that he spoiled her and let her have power over his belongings. /U had no doubt but that Gau would soon find himself very poor. /U disapproved of /Nai's marriage to the son of such a woman but said that she would reconsider her position if the knife which had been diverted by Khuan//a were now given to Gao, as had been expected.

It never was, but gifts of ostrich egg shell beads and a blanket were given and Gao declared himself satisfied. /Nai's mother wanted the marriage so much she was ready to overlook the matter of the knife and they all started again in peace.

Nothing more happened about /Nai's wedding until the morning of 21 May 1953, 159
when we noticed the two mothers together building the wedding scherm. They had 585
placed it between the two werfs about twenty-five feet from the fire of the bride's family. The scherm was slightly larger and more nearly round and much more carefully built than the usual skimpy structures.

Next morning /Nai's mother asked me if I would bring the wood for the bride's [123]
fire. I knew it was because her back ached, not to honour me, but I felt honoured anyway and brought the wood.

All that day /Nai sat at a short distance from her family's fire, the fire that each [354]
family keeps burning in front of the scherm for cooking and for light and warmth at night. The fire-light is more of a house to the Bushmen than the scherm is. /Nai was covered, head and all, with a big gemsbok kaross of her mother's. She wore her usual beads, but no special regalia brightened the sombre grey-brown of the old kaross.

Just as the sun was setting, without speaking to her mother and stepfather, /Nai walked alone over to another fire, seven or eight yards away, the big kaross still pulled over her head and trailing behind her. She went to this fire because it was the [591]
fire beside which she had recently been sleeping with her mother's widowed cousin, since she had reached the age when girls and boys leave off sleeping beside their parents. Her old great-uncle was there. She sat down opposite him. He paid no particular attention to her and they did not speak.

By then the sun had sunk below the horizon. /Nai uncovered her head but kept the kaross tied around her waist and over one shoulder in the way karosses are customarily worn.

Presently two girls came to /Nai. They had waited till twilight was deepening into darkness because people sleep at night and a wedding is a 'night-thing'. One was ≠Nisa, /Nai's stepfather's daughter by his first wife. The other was Xama from

/139 cont./

372 are made in one of the sticks, and the rounded end of the other stick fits into them. [Figs. 1, 2, and 3 appear here.]

The first stick is placed on the ground and held down with both feet. The other stick is placed with its round end in one of the hollows, and it is twirled as rapidly as possible between the flat palms of the hands. As can be seen in the picture Photo. 19), the hands slide downward during this process, and frequently a second man immediately starts at the top when the hands of the first operator have moved all the way down. A kind of tinder of thoroughly dried birds' nests (weaver bird?) is placed around the bored hole. The fine dust from the twirling begins to smoulder after a few minutes, and the tinder is then fanned to a flame by blowing with the mouth.

[622] The "captain" (aichab) of the settlement sees to it that the fire does not go out. A "sacred" fire does not exist. Keeping the fire from going out is a matter of sheer practicality since twirling to make fire is, after all, fairly strenuous.

354 A few stones, which, incidentally, are not found everywhere in the Kalahari, represent the hearth. In rainy weather cooking is done inside the windscreen.

462 The woman does the cooking while the children help her. In exceptional cases the paterfamilias may busy himself at the cooking fire.

On occasion all the members of a family will go out to get water and wood. Construction of the house is purely woman's work. Bachelors' huts are likewise built by the women of the horde.

415 439 - Wooden cooking pots exist. Supposedly they are obtained through barter from the Ambo.

322 415 [439] The Auin either carves primitive spoons out of wood himself, or he obtains them through barter from the region of the Ngami [Lake Ngami?]. Frequently special artists at carving are to be found among the older men. The upper, concave part of a

415 [321] small turtle shell, whose lower, flat side has been cut off, often serves as a spoon.

These shells are also used as drinking vessels, and, along with hollowed-out tschama, they are the only drinking vessels that I found.

[36 cont.]

Cooking and Cooking Utensils

354 Lumps of surface limestone are generally used as hearthstones.
412 Here and there, as a great rarity, one finds a pounding stone of quartzite.

To pound the veldkost, small mortars, carved out of wood, with conical or hemispherical bottoms are used. In case the mortars become damaged, holes are made on either side of the crack, and the flaw is drawn together with bast strips and also smeared over with resin. The shape of the pestle, which is from 50 centimeters to one meter long, is shown in Figure 7.

415 Originally these !Kung had no pots and probably had no
[352] way of boiling anything. The usual manner of preparing food even today is to roast and grill it on and between hot stones. Nowadays,
[431] every horde owns a number of pots acquired from the Okawango.
[482] These pots have bast or tendon plaiting around them, by which they are fastened when carried on the march. The Okawango people
[439] gladly exchange these water pots, which they have carried with them on the waterless stretch, for food from the Bushmen in the area between Karakowisa and Nuragas.

416 Small cast-iron tripods are a very popular article. A
417 longish, crudely carved stirring stick, as well as a piece of hardwood for arranging the fire, completes the inventory of the Bushman kitchen. Spoons are unknown.

Clothing

291 The clothing of the woman, as has already been repeatedly described, consists of a front apron and a back apron, made of soft leather, and a leather cloak something like a pelerine. Usually she also has a carrying hide for the baby. Generally, the child does
[854] not sit on her back, as among the Blacks, but on the side of her hip.
[415] In addition, the woman has the large veld bag in which she keeps the
[412] finds from her collecting. On the march, the woman is equipped with the simple digging stick, pointed at the bottom.

The men are clothed only with the modesty apron and in addition

/259 cont./

342 are filled with grass. The door is a hole scarcely a meter high;
[354] immediately behind it the fire burns almost continuously, so that, at least for the European, crawling into the hut presents considerable difficulties. Since the Bushmen are often forced to
[361] move their settlements because of the lack of veld food or because of the water conditions, they not infrequently content themselves with incomplete huts, which are not closed to form a full circle, but represent only a part, a segment of a hut, as it were, and give only scant protection against the sun.

For the rest, it is astonishing how hardened these practically
147 naked Bushmen are against the cold of the night which during the cold season is very sharp -- not infrequently below O° [centigrade].
[513] Unclothed except for the loincloth, they calmly go to sleep on the cold ground near a small fire, exposed to the icy night air, a thought that gives chills to Europeans, who are unable to sleep without three woolen blankets on such nights.

Concerning the much discussed racial position of the Bush-
144 men, I have already remarked above -- at least concerning the Heikum and Kung -- that their descent from the Hottentots, as is frequently asserted, seems doubtful to me. The Bushmen's smaller size, of course, can be accounted for by the debilitation of the race through centuries-long unfavorable living conditions. What argues against the notion of racial affinity, however, is the anthropological fact that steatopygia is not to be found among the Heikum and Kung women, /260/ and, in addition, the lan-
197 guage is totally different.

I attempted to collect a sample of the vocabulary and some grammatical characteristics of the language of the Heikum on the Omatako and of the Kung in the Kaukau Veld, which I present below. In doing this, it became evident that the languages of the Heikum and Kung are merely dialectically differentiated, while they seem to have almost no relationship to the Nama language. The click sounds, to be sure, are almost the same as
[194] those in the Hottentot language; hence, / designates the dental
[104] click, // the lateral click, ! the cerebral [retroflex] click, and ≠ the palatal click. By ⁝ I designate the sharp opening of the glottis in speaking the initial vowel, which frequently occurs between a consonant and a vowel or between two vowels of the same word, and which does not occur in this fashion in the Nama.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

the ground and covered with grass. The description of the Naron hut given by Miss Bleek[1] applies equally to the huts of most of the other Northern Bushmen.[2] "The women do all the building here. The men may cut a few branches, but their wives plant them in a semicircle, tie the tops together with a thong or bark fibre, put smaller sticks in between them, and thatch the whole with grass, making a cosy little wind screen. In bad weather chunks of wood are often laid on top to keep the grass in place. The size and the care with which a hut is built vary with the season: in dry weather a very slight shelter suffices, just a little sloping screen perhaps made by sticking grass in the branches of a bush. As the rainy season approaches a proper semicircular hut is made, from four to five feet high, the opening to leeward of course, and when the rain really comes, the half circle is increased to about a three-quarter circle, often thereby changing the direction of the opening in accordance with the different wind. There is no door; the opening is about four feet high." The whole structure is easily put up, and is abandoned without misgiving. If the next halting place is near, the women carry some of the materials over; if not, new material is always at hand.

Among the Cape Bushmen light portable huts equally simple in make were sometimes seen. A few bent sticks formed the framework, which was covered with mats made of reeds laid side by side and neatly sewn together. The whole structure was hemispherical in shape, about four feet in diameter, and only some three feet in height. When the encampment broke up, the mats were rolled together, and used again at the next spot.[3] Somewhat larger huts made in the same way are also found among some of the North-Eastern tribes at the present time, e.g. the Hukwe and some of the Hiechware, but in general the grass hut is the prevailing kind.[4]

The floor in the interior of the hut is usually scooped out a little, making a sort of nest, in which the inmates sleep; this is lightly strewn with dry grass, which is often changed. In front of the hut is the fireplace, marked by a mound of ashes rising higher daily and sheltering the opening. Here all the cooking is done, save in wet weather, when it is often done inside the hut. At night a second little fire is made in the middle of the hut, or just inside the opening. Round

[1] Op. cit., 5.
[2] Cf. Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 81-2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 259; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 298.
[3] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275-6; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 43.
[4] Seiner, op. cit., 298; Dornan, op. cit., 90; Wilhelm, "Wortschatz . . . der Hukwe-Buschmannsprache," 301.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

354 513 Round this the inmates sleep, each curled up with knees to breast and covered [291] by the kaross, which thus serves as a cloak by day and a blanket by night. The ashes of this fire are swept up every morning and added 356 to the heap outside. The neighbourhood of the huts is kept fairly clean. Gnawed bones are thrown on a pile, then carried out to the bushes by the women, who also sweep the huts out with a branch, and clean up any mess made by the little children. No dirt is allowed anywhere near the encampment.[1]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. vi; *idem*, *The Naron*, 5.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX 10

well as grass chains and bracelets, berries and shells. Glass beads and iron or wire bracelets obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples or from European traders are also in great demand. The men usually content themselves with leather and bark bands, worn round the arm above the biceps and on the leg below the knee.

There is no special style of hair-dressing. The hair is as a rule kept in its natural form, although occasionally the whole or part of the scalp is shaved clean. Some women, however, uncurl little clusters of hair and roll them out with fat, so that they hang down a couple of inches, making a fringe round the head, while girls often tie small ornaments such as beads or shells into their hair.

Washing is altogether unknown, save among those Bushmen who have been much with Europeans. Generally both young and old rub their face and body with fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*, a sweet-smelling powder ground by the women from various kinds of aromatic shrub. Many women carry small tortoise-shells filled with powdered *buchu*, and use a bit of soft bird's nest or else a piece of jackal's tail as a puff (Plate XI). The face and body are also often painted, especially before a dance, not only by the younger women and girls, but occasionally even by the young men. The colours found are chiefly red and black, the former obtained from clay, the latter from charcoal. Both are mixed with fat, and the mixture is smeared on with a finger.

Hottentots

With the advent of European civilization, much of the original Hottentot culture has disappeared. Their clothing especially has been almost everywhere completely replaced by garments of European pattern, and it is rarely, if at all, that the old native dress can still be seen. But from the descriptions of the earlier writers it is possible to obtain a fairly clear picture of what the Hottentots wore before European clothing became so widely adopted as now to be their universal dress.[1]

The clothing of both men and women consisted principally in front and rear aprons of skin, depending from a leather thong tied

[1] The fullest descriptions of the old Hottentot dress are given by: P. Kolb, *Reise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 1719 (new ed. by P. Germann, 1922), 84–96; Fritsch, op. cit., 309–13, 357–8, 373; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 205-7; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 83–6; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 233–52 *passim*, 207–11 (decoration); Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 183–94 (dress and decoration).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

172 532 [386] Several different colours were used, the most common being red, black, yellow, white, and brown. These were derived chiefly from mineral ores—red and brown from hæmatite, yellow from iron pyrites, white from zinc oxide, while black was obtained from burned wood. The mineral ores were carefully ground down or pounded to a powder, which was then mixed with bone-marrow or animal fat. The outline of the design was first drawn with a burned stick, and the paint, after being moistened with water or saliva, was then smeared on by means of a feather brush or specially prepared tendons.

Various technical styles are also observable in the paintings, chiefly as regards the use of colour. Paintings in which only the outline of the design is coloured are reported from Southern Rhodesia, but are not known elsewhere. As a rule the whole design is filled in with colour, although sometimes the outline is coloured differently from the body. The design is often coloured a uniform monochrome, so as to present, as it were, a silhouette of the object depicted, with no apparent trace of shading. Other designs are in polychrome. Sometimes the colours are sharply separated and seem to have been used to demarcate the various features of the object represented. Thus in the case of the eland we frequently find the horns and hoofs coloured black, the head and back in ochre, while the neck, belly, and legs are in white. In other cases the colours are skilfully blended into one another, producing the effect of modelling. The best specimens of the art are all in this style. It seems, nevertheless, that in the cruder forms at least the artist laid more stress upon the drawing itself than on the colouring. We often find, for instance, that the various limbs of an animal are in different colours, and examples are known where a leopard or lion has been painted a deep red, which cannot be put down to the absence of the natural colour, as in the same scene there are other designs coloured yellow.

The recent investigations of Burkitt have shown that the paintings and engravings are not all of the same age, but that a chronological, sequence can be seen in style and technique. Moreover, different styles of art occur in different geographical areas, and these different styles are sometimes found associated with different stone implement industries. Burkitt was able to demarcate three such regional groups
172 of art—the Southern Rhodesia group; the Central group, occurring
184 in the central districts of the Union of South Africa north and west
532 of the great escarpment bounding the interior plateau; and the Southern group, found chiefly south and east of the mountain

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

837 the wives consent. This is regarded as a concern of the couples involved rather than a concern of society as a whole. One man said, 'If you want to sleep with someone's wife, you get him to sleep with yours, then neither of you goes after the other with poisoned arrows.'

The word */kamheri* was used by //Ao, one of the young hunters, to express his deep [572] feeling of friendship for John Marshall. 'We are such friends that we are */kamheri*', he said, but, as John had no wife to exchange, this remark had its funny side which delighted the men.

No actual instance of */kamheri* came to our attention and we failed in finding out if it is now practised. One man in Gam lent his first wife to a unmarried friend, one of the gossips told us, because he was in love with his second and did not care any longer for the first, but this was a mere deviation from the rules, not an instance of */kamheri*.

We heard of several irregular sexual unions in addition to the above. Rape did not appear in stories or gossip. Fornication must be very rare because there is practically no one to fornicate with. Almost all females are married except very young girls and leathery old grandmothers. Adultery is the usual form for irregular unions 684 to take. Adultery, however, is sharply limited by several deterrents. One deterrent is 837 the incest taboo, of course, which forbids extra-marital sexual relations as rigorously as it does marriage with persons to whom the taboo is extended. The same internalized sanctions induce obedience to this rule as to the marriage regulations. The same gradation of feeling probably exists, and we expect that people comply strictly within the kindred and among close affines and are no doubt less strict with name relatives.

Ease of divorce must exert a modifying influence on adulterous unions. If a [586] married couple really want to change mates, nothing need deter them but the general difficulty of extricating themselves from the web of responsibilities which marriage entails.

In a sense, the impossibility of maintaining secrecy exerts a control over extra-151 marital relations. There is no privacy in a /Kung werf and the vast veld is not a cover. 153 The very life of these people depends on their being trained from childhood to 182 look sharply at things and to take into their attention what they see, for they must observe the most minute marks on vegetation to distinguish from the matted grasses the almost hair-thin brown vine stems that come up from the edible roots. Hunters memorize visual impressions and are able to follow the tracks of an individual animal in the midst of a large herd in a way that seems to us miraculous. It may be a week after a hunt that they return to recover an arrow that missed, miles from the werf, remembering where it lay in the vast monotonous sameness of grass and bush. They register every person's footprints in their minds, more vividly I am sure than we do faces, and read in the sand who walked where and how long ago.

The /Kung value control of anger, upholding self-control as an ideal, giving it 185 group and individual approval and training for it. Despite this, volatile tempers 578 sometimes flare and burst out of all control. And always at hand are the little poisoned [411] arrows. They are formidable weapons. There is no antidote for the poison; at least our /Kung informants said they know none and told us of tragic deaths from the poison which would have been averted had they had an antidote.

684 Adultery, so exceedingly provocative of anger and vengeance, could be very

/139/

372
#11

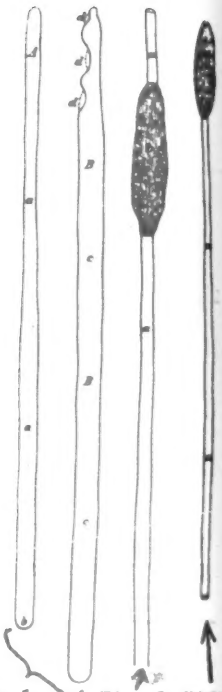


Fig. 1. Doro (fire sticks)
A. Twirling stick
aa, Long part
b, Rounded end to be put in bored holes
B, Stick with bored holes
cc, Long part
ddd, Bored holes

Fig. 1 Fig. 2 Fig. 3

Fig. 2. Stick with tree resin to glue the wrapping on the arrow
a, Stick
b, Tree resin

Fig. 3. Stick with arrow poison
a, Stick
b, Spindle of poison, which is wrapped

1/2 natural size
[as shown in original text]

/143 cont./

291 around the hip. The modesty apron with ostrich egg shell ornaments shown in Photograph 12 on the woman farthest to the left is supposed to have been traded from Makoba [the Koba?]. I have never seen a back apron.

c) Cloak of duiker or ibex hide. This always covers the buttocks.

d) Collecting bag (like the men's bag).

f) Digging stick.

Children's Clothing (see Photo. 22)

Girls: modesty apron and cloak.

Boys: loincloth and cloak. A collecting bag is carried by
[415] both boys and girls.

The children receive the loincloth or modesty apron when they are about five years old.

The articles of clothing are sewed. Holes are drilled with
294 an iron awl, made of any little piece of iron picked up somewhere,
[412] or with a bone splinter. The sewing is done by drawing animal tendons through the holes.

123 When I photographed some Auin women in the nude (1), I had
834

1. I am fully aware that the following is not to be regarded as a "denial of the sense of shame." I have mentioned the matter here simply because I could not fit it in elsewhere.

to take care that all the Auin men, who incidentally, had given their consent, were removed. Several Whites and Herero, on the other hand, were allowed to remain.

G. Weapons (see Photos. 25 and 26)

411
[412] f) Digging stick, also used for beating and as a throwing club.

g) Bow and arrows.

h) Throwing lance.

/143 cont./

411 All the weapons are both tools for warfare and for hunting, and in a sense they are also used for sport since contests are fought [526] with them. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

Fig. 6. Lance Points. One-half natural size [as shown in original text].

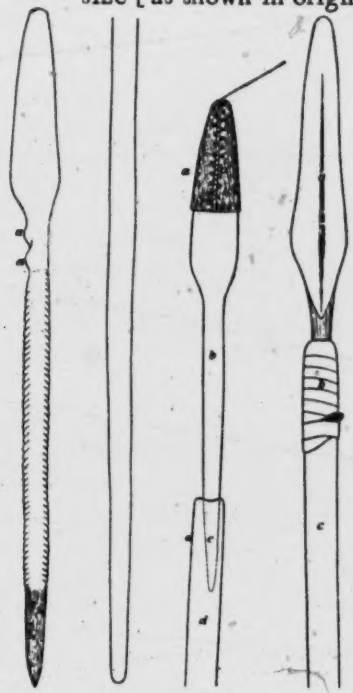


Fig. 6a Fig. 6b Fig. 6c Fig. 6d

[831] Fig. 6a. Iron point: a a, barbs. This is a "male" point; the barbs are the "testicles." The other lance points are "women," because they have no testicles (that is, barbs).

Fig. 6b. Lower end of a lance shaft, showing the tapering of a shaft at the lower end.

Fig. 6c. Iron point attached to the shaft: a, cover of sewed leather; b, iron part; c, iron part that is inserted in the shaft; d, wooden shaft.

Fig. 6d. Upper end of a spear: a, iron point; b, wrapping at

/143 cont./

411 the upper end of the shaft (strips of leather or neck tendons of a large antelope); c, shaft.

/144/ With the exception of the iron point of the throwing lances, all the weapons are manufactured by the Auin themselves. [439] The lance points reach the interior of the Kalahari from Lake Ngami through trade.

411 435 The lance point (see Fig. 6) is the Bushman's most valuable possession. One hardly ever sees such points in a settlement, even if he comes unannounced, but only the shafts that go with them. In this respect the Bushman is so suspicious that even within the settlement he always hides the points, usually by burying them.

[422] Every adult Auin possesses one or more spears.

411 The iron point is inserted into the wooden shaft somewhat loosely so that it can easily be taken out. The upper end of the shaft is wrapped with a strip of antelope skin or antelope neck tendons. The point also serves as a tool for handwork in place of a knife.

[482] When the lance is carried, for which a leather strap like a rifle sling is used, it is commonly protected by a small leather cover (Photo. 25i). [Fig. 7 appears here.]

The manner of holding the bow and arrow when shooting seems to be fairly arbitrary. I have recorded the most common methods pictorially (see Photos. 29 to 32).

The bowstring is made of animal tendons twisted together. The strings were always pushed up on one side and fastened at the other (see Figs. 7a and 7b).

Composite bows do not exist.

The arrows are made exclusively from reeds which merely need to have grown straight to supply the ready-made arrow shaft. At the upper end, where the loose arrowhead is inserted, and at the bottom, where a simple, ordinary notch is made, the shaft is always wrapped with a flat, narrow grass band. Sometimes places in the middle of the shaft are wrapped. The length of the arrow shaft varies between 48 and 52 centimeters.

Feathered arrows do not occur.

411 463 The art of making arrows and arrowheads is a common possession of all adult Auin. There are no special arrow makers.

An exception to this is the manufacture of iron arrowheads, which is practiced only by some individuals, usually older persons.

/144 cont./

411

Fig. 7. Ends of the Bow. One-half natural size [as shown in original text].

Fig. 7a. End with the Bowstring Drawn Up: a, bow; b wrapping of tendons; c, string which is drawn up with a simple noose.

Fig. 7b. End with Bowstring Fastened: a, wood of the bow; b b, wrapping; b, support for the string; c, bowstring; c^1, noose which draws up tightly.

Fig. 7a

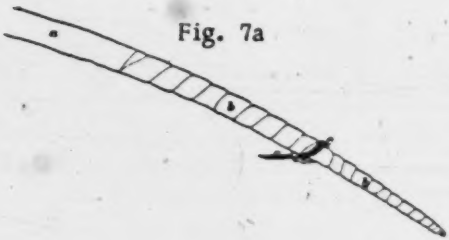


Fig. 7b

The arrowhead is a work of art carried out with the most meticulous care.

The bone arrowhead is supposedly made from ostrich bones. I am unable to name the tools used.

By means of the drawings in Figure 8 I have tried to give as graphic a picture as possible of the arrows and arrowheads.

Usually the arrows are carried together with the bow in a

/144 cont./

411 quiver. Sometimes the arrows are in a special quiver made of
[237] eland horn or bark, which is closed off at both ends with a leather cover (see Photos. 29 and 32).

The Auin almost always carries in his quiver a small container like the arrow quiver of eland horn or bark just described, in which he keeps arrowheads, poison, and other small necessities for shooting.

The notched end of the arrow is pulled toward the chest when the bow is drawn.

714 The war cap is to be regarded as the sole battle ornament. It is made of aardwolf hide (see Photo. 21).

H. Hunting and Agriculture

224 Hunting is done both individually and in groups.

Hunting dogs are to be found in occasional, isolated instances,
[231] [439] but then they are usually obtained from the Kaffir or Betschuana. The Auin maintain, however, that they know how to train hunting dogs. Collars and the like are not customary.

/145/ [Fig. 8 appears here.]

[422] I was unable to discover whether marks of ownership are applied to weapons and the like. On the other hand, I noticed that people immediately recognize their possessions.

There are no closed seasons on hunting.

The Auin prepares a kind of dried meat. Pieces of meat of any
251 length and width are cut very thin (almost transparent) and are dried on trees in the sun. This dried mass, as hard as wood and inedible to a European, keeps for weeks during the dry season. There must be an almost unlimited surplus of meat available, how-
[264] ever, if the Auin is to decide to preserve some, since he is accustomed to stuff himself to the point of unconsciousness. I have seen a single Bushman, without any help, consume a fully grown Klipbok weighing about six kilograms.

224 Undoubtedly there are especially industrious and impassioned huntsmen, as well as the opposite. I found some people who were absolutely useless on the hunt.

[Text continues on page 25]

Fig. 8. Arrows and Arrowheads.
One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].

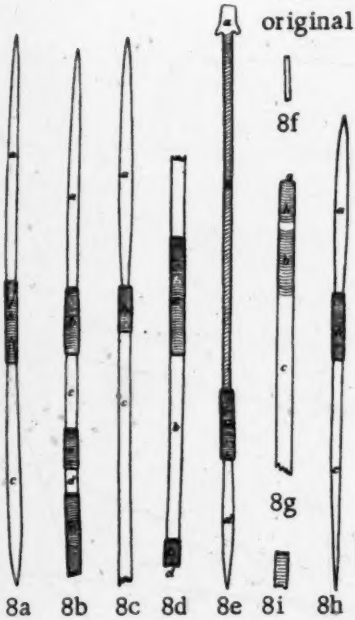


Fig. 8a shows the connection between the ends of the two points: a, bone spindle covered with a layer of poison; b, reed connection which is wrapped with a strip of grass; c, bone spindle without poison that is inserted in the shaft.

Fig. 8b. Upper end of an arrow shaft with poisoned point inserted: a, poisoned point; b, unwrapped reed connecting piece; c, bone spindle to be inserted; d, arrow shaft; e e, wrappings for the shaft (grass).

Fig. 8c. Arrow with bone point inserted: a, bone spindle; b, wrapping of the upper shaft; c, shaft.

Fig. 8d. Lower end of an arrow: a, wrapping; b, shaft; c, wraping; d, notch.

Fig. 8e. Poison arrow with iron point: a, sharp point with barbs (unpoisoned); b, iron part wrapped with strips of grass (presumably the poison does not stick to the iron); c, connecting reed; d, bone spindle to be inserted.

Fig. 8f. Strip of grass for wrapping.

Fig. 8g. Upper end of an arrow shaft: a, opening; b b, wrapping; c, reed.

Fig. 8h. Bone point: a, spindle to be inserted; b, connecting piece; c, poisoned point.

Fig. 8i. Notched end of an arrow.

/146 cont./

224 pitfall is put on the trail. I have never seen larger pitfalls for big game in the Auin region.

The jumping hare is held fast in its burrow (not pulled out!) [171] and pressed against the end of it with the well-known angling [411] stick of the South Africans, which among the Auin displays no special characteristics. A vertical hole is then dug from above, and the animal is taken out.

Hyrax. The exits of the burrow are blocked and then an opening is made (that is, dug in from the top).

Leopards are hunted only when several keen dogs are available. The animal is then covered by the dogs and killed with spears by several Bushmen. Without dogs, the Bushman dispenses with this sport, which every expert will understand.

The cheetah is pursued on foot by several people until it is exhausted and then killed with clubs and spears.

Hyenas are not hunted. They are smoked out only when a brood with young animals has been found in a hole in the ground, and the asphyxiated animals are then dug out.

The aardwolf is suffocated in his burrow by smoke and then dug out.

The jackal is not hunted since the Bushman supposedly does not get it anyway.

The wild dog (Lycaon pictus) is not hunted. I believe that in case of an encounter between the two the Bushman himself would usually constitute the game.

In isolated cases the skin of an ostrich, with a stick placed [237] in the neck, is used as a mask. The hunter slips into the skin after he has colored his legs with chalky soil. This mask is used [223] for hunting ostriches as well as other types of game.

The Bushman is unable to make other masks since he cannot [281] soften the skins of larger animals without changing their natural appearance. At the same time, the Auin described other masks to me so accurately that I could not doubt that their manufacture and use was known to them.

The characteristic sound of the young springbok, duiker, and klipbok is imitated with the lips while the nose is held with the index and middle finger.

The frightened scream of the young gemsbok and wildebeest is likewise imitated.

/147 cont./

223 noose is released when the animal takes the bait, and at the same time the gallows springs back and pulls the animal up in the air by its neck. Concerning the material used to make the noose, see page 41 . The arrowheads of the Auin are generally
411 poisoned. I have also found arrows which had only a single unpoisoned bone point. These are used for sport, perhaps also for killing small birds.

278 Manufacture of the arrow poison. Burkea africana (firewood of the Bushmen) is inhabited during the rainy season by a beetle (or a species of termite?) which toward the end of the rainy season pupates in the soil under the tree. The larvae are dug up, killed, dried in the sun, and rubbed between stones.

Roots of the thorny tschamma (Cucumis heptactylus Naud.) are laid on red-hot coals, taken out warm, and the bitter sap pressed out. This sap is mixed with the poisonous paste, and the resulting dirty, reddish-brown preparation represents the finished arrow poison. The poison is applied to the arrow point in a layer several millimeters thick and dries there.

278 The Bushmen greatly fear their own arrow poison and always carry the poisoned point hidden in the shaft. The poisoned end
411 is exposed only just before it is to be used. The layer of poison on the iron points, which because of their width cannot be concealed in the arrow shaft, is always wrapped with bast which is not taken off until the arrow is to be used. All Auin can make arrow poison and readily demonstrate the process.

224 The decorative scars described on page 16 are to be regarded
304 as hunting trophies.

The hunters supposedly tell exaggerated tales. Quarrels on
521 these occasions sometimes end in bloodshed.
578
[231] The only domestic animal is the dog.

The Bushman doctor is supposed to let blood for healing pur-
757 poses. For instance, in the case of a man who could not run well, bloody incisions were made in his upper thigh. On the other hand, I do not know whether this procedure can be described as "bloodletting." Scars from such incisions were shown to me several times.

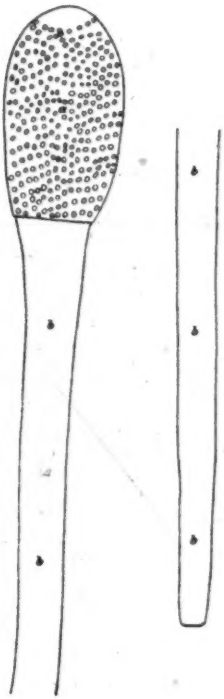
413 The surgical instrument is a little sharpened piece of iron.

/153 cont./

411
412

Fig. 12. Club. One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].

[177]

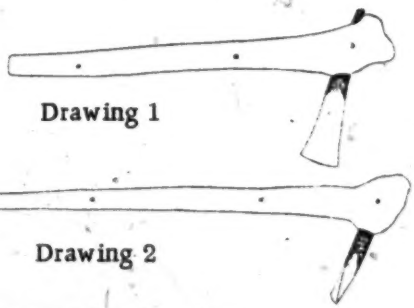


The club is an exceedingly rare imitation of a Makobe club and made by the Auin themselves.

a, knob of the club, showing burned-on decoration.

b b, handle.

Fig. 13. Ax. One-quarter natural size [as shown in original text].



Drawing 1

Drawing 2

Drawing 1. Ax with perpendicular edge:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

Drawing 2. Ax with horizontal blade:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

[439] The iron blades are obtained in trade from Makoba.

/159 cont./

278 752 [411] Poisoned arrows shot into the chest and abdomen are described as unconditionally deadly. Arrow wounds on extremities, as well as very superficial ones, are supposed to be curable under certain circumstances if immediate help is provided.

[751] There is no inoculation against arrow poison.

[827] An older Auin suffering from badly inflamed eyes attributed this illness to an arrow wound he had received many years earlier. His statement, of course, cannot be verified.

165 Malaria is endemic and annually exacts many lives. The number of cases resulting in death was especially great in 1908-1909. Whole settlements are supposed to have died out. Epidemics were unknown even to the "oldest people."

Venereal diseases are blessings of civilization, but evidently not yet widespread.

731 Famine actually prevails every year toward the end of the dry season, especially if the preceding rainy season has been poor. During this time, almost all the Auin are emaciated to skeletons. Death by hunger is not supposed to /160/ occur. After all, the Bushman always finds something to eat, even if it is only grass seeds.

756 The so-called doctors decidedly possess great experience in medical matters, which, however, does not prevent them from practicing considerable charlatanism (see Section T).

W. Time Reckoning, Astonomy

805 The day is divided according to the position of the sun. Certain time segments are indicated with great exactitude according to the position of the sun. If one asks a Bushman, "How far is it to the watering place?" he will point to the place in the sky that the sun will have reached by the time one gets there.

The concept of the month is known (gnui, "month").

The relation of the solar year to lunar months is unknown.

The Auin divides up the year, for which, incidentally, he has no definite, but rather only a very vague concept, as follows:

372

Auen

Photo. 19.
Manipulation of Device for Firemaking.

291
714

Photo. 21.
War Cap and Peace Cap.

411

Photo. 23.
Throwing
Lance.

291
411
412

Clothing and Equipment.

Photo. 25.

a through d, see p. 20; e, quiver; f, digging stick; g, bow; h, throwing lance; i, cover for the lance point.

291
301

Photo. 27.
Clothing and Equipment.

Auen

291
411
412

Clothing and Equipment.

Photo. 26 [see Photo. 25]

291
301

Photo. 28 [see Photo. 27] Clothing and Equipment.

411

Auen

Photo. 29.

Photo. 31.
Ways of Shooting Bows and Arrows.

516
524

Photo. 33.
Game of
Chance.

411

Auen

Photo. 30.

Photo. 32.
Ways of Shooting Bows and Arrows.

526

Photo. 34.
Wrestling.

[20 cont.]

101 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposed-
131 ly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are
[648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the
[631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief, the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notorious Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-
[197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do
[342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in
[301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh
[827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron
[411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations
[114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

[32 cont.]

224 go to the kin group to whom this territory belongs and take the
423 men to the animal. Then it will be carefully divided down the middle; the hunter gets one half, and the owners get the other half. Nevertheless, quarrels are common, because there is only one of certain organs, such as the heart, liver, etc. These con-
[184] ditions, however, exist only among the eastern !Kung. A Hei//om or a northern !Kung who is found hunting in the territory
224 of another tribe is regarded as an enemy. Boys' hunting is con-
[857] fined to lizards, tree rats, and other rodents. They ordinarily
[411] use the bird arrow, which is carved out of a piece of wood, but in contrast to the Ovambo, the older boys here already have
[223] poisoned arrows. Young and old pursue the hunting of birds with great enthusiasm; in particular guinea fowl, sand hens, grouse, and the Pau [?] insofar as it occurs in this region. These fowl
[262] and small bushbucks are the chief sources of the meat in the native diet. The forest region of the eastern !Kung is poor in
[136] large game. Zebras are almost entirely absent, as is the wildebeest; the giraffe is very rare. The eland, kudu, hartebeest, and especially the gemsbok are relatively more common. Hunting drives are organized to hunt the elephant or rhinoceros. First, the elephant is separated from the herd. As soon as it has been cornered, one Bushman after another springs forward and throws his spear. It is also possible to hunt the elephant with poisoned arrows; there is a number of thinner spots in the skin at the front legs, and the marksman places as many arrows there as possible. The elephant does not die; it merely becomes sick. The hunter rushes home to get some other men, who then go to look for the elephant with spears. Pitfalls are made in the vicinity of the watering places, and a pointed pole is placed inside them. The Bushmen along the Okovanggo also hunt the hippopotamus with pitfalls. The eastern !Kung maintain that in ancient times the hippopotamus was also found in their land. The sling trap is made
[223] in various sizes. The ostrich in particular is usually caught in such sling traps, which are provided with a piece of bone bleached by the sun. Small cats and the like are also caught with this trap. It is likewise placed on the trails of the bushbuck. Jackals and the like are caught by lying in wait for them as they come out of their dens and then beating them to death with the kirri.

[38 cont.]

412 415 Fig. 4. Wooden Mortars of the !Kung. (1/4 natural size [as shown in the original text]).

Fig. 5. Wooden Vessels of the !Kung.

Fig. 6. Large Wooden Bowl of the !Kung (probably imported from the north — Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 2158).

Fig. 7. Pestle and Digging Stick or the !Kung (greatly reduced).

Fig. 8. (1) Digging Stick with !Kwe; (2) Veld Hoe (Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 1278 and 1497).

301 lengthen them. Some people possess such a great number of these chains that they cover the entire forehead. Children often wear small rectangular pendants, and women have large, medallion-like round ones that are worn like a diadem in the middle of the forehead. Little chains of small ostrich egg beads up to five centimeters long are worn as ear pendants. Children are also given armbands and anklebands made of ostrich egg beads. Brass beads from ancient times are rare and are worn exclusively as hair pendants, as are copper beads. Glass beads are not greatly valued, and only blue ones are worn, if any. On the other hand, beads made from aromatic wood are common. Longer chains of alternating wood and ostrich egg beads and worn in the hair are insignia of the female doctors. The men have tight little leather straps at the wrists and ankles, which probably serve to strengthen the musculature in running and using the bow. In addition, they have a few armbands of brass or iron. Every man and woman wears a string around the neck, which has one or two appetite sticks (see below) and various talismans attached at the front. Finally, a little horn containing various kinds of medicine is worn around the neck by many of the men. The younger women and girls usually also possess a tortoise shell powder box of the kind described below for the Dama. Body painting is scarcely practiced; concerning tattooing, see page 56. The children occasionally wear armbands that they make themselves with grass or various fruits.

[752] [827] [411] [777] [303] [302]

[38 cont.]

Weapons

411 The Bushman's chief weapons are the bow and arrows. The bow staff as a rule has a round transverse incision and tapers off slightly toward both ends. The !Kung of the Otjimpolo Veld, on the other hand, use palm wood like the Ovambo. There the wood of the bow is slightly convex on the outside and flat on the inside with squared sides. The string is made of leather, so that in the case of these bows the bow staff is more flexible than the string. A bow of the Otjimpolo Bushmen was 115 centimeters long and 13 centimeters high. The bows of the !Kung discussed here also have leather supports on both sides and commonly are

[291]
[531]

Fig. 9. Embroidered Front Apron of Leather (!Kung).

reinforced with sisal cord. The bows of the Hei//om seem to be differentiated from those of the !Kung primarily in [39] that the bow staff is flat on the outside and convex on the inside. In lieu of the leather strips, reinforcements of palm bast are also often used. The string, depending on the region, is a waxed plant fiber cord, animal tendon (kudu), or fine, twisted leather. The length is about 120 centimeters; the height, 20 centimeters. There are also much smaller bows, however, 95-110 centimeters long.

[383]

192 411 The wood of the !Kung bows is called !howa. The arrow is made of wood. The shaft is called //gau; the feathering,

[39 cont.]

192 sometimes radial and sometimes in rows, is called !khui. The
411 incision at the lower end of the arrow shaft is called /gei. The arrow points are usually little triangular iron plates (//khai). The entire tip, including the binding and the poisoned part, is called !hui. [Figs. 10 and 11 appear here.]

411 The arrows are 65 to 68 centimeters long. They are usually poisoned. The poison, which looks like dark wax, is smeared
278 on little sticks and preserved in this way. It consists of five in-
[413] gredients, the most important of which is euphorbia sap. Only

[824]

Fig. 10. Buphane disticha Herb., Plant Used for Arrow Poison by the !Kung (Medley Wood, Natal Plants, VI, 1912).

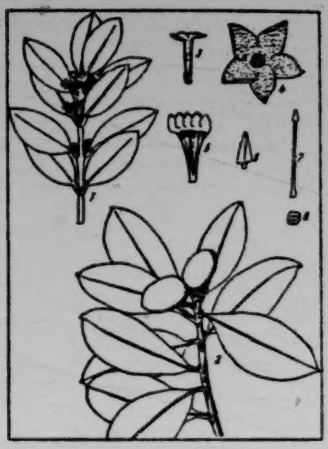


Fig. 11. Acocanthera venenata, Plant Used for Arrow Poison by the !Kung (Sim, The Forests and Forest Flora of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1907).

certain persons prepare the poison. They know that the plant poisons are not equally effective every year. Hence, a small bushbuck is shot first, then a larger animal (say, a leopard), and finally a gemsbok. Only when the proper results are obtained with all these animals is the poison traded.

411 The lances of the !Kung consist of a shaft about 160 centimeters long, which is greatly reduced in thickness toward the back end.

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire. [40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by
[439] the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be-
[422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should
[304] be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out
177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked
415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are
278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen.
805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions;
211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary.
[614] To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so
[888] great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements
[623] between the chief and the other old men.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 25]

411
284

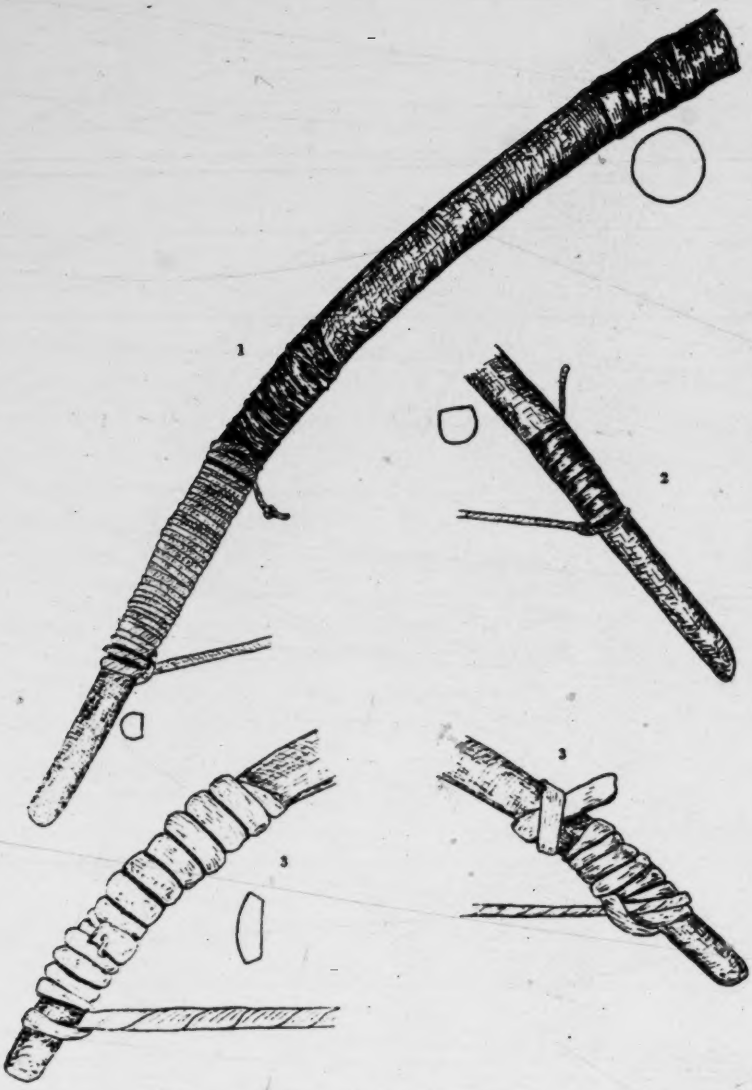


Fig. 12. Bows of the !Kung.

1. Keitsas.
2. Kuntsas.
3. Otjimpolo Veld.

[47 cont.]

752 burn the wounded person at many places on his body. When the poison smells the warmth, it gathers at these places; incisions are then made there, and the blood is sucked out by means of a cupping glass made of gemsbok horn. The wounded person may neither sit nor lie down; he must be walked about for twenty-four hours. After this time he either dies or is cured. The method helps only in rare cases.

Snakebite is the second great danger. If one makes an
751 incision in the lower part of the calf and rubs scrapings from a
824 bisob root into it, the snakes smell this and do not come out of
825 hiding. [Fig. 18 appears here.] When a person has to run great distances, bisob dust is mixed with fat and applied
752 to the legs. In case someone is nevertheless
(411) bitten by a snake, the treatment is analogous to that used for arrow wounds. Injuries to the feet caused by thorns are very common. Injuries that pass through the aponeurosis are regarded as deadly. They practically always become infected. Even though wound infections take a less malignant and a slower course than among Europeans, they nonetheless sometimes lead to death. The only medicine
(278) used is bisob powder scattered in the wound.

Fig. 18. Kirri of the !Kung.

756 Some doctors claimed to be immune
751 to snake and scorpion bites.

What Vedder observed among the Bergdama is reported in a similar manner by Schinz:

"With the intention of testing the latter characteristic, I one day persuaded an old sorcerer visiting us in Noi !as on Ngami Lake to undertake an experiment with 12 scorpions (Buthus randus Simon) picked out by myself and having an average length of eight centimeters. In order to prevent any possibility of deception, I put the animals on the various parts of his body with tweezers, on the hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. As a rule they then immediately and excitedly moved the long postabdomen back and forth and jabbed violently once or twice into the flesh of the guinea

[50 cont.]

756 than the smaller spirits. Their treatment is correspondingly suc-
776 cessful or unsuccessful. In other words, the doctors are vindicated in any case.

755 The treatment of illness thus follows two parallel paths:
757 one with natural means (medicines and the like), directed at the local symptoms of the ailment; and one with supernatural means, directed at the dsao that cause the feeling of sickness.

[756]
[796]
539 During the doctors' test the following song is sung:

[411]

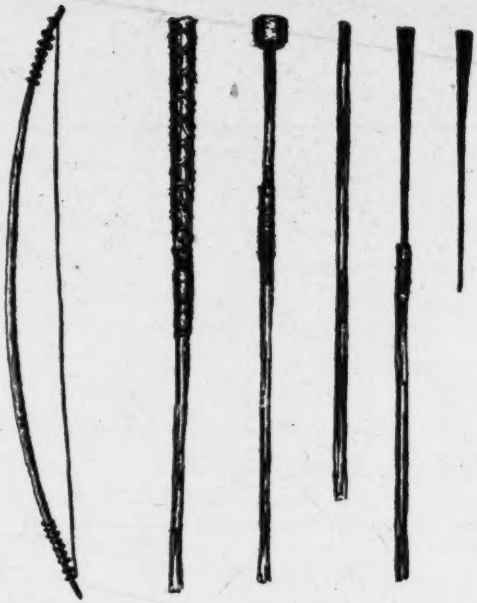


Fig. 20. Bushman Revolver of the !Kung (Foxhof; actual size [as shown in original text]).

e hehehe na ti //kau /goa dsao

During the treatment itself the following text is sung:

/o ma ga //goa ≠am /nai tha

He has no medicine yet, he must be thrown with the medicine.

751 Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) have the following to report
756

1. Die Buschmänner, p. 424.

[50 cont.]
751 concerning the witch doctors:
756 [51] "The sorcerer can protect himself against the malignant spirits of evil deceased persons. After all, he can see them and knows the means for defending himself against them. The ordinary Bushman has no eye for them, but he has a means of keeping them at arm's length. In a small leather bag about as long as a finger [411] he keeps a bow carved out of horn and numerous horn arrows stuck in a shaft of sour grass [Cyperaceae]. If he has occasion to fear evil spirits, he shoots these miniature arrows in all directions with his miniature bow. Now the evil spirits cannot get at him.

"Since in addition he has the belief that an object merely thrown in the direction of a hated person in some mysterious fashion enters that person's body and gravely harms him, he likewise uses his miniature bow to keep a pursuer or enemy off his neck by shooting an arrow, with a curse, in the direction where he imagines his enemy to be, even when he knows that this person is miles away from him."

Whereas I myself and the highly experienced J. Lunkenbein
411 regard these Bushman revolvers as harmless magical instruments,
[114] Seiner has a different opinion:

"The 'revolver' is a definite instrument of murder carried hidden in the modesty apron. The bow is ten centimeters long, the arrows are from ten to 12 centimeters long, and with the former they are put in a little bag adorned with beads. In addition it should be noted that the arrows, which are wrapped crosswise with little bands of tendon, are poisoned by being smeared with [278] little bits from the body of the arrow poison caterpillar. The Bushman ordinarily crushes a few of the caterpillars, which are available only in December and January, living on a few Commiphora shrubs (Commiphora dinteri, C. seineri) or as pupa at the roots under the ground, in a bone vessel with a little wooden stick that is always in the quivers; then he smears the arrow with some sticky stuff, such as wax or resin, whereupon he brushes the arrow with the viscous, slimy caterpillar mass, which, after drying, covers the arrow as a more or less thick brown crust. Up to a distance of seven meters it is possible to puncture the skin, drawing blood, with this miniature arrow; if the arrow tip were not blunt but pointed, like the one placed in the grass shaft, the arrow would

[51 cont.]

411 penetrate the flesh itself and introduce much more poison into the
751 wound. The Bushmen try to protect themselves against this treacherous, but apparently frequently used weapon by attempting to immunize themselves against the poison. During a period of from three to four weeks they make small incisions on the crown of the head, which they keep open in order to rub increasingly greater doses of poison into the wounds. The consequences are purportedly symptoms of a more or less serious nature, with fever and vomiting."

The Mandrake Root (1)

000

1. In this connection cf. Hans Bächtold-Stäubli, Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens [Dictionary of German Superstitions], Vol. I. The principal source for the medieval superstition is a passage from the history of the Judaic War by Flavius Josephus (born 37 A.D.). He writes (Bellum judaicum, VII, 6, 3; works translated by Cotta and Gförer, Philadelphia, 1838, p. 762): "The valley that encloses the city of Machärus on the northern side is called Baara and produces a root of the same name. It is flaming red and in the evening throws out red rays; it is very difficult to tear it out because it withdraws from the person approaching it and remains still only if one pours urine and blood flow (menstrual blood) on it. Even then death is certain to result from any contact unless the entire root is carried away in the hand. One can also get it in another way, namely: One digs around it in such a way that only a small part of the root remains hidden; then a dog is tied to it, and when the latter tries to follow the person who has tied him, he pulls

Chapter 7

The Bushmen of the North

114 Our best information concerning the Masarwa comes from Dornan (1) and Holub (2). In what follows an outline sketch will

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygrines and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

2. Holub, Die Masarwa.

be given of the culture of this tribe, based upon these two authors.

342 According to Dornan, the Masarwa once preferred to live in caves, where their ancestors had made paintings. The Bushmen in the Wankie and Ngami districts have plaited mats of grass [285] or reed, with which they cover their windscreens. Sometimes they make a kind of roof covered with grass; otherwise they have ordinary windscreens.

[532]
[172]

Fig. 21a. Representation of a Curing Scene. In the background, the female doctor who serves as oracle. (Eastern Cape Province. From J. P. Johnson, The Prehistoric Period in [113] South Africa, 1910.)

322 For the wood of the bow the Masarwa use very straight 411 little tree trunks. After the bark is removed, they are tied to a straight tree and left to dry. The wood is then given its final drying over the fire and is placed in water so that it will not splinter. The middle of the bow is also commonly wound with tendons. The bow is often greased and never unstrung. The finished bow is smoothed with a rough stone.

[75 cont.]

754 Among the Naron, according to Miss Bleek, the Bushman
411 revolver is also in use. The doctors fight one another with it. Such an arrow is secretly shot at the opponent's kaross, and through the magic emanating from the arrow, the enemy falls sick and dies.

8. Death and Burial

761 The Nogau have the following conceptions: Death is caused by Gauab, who steals the soul and makes a little Gauab
764 of it. The dead person is buried immediately; there is no dancing, only weeping. The corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on its side with the head toward the east. Only the sleeping blanket is placed in the grave; the weapons that were left behind are kept by the brothers. The food that the deceased was carrying with him is thrown on the grave. Then bushes are placed on it.

(775) In their opinion the soul of the deceased, which has been
769 transformed into a Gauab, wanders around near the grave; therefore they detour around it. When a Nogau Bushman passes the grave of a tribal member, he prays to him for help in hunting so that the children will grow fast and become fat. He says:

[539] "I do not know how it will go with me
With the food, how it will go with me with the food;
I do not know what I should do to get something to eat,
Let us eat and become big."

775 On the other hand, there is also the belief that the great Gauab who kills a human being eats the heart or keeps it in cold water and finally makes a new Bushman of it. Among the Naron
764 the corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on his side with the face toward the east. These customs are by no means always observed, however, especially when the ground is hard. The Naron do not fear the spirits of the dead, although the doctors
769 see them, as do those men "who have incisions between the eye-
787 brows." As we know from the Nogau, this includes all who have taken part in the boys' initiation. Women can never see such spirits.

Among all three tribes, old people are exposed to die.

888

AUIN
NAROM
NOGAU
HEI//OM

[76 cont.]

113

South African Journal of Science, Vol. 25, 1928.

J. Moir, J.S.A., Chemical Institute, VII, 1924, p. 28.

J. Moir and J. Lewis, J.S.A., Chemical Institute, VIII, 1925, p. 11.

H. H. Curson, Some Little-known South African Poisonous Plants and their Effects in Stock. Thesis for Diploma of F.R.C.V.S., 1926.

278 lives on the roots of an acacia. The Bushman carries several of these cocoons around with him, like cartridges, in an antelope horn. If the arrow tip is to be poisoned, a fire is made, some of the acacia resin that the Bushman always carries is smeared on the arrow tip, and then a cocoon is broken and its contents rubbed on the tip. On one occasion one of my Bushmen had overlooked a small wound on his thumb, through which the poison penetrated into his blood stream. The penetration of the poison was not very painful; he merely had a feeling "as though warm water was penetrating into his flesh." The arm was considerably swollen for a week. The others made numerous incisions and [752] scarifications with glowing sticks on him in order to save him. [262] The flesh of the animal killed in this way is eaten raw, poisonous.

278 Von François (2) reports that the Hei//om of this region

[113]

2. Von François, "Reiseberichte Windhuk-Gobabis [Travel Report, Windhoek-Gobabis]," Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, V., 1892.

prepare their poison from the milky sap of the Apocynacea adenium Boehmianum. When exposed to the sun, it first becomes violet and then black. It is kept in little leather sacks and in case of need is warmed and mixed with the sap of the Habas root and applied to the arrow tips with flat sticks. These Bushmen still [411] used grooved stones to direct the arrow shaft.

[76 cont.]

411 [192] The little bow (!naru) is made from the //ne bush and is much shorter than that of the !Kung. The arrow and the arrow point are called tschi. They have arrows with iron points like the !Kung, as well as others made of bone. The accompanying figures show the two types, which have already been sufficiently described by other authors. The arrow points found in older collections, on which the poison is applied not only at the tip but also in lines or dots of little lumps on the contact piece, are now no longer in use. The bows of the Naron are also small, and they likewise have two kinds of arrows. The arrow shafts are made of reed, which is used only in a few places. In addition, all these tribes have root-stock clubs. Spears (kuku) are bartered [431] from the Ovambo in exchange for ostrich egg beads. Bleek 231 writes [77] of the Naron that formerly they had no dogs at all, and Kaufmann reports that the ǂAuin have very few dogs. The Nogau had all kinds of mongrels, but none of any peculiar strain. Two animal stories should be told in this connection:

539 1. A large bird killed a duiker. Then the hyena came and took the duiker. The hyena met the jackal. The jackal said: "Hyena, you should not go where you want to go, otherwise bad things will happen to you!" But the hyena went anyway, and the great bird (!gui) came and tied the hyena's feet together and made a fire by its feet. Since then the hyena has black legs and dares not kill anything living. But the jackal also went stealing, whereupon the great bird seized him and held him with his back to the fire; since then it has a black stripe across its back.

2. The lion came to the watering place; then the frog came out of the water and mocked the lion. The latter wanted to kill the frog, but only scratched it on its back; the frog quickly jumped into the water again, but since then it has black stripes on its back. [Fig. 27 appears here.]

10. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The clothing of the man consists of the cap, made from the hide of the jackal, the jumping hare, or the duiker, and the loincloth, sandals, and the hide bag. In general the clothing of these Bushmen is not essentially different from that of the Bushmen

[77 cont.]

291 [301] in the north, but they have far more ostrich egg pearls.

11. Weapons

411 [439] The ≠Auin have the throwing lance; the digging stick is occasionally also used for striking and as a throwing club. The lance points are bartered from Ngami Lake. The upper end of the shaft is bound with a strip of antelope skin or tendons. The shaft tapers off toward the end. The lance points are distinguished as male and female. The male points have blunt barbs. The points are often provided with a leather cap. The lance points also serve as a knife and universal instrument. The spear points are kept well hidden. Among the Naron, spears 411 439 are very rare today; they are obtained from Ovamboland in exchange for chains of ostrich egg beads. The same is true of the Nogau, who, however, obtain their spear points in part from the Ovambo and in part from the Okawango by way of the !Kung.

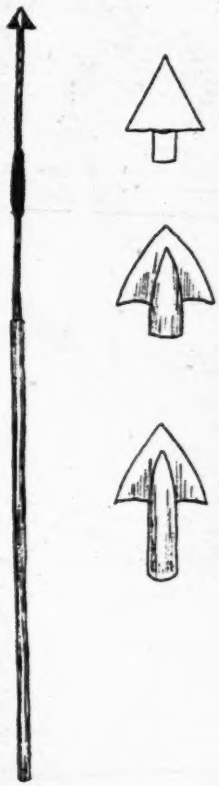


Fig. 27. Arrows of the Nogau.

The bow of the ≠Auin is small; 411 [283] the string is twisted out of animal tendons and is pushed up on one side and fastened on the other. The arrows are made of reed. At the bottom of the shaft there is a shallow notch, and the end is wound with grass. Similarly, we find a notch at the upper end where the point is inserted. The length of the arrow shaft is from 48 to 52 centimeters. The points are made either of iron or bone; in the latter case ostrich bones are used. The bone arrowhead is pointed at both ends, one of which is inserted

≠ AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[77 cont.]

(411) into the reed shaft while the other is poisoned. In other cases, the short arrowhead is joined to a bone spindle by means of a connecting piece made of grass, and this bone spindle is in turn fixed into the shaft so that the arrow is tripartite. The arrows are either carried in the quiver already assembled, or the points [78] are kept in small containers of bark or horn closed off at both ends by leather caps. Three bows of the Nogau had lengths (411) of 89, 95, and 100 centimeters. Animal tendons are used.

The battle insigne of the ≠Auin is a war cap made from the (714) hide of the aardwolf. The bow of the Naron is made of Grevia 411 wood and is about a meter long. Not only tendons but also plant fibers are used for the bowstring. The plant strings are a surrogate that the Bushmen are forced to use today due to the lack of game. The bow itself is reinforced at the ends with a binding of tendons or leather.

The arrow shafts resemble those of the ≠Auin, as do the points. The iron points are not removable and are called male. The metal is obtained from the north and is worked cold by the (325) ≠Auin. The Naron themselves make no iron arrowheads. [Fig. 28 appears here.]

Whereas during Kaufmann's time the ≠Auin did not have the kirri, the Naron have it today; its lower end is sharpened to a point so that it can also be used as a digging stick. The Nogau, though not too commonly, have throwing clubs that (411) correspond to those of the Dama and Herero, but are more crudely worked.

Concerning the Naron, Bleek also mentions harpoons with long, composite shafts, which serve to get jumping hares and the like out of their holes. This tool will be described in greater detail under the Dama [untranslated].

Like all Bushmen, the Nogau make fire by rubbing two 372 sticks together. The female stick is called Dane-di, the male Dane-≠goa. Firemaking itself is designated as Dalisi, one of the many strange words without clicks that we find among the Nogau.

Bushman wells are likewise used and are called //a-si.

3,2 The girls have a toy (gai-dum) consisting of several sticks of various kinds, which they wear on the chest. They drum on 524 IT WITH THE FINGERS.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 155]

3: Lebzelter--155 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
[78] NOGAU

411
283

Fig. 28. Bows of the Nogau. (1/3 actual size [as shown in original text]).

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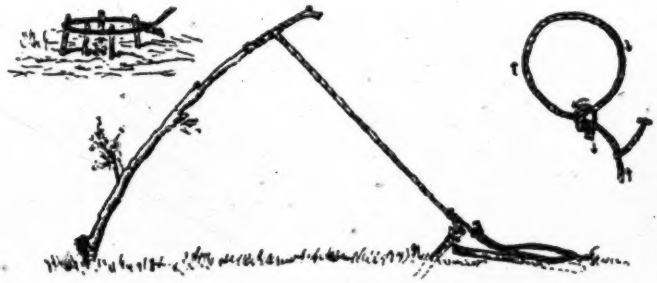

Fig. 29. Game Trap (from Gentz, Globus, Vol. 83, 1903).

3: Lebzelter--164 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

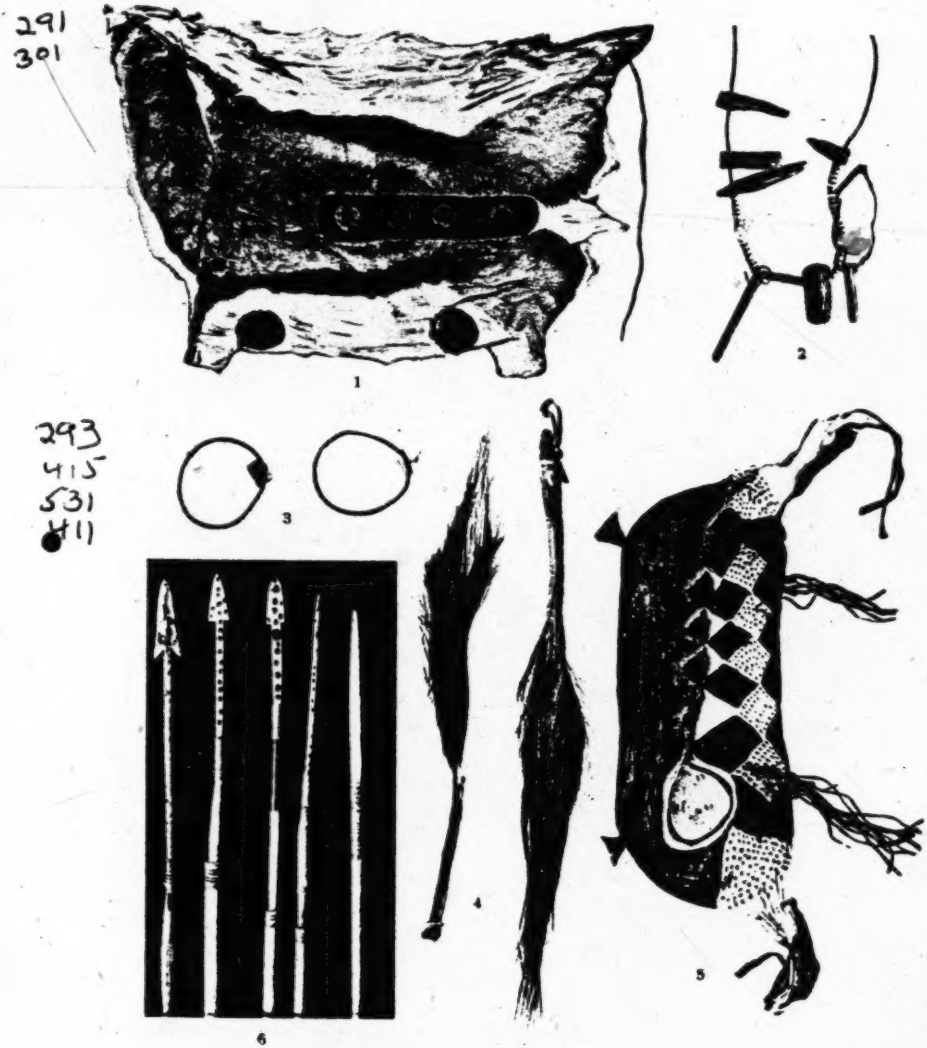

Plate VI

1. Back Apron (Betschuana), 2. Neck Band (Bushmen), 3. Grass Armbands, 4. Fly Swatters (!Kung), 5. Hide Sack (Kaunas Hottentot), (Museum for Ethnology, Berlin).

6. Bushman Arrows (Cape Province ?) (Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart).

/258 cont./

000 which is used for carrying game over the shoulder.

411 Still to be mentioned are the weapons of the Bushmen. These are limited essentially to the bow and arrow. The bow consists of firm, flexible wood which tapers toward the ends.

[283] The bowstring is made by twisting together separated strands of gemsbok tendons.

The arrows have a very peculiar construction. The shaft is a piece of reed approximately 60 centimeters long, which is feathered at the lower end. A piece of eland bone, approximately 15 centimeters long, which has been sharpened to a point on both sides and carefully rounded by filing on stones, is inserted at the upper end of the shaft in such a manner that it can easily be taken out and reversed. The front end of the reed shaft, which is designed for the insertion of the bone arrowhead, /259/ is wrapped with bast in order to give it the necessary resistance. The two ends of the arrowhead are treated differently. The shorter and blunter tip is left free of poison and serves solely for hunting purposes. The
278 longer and more pointed end is covered with a brown, resin-like poisonous mass. It is very difficult to obtain any definite information from the Bushmen concerning the origin of this poison. They shyly evade questions about it.

I was able to ascertain only one fact, namely, that it is obtained by making incisions in the bark of a tree called chi (Herero: otjindombo). The arrowhead is dipped in the sap of the bark and
411 heated over the fire.

In addition to the bow and arrow, one also finds simple, unworked kirris, and -- at least among the Bushmen of the Kaukau Veld -- throwing spears with iron points that are obtained from the Ovambo in trade.

Arrow shafts and arrowheads are carried on the back in separate leather quivers.

They also use simple, feathered wooden arrows with pointed ends for fowl.

The dwellings are as simple as the whole way of life of the
342 Bushmen. The huts are only a little taller than a man and about three meters in diameter; they are set up by embedding sticks in the ground. These poles, which form the framework, are joined in the center, making a dome shape, and the interstices

[262] It furnishes the Bushmen not only with an edible gum, but also with
411 the material for making quivers. These are made from the lateral roots,
824 which are a foot or so below the surface. A suitably straight length is exposed and cut through, and after the cortex has been loosened by gently pounding it, it may be slipped off the woody central portion. The tube so obtained is then covered at one end with skin. The roots of this tree, like those of *Acacia giraffae*, have a most unpleasant smell when cut, something which is not apparent in the above-ground parts.

X137 ***Burkea africana*** **Hook. (5332) Photograph 18.**

Eastern Ikhû Bushman -ik'u

An evergreen tree, with attractive drooping grayish compound leaves which are silvery when young. The tips of the youngest twigs are covered with a dense reddish pubescence, but this soon wears off and the older branches and the stem have a dark brown rough bark. The flowers are small but massed in showy hanging spikes six inches long and as thick as a pencil. They are cream-coloured and scented, and produce flat one-seeded or two-seeded pods two inches long. In the Transvaal the tree has a spreading crown. Beyond Tsau the habit was very different—the branches were ascending and shorter and gave the tree a slender appearance almost like a Lombardy poplar.

It is a widespread species in tropical Africa, extending from the Magaliesberg northwards to Abyssinia and Nigeria (Codd, 1951:61). Along the route of the expedition it was scattered from the south up to a point 171 miles from Molepolole, after which it was not seen again until 65 miles north-west of Tsau. It was found only on heavy sand, and beyond Tsau where sand and hard soil sometimes alternated at intervals of a mile or so the corresponding zones of Burkea were sharply defined. The central gap in its distribution is probably a climatic one, for there was deep sand in this area and conditions were apparently ideal for Burkea.

136 Burkea occasionally produces a little edible gum from injuries, but
262 it is more important indirectly because of being the host of at least two edible caterpillars, one being the larva of the moth *Nudaurelia bellina* Westwood. This caterpillar is in length and thickness slightly bigger than one's little finger. It is marked with black dots on a yellowish-green ground, with a black transverse band just below each segment and a row of stiff black bristles on each segment. It is recorded from South West Africa and is no doubt known to the Bushmen and eaten by them, but as the expedition passed through those parts too early in the season no specimens of the caterpillar were seen. The Bushmen did bring in the pupae of what they said was an edible caterpillar, and Mr. L. Vari of the Transvaal Museum was unable to distinguish them from the pupae of *Nudaurelia bellina*. One cannot, however, assume from this that they are in fact the same, for the pupae of different species in this group may be indistinguishable.

136 Another caterpillar found on Burkea and recorded also from South West Africa is the larva of the moth *Cirina forda* Westwood. It is black below and silvery or golden yellow above, with a line of black markings down the centre of the back. It is sparsely covered with long white hairs. Many other species of caterpillars have similar hairs which are extremely irritant, but these are quite harmless.

are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women 222
to the *||gāus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the *!heis*. Her husband now kindles the *!hei|ais* and, after having applied *‡norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it. There is no name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called *!gaw-ei-|un*.

Among insects, locusts, ants, scorpions, young bees and 262
honey are greatly relished. Frogs, lizards, snakes, etc., are also eaten. In fact, all living animals are eaten with the exception of the mole and the hyena, the former because its winter larder of öintjes forms a valuable and easily obtainable addition to the supplies of the Bushmen and the latter because it eats human corpses.

The methods used in the pursuit of game vary according 221
to the season, the year being divided into a cold, dry season 224
(winter), a hot, dry season (spring and early summer), a small, rainy season (September and October) and a big, rainy season (January to April). Snaring is resorted to only during the dry season in the case of such animals as guineafowl, bustard, aardvark, ostrich and small game. Pitfalls are not made use of except for hare and springhare as too much work is entailed in making them. Springhare and snakes are also caught by means of a long barbed stick which is passed into the burrows, the animal being transfixed and then dug out. During the big rainy season when the ground is sodden with moisture small buck such as duiker and stembuck are run down on foot and killed with a knob kirri. This method is not applicable to small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor. In the hot weather, however, young buck are easily caught in this manner as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. The gemsbuck does not tire easily. It is run down, therefore, only during the big rainy season when the soft ground impedes its progress and causes it to be caught comparatively easily. All other varieties of big game are run down in the hot, dry season. After a herd of game has been located one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly until it is exhausted and brought at bay, when it is killed with assegaai.

Bow and poisoned arrows are used all the year round. These 184
weapons differ considerably in character in various localities. 411
The Kalahari bow is small compared with that used by the *!Kūng* of the Oschimpoloveld, and *Hei-||om* of the Etosha Pan region; the arrow consists of a reed shaft, bone foreshaft and bone or iron tip, whereas the latter use arrows with feathered wooden shafts and iron tips only. The poison also 184
varies in different localities. In southern Namaqualand it 278
is constituted of a mixture of plant juice (euphorbia), snake poison, scorpions and spiders; in the southern and central

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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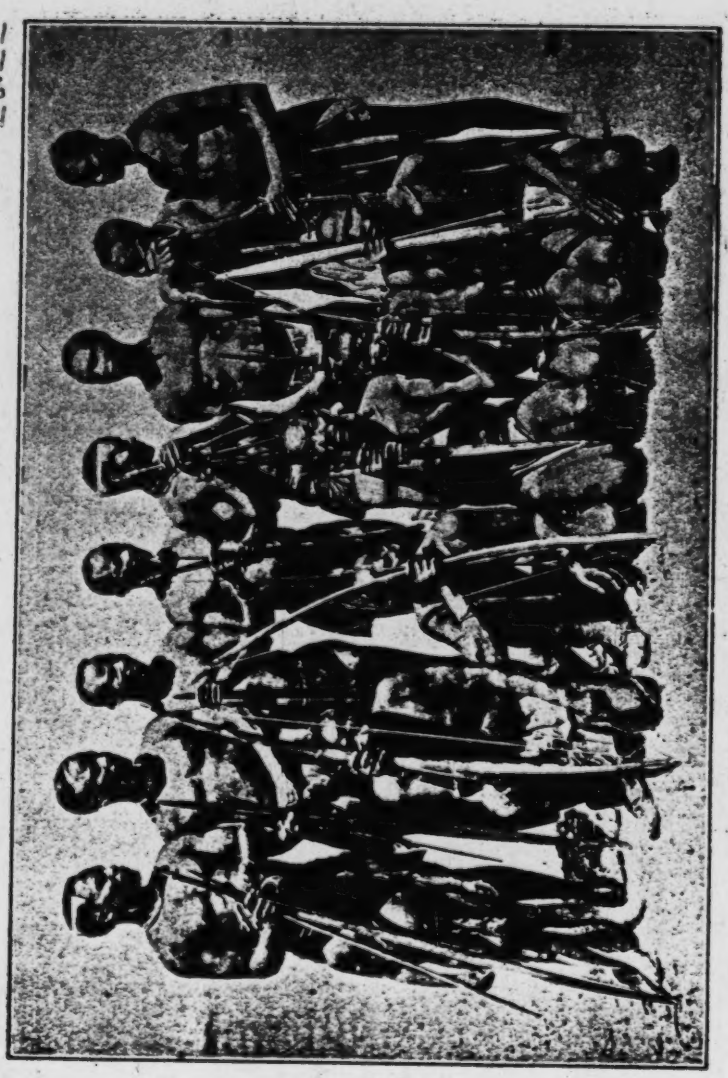

Wakeddi Bushmen (Hei //om).
N.W. Ovamboland.

[FACING p.100]

136 the great veld fires had burned away the dry grass farther in the north, causing new green grass to spring up, luring the antelope to come there. We saw fires very near us and we wondered if the Bushmen had followed the game to the north.

361 609 One day we came to a tiny, low forest where we decided to camp for the night. As we searched among the little trees for firewood, we came upon three scherms, three little huts, built by Bushmen and abandoned very recently. The ashes of the fires were still warm. The people who lived there had surely heard us and had run away, leaving many of their possessions behind. We found a pot, burned black from use, a [411 412 415 301] few white beads, a quiver with arrows, and a digging-stick, which is a branch a few feet long with the bark peeled off and the twigs trimmed away, sharpened at one end and used by Bushmen as a spade to break the hard ground when they dig roots. We then found footprints made by the people when they had rushed off in all directions; and later, as we followed the tracks, we even found the prints of hands and knees where someone had crawled hastily across an open place.

609 The discovery of these huts made us very hopeful, as we had traveled much farther than we had expected. We felt confident that Gishe, who had been born near our very campsite, would be able to track the people and find them, or that they would be plagued by curiosity and finally visit us. They did not, however; nor did they come back for their possessions, nor was Gishe able to find them. He had been living on a farm for many years and was no longer an expert tracker; and after the night dew had fallen during the evening that we found the werf, the tracks were old.

Of course, it was useless for us to wander around the veld hoping to stumble upon fresh tracks, although we tried the following day without success. We also sent Gishe to look for

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

281 skins with Bakalahari people for tobacco when we had gone and when the tobacco we had given him had all been used. We asked how much he would get and he measured an imaginary pile in the palm of his hand—not much for four or five days' work, although the skins of Delalandes foxes are quite small.

136 There were Delalandes foxes living not far from Ai a ha'o, a colony of them, for they always live together. I saw them often and they were charming creatures, fuzzy with huge ears and black stockings. I have always admired them, for although they have no defenses, can neither run fast nor fight, they are not afraid to go mousing far from their burrows. Then, when they are surprised by a menace, they have to run home, and they start off all together and run and run, humping on and on at an even pace, neither speeding nor slacking, until long after you first saw them they disappear into their holes. They are humble creatures, but persistent and brave. One member of our expedition hunted them for months with rifle and shotgun, trying to get a specimen for a museum in the United States, but I am glad to say he never succeeded. Ukwane caught them, though, the easy way. He set five snares for them at five mouse-runs in the grass; five foxes strangled in the snares, and Ukwane came around the following day to gather them up.

123 We filmed Ukwane working the skins. Then we found the
825 shoulder blade of the gemsbok we had shot weeks ago still
321 lying in the werf and we asked Gai to make an arrowhead out
● 411 of it so we could film that, too. It was the right kind of bone, the kind that Bushmen use. The small antelope and even some of the larger ones, such as springbok and wildebeest, have bones which are too fragile to penetrate another antelope's heavy hide. Gai agreed to make the arrow; he broke off the scapular spine and pushed it into a fresh tsama melon to

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

let it soak. When it was moist all the way through he called to us and we then filmed him making the arrow. 123 825 321 411

We took a long time setting up the cameras, reading light meters, focusing the lenses, and finally took a picture with the still camera. To our astonishment, when the shutter clicked Gai let out a great huff of breath. One of the interpreters must have told him at some time to be absolutely still, and he had begun holding his breath when he had first seen the camera. We thanked him and told him he need never do it again, but we laughed and he was embarrassed.

Always, Bushmen were wonderful people to film. They were totally unselfconscious, never looked at the camera, and, furthermore, had infinite patience. They would stop what they were doing, wait, start again and repeat what they had done before, making each repeated action seem miraculously as if it were being done for the first time. But on this occasion Gai got bored. He had a quiverful of arrows anyway, and while he waited for us to load the camera the arrow he was working got brittle and dry. When this happened he had to suck it until it was moist again, then whittle some more.

He made the foreshaft of the arrow first, chopping with his knife to hack the rough shape of it, pausing occasionally to hone the knife blade on the tough sole of his foot, then cocking his head and squinting down the blade to see the edge. He then carefully whittled the head, leaving a tiny spine up the middle for strength but shaving the edges so thin that you could see light through them. As he worked, though, he yawned and sighed with boredom and now and then he would pause to sing a nonsense song, "bibibi di bo," by flapping his lower lip with his finger.

When the arrowhead was finished he fitted it into a reed shaft exactly the right size and bound it in place with a bit of fine sinew which he had also sucked to moisten. Then he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

411 turned the arrow over and over, sighting down its length to
123 see if it was straight. It was.
825
321

Gai then surprised us somewhat by taking from his hunting-bag twelve round nut-like tiny shells which we recognized as the cocoons or pupa cases of the poison grubs, the source of poison for the Bushmen's deadly little arrows. Gai said he would poison his arrow, a process which he seemed to find more interesting than making it, and we said we would be very glad to see. We wondered where he had got the grubs, for he and Ukwane had both told us that there were no poison grubs anywhere near Ai a ha'o, and he said he had received them from the people whom we had met in the Okwa Omaramba, as they had plenty there.

We regretted very much that we had never seen a tree or shrub that houses the poison grubs of the Gikwe, and that we had never been able to catch one of the adults of the beetle that in its pupa stage is poisonous. Gai said that his grubs came from between the roots of a bush, called in Gikwe simply a poison bush. We do not know if the grubs are the same as the grubs used by Kung Bushmen, which live among the roots of a tree, called by the Kung a poison tree, called by us marula kaffra. The grubs of the Kung are from the beetle *diamphidia simplex*, which lays its eggs on the leaves of the tree. Once, all in one afternoon at a single tree of Kung Bushmen, I was shown by a young hunter the yellow eggs on a leaf, the young larvae just hatched, which the hunter said crawl down the tree under the bark to pupate in the earth among the roots, and the pupae of this beetle.

It has always amazed me that the Bushmen ever discovered these beetles, which are only one species among thousands in South Africa, and which the Bushmen say are poisonous only in their pupa stage. The pupae themselves are

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

825 mash the insides, then pull off the head and squeeze the in-
278 sides out like toothpaste from a tube. Both kinds of poison are equally good, they say.

Perhaps the two types of pupae are the pupae of two different kinds of beetles. Perhaps they are from the same beetle but in different stages of development. Perhaps they really are males and females, as Bushmen are often scientifically
[821] accurate, but, as Bushmen also have male and female rain clouds, perhaps not.

[439] Kung Bushmen, who use metal arrows obtained by trading
824 animal skins for wire with the Bantus, have a complicated
825 system of poisoning in which they use several ingredients for
278 the poison paste. One of these is a binding fluid, used because the pure poison squeezed from the grub will not adhere well to metal but must be made binding and sticky. The binding material comes from the bark of a tree. They chew
[415 the bark thoroughly and spit the mash into a little mortar
237] made from the knee bone of an antelope, a nice little cup, into which the Bushmen have squeezed the milky juice of sansevieria plants, got by wringing the heavy, thick leaves. This juice has an irritating effect when it is dissolved in a wound and causes the antelope to rub and scratch its wounded spot against a tree, which stimulates circulation in the area, which carries the poison more quickly through the body, which hastens death.

The paste in the mortar is thoroughly mixed, then smeared with a straw on the foreshaft of arrows, never on the head, for if the sharp edges of the head were poisoned any child might accidentally nick himself and die. When the arrow is poisoned it is propped up by a fire and the poison is allowed to dry into a shiny dark paste, to be melted again by the
411 moisture and warmth of an antelope's flank.
825
278 Gai had stored his poison cocoons in a tiny bag inside his

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

hunting-bag, and when he came to poison his arrow he took them all out and felt them, shook them, to see if they were fresh. Then he took his arrow, his cocoons, and a scrap of leather he had been saving which was so thin and ragged it had very little use, and, moving all these things to a place in the grass far away from the werf, he sat down to work. He did not work in the werf because a drop of poison might be spilled and months later would still be dangerous.

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Gai first spread out his rag as a work table and arranged his cocoons upon it. Then he called Witabe, who was watching from the werf, and asked for a fire, which Witabe brought in the form of a few sticks in one hand and a live coal from one of the werf fires in the bare palm of his other hand.

At last Gai was ready and his fire burning. After inspecting his fingers carefully for cracks in the skin and telling us to sit upwind from him so that no drops of poison would blow on us, he scratched open one of the cocoons. The shell was as brittle as a little seed pod. It opened easily and Gai fished inside carefully with a straw, dragging out the grub, which struggled feebly with one slight, almost imperceptible convulsion and then lay alive but motionless, curled in a U on the palm of Gai's hand. The cocoon was small and the grub must have filled it entirely, for, once outside, the grub seemed twice as large as its casing. It was a yellow one, like the kind the Kung call males, but I cannot say for certain that it was exactly the same.

Gai laid it across his thumbnail and tapped it gently, mixing the insides. Then he twisted off the head, squeezed the body, forced the paste inside onto the shaft of his arrow, and smeared it evenly with his straw. Gikwe Bushmen do not have to use a binding fluid, for their bone arrows hold the poison very well.

After the foreshaft was coated evenly all around with the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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GiKwe

411 poison of several grubs, Gai dried the arrow by the fire, then
825 coated the foreshaft again. In all, he used ten grubs, all that
278 he had except two which were found to be shriveled and dead. The last coating he did not smear; pulling off the grub's head, he dotted the arrow with little spots of poison. He did not poison the arrowhead but only the foreshaft.

When the arrow was finished and the poison dried to lacquer on the shaft, Gai carefully collected all the cocoons and all the grub skins and burned them in the fire, keeping out of the smoke. He then called for a fresh tsama melon, which Witabe brought him and which he used to wash his hands. At last he put his arrow in his quiver and lit his pipe. He was through.

411 While we were there with the camera set up and loaded
184 we asked Gai to demonstrate for us the way he would shoot a bow, which he did, and we were surprised to see that the Gikwe, who use bows of the same size and shape and arrows of the same size as the Kung's, have a different arrow release. The Kung grip the arrow between the thumb and the side of the forefinger as they draw back on the string, but Gai gripped it between the first two fingers, holding his thumb back. He said that all other Gikwe do the same.

283 Ukane called to us from the werf and said that since we were here he would show us how a Gikwe Bushman makes a string. We went over to him, and he did make a string for us by pulling the tough fibers out of aloes and rolling them together on his thigh, leaving just enough fiber unwound at the end to splice with the next rolled section. The string was so strong that when he jerked it between his hands it neither broke nor raveled. It took him only a few minutes to make it,
[286] and he said that when he had many such strings he would tie them together to make himself a net.

As he worked, for the sake of efficiency, he held the fibers

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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chance to look at everyone else and see who was there, we 621
found among the Bushmen one entire band, six people, who once had lived at Gautscha. These were an old man, his two daughters, his son, his grandson, and his son-in-law, a man 551
named Lazy Kwi. Because Kung Bushmen have relatively few names in use, resulting in the fact that many, many people have the same name—one man we knew had two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama, called after his mother, whose name was also Xama—they distinguish their various Xamas and Kwis with nicknames.

Lazy Kwi was a kind, warmhearted man, devoted to his family, and was named Lazy, an insulting name, only because he was not a good hunter. He was heavy-footed, there- 224 262
fore noisy, and not an excellent shot; but he was a good trapper and got meat for his family by snaring birds and lizards. But because he did not hunt he never owned large shares of meat and ate only what came to him by the Bushmen's system of dividing, which put him in the role of poor relation and sometimes forced him to eat what others would not touch. Once he had suppressed his pride and eaten a badger. Although the other Bushmen had turned up their noses at this rank meat, he had said: "I am the badger-eating man," laughing off their scorn to hide his shame. He had eaten it sadly, and the sweet taste of it had sickened him and had made him vomit and retch for the rest of the day. Luckily for 224 [411]
his family, his father-in-law made beautiful arrows and in the hunting system of Bushmen the man who gives or lends the arrow with which a buck is shot is automatically the owner of a large share of the meat. His father-in-law often lent arrows and often got meat. In fact, the old man had a domi- 888
nant voice in the running of the family, for though old men 621
may be aged and consumptive, those younger than they do what they say. Far from being derogatory, "Old" is a term of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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I sometimes received presents of gum from trees, or soft, sweet caterpillars.

Toma the leader.

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[p. 176(B)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Crooked Kwi and his wife, who once had run away from him.

Dikai made a bow from a branch, an arrow from a reed, and gave them to her younger son.

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[p. 176(C)]

174 place, and stayed. In *Nyae Nyae*, the !Kung have since lived on unchanged —replacing only their bone arrow-
[411 points with metal ones, made from
177] the nails and wire that filtered into the desert after the Europeans' entry into South West Africa.

178 The !Kung nation cannot so live for much longer. Already their last lands are being occupied by the Herero nation—Bantu-speakers—who say: "The Bushmen are like our children. We feel obligated to care for them." It seems likely that, in a few years, these lands will be farmed by white people. Then, if the past of other Bushmen is any omen, some !Kung will become farm laborers, some will contract syphilis, some will die and some will breed. Few will marry.

000 So much for the little history and the brief geography. How do the !Kung live in *Nyae Nyae?* Human ecology is the study of the relation-

HUNTSMEN OF NYAE NYAE

The !Kung still practice man's oldest craft

By John Marshall

224 481 151 HUNTING is the work of men. !Kung hunters range the land, seeking the agile game. The men walk rapidly, never lowering their eyes, making sure of the awkward ground with their dextrous feet. They glance swiftly over the distances of the country and, with their good vision and knowledge of what to look for, see any moving thing. As girls learn 224 868 gathering, boys learn most of hunting on their own. They hunt little birds in the grass around the *werft* houses. They impale beetles with tiny arrows shot from toy bows. Tracking, which is the most difficult part

[411 482 415]

Chief weapons of !Kung are bow and poisoned arrows (in quiver, above).

[p. 45]

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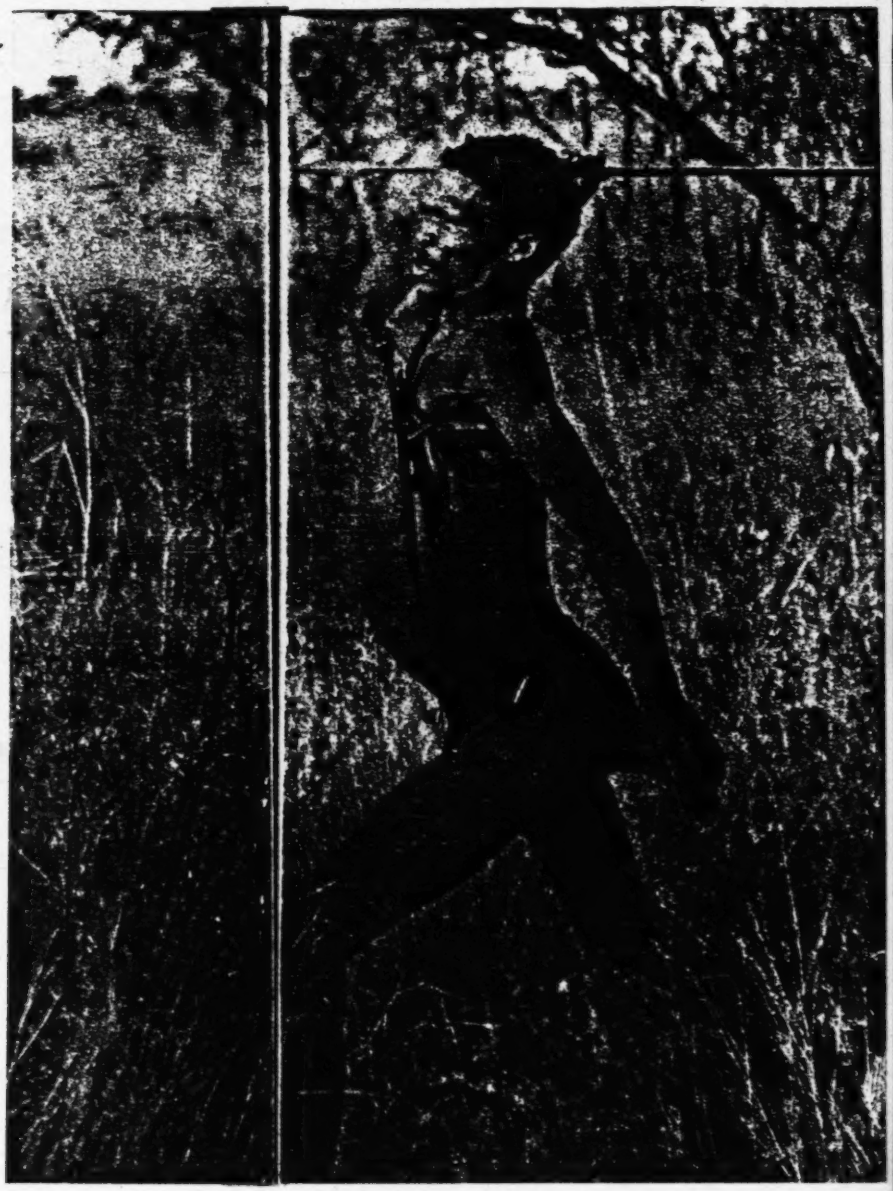

At end of chase, with quarry stricken, spears may be used on big game.

[p. 47]

224 animal will have to decide what to do. I have seen a man, using this principle, run crouched across a perfectly open flat, with grass no higher than his knees, and come within twenty yards of a wildebeest who was watching him all the time. Of course the men use cover when they can, but they use it quickly and deftly, keeping on their feet and running bent and bunched so that their arms will not wave and attract unnecessary attention. Although their arrows are true and straight, they are unfeathered and therefore not very accurate. At fifty yards, a !Kung hunter can only feel sure of hitting a kudu somewhere. [411]

Among the less frequently used techniques of hunting are trapping, the use of blinds built near the pans (manned at night during the rains) and a technique of running down fat elands in the dry season when, what

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BAGS FOR FOOD, above, like eggshells for water, give !Kung some freedom in moving. Food may be brought to water or water carried far into the desert.

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poison-bearer, its cycle is somewhat as follows: the beetle lays its eggs in the Murula tree leaves. Hatching in the rains, the grubs migrate down the trunk, progressing through a number of growth stages. Finally, they make their cocoons under the ground near the tree. In these cocoons, they struggle through metamorphosis and emerge as small, bravely-colored beetles in the New Year's rains, providing the Bushmen have not already dug them up. The hunters know the particular trees frequented by the beetles and make expeditions to them at least twice a year to replenish their supply. Then the grubs are dug up, and used on the spot or kept in their cocoons, depending on the man's needs.

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The poisoning of !Kung arrows is a long process, with a number of variations. The most common poison is a mixture of the grub and the previously mentioned tree-pod. The grubs are crushed and the pod is warmed until its contents melt slightly and can be crushed with the grubs. This mixture is thinned with the copious spit which results from chewing any of a variety of barks and is then smeared on the foreshaft of the arrow—but cleaned immaculately off

[p. 53]

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the point, for the slightest prick, the least bit of poison getting in such a wound, would cause death.

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Depending on where the poisoned arrow hits, a small buck can die in a morning, a man in a few hours, a giraffe in four to five days. There is nothing that can be done for a man, short of amputating a limb or immediately excising the wound and cutting the nearby flesh to let the blood drain. Yet, the poison has no effect upon the game's meat. One can even eat the mixture with relative impunity: it must enter the bloodstream directly to be deadly.

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As subsistence activities, the men's and women's roles—hunting and gathering—are of unequal weight. Almost eighty per cent of the people's food is *veldkos*, more abundant than game in *Nyae Nyae*, and far more easily acquired. If from one summer to the next, a man kills twelve antelope, he feels he has had a good year.

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But, despite its relatively minor subsistence value, hunting is extremely important in !Kung culture. It has developed its body of technology, acquired a large tradition of beliefs, fostered a wealth of knowledge, and

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POISON IS SMEARED on arrow's metal foreshaft, but carefully cleaned away from point. Commonest poison is made of tree pods mashed with beetle grubs.

[p. 62]

Il: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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!KUNG ARROWS ARE SMALL and unfeathered, and the bow is light. But the powerful poison will kill a small buck in half a day and a giraffe in less than a week. Hunters make their own points, above, and can recognize one another's.

[p. 64]

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Adult hunters can hit their quarry at fifty yards.

[p. 69]

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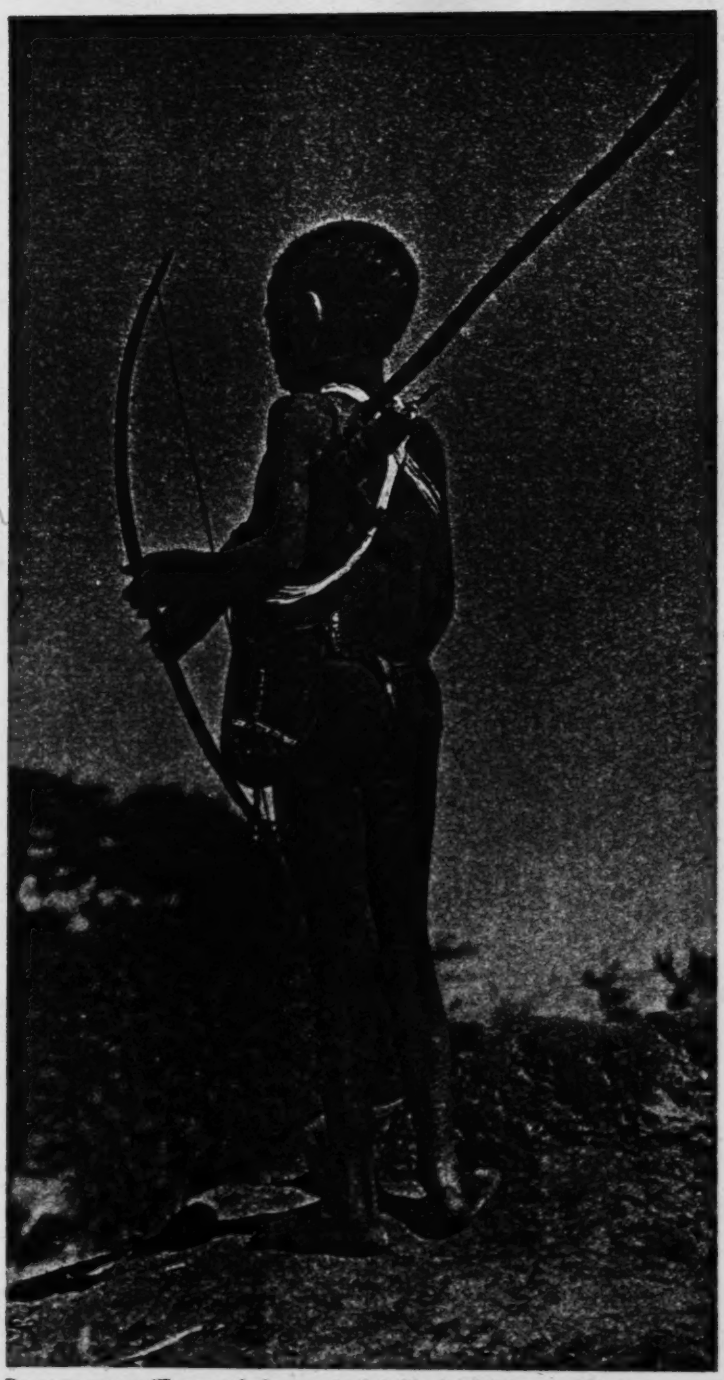

BEFORE MARRIAGE, !Kung youths have few responsibilities. But the hunt is in their blood and it is a proud boy who kills his first buck early in life.

[p. 83]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

deadly poisoned arrows are always at hand. Men have killed each other with them in quarrels—though rarely—and the /Kung fear fighting with a conscious and active fear. They speak about it often. Any expression of discord (' bad words ') makes them uneasy. Their desire to avoid both hostility and rejection leads them to conform in high degree to the unspoken social law. If they do deviate they usually yield readily to expressed group opinion and reform their ways. I think that most /Kung cannot bear the sense of rejection which even mild disapproval makes them feel. They also conform strictly to certain specific useful customs which are like instruments for avoiding discord.

Talking and ' Talks '

I mention talking as an aid to peaceful social relations because it is so very much a part of the daily experience of the /Kung and, I believe, usefully serves three particular functions. It keeps up good open communication among the members of the band; through its constantly flowing expression it is a salutary outlet for emotions; and it serves as the principal sanction in social discipline. Songs are also used for social discipline. The /Kung say that a song composed specifically about someone's behaviour and sung to express disapproval, perhaps from the deepest shadow of the werf at night, is a very effective means of bringing people who deviate back into the pattern of approved behaviour. Nevertheless, during our observations, songs were not used as much as talking. If people disapprove of an individual's behaviour, they may criticize him or her directly, usually putting a question, ' Why do you do that? ' or they may gossip a bit or make oblique hints. In the more intense instances ' a talk ' may ensue.

The /Kung are the most loquacious people I know. Conversation in a /Kung werf is a constant sound like the sound of a brook, and as low and lapping, except for shrieks of laughter. People cluster together in little groups during the day, talking, perhaps making artifacts at the same time. At night families talk late by their fires, or visit at other family fires with their children between their knees or in their arms if the wind is cold.

There always seems to be plenty to talk about. People tell about events with much detail and repetition and discuss the comings and goings of their relatives and friends and make plans. Their greatest preoccupation and the subject they talk about most often, I think, is food. The men's imaginations turn to hunting. They converse musingly, as though enjoying a sort of day-dream together, about past hunts, telling over and over where game was found and who killed it. They wonder where the game is at present and say what fat bucks they hope to kill. They also plan their next hunts with practicality. Women (who, incidentally, do not talk as much as men) gave me the impression of talking more about who gave or did not give them food and their anxieties about not having food. They spoke to me about women who were remembered for being especially quick and able gatherers, but did not have pleasurable satisfaction in remembering their hot, monotonous, arduous days of digging and picking and trudging home with their heavy loads.

Another frequent subject of conversation is gift-giving. Men and women speak of the persons to whom they have given or propose to give gifts. They express satisfaction or dissatisfaction with what they have received. If someone has delayed

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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of the hunting party is not a matter of convention or of anxious concern. Hunting parties are freely organized by men who like to hunt with each other. No categories of kin or affines are prohibited from hunting together, whether they have a joking relationship or not or practise the sitting and speaking taboo. Men from different bands may hunt together. 224

A father has authority over his sons and sons-in-law and could tell them to go hunting or to accompany him and would expect them to obey. In other relationships participation in a hunting party is voluntary. Any man may instigate a hunt and may ask others to join. No one is formally in command of a party, unless he is the father with his sons or sons-in-law, but often an informal kind of leadership develops out of skill and judgement and the men fall in with the plans and suggestions of the best hunter or reach agreement among themselves somehow. [593]

Hunting parties are usually composed of from two to four or five men. One hunter alone is at a disadvantage. A man cannot leave the meat unguarded from lions, hyaenas, jackals, and vultures while he goes to bring help from the band to carry it nor can he carry it alone. Only occasionally are parties larger than four or five. For two parties to hunt in different directions would be more advantageous than to form a larger single party.

When the kill is made the hunters have the prerogative of eating the liver on the spot and may eat more of the meat until their hunger is satisfied. If they are far from the band, they may eat the parts that are especially perishable or most awkward to carry, like the head, and they sometimes eat the cherished marrow. They then carry the animal to the band, either in its parts, bones and all, or, if the animal is very big, leaving most of the bones and cutting the meat into strips which dry in the sun to biltong and are more easily carried on the carrying-sticks. The blood is carried in bags made of the stomach, rumen, and bladder. [851] [415]

The gall bladder and testicles are discarded at the kill. Eventually the hooves are thrown away and usually the picked bones and horns. (The /Kung make only a few artifacts of bone and horn which last a long time and seldom need replacing.) Sinews are kept for making cord. The hide would be skinned off whole and tanned if it were suitable for a kaross and someone wanted a new kaross at the time. Otherwise, the hide is dried, pounded up, and eaten. Hides are quite tasty. Feet are picked of every tissue; gristle is dried and pounded. Soft parts, such as the foetus, udder, heart, lungs, brains, and blood, are often given to old people with poor teeth. Intestines are enjoyed and desired by all. The meat of the rump, back, chest, and neck is highly appreciated. Nothing is wasted; all is distributed. [351] [283] [281] [885]

The owner of the animal is the owner of the first arrow to be effectively shot into the animal so that it penetrates enough for its poison to work. That person is responsible for the distribution. The headman of the band is not the one to distribute the meat by virtue of his headmanship, unless he happens to be at the same time the owner of the arrow. The owner may or may not be one of the hunters. [400] [622]

Hunters have arrows which they acquire in three different ways. Each man makes arrows for himself, shaping the points (usually now of metal, but still possibly of bone or wood) with some slight distinction so that he will know them from the arrows of other men. Secondly, arrows are given as gifts. The man who made the arrow or who himself acquired it as a gift, may give it to someone else, either a man or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. 422 424 411 [43]

or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. Thirdly, people lend arrows to one another. The status of the arrow plays its part in the distribution of the animal killed with it. There is much giving and lending of arrows. The society seems to want to extinguish in every way possible the concept of the meat belonging to the hunter.

A hunter chooses which arrow he will use. The owner of the arrow—who *ipso facto* owns the animal—may therefore be the hunter himself, who has chosen to use an arrow he made or one that was given him, or he may be a person who lent the arrow to the hunter.

There may be several hunters in the hunting party and several arrows in the animal, but this seems to cause no confusion or conflict. Every arrow is known, of course. The hunters may see which first penetrates effectively so that its poison could account for the kill. But I think that often it is arranged beforehand who will own the animal. A man asking another to accompany him might say, 'Come and help me get a buck.' Or 'Old Gau lent me an arrow and asked me to hunt for him. You come too.'

I think there is little or no dissension as to who owned the animal because it is not a cause for great stress; each hunter gets a share of the meat anyway. I think also that a man wants sometimes to be the owner of the meat in order to start the distribution off in the direction of his own kin and affines, but that one is also content sometimes not to have the onus of the main distribution.

The first distribution of the animal is made in large portions usually to five or six persons. They are the owner of the arrow, the giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not one the owner had made himself), and the hunters. The meat, always uncooked in the first distribution, is given on the bone, unless the animal is large and the meat has been cut into strips at the kill.

In a second distribution the several persons who got meat in the first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. This meat also is given uncooked. The amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution close kinship is the factor which sets the pattern of the giving. Certain obligations are compulsory. A man's first obligation at this point, we were told, is to give to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous portions as he can, while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. The meat may be cooked and the quantities small.

Visitors, even though they are not close kin or affines, are given meat by the people whom they are visiting. This is a strongly felt social rule. Visitors may receive small quantities of cooked meat, which is like being asked to dinner.

Name relatives often receive generous portions of meat because they have the same name as the giver or because their names associate them with his close kin, but this seems to be more a favour than an absolute rule. ≠Toma said there were far too many men named ≠Toma for him to give them special consideration.

301 The most highly valued gifts are the traditional ornaments of ostrich egg-shell beads,
431 especially the wide headbands and necklaces of five or six strings of beads reaching to the umbilicus. The creamy white is becoming to them. They like European beads also, of all colours, though white is definitely their preference. The only thing they do not like about beads, Gao Beard told us, is shortness of the string. After ornaments, the /Kung value implements or utensils, *//gwashi* or dance rattles, which have required time and care to make, but perhaps more especially valued are metal objects and pots. The latter are obtained by trade. The /Kung do not trade among
[438] themselves. They consider the procedure undignified and avoid it because it is too likely to stir up bad feelings. They trade with the Bantu, however, in the settlements along the B.P. border. The /Kung offer well-tanned antelope hides and ostrich egg
439 shell beads. For these they obtain tobacco, beads, knives, axes, malleable metal for making arrow-points and spear-blades, and occasional files and chisels, fire-strikers, and pots.

The odds are with the Bantu in the trading. Big, aggressive, and determined to
435 have what they want, they easily intimidate the Bushmen. Several /Kung informants
439 said that they tried not to trade with Herero if it was possible to avoid it because, although the Tswana were hard bargainers, the Herero were worse. /Qui said he had been forced by a Herero whom he was afraid to anger to trade the shirt and pants we had given him as our parting gift in 1952 for a small enamel pan and a little cup. /Ti/kay had more gumption. A Herero at the beginning of a negotiation with him brought out a good-sized pile of tobacco but took from it only a pinch when it was time to pay. /Ti/kay picked up the object he was trading and ran off. ≠Toma said with amused exaggeration that 'a very good Herero, a respectable one, will give a handful of tobacco for five cured steinbok skins. A bad Herero will give a pipeful (he showed the size of his fingernail) for three skins.' The Tswana values are a little better. A well-tanned gemsbok hide brings a pile of tobacco about 14 inches in diameter and about 4 inches high. The values vary. Some that were reported to us were three rooibok, duiker, or steinbok skins for a good-sized knife, five strings of ostrich egg-shell beads for a spear.

439 The /Kung have become dependent on metal, especially knives, axes, and arrow-
[100] points. They have been able to trade enough for every man to have these implements. They could, however, exist without them and do still use a few bone and wood
[411] arrow-points. Poison makes their arrows deadly, not penetrating power. The pots are Ovambo or Okavango pottery (the /Kung make no pottery themselves) or European ironware. The /Kung like to have a pot around to borrow sometimes; not
[058] everyone wants to carry one. They cook mostly in hot ashes. More for their novelty, I thought, than for their worth, the /Kung trade also for old oddments of cloth garments (they weave neither cloth nor mats), pieces of blankets, basins, &c.—things they do not really need—but which they like.

276 Tobacco they need 'to make the heart feel better'. Oddly enough for these pas-
431 sionate smokers, tobacco was not given so much emphasis in gift-giving as one might expect. They do make gifts of tobacco, but when anyone lights a pipe he passes it around anyway; all present drag smoke into their lungs until they almost faint and it has not mattered much who owned the tobacco.

302 Eland fat is a very highly valued gift. An eland provides so much fat that people
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12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Sinews

Made and used by men

- bow-strings
- wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison adheres well to sinew)
- binding for hafts
- snares

Made by men, used by all

- strings for *//gwashi* (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

- fine rolled cord

Horn

Made and used by men

- horns fitted with leather covers for carrying arrow-points
- horns for cupping

Used by all

- horns for pipes
- horns for spoons

Shell

Made by men, used by all

- ostrich egg-shell water-containers
- tortoise-shell dippers
- tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

- ostrich egg-shell beads

Feathers

Used by boys on *jani* toys
Worn by all occasionally in hair

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

Wood

Made and used by men

- bows
- spear handles
- axe or adze handles
- knife handles
- knife sheaths
- spring-hare hook handles[1]
- fire-making sticks
- hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

- digging sticks
- carrying sticks
- stirring sticks
- mortars and pestles
- bowls
- spoons
- fire scrapers
- *//gwashi* (musical instrument)
- one-stringed violin
- *jani* toys
- beads

Made by women

- frames for scherms

Fibres

(from *sansevieria*, aloe, */nus* tree roots, other roots)

Rolled by men and women

- cord

Made and used by men

- carrying-nets
- snares

Made and used by all

- ornaments

Grass

Made by men and women

- stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-containers
- ornaments

Made by women

- scherms

Made by children

- toys of grass folded and woven to suggest animals

Used by all for beds

[1] Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying. They carry only the hook around with them and whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
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182 312 [161] [648] 134 A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival, for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

137 [222] [224] [262] Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

224 [411] Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

101 197 LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bushmen cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking [829] Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local group- [184] ings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within them- [62] selves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band [622] composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

101 131 [197] The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ōassi* and who live in the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or tsi, the men always ac-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

224 meat to the owners of the territory should they happen to encounter them,
[43] but this is a gift, not an obligatory tribute. The vastness and emptiness of
[182] the country allow this freedom in hunting rights and the wandering nature of the game requires that the hunters, if they are to succeed at all, be free to look for game wherever they can find it.

222 The !Kung eagerly pick up tortoises, certain kinds of lizards, snakes, ostrich eggs, and grasshoppers, and they relish termites when these insects
[262] swarm out in nuptial flight. These items provide incidental delicacies and gathering them is like the gathering of veldkos. The person who gathers
224 them may keep them for himself and his own family. Men gladly shoot small
223 animals and birds if they happen upon them—wart hogs, duikers, other small antelope, porcupines, badgers, pythons, spring hares, ostriches, paouws, guinea fowl, red-winged partridges, occasional migrating geese, and other birds. They may keep them for their own families. They do not, however, devote their hunting time to the smaller animal creatures if they find fresh spoor of the larger ones. Hunting the big game animals that feed a whole band is the work of a man's prime and is incumbent on him.

224 Hunting parties usually consist of from two to four or five men. A man cannot hunt effectively alone in this country. Several parties hunting in different directions are more advantageous than one larger party. Any man may organize a hunting party, with relatives and friends from his own band or from neighboring bands—men he likes to hunt with. No one is formally a leader; the men talk and plan together and are likely to fall in with the suggestions of the one whom they consider the best hunter. Participation in any given hunting party is voluntary. What !Kung society urges is that the
[461] hunters hunt; it does not restrict the ways and means. The force of public
[626] opinion upon men not to sit in the werf, not to be lazy but to do their share, is tremendous.

The game the !Kung hunt deliberately and purposefully are the several big antelopes found in the region: eland, kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok. They also hunt the more rarely seen buffalo and occasionally manage to shoot a giraffe. Although there is this considerable variety of kind, there is not a great abundance of game. The herds are small and the hunts long and hard.[6] The antelope, because they can go for long periods without drinking, move and drift about anywhere in the vast monoto-
[409] nous veld and are very difficult to find. Hunters often search for days, covering scores of miles, before finding spoor fresh enough to follow, and they may
[411] follow it for days before catching up with the animal. Their little arrows kill by poison rather than by piercing deeply, and, when an animal is shot, if it is big, it may wander for three or four more days until it dies of the poison.
[136] Smaller animals succumb in a shorter time. The hunters must track the animal and find it before the lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals, or vultures devour it.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

vour it. Thus, according to our observations, a !Kung band gets on an average 224
only about fifteen to eighteen large animals in a usual year.

The meat of the large game animals does not belong to the hunters to do
with as they choose. However, they always have the prerogative of eating the [242]
liver at the site of the kill and, if their hunger is not satisfied, they may eat
more. The bulk of the meat is then carried to the band, where it is distributed
among the members according to a system. The meat belongs to the owner
of the first arrow that penetrates the animal so that it stays in. He has the
responsibility of making the first distribution.

Anyone in the band may be the owner of the arrow. A hunter carries 224
arrows he acquires in three different ways. Each man has his own that he 411
makes himself, shaping the points with some little distinction so that he 422
will know them from the arrows of other men. In addition he carries 426
arrows that have been given or lent to him. When an arrow is given to him, 431
he is the owner as much as if he had made it himself, but if he uses that 571
arrow he must make a special gift of meat to the donor. When he uses
an arrow that is loaned to him, he merely shoots for the person who lent it
and who remains the owner of the arrow. !Kung society makes a great deal
of giving and lending arrows. Women and old men, as well as men in their
hunting prime, receive arrows as gifts and may give them or lend them to
a hunter, asking him to shoot for them. A hunter cannot refuse an arrow— [576]
as a person cannot refuse any gift—without offending the giver. He accepts
the arrow and with it an obligation, but he gives or lends arrows in return
and involves others in obligation to him. Hunters choose to use one or
another of their arrows, with the result that the responsibility of distributing
the meat, with its advantages and obligations, is shared by members of the
band as is the meat itself.

In the first distribution the whole animal is divided among a few 224
persons, who receive whole sections on the bone, unless the animal is so
large that the meat has to be cut off in strips to be carried. The first of these
persons are the hunters, each of whom gets a fore- or hindquarter or the
equivalent. The giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not made by the
owner himself) receives a generous portion. The owner of the arrow, who
may be one of the hunters, or anybody, keeps the rest.

In the second distribution, the several persons who got meat in the 224
first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. The 602
amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much
as the giver can manage. In the second distribution, close kinship is the
factor that sets the pattern of giving. A man's first obligation at this point [606]
is to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous [593]
portions as he can while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are
to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself
at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

177 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had
411 metal weapons, and utensils and clothing of European manu-
415
291 facture for at least 40 years.

162 Among the 34,800 Bushmen classified as non-hunting,
433 there are, of course, many degrees of economic development. At one extreme, there are the second generation farm Bushmen of the Grootfrontien, Gobabis and Ghanzi Districts who have permanently given up the traditional subsistence round. Other farm Bushmen spend the rainy season living in the veld and work on the farms only in the winter dry season.

Many of the Bushmen in Ngamiland and the Crown Lands have made an excellent adjustment to modern conditions. For instance the Mababe and Pandamatenga people enjoy a settled village life combined with hunting for cash furs with rifles and steel traps. Many of the men work for hunting safaris where they have gained a good reputation as trackers and gun bearers.

433 The distribution of the various economic patterns is plotted on Map 4. There are four categories:

1. Full time hunting and gathering
2. Bantu-associated peoples with traditional lord-client relations
3. Independent villages with cash hunting and wage labor
4. European farm workers

174
439 The interior !Kung have had trading relations with Bantu
[411] peoples on their periphery for over eighty years. The evidence
[415] for this is the presence of iron-tipped weapons, pottery and
[276] tobacco. The present-day !Kung have no knowledge of iron-working or pottery-making and they do not raise tobacco. The old people state that their grandfathers had these things
[173] before the first non-Bushmen came to the interior. Men in
[411] their 60's and 70's today can remember their grandfathers telling them that they began hunting with bone arrows and did not obtain iron for arrows until they were well into adult
[411] life. The making of bone arrow heads is still common know-
[321] ledge today but, as there is an abundant supply of iron fencing
[325] wire, none of the men hunt with bone. The art of chipping
[178] flint is not known in the Dobe area. It is probable that
[324] these Bantu goods (and also some European goods such as beads and buttons) reached the interior through Bushman trading intermediaries some years before the arrival of the first Bantu and Europeans.

173 Early contacts, 1879-1925 - There is disagreement among the !Kung about whether the Europeans or the Bantu were the first to penetrate the interior. Apparently the first pene-
175 trations occurred during the period 1875-1890. Hendrik Van
648 Zyl, a professional hunter, is the first European known to have reached the interior (Silberbauer 1965:114-115). In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56/57]

412 The women possess several other tools which are of subsidiary importance in the food quest:

- wooden mortar and pestle
- wooden spatula for moving ashes
- carved wooden serving spoon
- tortoise shell bowl
- bundle of tail feathers for fanning the cooking fire
- pottery containers of Bantu manufacture
- iron pots and enamel bowls of European manufacture.

415 177 224 411 The mens' hunting kit represents the most evolved sector of Bushmen technology. It includes at least 19 different tools made from seven kinds of raw materials. The primary weapons include:

[177] 1. bow
[278] 2. arrow poison
[231] 3. spear
4. springhare probe
5. knobkerrie(club)
6. iron tipped arrows
7. quiver
8. hunting dogs
9. rope snares

Secondary weapons include:

[372] 10. fire drill
[177] 11. flint and steel fire making kits
[412] 12. digging stick
[283] 13. iron knife
[177] 14. iron adze-axe
15. carrying yoke
16. knotted net

Manufacturing and repairing tools include:

[278] 17. poison-making kit; humeral cup, pestle, applicator

[415] 18. whet stones of basalt

[283] 19. wild cotton for polishing rope snares

These raw materials are also part of the man's kit:

[283] 1. sinew

2. twine of natural fibers

3. iron fencing wire

[278] 4. supply of poisonous grubs

[237] 5. bone chips for making arrow link shafts

[411] 6. grass stems for arrows

7. wood for bows, poles and spear shafts

224 411 The construction of the hunting arrow will illustrate the complexity of the weaponry. The arrow consists of a mainshaft about 13 inches in length made from the stem of the grass Phragmites communis (Story 1964:94). Into this is inserted a bone linkshaft about two inches long, carved from the humerus or femur of giraffe, kudu, or gemsbok. The linkshaft is joined to the metal arrowhead by a hollow sec-
[177] tion of grass stem one inch in length. The arrow head is commonly made from iron fencing wire. It consists of a stiff length of wire four to five inches long. The tip of the arrow is beaten into a small triangular blade one half inch from base to apex and five-sixteenths of an inch at the base.

224
411 The butt end of the arrow and the two joints are bound by strands of sinew. In some arrows the iron shaft itself is
224 bound with sinew. It is the iron shaft to which the arrow
411 poison is applied. Care is taken to avoid spreading poison
278 on the tip of the arrow. The poison is obtained from the pupal forms of the Chrysomelid beetles Diamphidia sp. and
[415] Polyclada sp. The poison is prepared by squeezing the contents of several pupae into a cup made from the proximal end of the humerus of a large antelope such as gemsbok or kudu. The only additions to the poison mixture observed to be used were saliva and the juice or gum of the several species of Acacia. The use of the latter was optional. Often, without further preliminaries, the Bushmen squeezed the contents of the grub directly on to the iron arrow shaft.

[412] The pupae are mixed with a slender wooden pestle into a thin orange paste, which is then applied directly to the iron arrow shaft using a spatulate applicator especially made for this purpose. The poisoned arrow is then allowed to dry near the fire. After a few minutes it is ready for use.

There are undoubtedly regional variations in the preparation of arrow poison. The ethnographic literature lists at least a dozen substances and recipes that are claimed to be used by the !Kung Bushmen in preparing arrow poison (see Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

000 Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

224 The !Kung weaponry consists of specialized weapons for
411 killing, retrieving, and preparing different species of game. The bow and arrow are used to kill only the large antelopes, kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok. The thirteen-foot-long burrow probe is used exclusively for hooking springhare
[223] which sleep in their burrows during the day time. Rope snares are set to trap small buck such as duiker and steenbok, as well as the game birds such as guinea fowl, francolin and
224 korhaan. Fire is used in two ways. First it is used to smoke
372 out or asphyxiate wart hog, antbear and porcupine that have
[412] been cornered in burrows. If an animal dies in the burrow, it is then dug out by means of a digging stick. Fire is also used during late winter to set bush fires. These fires burn off the old cover of vegetation and encourage new growth which will attract game animals to the burned area.

224 The spear is not used as a weapon of attack, but is
411 employed to finish off animals that have been weakened by
[231] poisoned arrows or that have been wounded by the Bushmen dogs.

The knobkerrie(club) is also used to finish off wounded
[223] or cornered animals. Occasionally it is used as a throwing
[231] club to knock down small birds and squirrels. This appears to be more of a pastime than a serious technique since the animals knocked down this way are usually fed to the dogs or just cast aside.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

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into Damaraland on the west, and on the east by way of the Transvaal bushveld and Natal to the south coast regions of Knysna and George. From the south it is naturally only sea birds that can be contributed to the fauna; the petrel family forms the characteristic element from this quarter, comprising a number of small petrels and whale birds, the "Cape pigeon" and "Cape hen", shearwaters and several albatrosses. The jackass penguin, breeding in immense numbers on the small islands off the south and west coasts, represents a truly antarctic contribution.

The reptilian fauna is particularly abundant, lizards and snakes especially being very numerous in many parts of the country. Of the latter, the cobra (genus *Naia*), the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*), and the ringhals (*Serpedon haemachates*) are among the more formidable poisonous representatives; the mamba (*Dendrasdis angusticeps*), most deadly of all, is found principally in the eastern parts of the country. The crocodile is extinct in the Cape Province and the Orange Free State, but is still found in the rivers of the eastern lowlands and the Northern Kalahari. The Arachidna are notable for the abundance of scorpions, and among the spiders for the large number of ground-dwelling forms living in burrows, with or without trapdoors, beneath stones, or as free-living hunting forms.

The insect fauna as a whole presents an extraordinarily large number of species, many of them extremely abundant. Locusts are conspicuous among the common plagues of the country, and from time to time issue in devastating swarms from their breeding grounds in the Kalahari and other more or less inaccessible dry regions. Bees, wasps, and ants are very richly represented; ants' eggs and the honey of wild bees provide the Bushmen with an important element of their diet. Mosquitoes and horse-flies are rarely very troublesome except in the moister parts of the country; the anophelene mosquito conveys malaria in the northern parts of South-West Africa and the Kalahari, as well as in the Low Veld of the east, while the tsetse fly (*Glossina*) carries cattle disease (nagana) in the Ngami country and a few localities to the east, but no case of sleeping-sickness has been known to occur. The widely-distributed termites are often destructive, but provide many animals and birds with their chief subsistence. Butterflies and moths, beetles and bugs all appear in numerous varieties, and one species of beetle, *Cladocera nigro-ornata*, forms the most potent ingredient in the arrow-poison of the Kalahari Bushmen.

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen FX10

Dress and Decoration

Bushmen

281 291 Save where there has been a good deal of contact with European influences, all the Bushmen wear garments made entirely from the skins of animals, usually some kind of buck taken in the chase.[1] Complete nudity is hardly ever found, though it is reported on hearsay evidence by Miss Bleek of some of the wilder bands of Auen and Naron. [462] All the clothes are made by the men, who prepare not only their own garments but also those of their wives and children.

The principal garment of the men among all the Bushmen consists in a triangular piece of skin, two ends of which are tied together round the loins, while the third is passed between the legs and knotted [177] on behind. Some of the North-Eastern Bushmen (Tannekwe, Hukwe, Galikwe), who have been much in contact with the Bantu, have adopted the form of loin-cloth worn by the latter, in which a piece of skin passed between the legs is drawn before and behind through a leather girdle tied round the loins. A skin cloak ("kaross") is also worn by most of the men, especially in cold weather or when on the 284 march. This is tied over the right shoulder by means of strips of skin attached to two ends, and hangs so as to cover the back and, if large enough, also the chest, while leaving the arms and left shoulder free. It is sometimes worn slung over both shoulders and tied under the chin. The head is usually uncovered, but skin caps are sometimes seen, as well as leather sandals tied round the ankle with thongs.

281 415 482 411 On the march the men carry a round bag slung on over the right shoulder and hanging on the left hip. In it are carried all sorts of small possessions and food. A longer skin bag, containing the weapons, fire-sticks, etc., is also hung over the left shoulder. Bark quivers for the arrows are sometimes found as well, more especially among the Southern and Namib Bushmen.

281 291 The women wear a hanging apron in front, consisting in a piece of skin attached to a leather belt passing round the loins. It is often ornamented with bead or leather tassels. A smaller apron, covering only the genitals, is sometimes worn beneath this. The older women

[1] The fullest descriptions of Bushman dress and decoration are given by: Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 428–30; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 33–40; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140–3; Werner, "Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kung-buschleute," 255–7; Seiner, "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 297–8: Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 87–90; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 8–10; E. Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 101–10.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

222 way private rights can be indicated over honey in a nest, or by a woman
422 who has located a spot with a specially abundant supply of veldkos. Whoever removes anything from such places is regarded as a thief.[1] It must be emphasized, however, that rights of this nature are only
[423] acquired by chance, and that apart from them there appears to be no restriction at all upon the free exploitation of the hunting territory and all its resources by any member of the band.

Hunting

224 Once they have passed through the puberty ceremonies, boys and
[883] girls participate in the full economic life of the band. All the men
[462] are hunters, and spend the greater part of their daily life in pursuing or ensnaring game. Their methods of hunting vary with the nature of the intended prey, and according to the season of the year.

Weapons

The principal method is by means of pursuit and the use of weapons.
411 The latter amongst all the Bushmen consist primarily of the bow and arrow.[2] The bows are small, and on the whole fairly crude and of simple make (Plate IXd). They are as a rule prepared from the wood
[824] of the *Grewia flava*, a thin length of which is cut and roughly shaped is such a way as to taper gradually almost to a point at the ends. The
[283] string is made either from two thin sinews twisted together or some-
[237] times, among the Northern tribes, from wood fibre worked into a
[284] strong cord. It is attached by a simple slip-knot and wound tightly several times round the basal end of the bow-stave, to which a small leather collar or sinew band is usually fixed to prevent the string from slipping when hitched over it. The stave is then bent and the string knotted to the other end, where it is kept in place by a leather band. The bow is kept permanently strung. Its stave is frequently strengthened with additional sinew bindings, especially round the centre, which prevent it from splitting and also form a convenient grip for the hand.

The arrows are complex in structure and vary considerably in

[1] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 120; *idem*, in *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, ix (1896), p. xvii; Vialls, "The Masarwa," 32; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.

[2] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), 113–17; cf. Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 68–71; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4; van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements," 80–5; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hanneimann," 94–6, 99–100.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen FX10

detail. The simplest type has an unfeathered main shaft of hollow 411
reed about fifteen inches long, notched at one end to receive the 237
bowstring, and a head about six inches long (Plate IXf). The latter is made of either wood or a fragment of bone split off from the tibia of an ostrich, and is inserted into the hollow of the shaft. At the connection there is a binding of sinew round the end of the shaft, which prevents it from splitting and also keeps the head in place. The projecting end of the head is pared down to serve as a point. In many arrows of this type is found a small piece of quill neatly fastened in place with a binding of sinew about an inch and a half from the point so as to act as a barb. All this portion of the head is carefully smeared over with poison.

A modification of this type resulting in a foreshaft is often seen. 411
The head is not pointed, but is cut off square and notched about three inches from its junction with the main shaft. Into the notch is inserted [324]
and gummed down a small triangular point of flaked stone such as agate or chalcedony; in more recent times, since iron and then glass [177]
have become available, these are generally found used instead (Plate IXa, e).

Still a further modification is seen in the remarkably ingenious type of arrow which, with a few minor variations in detail, is found widespread among almost all the Bushman tribes (Plate IXc, g.). Its main shaft is also of reed, with a simple notch at one end to receive the bowstring. Into the hollow of the other end is inserted a foreshaft of bone or quill, occasionally of wood, varying in length from two to six inches, and kept in place by a tight binding of sinew round the end of the main shaft into which it fits. Its projecting end fits into what may be called a link shaft, also of reed, about an inch long. Finally into the other end of the link shaft is fitted the point of the arrow, about four inches long and generally barbed. The whole link shaft is completely bound over with sinew. The point is made either of bone or of iron; bone is found mainly in the southern arrows, but is not restricted to them, while iron is a later introduction now used by all the Bushmen wherever obtainable. The whole point, together with the sinew binding on the link shaft keeping it in place, is coated over with poison.

Some of the North-Western tribes (Naron, Auen, Kung) also have another type of arrow, with a reversible head of bone (Plate IXb, d). This is pared to a sharp point at one end, and rounded off at the other. For safety in carrying, the pointed end, which is the only one poisoned,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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411 is turned into the shaft; for shooting, the head is reversed, so that the rounded end is turned in and the poisoned end projects. In a more complex form based on the same principle, the head consists of two separate pieces of bone connected by a small link shaft or section of reed; the one piece is blunted at the tip, the other pointed and poisoned. Both pieces fit into the hollow of the main shaft of reed, and when the arrow is not required for use the blunted piece forms the projecting end of the head while the poisoned piece is in the shaft, but for shooting the head is reversed. This extremely interesting type [184] seems to be restricted in occurrence to these Bushman tribes, and is obviously directly correlated with the employment of poison as the effective agent of the arrow.

411 The tribes further north, such as the Northern Kung, the Heikum and the !O Kung of Angola, nowadays generally use arrows with 171 feathered wooden shafts and iron points only. These resemble in type the arrows of the neighbouring Bantu peoples, and may have been imitated from them.

All these arrows are rather fragile, and can never seriously wound any animal which they strike. For their effect reliance is placed upon the poisonous mixtures dotted or smeared over their points.[1] Many 278 ingredients of different kinds are used in these mixtures, the more common being the vegetable juices of *Acokanthera venenata*, *Haemanthus toxicarius* (*Amaryllis disticha*), and various species of *Euphorbia*; the venom of the larger poisonous snakes, such as the puffadder (*Bitis arietans*) and the cobra (*Naia haje*); the beetle *Cladocera nigro-ornata*; the "baviaan spinnekop" or trapdoor spider; and the "klip-gift" or "rock poison" (probably a form of 184 arsenic). Not all of these are in use among the Bushmen as a whole. There appears rather to be a fairly definite distribution of the various 278 mixtures, dependent upon the substances available in the different localities; and probably each tribe of Bushmen has its own particular formula, although this cannot be asserted definitely. For general purposes we may distinguish three main types of arrow poison: the Namib Bushmen and those of the north-west districts of the Cape use a purely vegetable poison; the Southern Bushmen generally and some other tribes, such as the Hiechware and the Kung, use a

[1] A comprehensive survey of the earlier literature on the subject is given by Schapera, "Bushman Arrow Poisons," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1925), 199–214. Two more recent papers of importance are: Hall and Whitehead, "A Pharmaco-Bacteriologic Study of African Poisoned Arrows," *J. Infectious Diseases*, xli (1927), 51–65; and Waterston, "The Bushman's Arrow-Poison Beetle," *Natural History Magazine*, ii (1929), 74–89.

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PLATE IX

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a

b

c

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e

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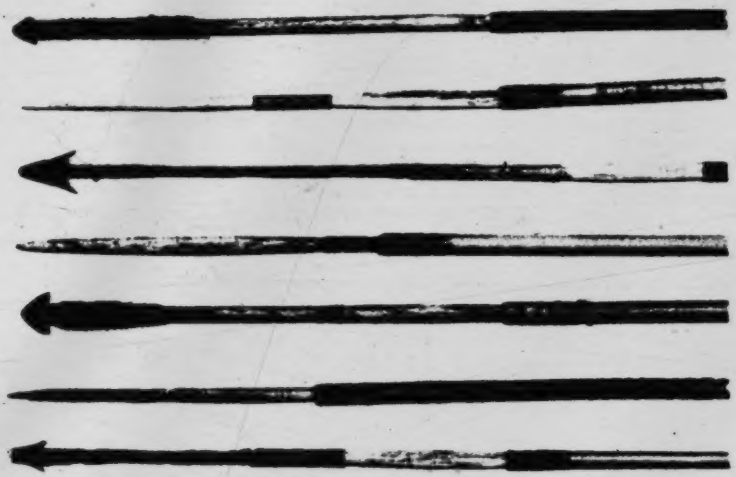


BUSHMAN ARROW-HEADS *British Museum*

f Simplest type: main shaft of reed, bone point coated with poison
a, e Main shaft of reed, bone foreshaft, barb and iron point coated with poison
c, g Main shaft of reed, bone foreshaft, reed collar or link shaft, and barbed iron head
b, d Reversible head; in b the poisoned end protrudes, in d the head is reversed

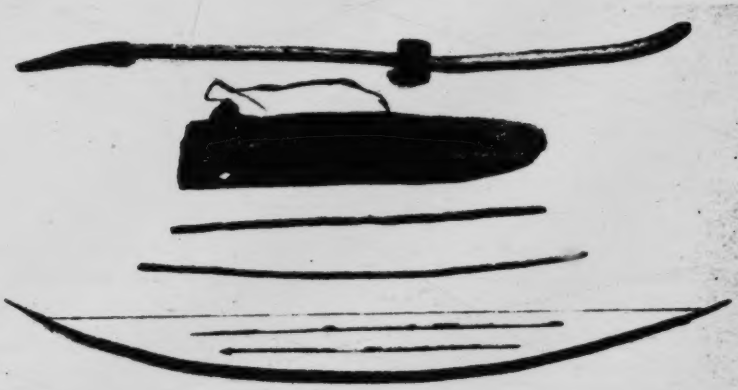
[412]

a

b

c

d



BUSHMAN WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS *British Museum*

a Digging-stick passed through perforated stone ball and tipped with horn
b Leather quiver for arrows
c Fire-sticks
d Bow and Arrows

[*face p.* 131]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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278 transported. When wanted for use, the insect inside is rubbed to powder on a half tortoise-shell, then mixed with the juice obtained either from the spiked cucumber (*Citrullus caffer*) or from the 'hakdoorn' (*Zizyphus mucronata*). They heat the cucumber root in the ashes, knock it on the ground, then wring out the liquid it contains. The bark of the 'hakdoorn' is chewed, and the juice spat into the dish of poison. This juice is clear, bitter, and sticky and adheres to the arrow point, on to which it is dabbed with a flattened stick after being mixed with the poison. The poisonous matter becomes very hard and dry and is apt to fly off into the eyes if the arrow is carelessly handled. Bushmen always warn one of this and say the eyes become much inflamed if even a tiny grain of dried poison gets into them." Any mixture left over is wound round a stick and carried with the arrows in the long bag; presumably it must be heated again if it is to be put on to further arrow-heads.[1]

There does not appear to be any sort of ceremonial attaching to
114 the process of preparing the poison, nor is the work of doing so the
278 function of any particular person. There are, indeed, one or two hints at something of this kind, but nothing which can be regarded as fully reliable.[2] All our principal authorities state that in general any man who needs poison prepares it for himself when he wants it.[3]

None of the Bushman poisons is instantaneous in its effect, although
224 as a rule the smaller the animal the quicker the action. Generally
278 the wounded animal runs on as if unhurt, and the hunter follows on its spoor until he finds the dead body; sometimes this is within half an hour, sometimes many hours elapse before the poison proves effective, and often enough it is not till the next day that he can obtain his meat. That the poison is fatal once it gets to the blood, cannot be doubted. Once the arrow pierces the skin of the animal the Bushman has no fear that it may escape him; it may travel perhaps forty or more miles after being wounded, but its progress becomes slower and weaker, until finally it falls down dead.

411 In addition to bows and arrows, the Northern tribes also make use in hunting of throwing-sticks ("knob kirris") and spears. The former is a round-headed stick of hard wood, usually *Acacia*, about
[412] two feet in length, and pointed at the lower end to serve also as a digging-stick. It is used for knocking down birds and small mammals,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 14.
[2] These statements are summarised by Schapera, op. cit., 206.
[3] In addition to the references given by Schapera, loc. cit.; cf. Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 54.

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and in minor quarrels it is the weapon of offence or defence. The 411
spears have long wooden shafts and an iron head about six inches long. The latter is obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu, [439]
but the spear itself is made by the Bushmen. For the shaft they pierce the end of a stick, then heat the tang of the iron head in the fire and insert it, binding the joint tightly with sinew.[1] Relatively few of the men possess these spears, and as they do not appear ever to have been [177]
used by the Southern Bushmen they can safely be regarded as weapons borrowed from the Bantu.

Methods of Hunting

The Bushmen, as already indicated, have a variety of devices for 224
catching game, the particular method employed being determined by the nature of the intended prey and the season of the year.[2] In some cases the animals are run down on foot. In this manner, for instance, small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, and even big game such as the gemsbok, are hunted during the "big rainy season" (late summer), when the ground, sodden with moisture, impedes the progress of the animals and causes them to fall an easy prey to the hunter, who on overtaking his quarry kills it with the kirri or the spear. This method cannot be employed for small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor, but in the hot part of the dry season young buck are easily caught in this way, as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. Many varieties of big game, such as the wildebeest and zebra, are also run down in the hot dry season. After a herd of game has been located, one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly, never once being allowed to rest, until it is exhausted and brought to bay, when the hunter comes up and kills it with the spear.

Burrowing animals, such as the spring hare (jerboa) and anteater, are caught in their holes by means of a long barbed stick. This is poked down the hole into the animal's flesh, either to drag it out or to transfix it while another man digs down to it. Snakes are sometimes caught in the same manner. The man who pulls out the snake runs fast, dragging it after him, while others throw kirris and spears at it; this cannot be done in grass or the snake may escape. Steenbok,

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 14; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4, 152; Gretschel, op. cit., 102–3.

[2] The fullest descriptions of the hunting life and methods of the Bushmen are given by [114]
Stow, op. cit., 80–94; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 667–8; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 45 sqq. (an exceptionally detailed and graphic account); Kaufmann, op. cit., 144–7; Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 94 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 15–16; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 99 sqq.

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PLATE X

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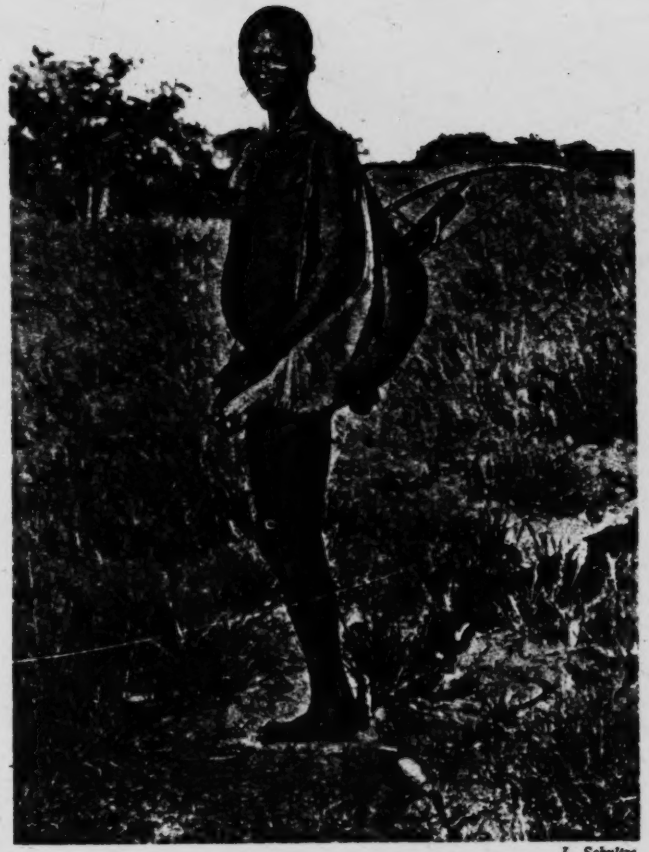

L. Schultze

"MOSARWA," S. KALAHARI,
Carrying Bow and Quiver

(*face p.* 140

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finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed 182
in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, 312
however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this 823
ever-present problem.

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried 312
in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is [685]
one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have
given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially [824]
the */naras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve [271]
thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season.
In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface
at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious
filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass
indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube
to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully
suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then care-
fully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource
fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the [221]
permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the
rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and
resume their normal hunting life.[1]

Industries and Trade

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the 511
Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their
household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they
can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are
essentially domestic.[2]

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and 322
spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, [342]
the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other [411]
burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is
gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes [412]

[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 51; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 297; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 51, 70–1, and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 671–3; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293–4.

[2] The most comprehensive account of Bushman industries is to be found in Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 89–113, pl. xxiii-xxix, which relates chiefly to the Auen; cf. also van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 62–80; Passarge, op. cit., 81–94; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 297–301; Kaufmann, op. cit., 152–3; Schultze, op. cit., 658 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschi leute," 257; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 8–18 *passim*; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 103. [114]

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628 Naron, or the Auen and the !Ginkwe. This does not extend to the whole tribe, but only to the bands concerned. The Naron at Sandfontein, in the same way, were also hostile to the /nu//en in the south as well as to the Auen in the north; trespass and wife-stealing led to many fights between them.

628 726 701 [622] [887] Fights between opposing bands are therefore by no means unusual, but the extent of each campaign is small.[1] The chiefs have general command in war, but their authority is scarcely greater than in peace, where, as we have seen, it is but slight. The older men with experience naturally have an influence corresponding to their knowledge and ability. Every man and youth takes part in a campaign, the weapons [411] used being the ordinary hunting bow and arrow as well as the spear. The magician also fights, but without any special authority or functions. We have no eyewitness account of any such campaigns, but Kaufmann gives a description, obtained from a "trustworthy Kafir informant", which may serve to convey some idea of their nature. Among the Auen there is no formal declaration of war, 628 721 but when a man wears a cap of aardwolf (*Proteles cristatus*) skin, then he is on the warpath. Several friendly villages came together and decided to attack another village. The war caps were put on, and after sunset the men marched in the direction of the enemy village. In the neighbourhood of the latter a halt was made 628 and without lighting a fire, although it was the cold time of the year, 726 they waited until the morning. After sunrise, when it was somewhat warmer, the village was surrounded and attacked from all sides, the spear being chiefly used. There was loud shouting and calling, but no special war cry; and in general everybody fought as he pleased.

628 727 If possible, all men are killed, and also boys, for fear of the blood feud. Women are never killed intentionally, but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women and girls are made captive and taken in marriage. All objects that can be used are also taken away, but the huts are not regarded as worth the burning. Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, the victors will [184] under no circumstances deprive the vanquished of their territory or [721] even occupy it, lest harm and disaster overtake them; on the other hand among the Kung, as already mentioned, disputes over the possession of land are among the prime causes of war. What happens to the land of the defeated group in other tribes is not stated. The

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, op. cit., 85.

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by *Gaua* 'on the other side' into the use of the small magic quiver. *Tji-Tji* had killed a gemsbok. *Gaua* arrived on the scene and said, 'I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep here.' After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-Tji* remarked to *Gaua*, 'Give me that stuff (*//ai*).' The latter replied, 'If I give you the *//ai*, what will you pay me?' *Tji-Tji* answered, 'I will give you the horns.' *Gaua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *//ai* and before departing taught *Tji-Tji* the *//ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic."

The small magic quiver and arrows to which reference is here made are no doubt the miniature weapons found among all the North-Western tribes. In a set seen by the writer the bow, made of a piece of bone, was barely 10 cm. long, and the arrows, for which sharp thorns were used, were small in proportion. Similar arrows described by other writers consisted of a stalk of grass about 6 cm. long and a head of bone or hard wood about 4 cm. long. This head was sharpened at the end inserted into the grass stalk, while the protruding end was blunted.[1]

The range of these arrows is of course very limited, and different suggestions have been put forward as to their use. They are certainly not children's toys, as these miniature bows and arrows are used only by men, who carry them concealed about their persons. From various descriptions it appears that in some cases the arrows are definitely poisoned, and consequently among Germans the name "Bushman revolver" has become applied to these miniature sets. It is claimed that they are used as real weapons and that the poison on the arrow is strong enough to bring about the death of anybody struck by it. On the other hand, Miss Bleek says that among the Naron they are not poisoned, but are used by magicians who quarrel among themselves to settle their differences. "A medicine man wishing to destroy another, comes up close and shoots at the opponent's kaross with one of these arrows, blunt end foremost. The missile falls harmlessly to the ground, but the victim dies of the magic."[2] This statement is supported by the report of a case tried at Windhoek in 1912, where it was maintained, inter alia, that a poisoned arrow of this kind had been used against the accused. In the evidence, however, it was stated by several witnesses that these

[1] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," 116–17, and references.
[2] *Naron*, 28.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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114 arrows are not poisoned but are used for "witchcraft", and "if
411 they are shot in the direction of an enemy, be he 100 kilos or more
754 away, witchcraft will bring about his death".[1] The myth recorded
756 by Fourie also lends support to the idea that these arrows are used for magical purposes. It is possible, too, that something similar is implied in the statement, mentioned above, that among the Cape Bushmen magicians caused illness by shooting with invisible arrows, but it should be noted that no such weapons as those here described have yet been found among them.

Apart from the special magic practised by magicians and associated
789 with them, there are among all the Bushmen various usages and beliefs of a nature which may be generally termed magical, and which
224 are apparently common property. Many of the hunting observances
787 already described fall into this category. So, too, does divination.
[184] Among the Cape Bushmen this occurs principally in the form of beliefs in the efficacy of omens, of which there are a great number with diverse significations. They say they feel in their bodies that certain things are going to happen; there is a kind of beating of the flesh which tells them things. Those who are stupid do not understand these teachings and disobey them, with the result that they get into trouble, are killed by a lion, and so on. These beatings tell those who understand them which way not to go, and which arrow it is better not to use, and also warn them when people are coming. They inform the hunter when game is close at hand, tell people where they can find the person for whom they are in search, i.e. which way to go, and so on.[2]

In the more northerly tribes is found the use of pieces of wood,
184 leather or bone as divining bones or dice. These are usually four
787 in number, and roughly triangular in shape, two of them being broad, the other two longer and thinner. The former are called male, the latter female. In the Eastern Kalahari they are usually each marked in a special way and named, but this is not found further west. The bones may be owned and used by anyone, not only by magicians. They are used in a very crude manner: the inquirer goes on throwing them on to his kaross until he gets a favourable answer. Such bones are frequently found among the Northern and Central Kalahari Bushmen, and occasionally among those dwelling on the southern

[1] *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cd. 9146), 1918, p. 172.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17–18; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 330–9.

/139 cont./

412 Mortars are made of wood and have a stone floor. Their
322 construction is extremely laborious. A block of wood is buried in the ground, stamped down, and then hollowed out with the iron point of the lance or a knife. For this purpose, the iron is sometimes heated. Fire is not used. The wooden pestle is furnished with a stone at one end. The stone on the floor of the
[381] mortar is cemented with tree resin.

[379] Burning branches are used as a kind of torch, but only briefly in the vicinity of the fire.

Photograph 18 illustrates the shape of the mortar and the pestle. The mortar is made of soft wood hollowed out with a lance point. Fire is not used to hollow it out (see above).

Household utensils. Two flat stones to pound hard veld
415 fruit. Spoons crudely carved out of wood. Wooden pot or empty ostrich eggs /140/ with a round hole as water containers. Fre-
[531] quently some kind of decoration is applied. Digging stick
[412] pointed at one end.

Ornamentation. Unfortunately I did not have time to ob-
301 tain more precise data concerning ornamentation. Ornaments
531 are attached to many objects and consist of such things as ostrich eggs and pipe plugs (which are worn on a string around the neck).

Generally speaking, the Auin has three meals a day (morn-
264 ing, afternoon, and evening). If he has enough food, however, he may eat all day long, with the necessary intervals, and, if it is not too cold, even during the night.

There is no special menu. Whatever is available is eaten.
262 The hyena is not eaten because it "devours corpses." The leopard is supposedly not eaten by all the people. The reason for this is unknown to me. The shabrack jackal is frequently spurned because it "is a dog." On the other hand, they like to eat the silver jackal, because it "does not eat vermin."

[858] Young girls who have not yet menstruated and boys before
[882] they have reached adulthood may not eat game meat because if they did, they would "remain skinny."

I have never observed any traces of cannibalism. Further-
266 more, I was told by old, experienced natives of other races (Klipp Kaffir) that they had never heard of Bushmen eating human flesh.

/141 cont./

302 Men and boys do not use this cosmetic, nor do old women, but only young women and girls.

The mixture is applied in circles on the cheeks (see Photo. 20, woman farthest to the left), but it is also rubbed on the body in any other place possible, such as on the arms or belly. Frequently the entire body is greased with it.

Among men a kind of black grease is used. This has "a pleasant odor," at least according to Bushman notions. It is [756] manufactured by the "doctor." The men smear it under and on the nose. It is questionable whether it is more a means of beautification or of enjoyment.

All male Auin have a green line over the root of the nose, 304 and usually also a crossbar under and at right angles to it. The crossbar is usually not colored (cf. Fig. 4).

Both lines consist of innumerable small transverse cuts. There are almost always two to four deep, especially conspicuous scars in the longer line. The length of the longitudinal line is usually from 2.5 to 3.5 centimeters, and that of the crossbar from one to 1.5 centimeters. Sometimes the longitudinal line is considerably longer and extends to the hairline. In the case of one Auin about 20 years old, no forehead tattoo was observed. In answer to questioning he replied that "it would be done later." On the other hand, I found a forehead tattoo on a quite undeveloped girl who [881] was at most eight years old. Hence it would seem that the tattoo is not connected with sexual maturity, an impression which the Auin themselves confirmed. One woman had two parallel longitudinal lines; another had two lines on each cheek, which in size and execution were like the vertical forehead line. Both were Auin by birth; in other words, they had not married into the tribe.

[177] According to the statements of the Auin, the forehead tattoo was copied from the Betschuana.

The forehead tattoo is called gi. Evidently no special significance is attached to it. Incidentally, I have seen the same tattoo among all the other Bushmen tribes. [Fig. 4 appears here.]

As a tool for making the countless little transverse incisions [412] that constitute the forehead tattoo, any sharpened little piece of iron may be used. I was unable to determine the pigment used to produce the green color, which is indelible.

/143 cont./

291 around the hip. The modesty apron with ostrich egg shell ornaments shown in Photograph 12 on the woman farthest to the left is supposed to have been traded from Makoba [the Koba?]. I have never seen a back apron.

c) Cloak of duiker or ibex hide. This always covers the buttocks.

d) Collecting bag (like the men's bag).

f) Digging stick.

Children's Clothing (see Photo. 22)

Girls: modesty apron and cloak.

Boys: loincloth and cloak. A collecting bag is carried by
[415] both boys and girls.

The children receive the loincloth or modesty apron when they are about five years old.

The articles of clothing are sewed. Holes are drilled with
294 an iron awl, made of any little piece of iron picked up somewhere,
[412] or with a bone splinter. The sewing is done by drawing animal tendons through the holes.

123 When I photographed some Auin women in the nude (1), I had
834

1. I am fully aware that the following is not to be regarded as a "denial of the sense of shame." I have mentioned the matter here simply because I could not fit it in elsewhere.

to take care that all the Auin men, who incidentally, had given their consent, were removed. Several Whites and Herero, on the other hand, were allowed to remain.

G. Weapons (see Photos. 25 and 26)

411
[412] f) Digging stick, also used for beating and as a throwing club.

g) Bow and arrows.

h) Throwing lance.

/147 cont./

241 Agriculture is unknown. Only accidentally grown food plants are known.

222 311 In order to promote the growth of the veld crop, the Bushman burns off the grass. A Bergdamara with whom I rode across a burning grass veld said to me: "The Bushman is making his garden."

462 Work of the men:

- Hunting
- Occasional veld crop gathering
- Collecting wood
- Fetching water
- Preparing hides
- Making clothes
- Making weapons and mortars
- Making strings
- Making fire by twirling

Work of the women:

- Hut construction
- Cooking
- Veld crop collecting
- Maintaining the fire
- Getting wood
- Getting water
- Making women's clothes

●412 The only "agricultural implement" is a digging stick (see Fig. 9).

222 For one who is not a botanist it is impossible to describe in intelligible terms, even roughly, the numerous wild food plants of the Auin. The collection of specimens must take the place of a description. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to make such a collection.

For the person who is familiar with the Southwest African veld crops, I shall give a list of some food plants, which, however, is by no means exhaustive.

Tschamma
Spiny tschamma
Ontjes of the Boers
Water tubers
So-called "wild potatoes"

●412

Fig. 9. Digging Stick. One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].

[276] a, stick; b, point for digging; b^1, the same viewed from the side.

Fig. 10. Tobacco Pipe (cross-section). One-half natural size [as shown in original text].

/152 cont./

804 reflective and sly facial expression is exactly the same as ours.

O. Techniques

A definite domestic industry is present. Whatever the Auin
439 really needs, he is able to manufacture for himself. All im-
511 ported objects are luxury items. I make an exception in the case of the iron lance points, but I believe that if necessary the Bushman could even do without them.

463 The beginnings of a division of labor can be seen in the fact that only certain individuals practice the smith's trade, which, incidentally, does not extend to the manufacture of lance points.

323 Pottery is unknown.

439 Pots, supposedly from the Okovangga, are to be found sporadically. The Auin, however, is unable to repair such a vessel, as by puttying.

285 Rings of braided grass are manufactured. I myself have never seen them, since they are only made of young, but no longer green grass, in other words, shortly after the rainy season.

[294] It is said that at the same time of year certain special artists braid hat-like head coverings.

The grass rings and hats have only a limited durability, for in September and October there was none left for me to see.

[415] Sieves are made of parallel grass leaves joined together by thin strings. They are used to strain food.

"Kirris" are made with attractive decorations (Fig. 12).

413 A root stock with a knotty end is peeled and made smooth.
531 A kind of pyrography is practiced on it by wrapping it, leaving bare spaces, with a long strip of the wet bark that was peeled off, and then placing the entire stick in red-hot coals. The unwrapped parts burn to a black color, while the other parts remain white.

I could not learn the purpose of these decorated sticks among the Auin. They use rough, pointed sticks for digging sticks. The kirris, therefore, seem to be luxury articles.

412 Iron knives, sharpened pieces of iron, or lance points are used as tools. As an example of pyrography, see the pipe plug, page 33.

/152 cont./

415 Mortars and pestles, as well as spoons of wood, are made (see Photo. 18).

[287] Painting and bark working are unknown.

The preparation of hides is the same as that practiced by the
171 Hottentot, Herero, Bergdamara, and Betschuana. Hence, I shall
281 dispense with a description of the process.

The women's cosmetic described above is used to dye cloth-
281 ing made of hides. The dye is rubbed on with the ball of the
386 hand and is comparatively waterproof.

To be sure, it is questionable whether this process may be called "dyeing." The hides are already red from the tanning process, and the cosmetic scarcely changes the color. Perhaps it is better regarded as impregnation or greasing.

386 /153/ The colored stones that are pulverized and mixed with
438 fat to make the cosmetic are dug up near Kaitsaub (45 kilometers south of Gobabis) by the Hai//um Bushmen residing there, and they constitute an article of trade. [Fig. 12 appears here.]

The beautiful and durable cordage of the Auin is made of
283 the fiber of a wild agave. It looks so neat and clean that one might suspect its origin to have been in a European rope factory rather than in a Bushman settlement.

The cords are made in various strengths and are used for all kinds of purposes, mainly for the game snares.

Their manufacture is very simple and proceeds very rapidly.

The leaf is softened by tapping with a wooden stick, and it is then placed on a firm base. One hand holds a pointed stick or a blunt knife firmly on the leaf, while the other hand draws the leaf against the vertically held knife and toward the body. After this has been repeated several times, the strong fibers remain and are then rolled together into cords of the thickness and length desired.

Industrial use of Bushman cordage does not seem impossible to me.

412 As a drill, the lance point or an iron knife is used, frequently red-hot.

Only pieces of iron found accidentally are worked. The ex-
325 traction of iron from ore is unknown.

Charcoal made from the giraffe acacia is the preferred fuel
[372] for ironworking.

[Text continues on page 43]

/153 cont./

411
412

Fig. 12. Club. One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].

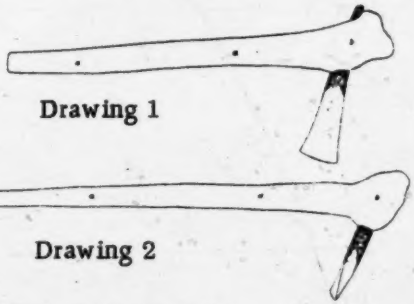
[177]

The club is an exceedingly rare imitation of a Makobe club and made by the Auin themselves.

a, knob of the club, showing burned-on decoration.

b b, handle.

Fig. 13. Ax. One-quarter natural size [as shown in original text].



Drawing 1

Drawing 2

Drawing 1. Ax with perpendicular edge:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

Drawing 2. Ax with horizontal blade:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

[439] The iron blades are obtained in trade from Makoba.

/153 cont./

325 A jackal tail fastened to a stick is used to fan the fire.

[237] A hollow reed serves as a bellows, through which one blows with his mouth to fan the fire. Whether this actually suffices to bring the iron to a red heat, however, I am unable to say.

412 Two rocks take the place of hammer and anvil. Should iron tools, such as an ax or the like, happen to be available to the Auin, these are naturally preferred.

Two pieces of green wood roughly fastened together like pincers serve as tongs.

326 The smiths (only a few, usually older people know this trade) are respected, as is shown by the fact that they are "provided with food everywhere," which is apparently the way the Auin customarily express their special esteem. [Fig. 13 appears here.]

/154/ P. Political Conditions

721 The Auin, like all Bushmen, is very warlike. Every man and youth is a warrior and capable in the use of weapons.

[714] There is no declaration of war, but if a Bushman is wearing his cap of aardwolf hide, he is on the warpath (see Photo. 21).

Special training in the handling of weapons is unnecessary, since daily life forces the Auin to use his weapons constantly in hunting.

726 I myself have not witnessed any of their wars. A reliable Kaffir described an Auin campaign, in which he participated, as follows:

Several friendly settlements decided to join in an attack on another Auin settlement. They put on their war caps and after sundown marched off in the direction of the enemy. They halted in the vicinity of the enemy settlement and, without lighting a fire (this was during the cold season!), waited for morning. After sunrise, when it had become a little warmer, they surrounded the settlement and attacked it from all sides.

My informant related that the Auin had attacked with great determination and had primarily used the lance.

The attack was made with loud shrieks and cries; no special war cry was recognized.

Auen

301

Photo. 20.
Chains of Ostrich Egg Shells as Ornaments.

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Photo. 22.
Children's Clothing.

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●412

Photo. 24.
Use of the Digging Stick (digging up veld food).

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Auen

Clothing and Equipment.

Photo. 25.

a through d, see p. 20; e, quiver; f, digging stick; g, bow; h, throwing lance; i, cover for the lance point.

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Photo. 27. Clothing and Equipment.

Auen

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Clothing and Equipment.

Photo. 26 [see Photo. 25]

291
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Photo. 28 [see Photo. 27]. Clothing and Equipment.

[36 cont.]

Cooking and Cooking Utensils

354 Lumps of surface limestone are generally used as hearthstones.
412 Here and there, as a great rarity, one finds a pounding stone of quartzite.

To pound the veldkost, small mortars, carved out of wood, with conical or hemispherical bottoms are used. In case the mortars become damaged, holes are made on either side of the crack, and the flaw is drawn together with bast strips and also smeared over with resin. The shape of the pestle, which is from 50 centimeters to one meter long, is shown in Figure 7.

415 Originally these !Kung had no pots and probably had no
[252] way of boiling anything. The usual manner of preparing food even today is to roast and grill it on and between hot stones. Nowadays,
[439] every horde owns a number of pots acquired from the Okawango.
[482] These pots have bast or tendon plaiting around them, by which they are fastened when carried on the march. The Okawango people
[439] gladly exchange these water pots, which they have carried with them on the waterless stretch, for food from the Bushmen in the area between Karakowisa and Nuragas.

416 Small cast-iron tripods are a very popular article. A
417 longish, crudely carved stirring stick, as well as a piece of hardwood for arranging the fire, completes the inventory of the Bushman kitchen. Spoons are unknown.

Clothing

291 The clothing of the woman, as has already been repeatedly described, consists of a front apron and a back apron, made of soft leather, and a leather cloak something like a pelerine. Usually she also has a carrying hide for the baby. Generally, the child does
[854] not sit on her back, as among the Blacks, but on the side of her hip.
[415] In addition, the woman has the large veld bag in which she keeps the
[412] finds from her collecting. On the march, the woman is equipped with the simple digging stick, pointed at the bottom.

The men are clothed only with the modesty apron and in addition

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the 293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire 291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re- [123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having [124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in [412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess [325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in [439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that, [53] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead embroidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich 301 egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are [321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence [556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are [462] [306] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of [302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to LENGTHEN THEM.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

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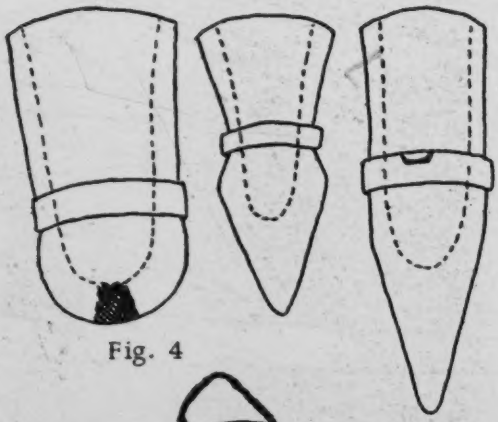

Fig. 4

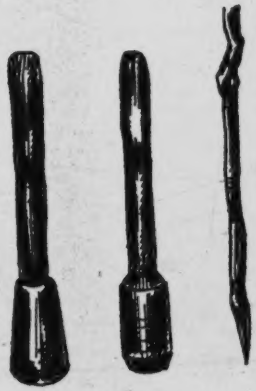

Fig. 7

415
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Fig. 5

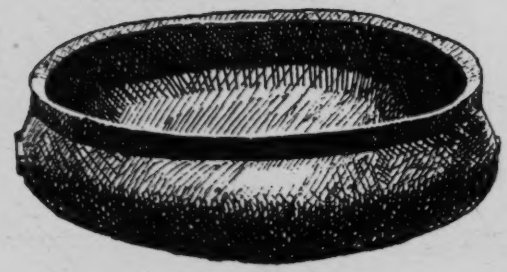

Fig. 6

Fig. 8

(Captions on following page.)

[38 cont.]

412 415 Fig. 4. Wooden Mortars of the !Kung. (1/4 natural size [as shown in the original text]).

Fig. 5. Wooden Vessels of the !Kung.

Fig. 6. Large Wooden Bowl of the !Kung (probably imported from the north — Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 2158).

Fig. 7. Pestle and Digging Stick or the !Kung (greatly reduced).

Fig. 8. (1) Digging Stick with !Kwe; (2) Veld Hoe (Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 1278 and 1497).

301 lengthen them. Some people possess such a great number of these chains that they cover the entire forehead. Children often wear small rectangular pendants, and women have large, medallion-like round ones that are worn like a diadem in the middle of the forehead. Little chains of small ostrich egg beads up to five centimeters long are worn as ear pendants. Children are also given armbands and anklebands made of ostrich egg beads. Brass beads from ancient times are rare and are worn exclusively as hair pendants, as are copper beads. Glass beads are not greatly valued, and only blue ones are worn, if any. On the other hand, beads made from aromatic wood are common. Longer chains of alter-
[756] nating wood and ostrich egg beads and worn in the hair are insignia of the female doctors. The men have tight little leather straps
[827] at the wrists and ankles, which probably serve to strengthen the
[411] musculature in running and using the bow. In addition, they have a few armbands of brass or iron. Every man and woman wears a string around the neck, which has one or two appetite sticks (see
[777] below) and various talismans attached at the front. Finally, a little horn containing various kinds of medicine is worn around the neck by many of the men. The younger women and girls
[303] usually also possess a tortoise shell powder box of the kind described below for the Dama. Body painting is scarcely practiced;
[302] concerning tattooing, see page 56. The children occasionally wear armbands that they make themselves with grass or various fruits.

/257 cont./

301 people that I did not find among the Heikum. The Kung of the Kaukau Veld had rings braided from wildebeest tail hairs as arm and neck ornaments, and had made similar arm and leg rings from twisted grass. Furthermore they wore strings of twisted bast criss-crossed over the chest in considerable numbers. In addition, in the Kaukau Veld I found neck rings of dried and braided antelope tendons and, in larger numbers than among the Heikum, copper, [439] brass, and iron rings. The latter are obtained by the Kung Bushmen of the Kaukau Veld through trade with the Ovambo [Ambo] and Betschuana [Tswana] in exchange for ostrich eggs and antelope hides.

Like their clothing, the house furnishings of the Bushmen are 415 also very simple and quickly enumerated.

Wooden pans of various sizes, without handles, are generally found in every hut. For the pounding of food, the Bushmen use a cylindrical, mortar-like wooden vessel with thick walls and a ● [412] very strong bottom. A heavy staff about 30 centimeters long and four centimeters thick is used for pounding.

For chairs, they use wooden stools which by European standards 352 are absurdly small. They consist of two circular wooden disks scarcely the size of a hand and joined by two wooden rods. They stand about ten centimeters high.

There are plenty of axes in the villages. They consist of 412 small iron blades attached to thick wooden handles. The shape of the axe shows that the value of the iron necessitates frugal use of this valuable metal. The force of the blow, which in the case of European axes is produced by the weight of the iron part, is achieved by the Bushmen through a club-like enlargement of the wooden handle near the end of the axe. Side by side with axes that have a longitudinally-placed cutting edge, one also finds axes with a transverse cutting edge.

A common tool is the knife for removing hair from animal skins. This knife consists of a short, transverse iron blade imbedded in a wooden handle.

There are various kinds of tobacco pipes. The Bushmen, who 276 find a leaf tobacco in the bush throughout the year, are experts at making an improvised pipe bowl from a root tubercle in the shortest possible time. Large pipes made of the end of a kudu horn

/257 cont./

276 that has been cut off are very popular. The cut surface of the end of the horn is pressed to the mouth, and the smoke is sucked into the lungs in a deep draught. Very frequently simple cartridges are used as primitive, but nevertheless serviceable tobacco pipes.
[439] Clay pipes, which are not uncommon in the Kaukau Veld, are imported from the Betschuana.

/258/ A common kitchen utensil is a large, flat wooden
415 spoon with a bent handle, which, however, is not used to place food in the mouth, but only to fill vessels. The Bushmen eat with
[264] their fingers; they drink their soups from the communal wooden bowl and polish up the rest with a crooked index finger and by licking it out with the tongue.

As pots they use pumpkin [melon?] vessels bound with leather
[482] thongs and carried over the shoulder on sticks.

As a special display object in many a hut one finds a large clay vessel with strong walls and decorated with white bands that
[439] have been notched into it. This vessel is imported from the Ovambo.

The tools for firemaking command special interest. The
372 Bushman is acquainted with two, the dáni and the //oro.

The dáni (dá = fire) consists of two wooden sticks, each about 40 centimeters long. The rounded-off end of the one stick fits into a pan-like cavity at the end of the other stick. The edge of the pan is provided with a little opening through which the glowing wood that has been rubbed to tinder can be emptied onto a smooth stone during the fire-twirling. The Bushman can make fire with this tool in less than half a minute.

The other firemaking device known to the Bushmen is the
[439] //oro, a flint with striking ring and tinder box, imported from the Betschuana.

A tool that in addition to its use in leather working also serves
412 medical purposes is a pointed iron needle about 20 centimeters long and three millimeters thick, carried in a narrow leather sheath by almost every male Bushman. The needle is used with great skill
[752] for the removal of thorns from the skin, an operation which the Bushman naturally must frequently demand of his medicine man.

In addition to the above-mentioned hunting implements, the
482 game snare and game hook, I was shown a wooden staff, approximately one and a half meters long and worked with some skill, which is used for carrying game over the shoulder,

inch long and less than a quarter of an inch wide. No flowers were seen on the expedition, but from herbarium records it is known that they are yellow and tubular and produce papery pods two inches long and half an inch wide. The pods split down their centre when they are mature. 137X

This plant is known from the northern Cape, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, and was widespread and fairly frequent north and south of Ghanzi.

Although it is not an edible plant it is nevertheless a producer of food, for all the Bushman digging-sticks seen were made from it. The only preparation is that the bark is peeled off, the spines trimmed, and one of the ends cut at a slant. The stick is about four feet long. In sandy soils and for the type of digging usually required it is a more efficient tool than a spade. It may be made to loosen a narrow cylinder of earth, and this cylinder, if a little wider than the object sought, is all that is necessary. With a spade on the other hand it is usually impossible to avoid a funnel-shaped excavation which entails the removal of far more soil. 322 412 824

Catophractes alexandri D. Don (4893) Photograph 52. 137X

!hɔ: Bushman.....	n!ain!ai
||ganakwe Bushman...	!ga:!gaba
|gikwe Bushman.....	ga:giba:
Naron Bushman.....	n!ain!ai

A five-foot erect silvery bush with opposite leaves, some brightly coloured in the autumn and winter. They often bear slender sharp spines in their axils, which afterwards develop into branches and bear leaves and spines in their turn. The leaves and younger woody parts are covered with a dense white wool, but this afterwards disappears from the woody parts and they become a reddish brown. The flowers, which are about two inches long, are white, trumpet-shaped and showy, and produce a pod covered with short blunt prickles and up to three inches long, dark and woody when mature and splitting down the centre. The seeds have a circular membranous wing round them.

The plant is recorded from Angola, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Transvaal. It was fairly frequent south and north of Ghanzi, in patches down the banks of pans, on limestone, and occasionally also on slight slopes in sandy country.

Catophractes alexandri is not a food plant but deserves mention because of its importance in the preparation of food—it is used as a fire-drill together with *Grewia retinervis*, as is described in the notes on that species. 372 412 824

Corallocarpus sphaerocarpus Cogn. (5020, 5138, 5230) Photograph 53. 137X

|gikwe Bushman.....	|hurugu
Naron Bushman.....	|hɔrɔ
Eastern !khû Bushman	|hɔrɔ

A very variable plant creeping by means of tendrils over shrubs and low trees, and with sparse leaves, dissected or lobed and rough to the touch, rising in groups or singly from nodes on the rather sappy stem. The leaves are not flat even when perfectly fresh, but inrolled slightly at the margins as though they were beginning to wilt. Three or four sessile half-inch ovoid fruits are borne in a cluster at the nodes as well, which in

224 visits a *||gāus* for this purpose he kindles the *!hei-|ais*
622 with fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own.

224 Any want of success in the chase is generally attributed to
777 some chance incident. For example, a man, who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife had her periods, will not hunt again when she is in that condition nor will she eat any of the *‡noe-di* at such times. The meat of an animal
[262] killed by a dog may not be eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating. This prohibition is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. If, however, an animal is killed with bow and arrow after having been brought at bay by a dog, the meat is *so.ra* and women may eat the *‡noe-di*. The remains of an animal killed by a lion are not *so.ra* and may be partaken of by all individuals. Care, however, is taken not to offend the lion which likewise observes certain practices after each kill. After having had his fill he buries the sacrum and haunchbones and covers them over with the dung (stomach contents) of the animal. If he should be unsuccessful in hunting his prey he returns to the spot of the last kill, digs up the buried parts and inters them in another place. This he does to restore his luck and if he should find that the bones have been taken away he will follow the person who removed them right into the *||gāus*.
184 *So.ra* applies only to meat killed with bow and arrow and
224 as far as is known at present this practice exists among the
262 *Xom-khoin*, *|Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*. Among these
784 groups the meat of the following animals is *so.ra*, namely, steinbuck, duiker, springbuck, hartebeest, gemsbuck, kudu, wildebeest and giraffe. The eland, which is a comparatively rare visitor to the parts occupied by these groups is not killed at all by the *Xom-khoin* who believe that harm will befall any person who eats its meat. In other words the *Xom-khoin* consider the eland to be absolute *so.ra*. Among other groups the man who shoots an eland must, on returning to the *||gāus*, sleep under the *!heis* as intercourse with his wife will prevent the poison from killing the animal. The same applies to a person who shoots a giraffe.

412 The implements and utensils which are used in the collection and preparation of food are very few in number. Vegetable food is dug up with a sharpened stick, 2 to 5 feet in length.
252 Ö intjes, *||ñoun* and other similar plant foods are roasted in hot ashes covered with cinders. Ants (Bushman rice) are dealt with in a similar manner and then recovered again by means of a sieve of grass matting. Locusts are either roasted or boiled. Frogs, etc., are sometimes roasted over the fire on a wooden spit (braaistok) stuck into the ground. Birds, snakes, small antelope, etc., are prepared by placing them in a hollow made in the ashes with a flat paddle-shaped wooden scoop and covering them over with live coals. The meat of larger

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

136 the great veld fires had burned away the dry grass farther in the north, causing new green grass to spring up, luring the antelope to come there. We saw fires very near us and we wondered if the Bushmen had followed the game to the north.

361 609 One day we came to a tiny, low forest where we decided to camp for the night. As we searched among the little trees for firewood, we came upon three scherms, three little huts, built by Bushmen and abandoned very recently. The ashes of the fires were still warm. The people who lived there had surely heard us and had run away, leaving many of their possessions behind. We found a pot, burned black from use, a 441 few white beads, a quiver with arrows, and a digging-stick, 442 which is a branch a few feet long with the bark peeled off and 445 the twigs trimmed away, sharpened at one end and used by 301 Bushmen as a spade to break the hard ground when they dig roots. We then found footprints made by the people when they had rushed off in all directions; and later, as we followed the tracks, we even found the prints of hands and knees where someone had crawled hastily across an open place.

609 The discovery of these huts made us very hopeful, as we had traveled much farther than we had expected. We felt confident that Gishe, who had been born near our very campsite, would be able to track the people and find them, or that they would be plagued by curiosity and finally visit us. They did not, however; nor did they come back for their possessions, nor was Gishe able to find them. He had been living on a farm for many years and was no longer an expert tracker; and after the night dew had fallen during the evening that we found the werf, the tracks were old.

Of course, it was useless for us to wander around the veld hoping to stumble upon fresh tracks, although we tried the following day without success. We also sent Gishe to look for

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Twikwe was a lanky old woman. She sometimes wound a medicine string around her belly to ward hunger away.

This is Gai's house, this bare sand
under the branch of a tree.

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[p. 112(E)]

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Hunting is mankind's oldest—and least rewarding—way of life. Among its last practitioners are the Kalahari Bushmen

PART I

101 A PEOPLE, small of stature, few
131 in numbers, calling themselves "!Kung," but who are called "Bushmen" by others, live today in a tremendous depression, half-a-continent wide and sunken in the southern African plateau—by name, the Kalahari Desert Basin. They live on the huge floor of this Basin, near one of its imperceptible sides. It is an open land —large to the point of vagueness, under a limitless sky. There is a word
101 used frequently by the other inhabitants of this Basin—mostly black-skinned peoples—to define the different cultural groups now living there. The word is "nation." One speaks of the Herero nation, the Chuana nations, the Okavango nations. To follow this usage, one would speak of the !Kung nation of *Nyae Nyae*—one among several Bushmen nations. [The prefix, (!), indicates one of the so-

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WORLDLY GOODS of a !Kung family are arrayed, *above*, preparatory to moving camp. The number of belongings cannot exceed family's carrying capacity.

[p. 4]

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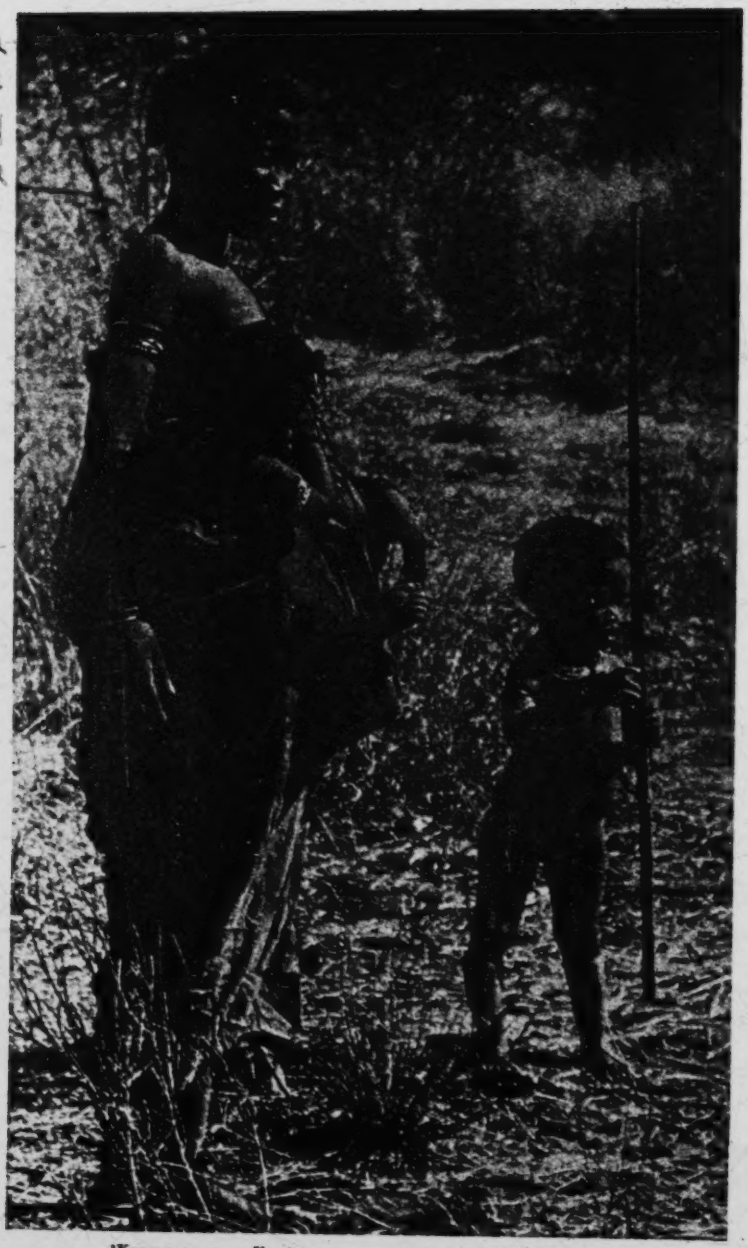

!Kung mother, collecting near camp, cradles a suckling daughter in a fold of her skin *kaross*, while her toddler son carries along a stick of his own.

[p. 11]

114

JOHN MARSHALL is one of a family that has been studying the Bushmen for nearly a decade, in expeditions to South West Africa by the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

222 !Kung women, who are slender-armed and do this monotonous work to the end of their lives. All roots—a major food—are gathered in identical fashion. The implement for this is a digging stick—made usually by a woman's husband from any of a number of hardwoods: the bark is peeled from a branch, a point is whittled sharp. Women, squatting, dig narrow holes in the earth with these sticks, and tug until the root they have reached comes free. Berries are picked—high ones jostled down with sticks and sought for carefully among the grass stems. Nuts are collected on the ground.

[412]

224 SMALL ANIMALS, such as tortoises and even grasshoppers, are sometimes captured by the women and brought home in the evening—such small creatures are also considered *veldkos*. The women, too, will kill snakes, even puff adders. When they see a puff adder, they gather around it in a little crowd, their high laughter tinkling while they drop large, heavy things on its flat head.

222 461 Averaged over a year, women gather on four or five days of each week—the number of days depending

[p.41]

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[212]
[306]

[151]

FIG. 5. Old /Gam making ostrich egg-shell beads. Some cowrie shells from the South Seas (via New York) dangle among her ornaments

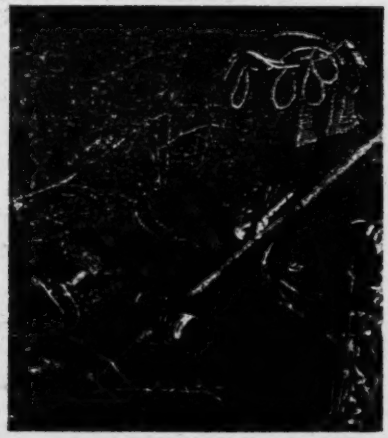

FIG. 6. Powers of observation are highly trained. This girl had seen, in the tangle of grass, a dry, hair-thin, brown vine stem which revealed that there was an edible root to be dug

342
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[140]
[301]

FIG. 7. Talking in the afternoon

FIG. 8. ≠Toma laughing

[p. 240-B]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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FIG. 13. One of the hunters (in the background) brings a hindquarter of meat to the owner of the arrow and lays it on branches beside his scherm

251
481
412

FIG. 14. Kham, a lame man, swings himself along with two sticks. He cannot hunt. Meat which some relatives or friends have given him hangs on the tree. His wife pounds some food with mortar and pestle

[p. 240-D]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

133
142
291
301
482

On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsī, the men always ac-
462 company the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsī* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater por-
222 tion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging imple-
[412] ment is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were
[101] living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some
[484] to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles
[361] to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back
[854] to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to
[482] them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the
[372] bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as
252 meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes,
264 pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

222 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the
433 impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food
231 is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families
166 therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—
[582]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

342
585
516

A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

342
[283]

digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

372
[594]
[213]

The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

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[162]
[101]
[372]

The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

361
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The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

●412
324

ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

[p. 256]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed //*guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae-Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

222
482 the lower half of the kaross conceals the wearer's backside
[291] while the upper half forms a pouch for carrying vegetable foods (as well as water containers, firewood and babies).

Since most of the Bushman foods are nuts and berries, ranging in size from 1/2 to 1-1/2 inches in diameter, and hundreds of these small foods make up a family's daily diet, Bushman life would not be possible without some means of carrying quantities of these small foods back to the camp or "home base". One cannot overstate the importance of the food-carrying device for Bushman life, and for the life of hunting and gathering peoples in general. This, I think, has implications for the evolution of human subsistence during the Pleistocene since a device for carrying vegetable foods would seem to be a prerequisite for human camp life.

222
412 The digging stick is secondary in importance to the kaross because all but one of the major Bushman foods are nuts, berries and melons which do not have to be dug out of the ground. The typical digging stick is three feet long, three quarters of an inch in diameter and sharpened into a blade at one end. It is made from the thick straight stalks of the bushes of the genera Dichrostachys and Grewia. It
[224] is not weighted by a bored stone. Apart from its obvious use for digging out edible roots and bulbs, the digging stick also plays an important role in mens' hunting activities.

224
412 Four of the ten important game species (wart hog, antbear, porcupine, and springhare) live in underground burrows and it is often necessary after running an animal to ground for the hunter to excavate to the burrow in order to retrieve the [482] carcass. The men also use the digging stick as a carrying yoke on which to bring home game.

412
222 The third tool is a pair of nut-cracking stones. Without these it would be impossible to exploit the abundant mongongo nut (Ricinodendron) as food because of its extremely hard shell. Any reasonably hard stone may be used including the locally abundant limestone cobbles. The hammerstone is fist-sized and no flakes are struck off. The anvil stone may be any size and shape up to a weight of fifteen pounds. Neither of these stones is improved in any way and only the pecking marks show evidence of human use. The nut is held on the anvil stone between the fingertips of the left hand. With the hammerstone one delivers two to five sharp and dextrous blows which are sufficient to open the nut.

Through the generations, pairs of these stones have become distributed throughout the nut forests of the Dobe area. It is only occasionally necessary for a woman to carry her own cracking stones from one camp to another.

It may be useful to re-examine the Stone Age lithic assemblages with the nut-cracking stones in mind.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

• 412 The women possess several other tools which are of subsidiary importance in the food quest:

- wooden mortar and pestle
- wooden spatula for moving ashes
- carved wooden serving spoon
- tortoise shell bowl
- bundle of tail feathers for fanning the cooking fire
- pottery containers of Bantu manufacture
- iron pots and enamel bowls of European manufacture.

415 177 224 411 The mens' hunting kit represents the most evolved sector of Bushmen technology. It includes at least 19 different tools made from seven kinds of raw materials. The primary weapons include:

[177] 1. bow
[278] 2. arrow poison
[231] 3. spear
4. springhare probe
5. knobkerrie(club)
6. iron tipped arrows
7. quiver
8. hunting dogs
9. rope snares

Secondary weapons include:

[312] 10. fire drill
[177] 11. flint and steel fire making kits
[412] 12. digging stick
[283] 13. iron knife
[177] 14. iron adze-axe
15. carrying yoke
16. knotted net

224
411 The butt end of the arrow and the two joints are bound by strands of sinew. In some arrows the iron shaft itself is
224 bound with sinew. It is the iron shaft to which the arrow
411 poison is applied. Care is taken to avoid spreading poison
278 on the tip of the arrow. The poison is obtained from the pupal forms of the Chrysomelid beetles Diamphidia sp. and
[415] Polyclada sp. The poison is prepared by squeezing the contents of several pupae into a cup made from the proximal end of the humerus of a large antelope such as gemsbok or kudu. The only additions to the poison mixture observed to be used were saliva and the juice or gum of the several species of Acacia. The use of the latter was optional. Often, without further preliminaries, the Bushmen squeezed the contents of the grub directly on to the iron arrow shaft.

[412] The pupae are mixed with a slender wooden pestle into a thin orange paste, which is then applied directly to the iron arrow shaft using a spatulate applicator especially made for this purpose. The poisoned arrow is then allowed to dry near the fire. After a few minutes it is ready for use.

There are undoubtedly regional variations in the preparation of arrow poison. The ethnographic literature lists at least a dozen substances and recipes that are claimed to be used by the !Kung Bushmen in preparing arrow poison (see Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

000 Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

224 411 The !Kung weaponry consists of specialized weapons for killing, retrieving, and preparing different species of game. The bow and arrow are used to kill only the large antelopes, kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok. The thirteen-foot-long burrow probe is used exclusively for hooking springhare [223] which sleep in their burrows during the day time. Rope snares are set to trap small buck such as duiker and steenbok, as well as the game birds such as guinea fowl, francolin and 224 korhaan. Fire is used in two ways. First it is used to smoke 372 out or asphyxiate wart hog, antbear and porcupine that have [412] been cornered in burrows. If an animal dies in the burrow, it is then dug out by means of a digging stick. Fire is also used during late winter to set bush fires. These fires burn off the old cover of vegetation and encourage new growth which will attract game animals to the burned area.

224 411 The spear is not used as a weapon of attack, but is employed to finish off animals that have been weakened by [231] poisoned arrows or that have been wounded by the Bushmen dogs.

The knobkerrie(club) is also used to finish off wounded [223] or cornered animals. Occasionally it is used as a throwing [231] club to knock down small birds and squirrels. This appears to be more of a pastime than a serious technique since the animals knocked down this way are usually fed to the dogs or just cast aside.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot

Bushmen FX10

PLATE IX

411

a

b

c

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e

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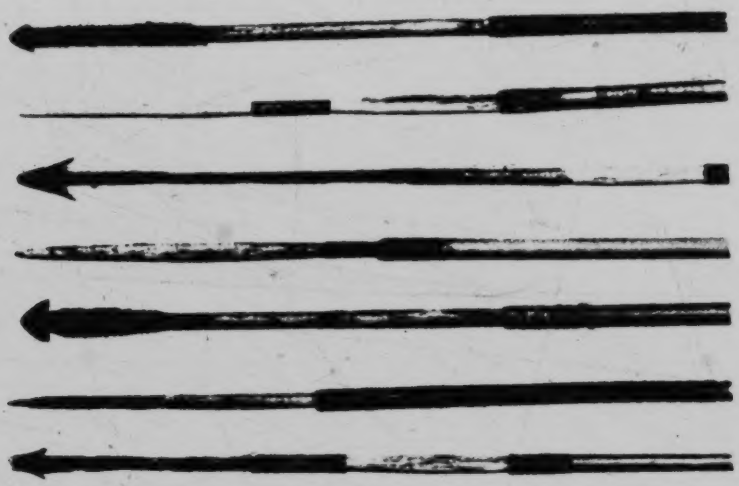


BUSHMAN ARROW-HEADS *British Museum*

f Simplest type: main shaft of reed, bone point coated with poison
a, e Main shaft of reed, bone foreshaft, barb and iron point coated with poison
c, g Main shaft of reed, bone foreshaft, reed collar or link shaft, and barbed iron head
b, d Reversible head; in b the poisoned end protrudes, in d the head is reversed

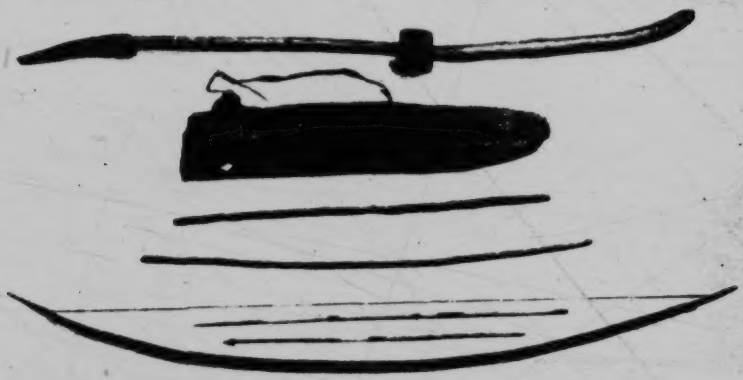
[412]

a

b

c

d



BUSHMAN WEAPONS AND IMPLEMENTS *British Museum*

a Digging-stick passed through perforated stone ball and tipped with horn
b Leather quiver for arrows
c Fire-sticks
d Bow and Arrows

[*face p.* 231]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

278 transported. When wanted for use, the insect inside is rubbed to powder on a half tortoise-shell, then mixed with the juice obtained either from the spiked cucumber (*Citrullus caffer*) or from the 'hakdoorn' (*Zizyphus mucronata*). They heat the cucumber root in the ashes, knock it on the ground, then wring out the liquid it contains. The bark of the 'hakdoorn' is chewed, and the juice spat into the dish of poison. This juice is clear, bitter, and sticky and adheres to the arrow point, on to which it is dabbed with a flattened stick after being mixed with the poison. The poisonous matter becomes very hard and dry and is apt to fly off into the eyes if the arrow is carelessly handled. Bushmen always warn one of this and say the eyes become much inflamed if even a tiny grain of dried poison gets into them." Any mixture left over is wound round a stick and carried with the arrows in the long bag; presumably it must be heated again if it is to be put on to further arrow-heads.[1]

There does not appear to be any sort of ceremonial attaching to
114 the process of preparing the poison, nor is the work of doing so the
278 function of any particular person. There are, indeed, one or two hints at something of this kind, but nothing which can be regarded as fully reliable.[2] All our principal authorities state that in general any man who needs poison prepares it for himself when he wants it.[3]

None of the Bushman poisons is instantaneous in its effect, although
224 as a rule the smaller the animal the quicker the action. Generally
278 the wounded animal runs on as if unhurt, and the hunter follows on its spoor until he finds the dead body; sometimes this is within half an hour, sometimes many hours elapse before the poison proves effective, and often enough it is not till the next day that he can obtain his meat. That the poison is fatal once it gets to the blood, cannot be doubted. Once the arrow pierces the skin of the animal the Bushman has no fear that it may escape him; it may travel perhaps forty or more miles after being wounded, but its progress becomes slower and weaker, until finally it falls down dead.

In addition to bows and arrows, the Northern tribes also make
411 use in hunting of throwing-sticks ("knob kirris") and spears. The former is a round-headed stick of hard wood, usually *Acacia*, about
[412] two feet in length, and pointed at the lower end to serve also as a digging-stick. It is used for knocking down birds and small mammals,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 14.
[2] These statements are summarised by Schapera, op. cit., 206.
[3] In addition to the references given by Schapera, loc. cit.; cf. Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 34.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

nowadays the thing is done in a haphazard manner, and generally passes as an accident. 222 224 311

The collection of veldkos is done by both men and women; but whereas with the former it is incidental to their hunting, the latter are collectors only, and set out every day, usually in company, to go over several miles of land. The digging-sticks they use are from 3 to 4 feet long, and consist of pieces of hard wood, pointed at one end. In the south, where the veld is hard, and in the mountainous parts of the east these sticks were sometimes tipped with a buck's horn and weighted by means of a perforated stone ball passed over their lower end and wedged in (Plate IX); but in the Kalahari, where there is only sand to cope with, this is never found. The foods gathered are chiefly roots, bulbs, ground nuts, berries, melons, and, in fact, anything at all edible, the food naturally varying with the season of the year. At the same time, the women also catch all sorts of small animals which they come across—iguanas, tortoises, frogs, locusts, flying ants, etc.—and they gather dry sticks for the evening fire. [462] [412] [184]

Among the Heikum the following ceremony is observed in connection with the gathering of veldkos by the women. "It is practised," says Fourie,[1] "when the fruit of the */huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the */huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gaus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women to the *//gaus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the */heis*. Her husband now kindles the */hei-/ais*, and, after having applied */norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it." There is no known name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called */gao-ei-/un*. The ceremony in this form is not found in any of the other Bushman tribes, but is met with also in slightly different form among the Bergdama. The possibility of borrowing must therefore again be kept in mind; but, whether borrowed or not, the ceremony is of importance as indicating the development of a special ritual in connection with one of the principal sources of food supply. 222 622 [184] [171]

[1] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56–7; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W.A." 98–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this ever-present problem. 182 312 823

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially the *Inaras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season. In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then carefully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and resume their normal hunting life.[1] 312 [685] [824] [271] [221]

Industries and Trade

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are essentially domestic.[2] 511

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes 322 [342] [411] [412]

[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 51; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 297; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 51, 70–1, and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 671–3; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 393–4.

[2] The most comprehensive account of Bushman industries is to be found in Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 89–113, pl. xxiii–xxix, which relates chiefly to the Auen; cf. also van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 62–80; Passarge, op. cit., 81–94; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 297–301; Kaufmann, op. cit., 152–3; Schultze, op. cit., 658 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschileute," 257; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 8–18 *passim*; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 103. [114]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

322 decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops
[412] for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-
[415] western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom,
[283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

824 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
285 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
[412] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

237 Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water,
[415] and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women
[306] make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops, and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small
412 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell
324 beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or
[439] three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by
[326] barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.
178 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
324 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
[323] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
[237] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while
[415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

PLATE XI

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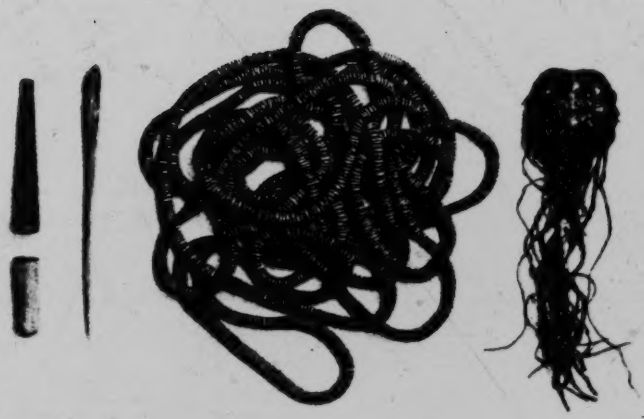
301
415



a b c d

British Museum

BUSHMAN ORNAMENTS AND UTENSILS

a. Serpentine and Bone Pipes
b. Bone awl
c. Waistband of Ostrich egg-shell beads
d. Tortoise-shell box for holding *buchu*

224

L. Fourie

BUSHMAN SNARE FOR HUNTING GAME

[*face p.* 158]

/147 cont./

223 noose is released when the animal takes the bait, and at the same time the gallows springs back and pulls the animal up in the air by its neck. Concerning the material used to make the noose, see page 41 . The arrowheads of the Auin are generally
411 poisoned. I have also found arrows which had only a single unpoisoned bone point. These are used for sport, perhaps also for killing small birds.

278 Manufacture of the arrow poison. Burkea africana (firewood of the Bushmen) is inhabited during the rainy season by a beetle (or a species of termite?) which toward the end of the rainy season pupates in the soil under the tree. The larvae are dug up, killed, dried in the sun, and rubbed between stones.

Roots of the thorny tschamma (Cucumis heptactylus Naud.) are laid on red-hot coals, taken out warm, and the bitter sap pressed out. This sap is mixed with the poisonous paste, and the resulting dirty, reddish-brown preparation represents the finished arrow poison. The poison is applied to the arrow point in a layer several millimeters thick and dries there.

The Bushmen greatly fear their own arrow poison and always
278 carry the poisoned point hidden in the shaft. The poisoned end
411 is exposed only just before it is to be used. The layer of poison on the iron points, which because of their width cannot be concealed in the arrow shaft, is always wrapped with bast which is not taken off until the arrow is to be used. All Auin can make arrow poison and readily demonstrate the process.

224 The decorative scars described on page 16 are to be regarded
304 as hunting trophies.

The hunters supposedly tell exaggerated tales. Quarrels on
521 these occasions sometimes end in bloodshed.
578
[231] The only domestic animal is the dog.

The Bushman doctor is supposed to let blood for healing pur-
757 poses. For instance, in the case of a man who could not run well, bloody incisions were made in his upper thigh. On the other hand, I do not know whether this procedure can be described as "bloodletting." Scars from such incisions were shown to me several times.

● 413 The surgical instrument is a little sharpened piece of iron.

/152 cont./

804 reflective and sly facial expression is exactly the same as ours.

O. Techniques

439 A definite domestic industry is present. Whatever the Auin
511 really needs, he is able to manufacture for himself. All imported objects are luxury items. I make an exception in the case of the iron lance points, but I believe that if necessary the Bushman could even do without them.

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323 Pottery is unknown.

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[294] It is said that at the same time of year certain special artists braid hat-like head coverings.

The grass rings and hats have only a limited durability, for in September and October there was none left for me to see.

[415] Sieves are made of parallel grass leaves joined together by thin strings. They are used to strain food.

"Kirris" are made with attractive decorations (Fig. 12).

● 413 A root stock with a knotty end is peeled and made smooth.
531 A kind of pyrography is practiced on it by wrapping it, leaving bare spaces, with a long strip of the wet bark that was peeled off, and then placing the entire stick in red-hot coals. The unwrapped parts burn to a black color, while the other parts remain white.

I could not learn the purpose of these decorated sticks among the Auin. They use rough, pointed sticks for digging sticks. The kirris, therefore, seem to be luxury articles.

412 Iron knives, sharpened pieces of iron, or lance points are used as tools. As an example of pyrography, see the pipe plug, page 33.

[39 cont.]

41) The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire.

[40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by
[439] the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be-
[422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should
[304] be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out
177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked
415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are
278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen.
805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions;
211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary.
[614] To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so
[888] great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements
[623] BETWEEN THE CHIEF AND THE OTHER OLD MEN.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 25]

[43 cont.]

732 Blindness in one eye is very common as the result of wounds inflicted by thorns. Among very old people I have also found blindness as the result of cataract. Here and there one also finds [648] Bushmen who in olden times had been captured by the Herero, who shot out their eyes with grass seed.

Ear Ailments

757 They are relatively rare. For an ordinary earache, leaves are stuffed into the ear "so that it will stay warm." The aching ear is likewise held over the fire, in which some medicine has been placed. If pus comes out of the ear, the ache stops and all

●[413]

Fig. 16. Scratching Instrument. Iron leaf fastened to a little stick with resin and leather strips. (Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg; actual size [as shown in original text].)

[753] [44] is well. If //Gauab has put something in it, however, the pains become so strong that one can no longer sleep or hear. In [755] such cases one must call an especially powerful doctor, who draws out the spirits of sickness; otherwise the patient will die.

[44 cont.]

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757
278

from the fire. As a cure for coughing and hoarseness, they chew the fibers of a sisal-like plant, which are twisted to make the trap cord. The plant is called kũi. It must be brought fresh from the forest. For chest pains, in recent times they have started drinking warm water to which much cooking salt is added.

Circulatory Diseases

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751

As among the Central African Pygmies, we find strong sinuosity of the arteria temporalis even among more youthful individuals. The heart quickly wears itself out as a result of the exhausting way of life and the great amount of running. The people try to increase its capabilities in every way possible. In order to stop the pounding of the heart and to run longer, they take the leaves of a tree with red fruit (in-gui). These leaves are chewed and swallowed. If this does no good, they chew the root of the ≠Na tree. If a person has a heart pain so that he cannot run, he takes roots of the Dormakar bush (!gu) and of the Hell bush (!gai !dsao), boils them both, and drinks the decoction. In case of angina pectoris, the skin of a boa constrictor is placed around the chest.

[413] Fig. 17. !Kung Instrument for Knocking Out Teeth; actual size [as shown in original text].

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

side. /Gunda sat behind the line of boys, in a deep shadow, to show that he was 159
' ashamed ' and respected (feared, *koa*) the wedding scherm. 585

One of the boys began to play, not their ceremonial music or special wedding music, but songs of the *||guashi*, as they call them, the little wordless melodies these [533] people compose about happenings in their lives, about pleasures or distress, about their moods. They play and sing these melodies for hours upon hours in the afternoons when they are resting or in the evenings by their fires, and they played for hours that night at the wedding fire.

Soon young guests began to arrive, the children of both werfs with whom /Nai played, all of them younger than the boys who attended /Gunda and the girls who carried /Nai. The youngest guest was the ubiquitous three-year-old boy who never missed anything. No adults came.

One boy brought four mangetti nuts with him and roasted, cracked, and ate them himself. That was all that appeared by way of a feast. Di/ai said that they would like to have given the children something to eat but there was nothing in the werf that night. Even though the others had had something to eat, the bride and groom would have had to abstain. They must not talk or eat, to show they are ' ashamed '. The young guests seemed to enjoy themselves, nevertheless, and were still singing and chatting when I left at midnight.

Soon after sunrise the following morning—/Gunda had already departed—/Nai's mother went to the wedding scherm and sat down beside the embers of the night's fire. /Nai stood shivering beside her in her little genital apron and the duiker skin [291] which women wear around their buttocks and up between their legs, but stripped of her kaross. The mother had brought a little fat (eland fat, if they had it, would be [825] used) and a bit of powdered red stone, one of the red earths (*|gam |gai gwoie*), mixed with fat. She rubbed /Nai all over with the fat, and drew a line on her forehead and a circular design on her cheeks with the red powder mixed with fat. Over in werf 2, [302] Gao, Nai's stepfather, presented /Gunda with a blanket.

This completed the wedding ceremony.

/Nai was a lively child who loved the dancing and singing games the girls play. 159
She often danced alone, tapping her bare feet on a stone in rapid rhythm or making a game of printing a design in the sand with tiny steps. She liked babies and as often 462
as not had her infant half-brother or some very small cousin tied to her back. That morning she appeared to turn into a housewife as though it were her next blithe step. When the women went to gather veldkos, she put on her own little duiker skin [222] kaross, took her digging-stick and went with them. At the end of the day, when they returned in the slanting sunset light, she had two big roots. She went straight to her own fire, blew on the embers, added wood, and sat down. Three ostrich egg shells [415] full of water and her digging-stick were her household goods. These she arranged beside the scherm. /Gunda came and sat down opposite her. She smiled at him and set the roots in the ashes to cook.

It has been said in talks with informants that the bridegroom must bring an 159
antelope which he himself has killed to the parents of the bride before the wedding, 183
but no animal had been brought; there had not been a scrap of meat in the werf for days. I asked Di/ai about this. ' Oh, that,' she said in effect. ' Yes, he should give me 585
an antelope, but we thought we would have the wedding first and that /Gunda would

/139 cont./

372 are made in one of the sticks, and the rounded end of the other stick fits into them. [Figs. 1, 2, and 3 appear here.]

The first stick is placed on the ground and held down with both feet. The other stick is placed with its round end in one of the hollows, and it is twirled as rapidly as possible between the flat palms of the hands. As can be seen in the picture Photo. 19), the hands slide downward during this process, and frequently a second man immediately starts at the top when the hands of the first operator have moved all the way down. A kind of tinder of thoroughly dried birds' nests (weaver bird?) is placed around the bored hole. The fine dust from the twirling begins to smoulder after a few minutes, and the tinder is then fanned to a flame by blowing with the mouth.

[622] The "captain" (aichab) of the settlement sees to it that the fire does not go out. A "sacred" fire does not exist. Keeping the fire from going out is a matter of sheer practicality since twirling to make fire is, after all, fairly strenuous.

354 A few stones, which, incidentally, are not found everywhere in the Kalahari, represent the hearth. In rainy weather cooking is done inside the windscreen.

462 The woman does the cooking while the children help her. In exceptional cases the paterfamilias may busy himself at the cooking fire.

On occasion all the members of a family will go out to get water and wood. Construction of the house is purely woman's work. Bachelors' huts are likewise built by the women of the horde.

415 439 Wooden cooking pots exist. Supposedly they are obtained through barter from the Ambo.

The Auin either carves primitive spoons out of wood himself, 322 or he obtains them through barter from the region of the Ngami 415 [439] [Lake Ngami?]. ~~Frequently special~~ artists at carving are to be found among the older men. The upper, concave part of a 415 small turtle shell, whose lower, flat side has been cut off, often [321] serves as a spoon.

These shells are also used as drinking vessels, and, along with hollowed-out tschama, they are the only drinking vessels that I found.

/139 cont./

412 Mortars are made of wood and have a stone floor. Their
322 construction is extremely laborious. A block of wood is buried in the ground, stamped down, and then hollowed out with the iron point of the lance or a knife. For this purpose, the iron is sometimes heated. Fire is not used. The wooden pestle is furnished with a stone at one end. The stone on the floor of the
[381] mortar is cemented with tree resin.

[373] Burning branches are used as a kind of torch, but only briefly in the vicinity of the fire.

Photograph 18 illustrates the shape of the mortar and the pestle. The mortar is made of soft wood hollowed out with a lance point. Fire is not used to hollow it out (see above).

Household utensils. Two flat stones to pound hard veld
●415 fruit. Spoons crudely carved out of wood. Wooden pot or empty ostrich eggs /140/ with a round hole as water containers. Fre-
[531] quently some kind of decoration is applied. Digging stick
[412] pointed at one end.

Ornamentation. Unfortunately I did not have time to ob-
301 tain more precise data concerning ornamentation. Ornaments
531 are attached to many objects and consist of such things as ostrich eggs and pipe plugs (which are worn on a string around the neck).

Generally speaking, the Auin has three meals a day (morn-
264 ing, afternoon, and evening). If he has enough food, however, he may eat all day long, with the necessary intervals, and, if it is not too cold, even during the night.

There is no special menu. Whatever is available is eaten.
262 The hyena is not eaten because it "devours corpses." The leopard is supposedly not eaten by all the people. The reason for this is unknown to me. The shabrack jackal is frequently spurned because it "is a dog." On the other hand, they like to eat the silver jackal, because it "does not eat vermin."

[858] Young girls who have not yet menstruated and boys before
[882] they have reached adulthood may not eat game meat because if they did, they would "remain skinny."

I have never observed any traces of cannibalism. Further-
266 more, I was told by old, experienced natives of other races (Klipp Kaffir) that they had never heard of Bushmen eating human flesh.

/142 cont./

Also, in rare cases the labia minora are supposedly stretched by
304 pulling them with the hand.

F. Clothing

291 The clothing of the Auin can be seen in Photographs 25 and 26.

Men's Clothing

a) Cap made of hide (jackal, jumping hare, Erdmännchen [field mouse?], cat).

a[1]) War cap made of the hide of the aardwolf (see also Photo. 21), only worn in war.

b) Loincloths, always made of ibex hide. A string runs from the loincloth back through the buttock crease and is fastened tightly to the hip band from which the loincloth is suspended in front. The entire contraption has somewhat the same effect as a suspensory in that the scrotum is raised somewhat (see Photos. 9-11).

c) Cloak, always made of ibex hide.

[415] d) Collecting bag, always made of ibex hide.

In addition, one often sees sandals made of the hide of a large antelope, or sandals for running (see Fig. 5). [Fig. 5 appears here.]

Further, there is a kind of fan consisting of a jackal tail
[293] fastened to the end of a stick, as well as gaiters made of antelope skin. The latter are /143/ worn by men and women, particularly in thorny terrain. In shape they resemble the Greek greaves.

Women's Clothing (see Photos. 27 and 28)

a) Head ornament. On less festive occasions, a cap styled like the men's peace cap is often worn instead of the head ornament. Usually the head is uncovered on top.

b) Modesty apron. As can be seen in Photographs 12 to 14, this consists of a bundle of leather strips suspended from a string

[Text continues on page 19]

/143 cont./

291 around the hip. The modesty apron with ostrich egg shell ornaments shown in Photograph 12 on the woman farthest to the left is supposed to have been traded from Makoba [the Koba?]. I have never seen a back apron.

c) Cloak of duiker or ibex hide. This always covers the buttocks.

d) Collecting bag (like the men's bag).

f) Digging stick.

Children's Clothing (see Photo. 22)

Girls: modesty apron and cloak.

Boys: loincloth and cloak. A collecting bag is carried by [415] both boys and girls.

The children receive the loincloth or modesty apron when they are about five years old.

294 The articles of clothing are sewed. Holes are drilled with an iron awl, made of any little piece of iron picked up somewhere, [412] or with a bone splinter. The sewing is done by drawing animal tendons through the holes.

123 When I photographed some Auin women in the nude (1), I had
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1. I am fully aware that the following is not to be regarded as a "denial of the sense of shame." I have mentioned the matter here simply because I could not fit it in elsewhere.

to take care that all the Auin men, who incidentally, had given their consent, were removed. Several Whites and Herero, on the other hand, were allowed to remain.

G. Weapons (see Photos. 25 and 26)

411
[412] f) Digging stick, also used for beating and as a throwing club.

g) Bow and arrows.

h) Throwing lance.

/147 cont./

222 Rosinkis of the Boers
So-called "wild cucumbers"
Mushrooms which grow on termite hills

251 The veld crop that has been gathered is kept in the huts in
[415] little sacks made of duiker or ibex leather.

/148/ The Auin also stores small caches of provisions by burying sacks of veld crops; he likewise buries tschamma or ostrich egg shells filled with water. In the tops of large trees one often finds, aside from animal hides, provisions of veld crops which are kept there. [Fig. 9 appears here.]

423 Land is held in common, that is, it is the common property of a horde consisting of several families. The game in this territory, as well as the wood and the veld crops, is exclusively for the use of the members of the community that holds the land. The watering places that are to be found there are available for general use, but only if water is abundant. If water is scarce, the local group that holds the land has exclusive right to it.

361 The local groups sometimes live at considerable distances
423 from one another so that the same land is used by several settle-
621 ments. The settlements, after all, do not consist of a fixed number of families, but rather of those who are gathered together in fortuitous groupings as the occasion arises. Whatever the accidental composition of the settlements may be, their members always move within a definite area, and it is always the members of the same larger horde who form the settlements.

Friendly hordes permit tracking, that is, game that has been
423 wounded on the land of one horde may be pursued on the territory
619 of a friendly horde. A part of the booty is allotted to the "landowner" within whose territory the game is killed. A definite
[685] agreement is required in each case since the Bushman attacks on sight any strange Bushman on his family's terrain.

Blood vengeance is not sought for a violation of territory if
628 the local groups are especially friendly. The offender is driven off and, in addition, just as in Prussia, his "firearms" and booty are confiscated. The policing of the terrain is done by each Bushman on his communal land.

If women are caught trespassing, they are taken prisoner and
[721] led to the settlement of the owners of the terrain. This frequently leads to war if the women are harmed sexually during their captivity.

[Text continues on page 32]

/152 cont./

804 reflective and sly facial expression is exactly the same as ours.

O. Techniques

439 511 A definite domestic industry is present. Whatever the Auin really needs, he is able to manufacture for himself. All imported objects are luxury items. I make an exception in the case of the iron lance points, but I believe that if necessary the Bushman could even do without them.

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"Kirris" are made with attractive decorations (Fig. 12).

413 531 A root stock with a knotty end is peeled and made smooth. A kind of pyrography is practiced on it by wrapping it, leaving bare spaces, with a long strip of the wet bark that was peeled off, and then placing the entire stick in red-hot coals. The unwrapped parts burn to a black color, while the other parts remain white.

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412 Iron knives, sharpened pieces of iron, or lance points are used as tools. As an example of pyrography, see the pipe plug, page 33.

/152 cont./

415 Mortars and pestles, as well as spoons of wood, are made (see Photo. 18).

[287] Painting and bark working are unknown.

The preparation of hides is the same as that practiced by the
171/ Hottentot, Herero, Bergdamara, and Betschuana. Hence, I shall
281 dispense with a description of the process.

The women's cosmetic described above is used to dye cloth-
281/ ing made of hides. The dye is rubbed on with the ball of the
386 hand and is comparatively waterproof.

To be sure, it is questionable whether this process may be called "dyeing." The hides are already red from the tanning process, and the cosmetic scarcely changes the color. Perhaps it is better regarded as impregnation or greasing.

386 /153/ The colored stones that are pulverized and mixed with
438 fat to make the cosmetic are dug up near Kaitsaub (45 kilometers south of Gobabis) by the Hai//um Bushmen residing there, and they constitute an article of trade. [Fig. 12 appears here.]

The beautiful and durable cordage of the Auin is made of
283 the fiber of a wild agave. It looks so neat and clean that one might suspect its origin to have been in a European rope factory rather than in a Bushman settlement.

The cords are made in various strengths and are used for all kinds of purposes, mainly for the game snares.

Their manufacture is very simple and proceeds very rapidly.

The leaf is softened by tapping with a wooden stick, and it is then placed on a firm base. One hand holds a pointed stick or a blunt knife firmly on the leaf, while the other hand draws the leaf against the vertically held knife and toward the body. After this has been repeated several times, the strong fibers remain and are then rolled together into cords of the thickness and length desired.

Industrial use of Bushman cordage does not seem impossible to me.

412 As a drill, the lance point or an iron knife is used, frequently red-hot.

Only pieces of iron found accidentally are worked. The ex-
325 traction of iron from ore is unknown.

Charcoal made from the giraffe acacia is the preferred fuel
[372] for ironworking.

[Text continues on page 43]

2: Kaufmann--60 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10

Auen

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291
516
[415]

Auin from Olifantskluft. Photo. 1.

Photo. 3.

Photo. 5

Auin from Rietfontein (North)

142

Auen

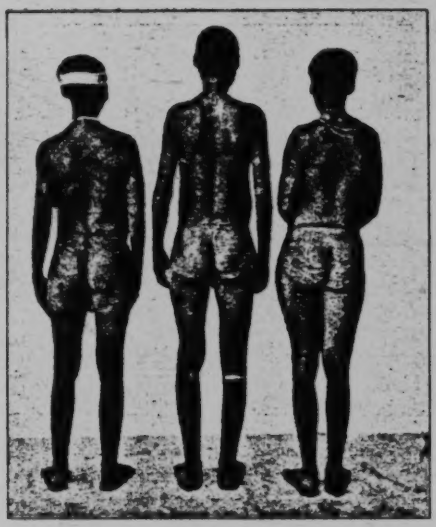

Photo. 14 [see Photo. 13]
ǂAuin from Rietfontein (North)

342

Photo. 16.
Windscreen Half-covered.

[415
516]

Photo. 18.
Windscreen (covered) and Mortar with Pestle.

[36 cont.]

Cooking and Cooking Utensils

354 Lumps of surface limestone are generally used as hearthstones.
412 Here and there, as a great rarity, one finds a pounding stone of quartzite.

To pound the veldkost, small mortars, carved out of wood, with conical or hemispherical bottoms are used. In case the mortars become damaged, holes are made on either side of the crack, and the flaw is drawn together with bast strips and also smeared over with resin. The shape of the pestle, which is from 50 centimeters to one meter long, is shown in Figure 7.

415 Originally these !Kung had no pots and probably had no
[252] way of boiling anything. The usual manner of preparing food even today is to roast and grill it on and between hot stones. Nowadays,
[431] every horde owns a number of pots acquired from the Okawango.
[482] These pots have bast or tendon plaiting around them, by which they are fastened when carried on the march. The Okawango people
[439] gladly exchange these water pots, which they have carried with them on the waterless stretch, for food from the Bushmen in the area between Karakowisa and Nuragas.

416 Small cast-iron tripods are a very popular article. A
417 longish, crudely carved stirring stick, as well as a piece of hardwood for arranging the fire, completes the inventory of the Bushman kitchen. Spoons are unknown.

Clothing

291 The clothing of the woman, as has already been repeatedly described, consists of a front apron and a back apron, made of soft leather, and a leather cloak something like a pelerine. Usually she also has a carrying hide for the baby. Generally, the child does
[854] not sit on her back, as among the Blacks, but on the side of her hip.
[415] In addition, the woman has the large veld bag in which she keeps the
[412] finds from her collecting. On the march, the woman is equipped with the simple digging stick, pointed at the bottom.

The men are clothed only with the modesty apron and in addition

412

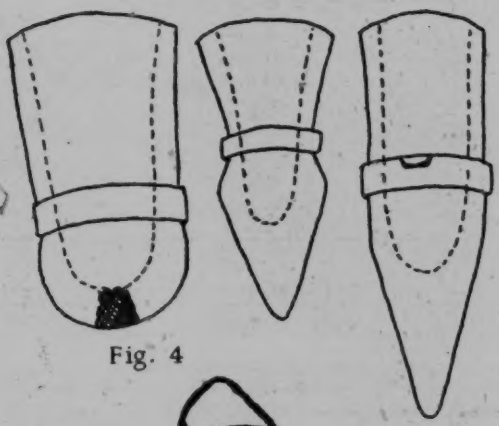

Fig. 4

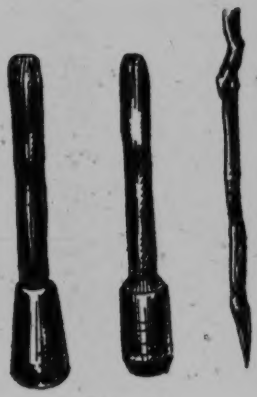

Fig. 7

415
412

Fig. 5

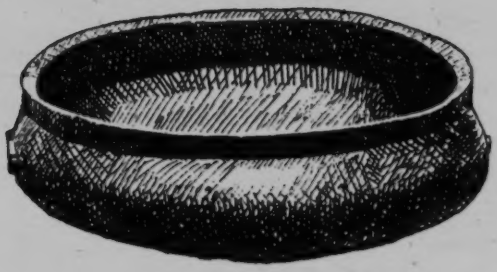

Fig. 6

Fig. 8

(Captions on following page.)

[38 cont.]

412 Fig. 4. Wooden Mortars of the !Kung. (1/4 natural size [as shown
415 in the original text]).

Fig. 5. Wooden Vessels of the !Kung.

Fig. 6. Large Wooden Bowl of the !Kung (probably imported from the north — Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 2158).

Fig. 7. Pestle and Digging Stick or the !Kung (greatly reduced).

Fig. 8. (1) Digging Stick with !Kwe; (2) Veld Hoe (Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 1278 and 1497).

301 lengthen them. Some people possess such a great number of these chains that they cover the entire forehead. Children often wear small rectangular pendants, and women have large, medallion-like round ones that are worn like a diadem in the middle of the forehead. Little chains of small ostrich egg beads up to five centimeters long are worn as ear pendants. Children are also given armbands and anklebands made of ostrich egg beads. Brass beads from ancient times are rare and are worn exclusively as hair pendants, as are copper beads. Glass beads are not greatly valued, and only blue ones are worn, if any. On the other hand, beads made from aromatic wood are common. Longer chains of alter-
[756] nating wood and ostrich egg beads and worn in the hair are insignia of the female doctors. The men have tight little leather straps
[827] at the wrists and ankles, which probably serve to strengthen the
[411] musculature in running and using the bow. In addition, they have a few armbands of brass or iron. Every man and woman wears a string around the neck, which has one or two appetite sticks (see
[777] below) and various talismans attached at the front. Finally, a little horn containing various kinds of medicine is worn around the neck by many of the men. The younger women and girls
[303] usually also possess a tortoise shell powder box of the kind described below for the Dama. Body painting is scarcely practiced;
[302] concerning tattooing, see page 56. The children occasionally wear armbands that they make themselves with grass or various fruits.

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire.

[40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

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177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked
415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are
278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen.
805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions;
211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary.
[614] To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so
[888] great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements
[623] between the chief and the other old men.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 25]

≠AOIN
NARON
NOGAO

[79 cont.]

224 water or Brak (salt) place and is prevented from turning off the track by thorn branches placed on either side of the worn track, steps on the little stick lying just below the ground, which moves it out of position and releases the end of the little transverse stick. The string, having lost its hold, releases the bent tree, which snapping back, tightens the noose around the leg of the game and holds the animal imprisoned until the Bushman brutally kills it with a number of blows of his kirri, which is carved out of hard
233 wood. For various kinds of fowl, doves, etc., the Bushman prepares similar slings with thinner string, which are set up in the same way except that the sling is not placed on the ground but is held two or three centimeters above the ground by means of little sticks planted in a circle. In the center of the circle, on a little stick loosely covered with sand, there are a few maize kernels or berries. When the bird picks them up, he moves the little stick out of position and finds his neck in the sling. -- As household
● 415 implements among the Kalahari Bushmen, in addition to the hollow
237 ostrich eggs used to carry water, I found water sacks made from the inner peritoneum of an animal, not unlike a pig's bladder; these water sacks are closed with a short stick and leather string.
[312] The ostrich eggs also serve the Bushmen as artificial watering places in the dry stretches of the water-poor steppe regions, in which a number of them are hidden under the sand.

415 "Among the other household utensils of the Bushmen, I also found flat, wooden vessels, wooden mortars, and earthen pots of various sizes. The wooden vessels, which are completely different from those of the Herero, are, according to their own state-
[439] ments, obtained in trade from their northern neighbors. The earthen pots likewise are not made by the Bushmen themselves. In form they are somewhat reminiscent of the wooden Omeira pots of the Herero and, as a Herero half-breed declared and demon-
600 strated to me, are manufactured in the following manner. A lump of soft and thoroughly kneaded clay is spread out over the naked, moistened knee, so that first of all it assumes the form of the knee. The calf of the leg must be pressed to the thigh in order to obtain the correct shape. Then the clay is carefully taken off, and the shape of the vessel is improved and perfected by kneading it with the fingers. Finally simple decorations are scratched into it with a

3: Lebzelter--164 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

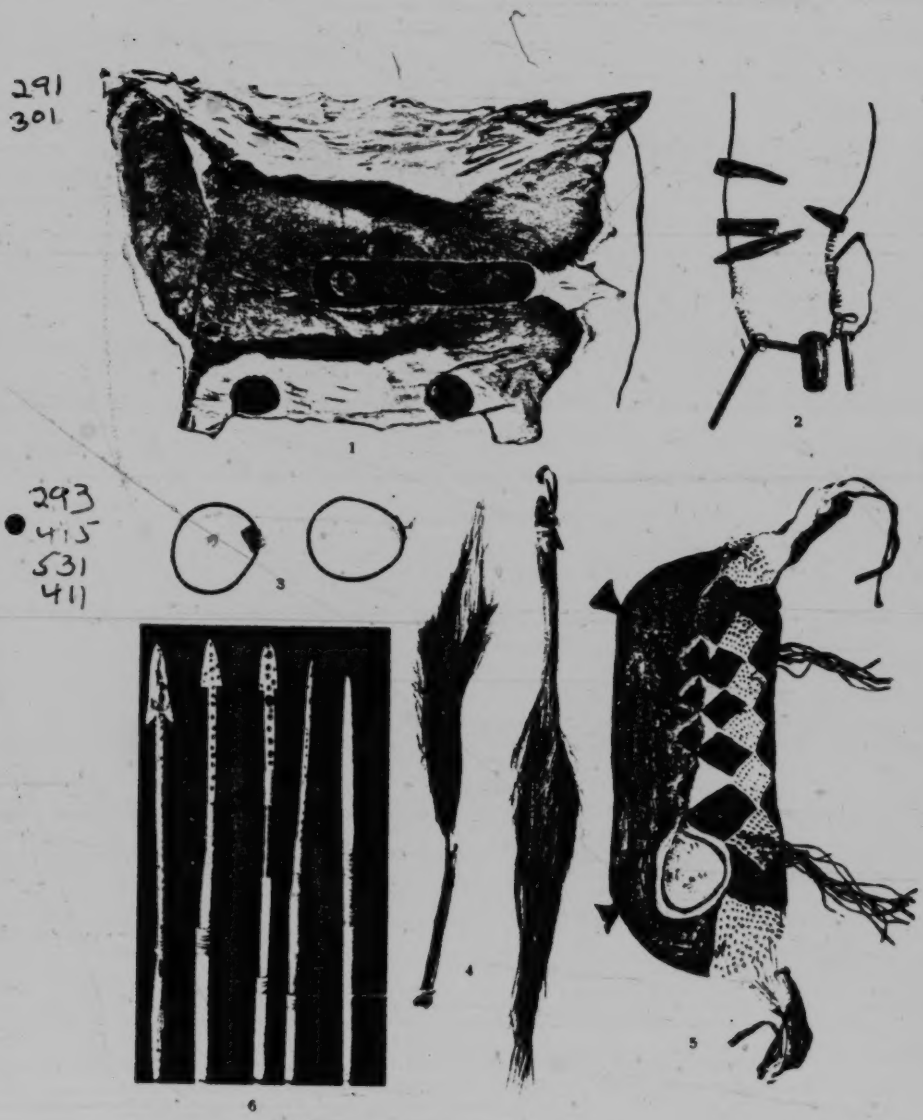

Plate VI

1. Back Apron (Betschuana), 2. Neck Band (Bushmen), 3. Grass Armbands, 4. Fly Swatters (!Kung), 5. Hide Sack (Kaunas Hottentot), (Museum for Ethnology, Berlin).

6. Bushman Arrows (Cape Province ?) (Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart).

/257 cont./

301 people that I did not find among the Heikum. The Kung of the Kaukau Veld had rings braided from wildebeest tail hairs as arm and neck ornaments, and had made similar arm and leg rings from twisted grass. Furthermore they wore strings of twisted bast criss-crossed over the chest in considerable numbers. In addition, in the Kaukau Veld I found neck rings of dried and braided antelope tendons and, in larger numbers than among the Heikum, copper, [439] brass, and iron rings. The latter are obtained by the Kung Bushmen of the Kaukau Veld through trade with the Ovambo [Ambo] and Betschuana [Tswana] in exchange for ostrich eggs and antelope hides.

Like their clothing, the house furnishings of the Bushmen are 415 also very simple and quickly enumerated.

Wooden pans of various sizes, without handles, are generally found in every hut. For the pounding of food, the Bushmen use a cylindrical, mortar-like wooden vessel with thick walls and a [412] very strong bottom. A heavy staff about 30 centimeters long and four centimeters thick is used for pounding.

For chairs, they use wooden stools which by European standards 352 are absurdly small. They consist of two circular wooden disks scarcely the size of a hand and joined by two wooden rods. They stand about ten centimeters high.

There are plenty of axes in the villages. They consist of 412 small iron blades attached to thick wooden handles. The shape of the axe shows that the value of the iron necessitates frugal use of this valuable metal. The force of the blow, which in the case of European axes is produced by the weight of the iron part, is achieved by the Bushmen through a club-like enlargement of the wooden handle near the end of the axe. Side by side with axes that have a longitudinally-placed cutting edge, one also finds axes with a transverse cutting edge.

A common tool is the knife for removing hair from animal skins. This knife consists of a short, transverse iron blade imbedded in a wooden handle.

There are various kinds of tobacco pipes. The Bushmen, who 276 find a leaf tobacco in the bush throughout the year, are experts at making an improvised pipe bowl from a root tubercle in the shortest possible time. Large pipes made of the end of a kudu horn

/257 cont./

276 that has been cut off are very popular. The cut surface of the end of the horn is pressed to the mouth, and the smoke is sucked into the lungs in a deep draught. Very frequently simple cartridges are used as primitive, but nevertheless serviceable tobacco pipes.
[439] Clay pipes, which are not uncommon in the Kaukau Veld, are imported from the Betschuana.

/258/ A common kitchen utensil is a large, flat wooden
415 spoon with a bent handle, which, however, is not used to place food in the mouth, but only to fill vessels. The Bushmen eat with
[264] their fingers; they drink their soups from the communal wooden bowl and polish up the rest with a crooked index finger and by licking it out with the tongue.

As pots they use pumpkin [melon?] vessels bound with leather
[482] thongs and carried over the shoulder on sticks.

As a special display object in many a hut one finds a large clay vessel with strong walls and decorated with white bands that
[439] have been notched into it. This vessel is imported from the Ovambo.

The tools for firemaking command special interest. The
372 Bushman is acquainted with two, the dáni and the //oro.

The dáni (dá = fire) consists of two wooden sticks, each about 40 centimeters long. The rounded-off end of the one stick fits into a pan-like cavity at the end of the other stick. The edge of the pan is provided with a little opening through which the glowing wood that has been rubbed to tinder can be emptied onto a smooth stone during the fire-twirling. The Bushman can make fire with this tool in less than half a minute.

The other firemaking device known to the Bushmen is the
[439] //oro, a flint with striking ring and tinder box, imported from the Betschuana.

A tool that in addition to its use in leather working also serves
412 medical purposes is a pointed iron needle about 20 centimeters long and three millimeters thick, carried in a narrow leather sheath by almost every male Bushman. The needle is used with great skill
[752] for the removal of thorns from the skin, an operation which the Bushman naturally must frequently demand of his medicine man.

In addition to the above-mentioned hunting implements, the
482 game snare and game hook, I was shown a wooden staff, approximately one and a half meters long and worked with some skill, which is used for carrying game over the shoulder,

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly 252
disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin
tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups [437]
use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roasted plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of 264
wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make 415
wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some 184
purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except 262
by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco 237
pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups, bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The *|Nu-||ẽin* [184]
and *||Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the *ǂAo-||ẽin* and other tribes living to the north. Articles [438]
made by the former form an important medium of exchange. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it [482]
also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large [415]
animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich eggshells are used for carrying and storing water and for the [301
manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time 438]
form the most important article of barter among the *|Nu-||ẽin*, *Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-||om*. Among the most [184
northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red [278]
ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omura* tree, are the 438]
principal media of exchange.

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit 121
me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive communities are surrounded.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

136 the great veld fires had burned away the dry grass farther in the north, causing new green grass to spring up, luring the antelope to come there. We saw fires very near us and we wondered if the Bushmen had followed the game to the north.

361 609 One day we came to a tiny, low forest where we decided to camp for the night. As we searched among the little trees for firewood, we came upon three scherms, three little huts, built by Bushmen and abandoned very recently. The ashes of the fires were still warm. The people who lived there had surely heard us and had run away, leaving many of their possessions behind. We found a pot, burned black from use, a 411 few white beads, a quiver with arrows, and a digging-stick, 412 which is a branch a few feet long with the bark peeled off and 415 the twigs trimmed away, sharpened at one end and used by 301 Bushmen as a spade to break the hard ground when they dig roots. We then found footprints made by the people when they had rushed off in all directions; and later, as we followed the tracks, we even found the prints of hands and knees where someone had crawled hastily across an open place.

609 The discovery of these huts made us very hopeful, as we had traveled much farther than we had expected. We felt confident that Gishe, who had been born near our very campsite, would be able to track the people and find them, or that they would be plagued by curiosity and finally visit us. They did not, however; nor did they come back for their possessions, nor was Gishe able to find them. He had been living on a farm for many years and was no longer an expert tracker; and after the night dew had fallen during the evening that we found the werf, the tracks were old.

Of course, it was useless for us to wander around the veld hoping to stumble upon fresh tracks, although we tried the following day without success. We also sent Gishe to look for

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

533 534 The young, unmarried man took a small musical instrument out of his hunting-bag, borrowed a dry tsama rind from one of the women, and, setting the instrument on the hollow rind, began to play. He filled the air with sweet, soft music, full of resonance and open, minor chords, even of rhythm and timbre as a music box would be.

The instrument itself was made of a small, flat piece of wood four or five inches square, with eleven metal prongs attached to it, arranged in two rows across two bridges. The melon rind acted as a resonator for the prongs, which were of different sizes and, when plucked, vibrated and rang like bells, in a scale which was not the octave and which I have never heard before. The name of the instrument is *te k'na*, and I believe that it is not native to Bushmen but traded from the Bantu people. Many Bushmen have them, though: Bushmen like music of any kind.

264 Soon the cornmeal was ready and we served it to the visitors on pieces of bark, in bowls formed from halves of tortoise shells, in tsama rinds. Bushmen have very little liquid food that does not come in its own natural container, and therefore they do not provide themselves with bowls. The [445 177] bowls they do have, carved from wood—an art learned from the Bantu people—are constantly in use as containers for small, loose objects, such as seeds or unstrung beads. Since the cornmeal was hot and runny, the people had some difficulty eating it with their fingers, but they got it down, the women hesitating a long time, watching the men, before they [609 538] dared to try it. I think they were afraid it would harm them, as I have heard many Bushman stories of strangers who poison tobacco or food. When they had eaten their servings and 264 609 578 found that they did not die, they had more, a morsel at a time. We might have presented the pot to let the people help themselves, but by now we knew better. Bushmen expect

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

825 mash the insides, then pull off the head and squeeze the in-
278 sides out like toothpaste from a tube. Both kinds of poison are equally good, they say.

Perhaps the two types of pupae are the pupae of two different kinds of beetles. Perhaps they are from the same beetle but in different stages of development. Perhaps they really are males and females, as Bushmen are often scientifically
[821] accurate, but, as Bushmen also have male and female rain clouds, perhaps not.

[439] Kung Bushmen, who use metal arrows obtained by trading
824 animal skins for wire with the Bantus, have a complicated
825 system of poisoning in which they use several ingredients for
278 the poison paste. One of these is a binding fluid, used because the pure poison squeezed from the grub will not adhere well to metal but must be made binding and sticky. The binding material comes from the bark of a tree. They chew
[415 the bark thoroughly and spit the mash into a little mortar
237] made from the knee bone of an antelope, a nice little cup, into which the Bushmen have squeezed the milky juice of sansevieria plants, got by wringing the heavy, thick leaves. This juice has an irritating effect when it is dissolved in a wound and causes the antelope to rub and scratch its wounded spot against a tree, which stimulates circulation in the area, which carries the poison more quickly through the body, which hastens death.

The paste in the mortar is thoroughly mixed, then smeared with a straw on the foreshaft of arrows, never on the head, for if the sharp edges of the head were poisoned any child might accidentally nick himself and die. When the arrow is poisoned it is propped up by a fire and the poison is allowed to dry into a shiny dark paste, to be melted again by the
411 moisture and warmth of an antelope's flank.
825
278 Gai had stored his poison cocoons in a tiny bag inside his

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

222 The women stopped and began to gather up the green melons, Twikwe picking them with a mechanical, stereotyped gesture. She first slipped her hand under a melon; then, twisting her elbow, she lifted the melon and held it pinched between the heel of her hand and her forearm, and with a scoop slipped it into the pocket of her kaross on the side. In a moment the side of her kaross was full, and she stood erect for an instant, looked at the sky, shifted her weight, and suddenly the melons rolled to the back of her kaross, leaving the side free for more. She was very efficient. In a moment she had a load. I was a little surprised at her, however, for now she would have to carry the melons with her all day whereas she might have gathered them on the way home. But Bushman women do not seem to mind this.

The women left behind the yellow melons which would have been bitter and rotten, touching them disappointedly with their toes instead. The false spring was hastening the time when all the melons would be gone, forcing the Bush-
222 men to eat roots as a staple diet, not as desirable because of
824 the uses that tsama melons have. Melons are eaten as both
[252] food and water, their pulp is added to meat which needs liquid for boiling, their seeds are roasted and eaten or ground into powder and used as flour, their rinds serve as mixing-
[415] bowls, as containers for small, loose objects, as cooking-pots with or without the pulp inside, as urine-containers for curing hides, as targets for the children's shooting practice, as children's drums, as resonators for musical instruments, and all this amounts to a serious loss for Bushmen when the melons rot or dry.

222 We went on until we were about two miles from camp. We were going to an almost imperceptible small hill, a place, said Twikwe, where a great deal of veld food grew. On the way a moving shadow caught our attention, and we looked up

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

222 the smoke had confused them and they did not sting, although they flew everywhere looking for us. The old man turned his back, hunched his head between his shoulders, and hid from them as one would hide if one were being pelted with stones. When the swarm had dispersed a little he finished the opening. The Bushmen say that when bees are disturbed they are vicious only at first. After a while they become disorganized and confused and they fly about but do not sting you. When you smoke bees you must be careful not [778 to burn them or smoke them too much because they are 825] magic creatures with medicine to control fire, and if you harm them they will cause fire to burn you. A young boy whom we knew once burned some bees, and that night, when he was asleep by the fire, the fire sought him out and burned the skin of his belly, touching him only and no one else.

Lazy Kwi and the old man did the work perfectly. They were not stung badly, the tree was open, and no bees were seriously harmed. Inside the tree we could see the brown combs hanging and the bees as thick as fur around them. Lazy Kwi took out the combs and put them in a wooden bowl, licking his fingers afterward, and before we went back we ate some of the honey. There were two kinds, old honey and new honey, and the new honey was pale yellow and very [262] sweet and mild, winter honey made from the small, dry flowers of the veld. The old honey was much sweeter and strong enough to burn your mouth. Before we left, the old man [515] and Lazy Kwi carefully wiped their hands and arms with grass, for they were covered with honey and things were beginning to stick to them. Then we went back to camp and in the afternoon we packed to go on toward Gautscha Pan.

● 415 #82 [222] Lazy Kwi packed a skin bag full of tsi nuts and the seeds of baobab fruit, alum-like powdery stones that ripen at the start of the dry season. The old man had a huge net bag filled

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

with his possessions—bowls, fire sticks with which the Bushmen kindle fires, skins, and little bags of food.

Just before we left, the Chuana woman came to say good-by and I gave her some tea and a bottle of perfume that was given to me when I left America. My mother gave her a silk scarf and some bars of scented soap, and the woman, overwhelmed, sat down on the ground with these things in her lap and with the aid of the interpreter she started to thank us, but then she said: "Too much thanks is like a curse. I sit here with my delights."

After that we climbed on the trucks and drove away, looking back to see the sky of evening and the dry hills around Gam, and the Chuana woman still sitting on the ground waving to us. In back of her, a group of serf Bushman women were thoughtfully carrying away the firewood we had left behind.

Many miles from Gam we camped for the night and all the sky in the west was hazy red with the flat-topped thorn trees blue below it, and suddenly through the haze a herd of giraffes ran from a thicket near us into the open plain. There were nine giraffes and eight were females, all strung out in a line with their strong legs slowly opening, then bunching as they ran and their heads on their long necks stretching out and back, out and back. Behind the females ran the bull, an enormous creature half again as tall as they were, half again as broad, mighty and ponderous as he reached his long legs forward to overtake his wives.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

namesake of Dikai, I had acquired her set of relationships and 608
was expected to follow the rules that applied to her. I could 551
act in a familiar way with those people whom she treated familiarly and was expected to avoid those whom she avoided. I called Dikai "Big Name," the term usually applied in such a relationship, she called me "Little Name," her nephews called me "Aunt," her mother called me "Daughter," and often her husband, Gao Feet, with roars of laughter, would say he would marry me someday.

We sat down in the werf in the delicate shade of the arching 281
branches and Dikai's mother produced a bag full of tsi nuts, 415
which the people began to roast and eat. The bag was made 252
of the entire skin of a duiker—a little nocturnal antelope no bigger than a small dog—turned inside out with the legs tied together as handles, the neck tied off as the bottom of the bag and the rump open as the top. When it was full of tsi it was solid and formed and looked eerily like a little, headless duiker.

When the day was over and the sky was getting dark I 512
made a camp for myself a few feet from the werf. The Bush- 609
man children helped me pull the grass. We built a fire in our clearing and I cooked some beans and tsi nuts that Dikai's mother had given me for myself and the children, and as Bushmen from the werf began to come over I cooked more and more. There wasn't much—the Bushmen had only half a day's supply and we hadn't expected to be away from camp so long. Everyone had a little, though, and afterward we filled ourselves up with water and we smoked. It was very cold. Be- 513
fore the night was over, the water we had in our water pail had turned to ice. On nights such as this the Bushmen prefer to sit up and talk, to keep their minds off the fact that the air is cold and they are naked and hungry, rather than to try to sleep; they wait to sleep the following day, warm in the sun.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955) 1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ket and revealed a tiny, skinny stick that was his leg wrapped 164
in some kind of rag, bound by a thong that tied the calf to the healthy thigh above, with the black foot showing below, and then he slowly and carefully unwound the thong and then the rag and opened it.

For once the people of Nama had not exaggerated a misfortune. The leg was even worse than they had described, all dead and black at the ankle, and above that, rotted away down to the bone, which was gray now, but while the foot was rotting and dry, the leg was rotting and wet and oozing a little black slime or juice. It was gangrene. A faint stench rose. Those of us who had not seen it had to look away, and Short Kwi, perceiving this, looked calmly down at the ground, at his ruined black leg, and he wrapped the rag around it again, tied his calf to his thigh with the thong, and covered it all with the blanket.

Short Kwi's wife had watched the whole thing with calmness and composure, her hands in her lap, and when the leg [301
was covered she opened one of her hands, revealing a palm- 415]
ful of little white beads, which she began to drop, one by one, into a tiny bag she wore around her neck. With her head bent to see the mouth of the bag she looked very girlish and young; someone said something unusual, an unfamiliar word, and Short Kwi glanced at his wife to see if she had heard it but saw instead what she was doing, and he looked at her with such a deep look of adoration and affection that I wondered how it was she didn't feel it and look up. The word was the word for European doctor, *docteri*, which is not part of the usual vocabulary. Short Kwi's wife had not understood it and when she had finished dropping the beads into the bag she whispered to ask her husband what it meant. He answered her softly, in a masculine, affectionate way, and the other people chimed in, so for a moment everyone was speaking except

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

481 hurrying because one of the little boys had found a millipede
825 and was trotting behind them carrying it. Bushman women do not like millipedes; millipedes make them very nervous. Someone persuaded the child to drop it, which he did reluctantly. It was a giant, shiny black and a foot long, and it ran away with the front of its body in the air, its head bent like a curbed horse. The little boy watched it go.

515 The women walked through the acacia trees and reached the pan, the shining lake, red now with sunset, and even though the air was getting cool the children ran in the shallow water, splashing, the women crouched on the rocks to bathe. They took off their karosses and bathed their arms and legs and faces, washing all the dust away, then brushed their teeth with their fingers. Beautiful Ungka called for Little Dabe and hung her ornaments on him while she bathed. He ran through the water playing, splashing with the other children, quite unconscious of his gorgeous array. Beautiful Ungka was so supple that as she sat bathing she could lay her body down on the rocks between her raised knees, which she did to reach the water, saving herself the trouble of moving forward.

292 After they had bathed, the young girls made aloe circlets for their heads, red in the red light of the sky, and they seemed very innocent and beautiful, fresh and clean; they dressed themselves slowly as the sun went down, then walked into the water, where they danced, slowly, idly, kicking to make a rhythmic splash.

854 Little Dabe, on the shore now, found the rocks hard on his feet and began to wail, and all alone on top of the rocks, picking his feet up one after the other, he was like a peacock in his ornaments, with his complaining, raucous cry. Beauti-
854 ful Ungka carried him then, although she too was barefoot,
415 bouncing him up and down while the other women rinsed
and filled their ostrich eggshells.

11-Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Hunting is mankind's oldest—and least rewarding—way of life. Among its last practitioners are the Kalahari Bushmen

Part I

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A PEOPLE, small of stature, few in numbers, calling themselves "!Kung," but who are called "Bushmen" by others, live today in a tremendous depression, half-a-continent wide and sunken in the southern African plateau—by name, the Kalahari Desert Basin. They live on the huge floor of this Basin, near one of its imperceptible sides. It is an open land—large to the point of vagueness, under a limitless sky. There is a word used frequently by the other inhabitants of this Basin—mostly black-skinned peoples—to define the different cultural groups now living there. The word is "nation." One speaks of the Herero nation, the Chuana nations, the Okavango nations. To follow this usage, one would speak of the !Kung nation of *Nyae Nyae*—one among several Bushmen nations. [The prefix, (!), indicates one of the so-

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WORLDLY GOODS of a !Kung family are arrayed, above, preparatory to moving camp. The number of belongings cannot exceed family's carrying capacity.

[p. 4]

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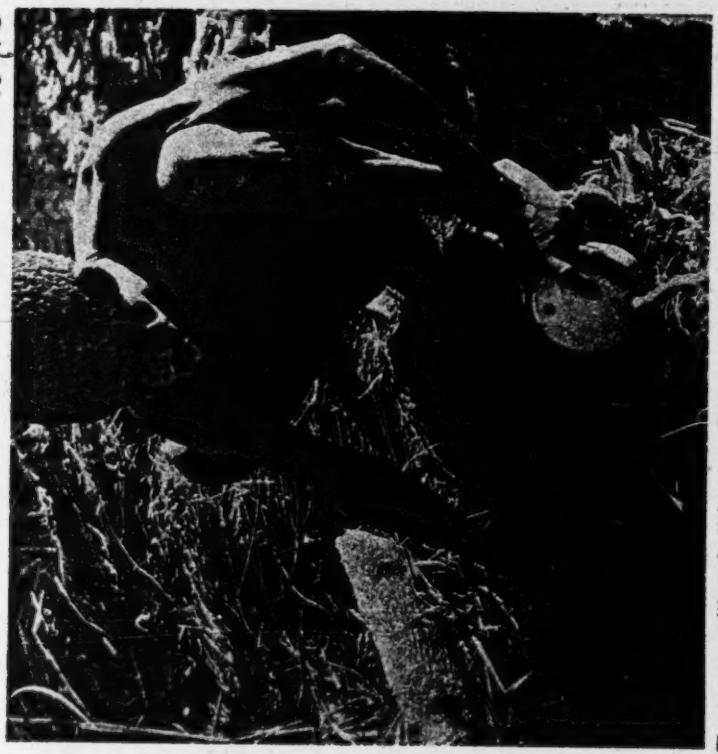

WATER IS KEY to life in the Kalahari: only ten permanent waterholes. Above, in all the !Kung territory, there are a man fills his ostrich-egg "bottle."

[p. 21]

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For the rest of the year, above, they fill their eggshells from permanent waterholes, dig for water roots.

[p. 22]

HUNTSMEN OF NYAE NYAE

The !Kung still practice man's oldest craft

By John Marshall

224 481 151 HUNTING is the work of men. !Kung hunters range the land, seeking the agile game. The men walk rapidly, never lowering their eyes, making sure of the awkward ground with their dextrous feet. They glance swiftly over the distances of the country and, with their good vision and knowledge of what to look for, see any moving thing. As girls learn 224 868 gathering, boys learn most of hunting on their own. They hunt little birds in the grass around the *werft* houses. They impale beetles with tiny arrows shot from toy bows. Tracking, which is the most difficult part

[411 482 415]

Chief weapons of !Kung are bow and poisoned arrows (in quiver, above).

[p. 45]

HUNTER'S BOOTY, in addition to meat for the pot, includes much-needed raw materials for !Kung economy. Skins of smaller animals are cut into the breechclouts worn by the men, and, *above*, are sometimes ingeniously peeled off, almost in one piece, and turned into bags, with the legs serving as straps.

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[P. 57]

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Bags for food, *above*, like eggshells for water, give !Kung some freedom in moving. Food may be brought to water or water carried far into the desert.

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poison-bearer, its cycle is somewhat as follows: the beetle lays its eggs in the Murula tree leaves. Hatching in the rains, the grubs migrate down the trunk, progressing through a number of growth stages. Finally, they make their cocoons under the ground near the tree. In these cocoons, they struggle through metamorphosis and emerge as small, bravely-colored beetles in the New Year's rains, providing the Bushmen have not already dug them up. The hunters know the particular trees frequented by the beetles and make expeditions to them at least twice a year to replenish their supply. Then the grubs are dug up, and used on the spot or kept in their cocoons, depending on the man's needs.

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The poisoning of !Kung arrows is a long process, with a number of variations. The most common poison is a mixture of the grub and the previously mentioned tree-pod. The grubs are crushed and the pod is warmed until its contents melt slightly and can be crushed with the grubs. This mixture is thinned with the copious spit which results from chewing any of a variety of barks and is then smeared on the foreshaft of the arrow—but cleaned immaculately off

[p. 53]

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

221 back as many nuts as they can carry.

THE "big rains" open the land. People travel to distant places and remove to the *mangetti* forests until autumn, when the *tsi* ripens. Then they remain in the *tsi* areas till the *tsi* nuts are exhausted—which sometimes happens before the small annual waters have evaporated — and finally make their way back to their permanent waterholes.

221 415 In such a transient life, the importance of light belongings — and

221 415 of ostrich eggshells for carrying water and skin bags for food—is evident. With carrying bags and ostrich eggshells, the people can bring water to food and food to water. Partly because of their life of motion, the !Kung do not accumulate heavy wealth.

847 Infanticide is uncommon among the !Kung, but one of the various reasons for the practice is that a woman may feel she cannot carry another child when the band moves. Then, the baby is born into a tiny grave near the *werft*, and the grave is closed.

[p. 68]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

of the hunting party is not a matter of convention or of anxious concern. Hunting parties are freely organized by men who like to hunt with each other. No categories of kin or affines are prohibited from hunting together, whether they have a joking relationship or not or practise the sitting and speaking taboo. Men from different bands may hunt together.

A father has authority over his sons and sons-in-law and could tell them to go hunting or to accompany him and would expect them to obey. In other relationships participation in a hunting party is voluntary. Any man may instigate a hunt and may ask others to join. No one is formally in command of a party, unless he is the father with his sons or sons-in-law, but often an informal kind of leadership develops out of skill and judgement and the men fall in with the plans and suggestions of the best hunter or reach agreement among themselves somehow.

Hunting parties are usually composed of from two to four or five men. One hunter alone is at a disadvantage. A man cannot leave the meat unguarded from lions, hyaenas, jackals, and vultures while he goes to bring help from the band to carry it nor can he carry it alone. Only occasionally are parties larger than four or five. For two parties to hunt in different directions would be more advantageous than to form a larger single party.

When the kill is made the hunters have the prerogative of eating the liver on the spot and may eat more of the meat until their hunger is satisfied. If they are far from the band, they may eat the parts that are especially perishable or most awkward to carry, like the head, and they sometimes eat the cherished marrow. They then carry the animal to the band, either in its parts, bones and all, or, if the animal is very big, leaving most of the bones and cutting the meat into strips which dry in the sun to biltong and are more easily carried on the carrying-sticks. The blood is carried in bags made of the stomach, rumen, and bladder.

The gall bladder and testicles are discarded at the kill. Eventually the hooves are thrown away and usually the picked bones and horns. (The /Kung make only a few artifacts of bone and horn which last a long time and seldom need replacing.) Sinews are kept for making cord. The hide would be skinned off whole and tanned if it were suitable for a kaross and someone wanted a new kaross at the time. Otherwise, the hide is dried, pounded up, and eaten. Hides are quite tasty. Feet are picked of every tissue; gristle is dried and pounded. Soft parts, such as the foetus, udder, heart, lungs, brains, and blood, are often given to old people with poor teeth. Intestines are enjoyed and desired by all. The meat of the rump, back, chest, and neck is highly appreciated. Nothing is wasted; all is distributed.

The owner of the animal is the owner of the first arrow to be effectively shot into the animal so that it penetrates enough for its poison to work. That person is responsible for the distribution. The headman of the band is not the one to distribute the meat by virtue of his headmanship, unless he happens to be at the same time the owner of the arrow. The owner may or may not be one of the hunters.

Hunters have arrows which they acquire in three different ways. Each man makes arrows for himself, shaping the points (usually now of metal, but still possibly of bone or wood) with some slight distinction so that he will know them from the arrows of other men. Secondly, arrows are given as gifts. The man who made the arrow or who himself acquired it as a gift, may give it to someone else, either a man or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend.

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FIG. 21. Gao Beard hammers out a spear blade. His young second wife sits composedly beside him at the family fire. She did not build a scherm for Gao when they settled this time. The upright sticks around their grass bed serve to symbolize home. The object which looks like a club behind Gao is an adze handle. His fire scraper lies in front of him

FIG. 22. A man cooking meat in a Bantu clay pot (obtained by trade)

[415] [439]

FIG. 23. Smoking a soapstone pipe

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FIG. 24. Old Demi, grey-haired, is in his seventies. We figured his age roughly from his telling us that when he was a young adult he was, by chance, an unwilling witness lying under a log to a skirmish of the German–Herero war

[P. 240-G]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or *tsi*, the men always ac-

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed //*guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

177 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had
411 metal weapons, and utensils and clothing of European manu-
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291 facture for at least 40 years.

162 Among the 34,800 Bushmen classified as non-hunting,
433 there are, of course, many degrees of economic development. At one extreme, there are the second generation farm Bushmen of the Grootfrontien, Gobabis and Shanzi Districts who have permanently given up the traditional subsistence round. Other farm Bushmen spend the rainy season living in the veld and work on the farms only in the winter dry season.

Many of the Bushmen in Ngamiland and the Crown Lands have made an excellent adjustment to modern conditions. For instance the Mababe and Pandamatenga people enjoy a settled village life combined with hunting for cash furs with rifles and steel traps. Many of the men work for hunting safaris where they have gained a good reputation as trackers and gun bearers.

433 The distribution of the various economic patterns is plotted on Map 4. There are four categories:

1. Full time hunting and gathering
2. Bantu-associated peoples with traditional lord-client relations
3. Independent villages with cash hunting and wage labor
4. European farm workers

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439 The interior !Kung have had trading relations with Bantu
[411] peoples on their periphery for over eighty years. The evidence
[415] for this is the presence of iron-tipped weapons, pottery and
[276] tobacco. The present-day !Kung have no knowledge of iron-working or pottery-making and they do not raise tobacco. The old people state that their grandfathers had these things
[173] before the first non-Bushmen came to the interior. Men in
[411] their 60's and 70's today can remember their grandfathers telling them that they began hunting with bone arrows and did not obtain iron for arrows until they were well into adult
[411] life. The making of bone arrow heads is still common know-
[321] ledge today but, as there is an abundant supply of iron fencing
[325] wire, none of the men hunt with bone. The art of chipping
[178] flint is not known in the Dobe area. It is probable that
[324] these Bantu goods (and also some European goods such as beads and buttons) reached the interior through Bushman trading intermediaries some years before the arrival of the first Bantu and Europeans.

173 <u>Early contacts, 1879-1925</u> - There is disagreement among the !Kung about whether the Europeans or the Bantu were the first to penetrate the interior. Apparently the first pene-
175 trations occurred during the period 1875-1890. Hendrik Van
648 Zyl, a professional hunter, is the first European known to have reached the interior (Silberbauer 1965:114-115). In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56/57]

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double-banded sandgrouse	cape turtle dove
Meyer's parrot	*grey loerie
lilac-breasted roller	*grey hornbill
yellow-billed hornbill	cardinal woodpecker
*fork-tailed drongo	penduline tit
*pied babbler	yellow-bellied bush warbler
Marico flycatcher	Crimson-breasted shrike
*long-tailed shrike	white-browed sparrow weaver

The common summer migrants recorded were:

hammerkop	white-bellied stork
red-billed teal	white-faced duck
European swallow	

[262] Bird meat and eggs are not an important item of diet among the Dobe Bushmen. Only eight species were observed to be eaten:

red-billed francolin	Swainson's francolin
crowned guinea fowl	kori bustard
red-crested korhaan	double-banded sandgrouse
cape turtle dove	red-billed teal

Curiously, ostrich are not hunted for meat. They are tracked, [415] however, in order to find the nests. The eggshells are used as canteens for water.

<u>Reptiles and Amphibians</u>: Nine different species of snakes were seen. Only four could be identified taxonomically.

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[415]
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gathered and eaten. With one exception all other birds eggs were ignored. The exception was the ostrich eggs which were highly prized as water containers and as material for making ostrich egg shell beads.

Reptiles and Amphibians

Only four species of reptile - two tortoises, one leguaan, and the rock python - were regarded by the Bushmen as edible. One species of frog, Pixiecephalus sp. was regarded as edible. Of these five species, the large leopard tortoise (Geochelone pardalis) is the most important food. These tortoises weigh 5-8 pounds. They are sluggish and easily collected. For this reason, the tortoises were the only species of vertebrate that were collected by the women. All other vertebrates were the exclusive concern of the men.

The rock python, a large non-poisonous snake, was regularly collected by the men. This provided c. 25 lbs. of meat per specimen. The pythons collected varied in length from 8-15 feet. The other three species were rarely observed to be eaten.

Invertebrates

Insects have traditionally been considered by ethnographers to be a major Bushman food (Bodenheimer 1951:137-195). However, among the Bushmen of the Dobe area insects played a minor role in the diet. One species of antlion and three

412 The women possess several other tools which are of subsidiary importance in the food quest:

- wooden mortar and pestle
- wooden spatula for moving ashes
- carved wooden serving spoon
- tortoise shell bowl
- bundle of tail feathers for fanning the cooking fire
- pottery containers of Bantu manufacture
- 415 - iron pots and enamel bowls of European manufacture.

177 The mens' hunting kit represents the most evolved sector
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411 of Bushmen technology. It includes at least 19 different tools made from seven kinds of raw materials. The primary weapons include:

[177]	1. bow	6. iron tipped arrows
[278]	2. arrow poison	7. quiver
[231]	3. spear	8. hunting dogs
	4. springhare probe	9. rope snares
	5. knobkerrie(club)	

Secondary weapons include:

[372]	10. fire drill	14. iron adze-axe
[177]	11. flint and steel fire making kits	15. carrying yoke
[412]	12. digging stick	16. knotted net
[283]	13. iron knife	
[177]		

Manufacturing and repairing tools include:

[278] 17. poison-making kit; humeral cup, pestle, applicator

[415] 18. whet stones of basalt

[283] 19. wild cotton for polishing rope snares

These raw materials are also part of the man's kit:

[283] 1. sinew

2. twine of natural fibers

3. iron fencing wire

[278] 4. supply of poisonous grubs

[237] 5. bone chips for making arrow link shafts

[411] 6. grass stems for arrows

7. wood for bows, poles and spear shafts

224 411 The construction of the hunting arrow will illustrate the complexity of the weaponry. The arrow consists of a mainshaft about 13 inches in length made from the stem of the grass Phragmites communis (Story 1964:94). Into this is inserted a bone linkshaft about two inches long, carved from the humerus or femur of giraffe, kudu, or gemsbok. The linkshaft is joined to the metal arrowhead by a hollow sec-
[177] tion of grass stem one inch in length. The arrow head is commonly made from iron fencing wire. It consists of a stiff length of wire four to five inches long. The tip of the arrow is beaten into a small triangular blade one half inch from base to apex and five-sixteenths of an inch at the base.

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411 The butt end of the arrow and the two joints are bound by strands of sinew. In some arrows the iron shaft itself is
224 bound with sinew. It is the iron shaft to which the arrow
411 poison is applied. Care is taken to avoid spreading poison
278 on the tip of the arrow. The poison is obtained from the pupal forms of the Chrysomelid beetles Diamphidia sp. and
[415] Polyclada sp. The poison is prepared by squeezing the contents of several pupae into a cup made from the proximal end of the humerus of a large antelope such as gemsbok or kudu. The only additions to the poison mixture observed to be used were saliva and the juice or gum of the several species of Acacia. The use of the latter was optional. Often, without further preliminaries, the Bushmen squeezed the contents of the grub directly on to the iron arrow shaft.

[412] The pupae are mixed with a slender wooden pestle into a thin orange paste, which is then applied directly to the iron arrow shaft using a spatulate applicator especially made for this purpose. The poisoned arrow is then allowed to dry near the fire. After a few minutes it is ready for use.

There are undoubtedly regional variations in the preparation of arrow poison. The ethnographic literature lists at least a dozen substances and recipes that are claimed to be used by the !Kung Bushmen in preparing arrow poison (see Shaw et al. 1963, Story 1964:93).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Dress and Decoration

Bushmen

281 Save where there has been a good deal of contact with European
291 influences, all the Bushmen wear garments made entirely from the skins of animals, usually some kind of buck taken in the chase.[1] Complete nudity is hardly ever found, though it is reported on hearsay evidence by Miss Bleek of some of the wilder bands of Auen and Naron.
[462] All the clothes are made by the men, who prepare not only their own garments but also those of their wives and children.

The principal garment of the men among all the Bushmen consists in a triangular piece of skin, two ends of which are tied together round the loins, while the third is passed between the legs and knotted
[177] on behind. Some of the North-Eastern Bushmen (Tannekwe, Hukwe, Galikwe), who have been much in contact with the Bantu, have adopted the form of loin-cloth worn by the latter, in which a piece of skin passed between the legs is drawn before and behind through a leather girdle tied round the loins. A skin cloak ("kaross") is also worn by most of the men, especially in cold weather or when on the
[284] march. This is tied over the right shoulder by means of strips of skin attached to two ends, and hangs so as to cover the back and, if large enough, also the chest, while leaving the arms and left shoulder free. It is sometimes worn slung over both shoulders and tied under the chin. The head is usually uncovered, but skin caps are sometimes seen, as well as leather sandals tied round the ankle with thongs.

281 On the march the men carry a round bag slung on over the right
415 shoulder and hanging on the left hip. In it are carried all sorts of small
482 possessions and food. A longer skin bag, containing the weapons, fire-sticks, etc., is also hung over the left shoulder. Bark quivers
411 for the arrows are sometimes found as well, more especially among the Southern and Namib Bushmen.

281 The women wear a hanging apron in front, consisting in a piece of
291 skin attached to a leather belt passing round the loins. It is often ornamented with bead or leather tassels. A smaller apron, covering only the genitals, is sometimes worn beneath this. The older women

[1] The fullest descriptions of Bushman dress and decoration are given by: Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 428–30; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 33–40; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140–3; Werner, "Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 255–7; Seiner, "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 297–8: Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 87–90; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 8–10; E. Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 101–10.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX 10

well as grass chains and bracelets, berries and shells. Glass beads and iron or wire bracelets obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples or from European traders are also in great demand. The men usually content themselves with leather and bark bands, worn round the arm above the biceps and on the leg below the knee.

There is no special style of hair-dressing. The hair is as a rule kept in its natural form, although occasionally the whole or part of the scalp is shaved clean. Some women, however, uncurl little clusters of hair and roll them out with fat, so that they hang down a couple of inches, making a fringe round the head, while girls often tie small ornaments such as beads or shells into their hair.

Washing is altogether unknown, save among those Bushmen who have been much with Europeans. Generally both young and old rub their face and body with fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*, a sweet-smelling powder ground by the women from various kinds of aromatic shrub. Many women carry small tortoise-shells filled with powdered *buchu*, and use a bit of soft bird's nest or else a piece of jackal's tail as a puff (Plate XI). The face and body are also often painted, especially before a dance, not only by the younger women and girls, but occasionally even by the young men. The colours found are chiefly red and black, the former obtained from clay, the latter from charcoal. Both are mixed with fat, and the mixture is smeared on with a finger.

Hottentots

With the advent of European civilization, much of the original Hottentot culture has disappeared. Their clothing especially has been almost everywhere completely replaced by garments of European pattern, and it is rarely, if at all, that the old native dress can still be seen. But from the descriptions of the earlier writers it is possible to obtain a fairly clear picture of what the Hottentots wore before European clothing became so widely adopted as now to be their universal dress.[1]

The clothing of both men and women consisted principally in front and rear aprons of skin, depending from a leather thong tied

[1] The fullest descriptions of the old Hottentot dress are given by: P. Kolb, *Reise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 1719 (new ed. by P. Germann, 1922), 84–96; Fritsch, op. cit., 309–13, 357–8, 373; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 205–7; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 83–6; Schultze, *Aus Mamaland und Kalahari*, 233–52 *passim*, 207–11 (decoration); Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 183–94 (dress and decoration).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Cooking

252 is done chiefly by the women, assisted by the children; in exceptional
[462] cases the men also may cook. Wild cucumbers, nuts, bulbs, and similar plant foods are baked in hot ashes covered with cinders. A bright fire is made and allowed to die down, a hole is scraped in the ashes with a flat, paddle-shaped wooden scoop, the food put in and covered over. It is then eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge, after being pounded up in wooden mortars or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood. Birds, snakes, small antelopes, etc., are baked in the same manner; ants are similarly treated, and then sifted through a mat of loosely-woven reeds, while locusts are either baked or boiled. *Grewia* berries are sometimes eaten as picked, stone and all, sometimes stamped in the mortar and swallowed uncooked. Some specially dainty kinds of meat are roasted over the fire on a wooden spit stuck into the ground. Other kinds of meat, again, as well as stamped
[439] locusts, *tsama* seeds and foods obtained from the white man, such as mealie meal, are cooked with water.

● 415 The "tame" Bushmen now use any sort of receptacle, such as a
[439] paraffin or paint tin, for cooking purposes; the Auen and Naron in their more primitive condition used wooden pots, made by themselves or obtained by barter; while among the more Northern tribes clay pots obtained by barter from the OvaMbo and other Bantu tribes are sometimes found. The actual manufacture of clay pots by the
[184] Bushmen themselves seems to have been restricted to the tribes
[323] south of the Molopo. Food is eaten direct from the pot or from plates
[264] and bowls made of wood. Wooden spoons are sometimes found among the Northern tribes, but generally either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Fire is everywhere made by drilling a thin hard stick in another,
372 somewhat softer, in which there is a notch (Plate IX). This second stick is held firmly on the ground by one foot, while the drill-stick with its lower end pressed into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the hands until sparks come. A little dry grass is in readiness to catch the spark, and when it has caught alight dry wood is gradually added until a good fire has been set going.

In this connection reference must be made to certain special
372 observances relating to fire which have recently been recorded by
622 Fourie about the Heikum. "All fire," he says,[1] "is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to

[1] Op. cit., 87.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

222 622 [184] A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to [782] [539] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 [462] [857] [415] [237] Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 182 [221] [621] The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kõ-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

322 decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops
[412] for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-
western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes
[415] decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom,
[283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

824 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
285 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
[412] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

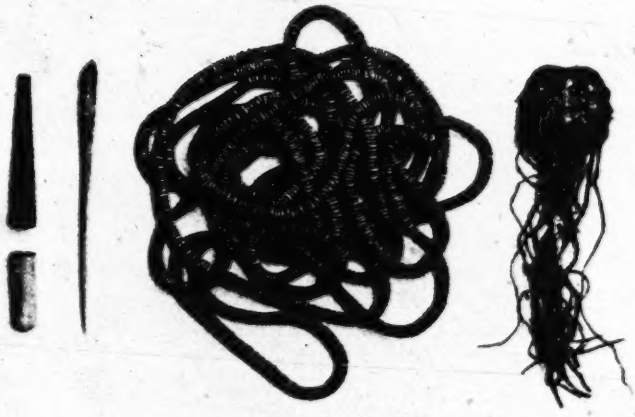
237 Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water,
[415] and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women
[306] make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops, and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small
412 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell
324 beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or
[439] three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by
[326] barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.
178 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
324 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
[323] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
[237] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while
[415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

PLATE XI

276
412
301
415



a b c d

British Museum

BUSHMAN ORNAMENTS AND UTENSILS

a. Serpentine and Bone Pipes
b. Bone awl
c. Waistband of Ostrich egg-shell beads
d. Tortoise-shell box for holding *buchu*

224

L. Fourie

BUSHMAN SNARE FOR HUNTING GAME

[*face p.* 158]

[36 cont.]

Cooking and Cooking Utensils

354 Lumps of surface limestone are generally used as hearthstones.
412 Here and there, as a great rarity, one finds a pounding stone of quartzite.

To pound the veldkost, small mortars, carved out of wood, with conical or hemispherical bottoms are used. In case the mortars become damaged, holes are made on either side of the crack, and the flaw is drawn together with bast strips and also smeared over with resin. The shape of the pestle, which is from 50 centimeters to one meter long, is shown in Figure 7.

415 Originally these !Kung had no pots and probably had no
[252] way of boiling anything. The usual manner of preparing food even today is to roast and grill it on and between hot stones. Nowadays,
[439] every horde owns a number of pots acquired from the Okawango.
[482] These pots have bast or tendon plaiting around them, by which they are fastened when carried on the march. The Okawango people
[439] gladly exchange these water pots, which they have carried with them on the waterless stretch, for food from the Bushmen in the area between Karakowisa and Nuragas.

416 Small cast-iron tripods are a very popular article. A
417 longish, crudely carved stirring stick, as well as a piece of hardwood for arranging the fire, completes the inventory of the Bushman kitchen. Spoons are unknown.

Clothing

291 The clothing of the woman, as has already been repeatedly described, consists of a front apron and a back apron, made of soft leather, and a leather cloak something like a pelerine. Usually she also has a carrying hide for the baby. Generally, the child does
[854] not sit on her back, as among the Blacks, but on the side of her hip.
[415] In addition, the woman has the large veld bag in which she keeps the
[412] finds from her collecting. On the march, the woman is equipped with the simple digging stick, pointed at the bottom.

The men are clothed only with the modesty apron and in addition

[36 cont.]

Cooking and Cooking Utensils

354 Lumps of surface limestone are generally used as hearthstones.
412 Here and there, as a great rarity, one finds a pounding stone of quartzite.

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12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

SINEWS

Made and used by men

bow-strings
wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison adheres well to sinew)
binding for hafts
snares

Made by men, used by all

strings for *//guashi* (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

fine rolled cord

HORN

Made and used by men

horns fitted with leather covers for carrying arrow-points
horns for cupping

Used by all

horns for pipes
horns for spoons

SHELL

Made by men, used by all

ostrich egg-shell water-containers
tortoise-shell dippers
tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

ostrich egg-shell beads

FEATHERS

Used by boys on *jani* toys
Worn by all occasionally in hair

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

WOOD

Made and used by men

bows
spear handles
axe or adze handles
knife handles
knife sheaths
spring-hare hook handles[1]
fire-making sticks
hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

digging sticks
carrying sticks
stirring sticks
mortars and pestles
bowls
spoons
fire scrapers
//guashi (musical instrument)
one-stringed violin
jani toys
beads

Made by women

frames for scherms

FIBRES

(from *sansevieria*, aloe, *//nae* tree roots, other roots)

Rolled by men and women

cord

Made and used by men

carrying-nets
snares

Made and used by all

ornaments

GRASS

Made by men and women

stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-containers
ornaments

Made by women

scherms

Made by children

toys of grass folded and woven to suggest animals

Used by all for beds

[1] Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying. They carry only the hook around with them and whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

made by themselves, and metal pots, spear heads, knives, trade beads, 438
etc., which they obtain through the Heikum from the OvaKwangari 439
and MaMbukushu further north. The Naron to the east trade their skins, and formerly also ivory and ostrich feathers, with the BaTawana to the north-east for tobacco and millet. Ostrich egg-shell beads are bartered to the Bantu by all the Bushman tribes. The Koon at Naosanabis in the south, a branch of the /nu//en, are known to make them especially well, and their beads are always in great demand, passing through the Naron and the Auen to the Bantu tribes further north and east, who pay highly for them. For a chain of these beads passing round the waist the MaMbukushu, for example, give a large basket of millet, the BaTawana a large roll of tobacco, the OvaMbo an iron spear head, and so on. The Naron also trade their skins to Europeans and BeChwana for tobacco, dagga, or trade goods, and the latter, again, they pass on to the Auen.

The extensive scale on which this trade is carried out would seem to imply the existence of regulated trading communications between the different tribes. Unfortunately, there is extremely little information bearing on this point. Markets are apparently not held, the transfer [443]
of goods, as far as can be determined, being effected almost entirely through special trading visits from one group to another. Kaufmann 437
describes the way in which such trading visits are conducted among the Auen. A small number of men and women go to the camp of the band with whom they wish to trade, laying down their weapons beforehand. Permission to enter is then given, and the barter proceeds. He adds that even if two bands are at enmity, as often happens, [114]
women will, nevertheless, go from one to the other in order to trade. This statement, however, needs to be confirmed. Passarge also suggests that the Bantu tribes of this region probably send periodical trading caravans to the different Bushman tribes, and quotes as an illustration the fact that in former times at least the OvaMbo would, with the permission of the Bushmen, go on special trading visits to obtain copper in the Otavi district of South-West Africa.

Property and Inheritance

The economic life of the band, although in effect it approaches a 421
sort of communism, is really based on the notion of private property.[1]
The only thing owned in common is the land, and even here, as we 423

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 155–6; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36, 16; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13, 16.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with 602
three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made.

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu/na* and *tiin*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *//ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a 182
touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and con- 183
sistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society 582
tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many cate- 593
gories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship 602
as soon as marriage takes place.

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly 587
approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is 768
expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines.

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. 583
This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one 619
marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units
have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, [584]
as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened.

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in 595
which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power 554
or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, 556
but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give
them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries [422]
his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women [482]

[482] in the pouches of their karosses along with their babies. This puts a strict limit upon
559 any desire to possess great quantities of property in movables. Furthermore, gift-
556 giving keeps all personal property moving in a current through the region and no
595 one possesses very much more than another. The determining factors in obtaining
[422] more than one wife are apt to be the personalities of the individuals and the man's
[431] ability to hunt. 'Women love meat', we were told, and like their husbands to be good hunters.

The number of wives a man may have is not regulated by social rules but by his
595 ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. None of the nine polygynists in the band had more than two. However, we heard of a man named Gao, now dead, who had had four wives all at one time. He had been a fabulous hunter and maker of arrows and was the father of the /Ti/kay who is the husband of two sisters, /Naoka and /Nai, in Band 9.

Only two of the nine pairs of co-wives had traceable consanguineous relationship. The above /Ti/kay's wives were sisters—the only ones—and, in Band 10, Old ≠Gao's younger wife, /Ghia, was the BrDa of his older wife, Bau.

/Kwi, sister, is the term which co-wives apply to each other, unless they have the
[601] same name, in which case they term each other */gu!na*. The /Kung, though they do not institutionalize the sororate, say it is a good idea to marry sisters because they are not so likely to be jealous of each other as other women. /Ti/kay's wives, who appeared to live in harmony and affection and to support each other, provided an example of the validity of this opinion.

Marriage to the same man gives co-wives the joking relationship, and they do not observe the sitting or the name avoidance, though they may have avoided each other before marriage.

/Kung co-wives share one scherm and one family fire. The scherm, the little
[342] shelter of branches and grass which the women build, a half hemisphere in shape, is only 3 to 4 ft. wide on the open side, about 3 ft. deep at the centre, perhaps 4 to 5 ft. high at the peak. In it and in front of it, beside their one fire, the two wives live, share their man, share the food they gather, share the work of fetching water and wood, nurse each other's babies, and co-operate in whatever degree of harmony their spirits can attain.

Husbands and wives may sleep separately or lie close together, side by side, or
513 feet to feet. The woman holds her infant in her arms. Young children sleep near by bundled together, two or three in one kaross. Girls at about seven or eight go to sleep with a grandmother or a widowed friend or relative. The boys of the band, beginning at the same age, all sleep at a boys' fire.

[595] /Ti/kay (Band 9), husband of the two attractive sisters, sees to it that his wives lie
[821] close to him, especially on cold nights, one on each side. Sleeping thus they were like the three stars of Orion which we call the Belt, but which the /Kung say are three zebras, two females with a male between them.

513 It is under such conditions that the /Kung usually have sexual intercourse—at
833 night, in their sleeping place. They cover themselves with their karosses and are very discreet. The position is to lie on the side, the man at the back of the woman. Men pull the labia of the women before intercourse. The wives of /Ti/kay told me that they took pleasure in intercourse. I asked them if they had orgasms. We had

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

587 was meant. That would be very uncomfortable, he said. It would make her shiver and
589 might make her sick. The rainy season's passing is what cleanses the woman. When
[783] she is about to go to her new husband she prepares herself by washing in the ordinary way.

Unless a woman is quite old she does not remain long unmarried. One man said, 'Even if a widow is thick and tall, but is a good woman, some man will want her.' Widows may marry as second wives of married men, or they may marry widowers, divorced men, or bachelors. The two young widows and the two divorced women who were unmarried in 1953, had remarried by 1955. Only the very old widows remain unmarried.

There are so few unmarried women that widowers have difficulty in finding wives. The young widowed musician, /Gao, was an example. After his first wife's death he had married the daughter of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, when she was approximately ten or eleven years old, about the age of his own son, and was patiently waiting for her to grow up. Only one of the old widowers had succeeded in finding a wife by 1957.

736 The children of a widowed parent are kept by that parent. A widower may leave
768 his children with a woman relative, but they remain his. Orphaned children go to live with relatives. There is a tendency to feel that the boys belong eventually to the
[611] father's side of the family, the girls to the mother's. This concept came to our attention several times, but we did not find it to be a rigid social rule. The relative who
[604] is expected to take the children if they are young is the MoSi. But the FaSi might be nearer or more able for one reason or another to take them and might do so. FaBr would be the relative most likely to take half-grown boys, but again MoBr might be the one. Failing these, some other relative would take them. When it came to arrang-
[584] ing marriages for orphaned children, informants said that the father's elder brother would have the most authority; a stepfather or stepmother has none.

[597] Adoption does not exist in /Kung society.

586 Divorce may terminate a marriage. The couple may divorce without formality, by mutual consent or by one spouse simply leaving the other. The /Kung word for ending a marriage in this way is */kao joo*. I use the word 'divorce' for convenience, although no legal action takes place. No religious dispensation is involved, no permission or action on the part of the headman or group is required. If parents of a very young couple withheld consent this might influence the couple, but the parents' consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties, for there is no dowry or bride-price to be resolved. The only property a /Kung owns personally consists of movables, and these are never owned in common by man and
●[422] wife. Every artifact down to a single bead belongs to an individual, who takes his property with him in case of divorce.

Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way. They are free to remarry without restrictions.

Divorce is never obligatory and the grounds are not formalized; the desire of the couple concerned is the determining factor. A condition such as sterility, for example, or a wrongdoing such as adultery, might or might not lead to divorce, depending on how the couple felt about it. Mistreatment or failure to provide would certainly be considered justification for divorce, should they ever occur, but justifica-

/143 cont./

411 the upper end of the shaft (strips of leather or neck tendons of a large antelope); c, shaft.

/144/ With the exception of the iron point of the throwing lances, all the weapons are manufactured by the Auin themselves. [439] The lance points reach the interior of the Kalahari from Lake Ngami through trade.

411 The lance point (see Fig. 6) is the Bushman's most valuable 435 possession. One hardly ever sees such points in a settlement, even if he comes unannounced, but only the shafts that go with them. In this respect the Bushman is so suspicious that even within the settlement he always hides the points, usually by burying them.

● [422] Every adult Auin possesses one or more spears.

The iron point is inserted into the wooden shaft somewhat 411 loosely so that it can easily be taken out. The upper end of the shaft is wrapped with a strip of antelope skin or antelope neck tendons. The point also serves as a tool for handwork in place of a knife.

When the lance is carried, for which a leather strap like a [482] rifle sling is used, it is commonly protected by a small leather cover (Photo. 25i). [Fig. 7 appears here.]

The manner of holding the bow and arrow when shooting seems to be fairly arbitrary. I have recorded the most common methods pictorially (see Photos. 29 to 32).

The bowstring is made of animal tendons twisted together. The strings were always pushed up on one side and fastened at the other (see Figs. 7a and 7b).

Composite bows do not exist.

The arrows are made exclusively from reeds which merely need to have grown straight to supply the ready-made arrow shaft. At the upper end, where the loose arrowhead is inserted, and at the bottom, where a simple, ordinary notch is made, the shaft is always wrapped with a flat, narrow grass band. Sometimes places in the middle of the shaft are wrapped. The length of the arrow shaft varies between 48 and 52 centimeters.

Feathered arrows do not occur.

411 The art of making arrows and arrowheads is a common posses- sion of all adult Auin. There are no special arrow makers.

463 An exception to this is the manufacture of iron arrowheads, which is practiced only by some individuals, usually older persons.

/144 cont./

411 quiver. Sometimes the arrows are in a special quiver made of
[237] eland horn or bark, which is closed off at both ends with a leather cover (see Photos. 29 and 32).

The Auin almost always carries in his quiver a small container like the arrow quiver of eland horn or bark just described, in which he keeps arrowheads, poison, and other small necessities for shooting.

The notched end of the arrow is pulled toward the chest when the bow is drawn.

714 The war cap is to be regarded as the sole battle ornament. It is made of aardwolf hide (see Photo. 21).

H. Hunting and Agriculture

224 Hunting is done both individually and in groups.

Hunting dogs are to be found in occasional, isolated instances,
[231] but then they are usually obtained from the Kaffir or Betschuana.
[439] The Auin maintain, however, that they know how to train hunting dogs. Collars and the like are not customary.

/145/ [Fig. 8 appears here.]

[422] I was unable to discover whether marks of ownership are applied to weapons and the like. On the other hand, I noticed that people immediately recognize their possessions.

There are no closed seasons on hunting.

The Auin prepares a kind of dried meat. Pieces of meat of any
251 length and width are cut very thin (almost transparent) and are dried on trees in the sun. This dried mass, as hard as wood and inedible to a European, keeps for weeks during the dry season. There must be an almost unlimited surplus of meat available, how-
[264] ever, if the Auin is to decide to preserve some, since he is accustomed to stuff himself to the point of unconsciousness. I have seen a single Bushman, without any help, consume a fully grown Klipbok weighing about six kilograms.

224 Undoubtedly there are especially industrious and impassioned huntsmen, as well as the opposite. I found some people who were absolutely useless on the hunt.

[Text continues on page 25]

/155 cont./

628 the slain man. Now, naturally, a blood feud exists between the settlements, which, incidentally, are related to each other directly and by marriage.

Furthermore, it is interesting that the Auin from
648 Sidonitzaub sent a messenger to me in Rietfontein, where I was
[123] station commander, and had him inquire whether I had any objection to their making "orlog" [Tr., probably from the Dutch word oorlog, "war"]. I conveyed to them that the affair was none of my business since the war would take place in British territory. Unfortunately I was transferred from Rietfontein shortly afterward and was therefore unable to witness the campaign as a "military correspondent." According to reliable reports, the war has been settled and three men were killed.

This inquiry addressed to me makes it clear that under the pressure of present conditions the "unfortunate child of the moment" does not always surrender immediately to the impulses of the moment.

It is scarcely possible to give even a rough picture of the
674 legal notions of the Auin.

There is no doubt that the Bushman possesses a very definite sense of justice, but I do not feel capable of comparing it intelligibly to our own conceptions of justice.

It is a little easier to indicate what the Bushman (Auin) regards as absolute injustice, such as murder, theft, adultery, violation of the family territory, and stealing water (the latter only if little water is available). At any rate, with extended investigation, the catalogue could be considerably enlarged.

Personal property includes the hut (though this is not an ob-
● 422 ject of value), weapons, clothing, utilitarian objects, hides, and ornaments.

It is true that the gathered veld crop, game that has been killed, and water that has been collected are also personal /156/ property, but these are subject to extensive communal use which becomes more limited only in case of famine or a water shortage.

The land of the horde is communal property, as are the
423 game, veld crop, wood, and water on the land, the latter with limitations.

When a Bushman has burned off a piece of land in order to

[12 cont.]

843 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-
262 buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut.
[553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are
[177] performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:

[539] //am ≠haiba, //am ≠haiba (?)
[782] The leader answers:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower
422 form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 The gathering of veldkost does not have the great signifi-
[184] cance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already
[462] commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd
[657] a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main
[233] OCCUPATION.

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire. [40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by
[439] the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be-
[422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should
[304] be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out
177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked
415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are
278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen.
805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions;
211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary.
[614] To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so
[888] great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements
[623] between the chief and the other old men.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 25]

[72 cont.]

163 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes
591 stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his
authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker.
Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least
nominally.

● 422 Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
685 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is
punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial
district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same
serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand,
a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not
shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost
is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on
the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the in-
dividual's private property.

The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
628 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively
721 against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of
the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war
is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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181 the Bantus, who are staunch and brave and in the past have waged great wars. But Bushmen deplore and misunderstand bravery. The heroes of their legends are always little jackals who trick, lie, and narrowly escape, rather than larger, bolder [538] animals such as lions (who in the Kalahari are something of a master race). In the Bushmen's stories, lions are always being scalded, singed, duped, cuckolded, or killed.

181 Bushmen cannot afford to fight with each other and almost 182 never do because their only real weapon is their arrow poison, 578 for which there is no antidote. But even were they to disre- 422 gard this danger, Bushmen would try not to fight because they have no mechanism in their culture for dealing with disagreements other than to remove the causes of the disagreements. Their hold on life is too tenuous to permit quarreling among themselves. A Bushman will go to any lengths to avoid making other Bushmen jealous of him, and for this reason the few possessions that Bushmen have are constantly circling among the members of their groups. No one cares to keep a particularly good knife too long, even though he may want it desperately, because he will become the object of envy; as he sits by himself polishing a fine edge on the blade he will hear the soft voices of the other men in his band saying: "Look at him there, admiring his knife while we have nothing." Soon somebody will ask him for his knife, for everybody would like to have it, and he will give it away. Their culture insists that they share with each other, and it has never happened that a Bushman failed to share objects, food, or water with the other members of his band, for without very rigid co-operation Bushmen could not survive the famines and droughts that the Kalahari offers them.

181 The other reason for their submissiveness is that Bushmen, 609 whose possessions are only sticks and bones, beads made of eggshell and fragments of leather, are overwhelmed by the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Gikwe

asked Ukwane for some, which Ukwane gave him. Gishe said: 224
"I have been living among Europeans for a long time, but I 237
remember now who I am." 272

From the body of that gemsbok the Bushmen bailed out 251
several bucketfuls of liquid, enough to supply them for almost a week. They cut the meat into strips which they would dry in the sun and use as they needed them, also enough for a week or perhaps even longer, as there were only a few people and the gemsbok was almost as big as a cow.

Tsetchwe had built a tiny fire beneath a tsama melon, an 252
empty melon with the top cut away, and when she received
her share of the meat—for any animal is divided at once by a [224 422]
rigid system of rules, some meat given to each person rather than kept as a communal supply or portioned to families—she cut a small piece and stuffed it into the melon, where melon juice, heated through the rind, was boiling now. It cooked like meat in a stew, and when it was done Tsetchwe emptied the melon into a bowl, fanned it to cool it, and then 264
ate some, putting a strip of meat into her mouth and hacking off a bite with her husband's knife. She was ravenously hungry and she ate almost all, while her baby, lying in her [253]
lap, nursed from her breast. The last piece she saved for him; she put one end of it into his mouth and, as he bit down, flashed the great knife under his nose to cut him a small enough morsel.

The gemsbok had vanished. All that remained from the 224
butchering was the pile of squeezed, dry grass from the ru- 422
men and a few lumps of feces that the redheaded flies buzzed over. The meat, bones, head, hide, and brushlike tail all now [237]
belonged to people, and all the people had carried their portions away. Gai owned two hind legs and a front leg, Tsetchwe had meat from the back, Ukwane had the other front

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

224 422 leg, his wife had one of the feet and the stomach, the young boys had lengths of intestine. Twikwe had received the head and Dasina the udder.

It seems very unequal when you watch Bushmen divide a kill, yet it is their system, and in the end no person eats more than any other. That day Ukwane gave Gai still another piece because Gai was his relation, Gai gave meat to Dasina because she was his wife's mother. After the meat had been divided again in this way and cooked, the cooked food was shared. No one, of course, contested Gai's large share, because he had been the hunter and by their law that much belonged to him. No one doubted that he would share his large amount with others, and they were not wrong, of course; he did. It is not the amount eaten by any person but the formal ownership of every part that matters to Bushmen.

It was already evening and the sun sat on the flat veld like an enormous, flaming mountain. It sank, and its orange color was echoed in the three families' fires as the people warmed themselves and cooked their meat.

224 857 The following day the three young boys, feeling vigorous with all the meat they had eaten, went out to play in the veld and came back at noon with a tortoise, a lizard, and a tiny rabbit, a baby one that they had been able to run down. The young boys would have had to divide any substantial game with the adults, but since these animals were so small the boys were allowed to keep them. Small animals are divided among the children and cooked for them by one of their parents.

Wite carried in the rabbit, still alive, across his shoulders, pretending that it was very heavy and that he was tired and worn, as though he were a hunter carrying home a buck. When he threw the rabbit down, a soft ball of gray fur with

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

481 with their families on trips that would take them only hours if they were traveling alone. We stopped a fourth time in the middle of the vast plain, for John had seen a shattered ostrich egg on the ground and wanted to let the Bushmen gather it to make beads. Toma motioned him to drive on. The egg, he thought, belonged to a man named Crooked Kwi, who had left it there one season and would return for it someday soon. Toma had heard of this event from Crooked Kwi [45] himself when they had seen each other last, and, observing that the shell fragments were gathered into a pile, he supposed that this must be the very egg that Crooked Kwi had mentioned. It was just where Crooked Kwi had said it would be, too.

361 We left the eggshells behind in the immense plain and went on our way toward the eastern rim. When we got there we found the rest of Gao Feet's family—his older and uglier first wife, his old mother-in-law, his first wife's daughter, and his daughter's husband, none other than Crooked Kwi himself. These people were living in a most beautiful glade of thorn bushes that were growing thickly together among tall trees, their branches arching just over people's heads. A fire had cleared out all the grass and leaves, leaving just the brown earth and the gray lace of branches; the people were brown and their things were brown and white and the ashes of their fires were gray in the little hollows on the ground, for these people, too, had built no scherms. Tu got right out of the [25] jeep and went straight to a fire, where she began to crack some of her tsi nuts between a stick and a stone.

608 The rest of us exchanged greetings and the old woman,
551 Dikai's mother, embraced me. "You are my daughter. I bore you," she said. When I had first come to Gautscha Pan I had been named Dikai for her daughter, and among the Kung one is strongly identified with the person one is named for; as the

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Kung

begun to give each other presents of tsi. Bushmen feel a great need to give and receive food, perhaps to cement relationships with each other, perhaps to prove and strengthen their dependence upon each other; because the opportunity to do this does not occur unless huge quantities of food are at hand, Bushmen always exchange presents of the foods that come in huge quantities, these being the meat of game antelope, tsi nuts, and the nuts of the mangetti trees, which at certain seasons are scattered abundantly all through the mangetti forests. 431

As we waited by the jeep Dikai gave a huge sack of tsi to her mother. Her mother gave another sack to Gao Feet's first wife, and Gao Feet gave a sack to Dikai. Later, during the days that followed, the tsi was distributed again, this time in smaller quantities, small piles or small bagfuls, after that in handfuls, and, last, in very small quantities of cooked tsi which people would share as they were eating. All this was very hard to trace, especially for us while we waited and loaded the jeep, for the large sacks were not handed around but rather were tossed into the jeep one on top of the other while the transactions went on vocally.

There is a further complicating factor in food distribution. 422 431 The owner of the bag which is full of tsi or mangettis is the owner of all the nuts inside, no matter who gathered the nuts, just as the owner of an arrow, whether man or woman, is the owner of the largest share of the buck killed by the arrow, no matter who shot the buck. This is a practical arrangement, since all three of these important foods, oftener than not, are very far from the waterholes where the bands would be living. Usually, Bushmen have to travel for several days over waterless, scorching veld to reach tsi fields or mangetti forests, then have to carry their heavy loads back again to water. These journeys are too hard for young children, old people, cripples, 484 482 422 431

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

484 women who are pregnant, or people who are ill. In fact, the
482 long journeys for the two kinds of nuts are undertaken only
422 by strong adults, who therefore must gather for all those who
431 stay behind. The system of Bushmen in these matters ensures that everybody gets enough. As it turned out, that afternoon we found that both Tu and Lazy Kwi had filled bags belonging to Lazy Kwi's wife, the bag that Lazy Kwi filled being the only one he had with him, and in this way his wife, who wasn't there and who so far knew nothing of her windfall, owned two bags of food which she would probably share with Lazy Kwi, who actually, that day, owned none.

At last, when many bags had changed hands, when everything movable including Tu's bag of grass—which she had emptied, tying the grass into a bundle with a strip of bark in order to free the bag for tsi—had been loaded into the jeep,
484 the people began to climb in and the jeep sank down on its springs, groaning dangerously as each person got on it and found a place to sit. When finally everyone was on and the springs still had not broken we drove away with extreme caution, barely moving when we came to bumps, with Toma and Gao Feet sitting on the hood and pointing the way to Nama.

522 As we crept along Toma told a lion story concerning some Bantu people at Kai Kai who tried to rid themselves of three lions that were attacking their cattle. As his story was extremely funny, his voice was often drowned out by the laughter of the others. He spoke so fast we could not understand him, but his wife laughed until she cried. Toma told the funniest parts of the story two or three times.

271 Just before we got to Nama, when the shadows of the bushes reached far over the veld and the western sky was blood red, thick with smoke, we reached a tiny waterhole

222 461 on the season. In the long days of wilting between the October spring and the January summer, food is scarce and the women may go out every day into the failing veld, leaving their *werft* early in the morning and returning late in the afternoon. All 222 that a woman gathers belongs to her 422 alone, and of course is shared with her family. She feeds her husband, her 593 children and often a visitor or two, at her own hearth. No formal instruction 222 is practiced among the !Kung, with the possible exception of certain kinds 868 of religious teaching and what might be called an occasional hunting school. 857 Learning to gather comes from the children's observation of the more experienced women. Girls soon learn to [824] recognize more than a hundred kinds of edible plants that grow in *Nyae Nyae*, as well as the seasons and places in which these plants grow. They learn to see tiny, shriveled root vines coiled around thorns in the thickets and, in the process, develop fine powers of observation. Possibly complementary to this lack of formal instruction, no formal pressure is exerted on young people to take up adult roles. Girls, if they wish, accompany their mothers on gathering trips. If they do not, they rarely feel guilty. A girl usually be- [582] gins to feel responsible soon after she marries, which is often before puberty. But only when she has children of her own does a woman see the world through the eyes of a provider.

of the hunting party is not a matter of convention or of anxious concern. Hunting parties are freely organized by men who like to hunt with each other. No categories of kin or affines are prohibited from hunting together, whether they have a joking relationship or not or practise the sitting and speaking taboo. Men from different bands may hunt together.

A father has authority over his sons and sons-in-law and could tell them to go hunting or to accompany him and would expect them to obey. In other relationships participation in a hunting party is voluntary. Any man may instigate a hunt and may ask others to join. No one is formally in command of a party, unless he is the father with his sons or sons-in-law, but often an informal kind of leadership develops out of skill and judgement and the men fall in with the plans and suggestions of the best hunter or reach agreement among themselves somehow.

Hunting parties are usually composed of from two to four or five men. One hunter alone is at a disadvantage. A man cannot leave the meat unguarded from lions, hyaenas, jackals, and vultures while he goes to bring help from the band to carry it nor can he carry it alone. Only occasionally are parties larger than four or five. For two parties to hunt in different directions would be more advantageous than to form a larger single party.

When the kill is made the hunters have the prerogative of eating the liver on the spot and may eat more of the meat until their hunger is satisfied. If they are far from the band, they may eat the parts that are especially perishable or most awkward to carry, like the head, and they sometimes eat the cherished marrow. They then carry the animal to the band, either in its parts, bones and all, or, if the animal is very big, leaving most of the bones and cutting the meat into strips which dry in the sun to biltong and are more easily carried on the carrying-sticks. The blood is carried in bags made of the stomach, rumen, and bladder.

The gall bladder and testicles are discarded at the kill. Eventually the hooves are thrown away and usually the picked bones and horns. (The /Kung make only a few artifacts of bone and horn which last a long time and seldom need replacing.) Sinews are kept for making cord. The hide would be skinned off whole and tanned if it were suitable for a kaross and someone wanted a new kaross at the time. Otherwise, the hide is dried, pounded up, and eaten. Hides are quite tasty. Feet are picked of every tissue; gristle is dried and pounded. Soft parts, such as the foetus, udder, heart, lungs, brains, and blood, are often given to old people with poor teeth. Intestines are enjoyed and desired by all. The meat of the rump, back, chest, and neck is highly appreciated. Nothing is wasted; all is distributed.

The owner of the animal is the owner of the first arrow to be effectively shot into the animal so that it penetrates enough for its poison to work. That person is responsible for the distribution. The headman of the band is not the one to distribute the meat by virtue of his headmanship, unless he happens to be at the same time the owner of the arrow. The owner may or may not be one of the hunters.

Hunters have arrows which they acquire in three different ways. Each man makes arrows for himself, shaping the points (usually now of metal, but still possibly of bone or wood) with some slight distinction so that he will know them from the arrows of other men. Secondly, arrows are given as gifts. The man who made the arrow or who himself acquired it as a gift, may give it to someone else, either a man or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend.

or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. Thirdly, people lend arrows to one another. The status of the arrow plays its part in the distribution of the animal killed with it. There is much giving and lending of arrows. The society seems to want to extinguish in every way possible the concept of the meat belonging to the hunter.

A hunter chooses which arrow he will use. The owner of the arrow—who *ipso facto* owns the animal—may therefore be the hunter himself, who has chosen to use an arrow he made or one that was given him, or he may be a person who lent the arrow to the hunter.

There may be several hunters in the hunting party and several arrows in the animal, but this seems to cause no confusion or conflict. Every arrow is known, of course. The hunters may see which first penetrates effectively so that its poison could account for the kill. But I think that often it is arranged beforehand who will own the animal. A man asking another to accompany him might say, 'Come and help me get a buck.' Or 'Old Gau lent me an arrow and asked me to hunt for him. You come too.'

I think there is little or no dissension as to who owned the animal because it is not a cause for great stress; each hunter gets a share of the meat anyway. I think also that a man wants sometimes to be the owner of the meat in order to start the distribution off in the direction of his own kin and affines, but that one is also content sometimes not to have the onus of the main distribution.

The first distribution of the animal is made in large portions usually to five or six persons. They are the owner of the arrow, the giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not one the owner had made himself), and the hunters. The meat, always uncooked in the first distribution, is given on the bone, unless the animal is large and the meat has been cut into strips at the kill.

In a second distribution the several persons who got meat in the first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. This meat also is given uncooked. The amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution close kinship is the factor which sets the pattern of the giving. Certain obligations are compulsory. A man's first obligation at this point, we were told, is to give to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous portions as he can, while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. The meat may be cooked and the quantities small.

Visitors, even though they are not close kin or affines, are given meat by the people whom they are visiting. This is a strongly felt social rule. Visitors may receive small quantities of cooked meat, which is like being asked to dinner.

Name relatives often receive generous portions of meat because they have the same name as the giver or because their names associate them with his close kin, but this seems to be more a favour than an absolute rule. ≠Toma said there were far too many men named ≠Toma for him to give them special consideration.

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224 might eat more in this way as he would not have to share that cooked meat with anyone but his wife and child.)

Gao Beard's sister, Di/ai, who had given him the arrow, received the meat of the back and throat and the intestines.

Gao Beard kept the meat of the neck for himself and in a second wave of distribution gave the rest of the meat as follows:

To his first wife, //Kushay, he gave both hindquarters, the meat of the chest, the lungs, part of the liver and one hind foot. To his mother he gave the meat of the belly and one hind foot. To his sister, //Kushay, and to /Gasa, the wife of his brother, /Qui, he gave one front foot each.

The amount given to his first wife was enormous. In addition to giving to her co-wife, also named //Kushay, and their children, she was to give a large portion of it to her parents, who lived with them in Band 2. (On other occasions the man had given directly to his wife's parents—not through his wife.) When the meat was cut up, //Kushay gave to her father, Old ≠Toma, four bundles of strips of clear raw meat (it was somewhat dried by then). There were about ten or twelve strips to a bundle, about 2½ to 3 feet long. We guessed the weight in all to be about 60 to 70 pounds. She gave meat also to her two younger brothers, /Gao and /Gunda. (Her other brother, //Ao, who had been one of the hunters, had got his share from Gao Beard.) She gave to her co-wife's father (≠Gao, Band 4) and to Old /Gaishay, her co-wife's MoFa, headman of Band 4. She then gave to six other persons, all in Band 1. They were her cousin, Old Gau (her FaSiSo) and his two daughters, and two other cousins (FaSiDas), Di/ai and /U, and /U's husband, ≠Toma.

The giving of raw meat went on. Old ≠Toma gave to eighteen people: his wife, six affines, three kin, two name relatives (i.e. a visitor because his father's name was ≠Toma, and Old /Gasa because her deceased husband's name was ≠Toma), and six other persons. Telling us the reasons for giving to the last six, whose kin or affinal connexions with ≠Toma, if any, were so remote we did not bother to trace them, he said of one, 'He is an old man whom I like in my heart', and of another, 'He was hungry for meat.' In the end Old ≠Toma gave some of the meat back to his daughter, //Kushay.

Di/ai (Band 3), the giver of the arrow, gave raw meat to six persons: her husband's mother, brother and two sisters (in Band 2), a visitor who was her HuSiHuBr, and her mother's brother, headman of the visiting Band 7.

Persons who had by this time received substantial amounts of raw meat began giving to others. We recorded 63 gifts of raw meat. Doubtless there were more. After the raw meat was given, there was further sharing of the individual's portions, cooked or raw, with parents, offspring, spouses, and other persons who live together.

264 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the /Kung. When
●422 an individual receives a portion of meat he owns it outright for himself. He may give and share it further as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often
[252] roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very important

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FIG. 15. It is polite to sit aside and wait to be asked to share someone's portion of meat

FIG. 16. A father and child in anxious reverie

142.

422

FIG. 17. All the possessions of Gao Medicine (left) and his wife, Di/ai

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to the /Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae /Kung eat hearty meals of meat when they have been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount. They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger.

The /Kung are quite conscious of the value of meat-sharing and they talk about it, especially about the benefit of the mutual obligation it entails. The idea of sharing is deeply implanted and very successfully imposes its restraints. To keep meat without sharing is one of the things that just is not done.

Gift-giving

The custom of gift-giving comes, in my opinion, second only to meat-sharing in aiding the /Kung to avoid jealousy and ill will and to develop friendly relations. /Kung society puts considerable emphasis on gift-giving. Everything a person has may have been given to him and may be passed on to others in time. The /Kung make their artifacts, on the whole, of durable material and take good care of them. They last for generations and move in a slow eddy among the people. The dealings are only between individuals, but they are numerous and provide occasion, perhaps more than any one other activity does, for visits which bring whole bands into polite encounter.

We gave cowrie shells as parting gifts in 1951 to the women in ≠Toma's band, the band which first sponsored us and with which we stayed and did our consistent work, wherever they were, on each expedition. We had carefully observed that there were no cowrie shells among /Kung ornaments before we gave them. Ours were bought from a New York shell dealer, perhaps to the confusion of future archaeologists. We gave to each woman enough for a short necklace, one large brown shell and twenty smaller grey ones. In 1952 there was hardly a cowrie shell to be found in Band 1. They appeared, not as whole necklaces, but in ones and twos in people's ornaments to the edges of the region.

The /Kung have not developed special objects to use as gifts. Nor have they invested ordinary objects with special gift significance. What they give each other are the common artifacts and materials of everyday life (see Appendix). Some objects are more highly valued than others as gifts, as one would expect. I gathered that relative scarcity of material was a factor and that objects were appreciated for their beauty, workmanship, and appropriate size (a wide headband is better than a narrow one). People took an interest in remembering to whom an object had been given in the recent past, but the /Kung, who are present-oriented, do not place special value upon antiquity as such or systematically hold the distant past in mind.

The /Kung decorate their artifacts very little (they have developed music and dancing, not the plastic or pictorial arts), but they delight in ornaments with which to adorn themselves. The intrinsic beauty, the meaningfulness, and the relief to the monotony of yellow-brown skin and grey-brown leather karosses are all valued.

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can afford to be a little luxurious. They rub it on themselves and on their implements and they eat it. ≠Toma said that, when he had eland fat to give, he took shrewd note of certain objects he might like to have and gave their owners especially generous gifts of fat.

Real property and the sources of food and water are owned by the headman for the band and cannot be given away. However, meat, once it is distributed after the hunt, and veldkos, once it is gathered, become private property and may be given. Artifacts are privately owned by the individual man, woman, or child, as outrightly owned if received as a gift as if made by the individual. They borrow and lend a great deal—in itself this is one of the ways they support each other and aid themselves in maintaining social solidarity—but this does not blur the clarity of ownership. Each object acquires some markings of its own from the maker and from usage. It is easy for the /Kung, with their highly developed powers of observation and visual memory, to keep track of the commonest objects, know the ownership, and remember the history of the gifts.

As far as we know, no artifacts or materials are taboo as gifts. For instance, women may be given weapons, although it is taboo for women to touch them.

In quantity the gifts varied. One which /Ti/kay gave to ≠Toma was considered generous. It was a fine ostrich egg shell headband, three ostrich egg shells, and a well-tanned duiker skin as soft as suede. Another generous gift consisted of a knife, a spear, and a triple string of traded white European beads. Often gifts were less. The feelings persons have for each other, the degree of their past indebtedness, what they happen to possess and can give, determine the generosity of the gift.

The acquisition *per se* of the objects was seldom, I believe, of primary importance to most individuals in gift-giving—that is, if the objects were their own artifacts. As the /Kung come into more contact with Europeans—and this is already happening——they will feel sharply the lack of our things and will need and want more. It makes them feel inferior to be without clothes when they stand among strangers who are clothed. But in their own life and with their own artifacts they were comparatively free from material pressures. Except for food and water (important exceptions!) of which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have a sufficiency—but barely so, judging from the fact that all are thin though not emaciated—they all had what they needed or could make what they needed, for every man can and does make the things that men make and every woman the things that women make. No one was dependent upon acquiring objects by gift-giving.

They lived in a kind of material plenty because they adapted the tools of their living to materials which lay in abundance around them and which were free for anyone to take (wood, reeds, bone for weapons and implements, fibres for cordage, grass for shelters), or to materials which were at least sufficient for the needs of the population. The Nyae Nyae /Kung had hides enough for garments and bags; they kept extra hides when they needed them for new garments or when they wanted them for trade; otherwise they ate them. The /Kung could always use more ostrich egg-shells for beads to wear or trade with, but, as it is, enough are found for every woman to have a dozen or more shells for water containers—all she can carry—and a goodly number of bead ornaments.

In their nomadic hunting-gathering life, travelling from one source of food to

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vour it. Thus, according to our observations, a !Kung band gets on an average 224
only about fifteen to eighteen large animals in a usual year.

The meat of the large game animals does not belong to the hunters to do
with as they choose. However, they always have the prerogative of eating the [242]
liver at the site of the kill and, if their hunger is not satisfied, they may eat
more. The bulk of the meat is then carried to the band, where it is distributed
among the members according to a system. The meat belongs to the owner
of the first arrow that penetrates the animal so that it stays in. He has the
responsibility of making the first distribution.

Anyone in the band may be the owner of the arrow. A hunter carries 224
arrows he acquires in three different ways. Each man has his own that he 411
makes himself, shaping the points with some little distinction so that he 422
will know them from the arrows of other men. In addition he carries 426
arrows that have been given or lent to him. When an arrow is given to him, 431
he is the owner as much as if he had made it himself, but if he uses that 571
arrow he must make a special gift of meat to the donor. When he uses
an arrow that is loaned to him, he merely shoots for the person who lent it
and who remains the owner of the arrow. !Kung society makes a great deal
of giving and lending arrows. Women and old men, as well as men in their
hunting prime, receive arrows as gifts and may give them or lend them to
a hunter, asking him to shoot for them. A hunter cannot refuse an arrow— [576]
as a person cannot refuse any gift—without offending the giver. He accepts
the arrow and with it an obligation, but he gives or lends arrows in return
and involves others in obligation to him. Hunters choose to use one or
another of their arrows, with the result that the responsibility of distributing
the meat, with its advantages and obligations, is shared by members of the
band as is the meat itself.

In the first distribution the whole animal is divided among a few 224
persons, who receive whole sections on the bone, unless the animal is so
large that the meat has to be cut off in strips to be carried. The first of these
persons are the hunters, each of whom gets a fore- or hindquarter or the
equivalent. The giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not matle by the
owner himself) receives a generous portion. The owner of the arrow, who
may be one of the hunters, or anybody, keeps the rest.

In the second distribution, the several persons who got meat in the 224
first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. The 602
amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much
as the giver can manage. In the second distribution, close kinship is the
factor that sets the pattern of giving. A man's first obligation at this point [606]
is to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous [593]
portions as he can while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are
to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself
at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

224 they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly
602 only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others.
[574] This meat may be cooked and the quantities small. Visitors receive small amounts of cooked meat from their hosts. It ends in everybody getting some meat.

224 In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and pri-
431 mary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift giving. !Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift of meat at some time in the future. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously
[571] according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift giving in general: the person gives to measure up to what is expected of him, to make friendly gestures, to win favor, to repay past favors and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation.

224 Aside from the practical advantage of using up meat while it is still
431 fresh, the !Kung custom of meat sharing has enormous social value. It does
181 a great deal to mitigate tensions. The fear of hunger is lessened. People are
[154] sustained by a web of mutual obligation. Moreover, they are fully conscious
[183] of these values, and the custom is so strongly established and so faithfully followed that the idea of not sharing is virtually unthinkable to the !Kung.

● 422 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the
262 !Kung. When an individual receives a portion he owns it outright. He may
264 give and share it further, as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very
[261] important to the !Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

224 It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they
261 gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae !Kung eat hearty meals of meat when plenty appeared and they had been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Chapter VI

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIFE

Land Tenure

Each hunting band among the Bushmen, as we have already noted, 423
claims rights of ownership over a certain stretch of land, and 621
vigorously resents trespass upon it by members of other bands. Within the band land is owned in common. The hunting territory belongs to the whole band, and all the members of the band have an equal right to hunt and collect over any part of it and to use the water in it. Often the members of the band are scattered apart, so that the same territory is exploited by the inhabitants of several different encampments. These encampments, as we have seen, are not [361] made up of any fixed number of families, but fluctuate a good deal in size. Whatever their momentary disposition, however, their [221] inhabitants always roam within a definitely limited area, and it is always the members of the same band who establish these different encampments within its bounds.

As the Bushmen practise neither agriculture nor pastoralism, there 423
is no question of cultivation or grazing rights. There is said, however, to exist a certain private ownership of land among the Auen, in the [222] sense that when a man burns a patch of veld in order to promote the growth of veldkos on it, he alone has a claim to its products. Others, even people living at the same encampment, may not gather veldkos on this patch without his permission.[1] Somewhat analogous to this 222
are the private rights recognized by all Bushmen over objects found 422
in the veld. A man who finds an ostrich nest with one or two eggs, for example, sticks an arrow in the ground close by as a sign of ownership, and waits until the tale of eggs is complete before carrying them off. Should another man take the marked eggs, the first finder follows the spoor to the thief's hut, and demands them back. If they are [685] restored, there is no fighting, but the thief does not escape reproaches [626] for wrongdoing, especially from the neighbours of the finder; while in case of refusal bloodshed almost inevitably follows. In the same

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 155.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

222 way private rights can be indicated over honey in a nest, or by a woman
422 who has located a spot with a specially abundant supply of veldkos. Whoever removes anything from such places is regarded as a thief.[1] It must be emphasized, however, that rights of this nature are only [423] acquired by chance, and that apart from them there appears to be no restriction at all upon the free exploitation of the hunting territory and all its resources by any member of the band.

Hunting

224 Once they have passed through the puberty ceremonies, boys and [883] girls participate in the full economic life of the band. All the men [462] are hunters, and spend the greater part of their daily life in pursuing or ensnaring game. Their methods of hunting vary with the nature of the intended prey, and according to the season of the year.

Weapons

The principal method is by means of pursuit and the use of weapons.
411 The latter amongst all the Bushmen consist primarily of the bow and arrow.[2] The bows are small, and on the whole fairly crude and of simple make (Plate IXd). They are as a rule prepared from the wood [824] of the *Grewia flava*, a thin length of which is cut and roughly shaped is such a way as to taper gradually almost to a point at the ends. The [283] string is made either from two thin sinews twisted together or some- [237] times, among the Northern tribes, from wood fibre worked into a [284] strong cord. It is attached by a simple slip-knot and wound tightly several times round the basal end of the bow-stave, to which a small leather collar or sinew band is usually fixed to prevent the string from slipping when hitched over it. The stave is then bent and the string knotted to the other end, where it is kept in place by a leather band. The bow is kept permanently strung. Its stave is frequently strengthened with additional sinew bindings, especially round the centre, which prevent it from splitting and also form a convenient grip for the hand.

The arrows are complex in structure and vary considerably in

[1] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 120; *idem*, in *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, ix (1896), p. xvii; Vialls, "The Masarwa," 32; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.

[2] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), 113–17; cf. Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 68–71; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4; van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements," 80–5; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 94–6, 99–100.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

[423] have seen, individual rights may occasionally be recognized. All
● 422 portable property is generally owned by individuals, and theft is
[685] severely punished. Huts, which are really of no value, belong to the families occupying them; a man's clothes, weapons, skins, ornaments, utensils, and indeed everything that he makes belong to him alone to do with as he likes, and in the same way anything that a woman makes, e.g. her ornaments, or receives from her husband, e.g. her clothing, is her own property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission. Lebzelter,
867 indeed, goes so far as to assert that among the Kung the sense of private ownership is inculcated even into children. As soon as they are old enough, he says, their parents make for them small bows, digging-sticks, etc., and teach them that they themselves now own these objects and therefore must no longer take those of others.

422 Food, whether vegetable or animal, and water are also private
22 property, and belong to the person who has obtained them. Everyone who has food is, however, expected to give to those who have none. Thus a man who shoots a buck or bird will cut it up, and share with the other people present—but the dividing is done by him, and the skin, sinews, etc., belong to him to be done with as he pleases. In the same way all veldkos is also shared by the members of the band. The result is that practically all food obtained is evenly distributed through the whole camp. But, as we have seen, caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water may be stored away, and these belong to the person who hides them and may not be used without his
[685] permission; while private rights may also be acquired over wild honey or ostrich eggs, and theft in such cases is severely punished.

428 The question of inheritance rarely arises, as generally most of a
[768] man's possessions, especially his weapons and clothing, are buried with him. But during her lifetime a woman will often hand over her
[431] ornaments to her daughter; while among the Auen such of a man's belongings as are not buried with him, e.g. utensils and skins, are inherited by his eldest son. The younger sons and daughters get nothing, nor does the widow, but she keeps her own property. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, a man's weapons, clothing, sandals, cooking utensils, and hunting dogs are inherited by the eldest son. At the same time, he adds, the usage
[425] exists that as soon as the eldest son thus becomes sole heir to his late father, all the property he has himself hitherto possessed, such as weapons, clothing, etc., must go to his next brother. Widows and

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

185 polygyny affords women—that none remain long without the support of a husband.
595 They just said they did not want to be second wives, nor did they want their husbands to take second wives, and protests and quarrels attended a husband's proposal to do so.

Marriage by capture

583 Marriage by capture was spoken of fairly frequently by the /Kung in conversation. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas and I questioned a number of informants about it and we are convinced that wives are not actually acquired by this means at present. Perhaps they were in the past. The /Kung are a present-oriented people who make
[181] no concerted or consistent effort to retain their history and teach it to their children, and we obtained no significant data on their past customs. Nowadays the idea of capturing wives appears to be enjoyed by the men as a fantasy. The remarks of one /Gaishay illustrate what I mean. He weighs, at a good guess, about ninety pounds and looks like a miniature Mephistopheles. With a gleam he told me that if he wanted to take another wife he would go to her werf, seize her, throw her over his shoulder and run off with her. That is the way Bushmen do, he said, and he wished I could see him do so. I also wished that I could.

Arrangements for marriage

584 First marriages are arranged by the parents of the bride and groom, and second marriages also if the couple are still young. Adults, when both have been married before, may contract subsequent marriages themselves.

[611] Although there is a slight paternal emphasis in this society which recognizes bilateral descent, and the father names all his children, his authority is not clearly
[593] dominant over the mother's in the choice of a mate for their child. By and large, it appears that the father and mother talk things over and come to agreement. If they do not agree, it appears that the strength of personality of one or the other, the opinions of relatives, and various circumstances have weight in the decision.

Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may take the initiative and go to the other parents with the proposal. A go-between is not required, though it is possible that a friend will sometimes act as such. The parents visit and talk, and, if they all agree, the arrangement is thereby settled upon. They normally give each other gifts in honour of the occasion.

Property does not enter much into the consideration of the parents in arranging marriages for their children. No property settlement is made, no bride-price paid, no dower given, though at the time of the wedding a few gifts are exchanged.

Food and water must, one imagines, weigh in the parents' thinking when a marriage is being arranged, and may sometimes be a determining factor. However, there is a considerable amount of equalization in these supplies. Veldkos[1] and water-holes
423 are not owned by individuals but by headmen for their bands, in a way I shall describe in a paper on bands. In the Nyae Nyae region each band has access to a supply, else the people would be dead or somewhere else, and things balance out in

[1] *Veldkos* (field food) is an Afrikaans word used to refer to any kind of wild plant material which people gather to eat. Edible fruits, seeds, roots, tubers, leaves, all are included.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

various ways. The affine who marries into the band, as long as he lives with the band, has a right to the water, to the hunting, and to the gathering of the wild foods, as members born to the band have. 423

I think that primarily the values and assets that parents seek in choosing mates for their children have to do with the kind of security which is attained through human responses and relations. Friends may want their children to marry because they know and trust each other. Or a family may want to increase its kinship bonds—and thereby its security—with certain bands for any number of reasons—among them could be food, water, or a desire to have supporting friends in a certain area—and, like the crowned heads of Europe, the /Kung may deliberately seek to establish alliances through marriages. 581 185

Merging with such desires and to be balanced with them are the characteristics of the families concerned. The /Kung want their boys and girls to marry into upstanding families, among people who are ' able to feed themselves ', who are ' not lazy and not thin '. They do not want ' far-hearted ' in-laws who are not generous in food-sharing and gift-giving. /U, ≠Toma's wife, said she would take particular note of their generosity in giving bead ornaments to their children. She would not want a daughter of hers to marry among people who were stingy in that. Proper observance of the avoidances and other social regulations is an asset in in-laws, for they can then be assumed to have taught their children how to behave properly. 185 577 581

The individual's characteristics are also a concern. Parents of boys hope the girls to whom their sons are engaged will grow up to be good-looking, because, they say, a man takes pride in a beautiful wife. Xama, the mother of Gao, the headman of Band 2, said she had wanted for her son a light-skinned girl with good teeth who was not too thin and not too tall. But most important of all is a sweet temper, she said. A mother hopes, she said, that the girl will not be lazy or wander about visiting at night at other people's fires ' like a bitch '. The girl should observe the avoidances and the menstruation and other taboos, and in every way behave as a well brought up girl should. However, since the girls are engaged when they are very young, I suppose the parents of the boys can only watch them grow and hope. 185 581 826

Girls would not want a man ' as tall as a giraffe ', we were told. They would seek a smaller husband. /U's first husband, from whom she was divorced, is so tall (almost six feet) that people laugh and say, ' Did his mother have a dream with a *//gaua* (a spirit)? '

The girls themselves, all twitters and giggles, told me what they admire in the boys. They like a good hunter like /Gunda; and they like handsome teeth and a wide smile like young Tsamgao's; and straight, slender legs like //Ao's; and a fluid, swift walk like /Gao's; and they hate a big black belly like Gao's—the middle-aged medicine man in a band distant from Gautscha, to whom the young /Doin was married.

The parents of a girl want the boy to be responsible, kind to their daughter and, above all, a good provider—which means a good hunter. They want him to make his arrows straight, to shoot swiftly and accurately, to be able to run down an eland, and, most of all, they want a son-in-law whose heart says to him, ' Why am I sitting lazily here in the werf? Why do I not get up and go hunting? ' and who, in obedience to his heart, and the group's desire, and the magic which has been rubbed into his scarifications in the Ceremony of the First Killing, gets up and goes. [304] [881]

/147 cont./

222 Rosinkis of the Boers
So-called "wild cucumbers"
Mushrooms which grow on termite hills

251 The veld crop that has been gathered is kept in the huts in
[415] little sacks made of duiker or ibex leather.

/148/ The Auin also stores small caches of provisions by burying sacks of veld crops; he likewise buries tschamma or ostrich egg shells filled with water. In the tops of large trees one often finds, aside from animal hides, provisions of veld crops which are kept there. [Fig. 9 appears here.]

423 Land is held in common, that is, it is the common property of a horde consisting of several families. The game in this territory, as well as the wood and the veld crops, is exclusively for the use of the members of the community that holds the land. The watering places that are to be found there are available for general use, but only if water is abundant. If water is scarce, the local group that holds the land has exclusive right to it.

361 The local groups sometimes live at considerable distances
423 from one another so that the same land is used by several settle-
621 ments. The settlements, after all, do not consist of a fixed number of families, but rather of those who are gathered together in fortuitous groupings as the occasion arises. Whatever the accidental composition of the settlements may be, their members always move within a definite area, and it is always the members of the same larger horde who form the settlements.

423 Friendly hordes permit tracking, that is, game that has been
619 wounded on the land of one horde may be pursued on the territory of a friendly horde. A part of the booty is allotted to the "landowner" within whose territory the game is killed. A definite
[685] agreement is required in each case since the Bushman attacks on sight any strange Bushman on his family's terrain.

628 Blood vengeance is not sought for a violation of territory if the local groups are especially friendly. The offender is driven off and, in addition, just as in Prussia, his "firearms" and booty are confiscated. The policing of the terrain is done by each Bushman on his communal land.

If women are caught trespassing, they are taken prisoner and
[721] led to the settlement of the owners of the terrain. This frequently leads to war if the women are harmed sexually during their captivity.

[Text continues on page 32]

/155 cont./

628 the slain man. Now, naturally, a blood feud exists between the settlements, which, incidentally, are related to each other directly and by marriage.

Furthermore, it is interesting that the Auin from
648 Sidonitzaub sent a messenger to me in Rietfontein, where I was
[123] station commander, and had him inquire whether I had any objection to their making "orlog" [Tr., probably from the Dutch word oorlog, "war"]. I conveyed to them that the affair was none of my business since the war would take place in British territory. Unfortunately I was transferred from Rietfontein shortly afterward and was therefore unable to witness the campaign as a "military correspondent." According to reliable reports, the war has been settled and three men were killed.

This inquiry addressed to me makes it clear that under the pressure of present conditions the "unfortunate child of the moment" does not always surrender immediately to the impulses of the moment.

It is scarcely possible to give even a rough picture of the
674 legal notions of the Auin.

There is no doubt that the Bushman possesses a very definite sense of justice, but I do not feel capable of comparing it intelligibly to our own conceptions of justice.

It is a little easier to indicate what the Bushman (Auin) regards as absolute injustice, such as murder, theft, adultery, violation of the family territory, and stealing water (the latter only if little water is available). At any rate, with extended investigation, the catalogue could be considerably enlarged.

Personal property includes the hut (though this is not an ob-
422 ject of value), weapons, clothing, utilitarian objects, hides, and ornaments.

It is true that the gathered veld crop, game that has been killed, and water that has been collected are also personal /156/ property, but these are subject to extensive communal use which becomes more limited only in case of famine or a water shortage.

The land of the horde is communal property, as are the
●423 game, veld crop, wood, and water on the land, the latter with limitations.

When a Bushman has burned off a piece of land in order to

/156 cont./

423 foster the growth of the veld crop, he alone may lay claim to the yield of the burned veld. Others, even members of the same settlement, are not allowed to use it.

The territorial property of the individual hordes is precisely delimited, and the boundaries are known to everyone. Boundary markers naturally do not exist, but with his marvelous sense of place, the Bushman knows exactly, to the last bush, the extent of his territory.

565 Social distinctions do not exist, just as there are no servants or domestics.

576 They greet each other by extending hands in a manner that differs from our practice (see Photo. 43).

567 727 Slavery is unknown. Men who have been captured in war are killed; captured women are taken into the victorious group and accorded completely equal rights.

R. Marriage, Position of the Woman, Children

582 Men marry between the ages of about 16 and 18 years, girls between 13 and 16. Both sets of figures naturally are estimates.

584 The candidate for marriage addresses his suit to the girl's mother. If the latter is no longer alive, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is consulted only secondarily. The suitor brings his future in-laws presents in the form of game and veld food, sometimes over a period of more than a year.

If the affair proceeds smoothly, the man takes the girl to his hut after a time and the marriage is regarded as consummated.

If, in spite of the consent of her parents, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to express her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man will finally take the girl to his hut by force and have coitus with her. If she runs away, he brings her back. In this manner, her resistance seems to be gradually overcome.

684 If a man were to violate a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be killed.

585 No special ceremonies are observed to conclude the marriage. The marriage is considered consummated by coitus.

[27 cont.]

221 Bushmen shrink to miserable skeletons. Many of them at this [648] time run to the Blacks or Whites in order to earn something. In [731] dry years no attention is paid to the kin group boundaries. All [423] gather around the few water holes that are still open. As soon as the rain begins, conditions start to improve; the people start moving out in various directions, not to meet again until several months later at the time of the veldkost harvest here and there.

7. The Course of Life

584 I shall render in literal translation the account that my informant gave of the way a young man courts a girl:

If a young man wants to marry a girl, he must first speak to her and say: "I love you and want to marry you." If the girl is willing, she says first: "You must wait." Then she goes to her parents and asks them whether they have heard that the boy has spoken to her. The parents then ask whether the girl wants to marry the man. [28] If the girl says, "Yes," then the parents say, "He wants you; he has seen that you are good and hard-working; you may marry." If, however, the young man has thought the matter over and takes back his words, the girl goes to her parents once more, and the boy to his. The latter say: "You wanted it this way; nothing can be done about it." In case the girl definitely gives her consent, however, the young man brings all kinds of little presents and gives them to his future bride, who takes them to her parents. The parents-in-law must now in turn give presents. With the exchange of presents, the [583] marriage is regarded as legally concluded.

[114] 224 584 [113] The hunting test described by Passarge (1) and others is not

1. Passarge, Die Buschmänner der Kalahari, 1907.

the rule. Some vain girls demand it, and sometimes young men will voluntarily go through with it in order to beat his rivals. This hunting test is carried out in the following manner. The boy goes hunting without weapons and pursues the game (as a rule,

1 [i.e. The hot season -- Analyst]

[31 cont.]

764 of the Bushmen are tied up in a crouched position and buried under termite hills.

"The corpse is usually lowered in such a way that it is received by a man standing in the grave. Aside from those who bring the corpse and dig the grave, no one goes to the interment. The corpse is buried either in a crouched posture or lying in a crouched position. In the case of the crouched posture, the face is eastward, and the elbows rest on the knees, while the hands are on either side of the head. In the case of the crouched position, the corpse is placed on the left side. The left hand is placed under the head, giving the appearance of a sleeping person. The face likewise looks toward the east.

766 [32] "Before their interment, feared men, such as sorcerers who had a malign influence and others who were feared in life, but not women, are firmly tied up with thongs of game hide in the crouched posture described above; then, in some cases, the spine is crushed with a stone or ax, as a result of which the head can be bent even lower and placed between the knees. Tied up in this fashion, they are thrown into a fissure in the earth, into an anteater's hole, or into a small cave."

8. The Hunt

423 224 [621] It is well known that wherever the Bushmen live more or less undisturbed, each kin group has its precisely defined hunting territory. Vedder believes that the engravings of game tracks indicate old boundaries, as do the stone heaps which are usually designated as Heiseb graves. In any case the question arises as to who actually established these boundaries. My informants stated unanimously that the division stems from the time when the Bushmen still had a supreme chief. There seems to be some authority, however, even today, since in the bush veld the boundary lines are drawn with reference to certain trees, which, in general do not have too long a life. The Bushmen move back and forth within their hunting territories. It sometimes happens that a young hunter is not thoroughly familiar with the boundaries or that wounded game crosses the boundary. In this case the hunter must

[32 cont.]

224 423 go to the kin group to whom this territory belongs and take the men to the animal. Then it will be carefully divided down the middle; the hunter gets one half, and the owners get the other half. Nevertheless, quarrels are common, because there is only one of certain organs, such as the heart, liver, etc. These con-
[184] ditions, however, exist only among the eastern !Kung. A Hei//om or a northern !Kung who is found hunting in the territory
224 of another tribe is regarded as an enemy. Boys' hunting is con-
[857] fined to lizards, tree rats, and other rodents. They ordinarily
[411] use the bird arrow, which is carved out of a piece of wood, but in contrast to the Ovambo, the older boys here already have
[223] poisoned arrows. Young and old pursue the hunting of birds with great enthusiasm; in particular guinea fowl, sand hens, grouse, and the Pau [?] insofar as it occurs in this region. These fowl
[262] and small bushbucks are the chief sources of the meat in the native diet. The forest region of the eastern !Kung is poor in
[136] large game. Zebras are almost entirely absent, as is the wildebeest; the giraffe is very rare. The eland, kudu, hartebeest, and especially the gemsbok are relatively more common. Hunting drives are organized to hunt the elephant or rhinoceros. First, the elephant is separated from the herd. As soon as it has been cornered, one Bushman after another springs forward and throws his spear. It is also possible to hunt the elephant with poisoned arrows; there is a number of thinner spots in the skin at the front legs, and the marksman places as many arrows there as possible. The elephant does not die; it merely becomes sick. The hunter rushes home to get some other men, who then go to look for the elephant with spears. Pitfalls are made in the vicinity of the watering places, and a pointed pole is placed inside them. The Bushmen along the Okovanggo also hunt the hippopotamus with pitfalls. The eastern !Kung maintain that in ancient times the hippopotamus was also found in their land. The sling trap is made
[223] in various sizes. The ostrich in particular is usually caught in such sling traps, which are provided with a piece of bone bleached by the sun. Small cats and the like are also caught with this trap. It is likewise placed on the trails of the bushbuck. Jackals and the like are caught by lying in wait for them as they come out of their dens and then beating them to death with the kirri.

[35 cont.]

222 When all the old women have made their tests, then the children also get some, and the veldkost is, so to speak, made available for general consumption. When a woman has found a spot where [423] there is a great deal of veldkost, she makes a sign at this spot, and then everything growing there belongs to her. No one will take any of it.

[262] There were and still are a whole assortment of types of [888] socha veldkost reserved for the old people. [Fig. 3 appears here.]

11. Ergology

Fire

372 The Bushmen believe that there was a time when they had 773 no fire. The following legend tells how they obtained it: "The ostrich had a firebrand under his wing. He, the owl, and Heiseb played together. Then the ostrich took fright at the owl because he thought the owl had horns. He advised all of them to sleep for a little while. When the owl was asleep, he blew at it and saw that it merely had little tufts of feathers and no horns on its head. Thereupon he awakened the two others again and invited them to go on playing. Then Heiseb said: 'Dear ostrich, please wave your wings.' The ostrich did so, and as a result its firebrand fell to the ground. Heiseb picked it up and threw it to the fig tree, and since then man has had fire." -- The narrative probably comes from the legend-circle of the Hei//om Hottentot. Otherwise, Heiseb never appears in !Kung stories. Two pieces of wood from the 372 fig tree are still used occasionally to make fire. For the most part, the most popular devices for making fire are a striking iron and flint; matches are less [36] prized. A pair of fire sticks, the sucking reeds, a few poisoned arrows, and a bird arrow make up the permanent inventory of the quiver.

[42 cont.]
178 He died when his successor, Amme, was still a small boy. Amme,
622 however, was unable [43] to learn much from his father; he was not a good chief, and he died while still young. Since then the !Kung Bushmen have not had a supreme chief. One of my informants, Doctor X'amme, claimed to be the great-grandson of the great chief of the same name.

The following from Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) should

1. Op. cit., pp. 412, 424.

be mentioned:

593 "The father is the chief of the family. All must respect
596 him. Children may not call him by name. -- The chief's posi-
622

[276]

Fig. 15. Dacha Pipe of the !Kung Bushmen (from the Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart, 29464).

tion is generally passed from father to son. If the son is not yet an adult when his father dies, the father's younger brother takes
423 his place. Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited
614 from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

"There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 100 kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

[43 cont.]

423 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's terri-
614 tory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them.
769 The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place.

13. Illnesses and Treatment

826 The anatomical knowledge of the Bushmen is quite extensive as a result of their way of life as hunters.

The heart is regarded as the seat of life, and the breath
[761] has some connection with the heart. Their surgical knowledge is
752 confined to the extraction of thorns by means of an awl-like in-
757 strument and to the relatively effective bandaging of hand and leg
278 fractures. Their supply of medicines, on the other hand, is very limited. In what follows, I shall list the common illnesses and their treatment.

Eye Inflammation

752 Both dry and exudative eye inflammations, caused by sand and irritating grass seeds, are extremely widespread, and blear eyes are the rule among older people. These diseases, however, are not nearly as grave among the !Kung living in the forest as, say, among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari or among those
[826] of Naukluft. Among the latter, blear eyes are even regarded as signs of beauty in young girls. Ordinary eye inflammations that pass in a short period of time mean nothing. They are treated by
[753] rubbing with fat. If the ailment lasts for a longer period of time, then //Gauab [Fig. 16 appears here] certainly had something to
[755] do with it; the doctor is called in and, after some treatment, produces a "little black medicine" from the eye.

[59 cont.]

20. Law

671 627 The norms of natural law among the Bushmen are the same as among us. The family head is at the same time the supreme judge. Since even the nearest kin group is regarded in a sense as a foreign state, however, the boundaries between law, war, and vengeance are exceedingly fluid. The domain of law, therefore, is actually confined to the family. Since the only [681] punishment that can be effectively inflicted is the death penalty, it is rarely applied among married men, [60] for the judges and executioners must provide for the condemned man's survivors. In olden times the women condemned to death were burned or beaten to death with the kirri, and the men were killed with the poisoned arrow.

● 423 The right to personal possession of utilitarian objects, honey, and certain types of veldkost is strictly respected. The soil is common property of the kin group, as is any big game [224] that is killed. If a wounded animal dies in the domain of the neighboring kin group, the hunter must go there and report it. [578] The dead prey must then be divided. Since, however, there are some unpaired organs, fighting and killing easily arise concern- [627] ing them. Blood vengeance is practiced, but can be resolved through negotiation.

423 614 "Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

[361] "There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 1,000 [sic] kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions, come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

769 614 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's territory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's

[60 cont.]

769 territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced
614 by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

●423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place (1).

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 434.

775 As has already been said, the Bushman does not believe
[626] in punishment after death. On the other hand, he is convinced that the evil that he himself has done will befall him or his dogs in the same way.

681 In former times banishment from the kin group was likewise
648 customary, and the exile would soon perish, since the Bushman
177 cannot survive by himself in the wilderness for any length of time. Nowadays, such individuals, just like those who were expelled from the Bantu tribes, move to land owned by Europeans and find work there. It is obvious that they do not help to improve the reputation of the Coloreds.

695 In cases of doubt, the Bushman swears by the great captain: nu X'u.

681 Instead of formal expulsion, the people may boycott out-
762 laws, who are thereby driven to such despair that they commonly commit suicide. Suicides also occur for other reasons.

21. Conflicts with Europeans

648 Before the police zone boundary was erected, the Bushmen found themselves in a latent state of war with their neighbors. Part of their list of sins will be cited here.

According to Toke, the !Kung near Keibeb in 1925 attacked eight Barotse [Lozi] and killed them, and purportedly ate them. Later, three Ovambo were attacked by surprise, killed,

[72 cont.]

169 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes
591 stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his
authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker.
Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least
nominally.

Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
422 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is
685 punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial
district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same
serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand,
a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not
shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost
is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on
the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the in-
dividual's private property.

The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
628 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively
721 against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of
the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war
is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

organisation among them. The various so-called tribes bear 619
distinctive names, mostly of Bushmen or Hottentot origin, the significance of which is in most instances no longer known. Judging by the practice which still exists among the Bushmen they are in all probability descriptive either of the territory occupied by certain groups or of some physical or other characteristic of such territory or groups. Each tribe is composed of a number of family groups all of whom claim relationship to each other through a common tribal ancestor. Thus, for example, according to the traditions of the *ǂAo-||ẽin* all the groups constituting that tribe are descended from a "first big *ǂAo-||ẽin* Bushman." A similar belief likewise exists among other tribes. Nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all members of the tribe is met with among them, nor is collective action taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. Each family group 619
forms an independent unit by itself, possessing its own group 621
area and authority over and specific rights within such area only. In relation to other groups it is collectively responsible for the actions of each of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the groups concerned and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. On occasion, however, a weak group will seek and sometimes obtain assistance from a stronger one, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature. The most common causes of inter-group [628]
quarrels are trespass, theft and adultery. The ensuing conflicts generally assume the form of a blood feud which is continued until a more or less equal toll of life has been taken by both sides. Women are never killed intentionally during [727]
the course of these feuds but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women are made captive and taken in marriage. Further as far as can be ascertained under no circumstances will the victors deprive the vanquished of their territory or occupy such territory lest harm or disaster should overtake them. The more widely separated groups of the tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct personal contact with each other and generally live in such superstitious fear and dread of each other that the members of one will not undertake journeys into the territory of another, even when accompanied by Europeans. The [91]
group areas are separated from each other by neutral zones into which nobody will venture except during the course of visits. These zones are usually formed by belts of trees, open flats, water courses, etc. Territorial boundaries are observed [123]
in a most scrupulous manner even by closely related groups who are living on the most friendly terms with each other. Each family is inseparably united to its habitat and has a superstitious dread of any locality but its own. The result is that even the members of completely disorganised groups are loth to seek employment outside the boundaries of their ancestral territory.

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people. [423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such, 621 by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-//om*, on the [582] other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the [591] chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out 361 on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the [184] *Hei-//om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial [562] and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and [882] boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away [342] from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various 342 tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a [462] husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations. When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish 166 a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who 342 deposits his household and other effects on the place on which [622] his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated [312] in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

648 that hunting cattle was extremely easy, and also, very probably, they wanted to revenge themselves upon the owners of the cattle, whom they believed to be encroaching upon the [423] land they considered their own. Today, largely because the ownership of the land has been determined, many fewer cattle are killed by Bushmen.

566 Of course, it is quite against the law for any farmer to keep
687 Bushmen against their will and without recompense, but in the most remote outposts, on many farms, the laws cannot always be enforced. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate today,
657 and also, I believe, in South-West Africa, the governments
563 are trying to set wage scales and provide education for Bush-
566 men, something very difficult for these governments to do as the Bushmen represent only a small fragment of the population, pay no taxes whatever, of course, and are in great demand as laborers; but the only Bushmen who so far can benefit from this are those who already live on the more central farms. Most Bushmen live in the veld, many in almost unreachable parts of the desert, and these people are still being taken by farmers and made to work almost as slaves.

466 Usually Bushmen do not run away from their masters un-
566 less a very good chance presents itself, such as the master's departure for a time, in which case he may return to find that all his Bushmen have run. But to escape is not always easy; the Bantus usually ride after the escaping Bushmen and drag them back, sometimes beating them severely as well. We once learned of a Bushman who, trying to escape, was captured by his Bantu master and beaten to death, his potential labor being sacrificed to set an example for others.

A European farmer can sometimes get police help in recapturing his escaped Bushmen if the farmer has paid the Bushmen some wages in advance and is owed the Bushmen's labor. European farmers are also not always lenient with

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 Gai on the hood to point the way. From his higher position he noticed the long horns of a gemsbok in the grass and he signaled for the jeep to stop. Then he, John, and Theunis, taking a rifle, slipped out of the jeep and ran off after it, bent over and crouched so low that only their backs showed, as the backs of animals would, gliding above the grass. The gemsbok saw them and ran away toward a patch of heavy bush in the plain, the great V of horns a crown over its head. The men ran after, standing now, and in an hour they came back to where Ukwane and I were waiting, lying on our stomachs under the jeep to be in shade, saying that they had killed it. We drove to the spot where the gemsbok, a female, lay and brought her with us, a present to offer the other Bushmen.

361 We drove for several hours and at last we came to a wide plain, grown over heavily with small trees of slender trunks, with a few short branches sprouting leaves, like fence posts. Gai directed us to one of the smaller trees in the center of the plain and told us to stop. He climbed down and looked [237] 276 around over the veld, then bent and picked up a small pipe, a piece of the leg bone of an antelope. He asked us for a match, lit his pipe, and smoked it.

At last we noticed on the other side of the tree two shallow depressions scooped in the sand and lined with grass, like [513] the shallow, scooped nests of shore birds on a beach—the homes of the families, where the people could lie curled up [132] just below the surface of the plain to let the cold night wind which blows across the veld pass over them.

Other than the depressions, except for a small pile of brown, twisted bean shells, no sign would show that people lived there. Later we saw another scooped pit and a stick thrust upright in the ground beside it, right at our feet, which [4-23] was Gai's place; the stick was to mark the spot, although Gai

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GIKwe

could have found his shallow pit at any time of the day or night.

Nobody was there; everyone had run away. We sat down and waited while Gai put his hands to his mouth and shouted, trying to summon the people back again. When nobody came or even answered him, he flung his pipe to the ground and marched off to find them among the bushes, alternately shouting to his hidden relatives and muttering to himself, for they might be far away and the day was getting warm.

We sat in the middle ground between the depressions so that we wouldn't risk stepping on or crushing anybody's hidden things, for, without knowing it, a European can in a moment trample through a Bushman's cache, breaking the delicate bone or wooden objects, bending the reed arrows, or crushing eggshell beads. Also, among certain groups of Bushmen, every fire has a man's side and a woman's side, determined by the position of the fire as you face the doorway of the scherm, the man's side being on the right, the woman's on the left. If a man sits on the woman's side, or where a woman has been sitting, he will become impotent and will also lose his power to hunt, and if a woman sits where a man has been sitting, she will get a disease in her vagina. Something intangible, invisible, but dangerously powerful, remains on the ground. We did not know which side was which of this werf's fires, or even for sure where the fires were; we did not even know that the Gikwe had this custom, for we had learned it from Kung Bushmen, but we knew that if they did they would not welcome our contaminating their ground. We would have liked to look around, but the best thing we could do was to keep our big boots and our bodies away from their delicate, fragile, almost invisible community.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

136 stood on his branch with the legs wide apart, bracing himself against the wind. When I got near he dropped from his branch and let the wind carry him away, and I saw that he had been watching a colony of ground squirrels close by which had not seen him and did not see me. They, too, were miserable with the cold, for they walked around slowly as they looked for seeds to eat. I sat down to watch them, which they noticed, and some of them stood up to watch me. Their fur was oddly greenish and it blew in the wind showing little patches of white. They had long fat bellies, long heavy thighs, and little feet, and when they stood up they, too, kept their legs wide apart and braced. As they peered at me I heard on the wind almost inaudibly high, soft whistles, their cries of warning to each other. They decided I was dangerous and vanished down their holes.

123 I came back to the werf with some wood, which I gave to the Bushmen. They reached out their hands for it and put it on their fires, but they didn't say a word. Later, in our camp, we put all the wood we had on one great fire, where the Bushmen joined us and where we spent the morning making and drinking cocoa. We even put up a white canvas, and, lying between it and the fire, we were fairly warm.

423 Ukwane used that occasion to tell us something about his
621 life and his relatives, his former wives, the children he had
602
159 fathered and where they lived. Most of this centered around melon rights, or who could live in which areas, for if a person is born in a certain area he or she has a right to eat the melons that grow there and all the veld food. It is perhaps this factor that explains in part why the Gikwe bands are composed the way they are; a man may eat the melons wherever his wife can and wherever his father and mother could, so that every Bushman has in this way some kind of rights in many places. Gai, for example, ate melons at Ai a ha'o be-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

cause his wife's mother was born there, as well as at his own 423 birthplace, the Okwa Omaramba, where we had found the 621 eighteen Bushmen, who after all were not strangers but 602 closely related to Gai and Ukwane and an extension of Ukwane's band. 159

Ukwane himself had had three wives, and he and his first 586 wife had been divorced, which Bushmen do by announcing 587 the divorce and separating. There is no ceremony connected 159 with divorce, and no difficulty, as there is no ceremony connected with any marriage but the first. After a divorce a Bushman man may take up residence with another woman whom he prefers.

Without the visible evidence of ceremonies, however, it 837 is hard for non-Bushmen to recognize what is happening, as 159 occasionally Bushmen live together for short periods without being married, or commit adultery. But in cases such as these there is someone who does not want the union to be permanent, either the man or the woman, or perhaps his or her children; perhaps even the man and woman are tabu relatives, and unless everyone concerned is more or less in accord, the union does not take place. Among Bushmen, incest and [684] adultery are strongly condemned.

Once, among Kung Bushmen we lived with, a woman ran 837 away from her husband to take up with another man. She 593 had considered marrying him, and they ran off one night to his family to live permanently. When her husband found out, he got so wildly angry, taking up his spear and sharpening it, [578] that the headman of the band set off after the elopers to preserve the peace. My brother and I went with him, and at noon we found the lovers resting in the shade.

The headman talked with the elopers and told them how they were bringing shame on both their families, and how the woman's husband was violently upset. By this time the

622
554
[423]

The headman of each band is considered to "own" a waterhole. What he is considered to "own," is both the water and the *veldkos* of the district. The ground itself is described as *chi dole*, worthless. Headmanship is hereditary, the headman being the oldest son of the previous headman although, if the male line is cut off for a generation, headmanship is passed through the eldest daughter to her eldest son. But head-

[p. 72]

626 horror to a !Kung! The worst dream
might be to see the fires flickering in
the *werft* at midnight and be unable to
go to them. All the people we knew
could tell us of only one time when
such a departure from the group oc-
[158] curred: and the man had gone insane,
had murdered and then run raving
into the veld. There he had lived for
a little while in a hole, then died.

622 It is in connection with the need
to live widely spread over the land
that the !Kung headman's functions
423 are peculiar. There is one essential
qualification to headmanship, in ad-
dition to heredity. A headman cannot
leave his waterhole to join another

622 band and still remain a headman, for
423 he, in his person, does not possess headmanship. It is only when a person is *born* headman, and in association with his waterhole, that he assumes the full authority of headmanship. We have seen that headmen were considered to "own" the water and *veldkos* of a district. I believe this association is another way of expressing what the !Kung mean by "own": the headman is the symbol of a place.

In the same manner that a headman "owns" a district, he also "owns" other geographical features of the country. These include pans that fill during the rains, *veldkos*

622 areas, baobab trees, and—most im-
423 portant—*mangetti* trees that hold water in their trunks, and *tsi* areas. It is these "owned" features, and the direction from the waterhole in which they lie, that define a territory. Since, as we have seen, *mangetti*'s and *tsi* are the most important !Kung resources, they are the main determinants of a direction.

But animals are *not* owned. Neatly bounded sections of the countryside are *not* owned. A territory, therefore can best be defined as the combination of a permanent waterhole and a direction: the !Kung so define it by the word "side." One headman's territory is said to be on this "side."

361 JUST as the Kalahari's scant re-
621 sources of food and water are dis-
622 tributed in accordance with a geographical pattern, the !Kung bands are distributed in accordance with both a geographical and a social pattern. Natural resources are the focal points in the geographical pattern of band distribution: headmen are the focal points in the social pattern. In a sense, headmen tie together the two patterns, the concept of headmanship being the embodiment of a certain quantity of resources in a person around whom a band can take shape and operate. Because of their kin ties with a headman, the people living round him, clustering their *skerms* around his and moving with him over his territory, feel right in being where they are.

622 The headman receives no special
554 privileges. He is no more wealthy than other men. If he is a leader, he may assume responsibility and speak out. But, as headman, he need not speak, for headmanship is a silent office and while the headman lives—by his waterhole or out somewhere on his territory with his band—he serves his whole purpose.

423 Most of the permanent waterholes
312 have two !Kung bands associated with them, and the *tsi* areas are likewise shared by bands from the same and different waterholes. Such sharing may come about because two brothers (only one of whom may be the true headman) live together and feel they possess joint claims. It may come about through the passage of time, which confuses genealogies and lets claims, once tenuous, become firm through usage. The !Kung are a people of present tense, living—in their minds as well as with their

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HAPPY LIFE of children includes such moments as these: a laughing game of "pull-away," above.

423 bodies—from day to day. If the water-
312 holes were not shared, some bands would be without permanent water.

621 Not all !Kung territories are of equal value in terms of food and
166 water. Some people have *mangetti* nuts, some have *tsi*, and some have
361 both. There is mild wealth, and gentle poverty in *Nyae Nyae*. Territories also change in value year by year. The rains may fail in some parts of *Nyae Nyae*, and fall in others. In normal years, *mangetti*'s in the north may become available earlier in the season than those of the western forests. Because of the flexibility of band composition, the bands gathering *mangetti*'s in such a favored area are enlarged by people who would otherwise have to wait.

This is usually a temporary situation, the newcomers having more the status of guests than members of the bands. Often, whole bands—headman and all—will visit kin in this manner. During years of dessication, the fact that a person has several choices of bands in which to live becomes vital to him—he can move from a hopeless place to perhaps a better one.

BY such means, balance works out between the desert's resources and the numbers and distribution of !Kung who exploit them. No one district or *mangetti* forest could support more than a limited number of people. Only certain people possess the necessary kinship qualifications to join a band. The flexibility of their

[p. 87]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

SHARING, TALKING, AND GIVING: RELIEF OF SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THIS paper describes customs, practised by the /Kung Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region of South Africa, which help them to avoid situations that are likely to arouse ill will and hostility among individuals within the bands and between bands. Two customs which seem to be especially helpful and which I describe in detail are meat-sharing and gift-giving. I mention also the /Kung habits of talking, aspects of their good manners, their borrowing and lending, and their not stealing.[1]

The common human needs for co-operation and companionship are particularly apparent among the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Independent living, outside the band structure,[2] does not exist for individuals. Nuclear families do not live alone. The arduous hunting-gathering life would be impossible without the co-operation and companionship of a larger group. Moreover, in this society the ownership of the resources of food and water is organized through the headmen of bands, and individuals have rights to these resources by being members of a band connected to the headman by some near or remote kin or affinal bond. The /Kung are also extremely dependent emotionally on the sense of belonging and on companionship. Their need to avoid loneliness, I think, is actually visible in the way families cluster together in their werfs and in the way people sit, often touching someone else, shoulder against shoulder, ankle across ankle. Comfort and security for them lie in belonging to their group, free from hostility or rejection.

Their security and comfort must be achieved side by side with self-interest and much jealous watchfulness. Altruism, kindness, sympathy, or genuine generosity were not qualities which I observed often in their behaviour. However, these qualities were not entirely lacking, especially between parents and offspring, between siblings and between spouses. One mother carried her sick adult daughter on her back for three days in searing summer heat for us to give her medicine. /Naoka carried her lame son, Lame ≠Gao, for years. Gau clucked and fussed over his second wife, Khuan//a, when she was sick. When /U had a baby, her sister, Di/ai, gathered veldkos for her for five days. On the other hand, people do not generally help each other. They laugh when the lame man, Kham, falls down and do not help him up. /U's jealous eyes were like those of a viper when we gave more attention to her husband, ≠Toma, than to her because he was much more ill. And, in the extreme, there is the report from the 1958 expedition of an instance of callous indifference in one band and the probable abandonment of a dying old childless woman, an old aunt, when her sister, with whom she lived, had died.

Occasions when tempers have got out of control are remembered with awe. The

[1] This description of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region is based on observations made during our several expeditions between 1951 and 1959. Changes in the conditions under which the /Kung live are to be expected, and how these changes will affect the practice of the customs here described we do not know.

[2] Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Band Organization', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

can afford to be a little luxurious. They rub it on themselves and on their implements and they eat it. ≠Toma said that, when he had eland fat to give, he took shrewd note of certain objects he might like to have and gave their owners especially generous gifts of fat. 302 431

Real property and the sources of food and water are owned by the headman for the band and cannot be given away. However, meat, once it is distributed after the hunt, and veldkos, once it is gathered, become private property and may be given. Artifacts are privately owned by the individual man, woman, or child, as outrightly owned if received as a gift as if made by the individual. They borrow and lend a great deal—in itself this is one of the ways they support each other and aid themselves in maintaining social solidarity—but this does not blur the clarity of ownership. Each object acquires some markings of its own from the maker and from usage. It is easy for the /Kung, with their highly developed powers of observation and visual memory, to keep track of the commonest objects, know the ownership, and remember the history of the gifts. 431 [423]

As far as we know, no artifacts or materials are taboo as gifts. For instance, women may be given weapons, although it is taboo for women to touch them. 431 [784]

In quantity the gifts varied. One which /Ti/kay gave to ≠Toma was considered generous. It was a fine ostrich egg shell headband, three ostrich egg shells, and a well-tanned duiker skin as soft as suede. Another generous gift consisted of a knife, a spear, and a triple string of traded white European beads. Often gifts were less. The feelings persons have for each other, the degree of their past indebtedness, what they happen to possess and can give, determine the generosity of the gift.

The acquisition *per se* of the objects was seldom, I believe, of primary importance to most individuals in gift-giving—that is, if the objects were their own artifacts. As the /Kung come into more contact with Europeans—and this is already happening——they will feel sharply the lack of our things and will need and want more. It makes them feel inferior to be without clothes when they stand among strangers who are clothed. But in their own life and with their own artifacts they were comparatively free from material pressures. Except for food and water (important exceptions!) of which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have a sufficiency—but barely so, judging from the fact that all are thin though not emaciated—they all had what they needed or could make what they needed, for every man can and does make the things that men make and every woman the things that women make. No one was dependent upon acquiring objects by gift-giving. 182 431 [834]

They lived in a kind of material plenty because they adapted the tools of their living to materials which lay in abundance around them and which were free for anyone to take (wood, reeds, bone for weapons and implements, fibres for cordage, grass for shelters), or to materials which were at least sufficient for the needs of the population. The Nyae Nyae /Kung had hides enough for garments and bags; they kept extra hides when they needed them for new garments or when they wanted them for trade; otherwise they ate them. The /Kung could always use more ostrich egg-shells for beads to wear or trade with, but, as it is, enough are found for every woman to have a dozen or more shells for water containers—all she can carry—and a goodly number of bead ornaments. 182 433

In their nomadic hunting-gathering life, travelling from one source of food to 182 431

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Gathering Mangetti Nuts

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eral large groves of mangetti trees (*Ricinodendron rautanenii* Schinz) in the region, all on great waterless white sand dunes, and one extensive area in which *tsĩ* grows. *Tsĩ* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch) is the seed of the vine that runs along on the surface of the ground. Both mangetti nuts and *tsĩ* are excellent foods, rich in oils and proteins, and so important to the !Kung that they organize their lives to a considerable extent around them.

Each band, according to !Kung social structure, owns and lives within what we call a territory. The band, through its headman (in a way to be explained later), owns the veldkos and water resources within its territory. The territories are varied in size and shape and sometimes consist of portions that are not even contiguous. The boundaries are vague, for the need to draw fine boundary lines is not great. In the interior of the region, where water is so scant, in roughly 8000 square miles live only 17 bands, comprising 447 persons. The other bands and employed groups live on what we call the periphery of the region. The !Kung say that one cannot eat the ground itself so it does not matter to whom it belongs. It is the patches of veldkos that are clearly and jealously owned, and the territories are shaped in a general way around these patches. The !Kung of the interior have settled themselves in such a way that every band has access to areas of edible roots and to either a mangetti grove or a *tsĩ* patch. A few bands have both.

The strong concepts of ownership of veldkos by the band operate almost like a taboo. No external force is established to prevent one band from encroaching on another's veldkos or to prevent individuals from raiding veldkos patches to which they have no right. This is just not done. Fear of fighting is one of the deterrents. The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly

[p. 248]

The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or *tsi*, the men always ac-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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!Kung

in several different bands, and they may choose among them. A band that owned comparatively good resources would tend to attract more members than a band with scant veldkos. This flexibility of residence pattern is one of the reasons that one finds the bands of the interior of the Nyae Nyae region relatively in balance with their resources, and varying in size.

WATER • Two or more bands may share the ownership of a water hole. Water holes keep their own rough population balance because, if water is very scarce, people will go to live elsewhere when they have the possibility of doing so.

In the interior of this region, in roughly 8000 square miles, there are three water holes that can be called really permanent. In the driest years these do not fail. Four others dry up only in years of severe drought. Six more are semipermanent: in a very good year they may yield a little water right through, but in a dry year they are sure to dry up. When the semipermanent water holes go dry, the bands who own them may break up temporarily and the families may go to live with relatives who are at permanent water holes, or they may go as whole bands to another water hole where they have relatives.

Water is not owned as exclusively or as jealously as veldkos. Water seems to belong more to mankind, as the animals do, and the ownership of water holes emphasizes more the managing than the withholding of the water. The headman controls the water. His permission should be asked by travelers or visitors before taking water, "because he knows what he has and what can be done," we were told. We saw small temporary water holes marked with bundles of grass thrust into forked sticks. This was to tell visitors or travelers that the owners of the water hole were in residence, as it were, and were counting on the water. We believe that in these circumstances water would not be taken without permission. Occasions are not likely to arise where permission need be refused. The !Kung know where the others are, or are likely to be, at a given time and know how much water is available. They plan better than to get themselves into desperate situations.

One source of water appears to be owned by individuals. It is the rainwater that collects in hollow mangetti trees. The water in trees is not stolen by others who go to gather in the same mangetti forest. Water, incidentally, is the only beverage of the !Kung in the interior of the region. They have no alcoholic drinks and use no infusions of herbs.

HUNTING AND MEAT SHARING • !Kung hunting regulations do not confine the hunters to territories. The game animals belong to no one until they are shot, and the hunters may follow them anywhere the spoor leads and may cross the territorial boundaries of any band. If hunters have made a kill in the territory of a neighboring band, they would not fail to give a present of

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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!Kung

553 602 835 [601] properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, 619 in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling 553 of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin 601 terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen— 602 sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [101] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ŏassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ŏassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father [613] to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship. [622]

There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food [423] and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A consider- 768 able amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

582 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside 648 the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

584 First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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thighs, up the buttocks to the waist, and on the cheeks and forehead. 304
The !Kung say the stripes are made only for beauty" and are in imitation of gemsbok—big, stately gray antelopes with spectacular black markings.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The only social grouping above the family in 621
!Kung society is the autonomous band. A band is a group of families who live together, linked to one another and to the headman by kinship bonds, in a manner that will be illustrated presently. Nuclear families do not live alone among the !Kung. An extended family might do so, if it were a strong unit with enough young hunters and gatherers to sustain it; it would then be a band. Most of the Nyae Nyae bands were composed of several families [162]
and ranged in size from twenty or twenty-five to fifty or sixty members.

Each band belongs to its own territory, or, we can say, owns its territory 621
and the resources within it. Two or more bands may belong to the same 622
territory. The focus of the band's ownership of the territory is the headman, 423
who is called *kxau* (owner). He does not own the resources as private, individual property is owned, to withhold or give as he pleases. Members born to the band have a kind of inalienable right of their own to the resources. The headman personifies those rights and gives them organization and continuity. The continuity is expressed by the attachment of the headmanship to the territory. If a headman leaves the territory to live elsewhere—except temporarily for bride service—he ceases to be headman and the headmanship falls on someone else who remains in the territory.

!Kung society accords to the headman the authority to coordinate the 622
movements of his own people in relation to their consumption of resources, and his chief duty is to plan when and where the band will move. He should protect the resources from encroachment from outsiders.

When the band moves, the headman's position is at the head of the line. He chooses the site for the new werf and has the first choice of a spot for his own fire and scherm. He has no other rewards or prerogatives. He carries his own load and is as thin as the rest.

It is not a headman's duty, as headman, to instigate or organize hunting parties, trading trips, the making of artifacts, or gift giving, nor does he make marriage arrangements. Individuals instigate their own activities. A 622
headman is not in any formalized way a judge of his people, nor must he 627
punish a wrongdoer. He may have great influence, if he is an effective leader, but wrongdoing is judged and controlled by public opinion, usually expressed in talk. Occasionally a person who is wronged seeks to avenge himself by fighting, which is greatly deplored.

If a headman is too young or too old, or lacks personal qualities of 622

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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622 leadership, the people may turn quite informally to some other man for leadership in their daily life—ask him for help and advice, fall in with his plans. Such a leader has no authority and receives no honors or rewards.

Headmanship is inherited by the eldest son from the father. If that son dies or leaves the band, the headmanship passes to the next eldest son.

No strictly formulated rules, insofar as we know, provide for further succession. We have no observations of our own of situations in which a headman had no son.[10]

622 The rule of succession does not provide for a headmanship to pass
621 collaterally to a headman's younger brother. However, a younger brother
571 may set up a band of his own in the same territory if he does not prefer to live under the headmanship of his older brother or if he does not continue to live with his wife's people. The younger brother has his own rights to the veldkos and water that derive from his father and he can share them with his family and band. Nevertheless, as long as a son of the headman in rightful succession is living in the territory, he has higher authority and is responsible for the overall planning. Should the principal headman's band die out or realign itself, the collateral band led by the younger brother would become the principal one.

621 The bonds that bring the !Kung into membership in bands are the same
622 consanguineous and affinal bonds on which a nuclear family is formed:
602 the bonds of parent-offspring, siblings, and spouses. Everyone who lives in
571 a !Kung band is linked by one of these bonds with the headman, sometimes directly or sometimes in a chainlike manner through one or two other
[162] persons. A description of a typical band will illustrate this point. Band II of Gautscha has forty-one members. The headman, Gao Beard, has two
[592] wives and four young children. With Gao Beard live his younger brother, one of his younger sisters, each with spouse and children, and his elderly, dependent and widowed mother. Gao asked his first wife's father, Old ≠Toma, whom he likes very much, to join his band. Old ≠Toma brought with him into the band his wife, a married son with wife and child, two younger sons, his wife's sister, and her son by a now divorced husband.
[583] He also brought sixteen other persons—Gau and his people. Gau belongs to another band but was at the time living in Band II because he had married, as a second wife, Old ≠Toma's wife's sister and, middle-aged though they are, he was in bride service to her people. After a time Gau can choose whether to stay on in Band II or to go back to the band in which he originated. He said that he thought he would decide to stay with Old ≠Toma and Gao Beard because he likes Old ≠Toma and because Gao Beard has a mangetti grove.

621 People retain throughout their lives their membership in the band
423 in which they were born and their rights to its veldkos and water resources.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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!Kung

If they leave the band they may return. Affines and the families of affines have equal rights to the resources while they are present but do not retain them if they leave. 621 423 [602]

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS • In the many strange old tales of the !Kung appears a protagonist named ≠*Gao!na*—Old ≠Gao. He had supernatural powers, but he looked like a man and lived on earth. Like mankind, he was subject to passion, hunger, wrongdoing, failure, frustration, and humiliation, but men imagine his feelings in larger scale and as more grotesque than their own. Themes of incest, hunger, and cannibalism run through the tales. The !Kung claim that this old protagonist and the great god of their present belief are one and the same: they have the same names, but if the present great god is the old ≠*Gao!na*, he is mightily changed. 773

The !Kung now believe that there are two gods. The great god lives in the eastern sky where the sun rises; the lesser, in the western sky where the sun sets. The great god is the creator of all things. He created himself and named himself. He then created the lesser god and a wife for each of them. The wives bore them children. The great god gave names to all these beings. Then he created the earth and the water holes, the sky and the rain, the sun and the wind, the things that grow on the earth, and the animals with their stripes and colors, and he gave them names. He created a woman and then a man. He commanded the man and the woman and the animals to breathe, for without breathing they would not live. From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. When mortals die he takes their spirits to the place where he lives in the eastern sky, where there is a certain tree that has no name. He hangs the spirits in the tree, makes a medicine smoke in a pot beneath them, and transmutes them into the /*gauwasi*, the spirits of the dead, who live in the sky with him and are his servants. He has a medicine with which he renews himself, the /*gauwasi*, and the other heavenly beings and thus keeps them immortal. [776] [775]

The great god gave men bows and arrows and poison and digging sticks and taught them how to shoot animals and dig for food. Everything men know he taught them. Having created all things, the great god is the owner and the master of all things and commands their movements.

To "praise" himself, the !Kung believe, the great god gave himself seven divine names and one human name. The divine names are *Hishe*, *Hawe*, *Kxo*, *!Gara*, *Gani ga*, ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gai* and /*Gauwa*. The human name is ≠*Gao!na*, the one he shares with the old protagonist. 776

Although there is not an absolute taboo upon saying the names of the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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office is hereditary. His authority is very slight, and apparently 621
exercised mainly in regulating the movements of the people from [622]
place to place, and in leading in war.

Each band also acts as a unit in its relations with other bands of 619
the same or of neighbouring tribes, and in such relations it is 621
collectively responsible for the actions of any of its members. When
differences arise they are confined to the bands concerned, and not
participated in by the rest of the tribe. Occasionally, it is true, a
weak band may seek and obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour,
but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature.[1]

The band is also the land-owning group. Each band possesses its 423
own hunting territory, to which it is restricted, and exercises authority 621
over and specific rights within this territory only.[2] The members
of the band roam about freely all over their own land, but do not [438]
trespass on their neighbours' territory, although single persons and
small parties may occasionally pay short visits across the border,
mostly for trading purposes. As a result of this territorial segregation
it may often happen that the more widely separated bands of [619]
a tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct contact with
each other.

There are no special boundary marks between the areas occupied
by different hunting bands. The limits of each area are as a rule
defined by various natural landmarks, such as sand dunes, koppies,
river-beds, vleis, springs, or even trees. These are well known to the
people themselves and carefully observed. In some cases the areas [311]
of different bands are separated by neutral zones, formed by belts of
trees, open flats, watercourses, etc. Nobody will venture into these
except during the course of a visit. In particular, however, each
hunting territory is defined by the waterholes in it. These constitute
the real property of the band. The encampments are always erected [361]
near them, all the game on the land around them or drinking at the
water may be hunted only by members of the band, and similarly
only they may gather "veldkos" (wild vegetable foods) in the
vicinity. The infringement of territorial rights in this respect is one [628]
of the main causes of dispute between neighbouring bands, and
almost invariably leads to bloodshed.

[1] The relations between different bands are discussed more fully below in Chapter VI, s.v. "Relations with Other Bands"; vide p. 155

[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 156; Passarge, op. cit., 31–2; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 4; Fourie, "The Bushmen," 85; Lebzelter "Bei den |Kuñ-Buschleuten," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928–9), SitzBer. (12).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Chapter V

SOCIAL HABITS AND CUSTOMS

Daily Life and Food

Daily and Seasonal Routine

The life of the Bushmen is one long struggle for food. For their 221
subsistence they rely entirely on the natural products of their environment: their animal food is obtained mainly by hunting, and occasionally fishing, while their vegetable food consists of edible plants, roots, and fruits growing wild in the veld. Save where they [177]
have been very considerably influenced by other peoples, they neither practise agriculture nor keep domestic animals which can supply them with food in the way of meat or milk.

The very mode of their subsistence makes them all wanderers. As soon as the edible plants in the vicinity of one waterhole grow scarce, the people move on to another, following the movements of the game and the growth of the plants. In this way a few months are spent at one waterhole, then some months at another, perhaps at even a third or fourth, and it is often a year or more before the first is revisited.

In particular their movements are regulated according to the season 221
and the distribution of the rainfall upon which they are mainly 312
dependent for their food supply. In the Namib Desert and in the 423
Central and Northern Kalahari each band has different dry and rainy season quarters, to which it resorts as the growth of veldkos or the movements of the game necessitate. The Namib Bushmen roam about the sand dunes of their region during the rainy season and well into the dry season, but as soon as the water and the indispensable */naras* fruits found there are exhausted, they draw back into the mountains, where each band has its permanent waterholes.[1] Similarly the Bushmen in the Central Kalahari roam in the sandy plains during the rainy season, and still manage to live there for part of the dry season, even after standing water has disappeared, on succulent melons and roots; but when these also begin to fail the people are

[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166, 168.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

221 compelled to turn back to permanent waterholes. Thus in the rainy
312 season the Aikwe, Tsaukwe, /Amkwe, /Dukwe, and Tserekwe all hunt
423 in the wide sandveld pierced by the bed of the Letyahau, keeping to some extent to their respective hunting territories, but apparently also hunting together peacefully in the most central parts of the region. In the dry season, however, they turn back to the limestone pans of the Ghansiveld and Mahuraveld and to the river-courses of the Tauche-Botletle system, where permanent water is to be found.[1] The same alternation of residence with the seasons occurs, as we have seen, among the Tannekwe and the Hukwe, and may also be noted among the Kung and the Auen in the Omaheke and Kaukauveld.[2]

It is not only in alternation of residence that the change of season
[621] makes itself felt. In some cases it also affects the very cohesion of the band itself; for, as already mentioned, both among the Auen and among some of the Central Kalahari tribes the members of the band concentrate together during the rainy season when there is a more abundant supply of food, but as the dry season comes on the families scatter and wander off in different directions.

From their huts the people go out every day in search of food.
462 The women rise early, light the fire, and prepare the food for the
512 morning meal, which usually consists of veldkos left over from the previous evening. After having eaten, the men may go out hunting or visiting or engage in some other occupation, such as preparing skins, weapons, and utensils. The women accompany one another in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. "One may see a group of women and little children start off in one direction, single file of course, then some men in another, then four or five boys together, then girls, small and big, then some more men, and so on." When food is obtainable at no great distance, the women are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have far to go they may not reach home till late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they start the fires and proceed to prepare the food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water from the neighbouring waterhole.
[264] Food is ready by the time the men arrive in the late afternoon, and the evening meal, the principal meal of the day, is then eaten without delay. Meals are taken in common by the members of the family,
512 each family eating at its own hut. Afterwards visits are usually
[574]

[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 31–2.
[2] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Chapter VI

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIFE

Land Tenure

Each hunting band among the Bushmen, as we have already noted, 423
claims rights of ownership over a certain stretch of land, and 621
vigorously resents trespass upon it by members of other bands. Within the band land is owned in common. The hunting territory belongs to the whole band, and all the members of the band have an equal right to hunt and collect over any part of it and to use the water in it. Often the members of the band are scattered apart, so that the same territory is exploited by the inhabitants of several different encampments. These encampments, as we have seen, are not [361] made up of any fixed number of families, but fluctuate a good deal in size. Whatever their momentary disposition, however, their [221] inhabitants always roam within a definitely limited area, and it is always the members of the same band who establish these different encampments within its bounds.

As the Bushmen practise neither agriculture nor pastoralism, there 423
is no question of cultivation or grazing rights. There is said, however, to exist a certain private ownership of land among the Auen, in the [222] sense that when a man burns a patch of veld in order to promote the growth of veldkos on it, he alone has a claim to its products. Others, even people living at the same encampment, may not gather veldkos on this patch without his permission.[1] Somewhat analogous to this 222
are the private rights recognized by all Bushmen over objects found 422
in the veld. A man who finds an ostrich nest with one or two eggs, for example, sticks an arrow in the ground close by as a sign of ownership, and waits until the tale of eggs is complete before carrying them off. Should another man take the marked eggs, the first finder follows the spoor to the thief's hut, and demands them back. If they are [685] restored, there is no fighting, but the thief does not escape reproaches [626] for wrongdoing, especially from the neighbours of the finder; while in case of refusal bloodshed almost inevitably follows. In the same

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 155.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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222 way private rights can be indicated over honey in a nest, or by a woman
422 who has located a spot with a specially abundant supply of veldkos. Whoever removes anything from such places is regarded as a thief.[1] It must be emphasized, however, that rights of this nature are only acquired by chance, and that apart from them there appears to be no [423] restriction at all upon the free exploitation of the hunting territory and all its resources by any member of the band.

Hunting

224 Once they have passed through the puberty ceremonies, boys and
[883] girls participate in the full economic life of the band. All the men
[462] are hunters, and spend the greater part of their daily life in pursuing or ensnaring game. Their methods of hunting vary with the nature of the intended prey, and according to the season of the year.

Weapons

The principal method is by means of pursuit and the use of weapons.
411 The latter amongst all the Bushmen consist primarily of the bow and arrow.[2] The bows are small, and on the whole fairly crude and of simple make (Plate IXd). They are as a rule prepared from the wood [824] of the *Grewia flava*, a thin length of which is cut and roughly shaped is such a way as to taper gradually almost to a point at the ends. The [283] string is made either from two thin sinews twisted together or some-
[237] times, among the Northern tribes, from wood fibre worked into a
[284] strong cord. It is attached by a simple slip-knot and wound tightly several times round the basal end of the bow-stave, to which a small leather collar or sinew band is usually fixed to prevent the string from slipping when hitched over it. The stave is then bent and the string knotted to the other end, where it is kept in place by a leather band. The bow is kept permanently strung. Its stave is frequently strengthened with additional sinew bindings, especially round the centre, which prevent it from splitting and also form a convenient grip for the hand.

The arrows are complex in structure and vary considerably in

[1] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 120; *idem*, in *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, ix (1896), p. xvii; Vialls, "The Masarwa," 32; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 38; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.

[2] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), 113–17; cf. Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 68–71; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4; van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements," 80–5; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 94–6, 99–100.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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224 where bush is scarce, frequently seek shelter during the day in the numerous anteater holes. Finding a morning spoor leading to one of these holes, the hunter, silently as a cat, creeps up to the hole and plants himself before it, leaving a small open space under the left arm, for which the buck charges, when it is pinned and dealt a stunning blow over the head with the kirri held in the right hand. In this way numbers of these animals are killed. The kirri is also used for knocking down hares and game birds; it is thrown from a distance of twenty-five to thirty feet, and generally stuns the game so that it is easily [223] secured. Birds are preferably aimed at just when they are rising from the ground, as the slightest blow will then upset their balance and bring them down before they have time to escape.

Bigger game, such as the giraffe, eland, hartebeest, ostrich, and springbok are generally hunted with the bow and arrow, which are used all the year round. As a rule the men hunt alone, or a man and boy together. They find the spoor of an animal and follow it, finally creeping up to the leeward side on hands and knees, using all possible cover, and then raise themselves gently to shoot. Or else they lie in wait for the game on its way to the water, or in the vicinity of a place where it comes to lick salt. The men hide themselves between stones, or dig a hole in the ground, piling up the earth in front and sticking green branches on top to deceive the game. Occasionally, again, several men surround game in a pan, some standing to leeward ready to shoot, while the others drive from windward, approaching from different quarters.

Once he has wounded an animal, the hunter takes up its trail and follows it leisurely, knowing that he will ultimately reach the corpse, if the poison on the arrow has been at all effective. There is always the great danger, however, that if the buck has run too far, and he takes too long to reach it, hyenas or the vultures may have got there first. Also care must be taken that the animal does not run out of [423] the hunting territory, as it is then as good as lost, or, where the [621] neighbouring band is friendly enough to permit of its being followed over the border, the meat must be shared with the members of that band. When at last he comes up with the buck the hunter, if it is not already dead, dispatches it with the spear or kirri. He then cuts [252] it up, roasts and eats some of the meat, and carries the rest home; or, if near the huts, he may carry the whole buck home. If it is too big to manage, he will light a fire to summon the other members of the band to the spot. Everybody shares in the meat, which is doled

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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224 returning to the camp, sleep under the central tree and avoid sexual intercourse with his wife, lest the poison prove ineffective and the animal escape. The meat of an animal killed by a dog may not be [841] eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating; this is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. Any want of success is generally attributed to some chance accident; for example, a man who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife was menstruating will not hunt again while she is in that condition, nor will she eat any of the *ǂnoe-di* at such times.[1]

These practices and beliefs obviously represent only a small portion of what must be an elaborate series of usages relating to hunting, but they suffice to indicate how the Bushmen, fully aware of the uncertainty attendant upon their efforts, seek to relieve their apprehensions and to obtain confidence by the aid of magic and taboo.

Collecting

224 Hunting in the old days was unquestionably the principal source
136 of subsistence in Bushman life. But with the decrease of the game
648 in their region and with the enforcement against them of the game
222 laws framed by the white man, its importance is diminishing, and at the present time the Bushmen depend very largely for the means of existence on the wild vegetable foods growing in the veld.

[241] Agriculture in any form is altogether unknown to them in their
222 traditional mode of life. The nearest they have got to it is found
224 in the practice observed by the North-Western tribes of burning the
311 veld at the end of the dry season.[2] This, it is said, is done primarily in order that the edible bulbs, roots, etc., should come up better during the approaching rainy season. It is also used, however, as a means of hunting, for the men spread round the fire in a semicircle and drive all the game rushing from it before them in a certain direction where some hunters are lying in wait; moreover, the new grass growing soon after the burning attracts the game, which returns to the area, and thus makes it good hunting ground. Incidentally the burning serves to kill off snakes, scorpions, and other noxious creatures. Men may only [423] burn in their own territory; to do so across the border, or to gather wood where others have burned, is a great offence. In former times, [622] among the Naron, the chiefs are said to have regulated the burning;

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 102.
[2] Jodika, "Reise nach dem Okavango," *D. KolBl.*, xiii (1902), 491; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147, 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 17.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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made by themselves, and metal pots, spear heads, knives, trade beads, 438
etc., which they obtain through the Heikum from the OvaKwangari 439
and MaMbukushu further north. The Naron to the east trade their skins, and formerly also ivory and ostrich feathers, with the BaTawana to the north-east for tobacco and millet. Ostrich egg-shell beads are bartered to the Bantu by all the Bushman tribes. The Koon at Naosanabis in the south, a branch of the /nu//en, are known to make them especially well, and their beads are always in great demand, passing through the Naron and the Auen to the Bantu tribes further north and east, who pay highly for them. For a chain of these beads passing round the waist the MaMbukushu, for example, give a large basket of millet, the BaTawana a large roll of tobacco, the OvaMbo an iron spear head, and so on. The Naron also trade their skins to Europeans and BeChwana for tobacco, dagga, or trade goods, and the latter, again, they pass on to the Auen.

The extensive scale on which this trade is carried out would seem to imply the existence of regulated trading communications between the different tribes. Unfortunately, there is extremely little information bearing on this point. Markets are apparently not held, the transfer [443]
of goods, as far as can be determined, being effected almost entirely
through special trading visits from one group to another. Kaufmann 437
describes the way in which such trading visits are conducted among the Auen. A small number of men and women go to the camp of the band with whom they wish to trade, laying down their weapons beforehand. Permission to enter is then given, and the barter proceeds. He adds that even if two bands are at enmity, as often happens,
women will, nevertheless, go from one to the other in order to trade. [114]
This statement, however, needs to be confirmed. Passarge also suggests that the Bantu tribes of this region probably send periodical trading caravans to the different Bushman tribes, and quotes as an illustration the fact that in former times at least the OvaMbo would, with the permission of the Bushmen, go on special trading visits to obtain copper in the Otavi district of South-West Africa.

Property and Inheritance

The economic life of the band, although in effect it approaches a 421
sort of communism, is really based on the notion of private property.[1]
The only thing owned in common is the land, and even here, as we 423

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 155–6; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 504; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36, 16; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13, 16.

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[423] have seen, individual rights may occasionally be recognized. All
422 portable property is generally owned by individuals, and theft is
[685] severely punished. Huts, which are really of no value, belong to the families occupying them; a man's clothes, weapons, skins, ornaments, utensils, and indeed everything that he makes belong to him alone to do with as he likes, and in the same way anything that a woman makes, e.g. her ornaments, or receives from her husband, e.g. her clothing, is her own property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission. Lebzelter,
867 indeed, goes so far as to assert that among the Kung the sense of private ownership is inculcated even into children. As soon as they are old enough, he says, their parents make for them small bows, digging-sticks, etc., and teach them that they themselves now own these objects and therefore must no longer take those of others.

422 Food, whether vegetable or animal, and water are also private
22 property, and belong to the person who has obtained them. Everyone who has food is, however, expected to give to those who have none. Thus a man who shoots a buck or bird will cut it up, and share with the other people present—but the dividing is done by him, and the skin, sinews, etc., belong to him to be done with as he pleases. In the same way all veldkos is also shared by the members of the band. The result is that practically all food obtained is evenly distributed through the whole camp. But, as we have seen, caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water may be stored away, and these belong to the person who hides them and may not be used without his
[685] permission; while private rights may also be acquired over wild honey or ostrich eggs, and theft in such cases is severely punished.

428 The question of inheritance rarely arises, as generally most of a
[768] man's possessions, especially his weapons and clothing, are buried with him. But during her lifetime a woman will often hand over her
[431] ornaments to her daughter; while among the Auen such of a man's belongings as are not buried with him, e.g. utensils and skins, are inherited by his eldest son. The younger sons and daughters get nothing, nor does the widow, but she keeps her own property. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, a man's weapons, clothing, sandals, cooking utensils, and hunting dogs are inherited by the eldest son. At the same time, he adds, the usage
[425] exists that as soon as the eldest son thus becomes sole heir to his late father, all the property he has himself hitherto possessed, such as weapons, clothing, etc., must go to his next brother. Widows and

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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619 Bushmen from all parts of the Ghansiveld, even from different tribes,
621 owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again
[221] Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common
[423] hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

114 All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery,
619 however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between
621 different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys'
[881] puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his
[574] preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement that in the months of March and April different bands come together for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and
726 obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several
619 Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band,
621 although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

578 On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are
619 not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife-
621 stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the
628 form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially
[685] is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who
648 encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen,
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[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 137.
[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 13.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 134.
[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 154; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 1; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 85.

[72 cont.]

169 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes
591 stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his
authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker.
Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least
nominally.

Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
422 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is
685 punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial
district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same
serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand,
a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not
shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost
is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on
the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the in-
dividual's private property.

The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
628 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively
721 against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of
the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war
is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

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15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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!Kung

vour it. Thus, according to our observations, a !Kung band gets on an average 224
only about fifteen to eighteen large animals in a usual year.

The meat of the large game animals does not belong to the hunters to do with as they choose. However, they always have the prerogative of eating the [242] liver at the site of the kill and, if their hunger is not satisfied, they may eat more. The bulk of the meat is then carried to the band, where it is distributed among the members according to a system. The meat belongs to the owner of the first arrow that penetrates the animal so that it stays in. He has the responsibility of making the first distribution.

Anyone in the band may be the owner of the arrow. A hunter carries 224
arrows he acquires in three different ways. Each man has his own that he 411
makes himself, shaping the points with some little distinction so that he 422
will know them from the arrows of other men. In addition he carries 426
arrows that have been given or lent to him. When an arrow is given to him, 431
he is the owner as much as if he had made it himself, but if he uses that 571
arrow he must make a special gift of meat to the donor. When he uses an arrow that is loaned to him, he merely shoots for the person who lent it and who remains the owner of the arrow. !Kung society makes a great deal of giving and lending arrows. Women and old men, as well as men in their hunting prime, receive arrows as gifts and may give them or lend them to a hunter, asking him to shoot for them. A hunter cannot refuse an arrow— [576] as a person cannot refuse any gift—without offending the giver. He accepts the arrow and with it an obligation, but he gives or lends arrows in return and involves others in obligation to him. Hunters choose to use one or another of their arrows, with the result that the responsibility of distributing the meat, with its advantages and obligations, is shared by members of the band as is the meat itself.

In the first distribution the whole animal is divided among a few 224
persons, who receive whole sections on the bone, unless the animal is so large that the meat has to be cut off in strips to be carried. The first of these persons are the hunters, each of whom gets a fore- or hindquarter or the equivalent. The giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not made by the owner himself) receives a generous portion. The owner of the arrow, who may be one of the hunters, or anybody, keeps the rest.

In the second distribution, the several persons who got meat in the 224
first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. The 602
amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution, close kinship is the factor that sets the pattern of giving. A man's first obligation at this point [606] is to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous [593] portions as he can while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if

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!Kung

on the quantity of objects they want to possess. They do not even want one each of the common tools of their lives. They borrow from each other, and there is less to carry.

Instead of acquiring prestige by accumulating possessions, the !Kung seek it in the opposite way. They practice a custom of gift giving to such an extent that their belongings all move in a slow flowing current among them and no one keeps anything of particular value very long. !Kung society requires that gifts be made in return, and the custom serves as a means to mitigate jealousy, to express friendly intent, and to weave people together in mutual obligation.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE FAMILY AND THE DOMESTIC GROUP • The family is the primary and the most cohesive social unit of the !Kung. By far the strongest bonds they feel are those of the nuclear family—the bonds between parent and offspring, between siblings, between spouses. These relationships are the basis of residence; by that I mean that people live together and have membership in their bands and rights to its food and water resources because they are linked to the band by one of these relationships. I believe that, in addition to the structured aspects, there is great emotional cohesiveness in !Kung families and that this is observable in the way families within the band build their fires near each other, come and go together, or, if there should be a quarrel, literally stand by each other, drawing close together.

The !Kung family passes through four phases. In its simplest nuclear form it consists of a man, his wife, and such children as are born to them. First marriages are always with just one wife. A later nuclear phase may be polygynous. When the daughters of a !Kung couple marry, and the daughters' husbands come to live with their brides' parents to give them bride service, the unit becomes an extended family. In a second extended phase, the married sons may have returned from bride service with their wives and offspring. In this phase, the married daughters with their husbands and offspring may stay or they may go to live with their husbands' people.

• The headship of a family is strongly associated with males. A widowed mother is regarded as a dependent, not as a family head. When the old father of an extended family dies, that particular family ceases to be an extended family. Families of siblings may live together in the same band, but no one of them has authority over another unless one of the siblings happens to be headman of the band. If they are no longer involved in bride service themselves, and their offspring are not yet married, these families become independent nuclear families again, to become new, extended families when the offspring marry.

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222 with three young children go to the nuts they must carry a minimum of 4+4+2+2+2 = 14 ostrich egg shells filled with water, four for each adult and two for each child. However, most [426] women own only about six shells. By borrowing shells from other camp members they can bring the total up to the number required for a three day trip.

The antelope stomach sacs offer an increase in water-carrying capacity. A fresh sac will hold up to one gallon (U.S.), i.e. 128 ounces of water, which is the equivalent of 3-1/2 egg shells. Therefore, if a family of five owns two stomach sacs containing 256 ounces of water, this will provide them with one day's supply of water. The 14 egg shells hold three day's supply of water, so that, with two stomach sacs and 14 shells, the family of five can stay an extra day (three nights instead of two) away from the permanent waterhole.

Four days is the upper limit on the time that Bushmen can spend away from a waterhole without a supplement of water from plant sources. There are three reasons for setting the upper limit at four days. First, there is a limit to the number of containers available. Stomach sacs are very fragile and have a short useful life. As they rip they are sewn and this sewing makes their capacity smaller and smaller, so that after six months or so they are discarded. Ostrich egg shells, on the other hand, are much more durable

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and may stay in constant use for years. It is curious therefore that each family possesses less than 10 shells and must borrow shells in order to make these hiking trips to the nuts. The limited number of containers is probably the reason why members of a camp go out to the nuts in shifts. When one family returns, the camp's ostrich egg shells are pooled, and then another family may go out.

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A second limitation is the weight of water that can be carried. The 756 ounces of water required for four days at the nut forest weigh 47 lbs. Each empty ostrich egg shell weighs eight ounces; so that the 14 shells themselves weigh an additional seven lbs. Furthermore it is necessary for the parents to carry the younger children on their shoulders. So, in effect, the parents must walk out to the nut forests fully loaded with water and children and also return fully loaded with nuts and children. On the return trip the weight of the water is replaced by an equivalent weight of collected nuts.

The third limitation is set by the volume that the ostrich egg shells occupy in the carrying space of the kaross. The volume occupied by 14 ostrich egg shells is roughly equivalent to the volume occupied by 14 quart-sized milk bottles. When the time comes for the trip home the adults must pack into each kaross 20 lbs. of nuts, as well as the empty ostrich egg

/154 cont./

622 Every Auin adult can really do as he likes on the condition that he does not offend against "good Bushman custom." On the other hand, he recognizes a chief, who, however, has as good as no authority at all. If, however, the chief has a rifle, for example, or if he is a very strong man, he has correspondingly greater influence. I have the impression that the chief acts more as a representative, a position which is of most importance in dealings with the Whites.

The chief has actual sovereign rights, like every other Bushman, only over his wives and children, and over the latter only while they are small.

No tribute or service is rendered, just as there are no external insignia of the chief's office.

The chief's office is hereditary in the male descent group. The office is not inherited until the candidate belongs among the men, that is, after schooling (see below) and after the killing of the first piece of big game. There is no proxy during the minority of the candidate. It works, even so!

619 /155/ The settlements unite and separate again depending on the circumstances.

631 The chief of a horde, which is not always united in one village, is called aichabn.

At a gathering of about 1,000 Auin, several chiefs were present. A common supreme chief was lacking.

Evidently it is old families of chiefs that possess these traces of authority. They constitute no special caste and do not belong to a foreign race.

Q. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

● 428 The oldest son is the heir of the insignificant legacy, which primarily consists of a few utilitarian objects and hides.

The widow inherits nothing, but she keeps the property she already owns. Younger sons and daughters inherit nothing.

628 Blood vengeance is the basic concept that gives the legal notions their distinctive character. The son is obligated to avenge his slain father; the brother avenges his brother. I was

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

553 602 835 properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

[801] The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, 619 in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling 553 of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin 601 terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen— 602 sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [101] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ɑassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ɑassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilin- [613] ages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father [622] to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

[423] There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A consider- 768 able amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

582 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside 648 the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

584 First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

[423] have seen, individual rights may occasionally be recognized. All
422 portable property is generally owned by individuals, and theft is
[685] severely punished. Huts, which are really of no value, belong to the families occupying them; a man's clothes, weapons, skins, ornaments, utensils, and indeed everything that he makes belong to him alone to do with as he likes, and in the same way anything that a woman makes, e.g. her ornaments, or receives from her husband, e.g. her clothing, is her own property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission. Lebzelter,
867 indeed, goes so far as to assert that among the Kung the sense of private ownership is inculcated even into children. As soon as they are old enough, he says, their parents make for them small bows, digging-sticks, etc., and teach them that they themselves now own these objects and therefore must no longer take those of others.

422 Food, whether vegetable or animal, and water are also private
22 property, and belong to the person who has obtained them. Everyone who has food is, however, expected to give to those who have none. Thus a man who shoots a buck or bird will cut it up, and share with the other people present—but the dividing is done by him, and the skin, sinews, etc., belong to him to be done with as he pleases. In the same way all veldkos is also shared by the members of the band. The result is that practically all food obtained is evenly distributed through the whole camp. But, as we have seen, caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water may be stored away, and these belong to the person who hides them and may not be used without his
[685] permission; while private rights may also be acquired over wild honey or ostrich eggs, and theft in such cases is severely punished.

● 428 The question of inheritance rarely arises, as generally most of a
[768] man's possessions, especially his weapons and clothing, are buried with him. But during her lifetime a woman will often hand over her
[431] ornaments to her daughter; while among the Auen such of a man's belongings as are not buried with him, e.g. utensils and skins, are inherited by his eldest son. The younger sons and daughters get nothing, nor does the widow, but she keeps her own property. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, a man's weapons, clothing, sandals, cooking utensils, and hunting dogs are inherited by the eldest son. At the same time, he adds, the usage
[425] exists that as soon as the eldest son thus becomes sole heir to his late father, all the property he has himself hitherto possessed, such as weapons, clothing, etc., must go to his next brother. Widows and

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

daughters are competely excluded from the inheritance. The eldest 428
son also becomes the head of the family after the death of his father, [768]
and must care for the widow and give her food.[1]

Regulation of Public Life

In spite of the loose cohesion of the band, and the facility with 648
which the family groups composing it may wander about separately, the Bushmen are by no means devoid of government and law. Where they are subject to the Bantu or other peoples there is of course not much possibility of an independent political life. In the Okavango marshes, for example, they are in the position of serfs to the BaTawana, by whom they are required to pay an annual tribute of skins, ostrich feathers, and egg-shell beads. The territory occupied by the BaTawana is divided into local districts, each under control of a minor chief (*kxosani*), to whom all the Bushmen in the district have to pay their tribute, and for whom they often have to perform such services as herding his cattle and hunting for him. In the Oschimpoloveld again the Bushmen pay tribute to the OvaKwangari; in the Southern Kalahari they are the serfs and herdsmen of the BaTlaro and other BeChwana tribes among whom they live, and so, too, in the North-East Kalahari, where they are subject to the BaMangwato.[2]

But where the Bushmen are still to some extent independent, each 621
band, as we have seen, is a separate political unit and regulates its own affairs. There is no well-developed system of organized government. In the small family groups of the Cape and Namib Bushmen [622]
and of the !O Kung deference is paid to the head of the group, but 554
his authority in general is very limited. The common affairs of the 887

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 10, 35; Kaufmann, op. cit., 159; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

[2] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 121–2; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 65–6; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Languages," 56. In August, 1926, the High Commissioner for S. Africa (H.E. the Earl of Athlone), addressing an assembly of BaMangwato at their chief town Serowe, made the following important declaration with reference to this servitude: "It has been stated that the Masarwa are the slaves of the Mangwato. The Government does not regard them as slaves, but realizes that they are a backward people who serve the Mangwato in return for the food and shelter they receive. I understand that for the most part they are contented and that they do not wish to change. But the Government will not allow any tribe to demand compulsory service from another, and wants to encourage the Masarwa to support themselves. Any Masarwa who wish to leave their masters and live independently of them should understand that they are at liberty to do so, and that if the Mangwato attempt to retain them against their will the Government will not allow it. It is the duty of the Chiefs and Headmen to help these people to stand on their own feet, and I expect the missionaries and the Chief and his Councillors to join the Government in preventing anything in the nature of compulsory service in Bechuanaland" (*Report on Bechuanaland Protectorate*, 1926–7, Colonial Reports No. 1379, p. 6). What effect this pronouncement has had upon the status of the Bushmen it is still too early to determine.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

[482] 559 556 595 [422] [431] in the pouches of their karosses along with their babies. This puts a strict limit upon any desire to possess great quantities of property in movables. Furthermore, gift-giving keeps all personal property moving in a current through the region and no one possesses very much more than another. The determining factors in obtaining more than one wife are apt to be the personalities of the individuals and the man's ability to hunt. 'Women love meat', we were told, and like their husbands to be good hunters.

595 The number of wives a man may have is not regulated by social rules but by his ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. None of the nine polygynists in the band had more than two. However, we heard of a man named Gao, now dead, who had had four wives all at one time. He had been a fabulous hunter and maker of arrows and was the father of the /Ti/kay who is the husband of two sisters, /Naoka and /Nai, in Band 9.

Only two of the nine pairs of co-wives had traceable consanguineous relationship. The above /Ti/kay's wives were sisters—the only ones—and, in Band 10, Old ≠Gao's younger wife, /Ghia, was the BrDa of his older wife, Bau.

[601] /*Kwi*, sister, is the term which co-wives apply to each other, unless they have the same name, in which case they term each other /*gu/na*. The /Kung, though they do not institutionalize the sororate, say it is a good idea to marry sisters because they are not so likely to be jealous of each other as other women. /Ti/kay's wives, who appeared to live in harmony and affection and to support each other, provided an example of the validity of this opinion.

Marriage to the same man gives co-wives the joking relationship, and they do not observe the sitting or the name avoidance, though they may have avoided each other before marriage.

[342] /Kung co-wives share one scherm and one family fire. The scherm, the little shelter of branches and grass which the women build, a half hemisphere in shape, is only 3 to 4 ft. wide on the open side, about 3 ft. deep at the centre, perhaps 4 to 5 ft. high at the peak. In it and in front of it, beside their one fire, the two wives live, share their man, share the food they gather, share the work of fetching water and wood, nurse each other's babies, and co-operate in whatever degree of harmony their spirits can attain.

513 Husbands and wives may sleep separately or lie close together, side by side, or feet to feet. The woman holds her infant in her arms. Young children sleep near by bundled together, two or three in one kaross. Girls at about seven or eight go to sleep with a grandmother or a widowed friend or relative. The boys of the band, beginning at the same age, all sleep at a boys' fire.

[595] [821] /Ti/kay (Band 9), husband of the two attractive sisters, sees to it that his wives lie close to him, especially on cold nights, one on each side. Sleeping thus they were like the three stars of Orion which we call the Belt, but which the /Kung say are three zebras, two females with a male between them.

513 833 It is under such conditions that the /Kung usually have sexual intercourse—at night, in their sleeping place. They cover themselves with their karosses and are very discreet. The position is to lie on the side, the man at the back of the woman. Men pull the labia of the women before intercourse. The wives of /Ti/kay told me that they took pleasure in intercourse. I asked them if they had orgasms. We had

[21 cont.]

648 The Bushmen as a whole are despised by the other peoples, but in individual cases they are feared, and not least by the Whites. The Bushmen are familiar with this attitude and conduct themselves accordingly.

797 177 The Bushmen accept a foreign point of view only with great difficulty, if at all. The mission, accordingly, can show no noteworthy success among them. On the other hand, they 157 usually grasp the intentions of others more quickly than the ordinarily more superficial Blacks. Consequently, they give brief and precise answers to the questions put to them. When asked questions that they do not want to answer, they remain silent. At the same time, in dealings with them one should note that they tire very quickly when they have to do mental work, and then they will not answer further questions, not because they do not want to, but because they are too tired.

181 [574] 609 The Bushmen are not generous. Nevertheless, allowing a stranger to partake of a meal, as well as giving him some of the available water, is wholly matter-of-course with them. [431] They very rarely, however, give any of their personal belongings, weapons, ornaments, hides, and so forth, as presents. If they themselves receive presents, they are obviously delighted. 181 It is true that they do not express their gratitude with words, 577 [22] but anyone who does the Bushmen a kindness may be sure that they will manifest their gratitude by deeds to the point of self-sacrifice.

To help a fellow human being who is in trouble is a moral obligation. There is a report of a prospector who lost his [648] way in the bush forest and was then saved by the Bushmen, with whom he could not even converse; they took care of him for several days and finally put him on the right path.

Agreements and promises are kept unconditionally by the Bushman, although it is true that he usually arrives a little too late. Once, when an ox from the ox-cart of the Catholic mission had to be left behind on the way to the Okovanggo, it was put in the care of the Bushmen and they were to deliver it at the time of the next full moon. The people kept their word, and the ox was delivered, well-fed, at the specified time.

As a comrade, the Bushman is reliable and faithful (1).

181 648 1. A European had once illegally

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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I sometimes received presents of gum from trees, or soft, sweet caterpillars.

Toma the leader.

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[p. 176(B)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ple, according to custom, and, when the old headman died, 159
took over the leadership of the people in the area. He was 622
not the true headman—his position would not be inherited 591
by his son, for headmanship is passed only from father to son—but he was recognized as headman while he lived and it was a great honor to him that this was so.

Tu's brother was the rightful headman of Gautscha, but 622
he had abdicated to live with his wife's people in the north. Her elder sister's husband, a man named Gao Big Feet, also had a right to the leadership in that his wife, Dikai, was older than Tu. But neither ever contested Toma's position as leader, for it was not a position which Toma held by force or pressure but simply by his wisdom and ability, and people prospered under him. No Bushman wants prominence, but [43]
Toma went further than most in avoiding prominence; he had almost no possessions and gave away everything that came into his hands. He was diplomatic, for in exchange for his self-imposed poverty he won the respect and following of all the people there. He enjoyed his position, and, being [578]
strangely free from the normal strains and jealousies of Bushmen, he saw justice clearly and hence he led his people well. At Gautscha his werf had been right beside the werf of his father's murderer, for Toma was friendly even with him.

Toma had a short, stocky body and a shock of tangled 142
hair. He was strong, too, and very co-ordinated, so that every 159
motion he made was quick and controlled, and not a gesture 622
of his was wasted. As a result of this enormous and uncon- [15]
scious control, accidents almost never happened to him. His face was broad, lined with many deep wrinkles at the corners of his eyes and mouth as though from smiling, though it was not from smiling that he got them but from years of squinting at the sun. His expression was usually dark and wondering, his forehead drawn intently into a frown, but

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

301 from the foreheads of the antelope they kill and fashion them
224 into bracelets which their wives wear on their arms. Short Kwi's wife and daughter wore dozens of these; their arms were covered and heavy with them. Short Kwi himself wore
[291 no ornament of any kind, nothing except a crown of badger
431] hair which he owned for a while but later gave to Toma, the very crown that Toma's son now wore.

752 One day, said Toma, Short Kwi had been walking in the
224 veld and had failed to watch where he was going. He had
159 stepped on the tail of a puff adder, which had risen up and bitten his leg, just below the knee. It was a rare and terrible accident; in all the time we had been in the Kalahari we had known of only two people besides Short Kwi who had been harmed by snakes—a young boy bitten by a mamba who had died the day he was bitten, and a young woman who had been pulled into a waterhole by a water python and had drowned. Usually, snakes move away when you come near them, or if they don't, you can usually see them; but you can't walk with your eyes on the ground all the time, especially if you are hunting, as Short Kwi had been. His misfortune was regarded as a horrible accident and it was felt that the spirits of the dead were to blame. They had led Short Kwi down the very path the puff adder had chosen, and perhaps had even placed the snake where his foot was sure to fall. Toma and Goa Feet were very depressed to think of it. Although the talk turned to other things, Gao Feet mentioned the accident again and again; everything seemed to remind him of it. At last Toma said to us: "Perhaps you can help him hunt again. Since he was bitten his people have had no meat."

648 Toma told us that he had been with Short Kwi near Nama
609 Pan when the third group of white farmers had arrived. The farmers had looked at Short Kwi and had offered to cut his leg off for him then and there. This had frightened the Bush-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

gether without speaking and then his wife lay down and he lay down and their fire began to die. Soon all the werf was dark.

In the morning, in the salmon dawn, the first light, we woke up to find doves singing and a fresh, warm wind blowing. It was easy to sleep now, and the people slept for hours, rolling away from their piles of ashes as the day warmed, until they lay curled or sprawled in all parts of the werf with Toma's son, by chance, asleep in the center, flat on his belly with his head in the curve of his arm, relaxed and strong and breathing deeply.

At noon the adults began to get up. The women went into the forest behind their werf for sticks to burn and a few roots to eat, and when they had built up their fires they roasted the roots and shared them with their families. Toma said that we would go back to Nama Pan right away, but his wife and the other women wanted to gather tsi; it was very abundant right beside the forest and they hated to leave all that food just lying there. "Perhaps other people will come here and eat it," said Tu, so Toma changed his mind and everyone took bags, nets, skins, anything that could be used as a container, and they spent the afternoon gathering tsi. They got mountains of it. There was plenty in the patch that they had chosen and with all of them picking the nuts from among the round leaves of the tsi plants they filled every bag, skin, and net that they had. They gathered almost three hundred pounds. The women felt so happy that they were singing a gay, light song in three or four parts. When the people had picked all they could find, when every possible bag was full, they said they were ready to go to Nama, but when we brought the jeep and began to load it they were already busy with their endless preoccupation, that of giving and receiving, and had already

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

begun to give each other presents of tsi. Bushmen feel a great 431
need to give and receive food, perhaps to cement relationships with each other, perhaps to prove and strengthen their dependence upon each other; because the opportunity to do this does not occur unless huge quantities of food are at hand, Bushmen always exchange presents of the foods that come in huge quantities, these being the meat of game antelope, tsi nuts, and the nuts of the mangetti trees, which at certain seasons are scattered abundantly all through the mangetti forests.

As we waited by the jeep Dikai gave a huge sack of tsi to her mother. Her mother gave another sack to Gao Feet's first wife, and Gao Feet gave a sack to Dikai. Later, during the days that followed, the tsi was distributed again, this time in smaller quantities, small piles or small bagfuls, after that in handfuls, and, last, in very small quantities of cooked tsi which people would share as they were eating. All this was very hard to trace, especially for us while we waited and loaded the jeep, for the large sacks were not handed around but rather were tossed into the jeep one on top of the other while the transactions went on vocally.

There is a further complicating factor in food distribution. 422
The owner of the bag which is full of tsi or mangettis is the 431
owner of all the nuts inside, no matter who gathered the nuts, just as the owner of an arrow, whether man or woman, is the owner of the largest share of the buck killed by the arrow, no matter who shot the buck. This is a practical arrangement, since all three of these important foods, oftener than not, are very far from the waterholes where the bands would be living. Usually, Bushmen have to travel for several days over water- 484
less, scorching veld to reach tsi fields or mangetti forests, then 482
have to carry their heavy loads back again to water. These 422
journeys are too hard for young children, old people, cripples, 431

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

484 women who are pregnant, or people who are ill. In fact, the
482 long journeys for the two kinds of nuts are undertaken only
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431 by strong adults, who therefore must gather for all those who stay behind. The system of Bushmen in these matters ensures that everybody gets enough. As it turned out, that afternoon we found that both Tu and Lazy Kwi had filled bags belonging to Lazy Kwi's wife, the bag that Lazy Kwi filled being the only one he had with him, and in this way his wife, who wasn't there and who so far knew nothing of her windfall, owned two bags of food which she would probably share with Lazy Kwi, who actually, that day, owned none.

At last, when many bags had changed hands, when everything movable including Tu's bag of grass—which she had emptied, tying the grass into a bundle with a strip of bark in order to free the bag for tsi—had been loaded into the jeep,
484 the people began to climb in and the jeep sank down on its springs, groaning dangerously as each person got on it and found a place to sit. When finally everyone was on and the springs still had not broken we drove away with extreme caution, barely moving when we came to bumps, with Toma and Gao Feet sitting on the hood and pointing the way to Nama.

522 As we crept along Toma told a lion story concerning some Bantu people at Kai Kai who tried to rid themselves of three lions that were attacking their cattle. As his story was extremely funny, his voice was often drowned out by the laughter of the others. He spoke so fast we could not understand him, but his wife laughed until she cried. Toma told the funniest parts of the story two or three times.

271 Just before we got to Nama, when the shadows of the bushes reached far over the veld and the western sky was blood red, thick with smoke, we reached a tiny waterhole

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The Sun Dance

578 431 EARLY in the morning, when the sun was rising red into the smoke and the sky was bright, we heard a woman quarreling at Short Kwi's werf. Her voice was strident, harsh, and loud, and carried well above the ordinary sounds of morning—children talking, firewood breaking as limbs were snapped for the breakfast fires—and, solicitous of Short Kwi, for today was the day he was going to Windhoek, we went over to see.

We saw a startling sight. Many people had got there before us, hearing the quarrel and being moved to go there out of curiosity, and it seemed as if everyone had already taken sides, for the people had arranged themselves in two groups facing each other and were fighting. The speaker, the woman whose voice had awakened us, was an old woman who lived at one of the farthest werfs, and her opponent, the person whom she was berating, was Gao Feet. These two sat on their haunches on opposite sides of Short Kwi's fire, leaning toward each other, glaring sourly. Arranged behind them were all the others. The larger group by far, including Toma, Tu, Dikai, and Lazy Kwi, crouched behind Gao Feet. Short Kwi him-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

self, on Gao Feet's side, was sitting propped on the blankets 578
we had given him to keep him warm in case of shock, feeling 431
better and obviously taking an interest, for the matter was clearly close to everybody's heart. In fact, everyone was so interested in the quarrel that no one looked up when we came, for the people all sat with their ears pricked, waiting for a chance to speak. They, too, were glaring, deadly earnest, as though the argument were for their lives. Now and then someone would contribute a word or two, but for the most part the old woman did the talking. She looked bitter as gall; her eyes were burning and she hissed like a goose; she was accusing Gao Feet of having failed to give her a present of tsi nuts when he had come to Nama. Gao Feet was rubbing his face and it began to look as if he were losing. He said, obviously having said it before, that he had brought only a few. The woman said, also not for the first time, that she had expected him to give her a present and now he was refusing to do so. It was her right, she said, her due. Toma edged himself forward until he was beside Gao Feet, his friend and brother-in-law, and together they tried to pacify her, telling her that really Gao Feet had none to give, but her eyes burned so fiercely and the people behind her glared so that Toma and Gao Feet lost conviction and before long they fell silent again, defeated by themselves, for what they had tried to say was true. Finally the argument centered itself at its probable source, a gift given to Gao Feet's father by the woman's father which had not completed itself in an exchange. The woman's father, now long dead, could not receive it, Gao Feet's father, living far away at another pan at the farthest end of Nyae Nyae, could not give it unless he moved to 431
Nama, so it was up to Gao Feet to assume responsibility. 867

Throughout the two crowds, children were sitting wide- 869
eyed and open-eared. Things like this are remembered and 578

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

431 talked about always; Bushman children listen for hours to
867 discussions of this kind and thereby know the history of every
869 object, every exchange between their families, before they are
578 ten or twelve years old. A debt unpaid is a sword against the debtor, to be used against him any time, for any reason. Jealousy and spite had surely preyed on the old woman's mind when she had started this discussion, for she had got up to seek out Gao Feet very early, just at dawn.

578 In the end, the argument was concluded and the crowd
609 scattered by us when we told Short Kwi that we were ready to take him to the hospital in Windhoek if he would go. He said he would, and the people, glaring bitterly at him, at each other, and at us, stood up and went to their scherms, saying to the other members of their families what they would have said to their opponents if they had had a chance.

Soon Short Kwi's werf was nearly empty. The only people who remained were Short Kwi, his family, ourselves, Toma, and Gao Feet. These two talked together, vindicating themselves, and then, before long and before we had a chance to discuss our plans to move Short Kwi, some of the people who had been on Gao Feet's side in the argument came back and crouched beside us stolidly, waiting to hear what might now be said. Jealousy had been aroused.

609 Because of the long journey and Short Kwi's condition, we thought that it would be best for him to leave at once, but his wife spoke out against this, saying that the rest of her family, probably at this moment on their way here, would be heartbroken to find them gone. She would like to wait for them, she said, to say good-by. Gao Feet agreed with her. He added that if her mother were to come and find her gone the old woman would cry and cry for days, but Toma shook his head. "Perhaps Short Kwi can be helped," he said. "Perhaps

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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deadly poisoned arrows are always at hand. Men have killed each other with them in quarrels—though rarely—and the /Kung fear fighting with a conscious and active fear. They speak about it often. Any expression of discord ('bad words') makes them uneasy. Their desire to avoid both hostility and rejection leads them to conform in high degree to the unspoken social law. If they do deviate they usually yield readily to expressed group opinion and reform their ways. I think that most /Kung cannot bear the sense of rejection which even mild disapproval makes them feel. They also conform strictly to certain specific useful customs which are like instruments for avoiding discord.

Talking and 'Talks'

I mention talking as an aid to peaceful social relations because it is so very much a part of the daily experience of the /Kung and, I believe, usefully serves three particular functions. It keeps up good open communication among the members of the band; through its constantly flowing expression it is a salutary outlet for emotions; and it serves as the principal sanction in social discipline. Songs are also used for social discipline. The /Kung say that a song composed specifically about someone's behaviour and sung to express disapproval, perhaps from the deepest shadow of the werf at night, is a very effective means of bringing people who deviate back into the pattern of approved behaviour. Nevertheless, during our observations, songs were not used as much as talking. If people disapprove of an individual's behaviour, they may criticize him or her directly, usually putting a question, 'Why do you do that?' or they may gossip a bit or make oblique hints. In the more intense instances 'a talk' may ensue.

The /Kung are the most loquacious people I know. Conversation in a /Kung werf is a constant sound like the sound of a brook, and as low and lapping, except for shrieks of laughter. People cluster together in little groups during the day, talking, perhaps making artifacts at the same time. At night families talk late by their fires, or visit at other family fires with their children between their knees or in their arms if the wind is cold.

There always seems to be plenty to talk about. People tell about events with much detail and repetition and discuss the comings and goings of their relatives and friends and make plans. Their greatest preoccupation and the subject they talk about most often, I think, is food. The men's imaginations turn to hunting. They converse musingly, as though enjoying a sort of day-dream together, about past hunts, telling over and over where game was found and who killed it. They wonder where the game is at present and say what fat bucks they hope to kill. They also plan their next hunts with practicality. Women (who, incidentally, do not talk as much as men) gave me the impression of talking more about who gave or did not give them food and their anxieties about not having food. They spoke to me about women who were remembered for being especially quick and able gatherers, but did not have pleasurable satisfaction in remembering their hot, monotonous, arduous days of digging and picking and trudging home with their heavy loads.

Another frequent subject of conversation is gift-giving. Men and women speak of the persons to whom they have given or propose to give gifts. They express satisfaction or dissatisfaction with what they have received. If someone has delayed

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unexpectedly long in making a return gift the people discuss this. One man was excused by his friends because his wife, they said, had got things into her hands and made him poor, so that he now had nothing suitable to give. Sometimes, on the other hand, people were blamed for being ungenerous (' far-hearted ') or not very capable in managing their lives, and no one defended them for these defects or asked others to have patience with them.

As far as we know, only two general subjects are taboo in conversation. Men and women must not speak openly together of sexual matters except as they make jokes in the joking relationship. The /Kung avoid speaking the names of the gods aloud and do not converse about the gods for fear of attracting their attention and perhaps their displeasure. They told us their myths, but only when we asked them to. It is evidently not the habit of these Bushmen to recount the myths as they sit by their fires. They do not invent stories. They said they had no interest in hearing things that are not true and wonder why anybody has.

While a person speaks the listeners are in vibrant response, repeating the phrases and interposing a contrapuntal ' eh '. ' Yesterday ', ' eh ', ' at Deboragu ', ' eh ', ' I saw old /Gaishay.' ' You saw Old /Gaishay ', ' eh, eh '. ' He said he had seen the great python under the bank.' ' EH! ', ' The PYTHON! ' ' He wants us ', ' eh, eh, eh ', ' to help him catch it '. The ' ehs ' overlap and coincide with the phrase and the people so often all talk at once that one wonders how anyone knows what the speaker has said.

Bursts of laughter accompany the conversations. Sometimes the /Kung laugh mildly with what I would call a sense of humour about people and events, often they shriek and howl as though laughter were an outlet for tension. They laugh at mishaps that happen to other people, like the lions eating up someone else's meat, and shriek over particularly telling and insulting sexual sallies in the joking relationship. Individual singing of lyrical songs, accompanied by the *//guashi*, or snatches of the medicine music, the playing of rhythmical games, the ceremonial dances themselves occupy the evenings, as well, but mostly the evening hours are spent in talk.

' A talk ', as the /Kung call it, differs from a conversation or an arranged, purposeful discussion. It flares spontaneously, I believe from stress, when something is going on in which people are seriously concerned and in disagreement. I think that no formalities control it. Anyone who has something he wants to say joins in. People take sides and express opinions, accusing, denying, or defending persons involved. I witnessed one ' talk ' only, in 1952, which I mentioned before[1] and should mention again in this context. It occurred over a gift-giving episode at the time of /Nai's betrothal and involved persons in Bands 1 and 2 who were settled near together at the time. Khuan//a, the mother of /Gunda, /Nai's fiancé, had diverted a gift which people thought was making its way to Gao Medicine, the present husband of /Nai's mother. Instead of giving it to him at the time when an exchange of gifts was in order, she gave it to one of her relatives. /Nai's mother's sister, /U, sitting at her own scherm, began ' the talk ' by letting it be known what she thought of Khuan//a, in a voice loud enough to be heard in the two werfs, a startling contrast to the usual low flow of talk. Di/ai, /Nai's mother, sitting with her shoulder pressed against her sister's, joined in. People in the werfs went to sit at each other's scherms, forming little groups

[1] Lorna Marshall, ' Marriage Among /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxix, no. 4, Oct. 1959, pp. 332–3.

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of the hunting party is not a matter of convention or of anxious concern. Hunting parties are freely organized by men who like to hunt with each other. No categories of kin or affines are prohibited from hunting together, whether they have a joking relationship or not or practise the sitting and speaking taboo. Men from different bands may hunt together.

A father has authority over his sons and sons-in-law and could tell them to go hunting or to accompany him and would expect them to obey. In other relationships participation in a hunting party is voluntary. Any man may instigate a hunt and may ask others to join. No one is formally in command of a party, unless he is the father with his sons or sons-in-law, but often an informal kind of leadership develops out of skill and judgement and the men fall in with the plans and suggestions of the best hunter or reach agreement among themselves somehow.

Hunting parties are usually composed of from two to four or five men. One hunter alone is at a disadvantage. A man cannot leave the meat unguarded from lions, hyaenas, jackals, and vultures while he goes to bring help from the band to carry it nor can he carry it alone. Only occasionally are parties larger than four or five. For two parties to hunt in different directions would be more advantageous than to form a larger single party.

When the kill is made the hunters have the prerogative of eating the liver on the spot and may eat more of the meat until their hunger is satisfied. If they are far from the band, they may eat the parts that are especially perishable or most awkward to carry, like the head, and they sometimes eat the cherished marrow. They then carry the animal to the band, either in its parts, bones and all, or, if the animal is very big, leaving most of the bones and cutting the meat into strips which dry in the sun to biltong and are more easily carried on the carrying-sticks. The blood is carried in bags made of the stomach, rumen, and bladder.

The gall bladder and testicles are discarded at the kill. Eventually the hooves are thrown away and usually the picked bones and horns. (The /Kung make only a few artifacts of bone and horn which last a long time and seldom need replacing.) Sinews are kept for making cord. The hide would be skinned off whole and tanned if it were suitable for a kaross and someone wanted a new kaross at the time. Otherwise, the hide is dried, pounded up, and eaten. Hides are quite tasty. Feet are picked of every tissue; gristle is dried and pounded. Soft parts, such as the foetus, udder, heart, lungs, brains, and blood, are often given to old people with poor teeth. Intestines are enjoyed and desired by all. The meat of the rump, back, chest, and neck is highly appreciated. Nothing is wasted; all is distributed.

The owner of the animal is the owner of the first arrow to be effectively shot into the animal so that it penetrates enough for its poison to work. That person is responsible for the distribution. The headman of the band is not the one to distribute the meat by virtue of his headmanship, unless he happens to be at the same time the owner of the arrow. The owner may or may not be one of the hunters.

Hunters have arrows which they acquire in three different ways. Each man makes arrows for himself, shaping the points (usually now of metal, but still possibly of bone or wood) with some slight distinction so that he will know them from the arrows of other men. Secondly, arrows are given as gifts. The man who made the arrow or who himself acquired it as a gift, may give it to someone else, either a man or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend.

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It ends in everybody getting some meat.

In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and primary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift-giving. /Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself in the end, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift some time in the future. Such factors as the category of relationship of kin, affines, or non-related persons, the joking relationship, status, and band affiliation impose no pattern on this giving. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift-giving in general: to measure up to what is expected of them, to make friendly gestures, to win favour, to repay past favours and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation. I am sure that when feelings of genuine generosity and real friendliness exist they would also be expressed by giving.

In the parts and quantities of meat first distributed or given in the later waves of sharing there seemed to be no taboo and no rigidity of rule.

The distribution of an eland which was killed by Gao Beard, headman of Band 2, will serve as an example. There were more than a hundred /Kung at Gautscha at the time of the hunt. Both Gautscha bands (Bands 1 and 2) were present. Bands 3, 4, and 7 were visiting and there was a sprinkling of visitors from other bands.

The hunting party was composed of four men: Gao Beard; his first wife's brother, //Ao, and his own brother, /Qui, both of whom lived with him in Band 2; his brother-in-law, /Naishi, the husband of his sister, //Kushay. They were visiting at the time.

The party had hunted for eight days without success in heat so exhausting that they had to lie covered with sand through the middle part of the day.

/Qui was the first to see the eland. It was a huge one. As /Qui had been asked to come on the hunt by his brother to help him, he told Gao Beard where the eland was and did not shoot at it himself.

Two boys joined the men to track the eland after it was shot. The party tracked it for three days and then found it dead from the poison. They cut up the meat and brought it to the werf at Gautscha, which was two days' travel away. The hunt had lasted thirteen days in all.

Gao Beard was himself the owner of the arrow. The arrow had been given by one person to another five times. /Gao Music (Band 1), who made it, gave it to his sister, /Goishay, who gave it to her husband, ≠Gao, headman of Band 3. He gave it to his brother, Gao, also of Band 3, who gave it to his wife, Di/ai. Di/ai gave it to Gao Beard, her brother, who shot the eland with it and who was responsible for the distribution of the meat.

Gao Beard first gave meat to the hunters who helped him, as was the custom. To /Naishi he gave a forequarter and to //Ao a forequarter and the head. (The hunters usually received a forequarter or hindquarter or an equivalent amount. The head was an extra gift.) The two boys who helped track got nothing—because their fathers would give them some, we were told. To our astonishment, /Qui was given nothing. Gao Beard explained that his brother would eat from his pot. (Actually he

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to the /Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae /Kung eat hearty meals of meat when they have been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount. They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger.

The /Kung are quite conscious of the value of meat-sharing and they talk about it, especially about the benefit of the mutual obligation it entails. The idea of sharing is deeply implanted and very successfully imposes its restraints. To keep meat without sharing is one of the things that just is not done.

Gift-giving

The custom of gift-giving comes, in my opinion, second only to meat-sharing in aiding the /Kung to avoid jealousy and ill will and to develop friendly relations. /Kung society puts considerable emphasis on gift-giving. Everything a person has may have been given to him and may be passed on to others in time. The /Kung make their artifacts, on the whole, of durable material and take good care of them. They last for generations and move in a slow eddy among the people. The dealings are only between individuals, but they are numerous and provide occasion, perhaps more than any one other activity does, for visits which bring whole bands into polite encounter.

We gave cowrie shells as parting gifts in 1951 to the women in ≠Toma's band, the band which first sponsored us and with which we stayed and did our consistent work, wherever they were, on each expedition. We had carefully observed that there were no cowrie shells among /Kung ornaments before we gave them. Ours were bought from a New York shell dealer, perhaps to the confusion of future archaeologists. We gave to each woman enough for a short necklace, one large brown shell and twenty smaller grey ones. In 1952 there was hardly a cowrie shell to be found in Band 1. They appeared, not as whole necklaces, but in ones and twos in people's ornaments to the edges of the region.

The /Kung have not developed special objects to use as gifts. Nor have they invested ordinary objects with special gift significance. What they give each other are the common artifacts and materials of everyday life (see Appendix). Some objects are more highly valued than others as gifts, as one would expect. I gathered that relative scarcity of material was a factor and that objects were appreciated for their beauty, workmanship, and appropriate size (a wide headband is better than a narrow one). People took an interest in remembering to whom an object had been given in the recent past, but the /Kung, who are present-oriented, do not place special value upon antiquity as such or systematically hold the distant past in mind.

The /Kung decorate their artifacts very little (they have developed music and dancing, not the plastic or pictorial arts), but they delight in ornaments with which to adorn themselves. The intrinsic beauty, the meaningfulness, and the relief to the monotony of yellow-brown skin and grey-brown leather karosses are all valued.

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301 431 The most highly valued gifts are the traditional ornaments of ostrich egg-shell beads, especially the wide headbands and necklaces of five or six strings of beads reaching to the umbilicus. The creamy white is becoming to them. They like European beads also, of all colours, though white is definitely their preference. The only thing they do not like about beads, Gao Beard told us, is shortness of the string. After ornaments, the /Kung value implements or utensils, *lguashi* or dance rattles, which have required time and care to make, but perhaps more especially valued are metal objects and pots. The latter are obtained by trade. The /Kung do not trade among [438] themselves. They consider the procedure undignified and avoid it because it is too likely to stir up bad feelings. They trade with the Bantu, however, in the settlements along the B.P. border. The /Kung offer well-tanned antelope hides and ostrich egg 439 shell beads. For these they obtain tobacco, beads, knives, axes, malleable metal for making arrow-points and spear-blades, and occasional files and chisels, fire-strikers, and pots.

The odds are with the Bantu in the trading. Big, aggressive, and determined to 435 have what they want, they easily intimidate the Bushmen. Several /Kung informants 439 said that they tried not to trade with Herero if it was possible to avoid it because, although the Tswana were hard bargainers, the Herero were worse. /Qui said he had been forced by a Herero whom he was afraid to anger to trade the shirt and pants we had given him as our parting gift in 1952 for a small enamel pan and a little cup. /Ti/kay had more gumption. A Herero at the beginning of a negotiation with him brought out a good-sized pile of tobacco but took from it only a pinch when it was time to pay. /Ti/kay picked up the object he was trading and ran off. ≠Toma said with amused exaggeration that 'a very good Herero, a respectable one, will give a handful of tobacco for five cured steinbok skins. A bad Herero will give a pipeful (he showed the size of his fingernail) for three skins.' The Tswana values are a little better. A well-tanned gemsbok hide brings a pile of tobacco about 14 inches in diameter and about 4 inches high. The values vary. Some that were reported to us were three rooibok, duiker, or steinbok skins for a good-sized knife, five strings of ostrich egg-shell beads for a spear.

439 The /Kung have become dependent on metal, especially knives, axes, and arrow-points. They have been able to trade enough for every man to have these implements. [444] They could, however, exist without them and do still use a few bone and wood [441] arrow-points. Poison makes their arrows deadly, not penetrating power. The pots are Ovambo or Okavango pottery (the /Kung make no pottery themselves) or European ironware. The /Kung like to have a pot around to borrow sometimes; not [458] everyone wants to carry one. They cook mostly in hot ashes. More for their novelty, I thought, than for their worth, the /Kung trade also for old oddments of cloth garments (they weave neither cloth nor mats), pieces of blankets, basins, &c.—things they do not really need—but which they like.

Tobacco they need 'to make the heart feel better'. Oddly enough for these pas- 216 sionate smokers, tobacco was not given so much emphasis in gift-giving as one might 431 expect. They do make gifts of tobacco, but when anyone lights a pipe he passes it around anyway; all present drag smoke into their lungs until they almost faint and it has not mattered much who owned the tobacco.

302 431 Eland fat is a very highly valued gift. An eland provides so much fat that people

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can afford to be a little luxurious. They rub it on themselves and on their implements and they eat it. ≠Toma said that, when he had eland fat to give, he took shrewd note of certain objects he might like to have and gave their owners especially generous gifts of fat.

Real property and the sources of food and water are owned by the headman for the band and cannot be given away. However, meat, once it is distributed after the hunt, and veldkos, once it is gathered, become private property and may be given. Artifacts are privately owned by the individual man, woman, or child, as outrightly owned if received as a gift as if made by the individual. They borrow and lend a great deal—in itself this is one of the ways they support each other and aid themselves in maintaining social solidarity—but this does not blur the clarity of ownership. Each object acquires some markings of its own from the maker and from usage. It is easy for the /Kung, with their highly developed powers of observation and visual memory, to keep track of the commonest objects, know the ownership, and remember the history of the gifts.

As far as we know, no artifacts or materials are taboo as gifts. For instance, women may be given weapons, although it is taboo for women to touch them.

In quantity the gifts varied. One which /Ti/kay gave to ≠Toma was considered generous. It was a fine ostrich egg shell headband, three ostrich egg shells, and a well-tanned duiker skin as soft as suede. Another generous gift consisted of a knife, a spear, and a triple string of traded white European beads. Often gifts were less. The feelings persons have for each other, the degree of their past indebtedness, what they happen to possess and can give, determine the generosity of the gift.

The acquisition *per se* of the objects was seldom, I believe, of primary importance to most individuals in gift-giving—that is, if the objects were their own artifacts. As the /Kung come into more contact with Europeans—and this is already happening——they will feel sharply the lack of our things and will need and want more. It makes them feel inferior to be without clothes when they stand among strangers who are clothed. But in their own life and with their own artifacts they were comparatively free from material pressures. Except for food and water (important exceptions!) of which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have a sufficiency—but barely so, judging from the fact that all are thin though not emaciated—they all had what they needed or could make what they needed, for every man can and does make the things that men make and every woman the things that women make. No one was dependent upon acquiring objects by gift-giving.

They lived in a kind of material plenty because they adapted the tools of their living to materials which lay in abundance around them and which were free for anyone to take (wood, reeds, bone for weapons and implements, fibres for cordage, grass for shelters), or to materials which were at least sufficient for the needs of the population. The Nyae Nyae /Kung had hides enough for garments and bags; they kept extra hides when they needed them for new garments or when they wanted them for trade; otherwise they ate them. The /Kung could always use more ostrich egg-shells for beads to wear or trade with, but, as it is, enough are found for every woman to have a dozen or more shells for water containers—all she can carry—and a goodly number of bead ornaments.

In their nomadic hunting-gathering life, travelling from one source of food to

182 another through the seasons, always going back and forth between food and water,
431 they carry their young children and their belongings. With plenty of most materials at hand to replace artifacts as required, the /Kung have not developed means of permanent storage and have not needed or wanted to encumber themselves with surpluses or duplicates. They do not even want to carry one of everything. They borrow what they do not own. With this ease, they have not hoarded, and the
[556] accumulation of objects has not become associated with status. Instead of keeping things, they use them to express generosity and friendly intent, and to put people under obligation to make return tokens of friendship. And, even more specifically,
[154] in my opinion, they mitigate jealousy and envy, to which they are prone, by passing things on to others. These are the objectives in gift-giving.

431 Except, as ≠Toma said, that it would be surprising to see a man give a present to a woman who was not related to him (and vice versa, I imagine), anyone may give to anyone. Degree or kind of kinship or affinity, having the joking relationship or lacking it, impose no requirements or restrictions, nor does status in the community in a conventional way. We did hear people say, however, that a headman may feel that he should lean well to the generous side in his giving, for his position as headman sets him out from the others a little and he wants whatever attention this attracts
[602] not to be envious. Someone remarked that this could keep a headman poor.

The times of giving are determined almost entirely by the individual's convenience. The /Kung do not know their birthdays or anniversaries and have no special days of the year which they mark by giving gifts. Gifts are required by convention on only three ceremonial occasions. The type or quantity of the gift is not patterned but it should be generous. The occasions are betrothals and weddings, when the
[585] parents exchange gifts and give to the young couple, and the ceremony of a baby's first haircut, when the *!gu!na*, the person for whom the baby is named, should give
[854] him a fine present.

Relatives give to young people with the idea of setting them up in life. Gao Beard gave a spear and a kaross to his FaSiHuSo, saying it was his duty to see that the boy got some things because among the boy's relatives he was the most able to do so. The boy's father was very old, he explained. People expect to wait a long time for young people to make return gifts.

The two rigid requirements in gift-giving are that one must not refuse a proffered gift and that one must give in return. Demi said that, even if he might prefer not to be obligated to someone, he would accept and prepare to make his return gift. If a gift were to be refused, he continued, the giver would be terribly angry. He would
[508] say, 'Something is very wrong here.' This could involve whole groups in tensions, bad words, taking sides—even 'a talk' might occur—just what the /Kung do not want. Demi said it does not happen: a /Kung never refuses a gift. And a /Kung does not fail to give in return. ≠Toma said that would be 'neglecting friendship'. A person would know that others thought him 'far-hearted' and 'this would worry him'.

In reciprocating one does not give the same object back again but something of comparable value. The interval of time between receiving and reciprocating varied from a few weeks to a few years. Propriety requires that there be no unseemly haste. The giving must not look like trading.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Incidentally, we were not included by the /Kung in their gift-giving patterns. They gave us a few things spontaneously which they thought we would enjoy—python meat, for instance—but did not feel obligated to reciprocate for every gift we gave them.

Asking for an original gift or asking that a return gift be made after due time has elapsed is within the rules of propriety. People prefer that others give in return without their asking, but ≠Toma says he does not hesitate to ask if a gift is long overdue. If a person wants a particular object he may ask for it. Asking is also a means by which people play upon each other's feelings. One can test a friendship in this way. One can give vent to jealousy or satisfy it by acquiring some object or making someone else uncomfortable. I thought that /Ti/kay (an intelligent man, but very touchy, uncooperative, and turned inward upon himself) used to ask for gifts to play with anger, arousing it for the sake of feeling it, as children do with fear, playing witches in the dark. His remarks one day indicated a mingling of feelings and purposes. He told us that one may ask for anything. He does, he said. He goes to a person's fire and sits and asks. (I could imagine him with his black glancing eyes sitting and asking!) He asks usually for only one or two things, but if a person has a lot he may ask for more. He said he is almost never refused but that if a man had only one pot and /Ti/kay asked for it the man might say, 'I am not refusing, but it is the only pot I have. If I get another you may come for this one. I am very sorry but this is the only pot I have.' /Ti/kay said this would not make him angry unless he were refused too many times. To be refused too many times makes a person very angry. But, said /Ti/kay, he himself did not tire of people asking him for gifts. Asking, he claimed, 'formed a love' between people. It means 'he still loves me, that is why he is asking.' At least it forms a something between people, I thought.

I have stressed the mitigation of jealousy as the important value of gift-giving. /Kung informants stressed more the value of putting people under the obligation of expressing friendship by making the friendly gesture, even if it is only a token gesture. Demi said, 'The worst thing is not giving presents. If people do not like each other but one gives a gift and the other must accept, this brings a peace between them. We give to one another always. We give what we have. This is the way we live together.'

Absence of Stealing

One day, when I wanted to talk with a group of informants about what the /Kung considered to be wrong-doing, I began with /Ti/kay. He said promptly, 'Making crooked arrows and fighting', but could not think of anything else. Informants had previously said that not sharing food would be the worst thing they could think of. Others had mentioned that the breaking of the incest and menstruation taboos would be very wrong and that girls should not sit in immodest posture. No one seemed to think lying was very serious wrong-doing, and no one mentioned stealing. I finally asked directly and Gao Medicine said they had not thought to mention stealing because they did not steal.

We had heard of the episode of the man taking honey from a tree, honey which had been found and marked and was therefore owned by someone else, and being killed for it by the owner. That was the only episode of stealing that we discovered.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

[423] have seen, individual rights may occasionally be recognized. All
422 portable property is generally owned by individuals, and theft is
[685] severely punished. Huts, which are really of no value, belong to the families occupying them; a man's clothes, weapons, skins, ornaments, utensils, and indeed everything that he makes belong to him alone to do with as he likes, and in the same way anything that a woman makes, e.g. her ornaments, or receives from her husband, e.g. her clothing, is her own property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission. Lebzelter,
867 indeed, goes so far as to assert that among the Kung the sense of private ownership is inculcated even into children. As soon as they are old enough, he says, their parents make for them small bows, digging-sticks, etc., and teach them that they themselves now own these objects and therefore must no longer take those of others.

422 Food, whether vegetable or animal, and water are also private
22 property, and belong to the person who has obtained them. Everyone who has food is, however, expected to give to those who have none. Thus a man who shoots a buck or bird will cut it up, and share with the other people present—but the dividing is done by him, and the skin, sinews, etc., belong to him to be done with as he pleases. In the same way all veldkos is also shared by the members of the band. The result is that practically all food obtained is evenly distributed through the whole camp. But, as we have seen, caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water may be stored away, and these belong to the person who hides them and may not be used without his
[685] permission; while private rights may also be acquired over wild honey or ostrich eggs, and theft in such cases is severely punished.

The question of inheritance rarely arises, as generally most of a
428 man's possessions, especially his weapons and clothing, are buried
[768] with him. But during her lifetime a woman will often hand over her
[431] ornaments to her daughter; while among the Auen such of a man's belongings as are not buried with him, e.g. utensils and skins, are inherited by his eldest son. The younger sons and daughters get nothing, nor does the widow, but she keeps her own property. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, a man's weapons, clothing, sandals, cooking utensils, and hunting dogs are inherited by the eldest son. At the same time, he adds, the usage
[425] exists that as soon as the eldest son thus becomes sole heir to his late father, all the property he has himself hitherto possessed, such as weapons, clothing, etc., must go to his next brother. Widows and

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

in several different bands, and they may choose among them. A band that 628
owned comparatively good resources would tend to attract more members 186
than a band with scant veldkos. This flexibility of residence pattern is one [621]
of the reasons that one finds the bands of the interior of the Nyae Nyae re- [182]
gion relatively in balance with their resources, and varying in size.

WATER • Two or more bands may share the ownership of a water hole. 312
Water holes keep their own rough population balance because, if water is 361
very scarce, people will go to live elsewhere when they have the possibility of [423]
doing so.

In the interior of this region, in roughly 8000 square miles, there are three water holes that can be called really permanent. In the driest years these do not fail. Four others dry up only in years of severe drought. Six more are semipermanent: in a very good year they may yield a little water right through, but in a dry year they are sure to dry up. When the semipermanent [621]
water holes go dry, the bands who own them may break up temporarily and the families may go to live with relatives who are at permanent water holes, or they may go as whole bands to another water hole where they have relatives.

Water is not owned as exclusively or as jealously as veldkos. Water 312
seems to belong more to mankind, as the animals do, and the ownership of 423
water holes emphasizes more the managing than the withholding of the water. The headman controls the water. His permission should be asked by travelers [622]
or visitors before taking water, "because he knows what he has and what can be done," we were told. We saw small temporary water holes marked with bundles of grass thrust into forked sticks. This was to tell visitors or travelers that the owners of the water hole were in residence, as it were, and were counting on the water. We believe that in these circumstances water would not be taken without permission. Occasions are not likely to arise where permission need be refused. The !Kung know where the others are, or are likely to be, at a given time and know how much water is available. They plan better than to get themselves into desperate situations.

One source of water appears to be owned by individuals. It is the rainwater that collects in hollow mangetti trees. The water in trees is not stolen by others who go to gather in the same mangetti forest. Water, incidentally, [27]
is the only beverage of the !Kung in the interior of the region. They have no alcoholic drinks and use no infusions of herbs.

HUNTING AND MEAT SHARING • !Kung hunting regulations do not confine 224
the hunters to territories. The game animals belong to no one until they are shot, and the hunters may follow them anywhere the spoor leads and may cross the territorial boundaries of any band. If hunters have made a kill in [431]
the territory of a neighboring band, they would not fail to give a present of

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

224 meat to the owners of the territory should they happen to encounter them,
[431] but this is a gift, not an obligatory tribute. The vastness and emptiness of
[182] the country allow this freedom in hunting rights and the wandering nature of the game requires that the hunters, if they are to succeed at all, be free to look for game wherever they can find it.

222 The !Kung eagerly pick up tortoises, certain kinds of lizards, snakes, ostrich eggs, and grasshoppers, and they relish termites when these insects
[262] swarm out in nuptial flight. These items provide incidental delicacies and gathering them is like the gathering of veldkos. The person who gathers
224 them may keep them for himself and his own family. Men gladly shoot small
223 animals and birds if they happen upon them—wart hogs, duikers, other small antelope, porcupines, badgers, pythons, spring hares, ostriches, paouws, guinea fowl, red-winged partridges, occasional migrating geese, and other birds. They may keep them for their own families. They do not, however, devote their hunting time to the smaller animal creatures if they find fresh spoor of the larger ones. Hunting the big game animals that feed a whole band is the work of a man's prime and is incumbent on him.

224 Hunting parties usually consist of from two to four or five men. A man cannot hunt effectively alone in this country. Several parties hunting in different directions are more advantageous than one larger party. Any man may organize a hunting party, with relatives and friends from his own band or from neighboring bands—men he likes to hunt with. No one is formally a leader; the men talk and plan together and are likely to fall in with the suggestions of the one whom they consider the best hunter. Participation in any given hunting party is voluntary. What !Kung society urges is that the
[461] hunters hunt; it does not restrict the ways and means. The force of public
[626] opinion upon men not to sit in the werf, not to be lazy but to do their share, is tremendous.

The game the !Kung hunt deliberately and purposefully are the several big antelopes found in the region: eland, kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok. They also hunt the more rarely seen buffalo and occasionally manage to shoot a giraffe. Although there is this considerable variety of kind, there is not a great abundance of game. The herds are small and the hunts long and hard.[8] The antelope, because they can go for long periods without drinking, move and drift about anywhere in the vast monoto-
[409] nous veld and are very difficult to find. Hunters often search for days, cover-
[409] ing scores of miles, before finding spoor fresh enough to follow, and they may
[411] follow it for days before catching up with the animal. Their little arrows kill by poison rather than by piercing deeply, and, when an animal is shot, if it is big, it may wander for three or four more days until it dies of the poison.
[136] Smaller animals succumb in a shorter time. The hunters must track the animal and find it before the lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals, or vultures devour it.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

vour it. Thus, according to our observations, a !Kung band gets on an average 224
only about fifteen to eighteen large animals in a usual year.

The meat of the large game animals does not belong to the hunters to do with as they choose. However, they always have the prerogative of eating the [242]
liver at the site of the kill and, if their hunger is not satisfied, they may eat more. The bulk of the meat is then carried to the band, where it is distributed among the members according to a system. The meat belongs to the owner of the first arrow that penetrates the animal so that it stays in. He has the responsibility of making the first distribution.

Anyone in the band may be the owner of the arrow. A hunter carries 224
arrows he acquires in three different ways. Each man has his own that he 411
makes himself, shaping the points with some little distinction so that he 422
will know them from the arrows of other men. In addition he carries 426
arrows that have been given or lent to him. When an arrow is given to him, 431
he is the owner as much as if he had made it himself, but if he uses that 571
arrow he must make a special gift of meat to the donor. When he uses an arrow that is loaned to him, he merely shoots for the person who lent it and who remains the owner of the arrow. !Kung society makes a great deal of giving and lending arrows. Women and old men, as well as men in their hunting prime, receive arrows as gifts and may give them or lend them to a hunter, asking him to shoot for them. A hunter cannot refuse an arrow— [576]
as a person cannot refuse any gift—without offending the giver. He accepts the arrow and with it an obligation, but he gives or lends arrows in return and involves others in obligation to him. Hunters choose to use one or another of their arrows, with the result that the responsibility of distributing the meat, with its advantages and obligations, is shared by members of the band as is the meat itself.

In the first distribution the whole animal is divided among a few 224
persons, who receive whole sections on the bone, unless the animal is so large that the meat has to be cut off in strips to be carried. The first of these persons are the hunters, each of whom gets a fore- or hindquarter or the equivalent. The giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not made by the owner himself) receives a generous portion. The owner of the arrow, who may be one of the hunters, or anybody, keeps the rest.

In the second distribution, the several persons who got meat in the 224
first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. The 602
amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution, close kinship is the factor that sets the pattern of giving. A man's first obligation at this point [606]
is to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous [593]
portions as he can while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

224 602 they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. [574] This meat may be cooked and the quantities small. Visitors receive small amounts of cooked meat from their hosts. It ends in everybody getting some meat.

224 431 In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and primary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift giving. !Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift of meat at some time in the future. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously [571] according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift giving in general: the person gives to measure up to what is expected of him, to make friendly gestures, to win favor, to repay past favors and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation.

224 431 181 Aside from the practical advantage of using up meat while it is still fresh, the !Kung custom of meat sharing has enormous social value. It does a great deal to mitigate tensions. The fear of hunger is lessened. People are [154] sustained by a web of mutual obligation. Moreover, they are fully conscious [183] of these values, and the custom is so strongly established and so faithfully followed that the idea of not sharing is virtually unthinkable to the !Kung.

422 252 264 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the !Kung. When an individual receives a portion he owns it outright. He may give and share it further, as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very [261] important to the !Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

224 261 It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae !Kung eat hearty meals of meat when plenty appeared and they had been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

556 on the quantity of objects they want to possess. They do not even want
48 one each of the common tools of their lives. They borrow from each other,
[426] and there is less to carry.

●431 Instead of acquiring prestige by accumulating possessions, the !Kung
571 seek it in the opposite way. They practice a custom of gift giving to such an extent that their belongings all move in a slow flowing current among them and no one keeps anything of particular value very long. !Kung society requires that gifts be made in return, and the custom serves as a means to mitigate jealousy, to express friendly intent, and to weave people together in mutual obligation.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE FAMILY AND THE DOMESTIC GROUP • The
59 family is the primary and the most cohesive social unit of the !Kung. By far
57 the strongest bonds they feel are those of the nuclear family—the bonds
[594] between parent and offspring, between siblings, between spouses. These
[621] relationships are the basis of residence; by that I mean that people live together and have membership in their bands and rights to its food and water resources because they are linked to the band by one of these relationships. I believe that, in addition to the structured aspects, there is great emotional cohesiveness in !Kung families and that this is observable in the way families within the band build their fires near each other, come and go together, or, if there should be a quarrel, literally stand by each other, drawing close together.

The !Kung family passes through four phases. In its simplest nuclear form it consists of a man, his wife, and such children as are born to them.
[595] First marriages are always with just one wife. A later nuclear phase may be
[583] polygynous. When the daughters of a !Kung couple marry, and the daughters' husbands come to live with their brides' parents to give them bride
[591] service, the unit becomes an extended family. In a second extended phase, the married sons may have returned from bride service with their wives and offspring. In this phase, the married daughters with their husbands and offspring may stay or they may go to live with their husbands' people.

[589] • The headship of a family is strongly associated with males. A widowed mother is regarded as a dependent, not as a family head. When the old father of an extended family dies, that particular family ceases to be an extended family. Families of siblings may live together in the same band, but no one of them has authority over another unless one of the siblings happens to be headman of the band. If they are no longer involved in bride service themselves, and their offspring are not yet married, these families become independent nuclear families again, to become new, extended families when the offspring marry.

132 highs in the 90's. The warmer weather heralds the onset of
312 spring which is the most difficult season of the year. Most
137 of the waterholes have no mongongo nuts within a ten mile
222 radius. The alternative foods, roots and bulbs, are being collected daily by some of the people, while others are making the long overnight journeys to the nut forests.

221 Since territories vary in the abundance of early spring
574 foods there was a noticeable tendency for families to visit
628 other camps. For instance in September, Bate still had a good supply of Sclerocarya caffra, nuts; and several families from Dobe, Mahopa, and !angwa converged upon Bate to eat these nuts. Similarly !ubi had a supply of Baobab fruits (Adansonia digititata) and other families made extended visits to relatives there. The maintenance of close ties between camps made possible a more equitable distribution of foodstuffs, so that, if there was scarcity at one camp, and food at another, the members of the first camp would not go hungry. This is one of the highly adaptive features of the fluidity of !Kung group structure.

[563] Some families fall back on the Herero villages at this
[431] time of year to beg for milk. This occurs especially among those people who have a sister or cousin married to a Bantu man. Both the Bushman and Herero codes of good manners demand that visiting in-laws be fed (L. Marshall 1961).

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

can afford to be a little luxurious. They rub it on themselves and on their implements and they eat it. ≠Toma said that, when he had eland fat to give, he took shrewd note of certain objects he might like to have and gave their owners especially generous gifts of fat.

Real property and the sources of food and water are owned by the headman for the band and cannot be given away. However, meat, once it is distributed after the hunt, and veldkos, once it is gathered, become private property and may be given. Artifacts are privately owned by the individual man, woman, or child, as outrightly owned if received as a gift as if made by the individual. They borrow and lend a great deal—in itself this is one of the ways they support each other and aid themselves in maintaining social solidarity—but this does not blur the clarity of ownership. Each object acquires some markings of its own from the maker and from usage. It is easy for the /Kung, with their highly developed powers of observation and visual memory, to keep track of the commonest objects, know the ownership, and remember the history of the gifts.

As far as we know, no artifacts or materials are taboo as gifts. For instance, women may be given weapons, although it is taboo for women to touch them.

In quantity the gifts varied. One which /Ti/kay gave to ≠Toma was considered generous. It was a fine ostrich egg shell headband, three ostrich egg shells, and a well-tanned duiker skin as soft as suede. Another generous gift consisted of a knife, a spear, and a triple string of traded white European beads. Often gifts were less. The feelings persons have for each other, the degree of their past indebtedness, what they happen to possess and can give, determine the generosity of the gift.

The acquisition *per se* of the objects was seldom, I believe, of primary importance to most individuals in gift-giving—that is, if the objects were their own artifacts. As the /Kung come into more contact with Europeans—and this is already happening——they will feel sharply the lack of our things and will need and want more. It makes them feel inferior to be without clothes when they stand among strangers who are clothed. But in their own life and with their own artifacts they were comparatively free from material pressures. Except for food and water (important exceptions!) of which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have a sufficiency—but barely so, judging from the fact that all are thin though not emaciated—they all had what they needed or could make what they needed, for every man can and does make the things that men make and every woman the things that women make. No one was dependent upon acquiring objects by gift-giving.

They lived in a kind of material plenty because they adapted the tools of their living to materials which lay in abundance around them and which were free for anyone to take (wood, reeds, bone for weapons and implements, fibres for cordage, grass for shelters), or to materials which were at least sufficient for the needs of the population. The Nyae Nyae /Kung had hides enough for garments and bags; they kept extra hides when they needed them for new garments or when they wanted them for trade; otherwise they ate them. The /Kung could always use more ostrich egg-shells for beads to wear or trade with, but, as it is, enough are found for every woman to have a dozen or more shells for water containers—all she can carry—and a goodly number of bead ornaments.

In their nomadic hunting-gathering life, travelling from one source of food to

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48′30″ S, 181
20°34′36″ E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but 131
extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and
Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch [823]
of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In [162]
it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and [648]
9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of
about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the [382]
region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and
preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north [192]
and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen- [829]
speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung 181
Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is sur- 182
vival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in
their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring
food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the [621]
mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their [578]
social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals
within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between [628]
bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on [771]
survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the
sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region 433
have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we re- 262
fer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of
a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired,
but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know 222
more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several 262
species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen
suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad
for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets.
Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this re-
gion as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman
groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any
water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are
the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-
resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these;
doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsī, the men always ac-
462 company the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsī* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater por-
222 tion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging imple-
[412] ment is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were
[101] living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some
[484] to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles
[361] to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back
[854] to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to
[482] them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the
[372] bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as
252 meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes,
264 pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

222 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the
● 433 impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food
231 is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families
166 therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—
[582]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not 251
uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming 261
journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to 261
food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food 576
or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food 433
and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung 462
society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no 562
extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly 562
strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous 147
and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of 562
hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing 462
splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable 262
foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. 224
The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's 535
wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The 342
building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's 663
work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a 137
woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. 461
She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

177 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had
411 metal weapons, and utensils and clothing of European manu-
415
291 facture for at least 40 years.

162 Among the 34,800 Bushmen classified as non-hunting,
433 there are, of course, many degrees of economic development. At one extreme, there are the second generation farm Bushmen of the Grootfrontien, Gobabis and Ghanzi Districts who have permanently given up the traditional subsistence round. Other farm Bushmen spend the rainy season living in the veld and work on the farms only in the winter dry season.

Many of the Bushmen in Ngamiland and the Crown Lands have made an excellent adjustment to modern conditions. For instance the Mababe and Pandamatenga people enjoy a settled village life combined with hunting for cash furs with rifles and steel traps. Many of the men work for hunting safaris where they have gained a good reputation as trackers and gun bearers.

433 The distribution of the various economic patterns is plotted on Map 4. There are four categories:

1. Full time hunting and gathering
2. Bantu-associated peoples with traditional lord-client relations
3. Independent villages with cash hunting and wage labor
4. European farm workers

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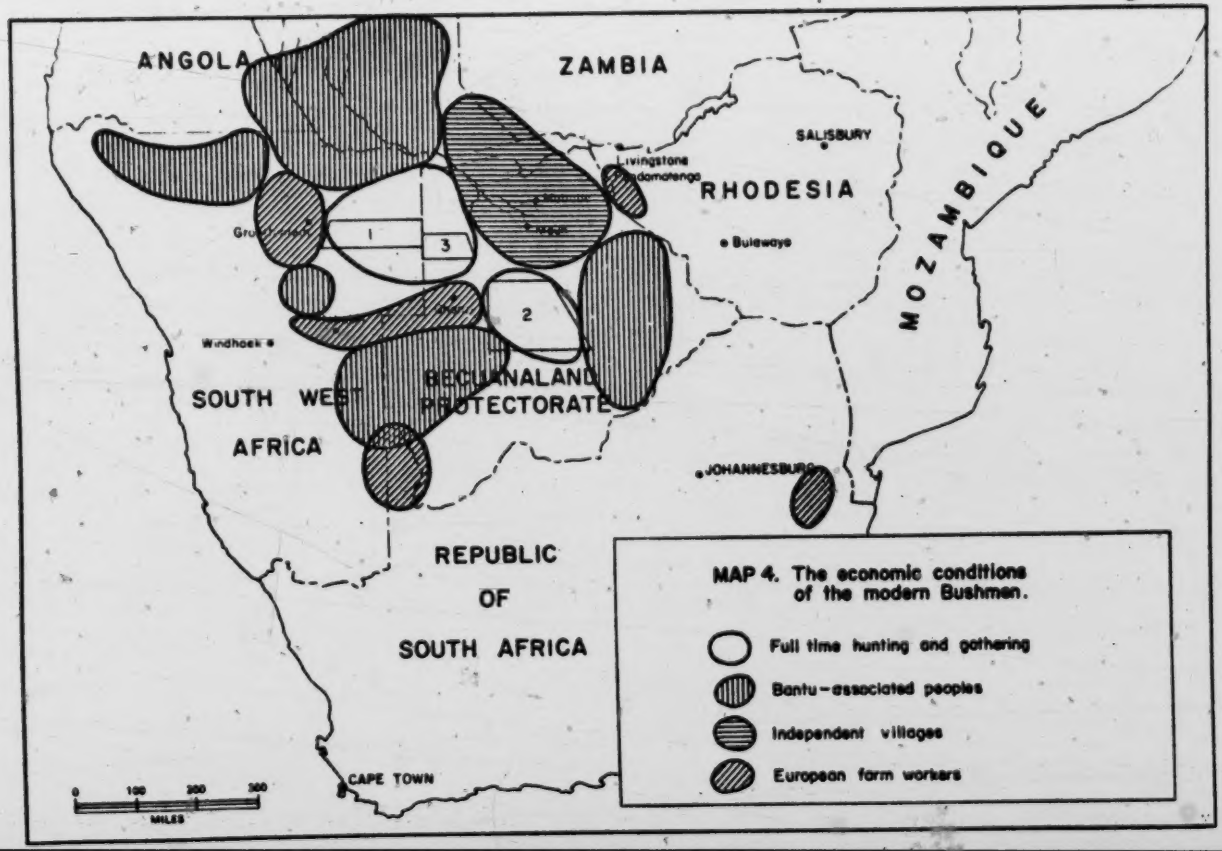
ANGOLA
ZAMBIA
SALISBURY
Livingstone
Ndola
RHODESIA
Bulawayo
MOZAMBIQUE
1
2
3
Windhoek
SOUTH WEST
AFRICA
BECHUANALAND
PROTECTORATE
JOHANNESBURG
REPUBLIC
OF
SOUTH AFRICA
CAPE TOWN
0 100 200 300
MILES
MAP 4. The economic conditions of the modern Bushmen.
Full time hunting and gathering
Bantu-associated peoples
Independent villages
European farm workers

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

131 Since the Nyae Nyae peoples are closely linked genealogically to
133 the peoples of /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa, and since their
312
619 several territories are surrounded by an uninhabited belt 60-100 miles in width, it seems more useful to include all the central water sources under the term "interior" and consider all the other river dwelling and farm !Kung as peripheral (see Map 7, p. 37).

121 This description of the subsistence ecology of !Kung
184 Bushmen therefore concerns the interior !Kung of the central
• 433 dialect division. It is not to be taken as representative of the !Kung in general, the great majority of whom are today living on European farms or working closely with Bantu.[1] It was pointed out in Chapter I that the selection of a study site was dictated by the necessity of finding a Bushman population living traditionally and independently. It was realized at the outset that such a population was not typical of the majority of !Kung.

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[1] A further stricture must be applied to the !Kung of the interior. In 1960 a Government Station was built at Tsumkwe, S.W.A. Since then the 800 interior !Kung on the South West African side of the border have settled there and are receiving instruction in agriculture. The 400 !Kung on the Bechuanaland side of the border have not been permitted to participate in this program. Therefore, during the period of the present study, only the interior !Kung in Bechuanaland were leading a year-round hunting and gathering way of life.

V. SUBSISTENCE ECOLOGY: AN OVERVIEW OF PLANT AND ANIMAL RESOURCES

121 The concept of a hunting and gathering way of life has assumed a misleading connotation in the ethnographic literature. The term has come to imply a random precarious existence searching for food, an eking out of subsistence [433] of odds and ends. Since the present study is the first detailed analysis of the food habits of non-agricultural people, it should be stated at once that the Bushman subsistence is based on a systematic strategy of exploiting abundant food 222 resources. Very little of their food gathering is left to chance. Their knowledge of the local environment, of the habits of game and the growth phases of food plants is virtually exhaustive. In other words, the Bushmen know where the food is at each season of the year and they arrange their schedule of activities to take maximum advantage of these resources. They do not allow themselves to get into difficult situations, and even during the season of scarcity they have available several alternative strategies of getting food and water.

262 The security of their life is in part due to the fact 137 that the basis of their subsistance is plant foods which are 136 abundant, local and predictable. Meat is of secondary importance in the Bushman diet. Game animals, by contrast to

262 plants, are scarce and unpredictable and people never depend
137 on meat for their basic subsistance. Therefore the well-
136 being of the Bushmen as a population can be viewed as the
433 product of two factors: the abundance of food resources in their environment, and the intelligence and sophistication which informs their exploitation of these resources.

512 Although the getting of food is the major activity of
433 Bushman life and is a major focus of Bushman thought, the greater part of the waking life of the Bushmen is given over to social, religious and trading activities that are largely independent of the food quest.

Their emphasis on non-subsistence activities becomes clear when daily records are kept of the activities of the
[126] members of a camp. For example, a diary of activities was kept for the Dobe camp during July, 1964. This record was made during mid-winter, a season of comparative scarcity. It
[462] was found that the 23 adults of this camp spent less than half of their days in subsistence activities, an average of 23% of the time for the women and 40% of the time for the
[574] men. The majority of their waking hours were spent visiting
[521] other camps, entertaining visitors, resting, talking, hut building, and making tools, clothing, and ornaments.

Plant Resources

137 There are well over 200 species of plants and 220 species
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136 of animals named and known by the Dobe area Bushmen. Of
[126]
these 420 species, 350 species were collected and identified
433 by the author. Two-thirds of the plant species and half of
824 the animal species are utilized by the Bushmen. Of these,
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they classify 85 species of plants and 54 species of animals as edible. It is therefore evident that the Bushmen have a remarkably broad subsistence base. On closer examination, however, one finds that the Bushmen are highly selective in their food habits. In fact, only nine species of plants constituted about three-quarters of the total vegetable diet; and one species alone, the mongongo nut, accounted for at least half of the total. Furthermore, of the 54 animal species eaten, only 17 species were consistently hunted.

824 A plant species may be regarded by the Bushmen as a
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major food for one or more of several reasons. Certain foods are prized because of their abundance or because of the long season during which they are available. Other foods are prized because of the ease with which they are collected. For this reason fruits are generally more popular than roots since the latter have to be dug out of the ground. Then there are foods which are especially good tasting and/or believed to be highly nutritious. The various plant foods are evaluated pragmatically and rationally and few species
825
262 are restricted by magico-religious taboos. This is in sharp

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824 of summer foods such as the berries of Grewia spp. and melons of the Citrullus vines, and a selection of winter foods such as roots of the genera Vigna and Coccinia, and edible gums from the genera Acacia, Terminalia, and Burkea.

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824 No two territories have the same constellation of plant foods and no single territory provides the complete inventory of 85 species of plant foods. The Bushmen are well aware of the variations in plant resources between the several territories and there is general agreement on the "strong" and "weak" points of each territory. For instance, !ubi is famous for its Baobab fruits (Adansonia digitata), a food which most other territories lack. /ai/ai is known for the abundance of its wild orange trees (Strychnos spp.) but is considered "weak" in vegetable ivory palms (Hyphaene ventricosa) which are rare south of the Aha Hills. Dobe, on the other hand, is said to be "strong" in vegetable ivory palms and "weak" in the wild orange trees. Bate is famous for its groves of trees bearing the morula nut (Sclerocarya caffra) but is "weak" in trees bearing the mongongo nut
[152] (Ricinodendron rautanenii). Furthermore, local variations in seasonal rainfall may produce an abundance of food in one territory and leave another territory with a food scarcity.

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433 The important point is that every territory has enough food to sustain at least some of its members throughout the

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433 year, but that territorial arrangements are flexible enough to permit people to collect and eat freely in territories other than their own. Thus there were no instances recorded of the members of one camp going hungry while there was still food available at other camps.

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602 Ecologically, the net effect of this flexibility of territories is to produce an equitable distribution of food resources throughout the population. Kinship, real and fictive, is the social mechanism which makes possible this equitable distribution. Each independent camp maintains ties of kinship and marriage with members of every other independent camp. Implicit in every kinship tie is an obligation to share food and water. When relatives are living together, the obligations are manifested in daily exchanges of food and in mutual aid. When relatives are living at

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574 different camps these obligations are latent. An individual who visits another camp will invariably set up his or her hut beside the hut of the member of the other camp to whom he or she has the closest kinship tie. The visitor is secure in the knowledge that the members of the camp will respect his or her claim to the resources of the area.

The principles of intercamp visiting will be illustrated by an example from the Dobe camp. N!ain!a, a woman about 55 years old, is a member of the Dobe camp. She is a younger

361 433 602 574 sibling of the leaders of the two Dobe camps, and therefore has an unquestionable claim to the Dobe resources. N!ain!a has two married daughters whom she frequently visits. One lives at !angwa and the other at Bate. These two daughters and their husbands make reciprocal visits to Dobe about once a month. N!ain!a has a classificatory uncle at !ubi. During the winter she would make daily trips to collect the Baobab fruits that are available only at !ubi. Her uncle, in turn, would make reciprocal visits to collect the vegetable ivory fruits which are abundant around Dobe. Thus N!ain!a maintains active claims in three of the territories adjacent to her own.

N/eysin!a (N!ain!a's older brother) is unlike N!ain!a in that he prefers to remain in his home territory rather than visit other camps. N/eysin!a's kinship ties with members of other camps are numerous but the reciprocal obligations implicit in these kinship ties remain latent because N/eysin!a rarely visits his relatives in other camps.

361 Inter-territorial visiting is perhaps the most important single principle of land utilization among the Dobe area Bushmen. Concerning land utilization <u>within</u> the individual territory, three significant features should be noted. 311

First, each of the territories borders on an uninhabited hinterland of indefinite size (see Map 14). Because of this, it is difficult to derive an estimate, in square miles, of the

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

VIII. WATER AND THE SEASONAL ROUND

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The Kalahari desert is not a food poor area. Most of it is situated between the 10 and 20 inch isohyet and therefore it is marginal for cultivation (without irrigation), but the desert supports a remarkable abundance and variety of edible wild plants which have become genetically adapted to arid conditions.

Geographers have classified the Kalahari as "desert" because of the lack of surface water (Wellington 1955 etc.). This in turn is a function of the sandy terrain which supports surface water only during a brief summer season. In the few localities where the underlying geological formations are exposed, permanent standing water is found. And these point sources of water are usually surrounded by waterless belts of up to 200 miles in width. Edible plants on the other hand are widely distributed both in the immediate vicinity of water and at considerable distances from it. The geographical separation of food and water in certain seasons is the critical problem of !Kung Bushman subsistence.

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This is not a major problem during the rainy season when seasonal standing water may be found in close proximity to the concentrated food resources. Nor is this a major problem during the early winter when food is available around the

312 permanent water sources. Nevertheless for one season every
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433 year Bushmen must face a situation in which major foods and
824 permanent water are a considerable distance apart. How Bushmen arrange their lives to meet this situation will be illustrated by data from the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen.

312 According to the Bushmen, water has always existed in
824 the eight permanent waterholes of the Dobe area. Seven of
222 these waterholes are situated in or near the dry bed of one molapo, the !angwadum. The eighth, 25 miles to the south, is in the bed of another molapo, the /ai/aidum. These molapos lie in the center of a belt of flatlands which varies in width from 5-10 miles. It was pointed out in Chapter IV that the molapos interrupt the basic system of parallel dunes that cover most of the northwestern Kalahari. But it is only on these dunes that the primary Bushman food, the mongongo nut, is found. The result is that each of the eight waterholes is three to seven miles distant from the nearest grove of mongongo nuts. Thus gatherers who are camped at a permanent water must make a minimum daily round trip of six to fourteen miles in order to gather mongongo nuts. As the nearest nuts become exhausted the round trip distance becomes greater and greater, until it reaches a distance that is too far to walk in a day. This distance varies from camp to camp but 12 miles (6 miles out and 6 miles returning) was close to the maximum that the

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222 where the water bearing root Fockea monroi is available the Bushmen may extend their stay in the nutting groves by eating the juicy pulp of this root. If they are fortunate, this water source may tide them over to the next shower, part of which will accumulate in the hollows of trees.

13 The first rainfall, however brief, appears to have the general effect of triggering reproduction in animals, and initiating the growth phase in plants. Among the first of the summer foods to appear are the leafy greens Dipcadi glaucum and Talinum crispatulatum.

132 There is no well-defined boundary between the first rains of October and the main rains. J. Marshall mentions that during his periods of field work a gap occurred between the first and the main rains. In 1963 and 1964, however, the showers gradually increased in intensity and frequency from [433] October through December. The date of onset and the intensity of rainfall varies greatly from year to year and a delay of even a few weeks in the onset of rain can cause considerable hardship amongst the Bushmen. Furthermore, an initial rain followed by weeks of dry weather is a mixed blessing, for it brings the plants prematurely into leaf and they become scorched and damaged by the subsequent sunshine.

In 1963, the first rain fell on 8 October. In 1964, it did not fall until the 11 November and one noticed that the

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433 physical condition of the Bushmen was visibly poorer in November 1964 by comparison with November 1963.

2. Main rains

132 The Bushmen say that a series of intense downpours
361 (measuring 2-3 inches) heralds the beginning of the main
[821] rains and ushers in their season of abundance. Such a fall occurred in 1963 at the end of November. The immediate effect of these downpours is to produce standing water in the small molapos that lie in the interstices of the dunes. When these seasonal waters become established, virtually the entire Bushman population moves out to live at them. Thus from December through March the permanent waterholes are largely deserted.

312 With the coming of the main rains, the summer foods
433 begin to ripen. These foods appear around the summer water
222 sources and they appear also around the permanent waterholes. It is significant, that, although foods become available at the permanent waterholes, the Bushmen tend to avoid these foods. They prefer to eat the foods that are around the summer waters. This illustrates one way that the Bushmen take maximum advantage of the more distant foods. They defer exploitation of the foods around the permanent waterhole until the winter when the alternative water sources have dried out.

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312 30 or more people) and Bantu cattle posts. These were located
361 at Characharaha, Mahito, !gun/isa and /wihabe. Map 18 illus-
[162] trates the distribution of population during the late summer
(March 1964).p. 159.

221 Life at the summer pans is, by Bushman standards, luxur-
137 ious because all of the major and minor fruits, berries,
• 433 melons and leafy greens become available. There is a succes-
222 sion of ripening of the major foods throughout the summer months. The first to ripen are the leafy greens (Dipcadi and Talinum), followed by the sour plums (Ximenia caffra and X. americana), then the melons (Citrullus lanatus and C. naudinianus), and the Grewia berries (Grewia flava comes first followed by six other species). By the time the plums have become scarce the melons are ready for eating. As the melons become worked out the Grewia berries ripen. Each of six species of Grewia comes into ripeness at a different time, so that every two weeks throughout the middle of summer another species of Grewia became ready for eating. Throughout the early part of the summer the mongongo nuts are available but these are the nuts from the previous year's fall. It is not until April that the current year's fall of nuts occurs. And then a new cycle of working out from the camp occurs. This illustrates again the selective gathering habits of the !Kung Bushmen.

000 meat no doubt lessens the men's incentive for hunting.

221 3. Autumn - which fell (in 1964) during April is the period
312 when these large summer waters are drying up. One by one the
361 big pans turn into muddy pools and the Bushmen abandon them. Some of the people join the camps established at the remaining summer waters while others fall back to their permanent waterholes in the main molapos.

!Gauša was the last of the summer waters to go dry. It was finally abandoned by May 1, 1964. By this date all the Bushmen had returned to the permanent waters and this marks the beginning of the winter subsistence cycle.

As mentioned previously the present study was made during a drought. There are indications in the literature that summer waters do not always dry out as early as May 1. The Bushmen themselves spoke of summer water persisting in previous years into the period of frost which does not come until June or July. It is also probable that the presence of Bantu cattle contributed to the premature drying out of the summer waters. However, these hypotheses cannot be tested except by further field work.

4. Early Winter

221 The winter season is not coterminous with the period of
312 food scarcity. This scarce period does not begin until mid-
433 winter and continues until the first rains. The first half

221 of winter from May to mid-July is a period of relative abun-
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433 dance. This is due to the fact that the permanent waters
[361] have not been occupied during the summer months, and there is abundant food in their vicinity when the Bushmen return to
[824] them in May. Subsistence has a double base, including both the tail-end of the summer foods such as the Grewia berries, and the first series of winter roots and bulbs. Mongongo nuts are also locally available. The distribution of the Bushmen population during the winter of 1964 is shown in Map 19, p. 165.

221 The root foods are generally associated with the winter
824 subsistence. This is curious because as perennials the bulbs may be dug out at any time of the year. But the Bushmen do not concentrate on root foods during the summer months: they pass them over in favor of the foods of shorter duration, the fruits and melons. They state that they do not like the flavor of the root foods during the winter.

In May and June these root plants are exploited and the pressure on them increases through the winter as the nuts become locally exhausted. The major roots are Eulophia spp., Vigna dinteri, Walleria muricata, Coccinia spp., Coccinia rehmannii and Ceropegia spp. - nine species in all. These have edible bulbs or storage organs which range in size from one to three inches in diameter.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 166]

TABLE 7

221 The kills made by the hunters of the Dobe camp during a 28-
224 day period (6 July to 2 August 1964).
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Date	Hunter	Species	Technique	estimated weight of meat
July				
7.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80 lbs.
7.	≠oma//gwe	steenbok	snare	12
9.	/ase	steenbok	snare	12
17.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
20.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
20.	≠oma//gwe	honey badger	snare	10
20.	≠oma//gwe	python	collected	20
21.	/ase	steenbok	snare	12
23.	n≠eysin!a	steenbok	snare	12
23.	≠oma//gwe	hare	snare	3
24.	≠oma	bat-eared fox	with dogs	4
27.	/ase	hare	snare	3
27.	≠gau	korhaan	snare	2
27.	n≠eysin!a	korhaan	snare	2
28.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
29.	≠oma//gwe	kori bustard	snare	10
30.	n≠eysin!a	steenbok	snare	12
31.	/ase	porcupine	cornered in burrow	20
				454 lbs.[1]

[Ka28] [1] In addition to the meat from these 18 kills, the Dobe Bushmen received gifts of meat from other camps. The weight of meat from these outside sources is estimated at 36 lbs. Therefore, the total meat eaten at Dobe was around 490 lbs.

221 Unfortunately spring is the most difficult season for the
433 Herero as well as for the Bushmen. The good grazing for livestock is miles distant from the waterholes. Consequently the cattle are in poor condition and their yield of milk is low.

251 It would be useful for the Bushmen to amass a surplus of food in anticipation of this scarce season. However, none of the 15 independent camps observed ever kept more than a few days supply of vegetable foods on hand. Surplus accumulation was not a feature of Bushmen food strategy except for one instructive case.

There was a noticeable attempt to create a small surplus
251 in the form of dried meat and hides. Each family maintained
285 a storage basket in the crotch of a young tree. By weaving a framework of branches and palm fronds and lining this with grass, they built up a rough basket for storing weapons, water containers and small amounts of food. The storage basket was built five feet above the ground which kept its contents safe from the reach of dogs and children. If a day's hunting had been unsuccessful, the members of a camp could invariably produce an emergency ration of dried meat or, more often, dried hide for the evening meal. People saved scraps of dried hide of kudu, gemsbok and wildebeeste from kills made weeks or
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252 months previously. These scraps were softened by boiling or
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221 this account of the seasonal round has come full circle to the starting point.

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433 In summary, there are, in effect, only three basic sets of subsistence conditions for the Bushmen:

1. Water everywhere - Food everywhere
2. Water limited - Food abundant
3. Water limited - Food scarce.

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When the first set of conditions prevail during the rains of November through March, Bushman life is sweet. The camps can live near the most concentrated food sources within their territory, or share in the food supply of neighboring camps, or easily undertake the long trips to visit relatives at distant waterholes.

When the second set of conditions prevail, from April through July, freedom of movement is more restricted but food is still abundant enough to make life comfortable.

When the third set of conditions prevail, from August through October, the Bushmen must resort to increasingly arduous tactics in order to maintain a good diet, or, alternatively they must content themselves with foods of less desirability in terms of abundance, ease of collecting and nutritive value.

It is during the three lean months of the year that the Bushmen life approaches the precarious conditions that have

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come to be associated with the hunting and gathering way of life. However one should not lose sight of the fact that for nine or more months of each year the Bushmen can easily fulfill their food requirements without resorting to the more difficult (and, to our eyes, more dramatic) subsistence tactics.

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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IX. FOOD, WORK AND LAND USE AMONG THE !KUNG BUSHMEN

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An observer planning to live with Bushmen is led to expect - from the ethnographic literature - that the Bushmen lead an arduous and exacting way of life, in which the problem of getting food is an overwhelming daily concern. Furthermore I had been told, by local Europeans, that the Bushmen were extremely shy and difficult to find, and that they were always on the move in their endless quest for game. Therefore I was unprepared for the situation in the Dobe area when I first arrived there at the end of the dry season of 1963; for camped at every waterhole were dozens of Bushmen who offered the outsider a hearty welcome and who were seemingly unconcerned by the problem of finding food.

During the course of the study, it became apparent that the Bushman subsistence was more substantial and secure than had been previously supposed. In the foregoing chapters the properties of their hunting and gathering way of life have been described. It will be appropriate, in this final chapter, to review the lines of evidence that bear on the problem of how such a carefree and secure existence is possible in a society of hunter-gatherers living in a harsh, semi-desert environment.

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Abundance of Resources -- The habitat of the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen is rich in naturally-occurring foods. The three distinct plant associations - of the Dune, the Flats, and the Molapo - each support a distinctive constellation of food plants. By far the most important of these is the Dune association and its main constituent, the mongongo tree. From the vast groves of this tree, many thousands of nuts are harvested each year. The mongongo nut, because of its abundance and reliability, resembles a cultivated staple crop such as maize or rice. In terms of nutritional value - proteins and sugars - it even exceeds the cereal crops. Furthermore, it is drought-resistant so that the mongongo nut will still be abund-
[221] ant in dry years when cultivated crops fail. The excellent storage properties of the nut allow it to be harvested in all months of the year. This factor is especially important during the dry winter months when the short-term rainy season foods are not available. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the Bushmen are asked to explain why they have not taken to cultivation, they reply: "Why should we plant when there are so many mongongo nuts in the world?"

Variety of Resources -- The mongongo nut is only one, albeit the most important, of the 85 species of edible plants available to the Bushmen. The existence of this variety of foodstuffs

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824 allows for a wide range of alternatives in subsistence
433 strategy. During the summer months the Bushmen have no prob-
824 lem other than to choose among the tastiest and most easily
221 collected foods; other species which are quite edible but less attractive are simply bypassed, so that gathering never exhausts all the available foods of an area.

During the dry season, when the fruits and melons have gone, the gatherers still have multiple options open to them. They may plan a hike to the molapos to collect the edible Acacia gums, or they may go to the flats to dig out roots and bulbs. Even at the end of the dry season, when the stronger members of a group are making the long hikes to the mongongo forests, the older, less mobile members can derive an adequate subsistence from an eclectic diet of minor foods which are closer to home.

433 Plants versus Game -- The security of Bushman subsistence
222 derives in part from the fact that meat is of secondary import-
224 ance to vegetables in the diet. The !Kung males are persistent, but not particularly successful hunters. Although hunting accounts for over half of the subsistence effort of a camp, meat comprises only 20-40 per cent of the diet. The basis of the Bushman diet is plant food, and meat has come to be regarded as a special treat. When meat is available, it is welcomed as a break from the routine of vegetable foods, but it is never

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depended upon as a staple. Strictly speaking, the Bushmen should therefore be regarded as gatherer-hunters rather than hunter-gatherers.

The relative scarcity of game in the Dobe area may be related to the widespread diminution of the large African mammals during historic times. It is worth noting, however, that this diminution of game has not led to the collapse of the Bushman way of life. It is sometimes asserted that the decline of large game has contributed to the extinction of hunting-and-gathering peoples in Africa and elswhere. The evidence from the Dobe area refutes this assertion. The Bushmen there have elaborate and sophisticated methods for capturing smaller mammals, and the meat from these kills serves to supplement a diet primarily based on abundant plant resources. The burden of the evidence from this study suggests that the Dobe area Bushmen do not lead an impoverished way of life.

262 <u>Diet Selectivity</u> -- If the Bushmen were living close to the starvation level, then one would expect them to exploit every available source of nutrition. That their life is well above this level is indicated by the fact that, in a given season, they eat only the most attractive of the vegetable foods, and bypass many other available foods. In their meat eating habits the Bushmen show a similar selectivity. Only a few of the dozens of edible species of small mammals, birds, reptiles, and

121 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social
433 maturity by the young people and the support of the non-pro-
883 ductive elderly people are institutions which are possible
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182 only in a society with a relatively secure subsistence base.

433 Water, Food, and Nomadism -- The special subsistence problems
312 faced by the Dobe area Bushmen concern the scarcity of water.
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361 All of the eight natural permanent waterholes are situated in or near the beds of the main molapos. During the summer months, when temporary pools develop at a distance from permanent water, the Bushmen can move out to live at them. Except for a few weeks each year, the Bushmen spend their entire lives camped within an hour's walk of standing water. Only at the end of the dry season do some of the younger people undertake the long trips to the dry forests where they live by digging out the water-bearing roots. Since it is the custom of the Bushmen to return each evening to their main camps, it follows that areas within a single day's walk of standing water will be intensively utilized. Areas that lie beyond this radius will be rarely utilized even though they may be rich in food. The fact that the Bushmen can live well for most of the year within a six-mile radius of permanent water indicates that they do not lead a nomadic way of life. Each summer they move up-country to the seasonal waters and each winter they fall back on their permanent waterholes. In contrast to some Australian aboriginal groups, whose annual round consists of walking a circuit of many waterholes, the Dobe area Bushmen have a

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361 transhumant annual round, in which they alternate between their rainy season range and their dry season range.

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628 The Dobe area !Kung do not undertake long marches of 30-70 miles for the purpose of getting food. This task can be readily fulfilled within a day's walk of their territorial water sources. When such long marches occur, they are invariably for the purposes of visiting, trading, and marital exchanges with relatives at distant camps. As such, these trips should not be confused with the normal routines of subsistence.

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162 Range Size and Population Density -- By plotting the movements of the various camps in their annual subsistence cycle, the observer can derive a rough estimate of the total land area that is required to support the population of 430 Bushmen. It would be much more difficult to estimate the area necessary to support a single camp, because of the considerable overlap of territories and the frequent visiting between camps. It will be more useful to treat the entire population as a unit. It is estimated that the 800 square miles that lie within a six-mile radius of major water sources are sufficient to support the population for most of the year. Beyond this radius lies a hinterland which is rarely penetrated; perhaps a further 200 square miles of this hinterland is utilized in the course of a single year. Thus the total annual range of the Dobe area Bushmen may be estimated at 1,000 square miles. This calculation sets the effective population

311 density at ca. 43 persons per 100 square miles, or two-and-a-
433 half square miles per person. This is a rather high density
162 figure for desert-living hunters and gatherers. The higher figure is partly due to the fact that it represents the ratio of population to the actual land area utilized. This is a more meaningful way of expressing density than is a figure based on the ratio of population to the total land area that it appears to occupy. For instance, on a map, the Dobe area covers about 2,700 square miles, but the Bushmen actively utilize less than 40 per cent of this area. It is suggested that estimates of population density for other hunting and gathering peoples would give accordingly higher values if the criterion of actual use was employed in the calculation.

Conclusion

433 These eight lines of evidence constitute the case for a revision of the anthropological view of the Bushmen. Their way of life is not impoverished or precarious. Considering the environment in which they live, the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen lead an unexpectedly comfortable and secure existence. The evidence set out here assumes an added significance because this security of life was observed during a period of severe drought. Consequently the author witnessed the worst conditions that the !Kung would have to face. One can speculate that their

433 subsistence base would be even more substantial during a year of higher rainfall. The Kalahari desert is by any account a marginal habitat for human occupation. Nevertheless it is apparent that the people who live there can satisfy their subsistence needs with a reasonable amount of effort and within a short compass of their waterholes.

The Subsistence Base of Other Hunter-Gatherers

It remains to be considered whether the !Kung Bushmen are exceptional among hunters and gatherers in that they have an unusually reliable subsistence base in the form of the mongongo nut.

171 A brief survey of the living hunting and gathering peoples
433 indicates that the !Kung are quite typical of the general picture. For instance, the coastal Tierra del Fuegians, the California Indians, the Strandloopers of South Africa, and the Australian aborigines of Arnhem Land, the Cape York Peninsula, and New South Wales all possessed a superabundant staple of marine resources, especially shellfish. In the interior of California the acorn was the superabundant staple. Even the lowly Shoshoneans of the Great Basin who, because of scarce resources, were forced to exist at the "family level of organization" possessed a superabundant staple in the form of piñon nuts (Steward 1955). These nuts were so abundant that quantities could be collected and stored sufficient to last through the winter. Furthermore, the winter encampments typically consisted

171 of 20 or 30 families living in one locality (Steward 1955:105).
• 433 Such a camp would contain upwards of 60 people and therefore would have been as large as the larger of the Dobe Bushmen winter camps. Even larger aggregations occurred among the Shoshone on the occasion of the communal rabbit hunts. In light of this, one suspects that the subsistence basis of the Shoshone was more secure than their ethnographer was prepared to allow.

It is not known what the staple food resource of the desert aborigines of Australia may have been, but there is compelling evidence that such a staple did exist. This is based on the fact that groups of 300-500 Aranda and Walbiri have been observed to congregate for four to five months at a time (Strehlow 1947:65; Meggitt 1962:55). Such concentrations of population could not have been possible without a super-abundant source of food.

It is suggested that the literature on the living hunters and gatherers of the world deserves to be reconsidered in light of this abundant food base. It appears that anthropologists have tended to underestimate hunting and gathering as a viable and persistent way of life. Despite the fact that non-agricultural peoples today are confined to the least attractive habitats of the world, there is evidence that human ingenuity, such as that displayed by the Dobe area Bushmen, can produce a substantial living from even the most unpromising environments.

/143 cont./

411 the upper end of the shaft (strips of leather or neck tendons of a large antelope); c, shaft.

/144/ With the exception of the iron point of the throwing lances, all the weapons are manufactured by the Auin themselves.
[439] The lance points reach the interior of the Kalahari from Lake Ngami through trade.

411 The lance point (see Fig. 6) is the Bushman's most valuable
435 possession. One hardly ever sees such points in a settlement, even if he comes unannounced, but only the shafts that go with them. In this respect the Bushman is so suspicious that even within the settlement he always hides the points, usually by burying them.

[422] Every adult Auin possesses one or more spears.

The iron point is inserted into the wooden shaft somewhat
411 loosely so that it can easily be taken out. The upper end of the shaft is wrapped with a strip of antelope skin or antelope neck tendons. The point also serves as a tool for handwork in place of a knife.

When the lance is carried, for which a leather strap like a
[482] rifle sling is used, it is commonly protected by a small leather cover (Photo. 25i). [Fig. 7 appears here.]

The manner of holding the bow and arrow when shooting seems to be fairly arbitrary. I have recorded the most common methods pictorially (see Photos. 29 to 32).

The bowstring is made of animal tendons twisted together. The strings were always pushed up on one side and fastened at the other (see Figs. 7a and 7b).

Composite bows do not exist.

The arrows are made exclusively from reeds which merely need to have grown straight to supply the ready-made arrow shaft. At the upper end, where the loose arrowhead is inserted, and at the bottom, where a simple, ordinary notch is made, the shaft is always wrapped with a flat, narrow grass band. Sometimes places in the middle of the shaft are wrapped. The length of the arrow shaft varies between 48 and 52 centimeters.

Feathered arrows do not occur.

411 The art of making arrows and arrowheads is a common posses-
sion of all adult Auin. There are no special arrow makers.
463 An exception to this is the manufacture of iron arrowheads, which is practiced only by some individuals, usually older persons.

/151 cont./

438 objects of exchange: veld food, meat, articles of clothing, and utilitarian objects. It appears that barter is also carried out in a smaller circle. To the "child of the moment," something different is always preferred.

[443] Markets are not held.

The chains of ostrich egg shells have a certain fixed value [435] since they are highly coveted. A leaf [Platte] of tobacco likewise has a fixed value.

/152/ This means that under all circumstances, wherever [436] one goes, both tobacco and chains can be traded. Only in this sense is it possible to speak of money substitutes. I am convinced that with a sufficient number of tobacco leaves [Plattentabak] in one's pocket, and without any provisions, one can live by barter, that is, if the Bushman himself happens to have anything.

The only things that one might not be able to obtain from the Auin in exchange for tobacco are lance points.

The Auin is unacquainted with our custom of indicating 804 length with two fingers of one or both hands. Length is indicated by pointing with one finger to the index finger of the other hand or to a stick.

A "fathom" is indicated by extending both arms, in a manner similar to ours.

As a "dry measure" they use one or both cupped hands, the latter held close together.

Another dry measure is made by crooking the arm and filling the hollow between the arm and chest with a cloth, or both arms are crooked with the hands fastened together in front of the body and the hollow is filled with a cloth.

We also have the saying "an armful."

The hide cap is also used for measuring.

As rough as the measures are, they nonetheless appear to have a certain, though naturally quite inexact validity. I have observed how a Bushman exchanged "an armful" of veld food for tobacco. The owner of the tobacco did not deem the goods he received sufficient, and the other had to add "a handful."

Weights are estimated. Naturally, an object for comparison is always present.

Weights are estimated, as among us, by briefly lifting the weights to be compared, one after the other. Even the accompanying

301 The most highly valued gifts are the traditional ornaments of ostrich egg-shell beads, especially the wide headbands and necklaces of five or six strings of beads reaching
431 to the umbilicus. The creamy white is becoming to them. They like European beads also, of all colours, though white is definitely their preference. The only thing they do not like about beads, Gao Beard told us, is shortness of the string. After ornaments, the /Kung value implements or utensils, *//gwashi* or dance rattles, which have required time and care to make, but perhaps more especially valued are metal objects and pots. The latter are obtained by trade. The /Kung do not trade among
[438] themselves. They consider the procedure undignified and avoid it because it is too likely to stir up bad feelings. They trade with the Bantu, however, in the settlements along the B.P. border. The /Kung offer well-tanned antelope hides and ostrich egg
439 shell beads. For these they obtain tobacco, beads, knives, axes, malleable metal for making arrow-points and spear-blades, and occasional files and chisels, fire-strikers, and pots.

The odds are with the Bantu in the trading. Big, aggressive, and determined to
435 have what they want, they easily intimidate the Bushmen. Several /Kung informants said that they tried not to trade with Herero if it was possible to avoid it because,
439 although the Tswana were hard bargainers, the Herero were worse. /Qui said he had been forced by a Herero whom he was afraid to anger to trade the shirt and pants we had given him as our parting gift in 1952 for a small enamel pan and a little cup. /Ti/kay had more gumption. A Herero at the beginning of a negotiation with him brought out a good-sized pile of tobacco but took from it only a pinch when it was time to pay. /Ti/kay picked up the object he was trading and ran off. ≠Toma said with amused exaggeration that ' a very good Herero, a respectable one, will give a handful of tobacco for five cured steinbok skins. A bad Herero will give a pipeful (he showed the size of his fingernail) for three skins.' The Tswana values are a little better. A well-tanned gemsbok hide brings a pile of tobacco about 14 inches in diameter and about 4 inches high. The values vary. Some that were reported to us were three rooibok, duiker, or steinbok skins for a good-sized knife, five strings of ostrich egg-shell beads for a spear.

439 The /Kung have become dependent on metal, especially knives, axes, and arrow-points. They have been able to trade enough for every man to have these implements.
[109] They could, however, exist without them and do still use a few bone and wood
[411] arrow-points. Poison makes their arrows deadly, not penetrating power. The pots are Ovambo or Okavango pottery (the /Kung make no pottery themselves) or European ironware. The /Kung like to have a pot around to borrow sometimes; not
[458] everyone wants to carry one. They cook mostly in hot ashes. More for their novelty, I thought, than for their worth, the /Kung trade also for old oddments of cloth garments (they weave neither cloth nor mats), pieces of blankets, basins, &c.—things they do not really need—but which they like.

Tobacco they need ' to make the heart feel better '. Oddly enough for these pas-
276 sionate smokers, tobacco was not given so much emphasis in gift-giving as one might
431 expect. They do make gifts of tobacco, but when anyone lights a pipe he passes it around anyway; all present drag smoke into their lungs until they almost faint and it has not mattered much who owned the tobacco.

302 Eland fat is a very highly valued gift. An eland provides so much fat that people
431

/151 cont./

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FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

177 439 they are no longer self-sufficient. Contact with other peoples has made them familiar with various articles, especially iron and tobacco, which they now covet very greatly and in order to obtain which they carry on an extensive system of barter. Even within the band itself [437] there is a good deal of barter in such things as meat, clothing, veldkos, and utensils. Berries and roots, for example, are exchanged for tobacco or beads, skin bags for poisoned arrows, and so on. Trading [484] visits to other bands are also frequent. But the most common form of barter is with peoples of other races, especially the Bantu.

439 The IO Kung of Angola, unlike all the other Bushmen, do not go [184] out into the veld to collect vegetable foods. These are obtained by [222] barter. The younger men hunt, and trade part of the meat and skins obtained for the cereals, maize, potatoes, manioc, etc., of the Bantu among whom they live. Honey and wax are also collected and traded, sometimes with the Bantu for food and tobacco, now and again to Europeans for powder and cartridges. Wax is a good article of trade with Portuguese traders, and the Bushmen are therefore assiduous in collecting it. Besides foodstuffs they also obtain pots and baskets from the Bantu, as well as metal wares such as knives, arrow and spear heads, and beads.[1]

The Bushmen of the Okavango swamps, again, trade ostrich egg-shell beads, ivory, ostrich feathers, skins and horns with the inter-dwelling Bantu in return for tobacco and dagga, as well as iron and such iron goods as spear heads, hoes, and knives; while the Namib Bushmen exchange similar objects with Hottentots and Europeans for blankets, knives, tobacco, and coffee.[2]

Among the North-Western tribes there is a whole system of trade 438 relations between different tribes, extending from the Okavango in the north down almost to the Molopo.[3] In this the Naron and the Auen play the part of intermediaries, obtaining from the tribes further north the objects they desire, and then bartering them again further south as occasion arises. Egg-shell beads and tobacco are standard [436] articles in this trade, in the sense that they can always be bartered and may even be said to have a fixed value. From the Naron the Auen 438 procure skin garments and bags, for the making of which the former 439 are famous, giving them in return wooden pots, dishes, and spoons

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 52–3; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 108.
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WESTERN OTJIMPOLO VELD

[8 cont.] HENCE THE RULE IS THAT THE WEDDING AND THE GIRLS
585 initiation coincide, and usually the girl moves to the village of
881^ her first husband immediately after the completion of the festivi-
[591] ties.

584 When a man is courting, he must first attempt to obtain the consent of the girl. Once he has succeeded, he goes to the girl's parents. If they also give their consent, the engagement is settled. At this point, all communication is interrupted until the bridegroom appears and says to the girl's parents: "I want to have the wedding now." If the parents agree, they go to their relatives to spread the happy news. If the relatives object, they can still prevent the marriage. If they do not, the date of the wedding feast is fixed. In the bush, the bridegroom must bring the bride's parents a piece of big game. Usually people make matters
439 simpler for themselves. Either they have already earned a head
584 of cattle from a black farmer, and this stands ready in the farmer's
648 herd to be fetched for the wedding feast, or -- and this is more
452 common -- the Bushman will begin a begging tour around the black farmyards until someone gives him a cow as an advance on hides to be supplied later or on work to be performed.

452 And miraculously, this always succeeds. It is to be ex-
648 plained on various grounds. A black farmer, whose worst character traits include avarice and greed, would never give another Black who possesses nothing one of his dearly beloved cows on the strength of uncertain promises. And not unjustly. The next day the cow would have disappeared into the stomachs of the borrower and his friends, and on the day after that the borrower would have disappeared beyond the tribal boundaries. Repeatedly the Bushmen came to my camp too late. But from the Ukuanjama I always received the assurance: "The Bushmen will keep their word; they will certainly come if they are alive." In addition to this, of course, there is the symbiosis. Each village has its
[437] Bushmen. During the period of the harvest they suddenly appear
/9/ and help with it. Between times they never miss a celebration, and at one time or another this one comes with hides and another with honey. And finally the chiefs of the Bushmen kin
[622] groups see to it that nothing happens to injure the reputation of
[674] the Bushmen. It is unheard of for these people to commit theft.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae-Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

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FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

made by themselves, and metal pots, spear heads, knives, trade beads, 438
etc., which they obtain through the Heikum from the OvaKwangari 439
and MaMbukushu further north. The Naron to the east trade their skins, and formerly also ivory and ostrich feathers, with the BaTawana to the north-east for tobacco and millet. Ostrich egg-shell beads are bartered to the Bantu by all the Bushman tribes. The Koon at Naosanabis in the south, a branch of the /nu//en, are known to make them especially well, and their beads are always in great demand, passing through the Naron and the Auen to the Bantu tribes further north and east, who pay highly for them. For a chain of these beads passing round the waist the MaMbukushu, for example, give a large basket of millet, the BaTawana a large roll of tobacco, the OvaMbo an iron spear head, and so on. The Naron also trade their skins to Europeans and BeChwana for tobacco, dagga, or trade goods, and the latter, again, they pass on to the Auen.

The extensive scale on which this trade is carried out would seem to imply the existence of regulated trading communications between the different tribes. Unfortunately, there is extremely little information bearing on this point. Markets are apparently not held, the transfer [443]
of goods, as far as can be determined, being effected almost entirely
through special trading visits from one group to another. Kaufmann 437
describes the way in which such trading visits are conducted among the Auen. A small number of men and women go to the camp of the band with whom they wish to trade, laying down their weapons beforehand. Permission to enter is then given, and the barter proceeds. He adds that even if two bands are at enmity, as often happens,
women will, nevertheless, go from one to the other in order to trade. [114]
This statement, however, needs to be confirmed. Passarge also suggests that the Bantu tribes of this region probably send periodical trading caravans to the different Bushman tribes, and quotes as an illustration the fact that in former times at least the OvaMbo would, with the permission of the Bushmen, go on special trading visits to obtain copper in the Otavi district of South-West Africa.

Property and Inheritance

The economic life of the band, although in effect it approaches a 421
sort of communism, is really based on the notion of private property.[1]
The only thing owned in common is the land, and even here, as we 423

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 155–6; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 504; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36, 16; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13, 16.

/151 cont./

648 unusually good conscience. In this case he usually is engaged on a messenger's errand. As a messenger serving the Whites, he may even traverse the territory of a hostile group (always on the highway!), without anything happening to him. This is a concession which the Bushmen make to our superiority.

N. Trade, Money Substitutes, Weights and Measures

•438 Trade between friendly groups or settlements is carried on by a fairly small troupe of men and women (a larger troupe would create the suspicion of hostile intentions) going to the settlement with which they want to trade and first laying aside their weapons. Then they ask for permission to enter the settlement.

[619] If two settlements are hostile to each other, which incidentally seems to be the normal state of affairs, women sometimes nevertheless go to the hostile village to trade. Trade is wholly barter.

Despite their primitive nature, these trade relations are territorially very extensive and are carried out through various intermediaries all the way from the Zambezi to the Orange River. It goes without saying that the Auin himself never goes that far.

It appears that in relation to other Bushman tribes the Auin is quite unproductive. For instance, the Kung manufactures the highly valued and profitable ostrich egg chains, and the Noroon [Naron] makes and trades hide clothing and bone arrow points, whereas the Auin appears to be exclusively an intermediary and in this way gains possession of the coveted objects.

I did not get the impression that the Auin trades goods with the express intention of exchanging them further. Rather, it seems that he first acquires the trade items for his own use and later exchanges them again when the opportunity presents itself.

The chief articles of exchange are: salt (from the Noroon), bow and arrow, points for the throwing spear (Makoba), wooden pots, wooden bowls, wooden spoons (apparently from the Ambo or Owakwanguari by way of the northern Hai//um [Heikum]), European store goods from the Aikwe [Naron] of the Chanse Veld.

Within the settlements the following articles are the chief

/151 cont./

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/152 cont./

415 Mortars and pestles, as well as spoons of wood, are made (see Photo. 18).

[287] Painting and bark working are unknown.

The preparation of hides is the same as that practiced by the
171 Hottentot, Herero, Bergdamara, and Betschuana. Hence, I shall
281 dispense with a description of the process.

The women's cosmetic described above is used to dye cloth-
281 ing made of hides. The dye is rubbed on with the ball of the
386 hand and is comparatively waterproof.

To be sure, it is questionable whether this process may be called "dyeing." The hides are already red from the tanning process, and the cosmetic scarcely changes the color. Perhaps it is better regarded as impregnation or greasing.

386 /153/ The colored stones that are pulverized and mixed with
438 fat to make the cosmetic are dug up near Kaitsaub (45 kilometers south of Gobabis) by the Hai//um Bushmen residing there, and they constitute an article of trade. [Fig. 12 appears here.]

The beautiful and durable cordage of the Auin is made of
283 the fiber of a wild agave. It looks so neat and clean that one might suspect its origin to have been in a European rope factory rather than in a Bushman settlement.

The cords are made in various strengths and are used for all kinds of purposes, mainly for the game snares.

Their manufacture is very simple and proceeds very rapidly.

The leaf is softened by tapping with a wooden stick, and it is then placed on a firm base. One hand holds a pointed stick or a blunt knife firmly on the leaf, while the other hand draws the leaf against the vertically held knife and toward the body. After this has been repeated several times, the strong fibers remain and are then rolled together into cords of the thickness and length desired.

Industrial use of Bushman cordage does not seem impossible to me.

412 As a drill, the lance point or an iron knife is used, frequently red-hot.

Only pieces of iron found accidentally are worked. The ex-
325 traction of iron from ore is unknown.

Charcoal made from the giraffe acacia is the preferred fuel
[372] for ironworking.

[Text continues on page 43]

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly 252
disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin
tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups [439]
use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roasted plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of 264
wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make 415
wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some 184
purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except 262
by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco 237
pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups, bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The *|Nu-||ẽin* [184]
and *||Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the *‡Ao-||ẽin* and other tribes living to the north. Articles [438]
made by the former form an important medium of exchange. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it [482]
also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large [415]
animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich egg-shells are used for carrying and storing water and for the [301
manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time 438]
form the most important article of barter among the *|Nu-||ẽin, Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-||om*. Among the most [184
northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red [278]
ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omura* tree, are the 438]
principal media of exchange.

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit 121
me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive communities are surrounded.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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The odds are with the Bantu in the trading. Big, aggressive, and determined to
435 have what they want, they easily intimidate the Bushmen. Several /Kung informants
439 said that they tried not to trade with Herero if it was possible to avoid it because, although the Tswana were hard bargainers, the Herero were worse. /Qui said he had been forced by a Herero whom he was afraid to anger to trade the shirt and pants we had given him as our parting gift in 1952 for a small enamel pan and a little cup. /Ti/kay had more gumption. A Herero at the beginning of a negotiation with him brought out a good-sized pile of tobacco but took from it only a pinch when it was time to pay. /Ti/kay picked up the object he was trading and ran off. ≠Toma said with amused exaggeration that 'a very good Herero, a respectable one, will give a handful of tobacco for five cured steinbok skins. A bad Herero will give a pipeful (he showed the size of his fingernail) for three skins.' The Tswana values are a little better. A well-tanned gemsbok hide brings a pile of tobacco about 14 inches in diameter and about 4 inches high. The values vary. Some that were reported to us were three rooibok, duiker, or steinbok skins for a good-sized knife, five strings of ostrich egg-shell beads for a spear.

The /Kung have become dependent on metal, especially knives, axes, and arrow-
439 points. They have been able to trade enough for every man to have these implements.
[100] They could, however, exist without them and do still use a few bone and wood
[411] arrow-points. Poison makes their arrows deadly, not penetrating power. The pots are Ovambo or Okavango pottery (the /Kung make no pottery themselves) or European ironware. The /Kung like to have a pot around to borrow sometimes; not
[658] everyone wants to carry one. They cook mostly in hot ashes. More for their novelty, I thought, than for their worth, the /Kung trade also for old oddments of cloth garments (they weave neither cloth nor mats), pieces of blankets, basins, &c.—things they do not really need—but which they like.

Tobacco they need 'to make the heart feel better'. Oddly enough for these pas-
276 sionate smokers, tobacco was not given so much emphasis in gift-giving as one might
431 expect. They do make gifts of tobacco, but when anyone lights a pipe he passes it around anyway; all present drag smoke into their lungs until they almost faint and it has not mattered much who owned the tobacco.

302 Eland fat is a very highly valued gift. An eland provides so much fat that people
431

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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office is hereditary. His authority is very slight, and apparently 621
exercised mainly in regulating the movements of the people from [622]
place to place, and in leading in war.

Each band also acts as a unit in its relations with other bands of 619
the same or of neighbouring tribes, and in such relations it is 621
collectively responsible for the actions of any of its members. When
differences arise they are confined to the bands concerned, and not
participated in by the rest of the tribe. Occasionally, it is true, a
weak band may seek and obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour,
but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature.[1]

The band is also the land-owning group. Each band possesses its 423
own hunting territory, to which it is restricted, and exercises authority 621
over and specific rights within this territory only.[2] The members
of the band roam about freely all over their own land, but do not
trespass on their neighbours' territory, although single persons and [438]
small parties may occasionally pay short visits across the border,
mostly for trading purposes. As a result of this territorial segregation
it may often happen that the more widely separated bands of [619]
a tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct contact with
each other.

There are no special boundary marks between the areas occupied
by different hunting bands. The limits of each area are as a rule
defined by various natural landmarks, such as sand dunes, koppies,
river-beds, vleis, springs, or even trees. These are well known to the
people themselves and carefully observed. In some cases the areas
of different bands are separated by neutral zones, formed by belts of [311]
trees, open flats, watercourses, etc. Nobody will venture into these
except during the course of a visit. In particular, however, each
hunting territory is defined by the waterholes in it. These constitute
the real property of the band. The encampments are always erected [361]
near them, all the game on the land around them or drinking at the
water may be hunted only by members of the band, and similarly
only they may gather "veldkos" (wild vegetable foods) in the
vicinity. The infringement of territorial rights in this respect is one [628]
of the main causes of dispute between neighbouring bands, and
almost invariably leads to bloodshed.

[1] The relations between different bands are discussed more fully below in Chapter VI, s.v. "Relations with Other Bands"; vide p. 155

[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 156; Passarge, op. cit., 31–2; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 4; Fourie, "The Bushmen," 85; Lebzelter "Bei den |Kuñ-Buschleuten," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928–9), SitzBer. (12).

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177 439 they are no longer self-sufficient. Contact with other peoples has made them familiar with various articles, especially iron and tobacco, which they now covet very greatly and in order to obtain which they carry on an extensive system of barter. Even within the band itself [437] there is a good deal of barter in such things as meat, clothing, veldkos, and utensils. Berries and roots, for example, are exchanged for tobacco or beads, skin bags for poisoned arrows, and so on. Trading [484] visits to other bands are also frequent. But the most common form of barter is with peoples of other races, especially the Bantu.

439 The 10 Kung of Angola, unlike all the other Bushmen, do not go out into the veld to collect vegetable foods. These are obtained by [184] [222] barter. The younger men hunt, and trade part of the meat and skins obtained for the cereals, maize, potatoes, manioc, etc., of the Bantu among whom they live. Honey and wax are also collected and traded, sometimes with the Bantu for food and tobacco, now and again to Europeans for powder and cartridges. Wax is a good article of trade with Portuguese traders, and the Bushmen are therefore assiduous in collecting it. Besides foodstuffs they also obtain pots and baskets from the Bantu, as well as metal wares such as knives, arrow and spear heads, and beads.[1]

The Bushmen of the Okavango swamps, again, trade ostrich egg-shell beads, ivory, ostrich feathers, skins and horns with the inter-dwelling Bantu in return for tobacco and dagga, as well as iron and such iron goods as spear heads, hoes, and knives; while the Namib Bushmen exchange similar objects with Hottentots and Europeans for blankets, knives, tobacco, and coffee.[2]

Among the North-Western tribes there is a whole system of trade 438 relations between different tribes, extending from the Okavango in the north down almost to the Molopo.[3] In this the Naron and the Auen play the part of intermediaries, obtaining from the tribes further north the objects they desire, and then bartering them again further south as occasion arises. Egg-shell beads and tobacco are standard [436] articles in this trade, in the sense that they can always be bartered and may even be said to have a fixed value. From the Naron the Auen 438 procure skin garments and bags, for the making of which the former 439 are famous, giving them in return wooden pots, dishes, and spoons

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 52–3; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 108.
[2] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland," 701; *idem*, *Die Buschmänner*, 118–19; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.
[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, loc. cit.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 152–3; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37–8.

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made by themselves, and metal pots, spear heads, knives, trade beads, 438
etc., which they obtain through the Heikum from the OvaKwangari 439
and MaMbukushu further north. The Naron to the east trade their skins, and formerly also ivory and ostrich feathers, with the BaTawana to the north-east for tobacco and millet. Ostrich egg-shell beads are bartered to the Bantu by all the Bushman tribes. The Koon at Naosanabis in the south, a branch of the /nu//en, are known to make them especially well, and their beads are always in great demand, passing through the Naron and the Auen to the Bantu tribes further north and east, who pay highly for them. For a chain of these beads passing round the waist the MaMbukushu, for example, give a large basket of millet, the BaTawana a large roll of tobacco, the OvaMbo an iron spear head, and so on. The Naron also trade their skins to Europeans and BeChwana for tobacco, dagga, or trade goods, and the latter, again, they pass on to the Auen.

The extensive scale on which this trade is carried out would seem to imply the existence of regulated trading communications between the different tribes. Unfortunately, there is extremely little information bearing on this point. Markets are apparently not held, the transfer [443]
of goods, as far as can be determined, being effected almost entirely 437
through special trading visits from one group to another. Kaufmann describes the way in which such trading visits are conducted among the Auen. A small number of men and women go to the camp of the band with whom they wish to trade, laying down their weapons beforehand. Permission to enter is then given, and the barter proceeds. He adds that even if two bands are at enmity, as often happens, [114]
women will, nevertheless, go from one to the other in order to trade. This statement, however, needs to be confirmed. Passarge also suggests that the Bantu tribes of this region probably send periodical trading caravans to the different Bushman tribes, and quotes as an illustration the fact that in former times at least the OvaMbo would, with the permission of the Bushmen, go on special trading visits to obtain copper in the Otavi district of South-West Africa.

Property and Inheritance

The economic life of the band, although in effect it approaches a 421
sort of communism, is really based on the notion of private property.[1] 423
The only thing owned in common is the land, and even here, as we

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 155–6; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 504; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36, 16; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13, 16.

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judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury 622
resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. 692
The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a [695]
decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band.
Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the 681
relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kirri or by stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property, assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but self-defence is in no way penalized.

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is 114
difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these 692
Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is 681
no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama [171]
Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, [184]
to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the other Bushman tribes.

Relations with Other Bands

619
Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting 621
territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married [591]
man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also [574]
frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from [438]
one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also find the members of several different bands assembled together for a while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

/139 cont./

372 are made in one of the sticks, and the rounded end of the other stick fits into them. [Figs. 1, 2, and 3 appear here.]

The first stick is placed on the ground and held down with both feet. The other stick is placed with its round end in one of the hollows, and it is twirled as rapidly as possible between the flat palms of the hands. As can be seen in the picture Photo. 19), the hands slide downward during this process, and frequently a second man immediately starts at the top when the hands of the first operator have moved all the way down. A kind of tinder of thoroughly dried birds' nests (weaver bird?) is placed around the bored hole. The fine dust from the twirling begins to smoulder after a few minutes, and the tinder is then fanned to a flame by blowing with the mouth.

[622] The "captain" (aichab) of the settlement sees to it that the fire does not go out. A "sacred" fire does not exist. Keeping the fire from going out is a matter of sheer practicality since twirling to make fire is, after all, fairly strenuous.

354 A few stones, which, incidentally, are not found everywhere in the Kalahari, represent the hearth. In rainy weather cooking is done inside the windscreen.

462 The woman does the cooking while the children help her. In exceptional cases the paterfamilias may busy himself at the cooking fire.

On occasion all the members of a family will go out to get water and wood. Construction of the house is purely woman's work. Bachelors' huts are likewise built by the women of the horde.

415 Wooden cooking pots exist. Supposedly they are obtained
● 439 through barter from the Ambo.

The Auin either carves primitive spoons out of wood himself,
322 or he obtains them through barter from the region of the Ngami
415 [Lake Ngami?]. Frequently special artists at carving are to be
[439] found among the older men. The upper, concave part of a
415 small turtle shell, whose lower, flat side has been cut off, often
[321] serves as a spoon.

These shells are also used as drinking vessels, and, along with hollowed-out tschama, they are the only drinking vessels that I found.

/140 cont./

I spoke with a number of elderly Auin about this, and they
266 were by no means indignant at the suggestion. Their reasoning was approximately the following: "Our parents never told us one should eat human flesh. If other old people were to enjoy it, then we could do it also."

In view of the low cultural level of the Bushmen, the absence of anthropophagy is, in my opinion, very striking.

D. Ornaments and Hairdressing

301 The following ornaments were observed.

Among men:

Neck ring, a thin wooden ring made from the so-called rosinkis bush and tied together to form a circle, decorated with lines scratched on it. Arm rings. Three to 20 simple braided rings (see Photos. 3 and 4). The iron beads probably come from
● [439] the eastern Kaffir tribes. The rings are made from the web of a
[237] tree spider (Stegodyphus dumicola Pocock?). A number of strings are bunched together in a ball, and this is "noodled" with the flat of the hand on the upper thigh into strings of the approximate thickness of a knitting needle. The strings are then wound together in pairs and the ring is closed by "noodling together."

Rings around the wrists. The same rings as those worn on the upper arm. In addition, simple rings three to five millimeters wide, made of game leather, as well as individual rings made of
[439] iron or copper wire. The latter are said to have been bartered from Batauana.

Lower leg. Some men and women wear one or two leather rings directly below the knee on one or both legs. These leather rings are somewhat wider than the leather rings around the wrists (see Photos. 12 and 14).

Among women:

Head ornaments. Various combinations of chains of ostrich egg shells, as shown in Photograph 20. Sometimes only a piece of such a Molentza chain is braided into the hair of the forehead (see Photo. 36, woman dancing on the left). I also found this ornament on one man.

/143 cont./

411 the upper end of the shaft (strips of leather or neck tendons of a large antelope); c, shaft.

/144/ With the exception of the iron point of the throwing lances, all the weapons are manufactured by the Auin themselves. [439] The lance points reach the interior of the Kalahari from Lake Ngami through trade.

411 The lance point (see Fig. 6) is the Bushman's most valuable
435 possession. One hardly ever sees such points in a settlement, even if he comes unannounced, but only the shafts that go with them. In this respect the Bushman is so suspicious that even within the settlement he always hides the points, usually by burying them.

[422] Every adult Auin possesses one or more spears.

411 The iron point is inserted into the wooden shaft somewhat loosely so that it can easily be taken out. The upper end of the shaft is wrapped with a strip of antelope skin or antelope neck tendons. The point also serves as a tool for handwork in place of a knife.

When the lance is carried, for which a leather strap like a [482] rifle sling is used, it is commonly protected by a small leather cover (Photo. 25i). [Fig. 7 appears here.]

The manner of holding the bow and arrow when shooting seems to be fairly arbitrary. I have recorded the most common methods pictorially (see Photos. 29 to 32).

The bowstring is made of animal tendons twisted together. The strings were always pushed up on one side and fastened at the other (see Figs. 7a and 7b).

Composite bows do not exist.

The arrows are made exclusively from reeds which merely need to have grown straight to supply the ready-made arrow shaft. At the upper end, where the loose arrowhead is inserted, and at the bottom, where a simple, ordinary notch is made, the shaft is always wrapped with a flat, narrow grass band. Sometimes places in the middle of the shaft are wrapped. The length of the arrow shaft varies between 48 and 52 centimeters.

Feathered arrows do not occur.

411 The art of making arrows and arrowheads is a common posses-
sion of all adult Auin. There are no special arrow makers.
463 An exception to this is the manufacture of iron arrowheads, which is practiced only by some individuals, usually older persons.

/144 cont./

411 quiver. Sometimes the arrows are in a special quiver made of
[237] eland horn or bark, which is closed off at both ends with a leather cover (see Photos. 29 and 32).

The Auin almost always carries in his quiver a small container like the arrow quiver of eland horn or bark just described, in which he keeps arrowheads, poison, and other small necessities for shooting.

The notched end of the arrow is pulled toward the chest when the bow is drawn.

714 The war cap is to be regarded as the sole battle ornament. It is made of aardwolf hide (see Photo. 21).

H. Hunting and Agriculture

224 Hunting is done both individually and in groups.

Hunting dogs are to be found in occasional, isolated instances,
[231] but then they are usually obtained from the Kaffir or Betschuana.
[439] The Auin maintain, however, that they know how to train hunting dogs. Collars and the like are not customary.

/145/ [Fig. 8 appears here.]

[422] I was unable to discover whether marks of ownership are applied to weapons and the like. On the other hand, I noticed that people immediately recognize their possessions.

There are no closed seasons on hunting.

The Auin prepares a kind of dried meat. Pieces of meat of any
251 length and width are cut very thin (almost transparent) and are dried on trees in the sun. This dried mass, as hard as wood and inedible to a European, keeps for weeks during the dry season. There must be an almost unlimited surplus of meat available, how-
[264] ever, if the Auin is to decide to preserve some, since he is accustomed to stuff himself to the point of unconsciousness. I have seen a single Bushman, without any help, consume a fully grown Klipbok weighing about six kilograms.

224 Undoubtedly there are especially industrious and impassioned huntsmen, as well as the opposite. I found some people who were absolutely useless on the hunt.

[Text continues on page 25]

/148 cont./

628 captivity. Blood vengeance is exacted by the Bushmen for
684 adultery under all circumstances.

J. Luxuries

276 Tobacco, which is exclusively an imported product, is
[439] greatly coveted. A pipe of tobacco is the Auin's greatest pleasure. [Fig. 10 appears here.]

Taking snuff is unknown.

Everybody smokes, including little children.

The Auin manufacture a tobacco pipe (see Fig. 10) from a
324 soft red stone (serpentine) which supposedly is found only at the watering place Korikas. Indeed, immediately above the source, one does find a kind of modest quarry there.

/149/ A fragment of this stone is conically hollowed out with a lance point or an iron knife and then shaved down on the outside toward the hollow until the wall is about two to four millimeters thick. This pipe resembles an ordinary conical cigar
276 tip. A wadding made from the nest of the weaver bird (?) prevents the tobacco from falling out.

Occasionally one will also see a pipe plug or cleaner which usually is made of rosinkis wood without the bark and is attrac-
[531] tively decorated with a kind of pyrography. The decoration consists of lines and dots scratched in with a red-hot needle. The hairline precision of the lines is particularly striking.

The pipe plug (see Fig. 11) is worn around the neck on a chain of glass beads or on a leather belt (see also Photo. 1, the second man from the right).

The Auin only occasionally receives tobacco, either from
[439] the Whites when he performs services for them as a messenger,
[648] guide, and the like, or from Kaffirs employed by Whites, who exchange it for veld food.

Hemp or dacha of the Kaffirs (haium of the Auin).

Hemp is smoked in the ordinary tobacco pipes with equal passion by men and women.

I did not see anyone who had become ill from smoking hemp. The Auin themselves were only aware that its enjoyment sometimes produces nausea.

276
531

Fig. 11. Pipe Plug. One-half natural size
[as shown in the original].

An example of Auin decoration.

The design is scratched on the wood with a needle; the dots are pricked in.

a, hole for a string
a^1, side view
b b, long part
c, point
d, side view of the point

The Bushman second from the right in Photo. 1 is wearing the pipe plug around his neck.

276
●439 The hemp is cultivated by the Kaffir in Oas, by the Betschuana in Chanse Veld, and probably also by White farmers. The Auin acquire it through barter.

249 The Auin maintain, furthermore, that they are capable of growing hemp themselves. This "cultivation" is done in the following manner: in soft sandy soil a circular area, 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter, is surrounded by a little dam a few centimeters high. Using one finger, ten to 15 holes are made in the area surrounded by the dam, and a hemp seed is placed in each hole. The "seedbed" is then kept well under water.

/152 cont./

804 reflective and sly facial expression is exactly the same as ours.

O. Techniques

●439 511 A definite domestic industry is present. Whatever the Auin really needs, he is able to manufacture for himself. All imported objects are luxury items. I make an exception in the case of the iron lance points, but I believe that if necessary the Bushman could even do without them.

463 The beginnings of a division of labor can be seen in the fact that only certain individuals practice the smith's trade, which, incidentally, does not extend to the manufacture of lance points.

323 Pottery is unknown.

439 Pots, supposedly from the Okovangga, are to be found sporadically. The Auin, however, is unable to repair such a vessel, as by puttying.

285 Rings of braided grass are manufactured. I myself have never seen them, since they are only made of young, but no longer green grass, in other words, shortly after the rainy season.

[294] It is said that at the same time of year certain special artists braid hat-like head coverings.

The grass rings and hats have only a limited durability, for in September and October there was none left for me to see.

[415] Sieves are made of parallel grass leaves joined together by thin strings. They are used to strain food.

"Kirris" are made with attractive decorations (Fig. 12).

413 A root stock with a knotty end is peeled and made smooth.
531 A kind of pyrography is practiced on it by wrapping it, leaving bare spaces, with a long strip of the wet bark that was peeled off, and then placing the entire stick in red-hot coals. The unwrapped parts burn to a black color, while the other parts remain white.

I could not learn the purpose of these decorated sticks among the Auin. They use rough, pointed sticks for digging sticks. The kirris, therefore, seem to be luxury articles.

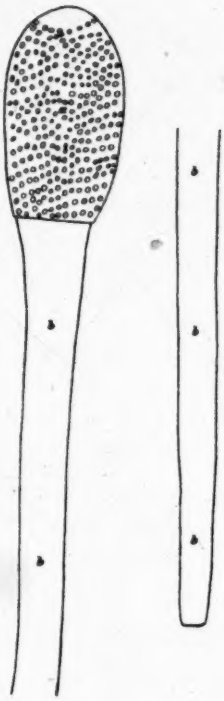
412 Iron knives, sharpened pieces of iron, or lance points are used as tools. As an example of pyrography, see the pipe plug, page 33.

/153 cont./

411
412

Fig. 12. Club. One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].

[177]

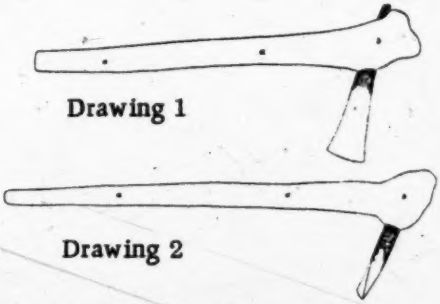


The club is an exceedingly rare imitation of a Makobe club and made by the Auin themselves.

a, knob of the club, showing burned-on decoration.

b b, handle.

Fig. 13. Ax. One-quarter natural size [as shown in original text].



Drawing 1. Ax with perpendicular edge:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

Drawing 2. Ax with horizontal blade:
a a, wooden handle; b, root knot; c, iron tip.

[439] The iron blades are obtained in trade from Makoba.

[6 cont.]

101 account refers only to the latter.

821 [7] The sky is designated by them as !nanu áiba Éroba Kharésa ("rain house of god").

776 For god they have the expressions "Erob" and "χ'amab."
775 only "Erob" is used in prayers. χ'amab (1) has been preserved

1. χ indicates a very low gutteral click, for which I know of no notation.

in χ'amá //gu Khe = "people who are with god, " in other words, the souls of the deceased in heaven. Everyone goes there, the good as well as the bad. Erob has no wife and no children. A human being has only one soul (!gau-ba). This soul goes to the heavenly house and remains there "until Erob makes new people from it." Here is a belief in the transmigration of souls, which, it must be admitted, is not thought through any further.

No spirits of the dead remain on earth. There are little
776 bush spirits, the gangorob; they are harmless and do nothing. There are no evil little spirits. They supposedly know nothing about Heiseb and /Nawa.

136 The supply of game is ample in the tall dry forests of the Otjimpolo Veld. There are also fish in the rainy season. The
[825] Bushmen call them "shiba" (Ovambo: oshi or ochi); in other words, originally they had no word for them.

224 The Bushmen are helpless against the lion (χ'oréba).
[825] They leave a region as soon as lions make it unsafe. "There is no point in hunting them."

The leopard (χ'nába) is hunted with dogs (ariba). The
[439] chiefs of Amboland pay a good price for the skin, since little princes and princesses are not carried in a litter made of cowhide, but in a leopard skin. The jackal (≠Khai-eba) and the Löffelhund (//arúba) [a fox-like wild dog of the subfamily Octocyoninae] are hunted with enthusiasm. "Aruba" probably corresponds to N. //arob = striped jackal.

Wild dogs, "Khere," !nube (N. !goub) are preferably
[825] avoided. No notice is taken of the hyena, ≠Khai-lasa (N. ≠heirab),
[262] and it is not eaten. When they come near the camp, it is not a
[787] good sign.

[8 cont.] HENCE THE RULE IS THAT THE WEDDING AND THE GIRLS
585 initiation coincide, and usually the girl moves to the village of
881A her first husband immediately after the completion of the festivi-
[591] ties.

584 When a man is courting, he must first attempt to obtain the consent of the girl. Once he has succeeded, he goes to the girl's parents. If they also give their consent, the engagement is settled. At this point, all communication is interrupted until the bridegroom appears and says to the girl's parents: "I want to have the wedding now." If the parents agree, they go to their relatives to spread the happy news. If the relatives object, they can still prevent the marriage. If they do not, the date of the wedding feast is fixed. In the bush, the bridegroom must bring the bride's parents a piece of big game. Usually people make matters
439 simpler for themselves. Either they have already earned a head
584 of cattle from a black farmer, and this stands ready in the farmer's
648 herd to be fetched for the wedding feast, or -- and this is more
452 common -- the Bushman will begin a begging tour around the black farmyards until someone gives him a cow as an advance on hides to be supplied later or on work to be performed.

452 And miraculously, this always succeeds. It is to be ex-
648 plained on various grounds. A black farmer, whose worst character traits include avarice and greed, would never give another Black who possesses nothing one of his dearly beloved cows on the strength of uncertain promises. And not unjustly. The next day the cow would have disappeared into the stomachs of the borrower and his friends, and on the day after that the borrower would have disappeared beyond the tribal boundaries. Repeatedly the Bushmen came to my camp too late. But from the Ukuanjama I always received the assurance: "The Bushmen will keep their word; they will certainly come if they are alive." In addition to this, of course, there is the symbiosis. Each village has its
[437] Bushmen. During the period of the harvest they suddenly appear
[9] and help with it. Between times they never miss a celebration, and at one time or another this one comes with hides and another with honey. And finally the chiefs of the Bushmen kin
[622] groups see to it that nothing happens to injure the reputation of
[674] the Bushmen. It is unheard of for these people to commit theft.

[9 cont.]

805 shauba, cold season (N. sáob).

!kn-aba, hot season (N. !nái, warm).

535 Among dances, an ostrich and an ape dance were mentioned to me.

123 The studies, which began so promisingly, came to an end because I was evidently unable to present the village chief with enough presents. One evening a boy appeared and told me that the Bushmen had "had to go hunting." I continued to wait a number of days for the !Kung called by Mr. Eaddes. The messengers returned with the news that they had found no one. Another Sunday coat for the village mayor and some yellow money for the Bushmen, and priceless material could have been obtained.

[10] Chapter 3

The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of the Ondonga [Ndonga]

173 According to their tradition, these Bushmen came from Herero country. Hence they represent the connecting link between the "Saan" in the Gobabis district and the Hei//om [Heikum] of the north. The people as a whole designate them-
101 selves as Daman = the wealthy. The horde around Oshigambo calls itself //Huru-Khái. They call their dialect Cháraba. I do not be-
131 lieve that they live far in the interior of the Otjimpolo Veld. They have an enormous respect for the !Kung. The outermost cattle posts of the Ondonga probably coincide pretty much with
172 the boundaries of their territory. A number of them are Bantu-
143 ized and have small physiques. The others engage in hunting
● 439 and supply the black farmers with the flesh of wild game, hides,
648 ostrich egg beads, and poison. They serve as beaters on the great hunts of Chief Martin. At the court they count for nothing. The farmers like to see them. Little acts of assistance, a sack of berries or veldkost, soften the heart of the black housewife, so that here, as in Uukualuthi [among the Kualuthi?], there are a number of do-nothings who are nonetheless gladly received.

[12 cont.]

000
439 occupation. Even among the nomadic groups, however, meat, hides, and so forth are commonly traded for millet.

Also, the Blacks like to have veldkost on their table,
[222] and the Bushmen, like our sponge and berry gatherers, use their knowledge to supply them and carry on petty trade with their veldkost, as well as with honey.

222 This is the reason that veldkost, which is either scarce
137 or not very tasty, is not gathered at all any more; indeed, the knowledge of its presence is even disappearing. We must also not forget that the black shepherd boys long ago acquired the knowledge of the Bushmen by observing them. As a result, the number of those interested has naturally climbed sharply, and the veldkost plants have become rare. The following kinds are still regularly gathered:

222 /airoba (ombimbo) Sweetish, very starchy tubers, like large potatoes.
/érui (omauungǎ) Galls on the leaves of the omsati tree.
≠gan-i (esarata) Small fruit.
!Khui-i (oombi) Dates.
!Korob-ke (oompali) Bulbs at the roots of a liana.

251 Dried meat is made from kudu flesh, which in part is
439 kept and in part sold.

278 [13] Arrow poison is made from the sap of a tree (Euphorbiacea), !Khores-Ke. The Ondonga themselves make no
[439] arrow poison, but buy it from the Bushmen for one to two sh per
752 portion. There is no medicine against arrow poison. Deep incisions are made at the place where the arrow entered, and after blood has flowed freely from the wound, it is sucked. In the case of snakebite the same procedure is followed, and some arrow poison is placed on the wound (!!!).

278 Our Bushmen denied any knowledge of poisons added to
609 food. Only the "evil Bushmen" in the east had such knowledge, they claimed. This statement scarcely deserves credence.

177 In clothing, dwellings, and weapons, as well as ornaments, not much that is original remains. The process of Bantuization is much further advanced in the material culture than in the spiritual culture. It is, after all, easier to part with clothing than with ideas.

[13 cont.]

Chapter 4

The Bushmen of Ukuambi

115 At an outpost of the Finnish Ukuambi Mission, where I undertook anthropological measurements, I encountered a Bushman from the hordes that live on the northern bank of the Etosha Pan and stand in a loose dependent relationship partly with Ipumbo, partly with Shanika. I was able to converse with him only a few hours.

101 These Bushmen in Ukuambi, as well as at other places, belong to the Ezimo of the Akuanambua. They themselves are [614] divided into a number of exogamous kin groups. My informant belonged to the clan Ari-Ari. The tribe calls itself Akese or Kere and comes from the region between Okaukuejo and Outjo. Today this tribal organization is broken up. The following names -- formerly independent hordes which now live mixed together -- were mentioned to me: /Aru-Kwe, Ashuche, Asécha, !Kuru-Kwei, A !Kha-ta-bé, A-Hei-tére, A !gnuri.

648 Insofar as these Bushmen do not already lead the life of the Bantu farmers, they are hunters, spies, and occasionally also executioners for the chiefs. They manufacture ostrich egg beads [+39] and poison. For twelve good ostrich eggs they receive a fat ox. The Ovambo have quite a peculiar outlook in this respect. They spurn the perfectly good eggs of their hens. The ordinarily somewhat "disreputable" ostrich eggs are purchased for dear money as a delicacy.

611 The sons belong to the family of the father, the daughters to that of the mother. The men are not allowed to eat hares, 262 but the women and children do. The eating of hyenas and boa constrictors is prohibited to all.

776 Concerning their religious conceptions I was able to discover the following: In the sky dwells the great captain !Khuwa, which means the same as Huwe. In answer to the question about God, however, he stated that this was Erob, which naturally coincides with the name for God, Ellob, of the Rhenish Mission. The name !Khuwa only occurred casually in the conversation. He was unable to give a clear answer to my question as to whether

/18 cont./

134 The ground is covered with red sand (fox sand), which in the thorn bush areas changes to a firm, grayish-yellow; perhaps argillaceous sand. Chalk cliffs and other rocks are completely lacking. The Kaudum bed is perpetually covered with dense green grass. The sand pans have humous sand; only in the northeast near Schamatura is a peat-like swampy soil to be found with red, strongly ferruginous water. Forest fires are the order of the day, but they do little damage to the tree growth."

133 South of the Omuramba u Owambo there is a fairly large
134 number of limestone pans, which in part still contain water but are mostly dried up. The land there is drying up rapidly, according to both the Bushmen and the Europeans. During the rainy season the clayey soils are swampy, and at that time the
[136] dense bush forest is filled with myriads of mosquitoes, and
[164] malaria claims its victims from all races. The unhealthy situa-
648 tion, the difficulty of getting workers, and the irregularity of the rainfall have led to the abandonment of most of the farms outside Grootfontein, so that the Bushmen have actually gained ground there. The !Kung Bushmen outside the police zone live entirely according to their old customs and traditions. The in-
[578] dividual kin groups are in part hostile to one another. A kind
[619] of hereditary feud exists with the Hei//om, who are often attacked because of the women. The !Kung live on good terms with the farms along the northern boundary (Duwib, Keitsas, Keibeb, Kuntsas, Neitsas, Foxhof). Many of them work there for
[464] certain periods of time, and quite a few permanently; in particular, they like to let women and children work on the farms.
[177] Mr. Cleark, the owner of Keibeb, has trained a large number of
[439] them to make charcoal. These Bushmen make the charcoal out in the wilderness and deliver it. It is then resold to the mottramite mine in Abenab. Until the establishment of the police zone, a perpetual state of war existed between the police and the Bushmen. There are constant battles between the Herero of Otjituo and the !Kung because of livestock thefts. The Herero attack the Bushmen on horseback and kill them from the saddle with the kirri.

The Bushmen, who are not accustomed to shooting at rapidly moving targets, usually come out the losers. Like the

[36 cont.]

Cooking and Cooking Utensils

354 Lumps of surface limestone are generally used as hearthstones.
412 Here and there, as a great rarity, one finds a pounding stone of quartzite.

To pound the veldkost, small mortars, carved out of wood, with conical or hemispherical bottoms are used. In case the mortars become damaged, holes are made on either side of the crack, and the flaw is drawn together with bast strips and also smeared over with resin. The shape of the pestle, which is from 50 centimeters to one meter long, is shown in Figure 7.

415 Originally these !Kung had no pots and probably had no
[252] way of boiling anything. The usual manner of preparing food even today is to roast and grill it on and between hot stones. Nowadays,
[431] every horde owns a number of pots acquired from the Okawango.
[482] These pots have bast or tendon plaiting around them, by which they are fastened when carried on the march. The Okawango people
[439] gladly exchange these water pots, which they have carried with them on the waterless stretch, for food from the Bushmen in the area between Karakowisa and Nuragas.

416 Small cast-iron tripods are a very popular article. A
417 longish, crudely carved stirring stick, as well as a piece of hardwood for arranging the fire, completes the inventory of the Bushman kitchen. Spoons are unknown.

Clothing

291 The clothing of the woman, as has already been repeatedly described, consists of a front apron and a back apron, made of soft leather, and a leather cloak something like a pelerine. Usually she also has a carrying hide for the baby. Generally, the child does
[854] not sit on her back, as among the Blacks, but on the side of her hip.
[415] In addition, the woman has the large veld bag in which she keeps the
[412] finds from her collecting. On the march, the woman is equipped with the simple digging stick, pointed at the bottom.

The men are clothed only with the modesty apron and in addition

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the 293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 • They do not want European blankets. They catch fire 291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re- [123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having [124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in [412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess [325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in [439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that, [531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead embroidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich 301 egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are [321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence [556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are [462] [306] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of [302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to LENGTHEN THEM.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire. [40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by
[439] the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be-
[422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should
[304] be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out
177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked
415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are
278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen.
805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions;
211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary.
[614] To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so
[888] great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements
[623] between the chief and the other old men.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 25]

[76 cont.]

411 The little bow (!naru) is made from the //ne bush and is
(192) much shorter than that of the !Kung. The arrow and the arrow point are called tschi. They have arrows with iron points like the !Kung, as well as others made of bone. The accompanying figures show the two types, which have already been sufficiently described by other authors. The arrow points found in older collections, on which the poison is applied not only at the tip but also in lines or dots of little lumps on the contact piece, are now no longer in use. The bows of the Naron are also small, and they likewise have two kinds of arrows. The arrow shafts are made of reed, which is used only in a few places. In addition, all these tribes have root-stock clubs. Spears (kuku) are bartered
439 from the Ovambo in exchange for ostrich egg beads. Bleek
231 writes [77] of the Naron that formerly they had no dogs at all, and Kaufmann reports that the ≠Auin have very few dogs. The Nogau had all kinds of mongrels, but none of any peculiar strain. Two animal stories should be told in this connection:

539 1. A large bird killed a duiker. Then the hyena came and took the duiker. The hyena met the jackal. The jackal said: "Hyena, you should not go where you want to go, otherwise bad things will happen to you!" But the hyena went anyway, and the great bird (!gui) came and tied the hyena's feet together and made a fire by its feet. Since then the hyena has black legs and dares not kill anything living. But the jackal also went stealing, whereupon the great bird seized him and held him with his back to the fire; since then it has a black stripe across its back.

2. The lion came to the watering place; then the frog came out of the water and mocked the lion. The latter wanted to kill the frog, but only scratched it on its back; the frog quickly jumped into the water again, but since then it has black stripes on its back. [Fig. 27 appears here.]

10. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The clothing of the man consists of the cap, made from the hide of the jackal, the jumping hare, or the duiker, and the loincloth, sandals, and the hide bag. In general the clothing of these Bushmen is not essentially different from that of the Bushmen

[77 cont.]

291 [301] in the north, but they have far more ostrich egg pearls.

11. Weapons

The ≠Auin have the throwing lance; the digging stick is 411 occasionally also used for striking and as a throwing club. The [439] lance points are bartered from Ngami Lake. The upper end of the shaft is bound with a strip of antelope skin or tendons. The shaft tapers off toward the end. The lance points are distinguished as male and female. The male points have blunt barbs. The points are often provided with a leather cap. The lance points also serve as a knife and universal instrument. The spear points are kept well hidden. Among the Naron, spears 411 439 are very rare today; they are obtained from Ovamboland in exchange for chains of ostrich egg beads. The same is true of the Nogau, who, however, obtain their spear points in part from the Ovambo and in part from the Okawango by way of the !Kung.

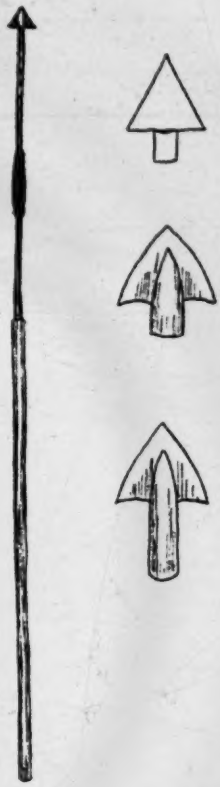


Fig. 27. Arrows of the Nogau.

The bow of the ≠Auin is small; 411 the string is twisted out of animal [283] tendons and is pushed up on one side and fastened on the other. The arrows are made of reed. At the bottom of the shaft there is a shallow notch, and the end is wound with grass. Similarly, we find a notch at the upper end where the point is inserted. The length of the arrow shaft is from 48 to 52 centimeters. The points are made either of iron or bone; in the latter case ostrich bones are used. The bone arrowhead is pointed at both ends, one of which is inserted

[79 cont.]

224 water or Brak (salt) place and is prevented from turning off the track by thorn branches placed on either side of the worn track, steps on the little stick lying just below the ground, which moves it out of position and releases the end of the little transverse stick. The string, having lost its hold, releases the bent tree, which snapping back, tightens the noose around the leg of the game and holds the animal imprisoned until the Bushman brutally kills it with a number of blows of his kirri, which is carved out of hard
223 wood. For various kinds of fowl, doves, etc., the Bushman prepares similar slings with thinner string, which are set up in the same way except that the sling is not placed on the ground but is held two or three centimeters above the ground by means of little sticks planted in a circle. In the center of the circle, on a little stick loosely covered with sand, there are a few maize kernels or berries. When the bird picks them up, he moves the little stick out of position and finds his neck in the sling. -- As household
415 implements among the Kalahari Bushmen, in addition to the hollow
237 ostrich eggs used to carry water, I found water sacks made from the inner peritoneum of an animal, not unlike a pig's bladder; these water sacks are closed with a short stick and leather string.
[312] The ostrich eggs also serve the Bushmen as artificial watering places in the dry stretches of the water-poor steppe regions, in which a number of them are hidden under the sand.

415 "Among the other household utensils of the Bushmen, I also found flat, wooden vessels, wooden mortars, and earthen pots of various sizes. The wooden vessels, which are completely different from those of the Herero, are, according to their own state-
[439] ments, obtained in trade from their northern neighbors. The earthen pots likewise are not made by the Bushmen themselves. In form they are somewhat reminiscent of the wooden Omeira pots of the Herero and, as a Herero half-breed declared and demon-
600 strated to me, are manufactured in the following manner. A lump of soft and thoroughly kneaded clay is spread out over the naked, moistened knee, so that first of all it assumes the form of the knee. The calf of the leg must be pressed to the thigh in order to obtain the correct shape. Then the clay is carefully taken off, and the shape of the vessel is improved and perfected by kneading it with the fingers. Finally simple decorations are scratched into it with a

/255 cont./

281 The hair is removed from the hides. After the skinning, the hides are stretched out on the ground for two days, exposed to the sun; then the hair is removed, and subsequently the juice of a red tuber is rubbed into the hides on the inside. After they have been prepared in this manner, they are buried in the ground for a longer period of time and are then ready for use.

291 Not infrequently the Bushmen wear sandals which they cut from antelope hide in the simplest manner imaginable. A leather sole is fastened with three thongs to a leather ring lying over the instep and drawn tight below the ankle. One thong runs between the first and the second toe, while the two others run inside and outside the foot.

301 The children go about quite naked. Despite this sparseness of clothing, the feeling for ornamentation finds full expression.

Many ornamental objects serve as amulets which are worn for a great variety of purposes. The women are more richly adorned than the men. Whereas the latter frequently content themselves with arm rings made of antelope leather, the women are usually overloaded with ornamental objects. One of the favorite women's ornaments is a necklace made of ostrich egg shells. The shells [321] are worked into small, approximately penny-sized circular disks which are pierced in the middle and strung on a leather thong. Arm and leg rings are made of the same materials.

In place of the little ostrich egg disks, colored glass beads obtained in trade are frequently used for necklaces and arm rings. [439] One sees many a woman walking along with a tortoise-shell box hanging on her chest, /256/ which is decorated with bead-studded leather strips and used as a container for tobacco.

Pierced pieces of root, distinguished by natural rings notched at regular intervals, are strung on leather thongs for necklaces.

224 301 I found the following ornamental objects which simultaneously served the function of an amulet:

1. Little pieces of dried antelope flesh are worn on the chest in the belief that the wearer will not lack meat to eat so long as he wears these guarantees.

2. The same significance is attached to dried antelope ears which are worn in a small leather bag on the chest.

/257 cont./

301 people that I did not find among the Heikum. The Kung of the Kaukau Veld had rings braided from wildebeest tail hairs as arm and neck ornaments, and had made similar arm and leg rings from twisted grass. Furthermore they wore strings of twisted bast criss-crossed over the chest in considerable numbers. In addition, in the Kaukau Veld I found neck rings of dried and braided antelope tendons and, in larger numbers than among the Heikum, copper, [439] brass, and iron rings. The latter are obtained by the Kung Bushmen of the Kaukau Veld through trade with the Ovambo [Ambo] and Betschuana [Tswana] in exchange for ostrich eggs and antelope hides.

415 Like their clothing, the house furnishings of the Bushmen are also very simple and quickly enumerated.

Wooden pans of various sizes, without handles, are generally found in every hut. For the pounding of food, the Bushmen use a cylindrical, mortar-like wooden vessel with thick walls and a [412] very strong bottom. A heavy staff about 30 centimeters long and four centimeters thick is used for pounding.

352 For chairs, they use wooden stools which by European standards are absurdly small. They consist of two circular wooden disks scarcely the size of a hand and joined by two wooden rods. They stand about ten centimeters high.

412 There are plenty of axes in the villages. They consist of small iron blades attached to thick wooden handles. The shape of the axe shows that the value of the iron necessitates frugal use of this valuable metal. The force of the blow, which in the case of European axes is produced by the weight of the iron part, is achieved by the Bushmen through a club-like enlargement of the wooden handle near the end of the axe. Side by side with axes that have a longitudinally-placed cutting edge, one also finds axes with a transverse cutting edge.

A common tool is the knife for removing hair from animal skins. This knife consists of a short, transverse iron blade imbedded in a wooden handle.

276 There are various kinds of tobacco pipes. The Bushmen, who find a leaf tobacco in the bush throughout the year, are experts at making an improvised pipe bowl from a root tubercle in the shortest possible time. Large pipes made of the end of a kudu horn

/257 cont./

276 that has been cut off are very popular. The cut surface of the end of the horn is pressed to the mouth, and the smoke is sucked into the lungs in a deep draught. Very frequently simple cartridges are used as primitive, but nevertheless serviceable tobacco pipes. [439] Clay pipes, which are not uncommon in the Kaukau Veld, are imported from the Betschuana.

/258/ A common kitchen utensil is a large, flat wooden 415 spoon with a bent handle, which, however, is not used to place food in the mouth, but only to fill vessels. The Bushmen eat with [264] their fingers; they drink their soups from the communal wooden bowl and polish up the rest with a crooked index finger and by licking it out with the tongue.

As pots they use pumpkin [melon?] vessels bound with leather [482] thongs and carried over the shoulder on sticks.

As a special display object in many a hut one finds a large clay vessel with strong walls and decorated with white bands that [439] have been notched into it. This vessel is imported from the Ovambo.

The tools for firemaking command special interest. The 372 Bushman is acquainted with two, the dáni and the //oro.

The dáni (dǂ = fire) consists of two wooden sticks, each about 40 centimeters long. The rounded-off end of the one stick fits into a pan-like cavity at the end of the other stick. The edge of the pan is provided with a little opening through which the glowing wood that has been rubbed to tinder can be emptied onto a smooth stone during the fire-twirling. The Bushman can make fire with this tool in less than half a minute.

The other firemaking device known to the Bushmen is the [439] //oro, a flint with striking ring and tinder box, imported from the Betschuana.

A tool that in addition to its use in leather working also serves 412 medical purposes is a pointed iron needle about 20 centimeters long and three millimeters thick, carried in a narrow leather sheath by almost every male Bushman. The needle is used with great skill [752] for the removal of thorns from the skin, an operation which the Bushman naturally must frequently demand of his medicine man.

In addition to the above-mentioned hunting implements, the 482 game snare and game hook, I was shown a wooden staff, approximately one and a half meters long and worked with some skill, which is used for carrying game over the shoulder,

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly 252
disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin
tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups [437]
use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roast-
ed plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or
porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on
a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of 264
wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make 415
wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or
tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some 184
purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except 262
by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it
comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are
generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild
Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the
case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not
suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and
eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco 237
pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game
on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups,
bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The *|Nu-||ĕin* [184]
and *||Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the
ǂAo-||ĕin and other tribes living to the north. Articles [438]
made by the former form an important medium of exchange.
The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows
and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it [482]
also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari
groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft
and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich
and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into
knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into
spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during
the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required
for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large [415]
animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for
collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich egg-
shells are used for carrying and storing water and for the [301
manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time 438]
form the most important article of barter among the *|Nu-||ĕin*, *Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-||om*. Among the most [184
northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red [278]
ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omura* tree, are the 438]
principal media of exchange.

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit 121
me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious
beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive
communities are surrounded.

The Bushmen are one of the most primitive peoples living 105
on earth. Although most of their groups own some metal objects, Bushmen do not smelt or forge metal, but get it in trade [325
from their Bantu neighbors. They use soft metal in the mak- 439]
ing of a few tools such as knives, arrowheads, and little axes, cold-hammering the metal into shape themselves. Bushmen make the other tools they use from wood and bone, grass and fiber, the things of the veld. They dig roots and pick berries [222]
to eat because they have no crops. The desert is too dry for anything but desert plants to grow naturally, and Bushmen, who quickly consume all the wild food available in one place, cannot stay anywhere long enough to tend crops or wait for them to grow.

There is not enough water to water livestock, and for this [231]
reason Bushmen have no domestic animals. Most of their groups do not even have dogs. Instead of herding, Bushmen hunt wild antelope with tiny arrows, sometimes made of soft, [224-
traded metal, sometimes made of bone, and poisoned with a 278]
terrible poison extracted from a certain grub, a poison which affects the nervous system of a creature and which is so deadly that an antelope shot early in the morning with a single arrow well placed in the body dies within the day. Hunting is very difficult, for travel in the veld is thirsty and rigorous and the antelope are clever, but as often as not the Bushmen hunters shoot one and then they use it all. Most of the meat is dried [251]
to preserve it, causing it to last at least a few weeks, but sooner or later every last bite of it is eaten, even the mucous lining of the nostrils and the gristle inside the ears. They [262]
sometimes eat the hide, sometimes work it into leather to use for clothing, and if the antelope bones are not all [281]
cracked for the marrow, pieces are worked into arrow points to shoot another antelope.

In order to live as they do, Bushmen must travel through 105
361

[151] that marks an edible root, or see a scorpion hidden in the dust
174 and jump over it. So Bushmen survive in the most rigorous places; they survive in the dense, mosquito-ridden papyrus
131 swamps of the Okovango River, steaming like a jungle and
133 dangerous with snakes and fever, where the River Bushmen
[184] live, the only Bushmen with plenty of water; they also survive on the vast, rolling steppes of central Bechuanaland, the territory of the Gikwe Bushmen, who for the nine dry months of the year have no water at all and do without it.

609 Besides the fact that Bushmen alone can live in the land
563 they occupy, there is another reason for their remoteness and
648 shyness. They are in many instances exploited by the Bantu farmers, and by a few of the European farmers, usually those who need free or almost free labor. Many Bantu farms and households have Bushman servants, or serfs, rather, as they usually come from the land on or near the farm, and when working they are paid nothing but are given food, tobacco,
464 and sometimes cast-off clothing as wages. Some European
648 farms in Bechuanaland and some in South-West Africa have Bushman laborers too, though most European farmers do not depend on Bushman labor. Those European farmers who do employ Bushmen usually pay wages, about ten shillings a month, plus a ration of food to each Bushman who is working, though not necessarily to his family, consisting of about a pound of cornmeal and a quart of milk a day, meat occasionally, and weekly a ration of tobacco. Perhaps the employer will add a set of clothing—that is, a pair of cast-off pants and a shirt—and perhaps a blanket every year, but occasionally they pay their labor in cast-off clothing and omit the ten shillings altogether.

648 European clothing is esteemed among Bushmen, for it is
291 symbolic to them of a people mightier than themselves, and
439

also because, made of cloth instead of leather, it is more cling- 648
ing, therefore warmer and more comfortable, and dries faster 291
when wet. It is sought after and desired, it is got through em- 439
ployment; yet, even so, Bushmen hesitate to seek employment because they believe that they will be badly treated (as they sometimes are) and they often find the customary wage and food ration to be inadequate for anyone who must support a family. Supposedly, the wives of Bushmen laborers are [222
free to look on the farmer's land for roots and berries, as they 465]
would if they were living in the veld; but, as it happens, after a few years the supply of wild food around a farm becomes exhausted.

The Bantu farmers, being as a rule much poorer than the 648
European farmers, are less generous to their Bushman serfs. 464
They also give a food ration of cornmeal and milk but almost never meat, for any meat that may come into the Bantu kraal is eaten by the Bantus unless it is the carcass of a hyena or a leopard which the Bantu masters have killed for the pelt. The Bantus say: "Our Bushman servants are like our children; they herd our cattle for us and we feed them. A child does not ask for wages when he helps with the family work."

Besides this, the Bantus badly cheat the Bushmen who come in from the veld to trade cured antelope hides for metal and tobacco, sometimes asking several hides, worth several pounds apiece, for enough tobacco to fill the palm of the Bushman's hand, or for a piece of wire long enough to make an arrowhead. All in all, it does not benefit the Bushmen to 609
live anywhere near Bantu or European settlements, and that 648
is why the Bushmen of the veld run and hide when they see Europeans coming, believing that they may be taken by force (as they sometimes are), and why they avoid going to a Bantu settlement except to trade for tobacco when they feel

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

825 mash the insides, then pull off the head and squeeze the in-
278 sides out like toothpaste from a tube. Both kinds of poison are equally good, they say.

Perhaps the two types of pupae are the pupae of two different kinds of beetles. Perhaps they are from the same beetle but in different stages of development. Perhaps they really are males and females, as Bushmen are often scientifically
[821] accurate, but, as Bushmen also have male and female rain clouds, perhaps not.

[439] Kung Bushmen, who use metal arrows obtained by trading
824 animal skins for wire with the Bantus, have a complicated
825 system of poisoning in which they use several ingredients for
278 the poison paste. One of these is a binding fluid, used because the pure poison squeezed from the grub will not adhere well to metal but must be made binding and sticky. The binding material comes from the bark of a tree. They chew
[415 the bark thoroughly and spit the mash into a little mortar
237] made from the knee bone of an antelope, a nice little cup, into which the Bushmen have squeezed the milky juice of sansevieria plants, got by wringing the heavy, thick leaves. This juice has an irritating effect when it is dissolved in a wound and causes the antelope to rub and scratch its wounded spot against a tree, which stimulates circulation in the area, which carries the poison more quickly through the body, which hastens death.

The paste in the mortar is thoroughly mixed, then smeared with a straw on the foreshaft of arrows, never on the head, for if the sharp edges of the head were poisoned any child might accidentally nick himself and die. When the arrow is poisoned it is propped up by a fire and the poison is allowed to dry into a shiny dark paste, to be melted again by the
411 moisture and warmth of an antelope's flank.
825
278 Gai had stored his poison cocoons in a tiny bag inside his

SEATED YOUTH, above, enjoys a smoke as his companions make characteristic !Kung gesture—arm outstretched—to show they also with a turn with the pipe. Because the !Kung crave tobacco, but grow none, they must trade for it—often disastrously—with the Bantu peoples on the borders of *Nyae Nyae*.

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439
261

[P. 78]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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FIG. 21. Gao Beard hammers out a spear blade. His young second wife sits composedly beside him at the family fire. She did not build a scherm for Gao when they settled this time. The upright sticks around their grass bed serve to symbolize home. The object which looks like a club behind Gao is an adze handle. His fire scraper lies in front of him

516

FIG. 22. A man cooking meat in a Bantu clay pot (obtained by trade)

[415] [439]

FIG. 23. Smoking a soapstone pipe

276
142

FIG. 24. Old Demi, grey-haired, is in his seventies. We figured his age roughly from his telling us that when he was a young adult he was, by chance, an unwilling witness lying under a log to a skirmish of the German–Herero war

[P. 240-G]

301 431 The most highly valued gifts are the traditional ornaments of ostrich egg-shell beads, especially the wide headbands and necklaces of five or six strings of beads reaching to the umbilicus. The creamy white is becoming to them. They like European beads also, of all colours, though white is definitely their preference. The only thing they do not like about beads, Gao Beard told us, is shortness of the string. After ornaments, the /Kung value implements or utensils, *//gwashi* or dance rattles, which have required time and care to make, but perhaps more especially valued are metal objects and pots. The latter are obtained by trade. The /Kung do not trade among [438] themselves. They consider the procedure undignified and avoid it because it is too likely to stir up bad feelings. They trade with the Bantu, however, in the settlements along the B.P. border. The /Kung offer well-tanned antelope hides and ostrich egg 439 shell beads. For these they obtain tobacco, beads, knives, axes, malleable metal for making arrow-points and spear-blades, and occasional files and chisels, fire-strikers, and pots.

The odds are with the Bantu in the trading. Big, aggressive, and determined to 435 have what they want, they easily intimidate the Bushmen. Several /Kung informants 439 said that they tried not to trade with Herero if it was possible to avoid it because, although the Tswana were hard bargainers, the Herero were worse. /Qui said he had been forced by a Herero whom he was afraid to anger to trade the shirt and pants we had given him as our parting gift in 1952 for a small enamel pan and a little cup. /Ti/kay had more gumption. A Herero at the beginning of a negotiation with him brought out a good-sized pile of tobacco but took from it only a pinch when it was time to pay. /Ti/kay picked up the object he was trading and ran off. ≠Toma said with amused exaggeration that 'a very good Herero, a respectable one, will give a handful of tobacco for five cured steinbok skins. A bad Herero will give a pipeful (he showed the size of his fingernail) for three skins.' The Tswana values are a little better. A well-tanned gemsbok hide brings a pile of tobacco about 14 inches in diameter and about 4 inches high. The values vary. Some that were reported to us were three rooibok, duiker, or steinbok skins for a good-sized knife, five strings of ostrich egg-shell beads for a spear.

439 The /Kung have become dependent on metal, especially knives, axes, and arrow-points. They have been able to trade enough for every man to have these implements. [104] They could, however, exist without them and do still use a few bone and wood [411] arrow-points. Poison makes their arrows deadly, not penetrating power. The pots are Ovambo or Okavango pottery (the /Kung make no pottery themselves) or European ironware. The /Kung like to have a pot around to borrow sometimes; not [658] everyone wants to carry one. They cook mostly in hot ashes. More for their novelty, I thought, than for their worth, the /Kung trade also for old oddments of cloth garments (they weave neither cloth nor mats), pieces of blankets, basins, &c.—things they do not really need—but which they like.

306 431 Tobacco they need 'to make the heart feel better'. Oddly enough for these passionate smokers, tobacco was not given so much emphasis in gift-giving as one might expect. They do make gifts of tobacco, but when anyone lights a pipe he passes it around anyway; all present drag smoke into their lungs until they almost faint and it has not mattered much who owned the tobacco.

302 431 Eland fat is a very highly valued gift. An eland provides so much fat that people

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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VEGETABLE MATERIALS (*contd.*)

461
824

Reeds

Made and used by men

arrowshafts

Used by women

strips for tying frames of scherms and for tying grass on scherms in times of high wind

Worn by all as head and chest bands

Bark

Made and used by men

quivers

Tsi Nuts

Used by all as beads

Used by boys as weights for *jani* toy

STONE

Made by men

324
462
[302]

arrow-straighteners
pipes

Used by men for

sharpening blades
hammers
anvils
weights to stretch nets
marking graves

Used by women

powdered red earth for ceremonial markings on face

OBTAINED BY TRADE WITH BANTU

439

Malleable Metal and Wire

Made and used by men

arrow-points
spear-blades
spring-hare hooks

Made by men, used by all

pipes
awls

Used by men

knives
axes or adzes
chisels (few)
files (few
fire-strikers) (few)

Used by all

beads—copper, glass, shell, &c.
pots—Bantu clay, European iron
pipes (few), European briar, old cartridge-shells
receptacles (few)
old scraps of garments and blankets
oddments such as buttons for ornaments

Résumé

LE PARTAGE ET LE PARLER: SOULAGEMENT DES TENSIONS SOCIALES CHEZ LES BANDES DE BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

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Dans cette communication, l'auteur décrit plusieurs coutumes de Boschimans /Kung dans la région Nyae Nyae de l'Afrique du sud-ouest, coutumes qui les ont aidés à maintenir des relations pacifiques au sein de leurs groupes et entre les divers groupes de la région. Ces coutumes ont été observées au cours des expéditions Marshall de 1951–9. Les modifications

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

184 The northern !Kung of Angola and Ovamboland are closely
648 associated with Bantu agriculturalists. In 1925 Bleek ob-
222 served that "In contradistinction to the southern !Kũ the
241
439 women and children (i.e. of the Angola !Kung) are not col-
lectors of wild food. Once or twice a year when certain
berries ripen, the whole tribe goes out berry picking; other-
wise they live by hunting and bartering part of the meat and
skins obtained for the agricultural produce of their
neighbors...." (1928:108). Westphal visited the Angola !Kung
in 1964 and confirmed Bleek's observations (Westphal personal
communication).

184 The southern division of !Kung work on the European
221
464 farms in the Ghanzi and Gobabis districts. Many of them
648 spend the summer months in the veld, hunting and gathering,
but return each year to winter on the farms (Silberbauer n.d.).

Among the central division of !Kung are found Bantu-
associated peoples, farm laborers, and independent traditional
hunters and gatherers. In the Grootfontein district of
South West Africa several thousand central !Kung are working
131 on European farms. Along the Okavango river for 500 miles
184 of its length from Cuangar in the northwest to Sehitwa on
648 Lake Ngami, some further thousands of central !Kung live with,
and work for, the Bantu of the following tribes:

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX 10

well as grass chains and bracelets, berries and shells. Glass beads and iron or wire bracelets obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples or from European traders are also in great demand. The men usually content themselves with leather and bark bands, worn round the arm above the biceps and on the leg below the knee.

There is no special style of hair-dressing. The hair is as a rule kept in its natural form, although occasionally the whole or part of the scalp is shaved clean. Some women, however, uncurl little clusters of hair and roll them out with fat, so that they hang down a couple of inches, making a fringe round the head, while girls often tie small ornaments such as beads or shells into their hair.

Washing is altogether unknown, save among those Bushmen who have been much with Europeans. Generally both young and old rub their face and body with fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*, a sweet-smelling powder ground by the women from various kinds of aromatic shrub. Many women carry small tortoise-shells filled with powdered *buchu*, and use a bit of soft bird's nest or else a piece of jackal's tail as a puff (Plate XI). The face and body are also often painted, especially before a dance, not only by the younger women and girls, but occasionally even by the young men. The colours found are chiefly red and black, the former obtained from clay, the latter from charcoal. Both are mixed with fat, and the mixture is smeared on with a finger.

Hottentots

With the advent of European civilization, much of the original Hottentot culture has disappeared. Their clothing especially has been almost everywhere completely replaced by garments of European pattern, and it is rarely, if at all, that the old native dress can still be seen. But from the descriptions of the earlier writers it is possible to obtain a fairly clear picture of what the Hottentots wore before European clothing became so widely adopted as now to be their universal dress.[1]

The clothing of both men and women consisted principally in front and rear aprons of skin, depending from a leather thong tied

[1] The fullest descriptions of the old Hottentot dress are given by: P. Kolb, *Reise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 1719 (new ed. by P. Germann, 1922), 84–96; Fritsch, op. cit., 309–13, 357–8, 373; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 205-7; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 83–6; Schultze, *Aus Mamaland und Kalahari*, 233–52 *passim*, 207–11 (decoration); Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 183–94 (dress and decoration).

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FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Cooking

252 is done chiefly by the women, assisted by the children; in exceptional
[462] cases the men also may cook. Wild cucumbers, nuts, bulbs, and similar plant foods are baked in hot ashes covered with cinders. A bright fire is made and allowed to die down, a hole is scraped in the ashes with a flat, paddle-shaped wooden scoop, the food put in and covered over. It is then eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge, after being pounded up in wooden mortars or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood. Birds, snakes, small antelopes, etc., are baked in the same manner; ants are similarly treated, and then sifted through a mat of loosely-woven reeds, while locusts are either baked or boiled. *Grewia* berries are sometimes eaten as picked, stone and all, sometimes stamped in the mortar and swallowed uncooked. Some specially dainty kinds of meat are roasted over the fire on a wooden spit stuck into the ground. Other kinds of meat, again, as well as stamped
[439] locusts, *tsama* seeds and foods obtained from the white man, such as mealie meal, are cooked with water.

The "tame" Bushmen now use any sort of receptacle, such as a
415 paraffin or paint tin, for cooking purposes; the Auen and Naron
[439] in their more primitive condition used wooden pots, made by themselves or obtained by barter; while among the more Northern tribes clay pots obtained by barter from the OvaMbo and other Bantu tribes are sometimes found. The actual manufacture of clay pots by the
[184] Bushmen themselves seems to have been restricted to the tribes
[323] south of the Molopo. Food is eaten direct from the pot or from plates
[264] and bowls made of wood. Wooden spoons are sometimes found among the Northern tribes, but generally either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Fire is everywhere made by drilling a thin hard stick in another,
372 somewhat softer, in which there is a notch (Plate IX). This second stick is held firmly on the ground by one foot, while the drill-stick with its lower end pressed into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the hands until sparks come. A little dry grass is in readiness to catch the spark, and when it has caught alight dry wood is gradually added until a good fire has been set going.

In this connection reference must be made to certain special
372 observances relating to fire which have recently been recorded by
622 Fourie about the Heikum. "All fire," he says,[1] "is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to

[1] Op. cit., 87,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

that among the Bushmen all game is shared out among the members of 114
the band. To what extent the same elaborate rules of division exist 224
in the other tribes is difficult to determine. The only other indication of similar practices is found in the texts obtained by Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen. Only a selection of these have so far been published, and the information contained in them is rather fragmentary. But it appears that women, for example, were not [262]
permitted to eat the meat of the shoulder blades, lest the men subsequently prove unsuccessful in hunting; that the man who shot the animal might not take part in cutting it up; and the bones which were left over had to be carefully put aside in certain special ways.[1] Obviously such usages hint at an elaborate procedure in regard to the cutting up, distribution, and treatment of the meat; and one can only regret that all the details relating to them have not yet been made available.

Narcotics

As narcotics the Bushmen use chiefly tobacco and dagga 276
(*Cannabis sativa*), the latter a herb with marked intoxicating effects. All grown-up people, and even small children, smoke tobacco when they can get it. They do not cultivate it themselves, although a few men among the Auen and the Naron are said to have made [249] [177]
slight efforts to grow tobacco and dagga after the manner of their Bantu and Bergdama neighbours.[2] Almost all the tobacco used by the Bushmen is imported through trade or obtained by service with [439]
other peoples, and they are always extremely keen to acquire it.

In the north-west their pipes (Plate XI) are generally tubes of [324]
serpentine, some 3 inches long and rather wider at one end than at the other, which are cut and hollowed out with the iron spear point or with a knife, or even with a small stone drill. The hollow shin [237]
bones of small buck are also sometimes used, but nowadays the most prevalent form of pipe is an empty cartridge-case! Pipes consisting [177]
of an antelope horn were largely used by the Cape Bushmen. Near [321]
the point of the horn was made a hole, into which was inserted a reed tube, and on top of this was fitted an elongated clay bowl to hold the tobacco. When these pipes were used, some water was put into the horn, the mouth applied to the large orifice of the horn, and the

[1] Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 271 sqq.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 18; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

276 smoke sucked through the water by deep breaths into the lungs. A somewhat similar form of pipe is found among the Heikum and the Kung, but apparently water is not used here in smoking. Further [171] east, among the Hiechware, a method of ground-smoking is found similar to that obtaining among the neighbouring Bantu peoples. A small hole is made in the ground, into which the man puts the tobacco; he then inserts his pipe-stick through a small tunnel and smokes.[1]

Dagga is mixed with tobacco or smoked by itself whenever obtainable. The habit is said seriously to affect those addicted to it, both physically and morally. When taken in slight quantities the [164] herb has no visible ill-effects, but excessive indulgence is most deleterious to the health, and if persisted in sometimes causes mental aberration and frenzy.

273 Few of the Bushmen know how to make any kind of liquor themselves. The only exception, perhaps, are the Namib Bushmen, who, [171] after the manner of their Hottentot neighbours, brew a kind of mead out of honey. They are very partial to this drink, which plays an essential part in all their festivities.[2] The other Bushmen in general also do not seem to trade for any liquor, although they all appreciate alcohol and native beer when it is given to them. The Hiechware, [439] however, are said to be excessively fond of native beer, which they obtain by barter from the BeChwana; and, according to Dornan, they contrive to get drunk whenever they can.[3] Drunkenness as a rule is very exceptional among the rest of the Bushmen.

Sexual Life and Marriage

Conditions and Forms of Marriage

114 There is very little information about the relations of the sexes before marriage. Either the subject is not mentioned at all by our 836 authorities, or it is curtly dismissed in a short sentence. Kaufmann, for instance, reports of the Auen merely that prenuptial intercourse hardly ever seems to occur[4]; Lebzelter writes of the Kung that chastity is insisted upon before marriage[5]; while, on the other hand, all Miss Bleek has to say in this connection about the Naron is that

[1] Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 164 sq.; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 52; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 257; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 122–3.
[2] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 168; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 504.
[3] Op. cit., 121. [4] Op. cit., 156. [5] Op. cit., (16).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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and in minor quarrels it is the weapon of offence or defence. The 411
spears have long wooden shafts and an iron head about six inches long. The latter is obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu, [439]
but the spear itself is made by the Bushmen. For the shaft they pierce the end of a stick, then heat the tang of the iron head in the fire and insert it, binding the joint tightly with sinew.[1] Relatively few of the men possess these spears, and as they do not appear ever to have been [177]
used by the Southern Bushmen they can safely be regarded as weapons borrowed from the Bantu.

Methods of Hunting

The Bushmen, as already indicated, have a variety of devices for 224
catching game, the particular method employed being determined by the nature of the intended prey and the season of the year.[2] In some cases the animals are run down on foot. In this manner, for instance, small buck such as the duiker and steenbok, and even big game such as the gemsbok, are hunted during the "big rainy season" (late summer), when the ground, sodden with moisture, impedes the progress of the animals and causes them to fall an easy prey to the hunter, who on overtaking his quarry kills it with the kirri or the spear. This method cannot be employed for small game during the dry season owing to the difficulty in following the spoor, but in the hot part of the dry season young buck are easily caught in this way, as the hot sand causes the hoofs to come off. Many varieties of big game, such as the wildebeest and zebra, are also run down in the hot dry season. After a herd of game has been located, one or more men give chase at a steady trot. The animal is pursued relentlessly, never once being allowed to rest, until it is exhausted and brought to bay, when the hunter comes up and kills it with the spear.

Burrowing animals, such as the spring hare (jerboa) and anteater, are caught in their holes by means of a long barbed stick. This is poked down the hole into the animal's flesh, either to drag it out or to transfix it while another man digs down to it. Snakes are sometimes caught in the same manner. The man who pulls out the snake runs fast, dragging it after him, while others throw kirris and spears at it; this cannot be done in grass or the snake may escape. Steenbok,

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 14; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4, 152; Gretschel, op. cit., 102–3.

[2] The fullest descriptions of the hunting life and methods of the Bushmen are given by Stow, op. cit., 80–94; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 167; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 667–8; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 45 sqq. (an exceptionally detailed and graphic account); Kaufmann, op. cit., 144–7; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 94 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 15–16; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 99 sqq. [114]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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224 soon as the dog has gripped his prey." Among the Naron these dogs are procured from BeChwana, Bergdama or white men in order [23] to hunt jackals, leopards, lynxes and other animals whose skins are [439] valued for making karosses. The skins so obtained are brought to the giver of the dog and bought by him at his own price for tobacco or trade goods, chiefly the former. The dogs are sometimes used by the people to catch hares and small buck for their larder, but are never taken out to hunt larger game.

In addition to these different methods of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons, the Bushmen employ various methods of trapping. Pitfalls are often made during the dry season in the path to a waterhole or along river banks, and covered with bushes. In the Central and Northern Kalahari these pits are about four yards long and deep, and not quite a yard wide. They are dug with the ordinary digging-stick in such a way that a small wall of earth is left standing in the middle, but not reaching to the surface. Large animals in attempting to escape out of the pit jump on to this partition wall, where they remain hopelessly suspended on their belly. Other pits of the same nature, especially among the Southern Bushmen, often have pointed stakes placed in the middle. They serve to catch big game animals, such as rhinoceros, which are then killed with the spear, and in particular those, like zebras and antelopes, which come down in herds to drink at the water. In former times, when there was a far greater abundance [136] of game, whole valleys were sometimes enclosed, and large numbers of men combined to drive a herd of game down from the heights into the trap in the valley. Galton describes one of the most remarkable works of this kind. "We passed a magnificent set of pitfalls which the Bushmen who live about these hills had made. The whole breadth of the valley was staked and bushed across. At intervals the fence was broken, and there broken deep pitfalls were made. [313] The strength and size of timber that was used gave me a great idea of Bushman industry, for every tree had to be burned down and carried away from the hills, and yet the scale of the undertaking would have excited astonishment in far more civilized nations. When a herd of animals was seen among the hills, the Bushmen drove them through this valley up to the fence; this was too high for them to jump, so that they were obliged to make for the gaps, and there they tumbled into the pitfalls."[1]

[1] *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*, 106; cf. Wikar, "Berigt aan den . . . Heer van Plettenberg," 88–9; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 386–7; Chapman, op. cit., ii, 80–1; Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland und seine Bewohner," 695; *idem*, *Die Buschmänner*, 78–9.

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322 decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops
[412] for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-
[415] western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom,
[283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

824 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
285 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
[412] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

237 Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water,
[415] and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women
[306] make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops, and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small
412 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell
324 beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by
[439] barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few
[326] smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.

178 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
324 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
[323] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
[237] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while
[415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

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Division of Labour

In the manufacture of these different utensils, implements, and garments, as well as in the collection of food, there is no division of labour within the band save as between the two sexes. Every man is expected to be able to hunt, to make bows and arrows, and to do all the other things that are done by men; and in the same way every woman is expected to do the work recognized as pertaining to women. Some women, it is true, are more clever and industrious than others in making beads, some men better at hunting or at twisting rope and boring pipes, but all know how these things are done and none devotes his life to any one of them exclusively. The only special occupation is that of the magician, who in addition to having religious and magical functions is also the physician, but otherwise even he lives and works as do the rest, getting a few presents for his occasional services. 462 [463] [756]

The division of labour between the sexes is clearly marked. A man hunts and snares game, fishes, collects veldkos as the opportunity arises while he is out hunting, prepares skins, makes the clothing for himself and his family, makes his own weapons, arrow-poison, firesticks, and other implements, twists rope, manufactures the larger wooden vessels and other utensils, makes fire, and occasionally assists the women in fetching wood and water. A woman builds the hut for her family, gathers veldkos and prepares the food, fetches wood and water, maintains the fire, makes her own ornaments, and is also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Among the Auen the beginnings of specialized labour are found in that certain men work in iron, i.e. make spear and arrow heads and other implements out of any pieces of iron they can obtain. The production of raw iron from the ore is unknown to all the Bushmen, who, as a rule, obtain whatever iron they use by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples. Among the !O Kung of Angola a further division of labour was found by Miss Bleek in a group at Rusembu, where only the good shots went hunting, while other men worked in iron, and another appeared to be the trader and honey gatherer.[1] But specialization of this kind is quite exceptional in Bushman life. 184 463 [326] [439]

Trade

Although the Bushmen are thus able to draw from the resources of their environment almost everything they really need, economically 177 439

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 153; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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177 they are no longer self-sufficient. Contact with other peoples has
439 made them familiar with various articles, especially iron and tobacco, which they now covet very greatly and in order to obtain which they carry on an extensive system of barter. Even within the band itself
[437] there is a good deal of barter in such things as meat, clothing, veldkos, and utensils. Berries and roots, for example, are exchanged for tobacco or beads, skin bags for poisoned arrows, and so on. Trading
[484] visits to other bands are also frequent. But the most common form of barter is with peoples of other races, especially the Bantu.

439 The 10 Kung of Angola, unlike all the other Bushmen, do not go
[184] out into the veld to collect vegetable foods. These are obtained by
[222] barter. The younger men hunt, and trade part of the meat and skins obtained for the cereals, maize, potatoes, manioc, etc., of the Bantu among whom they live. Honey and wax are also collected and traded, sometimes with the Bantu for food and tobacco, now and again to Europeans for powder and cartridges. Wax is a good article of trade with Portuguese traders, and the Bushmen are therefore assiduous in collecting it. Besides foodstuffs they also obtain pots and baskets from the Bantu, as well as metal wares such as knives, arrow and spear heads, and beads.[1]

The Bushmen of the Okavango swamps, again, trade ostrich egg-shell beads, ivory, ostrich feathers, skins and horns with the inter-dwelling Bantu in return for tobacco and dagga, as well as iron and such iron goods as spear heads, hoes, and knives; while the Namib Bushmen exchange similar objects with Hottentots and Europeans for blankets, knives, tobacco, and coffee.[2]

Among the North-Western tribes there is a whole system of trade
438 relations between different tribes, extending from the Okavango in the north down almost to the Molopo.[3] In this the Naron and the Auen play the part of intermediaries, obtaining from the tribes further north the objects they desire, and then bartering them again further south as occasion arises. Egg-shell beads and tobacco are standard
[436] articles in this trade, in the sense that they can always be bartered and may even be said to have a fixed value. From the Naron the Auen
438 procure skin garments and bags, for the making of which the former
439 are famous, giving them in return wooden pots, dishes, and spoons

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 32–3; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 108.
[2] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland," 701; *idem*, *Die Buschmänner*, 118–19; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.
[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, loc. cit.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 152–3; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37–8.

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made by themselves, and metal pots, spear heads, knives, trade beads, 438
etc., which they obtain through the Heikum from the OvaKwangari 439
and MaMbukushu further north. The Naron to the east trade their skins, and formerly also ivory and ostrich feathers, with the BaTawana to the north-east for tobacco and millet. Ostrich egg-shell beads are bartered to the Bantu by all the Bushman tribes. The Koon at Naosanabis in the south, a branch of the /nu//en, are known to make them especially well, and their beads are always in great demand, passing through the Naron and the Auen to the Bantu tribes further north and east, who pay highly for them. For a chain of these beads passing round the waist the MaMbukushu, for example, give a large basket of millet, the BaTawana a large roll of tobacco, the OvaMbo an iron spear head, and so on. The Naron also trade their skins to Europeans and BeChwana for tobacco, dagga, or trade goods, and the latter, again, they pass on to the Auen.

The extensive scale on which this trade is carried out would seem to imply the existence of regulated trading communications between the different tribes. Unfortunately, there is extremely little information bearing on this point. Markets are apparently not held, the transfer [443]
of goods, as far as can be determined, being effected almost entirely
through special trading visits from one group to another. Kaufmann 437
describes the way in which such trading visits are conducted among the Auen. A small number of men and women go to the camp of the band with whom they wish to trade, laying down their weapons beforehand. Permission to enter is then given, and the barter proceeds. He adds that even if two bands are at enmity, as often happens, [114]
women will, nevertheless, go from one to the other in order to trade. This statement, however, needs to be confirmed. Passarge also suggests that the Bantu tribes of this region probably send periodical trading caravans to the different Bushman tribes, and quotes as an illustration the fact that in former times at least the OvaMbo would, with the permission of the Bushmen, go on special trading visits to obtain copper in the Otavi district of South-West Africa.

Property and Inheritance

The economic life of the band, although in effect it approaches a 421
sort of communism, is really based on the notion of private property.[1]
The only thing owned in common is the land, and even here, as we 423

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 155–6; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36, 16; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 13, 16.

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big game, especially wild horses and mules. There are in [224] those parts wild horses and mules, both so beautifully bred out by nature that no painter is skilful enough to paint 136 them true to life with all their colouring. The horses have buttocks extraordinarily dappled, and over the rest of the body are striped yellow, black, red and pure sky blue. The mules are also striped, white and chestnut brown, but not dappled, and are uncommonly beautiful.[39]) The Sonquas in 439 1662 brought the skin of one of these beasts to the Cape, which our countrymen bartered from them for tobacco and other things. It was then filled with straw and hung up for show in the hall of the Fort, as something curious and uncommon, which it also is, to be seen by the people of the incoming ships.[40])

The meat of the rock-rabbits constitutes a pleasant food 262 for the Sonquas, who live principally on it and on certain roots growing in the ground. They also keep many hunting 231 dogs,[40a]) trained to hunt the rock-rabbits which are their 224 principal food, and knowing how to drag these animals out of their holes.

They are extremely great plunderers and marauders. 721 They steal from other Hottentots all the cattle they can get, with which they then flee immediately to the mountains, where they cannot be found in their retreats and hidden caves by anybody, not even by other Hottentots.

Their huts, made only of branches twined together, 342 without woven mats, and covered solely with rushes, are several thousand in number; for they move about from one 361 place to another, and never break up the huts, but erect still others wherever they camp.

Their little cloaks are sewn together from the skins of 291 the wild oxen which live on the rocks. The women have a *quitazol* or sunshade of ostrich feathers, tied on and about the head, to protect themselves from the heat and burning of the sun's piercing rays.

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had shot a wild horse below the mane in the neck. This horse was 136 very beautifully gray dappled over its whole body, except behind from the back over the buttocks and along the legs which were flame-coloured, with white, sky blue and reddish brown stripes, wonderfully beautiful . . . It had small ears like a horse. The stuffed heads and pieces of skin which the Hottentots sometimes brought to us belong evidently to another sort, as they have long ears, though extraordinarily, curiously and beautifully flame-coloured in white and chestnut brown."

[40a]) Dogs were the only domestic animals kept by the Bushmen. 231 They were generally lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half starved and savage tempered, but excellent assistants in the chase, for 224 which they were mainly employed.

/151 cont./

438 objects of exchange: veld food, meat, articles of clothing, and utilitarian objects. It appears that barter is also carried out in a smaller circle. To the "child of the moment," something different is always preferred.

[443] Markets are not held.

The chains of ostrich egg shells have a certain fixed value [435] since they are highly coveted. A leaf [Platte] of tobacco likewise has a fixed value.

/152/ This means that under all circumstances, wherever [436] one goes, both tobacco and chains can be traded. Only in this sense is it possible to speak of money substitutes. I am convinced that with a sufficient number of tobacco leaves [Plattentabak] in one's pocket, and without any provisions, one can live by barter, that is, if the Bushman himself happens to have anything.

The only things that one might not be able to obtain from the Auin in exchange for tobacco are lance points.

The Auin is unacquainted with our custom of indicating 804 length with two fingers of one or both hands. Length is indicated by pointing with one finger to the index finger of the other hand or to a stick.

A "fathom" is indicated by extending both arms, in a manner similar to ours.

As a "dry measure" they use one or both cupped hands, the latter held close together.

Another dry measure is made by crooking the arm and filling the hollow between the arm and chest with a cloth, or both arms are crooked with the hands fastened together in front of the body and the hollow is filled with a cloth.

We also have the saying "an armful."

The hide cap is also used for measuring.

As rough as the measures are, they nonetheless appear to have a certain, though naturally quite inexact validity. I have observed how a Bushman exchanged "an armful" of veld food for tobacco. The owner of the tobacco did not deem the goods he received sufficient, and the other had to add "a handful."

Weights are estimated. Naturally, an object for comparison is always present.

Weights are estimated, as among us, by briefly lifting the weights to be compared, one after the other. Even the accompanying

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[8 cont.] HENCE THE RULE IS THAT THE WEDDING AND THE
585 initiation coincide, and usually the girl moves to the village of
881A her first husband immediately after the completion of the festivi-
[591] ties.

584 When a man is courting, he must first attempt to obtain the consent of the girl. Once he has succeeded, he goes to the girl's parents. If they also give their consent, the engagement is settled. At this point, all communication is interrupted until the bridegroom appears and says to the girl's parents: "I want to have the wedding now." If the parents agree, they go to their relatives to spread the happy news. If the relatives object, they can still prevent the marriage. If they do not, the date of the wedding feast is fixed. In the bush, the bridegroom must bring the bride's parents a piece of big game. Usually people make matters
439 simpler for themselves. Either they have already earned a head
584 of cattle from a black farmer, and this stands ready in the farmer's
648 herd to be fetched for the wedding feast, or -- and this is more
452 common -- the Bushman will begin a begging tour around the black farmyards until someone gives him a cow as an advance on hides to be supplied later or on work to be performed.

452 And miraculously, this always succeeds. It is to be ex-
648 plained on various grounds. A black farmer, whose worst character traits include avarice and greed, would never give another Black who possesses nothing one of his dearly beloved cows on the strength of uncertain promises. And not unjustly. The next day the cow would have disappeared into the stomachs of the borrower and his friends, and on the day after that the borrower would have disappeared beyond the tribal boundaries. Repeatedly the Bushmen came to my camp too late. But from the Ukuanjama I always received the assurance: "The Bushmen will keep their word; they will certainly come if they are alive." In addition to this, of course, there is the symbiosis. Each village has its
[437] Bushmen. During the period of the harvest they suddenly appear
[9] and help with it. Between times they never miss a celebration, and at one time or another this one comes with hides and another with honey. And finally the chiefs of the Bushmen kin
[622] groups see to it that nothing happens to injure the reputation of
[674] the Bushmen. It is unheard of for these people to commit theft.

114

JOHN MARSHALL is one of a family that has been studying the Bushmen for nearly a decade, in expeditions to South West Africa by the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

222 !Kung women, who are slender-armed and do this monotonous work to the end of their lives. All roots—a major food—are gathered in identical fashion. The implement for this is a digging stick—made usually by a woman's husband from any of a number of hardwoods: the bark is peeled from a branch, a point is whittled sharp. Women, squatting, dig narrow holes in the earth with these sticks, and tug until the root they have reached comes free. Berries are picked—high ones jostled down with sticks and sought for carefully among the grass stems. Nuts are collected on the ground.

[412]

224 SMALL ANIMALS, such as tortoises and even grasshoppers, are sometimes captured by the women and brought home in the evening—such small creatures are also considered *veldkos*. The women, too, will kill snakes, even puff adders. When they see a puff adder, they gather around it in a little crowd, their high laughter tinkling while they drop large, heavy things on its flat head.

222 461 Averaged over a year, women gather on four or five days of each week—the number of days depending

[p.41]

222 on the season. In the long days of wilt-
461 ing between the October spring and the January summer, food is scarce and the women may go out every day into the failing veld, leaving their *werft* early in the morning and returning late in the afternoon. All
222 that a woman gathers belongs to her
422 alone, and of course is shared with her
593 family. She feeds her husband, her children and often a visitor or two, at her own hearth. No formal instruction
222 is practiced among the !Kung, with
868 the possible exception of certain kinds of religious teaching and what might
857 be called an occasional hunting school. Learning to gather comes from the children's observation of the more experienced women. Girls soon learn to
[824] recognize more than a hundred kinds of edible plants that grow in *Nyae Nyae*, as well as the seasons and places in which these plants grow. They learn to see tiny, shriveled root vines coiled around thorns in the thickets and, in the process, develop fine powers of observation. Possibly complementary to this lack of formal instruction, no formal pressure is exerted on young people to take up adult roles. Girls, if they wish, accompany their mothers on gathering trips. If they do not, they rarely feel guilty. A girl usually be-
[582] gins to feel responsible soon after she marries, which is often before puberty. But only when she has children of her own does a woman see the world through the eyes of a provider.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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!Kung

224 meat to the owners of the territory should they happen to encounter them,
[43] but this is a gift, not an obligatory tribute. The vastness and emptiness of
[182] the country allow this freedom in hunting rights and the wandering nature of the game requires that the hunters, if they are to succeed at all, be free to look for game wherever they can find it.

222 The !Kung eagerly pick up tortoises, certain kinds of lizards, snakes, ostrich eggs, and grasshoppers, and they relish termites when these insects
[262] swarm out in nuptial flight. These items provide incidental delicacies and gathering them is like the gathering of veldkos. The person who gathers
224 them may keep them for himself and his own family. Men gladly shoot small
223 animals and birds if they happen upon them—wart hogs, duikers, other small antelope, porcupines, badgers, pythons, spring hares, ostriches, paouws, guinea fowl, red-winged partridges, occasional migrating geese, and other birds. They may keep them for their own families. They do not, however, devote their hunting time to the smaller animal creatures if they find fresh spoor of the larger ones. Hunting the big game animals that feed a whole band is the work of a man's prime and is incumbent on him.

224 Hunting parties usually consist of from two to four or five men. A man cannot hunt effectively alone in this country. Several parties hunting in different directions are more advantageous than one larger party. Any man may organize a hunting party, with relatives and friends from his own band or from neighboring bands—men he likes to hunt with. No one is formally a leader; the men talk and plan together and are likely to fall in with the suggestions of the one whom they consider the best hunter. Participation in any given hunting party is voluntary. What !Kung society urges is that the
[461] hunters hunt; it does not restrict the ways and means. The force of public
[626] opinion upon men not to sit in the werf, not to be lazy but to do their share, is tremendous.

The game the !Kung hunt deliberately and purposefully are the several big antelopes found in the region: eland, kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok. They also hunt the more rarely seen buffalo and occasionally manage to shoot a giraffe. Although there is this considerable variety of kind, there is not a great abundance of game. The herds are small and the hunts long and hard.[8] The antelope, because they can go for long periods without drinking, move and drift about anywhere in the vast monoto-
[487] nous veld and are very difficult to find. Hunters often search for days, cover-
[411] ing scores of miles, before finding spoor fresh enough to follow, and they may follow it for days before catching up with the animal. Their little arrows kill by poison rather than by piercing deeply, and, when an animal is shot, if it is big, it may wander for three or four more days until it dies of the poison.
[136] Smaller animals succumb in a shorter time. The hunters must track the animal and find it before the lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals, or vultures devour it.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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!Kung

They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not 251
uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming 261
journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to 261
food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food 576
or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food 433
and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung 462
society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no 562
extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly 562
strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous 147
and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of 562
hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing 462
splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable 262
foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. 224
The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's [535]
wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The 342
building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's [462]
work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a [137]
woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. [461]
She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. 513 593
Individual adjustments are made.

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the will to hunt, good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt. It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness. 582 224 884 [304]

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of hunting is ceremonially linked with marriage. At the time of the wedding, the boy must bring to his bride's parents an animal that he himself has killed. The animal he brings must not be eaten by the bride. 585 224

A boy who never killed any large meat animal would not be given a wife, informants said. This was why the strange old deviant, /Gaishay, had remained a bachelor. For reasons no one understood he could not hunt; he gathered veldkos like a woman. Gossip had it that twice he had tried to drag a woman against her will into his scherm but had not succeeded. Informants remarked, 'Women like meat.' They do, but there is far more to it than that. 582 589 [462]

As John Marshall shows in his film, *The Hunters*, the primary sources of physical life, sex and food, are involved. In /Kung concept they are linked together, and, as they pertain to men, their duality is lifted to oneness in the being of the man, who is the sexually powerful male and the provider, the hunter. Power as a man and a male and worthiness and dignity are associated with hunting and not with the failure to hunt. 562 828 224

Since they are related, both the sexual and the hunting powers of the young man can be captured at once with a bride. For the first several years of marriage the boy goes to live with his bride's parents, or her people, should her parents be dead, to hunt for them. The parents of girls speak constantly of wanting their sons-in-law to provide them with food as though it were an obsession. 'We are old', they say, or 'We shall soon be old [whether this is actually true or not]; we need a young man to hunt for us'; 'our daughter's husband must get us something to eat'; 'we need karosses'; 'we want meat'—these are their refrains. 583 [591] [606]

Another value the /Kung place upon the boy's hunting during his bride-service appears in their belief that if the husband hunts for his wife and feeds her while she is still a growing child she becomes the more his. Food seems to be a main concern in bride-service, but the people also say that they want to be sure that the boy measures up in every way and will take good care of their daughter, and that the girl will have time to get used to her husband. [581] [593]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

side. /Gunda sat behind the line of boys, in a deep shadow, to show that he was 159
' ashamed ' and respected (feared, *koa*) the wedding scherm. 585

One of the boys began to play, not their ceremonial music or special wedding music, but songs of the *||guashi*, as they call them, the little wordless melodies these [533] people compose about happenings in their lives, about pleasures or distress, about their moods. They play and sing these melodies for hours upon hours in the afternoons when they are resting or in the evenings by their fires, and they played for hours that night at the wedding fire.

Soon young guests began to arrive, the children of both werfs with whom /Nai played, all of them younger than the boys who attended /Gunda and the girls who carried /Nai. The youngest guest was the ubiquitous three-year-old boy who never missed anything. No adults came.

One boy brought four mangetti nuts with him and roasted, cracked, and ate them himself. That was all that appeared by way of a feast. Di/ai said that they would like to have given the children something to eat but there was nothing in the werf that night. Even though the others had had something to eat, the bride and groom would have had to abstain. They must not talk or eat, to show they are ' ashamed '. The young guests seemed to enjoy themselves, nevertheless, and were still singing and chatting when I left at midnight.

Soon after sunrise the following morning—/Gunda had already departed—/Nai's mother went to the wedding scherm and sat down beside the embers of the night's fire. /Nai stood shivering beside her in her little genital apron and the duiker skin [291] which women wear around their buttocks and up between their legs, but stripped of her kaross. The mother had brought a little fat (eland fat, if they had it, would be [825] used) and a bit of powdered red stone, one of the red earths (*|gam !gai gwoie*), mixed with fat. She rubbed /Nai all over with the fat, and drew a line on her forehead and [302] a circular design on her cheeks with the red powder mixed with fat. Over in werf 2, Gao, Nai's stepfather, presented /Gunda with a blanket.

This completed the wedding ceremony.

/Nai was a lively child who loved the dancing and singing games the girls play. 159
She often danced alone, tapping her bare feet on a stone in rapid rhythm or making a 462
game of printing a design in the sand with tiny steps. She liked babies and as often as not had her infant half-brother or some very small cousin tied to her back. That morning she appeared to turn into a housewife as though it were her next blithe step. When the women went to gather veldkos, she put on her own little duiker skin [222] kaross, took her digging-stick and went with them. At the end of the day, when they returned in the slanting sunset light, she had two big roots. She went straight to her own fire, blew on the embers, added wood, and sat down. Three ostrich egg shells [415] full of water and her digging-stick were her household goods. These she arranged beside the scherm. /Gunda came and sat down opposite her. She smiled at him and set the roots in the ashes to cook.

It has been said in talks with informants that the bridegroom must bring an 159
antelope which he himself has killed to the parents of the bride before the wedding, 183
but no animal had been brought; there had not been a scrap of meat in the werf for 585
days. I asked Di/ai about this. ' Oh, that,' she said in effect. ' Yes, he should give me an antelope, but we thought we would have the wedding first and that /Gunda would

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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logical father, as well as his mother's husband, should do something nice for him. 159
Perhaps when he receives his first assegai his begetter will give it, for that is a very 848
proud thing—but we do not know what the future holds for these people or where they will be by then.

The dominance of men

Wives are much desired by the young men, who usually wait for years for their 562
infant fiancées to grow up, and by men who want second wives, and by widowers. [581]
/Kung women are not only precious as mates, they are the food-gatherers and supply [222]
more of the daily food than the men do. Hunting[1] is very arduous in the Kalahari and [462]
the hunters succeed in bringing a big meat animal to the werf only about once or [224]
twice a month. Meanwhile women have dug roots and gathered berries and the other wild plant foods to feed their families every day. /Kung women in their two roles make a very great contribution.

In /Kung society, however, the magnitude of their contribution does not make women dominant. There are factors which bring the men forward clearly into dominance and leadership.

The primary factor is undoubtedly strength. /Kung men are small and slender, [142] 147
but they are wiry and vigorous. With their strength they carry and protect the very life of their people. When they swing their weapons and implements and their small children on to their shoulders and stride out in front of the women, the image seems to reveal, as vividly as if a great artist had painted it, how the laden following women are borne up by the strength of their men and take heart from them.

Another factor which brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and 462
its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is only drudgery in digging and 562
picking in the hot sun and trudging back in the early evening to the werf with heavy [222]
roots and berries and babies all sagging in the pouches of their karosses, a small dead tree or two on one shoulder for the night fire, possibly another child astride the other shoulder. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh [262]
and are not very satisfying. There is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving [262]
for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally [224]
the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once, when an eland had been killed and the hunters were sighted [152]
with the meat on their backs, moving in a dark, lumpy, bobbing line in the golden grass, we heard the sound of voices in the werf rising in volume and pitch like the hum of excited bees. Some people ran toward the hunters, others crowded together at the edge of the werf, some danced up and down, the children squealed and ran about, the boys grappled and tussled together. The motion and sound had the effect of a vibration. Another time a young man who was said to be the best hunter in the region (/Qui Hunter we called him, his people called him Short /Qui), had been 462
charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. 562
He knelt facing the creature till it was within close range and shot an arrow straight 224

[1] John Marshall has described /Kung hunting in his film, *The Hunters*, Peabody Museum Film Study Center, Harvard University, and in 'Man as Hunter', *Natural History*, the magazine of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, vol. lxvii, No. 6, June, and No. 7, August, 1958. [113]

562 into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by
[462] /Qui's wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes
[224] and the women, some of the plumes in their hair, danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of /Kung men and the way it should be.

By comparison with the men, the women are considerably more circumscribed in
157 knowledge, less ready for new experience, more suspicious and apprehensive of
562 strangers. They draw back and seem on the whole somewhat timid. The men protect them in many ways. They would not let the women ride with us in the truck, for instance, unless some of the men were with them.

The women expect the dependent role. They have their say in conversation but do not take part in the serious conclaves of the men, saying often, ' The men know these things. We do not know. The men must decide. ' And one woman said, 'A man can do everything—shoot and make fire. ' /Kung women are encouraged to be compliant by the fact that, in their love of peace, the /Kung like quiet, modest, gentle women. Overbearing, strident, demanding, or nagging women would disturb not only their own husbands but the whole werf. Disapproval of anyone's behaviour
[626] is expressed by the group in talk, and also by songs, such as the song of *The Two Baus*, which was composed about two loudly quarrelsome co-wives. When the two Baus heard this song strummed on the *||guashi* or hummed here and there in the shadows of the werf at night, they mended their ways.

Though the /Kung like gentleness and compliance in women, their society does
562 not impose extreme forms of obedience or subservience upon them and women are not ill treated. One man told Laurence Marshall that if he wanted to go somewhere and his wife wanted to go somewhere else he might have to talk, talk, talk, talk, talk, talk to persuade her.

We once saw a woman strike her husband on the head with her digging-stick in
562 a fit of frustration because he had coerced her to go with him when she wanted to
593 remain visiting her parents. He had coerced her swiftly and decisively by snatching her baby from her arms and walking ahead with it. In a flash the wife ran a few steps and hit him, then she went around in a circle, stamping her feet in great, high stamps like an enraged samurai in a Japanese print, then she followed her husband. I personally never saw a /Kung man hit a woman. This is not to say no /Kung ever did, but it is far from common.

The dominance of the /Kung men is more protective and life-giving than crushing to the women. On the whole a good balance seems to be attained and there is a notable freedom from quarrelling between husbands and wives. The instances of strife that we have mentioned are exceptional breaks in the usual peace of their well-adjusted human relations.

/139 cont./

372 are made in one of the sticks, and the rounded end of the other stick fits into them. [Figs. 1, 2, and 3 appear here.]

The first stick is placed on the ground and held down with both feet. The other stick is placed with its round end in one of the hollows, and it is twirled as rapidly as possible between the flat palms of the hands. As can be seen in the picture Photo. 19), the hands slide downward during this process, and frequently a second man immediately starts at the top when the hands of the first operator have moved all the way down. A kind of tinder of thoroughly dried birds' nests (weaver bird?) is placed around the bored hole. The fine dust from the twirling begins to smoulder after a few minutes, and the tinder is then fanned to a flame by blowing with the mouth.

[622] The "captain" (aichab) of the settlement sees to it that the fire does not go out. A "sacred" fire does not exist. Keeping the fire from going out is a matter of sheer practicality since twirling to make fire is, after all, fairly strenuous.

354 A few stones, which, incidentally, are not found everywhere in the Kalahari, represent the hearth. In rainy weather cooking is done inside the windscreen.

The woman does the cooking while the children help her.
●462 In exceptional cases the paterfamilias may busy himself at the cooking fire.

On occasion all the members of a family will go out to get water and wood. Construction of the house is purely woman's work. Bachelors' huts are likewise built by the women of the horde.

415 Wooden cooking pots exist. Supposedly they are obtained
439 through barter from the Ambo.

The Auin either carves primitive spoons out of wood himself,
322 or he obtains them through barter from the region of the Ngami
415 [Lake Ngami?]. Frequently special artists at carving are to be
[439] found among the older men. The upper, concave part of a
415 small turtle shell, whose lower, flat side has been cut off, often
[321] serves as a spoon.

These shells are also used as drinking vessels, and, along with hollowed-out tschama, they are the only drinking vessels that I found.

/147 cont./

241 Agriculture is unknown. Only accidentally grown food plants are known.

In order to promote the growth of the veld crop, the Bushman
222 burns off the grass. A Bergdamara with whom I rode across a
311 burning grass veld said to me: "The Bushman is making his garden."

462 Work of the men:

- Hunting
- Occasional veld crop gathering
- Collecting wood
- Fetching water
- Preparing hides
- Making clothes
- Making weapons and mortars
- Making strings
- Making fire by twirling

Work of the women:

- Hut construction
- Cooking
- Veld crop collecting
- Maintaining the fire
- Getting wood
- Getting water
- Making women's clothes

The only "agricultural implement" is a digging stick
412 (see Fig. 9).

For one who is not a botanist it is impossible to describe in
222 intelligible terms, even roughly, the numerous wild food plants of the Auin. The collection of specimens must take the place of a description. Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to make such a collection.

For the person who is familiar with the Southwest African veld crops, I shall give a list of some food plants, which, however, is by no means exhaustive.

- Tschamma
- Spiny tschamma
- Ontjes of the Boers
- Water tubers
- So-called "wild potatoes"

[12 cont.]

843 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-
262 buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut.
[553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are
[177] performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:

[539] //am ≠haiba, //am ≠haiba (?)
[782] The leader answers:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower
422 form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 The gathering of veldkost does not have the great signifi-
[184] cance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already
[462] commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd
[857] a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main
[233] OCCUPATION.

[26 cont.]

512 from about August 20th to the end of December, the following daily routine is normally observed. Before dawn, it becomes very cold, the people wake up, and the boys stir up the fire and put on it the remains of the evening meal. The old people move closer to the fire and go on sleeping until the sun comes up. Then they have their breakfast, which consists of the remains of the [462] evening meal. The able men now go hunting. The women continue to sit around the fire for awhile and nurse their children. [462] At about 10 o'clock the women and children, as well as the girls, go out in a group to look for veldkost. Almost every woman [482] old enough to bear children carries a child on her back, while a second child often rides on her shoulders. The smaller boys stay at home and help the old people, who get up about an hour later [361] to fetch water. The huts are never located close to the water: 1. because people get sick close to the water; 2. because the lions come there; 3. because the game would be frightened away. The watering place itself is visited quite irregularly, because in disturbed times the enemy lurks there, and occasionally also the police. The male and female doctors go into the bush, usually not very far, alone or only with a disciple, to gather medicine. Around four o'clock in the afternoon the women come back and begin to cook. Around this time, too, the men begin to return with the spoils of the hunt. When the sun goes down, [264] they all sit by the fire and eat. Each family has its own fire. Then some will continue to chat for awhile, while others go to sleep, and gradually it becomes quiet.

[264] They do not eat at noon. From eleven to four o'clock the camp is deserted, and even the old people sleep somewhere in the forest. The hunters and the women collecting veldkost also [27] take a long midday rest during the hot afternoon hours. During the hot season, on the other hand, they set out soon after midnight to hunt and search for veldkost, because later in the day the sand is too hot to walk on.

6. The Divisions of the Year

805 The Bushmen reckon time according to full moons, for example, agreeing to meet after three or four full moons, and

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the 293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 291 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re- [123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having [124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in [412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess [325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in [439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that, [531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead embroidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich 301 egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are [321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence [556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are [462] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around [306] the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of [302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to LENGTHEN THEM.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

[42 cont.]

the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo. Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language. Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave immediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does. Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains seated there, while the women and children make themselves comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children, who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight organization and a common leader. When Captain François went beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a

2. He himself was a half-breed.

chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest chief I heard of was "χ'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people.
[423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such,
621 by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-//om*, on the
[582 other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the
591] chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out
361 on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the
[184] *Hei-//om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial
[562 and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and
[882 boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away
342] from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also
[589] visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various
342 tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a
[462] husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations.
166 When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish
342 a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which
[622] his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated
[312] in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

372 *hei-doros.* The new *!ou-/ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gāus*
361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case
[132 only in times of drought when the game have moved far afield
622 and great difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos.
372 Further, people driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *//gāus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the *!ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.
372 Persistent ill-health among the members of the community
622 or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase
[751 may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after
777] consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the *!ou-/ais* are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new *!ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the hei-doros and applies *norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it had been.
184 The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire is
372 met with among all the organised primitive groups. Want of space and time does not permit, however, of a detailed account being given of the superstitions which have gathered about this custom among the various tribes.

Family Life.

593 Each family within the group occupies its own hut. Children sleep with their parents until they are strong enough to go about by themselves, when the boys join the others under the tree and the girls take up residence in the hut for unmarried girls.

512 The women rise early, light the fire and prepare the food for the morning meal which usually consists of veldkos. After having eaten, the men go out visiting or hunting or engage in some other occupation such as preparing skins, weapons, etc. The women accompany each other in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. When food is obtainable at no great distance they are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have to go far they may not reach home until late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they proceed to prepare food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water. The food is ready by the time the men arrive in the evening and the latter are able to partake of it without delay.

462 There is a sharp division of labour between the men and women of the group. The former do the hunting and snaring of game, prepare the weapons, skins for clothing, snares, fire-

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

sticks pipes, etc., and occasionally assist the women in 462●
fetching wood and water. The women build the huts, collect veldkos and prepare the food, make the fire and keep it going, gather wood, fetch water and manufacture ostrich eggshell beads for ornaments, etc. The latter are also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Infants and young children accompany their mothers on 857
their daily excursions in search of food until they are old enough to look after themselves. From that time onwards 855
the mothers take practically no share in their education which, 871
in the case of girls, is entrusted entirely to an old woman who lives in the hut with the young girls, and in the case of boys, to their fathers.

Little girls, while still with their mothers, are taught to 868
love and respect the old woman and to seek her company of 857
their own accord. After taking up residence with her they accompany her daily into the veld and thus gradually come to learn from her all the duties which will ultimately devolve upon them. Boys sleep under the tree in the centre of the camp at night or in a hut specially set apart for them. Each morning they accompany their fathers into the veld. At first they are given little bows and wooden arrows with which to amuse themselves. Towards the eighth or ninth year each is provided by his father with a proper bow and three arrows which, however, are not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbuck or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veld craft.

Initiation Ceremonies.

Both boys and girls, on reaching a marriageable age, are 881
subjected to certain ceremonies before being admitted to full membership of the group. These ceremonies vary consider- [184]
ably among the various tribes.

The following is an account of the girls' initiation ceremony as practised among the *Hei-||om* group around the Etosha Pan. As young girls (*ǂkham-khoidi*) approach the age of puberty they are placed in a hut called *ǂkham-khoidi* or *oa.ai-khoidi oms* in which they sleep at night. During the daytime they gather veldkos either by themselves or in company with the married women. Men, whether married or single, may not enter the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* nor may they speak to the *ǂkham-khoidi*. The latter may, however, speak and be spoken to by the *a.arogu*, but only at a distance so that no conversation of an intimate nature is possible without being overheard by the grown-up people. A man may on occasion address a *ǂkham-khois* by saying, "you must grow up so that I may marry you," but she will not reply. When addressed by a man, say, in the veld, she runs away to her

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

and leafy green vegetables that taste like rhubarb, have not grown in yet; and so the Bushmen must go thirsty. People have died of thirst in these false seasons.

Gathering veld food is the work of the Bushman women, and I used to go with them quite often on their trips. We sometimes stayed in the veld all day eating roots instead of drinking water. One day my brother came along to film the gathering of veld food, and as we were getting ready to leave, Gai also joined us. It is customary for Bushmen never to let a group of their women go anywhere with a Bantu or a European man unless a Bushman man goes with them to protect them. Gai sauntered along behind us in his role of guardian, quite unhampered, as he had nothing with him but his loincloth. Dasina, Twikwe, and Tsetchwe walked in front, each with a digging-stick thrust in her belt like an enormous knife, each wearing a heavy cape, and Tsetchwe carrying her baby, who rode, carefree and swinging his feet, on her shoulder. John and I walked in the middle of the procession, and at the end came the three young boys, who did not stay in single file but ran all over the veld, ran circles around us, and shouted to each other happily.

We walked across the pan of Ai a ha'o through the fine, soft grass, which left tiny, barbed seeds sticking to our legs. We walked through the brush on the opposite side and then over a wide plain, where we saw a herd of wildebeest. No one was armed, and when the wildebeest saw us, put down their heads, and ran, we could only watch helplessly as all that meat galloped away.

We walked until we came to a patch of tsama melons, perhaps twenty of them lying together, shiny, smooth, and green in the grass. The vine that once had nourished them had dried away and already some of the melons were turning yellow, overripe, ready to open and release their seeds.

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DELOUSING is a courtesy among kinsmen: the salty-tasting lice are eaten.

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There are about 1,000 !Kung—gathered into 28 bands—who build their ephemeral camps, or *werft*'s, separately in an area of 10,000 square miles. The houses in the *werft*'s are of grass, pressed over a framework of sticks, making small quarter-shells, with their backs to the prevailing wind. Gossamer things, made of the same grass that sways and crowds against their doors, they are positioned in a loose pattern according to their occupants' kinship, and all are held—finally—by the headman, who builds his shelter under the tallest tree.

[622]

From a little distance, when the sound of voices is lost on the wind, one would not know a *werft* was near. The people never return to the same *werft*—preferring to build anew and saying it would not be safe from the spirits of the dead, or sanitary, to do so. Perhaps, also, they find it sad to see the little houses toppling, day by day, into the grass of the new year.

●462

AS A STARTING POINT, labor among the !Kung is divided between two basic subsistence activities—hunting game and gathering *veldkos*. Men hunt, because their bodies are better suited to the chase. Women gather, because they could not leave their children for the long periods of hunting that men both enjoy and endure.

222

Women's work—the technology of gathering—is simple and adaptable: the tools are easily acquired, the methods quickly learned. The constant necessity to provide and the almost daily edge of effort slowly bends the

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

579 685 The /Kung stole nothing from us. Even when we went away on trips, leaving several bands of /Kung settled around our camp site, we left our supplies and equipment unlocked in the open or in our tents with confidence that nothing would be stolen. Things that we lost or forgot in the werf were returned to us, even two cigarettes in a crumpled package.

Stealing without being discovered is practically impossible in /Kung life because the /Kung know everybody's footprints and every object. Respect for ownership is strong. But, apart from that, /Ti/kay said, 'Stealing would cause nothing but trouble. It might cause fighting.' [578]

Conclusion

578 During seventeen and a half months when I lived with the Nyae Nyae /Kung at Gautscha (with Bands 1 and 2 and many visitors—usually about sixty to seventy-five persons), I personally saw four flare-ups of discord and heard of three others which occurred in neighbouring bands during that period. All were resolved before they became serious quarrels. Of the seven, four were flare-ups of sexual jealousy. One was 'the talk' about Khuan//a's gift. Two were very minor disagreements about going somewhere, when Gao Beard's frustrated young wife hit him on the head with her digging-stick and when /Ti/kay gave his brother a shove for refusing to accompany him. None were about food. We considered, judging from that sample, that the /Kung managed very well to keep tensions from turning into hostility, to avoid arousing jealousy and ill will, to cohere, and to achieve the comfort and security which they so desire in human relations.

APPENDIX

!Kung Bushman Artifacts

ANIMAL MATERIALS

Hides

281 *Made and used by men*

- breech clouts
- oracle disks
- head-dresses (a few, worn in dances) [237]
- caps (a few) [534]

467

Made by men, used by women

- genital aprons [321]
- small karosses worn around buttocks or for carrying babies

Made by men, used by all

- karosses
- bags (sewn)
- bags of whole skins
- tobacco pouches of scrota
- bracelets, armbands, knee and ankle bands [237]
- necklaces
- thongs

Cocoons

Made by men

- dance rattles

Bone

Made and used by men

- connecting parts for arrow-shafts
- arrow-points (few)
- dishes for mixing poison

Made and used by women

- fresh bone, pounded to powder, is used to clean and soften karosses

Birds' Nests

Used by men and women

- tobacco pouches (nests of the penduline tit, *Anthoscopus minutus*)

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Sinews

Made and used by men

bow-strings
wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison adheres well to sinew)
binding for hafts
snares

Made by men, used by all

strings for *//guashi* (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

fine rolled cord

Horn

Made and used by men

horns fitted with leather covers for carrying arrow-points
horns for cupping

Used by all

horns for pipes
horns for spoons

Shell

Made by men, used by all

ostrich egg-shell water-containers
tortoise-shell dippers
tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

ostrich egg-shell beads

Feathers

Used by boys on *jani* toys
Worn by all occasionally in hair

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

Wood

Made and used by men

bows
spear handles
axe or adze handles
knife handles
knife sheaths
spring-hare hook handles[1]
fire-making sticks
hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

digging sticks
carrying sticks
stirring sticks
mortars and pestles
bowls
spoons
fire scrapers
//guashi (musical instrument)
one-stringed violin
jani toys
beads

Made by women

frames for scherms

Fibres

(from *sansevieria*, aloe, *//aa* tree roots, other roots)

Rolled by men and women

cord

Made and used by men

carrying-nets
snares

Made and used by all

ornaments

Grass

Made by men and women

stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-containers
ornaments

Made by women

scherms

Made by children

toys of grass folded and woven to suggest animals

Used by all for beds

[1] Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying. They carry only the hook around with them and whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

VEGETABLE MATERIALS (*contd.*)

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824

Reeds

Made and used by men

arrowshafts

Used by women

strips for tying frames of scherms and for tying grass on scherms in times of high wind

Worn by all as head and chest bands

Bark

Made and used by men

quivers

Tsi Nuts

Used by all as beads

Used by boys as weights for *jani* toy

STONE

324
462
[302]

Made by men

arrow-straighteners
pipes

Used by men for

sharpening blades
hammers
anvils
weights to stretch nets
marking graves

Used by women

powdered red earth for ceremonial markings on face

OBTAINED BY TRADE WITH BANTU

439

Malleable Metal and Wire

Made and used by men

arrow-points
spear-blades
spring-hare hooks

Made by men, used by all

pipes
awls

Used by men

knives
axes or adzes
chisels (few)
files (few
fire-strikers) (few)

Used by all

beads—copper, glass, shell, &c.
pots—Bantu clay, European iron
pipes (few), European briar, old cartridge-shells
receptacles (few)
old scraps of garments and blankets
oddments such as buttons for ornaments

Résumé

LE PARTAGE ET LE PARLER: SOULAGEMENT DES TENSIONS SOCIALES CHEZ LES BANDES DE BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

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Dans cette communication, l'auteur décrit plusieurs coutumes de Boschimans /Kung dans la région Nyae Nyae de l'Afrique du sud-ouest, coutumes qui les ont aidés à maintenir des relations pacifiques au sein de leurs groupes et entre les divers groupes de la région. Ces coutumes ont été observées au cours des expéditions Marshall de 1951–9. Les modifications

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsi, the men always ac-
462 company the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsi* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater por-
222 tion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging imple-
[412] ment is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were
[101] living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some
[489] to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles
[361] to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back
[859] to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to
[482] them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the
[372] bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as
252 meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes,
264 pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

222 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the
433 impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food
731 is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families
166 therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—
[582]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not 251
uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming 261
journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to 261
food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food 576
or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food 433
and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung 462
society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no 562
extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly 562
strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous 147
and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of 562
hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing 462
splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable 262
foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. 224
The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's [535]
wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The 342
building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's [463]
work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a [137]
woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. [461]
She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

262 plants, are scarce and unpredictable and people never depend
137 on meat for their basic subsistance. Therefore the well-
136
433 being of the Bushmen as a population can be viewed as the product of two factors: the abundance of food resources in their environment, and the intelligence and sophistication which informs their exploitation of these resources.

512 Although the getting of food is the major activity of
433 Bushman life and is a major focus of Bushman thought, the greater part of the waking life of the Bushmen is given over to social, religious and trading activities that are largely independent of the food quest.

Their emphasis on non-subsistence activities becomes clear when daily records are kept of the activities of the
[126] members of a camp. For example, a diary of activities was kept for the Dobe camp during July, 1964. This record was made during mid-winter, a season of comparative scarcity. It
[462] was found that the 23 adults of this camp spent less than half of their days in subsistence activities, an average of 23% of the time for the women and 40% of the time for the
[574] men. The majority of their waking hours were spent visiting
[521] other camps, entertaining visitors, resting, talking, hut building, and making tools, clothing, and ornaments.

Plant Resources

137 There are well over 200 species of plants and 220 species
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VI. ORGANIZATION AND TECHNOLOGY OF SUBSISTENCE

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462 There is a basic division of labor between the sexes: the men are hunters of game and the women gatherers of plant foods. The men, however, do combine gathering with hunting. For instance, if no game has been killed on a hunt the men will gather some vegetable food as they return at the end of the day so that they will not come home empty-handed. The organization of work is simple. The sexes are almost always segregated in food-getting activities. Typically the women of a camp will go out in groups of three to five, with a well-defined objective of which species they want to collect. They spend the day or part of it working over an area and return to the camp each evening with their food. They never remain out overnight.

224
462 The hunting groups of the men are smaller than the collecting groups of women. Typically two men will go out hunting together, but frequently an individual will go hunting alone. More rarely groups of three or four men go out. Hunting groups of five or more men were never observed during the study period. The Bushmen feel that too many participants spoil the hunt. The men very rarely stay out overnight. Even if they have shot an antelope in the afternoon they return to the main camp to sleep and early the next morning set out to

224 track the animal to the place where it has died. All the
462
[222] Dobe area Bushmen consistently hunted and collected within a 15-20 mile radius of their camps. Hunting trips of 3-10 days duration have been recorded in the literature on !Kung (e.g. L. Marshall 1960:331), but these extended trips were not a feature in the Dobe area.

222 The contrast in technology between the hunting equipment
224 of the men and the gathering equipment of the women is
462 striking. Only three elementary tools are required for the complete range of gathering tasks. On the other hand, the hunting kits consist of at least 19 complex weapons and devices, with sophisticated methods of manufacture and maintenance.

222 The three gathering tools are the <u>kaross</u>, the digging stick and the nut-cracking stones. With only these three items, a softened antelope hide, a sharpened stick, and a pair of unimproved rocks, the entire gamut of plant foods
[291] can be exploited. The kaross is the most important of the three. This is a one-piece combination garment-cum-carrying-device made from the hide of a gemsbok, kudu or wildebeeste.
[281] The raw hide is dried, the edges are trimmed and the hide is softened by a tanning agent from the plant <u>Elephantorhiza burkei</u>. The resulting garment is worn by the women draped
[482] over the back. When tied at the waist by a leather thong,
[291]

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146 totalling 36 lbs. This meat (490 lbs.) went to feed a camp of 42 people (exclusive of visitors).

A rough calculation of the weight of meat per person per day through this 28-day period gives a figure of 6-2/3 oz. of meat. The daily intake of vegetable foods per person during the same period can be estimated at 24 oz. (of mongongo nuts and various roots). Therefore a reasonable estimate of the ratio of meat to vegetables in the diet of this camp is 25%-75%.

This ratio is based on observations at one camp during
[114] one season only. It can be said, however, that George Silberbauer, Laurence and Lorna Marshall, and the author are in general agreement that meat comprises between 20% and 40% by weight of the Bushman diet (Silberbauer, 1965:28; Marshalls, personal communication).

5. Late Winter

221 There is a well-defined break point in the winter subsistence cycle between the early period (May, June and July) of relative abundance and the late winter and spring period
221 of increasing food scarcity (August-September). Through the
222 early winter the Bushmen concentrate on the mongongo nut groves
462 that are within a day's walk of permanent water. Groups of women go out once every three or four days, fill their karosses with nuts and return to the camp in the evening. The men

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222 during this period concentrate on tending their snarelines.
[462] Gradually the distance to the nuts increases as a wider and
[224] wider radius of nuts becomes eaten out. For instance, by the end of July there were no nuts within seven miles of the Dobe waterhole, and a day's collecting became a major undertaking. In order to reach the nuts, the women had to set out early in the morning and walk for 2-1/2 hours. In the nut forest they had to work for two hours to fill their karosses
[482] with nuts. On the return journey each woman was heavily loaded with c. 30 lbs. of whole nuts and the distance back to camp took 3-1/2 hours to cover. Thus on a late July collecting trip, the women would have to walk at least 14 miles to and from the nuts, plus another two miles in the nut forests, stooping and collecting. This adds up to eight hours of hard work in one day.

At this point, the effort required to gather mongongo nuts begins to outweigh the satisfaction derived from eating nuts and one observed a sharp decline in nut collecting in favor of the less desirable foods of classes II, III and IV. These latter foods had the advantage of being locally abundant in the vicinity of the permanent waterholes.

This transition from nuts to other foods occurred at Dobe
[184] at the end of July (in 1964). At !gose, where the nut forests are much denser, the gatherers continued their daily trips

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484 location closer to the nuts. By 7:00 a.m. this camp had been
312 deserted. The women and their children had gone to collect
[462] nuts and the men had set out to find Fockea roots and to hunt
[224] along the way. The men carried no water with them on the hunt. The author accompanied the men.

We walked south for several miles looking for fresh animal tracks and for patches of Fockea plants. We passed through two molapos where the Fockea plants were likely to exist, but to our disappointment we found none. It was 10:00 a.m. before we dug out the first Fockea of the day.
[132] By this time the morning coolness had disappeared and we had to walk and dig in the sun with shade temperatures about
312 100°F. The first Fockea worth digging were found 4-1/2 miles
824 south of our camp at !wi/wama. The roots were the size of a football and weighed about three pounds.

The flesh of Fockea is white and juicy with a spongy granular texture. The juice is milky in color and slightly astringent so that it smarts when accidentally rubbed into small cuts on the hands. There are two methods of extracting the moisture from the root. First, one cuts open the root with a knife and chops off chunks of the flesh inside. This may be eaten directly like watermelon. The disadvantage of this method is that one must swallow about three pounds of roughage in order to extract one pint of moisture; in other

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224 No game were seen except for a solitary female ostrich. We
[222] tracked her to her nest and collected her clutch of nine eggs. Each of the eggs was pounded in the sand to separate the amnion from the inside of the shell. This apparently kills the embryo inside the egg. These nine eggs were divided among the three of us. We then dug out four large Fockea roots intact, and we returned to the camp at 2:30 p.m. after a hike of nine miles.

484 The women of the camp had spent the early part of the
222 morning collecting nuts and Fockea and the rest of the day
• 462 sitting in the shade cracking nuts and squeezing the Fockea
312 juice. From 2:30 to 4:30 p.m. no one drank any of the water that had been brought the previous day.

484 At 4:30 p.m. the third man of the camp arrived from Dobe.
312 He brought with him one gallon of water in an enamel milk pail and portions of a dead kudu that he had scavenged from a carnivore kill on the way.

484 By this time I was experiencing symptoms of heat dis-
123 tress, (fever, lassitude, inability to swallow) and decided
312 to return to Dobe, because my continued presence would become a burden on the camp residents, none of whom, incidentally, showed any signs of heat discomfort.

One of the men, seeing my condition, offered to accompany me back to Dobe with his family. We left at sunset and walked

262 insects that occur locally are regarded as food. Such animals as rodents, snakes, lizards, termites, and grasshoppers, which, in the literature, are included in the Bushman dietary, are despised by the Bushmen of the Dobe area. Even the more attractive larger mammals are hedged round by numerous age-specific, sex-specific, and personal taboos, so that no single Bushman may eat all of the thirty species of mammal that are considered edible. Ritual curers prescribe, for each individual, a series of species that would be highly injurious if the individual were to eat them. These prohibitions are strictly observed. For instance, the wife of ǂoma, the most successful wart-hog hunter, was forbidden to eat the meat of that species and she became sick to her stomach at the mere smell of cooking wart-hog meat. Such strongly-held aversions and selective tastes are cultural luxuries that are not usually associated with a starvation level subsistence.

<u>Leisure and Work</u> -- The getting of food is the most important 462 single activity in Bushman life. This task occupies, on the [512] average, 25 per cent of the womens' days and 40 per cent of the mens' days. The significant point, however, is that the majority of the time of both sexes is spent in non-subsistence [222] activities such as resting, talking, and visiting. In a typical [574] work period, a Bush woman will gather one day and then spend two or three days either resting in camp or visiting other camps,

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222
574 before she goes out to gather again. The hunters tend to
462 work more frequently than the gatherers. Typically a man will
[224] go out on two or three consecutive days and then spend two or three days in camp. Unlike the women, who maintained a consistent gathering routine throughout the year, the hunting activity of the men came in intermittent bursts. It was not unusual for a man to hunt avidly for a week and then do no hunting at all for two weeks. Since hunting was an unpredictable business, and subject to magical control, hunters would sometimes experience a run of bad luck and would stop hunting for a month or longer. For instance, ǂoma, the best hunter of the Dobe camp, did not hunt at all for a three-month period in 1963 because he said that his luck had left him. He remained in camp, apparently awaiting inspiration, while his wife patiently provided food for him. Most of the men of the Dobe camp went through similar periods of inactivity.

883 <u>Non-productive Camp Members</u> -- People who are under twenty
[887] years and over sixty-five years of age contribute very little to the food input of a camp. Young women are not expected to
[582] contribute food until they are married. Girls typically marry
[574] between the ages of fifteen and twenty, so it is not unusual to find healthy, active, teenagers visiting from camp to camp while their older relatives provide food for them. The assumption of adult responsibility by the boys is even more delayed.

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Dress and Decoration

Bushmen

281 291 Save where there has been a good deal of contact with European influences, all the Bushmen wear garments made entirely from the skins of animals, usually some kind of buck taken in the chase.[1] Complete nudity is hardly ever found, though it is reported on hearsay evidence by Miss Bleek of some of the wilder bands of Auen and Naron. [462] All the clothes are made by the men, who prepare not only their own garments but also those of their wives and children.

The principal garment of the men among all the Bushmen consists in a triangular piece of skin, two ends of which are tied together round the loins, while the third is passed between the legs and knotted on behind. [177] Some of the North-Eastern Bushmen (Tannekwe, Hukwe, Galikwe), who have been much in contact with the Bantu, have adopted the form of loin-cloth worn by the latter, in which a piece of skin passed between the legs is drawn before and behind through a leather girdle tied round the loins. A skin cloak (" kaross ") is also worn by most of the men, especially in cold weather or when on the [284] march. This is tied over the right shoulder by means of strips of skin attached to two ends, and hangs so as to cover the back and, if large enough, also the chest, while leaving the arms and left shoulder free. It is sometimes worn slung over both shoulders and tied under the chin. The head is usually uncovered, but skin caps are sometimes seen, as well as leather sandals tied round the ankle with thongs.

281 415 482 411 On the march the men carry a round bag slung on over the right shoulder and hanging on the left hip. In it are carried all sorts of small possessions and food. A longer skin bag, containing the weapons, fire-sticks, etc., is also hung over the left shoulder. Bark quivers for the arrows are sometimes found as well, more especially among the Southern and Namib Bushmen.

281 291 The women wear a hanging apron in front, consisting in a piece of skin attached to a leather belt passing round the loins. It is often ornamented with bead or leather tassels. A smaller apron, covering only the genitals, is sometimes worn beneath this. The older women

[1] The fullest descriptions of Bushman dress and decoration are given by: Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 428–30; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 33–40; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140–3; Werner, "Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kung-buschleute," 255–7; Seiner, "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 297–8; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 87–90; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 8–10; E. Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 101–10.

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mountains in the west of Great Namaqualand.[1] Most of the Bushmen, however, now live in flat country, where such natural shelters are denied them. Wherever they stay for more than a couple of days, crude bush huts are put up by the women. These are usually erected within walking distance of a waterhole, about an hour or two away. The people never live at the water itself, for fear of frightening away the game, which is most easily shot or trapped when coming to drink. 342 361 [462] [312] [224]

Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, "When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts."[2] 361 622 342 [372]

There seems to be as a rule no fixed form of settlement. All the families drinking at one waterhole may live in one group, or there may be several lots of huts scattered about in different directions. Among the Cape Bushmen, for example, one might find three or four huts standing together, or several huts dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, and the same appears to be true of the Naron.[3] 361

Among the Heikum, however, the camp is said to be laid out on a definite plan.[4] As a rule all the members of the band live in a common encampment or "werft" (*//gaus*). The huts of the married families are placed at a certain interval apart, and arranged in the form of an irregular circle. At or near the middle of the camp is situated a large tree, known as the */heis*. The hut of the chief (*gei-khoib*) is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. The brother of the *gei-khoib* live immediately to his left on the south side of the *//gaus*, and beyond them are placed the other married families of the community. The right or north side of the *//gaus* is reserved entirely for visiting sisters of the *gei-khoib* and their families, while any of his married daughters who may be visiting him erects her hut directly opposite to his at the furthest extremity of the camp. "This is done on account of the parent-in-law taboo (*tao-sas*) which [184] [606]

[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii; *idem*, *The Naron*, 4.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[4] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50-2; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

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the ground and covered with grass. The description of the Naron hut given by Miss Bleek[1] applies equally to the huts of most of the other Northern Bushmen.[2] "The women do all the building here. The men may cut a few branches, but their wives plant them in a semicircle, tie the tops together with a thong or bark fibre, put smaller sticks in between them, and thatch the whole with grass, making a cosy little wind screen. In bad weather chunks of wood are often laid on top to keep the grass in place. The size and the care with which a hut is built vary with the season: in dry weather a very slight shelter suffices, just a little sloping screen perhaps made by sticking grass in the branches of a bush. As the rainy season approaches a proper semicircular hut is made, from four to five feet high, the opening to leeward of course, and when the rain really comes, the half circle is increased to about a three-quarter circle, often thereby changing the direction of the opening in accordance with the different wind. There is no door; the opening is about four feet high." The whole structure is easy put up, and is abandoned without misgiving. If the next halting place is near, the women carry some of the materials over; if not, new material is always at hand.

Among the Cape Bushmen light portable huts equally simple in make were sometimes seen. A few bent sticks formed the framework, which was covered with mats made of reeds laid side by side and neatly sewn together. The whole structure was hemispherical in shape, about four feet in diameter, and only some three feet in height. When the encampment broke up, the mats were rolled together, and used again at the next spot.[3] Somewhat larger huts made in the same way are also found among some of the North-Eastern tribes at the present time, e.g. the Hukwe and some of the Hiechware, but in general the grass hut is the prevailing kind.[4]

The floor in the interior of the hut is usually scooped out a little, making a sort of nest, in which the inmates sleep; this is lightly strewn with dry grass, which is often changed. In front of the hut is the fireplace, marked by a mound of ashes rising higher daily and sheltering the opening. Here all the cooking is done, save in wet weather, when it is often done inside the hut. At night a second little fire is made in the middle of the hut, or just inside the opening. Round

[1] Op. cit., 5.
[2] Cf. Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 81-2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 259; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 298.
[3] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275-6; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 43.
[4] Seiner, op. cit., 298; Dornan, op. cit., 90; Wilhelm, "Wortschatz . . . der Hukwe-Buschmannsprache," 301.

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221 compelled to turn back to permanent waterholes. Thus in the rainy
312 season the Aikwe, Tsaukwe, /Amkwe, /Dukwe, and Tserekwe all hunt
423 in the wide sandveld pierced by the bed of the Letyahau, keeping to some extent to their respective hunting territories, but apparently also hunting together peacefully in the most central parts of the region. In the dry season, however, they turn back to the limestone pans of the Ghansiveld and Mahuraveld and to the river-courses of the Tauche-Botletle system, where permanent water is to be found.[1] The same alternation of residence with the seasons occurs, as we have seen, among the Tannekwe and the Hukwe, and may also be noted among the Kung and the Auen in the Omaheke and Kaukauveld.[2]

It is not only in alternation of residence that the change of season
[621] makes itself felt. In some cases it also affects the very cohesion of the band itself; for, as already mentioned, both among the Auen and among some of the Central Kalahari tribes the members of the band concentrate together during the rainy season when there is a more abundant supply of food, but as the dry season comes on the families scatter and wander off in different directions.

From their huts the people go out every day in search of food.
462 The women rise early, light the fire, and prepare the food for the
512 morning meal, which usually consists of veldkos left over from the previous evening. After having eaten, the men may go out hunting or visiting or engage in some other occupation, such as preparing skins, weapons, and utensils. The women accompany one another in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. "One may see a group of women and little children start off in one direction, single file of course, then some men in another, then four or five boys together, then girls, small and big, then some more men, and so on." When food is obtainable at no great distance, the women are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have far to go they may not reach home till late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they start the fires and proceed to prepare the food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water from the neighbouring waterhole.
[264] Food is ready by the time the men arrive in the late afternoon, and the evening meal, the principal meal of the day, is then eaten without delay. Meals are taken in common by the members of the family,
512 each family eating at its own hut. Afterwards visits are usually
[574]

[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 31–2.
[2] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303.

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Cooking

252 is done chiefly by the women, assisted by the children; in exceptional
[462] cases the men also may cook. Wild cucumbers, nuts, bulbs, and similar plant foods are baked in hot ashes covered with cinders. A bright fire is made and allowed to die down, a hole is scraped in the ashes with a flat, paddle-shaped wooden scoop, the food put in and covered over. It is then eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge, after being pounded up in wooden mortars or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood. Birds, snakes, small antelopes, etc., are baked in the same manner; ants are similarly treated, and then sifted through a mat of loosely-woven reeds, while locusts are either baked or boiled. *Grewia* berries are sometimes eaten as picked, stone and all, sometimes stamped in the mortar and swallowed uncooked. Some specially dainty kinds of meat are roasted over the fire on a wooden spit stuck into the ground. Other kinds of meat, again, as well as stamped
[439] locusts, *tsama* seeds and foods obtained from the white man, such as mealie meal, are cooked with water.

The "tame" Bushmen now use any sort of receptacle, such as a
415 paraffin or paint tin, for cooking purposes; the Auen and Naron
[439] in their more primitive condition used wooden pots, made by themselves or obtained by barter; while among the more Northern tribes clay pots obtained by barter from the OvaMbo and other Bantu tribes are sometimes found. The actual manufacture of clay pots by the
[184] Bushmen themselves seems to have been restricted to the tribes
[323] south of the Molopo. Food is eaten direct from the pot or from plates
[264] and bowls made of wood. Wooden spoons are sometimes found among the Northern tribes, but generally either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Fire is everywhere made by drilling a thin hard stick in another,
372 somewhat softer, in which there is a notch (Plate IX). This second stick is held firmly on the ground by one foot, while the drill-stick with its lower end pressed into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the hands until sparks come. A little dry grass is in readiness to catch the spark, and when it has caught alight dry wood is gradually added until a good fire has been set going.

In this connection reference must be made to certain special
372 observances relating to fire which have recently been recorded by
622 Fourie about the Heikum. "All fire," he says,[1] "is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to

[1] Op. cit., 87.

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262 to these taboos is unfortunately so fragmentary that little can be
[114] gathered of the ideas underlying them. Several of them are
undoubtedly connected with wider ritual observances, e.g. the taboo
[821] imposed on menstruating girls, and again that associated with a
[821] certain belief about the rain; but of the others no full explanation is
[773] available, although the taboo on the portion of the hare may possibly
[761] be linked up with the Bushman myth of the origin of death, in which
[825] the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the
promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon.

Among the Naron, again, "It does not seem," says Miss Bleek,[1] "as if many taboos in the food line still existed. Paauw meat and ostrich eggs are chiefly given to old men as the greatest delicacies. Some say young children, or girls till they have had their first baby, are not to eat steenbok, lest they remain small, but others tell me that all meat is eaten by everyone. Honey touched by a baboon must not be eaten, or you will die." Among the Auen, young girls and boys apparently may not eat game at all, otherwise they will remain thin; while water
[841] and food collected by a menstruating woman may be partaken of only by herself and old people—it "makes others weak".[2]

About the Heikum we have far more information on this point,
224 thanks to the excellent description given by Fourie of certain
[114] of their hunting observances.[3] The details he gives throw such a wealth of new light upon this aspect of Bushman life that they may be quoted in full. "After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *//gaus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals.
224 The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout
252 for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is
[462] skinned by the men. The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the
[281] purpose, is cut into sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then removed to the *//gaus* by the men who may occasionally be
[462] assisted by the women. On arrival at the *//gaus* all the meat is laid

[1] *The Naron*, 7. [2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140, 157.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 100–2; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 54–6.

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only to the treatment of women and their paramours; nothing is said of the wife's remedies when her husband is unfaithful.

Besides this sexual relation between husband and wife, there is also the economic relation. The two share the same hut, and take their meals in common. It is the duty of the wife to build the hut, to provide the vegetable food, the firewood and water, and to cook the meals; while it is the duty of the husband to provide game for himself and his wife, to make her clothes and certain of her utensils. The economic burden of the woman has led some writers to depreciate her status, but on the whole it would seem that the women are the companions of their husbands, not their servants, and will often take their own way, in spite of the man's wishes. The position of the wife within the household is, in fact, hardly inferior to that of her husband, who, it is said, is often enough henpecked by her![1]

In addition to establishing this special relationship between husband and wife, marriage leads also to the formation of further special relationships, especially with the parents-in-law. After marriage, as we have seen, the young couple may remain for some time with the wife's parents before finally taking up their residence in the husband's group. Among the Kung and the neighbouring tribes to the east the husband has during this period of temporary matrilocal residence to hunt for his parents-in-law and to supply them in this way with animal food. If he neglects to do this, says Vedder, his wife may be taken away from him.[2] We thus get a special economic relationship between a man and his wife's parents, based directly upon the fact of his marriage. Probably something similar exists among the other Bushman tribes having temporary matrilocal residence, but no concrete information is available about them in this connection.

Among almost all the Bushmen, moreover, marriage further creates a special form of etiquette between a man and his parents-in-law, and in some cases between a woman and her husband's parents. Thus among the Kung the husband has to avoid his mother-in-law, the wife apparently also her father-in-law. The wife's parents do not enter the hut of the young couple, nor again may the husband enter their hut. The game which he kills for his father-in-law he lays down in front of the latter's hut.[3] Similarly among the Naron a man is not

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; Chapman, op. cit., i, 291; Lebzelter, op. cit., 14. For an unsympathetic account of the wife's status, cf. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 122.

[2] Vedder, op. cit., 8; Chapman, op. cit., i, 258.

[3] Vedder, loc. cit.; Chapman, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 63.

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222 way private rights can be indicated over honey in a nest, or by a woman
422 who has located a spot with a specially abundant supply of veldkos. Whoever removes anything from such places is regarded as a thief.[1] It must be emphasized, however, that rights of this nature are only
[423] acquired by chance, and that apart from them there appears to be no restriction at all upon the free exploitation of the hunting territory and all its resources by any member of the band.

Hunting

224 Once they have passed through the puberty ceremonies, boys and
[883] girls participate in the full economic life of the band. All the men
[462] are hunters, and spend the greater part of their daily life in pursuing or ensnaring game. Their methods of hunting vary with the nature of the intended prey, and according to the season of the year.

Weapons

The principal method is by means of pursuit and the use of weapons.
411 The latter amongst all the Bushmen consist primarily of the bow and arrow.[2] The bows are small, and on the whole fairly crude and of simple make (Plate IXd). They are as a rule prepared from the wood
[824] of the *Grewia flava*, a thin length of which is cut and roughly shaped is such a way as to taper gradually almost to a point at the ends. The
[283] string is made either from two thin sinews twisted together or some-
[237] times, among the Northern tribes, from wood fibre worked into a
[284] strong cord. It is attached by a simple slip-knot and wound tightly several times round the basal end of the bow-stave, to which a small leather collar or sinew band is usually fixed to prevent the string from slipping when hitched over it. The stave is then bent and the string knotted to the other end, where it is kept in place by a leather band. The bow is kept permanently strung. Its stave is frequently strengthened with additional sinew bindings, especially round the centre, which prevent it from splitting and also form a convenient grip for the hand.

The arrows are complex in structure and vary considerably in

[1] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 120; *idem*, in *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, ix (1896), p. xvii; Vialls, "The Masarwa," 32; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.

[2] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), 113–17; cf. Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 68–71; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4; van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements," 80–5; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hanneimann," 94–6, 99–100.

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226 more important as a mode of subsistence than hunting.[1] It[2] is also
[462] the work of the men. Among the Cape Bushmen, especially those
living along the banks of the Orange River, the principal method
[227] employed lay in the use of funnel-shaped traps of closely woven reeds,
about 3 feet long and 18 inches to 2 feet wide, narrowing towards the
mouth. These traps were stretched across the stream in a shallow
part, and while some men stood waiting behind them, others waded
up stream from a point below and drove the fish before them to the
reed traps, where they were then caught and thrown on shore.

In the Okavango basin this method is also used, but there is a variety
of others as well. Sometimes the fish in the lakes and rivers are speared
[177] from flat-bottomed boats, probably adopted from the MaMbukushu
[501] and MaKoba of the same region. Sometimes, again, small stone dams
are built from each bank so as to run out into the river in a slanting
direction, leaving a narrow opening in which is placed the reed trap.
The fish are either swept into these traps by the force of the current,
or are driven in by the Bushmen themselves. Or, again, reed fences
or stone dams are built straight across the beds of the dry courses
into which the river overflows at times of flood. When the flood has
reached its highest level, and the water begins to sink, the retreat of
the fish carried along into these courses is cut off, so that they are
easily caught.

Special Hunting Observances

224 The method of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons is
304 surrounded by all the Bushmen with various special usages and
beliefs. Charms to ensure good luck in the chase are found among
them all. With the North-Western tribes these most commonly take
the form of scarifications serving to endow the hunter with the
qualities of certain animals and enabling him to hunt them successfully.
The cuts are made, as a rule on the arms, sometimes on the cheeks,
occasionally also on the back, chest, or belly. A tiny piece of meat is
then burned to ashes, which are rubbed into the wounds. The meat
[825] is that of an animal whose qualities are specially desirable, e.g. that
of the springbok for swiftness. These cuts are usually given to boys
soon after they begin to hunt, and are executed by old men who are
themselves successful hunters. The cuts made between the eyebrows

[1] Barrow, op. cit., i, 290, 300; Lichtenstein, op. cit., ii, 44; Alexander, op. cit., i, 237; Passarge, "Okawangosumpfland," 697–8; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296; Dornan, op. cit., 106–9.

[2] [i.e., fishing.—Analyst]

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nowadays the thing is done in a haphazard manner, and generally passes as an accident. 222 224 311

The collection of veldkos is done by both men and women; but whereas with the former it is incidental to their hunting, the latter are collectors only, and set out every day, usually in company, to go over several miles of land. The digging-sticks they use are from 3 to 4 feet long, and consist of pieces of hard wood, pointed at one end. In the south, where the veld is hard, and in the mountainous parts of the east these sticks were sometimes tipped with a buck's horn and weighted by means of a perforated stone ball passed over their lower end and wedged in (Plate IX); but in the Kalahari, where there is only sand to cope with, this is never found. The foods gathered are chiefly roots, bulbs, ground nuts, berries, melons, and, in fact, anything at all edible, the food naturally varying with the season of the year. At the same time, the women also catch all sorts of small animals which they come across—iguanas, tortoises, frogs, locusts, flying ants, etc.—and they gather dry sticks for the evening fire. [462] [412] [184]

Among the Heikum the following ceremony is observed in connection with the gathering of veldkos by the women. "It is practised," says Fourie,[1] "when the fruit of the *|huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the *|huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gaus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women to the *//gaus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the *!heis*. Her husband now kindles the *!hei-|ais*, and, after having applied *|norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it." There is no known name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called */gao-ei-|un*. The ceremony in this form is not found in any of the other Bushman tribes, but is met with also in slightly different form among the Bergdama. The possibility of borrowing must therefore again be kept in mind; but, whether borrowed or not, the ceremony is of importance as indicating the development of a special ritual in connection with one of the principal sources of food supply. 222 622 [184] [171]

[1] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56–7; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W.A." 98–9.

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222 622 [184] A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to [782] [539] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 [462] [857] [415] [237] Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 182 [221] [621] The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Division of Labour

In the manufacture of these different utensils, implements, and garments, as well as in the collection of food, there is no division of labour within the band save as between the two sexes. Every man is expected to be able to hunt, to make bows and arrows, and to do all the other things that are done by men; and in the same way every woman is expected to do the work recognized as pertaining to women. Some women, it is true, are more clever and industrious than others in making beads, some men better at hunting or at twisting rope and boring pipes, but all know how these things are done and none devotes his life to any one of them exclusively. The only special occupation is that of the magician, who in addition to having religious and magical functions is also the physician, but otherwise even he lives and works as do the rest, getting a few presents for his occasional services. 462 [463] [756]

The division of labour between the sexes is clearly marked. A man hunts and snares game, fishes, collects veldkos as the opportunity arises while he is out hunting, prepares skins, makes the clothing for himself and his family, makes his own weapons, arrow-poison, firesticks, and other implements, twists rope, manufactures the larger wooden vessels and other utensils, makes fire, and occasionally assists the women in fetching wood and water. A woman builds the hut for her family, gathers veldkos and prepares the food, fetches wood and water, maintains the fire, makes her own ornaments, and is also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Among the Auen the beginnings of specialized labour are found in that certain men work in iron, i.e. make spear and arrow heads and other implements out of any pieces of iron they can obtain. The production of raw iron from the ore is unknown to all the Bushmen, who, as a rule, obtain whatever iron they use by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples. Among the !O Kung of Angola a further division of labour was found by Miss Bleek in a group at Rusembu, where only the good shots went hunting, while other men worked in iron, and another appeared to be the trader and honey gatherer.[1] But specialization of this kind is quite exceptional in Bushman life. 184 463 [326] [439]

Trade

Although the Bushmen are thus able to draw from the resources of their environment almost everything they really need, economically 177 439

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 153; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55.

/143 cont./

411 the upper end of the shaft (strips of leather or neck tendons of a large antelope); c, shaft.

/144/ With the exception of the iron point of the throwing lances, all the weapons are manufactured by the Auin themselves.
[439] The lance points reach the interior of the Kalahari from Lake Ngami through trade.

411 The lance point (see Fig. 6) is the Bushman's most valuable
435 possession. One hardly ever sees such points in a settlement, even if he comes unannounced, but only the shafts that go with them. In this respect the Bushman is so suspicious that even within the settlement he always hides the points, usually by burying them.

[422] Every adult Auin possesses one or more spears.

The iron point is inserted into the wooden shaft somewhat
411 loosely so that it can easily be taken out. The upper end of the shaft is wrapped with a strip of antelope skin or antelope neck tendons. The point also serves as a tool for handwork in place of a knife.

When the lance is carried, for which a leather strap like a
[482] rifle sling is used, it is commonly protected by a small leather cover (Photo. 25i). [Fig. 7 appears here.]

The manner of holding the bow and arrow when shooting seems to be fairly arbitrary. I have recorded the most common methods pictorially (see Photos. 29 to 32).

The bowstring is made of animal tendons twisted together. The strings were always pushed up on one side and fastened at the other (see Figs. 7a and 7b).

Composite bows do not exist.

The arrows are made exclusively from reeds which merely need to have grown straight to supply the ready-made arrow shaft. At the upper end, where the loose arrowhead is inserted, and at the bottom, where a simple, ordinary notch is made, the shaft is always wrapped with a flat, narrow grass band. Sometimes places in the middle of the shaft are wrapped. The length of the arrow shaft varies between 48 and 52 centimeters.

Feathered arrows do not occur.

411 The art of making arrows and arrowheads is a common posses-
sion of all adult Auin. There are no special arrow makers.
463 An exception to this is the manufacture of iron arrowheads, which is practiced only by some individuals, usually older persons.

/152 cont./

804 reflective and sly facial expression is exactly the same as ours.

O. Techniques

439 A definite domestic industry is present. Whatever the Auin
511 really needs, he is able to manufacture for himself. All imported objects are luxury items. I make an exception in the case of the iron lance points, but I believe that if necessary the Bushman could even do without them.

463 The beginnings of a division of labor can be seen in the fact that only certain individuals practice the smith's trade, which, incidentally, does not extend to the manufacture of lance points.

323 Pottery is unknown.

439 Pots, supposedly from the Okovangga, are to be found sporadically. The Auin, however, is unable to repair such a vessel, as by puttying.

285 Rings of braided grass are manufactured. I myself have never seen them, since they are only made of young, but no longer green grass, in other words, shortly after the rainy season.

[294] It is said that at the same time of year certain special artists braid hat-like head coverings.

The grass rings and hats have only a limited durability, for in September and October there was none left for me to see.

[415] Sieves are made of parallel grass leaves joined together by thin strings. They are used to strain food.

"Kirris" are made with attractive decorations (Fig. 12).

413 A root stock with a knotty end is peeled and made smooth.
531 A kind of pyrography is practiced on it by wrapping it, leaving bare spaces, with a long strip of the wet bark that was peeled off, and then placing the entire stick in red-hot coals. The unwrapped parts burn to a black color, while the other parts remain white.

I could not learn the purpose of these decorated sticks among the Auin. They use rough, pointed sticks for digging sticks. The kirris, therefore, seem to be luxury articles.

412 Iron knives, sharpened pieces of iron, or lance points are used as tools. As an example of pyrography, see the pipe plug, page 33.

[39 cont.]

192 sometimes radial and sometimes in rows, is called !khui. The
411 incision at the lower end of the arrow shaft is called /gei. The arrow points are usually little triangular iron plates (//khai). The entire tip, including the binding and the poisoned part, is called !hui. [Figs. 10 and 11 appear here.]

411 The arrows are 65 to 68 centimeters long. They are usually poisoned. The poison, which looks like dark wax, is smeared
278 on little sticks and preserved in this way. It consists of five in-
[463] gredients, the most important of which is euphorbia sap. Only

[824]

Fig. 10. Buphane disticha Herb., Plant Used for Arrow Poison by the !Kung (Medley Wood, Natal Plants, VI, 1912).

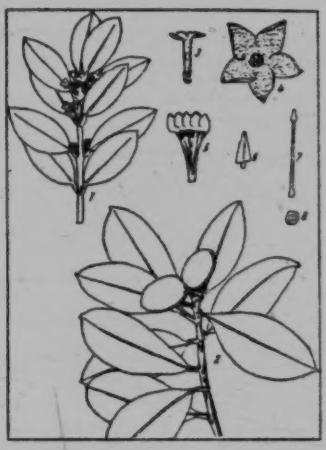

Fig. 11. Acocanthera venenata, Plant Used for Arrow Poison by the !Kung (Sim, The Forests and Forest Flora of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1907).

certain persons prepare the poison. They know that the plant poisons are not equally effective every year. Hence, a small bushbuck is shot first, then a larger animal (say, a leopard), and finally a gemsbok. Only when the proper results are obtained with all these animals is the poison traded.

411 The lances of the !Kung consist of a shaft about 160 centimeters long, which is greatly reduced in thickness toward the back end.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 133; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55.

[18 cont.]

134 The ground is covered with red sand (fox sand), which in the thorn bush areas changes to a firm, grayish-yellow; perhaps argillaceous sand. Chalk cliffs and other rocks are completely lacking. The Kaudum bed is perpetually covered with dense green grass. The sand pans have humous sand; only in the northeast near Schamatura is a peat-like swampy soil to be found with red, strongly ferruginous water. Forest fires are the order of the day, but they do little damage to the tree growth."

133 South of the Omuramba u Owambo there is a fairly large
134 number of limestone pans, which in part still contain water but are mostly dried up. The land there is drying up rapidly, according to both the Bushmen and the Europeans. During the rainy season the clayey soils are swampy, and at that time the
[136] dense bush forest is filled with myriads of mosquitoes, and
[164] malaria claims its victims from all races. The unhealthy situa-
648 tion, the difficulty of getting workers, and the irregularity of the rainfall have led to the abandonment of most of the farms outside Grootfontein, so that the Bushmen have actually gained ground there. The !Kung Bushmen outside the police zone live entirely according to their old customs and traditions. The in-
[578] dividual kin groups are in part hostile to one another. A kind
[619] of hereditary feud exists with the Hei//om, who are often attacked because of the women. The !Kung live on good terms with the farms along the northern boundary (Duwib, Keitsas, Keibeb, Kuntsas, Neitsas, Foxhof). Many of them work there for
● [464] certain periods of time, and quite a few permanently; in particular, they like to let women and children work on the farms.
[177] Mr. Cleark, the owner of Keibeb, has trained a large number of
[439] them to make charcoal. These Bushmen make the charcoal out in the wilderness and deliver it. It is then resold to the mottramite mine in Abenab. Until the establishment of the police zone, a perpetual state of war existed between the police and the Bushmen. There are constant battles between the Herero of Otjituo and the !Kung because of livestock thefts. The Herero attack the Bushmen on horseback and kill them from the saddle with the kirri.

The Bushmen, who are not accustomed to shooting at rapidly moving targets, usually come out the losers. Like the

[45 cont.]

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Bushmen stared longingly at the discolored lump of fat. Finally they sent a deputation to me, saying that they wanted the bacon for their dogs. The moment they received it, it was skillfully divided according to families and consumed in the course of a great feast, without any harmful effects.

enormous quantities, but such excesses as a rule are followed by an indisposition. The day after a major feast, almost all of them lie in the sun with stomach-ache and gripes. In other words, even a Bushman should not be credited with the impossible with regard to food; many things that seem repulsive to us, such as earthworms, lizards, thick grubs, mice, and the like, are in themselves not at all harmful to health, especially since the Bushman only eats them cooked or roasted. Bushmen who have grown up on the farms can take the same diet as the Whites or Blacks. On
147 the other hand, the wild Bushmen who have grown up on veldkost
262 and the flesh of wild animals cannot accustom themselves to the
648 work and prison diet of the Blacks. A term in jail of any great length means condemnation to a slow but sure death for most Bushmen. The prisoners show the symptoms of vitamin deficiency, become infirm, get edemata on their legs, dropsy, and unfailingly perish. In the initial stage severe sluggishness of the bowels sets in. Ample portions of fresh meat can keep the Bushman healthy
[464] even in imprisonment. The fact that Bushmen run away from the farms is based in most cases upon their inability to endure any
[146] longer the diet given them. The vitamin need of the Bushman who has grown up in the wilderness is undoubtedly much greater, and his longing for meat, which often appears pathological, can be explained as a physiological craving for vitamins.

Diseases of the Urogenital System

164 Catarrhs of the bladder occur; in such cases a flat stone
[755] is warmed in the fire and placed on the bladder region. Hematuria, evidently the result of nephritis, was twice treated by my friend

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

[151] that marks an edible root, or see a scorpion hidden in the dust
174 and jump over it. So Bushmen survive in the most rigorous places; they survive in the dense, mosquito-ridden papyrus
131 swamps of the Okovango River, steaming like a jungle and
133 dangerous with snakes and fever, where the River Bushmen
[184] live, the only Bushmen with plenty of water; they also survive on the vast, rolling steppes of central Bechuanaland, the territory of the Gikwe Bushmen, who for the nine dry months of the year have no water at all and do without it.

609 Besides the fact that Bushmen alone can live in the land
563 they occupy, there is another reason for their remoteness and
648 shyness. They are in many instances exploited by the Bantu farmers, and by a few of the European farmers, usually those who need free or almost free labor. Many Bantu farms and households have Bushman servants, or serfs, rather, as they usually come from the land on or near the farm, and when working they are paid nothing but are given food, tobacco,
464 and sometimes cast-off clothing as wages. Some European
648 farms in Bechuanaland and some in South-West Africa have Bushman laborers too, though most European farmers do not depend on Bushman labor. Those European farmers who do employ Bushmen usually pay wages, about ten shillings a month, plus a ration of food to each Bushman who is working, though not necessarily to his family, consisting of about a pound of cornmeal and a quart of milk a day, meat occasionally, and weekly a ration of tobacco. Perhaps the employer will add a set of clothing—that is, a pair of cast-off pants and a shirt—and perhaps a blanket every year, but occasionally they pay their labor in cast-off clothing and omit the ten shillings altogether.

648 European clothing is esteemed among Bushmen, for it is
291 symbolic to them of a people mightier than themselves, and
439

also because, made of cloth instead of leather, it is more cling- 648
ing, therefore warmer and more comfortable, and dries faster 291
when wet. It is sought after and desired, it is got through em- 439
ployment; yet, even so, Bushmen hesitate to seek employment because they believe that they will be badly treated (as they sometimes are) and they often find the customary wage and food ration to be inadequate for anyone who must support a family. Supposedly, the wives of Bushmen laborers are [222
free to look on the farmer's land for roots and berries, as they 465]
would if they were living in the veld; but, as it happens, after a few years the supply of wild food around a farm becomes exhausted.

The Bantu farmers, being as a rule much poorer than the 648
European farmers, are less generous to their Bushman serfs. 464
They also give a food ration of cornmeal and milk but almost never meat, for any meat that may come into the Bantu kraal is eaten by the Bantus unless it is the carcass of a hyena or a leopard which the Bantu masters have killed for the pelt. The Bantus say: "Our Bushman servants are like our children; they herd our cattle for us and we feed them. A child does not ask for wages when he helps with the family work."

Besides this, the Bantus badly cheat the Bushmen who come in from the veld to trade cured antelope hides for metal and tobacco, sometimes asking several hides, worth several pounds apiece, for enough tobacco to fill the palm of the Bushman's hand, or for a piece of wire long enough to make an arrowhead. All in all, it does not benefit the Bushmen to 609
live anywhere near Bantu or European settlements, and that 648
is why the Bushmen of the veld run and hide when they see Europeans coming, believing that they may be taken by force (as they sometimes are), and why they avoid going to a Bantu settlement except to trade for tobacco when they feel

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

LORNA MARSHALL · *The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert*[1]

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION · The Bushmen live in those parts of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa that lie in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate, in South West Africa, and in southeastern Angola. A few additional remnants of Bushman groups still exist in Northern Rhodesia and at Lake Chrissie in South Africa. In the past Bushmen had a much wider distribution.[2]

Many Bushmen live among, and some work for, the Bantu-speaking tribes in settlements where sufficient water resources have been developed to support cattle, and some Bushmen work for white farmers in the Ghanzi area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in South West Africa. However, many still live in small, independent, nomadic groups, widely dispersed in the vast areas of the desert.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise population count of the Bushmen, but a recent estimate gathered from various contemporary sources (Tobias 1956) indicates that in 1955 there were 55,531 Bushmen.[3] These figures are higher than any previously propounded (cf. Schapera 1939) and come as a surprise to many.

The Bushmen are linked with the Hottentots, a southern African people who resemble them physically and with whom they have linguistic affiliations, but who are a pastoral people with a more complex social structure. Bushmen and Hottentots together are called the *Khoisan* peoples, a coined term combining the Hottentots' term for themselves (*Khoi*) and their name for the Bushmen (*San*). The Khoisan peoples have been referred to as a distinct race (Murdock 1959: 8) or, as Howells puts it, "a major racial variety of man" (1959:306). The obscurity of their origins and racial affinities are in themselves subjects in which research continues and interesting postulations engage the attention of scientists in various fields.[4]

PHYSICAL FEATURES · The physical features of the Bushmen have drawn much attention from anthropologists. Bushmen are of small stature (adult males average approximately five feet, two inches) WITH YELLOWISH BROWN SKIN THAT BECOMES HEAVILY WRINKLED IN OLD AGE.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope.

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

101 Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a
142 satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical
144 type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included, and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland
197 would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non-
121 Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West
224 Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A
222
464 strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting
648 and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many
241
233 thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

114 A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by
197 the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963). He has demonstrated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

101 In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is
[114] adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956). Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

The economic position

114 224 222 161 Tobias erred when he estimated that in 1956, 35,000 of the 55,000 Bushmen "lead a hunting and food-gathering life, barely removed from that of the late Upper Palaeolithic or of the South African Later Stone Age." (1957:33). The first comment concerns the numbers of Bushmen still hunting; the second the "primitiveness" of the modern Bushmen hunters.

162 131 464 648 224 Of the 15,000 Bushmen in South West Africa at least 9,500 are working on European farms. An additional 3,000 are either working for Bantu agriculturalists or practicing agriculture and stock-keeping themselves. (Republic of South Africa 1964:29,41). This leaves 2,500 as hunter-gatherers in South West Africa.

In Bechuanaland an estimated 16,300 Bushmen work on European farms or Bantu cattle posts. A further 2,000 are practicing a mixed agricultural and hunting way of life. The remaining 6,100 lead a hunting and gathering way of life. The main concentrations of the latter are in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (3,000) and in western Ngamiland (1,600).

The Batwa of the Lake Chrissie area have been working on European farms for nearly a century (Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955:3). The Bushmen in the Gemsbok Park are a major tourist attraction, but may do some hunting.

In Rhodesia, the Bushmen in the Wankie area are all

162 working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in
131
464 Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield
648 as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen
224 of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life.
(Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated
at 200.

161 This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of
162
224 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty
222 percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more
[114] reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely
that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between
the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

162 The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial
224
222 and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-
178 gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most
isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with
184 their European and Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of
[221] the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend
[648] part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent
[312] to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share
[464] their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the
[233] young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds
on a contract basis.

000 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

184 The northern !Kung of Angola and Ovamboland are closely
648 associated with Bantu agriculturalists. In 1925 Bleek ob-
222 served that "In contradistinction to the southern !Kũ the
241 women and children (i.e. of the Angola !Kung) are not col-
439 lectors of wild food. Once or twice a year when certain berries ripen, the whole tribe goes out berry picking; otherwise they live by hunting and bartering part of the meat and skins obtained for the agricultural produce of their neighbors...." (1928:108). Westphal visited the Angola !Kung in 1964 and confirmed Bleek's observations (Westphal personal communication).

184 The southern division of !Kung work on the European
221 farms in the Ghanzi and Gobabis districts. Many of them
464 spend the summer months in the veld, hunting and gathering,
648 but return each year to winter on the farms (Silberbauer n.d.).

Among the central division of !Kung are found Bantu-associated peoples, farm laborers, and independent traditional hunters and gatherers. In the Grootfontein district of South West Africa several thousand central !Kung are working
131 on European farms. Along the Okavango river for 500 miles
184 of its length from Cuangar in the northwest to Sehitwa on
648 Lake Ngami, some further thousands of central !Kung live with, and work for, the Bantu of the following tribes:

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Kuangari Bunja Sambiu Djiriku	in South West Africa
Mbukushu	in South West Africa and B. P.
Bayei Batawana Herero	in B. P.

[621] These !Kung may live in independent villages near a
[224] Bantu kraal and devote much of their time to hunting and
[222] gathering, or they may be incorporated into the compounds of
[464] their protectors and work as domestic servants and farm hands.
However, all of these Bantu-associated !Kung are in contact
131 with groups of more independent !Kung living inland. Ties
184 of real and fictive kinship and marriage link the river
602 dwelling !Kung with the !Kung of the dry interior. The loca-
582 tion of these non-!Kung peoples is shown in Map 6, p. 34.

131 Map 7 illustrates how the European and Bantu-associated !Kung form a ring of population around the peripheries of the northwest Kalahari. These settled areas enclose an interior of about 25,000 square miles, one third of which is in Bechuanaland and two thirds in South West Africa. Most of

621 seem more appropriate to use the non-committal term "camp" and discard the term "band".[1]

563 Apart from the fifteen independent camps, there were 122
162 !Kung Bushmen living with the Bantu. Thirteen Bush women were married to Bantu men.[2] Five of these women had borne a total of nine children who were being raised as members of their fathers' tribes and are therefore not enumerated in the Bushman census. Some of the women had brought members of their families to live at their husbands' kraals. Twenty-eight of the !Kung Bushmen were living with their Bantu in-laws. In all, the wives of Bantu and their kinsmen account for 39 of the 122 !Kung living with Bantu. There were no cases of a Bantu girl marrying a !Kung man.

648 Some families of Bushmen live with and work for Bantu
464 families. Five young married men were working as cattle
233 herders. They brought their wives and children to live with them. In addition, seven unmarried !Kung boys were working on cattle and were living in the compounds of their employers. Several old couples and a widower, who were temporarily not

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[1]This follows the lead of James Woodburn, who in his analysis of Hadza group structure (1964) discards the term "band".

[2]One of the thirteen had actually married a N/hai Bushman (the only non-!Kung Bushman in the Dobe area). This man was culturally identified with the Bantu.

648
464 attached to an independent camp were living with the Bantu.
[233] These working Bushmen, with their spouses and families,
[162] numbered 44 people.

The Batawana headman, Isak Utuhile, was the only one of the Bantu residents to maintain a staff of retainers and their families. This sort of benevolent feudalism is a common practice throughout the Tswana tribal areas of Bechuanaland (Schapera 1953:28; Tagart 1933) but, with this one exception,
[162] is absent in the Dobe area. The headman supports four assistants (including a uniformed Bushman police constable) and their families, a total of 13 people.

Finally there was an Ad Hoc grouping of 26 !Kung who lived at the kraal of Enamoharadi, a Herero woman at Mahopa. These people lacked a territorial nucleus and therefore could
[224] not be considered as an independent camp. Several !Kung
[222] women helped with the domestic duties but the majority chose
[262] to use Mahopa as a base of operations for hunting and gathering and to drink the milk of Enamoharadi's cattle when it was offered to them.

361 Except for the women who are married to Bantu, most of
648 the !Kung remain only temporarily in Bantu villages, for periods ranging from one month to two years. Also it was observed that most of the !Kung living with Bantu spent at least half the year hunting and gathering. Furthermore many

824 is not eaten. Next is a casing of granular-textured fruit
262 which is eaten. The fruit encloses the nut itself. This consists of a thick outer shell which must be cracked open with the nut-cracking stones. Within the thick shell is a softer inner shell which encloses the nut kernel which is the staple of the Bushman diet. This inner kernel is "packaged" within four protective layers and this explains its remarkable storage properties.

824 In the late summer and autumn months the Bushmen eat
252 large quantities of both the fruit and the nut. First the women boil potfuls of whole fruit in order to separate the outer flesh from the hard shell. The flesh of the fruit produces a delicious fruit puree that tastes like stewed prunes. After the fruit is eaten, the nuts themselves are set aside for later cracking and eating.

184 The summer hunting situation appears to vary from camp
221 to camp. At the !Gausa camp very little hunting was done.
224 [177] The resident men assisted the Bantu in cattle herding and they
[648] received calabashes of sour milk as payment. At Characharaha
[464] the men hunted more, killing gemsbok, python and porcupine. At one summer camp, Mokoro, where there were no Bantu resident, two young men killed four large buck in the space of one month (two kudu and two gemsbok). This Mokoro camp was an
[177] unusually successful one. The availability of cows' milk and meat no doubt lessens the men's incentive for hunting

883
224 A boy does not begin to play-hunt until he is twelve years old, and seven or eight years may pass before he kills his first buck, an event which signals his entry into manhood.

[648] Nowadays many adolescent boys spend several years working on
[464] the Bantu cattle posts where they receive clothing and rations.
[582] This interval of work undoubtedly delays their attainment of social maturity and boys do not normally marry until they reach their middle twenties. It is significant that, upon marriage, practically all of the young men return to the camps and take up hunting as a full time occupation.

888 The aged hold a respected position in Bushman society. They are the effective as well as the titular leaders of the camps. The oldest people are fed and cared for by their children and grandchildren long after their productive years have
888 passed. The blind, the senile and the crippled are held in
734 awe and respect by the Bushmen, because they often possess special ritual and technical skills. For instance, /wan!a, the eighty year old female leader of the !gose camps, was senile and partially blind, but she was recognized as the leading exponent of the Women's Curing Dance. The two male elders of the !gose camps were both totally blind, but this did not prevent their active participation in decision-making and in ritual curing.

000 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

also because, made of cloth instead of leather, it is more cling- 648
ing, therefore warmer and more comfortable, and dries faster 291
when wet. It is sought after and desired, it is got through em- 439
ployment; yet, even so, Bushmen hesitate to seek employment because they believe that they will be badly treated (as they sometimes are) and they often find the customary wage and food ration to be inadequate for anyone who must support a family. Supposedly, the wives of Bushmen laborers are [222
free to look on the farmer's land for roots and berries, as they 465]
would if they were living in the veld; but, as it happens, after a few years the supply of wild food around a farm becomes exhausted.

The Bantu farmers, being as a rule much poorer than the 648
European farmers, are less generous to their Bushman serfs. 464
They also give a food ration of cornmeal and milk but almost never meat, for any meat that may come into the Bantu kraal is eaten by the Bantus unless it is the carcass of a hyena or a leopard which the Bantu masters have killed for the pelt. The Bantus say: "Our Bushman servants are like our children; they herd our cattle for us and we feed them. A child does not ask for wages when he helps with the family work."

Besides this, the Bantus badly cheat the Bushmen who come in from the veld to trade cured antelope hides for metal and tobacco, sometimes asking several hides, worth several pounds apiece, for enough tobacco to fill the palm of the Bushman's hand, or for a piece of wire long enough to make an arrowhead. All in all, it does not benefit the Bushmen to 609
live anywhere near Bantu or European settlements, and that 648
is why the Bushmen of the veld run and hide when they see Europeans coming, believing that they may be taken by force (as they sometimes are), and why they avoid going to a Bantu settlement except to trade for tobacco when they feel

609 they must smoke, or when they are dying of thirst and must
648 come in to beg for water.

159 Once I talked with a young Bushman who had visited one
563 of our camps in Bechuanaland many times, who spoke Afri-
kaans, and whom I shall call Tami. I could speak a little
[191] Afrikaans, so he and I could talk together. He was in his early thirties and had been working for some time for European farmers. When I met him he was married, and as his wife had
[145] just had a baby, he felt that his ten-shilling-a-month wage was inadequate and he planned to move to another part of the country where he hoped to be paid more. As it is rather unusual for a Bushman to uproot himself from his own country, no matter how long he has been on a farm and away from his own people, I asked him where he had come from and how he had learned Afrikaans.

[153] "Oh," he said, "I learned Afrikaans in the places I have been. I have worked for white men since I was a young boy
[191] and I have always been fast to learn their languages. In the same way I have learned the languages of the black people."

"Where did you live before you worked for white people?" I asked.

"We lived not far from Nurigaas, at the edge of the police zone. I am a young person still, but I remember that Nurigaas was all wild then. We always lived there."

"With your parents?"

"Yes, until the police boys [1] took the old man my father."

I asked him what had happened, and he said: "We lived at the edge of the police zone, you know. We lived with
888 other Bushmen there, and my sister, she was there. My
159 mother's father was still alive then, but he was too old, he
563 couldn't even carry water, and my mother had to do every-

[1] Police boys are native policemen, usually Bantu.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

that white people used to hunt Bushmen and wanted to kill 159
us for our land. The farmer took me to his farm and I pulled 563
weeds and watched his cattle. He gave me milk and corn- [465
meal, but I didn't like it. I told him milk was for babies and 262]
I wanted him to take me back to my country, but he laughed at me.

"He called me Goliath because I was so small. Goliath, come here. Goliath, watch my calves. And later he gave me a shirt to cover my body and then I went to work for another master, who gave me a goat, and then I worked for my [465]
last master, who paid me shillings. But I am leaving here too because in South-West Africa they pay better. I am a father now, you know."

The day Tami left, I walked over the veld toward a road to say good-by to him, and when I got halfway there I found that he had come halfway to say good-by to me. He was holding his goat by the horns, and behind him his wife, wearing a horrid rag of a European dress, was standing with the baby inside the front of the dress. I gave Tami a knife and his wife a scarf of mine, although I had nothing to give to the baby, and they said good-by to me and turned, Tami dragging the goat around, pretending to be very jaunty, and they set out walking toward the road that leads to South-West Africa.

Times have changed since Tami's father died. In those 648
days, to be sure, there was a great deal more friction between Bushmen and non-Bushmen than there is now because the Bushmen who lived near the farms of European or Bantu farmers quite often killed cattle. It is sometimes said that they did so because they were unable to distinguish between cattle and wild game, or that the cattle drove away the wild game so that the Bushmen would have had no meat if they had not killed the cattle, but I very much doubt that either of these things was true. Most probably, the Bushmen found

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the 755
Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted 535
together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope. 154

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae 177
Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic [114] studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first [122] worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the 645
Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native 177
affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agricul- [241] ture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are em- 464 ployed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling 465 a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published 114
in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age im- 174
plements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera 172

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

648 that hunting cattle was extremely easy, and also, very probably, they wanted to revenge themselves upon the owners of the cattle, whom they believed to be encroaching upon the [423] land they considered their own. Today, largely because the ownership of the land has been determined, many fewer cattle are killed by Bushmen.

566 687 Of course, it is quite against the law for any farmer to keep Bushmen against their will and without recompense, but in the most remote outposts, on many farms, the laws cannot always be enforced. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate today, 657 563 566 and also, I believe, in South-West Africa, the governments are trying to set wage scales and provide education for Bushmen, something very difficult for these governments to do as the Bushmen represent only a small fragment of the population, pay no taxes whatever, of course, and are in great demand as laborers; but the only Bushmen who so far can benefit from this are those who already live on the more central farms. Most Bushmen live in the veld, many in almost unreachable parts of the desert, and these people are still being taken by farmers and made to work almost as slaves.

466 566 Usually Bushmen do not run away from their masters unless a very good chance presents itself, such as the master's departure for a time, in which case he may return to find that all his Bushmen have run. But to escape is not always easy; the Bantus usually ride after the escaping Bushmen and drag them back, sometimes beating them severely as well. We once learned of a Bushman who, trying to escape, was captured by his Bantu master and beaten to death, his potential labor being sacrificed to set an example for others.

A European farmer can sometimes get police help in recapturing his escaped Bushmen if the farmer has paid the Bushmen some wages in advance and is owed the Bushmen's labor. European farmers are also not always lenient with

Bushmen who try to escape. But to escape from any master is 566
by no means impossible; Bushmen are not locked up at night
or guarded during the day. Even the chain gangs of Bushmen
that you may see in European settlements (Bushmen living [687]
near the farms are put in jail occasionally for killing giraffes
or stealing cattle) are always straggling down a road with a
defenseless guard trailing far behind, and we often wondered
why Bushmen were so docile, so easy to exploit, allowing
themselves to be badly treated and taken away from their
homes. Some people, like Tami, have no choice because they
have forgotten the fine skills required to live in the veld and
would die there. Some young Bushmen find the promise of
European clothing and customs too alluring to resist and are
willing to give up their own ways and customs for a shirt or a
ragged dress. Perhaps others welcome the promise of food
every day, even though they find that on the farms they are
poorer than ever, having little enough food, and when their
leather clothes fall into rags they cannot hunt to get new ones.
Perhaps, too, they are surprised to find their Bantu or Euro-
pean masters not always as dangerous as they feared.

But these things are not true of everyone. Many servants
long for their homes; many veld Bushmen hide from Euro-
peans for fear they will be taken away, for they know that a
European does not have to force them to come with him,
only to persuade them, and since they are afraid of him they
hear themselves agreeing to go, and, shortly after, find them-
selves working on his farm, angry with themselves and filled
with remorse.

We learned two reasons for the submissiveness of Bush- 181
men. One reason is that it is not in their nature to fight, not
in their experience to deal with people other than themselves.
They would much rather run, hide, and wait until a menace
has passed than to defend themselves forcefully, quite unlike

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

ago. I kicked at one of them and a gray lizard ran out, straight 222
and fast as an arrow. Then it turned around and ran back in again, having no place else to go.

Soon Twikwe found a third root and, after digging it out and tasting it, found it quite acceptable; putting it in her kaross, she went on to find a fourth. We found old, dry holes where Bushman women had dug out roots seasons ago, a few dry vines with bitter, useless roots below, and three more roots that proved to be edible, as well as two more melons, a few spiny cucumbers, a handful of berries from a tiny bush, and one more truffle. This would feed Twikwe and her two sons for one or two days, or perhaps would be shared with Ukwane and Kutera because Kutera, that day, had not [476] felt well enough to gather food of her own. Bushmen help each other, each Bushman woman contributing to the support of her own family and perhaps to the well-being of some very old people as well.

When Twikwe considered that she had enough, we turned back to find the others, and presently we came to the plain where we had left them. Twikwe called, and was answered by three or four voices very near by. Then, right in front of us as if from nowhere, the three boys, Tsetchwe, and Dasina appeared standing, having been crouching in the long grass. Twikwe and I joined them, and the Bushmen passed Twikwe's pipe, the short, wide antelope bone stuffed with tobacco. When it was passed to me I puffed it, too, but it was so strong and rank that it made me dizzy.

Soon we heard a wail, a sad crying out in the veld, and it was Gai and John returning with Nhwakwe, who had begun to miss his mother or want to go home. Gai looked cross and walked rapidly with his little burden riding on his shoulder, and even John seemed somewhat annoyed because of the noise and because they had not found a bi root. When they

9: Thomas T.-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the wind or passing feet had disarranged them; and the meat 224 159 that resulted from his prolific hunting was never wasted, for 151 he would bring other hunters to help him dry it, then carry it [251 476] off to a werf somewhere to share with others.

He knew the habits of animals from the ways of the largest 159 antelope all the way down to the smallest species of mice; in 825 fact, he must have known animals very well, for he could always find them. He knew when he was in danger and when he was safe, and he was as brave as he was careful. Once, Short 159 Kwi, John, and two other hunters were tracking a bull wilde- 224 beest that one of the hunters had shot. They came upon it 157 lying down, surrounded by a very large pride of lions. There were twenty or thirty lions in all, having got there first and claiming the wildebeest as their own, for the bushes were full of lions walking back and forth, watching several other lions brave the fallen wildebeest, still able to protect itself with its horns. The braver lions were standing near the wildebeest, obviously steeling themselves for the attack, when the hunters arrived. The Bushmen had followed the wildebeest's trail through thorns and over the parching desert and were not to be deprived, and, speaking softly to the lions, they said: "We know you are strong, Big Lions, we know you are brave, but this meat is ours and you must give it back to us."

Even after these words the lions did not give ground. Their round eyes watched the hunters and they began to growl, and the four men, quite unarmed except for their arrows and a spear (to use a spear would have been folly), said respectfully: "Great Lions, Old Lions, this meat belongs to us," and then advanced on the lions, throwing little stones and clods of dirt. The lions in the bushes began to back away, while the braver lions stood their ground until a clod struck one of them, causing him to huff and run back a little. At this, the courage of the other lions broke and they all turned and

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

576 uproarious, derisive laughter. All this is joking and one should not take offence.
[522] The /Kung say this teaches young persons to keep their tempers.

In contrast to the joking is their care in other aspects of conduct to avoid giving offence. ≠Toma said, for instance, that, if he were forming a hunting party and a man whom he did not want asked to join him, he would be careful to refuse indirectly by making some excuse and try not to offend the man.

521 Gossip which can stir up trouble is discouraged. People do gossip but usually
578 discreetly, in low voices, with near and trusted relatives and friends. It is best to mind one's own business, they say.

People are expected to control their tempers and do so to a remarkable degree.
152 If they are angry, aggrieved, or frustrated, they tend to mope rather than to become
578 aggressive, expressing their feelings in low mutters to their close relatives and friends.
626 ≠Toma told us that he had lost his temper twice when he was a young man and on one occasion had knocked his father down. On the other he had pushed his wife into hot ashes. It had so frightened him to realize that he could lose control of himself and behave in this violent way that, he said, he had not lost his temper since.

Meat-sharing

224 The /Kung custom of sharing meat helps to keep stress and hostility over food at
416 a low intensity. The practical value of using up the meat when it is fresh is obvious to
578 all and the /Kung are fully aware of the enormous social value of the custom. The fear of hunger is mitigated; the person one shares with will share in turn when he gets meat and people are sustained by a web of mutual obligation. If there is hunger, it is commonly shared. There are no distinct haves and have-nots. One is not alone.

To have a concept of the potential stress and jealousy which meat-sharing mitigates in /Kung society one has only to imagine one family eating meat and others not when they are settled only five or ten feet apart in a firelit werf and there are no walls for privacy. The veld does not hide secret killing and eating because actions are printed in its sands for all to read. The idea of eating alone and not sharing is shocking to the /Kung. It makes them shriek with an uneasy laughter. Lions could do that, they say, not men.

224 The custom of meat-sharing applies only to the big game animals. Small animals the size of duikers or smaller, birds, tortoises, lizards, grasshoppers, snakes, and ostrich eggs are picked up incidentally and belong to the person who shoots, snares, finds or catches them. He may keep these for himself and his immediate family and may share them as he chooses, as if they were veldkos. ≠Toma says that, if there is only a little, he and his family eat a meal and give a little to anyone who happens to be near by at the time.

Meat-sharing applies to the big animals which are deliberately hunted by organized hunting parties. In the Nyae Nyae region they are kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok, warthogs and ostrich. Eland are found less commonly and buffalo rarely. The Nyae Nyae hunters managed to shoot giraffe occasionally. Giraffe are royal game by S.W.A. law, but the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not known this. When they were told, they called them 'Morrisi cows'. (Mr. Robert Morris was the Commissioner of Native Affairs at Runtu.)

The system by which meat is shared begins with the hunters, but the composition

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

on the quantity of objects they want to possess. They do not even want one each of the common tools of their lives. They borrow from each other, and there is less to carry.

Instead of acquiring prestige by accumulating possessions, the !Kung seek it in the opposite way. They practice a custom of gift giving to such an extent that their belongings all move in a slow flowing current among them and no one keeps anything of particular value very long. !Kung society requires that gifts be made in return, and the custom serves as a means to mitigate jealousy, to express friendly intent, and to weave people together in mutual obligation.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE FAMILY AND THE DOMESTIC GROUP • The family is the primary and the most cohesive social unit of the !Kung. By far the strongest bonds they feel are those of the nuclear family—the bonds between parent and offspring, between siblings, between spouses. These relationships are the basis of residence; by that I mean that people live together and have membership in their bands and rights to its food and water resources because they are linked to the band by one of these relationships. I believe that, in addition to the structured aspects, there is great emotional cohesiveness in !Kung families and that this is observable in the way families within the band build their fires near each other, come and go together, or, if there should be a quarrel, literally stand by each other, drawing close together.

The !Kung family passes through four phases. In its simplest nuclear form it consists of a man, his wife, and such children as are born to them. First marriages are always with just one wife. A later nuclear phase may be polygynous. When the daughters of a !Kung couple marry, and the daughters' husbands come to live with their brides' parents to give them bride service, the unit becomes an extended family. In a second extended phase, the married sons may have returned from bride service with their wives and offspring. In this phase, the married daughters with their husbands and offspring may stay or they may go to live with their husbands' people.

• The headship of a family is strongly associated with males. A widowed mother is regarded as a dependent, not as a family head. When the old father of an extended family dies, that particular family ceases to be an extended family. Families of siblings may live together in the same band, but no one of them has authority over another unless one of the siblings happens to be headman of the band. If they are no longer involved in bride service themselves, and their offspring are not yet married, these families become independent nuclear families again, to become new, extended families when the offspring marry.

/150 cont./

525 are placed between the players and taken by the winner, but since the luck often changes during a match, the same prize passes back and forth frequently.

I have seen this game played only by two men (not by women and children). One finds especially passionate players

524 among the Auin, in particular among older men.

535 Dancing game of the women (goei) (see Photos. 36 and 37).

I am in doubt as to whether I should classify this under games or dances.

A number of women line up along a tree trunk lying on the ground. All of them in rhythm alternately place the front part of first the right and then the left foot on the trunk. It proceeds in this fashion, slowly at first, then ever faster. If the women have their backs turned to the tree trunk, they place their heels on it in the same fashion.

Sometimes also two rows of women will face each other.

[533] Frequently, a kind of rhythmical singsong is also uttered by them.

The game is begun with everyone calling out //ai, meaning something like "let's go."

In some dances bucks' horns are tied in front of the forehead (eland bull dance). One can hardly designate these as true masked dances, however.

The Auin are acquainted with stilts, which are used by men

● 481 and boys. I might mention that I did not see any, but when I described them the Auin seemed to be very familiar with them.

526 Foot races (gâ).

The runners line up in a row, and at the word "gâ" they all run. The winner obtains a prize of food or of some useful object (for example, a knife).

Older people act as judges. Bloody quarrels are said to occur

[578] when the prizes are awarded.

Stick throwing (gai or albi).

Thin sticks of any length up to two meters and taken from the rosinkis bush are thrown forward with a whistling swing and from a running start (they are not flung like a spear, but grasped at one end). The object is to throw as far as possible. No prizes are offered; hence it is a real sport. Since it is fairly strenuous, this game, like all the others, incidentally, is played only when

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself, who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year 1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and smoke it' " (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions
13) of this tribe:

"The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

[24 cont.]

000 522 161 they had never seen any. A certain dry humor spiced their conversation. I once said to a Bushman: "If you tell me this, you will get whatever you want." He answered: "Good, I shall speak and you will give me your automobile." Their imagination is 157 123 very poor; in this respect they are much too accurate as observers of nature. Once a young Bushman woman with two children came to me and wanted to buy some sugar. I said to her: "I won't sell you anything, but you will get the sugar if you tell me some children's stories, for example, about animals." After some hesi- [538] tation she began the story of Arri, the guinea hen. It was no fairy tale, but a detailed account concerning this important food bird. She even imitated the calls of the guinea hen, "for example, when someone comes and there is danger, then they say, 'gannana he gannana he,' but when they are alone and enjoying themselves, then they go 'gi gi gi.'" The children had to imi- [861] tate this until they were able to mimic the sound accurately. Then it was the turn of the sand hen, which says, "gi ganna gi ganna"; then the ostrich, which goes, "hmm, hmm, hmm"; then the gum bird [Harzvogel], which says, "hai-dschi, hai-dschi," and the owl, "mhm, m."

3. Posture, Movement, Stamina

516 As a result of his marked lordosis, the Bushman never assumes a posture that would conform to our military ideal; he almost always stands with his stomach somewhat protruding.

●481 The way the Bushmen run is very peculiar and would justify detailed study. [25] The run is really a continuous fast walk, in which the legs are kicked forward, but the lower thighs are never brought back high, as is the case with our runners. The body is held as straight as possible, and the head up, not forward (1).

[113] 1. E. v. Eickstedt (Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit [Ethnology and History of Mankind], p. 556) states: "The foot is put in a peculiar transverse position, which makes the track in the sand easily

[25 cont.]

481 recognizable -- a characteristic that during the old Bushman persecutions cost many thousands of these unfortunate and peculiar hominid creatures their miserable existence. The walk of the Sanides is also peculiar; they do not walk, they prance. Out of habit they always raise their knees and feet as though they were walking among the sharp grasses and thorn bushes of their homeland. This, like the swaying walk of sailors, is of course, a secondary, acquired characteristic, not a racial one."

I prefer, nevertheless, to regard the walk of the Bushmen as somewhat racially conditioned.

516 The sitting position of the Bushman is the squatting position that is practiced by so many primitive peoples and was probably at one time universal among mankind. At the same time, their position differs from that of the Blacks, insofar as the latter usually squat in such a way that the bones of the ischium do not touch the ground, whereas this is the case among the Bushmen. As a result, when they squat, they bend their backs quite far and must spread their legs apart.

513 When sleeping, the Bushman lies rolled up on his right or left side. The children all cuddle up to the mother to sleep.

147 The muscle power of the Bushmen is very weak. The dynamometric measurements that I carried out show that the pushing power of adult men is less than that of European working women; it only amounts to between 30 and 40 kilograms, whereas European women achieve approximately 60 kilograms, men engaged in light work average 80 kilograms, and European heavy workers and the smiths among us reach an average of 120 and more kilograms. Black heavy workers attain an average of only 80 kilograms. Thus, the Black on the average is twice as strong as a Bushman, and the White is three times as strong.

At the same time, there is no essential difference between the sexes among the Bushmen themselves.

[25 cont.]

147 481 Similarly, the strength displayed by the Bushmen in using the bow is by no means impressive. While their momentary efficiency is low, their endurance in marching is great. In 1916 when the farmer Schwarz in Neudesenberg (Keitsas) was sick with black water fever, the farmer's wife sent a Bushman to Grootfontein for a bottle of champagne. The man left in the forenoon and returned around midnight. The distance was at least 100 to 120 kilometers, for the highway, which has few detours, is 90 kilometers long. (Informant: Farmer Schwarz in Duwib.)

4. Physical Types and Constitution

142 The Bushmen are a distinctly human type of savage with very gracile bone structure. A group of them that I designate as South Khoin is the only form of human being adapted to desert life, or in any case is the form best adapted to it.

The type that has developed there can in no way be subsumed in our physical type schema. Since this same type to a considerable degree is also involved in the composition of the northern forest Bushmen, there are naturally a great many individuals whom we cannot classify at all in our sense. At any rate, however, we can -- and here I am anticipating some of my anthropological conclusions -- differentiate among both sexes of the !Kung a longitype and a brachytype. Especially among the women it is almost always possible to differentiate the "chubby youthful form" from the so-called future form.

In another place I have defended the view that the athletic type should be regarded as the true normal-type, and that this type has the innate ability to accumulate a moderate amount of fat. The muscular-respiratory type with a slighter development of the skeleton and musculature does not possess the ability for a great accumulation of fat, whereas the digestive type with slightly developed musculature has a great ability to accumulate fat.

[26] From the athletic type a continuous series leads through the respiratory and digestive forms to the tall-asthenic and short-asthenic types and from there to the decided weaklings.

[68 cont.]

1. Birth and Childhood

844 Among the ≠Auin, the husband of a woman in childbed slings the string of his bow around her stomach, but he is not present at the birth itself. The cord is severed with the tip of a reed splinter.

Among the Naron and Nogau, the delivery proceeds as it does
844 among the !Kung; an old woman usually provides assistance, however.

Twins (Hoi-holi) are not desired; among the Nogau one of
845 them is killed.

Among the Nogau, the father gives the child its name.
553] There the child has its umbilical cord severed by means of a
844 sharp quartz splinter. A woman in childbed may not eat blood and head meat. Until the child is able to sit up, the husband
[833] may not cohabit with the mother. The latter custom is also found among the Betschuana. Nogau children are not allowed to eat
262 the flesh of the wildcat and of two birds (tsugnussi and /gui).
[114] Kaufmann has made some observations concerning children's
524 games; Bleek also provides some data:

Among the ≠Auin little bows and arrows serve as children's toys. The same applies to the Naron and Nagau [sic]. Stilts
[461] are known among the Auin and are used by men and boys. Con-
524 cerning children's games among the Naron, Miss Bleek reports:

The Game of the Big Water Snake

A boy crawls on his stomach to a small pile of sand which is supposed to represent the waterhole. At some distance from it, the children sit in a row, one behind the other, in such a way that each one sits between the legs of the one behind him; he puts his hands on the shoulder of the person in front of him. The biggest child [69] always sits at the front, the smallest at the back. They sing a song that in part is no longer intelligible. (Probably in the children's language.) This big "snake" now moves very slowly around the waterhole, while the water snake from time to time throws sand on it; then the others withdraw. At the end the snake catches one from the row and "eats it." I

/248 cont./

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	Number of persons examined	Second toe extending farthest	First toe extending farthest	First and second toe extending farthest	Second and third toe extending farthest
Men	14	9	1	4	0
Women	17	11	0	3	3
Children	8	7	1	0	0
Total	39	27	2	7	3

I was also able to gather some data concerning physiological
151 conditions. By means of Snellen charts, I discovered very keen sight for all the persons examined. Threefold visual keenness was attained by all those examined, and some had even higher degrees, up to sixfold.

The ticking of a watch could be heard at a distance of three meters by most of those examined.

I have frequently observed yawning among Bushmen.

The gait of the Bushmen has something very characteristic
48/ about it; in walking, they raise the knees surprisingly high, a custom that is explained by the nature of the country. Because of the low and commonly thorny shrubs through which they travel with uncovered legs, they are forced to raise their legs quite high in walking, and they maintain this gait even when they are moving across ground that has no growth on it. In addition, the achievements of these small inhabitants of the bush on the march and in running are quite enormous.

Bushmen who had been sent out on patrols by the station
[147] covered a distance of 130 kilometers in less than 48 hours without displaying visible signs of fatigue. They followed the cavalry troop, which frequently broke into a trot, happily and without difficulty on foot, trotting themselves whenever the troop accelerated its pace.

/249/ Extreme astonishment is expressed by opening the mouth
201 and eyes wide. I was able to observe this myself when I played a phonograph before the unsuspecting Bushmen. When the performance was over, the audience asked me whether the people who were in the apparatus and sang there also slept in it and received their food through the horn.

114 all our food and water, gasoline, and equipment in supplies to last us for several months. We crossed great drought areas, once crossing four hundred miles of the central desert of Bechuanaland where there was no water at all, and once traveling every day for two weeks into an unmapped part of the desert of South-West Africa, close to the Bechuanaland border, where we found a waterhole and refilled our empty [12] drums. All this was for the purpose of filming and studying the life and customs of the people of the Kalahari, who are called the Bushmen.

142 Bushmen are a naked, hungry people, slight of build and yellow-skinned; the only feature they have in common with their large-boned, darker-skinned neighbors, the Negro or Bantu tribes living at the edges of the Bushmen's territory, is their peppercorn curly hair. Otherwise, Bushmen are very like the Asian peoples, often having Mongolian eyefolds and rather broad, flat faces with almost no noses at all. Because of the dust, perspiration, and the blazing sun, their skins darken to a copper brown, but under their arms where sweat has washed the dust away the yellow skin shows. Bushman babies, in fact, are born pale pink, often with a dark, pigmented area at the base of their spines which Kung Bushmen [826] call "the jar"—because, they say, the mother carries her baby and her water jar together in the pouch of her garment—but which we know as the Mongolian Spot.

Physically, the Bushmen are a handsome people, though short of stature—a man being a few inches over and a woman a few inches under five feet—and a little swaybacked of carriage, which makes their bellies stick out. They are handsome 481 because of the extreme grace in their way of moving, which is 142 strong and deft and lithe; and to watch a Bushman walking or simply picking up something from the ground is like

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, 142
and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff [48]
with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the
men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and
consequently they often seem younger than they are. They [194]
are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man 291
wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather
apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole
animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at [854
the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride, 482
and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which 415
are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people; 237]
they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though [515
they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair 302]
breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped
close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell
beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny [301]
bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear
leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several 609
months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find
them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe
that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the
grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and [342]
made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right 609
into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and 621
didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass until I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned, all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe

CHAPTER FOUR

The Fire

After a long talk with Gai and Ukwane we found that, because of a shortage of melons and roots, they did not like to live at the place where we found them, which was called Gu Nu, and they were planning to move. We asked them if they would mind our coming with them when they did move, and they, with great aplomb, showing no surprise at what must have seemed a strange request, said politely that they would not mind at all. We had good relations with them by that time and had already been living near them for several days. 166 648

As we would be asking them to spend time talking with us, we agreed to give them food, water, and firewood to make up for what they might gather if we were not taking their time, as well as salt and tobacco to make their hearts glad. It seemed to be a good arrangement, and they were as pleased as we.

Soon after that, when Ukwane had decided where to go, we packed up our camp, they packed up theirs, and we put everything on the trucks and drove away. The Bushmen all rode with us except the two oldest women, Kutera and Dasina, who said they were too tired to ride and preferred to walk. They did, too, taking with them all their possessions as 481 482

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

481 well as great loads of melons, all of which we offered again
482 and again to carry for them, but because, they said, they might want to stop for the night or just refresh themselves along the way, they would not part with their bundles.

The place we went to was called Ai a ha'o; it was the pan where we had seen the lion. It took us almost all day to drive there, and shortly after we arrived Dasina and Kutera joined us, having traveled almost as fast as we. Those two old women must have walked at four or five miles an hour all the way, over veld so rough that the trucks couldn't go much faster.

342 Before dark, the Bushman women had built a werf, a clear-
361 ing of grass for each family with a shallow pit to sleep in and a place for the fire, all four clearings under the branches of a single tree which would give them shade in the daytime. On
353 the branches each person hung whatever there was to hang, quivers, skin bags, or aprons, and these things swung in the cold wind. The women gathered firewood and lit their fires,
757 and Dasina asked Twikwe to stand on her stomach because
562 she was tired from her long walk and wanted a massage. Before they went to sleep the men and the three young boys
574 walked to our camp, about fifty feet away, to say good-night,
577 but the women stayed at home because at night all Bushmen women stay at home. A woman does not even leave her fire to go to her neighbor's fire three feet away because people will say that she doesn't like to stay home; she speaks loudly to her neighbor instead. Bushmen are a rather conservative peo-
[181] ple, and they are very moral in that they keep their own rules.

574 The smoke in the west that Gai had seen when he roasted the tortoise intrigued him very much. Again and again he said that it was people's smoke, and one morning he said he wanted to go over to it, to look for the man who was Wita-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

be's father, Twikwe's husband, the man who had run away 574
for good when we had come. Gai and Ukwane both believed that he could be found, and as they regretted his missing the meat, the salt, the tobacco, and the water that they themselves were enjoying, they suggested that we look for him in a certain omaramba—a shallow valley like a dry river bed—called the Okwa Omaramba.

One morning John, Bob, William, Gai, Witabe, and I set out in the jeep to find him. We were loaded heavily because we were planning to stay the night, the Okwa being far and the terrain rough. All three little boys wanted terribly to go, but Gai felt that they would be a nuisance and chose only Witabe since we were going for his father. Wite pointed out that the man was his father, too, but Gai didn't listen. As we were leaving, the two boys ran beside us, using the last minute to beg to come, but Gai still would not listen or weaken, and the two boys saw that it was no use, lost heart, and dropped behind.

It was a fearfully hot day, with lots of dust and sticking grass seeds, the jeep was overcrowded and overloaded, and I had to hold the rifle between my knees and the camera in my arms to cradle them from banging against each other and on the sides of the jeep. My head cracked against the knees of the people behind me, and everyone was sticky, hot, and very uncomfortable.

We drove until we came to plains that only Gai had seen before, and there the terrain was so rough that Gai and Witabe decided to get out and walk in front to find the easiest way. We would all gladly have done this, but some of us had to stay in the jeep to protect our possessions. Soon Gai and Witabe were far ahead, and we crept behind them for most of the day. 574

Gai walked first, Witabe behind him, as Bushmen always 481

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

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[48] walk in single file, and they seemed very small, naked, and far away under the burned, pure sky, moving toward some remote destination where they hoped to find a man who had been walking away from them for almost a month, perhaps at some nameless little pan lost somewhere in the countryside, perhaps in a nameless bend of the omaramba. As they walked they zigzagged, avoiding small obstacles such as stones or thorn bushes, very incongruous with the enormity of the sky and the plains. The bow on Gai's shoulder made a bold upward curve.

A tree appeared on the horizon, and they veered toward it. When they reached it they sat in its shade, two shadows in the yellow grass, and a puff of smoke rose as they lit their pipes. We caught up to them and found Gai digging for a [222] *torabe* vegetable. He reached into the hole he had made and dragged it from its roots, brushed the dirt away, and chopped it into six pieces, giving one to each of us. We ate that for lunch. It was bitter and moist, firm as an apple and pleasant because it was wet. As we sat there we noticed the smoke of three veld fires which had suddenly risen, perhaps stirred by the wind far away, two small ones in the north and east, one large one in the south, its smoke reaching up to the sky first in little tendrils, then billowing in great clouds like the clouds in the sky but browner.

Gai and Witabe stood up, brushing sand from their legs, and walked into the sunlight again, turning toward the larger fire. Bushmen often set the veld alight to signal to each other, [201] but they do not send messages; a fire simply shows other people where they are, and even this is vague, as fires are sometimes set by natural causes.

137 After traveling several hours over the plains, we came to a little forest in a valley. A fire had been through there and had burned all the yellow grass from the ground, leaving black

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GIKwe

ashes and little black, charred thorn bushes, but the flames had not touched the leaves on the trees. These remained yellow-green, orange, and silver, tangled and confused above the black, breaking away from the branches when the wind blew and falling like autumn leaves in New England. The whole valley would have been very like New England except that there were leopards in the forest; as we looked around we found a leopard's tracks. We rested in the shade on the side of the valley, and as we sat quietly we heard the sound of hoofs in the valley below, and we saw through the bushes the dark backs of a herd of wildebeest, walking along in single file, first the cows, then the larger bulls, their curved cow horns making them look for all the world like a herd of small, dark cattle.

Gai was on his feet in an instant, his bow in his hand, and, like a leopard springing, he jumped past us and ran, silent and half crouching, through the bushes beside them, but he had no arrow, and when he got near enough to shoot he had to stand up and shoot a grass blade after them, partly for practice, as a Bushman hunter will never miss a chance to practice his aim, but partly because Gai was still too young to be able to resist making them run. They threw up their heads, snorting like horses, and galloped away, leaving behind them a great cloud of dust. Gai ran after, his heels pounding, and was gone in a few great perfect strides, as if a hawk had left us with a few stiff beats of its wings.

Witabe, too, was completely absorbed. Although he did not run after the wildebeests, he got to his feet and gazed after them, unconsciously making a gesture with his hand representing the head and horns of a wildebeest. He moved his hand in time with their running, saying softly: "Huh, huh, boo. Huh, huh, boo," the sound of their breath and grunting as they ran.

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

132 above the earth in a layer. We were crouching at a fire we had built, warming our hands against the cold, when the sun came up. We heard birds singing in the fresh air as if nothing
512 had happened, then the sound of faint pounding far away, a mortar being struck with a pestle. Soon we heard a second mortar join the first as another woman began breakfast for her family, and we knew that two women meant perhaps six people, therefore a band.

276 Gai stood up and stretched his legs, then took a tiny coal from our fire between his thumb and finger and dropped it into his pipe, inhaling deeply and holding the smoke in his lungs while he handed the pipe to Witabe, who also puffed and returned the pipe, when at last Gai exhaled, spat, and scooped the pipe through the sand, extinguishing the fire and saving the rest of the tobacco. He stuck the pipe in his belt,
[482] 481 flung his great kaross over his chest to warm his belly, and strode off in the direction of the sound, the ragged edges of his great cape swinging at his ankles as his strong feet carried him away. He walked under a burned log that had partly fallen and was braced up by another tree, and as he did the white ashes blew from it and the light of dawn shone through the ash like light through a flurry of snow.

731 Later in the day, when we had eaten cornmeal for breakfast, while we waited for Gai to come back, we went down to the flats below our hilltop to inspect the damage of the fire. The land below our camp was in utter desolation, startling and ruined, a desert of ash. We found only the orange sand and black ashes still in the shape of the grass blades that made them, black ashes below burned bushes still in the shape of the leaves that made them, and, on the ground, flat, perfect skeletons of vines, just in the shape of the vines that made them but black, in powder, disintegrating into dust when the wind touched them. All around us lay the smolder-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

ing great carcasses of fallen trees, some with the leaves on the 731
top still green, that were filling the air with the smell of their wood burning. The ground was still warm to walk on, but all the bushes, all the little succulents, all the vines that marked the water roots were gone; no snake or lizard or animal was there, all were burned or had gone; we saw only animal tracks half filled with ashes, and a few birds come to eat dead insects. We saw a pair of secretary birds and later a pair of [136]
paouw, huge gray birds that walk more than they fly, wandering through the ruins looking for dead reptiles.

As we walked, fine black powder rose to dust our legs, and now and then, off through the standing tree trunks and between the fallen trees' great upflung roots, little whirlwinds crossed back and forth, raising the dust in spiraled pillars. [821]
Bushmen say that whirlwinds show the presence of the spir- 775
its of the dead.

Witabe's eyes searched over the ground, and when he saw 222
a small mound of earth he walked up to it and punctured it 262
with his toe. Out rushed a horde of ants, which had been safe in their tunnels when the fire passed and now began at once to repair their damaged mound. Witabe crouched among them and began to pick and eat them, selecting the soldier ants, ones with large heads and heavy jaws. He bit off the abdomens, tossing the heads away. Presently he offered some to us, as I had feared he would; as everyone else ate one, I did also, and found that it was not too unpleasant but sour and very watery, very like a blackberry before it is ripe. The workers, I am told, are tasteless, but the fighters are considered a near-delicacy; mine opened her jaws wide to fight my thumb before I ate her.

Later in the day, when the sun in the sky, the still burning 481
trees, and the fire-warmed sand made the air on the flats un- 487
bearably hot, we turned back to camp for the shade of our

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

481 trees, and on our way we found a path where before there
487 had been none. We followed it, it led to camp, and at its end we found Gai and eighteen other Bushmen, whose feet as they had walked in single file had worn a track. As we ap-
609 proached, the eighteen strangers drew back and together, the women behind the men, babies in their arms, and watched us hostilely. Gai persuaded them to sit down, which they did, all together, and when we asked them if they were hungry they said yes, so we gave them a drink of water and set a big pot of cornmeal to cook on our fire. We gave them each tobacco, which they smoked while they waited for the cornmeal to cook.

621 In that band there were six men, five of them in their thir-
162 ties, five women who seemed much younger, and one woman
596 who was very old. There were also three young boys and three babies, two girls and a boy. We guessed from the looks of the people—and later found that we were right—that the band was a small extended family. The old woman seemed to be the key figure of the band, for with her were her two sons and three daughters, their wives and husbands, and their children. The sixth man—a boy, really—did not seem to belong in this tightly woven group, for he was not married, being too young; he seemed too young to be the child of the old woman, though too old to be her grandchild, and I wondered who he was. Witabe's father was not there, and on that trip we did not find him.

142 The three sisters of the band were all arrestingly beautiful. They looked alike, with very fine faces, slender features, large eyes, and they all wore handsome white bead ornaments. Heavy eyelids, set off by the pronounced, delicate bones of their faces, made them look of uncertain race, or like houris, and their slender bodies with skins slightly wrinkled made them seem of uncertain age. Perhaps the sun had made the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

514 women sometimes do this, but Bushman men crouch to urinate. "It is our law," they say.

264 222 While the women rested they had refreshed themselves with one of Twikwe's melons which Twikwe chopped for them by holding the melon between the soles of both feet and mashing its pulp with her digging-stick, which she held in both hands. Then they got up from their grass nest, sharpened their digging-sticks with Twikwe's knife, and set out to begin the search for food. They each chose a different direction and soon they were out of sight. I followed Twikwe to see 222 what she would find, hurrying to keep up as she trampled 481 ahead of me on those spindly, awkward legs of hers, which she kicked out with each step in a walk like the walk of a clown. She kept her back straight, for it was still early and the load in her kaross was light.

222 As I could not speak many words of Gikwe, she didn't even try to talk, but paused from time to time instead to show me things. Once she crouched among the branches of a thorn bush and beckoned to me to show me a tiny vine winding around the bush's trunk. I nodded. It marked an edible root. She pinched the base of the vine where there was a faint touch of green, then, grasping her digging-stick, began to dig. The ground was quite hard, but she dug rapidly, her slender back curved as she squatted over the hole and the muscles of her thin arms swelling. After a long time she threw down her digging-stick and tugged at something in the bottom of the hole. She sat back, and in her hands was a huge stone, which she heaved aside.

"Look," she said, and I crawled beside her into the bush. She had made a hole three feet deep, a foot across, and at the bottom, dim in shadow, lay an immense gray root wedged securely between two stones. "Ga," she said. She ripped the

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

when the tsama melons were gone, but now, perhaps when he 222
saw its vine there and thought about it under the ground, he changed his mind. Squatting near the vine and digging with his hands, he soon had exposed it, two feet down and dark in shadow. He seized it and tore it from the earth.

It was shaped like a monstrous beet, with its vine coming from the top like a little stalk and its root bristling from the bottom like a tassel. It had a hard, bark-like crust and it was gray and hairy. Gai held it daintily by its vine, and, as dirt was still dropping off it he slapped and brushed it to clean it; then he held it high above the big cavity it had filled, looked at it with a rather satisfied smile, and said what nice water it would be.

We went home then, walking again in single file in a [481] straight course over the veld, veering only once toward a [313] fallen tree, where the women stopped to gather firewood. The [482] women, walking first, were heavily loaded now with melons, roots, and firewood, Tsetchwe loaded most heavily of all because the baby rode on her shoulder. The women used their digging-sticks as canes because their knees were bending, and [481] walked quickly, trying to get home as soon as possible. After the women came the young boys carrying nothing, and last of all came Gai, holding his bi by its tassel of root. Before long he hurried and caught up to Tsetchwe, and once again he took a turn with Nhwakwe, swinging him from Tsetchwe's shoulders to his own, where Nhwakwe rode happily, his tiny hands pressed over his father's eyes.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the buffalo's horn had wounded him. Otherwise, he looked 609
very well. All the people seemed well, especially the children.
Toma's oldest son wore a crown of badger skin with the long 291
hair standing up on it, and two safety pins that we had given 177
him, which he wore as earrings in his pierced ears. With all 301
this he looked bold as a pirate. His brother was nearly as big
as he was, and his sister, Norna, now three, was a slender,
graceful child who regarded the world with dark, wondering
eyes.

Norna's sixteen-year-old uncle, Tu's brother, was there too. 481
He was a lame boy; he had been crippled in one leg since 732
childhood and could hobble only with the help of a long stick.
People had despaired of him, believing that he would never
be able to hunt and therefore never marry or inherit the head-
manship of Gautscha Pan, but when we saw him now and
looked at him closely we noticed a fine row of scars between 881
his eyes and on his arms and chest and we knew that he had 304
hunted and killed an antelope and had been scarified in his
initiation. We had planned on this trip to give him presents
of all kinds, to make him rich, so that he could marry whether
he could hunt or not, but we saw now that this would not be
necessary. When he knew that we had noticed his scars he
told us in great detail the story of the hunt. He told us how he
had gone out with a group of hunters, how he had first seen [224]
the two horns of a kudu above a clump of bushes, how he had
silently hobbled near it, propped himself on his crutch, and
shot it with a poisoned arrow. The arrow had penetrated
deeply and the lame boy had returned to tell the others. They
had followed it with him for a day and in the evening had
found it dead. It was the lame boy's kudu, though; he shot it,
and to Bushmen that is the important thing. He was scarified [884]
with a paste made of the kudu's meat, and ever after that he
was a man.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

happy. She was only ten, but already she had lost her childish 582 [145] belly, although her breasts had not yet begun to grow.

Now everyone was in the werf and people had begun to go 593 back to their fires, leaving Short Kwi alone. When most peo- 514 164 ple were gone, Short Kwi's brother-in-law squatted beside 481 him and, taking his injured leg, began laboriously to help him move toward the veld, toward a little pathway that we had not noticed before. Short Kwi's wife had cleared the path; it led to a place in the veld where Short Kwi could urinate, and slowly, painfully, Short Kwi and his brother-in-law moved down it, the brother-in-law duckwalking, carrying the bad leg while Short Kwi—he who once could run great elands down —edged himself forward on his buttocks, using his hands to brace himself and his good leg to pull himself along.

We were not at his fire when he got back, but we could see 164 him through the trees, inching, and then, when Short Kwi was alone with his wife and daughter, we could watch him sitting by his fire, looking idly around. He was like a wild goose with pinioned wings, squatting there before his fire, watching the sky, the veld, and other people come and go.

Those of us from Nama made a camp apart from the werf, 361 through long grass as high as our chests, inside a little glade 521 of thorn trees. We cleared some of the grass and built a fire, and even then the Bushmen could not stop talking about Short Kwi, although they tried to change the subject; they spoke of him creeping along on his buttocks, even this impossible without someone to help, and all because he had failed to notice an adder that was waiting in his path. Of course, the Bushmen said, he was lucky to be alive. I felt that he was luckier than they supposed, because of his wife, that 593 quiet, gracious, gentle, pretty woman, and his grave little daughter, the image of her mother. The people felt, said

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

veld began to show, the women sang the sun-dance fully, a 535
song quite different from the others, very even, very simple, 533
steady, dignified, and grave.

The dawn wind lifted and blew away the smoke and dust and made the people shiver. The light showed the dancers moving stiffly, the singers hunched together for support and warmth, and revealed dusty, dirty faces and dirty teeth. Dust had made mud in the corners of our mouths and eyes.

Only about ten women were singing in the circle now, and they sat all together at one spot, leaving a lot of space around the fire; only four men danced and they moved slowly in their track, burdened by their rattles. They, too, stayed close together so that most of their huge track was bare.

When the sun was over the horizon the dance stopped. The women ended their song abruptly, stood up, shook the dust and straw from their clothing, and walked away. They did not speak to one another because they were tired. The men talked for a moment as they sat down, stretched, untied their rattles, before walking off two by two toward their werfs. Soon all that remained was the dance track, a deep circular rut in the ground, the big heap of dead white ashes, and the dusty bushes and trees.

The people who had been dancing during the night slept 513
all through the heat of the day and as the afternoon came, lying in the shade of trees and bushes. Flies buzzed over them, the afternoon shadows lengthened and the day cooled, and still they slept on.

When the light was red and the sun was almost setting, 481 ●
the women began to stir, getting to their feet slowly, and then 825
alone or in twos and threes, followed by their children, walked down the path to the water, the last ones to leave

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

481 hurrying because one of the little boys had found a millipede
825 and was trotting behind them carrying it. Bushman women do not like millipedes; millipedes make them very nervous. Someone persuaded the child to drop it, which he did reluctantly. It was a giant, shiny black and a foot long, and it ran away with the front of its body in the air, its head bent like a curbed horse. The little boy watched it go.

515 The women walked through the acacia trees and reached the pan, the shining lake, red now with sunset, and even though the air was getting cool the children ran in the shallow water, splashing, the women crouched on the rocks to bathe. They took off their karosses and bathed their arms and legs and faces, washing all the dust away, then brushed their teeth with their fingers. Beautiful Ungka called for Little Dabe and hung her ornaments on him while she bathed. He ran through the water playing, splashing with the other children, quite unconscious of his gorgeous array. Beautiful Ungka was so supple that as she sat bathing she could lay her body down on the rocks between her raised knees, which she did to reach the water, saving herself the trouble of moving forward.

292 After they had bathed, the young girls made aloe circlets for their heads, red in the red light of the sky, and they seemed very innocent and beautiful, fresh and clean; they dressed themselves slowly as the sun went down, then walked into the water, where they danced, slowly, idly, kicking to make a rhythmic splash.

854 Little Dabe, on the shore now, found the rocks hard on his feet and began to wail, and all alone on top of the rocks, picking his feet up one after the other, he was like a peacock in his ornaments, with his complaining, raucous cry. Beauti-
854 ful Ungka carried him then, although she too was barefoot,
415 bouncing him up and down while the other women rinsed
and filled their ostrich eggshells.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

The Medicine Bees

222 THE DAY after the dance was the day before we left Nama to return to the United States. In all the time that we had stayed at Nama we had not been to Gautscha Pan, and now Toma said he wanted to go there to gather honey from the Gautscha baobab tree. Before we left, he sat in his werf telling me stories of people who thought that they could climb baobab trees but whose self-confidence had been excessive, because they had all fallen, each and every one.

481 222 165 Steinbok Gumtsa was one of these, said Toma, and he was an excellent climber. Baobabs that others could not climb he managed, and ate honey from the upper branches every time. One day, while watching bees fly about the top of the very high baobab at Gautscha Pan, Steinbok Gumtsa thought to bring himself luck and said: "I am going to climb, but I will slip and fall and be killed." The others told him not to try it, but he did. "He thought he was too good," said Toma, "and that is why he did fall. The others found him dead at the bottom."

One-eyed Nishi was another good climber. He also tried to reach the honey in the top of the Gautscha baobab, but he slipped and fell and the other Bushmen found him dead at

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the bottom too, "with his head driven down between his shoulders," said Toma laconically, hunching his own neck to show how it was. 481 222 165

A third man whom Toma did not name climbed for honey in the Gura baobab, a tree somewhat north of Gautscha Pan, and he also fell; but, happily, he survived his experience. His sister and her husband were below him, watching, and when they saw him fall they held out their arms to catch him. He fell through their arms, of course, but his fall was broken and though he was unconscious for a long time he finally did recover.

The moral of these stories, Toma said, was to show that 867 young people should listen to older people and not act rashly. I believe that he thought I was going to try to climb the Gautscha baobab (which I had already done, though only to the lowest branch, fifteen feet from the ground), for he went on to say: "When Bushmen tell young people not to climb baobab trees they should listen. It is seldom that a person lives who falls from a baobab tree, they are so high. Even those good climbers I told you about, they all fell." I assured him that I did not even want to climb it and he said: "Good. When we who are experienced get the honey you can watch from below. Then you can see just as well."

The Gautscha baobab was somewhat east of the pan, and 137 we could see it rising from the plain when we were almost a mile away from it. It loomed up at the horizon, towering, its mass of upper branches hazy because we were so far. As we moved toward it, it seemed to move away from us like a distant mountain, but gradually, after a long time, it began slowly to get larger, looming higher, its top branches reaching up to the sky, where the clouds of spring were already forming as the desert got ready for the rains, three months [132] away.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

137 It was noon when we reached the tree; we broke through the bushes that surrounded it and came into its clearing, a circle thirty yards across of stony, barren ground from which the long roots had sucked the nourishment, and in the middle of the circle the great tree rose, pink-skinned and mighty, the claimer of two lives, twenty feet in diameter and almost two hundred feet high. Its lower branches were heavy and enormous, but the branches got smaller toward the top, the upper ones very thin, crisscrossing each other like lace. On the eastern face of the tree there were no branches; the pink
137 trunk towered up and up, smooth and bare. On this side was
481 an ascending row of pegs driven in by Bushmen long ago who had been after honey, used in later years by Bushmen hunters trying to rob the hives again or to scan the countryside for game. The pegs led from the ground around the trunk to the lowest branch, then up the trunk again to the next branch, ending finally at the top of the great tree, almost out of sight.

I knew this old tree very well, for during the year that we had lived at Gautscha we had camped beside it. It had been the home of many creatures then; and now the eastern face of the tree, the great bare slab rising like pink stone, was pocked with little holes. Some of them were empty, surely, but some had tufts of dry grass showing in the openings, little creatures' nests, and here and there, between the roots or in the forks of branches, were the caves of larger animals.

224 Bees had lived in a hole among the branches halfway up,
136 though Toma said the bees had now moved higher; a mongoose had lived in a little cave between the roots on the south side, though now the mongoose was dead, snared and killed by Toma's son; a python that had lived in a hole on the north side was also dead, killed and eaten by an old Bushman woman we had known; but a colony of green-furred squirrels that had lived on the lowest branches, we saw, were

HUNTSMEN OF NYAE NYAE

The !Kung still practice man's oldest craft

By John Marshall

224 481 151

HUNTING is the work of men. !Kung hunters range the land, seeking the agile game. The men walk rapidly, never lowering their eyes, making sure of the awkward ground with their dextrous feet. They glance swiftly over the distances of the country and, with their good vision and knowledge of what to look for, see any moving thing. As girls learn gathering, boys learn most of hunting on their own. They hunt little birds in the grass around the *werft* houses. They impale beetles with tiny arrows shot from toy bows. Tracking, which is the most difficult part

224 868

[411 482 415]

Chief weapons of !Kung are bow and poisoned arrows (in quiver, above).

[p. 45]

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484 food resources of *Nyae Nyae.* Instead, these are the *mangetti* and *tsi* nuts. Both are found only far from permanent water. Distance becomes more significant when one thinks not only of miles—but of time, footsteps, heat and carrying capacity. From the nearest western water, it is about twenty miles to a *mangetti* forest. The distance between *tsi* and the closest water is about seven miles. The [481] people calculate their marching ability at about ten miles a day, with women and children, although men can make forty if necessary. They gather food as they travel, for a day of traveling is just like any other day, with children and old people to be provided for.

221 In order to exploit the environment successfully, with their limited technological equipment, the !Kung must move from place to place. The calendar of their movements is revealing. In winter, the people are forced to remain near the waterholes,

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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FIG. 13. One of the hunters (in the background) brings a hindquarter of meat to the owner of the arrow and lays it on branches beside his scherm

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FIG. 14. Kham, a lame man, swings himself along with two sticks. He cannot hunt. Meat which some relatives or friends have given him hangs on the tree. His wife pounds some food with mortar and pestle

[p. 240-D]

312 824 222 The net effect of this effort is that an individual must drink much more than the minimum daily requirement of 72 ounces of water. In fact, men who were living on Fockea roots, were observed to dig out between 15 and 20 of the roots per day. The quantity of water provided by these roots is estimated at 150-300 ounces, part of which went to provide water for the children of the camp.

222 484 312 A description of one Fockea trip, in which the author participated, will serve to illustrate some of the difficulties of living away from standing water.

[123] This trip began on 6 November and ended on 16 November, 1964. The group consisted of 12 Bushmen (plus the author); there were three men, four women, and five children. One of the young women gave birth during her stay so the returning group consisted of 13 Bushmen.

November 6 - This group (minus one of the men who came out the following day) set out from the Dobe waterhole at 10:00 [103] a.m. They spent the day walking to a nut forest named !wi/wama which was situated eleven miles west of Dobe. The original plan was to remain there for five days.

[481] The pace was leisurely to suit the three older children [855] (ages 12, 8, 6 respectively) who went on foot and the young [843] woman who was in the terminal month of her pregnancy. On the way we stopped at intervals to eat seven different species of

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with 602
three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made.

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu/na* and *tũn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *//ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a 182
touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and con- 183
sistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society 582
tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many cate- 593
gories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship 602
as soon as marriage takes place.

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly 587
approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is 768
expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines.

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. 583
This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one 619
marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, [584]
as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened.

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in 595
which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power 554
or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, 556
but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries [422]
his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women [482]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

[482] 559 556 595 [422] [431] in the pouches of their karosses along with their babies. This puts a strict limit upon any desire to possess great quantities of property in movables. Furthermore, gift-giving keeps all personal property moving in a current through the region and no one possesses very much more than another. The determining factors in obtaining more than one wife are apt to be the personalities of the individuals and the man's ability to hunt. 'Women love meat', we were told, and like their husbands to be good hunters.

595 The number of wives a man may have is not regulated by social rules but by his ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. None of the nine polygynists in the band had more than two. However, we heard of a man named Gao, now dead, who had had four wives all at one time. He had been a fabulous hunter and maker of arrows and was the father of the /Ti/kay who is the husband of two sisters, /Naoka and /Nai, in Band 9.

Only two of the nine pairs of co-wives had traceable consanguineous relationship. The above /Ti/kay's wives were sisters—the only ones—and, in Band 10, Old ≠Gao's younger wife, /Ghia, was the BrDa of his older wife, Bau.

[601] */Kwi*, sister, is the term which co-wives apply to each other, unless they have the same name, in which case they term each other */gu!na*. The /Kung, though they do not institutionalize the sororate, say it is a good idea to marry sisters because they are not so likely to be jealous of each other as other women. /Ti/kay's wives, who appeared to live in harmony and affection and to support each other, provided an example of the validity of this opinion.

Marriage to the same man gives co-wives the joking relationship, and they do not observe the sitting or the name avoidance, though they may have avoided each other before marriage.

[342] /Kung co-wives share one scherm and one family fire. The scherm, the little shelter of branches and grass which the women build, a half hemisphere in shape, is only 3 to 4 ft. wide on the open side, about 3 ft. deep at the centre, perhaps 4 to 5 ft. high at the peak. In it and in front of it, beside their one fire, the two wives live, share their man, share the food they gather, share the work of fetching water and wood, nurse each other's babies, and co-operate in whatever degree of harmony their spirits can attain.

513 Husbands and wives may sleep separately or lie close together, side by side, or feet to feet. The woman holds her infant in her arms. Young children sleep near by bundled together, two or three in one kaross. Girls at about seven or eight go to sleep with a grandmother or a widowed friend or relative. The boys of the band, beginning at the same age, all sleep at a boys' fire.

[595] [821] /Ti/kay (Band 9), husband of the two attractive sisters, sees to it that his wives lie close to him, especially on cold nights, one on each side. Sleeping thus they were like the three stars of Orion which we call the Belt, but which the /Kung say are three zebras, two females with a male between them.

513 833 It is under such conditions that the /Kung usually have sexual intercourse—at night, in their sleeping place. They cover themselves with their karosses and are very discreet. The position is to lie on the side, the man at the back of the woman. Men pull the labia of the women before intercourse. The wives of /Ti/kay told me that they took pleasure in intercourse. I asked them if they had orgasms. We had

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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1. Women return in the evening after the day's digging and gathering of wild roots and berries

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2. A husband, wife, and their son at their family fire cooking their supper of two wild roots which the wife brought. Her genital apron is a fine one ornamented with beads

[p. 348-A]

/143 cont./

411 the upper end of the shaft (strips of leather or neck tendons of a large antelope); c, shaft.

/144/ With the exception of the iron point of the throwing lances, all the weapons are manufactured by the Auin themselves.
[439] The lance points reach the interior of the Kalahari from Lake Ngami through trade.

411 The lance point (see Fig. 6) is the Bushman's most valuable
435 possession. One hardly ever sees such points in a settlement, even if he comes unannounced, but only the shafts that go with them. In this respect the Bushman is so suspicious that even within the settlement he always hides the points, usually by burying them.

[422] Every adult Auin possesses one or more spears.

411 The iron point is inserted into the wooden shaft somewhat loosely so that it can easily be taken out. The upper end of the shaft is wrapped with a strip of antelope skin or antelope neck tendons. The point also serves as a tool for handwork in place of a knife.

[482] When the lance is carried, for which a leather strap like a rifle sling is used, it is commonly protected by a small leather cover (Photo. 25i). [Fig. 7 appears here.]

The manner of holding the bow and arrow when shooting seems to be fairly arbitrary. I have recorded the most common methods pictorially (see Photos. 29 to 32).

The bowstring is made of animal tendons twisted together. The strings were always pushed up on one side and fastened at the other (see Figs. 7a and 7b).

Composite bows do not exist.

The arrows are made exclusively from reeds which merely need to have grown straight to supply the ready-made arrow shaft. At the upper end, where the loose arrowhead is inserted, and at the bottom, where a simple, ordinary notch is made, the shaft is always wrapped with a flat, narrow grass band. Sometimes places in the middle of the shaft are wrapped. The length of the arrow shaft varies between 48 and 52 centimeters.

Feathered arrows do not occur.

411 The art of making arrows and arrowheads is a common posses-
463 sion of all adult Auin. There are no special arrow makers.

An exception to this is the manufacture of iron arrowheads, which is practiced only by some individuals, usually older persons.

[26 cont.]

512 from about August 20th to the end of December, the following daily routine is normally observed. Before dawn, it becomes very cold, the people wake up, and the boys stir up the fire and put on it the remains of the evening meal. The old people move closer to the fire and go on sleeping until the sun comes up. Then they have their breakfast, which consists of the remains of the [462] evening meal. The able men now go hunting. The women continue to sit around the fire for awhile and nurse their children. [462] At about 10 o'clock the women and children, as well as the girls, go out in a group to look for veldkost. Almost every woman [482] old enough to bear children carries a child on her back, while a second child often rides on her shoulders. The smaller boys stay at home and help the old people, who get up about an hour later [361] to fetch water. The huts are never located close to the water: 1. because people get sick close to the water; 2. because the lions come there; 3. because the game would be frightened away. The watering place itself is visited quite irregularly, because in disturbed times the enemy lurks there, and occasionally also the police. The male and female doctors go into the bush, usually not very far, alone or only with a disciple, to gather medicine. Around four o'clock in the afternoon the women come back and begin to cook. Around this time, too, the men begin to return with the spoils of the hunt. When the sun goes down, [264] they all sit by the fire and eat. Each family has its own fire. Then some will continue to chat for awhile, while others go to sleep, and gradually it becomes quiet.

[264] They do not eat at noon. From eleven to four o'clock the camp is deserted, and even the old people sleep somewhere in the forest. The hunters and the women collecting veldkost also [27] take a long midday rest during the hot afternoon hours. During the hot season, on the other hand, they set out soon after midnight to hunt and search for veldkost, because later in the day the sand is too hot to walk on.

6. The Divisions of the Year

805 The Bushmen reckon time according to full moons, for example, agreeing to meet after three or four full moons, and

[36 cont.]

Cooking and Cooking Utensils

354 Lumps of surface limestone are generally used as hearthstones.
412 Here and there, as a great rarity, one finds a pounding stone of quartzite.

To pound the veldkost, small mortars, carved out of wood, with conical or hemispherical bottoms are used. In case the mortars become damaged, holes are made on either side of the crack, and the flaw is drawn together with bast strips and also smeared over with resin. The shape of the pestle, which is from 50 centimeters to one meter long, is shown in Figure 7.

415 Originally these !Kung had no pots and probably had no
[252] way of boiling anything. The usual manner of preparing food even today is to roast and grill it on and between hot stones. Nowadays,
[439] every horde owns a number of pots acquired from the Okawango.
[482] These pots have bast or tendon plaiting around them, by which they are fastened when carried on the march. The Okawango people
[439] gladly exchange these water pots, which they have carried with them on the waterless stretch, for food from the Bushmen in the area between Karakowisa and Nuragas.

416 Small cast-iron tripods are a very popular article. A
417 longish, crudely carved stirring stick, as well as a piece of hardwood for arranging the fire, completes the inventory of the Bushman kitchen. Spoons are unknown.

Clothing

291 The clothing of the woman, as has already been repeatedly described, consists of a front apron and a back apron, made of soft leather, and a leather cloak something like a pelerine. Usually she also has a carrying hide for the baby. Generally, the child does
[854] not sit on her back, as among the Blacks, but on the side of her hip.
[415] In addition, the woman has the large veld bag in which she keeps the
[412] finds from her collecting. On the march, the woman is equipped with the simple digging stick, pointed at the bottom.

The men are clothed only with the modesty apron and in addition

/257 cont./

276 that has been cut off are very popular. The cut surface of the end of the horn is pressed to the mouth, and the smoke is sucked into the lungs in a deep draught. Very frequently simple cartridges are used as primitive, but nevertheless serviceable tobacco pipes.

[439] Clay pipes, which are not uncommon in the Kaukau Veld, are imported from the Betschuana.

415 /258/ A common kitchen utensil is a large, flat wooden spoon with a bent handle, which, however, is not used to place food in the mouth, but only to fill vessels. The Bushmen eat with

[264] their fingers; they drink their soups from the communal wooden bowl and polish up the rest with a crooked index finger and by licking it out with the tongue.

As pots they use pumpkin [melon?] vessels bound with leather

● [482] thongs and carried over the shoulder on sticks.

As a special display object in many a hut one finds a large clay vessel with strong walls and decorated with white bands that

[439] have been notched into it. This vessel is imported from the Ovambo.

372 The tools for firemaking command special interest. The Bushman is acquainted with two, the dáni and the //oro.

The dáni (dǂ = fire) consists of two wooden sticks, each about 40 centimeters long. The rounded-off end of the one stick fits into a pan-like cavity at the end of the other stick. The edge of the pan is provided with a little opening through which the glowing wood that has been rubbed to tinder can be emptied onto a smooth stone during the fire-twirling. The Bushman can make fire with this tool in less than half a minute.

The other firemaking device known to the Bushmen is the

[439] //oro, a flint with striking ring and tinder box, imported from the Betschuana.

A tool that in addition to its use in leather working also serves

412 medical purposes is a pointed iron needle about 20 centimeters long and three millimeters thick, carried in a narrow leather sheath by almost every male Bushman. The needle is used with great skill

[752] for the removal of thorns from the skin, an operation which the Bushman naturally must frequently demand of his medicine man.

In addition to the above-mentioned hunting implements, the

482 game snare and game hook, I was shown a wooden staff, approximately one and a half meters long and worked with some skill, which is used for carrying game over the shoulder,

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly 252
disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin
tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups [139]
use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roasted plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of 264
wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make 415
wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some 184
purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except 262
by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco 237
pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups, bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The *|Nu-||ēin* [184]
and *||Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the *|Ao-||ēin* and other tribes living to the north. Articles [438]
made by the former form an important medium of exchange. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it [482]
also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large [415]
animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich egg-shells are used for carrying and storing water and for the [301
manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time 438]
form the most important article of barter among the *|Nu-||ēin, Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-||om*. Among the most [184
northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red [278]
ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omuva* tree, are the 438
principal media of exchange.

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit 121
me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive communities are surrounded.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, 142
and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff [46]
with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the
men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and
consequently they often seem younger than they are. They [194]
are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man 291
wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather
apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole
animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at [854
the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride, 482
and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which 413
are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people; 237]
they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though [515
they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair 302]
breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped
close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell
beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny [301]
bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear
leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several 609
months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find
them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe
that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the
grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and [342]
made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right 609
into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and 621
didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass until I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around it, then the other scherms as well: The werf was abandoned, all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

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B 136 dangerous for us there, so we withdrew. We should have loved to see them, and we were sorry to leave their patch of
K bush.
131 We looked in the open ground near the lions' thicket for
361 signs of Bushmen, but we found none, so we went on over the flat plains and the next day we came to a long dip in the country, forested with small trees, the last place, said Theunis, where anyone except Bushmen lived. It was the rainy-season
K village of a few Bakalaharis, a Bantu people who years ago
221 lost all their cattle and went into the desert, where they live a life very much like the life of Bushmen except that they raise goats. During the rains they graze their goats at little posts of theirs, far away in the veld. We set off toward the village, planning to ask the people there if they knew of Bushmen
K farther on, but as we went over the ridge and down into the
166 valley we came upon all the villagers walking toward us, driv-
484 ing donkeys and herds of goats, a surprising sight in that lonely country. There were about sixty people in all, tall,
K dark-skinned Bakalahari men carrying bows and arrows, fol-
[441 482] lowed by their women, who carried heavy bundles on their backs, supported by tumplines around their foreheads, which made their eyes bulge and their lower jaws stick out. Among
B [357 482] them walked their Bushman servants, old wrinkled men and women, young girls with their babies, lithe young hunters,
854 small, light-skinned, all carrying great loads of household goods belonging to the Bakalaharis, with the youngest Bushman children riding on top of the loads. Some of the Bush-
K [492] man boys were driving herds of goats, some of the older Bushman women drove herds of scrubby gray donkeys which were also heavily loaded with bundles of hides, sticks used to build
K houses, bags of belongings, and baby goats too young to walk.
484 We were surprised to see them and we stopped. Some of

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER FOUR

The Fire

After a long talk with Gai and Ukwane we found that, because of a shortage of melons and roots, they did not like to live at the place where we found them, which was called Gu Nu, and they were planning to move. We asked them if they would mind our coming with them when they did move, and they, with great aplomb, showing no surprise at what must have seemed a strange request, said politely that they would not mind at all. We had good relations with them by that time and had already been living near them for several days. 166 648

As we would be asking them to spend time talking with us, we agreed to give them food, water, and firewood to make up for what they might gather if we were not taking their time, as well as salt and tobacco to make their hearts glad. It seemed to be a good arrangement, and they were as pleased as we.

Soon after that, when Ukwane had decided where to go, we packed up our camp, they packed up theirs, and we put everything on the trucks and drove away. The Bushmen all rode with us except the two oldest women, Kutera and Dasina, who said they were too tired to ride and preferred to walk. They did, too, taking with them all their possessions as 481 482

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

481 well as great loads of melons, all of which we offered again
482 and again to carry for them, but because, they said, they might want to stop for the night or just refresh themselves along the way, they would not part with their bundles.

The place we went to was called Ai a ha'o; it was the pan where we had seen the lion. It took us almost all day to drive there, and shortly after we arrived Dasina and Kutera joined us, having traveled almost as fast as we. Those two old women must have walked at four or five miles an hour all the way, over veld so rough that the trucks couldn't go much faster.

342 Before dark, the Bushman women had built a werf, a clear-
361 ing of grass for each family with a shallow pit to sleep in and a place for the fire, all four clearings under the branches of a single tree which would give them shade in the daytime. On
353 the branches each person hung whatever there was to hang, quivers, skin bags, or aprons, and these things swung in the cold wind. The women gathered firewood and lit their fires,
757 and Dasina asked Twikwe to stand on her stomach because
562 she was tired from her long walk and wanted a massage. Before they went to sleep the men and the three young boys
574 walked to our camp, about fifty feet away, to say good-night,
577 but the women stayed at home because at night all Bushmen women stay at home. A woman does not even leave her fire to go to her neighbor's fire three feet away because people will say that she doesn't like to stay home; she speaks loudly to her neighbor instead. Bushmen are a rather conservative peo-
[181] ple, and they are very moral in that they keep their own rules.

574 The smoke in the west that Gai had seen when he roasted the tortoise intrigued him very much. Again and again he said that it was people's smoke, and one morning he said he wanted to go over to it, to look for the man who was Wita-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

132 above the earth in a layer. We were crouching at a fire we had built, warming our hands against the cold, when the sun came up. We heard birds singing in the fresh air as if nothing
512 had happened, then the sound of faint pounding far away, a mortar being struck with a pestle. Soon we heard a second mortar join the first as another woman began breakfast for her family, and we knew that two women meant perhaps six people, therefore a band.

276 Gai stood up and stretched his legs, then took a tiny coal from our fire between his thumb and finger and dropped it into his pipe, inhaling deeply and holding the smoke in his lungs while he handed the pipe to Witabe, who also puffed and returned the pipe, when at last Gai exhaled, spat, and scooped the pipe through the sand, extinguishing the fire and saving the rest of the tobacco. He stuck the pipe in his belt,
[482]
481 flung his great kaross over his chest to warm his belly, and strode off in the direction of the sound, the ragged edges of his great cape swinging at his ankles as his strong feet carried him away. He walked under a burned log that had partly fallen and was braced up by another tree, and as he did the white ashes blew from it and the light of dawn shone through the ash like light through a flurry of snow.

731 Later in the day, when we had eaten cornmeal for breakfast, while we waited for Gai to come back, we went down to the flats below our hilltop to inspect the damage of the fire. The land below our camp was in utter desolation, startling and ruined, a desert of ash. We found only the orange sand and black ashes still in the shape of the grass blades that made them, black ashes below burned bushes still in the shape of the leaves that made them, and, on the ground, flat, perfect skeletons of vines, just in the shape of the vines that made them but black, in powder, disintegrating into dust when the wind touched them. All around us lay the smolder-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

159 right, saying that Gai may have *thought* the Bakalahari was his real father, but that Ukwane knew better. I expect that Ukwane was right at that, for Gai certainly looked like a Bushman.

But whether father or stepfather, Gai said, the Bakalahari kept sending messages to Gai with Bushmen who might be passing through Ai a ha'o telling him to come back to Chukudu (probably to work), but Gai never did. Gai was too clever.

512 At noon the sun had warmed the air a little, although there was still an edge of frost, and the women got up and walked [313] off together into the veld to search for wood. In an hour or so they came back heavily loaded, Tsetchwe with her kaross [482 854] bulging with melons, perhaps twenty in all, a great load of wood on top of them piled higher than her head, and Nhwakwe riding on top of it all. Even in the cold air she perspired, and as her load must have weighed almost a hundred pounds, she walked leaning forward.

By night the cold had deepened. The Bushman boys came [513] out of my tent and went home for dinner, then lay by the fires to sleep when the adults curled up in the shallow pits. The moon rose, a frosty circle, hard as a coin, and before we went to sleep that night we heard a jackal calling "tsa," out on the plains.

"Tsa," called one of the Bushmen, answering him.

"Tsa!" the jackal replied.

821 In the morning we were very pleased to find that the cold had broken. We woke up to find the sun just rising, and on the other edge the moon just sinking down, lustrous and pale in a current of balmy air coming warm from the equator. In the east, only the planets showed of all the stars; one of them,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

when the tsama melons were gone, but now, perhaps when he 222
saw its vine there and thought about it under the ground, he changed his mind. Squatting near the vine and digging with his hands, he soon had exposed it, two feet down and dark in shadow. He seized it and tore it from the earth.

It was shaped like a monstrous beet, with its vine coming from the top like a little stalk and its root bristling from the bottom like a tassel. It had a hard, bark-like crust and it was gray and hairy. Gai held it daintily by its vine, and, as dirt was still dropping off it he slapped and brushed it to clean it; then he held it high above the big cavity it had filled, looked at it with a rather satisfied smile, and said what nice water it would be.

We went home then, walking again in single file in a [481]
straight course over the veld, veering only once toward a [313]
fallen tree, where the women stopped to gather firewood. The [482]
women, walking first, were heavily loaded now with melons, roots, and firewood, Tsetchwe loaded most heavily of all because the baby rode on her shoulder. The women used their digging-sticks as canes because their knees were bending, and [481]
walked quickly, trying to get home as soon as possible. After the women came the young boys carrying nothing, and last of all came Gai, holding his bi by its tassel of root. Before long he hurried and caught up to Tsetchwe, and once again he took a turn with Nhwakwe, swinging him from Tsetchwe's shoulders to his own, where Nhwakwe rode happily, his tiny hands pressed over his father's eyes.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

222 the smoke had confused them and they did not sting, although they flew everywhere looking for us. The old man turned his back, hunched his head between his shoulders, and hid from them as one would hide if one were being pelted with stones. When the swarm had dispersed a little he finished the opening. The Bushmen say that when bees are disturbed they are vicious only at first. After a while they become disorganized and confused and they fly about but do not sting you. When you smoke bees you must be careful not
[778 to burn them or smoke them too much because they are
825] magic creatures with medicine to control fire, and if you harm them they will cause fire to burn you. A young boy whom we knew once burned some bees, and that night, when he was asleep by the fire, the fire sought him out and burned the skin of his belly, touching him only and no one else.

Lazy Kwi and the old man did the work perfectly. They were not stung badly, the tree was open, and no bees were seriously harmed. Inside the tree we could see the brown combs hanging and the bees as thick as fur around them. Lazy Kwi took out the combs and put them in a wooden bowl, licking his fingers afterward, and before we went back we ate some of the honey. There were two kinds, old honey and new honey, and the new honey was pale yellow and very
[262] sweet and mild, winter honey made from the small, dry flowers of the veld. The old honey was much sweeter and strong enough to burn your mouth. Before we left, the old man
[515] and Lazy Kwi carefully wiped their hands and arms with grass, for they were covered with honey and things were beginning to stick to them. Then we went back to camp and in the afternoon we packed to go on toward Gautscha Pan.

415 Lazy Kwi packed a skin bag full of tsi nuts and the seeds
482 of baobab fruit, alum-like powdery stones that ripen at the
[222] start of the dry season. The old man had a huge net bag filled

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

with his possessions—bowls, fire sticks with which the Bushmen kindle fires, skins, and little bags of food.

Just before we left, the Chuana woman came to say good-by and I gave her some tea and a bottle of perfume that was given to me when I left America. My mother gave her a silk scarf and some bars of scented soap, and the woman, overwhelmed, sat down on the ground with these things in her lap and with the aid of the interpreter she started to thank us, but then she said: "Too much thanks is like a curse. I sit here with my delights."

After that we climbed on the trucks and drove away, looking back to see the sky of evening and the dry hills around Gam, and the Chuana woman still sitting on the ground waving to us. In back of her, a group of serf Bushman women were thoughtfully carrying away the firewood we had left behind.

Many miles from Gam we camped for the night and all the sky in the west was hazy red with the flat-topped thorn trees blue below it, and suddenly through the haze a herd of giraffes ran from a thicket near us into the open plain. There were nine giraffes and eight were females, all strung out in a line with their strong legs slowly opening, then bunching as they ran and their heads on their long necks stretching out and back, out and back. Behind the females ran the bull, an enormous creature half again as tall as they were, half again as broad, mighty and ponderous as he reached his long legs forward to overtake his wives.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1956)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

buffalo, not hearing them, would relax, lie down, and itself 224
get stiff and sore. In the morning the two men had found where the buffalo had slept, also a damp spot of its urine with black flecks in it (which I believe were flecks of blood) and Toma had pushed a poison arrow into the spot of urine so that the buffalo would be unable to urinate again, unable to rid itself of more poison.

The men had followed the buffalo's track for three days, knowing from its footprints that it was getting weaker, staggering, and in the morning of the fourth day they had come over a rise of ground and had seen it far ahead of them, lying on its side as if dead. The two men wisely had not gone up to it, but had squatted where they were to watch it, remaining this way for most of the day, and when the buffalo had not even flicked its tail or heaved its sides in breathing, Toma had considered it safe enough to approach. He had done this cautiously, very carefully, balancing his long spear in his hand, but just as Toma had stood near the buffalo, spear poised for the stab that would kill it surely, the buffalo had lurched to its feet, had chased Toma, and had tossed him on its horns.

The great boss, the heavy mass of horn on the buffalo's 752
forehead, had cracked Toma's ribs and one curved horn had hooked in Toma's side, passing through his body and out his back. Toma had lain unconscious and Lazy Kwi had carried [482] ●
him home; later, other hunters of Toma's band had found the buffalo truly dead, partly eaten by vultures, and had taken the meat; but nothing, no medicines or cures that the Bushmen had used, had helped Toma, and the people had expected him to die.

Gautscha was the country of Toma's wife, and when Toma 752
had realized how sick he was he had wanted to return to his 648
own people, the people of Gam. Lazy Kwi and another man

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

men so badly that they had fled in all directions into the veld and the white farmers had not recruited any labor. We wondered how Short Kwi had managed his escape and Toma told us that his brothers-in-law had helped him. They had carried him on their backs to a far place, taking turns.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

begun to give each other presents of tsi. Bushmen feel a great 431
need to give and receive food, perhaps to cement relationships with each other, perhaps to prove and strengthen their dependence upon each other; because the opportunity to do this does not occur unless huge quantities of food are at hand, Bushmen always exchange presents of the foods that come in huge quantities, these being the meat of game antelope, tsi nuts, and the nuts of the mangetti trees, which at certain seasons are scattered abundantly all through the mangetti forests.

As we waited by the jeep Dikai gave a huge sack of tsi to her mother. Her mother gave another sack to Gao Feet's first wife, and Gao Feet gave a sack to Dikai. Later, during the days that followed, the tsi was distributed again, this time in smaller quantities, small piles or small bagfuls, after that in handfuls, and, last, in very small quantities of cooked tsi which people would share as they were eating. All this was very hard to trace, especially for us while we waited and loaded the jeep, for the large sacks were not handed around but rather were tossed into the jeep one on top of the other while the transactions went on vocally.

There is a further complicating factor in food distribution. 431
The owner of the bag which is full of tsi or mangettis is the owner of all the nuts inside, no matter who gathered the nuts, just as the owner of an arrow, whether man or woman, is the owner of the largest share of the buck killed by the arrow, no matter who shot the buck. This is a practical arrangement, since all three of these important foods, oftener than not, are very far from the waterholes where the bands would be living. Usually, Bushmen have to travel for several days over water- 484
less, scorching veld to reach tsi fields or mangetti forests, then 482
have to carry their heavy loads back again to water. These 431
journeys are too hard for young children, old people, cripples,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

484 women who are pregnant, or people who are ill. In fact, the
482 long journeys for the two kinds of nuts are undertaken only
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431 by strong adults, who therefore must gather for all those who stay behind. The system of Bushmen in these matters ensures that everybody gets enough. As it turned out, that afternoon we found that both Tu and Lazy Kwi had filled bags belonging to Lazy Kwi's wife, the bag that Lazy Kwi filled being the only one he had with him, and in this way his wife, who wasn't there and who so far knew nothing of her windfall, owned two bags of food which she would probably share with Lazy Kwi, who actually, that day, owned none.

At last, when many bags had changed hands, when everything movable including Tu's bag of grass—which she had emptied, tying the grass into a bundle with a strip of bark in order to free the bag for tsi—had been loaded into the jeep,
484 the people began to climb in and the jeep sank down on its springs, groaning dangerously as each person got on it and found a place to sit. When finally everyone was on and the springs still had not broken we drove away with extreme caution, barely moving when we came to bumps, with Toma and Gao Feet sitting on the hood and pointing the way to Nama.

522 As we crept along Toma told a lion story concerning some Bantu people at Kai Kai who tried to rid themselves of three lions that were attacking their cattle. As his story was extremely funny, his voice was often drowned out by the laughter of the others. He spoke so fast we could not understand him, but his wife laughed until she cried. Toma told the funniest parts of the story two or three times.

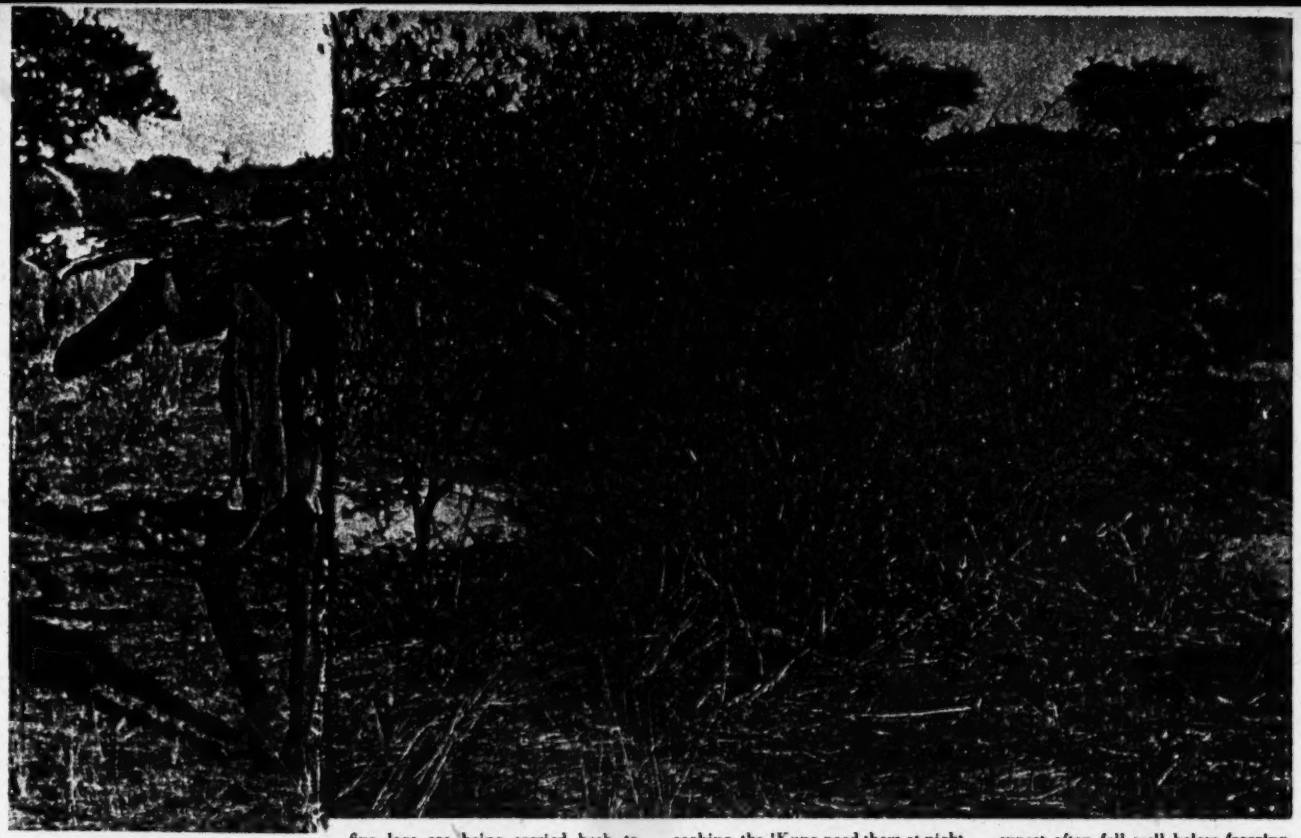
271 Just before we got to Nama, when the shadows of the bushes reached far over the veld and the western sky was blood red, thick with smoke, we reached a tiny waterhole

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

three-legged dog. This morning, though, he did not look at 151
anyone and seemed more silent even than he had been before.

The men made a carriage of their arms and lifted Short 482 ●
Kwi to the top of the truck, and in the process one of them 151
lost his footing so that Short Kwi was jounced, which must have hurt him although he did not show it, Bushmen being very good at concealing pain or despair. His wife climbed on to help make him comfortable and to receive their bundles, which were being handed up, and at the sight of this his baby 152
began to cry without a sound, slow tears rolling down her cheeks and dropping to the ground. I lifted the baby and tried to play with her, jumping a little and smiling to make her smile, although of course I could not cheer her, and when Short Kwi's wife looked over the truck's side the baby twisted away from me and held up her arms.

When Short Kwi was ready we asked who would come 224
with us, and most of his relatives decided to wait and join us 857
later because one of the young boys, a child of twelve or so, 866
had shot his first buck two days before and as the buck had still not been found, the people did not want to leave it. Toma's son himself wanted to remain because, it turned out, the buck had been shot with an arrow which he had given to another boy, who in turn had given it to the young hunter, and Toma's son, as original owner of the arrow, wanted his rightful share of the meat. When Toma said that his son could wait if he wanted but that we couldn't wait for him, his son turned to some other little boys who stood near him and began discussing the possibility of his joining the search for the animal. It was very interesting to see this conversation, these adult dealings beginning among the ten- and twelve-year-olds, these new, young hunters, these small figures of hope and strength, and we waited a long time while



FIREWOOD FOR CAMP is another prize to be sought from the veld. Here, two fine logs are being carried back to the *werft* for fuel. Besides fires for cooking, the !Kung need them at night for warmth, since temperatures after sunset often fall well below freezing. Each family shelter has its own fire.

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[p. 30].

HUNTSMEN OF NYAE NYAE

The !Kung still practice man's oldest craft

By John Marshall

224 481 151 HUNTING is the work of men. !Kung hunters range the land, seeking the agile game. The men walk rapidly, never lowering their eyes, making sure of the awkward ground with their dextrous feet. They glance swiftly over the distances of the country and, with their good vision and knowledge of what to look for, see any moving thing. As girls learn gathering, boys learn most of hunting on their own. They hunt little birds in the grass around the *werft* houses. They impale beetles with tiny arrows shot from toy bows. Tracking, which is the most difficult part

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[411 482 415]

Chief weapons of !Kung are bow and poisoned arrows (in quiver, above).

[p. 45]

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BAGS FOR FOOD, above, like eggshells for water, give !Kung some freedom in moving. Food may be brought to water or water carried far into the desert.

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poison-bearer, its cycle is somewhat as follows: the beetle lays its eggs in the Murula tree leaves. Hatching in the rains, the grubs migrate down the trunk, progressing through a number of growth stages. Finally, they make their cocoons under the ground near the tree. In these cocoons, they struggle through metamorphosis and emerge as small, bravely-colored beetles in the New Year's rains, providing the Bushmen have not already dug them up. The hunters know the particular trees frequented by the beetles and make expeditions to them at least twice a year to replenish their supply. Then the grubs are dug up, and used on the spot or kept in their cocoons, depending on the man's needs.

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The poisoning of !Kung arrows is a long process, with a number of variations. The most common poison is a mixture of the grub and the previously mentioned tree-pod. The grubs are crushed and the pod is warmed until its contents melt slightly and can be crushed with the grubs. This mixture is thinned with the copious spit which results from chewing any of a variety of barks and is then smeared on the foreshaft of the arrow—but cleaned immaculately off

[p. 53]

237 and bowstrings, horn makes spoons and small containers: most needed of all are the skins—converted into bags and nets for carrying, and into 291 clothes. Men wear only a breech-clout. Women wear modesty aprons, 281 often one in front and one behind, as well as a piece of soft skin, clasped [841] between their buttocks and thighs, when menstruating. Both men and women wear *kaross*'s. The *kaross*, or skin cloak, is the most important garment and everyone tries to have one. If a man has only one *kaross*, and he is a good man, he will give it to his wife and do without—for, to a woman, a *kaross* is essential. In it, she is modest. In it, she carries the [482] roots she has gathered in the day and the baby who must go where she goes. Her *kaross* is her warmth at night, her softness on the cold ground. It breaks the blind wind and roofs away the narrow rain.

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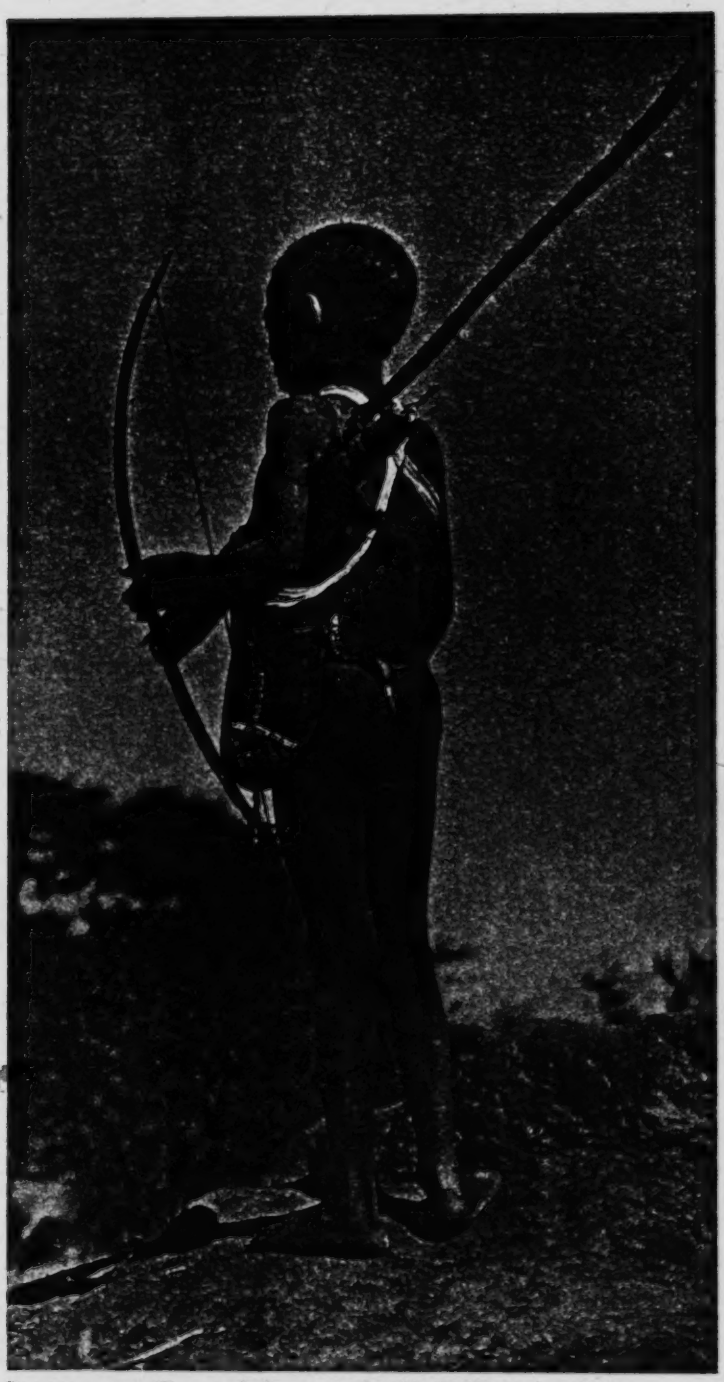

BEFORE MARRIAGE, !Kung youths have few responsibilities. But the hunt is in their blood and it is a proud boy who kills his first buck early in life.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

FIG. 9. With all space around them, they sit shoulder to shoulder, ankle across ankle. One of the boys plays a *//gwashi*

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[534]
[854]

FIG. 10. A mother and child asleep. Babies are held and carried most of the time. When they play they are never far from their parents

FIG. 11. Old Gau lends an arrow to his son-in-law, /Qui

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FIG. 12. ≠Toma carrying his share of meat in a first distribution

[p. 240-C]

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsī the men always ac-
462 company the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsī* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater por-
222 tion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging imple-
[412] ment is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were
[101] living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some
[484] to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles
[361] to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back
[854] to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to
[482] them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the
[372] bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as
252 meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes,
264 pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

222 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the
433 impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food
731 is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families
166 therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—
[582]

224 462 [222] track the animal to the place where it has died. All the Dobe area Bushmen consistently hunted and collected within a 15-20 mile radius of their camps. Hunting trips of 3-10 days duration have been recorded in the literature on !Kung (e.g. L. Marshall 1960:331), but these extended trips were not a feature in the Dobe area.

222 224 462 The contrast in technology between the hunting equipment of the men and the gathering equipment of the women is striking. Only three elementary tools are required for the complete range of gathering tasks. On the other hand, the hunting kits consist of at least 19 complex weapons and devices, with sophisticated methods of manufacture and maintenance.

222 The three gathering tools are the <u>kaross</u>, the digging stick and the nut-cracking stones. With only these three items, a softened antelope hide, a sharpened stick, and a pair of unimproved rocks, the entire gamut of plant foods [291] can be exploited. The kaross is the most important of the three. This is a one-piece combination garment-cum-carrying-device made from the hide of a gemsbok, kudu or wildebeeste. [281] The raw hide is dried, the edges are trimmed and the hide is softened by a tanning agent from the plant <u>Elephantorhiza burkei</u>. The resulting garment is worn by the women draped [482] [291] over the back. When tied at the waist by a leather thong,

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482 the lower half of the kaross conceals the wearer's backside
[291] while the upper half forms a pouch for carrying vegetable foods (as well as water containers, firewood and babies).

Since most of the Bushman foods are nuts and berries, ranging in size from 1/2 to 1-1/2 inches in diameter, and hundreds of these small foods make up a family's daily diet, Bushman life would not be possible without some means of carrying quantities of these small foods back to the camp or "home base". One cannot overstate the importance of the food-carrying device for Bushman life, and for the life of hunting and gathering peoples in general. This, I think, has implications for the evolution of human subsistence during the Pleistocene since a device for carrying vegetable foods would seem to be a prerequisite for human camp life.

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412 The digging stick is secondary in importance to the kaross because all but one of the major Bushman foods are nuts, berries and melons which do not have to be dug out of the ground. The typical digging stick is three feet long, three quarters of an inch in diameter and sharpened into a blade at one end. It is made from the thick straight stalks of the bushes of the genera Dichrostachys and Grewia. It
[224] is not weighted by a bored stone. Apart from its obvious use for digging out edible roots and bulbs, the digging stick also plays an important role in mens' hunting activities.

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412 Four of the ten important game species (wart hog, antbear, porcupine, and springhare) live in underground burrows and it is often necessary after running an animal to ground for the hunter to excavate to the burrow in order to retrieve the [482] carcass. The men also use the digging stick as a carrying yoke on which to bring home game.

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222 The third tool is a pair of nut-cracking stones. Without these it would be impossible to exploit the abundant mongongo nut (Ricinodendron) as food because of its extremely hard shell. Any reasonably hard stone may be used including the locally abundant limestone cobbles. The hammerstone is fist-sized and no flakes are struck off. The anvil stone may be any size and shape up to a weight of fifteen pounds. Neither of these stones is improved in any way and only the pecking marks show evidence of human use. The nut is held on the anvil stone between the fingertips of the left hand. With the hammerstone one delivers two to five sharp and dextrous blows which are sufficient to open the nut.

Through the generations, pairs of these stones have become distributed throughout the nut forests of the Dobe area. It is only occasionally necessary for a woman to carry her own cracking stones from one camp to another.

It may be useful to re-examine the Stone Age lithic assemblages with the nut-cracking stones in mind.

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222 during this period concentrate on tending their snarelines.
[462] Gradually the distance to the nuts increases as a wider and
[224] wider radius of nuts becomes eaten out. For instance, by the end of July there were no nuts within seven miles of the Dobe waterhole, and a day's collecting became a major undertaking. In order to reach the nuts, the women had to set out early in the morning and walk for 2-1/2 hours. In the nut forest they had to work for two hours to fill their karosses
[482] with nuts. On the return journey each woman was heavily loaded with c. 30 lbs. of whole nuts and the distance back to camp took 3-1/2 hours to cover. Thus on a late July collecting trip, the women would have to walk at least 14 miles to and from the nuts, plus another two miles in the nut forests, stooping and collecting. This adds up to eight hours of hard work in one day.

At this point, the effort required to gather mongongo nuts begins to outweigh the satisfaction derived from eating nuts and one observed a sharp decline in nut collecting in favor of the less desirable foods of classes II, III and IV. These latter foods had the advantage of being locally abundant in the vicinity of the permanent waterholes.

This transition from nuts to other foods occurred at Dobe
[184] at the end of July (in 1964). At !gose, where the nut forests are much denser, the gatherers continued their daily trips

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and may stay in constant use for years. It is curious therefore that each family possesses less than 10 shells and must borrow shells in order to make these hiking trips to the nuts. The limited number of containers is probably the reason why members of a camp go out to the nuts in shifts. When one family returns, the camp's ostrich egg shells are pooled, and then another family may go out.

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A second limitation is the weight of water that can be carried. The 756 ounces of water required for four days at the nut forest weigh 47 lbs. Each empty ostrich egg shell weighs eight ounces; so that the 14 shells themselves weigh

[855]

an additional seven lbs. Furthermore it is necessary for the parents to carry the younger children on their shoulders. So, in effect, the parents must walk out to the nut forests fully loaded with water and children and also return fully loaded with nuts and children. On the return trip the weight of the water is replaced by an equivalent weight of collected nuts.

The third limitation is set by the volume that the ostrich egg shells occupy in the carrying space of the kaross. The volume occupied by 14 ostrich egg shells is roughly equivalent to the volume occupied by 14 quart-sized milk bottles. When the time comes for the trip home the adults must pack into each kaross 20 lbs. of nuts, as well as the empty ostrich egg

312 shells; this makes for a very bulky and unwieldy parcel. The
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222 stomach sacs, by contrast to the egg shells, have the distinct advantage of being weightless and occupying no space on the return trip, since when they are empty they dry and shrivel up.

221 The reader can now appreciate the complex logistics of
222 Bushman subsistence activities during the late winter dry
312 season. In view of the difficulty of collecting mongongo nuts during this season, it is not surprising that the people turn to an eclectic diet of roots, bulbs, and gums that are still available in the vicinity of permanent water.

222 Several variations in tactics were observed among the
484 Dobe area Bushmen. One such variation was to leave the older
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312 children behind in the care of relatives while the parents
482 made the long trips to the nut forests. By leaving behind two children at the main camp, the parents could effect savings of 30% in the weight of water that had to be carried out on a four day trip.

222 Another variation observed was the two-day-one-night
484 overnight hike. Such a trip lasted only 36 hours and required
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[482] only three ostrich egg shells of water per adult. By using this tactic, groups of ten or more people could make a rapid lightly loaded trip to the nut forests and return the following day heavily loaded with nuts. This was a difficult operation

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312 because it entailed two consecutive days of hardhiking on
482 short water rations. The object of such a trip was to get to
484 the nuts and back again as quickly as possible, before the physiological deficit of water was allowed to reduce efficiency.

221 The general object of the winter nutting trips was to
222 remain at the nut forests just long enough to eat a really
262 substantial quantity of nuts (about 400 nuts per adult). This marathon meal starts the moment that the Bushmen arrive at the nut camps and continues throughout their stay. It is interrupted for short periods when the Bushmen go out to col-
[539] lect nuts in the vicinity of their temporary camp. There is a Bushman saying that aptly applies to this situation: "It is better to carry food home in your stomach than on your back."

[224] Hunting rarely occurs at these overnight camps. The efforts of men and women alike are directed to eating as many nuts as possible in a short time.

[312] The most important variation in the late winter and spring subsistence tactics centers on the use of Fockea monroi as a source of water. This will be discussed below.

132 6. Early Spring

August is the last month of winter. The last of the freezing nights occurs at the first of the month and these are followed by warmer nights in the 40's and 50's and daily

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Dress and Decoration

Bushmen

281 291 Save where there has been a good deal of contact with European influences, all the Bushmen wear garments made entirely from the skins of animals, usually some kind of buck taken in the chase.[1] Complete nudity is hardly ever found, though it is reported on hearsay evidence by Miss Bleek of some of the wilder bands of Auen and Naron. [462] All the clothes are made by the men, who prepare not only their own garments but also those of their wives and children.

The principal garment of the men among all the Bushmen consists in a triangular piece of skin, two ends of which are tied together round the loins, while the third is passed between the legs and knotted on behind. [177] Some of the North-Eastern Bushmen (Tannekwe, Hukwe, Galikwe), who have been much in contact with the Bantu, have adopted the form of loin-cloth worn by the latter, in which a piece of skin passed between the legs is drawn before and behind through a leather girdle tied round the loins. A skin cloak ("kaross") is also worn by most of the men, especially in cold weather or when on the [284] march. This is tied over the right shoulder by means of strips of skin attached to two ends, and hangs so as to cover the back and, if large enough, also the chest, while leaving the arms and left shoulder free. It is sometimes worn slung over both shoulders and tied under the chin. The head is usually uncovered, but skin caps are sometimes seen, as well as leather sandals tied round the ankle with thongs.

281 415 482 411 On the march the men carry a round bag slung on over the right shoulder and hanging on the left hip. In it are carried all sorts of small possessions and food. A longer skin bag, containing the weapons, fire-sticks, etc., is also hung over the left shoulder. Bark quivers for the arrows are sometimes found as well, more especially among the Southern and Namib Bushmen.

281 291 The women wear a hanging apron in front, consisting in a piece of skin attached to a leather belt passing round the loins. It is often ornamented with bead or leather tassels. A smaller apron, covering only the genitals, is sometimes worn beneath this. The older women

[1] The fullest descriptions of Bushman dress and decoration are given by: Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 428–30; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 33–40; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140–3; Werner, "Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kung-buschleute," 255–7; Seiner, "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 297–8: Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 87–90; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 8–10; E. Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 101–10.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

the ground and covered with grass. The description of the Naron hut given by Miss Bleek[1] applies equally to the huts of most of the other Northern Bushmen.[2] "The women do all the building here. The men may cut a few branches, but their wives plant them in a semicircle, tie the tops together with a thong or bark fibre, put smaller sticks in between them, and thatch the whole with grass, making a cosy little wind screen. In bad weather chunks of wood are often laid on top to keep the grass in place. The size and the care with which a hut is built vary with the season: in dry weather a very slight shelter suffices, just a little sloping screen perhaps made by sticking grass in the branches of a bush. As the rainy season approaches a proper semicircular hut is made, from four to five feet high, the opening to leeward of course, and when the rain really comes, the half circle is increased to about a three-quarter circle, often thereby changing the direction of the opening in accordance with the different wind. There is no door; the opening is about four feet high." The whole structure is easily put up, and is abandoned without misgiving. If the next halting place is near, the women carry some of the materials over; if not, new material is always at hand.

Among the Cape Bushmen light portable huts equally simple in make were sometimes seen. A few bent sticks formed the framework, which was covered with mats made of reeds laid side by side and neatly sewn together. The whole structure was hemispherical in shape, about four feet in diameter, and only some three feet in height. When the encampment broke up, the mats were rolled together, and used again at the next spot.[3] Somewhat larger huts made in the same way are also found among some of the North-Eastern tribes at the present time, e.g. the Hukwe and some of the Hiechware, but in general the grass hut is the prevailing kind.[4]

The floor in the interior of the hut is usually scooped out a little, making a sort of nest, in which the inmates sleep; this is lightly strewn with dry grass, which is often changed. In front of the hut is the fireplace, marked by a mound of ashes rising higher daily and sheltering the opening. Here all the cooking is done, save in wet weather, when it is often done inside the hut. At night a second little fire is made in the middle of the hut, or just inside the opening. Round

[1] Op. cit., 5.
[2] Cf. Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 81-2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 259; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 298.
[3] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275-6; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 43.
[4] Seiner, op. cit., 298; Doman, op. cit., 90; Wilhelm, "Wortschatz . . . der Hukwe-Buschmannsprache," 301.

[10 cont.]

539 χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!
[821]

[11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and
291 the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes
731 even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They
[488] do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and
[758] the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune. Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own.
271 One must have experienced personally the feeling that overcomes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can drink again!

539 3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a
782 journey:
[484] χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

[755] 4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor performs his ceremonies.

χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai kháira téve God, let our people rise again.

789 5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil: Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

821 They do not know anything to say about the sun (sorésa). The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

753 Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those
776 persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this, and there is no spirit of sickness.

776 There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the bush. They play tricks.

775 A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know
[756] what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the people who crowded her in, and, clambering out of the 576
jeep, ran back to retrieve it. It was an enormous bundle, but
she dragged it to the jeep and tried to stuff it in, paying no at-
tention at all to the others who insisted loudly that there was
no room. She finally got it in, climbed in after it, and sat on it
to squash it down. She completely ignored a lofty glance from
her husband, a reproach for her impoliteness, and searched
through her clothing for her pipe and her flint, with which 593
she struck a light and smoked. In a sense, she and Toma were
mismated, for the idea that she would have fewer things, less
conveniences than someone else seemed to haunt Tu, while
Toma seemed possessed with the fear that he would have
more. When Tu took, Toma gave away.

We drove down the plain, leaving the nests in the forest be- 484
hind ourselves forever, toward the eastern horizon, which was
blue and shimmering in the heat of the late afternoon. We
were too crowded and too jostled to talk much, everyone pre-
ferring to crouch quietly and ignore discomfort, except Tu,
higher than the others on her bag of grass, who seemed very
cheerful indeed and talked on and on. We stopped several
times along the way—in fact, we had hardly started before
Tu plucked at John's shoulder and asked him to wait. She had
seen a gemsbok cucumber growing on a vine in the grass and
wanted to pick it, so John stopped the jeep. Tu climbed out
and found several, which she tossed in, letting them roll
about freely on the floor. We were about to start again when
Dikai also saw some cucumbers and we had to wait while she
gathered those, and no sooner had we driven on again, the
little cucumbers rolling against our ankles and prickling us
with their spines, than Little Dabe vomited and we had to
wait a third time while Dikai cleaned him up with a tuft of
grass.

Toma sighed. Men plan to spend several days traveling

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

●484 with their families on trips that would take them only hours if they were traveling alone. We stopped a fourth time in the middle of the vast plain, for John had seen a shattered ostrich egg on the ground and wanted to let the Bushmen gather it to make beads. Toma motioned him to drive on. The egg, he thought, belonged to a man named Crooked Kwi, who had left it there one season and would return for it someday soon. Toma had heard of this event from Crooked Kwi [452] himself when they had seen each other last, and, observing that the shell fragments were gathered into a pile, he supposed that this must be the very egg that Crooked Kwi had mentioned. It was just where Crooked Kwi had said it would be, too.

361 We left the eggshells behind in the immense plain and went on our way toward the eastern rim. When we got there we found the rest of Gao Feet's family—his older and uglier first wife, his old mother-in-law, his first wife's daughter, and his daughter's husband, none other than Crooked Kwi himself. These people were living in a most beautiful glade of thorn bushes that were growing thickly together among tall trees, their branches arching just over people's heads. A fire had cleared out all the grass and leaves, leaving just the brown earth and the gray lace of branches; the people were brown and their things were brown and white and the ashes of their fires were gray in the little hollows on the ground, for these people, too, had built no scherms. Tu got right out of the [253] jeep and went straight to a fire, where she began to crack some of her tsi nuts between a stick and a stone.

608 The rest of us exchanged greetings and the old woman,
551 Dikai's mother, embraced me. "You are my daughter. I bore you," she said. When I had first come to Gautscha Pan I had been named Dikai for her daughter, and among the Kung one is strongly identified with the person one is named for; as the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

begun to give each other presents of tsi. Bushmen feel a great 431
need to give and receive food, perhaps to cement relationships with each other, perhaps to prove and strengthen their dependence upon each other; because the opportunity to do this does not occur unless huge quantities of food are at hand, Bushmen always exchange presents of the foods that come in huge quantities, these being the meat of game antelope, tsi nuts, and the nuts of the mangetti trees, which at certain seasons are scattered abundantly all through the mangetti forests.

As we waited by the jeep Dikai gave a huge sack of tsi to her mother. Her mother gave another sack to Gao Feet's first wife, and Gao Feet gave a sack to Dikai. Later, during the days that followed, the tsi was distributed again, this time in smaller quantities, small piles or small bagfuls, after that in handfuls, and, last, in very small quantities of cooked tsi which people would share as they were eating. All this was very hard to trace, especially for us while we waited and loaded the jeep, for the large sacks were not handed around but rather were tossed into the jeep one on top of the other while the transactions went on vocally.

There is a further complicating factor in food distribution. 422
The owner of the bag which is full of tsi or mangettis is the 431
owner of all the nuts inside, no matter who gathered the nuts, just as the owner of an arrow, whether man or woman, is the owner of the largest share of the buck killed by the arrow, no matter who shot the buck. This is a practical arrangement, since all three of these important foods, oftener than not, are very far from the waterholes where the bands would be living. Usually, Bushmen have to travel for several days over water- 484
less, scorching veld to reach tsi fields or mangetti forests, then 482
have to carry their heavy loads back again to water. These 422
journeys are too hard for young children, old people, cripples, 431

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

484 women who are pregnant, or people who are ill. In fact, the
482 long journeys for the two kinds of nuts are undertaken only
422
431 by strong adults, who therefore must gather for all those who stay behind. The system of Bushmen in these matters ensures that everybody gets enough. As it turned out, that afternoon we found that both Tu and Lazy Kwi had filled bags belonging to Lazy Kwi's wife, the bag that Lazy Kwi filled being the only one he had with him, and in this way his wife, who wasn't there and who so far knew nothing of her windfall, owned two bags of food which she would probably share with Lazy Kwi, who actually, that day, owned none.

At last, when many bags had changed hands, when everything movable including Tu's bag of grass—which she had emptied, tying the grass into a bundle with a strip of bark in order to free the bag for tsi—had been loaded into the jeep,
484 the people began to climb in and the jeep sank down on its springs, groaning dangerously as each person got on it and found a place to sit. When finally everyone was on and the springs still had not broken we drove away with extreme caution, barely moving when we came to bumps, with Toma and Gao Feet sitting on the hood and pointing the way to Nama.

522 As we crept along Toma told a lion story concerning some Bantu people at Kai Kai who tried to rid themselves of three lions that were attacking their cattle. As his story was extremely funny, his voice was often drowned out by the laughter of the others. He spoke so fast we could not understand him, but his wife laughed until she cried. Toma told the funniest parts of the story two or three times.

271 Just before we got to Nama, when the shadows of the bushes reached far over the veld and the western sky was blood red, thick with smoke, we reached a tiny waterhole

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Short Kwi the Hunter

THERE were about forty people who had moved in beside us 621 at our camp by Nama Pan, having settled overnight into 574 seven werfs, each concealed from the others in the privacy of the grass and forming a community that was superimposed on ours, for the werfs, each a little clearing containing several grass nests or several scherms symbolized by sticks thrust in the ground, surrounded us on all sides and life went on as if we weren't there. People walked back and forth through our camp on their way to patches of veld food or to the water pan, and soon little paths appeared which we had not made.

Mostly, the people were Bushmen from Gam who had left #84 there right after we did and had walked along after us, taking 574 their time, sleeping one night on the way. They had brought all their children and old people, all their belongings, and evidently planned to stay. Even the Chuana woman had come, riding her donkey, followed on foot by two of her Bushman servants, and she had made herself a camp quite far away from us to prevent the donkey from annoying us with its brays.

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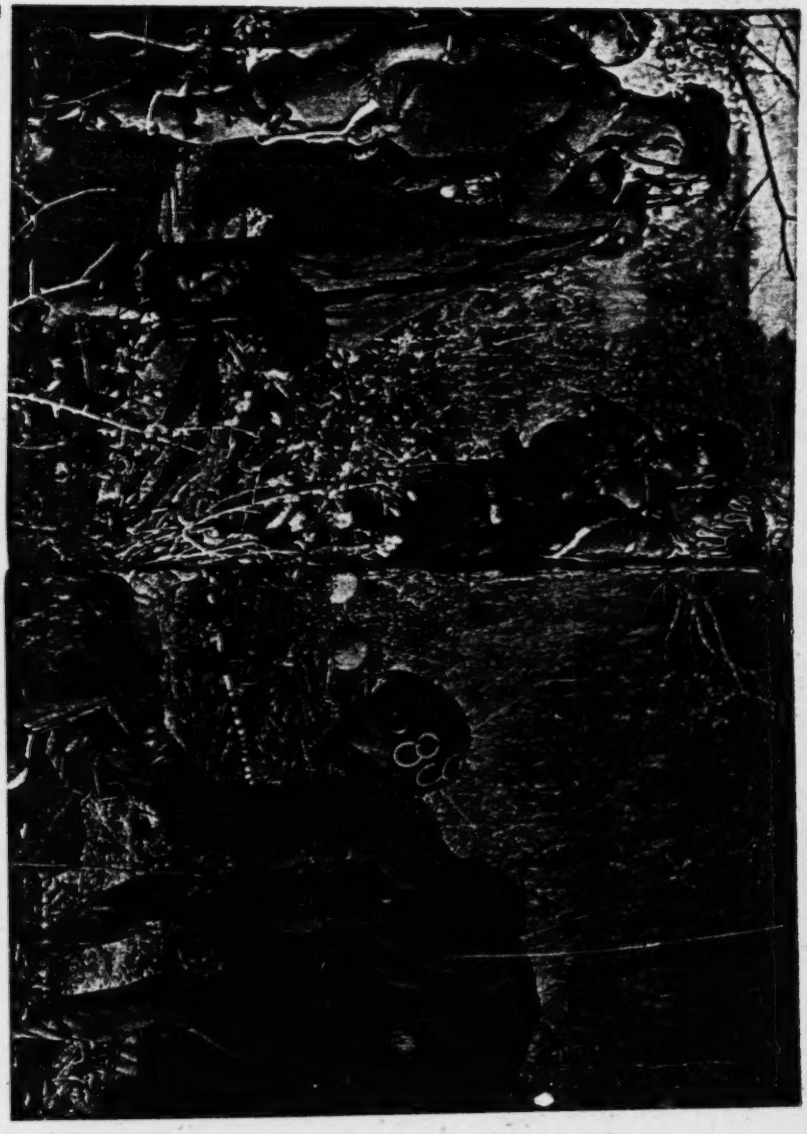

WOMEN OF WEST gather children and possessions in preparation for march to a new campsite. A band can travel about ten miles a day, gathering food as it goes. The !Kung move in annual patterns: staying near waterholes in dry winter, visiting mongetti forests in moist summer, and sal areas in fall.

[p. 39]

312 TEN permanent waterholes, as we have seen, occur in two areas—around the ring of pans in the east center of *Nyae Nyae*, and along the eastern border. To the west, beyond the limit of the pans, there is no water in the long dry seasons. Around each permanent waterhole, the *veldkos* near enough to be gathered in a day are considered by the !Kung to be an integral part of that waterhole. This means that such a waterhole includes both the water itself and all the *veldkos* within a circle with a radius of some four miles. This area might be called a certain waterhole's "district," taking its name from the waterhole. When a man mentions a waterhole, he usually has such a district in mind.

222 484 Yet neither the *veldkos* in these districts nor the *veldkos* scattered between the districts, nor the game, which wanders, constitute the main

222
484 food resources of *Nyae Nyae*. Instead, these are the *mangetti* and *tsi* nuts. Both are found only far from permanent water. Distance becomes more significant when one thinks not only of miles—but of time, footsteps, heat and carrying capacity. From the nearest western water, it is about twenty miles to a *mangetti* forest. The distance between *tsi* and the closest water is about seven miles. The [481] people calculate their marching ability at about ten miles a day, with women and children, although men can make forty if necessary. They gather food as they travel, for a day of traveling is just like any other day, with children and old people to be provided for.

221 IN order to exploit the environment successfully, with their limited technological equipment, the !Kung must move from place to place. The calendar of their movements is revealing. In winter, the people are forced to remain near the waterholes,

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or *tsi*, the men always ac-

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 462 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsī, the men always accompany the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with tsī and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater portion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging implement is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

222 [412] [101] [484] [361] [854] [482] [372]

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes, pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

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Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

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There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—

128 166 [582]

[p. 250]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

224 meat to the owners of the territory should they happen to encounter them,
[431] but this is a gift, not an obligatory tribute. The vastness and emptiness of
[182] the country allow this freedom in hunting rights and the wandering nature of the game requires that the hunters, if they are to succeed at all, be free to look for game wherever they can find it.

222 The !Kung eagerly pick up tortoises, certain kinds of lizards, snakes, ostrich eggs, and grasshoppers, and they relish termites when these insects
[262] swarm out in nuptial flight. These items provide incidental delicacies and gathering them is like the gathering of veldkos. The person who gathers
224 them may keep them for himself and his own family. Men gladly shoot small
223 animals and birds if they happen upon them—wart hogs, duikers, other small antelope, porcupines, badgers, pythons, spring hares, ostriches, paouws, guinea fowl, red-winged partridges, occasional migrating geese, and other birds. They may keep them for their own families. They do not, however, devote their hunting time to the smaller animal creatures if they find fresh spoor of the larger ones. Hunting the big game animals that feed a whole band is the work of a man's prime and is incumbent on him.

224 Hunting parties usually consist of from two to four or five men. A man cannot hunt effectively alone in this country. Several parties hunting in different directions are more advantageous than one larger party. Any man may organize a hunting party, with relatives and friends from his own band or from neighboring bands—men he likes to hunt with. No one is formally a leader; the men talk and plan together and are likely to fall in with the suggestions of the one whom they consider the best hunter. Participation in any given hunting party is voluntary. What !Kung society urges is that the
[461] hunters hunt; it does not restrict the ways and means. The force of public
[626] opinion upon men not to sit in the werf, not to be lazy but to do their share, is tremendous.

The game the !Kung hunt deliberately and purposefully are the several big antelopes found in the region: eland, kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok. They also hunt the more rarely seen buffalo and occasionally manage to shoot a giraffe. Although there is this considerable variety of kind, there is not a great abundance of game. The herds are small and the hunts long and hard.[6] The antelope, because they can go for long periods without drinking, move and drift about anywhere in the vast monoto-
[409] nous veld and are very difficult to find. Hunters often search for days, covering scores of miles, before finding spoor fresh enough to follow, and they may
[411] follow it for days before catching up with the animal. Their little arrows kill by poison rather than by piercing deeply, and, when an animal is shot, if it is big, it may wander for three or four more days until it dies of the poison.
[136] Smaller animals succumb in a shorter time. The hunters must track the animal and find it before the lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals, or vultures devour it.

Day Length

132 [131] The Dobe area is situated at 20° south latitude and there is an annual variation in day length at this latitude of slightly less than two hours. In mid-winter (June-July) the sun rose about 7:00 a.m. and set at 6:00 p.m. In mid-summer the sun rose about 6:00 a.m. and set at 7:00 p.m. This seasonal variation plus a corresponding variation in temperature had a noticeable effect on the activity patterns of the Bushmen. During the winter they arose late and stayed around their camp fires until mid-morning. They concentrated their subsistence activities in the warmer middle hours of the day (10:00 a.m.-5:00 p.m.). On the other hand, during the hot summer days they adopted a "crepuscular" activity pattern. They arose at 6:00 a.m. and worked until 10:00 a.m. Whenever possible they spent the hottest mid-day hours resting in the shade. There was a second period of activity during the cooler hours of the evening (5:00-7:30 p.m.).

[484] When long hikes were undertaken the Bushmen had no alternative but to travel during the hottest hours of the day. Even during the hot dry season (September-October) they were never observed to hunt or travel at night.

312 3. Average quantity of water provided to each adult per 24 hour period; 85 oz.

4. Average quantity of water provided to each child per 24 hour period; 43 oz.

Since the amount of water loss through sweat varies directly with the air temperature, an individual would require more than two eggs-full of water during the summer when the mean daily maximum temperature is 100°F. During the winter, when the mean daily maximum is 85°F, two eggs-full appear to be sufficient.

Similarly, the amount of water loss through sweat varies directly with the intensity of activity, so that an individual would require more water after a day of hard hiking in the sun than he would after a day of comparative inactivity in the shade of the nut forests.

For the present case (winter nut collecting trips) the two-egg figures will be taken as an average.

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For every day of residence away from the permanent water, an individual must carry with him, 72 ounces of water. Therefore a person on a three day collecting trip must carry out four eggshells of water: one for the afternoon of the first day, two for the second day and one for the morning of the third day. Children under 10 years of age can manage on one egg shell of water per full day. Therefore, if a man and wife

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484 with three young children go to the nuts they must carry a
222 minimum of 4+4+2+2+2 = 14 ostrich egg shells filled with water, four for each adult and two for each child. However, most
[426] women own only about six shells. By borrowing shells from other camp members they can bring the total up to the number required for a three day trip.

The antelope stomach sacs offer an increase in water-carrying capacity. A fresh sac will hold up to one gallon (U.S.), i.e. 128 ounces of water, which is the equivalent of 3-1/2 egg shells. Therefore, if a family of five owns two stomach sacs containing 256 ounces of water, this will provide them with one day's supply of water. The 14 egg shells hold three day's supply of water, so that, with two stomach sacs and 14 shells, the family of five can stay an extra day (three nights instead of two) away from the permanent waterhole.

Four days is the upper limit on the time that Bushmen can spend away from a waterhole without a supplement of water from plant sources. There are three reasons for setting the upper limit at four days. First, there is a limit to the number of containers available. Stomach sacs are very fragile and have a short useful life. As they rip they are sewn and this sewing makes their capacity smaller and smaller, so that after six months or so they are discarded. Ostrich egg shells, on the other hand, are much more durable

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and may stay in constant use for years. It is curious therefore that each family possesses less than 10 shells and must borrow shells in order to make these hiking trips to the nuts. The limited number of containers is probably the reason why members of a camp go out to the nuts in shifts. When one family returns, the camp's ostrich egg shells are pooled, and then another family may go out.

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A second limitation is the weight of water that can be carried. The 756 ounces of water required for four days at the nut forest weigh 47 lbs. Each empty ostrich egg shell weighs eight ounces; so that the 14 shells themselves weigh an additional seven lbs. Furthermore it is necessary for the parents to carry the younger children on their shoulders. So, in effect, the parents must walk out to the nut forests fully loaded with water and children and also return fully loaded with nuts and children. On the return trip the weight of the water is replaced by an equivalent weight of collected nuts.

The third limitation is set by the volume that the ostrich egg shells occupy in the carrying space of the kaross. The volume occupied by 14 ostrich egg shells is roughly equivalent to the volume occupied by 14 quart-sized milk bottles. When the time comes for the trip home the adults must pack into each kaross 20 lbs. of nuts, as well as the empty ostrich egg

312 shells; this makes for a very bulky and unwieldy parcel. The
484 stomach sacs, by contrast to the egg shells, have the distinct
222 advantage of being weightless and occupying no space on the return trip, since when they are empty they dry and shrivel up.

221 The reader can now appreciate the complex logistics of
222 Bushman subsistence activities during the late winter dry
312 season. In view of the difficulty of collecting mongongo nuts during this season, it is not surprising that the people turn to an eclectic diet of roots, bulbs, and gums that are still available in the vicinity of permanent water.

222 Several variations in tactics were observed among the
484 Dobe area Bushmen. One such variation was to leave the older
855 children behind in the care of relatives while the parents
312 made the long trips to the nut forests. By leaving behind
482 two children at the main camp, the parents could effect savings of 30% in the weight of water that had to be carried out on a four day trip.

222 Another variation observed was the two-day-one-night
484 overnight hike. Such a trip lasted only 36 hours and required
312 only three ostrich egg shells of water per adult. By using
[482] this tactic, groups of ten or more people could make a rapid lightly loaded trip to the nut forests and return the following day heavily loaded with nuts. This was a difficult operation

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312 because it entailed two consecutive days of hardhiking on
482 short water rations. The object of such a trip was to get to
484 the nuts and back again as quickly as possible, before the physiological deficit of water was allowed to reduce efficiency.

221 The general object of the winter nutting trips was to
222 remain at the nut forests just long enough to eat a really
262 substantial quantity of nuts (about 400 nuts per adult). This marathon meal starts the moment that the Bushmen arrive at the nut camps and continues throughout their stay. It is interrupted for short periods when the Bushmen go out to col-
[539] lect nuts in the vicinity of their temporary camp. There is a Bushman saying that aptly applies to this situation: "It is better to carry food home in your stomach than on your back."

[224] Hunting rarely occurs at these overnight camps. The efforts of men and women alike are directed to eating as many nuts as possible in a short time.

[312] The most important variation in the late winter and spring subsistence tactics centers on the use of Fockea monroi as a source of water. This will be discussed below.

132 6. Early Spring

August is the last month of winter. The last of the freezing nights occurs at the first of the month and these are followed by warmer nights in the 40's and 50's and daily

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222 The net effect of this effort is that an individual must drink much more than the minimum daily requirement of 72 ounces of water. In fact, men who were living on Fockea roots, were observed to dig out between 15 and 20 of the roots per day. The quantity of water provided by these roots is estimated at 150-300 ounces, part of which went to provide water for the children of the camp.

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312 A description of one Fockea trip, in which the author participated, will serve to illustrate some of the difficulties of living away from standing water.

[123] This trip began on 6 November and ended on 16 November, 1964. The group consisted of 12 Bushmen (plus the author); there were three men, four women, and five children. One of the young women gave birth during her stay so the returning group consisted of 13 Bushmen.

November 6 - This group (minus one of the men who came out the following day) set out from the Dobe waterhole at 10:00

[103] a.m. They spent the day walking to a nut forest named !wi/wama which was situated eleven miles west of Dobe. The original plan was to remain there for five days.

[481] The pace was leisurely to suit the three older children
[855] (ages 12, 8, 6 respectively) who went on foot and the young
[843] woman who was in the terminal month of her pregnancy. On the way we stopped at intervals to eat seven different species of

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food plants and to rest in the shade. Towards evening we reached a patch of Fockea roots and spent an hour digging and eating them. Six roots were divided among our group of 12 people. At seven p.m. we made camp in the mongongo nut forests at !wi/wama. Within minutes of our arrival the four women had collected and were cracking mongongo nuts.

Before leaving Dobe, the Bushmen had filled 15 containers with water:

1 kudu stomach sac	4 quarts
2 enamel buckets	4 quarts
12 ostrich egg shells	13-1/2 quarts
Total water carried:	21-1/2 quarts (= c. 700 oz. or water)

On the outward journey, the 12 of us drank four of the ostrich egg shells which had been filled at the Dobe well, plus an estimated two quarts of water from Fockea roots. During the evening, no one drank water until just before bedtime when a further three quarts of water were divided out. Therefore, of the estimated total of 700 ounces of well water, 224 ounces (30%) had been consumed on the first day's hike. It is not known how long the remainder lasted because the author left the camp at the end of the second day.

November 7 - The group woke up at 5:40 a.m. The women were not satisfied with the location of the camp so we packed up and hiked west for another half mile to make camp at a new

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484 location closer to the nuts. By 7:00 a.m. this camp had been
312 deserted. The women and their children had gone to collect
[462] nuts and the men had set out to find Fockea roots and to hunt
[224] along the way. The men carried no water with them on the hunt. The author accompanied the men.

We walked south for several miles looking for fresh animal tracks and for patches of Fockea plants. We passed through two molapos where the Fockea plants were likely to exist, but to our disappointment we found none. It was 10:00 a.m. before we dug out the first Fockea of the day.
[132] By this time the morning coolness had disappeared and we had to walk and dig in the sun with shade temperatures about
312 100°F. The first Fockea worth digging were found 4-1/2 miles
824 south of our camp at !wi/wama. The roots were the size of a football and weighed about three pounds.

The flesh of Fockea is white and juicy with a spongy granular texture. The juice is milky in color and slightly astringent so that it smarts when accidentally rubbed into small cuts on the hands. There are two methods of extracting the moisture from the root. First, one cuts open the root with a knife and chops off chunks of the flesh inside. This may be eaten directly like watermelon. The disadvantage of this method is that one must swallow about three pounds of roughage in order to extract one pint of moisture; in other

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824 words, 15 lbs. of roughage per day for the minimum water requirment. This is the most efficient means of processing water from Fockea roots because the digestive system can convert all the moisture that is in the Fockea flesh.

However, the Bushmen say (and I can corroborate this) that a man cannot swallow 15 pounds of pulp per day. The stomach becomes full long before one's thirst is quenched. It is probable also that such a great quantity of roughage would put an intolerable burden on the human digestive system, even of people whose digestive systems are accustomed to processing quantities of fibrous roughage.

The more common way of extracting moisture from the root is to squeeze the juice out by hand. The juice may be squeezed directly into the mouth, or squeezed into a cup and then drunk. This is a less efficient way of extracting moisture because much of the juice remains in the fibers after squeezing. Also some of the juice runs down the arms. It does offer a distinct psychological advantage, however, because one is able to drink the juice and thus satisfy the swallowing reflex which is connected with the neurophysiological sensation of thirst (Ladell 1958). Eating the flesh of Fockea does not satisfy this sensation.

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224 The men continued to eat and drink Fockea from 10:00 a.m.
[312] to 12:20 p.m. Then we started to hunt in a northerly direction.
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224 No game were seen except for a solitary female ostrich. We
[222] tracked her to her nest and collected her clutch of nine eggs. Each of the eggs was pounded in the sand to separate the amnion from the inside of the shell. This apparently kills the embryo inside the egg. These nine eggs were divided among the three of us. We then dug out four large Fockea roots intact, and we returned to the camp at 2:30 p.m. after a hike of nine miles.

484 The women of the camp had spent the early part of the
222 morning collecting nuts and Fockea and the rest of the day
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312 sitting in the shade cracking nuts and squeezing the Fockea juice. From 2:30 to 4:30 p.m. no one drank any of the water that had been brought the previous day.

484 At 4:30 p.m. the third man of the camp arrived from Dobe.
312 He brought with him one gallon of water in an enamel milk pail and portions of a dead kudu that he had scavenged from a carnivore kill on the way.

484 By this time I was experiencing symptoms of heat dis-
123 tress, (fever, lassitude, inability to swallow) and decided
312 to return to Dobe, because my continued presence would become a burden on the camp residents, none of whom, incidentally, showed any signs of heat discomfort.

One of the men, seeing my condition, offered to accompany me back to Dobe with his family. We left at sunset and walked

484 until 8:00 p.m. Before making camp we ate wild oranges along
123 the way (Strychnos ı 'inosa) but these did not contain much
312 moisture. We camped at a point halfway between !wi/wama and Dobe and there shared out the last of the family's drinking water, which amounted to one quart for four adults and three children, that is c. 4-1/2 oz. for each of us.

484 November 8 - The camp awoke at 4:50 a.m. By 5:20 we had
123 packed and were under way, arriving home without incident at 7:30 a.m.

484 November 8-16 - This ended the author's participation in
312 the Fockea trip. Six members of the original group remained
361 at !wi/wama eating nuts and drinking the juice of Fockea. On the eleventh of November there was a heavy fall of rain at !wi/wama which created a temporary pool of water near their camp. This enabled them to extend their stay beyond the original plan of five days.

484 The same week that the rain fell, the pregnant woman of
361 the camp gave birth to a baby boy. The group remained at the
844 nut camp until the mother was strong enough to walk. Then they broke camp and returned to Dobe on November 16. Both mother and child appeared to be in fine condition.

132 The rain of November 11 was the first substantial fall
221 of the 1964-65 rainy season and initiated the subsistence activities associated with the late spring (see above). Thus

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312 transhumant annual round, in which they alternate between their
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361 rainy season range and their dry season range.

484 The Dobe area !Kung do not undertake long marches of
574 30-70 miles for the purpose of getting food. This task can be
628 readily fulfilled within a day's walk of their territorial water sources. When such long marches occur, they are invariably for the purposes of visiting, trading, and marital exchanges with relatives at distant camps. As such, these trips should not be confused with the normal routines of subsistence.

311 Range Size and Population Density -- By plotting the movements
433 of the various camps in their annual subsistence cycle, the
162 observer can derive a rough estimate of the total land area that is required to support the population of 430 Bushmen. It would be much more difficult to estimate the area necessary to support a single camp, because of the considerable overlap of territories and the frequent visiting between camps. It will be more useful to treat the entire population as a unit. It is estimated that the 800 square miles that lie within a six-mile radius of major water sources are sufficient to support the population for most of the year. Beyond this radius lies a hinterland which is rarely penetrated; perhaps a further 200 square miles of this hinterland is utilized in the course of a single year. Thus the total annual range of the Dobe area Bushmen may be estimated at 1,000 square miles. This calculation sets the effective population

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

177 439 they are no longer self-sufficient. Contact with other peoples has made them familiar with various articles, especially iron and tobacco, which they now covet very greatly and in order to obtain which they carry on an extensive system of barter. Even within the band itself [437] there is a good deal of barter in such things as meat, clothing, veldkos, and utensils. Berries and roots, for example, are exchanged for tobacco or beads, skin bags for poisoned arrows, and so on. Trading [484] visits to other bands are also frequent. But the most common form of barter is with peoples of other races, especially the Bantu.

439 The 10 Kung of Angola, unlike all the other Bushmen, do not go [184] out into the veld to collect vegetable foods. These are obtained by [222] barter. The younger men hunt, and trade part of the meat and skins obtained for the cereals, maize, potatoes, manioc, etc., of the Bantu among whom they live. Honey and wax are also collected and traded, sometimes with the Bantu for food and tobacco, now and again to Europeans for powder and cartridges. Wax is a good article of trade with Portuguese traders, and the Bushmen are therefore assiduous in collecting it. Besides foodstuffs they also obtain pots and baskets from the Bantu, as well as metal wares such as knives, arrow and spear heads, and beads.[1]

The Bushmen of the Okavango swamps, again, trade ostrich egg-shell beads, ivory, ostrich feathers, skins and horns with the inter-dwelling Bantu in return for tobacco and dagga, as well as iron and such iron goods as spear heads, hoes, and knives; while the Namib Bushmen exchange similar objects with Hottentots and Europeans for blankets, knives, tobacco, and coffee.[2]

Among the North-Western tribes there is a whole system of trade 438 relations between different tribes, extending from the Okavango in the north down almost to the Molopo.[3] In this the Naron and the Auen play the part of intermediaries, obtaining from the tribes further north the objects they desire, and then bartering them again further south as occasion arises. Egg-shell beads and tobacco are standard [436] articles in this trade, in the sense that they can always be bartered and may even be said to have a fixed value. From the Naron the Auen 438 procure skin garments and bags, for the making of which the former 439 are famous, giving them in return wooden pots, dishes, and spoons

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 52–3; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 108.
[2] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland," 701; *idem*, *Die Buschmänner*, 118–19; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.
[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, loc. cit.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 152–3; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37–8.

/151 cont./

533 music than others. I have observed a man who played his musical bow in every spare moment.

Rhythmic hand clapping accompanies singing.

Dance rattles (guri) are made of the cocoons of a night
534 237 butterfly. These cocoons are strung on strings and dried. While the cocoons are still soft, little stones or pieces of ostrich egg shell are pressed into the inner cavity and the soft envelope is closed over them (see Photo. 39).

The rattles, when they are dried and hard, are strung and
535 fastened to the ankle. They are supposed to be used at all dances.

War dance (see Photos. 41 and 42).

The women sit or stand, clapping their hands and singing, while the men crouch or stand opposite them. One man slides out of the row on his knees toward the row of women and makes war-like gestures, as though he were evading an arrow, flinging a spear, etc.

One of the women thrusts out an arm and utters a brief, deep cry, thereby indicating that a spear has been thrown or an arrow shot. The man pretends he is wounded and screams. If he is "dead," he crawls back, and a new solo dancer takes his place. Women, too, are sometimes "dead" or "wounded."

Indecisive battles are indicated.

Here, too, there are very passionate dancers, both male and female, as well as those who have a special talent for mimicry.

The porcupine dance (see Photo. 40) is performed only by men. A number of men stand facing one another, stamp the ground rhythmically, and utter loud shouts. One of them is the "porcupine," which is beaten to death by another man or stabbed with a spear. Everything is indicated by motions.

Eland bull dance. I was unable to learn the nature of this dance, but apparently the rutting lust of the eland is imitated.

M. Means of Transportation

● 487 Bush paths are formed by the Bushmen on the main lines of traffic, for instance, from the settlement to water. When a
648 Bushman uses the pad (that is, the road of the Whites), he has an

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

ing great carcasses of fallen trees, some with the leaves on the 731
top still green, that were filling the air with the smell of their wood burning. The ground was still warm to walk on, but all the bushes, all the little succulents, all the vines that marked the water roots were gone; no snake or lizard or animal was there, all were burned or had gone; we saw only animal tracks half filled with ashes, and a few birds come to eat dead insects. We saw a pair of secretary birds and later a pair of [136]
paouw, huge gray birds that walk more than they fly, wandering through the ruins looking for dead reptiles.

As we walked, fine black powder rose to dust our legs, and now and then, off through the standing tree trunks and between the fallen trees' great upflung roots, little whirlwinds crossed back and forth, raising the dust in spiraled pillars. [821]
Bushmen say that whirlwinds show the presence of the spir- 775
its of the dead.

Witabe's eyes searched over the ground, and when he saw 222
a small mound of earth he walked up to it and punctured it 262
with his toe. Out rushed a horde of ants, which had been safe in their tunnels when the fire passed and now began at once to repair their damaged mound. Witabe crouched among them and began to pick and eat them, selecting the soldier ants, ones with large heads and heavy jaws. He bit off the abdomens, tossing the heads away. Presently he offered some to us, as I had feared he would; as everyone else ate one, I did also, and found that it was not too unpleasant but sour and very watery, very like a blackberry before it is ripe. The workers, I am told, are tasteless, but the fighters are considered a near-delicacy; mine opened her jaws wide to fight my thumb before I ate her.

Later in the day, when the sun in the sky, the still burning 481
trees, and the fire-warmed sand made the air on the flats un- 487
bearably hot, we turned back to camp for the shade of our

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481 trees, and on our way we found a path where before there
487 had been none. We followed it, it led to camp, and at its end we found Gai and eighteen other Bushmen, whose feet as they had walked in single file had worn a track. As we ap-
609 proached, the eighteen strangers drew back and together, the women behind the men, babies in their arms, and watched us hostilely. Gai persuaded them to sit down, which they did, all together, and when we asked them if they were hungry they said yes, so we gave them a drink of water and set a big pot of cornmeal to cook on our fire. We gave them each tobacco, which they smoked while they waited for the cornmeal to cook.

621 In that band there were six men, five of them in their thir-
162 ties, five women who seemed much younger, and one woman
596 who was very old. There were also three young boys and three babies, two girls and a boy. We guessed from the looks of the people—and later found that we were right—that the band was a small extended family. The old woman seemed to be the key figure of the band, for with her were her two sons and three daughters, their wives and husbands, and their children. The sixth man—a boy, really—did not seem to belong in this tightly woven group, for he was not married, being too young; he seemed too young to be the child of the old woman, though too old to be her grandchild, and I wondered who he was. Witabe's father was not there, and on that trip we did not find him.

142 The three sisters of the band were all arrestingly beautiful. They looked alike, with very fine faces, slender features, large eyes, and they all wore handsome white bead ornaments. Heavy eyelids, set off by the pronounced, delicate bones of their faces, made them look of uncertain race, or like houris, and their slender bodies with skins slightly wrinkled made them seem of uncertain age. Perhaps the sun had made the

131
131 this area is waterless and uninhabited. In the center is a
312 ring of pans and a series of waterholes which support at
133 present a population of 1,200 !Kung Bushmen. They occupy an
[162] area of about 3,500 square miles (70 miles from east to west
x 50 miles from north to south). This central complex of
water sources is surrounded by a belt of waterless, uninhabited
country that varies in width from sixty miles, on the east
and north, to over one hundred miles on the west and south.
Access to the interior is limited. One line of wells links
Tsumkwe in the interior with Grootfontein on the west.

[491] Two rarely used motor tracks join the interior with the
Okavango swamp to the east. A police patrol road cut in
1954-55 runs from south to north along the B.P./S.W.A. border.
The maximum vehicle speed obtainable on these tracks is 20 mph
[177] and trucks pass through about once a month. The difficulty
of the terrain, the lack of farming potential, and the scarcity
of water have deterred European and Bantu penetration of the
area.

[114] The distinction between periphery and interior has been
applied to the country of the central !Kung by John Marshall
(1957) and Lorna Marshall (1960:327ff). The present usage
differs from that of the Marshalls. They applied the term
"interior" to the Nyae Nyae ring of pans and regarded the
waterholes at /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa as peripheral. Since

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a most desolate appearance. Verdure is entirely wanting, the numerous gullies are empty, and the low ranges of ironstone koppies which dot the plains seem to reflect the heat as from a mirror. The vegetation is composed very largely of drought-resisting thorn bushes, succulents, bulbous and tuberous plants. Grasses appear only in exceptionally wet years, while trees are usually absent, except along the dry river-courses and on the mountain slopes in the east, where the rainfall is highest. Till the early years of the nineteenth century the Great Karroo was regarded as a desert unfit for man or beast; since then well-sinking and donkey transport have bettered the conditions, and the region has gradually become occupied.

Fauna

H B 136

The great variety of habitat provided by the country taken as a whole has naturally favoured the development of a varied and abundant fauna.[1] South Africa has long been renowned for the wealth of its larger forms of animal life, although with the advance of European settlement and colonization the numbers have been rapidly reduced, particularly of certain classes of big game. The native inhabitants had certainly done something to reduce the numbers and affect the distribution of the fauna, but a balance had been reached which still left the country richly stocked. The Cape was full of game when the first European settlers established themselves there 250 years ago, and in their gradual spread inland the white men found the same abundance of fine forms of animal life in each new tract of country that they entered. A few decades were enough to convert each newly-opened district from a hunter's paradise into a stock-farming country, and the increase of veld-burning carried the destruction into other zones of life. But over large parts of South Africa the face of the country itself has been little changed on the whole, and a good deal of the original fauna has survived, even on much of the enclosed land.

The mammalian fauna is, or rather was, characterized by the great abundance and variety of antelopes, the presence of such remarkable "living fossils" as the elephant, giraffe, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and aardvark, as well as of the buffalo, zebra, and quagga, and the abundance of carnivora, large and small. During the eighteenth

[1] An excellent short account is given by Dr. E. L. Gill, "Descriptive Sketch of the Fauna of South Africa," *Official Year Book of the Union*, No. 9, pp. 31–41. Cf. also Passarge, op. cit., pp. 78–86.

14. GALTON, Francis
p. 164, 166-168, 172-174 Bushmen's use of traps and pits in hunting, superstitions regarding horned snakes. 113

15. GODDFE-MOLSBERGEN, E.C. ed.
Reisen in Zuid-Afrika in de Hollandse tijd. 'S-Gravenhage, 1916. 3 vols.

16. HOWISON, John
European colonies in various parts of the world, viewed in their social, moral and physical condition. London, 1834. 2 vols.

Vol.1 p.252-276 Bushmen

17. KOLBEN, Peter
The present state of the Cape of Good Hope: or a particular account of the several nations of the Hottentots; their religion, government, laws, customs, ceremonies and opinions; their art of war, professions, language, genius etc. together with a short account of the Dutch Settlement at the Cape written originally in High German by Peter Kolben, done into English from the original by Mr. Medley. London, 1621. 2 vols.

18. LE VALLIANT, Francois
New travels into the interior parts of Africa by way of the Cape of Good Hope in the years 1783, 1784 and 1785. tr. from the French of Le Valliant. London, 1796. 3 vols. illus.

19. LICHTENSTEIN, Henry
Travels in Southern Africa in the years 1803, 1804, 1805 and 1806: a reprint of the translation from the original German by Anne Plumtre. Cape Town, 1930. 2 vols.

Contains descriptions of the social life, customs and art of the Bushmen, use of "swimming logs" for crossing rivers described, the language of Bushmen and Hottentots discussed. [501]

The index refers the reader to other references on the Bushmens and their way of life.

20. MACKENZIE, John
Ten years north of the Orange river: a story of everyday life and work among the South African tribes from 1859-1869 Edinburgh, 1871.

p. 128-142
p. 490-493 The Bushman language
p. 509-513 Contact with Europeans

21. MACNAIR, James I. ed.
Livingstone's travels with geographical sections by Dr. Ronald Miller. London, 1954. 429 p. illus.

p. 20 ff., 27,11,49 Bushmen

22. MAINGARD, L.F.
The first contact of the Dutch with the Bushmen until the time of Simon van der Stel (1686) S.Afr. Jour. Sci. 32: 479-487 N. 1935.

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226 more important as a mode of subsistence than hunting.[1] It[2] is also
[462] the work of the men. Among the Cape Bushmen, especially those living along the banks of the Orange River, the principal method
[227] employed lay in the use of funnel-shaped traps of closely woven reeds, about 3 feet long and 18 inches to 2 feet wide, narrowing towards the mouth. These traps were stretched across the stream in a shallow part, and while some men stood waiting behind them, others waded up stream from a point below and drove the fish before them to the reed traps, where they were then caught and thrown on shore.

In the Okavango basin this method is also used, but there is a variety of others as well. Sometimes the fish in the lakes and rivers are speared
[177] from flat-bottomed boats, probably adopted from the MaMbukushu
[501] and MaKoba of the same region. Sometimes, again, small stone dams are built from each bank so as to run out into the river in a slanting direction, leaving a narrow opening in which is placed the reed trap. The fish are either swept into these traps by the force of the current, or are driven in by the Bushmen themselves. Or, again, reed fences or stone dams are built straight across the beds of the dry courses into which the river overflows at times of flood. When the flood has reached its highest level, and the water begins to sink, the retreat of the fish carried along into these courses is cut off, so that they are easily caught.

Special Hunting Observances

224 The method of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons is
304 surrounded by all the Bushmen with various special usages and beliefs. Charms to ensure good luck in the chase are found among them all. With the North-Western tribes these most commonly take the form of scarifications serving to endow the hunter with the qualities of certain animals and enabling him to hunt them successfully. The cuts are made as a rule on the arms, sometimes on the cheeks, occasionally also on the back, chest, or belly. A tiny piece of meat is then burned to ashes, which are rubbed into the wounds. The meat
[825] is that of an animal whose qualities are specially desirable, e.g. that of the springbok for swiftness. These cuts are usually given to boys soon after they begin to hunt, and are executed by old men who are themselves successful hunters. The cuts made between the eyebrows

[1] Barrow, op. cit., i, 290, 300; Lichtenstein, op. cit., ii, 44; Alexander, op. cit., i, 237; Passarge, "Okawangosumpfland," 697–8; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296; Dornan, op. cit., 106–9.

[2] [i.e., fishing.—Analyst]

/152 cont./

804 reflective and sly facial expression is exactly the same as ours.

O. Techniques

A definite domestic industry is present. Whatever the Auin
439 really needs, he is able to manufacture for himself. All im-
511 ported objects are luxury items. I make an exception in the case of the iron lance points, but I believe that if necessary the Bushman could even do without them.

463 The beginnings of a division of labor can be seen in the fact that only certain individuals practice the smith's trade, which, incidentally, does not extend to the manufacture of lance points.

323 Pottery is unknown.

439 Pots, supposedly from the Okovangga, are to be found sporadically. The Auin, however, is unable to repair such a vessel, as by puttying.

285 Rings of braided grass are manufactured. I myself have never seen them, since they are only made of young, but no longer green grass, in other words, shortly after the rainy season.

[294] It is said that at the same time of year certain special artists braid hat-like head coverings.

The grass rings and hats have only a limited durability, for in September and October there was none left for me to see.

[415] Sieves are made of parallel grass leaves joined together by thin strings. They are used to strain food.

"Kirris" are made with attractive decorations (Fig. 12).

413 A root stock with a knotty end is peeled and made smooth.
531 A kind of pyrography is practiced on it by wrapping it, leaving bare spaces, with a long strip of the wet bark that was peeled off, and then placing the entire stick in red-hot coals. The unwrapped parts burn to a black color, while the other parts remain white.

I could not learn the purpose of these decorated sticks among the Auin. They use rough, pointed sticks for digging sticks. The kirris, therefore, seem to be luxury articles.

412 Iron knives, sharpened pieces of iron, or lance points are used as tools. As an example of pyrography, see the pipe plug, page 33.

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finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this ever-present problem. 182 312 823

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially the *Inaras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season. In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then carefully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and resume their normal hunting life.[1] 312 [685] [824] [271] [221]

Industries and Trade

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are essentially domestic.[2] 511

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes 322 [342] [411] [412]

[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 51; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 297; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 51, 70–1, and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 671–3; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293–4.

[2] The most comprehensive account of Bushman industries is to be found in Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 89–113, pl. xxiii–xxix, which relates chiefly to the Auen; cf. also van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 62–80; Passarge, op. cit., 81–94; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 297–301; Kaufmann, op. cit., 152–3; Schultze, op. cit., 658 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschileute," 257; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 8–18 *passim*; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 103. [114]

[9 cont.]

586 Up to the birth of the first child, the marriage is dis-
595 solvable, but not thereafter. Monogamy is the rule; where
596 there is polygamy, the first wife is the "head wife." The eldest
611 brother of the head wife is the family head. The boys belong to the family of the wife, and the daughters to the family of the father.

582 The strictest exogamy prevails. Son and daughter may marry neither into the father's kin group nor into the mother's
[587] kin group. On the other hand, a young widow is usually married by one of her brothers-in-law.

551 The following kin-group names were reported to me: !Nui-a, Dai, aben, orasi, Gombe, χ'am, χ'am-Kha.

805 The following times of the day are differentiated:

eruba, time before sunrise.

!khoasa, time of sunrise (N. khoa-am = to open, that is, the door for the sun is opened).

sorésa, "the sun shines."

sorésa ≠kam go, "the young sun goes," breakfast time. In effect, below the tropics one has the impression that the sun, after it has stood on the horizon for a while, moves toward the zenith with great speed.

sorésa !khoai go, "the sun goes back." Noon.

//gui-sa, "it declines (lies down)." Afternoon.

[512] ≠khai-am-go, "to rise and go." After hunting or searching for veldkost, the Bushmen usually take a rest before it is time to go home and start cooking (late afternoon).

≠kha-go, "to go through." (The sun goes through the gate of the night.) Dusk, sunset.

!khui-sa, to be evening.

dschu-ba, night (N. tsuχub).

821 These Bushmen have the idea that the old sun dies every night and a new, young sun appears the next morning. That the
[171] moon dies every month and is resurrected again is a notion so widespread in Africa that it is really unnecessary to make special mention of it.

805 The year begins when a new rainy season sets in.

//hauba, "storms rise." Rainy season.

[26 cont.]

142 The athletic type thus represents the best realization of the human type among the races.

Since, from the day of conception on, environmental influences are predominantly of a harmful nature, the average type finally arrived at is the type formed by the average harmful effects, which, on the one hand, are of a hereditary and constitutional nature, and, on the other hand, are conditional effects during the individual's lifetime. The more unfavorable the living conditions are, the greater will be the harmful effect coefficient, and the more the average physical type will approach the asthenic. Only environmental improvement, brought about by high civilization, permits athletic forms to develop in considerable numbers.

According to our schema, we may designate the Bushmen as asthenic on the average, and the best developed among them
[146] as respiratory. In the case of many male individuals, there is an ability for considerable fat accumulation, and on the farms I encountered a number of Bushmen who had adapted themselves to a flour diet and had considerable body weight.

The digestive type thus certainly does occur among them,
[146] even though we must keep in mind that the diet, which is rich in meat and poor in carbohydrates, counteracts its development.

5. The Course of the Day

805 The !Kung Bushmen divide the 24 hour day into seven seg-
[192] ments, which are:

/gam χ'ǎ-o-a, dawn.
/gam do di /gii, time of sunrise.
!nai /kho, (the sun) is in the middle.
ha ti ≠náu, (the sun) will go down.
χ'ǎ-o ti ≠náu, the sun is now asleep.
/gu gǎ djo-o, one can no longer see the people because it is dark.
!a ds ĩ, midnight.

●512 The division of the day varies somewhat with the season of the year. With the exception of the so-called hot season,

[26 cont.]

●512 from about August 20th to the end of December, the following daily routine is normally observed. Before dawn, it becomes very cold, the people wake up, and the boys stir up the fire and put on it the remains of the evening meal. The old people move closer to the fire and go on sleeping until the sun comes up. Then they have their breakfast, which consists of the remains of the [462] evening meal. The able men now go hunting. The women continue to sit around the fire for awhile and nurse their children. [462] At about 10 o'clock the women and children, as well as the girls, go out in a group to look for veldkost. Almost every woman [482] old enough to bear children carries a child on her back, while a second child often rides on her shoulders. The smaller boys stay at home and help the old people, who get up about an hour later [361] to fetch water. The huts are never located close to the water: 1. because people get sick close to the water; 2. because the lions come there; 3. because the game would be frightened away. The watering place itself is visited quite irregularly, because in disturbed times the enemy lurks there, and occasionally also the police. The male and female doctors go into the bush, usually not very far, alone or only with a disciple, to gather medicine. Around four o'clock in the afternoon the women come back and begin to cook. Around this time, too, the men begin to return with the spoils of the hunt. When the sun goes down, [264] they all sit by the fire and eat. Each family has its own fire. Then some will continue to chat for awhile, while others go to sleep, and gradually it becomes quiet.

[264] They do not eat at noon. From eleven to four o'clock the camp is deserted, and even the old people sleep somewhere in the forest. The hunters and the women collecting veldkost also [27] take a long midday rest during the hot afternoon hours. During the hot season, on the other hand, they set out soon after midnight to hunt and search for veldkost, because later in the day the sand is too hot to walk on.

6. The Divisions of the Year

805 The Bushmen reckon time according to full moons, for example, agreeing to meet after three or four full moons, and

372 *hei-doros*: The new *!ou-|ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *||gāus*
361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case
[132] only in times of drought when the game have moved far afield
622 and great difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos.
372 Further, people driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *||gāus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the *!ou-|ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.
372 Persistent ill-health among the members of the community
622 or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase
[751 may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after
777] consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the *!ou-|ais* are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new *!ou-|ais* in front of his hut with the hei-doros and applies *norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it had been.
184 The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire is
372 met with among all the organised primitive groups. Want of space and time does not permit, however, of a detailed account being given of the superstitions which have gathered about this custom among the various tribes.

Family Life

593 Each family within the group occupies its own hut. Children sleep with their parents until they are strong enough to go about by themselves, when the boys join the others under the tree and the girls take up residence in the hut for unmarried girls.

● 512 The women rise early, light the fire and prepare the food for the morning meal which usually consists of veldkos. After having eaten, the men go out visiting or hunting or engage in some other occupation such as preparing skins, weapons, etc. The women accompany each other in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. When food is obtainable at no great distance they are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have to go far they may not reach home until late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they proceed to prepare food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water. The food is ready by the time the men arrive in the evening and the latter are able to partake of it without delay.

462 There is a sharp division of labour between the men and women of the group. The former do the hunting and snaring of game, prepare the weapons, skins for clothing, snares, fire-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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132 above the earth in a layer. We were crouching at a fire we had built, warming our hands against the cold, when the sun came up. We heard birds singing in the fresh air as if nothing
● 512 had happened, then the sound of faint pounding far away, a mortar being struck with a pestle. Soon we heard a second mortar join the first as another woman began breakfast for her family, and we knew that two women meant perhaps six people, therefore a band.

276 Gai stood up and stretched his legs, then took a tiny coal from our fire between his thumb and finger and dropped it into his pipe, inhaling deeply and holding the smoke in his lungs while he handed the pipe to Witabe, who also puffed and returned the pipe, when at last Gai exhaled, spat, and scooped the pipe through the sand, extinguishing the fire and saving the rest of the tobacco. He stuck the pipe in his belt,
[482] 481 flung his great kaross over his chest to warm his belly, and strode off in the direction of the sound, the ragged edges of his great cape swinging at his ankles as his strong feet carried him away. He walked under a burned log that had partly fallen and was braced up by another tree, and as he did the white ashes blew from it and the light of dawn shone through the ash like light through a flurry of snow.

731 Later in the day, when we had eaten cornmeal for breakfast, while we waited for Gai to come back, we went down to the flats below our hilltop to inspect the damage of the fire. The land below our camp was in utter desolation, startling and ruined, a desert of ash. We found only the orange sand and black ashes still in the shape of the grass blades that made them, black ashes below burned bushes still in the shape of the leaves that made them, and, on the ground, flat, perfect skeletons of vines, just in the shape of the vines that made them but black, in powder, disintegrating into dust when the wind touched them. All around us lay the smolder-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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123 wind and held the sun-warmed air inside itself like an oven. The three young Bushman boys found this out quickly, and early in the morning when the sun came up they would crouch outside, shivering and naked, and whisper "Nisabe, Nisabe" until I opened the door to let them in. The four of us filled the tent entirely, but when I would leave for breakfast they would stay behind, looking in my mirror and leafing through my notes. I gave them crayons and paper and asked them to draw, but they wrote instead, wiggly little lines that looked for all the world like handwriting, complete with dotted *i*'s. Once, when I looked in to see if they had drawn anything, they showed me a page of my notes which had a smudge and a tiny rip in one corner. They had not torn it, for they were more careful and precise than cats—in fact, I had done it myself—but they were upset over the destruction of property, and when I told them it was nothing important, perfectly all right, they were not pleased. I seemed to them lavish and wanton; I should have repaired it or at least shown that I was sad.

132 512 One morning in early July they came to my tent before sunrise and I woke up when I heard their teeth chattering. Before I had the door completely open they had all popped in, and when I went outside, wearing a sweater, a coat, and mittens, I found that it was surely the coldest day of the year. A strong south wind was blowing, straight from the Antarctic, scattering our fire, whose smoke and heat blew down the wind, and even standing in the smoke we could not get warm. In our pails the water was frozen into solid ice, and we saw our breath in clouds around our heads.

We went to the werf through grass white with frost to see how the Bushmen were faring and found them all awake, crouched over the coals of their little fires. Tsetchwe and Gai sat side by side, Gai all wrapped in his big kaross which cov-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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ered him entirely so that only his head and toes were show- 132
ing, Tsetchwe in her small, ragged kaross which covered only 512
her back, leaving her legs, belly, and shoulders bare. Near them sat Ukwane and Kutera, bundled up together in Ukwane's tattered kaross in front of a handful of embers on a small pile of white ash, Kutera having been too tired to gather much firewood the night before. Dasina sat by herself at another very small fire with the baby, stark naked, standing on her lap. He alone did not seem to mind the cold, for he smiled at us cheerfully when we came by. The others hardly looked up.

They had burned all their firewood the night before, and now it was too cold to go for more, or even to go for food, so they sat cold, hungry, thirsty, and even tired, since they had been too cold to sleep during the night. They were waiting, as they had waited all night, with infinite patience, infinite endurance, for noonday, when the sun would give a little warmth; but the sky was overcast, and even at noon the sun would still be far away.

Twikwe stood up to poke her fire and the Antarctic wind howled along the ground, blowing her little kaross back from her shoulders and leaving her naked except for her apron whipping around her legs, and her string of beads. The icy wind made the branches over her head rattle, made her breath blow back like smoke and her eyes stream with tears. She sat down again, downwind from the fire, wiped her eyes, and, wrapping her lanky arms around her legs, put her head on her knees and waited. It was six o'clock in the morning; they had six hours to go.

A little later I crossed the flat pan of Ai a ha'o to look for 136
firewood in the plains on the opposite side. When I got there I saw a hawk in a tree, a hawk with a fine red beak and handsome gray feathers. He had gnarled, stalky legs and he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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159 right, saying that Gai may have *thought* the Bakalahari was his real father, but that Ukwane knew better. I expect that Ukwane was right at that, for Gai certainly looked like a Bushman.

But whether father or stepfather, Gai said, the Bakalahari kept sending messages to Gai with Bushmen who might be passing through Ai a ha'o telling him to come back to Chukudu (probably to work), but Gai never did. Gai was too clever.

● 512 At noon the sun had warmed the air a little, although there was still an edge of frost, and the women got up and walked [313] off together into the veld to search for wood. In an hour or so they came back heavily loaded, Tsetchwe with her kaross [482 bulging with melons, perhaps twenty in all, a great load of 854] wood on top of them piled higher than her head, and Nhwakwe riding on top of it all. Even in the cold air she perspired, and as her load must have weighed almost a hundred pounds, she walked leaning forward.

By night the cold had deepened. The Bushman boys came [513] out of my tent and went home for dinner, then lay by the fires to sleep when the adults curled up in the shallow pits. The moon rose, a frosty circle, hard as a coin, and before we went to sleep that night we heard a jackal calling "tsa," out on the plains.

"Tsa," called one of the Bushmen, answering him.

"Tsa!" the jackal replied.

821 In the morning we were very pleased to find that the cold had broken. We woke up to find the sun just rising, and on the other edge the moon just sinking down, lustrous and pale in a current of balmy air coming warm from the equator. In the east, only the planets showed of all the stars; one of them,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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namesake of Dikai, I had acquired her set of relationships and 608
was expected to follow the rules that applied to her. I could 551
act in a familiar way with those people whom she treated familiarly and was expected to avoid those whom she avoided. I called Dikai "Big Name," the term usually applied in such a relationship, she called me "Little Name," her nephews called me "Aunt," her mother called me "Daughter," and often her husband, Gao Feet, with roars of laughter, would say he would marry me someday.

We sat down in the werf in the delicate shade of the arching 281
branches and Dikai's mother produced a bag full of tsi nuts, 415
which the people began to roast and eat. The bag was made 252
of the entire skin of a duiker—a little nocturnal antelope no bigger than a small dog—turned inside out with the legs tied together as handles, the neck tied off as the bottom of the bag and the rump open as the top. When it was full of tsi it was solid and formed and looked eerily like a little, headless duiker.

When the day was over and the sky was getting dark I 512
made a camp for myself a few feet from the werf. The Bush- 609
man children helped me pull the grass. We built a fire in our clearing and I cooked some beans and tsi nuts that Dikai's mother had given me for myself and the children, and as Bushmen from the werf began to come over I cooked more and more. There wasn't much—the Bushmen had only half a day's supply and we hadn't expected to be away from camp so long. Everyone had a little, though, and afterward we filled ourselves up with water and we smoked. It was very cold. Be- 513
fore the night was over, the water we had in our water pail had turned to ice. On nights such as this the Bushmen prefer to sit up and talk, to keep their minds off the fact that the air is cold and they are naked and hungry, rather than to try to sleep; they wait to sleep the following day, warm in the sun.

513 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the
882 parents' fire.

Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive
855 and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few
857 utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or
[136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and
[868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime,
857 singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults
[512] together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned
857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth
156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men,
[173] the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another
[171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation
[562] ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they
[535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from
[534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony.
[302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of
[304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

262 plants, are scarce and unpredictable and people never depend
137 on meat for their basic subsistance. Therefore the well-
136 being of the Bushmen as a population can be viewed as the
433 product of two factors: the abundance of food resources in their environment, and the intelligence and sophistication which informs their exploitation of these resources.

• 512 Although the getting of food is the major activity of
433 Bushman life and is a major focus of Bushman thought, the greater part of the waking life of the Bushmen is given over to social, religious and trading activities that are largely independent of the food quest.

Their emphasis on non-subsistence activities becomes clear when daily records are kept of the activities of the
[126] members of a camp. For example, a diary of activities was kept for the Dobe camp during July, 1964. This record was made during mid-winter, a season of comparative scarcity. It
[462] was found that the 23 adults of this camp spent less than half of their days in subsistence activities, an average of 23% of the time for the women and 40% of the time for the
[574] men. The majority of their waking hours were spent visiting
[521] other camps, entertaining visitors, resting, talking, hut building, and making tools, clothing, and ornaments.

Plant Resources

137 There are well over 200 species of plants and 220 species
136

262 insects that occur locally are regarded as food. Such animals as rodents, snakes, lizards, termites, and grasshoppers, which, in the literature, are included in the Bushman dietary, are despised by the Bushmen of the Dobe area. Even the more attractive larger mammals are hedged round by numerous age-specific, sex-specific, and personal taboos, so that no single Bushman may eat all of the thirty species of mammal that are considered edible. Ritual curers prescribe, for each individual, a series of species that would be highly injurious if the individual were to eat them. These prohibitions are strictly observed. For instance, the wife of ǂoma, the most successful wart-hog hunter, was forbidden to eat the meat of that species and she became sick to her stomach at the mere smell of cooking wart-hog meat. Such strongly-held aversions and selective tastes are cultural luxuries that are not usually associated with a starvation level subsistence.

462 [512] <u>Leisure and Work</u> -- The getting of food is the most important single activity in Bushman life. This task occupies, on the average, 25 per cent of the womens' days and 40 per cent of the mens' days. The significant point, however, is that the majority of the time of both sexes is spent in non-subsistence [222] activities such as resting, talking, and visiting. In a typical [574] work period, a Bush woman will gather one day and then spend two or three days either resting in camp or visiting other camps,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

221 compelled to turn back to permanent waterholes. Thus in the rainy
312 season the Aikwe, Tsaukwe, /Amkwe, /Dukwe, and Tserekwe all hunt
423 in the wide sandveld pierced by the bed of the Letyahau, keeping to some extent to their respective hunting territories, but apparently also hunting together peacefully in the most central parts of the region. In the dry season, however, they turn back to the limestone pans of the Ghansiveld and Mahuraveld and to the river-courses of the Tauche-Botletle system, where permanent water is to be found.[1] The same alternation of residence with the seasons occurs, as we have seen, among the Tannekwe and the Hukwe, and may also be noted among the Kung and the Auen in the Omaheke and Kaukauveld.[2]

It is not only in alternation of residence that the change of season
[621] makes itself felt. In some cases it also affects the very cohesion of the band itself; for, as already mentioned, both among the Auen and among some of the Central Kalahari tribes the members of the band concentrate together during the rainy season when there is a more abundant supply of food, but as the dry season comes on the families scatter and wander off in different directions.

From their huts the people go out every day in search of food.
462 The women rise early, light the fire, and prepare the food for the
512 morning meal, which usually consists of veldkos left over from the previous evening. After having eaten, the men may go out hunting or visiting or engage in some other occupation, such as preparing skins, weapons, and utensils. The women accompany one another in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. "One may see a group of women and little children start off in one direction, single file of course, then some men in another, then four or five boys together, then girls, small and big, then some more men, and so on." When food is obtainable at no great distance, the women are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have far to go they may not reach home till late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they start the fires and proceed to prepare the food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water from the neighbouring waterhole.
[264] Food is ready by the time the men arrive in the late afternoon, and the evening meal, the principal meal of the day, is then eaten without delay. Meals are taken in common by the members of the family,
512 each family eating at its own hut. Afterwards visits are usually
[574]

[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 31–2.
[2] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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exchanged from hut to hut, the women going to one hut, the men to another, and so on. Only the owners sit in a hut, while the visitors gather round the fire outside. The little children play about everywhere, the bigger boys and girls by themselves. There is no fixed time for going to sleep. As a rule the people turn in to bed fairly early, but if it is a fine evening dancing may be started and kept up till late, everybody taking part except the old people and the little children.[1] 512 [574] [535]

Food and Fire

The Bushmen will eat almost anything that can be eaten. Of animal foods the favourite is game of all kinds, when it can be obtained, and they are also very fond of hare, spring hare, guinea fowl, korhaan, partridge, ostrich, and other birds, as well as birds' eggs. Fish too are eaten wherever they can be caught, and among the Bushmen of the Okavango swamps are a staple article of diet. Anteaters, ant bears, tortoises, porcupines, bull frogs, snakes, and lizards are greatly relished, while among insects locusts, scorpions, beetles, young bees and honey, termites, flying ants and ants' eggs are also eaten. In fact all kinds of living animals are made use of as food, with the almost universal exception of the baboon and the hyena—the former "on account of its being so like a man", the latter "because it eats human corpses". 262 [825]

The most important vegetable foods in the Southern and Central Kalahari are the *tsama* (*Citrullus vulgaris*), "uintjies" (*Cyperus edulis Dtr.*), *Grewia* berries, and the *//noun* (*Bauhinea esculenta*); in the Namib the *!naras* fruit (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*) forms almost the sole article of diet when in season; while as one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, such as the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuande, and omuve. In addition numerous other varieties of edible roots, berries, cucumbers, tubers, melons, and ground nuts appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season, when they form the principal part of the daily menu.[2] [824]

Much of the food is eaten raw, but the Bushmen know how to prepare and cook it. Each family prepares its own food. Cooking 252 [592]

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 32; Fourie, "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 88.

[2] Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 54 sqq.; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 234–5; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 659 sqq.; Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 139–40, 144 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 253–5; Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 114 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 6–7; Fourie, op. cit., 98 sq.

[482] 559 556 595 [422] [431] in the pouches of their karosses along with their babies. This puts a strict limit upon any desire to possess great quantities of property in movables. Furthermore, gift-giving keeps all personal property moving in a current through the region and no one possesses very much more than another. The determining factors in obtaining more than one wife are apt to be the personalities of the individuals and the man's ability to hunt. 'Women love meat', we were told, and like their husbands to be good hunters.

595 The number of wives a man may have is not regulated by social rules but by his ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. None of the nine polygynists in the band had more than two. However, we heard of a man named Gao, now dead, who had had four wives all at one time. He had been a fabulous hunter and maker of arrows and was the father of the /Ti/kay who is the husband of two sisters, /Naoka and /Nai, in Band 9.

Only two of the nine pairs of co-wives had traceable consanguineous relationship. The above /Ti/kay's wives were sisters—the only ones—and, in Band 10, Old ≠Gao's younger wife, /Ghia, was the BrDa of his older wife, Bau.

[601] */Kai*, sister, is the term which co-wives apply to each other, unless they have the same name, in which case they term each other */gu/na*. The /Kung, though they do not institutionalize the sororate, say it is a good idea to marry sisters because they are not so likely to be jealous of each other as other women. /Ti/kay's wives, who appeared to live in harmony and affection and to support each other, provided an example of the validity of this opinion.

Marriage to the same man gives co-wives the joking relationship, and they do not observe the sitting or the name avoidance, though they may have avoided each other before marriage.

[342] /Kung co-wives share one scherm and one family fire. The scherm, the little shelter of branches and grass which the women build, a half hemisphere in shape, is only 3 to 4 ft. wide on the open side, about 3 ft. deep at the centre, perhaps 4 to 5 ft. high at the peak. In it and in front of it, beside their one fire, the two wives live, share their man, share the food they gather, share the work of fetching water and wood, nurse each other's babies, and co-operate in whatever degree of harmony their spirits can attain.

513 Husbands and wives may sleep separately or lie close together, side by side, or feet to feet. The woman holds her infant in her arms. Young children sleep near by bundled together, two or three in one kaross. Girls at about seven or eight go to sleep with a grandmother or a widowed friend or relative. The boys of the band, beginning at the same age, all sleep at a boys' fire.

[595] [821] /Ti/kay (Band 9), husband of the two attractive sisters, sees to it that his wives lie close to him, especially on cold nights, one on each side. Sleeping thus they were like the three stars of Orion which we call the Belt, but which the /Kung say are three zebras, two females with a male between them.

513 833 It is under such conditions that the /Kung usually have sexual intercourse—at night, in their sleeping place. They cover themselves with their karosses and are very discreet. The position is to lie on the side, the man at the back of the woman. Men pull the labia of the women before intercourse. The wives of /Ti/kay told me that they took pleasure in intercourse. I asked them if they had orgasms. We had

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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considerable difficulty with the interpretation, but I believe they finally understood 513
what I was trying to say. They did, they said, and added that one sleeps very well 833
afterwards.

Co-wives attain varying degrees of harmony. The expression of jealousy, especially 595
loud wrangling, upsets everybody, as all expression of discord does. Women are 578
trained by group approval to mould their conduct to acceptance. But often painful 626
jealousy does beset them, and the tensions are there, though to some extent hidden.

/Aha, wife of a young /Ti/kay in Band 13 at Gam, and still a young woman herself, 159
had with her fierce jealousy driven /Khoa, the pretty young second wife, wailing 595
into the night, back to her family's scherm. /Ti/kay used to sit for hours upon hours
singing soft, sad, sweet laments for /Khoa, but she did not return to live with
him.

The behaviour of /Naoka and Di/ai, the wives of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1, was more typical. Both women were approaching middle age, Di/ai somewhat younger than /Naoka. /Naoka had two married daughters and a teen-age son when Gao married Di/ai. The two women obviously disliked each other, but managed to preserve a decent semblance of harmony by self-control, silence, avoiding each other as much as possible in the small space they live in by their fire, and by separating often—going with different groups of relatives and friends to gather wild plant foods, to fetch water, or to visit.

A few men said that the jealousy of co-wives could be so unbearable that they 595
would not marry a second wife, but one said it made him feel good to have two
women fighting over him. Most of the men said they wanted more than one wife.
They pitied Laurence Marshall because the laws of his land forbade his having [186]
several, which they considered him rich enough to afford. One said he would not
live where there were such nonsensical rules.

The first wife is considered to have a somewhat more highly esteemed and dominant position. She is supposed to have the right to tell a second wife what to do, and a young second wife should fetch water and wood for the older wife, but I never saw this done.

No property or other material advantage is given a first wife and no important social advantages accrue. For instance, headmanship is inherited by the headman's [622]
eldest son by whichever wife he may be borne, and being the mother of a headman
does not place a woman above other mothers of sons.

It appeared to me that first wives were often at a disadvantage. Among the people we knew, the husbands favoured their younger, second wives with two exceptions: /Ti/kay of Band 9 favoured his first wife, the elder sister, and Gao, the headman of Band 2, favoured his first wife. Both were good-tempered, intelligent, able women. They appeared to take care of the young girls who were their co-wives, rather than to be served in any way by them. Other older first wives seemed sometimes to be dejected. One told me her husband always took the young second wife with him and, to her deep humiliation, sometimes left her, the first wife, to stay for a time with one or another family in the band, although she said to him, 'Why do you shame me so?'

None of the /Kung women informants expressed enthusiasm for polygyny. Each 185
wanted a husband to herself. They did not expound the social advantage which 595

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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584 Boys are always considerably older than girls before their parents betroth them.
[805] We never knew the precise age of a /Kung because they reckon time from one season to the next, not in years, and do not keep track of a person's age by any measurement. Boys appear to be usually around twelve to fourteen or fifteen before they 'are
[868] betrothed. At this age their fathers begin to take them on the long hard hunts for the
[883] big animals which supply the people's meat and begin their serious hunting training.

As to girls, wives are in such demand in this polygynous society that the parents of boys have their eyes upon every girl baby and may say to the parents of an unborn infant, 'If it is a girl, let us have her for our son.' It seems to be more usual, however, to betroth the girls when they are about two to five or six. The boys wait patiently for long years for their fiancées to grow up.

We wondered what would happen if, when the time at last came for the marriage, the boy or girl should refuse the parents' choice. It appears that they seldom do. A boy is usually too eager to get a wife. To refuse the betrothed might mean he would have to wait for years and years again for a girl baby to grow up. The girls are usually too young to protest but it sometimes happens that one does. /Kung
593 parents are exceedingly protective and permissive with their children, and delight
855 in them, especially in their infancy. I have sometimes seen an older child scolded or
861 snapped at by an impatient mother but I never saw a child severely punished. No hard work and few, if any, regular chores are demanded of dependent children. The same protectiveness and permissiveness were apparent in parents' lenience with respect to their girls' betrothals. They complied with the girls' wishes.

The marriage may take place when the parents agree. The age of the young people
582 varies greatly. For the girl, there are no definite age or other requirements. The girl need not, for instance, show physical signs of maturity. When the important Ceremony of First Menstruation is performed, the girl may have been married for years. Bau, who was married to Tsamgao in 1951, did not have her first child for six years. /Nai was married to /Gunda in May 1953. She menstruated for the first time in March 1959. To be married as young as that is not at all unusual, but we have known several girls to be somewhat older.

The parents explain that when the girls marry young they 'get used to' their
582 husbands. I am sure there is a great deal in this and I am sure it strongly affects the
593 relations of husbands and wives, but I had insufficient opportunity to observe eight- or nine-year-old brides with teen-age husbands, and insufficient means, through interpreters, to grasp the nature of their relationship. What is the young husband like to a girl child? The friendly, gentle old man, Demi, said to me, 'They enjoy their youth together.'

593 The young couples are expected not to have sexual intercourse till the girls are 'big
834 enough', informants said, and the boys must not force the girls. If a girl complained to her parents and the parents took her back and sent the young husband away, he might have to wait for years again for another bride to grow up. The /Kung are
[123] prevented by their incest taboos and their modesty from speaking freely about sex and I learned nothing about the actual sexual practices of the young couples. /Nai and her young husband, /Gunda, had only one good kaross between them; they slept
513 together bundled in it, feet to feet. Bau and Tsamgao slept quite apart—at different
593 fires—when we observed them in 1952. In 1953 they slept at their own fire, apart, she

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. 513 593
Individual adjustments are made.

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the will to hunt, good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt. It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness. 582 224 884 [304]

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of hunting is ceremonially linked with marriage. At the time of the wedding, the boy must bring to his bride's parents an animal that he himself has killed. The animal he brings must not be eaten by the bride. 585 224

A boy who never killed any large meat animal would not be given a wife, informants said. This was why the strange old deviant, /Gaishay, had remained a bachelor. For reasons no one understood he could not hunt; he gathered veldkos like a woman. Gossip had it that twice he had tried to drag a woman against her will into his scherm but had not succeeded. Informants remarked, 'Women like meat.' They do, but there is far more to it than that. 582 589 [462]

As John Marshall shows in his film, *The Hunters*, the primary sources of physical life, sex and food, are involved. In /Kung concept they are linked together, and, as they pertain to men, their duality is lifted to oneness in the being of the man, who is the sexually powerful male and the provider, the hunter. Power as a man and a male and worthiness and dignity are associated with hunting and not with the failure to hunt. 562 828 224

Since they are related, both the sexual and the hunting powers of the young man can be captured at once with a bride. For the first several years of marriage the boy goes to live with his bride's parents, or her people, should her parents be dead, to hunt for them. The parents of girls speak constantly of wanting their sons-in-law to provide them with food as though it were an obsession. 'We are old', they say, or 'We shall soon be old [whether this is actually true or not]; we need a young man to hunt for us'; 'our daughter's husband must get us something to eat'; 'we need karosses'; 'we want meat'—these are their refrains. 583 [591] [606]

Another value the /Kung place upon the boy's hunting during his bride-service appears in their belief that if the husband hunts for his wife and feeds her while she is still a growing child she becomes the more his. Food seems to be a main concern in bride-service, but the people also say that they want to be sure that the boy measures up in every way and will take good care of their daughter, and that the girl will have time to get used to her husband. [581] [593]

/138 cont./

342 bushes and dispense altogether with any construction.

Tree houses are unknown. In any case, they would be possible only in the Kaukau Veld (baobab), since in the Auin region proper the trees are too weak for this purpose.

Each woman has her own windscreen. If she does not have one, she will live under a special bush.

[882] Young girls and young unmarried men sometimes live in special "girls' houses" or "bachelors' houses," separated according to sex.

34 Any kind of special buildings, like meeting houses, storage rooms, and so forth, are unknown.

514 There is little neatness in the vicinity of the huts. Special toilets do not exist. The sole consideration with regard to evacuation is to be hidden from sight. One finds great accumulations of feces away from the main direction of the wind. The practice of burying excrement, common among the Herero, apparently does not occur.

768 The pontok (windscreen) is by no means a valuable possession. After the owner's death the entire horde leaves the locality. Hence any question about the inheritance of the hut is an empty one.

342 There is no door, and it would not be easy to attach one, considering the construction of the hut. In this connection it should be mentioned that things are left carelessly lying around in the settlements, even when all the people are absent. In any 685 case a theft would be paid for with the death of the thief. Since [151] the Bushman knows the footprints of every person in the region, the culprit would always be found. In this respect the Bushman operates as reliably as the best police dog.

352 They lie upon grass covered with a few tanned hides. There 513 are no other household furnishings.

/139/ C. Food

372 The doro (fire-making instrument) (Fig. 1) consists of two round sticks of the Burkea africana. Several round, flat hollows

[Text continues on page 10]

[25 cont.]

481 recognizable -- a characteristic that during the old Bushman persecutions cost many thousands of these unfortunate and peculiar hominid creatures their miserable existence. The walk of the Sanides is also peculiar; they do not walk, they prance. Out of habit they always raise their knees and feet as though they were walking among the sharp grasses and thorn bushes of their homeland. This, like the swaying walk of sailors, is of course, a secondary, acquired characteristic, not a racial one."

I prefer, nevertheless, to regard the walk of the Bushmen as somewhat racially conditioned.

516 The sitting position of the Bushman is the squatting position that is practiced by so many primitive peoples and was probably at one time universal among mankind. At the same time, their position differs from that of the Blacks, insofar as the latter usually squat in such a way that the bones of the ischium do not touch the ground, whereas this is the case among the Bushmen. As a result, when they squat, they bend their backs quite far and must spread their legs apart.

513 When sleeping, the Bushman lies rolled up on his right or left side. The children all cuddle up to the mother to sleep.

147 The muscle power of the Bushmen is very weak. The dynamometric measurements that I carried out show that the pushing power of adult men is less than that of European working women; it only amounts to between 30 and 40 kilograms, whereas European women achieve approximately 60 kilograms, men engaged in light work average 80 kilograms, and European heavy workers and the smiths among us reach an average of 120 and more kilograms. Black heavy workers attain an average of only 80 kilograms. Thus, the Black on the average is twice as strong as a Bushman, and the White is three times as strong.

At the same time, there is no essential difference between the sexes among the Bushmen themselves.

[27 cont.]

805 the like, but they have only ten months. They name them after terrestrial phenomena.

!Kai dsáa	It is cold (winter)	June
gama /éi	The grass burns	July-August
!hoá sori	It is hot	September-October
!u shē	The rain begins	November
≠khõ shē	The trees bloom	December
/hō //gāi	It is raining	January
!Khan //gai	The veldkost is coming up	February
!nã -mã	The veldkost is ripe	March
ao ré //kum //ká	The rain is stopping	April
!hoá //gai	The year is at an end	May

They reckon also from harvest to harvest.

221 The most beautiful time in the life of the Bushman is March and April. Even those who live on the farms hurry into the wilderness at that time. At certain places where there are many fruit trees, such as the marula, the friendly kin groups gather from far and wide. Here the young men look for brides, and there is much dancing, because at this time the women are not tired from seeking veldkost which is now to be found everywhere. Hunting yields less at this time, since the game has water and pasture everywhere.

Soon, however, the leaves fall, the bush forest becomes red and yellow, the migratory birds fly northward, and then the first cold nights set in. Now the "Dsao" (spirits of sickness) come and (753) bring sickness to the chest. At the end of May and the beginning of July [sic] the first frosts set in. Now the Bushmen move to the watering places, which stay open for a long time. The nights now [374] become torture. Burns on the skin of the chest and abdomen occur frequently, because the Bushmen now lie very close to the [513] fire to sleep. Around this time, some of the kin groups already begin to suffer distress, because the game moves to other regions where there is still some pasture. In July the grass is finally dry [224] enough so that it can be set afire. Now the entire steppe burns. The young grass again attracts the game; hunting improves. The hot season is the worst period; the resting places of the game are quite uncertain, veldkost becomes increasingly scant, and the

[36 cont.]

Dwellings

342 The dwelling of the Bushman consists of the simple windscreen, semicircular in form and about 150 centimeters high. On [177] several farms, however, even the Bushmen have taken to building beehive huts in the Herero manner. The windscreens in a settle- [361] ment more or less form a circle, and the socha fire is to be found [378] near the windscreen of the village chief. During warm nights the [372] Bushmen do not sleep under the windscreen but outside it. [513]

372

Fig. 3. Sticks for Firemaking, Kalahari Bushmen (Museum of Ethnology, Lurich).

[44 cont.]

Toothache

142 I rarely saw irregularities in the position of the teeth, and
[515] never protruding or receding teeth. The only care given the
teeth is the use of iron arrow points for toothpicks. The teeth are
usually yellow, covered with dense layers of tartar, and because
of the sand content of the vegetable diet, are quickly worn down
164 by chewing. Caries are extraordinarily common, but infections
also occur through the exposure of the root canal as the teeth are
753 worn down. If a person has a severe toothache, //Gauab has stuck
a needle into it, and the doctor must be called to get it out. If
there is no general discomfort, however, then no dsao are there.
757 A little piece of wood is sharpened to a point at one end, held
with the point against the root of the tooth, and then the tooth
is knocked out with a stone. This instrument is called "oie."
147 Small children suffer considerable pain when they teethe; some-
753 times dsao (spirits of sickness) are also at work in this case. [Fig.
17 appears here.]

Sore Throat

753 A sore throat means that //Gauab has made a cord and is
755 drawing it tight around the patient's neck. The doctor must re-
move the cord from the patient; it is about 30 centimeters long
and is like the trap cord (//kao); everyone can see it after the
treatment.

Colds (X'ôã)

164 Grippe takes many victims among the Bushmen every year,
513 especially among those who are already tuberculous. In winter,
colds are extraordinarily frequent, since the people lie almost
naked around the fires. In the forest they are fairly well protected
against the wind, but on the open plain the wind changes its di-
rection at night while they are asleep, so that they not only catch
cold but often receive severe burns around the stomach -- although
this applies only to the men; the women sleep at a greater distance
FROM THE FIRE.

/244 cont./

Indices

	Men	Women
141 I. Skull index	76.3	73.5
II. Average index of the skulls of all adults measured	74.77	
III. Physiognomic face index	76.44	76.1
IV. Physiognomic nose index	102.5	97.44

147 [146] The state of nutrition of those examined may in general be called inadequate, and the amount of fat slight. Even among younger individuals the skin is strikingly slack and can be grasped in wide folds. One has the impression that there is a connection between this slackness of the skin and the extreme fluctuation in the saturation of the tissues, which is the rule since the Bushmen experience frequent and long-lasting thirsts. The men assured me that they could march without water for four days in great heat, a statement which surely deserves to be credited.

142 The skin color of all those examined, with the exception of two in whose case racial mixture is a possibility, is a brown of medium tone shading over into yellow.

The palms of the hand and soles of the feet are a lighter color, but do not show such a striking contrast with the back of the hand as is the case among the Bantu /245/ Negroes. The skin of the chest and abdomen has a slightly darker coloration than that of the face. Scars are very common, especially on the chest and abdomen, and [513] usually stem from burns to which the Bushmen readily expose themselves by sitting and sleeping near the open fire. These scars have a lighter tinge than the surrounding skin and look almost pure yellow.

The iris of all those examined is deep brown in color.

Compared with Europeans, the hair growth of the Bushmen is very modest. It is confined almost entirely to the skull; beards are found only on a few men and even then they are sparse. Hair elsewhere on the body, including the arm pits and pubic hair, is practically nonexistent.

The color of the hair on the head is a deep black. The individual hairs grow to a length of about four centimeters for men and about six centimeters for women. The hair is fine and curled in a spiral. The curvature radius of the spiral amounts to about two

342 are filled with grass. The door is a hole scarcely a meter high;
[354] immediately behind it the fire burns almost continuously, so that, at least for the European, crawling into the hut presents considerable difficulties. Since the Bushmen are often forced to
[361] move their settlements because of the lack of veld food or because of the water conditions, they not infrequently content themselves with incomplete huts, which are not closed to form a full circle, but represent only a part, a segment of a hut, as it were, and give only scant protection against the sun.

For the rest, it is astonishing how hardened these practically
147 naked Bushmen are against the cold of the night which during the cold season is very sharp -- not infrequently below O° [centigrade].
●[513] Unclothed except for the loincloth, they calmly go to sleep on the cold ground near a small fire, exposed to the icy night air, a thought that gives chills to Europeans, who are unable to sleep without three woolen blankets on such nights.

Concerning the much discussed racial position of the Bush-
144 men, I have already remarked above -- at least concerning the Heikum and Kung -- that their descent from the Hottentots, as is frequently asserted, seems doubtful to me. The Bushmen's smaller size, of course, can be accounted for by the debilitation of the race through centuries-long unfavorable living conditions. What argues against the notion of racial affinity, however, is the anthropological fact that steatopygia is not to be found among
197 the Heikum and Kung women, /260/ and, in addition, the language is totally different.

I attempted to collect a sample of the vocabulary and some grammatical characteristics of the language of the Heikum on the Omatako and of the Kung in the Kaukau Veld, which I present below. In doing this, it became evident that the languages of the Heikum and Kung are merely dialectically differentiated, while they seem to have almost no relationship to the Nama language. The click sounds, to be sure, are almost the same as
[194] those in the Hottentot language; hence, / designates the dental
[104] click, // the lateral click, ! the cerebral [retroflex] click, and ≠ the palatal click. By ⁝ I designate the sharp opening of the glottis in speaking the initial vowel, which frequently occurs between a consonant and a vowel or between two vowels of the same word, and which does not occur in this fashion in the Nama.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

into a new place, although now they had no scherms. For the 609
next days they had waited and listened, and when they had heard our truck leave they had assumed that we were gone, and had returned to get the rest of their things. Then they had noticed our trucks, and believing that they were surrounded and had fallen into our trap, they had come to surrender. Ukwane felt more relaxed and laughed at this, a [152]
warm, wheezy chuckle, showing a few teeth, slapping his chest and coughing from the smoke which he had been inhaling deeply. Seeing Ukwane, the rest of us laughed, too, but Gai only stiffened and smiled an icy smile. Behind his head the sun was setting, small and red, away over the edge of the flat plain, making all the little, distant trees against it look black and very lonely; and the new moon followed after into the salmon light, a heavy crescent flat on its back and bow-shaped, yellow and malevolent like the smile.

Before they went to sleep that night, the two men accepted a second bucketful of water as a present. The bucket they would return, but the water was for them alone, an enormous [271]
present in the desert, for which they were very grateful. They began to drink from it, scooping the water up with their hands and, later, lifting the bucket to drink from its rim. After that they lay down, naked as they were on the bare 513
ground, close to the fire, with their knees bent, letting as much skin as possible be exposed to the heat. The warm smoke and ashes blew over them and they went to sleep on their sides as Bushmen always must, with one ear on the ground but with the other up and listening, to hear what comes along. Because it was cold they woke up often, and every time they woke they drank, so in the morning only the bottom of the pail had water in it, frozen into a circle of ice.

The next day the two men agreed to take some of us to 609
their werf, and we drove off with Ukwane in the jeep and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 Gai on the hood to point the way. From his higher position he noticed the long horns of a gemsbok in the grass and he signaled for the jeep to stop. Then he, John, and Theunis, taking a rifle, slipped out of the jeep and ran off after it, bent over and crouched so low that only their backs showed, as the backs of animals would, gliding above the grass. The gemsbok saw them and ran away toward a patch of heavy bush in the plain, the great V of horns a crown over its head. The men ran after, standing now, and in an hour they came back to where Ukwane and I were waiting, lying on our stomachs under the jeep to be in shade, saying that they had killed it. We drove to the spot where the gemsbok, a female, lay and brought her with us, a present to offer the other Bushmen.

361 We drove for several hours and at last we came to a wide plain, grown over heavily with small trees of slender trunks, with a few short branches sprouting leaves, like fence posts. Gai directed us to one of the smaller trees in the center of the plain and told us to stop. He climbed down and looked [231] 276 around over the veld, then bent and picked up a small pipe, a piece of the leg bone of an antelope. He asked us for a match, lit his pipe, and smoked it.

At last we noticed on the other side of the tree two shallow depressions scooped in the sand and lined with grass, like the shallow, scooped nests of shore birds on a beach—the [513] homes of the families, where the people could lie curled up just below the surface of the plain to let the cold night wind [132] which blows across the veld pass over them.

Other than the depressions, except for a small pile of brown, twisted bean shells, no sign would show that people lived there. Later we saw another scooped pit and a stick thrust upright in the ground beside it, right at our feet, which was Gai's place; the stick was to mark the spot, although Gai [423]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

159 right, saying that Gai may have *thought* the Bakalahari was his real father, but that Ukwane knew better. I expect that Ukwane was right at that, for Gai certainly looked like a Bushman.

But whether father or stepfather, Gai said, the Bakalahari kept sending messages to Gai with Bushmen who might be passing through Ai a ha'o telling him to come back to Chukudu (probably to work), but Gai never did. Gai was too clever.

512 At noon the sun had warmed the air a little, although there was still an edge of frost, and the women got up and walked [313] off together into the veld to search for wood. In an hour or so they came back heavily loaded, Tsetchwe with her kaross [482 bulging with melons, perhaps twenty in all, a great load of 851] wood on top of them piled higher than her head, and Nhwakwe riding on top of it all. Even in the cold air she perspired, and as her load must have weighed almost a hundred pounds, she walked leaning forward.

By night the cold had deepened. The Bushman boys came ● [513] out of my tent and went home for dinner, then lay by the fires to sleep when the adults curled up in the shallow pits. The moon rose, a frosty circle, hard as a coin, and before we went to sleep that night we heard a jackal calling "tsa," out on the plains.

"Tsa," called one of the Bushmen, answering him.

"Tsa!" the jackal replied.

821 In the morning we were very pleased to find that the cold had broken. We woke up to find the sun just rising, and on the other edge the moon just sinking down, lustrous and pale in a current of balmy air coming warm from the equator. In the east, only the planets showed of all the stars; one of them,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

was all right; no one paid any attention to him as they would have had he not been well. His baby came to watch him, though, and gazed down into his swollen face. 786 756 535

It was very hot. The dancers and the women singing steamed with perspiration, first becoming gold in color, then ash white as dust stuck to them. Soon the women felt that they had sung enough, their feelings showing clearly in the diminished vigor of their songs, until finally the singing faded out entirely and the dance stopped. The men complained, but the women would sing no more and presently everyone had drifted away, leaving only the children wheeling slowly around the track worn by the dancers' feet, dancing soberly, carefully, without music, and Gai, who now lay prone and forgotten in the dust, in the shade of a little tree.

Hours later, when even the children had wandered back to the werfs and had joined their parents, who were tired from the exercise and were taking afternoon naps, Gai came to himself once more; he sat up and wiped his face, got slowly to his feet, and walked slowly home to sleep, next to his wife beside their fire.

All the Bushmen were asleep but Twikwe. Some people 513 lay on their backs with their arms shading their eyes, their mouths open, some on their bellies, their arms and legs sprawled. All the young boys except Giamakwe lay like puppies, tangled together in a knot of arms and legs, for even in sleep they would not be parted. Giamakwe slept at a little distance from the others on his side with his body bent backward into a U, his head almost touching his buttocks, as limp and supple as a young snake or a young cat that drapes over your hand. Even Nhwakwe was fast asleep, lying on his belly and using as his couch his father's body, his head on his father's chest. Both were deep in slumber, Nhwakwe snoring

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

513 a loud baby snore, saliva from his open mouth moistening Gai's dark skin, but Gai absolutely silent in the fast, still sleep of a hunter. Only Twikwe was not sleeping. She lay on her belly with her chin propped up with one hand as she built a precarious little toy hut out of strips of bark, carefully, the way one builds a card house. When I came by to look at the people she looked at me with her amused, wise-woman's eyes.

515 In the afternoon the young boys naturally woke up first, as they were so entwined that the movement of one was bound to wake the others, and began sleepily to delouse each other, taking turns in pairs, one lying with his head in his partner's lap while his partner searched through his hair, catching and biting the lice he found. Then they cut each other's hair with a razor blade they had got from someone in our expedition, cutting away certain tufts of hair and leaving certain others until patterns on each head were formed, ranging from scalplocks to rather fine designs. One boy had only two tufts left on his entire scalp, one on each side, like a pair of horns; another boy had an egg-shaped pattern of tufts but with two holes of bare scalp showing so that when he bent his head he accidentally presented an oval face with a pair of staring eyes. All the patterns were supposed to be geometric, never intentionally having fantastic or representative designs. Wite's head was shaved entirely, his partner having shown no imagination at all; and his bare head made his ears seem even larger and more pointed, his face more elfin even than before.

It was a gray, hazy afternoon. Below the fine overcast were clusters of little white clouds all grouped together like white flowers. In the west a greak cloudbank was gathering, an ominous sign.

Later, when the young boys had dispersed to play horse and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

namesake of Dikai, I had acquired her set of relationships and 608
was expected to follow the rules that applied to her. I could 551
act in a familiar way with those people whom she treated familiarly and was expected to avoid those whom she avoided. I called Dikai "Big Name," the term usually applied in such a relationship, she called me "Little Name," her nephews called me "Aunt," her mother called me "Daughter," and often her husband, Gao Feet, with roars of laughter, would say he would marry me someday.

We sat down in the werf in the delicate shade of the arching 281
branches and Dikai's mother produced a bag full of tsi nuts, 415
which the people began to roast and eat. The bag was made 252
of the entire skin of a duiker—a little nocturnal antelope no bigger than a small dog—turned inside out with the legs tied together as handles, the neck tied off as the bottom of the bag and the rump open as the top. When it was full of tsi it was solid and formed and looked eerily like a little, headless duiker.

When the day was over and the sky was getting dark I 512
made a camp for myself a few feet from the werf. The Bush- 609
man children helped me pull the grass. We built a fire in our clearing and I cooked some beans and tsi nuts that Dikai's mother had given me for myself and the children, and as Bushmen from the werf began to come over I cooked more and more. There wasn't much—the Bushmen had only half a day's supply and we hadn't expected to be away from camp so long. Everyone had a little, though, and afterward we filled ourselves up with water and we smoked. It was very cold. Be- 513 ●
fore the night was over, the water we had in our water pail had turned to ice. On nights such as this the Bushmen prefer to sit up and talk, to keep their minds off the fact that the air is cold and they are naked and hungry, rather than to try to sleep; they wait to sleep the following day, warm in the sun.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

513 That night it was so cold that no one wanted to leave the fire and when finally everyone was at my camp, settled close to each other, side by side, with their bellies warmed by the heat and their shoulders covered by their capes, their backs
521 turned against the enormous veld where the cold wind blew and where the dark was coming, they began to entertain themselves with conversation, their favorite pastime.

516 The adults held their elbows on their raised knees and cupped their hands under their chins to cast little shadows into their eyes, for in this way they could see clearly over the bright fire. Close to the fire even the children were not cold. The older children sat up like the adults, although they were naked and the adults had capes, and the younger children slept in their parents' arms, warm between the fire and their parents' skin.

136 Before the darkness had come totally I left the fire to look through the little forest for wood, and as soon as I was off among the trees a way I was quite alone; I could not see the firelight and the voices did not reach me, and as I walked around in the frost and the gloom I could hear my footsteps crackling the grass. When I stopped walking to pick up an icy stick I could still hear the grass crackling, and when I looked around I saw, not too far away, a pair of mongooses, a male and a female, with five little ones. They were eating seeds from the pods of a plant and when they saw me they ran, all in an orderly line, and when they were gone the forest seemed very empty, for I could see through the trees to the desolate plains beyond, and up through the branches to the sky, where stars were showing, far away. A partridge rose in front of me—I had chased it from its bed. I could hear it calling as it flew, lost out in the veld now, and when I had a
313 bundle of sticks I found my way home.

372 Dikai had been out for sticks in the opposite direction and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

513 gether without speaking and then his wife lay down and he lay down and their fire began to die. Soon all the werf was dark.

● 513 In the morning, in the salmon dawn, the first light, we woke up to find doves singing and a fresh, warm wind blowing. It was easy to sleep now, and the people slept for hours, rolling away from their piles of ashes as the day warmed, until they lay curled or sprawled in all parts of the werf with Toma's son, by chance, asleep in the center, flat on his belly with his head in the curve of his arm, relaxed and strong and breathing deeply.

222 At noon the adults began to get up. The women went into
[252] the forest behind their werf for sticks to burn and a few roots to eat, and when they had built up their fires they roasted the roots and shared them with their families. Toma said that we would go back to Nama Pan right away, but his wife and the other women wanted to gather tsi; it was very abundant right beside the forest and they hated to leave all that food just lying there. "Perhaps other people will come here and eat it," said Tu, so Toma changed his mind and everyone took bags, nets, skins, anything that could be used as a container, and they spent the afternoon gathering tsi. They got mountains of it. There was plenty in the patch that they had chosen and with all of them picking the nuts from among the round leaves of the tsi plants they filled every bag, skin, and net that they had. They gathered almost three hundred pounds. The women felt so happy that they were singing a gay, light song in three or four parts. When the people had picked all they
431 could find, when every possible bag was full, they said they were ready to go to Nama, but when we brought the jeep and began to load it they were already busy with their endless preoccupation, that of giving and receiving, and had already

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

veld began to show, the women sang the sun-dance fully, a 535 533
song quite different from the others, very even, very simple, steady, dignified, and grave.

The dawn wind lifted and blew away the smoke and dust and made the people shiver. The light showed the dancers moving stiffly, the singers hunched together for support and warmth, and revealed dusty, dirty faces and dirty teeth. Dust had made mud in the corners of our mouths and eyes.

Only about ten women were singing in the circle now, and they sat all together at one spot, leaving a lot of space around the fire; only four men danced and they moved slowly in their track, burdened by their rattles. They, too, stayed close together so that most of their huge track was bare.

When the sun was over the horizon the dance stopped. The women ended their song abruptly, stood up, shook the dust and straw from their clothing, and walked away. They did not speak to one another because they were tired. The men talked for a moment as they sat down, stretched, untied their rattles, before walking off two by two toward their werfs. Soon all that remained was the dance track, a deep circular rut in the ground, the big heap of dead white ashes, and the dusty bushes and trees.

The people who had been dancing during the night slept 513
all through the heat of the day and as the afternoon came, lying in the shade of trees and bushes. Flies buzzed over them, the afternoon shadows lengthened and the day cooled, and still they slept on.

When the light was red and the sun was almost setting, 481
the women began to stir, getting to their feet slowly, and then 825
alone or in twos and threes, followed by their children, walked down the path to the water, the last ones to leave

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

to do so. Lack of privacy makes it almost impossible to keep an affair secret, 837
and violent jealousy and anger can be aroused. Fearing any disruptive force, [852]
the !Kung disapprove.

LIFE CYCLE

CHILD TRAINING • !Kung parents are gentle, 854
protective, and permissive with all their children and express their affection
especially with babies. It is a most common sight to see fathers fondly kissing
them with pursed lips and smacks. The mother, wherever she goes, carries [853]
her infant tied to her left side, skin to skin, in a little leather sling where
it can reach her breast. When she sits, she takes the infant out of its sling,
holds it, lets it nurse the other breast.

The !Kung believe that long nursing is essential to the survival and 853
development of their children and encourage them to continue until they 862
are three or four or older. These people practice infanticide and, in explain- [847]
ing it, say that they must space their babies so that each will be able to
nurse long enough to ensure his having strong legs. An infant cannot thrive
on their harsh foods, they say, even though they chew the food and put it
into the infants' mouths, and the mother cannot support two entirely with
her milk, excellent though !Kung lactation appears to be. They supplement
the milk with adult food as soon as the child can eat it, so that a child is
accustomed to it and ready to be weaned at three or four when the next
baby comes. But, even so, the mother weans gradually, letting the older
child have a drink of milk occasionally through the day. If the mother does
not have or keep another baby but still has milk, she will allow or encourage
her child to continue nursing. Other children tend to make fun of a child
who nurses until he is six or so, and, in response to their teasing, a child
may wean himself quite abruptly.

Babies are naked and, since there are no floors but the desert sand, 854
not much is made of their urinating wherever they are. When they defecate,
they are wiped with grass and the fecal matter is cleaned up at once by
some older child or adult and carried off. As soon as children can walk fairly 863
well they are led by the hand and encouraged to go out of the werf for their
toilet needs, at first for the sake of cleanliness and, as they grow older, for
the sake of modesty as well. (!Kung adults are exceedingly modest about [291]
uncovering their genitalia. Their incest taboo influences this behavior,
I think, very strongly.)

Infants sleep in their mothers' arms. Young children sleep wrapped 513
in karosses beside their parents' fire. Boys from the age of about eleven or 882
twelve sleep at a boys' fire, not far from the family of one of them. Girls at [857]
that age go to sleep with a grandmother or some widow, or several of them

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 882 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the parents' fire.

855 857 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or [136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and [868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 857 [512] The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime, singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned 857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth 156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 [173] PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men, the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another [171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are [562] therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they [535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from [534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony. [302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of [304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

the ground and covered with grass. The description of the Naron hut given by Miss Bleek[1] applies equally to the huts of most of the other Northern Bushmen.[2] "The women do all the building here. The men may cut a few branches, but their wives plant them in a semicircle, tie the tops together with a thong or bark fibre, put smaller sticks in between them, and thatch the whole with grass, making a cosy little wind screen. In bad weather chunks of wood are often laid on top to keep the grass in place. The size and the care with which a hut is built vary with the season: in dry weather a very slight shelter suffices, just a little sloping screen perhaps made by sticking grass in the branches of a bush. As the rainy season approaches a proper semicircular hut is made, from four to five feet high, the opening to leeward of course, and when the rain really comes, the half circle is increased to about a three-quarter circle, often thereby changing the direction of the opening in accordance with the different wind. There is no door; the opening is about four feet high." The whole structure is easily put up, and is abandoned without misgiving. If the next halting place is near, the women carry some of the materials over; if not, new material is always at hand.

Among the Cape Bushmen light portable huts equally simple in make were sometimes seen. A few bent sticks formed the framework, which was covered with mats made of reeds laid side by side and neatly sewn together. The whole structure was hemispherical in shape, about four feet in diameter, and only some three feet in height. When the encampment broke up, the mats were rolled together, and used again at the next spot.[3] Somewhat larger huts made in the same way are also found among some of the North-Eastern tribes at the present time, e.g. the Hukwe and some of the Hiechware, but in general the grass hut is the prevailing kind.[4]

The floor in the interior of the hut is usually scooped out a little, making a sort of nest, in which the inmates sleep; this is lightly strewn with dry grass, which is often changed. In front of the hut is the fireplace, marked by a mound of ashes rising higher daily and sheltering the opening. Here all the cooking is done, save in wet weather, when it is often done inside the hut. At night a second little fire is made in the middle of the hut, or just inside the opening. Round

[1] Op. cit., 5.
[2] Cf. Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 81-2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 259; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 298.
[3] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275-6; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 43.
[4] Seiner, op. cit., 298; Dornan, op. cit., 90; Wilhelm, "Wortschatz . . . der Hukwe-Buschmannsprache," 301.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Round

354 513 this the inmates sleep, each curled up with knees to breast and covered
[291] by the kaross, which thus serves as a cloak by day and a blanket by
night. The ashes of this fire are swept up every morning and added
356 to the heap outside. The neighbourhood of the huts is kept fairly
clean. Gnawed bones are thrown on a pile, then carried out to the
bushes by the women, who also sweep the huts out with a branch,
and clean up any mess made by the little children. No dirt is allowed
anywhere near the encampment.[1]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. vi; *idem*, *The Naron*, 5.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

834 organs and, though the women's breasts are naked (breasts are associated with
[831] nursing, not sex), the women would not expose their buttocks, which are definitely associated with sex, as the position for sexual intercourse is for the man to be at the back of the woman. When they urinate or defecate, men, women, and all but young
● [514] children who are not yet toilet trained go away from the werf and squat behind bushes or in the tall grass out of sight.

The persons who express in the avoidances the sexual constraint required by the
602 incest taboo are none the less free to engage in other activities of life together.
835 Whether or not they must avoid joking and sitting near each other, whether or not they may marry, they may talk (except with SoWi or DaHu), hunt, share meat, share the water-hole, gather plant foods, cook, eat, make journeys, visit, exchange gifts, and, if they wish, huddle their scherms and fires together. And, although they must not direct sexual jokes or insults to each other, they may laugh as heartily when they overhear the jokes as relatives do who have the joking relationship together.

Because it is interesting to compare the pattern of the joking relationship with the pattern of marriage regulation, I have indicated it when I list the various categories of persons with whom marriage is forbidden or allowed.

Extension of the incest taboo to four categories

Marriage regulations, patterned upon the incest taboo as it applies in the relation-
582 ships of the nuclear family, and extended to certain other relationships because they
835 are considered to be like those of the nuclear family, forbid ego's marriage with four categories of persons, as follows: (1) members of the nuclear family and certain other consanguineous relatives; (2) certain affines; (3) step-parents, stepchildren, stepbrothers, stepsisters, and the close kin of ego's father's wife other than his mother (for example, ego's mother's co-wife's sister, who is 'like' his MoSi; (4) certain name relatives.

Category 1: ego's consanguineous relatives with whom marriage is forbidden

582 In Fig. 2 are listed the consanguineous relatives whom a /Kung must not marry.
602 The terms applied to them are given in their basic form only, all complicating
835 factors being omitted as they have no bearing on marriage regulations. The term which ego applies to the male in a given category appears first; the term applied to females follows. The joking status is indicated by 'yes' if ego has the joking relationship with the given category of relatives, 'no' if he has not.

The /Kung use the expression 'We are one people' when they refer to certain consanguineous relatives—e.g. any lineal kin and the close collaterals listed in Fig. 2—but they do not consider siblings of grandparents, fourth cousins or still more remote collaterals as being of 'one people' with themselves. The /Kung, who are capable of being pushed to logical conclusions by an interrogator, say that they recognize a degree of consanguinity among such collaterals but spoke of them as
[553] 'those people'. 'Those people would name their children for their own people', they said, for example. 'We name our children for our people.'

I made considerable effort to determine whether or not I should include third
[605] cousins as within 'one people'. Many of the informants from whom we gathered genealogical data did not know the names of their third cousins, but, when we estab-

/138 cont./

342 bushes and dispense altogether with any construction.

Tree houses are unknown. In any case, they would be possible only in the Kaukau Veld (baobab), since in the Auin region proper the trees are too weak for this purpose.

Each woman has her own windscreen. If she does not have one, she will live under a special bush.

[882] Young girls and young unmarried men sometimes live in special "girls' houses" or "bachelors' houses," separated according to sex.

34 Any kind of special buildings, like meeting houses, storage rooms, and so forth, are unknown.

● 514 There is little neatness in the vicinity of the huts. Special toilets do not exist. The sole consideration with regard to evacuation is to be hidden from sight. One finds great accumulations of feces away from the main direction of the wind. The practice of burying excrement, common among the Herero, apparently does not occur.

768 The pontok (windscreen) is by no means a valuable possession. After the owner's death the entire horde leaves the locality. Hence any question about the inheritance of the hut is an empty one.

342 There is no door, and it would not be easy to attach one, considering the construction of the hut. In this connection it should be mentioned that things are left carelessly lying around in the settlements, even when all the people are absent. In any 685 case a theft would be paid for with the death of the thief. Since [151] the Bushman knows the footprints of every person in the region, the culprit would always be found. In this respect the Bushman operates as reliably as the best police dog.

352 They lie upon grass covered with a few tanned hides. There 513 are no other household furnishings.

/139/ C. Food

372 The doro (fire-making instrument) (Fig. 1) consists of two round sticks of the Burkea africana. Several round, flat hollows

[Text continues on page 10]

/22 cont./

(81) 648 appropriated a number of little trees and planted them in front of his house. On one occasion when he was in town with his Bushmen, the original owner of the trees declared that in the afternoon he was going to see about it. The Bushmen heard this and disappeared. When the two Whites came to the farm, the little trees had disappeared. The Bushmen had run ahead and had hurriedly removed them on their own initiative.

(81) The Bushmen are at all times courageous and steadfast people, characteristics which, indeed, their very way of life would produce.

(83) [864] The Bushmen strictly avoid talking about sexual matters in the presence of women and children. Just as in general they are a people without imagination, they do not have any form of the more subtle erotic phantasies.

The endless obscene stories that one hears from the Blacks as soon as he has gained their confidence are unknown among the Bushmen.

[535] The sexual element is absent in their religious celebrations, but it finds expression in many of their dances, which imitate the love play of animals.

(84) [516] On the whole, their sense of modesty cannot be denied, even though, naturally, they do not have such decent forms of conduct as the genteel Bantu, among whom it is regarded as extremely improper to look at the breasts of the women. The girls and women never sit in the typical squatting position, but rather sit on the ground with the legs crossed.

[576] Although the life of the Bushmen within the encampment is openly in view, those principles that we regard as natural tact are nonetheless observed.

[514] The Bushman performs his necessities at all times out of sight of the others, and love scenes are never enacted in public.

114 124 It is naturally very difficult to learn anything more precise concerning the more intimate details of sexual life

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

this did no good he endured the nuisance for a moment, then 222
flung himself down on his back, put up his long legs like a 137
fighting cock, and kicked the branches down.

He dug out a great deal of earth, throwing it behind him, and finally uncovered a *ga* root, big and dark with a warty surface all covered with lumps like a toad or a stone; a fascinating thing, for although it was large and nondescript, brownish gray in brown-gray sand, marked only by an old dry vine, it was life itself to Bushmen, bitter but quite moist even in the hottest season. Tsetchwe put the root in her kaross and we went off, Gai generously carrying the baby, taking him from Tsetchwe by the forearm and swinging him up to his shoul- [854]
der. The baby rode astride Gai's neck with the soft kaross he wore draped over Gai's head. From the rear they were an apparition, as this made the baby's head, not much higher than Gai's, look like a tiny head on a man's tall, slender body.

We wanted very much to find a bi root, and while Gai, the baby, and my brother went off to look for one I waited behind with the women. We rested in a small circle in the dim shade of the grass, which, when we were sitting, came high above our heads so that all we could see was a circle of sky and, in the circle, the ragged, waxing moon. It had risen luxuriously in the daytime and was a pale, large crescent, pearl-colored in the sun. The moon is a root with a climbing [821]
stalk, a vine. It can be eaten.

Giamakwe began to urinate right in our midst, crouching 514
and pulling his loincloth aside. Although the adults are slightly inhibited about this, the children are not, sometimes simply turning aside to urinate as one might turn aside to cough. Presently the young boys got up and ran away, and when they did Tsetchwe herself got to her feet, stepped aside, and urinated also, standing up but leaning forward. Bushman

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

514 women sometimes do this, but Bushman men crouch to urinate. "It is our law," they say.

264 222 While the women rested they had refreshed themselves with one of Twikwe's melons which Twikwe chopped for them by holding the melon between the soles of both feet and mashing its pulp with her digging-stick, which she held in both hands. Then they got up from their grass nest, sharpened their digging-sticks with Twikwe's knife, and set out to begin the search for food. They each chose a different direction and soon they were out of sight. I followed Twikwe to see 222 481 what she would find, hurrying to keep up as she trampled ahead of me on those spindly, awkward legs of hers, which she kicked out with each step in a walk like the walk of a clown. She kept her back straight, for it was still early and the load in her kaross was light.

222 As I could not speak many words of Gikwe, she didn't even try to talk, but paused from time to time instead to show me things. Once she crouched among the branches of a thorn bush and beckoned to me to show me a tiny vine winding around the bush's trunk. I nodded. It marked an edible root. She pinched the base of the vine where there was a faint touch of green, then, grasping her digging-stick, began to dig. The ground was quite hard, but she dug rapidly, her slender back curved as she squatted over the hole and the muscles of her thin arms swelling. After a long time she threw down her digging-stick and tugged at something in the bottom of the hole. She sat back, and in her hands was a huge stone, which she heaved aside.

"Look," she said, and I crawled beside her into the bush. She had made a hole three feet deep, a foot across, and at the bottom, dim in shadow, lay an immense gray root wedged securely between two stones. "Ga," she said. She ripped the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

happy. She was only ten, but already she had lost her childish 582 [145] belly, although her breasts had not yet begun to grow.

Now everyone was in the werf and people had begun to go 593 back to their fires, leaving Short Kwi alone. When most people were gone, Short Kwi's brother-in-law squatted beside 514 164 431 him and, taking his injured leg, began laboriously to help him move toward the veld, toward a little pathway that we had not noticed before. Short Kwi's wife had cleared the path; it led to a place in the veld where Short Kwi could urinate, and slowly, painfully, Short Kwi and his brother-in-law moved down it, the brother-in-law duckwalking, carrying the bad leg while Short Kwi—he who once could run great elands down—edged himself forward on his buttocks, using his hands to brace himself and his good leg to pull himself along.

We were not at his fire when he got back, but we could see 164 him through the trees, inching, and then, when Short Kwi was alone with his wife and daughter, we could watch him sitting by his fire, looking idly around. He was like a wild goose with pinioned wings, squatting there before his fire, watching the sky, the veld, and other people come and go.

Those of us from Nama made a camp apart from the werf, 361 through long grass as high as our chests, inside a little glade 521 of thorn trees. We cleared some of the grass and built a fire, and even then the Bushmen could not stop talking about Short Kwi, although they tried to change the subject; they spoke of him creeping along on his buttocks, even this impossible without someone to help, and all because he had failed to notice an adder that was waiting in his path. Of course, the Bushmen said, he was lucky to be alive. I felt that he was luckier than they supposed, because of his wife, that 593 quiet, gracious, gentle, pretty woman, and his grave little daughter, the image of her mother. The people felt, said

[44 cont.]

Toothache

142 I rarely saw irregularities in the position of the teeth, and
[515] never protruding or receding teeth. The only care given the
teeth is the use of iron arrow points for toothpicks. The teeth are
usually yellow, covered with dense layers of tartar, and because
of the sand content of the vegetable diet, are quickly worn down
164 by chewing. Caries are extraordinarily common, but infections
also occur through the exposure of the root canal as the teeth are
753 worn down. If a person has a severe toothache, //Gauab has stuck
a needle into it, and the doctor must be called to get it out. If
there is no general discomfort, however, then no dsao are there.
757 A little piece of wood is sharpened to a point at one end, held
with the point against the root of the tooth, and then the tooth
is knocked out with a stone. This instrument is called "oie."
147 Small children suffer considerable pain when they teethe; some-
753 times dsao (spirits of sickness) are also at work in this case. [Fig.
17 appears here.]

Sore Throat

753 A sore throat means that //Gauab has made a cord and is
755 drawing it tight around the patient's neck. The doctor must re-
move the cord from the patient; it is about 30 centimeters long
and is like the trap cord (//kao); everyone can see it after the
treatment.

Colds (X'óã)

164 Grippe takes many victims among the Bushmen every year,
513 especially among those who are already tuberculous. In winter,
colds are extraordinarily frequent, since the people lie almost
naked around the fires. In the forest they are fairly well protected
against the wind, but on the open plain the wind changes its di-
rection at night while they are asleep, so that they not only catch
cold but often receive severe burns around the stomach -- although
this applies only to the men; the women sleep at a greater distance
FROM THE FIRE.

[45 cont.]

164 [753] Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The [192] terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no [302] means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is [593] usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy 842 is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine [757] for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is [278] done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband 841 and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on [757] the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least 853 until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished [826] by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur. 164

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care. [515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky [278] sap of a plant called timba. [757]

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams [145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long; 302 the toenails are often fissured.

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, 142
and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff [48]
with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the
men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and
consequently they often seem younger than they are. They [194]
are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man 291
wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather
apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole
animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at [854
the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride, 482
and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which 415
are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people; 237]
they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though [515
they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair 302]
breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped
close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell
beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny [301]
bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear
leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several 609
months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find
them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe
that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the
grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and [342]
made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right 609
into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and 621
didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass un-
til I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which
was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around
it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned,
all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

513 a loud baby snore, saliva from his open mouth moistening Gai's dark skin, but Gai absolutely silent in the fast, still sleep of a hunter. Only Twikwe was not sleeping. She lay on her belly with her chin propped up with one hand as she built a precarious little toy hut out of strips of bark, carefully, the way one builds a card house. When I came by to look at the people she looked at me with her amused, wise-woman's eyes.

515 In the afternoon the young boys naturally woke up first, as they were so entwined that the movement of one was bound to wake the others, and began sleepily to delouse each other, taking turns in pairs, one lying with his head in his partner's lap while his partner searched through his hair, catching and biting the lice he found. Then they cut each other's hair with a razor blade they had got from someone in our expedition, cutting away certain tufts of hair and leaving certain others until patterns on each head were formed, ranging from scalplocks to rather fine designs. One boy had only two tufts left on his entire scalp, one on each side, like a pair of horns; another boy had an egg-shaped pattern of tufts but with two holes of bare scalp showing so that when he bent his head he accidentally presented an oval face with a pair of staring eyes. All the patterns were supposed to be geometric, never intentionally having fantastic or representative designs. Wite's head was shaved entirely, his partner having shown no imagination at all; and his bare head made his ears seem even larger and more pointed, his face more elfin even than before.

It was a gray, hazy afternoon. Below the fine overcast were clusters of little white clouds all grouped together like white flowers. In the west a greak cloudbank was gathering, an ominous sign.

Later, when the young boys had dispersed to play horse and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

into their scherms, and in the morning there was a lake of 132
shining water on the pan and lilies growing everywhere, where only their dry leaves had been before.

After that the rain came often. Some weeks it rained a lit- 132
tle every day, some weeks the rain became torrential and flat- 156
tened the Bushmen's grass scherms, but it made the veld rich and green, with flowers everywhere and all kinds of fruit, which grew on trees and stalks and bushes. The pan became the home of shore birds, marabou storks and flamingos. Leopards and lions drank there, game antelope waded through it, leaving deep tracks in the mud, and the Bushman children [515
sometimes danced in the shallows, their feet making flashing, 142]
rhythmic splashes, or bathed themselves until their skins were shining gold.

One night I went to the werf with a lantern and suddenly found myself beset by insects flying all around me, attracted by the light. It was the mating flight of white ants, which had come out of the ground in great numbers and now filled the air. The Bushman men were away on a hunting trip, un- [222
fortunately, but the women came to the light as quickly as 262]
the ants and began at once to catch them and stuff them into their mouths, saying "*gurico gum*" as they did so, *gurico* being the name of the ants and *gum* the word used for candy, for sweet gum that oozes from the trees, and for sweet caterpillars. Much faster than the women could eat, more and more ants came flying in a swarm as thick as a blizzard and already the ground was white with wings, for the ants, throwing themselves to the earth, would drop their wings instantly and begin to mate with each other in twos, in threes, even forming in great circles that turned as the ants ran scurrying to keep their positions, each one mounted with its forefeet on the back of the ant before it, pushed on by the ant behind. Sometimes an ant would fail to shed its wings and, finding

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

222 the smoke had confused them and they did not sting, although they flew everywhere looking for us. The old man turned his back, hunched his head between his shoulders, and hid from them as one would hide if one were being pelted with stones. When the swarm had dispersed a little he finished the opening. The Bushmen say that when bees are disturbed they are vicious only at first. After a while they become disorganized and confused and they fly about but do not sting you. When you smoke bees you must be careful not [778] to burn them or smoke them too much because they are 825 magic creatures with medicine to control fire, and if you harm them they will cause fire to burn you. A young boy whom we knew once burned some bees, and that night, when he was asleep by the fire, the fire sought him out and burned the skin of his belly, touching him only and no one else.

Lazy Kwi and the old man did the work perfectly. They were not stung badly, the tree was open, and no bees were seriously harmed. Inside the tree we could see the brown combs hanging and the bees as thick as fur around them. Lazy Kwi took out the combs and put them in a wooden bowl, licking his fingers afterward, and before we went back we ate some of the honey. There were two kinds, old honey and new honey, and the new honey was pale yellow and very [262] sweet and mild, winter honey made from the small, dry flowers of the veld. The old honey was much sweeter and strong enough to burn your mouth. Before we left, the old man [515] and Lazy Kwi carefully wiped their hands and arms with grass, for they were covered with honey and things were beginning to stick to them. Then we went back to camp and in the afternoon we packed to go on toward Gautscha Pan.

415 482 Lazy Kwi packed a skin bag full of tsi nuts and the seeds [222] of baobab fruit, alum-like powdery stones that ripen at the start of the dry season. The old man had a huge net bag filled

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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142 159 622 sometimes he would abandon his gravity and laugh a high, reaching laugh that one could hear from far away, a laugh that came from his very soul, or, as Bushmen say, from his stomach. He listened diplomatically and intently whenever 159 153 he was spoken to, staring at the gound, and had a habit of echoing, in a loud falsetto voice, the important phrases of every sentence he was told.

"We went to Keitsa Pan," someone might say to him.

"To Keitsa," Toma would reply.

". . . and we slept there, but the blind flies were very bad . . ."

"Oh, bad, bad . . ."

". . . but in the morning we saw two porcupines . . ."

". . . yes, porcupines . . ."

". . . and we killed them there. We made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry."

159 Toma was considered to be very fortunate in his marriage. 142 Of course it was through his wife, Tu, that he gained the leadership of the Gautscha people, his life free in the veld rather than in serfdom, and his two young sons, but besides all this his wife was beautiful, having a smooth face and great, clear eyes like a cat. Also, she was five feet tall, considered to be a very desirable height, and although no Bushman has ever been too fat, Tu was not too thin and her arms and legs were round. She had soft blue scars curving on her fore- [304] head which made her eyes seem to lift at the corners, and blue scars on her thighs that showed when she walked. Her 159 chief virtues, in the eyes of Bushmen, were that she deco- 577 rated herself with ornaments in her hair and kept her hands [515 301] and face washed, thus demonstrating that she cared what she looked like, rather than letting herself go now that she was married. To show that she observed propriety, cared what

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

481 hurrying because one of the little boys had found a millipede
825 and was trotting behind them carrying it. Bushman women do not like millipedes; millipedes make them very nervous. Someone persuaded the child to drop it, which he did reluctantly. It was a giant, shiny black and a foot long, and it ran away with the front of its body in the air, its head bent like a curbed horse. The little boy watched it go.

515 The women walked through the acacia trees and reached the pan, the shining lake, red now with sunset, and even though the air was getting cool the children ran in the shallow water, splashing, the women crouched on the rocks to bathe. They took off their karosses and bathed their arms and legs and faces, washing all the dust away, then brushed their teeth with their fingers. Beautiful Ungka called for Little Dabe and hung her ornaments on him while she bathed. He ran through the water playing, splashing with the other children, quite unconscious of his gorgeous array. Beautiful Ungka was so supple that as she sat bathing she could lay her body down on the rocks between her raised knees, which she did to reach the water, saving herself the trouble of moving forward.

292 After they had bathed, the young girls made aloe circlets for their heads, red in the red light of the sky, and they seemed very innocent and beautiful, fresh and clean; they dressed themselves slowly as the sun went down, then walked into the water, where they danced, slowly, idly, kicking to make a rhythmic splash.

854 Little Dabe, on the shore now, found the rocks hard on his feet and began to wail, and all alone on top of the rocks, picking his feet up one after the other, he was like a peacock in his ornaments, with his complaining, raucous cry. Beauti-
854 ful Ungka carried him then, although she too was barefoot,
415 bouncing him up and down while the other women rinsed
and filled their ostrich eggshells.

515
262

DELOUSING is a courtesy among kinsmen: the salty-tasting lice are eaten.

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There are about 1,000 !Kung—gathered into 28 bands—who build their ephemeral camps, or *werft*'s, separately in an area of 10,000 square miles. The houses in the *werft*'s are of grass, pressed over a framework of sticks, making small quarter-shells, with their backs to the prevailing wind. Gossamer things, made of the same grass that sways and crowds against their doors, they are positioned in a loose pattern according to their occupants' kinship, and all are held—finally—by the headman, who builds his shelter under the tallest tree.

[622]

From a little distance, when the sound of voices is lost on the wind, one would not know a *werft* was near. The people never return to the same *werft*—preferring to build anew and saying it would not be safe from the spirits of the dead, or sanitary, to do so. Perhaps, also, they find it sad to see the little houses toppling, day by day, into the grass of the new year.

462

AS A STARTING POINT, labor among the !Kung is divided between two basic subsistence activities—hunting game and gathering *veldkos*. Men hunt, because their bodies are better suited to the chase. Women gather, because they could not leave their children for the long periods of hunting that men both enjoy and endure.

222

Women's work—the technology of gathering—is simple and adaptable: the tools are easily acquired, the methods quickly learned. The constant necessity to provide and the almost daily edge of effort slowly bends the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushman FX 10

well as grass chains and bracelets, berries and shells. Glass beads and iron or wire bracelets obtained by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples or from European traders are also in great demand. The men usually content themselves with leather and bark bands, worn round the arm above the biceps and on the leg below the knee.

There is no special style of hair-dressing. The hair is as a rule kept in its natural form, although occasionally the whole or part of the scalp is shaved clean. Some women, however, uncurl little clusters of hair and roll them out with fat, so that they hang down a couple of inches, making a fringe round the head, while girls often tie small ornaments such as beads or shells into their hair.

Washing is altogether unknown, save among those Bushmen who have been much with Europeans. Generally both young and old rub their face and body with fat, and powder themselves with *buchu*, a sweet-smelling powder ground by the women from various kinds of aromatic shrub. Many women carry small tortoise-shells filled with powdered *buchu*, and use a bit of soft bird's nest or else a piece of jackal's tail as a puff (Plate XI). The face and body are also often painted, especially before a dance, not only by the younger women and girls, but occasionally even by the young men. The colours found are chiefly red and black, the former obtained from clay, the latter from charcoal. Both are mixed with fat, and the mixture is smeared on with a finger.

Hottentots

With the advent of European civilization, much of the original Hottentot culture has disappeared. Their clothing especially has been almost everywhere completely replaced by garments of European pattern, and it is rarely, if at all, that the old native dress can still be seen. But from the descriptions of the earlier writers it is possible to obtain a fairly clear picture of what the Hottentots wore before European clothing became so widely adopted as now to be their universal dress.[1]

The clothing of both men and women consisted principally in front and rear aprons of skin, depending from a leather thong tied

[1] The fullest descriptions of the old Hottentot dress are given by: P. Kolb, *Reise zum Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 1719 (new ed. by P. Germann, 1922), 84–96; Fritsch, op. cit., 309–13, 357–8, 373; von Francois, *Nama und Damara*, 205–7; Hahn, "Die Nama-Hottentotten," 307; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 83–6; Schultze, *Aus Mamaland und Kalahari*, 233–52 *passim*, 207–11 (decoration); Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 183–94 (dress and decoration).

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

482

1. Women return in the evening after the day's digging and gathering of wild roots and berries

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2. A husband, wife, and their son at their family fire cooking their supper of two wild roots which the wife brought. Her genital apron is a fine one ornamented with beads

[p. 348-A]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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3. Gau (centre) with his two wives in front of their scherm. The younger second wife, Khuan//a, holds her son in her arms. The three boys in front are the sons of Be, the first wife, at Gau's right

4. /Ti/kay in the best of moods

[p. 348-B]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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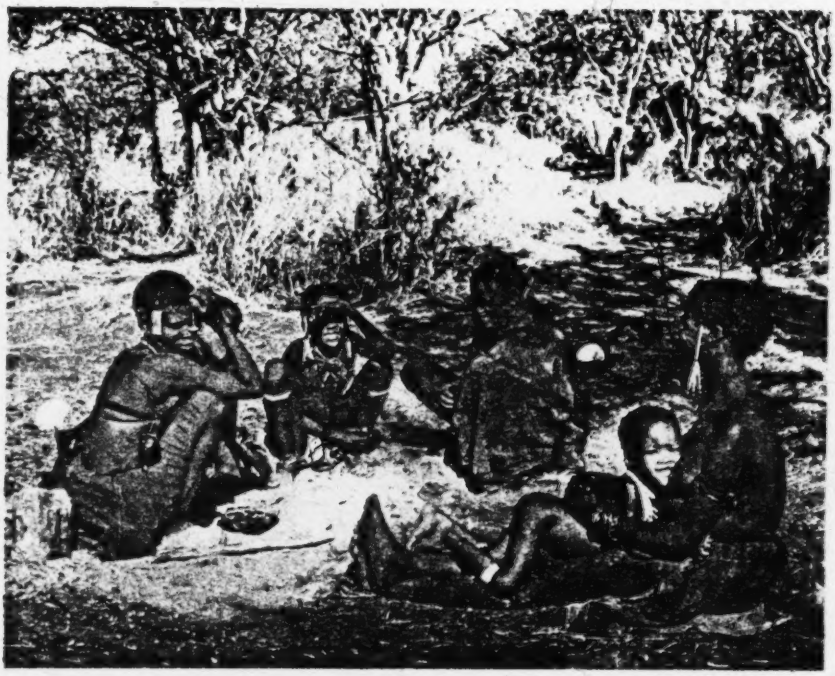

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5. The two wives of /Ti/kay sit at their family fire, /Naoka the elder sister to the left, /Nai the younger, with her son on her lap, to the right. Between them are Bau, /Naoka's daughter, already married for two years, and /Goishay, their old mother

6. /Nai, the young bride, the morning after the wedding. showing the design painted on her face by her mother with powdered red stone and fat

[p. 348-C]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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7. The wedding scherm, the morning after the wedding. To the right are /Gunda, the bridegroom, and one of the boys who attended him, playing the //guashi. /Nai is to the left with her two attendants beside her. Tsamgao has gone to sit by the girls instead of remaining on the men's side

8. ≠Toma the leader

[p. 348-D]

2: Kaufmann--60 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10

Auen

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[415]

Auin from Olifantskluft. Photo. 1.

Photo. 3.

Photo. 5

Auin from Rietfontein (North)

Auen

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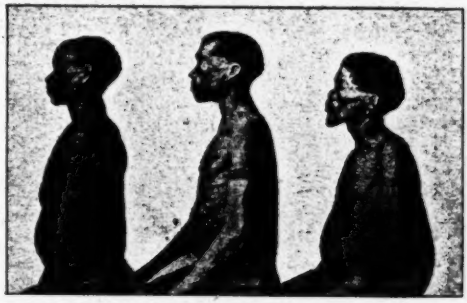
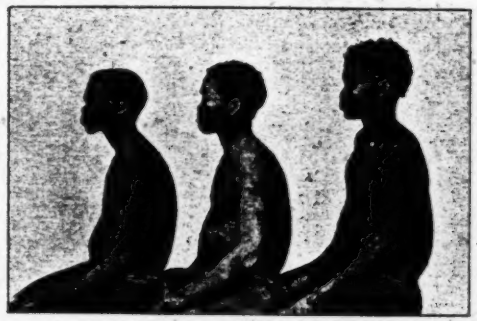
Photo. 2 [see Photo. 1]
ǂAuin from Olifantskluft

[301]



Age about 45 50 35 years
Photo. 4 [see Photo. 3]



Age about 17 25 22 years
Photo. 6 [see Photo. 5]
ǂAuin from Rietfontein (North)

Auen

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≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Photo. 7

≠ Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Photo. 9

Photo. 11

≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)

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Auen

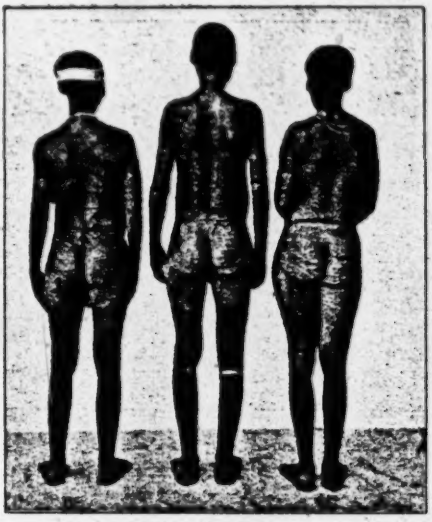

Photo. 14 [see Photo. 13]
ǂAuin from Rietfontein (North)

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Photo. 16.
Windscreen Half-covered.

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[516]

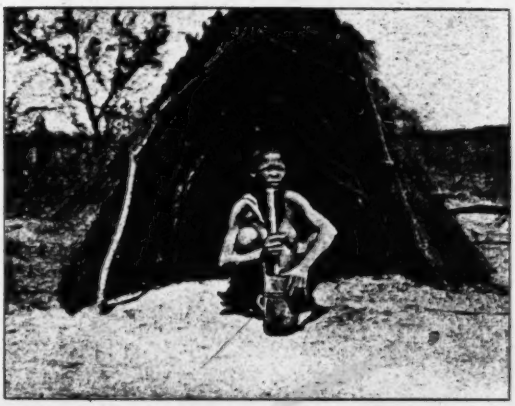

Photo. 18.
Windscreen (covered) and Mortar with Pestle.

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Auen

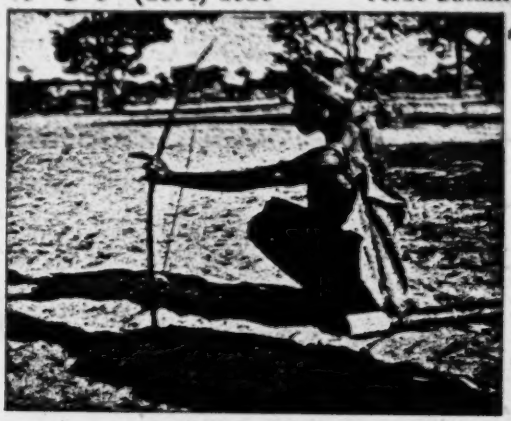

Photo. 29.

Photo. 31.
Ways of Shooting Bows and Arrows.

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Photo. 33.
Game of
Chance.

2: Kaufmann--73 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Photo. 36.
Dancing Game of the Women [see Photo. 37].

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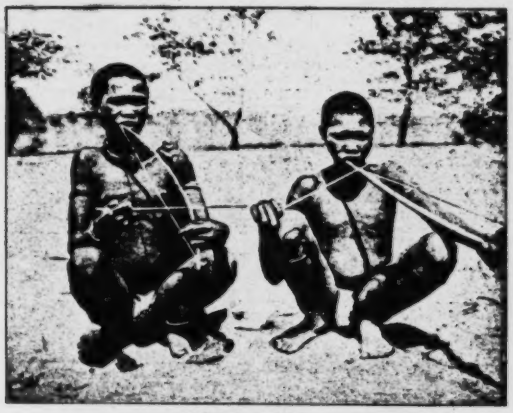

Photo. 38.
Musical Bows.

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Photo. 40.
Porcupine Dance.

2: Kaufmann--75 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Photo. 44.
Betrothal or Marriage.

Photo. 43.
Extending the Hand in Greeting.

/22 cont./

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appropriated a number of little trees and planted them in front of his house. On one occasion when he was in town with his Bushmen, the original owner of the trees declared that in the afternoon he was going to see about it. The Bushmen heard this and disappeared. When the two Whites came to the farm, the little trees had disappeared. The Bushmen had run ahead and had hurriedly removed them on their own initiative.

181 The Bushmen are at all times courageous and steadfast people, characteristics which, indeed, their very way of life would produce.

831 The Bushmen strictly avoid talking about sexual matters
[864] in the presence of women and children. Just as in general they are a people without imagination, they do not have any form of the more subtle erotic phantasies.

The endless obscene stories that one hears from the Blacks as soon as he has gained their confidence are unknown among the Bushmen.

The sexual element is absent in their religious cele-
[535] brations, but it finds expression in many of their dances, which imitate the love play of animals.

834 On the whole, their sense of modesty cannot be denied, even though, naturally, they do not have such decent forms of conduct as the genteel Bantu, among whom it is regarded as extremely improper to look at the breasts of the women. The
[516] girls and women never sit in the typical squatting position, but rather sit on the ground with the legs crossed.

(576) Although the life of the Bushmen within the encampment is openly in view, those principles that we regard as natural tact are nonetheless observed.

[514] The Bushman performs his necessities at all times out of sight of the others, and love scenes are never enacted in public.

114 It is naturally very difficult to learn anything more
124 precise concerning the more intimate details of sexual life

[24 cont.]
000 they had never seen any. A certain dry humor spiced their con-
522 versation. I once said to a Bushman: "If you tell me this, you
161 will get whatever you want." He answered: "Good, I shall speak
157 and you will give me your automobile." Their imagination is
123 very poor; in this respect they are much too accurate as observers of nature. Once a young Bushman woman with two children came to me and wanted to buy some sugar. I said to her: "I won't sell you anything, but you will get the sugar if you tell me some children's stories, for example, about animals." After some hesi-
[538] tation she began the story of Arri, the guinea hen. It was no fairy tale, but a detailed account concerning this important food bird. She even imitated the calls of the guinea hen, "for example, when someone comes and there is danger, then they say, 'gannana he gannana he,' but when they are alone and enjoying themselves, then they go 'gi gi gi.'" The children had to imi-
[861] tate this until they were able to mimic the sound accurately. Then it was the turn of the sand hen, which says, "gi ganna gi ganna"; then the ostrich, which goes, "hmm, hmm, hmm"; then the gum bird [Harzvogel], which says, "hai-dschi, hai-dschi," and the owl, "mhm, m."

3. Posture, Movement, Stamina

●516 As a result of his marked lordosis, the Bushman never assumes a posture that would conform to our military ideal; he almost always stands with his stomach somewhat protruding.

481 The way the Bushmen run is very peculiar and would justify detailed study. [25] The run is really a continuous fast walk, in which the legs are kicked forward, but the lower thighs are never brought back high, as is the case with our runners. The body is held as straight as possible, and the head up, not forward (1).

[113] 1. E. v. Eickstedt (Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit [Ethnology and History of Mankind], p. 556) states: "The foot is put in a peculiar transverse position, which makes the track in the sand easily

[25 cont.]

481 recognizable -- a characteristic that during the old Bushman persecutions cost many thousands of these unfortunate and peculiar hominid creatures their miserable existence. The walk of the Sanides is also peculiar; they do not walk, they prance. Out of habit they always raise their knees and feet as though they were walking among the sharp grasses and thorn bushes of their homeland. This, like the swaying walk of sailors, is of course, a secondary, acquired characteristic, not a racial one."

I prefer, nevertheless, to regard the walk of the Bushmen as somewhat racially conditioned.

516 The sitting position of the Bushman is the squatting position that is practiced by so many primitive peoples and was probably at one time universal among mankind. At the same time, their position differs from that of the Blacks, insofar as the latter usually squat in such a way that the bones of the ischium do not touch the ground, whereas this is the case among the Bushmen. As a result, when they squat, they bend their backs quite far and must spread their legs apart.

513 When sleeping, the Bushman lies rolled up on his right or left side. The children all cuddle up to the mother to sleep.

147 The muscle power of the Bushmen is very weak. The dynamometric measurements that I carried out show that the pushing power of adult men is less than that of European working women; it only amounts to between 30 and 40 kilograms, whereas European women achieve approximately 60 kilograms, men engaged in light work average 80 kilograms, and European heavy workers and the smiths among us reach an average of 120 and more kilograms. Black heavy workers attain an average of only 80 kilograms. Thus, the Black on the average is twice as strong as a Bushman, and the White is three times as strong.

At the same time, there is no essential difference between the sexes among the Bushmen themselves.

3: Lebzelter--161 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

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Camp of the !Kung along the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

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The author Negotiating with !Kung Bushmen in the Otjimpolo Veld.

Plate III. !Kung

3: Lebzelter--166 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

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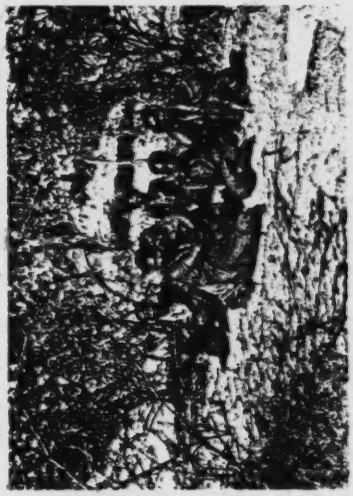

Plate VIII. Children of the !Kung Bushmen.

/241 cont./

128 Tables giving all the /242/ measurements for each individual, are attached, as are forms for the observations concerning the descriptive characteristics of the individuals measured.

141 The average values for the adults measured are as follows:

	Men	Women
1. Body height	155.3	149.7
2. Height of the chin above the ground	135.7	130.6

[142] [291] [30] [342] [516]

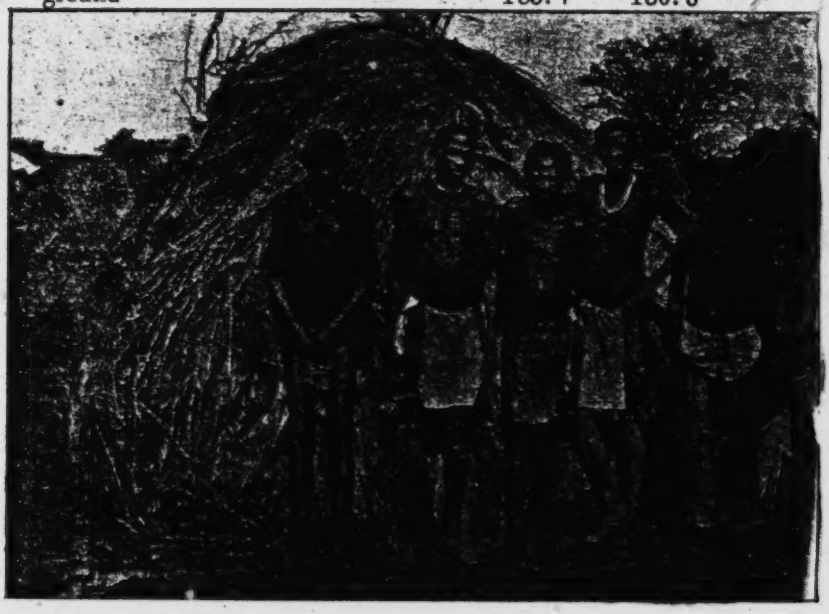

Fig. 1. Heikum Bushmen. Men.

3. Height of the navel above the ground	93.2	90.4
4. Height of the upper edge of the symphysis above the ground	82.2	79.6
[Fig. 1 appears here.]		
5. Height of the acromion above the ground	130.5	124.9
6. Height of the elbow joint above the ground	99.9	96.5
7. Height of the projection of the radius above the ground	76.0	73.4

/247 cont./

144 conclusive evidence /248/ against any notion of racial kinship between the Bushmen and the Hottentot.

The arms are thin and not very muscular; the hands are small
142 and very delicate. In contrast to the musculature of the arms, that of the legs is better developed. The arch of the foot is good; only in one case did I observe flat feet.

The big toe is pointed straight and shows neither a deviation

[291]
[301]
[516]

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

toward the median line of the foot nor one away from it.

In most cases the second toe extends farthest, but in two cases it was exceeded by the first toe. The second and first or second and third toe of some of the others examined extended the same distance. The following table gives more exact information on this matter:

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Wakeldi Women (Hei //om).
N.W. Ovamboland.

[FACING p. 81]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Naron (//aikwe) Woman in Ceremonial Dress of Ostrich Shell Beadwork.
Sandfontein, Gobabis.

[FACING p. 89]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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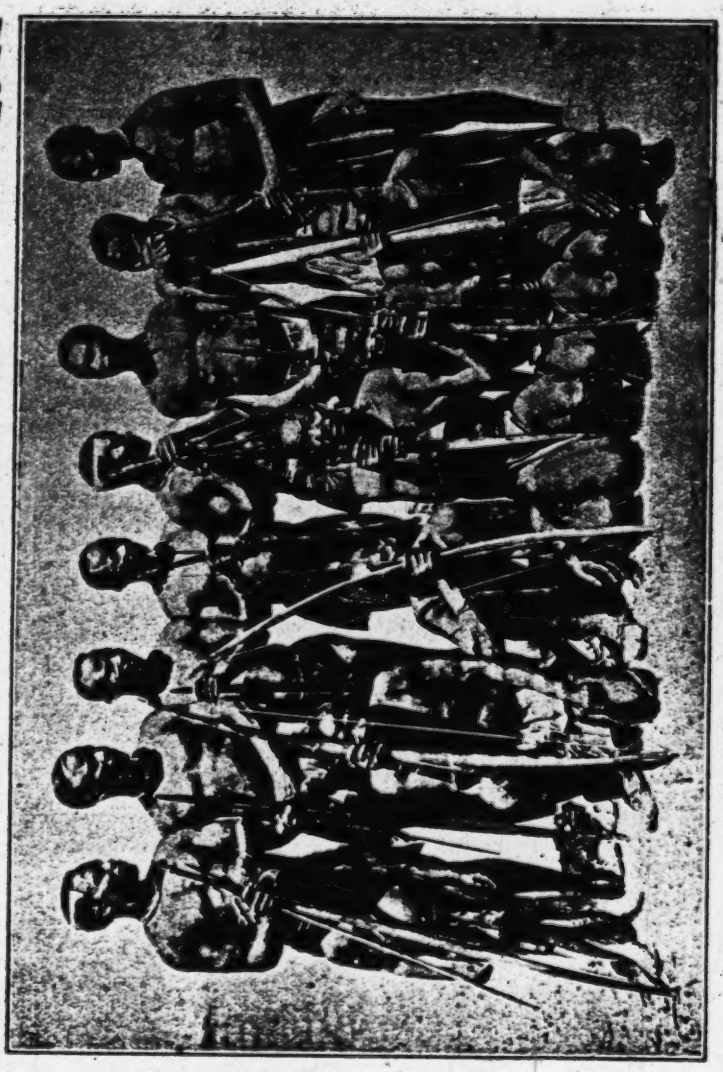

Wakeddi Bushmen (Hei //om).
N.W. Ovamboland.

[FACING p.100]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

291 Both men were thin, brown-skinned, and wore nothing but loincloths, and they looked very out of place next to us, among our big trucks and boxes of equipment, squatting naked like two frogs against the long grass and reddening sky of their country. We sat by the fire to talk with them, and it was the old man who answered our questions. His name was [194 Ukwane, and he seemed very old, for he spoke with a hesi- 551] tant, cracked voice that faded into a whisper at the end of every phrase, and whenever some of us would leave or join the group at the fire he would stare intently at us, frowning, [164] leaning forward a little because he could barely see us, his eyes being filmed with cataracts, hazy blue.

142 Ukwane had great wrinkles lengthwise down his belly where his paunch had shrunk. His hands were knobbed and his shoulders stiff, yet his legs were as supple as a baby's, for [514] he sat crouched with his knees in the air and his heels tucked up tight against his buttocks. His skin looked old, too, like [302] old leather, hardened and black like a glove that has been left in the rain, and his curly hair was disheveled, uncut, untidy with pieces of straw.

609 Our questions frightened Ukwane, and often he was at a loss for something to reply. He thought we were policemen coming to look for some lost horses, for somehow a rumor had reached into the farthest corners of the veld that a European farmer had lost seven horses and all the people in the veld were afraid for their lives. The first thing he said was that he hadn't seen any horses and certainly hadn't taken them himself. He was too old, he said. We told him that we were not policemen and, besides, had never heard of the horses, but he was not reassured. He coughed and turned to the young man, who looked at us with nothing to say.

609 The young man was also very shy, but had a greater dignity 194 than Ukwane because of his cool, proud bearing. He said

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 bush beside her fireplace. Also, she brought out six round
222 green melons which are called *tsama* melons, and which, during the autumn, provide the only liquid available for all the Bushmen in the desert, and for all the game antelope be-
[271 sides. Under the green rind a tsama is very like a watermelon,
312] filled with small oval seeds and very watery in texture, but is itself pale green and smaller, the size of a small cantaloupe.
[516] Tsetchwe placed one between her feet and, gripping it firmly with her strong toes, chopped a hole in the top of it with her digging-stick; then, lifting the cap away like the lid of a jack-
271 o'-lantern, she mashed the pulp inside until it was liquid. She put the melon to her mouth and, tipping her head back, drank from it, using her long digging-stick to help push the pulp into her mouth, working it like an enormous chopstick, making a watery noise as she sucked. When Tsetchwe had collected a mouthful of seeds she put the melon down, took an old, dry tsama melon rind from her kaross, and spat the seeds into it to save them, for they can be roasted and eaten like nuts when they are dry. Tsetchwe drank all the liquid in
[264] the rind and seemed refreshed as she cast the empty rind over her shoulder and brushed off her mouth and hands.

609 At last Gai strode back into the werf, followed at a distance
621 by a group of three small boys and, much farther, by three old women who stood waist-deep in bushes, close together like three antelope, craning their necks to see us.

609 When they noticed Tsetchwe and Ukwane, they came for-
276 ward with more confidence, accepted tobacco, and, squatting
621 immediately, began to smoke. It had been months, Ukwane said, since they had used their last tobacco, had been reduced to smoking leaves, and they were very happy to have the tobacco we had give them. Bushmen love to smoke. They say
[26] that tobacco, as well as the wild beans, takes away hunger and thirst, and, besides that, it makes their hearts glad. One

women because, say the men, women's voices are admirably 533
beautiful.

Twikwe and Tsetchwe sat side by side, their legs straight [516]
out in front of them, the soles of their feet lit by the fire. 535
They sang gaily and clapped their hands while the baby 562
Nhwakwe walked up and down on Tsetchwe's leg, balancing himself like a child who is walking on a railing, then climbed to her shoulder and stood there triumphantly without holding on, gazing around like a child on a hill. He looked utterly astonished when Tsetchwe suddenly swept him to the ground and, flinging off her cape, jumped to her feet and began to dance. Everyone was astonished. Women almost never dance, although they are quite welcome to, but least of all Tsetchwe, a very conscientious mother and wife.

Tsetchwe's dance was extremely lively and extremely gay, and everyone except Nhwakwe looked up at her happily. She sang and waved her arms with great abandon, and danced her gay dance right behind the men, just for once flinging motherhood to the four winds and dancing right over her baby, who came trotting sadly after her, holding up his arms to be carried. In a moment the baby gave up and went to the lap of his grandmother, frowning as his mother danced happily by him again. When Tsetchwe finally got tired and flung herself down on the ground he ran to her and nursed immediately to reassure himself. She held him loosely in one arm as she coughed from exertion and laughed, with a pleased, shy expression on her face that said: this is what I used to do when I was younger.

When the people were tired of dancing they still seemed 821
to feel like talking, and as the moon was down and the stars showed clearly we asked Ukwane to tell us something about the sky, and we pointed to several stars to learn their names.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

severed vine from the bush it clung to and tossed it into the 222
sunlight. "Look," she said again, assuming that I would now recognize a ga vine when I saw one; but although I examined it closely, it still looked like any other vine to me.

Again she bent over the hole, leaning over so far that her [516] ●
head came between her knees, and grasped the huge root with both hands. She tugged so hard that I heard her joints crack, but the root was wedged and she couldn't move it. She took up her digging-stick again, panting now, and struck the rocks, and the point of her digging-stick splintered.

"Ai," she said, exasperated, sitting back on her heels to [516]
carve a new point with her knife. She bent again, pried at the rocks, pried at the root, but it was useless, she couldn't move it. Then she relaxed, resting for a moment as she rubbed her sore shoulders before she got to her feet and walked away, beckoning with her head for me to follow. We would leave it.

We wandered about haphazardly for a time, looking for a vine, and presently I saw one twisted around some grass blades, binding them together in a tuft. I pointed it out to her, but she smiled and shook her head, turning her hands [201]
palm upward in the gesture for nothing. She meant that it was a useless species of vine, marking nothing below. Later, as we walked along, she laughed. Twikwe was charmed by the mistakes the members of our expedition made, for they were always elementary and, to her, very diverting.

Keeping her eyes on the ground, Twikwe noticed a tiny crack in the sand. She scooped at it with the point of her digging-stick, tipped out a truffle, and picked it up almost without stopping. As we walked on she broke it in half, put half in her kaross, and offered half to me. I ate it. It was light brown and had a delicious, salty flavor. Truffles grow an inch

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Ukwane eats a tsama melon, the source of food and all water for Bushmen during the drought.

[p. 112(c)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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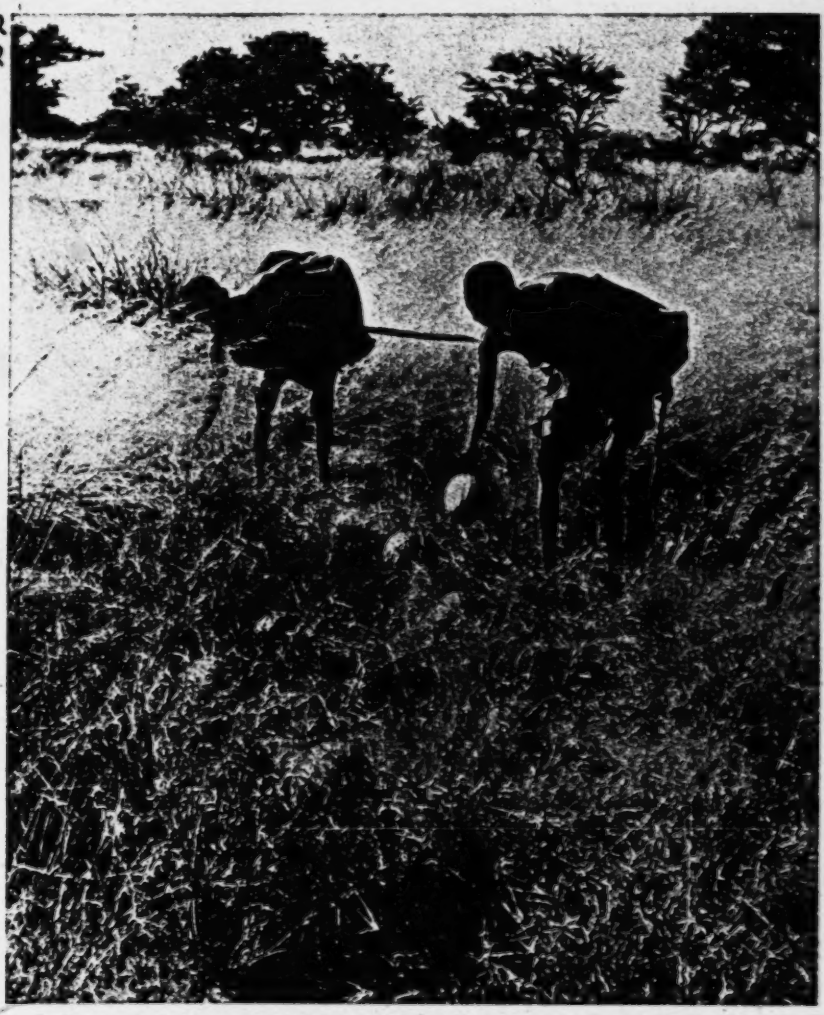

Tsama melons, on their vines, are almost hidden in the yellow grass, but Dasina and Twikwe find them.

[p. 112 (D)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Twikwe was a lanky old woman. She sometimes wound a medicine string around her belly to ward hunger away.

This is Gai's house, this bare sand under the branch of a tree.

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[p. 112(E)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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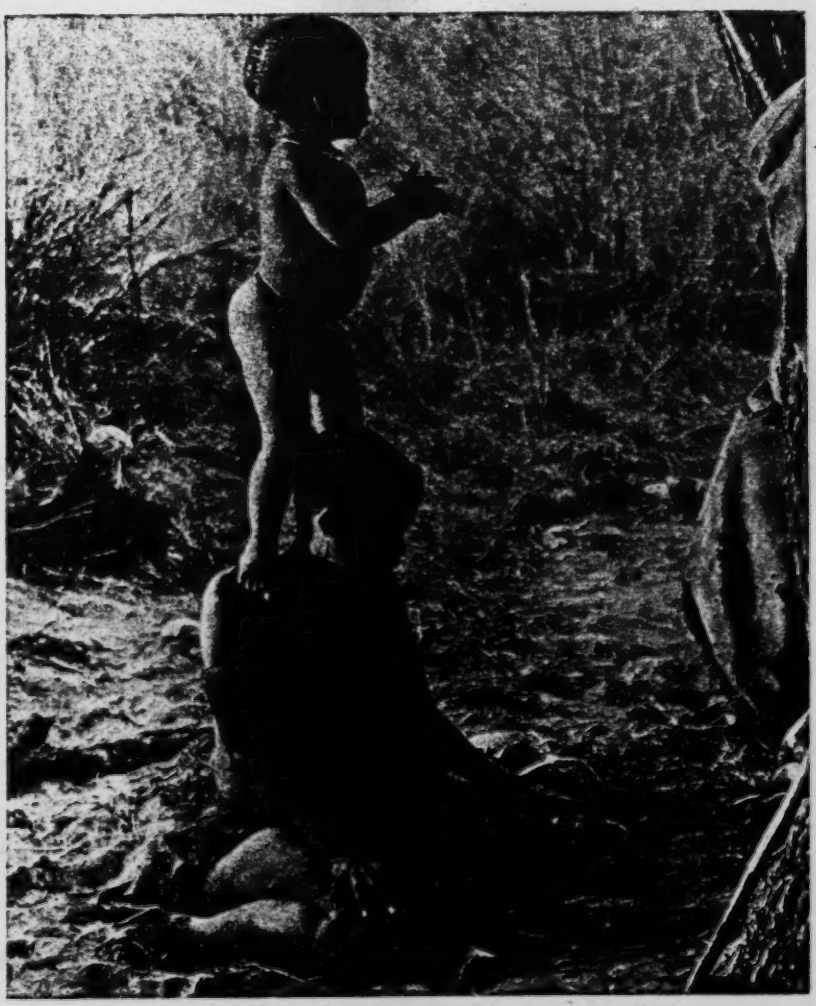

He climbed to her shoulder and stood there triumphantly without holding on, gazing around like a child on a hill.

[p. 112 (F)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

We had stayed up to watch the children's games and also to 821
observe Orion setting, for the Bushmen tell a story of the 538
stars in Orion which takes place in the sky every night at certain seasons and we wanted to see it for ourselves. The story is simply that the god, who at the time the story takes place is standing on one of the Magellan clouds, shoots an arrow at three zebras. The arrow is Orion's sword, the zebras are the three stars of Orion's belt, the star in the center being a male zebra and the two stars flanking him his wives. The arrow falls short, as one can see, and presently, as the constellation touches the horizon, the zebras step upon the earth, first a female, then the male, then the other female. It is slow and deliberate, and that night we saw it plainly. The zebras vanished into the brush at the horizon, but the arrow was still there.

When the constellation had gone, when many of the peo- 533
ple were asleep and we were about to leave the werf, Ukwane 534
took out his hunting-bow and, setting one tip on a dry melon shell, he began to tap the string with a reed, making a sound. Soon he played a song, humming a melody and playing an accompaniment on his bow.

He sat alone at his fire, his wife a tiny heap under her 533
kaross and fast asleep some distance away. He was squatting, [516]
his eyes on the embers of his fire, holding one end of the bow with his toes. With the fingers of one hand he touched the string, making different notes, and when he wanted to change the pitch he turned his head slightly, catching the other end of the string with his chin.

His song was a mood piece, as are all Bushman songs except the medicine songs. It was a song of pure music without words, a song composed to express a feeling the composer had had, a mood, or an emotion. The mood songs do have names or titles, but these only tell the subject of the piece,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Long reeds almost filled the waterhole at Gautscha.

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Alone at his fire, Ukwane plays a mood song.

[p. 176(A)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Crooked Kwi and his wife, who once had run away from him.

Dikai made a bow from a branch, an arrow from a reed, and gave them to her younger son.

868
854
441
301
302
142
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[p. 176(C)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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142

302
142
291
534
516

Toma's son, the new owner of Short Kwi's crown of badger hair.

The young musician—the lonely, brooding man who played the guashi.

[p. 176(D)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

142
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Beautiful Ungka's cousin, and the little girl who was content to follow her and be her handmaiden.

[p. 176(E)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

The old man who had never shot a buck, who had never married, now almost blind, too thin, and without people.

142
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589
888

Tu made Norna clothes of ostrich-eggshell beads, an art taught to Bushmen by the gemsbok people.

142
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237

[p. 176 (G)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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The shining lake of Nama.

In the middle of the circle the great tree rose, pink-skinned and mighty, the claimer of two lives.

137

[p. 176 (H)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

513 That night it was so cold that no one wanted to leave the fire and when finally everyone was at my camp, settled close to each other, side by side, with their bellies warmed by the heat and their shoulders covered by their capes, their backs 521 turned against the enormous veld where the cold wind blew and where the dark was coming, they began to entertain themselves with conversation, their favorite pastime.

516 The adults held their elbows on their raised knees and cupped their hands under their chins to cast little shadows into their eyes, for in this way they could see clearly over the bright fire. Close to the fire even the children were not cold. The older children sat up like the adults, although they were naked and the adults had capes, and the younger children slept in their parents' arms, warm between the fire and their parents' skin.

136 Before the darkness had come totally I left the fire to look through the little forest for wood, and as soon as I was off among the trees a way I was quite alone; I could not see the firelight and the voices did not reach me, and as I walked around in the frost and the gloom I could hear my footsteps crackling the grass. When I stopped walking to pick up an icy stick I could still hear the grass crackling, and when I looked around I saw, not too far away, a pair of mongooses, a male and a female, with five little ones. They were eating seeds from the pods of a plant and when they saw me they ran, all in an orderly line, and when they were gone the forest seemed very empty, for I could see through the trees to the desolate plains beyond, and up through the branches to the sky, where stars were showing, far away. A partridge rose in front of me—I had chased it from its bed. I could hear it calling as it flew, lost out in the veld now, and when I had a 313 bundle of sticks I found my way home.

372 Dikai had been out for sticks in the opposite direction and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-19[illegible])1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

with empty veld around it, veld without veld food, without 271
tracks of game, and we stopped to drink. The waterhole's name was Nam Ta Kwara (Here Is Nothing). Crooked Kwi was the only one who was thirsty, so he climbed alone out of the jeep, the hunting-bow on his shoulder arching over his [516] head, and walked to the water's edge, where he crouched on the white sand all pocked by the tiny feet of birds to dip up water in one long hand and drink it out of his palm. With his body bent easily, his back arched, he was so graceful and lithe that he looked like a serpent or an otter and I wondered again why his name was Crooked Kwi. A white moth touched the surface of the water to drink beside him, and afterward a wasp.

Behind Kwi's head the smoke in the north and west was so thick it seemed that all the Belgian Congo and Angola were in flames, and the sun was swallowed by the smoke, and a gray, soft darkness fell long before the sun had really set.

When we got near Nama Pan it was dark and we saw our 574
camp by its fires, but greatly expanded now as there were perhaps twenty fires where before there had been three. It looked like the camp of an army, for there were fires all over the rise above the pan, arranged in little groups, cluster by cluster, each fire casting light on the branches of a little tree or bush. These were the fires of Bushmen who had come in our absence and at the sight of them the Bushmen in the jeep put up their heads to see who the newcomers were.

At camp many people had got to their feet and were standing silhouetted by their fires as they peered into the dark; they had undoubtedly been listening to the sound of our jeep for hours, and when we stopped there was a crowd already waiting. The people who had been riding, relieved to have arrived at last, climbed out stretching to greet them. The children were taken out, yawning sleepily, the youngest ones whining

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ing got louder, we heard the low sound of stamping feet and 535
the low singing of the men's voices, no longer obscured by 857
the pure, high singing of the women, and when we were there we were inside the cloud of red, luminous dust, and the sounds of rattles and clapping rang in our ears.

More and more women joined the singing girls, each throwing some sticks on the dance fire as she came, then finding a place to squat in the circle, the others shuffling apart to make room, and soon the fire burned up brightly, lighting the dust stirred up by the dancers' feet and showing the huddled circle of women, who by now looked like a flock of birds [516] crouched on the ground, they were so tightly crowded, their karosses like hunched, folded wings and their heads up alertly; the bright dance fire showed too the oval faces of the visitors, the smallest ones near the ground, the larger ones a little higher, and as more and more men appeared from the darkness to join the dance the dust cloud rose higher and thicker until it seemed to shine of itself, like a veil or an illusion, and you couldn't be sure if what you saw was there before you or reflected.

Within an hour everyone was there. It behooves one to go [775] to a medicine dance because the spirits of the dead, waiting in the shadows around the dance fire and on their paths above the veld, might carry off a person if he stayed at home alone.

In the circle, one man was dancing with his child on his 535
shoulder, and the child, naked and golden-skinned on the naked brown shoulder, looked gravely down. Other children were dancing, Little Dabe and Little Gashe among them, Little Gashe carrying Little Dabe again, going slower and slower because he was tired. At last Beautiful Ungka picked 535 854
up both Little Gashe and his passenger, put them in her

271
516

[3.19]

252
●516

IN ANNUAL CEREMONY, above, a girl is guided as she lifts a *tsi* nut from the fire. She is now free to eat *tsi* for a year.

[p. 58]

521
516

WHEN THEY GATHER, the men are most likely to discuss hunting—the great exploits of memory, or plans for the future. For the chase is their passion.

787

ORACLE DISKS, *bottom left*, are made from eland hide, in sets of five. The !Kung often use them to determine the direction of their next hunting foray.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

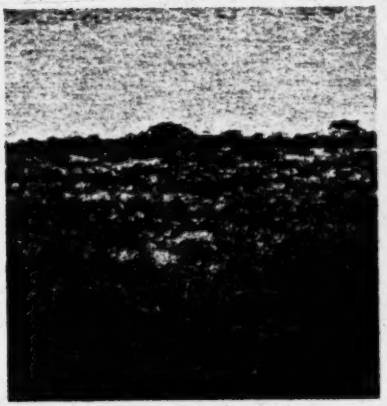

FIG. 1. The clustered scherms of a /Kung werf (left) are hardly visible in the grass and brush of the veld

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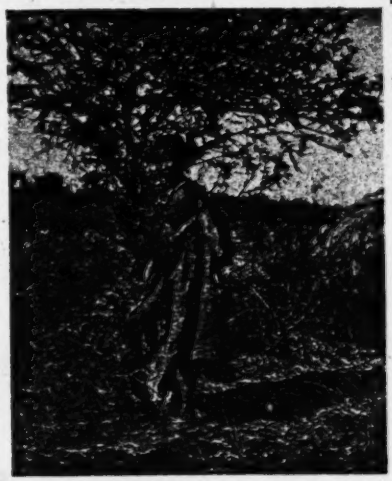
[516]

FIG. 2. Groups from Band 1 and visitors sitting at three family fires

FIG. 3. Khuan//a thinking things over after 'the talk'



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301

FIG. 4. /U, the wife of ≠Toma, with an expression which is characteristic of her

[p. 240-A]

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[212]
[306]

[151]

FIG. 5. Old /Gam making ostrich egg-shell beads. Some cowrie shells from the South Seas (via New York) dangle among her ornaments

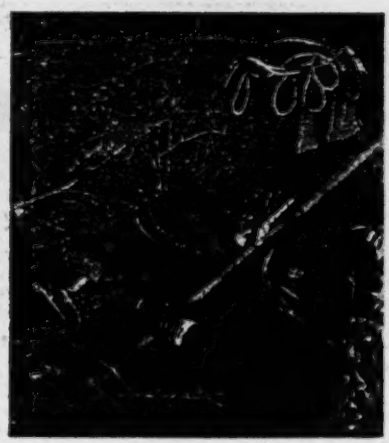

FIG. 6. Powers of observation are highly trained. This girl had seen, in the tangle of grass, a dry, hair-thin, brown vine stem which revealed that there was an edible root to be dug

342
516

[142]
[301]

FIG. 7. Talking in the afternoon

FIG. 8. ≠Toma laughing

[p. 240-B]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

FIG. 9. With all space around them, they sit shoulder to shoulder, ankle across ankle. One of the boys plays a *//guashi*

FIG. 10. A mother and child asleep. Babies are held and carried most of the time. When they play they are never far from their parents

516 [534] [554]

FIG. 11. Old Gau lends an arrow to his son-in-law, /Qui

FIG. 12. ≠Toma carrying his share of meat in a first distribution

516 482

[p. 240-C]

347
516

FIG. 13. One of the hunters (in the background) brings a hindquarter of meat to the owner of the arrow and lays it on branches beside his scherm

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481
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FIG. 14. Kham, a lame man, swings himself along with two sticks. He cannot hunt. Meat which some relatives or friends have given him hangs on the tree. His wife pounds some food with mortar and pestle

[p. 240-D]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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FIG. 15. It is polite to sit aside and wait to be asked to share someone's portion of meat

FIG. 16. A father and child in anxious reverie

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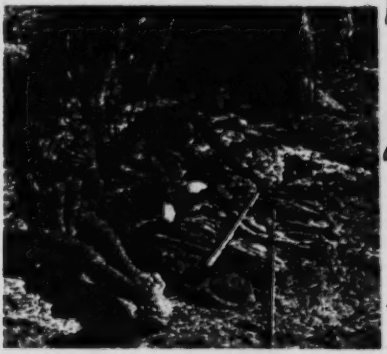

FIG. 17. All the possessions of Gao Medicine (left) and his wife, Di/ai

[p. 240-E]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

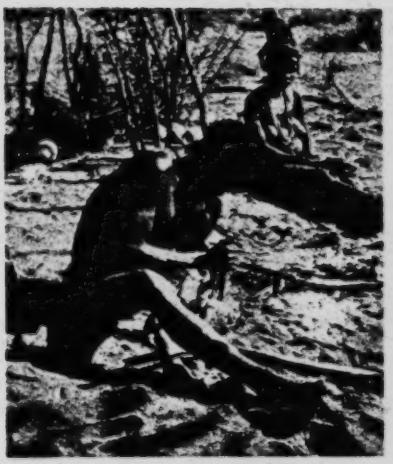

FIG. 21. Gao Beard hammers out a spear blade. His young second wife sits composedly beside him at the family fire. She did not build a scherm for Gao when they settled this time. The upright sticks around their grass bed serve to symbolize home. The object which looks like a club behind Gao is an adze handle. His fire scraper lies in front of him

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FIG. 22. A man cooking meat in a Bantu clay pot (obtained by trade)

[415]
[439]

FIG. 23. Smoking a soapstone pipe

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142

FIG. 24. Old Demi, grey-haired, is in his seventies. We figured his age roughly from his telling us that when he was a young adult he was, by chance, an unwilling witness lying under a log to a skirmish of the German–Herero war

[P. 240-G]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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1. Whirlwinds in the huge veld fires become pillars of cloud by day

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2. The oracle disks

[p.228 (A)]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

516
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4. The jani bird toy

524

5. Boys catch the jani bird with sticks before it touches the ground and toss it high into the air again

[p. 228 (c)]

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585
516

A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

342
[283]

digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

372
[594]
[213]

The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

361

The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

621
[162]
[101]
[372]

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221

The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

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324

ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

[p. 256]

2:Schapera E-4,5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

142
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[facing p. 122]

L. Fourie

AUEN GIRL

L. Fourie

NARON WOMAN IN CEREMONIAL DRESS OF BEADWORK

[*face p.* 122

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

PLATE X

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411
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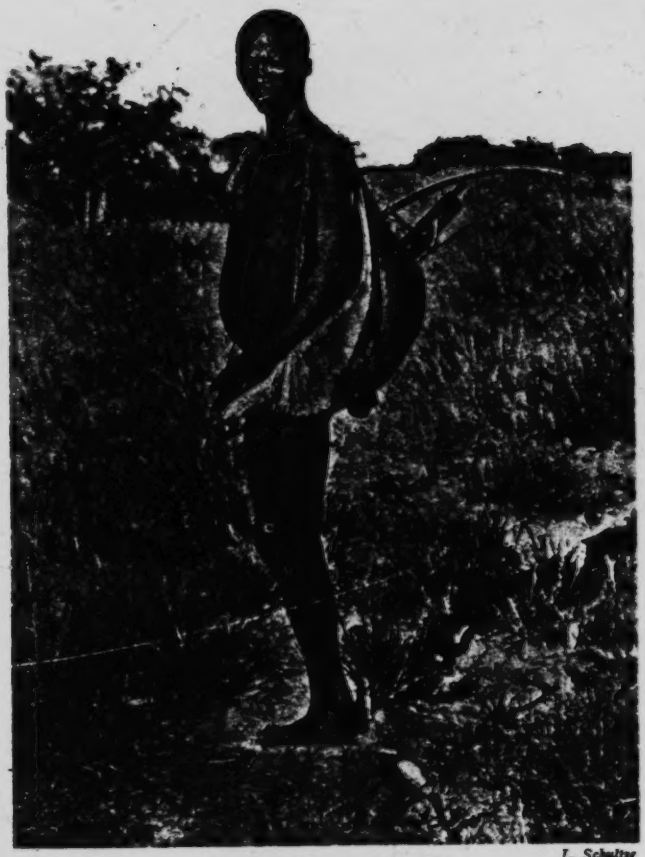

L. Schultze

"MOSARWA," S. KALAHARI,
Carrying Bow and Quiver

[face p. 140

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

unexpectedly long in making a return gift the people discuss this. One man was excused by his friends because his wife, they said, had got things into her hands and made him poor, so that he now had nothing suitable to give. Sometimes, on the other hand, people were blamed for being ungenerous (' far-hearted ') or not very capable in managing their lives, and no one defended them for these defects or asked others to have patience with them.

As far as we know, only two general subjects are taboo in conversation. Men and women must not speak openly together of sexual matters except as they make jokes in the joking relationship. The /Kung avoid speaking the names of the gods aloud and do not converse about the gods for fear of attracting their attention and perhaps their displeasure. They told us their myths, but only when we asked them to. It is evidently not the habit of these Bushmen to recount the myths as they sit by their fires. They do not invent stories. They said they had no interest in hearing things that are not true and wonder why anybody has.

While a person speaks the listeners are in vibrant response, repeating the phrases and interposing a contrapuntal ' eh '. ' Yesterday ', ' eh ', ' at Deboragu ', ' eh ', ' I saw old /Gaishay.' ' You saw Old /Gaishay ', ' eh, eh '. ' He said he had seen the great python under the bank.' ' EH! ', ' The PYTHON! ' ' He wants us ', ' eh, eh, eh ', ' to help him catch it '. The ' ehs ' overlap and coincide with the phrase and the people so often all talk at once that one wonders how anyone knows what the speaker has said.

Bursts of laughter accompany the conversations. Sometimes the /Kung laugh mildly with what I would call a sense of humour about people and events, often they shriek and howl as though laughter were an outlet for tension. They laugh at mishaps that happen to other people, like the lions eating up someone else's meat, and shriek over particularly telling and insulting sexual sallies in the joking relationship. Individual singing of lyrical songs, accompanied by the *//guashi*, or snatches of the medicine music, the playing of rhythmical games, the ceremonial dances themselves occupy the evenings, as well, but mostly the evening hours are spent in talk.

' A talk ', as the /Kung call it, differs from a conversation or an arranged, purposeful discussion. It flares spontaneously, I believe from stress, when something is going on in which people are seriously concerned and in disagreement. I think that no formalities control it. Anyone who has something he wants to say joins in. People take sides and express opinions, accusing, denying, or defending persons involved. I witnessed one ' talk ' only, in 1952, which I mentioned before[1] and should mention again in this context. It occurred over a gift-giving episode at the time of /Nai's betrothal and involved persons in Bands 1 and 2 who were settled near together at the time. Khuan//a, the mother of /Gunda, /Nai's fiancé, had diverted a gift which people thought was making its way to Gao Medicine, the present husband of /Nai's mother. Instead of giving it to him at the time when an exchange of gifts was in order, she gave it to one of her relatives. /Nai's mother's sister, /U, sitting at her own scherm, began ' the talk ' by letting it be known what she thought of Khuan//a, in a voice loud enough to be heard in the two werfs, a startling contrast to the usual low flow of talk. Di/ai, /Nai's mother, sitting with her shoulder pressed against her sister's, joined in. People in the werfs went to sit at each other's scherms, forming little groups

[1] Lorna Marshall, ' Marriage Among /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxix, no. 4, Oct. 1959, pp. 352-3.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

796
535

The Ceremonial Curing Dance

The ceremonial curing dance is the one religious act which has form and in which the people are united. The purpose of the dance is to cure sickness and to drive away evil. If there is actual sickness among the people or if real misfortune has come upon them, the dance will be held especially to cure these ills. But the people dance often when no one is actually known to be sick, and when no particular misfortune has come, to drive away evil which might be there but which one cannot see, and to feel protected by goodness.

The protecting goodness is the ' medicine ', the magic power called *gaoxa*, which the /Kung believe the great god puts into the bodies of the medicine men and into the medicine songs. The /Kung believe that the great god endowed the power with its own autonomous potency, but nevertheless account for its failing to cure sometimes by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work or not, according to his pleasure or displeasure. *Gaoxa* is the power evoked and activated during the curing dance.

I believe the ceremonial curing dance to be a religious act, but, although very serious, especially in its final curing aspect, it is not piously solemn or constrained and it provides occasion for pleasure and aesthetic satisfaction. The music can be [517 533] sung at any time, for lullabies or just for singing. Music and dancing are the arts of the /Kung. The good young dancers, especially, feel the delight which is inherent in fine integration of movement and rhythm (one can see this clearly), and the people watch and admire good dancing and take pleasure in it, and in the music.

Furthermore, the dances are a socially unifying factor. All the people of the werf come together and participate, men and women, old and young. The men often [852] dance with their babies on their shoulders in the early part of the dance, and the children dance and play among them, until they fall fast asleep in their mothers' laps.

[883] Anyone who wants a dance may start it by going around to people and asking them to come and begin. Someone who was sick would ask for a dance, but young people who love to dance often start just for fun. Sometimes their dances do not turn into curing dances, but usually, once the music begins, the adults join in and the dance becomes a real one. The dances last all night oftener than not. There is a special potency in those which are danced at dawn. The /Kung dance, at irregular intervals, on an average of once in ten days, more or less. Almost invariably they dance at least once during the full moon.

Among the /Kung the women and girls always sit close together in a circle around a dance fire which may be built wherever there is convenient clear space. Their function is to clap and sing. The men dance in a line, one close behind the another, around the circle of women, in either direction, and cut through the circle past the fire. They sing as they dance. Occasionally a woman gets up and dances with them, though it is not her role, as though she could no longer resist the impulse. When a woman joins the line of dancers, the man behind her holds out his arms towards her but does not touch her. She dances with dignity, making tiny stamping steps, hardly moving, eyes cast down. If there is a delicate overtone of eroticism expressed in the dancing of the women, it is most subtle and constrained—in extreme contrast to the overt expression of many of the Bantu dances.

/147 cont./

223 noose is released when the animal takes the bait, and at the same time the gallows springs back and pulls the animal up in the air by its neck. Concerning the material used to make the noose, see page 41 . The arrowheads of the Auin are generally
411 poisoned. I have also found arrows which had only a single unpoisoned bone point. These are used for sport, perhaps also for killing small birds.

Manufacture of the arrow poison. Burkea africana (firewood
278 of the Bushmen) is inhabited during the rainy season by a beetle (or a species of termite?) which toward the end of the rainy season pupates in the soil under the tree. The larvae are dug up, killed, dried in the sun, and rubbed between stones.

Roots of the thorny tschamma (Cucumis heptactylus Naud.) are laid on red-hot coals, taken out warm, and the bitter sap pressed out. This sap is mixed with the poisonous paste, and the resulting dirty, reddish-brown preparation represents the finished arrow poison. The poison is applied to the arrow point in a layer several millimeters thick and dries there.

The Bushmen greatly fear their own arrow poison and always
278 carry the poisoned point hidden in the shaft. The poisoned end
411 is exposed only just before it is to be used. The layer of poison on the iron points, which because of their width cannot be concealed in the arrow shaft, is always wrapped with bast which is not taken off until the arrow is to be used. All Auin can make arrow poison and readily demonstrate the process.

224 The decorative scars described on page 16 are to be regarded
304 as hunting trophies.

The hunters supposedly tell exaggerated tales. Quarrels on
● 521 these occasions sometimes end in bloodshed.
578
[231] The only domestic animal is the dog.

The Bushman doctor is supposed to let blood for healing pur-
757 poses. For instance, in the case of a man who could not run well, bloody incisions were made in his upper thigh. On the other hand, I do not know whether this procedure can be described as "bloodletting." Scars from such incisions were shown to me several times.

413 The surgical instrument is a little sharpened piece of iron.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

513 That night it was so cold that no one wanted to leave the fire and when finally everyone was at my camp, settled close to each other, side by side, with their bellies warmed by the heat and their shoulders covered by their capes, their backs turned against the enormous veld where the cold wind blew and where the dark was coming, they began to entertain themselves with conversation, their favorite pastime.

516 The adults held their elbows on their raised knees and cupped their hands under their chins to cast little shadows into their eyes, for in this way they could see clearly over the bright fire. Close to the fire even the children were not cold. The older children sat up like the adults, although they were naked and the adults had capes, and the younger children slept in their parents' arms, warm between the fire and their parents' skin.

136 Before the darkness had come totally I left the fire to look through the little forest for wood, and as soon as I was off among the trees a way I was quite alone; I could not see the firelight and the voices did not reach me, and as I walked around in the frost and the gloom I could hear my footsteps crackling the grass. When I stopped walking to pick up an icy stick I could still hear the grass crackling, and when I looked around I saw, not too far away, a pair of mongooses, a male and a female, with five little ones. They were eating seeds from the pods of a plant and when they saw me they ran, all in an orderly line, and when they were gone the forest seemed very empty, for I could see through the trees to the desolate plains beyond, and up through the branches to the sky, where stars were showing, far away. A partridge rose in front of me—I had chased it from its bed. I could hear it calling as it flew, lost out in the veld now, and when I had a bundle of sticks I found my way home.

372 Dikai had been out for sticks in the opposite direction and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

when we looked at the pile we had, we judged that we had 313 372 enough for the night, but we burned only one at a time to save them.

For a while, sitting at the fire, everyone was quite gay. The 521 adults began to talk about food they had gathered and eaten and Toma's children asked me to tell them a story. "A true story," they said. Casting about in my mind for a story that would amuse them, I remembered a night when we were camped on our way to the Gikwe Bushmen in Bechuanaland and six lions had come into our camp. Someone in our party had shot at them and had wounded two of them, and then we had followed the wounded ones on foot through the darkness, a dangerous business, had finally found one and killed it, and had found the other one dead in the morning. I tried to say all this in Kung, but though I could understand quite a bit of it and could speak on some subjects, this time I found that my vocabulary was lacking; all I could say was "We killed two lions," a terse statement, and though the children were looking at me wide-eyed, I couldn't go on and had to get John to finish the story. "Ah," said the children when the story was told, not nearly as impressed as I had thought they would be, but then I myself had seen their father walk through a valley where several lions were roaring, at night, alone, armed only with a spear, depending on his wits for safety and on the fact that lions have a musky odor. He had been in our camp on one side of the valley when he had heard the lions roaring, and had slipped across among them in order to be with his wife and children, asleep on the other side.

Crooked Kwi, his wife, and his daughter had all turned 374 away from the fire to warm their backs. They sat in a row, Kwi first, then the baby, then his wife. They were relaxed and they had let their heads tilt back to look at the sky. Crooked 555 Kwi and his wife were very young, and, being one of the few

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555 men between their adolescence and their thirties in the entire area and not an excellent hunter, Crooked Kwi was sometimes a figure of ridicule. He was nicknamed Crooked because of the way he walked, the Bushmen said, although I could never see why, and now, tonight, the men began to taunt him. For a while Crooked Kwi just looked idly over his shoulder at the men and smiled.

"Why did your wife run away from you?" Lazy Kwi asked finally. This went too far; his wife really had run away from him once with another man, and Crooked Kwi had been grieved and humiliated. His wife had been persuaded to return to him, but the incident had not helped Crooked Kwi's position as a figure of fun. Now, when he was reminded of it, he turned his head away. Bushmen can be quite cruel with their joking.

521 Perhaps to turn the conversation to other things Toma reminded me of a time I had driven him and some other Bushmen in a truck and had bounced them quite badly. He told me that the Bushmen had agreed that women should leave trucks alone. "Your husband would drive if you were married. Why aren't you married?" he said.

I said it was because I was too young (I was twenty-three), intending this as a joke because Bushmen, even old grandfathers, always say they are too young when they are at a loss for an answer. "Oh no," said Toma. "You are old enough now. Even the last time you were here you said you were going to be married. How is it that you are still alone?"

"Well," I said, "I *will* someday."

"Yes, that is what you told me last time and here you are again." I couldn't think of a thing to say, and Toma added: "Well, never mind. Your father will help you, just as I will help Norna here when she is a little older."

At these words Norna lifted her head from her mother's

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lap and looked drowsily at her father. "Ehe," said Toma, 521
pointing at her, pleased that she still remembered her European name.

The talk returned to food and hunting and Toma remembered an eland the people had eaten which Short Kwi had killed, and this reminded everyone of the puff-adder bite, and Gao Feet, who had seen Short Kwi, began to describe the wound. He stammered and repeated whole phrases again and [171 158]
again, but finally he finished and those who had not seen Short Kwi drew in their breath and seemed very depressed. Short Kwi had been sick a year and had not died, but the flesh had gone from the calf of his leg, said Gao, the skin had gone from his foot, his foot was curled and the bones were showing. The wound stank, too, said Gao, and at this Tu said she didn't think she could bear to see him. Her children were asleep around her and she looked very sad, but by now all the faces lit by the fire were depressed and sad, and soon after that people began to go home, carrying their sleeping children. The night was almost over, the Southern Cross lay on its side and the Firewood Star was high over our heads. Last to leave was the old woman, Dikai's mother, who got stiffly to her feet and waved good-night to us.

"Good night, Old Grandmother," I said. [608]

She turned her head to face me. "You should call me Mother. I embraced you when you came," she said.

Quite far away a fire at the werf flared up, the center point 593
between two tall trees whose branches formed a delicate, pointed arch lit from below, showing the fire's brown owner sitting with his back to us, his elbows on his knees, perhaps gazing into the flames. It was Crooked Kwi, and he seemed very small beneath the high trees but very bright in the firelight and, somehow, very important. In a moment his wife walked into the firelight and sat beside him and they sat to-

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beside her, and I remembered the eye medicine I had prom- 609
ised to her, so I nodded and went to get it, but when I returned with it I found that she had mistakenly awakened her sons and they now crouched behind her, peering out at me, their small faces distorted with distrust and apprehension. I held out my hand to Little Gashe, but he retired completely behind his mother, pushing Little Dabe out the other side, so I held out my hand to Little Dabe, causing him to shrink back, pushing Little Gashe. Finally Dikai stood up and left them both exposed, and then Gao Feet held Little Gashe, Dikai held Little Dabe, and I put the medicine in as quickly 603
as possible, but both children had tantrums of rage and arched their backs, and as soon as they were released they would have nothing further to do with their parents, but went to sleep at their grandmother's fire instead, on the opposite side of the werf. The light was very dim, only the stars were showing and the fires had died, and these two forlorn children made two red little shapes as they lay down at their grandmother's fire; their skins reflected the red glow of coals, for they lay right in the ashes for warmth; they had forsaken their parents' karosses and there was no room for them under their grandmother's—another child was sleeping there.

Gao Feet gave up trying to urge them to come home and at 595
last he, too, lay down to sleep, snug between his two wives, 574
who were resting, not sleeping, for whenever someone at one of the other fires said something of interest, one or the other of them would put up her head and remark upon it. Tu slept alone with her children, for Toma had gone visiting, and one by one the people at Tu's fire moved away toward their own werfs, calling to each other in the dark. At last only a few 521
voices were heard at one of the werfs; they seemed very gay and very lighthearted, all talking at once, and now and then Toma's voice was heard above them all. Hearing him, Tu

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521 lifted her head and her face showed in the firelight; her eyes shone quite yellow and she looked dangerous, like a leopard, as she glared in the direction of his voice.

361 On my way home I passed Lazy Kwi's house, which his
342 wife had started in his absence, and as she had planned a large scherm and had already built the framework, many large branches stuck upright in the ground, but had not yet covered it with grass, I could see Lazy Kwi inside. He was between me and his fire, and in silhouette against the red light he looked like a creature in a cage, for he was peering through the lattice of branches to see who was passing by. I stopped
252 to show who I was, and noticed a bird roasting by his fire, a little duck which must have been snared by Lazy Kwi's old father-in-law. It was plucked and trussed and tied to a stick which was pushed into the ground so that the duck hung over the coals. It looked about done to me, so I asked Lazy Kwi, who was obviously alone with it, awake only to tend it, if it wasn't ready, and Lazy Kwi looked first at me, then at the
805 duck, then up at the sky, and shook his head. He was timing
821 it by a star, he explained, and the star had risen but wasn't high enough yet, so I said good-night and went home and left him in his lattice; and just before I went to sleep I heard great shouts of laughter, for Toma had found someone who hadn't heard the lion story and was telling it again.

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felt uneasy with no specific worry in mind. He did ask them 787
one specific question, though; he wanted to know where an outbreak of diarrhea that everyone had got came from, and when Tu's brother, the lame boy, who was watching, heard what was asked, he said that our cameras had sent the diarrhea, and the people almost choked themselves laughing at that. Toma laughed until he cried. "We do not really believe this," he said through his tears, looking over his shoulder at us lest we should be uneasy, "we are only joking."

Toma, Gao Feet, and Lazy Kwi took turns throwing the discs and presently the discs told them that the diarrhea "came from the fires, from people to the east." I don't know how to interpret this, but perhaps the Bushmen meant that the disease blew down the wind. The discs also foretold that someone in the west would kill a buck, that visitors were coming, and that some Europeans and some Bushmen would sit at a fire to talk. Later all these things came true. Because the oracle discs predict conservatively, their predictions often come true.

Toma lost interest in them and told everybody how he had 521
been walking home the evening before and had heard a voice which had sounded to him like the voice of a European speaking English, but when he had investigated he had found a Bushman man sitting alone in a clump of bushes practicing the sounds of English, possibly hoping to speak it, and Toma's audience all thought that was very funny and they talked on and on about it. Incidents like this are talked about forever by Bushmen, who drag them out infinitely, remembering every detail, savoring them to the fullest. This is because very little happens outside of routine. (We once asked [538 577]
some Bushmen if they ever made up stories to tell and they, a little righteously, said no, they did not, because Bushmen do not care to hear about things that are not true.) Then the

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521 young boys began to speak sounds that were for all the world like the sounds of English, with flat, almost nasal tones, perfect in cadence and inflection, and the people laughed again.

000 Because it was getting close to noon and the sun, now only veiled by the smoke, was burning over our heads, we decided to start our search for Short Kwi. After Toma, Toma's son, Gao Feet, and Lazy Kwi decided to go with us and the others decided to stay at home, we got on the truck and drove away, lurching over the stones at the edge of camp and out to the wild veld, to the west, where the soft wind was blowing and the horizon seemed dim because of the smoke. Ledimo, the interpreter, came too, and my brother and myself, and that night we slept in the veld, not even bothering to build a fire, but eating a few handfuls of cold food and sleeping in our blankets around the truck. The following afternoon we reached the werf of Short Kwi and his people. This werf, too, was hidden in the bushes and if the men of the band hadn't come out into the plain to meet us we might have gone by it,

361 for Toma himself hadn't known exactly where it was. They came out because they knew it would be us they were meeting, for, they explained later, the European farmers couldn't possibly have found them there.

Six men and several young boys suddenly stepped from the bushes and appeared in front of our truck, all of them brown and naked and waving wildly to us, and the truck stopped so fast that those of us on top were nearly thrown off, and we all climbed down to greet them.

591 602 Three of the men were brothers, the brothers-in-law of Short Kwi, for their old mother had a strong hold on her family and kept them all beside her. Her sons and her daughters all lived with her; the sons at least might have been expected to live with the families of their wives, but they had never left her and they were here with her now. They stood

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happy. She was only ten, but already she had lost her childish 582 [145] belly, although her breasts had not yet begun to grow.

Now everyone was in the werf and people had begun to go 593 back to their fires, leaving Short Kwi alone. When most peo- 514 164 ple were gone, Short Kwi's brother-in-law squatted beside 481 him and, taking his injured leg, began laboriously to help him move toward the veld, toward a little pathway that we had not noticed before. Short Kwi's wife had cleared the path; it led to a place in the veld where Short Kwi could urinate, and slowly, painfully, Short Kwi and his brother-in-law moved down it, the brother-in-law duckwalking, carrying the bad leg while Short Kwi—he who once could run great elands down —edged himself forward on his buttocks, using his hands to brace himself and his good leg to pull himself along.

We were not at his fire when he got back, but we could see 164 him through the trees, inching, and then, when Short Kwi was alone with his wife and daughter, we could watch him sitting by his fire, looking idly around. He was like a wild goose with pinioned wings, squatting there before his fire, watching the sky, the veld, and other people come and go.

Those of us from Nama made a camp apart from the werf, 361 through long grass as high as our chests, inside a little glade 521 of thorn trees. We cleared some of the grass and built a fire, and even then the Bushmen could not stop talking about Short Kwi, although they tried to change the subject; they spoke of him creeping along on his buttocks, even this impossible without someone to help, and all because he had failed to notice an adder that was waiting in his path. Of course, the Bushmen said, he was lucky to be alive. I felt that he was luckier than they supposed, because of his wife, that 593 quiet, gracious, gentle, pretty woman, and his grave little daughter, the image of her mother. The people felt, said

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224 857 866 Toma's son rubbed his head with his tough little fingers to make up his mind. Finally he left his friends and climbed on the truck. Home was too far to walk to, he said, and he was going to forfeit. As we drove away, his friends ran after us, shouting that they would bring him his share if they were able.

151 152 757 We reached Nama Pan late in the afternoon. Toma and Gao Feet cleared a werf for Short Kwi, and when he was settled comfortably with his back against a tree and with soft grass and blankets arranged all around him he said softly, just to himself and anyone else who might be listening, that during the night his leg had fallen off. After he said this he began to cry, and Gao Feet slowly crouched beside him, unwound the blanket slowly, and untied the bark, then gently lifted the knee away from the calf, which remained on the ground, just like the leg of a mummy. When the calf had fallen off, Short Kwi had pushed the two pieces back together again. Short Kwi was crying and biting his hand and his wife was crying, and Toma and Gao Feet stood beside him for a minute looking, the expression on their faces as dark as night. 766 Then they picked up the leg and carried it away to the veld, where they buried it in a hole, exactly as if it were a person, they were so sad.

152 Later, when we had dressed the stump, Toma and Gao Feet came back to sit with Short Kwi and talk with him. Gao Feet told about a Bantu man he had seen far in the north who had been injured in a mine accident and had been fitted with a false foot. Short Kwi could have one too, Gao said; but Toma said, almost too depressed to speak: "What does it matter? He is a cripple now."

521 758 Then the men went away and left Short Kwi to rest, and during the evening the children and young people were talk-

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ing happily, but all the adults in all the werfs were too de- 521/758
pressed and sad. Finally, one by one, the men went back again to Short Kwi, who by now had rallied and was sitting up, surely having been through the worst of it the night before, and talked to him about the antelopes he had killed and about the time he killed a wildebeest, an eland, and a wild pig all in one day.

It has been said that Bushmen abandon cripples or people 888/734
who are old or sick and cannot travel. This is not true.

Far into the night, people who could not sleep sat up and 521/533
talked at each other's fires. We heard the guashi being played, its long strings sounding in repetitious little songs of four or five notes which themselves were played over and over, for the guashi was being passed from hand to hand, played idly by people who just wanted something to do.

It was a warm night. The frogs in the pan were croaking 521/574
and the north wind blew the cooking-fires around. Later, when the moon rose and made a blood-red fire all its own, the people began to go home. Toma and Gao Feet and their sons stopping to visit us on their way; they walked silently up to our fire from the darkness and dropped to their haunches one after the other, and sat quietly, their grave faces tilted back, hands shading their eyes. Toma's son wore the crown of badger hair, which moved in the wind a little. Presently the men and their sons stood up again one at a time and walked on, as silently on their bare feet as they had come. We heard the low voices of other people who were passing, then saw fires flare up at the werfs, and much later, when the wind had died and even the frogs were silent, we knew that some of the people were dreaming, for they groaned in their sleep.

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WHEN THEY GATHER, the men are most likely to discuss hunting—the great exploits of memory, or plans for the future. For the chase is their passion.

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ORACLE DISKS, *bottom left*, are made from eland hide, in sets of five. The !Kung often use them to determine the direction of their next hunting foray.

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deadly poisoned arrows are always at hand. Men have killed each other with them in quarrels—though rarely—and the /Kung fear fighting with a conscious and active fear. They speak about it often. Any expression of discord ('bad words') makes them uneasy. Their desire to avoid both hostility and rejection leads them to conform in high degree to the unspoken social law. If they do deviate they usually yield readily to expressed group opinion and reform their ways. I think that most /Kung cannot bear the sense of rejection which even mild disapproval makes them feel. They also conform strictly to certain specific useful customs which are like instruments for avoiding discord.

Talking and 'Talks'

I mention talking as an aid to peaceful social relations because it is so very much a part of the daily experience of the /Kung and, I believe, usefully serves three particular functions. It keeps up good open communication among the members of the band; through its constantly flowing expression it is a salutary outlet for emotions; and it serves as the principal sanction in social discipline. Songs are also used for social discipline. The /Kung say that a song composed specifically about someone's behaviour and sung to express disapproval, perhaps from the deepest shadow of the werf at night, is a very effective means of bringing people who deviate back into the pattern of approved behaviour. Nevertheless, during our observations, songs were not used as much as talking. If people disapprove of an individual's behaviour, they may criticize him or her directly, usually putting a question, 'Why do you do that?' or they may gossip a bit or make oblique hints. In the more intense instances 'a talk' may ensue.

The /Kung are the most loquacious people I know. Conversation in a /Kung werf is a constant sound like the sound of a brook, and as low and lapping, except for shrieks of laughter. People cluster together in little groups during the day, talking, perhaps making artifacts at the same time. At night families talk late by their fires, or visit at other family fires with their children between their knees or in their arms if the wind is cold.

There always seems to be plenty to talk about. People tell about events with much detail and repetition and discuss the comings and goings of their relatives and friends and make plans. Their greatest preoccupation and the subject they talk about most often, I think, is food. The men's imaginations turn to hunting. They converse musingly, as though enjoying a sort of day-dream together, about past hunts, telling over and over where game was found and who killed it. They wonder where the game is at present and say what fat bucks they hope to kill. They also plan their next hunts with practicality. Women (who, incidentally, do not talk as much as men) gave me the impression of talking more about who gave or did not give them food and their anxieties about not having food. They spoke to me about women who were remembered for being especially quick and able gatherers, but did not have pleasurable satisfaction in remembering their hot, monotonous, arduous days of digging and picking and trudging home with their heavy loads.

Another frequent subject of conversation is gift-giving. Men and women speak of the persons to whom they have given or propose to give gifts. They express satisfaction or dissatisfaction with what they have received. If someone has delayed

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unexpectedly long in making a return gift the people discuss this. One man was excused by his friends because his wife, they said, had got things into her hands and made him poor, so that he now had nothing suitable to give. Sometimes, on the other hand, people were blamed for being ungenerous (' far-hearted ') or not very capable in managing their lives, and no one defended them for these defects or asked others to have patience with them.

As far as we know, only two general subjects are taboo in conversation. Men and women must not speak openly together of sexual matters except as they make jokes in the joking relationship. The /Kung avoid speaking the names of the gods aloud and do not converse about the gods for fear of attracting their attention and perhaps their displeasure. They told us their myths, but only when we asked them to. It is evidently not the habit of these Bushmen to recount the myths as they sit by their fires. They do not invent stories. They said they had no interest in hearing things that are not true and wonder why anybody has.

While a person speaks the listeners are in vibrant response, repeating the phrases and interposing a contrapuntal ' eh '. ' Yesterday ', ' eh ', ' at Deboragu ', ' eh ', ' I saw old /Gaishay.' ' You saw Old /Gaishay ', ' eh, eh '. ' He said he had seen the great python under the bank.' ' EH! ', ' The PYTHON! ' ' He wants us ', ' eh, eh, eh ', ' to help him catch it '. The ' ehs ' overlap and coincide with the phrase and the people so often all talk at once that one wonders how anyone knows what the speaker has said.

Bursts of laughter accompany the conversations. Sometimes the /Kung laugh mildly with what I would call a sense of humour about people and events, often they shriek and howl as though laughter were an outlet for tension. They laugh at mishaps that happen to other people, like the lions eating up someone else's meat, and shriek over particularly telling and insulting sexual sallies in the joking relationship. Individual singing of lyrical songs, accompanied by the *//guashi*, or snatches of the medicine music, the playing of rhythmical games, the ceremonial dances themselves occupy the evenings, as well, but mostly the evening hours are spent in talk.

' A talk ', as the /Kung call it, differs from a conversation or an arranged, purposeful discussion. It flares spontaneously, I believe from stress, when something is going on in which people are seriously concerned and in disagreement. I think that no formalities control it. Anyone who has something he wants to say joins in. People take sides and express opinions, accusing, denying, or defending persons involved. I witnessed one ' talk ' only, in 1952, which I mentioned before[1] and should mention again in this context. It occurred over a gift-giving episode at the time of /Nai's betrothal and involved persons in Bands 1 and 2 who were settled near together at the time. Khuan//a, the mother of /Gunda, /Nai's fiancé, had diverted a gift which people thought was making its way to Gao Medicine, the present husband of /Nai's mother. Instead of giving it to him at the time when an exchange of gifts was in order, she gave it to one of her relatives. /Nai's mother's sister, /U, sitting at her own scherm, began ' the talk ' by letting it be known what she thought of Khuan//a, in a voice loud enough to be heard in the two werfs, a startling contrast to the usual low flow of talk. Di/ai, /Nai's mother, sitting with her shoulder pressed against her sister's, joined in. People in the werfs went to sit at each other's scherms, forming little groups

[1] Lorna Marshall, ' Marriage Among /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxix, no. 4, Oct. 1959, pp. 352–3.

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521 who agreed and supported each other. From where they sat, but not all at once and
578 not in an excited babble, they made their remarks clearly, with quite long pauses
629 between. Some expressed themselves in agreement with /U as she recounted Khuan//a's faults and deviations, past and present. Khuan//a's family and friends, who had moved to sit near her, denied the accusations from time to time, but did not talk as much or as loudly as /U. Khuan//a muttered or was silent. /U said she disapproved of her sister's daughter marrying the son of such a woman, but would reconsider her position if Khuan//a gave the expected gift to Gao Medicine. The talk lasted about twenty minutes. At that point Khuan//a got up and walked away and the ' talk ' subsided to /U's mutterings and others' low conversation. In a few days Khuan//a gave Gao Medicine a present, not the gift in question, but one which satisfied Gao, and, as they said, ' they all started again in peace '.

152 There is a third form of verbal expression which might be called a ' shout ' rather
521 than a ' talk ', but as far as I know the /Kung have no special name for it. It is a verbal explosion. Fate receives the heat of the remarks in a ' shout '.

We were present on two such occasions, one in 1952, the other in 1953. Both were in response to the burning of scherms. In both instances little children, whose mothers had taken their eyes off them though they were only a few feet away, had picked up burning sticks from the fire, had dropped them on the soft, dry bedding grass in the scherms and, at the first burst of flame, had sensibly run outside unscathed. On the first occasion, the two children, who were about three years old, were frightened and were soothed and comforted by their mothers and other relatives. They were not scolded. On the second occasion, Khuan//a, the two-year-old granddaughter of Old ≠Toma and /Gam, had set fire to her grandparents' scherm. She was not apparently frightened at all and was found placidly chewing her grandfather's well-toasted sandal. She was not scolded either. What was especially interesting was the behaviour of the Bushmen. On both occasions they rushed to the burning scherms, shouting all at once, in extremely loud, excited voices, volcanic eruptions of words. The men made most of the noise, but the women were also talking excitedly. No one tried to do anything, nor could they, for the scherms burned like the fiery furnace. I asked the interpreters to stand close to one person at a time and try to hear what he said. People were telling where they had been when the fire started, why they had not got there sooner. They shouted that mothers should not take their eyes off their children, that the children might have been burned. They lamented the objects which had been destroyed—all in the greatest din I have ever heard humans produce out of themselves. It went on for about eight or ten minutes in bursts, then tapered off for another ten. While Old ≠Toma's scherm was burning, he and his wife, /Gam, the great maker of beads, sat on one side weeping. After the shouting had subsided, a dozen or more people set about looking for Old ≠Toma's knife blade and arrow points and picking up what beads they could find for /Gam in the cooling ashes. The two instances of ' shouts ' provided examples of the vehemence which vocal expression can have and vividly illustrated the /Kung way of venting emotion in words.

154 There is still another kind of talk, not conversation, which I consider to be an
521 outlet for tension and anxiety. We happened to hear it only in relation to anxiety
528 about food and do not know if other concerns sometimes find expression in this way.
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It occurs in varying degrees of intensity. It is a repeating of something over and over and over again. For instance, whether it is actually so or not, someone may be reiterating that he has no food or that no one has given him food. The remarks are made in the presence of other individuals, but the other individuals do not respond in the manner of a discussion or conversation. In an extreme instance we saw a woman visitor go into a kind of semi-trance and say over and over for perhaps half an hour or so in ≠Toma's presence that he had not given her as much meat as was her due. It was not said like an accusation. It was said as though he were not there. I had the eerie feeling that I was present in someone else's dream. ≠Toma did not argue or oppose her. He continued doing whatever he was doing and let her go on. 154 531 518 626

All these ways of talking, I believe, aid the /Kung in maintaining their peaceful social relations by keeping everyone in touch with what others are thinking and feeling, releasing tensions, and keeping pressures from building up until they burst out in aggressive acts.

Aspects of Good Manners

In /Kung society good manners require that, when /Kung meet other /Kung who are strangers, all the men should lay down their weapons and approach each other unarmed. ≠Toma, leader of Band 1, approached us unarmed the first time we met. After we were accepted and given Bushman names, we were no longer strangers and we never observed the practice again. 576 [123]

Good manners require that visitors be received courteously and asked to sit by the fire. The woman whose fire it is may welcome the visitor by taking a pinch of the sweet smelling *sa* powder, which she carries in a little tortoise shell hung from her neck, and sprinkling it on the visitor's head in a line from the top of the head to the forehead. 574 [302]

Good manners in eating express restraint. A person does not reveal eagerness or take more than a modest share. When a visitor comes to the fire of a family who are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a little distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share. On several occasions we gave small gifts of corned beef to be shared with a group. The person who received the food from us would take only a mouthful. Once an old headman only licked his fingers. The lump of food would be passed from one to another. Each would take a modest bite. The last person often got the most. I found it moving to see so much restraint about taking food among people who are all thin and often hungry, for whom food is a source of constant anxiety. We observed no unmannerly behaviour, no cheating and no encroachment about food. Although informants said that quarrels had occasionally occurred in the past between members of a band over the time to go to gather veldkos, and although we observed expressions of dissatisfaction, no quarrels of any kind arose over food during our observations. 264 [524] [518]

Good manners in general should be inoffensive. Any behaviour which is likely to stir up trouble is regarded with apprehension and disapproval by the /Kung. In view of this, the joking relationship has its interesting side. Men and women who have the joking relationship insult each other in a facetious way and also point out actual faults or remark on actual episodes which embarrass a person. Everyone joins in the 576 522

uproarious, derisive laughter. All this is joking and one should not take offence. The /Kung say this teaches young persons to keep their tempers.

In contrast to the joking is their care in other aspects of conduct to avoid giving offence. ≠Toma said, for instance, that, if he were forming a hunting party and a man whom he did not want asked to join him, he would be careful to refuse indirectly by making some excuse and try not to offend the man.

Gossip which can stir up trouble is discouraged. People do gossip but usually discreetly, in low voices, with near and trusted relatives and friends. It is best to mind one's own business, they say.

People are expected to control their tempers and do so to a remarkable degree. If they are angry, aggrieved, or frustrated, they tend to mope rather than to become aggressive, expressing their feelings in low mutters to their close relatives and friends. ≠Toma told us that he had lost his temper twice when he was a young man and on one occasion had knocked his father down. On the other he had pushed his wife into hot ashes. It had so frightened him to realize that he could lose control of himself and behave in this violent way that, he said, he had not lost his temper since.

Meat-sharing

The /Kung custom of sharing meat helps to keep stress and hostility over food at a low intensity. The practical value of using up the meat when it is fresh is obvious to all and the /Kung are fully aware of the enormous social value of the custom. The fear of hunger is mitigated; the person one shares with will share in turn when he gets meat and people are sustained by a web of mutual obligation. If there is hunger, it is commonly shared. There are no distinct haves and have-nots. One is not alone.

To have a concept of the potential stress and jealousy which meat-sharing mitigates in /Kung society one has only to imagine one family eating meat and others not when they are settled only five or ten feet apart in a firelit werf and there are no walls for privacy. The veld does not hide secret killing and eating because actions are printed in its sands for all to read. The idea of eating alone and not sharing is shocking to the /Kung. It makes them shriek with an uneasy laughter. Lions could do that, they say, not men.

The custom of meat-sharing applies only to the big game animals. Small animals the size of duikers or smaller, birds, tortoises, lizards, grasshoppers, snakes, and ostrich eggs are picked up incidentally and belong to the person who shoots, snares, finds or catches them. He may keep these for himself and his immediate family and may share them as he chooses, as if they were veldkos. ≠Toma says that, if there is only a little, he and his family eat a meal and give a little to anyone who happens to be near by at the time.

Meat-sharing applies to the big animals which are deliberately hunted by organized hunting parties. In the Nyae Nyae region they are kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok, warthogs and ostrich. Eland are found less commonly and buffalo rarely. The Nyae Nyae hunters managed to shoot giraffe occasionally. Giraffe are royal game by S.W.A. law, but the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not known this. When they were told, they called them ' Morrisi cows'. (Mr. Robert Morris was the Commissioner of Native Affairs at Runtu.)

The system by which meat is shared begins with the hunters, but the composition

262 plants, are scarce and unpredictable and people never depend
137 on meat for their basic subsistance. Therefore the well-
136 being of the Bushmen as a population can be viewed as the
433 product of two factors: the abundance of food resources in their environment, and the intelligence and sophistication which informs their exploitation of these resources.

512 Although the getting of food is the major activity of
433 Bushman life and is a major focus of Bushman thought, the greater part of the waking life of the Bushmen is given over to social, religious and trading activities that are largely independent of the food quest.

Their emphasis on non-subsistence activities becomes clear when daily records are kept of the activities of the
[126] members of a camp. For example, a diary of activities was kept for the Dobe camp during July, 1964. This record was made during mid-winter, a season of comparative scarcity. It
[462] was found that the 23 adults of this camp spent less than half of their days in subsistence activities, an average of 23% of the time for the women and 40% of the time for the
[574] men. The majority of their waking hours were spent visiting
[521] other camps, entertaining visitors, resting, talking, hut building, and making tools, clothing, and ornaments.

Plant Resources

137 There are well over 200 species of plants and 230 species
136

[24 cont.]

000 522 161 they had never seen any. A certain dry humor spiced their conversation. I once said to a Bushman: "If you tell me this, you will get whatever you want." He answered: "Good, I shall speak and you will give me your automobile." Their imagination is 157 123 very poor; in this respect they are much too accurate as observers of nature. Once a young Bushman woman with two children came to me and wanted to buy some sugar. I said to her: "I won't sell you anything, but you will get the sugar if you tell me some children's stories, for example, about animals." After some hesi- [538] tation she began the story of Arri, the guinea hen. It was no fairy tale, but a detailed account concerning this important food bird. She even imitated the calls of the guinea hen, "for example, when someone comes and there is danger, then they say, 'gannana he gannana he,' but when they are alone and enjoying themselves, then they go 'gi gi gi.'" The children had to imi- [861] tate this until they were able to mimic the sound accurately. Then it was the turn of the sand hen, which says, "gi ganna gi ganna"; then the ostrich, which goes, "hmm, hmm, hmm"; then the gum bird [Harzvogel], which says, "hai-dschi, hai-dschi," and the owl, "mhm, m."

3. Posture, Movement, Stamina

516 As a result of his marked lordosis, the Bushman never assumes a posture that would conform to our military ideal; he almost always stands with his stomach somewhat protruding.

481 The way the Bushmen run is very peculiar and would justify detailed study. [25] The run is really a continuous fast walk, in which the legs are kicked forward, but the lower thighs are never brought back high, as is the case with our runners. The body is held as straight as possible, and the head up, not forward (1).

[113] 1. E. v. Eickstedt (Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit [Ethnology and History of Mankind], p. 556) states: "The foot is put in a peculiar transverse position, which makes the track in the sand easily

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

flames for a moment like a flame itself, then slipping down 731
behind the fire, made the rising smoke a great, soft, purple cloud. As the sky darkened, the flames around us seemed brighter and more yellow, and farther away we saw a thousand smaller fires burning, each in a tuft of grass or in a tree.

After we had eaten we sat watching our burning wall move away from us, listening to the cries of birds, day birds chased from their branches by the fire, night birds flying through the smoke to catch insects that were trying to escape. All the air stank with an oily odor given off by the burning trees—not at all the pleasant smell of burning wood, but a deathly odor, the smell of a forest being destroyed.

When we lay down in our blankets to sleep we found that even the ground was warm, and as soot and ashes drifted over us we lay awake and listened. Once during the night we heard something large run past us. A little later, farther away, we heard the sharp roar of a lion who must have tried to cross a patch of burned ground and had singed his soft paws. We heard his slow footsteps as he tested the earth carefully, then a grunt as he was scorched again. It made him cross, for he walked in a huge half-circle around us with a growl running steadily in his throat. I had thought that the Bush- [152 522]
men were asleep, but they had also heard him and they laughed. Now and then, during the night, the burned trees crashed around us, and as our fiery wall moved slowly away, the rising smoke was gray in its yellow light, the stars were all obscured.

Before dawn in the morning the crescent of the new moon 132
rose, the tiniest sliver in the chilly air, followed by the salmon band of light, redder than usual because of the smoke. The wind must have blown a good deal of the fire back on itself because much of it was out, leaving a cloud of smoke hanging

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 same age, yet we learned later that it was so. We asked the boy to come into the jeep, which he did, watched by the others. We gave everyone a present of a large handful of tobacco, and drove over the burned grass, more crowded even than we had been before.

522 On the way home we saw and shot a springbok, as there was no meat left in camp. The bullet hit the springbok in the stomach and partly eviscerated him, causing him to jump and kick before he finally died. The Bushmen thought that this was terribly funny and they laughed, slapping their thighs and kicking their heels to imitate the springbok, showing no pity at all, but then they regard animals with great detatchment. When the springbok died we tied him to the front of the jeep and drove on. The radiator boiled all the way, causing the body to decompose. Drops of blood and drops of moisture from the springbok blew back over us, mixed with the reek of decay and with a cloud of flies which we drove too slowly to escape, and which, spattered as we were, became very attracted to us. Only the Bushmen remained in good spirits, as they were pleased to see the meat and pleased with the amusement the springbok had given them.

522 224 On the way we saw an enormous hole in the earth, dug by an aardvark months ago. We stopped, and the Bushmen on their hands and knees crawled into it until all three were out of sight. After a while they backed out, one by one, reported that it was a very big hole indeed, and got back into the jeep. But before we could drive away Witabe jumped out again. He had noticed a mound of grass which looked like a haystack, it was so big, as high as a man's knees and as broad as it was tall. It was, said Gai, built by a mouse, a kind of nest, and at Witabe's request he got on top of it and jumped up and down to frighten out whatever lived inside. He was right: presently a mouse did come rushing out to vanish im-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

mediately down a hole. Gai continued treading in the half- 522
hearted hope of another mouse, with a disappointed, intent 224
expression on his face because the first had escaped him. Witabe, on the jeep, suddenly thought the whole performance so funny that he burst into laughter and laughed until he didn't make a sound, until tears ran out of his eyes and onto his belly, until he could hardly breathe, all to see Gai, the sole support of eleven people, the great hunter and provider, treading on top of a straw pile to chase away a mouse.

Gai was a little abashed and he stopped treading, but he did put his hand into the nest and pulled out the mouse's bed, a little ball of finer grass mixed with the mouse's own fur. Gai pulled it apart to show how it was made. We saw the mouse again when Witabe poked it out of the hole with a stick, but it ran back in at once, this time for good, so we went on, leaving the mouse with his home in a shambles and his soft bed gone.

We got back to camp late in the afternoon, and Tsetchwe 854
was so glad to see us that she threw her arms around me and held up her baby for me to kiss. She and I were the only young women for miles around, so there was a bond between us. She often gave me her baby to mind—not an easy job because Nhwakwe was as innocent as he was bold, and I had once taken him from under the wheels of a truck that was about to move. I had carried him to the werf for safety, but he hadn't stayed long; in a short time we had seen the grass moving at the edge of camp and Nhwakwe had appeared once more, this time dragging a toy, having walked the long distance all by himself and having navigated purely by a sense of direction, for the thick grass was high above his head.

Tsetchwe did not kiss her husband or even greet him, as 576
Bushmen are accustomed to short absences from each other 593
and it is not the custom for men and women to kiss. They

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

him off the ground. Wite did not resist, but swung limp and 262 578 resigned, and when Gai released him he started to walk away. 152 Gai had eaten all the meat except one morsel, and this he tossed to Wite, who picked it up from the ground and ate it apathetically.

Only the baby set a good example. I had picked him up and 262 was carrying him when the three young boys of Ukwane's band noticed that he was mouthing something and holding something else in his hand. For a joke they extended their palms, telling him to share what he had in his hand, and he gave it readily. It was only the crackly skin that flakes off bones when they are roasted, quite flavorless, impossible to chew; Nhwakwe was only playing with it and the boys only pretended to take a bite, then threw it away. But either the baby didn't see them reject it or didn't care because in a moment he made them another present, the meat that he had been holding in his mouth. The young boys didn't see where he got it and they were about to eat it when Nhwakwe opened his mouth to smile and they noticed. They threw it down, but the baby spat some onto his finger and offered it to them anyway, and when they didn't take it he smeared it on their chests.

After the unhappy hour of eating, the people of Ukwane's band, their appetites dulled even though their bellies were not full, seemed more relaxed and the young boys went off to 572 join the boys from the visiting band. The youngsters were 857 always friends. The tensions suffered by all the members of 152 both the bands did not affect their enjoyment of each other.

That evening the boys sat down near one of the fires to 578 talk, and they told each other all the things that had hap- 522 pened since they last had met, perhaps a year before. Most of 152 the incidents had happened fairly recently and most amounted to anecdotes about the other members of the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

578 bands, who at the time were barely out of earshot. One story
522 concerned Dasina, how she had fainted from smoking too
152 much the day we had come, and to show exactly what had happened, Wite and Witabe acted the scene, Wite taking the part of Dasina and fainting on Witabe's shoulder while the other boys laughed. Bushmen's jokes and stories are usually funny at the expense of a person, an animal, or the god Pishiboro, maliciousness being one way in which Bushmen rid themselves of their resentments.

536 Somewhat later Wite and Giamakwe acted for the others
831 the scene of the hyena's mating, as they imagined it or knew
825 it to be, for the night it had happened only the sound had reached us and the hyenas had not been seen. Giamakwe took the part of the male hyena, Wite took the part of the female. First they walked together on all fours and rubbed faces, and then Giamakwe climbed on Wite's back, emitting a lonesome howl just like the howl we had heard. It was not meant to be funny, and the other boys watched it calmly, treating the mating of hyenas as a matter of course. All in all, it was a majestic imitation, with snarls and growls, then mounting and pretending to copulate with shivering and ecstasy, then more growls, until finally the male fell away exhausted and curled up on his side, whereupon the female attacked him. It took a long time from start to finish, the Bushman boys being so literal that they not only gave a precise rendition of the event but took exactly the amount of time that the hyenas had taken.

574 The adults had not watched the children but were visiting quietly with each other, some of the men from the Okwa band having come to Ukwane's werf to sit at the fires. Very late at night, when the Firewood Star was rising and the Zebra Stars of Orion were just setting foot upon the earth, the visitors got up to go.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

555 men between their adolescence and their thirties in the entire area and not an excellent hunter, Crooked Kwi was sometimes a figure of ridicule. He was nicknamed Crooked because of the way he walked, the Bushmen said, although I could never see why, and now, tonight, the men began to taunt him. For a while Crooked Kwi just looked idly over his shoulder at the men and smiled.

"Why did your wife run away from you?" Lazy Kwi asked finally. This went too far; his wife really had run away from him once with another man, and Crooked Kwi had been grieved and humiliated. His wife had been persuaded to return to him, but the incident had not helped Crooked Kwi's position as a figure of fun. Now, when he was reminded of it, [522] he turned his head away. Bushmen can be quite cruel with their joking.

521 Perhaps to turn the conversation to other things Toma reminded me of a time I had driven him and some other Bushmen in a truck and had bounced them quite badly. He told me that the Bushmen had agreed that women should leave trucks alone. "Your husband would drive if you were married. Why aren't you married?" he said.

I said it was because I was too young (I was twenty-three), intending this as a joke because Bushmen, even old grandfathers, always say they are too young when they are at a loss for an answer. "Oh no," said Toma. "You are old enough now. Even the last time you were here you said you were going to be married. How is it that you are still alone?"

"Well," I said, "I *will* someday."

"Yes, that is what you told me last time and here you are again." I couldn't think of a thing to say, and Toma added: "Well, never mind. Your father will help you, just as I will help Norna here when she is a little older."

At these words Norna lifted her head from her mother's

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

484 women who are pregnant, or people who are ill. In fact, the
482 long journeys for the two kinds of nuts are undertaken only
422
431 by strong adults, who therefore must gather for all those who stay behind. The system of Bushmen in these matters ensures that everybody gets enough. As it turned out, that afternoon we found that both Tu and Lazy Kwi had filled bags belonging to Lazy Kwi's wife, the bag that Lazy Kwi filled being the only one he had with him, and in this way his wife, who wasn't there and who so far knew nothing of her windfall, owned two bags of food which she would probably share with Lazy Kwi, who actually, that day, owned none.

At last, when many bags had changed hands, when everything movable including Tu's bag of grass—which she had emptied, tying the grass into a bundle with a strip of bark in order to free the bag for tsi—had been loaded into the jeep,
484 the people began to climb in and the jeep sank down on its springs, groaning dangerously as each person got on it and found a place to sit. When finally everyone was on and the springs still had not broken we drove away with extreme caution, barely moving when we came to bumps, with Toma and Gao Feet sitting on the hood and pointing the way to Nama.

522 As we crept along Toma told a lion story concerning some Bantu people at Kai Kai who tried to rid themselves of three lions that were attacking their cattle. As his story was extremely funny, his voice was often drowned out by the laughter of the others. He spoke so fast we could not understand him, but his wife laughed until she cried. Toma told the funniest parts of the story two or three times.

271 Just before we got to Nama, when the shadows of the bushes reached far over the veld and the western sky was blood red, thick with smoke, we reached a tiny waterhole

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

unexpectedly long in making a return gift the people discuss this. One man was excused by his friends because his wife, they said, had got things into her hands and made him poor, so that he now had nothing suitable to give. Sometimes, on the other hand, people were blamed for being ungenerous (' far-hearted ') or not very capable in managing their lives, and no one defended them for these defects or asked others to have patience with them.

As far as we know, only two general subjects are taboo in conversation. Men and women must not speak openly together of sexual matters except as they make jokes in the joking relationship. The /Kung avoid speaking the names of the gods aloud and do not converse about the gods for fear of attracting their attention and perhaps their displeasure. They told us their myths, but only when we asked them to. It is evidently not the habit of these Bushmen to recount the myths as they sit by their fires. They do not invent stories. They said they had no interest in hearing things that are not true and wonder why anybody has.

While a person speaks the listeners are in vibrant response, repeating the phrases and interposing a contrapuntal ' eh '. ' Yesterday ', ' eh ', ' at Deboragu ', ' eh ', ' I saw old /Gaishay.' ' You saw Old /Gaishay ', ' eh, eh '. ' He said he had seen the great python under the bank.' ' EH! ', ' The PYTHON! ' ' He wants us ', ' eh, eh, eh ', ' to help him catch it '. The ' ehs ' overlap and coincide with the phrase and the people so often all talk at once that one wonders how anyone knows what the speaker has said.

Bursts of laughter accompany the conversations. Sometimes the /Kung laugh mildly with what I would call a sense of humour about people and events, often they shriek and howl as though laughter were an outlet for tension. They laugh at mishaps that happen to other people, like the lions eating up someone else's meat, and shriek over particularly telling and insulting sexual sallies in the joking relationship. Individual singing of lyrical songs, accompanied by the *//gwashi*, or snatches of the medicine music, the playing of rhythmical games, the ceremonial dances themselves occupy the evenings, as well, but mostly the evening hours are spent in talk.

' A talk ', as the /Kung call it, differs from a conversation or an arranged, purposeful discussion. It flares spontaneously, I believe from stress, when something is going on in which people are seriously concerned and in disagreement. I think that no formalities control it. Anyone who has something he wants to say joins in. People take sides and express opinions, accusing, denying, or defending persons involved. I witnessed one ' talk ' only, in 1952, which I mentioned before[1] and should mention again in this context. It occurred over a gift-giving episode at the time of /Nai's betrothal and involved persons in Bands 1 and 2 who were settled near together at the time. Khuan//a, the mother of /Gunda, /Nai's fiancé, had diverted a gift which people thought was making its way to Gao Medicine, the present husband of /Nai's mother. Instead of giving it to him at the time when an exchange of gifts was in order, she gave it to one of her relatives. /Nai's mother's sister, /U, sitting at her own scherm, began ' the talk ' by letting it be known what she thought of Khuan//a, in a voice loud enough to be heard in the two werfs, a startling contrast to the usual low flow of talk. Di/ai, /Nai's mother, sitting with her shoulder pressed against her sister's, joined in. People in the werfs went to sit at each other's scherms, forming little groups

[1] Lorna Marshall, ' Marriage Among /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxix, no. 4, Oct. 1959, pp. 332–3.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

It occurs in varying degrees of intensity. It is a repeating of something over and over and over again. For instance, whether it is actually so or not, someone may be reiterating that he has no food or that no one has given him food. The remarks are made in the presence of other individuals, but the other individuals do not respond in the manner of a discussion or conversation. In an extreme instance we saw a woman visitor go into a kind of semi-trance and say over and over for perhaps half an hour or so in ≠Toma's presence that he had not given her as much meat as was her due. It was not said like an accusation. It was said as though he were not there. I had the eerie feeling that I was present in someone else's dream. ≠Toma did not argue or oppose her. He continued doing whatever he was doing and let her go on. 154 521 578 621

All these ways of talking, I believe, aid the /Kung in maintaining their peaceful social relations by keeping everyone in touch with what others are thinking and feeling, releasing tensions, and keeping pressures from building up until they burst out in aggressive acts.

Aspects of Good Manners

In /Kung society good manners require that, when /Kung meet other /Kung who are strangers, all the men should lay down their weapons and approach each other unarmed. ≠Toma, leader of Band 1, approached us unarmed the first time we met. After we were accepted and given Bushman names, we were no longer strangers and we never observed the practice again. 576 [123]

Good manners require that visitors be received courteously and asked to sit by the fire. The woman whose fire it is may welcome the visitor by taking a pinch of the sweet smelling *sa* powder, which she carries in a little tortoise shell hung from her neck, and sprinkling it on the visitor's head in a line from the top of the head to the forehead. 574 [302]

Good manners in eating express restraint. A person does not reveal eagerness or take more than a modest share. When a visitor comes to the fire of a family who are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a little distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share. On several occasions we gave small gifts of corned beef to be shared with a group. The person who received the food from us would take only a mouthful. Once an old headman only licked his fingers. The lump of food would be passed from one to another. Each would take a modest bite. The last person often got the most. I found it moving to see so much restraint about taking food among people who are all thin and often hungry, for whom food is a source of constant anxiety. We observed no unmannerly behaviour, no cheating and no encroachment about food. Although informants said that quarrels had occasionally occurred in the past between members of a band over the time to go to gather veldkos, and although we observed expressions of dissatisfaction, no quarrels of any kind arose over food during our observations. 264 [524] [518]

Good manners in general should be inoffensive. Any behaviour which is likely to stir up trouble is regarded with apprehension and disapproval by the /Kung. In view of this, the joking relationship has its interesting side. Men and women who have the joking relationship insult each other in a facetious way and also point out actual faults or remark on actual episodes which embarrass a person. Everyone joins in the 576 522

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In contrast to the joking is their care in other aspects of conduct to avoid giving offence. ≠Toma said, for instance, that, if he were forming a hunting party and a man whom he did not want asked to join him, he would be careful to refuse indirectly by making some excuse and try not to offend the man.

Gossip which can stir up trouble is discouraged. People do gossip but usually discreetly, in low voices, with near and trusted relatives and friends. It is best to mind one's own business, they say.

People are expected to control their tempers and do so to a remarkable degree. If they are angry, aggrieved, or frustrated, they tend to mope rather than to become aggressive, expressing their feelings in low mutters to their close relatives and friends. ≠Toma told us that he had lost his temper twice when he was a young man and on one occasion had knocked his father down. On the other he had pushed his wife into hot ashes. It had so frightened him to realize that he could lose control of himself and behave in this violent way that, he said, he had not lost his temper since.

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The /Kung custom of sharing meat helps to keep stress and hostility over food at a low intensity. The practical value of using up the meat when it is fresh is obvious to all and the /Kung are fully aware of the enormous social value of the custom. The fear of hunger is mitigated; the person one shares with will share in turn when he gets meat and people are sustained by a web of mutual obligation. If there is hunger, it is commonly shared. There are no distinct haves and have-nots. One is not alone.

To have a concept of the potential stress and jealousy which meat-sharing mitigates in /Kung society one has only to imagine one family eating meat and others not when they are settled only five or ten feet apart in a firelit werf and there are no walls for privacy. The veld does not hide secret killing and eating because actions are printed in its sands for all to read. The idea of eating alone and not sharing is shocking to the /Kung. It makes them shriek with an uneasy laughter. Lions could do that, they say, not men.

The custom of meat-sharing applies only to the big game animals. Small animals the size of duikers or smaller, birds, tortoises, lizards, grasshoppers, snakes, and ostrich eggs are picked up incidentally and belong to the person who shoots, snares, finds or catches them. He may keep these for himself and his immediate family and may share them as he chooses, as if they were veldkos. ≠Toma says that, if there is only a little, he and his family eat a meal and give a little to anyone who happens to be near by at the time.

Meat-sharing applies to the big animals which are deliberately hunted by organized hunting parties. In the Nyae Nyae region they are kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok, warthogs and ostrich. Eland are found less commonly and buffalo rarely. The Nyae Nyae hunters managed to shoot giraffe occasionally. Giraffe are royal game by S.W.A. law, but the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not known this. When they were told, they called them 'Morrisi cows'. (Mr. Robert Morris was the Commissioner of Native Affairs at Runtu.)

The system by which meat is shared begins with the hunters, but the composition

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

776 782 In spite of their reluctance to say the gods' names in serious discussion, the /Kung say them in blasphemy. (The word for cursing or blasphemy is *za*. Cursing is also called 'mouth-medicine'.) The medicine men curse the gods when they are combating their evil intents in the curing ceremony. A light-hearted blasphemy also occurs among the /Kung, as among ourselves, and the names slip from men's mouths in an insouciant way, as though they did not really mean them, as we say 'God Almighty!' or 'Jesus Christ!' in our inconsequential swearing.

I wondered if we should find that certain names were more closely associated with certain phenomena, like lightning or rain, or with special functions, such as presiding over childbirth, but all my inquiries on this theme led me to the conclusion that the names do not have such associations. There appears to be, however, a vague tendency, though not a strict rule, to associate some names more with benefaction, others more with ill treatment of the people. *Gani ga*, which is a very respectful name, seemed to come to mind when they wanted to show that they were well disposed towards the god and wanted to thank him or ask him sweetly to help them. */Gara* and *≠Gaishi ≠gai* we heard spoken in anger. They are 'scolding' names. One man used *Hnwe* when he spoke of the greatness and power of the god, saying '*Hnwe* was the tallest of the Bushmen, a great man with many names', and *Hishe* was the name used when the creator said, 'I am *Hishe*. I am unknown.' *Kxo* was not often uttered. The name *//Gamwa* will be discussed later.

Two Images of *≠GAO/NA*

≠Gao/na, *the Protagonist of the Old Tales*

776 539 *≠Gao/na*, we were told, was the oldest name of the great god. Through that name the /Kung identify the great god with an old *≠Gao/na*, the protagonist of many ancient tales. Some sense of logical necessity, I believe, compelled the /Kung to merge the two concepts so that they say, when they are asked, that the *≠Gao/na* of the tales and the great god are the same being, but this is a forced and superficial verbal resolution, for the two beings could hardly be more different. The people, I believe, really imagine them as different, and behave in quite a different manner as they speak of them. They tell the tales of the old *≠Gao/na*'s doings without restraint, [522] say his name aloud, howl and roll on the ground with laughter at his humiliations, whereas, when they speak of the great one in the east, they whisper and avoid his name. Yet they think that somehow in the rightness of things these two beings must be one, so one they are said to be.

The old *≠Gao/na* was a kind of culture hero. He had supernatural powers. He could change himself into other forms and could change people into animals, bring people back to life, &c. He was a great magician, with powers over magic substances and objects. But, although he gave fire to mankind, he could not be called a great [372] benefactor of mankind. He wanted fire for himself because he liked cooked food and gave the fire to man rather as an afterthought. He was not very much concerned with man or with man's morals. He was not the death-giver, involved in the mysterious inevitable necessity of death, or a wrathful punisher, like Jehovah. Such vengeance as he took was not a mighty vengeance but only a getting back at those who tricked [266] him. And usually his reason for killing someone was his own hunger. In those oldet days, according to the tales, people were always eating one another or parts of one

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

539 sandals.' ≠*Gao/na* came back and got his sandals and ran after the paouw again, but the paouw was gone by this time. ≠*Gao/na* cursed at his wives, 'You stupid lazy women, why were you so lazy that you lay down and didn't stir the pot?' The wives were much annoyed that ≠*Gao/na* had wanted to eat their brother.

Next day ≠*Gao/na* went hunting. While he was away his wives, because they were very annoyed, turned themselves into */qui twa* veldkos [a veldkos which is like small cucumbers]. When ≠*Gao/na* came home he saw the pile of ripe */qui twa* and ate them all. Then he came and sat by the fire. Soon he heard something laughing. He looked around but no one was there. He heard the laughing again and looked around. 'What is that?' he said, but he could see nothing. He heard the laughing again and again. 'Where is that laughing coming from?' he said. It was his wives inside him laughing at him and at this they kicked and kicked until they burst his stomach open and came out and were women again. ≠*Gao/na* was very surprised. How did he eat his wives? he wondered. */Naru*, a dung beetle, then came to sew up ≠*Gao/na*'s stomach. It was very sore. ≠*Gao/na* squirmed and struggled when */naru* pricked him. Then came a little *xwa xwa* fly. He took over the sewing and sewed so gently that it was only like a tickling. ≠*Gao/na* was healed and soothed and he slept.

Next day ≠*Gao/na* went hunting again. He was annoyed with his wives for tricking him into eating them and for laughing in his stomach and bursting him open. Presently he came upon some fruit. He said, 'Oh, if only I had my sister or mother to gather veldkos for me!' He turned back and told his wives where the fruit was and went on the other way. The wives went to gather the fruit, but ≠*Gao/na* with his medicine had made the heavy fruit able to fly from the tree and hit the women so that they ran away crying. [The /Kung who were telling the story made the sounds which the fruits made bombarding the women, slapping
● [522] themselves, crying like the wives, and rolling over with laughter.]

The wives returned to their werf. They were quite sad because their husband had treated them in this way and they discussed what they would do to get even with him. Next day they went out for veldkos again. They came to a place which they decided was right for their plan. They dug a big pit. Into it they opened their bowels and the pit was full of faeces. They then went to their werf and waited for ≠*Gao/na*. When he returned they said, 'If only we had a brother, he would go and kill the little eland we saw.'

≠*Gao/na* said, 'My wives, *I* shall go for you.'

They said, 'We know you are lazy, but our brother would go.'

But ≠*Gao/na* said, 'No, my wives, I shall go for you tomorrow.' So they slept. The next day the wives led him to the place where they said they had seen the little eland, where they had made the pit. They said, 'There it is, by that tree. You must go quietly.'

≠*Gao/na* brought an arrow out to shoot the eland, but the wives said, 'You lazy man, do not shoot it; catch it.' So ≠*Gao/na* got out his spear and the wives said, 'You will let all the blood run out. We like the blood to eat. That is what we meant when we said we wished we had our brother here to kill the little eland.'

So ≠*Gao/na* put his spear away. The wives said, 'Right there is where the little eland is; you must jump on it and catch it. We shall go on either side to help you.' And, when they were near, they said, 'Jump and fall on it and catch it.'

≠*Gao/na* got all set and made himself steady. Then he jumped and fell into the pit and the wives ran in every direction, laughing and saying how lazy he was. There he was in the pit. He could not stand up. He slithered around 'like a snake', the people said with graphic gestures and shrieks of laughter. He got up and fell down again, he got up again and fell again, swearing at his wives and cursing them. 'These wives are very cruel.' [The people
[195] imitated his voice, higher than a man's voice and mumbling.] When ≠*Gao/na* finally got out of the pit he went to a water-hole and washed himself and walked home in the evening thinking of what he would do to his wives to punish them.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

539 [154] know something which they did not know, they became defensive. /U said that her mother was lazy and did not tell her stories. That was why she knew so little. Old Xama said that her mother died when she was young, so she had remained ignorant.

[522] The story of ≠*Gao/na*'s raping his son's pretty young wife is long and detailed and is recounted with humour and great enjoyment by the /Kung. ≠*Gao/na* tried to be away with the women alone while they were gathering veldkos. First he changed himself into a baby wildebeest, pretended that he was dead, and let the women pick him up. That plan did not work, so he made another. He disguised himself very cleverly as his own sister and went with the women to gather when they stayed overnight, and raped his son's wife, Te, in her sleep. In the morning when the women discovered who he was, he tried to persuade Te that it was not he but her husband, Kxoma, who had been there in the night, but Te knew it was not and was terribly upset. The women decided not to tell Kxoma or Khan//a, because they were afraid the sons would kill their father, so they all kept quiet when they returned and they lived in peace.

These stories have become very mixed up. In another version, the pit episode is used again. It is the sons' wives who dig the pit and entice ≠*Gao/na* to jump into it in revenge for ≠*Gao/na*'s 'spoiling' Te. The substance in the pit is not faeces but ≠*Gao/na*'s own semen. The women shape the semen into the form of a young giraffe. When ≠*Gao/na* finally gets out of this pit he cleans himself by rubbing himself on trees.

≠Gao/na *and His Stupid Generosity*

≠*Gao/na* sometimes prevails in his endeavours, but he has lapses and often appears to be far from clever. In one story he is both stupid and generous—too generous. This is a very long story in which Kxoma and Khan//a, his sons, kill an eland. Lions come and kill the sons. With the help of *zam zam*, the little tortoise, who was a person then and another brother of his wives, ≠*Gao/na* kills the lions by magic and restores his sons to life. The story ends in their all returning to the werf with the eland meat. They walk along. They meet a man. They give him gifts of meat. This man quickly hides his meat in a tree, then, dodging along behind some bushes, he runs ahead and meets ≠*Gao/na* and his party again. The sons and *zam zam* say, 'We have already given you some meat', but ≠*Gao/na* cannot remember and gives meat again. A third and a fourth time the man runs ahead and ≠*Gao/na* gives again, [522] in this way. [Dam and /Qui were speechless with laughter acting this out.] For the fifth time the man runs ahead and ≠*Gao/na* does not remember him and gives him his last bundle of meat. ≠*Gao/na* would now have to return to his wives without any meat for them, but instead he hits his buttocks very hard. He hits them and hits them until he knocks his insides out. He cuts his insides into pieces, like meat, and takes them to his werf. Others have meat but he has none except his own insides. He cooks them for his wives. They say the meat is too tough to eat and ask, 'Why do the others have nice eland meat and you only this?' He says it is eland meat but that it has become dry. ≠*Gao/na* and his wives go hungry.

A story about ≠*Gao/na*'s getting fire was told in several versions. In one of them the name *Hiwe* was used. That was the only time I heard the protagonist of the tales called by any name but ≠*Gao/na*.

≠Gao/na *and the Fire Sticks*

There was a time when no one had fire except one man whose name was /Kai /Kini. He had fire and the name of this fire was *doro*. [The word for fire is *da*.] *Doro* was made with fire

/149 cont./

249 The Auin have copied this procedure[1] from the Bergdamara of
[177] Oas.
[273] The process of fermentation is unknown.

[1] [i.e., of growing hemp.-Analyst]

K. Toys, Games, Sport

524 Little bows and arrows serve as children's toys.

A Chinese puzzle game is played by young and old, men and women alike. I have chosen the above designation because of the nature of the game.

The partners sit opposite each other in a crouch.

Both tap their thighs with both hands in rhythmic alternation and at the same time murmur meaningless inarticulate sounds.

One partner then suddenly extends his right or left hand toward the other or makes some other kind of motion with his hand. The point, now, is that the opponent must immediately extend the same hand or respond to the given motion with a similar one; in short, he must not allow himself to be confused. [Fig. 11 appears here.]

If, for instance, the opponent motions with the wrong hand or makes any other mistake, his partner very briefly signals his advantage by making a throwing motion with his hand or by striking his right index finger on his left fist (intended to signify: "I am breaking his, that is, the opponent's, head in two"). The game is not interrupted by these rapid signals.

/150/ The entire game is played at a fairly rapid speed.

Sometimes several men sit across from one another and take turns in the matches. Even little boys take part in the game of the adults.

[171] The Herero and Bergdamara play a similar game. The Auin, however, maintain that it is an original Bushman game.

Prizes are not awarded. They play purely for the "glory."

525 Game of chance: this bears great resemblance to the Chinese puzzle game, except that the participants also tap the ground with their knees. The "killing," that is, defeat of the opponent, is indicated by a loud exclamation without interrupting the progress of the game. The stakes (for instance, tobacco, food)

/150 cont./

525 are placed between the players and taken by the winner, but since the luck often changes during a match, the same prize passes back and forth frequently.

I have seen this game played only by two men (not by women and children). One finds especially passionate players

524 among the Auin, in particular among older men.

535 Dancing game of the women (goei) (see Photos. 36 and 37).

I am in doubt as to whether I should classify this under games or dances.

A number of women line up along a tree trunk lying on the ground. All of them in rhythm alternately place the front part of first the right and then the left foot on the trunk. It proceeds in this fashion, slowly at first, then ever faster. If the women have their backs turned to the tree trunk, they place their heels on it in the same fashion.

Sometimes also two rows of women will face each other.

[533] Frequently, a kind of rhythmical singsong is also uttered by them.

The game is begun with everyone calling out //ai, meaning something like "let's go."

In some dances bucks' horns are tied in front of the forehead (eland bull dance). One can hardly designate these as true masked dances, however.

The Auin are acquainted with stilts, which are used by men

481 and boys. I might mention that I did not see any, but when I described them the Auin seemed to be very familiar with them.

526 Foot races (gâ).

The runners line up in a row, and at the word "gâ" they all run. The winner obtains a prize of food or of some useful object (for example, a knife).

Older people act as judges. Bloody quarrels are said to occur

[578] when the prizes are awarded.

Stick throwing (gai or albi).

Thin sticks of any length up to two meters and taken from the rosinkis bush are thrown forward with a whistling swing and from a running start (they are not flung like a spear, but grasped at one end). The object is to throw as far as possible. No prizes are offered; hence it is a real sport. Since it is fairly strenuous, this game, like all the others, incidentally, is played only when

411

Auen

Photo. 29.

Photo. 31.
Ways of Shooting Bows and Arrows.

516
524

Photo. 33.
Game of
Chance.

2:Kaufmann--72 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10

526

Auen

Photo. 35.
Riding.

524
535

Photo. 37.
Dancing Game of the Women.

534
535

Photo. 39.
Dance
Rattles.

2: Kaufmann--73 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10

Auen

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535

Photo. 36.
Dancing Game of the Women [see Photo. 37].

534
516

Photo. 38.
Musical Bows.

535

Photo. 40.
Porcupine Dance.

3: Lebzelter--114 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

535
539 ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

χ'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

●524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

622 Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me
782 concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder
769 dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

782 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are
881 implored in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

"If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband
787 suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up
695 the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root
684 that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

[68 cont.]

1. Birth and Childhood

844 Among the ≠Auin, the husband of a woman in childbed slings the string of his bow around her stomach, but he is not present at the birth itself. The cord is severed with the tip of a reed splinter.

Among the Naron and Nogau, the delivery proceeds as it does
844 among the !Kung; an old woman usually provides assistance, however.

Twins (Hoi-holi) are not desired; among the Nogau one of
845 them is killed.

Among the Nogau, the father gives the child its name.
[553] There the child has its umbilical cord severed by means of a
844 sharp quartz splinter. A woman in childbed may not eat blood and head meat. Until the child is able to sit up, the husband
[833] may not cohabit with the mother. The latter custom is also found among the Betschuana. Nogau children are not allowed to eat
262 the flesh of the wildcat and of two birds (tsugnussi and /gui).
[114] Kaufmann has made some observations concerning children's
524 games; Bleek also provides some data:

Among the ≠Auin little bows and arrows serve as children's toys. The same applies to the Naron and Nagau [sic]. Stilts
[461] are known among the Auin and are used by men and boys. Con-
524 cerning children's games among the Naron, Miss Bleek reports:

The Game of the Big Water Snake

A boy crawls on his stomach to a small pile of sand which is supposed to represent the waterhole. At some distance from it, the children sit in a row, one behind the other, in such a way that each one sits between the legs of the one behind him; he puts his hands on the shoulder of the person in front of him. The biggest child [69] always sits at the front, the smallest at the back. They sing a song that in part is no longer intelligible. (Probably in the children's language.) This big "snake" now moves very slowly around the waterhole, while the water snake from time to time throws sand on it; then the others withdraw. At the end the snake catches one from the row and "eats it." I

[69 cont.] I
524 have observed an analogous game among the Betschuana children
[171] in Epukiro.

The Elephant-Ostrich Game

Again a pile of sand serves as a substitute for a waterhole. Two boys come as elephants and want to drink. Two others imitate ostriches and will not let the elephants get water.

The Oxen Game

Three or four boys represent the oxen. One is regarded as the owner; another wants to steal them. After a little struggle, he gradually succeeds in doing so. Once he has stolen all of them, the game
[532] is over. (Compare the "ox stealing" among the Bergdama from Okombahe.) [Fig. 24 appears here.]

Fig. 24. Magical Contact between Hunters and Game (Salt River Valley, Kaofeld). From H. Obermaier and H. Kühn, Buschmannkunst [Bushman Art].

[69 cont.]

The Bartering Game

524 It is exactly like analogous games in Europe.

The War Game

The boys stand in two rows facing each other and play at shooting arrows. The one shot at tries to protect himself. As soon as he becomes tired, he falls over as a "dead person." The game is played until only one is left.

The Bride-Stealing Game

Two young girls dance behind a bush. They are the brides. Two older girls with sticks follow their trail; they are the suitors who try to catch the two brides. When they have succeeded, two more girls representing the mothers appear, and they try to prevent the abduction of the brides. Finally, however, the brides are abducted anyway.

The Ball Game

The ball game is definitely a women's game, in which small girls and grandmothers alike participate. The players stand in two rows facing each other, and the ball, usually a round watermelon, is thrown from one row to the other.

2. The Boys' Initiation

881 Among the Nogau, the boys are initiated when they reach maturity. The boys' initiation is called Dschai-dschua.

The young man is not accepted into the community of men simply through marriage. He must first submit to the initiation, which proceeds as follows among the Nogau:

Under the leadership of an experienced elder and several

≠ AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[77 cont.]

411 into the reed shaft while the other is poisoned. In other cases, the short arrowhead is joined to a bone spindle by means of a connecting piece made of grass, and this bone spindle is in turn fixed into the shaft so that the arrow is tripartite. The arrows are either carried in the quiver already assembled, or the points [78] are kept in small containers of bark or horn closed off at both ends by leather caps. Three bows of the Nogau had lengths [411] of 89, 95, and 100 centimeters. Animal tendons are used.

The battle insigne of the ≠Auin is a war cap made from the [714] hide of the aardwolf. The bow of the Naron is made of Grevia 411 wood and is about a meter long. Not only tendons but also plant fibers are used for the bowstring. The plant strings are a surrogate that the Bushmen are forced to use today due to the lack of game. The bow itself is reinforced at the ends with a binding of tendons or leather.

The arrow shafts resemble those of the ≠Auin, as do the points. The iron points are not removable and are called male. The metal is obtained from the north and is worked cold by the [325] ≠Auin. The Naron themselves make no iron arrowheads. [Fig. 28 appears here.]

Whereas during Kaufmann's time the ≠Auin did not have the kirri, the Naron have it today; its lower end is sharpened to a point so that it can also be used as a digging stick. The Nogau, though not too commonly, have throwing clubs that [411] correspond to those of the Dama and Herero, but are more crudely worked.

Concerning the Naron, Bleek also mentions harpoons with long, composite shafts, which serve to get jumping hares and the like out of their holes. This tool will be described in greater detail under the Dama [untranslated].

Like all Bushmen, the Nogau make fire by rubbing two 372 sticks together. The female stick is called Dane-di, the male Dane-≠goa. Firemaking itself is designated as Dalisi, one of the many strange words without clicks that we find among the Nogau.

Bushman wells are likewise used and are called //a-si.

312 The girls have a toy (gai-dum) consisting of several sticks of various kinds, which they wear on the chest. They drum on 524 IT WITH THE FINGERS.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 155]

they hurriedly collected whatever veldkos they came across, 773
being closely followed by the *gei-khoib*. In the *ǂao-dama-* 539
ǂnab or dance of the Klipkaffirs who live on the mountain 535
tops, are depicted a couple of Klipkaffirs, carrying heavy loads and closely followed by the Bushmen armed with kirries. The Klipkaffirs are constantly glancing backwards as if anticipating a blow from a kirri. When they see any veldkos they squat down, hurriedly dig it up and place it in their bags. While on the way they are constantly being harassed and threatened with kirries by the pursuing Bushmen. The *ǂao-dama-ǂnab* originated with the Klipkaffirs to commemorate the time when they were held in bondage by the */Koma-khoin* and was taught by them to the latter. It is also known to other groups, *e.g.*, the *Xom-khoin*, but is danced mainly by the */Koma-khoin*.

The *Xom-khoin* have a dance in which are depicted the 535
antics of a group of vultures at the carcass of a zebra. It is confined to men only but the women chant and clap their hands. The carcass is represented by a person lying down. A giant vulture is at the carcass. As the others, who are standing close together some distance away, approach in a row flapping their wings, he raises his wings and makes a dart at them which causes them to stop suddenly and retreat. This dance is known as *man-toea tsi gei-aniti-ǂnab*.

Among all the remaining tribes dances of a similar description are met with, being based as a rule on episodes in the lives of wild animals. Thus the *ǂAo-//ein* and *Xaron* have the turtle dove, duiker, porcupine, guineafowl, jackal and other dances. Games are played by grown-up people of both 524
sexes as well as by children. Among the *Hei-//om* the men play their games on an open place cleared of scrub outside the werft. The principal game is the *bies-//heib* which is played with a round tuber (*bies*). The players line up in two rows facing each other and the bies is rolled from one side to the other. As it approaches the opposite side each member of the latter in turn hurls a pointed stick, shaped like an assegaai (*hei-heigu*) at it. If he misses, the *bies* is rolled to the now opposite side. If he should hit it the *bies* is left *in situ*, the sides cross over and it is rolled towards the winning side again. Those who have hit it have preference in hurling the *hei-heigu* at the *bies*. This game is played by the */Kama-khoin* only.

Among the games played by the women of these communities may be mentioned the *gaarab-/hurub* or white monkey game of the *Xom-khoin*. A white monkey was once seen by a woman who ran home and told the others. The part of the monkey is taken by a woman who stands with her hands covering the sides of her face, leaving only a small opening for peeping through. She sways her head from side to side. The other women form up in a row opposite to her. One goes forward to look at the monkey, gazes at it intently and, when the latter starts moving its head from side to side, beckons and calls to the others to come and see the wonderful

524 thing. This they do one by one, each in turn beckoning to the others to come and see.

In the *surus-/hurub* (game of the ringhals snake) one woman acts as the snake, standing with her hand and forearm raised above the forehead. As the other women approach her she hisses and strikes with the raised hand after the manner of a snake, causing them to scream and retire. This game is said to be founded on the experience of a woman into whose eyes a snake spat while she was trying to drive mice out of a shrub by means of her stick.

The following are a few examples of the games played by the *‡Ao-//ein* and *//Aikwe* of the Kalahari, viz.: *Children's*: [857] a man bartering goods from a trader; cock ostriches fighting with elephants which have come to drink at waterhole; a fight between two opposing groups, small bows and wooden arrows being used; a python lying in wait for and capturing its prey at a waterhole. *Men's*, the ostrich game; throwing the *isani*, in which a thin, short-feathered stick, weighted at one end by means of a large bean (bauhinea esculenta), is flung into the air and kept going by catching it on a stick in its descent and flinging it up again; throwing the stick, in which each player has a thin stick, about three feet long, which he flings forcibly on to the ground in such manner as to make it rise into the air and shoot away from him. *Women's*, catching the ball in which a melon or round tuber is used for the purpose; the capture of brides by young men, etc.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

Food Supply, Etc.

137 The source of the food supply varies very considerably in 184 different localities. In some it is derived mainly from the 268 vegetable, in others from the animal, kingdom. The Kalahari and northern parts of the territory are rich in both plant and animal life and the Bushmen inhabiting those parts consequently have a fairly well-balanced dietary. In the central and southern Kalahari the most important among the vegetable foods are the *tsamma* (citrullus vulgaris), öintjes (cyperis edulis Dtr.) and *//nõun* (Bauhinea esculenta). As one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, *e.g.*, the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuandi, omuve, etc. In addition to the above numerous varieties of edible roots, bulbs, tubers, berries, etc., appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season.

222 Among the *Hei-//om* the following ceremony is observed in connection with the collection of veldkos by the women. It is practised when the fruit of the *‡huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the *‡huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gãus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

252 from the yellow liver and threw that away, but he left the liver and the surrounding fat because he meant for that to be eaten.

The baby, Nhwakwe, who owned the tortoise, came to sit by his father, leaning on Gai's leg and watching, looking smiling into the belly of the tortoise. A tortoise is such a slow tough creature that its body can function although its heart is gone. Nhwakwe put his wrists to his forehead to [524] imitate in a most charming manner the way in which the tortoise was trying to hide. Nhwake looked just like the tortoise.

Gai frowned with concentration and worked with his mouth open, pulled down at the corners. When the intestines were removed, Gai stuffed the cavity with green leaves of the [263] kind that "make your gums numb," say the Bushmen, added for flavor, I believe. The tortoise at this retreated far into its shell with its legs pulled in tightly, and Gai heated the doors again to curl them down. Then he packed the opening with grass and the tortoise's dung, capped it with a tsama-melon cap, and put the tortoise into the oven that was prepared for it like a shallow little grave which the tortoise just fitted, a final agony, for the tortoise once more kicked and struggled as Gai raked hot coals over it. The steam escaping from the moist flesh caused the ashes to bubble and boil, and it was over; the meat was in the pot.

Gai flung the intestines away and sat down near his wife to smoke, and I, who wished that they could at least have killed 539 [776] the tortoise first, thought of the story of Pishiboro and one of his wives, an elephant. Pishiboro is one of the names of God.

One night, when Pishiboro and his younger brother were sleeping, the elephant wife took them both and rolled them between her thighs, which caused them great discomfort. The younger brother said to Pishiboro: "Let us go away now

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

857 The game represents ostriches, perhaps ostriches fighting or
526 mating.
535

The game was intoxicating. The boys danced so fast, so perfectly, and made their rhythm so vigorous and free, that Gai, who had been sitting quietly listening to Ukwane, could stand it no longer. Throwing his great cape around himself, he suddenly leaped to his feet and sprang among the little boys, scattering them like a hawk among sparrows, towering over their heads as he began to dance. He stamped, bent, straightened, and swung his long leg over the little boys' backs, dancing with far more abandon, not as precisely as they, but madly; he took our breath away.

He wore his great kaross backward, flung across his chest, and when he stood still waiting for his turn to leap forward and crouch he was as motionless and dignified as a tribune standing, and when he danced the great wings of his kaross swung like the cape of a bullfighter, masculine, open, and free. He was a wonderful sight, and the old people watching him smiled, and the little boys dancing under his long legs and under the wings of his cape looked up at him and laughed with pleasure because he was playing their game.

Gai was a man of great dignity and for him the dance was not altogether a success, for when the young boys tried to swing their legs over his back they generally kicked him in the rear or in the face. Soon he tired of it and came back to the fire to sit by Ukwane, but he was too excited to stay
524 quiet long and in a moment he tore off his cape and, calling
593
533 Ukwane and his oldest son, he began another rhythmic game, called "Kaross." This is played by several men or boys who rub the kaross between their hands in the way that they rub it to soften or cure it, only they rub more vigorously and accompany themselves with several very rhythmic, very gay, fast songs, sung in falsetto, to imitate the falsetto singing of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

 524 593

women because, say the men, women's voices are admirably 533 beautiful.

Twikwe and Tsetchwe sat side by side, their legs straight [516] out in front of them, the soles of their feet lit by the fire. 535 They sang gaily and clapped their hands while the baby 562 Nhwakwe walked up and down on Tsetchwe's leg, balancing himself like a child who is walking on a railing, then climbed to her shoulder and stood there triumphantly without holding on, gazing around like a child on a hill. He looked utterly astonished when Tsetchwe suddenly swept him to the ground and, flinging off her cape, jumped to her feet and began to dance. Everyone was astonished. Women almost never dance, although they are quite welcome to, but least of all Tsetchwe, a very conscientious mother and wife.

Tsetchwe's dance was extremely lively and extremely gay, and everyone except Nhwakwe looked up at her happily. She sang and waved her arms with great abandon, and danced her gay dance right behind the men, just for once flinging motherhood to the four winds and dancing right over her baby, who came trotting sadly after her, holding up his arms to be carried. In a moment the baby gave up and went to the lap of his grandmother, frowning as his mother danced happily by him again. When Tsetchwe finally got tired and flung herself down on the ground he ran to her and nursed immediately to reassure himself. She held him loosely in one arm as she coughed from exertion and laughed, with a pleased, shy expression on her face that said: this is what I used to do when I was younger.

When the people were tired of dancing they still seemed 821 to feel like talking, and as the moon was down and the stars showed clearly we asked Ukwane to tell us something about the sky, and we pointed to several stars to learn their names.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER FIVE

Gai and Ukwane

At our camp in Ai a ha'o I had a small tent not high 136
enough to stand in, tied to a very small thorn tree. The tent was made of ragged, waterproof fabric which billowed in and out when the wind blew, and when lit from the inside by a candle at night looked luminous, pale green, like an aquarium or a lantern on the moon. The tent was a shade from the blazing sun at noon and a shelter from the wind, and through the thin canvas I could hear the creatures that passed at night—hares and small buck that made the long grass rustle, and occasionally small predatory animals, such as jackals, whose footsteps make a sound and which sometimes call "*tsa, tsa,*" their sad, loud cry that means in Gikwe "water, [192] water."

Whenever an animal called, someone would surely answer 524
it. People do this for fun, a hobby, answering every animal 825
except the lion. In the Kalahari it is considered safer to let the lion have the last word.

I had luckily pitched my tent in the sun, and during the 123
long cold period that followed our arrival at Ai a ha'o I was the only person who was warm because the tent kept out the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

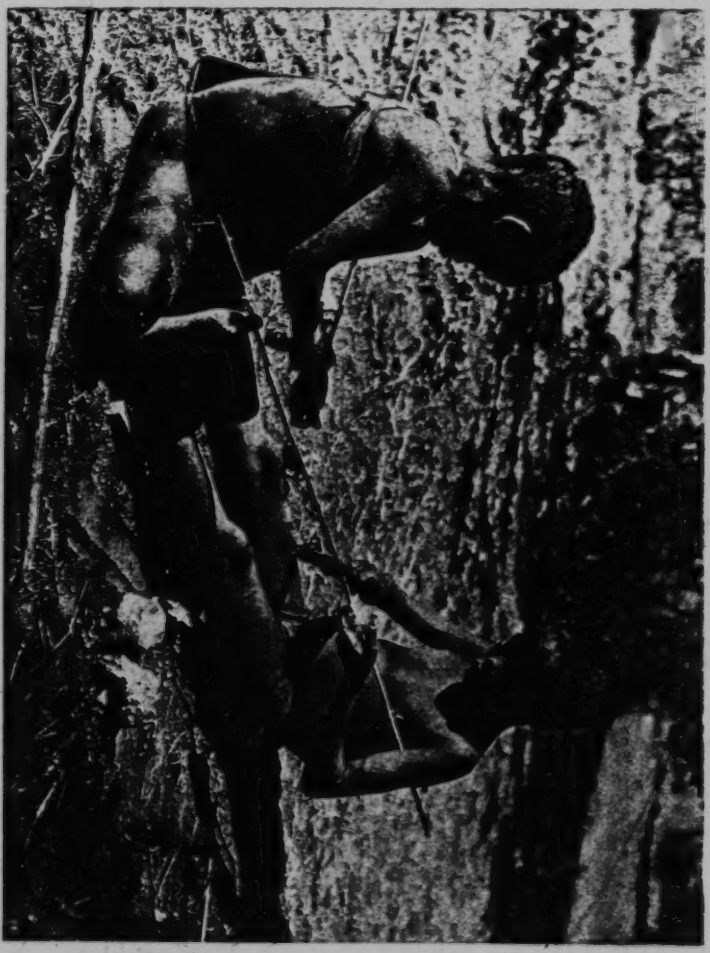
513 a loud baby snore, saliva from his open mouth moistening Gai's dark skin, but Gai absolutely silent in the fast, still sleep of a hunter. Only Twikwe was not sleeping. She lay on her belly with her chin propped up with one hand as she built a precarious little toy hut out of strips of bark, carefully, the way one builds a card house. When I came by to look at the people she looked at me with her amused, wise-woman's eyes.

515 In the afternoon the young boys naturally woke up first, as they were so entwined that the movement of one was bound to wake the others, and began sleepily to delouse each other, taking turns in pairs, one lying with his head in his partner's lap while his partner searched through his hair, catching and biting the lice he found. Then they cut each other's hair with a razor blade they had got from someone in our expedition, cutting away certain tufts of hair and leaving certain others until patterns on each head were formed, ranging from scalplocks to rather fine designs. One boy had only two tufts left on his entire scalp, one on each side, like a pair of horns; another boy had an egg-shaped pattern of tufts but with two holes of bare scalp showing so that when he bent his head he accidentally presented an oval face with a pair of staring eyes. All the patterns were supposed to be geometric, never intentionally having fantastic or representative designs. Wite's head was shaved entirely, his partner having shown no imagination at all; and his bare head made his ears seem even larger and more pointed, his face more elfin even than before.

It was a gray, hazy afternoon. Below the fine overcast were clusters of little white clouds all grouped together like white flowers. In the west a greak cloudbank was gathering, an ominous sign.

Later, when the young boys had dispersed to play horse and

524



WOODEN WANDS ARE WHITTLED by pair of intent !Kung boys, in preparation for a children's game. Bounced off ground, the sticks sail through the air for yards. Woodworking and exercise from the game help to prepare future hunters.

[p.61]

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HUNTER'S TRAINING starts as childhood play, above, and !Kung youths will use anthills as targets and even stalk beetles as a game. Although their arrows are featherless.

[p.65]

524

HAPPY LIFE of children includes such moments as these: a laughing game of "pull-away," above.

423 bodies—from day to day. If the water-
312 holes were not shared, some bands would be without permanent water.

621 Not all !Kung territories are of equal value in terms of food and
166 water. Some people have *mangetti* nuts, some have *tsi*, and some have
361 both. There is mild wealth, and gentle poverty in *Nyae Nyae*. Territories also change in value year by year. The rains may fail in some parts of *Nyae Nyae*, and fall in others. In normal years, *mangetti*'s in the north may become available earlier in the season than those of the western forests. Because of the flexibility of band composition, the bands gathering *mangetti*'s in such a favored area are enlarged by people who would otherwise have to wait.

This is usually a temporary situation, the newcomers having more the status of guests than members of the bands. Often, whole bands—headman and all—will visit kin in this manner. During years of dessication, the fact that a person has several choices of bands in which to live becomes vital to him—he can move from a hopeless place to perhaps a better one.

By such means, balance works out between the desert's resources and the numbers and distribution of !Kung who exploit them. No one district or *mangetti* forest could support more than a limited number of people. Only certain people possess the necessary kinship qualifications to join a band. The flexibility of their

[p. 87]

Il: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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[p. 89]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Sinews

Made and used by men

bow-strings
wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison adheres well to sinew)
binding for hafts
snares

Made by men, used by all

strings for *//gwashi* (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

fine rolled cord

Horn

Made and used by men

horns fitted with leather covers for carrying arrow-points
horns for cupping

Used by all

horns for pipes
horns for spoons

Shell

Made by men, used by all

ostrich egg-shell water-containers
tortoise-shell dippers
tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

ostrich egg-shell beads

Feathers

Used by boys on *jani* toys
Worn by all occasionally in hair

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

Wood

Made and used by men

bows
spear handles
axe or adze handles
knife handles
knife sheaths
spring-hare hook handles[1]
fire-making sticks
hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

digging sticks
carrying sticks
stirring sticks
mortars and pestles
bowls
spoons
fire scrapers
//gwashi (musical instrument)
one-stringed violin
jani toys
beads

Made by women

frames for scherms

Fibres

(from *sansevieria*, aloe, *//nea* tree roots, other roots)

Rolled by men and women

cord

Made and used by men

carrying-nets
snares

Made and used by all

ornaments

Grass

Made by men and women

stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-containers
ornaments

Made by women

scherms

Made by children

toys of grass folded and woven to suggest animals

Used by all for beds

[1] Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying. They carry only the hook around with them and whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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4. The jani bird toy

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5. Boys catch the jani bird with sticks before it touches the ground and toss it high into the air again

[p.228 (c)]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The dancing of the men in the curing ceremonial dances has its own special style. 796 535 In other dances, that of the *Choma*, the Men's Dance, the Eland Dance of the First Menstruation Ceremony, and in the numerous singing-dancing or rhythmic games which the /Kung play for fun, one sees enchanting pantomime and imitation of [524] animals. In the ceremonial dances we sometimes thought we saw what might be a vestige of the imitation of animals' horns in the way the arms were held, but in comparison with the visual expressiveness of the games, the purpose is not to express by gesture but to produce sound, to be part of the music.

The men wear rattles made of strings of dried cocoons with little seeds or stones inside, which make a swishing sound. These are the only instruments used in the dance. [533] (The /Kung, incidentally, have no drums.) The men dance with knees bent and bodies carried with little motion, leaning forward. On the strong accented beat, the dancer gives a hop and comes down with both feet. On the second beat he holds his weight on one foot (alternating right and left) and with the other stamps a single step or ripples two or three light stamps into the time of the single step. The steps are very precise. They are minute in size, advancing only two or three inches, but they are strongly stamped, and ten or twenty dancers stamping together produce a loud thud. The women clap loudly and sharply. The majority of them clap the basic pattern of a particular piece, while some strike a beat or beats which are complementary to the basic beat. The clapping and stamping are of such precision that they give the effect of a well-played battery of percussion instruments producing a solid structure of intricate rhythm. Above the percussion sounds, the voices of the men and women weave together in parts, singing the medicine songs.[1] Since singing and dancing are one, producing the music, I speak of medicine songs or medicine dances interchangeably.

The medicine songs or dances of the /Kung are named *Rain*, *Sun*, *Giraffe*, *Eland*, *Honey*, *Buffalo*, and *Mamba*. Some of the /Kung have *Gemsbok* and *Spider* Medicine music as well. The Rain Dance is not danced as a specific rain-making ceremony. The dances named for animals do not produce magic to control these animals in hunting or to prevent snake-bite, for example. The dances are named for these things because the things are vital, life-and-death things and they are strong, as the curing medicine in the music is strong.

After several dances have been danced the medicine men begin to cure. The /Kung 535 do not have sorcerers, witches, or witch doctors, and do not believe that the divine 796 beings enter into the medicine men or speak through them. Almost all the /Kung 756 men are medicine men. They do not all choose to practise, for one reason or another, but there are always several in a band who are active. Medicine men receive no rewards other than their inner satisfactions and emotional release. I know that some of them feel a deep responsibility for the welfare of their people and great anxiety and concern if their curing fails, and a corresponding satisfaction if it prevails. Others of them appear to be less concerned about the people whom they try to cure and more inwardly turned.

When the medicine men are curing, all of them experience varying degrees of [787] self-induced trance, which includes a period of frenzy and a period of semi-

[1] Nicholas England is in the process of tracing the songs and analysing the music, and he has a paper in preparation which will include /Kung beliefs and practices about them.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the
882 parents' fire.

855 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive
857 and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or
[136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and
[868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime,
857 singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults
[512] together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned
857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth
156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men,
[173] the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another
[171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation
[562] ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they
[535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from
[534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony.
[302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of
[304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

middle-aged women who counted up to five children they had reared—the others were never mentioned. The eldest children were already married, the others quite small. 162

Childhood and Family Life

All Bushmen are very fond of their children, who receive love and care without stint.[1] Babies and young children are spoiled, and rarely corrected. The children begin to walk early, but long after a child can toddle it must still ride in its mother's kaross on food-gathering expeditions, giving her an additional burden to carry wherever she goes. When finally old enough to look after themselves, the youngsters go out with other children, trailing after the women or bigger girls. They have no special playthings; infants amuse themselves with sticks and stones and grasshoppers, playing about in the sand, while the young boys soon make themselves or are given little bows and wooden arrows, with which they shoot small birds and reptiles. 855 857 [524]

Both boys and girls go out with their elders on the daily excursions in search of food, even the babies go, riding in their mothers' karosses. The day is spent out in the open veld, and here the children receive most of their education. The girls accompany their mothers, from whom they learn to know the plants and animals, and their value as food, how to collect veldkos, and how to use the different implements and utensils. The bigger boys follow the men out hunting. Towards his eighth or ninth year each boy is provided by his father with a proper bow and arrows, which are, however, not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbok or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows, and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veldcraft. 868

In this way the children grow up in intimate contact with Nature, and acquire all the knowledge necessary for hunting and collecting. In the evening they run about near the huts, play various games, mostly denoting scenes of animal life, take part in the dances, or sit by the fire, listening to the talk of their elders, until they feel 857

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 18 sqq., 31–3; Passarge, op. cit., 100; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 133–4; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 89–90.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

535 which the performers imitated all the actions and droll grimaces of
825 rival baboons, springing, gambolling, and running upon all fours, chattering and grimacing like a troop of excited simiadae. Another, and one which also appeared a favourite amongst them, was the *'Kloo-rou-o*, or Frog dance, in which they squatted, and leaped, and rolled about like a lot of inebriated batrachians. A third of this kind was the *t'Oi*, or Bee dance, when the company transformed themselves into a swarm of bees, and performed their evolutions with a buzzing chorus. "On special occasions," Stow continues, "they held a general masquerade, when each one took the disguise or head-dress of some particular bird or animal, and upheld the character during the performance. This appears to have been considered one of their grand national dances, and was reserved for their high festivals; it was one which even their greatest artists delighted to depict, and probably it had some hidden meaning known to the initiated."[1] It is not unlikely, as Stow suggests, that such dances were also of a ritual character, but of their function and relation to the social life generally hardly anything is known.

Games are often played in the evenings too, by grown-up people
526 of both sexes as well as by children.[2] A favourite game of the women,
535 found among the Southern Bushmen, as well as in the north, is a ball game which is almost a dance. The players stand in a line
[533] clapping their hands and singing a wordless tune. One of them dances about opposite the others with a melon or round tuber in her hand. At the end of the tune she throws the ball to the player at the right hand of the line, who dances out to catch it, and herself dances back to the left end, where she joins in the singing and clapping. The next player does the same, and so the game goes on till all have had several turns. Sometimes, again, they play at the capture of
524 brides by young men, as among the Naron, or at games based on
536 animal experiences, as among the Heikum. One of the latter, for instance, represents how a white monkey was once seen by a woman who ran home and told the others. "The part of the monkey is taken by a woman who stands with her hands covering the sides of her face, leaving only a small opening for peeping through. She sways her head from side to side. The other women form up in a row opposite to her. One goes forward to look at the monkey, gazes at it intently and, when the latter starts moving its head from side to

[1] Op. cit., 117–18.
[2] Stow, op. cit., 97–102; Kaufmann, op. cit., 149–50; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 18–21; Fourie op. cit., 97–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

side, beckons and calls to the others to come and see the wonderful thing. This they do one by one, each in turn beckoning to the others to come and see."[1] 524 536

Men's games have mostly a competitive character. In one each player has a thin stick, which he flings forcibly on to the ground in such a manner as to make it rise into the air and shoot away from him. Each strives to make his stick go farthest. In another a thin short stick, with two or three feathers tied to its upper end and weighted at the lower end by means of a large berry or bean, is flung into the air and kept going by catching it on a stick in its descent and flinging it up again. In others, again, a small melon or some similar object is put up as a target at which, from a certain distance, the men shoot with their arrows or throw their spears, the successful marksman receiving some food or tobacco as a prize. Still another, described by some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen under the name of "Bushman cards", is played with a stone or small piece of wood. The man who has the bit of wood rapidly changes it from one hand to the other, so as to bewilder his companions, and finally asks one of them to guess in which hand it is concealed. If the guess is wrong the player sings out, "You eat the dog, I eat the meat," but if the guess is correct he says, "I eat the dog, you eat the meat," and hands the wood over to his companion. The players, it is said, will sometimes keep up this game for hours at their evening fire. 526 524

Children's games among the Naron and Auen, again, have such motives as a snake lying in wait for and capturing its prey at a waterhole, a struggle for the ownership of cattle, a man bartering goods from a trader, cock ostriches fighting with elephants who have come to drink at a waterhole, and a fight between two opposing groups, who pretend to shoot each other. In the first of these, one boy is the water snake. "He crouches on knees and elbows close to a small heap of sand which represents the pool. Some ten yards off the other players sit flat on the ground, close behind one another; each one putting her legs on either side of the one before her, and locking her feet over the other's thighs, forming a chain with the biggest in front. They sway from side to side edging forwards as they go, meanwhile singing an old song of which some of the words are no longer understood . . . Now and then they interrupt their slow progress to dig up and eat in dumb show an imaginary water root. On reaching the 'pool', the chain breaks up, all gather round the water 524 857

[1] Fourie, loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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524 and pretend to dip it out. The 'snake' from time to time flicks
857 sand at them with his finger, he is supposed to be squirting water. The others start back and scream, then gather once more round the 'pool'. At last the 'snake' jumps up, seizes a victim and pretends to swallow it, which ends the game."[1]

533 Some of the children's games, as in the one just described, have songs or refrains attached to them, in which the words are occasionally
[535] obsolete. All the dances are also accompanied by singing, many of them having their own special tune, but here the tunes are often sung without words. Other songs, again, go with the playing of musical instruments. The tunes are as a rule very short, and are generally repeated over and over again without variation, so that the effect is rather monotonous. "All Bushmen sing," says Miss Bleek,[2] "but their tunes are not easy for a European to distinguish, much less to write down." And, referring to the dance tunes,
[535] she adds: "The time is perfect, but no two in a chorus seem to hit the same note, though the general burden of the tune is kept up. That is to say, they all go up together, but not from or to the same note, and they all go down together, each hitting any note they please."

Musical instruments are seldom used to accompany the dances,
534 although several different kinds are found.[3] Many of them are variations of the musical bow. The best known of these, the */goura*, was the favourite instrument in the south. It consists in an ordinary bow, in which one end of the string, instead of being fastened to the stave itself, is attached to a flexible piece of quill spliced to the end of the stave. This quill is held against the lips, and made to vibrate by strong expirations and inspirations of the breath, thus producing the effect of a stringed wind instrument. Another form of the musical bow, commonly known as the */gubo*, has a gourd or tortoise-shell attached to the stave of the bow so as to serve as a sounding-box. The instrument is played by picking at the string with a small piece of wood or bone. A development of this sometimes seen consists in playing it like a primitive sort of violin, with a small bow for sounding the string. This mode of playing was probably adopted
[177] from a European source, as the use of a bow after the manner of a

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 19. [2] Op. cit., 22.
[3] Stow, op. cit., 102–11; Passarge, op. cit., 95–8; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 111–12; Kaufmann, op. cit., 150–1; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 21–2; Balfour, "The Goura—A Stringed Wind Musical Instrument of the Bushmen and Hottentots," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxii (1902), 156–76.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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The paintings are most frequently found on the walls of caves and rock shelters, occasionally on isolated rocks out in the open, and in a few rare instances, as we have seen, on small loose slabs of stone associated with cave burials. The engravings, on the other hand, occur as a rule on outstanding or outlying patches of rock out in the open. The mode of occurrence of these two forms of the art seems to have been determined by the nature of the rock surface available. Where the stone was soft or porous and provided large plane surfaces, paintings were generally made; where it was hard, and there was little prospect of the paints taking a good hold, engraving prevailed. This also explains to some extent why paintings are mostly found in the caves and rock shelters produced by the effects of erosion on the relatively soft shales or sandstones, while engravings are seen on the exposed surfaces of such hard rocks as quartzite, diorite, basalt, diabase, and phyllite. 172 532

The technical processes employed in the execution of the designs appear to have been fairly simple. As canvas the rock surface in its natural state was employed; broad plane surfaces were preferred, but where these were not at hand no trouble seems to have been taken either to polish the rough surface of the rock or to level it down in any way.

The only implements used in making the engravings were small pieces of hard stone with a fairly serviceable point. With these the artist would laboriously chip away at the rock surface until his design was completed. Some of the engravings consist of only an outline drawing produced by more or less rough pointing and punching, giving the design an appearance known as "pocked". The pocking is usually very shallow, but in some of the figures a comparatively deep groove has been made. Sometimes the outline is completely filled, so that the engraving consists in a design uniformly pocked over the surface. One also finds a continuous grooved outline combined with a shallow pocked body, and in the best specimens the rock surface surrounding the design has been chipped away, leaving a sort of bas-relief in which shading is often skilfully introduced. Some of the engravings in this style are very beautifully done, and it is indeed astonishing to what a degree of excellence the artists could attain, considering the material disadvantages under which they worked. [524]

The paintings are on the whole superior to and more elaborate than the engravings, and offered more scope for freedom of expression.

/149 cont./

249 The Auin have copied this procedure from the Bergdamara of
[177] Oas.
[273] The process of fermentation is unknown.

[i.e., of growing hemp.-Analyst]

K. Toys, Games, Sport

Little bows and arrows serve as children's toys.

524 A Chinese puzzle game is played by young and old, men and women alike. I have chosen the above designation because of the nature of the game.

The partners sit opposite each other in a crouch.

Both tap their thighs with both hands in rhythmic alternation and at the same time murmur meaningless inarticulate sounds.

One partner then suddenly extends his right or left hand toward the other or makes some other kind of motion with his hand. The point, now, is that the opponent must immediately extend the same hand or respond to the given motion with a similar one; in short, he must not allow himself to be confused. [Fig. 11 appears here.]

If, for instance, the opponent motions with the wrong hand or makes any other mistake, his partner very briefly signals his advantage by making a throwing motion with his hand or by striking his right index finger on his left fist (intended to signify: "I am breaking his, that is, the opponent's, head in two"). The game is not interrupted by these rapid signals.

/150/ The entire game is played at a fairly rapid speed.

Sometimes several men sit across from one another and take turns in the matches. Even little boys take part in the game of the adults.

[171] The Herero and Bergdamara play a similar game. The Auin, however, maintain that it is an original Bushman game.

Prizes are not awarded. They play purely for the "glory."

Game of chance: this bears great resemblance to the Chinese
525 puzzle game, except that the participants also tap the ground with their knees. The "killing," that is, defeat of the opponent, is indicated by a loud exclamation without interrupting the progress of the game. The stakes (for instance, tobacco, food)

/150 cont./

525 are placed between the players and taken by the winner, but since the luck often changes during a match, the same prize passes back and forth frequently.

I have seen this game played only by two men (not by women and children). One finds especially passionate players
524 among the Auin, in particular among older men.

535 Dancing game of the women (goei) (see Photos. 36 and 37).

I am in doubt as to whether I should classify this under games or dances.

A number of women line up along a tree trunk lying on the ground. All of them in rhythm alternately place the front part of first the right and then the left foot on the trunk. It proceeds in this fashion, slowly at first, then ever faster. If the women have their backs turned to the tree trunk, they place their heels on it in the same fashion.

Sometimes also two rows of women will face each other.
[533] Frequently, a kind of rhythmical singsong is also uttered by them.

The game is begun with everyone calling out //ai, meaning something like "let's go."

In some dances bucks' horns are tied in front of the forehead (eland bull dance). One can hardly designate these as true masked dances, however.

The Auin are acquainted with stilts, which are used by men
481 and boys. I might mention that I did not see any, but when I described them the Auin seemed to be very familiar with them.

526 Foot races (gâ).

The runners line up in a row, and at the word "gâ" they all run. The winner obtains a prize of food or of some useful object (for example, a knife).

Older people act as judges. Bloody quarrels are said to occur
[578] when the prizes are awarded.

Stick throwing (gai or albi).

Thin sticks of any length up to two meters and taken from the rosinkis bush are thrown forward with a whistling swing and from a running start (they are not flung like a spear, but grasped at one end). The object is to throw as far as possible. No prizes are offered; hence it is a real sport. Since it is fairly strenuous, this game, like all the others, incidentally, is played only when

/143 cont./

411 All the weapons are both tools for warfare and for hunting,
[526] and in a sense they are also used for sport since contests are fought with them. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

Fig. 6. Lance Points. One-half natural size [as shown in original text].

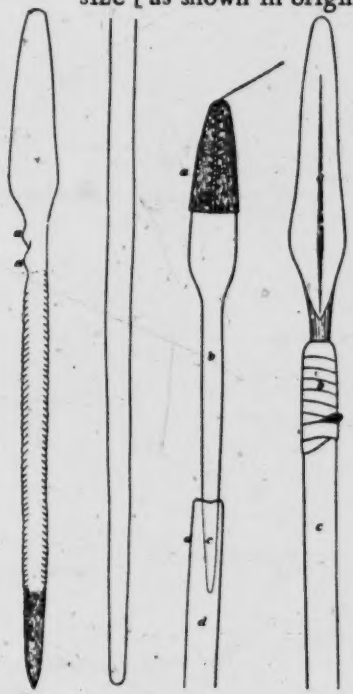

Fig. 6a Fig. 6b Fig. 6c Fig. 6d

[831] Fig. 6a. Iron point: a a, barbs. This is a "male" point; the barbs are the "testicles." The other lance points are "women," because they have no testicles (that is, barbs).

Fig. 6b. Lower end of a lance shaft, showing the tapering of a shaft at the lower end.

Fig. 6c. Iron point attached to the shaft: a, cover of sewed leather; b, iron part; c, iron part that is inserted in the shaft; d, wooden shaft.

Fig. 6d. Upper end of a spear: a, iron point; b, wrapping at

/150 cont./

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/150 cont./

●526 there is a good supply of food, in other words, only during the crop season (rainy season). Sometimes, also, a heap of sand about one and a half meters high is piled up and one must throw over it.

The game is played for hours by boys and men with great shouts of joy.

[171] [177] This sport[1] is likewise practiced by the Kaffir and Herero. The Auin state that it is not an original Bushman game.

Wrestling (see Photo. 34). This seems to have a somewhat more serious character, since the victor deals severely with the loser and has nothing to do with him for a long time. Nonetheless, the Bushmen designate it as a game.

Shooting with bow and arrow (unpoisoned arrow tip toward the front). The target is a tschama or any other soft object, in order to spare the arrow. One by one, the competitors shoot from the same place. The winner receives a prize (food, a knife, or the like).

Spear throwing. The target (tschama) is placed on a stick planted in the ground.

At a distance of 20 meters, only one throw out of 30, performed by six men, hit the target.

The target was an insert from a flour box.

Prizes are offered.

Riding (see Photo. 35). Two men form a "horse," the third "rides." (Gabi, "to ride.")

[1] [i.e., of stick throwing.-Analyst]

L. Music

534 Musical bows of various sizes made of "rosinkis wood" with animal tendons. The striker is made of any kind of wood.

I have a suspicion that the two Auin in Photograph 38 cheated a bit, because one of them has a shooting bow while the other has taken up any old stick. It is likely that just at that moment they had no proper musical bow at hand. At the same time, of course, it is true that one can make "music" on any strung bow. This music, by the way, is clearly audible to other people, not only to the player.

533 /151/ There are no special musicians. On the other hand, one does find certain individuals who clearly take more joy in

2: Kaufmann--71 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10

411

Auen

Photo. 30.

Photo. 32.
Ways of Shooting Bows and Arrows.

●526

Photo. 34.
Wrestling.

●526

Auen

Photo. 35.
Riding.

524
535

Photo. 37.
Dancing Game of the Women.

534
535

Photo. 39.
Dance
Rattles.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

124 like sweat to all the body. He did not understand what the
827 lungs did, or that air went into them, or that air went through the trachea. Breathing, said Ukwane, is air going down into the stomach, where it makes belches. Ukwane did not know about the circulation of the blood, believing that blood ebbs and flows, nor did he recognize pulses in the body except the pulse at the V of the throat, noticeable in people who wear little clothing, which is known as "the place of the heart."

124 The cold night had come, and Ukwane in the frosty grass
826 was shivering, yet he sat for an hour keeping his patience, putting his hands into the cold blood of the springbok to trace veins to their source, prefacing all his answers with positive, qualifying remarks. "I am an old man," he would say, "and I know that the diaphragm separates the heart and lungs from the stomach," or "I am Ukwane, and I know that when the heart is gone the animal cannot live, or a person either, because the heart is that animal's life."

857 As the disection and the conversation went on, the three
526 young boys, joined occasionally by Nhwakwe, the baby, played games all the time, creeping in between the adults to warm themselves by the fire and by the heat of bodies when they could stand the cold no longer. If you wear no clothing your skin is sensitive to very slight changes of temperature, and even the warmth of someone sitting beside you or the heat radiated by a few coals makes a lot of difference. When the young boys were thawed they would again leap into the darkness to play some more. They played a game of horse and rider, in which one boy would leap astride another boy and ride without holding on while the other boy would stagger forward as fast as he could. In a moment, both would fall, jump up again, hitch up their loincloths, and resume the game, only this time the horse would jump on the back of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

the rider. Sometimes two boys would make the horse, one boy 857
holding the wrists of another boy in front of him while a 526
third boy would ride, and these horses, reinforced, were much more successful, traveling farther at faster speeds. Now and then, as we talked by the fire, one of these little phantom creatures would rush silently by us in the dark, its dark rider in silhouette against the sky.

As we talked, we heard music, very sweet, sad music, as 533
though a music box were playing, coming to us from a little distance away. It was Gai's older son, the boy who had come back with us, playing the te k'na to himself. Thus we discovered that Gai had not fared as badly as it had seemed he did in his meeting with the strange Bushmen, for the te k'na had belonged to the man who had laughed at him. All the Bushmen at the fire, who loved music, stopped their talk to listen, and even the young boys were charmed from their game, for they moved silently toward him and crouched in the cold grass to listen, too. Soon they stood up to dance, a usual Bushman dance of men, taking small, pounding steps, [535]
moving in a circle. They danced very well, with freedom and with great precision, but they were too excited to dance for 857
long and instead began to play a dancing game called "Os- 526
trich," performed by two boys dancing forward to face each 535
other. As one either crouches or bends double from the hips, the other, who in the game is called the ostrich, swings his leg over the first boy's back without missing a beat in the rhythm. The boy who bent jumps backward as another boy steps in to take his place. This is repeated again and again, accompanied by spoken, rhythmic sounds: he he *hi*, hehe he *hi*, and the whole game is very fast and vigorous, requiring great practice and co-ordination, as the body movements, which often include the slapping of the elbows against the ribs, are sometimes at counterpoint to the spoken rhythm.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

857 The game represents ostriches, perhaps ostriches fighting or
526 mating.
535

The game was intoxicating. The boys danced so fast, so perfectly, and made their rhythm so vigorous and free, that Gai, who had been sitting quietly listening to Ukwane, could stand it no longer. Throwing his great cape around himself, he suddenly leaped to his feet and sprang among the little boys, scattering them like a hawk among sparrows, towering over their heads as he began to dance. He stamped, bent, straightened, and swung his long leg over the little boys' backs, dancing with far more abandon, not as precisely as they, but madly; he took our breath away.

He wore his great kaross backward, flung across his chest, and when he stood still waiting for his turn to leap forward and crouch he was as motionless and dignified as a tribune standing, and when he danced the great wings of his kaross swung like the cape of a bullfighter, masculine, open, and free. He was a wonderful sight, and the old people watching him smiled, and the little boys dancing under his long legs and under the wings of his cape looked up at him and laughed with pleasure because he was playing their game.

Gai was a man of great dignity and for him the dance was not altogether a success, for when the young boys tried to swing their legs over his back they generally kicked him in the rear or in the face. Soon he tired of it and came back to the fire to sit by Ukwane, but he was too excited to stay
524 quiet long and in a moment he tore off his cape and, calling
593 Ukwane and his oldest son, he began another rhythmic game,
533 called "Kaross." This is played by several men or boys who rub the kaross between their hands in the way that they rub it to soften or cure it, only they rub more vigorously and accompany themselves with several very rhythmic, very gay, fast songs, sung in falsetto, to imitate the falsetto singing of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 spearheads, tobacco and pipes, salt and candy and all the
123 water their containers would hold, all they could drink, and even enough water to wash in, for we had enough to take us to a waterhole a few hundred miles away where we could fill our drums. They did wash. Gai washed his whole body and
[142] emerged a shining gold. The others washed their arms and
[834] faces, modesty preventing their washing the rest, leaving them with golden arms and oval golden masks.

Tsetchwe was pleased with her presents—she hung her white beads in her hair and wrapped herself in the blanket, which, she said, was far softer than leather and which would not get stiff in the rain—but she did not seem happy. She spent the evening sitting beside me, for though we could not talk much with each other I knew that she liked me. "I will cry when you are gone," she said.

576 The two horses, formed by the six young boys, came pranc-
526 ing by, the riders riding loosely, the front feet of the horses galloping but the hind feet, because of the heavy load, trotting up and down. One horse disintegrated in front of us and the young boys who had formed it came forward slowly. The rider, a young boy from Okwa, seemed to want to ask me something. He was very shy, but finally he mustered his courage. "Are you a woman?" he said.

576 Ordinarily, he would have been too polite to ask a personal question, something which Bushmen almost never do because to them asking questions implies distrust, but it may be that on the day before our departure he had found his curiosity impossible to resist. Tsetchwe frowned at him, but I said: "Yes, I am."

The horse had been arguing with the rider, and the two boys who had been the front and hind legs seemed quite triumphant. "We told you so," one said.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

123 When I got up to go
they got up too and Twikwe shook my hand and kissed me
[526] with a great smack, doing at this moment what she had seen Europeans do, not what Bushmen do, for they just wave calmly at each other, if that. But Tsetchwe turned her back to me and would not say good-by. Even among her own people she was lonely, for in her band there was no young woman but herself.

We climbed into our trucks and started the motors. Ukwane called out to us with great sincerity to wish us rain on our journey, a very generous wish, for though his people might suffer from it, it would cool the air and we might even be able to collect enough for a drink. We thanked him, of course, and he repeated his wish again. The trucks started to move and when they did Tsetchwe waved at last, and, lifting her baby to her hip, she waved his hand too, and so we left, and drove away in the direction opposite the one we had come from, over the plains, flatter and wider and longer here than we had ever seen, sloping miles and miles away to tiny trees on the horizon which were farther away than anything we had ever seen before except distant mountains, the earth from a plane, or stars. At noon, many miles from Ai a ha'o, we saw great herds of game, thousands of animals grazing together, and we regretted that the Bushmen were not near the game, or the game not near the Bushmen, for the people could have been feasting, and then we passed through the game into empty plains again, where we saw nothing but grass except once when we saw a plant very like a tumbleweed which leaped over the ground and then was caught by the wind and lifted higher and higher into the sky up against the clouds. It made us sad to see it flying there, the only moving thing in all the country. "It is the plane to America," the interpreter said.

In the evening when we camped, the sun set into a little

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

them with his moods and when he stopped playing and they 533
went away, they, too, were brooding.

Many young people had come to Nama, and together they 857
made Nama very gay. The boys played a game with wands, 526
throwing the wands at a hummock of ground and watching
them bounce off and sail into the grass on the other side, the
nearest that Bushmen come to a competitive game, for the
young boys like to see whose wand goes the farthest.

The girls played a singing game with a melon. They would
stand in a row that formed a half-circle dancing in place while
the girl at one end would spring into the middle of the circle
and toss a melon to the girl next to her in line. The game is
accompanied by a rapid, intricate song of several parts sung [533]
in falsetto voices, as pretty to hear as the game is pretty to see,
for the girls dance with their arms and heads as well as with
their feet, like the dancers of Bali.

At that time there were only two adolescent unmarried 882
girls at Nama. One of these was Beautiful Ungka, the other
was her cousin, and they both lived with the cousin's parents
at one of the werfs of the people from Gam. They were both
extremely beautiful and they were lilies of the field. Since
they were their parents' only children, they had no younger
brothers or sisters to mind, and did nothing at all from one [572]
day to the next but adorn and amuse themselves, and this
they did together, for they were the best of friends. They were
straight and slender, with pale-gold skin not yet darkened and [142]
weathered by the sun of the veld, and they had flat bellies and
high, small breasts. Beautiful Ungka had nipples like knobs,
rounded like balls. Both girls wore ornamented aprons, soft
leather capes—the best that there is. Many bead ornaments 302
hung from their hair and swung when they walked, and al-
most hid their handsome faces.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Those were two willful girls, too beautiful, too proud, too 882 much admired, but the young boys couldn't do enough for 572 857 them. It was one of their admirers who cleared the grass for the werf that the cousin's parents were building, and though the two girls teased and ridiculed the boy all the while, snickering contemptuously at him from behind their swinging beads, he worked on happily until not a blade of grass remained.

But Beautiful Ungka and her cousin were not as sophisti- 883 cated as they thought they were, really, for when they would 526 hear the music of the melon game they would abandon their poise and decorum to run for the sound, arms waving, ornaments and clothing streaming out behind, and when they found the game they had been hearing they would jump into the middle of it and play with abandon, singing loudly and dancing fast for fun. Also, Beautiful Ungka could spit through her teeth like a man. She could draw back her head and spit ten feet and she did this often, smiling scornfully, an astonishing accomplishment for such a handsome girl. Her cousin used to try it too; she could spit a little way but not nearly as far as Beautiful Ungka.

After all, they were only sixteen. There is a Bushman mood 533 song with these words: 539

I am tired and old and without people,
I wish I could marry a young girl.

There were so many great fires around Nama that the sky 132 was dark with their smoke, and when the sun rose in the morning, one day shortly after we had got there, we could not even see it until it was far above the horizon and then it appeared red and enormous, murky. In the west two new fires had sprung up, perhaps lit by Bushmen to show where they were

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

535 which the performers imitated all the actions and droll grimaces of
825 rival baboons, springing, gambolling, and running upon all fours, chattering and grimacing like a troop of excited simiadae. Another, and one which also appeared a favourite amongst them, was the *'Kloo-rou-o*, or Frog dance, in which they squatted, and leaped, and rolled about like a lot of inebriated batrachians. A third of this kind was the *t'Oi*, or Bee dance, when the company transformed themselves into a swarm of bees, and performed their evolutions with a buzzing chorus. "On special occasions," Stow continues, "they held a general masquerade, when each one took the disguise or head-dress of some particular bird or animal, and upheld the character during the performance. This appears to have been considered one of their grand national dances, and was reserved for their high festivals; it was one which even their greatest artists delighted to depict, and probably it had some hidden meaning known to the initiated."[1] It is not unlikely, as Stow suggests, that such dances were also of a ritual character, but of their function and relation to the social life generally hardly anything is known.

Games are often played in the evenings too, by grown-up people
526 of both sexes as well as by children.[2] A favourite game of the women,
535 found among the Southern Bushmen, as well as in the north, is a ball game which is almost a dance. The players stand in a line
[533] clapping their hands and singing a wordless tune. One of them dances about opposite the others with a melon or round tuber in her hand. At the end of the tune she throws the ball to the player at the right hand of the line, who dances out to catch it, and herself dances back to the left end, where she joins in the singing and clapping. The next player does the same, and so the game goes on till all have had several turns. Sometimes, again, they play at the capture of
524 brides by young men, as among the Naron, or at games based on
536 animal experiences, as among the Heikum. One of the latter, for instance, represents how a white monkey was once seen by a woman who ran home and told the others. "The part of the monkey is taken by a woman who stands with her hands covering the sides of her face, leaving only a small opening for peeping through. She sways her head from side to side. The other women form up in a row opposite to her. One goes forward to look at the monkey, gazes at it intently and, when the latter starts moving its head from side to

[1] Op. cit., 117–18.
[2] Stow, op. cit., 97–102; Kaufmann, op. cit., 149–50; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 18–21; Fourie op. cit., 97–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

side, beckons and calls to the others to come and see the wonderful thing. This they do one by one, each in turn beckoning to the others to come and see."[1] 524 536

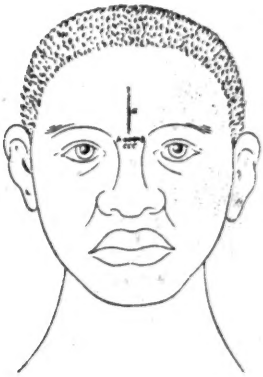
Men's games have mostly a competitive character. In one each player has a thin stick, which he flings forcibly on to the ground in such a manner as to make it rise into the air and shoot away from him. Each strives to make his stick go farthest. In another a thin short stick, with two or three feathers tied to its upper end and weighted at the lower end by means of a large berry or bean, is flung into the air and kept going by catching it on a stick in its descent and flinging it up again. In others, again, a small melon or some similar object is put up as a target at which, from a certain distance, the men shoot with their arrows or throw their spears, the successful marksman receiving some food or tobacco as a prize. Still another, described by some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen under the name of "Bushman cards", is played with a stone or small piece of wood. The man who has the bit of wood rapidly changes it from one hand to the other, so as to bewilder his companions, and finally asks one of them to guess in which hand it is concealed. If the guess is wrong the player sings out, "You eat the dog, I eat the meat," but if the guess is correct he says, "I eat the dog, you eat the meat," and hands the wood over to his companion. The players, it is said, will sometimes keep up this game for hours at their evening fire. 526 524

Children's games among the Naron and Auen, again, have such motives as a snake lying in wait for and capturing its prey at a waterhole, a struggle for the ownership of cattle, a man bartering goods from a trader, cock ostriches fighting with elephants who have come to drink at a waterhole, and a fight between two opposing groups, who pretend to shoot each other. In the first of these, one boy is the water snake. "He crouches on knees and elbows close to a small heap of sand which represents the pool. Some ten yards off the other players sit flat on the ground, close behind one another; each one putting her legs on either side of the one before her, and locking her feet over the other's thighs, forming a chain with the biggest in front. They sway from side to side edging forwards as they go, meanwhile singing an old song of which some of the words are no longer understood . . . Now and then they interrupt their slow progress to dig up and eat in dumb show an imaginary water root. On reaching the 'pool', the chain breaks up, all gather round the water 524 857

[1] Fourie, loc. cit.

304

Fig. 4. Forehead Tattoo.
One-third natural size [as shown in the original text].



a, Longitudinal line
b, Crossbar
} Both formed by countless small incisions which are indicated by the lines.

c, Deeper and longer incisions in the crossbar.

Usually green pigment is rubbed into the tattoo.

Boys and girls are tattooed at about 12 to 14 years of age (also earlier and later) and, of course, by the "doctor" or by the "woman doctor." Special ceremonies or the like are not observed on this occasion, but the operation is performed in the bush away from the settlement. As many young people as possible come from several settlements to be tattooed, but in any case this is only for practical reasons. On this occasion
527 festivities are also held, that is, eating and dancing, but these festivities are only indirectly connected with the tattooing. Whenever several /142/ Bushmen are together, if they have

/142 cont./

527 ample food, they always "celebrate."

The tattoo artist receives no special fee; he is simply pro-
304 vided with food and shelter.

When the forehead tattoo is applied, the patient lies on his back with his head slightly raised. The skin of the forehead above the root of the nose is folded together and drawn up by a man using his thumbs and index fingers. The tattoo artist then makes the little transverse incisions in this fold of skin.

Among men, decorative scars take the place of a hunt record.
[224] For each piece of big game that a man has killed, he wears a horizontal decorative scar, on the right upper arm for male game and on the left upper arm for female game.

[858] Only boys, not men, have scars made for small game (duiker, ibex). Older successful hunters finally dispense altogether with having scars made, after they have enough of them to display.

These decorative scars are made in a manner similar to that used for the forehead tattoo. Sweat (blood) from the killed ani-
[237] mal is always rubbed into them, and usually also the green pigment. The hunting scars are made by any one of the older men. The length of the scars is approximately one-half to one centimeter, the breadth approximately one-quarter to one-half centimeter.

Decorative Scars (or Tattooing) among Women

Green decorative scars on the upper thigh and buttocks up to the waist are worn by all women. These scars can be seen in Photograph 14.

[887] The scars are made in the same way as the forehead tattoo, except that older women make them.

Further investigation was impossible since the Bushmen are very suspicious regarding their women. I am quite content to have succeeded in taking at least one photograph which illustrates these decorative scars tolerably well.

Men and women pierce their earlobes in precisely the same way as is customary among us.

Circumcision is not practiced.

According to statements of the Auin, the labia minora are sometimes clipped.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

(the same word as the title of respect). The !Kung say it is strong medicine: 776
/*num*. The !Kung take for granted his giving to man both sickness and 753
the power to cure it, and account for the power's sometimes failing to cure 778
by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work, or not, according 755
to his pleasure.

He gives the curing power to medicine men (called *num kxao*, medicine 778
owners), appearing to them (usually in dreams, sometimes in what seem 756
to be waking hallucinations) and putting the power into them. He has also [533]
put a curing power in the medicine songs that the people sing at the dances, songs named Rain, Sun, Giraffe, Eland, Honey, Buffalo, Mamba, and Spider —all powerful things. The great god gives the power freely. It is rare to find a man among the !Kung who is not a medicine man. The function of the 756
medicine men is only to cure. They are not sorcerers or witch doctors. (The [754]
!Kung are not a witch-ridden people.) !Kung medicine men receive no rewards or special prerogatives. They work together apparently without rivalry. The medicine men may cure at any time but their strongest curing occurs [535]
at the dance.

Whether or not anyone is sick, the people dance two or three times a 535
month, sometimes more often. Anyone who wants a dance may start one 781
simply by asking people to come and begin. The !Kung like to dance for many reasons. There is the inherent physical pleasure in moving to rhythm. Music and dancing are their arts, from which their aesthetic pleasure comes. [53]
The dances are also social gatherings in which all participate, men, women, 535
children, visitors—everybody. A dance draws them together as nothing else 781
does. Even more important is the fact that the dance is one concerted re- 571
ligious act of the !Kung and brings people into such unison that they become like an organic being.

At the dances not only may the sick be cured, but pending evil and mis- 535
fortune averted. The !Kung believe that the great god may send /*Gauwa* or 755
the /*gauwasi* at any time with ill for someone and that these beings may be 751
lurking, awaiting their chance to inflict it. The medicine men in the dances combat them, drive them away, and protect the people.

Usually there are several medicine men performing at the same time. 755
To cure they go into trance, which varies in depth as the ceremony proceeds. The curing cannot be described in words; it must be heard. When a man begins, he leaves the line of dancing men and, still singing, leans over the person he is going to cure, going eventually to every person present, even the infants. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The !Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. To demonstrate that this is in fact going on and is hard to do, he grunts with shuddering grunts that intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high piercing, quavering yell. Finally, the medicine man throws up his arms

/139 cont./

412 Mortars are made of wood and have a stone floor. Their
322 construction is extremely laborious. A block of wood is buried in the ground, stamped down, and then hollowed out with the iron point of the lance or a knife. For this purpose, the iron is sometimes heated. Fire is not used. The wooden pestle is furnished with a stone at one end. The stone on the floor of the
[381] mortar is cemented with tree resin.

[379] Burning branches are used as a kind of torch, but only briefly in the vicinity of the fire.

Photograph 18 illustrates the shape of the mortar and the pestle. The mortar is made of soft wood hollowed out with a lance point. Fire is not used to hollow it out (see above).

Household utensils. Two flat stones to pound hard veld
415 fruit. Spoons crudely carved out of wood. Wooden pot or empty ostrich eggs /140/ with a round hole as water containers. Fre-
[531] quently some kind of decoration is applied. Digging stick
[412] pointed at one end.

Ornamentation. Unfortunately I did not have time to ob-
301 tain more precise data concerning ornamentation. Ornaments
531 are attached to many objects and consist of such things as ostrich eggs and pipe plugs (which are worn on a string around the neck).

Generally speaking, the Auin has three meals a day (morn-
264 ing, afternoon, and evening). If he has enough food, however, he may eat all day long, with the necessary intervals, and, if it is not too cold, even during the night.

There is no special menu. Whatever is available is eaten.
262 The hyena is not eaten because it "devours corpses." The leopard is supposedly not eaten by all the people. The reason for this is unknown to me. The shabrack jackal is frequently spurned because it "is a dog." On the other hand, they like to eat the silver jackal, because it "does not eat vermin."

[858] Young girls who have not yet menstruated and boys before
[882] they have reached adulthood may not eat game meat because if they did, they would "remain skinny."

I have never observed any traces of cannibalism. Further-
266 more, I was told by old, experienced natives of other races (Klipp Kaffir) that they had never heard of Bushmen eating human flesh.

/148 cont./

628 captivity. Blood vengeance is exacted by the Bushmen for
684 adultery under all circumstances.

J. Luxuries

276 Tobacco, which is exclusively an imported product, is
[439] greatly coveted. A pipe of tobacco is the Auin's greatest pleasure. [Fig. 10 appears here.]

Taking snuff is unknown.

Everybody smokes, including little children.

The Auin manufacture a tobacco pipe (see Fig. 10) from a
324 soft red stone (serpentine) which supposedly is found only at the watering place Korikas. Indeed, immediately above the source, one does find a kind of modest quarry there.

/149/ A fragment of this stone is conically hollowed out with a lance point or an iron knife and then shaved down on the outside toward the hollow until the wall is about two to four millimeters thick. This pipe resembles an ordinary conical cigar
276 tip. A wadding made from the nest of the weaver bird (?) prevents the tobacco from falling out.

Occasionally one will also see a pipe plug or cleaner which usually is made of rosinkis wood without the bark and is attrac-
[531] tively decorated with a kind of pyrography. The decoration consists of lines and dots scratched in with a red-hot needle. The hairline precision of the lines is particularly striking.

The pipe plug (see Fig. 11) is worn around the neck on a chain of glass beads or on a leather belt (see also Photo. 1, the second man from the right).

The Auin only occasionally receives tobacco, either from
[439] the Whites when he performs services for them as a messenger,
[648] guide, and the like, or from Kaffirs employed by Whites, who exchange it for veld food.

Hemp or dacha of the Kaffirs (haium of the Auin).

Hemp is smoked in the ordinary tobacco pipes with equal passion by men and women.

I did not see anyone who had become ill from smoking hemp. The Auin themselves were only aware that its enjoyment sometimes produces nausea.

276
531

Fig. 11. Pipe Plug. One-half natural size
[as shown in the original].

An example of Auin decoration.

The design is scratched on the wood with a needle; the dots are pricked in.

a, hole for a string
a^1, side view
b b, long part
c, point
d, side view of the point

The Bushman second from the right in Photo. 1 is wearing the pipe plug around his neck.

276
439 The hemp is cultivated by the Kaffir in Oas, by the Betschuana in Chanse Veld, and probably also by White farmers. The Auin acquire it through barter.

249 The Auin maintain, furthermore, that they are capable of growing hemp themselves. This "cultivation" is done in the following manner: in soft sandy soil a circular area, 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter, is surrounded by a little dam a few centimeters high. Using one finger, ten to 15 holes are made in the area surrounded by the dam, and a hemp seed is placed in each hole. The "seedbed" is then kept well under water.

/152 cont./

804 reflective and sly facial expression is exactly the same as ours.

O. Techniques

439 A definite domestic industry is present. Whatever the Auin
511 really needs, he is able to manufacture for himself. All imported objects are luxury items. I make an exception in the case of the iron lance points, but I believe that if necessary the Bushman could even do without them.

463 The beginnings of a division of labor can be seen in the fact that only certain individuals practice the smith's trade, which, incidentally, does not extend to the manufacture of lance points.

323 Pottery is unknown.

439 Pots, supposedly from the Okovangga, are to be found sporadically. The Auin, however, is unable to repair such a vessel, as by puttying.

285 Rings of braided grass are manufactured. I myself have never seen them, since they are only made of young, but no longer green grass, in other words, shortly after the rainy season.

[294] It is said that at the same time of year certain special artists braid hat-like head coverings.

The grass rings and hats have only a limited durability, for in September and October there was none left for me to see.

[415] Sieves are made of parallel grass leaves joined together by thin strings. They are used to strain food.

"Kirris" are made with attractive decorations (Fig. 12).

413 A root stock with a knotty end is peeled and made smooth.
531 A kind of pyrography is practiced on it by wrapping it, leaving bare spaces, with a long strip of the wet bark that was peeled off, and then placing the entire stick in red-hot coals. The unwrapped parts burn to a black color, while the other parts remain white.

I could not learn the purpose of these decorated sticks among the Auin. They use rough, pointed sticks for digging sticks. The kirris, therefore, seem to be luxury articles.

412 Iron knives, sharpened pieces of iron, or lance points are used as tools. As an example of pyrography, see the pipe plug, page 33.

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the 293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 291 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re- [123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having [124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in [412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess [325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in [439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that, [53] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead embroidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich 301 egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are [321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence [556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are [462] [306] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of [302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to LENGTHEN THEM.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P70]

[38 cont.]

Weapons

411 The Bushman's chief weapons are the bow and arrows. The bow staff as a rule has a round transverse incision and tapers off slightly toward both ends. The !Kung of the Otjimpolo Veld, on the other hand, use palm wood like the Ovambo. There the wood of the bow is slightly convex on the outside and flat on the inside with squared sides. The string is made of leather, so that in the case of these bows the bow staff is more flexible than the string. A bow of the Otjimpolo Bushmen was 115 centimeters long and 13 centimeters high. The bows of the !Kung discussed here also have leather supports on both sides and commonly are

[291]
[531]

Fig. 9. Embroidered Front Apron of Leather (!Kung).

reinforced with sisal cord. The bows of the Hei//om seem to be differentiated from those of the !Kung primarily in [39] that the bow staff is flat on the outside and convex on the inside. In lieu of the leather strips, reinforcements of palm bast are also often used. The string, depending on the region, is a waxed plant (283) fiber cord, animal tendon (kudu), or fine, twisted leather. The length is about 120 centimeters; the height, 20 centimeters. There are also much smaller bows, however, 95-110 centimeters long.

192 The wood of the !Kung bows is called !howa. The arrow
411 is made of wood. The shaft is called //gau; the feathering,

3: Lebzelter--164 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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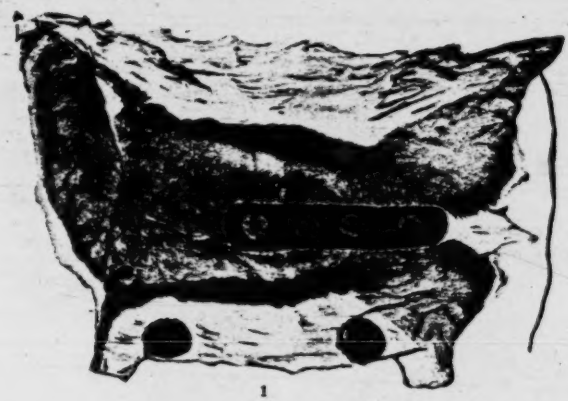

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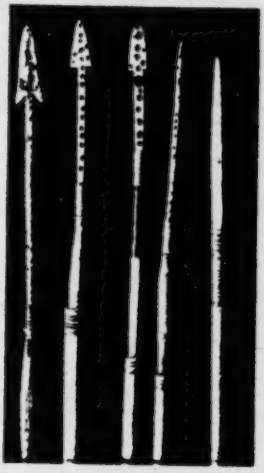

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Plate VI

1. Back Apron (Betschuana), 2. Neck Band (Bushmen), 3. Grass Armbands, 4. Fly Swatters (!Kung), 5. Hide Sack (Kaunas Hottentot), (Museum for Ethnology, Berlin).

6. Bushman Arrows (Cape Province ?) (Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart).

173 Of migration of the Bushmen from elsewhere no mention is made in local native traditions. The Hottentots, Hereros and Ovambos state that on their arrival the Bushmen were found in occupation and that the latter must have been living here ever since the creation of man. The Bushmen likewise believe that their present tribal divisions and distribution have been in existence since the very beginning of things when each tribe had its origin in a "first big Bushman" and a "first big Bushwoman" of its own by whom were handed down to their descendants the practices and customs still peculiar to and the territory still occupied by their respective tribes. Each of the existing tribes with its constituent elements is consequently looked upon as having been "born" in and having been in occupation of the same area from time immemorial. Although claiming descent from the aboriginal race they have lost all knowledge of the arts of painting and engraving. The rock paintings and carvings left by their ancestors are considered to be the works not of man but of the "devil."

[173 829]

[174 531]

174 The view that the present day Bushmen are composed of the remnants of their race driven back by the advance of stronger invading races from the north and south is not borne out by evidence arising out of recent investigations into the life and customs of this primitive people.

Distribution.

101 131 With the exception of a few isolated remnants on the north bank of the Orange River and along the edge of the Namib desert, the Bushmen are confined entirely to the Kalahari along the eastern and north-eastern borders and to the northern portions of the territory which adjoin Ovamboland.

The Bushmen of the Kalahari region consist of three main divisions, each speaking a language of its own, viz.: the *|Nu-||ẽin* or *|Nu-san* in the south, the *Ngami* Bushmen in the centre and the *Kaukau* Bushmen in the north.

The *||Nu-||ẽin* inhabit those portions of the Gobabis, Gibeon and Aroab districts which lie to the east of the Elephant and Auob rivers. The northern limit of their distribution is formed by a line running roughly from Naunas across Oas to the Elephant's River, crossing the Nosob a short distance below the junction of the Black and White Nosob Rivers.

The *Ngami* Bushmen are composed of a good many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In South West Africa they are represented by only a few groups of the *||Aikwe* tribe. These groups are known as the *Naron* and are distributed along the banks of the Chapman River as far as Oas.

The *Kaukau* Bushmen inhabit the greater portion of the Omaheke, including a part of the Kaukauveld and the

114 at a distance to observe my mother and me. By the end of
131 our stay we had become friendly with them, and in 1952 we visited them again. We found them waiting confidently for us, living beside the track our trucks had made, as we had told them that we would come back if we were able, and this time we stayed with them for a year. In August 1955 we returned to them again, but before we did so we spent four months in Bechuanaland. We lived one month with a group of Naron and Kō Bushmen at a place called Okwa (the two groups were mixed together because their territories happen to meet at that place), and almost two months with Gikwe Bushmen in the four-hundred-mile stretch of empty desert between Ghanzi, near the border of South-West Africa, and Molepolole, near the border of the Transvaal. Ghanzi is a small town with a post office and a store, the center of a group of rather extensive European farms. Molepolole is a great Bantu village of the Bakwena (Crocodile) Bechuana people, where a Chuana chieftain lives. The other month we spent traveling to the Gikwe, because they are very remote.

174 Nobody knows where the Bushmen originated, from what racial stocks they came, or when they came to Africa. But here and there throughout southern Africa, in mountain caves and on sheltered rocks, paintings and engravings are found which are known to have been made centuries ago, and are believed to have been made by Bushmen. It is hard to say for certain that Bushmen made the paintings because, to my
[531] knowledge, Bushmen do not paint on rocks or in caves now. However, Kung Bushmen do scratch designs on the bark of trees and on their ostrich eggshells. During each expedition I asked Bushmen to paint for me with paints and paper which I provided. Though none of the Bushmen we met had ever

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

513 a loud baby snore, saliva from his open mouth moistening Gai's dark skin, but Gai absolutely silent in the fast, still sleep of a hunter. Only Twikwe was not sleeping. She lay on her belly with her chin propped up with one hand as she built a precarious little toy hut out of strips of bark, carefully, the way one builds a card house. When I came by to look at the people she looked at me with her amused, wise-woman's eyes.

515 In the afternoon the young boys naturally woke up first, as they were so entwined that the movement of one was bound to wake the others, and began sleepily to delouse each other, taking turns in pairs, one lying with his head in his partner's lap while his partner searched through his hair, catching and biting the lice he found. Then they cut each other's hair with a razor blade they had got from someone in our expedition, cutting away certain tufts of hair and leaving certain others until patterns on each head were formed, ranging from scalplocks to rather fine designs. One boy had only two tufts left on his entire scalp, one on each side, like a pair of horns; another boy had an egg-shaped pattern of tufts but with two holes of bare scalp showing so that when he bent his head he accidentally presented an oval face with a pair of staring eyes. All the patterns were supposed to be geometric, never intentionally having fantastic or representative designs. Wite's head was shaved entirely, his partner having shown no imagination at all; and his bare head made his ears seem even larger and more pointed, his face more elfin even than before.

It was a gray, hazy afternoon. Below the fine overcast were clusters of little white clouds all grouped together like white flowers. In the west a greak cloudbank was gathering, an ominous sign.

Later, when the young boys had dispersed to play horse and

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

to the /Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae /Kung eat hearty meals of meat when they have been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount. They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming journey or against a future day of hunger.

The /Kung are quite conscious of the value of meat-sharing and they talk about it, especially about the benefit of the mutual obligation it entails. The idea of sharing is deeply implanted and very successfully imposes its restraints. To keep meat without sharing is one of the things that just is not done.

Gift-giving

The custom of gift-giving comes, in my opinion, second only to meat-sharing in aiding the /Kung to avoid jealousy and ill will and to develop friendly relations. /Kung society puts considerable emphasis on gift-giving. Everything a person has may have been given to him and may be passed on to others in time. The /Kung make their artifacts, on the whole, of durable material and take good care of them. They last for generations and move in a slow eddy among the people. The dealings are only between individuals, but they are numerous and provide occasion, perhaps more than any one other activity does, for visits which bring whole bands into polite encounter.

We gave cowrie shells as parting gifts in 1951 to the women in ≠Toma's band, the band which first sponsored us and with which we stayed and did our consistent work, wherever they were, on each expedition. We had carefully observed that there were no cowrie shells among /Kung ornaments before we gave them. Ours were bought from a New York shell dealer, perhaps to the confusion of future archaeologists. We gave to each woman enough for a short necklace, one large brown shell and twenty smaller grey ones. In 1952 there was hardly a cowrie shell to be found in Band 1. They appeared, not as whole necklaces, but in ones and twos in people's ornaments to the edges of the region.

The /Kung have not developed special objects to use as gifts. Nor have they invested ordinary objects with special gift significance. What they give each other are the common artifacts and materials of everyday life (see Appendix). Some objects are more highly valued than others as gifts, as one would expect. I gathered that relative scarcity of material was a factor and that objects were appreciated for their beauty, workmanship, and appropriate size (a wide headband is better than a narrow one). People took an interest in remembering to whom an object had been given in the recent past, but the /Kung, who are present-oriented, do not place special value upon antiquity as such or systematically hold the distant past in mind.

The /Kung decorate their artifacts very little (they have developed music and dancing, not the plastic or pictorial arts), but they delight in ornaments with which to adorn themselves. The intrinsic beauty, the meaningfulness, and the relief to the monotony of yellow-brown skin and grey-brown leather karosses are all valued.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae-Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

violin bow is not characteristic of South African native music, 534
although it is well known further north. Neither the */goura* nor the [177]
/gubo is very common among the Northern Bushmen, where the principal and in some cases the only form of musical bow is the hunting bow itself. One end of this is held between the teeth by the performer, who picks on the string with a small piece of wood or bone, varying the pitch by running his fingers up and down the string. Stow describes and figures other forms of the musical bow found among the Southern Bushmen, all of which have been developed out of the simple form.

Among other musical instruments, found principally among the [184]
Southern tribes, was a kind of reed flute or pipe, used with certain of the dances. These pipes were made of reeds cut to different sizes and lengths, so as to obtain a variety of notes. They were played by several performers at the same time, each with a distinct note to his pipe, and the effect lay in harmonizing the different notes. The "rommel pot", */koa*, was also sometimes used to accompany the dance. This was a drum or tambour made by stretching a piece of skin tightly over the mouth of a clay pot, a wooden calabash or a big tortoise-shell. The "ramakib", a sort of guitar made out of a hollowed piece of wood with a calabash or rough touch-board attached to one end, over which are drawn several strings, was, like the musical bow, used by soloists, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanying songs, but never with dances. There do not seem to be any professional musicians, although, as Kaufmann remarks, one does in fact find people who obviously take greater delight in music than others, and these are naturally the usual performers.

Decorative and Pictorial Art

Decorative art among the Bushmen is limited mainly to seriated 531
incisions of crude pattern found on the pottery of the Cape Bushmen, and to simple chevron patterns incised by the North-Western tribes upon the ostrich egg-shells used for storing water and upon their stone and bone pipes. Skin bags ornamented with similar patterns are also known, as well as wooden utensils and sticks decorated with line designs produced by burning. This form of art is as a whole very poorly developed, and of little intrinsic merit. It is not often met with.[1]

[1] Gretschel, op. cit., *passim*; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 672–3; Peringuey, *The Stone Ages of S. Africa*, chap. xiv; von Luschan, "Buschmann-Einritzungen auf Straussiern," *Z. Ethn.*, lv, 31–40.

[34 cont.]

312 Concerning other water-containing trees, F. Seiner re-
824 ports:

"The water-containing trees always have two or more trunks, and the source of the water is to be sought up where the branches fork. If the saddle formed where the branches separate shows a hole, a hollow area is traced in the adjoining part of the trunk, which may contain up to 60 liters of water. The water is obtained by tying, Bushman fashion, a small bundle of dry grass, or better still, a handkerchief, to the tip of a stick and inserting it in the hollow. When the stick is drawn out, the water drips

Fig. 1. !Kung at a Bushman Well.

from the saturated bundle or cloth, which is pressed out over a cup. [Fig. 2 appears here.]

[35] "The most important water roots are the Asclepiadacea Fockea damarana Schltr. (ehoe), the Leguminosa

[532]
[224]

Fig. 2. //Gauab drives the game toward the hunters (from
[113] Kühn and Obermann, Buschmannkunst [Bushman Art]).

[48 cont.]

755 from ostrich egg shells, had been put on by her proxy, Dube, a
756 very intelligent young woman. The latter, standing at the end of
796 the semicircle of seated women, conducted the ceremony. She
[276] was in a very good mood and alternately smoked her Bushman
[554] pipe and my cigarettes. There is a kind of hierarchy among the
women; those who were squatting were higher in rank than those
who were standing. All the women clapped their hands and sang
[533] in a monotonous rhythm: ehe, ehe, ehe, ehe, etc. This, I was
assured, was no song, but "music." Some hordes have bartered

[532]

Fig. 19. Sorcerer in a Bird Mask, Followed by Spirits of Sickness. (From Rock Paintings in South Africa. From Parts of the Eastern Province and Orange Free State. Copied by G. W. Stow. With an introduction and descriptive notes by Dorothea Bleek. London, Methuen, 1930.)

dance drums one and a half meters high from the Okawango,
which on this occasion are played by men. [Fig. 19 appears
[184] here.] Among the Bushmen of the Sand Veld the female leader
of the ceremony does not wear the ornaments of the chief female
doctor; instead, the ornaments are hung on a tree. The position
of the chief female doctor is not permanently held by one person;
the chief doctor on occasion imparts supernatural powers to her.

755 The five doctors had taken off all their ornaments and
756 were naked except for the front apron. They put themselves
786 into an autohypnotic state by means of crowing, by producing
796

[54 cont.]

756 house. The doctor then begins to pray: "Lord, help us, the chil-
789 dren are dying, we are dying of thirst and hunger." He prays and
787 begs until the captain says: "It is good, I shall send water so that
796 the children will have water and veldkost." Then the great captain again accompanies the doctor halfway down. As soon as the doctor is down below, he lets go of the thread which is immediately drawn up. Now the people dance and sing, for the rain has come:

[539] /gá-é dsó-jā̃ /gaa	We rejoice now over the rain.
//ē gā̃ djusǎ !kho ǎdshója /ga	Then we rejoice all together.
//ē̃ gā̃ hin a /gaa /gaa	Then the rain comes.
da //goá dshn !gu da adschŏéa χ'u	Then the people praise the lord.

532]

Fig. 21. Spirits of the Dead and Rain Animal (from Bleek, Rock Paintings in South Africa etc., Pl. 58).

776 Another !Kung said to me: "The great captain in the sky
821 sends the rain and all that comes from above. If he does not want to, everything remains shut up. The rain is opened up above; a great vlei is there. I do not know the name of the great captain. The Hei//om call him Som-seb."

17. Religion

771 After a critical look at the sum of the conceptions determining
177 the religious life of the !Kung, one recognizes, as would naturally be expected in the case of such an ancient people, that the elements

3: Lebzelter--119 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
MASARWA

[62]

Chapter 7

The Bushmen of the North

114 Our best information concerning the Masarwa comes from Dornan (1) and Holub (2). In what follows an outline sketch will

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygrines and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

2. Holub, Die Masarwa.

be given of the culture of this tribe, based upon these two authors.

342 According to Dornan, the Masarwa once preferred to live in caves, where their ancestors had made paintings. The Bush-
[285] men in the Wankie and Ngami districts have plaited mats of grass or reed, with which they cover their windscreens. Sometimes they make a kind of roof covered with grass; otherwise they have ordinary windscreens.

[532]
[172]

Fig. 21a. Representation of a Curing Scene. In the background, the female doctor who serves as oracle. (Eastern Cape Province. From J. P. Johnson, The Prehistoric Period in
[113] South Africa, 1910.)

322 For the wood of the bow the Masarwa use very straight
411 little tree trunks. After the bark is removed, they are tied to a straight tree and left to dry. The wood is then given its final drying over the fire and is placed in water so that it will not splinter. The middle of the bow is also commonly wound with tendons. The bow is often greased and never unstrung. The finished bow is smoothed with a rough stone.

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

532 535 Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.

323 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is

302 customary.

304 A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and

(751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 836 684 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-

584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen

582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may

304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.

881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse

(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the

761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In

764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;

178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

[69 cont.] I

524 have observed an analogous game among the Betschuana children
[171] in Epukiro.

The Elephant-Ostrich Game

Again a pile of sand serves as a substitute for a waterhole. Two boys come as elephants and want to drink. Two others imitate ostriches and will not let the elephants get water.

The Oxen Game

Three or four boys represent the oxen. One is regarded as the owner; another wants to steal them. After a little struggle, he gradually succeeds in doing so. Once he has stolen all of them, the game
[532] is over. (Compare the "ox stealing" among the Bergdama from Okombahe.) [Fig. 24 appears here.]

Fig. 24. Magical Contact between Hunters and Game (Salt River Valley, Kaofeld). From H. Obermaier and H. Kühn, Buschmannkunst [Bushman Art].

N/OW

LORNA MARSHALL

821 *N/ow*[1] is a belief concerning rain and cold which is held by the /Kung Bushmen in the region around Nyae Nyae in South West Africa.

132 About ten inches of rain falls in an average year in this part of the Kalahari Desert and sinks into the deep sands. There is no run-off in streams and there are few water
137 holes. The rain is sufficient to support a covering vegetation of grass, shrubs, and scrubby trees. The vegetation includes numerous edible roots, tubers, leaves, fruits, and nuts, for which the Afrikaans language provides the convenient word *veldkos*.

105 The /Kung, the only inhabitants of the interior of this particular region, are
821 nomadic hunters and gatherers. If the rains are poor and the veldkos dry and sparse, the people suffer. Rain, they say, is life-giving; sun is death-giving.

132 Summer is the season of the 'big rains' in the western Kalahari. 'Little rains'—a few scant showers—may fall in September, October, and November. The 'big rains' begin in late December or January and continue into March. The summer storms are awesome. Every day the winds drive monstrous clouds around the sky, which domes a horizon as flat as the sea. They breed the storms. Lightning streaks from them. Thunder roars and rumbles. The earth sucks in their deluges, hissing.

821 The /Kung say that thin clouds which give no rain are male. They call them */now*.[2] The big rain clouds are female. White ones they call *//ga kwe disi*—*//ga* means cloud or rain, *disi* means females.[3] The enormous grey clouds with rain pouring from them the /Kung call */kwesi* (zebras), because they are so fleet and, though a person may think he is far from the rain, it comes swiftly and is on him. We have seen Bushmen, caught without shelter in the storms, shivering so that their teeth chattered, saying they could perish in such rain.

[532] Rain itself is male and female, */ga /go* and */ga di*. The men one day drew in the sand the spoor of male and female rain. Male rain spoor was made with all five fingers held stiffly and plunged deeply into the sand, to make big holes. Male rain breaks the trees and beats down the fruits, the men told us. It is (like) a fight, and may kill a person. Thunder and lightning accompany it, and sometimes hail. Female rain has tiny drops and does not spoil anything; it beautifies the trees and the grass and makes the veldkos grow. Its spoor was made by smoothing out a place in the sand and cover-
[532] ing it closely with tiny dots. Gao said a person (anyone) may speak to the rain, saying, 'You are doing very well', or, 'Fall silently. Don't make such a noise. Don't be

[1] We wish to thank both Dr. Mary Douglas and Professor I. Schapera for reading the manuscript about *n/ow* and for making several helpful suggestions.

[2] The /Kung language has four clicks: / is the symbol for the dental click, ≠ for the alveolar, / for the alveolar palatal, and // for the lateral.

[3] We did not know how to translate *kwe*, which occurs very often. It seemed sometimes to be a sort of article and we did not work on it especially. We regret not having done so because Miss Bleek, in her *Bushman Dictionary* (American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1956), records in the Auen or //K"au-//en language, which she says is very like the /Kung and which she places south of the /Kung, the phrase */ga -k"wisi*, meaning rain's hair or cloud. In /Kung */ga* and *//ga* both mean rain. We now wonder if *kwe* should be *kwi* and if it means hair in the phrase *//ga kwe disi*.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the 553
!Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think 602
of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority 121
is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy. [229]

(8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, 582
cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts.

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband stepbrother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names 582
associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is 551
supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself.

(9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the 532 ●
young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead [301]
ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were [304]
associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty.

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings 000
or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees.

(10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly 622
speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people 662

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Namib desert strip and adjacent districts in South-West Africa.[1] 619
Their language is reported to be Nama, and they are sometimes said [197]
to be degenerate Hottentots who have lost their cattle and taken to a nomadic hunting and collecting life similar to that of the Bushmen. But the little we know about their customs and social organization shows that they are true Bushmen, although they have undoubtedly been considerably influenced in both culture and physical characters by the Hottentots. They were divided into several groups, each with its own distinctive name. The */geinin* in the true Namib desert between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//obanen* in the region round the junction of the Great Fish and Orange Rivers, and the */koma* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateaus have apparently disappeared completely; the *!ganin* in the region between Naauwkluft and Grootfontein S. are almost totally extinct, while the */huinin* in the southern extremity of the Huib plateau just north of the Orange River are still represented by a few families. The numbers of the two last groups together are [162]
estimated at between 75 and 100. Hahn, writing of these people in [532]
1879, says that they were then still painting on rocks.[2] This may be taken as convincing proof that they really are Bushmen, for the Hottentots do not practise this art at all. Their distribution, as well as the information we have about their habits and customs, seems to link them up with the Southern Group, but there is as yet no clear evidence in support of this view.

The above classification of the Bushmen into linguistic groups is 144
quite independent of and distinct from considerations of race and 197
culture. All Bushmen are of the same racial stock, and have 184
fundamentally the same culture, just as their languages are essentially related. At the same time, there are variations in both race and culture running counter to the linguistic distinctions.

Broadly speaking, it may be said with regard to racial characters 144
that the Bushmen living south of the Molopo River are purest in type. Those further north have all mixed to a varying extent principally with Bantu but also with Hottentots and Bergdama. In the west of this region there is perhaps more Hottentot blood, although in the north-west there has also been a good deal of intermixture with Bantu (chiefly OvaMbo) and Bergdama. In the east Bantu blood,

[1] L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 98–105; E. Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), 501–6; P. Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib, ihre Familien- und Rechtsverhältnisse," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 166–70; *idem*, "Aus der Namib," *Z. KolPol.*, xiii (1911), 301–8.

[2] T. Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 307–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

out by the hunter, who, however, keeps the skin, sinews, etc., for himself. 224

The Cape Bushmen occasionally dressed themselves up in the skin of an animal or in the feathers of an ostrich in order to approach the game unsuspected. A kind of saddle made of grass in which were stuck ostrich feathers was placed on the shoulders, while a long stick with the head curved to look like an ostrich was carried in the hand. The hunter by imitating the motions of the bird feeding, running or preening its feathers contrived to get as close to the flock as possible, always moving up wind, before discharging his poisoned arrow. In a well-known rock painting from Herschel reproduced by Stow[1] there is portrayed such a scene, in which the hunter is shown under the feathers of an ostrich, cautiously approaching, with poised arrow, a number of real ostriches who are feeding peacefully close by. Similar disguises are employed by the Namib Bushmen, but appear to be generally unknown among the tribes further north, although the ostrich disguise is reported by Dornan of the Hiechware and on hearsay by Kaufmann of the Auen. Various other ruses are known, however. Some men are very clever at imitating the calls of various birds and animals and by this means get quite close and thus secure their quarry. Again, "in the season when the young animals are not able to follow their dams, they are hidden by the mothers, who feed in the vicinity. The Bushmen having found where a young one is hidden, will go close up to it and imitate its cry. The mother, hearing the cry and thinking that some wild animal has attacked her calf, immediately rushes up to protect it, and is easily killed. Numbers of animals, more especially the smaller buck, are destroyed in this manner."[2] 223 825 [292] [532] [184] 224 825

Almost every Bushman village has also a large number of dogs which accompany their masters on the hunt.[3] These are the only domestic animals possessed by the Bushmen. They are lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half-starved and savage-tempered. They are quite silent on the spoor and never betray the presence of the hunters by barking, though they will snarl and sometimes bark if one approaches an encampment. "It is really wonderful," says Herbst, "with what courage these lean mongrels will tackle a leopard, a courage no doubt begotten of hunger and an absolute confidence in their masters, who, with their knobkerries, are never far behind so 224 [231]

[1] Stow, op. cit., pl. vii, facing p. 82.
[2] Dornan, op. cit., 505; cf. Kaufmann, op. cit., 146.
[3] Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 262–3; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Herbst, *Report on Riietfontein Area*, 6; Range, *Beiträge zur Landeskunde des Namalandes*, 73; Schultze, op. cit., 667; Dornan, op. cit., 103–4; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 16.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

year or two, during which the dead person is never spoken of but 768
with veneration and tears.[1]

Several details in this account—the anointing, perfuming, and 114
examination of the body, as well as the burning of the hut—are not 764
met with in the descriptions of other independent observers, who as a rule remark merely that the corpse is buried with all its possessions and the place then deserted.[2] On the other hand, it is certain that many of the Southern Bushmen heaped stones on the graves of their dead. This custom may have originated merely from the desire to protect the body from the ravages of hyenas and other wild animals. It has, however, sometimes been given a religious significance owing to the fact, recorded by several of the older observers, that passing [769] natives would always add a branch or a stone to the heap. It is 114
unfortunately not always possible to gather whether the natives 764
referred to were Bushmen or Hottentots. The latter certainly have 769
various practices and beliefs connected with these grave heaps, of 171
which the usage just mentioned is one of the most common, but there is no fully reliable evidence of anything similar being observed by the Southern Bushmen.

In excavated graves the corpse is sometimes found lying on its 764
left side, with one or two large flat stones placed directly upon it. The interest attaching to these "burial stones" lies in the fact that in a few cases, in association with cave burials along the south coast, [532] they have been found with figures of human beings painted upon them in the typical Bushman style. It would be unprofitable to speculate upon the significance of such stones, as there is no record of any Bushmen having explained them to our authorities; but that they were related to some definite belief can hardly be doubted.[3]

The Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, as a rule bury a dead person on the morning following his death, and in any case not before the death has been confirmed by the nearest neighbours. [763] The relatives of the dead man and the neighbours accompany the corpse to the grave, uttering or singing a funeral dirge. The grave

[1] *Voyage d'Exploration au . . . Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 303–4.
[2] Campbell, *Missionary Travels in S. Africa*, 440; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 289; Fritsch, *Drei Jahre in Südafrika*, 242. The account given by Hahn (op. cit., 121) is obviously derived from Arbousset; that in Stow (op. cit., 126–9) from Arbousset, Campbell and Sparrman. The English translation of Arbousset (p. 365) renders "grossièrement parfumée" as "coarsely embalmed", which, as it is repeated in Stow, may have given rise to some misconception. There is nothing in the nature of real embalming among the Bushmen.
[3] Fritsch, loc. cit.; Haughton, in *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, xiii, 105–6; FitzSimons, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 501, 541.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible. Among the many rock-paintings left by the Bushmen in the caves and rock-shelters of their country there are pictures "of wonderful animals, such as certainly never existed; these the Bushmen of fifty years ago explained as Rain bulls, Rain animals. With them are often seen frogs, fish, tortoise, and snake, the animals protected by the Rain".[1] Certain snakes found near a waterhole are believed to be kept in store by the Rain, and for fear of arousing its wrath may not be eaten by young unmarried men and women; nor may frogs be killed, lest drought ensue. When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind, and various transformations effected. Young women are particularly exposed to danger from the Rain, and to avoid this they must observe various rules of conduct. They must propitiate the waterhole by means of *buchu* and *tto* (aromatic shrubs); they must hide themselves from the Rain; they must not snap their fingers at people, nor may they be spoken to against their wish, lest the anger of the Rain be thereby aroused. There are many legends telling how disobedient girls were punished, together with those around them, by the angry Rain, or were taken up by his agency in a whirlwind and transformed into frogs, snakes, porcupines, stars, water-flowers, etc. Such transformations are also illustrated in the rock-paintings.

The Rain thus appears as something to be respected or feared, since it has power to change people into animals and other objects, as well as to destroy with storms and terrible lightning. At the same time it also brings water and makes food grow. In connection with this latter aspect Miss Bleek says: "That Bushmen realized the life-giving powers of water is clear, as all tales of rebirth are connected therewith. The Mantis restores his son and his sister, the Blue crane, to life after they have been killed by throwing a part of their body into the water. In course of time this part grows up into the person to which it had belonged. In the same way he makes an eland of a shoe (perhaps a piece of eland's skin). An ostrich is killed; one of its feathers blows into the water and becomes a new ostrich."

"Yet in spite of the Bushman's dependence on water and realization of its power," she goes on to say, "he does not represent it as a man or god. One instance is known to me of the Rain being addressed, when it is wrathful and lightens; but the first part of the speech is to the dead men who ride it:—

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 30.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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532 172 [178] Perhaps the most remarkable feature in the whole culture of the Bushmen was their pictorial art, consisting of paintings and engravings executed on rock surfaces (Plate XIII).[1] The practice of this art has now almost completely died out, a necessary consequence of the virtual extermination of the artists themselves. Its study now belongs to the province of archæology, for save in a few rare instances it has proved impossible so far to find any living people who could interpret the designs or throw any light upon the social aspects of the art. The paintings and engravings remain as a very valuable record of an art that now seems to be lost; but they have proved a most important link in the chain of evidence connecting the Bushmen with the prehistoric cultures not only of South Africa but of East and North Africa also, as well as of South-Western Europe.[2]

Their distribution in South Africa extends from the Brandberg Mountains in South-West Africa to the upper reaches of the Tugela River in Natal, from the Humansdorp district on the south coast right up to the Zambesi River in the north. They are found especially over the greater part of the Cape, Griqualand West, Basutoland, Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Southern Rhodesia, but occur also in parts of South-West Africa, British Bechuanaland, and Natal. This distribution no longer coincides with that of the Bushmen themselves. It is impossible therefore to say whether all the tribes possessed the artistic talent or not. The Bushmen south of the Molopo River certainly painted down to a very recent date, and so did certain of the Namib groups.[3] The rocks in the north-west may be evidence that the ancestors of the Auen and the Kung also did so, but the present people certainly do not, and have not even any traditions relating to the art.[4] In the Kalahari itself, where most of the surviving Bushmen now live, the absence of suitable rock [135] material precludes the practice of the art. It is perhaps no wonder, therefore, that the tribes found there have not the faintest recollections of it. Dornan, however, states that the Bushmen living along the Sansokwe River, in the extreme Eastern Kalahari, were still painting a few years ago.[5]

[1] The literature on this aspect of Bushman culture is voluminous. The most useful general works are: Tongue, *Bushman Paintings*, 1909; Moszeik, *Die Malereien der Buschmänner*, 1910; Zeližko, *Felsgravierungen der südafrikanischen Buschmänner*, 1925; Burkitt, *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint*, 1928, chaps. vii–ix, and bibliography.

[2] Cf. Schapera, "Some Stylistic Affinities of Bushman Art," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxii (1925), 504–15; Burkitt, op. cit., *passim*.

[3] The evidence is discussed by Moszeik, op. cit., 10–15; cf. Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, p. xiv; Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 306–7. [4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 41. [5] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 182, 188–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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The paintings are most frequently found on the walls of caves and rock shelters, occasionally on isolated rocks out in the open, and in a few rare instances, as we have seen, on small loose slabs of stone associated with cave burials. The engravings, on the other hand, occur as a rule on outstanding or outlying patches of rock out in the open. The mode of occurrence of these two forms of the art seems to have been determined by the nature of the rock surface available. Where the stone was soft or porous and provided large plane surfaces, paintings were generally made; where it was hard, and there was little prospect of the paints taking a good hold, engraving prevailed. This also explains to some extent why paintings are mostly found in the caves and rock shelters produced by the effects of erosion on the relatively soft shales or sandstones, while engravings are seen on the exposed surfaces of such hard rocks as quartzite, diorite, basalt, diabase, and phyllite. 172 532

The technical processes employed in the execution of the designs appear to have been fairly simple. As canvas the rock surface in its natural state was employed; broad plane surfaces were preferred, but where these were not at hand no trouble seems to have been taken either to polish the rough surface of the rock or to level it down in any way.

The only implements used in making the engravings were small pieces of hard stone with a fairly serviceable point. With these the artist would laboriously chip away at the rock surface until his design was completed. Some of the engravings consist of only an outline drawing produced by more or less rough pointing and punching, giving the design an appearance known as " pocked ". The pocking is usually very shallow, but in some of the figures a comparatively deep groove has been made. Sometimes the outline is completely filled, so that the engraving consists in a design uniformly pocked over the surface. One also finds a continuous grooved outline combined with a shallow pocked body, and in the best specimens the rock surface surrounding the design has been chipped away, leaving a sort of bas-relief in which shading is often skilfully introduced. Some of the engravings in this style are very beautifully done, and it is indeed astonishing to what a degree of excellence the artists could attain, considering the material disadvantages under which they worked. [524]

The paintings are on the whole superior to and more elaborate than the engravings, and offered more scope for freedom of expression.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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Bushmen FX10

172 Several different colours were used, the most common being red,
532 black, yellow, white, and brown. These were derived chiefly from
[386] mineral ores—red and brown from hæmatite, yellow from iron pyrites, white from zinc oxide, while black was obtained from burned wood. The mineral ores were carefully ground down or pounded to a powder, which was then mixed with bone-marrow or animal fat. The outline of the design was first drawn with a burned stick, and the paint, after being moistened with water or saliva, was then smeared on by means of a feather brush or specially prepared tendons.

Various technical styles are also observable in the paintings, chiefly as regards the use of colour. Paintings in which only the outline of the design is coloured are reported from Southern Rhodesia, but are not known elsewhere. As a rule the whole design is filled in with colour, although sometimes the outline is coloured differently from the body. The design is often coloured a uniform monochrome, so as to present, as it were, a silhouette of the object depicted, with no apparent trace of shading. Other designs are in polychrome. Sometimes the colours are sharply separated and seem to have been used to demarcate the various features of the object represented. Thus in the case of the eland we frequently find the horns and hoofs coloured black, the head and back in ochre, while the neck, belly, and legs are in white. In other cases the colours are skilfully blended into one another, producing the effect of modelling. The best specimens of the art are all in this style. It seems, nevertheless, that in the cruder forms at least the artist laid more stress upon the drawing itself than on the colouring. We often find, for instance, that the various limbs of an animal are in different colours, and examples are known where a leopard or lion has been painted a deep red, which cannot be put down to the absence of the natural colour, as in the same scene there are other designs coloured yellow.

The recent investigations of Burkitt have shown that the paintings and engravings are not all of the same age, but that a chronological, sequence can be seen in style and technique. Moreover, different styles of art occur in different geographical areas, and these different styles are sometimes found associated with different stone implement industries. Burkitt was able to demarcate three such regional groups
172 of art—the Southern Rhodesia group; the Central group, occurring
184 in the central districts of the Union of South Africa north and west
532 of the great escarpment bounding the interior plateau; and the Southern group, found chiefly south and east of the mountain

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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systems.[1] This grouping appears to have been formulated by him without taking into consideration the numerous specimens of the art found in the south-west Cape, and in South-West Africa, and can therefore scarcely be regarded as definitive, but it provides a most useful basis for the archæological study of the paintings and engravings.

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In Southern Rhodesia, according to him, there are three distinct series of paintings, which when found in superposition always occur in the same order. The oldest series are usually coloured a uniform flat red or yellow, occasionally found in outline only, and the figures are "nicely drawn". Certain paintings in a dark brownish-red are slightly more modern, and the style perhaps more developed, but they belong to the same series. The middle series are all in dark claret, and quite different from anything before, not only in colour, but also in style. There is a certain angularity about the figures; the paintings have clean, sharp outlines; the curves and angles of horns and bodies are well and finely drawn, and the style is vigorous and attractive. Finally we get paintings in earthy yellow, white, and the beginnings of polychrome. The style of art is quite different again and much less attractive, the animal figures heavier, the bodies less shapely, and the legs stiffer.

In the Central group the paintings are much more varied, and seem more modern than those in Southern Rhodesia. They are distinguished by wonderful developments of polychrome and the frequent occurrence of elaborate scenes of battles, dances, etc., such as are not found in Southern Rhodesia. Superposition is of much less importance, but it was noted that wherever paintings comparable in colour and style to the 'dark claret' series of Rhodesia occurred in superposition with any other colours or styles they were always undermost and therefore oldest. The rock engravings, which are most frequently met with in the central districts of the Orange Free State and the adjoining northern parts of the Cape lying immediately to the west, also belong to this art group. Its distribution coincides with that of the Upper Smithfield Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, and the paintings and engravings are always found associated with implements of this Industry.

The Southern art group, again, is invariably associated with the Wilton Industry of the Later South African Stone Culture, which, like the Upper Smithfield Industry, is definitely of Bushman origin. The paintings are here totally dissimilar from and far inferior to those

[1] Op. cit., 116–39.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

172. 184 532 of the preceding group. There are no polychromes. The figures for the most part are executed in a uniform bright red, almost vermilion, colour, and the rock background is also frequently reddened and smudgy as well. The animals are poorly drawn, the figures of human beings often large and angular, and the human hand is represented again and again, a feature never found in the Central group and not noted in Southern Rhodesia.

172 532 The objects depicted in these paintings and engravings are for the most part animals and human beings, though inanimate objects also figure occasionally, such as weapons, clothes, shields, trees, etc. Representations of animals hunted as big game—elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, many varieties of antelope, especially the wildebeest and eland, lion, ostrich, and others—all figure very prominently, either singly or in groups. The fidelity with which they are often drawn testifies not only to the Bushman's skill as an artist, but also to his intimate familiarity with and acute observation of the habits and peculiarities of the animals upon which he depended for his subsistence. Exceedingly interesting are the bigger group scenes. Domestic occupations, hunting scenes, cattle raids, tribal fights, dances, even incidents in mythology, all are represented here in the most realistic manner and with a wealth of action. These pictures of scenes and events in Bushman life history, painted by the native artists upon the walls of the caves and rock shelters which they so often inhabited, are invaluable as a record of the conditions under which the old Bushmen lived, and they both illustrate and supplement the descriptions given of these people by outside observers.

The paintings and engravings in general are remarkable not only for their realism, for the fidelity and accuracy with which many of the animal forms are depicted, but also for a freedom from the limitations to delineation in profile characterizing for the most part the drawings of primitive peoples.[1] The aspect usually shown is the profile view, readily explained by the fact that this is the most striking as well as most complete single aspect of quadrupeds, and also happens to be the view that can most easily be represented on a plane surface. There are no drawings in absolute profile; the four legs are always shown, the animal usually being either in motion or in some attitude where this view is possible. Attitudes of a kind

[1] An excellent critical appreciation of Bushman art is given by Roger Fry, "Bushman Paintings," *Burlington Magazine*, 1910, 333-8; cf. Balfour, Preface (pp. 3-10) to Tongue, *Bushman Paintings*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

difficult to render were entered upon without hesitation, such as a kudu lying down or an eland turning its head round towards its back, and occasionally even an appreciation of the rudiments of perspective is to be noted, though only in a crude and uncertain form. The human figures are not so restricted to the profile aspect, but lack the accuracy and realism of the animal drawings. There seems to be a tendency here to impressionism, to seize on certain features of the body and to emphasize or exaggerate these, while others are minimized or ignored, and just sufficient is shown to indicate what the subject is. Often a man will appear all arms and legs and practically nothing else, while in women steatopygia is usually by far the most pronounced detail.

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In addition to single figures and such compositions as a hunter pursuing game or several animals grouped together, there are the interesting series of big group scenes—of cattle drives, dances, and battles—to show very well indeed how the principle underlying Bushman art was fundamentally realism. There is nothing truly schematic in a Bushman drawing. In a battle scene, for instance, it is difficult to pick out the warriors of the two sides; they are all mixed up confusedly, some charging, others flying, and here and there single combats go on at a distance from the main battle. More than this, the men are shown in every conceivable attitude—running, standing, kneeling, crouching, or turning sharply round in the middle of flight to face the enemy once more. "In fact," says Fry, "we have, in all its confusion, all its indeterminate variety and accident, a rough silhouette of the actual appearance of such a scene as viewed from above, for the Bushman makes this sacrifice of actual appearance to lucidity of statement—that he represents the figures as spread out over the ground, and not as seen one behind the other."

In the art as a whole therefore we find a definite attempt to portray objects and scenes as they actually appear at the moment, and not as what they may be conceived as ideally. The aspects selected are always represented faithfully, and the pictures in general emphasize the unity of the representations rather than their details. Conventionalization in any shape is rare, and possibly the only departure from realism is in the case of human beings, where there is the tendency to impressionism.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

PLATE XIII

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Painted Panel at Nswagnti, Matopos

M. C. Burkitt

Paintings at Domboshawa, near Salisbury
BUSHMAN PAINTINGS IN S. RHODESIA

[*face p.* 273

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

side. /Gunda sat behind the line of boys, in a deep shadow, to show that he was 159
' ashamed ' and respected (feared, *koa*) the wedding scherm. 585

One of the boys began to play, not their ceremonial music or special wedding music, but songs of the *//guashi*, as they call them, the little wordless melodies these [533] people compose about happenings in their lives, about pleasures or distress, about their moods. They play and sing these melodies for hours upon hours in the afternoons when they are resting or in the evenings by their fires, and they played for hours that night at the wedding fire.

Soon young guests began to arrive, the children of both werfs with whom /Nai played, all of them younger than the boys who attended /Gunda and the girls who carried /Nai. The youngest guest was the ubiquitous three-year-old boy who never missed anything. No adults came.

One boy brought four mangetti nuts with him and roasted, cracked, and ate them himself. That was all that appeared by way of a feast. Di/ai said that they would like to have given the children something to eat but there was nothing in the werf that night. Even though the others had had something to eat, the bride and groom would have had to abstain. They must not talk or eat, to show they are ' ashamed '. The young guests seemed to enjoy themselves, nevertheless, and were still singing and chatting when I left at midnight.

Soon after sunrise the following morning—/Gunda had already departed—/Nai's mother went to the wedding scherm and sat down beside the embers of the night's fire. /Nai stood shivering beside her in her little genital apron and the duiker skin [291] which women wear around their buttocks and up between their legs, but stripped of her kaross. The mother had brought a little fat (eland fat, if they had it, would be [825] used) and a bit of powdered red stone, one of the red earths (*/gam /gai gwoie*), mixed with fat. She rubbed /Nai all over with the fat, and drew a line on her forehead and a circular design on her cheeks with the red powder mixed with fat. Over in werf 2, [302] Gao, Nai's stepfather, presented /Gunda with a blanket.

This completed the wedding ceremony.

/Nai was a lively child who loved the dancing and singing games the girls play. 159
She often danced alone, tapping her bare feet on a stone in rapid rhythm or making a 462
game of printing a design in the sand with tiny steps. She liked babies and as often as not had her infant half-brother or some very small cousin tied to her back. That morning she appeared to turn into a housewife as though it were her next blithe step. When the women went to gather veldkos, she put on her own little duiker skin [222] kaross, took her digging-stick and went with them. At the end of the day, when they returned in the slanting sunset light, she had two big roots. She went straight to her own fire, blew on the embers, added wood, and sat down. Three ostrich egg shells [415] full of water and her digging-stick were her household goods. These she arranged beside the scherm. /Gunda came and sat down opposite her. She smiled at him and set the roots in the ashes to cook.

It has been said in talks with informants that the bridegroom must bring an 159
antelope which he himself has killed to the parents of the bride before the wedding, 183
but no animal had been brought; there had not been a scrap of meat in the werf for 585
days. I asked Di/ai about this. ' Oh, that,' she said in effect. ' Yes, he should give me an antelope, but we thought we would have the wedding first and that /Gunda would

/150 cont./

525 are placed between the players and taken by the winner, but since the luck often changes during a match, the same prize passes back and forth frequently.

I have seen this game played only by two men (not by women and children). One finds especially passionate players

524 among the Auin, in particular among older men.

535 Dancing game of the women (goei) (see Photos. 36 and 37).

I am in doubt as to whether I should classify this under games or dances.

A number of women line up along a tree trunk lying on the ground. All of them in rhythm alternately place the front part of first the right and then the left foot on the trunk. It proceeds in this fashion, slowly at first, then ever faster. If the women have their backs turned to the tree trunk, they place their heels on it in the same fashion.

Sometimes also two rows of women will face each other.

[533] Frequently, a kind of rhythmical singsong is also uttered by them.

The game is begun with everyone calling out //ai, meaning something like "let's go."

In some dances bucks' horns are tied in front of the forehead (eland bull dance). One can hardly designate these as true masked dances, however.

The Auin are acquainted with stilts, which are used by men

481 and boys. I might mention that I did not see any, but when I described them the Auin seemed to be very familiar with them.

526 Foot races (gâ).

The runners line up in a row, and at the word "gâ" they all run. The winner obtains a prize of food or of some useful object (for example, a knife).

Older people act as judges. Bloody quarrels are said to occur

[578] when the prizes are awarded.

Stick throwing (gai or albi).

Thin sticks of any length up to two meters and taken from the rosinkis bush are thrown forward with a whistling swing and from a running start (they are not flung like a spear, but grasped at one end). The object is to throw as far as possible. No prizes are offered; hence it is a real sport. Since it is fairly strenuous, this game, like all the others, incidentally, is played only when

/150 cont./

526 there is a good supply of food, in other words, only during the crop season (rainy season). Sometimes, also, a heap of sand about one and a half meters high is piled up and one must throw over it.

The game is played for hours by boys and men with great shouts of joy.

[171] This sport[1] is likewise practiced by the Kaffir and Herero.
[177] The Auin state that it is not an original Bushman game.

Wrestling (see Photo. 34). This seems to have a somewhat more serious character, since the victor deals severely with the loser and has nothing to do with him for a long time. Nonetheless, the Bushmen designate it as a game.

Shooting with bow and arrow (unpoisoned arrow tip toward the front). The target is a tschama or any other soft object, in order to spare the arrow. One by one, the competitors shoot from the same place. The winner receives a prize (food, a knife, or the like).

Spear throwing. The target (tschama) is placed on a stick planted in the ground.

At a distance of 20 meters, only one throw out of 30, performed by six men, hit the target.

The target was an insert from a flour box.

Prizes are offered.

Riding (see Photo. 35). Two men form a "horse," the third "rides." (Gabi, "to ride.")

[1] [i.e., of stick throwing.-Analyst]

L. Music

534 Musical bows of various sizes made of "rosinkis wood" with animal tendons. The striker is made of any kind of wood.

I have a suspicion that the two Auin in Photograph 38 cheated a bit, because one of them has a shooting bow while the other has taken up any old stick. It is likely that just at that moment they had no proper musical bow at hand. At the same time, of course, it is true that one can make "music" on any strung bow. This music, by the way, is clearly audible to other people, not only to the player.

533 /151/ There are no special musicians. On the other hand, one does find certain individuals who clearly take more joy in

/151 cont./

533 music than others. I have observed a man who played his musical bow in every spare moment.

Rhythmic hand clapping accompanies singing.

534 237 Dance rattles (guri) are made of the cocoons of a night butterfly. These cocoons are strung on strings and dried. While the cocoons are still soft, little stones or pieces of ostrich egg shell are pressed into the inner cavity and the soft envelope is closed over them (see Photo. 39).

The rattles, when they are dried and hard, are strung and 535 fastened to the ankle. They are supposed to be used at all dances.

War dance (see Photos. 41 and 42).

The women sit or stand, clapping their hands and singing, while the men crouch or stand opposite them. One man slides out of the row on his knees toward the row of women and makes war-like gestures, as though he were evading an arrow, flinging a spear, etc.

One of the women thrusts out an arm and utters a brief, deep cry, thereby indicating that a spear has been thrown or an arrow shot. The man pretends he is wounded and screams. If he is "dead," he crawls back, and a new solo dancer takes his place. Women, too, are sometimes "dead" or "wounded."

Indecisive battles are indicated.

Here, too, there are very passionate dancers, both male and female, as well as those who have a special talent for mimicry.

The porcupine dance (see Photo. 40) is performed only by men. A number of men stand facing one another, stamp the ground rhythmically, and utter loud shouts. One of them is the "porcupine," which is beaten to death by another man or stabbed with a spear. Everything is indicated by motions.

Eland bull dance. I was unable to learn the nature of this dance, but apparently the rutting lust of the eland is imitated.

M. Means of Transportation

487 Bush paths are formed by the Bushmen on the main lines of traffic, for instance, from the settlement to water. When a 648 Bushman uses the pad (that is, the road of the Whites), he has an

[48 cont.]

755 from ostrich egg shells, had been put on by her proxy, Dube, a
756 very intelligent young woman. The latter, standing at the end of
796 the semicircle of seated women, conducted the ceremony. She
[276] was in a very good mood and alternately smoked her Bushman
[554] pipe and my cigarettes. There is a kind of hierarchy among the women; those who were squatting were higher in rank than those who were standing. All the women clapped their hands and sang
●[533] in a monotonous rhythm: ehe, ehe, ehe, ehe, etc. This, I was assured, was no song, but "music." Some hordes have bartered

[532]

Fig. 19. Sorcerer in a Bird Mask, Followed by Spirits of Sickness. (From Rock Paintings in South Africa. From Parts of the Eastern Province and Orange Free State. Copied by G. W. Stow. With an introduction and descriptive notes by Dorothea Bleek. London, Methuen, 1930.)

dance drums one and a half meters high from the Okawango, which on this occasion are played by men. [Fig. 19 appears
[184] here.] Among the Bushmen of the Sand Veld the female leader of the ceremony does not wear the ornaments of the chief female doctor; instead, the ornaments are hung on a tree. The position of the chief female doctor is not permanently held by one person; the chief doctor on occasion imparts supernatural powers to her.

755 The five doctors had taken off all their ornaments and
756 were naked except for the front apron. They put themselves
786 into an autohypnotic state by means of crowing, by producing
796

/249 cont./

535 low, and at the same time sit on their heels. Two at a time fight out a "run," while the two other pairs are resting and watching. A run lasts for about two minutes; they change opponents in the runs in a certain order, so that each man gets to duel with each of the others.

/250/ A run goes as follows: in their hunched-over position the opponents look each other sharply in the eye as they bend far over as though looking for cover, and they do not take their eyes off each other even during the most violent movements of the arms. With the flat of their hands, the opponents now beat rhythmically and violently on the ground that has been loosened up in front of the players, a powerful blow being followed by a weaker one. At each blow the opponents utter a brief H'hm Hhe testifying to a high degree of physical and psychic tension. [Figs. 5 and 6 appear here.] The H'hm is the louder sound and is also accompanied by the stronger impact of the hands. At the same time motions of covering against the blow or thrust of the opponent are carried out. The face has an angry and at the same time wary expression, while the entire body is tensed to the utmost. After about two minutes have elapsed, one of the fighters makes a motion raising one arm and sinking down backward, as though he had been struck or killed, while the opponent makes a gesture of triumph over the vanquished enemy.

/251/ The fighters are frequently covered with dirt, by the hands striking the loosened soil, but this does not disturb them in the tense observation of the opponent.

The point of the game is that supposedly one of the fighters has unjustly appropriated food which the other tries to take away from him in the duel. Even old men feeble with age play with great passion and exert all their strength. From time to time the women give water to the exhausted opponents to fortify them.

To be sure, the entire procedure reminds one of dogs or monkeys, furiously facing each other and growling, who are crouched to spring at each other and at the same time hop around in one spot on their front legs. Nonetheless, there is something attractive about it, in spite of the animal gestures and sounds, by virtue of its vivacity and of the emotions expressed by the faces.

533 Whereas the //o //au has no musical accompaniment, the
[535] other dances of the Heikum people are accompanied by a women's
Song.

/251 cont./

533 song. The melodies that I had an opportunity to observe were simple tone sequences which I vainly tried to arrange into a definite major or minor key such as is familiar to us. According to European concepts, the intervals are not pure. A common tonal sequence was the following, but in giving it I must

[535]

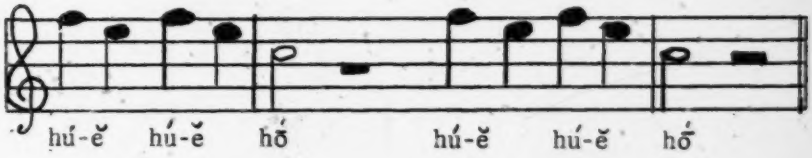
Fig. 5.

[535]

Fig. 6.

once more definitely stress that the intervals do not correspond precisely to those of our major key.

[539]

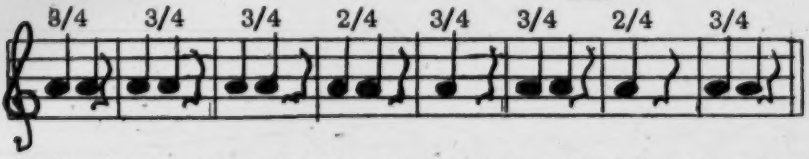


/251 cont./

533 Between the syllables hu and e a slight tremulo occurs, so that the entire song is reminiscent of yodeling. Instead of the sequence f-e-f-e-c, other tonal sequences were frequently sung, for instance, g-f-g-f-c or g-e-g-e-c. Even more complicated tonal sequences, reminiscent of our seventh chords, were not uncommon.

Singing is always accompanied by handclapping. The rhythm of the clapping is very curious; at any rate, it does not correspond to the feeling for musical rhythm that is familiar to Europeans. Two rhythms in particular have stayed in my memory, and I shall try to characterize them. The reader should think of a rhythm which, at least to my knowledge, does not exist in Aryan music, namely a 5/5 beat. Of the five fifths of this beat, they clap on the first, second, and fourth, while there are pauses on the third and fifth. The beat, in other words, would look as follows, if I designate the clapping sounds with ♩ and the pauses with 𝄽 :

Another clapping rhythm is the following, in which the three-quarter beat alternates with the two-quarter: /252/



535 Such a dance with musical accompaniment is the following, which I should like to designate as the pumpkin dance and which is reminiscent of a ball game frequently played by children in Germany. A number of women march at a rapid pace in goose step on a circular line, at the same time clapping rhythmically with their hands and singing. Among the Heikum the clapping is done [511] with the fingers spread apart, in contrast to the Herero, who clap with their fingers together. At the same time, a pumpkin [melon?] approximately the size of a child's head is thrown from one of the dancers to the other, and always backwards from the person in front to the person just behind her.

/252 cont./

The men standing around now attempt to catch the pumpkin
535 as it flies through the air, and the women simulate great indignation when one of the men succeeds in doing so. This man then cuts up the pumpkin with a knife so that a new ball is required in order to continue the game.

Another dance, in which principally men participate, could be designated as the bird dance. The men dance in a circle, while the women stand around the circle, clap their hands, and
[534] sing. The men wear dance bangles around their ankles, which are circlets of dried bean pods whose kernels rattle at every step and in this way strongly accentuate the dance rhythm. The steps of the dance are short, scarcely half a foot long, so that the progress of the dancers in the circle is quite slow. The vigor of the stepping or stamping on the ground alternates rhythmically. At the same time a number of symbolic gestures is performed. The most respected of the dancers has tied to his forehead a large eagle's beak decorated with glass and iron beads; he frequently makes a motion of hacking with the beak, and then, by slowly raising his arms, suggests the eagle's calm gliding in the air. Another dancer carries a bird's nest in his hand during the entire dance. At a certain stage, the dancers go through the motion of picking up fruit from the ground by bending down and making scooping motions in the air just above the ground. Shortly thereafter, some men dance towards the women and perform gestures as though they wanted to seize one of the women surrounding them.

535 Suddenly one of the dancers seems about to faint. A spectator
786 whom I questioned concerning the significance of this action told me that the Mukuru (Herero term for God) was in him. Other dancers, maintaining their dance step all the while, stand around the possessed person, try to help him, and cool him with fanning until he suddenly collapses with a piercing shriek. The bystanders catch him and carry him off to one side while the others go on dancing. The "doctor" now concerns himself with the unconscious
[755] person; he blows twice in each ear and once on his forehead. Visibly, consciousness now returns and soon the one possessed is able to rise and dance again.

● 533 /253/ The musical accompaniment is supplied solely by the women; however, the dancing men are not entirely silent. Every

/253 cont./

533 once in a while, one of the dancers emits a loud yell, usually in a high falsetto, and sometimes a trill which likewise is pitched as high as possible, depending entirely on the individual's emotional state.

The clapping at a dance is audible over a great distance. One evening when I approached the station, I could hear the clapping of the dancing women at a distance of three kilometers.

The dances I have described seem to be widely distributed
535 among the Bushmen. At any rate, I found all three of them with
184 only slight variations among the Kung people residing in the Kaukau Veld.

Concerning the diet of the Heikum Bushmen I was able to dis-
262 cover the following. I should add my regret at this point that I lacked the necessary background for giving the botanical names of the veld crops.

The diet is predominantly vegetable; however, the Bushman is by no means a despiser of flesh. On the contrary, whenever he can have animal food, he will utilize it for his kitchen. In so doing, he is so unselective that one could say he eats everything he can lay his hands on. I have even seen Bushmen consume hyena flesh with great pleasure. The flesh is obtained partly by
224 hunting with bow and arrow, and partly with game traps. I shall discuss the hunting weapons later; here I only want to mention a game snare which I had the opportunity to observe in the Kaukau Veld. A snare twisted from plant bast had been placed on a game trail, drawn upwards by means of a flexible stalk stuck into the ground, and fastened to the ground by means of wooden hooks. When the game touches the snare, releasing it from the hooks, the flexible stalk pulls the snare up and shut. Game is also caught in traps. I was shown an iron hook fastened to a bamboo stick about five meters long, which was used to pull out game that had fallen into the pits.

The animals of the Bushman's hunting domain include all kinds of antelopes, from the giant eland to the tiny duiker, giraffes, hogs, hares, and, in the way of birds, predominantly guinea fowl.

The Bushman, however, finds objects to enrich his cuisine even among lower animals. In the realm of the amphibians he prefers

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

533 534 The young, unmarried man took a small musical instrument out of his hunting-bag, borrowed a dry tsama rind from one of the women, and, setting the instrument on the hollow rind, began to play. He filled the air with sweet, soft music, full of resonance and open, minor chords, even of rhythm and timbre as a music box would be.

The instrument itself was made of a small, flat piece of wood four or five inches square, with eleven metal prongs attached to it, arranged in two rows across two bridges. The melon rind acted as a resonator for the prongs, which were of different sizes and, when plucked, vibrated and rang like bells, in a scale which was not the octave and which I have never heard before. The name of the instrument is *te k'na*, and I believe that it is not native to Bushmen but traded from the Bantu people. Many Bushmen have them, though: Bushmen like music of any kind.

264 Soon the cornmeal was ready and we served it to the visitors on pieces of bark, in bowls formed from halves of tortoise shells, in tsama rinds. Bushmen have very little liquid food that does not come in its own natural container, and therefore they do not provide themselves with bowls. The [445 177] bowls they do have, carved from wood—an art learned from the Bantu people—are constantly in use as containers for small, loose objects, such as seeds or unstrung beads. Since the cornmeal was hot and runny, the people had some difficulty eating it with their fingers, but they got it down, the women hesitating a long time, watching the men, before they [609 538] dared to try it. I think they were afraid it would harm them, as I have heard many Bushman stories of strangers who poison tobacco or food. When they had eaten their servings and 264 609 578 found that they did not die, they had more, a morsel at a time. We might have presented the pot to let the people help themselves, but by now we knew better. Bushmen expect

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

the rider. Sometimes two boys would make the horse, one boy 857
holding the wrists of another boy in front of him while a 526
third boy would ride, and these horses, reinforced, were much more successful, traveling farther at faster speeds. Now and then, as we talked by the fire, one of these little phantom creatures would rush silently by us in the dark, its dark rider in silhouette against the sky.

As we talked, we heard music, very sweet, sad music, as 533
though a music box were playing, coming to us from a little distance away. It was Gai's older son, the boy who had come back with us, playing the te k'na to himself. Thus we discovered that Gai had not fared as badly as it had seemed he did in his meeting with the strange Bushmen, for the te k'na had belonged to the man who had laughed at him. All the Bushmen at the fire, who loved music, stopped their talk to listen, and even the young boys were charmed from their game, for they moved silently toward him and crouched in the cold grass to listen, too. Soon they stood up to dance, a usual Bushman dance of men, taking small, pounding steps, [535]
moving in a circle. They danced very well, with freedom and with great precision, but they were too excited to dance for 857
long and instead began to play a dancing game called "Os- 526
trich," performed by two boys dancing forward to face each 535
other. As one either crouches or bends double from the hips, the other, who in the game is called the ostrich, swings his leg over the first boy's back without missing a beat in the rhythm. The boy who bent jumps backward as another boy steps in to take his place. This is repeated again and again, accompanied by spoken, rhythmic sounds: he he *hi*, hehe he *hi*, and the whole game is very fast and vigorous, requiring great practice and co-ordination, as the body movements, which often include the slapping of the elbows against the ribs, are sometimes at counterpoint to the spoken rhythm.

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

857 The game represents ostriches, perhaps ostriches fighting or
526 mating.
535

The game was intoxicating. The boys danced so fast, so perfectly, and made their rhythm so vigorous and free, that Gai, who had been sitting quietly listening to Ukwane, could stand it no longer. Throwing his great cape around himself, he suddenly leaped to his feet and sprang among the little boys, scattering them like a hawk among sparrows, towering over their heads as he began to dance. He stamped, bent, straightened, and swung his long leg over the little boys' backs, dancing with far more abandon, not as precisely as they, but madly; he took our breath away.

He wore his great kaross backward, flung across his chest, and when he stood still waiting for his turn to leap forward and crouch he was as motionless and dignified as a tribune standing, and when he danced the great wings of his kaross swung like the cape of a bullfighter, masculine, open, and free. He was a wonderful sight, and the old people watching him smiled, and the little boys dancing under his long legs and under the wings of his cape looked up at him and laughed with pleasure because he was playing their game.

Gai was a man of great dignity and for him the dance was not altogether a success, for when the young boys tried to swing their legs over his back they generally kicked him in the rear or in the face. Soon he tired of it and came back to the fire to sit by Ukwane, but he was too excited to stay
524 quiet long and in a moment he tore off his cape and, calling
593
533 Ukwane and his oldest son, he began another rhythmic game, called "Kaross." This is played by several men or boys who rub the kaross between their hands in the way that they rub it to soften or cure it, only they rub more vigorously and accompany themselves with several very rhythmic, very gay, fast songs, sung in falsetto, to imitate the falsetto singing of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe

 524 593

women because, say the men, women's voices are admirably 533 beautiful.

Twikwe and Tsetchwe sat side by side, their legs straight 516 out in front of them, the soles of their feet lit by the fire. 535 They sang gaily and clapped their hands while the baby 562 Nhwakwe walked up and down on Tsetchwe's leg, balancing himself like a child who is walking on a railing, then climbed to her shoulder and stood there triumphantly without holding on, gazing around like a child on a hill. He looked utterly astonished when Tsetchwe suddenly swept him to the ground and, flinging off her cape, jumped to her feet and began to dance. Everyone was astonished. Women almost never dance, although they are quite welcome to, but least of all Tsetchwe, a very conscientious mother and wife.

Tsetchwe's dance was extremely lively and extremely gay, and everyone except Nhwakwe looked up at her happily. She sang and waved her arms with great abandon, and danced her gay dance right behind the men, just for once flinging motherhood to the four winds and dancing right over her baby, who came trotting sadly after her, holding up his arms to be carried. In a moment the baby gave up and went to the lap of his grandmother, frowning as his mother danced happily by him again. When Tsetchwe finally got tired and flung herself down on the ground he ran to her and nursed immediately to reassure himself. She held him loosely in one arm as she coughed from exertion and laughed, with a pleased, shy expression on her face that said: this is what I used to do when I was younger.

When the people were tired of dancing they still seemed 821 to feel like talking, and as the moon was down and the stars showed clearly we asked Ukwane to tell us something about the sky, and we pointed to several stars to learn their names.

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

We had stayed up to watch the children's games and also to 821
observe Orion setting, for the Bushmen tell a story of the 538
stars in Orion which takes place in the sky every night at certain seasons and we wanted to see it for ourselves. The story is simply that the god, who at the time the story takes place is standing on one of the Magellan clouds, shoots an arrow at three zebras. The arrow is Orion's sword, the zebras are the three stars of Orion's belt, the star in the center being a male zebra and the two stars flanking him his wives. The arrow falls short, as one can see, and presently, as the constellation touches the horizon, the zebras step upon the earth, first a female, then the male, then the other female. It is slow and deliberate, and that night we saw it plainly. The zebras vanished into the brush at the horizon, but the arrow was still there.

When the constellation had gone, when many of the peo- 533
ple were asleep and we were about to leave the werf, Ukwane 534
took out his hunting-bow and, setting one tip on a dry melon shell, he began to tap the string with a reed, making a sound. Soon he played a song, humming a melody and playing an accompaniment on his bow.

He sat alone at his fire, his wife a tiny heap under her 533
kaross and fast asleep some distance away. He was squatting, [516]
his eyes on the embers of his fire, holding one end of the bow with his toes. With the fingers of one hand he touched the string, making different notes, and when he wanted to change the pitch he turned his head slightly, catching the other end of the string with his chin.

His song was a mood piece, as are all Bushman songs except the medicine songs. It was a song of pure music without words, a song composed to express a feeling the composer had had, a mood, or an emotion. The mood songs do have names or titles, but these only tell the subject of the piece,

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GiKwe

533 the minute incident that may have inspired the composition. Ukwane had composed this song himself, and from time to time he sang the words "bitter melons."

We stopped to listen, caught in the net of music which Ukwane had cast into the air, for it was a soft, sad song that he hummed and played, a song in a minor key to wring your heart, to make you think of places far away and make you feel like crying. Ukwane was so dark that he could hardly be seen against the black veld, and all that showed clearly was the yellow reed tapping and his filmed blue eyes. When he finished the song he put down his bow. We asked him what
[534] the song was about and he told us: "If you are walking in the veld, and you remember where a field of melons was growing and you go there and find them but when you taste them they are bitter, so you can't eat them, you leave them, that is what this song is about."

We asked him to play another song and he obliged, playing a shorter, rhythmic one called "Pass on the Other Side," beautiful to our ears but not as beautiful as "Bitter Melons," a song Ukwane had composed when he had been humiliated. He had come into a werf where the people were sitting in a circle taking turns smoking a pipe, and Ukwane, who had wanted to smoke very badly, had seated himself beside the person who was smoking, hoping to be next in turn, but that person passed the pipe by Ukwane, and Ukwane did not receive it until all the others had smoked first. He had felt so badly to be treated in this way that he had gone for a walk in the veld, and while walking he had composed the song.

He sang one more song, which was called "A Song of Shouting," a song about his wife's brother who had lost his way in the veld near Ukwane's werf, and had shouted, expecting someone in the werf to answer him, to give him the direction, but no one had bothered to call to him. That night

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Ukane had asked his wife if her brother had returned. She had answered "Yes," and Ukwane had composed the song about it out of guilt and sorrow. 533

"A Song of Shouting" was beautiful, too. When Ukwane had explained it to us and we had asked him to sing some more, he smiled at us and said that he was tired. But the day of jealousies, the fact that he had not found his piece of string, and the subject of his songs had put him in a mood, and presently he began to tell us what was in his heart.

He said that he was old and blind, and that he and his wife could no longer support one another but had to depend on Tsetchwe and Gai. Even Twikwe and Dasina were old and would not be strong much longer, and if Gai should leave them, perhaps to go to his Bakalahari father, the old people would perish surely. 533 838

Hearing Ukwane's cracked voice saying these sad things, his wife got up from her bed and sat beside him in silence. Soon Twikwe and Dasina joined him, too, so all the old people were there, crouching near the fire, their eyes gazing over its light out into the darkness.

Presently Dasina said: "It is bad to die because when you die you are all alone," and after being silent for a moment Ukwane told us how various members of his band, once a large one, had died, reducing their number to the hardy few who lived with him now. Both his father and his mother had died of thirst, and his children, his young nieces and nephews, and his grandchildren had all died in an epidemic of smallpox three years before. That had been a horrifying season, and in the hottest time, when the sun was drying them all and the ground was too hot to walk on, the smallpox had come, and pox had got into people's mouths so that they could not eat, and the children had all died one morning and their young mothers had died before night. [731 165]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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have the giraffe, rain, and gemsbok medicine. Others might have the ratel, fire, and gemsbok medicine. Ukwane's band had the sun, dove, and gemsbok medicine. Almost every band has the gemsbok medicine, for magically the gemsbok are very important animals, obvious from the black medicine markings on a gemsbok's face.

The medicine songs are songs without words and are given to both Kung and Gikwe Bushmen by the great god who sends his messengers, the spirits of the dead, to a sleeping person. The spirits of the dead teach the person a medicine song in a dream, and when the person awakens he teaches the song to the other members of his band.

At dances, women sing the medicine songs, men dance and use the medicine to cure people, for almost all men are made medicine men when they are in their late teens, after they have been initiated into manhood, having shot their first buck. They are made medicine men by older medicine men, and although any Bushman man may become a medicine man, only certain of them find that they have strong healing power, and these are the ones who practice, who fall into trance at dances and chase evil from their people. Ukwane himself had been one of these. None of the people he cured ever died, he said, but as he grew old his powers seemed to leave him, so now he did not practice any more. In his band Gai became the strong healer.

Of course, a medicine dance is a great affair, for it usually takes place at night and lasts all night into the morning. Everyone in the band takes part, every young boy old enough to walk may dance, every young girl may sing with the women, and women themselves may dance if they feel inclined. People talk, eat, and smoke between dances, or go off to bed to sleep for a while, so, all in all, dances are social af-

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GiKwe

534 shaded his dwelling, had about sixty cocoons on each rattle of the pair, and in each cocoon, from which the pupa had been carefully extracted and the cocoon closed up again, there were from ten to twenty fragments of ostrich eggshell, each fragment chipped to a uniform size and round. Each pair of rattles, of course, is expected to last a lifetime and more, and I'm sure that Gai's rattles were older than he.

621 The day before we left, Ukwane's band and the visitors
578 from Okwa decided that since they were all together and in
756
533 sufficient number, they would hold a dance. Perhaps it would purge the bad season or relieve the strain of jealousies they felt toward each other. Dances are usually held at night, but this time, out of consideration for us, they agreed to hold it during the day so that we could film it. We found a place which would be suitable for filming, helped gather sufficient wood because there would have to be a fire, no matter how hot the day was, and as we did all this the six young boys got more and more excited, tried on dance rattles, danced tight little circles around each other and tugged at the elbows of the adults, urging them to start.

756 Some of the women wanted to sing, others felt too hot, too
535 tired, but the men walked among them encouraging them all.
533 A dance is long, hot work for women, the pleasure of dancing being mostly for the men. At last Twikwe and Dasina went to the spot chosen for the dance and, sitting side by side at the fire, their backs to everybody, sang a few bars and began to talk, then sang a little more, joined now by Tsetchwe, who sat beside them and began to sing in earnest. All three of them looked so small down in the grass and set up such a loud noise singing—for in order to interest the other women they were shricking the song at the top of their voices—that they seemed like three tree frogs or three cicadas, hard to notice in the landscape but putting forth earsplitting songs.

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

At last a few more women joined the singers and the sing- 756
ing mounted, the voices took on several parts. At last the 535
men began to join, dancing toward the circle in twos and 533
threes, moaning the song in their throats, leaning on long staffs, their coming heralded by the dry, loud staccato of their rattles.

The men came from different directions, and they stood so tall and danced so strongly, with their muscles standing out on their necks, that their coming was like the coming of bull antelope, they were so radiant of strength and tension, they were so lithe and male. They came together out of the trees and, without the slightest change of pace, arranged themselves around the dance circle, wheeling slowly, one after the other, and the dance began.

The air was hot, the sun was shining strongly, the fire was 786
sending a shuddering cloud of heat around the dancers, and 756
as the dancers moved almost imperceptibly faster and faster, 535
Gai suddenly flung his arms into the air and with a piercing shriek crashed to the ground. He landed stiffly with a bounce, his head cracking. On the ground he writhed and groaned, and Ukwane pulled him by the arms to remove his body from the dance circle.

Gai was in deep trance. Ukwane was ministering to Gai's body because Gai's spirit had rushed away.

Bushmen say that when the medicine in a medicine man 774
becomes stimulated by a dance, warmed by the fire and by 756
the heat of the man's body, the man's spirit may leave him, 535
causing his body to fall because there is nothing there to hold it up, and fly into the veld, where it seeks out the evil that is troubling people. Some medicine men in this way have seen the spirits of the dead, some have seen the great god. At another dance we once attended, one man's spirit rushed into the veld, where it came upon a pride of lions that had been

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

Later, when the young boys had dispersed to play horse and rider, Ukwane took his bow and played a few songs. He 533 played "Bitter Melons" again, and "A Song of Shouting," and one other song about Kutera, his wife. Both the last song and its subject were very simple, the song itself having only three or four notes and a gentle rhythm. It was composed by Ukwane one chilly night because he had asked Kutera to gather firewood during the afternoon, but she had refused. That night Ukwane had been cold because there was no fire.

Ukwane sang and played in the shade of a tree, and over his head the birds in the branches were also singing. Everything seemed very peaceful, very quiet under the hazy sky; the west wind moved the grass, yellow as young wheat, and blew the sounds of people speaking, the sounds of the young boys playing, and the fragrance of the great veld over us. The strain among the people seemed to have gone; they had held a dance together, their children were playing calmly; there was, for a time, enough to eat, as the gemsbok had not yet been quite devoured; and all these things seemed to relax the people, allowing them to see each other in more favorable lights. Their naps and their soft singing showed their relaxation, and we were glad, for we had become so fond of Ukwane and his people that we did not like to think of them abandoned by the Okwa people or involved in strife.

We were loading our trucks because we planned to leave before dawn. At the end of the afternoon all the Bushmen had drifted into our camp to watch us, and Tsetchwe helped 752 me pack. I cut my finger on the sharp edge of a box and when she saw me trying to wipe the blood away she told me to wait, so I did, and when the blood was dry she scratched it all off with a stick.

We gave her presents, and presents to all the people there. 609 We gave blankets to the people in Ukwane's band, long 123 strings of white beads to everyone, metal to makes knives or

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Kung

621 The other werfs were much nearer us, as the people wanted
574 to keep an eye on each other, to see that we gave food or presents to all when we gave to one, but also because they enjoyed being together and wanted to be able to visit each other quickly at any time at all. Next to our camp on one side was Lazy Kwi's werf, and on the other side lived Toma with his wife and Gao Feet with his wives. At the far end of their werf lived Crooked Kwi with his wife and the old grandmother. They were between our camp and the pan, and beside their werf ran a pathway, the way used by the people on the other side of us to reach the water.

593 On the other side of the path, in the shade of a tree, lived one more small band, the band of a young man of perhaps thirty, who lived with his twelve-year-old son and his eight-
[582] year-old wife, whom he was nourishing while waiting for her to grow. These young people had chosen their spot because
[591] the little girl was Gao Feet's daughter by his first wife and was still so young that she wanted to live near her mother. She was a sad little girl with a grave face and troubled, wondering eyes; in fact, all these young people were very grave and sad—the young man's first wife had died and he now had no one to care for him because the little girl, his new wife, spent a great deal of time with her mother and he was left alone. The son was lonely too, having no mother and no one to care for him except his sad young father. His father was too troubled, too preoccupied, to be a companion to him, his little stepmother was too young, and he spent most of his time sitting on a rise of ground overlooking the werf where he lived, watching other people going by.

[142] The little girl took after her mother, Gao Feet's ugly wife, but her two men, her husband and her stepson, were a family
533 of great beauty. Both had wide, grave eyes and golden skins, and both were musicians, but the young father himself was

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Kung

an Orpheus. He owned a *guashi*, a stringed instrument which 533
he had made, and he carried his guashi wherever he went. As he plucked the strings, playing chords with his long fingers, he would hum the notes of a song that were not the same notes that his fingers were playing; he wove two themes and made a web of music, the guashi playing an intricate accompaniment while he sang a melody.

The guashi was made of a hollowed log about a foot long 534
with a wooden lid fixed over it, forming a sounding-chamber. At one end of the log, five wands were fixed which held five sinew strings that reached from the tips of the wands to the opposite end of the log. Anyone but a Bushman finds it hard to play a guashi, for the strings are always slipping out of tune and the position one plays it in is awkward. The guashi is set on the ground and the player squats before it, holding it steady with his feet or the edges of his hands; but the sound is beautiful, sometimes full, sometimes thin, and makes very deep and various music, for Bushmen, their music being by 533
far their greatest art, are not given to whistles or clear, shrill sounds—all their instruments make blurred and vibrant music with a richness in every note. Their compositions, too, are never simple, not even the music of their musical games, but always mixed, always subtle, partly gay but partly sad.

The songs and rhythms of the Kung are in no way as precise as those of the Gikwe, but the effect of Kung songs is deeper and, as the songs are freer, more impassioned. Like the songs of the Gikwe, the Kung songs are mood pieces. Because the guashi is made of mangetti wood, the songs are called "mangetti songs." The young man who owned the guashi knew many of these, but there were four that he sang very often, all wistful and quite sad, sometimes touched with irony. One of them was called "The Stump," a song about a man lost in the veld and wandering until at last he saw

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

●533 another Bushman, and because he was so happy to see someone and imagined the two of them passing the night together talking by a fire, he waved and called and ran up to the other Bushman. But when he got there he found that he had been mistaken—what he had thought was a man had been only a stump.

A second song was about two jealous co-wives, and the song, more ironic than sad, was composed by the husband to ridicule them. The names of these two women were Nunkwe and Aite, which sound for all the world like Gikwe names, as perhaps they were, and we wondered how far this song had traveled, by how many ears and mouths, before it found itself at Nama Pan.

The third song was called "*Chiviba*," a song composed by a young man who had brought veld food to his people in a chiviba, a basket made of branches. His people laughed at him and said that he was lazy not to have a bag to carry the veld food in, but nevertheless they were not too proud to eat what he had brought. The fourth song was called "*Ka Te Te*," the song of the redwing partridge. The redwing partridge
E784 is most strongly tabued as food, may never be eaten, and *ka te*
784 *te* is an imitation of its cry. The song was composed by a man who heard a redwing partridge making a sound in the evening and knew that the sound foretold a misfortune or a death.

Because the young man who owned the guashi was lonely and brooding, it was natural that he should play. The other people loved to hear him and often when he played several people, usually men, would gather to lie in the shade near him or sit beside him with their chins on their raised knees and listen, sometimes singing softly as he sang, very harmoniously, but paying no attention, just singing in their own way within a set harmony, dreaming and soft, and although the young man played for his own ears, not theirs, he could infect

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Kung

them with his moods and when he stopped playing and they 533
went away, they, too, were brooding.

Many young people had come to Nama, and together they 857
made Nama very gay. The boys played a game with wands, 526
throwing the wands at a hummock of ground and watching
them bounce off and sail into the grass on the other side, the
nearest that Bushmen come to a competitive game, for the
young boys like to see whose wand goes the farthest.

The girls played a singing game with a melon. They would
stand in a row that formed a half-circle dancing in place while
the girl at one end would spring into the middle of the circle
and toss a melon to the girl next to her in line. The game is
accompanied by a rapid, intricate song of several parts sung [533]
in falsetto voices, as pretty to hear as the game is pretty to see,
for the girls dance with their arms and heads as well as with
their feet, like the dancers of Bali.

At that time there were only two adolescent unmarried 882
girls at Nama. One of these was Beautiful Ungka, the other
was her cousin, and they both lived with the cousin's parents
at one of the werfs of the people from Gam. They were both
extremely beautiful and they were lilies of the field. Since
they were their parents' only children, they had no younger
brothers or sisters to mind, and did nothing at all from one [572]
day to the next but adorn and amuse themselves, and this
they did together, for they were the best of friends. They were
straight and slender, with pale-gold skin not yet darkened and [142]
weathered by the sun of the veld, and they had flat bellies and
high, small breasts. Beautiful Ungka had nipples like knobs,
rounded like balls. Both girls wore ornamented aprons, soft
leather capes—the best that there is. Many bead ornaments 302
hung from their hair and swung when they walked, and al-
most hid their handsome faces.

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Kung

Those were two willful girls, too beautiful, too proud, too 882
much admired, but the young boys couldn't do enough for 572 857
them. It was one of their admirers who cleared the grass for the werf that the cousin's parents were building, and though the two girls teased and ridiculed the boy all the while, snickering contemptuously at him from behind their swinging beads, he worked on happily until not a blade of grass remained.

But Beautiful Ungka and her cousin were not as sophisti- 883
cated as they thought they were, really, for when they would 526
hear the music of the melon game they would abandon their poise and decorum to run for the sound, arms waving, ornaments and clothing streaming out behind, and when they found the game they had been hearing they would jump into the middle of it and play with abandon, singing loudly and dancing fast for fun. Also, Beautiful Ungka could spit through her teeth like a man. She could draw back her head and spit ten feet and she did this often, smiling scornfully, an astonishing accomplishment for such a handsome girl. Her cousin used to try it too; she could spit a little way but not nearly as far as Beautiful Ungka.

After all, they were only sixteen. There is a Bushman mood 533
song with these words: 539

I am tired and old and without people,
I wish I could marry a young girl.

There were so many great fires around Nama that the sky 132
was dark with their smoke, and when the sun rose in the morning, one day shortly after we had got there, we could not even see it until it was far above the horizon and then it appeared red and enormous, murky. In the west two new fires had sprung up, perhaps lit by Bushmen to show where they were

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Kung

ing happily, but all the adults in all the werfs were too de- 521/758
pressed and sad. Finally, one by one, the men went back again to Short Kwi, who by now had rallied and was sitting up, surely having been through the worst of it the night before, and talked to him about the antelopes he had killed and about the time he killed a wildebeest, an eland, and a wild pig all in one day.

It has been said that Bushmen abandon cripples or people 888/734
who are old or sick and cannot travel. This is not true.

Far into the night, people who could not sleep sat up and 521/533
talked at each other's fires. We heard the guashi being played, its long strings sounding in repetitious little songs of four or five notes which themselves were played over and over, for the guashi was being passed from hand to hand, played idly by people who just wanted something to do.

It was a warm night. The frogs in the pan were croaking 521/574
and the north wind blew the cooking-fires around. Later, when the moon rose and made a blood-red fire all its own, the people began to go home. Toma and Gao Feet and their sons stopping to visit us on their way; they walked silently up to our fire from the darkness and dropped to their haunches one after the other, and sat quietly, their grave faces tilted back, hands shading their eyes. Toma's son wore the crown of badger hair, which moved in the wind a little. Presently the men and their sons stood up again one at a time and walked on, as silently on their bare feet as they had come. We heard the low voices of other people who were passing, then saw fires flare up at the werfs, and much later, when the wind had died and even the frogs were silent, we knew that some of the people were dreaming, for they groaned in their sleep.

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Kung

very sleek and prosperous, for they were staggering under 574
loads of food, their bags and nets bulging with tsi and their 602
carrying-poles strung with the meat of the gemsbok. They put down their loads and the women began immediately to make a large and busy werf on the far side of Toma's. In a very short time the werf was built and strewn with food and objects, and the people sitting among their possessions looked so comfortable and settled that one would never have thought that they had just arrived.

The old woman, Short Kwi's mother-in-law, did cry when she found her daughter gone. She squatted sadly on the ground and wiped her tears from her wrinkled, dusty cheeks with her fingers. All her relatives, clustered around her, trying to comfort her, telling her that, after all, her daughter would return, that she herself would be looked after and not allowed to starve, and presently the old woman stopped crying, wiped [3+2] her eyes, and got up to build herself a tiny hut, a shade of grass and branches.

That night, when darkness fell, when the moon rose blood 857
red among the trees and the frogs in the pan began their sing- 533
ing, we were again sitting by our fire, again hosts to a good many visitors, when we heard high voices singing a medicine song. We stood up to look over the grass and saw a fire where no werf was, with five young girls around it singing, clapping a rhythm, their faces lit red by the fire and their backs lit palely by the moon. They were all alone there, far from their homes.

We asked our visitors if there was going to be a dance, 857
which did not seem likely, everyone being in such low spirits, 535
and those who wanted to dance said yes while those who didn't said no. Soon some little children joined the dance, though, among them Little Gashe and Little Dabe. Little

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

535 854 kaross, and carried them to their mother; in this way, one by one, the dancing babies were eliminated and the circle was left to the men.

535 786 The dance went on all night, reaching a climax after midnight when the moon was high and sailing overhead. The medicine men were seized with trances that shook their bodies and rattled their teeth and sent them rushing headlong into the black shadows to curse at the spirits of the dead. Dust mounted, the sound of the high singing and the rattles was deafening, and even in the pauses between dances the medicine men screamed.

535 When hours had passed, when the moon was low and only its thick red glow showed on the horizon, the dance reached a lull and many people went home. Soon only a core of dancers and singers remained, perhaps twenty people in all. These were the strong young men, wiry enough to have withstood ten hours of dancing, and the old widows and middle-aged women, those who had no small children to worry them, women who were tougher than the young girls and did not mind that they felt tired. It is a strong thing to dance all night; it brings powerful, enduring medicine, and these few people, willing to withstand fatigue and cold, wore away the night to dance for the medicine of the rising sun.

When the moon was down and the dance fire had burned to embers, was almost out, I went to the veld to gather firewood. Just then the first stars began to dim in the soft, cold air, the eastern sky turned pale; faintly, the first birds began 535 533 to cry, and from where I stood in the veld I heard the song change to the sun-dance. The song lasted only for a moment, as the singers acknowledged the paleness, and a little later, as the light in the east became brighter and the colors of the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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veld began to show, the women sang the sun-dance fully, a 535
song quite different from the others, very even, very simple, 533
steady, dignified, and grave.

The dawn wind lifted and blew away the smoke and dust and made the people shiver. The light showed the dancers moving stiffly, the singers hunched together for support and warmth, and revealed dusty, dirty faces and dirty teeth. Dust had made mud in the corners of our mouths and eyes.

Only about ten women were singing in the circle now, and they sat all together at one spot, leaving a lot of space around the fire; only four men danced and they moved slowly in their track, burdened by their rattles. They, too, stayed close together so that most of their huge track was bare.

When the sun was over the horizon the dance stopped. The women ended their song abruptly, stood up, shook the dust and straw from their clothing, and walked away. They did not speak to one another because they were tired. The men talked for a moment as they sat down, stretched, untied their rattles, before walking off two by two toward their werfs. Soon all that remained was the dance track, a deep circular rut in the ground, the big heap of dead white ashes, and the dusty bushes and trees.

The people who had been dancing during the night slept 513
all through the heat of the day and as the afternoon came, lying in the shade of trees and bushes. Flies buzzed over them, the afternoon shadows lengthened and the day cooled, and still they slept on.

When the light was red and the sun was almost setting, 481
the women began to stir, getting to their feet slowly, and then 825
alone or in twos and threes, followed by their children, walked down the path to the water, the last ones to leave

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

deadly poisoned arrows are always at hand. Men have killed each other with them in quarrels—though rarely—and the /Kung fear fighting with a conscious and active fear. They speak about it often. Any expression of discord ('bad words') makes them uneasy. Their desire to avoid both hostility and rejection leads them to conform in high degree to the unspoken social law. If they do deviate they usually yield readily to expressed group opinion and reform their ways. I think that most /Kung cannot bear the sense of rejection which even mild disapproval makes them feel. They also conform strictly to certain specific useful customs which are like instruments for avoiding discord.

Talking and 'Talks'

I mention talking as an aid to peaceful social relations because it is so very much a part of the daily experience of the /Kung and, I believe, usefully serves three particular functions. It keeps up good open communication among the members of the band; through its constantly flowing expression it is a salutary outlet for emotions; and it serves as the principal sanction in social discipline. Songs are also used for social discipline. The /Kung say that a song composed specifically about someone's behaviour and sung to express disapproval, perhaps from the deepest shadow of the werf at night, is a very effective means of bringing people who deviate back into the pattern of approved behaviour. Nevertheless, during our observations, songs were not used as much as talking. If people disapprove of an individual's behaviour, they may criticize him or her directly, usually putting a question, 'Why do you do that?' or they may gossip a bit or make oblique hints. In the more intense instances 'a talk' may ensue.

The /Kung are the most loquacious people I know. Conversation in a /Kung werf is a constant sound like the sound of a brook, and as low and lapping, except for shrieks of laughter. People cluster together in little groups during the day, talking, perhaps making artifacts at the same time. At night families talk late by their fires, or visit at other family fires with their children between their knees or in their arms if the wind is cold.

There always seems to be plenty to talk about. People tell about events with much detail and repetition and discuss the comings and goings of their relatives and friends and make plans. Their greatest preoccupation and the subject they talk about most often, I think, is food. The men's imaginations turn to hunting. They converse musingly, as though enjoying a sort of day-dream together, about past hunts, telling over and over where game was found and who killed it. They wonder where the game is at present and say what fat bucks they hope to kill. They also plan their next hunts with practicality. Women (who, incidentally, do not talk as much as men) gave me the impression of talking more about who gave or did not give them food and their anxieties about not having food. They spoke to me about women who were remembered for being especially quick and able gatherers, but did not have pleasurable satisfaction in remembering their hot, monotonous, arduous days of digging and picking and trudging home with their heavy loads.

Another frequent subject of conversation is gift-giving. Men and women speak of the persons to whom they have given or propose to give gifts. They express satisfaction or dissatisfaction with what they have received. If someone has delayed

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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776 It was characteristic of the /Kung that none of the medicine men whom we knew
756 claimed to have seen ≠*Gao!na*. They were not great enough, they said. The /Kung
[[56] do not wish to risk drawing upon themselves the invidious attention of mortals or the whimsical displeasure of the gods by setting themselves up noticeably before others. Some said that they had been told by their parents of only one great medicine man among their neighbouring bands who had seen ≠*Gao!na*. His name was Gao. He died long ago.

776 Although ≠*Gao!na* comes only to the great medicine men 'in the flesh', so to speak,
787 he appears to anyone in dreams and 'helps all his people'. A hunter said that
[224] ≠*Gao!na* stands beside one in one's dream and says, 'You have been walking and walking and you got nothing. Today I shall give you meat.' The hunter gets up and goes out on to the veld. He sees an animal and shoots it. ≠*Gao!na* may say, on the other hand, 'These days you will not find an animal even if you hunt'; and it will be the truth. He may tell you in a dream where to find honey in a tree or where to
[756 find an ant hill. He gives power to the medicine men in dreams and also medicine
● 533] songs. A medicine woman described vividly how he had taught her a medicine song which she then gave to her people. He stood beside her instructing her to sing the song over and over until she had learned it.

//*Gauwa*, The Lesser God

776 Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung the word //*Gauwa* has three interpretations. First,
[775] a //*gauwa* is the spirit of a dead person; the spirits of the dead in the plural are //*gauwasi*. Second, the Nyae Nyae /Kung, as we have said, call the children born to the gods 'little //*gauwasi*'. Third, they apply the name //*Gauwa* to both the great and the lesser god. It is one of the seven names they have in common. In the current beliefs of the Nyae Nyae /Kung there is not a being called //*Gauwa* who is a separate entity apart from the great and the lesser god.

Among other Bushmen and the Hottentots, //*Gauwa* was a being distinct from the other being who is variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, &c. As I interpret the present belief of the /Kung, the lesser god is that old, traditional //*Gauwa*. He has been transmuted, however, from the old image to a new one, as the old protagonist, ≠*Gao!na*, was transmuted into the great god. //*Gauwa*'s name has been attributed to the great god as the great god's names have been attributed to him. The two beings remain separate entities in the /*gu!na*–/*guma* relationship.

I base the interpretation that the lesser god is the traditional //*Gauwa* on the facts that many of his attributes are the same as or similar to those of the traditional being and that I did not hear people use any other name for him but //*Gauwa* and did not once hear the name //*Gauwa* used for the great god when people spoke spontaneously of him, although they insisted that it was one of the seven names which the gods have in common.

Excerpts from Schapera indicate that //*Gauwa* was generally the destroyer. Vedder reports that the /Kung at Tsumeb expect only evil from him and think of him as opposed to *Huwe*. But Lebzelter's Eastern Kung believed that he was good as well as evil, that he helped hunters, and some thought he was the creator. 'He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.'[1] By the Heikum also he was

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Why does the lightning not go and die somewhere and leave us alone and just let a gentle rain give us water?' 782

If someone were struck and killed by lightning, Gao Medicine said he would say,

'*Hishi*, why have you taken this person? Why do you strike us with storm? You cannot always be good; you keep changing. You created all things and are present in every movement. Why must you do ill?'

About another storm, Gao Medicine said,

'It is */Nai* who makes these things. He is scolding us because we are his children. It is because of our bad ways we are so punished. We must not complain. This is a good time, the time of rain. We must not complain.'

When the people are pleased they thank *≠Gao/na* and say, 'This is how you must serve your children.'

The /Kung pray directly to *//Gaowa* as well as to *≠Gao/na*. One old man named Tuka/na made a prayer into a song and taught it to his people. The men sometimes sing it when they are walking along in the veld on hunting trips. It says in effect: [533]

'*//Gaowa* must help us that we kill an animal.
//Gaowa, help us. We are dying of hunger.
//Gaowa does not give us help.
He is cheating. He is bluffing.
//Gaowa will bring something for us to kill next day
After he himself hunts and has eaten meat,
When he is full and is feeling well.'

The song then changes to the past tense and tells how *//Gaowa* favoured them in the past and gave them luck in the hunt and they ate and afterwards the man said to the women:

'You must sing well.
We are happy now.
Our hearts are shining.
I shall put on my rattles,
And put on my headband,
And put a feather in my hair
To explain to *//Gaowa* how happy we are that he has helped us and that we have eaten.
My heart is awake.
When we do not have meat
My heart is sad from hunger
Like an old man, sick and slow.
When we have meat my heart is lively.

The concerns and anxieties of these people are manifest in their prayers. The pervasive, unremitting anxiety about food becomes vividly apparent. The concept that *≠Gao/na* has great power and that he is not evil incarnate, but has a dual nature which can feel pity as well as displeasure, makes beneficence a possibility. The /Kung believe that, influenced by the medicine men's scolding or by supplication, he may change his evil intent, and this gives them hope. [154 776]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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The Ceremonial Curing Dance

The ceremonial curing dance is the one religious act which has form and in which the people are united. The purpose of the dance is to cure sickness and to drive away evil. If there is actual sickness among the people or if real misfortune has come upon them, the dance will be held especially to cure these ills. But the people dance often when no one is actually known to be sick, and when no particular misfortune has come, to drive away evil which might be there but which one cannot see, and to feel protected by goodness.

The protecting goodness is the ' medicine ', the magic power called *gaxa*, which the /Kung believe the great god puts into the bodies of the medicine men and into the medicine songs. The /Kung believe that the great god endowed the power with its own autonomous potency, but nevertheless account for its failing to cure sometimes by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work or not, according to his pleasure or displeasure. *Gaxa* is the power evoked and activated during the curing dance.

I believe the ceremonial curing dance to be a religious act, but, although very serious, especially in its final curing aspect, it is not piously solemn or constrained
[517 and it provides occasion for pleasure and aesthetic satisfaction. The music can be
●533] sung at any time, for lullabies or just for singing. Music and dancing are the arts of the /Kung. The good young dancers, especially, feel the delight which is inherent in fine integration of movement and rhythm (one can see this clearly), and the people watch and admire good dancing and take pleasure in it, and in the music.

Furthermore, the dances are a socially unifying factor. All the people of the werf
come together and participate, men and women, old and young. The men often
[852] dance with their babies on their shoulders in the early part of the dance, and the children dance and play among them, until they fall fast asleep in their mothers' laps.
[883] Anyone who wants a dance may start it by going around to people and asking them to come and begin. Someone who was sick would ask for a dance, but young people who love to dance often start just for fun. Sometimes their dances do not turn into curing dances, but usually, once the music begins, the adults join in and the dance becomes a real one. The dances last all night oftener than not. There is a special potency in those which are danced at dawn. The /Kung dance, at irregular intervals, on an average of once in ten days, more or less. Almost invariably they dance at least once during the full moon.

Among the /Kung the women and girls always sit close together in a circle around a dance fire which may be built wherever there is convenient clear space. Their function is to clap and sing. The men dance in a line, one close behind the another, around the circle of women, in either direction, and cut through the circle past the fire. They sing as they dance. Occasionally a woman gets up and dances with them, though it is not her role, as though she could no longer resist the impulse. When a woman joins the line of dancers, the man behind her holds out his arms towards her but does not touch her. She dances with dignity, making tiny stamping steps, hardly moving, eyes cast down. If there is a delicate overtone of eroticism expressed in the dancing of the women, it is most subtle and constrained—in extreme contrast to the overt expression of many of the Bantu dances.

The dancing of the men in the curing ceremonial dances has its own special style. 796 In other dances, that of the *Choma*, the Men's Dance, the Eland Dance of the First 535 Menstruation Ceremony, and in the numerous singing-dancing or rhythmic games which the /Kung play for fun, one sees enchanting pantomime and imitation of [524] animals. In the ceremonial dances we sometimes thought we saw what might be a vestige of the imitation of animals' horns in the way the arms were held, but in comparison with the visual expressiveness of the games, the purpose is not to express by gesture but to produce sound, to be part of the music.

The men wear rattles made of strings of dried cocoons with little seeds or stones inside, which make a swishing sound. These are the only instruments used in the dance. [533] (The /Kung, incidentally, have no drums.) The men dance with knees bent and bodies carried with little motion, leaning forward. On the strong accented beat, the dancer gives a hop and comes down with both feet. On the second beat he holds his weight on one foot (alternating right and left) and with the other stamps a single step or ripples two or three light stamps into the time of the single step. The steps are very precise. They are minute in size, advancing only two or three inches, but they are strongly stamped, and ten or twenty dancers stamping together produce a loud thud. The women clap loudly and sharply. The majority of them clap the basic pattern of a particular piece, while some strike a beat or beats which are complementary to the basic beat. The clapping and stamping are of such precision that they give the effect of a well-played battery of percussion instruments producing a solid structure of intricate rhythm. Above the percussion sounds, the voices of the men and women weave together in parts, singing the medicine songs.[1] Since singing and dancing are one, producing the music, I speak of medicine songs or medicine dances interchangeably.

The medicine songs or dances of the /Kung are named *Rain*, *Sun*, *Giraffe*, *Eland*, *Honey*, *Buffalo*, and *Mamba*. Some of the /Kung have *Gemsbok* and *Spider* Medicine music as well. The Rain Dance is not danced as a specific rain-making ceremony. The dances named for animals do not produce magic to control these animals in hunting or to prevent snake-bite, for example. The dances are named for these things because the things are vital, life-and-death things and they are strong, as the curing medicine in the music is strong.

After several dances have been danced the medicine men begin to cure. The /Kung 535 do not have sorcerers, witches, or witch doctors, and do not believe that the divine 796 beings enter into the medicine men or speak through them. Almost all the /Kung 756 men are medicine men. They do not all choose to practise, for one reason or another, but there are always several in a band who are active. Medicine men receive no rewards other than their inner satisfactions and emotional release. I know that some of them feel a deep responsibility for the welfare of their people and great anxiety and concern if their curing fails, and a corresponding satisfaction if it prevails. Others of them appear to be less concerned about the people whom they try to cure and more inwardly turned.

When the medicine men are curing, all of them experience varying degrees of [787] self-induced trance, which includes a period of frenzy and a period of semi-

[1] Nicholas England is in the process of tracing the songs and analysing the music, and he has a paper in preparation which will include /Kung beliefs and practices about them.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and traditionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

(the same word as the title of respect). The !Kung say it is strong medicine: 776
/num. The !Kung take for granted his giving to man both sickness and 753
the power to cure it, and account for the power's sometimes failing to cure 778
by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work, or not, according 755
to his pleasure.

He gives the curing power to medicine men (called *num kxao*, medicine 778
owners), appearing to them (usually in dreams, sometimes in what seem 756
to be waking hallucinations) and putting the power into them. He has also [533]
put a curing power in the medicine songs that the people sing at the dances, songs named Rain, Sun, Giraffe, Eland, Honey, Buffalo, Mamba, and Spider —all powerful things. The great god gives the power freely. It is rare to find a man among the !Kung who is not a medicine man. The function of the 756
medicine men is only to cure. They are not sorcerers or witch doctors. (The [754]
!Kung are not a witch-ridden people.) !Kung medicine men receive no rewards or special prerogatives. They work together apparently without rivalry. The medicine men may cure at any time but their strongest curing occurs [535]
at the dance.

Whether or not anyone is sick, the people dance two or three times a 535
month, sometimes more often. Anyone who wants a dance may start one 781
simply by asking people to come and begin. The !Kung like to dance for many reasons. There is the inherent physical pleasure in moving to rhythm. Music and dancing are their arts, from which their aesthetic pleasure comes. [53]
The dances are also social gatherings in which all participate, men, women, 535
children, visitors—everybody. A dance draws them together as nothing else 781
does. Even more important is the fact that the dance is one concerted re- 571
ligious act of the !Kung and brings people into such unison that they become like an organic being.

At the dances not only may the sick be cured, but pending evil and mis- 535
fortune averted. The !Kung believe that the great god may send */Gauwa* or 755
the */gauwasi* at any time with ill for someone and that these beings may be 751
lurking, awaiting their chance to inflict it. The medicine men in the dances combat them, drive them away, and protect the people.

Usually there are several medicine men performing at the same time. 755
To cure they go into trance, which varies in depth as the ceremony proceeds. The curing cannot be described in words; it must be heard. When a man begins, he leaves the line of dancing men and, still singing, leans over the person he is going to cure, going eventually to every person present, even the infants. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The !Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. To demonstrate that this is in fact going on and is hard to do, he grunts with shuddering grunts that intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high piercing, quavering yell. Finally, the medicine man throws up his arms

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

535 which the performers imitated all the actions and droll grimaces of
825 rival baboons, springing, gambolling, and running upon all fours, chattering and grimacing like a troop of excited simiadae. Another, and one which also appeared a favourite amongst them, was the *'Kloo-rou-o*, or Frog dance, in which they squatted, and leaped, and rolled about like a lot of inebriated batrachians. A third of this kind was the *t'Oi*, or Bee dance, when the company transformed themselves into a swarm of bees, and performed their evolutions with a buzzing chorus. "On special occasions," Stow continues, "they held a general masquerade, when each one took the disguise or head-dress of some particular bird or animal, and upheld the character during the performance. This appears to have been considered one of their grand national dances, and was reserved for their high festivals; it was one which even their greatest artists delighted to depict, and probably it had some hidden meaning known to the initiated."[1] It is not unlikely, as Stow suggests, that such dances were also of a ritual character, but of their function and relation to the social life generally hardly anything is known.

526 Games are often played in the evenings too, by grown-up people
535 of both sexes as well as by children.[2] A favourite game of the women, found among the Southern Bushmen, as well as in the north, is a ball game which is almost a dance. The players stand in a line
● [533] clapping their hands and singing a wordless tune. One of them dances about opposite the others with a melon or round tuber in her hand. At the end of the tune she throws the ball to the player at the right hand of the line, who dances out to catch it, and herself dances back to the left end, where she joins in the singing and clapping. The next player does the same, and so the game goes on till all have had several turns. Sometimes, again, they play at the capture of
524 brides by young men, as among the Naron, or at games based on
536 animal experiences, as among the Heikum. One of the latter, for instance, represents how a white monkey was once seen by a woman who ran home and told the others. "The part of the monkey is taken by a woman who stands with her hands covering the sides of her face, leaving only a small opening for peeping through. She sways her head from side to side. The other women form up in a row opposite to her. One goes forward to look at the monkey, gazes at it intently and, when the latter starts moving its head from side to

[1] Op. cit., 117–18.
[2] Stow, op. cit., 97–102; Kaufmann, op. cit., 149–50; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 18–21; Fourie op. cit., 97–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

524 and pretend to dip it out. The 'snake' from time to time flicks
857 sand at them with his finger, he is supposed to be squirting water. The others start back and scream, then gather once more round the 'pool'. At last the 'snake' jumps up, seizes a victim and pretends to swallow it, which ends the game."[1]

●533 Some of the children's games, as in the one just described, have songs or refrains attached to them, in which the words are occasionally
[535] obsolete. All the dances are also accompanied by singing, many of them having their own special tune, but here the tunes are often sung without words. Other songs, again, go with the playing of musical instruments. The tunes are as a rule very short, and are generally repeated over and over again without variation, so that the effect is rather monotonous. "All Bushmen sing," says Miss Bleek,[2] "but their tunes are not easy for a European to distinguish, much less to write down." And, referring to the dance tunes,
[535] she adds: "The time is perfect, but no two in a chorus seem to hit the same note, though the general burden of the tune is kept up. That is to say, they all go up together, but not from or to the same note, and they all go down together, each hitting any note they please."

Musical instruments are seldom used to accompany the dances,
534 although several different kinds are found.[3] Many of them are variations of the musical bow. The best known of these, the */goura*, was the favourite instrument in the south. It consists in an ordinary bow, in which one end of the string, instead of being fastened to the stave itself, is attached to a flexible piece of quill spliced to the end of the stave. This quill is held against the lips, and made to vibrate by strong expirations and inspirations of the breath, thus producing the effect of a stringed wind instrument. Another form of the musical bow, commonly known as the */gubo*, has a gourd or tortoise-shell attached to the stave of the bow so as to serve as a sounding-box. The instrument is played by picking at the string with a small piece of wood or bone. A development of this sometimes seen consists in playing it like a primitive sort of violin, with a small bow for sounding the string. This mode of playing was probably adopted
[177] from a European source, as the use of a bow after the manner of a

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 19. [2] Op. cit., 22.
[3] Stow, op. cit., 102–11; Passarge, op. cit., 95–8; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 111–12; Kaufmann, op. cit., 150–1; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 21–2; Balfour, "The Goura—A Stringed Wind Musical Instrument of the Bushmen and Hottentots," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxii (1902), 156–76.

/150 cont./

526 there is a good supply of food, in other words, only during the crop season (rainy season). Sometimes, also, a heap of sand about one and a half meters high is piled up and one must throw over it.

The game is played for hours by boys and men with great shouts of joy.

[171] [177] This sport[1] is likewise practiced by the Kaffir and Herero. The Auin state that it is not an original Bushman game.

Wrestling (see Photo. 34). This seems to have a somewhat more serious character, since the victor deals severely with the loser and has nothing to do with him for a long time. Nonetheless, the Bushmen designate it as a game.

Shooting with bow and arrow (unpoisoned arrow tip toward the front). The target is a tschama or any other soft object, in order to spare the arrow. One by one, the competitors shoot from the same place. The winner receives a prize (food, a knife, or the like).

Spear throwing. The target (tschama) is placed on a stick planted in the ground.

At a distance of 20 meters, only one throw out of 30, performed by six men, hit the target.

The target was an insert from a flour box.

Prizes are offered.

Riding (see Photo. 35). Two men form a "horse," the third "rides." (Gabi, "to ride.")

[1][i.e., of stick throwing.-Analyst]

L. Music

534 Musical bows of various sizes made of "rosinkis wood" with animal tendons. The striker is made of any kind of wood.

I have a suspicion that the two Auin in Photograph 38 cheated a bit, because one of them has a shooting bow while the other has taken up any old stick. It is likely that just at that moment they had no proper musical bow at hand. At the same time, of course, it is true that one can make "music" on any strung bow. This music, by the way, is clearly audible to other people, not only to the player.

533 /151/ There are no special musicians. On the other hand, one does find certain individuals who clearly take more joy in

/151 cont./

533 music than others. I have observed a man who played his musical bow in every spare moment.

Rhythmic hand clapping accompanies singing.

Dance rattles (guri) are made of the cocoons of a night
534 237 butterfly. These cocoons are strung on strings and dried. While the cocoons are still soft, little stones or pieces of ostrich egg shell are pressed into the inner cavity and the soft envelope is closed over them (see Photo. 39).

The rattles, when they are dried and hard, are strung and
535 fastened to the ankle. They are supposed to be used at all dances.

War dance (see Photos. 41 and 42).

The women sit or stand, clapping their hands and singing, while the men crouch or stand opposite them. One man slides out of the row on his knees toward the row of women and makes war-like gestures, as though he were evading an arrow, flinging a spear, etc.

One of the women thrusts out an arm and utters a brief, deep cry, thereby indicating that a spear has been thrown or an arrow shot. The man pretends he is wounded and screams. If he is "dead," he crawls back, and a new solo dancer takes his place. Women, too, are sometimes "dead" or "wounded."

Indecisive battles are indicated.

Here, too, there are very passionate dancers, both male and female, as well as those who have a special talent for mimicry.

The porcupine dance (see Photo. 40) is performed only by men. A number of men stand facing one another, stamp the ground rhythmically, and utter loud shouts. One of them is the "porcupine," which is beaten to death by another man or stabbed with a spear. Everything is indicated by motions.

Eland bull dance. I was unable to learn the nature of this dance, but apparently the rutting lust of the eland is imitated.

M. Means of Transportation

487 Bush paths are formed by the Bushmen on the main lines of traffic, for instance, from the settlement to water. When a
648 Bushman uses the pad (that is, the road of the Whites), he has an

526

Auen

Photo. 35.
Riding.

524
535

Photo. 37.
Dancing Game of the Women.

●534
535

Photo. 39.
Dance
Rattles.

Auen

524
535

Photo. 36.
Dancing Game of the Women [see Photo. 37].

●534
516

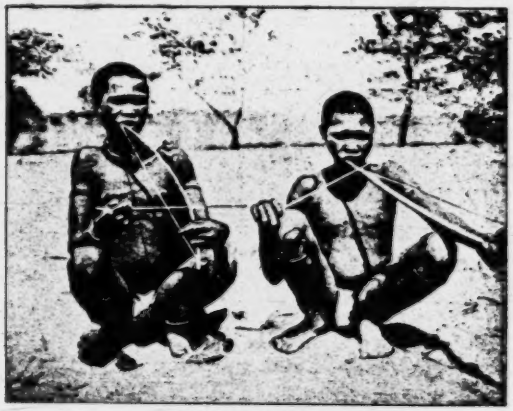

Photo. 38.
Musical Bows.

535

Photo. 40.
Porcupine Dance.

[8 cont.]

177 nothing can be done without Erob; we also pray to him whenever
776 somebody is ill, but we have no song for that, we do it in our
782 hearts." In these conceptions Christian influence is obvious.

881 They have no initiation for boys, but there is one for girls at the time of the first menstruation.

The girls' initiation is called "dorob."

At the onset of the menses, the girl becomes a "X'ába X'ábesa"; a special hut (omba) is built for her, where she is guarded by older women who feed her. The girl is allowed to eat anything, but nothing with her hands. When the menses end, a two-day festival begins, which terminates with a concluding dance. The candidate is seated in the center. Men and women go around
[534] her in a circle. The men blow on wooden trumpets. (These trumpets are made by the !Kung at only one place.) At the same time the drum is beaten (!guruba). At the conclusion, the women make "music." They clap their hands and sing:

[539] e-e-e-e-a-eje a jeja ni u u e . . .

Between times the drums and wooden trumpets sound.
539 Then the choral song of the men begins.

881 boro ai /i-he ≠hasa	Daughter my has become tall (just)
≠hau ge	Stand erect (tall)
/gai /ka uta (?) /noro-re	Good be now our little sunshine (1)

1. Literally: "Shine, you."

/ari ni tessa	Dance (2), sing, sue for her hand (3)

2. Literally: "Jump."

3. Literally: "Ask for!"

!goasa hi bare	People, be glad
Ti Komi !gǒǎ Kǒǒ...Kǒǒ... Kǒǒǒ	So, in this way, people, you should do it.

Then the dance begins anew.

[582] The engagement usually takes place long before the
585 girl's initiation. Hence the rule is that the wedding and the girl's
881

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire. [40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by
[439] the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be-
[422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should
[304] be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out
177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked
415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are
278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen.
805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions;
211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary.
[614] To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so
[888] great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements
[623] between the chief and the other old men.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 25]

[41 cont.]

622 between the chief and the other old men. When the village chief dies, it is not his eldest son, but the eldest son of his sister [Figs. 13 and 14 appear here] who takes over the village.

582 There are certain marriage prohibitions and requirements, which are illustrated by the following schema.

[534]

Fig. 13. Dance Drum of the !Kung (Kuntsas). (Greatly reduced.)

[805]
[211]

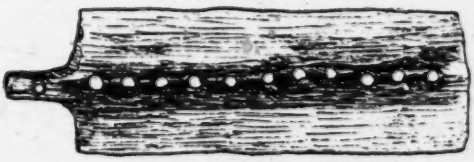

Fig. 14. Calendar Board of the !Kung (actual size [as shown in the original text]).

Father's brother X wife	Father X mother	Father's sister X husband
Brother--sister	A--sister	Cousin (male) -- cousin (female

If A is taken as an example, the children of his father's sister are his cousins. Marriage with these cousins is prohibited. On the other hand, A must marry the father's brother's daughter if she so desires. The man on his part, however, cannot force the

[58 cont.]

[113] Specimens of Bushmen Folklore, London, 1910-11, pp. 10-13.

776 be especially significant. The !Kung at that time told of a being called /Chue, who transforms itself in turn into various fruit trees and veldkost plants, into a Herero, etc. One day he transformed himself into a //gui tree, his wife ate of it, the tree disappeared, and /Chue changed into a fly. Another time he even became a waterhole, then again a gecko; at night [59] he always changes back into a little human being. The Herero look for him, but cannot find him. /Chue then makes a fire and dies. His father sees this and then moves to his homeland on a large mountain called //Noa. We shall probably not go wrong if we identify this /Chue with Huwe. This Huwe, as is known, is sometimes equated with the great captain X'u. In this old setting he also has distinct traits of Heiseb.

782 The !Kung who were W.H.J. Bleek's informants were also familiar with a prayer song addressed to the new moon. In ac-
[534] companiment, they blew on trumpets made of antelope horns. (Bleek-Lloyd, ibid., p. 15.)

787 The old !Kung called the prophesy sticks /Chu, which evidently is the same name again as that of the great captain and is in agreement with Dornan's report concerning the Masarwa that Modimo himself spoke from the prophesy sticks.

755 Vedder reports that in case of illness a messenger is sent
769 to an ancestor's grave and prays: A dsi-dsi mi !hâ tí /X'ai-a? (Why is my son ill?) ≠nu /kôa (to live in health).

774 While my informants denied the presence of any animistic
825 conceptions, the old !Kung believe that certain snakes, lizards,
775 and antelope found in the vicinity of graves represent spirits of the
171 dead (1), as they do among the Bantu.

1. W.H.J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd, ibid., p. 430.

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[73 cont.]
776 821 not die, but otherwise they are like people, except that they have
[789] black skin. When there is no rain, the Bushmen make a large
fire and throw into it a root, "he," and a male turtle. As soon
[535] as it starts to rain, they dance, strike themselves on the thighs,
[534] and sing: "Ehe, ehe, ehe, ije, ije, ije, ehe, ehe, ehe," etc.
The sorcerers can transform themselves into lions.

The rain sorcerer lives on earth as other people do. The rainbow is the rain dog. The clouds are the rain hairs.

At the time of new moon, they say the moon is sleeping. During the night the sun runs back to the east.

Thunder and lightning are not made by the rain, but by Gauab who among these Bushmen has become a personification of evil. Lightning is called "Gauab's knife."

The dark night sky is the covering of the moon and sun. The dome of the sky is called /gna. My informants left it an open question as to whether the sun perhaps "might be the greatest," the one who has made everything. On the other hand, Khu is likewise regarded as the creator. He made heaven and earth, and he also made human beings live. Khu is not a human being; he is good, but nothing more is known about him. He does not interfere in the course of the world and of human life. To be sure, they say, "Khu is the greatest, and Gauab is the smallest," but nonetheless Gauab plays a larger role in their lives. He controls thunder and lightning, he races over the steppe as a destructive wind spout, visible to all, and he also kills people by tearing out their souls and making a little Gauab out of them. This little Gauab in turn runs about in the bush and does all kinds of evil things.

[74] There is a secret moon cult among the Naron. They
794 787 821 pray to the new moon for rain. In olden times certain stars, espe-
cially the morning star and the Southern Cross, which they call
"fire shoe," are also supposed to have been invoked. The story of
773 821 the moon and the hare is told in the following way: The moon
said: "People must die and arise again, just as I die and return
again." But the hare contradicted her and said that people should
remain dead. The moon then became angry and cut the hare's mouth
with a hoe.

"The moon is an old man, and the sun a young girl, his wife. First the moon goes under the sky, and then the sun follows behind

/252 cont./

The men standing around now attempt to catch the pumpkin
535 as it flies through the air, and the women simulate great indignation when one of the men succeeds in doing so. This man then cuts up the pumpkin with a knife so that a new ball is required in order to continue the game.

Another dance, in which principally men participate, could be designated as the bird dance. The men dance in a circle, while the women stand around the circle, clap their hands, and
[534] sing. The men wear dance bangles around their ankles, which are circlets of dried bean pods whose kernels rattle at every step and in this way strongly accentuate the dance rhythm. The steps of the dance are short, scarcely half a foot long, so that the progress of the dancers in the circle is quite slow. The vigor of the stepping or stamping on the ground alternates rhythmically. At the same time a number of symbolic gestures is performed. The most respected of the dancers has tied to his forehead a large eagle's beak decorated with glass and iron beads; he frequently makes a motion of hacking with the beak, and then, by slowly raising his arms, suggests the eagle's calm gliding in the air. Another dancer carries a bird's nest in his hand during the entire dance. At a certain stage, the dancers go through the motion of picking up fruit from the ground by bending down and making scooping motions in the air just above the ground. Shortly thereafter, some men dance towards the women and perform gestures as though they wanted to seize one of the women surrounding them.

535 Suddenly one of the dancers seems about to faint. A spectator
786 whom I questioned concerning the significance of this action told me that the Mukuru (Herero term for God) was in him. Other dancers, maintaining their dance step all the while, stand around the possessed person, try to help him, and cool him with fanning until he suddenly collapses with a piercing shriek. The bystanders catch him and carry him off to one side while the others go on dancing. The "doctor" now concerns himself with the unconscious
[755] person; he blows twice in each ear and once on his forehead. Visibly, consciousness now returns and soon the one possessed is able to rise and dance again.

533 /253/ The musical accompaniment is supplied solely by the women; however, the dancing men are not entirely silent. Every

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

533 534 The young, unmarried man took a small musical instrument out of his hunting-bag, borrowed a dry tsama rind from one of the women, and, setting the instrument on the hollow rind, began to play. He filled the air with sweet, soft music, full of resonance and open, minor chords, even of rhythm and timbre as a music box would be.

The instrument itself was made of a small, flat piece of wood four or five inches square, with eleven metal prongs attached to it, arranged in two rows across two bridges. The melon rind acted as a resonator for the prongs, which were of different sizes and, when plucked, vibrated and rang like bells, in a scale which was not the octave and which I have never heard before. The name of the instrument is *te k'na*, and I believe that it is not native to Bushmen but traded from the Bantu people. Many Bushmen have them, though: Bushmen like music of any kind.

264 Soon the cornmeal was ready and we served it to the visitors on pieces of bark, in bowls formed from halves of tortoise shells, in tsama rinds. Bushmen have very little liquid food that does not come in its own natural container, and therefore they do not provide themselves with bowls. The [115 177] bowls they do have, carved from wood—an art learned from the Bantu people—are constantly in use as containers for small, loose objects, such as seeds or unstrung beads. Since the cornmeal was hot and runny, the people had some difficulty eating it with their fingers, but they got it down, the women hesitating a long time, watching the men, before they [609 538] dared to try it. I think they were afraid it would harm them, as I have heard many Bushman stories of strangers who poison tobacco or food. When they had eaten their servings and 264 609 578 found that they did not die, they had more, a morsel at a time. We might have presented the pot to let the people help themselves, but by now we knew better. Bushmen expect

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

We had stayed up to watch the children's games and also to 821
observe Orion setting, for the Bushmen tell a story of the 538
stars in Orion which takes place in the sky every night at certain seasons and we wanted to see it for ourselves. The story is simply that the god, who at the time the story takes place is standing on one of the Magellan clouds, shoots an arrow at three zebras. The arrow is Orion's sword, the zebras are the three stars of Orion's belt, the star in the center being a male zebra and the two stars flanking him his wives. The arrow falls short, as one can see, and presently, as the constellation touches the horizon, the zebras step upon the earth, first a female, then the male, then the other female. It is slow and deliberate, and that night we saw it plainly. The zebras vanished into the brush at the horizon, but the arrow was still there.

When the constellation had gone, when many of the peo- 533
ple were asleep and we were about to leave the werf, Ukwane 534
took out his hunting-bow and, setting one tip on a dry melon shell, he began to tap the string with a reed, making a sound. Soon he played a song, humming a melody and playing an accompaniment on his bow.

He sat alone at his fire, his wife a tiny heap under her 533
kaross and fast asleep some distance away. He was squatting, [516]
his eyes on the embers of his fire, holding one end of the bow with his toes. With the fingers of one hand he touched the string, making different notes, and when he wanted to change the pitch he turned his head slightly, catching the other end of the string with his chin.

His song was a mood piece, as are all Bushman songs except the medicine songs. It was a song of pure music without words, a song composed to express a feeling the composer had had, a mood, or an emotion. The mood songs do have names or titles, but these only tell the subject of the piece,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

fairs as well as important curing ceremonies and might be called informal rituals, for everyone has a good time. 756 535

Underlying the gaiety and informality of a dance, however, is deep magic, taken very seriously by everyone, for using this magic is the way in which the Bushmen protect themselves from the dark forces in themselves and their country, the only way in which they can protect their lives from the evil of dissension, from thirst and starvation, from disease and death. In their dances the Bushmen defy the great god himself and his ominous messengers, the spirits of the dead.

To have a dance, the women sit in a circle with their babies asleep on their backs and sing the medicine songs in several parts with falsetto voices, clapping their hands in a sharp, staccato rhythm at counterpoint to the rhythm of their voices. Behind their backs the men dance one behind the other, circling slowly around, taking very short, pounding steps which are again at counterpoint to both the rhythms of the singing and the clapping. Now and then the men sing, too, in [534] their deeper voices, and their dance rattles—rattles made from dry cocoons strung together with sinew cords and tied to their legs—add a sharp, high clatter like the sound of shaken gourds, very well timed because the men step accurately. A Bushman dance is an infinitely complicated pattern of voices and rhythm, an orchestra of bodies, making music that is infinitely varied and always precise.

It is with great care and effort that this perfection is achieved, for the people learn the songs and dances when they are children and work for perfection in skill and timing all their lives. Even the dance rattles are carefully tended, hung 534 from tree branches to preserve their dryness, their sharp sound, and a great deal of labor goes into their making. Gai's pair of rattles, which swung in the wind from the branch that

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

534 shaded his dwelling, had about sixty cocoons on each rattle of the pair, and in each cocoon, from which the pupa had been carefully extracted and the cocoon closed up again, there were from ten to twenty fragments of ostrich eggshell, each fragment chipped to a uniform size and round. Each pair of rattles, of course, is expected to last a lifetime and more, and I'm sure that Gai's rattles were older than he.

621 The day before we left, Ukwane's band and the visitors
578 from Okwa decided that since they were all together and in
756
533 sufficient number, they would hold a dance. Perhaps it would purge the bad season or relieve the strain of jealousies they felt toward each other. Dances are usually held at night, but this time, out of consideration for us, they agreed to hold it during the day so that we could film it. We found a place which would be suitable for filming, helped gather sufficient wood because there would have to be a fire, no matter how hot the day was, and as we did all this the six young boys got more and more excited, tried on dance rattles, danced tight little circles around each other and tugged at the elbows of the adults, urging them to start.

756 Some of the women wanted to sing, others felt too hot, too
535 tired, but the men walked among them encouraging them all.
533 A dance is long, hot work for women, the pleasure of dancing being mostly for the men. At last Twikwe and Dasina went to the spot chosen for the dance and, sitting side by side at the fire, their backs to everybody, sang a few bars and began to talk, then sang a little more, joined now by Tsetchwe, who sat beside them and began to sing in earnest. All three of them looked so small down in the grass and set up such a loud noise singing—for in order to interest the other women they were shricking the song at the top of their voices—that they seemed like three tree frogs or three cicadas, hard to notice in the landscape but putting forth earsplitting songs.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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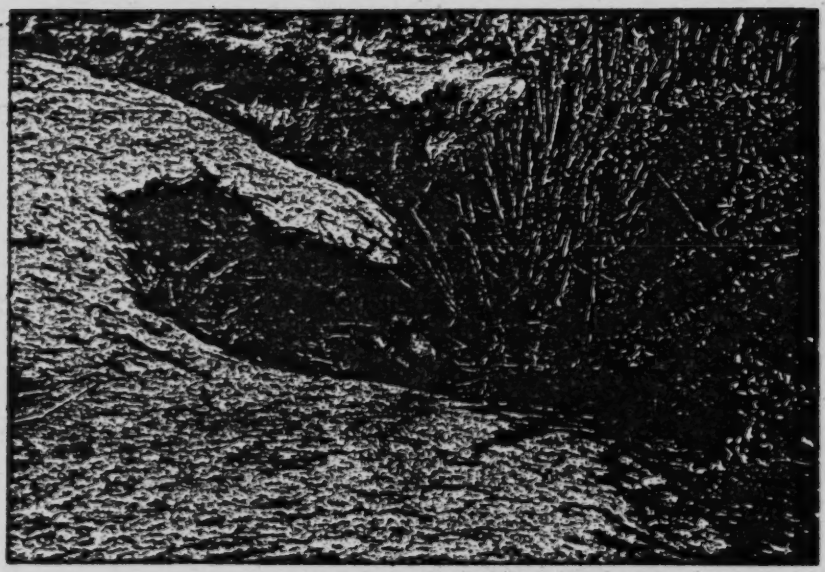

Long reeds almost filled the waterhole at Gautscha.

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Alone at his fire, Ukwane plays a mood song.

[p. 176(A)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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●534
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Toma's son, the new owner of Short Kwi's crown of badger hair.

The young musician—the lonely, brooding man who played the guashi.

[p. 176(D)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

an Orpheus. He owned a *guashi*, a stringed instrument which533 he had made, and he carried his guashi wherever he went. As he plucked the strings, playing chords with his long fingers, he would hum the notes of a song that were not the same notes that his fingers were playing; he wove two themes and made a web of music, the guashi playing an intricate accompaniment while he sang a melody.

The guashi was made of a hollowed log about a foot long534 ● with a wooden lid fixed over it, forming a sounding-chamber. At one end of the log, five wands were fixed which held five sinew strings that reached from the tips of the wands to the opposite end of the log. Anyone but a Bushman finds it hard to play a guashi, for the strings are always slipping out of tune and the position one plays it in is awkward. The guashi is set on the ground and the player squats before it, holding it steady with his feet or the edges of his hands; but the sound is beautiful, sometimes full, sometimes thin, and makes very deep and various music, for Bushmen, their music being by533 far their greatest art, are not given to whistles or clear, shrill sounds—all their instruments make blurred and vibrant music with a richness in every note. Their compositions, too, are never simple, not even the music of their musical games, but always mixed, always subtle, partly gay but partly sad.

The songs and rhythms of the Kung are in no way as precise as those of the Gikwe, but the effect of Kung songs is deeper and, as the songs are freer, more impassioned. Like the songs of the Gikwe, the Kung songs are mood pieces. Because the guashi is made of mangetti wood, the songs are called "mangetti songs." The young man who owned the guashi knew many of these, but there were four that he sang very often, all wistful and quite sad, sometimes touched with irony. One of them was called "The Stump," a song about a man lost in the veld and wandering until at last he saw

11:Marshall E-6 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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[534]

HUNTER'S LIFE is not all hunger and privation. *Above*, a young !Kung belle amuses herself with stringed instrument.

BUT AGE COMES SOON: bracelets, beads and pendants that adorn this mature !Kung matron contrast with seamed face.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

FIG. 9. With all space around them, they sit shoulder to shoulder, ankle across ankle. One of the boys plays a *//gwashi*

516
[534]

[534]

FIG. 10. A mother and child asleep. Babies are held and carried most of the time. When they play they are never far from their parents

[FIG. 11. Old Gau lends an arrow to his son-in-law, /Qui

516

482

FIG. 12. ≠Toma carrying his share of meat in a first distribution

[p.240-C]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

577 685 The /Kung stole nothing from us. Even when we went away on trips, leaving several bands of /Kung settled around our camp site, we left our supplies and equipment unlocked in the open or in our tents with confidence that nothing would be stolen. Things that we lost or forgot in the werf were returned to us, even two cigarettes in a crumpled package.

Stealing without being discovered is practically impossible in /Kung life because the /Kung know everybody's footprints and every object. Respect for ownership is strong. But, apart from that, /Ti/kay said, 'Stealing would cause nothing but [578] trouble. It might cause fighting.'

Conclusion

578 During seventeen and a half months when I lived with the Nyae Nyae /Kung at Gautscha (with Bands 1 and 2 and many visitors—usually about sixty to seventy-five persons), I personally saw four flare-ups of discord and heard of three others which occurred in neighbouring bands during that period. All were resolved before they became serious quarrels. Of the seven, four were flare-ups of sexual jealousy. One was 'the talk' about Khuan/a's gift. Two were very minor disagreements about going somewhere, when Gao Beard's frustrated young wife hit him on the head with her digging-stick and when /Ti/kay gave his brother a shove for refusing to accompany him. None were about food. We considered, judging from that sample, that the /Kung managed very well to keep tensions from turning into hostility, to avoid arousing jealousy and ill will, to cohere, and to achieve the comfort and security which they so desire in human relations.

APPENDIX

/Kung Bushman Artifacts

ANIMAL MATERIALS

Hides

281 462 *Made and used by men*

- breech clouts
- oracle disks
- [237] head-dresses (a few, worn in dances)
- [534] caps (a few)

Made by men, used by women

- [321] genital aprons
- small karosses worn around buttocks or for carrying babies

Made by men, used by all

- karosses
- bags (sewn)
- bags of whole skins
- tobacco pouches of scrota
- [237] bracelets, armbands, knee and ankle bands
- necklaces
- thongs

Cocoons

Made by men

- dance rattles

Bone

Made and used by men

- connecting parts for arrow-shafts
- arrow-points (few)
- dishes for mixing poison

Made and used by women

- fresh bone, pounded to powder, is used to clean and soften karosses

Birds' Nests

Used by men and women

- tobacco pouches (nests of the penduline tit, *Anthoscopus minutus*)

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed //*guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae-Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the
882 parents' fire.

855 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive
857 and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or
[136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and
[868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime,
857 singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults
[512] together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned
857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth
156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men,
[173] the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another
[171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation
[562] ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they
[535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from
● [534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony.
[302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of
[304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or
other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Chapter VIII

ART AND KNOWLEDGE

Dancing and Music

535 Dances and games of various kinds enter very largely into the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first place among their social recreations. Some dances are definitely of a ritual character, being held only on ceremonial occasions, e.g. the eland bull dance at a girl's puberty ceremony, the */gi* dance at the boys' puberty ceremony, and the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood" among the Bushmen of Basutoland. On the other hand, dancing is often indulged in purely for pleasure, especially in times of plenty, and may take place any fine moonlit night, when the people have had a good meal, and there are enough of them to make it festive. "The girls begin clapping their hands and singing, standing near the huts. Soon a couple of youths turn up and start dancing round in front of them. Then more join, older men and women take part, till [887] the whole crowd, save a few grandfathers, are singing and dancing."[1] On these occasions the young women and girls frequently stripe [302] their faces with black and red paint, occasionally the young men do [534] so too, and most of the dancers tie round their legs strings of dry cocoons which give out a peculiar rattling sound. They may dance half the night through or even go right on till morning.

The dances are on the whole fairly simple in character and are all of more or less the same nature (Plate XII).[2] The dancers, generally men only, go round and round in a circle in single file, stamping rather than dancing in time with the tune; the women form the band and stand at one side, clapping their hands and singing, while the men who are dancing also sing. "In some dances a woman occasionally leaves the line of singers and dances round beside some man, who pays her attention in gesture, either holding a reed over her

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 22.

[2] Stow, *Native Races*, 111–24; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 249–53; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 103–5; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 150–1; D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95–7; Gentz, "Die südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 156–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

524 and pretend to dip it out. The 'snake' from time to time flicks
857 sand at them with his finger, he is supposed to be squirting water. The others start back and scream, then gather once more round the 'pool'. At last the 'snake' jumps up, seizes a victim and pretends to swallow it, which ends the game."[1]

533 Some of the children's games, as in the one just described, have songs or refrains attached to them, in which the words are occasionally
[535] obsolete. All the dances are also accompanied by singing, many of them having their own special tune, but here the tunes are often sung without words. Other songs, again, go with the playing of musical instruments. The tunes are as a rule very short, and are generally repeated over and over again without variation, so that the effect is rather monotonous. "All Bushmen sing," says Miss Bleek,[2] "but their tunes are not easy for a European to distinguish, much less to write down." And, referring to the dance tunes,
[535] she adds: "The time is perfect, but no two in a chorus seem to hit the same note, though the general burden of the tune is kept up. That is to say, they all go up together, but not from or to the same note, and they all go down together, each hitting any note they please."

Musical instruments are seldom used to accompany the dances,
534 although several different kinds are found.[3] Many of them are variations of the musical bow. The best known of these, the *!goura*, was the favourite instrument in the south. It consists in an ordinary bow, in which one end of the string, instead of being fastened to the stave itself, is attached to a flexible piece of quill spliced to the end of the stave. This quill is held against the lips, and made to vibrate by strong expirations and inspirations of the breath, thus producing the effect of a stringed wind instrument. Another form of the musical bow, commonly known as the *!gubo*, has a gourd or tortoise-shell attached to the stave of the bow so as to serve as a sounding-box. The instrument is played by picking at the string with a small piece of wood or bone. A development of this sometimes seen consists in playing it like a primitive sort of violin, with a small bow for sounding the string. This mode of playing was probably adopted
[177] from a European source, as the use of a bow after the manner of a

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 19. [2] Op. cit., 22.
[3] Stow, op. cit., 102–11; Passarge, op. cit., 95–8; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 111–12; Kaufmann, op. cit., 150–1; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 21–2; Balfour, "The Goura—A Stringed Wind Musical Instrument of the Bushmen and Hottentots," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxii (1902), 156–76.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

violin bow is not characteristic of South African native music, 534 ● although it is well known further north. Neither the */goura* nor the [177] */gubo* is very common among the Northern Bushmen, where the principal and in some cases the only form of musical bow is the hunting bow itself. One end of this is held between the teeth by the performer, who picks on the string with a small piece of wood or bone, varying the pitch by running his fingers up and down the string. Stow describes and figures other forms of the musical bow found among the Southern Bushmen, all of which have been developed out of the simple form.

Among other musical instruments, found principally among the [184] Southern tribes, was a kind of reed flute or pipe, used with certain of the dances. These pipes were made of reeds cut to different sizes and lengths, so as to obtain a variety of notes. They were played by several performers at the same time, each with a distinct note to his pipe, and the effect lay in harmonizing the different notes. The "rommel pot", */koa*, was also sometimes used to accompany the dance. This was a drum or tambour made by stretching a piece of skin tightly over the mouth of a clay pot, a wooden calabash or a big tortoise-shell. The "ramakib", a sort of guitar made out of a hollowed piece of wood with a calabash or rough touch-board attached to one end, over which are drawn several strings, was, like the musical bow, used by soloists, sometimes alone, sometimes accompanying songs, but never with dances. There do not seem to be any professional musicians, although, as Kaufmann remarks, one does in fact find people who obviously take greater delight in music than others, and these are naturally the usual performers.

Decorative and Pictorial Art

Decorative art among the Bushmen is limited mainly to seriated 531 incisions of crude pattern found on the pottery of the Cape Bushmen, and to simple chevron patterns incised by the North-Western tribes upon the ostrich egg-shells used for storing water and upon their stone and bone pipes. Skin bags ornamented with similar patterns are also known, as well as wooden utensils and sticks decorated with line designs produced by burning. This form of art is as a whole very poorly developed, and of little intrinsic merit. It is not often met with.[1]

[1] Gretschel, op. cit., *passim*; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 672–3; Peringuey, *The Stone Ages of S. Africa*, chap. xiv; von Luschan, "Buschmann-Einritzungen auf Straussiern," *Z. Ethn.*, lv, 31–40.

/140 cont./

301 Earrings of Molentza chain; necklaces of glass beads. Rings on arms, wrists, and legs as among the men.

The "Bushman doctor" wears special ornaments that other [756] people are not permitted to wear. Unfortunately, I was not able to obtain any of these ornaments.

Girls, it is said, do not start wearing ornaments until after [882] their first menses.

All the ornaments are worn for dances and ceremonies. The [796] headdress of the women in Photograph 20 is worn only on special festive occasions.

302 The "doctor" has his head shaved smooth. I did not notice [756] a special hairdress. The men frequently stick individual loose ostrich feathers in the hair, while the women like to braid brass [301] or iron beads into the hair. In addition, the women use a kind of pomade made of various pulverized plant parts which are combined with fat from antelope skin.

Men sometimes cut their head-hair with a knife or a piece of glass.

There is no differentiation in hair style between girls and married women.

The hair is frequently dyed with a mixture of fat and red [386] clay. I am uncertain, however, whether or not this is a means of making the hair fall out in places. On the other hand, in that case there would probably have to be another ingredient /141/ in this mixture that I was unable to discover.

In case a beard is present, which does not occur often, it is neither cut nor removed in any other way.

Pubic hair is sparse and is sometimes shaved off (with a piece [142] of glass). It is said that women have no pubic hair at all.

E. Artificial Deformities

A kind of cosmetic of a reddish-brown color is used by the women.

It consists of a mixture of fat and red clay (see Section D above) and is manufactured by the women themselves.

[535] This cosmetic is regarded solely as a means of beautification and is used especially at festivals (dances).

/150 cont./

525 are placed between the players and taken by the winner, but since the luck often changes during a match, the same prize passes back and forth frequently.

I have seen this game played only by two men (not by women and children). One finds especially passionate players among the Auin, in particular among older men.

524 535 Dancing game of the women (goei) (see Photos. 36 and 37).

I am in doubt as to whether I should classify this under games or dances.

A number of women line up along a tree trunk lying on the ground. All of them in rhythm alternately place the front part of first the right and then the left foot on the trunk. It proceeds in this fashion, slowly at first, then ever faster. If the women have their backs turned to the tree trunk, they place their heels on it in the same fashion.

Sometimes also two rows of women will face each other.

[533] Frequently, a kind of rhythmical singsong is also uttered by them.

The game is begun with everyone calling out //ai, meaning something like "let's go."

In some dances bucks' horns are tied in front of the forehead (eland bull dance). One can hardly designate these as true masked dances, however.

The Auin are acquainted with stilts, which are used by men

481 and boys. I might mention that I did not see any, but when I described them the Auin seemed to be very familiar with them.

526 Foot races (gâ).

The runners line up in a row, and at the word "gâ" they all run. The winner obtains a prize of food or of some useful object (for example, a knife).

Older people act as judges. Bloody quarrels are said to occur

[578] when the prizes are awarded.

Stick throwing (gai or albi).

Thin sticks of any length up to two meters and taken from the rosinkis bush are thrown forward with a whistling swing and from a running start (they are not flung like a spear, but grasped at one end). The object is to throw as far as possible. No prizes are offered; hence it is a real sport. Since it is fairly strenuous, this game, like all the others, incidentally, is played only when

/151 cont./

533 music than others. I have observed a man who played his musical bow in every spare moment.

Rhythmic hand clapping accompanies singing.

534 Dance rattles (guri) are made of the cocoons of a night
237 butterfly. These cocoons are strung on strings and dried. While the cocoons are still soft, little stones or pieces of ostrich egg shell are pressed into the inner cavity and the soft envelope is closed over them (see Photo. 39).

The rattles, when they are dried and hard, are strung and
535 fastened to the ankle. They are supposed to be used at all dances.

War dance (see Photos. 41 and 42).

The women sit or stand, clapping their hands and singing, while the men crouch or stand opposite them. One man slides out of the row on his knees toward the row of women and makes war-like gestures, as though he were evading an arrow, flinging a spear, etc.

One of the women thrusts out an arm and utters a brief, deep cry, thereby indicating that a spear has been thrown or an arrow shot. The man pretends he is wounded and screams. If he is "dead," he crawls back, and a new solo dancer takes his place. Women, too, are sometimes "dead" or "wounded."

Indecisive battles are indicated.

Here, too, there are very passionate dancers, both male and female, as well as those who have a special talent for mimicry.

The porcupine dance (see Photo. 40) is performed only by men. A number of men stand facing one another, stamp the ground rhythmically, and utter loud shouts. One of them is the "porcupine," which is beaten to death by another man or stabbed with a spear. Everything is indicated by motions.

Eland bull dance. I was unable to learn the nature of this dance, but apparently the rutting lust of the eland is imitated.

M. Means of Transportation

487 Bush paths are formed by the Bushmen on the main lines of traffic, for instance, from the settlement to water. When a
648 Bushman uses the pad (that is, the road of the Whites), he has an

/157 cont./

841 The water and food collected by menstruating women are consumed only by the women themselves and old people; the younger ones "it makes weak."

593 858 The authority of the parents practically ceases as soon as the children are in a position to provide food for themselves.

553 A child is named soon after birth by the grandfather or grandmother (whether on the paternal or the maternal side was not determined).

145 Boys reach puberty between 14 and 16 years of age and girls between 13 and 15 years of age (estimates).

881 The declaration of a boy's maturity is a special event in the life of the Bushman. Under the leadership of the "doctor," several youths from neighboring settlements march into the bush and live together there for some weeks on the veld crop. During this time they receive some sort of instruction in secret affairs. Young and old Auin alike, whom I interrogated separately, denied that this instruction pertains to sexual matters. To the question of what they did during their stay in the bush, I always received the answer: "They dance." They did, indeed, describe for me a kind of dance which decidedly has something childishly mysterious about it. [535] A boy seats himself "piggyback" on the back of another, and both wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier tramping with his feet as rapidly as possible without moving forward, while both of them utter a low "hu, hu" in as horrifying a manner as possible.

It is indeed difficult to imagine that this interesting occupation should last for weeks, interrupted only by sleeping and eating.

In addition, the young people seem to be treated quite badly in the course of this preparation and to receive little to eat; all of them concurred in the opinion that it is "miserable."

I learned through hints that the candidates for manhood play all kinds of tricks on neighboring villages during the night and play as "ghosts" a bit, as well as stealing food.

[884] The actual attainment of manhood, after which the boys are warriors and are allowed to marry, is not solely dependent on attending the preparation, but also on the killing of the first piece of big game.

[304] Tattooing is not connected with the official attainment of manhood

/157 cont./

881 manhood. In the case of girls no special preparation occurs. As soon as a girl has her first menstrual period, people from neighboring and friendly settlements assemble for a great celebration. The girl lies prone on the ground while old women form the orchestra near her, singing and clapping their hands. The younger [535] women stamp /158/ along in goose step, their buttocks exposed. Individual men from time to time enter the circle and all of them imitate the movements and sounds of rutting animals. I believe that this is the eland bull dance. A girl may marry [582] only after the onset of the first menses.

S. Birth and Death

The birth takes place in the open air outside the settlement. 844 The woman sits on the ground with the upper part of her body propped up and her knees drawn up.

Reviving apparently stillborn children by rubbing their limbs [845] and bodies is practiced.

Old women assist at the birth. In difficult cases, for instance, when the woman is ill at the time of the birth, the "doctor" is called in.

The doctor, among other means that he employs, is supposed to relieve a difficult birth by performing a kind of sucking with his mouth at the vagina.

When he assists at a birth, the doctor murmurs magical formulas.

The umbilical cord is severed with the sharp edge of a reed splinter, never with any other object. Practical reasons for this could not be given: "It has always been so."

The man slings his bowstring around the body of the woman in labor. Then he goes away and during the birth stays in his hut.

I was unable to determine any symbolic significance in the use of the bowstring. The explanation was: "The birth is easier."

The woman who has given birth is spared as long as a month [846] after delivery and does not need to work.

The newborn child is wiped off with the nest of the weaver bird (?). In no case is water used.

2:Kaufmann--72 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Auen

Photo. 35.
Riding.

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Photo. 37.
Dancing Game of the Women.

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Photo. 39.
Dance
Rattles.

2: Kaufmann--73 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10

Auen

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Photo. 36.
Dancing Game of the Women [see Photo. 37].

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Photo. 38.
Musical Bows.

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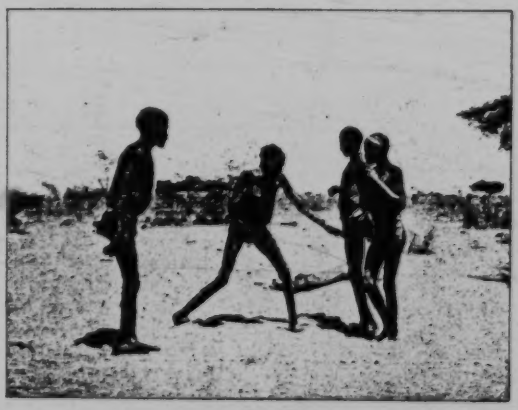

Photo. 40.
Porcupine Dance.

Auen

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Photo. 41.
War Dance.

Photo. 42.
War Dance.

[9 cont.]

805 shauba, cold season (N. sáob).

!kn-aba, hot season (N. !nái, warm).

535 Among dances, an ostrich and an ape dance were mentioned to me.

123 The studies, which began so promisingly, came to an end because I was evidently unable to present the village chief with enough presents. One evening a boy appeared and told me that the Bushmen had "had to go hunting." I continued to wait a number of days for the !Kung called by Mr. Eaddes. The messengers returned with the news that they had found no one. Another Sunday coat for the village mayor and some yellow money for the Bushmen, and priceless material could have been obtained.

[107] Chapter 3

The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of the Ondonga [Ndonga]

173 According to their tradition, these Bushmen came from Herero country. Hence they represent the connecting link between the "Saan" in the Gobabis district and the Hei//om [Heikum] of the north. The people as a whole designate them-
101 selves as Daman = the wealthy. The horde around Oshigambo calls itself //Huru-Khái. They call their dialect Chárabа. I do not be-
131 lieve that they live far in the interior of the Otjimpolo Veld. They have an enormous respect for the !Kung. The outermost cattle posts of the Ondonga probably coincide pretty much with
172 the boundaries of their territory. A number of them are Bantu-
142 ized and have small physiques. The others engage in hunting
439 and supply the black farmers with the flesh of wild game, hides,
648 ostrich egg beads, and poison. They serve as beaters on the great hunts of Chief Martin. At the court they count for nothing. The farmers like to see them. Little acts of assistance, a sack of berries or veldkost, soften the heart of the black housewife, so that here, as in Uukualuthi [among the Kualuthi?], there are a number of do-nothings who are nonetheless gladly received.

[22 cont.]

181 648 appropriated a number of little trees and planted them in front of his house. On one occasion when he was in town with his Bushmen, the original owner of the trees declared that in the afternoon he was going to see about it. The Bushmen heard this and disappeared. When the two Whites came to the farm, the little trees had disappeared. The Bushmen had run ahead and had hurriedly removed them on their own initiative.

181 The Bushmen are at all times courageous and steadfast people, characteristics which, indeed, their very way of life would produce.

831 [864] The Bushmen strictly avoid talking about sexual matters in the presence of women and children. Just as in general they are a people without imagination, they do not have any form of the more subtle erotic phantasies.

The endless obscene stories that one hears from the Blacks as soon as he has gained their confidence are unknown among the Bushmen.

[535] The sexual element is absent in their religious celebrations, but it finds expression in many of their dances, which imitate the love play of animals.

834 On the whole, their sense of modesty cannot be denied, even though, naturally, they do not have such decent forms of conduct as the genteel Bantu, among whom it is regarded as extremely improper to look at the breasts of the women. The [516] girls and women never sit in the typical squatting position, but rather sit on the ground with the legs crossed.

[576] Although the life of the Bushmen within the encampment is openly in view, those principles that we regard as natural tact are nonetheless observed.

[514] The Bushman performs his necessities at all times out of sight of the others, and love scenes are never enacted in public.

114 124 It is naturally very difficult to learn anything more precise concerning the more intimate details of sexual life

[28 cont.]

224 a gemsbok) until it is tired and then drives it to the vicinity of
584 the hut of his intended. The pursuit of such a large antelope is not as difficult as it looks, for these ruminants are seized with serious cramps if they are not given time to settle down to ruminate. In other words, the pursuit of such a large antelope simply involves continually disturbing the animal for a long period of time. Then the young man calls to the people and asks them for weapons. All of them leap up, and the girl, too, stands up and watches as her people run with the spears. The hunter kills the game before her eyes. Then they bring the meat and cook it, and the girl says: "That is a courageous hunter; I want to marry
584 him." It is not unusual, however, for a young man to marry far away from his relatives, without having asked for the consent of his parents. In that case, the young woman must stay with her parents while the husband returns home and reports the marriage to his parents. The latter say: "How can you do this, when we don't know whether it will turn out all right?" The husband, however, says: "I have already done it, and I am merely telling you." Thereupon the parents answer: "Well, it's all right."
[591] Then the husband returns to his young wife, or to her kin group and brings his wife and child to his own kin group, where they are received. According to Vedder (Tsumeb), the young man sends a messenger with a piece of game to the father of the girl of his choice. If the father accepts the game, the betrothal is regarded
583 as concluded. As soon as the youth moves to the encampment of
591 his father-in-law, the marriage is regarded as concluded. He
[585] must work for a year for his father-in-law and deliver all hunting spoils to him, but he may not enter the hut of his parents-in-law. Once the first child is born, he moves with wife and child to his kin group.

585 Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report on the conclusion of a
535
[113]

2. Von Zastrow and Vedder, "Die Buschmänner," p. 417, in Schultze-Ewarth, Das Eingeborenenrecht, Vol. II.

marriage:

"There is much dancing. The animal dances have a pervasive erotic element. In one of the first dances the bridegroom

[28 cont.]

535 makes his appearance as the bull of some animal species that the
585 two kin groups especially prize. He takes his place in the row of dancing men. Across from them the women have taken up their position in a long row and accompany the dance by stamping, singing, and clapping their hands. The bride stands among them. She is in no way distinguished from the other women and girls. After a few turns, the bridegroom steps out of the row of men, goes dancing toward the bride, seizes her, and dances back again. The bride then comes from the row of women, clapping her hands, stamping, and singing as she moves toward the bridegroom; without touching him, she turns back, keeping her face turned toward the bridegroom, and rejoins the row of female dancers. With this, the external formality of concluding the marriage in front of many witnesses is over.

583 "It is the young man's duty, however, to leave his paternal
591 kin group for a year and to work for his parents-in-law. This means that any spoils he gets from hunting must be left in his mother-in-law's hut. He, of course, gets his piece during the distribution of the meat, but he is not yet regarded as the actual provider for his young wife, who, as before, receives her share of the meat from her mother, although she searches for veldkost for herself and her husband.

[224] "As a hunter, the man eats only the flesh of the rump.
262 The women and children receive the legs and intestines. Children are not allowed to eat certain parts; for example, a child may
[825] not eat the heart of a jackal. The child would not become sick
[828] by doing so, but since the jackal is very cowardly, the child would also become cowardly.

591 [29] "After the first year of marriage with its obligatory service, the young wife follows her husband to the encampment where the man's father or his kin group resides.

845 "If the child is so weak that it probably will not live,
847 or if it has a physical defect, it is buried alive on the same day, with or without the consent of the father and mother.

553 "The name of the child is given by the father. This is
852 done a few days after birth. The father spits on the child's chest and calls it by name. Others sprinkle it with water from a well.

[49 cont.]

755 chief spirit was not yet satisfied, she would appease him; the chief
756 spirit would voluntarily take the little spirits of sickness away, even
796 from the doctors. After these words the festival abruptly ended; the people went to their fires and lay down to sleep.

The candidate had passed his examination (1).

[184] 535 756 796

1. Burchell (in the translation by Hellwald, Völkerkunde [Ethnology], II, p. 519) has given a similar account from the south: "One foot remains stationary, while the other is in rapid and irregular motion without any definite change of position. The movement of the arms is so slight as to be negligible. At the same time the dancer sings without pause and keeps time with the movements. Occasionally he lowers his body and then suddenly raises it again, until finally he sinks to the ground exhausted, but still singing and rhythmically moving his body in time with the song of the spectators. Even though only one person dances at a time, the company present nonetheless also has something to do, etc."

756 786 789 796

When the excitement of the dance has reached its climax and the dancers have fallen into a kind of trance as a result of the continuous dance movement, the shrill singing, the drinking of coffee, and not least the tobacco smoke, which they keep in their mouths for minutes on end for the intoxicating effect, then the doctors, in order to demonstrate their resistance to fire, trample with bare feet on the red-hot embers taken from the campfire and spread out on the sand. In the case of a number of the younger ones, however, I believe that their resistance to fire was not quite as great as they would have one believe, and they carefully avoided the pieces that were

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

535
539 ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be — We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

X'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa — Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe — Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

622
782
769 Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

782
681 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are implored in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

787
695
684 "If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

[62 cont.]

293 Like the prehistoric Bushmen, these people, too, wear forehead bands, into which the arrows are stuck during the hunt.

726 Dornan (p. 139) reports that the Kalahari Bushmen hold
754 dances before the start of a war, and on these occasions they shoot little poisoned arrows from equally small bows in the direction of the enemy or of the sun. They believe that in so doing they are killing the shadow spirit of the enemy. They do not like to give these miniature bows and arrows to anyone because they are afraid that they might come into the possession of their enemies and thus bring about their own deaths.

226 Fishing is still quite well developed among the Masarwa people. Stone walls are sometimes built in the river, in which weir-baskets are set, or they sit in the river bed next to one another with weir-baskets, while women and children drive the fish toward them. In smaller waterholes, grass and brush are piled up on one side. Then the Bushmen step into the water and push the grass wall ahead of them, thus driving the fish into a corner. Individual fish are also speared with the assagai. According to Hodson, the best fishermen are the Bakoba Bushmen on the Okovanggo. They have harpoons and rush nets that are drawn diagonally across the river.

278 G. A. Farini (3) had an opportunity to observe the

[113] 3. G. A. Farini, Durch die Kalahariwüste [Through the Kalahari Desert], Leipzig, 1886.

manufacture of arrow poison in the Chanse Veld. The men gathered at a certain place; women were not allowed to be present. The sap was removed from about 30 to 40 poisonous bulbs by means
[535] of successive incisions and was collected in a pan. As each incision was made, the Bushmen danced in a circle, making a kind of grunt. Then a hyena hide was spread out with the hair side down, and on it was spread the contents of the bags that contained the dried heads of poisonous snakes, as well as two pieces of reed approximately 15 centimeters long. Then a number of freshly killed poisonous snakes were brought. The poison sacs were removed amidst singing and the clapping of hands. Meanwhile the pan containing the poison had been put on the fire and was boiling;

[62 cont.]

278 one person after another stepped up to the pan and threw his share of snake poison into it. Then the pan was removed from the fire.
[535] The Bushmen now performed a new dance, in which they imitated the convulsions of animals dying from the poison. After another half hour the poison was clear, and when everyone had convinced himself that it was the right color, a red mineral powder was added and thoroughly stirred into it. Then poisonous spiders were taken out of the reeds and thrown into the [63] pan. These came from the Langen Mountain in the Cape Colony, in other words, had been brought from afar. When the mass had thickened somewhat more, the arrows were smeared with it and dried in the shade (ibid., p. 380).

595 These Bushmen, the M'Kabba, are monogamists.

563 Farini maintains (ibid., p. 171) that he met a black Pygmy who came from the tribe of the Kara-Kara north of Amboland (1).

1. At the mission station Urikualuthi I was told by the missionary, Mrs. Quarni, who has made most meritorious contributions to investigations of the country, that shortly before the war a number of black Pygmies who lived in the swamps along the Kunene had come to Chief Moala. She saw these people.

252 Concerning the food of the Bushmen, Dornan has the following to report: The Marsawa [sic] eat meat either roasted or grilled, rarely boiled, because they believe that the latter will
251 make them sick. The Bushmen of Basutoland cut the meat into tiny pieces, mixed it with fat, and then sewed it into hide sacks as preserved meat. As reserves in case of famine, the Kalahari Bushmen keep giraffe skins on tall trees. Veldkost is stored in turtle shells and ostrich eggs, as is water. The Basutoland Bushmen gathered grass seeds and stored them for times of hunger.

252 The tsama are prepared in the following manner: A hole is dug, and a fire is made in it. As soon as the soil is sufficiently

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
532 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
535 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
323 customary.
302

A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the
304 custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
[751] its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
[836] between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

[69 cont.]

assistants, the boys go into the bush. On the first day two vertical incisions are made on the forehead; then they sing throughout the night and dance to the melody: "Ije, ije, aije, aije . . . oho, oho," etc.

On the morning of the second day, the incisions on the forehead are extended to the root of the nose and the hairline. On the afternoon of this day the elders call the youths together to look for veldkost. The elder loosens the roots with his digging stick, and as he does so the candidates place their hands on the arm doing the work. The boys must then dig the roots out of the ground with their hands, without the help of tools. "From now on they can look for veldkost themselves, for now they have been taught."

After this lesson they return to the place where the women are. [70] Food is prepared there for both the men and the candidates; the candidates are allowed to eat only veldkost, no meat. Then they dance, together with the women and girls, for a night and half a day.

In the afternoon the candidates go hunting. They must bag three animals: a small duiker, a guinea fowl, and a bullfrog. They take their prey and assemble with the older instructors at a remote place, the three kinds of meat are cooked together, the meat is eaten by the elders, and the bodies of the boys are washed all over with the soup. From now on they may eat the three animals, hitherto forbidden to them. Now they again dance and sing: "Oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu" (long drawn-out).

ǂAuin: The candidates from neighboring villages go into the bush under the leadership of the doctor, and they live there on veldkost for a few weeks. During this time they receive instructions in secret matters. Kaufmann reports the following dance: A boy gets up on the back of another, and both of them wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier swinging from one leg to the other as rapidly as possible without moving forward, and both of them yell "hu, hu." They actually attain manhood, which gives them the right to marry, only through the hunting test. Tattooing is not connected with the declaration of manhood.

NARON
≠AUIN
NOGAU

[70 cont.]

881 Among the Naron, on the other hand, they must first pass the hunting test before they are admitted to the boys' initiation. Ten or 12 candidates are taken into the bush and must live for a month on veldkost, which is sprinkled with a medicine by the doctor before it is eaten. Women are not allowed to come near the camp.

During one of the nocturnal dances, Hise appears, dances [776] around the circle, and is then driven away by the medicine man. [787] Some say Hise looks like a woman; others describe him as a be- 535 ing three feet tall, with a flat head, large eyes, black body, 881 wings and claws (one is reminded of the spirit bird Engororí, which appears at the initiation of the Ovambo, or of the Neida Gamaseb of the Bergdama).

Some old ≠Auin saw two beings, one male and one female, 787 who looked like lions but walked upright; they were followed by children who looked like baboons.

Evidently masked dances, are involved here. The younger 535 men no longer see this Hise; the doctors explain to them that he 881 came, but could only be seen by the medicine men.

A special dance for Hise is an imitation of a bird's movements. In olden times the people also danced in pairs, while they sang in refrain: "Ostrich stomach, Hise stomach, hu, hu, hu."

The /Di dance is likewise dedicated to Hise. At this dance the men wear the dance rattles described above, as is also done for profane dances, but in addition they wear white or black ostrich feathers.

3. The Girls' Initiation

Among the Nogau when a girl has her first menstruation, 881 there is a celebration. Throughout the first day the girl must stay [343] in a closed, arbor-like pontok especially constructed for her. She is only given something to drink, nothing to eat. The women gather from far and near and perform dances around this arbor. These festivities last for five days, and only one man is present as a leader of the ceremony. During these five days the girl is regarded as "poisonous" and may not touch anything, not even

[70 cont.]

her food, which is given to her by an old woman. On the sixth day
881 the girl goes looking for veldkost with an old woman, and, when
she has returned, she herself makes the fire and cooks the food in
the circle of her guests, for the first time officially independent.
(582) Girls may marry even before this ceremony.

[71] Among the ≠Auin the initiation is held for each girl
881 at the time of the first menstruation. The same is true among
the Naron. The eland bull dance is performed every night during
881 the girl's period. Two old men attach real or wooden eland
535 horns to their heads and wait in the bush. Then the menstruating
girl comes and sits down or lies down surrounded by old women,
in the center of a circle of younger women who stage a dance.
The two eland bulls soon appear and then quickly disappear
again. The dance is very indecent. Among the Nussan, men
masked as birds (!) take the place of the eland bulls.

Once a year, in autumn when the veldkost is harvested,
796 there is a great festival. The day is called: "//gam gna she
(the great day)." On this occasion food is prepared, and the
Bushmen come from all sides. They dance and sing, but they
are supposed to stay at home; no one may hunt, look for veld-
kost, or do any kind of work. [Fig. 25 appears here.]

4. Courtship, Wedding, and Marriage

If a young Bushman wants to marry, he does not go to the
girl, but instead must speak with her parents; at the same time
584 the girl's consent to the marriage is necessary. Once this con-
sent is given, presents are exchanged between the parents of the
engaged couple, or a gemsbok is shot and divided between the
two families. Immediately after the presents have been ex-
changed, preparations for the wedding are begun. If enough
game, above all, a gemsbok, is at hand, they dance through the
entire night and sing: "Ueeö, ueeeö, ö, eee, gueeö, guueeö,"
[539] etc.

Then the young man takes his wife and moves to the horde
581 of his father. Great importance is attached to virginity before
[591] marriage. "It simply does not happen among us that a girl

ǂAUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[73 cont.]

776 821 not die, but otherwise they are like people, except that they have black skin. When there is no rain, the Bushmen make a large [789] fire and throw into it a root, "he," and a male turtle. As soon [535] as it starts to rain, they dance, strike themselves on the thighs, [534] and sing: "Ehe, ehe, ehe, ije, ije, ije, ehe, ehe, ehe," etc. The sorcerers can transform themselves into lions.

The rain sorcerer lives on earth as other people do. The rainbow is the rain dog. The clouds are the rain hairs.

At the time of new moon, they say the moon is sleeping. During the night the sun runs back to the east.

Thunder and lightning are not made by the rain, but by Gauab who among these Bushmen has become a personification of evil. Lightning is called "Gauab's knife."

The dark night sky is the covering of the moon and sun. The dome of the sky is called /gna. My informants left it an open question as to whether the sun perhaps "might be the greatest," the one who has made everything. On the other hand, Khu is likewise regarded as the creator. He made heaven and earth, and he also made human beings live. Khu is not a human being; he is good, but nothing more is known about him. He does not interfere in the course of the world and of human life. To be sure, they say, "Khu is the greatest, and Gauab is the smallest," but nonetheless Gauab plays a larger role in their lives. He controls thunder and lightning, he races over the steppe as a destructive wind spout, visible to all, and he also kills people by tearing out their souls and making a little Gauab out of them. This little Gauab in turn runs about in the bush and does all kinds of evil things.

[74] There is a secret moon cult among the Naron. They 794 787 821 pray to the new moon for rain. In olden times certain stars, especially the morning star and the Southern Cross, which they call "fire shoe," are also supposed to have been invoked. The story of 773 821 the moon and the hare is told in the following way: The moon said: "People must die and arise again, just as I die and return again." But the hare contradicted her and said that people should remain dead. The moon then became angry and cut the hare's mouth with a hoe.

"The moon is an old man, and the sun a young girl, his wife. First the moon goes under the sky, and then the sun follows behind

/249 cont./

To indicate affirmation the head is thrown back and the
201 eyebrows are raised.

Otherwise, the physiognomic changes of expression are essentially like those of Europeans. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the Bushman's facial mobility is considerably greater than that of a European, and even quite weak emotions are expressed by lively gestures.

If I may be permitted, I should like to emphasize here a
194 peculiarity of voice among the Bushmen; among the women especially the voice seems to me abnormally high-pitched. In my opinion the speech of a Heikum woman is pitched several notes higher, on the average, than that of a Herero woman. Evidently this peculiarity is connected with the smallness of the larynx of the Heikum people.

The anthropometric figures presented above are doubtless much
141 smaller than comparable ones for the Herero, Nama, and
144 Bergdamara [Bergdama] living in the immediate vicinity of the Bushmen. Nonetheless, as regards smallness, the Heikum certainly do not approach the Pygmies of Central Africa. Whether further ethnological and ethnographic investigations will uncover kindred traits among these peoples remains to be shown by further research.
144 That the Bushmen represent an almost pure race is apparent from the fact that the skin color is the same for almost all individuals, and from the evident uniformity in the structure of the body, especially of the face. In addition, the other native tribes of Southwest Africa show a pronounced aversion to racial mixture with the despised Bushmen.

I come now to some ethnological and ethnographic observa-
● 535 tions which to me seem worthy of interest. I was especially
[171] interested in the dances of the Heikum, of which one, the //o //au, shows no similarity to any other native dance with which I have become acquainted in Southwest and East Africa.

The //o //au dance (in Kung language: //ooskê) is a men's dance in which a series of dueling runs by the performing dancers are represented (Figs. 5 and 6). Six men, three to a side in opposing pairs, kneel in an area about three meters square, with a free space between the two rows. In the middle of this free area there is a pile of veld food. The men kneel down, hunched very

/249 cont./

535 low, and at the same time sit on their heels. Two at a time fight out a "run," while the two other pairs are resting and watching. A run lasts for about two minutes; they change opponents in the runs in a certain order, so that each man gets to duel with each of the others.

/250/ A run goes as follows: in their hunched-over position the opponents look each other sharply in the eye as they bend far over as though looking for cover, and they do not take their eyes off each other even during the most violent movements of the arms. With the flat of their hands, the opponents now beat rhythmically and violently on the ground that has been loosened up in front of the players, a powerful blow being followed by a weaker one. At each blow the opponents utter a brief H'hm Hhe testifying to a high degree of physical and psychic tension. [Figs. 5 and 6 appear here.] The H'hm is the louder sound and is also accompanied by the stronger impact of the hands. At the same time motions of covering against the blow or thrust of the opponent are carried out. The face has an angry and at the same time wary expression, while the entire body is tensed to the utmost. After about two minutes have elapsed, one of the fighters makes a motion raising one arm and sinking down backwards, as though he had been struck or killed, while the opponent makes a gesture of triumph over the vanquished enemy.

/251/ The fighters are frequently covered with dirt, by the hands striking the loosened soil, but this does not disturb them in the tense observation of the opponent.

The point of the game is that supposedly one of the fighters has unjustly appropriated food which the other tries to take away from him in the duel. Even old men feeble with age play with great passion and exert all their strength. From time to time the women give water to the exhausted opponents to fortify them.

To be sure, the entire procedure reminds one of dogs or monkeys, furiously facing each other and growling, who are crouched to spring at each other and at the same time hop around in one spot on their front legs. Nonetheless, there is something attractive about it, in spite of the animal gestures and sounds, by virtue of its vivacity and of the emotions expressed by the faces.

533 Whereas the //o //au has no musical accompaniment, the
[535] other dances of the Heikum people are accompanied by a women's
Song.

/251 cont./

533 song. The melodies that I had an opportunity to observe were simple tone sequences which I vainly tried to arrange into a definite major or minor key such as is familiar to us. According to European concepts, the intervals are not pure. A common tonal sequence was the following, but in giving it I must

[535]

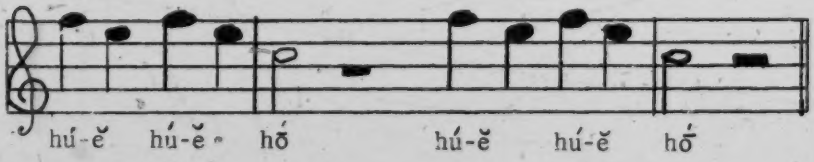
Fig. 5.

[535]

Fig. 6.

once more definitely stress that the intervals do not correspond precisely to those of our major key.

[539]

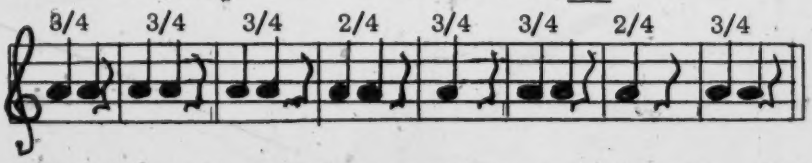


/251 cont./

533 Between the syllables hu and e a slight tremulo occurs, so that the entire song is reminiscent of yodeling. Instead of the sequence f-e-f-e-c, other tonal sequences were frequently sung, for instance, g-f-g-f-c or g-e-g-e-c. Even more complicated tonal sequences, reminiscent of our seventh chords, were not uncommon.

Singing is always accompanied by handclapping. The rhythm of the clapping is very curious; at any rate, it does not correspond to the feeling for musical rhythm that is familiar to Europeans. Two rhythms in particular have stayed in my memory, and I shall try to characterize them. The reader should think of a rhythm which, at least to my knowledge, does not exist in Aryan music, namely a 5/5 beat. Of the five fifths of this beat, they clap on the first, second, and fourth, while there are pauses on the third and fifth. The beat, in other words, would look as follows, if I designate the clapping sounds with ♩ and the pauses with 𝄽 :

Another clapping rhythm is the following, in which the three-quarter beat alternates with the two-quarter: /252/



535 Such a dance with musical accompaniment is the following, which I should like to designate as the pumpkin dance and which is reminiscent of a ball game frequently played by children in Germany. A number of women march at a rapid pace in goose step on a circular line, at the same time clapping rhythmically with their hands and singing. Among the Heikum the clapping is done [171] with the fingers spread apart, in contrast to the Herero, who clap with their fingers together. At the same time, a pumpkin [melon?] approximately the size of a child's head is thrown from one of the dancers to the other, and always backwards from the person in front to the person just behind her.

/252 cont./

The men standing around now attempt to catch the pumpkin
535 as it flies through the air, and the women simulate great indignation when one of the men succeeds in doing so. This man then cuts up the pumpkin with a knife so that a new ball is required in order to continue the game.

Another dance, in which principally men participate, could be designated as the bird dance. The men dance in a circle, while the women stand around the circle, clap their hands, and
[534] sing. The men wear dance bangles around their ankles, which are circlets of dried bean pods whose kernels rattle at every step and in this way strongly accentuate the dance rhythm. The steps of the dance are short, scarcely half a foot long, so that the progress of the dancers in the circle is quite slow. The vigor of the stepping or stamping on the ground alternates rhythmically. At the same time a number of symbolic gestures is performed. The most respected of the dancers has tied to his forehead a large eagle's beak decorated with glass and iron beads; he frequently makes a motion of hacking with the beak, and then, by slowly raising his arms, suggests the eagle's calm gliding in the air. Another dancer carries a bird's nest in his hand during the entire dance. At a certain stage, the dancers go through the motion of picking up fruit from the ground by bending down and making scooping motions in the air just above the ground. Shortly thereafter, some men dance towards the women and perform gestures as though they wanted to seize one of the women surrounding them.

535 Suddenly one of the dancers seems about to faint. A spectator
786 whom I questioned concerning the significance of this action told me that the Mukuru (Herero term for God) was in him. Other dancers, maintaining their dance step all the while, stand around the possessed person, try to help him, and cool him with fanning until he suddenly collapses with a piercing shriek. The bystanders catch him and carry him off to one side while the others go on dancing. The "doctor" now concerns himself with the unconscious
[755] person; he blows twice in each ear and once on his forehead. Visibly, consciousness now returns and soon the one possessed is able to rise and dance again.

533 /253/ The musical accompaniment is supplied solely by the women; however, the dancing men are not entirely silent. Every

/253 cont./

533 once in a while, one of the dancers emits a loud yell, usually in a high falsetto, and sometimes a trill which likewise is pitched as high as possible, depending entirely on the individual's emotional state.

The clapping at a dance is audible over a great distance. One evening when I approached the station, I could hear the clapping of the dancing women at a distance of three kilometers.

The dances I have described seem to be widely distributed
535 among the Bushmen. At any rate, I found all three of them with
184 only slight variations among the Kung people residing in the Kaukau Veld.

Concerning the diet of the Heikum Bushmen I was able to dis-
262 cover the following. I should add my regret at this point that I lacked the necessary background for giving the botanical names of the veld crops.

The diet is predominantly vegetable; however, the Bushman is by no means a despiser of flesh. On the contrary, whenever he can have animal food, he will utilize it for his kitchen. In so doing, he is so unselective that one could say he eats everything he can lay his hands on. I have even seen Bushmen consume hyena flesh with great pleasure. The flesh is obtained partly by
224 hunting with bow and arrow, and partly with game traps. I shall discuss the hunting weapons later; here I only want to mention a game snare which I had the opportunity to observe in the Kaukau Veld. A snare twisted from plant bast had been placed on a game trail, drawn upwards by means of a flexible stalk stuck into the ground, and fastened to the ground by means of wooden hooks. When the game touches the snare, releasing it from the hooks, the flexible stalk pulls the snare up and shut. Game is also caught in traps. I was shown an iron hook fastened to a bamboo stick about five meters long, which was used to pull out game that had fallen into the pits.

The animals of the Bushman's hunting domain include all kinds of antelopes, from the giant eland to the tiny duiker, giraffes, hogs, hares, and, in the way of birds, predominantly guinea fowl.

The Bushman, however, finds objects to enrich his cuisine even among lower animals. In the realm of the amphibians he prefers

623 about it to others, unless it were a hunter caught in a storm alone in the veld; but
821 an individual, even without necessarily expressing a consensus, we think might say
789 to another, 'Why don't you burn some of your hair?', which would probably be enough to instigate the act. And, in all likelihood, it would be done with so little formality that the observer would not know anything was happening unless he knew what to watch for and were alerted.

[171 There was no ceremony regularly performed by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae to ensure
821] plentiful rain, like the Hottentots' *guri≠ab*. The Rain dance of the /Kung, which is
789 danced often, all through the year, is a medicine dance, among several others, such
535 as the Giraffe, Sun, Gemsbok, Honey, and Mamba dances. All these are 'strong'
796 things, the /Kung believe. The dances so named have 'strong' medicine music. They
755 are danced during the medicine men's ceremony to cure the sick and protect the people and drive away any of the *//gauasi*, the spirits of the dead, who might be lurking to bring some evil upon the people. The Rain dance has this as its purpose, not the control of weather.

One night when the Rain dance was being beautifully danced with a fine precision and vigour of clapping, singing, and stamping, which to us suggested fervour, we were watching it so intently that we had not noticed the sky. The first storm of the season had crept up behind us and suddenly burst over us like a bomb. We asked
[82] Gao if he believed the dance had brought the rain. He said that the rain was due to come. The dance had not brought it.

821 A *n/ow* animal, as well as a human, has either a good or a bad *n/ow*, but it seems
825 not to be known clearly how it gets the one or the other. Good or bad *n/ow* is not correlated with one sex or one species. One giraffe, for example, either male or female, may have the rain-bringing, another the cold-bringing kind.

It seems that long or short horns may have something to do with good or bad *n/ow*, not the long-hornedness of gemsbok as compared with the short-hornedness of giraffes, but, within the species, the comparative length of horn. But one kind of *n/ow* is not inherent in short-hornedness nor is the other kind in long-hornedness. It is not so simple as that. And informants did not know what association, if any, the short or long horns may have with ≠Toma's vague idea that the short or long legs of a child in the womb might have something to do with the child's *n/ow*.

When a hunter kills a *n/ow* animal, he either *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) it. Like the mother who *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) her child at birth, the hunter has no voluntary control over this and cannot tell which he has done unless the effect is observed in the weather. A hunter with good or bad *n/ow* may *≠gani* or *//ghui* an animal which has either good or bad *n/ow* and long or short horns. The precise nature of the interaction remains obscure, but hunters took an interest in telling about the kind of *n/ow* they thought they had, and gave instances of observing the effects of their killing various types of animals. If a man should kill a female kudu with short horns and the water should freeze that night, it would be evident that he had *//ghui*(ed) the animal. He would expect to continue to *//ghui* short-horned female kudus. However, although a man's *n/ow* remains constant throughout his life, the way it interacts with other factors may change, and after a time he may find he has begun to *≠gani* short-horned female kudus. We think the /Kung became a little tired of our finding this complicated.

One day in September the sun blazed in the clear sky. The heat beat down upon us.

881 companions saying, "I dare not speak to you." The married
[867 women visit the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* and instruct the inmates
868] in various domestic matters, *e.g.*, the way to clean and tidy their huts, to remain quiet when their husbands are cross, to prepare their husbands' food separately from their own, to pick up and beat the kudu skin on returning home in the evening so that the husband does not sleep on the previous day's dirt, etc. They further teach them to gather wood, to make the fire, to take away the ashes and so forth. At the onset of the first menstruation the girl tells her mother or, in case she has no mother, her best friend (*/hosas*), who then reports to one of the married women, not necessarily to the *gei-khois*. She is then isolated in a small round hut which is
[343] completely closed in except for a small entrance. It is known as the */hawa-omi* (hut for waiting) and is situated close to the *ǂkham-khoidi oms*. She is required to remain inside the */hawa-omi* and dare not show herself outside. No fire is made in the hut. She is fed by her mother or, in the absence of the latter, by another married woman. She is not visited by anybody except the person who feeds her. No medicine is given to her. Daily applications of */gub*, a red powder obtained by pulverising the bark of a tree, and of the roasted and powdered fat-containing seed of the *ǂerob* tree are made to her hair by the attendant. She may be given veldkos, but
[262] is not allowed to partake of meat. No man, not even the girl's father, may pass close to the */hawa-omi* or attempt to speak to her. She remains in the */hawa-omi* as long as the flow lasts. When it has ceased she informs her mother or the woman who has been attending her. The latter tells the
● 535 other married women and they all prepare to dance the
881 */hawa-ǂnab* (menstruation dance). This dance takes place during the day and men may not take part in it. They may, however, remain in the *//gāus* while it is going on or enter it when returning from the veld. The *ǂkham-khoidi* are also excluded from it. The */hawa-ǂnab* may be continued for three or four days. When the dance is about to begin an old woman, generally the *gei-khois*, holding a jackal tail duster, takes up a position some distance in front of the */hawa-omi*, and, dancing in one spot as if marking time, shouts *Ki-ri-ri-ri-ri-ri* to waken the initiate and to summon the other women. The latter then emerge from their huts and, dancing as they come along, take up position behind the */hawa-omi*. Two of them dance forward, passing one on each side of the little hut, towards its entrance and, as they reach the latter, the initiate comes out and the old woman stops shouting. After covering her whole head and face with a duiker skin kaross (*/gan-tab*), leaving only the eyes visible, each of the women takes an arm and, the other women coming into line from behind the hut, all dance towards the old woman who leads the way to the */hura-ǂgab*. Here they dance, the feet being thrown out sideways, always abreast of each other, with the old woman leading. Men are not permitted to watch the
881 dance. When the dance is about to end they return her to

old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the 553
surname of the mother and girls that of the father. Thus *|Uirob Geirob |Geibeb* married a woman *|Kao-tamas Gamanis |Harus* and begot two sons, namely *||Otoab ǂGonab |Garub* and *Gogob Gomob |Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras |Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *||Otoab* become *||Otoab ǂGonab |Garub |Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose.
A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nick- 551
names are common and are given to children when quite young. They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life.

The communities which have not been in contact with 164
civilization are remarkably free from infectious, contagious and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons when malaria becomes unduly prevalent the incidence of disease is very small among them. Sickness is in most instances 753
attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the affected person, to magical influences exercised by other persons or, when unduly prevalent, to something going wrong with the perpetual fire. Treatment is adminis- 757
tered by relatives and friends or in cases of acute or prolonged illness by an elder or doctor who is well versed in magical practice. Herbs of various descriptions are employed both internally and externally through incisions in the skin. Inunction with medicated ointments is also extensively resorted to. Surgical procedures are limited to incisions into the skin. Burial of the dead is carried out almost universally at present. 764
Among the more primitive groups, however, the corpse is left [184]
in the hut which is simply pressed down so as to cover it. After a death has taken place the camp is deserted and not 768
occupied again. Old people who are no longer able to help 888
themselves are left in the werft with a supply of food and water. The rest of the group then move off and do not return to it again.

Dances and Games.

Dancing and games of various kinds enter very largely into 535
the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first place among their social recreations. Some of the dances such as the *tsei*, *hāigi-ho*, and *ge-!ni* among the *ǂAo-||ēin* and *Aikwe* and the *|hawa-ǂnab* among the *Hei-||om* would appear to be of a religious nature, being danced only on ceremonial occasions, for example, during the initiation ceremonies. On the other hand dancing is often indulged in at night for pure pleasure, especially in times of plenty. The

535 nature of the latter may be gathered from the following dances of the *|Koma-khoin*, *Xom-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin* groups of the Etosha Pan *Hei-||om*. The common dance among the *|Koma-khoin* is the *‡gami-sab-‡nab*. Rattles (*|gunu-gu*) are worn round the legs of the dancers. It is danced by men who go round in a circle in Indian file while the women chant and clap their hands. Women, however, may join in the dance one at a time. When this happens and she wants to return to her companions the men as a rule try to prevent her leaving the circle by dancing round her. The *Xom-khoin* also dance the *‡gami-sab-‡nab* but without rattles as they do not know how to make the latter. Among the *Hei-||om* of the Etosha region the *|gunu-gu* are used only by the *|Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*.

In the Jackal and Wolf dance (*|geirab tsi ‡hiras tsira ‡nab*) which is danced by men only, is represented an hyena, which is supposed to be feeding on a carcass, keeping off a couple of hungry jackals. Every now and again as the latter attempt to approach too close to the carcass the hyena scares them off and they jump out of the way.

The horse-dance (*ha-‡nab*) is likewise danced by men only who go round quickly in a circle while the women clap their hands in imitation of the sound made by a galloping horse.

The *|gae-‡nab* or gemsbuck dance represents a gemsbuck bull, cow and calf being chased by two men with three or four dogs. The bull and cow carry horns but the calf does not. The gemsbuck lead and are followed by the men and dogs, who dance to and fro on the flanks until the animals are brought at bay. Then the men pretend to shoot and one of the buck goes down wounded while the others make off pursued by some of the dogs. The wounded animal fights in realistic fashion, sweeping at both man and dogs with its horns. The dance is continued until all the animals have been accounted for. Bows and arrows are represented by sticks in this dance.

The Kudu dance (*dau-ba-‡nab*) is danced by men among the *Xom-khoin* while the women chant and clap their hands. In it are represented various phases in the life of a herd of kudu. The hands of some of the dancers are held up to imitate the horns of the bulls. From time to time as it is in progress a couple of women join in the dancing for a short time. Among the *|Koma-khoin* it is danced by women.

773 There is a legend that in the olden days the Klipkaffirs
539 used to pay tribute daily in honey, öintjes, etc., to the *gei-*
535 *khoib* of the *|Koma-khoin*. When for any reason they defaulted for two or three days, the *gei-khoib*, accompanied by his young men, set out for the Klipkaffir encampment to investigate. As soon as the latter became aware of the approach of the *gei-khoib* they grasped everything on which they could lay hands and made for his *||gäus*. On the way

they hurriedly collected whatever veldkos they came across, 773
being closely followed by the *gei-khoib*. In the *ǂao-dama-* 539
ǂnab or dance of the Klipkaffirs who live on the mountain 535
tops, are depicted a couple of Klipkaffirs, carrying heavy loads and closely followed by the Bushmen armed with kirries. The Klipkaffirs are constantly glancing backwards as if anticipating a blow from a kirri. When they see any veldkos they squat down, hurriedly dig it up and place it in their bags. While on the way they are constantly being harassed and threatened with kirries by the pursuing Bushmen. The *ǂao-dama-ǂnab* originated with the Klipkaffirs to commemorate the time when they were held in bondage by the *|Koma-khoin* and was taught by them to the latter. It is also known to other groups, *e.g.*, the *Xom-khoin*, but is danced mainly by the *|Koma-khoin*.

The *Xom-khoin* have a dance in which are depicted the 535
antics of a group of vultures at the carcass of a zebra. It is confined to men only but the women chant and clap their hands. The carcass is represented by a person lying down. A giant vulture is at the carcass. As the others, who are standing close together some distance away, approach in a row flapping their wings, he raises his wings and makes a dart at them which causes them to stop suddenly and retreat. This dance is known as *man-toea tsi gei-aniti-ǂnab*.

Among all the remaining tribes dances of a similar description are met with, being based as a rule on episodes in the lives of wild animals. Thus the *ǂAo-||ein* and *Naron* have the turtle dove, duiker, porcupine, guineafowl, jackal and other dances. Games are played by grown-up people of both 524
sexes as well as by children. Among the *Hei-||om* the men play their games on an open place cleared of scrub outside the werft. The principal game is the *bies-||heib* which is played with a round tuber (*bies*). The players line up in two rows facing each other and the bies is rolled from one side to the other. As it approaches the opposite side each member of the latter in turn hurls a pointed stick, shaped like an assegani (*hēi-heigu*) at it. If he misses, the *bies* is rolled to the now opposite side. If he should hit it the *bies* is left *in situ*, the sides cross over and it is rolled towards the winning side again. Those who have hit it have preference in hurling the *hei-heigu* at the *bies*. This game is played by the *|Koma-khoin* only.

Among the games played by the women of these communities may be mentioned the *goarab-|hurub* or white monkey game of the *Xom-khoin*. A white monkey was once seen by a woman who ran home and told the others. The part of the monkey is taken by a woman who stands with her hands covering the sides of her face, leaving only a small opening for peeping through. She sways her head from side to side. The other women form up in a row opposite to her. One goes forward to look at the monkey, gazes at it intently and, when the latter starts moving its head from side to side, beckons and calls to the others to come and see the wonderful

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the rider. Sometimes two boys would make the horse, one boy 857
holding the wrists of another boy in front of him while a 526
third boy would ride, and these horses, reinforced, were much more successful, traveling farther at faster speeds. Now and then, as we talked by the fire, one of these little phantom creatures would rush silently by us in the dark, its dark rider in silhouette against the sky.

As we talked, we heard music, very sweet, sad music, as 533
though a music box were playing, coming to us from a little distance away. It was Gai's older son, the boy who had come back with us, playing the te k'na to himself. Thus we discovered that Gai had not fared as badly as it had seemed he did in his meeting with the strange Bushmen, for the te k'na had belonged to the man who had laughed at him. All the Bushmen at the fire, who loved music, stopped their talk to listen, and even the young boys were charmed from their game, for they moved silently toward him and crouched in the cold grass to listen, too. Soon they stood up to dance, a usual Bushman dance of men, taking small, pounding steps, [535] ●
moving in a circle. They danced very well, with freedom and with great precision, but they were too excited to dance for 857 526
long and instead began to play a dancing game called "Os- 535
trich," performed by two boys dancing forward to face each other. As one either crouches or bends double from the hips, the other, who in the game is called the ostrich, swings his leg over the first boy's back without missing a beat in the rhythm. The boy who bent jumps backward as another boy steps in to take his place. This is repeated again and again, accompanied by spoken, rhythmic sounds: he he *hi*, hehe he *hi*, and the whole game is very fast and vigorous, requiring great practice and co-ordination, as the body movements, which often include the slapping of the elbows against the ribs, are sometimes at counterpoint to the spoken rhythm.

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857 The game represents ostriches, perhaps ostriches fighting or
526 mating.
535

The game was intoxicating. The boys danced so fast, so perfectly, and made their rhythm so vigorous and free, that Gai, who had been sitting quietly listening to Ukwane, could stand it no longer. Throwing his great cape around himself, he suddenly leaped to his feet and sprang among the little boys, scattering them like a hawk among sparrows, towering over their heads as he began to dance. He stamped, bent, straightened, and swung his long leg over the little boys' backs, dancing with far more abandon, not as precisely as they, but madly; he took our breath away.

He wore his great kaross backward, flung across his chest, and when he stood still waiting for his turn to leap forward and crouch he was as motionless and dignified as a tribune standing, and when he danced the great wings of his kaross swung like the cape of a bullfighter, masculine, open, and free. He was a wonderful sight, and the old people watching him smiled, and the little boys dancing under his long legs and under the wings of his cape looked up at him and laughed with pleasure because he was playing their game.

Gai was a man of great dignity and for him the dance was not altogether a success, for when the young boys tried to swing their legs over his back they generally kicked him in the rear or in the face. Soon he tired of it and came back to the fire to sit by Ukwane, but he was too excited to stay
524 quiet long and in a moment he tore off his cape and, calling
593
533 Ukwane and his oldest son, he began another rhythmic game, called "Kaross." This is played by several men or boys who rub the kaross between their hands in the way that they rub it to soften or cure it, only they rub more vigorously and accompany themselves with several very rhythmic, very gay, fast songs, sung in falsetto, to imitate the falsetto singing of

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women because, say the men, women's voices are admirably 533
beautiful.

Twikwe and Tsetchwe sat side by side, their legs straight [516]
out in front of them, the soles of their feet lit by the fire. 535
They sang gaily and clapped their hands while the baby 562
Nhwakwe walked up and down on Tsetchwe's leg, balancing himself like a child who is walking on a railing, then climbed to her shoulder and stood there triumphantly without holding on, gazing around like a child on a hill. He looked utterly astonished when Tsetchwe suddenly swept him to the ground and, flinging off her cape, jumped to her feet and began to dance. Everyone was astonished. Women almost never dance, although they are quite welcome to, but least of all Tsetchwe, a very conscientious mother and wife.

Tsetchwe's dance was extremely lively and extremely gay, and everyone except Nhwakwe looked up at her happily. She sang and waved her arms with great abandon, and danced her gay dance right behind the men, just for once flinging motherhood to the four winds and dancing right over her baby, who came trotting sadly after her, holding up his arms to be carried. In a moment the baby gave up and went to the lap of his grandmother, frowning as his mother danced happily by him again. When Tsetchwe finally got tired and flung herself down on the ground he ran to her and nursed immediately to reassure himself. She held him loosely in one arm as she coughed from exertion and laughed, with a pleased, shy expression on her face that said: this is what I used to do when I was younger.

When the people were tired of dancing they still seemed 821
to feel like talking, and as the moon was down and the stars showed clearly we asked Ukwane to tell us something about the sky, and we pointed to several stars to learn their names.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

The Dancers

WHEN Bushmen dance their medicine dances, the medicine 535 begins to work in the bodies of the medicine men. Medicine 756 is warmed to potency as the exercise of dancing warms the shaman's body, and by the heat of the fire that the shaman dances around. The medicine purges evil and cures a sickness that is known to the Gikwe as "star sickness," a mysterious, magic sickness that has no tangible symptoms but together with evil is brought to people by the spirits of the dead. You can tell that powerful curing medicine is at work during one of these dances because the medicine men fall into trance, shudder and shriek and roll their eyes up into their heads, fall into the fire or wash their faces with flaming coals and are not burned, and when they rub their fire-warmed hands on you to cure you their hands are hot and dry and flutter like moths, and presently the star sickness leaves you, enters the bodies of the medicine men, and is shrieked into the air, hurled back to the spirits of the dead who brought it.

There are many types of medicine at work in the Kalahari, 756 and every band among the Gikwe, Kung, or any Bushman 825 nation possesses certain of these. Some bands, for instance,

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have the giraffe, rain, and gemsbok medicine. Others might have the ratel, fire, and gemsbok medicine. Ukwane's band had the sun, dove, and gemsbok medicine. Almost every band has the gemsbok medicine, for magically the gemsbok are very important animals, obvious from the black medicine markings on a gemsbok's face.

The medicine songs are songs without words and are given to both Kung and Gikwe Bushmen by the great god who sends his messengers, the spirits of the dead, to a sleeping person. The spirits of the dead teach the person a medicine song in a dream, and when the person awakens he teaches the song to the other members of his band.

At dances, women sing the medicine songs, men dance and use the medicine to cure people, for almost all men are made medicine men when they are in their late teens, after they have been initiated into manhood, having shot their first buck. They are made medicine men by older medicine men, and although any Bushman man may become a medicine man, only certain of them find that they have strong healing power, and these are the ones who practice, who fall into trance at dances and chase evil from their people. Ukwane himself had been one of these. None of the people he cured ever died, he said, but as he grew old his powers seemed to leave him, so now he did not practice any more. In his band Gai became the strong healer.

Of course, a medicine dance is a great affair, for it usually takes place at night and lasts all night into the morning. Everyone in the band takes part, every young boy old enough to walk may dance, every young girl may sing with the women, and women themselves may dance if they feel inclined. People talk, eat, and smoke between dances, or go off to bed to sleep for a while, so, all in all, dances are social af-

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fairs as well as important curing ceremonies and might be called informal rituals, for everyone has a good time. 756 535

Underlying the gaiety and informality of a dance, however, is deep magic, taken very seriously by everyone, for using this magic is the way in which the Bushmen protect themselves from the dark forces in themselves and their country, the only way in which they can protect their lives from the evil of dissension, from thirst and starvation, from disease and death. In their dances the Bushmen defy the great god himself and his ominous messengers, the spirits of the dead.

To have a dance, the women sit in a circle with their babies asleep on their backs and sing the medicine songs in several parts with falsetto voices, clapping their hands in a sharp, staccato rhythm at counterpoint to the rhythm of their voices. Behind their backs the men dance one behind the other, circling slowly around, taking very short, pounding steps which are again at counterpoint to both the rhythms of the singing and the clapping. Now and then the men sing, too, in [534] their deeper voices, and their dance rattles—rattles made from dry cocoons strung together with sinew cords and tied to their legs—add a sharp, high clatter like the sound of shaken gourds, very well timed because the men step accurately. A Bushman dance is an infinitely complicated pattern of voices and rhythm, an orchestra of bodies, making music that is infinitely varied and always precise.

It is with great care and effort that this perfection is achieved, for the people learn the songs and dances when they are children and work for perfection in skill and timing all their lives. Even the dance rattles are carefully tended, hung 534 from tree branches to preserve their dryness, their sharp sound, and a great deal of labor goes into their making. Gai's pair of rattles, which swung in the wind from the branch that

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534 shaded his dwelling, had about sixty cocoons on each rattle of the pair, and in each cocoon, from which the pupa had been carefully extracted and the cocoon closed up again, there were from ten to twenty fragments of ostrich eggshell, each fragment chipped to a uniform size and round. Each pair of rattles, of course, is expected to last a lifetime and more, and I'm sure that Gai's rattles were older than he.

621 578 756 533 The day before we left, Ukwane's band and the visitors from Okwa decided that since they were all together and in sufficient number, they would hold a dance. Perhaps it would purge the bad season or relieve the strain of jealousies they felt toward each other. Dances are usually held at night, but this time, out of consideration for us, they agreed to hold it during the day so that we could film it. We found a place which would be suitable for filming, helped gather sufficient wood because there would have to be a fire, no matter how hot the day was, and as we did all this the six young boys got more and more excited, tried on dance rattles, danced tight little circles around each other and tugged at the elbows of the adults, urging them to start.

756 535 533 Some of the women wanted to sing, others felt too hot, too tired, but the men walked among them encouraging them all. A dance is long, hot work for women, the pleasure of dancing being mostly for the men. At last Twikwe and Dasina went to the spot chosen for the dance and, sitting side by side at the fire, their backs to everybody, sang a few bars and began to talk, then sang a little more, joined now by Tsetchwe, who sat beside them and began to sing in earnest. All three of them looked so small down in the grass and set up such a loud noise singing—for in order to interest the other women they were shricking the song at the top of their voices—that they seemed like three tree frogs or three cicadas, hard to notice in the landscape but putting forth earsplitting songs.

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At last a few more women joined the singers and the sing- 756
ing mounted, the voices took on several parts. At last the 535
men began to join, dancing toward the circle in twos and 533
threes, moaning the song in their throats, leaning on long staffs, their coming heralded by the dry, loud staccato of their rattles.

The men came from different directions, and they stood so tall and danced so strongly, with their muscles standing out on their necks, that their coming was like the coming of bull antelope, they were so radiant of strength and tension, they were so lithe and male. They came together out of the trees and, without the slightest change of pace, arranged themselves around the dance circle, wheeling slowly, one after the other, and the dance began.

The air was hot, the sun was shining strongly, the fire was 786
sending a shuddering cloud of heat around the dancers, and 756
as the dancers moved almost imperceptibly faster and faster, 535
Gai suddenly flung his arms into the air and with a piercing shriek crashed to the ground. He landed stiffly with a bounce, his head cracking. On the ground he writhed and groaned, and Ukwane pulled him by the arms to remove his body from the dance circle.

Gai was in deep trance. Ukwane was ministering to Gai's body because Gai's spirit had rushed away.

Bushmen say that when the medicine in a medicine man 774
becomes stimulated by a dance, warmed by the fire and by 756
the heat of the man's body, the man's spirit may leave him, 535
causing his body to fall because there is nothing there to hold it up, and fly into the veld, where it seeks out the evil that is troubling people. Some medicine men in this way have seen the spirits of the dead, some have seen the great god. At another dance we once attended, one man's spirit rushed into the veld, where it came upon a pride of lions that had been

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774 troubling the people by their constant presence and by their
756 deafening roars at night. The man's spirit spoke with the
535 lions, defied them, and ordered them away, and the lions did go; they troubled the people no longer.

786 When the spirit returns, the medicine man comes to him-
756 self, as Gai did presently. He stood up and ran into the veld,
535 gaining speed as he went. Far out in the veld he screamed, a shriek of definace, then turned and charged back toward the dance fire. He passed through the dance like a wind through dry leaves; the people ducked aside and shrank away from his feet, then settled together when he had gone by. Gai shricked again, turned himself, and rushed back, charging bull-like toward the fire again; this time Ukwane seized his arms and though Gai plowed forward, Ukwane hung on, dragging behind with all his weight, until at last Gai fell headlong into the dance fire and his hair burst into flames.

Ukwane snatched him out and slapped out the fire in his hair, and Gai, his mouth open and his eyes quite wild, sparks still falling from his head like stars, strained against Ukwane's hands. At last he broke away.

786 In a moment he bent slowly over the fire and washed his
756 hands in the flames, then went to one of the women in the
535 circle of singers and, placing one hand on her chest, the other
783 on her back, shuddered and groaned as he sucked the evil from her, then straightened suddenly and shrieked the evil into the air. In this way Gai cured all the people, followed as he went by Ukwane, who now held Gai's arm to keep him upright. Before long, Gai had fallen again exhausted and was dragged by the ankles to a place in the shade.

786 I looked at him and saw that his eyes were closed, his eye-
756 lids puffed, and thought he seemed unconscious. His breath
535 came rasping through his mouth and nose, and his pulse, showing in "the heart's place," seemed very quick. But he

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GiKwe

was all right; no one paid any attention to him as they would have had he not been well. His baby came to watch him, though, and gazed down into his swollen face. 786 756 535

It was very hot. The dancers and the women singing steamed with perspiration, first becoming gold in color, then ash white as dust stuck to them. Soon the women felt that they had sung enough, their feelings showing clearly in the diminished vigor of their songs, until finally the singing faded out entirely and the dance stopped. The men complained, but the women would sing no more and presently everyone had drifted away, leaving only the children wheeling slowly around the track worn by the dancers' feet, dancing soberly, carefully, without music, and Gai, who now lay prone and forgotten in the dust, in the shade of a little tree.

Hours later, when even the children had wandered back to the werfs and had joined their parents, who were tired from the exercise and were taking afternoon naps, Gai came to himself once more; he sat up and wiped his face, got slowly to his feet, and walked slowly home to sleep, next to his wife beside their fire.

All the Bushmen were asleep but Twikwe. Some people 513 lay on their backs with their arms shading their eyes, their mouths open, some on their bellies, their arms and legs sprawled. All the young boys except Giamakwe lay like puppies, tangled together in a knot of arms and legs, for even in sleep they would not be parted. Giamakwe slept at a little distance from the others on his side with his body bent backward into a U, his head almost touching his buttocks, as limp and supple as a young snake or a young cat that drapes over your hand. Even Nhwakwe was fast asleep, lying on his belly and using as his couch his father's body, his head on his father's chest. Both were deep in slumber, Nhwakwe snoring

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the old man with a funeral, and they had had to abandon his 764-888
sister's body as it was.

The headman lifted the old man from the ground and we saw that he had not been weeping but had only been lying inert and helpless, powerless now to keep himself erect. On our truck he lay just where we put him, motionless, prone, all the way back. We passed the grove where his sister lay, a grove of high white trees with red beans on their branches, and the old man did not turn his head to look.

After that, the situation for the people who remained at 361
Gautscha got better because the summer came. Great cloud- 132
banks like mountains formed at the horizon, dispersed themselves in brown haze, and formed again, getting larger day by day. Some of the bands who had left Gautscha began to return and once again the countryside was populous, the air filled with the murmur of voices and the smell of smoke from the many fires. Some of the men went hunting and shot a giraffe, so there was lots of meat for a while.

One day some of us went to a place called Kubi Pan to see a cheetah that was supposed to live there, but instead we saw a flock of guinea fowl walking along in single file as people do, raising a cloud of dust. Two of them began to fight because it was their mating season. When we got to Kubi it was evening and the clouds on the horizon were very thick, and just when the sun set into them the full moon rose on the other side, causing a balance of the two great bodies over the earth.

It seemed to be an auspicious night. On the way home we 789
felt something electric in the air and when we got to Gau- 535
tscha the moon had risen high and pale in the clouds and we found that the Bushmen were dancing the rain dance. Everyone was there, the women all singing and the men wheeling

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

789 in a circle around the dance fire, the clouds of dust rising un-
535 der their feet making them look like specters in the eerie light between the fire and the moon. The dance was very powerful. The men wheeled faster, the singing mounted in pitch. A medicine man coming from a far werf and singing as he came sprang among the dancers like a leopard, soft-footed and fine, and as he looked around him for a moment before beginning to dance, the moon behind his head filled a white ostrich feather in his hair with light. He smiled to himself, then, dancing suddenly, led the other dancers in a serpentine track through the circle of women, over the fire, and out the other side. The wind blew hard along the ground, and the smoke and fire streamed into the veld. The singing was very hard, very fast, and as the dancers swung around the circle dancing harder and faster, it suddenly began to rain.

It was like a miracle. It was the first rain of the year. First, there were just a few drops, but soon it was raining steadily in gusts behind the wind, causing the dancers to relax a little but to continue their dancing without paying attention to the fact that they were drenched. A bolt of lightning illuminated the veld for miles around with a blue-green light not of this world, showing all the trees and bushes stark and rain-lashed in the grass, then a blast of thunder as the light went out which struck us deaf as the lightning had struck us blind. For a moment it was black and still except for the lashing rain, and in the silence we heard a lion roaring far out in the veld, answered by another lion which was a little nearer, and then a peal of thunder shook them silent, drowning even their great voices.

132 The people had not danced to bring the rain; they had
[78] known that rain was coming and had danced to use its strong medicine. It rained all night, the rain so drenching and torrential that it put out the dance fire and drove the dancers

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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very sleek and prosperous, for they were staggering under 574
loads of food, their bags and nets bulging with tsi and their 602
carrying-poles strung with the meat of the gemsbok. They put down their loads and the women began immediately to make a large and busy werf on the far side of Toma's. In a very short time the werf was built and strewn with food and objects, and the people sitting among their possessions looked so comfortable and settled that one would never have thought that they had just arrived.

The old woman, Short Kwi's mother-in-law, did cry when she found her daughter gone. She squatted sadly on the ground and wiped her tears from her wrinkled, dusty cheeks with her fingers. All her relatives, clustered around her, trying to comfort her, telling her that, after all, her daughter would return, that she herself would be looked after and not allowed to starve, and presently the old woman stopped crying, wiped [342] her eyes, and got up to build herself a tiny hut, a shade of grass and branches.

That night, when darkness fell, when the moon rose blood 857
red among the trees and the frogs in the pan began their sing- 533
ing, we were again sitting by our fire, again hosts to a good many visitors, when we heard high voices singing a medicine song. We stood up to look over the grass and saw a fire where no werf was, with five young girls around it singing, clapping a rhythm, their faces lit red by the fire and their backs lit palely by the moon. They were all alone there, far from their homes.

We asked our visitors if there was going to be a dance, 857
which did not seem likely, everyone being in such low spirits, 535
and those who wanted to dance said yes while those who didn't said no. Soon some little children joined the dance, though, among them Little Gashe and Little Dabe. Little

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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535 Little
857 Dabe was evidently being minded by his brother, for he
[857] arrived riding on Little Gashe's back, a heavy load, and Little Gashe danced in a circle behind the young girls carrying Little Dabe, then, perhaps getting tired, stopped dancing and shook Little Dabe off. When Little Dabe was standing Little Gashe climbed on Little Dabe's back to let Little Dabe do the dancing for a while. Soon these children were joined by some older boys and they all bobbed along happily, one behind the other, quite small and lit dimly in the big dance circle they were making for themselves.

The girls sang well. Their songs and the sharp rhythm of their clapping floated over the dark veld to us, mixed with the voices of the frogs. The frogs croaked so loudly by the pan, their croaking floated so clearly over the water, that for a while the girls just clapped their hands and let the frogs sing for them. The girls and the frogs kept time, and as the frog voices gradually faded the girls began to sing again themselves and presently, two or three at a time, our visitors went away from our fire to their scherms and later, a few at a time, appeared again at the dance fire with wood to burn or dance rattles to wear, some joining the singers and dancers, some others building small fires of their own in the veld a little apart from the dance fire. Before long, every werf was represented.

In the veld, where we were standing, the moonlight shone, making black shadows and pale, cool light. The air was still and warm and fragrant with the grasses of the veld and the voices came to us softly. At the fire the dancers wheeled slowly in their course around the circle, and the firelight shone in flickering beams through their stamping, naked legs, red on their naked backs. We could not see them plainly because they were far away, but we moved toward them and the sing-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

ing got louder, we heard the low sound of stamping feet and 535
the low singing of the men's voices, no longer obscured by 857
the pure, high singing of the women, and when we were there we were inside the cloud of red, luminous dust, and the sounds of rattles and clapping rang in our ears.

More and more women joined the singing girls, each throwing some sticks on the dance fire as she came, then finding a place to squat in the circle, the others shuffling apart to make room, and soon the fire burned up brightly, lighting the dust stirred up by the dancers' feet and showing the huddled circle of women, who by now looked like a flock of birds [516] crouched on the ground, they were so tightly crowded, their karosses like hunched, folded wings and their heads up alertly; the bright dance fire showed too the oval faces of the visitors, the smallest ones near the ground, the larger ones a little higher, and as more and more men appeared from the darkness to join the dance the dust cloud rose higher and thicker until it seemed to shine of itself, like a veil or an illusion, and you couldn't be sure if what you saw was there before you or reflected.

Within an hour everyone was there. It behooves one to go [775] to a medicine dance because the spirits of the dead, waiting in the shadows around the dance fire and on their paths above the veld, might carry off a person if he stayed at home alone.

In the circle, one man was dancing with his child on his 535
shoulder, and the child, naked and golden-skinned on the naked brown shoulder, looked gravely down. Other children were dancing, Little Dabe and Little Gashe among them, Little Gashe carrying Little Dabe again, going slower and slower because he was tired. At last Beautiful Ungka picked 535 854
up both Little Gashe and his passenger, put them in her

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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535 854 kaross, and carried them to their mother; in this way, one by one, the dancing babies were eliminated and the circle was left to the men.

535 786 The dance went on all night, reaching a climax after midnight when the moon was high and sailing overhead. The medicine men were seized with trances that shook their bodies and rattled their teeth and sent them rushing headlong into the black shadows to curse at the spirits of the dead. Dust mounted, the sound of the high singing and the rattles was deafening, and even in the pauses between dances the medicine men screamed.

535 When hours had passed, when the moon was low and only its thick red glow showed on the horizon, the dance reached a lull and many people went home. Soon only a core of dancers and singers remained, perhaps twenty people in all. These were the strong young men, wiry enough to have withstood ten hours of dancing, and the old widows and middle-aged women, those who had no small children to worry them, women who were tougher than the young girls and did not mind that they felt tired. It is a strong thing to dance all night; it brings powerful, enduring medicine, and these few people, willing to withstand fatigue and cold, wore away the night to dance for the medicine of the rising sun.

When the moon was down and the dance fire had burned to embers, was almost out, I went to the veld to gather firewood. Just then the first stars began to dim in the soft, cold air, the eastern sky turned pale; faintly, the first birds began 535 533 to cry, and from where I stood in the veld I heard the song change to the sun-dance. The song lasted only for a moment, as the singers acknowledged the paleness, and a little later, as the light in the east became brighter and the colors of the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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veld began to show, the women sang the sun-dance fully, a 535 ● 533
song quite different from the others, very even, very simple, steady, dignified, and grave.

The dawn wind lifted and blew away the smoke and dust and made the people shiver. The light showed the dancers moving stiffly, the singers hunched together for support and warmth, and revealed dusty, dirty faces and dirty teeth. Dust had made mud in the corners of our mouths and eyes.

Only about ten women were singing in the circle now, and they sat all together at one spot, leaving a lot of space around the fire; only four men danced and they moved slowly in their track, burdened by their rattles. They, too, stayed close together so that most of their huge track was bare.

When the sun was over the horizon the dance stopped. The women ended their song abruptly, stood up, shook the dust and straw from their clothing, and walked away. They did not speak to one another because they were tired. The men talked for a moment as they sat down, stretched, untied their rattles, before walking off two by two toward their werfs. Soon all that remained was the dance track, a deep circular rut in the ground, the big heap of dead white ashes, and the dusty bushes and trees.

The people who had been dancing during the night slept 513
all through the heat of the day and as the afternoon came, lying in the shade of trees and bushes. Flies buzzed over them, the afternoon shadows lengthened and the day cooled, and still they slept on.

When the light was red and the sun was almost setting, 481
the women began to stir, getting to their feet slowly, and then 825
alone or in twos and threes, followed by their children, walked down the path to the water, the last ones to leave

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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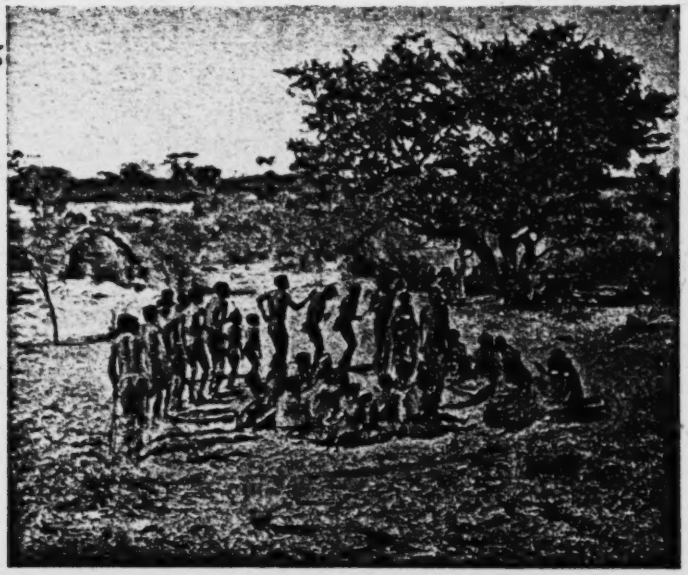

6. The curing dance; the men cut through the circle of singing, clapping women. The time for dancing is the night, but occasionally the /Kung dance in the daytime when there is a reason, such as obliging us when we asked for a daytime dance to photograph or as a preliminary to a *chuma* ceremony

7. The dance rattles, strings of cocoons, add a swish, swish to the thud of the small, strong, stamping steps

[p. 228 (D)]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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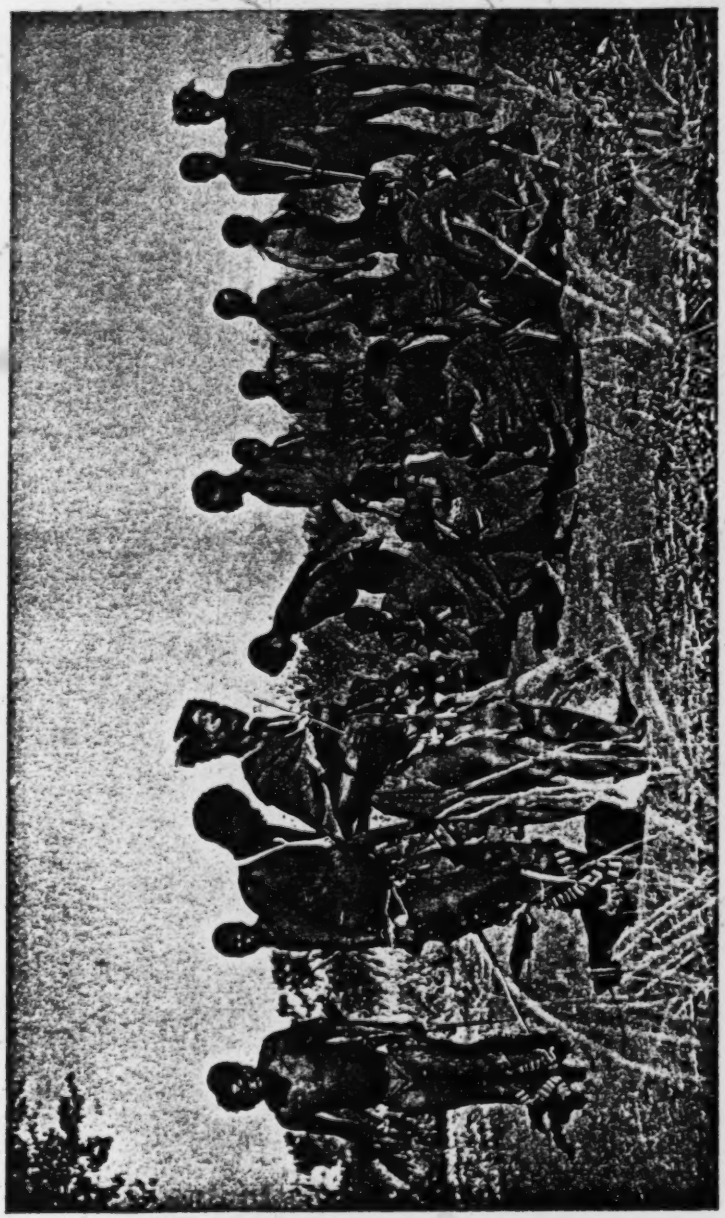

8. Occasionally a woman dances with the men for a brief time. All the men who are dancing except two (fourth and sixth from right) are practising medicine men. The one at the farthest left and the one bending forward are beginning to go into trance. Others hold them. In this stage they cure the people, leaning over one and then another, laying on their hands, and making their medicine gestures and sounds

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[p. 228 (E)]

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9. The next stage of trance

10. Two medicine men in deep trance; the people rest

[p. 228(F)]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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12. Five medicine men at sunrise after they had danced and cured all night long. The women must still clap and sing the protective medicine music. The men in semi-trance care for those in deep trance, or 'half-death', as they call it

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13. The tradition is continued. Playing 'dance', a little girl claps and sings while two boys dance around her

[p. 228 (H)]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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The Ceremonial Curing Dance

The ceremonial curing dance is the one religious act which has form and in which the people are united. The purpose of the dance is to cure sickness and to drive away evil. If there is actual sickness among the people or if real misfortune has come upon them, the dance will be held especially to cure these ills. But the people dance often when no one is actually known to be sick, and when no particular misfortune has come, to drive away evil which might be there but which one cannot see, and to feel protected by goodness.

The protecting goodness is the ' medicine ', the magic power called *gaaxa*, which the /Kung believe the great god puts into the bodies of the medicine men and into the medicine songs. The /Kung believe that the great god endowed the power with its own autonomous potency, but nevertheless account for its failing to cure sometimes by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work or not, according to his pleasure or displeasure. *Gaaxa* is the power evoked and activated during the curing dance.

I believe the ceremonial curing dance to be a religious act, but, although very serious, especially in its final curing aspect, it is not piously solemn or constrained [517 and it provides occasion for pleasure and aesthetic satisfaction. The music can be 533] sung at any time, for lullabies or just for singing. Music and dancing are the arts of the /Kung. The good young dancers, especially, feel the delight which is inherent in fine integration of movement and rhythm (one can see this clearly), and the people watch and admire good dancing and take pleasure in it, and in the music.

Furthermore, the dances are a socially unifying factor. All the people of the werf come together and participate, men and women, old and young. The men often [852] dance with their babies on their shoulders in the early part of the dance, and the children dance and play among them, until they fall fast asleep in their mothers' laps.

[883] Anyone who wants a dance may start it by going around to people and asking them to come and begin. Someone who was sick would ask for a dance, but young people who love to dance often start just for fun. Sometimes their dances do not turn into curing dances, but usually, once the music begins, the adults join in and the dance becomes a real one. The dances last all night oftener than not. There is a special potency in those which are danced at dawn. The /Kung dance, at irregular intervals, on an average of once in ten days, more or less. Almost invariably they dance at least once during the full moon.

Among the /Kung the women and girls always sit close together in a circle around a dance fire which may be built wherever there is convenient clear space. Their function is to clap and sing. The men dance in a line, one close behind the another, around the circle of women, in either direction, and cut through the circle past the fire. They sing as they dance. Occasionally a woman gets up and dances with them, though it is not her role, as though she could no longer resist the impulse. When a woman joins the line of dancers, the man behind her holds out his arms towards her but does not touch her. She dances with dignity, making tiny stamping steps, hardly moving, eyes cast down. If there is a delicate overtone of eroticism expressed in the dancing of the women, it is most subtle and constrained—in extreme contrast to the overt expression of many of the Bantu dances.

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The dancing of the men in the curing ceremonial dances has its own special style. 796 535 In other dances, that of the *Choma*, the Men's Dance, the Eland Dance of the First Menstruation Ceremony, and in the numerous singing-dancing or rhythmic games which the /Kung play for fun, one sees enchanting pantomime and imitation of [524] animals. In the ceremonial dances we sometimes thought we saw what might be a vestige of the imitation of animals' horns in the way the arms were held, but in comparison with the visual expressiveness of the games, the purpose is not to express by gesture but to produce sound, to be part of the music.

The men wear rattles made of strings of dried cocoons with little seeds or stones inside, which make a swishing sound. These are the only instruments used in the dance. [533] (The /Kung, incidentally, have no drums.) The men dance with knees bent and bodies carried with little motion, leaning forward. On the strong accented beat, the dancer gives a hop and comes down with both feet. On the second beat he holds his weight on one foot (alternating right and left) and with the other stamps a single step or ripples two or three light stamps into the time of the single step. The steps are very precise. They are minute in size, advancing only two or three inches, but they are strongly stamped, and ten or twenty dancers stamping together produce a loud thud. The women clap loudly and sharply. The majority of them clap the basic pattern of a particular piece, while some strike a beat or beats which are complementary to the basic beat. The clapping and stamping are of such precision that they give the effect of a well-played battery of percussion instruments producing a solid structure of intricate rhythm. Above the percussion sounds, the voices of the men and women weave together in parts, singing the medicine songs.[1] Since singing and dancing are one, producing the music, I speak of medicine songs or medicine dances interchangeably.

The medicine songs or dances of the /Kung are named *Rain*, *Sun*, *Giraffe*, *Eland*, *Honey*, *Buffalo*, and *Mamba*. Some of the /Kung have *Gemsbok* and *Spider* Medicine music as well. The Rain Dance is not danced as a specific rain-making ceremony. The dances named for animals do not produce magic to control these animals in hunting or to prevent snake-bite, for example. The dances are named for these things because the things are vital, life-and-death things and they are strong, as the curing medicine in the music is strong.

After several dances have been danced the medicine men begin to cure. The /Kung 535 do not have sorcerers, witches, or witch doctors, and do not believe that the divine 796 beings enter into the medicine men or speak through them. Almost all the /Kung 756 men are medicine men. They do not all choose to practise, for one reason or another, but there are always several in a band who are active. Medicine men receive no rewards other than their inner satisfactions and emotional release. I know that some of them feel a deep responsibility for the welfare of their people and great anxiety and concern if their curing fails, and a corresponding satisfaction if it prevails. Others of them appear to be less concerned about the people whom they try to cure and more inwardly turned.

When the medicine men are curing, all of them experience varying degrees of [787] self-induced trance, which includes a period of frenzy and a period of semi-

[1] Nicholas England is in the process of tracing the songs and analysing the music, and he has a paper in preparation which will include /Kung beliefs and practices about them.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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535 consciousness or deep unconsciousness.[1] They may become stiff or froth at the mouth
796 or lie still as if in coma. Some of them habitually remain in trance only a short time,
[756 others for hours. One man used to remain in a semi-trance for most of the day fol-
787] lowing a dance.

A Bushman curing cannot be fully described in words; it must be heard and I give
[755] only an outline here. The medicine man begins by dancing and singing with the others whatever medicine song is being sung. He then leaves the line of dancing men and leans, still singing, over the person he is going to cure. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The /Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. He grunts with shuddering, gurgling, gasping grunts which intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high, piercing, quavering yell. Finally the medicine man throws up his arms to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Ganwa* or the *//ganwasi*, with a sharp yelping cry of '*Kai Kai Kai*'. This shows that it is heavy work to draw the sickness out. The effect of the sound on one observer, myself, was striking—gooseflesh and a stopping of the breath which made it seem as though the heart stood still an instant. A medicine man goes to every person present, leaning over each to cure, even the babies, who, amazingly,
[852] seldom cry, though he gurgles and gasps right into their ears. If someone is actually sick, he returns to him again and again through the night.

After the curing has been going on for some time, medicine men begin to reach their state of frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. Fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. They rush out into the darkness, where *//Ganwa* and the *//ganwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. 'Filthy face! Take away the sickness you have brought.' 'Uncovered penis[2]! You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away.' '*Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die.' At this point they may fall into deep unconsciousness or sink down semi-conscious, eyes closed, unable to walk.

The medicine men who have not reached their full frenzy or who have passed through it attend those who are in it. The /Kung believe that at such a time the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Ganwa* and the *//ganwasi*. They call this 'half death'. It is a dangerous time and the man's body must be watched over and kept warm. The medicine men lean over the one who is in trance. They

[276] [1] The /Kung know about the drug called dagga. They told us that it grows in B.P. and that when they go to trade they sometimes get a little. They like to have some when they go hunting; it keeps one from feeling tired or discouraged, they say. They might take some at a dance if they had it, but they are not dependent on it or on any other substance to induce trance. The trances are psychologically induced.

[195 [2] /Kung men swear a great deal. The swearing
578] plays always upon the themes of the genital organs, sexual intercourse, incest, and excrement. In deprecation they call each other genital organs or tell each other to go and commit incest with their mothers, sisters, wives' mothers, or sons' wives. We have not recorded their saying 'daughter'. Is that thought so terrible to them that its expression is beyond even these hardened swearers? They use the same themes in their blasphemy against the gods. 'Uncovered' or 'thrown-away penis' may mean 'circumcised'. This is a great insult among the /Kung who do not circumcise but know that the Bantu do. 'Filthy face' means 'covered with excrement'.

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shriek and gurgle. They blow in his ears to open them. They take sweat from their armpits and rub him. Some fall over on to him in trance themselves and are in turn rubbed and cared for by the others. The women must sing and clap ardently while a man is in deep trance. He needs the good medicine of the music to protect him. 535 796

The curing dance draws people of a Bushman band together into concerted action as nothing else does. They stamp and clap and sing with such precision that they become like an organic being. In this close configuration—together—they face the gods. They do not plead, as they do in their individual supplications, for the favour of the divine, all-powerful beings, and do not praise them for goodness. Instead, the medicine men, on behalf of the people, releasing themselves from ordinary behaviour by trance and overcoming fear and inaction, throw themselves into combat with the gods and try to force them with hurled sticks and hurled words to take away the evils they might be bringing. [621] [782]

The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a drama, I believe, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in Aristotle's sense. Fear and hostility find outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there is solace and hope. [154]

Résumé

LA RELIGION DES BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

Les Boschimans /Kung de la région de Nyae Nyae dans le sud-ouest de l'Afrique croient qu'il existe deux dieux — le grand créateur, qui habite dans l'est du ciel, où le soleil se lève, et le petit dieu qui est subordonné au grand dieu, et qui habite dans l'ouest du ciel où le soleil se couche. 600

Le grand dieu possède sept noms divins, que les /Kung ont peur de prononcer, et un seul nom humain. Certains de ces noms (d'après Schapera ce sont *Hishe*, *Hsuv* et *Kxo*) indiquent que le concept du grand dieu tire son origine des croyances anciennes soutenues par d'autres Boschimans et par les Hottentots. Ces noms sont associés avec un être suprême bien disposé. Divers groupes de Boschimans croyaient dans un esprit malfaisant, un 'avant-coureur de la mort', *//Gauwa*. D'après la croyance actuelle des /Kung de la région de Nyae Nyae, le grand dieu a fait du petit dieu son homonyme en lui accordant tous ses noms divins (mais non son nom human), et *//Gauwa* est un des sept noms divins qui sont attribués aux deux dieux. Le nom humain ≠*Gaolna*, le vieux ≠*Gao*, est celui du protagoniste de plusieurs vieux contes bizarres, un être ayant des pouvoirs surnaturels, mais ressemblant à un homme et soumis à toutes les frustrations humaines. Les /Kung ont amalgamé l'ancien protagoniste et le grand dieu en ce qui concerne le nom, mais ils ont modifié l'image.

Le grand dieu s'est d'abord créé lui-même, et ensuite il a créé le petit dieu. Pour chacun d'eux, il a créé une épouse qui a donné naissance à des enfants. Il a créé la terre et le ciel, la femme et l'homme et il a donné des noms à toutes choses. Il a donné le nom de son épouse, Khwova, à la première femme, et son propre nom ≠*Gao* au premier homme. Le grand dieu et le petit dieu s'intéressent principalement à l'humanité. Ni l'un ni l'autre n'est associé essentiellement avec le bien ou le mal à l'égard de l'homme; tous les deux peuvent apporter de grands biens, tels que la pluie, la nourriture et les enfants, mais aussi la mort, la maladie

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not 251
uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming 261
journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to 261
food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food 576
or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food 433
and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung 462
society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no 562
extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly 562
strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous 147
and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of 562
hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing 462
splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable 262
foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. 224
The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's [535]
wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The 342
building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's [462]
work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a [137]
woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. [461]
She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

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513 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the
882 parents' fire.

855 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive
857 and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or
[136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and
[868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime,
857 singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults
[512] together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned
857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth
156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men,
[173] the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another
[171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation
[562] ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they
[535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from
[534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony.
[302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of
[304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

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other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and traditionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

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(the same word as the title of respect). The !Kung say it is strong medicine: 776
/*num*. The !Kung take for granted his giving to man both sickness and 753
the power to cure it, and account for the power's sometimes failing to cure 778
by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work, or not, according 755
to his pleasure.

He gives the curing power to medicine men (called *num kxao*, medicine 778
owners), appearing to them (usually in dreams, sometimes in what seem 756
to be waking hallucinations) and putting the power into them. He has also [533]
put a curing power in the medicine songs that the people sing at the dances, songs named Rain, Sun, Giraffe, Eland, Honey, Buffalo, Mamba, and Spider —all powerful things. The great god gives the power freely. It is rare to find a man among the !Kung who is not a medicine man. The function of the 756
medicine men is only to cure. They are not sorcerers or witch doctors. (The [754]
!Kung are not a witch-ridden people.) !Kung medicine men receive no rewards or special prerogatives. They work together apparently without rivalry. The medicine men may cure at any time but their strongest curing occurs [535]
at the dance.

Whether or not anyone is sick, the people dance two or three times a 535
month, sometimes more often. Anyone who wants a dance may start one 781
simply by asking people to come and begin. The !Kung like to dance for many reasons. There is the inherent physical pleasure in moving to rhythm. Music and dancing are their arts, from which their aesthetic pleasure comes. [53]
The dances are also social gatherings in which all participate, men, women, 535
children, visitors—everybody. A dance draws them together as nothing else 781
does. Even more important is the fact that the dance is one concerted re- 571
ligious act of the !Kung and brings people into such unison that they become like an organic being.

At the dances not only may the sick be cured, but pending evil and mis- 535
fortune averted. The !Kung believe that the great god may send *//Gauwa* or 755
the *//gauwasi* at any time with ill for someone and that these beings may be 751
lurking, awaiting their chance to inflict it. The medicine men in the dances combat them, drive them away, and protect the people.

Usually there are several medicine men performing at the same time. 755
To cure they go into trance, which varies in depth as the ceremony proceeds. The curing cannot be described in words; it must be heard. When a man begins, he leaves the line of dancing men and, still singing, leans over the person he is going to cure, going eventually to every person present, even the infants. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The !Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. To demonstrate that this is in fact going on and is hard to do, he grunts with shuddering grunts that intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high piercing, quavering yell. Finally, the medicine man throws up his arms

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance A medicine man is going into a trance.

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to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Gauwa* or the *//gauwasi*, who are there beyond the firelight, with a sharp, yelping cry of "*kai kai kai*."

The medicine men are usually only in shallow trance at this point, but, when the curing has been going on for some time, they begin to reach a state of patterned frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. They believe that fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. The medicine men rush out into the darkness, where *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. "Filthy face!" they screech. "Take away the sickness you have brought. You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away. . . . *Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die." At this point the medicine man may fall down in deep trance and appear to be unconscious or semiconscious, with eyes closed, stiff as a board, unable to walk. This stage of trance may last only a brief time or may continue for hours—even into the next day. Gradually it is resolved and the medicine man takes up his normal activities.

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The !Kung believe that at the time of deep trance the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*. They call this "half death." It is a dangerous time. The women must continue to sing the medicine music. The man's body must be watched over, rubbed, and kept warm by other medicine men who are in less deep trance.

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The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a

[p. 272]

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drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope.

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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exchanged from hut to hut, the women going to one hut, the men to another, and so on. Only the owners sit in a hut, while the visitors gather round the fire outside. The little children play about everywhere, the bigger boys and girls by themselves. There is no fixed time for going to sleep. As a rule the people turn in to bed fairly early, but if it is a fine evening dancing may be started and kept up till late, everybody taking part except the old people and the little children.[1] 572 [574] [535]

Food and Fire

The Bushmen will eat almost anything that can be eaten. Of animal foods the favourite is game of all kinds, when it can be obtained, and they are also very fond of hare, spring hare, guinea fowl, korhaan, partridge, ostrich, and other birds, as well as birds' eggs. Fish too are eaten wherever they can be caught, and among the Bushmen of the Okavango swamps are a staple article of diet. Anteaters, ant bears, tortoises, porcupines, bull frogs, snakes, and lizards are greatly relished, while among insects locusts, scorpions, beetles, young bees and honey, termites, flying ants and ants' eggs are also eaten. In fact all kinds of living animals are made use of as food, with the almost universal exception of the baboon and the hyena—the former "on account of its being so like a man", the latter "because it eats human corpses". 262 [825]

The most important vegetable foods in the Southern and Central Kalahari are the *tsama* (*Citrullus vulgaris*), "uintjies" (*Cyperus edulis Dtr.*), *Grewia* berries, and the *//noun* (*Bauhinea esculenta*); in the Namib the *!naras* fruit (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*) forms almost the sole article of diet when in season; while as one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, such as the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuande, and omuve. In addition numerous other varieties of edible roots, berries, cucumbers, tubers, melons, and ground nuts appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season, when they form the principal part of the daily menu.[2] [824]

Much of the food is eaten raw, but the Bushmen know how to prepare and cook it. Each family prepares its own food. Cooking 252 [592]

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 32; Fourie, "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 88.

[2] Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 54 sqq.; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 234–5; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 659 sqq.; Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 139–40, 144 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 253–5; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 114 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 6–7; Fourie, op. cit., 98 sq.

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again; being, on the first occasion, allowed to look afar over her mother's hand. She leaves the small hut, when allowed to look about and around again; and she then walks about like the other women. During the time she is in retreat, she must not look at the springbok, lest they become wild."[1] She was not allowed to eat game killed by the young men, but only that which her father had shot; and, above all, she was not to look upon or be approached by men lest harm come to both them and herself. There are several legends describing how men who were looked upon by a girl at this time became fixed in whatever position they then occupied, or even became transformed into stones, or stars in the sky, or trees which talked; while girls who were disobedient became converted into frogs or were carried off to death by the rain.[2]

Further north, in some of the North-Western tribes (Naron, Auen, Kung), the central feature of the girls' puberty ceremony is the eland bull dance, which is held in the girl's honour.[3] As soon as she has her first period, neighbours and friends assemble to a big feast given by her parents. By day she is kept in a special hut, tended by women only, and no man may come near her; while every night until her period has passed the eland bull dance is performed. All the men and boys leave the camp, save two old men, who tie elands' horns or wooden imitations thereof to their heads, and wait in the bushes. The older women stand in a line, singing and clapping their hands. The girl is brought from her hut, and sits or lies on the ground by them. The younger women then circle round before them, or make a figure of eight. They dance with their arms outstretched before them, and have a peculiar slow, swaying step. As they dance they lift their karosses and aprons to one side, and expose their buttocks, which they waggle from side to side. Then the two "bulls" stamp up, holding their karosses pulled well down over their shoulders, and presenting a hunched-up appearance. They join the line of dancers, sometimes leading it, sometimes in the middle of it, and dance with a slow, jogging step. The song accompanying their movements is full and low in tune, but without words. The motif of this dance clearly is the courtship of the eland bull, and although as seen by Passarge and Miss Bleek it was kept within bounds, they say that it can easily become indecent.

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 76–7.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10, 14, 18; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 10.
[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101–3; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157–8; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23.

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881 The /nu //en hold a similar dance on this occasion, a man with a
535 bird's beak on his head taking the place of the "eland bull".[1]

The corresponding ceremony among the Heikum is a much more elaborate affair.[2] As young girls (*|kham-khoidi*) approach the age of puberty, they are placed in a special hut (*|kham-khoidi oms*), in which they sleep at night. During the day time they gather veldkos either by themselves or in company with the married women, who also visit the hut and instruct them in the various matters pertaining to domestic life, teach them how to prepare the food, to gather wood, to make the fire, and so on. Men may not enter the hut, nor may the girls speak to or be addressed by any man, whether married or single.

At the onset of her first menstruation, a girl is isolated in a small round hut (*|hawa omi*, hut for waiting), which is completely closed in except for a small entrance, and is situated close to the *|kham-khoidi oms*. In this hut she remains as long as the flow lasts; she may not show herself outside, and above all no man may pass close to the hut or attempt to address her. She is fed by her mother, or, in the absence of the latter, by another married woman, and is not visited by anybody except the person who feeds her. She may be given veldkos, but is not allowed to partake of meat. Every day, too, her hair is smeared by the attendant woman with a mixture of red bark powder and powdered seed.

When the flow has ceased the girl informs her mother or attendant.
535 The latter tells the other married women, and they all prepare for the
881 *|hawa-|nab* (menstruation dance). This takes place during the day on the central space of the camp. Men may not take part in it, nor even watch it. The girl is led out of her hut by two of the women, who cover her whole head and face with a duiker skin kaross, leaving only the eyes visible. Each of the women takes her by the arm, and they join the line of dancers. The women dance abreast of each other, the feet thrown out sideways, with an old woman leading. What their movements are intended to represent we are not told. When the dance is about to end, the girl is taken back to her hut by the two women who had led her out.

The same performance is repeated for three or four days in succession. On the last day, after the dancing has ceased, the girl is presented with various trinkets by the women who took part in
881 the ceremony. Then, after she has been returned to her hut, the

[1] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.
[2] Fourie, "Customs of the Hai-//om," 17–91; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 89–91.

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they may have no fire, and eat no meat, but live only on a little water 881
and on raw roots and berries, which are sprinkled by the magicians
with powdered bark "medicine". The greater part of this early 535
period is spent in the performance of sacred dances (/*gi*, men's dance), 881
which are held all through the day and often continued at night.

These dances among the Naron and Auen are described as follows by Miss Bleek: "All gather in a circle, clap their hands, and sing a weird, solemn tune with the refrain 'honk a honk'. Then they stamp round in a circle waving their arms to another phase of the melody (no words are used); then they stand still and sing the first part again and so on." At this dance the boys often wear ostrich feathers, or the head and beak of the white stork, as head ornaments; otherwise there is no special costume. Anyone owning dancing rattles also wears them, as at the ordinary dances.

On one of the nights of this dance, "a supernatural being called 535
Hishe approaches the dancers, circles round them, and is driven away 776
by the medicine men. The older men had seen this being. One said 881
that it was like a woman in appearance, another that it was not a person at all, but a creature about three feet high with a flat head, red eyes underneath the head, a black body, wings, and claws. Some old Auen said two beings came, male and female, looking like lions, but walking upright. They were followed by children like baboons. The male came first and called the others, they danced round and vanished to the east. Apparently medicine men of different times and places got up different bogies. Latterly their invention seems to have failed, for the middle-aged men told me Hishe came to the dance, but only the medicine men saw her and drove her away." Similarly, among the !O Kung of Angola, "the spirit Huwe occasionally appears and dances with them, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double form as man and woman. Huwe then retires without any particular demonstration."

As will be shown subsequently, Hishe and Huwe are beings who 776
figure prominently in the religious beliefs of the Naron and Kung 881
respectively. There can be little doubt, therefore, inadequate though
our information is on this point, that these ceremonies serve in some [869]
way to introduce the initiates to the mysteries of tribal religion.

More light is thrown on the routine of these ceremonies by Fourie's 881
description of them as practised among the Auen.[1] "On the first day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the

[1] Loc. cit.

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881 smoke of the 'devil's' fire (*//gäüa-da*) and are required to partake of the 'devil's' urine (*//gäüa-/kam*). The proceedings of the second day begin with dancing before daybreak. After sunrise and at sunset they are given a small quantity of *//nôun* (one of the staple vegetable foods of the Kalahari Bushmen) to eat and a little water to drink. During the day their bodies are blackened from head to foot with powdered roasted *//nôun*. After partaking of the evening meal they retire to rest without dancing. On the morning of the third day they start dancing at sunrise and dance without interruption and without food or water all day long until sunset, when they go to sleep. On the following morning before sunrise, their hands are washed with water by the elders and they are given a little *//noun* to eat. Thereafter they are taken to a pan of water and required to walk through it. The rest of the day is spent in collecting veldkos. In the evening they are introduced to the 'Devil' and partake of honey brought by the latter. On the fifth day their bodies are cleansed with chewed roasted *//nôun*, and they are permitted to move about the camp and partake of food. They may, however, not speak to young unmarried women. As they retire to rest at night their bows and arrows are handed to them by the elders. From now onwards, each lad is taken separately and required to prove his skill in stalking and killing game with bow and arrow. Each one who [304] passes through the test in a satisfactory manner is tattooed with meat taken from the animals shot by him and then permitted to return to the werft."

The introduction to the "Devil" mentioned in this account [535] obviously refers to the dance in which Hishe or Huwe, as the case may be, appears before the boys. The hunting test almost certainly forms an essential part of the ceremony in the other tribes as well, judging from a curt remark by Miss Bleek in another context that the boys' initiation rites "certainly have much to do with hunting",[1] but there is no concrete information on this point. The "tattooing", 881 or rather cicatrization, referred to by Fourie is confirmed by all the 304 other writers on the puberty ceremonies of the North-Western Bushmen. Among the Kung the boys receive these cuts (*/gi* cuts) between the eyebrows, and, among the Naron and Auen, also on the back between the shoulder blades. They consist of from one to three vertical incisions, about half an inch to an inch long, and are made by the magicians in charge of the ceremonies. Among the Naron

[1] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.

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at Sandfontein powdered acid roots are rubbed into the wounds to keep them from closing as they heal, but no colouring matter is applied; further east, however, according to Passarge, wood ash is rubbed in to make the wounds black. All men in the North-Western tribes have these cuts (see Frontispiece), which are supposed to make them "see well", i.e. to bring them good luck in hunting. After this operation the boys are permitted to return to the camp. They are now regarded as men, they can marry, and they take part in the councils of the men and associate with them. 304 881 [184] [224] 882

The rites described above appear to exist only in the North-Western tribes. There is no definite record of any puberty ceremonies for boys among the Southern Bushmen, and according to Miss Bleek the */nu//en*, one of the tribes falling in this division, distinctly denied that such ceremonies were held by them,[1] while in the same way their existence among the Namib Bushmen is emphatically denied by Trenk.[2] 84 881

It should be mentioned here, however, that from information obtained by Orpen from a member of the now extinct tribe of Basuto-land Bushmen it appears that there were certain dances connected with religious beliefs, the secrets of which were known only to the men initiated into them.[3] Campbell also records a dance of these Bushmen as described to him by an informant: "When the Bushmen dance, Ko (a deity) sometimes comes and informs them where game is to be procured; and when any animals are killed, certain parts of them may only be eaten by particular persons. She is a large, white figure, and sheds such a brightness around, that they can hardly see the fire for it; all see and hear her as she dances with them . . . They cannot feel what she is, but should a man be permitted to touch her, which seldom happens, she breathes hard upon his arm, and this makes him shoot better . . . After Ko comes up from the ground and dances a short time with them, she disappears, and is succeeded by her nymphs, who likewise dance a while with them."[4] The description of this dance at once reminds one of the puberty dances for boys among the North-Western Bushmen, where Huwe or Hishe also comes and dances with them, and there is the same suggestion that the ceremony is in some way connected with hunting; but there is nothing definite either in Campbell's account or in Orpen's to indicate that the dances referred to by them were in any way connected with puberty ceremonies for boys. 794 535 776 [881]

[1] *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 10.
[2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.
[3] "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Folk-Lore*, xxx, 142.
[4] Campbell, *Second Journey into South Africa*, ii, 31–2.

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764 is a deep hole, narrowing towards the top; its bottom is covered with small bushes, the corpse, wrapped up in its kaross, is laid upon these, then covered over with bushes, upon which finally small white stones are heaped till ground-level is reached. The surface of the [825] grave, like the corpse itself, is sprinkled with water mixed with vegetable "medicine"; this, says Seydel, is intended to keep jackals and hyenas from the grave. Children are buried in the same manner, [766] but the ceremony is simpler, only the nearest relatives accompanying the corpse to the grave.[1] Trenk gives some additional details. [775] The thickened sap of a certain small bush (*dawes*) is placed in the hands of the dead person, so that "his soul, when it reaches the 'evil spirit', may not do harm to other people, and will find rich ● [535] food in its other existence". At the funeral a fire is lit at the grave, round which is then held a dance accompanied by a funeral song; 765 and all the women must weep for a day. A funeral feast follows, in which honey beer plays no small part. A widow as a sign of [273] mourning cuts a round spot out of the hair over her forehead, a widower a parting directly over the middle of the head. How long the mourning lasts is not clearly stated, but, as we have already noted, a full season must elapse before the surviving partner may remarry.[2]

764 Among the Naron, as soon as a person has died those present [763] raise a short, very distinct cry which lets the whole camp know of the death. The body, wrapped up in the kaross worn by the dead person in life, is brought into a contracted position, the knees being bent up against the chest, the arms crossed and the hands laid on the shoulders, and is tied up like this with rope for purposes of transport. It is then laid near the fire, while the women howl and weep over it. Burial takes place as soon as possible after death. If this occurs at night, then on the following day; if in the morning, then on the same day. The grave is a deep, round hole, dug with the hands and digging-stick at a spot where the soil is not hard. Two or three men carry the body there, a man jumps in, receives it as it is lowered down by the ropes, and places it lying on the left side facing the east. Why this position is customary they do not know. The dead are buried in all their clothes and ornaments, and all their possessions are placed in the grave, or if too long, as in the case of a bow or spear, are hung on a bush close by. Then the grave is filled, and bushes or stones are thrown on top to keep the animals off. All the village [765] is present, and the women weep. Next day a near relative burns

[1] "Aus der Namib," 504. [2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

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821 and left them lying alone, whereupon they ascended to the sky.
[773] This story, adds Lebzelter, is not believed in at all by the people, who told it to him with great laughter.[1]

Other prayers to the New Moon are found, however, among the
[782] !O Kung in Angola. Miss Bleek describes a dance seen by her,
[535] in which the women and girls stood in a group on one side singing and clapping their hands, while the men, singing also but not clapping, were in an irregular group on the other side, wriggling their whole bodies but otherwise hardly moving. The song accompanying this dance was a repetition of the words :—

[539]

//nwa-se //kelama //gu a i-i,	New Moon, come out, give water to us,
//nwa-se tatana //gu a i-i,	New Moon, thunder down water for us,
//nwa-se tale u //gu a i-i,	New Moon, shake down water for us.

Here also, as among the Naron and Auen, the Moon is therefore looked upon as the raingiver, and is prayed to as such—and rain, it must be remembered, makes the plants grow which feed the buck, hence it provides both vegetable and animal food. The New Moon is said to be either a child or a man, while the Full Moon is a woman. This distinction Miss Bleek interprets in the light of the difference in form presented by these two aspects of the Moon. In Naron and
[193] Nama the masculine and feminine endings are given to the same
[196] roots to denote respectively strong, tall, slender things and weak, short, round things. So here the New Moon may be called a man, because of its slenderness, the Full Moon a woman because of its round shape. The Moon is also held to be the elder sister, the sun the younger; but apparently there are no special practices or beliefs regarding the latter, although one of Miss Bleek's informants said: "We sing to the Sun and the Stars as well as the Moon." No prayers
[782] to the former are recorded, however.[2]

The only other Bushmen of whose ideas relating to the heavenly bodies we have information are the Hiechware. Dornan states that
[184] he was unable to discover among them any special ceremonies connected with the sun and the moon, but that they certainly do reverence these bodies, although seeming to dread them more than anything else. They think they must keep on good terms with the sun and the moon if they are to be successful in hunting or anything
[782] else they undertake. He could not, however, discover any prayers

[1] Religiösen Vorstellungen der *//Khun*-Buschmänner," 401; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ Buschleuten" 13.
[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 53; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 119–20, 122, 124.

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782
821
[539]

O gallopers,
O gallopers,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it
821 to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other magicians have a similar power over the wind, */khwe*, and are protected by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind
[773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears the form of a bird.[1]

773 Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we
776 meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from
[184] those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object
[794] of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed that *'Kaang* (i.e. */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, *'Kue-'akeng-*
[761] *'teng*, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives
[821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put
[825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine
796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood"
● 535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant,
[773] Qing, described as follows: "*Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the song of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it, and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night.
[786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol *c*
[104] represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds.

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medicine, in which is burnt snake powder. When a man is sick, 535
this dance is danced round him, and the dancers put both hands under 796
their arm-pits, and press their hands upon him, and when he coughs [755]
the initiated put out their hands and receive what has injured him—
secret things. The initiated who know secret things are Qogne;
the sick person is hang cāi."

Cagn, said Qing, was the first being and made all things—the sky, 776
the moon, stars, mountains, and animals. The Bushmen prayed
to him. On being asked how, Qing answered, in a low, imploring [782]
tone: "O Cagn! O Cagn! are we not your children, do you not [539]
see our hunger? give us food"—"and he gives us both hands
full." To the further question, where *Cagn* was, he responded,
"We don't know, but the elands do. Have you not hunted and [825]
heard his cry, when the elands suddenly start and run to his call?
Where he is, the elands are in droves like cattle."

Cagn's wife was *Coti*. When asked where she came from, Qing said, "I don't know, perhaps with those who brought the Sun; but you are now asking the secrets that are not spoken of." These [794]
secrets he himself did not know—"only the initiated men of that dance know these things." *Cagn* also had two sons, *Cogaǂ* and *Gcwi*, and together with him and *Cogaǂ* there was another great "chief", *Qwangciqutshaa*. All three had great power, but it was *Cagn* who gave orders through the other two. Of all these personages 773
various tales were related by Qing. One of them, describing how 776
Cogaǂ was killed by baboons and restored to life again by *Cagn*, is almost identical with the similar story told by the Cape Bushmen of */kaggen* and */gaunu-ts'axau*. In all these tales *Cagn* appears as a human being, but with supernatural powers. He can change himself into different forms, is then sometimes killed and eaten by animals or people, but always comes to life again. He possesses various magical charms, the strongest of which is his tooth; and the [825]
birds are his messengers who report to him what is going on. Occasionally he gets into trouble, from which he is extricated by *Cogaǂ*, just as in the Cape Bushman stories */kaggen* is aided by */ni*.

Another name for the Mantis among these Bushmen, according 776
to Arbousset, is *'ngo*. This may explain the following quotation from Campbell: "They had a name which they gave to God, who is above them, and another to God who is under them. The former is a male, the latter a female. The male God they call Goba, the female Ko; and her attendants are called Gauna." *Ko* (*'ngo*), as

[1] [see category 116, p. 182 for the author's explanation of the 'initiated.' — Analyst]

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Chapter VIII

ART AND KNOWLEDGE

Dancing and Music

535 Dances and games of various kinds enter very largely into the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first place among their social recreations. Some dances are definitely of a ritual character, being held only on ceremonial occasions, e.g. the eland bull dance at a girl's puberty ceremony, the */gi* dance at the boys' puberty ceremony, and the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood" among the Bushmen of Basutoland. On the other hand, dancing is often indulged in purely for pleasure, especially in times of plenty, and may take place any fine moonlit night, when the people have had a good meal, and there are enough of them to make it festive. "The girls begin clapping their hands and singing, standing near the huts. Soon a couple of youths turn up and start dancing round in front of them. Then more join, older men and women take part, till [887] the whole crowd, save a few grandfathers, are singing and dancing."[1] On these occasions the young women and girls frequently stripe [302] their faces with black and red paint, occasionally the young men do [534] so too, and most of the dancers tie round their legs strings of dry cocoons which give out a peculiar rattling sound. They may dance half the night through or even go right on till morning.

The dances are on the whole fairly simple in character and are all of more or less the same nature (Plate XII).[2] The dancers, generally men only, go round and round in a circle in single file, stamping rather than dancing in time with the tune; the women form the band and stand at one side, clapping their hands and singing, while the men who are dancing also sing. "In some dances a woman occasionally leaves the line of singers and dances round beside some man, who pays her attention in gesture, either holding a reed over her

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 22.

[2] Stow, *Native Races*, 111–24; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 249–53; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 103–5; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 150–1; D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95–7; Gentz, "Die südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 156–7.

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PLATE XII

535

L. Fourie

BUSHMEN DANCING
Notice the circling movement, and the chorus of women at the side

[face p. 203]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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shoulders, or holding his arms out behind her, without touching her. 535
In other dances the men dance round alone, then approach the line of singers, holding out their arms. The courting motive is clear, 535
though not indecently expressed."[1] Stow, however, describes 831
certain dances of the Southern Bushmen which he stigmatizes as lascivious and orgiastic, and in which, he says, "the women appear to have offered themselves up to sexual congress."[2] There are several suggestions also that the eland bull dance, as well as various others [114]
imitating the sexual life of animals, may assume a pronouncedly erotic character, but these suggestions are conveyed as a rule by our authorities in the form of generalized statements obviously based on hearsay, and lack concrete illustration.

Most of the dances appear to be based on episodes in the lives of 535
wild animals; the dancers imitate the animals, and go through the 825
actions characteristic of them. Several of these dances, observed by Fourie among the Heikum, may serve to illustrate their general character. In the Jackal and Wolf dance, in which only the men take part, a hyena is represented feeding on a carcase and keeping off a couple of hungry jackals. Every now and again, as the latter attempt to approach too close to the carcass, the hyena scares them off and they jump out of the way. The Horse dance is likewise danced by men only, who go round quickly in a circle, while the women clap their hands in imitation of the sound made by a galloping horse. The Gemsbok dance, again, represents a gemsbok bull, cow, and calf being chased by two men with three or four dogs. The bull and cow carry horns but the calf does not. The buck lead and are followed by the men and dogs, who dance to and fro on the flanks until the animals are brought to bay. Then the men pretend to shoot, bows and arrows being represented by sticks, and one of the buck goes down wounded, while the others make off pursued by some of the dogs. The wounded animal fights in realistic fashion, sweeping at both men and dogs with its horns. The dance is continued until all the animals have been accounted for.[3]

Among the Southern Bushmen the dancers often made themselves up to represent various animals, birds, and imaginary monsters, with the aid of either paint or the skins, heads, and horns of the objects to be represented. In many of their dances "they were so dressed as to represent a particular animal, when the dance was called by its name; such was the *t'Gorlo'ka*, the *Man-nia*, or Baboon dance, in

[1] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit. [2] Stow, op. cit., 115, 118–19. [3] Op. cit., 96.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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535 which the performers imitated all the actions and droll grimaces of
825 rival baboons, springing, gambolling, and running upon all fours, chattering and grimacing like a troop of excited simiadae. Another, and one which also appeared a favourite amongst them, was the *'Kloo-rou-o*, or Frog dance, in which they squatted, and leaped, and rolled about like a lot of inebriated batrachians. A third of this kind was the *t'Oi*, or Bee dance, when the company transformed themselves into a swarm of bees, and performed their evolutions with a buzzing chorus. "On special occasions," Stow continues, "they held a general masquerade, when each one took the disguise or head-dress of some particular bird or animal, and upheld the character during the performance. This appears to have been considered one of their grand national dances, and was reserved for their high festivals; it was one which even their greatest artists delighted to depict, and probably it had some hidden meaning known to the initiated."[1] It is not unlikely, as Stow suggests, that such dances were also of a ritual character, but of their function and relation to the social life generally hardly anything is known.

Games are often played in the evenings too, by grown-up people
526 of both sexes as well as by children.[2] A favourite game of the women,
535 found among the Southern Bushmen, as well as in the north, is a ball game which is almost a dance. The players stand in a line
[533] clapping their hands and singing a wordless tune. One of them dances about opposite the others with a melon or round tuber in her hand. At the end of the tune she throws the ball to the player at the right hand of the line, who dances out to catch it, and herself dances back to the left end, where she joins in the singing and clapping. The next player does the same, and so the game goes on till all have had several turns. Sometimes, again, they play at the capture of
524 brides by young men, as among the Naron, or at games based on
536 animal experiences, as among the Heikum. One of the latter, for instance, represents how a white monkey was once seen by a woman who ran home and told the others. "The part of the monkey is taken by a woman who stands with her hands covering the sides of her face, leaving only a small opening for peeping through. She sways her head from side to side. The other women form up in a row opposite to her. One goes forward to look at the monkey, gazes at it intently and, when the latter starts moving its head from side to

[1] Op. cit., 117–18.
[2] Stow, op. cit., 97–102; Kaufmann, op. cit., 149–50; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 18–21; Fourie op. cit., 97–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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524 and pretend to dip it out. The 'snake' from time to time flicks
857 sand at them with his finger, he is supposed to be squirting water. The others start back and scream, then gather once more round the 'pool'. At last the 'snake' jumps up, seizes a victim and pretends to swallow it, which ends the game."[1]

533 Some of the children's games, as in the one just described, have songs or refrains attached to them, in which the words are occasionally
[535] obsolete. All the dances are also accompanied by singing, many of them having their own special tune, but here the tunes are often sung without words. Other songs, again, go with the playing of musical instruments. The tunes are as a rule very short, and are generally repeated over and over again without variation, so that the effect is rather monotonous. "All Bushmen sing," says Miss Bleek,[2] "but their tunes are not easy for a European to distinguish, much less to write down." And, referring to the dance tunes,
[535] she adds: "The time is perfect, but no two in a chorus seem to hit the same note, though the general burden of the tune is kept up. That is to say, they all go up together, but not from or to the same note, and they all go down together, each hitting any note they please."

Musical instruments are seldom used to accompany the dances,
534 although several different kinds are found.[3] Many of them are variations of the musical bow. The best known of these, the *!goura*, was the favourite instrument in the south. It consists in an ordinary bow, in which one end of the string, instead of being fastened to the stave itself, is attached to a flexible piece of quill spliced to the end of the stave. This quill is held against the lips, and made to vibrate by strong expirations and inspirations of the breath, thus producing the effect of a stringed wind instrument. Another form of the musical bow, commonly known as the *!gubo*, has a gourd or tortoise-shell attached to the stave of the bow so as to serve as a sounding-box. The instrument is played by picking at the string with a small piece of wood or bone. A development of this sometimes seen consists in playing it like a primitive sort of violin, with a small bow for sounding the string. This mode of playing was probably adopted
[177] from a European source, as the use of a bow after the manner of a

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 19. [2] Op. cit., 22.
[3] Stow, op. cit., 102–11; Passarge, op. cit., 95–8; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 111–12; Kaufmann, op. cit., 150–1; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 21–2; Balfour, "The Goura—A Stringed Wind Musical Instrument of the Bushmen and Hottentots," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxii (1902), 156–76.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

578 522 152 bands, who at the time were barely out of earshot. One story concerned Dasina, how she had fainted from smoking too much the day we had come, and to show exactly what had happened, Wite and Witabe acted the scene, Wite taking the part of Dasina and fainting on Witabe's shoulder while the other boys laughed. Bushmen's jokes and stories are usually funny at the expense of a person, an animal, or the god Pishiboro, maliciousness being one way in which Bushmen rid themselves of their resentments.

536 831 825 Somewhat later Wite and Giamakwe acted for the others the scene of the hyena's mating, as they imagined it or knew it to be, for the night it had happened only the sound had reached us and the hyenas had not been seen. Giamakwe took the part of the male hyena, Wite took the part of the female. First they walked together on all fours and rubbed faces, and then Giamakwe climbed on Wite's back, emitting a lonesome howl just like the howl we had heard. It was not meant to be funny, and the other boys watched it calmly, treating the mating of hyenas as a matter of course. All in all, it was a majestic imitation, with snarls and growls, then mounting and pretending to copulate with shivering and ecstasy, then more growls, until finally the male fell away exhausted and curled up on his side, whereupon the female attacked him. It took a long time from start to finish, the Bushman boys being so literal that they not only gave a precise rendition of the event but took exactly the amount of time that the hyenas had taken.

574 The adults had not watched the children but were visiting quietly with each other, some of the men from the Okwa band having come to Ukwane's werf to sit at the fires. Very late at night, when the Firewood Star was rising and the Zebra Stars of Orion were just setting foot upon the earth, the visitors got up to go.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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side, beckons and calls to the others to come and see the wonderful thing. This they do one by one, each in turn beckoning to the others to come and see."[1] 524 536

Men's games have mostly a competitive character. In one each player has a thin stick, which he flings forcibly on to the ground in such a manner as to make it rise into the air and shoot away from him. Each strives to make his stick go farthest. In another a thin short stick, with two or three feathers tied to its upper end and weighted at the lower end by means of a large berry or bean, is flung into the air and kept going by catching it on a stick in its descent and flinging it up again. In others, again, a small melon or some similar object is put up as a target at which, from a certain distance, the men shoot with their arrows or throw their spears, the successful marksman receiving some food or tobacco as a prize. Still another, described by some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen under the name of "Bushman cards", is played with a stone or small piece of wood. The man who has the bit of wood rapidly changes it from one hand to the other, so as to bewilder his companions, and finally asks one of them to guess in which hand it is concealed. If the guess is wrong the player sings out, "You eat the dog, I eat the meat," but if the guess is correct he says, "I eat the dog, you eat the meat," and hands the wood over to his companion. The players, it is said, will sometimes keep up this game for hours at their evening fire. 526 524

Children's games among the Naron and Auen, again, have such motives as a snake lying in wait for and capturing its prey at a waterhole, a struggle for the ownership of cattle, a man bartering goods from a trader, cock ostriches fighting with elephants who have come to drink at a waterhole, and a fight between two opposing groups, who pretend to shoot each other. In the first of these, one boy is the water snake. "He crouches on knees and elbows close to a small heap of sand which represents the pool. Some ten yards off the other players sit flat on the ground, close behind one another; each one putting her legs on either side of the one before her, and locking her feet over the other's thighs, forming a chain with the biggest in front. They sway from side to side edging forwards as they go, meanwhile singing an old song of which some of the words are no longer understood . . . Now and then they interrupt their slow progress to dig up and eat in dumb show an imaginary water root. On reaching the 'pool', the chain breaks up, all gather round the water 524 857

[1] Fourie, loc. cit.

[24 cont.]

000 they had never seen any. A certain dry humor spiced their con-
522 versation. I once said to a Bushman: "If you tell me this, you
161 will get whatever you want." He answered: "Good, I shall speak
157 and you will give me your automobile." Their imagination is
123 very poor; in this respect they are much too accurate as observers of nature. Once a young Bushman woman with two children came to me and wanted to buy some sugar. I said to her: "I won't sell you anything, but you will get the sugar if you tell me some children's stories, for example, about animals." After some hesi-
[538] tation she began the story of Arri, the guinea hen. It was no fairy tale, but a detailed account concerning this important food bird. She even imitated the calls of the guinea hen, "for example, when someone comes and there is danger, then they say, 'gannana he gannana he,' but when they are alone and enjoying themselves, then they go 'gi gi gi.'" The children had to imi-
[861] tate this until they were able to mimic the sound accurately. Then it was the turn of the sand hen, which says, "gi ganna gi ganna"; then the ostrich, which goes, "hmm, hmm, hmm"; then the gum bird [Harzvogel], which says, "hai-dschi, hai-dschi," and the owl, "mhm, m."

3. Posture, Movement, Stamina

516 As a result of his marked lordosis, the Bushman never assumes a posture that would conform to our military ideal; he almost always stands with his stomach somewhat protruding.

481 The way the Bushmen run is very peculiar and would justify detailed study. [25] The run is really a continuous fast walk, in which the legs are kicked forward, but the lower thighs are never brought back high, as is the case with our runners. The body is held as straight as possible, and the head up, not forward (1).

[113] 1. E. v. Eickstedt (Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit [Ethnology and History of Mankind], p. 556) states: "The foot is put in a peculiar transverse position, which makes the track in the sand easily

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

181 the Bantus, who are staunch and brave and in the past have waged great wars. But Bushmen deplore and misunderstand bravery. The heroes of their legends are always little jackals who trick, lie, and narrowly escape, rather than larger, bolder [538] animals such as lions (who in the Kalahari are something of a master race). In the Bushmen's stories, lions are always being scalded, singed, duped, cuckolded, or killed.

181 182 578 422 Bushmen cannot afford to fight with each other and almost never do because their only real weapon is their arrow poison, for which there is no antidote. But even were they to disregard this danger, Bushmen would try not to fight because they have no mechanism in their culture for dealing with disagreements other than to remove the causes of the disagreements. Their hold on life is too tenuous to permit quarreling among themselves. A Bushman will go to any lengths to avoid making other Bushmen jealous of him, and for this reason the few possessions that Bushmen have are constantly circling among the members of their groups. No one cares to keep a particularly good knife too long, even though he may want it desperately, because he will become the object of envy; as he sits by himself polishing a fine edge on the blade he will hear the soft voices of the other men in his band saying: "Look at him there, admiring his knife while we have nothing." Soon somebody will ask him for his knife, for everybody would like to have it, and he will give it away. Their culture insists that they share with each other, and it has never happened that a Bushman failed to share objects, food, or water with the other members of his band, for without very rigid co-operation Bushmen could not survive the famines and droughts that the Kalahari offers them.

181 609 The other reason for their submissiveness is that Bushmen, whose possessions are only sticks and bones, beads made of eggshell and fragments of leather, are overwhelmed by the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

533 534 The young, unmarried man took a small musical instrument out of his hunting-bag, borrowed a dry tsama rind from one of the women, and, setting the instrument on the hollow rind, began to play. He filled the air with sweet, soft music, full of resonance and open, minor chords, even of rhythm and timbre as a music box would be.

The instrument itself was made of a small, flat piece of wood four or five inches square, with eleven metal prongs attached to it, arranged in two rows across two bridges. The melon rind acted as a resonator for the prongs, which were of different sizes and, when plucked, vibrated and rang like bells, in a scale which was not the octave and which I have never heard before. The name of the instrument is *te k'na*, and I believe that it is not native to Bushmen but traded from the Bantu people. Many Bushmen have them, though: Bushmen like music of any kind.

264 Soon the cornmeal was ready and we served it to the visitors on pieces of bark, in bowls formed from halves of tortoise shells, in tsama rinds. Bushmen have very little liquid food that does not come in its own natural container, and therefore they do not provide themselves with bowls. The [115 177] bowls they do have, carved from wood—an art learned from the Bantu people—are constantly in use as containers for small, loose objects, such as seeds or unstrung beads. Since the cornmeal was hot and runny, the people had some difficulty eating it with their fingers, but they got it down, the women hesitating a long time, watching the men, before they [609 538] dared to try it. I think they were afraid it would harm them, as I have heard many Bushman stories of strangers who poison tobacco or food. When they had eaten their servings and 264 609 578 found that they did not die, they had more, a morsel at a time. We might have presented the pot to let the people help themselves, but by now we knew better. Bushmen expect

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

We had stayed up to watch the children's games and also to 821
observe Orion setting, for the Bushmen tell a story of the 538
stars in Orion which takes place in the sky every night at certain seasons and we wanted to see it for ourselves. The story is simply that the god, who at the time the story takes place is standing on one of the Magellan clouds, shoots an arrow at three zebras. The arrow is Orion's sword, the zebras are the three stars of Orion's belt, the star in the center being a male zebra and the two stars flanking him his wives. The arrow falls short, as one can see, and presently, as the constellation touches the horizon, the zebras step upon the earth, first a female, then the male, then the other female. It is slow and deliberate, and that night we saw it plainly. The zebras vanished into the brush at the horizon, but the arrow was still there.

When the constellation had gone, when many of the peo- 533
ple were asleep and we were about to leave the werf, Ukwane 534
took out his hunting-bow and, setting one tip on a dry melon shell, he began to tap the string with a reed, making a sound. Soon he played a song, humming a melody and playing an accompaniment on his bow.

He sat alone at his fire, his wife a tiny heap under her 533
kaross and fast asleep some distance away. He was squatting, [516]
his eyes on the embers of his fire, holding one end of the bow with his toes. With the fingers of one hand he touched the string, making different notes, and when he wanted to change the pitch he turned his head slightly, catching the other end of the string with his chin.

His song was a mood piece, as are all Bushman songs except the medicine songs. It was a song of pure music without words, a song composed to express a feeling the composer had had, a mood, or an emotion. The mood songs do have names or titles, but these only tell the subject of the piece,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

felt uneasy with no specific worry in mind. He did ask them 787
one specific question, though; he wanted to know where an outbreak of diarrhea that everyone had got came from, and when Tu's brother, the lame boy, who was watching, heard what was asked, he said that our cameras had sent the diarrhea, and the people almost choked themselves laughing at that. Toma laughed until he cried. "We do not really believe this," he said through his tears, looking over his shoulder at us lest we should be uneasy, "we are only joking."

Toma, Gao Feet, and Lazy Kwi took turns throwing the discs and presently the discs told them that the diarrhea "came from the fires, from people to the east." I don't know how to interpret this, but perhaps the Bushmen meant that the disease blew down the wind. The discs also foretold that someone in the west would kill a buck, that visitors were coming, and that some Europeans and some Bushmen would sit at a fire to talk. Later all these things came true. Because the oracle discs predict conservatively, their predictions often come true.

Toma lost interest in them and told everybody how he had 521
been walking home the evening before and had heard a voice which had sounded to him like the voice of a European speaking English, but when he had investigated he had found a Bushman man sitting alone in a clump of bushes practicing the sounds of English, possibly hoping to speak it, and Toma's audience all thought that was very funny and they talked on and on about it. Incidents like this are talked about forever by Bushmen, who drag them out infinitely, remembering every detail, savoring them to the fullest. This is because very little happens outside of routine. (We once asked [538 ●
some Bushmen if they ever made up stories to tell and they, 577]
a little righteously, said no, they did not, because Bushmen do not care to hear about things that are not true.) Then the

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
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193 a or ŋ or a nasalization of the vowel, as ǀkõũ̃ "grandfather",
[196] ǂkã "brother", ⊙pwoŋ "son", ǂk'ea "child's father-in-law".
[601] These endings are particularly interesting, as otherwise the ǂxam language has no signs of gender. Perhaps they show that in some former stage this was a language with genders, just as English still shows its old division into genders in its names for classes of people.

601 On the use of tata a Bushman said: "We say ibo, we say i ea,
[192] but the children who are lately there say tata; they should say ibo. The habit of saying tata comes from the Boers."

⊙pwa is the ǂxam diminutive; in allied dialects it denotes
193 "child", which in ǂxam is ǀkwã. That ⊙poŋ "son" and ⊙pwaxai
196 "daughter" are derivatives is clear. I think that ⊙pwai-ihi
601 "father-in-law" is derived from ⊙pwa "child" and ihaŋ "to marry", the man whose child one marries. ⊙pwaitente would be the feminine form thereof. iha "husband", "wife" is certainly derived from ihaŋ.

The second, more unusual title for parents-in-law I cannot explain; ǀkwi is "person", but I have no example of any other use of ǂk'a, except that it seems part of the terms ǂk'en and ǂk'aiti, applied to the parents of a son- or daughter-in-law, or of a brother- or sister-in-law.

606 On a man's behaviour to his parents-in-law we have the following note: "They (the sons-in-law) do not talk to their mother-in-law in haste, for they are silent. Their father-in-law is the one with whom they talk. He (the son-in-law) acts like this, at another time he does not talk to his father-in-law; he merely talks to his wife, his wife is the one who talks to her father. He also acts like this to his mother-in-law, he speaks with her. He speaks with her, he is silent."

This looks as if there are occasions on which one or other of the wife's parents may be addressed, and others when they may
● [538] not. I have noticed in their stories of the Mantis, that his adopted daughter's husband does not often address the Mantis directly, but says to his own son, "Tell Grandfather so-and-so," which the child does. However, in one story the two men speak directly to each other.

ǂkã, ǂkaxai "brother", "sister", may be derived from ǂka
196 "like", "to be like". In Nama ǂkàb means "the same". The
601 adjective ǀkori simply means "big".

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Xam

I think ǃkõŋ, ǃkoĩte "grandfather", "grandmother" are derived from ǃkuĩya "great", "large", "stout". These terms are used in addressing any elderly relatives, or people distinctly senior to the speaker, much as "Oom", "Tante" are used in Afrikaans. In the tables appended I give these titles, where they were specially mentioned in a list of terms of relationship, but in the folklore they are so widely used, that one might sometimes translate them "old man", "old woman". 196 601

I can give no explanation of the fact, that a woman calls her father's parents her "real" grandparents, and her mother's parents her "lent" ones, while a man reverses the process; his mother's parents are his "real" grandparents. My aunt, Dr. Lloyd, who took down this information, evidently made no inquiry, and to-day there are no Colonial Bushmen left capable of telling us. These adjectives are not used in ordinary conversation, any more than we use the terms "paternal", "maternal". 601 [124]

The Bushman did not explain why the mother's brother is called "son". I should say a particularly affectionate relationship is indicated. As to the title for the mother's sister, he said: "They are wont to say their 'grandmother' to their mother's sister, they say their 'grandmother' to her. A man says his 'daughter' to her. Then the man's aunt says her 'father' to him, for they (the mother and aunt) feel that they are women who are one. Bushmen say, women who are one, to the women of one house. When girls have one mother, they say they are women who are one."

ǂke means "companion", "friend", "someone loved". Xoa ǂke-ke means "mother's other friend" or "chum", of whom was said: "They make their other friend of one person; they say their other friend to her." 196 601

In certain ǂxam tales the wife's unmarried younger sister stays with her, as helper and baby-minder. An elder sister would be sure to be married. This sister I take to be the "other friend" of the wife, the "little sister-in-law" of the husband, the ǃkouki-©pwa. For this term is only applied to a little girl. [538]

I know of no marriage laws among the Bushmen to explain the title of sister being occasionally given to the father's or mother's sister's daughter. Bushmen sometimes marry a cousin of that or any other sort, but more often they marry someone else. The only girl a Bushman may not marry is his *own* sister. 582 601

[Text continues on page 62]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Auen
Kung
Naron

Some ǂk'au ǂen terms are apparently borrowed from Naron, for instance, ǂwiakwe "brother-in-law" and ǂkū "greatniece". ǂwi ǂkwā would be the correct form, corresponding to ǂwi dxou "sister-in-law". ǂkū is simply Naron for "child". My informants lived on the border of the tribes, and so they often used Naron words or Naron forms of roots belonging to both. 196 601 [192]

The ǃkuŋ terms show more variety. ǃkū ǃnue seems to be "one namesake" or "first namesake" or "kinsman". ǂga and ǂge seem peculiar to this dialect. They may be northern forms of ǂkā "brother", or of the Naron ǂka.

On the relationship between son-in-law and father-in-law the following note appears in a ǃkuŋ story, explaining the sentence, "A person called him 'Kai-he'." 538

"The person did not say his (Karu's) name, but just called him by the little word which is his name, 'Ai-he.' His mother-in-law said, 'My son-in-law,' but his father-in-law did not call him 'My son-in-law', but addressed him as 'Ai-he'. And he heard his father-in-law. His father-in-law was a man, and respected his daughter, so did not say his daughter's husband's name, but merely called his son-in-law by his little name which was 'Ai-he'."

III. The Naron *or Bushmen of the Central Kalahari*

This tribe is less descriptive in its terms of relationship than its Northern and Southern neighbours, yet its system can hardly be called a classificatory one. Remarkable is the number of reciprocal titles used between different generations. Grandparents and grandchildren address each other as mama. Parents and children call each other by two forms of the same roots, either aba or ǂku. Aba is the verb "to bear", "to beget", also "to carry in a kaross". The father is the begetter, the child the begotten one. Eisha I take to be a contracted feminine form of the same. 601 196 601

ǂkuŋ is also used as "big, grown up", ǂkuŋ kwena means "grown-up people", ǂkuŋ ǂarro kwena "old people", literally "big bodied people". The application of this word to parents is easy to understand, but the use of a very similar form to designate children is not clear.

Likewise the word tahō is a puzzle. It is used for all grandchildren, but only for the father's parents. It is employed reciprocally between a mother's brother and a sister's child. A

– [Text continues on page 66]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

unexpectedly long in making a return gift the people discuss this. One man was excused by his friends because his wife, they said, had got things into her hands and made him poor, so that he now had nothing suitable to give. Sometimes, on the other hand, people were blamed for being ungenerous (' far-hearted ') or not very capable in managing their lives, and no one defended them for these defects or asked others to have patience with them.

As far as we know, only two general subjects are taboo in conversation. Men and women must not speak openly together of sexual matters except as they make jokes in the joking relationship. The /Kung avoid speaking the names of the gods aloud and do not converse about the gods for fear of attracting their attention and perhaps their displeasure. They told us their myths, but only when we asked them to. It is evidently not the habit of these Bushmen to recount the myths as they sit by their fires. They do not invent stories. They said they had no interest in hearing things that are not true and wonder why anybody has.

While a person speaks the listeners are in vibrant response, repeating the phrases and interposing a contrapuntal ' eh '. ' Yesterday ', ' eh ', ' at Deboragu ', ' eh ', ' I saw old /Gaishay.' ' You saw Old /Gaishay ', ' eh, eh '. ' He said he had seen the great python under the bank.' ' EH! ', ' The PYTHON! ' ' He wants us ', ' eh, eh, eh ', ' to help him catch it '. The ' ehs ' overlap and coincide with the phrase and the people so often all talk at once that one wonders how anyone knows what the speaker has said.

Bursts of laughter accompany the conversations. Sometimes the /Kung laugh mildly with what I would call a sense of humour about people and events, often they shriek and howl as though laughter were an outlet for tension. They laugh at mishaps that happen to other people, like the lions eating up someone else's meat, and shriek over particularly telling and insulting sexual sallies in the joking relationship. Individual singing of lyrical songs, accompanied by the *//guashi*, or snatches of the medicine music, the playing of rhythmical games, the ceremonial dances themselves occupy the evenings, as well, but mostly the evening hours are spent in talk.

' A talk ', as the /Kung call it, differs from a conversation or an arranged, purposeful discussion. It flares spontaneously, I believe from stress, when something is going on in which people are seriously concerned and in disagreement. I think that no formalities control it. Anyone who has something he wants to say joins in. People take sides and express opinions, accusing, denying, or defending persons involved. I witnessed one ' talk ' only, in 1952, which I mentioned before[1] and should mention again in this context. It occurred over a gift-giving episode at the time of /Nai's betrothal and involved persons in Bands 1 and 2 who were settled near together at the time. Khuan//a, the mother of /Gunda, /Nai's fiancé, had diverted a gift which people thought was making its way to Gao Medicine, the present husband of /Nai's mother. Instead of giving it to him at the time when an exchange of gifts was in order, she gave it to one of her relatives. /Nai's mother's sister, /U, sitting at her own scherm, began ' the talk ' by letting it be known what she thought of Khuan//a, in a voice loud enough to be heard in the two werfs, a startling contrast to the usual low flow of talk. Di/ai, /Nai's mother, sitting with her shoulder pressed against her sister's, joined in. People in the werfs went to sit at each other's scherms, forming little groups

[1] Lorna Marshall, ' Marriage Among /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxix, no. 4, Oct. 1959, pp. 352-3.

[7 cont.]

222 825 The honey badger, !uisa (N. !ous), which leads to the bees, is followed ever so eagerly.

224 The common wild pig (gariba), the kudu (daub), the gemsbok χ'uaba (N. /gaib), and all the small antelopes are hunted. Pits are no longer known, although they used to dig them in former times.

If they decide to go hunting, sexual intercourse must be [834] avoided the night before. In the evening the hunters go into the forest and spend the night there. Before dawn they rise and pray:

[539] Pu, pu, Eró, /nari dsu /ari mate — God, tomorrow early we receive.

When a piece of game has been killed, one of the hunters cuts a piece of flesh from the animal's body and hands it to the leader of the hunt. This meat is called am-shái-khe. A fire is made, and this piece is placed on it. When it is roasted, the leader cuts off a piece and shouts:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, ha gore, ha gore — Erob, Erob, Erob, eat, eat
i Khe Khandi ô — With us flesh.

After a pause:

ha lĕ a lĕ ha góre o Khandi ô — Come! Come! Let us eat flesh.

Now the roasted flesh is consumed. Nothing is thrown away or left behind for Erob.

Then the game is cut up, and everyone goes home with his portion.

136 Snakes are not rare, although they are by no means as common as in the stony regions of the southwest.

The boa constrictor eats human beings; if it catches a Bushman, it starts to consume him at the legs!

132 821 731 In spite of the timber forest, the danger of drought is great. Erob sends rain. When there is a drought, the Bushmen dance and pray:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, /ga !goro — Erob, Erob, Erob, we are dying of thirst
/ga-wi -ma ta re — Water give us.

177 776 782 [8] It is very interesting to observe how in these certainly very ancient hunting and rain prayers the former old heathen gods' names Huwe and χ'amab were replaced by the Christian "Ellob."

I asked the people whether they knew any other prayers and received the following answer: "We know very well that

[8 cont.]

177 nothing can be done without Erob; we also pray to him whenever
776 somebody is ill, but we have no song for that, we do it in our
782 hearts." In these conceptions Christian influence is obvious.

881 They have no initiation for boys, but there is one for girls at the time of the first menstruation.

The girls' initiation is called "dorob."

At the onset of the menses, the girl becomes a "X'ábá X'ábesa"; a special hut (omba) is built for her, where she is guarded by older women who feed her. The girl is allowed to eat anything, but nothing with her hands. When the menses end, a two-day festival begins, which terminates with a concluding dance. The candidate is seated in the center. Men and women go around
[534] her in a circle. The men blow on wooden trumpets. (These trumpets are made by the !Kung at only one place.) At the same time the drum is beaten (!guruba). At the conclusion, the women make "music." They clap their hands and sing:

●[539] e-e-e-e-a-eje a jeja ni u u e . . .

Between times the drums and wooden trumpets sound.
539 Then the choral song of the men begins.

881 boro ai /i-he ≠hasa	Daughter my has become tall (just)
≠hau ge	Stand erect (tall)
/gai /ka uta (?) /noro-re	Good be now our little sunshine (1)

1. Literally: "Shine, you."

/ari ni tessa	Dance (2), sing, sue for her hand (3)

2. Literally: "Jump."

3. Literally: "Ask for!"

!goasa hi bare	People, be glad
Ti Komi !gǒǒ̆ Kǒǒ̆...Kǒǒ̆... Kǒǒǒ̆	So, in this way, people, you should do it.

Then the dance begins anew.

[582] The engagement usually takes place long before the
585 girl's initiation. Hence the rule is that the wedding and the girl's
881

/10 cont./

123 Since I was able to become quite friendly with their "foreman," who possesses a small farm, I discovered some details concerning their outlook on life.

776 They believe in a supreme being which is not conceived of as a human being and which they call X'amaba. Here we have H. Vedder's /Gamab of the Bergdama.

773 X'amaba made everything, the sun, the moon, the stars, and also human beings. First he made the Whites, then the Blacks, and finally the Bushmen. They are unable to say how X'amaba made human beings.

[372] The old Bushmen say that fire comes from the devil.
[776] Heiseb is the devil, according to them. Heiseb and the ostrich played together. The ostrich had the fire on his arm. While dancing the ostrich spread his wings, and Heiseb took the fire from him. Heiseb threw the fire brand behind him. There was a bush which started to burn. And there the people discovered the fire.

776 Heiseb is evil and only does evil. He is conceived as human in form. No one knows where he came from.

X'amaba, on the other hand, is benevolent. People pray to him for help.

539 I took down the following prayers:

782 1. Prayer for rain: In olden times pieces of wood were
821 cut from the !Hawewa tree. It could not be felled. These pieces of wood were thrown into the fire, and as soon as the pungent smoke rose upward, the people sang in chorus:

X'amaba duwa /gam-i-i a a God, give water to drink.
X'amaba duwa /gam-i-i !hanusa God, give water rain,
anita(?) a a so that we may drink.

2. Prayer of thanks for rain: When the rain has finally come, a dance of joy is performed, and the following is sung:

X'ámaba X'ámaba X'ámaba God, God, God
tūta tūta We have received, we have received
!hanusa /gam-i-i !hanusa /gam-i-i Rain water, rain water
tara ái /gam ái !hanusa tutasi We can drink, drink water, receive water.

[10 cont.]

539 χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!
[821]
271 [11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and
731 the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They
[488] do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and
[758] the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune. Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own.
271 One must have experienced personally the feeling that overcomes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can drink again!

539 3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a
782 journey:
[484] χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

[755] 4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor performs his ceremonies.

χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai khá'ira téve God, let our people rise again.

789 5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil: Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

821 They do not know anything to say about the sun (sorésa). The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

753 Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those
776 persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this, and there is no spirit of sickness.

776 There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the bush. They play tricks.

775 A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know
[756] what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

372 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in
881 the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other
184 hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not
585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the mar-
582 riage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A
595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 [12] A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

[12 cont.]

843 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-
262 buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut.
[553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are
[177] performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:

[539] //am ≠haiba, //am ≠haiba (?)
[782] The leader answers:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower
422 form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 The gathering of veldkost does not have the great signifi-
[184] cance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already
[462] commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd
[857] a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main
[233] OCCUPATION.

/14 cont./

000 chronic, good-natured imbiber . . .

776 In heaven there is one god, Erob. Lightning (dábara)
[821] and rain (!nanus) are sent by him. He calls heaven χ'ameiba.
This word is very interesting. It can mean both "place of the
/15/ souls (χ'a) " or "place of the χ'amab." The souls
[775] (um-ské) go to heaven after death. "This is what they say,"
said the man, "I haven't been there yet."

He did not know Gauab and Heiseb. Concerning other spirits, he said that people had mentioned them, but he did not believe in them. The spirits are supposedly called "gangarob."
756 The old Bushmen had neither doctors nor medicines against ill-
753 nesses. To my question about what made people ill, he responded with philosophical equanimity: "If one becomes ill, he is ill like an animal." He knew nothing about the sun (soris)
[821] and moon (χ'ab). A sacred fire is unknown to him.
[778]

224 Of greatest interest is his report, undoubtedly based
782 upon autopsy, concerning an initial offering at the hunt. I give the report in literal translation:

"Before people go out to the hunt, they meet at an omsati tree (//Khaia-aib). There a fire is made. Each hunter rips off a number of leaves, spits on them, and throws them into the fire as he shouts:

[539] Érob, Érob, áu tere! God, God, help us!

"When the game has been killed, one first cuts a piece each from the lung, liver, and stomach and throws each piece singly to the side, saying all the while:

Érob úre, Érob úre! God take, God take!

[539] "Then they start to eat."

This function is performed by the one who has killed the game.

The following was communicated to me concerning the
881 social organization:
585

There are initiation ceremonies. The celebration of the first menstruation originally coincided with the wedding. On the first day of menstruation the girl went into a pontok especially constructed for this purpose. Then there was dancing for two or three days, and after the cessation of the menses the girl went to

[15 cont:]

881 the man's encampment and took up married life. Nowadays the
583 first menstruation and wedding no longer always coincide.

The consent of the girl is absolutely necessary for the
584 conclusion of the marriage. People often are betrothed already in childhood. Once the girl has grown up, that is, once she has become sexually mature, the suitor goes to the girl's parents. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to enter the encampments of their prospective parents-in-law. If father and mother agree, then they go to the grandparents to obtain their consent. Then oxen, wethers, and goats are collected for the feast. Then the suitor goes to his parents, who in turn consult the grandparents. In the bridegroom's house also livestock is now collected, or, as the case may be, begged or purchased.
585 Then a great feast begins. There is dancing, and long trumpets are blown.

During the wedding dance the men sing:

[539] "Huwi é haa -- huwi é taa -- huwi áni taa." (The girl has grown up.)

The women clap their hands and sing:

"Jee jeee ja! jee jeee ja!"

881 A boys' initiation in the true sense of the term is no longer held. When the boy has grown up, however, a celebration
852 is held and livestock is killed. Similarly, when a child has been born, a celebration takes place, at which wethers or sheep are slaughtered. It is striking that among these Bushmen a sheep usually takes the place of the goat.

551 The boy receives the father's name; the daughter, the mother's name. The children belong to the family of the woman,
611 and the oldest uncle, or oldest brother of the woman, is the head of the family. It is prohibited to marry the children of the
582 mother's sisters.

The kinship terms are as follows:

601

German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
Father	//khum-khe	//gub, dadab, eib
Mother	//khums	//gus, is
Son	a χ'oron-khe	/gõab/gõb
Daughter	χ'ams-khe	/gõas/gõs
Brother	!gasab	!gasab
Sister	di !gas-khe	!gasas

[50 cont.]

756 than the smaller spirits. Their treatment is correspondingly suc-
776 cessful or unsuccessful. In other words, the doctors are vindicated in any case.

755 The treatment of illness thus follows two parallel paths:
757 one with natural means (medicines and the like), directed at the local symptoms of the ailment; and one with supernatural means, directed at the dsao that cause the feeling of sickness.

[756] [796] 539 During the doctors' test the following song is sung:

[411]

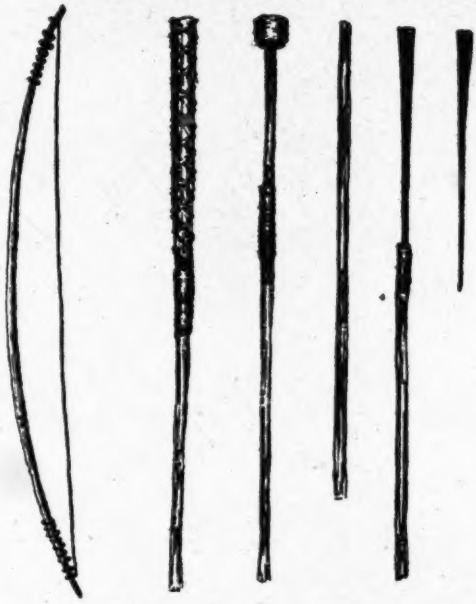


Fig. 20. Bushman Revolver of the !Kung (Foxhof; actual size [as shown in original text]).

e hehehe na ti //kau /goa dsao

During the treatment itself the following text is sung:

/o ma ga //goa ≠am /nai tha

He has no medicine yet, he must be thrown with the medicine.

751 Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) have the following to report
756

1. Die Buschmänner, p. 424.

[53 cont.]

751 burned to a tinder and pulverized to make a medicine. The per-
821 son struck now has incisions made on his tongue, forehead, cheeks, chest, and legs, into which fat is rubbed, and then this medicine is smeared on. Now, for the time being, he is safe from persecution by the rain.

16. Rain Magic

789 People turn directly to the great captain when they need
[538] rain. Not all doctors are able to procure rain, only the few who
796 enjoy the special favor of the great captain. Then a dance is organized, at which the doctors put themselves in the trance state described below. At the same time the following lament is repeated countless times:

[54]

[539] !gará gurí dee oa ≠am	Why does it not rain?
X 'uá dě rá /gaa !ái /gaa	Which lord is holding back the rain?
/gám khui hē	The sun is hot.
!kung-ná gurí /gǒá /gǒá	Will man live?
//gauána tani /gee ≠gáo	Are the spirits bringing winter?
!kung /goá hǒo !koa	Where is man supposed to drink?
!kung ō dshn-ǎ	
//gaa /a //goě !kung	If it is so, can man only die
/ñ a //goě	of thirst?
!kunǎ //goě ne oa	What can man do now?
Ha-!kung tam hā m tam ná	We had better stay here because
/ñ gěě	we have been abandoned!

756 Finally the great captain in heaven hears the lamenting.
789 The doctor runs from the dance place into the bush and sees that
787 a thin thread is let down from the sky. The doctor climbs up on
796 this thread. The great captain comes to meet him half way. As soon as the doctor sees the great captain, he throws a red powder (ocher with medicine) toward him. Now the great captain draws the doctor up and leads him to the heavenly house. In front of this house [Fig. 20 appears here] the doctor sees the spirits of
[775] his deceased colleagues who year in, year out, stand before the house.

[54 cont.]

756 house. The doctor then begins to pray: "Lord, help us, the chil-
789 dren are dying, we are dying of thirst and hunger." He prays and
787 begs until the captain says: "It is good, I shall send water so that
796 the children will have water and veldkost." Then the great captain again accompanies the doctor halfway down. As soon as the doctor is down below, he lets go of the thread which is immediately drawn up. Now the people dance and sing, for the rain has come:

[539] /gá-é dsó-jã̄ /gaa	We rejoice now over the rain.
//ẽ gã̄ djusã̄ !kho ãdshójа /ga	Then we rejoice all together.
//ẽ gã̄ hin a /gaa /gaa	Then the rain comes.
da //goá dshn !gu da adschŏéa χ'u	Then the people praise the lord.

532]

Fig. 21. Spirits of the Dead and Rain Animal (from Bleek, Rock Paintings in South Africa etc., Pl. 58).

776 Another !Kung said to me: "The great captain in the sky
821 sends the rain and all that comes from above. If he does not want to, everything remains shut up. The rain is opened up above; a great vlei is there. I do not know the name of the great captain. The Hei//om call him Som-seb."

17. Religion

771 After a critical look at the sum of the conceptions determining
177 the religious life of the !Kung, one recognizes, as would naturally be expected in the case of such an ancient people, that the elements

[56 cont.]

695 not seen for the duration of the hunt, he is suspected of having
776 sneaked away. Then he swears by the great captain nu χu, and all believe him.

776 Ordinarily, however, the great captain has everything taken care of by the highest of the spirits and lesser spirits. The chief concern of the Bushmen, therefore, is to stay in the good graces of these spirits, but the great captain does offer protection against all evil spirits, and for that reason people turn to him
[782] with the following prayers in case of severe illness and before the start of a journey:

[57]

[539] χ'u, χ'u hũi mi, //kai tsao mi	Lord, Lord, help me, raise me.
to 'oba !khu !gaise ≠ani u mĩ /nãna /ge a	"the lord shall lead me well to the place,
!nore gana ti /ge a gana ti tsa /Nane /ã mi tsu (1)	where I am going, and he shall lead me back well, so that I come home safely."

1. Notation of the Dama interpreter.

[224] Before the hunt the doctors pray to the great captain for hunting luck. There is no doubt that the Bushmen conceive of this "great captain" as an all-powerful and at the same time benign being. His executive organ, as has been noted, is the highest of the Gauab. The latter is called "the Gauab" by the common people, but he has a name known only by the doctors, and saying it may have serious consequences. Since I finally
[123] had the honor to be regarded as an equal by the doctors, I learned his name. He is called /Nawa. They were unable to give me an interpretation of this name, but Miss Bleek, from dance songs of the Angola Kung, reports the word /Nwa-se, supposedly an abbreviation for Nwima-se = new moon. According to this, we
[174] might be able to see in this chief Gauab the high god of a lunar-
[771] mythological religion which has been superimposed as a foreign element upon the primitive monotheism of the χ'u or Huwe faith. As is always the case in such matters, the supreme being of the invading religion has been transformed into a more or less evil
[171] principle. It also functions as such in the belief of the Nama and

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

535
539 ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be — We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

X'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa — Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe — Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

622 - Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me
782 concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder
769 dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

782 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are
681 implored in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

"If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband
787 suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up
695 the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root
684 that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

[63 cont.]

764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not; in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] [174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [173] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

[69 cont.]

881 assistants, the boys go into the bush. On the first day two vertical incisions are made on the forehead; then they sing throughout the night and dance to the melody: "Ije, ije, aije, aije . . .
● [539] oho, oho," etc.

On the morning of the second day, the incisions on the
[304] forehead are extended to the root of the nose and the hairline. On the afternoon of this day the elders call the youths together to look for veldkost. The elder loosens the roots with his digging stick, and as he does so the candidates place their hands on the arm doing the work. The boys must then dig the roots out of the ground with their hands, without the help of tools. "From now on they can look for veldkost themselves, for now they have been taught."

After this lesson they return to the place where the women are. [70] Food is prepared there for both the men and the candidates; the candidates are allowed to eat only veldkost, no meat. Then they dance, together with the women and girls, for a night and half a day.

In the afternoon the candidates go hunting. They must bag three animals: a small duiker, a guinea fowl, and a bullfrog. They take their prey and assemble with the older instructors at a remote place, the three kinds of meat are cooked together, the meat is eaten by the elders, and the bodies of the boys are washed all over with the soup. From now on they may eat the three ani-
[262] mals, hitherto forbidden to them. Now they again dance and
[539] sing: "Oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu" (long drawn-out).

≠Auin: The candidates from neighboring villages go into
881 the bush under the leadership of the doctor, and they live there on veldkost for a few weeks. During this time they receive instructions in secret matters. Kaufmann reports the following
[535] dance: A boy gets up on the back of another, and both of them wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier swinging from one leg to the other as rapidly as possible without moving forward, and both of them yell "hu, hu." They actually attain manhood, which gives them the right to marry, only through the hunting test. Tattooing is not connected
[304] with the declaration of manhood.

[70 cont.]

her food, which is given to her by an old woman. On the sixth day
881 the girl goes looking for veldkost with an old woman, and, when she has returned, she herself makes the fire and cooks the food in the circle of her guests, for the first time officially independent.
(502) Girls may marry even before this ceremony.

[71] Among the ≠Auin the initiation is held for each girl
881 at the time of the first menstruation. The same is true among the Naron. The eland bull dance is performed every night during
881 the girl's period. Two old men attach real or wooden eland
535 horns to their heads and wait in the bush. Then the menstruating girl comes and sits down or lies down surrounded by old women, in the center of a circle of younger women who stage a dance. The two eland bulls soon appear and then quickly disappear again. The dance is very indecent. Among the Nussan, men masked as birds (!) take the place of the eland bulls.

Once a year, in autumn when the veldkost is harvested,
796 there is a great festival. The day is called: "//gam gna she (the great day)." On this occasion food is prepared, and the Bushmen come from all sides. They dance and sing, but they are supposed to stay at home; no one may hunt, look for veldkost, or do any kind of work. [Fig. 25 appears here.]

4. Courtship, Wedding, and Marriage

If a young Bushman wants to marry, he does not go to the girl, but instead must speak with her parents; at the same time
584 the girl's consent to the marriage is necessary. Once this consent is given, presents are exchanged between the parents of the engaged couple, or a gemsbok is shot and divided between the two families. Immediately after the presents have been exchanged, preparations for the wedding are begun. If enough game, above all, a gemsbok, is at hand, they dance through the
● [539] entire night and sing: "Ueeõ, ueeeõ, õ, eee, gueeõ, guueeõ," etc.

Then the young man takes his wife and moves to the horde
581 of his father. Great importance is attached to virginity before
[591] marriage. "It simply does not happen among us that a girl

[75 cont.]

Among the Naron, according to Miss Bleek, the Bushman
754 revolver is also in use. The doctors fight one another with it.
411 Such an arrow is secretly shot at the opponent's kaross, and through the magic emanating from the arrow, the enemy falls sick and dies.

8. Death and Burial

The Nogau have the following conceptions: Death is
761 caused by Gauab, who steals the soul and makes a little Gauab of it. The dead person is buried immediately; there is no
764 dancing, only weeping. The corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on its side with the head toward the east. Only the sleeping blanket is placed in the grave; the weapons that were left behind are kept by the brothers. The food that the deceased was carrying with him is thrown on the grave. Then bushes are placed on it.

(775) In their opinion the soul of the deceased, which has been
769 transformed into a Gauab, wanders around near the grave; therefore they detour around it. When a Nogau Bushman passes the grave of a tribal member, he prays to him for help in hunting so that the children will grow fast and become fat. He says:

"I do not know how it will go with me
[539] With the food, how it will go with me with the food;
I do not know what I should do to get something to eat,
Let us eat and become big."

On the other hand, there is also the belief that the great
775 Gauab who kills a human being eats the heart or keeps it in cold water and finally makes a new Bushman of it. Among the Naron
764 the corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on his side with the face toward the east. These customs are by no means always observed, however, especially when the ground is hard.
769 The Naron do not fear the spirits of the dead, although the doctors
787 see them, as do those men "who have incisions between the eyebrows." As we know from the Nogau, this includes all who have taken part in the boys' initiation. Women can never see such spirits.

Among all three tribes, old people are exposed to die.

888

[76 cont.]

411 The little bow (!naru) is made from the //ne bush and is
[192] much shorter than that of the !Kung. The arrow and the arrow point are called tschi. They have arrows with iron points like the !Kung, as well as others made of bone. The accompanying figures show the two types, which have already been sufficiently described by other authors. The arrow points found in older collections, on which the poison is applied not only at the tip but also in lines or dots of little lumps on the contact piece, are now no longer in use. The bows of the Naron are also small, and they likewise have two kinds of arrows. The arrow shafts are made of reed, which is used only in a few places. In addition, all these tribes have root-stock clubs. Spears (kuku) are bartered
[431] from the Ovambo in exchange for ostrich egg beads. Bleek
231 writes [77] of the Naron that formerly they had no dogs at all, and Kaufmann reports that the #Auin have very few dogs. The Nogau had all kinds of mongrels, but none of any peculiar strain. Two animal stories should be told in this connection:

539 1. A large bird killed a duiker. Then the hyena came and took the duiker. The hyena met the jackal. The jackal said: "Hyena, you should not go where you want to go, otherwise bad things will happen to you!" But the hyena went anyway, and the great bird (!gui) came and tied the hyena's feet together and made a fire by its feet. Since then the hyena has black legs and dares not kill anything living. But the jackal also went stealing, whereupon the great bird seized him and held him with his back to the fire; since then it has a black stripe across its back.

2. The lion came to the watering place; then the frog came out of the water and mocked the lion. The latter wanted to kill the frog, but only scratched it on its back; the frog quickly jumped into the water again, but since then it has black stripes on its back. [Fig. 27 appears here.]

10. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The clothing of the man consists of the cap, made from the hide of the jackal, the jumping hare, or the duiker, and the loincloth, sandals, and the hide bag. In general the clothing of these Bushmen is not essentially different from that of the Bushmen

/251 cont./

533 song. The melodies that I had an opportunity to observe were simple tone sequences which I vainly tried to arrange into a definite major or minor key such as is familiar to us. According to European concepts, the intervals are not pure. A common tonal sequence was the following, but in giving it I must

[535]

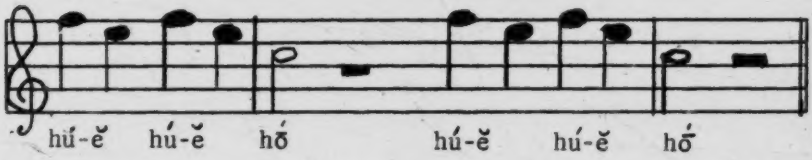
Fig. 5.

[535]

Fig. 6.

once more definitely stress that the intervals do not correspond precisely to those of our major key.

[539]



535 nature of the latter may be gathered from the following dances of the *|Koma-khoin*, *Xom-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin* groups of the Etosha Pan *Hei-||om*. The common dance among the *|Koma-khoin* is the *ǂgami-sab-ǂnab*. Rattles (*|gunu-gu*) are worn round the legs of the dancers. It is danced by men who go round in a circle in Indian file while the women chant and clap their hands. Women, however, may join in the dance one at a time. When this happens and she wants to return to her companions the men as a rule try to prevent her leaving the circle by dancing round her. The *Xom-khoin* also dance the *ǂgami-sab-ǂnab* but without rattles as they do not know how to make the latter. Among the *Hei-||om* of the Etosha region the *|gunu-gu* are used only by the *|Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*.

In the Jackal and Wolf dance (*|geirab tsi ǂhiras tsira ǂnab*) which is danced by men only, is represented an hyena, which is supposed to be feeding on a carcass, keeping off a couple of hungry jackals. Every now and again as the latter attempt to approach too close to the carcass the hyena scares them off and they jump out of the way.

The horse-dance (*ha-ǂnab*) is likewise danced by men only who go round quickly in a circle while the women clap their hands in imitation of the sound made by a galloping horse.

The *|gae-ǂnab* or gemsbuck dance represents a gemsbuck bull, cow and calf being chased by two men with three or four dogs. The bull and cow carry horns but the calf does not. The gemsbuck lead and are followed by the men and dogs, who dance to and fro on the flanks until the animals are brought at bay. Then the men pretend to shoot and one of the buck goes down wounded while the others make off pursued by some of the dogs. The wounded animal fights in realistic fashion, sweeping at both man and dogs with its horns. The dance is continued until all the animals have been accounted for. Bows and arrows are represented by sticks in this dance.

The Kudu dance (*dau-ba-ǂnab*) is danced by men among the *Xom-khoin* while the women chant and clap their hands. In it are represented various phases in the life of a herd of kudu. The hands of some of the dancers are held up to imitate the horns of the bulls. From time to time as it is in progress a couple of women join in the dancing for a short time. Among the *|Koma-khoin* it is danced by women.

773 There is a legend that in the olden days the Klipkaffirs
● 539 used to pay tribute daily in honey, öintjes, etc., to the *gei-*
535 *khoib* of the *|Koma-khoin*. When for any reason they defaulted for two or three days, the *gei-khoib*, accompanied by his young men, set out for the Klipkaffir encampment to investigate. As soon as the latter became aware of the approach of the *gei-khoib* they grasped everything on which they could lay hands and made for his *||gāus*. On the way

they hurriedly collected whatever veldkos they came across, 773
being closely followed by the *gei-khoib*. In the *‡ao-dama-* 539
‡nab or dance of the Klipkaffirs who live on the mountain 535
tops, are depicted a couple of Klipkaffirs, carrying heavy loads and closely followed by the Bushmen armed with kirries. The Klipkaffirs are constantly glancing backwards as if anticipating a blow from a kirri. When they see any veldkos they squat down, hurriedly dig it up and place it in their bags. While on the way they are constantly being harassed and threatened with kirries by the pursuing Bushmen. The *‡ao-dama-‡nab* originated with the Klipkaffirs to commemorate the time when they were held in bondage by the */Koma-khoin* and was taught by them to the latter. It is also known to other groups, *e.g.*, the *Xom-khoin*, but is danced mainly by the */Koma-khoin*.

The *Xom-khoin* have a dance in which are depicted the 535
antics of a group of vultures at the carcass of a zebra. It is confined to men only but the women chant and clap their hands. The carcass is represented by a person lying down. A giant vulture is at the carcass. As the others, who are standing close together some distance away, approach in a row flapping their wings, he raises his wings and makes a dart at them which causes them to stop suddenly and retreat. This dance is known as *man-toea tsi gei-aniti-‡nab*.

Among all the remaining tribes dances of a similar description are met with, being based as a rule on episodes in the lives of wild animals. Thus the *‡Ao-//ein* and *Naron* have the turtle dove, duiker, porcupine, guineafowl, jackal and other dances. Games are played by grown-up people of both 524
sexes as well as by children. Among the *Hei-//om* the men play their games on an open place cleared of scrub outside the werft. The principal game is the *bies-//heib* which is played with a round tuber (*bies*). The players line up in two rows facing each other and the bies is rolled from one side to the other. As it approaches the opposite side each member of the latter in turn hurls a pointed stick, shaped like an assegaai (*hēi-heigu*) at it. If he misses, the *bies* is rolled to the now opposite side. If he should hit it the *bies* is left *in situ*, the sides cross over and it is rolled towards the winning side again. Those who have hit it have preference in hurling the *hei-heigu* at the *bies*. This game is played by the */Koma-khoin* only.

Among the games played by the women of these communities may be mentioned the *goarab-/hurub* or white monkey game of the *Xom-khoin*. A white monkey was once seen by a woman who ran home and told the others. The part of the monkey is taken by a woman who stands with her hands covering the sides of her face, leaving only a small opening for peeping through. She sways her head from side to side. The other women form up in a row opposite to her. One goes forward to look at the monkey, gazes at it intently and, when the latter starts moving its head from side to side, beckons and calls to the others to come and see the wonderful

possessions of Bantus and Europeans—horses and cattle, 181
dogs, melon lands, medicines, rifles, boots, and trucks—as 609
well as their enormous size, heavy necks and arms, great beards, and roaring voices. Europeans are beyond the powers of Bushmen's imagination, more awesome in stature, in possessions, in might, than even the Bushmen's god, who can be [776]
cajoled, who hunts with a bow and arrow. Bushmen consider the Europeans and the Bantus to be superior beings. Bantus [648]
and Europeans consider the Bushmen to be inferior beings, and, without resisting, a Bushman always bows to a European or a Bantu person's will.

Once an old man, a veld Bushman, told us the story of the 283
reim and the grass fiber. A reim is a leather rope which the 539
Bantus make by skinning a cow with a long, spiraling cut that goes around and around the body so that the hide comes off all in one piece a few inches wide and many yards long, which is then stretched and cured, making a piece of leather useful for harnessing oxen or building a hut.

"In the earliest days," the old man said, "the Bushmen and 539
the non-Bushmen were all one nation, and the great god 773
came to earth and gave them a rope. Half the rope was made of reim and half was made of grass fiber. The great god told all the people to pull on the rope, and the non-Bushmen came away with the reim, but the Bushmen got only the grass fiber. After that, the non-Bushmen had cattle and reims and all those things, but the Bushmen had only the things that are in the veld. If this ever happened again," the old man said, "I would tell the Bushmen to make sure they got the reim half."

So the distinction between people was caused by the great 181
god, and the Bushmen, who want only to be left in peace, do 609
not compete in issues which they cannot win. They are only [773]
frightened by other peoples and hope to be spared their atten-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

252 from the yellow liver and threw that away, but he left the liver and the surrounding fat because he meant for that to be eaten.

The baby, Nhwakwe, who owned the tortoise, came to sit by his father, leaning on Gai's leg and watching, looking smiling into the belly of the tortoise. A tortoise is such a slow tough creature that its body can function although its heart is gone. Nhwakwe put his wrists to his forehead to [524] imitate in a most charming manner the way in which the tortoise was trying to hide. Nhwake looked just like the tortoise.

Gai frowned with concentration and worked with his mouth open, pulled down at the corners. When the intestines were removed, Gai stuffed the cavity with green leaves of the [263] kind that "make your gums numb," say the Bushmen, added for flavor, I believe. The tortoise at this retreated far into its shell with its legs pulled in tightly, and Gai heated the doors again to curl them down. Then he packed the opening with grass and the tortoise's dung, capped it with a tsama-melon cap, and put the tortoise into the oven that was prepared for it like a shallow little grave which the tortoise just fitted, a final agony, for the tortoise once more kicked and struggled as Gai raked hot coals over it. The steam escaping from the moist flesh caused the ashes to bubble and boil, and it was over; the meat was in the pot.

Gai flung the intestines away and sat down near his wife to 539 smoke, and I, who wished that they could at least have killed [776] the tortoise first, thought of the story of Pishiboro and one of his wives, an elephant. Pishiboro is one of the names of God.

One night, when Pishiboro and his younger brother were sleeping, the elephant wife took them both and rolled them between her thighs, which caused them great discomfort. The younger brother said to Pishiboro: "Let us go away now

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while it is dark. This wife of yours may want to kill us with her attention." So they got up and slipped away. Next morning, when they were far away from Pishiboro's house, the younger brother looked back and saw the elephant wife coming after them. "Run on," he said to Pishiboro, "and I will stay behind and talk with her." So Pishiboro ran on and the younger brother waited. When the elephant wife came up, the younger brother said to her: "I see that you have a big louse in your flesh there. Let me take it out for you." The elephant wife agreed to let him, and Pishiboro's younger brother took a long thorn and pricked the elephant wife on her chest, right under her beads. 539

"Oh, you are hurting me," said the elephant wife.

"Don't flinch," said Pishiboro's younger brother. "This louse is very deep in your flesh." With that the younger brother pierced her heart and she fell dead.

The younger brother then built a fire, cut off the breast of the elephant wife, and roasted it. When it was cooked he sat up on the body of the elephant wife to eat it, and it was there that Pishiboro, returning to see what had happened, noticed him sitting way up over the tops of the bushes. "Ah, can it be," thought Pishiboro, "that my younger brother has killed my wife and is sitting on her body?" When Pishiboro ran forward he found that his worst suspicion was absolutely true.

Pishiboro was wildly angry, but his younger brother handed him some of the roasted breast, which presently Pishiboro ate. The younger brother looked down at Pishiboro and said in a voice filled with scorn: "Oh, you fool. You lazy man. You were married to meat and you thought it was a wife." Pishiboro saw that this was true, so he sharpened his knife and helped his younger brother with the skinning.

. . .

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

821 But Ukwane said that he had been talking and singing all evening and his voice was hoarse from telling about the inside of the springbok (which by now was partly cooked and eaten). He was, in fact, too hoarse to answer questions and would rather tell a story if he had to talk. We said that
539 we would like to hear a story, and the Bushmen said that they would also like to hear some stories, so Ukwane told the last part of the story of Pishiboro and his elephant wife.

In the morning, after the elephant wife had frightened Pishiboro and his younger brother, before she had followed them away, she had told her elephant parents that she had married a man whose people might eat her, and that they should give up hope of ever seeing her again. Pishiboro knew that she had spoken with her parents, and while he was sitting upon her body with his brother, eating the breast, he looked around anxiously for he knew not what. Soon some elephant beetles came up to eat the uterus, for the elephant wife was pregnant, and when Pishiboro saw this he became very alarmed that the fetus would be eaten and he asked his brother to chase the beetles away. But the brother did not, and when Pishiboro was looking the other way, seeming to have forgotten, the brother cut open the womb, and the fetus came out.

"Oh, you foolish man," said Pishiboro. "I told you not to do that. You are lazy and stupid, and now the fetus will go to the elephant's parents and say what we have done."

Pishiboro then asked his brother to dig a hole to catch the fluid from the womb, but when the brother went to do this the fluid flowed past him. Pishiboro scrambled to dig another hole, but the fluid flowed past him, too, and only a little was caught. Pishiboro and his brother drank it.

The large part of the fluid went on until it came to the

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GiKwe

scherm of the elephant's father. It went in the front and out 539
the back, and then came to the scherm of the elephant's brother, and when the father and mother of the elephant saw the fluid they knew it was from the womb of their daughter, and all the elephants gathered together to go and kill the people.

Meanwhile, Pishiboro's brother thought until he thought of a plan. He then went off alone and, finding an anthill, asked the anthill to open itself, which it did. He prepared many anthills in this way, and then returned to Pishiboro, who was cutting up the meat, but told him nothing of his plans.

After a while the brother, who had been watching the direction taken by the fluid very carefully, saw the elephants coming, and he told Pishiboro to go to the anthill which he had prepared, but when Pishiboro got there and asked the anthill to open, it did not, and presently, when the elephants were very near, the brother found Pishiboro standing there helplessly. The brother then said to the anthill: "Please open, so that this fool can go inside," and the anthill opened and Pishiboro went inside. The brother waited for the elephants alone.

When the elephants came, two of them tried to stab Pishiboro's brother with a knife, but the brother flew up onto their shoulders and they fell dead. In this way he killed them all, all except one old, old elephant which he did not want to kill because it was so old and useless. Instead, he asked the anthill to open again so that Pishiboro could come out and kill it for him. Pishiboro came out and farted on the elephant three times and the old elephant was not affected, but when the brother farted once, the elephant fell dead.

Then Pishiboro's brother sang this song:

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GiKwe

•539 *My brother is older, but he kills only little things.*
I am younger, but I kill big things.

And that was the end of the story. Everyone asked Ukwane to tell more, so he told many. One of them interested us particularly because of its vague similarity to one of our own. It is the story of how carnal knowledge came to Pishiboro, for although he had two human wives (or perhaps goddesses, as he himself was god), he did not know what to do with them.

Pishiboro was digging a hole. When he had finished he told his wives to go to look at it while he went hunting in a different direction, but instead the two wives went to get tsama melons. They found one melon, brought it home, and, taking out the seeds, were grinding them to powder when Pishiboro arrived. The two wives had taken their own genital organs and had mixed these with the melon seeds which they were grinding. Pishiboro ate the mixture, which he thought was very nice, and he jumped to his feet and asked his wives where they got such nice meat.

"Oh," they said, "we told you when you left that you were going in the wrong direction. You should have come to the hole with us because when we got there we found a baby giraffe inside, but we could not get it out, so we cut pieces off its feet, and this was the meat you found so good."

They slept, and the next day they all went to the hole. The two wives had, in the meantime, defecated into the hole until it was full. When Pishiboro leaned over it to look for the giraffe, they toppled him in; then, laughing and shrieking, they ran away and climbed into a camel-thorn tree.

From the depth of his hole, Pishiboro looked up at his wives in the tree, and as he looked it came to him what

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe

wives were for, and he climbed up the tree and possessed 539 ●
them, and they conceived, and when the children were born they dropped from the tree like fruit.

Then the whole family came down, and as they were walking away Pishiboro found a night adder's home. Only the baby snakes were there; the parents had gone out. The Pishiboro family laughed at the baby snakes because they had such ugly faces, and when they had laughed all they could they went home to their scherm. That night the baby snakes told their mother what had happened, and in the morning, when Pishiboro returned for another laugh, the baby snakes were dancing and the mother snake was hiding in a little hole she had made. Pishiboro, too, began to dance, and when he danced by the hole the mother snake jumped out and bit him, and although he ran away the poison was working in him, and soon he was ill and in great pain.

The omarambas, the dry valleys in the land, are furrows that Pishiboro made on his way home because he suffered so much, and the hills at the sides of the omarambas were made by his kicking feet.

Pishiboro died from the snake bite, and now all the water that flows in the rivers in the north, all the rain, and all the water that collects in pools is the rottenness of Pishiboro, liquid made as his dead body began to decay.

After that, Ukwane stopped telling stories. He brightened 224
the fire by adding a stick, and the light showed everyone's face. Firelight does not dispel darkness. It just shows things in the darkness while the darkness is still there. Behind Ukwane's back we saw the shapes of the young boys bending over something, and we asked Ukwane what they were about. He told us that they were setting a snare for a mouse, a

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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533 the minute incident that may have inspired the composition. Ukwane had composed this song himself, and from time to time he sang the words "bitter melons."

We stopped to listen, caught in the net of music which Ukwane had cast into the air, for it was a soft, sad song that he hummed and played, a song in a minor key to wring your heart, to make you think of places far away and make you feel like crying. Ukwane was so dark that he could hardly be seen against the black veld, and all that showed clearly was the yellow reed tapping and his filmed blue eyes. When he finished the song he put down his bow. We asked him what [534] the song was about and he told us: "If you are walking in the veld, and you remember where a field of melons was growing and you go there and find them but when you taste them they are bitter, so you can't eat them, you leave them, that is what this song is about."

We asked him to play another song and he obliged, playing a shorter, rhythmic one called "Pass on the Other Side," beautiful to our ears but not as beautiful as "Bitter Melons," a song Ukwane had composed when he had been humiliated. He had come into a werf where the people were sitting in a circle taking turns smoking a pipe, and Ukwane, who had wanted to smoke very badly, had seated himself beside the person who was smoking, hoping to be next in turn, but that person passed the pipe by Ukwane, and Ukwane did not receive it until all the others had smoked first. He had felt so badly to be treated in this way that he had gone for a walk in the veld, and while walking he had composed the song.

He sang one more song, which was called "A Song of Shouting," a song about his wife's brother who had lost his way in the veld near Ukwane's werf, and had shouted, expecting someone in the werf to answer him, to give him the direction, but no one had bothered to call to him. That night

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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132 that the great trains dragging hampered its mating, would
136 twist and thrash and struggle, squeezing the wings between its thorax and abdomen, which did break off the wings but left the stubs. More and more ants were flying to the light and their circles were growing bigger and bigger until we couldn't move without stepping on them, but the women, getting more excited and moving very quickly, as if responding to the pace and the excitement of the ants, scooped them up and ate them as fast as they landed, spitting out the silver wings as one would spit out chaff. Over our heads a few night birds and many bats were flying, catching and eating the ants before they reached the ground, and around our feet huge pink hunting-spiders rushed in and out of the swarm, dragging the ants from their acts of copulation and carrying them away to eat them in the dark.

Before long the flight had ended. Only a few late-coming ants bumped against the light, the night birds and bats were gone, and the spiders had run away. Nothing was left but the white wings like petals all over the ground and the wings that were caught in people's throats or stuck to their faces. The women, quite composed now, brushed themselves off, and one of them sang a song:

[539]

Gurico gum, ah
Ah, ah.

[251] I noticed that each woman had managed to save a little bag or vegetable husk full of ants for her husband. These they put away.

132 That was in the late spring, a fertile season full of promise, and when it was over the best season of the year began, called the Veld Food Season, which starts some time in
361 March. The big rains have ended, the air is warm but not
621 hot, the veld is filled with water, game, fruit, roots, and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Those were two willful girls, too beautiful, too proud, too 882 much admired, but the young boys couldn't do enough for 572 857 them. It was one of their admirers who cleared the grass for the werf that the cousin's parents were building, and though the two girls teased and ridiculed the boy all the while, snickering contemptuously at him from behind their swinging beads, he worked on happily until not a blade of grass remained.

But Beautiful Ungka and her cousin were not as sophisti- 883 cated as they thought they were, really, for when they would 526 hear the music of the melon game they would abandon their poise and decorum to run for the sound, arms waving, ornaments and clothing streaming out behind, and when they found the game they had been hearing they would jump into the middle of it and play with abandon, singing loudly and dancing fast for fun. Also, Beautiful Ungka could spit through her teeth like a man. She could draw back her head and spit ten feet and she did this often, smiling scornfully, an astonishing accomplishment for such a handsome girl. Her cousin used to try it too; she could spit a little way but not nearly as far as Beautiful Ungka.

After all, they were only sixteen. There is a Bushman mood 533 song with these words: 539

I am tired and old and without people,
I wish I could marry a young girl.

There were so many great fires around Nama that the sky 132 was dark with their smoke, and when the sun rose in the morning, one day shortly after we had got there, we could not even see it until it was far above the horizon and then it appeared red and enormous, murky. In the west two new fires had sprung up, perhaps lit by Bushmen to show where they were

776 782 In spite of their reluctance to say the gods' names in serious discussion, the /Kung say them in blasphemy. (The word for cursing or blasphemy is *za*. Cursing is also called 'mouth-medicine'.) The medicine men curse the gods when they are combating their evil intents in the curing ceremony. A light-hearted blasphemy also occurs among the /Kung, as among ourselves, and the names slip from men's mouths in an insouciant way, as though they did not really mean them, as we say 'God Almighty!' or 'Jesus Christ!' in our inconsequential swearing.

I wondered if we should find that certain names were more closely associated with certain phenomena, like lightning or rain, or with special functions, such as presiding over childbirth, but all my inquiries on this theme led me to the conclusion that the names do not have such associations. There appears to be, however, a vague tendency, though not a strict rule, to associate some names more with benefaction, others more with ill treatment of the people. *Gani ga*, which is a very respectful name, seemed to come to mind when they wanted to show that they were well disposed towards the god and wanted to thank him or ask him sweetly to help them. */Gara* and *≠Gaishi ≠gai* we heard spoken in anger. They are 'scolding' names. One man used *Hawe* when he spoke of the greatness and power of the god, saying '*Hawe* was the tallest of the Bushmen, a great man with many names', and *Hishe* was the name used when the creator said, 'I am *Hishe*. I am unknown.' *Kxo* was not often uttered. The name *//Gawa* will be discussed later.

Two Images of *≠GAO/NA*

≠Gao/na, *the Protagonist of the Old Tales*

776 539 *≠Gao/na*, we were told, was the oldest name of the great god. Through that name the /Kung identify the great god with an old *≠Gao/na*, the protagonist of many ancient tales. Some sense of logical necessity, I believe, compelled the /Kung to merge the two concepts so that they say, when they are asked, that the *≠Gao/na* of the tales and the great god are the same being, but this is a forced and superficial verbal resolution, for the two beings could hardly be more different. The people, I believe, really imagine them as different, and behave in quite a different manner as they speak of them. They tell the tales of the old *≠Gao/na*'s doings without restraint, say his name aloud, howl and roll on the ground with laughter at his humiliations, whereas, when they speak of the great one in the east, they whisper and avoid his name. Yet they think that somehow in the rightness of things these two beings must be one, so one they are said to be. [522]

The old *≠Gao/na* was a kind of culture hero. He had supernatural powers. He could change himself into other forms and could change people into animals, bring people back to life, &c. He was a great magician, with powers over magic substances and objects. But, although he gave fire to mankind, he could not be called a great benefactor of mankind. He wanted fire for himself because he liked cooked food and gave the fire to man rather as an afterthought. He was not very much concerned with man or with man's morals. He was not the death-giver, involved in the mysterious inevitable necessity of death, or a wrathful punisher, like Jehovah. Such vengeance as he took was not a mighty vengeance but only a getting back at those who tricked him. And usually his reason for killing someone was his own hunger. In those oldet days, according to the tales, people were always eating one another or parts of one [372] [266]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

another or parts of themselves. In appearance and other characteristics the old ≠*Gao/na* was more man-like than supernatural. He lived on the earth among men. Like men he was subject to passions, hungers, sins, stupidities, failures, frustrations, and humiliations, but men imagine his to be on a larger scale and more grotesque than their own. Like Bushmen of today, his great concerns were hunger and sex. To the /Kung the two worst sins, the unthinkable, unspeakable sins, are cannibalism and incest. ≠*Gao/na* committed both these sins quite unconcernedly. He ate his older brother-in-law and his younger brother-in-law and raped his son's wife.

≠Gao/na, *his* Tun/ga (*the Fat Paouw*), *and the Pit*[1]

≠*Gao/na*'s wives were sisters. They had a brother who was a paouw. One day ≠*Gao/na* met the paouw, his *tun/ga*. [*Tun/ga* is the kin term for wife's brother older than the speaker.] His *tun/ga* was very fat. A fat paouw has bags of fat under his wings. ≠*Gao/na* and his *tun/ga* spoke together and parted. ≠*Gao/na* was surprised to see so much fat. He said, 'Oh, how fat my *tun/ga* is.' A few miles on they met again. ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Look, do you see that veld fire over there?' He pointed with his arm away up. The paouw said, 'Do you mean *that* fire?' He pointed, but only with a restricted gesture, keeping his wing to his side. 'No, ≠*Gao/na* said, 'THAT fire,' and he pointed with his arm far up, his whole armpit showing. 'I see it,' said the paouw, and he stretched his wing far up to point. ≠*Gao/na* was standing behind him. He seized the fat below the paouw's wing and cut it off and ran home. The paouw cursed ≠*Gao/na*. 'Break your bones and die,' he said. 'Die of a broken back or die of a broken neck,' he said.

≠*Gao/na* took the fat home and rubbed his wooden basins with it. His wives came home and found the wooden basins covered with fat and they asked him what he had eaten that was so fat. ≠*Gao/na* said that he got the fat from a puff adder. He said he beat it with a stick until the fat from the front went down the back to the middle, and beat the tail until the fat from the back went up the back to the middle. ≠*Gao/na* now planned how he would get his *tun/ga*. He slept that night. The next morning he set snares under the tree where the paouw went to eat gum. ≠*Gao/na* then met the paouw again. The paouw was wary and wouldn't come near. ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Why are you so wild with me?' [Wild is the opposite of tame, domesticated, or confident.] 'There is a tree there with gum under it but my eyes are not good enough to see it.' He said,' Let us have a contest; we shall see who can see the gum first. The one who sees it first must run and snatch it.' So they went to the tree and saw the gum. The paouw ran fast to get it, and ≠*Gao/na* ran too but he did not run so fast. The paouw snatched the gum and the snare caught him, and ≠*Gao/na* ran up and clubbed him, and carried him home. ≠*Gao/na*'s wives were out for veldkos. He put the fat from the other wing in a small pot and the body of the paouw in a big pot. When the wing fat was ready he ate it, and ate and ate, but he ate too much and he went out and had diarrhoea. The wives came home and suspected that perhaps he had killed their brother. The paouw began to expand in the pot and he swelled and swelled until *koah!* the pot burst and pieces of meat came whizzing out so that ≠*Gao/na* had to duck away from them. When all the meat was out, the paouw came back together again and flew away. ≠*Gao/na* chased after him but the wives called to him, 'Come back, you forgot your stick.' ≠*Gao/na* came back and got his stick and ran after the paouw again. The wives called him, 'Come back, you forgot your

[1] I wish to acknowledge with gratitude and pleasure the assistance of our daughter, Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, in gathering the material of the old tales, as well as other data. The first tale is hers. In paraphrasing the tales, we adhered to the events, the ideas, and the details, incorporating them as they were told us, but we have put the tales into our own words, attempting to preserve something of the quality of the telling as it came to our ears.

539 sandals.' ≠*Gao/na* came back and got his sandals and ran after the paouw again, but the paouw was gone by this time. ≠*Gao/na* cursed at his wives, 'You stupid lazy women, why were you so lazy that you lay down and didn't stir the pot?' The wives were much annoyed that ≠*Gao/na* had wanted to eat their brother.

Next day ≠*Gao/na* went hunting. While he was away his wives, because they were very annoyed, turned themselves into */qui twa* veldkos [a veldkos which is like small cucumbers]. When ≠*Gao/na* came home he saw the pile of ripe */qui twa* and ate them all. Then he came and sat by the fire. Soon he heard something laughing. He looked around but no one was there. He heard the laughing again and looked around. 'What is that?' he said, but he could see nothing. He heard the laughing again and again. 'Where is that laughing coming from?' he said. It was his wives inside him laughing at him and at this they kicked and kicked until they burst his stomach open and came out and were women again. ≠*Gao/na* was very surprised. How did he eat his wives? he wondered. */Naru*, a dung beetle, then came to sew up ≠*Gao/na*'s stomach. It was very sore. ≠*Gao/na* squirmed and struggled when */naru* pricked him. Then came a little *xwa xwa* fly. He took over the sewing and sewed so gently that it was only like a tickling. ≠*Gao/na* was healed and soothed and he slept.

Next day ≠*Gao/na* went hunting again. He was annoyed with his wives for tricking him into eating them and for laughing in his stomach and bursting him open. Presently he came upon some fruit. He said, 'Oh, if only I had my sister or mother to gather veldkos for me!' He turned back and told his wives where the fruit was and went on the other way. The wives went to gather the fruit, but ≠*Gao/na* with his medicine had made the heavy fruit able to fly from the tree and hit the women so that they ran away crying. [The /Kung who were telling the story made the sounds which the fruits made bombarding the women, slapping
[522] themselves, crying like the wives, and rolling over with laughter.]

The wives returned to their werf. They were quite sad because their husband had treated them in this way and they discussed what they would do to get even with him. Next day they went out for veldkos again. They came to a place which they decided was right for their plan. They dug a big pit. Into it they opened their bowels and the pit was full of faeces. They then went to their werf and waited for ≠*Gao/na*. When he returned they said, 'If only we had a brother, he would go and kill the little eland we saw.'

≠*Gao/na* said, 'My wives, *I* shall go for you.'

They said, 'We know you are lazy, but our brother would go.'

But ≠*Gao/na* said, 'No, my wives, I shall go for you tomorrow.' So they slept. The next day the wives led him to the place where they said they had seen the little eland, where they had made the pit. They said, 'There it is, by that tree. You must go quietly.'

≠*Gao/na* brought an arrow out to shoot the eland, but the wives said, 'You lazy man, do not shoot it; catch it.' So ≠*Gao/na* got out his spear and the wives said, 'You will let all the blood run out. We like the blood to eat. That is what we meant when we said we wished we had our brother here to kill the little eland.'

So ≠*Gao/na* put his spear away. The wives said, 'Right there is where the little eland is; you must jump on it and catch it. We shall go on either side to help you.' And, when they were near, they said, 'Jump and fall on it and catch it.'

≠*Gao/na* got all set and made himself steady. Then he jumped and fell into the pit and the wives ran in every direction, laughing and saying how lazy he was. There he was in the pit. He could not stand up. He slithered around 'like a snake', the people said with graphic gestures and shrieks of laughter. He got up and fell down again, he got up again and fell again, swearing at his wives and cursing them. 'These wives are very cruel.' [The people
[195] imitated his voice, higher than a man's voice and mumbling.] When ≠*Gao/na* finally got out of the pit he went to a water-hole and washed himself and walked home in the evening thinking of what he would do to his wives to punish them.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Eyes-on-His-Feet

539

≠*Gao/na*'s younger brother-in-law, his *tun/gama*, was named Eyes-on-His-Feet. He and ≠*Gao/na* went together to gather veldkos. They found *//karu*. After a time they came to a place where they wanted to stay and made a fire to roast the *//karu*. While they were sitting by the fire ≠*Gao/na* watched his *tun/gama*'s feet and saw what looked like eyes. He tossed dust on them and the eyes blinked. ≠*Gao/na* said, 'These are really his eyes. His face is just smooth. His eyes are on his feet.' ≠*Gao/na* then asked the *tun/gama* to lean over and press the *//karu* down into the ashes so that they would be all covered and would roast evenly. While the *tun/gama* was doing this, ≠*Gao/na* threw coals on his feet and burned his eyes. This weakened the *tun/gama* and ≠*Gao/na* was easily able to cover him all over with coals and roast him. While the *tun/gama* was roasting there was a sound, *tsi i its ii tsi ii* (like meat sizzling), and the *tun/gama* put a magic curse on ≠*Gao/na*'s mouth. When the *tun/gama* was well roasted, ≠*Gao/na* ate all he could of him and put what he could not eat into a bag. He then tried to eat the *//karu*. He put one up to his mouth but his mouth would not open. He took another. It fell down to the side. ≠*Gao/na* could neither speak nor eat. He put the *//karu* into the bag with the remains of the *tun/gama* and went back to his people in the werf and ordered them to make a dance to cure his mouth. He danced and danced with them and treated himself. While he was dancing, his wives took his bag and ate what was left of Eyes-on-His-Feet and all the *//karu* but one. [The story makes no point of the fact that they were eating their brother, albeit unknowingly, and one feels the omission hovering on the edge of being said.] Then they filled the bag with earth and put the *//karu* on top. Suddenly ≠*Gao/na*'s mouth was cured. He went to get his bag to finish his *tun/gama*, put in his hand, took some earth, and tossed it into his mouth. He spat and swore at his wives. 'You silly women,' he said, 'what have you done?' And he thought what he would do to them. Next evening he called for another dance. A woman got up to dance but ≠*Gao/na* said, 'No, I want a good singer to dance with me, not you.' At last ≠Tamsa, the wife who had put the earth in the bag, got up to dance. She danced around ≠*Gao/na*, he danced around her, and when she came near he beat her fiercely on the stomach with his stick, until her stomach hung down below her groin. She fell unconscious and all the other wives took her and ran away and treated and treated her, crying, until she was all right. This is why Bushmen have stomachs that hang down. [826]

≠Toma and /Qui thought this was an awful story. /Qui said he did not know why ≠*Gao/na* ate his *tun/gama*. He thought the reason could not have been mere hunger—after all, /Qui pointed out, he had *//karu*. There must have been some other reason. ≠Toma said, '≠*Gao/na* is evil. Even now he goes about killing people.' [911]

In another version the awfulness of eating a human being is modified by having Eyes-on-His-Feet come to life again. During the dance, ≠*Gao/na*'s stomach began to ache and make sounds and to swell, as with severe constipation. Suddenly it burst open and Eyes-on-His-Feet sprang out, as the wives had done after their laughter, whole and alive. In still another version ≠*Gao/na* turns ≠Tamsa into a bird called *chee*, a white and yellow bird about as big as a dove. This is one of the birds which the /Kung eat. They grab it in tree-holes when it is nesting. All my efforts to learn more about the possible identity of Eyes-on-His-Feet availed nothing. I wondered if he were not originally some veldkos, for instance, with a formation that suggested eyes, or an animal turned into a human being, or personified, like the paouw, but our /Kung informants did not know. The old people had not told them.

When my inquiries suggested to my informants that I expected them, possibly, to [154]

539 [154] know something which they did not know, they became defensive. /U said that her mother was lazy and did not tell her stories. That was why she knew so little. Old Xama said that her mother died when she was young, so she had remained ignorant.

[522] The story of ≠*Gao/na*'s raping his son's pretty young wife is long and detailed and is recounted with humour and great enjoyment by the /Kung. ≠*Gao/na* tried to be away with the women alone while they were gathering veldkos. First he changed himself into a baby wildebeest, pretended that he was dead, and let the women pick him up. That plan did not work, so he made another. He disguised himself very cleverly as his own sister and went with the women to gather when they stayed overnight, and raped his son's wife, Te, in her sleep. In the morning when the women discovered who he was, he tried to persuade Te that it was not he but her husband, Kxoma, who had been there in the night, but Te knew it was not and was terribly upset. The women decided not to tell Kxoma or Khan//a, because they were afraid the sons would kill their father, so they all kept quiet when they returned and they lived in peace.

These stories have become very mixed up. In another version, the pit episode is used again. It is the sons' wives who dig the pit and entice ≠*Gao/na* to jump into it in revenge for ≠*Gao/na*'s ' spoiling ' Te. The substance in the pit is not faeces but ≠*Gao/na*'s own semen. The women shape the semen into the form of a young giraffe. When ≠*Gao/na* finally gets out of this pit he cleans himself by rubbing himself on trees.

≠Gao/na *and His Stupid Generosity*

≠*Gao/na* sometimes prevails in his endeavours, but he has lapses and often appears to be far from clever. In one story he is both stupid and generous—too generous. This is a very long story in which Kxoma and Khan//a, his sons, kill an eland. Lions come and kill the sons. With the help of *zam zam*, the little tortoise, who was a person then and another brother of his wives, ≠*Gao/na* kills the lions by magic and restores his sons to life. The story ends in their all returning to the werf with the eland meat. They walk along. They meet a man. They give him gifts of meat. This man quickly hides his meat in a tree, then, dodging along behind some bushes, he runs ahead and meets ≠*Gao/na* and his party again. The sons and *zam zam* say, ' We have already given you some meat', but ≠*Gao/na* cannot remember and gives meat again. A third and a fourth time the man runs ahead and ≠*Gao/na* gives again, [522] in this way. [Dam and /Qui were speechless with laughter acting this out.] For the fifth time the man runs ahead and ≠*Gao/na* does not remember him and gives him his last bundle of meat. ≠*Gao/na* would now have to return to his wives without any meat for them, but instead he hits his buttocks very hard. He hits them and hits them until he knocks his insides out. He cuts his insides into pieces, like meat, and takes them to his werf. Others have meat but he has none except his own insides. He cooks them for his wives. They say the meat is too tough to eat and ask, ' Why do the others have nice eland meat and you only this? ' He says it is eland meat but that it has become dry. ≠*Gao/na* and his wives go hungry.

A story about ≠*Gao/na*'s getting fire was told in several versions. In one of them the name *Hiwe* was used. That was the only time I heard the protagonist of the tales called by any name but ≠*Gao/na*.

≠Gao/na *and the Fire Sticks*

There was a time when no one had fire except one man whose name was /Kai /Kini. He had fire and the name of this fire was *doro*. [The word for fire is *da*.] *Doro* was made with fire

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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sticks. /Kai /Kini cooked his food with the fire. Other people ate raw food. One day ≠*Gao/na* was walking in the veld and he came upon the place where /Kai /Kini was living. He was not there but his children were. They were eating cooked //*karu*. ≠*Gao/na* asked for some and found it very good. 'Oh, you eat nice cooked food,' said ≠*Gao/na*. 'How do you cook it?' The children said, 'Our father has a nice thing and he always gives us cooked food. He does all the best for us.' ≠*Gao/na* said, 'I shall come back tomorrow and eat this kind of food again.' 539

Next day he went back. As he was walking along he saw /Kai /Kini and his children digging for food in the ground and he hid himself and watched. When they had gathered enough, they went back to their werf and /Kai /Kini went and got his fire sticks from the place where he had hidden them. He twirled and twirled and twirled the male stick against the female stick, saying, 'Fire will come; fire will come.' When the fire was made and the food was cooking, /Kai /Kini hid his fire sticks again. ≠*Gao/na* was watching all the time. When the food was dished up, he came out from his hiding-place and sat down by the fire and they all ate together.

After a while ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Now we must make a game to play', and he made a *jani* toy, mounting it with a guinea-fowl feather, weighting it with a *tsi* nut. He tossed it into the air with his stick and, when it floated down, ran and caught it and tossed it up again and again without its ever falling to the ground. /Kai /Kini wanted to play. ≠*Gao/na* gave him the *jani*, but /Kai /Kini could not toss it high and did not get away from his house in following it. ≠*Gao/na* said the guinea-fowl feather was no good, they must put a big paouw feather on it. This they did and the *jani* flew high. ≠*Gao/na* then opened the wind and the wind blew from the eastern side and blew the *jani* toward the west. /Kai /Kini followed and followed it, fascinated, tossing it higher each time he caught it. ≠*Gao/na* followed /Kai /Kini and, when they came to the place where the fire sticks were hidden, he seized them and ran with them into the veld. As he ran he broke them into little pieces and then threw them the whole world over. 'All the world is going to get fire now', he said. 'Fire, fire, go over the world.' Since then there has been fire in every piece of wood and all men can get it out and cook their food. /Kai /Kini stopped playing and looked at ≠*Gao/na*. ≠*Gao/na* told him, 'It is not right that you alone should have fire. From now on you will not be a person', and he changed /Kai /Kini into a bird named ≠*orr*.

These events were told by the old old people. They happened long ago.

The Present Image: /Gao/na, *the Creator*

In his present image, the image of power, ≠*Gao/na*, the creator and controller of all things, is very different from the old protagonist. Bushman informants insisted on their belief, nevertheless, that ≠*Gao/na* of the tales and ≠*Gao/na*, the great god of the eastern sky, are one and the same. For them, through the name, one being has merged into the other and a continuity has been maintained. 776

The /Kung did not bring up the question of how his nature became so changed. I surmise that it may have been when the name *Huwe* found its way from the Bergdama to the /Kung, and the name *Hishe* from the Auen, that certain elements of the present image came in, changing the earthly old ≠*Gao/na* into a lofty sky god. But I know nothing about the names /*Gara*, *Gani ga*, and ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gai* and nothing about the time or order in which the names may have been created by the /Kung, or adopted, or with which characteristic one or the other may be associated. I *am* sure that current emotional needs and the imaginations of the people who are now living have continued to be at work upon the image, interpreting it, re-creating it, and bringing it to its present form. [177 178]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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622 562 refer to one woman as a "headman"), nor does her husband. A headman's daughter, as it were, holds the place until her son is born to fill it. Primogeniture would be in force: the eldest daughter's son would take precedence over a younger daughter's son. If a daughter's husband is an effective person by nature, he could lead the band and perform the functions of headman indefinitely. The band, on the other hand, might find it more advantageous not to wait for a son to be born to the headman's daughter but to realign itself under another headman. Within the proper frame of kinship this is a voluntary matter.

782 539 (11) I paraphrase some of the prayers as follows:

"You have created me and given me power to walk about and hunt. Why do you lead me in the wrong way so that I find no animals?"

"Give rain, *!Nau*, wet the earth. Let there be veldkos. We are starving because we have to stay by the water hole where there is no more veldkos. You have favored some people with rain. Will you not favor us?"

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222
312 because it entailed two consecutive days of hardhiking on
482 short water rations. The object of such a trip was to get to
484 the nuts and back again as quickly as possible, before the physiological deficit of water was allowed to reduce efficiency.

221 The general object of the winter nutting trips was to
222 remain at the nut forests just long enough to eat a really
262 substantial quantity of nuts (about 400 nuts per adult). This marathon meal starts the moment that the Bushmen arrive at the nut camps and continues throughout their stay. It is interrupted for short periods when the Bushmen go out to col-
[539] lect nuts in the vicinity of their temporary camp. There is a Bushman saying that aptly applies to this situation: "It is better to carry food home in your stomach than on your back."

[224] Hunting rarely occurs at these overnight camps. The efforts of men and women alike are directed to eating as many nuts as possible in a short time.

[312] The most important variation in the late winter and spring subsistence tactics centers on the use of Fockea monroi as a source of water. This will be discussed below.

132 6. Early Spring

August is the last month of winter. The last of the freezing nights occurs at the first of the month and these are followed by warmer nights in the 40's and 50's and daily

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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222 622 [184] A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to [782] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, [539] please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the [462] women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in [857] ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be [415] plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre [237] or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 182 The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the [221] migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have [621] seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kõ-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Chapter VII

RELIGION AND MAGIC

Death and Burial

771 In discussing the social customs and economic life of the Bushmen we have had occasion to note incidentally various usages and beliefs, connected for instance with puberty and especially with food, which point to the existence of some conception of supernatural agencies, and indicate how intimately religion really enters into the everyday activities of the people. The customs and beliefs associated with death afford a further insight into the religion of the Bushmen, for we meet here with their ideas of a future state as well as of spiritual beings.

539 773 [761] The origin of death is recorded in the fable of the Moon and the Hare, which is told with some variation by all the Bushman and Hottentot tribes, as well as by certain Bantu peoples. The version found among the Cape Bushmen states that the Moon once appeared to the young Hare, telling him not to cry at the death of his mother, for she was not really dead but sleeping, and would return again living, just as the Moon dies and returns again living. But the young Hare did not believe this, and continued to cry, saying that the Moon was deceiving him, whereupon the Moon, infuriated, cursed the Hare and cleft his lip. In another, more widespread, rendering the Moon instructs the Hare to deliver the following message to mankind: "As I die and return again, so shall man die and return again." The Hare distorts the message and tells the men that they will die and not return again. The Moon curses the Hare and cleaves his lip, but ever since then death has existed on earth.[1]

761 [754] There is not much information regarding the Bushman beliefs as to the actual causes of death. The Cape Bushman apparently recognized that deaths could occur purely by accident, as in the case of a wound from a poisoned arrow, the bite of a lion or leopard, starvation, etc. On the other hand, there was also a strong belief

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 9–10; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 56 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 44–1; Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 172.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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114 184 769 789 asked to make use of the special powers they had possessed in life and apparently still retained, just as they would be approached when alive. The main conclusion to be drawn, in fact, is that these Bushmen do not regard dead people as wholly severed from the world [775] of the living. There is certainly nothing here to warrant the assumption of any regular organized worship of the dead.

Worship of Heavenly Bodies

782 821 Religious cult among the Cape Bushmen centres largely in the worship of the Heavenly Bodies, and especially of the Moon. Prayers [794] directed by them to the Moon have been recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd, but unfortunately the details given are far too [114] scanty to throw much light upon the nature of the worship. One account, indeed, indicates that when the New Moon first appears every man prays to it, and Orpen also mentions having seen Bushmen throw sand in the air and shout out on seeing the crescent moon when it first appeared, but there is nothing else to suggest any special form of rite. The prayers themselves are chiefly prayers for food, and one of them, just lately published by Miss Bleek,[1] may be quoted as illustrating the form of invocation. It is spoken with raised right hand :—

539 782 821

Ho, my hand is this,
I shoot a springbok with my hand
By an arrow.

I lie down,
I will early kill a springbok
To-morrow.

Ho, Moon lying there,
Let me kill a springbok
To-morrow,
Let me eat a springbok;
With this arrow
Let me shoot a springbok
With this arrow;
Let me eat a springbok,
Let me eat filling my body
In the night which is here,
Let me fill my body.

Ho Moon lying there,
I dig out ants' food
To-morrow,
Let me eat it.

Ho Moon lying there,
I kill an ostrich to-morrow
With this arrow.

[1] "Bushman Folklore," *Africa*, ii (1929), 306.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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 821 [539] [782]

Ho Moon lying there,
Thou must look at this arrow,
That I may shoot a springbok with it to-morrow.

In the mythology of these people the Moon is represented now as the shoe of the Mantis, which he threw into the sky to give him light, now as a man gradually sliced down to almost complete extinction by the sun; and it is also connected, as we have seen, with the origin of death. But that it is more than merely a mythological character to them is shown not only by the prayers, but also by various special observances relating to it. The Moon is not to be laughed at, lest it become angry and go into the sky (i.e. become eclipsed). A Bushman child for the same reason is warned by his father not to look at the Moon as it rises behind the mountain, for fear of arousing its anger and causing it to become obscured. Above all the Moon may not be looked at when game has been shot, lest the wounded animal be lost.[1] [773]

Prayers are also found addressed to the Sun and, more frequently, to the Stars. Abundance of food is attributed to them, and the prayers, like those addressed to the Moon, ask for success in hunting and collecting, and say, in effect, "send food, that we may live and not die." Certain stars are asked for certain foods, probably those that come into season about the time the star first appears in the evening sky. Canopus, for instance, known as the "Bushman rice (ants' larvæ) Star", is addressed as follows[2]:— 782 821

[539]

O Star coming there,
Let me see a springbok,
O Star coming there,
Let me dig out ants' food
With this stick;
O Star-body coming there,
Let me dig out ants' food
With this stick;
O Star coming there,
Let me see a springbok to-morrow;
O Star coming there,
I give thee my heart;
Do thou give me thy heart;
O Star coming there,
I may see a proteles to-morrow,
Let the dog kill it,
Let me eat it,
Let me eat filling my body,
That I may lie and sleep at night.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Tales*, 7, 9–10, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 7; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, Index s. v. "Moon"; Orpen, "Mythology of the Malut Bushmen", 145; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 304–6.

[2] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 307.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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821 and left them lying alone, whereupon they ascended to the sky.
[773] This story, adds Lebzelter, is not believed in at all by the people, who told it to him with great laughter.[1]

Other prayers to the New Moon are found, however, among the
[782] IO Kung in Angola. Miss Bleek describes a dance seen by her,
[535] in which the women and girls stood in a group on one side singing and clapping their hands, while the men, singing also but not clapping, were in an irregular group on the other side, wriggling their whole bodies but otherwise hardly moving. The song accompanying this dance was a repetition of the words :—

[539]

//nwa-ss //kakama //gu a i-i,	New Moon, come out, give water to us,
//nwa-ss tatana //gu a i-i,	New Moon, thunder down water for us,
//nwa-ss tala u //gu a i-i,	New Moon, shake down water for us.

Here also, as among the Naron and Auen, the Moon is therefore looked upon as the raingiver, and is prayed to as such—and rain, it must be remembered, makes the plants grow which feed the buck, hence it provides both vegetable and animal food. The New Moon is said to be either a child or a man, while the Full Moon is a woman. This distinction Miss Bleek interprets in the light of the difference in form presented by these two aspects of the Moon. In Naron and
[193] Nama the masculine and feminine endings are given to the same
[196] roots to denote respectively strong, tall, slender things and weak, short, round things. So here the New Moon may be called a man, because of its slenderness, the Full Moon a woman because of its round shape. The Moon is also held to be the elder sister, the sun the younger; but apparently there are no special practices or beliefs regarding the latter, although one of Miss Bleek's informants said: "We sing to the Sun and the Stars as well as the Moon." No prayers
[782] to the former are recorded, however.[2]

The only other Bushmen of whose ideas relating to the heavenly bodies we have information are the Hiechware. Dornan states that
[184] he was unable to discover among them any special ceremonies connected with the sun and the moon, but that they certainly do reverence these bodies, although seeming to dread them more than anything else. They think they must keep on good terms with the sun and the moon if they are to be successful in hunting or anything
[782] else they undertake. He could not, however, discover any prayers

[1] Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khun-Buschmänner," 401; *idem*, "Bei den |Kuh Buschleuten" 13.
[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 53; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 119–20, 122, 124.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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782
821
[539]

O gallopers,
O gallopers,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it
821 to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other magicians have a similar power over the wind, */khwe*, and are protected by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind
[773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears the form of a bird.[1]

773 Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we
776 meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from
[184] those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object
[794] of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed that *'Kaang* (i.e. */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, *'Kue-'akeng-*
[761] *'teng*, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives
[821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put
[825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine
796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood"
535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant,
[773] Qing, described as follows: "*Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the song of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it, and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night.
[786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[104] [2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol *c* represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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medicine, in which is burnt snake powder. When a man is sick, 535
this dance is danced round him, and the dancers put both hands under 796
their arm-pits, and press their hands upon him, and when he coughs [755]
the initiated put out their hands and receive what has injured him—
secret things. The initiated who know secret things are Qogne;
the sick person is hang cäi."

Cagn, said Qing, was the first being and made all things—the sky, 776
the moon, stars, mountains, and animals. The Bushmen prayed
to him. On being asked how, Qing answered, in a low, imploring [782]
tone: "O Cagn! O Cagn! are we not your children, do you not [539]
see our hunger? give us food"—"and he gives us both hands
full." To the further question, where *Cagn* was, he responded,
"We don't know, but the elands do. Have you not hunted and [825]
heard his cry, when the elands suddenly start and run to his call?
Where he is, the elands are in droves like cattle."

Cagn's wife was *Coti*. When asked where she came from, Qing said, "I don't know, perhaps with those who brought the Sun; but you are now asking the secrets that are not spoken of." These [794]
secrets he himself did not know—"only the initiated men of that dance know these things." *Cagn* also had two sons, *Cogaǂ* and *Gcwi*, and together with him and *Cogaǂ* there was another great "chief", *Qwangciqutshaa*. All three had great power, but it was *Cagn* who gave orders through the other two. Of all these personages 773
various tales were related by Qing. One of them, describing how 776
Cogaǂ was killed by baboons and restored to life again by *Cagn*, is almost identical with the similar story told by the Cape Bushmen of */kaggen* and */gaunu-ts'axau*. In all these tales *Cagn* appears as a human being, but with supernatural powers. He can change himself into different forms, is then sometimes killed and eaten by animals or people, but always comes to life again. He possesses various magical charms, the strongest of which is his tooth; and the birds are his messengers who report to him what is going on. [825]
Occasionally he gets into trouble, from which he is extricated by *Cogaǂ*, just as in the Cape Bushman stories */kaggen* is aided by */ni*.

Another name for the Mantis among these Bushmen, according 776
to Arbousset, is *'ngo*. This may explain the following quotation from Campbell: "They had a name which they gave to God, who is above them, and another to God who is under them. The former is a male, the latter a female. The male God they call Goba, the female Ko; and her attendants are called Gauna." *Ko* (*'ngo*), as

[1] [see category 116, p. 182 for the author's explanation of the 'initiated.' — Analyst]

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114 776 [224] from Chapman, who records that once when some Bushmen were with him and he had killed a rhinoceros they threw some dust on its tail and spat in its eyes before they touched it, muttering meanwhile "some gibberish" to *Thora*, while on another occasion when he had killed some elephants a similar performance was again enacted by his Bushman attendants.

The distinction between *Thora* and *Huwe* is not quite clear from Dornan's account. In one place he seems to imply that the two words refer to the same conception. Elsewhere, however, he remarks: "Huwe seems an inferior kind of spirit to Thora, for at times the latter is invoked to come to his aid, as if the former were not powerful enough to defend himself and his children. Some Bushmen near the Tuli River sang the following words, in an agitated and melancholy [539] voice: 'Thora ba Huwe i-e i-e, Thora come to the help of Huwe [782] i-e i-e,' ad lib." From their attributes, however, it seems that the two conceptions *Thora* and *Huwe* are substantially the same. In all probability the name *Huwe* has drifted in from the west, which would explain why it is sometimes substituted for *Thora*, sometimes found alongside it.[1]

192 821 In addition to this being variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Erob*, *Thora*, etc., all the Northern Bushmen also speak of *//gauwa* (*Gaua*, [776] *//gaua*, *//gauab*, etc.). This word, as we have already seen, is used [184] by the North-Western Bushmen for "a person who has died", or [775] more precisely, as appears in certain cases, for the ghost of a dead person. It is, however, also used with a much wider application. Among the Naron and Auen at Sandfontein the wind is called *//gauwa* when it is strong and howls. One of the Naron tales recorded by Miss Bleek speaks of the wind as a man going about, and of *//gauwa* as a bird accompanying him. "*//gauwa* says: 'I make the wind and thus go.'" Some of the people seemed to believe in a supreme 192 *//gauwa*, a being who lives in the east near *Hishe*, to whose house the 776 ghosts repair by day. They said he was *Hishe's* younger brother, 114 while others said *//gauwa* was *Hishe*. Miss Bleek affirms that no ideas of good or bad qualities are connected with either of these beings, nor are they prayed to. Fourie, however, speaks of *Gaua* among the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron as a "bad being" or "Satan", to whom people dying a "bad death" are said to go,

[1] Dornan, op. cit., 148–50; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 386, 81. The translation given by Dornan of the prayer in which *Thora* is asked to come to the aid of *Huwe* cannot be relied upon. In another place (*J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1917, p. 53) he renders the same words: "God leave (us) alone is is!"

/156 cont./

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

/157/ Divorce rarely occurs, and then only when the woman
586 has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

In most cases, however, the woman remains with her hus-
[595] band even in old age, while he provides himself with one or two younger and stronger women.

The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

587 Widows are permitted to marry again after a certain time, as is also the case for divorced women.

589 There is no special dress for widows.

The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to
562 that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-
264 pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

[184] The Rietfontein Auin always have just one wife. The reason
595 for this is said to be that "little food" is available. The Auin from Gam, on the average, have two, sometimes five wives.

Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto de-
● 548 scribed, there are supposed to be prostitutes among the married
684 women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auin declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by
847 stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe
Kung

thought that he would have to wait at least four years more 562
for her, he would get into such a passion of desire that he
would have to send his wife away for a time, lest he forget
himself and break one of the most stringent rules. Bushmen [833
believe that it harms a girl terribly to be possessed before she 834]
is mature. It might even drive her mad.

Bushmen have no real solution for this problem, as there 548
are no prostitutes and only in a few bands are there promiscu- 588
ous women. Homosexuality is not permitted either; the 838
young men just have to get used to being tempted constantly
but never gratified.

Gai had raised his young wife, and when she reached pu- 593
berty he had possessed her and she had borne him a son. This 587
was the young man Gai had found at Okwa. Shortly after
that his young wife had died and Gai then had married Tse-
tchwe, whose young fiancé had been taken away by a farmer
to work on a farm. Gai and Tsetchwe had borne two chil-
dren. Only one was still alive; this was Nhwakwe.

When we asked about the residence and about the parents 159
of Gai, an argument arose. Gai lived with Ukwane because
his wife wanted to live with her mother, Dasina, and Dasina
lived with Ukwane because she and Ukwane were relatives,
sharing a common grandparent. Gai himself, said Ukwane,
was conceived by a Bushman mother and a Bushman father
named Gwena, but Gwena had died while Gai was still in
the womb. When that had happened, Gai's mother had gone [582]
to Chukudu to marry a Bakalahari man. She and the Bakala-
hari had then moved to the big rock in the Okwa Omaramba,
where Gai was born. This was Ukwane's side of the story.

Gai had been listening, and when Ukwane had finished,
Gai raised himself up on his elbow to say that Ukwane was 159
quite mistaken, for the Bakalahari was his real father. An ar-
gument dragged on, the old people insisting that Ukwane was

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837 with the woman who becomes his wife; at the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with women, whether 684 married or unmarried, other than his wife or wives. Marital infidelity appears to be severely condemned by all the Bushmen. Among the Naron, for example, a man who catches his wife misconducting herself tries to kill her lover and beats her, but he generally does not drive her away if she has children.[1] Marital fidelity among the Auen is said to be fairly well maintained. When adultery does occur, the adulterer is, if possible, killed, while the wife is more or less severely beaten, according to the temper of the husband; she is apparently never killed. Kauffman adds that there nevertheless appears to [548] exist a form of prostitution in which a married woman offers herself to different men for gifts, although if this comes to the notice of the husband he will drive her away. Our author finds it difficult to reconcile this with the blood vengeance exercised in case of adultery, but adds the explanation given him by the people, that "if a woman is intimate with many men, the husband can hardly wage 'war' with them all".[2] Of the Kung Lebzelter says merely that the adulterer is killed, and the guilty wife thrashed.[3] Among the Namib Bushmen, again, an adulterer can either be killed or forced to pay compensation. We are not told, however, the circumstances under which one alternative is exercised rather than the other, nor in what the compensation consists. The wife is sent away, and the adulterer, if unmarried, is then expected to marry her. If she is pregnant the child [848] must be reared by him, and sent back when grown up to the original husband.[4]

114 684 In all these cases, it will be noticed, we have to deal with generalized statements. In no instance is any concrete illustration given of what actually took place in such cases of adultery as may have come under the observation of our authorities. It is not possible, therefore, to decide how much truth really underlies the statements that the adulterer is generally killed. It is evident, however, that the sexual prerogatives conferred by marriage are jealously guarded. Unfortunately almost all the information bearing on this point refers

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 34; cf. Passarge, op. cit., 106.
[2] Op. cit., 136, 157.
[3] Op. cit., 14.
[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168. Seydel (op. cit., 305) states that while formerly blood vengeance was invariably exercised in case of adultery, nowadays the reaction has been toned down, and the guilty party ("der schuldige Teil") is merely thrashed very severely ("halbtot") with a stick!

[9 cont.]

586 Up to the birth of the first child, the marriage is dis-
solvable, but not thereafter. Monogamy is the rule; where
595 there is polygamy, the first wife is the "head wife." The eldest
596 brother of the head wife is the family head. The boys belong to
611 the family of the wife, and the daughters to the family of the
father.

582 The strictest exogamy prevails. Son and daughter may
marry neither into the father's kin group nor into the mother's
[587] kin group. On the other hand, a young widow is usually married
by one of her brothers-in-law.

● 551 The following kin-group names were reported to me:
!Nui-a, Dai, áben, orasi, Gombe, χ'am, χ'am-Kha.

805 The following times of the day are differentiated:
eruba, time before sunrise.
!khoasa, time of sunrise (N. khoa-am = to open, that is, the door for the sun is opened).
sorésa, "the sun shines."
sorésa ≠kam go, "the young sun goes," breakfast time. In effect, below the tropics one has the impression that the sun, after it has stood on the horizon for a while, moves toward the zenith with great speed.
sorésa !khoai go, "the sun goes back." Noon.
//gui-sa, "it declines (lies down)." Afternoon.
[512] ≠khai-am-go, "to rise and go." After hunting or searching for veldkost, the Bushmen usually take a rest before it is time to go home and start cooking (late afternoon).
≠kha-go, "to go through." (The sun goes through the gate of the night.) Dusk, sunset.
!khui-sa, to be evening.
dschu-ba, night (N. tsuχub).

821 These Bushmen have the idea that the old sun dies every
night and a new, young sun appears the next morning. That the
[171] moon dies every month and is resurrected again is a notion so
widespread in Africa that it is really unnecessary to make special
mention of it.

805 The year begins when a new rainy season sets in.
//hauba, "storms rise." Rainy season.

[15 cont.]

881 the man's encampment and took up married life. Nowadays the
585 first menstruation and wedding no longer always coincide.

584 The consent of the girl is absolutely necessary for the conclusion of the marriage. People often are betrothed already in childhood. Once the girl has grown up, that is, once she has become sexually mature, the suitor goes to the girl's parents. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to enter the encampments of their prospective parents-in-law. If father and mother agree, then they go to the grandparents to obtain their consent. Then oxen, wethers, and goats are collected for the feast. Then the suitor goes to his parents, who in turn consult the grandparents. In the bridegroom's house also livestock is now collected, or, as the case may be, begged or purchased.
585 Then a great feast begins. There is dancing, and long trumpets are blown.

During the wedding dance the men sing:
[539] "Huwi é haa -- huwi é taa -- huwi áni taa." (The girl has grown up.)

The women clap their hands and sing:
"Jee jeee ja! jee jeee ja!"

881 A boys' initiation in the true sense of the term is no longer held. When the boy has grown up, however, a celebration
852 is held and livestock is killed. Similarly, when a child has been born, a celebration takes place, at which wethers or sheep are slaughtered. It is striking that among these Bushmen a sheep usually takes the place of the goat.

551 The boy receives the father's name; the daughter, the mother's name. The children belong to the family of the woman,
611 and the oldest uncle, or oldest brother of the woman, is the head
582 of the family. It is prohibited to marry the children of the mother's sisters.

The kinship terms are as follows:

601

German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
Father	//khum-khe	//gub, dadab, eib
Mother	//khums	//gus, is
Son	a χ'oron-khe	/gōab/gōb
Daughter	χ'ams-khe	/gōas/gōs
Brother	!gasab	!gasab
Sister	di !gas-khe	!gasas

[29 cont.]

553 The custom of spitting is undoubtedly original, not a substitute
852 for well water."

551 The father gives his newborn child a name. The boys usually receive animal names, commonly that of the grandfather, and the girls, plant names. Albinos are unknown among the !Kung
[142] tribes visited by me, but a horde of Bushmen with red eyes is supposed to live in the eastern Sand Veld in the region of the
[845] Dussidum. I have never seen twins; they are probably done away
853 with. The children are breast fed for a long time; older infants learn to squeeze the milk out of the breast with their fingers or pull with their teeth on the leathery nipples. The assertion of
847 other travelers that the women kill their children if they are born
[114] before the previous child has been weaned is allegedly not true of the kin groups visited by me. On the other hand, Vedder (1)

[113] 1. "Zur Vorgeschichte der eingeborenen Völkerschaften von Südwestafrika. I. Die Buschmänner [On the Prehistory of the Native Tribes of Southwest Africa]," by V. Vedder, Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society, Vol. I, p. 10, 1925-1926, Windhoek, 1927. -- Cf. also Von Zastrow and H. Vedder, op. cit., p. 414.

reports:

"I must mention one other custom which likewise considerably contributes, and may have contributed in prehistoric times, to the Bushmen being so few in number. Custom demands that a child born when the older child of the same mother is not yet three years old be buried alive. This is a gruesome custom. I spoke about it with a racially pure Bushman. My remonstrances did not convince him at all. He explained: 'We Bushmen are poor people. We have no goats and no cows to give our children milk. If the woman brings two children into the world within a period of three years, we don't know what the older child is supposed to live on if the newborn child uses up the mother's milk. It cannot live on the hard veldkost or on tough meat. The teeth are not yet strong enough. If we let the newborn

MASARWA
OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

600 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib
769 Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu
(774) doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the
[825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals,
[824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe
[776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at
551 her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say
602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo
105 delta, J. Seiner reports:
101 "The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting.
[563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe
[144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease.
AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY.

We have already stated that the generational terms *may* apply to all collateral kin 601
and to all lineal kin save those related by parent–child or sibling ties. Up to now we have been assuming, for the sake of orderly procedure, that a /Kung Bushman applies these terms, in the manner specified, to all consanguineous kin solely according to his *biological* position among them. This assumption is correct with respect to the parent–child and sibling relationships; in these instances the biological tie is the sole basis for classifying relatives. But for all other consanguineous relatives, as well as for many other persons besides, a factor other than the biological tie may determine the nature of the terminological relationship. We refer to *the factor of the name*.

The principle underlying the factor of the name is that persons who share the same name occupy identical positions in certain sectors of the kinship constellation we have called System A. Based on this principle, a method of classifying persons terminologically has been developed. We shall refer to this method as the *homonymous method*, and distinguish it from the *generational method* as set out in Diagram 1.

When it comes into conflict with the generational method, the homonymous method takes precedence. It has been developed and extended in the /Kung system more [184]
fully than in the /Gikwe and /Kõ systems, where it exists, but where it has remained minor, and is practised only among persons who do not have consanguineous or affinal ties. The /Kung, on the other hand, make wide use of the homonymous method.

The complicated system by which terms are applied in this method will be ex- 551
plained step by step, but first the customs followed by the /Kung in the naming of children will be described.

1. The /Kung have no surnames.

2. Names are sex-linked, hence men and women never have the same name.

3. Parent and child must not bear the same name in /Kung culture. The /Kung said it would be madness for a man to name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Our genealogies of about 175 /Kung show no deviation from this rule.

4. Children are always named for relatives, either consanguineous or affinal, 553
although they may bear the name of a non-related person as a second name. They are named for someone in the first or second ascending generation.

5. Fathers have the right to name both sons and daughters. A man invariably names his first-born son for his father (i.e. the child's FaFa) and his first-born daughter for his mother (i.e. the child's FaMo). If he has more than one wife, he names the first-born son and daughter of each wife for his father and mother respectively. Thus siblings, though they are not named for each other, often bear the same name, having been named for the same person. A man usually but not invariably names his second-born son for the child's MoFa and second-born daughter for her MoMo. Fifty-one per cent. of the /Kung in our records are named for their grandparents. Subsequent children are usually named for the siblings of their father or mother, or for the spouses of those siblings. Very rarely is a child named for other relatives. We have recorded two named for cousins of their parents. It is not their custom, /Kung informants told us, for them to name their children for the children's great-grandparents or for the siblings of the children's grandparents.

6. We have recorded about 46 men's names and about 41 women's names in use [551]
among the 600 people we know in the Nyae Nyae region.

553 7. Names are occasionally changed.

[551] 8. Nicknames are in common use. They are usually descriptive of physical characteristics, such as Gow Umbilicus or Gow Beard.

553 601 It must be kept in mind, as the description of the homonymous method of applying terms proceeds, that the /Kung distinguish between being named for, and having the same name as, a person. When one is named for someone, one is brought into the kinship constellation of that person. Merely fortuitously having the same name as someone does not do this to the same degree. We shall at first limit the description to situations where one is *named for* another.

A child is, as we have said, never named for a parent, nor is a child named for a sibling (though they may have the same name). In these categories of relationship, therefore, the homonymous method of applying terms is not operative. In other categories of relationship, however, when a person is named for another, he is, with respect to ego, terminologically taken out of his biological category and classified in the category of the person for whom he is named. Ego applies a term to him according to his homonymous classification.

There are three categories, with respect to ego, into which persons may be classified by their names. (1) The parent–child category: Although ego is never named for his parent, some of his relatives will be. (Some of his nephews and nieces, for example, would certainly be named for ego's Fa or Mo.) When this occurs, ego applies a term to that person which classifies the person with the parent of ego's for whom he or she was named. The terms are *tsu* applied to males, *||ga* applied to females. The terms *ba* and *dai* are applied, as we have said, only to the biological parents. The terms *tsu* and *||ga* are the terms applied to persons in generations adjacent to ego's (i.e. his parents' generation, cf. Diagram 1, p. 6), and are the terms used to classify persons terminologically in the parent category. The same terms would be used for persons named for ego's offspring who again would be terminologically classified as in adjacent generations with respect to ego. (2) The sibling category: If a person is named for ego's sibling, ego classifies him or her terminologically with that sibling and applies the sibling term, i.e. *!go* (elder Br), *!kwi* (elder Si) or *tsī* (younger Br or younger Si). (3) Ego's category: We consider that the third category is basically ego's category and that it includes persons who are classified by name or generation with ego. Persons may be classified in this category by being named for ego, or for ego's spouse, who is of the same terminological generation as ego. The person for whom ego is named and the spouse of that person are in this category. The way people are classified within it will be brought out as the description proceeds, but more information must first be given about the terms associated with it, namely: *!gu!na* (*tun!ga* w.s.) and *tũn*.

The term *!gu!na*, unlike any of the other terms, so far as we know, is a translateable word. *!Gu*[1] means name, *!na* means big or old. The diminutive which derives from the term is *!guma*, small or young name. As terms *!gu!na* and *!guma* always occur modified with the augmentative or diminutive suffix, never simply as *!gu*, the word for name.

[114 194] [1] This is undoubtedly the word which Miss Bleek heard as *!ku* (cf. 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', p. 62). It seemed to us particularly difficult to determine, when a word began with the alveolar palatal click, whether the consonant release was voiced or unvoiced. We have two opinions here, Miss Bleek's *!ku* and our *!gu*. Mr. Westphal hears no consonant, i.e. *!ũ*.

553 ego or his kin or affines. We shall refer to this aspect of the kinship system as the
601 name-relationship.

Among name-relatives, as among consanguineous relatives, it is the biologically older person who classifies the younger with respect to his (the older's) kinship constellation, using the diminutive form of the term for the younger person. The younger person reciprocates.

•551 One of the factors in the name-relationship is an ancestral list of names to which
553 terms are linked. Each /Kung has his own individual list to learn, taught to him by
601 his parents and his *!gu!na*. No one could tell us exactly how the list is compiled, but the theory which lies behind the list is that there were among ego's forbears persons whose names required certain terms. (One surmises they were great-grandparents and their siblings and the siblings of grandparents, &c. or perhaps still earlier generations.) Name-relatives who have these names may have had some distant consanguineous connexions. Ego no longer knows, but the old people knew, and in following their teaching ego knows he is following his proper homonymous pattern. Every informant had such a list and told us what term he linked with every name we knew. Some had more than one term linked with a name. ≠Toma used the term *tũn* for women named Khwova who came from the Gum region and */kwi* for Khwovas from the north. His parents, he said, told him to do this.

553 There is a system of applying terms to name-relatives. Ego is in the place of first
601 priority in the sense that invariably the term *!gu!na* is applied to any name-relative having the same name as himself. Furthermore, ego applies terms to the Fa, Mo, So, Da, sibling and spouse of a *!gu!na* who is a name-relative having the same name as himself, as he does in the case of the person for whom he is named. However, this is carried no further. He does not apply terms to persons named for these name-relatives and he does not apply terms to the nuclear family and spouse of a person he terms *!gu!na* unless the *!gu!na* has the same name as himself.

The term *!su* is invariably applied to any male name-relative who has the same name as ego's Fa, *||ga* or *di!guma* to any female name-relative with the same name as ego's Mo.

[114 There are gaps in our knowledge at this point; confusion in the data was not re-
551] solved. We think, but are not certain, that next in order comes the ancestral list, taking precedence over siblings, children and spouses as a source of terms to apply to name-relatives. We think the terms applied to name-relatives derive mainly from the ascending generations, except *!gu!na*, applied to persons with the same name as ego's. To illustrate, take a man named Bo. Unless Bo is ego's name, or the name of ego's Fa, ego would use for Bo the term which was linked to the name Bo on his ancestral list. We think that, even if Bo were the name of ego's Br or the Hu of a female ego, the sibling or spouse term would not take precedence over the term linked with the name Bo on the ancestral list. We are certain that the ancestral list does take precedence over ego's children as a source of terms for name-relatives.

We have been assuming that the name occurs on the ancestral list. If a person
[551] should come along whose name was not on his ancestral list, but was the same as one of ego's consanguineous kin or affines, ego would apply the term to that person which he applies to the consanguineous kin or affine. (In the case of an affine ego would use a kin term corresponding to the affinal term, not the affinal

606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as " my son-in-law " or " my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidently they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

847 Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.

844 A pregnant woman is generally treated with great considera-
[84] tion. For the first confinement it is customary for her to return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-//om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the
846 infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner
848 it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies
165 follow in rapid succession during the course of married life
847 but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted
[845] the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five
[162] or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood. Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance
[593] is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among
553 the *Hei-//om* each child is generally given three names,
[55] namely a first name, a second name and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother and the second name by the

old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the 553
surname of the mother and girls that of the father. Thus *|Uirob Geirob |Geibeb* married a woman *|Kao-tamas Gamanis |Harus* and begot two sons, namely *||Otoab ǂGonab |Garub* and *Gogob Gomob |Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras |Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *||Otoab* become *||Otoab ǂGonab |Garub |Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose.
A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nick- 551
names are common and are given to children when quite young. They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life.

The communities which have not been in contact with 164
civilization are remarkably free from infectious, contagious and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons when malaria becomes unduly prevalent the incidence of disease is very small among them. Sickness is in most instances 753
attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the affected person, to magical influences exercised by other persons or, when unduly prevalent, to something going wrong with the perpetual fire. Treatment is adminis- 757
tered by relatives and friends or in cases of acute or prolonged illness by an elder or doctor who is well versed in magical practice. Herbs of various descriptions are employed both internally and externally through incisions in the skin. Inunction with medicated ointments is also extensively resorted to. Surgical procedures are limited to incisions into the skin.
Burial of the dead is carried out almost universally at present. 764
Among the more primitive groups, however, the corpse is left [884]
in the hut which is simply pressed down so as to cover it.
After a death has taken place the camp is deserted and not 768
occupied again. Old people who are no longer able to help 888
themselves are left in the werft with a supply of food and water. The rest of the group then move off and do not return to it again.

Dances and Games.

Dancing and games of various kinds enter very largely into 535
the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first place among their social recreations. Some of the dances such as the *tsei*, *hũigi-ho*, and *ge-!ni* among the *ǂAo-||ẽin* and *Aikwe* and the *|hawa-ǂnab* among the *Hei-||om* would appear to be of a religious nature, being danced only on ceremonial occasions, for example, during the initiation ceremonies. On the other hand dancing is often indulged in at night for pure pleasure, especially in times of plenty. The

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

291 Both men were thin, brown-skinned, and wore nothing but loincloths, and they looked very out of place next to us, among our big trucks and boxes of equipment, squatting naked like two frogs against the long grass and reddening sky of their country. We sat by the fire to talk with them, and it was the old man who answered our questions. His name was [194 Ukwane, and he seemed very old, for he spoke with a hesi- ● 551] tant, cracked voice that faded into a whisper at the end of every phrase, and whenever some of us would leave or join the group at the fire he would stare intently at us, frowning, [164] leaning forward a little because he could barely see us, his eyes being filmed with cataracts, hazy blue.

142 Ukwane had great wrinkles lengthwise down his belly where his paunch had shrunk. His hands were knobbed and his shoulders stiff, yet his legs were as supple as a baby's, for [516] he sat crouched with his knees in the air and his heels tucked up tight against his buttocks. His skin looked old, too, like [302] old leather, hardened and black like a glove that has been left in the rain, and his curly hair was disheveled, uncut, untidy with pieces of straw.

609 Our questions frightened Ukwane, and often he was at a loss for something to reply. He thought we were policemen coming to look for some lost horses, for somehow a rumor had reached into the farthest corners of the veld that a European farmer had lost seven horses and all the people in the veld were afraid for their lives. The first thing he said was that he hadn't seen any horses and certainly hadn't taken them himself. He was too old, he said. We told him that we were not policemen and, besides, had never heard of the horses, but he was not reassured. He coughed and turned to the young man, who looked at us with nothing to say.

609 The young man was also very shy, but had a greater dignity 194 than Ukwane because of his cool, proud bearing. He said

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

is a painful procedure. The cuts are made on the thighs and 304
forehead with a knife or ax blade, then charcoal is rubbed in, but the woman told us later that in her case it had been worth the pain and trouble because, she said, she was extremely ugly and had been made more beautiful.

Her baby's name was Nhwakwe, she told me, and after 551 276
that we were at a loss for conversation. I offered her a ciga- [609]
rette, which she declined, indicating that it made her cough. I was surprised, for she was the only Bushman I had ever met, man, woman, or child, who did not smoke.

Presently she smiled, pressed her hand to her chest, and 551
said: "Tsetchwe." It was her name. 609

"Elizabeth," I said, pointing to myself.

"Nisabe," she answered, pronouncing after me and inclining her head graciously. She looked me over carefully without really staring, which to Bushmen is rude. Then, having surely suspected that I was a woman, she put her hand on my breast gravely, and, finding that I was, she gravely touched her own breast. Many Bushmen do this; to them all Europeans look the same.

"*Tsau si*" (women), she said.

Then after a moment's pause, Tsetchwe began to teach me 609
a few words, the names of a few objects around us, grass, 222
rock, bean shell, so that we could have a conversation later. As she talked she took a handful of the beans out of her kaross, broke them open, and began to eat them. This is a [37]
wonderful, bitter bean, shaped like a lima bean, which grows on tiny bushes in patches throughout the Kalahari. When you [261]
eat these beans they burn your tongue, throat, and stomach, but they take away hunger and thirst. Besides the beans in her kaross, Tsetchwe, who began unloading, brought out a large, edible root which she had dug up—she must have been gathering food before we came—and put it in the shade of a

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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luctance the bride struggled while the other girl caught her. 585
She lifted the bride and carried her on her shoulders, not upright as a figure of triumph but wrapped in the kaross and motionless, like a dead little animal, then put her shrouded body on the floor of the new scherm and left her there to lie quietly while the wedding guests arrived. Again according to custom, the groom seemed to take no notice of his new bride; the people in the werf paid no attention, and, in fact, all the people went about their business in such a matter-of-fact way that an observer would think that nothing had happened although the young people were now married, the wedding had taken place.

The parents of the couple could not attend the wedding, [551 ●
for the young bride and groom were so tabu to them at this 784]
time that they could not even mention their names. In fact, no older person could attend, and the guests who came were all children, three-year-olds to teen-agers, who sat by the young couple's fire decorously, the boys on the man's side, the girls on the woman's, and talked quietly for twenty minutes or so, the youngest guests leaving when their bedtimes came. That was all. In the morning the little girl and her young husband were anointed with fat by their mothers, and they lived together from that day on.

A month later the bride's mother, who was herself a young 844
woman, bore another child, her second daughter. We were at her werf at the time, sitting in the shade. That day the young woman had not gone out for veld food, but was lying propped up on her elbow in front of her scherm when suddenly, without telling anyone what was happening, she stood up and walked into the bushes, only to come back some time
later with her baby in the fold of her kaross. We might not [854]
have known what had happened except that she was smiling a sure, sweet smile because she was pleased with herself. Her

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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chance to look at everyone else and see who was there, we 621
found among the Bushmen one entire band, six people, who once had lived at Gautscha. These were an old man, his two daughters, his son, his grandson, and his son-in-law, a man 551
named Lazy Kwi. Because Kung Bushmen have relatively few names in use, resulting in the fact that many, many people have the same name—one man we knew had two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama, called after his mother, whose name was also Xama—they distinguish their various Xamas and Kwis with nicknames.

Lazy Kwi was a kind, warmhearted man, devoted to his family, and was named Lazy, an insulting name, only because he was not a good hunter. He was heavy-footed, there- 224
fore noisy, and not an excellent shot; but he was a good trap- 262
per and got meat for his family by snaring birds and lizards. But because he did not hunt he never owned large shares of meat and ate only what came to him by the Bushmen's system of dividing, which put him in the role of poor relation and sometimes forced him to eat what others would not touch. Once he had suppressed his pride and eaten a badger. Although the other Bushmen had turned up their noses at this rank meat, he had said: "I am the badger-eating man," laughing off their scorn to hide his shame. He had eaten it sadly, and the sweet taste of it had sickened him and had made him vomit and retch for the rest of the day. Luckily for 224 [841]
his family, his father-in-law made beautiful arrows and in the hunting system of Bushmen the man who gives or lends the arrow with which a buck is shot is automatically the owner of a large share of the meat. His father-in-law often lent arrows and often got meat. In fact, the old man had a domi- 888
nant voice in the running of the family, for though old men 621
may be aged and consumptive, those younger than they do what they say. Far from being derogatory, "Old" is a term of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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159 Toma the headman, sometimes known as Male Toma, an [55] honorary name, sometimes known as Toma the Short, so-called because of his stocky build, was a famous person, and once had been a serf. He was born of serf parents at Gam, and as a boy had worked for the Chuanas, drawing their water and herding their cattle and goats.

672 When Toma was a boy, his father was murdered by a 682 child, the result of a terrible accident which took place one 159 day when Toma's father was arguing with the father of a boy named Gao. Gao, who couldn't have been more than ten years old, became upset and angry when he heard his father quarreling and, taking his father's weapons, shot Toma's father in the chest with a poisoned arrow. The old man was helped to the shade, the arrow was drawn out and the wound sucked, but as there is no antidote for arrow poison the old man lived only for the rest of the day and by night he was dead.

Oddly enough, the crime was connected with the old man and not with Gao, the young murderer, for ever after that day the old man was referred to as Tsamko Bone Arrow, [55] while Gao in later years became known as Gao Wild Pig, after a pig he had killed which was in some way remarkable.

159 Toma flourished as a young man and became an excellent hunter with tireless legs, tireless eyes, and a deadly aim, and it was said of him that he never returned from a hunt without having killed at least a wildebeest, if not something larger. Hence, the people connected with him ate a great deal of meat and his popularity grew. He once said of himself: "From the day I was born I was born for meat."

159 When Toma was in his late teens, some say, his powers 622 in hunting attracted the attention of the headman of Gau- 591 tscha Pan, who offered Toma the hand of his daughter, Tu, in marriage. Toma accepted, went to live with his wife's peo-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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484 with their families on trips that would take them only hours if they were traveling alone. We stopped a fourth time in the middle of the vast plain, for John had seen a shattered ostrich egg on the ground and wanted to let the Bushmen gather it to make beads. Toma motioned him to drive on. The egg, he thought, belonged to a man named Crooked Kwi, who had left it there one season and would return for it someday soon. Toma had heard of this event from Crooked Kwi [457] himself when they had seen each other last, and, observing that the shell fragments were gathered into a pile, he supposed that this must be the very egg that Crooked Kwi had mentioned. It was just where Crooked Kwi had said it would be, too.

361 We left the eggshells behind in the immense plain and went on our way toward the eastern rim. When we got there we found the rest of Gao Feet's family—his older and uglier first wife, his old mother-in-law, his first wife's daughter, and his daughter's husband, none other than Crooked Kwi himself. These people were living in a most beautiful glade of thorn bushes that were growing thickly together among tall trees, their branches arching just over people's heads. A fire had cleared out all the grass and leaves, leaving just the brown earth and the gray lace of branches; the people were brown and their things were brown and white and the ashes of their fires were gray in the little hollows on the ground, for these people, too, had built no scherms. Tu got right out of the [252] jeep and went straight to a fire, where she began to crack some of her tsi nuts between a stick and a stone.

608 The rest of us exchanged greetings and the old woman, ● 551 Dikai's mother, embraced me. "You are my daughter. I bore you," she said. When I had first come to Gautscha Pan I had been named Dikai for her daughter, and among the Kung one is strongly identified with the person one is named for; as the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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namesake of Dikai, I had acquired her set of relationships and 608
was expected to follow the rules that applied to her. I could 551
act in a familiar way with those people whom she treated familiarly and was expected to avoid those whom she avoided. I called Dikai "Big Name," the term usually applied in such a relationship, she called me "Little Name," her nephews called me "Aunt," her mother called me "Daughter," and often her husband, Gao Feet, with roars of laughter, would say he would marry me someday.

We sat down in the werf in the delicate shade of the arching 281
branches and Dikai's mother produced a bag full of tsi nuts, 445 252
which the people began to roast and eat. The bag was made of the entire skin of a duiker—a little nocturnal antelope no bigger than a small dog—turned inside out with the legs tied together as handles, the neck tied off as the bottom of the bag and the rump open as the top. When it was full of tsi it was solid and formed and looked eerily like a little, headless duiker.

When the day was over and the sky was getting dark I 512
made a camp for myself a few feet from the werf. The Bush- 609
man children helped me pull the grass. We built a fire in our clearing and I cooked some beans and tsi nuts that Dikai's mother had given me for myself and the children, and as Bushmen from the werf began to come over I cooked more and more. There wasn't much—the Bushmen had only half a day's supply and we hadn't expected to be away from camp so long. Everyone had a little, though, and afterward we filled ourselves up with water and we smoked. It was very cold. Be- 513
fore the night was over, the water we had in our water pail had turned to ice. On nights such as this the Bushmen prefer to sit up and talk, to keep their minds off the fact that the air is cold and they are naked and hungry, rather than to try to sleep; they wait to sleep the following day, warm in the sun.

or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. Thirdly, people lend arrows to one another. The status of the arrow plays its part in the distribution of the animal killed with it. There is much giving and lending of arrows. The society seems to want to extinguish in every way possible the concept of the meat belonging to the hunter.

A hunter chooses which arrow he will use. The owner of the arrow—who *ipso facto* owns the animal—may therefore be the hunter himself, who has chosen to use an arrow he made or one that was given him, or he may be a person who lent the arrow to the hunter.

There may be several hunters in the hunting party and several arrows in the animal, but this seems to cause no confusion or conflict. Every arrow is known, of course. The hunters may see which first penetrates effectively so that its poison could account for the kill. But I think that often it is arranged beforehand who will own the animal. A man asking another to accompany him might say, 'Come and help me get a buck.' Or 'Old Gau lent me an arrow and asked me to hunt for him. You come too.'

I think there is little or no dissension as to who owned the animal because it is not a cause for great stress; each hunter gets a share of the meat anyway. I think also that a man wants sometimes to be the owner of the meat in order to start the distribution off in the direction of his own kin and affines, but that one is also content sometimes not to have the onus of the main distribution.

The first distribution of the animal is made in large portions usually to five or six persons. They are the owner of the arrow, the giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not one the owner had made himself), and the hunters. The meat, always uncooked in the first distribution, is given on the bone, unless the animal is large and the meat has been cut into strips at the kill.

In a second distribution the several persons who got meat in the first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. This meat also is given uncooked. The amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution close kinship is the factor which sets the pattern of the giving. Certain obligations are compulsory. A man's first obligation at this point, we were told, is to give to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous portions as he can, while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. The meat may be cooked and the quantities small.

Visitors, even though they are not close kin or affines, are given meat by the people whom they are visiting. This is a strongly felt social rule. Visitors may receive small quantities of cooked meat, which is like being asked to dinner.

Name relatives often receive generous portions of meat because they have the same name as the giver or because their names associate them with his close kin, but this seems to be more a favour than an absolute rule. ≠Toma said there were far too many men named ≠Toma for him to give them special consideration.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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Both the father and mother expect and receive respect and obedience 593
from their children. Although the mother's influence is always felt, I believe that the father's authority is greater. It is not formalized or expressed in a harsh or domineering way. As long as the father lives, he is the head of the family, symbolically. Even when too old to hunt, if he is still a forceful [882]
person, he remains the one in authority, the leader of the sons-in-law and his daughters, of his sons and their wives. Gradually, however, when he becomes very old, the younger men make their own plans without necessarily consulting him.

!Kung families are responsible for dependents. Thus, old, dependent 737
parents are unfailingly supported by their offspring and may choose with which one of their offspring they will live. Orphaned children are taken 736
by their grandparents or by a sibling of their parents. It happens occasionally that a person has no living parent, offspring, or sibling. In that case, other relatives assume the responsibility.

THE NAME RELATIONSHIP • Although !Kung society has developed no 571
formal political structure under which the bands are united, and there are 602
no organizations outside the bands, these people have a means of extending 553
the concept of kinship beyond close consanguineous relatives and affines 619
and of recognizing, in what we call the name relationship, the web of remote interrelationship that long intermarriage within the region has established.

Invariably the first son and the first daughter are named by their father for their paternal grandparents. Other children are usually named for their mother's parents, the siblings of their parents, and the spouses of those siblings, and may occasionally be named for other relatives. Thus, a few names are used over and over through the generations. We recorded only [551]
forty-six men's names and forty-one women's names in the region. The !Kung assume that persons who have the same name are related, though the exact nature of the relationship is forgotten. They believe, also, that people with the same name somehow have a common entity. They bestow [601]
upon each other kin terms that are appropriate to the name, according to a system. The !Kung have intermarried within the Nyae Nyae region to [582]
such an extent that everyone has a kin term he associates with each one of the names. This means that the people of the whole region are what we call name relatives, all applying kin terms to each other.

From the !Kung point of view the custom has two values. It regulates 553
the incest taboo in its furthermost extension, especially the joking relation- 602
ship that symbolizes the taboo. (For example, a man should not marry or 835
make sexual jokes with a woman who has the same name as his mother.) The !Kung feel secure in righteousness when they know they are behaving

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the 553
!Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think 602
of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority 121
is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy. [229]

(8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, 582
cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts.

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband stepbrother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names 582
associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is 551
supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself.

(9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the 532
young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead [301]
ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were [304]
associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty.

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings 000
or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees.

(10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly 622
speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people 612

19 true even at the periphery of their distribution where !Kung speakers have been intermarrying with other Bushmen for generations.

551 553 The second diagnostic criterion is the !Kung system of naming. There is a finite repertoire of about ninety personal names among the !Kung of Bechuanaland and South West Africa. All names are sex specific, about forty-five are for men and forty-five for women. Personal names are transmitted from grandparent to grandchild according to explicit rules of precedence. First-born males are named after their paternal grandfather and first-born females after their paternal grandmother. Subsequent offspring are named for the maternal grandparents and if necessary further children are named for the siblings of their parents, again with the paternal side taking precedence. The !Kung feel that all people bearing a certain personal name are ultimately descended from the original bearer of that name. Thus all men named, for example, ≠oma, feel a fictive kinship for one another. They formalize this by addressing all namesakes older than ego as grandfather (!un!a - literally "older name") and all namesakes younger than ego as grandson (!uma - literally "younger name"). By the extension of primary kinship terms to unrelated namesakes, some 9,000 !Kung Bushmen are actually or potentially incorporated into a fictive kinship network. This network extends from the Ghanzi farms on

551 the south to the Okavango River on the north. The !Kung
563 name-relationship was first described by Lorna Marshall (1957:3ff) for the Bushmen at /Gauša Pan, South West Africa. It was found in 1964 that !Kung farm workers as far away as Gobabis, South West Africa, two hundred miles south of /Gauša, possessed the same repertoire of personal names, the same rules of name inheritance, and the same method for fictively linking unrelated individuals through the name relationship.

From the scanty evidence available on the Angola !Kung (Bleek 1928), it appears that the name relationship is not operative there. However, in Bechuanaland and South West Africa the presence of the institution is a reliable criterion for determining whether a Bushman is !Kung.[1]

101 There are three geographical divisions of the !Kung
131 Bushmen. The northern group, numbering about 4,000, live in
162 Angola and the far northern districts of South West Africa. The central group, numbering about 7,000, extend from the western margin of the Okavango Swamp in Bechuanaland as far as the farms of the Grootfontein district of South West Africa.
[241] The southern group (c. 2,000) are confined to the farms of the

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[1]Unpublished evidence on the southern ǂhũa Bushmen indicates that they possess a system of fictive kinship based on personal names, but the repertoire of names appears to be entirely different from that of the !Kung Bushmen (Heinz, Westphal, personal communications).

101 Ghanzi and Gobabis Districts and their immediate northern
131
162 hinterland. All three divisions speak mutually intelligible
[241] dialects of !Kung but only the central and southern divisions
[197] have the institution of the name relationship.
• [551]
[184] The northern division peoples call themselves "!kũ"
101 meaning "people" (Bleek, 1928:106) and many ethnographers have adopted this as the general appelation for the tribe. There has been a bewildering variety of spellings of this name[1] and it is urgent that one standard form be chosen. It is recommended that !Kung be adopted as the standard appelation for the tribe, following the lead of Fourie (1928:83) and Marshall (1957, 1959, 1960, 1962, etc.). This is not the most phonetically accurate of the alternatives, but the controversy over spelling is an academic one because the majority of the "!Kung" do not recognize this as their tribal appelation at all!

The central division "!Kung" call themselves "zũ/wãsi" (zũ = "people"; /wã = "proper" or "true"; si = plural suffix). This translates as "the proper people" or "the true people". It also has the connotation of "just folks" which Elizabeth Marshall Thomas has appropriately rendered as "The Harmless People" (1959). Bushmen of the study area objected to the

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[1] At least fourteen different spellings are in the literature including: Kung, !Kũ, !Kun, Ǫhung, //Khun, ≠Kũng, ʗhũ, !xũ, !Khũ, ǃun, !Kung.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

believed that they bring ill-luck on the parents. What treatment is 845
adopted in the other tribes is not definitely stated; among the Naron 847
it appears that they are both allowed to live.

The exposure or killing of deformed children does not seem to occur 847
in any of the tribes. Abortion, however, is often induced by treading on the body of the pregnant woman. It appears to be practised mainly when she is unmarried, and therefore to imply that only married women have the right to bear and rear children.

There is no account of any special ceremony held in connection 852
with birth, although if there is enough food—but only then—a feast followed by a dance may be given by the parents. The child is 553
usually named shortly after birth, without special ceremony. The name is given by the parents in consultation with the grandparents and other relatives, and among most of the North-Western tribes is generally that of some near relative. Boys, for instance, may receive the name of a paternal grandfather or uncle, girls that of a maternal grandmother or aunt. Often there is a squabble about the name [578]
between the father's people and those of the mother; whichever party is in force generally succeeds in having its wishes adopted, and the child is named after a member on that side of the family.[1]

The Heikum system of naming closely resembles that of the 171
Hottentots, and has in all probability been taken over from them. 553
"Each child," says Fourie,[2] "is generally given three names, namely a first name, a second name, and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother, and the second name by the old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the surname of the mother and girls that of the father.[3] Thus *|Uirob Geirob |Geibeb* married a woman *|Kao-tamas* 171
Gamanis |Garus and begot two sons, namely *||Otoab |Gonab |Garub* 551
and *Gogob Gomob |Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras |Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *||Otoab* become *||Otoab |Gonab |Garub |Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose. A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nicknames are common, and are given to children when quite young.

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 30–1; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66.
[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 61.
[3] This feature is specially characteristic of the Hottentot system of name-giving. V. below, p. 267.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

171 They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for
551 example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face, and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life."

853 Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable
[862] food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

847 This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide found among the North-Western tribes.[1] Sexual intercourse between the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save
[163] abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession during the course of married life, and it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the
[844] bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children of different ages, both needing the shelter of their kaross, and to be carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second or third child is usually weaned, the one or two born in the interval being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among
[184] the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality
[165] caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore
162 small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; Kaufmann, op. cit., 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31–2; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

834 organs and, though the women's breasts are naked (breasts are associated with
[831] nursing, not sex), the women would not expose their buttocks, which are definitely associated with sex, as the position for sexual intercourse is for the man to be at the back of the woman. When they urinate or defecate, men, women, and all but young
[514] children who are not yet toilet trained go away from the werf and squat behind bushes or in the tall grass out of sight.

The persons who express in the avoidances the sexual constraint required by the
602 incest taboo are none the less free to engage in other activities of life together. Whether or not they must avoid joking and sitting near each other, whether or not
835 they may marry, they may talk (except with SoWi or DaHu), hunt, share meat, share the water-hole, gather plant foods, cook, eat, make journeys, visit, exchange gifts, and, if they wish, huddle their scherms and fires together. And, although they must not direct sexual jokes or insults to each other, they may laugh as heartily when they overhear the jokes as relatives do who have the joking relationship together.

Because it is interesting to compare the pattern of the joking relationship with the pattern of marriage regulation, I have indicated it when I list the various categories of persons with whom marriage is forbidden or allowed.

Extension of the incest taboo to four categories

Marriage regulations, patterned upon the incest taboo as it applies in the relation-
582 ships of the nuclear family, and extended to certain other relationships because they
835 are considered to be like those of the nuclear family, forbid ego's marriage with four categories of persons, as follows: (1) members of the nuclear family and certain other consanguineous relatives; (2) certain affines; (3) step-parents, stepchildren, stepbrothers, stepsisters, and the close kin of ego's father's wife other than his mother (for example, ego's mother's co-wife's sister, who is 'like' his MoSi; (4) certain name relatives.

Category 1: ego's consanguineous relatives with whom marriage is forbidden

582 In Fig. 2 are listed the consanguineous relatives whom a /Kung must not marry.
602 The terms applied to them are given in their basic form only, all complicating
835 factors being omitted as they have no bearing on marriage regulations. The term which ego applies to the male in a given category appears first; the term applied to females follows. The joking status is indicated by 'yes' if ego has the joking relationship with the given category of relatives, 'no' if he has not.

The /Kung use the expression 'We are one people' when they refer to certain consanguineous relatives—e.g. any lineal kin and the close collaterals listed in Fig. 2—but they do not consider siblings of grandparents, fourth cousins or still more remote collaterals as being of 'one people' with themselves. The /Kung, who are capable of being pushed to logical conclusions by an interrogator, say that they recognize a degree of consanguinity among such collaterals but spoke of them as
[553] 'those people'. 'Those people would name their children for their own people', they said, for example. 'We name our children for our people.'

I made considerable effort to determine whether or not I should include third
[605] cousins as within 'one people'. Many of the informants from whom we gathered genealogical data did not know the names of their third cousins, but, when we estab-

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Categories 3 and 4: step-parents, &c; name relatives 582

The third category to which the incest taboo is extended, step-parents, &c., needs 835 no elucidation.

The fourth category, certain name relatives, should be further described. The 553 name relationship, described in the paper on kin terminology,[1] is connected with a 608 system of naming children. The /Kung have no surnames. A /Kung father invariably names his first-born son or daughter for his parent of the same sex; usually the second-born for the parent of the child's mother; subsequent children for his own sibling or the sibling of the child's mother or the spouses of those siblings. He never names a child for himself or for the child's mother. Because this pattern of naming exists, the /Kung feel that if two non-consanguineous persons have the same name, they are likely to have had consanguineous connexions in the forgotten past, and from this concept the /Kung have developed what we called their name relationship. In a system too complex to summarize here they apply kin terms to persons on the basis of their names.

The names have passed from family to family, through intermarriage in the [619] region, and from generation to generation, to such an extent that every /Kung of the region whom we interrogated on the subject had a kin term for every other /Kung, except for one man who had once met four /Kung from afar for whom he had no terms. This had made him uneasy.

The /Kung welcome the sense of belonging to an in-group which the name rela- 553 tionship affords them. They welcome also the fact that they know how to behave with 602 people with respect to the avoidances. They fear (*koa*) to make a mistake about joking 608 and sitting, they say, and feel secure in righteousness and propriety when they know what behaviour is correct and conform to it. The kin terms sort out the whole /Kung population of the region for them. They avoid joking with name relatives whose names classify them with kin or affines of the generation of parents, or with offspring or with a sibling of opposite sex or with great-grandparents. They may joke with name relatives whose names classify them with grandparents, a sibling of the same sex, or the spouse. (Cf. Figs. 2 and 3.)

The incest taboo is extended to name relatives. If ego is forbidden to marry them 553 because of the way their names classify them, he also does not joke with them. But, 582 as we shall see when we consider approved marriages, the system does not maintain 608 perfect consistency between joking and marriage among name relatives, and it does 835 not follow that if ego must not joke he therefore must not marry. The incest taboo is extended specifically to the following name relatives: (1) anyone who has the name of ego's parent or offspring; (2) the parent, offspring or sibling of opposite sex of anyone who has the same name as ego, (3) anyone who has the same name as ego's spouse's parent or his offspring's spouse. ≠Toma explained that it would 'sound as though' one had married his parent, child, or one of these close affines.

Deviations from the rules 183

The /Kung conform strictly to their marriage regulations in the first two cate- 582 gories, kindred and affines. None of the persons whose genealogical records we 835 605

[1] Marshall, op. cit., pp. 13–15, 22–23.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

183 gathered (about 175) had married lineal kin or collaterals, at least through first cousins.
582 However, informants told about two /Kung men in B.P. who had married their
835 cousins: we could not find out which type of cousins. What was interesting was the
605 attitude of the informants. They said the men should not have done this, but there was no talk of madness or danger or expressions of horror such as we had observed when incest was spoken of at other times. No punishments, social or divine, had been meted out, according to the informants. Some said they thought it was not too bad a thing for a man to do, especially if the woman were a FaSiDa, who is not, they said, so much like your sister as a MoSiDa. I believe that the anomaly of the system's allowing joking with cousins, although it prohibits marriage, mitigates, in all probability, the force of the incest taboo and accounts to some extent for the tolerance towards the breakers of this rule.

How much deviation there is in marrying second and third cousins we do not
[124] know. We soon gave up trying to gather data on relatives more remote than first cousins because informants so often did not know the names and we could not rely on the information.

582 One account came to our ears of a man who had violated the incest taboo with his
627 stepdaughter. He was /Gunda Legs, the MoBr of old Gau of Band 1, and he lived
684 with Band 9. He is dead now. What he did was so outside the good and the normal
835 that it could be accounted for only by madness. He had drunk the milk of a young gemsbok doe, the people told us, and this is what had made him mad. Something
159 came from his forehead and went in and out, a sort of swelling. After that he fell in love with his stepdaughter, ≠Nisa, and married her, and both she and her mother
[753] were his wives at the same time. The people 'laughed at him' so much because he had made such a horrifying 'mistake' that he took his stepdaughter and lived apart from his band—the only instance we know of a man and woman living alone. They had a son, ≠Toma, who died young. When /Gunda's madness waned he sometimes came back to his people; he would go again when his madness returned. People said they did not understand why ≠Nisa went with him. They mocked at her, said that she was *dole*, 'bad', and that it was 'nonsense' to fall in love with one's stepfather.
[154] Our informants laughed uneasily when they told about it as they laugh when they tell of vultures eating their meat or of being chased by fierce bees when they try to take a honeycomb. There came to my mind a penetrating remark made by //Kushay, the wife of /Qui in Band 1, which might, I thought, be applied to ≠Nisa. //Kushay had said, 'When a Bushman girl goes against the customs of her people and people talk about her and say she is bad, she is very unhappy. She would hear the people talking and be ashamed and would come to them angry—angry because she is ashamed', or, I thought, go away because she is ashamed.

Deviations occur in the fourth category. Two men we met had married women
183 with the same names as their mothers. A man named /Ti/kay married the daughter of
● 553 another /Ti/kay, and there were other such instances. /Qui, the husband of the above
582 //Kushay in Band 1, said he proposed to do this himself. The girl's family had flatly
608 refused, but he was going to keep on trying. ≠Toma said he would not do this but
835 he sees some people doing these things. There are not enough women whom a man may properly marry, he said, and he would be in favour of changing the marriage prohibitions among name relatives so that a man need avoid only ugly women.

/157 cont./

The water and food collected by menstruating women are
841 consumed only by the women themselves and old people; the younger ones "it makes weak."

593 The authority of the parents practically ceases as soon as
858 the children are in a position to provide food for themselves.

A child is named soon after birth by the grandfather or grand-
553 mother (whether on the paternal or the maternal side was not determined).

Boys reach puberty between 14 and 16 years of age and girls
145 between 13 and 15 years of age (estimates).

The declaration of a boy's maturity is a special event in the
881 life of the Bushman. Under the leadership of the "doctor," several youths from neighboring settlements march into the bush and live together there for some weeks on the veld crop. During this time they receive some sort of instruction in secret affairs. Young and old Auin alike, whom I interrogated separately, denied that this instruction pertains to sexual matters. To the question of what they did during their stay in the bush, I always received the answer: "They dance." They did, indeed, describe for me a kind of dance which decidedly has something childishly mysteri-
[535] ous about it. A boy seats himself "piggyback" on the back of another, and both wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier tramping with his feet as rapidly as possible without moving forward, while both of them utter a low "hu, hu" in as horrifying a manner as possible.

It is indeed difficult to imagine that this interesting occupation should last for weeks, interrupted only by sleeping and eating.

In addition, the young people seem to be treated quite badly in the course of this preparation and to receive little to eat; all of them concurred in the opinion that it is "miserable."

I learned through hints that the candidates for manhood play all kinds of tricks on neighboring villages during the night and play as "ghosts" a bit, as well as stealing food.

The actual attainment of manhood, after which the boys are
[884] warriors and are allowed to marry, is not solely dependent on attending the preparation, but also on the killing of the first piece of big game.

Tattooing is not connected with the official attainment of
[304] manhood

[12 cont.]

843 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-
262 buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut.
[553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are
[177] performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:

[539] //am ≠haiba, //am ≠haiba (?)
[782] The leader answers:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower
422 form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 The gathering of veldkost does not have the great signifi-
[154] cance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already
[462] commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd
[857] a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main
[233] OCCUPATION.

[28 cont.]

535 makes his appearance as the bull of some animal species that the
585 two kin groups especially prize. He takes his place in the row of dancing men. Across from them the women have taken up their position in a long row and accompany the dance by stamping, singing, and clapping their hands. The bride stands among them. She is in no way distinguished from the other women and girls. After a few turns, the bridegroom steps out of the row of men, goes dancing toward the bride, seizes her, and dances back again. The bride then comes from the row of women, clapping her hands, stamping, and singing as she moves toward the bridegroom; without touching him, she turns back, keeping her face turned toward the bridegroom, and rejoins the row of female dancers. With this, the external formality of concluding the marriage in front of many witnesses is over.

583 "It is the young man's duty, however, to leave his paternal
591 kin group for a year and to work for his parents-in-law. This means that any spoils he gets from hunting must be left in his mother-in-law's hut. He, of course, gets his piece during the distribution of the meat, but he is not yet regarded as the actual provider for his young wife, who, as before, receives her share of the meat from her mother, although she searches for veldkost for herself and her husband.

(224) "As a hunter, the man eats only the flesh of the rump.
262 The women and children receive the legs and intestines. Children are not allowed to eat certain parts; for example, a child may
(825) not eat the heart of a jackal. The child would not become sick
(828) by doing so, but since the jackal is very cowardly, the child would also become cowardly.

591 [29] "After the first year of marriage with its obligatory service, the young wife follows her husband to the encampment where the man's father or his kin group resides.

845 "If the child is so weak that it probably will not live,
847 or if it has a physical defect, it is buried alive on the same day, with or without the consent of the father and mother.

553 "The name of the child is given by the father. This is
852 done a few days after birth. The father spits on the child's chest and calls it by name. Others sprinkle it with water from a well.

[29 cont.]

553 The custom of spitting is undoubtedly original, not a substitute
852 for well water."

551 The father gives his newborn child a name. The boys usually receive animal names, commonly that of the grandfather, and the girls, plant names. Albinos are unknown among the !Kung
[142] tribes visited by me, but a horde of Bushmen with red eyes is supposed to live in the eastern Sand Veld in the region of the
[845] Dussidum. I have never seen twins; they are probably done away
853 with. The children are breast fed for a long time; older infants learn to squeeze the milk out of the breast with their fingers or pull with their teeth on the leathery nipples. The assertion of
847 other travelers that the women kill their children if they are born
[114] before the previous child has been weaned is allegedly not true of the kin groups visited by me. On the other hand, Vedder (1)

[113] 1. "Zur Vorgeschichte der eingeborenen Völkerschaften von Südwestafrika. I. Die Buschmänner [On the Prehistory of the Native Tribes of Southwest Africa]," by V. Vedder, Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society, Vol. I, p. 10, 1925-1926, Windhoek, 1927. -- Cf. also Von Zastrow and H. Vedder, op. cit., p. 414.

reports:

"I must mention one other custom which likewise considerably contributes, and may have contributed in prehistoric times, to the Bushmen being so few in number. Custom demands that a child born when the older child of the same mother is not yet three years old be buried alive. This is a gruesome custom. I spoke about it with a racially pure Bushman. My remonstrances did not convince him at all. He explained: 'We Bushmen are poor people. We have no goats and no cows to give our children milk. If the woman brings two children into the world within a period of three years, we don't know what the older child is supposed to live on if the newborn child uses up the mother's milk. It cannot live on the hard veldkost or on tough meat. The teeth are not yet strong enough. If we let the newborn

[68 cont.]

1. Birth and Childhood

844 Among the ≠Auin, the husband of a woman in childbed slings the string of his bow around her stomach, but he is not present at the birth itself. The cord is severed with the tip of a reed splinter.

Among the Naron and Nogau, the delivery proceeds as it does
844 among the !Kung; an old woman usually provides assistance, however.

Twins (Hoi-holi) are not desired; among the Nogau one of
845 them is killed.

Among the Nogau, the father gives the child its name.
[553] 844 There the child has its umbilical cord severed by means of a sharp quartz splinter. A woman in childbed may not eat blood and head meat. Until the child is able to sit up, the husband
[833] may not cohabit with the mother. The latter custom is also found among the Betschuana. Nogau children are not allowed to eat
262 the flesh of the wildcat and of two birds (tsugnussi and /gui).
[114] Kaufmann has made some observations concerning children's
524 games; Bleek also provides some data:

Among the ≠Auin little bows and arrows serve as children's toys. The same applies to the Naron and Nagau [sic]. Stilts
[481] are known among the Auin and are used by men and boys. Con-
524 cerning children's games among the Naron, Miss Bleek reports:

The Game of the Big Water Snake

A boy crawls on his stomach to a small pile of sand which is supposed to represent the waterhole. At some distance from it, the children sit in a row, one behind the other, in such a way that each one sits between the legs of the one behind him; he puts his hands on the shoulder of the person in front of him. The biggest child [69] always sits at the front, the smallest at the back. They sing a song that in part is no longer intelligible. (Probably in the children's language.) This big "snake" now moves very slowly around the waterhole, while the water snake from time to time throws sand on it; then the others withdraw. At the end the snake catches one from the row and "eats it." I

We have already stated that the generational terms *may* apply to all collateral kin 601
and to all lineal kin save those related by parent–child or sibling ties. Up to now we have been assuming, for the sake of orderly procedure, that a /Kung Bushman applies these terms, in the manner specified, to all consanguineous kin solely according to his *biological* position among them. This assumption is correct with respect to the parent–child and sibling relationships; in these instances the biological tie is the sole basis for classifying relatives. But for all other consanguineous relatives, as well as for many other persons besides, a factor other than the biological tie may determine the nature of the terminological relationship. We refer to *the factor of the name*.

The principle underlying the factor of the name is that persons who share the same name occupy identical positions in certain sectors of the kinship constellation we have called System A. Based on this principle, a method of classifying persons terminologically has been developed. We shall refer to this method as the *homonymous method*, and distinguish it from the *generational method* as set out in Diagram 1.

When it comes into conflict with the generational method, the homonymous method takes precedence. It has been developed and extended in the /Kung system more [184]
fully than in the /Gikwe and /Kõ systems, where it exists, but where it has remained minor, and is practised only among persons who do not have consanguineous or affinal ties. The /Kung, on the other hand, make wide use of the homonymous method.

The complicated system by which terms are applied in this method will be ex- 551
plained step by step, but first the customs followed by the /Kung in the naming of children will be described.

1. The /Kung have no surnames.

2. Names are sex-linked, hence men and women never have the same name.

3. Parent and child must not bear the same name in /Kung culture. The /Kung said it would be madness for a man to name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Our genealogies of about 175 /Kung show no deviation from this rule.

4. Children are always named for relatives, either consanguineous or affinal, 553
although they may bear the name of a non-related person as a second name. They are named for someone in the first or second ascending generation.

5. Fathers have the right to name both sons and daughters. A man invariably names his first-born son for his father (i.e. the child's FaFa) and his first-born daughter for his mother (i.e. the child's FaMo). If he has more than one wife, he names the first-born son and daughter of each wife for his father and mother respectively. Thus siblings, though they are not named for each other, often bear the same name, having been named for the same person. A man usually but not invariably names his second-born son for the child's MoFa and second-born daughter for her MoMo. Fifty-one per cent. of the /Kung in our records are named for their grandparents. Subsequent children are usually named for the siblings of their father or mother, or for the spouses of those siblings. Very rarely is a child named for other relatives. We have recorded two named for cousins of their parents. It is not their custom, /Kung informants told us, for them to name their children for the children's great-grandparents or for the siblings of the children's grandparents.

6. We have recorded about 46 men's names and about 41 women's names in use [551]
among the 600 people we know in the Nyae Nyae region.

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553 7. Names are occasionally changed.
[551] 8. Nicknames are in common use. They are usually descriptive of physical characteristics, such as Gow Umbilicus or Gow Beard.

553 601 It must be kept in mind, as the description of the homonymous method of applying terms proceeds, that the /Kung distinguish between being named for, and having the same name as, a person. When one is named for someone, one is brought into the kinship constellation of that person. Merely fortuitously having the same name as someone does not do this to the same degree. We shall at first limit the description to situations where one is *named for* another.

A child is, as we have said, never named for a parent, nor is a child named for a sibling (though they may have the same name). In these categories of relationship, therefore, the homonymous method of applying terms is not operative. In other categories of relationship, however, when a person is named for another, he is, with respect to ego, terminologically taken out of his biological category and classified in the category of the person for whom he is named. Ego applies a term to him according to his homonymous classification.

There are three categories, with respect to ego, into which persons may be classified by their names. (1) The parent–child category: Although ego is never named for his parent, some of his relatives will be. (Some of his nephews and nieces, for example, would certainly be named for ego's Fa or Mo.) When this occurs, ego applies a term to that person which classifies the person with the parent of ego's for whom he or she was named. The terms are *tsu* applied to males, *||ga* applied to females. The terms *ba* and *dai* are applied, as we have said, only to the biological parents. The terms *tsu* and *||ga* are the terms applied to persons in generations adjacent to ego's (i.e. his parents' generation, cf. Diagram 1, p. 6), and are the terms used to classify persons terminologically in the parent category. The same terms would be used for persons named for ego's offspring who again would be terminologically classified as in adjacent generations with respect to ego. (2) The sibling category: If a person is named for ego's sibling, ego classifies him or her terminologically with that sibling and applies the sibling term, i.e. *!go* (elder Br), *!kwi* (elder Si) or *tsī* (younger Br or younger Si). (3) Ego's category: We consider that the third category is basically ego's category and that it includes persons who are classified by name or generation with ego. Persons may be classified in this category by being named for ego, or for ego's spouse, who is of the same terminological generation as ego. The person for whom ego is named and the spouse of that person are in this category. The way people are classified within it will be brought out as the description proceeds, but more information must first be given about the terms associated with it, namely: *!gu!na* (*tun!ga* w.s.) and *tũn*.

The term *!gu!na*, unlike any of the other terms, so far as we know, is a translateable word. *!Gu*[1] means name, *!na* means big or old. The diminutive which derives from the term is *!guma*, small or young name. As terms *!gu!na* and *!guma* always occur modified with the augmentative or diminutive suffix, never simply as *!gu*, the word for name.

[114 194] [1] This is undoubtedly the word which Miss Bleek heard as *!ku* (cf. 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', p. 62). It seemed to us particularly difficult to determine, when a word began with the alveolar palatal click, whether the consonant release was voiced or unvoiced. We have two opinions here, Miss Bleek's *!ku* and our *!gu*. Mr. Westphal hears no consonant, i.e. *!ũ*.

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Another term is derived from *!gu*, i.e. *di!guma*. *Di* means female, *!guma* small or young name. *Di!guma* is applied, m.s. and w.s., only to women who have the same name as one's mother and is an alternate to *||ga* in this one sense.

When the generational method of applying terms was described we saw *!gu!na* applied, m.s. and w.s., in ego's generation and the generations of ego's grandfather and grandson, to males only. Woman-speaking, as a generational term *!gu!na* had an alternate, *tun!ga*, which was preferred. *Tũn* is the term applied to females associated with these generations.

When the homonymous method is used the term *!gu!na*, or its diminutive *!guma*, is applied by a male to a male, and by a female to a female. Ego applies the term to persons named for him and to the person for whom he is named. He also applies the term to persons who have the same name as himself, but who are not named for him, with two exceptions: (1) siblings, though they are not named for each other, frequently have the same name, being named for the same person. When this occurs the sibling terms are retained, taking precedence over the term *!gu!na*; and (2) in certain affinal relationships the affinal term is retained even though ego and the affine have the same name (see p. 16).

In addition the terms applied to persons named for ego's spouse are *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn*. The affinal terms for spouse are used only for ego's actual spouse. Persons named for the spouse, who is terminologically of ego's generation, have the generational terms applied to them which classify them with ego's generation.

The term *tũn* is applied to a woman who is the spouse of any male whom ego terms *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.). *Tun!ga* is the term applied to the spouse of a woman whom a female ego terms *!gu!na*.

Kin who are named for ego's parents or offspring, for his siblings, or for himself or his spouse constitute the basis but not the limit of classification of kin by the homonymous method. Other kin in ego's and in the *descending* generations are classified by ego into the same three categories if they have been named for the kin who were originally so classified. For example, ego applies the term *tsu* to A because A was named for ego's Fa, and he continues to apply the term *tsu* to persons who are named for A, and so forth.

To understand how the method works in the *ascending* generations we must look at the same three categories from another point of view, seeing ego classified with the person for whom he is named, i.e. his *!gu!na*. Ego's *!gu!na*'s parents use the term *tsu* (the 'adjacent' generational term) for a male ego, *||ga* for a female ego, because ego is named for their offspring. Ego's *!gu!na*'s So and Da use the terms *tsu* or *||ga* for ego because ego is named for their parent. Ego's *!gu!na*'s siblings apply a sibling term to ego because he is named for their sibling. And ego's *!gu!na*'s spouse uses the generational terms which place ego in the same generation as the spouse—i.e. *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn*, classifying ego with the spouse because he is named for the spouse. In each case ego reciprocates.

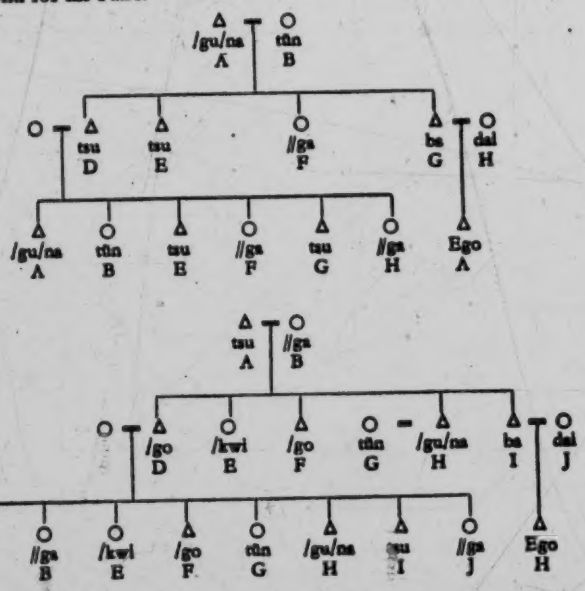
It will be more convenient to keep ego's point of view in our illustrations and to express the situation from ego's angle, stating that ego applies the term *tsu* or *||ga* to his *!gu!na*'s Fa, Mo, So, and Da; *!go*, *!kwi* or *tsĩ*, the sibling terms, to his *!gu!na*'s siblings; and *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn* to his *!gu!na*'s spouse.

Diagrams will be given to illustrate the homonymous method of applying terms,

his */gu/na*'s nuclear family the same terms that he applied to the persons for whom 601
they were named. Diagram 4 illustrates this point.

DIAGRAM 4

Diagram 4 shows terms applied to cousins. In the first instance ego is named for his FaFa, in the second for his FaBr.



Diagrams 5 and 6 show how the homonymous method appears when ego applies terms to persons who are named for himself and his own parents, children, siblings, and spouse, and to the persons who are named for them.

We have been assuming up to this point in the illustrations that ego is named for 553
someone on his father's side of the family. What has been said about the paternal side 601
would be applicable to the maternal side if ego were named for someone on that side. We shall refer to either the paternal or maternal side as the *off-side* if it does not include the person for whom ego is named. Diagram 7 illustrates the application of terms on the off-side.

Unless a person is terminologically taken out of his biological generation through the factor of the name, the terms applied by the generational method are retained.

Grandparents on the off-side are always termed */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.) and *tũn*, or, 601
since they are biologically older, it is more precise to say that they apply the term */gu/na* or *tun/ga* to a male ego, *tũn* to a female ego, and that ego reciprocates. These are the generational terms applied in the generational method, retained because ego is not named for the parent or child of his off-side grandparents, which would require the term *tsu* or *//ga* to be applied.

DIAGRAM 5

601 Diagram 5 shows what terms ego would apply to nephews and nieces, children of his brother D, if the children were named, as they customarily would be, for ego's Fa, Mo, and his siblings. The illustration also shows the terms and the names carried, linked together, into the descending generation. (We use two affinal terms here, BrWi, *tûn*, and Wi, *tsau*. Cf. p. 16.)

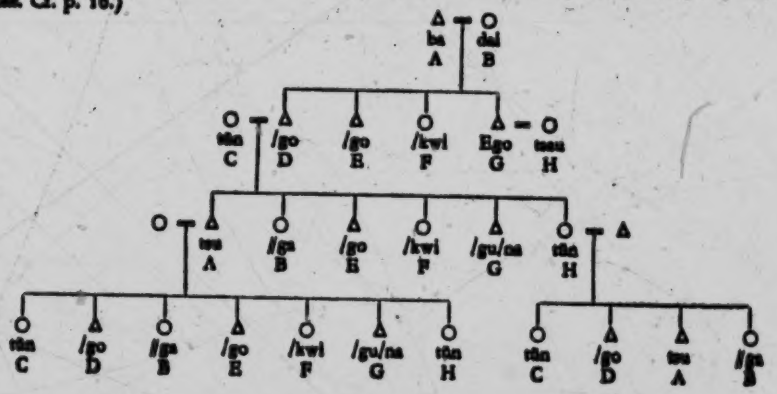


DIAGRAM 6

In Diagram 6 it is assumed, for variety, that ego is a woman. The illustration shows what terms she would apply to her grandchildren if they were named, as they customarily would have been named, by their Fa, ego's son C.

It can be seen in Diagram 6 how it is that grandparents and grandchildren do not fall into the sibling category with respect to each other and are never, therefore, termed */go* and */kwi*, but always */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.) and *tûn* or *tsu* and *//ga*. For ego to use the sibling terms [553] for a grandchild, that child would have to be named for ego's Br or Si. This, the /Kung told us, is not their custom.

Ego, being a woman in this illustration, uses the term */gu/na* for her granddaughter A who is named for her. (We remind the reader that, for the sake of brevity, we are omitting diminutive forms. Actually */gunu* is the form of the term used for the younger person.) Ego's grandson B is named for ego's husband. */Hoa* is the term for the actual husband. The term */gu/na* is used for someone named for one's husband.

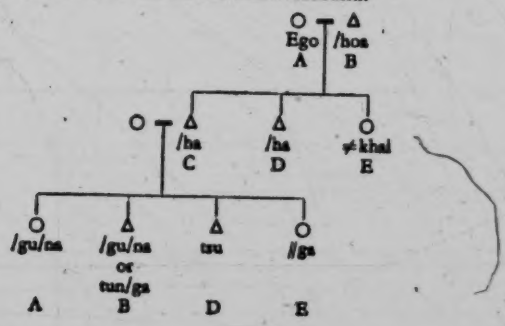
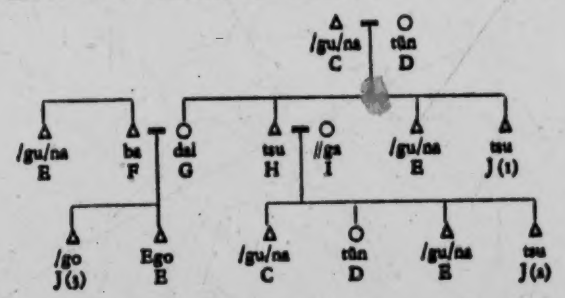


Diagram 7 assumes that ego's uncles H and J (1) retain the 'adjacent' generational term *tsu* for ego for the same reason, namely, that in this case the factor of the name requires no other. Ego's maternal uncle E applies the term */gu/na* to ego because he and ego have the same name. 601

Whereas ego applies the term */gu/na* to anyone either named for or having the same name as himself, in other relationships a distinction is made between being named for someone and merely having the same name. In Diagram 7 it is to be noted that, although ego has a brother named J (3), he does not apply the sibling terms to J (1) or J (2). J (1), assumed to be older than ego, established the term used between them, which is the 'adjacent' generational term *tsu*. As J (2) is named for J (1), not for ego's Br, ego uses the term *tsu* for J (2). He would use the sibling term for someone named for his brother. 553

DIAGRAM 7

Ego is named for his FaBr E. This diagram shows terms applied to the side of the family which does not include the person for whom ego is named. Ego is assumed to be younger than his uncles and aunts and older than his cousins.



There is one further complexity which may beset the student of /Kung kin terminology in his effort to understand the principles upon which the application of terms is based. Names may be changed and, when they are, the person is reclassified and the kin terms applied to him or her are changed accordingly. One blazing hot day in the werft I heard old Hama call her little granddaughter *//gama* (diminutive of *//ga*). I felt the whole system, which had caused me so much difficulty and confusion, begin to swirl and dissolve into formlessness, for the child was named for old Hama and, if I understood the system at all, old Hama must call that child */guma* (diminutive of */gu/na*). I fanned myself with my helmet, kept my voice low and asked old Hama if I had heard correctly. 'Oh, yes,' she said. Little Hama's name had been changed, she told me. Her son Gao, the other day when his sister was visiting, had decided to give his sister's name to his daughter instead of old Hama's. Now she and her little granddaughter were *//ga* and *//gama* to each other. Old Hama said she was very disappointed. I was not. I took a deep breath and went on to the next task. 601

The Name-Relationship

In the /Kung kinship system, generational and sibling terms are applied to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties with ego if they have the same names as

553 ego or his kin or affines. We shall refer to this aspect of the kinship system as the
601 name-relationship.

Among name-relatives, as among consanguineous relatives, it is the biologically older person who classifies the younger with respect to his (the older's) kinship constellation, using the diminutive form of the term for the younger person. The younger person reciprocates.

551 One of the factors in the name-relationship is an ancestral list of names to which
553 terms are linked. Each /Kung has his own individual list to learn, taught to him by his parents and his *!gu!na*. No one could tell us exactly how the list is compiled, but
601 the theory which lies behind the list is that there were among ego's forbears persons whose names required certain terms. (One surmises they were great-grandparents and their siblings and the siblings of grandparents, &c. or perhaps still earlier generations.) Name-relatives who have these names may have had some distant consanguineous connexions. Ego no longer knows, but the old people knew, and in following their teaching ego knows he is following his proper homonymous pattern. Every informant had such a list and told us what term he linked with every name we knew. Some had more than one term linked with a name. ≠Toma used the term *tũn* for women named Khwova who came from the Gum region and */kwi* for Khwovas from the north. His parents, he said, told him to do this.

553 There is a system of applying terms to name-relatives. Ego is in the place of first
601 priority in the sense that invariably the term *!gu!na* is applied to any name-relative having the same name as himself. Furthermore, ego applies terms to the Fa, Mo, So, Da, sibling and spouse of a *!gu!na* who is a name-relative having the same name as himself, as he does in the case of the person for whom he is named. However, this is carried no further. He does not apply terms to persons named for these name-relatives and he does not apply terms to the nuclear family and spouse of a person he terms *!gu!na* unless the *!gu!na* has the same name as himself.

The term *tsu* is invariably applied to any male name-relative who has the same name as ego's Fa, *||ga* or *di!guma* to any female name-relative with the same name as ego's Mo.

[114 There are gaps in our knowledge at this point; confusion in the data was not re-
551] solved. We think, but are not certain, that next in order comes the ancestral list, taking precedence over siblings, children and spouses as a source of terms to apply to name-relatives. We think the terms applied to name-relatives derive mainly from the ascending generations, except *!gu!na*, applied to persons with the same name as ego's. To illustrate, take a man named Bo. Unless Bo is ego's name, or the name of ego's Fa, ego would use for Bo the term which was linked to the name Bo on his ancestral list. We think that, even if Bo were the name of ego's Br or the Hu of a female ego, the sibling or spouse term would not take precedence over the term linked with the name Bo on the ancestral list. We are certain that the ancestral list does take precedence over ego's children as a source of terms for name-relatives.

We have been assuming that the name occurs on the ancestral list. If a person
[551] should come along whose name was not on his ancestral list, but was the same as one of ego's consanguineous kin or affines, ego would apply the term to that person which he applies to the consanguineous kin or affine. (In the case of an affine ego would use a kin term corresponding to the affinal term, not the affinal

term itself. Cf. System B, p. 16.) We know of no rule to prevent a name-relative being classified with any consanguineous kin or affine should his name not be on ego's ancestral list. 553 601

Supposing a name did not occur on ego's ancestral list but did occur several times among his contemporary consanguineous kin and affines, the question arises as to which kinsman or affine would be the one with whom ego would classify a person of that name. We have no precise data on this point, but we think that consanguinity takes precedence over affinity, or the near over the more distant relationship.

The spouses of kin are always paired terminologically with the kin (see p. 18), but this is not true of name-relatives. Ego establishes the name-relationship with each person of a married couple individually. It was in this connexion that we learnt of an aspect of the /Kung system which has not yet been mentioned.

Informants told us that ego may apply a term to the parents and children of an individual name-relative on the generational basis, if he has no term established by his ancestral list. If ego's term for a man is */gu!na* he may apply the term *tsu* to that man's Fa and So, observing the same alternation of the terms */gu!na* and *tsu* that is apparent in Diagram 1.

In this connexion informants told us furthermore that ' boys follow their fathers, girls follow their mothers ', meaning that a son is classified with respect to his father and a daughter with respect to her mother. Assuming that ego applies the term *tũn* to a woman, he could apply the term *||ga* to her Mo and Da. If ego applied the term *tsu* to that woman's Hu, he would use the term */gu!na* for her HuFa and for her So.

We think ego would use this method only if the parent or child of the name-relative had a name for which ego had no term. The /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region had so many name links that we did not observe people applying terms to parents and children of name-relatives in this manner.

There are a few additional terms to be mentioned. Co-wives of polygynous marriages use the terms */kwi*, elder Si, and *tsī*, younger Si, for each other, unless they have the same name, in which case they retain the term */gu!na*. 601 [595]

Step-father is *ba-tsu*, step-mother is *dai-||ga*, step-son is */ha-tsu*, and step-daughter is *≠khai-||ga*.

Mama is a word, heard often, which is not strictly a kinship term. It is applied m.s. and w.s. to any male or female when people wish to express pleasure, gratitude, or affection and it includes an element of respect. It is applied so frequently to grandparents that it becomes almost an alternate to the terms. [576]

System B

The second constellation of kin terms applies to affines. Whereas a person ' enters ' System A initially by way of biological ties and/or homonymy, he ' enters ' System B by way of marital ties—of himself, of his offspring and of his siblings. 601

We shall designate as ' primary ' certain affinal relationships which have a factor in common, namely: terms applied in these relationships are linked to the relationship, as the parent and child terms are linked to those relationships; nothing changes them. The method of homonymy is not practised. Furthermore, when a person comes into one of the primary affinal relationships with ego, ego drops whatever term he

daughter at the same time. Although he had blood ties with neither, this was analogous to marrying a daughter and it was thought the man must be mad to do so. Informants said specifically that /Kung do not marry uncles or aunts because they are 'like' parents. Cousins, they say, are 'like' siblings and nephews and nieces 'like' offspring. Marriage with any of these would be shocking. 582 684

In the genealogies of about 175 /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region there is no instance of marriage among any of the above-mentioned relatives. However, we heard of two first-cousin marriages among some distant /Kung. 582 [183]

A /Kung must not marry a person who has the same name as his parent. In the two instances we know where this rule was broken the people lied, admitting it only after someone else told us about it. A man must not marry a woman to whom he applies the term */utsu* (this seems to be regarded as a particularly stringent prohibition), nor may a woman marry a man she terms ≠*tum*. We know a man who broke this rule. His marriage with his */utsu* caused a scandal which was still reverberating after two years. [553] 183] [684]

The preferred marriage among /Kung is with a non-consanguineous name-relative whom ego terms *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn* m.s. SiHu and HuBr are both termed *tun!ga* w.s. and BrWi and WiSi are termed *tũn* m.s. These are considered desirable marriages, especially the sororate, but neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory. [587]

Marriages with persons termed *!umba* or *!undai* are not forbidden. Persons who use the terms *tsu* and *||ga* for each other may marry unless one has the name of the other's parent. Persons who use the sibling terms may marry. These marriages, though not forbidden, are not preferred.

There is no category of persons with whom sexual intercourse is permitted by /Kung custom except the spouse. If illicit sexual intercourse is indulged in, it is carefully concealed. 837

The Joking Relationship

The joking relationship is an important element in /Kung culture. It is in the foreground of people's minds. The /Kung never once mentioned the generational aspect of their kin terminology system but whenever kinship matters were discussed they spoke of the joking relationship. The /Kung do not train their children to know the precise genealogical position of collaterals,[1] but they teach them the term to use and the joking status of the term. Sometimes an informant would not know whether, for instance, a relative he termed *tsu* was his FaBr, his MoBr or who, but would say that his parents taught him to use that term for the relative and that he must not joke with him. 602 [867] 601 602

The joking relationship creates a dichotomy which divides consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives into two groups. Every kinship term is associated with a joking status and the culture either allows ego to joke or prohibits him from joking with every person to whom he applies a kinship term.

[1] As to lineal kin, all our informants knew the precise genealogical position and names of their grandparents and grandchildren but many did not know the names of their great-grandparents. (We did not meet any /Kung who had a great-grandchild.)

602 ugly, slovenly, or wanton. The women retaliate, perhaps accusing the men of being worthy only of castration or of unfaithful wives. We noticed that the /Kung do not call each other sons of bitches. They are not concerned with lineage.

602 It is not thought proper to make blatant or insulting sexual jokes with old persons. The deference which is shown to aged persons is expressed by moderation, and 888 the joking relationship between an old person and a considerably younger person, [603] especially between grandparents and grandchildren, becomes a cosy friendly intimacy without the sexual emphasis.

Though the /Kung enjoy the joking relationship, it was our impression that their 602 primary concern lay in the prohibition against joking. They said it would be 'madness' to joke with persons they should not joke with. When they meet strangers they do not dare to joke until they find out whether or not it is proper for them to do so. They gave us /Kung names. This placed us in the scheme of things and people could know what their status was with us.

The /Kung say they 'fear' (*koa*) to joke when they should not and they 'fear' (*koa*) the persons with whom joking is forbidden. The word *koa* is the same word that they use when they say they fear a lion or a mamba. They also use it to mean avoid. We think it holds the same combination of fear and respect that our word holds when we say we fear the Lord.

[828 A /Kung told us that joking was not only amusing but that it served a good pur- 865] pose in teaching people, young men especially, to hold their tempers and to have poise in their social relations. We thought that joking served a good purpose in [182 providing an outlet in laughter for aggression and various social restraints, but we [154 wondered if it had not primarily been developed as a response to restraints upon sexual intercourse. Incest must be a concern among a people who live in small bands 835] of consanguineous kin and close affines, bands which are isolated for the most part within their own territories except for more or less infrequent visits to other bands. The restraints which are considered to be good and necessary may be strengthened by the symbol of avoidance of sexual joking. Respect due to a parent has perhaps come to be associated with this symbol and this may account for joking being restricted with parents of both sexes. It seems that respect in general is not required between siblings; only sexual restraint is required and this is symbolized by the restriction in joking imposed on siblings of opposite sex, whereas ego may joke with a sibling of the same sex. It is possible that the culture allows joking between grandparents and grandchildren (with the rather few exceptions when the factor of the name intervenes to classify them in the non-joking category) because joking is associated with a welcome ease and intimacy of relationship and the great difference in age removes the necessity of symbolizing sexual restraint between them.

The Name-Relationship as a Factor in Social Consolidation

553 The /Kung believe that the name is somehow a part of the entity of a person and 601 that when one is named for a person one partakes of that person's entity in some way and in some degree. Informants could give us no further elucidation of this belief.

It seems evident that, when incorporated into the system of kinship terminology, [174] the belief has produced the homonymous method of applying terms. It is our conjecture that the homonymous method was added to the system after the generational method had been established.

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method had been established. The /Kõ and /Gikwe have not incorporated the belief into their terminological systems except in a very limited way. The /Kung, however, have done so, and appear to have adapted it as logically as possible to the generational method. They apply it only to somewhat distant relationships, namely, grandparents, grandchildren, collaterals, secondary affines, and name-relatives. They do not apply it in the close biological relationships of parent, offspring or sibling or in the primary affinal relationships. Consistency is maintained by the rule that a child must not be named for a parent.

We think that the term *!gu!na* came into the system with the homonymous method and that perhaps it used originally to be applied only to the person for whom ego is named. It is not strictly a kinship term, being composed of translateable words, ' big or old name '. We think it may have been superimposed upon *tun!ga* (which probably comes from the same root as *tũn*). *Tun!ga* may originally have been applied to grandfather, man-speaking as well as woman-speaking, and later *!gu!na* may have become associated with grandfather because so many men are named for their grandfathers. If this is so, an anomalous situation remains unresolved. *Tun!ga* is applied to consanguineous kin and affines and allows joking, woman-speaking. Man-speaking, it is applied only to affines and prohibits joking. If it was originally the term for grandfather, man-speaking, we reason that it should allow joking, and we cannot explain this anomaly.

Whatever may be the answer to these questions, the /Kung have put to good use the belief that persons who have the same name partake of each other's entities. This belief has given them the name-relationship.

It is our impression that the practice of applying terms to name-relatives has appealed to the /Kung and that they have developed it to the full. The /Kung apply a kinship term to every /Kung they meet or almost everyone. /Qui was the only informant who worked with us on this subject who had ever met a /Kung Bushman for whom he had no kinship term. He had met four who came from a distance and whose names were not among those commonly used in the Nyae Nyae region. Ta//ne was one of the names. Gao, who was present, told /Qui that he had a *tsu* named Ta//ne, and he and /Qui nodded together in agreement that they would find a way for /Qui to give Ta//ne a term should they meet again. We know two men who used the term *!go* for each other because each of them had a brother named Dam. The system seems to have been flexible and expansive in the application of terms to name-relatives.

The /Kung are small of stature and non-aggressive. They are timid and apprehensive of strangers. Their word for stranger is *ju dole*. *Ju* means person, *dole* means strange or harmful—one word for both concepts, in the /Kung language, as though they were a single concept. The /Kung have no social organization larger than the band of kin who live together but they have utilized the name-relationship to supply the cohesive factor which is supplied in other societies by various social structures. When a /Kung meets a stranger and finds that he has the same name as one of his kin and bestows a kinship term upon him, he is reassured and feels a sense of belonging.

Gao, the brother of /U, went on an errand for us to Khadum. Khadum is about 115 miles north of Gautscha and about 40 miles north of Cho/ana where we were staying at the time. He had never been to Khadum before, and the /Kung Bushmen who lived

606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as " my son-in-law " or " my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidently they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

847 Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.

844 A pregnant woman is generally treated with great consideration. For the first confinement it is customary for her to [188] return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-||om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the 846 infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner 848 it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies 165 follow in rapid succession during the course of married life 847 but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted [845] the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five [162] or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood. Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance [593] is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among 553 the *Hei-||om* each child is generally given three names, [55] namely a first name, a second name and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother and the second name by the

old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the 553
surname of the mother and girls that of the father. Thus
|Uirob Geirob |Geibeb married a woman *|Kao-tamas*
Gamanis |Harus and begot two sons, namely *||Otoab ǂGonab*
|Garub and *Gogob Gomob |Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras*
|Geibes. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the
father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is
added to the surname. Hence the names of *||Otoab* become
||Otoab ǂGonab |Garub |Geibemab. This practice offers a
means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose.
A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nick- 551
names are common and are given to children when quite
young. They are usually directed towards some physical
peculiarity, for example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face
and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often
retained throughout life.

The communities which have not been in contact with 164
civilization are remarkably free from infectious, contagious
and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons when
malaria becomes unduly prevalent the incidence of disease is
very small among them. Sickness is in most instances 753
attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on
the part of the affected person, to magical influences exercised
by other persons or, when unduly prevalent, to something
going wrong with the perpetual fire. Treatment is adminis- 757
tered by relatives and friends or in cases of acute or prolonged
illness by an elder or doctor who is well versed in magical
practice. Herbs of various descriptions are employed both
internally and externally through incisions in the skin.
Inunction with medicated ointments is also extensively resorted
to. Surgical procedures are limited to incisions into the skin.
Burial of the dead is carried out almost universally at present. 764
Among the more primitive groups, however, the corpse is left [184]
in the hut which is simply pressed down so as to cover it.
After a death has taken place the camp is deserted and not 768
occupied again. Old people who are no longer able to help 888
themselves are left in the werft with a supply of food and
water. The rest of the group then move off and do not
return to it again.

Dances and Games.

Dancing and games of various kinds enter very largely into 535
the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first
place among their social recreations. Some of the dances
such as the *tsei*, *hãigi-ho*, and *ge-!ni* among the *ǂAo-||ẽin*
and *Aikwe* and the *|hawa-ǂnab* among the *Hei-||om* would
appear to be of a religious nature, being danced only on
ceremonial occasions, for example, during the initiation cere-
monies. On the other hand dancing is often indulged in at
night for pure pleasure, especially in times of plenty. The

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

she used when she was angry, a cat growling, and would be 159
affectionate to Toma and her sons. Very often, when she was 593
happy, she would dance a light, short dance to a song that she sang herself.

Tu had borne four children, four sons, to Toma, but the 163
first two sons had died. One of these had died at birth, "had died in the veld without a name," said Toma. The oldest living children, born after the others were dead, were a boy of about eight years old and a boy of five. While we were there in 1953, Tu bore her first daughter, a strawberry of a baby 553
who was named for two people—named first for Toma's sis- 123
ter, but also Norna for my mother; her name is Lorna, but Bushmen have trouble with the *l*. In order to fit us into their society, the Bushmen had given us names and niches in the kinship of Toma's family. My father was named for Toma's father, my mother was named for Toma's mother, my brother was named Toma for Toma, and I was called Dikai for Tu's sister. Toma therefore named his daughter for the person who was named for his mother—not at all unusual, as it often happens that a child may bear the names of two of its relations.

Now, hoping to find Toma once again, we started the truck 361
motors, fired a rifle, called and called, in case he might be living far from the water, but no sound came from the great veld to answer us and we began to search in the bush around the pan for signs that might show us where he was. We found two empty scherms built in the rainy season, their grass thatches gray with weather, their little piles of fire ashes sunk into the ground, and near these scherms we found the skull of a bird and the shoulder blade of an antelope, all white, bleached, and dry. Farther on we saw a tree where the woven grass nests of weaver birds were hanging empty, swinging

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

196 woman calls her brothers-in-law by words formed from this root,
601 but not her sisters-in-law; whereas a man does the opposite. The result is, that anyone calling a connexion tshō is called tshō by that person. Other connexions are called twi, a word which seems to mean "to tie", "to net", as twishiba "a riempi net", or "string bag". A woman calls both parents-in-law and son- and daughter-in-law twi, but a man calls his wife's parents simply "father" and "mother". I think he calls his son- and daughter-in-law twi, but have no clear examples.

Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to
591 be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parents' home and stay there till the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact, the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so. This does not explain why a man calls his wife's parents "father" and "mother".

A man is supposed not to speak to his mother-in-law, nor a
606 woman to her father-in-law. Of the former I had personal evidence: my Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. As to not speaking, I think that means more—not sitting near, not consorting with a person, rather than never addressing him. A Naron granny gave
183 me a vivid description of the family settling the name of a new-
● 553 born child. The relations present all quarrel over it: the father
578 says, he wants the little girl called after one of his people, but the
606 mother's mother tells him that is not at all necessary, the baby is to be named after her. This shows that speech between the two is not absolutely forbidden.

There is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister
183 speaking or sitting together,—but here, too, the sitting, not the
593 speaking, is the important part. I have heard a fully grown brother and sister addressing each other, while passing at a good distance. This rule explains why the relationship between a man
604 and his brother's child is nearer than that with his sister's child,
601 the former being called ilku "son", the latter tshō, a more distant term; whereas a woman calls her sister's son "son", her brother's son tshō.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

where the names came from ('The old people told us that he gave himself these names', they said) and I do not have sufficient relevant comparative material to throw possible light on the question. Informants said that ≠*Gao/na* was the oldest of the names of God and that */Gara* was the next oldest. 776

The Names of the Lesser God

The great god named the lesser god by giving him all of his own 'divine' names but not his human name, ≠*Gao/na*. 553 776

Having been named for the great god, the lesser god is the great god's namesake, his *!guma* (*!gu* is name, *ma* is small or younger), and the great god is the *!gu/na* (*!na* means old, older, or big).

The concept of the namesake, and of the relationship between the *!gu/na* and the *!guma*, is an important one in the /Kung kinship system.[1] */Gu/na* and *!guma* are always of the same sex, /Kung names being sex-linked. One shares in some mystical way the entity of the person for whom one is named. Incest taboos require that one must not marry the parent or offspring of one's *!gu/na* or *!guma*. Behaviour between a *!gu/na* and a *!guma* is as open and free from formal restrictions as any in /Kung society. They have the joking relationship. Only the usual respect of the young for the old is expected.

The opposite conditions exist between parent and child. A man must not name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Parent and offspring do not have the joking relationship.

It was interesting to me to find the great and lesser god in the *!gu/na–!guma* relationship rather than the father–son relationship, as it offers some evidence that the concept of the two gods is not influenced by the Christian concept of God, the father, and Jesus, the son. Also one comes to see that the father-son relationship would not serve the Bushmen as well as the *!gu/na–!guma* relationship in explaining the problem of evil, for a son would not present as sharp a duality, but, according to human standards, would express respect, obedience, deference, propriety, and assistance, which is not *in total* the function of the lesser god. 776 [177 773]

The Names of the Wives of the Gods

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe that ≠*Gao/na* gave all his own 'divine' names to both of the wives; *di*, the suffix which means 'female' is added: *Hithedi*, *Huwedi*, *Kxudi*, */Garadi*, *Gani gadi*, ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gaidi*, *||Gaowadi*.

≠*Gao/na*, the great god's human name, is not applied to the wives, men's names never being given to women. One would say instead ≠*Gao/na a tsin*, '≠*Gao/na* his wife'. [553]

Each wife has a human name as well. The elder one, who usually lives alone with ≠*Gao/na*, is named *Khwova/na*, Old Khwova. The younger one is *||Gow*. (*||Gow* rhymes with *how*. The *ao* sound in the men's names Gao, ≠Gao, and /Gao I use arbitrarily and mean by it a slightly shorter, more closed sound, like the *ou* in *ouch*.) We knew only two women named *||Gow* but knew many Khwovas. [104] [553]

The wives of the gods may be referred to or addressed by a respect term, used [576]

[1] Cf. Lorna Marshall, 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, no. 1, Jan. 1957, pp. 1–23.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

Both the father and mother expect and receive respect and obedience 593
from their children. Although the mother's influence is always felt, I believe
that the father's authority is greater. It is not formalized or expressed in a
harsh or domineering way. As long as the father lives, he is the head of
the family, symbolically. Even when too old to hunt, if he is still a forceful [882]
person, he remains the one in authority, the leader of the sons-in-law and
his daughters, of his sons and their wives. Gradually, however, when he
becomes very old, the younger men make their own plans without necessarily
consulting him.

!Kung families are responsible for dependents. Thus, old, dependent 737
parents are unfailingly supported by their offspring and may choose with
which one of their offspring they will live. Orphaned children are taken 736
by their grandparents or by a sibling of their parents. It happens occasionally
that a person has no living parent, offspring, or sibling. In that case, other
relatives assume the responsibility.

THE NAME RELATIONSHIP • Although !Kung society has developed no 571
formal political structure under which the bands are united, and there are 602
no organizations outside the bands, these people have a means of extending 553
the concept of kinship beyond close consanguineous relatives and affines 619
and of recognizing, in what we call the name relationship, the web of
remote interrelationship that long intermarriage within the region has
established.

Invariably the first son and the first daughter are named by their father
for their paternal grandparents. Other children are usually named for their
mother's parents, the siblings of their parents, and the spouses of those
siblings, and may occasionally be named for other relatives. Thus, a few
names are used over and over through the generations. We recorded only [551]
forty-six men's names and forty-one women's names in the region. The
!Kung assume that persons who have the same name are related, though
the exact nature of the relationship is forgotten. They believe, also, that
people with the same name somehow have a common entity. They bestow [60]
upon each other kin terms that are appropriate to the name, according to
a system. The !Kung have intermarried within the Nyae Nyae region to [582]
such an extent that everyone has a kin term he associates with each one
of the names. This means that the people of the whole region are what we
call name relatives, all applying kin terms to each other.

From the !Kung point of view the custom has two values. It regulates 553
the incest taboo in its furthermost extension, especially the joking relation- 602
ship that symbolizes the taboo. (For example, a man should not marry or 835
make sexual jokes with a woman who has the same name as his mother.)
The !Kung feel secure in righteousness when they know they are behaving

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

553 602 835 properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

[601] The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, 619 in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling 553 of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin 601 terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen— 602 sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [101] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ǒassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ǒassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilin- [613] ages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father [622] to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

[423] There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A consider- 768 able amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

582 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside 648 the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

584 First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

174 [172] 1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at 177 the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or 131 exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

131 (3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as 162 listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

144 (4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into cate- [114] gories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

114 (5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been pub- 147 lished by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

224 (6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed 126 in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

553 (7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential 602 beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. 121 A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the !Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy.

(8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts.

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband stepbrother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself.

(9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty.

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees.

(10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

The !Kung Bushmen

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162 The !Kung are the most numerous of the surviving Bushman tribes. Of the estimated total of 13,000, about 3,000 live in Angola, 2,000 in Bechuanaland, and 8,000 in South West Africa. The !Kung occupy a remarkably large area. Their country extends from north to south for a distance of 500 miles, and from east to west for a distance of 300 miles (see Map 5).

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19 Two criteria clearly distinguish the !Kung from all other Bushman peoples: their language and their unique system of personal naming. The !Kung language has phonological features in common with adjacent Tshu-khwe and Hottentot languages, such as the four click system and the strong glottal releases. However, the vocabulary and grammar of !Kung sets it apart from the other click languages. A lexicostatistic comparison of !Kung and Nharo showed a low incidence of cognates (11.5%).

[114] The grammar of !Kung has yet to be adequately described, but
[193] none of the preliminary work by Doke (1925), Bleek (1929), Maingard (1957), and Westphal (1962, 1963:244) has been able to demonstrate a genetic relationship of !Kung grammar to the grammars of the other click languages.

There are no semi-!Kung languages (although the vocabulary of the southern dialect has been influenced by contact with Nharo) and therefore a native speaker of !Kung is immediately identified as a member of the !Kung tribe. This holds

19 true even at the periphery of their distribution where !Kung speakers have been intermarrying with other Bushmen for generations.

551 553 The second diagnostic criterion is the !Kung system of naming. There is a finite repertoire of about ninety personal names among the !Kung of Bechuanaland and South West Africa. All names are sex specific, about forty-five are for men and forty-five for women. Personal names are transmitted from grandparent to grandchild according to explicit rules of precedence. First-born males are named after their paternal grandfather and first-born females after their paternal grandmother. Subsequent offspring are named for the maternal grandparents and if necessary further children are named for the siblings of their parents, again with the paternal side taking precedence. The !Kung feel that all people bearing a certain personal name are ultimately descended from the original bearer of that name. Thus all men named, for example, ≠oma, feel a fictive kinship for one another. They formalize this by addressing all namesakes older than ego as grandfather (!un!a - literally "older name") and all namesakes younger than ego as grandson (!uma - literally "younger name"). By the extension of primary kinship terms to unrelated namesakes, some 9,000 !Kung Bushmen are actually or potentially incorporated into a fictive kinship network. This network extends from the Ghanzi farms on

551 the south to the Okavango River on the north. The !Kung
553 name-relationship was first described by Lorna Marshall (1957:3ff) for the Bushmen at /Gauša Pan, South West Africa. It was found in 1964 that !Kung farm workers as far away as Gobabis, South West Africa, two hundred miles south of /Gauša, possessed the same repertoire of personal names, the same rules of name inheritance, and the same method for fictively linking unrelated individuals through the name relationship.

From the scanty evidence available on the Angola !Kung (Bleek 1928), it appears that the name relationship is not operative there. However, in Bechuanaland and South West Africa the presence of the institution is a reliable criterion for determining whether a Bushman is !Kung.[1]

101 There are three geographical divisions of the !Kung
131 Bushmen. The northern group, numbering about 4,000, live in
162 Angola and the far northern districts of South West Africa. The central group, numbering about 7,000, extend from the western margin of the Okavango Swamp in Bechuanaland as far as the farms of the Grootfontein district of South West Africa.
[241] The southern group (c. 2,000) are confined to the farms of the

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[1] Unpublished evidence on the southern ǂhũa Bushmen indicates that they possess a system of fictive kinship based on personal names, but the repertoire of names appears to be entirely different from that of the !Kung Bushmen (Heinz, Westphal, personal communications).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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believed that they bring ill-luck on the parents. What treatment is 845
adopted in the other tribes is not definitely stated; among the Naron 847
it appears that they are both allowed to live.

The exposure or killing of deformed children does not seem to occur 847
in any of the tribes. Abortion, however, is often induced by treading on the body of the pregnant woman. It appears to be practised mainly when she is unmarried, and therefore to imply that only married women have the right to bear and rear children.

There is no account of any special ceremony held in connection 852
with birth, although if there is enough food—but only then—a feast followed by a dance may be given by the parents. The child is 553
usually named shortly after birth, without special ceremony. The name is given by the parents in consultation with the grandparents and other relatives, and among most of the North-Western tribes is generally that of some near relative. Boys, for instance, may receive the name of a paternal grandfather or uncle, girls that of a maternal grandmother or aunt. Often there is a squabble about the name [578]
between the father's people and those of the mother; whichever party is in force generally succeeds in having its wishes adopted, and the child is named after a member on that side of the family.[1]

The Heikum system of naming closely resembles that of the 171
Hottentots, and has in all probability been taken over from them. 553
"Each child," says Fourie,[2] "is generally given three names, namely a first name, a second name, and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother, and the second name by the old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the surname of the mother and girls that of the father.[3] Thus *|Uirob Geirob |Geibeb* married a woman *|Kao-tamas* 171
Gamanis |Garus and begot two sons, namely *||Otoab |Gonab |Garub* 551
and *Gogob Gomob |Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras |Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *||Otoab* become *||Otoab |Gonab |Garub |Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose. A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nicknames are common, and are given to children when quite young.

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 30–1; [illegible], "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66.
[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 61.
[3] This feature is specially characteristic of the Hottentot system of name-giving. V. below, p. 267.

1:Marshall / E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with 602 three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made.

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu/na* and *tŭn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *//ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a 182 touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and con- 183 sistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society 582 tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many cate- 593 gories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship 602 as soon as marriage takes place.

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly 587 approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is 768 expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines.

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. 583 This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one 619 marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, [584] as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened.

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in 595 which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power 554 or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, 556 but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries [422] his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women [482]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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[482] 559 556 595 [422] [431] in the pouches of their karosses along with their babies. This puts a strict limit upon any desire to possess great quantities of property in movables. Furthermore, gift-giving keeps all personal property moving in a current through the region and no one possesses very much more than another. The determining factors in obtaining more than one wife are apt to be the personalities of the individuals and the man's ability to hunt. 'Women love meat', we were told, and like their husbands to be good hunters.

595 The number of wives a man may have is not regulated by social rules but by his ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. None of the nine polygynists in the band had more than two. However, we heard of a man named Gao, now dead, who had had four wives all at one time. He had been a fabulous hunter and maker of arrows and was the father of the /Ti/kay who is the husband of two sisters, /Naoka and /Nai, in Band 9.

Only two of the nine pairs of co-wives had traceable consanguineous relationship. The above /Ti/kay's wives were sisters—the only ones—and, in Band 10, Old ≠Gao's younger wife, /Ghia, was the BrDa of his older wife, Bau.

[601] *!Kwi*, sister, is the term which co-wives apply to each other, unless they have the same name, in which case they term each other *!gu!na*. The /Kung, though they do not institutionalize the sororate, say it is a good idea to marry sisters because they are not so likely to be jealous of each other as other women. /Ti/kay's wives, who appeared to live in harmony and affection and to support each other, provided an example of the validity of this opinion.

Marriage to the same man gives co-wives the joking relationship, and they do not observe the sitting or the name avoidance, though they may have avoided each other before marriage.

[342] /Kung co-wives share one scherm and one family fire. The scherm, the little shelter of branches and grass which the women build, a half hemisphere in shape, is only 3 to 4 ft. wide on the open side, about 3 ft. deep at the centre, perhaps 4 to 5 ft. high at the peak. In it and in front of it, beside their one fire, the two wives live, share their man, share the food they gather, share the work of fetching water and wood, nurse each other's babies, and co-operate in whatever degree of harmony their spirits can attain.

513 Husbands and wives may sleep separately or lie close together, side by side, or feet to feet. The woman holds her infant in her arms. Young children sleep near by bundled together, two or three in one kaross. Girls at about seven or eight go to sleep with a grandmother or a widowed friend or relative. The boys of the band, beginning at the same age, all sleep at a boys' fire.

[595] [821] /Ti/kay (Band 9), husband of the two attractive sisters, sees to it that his wives lie close to him, especially on cold nights, one on each side. Sleeping thus they were like the three stars of Orion which we call the Belt, but which the /Kung say are three zebras, two females with a male between them.

513 833 It is under such conditions that the /Kung usually have sexual intercourse—at night, in their sleeping place. They cover themselves with their karosses and are very discreet. The position is to lie on the side, the man at the back of the woman. Men pull the labia of the women before intercourse. The wives of /Ti/kay told me that they took pleasure in intercourse. I asked them if they had orgasms. We had

[48 cont.]

755 from ostrich egg shells, had been put on by her proxy, Dube, a
756 very intelligent young woman. The latter, standing at the end of
796 the semicircle of seated women, conducted the ceremony. She
[276] was in a very good mood and alternately smoked her Bushman
[554] pipe and my cigarettes. There is a kind of hierarchy among the
women; those who were squatting were higher in rank than those
who were standing. All the women clapped their hands and sang
[533] in a monotonous rhythm: ehe, ehe, ehe, ehe, etc. This, I was
assured, was no song, but "music." Some hordes have bartered

[532]

Fig. 19. Sorcerer in a Bird Mask, Followed by Spirits of Sickness. (From Rock Paintings in South Africa. From Parts of the Eastern Province and Orange Free State. Copied by G. W. Stow. With an introduction and descriptive notes by Dorothea Bleek. London, Methuen, 1930.)

dance drums one and a half meters high from the Okawango, which on this occasion are played by men. [Fig. 19 appears
[184] here.] Among the Bushmen of the Sand Veld the female leader of the ceremony does not wear the ornaments of the chief female doctor; instead, the ornaments are hung on a tree. The position of the chief female doctor is not permanently held by one person; the chief doctor on occasion imparts supernatural powers to her.

755 The five doctors had taken off all their ornaments and
756 were naked except for the front apron. They put themselves
786 into an autohypnotic state by means of crowing, by producing
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9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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We had met him for the first time at Gautscha. He had 159 224
come in from the veld one night to visit his brother, and we had met him in the morning. Short Kwi was a young, small man, shorter than his wife and so slender that he looked almost like a child. With long, light feet that took him everywhere, with heavy thighs but light calves like the thin shanks [142] of a greyhound, and with a narrow, deep chest and lungs that never winded, he was obviously built for hunting. In the rainy season when the veld was soft and muddy he often hunted with only a spear and ran the great antelopes down, for though their hooves sunk and split in the mud, causing them eventually to tire, Short Kwi never tired and his strong legs bore him after them relentlessly, sweeping him down the long plains like a wind of death.

His life in the veld seemed lonely, but I doubt that it was; he had his wife, who adored him, for company in the evenings, and although she may have missed companionship more than he did, they were both shy, both quiet, and it may [573] be that they both enjoyed their life apart. Short Kwi hunted most of the time. He would hunt on and on and when word would reach the large band of his wife's family that he had killed, the band would go out to where the animal was, dry the meat, and eat it. When there was enough meat Short Kwi would rest, would relax in the sun, would talk with his wife or make himself a new skin bag or garment, and when word would reach him that all the meat was gone he would move again. The men of his wife's family hunted too, of course, but never as successfully as he, yet his great ability set [578 554] him so far apart from ordinary mortals that for once the Bushmen forgot their jealousy and agreed that he was the best hunter the Kalahari had ever known.

It is a custom among Bushman hunters to cut strips of skin 301 224

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[423]

The headman of each band is considered to "own" a waterhole. What he is considered to "own," is both the water and the *veldkos* of the district. The ground itself is described as *chi dole*, worthless. Headmanship is hereditary, the headman being the oldest son of the previous headman although, if the male line is cut off for a generation, headmanship is passed through the eldest daughter to her eldest son. But head-

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

622 manship is different from leadership,
554 which is not hereditary. Leadership depends heavily on a man's character, his hunting prowess, and especially his ability to focus people's opinions. Usually headman and leader are the same person but, should a headman be too young—perhaps still in his mother's womb—or very old, a band will have a separate leader.

622 Theoretically, the right to refuse
554 water to members of another band
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belongs to the headman, although we never saw this done nor did we ever hear of such a thing. Neither leadership nor headmanship implies any overt coercive power over the other members of a band. Only as a sort of coagulation of group opinion can headman or leaders exert a control —which, even then, is not final. The leader, being the kind of person to whom others come when decisions must be made, is often an arbiter, in

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quarrels, a focal point in discussion of plans, a comfort to the bereaved and a strength for those in doubt.

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[591]

The functions of headman, as headman, are of a different nature. In order to take up residence with a band, a person must have certain ties of kin with members of the band. Such a person may live with his own parents or siblings, or with his wife's parents or siblings. It is a wide choice, providing for flexibility—but within limits. There are, of course, exceptions, and visitors from other bands are never denied, but possession of some kinship tie seems to be a general requirement for residence which,

622 areas, baobab trees, and—most im-
423 portant—*mangetti* trees that hold water in their trunks, and *tsi* areas. It is these "owned" features, and the direction from the waterhole in which they lie, that define a territory. Since, as we have seen, *mangetti*'s and *tsi* are the most important !Kung resources, they are the main determinants of a direction.

But animals are *not* owned. Neatly bounded sections of the countryside are *not* owned. A territory, therefore can best be defined as the combination of a permanent waterhole and a direction: the !Kung so define it by the word "side." One headman's territory is said to be on this "side."

361 JUST as the Kalahari's scant re-
621 sources of food and water are distributed in accordance with a geo-
622 graphical pattern, the !Kung bands are distributed in accordance with both a geographical and a social pattern. Natural resources are the focal points in the geographical pattern of band distribution: headmen are the focal points in the social pattern. In a sense, headmen tie together the two patterns, the concept of headmanship being the embodiment of a certain quantity of resources in a person around whom a band can take shape and operate. Because of their kin ties with a headman, the people living round him, clustering their *skerms* around his and moving with him over his territory, feel right in being where they are.

622 The headman receives no special
554 privileges. He is no more wealthy than other men. If he is a leader, he may assume responsibility and speak out. But, as headman, he need not speak, for headmanship is a silent office and while the headman lives—by his waterhole or out somewhere on his territory with his band—he serves his whole purpose.

423 Most of the permanent waterholes
3/2 have two !Kung bands associated with them, and the *tsi* areas are likewise shared by bands from the same and different waterholes. Such sharing may come about because two brothers (only one of whom may be the true headman) live together and feel they possess joint claims. It may come about through the passage of time, which confuses genealogies and lets claims, once tenuous, become firm through usage. The !Kung are a people of present tense, living—in their minds as well as with their

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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various taboos. They wait for the children to grow up, hoping that they 581
will be like their families in these qualities.

The marriage takes place when the parents agree, but it must be after 582
the boy has killed a game animal and is scarified. The age at which young people marry varies greatly. We know girls who were married for five or six years before they menstruated; others were somewhat older at marriage.

!Kung society rigorously, and without exception, requires that all men, 591
in first and subsequent marriages, go to live with the parents of their brides, 583
and give them bride service. This service is essentially hunting. "Our daughter's husband must give us meat." "We shall soon be old; we need a young man to hunt for us." These are the refrains of the people.

The duration of bride service is indefinite. The !Kung say it should be long enough for three children to be born. Since the girls are so young, it may mean that eight or ten years elapse before three children have been born. Divorce may terminate bride service. After his obligations are fulfilled, a man has the right to return to his own people with his wife and dependents or he may choose to stay with his wife's people.

The young couple is expected not to have sexual intercourse until the 585
girl is ready. No social rule patterns the time, which is a matter of individual adjustment, but the boy must not force the girl. If she complained to her [586]
parents, they might disapprove of the boy, dissolve the marriage, and send him away. His parents would have to try to find another bride for him and he would have to wait for years again for her to grow up.

The !Kung are polygynous. First marriages are ordinarily arranged by 595
their parents between children who have not been previously married. 587
Only occasionally is a young girl betrothed for her first marriage to a man who had been married before, perhaps a young man who had lost his wife by death or divorce, or possibly, but rarely, to her sister's husband or some other man as his second wife. Usually second marriages are contracted later in life when a woman becomes available for remarriage through widowhood or divorce. In such marriages, the man and woman concerned make their own arrangements. The number of wives a man may have is determined 595
not by social rule but by the man's ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. There is no great excess of women, and prestige [554]
and wealth do not concentrate in !Kung society to give certain categories of men, such as headmen or medicine men, more power or right than others to acquire wives. A sampling of eighty-eight marriages showed that only nine of the men had two wives. None had more than two.

Although the first wife is considered to have a somewhat more esteemed and dominant position, no property or other material advantage is given to her and no important social advantage accrues.

!Kung co-wives live very closely together. They share one scherm and one family fire. They care for and nurse each other's children. Even when

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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595 is the rule, but a second wife is not considered wrong; it is thought better for a man in such a case to marry the younger sister of his first wife, then the two will not quarrel.[1] Further east in this tribe three or four wives are not infrequent, and actually a man often marries the sisters and "cousins" of his first wife.[2] The Auen at Rietfontein all have only one wife, "because of the scarcity of food," while those at Gam on the average have two, and sometimes even five wives. The wife first married holds a higher social position than the rest, which may, however, says Kaufmann, be due merely to her greater age.[3] Among the Kung a second wife may be taken, if the first consents; but owing to the difficulty of providing for more than one wife, adds Lebzelter, polygynous marriages are extremely rare.[4] Of the Heikum, again, Fourie tells us that each man as a rule has two wives, who may or may not be related. The second wife is married some time after the first, who is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over her. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife, and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation.[5] Polygynous marriages are also found among the !O Kung of Angola and among the Hiechware, but are here said to be comparatively rare.[6]

The occurrence of such marriages implies a numerical [114] preponderance of women, or else that some of the men must remain [162] bachelors; but unfortunately in no instance are figures given to show the proportion of men and women, or even of monogamous and polygynous marriages, within the band. The motives for polygyny are also not clearly defined. We are told, however, that [622] chiefs among the Naron mostly had two wives,[7] so that here it may be [554] partly associated with rank; while among the Auen, and probably also among the Heikum, the second wife is often not taken until the first is old and past child-bearing. A similar statement is made by Barrow about the Cape Bushmen.[8] In such cases naturally only the older men have more than one wife.

The Cape and the Namib Bushmen, as previously mentioned, are 582 said to forbid marriage only between own brother and sister, parent and child; and so do the !O Kung of Angola. Beyond this no special prohibition or injunction appears to exist. Among the Heikum, on the other hand, the range of forbidden relatives is extended to include all cousins and nieces; while in all the North-Western tribes, including

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34. [2] Passarge, op. cit., 106. [3] Op. cit., 137. [4] Op. cit., 13–14.
[5] Op. cit., 92. [6] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112; Dornan, op. cit., 124.
[7] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37. [8] Loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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daughters are competely excluded from the inheritance. The eldest 428
son also becomes the head of the family after the death of his father, [768]
and must care for the widow and give her food.[1]

Regulation of Public Life

In spite of the loose cohesion of the band, and the facility with 648
which the family groups composing it may wander about separately, the Bushmen are by no means devoid of government and law. Where they are subject to the Bantu or other peoples there is of course not much possibility of an independent political life. In the Okavango marshes, for example, they are in the position of serfs to the BaTawana, by whom they are required to pay an annual tribute of skins, ostrich feathers, and egg-shell beads. The territory occupied by the BaTawana is divided into local districts, each under control of a minor chief (*kxosani*), to whom all the Bushmen in the district have to pay their tribute, and for whom they often have to perform such services as herding his cattle and hunting for him. In the Oschimpoloveld again the Bushmen pay tribute to the OvaKwangari; in the Southern Kalahari they are the serfs and herdsmen of the BaTlaro and other BeChwana tribes among whom they live, and so, too, in the North-East Kalahari, where they are subject to the BaMangwato.[2]

But where the Bushmen are still to some extent independent, each 621
band, as we have seen, is a separate political unit and regulates its own affairs. There is no well-developed system of organized government. In the small family groups of the Cape and Namib Bushmen [622]
and of the !O Kung deference is paid to the head of the group, but 554
his authority in general is very limited. The common affairs of the 887

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 10, 35; Kaufmann, op. cit., 159; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

[2] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 121–2; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 65–6; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Languages," 56. In August, 1926, the High Commissioner for S. Africa (H.E. the Earl of Athlone), addressing an assembly of BaMangwato at their chief town Serowe, made the following important declaration with reference to this servitude: "It has been stated that the Masarwa are the slaves of the Mangwato. The Government does not regard them as slaves, but realizes that they are a backward people who serve the Mangwato in return for the food and shelter they receive. I understand that for the most part they are contented and that they do not wish to change. But the Government will not allow any tribe to demand compulsory service from another, and wants to encourage the Masarwa to support themselves. Any Masarwa who wish to leave their masters and live independently of them should understand that they are at liberty to do so, and that if the Mangwato attempt to retain them against their will the Government will not allow it. It is the duty of the Chiefs and Headmen to help these people to stand on their own feet, and I expect the missionaries and the Chief and his Councillors to join the Government in preventing anything in the nature of compulsory service in Bechuanaland" (*Report on Bechuanaland Protectorate*, 1926–7, Colonial Reports No. 1379, p. 6). What effect this pronouncement has had upon the status of the Bushmen it is still too early to determine.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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534 887 band, such as migrations and hunting parties, appear rather to be regulated by the skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men generally.[1]

Among the North-Western tribes, on the other hand, where the 622 bands are on the whole more considerable in size, each band has a [184] recognized chief (*//exa* or *//exaba*, *gao-aob* or *gei-khoib*; the last two [192] words are of Hottentot origin).[2] The office is as a rule hereditary in the male line, descending from father to son, or, failing such, to the nearest male relative. The heir succeeds only when he attains maturity, i.e. when he has passed through the puberty ceremonies and has killed his first head of big game. During his minority there is no regency—things just go on, as Kaufmann says. Among the Heikum and the Kung, however, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds. This [184] rule of succession is so much at variance with what we know of the [171] other North-Western Bushmen, and even of the structure of the band in the two tribes mentioned, that, if the information be correct, the practice can only be regarded as due to the influence of the neighbouring OvaMbo, who are definitely organized on a matrilineal [611] basis. There is no other instance of matrilineal succession among the Bushmen.

No tribute or services are rendered to the chief, nor are there any special signs of chieftainship, such as a particular dress or mode of [595] life. We are told by Miss Bleek that Naron chiefs mostly have two wives, but whether this is in any way associated with their status is not made clear. The main functions of the chief apparently are to direct the movements of the people from place to place and to allocate the work for the day, to order the burning of the veld, and, in particular, to lead in war. Among the Heikum we also know that in him are vested certain other functions the performance of which is of vital importance to the welfare of the community. He alone, as we have seen, "is able to bring forth from fire the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune." The various beliefs and practices centring in the first fire kindled by him at every new encampment, while fully demonstrating the importance of this fire in the social life of the people, at the same time also reflect his religious significance and emphasize the dependence of the community upon him in this aspect of their life. He also, as we have

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109; Trenk, op. cit., 170; Seydel, op. cit., 504.

[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 154; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36–7; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 86–8; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 14.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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when we looked at the pile we had, we judged that we had 313 372
enough for the night, but we burned only one at a time to save them.

For a while, sitting at the fire, everyone was quite gay. The 521
adults began to talk about food they had gathered and eaten and Toma's children asked me to tell them a story. "A true story," they said. Casting about in my mind for a story that would amuse them, I remembered a night when we were camped on our way to the Gikwe Bushmen in Bechuanaland and six lions had come into our camp. Someone in our party had shot at them and had wounded two of them, and then we had followed the wounded ones on foot through the darkness, a dangerous business, had finally found one and killed it, and had found the other one dead in the morning. I tried to say all this in Kung, but though I could understand quite a bit of it and could speak on some subjects, this time I found that my vocabulary was lacking; all I could say was "We killed two lions," a terse statement, and though the children were looking at me wide-eyed, I couldn't go on and had to get John to finish the story. "Ah," said the children when the story was told, not nearly as impressed as I had thought they would be, but then I myself had seen their father walk through a valley where several lions were roaring, at night, alone, armed only with a spear, depending on his wits for safety and on the fact that lions have a musky odor. He had been in our camp on one side of the valley when he had heard the lions roaring, and had slipped across among them in order to be with his wife and children, asleep on the other side.

Crooked Kwi, his wife, and his daughter had all turned 374
away from the fire to warm their backs. They sat in a row, Kwi first, then the baby, then his wife. They were relaxed and they had let their heads tilt back to look at the sky. Crooked 555
Kwi and his wife were very young, and, being one of the few

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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555 men between their adolescence and their thirties in the entire area and not an excellent hunter, Crooked Kwi was sometimes a figure of ridicule. He was nicknamed Crooked because of the way he walked, the Bushmen said, although I could never see why, and now, tonight, the men began to taunt him. For a while Crooked Kwi just looked idly over his shoulder at the men and smiled.

"Why did your wife run away from you?" Lazy Kwi asked finally. This went too far; his wife really had run away from him once with another man, and Crooked Kwi had been grieved and humiliated. His wife had been persuaded to return to him, but the incident had not helped Crooked Kwi's position as a figure of fun. Now, when he was reminded of it, [522] he turned his head away. Bushmen can be quite cruel with their joking.

521 Perhaps to turn the conversation to other things Toma reminded me of a time I had driven him and some other Bushmen in a truck and had bounced them quite badly. He told me that the Bushmen had agreed that women should leave trucks alone. "Your husband would drive if you were married. Why aren't you married?" he said.

I said it was because I was too young (I was twenty-three), intending this as a joke because Bushmen, even old grandfathers, always say they are too young when they are at a loss for an answer. "Oh no," said Toma. "You are old enough now. Even the last time you were here you said you were going to be married. How is it that you are still alone?"

"Well," I said, "I *will* someday."

"Yes, that is what you told me last time and here you are again." I couldn't think of a thing to say, and Toma added: "Well, never mind. Your father will help you, just as I will help Norna here when she is a little older."

At these words Norna lifted her head from her mother's

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with 602
three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made.

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu/na* and *tŭn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *||ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a 182
touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and con- 183
sistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society 582
tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many cate- 593
gories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship 602
as soon as marriage takes place.

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly 587
approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is 768
expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines.

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. 583
This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one 619
marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, [584]
as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened.

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in 595
which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power 554
or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, 556
but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries [422]
his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women [482]

[482] in the pouches of their karosses along with their babies. This puts a strict limit upon
554 any desire to possess great quantities of property in movables. Furthermore, gift-
556 giving keeps all personal property moving in a current through the region and no
595 one possesses very much more than another. The determining factors in obtaining
[422] more than one wife are apt to be the personalities of the individuals and the man's
[431] ability to hunt. 'Women love meat', we were told, and like their husbands to be good hunters.

The number of wives a man may have is not regulated by social rules but by his
595 ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. None of the nine polygynists in the band had more than two. However, we heard of a man named Gao, now dead, who had had four wives all at one time. He had been a fabulous hunter and maker of arrows and was the father of the /Ti/kay who is the husband of two sisters, /Naoka and /Nai, in Band 9.

Only two of the nine pairs of co-wives had traceable consanguineous relationship. The above /Ti/kay's wives were sisters—the only ones—and, in Band 10, Old ≠Gao's younger wife, /Ghia, was the BrDa of his older wife, Bau.

/Kui, sister, is the term which co-wives apply to each other, unless they have the
[601] same name, in which case they term each other *!gu!na*. The /Kung, though they do not institutionalize the sororate, say it is a good idea to marry sisters because they are not so likely to be jealous of each other as other women. /Ti/kay's wives, who appeared to live in harmony and affection and to support each other, provided an example of the validity of this opinion.

Marriage to the same man gives co-wives the joking relationship, and they do not observe the sitting or the name avoidance, though they may have avoided each other before marriage.

/Kung co-wives share one scherm and one family fire. The scherm, the little
[342] shelter of branches and grass which the women build, a half hemisphere in shape, is only 3 to 4 ft. wide on the open side, about 3 ft. deep at the centre, perhaps 4 to 5 ft. high at the peak. In it and in front of it, beside their one fire, the two wives live, share their man, share the food they gather, share the work of fetching water and wood, nurse each other's babies, and co-operate in whatever degree of harmony their spirits can attain.

Husbands and wives may sleep separately or lie close together, side by side, or
573 feet to feet. The woman holds her infant in her arms. Young children sleep near by bundled together, two or three in one kaross. Girls at about seven or eight go to sleep with a grandmother or a widowed friend or relative. The boys of the band, beginning at the same age, all sleep at a boys' fire.

[595] /Ti/kay (Band 9), husband of the two attractive sisters, sees to it that his wives lie
[821] close to him, especially on cold nights, one on each side. Sleeping thus they were like the three stars of Orion which we call the Belt, but which the /Kung say are three zebras, two females with a male between them.

513 It is under such conditions that the /Kung usually have sexual intercourse—at
833 night, in their sleeping place. They cover themselves with their karosses and are very discreet. The position is to lie on the side, the man at the back of the woman. Men pull the labia of the women before intercourse. The wives of /Ti/kay told me that they took pleasure in intercourse. I asked them if they had orgasms. We had

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the
293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire
291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re-
[123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having
[124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in
[412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess
[325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in
[439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that,
[531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead em-
301 broidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are
[321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence
[556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are
[462] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around
[306] the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of
[302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to lengthen them.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

182 another through the seasons, always going back and forth between food and water,
431 they carry their young children and their belongings. With plenty of most materials at hand to replace artifacts as required, the /Kung have not developed means of permanent storage and have not needed or wanted to encumber themselves with surpluses or duplicates. They do not even want to carry one of everything. They borrow what they do not own. With this ease, they have not hoarded, and the
[556] accumulation of objects has not become associated with status. Instead of keeping things, they use them to express generosity and friendly intent, and to put people under obligation to make return tokens of friendship. And, even more specifically,
[159] in my opinion, they mitigate jealousy and envy, to which they are prone, by passing things on to others. These are the objectives in gift-giving.

431 Except, as ≠Toma said, that it would be surprising to see a man give a present to a woman who was not related to him (and vice versa, I imagine), anyone may give to anyone. Degree or kind of kinship or affinity, having the joking relationship or lacking it, impose no requirements or restrictions, nor does status in the community in a conventional way. We did hear people say, however, that a headman may feel that he should lean well to the generous side in his giving, for his position as headman sets him out from the others a little and he wants whatever attention this attracts
[602] not to be envious. Someone remarked that this could keep a headman poor.

The times of giving are determined almost entirely by the individual's convenience. The /Kung do not know their birthdays or anniversaries and have no special days of the year which they mark by giving gifts. Gifts are required by convention on only three ceremonial occasions. The type or quantity of the gift is not patterned but it should be generous. The occasions are betrothals and weddings, when the
[585] parents exchange gifts and give to the young couple, and the ceremony of a baby's first haircut, when the */gu/na*, the person for whom the baby is named, should give
[852] him a fine present.

Relatives give to young people with the idea of setting them up in life. Gao Beard gave a spear and a kaross to his FaSiHuSo, saying it was his duty to see that the boy got some things because among the boy's relatives he was the most able to do so. The boy's father was very old, he explained. People expect to wait a long time for young people to make return gifts.

The two rigid requirements in gift-giving are that one must not refuse a proffered gift and that one must give in return. Demi said that, even if he might prefer not to be obligated to someone, he would accept and prepare to make his return gift. If a gift were to be refused, he continued, the giver would be terribly angry. He would
[508] say, 'Something is very wrong here.' This could involve whole groups in tensions, bad words, taking sides—even 'a talk' might occur—just what the /Kung do not want. Demi said it does not happen: a /Kung never refuses a gift. And a /Kung does not fail to give in return. ≠Toma said that would be 'neglecting friendship'. A person would know that others thought him 'far-hearted' and 'this would worry him'.

In reciprocating one does not give the same object back again but something of comparable value. The interval of time between receiving and reciprocating varied from a few weeks to a few years. Propriety requires that there be no unseemly haste. The giving must not look like trading.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed //*guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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556 on the quantity of objects they want to possess. They do not even want one each of the common tools of their lives. They borrow from each other, and there is less to carry.

Instead of acquiring prestige by accumulating possessions, the !Kung seek it in the opposite way. They practice a custom of gift giving to such an extent that their belongings all move in a slow flowing current among them and no one keeps anything of particular value very long. !Kung society requires that gifts be made in return, and the custom serves as a means to mitigate jealousy, to express friendly intent, and to weave people together in mutual obligation.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE FAMILY AND THE DOMESTIC GROUP • The family is the primary and the most cohesive social unit of the !Kung. By far the strongest bonds they feel are those of the nuclear family—the bonds between parent and offspring, between siblings, between spouses. These relationships are the basis of residence; by that I mean that people live together and have membership in their bands and rights to its food and water resources because they are linked to the band by one of these relationships. I believe that, in addition to the structured aspects, there is great emotional cohesiveness in !Kung families and that this is observable in the way families within the band build their fires near each other, come and go together, or, if there should be a quarrel, literally stand by each other, drawing close together.

The !Kung family passes through four phases. In its simplest nuclear form it consists of a man, his wife, and such children as are born to them. First marriages are always with just one wife. A later nuclear phase may be polygynous. When the daughters of a !Kung couple marry, and the daughters' husbands come to live with their brides' parents to give them bride service, the unit becomes an extended family. In a second extended phase, the married sons may have returned from bride service with their wives and offspring. In this phase, the married daughters with their husbands and offspring may stay or they may go to live with their husbands' people.

• The headship of a family is strongly associated with males. A widowed mother is regarded as a dependent, not as a family head. When the old father of an extended family dies, that particular family ceases to be an extended family. Families of siblings may live together in the same band, but no one of them has authority over another unless one of the siblings happens to be headman of the band. If they are no longer involved in bride service themselves, and their offspring are not yet married, these families become independent nuclear families again, to become new, extended families when the offspring marry.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. 513 593
Individual adjustments are made.

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the will to hunt, good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt. It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness. 582 224 884 [304]

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of hunting is ceremonially linked with marriage. At the time of the wedding, the boy must bring to his bride's parents an animal that he himself has killed. The animal he brings must not be eaten by the bride. 585 224

A boy who never killed any large meat animal would not be given a wife, informants said. This was why the strange old deviant, /Gaishay, had remained a bachelor. For reasons no one understood he could not hunt; he gathered veldkos like a woman. Gossip had it that twice he had tried to drag a woman against her will into his scherm but had not succeeded. Informants remarked, 'Women like meat.' They do, but there is far more to it than that. 582 589 [462]

As John Marshall shows in his film, *The Hunters*, the primary sources of physical life, sex and food, are involved. In /Kung concept they are linked together, and, as they pertain to men, their duality is lifted to oneness in the being of the man, who is the sexually powerful male and the provider, the hunter. Power as a man and a male and worthiness and dignity are associated with hunting and not with the failure to hunt. 562 828 224

Since they are related, both the sexual and the hunting powers of the young man can be captured at once with a bride. For the first several years of marriage the boy goes to live with his bride's parents, or her people, should her parents be dead, to hunt for them. The parents of girls speak constantly of wanting their sons-in-law to provide them with food as though it were an obsession. 'We are old', they say, or 'We shall soon be old [whether this is actually true or not]; we need a young man to hunt for us'; 'our daughter's husband must get us something to eat'; 'we need karosses'; 'we want meat'—these are their refrains. 583 [591] [606]

Another value the /Kung place upon the boy's hunting during his bride-service appears in their belief that if the husband hunts for his wife and feeds her while she is still a growing child she becomes the more his. Food seems to be a main concern in bride-service, but the people also say that they want to be sure that the boy measures up in every way and will take good care of their daughter, and that the girl will have time to get used to her husband. [581] [593]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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159 Band 2. She was /Nai's second cousin (MoFaBrSoDa) and the first cousin once
585 removed of the groom (MoSiDaDa). The attendants were not selected for their precise relationship to the bride. They were the only young kinswomen present in the two bands. The girls sat down and chatted with /Nai for a moment and then stood up and, giggling and chattering, took /Nai by the arms. /Nai drew back. Then Xama pulled /Nai's arms over her shoulders, bent and took /Nai on to her back so that her feet did not touch the ground. Xama carried /Nai in this position to the wedding scherm, laid her down inside, to the left of the opening as one entered, in the dark shadow, and covered her over with the kaross. There /Nai remained. We did not see her again that night.

It is the custom for the parents to take brands from their own fires to light the wedding fire of the bride and groom. Presumably this was done, though I did not see it. When the girls arrived the fire was burning and a young man, a cousin of the groom, was tending it. The two girls sat down by the fire on the women's side.

562 /Kung men and women must sit on opposite sides of the fire.[1] They believe that if
834 male and female genital organs should touch the same spot on the ground the man's
352 hunting powers would be vitiated and the woman would get a sickness in her genito-urinary tract, not an ordinary, human, communicable disease but a magical one. The woman's side is to the left as one faces the entrance to the scherm, the men's to the right. The fire is always in front of the entrance if the scherm is built, but, more often than not, if the weather is good, or the people are travelling and staying
[342] only one night, or the wife is lazy, she hangs the family belongings in a bush and does not build a scherm. Then it is the custom to thrust two upright sticks into the ground to represent the entrance, so that the family may orient itself.

In the werf of Band 2, about twenty or thirty yards to the west, a group of boys had
159 come to /Gunda to attend him. They were all the young boys of the werf who
585 were approximately his age, two cousins (MoSiSo) and four of the sons of /Gunda's stepfather by his first wife. The boys made a show of catching /Gunda and held him by the arms for a moment, laughing and talking. Then they formed a line with /Gunda following at the end, walked to the wedding fire, and sat down on the men's

[1] This taboo reveals the association which, I
224 believe, the /Kung make between the hunting power
833 of men and the male sexual principle. Both must be protected, and sexual activity must be controlled and constrained lest the life-giving and food-producing force of men be weakened or drained away. During the period of a hunt a man must not have sexual intercourse—that is, while the man is looking for game and, after he has shot his little poisoned arrow into the animal, while he is tracking it for miles and waiting and watching for days till it dies of the poison. A hunt usually demands many days and nights of effort and privation.

[783] Too frequent indulgence in sexual intercourse with one's wife, even when no hunt is in progress, is believed to diminish a man's hunting power. Some
[841] men believed that once in five nights was best; others thought once in three nights was all right. Men who have the joking relationship constantly play upon the theme of excess, taunting each other: 'You do not know hunting, you know women', 'You cannot leave your wife long enough to hunt.'

The /Kung are less strict about another taboo. A woman is supposed not to touch a man's hunting gear at any time, because this would lessen his power to hunt. But I have often seen women touch assegais and quivers. Indeed it has sometimes been urgently necessary to do so when the children got hold of them, as, for instance, when the three-year-old ≠Gao, agile as a flea, took after us with his father's assegai, infuriated with us for some sudden notion of his own. There is a medicine called *gow gowa*, made from a plant, which may be rubbed on the weapons to purify them if they are touched by women, but I never saw this done and doubted if anyone bothered with it. The effect of a woman's touching the hunting gear is much stronger if she is menstruating. I assume they are more careful then.

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logical father, as well as his mother's husband, should do something nice for him. 159
Perhaps when he receives his first assegai his begetter will give it, for that is a very 848
proud thing—but we do not know what the future holds for these people or where they will be by then.

The dominance of men

Wives are much desired by the young men, who usually wait for years for their 562
infant fiancées to grow up, and by men who want second wives, and by widowers. [581]
/Kung women are not only precious as mates, they are the food-gatherers and supply [222]
more of the daily food than the men do. Hunting[1] is very arduous in the Kalahari and [462]
the hunters succeed in bringing a big meat animal to the werf only about once or [224]
twice a month. Meanwhile women have dug roots and gathered berries and the other wild plant foods to feed their families every day. /Kung women in their two roles make a very great contribution.

In /Kung society, however, the magnitude of their contribution does not make women dominant. There are factors which bring the men forward clearly into dominance and leadership.

The primary factor is undoubtedly strength. /Kung men are small and slender, [142]
but they are wiry and vigorous. With their strength they carry and protect the very 147
life of their people. When they swing their weapons and implements and their small children on to their shoulders and stride out in front of the women, the image seems to reveal, as vividly as if a great artist had painted it, how the laden following women are borne up by the strength of their men and take heart from them.

Another factor which brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and 462
its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is only drudgery in digging and 562
picking in the hot sun and trudging back in the early evening to the werf with heavy [222]
roots and berries and babies all sagging in the pouches of their karosses, a small dead tree or two on one shoulder for the night fire, possibly another child astride the other shoulder. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh [262]
and are not very satisfying. There is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving [262]
for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally [224]
the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once, when an eland had been killed and the hunters were sighted [152]
with the meat on their backs, moving in a dark, lumpy, bobbing line in the golden grass, we heard the sound of voices in the werf rising in volume and pitch like the hum of excited bees. Some people ran toward the hunters, others crowded together at the edge of the werf, some danced up and down, the children squealed and ran about, the boys grappled and tussled together. The motion and sound had the effect of a vibration. Another time a young man who was said to be the best hunter in the region (/Qui Hunter we called him, his people called him Short /Qui), had been 462
charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. 562
He knelt facing the creature till it was within close range and shot an arrow straight 224

[1] John Marshall has described /Kung hunting in his film, *The Hunters*, Peabody Museum Film Study Center, Harvard University, and in 'Man as Hunter', *Natural History*, the magazine of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, vol. lxvii, No. 6, June, and No. 7, August, 1958. [113]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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562 into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by
[462] /Qui's wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes
[224] and the women, some of the plumes in their hair, danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of /Kung men and the way it should be.

By comparison with the men, the women are considerably more circumscribed in
157 knowledge, less ready for new experience, more suspicious and apprehensive of
562 strangers. They draw back and seem on the whole somewhat timid. The men protect them in many ways. They would not let the women ride with us in the truck, for instance, unless some of the men were with them.

The women expect the dependent role. They have their say in conversation but do not take part in the serious conclaves of the men, saying often, 'The men know these things. We do not know. The men must decide.' And one woman said, 'A man can do everything—shoot and make fire.' /Kung women are encouraged to be compliant by the fact that, in their love of peace, the /Kung like quiet, modest, gentle women. Overbearing, strident, demanding, or nagging women would disturb not only their own husbands but the whole werf. Disapproval of anyone's behaviour
[626] is expressed by the group in talk, and also by songs, such as the song of *The Two Baus*, which was composed about two loudly quarrelsome co-wives. When the two Baus heard this song strummed on the *//guashi* or hummed here and there in the shadows of the werf at night, they mended their ways.

Though the /Kung like gentleness and compliance in women, their society does
562 not impose extreme forms of obedience or subservience upon them and women are not ill treated. One man told Laurence Marshall that if he wanted to go somewhere and his wife wanted to go somewhere else he might have to talk, talk, talk, talk, talk, talk to persuade her.

We once saw a woman strike her husband on the head with her digging-stick in
562 a fit of frustration because he had coerced her to go with him when she wanted to
593 remain visiting her parents. He had coerced her swiftly and decisively by snatching her baby from her arms and walking ahead with it. In a flash the wife ran a few steps and hit him, then she went around in a circle, stamping her feet in great, high stamps like an enraged samurai in a Japanese print, then she followed her husband. I personally never saw a /Kung man hit a woman. This is not to say no /Kung ever did, but it is far from common.

The dominance of the /Kung men is more protective and life-giving than crushing to the women. On the whole a good balance seems to be attained and there is a notable freedom from quarrelling between husbands and wives. The instances of strife that we have mentioned are exceptional breaks in the usual peace of their well-adjusted human relations.

/156 cont./

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

/157/ Divorce rarely occurs, and then only when the woman
586 has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

In most cases, however, the woman remains with her hus-
[595] band even in old age, while he provides himself with one or two younger and stronger women.

The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

587 Widows are permitted to marry again after a certain time, as is also the case for divorced women.

589 There is no special dress for widows.

The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to
● 562 that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-
264 pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

[184] The Rietfontein Auin always have just one wife. The reason
595 for this is said to be that "little food" is available. The Auin from Gam, on the average, have two, sometimes five wives.

Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

548 As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto de-
684 scribed, there are supposed to be prostitutes among the married women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auin declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by
847 stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

[29 cont.]

593 men are strongly influenced by their wives. It practically never
[562] happens that a man beats his wife. Monogamy [30] is the rule.
595 I know of one single case of a man having two sisters as wives. It is true that certain marriage laws frequently force the men to marry considerably older girls. It is therefore understandable that in such circumstances the desire for a younger life's companion frequently arises, but the consent of the first wife is absolutely necessary. It is said: "He who has a good wife may have several; he who has a bad one must be content with her alone." The Bush-
842 men do not know any means of preventing pregnancy, and, accordingly, very soon after marriage the young wife will find herself
843 with child. The husband and his sisters-in-law must see to it that she eats no sour veld fruit, nothing sweet, and no fat meat. No one is allowed to walk behind the pregnant woman's back; no pot is supposed to be put on the fire until the woman has been rubbed with the soot of the pot; she is not supposed to sit where the other
844 people are, but must stay to one side. When the time for delivery approaches, she must step over the legs of her husband, who has rubbed medicine into incisions in his calves. When the woman feels that the birth pangs are beginning, she goes into the bush by herself and looks for veldkost. She is not supposed to sit down while doing so, because that would have harmful effects on the birth. Then she picks grass, prepares a place under a tree, puts her bag of veldkost to one side, and gives birth to the child in a squatting position, grasping a branch with her hands. Then she takes the child, severs the umbilical cord herself, puts it in her veldkost bag, and goes home with it. The cord is always severed with a quartz knife (as among the Dama). The umbilical cord (!nm) is buried. Only women who are unafraid and who have already given birth to one child follow this procedure. A woman who is giving birth for the first time and is afraid does not go into the veld, but stays at home. As soon as the pains begin, she weeps and goes out, sits down, and stands up again. Older women of the kin group accompany her, and in their presence the child is finally born inside the hut. The men may not be present. Children, too, may not look on, and if they creep up out of curiosity, they are soundly thrashed.
[845] If there are difficulties, the abdomen is massaged. Von Zastrow
000

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people. [423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such, 621 by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-//om*, on the [582 other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the 591] chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are 361 placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the [184] *Hei-//om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial [562] and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and [882 boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away 342] from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various 342 tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a [462] husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations. When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish 166 a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who 342 deposits his household and other effects on the place on which [622] his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated [312] in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GIKwe

could have found his shallow pit at any time of the day or night.

Nobody was there; everyone had run away. We sat down and waited while Gai put his hands to his mouth and shouted, trying to summon the people back again. When nobody came or even answered him, he flung his pipe to the ground and marched off to find them among the bushes, alternately shouting to his hidden relatives and muttering to himself, for they might be far away and the day was getting warm.

We sat in the middle ground between the depressions so that we wouldn't risk stepping on or crushing anybody's hidden things, for, without knowing it, a European can in a moment trample through a Bushman's cache, breaking the delicate bone or wooden objects, bending the reed arrows, or crushing eggshell beads. Also, among certain groups of Bushmen, every fire has a man's side and a woman's side, determined by the position of the fire as you face the doorway of the scherm, the man's side being on the right, the woman's on the left. If a man sits on the woman's side, or where a woman has been sitting, he will become impotent and will also lose his power to hunt, and if a woman sits where a man has been sitting, she will get a disease in her vagina. Something intangible, invisible, but dangerously powerful, remains on the ground. We did not know which side was which of this werf's fires, or even for sure where the fires were; we did not even know that the Gikwe had this custom, for we had learned it from Kung Bushmen, but we knew that if they did they would not welcome our contaminating their ground. We would have liked to look around, but the best thing we could do was to keep our big boots and our bodies away from their delicate, fragile, almost invisible community.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

481 well as great loads of melons, all of which we offered again
482 and again to carry for them, but because, they said, they might want to stop for the night or just refresh themselves along the way, they would not part with their bundles.

The place we went to was called Ai a ha'o; it was the pan where we had seen the lion. It took us almost all day to drive there, and shortly after we arrived Dasina and Kutera joined us, having traveled almost as fast as we. Those two old women must have walked at four or five miles an hour all the way, over veld so rough that the trucks couldn't go much faster.

342 Before dark, the Bushman women had built a werf, a clear-
361 ing of grass for each family with a shallow pit to sleep in and a place for the fire, all four clearings under the branches of a single tree which would give them shade in the daytime. On
353 the branches each person hung whatever there was to hang, quivers, skin bags, or aprons, and these things swung in the cold wind. The women gathered firewood and lit their fires,
757 and Dasina asked Twikwe to stand on her stomach because
562 she was tired from her long walk and wanted a massage. Before they went to sleep the men and the three young boys
574 walked to our camp, about fifty feet away, to say good-night,
577 but the women stayed at home because at night all Bushmen women stay at home. A woman does not even leave her fire to go to her neighbor's fire three feet away because people will say that she doesn't like to stay home; she speaks loudly to her neighbor instead. Bushmen are a rather conservative peo-
[181] ple, and they are very moral in that they keep their own rules.

574 The smoke in the west that Gai had seen when he roasted the tortoise intrigued him very much. Again and again he said that it was people's smoke, and one morning he said he wanted to go over to it, to look for the man who was Wita-

women because, say the men, women's voices are admirably 533
beautiful.

Twikwe and Tsetchwe sat side by side, their legs straight [516]
out in front of them, the soles of their feet lit by the fire. 535
They sang gaily and clapped their hands while the baby 562
Nhwakwe walked up and down on Tsetchwe's leg, balancing himself like a child who is walking on a railing, then climbed to her shoulder and stood there triumphantly without holding on, gazing around like a child on a hill. He looked utterly astonished when Tsetchwe suddenly swept him to the ground and, flinging off her cape, jumped to her feet and began to dance. Everyone was astonished. Women almost never dance, although they are quite welcome to, but least of all Tsetchwe, a very conscientious mother and wife.

Tsetchwe's dance was extremely lively and extremely gay, and everyone except Nhwakwe looked up at her happily. She sang and waved her arms with great abandon, and danced her gay dance right behind the men, just for once flinging motherhood to the four winds and dancing right over her baby, who came trotting sadly after her, holding up his arms to be carried. In a moment the baby gave up and went to the lap of his grandmother, frowning as his mother danced happily by him again. When Tsetchwe finally got tired and flung herself down on the ground he ran to her and nursed immediately to reassure himself. She held him loosely in one arm as she coughed from exertion and laughed, with a pleased, shy expression on her face that said: this is what I used to do when I was younger.

When the people were tired of dancing they still seemed 821
to feel like talking, and as the moon was down and the stars showed clearly we asked Ukwane to tell us something about the sky, and we pointed to several stars to learn their names.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not 251
uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming 261
journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to 261
food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food 576
or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food 433
and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung 462
society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no 562
extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly 562
strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous 147
and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of 562
hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing 462
splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable 262
foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. 224
The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's [535]
wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The 342
building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's [462]
work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a [137]
woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. [461]
She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the
882 parents' fire.

855 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive
857 and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or
[136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and
[868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime,
857 singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults
[512] together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned
857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth
156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men,
[173] the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another
[171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are
[562] therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they
[535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from
[534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony.
[302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of
[304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and traditionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the 553
!Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think 602
of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority 121
is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy. [228]

(8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, 582
cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts.

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband stepbrother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names 582
associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is 551
supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself.

(9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the 532
young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead [301]
ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were [304]
associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty.

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings 000
or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees.

(10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly 622
speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people 612

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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562

refer to one woman as a "headman"), nor does her husband. A headman's daughter, as it were, holds the place until her son is born to fill it. Primogeniture would be in force: the eldest daughter's son would take precedence over a younger daughter's son. If a daughter's husband is an effective person by nature, he could lead the band and perform the functions of headman indefinitely. The band, on the other hand, might find it more advantageous not to wait for a son to be born to the headman's daughter but to realign itself under another headman. Within the proper frame of kinship this is a voluntary matter.

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(11) I paraphrase some of the prayers as follows:

"You have created me and given me power to walk about and hunt. Why do you lead me in the wrong way so that I find no animals?"

"Give rain, *!Nau*, wet the earth. Let there be veldkos. We are starving because we have to stay by the water hole where there is no more veldkos. You have favored some people with rain. Will you not favor us?"

113

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361
312 was simple. Each waterhole supported one independent camp and each camp had its own territory.

Two of the waterholes, Mahopa and !xabe, lacked independent camps and therefore were not part of a territory. [648] The Bushmen who drank at these waterholes lived in Bantu [222] villages. They collected food in the adjacent territories of other camps such as Dobe !ubi and !angwa (see Map 14).

361 The sharing of a single territory by two or more camps
602 reflected the close kinship ties between the camps. This was obvious at Dobe where the leaders of the two camps were a brother and sister who often brought their two groups [562] together to make a common camp. It was also obvious at !goše where the four camps were led by descendants and collaterals of one old woman. In previous years these four independent groups at !goše had lived in one large camp.

361 The territorial arrangements of the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen, like their group structures, were extremely flexible. Most territories overlapped with one or more adjacent territories. The boundaries of territories were vaguely defined and there were areas between territories which were not claimed by any of the camps. The Bushmen did not conceive of territories as areas of exclusive occupation. The concept of territorial defense was lacking. Each territory consisted, in the words of Mrs. Marshall, of "a waterhole and a side" (L. Marshall 1960:334). This point is illustrated in Map 14.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

361 [606] exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes." Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent [882] young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young men; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of married people. The dancing place is to the west within the circle.

"The large tree (*!heis*) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved 361 as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women 562 are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely, [622] the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for kindling the principal fire (*!ou-/ais*) or for other menial purposes when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this *!heis*. Under [372] it is made the first fire (*!hei-/ais*) on the establishment of a new [224] *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed in the chase."[1]

Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among 114 all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the 361 only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. "Where several families live together," he says, "the huts are ranged in a circle, the head of the group ("Dorfälteste") living in the east."[3]

Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families 592 are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they [595] get on well; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share [882] a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree, and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with [589] a boy; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone, are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

342 The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52. [2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4–5; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 51; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

only to the treatment of women and their paramours; nothing is said of the wife's remedies when her husband is unfaithful. 114 684

Besides this sexual relation between husband and wife, there is also the economic relation. The two share the same hut, and take their meals in common. It is the duty of the wife to build the hut, to provide the vegetable food, the firewood and water, and to cook the meals; while it is the duty of the husband to provide game for himself and his wife, to make her clothes and certain of her utensils. The economic burden of the woman has led some writers to depreciate her status, but on the whole it would seem that the women are the companions of their husbands, not their servants, and will often take their own way, in spite of the man's wishes. The position of the wife within the household is, in fact, hardly inferior to that of her husband, who, it is said, is often enough henpecked by her![1] 581 [264] [462] 562 593

In addition to establishing this special relationship between husband and wife, marriage leads also to the formation of further special relationships, especially with the parents-in-law. After marriage, as we have seen, the young couple may remain for some time with the wife's parents before finally taking up their residence in the husband's group. Among the Kung and the neighbouring tribes to the east the husband has during this period of temporary matrilocal residence to hunt for his parents-in-law and to supply them in this way with animal food. If he neglects to do this, says Vedder, his wife may be taken away from him.[2] We thus get a special economic relationship between a man and his wife's parents, based directly upon the fact of his marriage. Probably something similar exists among the other Bushman tribes having temporary matrilocal residence, but no concrete information is available about them in this connection. 591 606 [583]

Among almost all the Bushmen, moreover, marriage further creates a special form of etiquette between a man and his parents-in-law, and in some cases between a woman and her husband's parents. Thus among the Kung the husband has to avoid his mother-in-law, the wife apparently also her father-in-law. The wife's parents do not enter the hut of the young couple, nor again may the husband enter their hut. The game which he kills for his father-in-law he lays down in front of the latter's hut.[3] Similarly among the Naron a man is not 606

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 117; Chapman, op. cit., i, 291; Lebzelter, op. cit., 14. For an unsympathetic account of the wife's status, cf. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 122.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 8; Chapman, op. cit., i, 258.
[3] Vedder, loc. cit.; Chapman, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 63.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

627 related to the homicide were killed by the brother. What happened
682 afterwards we are not told, but judging from what is known of blood revenge among the Bushmen it is hardly likely that the matter was allowed to rest there.

Among the Auen, for example, a son is obliged to exact blood
628 vengeance on the slayer of his father, a brother for his brother. If
682 the slayer himself is dead or out of reach, the feud extends to his nearest male relative. A son whose father has been killed is obliged to undertake vengeance as soon as he is grown up. His mother impresses this obligation upon him during his childhood, and as soon as he has caught his first head of big game the obligation must be carried out. He applies to his nearest relatives for help, which is given without question. In the same way whoever has to fear blood vengeance is supported by his relatives and the members of his band. Not only
[562] men but women also may become the objects of the blood feud, although as a rule the latter are taken and held as wives by their captors. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen the slayer is killed by the relatives of the dead man. All the male members of the latter's family combine to revenge his death; an arrow is shot at the slayer, and if this does not immediately kill him he is beaten to death with the kirri. Murderesses are also killed in this manner; but otherwise
[562] women, even for such serious offences as theft and adultery, are only punished by thrashing, although this may sometimes be very severely administered.

We are not told whether the killing of the slayer or his substitute leads to the cessation of the feud, but from an instance quoted by Kaufmann it apparently does not. An old Auen man from Olifantskloof was visiting a brother-in-law at Sidonitsaub. The host put out a snare, in which he caught a giant bustard. This was found by the guest, who took it out of the snare and began to consume it. While he was doing so, the host came up and observing the theft pierced him through the body with a spear. The slayer then fled, but was pursued by the relatives of the dead man and killed. Since then a blood feud has existed between these two bands, connected though they were by marriage.

The only exception to this general rule of self-help is recorded by
[184] Seydel of the Namib Bushmen.[1] He states, it is true, that in case of
622 minor offences self-help is frequently resorted to, but adds that all
692 serious offences are formally adjudicated. The court consists of one

[1] Seydel, op. cit., 505–6.

[62 cont.]

278 one person after another stepped up to the pan and threw his share of snake poison into it. Then the pan was removed from the fire.
[535] The Bushmen now performed a new dance, in which they imitated the convulsions of animals dying from the poison. After another half hour the poison was clear, and when everyone had convinced himself that it was the right color, a red mineral powder was added and thoroughly stirred into it. Then poisonous spiders were taken out of the reeds and thrown into the [63] pan. These came from the Langen Mountain in the Cape Colony, in other words, had been brought from afar. When the mass had thickened somewhat more, the arrows were smeared with it and dried in the shade (ibid., p. 380).

595 These Bushmen, the M'Kabba, are monogamists.

563 Farini maintains (ibid., p. 171) that he met a black Pygmy who came from the tribe of the Kara-Kara north of Amboland (1).

1. At the mission station Urikualuthi I was told by the missionary, Mrs. Quarni, who has made most meritorious contributions to investigations of the country, that shortly before the war a number of black Pygmies who lived in the swamps along the Kunene had come to Chief Moala. She saw these people.

252 Concerning the food of the Bushmen, Dornan has the following to report: The Marsawa [sic] eat meat either roasted or grilled, rarely boiled, because they believe that the latter will
251 make them sick. The Bushmen of Basutoland cut the meat into tiny pieces, mixed it with fat, and then sewed it into hide sacks as preserved meat. As reserves in case of famine, the Kalahari Bushmen keep giraffe skins on tall trees. Veldkost is stored in turtle shells and ostrich eggs, as is water. The Basutoland Bushmen gathered grass seeds and stored them for times of hunger.

252 The tsama are prepared in the following manner: A hole is dug, and a fire is made in it. As soon as the soil is sufficiently

MASARWA
OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

600 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib
769 Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu
[774] doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the
[825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals,
[824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe
[776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at
551 her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say
602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo
105 delta, J. Seiner reports:
101 "The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting.
[563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe
[144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease,
AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

[151] that marks an edible root, or see a scorpion hidden in the dust
174 and jump over it. So Bushmen survive in the most rigorous places; they survive in the dense, mosquito-ridden papyrus
131 swamps of the Okovango River, steaming like a jungle and
133 dangerous with snakes and fever, where the River Bushmen
[184] live, the only Bushmen with plenty of water; they also survive on the vast, rolling steppes of central Bechuanaland, the territory of the Gikwe Bushmen, who for the nine dry months of the year have no water at all and do without it.

609 Besides the fact that Bushmen alone can live in the land
563 they occupy, there is another reason for their remoteness and
648 shyness. They are in many instances exploited by the Bantu farmers, and by a few of the European farmers, usually those who need free or almost free labor. Many Bantu farms and households have Bushman servants, or serfs, rather, as they usually come from the land on or near the farm, and when working they are paid nothing but are given food, tobacco,
464 and sometimes cast-off clothing as wages. Some European
648 farms in Bechuanaland and some in South-West Africa have Bushman laborers too, though most European farmers do not depend on Bushman labor. Those European farmers who do employ Bushmen usually pay wages, about ten shillings a month, plus a ration of food to each Bushman who is working, though not necessarily to his family, consisting of about a pound of cornmeal and a quart of milk a day, meat occasionally, and weekly a ration of tobacco. Perhaps the employer will add a set of clothing—that is, a pair of cast-off pants and a shirt—and perhaps a blanket every year, but occasionally they pay their labor in cast-off clothing and omit the ten shillings altogether.

648 European clothing is esteemed among Bushmen, for it is
291 symbolic to them of a people mightier than themselves, and
439

609 they must smoke, or when they are dying of thirst and must
648 come in to beg for water.

159 Once I talked with a young Bushman who had visited one
563 of our camps in Bechuanaland many times, who spoke Afri-
kaans, and whom I shall call Tami. I could speak a little
[191] Afrikaans, so he and I could talk together. He was in his early thirties and had been working for some time for European farmers. When I met him he was married, and as his wife had
[465] just had a baby, he felt that his ten-shilling-a-month wage was inadequate and he planned to move to another part of the country where he hoped to be paid more. As it is rather unusual for a Bushman to uproot himself from his own country, no matter how long he has been on a farm and away from his own people, I asked him where he had come from and how he had learned Afrikaans.

[153] "Oh," he said, "I learned Afrikaans in the places I have been. I have worked for white men since I was a young boy
[191] and I have always been fast to learn their languages. In the same way I have learned the languages of the black people."

"Where did you live before you worked for white people?" I asked.

"We lived not far from Nurigaas, at the edge of the police zone. I am a young person still, but I remember that Nurigaas was all wild then. We always lived there."

"With your parents?"

"Yes, until the police boys [1] took the old man my father."

I asked him what had happened, and he said: "We lived at the edge of the police zone, you know. We lived with
888 other Bushmen there, and my sister, she was there. My
159 mother's father was still alive then, but he was too old, he
563 couldn't even carry water, and my mother had to do every-

[1] Police boys are native policemen, usually Bantu.

thing for him. She was his daughter, so she was glad to do it, but my sister and I thought he was just an old man who sat and coughed and spit. He didn't like the Europeans or the black people either, and my father didn't either, and that is why we lived on the other side of the police zone. On one side were the police boys with camels—that was in the old days with the camel patrol [2]—and on the other side the lions and the Bushmen asked for your pass.

"One day my father went hunting and he was gone two days. Then my sister said: 'He must have shot a giraffe.' A giraffe is royal game, you know, and you can go to jail if you kill one, only my father didn't know it then.

"Yes, and that day two police boys came on camels and a white man on a camel. The police boys had a rifle and the white policeman had a rifle and a little gun in his hand. They had a Nurigaas Bushman walking with them, but he didn't come near us because he was ashamed. One police boy spoke the language of the Bushmen, and he said: 'Where is the old man who lives here?' and my mother pointed to my grandfather and she said: 'This is the one,' but the police boy said: 'Not that one, I want your husband. Where is he?' 'I don't know,' said my mother, but the police boy said: 'How can an old woman like you lie to me?' and my mother just covered up her face and said nothing. Then the police boy and the Nurigaas Bushman found my father's spoor off in the veld, and they all followed him with the police boy and the Nurigaas Bushman walking and the white man and the other police boy on the camels. Next morning they came back with my father, they had his hands tied behind and a rope around his neck and he was running behind the camel. His face was

[2] Until quite recently, the police who had occasion to go into the desert rode on camels because camels could endure desert conditions far better than horses, and could go through soft sand where trucks could not.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

159 all thick, you know, and he had to hold his head back because
563 the rope was choking. My mother, she ran after the police
625 boys and called them to stop. She said: 'I will speak with the old man before he dies.' But the police boys had no time and they went off with the camels' heads going up and down and the old man running, running, running, behind.

"And my mother fell down in the dust and cried, and my sister did too, but I didn't, I watched my father instead because I didn't know when I would ever see him again. I told them so and I was right, because later a Bushman who came up from the south told us that they rode the camels through a river and my father was drowned. It was the rope around his neck that choked him, though. That is what happened, and I remember it all, but it happened a long time ago.

159 "After that, my mother wouldn't stay in the veld without a
563 man and she took us near the waterhole of Nurigaas because the veld was no place for us when my father was dead. But I
[571] would like to find that Nurigaas Bushman who followed my father's tracks.

"Then one day a European farmer came in his ox wagon and he said to my mother: 'Who will give me a boy for this pound of tobacco?' And my mother was afraid, so she took the tobacco and said to me: 'He wants you to go with him.' I cried, but the white man took me and put me in his ox wagon and gave my mother another cup of tobacco, but she told him she didn't want it and wanted me to come back. But the white man drove away and my mother ran along beside, crying. She said: 'Wait! Where will I get another boy when he is killed like my husband?' But the farmer didn't hear her. I got sick riding in the wagon and my bowels opened and I was ashamed because the farmer's Bushmen were riding in the wagon too, and they said: 'Why are you crying? Don't be afraid.' But I was afraid because my grandfather told me

that white people used to hunt Bushmen and wanted to kill 159
us for our land. The farmer took me to his farm and I pulled 563
weeds and watched his cattle. He gave me milk and corn- [465
meal, but I didn't like it. I told him milk was for babies and 262]
I wanted him to take me back to my country, but he laughed at me.

"He called me Goliath because I was so small. Goliath, come here. Goliath, watch my calves. And later he gave me a shirt to cover my body and then I went to work for another master, who gave me a goat, and then I worked for my [465]
last master, who paid me shillings. But I am leaving here too because in South-West Africa they pay better. I am a father now, you know."

The day Tami left, I walked over the veld toward a road to say good-by to him, and when I got halfway there I found that he had come halfway to say good-by to me. He was holding his goat by the horns, and behind him his wife, wearing a horrid rag of a European dress, was standing with the baby inside the front of the dress. I gave Tami a knife and his wife a scarf of mine, although I had nothing to give to the baby, and they said good-by to me and turned, Tami dragging the goat around, pretending to be very jaunty, and they set out walking toward the road that leads to South-West Africa.

Times have changed since Tami's father died. In those 648
days, to be sure, there was a great deal more friction between Bushmen and non-Bushmen than there is now because the Bushmen who lived near the farms of European or Bantu farmers quite often killed cattle. It is sometimes said that they did so because they were unable to distinguish between cattle and wild game, or that the cattle drove away the wild game so that the Bushmen would have had no meat if they had not killed the cattle, but I very much doubt that either of these things was true. Most probably, the Bushmen found

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

648 that hunting cattle was extremely easy, and also, very probably, they wanted to revenge themselves upon the owners of the cattle, whom they believed to be encroaching upon the [423] land they considered their own. Today, largely because the ownership of the land has been determined, many fewer cattle are killed by Bushmen.

566 Of course, it is quite against the law for any farmer to keep 687 Bushmen against their will and without recompense, but in the most remote outposts, on many farms, the laws cannot always be enforced. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate today, 657 and also, I believe, in South-West Africa, the governments 563 are trying to set wage scales and provide education for Bush- 566 men, something very difficult for these governments to do as the Bushmen represent only a small fragment of the population, pay no taxes whatever, of course, and are in great demand as laborers; but the only Bushmen who so far can benefit from this are those who already live on the more central farms. Most Bushmen live in the veld, many in almost unreachable parts of the desert, and these people are still being taken by farmers and made to work almost as slaves.

466 Usually Bushmen do not run away from their masters un- 566 less a very good chance presents itself, such as the master's departure for a time, in which case he may return to find that all his Bushmen have run. But to escape is not always easy; the Bantus usually ride after the escaping Bushmen and drag them back, sometimes beating them severely as well. We once learned of a Bushman who, trying to escape, was captured by his Bantu master and beaten to death, his potential labor being sacrificed to set an example for others.

A European farmer can sometimes get police help in recapturing his escaped Bushmen if the farmer has paid the Bushmen some wages in advance and is owed the Bushmen's labor. European farmers are also not always lenient with

131 :goše, the first waterhole of the area. Continuing southwest
[133] from :goše the motor track parallels the course of a dry
river bed called the !angwadum for 23 miles until it meets
131 the South West Africa border track. Along this route from
312 :goše to the border one passes the waterholes of Kamburungu,
!angwa matse, !angwa, Bate, Kathikona, Mahopa, !Kabe, and
!ǂhǂi. Each of these wells supports Bushman groups and Bantu
cattle posts. Following the border track north from its
intersection with the !angwadum one can reach Dobe which
supports a resident population of Bushmen but no Bantu.
[133] Turning south from the intersection, one crosses the low
ranges of the Aha Hills which are usually uninhabited and
arrives after 25 miles at /ai/ai, a large waterhole with over
one hundred Bushmen.

131 All these centers of habitation lie to the east and
361 south of Dobe. To the north, the nearest settlement is
n!aun!au at a distance of 40 miles and, to the west, the
nearest settlement is Tsumkwe, 35 miles away (see Map 8).

131 Eight naturally occurring waterholes support the bulk
312 of the Dobe area population which in November, 1964, stood
[161] at 763 people. There were 433 Bushmen residents, all but one
[563] of them members of the !Kung tribe. There were 340 Bantu,
eighty-five percent of whom were of the Herero tribe. The
remaining Bantu were Batawana, Mbukushu and Bayei.

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563 The waterholes and their respective Bushman and Bantu populations are listed in Table 2.

!Kung group structure

621
166 The definition of the !Kung living arrangements presented the most difficult problem of the field study. The !Kung were found to be living most frequently in camps that numbered from ten to thirty individuals. But the composition of these camps changed from month to month and from day to day.

The task of defining the stable membership units was complicated by the following factors:

1. the frequent shifts of individuals and families from one camp to another,
[574] 2. the high incidence of visiting between camps,
3. the presence of long-term visitors from outside the Dobe area,
4. the Dobe area residents who were living elsewhere on extended visits, and
[563] 5. the intermarriage and co-residence of Bushmen with Bantu.

These complications are in addition to the routine changes in group structure brought about by births, deaths, post-marital residence, and the seasonal subsistence cycle.

It became evident that flexibility is the basic premise
[121] of !Kung group structure. It would therefore be inappropriate to try to impose a formal model of organization on the data,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

TABLE 2

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• 563

The Numbers and Distribution of the Bushman and Bantu Populations of the Dobe Area

Name of Waterhole and Location	Population Bushman	Population Bantu
1. !gose -- 23 miles east of Dobe	62	18
2. !angwa -- 13 miles east of Dobe	36	49
3. Bate -- 12 miles southeast of Dobe	45	21
4. Mahopa -- 7 miles east of Dobe	42	65
5. !Kabe -- 3 miles east of Dobe	8	12
6. !ubi -- 5 miles south of Dobe	52	65
7. /ai/ai -- 27 miles south of Dobe	109	67
8. Dobe	36	--
Three other wells, dug in recent years by the Bantu, support the remainder of the population:		
9. Kathikona -- 10 miles east of Dobe	1	8
10. !angwamatse -- 17 miles east of Dobe	9	23
11. Kamburungu -- 19 miles east of Dobe	1	12
TOTALS	401[1]	340

[1]The total of 433 is arrived at by the addition of 32 !Kung who were outside the Dobe area at the time of the census.

621 seem more appropriate to use the non-committal term "camp" and discard the term "band".[1]

• 563 162 Apart from the fifteen independent camps, there were 122 !Kung Bushmen living with the Bantu. Thirteen Bush women were married to Bantu men.[2] Five of these women had borne a total of nine children who were being raised as members of their fathers' tribes and are therefore not enumerated in the Bushman census. Some of the women had brought members of their families to live at their husbands' kraals. Twenty-eight of the !Kung Bushmen were living with their Bantu in-laws. In all, the wives of Bantu and their kinsmen account for 39 of the 122 !Kung living with Bantu. There were no cases of a Bantu girl marrying a !Kung man.

648 464 233 Some families of Bushmen live with and work for Bantu families. Five young married men were working as cattle herders. They brought their wives and children to live with them. In addition, seven unmarried !Kung boys were working on cattle and were living in the compounds of their employers. Several old couples and a widower, who were temporarily not

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[1]This follows the lead of James Woodburn, who in his analysis of Hadza group structure (1964) discards the term "band".

[2]One of the thirteen had actually married a N/hai Bushman (the only non-!Kung Bushman in the Dobe area). This man was culturally identified with the Bantu.

175
648 late 1870's, Van Zyl was hunting elephant and rhinoceros in the Ghanzi District. In 1879, he camped at /gam and is known [563] to have visited /ai/ai and !ubi. One of the white hunters with Van Zyl had an affair with a !Kung woman named n/ahka; the descendents of this union are today living at !ubi. These people acknowledge their European ancestry but otherwise are culturally !Kung.

During roughly the same period, the Batawana cattle herders from the Tsau area on the Okavango swamps began to move their cattle out to summer waterholes in the west. By the 1890's, they had penetrated as far west as Karakuwisa in what was then German South West Africa. They had also established cattle posts at /ai/ai, Gura, and at /gauŠa Pan (see Map 9).

The Rinderpest epidemic of 1896-7, is an historical landmark throughout the stock raising areas of southern Africa. At the time of the outbreak only two Batawana families were summering their herds of cattle in the interior. The Ramadjagote family was at /GauŠa Pan and the Ledimo family was at Gura. The Rinderpest devestated the herds on the Okavango but fortunately did not reach the central !Kung interior. When the two families drove their cattle back to the river after the epidemic had passed, it was found that theirs were the only herds left intact in western Ngamiland.

132 highs in the 90's. The warmer weather heralds the onset of
312 spring which is the most difficult season of the year. Most
137 of the waterholes have no mongongo nuts within a ten mile
222 radius. The alternative foods, roots and bulbs, are being collected daily by some of the people, while others are making the long overnight journeys to the nut forests.

221 Since territories vary in the abundance of early spring
574 foods there was a noticeable tendency for families to visit
628 other camps. For instance in September, Bate still had a good supply of Sclerocarya caffra, nuts; and several families from Dobe, Mahopa, and !angwa converged upon Bate to eat these nuts. Similarly !ubi had a supply of Baobab fruits (Adansonia digititata) and other families made extended visits to relatives there. The maintenance of close ties between camps made possible a more equitable distribution of foodstuffs, so that, if there was scarcity at one camp, and food at another, the members of the first camp would not go hungry. This is one of the highly adaptive features of the fluidity of !Kung group structure.

[563] Some families fall back on the Herero villages at this
[431] time of year to beg for milk. This occurs especially among those people who have a sister or cousin married to a Bantu man. Both the Bushman and Herero codes of good manners demand that visiting in-laws be fed (L. Marshall 1961).

/156 cont./

423 foster the growth of the veld crop, he alone may lay claim to the yield of the burned veld. Others, even members of the same settlement, are not allowed to use it.

The territorial property of the individual hordes is precisely delimited, and the boundaries are known to everyone. Boundary markers naturally do not exist, but with his marvelous sense of place, the Bushman knows exactly, to the last bush, the extent of his territory.

565 Social distinctions do not exist, just as there are no servants or domestics.

576 They greet each other by extending hands in a manner that differs from our practice (see Photo. 43).

567 727 Slavery is unknown. Men who have been, captured in war are killed; captured women are taken into the victorious group and accorded completely equal rights.

R. Marriage, Position of the Woman, Children

582 Men marry between the ages of about 16 and 18 years, girls between 13 and 16. Both sets of figures naturally are estimates.

584 The candidate for marriage addresses his suit to the girl's mother. If the latter is no longer alive, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is consulted only secondarily. The suitor brings his future in-laws presents in the form of game and veld food, sometimes over a period of more than a year.

If the affair proceeds smoothly, the man takes the girl to his hut after a time and the marriage is regarded as consummated.

If, in spite of the consent of her parents, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to express her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man will finally take the girl to his hut by force and have coitus with her. If she runs away, he brings her back. In this manner, her resistance seems to be gradually overcome.

684 If a man were to violate a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be killed.

585 No special ceremonies are observed to conclude the marriage. The marriage is considered consummated by coitus.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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566 687 Of course, it is quite against the law for any farmer to keep Bushmen against their will and without recompense, but in the most remote outposts, on many farms, the laws cannot always be enforced. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate today, 657 563 566 and also, I believe, in South-West Africa, the governments are trying to set wage scales and provide education for Bushmen, something very difficult for these governments to do as the Bushmen represent only a small fragment of the population, pay no taxes whatever, of course, and are in great demand as laborers; but the only Bushmen who so far can benefit from this are those who already live on the more central farms. Most Bushmen live in the veld, many in almost unreachable parts of the desert, and these people are still being taken by farmers and made to work almost as slaves.

466 566 Usually Bushmen do not run away from their masters unless a very good chance presents itself, such as the master's departure for a time, in which case he may return to find that all his Bushmen have run. But to escape is not always easy; the Bantus usually ride after the escaping Bushmen and drag them back, sometimes beating them severely as well. We once learned of a Bushman who, trying to escape, was captured by his Bantu master and beaten to death, his potential labor being sacrificed to set an example for others.

A European farmer can sometimes get police help in recapturing his escaped Bushmen if the farmer has paid the Bushmen some wages in advance and is owed the Bushmen's labor. European farmers are also not always lenient with

Bushmen who try to escape. But to escape from any master is 466
by no means impossible; Bushmen are not locked up at night 566
or guarded during the day. Even the chain gangs of Bushmen
that you may see in European settlements (Bushmen living [687]
near the farms are put in jail occasionally for killing giraffes
or stealing cattle) are always straggling down a road with a
defenseless guard trailing far behind, and we often wondered
why Bushmen were so docile, so easy to exploit, allowing
themselves to be badly treated and taken away from their
homes. Some people, like Tami, have no choice because they
have forgotten the fine skills required to live in the veld and
would die there. Some young Bushmen find the promise of
European clothing and customs too alluring to resist and are
willing to give up their own ways and customs for a shirt or a
ragged dress. Perhaps others welcome the promise of food
every day, even though they find that on the farms they are
poorer than ever, having little enough food, and when their
leather clothes fall into rags they cannot hunt to get new ones.
Perhaps, too, they are surprised to find their Bantu or Euro-
pean masters not always as dangerous as they feared.

But these things are not true of everyone. Many servants
long for their homes; many veld Bushmen hide from Euro-
peans for fear they will be taken away, for they know that a
European does not have to force them to come with him,
only to persuade them, and since they are afraid of him they
hear themselves agreeing to go, and, shortly after, find them-
selves working on his farm, angry with themselves and filled
with remorse.

We learned two reasons for the submissiveness of Bush- 181
men. One reason is that it is not in their nature to fight, not
in their experience to deal with people other than themselves.
They would much rather run, hide, and wait until a menace
has passed than to defend themselves forcefully, quite unlike

/156 cont./

423 foster the growth of the veld crop, he alone may lay claim to the yield of the burned veld. Others, even members of the same settlement, are not allowed to use it.

The territorial property of the individual hordes is precisely delimited, and the boundaries are known to everyone. Boundary markers naturally do not exist, but with his marvelous sense of place, the Bushman knows exactly, to the last bush, the extent of his territory.

565 Social distinctions do not exist, just as there are no servants or domestics.

576 They greet each other by extending hands in a manner that differs from our practice (see Photo. 43).

567 727 Slavery is unknown. Men who have been, captured in war are killed; captured women are taken into the victorious group and accorded completely equal rights.

R. Marriage, Position of the Woman, Children

582 Men marry between the ages of about 16 and 18 years, girls between 13 and 16. Both sets of figures naturally are estimates.

584 The candidate for marriage addresses his suit to the girl's mother. If the latter is no longer alive, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is consulted only secondarily. The suitor brings his future in-laws presents in the form of game and veld food, sometimes over a period of more than a year.

If the affair proceeds smoothly, the man takes the girl to his hut after a time and the marriage is regarded as consummated.

If, in spite of the consent of her parents, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to express her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man will finally take the girl to his hut by force and have coitus with her. If she runs away, he brings her back. In this manner, her resistance seems to be gradually overcome.

684 If a man were to violate a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be killed.

585 No special ceremonies are observed to conclude the marriage. The marriage is considered consummated by coitus.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Nama word for "master, lord", and has been used by some missionaries for "God". The Naron and Auen were vague as to the nature of */khuba*. The old men did not know of him; the middle-aged men said *Hishe* was */khuba*; while some of the younger people said he was the sky, others that he dwelt in the sky; they prayed to him to let them live long and to make them well when ill. Women who when young had been kidnapped and held as slaves by Nama chiefs were very fluent on the subject of */khuba*; the others, remarks Miss Bleek, had evidently picked up the word without attaching any clear meaning to it, beyond that it was some sort of deity and that it was "good to pray to it". The same word (given by him in its vocative form */khutse*) was also found among the partly-disorganized groups of these Bushmen by Fourie, who translates it "God". 177 776 [648] [567]

A few of Miss Bleek's informants further mentioned *Huwu* or *Huwuba*, but they did not know much about him—he was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the "captain" of the white people.[1] 776 [177]

Huwu or *Hu'e* figures very prominently among the Kung, however. Miss Lloyd's young informants from near Lake Ngami only once mentioned him. They began the tale of the Moon and the Hare with the words, *Huwe* made all things; and in explanation said, *Huwe* made all things to eat (i.e. all animals that are eaten), and *Huwe* is a man.[2] Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, much further west, speaks of *Huwe* as a "good being", to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things. They pray to him for food, as we have already seen, at a special ceremony held once a year when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen, and they also in case of sickness call upon him to restore them to health.[3] [184] [773] [782] [796] [755]

Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*)[4] or *Xuwa*,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 24–6; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.
[3] "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.
[4] It may be mentioned here that Lebzelter is inconsistent in the orthography he employs: */Kuñ* is elsewhere written *//Khun*, *//gauab* alternates with */gauab*, *gagorob* with */gau /gorob*, and so on. [114]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

but there might very likely be some between whom marriage would be permissible, such as, for instance, a man and his WiSi or his widowed BrWi. 621 582

The /Kung have no unit within which endogamy is absolutely required. Those of the Nyae Nyae region almost all marry among themselves within the region, not because a formulated social rule definitely prohibits their marrying outside but because they almost never go out. They do not like strange places, strange situations, or strange persons, and have no way of feeding themselves where they cannot depend on receiving food from relatives or friends and, in strange country, either do not know where the wild foods grow or might not be allowed to gather them if they found any. Nevertheless, a few Nyae Nyae /Kung have married other /Kung outside the region, and one /Kung woman we know is married outside her own race, with acceptance and ease of relations all around among her people and his, to a Chwana man at Gam, near the southern border of the region. We think in all probability there must be other mixed marriages along the Bechuanaland border which we do not know about, but we are safe in saying that among the Nyae Nyae /Kung such marriages are rare. [648]

Prolonged intermarriage within the region has woven these people together and much visiting among kin develops acquaintanceships and friendships which unite the whole Nyae Nyae /Kung population. They feel themselves to be an in-group and express this feeling in the words *ju |õassi*.[1] *Ju* means 'person' or 'persons'; 571 619 621

[1] S. Passarge puts the phrase on his map in *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari* (Berlin, 1907, Dietrich Reimer, p. 19), spelling it *Sn°gnassi*. He places it on the line of 20° S., slightly to the east of 20° E., near what we call the centre of the Nyae Nyae region, in the area designated on his and other maps as the Kaukau Veld. He places the phrase as if it were the name of a Bushman group, like Heikom, Naron, or some other, He places the name *°Kung* somewhat to the north-west. That is the name we spell */Kung*, which D. Bleek (*A Bushman Dictionary*, American Oriental Society, 1956, p. 447) records as */Kũ*, */Ku* or */Kuŋ* (person, Bushman).

Passarge places the name *°Kung* once more at about 23° S. as the name of another Bushman group. In sound the name is the same or very, very like the name of the more northerly group. Miss Bleek refers to this group as being popularly called 'Koon'. L. F. Maingard distinguishes between the two by spelling the name of the southerly group */Kõ*. The */Kõ* are to be found in B.P., in and south of Okwa. Whereas the /Kung language has four clicks (symbolized now as dental /, alveolar ≠, alveolar palatal /, lateral |/), the /Kõ language is very different and has a fifth click, that of the southern Bushman language groups, the labial ⊙. The phrase *ju |ãassi* has nothing to do with the /Kõ.

Maingard in 'Three Bushman Languages' (*African Studies*, 16/1, 1957, p. 37) uses the phrase as the name of a dialect of /Kung—'. . . *dyu|?ãã:si* (Northern Group, a dialect of /khũ, partly in South West Africa and partly in the Bechuanaland Protectorate)'. Bleek (op. cit., p. 354) does not record the phrase in /Kung (her northern Group II), but gives it in Auen (N I) and says it means 'Bushman'. She spells it *ju |uuasi*.

We think that the phrase *ju |ãassi*, which we started spelling in this way because we did not know any better and continue because it is simpler, can be applied to groups of varying size and definition, on a variety of bases, when the in-group quality in comparison with the out-group is to be expressed in some way. When we asked what they call themselves, our /Kung informants often replied '*ju |ãassi*' as though the phrase might be coextensive with Bushman as distinguished from non-Bushman (Europeans, */ku*, whom the /Kung also call 'red people', i.e. *ju gau*; or Bantu, whom the /Kung call *ju dzo*, 'black people' or */gomo* (or */komo?*), 'animals without hooves'). They also use *ju |ãassi* when one might expect them to say '/Kung' as distinguished from other Bushman language groups, or when they distinguish themselves from other /Kung outside their region. They said that the Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south were *ju dole* and they know that the Bushmen at Karakuwise, Nuregas, and Chadum speak /Kung but said they were *ju dole* nevertheless. I had the impression that it was the out-group quality in the phrase (strange and therefore potentially harmful) which was being expressed when they applied it as above and claimed that the Makaukau were a murderous people who have a medicine so deadly that you die if you but glance at it, and that those Nuregas /Kung put poison into the pipes they give you to smoke. One's friend or relative can also be *ju dole* if one is displeased with him. [101]

Issak Utuhile (a Chwana chief under Queen Moremi, in Kubi, B.P.) said that in the phrase *ju |ãassi*

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

571 we were unable to find a precise translation of */ōassi* but think it connotes the *we* as
619 distinct from the *they* and has an overtone of something good and safe. The phrase is
621 an opposite of *ju dole*. *Dole* means strange or harmful or bad—evidently synonyms to the /Kung.

602 Because there were so many kinship ties among the people and because they have
621 a system (the name relationship—to be mentioned later) by which they apply kin
[608] terms to persons who are not consanguineous relatives or affines, I wondered for a time if we should find that the people who call themselves *ju /ōassi* comprised a kin group of the type which Murdock calls a deme.[1] A deme is bilateral and endogamous, Murdock says, 'comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite the members'. Though the Nyae Nyae region has the elements of a deme, I am convinced that it does not constitute, strictly speaking, an organized kin group of this type, of which the people are conscious as a social form. The endogamy of the region is customary and preferred, but not required by a social rule, and it is not from the group of people as a whole who are *ju /ōassi* that social regulation derives.

Marriage regulations: the incest taboo and its expression in avoidances

582 Marriages are forbidden in /Kung social organization on one basis only. That
835 basis is incest. In common with nearly all mankind (excepting, of course, the Pharaohs and a few other rare examples), the /Kung incest taboo prohibits marriage or sexual relations between Fa and Da, Mo and So, Br and Si. The incest taboo is extended beyond the nuclear family to certain additional categories of persons, and marriage with them is also rigorously forbidden by /Kung social law.

[842] The /Kung did not express the belief that in-breeding *per se* produces inferior offspring and must for that reason be avoided. Although they believe that in conception the semen unites with menstrual blood, their language does not use the image of blood as ours does. They do not think of relatives as having the same blood or any
[827] physical substance in common, actually or by way of figure of speech to represent inheritable characteristics, in so far as we know, and do not think that common inheritance is somehow what makes it wrong to marry close kin.

The thought that incest has been avoided by mankind because it would be exceedingly disruptive to the internal cohesion of the nuclear family comes to the mind of the analyst of social forms but not to the minds of /Kung informants. And no mention was made of the obvious social advantage of marrying outside the nuclear family and thereby weaving a supporting web of kinship with many other families and bands.

The /Kung feel a deep, internalized, pervading horror of incest which they do not try to explain. Incest with parent, offspring, or sibling is unthinkable. 'Only dogs do that—not men.' 'It would be madness (*di*).' 'It would be dangerous, like going up to a lion.' Many refused to speak with me about such 'bad things'.

571 the Bushmen were saying of themselves, in effect,
619 'We are not animals, we are human beings', a con-
621 notation we did not discover in the thinking of the /Kung themselves. Ledimo, our chief interpreter, also a Chwana, said the phrase had the connotation of 'perfect persons' and that 'clean' and 'empty' were aspects of the word */ōassi*, he thought. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas paraphrased it in the title of her book, *The Harmless People* (Knopf, New York; Martin Secker & Warburg, London, 1959).

[1] Murdock, op. cit., pp. 62–63.

FEWNESS OF NUMBERS in desert's vast expanse may help account for characteristic !Kung habit of huddling together in company, as in case of this group of children, *above*. Items of personal adornment—eggshell disks, often in strings with seed beads, and hoops of traded wire—show parental affection.

301
571
142

[p. 23]

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

301
571
142
853

HUDDLING HABIT is noticeable again in this gathering of women and children at a !Kungtsoo/k. Well-ornamented child, foreground, is still at breast.

[p. 24]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

SHARING, TALKING, AND GIVING: RELIEF OF SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THIS paper describes customs, practised by the /Kung Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region of South Africa, which help them to avoid situations that are likely to arouse ill will and hostility among individuals within the bands and between bands. Two customs which seem to be especially helpful and which I describe in detail are meat-sharing and gift-giving. I mention also the /Kung habits of talking, aspects of their good manners, their borrowing and lending, and their not stealing.[1]

The common human needs for co-operation and companionship are particularly apparent among the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Independent living, outside the band structure,[2] does not exist for individuals. Nuclear families do not live alone. The arduous hunting-gathering life would be impossible without the co-operation and companionship of a larger group. Moreover, in this society the ownership of the resources of food and water is organized through the headmen of bands, and individuals have rights to these resources by being members of a band connected to the headman by some near or remote kin or affinal bond. The /Kung are also extremely dependent emotionally on the sense of belonging and on companionship. Their need to avoid loneliness, I think, is actually visible in the way families cluster together in their werfs and in the way people sit, often touching someone else, shoulder against shoulder, ankle across ankle. Comfort and security for them lie in belonging to their group, free from hostility or rejection.

Their security and comfort must be achieved side by side with self-interest and much jealous watchfulness. Altruism, kindness, sympathy, or genuine generosity were not qualities which I observed often in their behaviour. However, these qualities were not entirely lacking, especially between parents and offspring, between siblings and between spouses. One mother carried her sick adult daughter on her back for three days in searing summer heat for us to give her medicine. /Naoka carried her lame son, Lame ≠Gao, for years. Gau clucked and fussed over his second wife, Khuan//a, when she was sick. When /U had a baby, her sister, Di/ai, gathered veldkos for her for five days. On the other hand, people do not generally help each other. They laugh when the lame man, Kham, falls down and do not help him up. /U's jealous eyes were like those of a viper when we gave more attention to her husband, ≠Toma, than to her because he was much more ill. And, in the extreme, there is the report from the 1958 expedition of an instance of callous indifference in one band and the probable abandonment of a dying old childless woman, an old aunt, when her sister, with whom she lived, had died.

Occasions when tempers have got out of control are remembered with awe. The

[1] This description of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region is based on observations made during our several expeditions between 1951 and 1959. Changes in the conditions under which the /Kung live are to be expected, and how these changes will affect the practice of the customs here described we do not know.

[2] Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Band Organization', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

vour it. Thus, according to our observations, a !Kung band gets on an average 224
only about fifteen to eighteen large animals in a usual year.

The meat of the large game animals does not belong to the hunters to do with as they choose. However, they always have the prerogative of eating the [242] liver at the site of the kill and, if their hunger is not satisfied, they may eat more. The bulk of the meat is then carried to the band, where it is distributed among the members according to a system. The meat belongs to the owner of the first arrow that penetrates the animal so that it stays in. He has the responsibility of making the first distribution.

Anyone in the band may be the owner of the arrow. A hunter carries 224
arrows he acquires in three different ways. Each man has his own that he 411
makes himself, shaping the points with some little distinction so that he 422
will know them from the arrows of other men. In addition he carries 426
arrows that have been given or lent to him. When an arrow is given to him, 431
he is the owner as much as if he had made it himself, but if he uses that 571 ●
arrow he must make a special gift of meat to the donor. When he uses an arrow that is loaned to him, he merely shoots for the person who lent it and who remains the owner of the arrow. !Kung society makes a great deal of giving and lending arrows. Women and old men, as well as men in their hunting prime, receive arrows as gifts and may give them or lend them to a hunter, asking him to shoot for them. A hunter cannot refuse an arrow— [576] as a person cannot refuse any gift—without offending the giver. He accepts the arrow and with it an obligation, but he gives or lends arrows in return and involves others in obligation to him. Hunters choose to use one or another of their arrows, with the result that the responsibility of distributing the meat, with its advantages and obligations, is shared by members of the band as is the meat itself.

In the first distribution the whole animal is divided among a few 224
persons, who receive whole sections on the bone, unless the animal is so large that the meat has to be cut off in strips to be carried. The first of these persons are the hunters, each of whom gets a fore- or hindquarter or the equivalent. The giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not made by the owner himself) receives a generous portion. The owner of the arrow, who may be one of the hunters, or anybody, keeps the rest.

In the second distribution, the several persons who got meat in the 224
first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. The 602
amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution, close kinship is the factor that sets the pattern of giving. A man's first obligation at this point [606] is to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous [593] portions as he can while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if

224 602 they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. [574] This meat may be cooked and the quantities small. Visitors receive small amounts of cooked meat from their hosts. It ends in everybody getting some meat.

224 431 In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and primary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift giving. !Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift of meat at some time in the future. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously [571] according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift giving in general: the person gives to measure up to what is expected of him, to make friendly gestures, to win favor, to repay past favors and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation.

224 431 181 [154] [183] Aside from the practical advantage of using up meat while it is still fresh, the !Kung custom of meat sharing has enormous social value. It does a great deal to mitigate tensions. The fear of hunger is lessened. People are sustained by a web of mutual obligation. Moreover, they are fully conscious of these values, and the custom is so strongly established and so faithfully followed that the idea of not sharing is virtually unthinkable to the !Kung.

422 262 264 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the !Kung. When an individual receives a portion he owns it outright. He may give and share it further, as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very [261] important to the !Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

224 261 It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae !Kung eat hearty meals of meat when plenty appeared and they had been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

on the quantity of objects they want to possess. They do not even want one each of the common tools of their lives. They borrow from each other, and there is less to carry.

Instead of acquiring prestige by accumulating possessions, the !Kung seek it in the opposite way. They practice a custom of gift giving to such an extent that their belongings all move in a slow flowing current among them and no one keeps anything of particular value very long. !Kung society requires that gifts be made in return, and the custom serves as a means to mitigate jealousy, to express friendly intent, and to weave people together in mutual obligation.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE FAMILY AND THE DOMESTIC GROUP • The family is the primary and the most cohesive social unit of the !Kung. By far the strongest bonds they feel are those of the nuclear family—the bonds between parent and offspring, between siblings, between spouses. These relationships are the basis of residence; by that I mean that people live together and have membership in their bands and rights to its food and water resources because they are linked to the band by one of these relationships. I believe that, in addition to the structured aspects, there is great emotional cohesiveness in !Kung families and that this is observable in the way families within the band build their fires near each other, come and go together, or, if there should be a quarrel, literally stand by each other, drawing close together.

The !Kung family passes through four phases. In its simplest nuclear form it consists of a man, his wife, and such children as are born to them. First marriages are always with just one wife. A later nuclear phase may be polygynous. When the daughters of a !Kung couple marry, and the daughters' husbands come to live with their brides' parents to give them bride service, the unit becomes an extended family. In a second extended phase, the married sons may have returned from bride service with their wives and offspring. In this phase, the married daughters with their husbands and offspring may stay or they may go to live with their husbands' people.

• The headship of a family is strongly associated with males. A widowed mother is regarded as a dependent, not as a family head. When the old father of an extended family dies, that particular family ceases to be an extended family. Families of siblings may live together in the same band, but no one of them has authority over another unless one of the siblings happens to be headman of the band. If they are no longer involved in bride service themselves, and their offspring are not yet married, these families become independent nuclear families again, to become new, extended families when the offspring marry.

Both the father and mother expect and receive respect and obedience 593
from their children. Although the mother's influence is always felt, I believe that the father's authority is greater. It is not formalized or expressed in a harsh or domineering way. As long as the father lives, he is the head of the family, symbolically. Even when too old to hunt, if he is still a forceful [882]
person, he remains the one in authority, the leader of the sons-in-law and his daughters, of his sons and their wives. Gradually, however, when he becomes very old, the younger men make their own plans without necessarily consulting him.

!Kung families are responsible for dependents. Thus, old, dependent 737
parents are unfailingly supported by their offspring and may choose with which one of their offspring they will live. Orphaned children are taken 736
by their grandparents or by a sibling of their parents. It happens occasionally that a person has no living parent, offspring, or sibling. In that case, other relatives assume the responsibility.

THE NAME RELATIONSHIP • Although !Kung society has developed no 571
formal political structure under which the bands are united, and there are 602
no organizations outside the bands, these people have a means of extending 553
the concept of kinship beyond close consanguineous relatives and affines 619
and of recognizing, in what we call the name relationship, the web of remote interrelationship that long intermarriage within the region has established.

Invariably the first son and the first daughter are named by their father for their paternal grandparents. Other children are usually named for their mother's parents, the siblings of their parents, and the spouses of those siblings, and may occasionally be named for other relatives. Thus, a few names are used over and over through the generations. We recorded only [551]
forty-six men's names and forty-one women's names in the region. The !Kung assume that persons who have the same name are related, though the exact nature of the relationship is forgotten. They believe, also, that people with the same name somehow have a common entity. They bestow [601]
upon each other kin terms that are appropriate to the name, according to a system. The !Kung have intermarried within the Nyae Nyae region to [582]
such an extent that everyone has a kin term he associates with each one of the names. This means that the people of the whole region are what we call name relatives, all applying kin terms to each other.

From the !Kung point of view the custom has two values. It regulates 553
the incest taboo in its furthermost extension, especially the joking relation- 602
ship that symbolizes the taboo. (For example, a man should not marry or 835
make sexual jokes with a woman who has the same name as his mother.) The !Kung feel secure in righteousness when they know they are behaving

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

622 leadership, the people may turn quite informally to some other man for leadership in their daily life—ask him for help and advice, fall in with his plans. Such a leader has no authority and receives no honors or rewards.

Headmanship is inherited by the eldest son from the father. If that son dies or leaves the band, the headmanship passes to the next eldest son.

No strictly formulated rules, insofar as we know, provide for further succession. We have no observations of our own of situations in which a headman had no son.[10]

622 621 571 The rule of succession does not provide for a headmanship to pass collaterally to a headman's younger brother. However, a younger brother may set up a band of his own in the same territory if he does not prefer to live under the headmanship of his older brother or if he does not continue to live with his wife's people. The younger brother has his own rights to the veldkos and water that derive from his father and he can share them with his family and band. Nevertheless, as long as a son of the headman in rightful succession is living in the territory, he has higher authority and is responsible for the overall planning. Should the principal headman's band die out or realign itself, the collateral band led by the younger brother would become the principal one.

621 622 602 571 The bonds that bring the !Kung into membership in bands are the same consanguineous and affinal bonds on which a nuclear family is formed: the bonds of parent-offspring, siblings, and spouses. Everyone who lives in a !Kung band is linked by one of these bonds with the headman, sometimes directly or sometimes in a chainlike manner through one or two other [162] persons. A description of a typical band will illustrate this point. Band II of Gautscha has forty-one members. The headman, Gao Beard, has two [592] wives and four young children. With Gao Beard live his younger brother, one of his younger sisters, each with spouse and children, and his elderly, dependent and widowed mother. Gao asked his first wife's father, Old ≠Toma, whom he likes very much, to join his band. Old ≠Toma brought with him into the band his wife, a married son with wife and child, two younger sons, his wife's sister, and her son by a now divorced husband. [583] He also brought sixteen other persons—Gau and his people. Gau belongs to another band but was at the time living in Band II because he had married, as a second wife, Old ≠Toma's wife's sister and, middle-aged though they are, he was in bride service to her people. After a time Gau can choose whether to stay on in Band II or to go back to the band in which he originated. He said that he thought he would decide to stay with Old ≠Toma and Gao Beard because he likes Old ≠Toma and because Gao Beard has a mangetti grove.

621 423 People retain throughout their lives their membership in the band in which they were born and their rights to its veldkos and water resources.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

(the same word as the title of respect). The !Kung say it is strong medicine: 776
/*num*. The !Kung take for granted his giving to man both sickness and 753
the power to cure it, and account for the power's sometimes failing to cure 778
by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work, or not, according 755
to his pleasure.

He gives the curing power to medicine men (called *num kxao*, medicine 778
owners), appearing to them (usually in dreams, sometimes in what seem 756
to be waking hallucinations) and putting the power into them. He has also [533]
put a curing power in the medicine songs that the people sing at the dances, songs named Rain, Sun, Giraffe, Eland, Honey, Buffalo, Mamba, and Spider —all powerful things. The great god gives the power freely. It is rare to find a man among the !Kung who is not a medicine man. The function of the 756
medicine men is only to cure. They are not sorcerers or witch doctors. (The [754]
!Kung are not a witch-ridden people.) !Kung medicine men receive no rewards or special prerogatives. They work together apparently without rivalry. The medicine men may cure at any time but their strongest curing occurs [535]
at the dance.

Whether or not anyone is sick, the people dance two or three times a 535
month, sometimes more often. Anyone who wants a dance may start one 781
simply by asking people to come and begin. The !Kung like to dance for many reasons. There is the inherent physical pleasure in moving to rhythm. Music and dancing are their arts, from which their aesthetic pleasure comes. [53]
The dances are also social gatherings in which all participate, men, women, 535
children, visitors—everybody. A dance draws them together as nothing else 781
does. Even more important is the fact that the dance is one concerted re- 571
ligious act of the !Kung and brings people into such unison that they become like an organic being.

At the dances not only may the sick be cured, but pending evil and mis- 535
fortune averted. The !Kung believe that the great god may send *//Gauwa* or 755
the *//gauwasi* at any time with ill for someone and that these beings may be 751
lurking, awaiting their chance to inflict it. The medicine men in the dances combat them, drive them away, and protect the people.

Usually there are several medicine men performing at the same time. 755
To cure they go into trance, which varies in depth as the ceremony proceeds. The curing cannot be described in words; it must be heard. When a man begins, he leaves the line of dancing men and, still singing, leans over the person he is going to cure, going eventually to every person present, even the infants. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The !Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. To demonstrate that this is in fact going on and is hard to do, he grunts with shuddering grunts that intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high piercing, quavering yell. Finally, the medicine man throws up his arms

837 the wives consent. This is regarded as a concern of the couples involved rather than a concern of society as a whole. One man said, 'If you want to sleep with someone's wife, you get him to sleep with yours, then neither of you goes after the other with poisoned arrows.'

[572] The word */kamheri* was used by //Ao, one of the young hunters, to express his deep feeling of friendship for John Marshall. 'We are such friends that we are */kamheri*', he said, but, as John had no wife to exchange, this remark had its funny side which delighted the men.

No actual instance of */kamheri* came to our attention and we failed in finding out if it is now practised. One man in Gam lent his first wife to a unmarried friend, one of the gossips told us, because he was in love with his second and did not care any longer for the first, but this was a mere deviation from the rules, not an instance of */kamheri*.

We heard of several irregular sexual unions in addition to the above. Rape did not appear in stories or gossip. Fornication must be very rare because there is practically no one to fornicate with. Almost all females are married except very young girls and leathery old grandmothers. Adultery is the usual form for irregular unions
684 to take. Adultery, however, is sharply limited by several deterrents. One deterrent is
837 the incest taboo, of course, which forbids extra-marital sexual relations as rigorously as it does marriage with persons to whom the taboo is extended. The same internalized sanctions induce obedience to this rule as to the marriage regulations. The same gradation of feeling probably exists, and we expect that people comply strictly within the kindred and among close affines and are no doubt less strict with name relatives.

Ease of divorce must exert a modifying influence on adulterous unions. If a [586] married couple really want to change mates, nothing need deter them but the general difficulty of extricating themselves from the web of responsibilities which marriage entails.

In a sense, the impossibility of maintaining secrecy exerts a control over extra-
151 marital relations. There is no privacy in a /Kung werf and the vast veld is not a cover.
153 The very life of these people depends on their being trained from childhood to look sharply at things and to take into their attention what they see, for they must
182 observe the most minute marks on vegetation to distinguish from the matted grasses the almost hair-thin brown vine stems that come up from the edible roots. Hunters memorize visual impressions and are able to follow the tracks of an individual animal in the midst of a large herd in a way that seems to us miraculous. It may be a week after a hunt that they return to recover an arrow that missed, miles from the werf, remembering where it lay in the vast monotonous sameness of grass and bush. They register every person's footprints in their minds, more vividly I am sure than we do faces, and read in the sand who walked where and how long ago.

185 The /Kung value control of anger, upholding self-control as an ideal, giving it group and individual approval and training for it. Despite this, volatile tempers
578 sometimes flare and burst out of all control. And always at hand are the little poisoned
[411] arrows. They are formidable weapons. There is no antidote for the poison; at least our /Kung informants said they know none and told us of tragic deaths from the poison which would have been averted had they had an antidote.

684 Adultery, so exceedingly provocative of anger and vengeance, could be very

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

him off the ground. Wite did not resist, but swung limp and 262 578 resigned, and when Gai released him he started to walk away. 152 Gai had eaten all the meat except one morsel, and this he tossed to Wite, who picked it up from the ground and ate it apathetically.

Only the baby set a good example. I had picked him up and 262 was carrying him when the three young boys of Ukwane's band noticed that he was mouthing something and holding something else in his hand. For a joke they extended their palms, telling him to share what he had in his hand, and he gave it readily. It was only the crackly skin that flakes off bones when they are roasted, quite flavorless, impossible to chew; Nhwakwe was only playing with it and the boys only pretended to take a bite, then threw it away. But either the baby didn't see them reject it or didn't care because in a moment he made them another present, the meat that he had been holding in his mouth. The young boys didn't see where he got it and they were about to eat it when Nhwakwe opened his mouth to smile and they noticed. They threw it down, but the baby spat some onto his finger and offered it to them anyway, and when they didn't take it he smeared it on their chests.

After the unhappy hour of eating, the people of Ukwane's band, their appetites dulled even though their bellies were not full, seemed more relaxed and the young boys went off to join the boys from the visiting band. The youngsters were 572 857 always friends. The tensions suffered by all the members of 152 both the bands did not affect their enjoyment of each other.

That evening the boys sat down near one of the fires to 578 talk, and they told each other all the things that had happened since they last had met, perhaps a year before. Most of 522 152 the incidents had happened fairly recently and most amounted to anecdotes about the other members of the

them with his moods and when he stopped playing and they 533
went away, they, too, were brooding.

Many young people had come to Nama, and together they 857
made Nama very gay. The boys played a game with wands, 526
throwing the wands at a hummock of ground and watching them bounce off and sail into the grass on the other side, the nearest that Bushmen come to a competitive game, for the young boys like to see whose wand goes the farthest.

The girls played a singing game with a melon. They would stand in a row that formed a half-circle dancing in place while the girl at one end would spring into the middle of the circle and toss a melon to the girl next to her in line. The game is accompanied by a rapid, intricate song of several parts sung [533] in falsetto voices, as pretty to hear as the game is pretty to see, for the girls dance with their arms and heads as well as with their feet, like the dancers of Bali.

At that time there were only two adolescent unmarried 882
girls at Nama. One of these was Beautiful Ungka, the other was her cousin, and they both lived with the cousin's parents at one of the werfs of the people from Gam. They were both extremely beautiful and they were lilies of the field. Since they were their parents' only children, they had no younger brothers or sisters to mind, and did nothing at all from one [572] day to the next but adorn and amuse themselves, and this they did together, for they were the best of friends. They were straight and slender, with pale-gold skin not yet darkened and [142] weathered by the sun of the veld, and they had flat bellies and high, small breasts. Beautiful Ungka had nipples like knobs, rounded like balls. Both girls wore ornamented aprons, soft leather capes—the best that there is. Many bead ornaments 302
hung from their hair and swung when they walked, and almost hid their handsome faces.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

572 882 574 A sound and a fragrance accompanied them wherever they went; the sound was the sound of their ornaments clanking like crockery, dry and dull, and the fragrance was heavy and [903] sweet, the perfume of the leaves of *sa* and the wood of *tchambuti*, which Bushman women grind to powder and rub on their bodies. We would always hear these two girls coming, for they talked loudly, and a moment later we would see them appear around a bend in the path, one in front of the other, heads high and eyes cast downward, as light and long as two Egyptian sacred cats. Usually they were followed by a homely little girl years younger than they were, a forlorn little creature who would run errands for them and was content to trot after them and be their handmaiden, and usually they were on their way to visit a friend of theirs, a young married girl who was visiting at Toma's werf. When the two beauties would arrive to visit her, their married friend would stop whatever she was doing and the three of them would sit together in some shady spot to string beads or weave blossoms into crowns which they would wear, the blossoms fetched by the handmaiden, who searched the veld for aloes, the only flowers blooming in that season.

882 572 857 While they were stringing beads or weaving blossoms, a group of young boys would gather to play the wand game, and now and then, of course, a wand would land among the girls and the boys would jostle each other to retrieve it. The girl of Toma's werf treated these happenings with gaiety, for she was responsive and kind, but the other two wouldn't even turn their heads to see. Beautiful Ungka had been married, after all, and kidnapped, and widowed and divorced; grown men had fought over her and it was natural that the jostling of young boys would seem trivial. She would laugh behind her hand at them, though, then pull a long face when they would turn around to see.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Those were two willful girls, too beautiful, too proud, too 882 much admired, but the young boys couldn't do enough for 572 857 them. It was one of their admirers who cleared the grass for the werf that the cousin's parents were building, and though the two girls teased and ridiculed the boy all the while, snickering contemptuously at him from behind their swinging beads, he worked on happily until not a blade of grass remained.

But Beautiful Ungka and her cousin were not as sophisti- 883 cated as they thought they were, really, for when they would 526 hear the music of the melon game they would abandon their poise and decorum to run for the sound, arms waving, ornaments and clothing streaming out behind, and when they found the game they had been hearing they would jump into the middle of it and play with abandon, singing loudly and dancing fast for fun. Also, Beautiful Ungka could spit through her teeth like a man. She could draw back her head and spit ten feet and she did this often, smiling scornfully, an astonishing accomplishment for such a handsome girl. Her cousin used to try it too; she could spit a little way but not nearly as far as Beautiful Ungka.

After all, they were only sixteen. There is a Bushman mood 533 539 song with these words:

> *I am tired and old and without people,*
> *I wish I could marry a young girl.*

There were so many great fires around Nama that the sky 132 was dark with their smoke, and when the sun rose in the morning, one day shortly after we had got there, we could not even see it until it was far above the horizon and then it appeared red and enormous, murky. In the west two new fires had sprung up, perhaps lit by Bushmen to show where they were

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Incidentally, we were not included by the /Kung in their gift-giving patterns. They gave us a few things spontaneously which they thought we would enjoy—python meat, for instance—but did not feel obligated to reciprocate for every gift we gave them. 431 [123]

Asking for an original gift or asking that a return gift be made after due time has elapsed is within the rules of propriety. People prefer that others give in return without their asking, but ≠Toma says he does not hesitate to ask if a gift is long overdue. If a person wants a particular object he may ask for it. Asking is also a means by which people play upon each other's feelings. One can test a friendship in this way. One can give vent to jealousy or satisfy it by acquiring some object or making someone else uncomfortable. I thought that /Ti/kay (an intelligent man, but very touchy, uncooperative, and turned inward upon himself) used to ask for gifts to play with anger, arousing it for the sake of feeling it, as children do with fear, playing witches in the dark. His remarks one day indicated a mingling of feelings and purposes. He told us that one may ask for anything. He does, he said. He goes to a person's fire and sits and asks. (I could imagine him with his black glancing eyes sitting and asking!) He asks usually for only one or two things, but if a person has a lot he may ask for more. He said he is almost never refused but that if a man had only one pot and /Ti/kay asked for it the man might say, 'I am not refusing, but it is the only pot I have. If I get another you may come for this one. I am very sorry but this is the only pot I have.' /Ti/kay said this would not make him angry unless he were refused too many times. To be refused too many times makes a person very angry. But, said /Ti/kay, he himself did not tire of people asking him for gifts. Asking, he claimed, 'formed a love' between people. It means 'he still loves me, that is why he is asking.' At least it forms a something between people, I thought. 431 578 [572]

I have stressed the mitigation of jealousy as the important value of gift-giving. /Kung informants stressed more the value of putting people under the obligation of expressing friendship by making the friendly gesture, even if it is only a token gesture. Demi said, 'The worst thing is not giving presents. If people do not like each other but one gives a gift and the other must accept, this brings a peace between them. We give to one another always. We give what we have. This is the way we live together.' [572]

Absence of Stealing

One day, when I wanted to talk with a group of informants about what the /Kung considered to be wrong-doing, I began with /Ti/kay. He said promptly, 'Making crooked arrows and fighting', but could not think of anything else. Informants had previously said that not sharing food would be the worst thing they could think of. Others had mentioned that the breaking of the incest and menstruation taboos would be very wrong and that girls should not sit in immodest posture. No one seemed to think lying was very serious wrong-doing, and no one mentioned stealing. I finally asked directly and Gao Medicine said they had not thought to mention stealing because they did not steal. 577

We had heard of the episode of the man taking honey from a tree, honey which had been found and marked and was therefore owned by someone else, and being killed for it by the owner. That was the only episode of stealing that we discovered. [685]

[21 cont.]

648 The Bushmen as a whole are despised by the other peoples, but in individual cases they are feared, and not least by the Whites. The Bushmen are familiar with this attitude and conduct themselves accordingly.

797 177 The Bushmen accept a foreign point of view only with great difficulty, if at all. The mission, accordingly, can show no noteworthy success among them. On the other hand, they 157 usually grasp the intentions of others more quickly than the ordinarily more superficial Blacks. Consequently, they give brief and precise answers to the questions put to them. When asked questions that they do not want to answer, they remain silent. At the same time, in dealings with them one should note that they tire very quickly when they have to do mental work, and then they will not answer further questions, not because they do not want to, but because they are too tired.

181 The Bushmen are not generous. Nevertheless, allow- 574 609 ing a stranger to partake of a meal, as well as giving him some of the available water, is wholly matter-of-course with them. [43] They very rarely, however, give any of their personal belongings, weapons, ornaments, hides, and so forth, as presents. If they themselves receive presents, they are obviously delighted. 181 It is true that they do not express their gratitude with words, 577 [22] but anyone who does the Bushmen a kindness may be sure that they will manifest their gratitude by deeds to the point of self-sacrifice.

To help a fellow human being who is in trouble is a moral obligation. There is a report of a prospector who lost his [648] way in the bush forest and was then saved by the Bushmen, with whom he could not even converse; they took care of him for several days and finally put him on the right path.

Agreements and promises are kept unconditionally by the Bushman, although it is true that he usually arrives a little too late. Once, when an ox from the ox-cart of the Catholic mission had to be left behind on the way to the Okovanggo, it was put in the care of the Bushmen and they were to deliver it at the time of the next full moon. The people kept their word, and the ox was delivered, well-fed, at the specified time.

As a comrade, the Bushman is reliable and faithful (1).

181 648

1. A European had once illegally

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

481 well as great loads of melons, all of which we offered again
482 and again to carry for them, but because, they said, they might want to stop for the night or just refresh themselves along the way, they would not part with their bundles.

The place we went to was called Ai a ha'o; it was the pan where we had seen the lion. It took us almost all day to drive there, and shortly after we arrived Dasina and Kutera joined us, having traveled almost as fast as we. Those two old women must have walked at four or five miles an hour all the way, over veld so rough that the trucks couldn't go much faster.

342 Before dark, the Bushman women had built a werf, a clear-
361 ing of grass for each family with a shallow pit to sleep in and a place for the fire, all four clearings under the branches of a single tree which would give them shade in the daytime. On
353 the branches each person hung whatever there was to hang, quivers, skin bags, or aprons, and these things swung in the cold wind. The women gathered firewood and lit their fires,
757 and Dasina asked Twikwe to stand on her stomach because
562 she was tired from her long walk and wanted a massage. Before they went to sleep the men and the three young boys
574 walked to our camp, about fifty feet away, to say good-night,
577 but the women stayed at home because at night all Bushmen women stay at home. A woman does not even leave her fire to go to her neighbor's fire three feet away because people will say that she doesn't like to stay home; she speaks loudly to her neighbor instead. Bushmen are a rather conservative peo-
[181] ple, and they are very moral in that they keep their own rules.

574 The smoke in the west that Gai had seen when he roasted the tortoise intrigued him very much. Again and again he said that it was people's smoke, and one morning he said he wanted to go over to it, to look for the man who was Wita-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

be's father, Twikwe's husband, the man who had run away 574 for good when we had come. Gai and Ukwane both believed that he could be found, and as they regretted his missing the meat, the salt, the tobacco, and the water that they themselves were enjoying, they suggested that we look for him in a certain omaramba—a shallow valley like a dry river bed—called the Okwa Omaramba.

One morning John, Bob, William, Gai, Witabe, and I set out in the jeep to find him. We were loaded heavily because we were planning to stay the night, the Okwa being far and the terrain rough. All three little boys wanted terribly to go, but Gai felt that they would be a nuisance and chose only Witabe since we were going for his father. Wite pointed out that the man was his father, too, but Gai didn't listen. As we were leaving, the two boys ran beside us, using the last minute to beg to come, but Gai still would not listen or weaken, and the two boys saw that it was no use, lost heart, and dropped behind.

It was a fearfully hot day, with lots of dust and sticking grass seeds, the jeep was overcrowded and overloaded, and I had to hold the rifle between my knees and the camera in my arms to cradle them from banging against each other and on the sides of the jeep. My head cracked against the knees of the people behind me, and everyone was sticky, hot, and very uncomfortable.

We drove until we came to plains that only Gai had seen before, and there the terrain was so rough that Gai and Witabe decided to get out and walk in front to find the easiest way. We would all gladly have done this, but some of us had to stay in the jeep to protect our possessions. Soon Gai and Witabe were far ahead, and we crept behind them for most of the day. 574

Gai walked first, Witabe behind him, as Bushmen always 481

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

574
[48] walk in single file, and they seemed very small, naked, and far away under the burned, pure sky, moving toward some remote destination where they hoped to find a man who had been walking away from them for almost a month, perhaps at some nameless little pan lost somewhere in the countryside, perhaps in a nameless bend of the omaramba. As they walked they zigzagged, avoiding small obstacles such as stones or thorn bushes, very incongruous with the enormity of the sky and the plains. The bow on Gai's shoulder made a bold upward curve.

A tree appeared on the horizon, and they veered toward it. When they reached it they sat in its shade, two shadows in the yellow grass, and a puff of smoke rose as they lit their pipes. We caught up to them and found Gai digging for a [222] *torabe* vegetable. He reached into the hole he had made and dragged it from its roots, brushed the dirt away, and chopped it into six pieces, giving one to each of us. We ate that for lunch. It was bitter and moist, firm as an apple and pleasant because it was wet. As we sat there we noticed the smoke of three veld fires which had suddenly risen, perhaps stirred by the wind far away, two small ones in the north and east, one large one in the south, its smoke reaching up to the sky first in little tendrils, then billowing in great clouds like the clouds in the sky but browner.

Gai and Witabe stood up, brushing sand from their legs, and walked into the sunlight again, turning toward the larger fire. Bushmen often set the veld alight to signal to each other, [201] but they do not send messages; a fire simply shows other people where they are, and even this is vague, as fires are sometimes set by natural causes.

137 After traveling several hours over the plains, we came to a little forest in a valley. A fire had been through there and had burned all the yellow grass from the ground, leaving black

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER SEVEN

Mood Songs

WHEN we came to the pan of Ai a ha'o we found a small veld fire burning just at its edge on the opposite side and we noticed someone standing near it, partly obscured by the smoke. We called out to see who it was and a cracked voice answered: "Ukwane." He came over to us and told us he was looking for the piece of string that he had made which must have dropped out of his hunting-bag. He had been searching patiently over the ground all afternoon, but I did not see how he could hope to find it with all the smoke and with his hazy eyes that were almost blind. He decided to go home with us and fell in step beside us. We were hurrying because of the women's heavy loads and because of the fire, which by now was putting up a cloud of boiling, brown smoke that streaked out with the wind, making a long pathway above us that reached from the fire to the sun. Birds were being chased from the bushes, still singing because they always sing in the afternoon, and insects from the grass.

We went past the fire and soon it crossed our track behind us and went harmlessly into the west. As we walked, Ukwane told us that during the afternoon the band of seventeen Bush-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

men whom we had met at Okwa had arrived and were plan- 578
ning to live beside us, as life at Okwa was getting very hard. 621
The veld, said Ukwane, was beginning to dry, a condition 574
that we had noticed, which was showing itself in the scarcity of roots and in the rotten, bitter melons. But we suspected that jealousy as much as anything else had brought the seventeen people to Ai a ha'o, the fear that Ukwane's band was feasting while they were being deprived.

At camp we found only three men of the visiting band, as the others were waiting somewhere in the veld, and the members of our expedition, who were trying to find a place for the visitors to camp. The three men were looking stonily around, seeing nothing that seemed agreeable. They had first been offered a grove of trees right by our camp, but they had refused this because of the mamba which they had heard about from Ukwane and which they believed might still be near. One spot after another failed to suit them, and finally they dropped their skin bags of belongings under a pair of small trees very close to Ukwane's werf. Ukwane welcomed them, of course, but I think he felt that difficulties would arise with them living so close and always watching.

One of the men went to summon the others of his band, who had been resting in a patch of heavy thorn bushes not far from our camp, and they came, carrying their youngest children and their bags of belongings, followed by their children old enough to walk by themselves. One of these was a toddling youngster who hadn't been walking long and who surely had been carried for most of the journey. The others were three young boys of about the same ages as the boys of 621
Ukwane's band; when they saw where they were going to be 857
living, they abandoned their parents with a great shout and, 574
running to Ukwane's werf, started a game of horse and rider with the three boys of Ukwane's band. The Gikwe bands

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

574 do not meet very often, and when they do the children play
621 together day and night. All the young boys were extremely
857 happy to see each other and expressed their joy by starting their game at once, wasting neither time nor breath to say hello. Before the adults of the visiting band had set their bundles on the ground two little horses with their riders had run past, the riders trying to unseat each other.

574 They played all afternoon and into the evening while the
621 adults went about the business of setting up a camp. I went
361 to the new werf to watch and found that the women had stored away their belongings, stuffing some of their bundles among the tree roots, hanging others from the branches, and were now clearing grass, each woman clearing a small circle for her family. Soon five circles were formed, not quite touching, all sheltered by the branches and all in the space of a few square feet. I helped one woman pull grass, for she was clearing it tuft by tuft, pulling it up with her hands, and as I did this I felt something cold and firm in the grass I was holding, and, looking down, I saw that I was holding an asp. I dropped it, one of the Bushman men ran up to kill it, and one of the
[202] women lifted it between her fingers and placed it in her kaross. Later it would be cooked and eaten by a child.

224 That same afternoon, some of the members of our expedi-
574 tion went hunting and shot a gemsbok, which was brought back to camp and given to Ukwane to divide. This was, perhaps, a great mistake on our part, for Ukwane gave the entire carcass to the newcomers except for the head, one foot, and a little of the liquid from the rumen, which he kept for his own people. Twikwe dug a pit in the veld and roasted the head in it, and that night, while the newcomers were still butchering, drying, and cooking their larger share, the mem-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

bers of Ukwane's band cut little strips from the cheeks of the gemsbok and sustained themselves with that.

An atmosphere of tension and strain pervaded over the whole werf. The Okwa people had arrived primed with jealousy, and had surely accused Ukwane of selfishness; the false spring, the dry conditions at Okwa had surely given their jealousy momentum. By giving most of the gemsbok to the newcomers, Ukwane had done all he could, for he had shown with his immediate generosity, and with the magnitude of his gesture, that they had nothing to fear from him. Of course, the members of his own band were as jealous of the newcomers as the newcomers were of them, but Ukwane surely felt that the internal struggles of his own band, easier to cope with, would be forgotten sooner.

The tension showed itself in struggles over food. Twikwe made a soup from a bone of the foot, mixing it in the rind of one of the melons she had gathered, and when it was cooked she drank it herself out of the tsama rind, watched all the time by her son Wite. When she could stand his hungry eyes no longer, she put her bowl on the ground so that both of them could scoop up the broth with tortoise shells. After they had eaten part of it, Twikwe decided that it was time to pass the bowl to Kutera, who sat a little distance from them, eating nothing, looking very scrawny and trying not to watch. Twikwe started to do so; then, remembering her son, who was still hungry, she reached behind her for a second tsama rind, a little one, which she would fill for him. In this way she would, of course, have none left for herself, but she preferred to share. Adults are used to hunger, and it seems that the older Bushmen become, the less they mind deprivation. Children are different, and as their needs are considered more pressing than the adults', they are accustomed to receiving

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

578 bands, who at the time were barely out of earshot. One story
522 concerned Dasina, how she had fainted from smoking too
152 much the day we had come, and to show exactly what had happened, Wite and Witabe acted the scene, Wite taking the part of Dasina and fainting on Witabe's shoulder while the other boys laughed. Bushmen's jokes and stories are usually funny at the expense of a person, an animal, or the god Pishiboro, maliciousness being one way in which Bushmen rid themselves of their resentments.

536 Somewhat later Wite and Giamakwe acted for the others
831 the scene of the hyena's mating, as they imagined it or knew
825 it to be, for the night it had happened only the sound had reached us and the hyenas had not been seen. Giamakwe took the part of the male hyena, Wite took the part of the female. First they walked together on all fours and rubbed faces, and then Giamakwe climbed on Wite's back, emitting a lonesome howl just like the howl we had heard. It was not meant to be funny, and the other boys watched it calmly, treating the mating of hyenas as a matter of course. All in all, it was a majestic imitation, with snarls and growls, then mounting and pretending to copulate with shivering and ecstasy, then more growls, until finally the male fell away exhausted and curled up on his side, whereupon the female attacked him. It took a long time from start to finish, the Bushman boys being so literal that they not only gave a precise rendition of the event but took exactly the amount of time that the hyenas had taken.

● 574 The adults had not watched the children but were visiting quietly with each other, some of the men from the Okwa band having come to Ukwane's werf to sit at the fires. Very late at night, when the Firewood Star was rising and the Zebra Stars of Orion were just setting foot upon the earth, the visitors got up to go.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

with empty veld around it, veld without veld food, without 271
tracks of game, and we stopped to drink. The waterhole's
name was Nam Ta Kwara (Here Is Nothing). Crooked Kwi
was the only one who was thirsty, so he climbed alone out of
the jeep, the hunting-bow on his shoulder arching over his [516]
head, and walked to the water's edge, where he crouched on
the white sand all pocked by the tiny feet of birds to dip up
water in one long hand and drink it out of his palm. With his
body bent easily, his back arched, he was so graceful and lithe
that he looked like a serpent or an otter and I wondered again
why his name was Crooked Kwi. A white moth touched the
surface of the water to drink beside him, and afterward a
wasp.

Behind Kwi's head the smoke in the north and west was so
thick it seemed that all the Belgian Congo and Angola were
in flames, and the sun was swallowed by the smoke, and a
gray, soft darkness fell long before the sun had really set.

When we got near Nama Pan it was dark and we saw our 574
camp by its fires, but greatly expanded now as there were per-
haps twenty fires where before there had been three. It
looked like the camp of an army, for there were fires all over
the rise above the pan, arranged in little groups, cluster by
cluster, each fire casting light on the branches of a little tree
or bush. These were the fires of Bushmen who had come in
our absence and at the sight of them the Bushmen in the jeep
put up their heads to see who the newcomers were.

At camp many people had got to their feet and were stand-
ing silhouetted by their fires as they peered into the dark; they
had undoubtedly been listening to the sound of our jeep for
hours, and when we stopped there was a crowd already wait-
ing. The people who had been riding, relieved to have arrived
at last, climbed out stretching to greet them. The children
were taken out, yawning sleepily, the youngest ones whining

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

574 by now, cranky from the long ride; the bundles of tsi were unloaded, the bundles of belongings, and Tu's grass bed. Lazy
361 Kwi went off to find his wife and family, but the others, all
574 Toma's people, looked around for a place to live and finally chose a tall tree, where they dropped their bundles and began to clear grass. In a very short time the werf was ready, fires were lit, tsi was roasting, and several of the Bushmen who had watched us come had gathered there to see if they should have a share of the tsi. Of course everybody got some and then sat down to eat it, burying the nuts in the hot ashes and scooping them out again with a stick when they were done.
253 Dikai gave some tsi to me and said that I could use her fire, a
576 courtesy, so I buried the nuts in the ashes and when I thought they were done I poked for them with a stick but I couldn't find them. Pretty soon they began to explode with loud reports and puffs of gray ashes which showed where they were, but of course then it was too late. You might as well throw them away if you forget where they are, the Bushmen say.

252 Some of the newcomers were eating giraffe hide, roasting great pieces of it, dried and thick and curling; they passed chunks of it around and it looked like the soles of shoes, all that remained of a giraffe hunted long ago. When it was roasted the people put it in a wooden mortar and pounded it into powder, and then licked the powder off their palms. Again, Dikai gave some to me and I found that it was salty and not unpleasant, tasting like bacon.

801 Gao Feet plucked my elbow and when I turned to him he
576 pointed at Dikai, sitting on the other side of the fire. He had pointed his lips at her, pushing his lips forward and gesturing with his chin because Bushmen think it is rude to point with the finger. "She wants to tell you what is in her heart," he
604 said. I looked at Dikai and she passed her hand over her two sons' eyes, first Little Gashe, then Little Dabe, as they slept

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

beside her, and I remembered the eye medicine I had prom- 609
ised to her, so I nodded and went to get it, but when I returned with it I found that she had mistakenly awakened her sons and they now crouched behind her, peering out at me, their small faces distorted with distrust and apprehension. I held out my hand to Little Gashe, but he retired completely behind his mother, pushing Little Dabe out the other side, so I held out my hand to Little Dabe, causing him to shrink back, pushing Little Gashe. Finally Dikai stood up and left them both exposed, and then Gao Feet held Little Gashe, Dikai held Little Dabe, and I put the medicine in as quickly 603
as possible, but both children had tantrums of rage and arched their backs, and as soon as they were released they would have nothing further to do with their parents, but went to sleep at their grandmother's fire instead, on the opposite side of the werf. The light was very dim, only the stars were showing and the fires had died, and these two forlorn children made two red little shapes as they lay down at their grandmother's fire; their skins reflected the red glow of coals, for they lay right in the ashes for warmth; they had forsaken their parents' karosses and there was no room for them under their grandmother's—another child was sleeping there.

Gao Feet gave up trying to urge them to come home and at 595
last he, too, lay down to sleep, snug between his two wives, 574
who were resting, not sleeping, for whenever someone at one of the other fires said something of interest, one or the other of them would put up her head and remark upon it. Tu slept alone with her children, for Toma had gone visiting, and one by one the people at Tu's fire moved away toward their own werfs, calling to each other in the dark. At last only a few 521
voices were heard at one of the werfs; they seemed very gay and very lighthearted, all talking at once, and now and then Toma's voice was heard above them all. Hearing him, Tu

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Short Kwi the Hunter

THERE were about forty people who had moved in beside us621 at our camp by Nama Pan, having settled overnight into574 seven werfs, each concealed from the others in the privacy of the grass and forming a community that was superimposed on ours, for the werfs, each a little clearing containing several grass nests or several scherms symbolized by sticks thrust in the ground, surrounded us on all sides and life went on as if we weren't there. People walked back and forth through our camp on their way to patches of veld food or to the water pan, and soon little paths appeared which we had not made.

Mostly, the people were Bushmen from Gam who had left484 there right after we did and had walked along after us, taking574 their time, sleeping one night on the way. They had brought all their children and old people, all their belongings, and evidently planned to stay. Even the Chuana woman had come, riding her donkey, followed on foot by two of her Bushman servants, and she had made herself a camp quite far away from us to prevent the donkey from annoying us with its brays.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

621 The other werfs were much nearer us, as the people wanted
574 to keep an eye on each other, to see that we gave food or presents to all when we gave to one, but also because they enjoyed being together and wanted to be able to visit each other quickly at any time at all. Next to our camp on one side was Lazy Kwi's werf, and on the other side lived Toma with his wife and Gao Feet with his wives. At the far end of their werf lived Crooked Kwi with his wife and the old grandmother. They were between our camp and the pan, and beside their werf ran a pathway, the way used by the people on the other side of us to reach the water.

593 On the other side of the path, in the shade of a tree, lived one more small band, the band of a young man of perhaps thirty, who lived with his twelve-year-old son and his eight-
[582] year-old wife, whom he was nourishing while waiting for her to grow. These young people had chosen their spot because
[591] the little girl was Gao Feet's daughter by his first wife and was still so young that she wanted to live near her mother. She was a sad little girl with a grave face and troubled, wondering eyes; in fact, all these young people were very grave and sad—the young man's first wife had died and he now had no one to care for him because the little girl, his new wife, spent a great deal of time with her mother and he was left alone. The son was lonely too, having no mother and no one to care for him except his sad young father. His father was too troubled, too preoccupied, to be a companion to him, his little stepmother was too young, and he spent most of his time sitting on a rise of ground overlooking the werf where he lived, watching other people going by.

[142] The little girl took after her mother, Gao Feet's ugly wife, but her two men, her husband and her stepson, were a family
533 of great beauty. Both had wide, grave eyes and golden skins, and both were musicians, but the young father himself was

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

572 A sound and a fragrance accompanied them wherever they
882 went; the sound was the sound of their ornaments clanking
574 like crockery, dry and dull, and the fragrance was heavy and
[903] sweet, the perfume of the leaves of *sa* and the wood of *tchambuti*, which Bushman women grind to powder and rub on their bodies. We would always hear these two girls coming, for they talked loudly, and a moment later we would see them appear around a bend in the path, one in front of the other, heads high and eyes cast downward, as light and long as two Egyptian sacred cats. Usually they were followed by a homely little girl years younger than they were, a forlorn little creature who would run errands for them and was content to trot after them and be their handmaiden, and usually they were on their way to visit a friend of theirs, a young married girl who was visiting at Toma's werf. When the two beauties would arrive to visit her, their married friend would stop whatever she was doing and the three of them would sit together in some shady spot to string beads or weave blossoms into crowns which they would wear, the blossoms fetched by the handmaiden, who searched the veld for aloes, the only flowers blooming in that season.

882 While they were stringing beads or weaving blossoms, a
572 group of young boys would gather to play the wand game, and
857 now and then, of course, a wand would land among the girls and the boys would jostle each other to retrieve it. The girl of Toma's werf treated these happenings with gaiety, for she was responsive and kind, but the other two wouldn't even turn their heads to see. Beautiful Ungka had been married, after all, and kidnapped, and widowed and divorced; grown men had fought over her and it was natural that the jostling of young boys would seem trivial. She would laugh behind her hand at them, though, then pull a long face when they would turn around to see.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ing happily, but all the adults in all the werfs were too de- 521/758
pressed and sad. Finally, one by one, the men went back again to Short Kwi, who by now had rallied and was sitting up, surely having been through the worst of it the night before, and talked to him about the antelopes he had killed and about the time he killed a wildebeest, an eland, and a wild pig all in one day.

It has been said that Bushmen abandon cripples or people 888/734
who are old or sick and cannot travel. This is not true.

Far into the night, people who could not sleep sat up and 521/533
talked at each other's fires. We heard the guashi being played, its long strings sounding in repetitious little songs of four or five notes which themselves were played over and over, for the guashi was being passed from hand to hand, played idly by people who just wanted something to do.

It was a warm night. The frogs in the pan were croaking 521/574
and the north wind blew the cooking-fires around. Later, when the moon rose and made a blood-red fire all its own, the people began to go home. Toma and Gao Feet and their sons stopping to visit us on their way; they walked silently up to our fire from the darkness and dropped to their haunches one after the other, and sat quietly, their grave faces tilted back, hands shading their eyes. Toma's son wore the crown of badger hair, which moved in the wind a little. Presently the men and their sons stood up again one at a time and walked on, as silently on their bare feet as they had come. We heard the low voices of other people who were passing, then saw fires flare up at the werfs, and much later, when the wind had died and even the frogs were silent, we knew that some of the people were dreaming, for they groaned in their sleep.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

voked those supposedly unmentioned beings, the spirits of 152 578 the dead. Dikai was not offended, though; she gazed down 593 775 at him calmly. "You, you little thing," she said, "no curse that you could say would hurt me."

Much later in the evening when John and Dan and I were 574 608 sitting at our own fire just before going to bed, Dikai and her nephew, Toma's son, came to visit us, Dikai with Little Dabe asleep on her back. It was a quiet evening, people were sitting at their own werfs and though they were screened from us by grass we could hear their voices talking and see the light of their fires. When Dikai came, Lazy Kwi, whose werf was on the other side of our camp, heard her speak and stood up to see what was happening, looming suddenly from where he had been sitting only a few feet away. He came through the grass to visit also, and we sat by the fire listening to Dikai as she told us about various relatives in the north and what kinship terms we should use for them, I being named for her and John for Toma. Lazy Kwi told Dan that Dan had been named for him, but named Kwi Cheeks instead of Lazy Kwi, and when Dan asked why his nickname was Cheeks all Lazy Kwi could say was: "Because of your cheeks." We thought, but we could not think of a reason, as there was nothing about Dan's cheeks that might attract attention, except that he had recently shaved his beard so that his cheeks were visible.

Dan said that now he had no beard, no hair, no name, which Lazy Kwi thought was terribly funny and said: "Throw away your beard hairs, throw away your name, but take Kwi instead and be my namesake." Shortly after that we went to bed. Relations seemed less strained.

One morning about a week after Short Kwi had gone, when 732 the people were resting and the werf was quiet, we heard a

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959.
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

732 rumble, a faint roaring in the veld, the sound blown to us on the wind. Toma must have heard it first, for he stood up from his nap and squinted his eyes at the veld. "A truck," he said. "Your truck. Not the farmers."

He was right; it was our truck. Soon we saw its top among the bushes; when it burst through the bushes at the edge of the pan the Bushman men ran to meet it and, as it did not stop, ran along beside it, craning their necks to look in the front and the back. Soon they dropped behind and walked slowly in its dust cloud. Short Kwi had not come.

The news of Short Kwi was good. At the hospital, his gangrenous flesh had been removed and enough of his calf was left so that a peg leg could be attached to it. A peg leg had been chosen instead of an artificial leg because, in the veld, an artificial leg would be impossible to repair or replace, but a peg leg could be replaced with the carved branch of any tree. It would be months before Short Kwi and his family could return to Nama because Short Kwi would have to learn to walk again, using the peg. When he was able to come, a truck from the government of South-West Africa would bring him.

We told all this to the Bushmen, but they were not really pleased. The miracle which they had perhaps expected had not taken place, for Short Kwi was still a cripple, and he always would be. They did not think of Tu's brother, the lame boy who would someday be a headman, who managed his lame leg and his crutch so well that he had hunted successfully and was initiated into manhood; they turned their sad faces away from the truck and went back to their scherms in silence.

574 602 The following morning, adding somewhat to the tension and unease, the rest of Short Kwi's band arrived. They looked

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

very sleek and prosperous, for they were staggering under 574 602
loads of food, their bags and nets bulging with tsi and their carrying-poles strung with the meat of the gemsbok. They put down their loads and the women began immediately to make a large and busy werf on the far side of Toma's. In a very short time the werf was built and strewn with food and objects, and the people sitting among their possessions looked so comfortable and settled that one would never have thought that they had just arrived.

The old woman, Short Kwi's mother-in-law, did cry when she found her daughter gone. She squatted sadly on the ground and wiped her tears from her wrinkled, dusty cheeks with her fingers. All her relatives, clustered around her, trying to comfort her, telling her that, after all, her daughter would return, that she herself would be looked after and not allowed to starve, and presently the old woman stopped crying, wiped [3+2]
her eyes, and got up to build herself a tiny hut, a shade of grass and branches.

That night, when darkness fell, when the moon rose blood 857
red among the trees and the frogs in the pan began their sing- 533
ing, we were again sitting by our fire, again hosts to a good many visitors, when we heard high voices singing a medicine song. We stood up to look over the grass and saw a fire where no werf was, with five young girls around it singing, clapping a rhythm, their faces lit red by the fire and their backs lit palely by the moon. They were all alone there, far from their homes.

We asked our visitors if there was going to be a dance, 857
which did not seem likely, everyone being in such low spirits, 535
and those who wanted to dance said yes while those who didn't said no. Soon some little children joined the dance, though, among them Little Gashe and Little Dabe. Little

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

It occurs in varying degrees of intensity. It is a repeating of something over and over and over again. For instance, whether it is actually so or not, someone may be reiterating that he has no food or that no one has given him food. The remarks are made in the presence of other individuals, but the other individuals do not respond in the manner of a discussion or conversation. In an extreme instance we saw a woman visitor go into a kind of semi-trance and say over and over for perhaps half an hour or so in ≠Toma's presence that he had not given her as much meat as was her due. It was not said like an accusation. It was said as though he were not there. I had the eerie feeling that I was present in someone else's dream. ≠Toma did not argue or oppose her. He continued doing whatever he was doing and let her go on.

All these ways of talking, I believe, aid the /Kung in maintaining their peaceful social relations by keeping everyone in touch with what others are thinking and feeling, releasing tensions, and keeping pressures from building up until they burst out in aggressive acts.

Aspects of Good Manners

In /Kung society good manners require that, when /Kung meet other /Kung who are strangers, all the men should lay down their weapons and approach each other unarmed. ≠Toma, leader of Band 1, approached us unarmed the first time we met. After we were accepted and given Bushman names, we were no longer strangers and we never observed the practice again.

Good manners require that visitors be received courteously and asked to sit by the fire. The woman whose fire it is may welcome the visitor by taking a pinch of the sweet smelling *sa* powder, which she carries in a little tortoise shell hung from her neck, and sprinkling it on the visitor's head in a line from the top of the head to the forehead.

Good manners in eating express restraint. A person does not reveal eagerness or take more than a modest share. When a visitor comes to the fire of a family who are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a little distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share. On several occasions we gave small gifts of corned beef to be shared with a group. The person who received the food from us would take only a mouthful. Once an old headman only licked his fingers. The lump of food would be passed from one to another. Each would take a modest bite. The last person often got the most. I found it moving to see so much restraint about taking food among people who are all thin and often hungry, for whom food is a source of constant anxiety. We observed no unmannerly behaviour, no cheating and no encroachment about food. Although informants said that quarrels had occasionally occurred in the past between members of a band over the time to go to gather veldkos, and although we observed expressions of dissatisfaction, no quarrels of any kind arose over food during our observations.

Good manners in general should be inoffensive. Any behaviour which is likely to stir up trouble is regarded with apprehension and disapproval by the /Kung. In view of this, the joking relationship has its interesting side. Men and women who have the joking relationship insult each other in a facetious way and also point out actual faults or remark on actual episodes which embarrass a person. Everyone joins in the

or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. Thirdly, people lend arrows to one another. The status of the arrow plays its part in the distribution of the animal killed with it. There is much giving and lending of arrows. The society seems to want to extinguish in every way possible the concept of the meat belonging to the hunter.

A hunter chooses which arrow he will use. The owner of the arrow—who *ipso facto* owns the animal—may therefore be the hunter himself, who has chosen to use an arrow he made or one that was given him, or he may be a person who lent the arrow to the hunter.

There may be several hunters in the hunting party and several arrows in the animal, but this seems to cause no confusion or conflict. Every arrow is known, of course. The hunters may see which first penetrates effectively so that its poison could account for the kill. But I think that often it is arranged beforehand who will own the animal. A man asking another to accompany him might say, 'Come and help me get a buck.' Or 'Old Gau lent me an arrow and asked me to hunt for him. You come too.'

I think there is little or no dissension as to who owned the animal because it is not a cause for great stress; each hunter gets a share of the meat anyway. I think also that a man wants sometimes to be the owner of the meat in order to start the distribution off in the direction of his own kin and affines, but that one is also content sometimes not to have the onus of the main distribution.

The first distribution of the animal is made in large portions usually to five or six persons. They are the owner of the arrow, the giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not one the owner had made himself), and the hunters. The meat, always uncooked in the first distribution, is given on the bone, unless the animal is large and the meat has been cut into strips at the kill.

In a second distribution the several persons who got meat in the first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. This meat also is given uncooked. The amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution close kinship is the factor which sets the pattern of the giving. Certain obligations are compulsory. A man's first obligation at this point, we were told, is to give to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous portions as he can, while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. The meat may be cooked and the quantities small.

Visitors, even though they are not close kin or affines, are given meat by the people whom they are visiting. This is a strongly felt social rule. Visitors may receive small quantities of cooked meat, which is like being asked to dinner.

Name relatives often receive generous portions of meat because they have the same name as the giver or because their names associate them with his close kin, but this seems to be more a favour than an absolute rule. ≠Toma said there were far too many men named ≠Toma for him to give them special consideration.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

224 602 they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. [574] This meat may be cooked and the quantities small. Visitors receive small amounts of cooked meat from their hosts. It ends in everybody getting some meat.

224 431 In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and primary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift giving. !Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift of meat at some time in the future. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously [571] according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift giving in general: the person gives to measure up to what is expected of him, to make friendly gestures, to win favor, to repay past favors and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation.

224 431 181 Aside from the practical advantage of using up meat while it is still fresh, the !Kung custom of meat sharing has enormous social value. It does a great deal to mitigate tensions. The fear of hunger is lessened. People are [154] sustained by a web of mutual obligation. Moreover, they are fully conscious [183] of these values, and the custom is so strongly established and so faithfully followed that the idea of not sharing is virtually unthinkable to the !Kung.

422 262 264 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the !Kung. When an individual receives a portion he owns it outright. He may give and share it further, as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very [261] important to the !Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

224 261 It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae !Kung eat hearty meals of meat when plenty appeared and they had been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount.

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563 The waterholes and their respective Bushman and Bantu populations are listed in Table 2.

<u>!Kung group structure</u>

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166 The definition of the !Kung living arrangements presented the most difficult problem of the field study. The !Kung were found to be living most frequently in camps that numbered from ten to thirty individuals. But the composition of these camps changed from month to month and from day to day.

The task of defining the stable membership units was complicated by the following factors:

1. the frequent shifts of individuals and families from one camp to another,
2. [574] the high incidence of visiting between camps,
3. the presence of long-term visitors from outside the Dobe area,
4. the Dobe area residents who were living elsewhere on extended visits, and
5. [563] the intermarriage and co-residence of Bushmen with Bantu.

These complications are in addition to the routine changes in group structure brought about by births, deaths, post-marital residence, and the seasonal subsistence cycle.

It became evident that flexibility is the basic premise [121] of !Kung group structure. It would therefore be inappropriate to try to impose a formal model of organization on the data,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

262 plants, are scarce and unpredictable and people never depend
137 on meat for their basic subsistance. Therefore the well-
136
433 being of the Bushmen as a population can be viewed as the product of two factors: the abundance of food resources in their environment, and the intelligence and sophistication which informs their exploitation of these resources.

512 Although the getting of food is the major activity of
433 Bushman life and is a major focus of Bushman thought, the greater part of the waking life of the Bushmen is given over to social, religious and trading activities that are largely independent of the food quest.

Their emphasis on non-subsistence activities becomes clear when daily records are kept of the activities of the
[126] members of a camp. For example, a diary of activities was kept for the Dobe camp during July, 1964. This record was made during mid-winter, a season of comparative scarcity. It
[462] was found that the 23 adults of this camp spent less than half of their days in subsistence activities, an average of 23% of the time for the women and 40% of the time for the
[574] men. The majority of their waking hours were spent visiting
[521] other camps, entertaining visitors, resting, talking, hut building, and making tools, clothing, and ornaments.

Plant Resources

137 There are well over 200 species of plants and 230 species
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361
433 year, but that territorial arrangements are flexible enough to permit people to collect and eat freely in territories other than their own. Thus there were no instances recorded of the members of one camp going hungry while there was still food available at other camps.

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602 Ecologically, the net effect of this flexibility of territories is to produce an equitable distribution of food resources throughout the population. Kinship, real and fictive, is the social mechanism which makes possible this equitable distribution. Each independent camp maintains ties of kinship and marriage with members of every other independent camp. Implicit in every kinship tie is an obligation to share food and water. When relatives are living together, the obligations are manifested in daily exchanges of food and in mutual aid. When relatives are living at

361 different camps these obligations are latent. An individual
433 who visits another camp will invariably set up his or her hut
602
• 574 beside the hut of the member of the other camp to whom he or she has the closest kinship tie. The visitor is secure in the knowledge that the members of the camp will respect his or her claim to the resources of the area.

The principles of intercamp visiting will be illustrated by an example from the Dobe camp. N!ain!a, a woman about 55 years old, is a member of the Dobe camp. She is a younger

361 433 602 574 sibling of the leaders of the two Dobe camps, and therefore has an unquestionable claim to the Dobe resources. N!ain!a has two married daughters whom she frequently visits. One lives at !angwa and the other at Bate. These two daughters and their husbands make reciprocal visits to Dobe about once a month. N!ain!a has a classificatory uncle at !ubi. During the winter she would make daily trips to collect the Baobab fruits that are available only at !ubi. Her uncle, in turn, would make reciprocal visits to collect the vegetable ivory fruits which are abundant around Dobe. Thus N!ain!a maintains active claims in three of the territories adjacent to her own.

N/eysin!a (N!ain!a's older brother) is unlike N!ain!a in that he prefers to remain in his home territory rather than visit other camps. N/eysin!a's kinship ties with members of other camps are numerous but the reciprocal obligations implicit in these kinship ties remain latent because N/eysin!a rarely visits his relatives in other camps.

361 Inter-territorial visiting is perhaps the most important single principle of land utilization among the Dobe area Bushmen. 311 Concerning land utilization <u>within</u> the individual territory, three significant features should be noted.

First, each of the territories borders on an uninhabited hinterland of indefinite size (see Map 14). Because of this, it is difficult to derive an estimate, in square miles, of the

312 221 The availability of water can be regarded as the most important determinant of Bushman subsistence activities. A season by season account of these activities will serve to illustrate how subsistence strategies take maximum advantage of water sources. The annual subsistence cycle is described under six headings:

1. First rains
2. Main rains
3. Autumn
4. Early winter
5. Late winter
6. Spring

1. <u>First rains</u>

The onset of the first rains finds the Bushmen clustered [361] around their permanent waterholes. It is this time of year [574] that camp membership is most stable because all areas are short of food and there are fewer incentives for visiting [132] other camps. Also the weather is hot with mean daily maxima of 100°F and walking is uncomfortable.

312 221 824 Food, in the vicinity of permanent water, is in short supply. Fruits, berries, melons and leafy greens, which appear only during the main rains, are nowhere available. The mongongo nuts are still abundant but are found only at distances of ten or more miles from the permanent waterholes. The diet

132 highs in the 90's. The warmer weather heralds the onset of
312 spring which is the most difficult season of the year. Most
137 of the waterholes have no mongongo nuts within a ten mile
222 radius. The alternative foods, roots and bulbs, are being collected daily by some of the people, while others are making the long overnight journeys to the nut forests.

221 Since territories vary in the abundance of early spring
574 foods there was a noticeable tendency for families to visit
628 other camps. For instance in September, Bate still had a good supply of Sclerocarya caffra, nuts, and several families from Dobe, Mahopa, and !angwa converged upon Bate to eat these nuts. Similarly !ubi had a supply of Baobab fruits (Adansonia digititata) and other families made extended visits to relatives there. The maintenance of close ties between camps made possible a more equitable distribution of foodstuffs, so that, if there was scarcity at one camp, and food at another, the members of the first camp would not go hungry. This is one of the highly adaptive features of the fluidity of !Kung group structure.

[563] Some families fall back on the Herero villages at this
[431] time of year to beg for milk. This occurs especially among those people who have a sister or cousin married to a Bantu man. Both the Bushman and Herero codes of good manners demand that visiting in-laws be fed (L. Marshall 1961).

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221 this account of the seasonal round has come full circle to the starting point.

312
433 In summary, there are, in effect, only three basic sets of subsistence conditions for the Bushmen:

1. Water everywhere - Food everywhere
2. Water limited - Food abundant
3. Water limited - Food scarce.

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312 When the first set of conditions prevail during the rains
433 of November through March, Bushman life is sweet. The camps
[628] can live near the most concentrated food sources within their
[574] territory, or share in the food supply of neighboring camps,
[602] or easily undertake the long trips to visit relatives at distant waterholes.

When the second set of conditions prevail, from April through July, freedom of movement is more restricted but food is still abundant enough to make life comfortable.

When the third set of conditions prevail, from August through October, the Bushmen must resort to increasingly arduous tactics in order to maintain a good diet, or, alternatively they must content themselves with foods of less desirability in terms of abundance, ease of collecting and nutritive value.

It is during the three lean months of the year that the Bushmen life approaches the precarious conditions that have

262 insects that occur locally are regarded as food. Such animals as rodents, snakes, lizards, termites, and grasshoppers, which, in the literature, are included in the Bushman dietary, are despised by the Bushmen of the Dobe area. Even the more attractive larger mammals are hedged round by numerous age-specific, sex-specific, and personal taboos, so that no single Bushman may eat all of the thirty species of mammal that are considered edible. Ritual curers prescribe, for each individual, a series of species that would be highly injurious if the individual were to eat them. These prohibitions are strictly observed. For instance, the wife of ǂoma, the most successful wart-hog hunter, was forbidden to eat the meat of that species and she became sick to her stomach at the mere smell of cooking wart-hog meat. Such strongly-held aversions and selective tastes are cultural luxuries that are not usually associated with a starvation level subsistence.

<u>Leisure and Work</u> -- The getting of food is the most important 462 single activity in Bushman life. This task occupies, on the [512] average, 25 per cent of the womens' days and 40 per cent of the mens' days. The significant point, however, is that the majority of the time of both sexes is spent in non-subsistence [222] activities such as resting, talking, and visiting. In a typical [574] work period, a Bush woman will gather one day and then spend two or three days either resting in camp or visiting other camps,

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574 before she goes out to gather again. The hunters tend to
462 work more frequently than the gatherers. Typically a man will
[224] go out on two or three consecutive days and then spend two or three days in camp. Unlike the women, who maintained a consistent gathering routine throughout the year, the hunting activity of the men came in intermittent bursts. It was not unusual for a man to hunt avidly for a week and then do no hunting at all for two weeks. Since hunting was an unpredictable business, and subject to magical control, hunters would sometimes experience a run of bad luck and would stop hunting for a month or longer. For instance, ǂoma, the best hunter of the Dobe camp, did not hunt at all for a three-month period in 1963 because he said that his luck had left him. He remained in camp, apparently awaiting inspiration, while his wife patiently provided food for him. Most of the men of the Dobe camp went through similar periods of inactivity.

883 <u>Non-productive Camp Members</u> -- People who are under twenty
[887] years and over sixty-five years of age contribute very little to the food input of a camp. Young women are not expected to
[582] contribute food until they are married. Girls typically marry
[574] between the ages of fifteen and twenty, so it is not unusual to find healthy, active, teenagers visiting from camp to camp while their older relatives provide food for them. The assumption of adult responsibility by the boys is even more delayed.

433
312 transhumant annual round, in which they alternate between their
221
361 rainy season range and their dry season range.

484 The Dobe area !Kung do not undertake long marches of
574 30-70 miles for the purpose of getting food. This task can be
628 readily fulfilled within a day's walk of their territorial water sources. When such long marches occur, they are invariably for the purposes of visiting, trading, and marital exchanges with relatives at distant camps. As such, these trips should not be confused with the normal routines of subsistence.

311 Range Size and Population Density -- By plotting the movements
433 of the various camps in their annual subsistence cycle, the
162 observer can derive a rough estimate of the total land area that is required to support the population of 430 Bushmen. It would be much more difficult to estimate the area necessary to support a single camp, because of the considerable overlap of territories and the frequent visiting between camps. It will be more useful to treat the entire population as a unit. It is estimated that the 800 square miles that lie within a six-mile radius of major water sources are sufficient to support the population for most of the year. Beyond this radius lies a hinterland which is rarely penetrated; perhaps a further 200 square miles of this hinterland is utilized in the course of a single year. Thus the total annual range of the Dobe area Bushmen may be estimated at 1,000 square miles. This calculation sets the effective population

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

221 compelled to turn back to permanent waterholes. Thus in the rainy
312 season the Aikwe, Tsaukwe, /Amkwe, /Dukwe, and Tserekwe all hunt
423 in the wide sandveld pierced by the bed of the Letyahau, keeping to some extent to their respective hunting territories, but apparently also hunting together peacefully in the most central parts of the region. In the dry season, however, they turn back to the limestone pans of the Ghansiveld and Mahuraveld and to the river-courses of the Tauche-Botletle system, where permanent water is to be found.[1] The same alternation of residence with the seasons occurs, as we have seen, among the Tannekwe and the Hukwe, and may also be noted among the Kung and the Auen in the Omaheke and Kaukauveld.[2]

It is not only in alternation of residence that the change of season
[621] makes itself felt. In some cases it also affects the very cohesion of the band itself; for, as already mentioned, both among the Auen and among some of the Central Kalahari tribes the members of the band concentrate together during the rainy season when there is a more abundant supply of food, but as the dry season comes on the families scatter and wander off in different directions.

From their huts the people go out every day in search of food.
462 The women rise early, light the fire, and prepare the food for the
512 morning meal, which usually consists of veldkos left over from the previous evening. After having eaten, the men may go out hunting or visiting or engage in some other occupation, such as preparing skins, weapons, and utensils. The women accompany one another in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. "One may see a group of women and little children start off in one direction, single file of course, then some men in another, then four or five boys together, then girls, small and big, then some more men, and so on." When food is obtainable at no great distance, the women are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have far to go they may not reach home till late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they start the fires and proceed to prepare the food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water from the neighbouring waterhole.
[264] Food is ready by the time the men arrive in the late afternoon, and the evening meal, the principal meal of the day, is then eaten without delay. Meals are taken in common by the members of the family,
512 each family eating at its own hut. Afterwards visits are usually
[574]

[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 31–2.
[2] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

exchanged from hut to hut, the women going to one hut, the men to another, and so on. Only the owners sit in a hut, while the visitors gather round the fire outside. The little children play about everywhere, the bigger boys and girls by themselves. There is no fixed time for going to sleep. As a rule the people turn in to bed fairly early, but if it is a fine evening dancing may be started and kept up till late, everybody taking part except the old people and the little children.[1] 512 [574] [535]

Food and Fire

The Bushmen will eat almost anything that can be eaten. Of animal foods the favourite is game of all kinds, when it can be obtained, and they are also very fond of hare, spring hare, guinea fowl, korhaan, partridge, ostrich, and other birds, as well as birds' eggs. Fish too are eaten wherever they can be caught, and among the Bushmen of the Okavango swamps are a staple article of diet. Anteaters, ant bears, tortoises, porcupines, bull frogs, snakes, and lizards are greatly relished, while among insects locusts, scorpions, beetles, young bees and honey, termites, flying ants and ants' eggs are also eaten. In fact all kinds of living animals are made use of as food, with the almost universal exception of the baboon and the hyena—the former "on account of its being so like a man", the latter "because it eats human corpses". 262 [825]

The most important vegetable foods in the Southern and Central Kalahari are the *tsama* (*Citrullus vulgaris*), "uintjies" (*Cyperus edulis Dtr.*), *Grewia* berries, and the *//noun* (*Bauhinea esculenta*); in the Namib the *!naras* fruit (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*) forms almost the sole article of diet when in season; while as one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, such as the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuande, and omuve. In addition numerous other varieties of edible roots, berries, cucumbers, tubers, melons, and ground nuts appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season, when they form the principal part of the daily menu.[2] [824]

Much of the food is eaten raw, but the Bushmen know how to prepare and cook it. Each family prepares its own food. Cooking 252 [592]

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 32; Fourie, "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 88.

[2] Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 54 sqq.; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 234–5; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 659 sqq.; Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 139–40, 144 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 253–5; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 114 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 6–7; Fourie, op. cit., 98 sq.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

224 animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu*
262 (youths) is known as *!om-//gani*, and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles,
224 etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at
252 the *axarogudi !gaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the
262 animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the *!heis* or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him, and if he eats any other part, e.g. the *!koms*, he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions of about two finger-breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis*
● [574] may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *!nos-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-//gani*,
[264] under which is included the *!koms*. The latter may be eaten only under the *!heis*. After it has been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is
[841] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *!koms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib*, and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

"A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat killed by
224 the members of an outlying *//gaus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to
262 taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the
622 *//gaus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *//gaus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he visits a *//gaus* for this purpose he kindles the *!hei-!ais* with
[372] fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own."

Apart from the light it throws upon certain functions of the chief,
114 this account illustrates admirably both the existence of special ritual
224 observances in regard to game killed in the chase, and the fact that
[622] food obtained in this way is shared among all the people present at the encampment. This latter feature has also been noted by other writers on the different Bushman tribes,[1] and it can safely be asserted

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 55; Kaufmann, op. cit., 155–6 D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, pp. viii–ix; *idem*, *The Naron*, 16.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury 622
resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. 692
The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a
decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band. [695]
Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the 681
relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kirri or by stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property, assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but self-defence is in no way penalized.

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is 114
difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these 692
Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is 681
no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama [171]
Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, [184]
to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the other Bushman tribes.

Relations with Other Bands

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Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting 621
territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a
rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married [591]
man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also [574]
frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from [438]
one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also find the members of several different bands assembled together for a while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

619 621 Bushmen from all parts of the Ghansiveld, even from different tribes, owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again [221] [423] Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

114 619 621 All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery, however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys' [881] puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his [574] preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement that in the months of March and April different bands come together for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and 726 obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several 619 621 Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band, although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

578 619 621 628 On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife-stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially [685] is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who 648 encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen, 685

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 137.
[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 33.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 134.
[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 154; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 11; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 85.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and traditionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

/156 cont./

423 foster the growth of the veld crop, he alone may lay claim to the yield of the burned veld. Others, even members of the same settlement, are not allowed to use it.

The territorial property of the individual hordes is precisely delimited, and the boundaries are known to everyone. Boundary markers naturally do not exist, but with his marvelous sense of place, the Bushman knows exactly, to the last bush, the extent of his territory.

565 Social distinctions do not exist, just as there are no servants or domestics.

576 They greet each other by extending hands in a manner that differs from our practice (see Photo. 43).

567 727 Slavery is unknown. Men who have been, captured in war are killed; captured women are taken into the victorious group and accorded completely equal rights.

R. Marriage, Position of the Woman, Children

582 Men marry between the ages of about 16 and 18 years, girls between 13 and 16. Both sets of figures naturally are estimates.

584 The candidate for marriage addresses his suit to the girl's mother. If the latter is no longer alive, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is consulted only secondarily. The suitor brings his future in-laws presents in the form of game and veld food, sometimes over a period of more than a year.

If the affair proceeds smoothly, the man takes the girl to his hut after a time and the marriage is regarded as consummated.

If, in spite of the consent of her parents, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to express her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man will finally take the girl to his hut by force and have coitus with her. If she runs away, he brings her back. In this manner, her resistance seems to be gradually overcome.

684 If a man were to violate a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be killed.

585 No special ceremonies are observed to conclude the marriage. The marriage is considered consummated by coitus.

2: Kaufmann--75 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Auen

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Photo. 44.
Betrothal or Marriage.

142
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Photo. 43.
Extending the Hand in Greeting.

[1 cont.]

115 German or English language, spoken and written, but also of their native tongue in grammar and phonetics.

000 Among the Zulu and Swazi I made my studies more as the occasion arose. Here I was indebted in particular to Father Andreas Ngidi in Inkamana, Princess Maris Dhlamini in Mbabane, and the Italian missionaries in Swaziland for my data. My travels were aided predominantly by the missions. Whereas in the diocese of the Catholic missions of Zululand and Marianhill the main emphasis of the work was upon anthropological and prehistoric matters, in Southwest Africa ethnological studies were the special [121] task of the expedition. Through the kindness of the provicar, 115 Father Schleipen of the Catholic Mission in Windhoek, the schoolteacher Alois Kheibeb was assigned to me, with whose help I came in contact with the old Dama. At the [2] Catholic Mission in Okombahe, Father Bachmann introduced me to the brother of Chief Gottlieb Horeseb, who came with a few other people to tell me stories. In Grootfontein it was Father Jaeger who placed his Dama schoolteacher, Nikolaus Horeseb, at my disposal. I then further succeeded in obtaining a very intelligent !Kung woman, Katiti, who was married to a Hei//om, and this made it possible for me to have verbal contact with the !Kung. In Ovamboland I was able to rely on the generous support of the Finnish Evangelical Mission. Through the help of Mr. Leuch I engaged a respected man from Oshigambo, Erastus Mbumba, who had been a clerk in Swakopmund for 13 years and who spoke superb German. The Bushmen informants in Ovamboland spoke Ovambo. In Epukiro the mission superior, Father Watterott, O.M.J., placed at my disposal the village headman, Franz Arenat, who in turn established contact for me with the Nogau Bushmen. The interpreters [124] have to be paid well. To all those who helped me in my work, I should like at this point to express my heartfelt thanks.

123 In order to achieve genuine success in the ethnological field, it is necessary to gain the confidence and sympathy of the natives and to instill in them the conviction that one has no evil intentions toward them or would want to make them look ridiculous; money alone does not suffice. The relationship between the 648 Whites and Coloreds is of such a kind that the native from the 576 outset faces the White with the greatest distrust. The natives are basically a courteous people, and among themselves they live

[2 cont.]

648 according to strictly regulated codes of conduct. No native would
576 say something unpleasant to another without cause. Modes of address such as are frequently heard among us, for example, "You don't look well, are you ill?" and similar amiable remarks, are out of the question. Each native expects to be treated in accordance with his social position. The natives cannot understand it when, say, a European traveler or missionary treats young people with extraordinary kindness; on the other hand, they find the casual treatment of older people and patresfamilias a sign of crude tactlessness. In Ovamboland, for example, the term of
123 respect for men is tati = "father." The ethnologist who treats
648 the grey-haired men of a native tribe as though they were old people of his own race who, in whatever position they may find themselves, have fulfilled their life's task and therefore deserve respect will have won half the battle. However simple and matter-of-course following this maxim might seem, in actual practice it turns out to be quite difficult in many cases. Quite aside from the fact that many a scholar sees in the native less a fellow human being than an object of study, the chief difficulty lies in the traditional forms of conduct that the Whites have adopted toward the natives. No native is allowed to sit on a chair in the company of Whites. In European houses there is usually a little bench in front of or behind the entrance door for black notables. The ordinary native is made to squat on the floor. It is maintained, not unjustly, to be sure, that this is the natives' original manner of sitting; nonetheless, the Black finds this manner of sitting a humiliation if it is forced upon him by the European. The native, in the view of the Europeans residing there, is simply an inferior kind of human being, with whom they do not even want to go to the same church, a circumstance that makes the task of many missionaries considerably more difficult. Should the traveler make a radical break with these customs and practices, he would have to forego the company and support of the Europeans, on whom he is, after all, dependent. Hence, an extraordinary measure of tact is required in order not to injure the pride of either the Whites or the natives. At the same time, it is true that among certain tribes, such as the Herero or the Ombarantu, the dislike of the Whites is so intense that useful

[22 cont.]

181
648

appropriated a number of little trees and planted them in front of his house. On one occasion when he was in town with his Bushmen, the original owner of the trees declared that in the afternoon he was going to see about it. The Bushmen heard this and disappeared. When the two Whites came to the farm, the little trees had disappeared. The Bushmen had run ahead and had hurriedly removed them on their own initiative.

181 The Bushmen are at all times courageous and steadfast people, characteristics which, indeed, their very way of life would produce.

831 The Bushmen strictly avoid talking about sexual matters
[864] in the presence of women and children. Just as in general they are a people without imagination, they do not have any form of the more subtle erotic phantasies.

The endless obscene stories that one hears from the Blacks as soon as he has gained their confidence are unknown among the Bushmen.

The sexual element is absent in their religious cele-
[535] brations, but it finds expression in many of their dances, which imitate the love play of animals.

834 On the whole, their sense of modesty cannot be denied, even though, naturally, they do not have such decent forms of conduct as the genteel Bantu, among whom it is regarded as extremely improper to look at the breasts of the women. The
[516] girls and women never sit in the typical squatting position, but rather sit on the ground with the legs crossed.

[576] Although the life of the Bushmen within the encampment is openly in view, those principles that we regard as natural tact are nonetheless observed.

[514] The Bushman performs his necessities at all times out of sight of the others, and love scenes are never enacted in public.

114 It is naturally very difficult to learn anything more
124 precise concerning the more intimate details of sexual life

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

term itself. Cf. System B, p. 16.) We know of no rule to prevent a name-relative being classified with any consanguineous kin or affine should his name not be on ego's ancestral list. 553 601

Supposing a name did not occur on ego's ancestral list but did occur several times among his contemporary consanguineous kin and affines, the question arises as to which kinsman or affine would be the one with whom ego would classify a person of that name. We have no precise data on this point, but we think that consanguinity takes precedence over affinity, or the near over the more distant relationship.

The spouses of kin are always paired terminologically with the kin (see p. 18), but this is not true of name-relatives. Ego establishes the name-relationship with each person of a married couple individually. It was in this connexion that we learnt of an aspect of the /Kung system which has not yet been mentioned.

Informants told us that ego may apply a term to the parents and children of an individual name-relative on the generational basis, if he has no term established by his ancestral list. If ego's term for a man is */gu!na* he may apply the term *tsu* to that man's Fa and So, observing the same alternation of the terms */gu!na* and *tsu* that is apparent in Diagram 1.

In this connexion informants told us furthermore that ' boys follow their fathers, girls follow their mothers ', meaning that a son is classified with respect to his father and a daughter with respect to her mother. Assuming that ego applies the term *tũn* to a woman, he could apply the term *||ga* to her Mo and Da. If ego applied the term *tsu* to that woman's Hu, he would use the term */gu!na* for her HuFa and for her So.

We think ego would use this method only if the parent or child of the name-relative had a name for which ego had no term. The /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region had so many name links that we did not observe people applying terms to parents and children of name-relatives in this manner.

There are a few additional terms to be mentioned. Co-wives of polygynous marriages use the terms */kwi*, elder Si, and *tsĩ*, younger Si, for each other, unless they have the same name, in which case they retain the term */gu!na*. 601 [595]

Step-father is *ba-tsu*, step-mother is *dai-||ga*, step-son is */ha-tsu*, and step-daughter is *≠khai-||ga*.

Mama is a word, heard often, which is not strictly a kinship term. It is applied m.s. and w.s. to any male or female when people wish to express pleasure, gratitude, or affection and it includes an element of respect. It is applied so frequently to grandparents that it becomes almost an alternate to the terms. [576]

System B

The second constellation of kin terms applies to affines. Whereas a person ' enters ' System A initially by way of biological ties and/or homonymy, he ' enters ' System B by way of marital ties—of himself, of his offspring and of his siblings. 601

We shall designate as ' primary ' certain affinal relationships which have a factor in common, namely: terms applied in these relationships are linked to the relationship, as the parent and child terms are linked to those relationships; nothing changes them. The method of homonymy is not practised. Furthermore, when a person comes into one of the primary affinal relationships with ego, ego drops whatever term he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

mediately down a hole. Gai continued treading in the half- 522
hearted hope of another mouse, with a disappointed, intent 224
expression on his face because the first had escaped him. Witabe, on the jeep, suddenly thought the whole performance so funny that he burst into laughter and laughed until he didn't make a sound, until tears ran out of his eyes and onto his belly, until he could hardly breathe, all to see Gai, the sole support of eleven people, the great hunter and provider, treading on top of a straw pile to chase away a mouse.

Gai was a little abashed and he stopped treading, but he did put his hand into the nest and pulled out the mouse's bed, a little ball of finer grass mixed with the mouse's own fur. Gai pulled it apart to show how it was made. We saw the mouse again when Witabe poked it out of the hole with a stick, but it ran back in at once, this time for good, so we went on, leaving the mouse with his home in a shambles and his soft bed gone.

We got back to camp late in the afternoon, and Tsetchwe 854
was so glad to see us that she threw her arms around me and held up her baby for me to kiss. She and I were the only young women for miles around, so there was a bond between us. She often gave me her baby to mind—not an easy job because Nhwakwe was as innocent as he was bold, and I had once taken him from under the wheels of a truck that was about to move. I had carried him to the werf for safety, but he hadn't stayed long; in a short time we had seen the grass moving at the edge of camp and Nhwakwe had appeared once more, this time dragging a toy, having walked the long distance all by himself and having navigated purely by a sense of direction, for the thick grass was high above his head.

Tsetchwe did not kiss her husband or even greet him, as 576
Bushmen are accustomed to short absences from each other 593
and it is not the custom for men and women to kiss. They

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

576 show affection openly only to people of the same sex and
593 to their children. Tsetchwe looked at Gai, though, and she smiled.

124 . Twikwe greeted us by smiling her wry smile and saying:
825 "So."

262 The springbok was thrown to the ground, but before it could go into the pot, Bill Donnellan, the doctor, came over to the werf to dissect it, this being an opportunity to find what the Bushmen thought about the systems of the body and what they knew about anatomy.

Gai agreed to tell what he knew, so the springbok was dragged to a sandy spot and a small fire was built—just two crossed sticks with one or two coals and a tiny flame, yet it warmed us, as the evening was becoming very cold. All the people sat around to watch as Bill opened the belly of the springbok and rolled it onto its back. He pointed to the diaphragm and asked what it was. Gai told him the name. "What is it for?" Bill asked.

"We eat it."

"Is it for anything else?"

"We don't know. We just eat it."

"What about the liver?"

"We eat the liver."

"Does the liver do anything for the springbok?"

"It stays there and then we kill him and eat it."

"And what about the stomach?"

"We Bushmen eat the stomach, too, and all the things in the springbok."

"Doesn't the stomach do anything for the springbok?"

"Yes, he eats grass which goes in there and makes him fat, and then we eat the fat."

124 Unwilling to give up easily, Bill passed on to the urogenital
825 system, which is, after all, exterior and which anyone should

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 spearheads, tobacco and pipes, salt and candy and all the
123 water their containers would hold, all they could drink, and even enough water to wash in, for we had enough to take us to a waterhole a few hundred miles away where we could fill our drums. They did wash. Gai washed his whole body and
[142] emerged a shining gold. The others washed their arms and
[834] faces, modesty preventing their washing the rest, leaving them with golden arms and oval golden masks.

Tsetchwe was pleased with her presents—she hung her white beads in her hair and wrapped herself in the blanket, which, she said, was far softer than leather and which would not get stiff in the rain—but she did not seem happy. She spent the evening sitting beside me, for though we could not talk much with each other I knew that she liked me. "I will cry when you are gone," she said.

576 The two horses, formed by the six young boys, came pranc-
526 ing by, the riders riding loosely, the front feet of the horses galloping but the hind feet, because of the heavy load, trotting up and down. One horse disintegrated in front of us and the young boys who had formed it came forward slowly. The rider, a young boy from Okwa, seemed to want to ask me something. He was very shy, but finally he mustered his courage. "Are you a woman?" he said.

576 Ordinarily, he would have been too polite to ask a personal question, something which Bushmen almost never do because to them asking questions implies distrust, but it may be that on the day before our departure he had found his curiosity impossible to resist. Tsetchwe frowned at him, but I said: "Yes, I am."

The horse had been arguing with the rider, and the two boys who had been the front and hind legs seemed quite triumphant. "We told you so," one said.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

since that was all he remembered we went on again to the source of the first of the three fires.

It was there that we found Toma. He had been there all the time, only a few miles from where we had camped, and when he heard our jeep coming he watched us over the top of a bush before showing himself to see first who we were.

We saw him when he ran toward us. He was quite far off and we saw first his dark figure detach itself from the bush and run with long, swinging strides toward our jeep. He waved his arms and we knew at once that this, at last, was Toma. Before he reached us a second figure appeared from behind another bush and ran beside him, and we knew from the disjointed stride that this second man was Gao Big Feet, Toma's brother-in-law. We turned our jeep toward them and soon we met and the two men embraced us and laughed and said that they had known we would come back someday, and then they climbed in the jeep and took us to their werf, stopping first to get their spears and quivers, which they had left in the bushes, for no Bushman, no matter how excited, ever greets people with his weapons on his back because this might be taken as a sign that he was quarrelsome, looking for a fight.

Their werf was in a tiny thicket of thorn trees at the edge of the plain, screened in front by bushes, carefully concealed, but on a rise of ground where a man standing could easily scan the surrounding plain without being seen himself. There Toma and Gao Feet could observe the movements of the antelope that crossed the plains below them, waiting patient in the dappled shade of their trees' broad leaves as lions do. The two families stood in front of their bushes to meet us and they, too, embraced us and they all climbed in the jeep to do this, then climbed out again and stood back to see how we were.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

361 We got out and sat with them in their werf to talk before deciding what we would do next. Looking around, we saw that only the two families lived here, for there were only two sleeping-places, set, for the sake of a little privacy, on the opposite sides of one of the scrawny trees. The women had not built huts, but had scooped little hollows for themselves and their husbands which they had lined with soft grass bedding, and had put up two arching sticks at each of these hollows to mark the place where the door would be if a scherm had been there, for the Kung as well as the Gikwe need a sense of place. In fact, the Kung need it even more, for without their grass and marking-sticks the Kung feel homeless. Their sleeping hollows were like the soft grass nests of pheasants, hidden in the leaves.

276 The Bushmen all lit pipes and passed them—each pipe 576 reached everybody, everybody shared and smoked, and the pipes circled slowly for an hour or more until the tobacco was gone. There was a brass pipe made of an old cartridge, a bone one, a horn one, and last of all a copper one that tasted very bad. The Bushmen cracked roasted tsi nuts and passed the fat little kernels around to each other, offering them on the 609 palms of their hands. My brother told Toma that he had missed tsi because there was none in America.

"What?" said Toma. "No tsi? Why didn't you plant some?"

"The soil is a little strong for it," said John.

"So."

"But tsi is good."

"No good," said Toma sadly. "I used to be fat. Now I am thin." He stuck out his leg and slapped at it. "Where is my fat?" he said.

He did not seem to be thinner than he used to be, though; he had only a scar on his belly and a scar on his back where

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Grove

674 LATE in the afternoon of the day we met Toma, we decided
685 to find the rest of his band—his wife's mother and the other part of Gao Feet's family. There were now nine adults and five children all intending to ride in the jeep and we were very crowded, but to relieve this condition as much as possible Toma left some of his possessions behind. He left a large, dry hide, scraped but not yet cured, rolled up and thrust in the branches of a tree, and a skin bag stuffed full of bedding grass under a bush. Someday he would return for them, perhaps when a season or two had passed, when he would be roaming near that spot again. Bushmen commonly leave their things anywhere they wish, for the things are never touched by others; theft is so unknown that Bushmen do not even forbid it, having no need for tabus or laws against that which never happens.

576 When Tu was in the jeep, wedged in tightly between others with her youngest children in her lap, she gave the werf that she was leaving one last glance and noticed the bag of grass that Toma had left behind. It was her bed too, after all, and when she saw it she pushed aside her children, pushed aside

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the people who crowded her in, and, clambering out of the 576
jeep, ran back to retrieve it. It was an enormous bundle, but
she dragged it to the jeep and tried to stuff it in, paying no at-
tention at all to the others who insisted loudly that there was
no room. She finally got it in, climbed in after it, and sat on it
to squash it down. She completely ignored a lofty glance from
her husband, a reproach for her impoliteness, and searched
through her clothing for her pipe and her flint, with which 593
she struck a light and smoked. In a sense, she and Toma were
mismated, for the idea that she would have fewer things, less
conveniences than someone else seemed to haunt Tu, while
Toma seemed possessed with the fear that he would have
more. When Tu took, Toma gave away.

We drove down the plain, leaving the nests in the forest be- 484
hind ourselves forever, toward the eastern horizon, which was
blue and shimmering in the heat of the late afternoon. We
were too crowded and too jostled to talk much, everyone pre-
ferring to crouch quietly and ignore discomfort, except Tu,
higher than the others on her bag of grass, who seemed very
cheerful indeed and talked on and on. We stopped several
times along the way—in fact, we had hardly started before
Tu plucked at John's shoulder and asked him to wait. She had
seen a gemsbok cucumber growing on a vine in the grass and
wanted to pick it, so John stopped the jeep. Tu climbed out
and found several, which she tossed in, letting them roll
about freely on the floor. We were about to start again when
Dikai also saw some cucumbers and we had to wait while she
gathered those, and no sooner had we driven on again, the
little cucumbers rolling against our ankles and prickling us
with their spines, than Little Dabe vomited and we had to
wait a third time while Dikai cleaned him up with a tuft of
grass.

Toma sighed. Men plan to spend several days traveling

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

by now, cranky from the long ride; the bundles of tsi were unloaded, the bundles of belongings, and Tu's grass bed. Lazy Kwi went off to find his wife and family, but the others, all Toma's people, looked around for a place to live and finally chose a tall tree, where they dropped their bundles and began to clear grass. In a very short time the werf was ready, fires were lit, tsi was roasting, and several of the Bushmen who had watched us come had gathered there to see if they should have a share of the tsi. Of course everybody got some and then sat down to eat it, burying the nuts in the hot ashes and scooping them out again with a stick when they were done. Dikai gave some tsi to me and said that I could use her fire, a courtesy, so I buried the nuts in the ashes and when I thought they were done I poked for them with a stick but I couldn't find them. Pretty soon they began to explode with loud reports and puffs of gray ashes which showed where they were, but of course then it was too late. You might as well throw them away if you forget where they are, the Bushmen say.

Some of the newcomers were eating giraffe hide, roasting great pieces of it, dried and thick and curling; they passed chunks of it around and it looked like the soles of shoes, all that remained of a giraffe hunted long ago. When it was roasted the people put it in a wooden mortar and pounded it into powder, and then licked the powder off their palms. Again, Dikai gave some to me and I found that it was salty and not unpleasant, tasting like bacon.

Gao Feet plucked my elbow and when I turned to him he pointed at Dikai, sitting on the other side of the fire. He had pointed his lips at her, pushing his lips forward and gesturing with his chin because Bushmen think it is rude to point with the finger. "She wants to tell you what is in her heart," he said. I looked at Dikai and she passed her hand over her two sons' eyes, first Little Gashe, then Little Dabe, as they slept

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

together in front of the truck and when we climbed down 591 602 they embraced us.

We went on toward the werf with these men and boys 609 clinging to the sides of the truck and laughing loudly at those 576 among them who were raked by thorn branches that the truck drove through, and at the edge of the werf we saw the women standing all together, waving and calling to us, and we stopped again and they too embraced us and kissed me, and the little children gravely shook my hand.

Short Kwi's mother-in-law was there with a wide and toothless smile, her face all wrinkled like a little shriveled pear, and many other people, among them the old man who had never shot a buck and whose sister had died in the forest; he now was nobody's close relative and we noticed he had lost an eye and seemed even more malevolent and sad. He greeted us distantly, but the others were enthusiastic. The little children tried to climb on me and finally someone put a baby in my arms. The baby bit me, but he meant me no harm, for when he bit I felt the sharp edge of a new tooth coming, which probably itched.

We passed through the bushes and came into the werf, 361 where the people had obviously been living for a long time, judging by the size of the ash heaps at the fires and the depth of the nests that people had dug for themselves. Looking around, it came to us that many people whom we had expected to see were not there, Short Kwi for one, and his wife. When we asked for them, Short Kwi's brother-in-law said that he would take us to see him presently. When we asked for the others who were missing—among them the man with 648 two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama—we were told that these people had all been taken by the farmers and had never been seen again. We were very sad to hear it, for many of them were too old to have to do the heavy

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

It occurs in varying degrees of intensity. It is a repeating of something over and over and over again. For instance, whether it is actually so or not, someone may be reiterating that he has no food or that no one has given him food. The remarks are made in the presence of other individuals, but the other individuals do not respond in the manner of a discussion or conversation. In an extreme instance we saw a woman visitor go into a kind of semi-trance and say over and over for perhaps half an hour or so in ≠Toma's presence that he had not given her as much meat as was her due. It was not said like an accusation. It was said as though he were not there. I had the eerie feeling that I was present in someone else's dream. ≠Toma did not argue or oppose her. He continued doing whatever he was doing and let her go on. 154 521 518 621

All these ways of talking, I believe, aid the /Kung in maintaining their peaceful social relations by keeping everyone in touch with what others are thinking and feeling, releasing tensions, and keeping pressures from building up until they burst out in aggressive acts.

Aspects of Good Manners

In /Kung society good manners require that, when /Kung meet other /Kung who are strangers, all the men should lay down their weapons and approach each other unarmed. ≠Toma, leader of Band 1, approached us unarmed the first time we met. After we were accepted and given Bushman names, we were no longer strangers and we never observed the practice again. 576 [123]

Good manners require that visitors be received courteously and asked to sit by the fire. The woman whose fire it is may welcome the visitor by taking a pinch of the sweet smelling *sa* powder, which she carries in a little tortoise shell hung from her neck, and sprinkling it on the visitor's head in a line from the top of the head to the forehead. 574 [302]

Good manners in eating express restraint. A person does not reveal eagerness or take more than a modest share. When a visitor comes to the fire of a family who are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a little distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share. On several occasions we gave small gifts of corned beef to be shared with a group. The person who received the food from us would take only a mouthful. Once an old headman only licked his fingers. The lump of food would be passed from one to another. Each would take a modest bite. The last person often got the most. I found it moving to see so much restraint about taking food among people who are all thin and often hungry, for whom food is a source of constant anxiety. We observed no unmannerly behaviour, no cheating and no encroachment about food. Although informants said that quarrels had occasionally occurred in the past between members of a band over the time to go to gather veldkos, and although we observed expressions of dissatisfaction, no quarrels of any kind arose over food during our observations. 264 [574] [578]

Good manners in general should be inoffensive. Any behaviour which is likely to stir up trouble is regarded with apprehension and disapproval by the /Kung. In view of this, the joking relationship has its interesting side. Men and women who have the joking relationship insult each other in a facetious way and also point out actual faults or remark on actual episodes which embarrass a person. Everyone joins in the 576 522

516 uproarious, derisive laughter. All this is joking and one should not take offence.
[522] The /Kung say this teaches young persons to keep their tempers.

In contrast to the joking is their care in other aspects of conduct to avoid giving offence. ≠Toma said, for instance, that, if he were forming a hunting party and a man whom he did not want asked to join him, he would be careful to refuse indirectly by making some excuse and try not to offend the man.

521 Gossip which can stir up trouble is discouraged. People do gossip but usually
518 discreetly, in low voices, with near and trusted relatives and friends. It is best to mind one's own business, they say.

People are expected to control their tempers and do so to a remarkable degree.
152 If they are angry, aggrieved, or frustrated, they tend to mope rather than to become
518 aggressive, expressing their feelings in low mutters to their close relatives and friends.
626 ≠Toma told us that he had lost his temper twice when he was a young man and on one occasion had knocked his father down. On the other he had pushed his wife into hot ashes. It had so frightened him to realize that he could lose control of himself and behave in this violent way that, he said, he had not lost his temper since.

Meat-sharing

324 The /Kung custom of sharing meat helps to keep stress and hostility over food at
416 a low intensity. The practical value of using up the meat when it is fresh is obvious to
518 all and the /Kung are fully aware of the enormous social value of the custom. The fear of hunger is mitigated; the person one shares with will share in turn when he gets meat and people are sustained by a web of mutual obligation. If there is hunger, it is commonly shared. There are no distinct haves and have-nots. One is not alone.

To have a concept of the potential stress and jealousy which meat-sharing mitigates in /Kung society one has only to imagine one family eating meat and others not when they are settled only five or ten feet apart in a firelit werf and there are no walls for privacy. The veld does not hide secret killing and eating because actions are printed in its sands for all to read. The idea of eating alone and not sharing is shocking to the /Kung. It makes them shriek with an uneasy laughter. Lions could do that, they say, not men.

324 The custom of meat-sharing applies only to the big game animals. Small animals the size of duikers or smaller, birds, tortoises, lizards, grasshoppers, snakes, and ostrich eggs are picked up incidentally and belong to the person who shoots, snares, finds or catches them. He may keep these for himself and his immediate family and may share them as he chooses, as if they were veldkos. ≠Toma says that, if there is only a little, he and his family eat a meal and give a little to anyone who happens to be near by at the time.

Meat-sharing applies to the big animals which are deliberately hunted by organized hunting parties. In the Nyae Nyae region they are kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok, warthogs and ostrich. Eland are found less commonly and buffalo rarely. The Nyae Nyae hunters managed to shoot giraffe occasionally. Giraffe are royal game by S.W.A. law, but the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not known this. When they were told, they called them 'Morrisi cows'. (Mr. Robert Morris was the Commissioner of Native Affairs at Runtu.)

The system by which meat is shared begins with the hunters, but the composition

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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where the names came from ('The old people told us that he gave himself these names', they said) and I do not have sufficient relevant comparative material to throw possible light on the question. Informants said that ≠*Gaolna* was the oldest of the names of God and that */Gara* was the next oldest. 776

The Names of the Lesser God

The great god named the lesser god by giving him all of his own 'divine' names but not his human name, ≠*Gaolna*. 553 776

Having been named for the great god, the lesser god is the great god's namesake, his *!guma* (*!gu* is name, *ma* is small or younger), and the great god is the *!gu!na* (*!na* means old, older, or big).

The concept of the namesake, and of the relationship between the *!gu!na* and the *!guma*, is an important one in the /Kung kinship system.[1] */Gu!na* and *!guma* are always of the same sex, /Kung names being sex-linked. One shares in some mystical way the entity of the person for whom one is named. Incest taboos require that one must not marry the parent or offspring of one's *!gu!na* or *!guma*. Behaviour between a *!gu!na* and a *!guma* is as open and free from formal restrictions as any in /Kung society. They have the joking relationship. Only the usual respect of the young for the old is expected.

The opposite conditions exist between parent and child. A man must not name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Parent and offspring do not have the joking relationship.

It was interesting to me to find the great and lesser god in the *!gu!na–!guma* relationship rather than the father–son relationship, as it offers some evidence that the concept of the two gods is not influenced by the Christian concept of God, the father, and Jesus, the son. Also one comes to see that the father-son relationship would not serve the Bushmen as well as the *!gu!na–!guma* relationship in explaining the problem of evil, for a son would not present as sharp a duality, but, according to human standards, would express respect, obedience, deference, propriety, and assistance, which is not *in total* the function of the lesser god. 776 [177 773]

The Names of the Wives of the Gods

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe that ≠*Gaolna* gave all his own 'divine' names to both of the wives; *di*, the suffix which means 'female' is added: *Hishedi*, *Huwedi*, *Kxodi*, */Garadi*, *Gani gadi*, ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gaidi*, *||Gauwadi*.

≠*Gaolna*, the great god's human name, is not applied to the wives, men's names never being given to women. One would say instead ≠*Gaolna a tsan*, '≠*Gaolna* his wife'. [553]

Each wife has a human name as well. The elder one, who usually lives alone with ≠*Gaolna*, is named *Khwovalna*, Old Khwova. The younger one is *||Gow*. (*||Gow* rhymes with *how*. The *ao* sound in the men's names Gao, ≠Gao, and /Gao I use arbitrarily and mean by it a slightly shorter, more closed sound, like the *ou* in *ouch*.) We knew only two women named *||Gow* but knew many Khwovas. [104] [553]

The wives of the gods may be referred to or addressed by a respect term, used [576]

[1] Cf. Lorna Marshall, 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, no. 1, Jan. 1957, pp. 1–25.

776 [576] only for females, *kolidi*, a term which one may also apply to women when one wants to be especially polite and to honour them. It is used for women ' who possess lots of things ', the /Kung explained. *Gaoxadi*, the female form of one of the respect terms for the gods, may also be applied.

[222] *Khwova/na* is also called ' the mother of the bees '. When men go to look for honey they pray to her.

' The wives of the gods have the same work as their husbands. Their work is also strong ', we were told.

The Names of the Children of the Gods

The names of the six children of the gods are as follows: for the boys—*/Kwa ma*, *Nami*, */Kung go*; for the girls—*/Kharu*, */Nai*, */Kow*. *Nami*, */Kharu*, and */Nai* are familiar names to me, the others are not. These names are from Robert Dyson's notes (for which I want to express my gratitude), and it is possible that the name he writes */Kow* is the same as the one I write *//Gow*. As I have said, such questions and discrepancies about words are very common.

In the myths, but not in the /Kung's current account of their beliefs, *≠Gao/na* has two other sons who are involved in many strange events with their father. Their [821] names are *Khan//a* and *Kxoma*. They were turned into the two stars in the vertical axis of the Southern Cross which now bear their names. Alpha Crux is *Khan//a*; Gamma Crux is *Kxoma*.

Miss Bleek was told that *Hishe* was sometimes ' followed by children like baboons '.[1] The image this gives of the divine children leaping and playing and following like infant baboons is amusing. The image which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have, however, is very different. ' The girls are fresh and beautiful ', they say, ' not ugly like Bushmen.' Their skin is the colour of Bushman skin but at its lightest shade (*gau*).

[775] The children are called little *//gauwasi* (*si* is the plural suffix). The spirits of the dead are also called *//gauwasi*. It is the children's special duty to carry the spirits of mortals, when they die, from the dead bodies to their ' father in the sky '. We were told that the little *//gauwasi* are helpful to humans. ' They watch over them and help to prevent *≠Gao/na* from getting angry.'

Terms of Respect and Disrespect

776 In addition to the names, the Nyae Nyae /Kung apply three terms of respectful address to the gods: *gaoxa*, *n/iha*, and */nau*. As I mentioned in my paper on the struc- 576 ture of bands,[2] the terms *gaoxa* and *n/iha* may be applied also to human chiefs, or to persons who are over others, like a district commissioner, and they are sometimes applied to a Bushman headman, although, to be strictly proper in /Kung, a headman is called *kxau*, ' owner '. *Gaoxa* is the more exalted term. Some informants felt that to call a man *gaoxa* was to compare him to the deity, which might anger the gods. Others felt that it ' sounded like a curse ' to call a man *gaoxa*. The term pleases *≠Gao/na*, however. When he hears it applied to himself he knows that the people respect and fear him and ' he has a good feeling about them '.

/Nau among the Nyae Nyae /Kung is a term of respect for any old man and it is

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 192.
[2] Cf. Lorna Marshall, ' /Kung Bushman Bands,' *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960, pp. 325–55.

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also commonly used for any man (not a boy) older than the speaker when the speaker must avoid saying the name. The people address the gods as */nan* and *gaoxa* more commonly than as *n/iha*. We were told that they call the great god */nan* ' when he is good '. [576]

It is interesting to know that the power of the great god, his omnipotence which he was so mysteriously able to create for himself, is called *gaoxa* and that the special potent ' spiritual ' medicine which the great god puts into the medicine men, the curing power, is also called *gaoxa*. [756]

The /Kung often call the great god ' father ' especially in supplication, and plead that he succour his ' children ' and give them rain or good fortune in the hunt or whatever they may be asking for. [782]

Nonabe is a term of great disrespect, a ' scolding ' term. When used for a human being it is a curse and a terrific insult. A man who felt himself greatly wronged by another and in violent anger would say of the man who wronged him, ' That *Nonabe*! ' But he would not say this to the man's face ' for if he did there might be a fight (so great is the insult). When he saw the man in person he would come in peace to him, not showing his anger '. *Nonabe* is used in blasphemy by the medicine men in trance, along with other insults when they are combating the gods and the *//gamwasi* in the medicine dances, demanding that they take away the evil they have brought. [578] [756]

The Fear of the Names

The Nyae Nyae /Kung ' fear ' (*koa*) to utter the names of the gods. The word 'means both' to be afraid of, as one is afraid of a mamba, and 'to respect and avoid', as one respects one's mother-in-law and avoids speaking to her and saying her name. 776 784

Children must strictly avoid saying any of the names of the gods. Old men and women need not observe an absolutely restrictive taboo in uttering the names, and may and do say them, but there seems to be an element of taboo (it is a ' death-thing ', they say) and fear of drawing attention to themselves. We were aware of their unwillingness to speak of religious matters early in our work and therefore waited until our relations were well established before questioning them. Our information was gathered for the most part in 1953 and 1955 at many different sessions with fifteen men and eight women informants who had proved to be reliable. Others joined the talks casually and when they wished to do so. Our informants declared themselves willing to teach me because I wished to know. Throughout the discussions people varied in the degree of caution and discretion with which they spoke the names. Sometimes we talked literally in whispers and usually at least in low voices, saying ' the one in the east ', ' the one in the west '. On one occasion /Ti/kay told me that my questions made him sick. He meant to claim, I ascertained, that he had an actual physical sensation such as a nervous twinge or slight nausea. The woman who first told me the name of the wife of the great god put her lips to my ear and whispered, barely audibly, ' *Huwedi* '. Next day, unfortunately, she had a high fever. She recovered, but the episode put an end to my trying to learn from her about the wives of the gods. /U, when someone was ill at Cho/ana, and she was filled with anxiety and longing to be home at Gautscha, made me promise not to say the names or ask any more questions, at least until we were all safely back. [124] [753]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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!Kung

vour it. Thus, according to our observations, a !Kung band gets on an average 224
only about fifteen to eighteen large animals in a usual year.

The meat of the large game animals does not belong to the hunters to do
with as they choose. However, they always have the prerogative of eating the [212]
liver at the site of the kill and, if their hunger is not satisfied, they may eat
more. The bulk of the meat is then carried to the band, where it is distributed
among the members according to a system. The meat belongs to the owner
of the first arrow that penetrates the animal so that it stays in. He has the
responsibility of making the first distribution.

Anyone in the band may be the owner of the arrow. A hunter carries 224
arrows he acquires in three different ways. Each man has his own that he 411
makes himself, shaping the points with some little distinction so that he 422
will know them from the arrows of other men. In addition he carries 426
arrows that have been given or lent to him. When an arrow is given to him, 431
he is the owner as much as if he had made it himself, but if he uses that 571
arrow he must make a special gift of meat to the donor. When he uses
an arrow that is loaned to him, he merely shoots for the person who lent it
and who remains the owner of the arrow. !Kung society makes a great deal
of giving and lending arrows. Women and old men, as well as men in their
hunting prime, receive arrows as gifts and may give them or lend them to
a hunter, asking him to shoot for them. A hunter cannot refuse an arrow— [576]
as a person cannot refuse any gift—without offending the giver. He accepts
the arrow and with it an obligation, but he gives or lends arrows in return
and involves others in obligation to him. Hunters choose to use one or
another of their arrows, with the result that the responsibility of distributing
the meat, with its advantages and obligations, is shared by members of the
band as is the meat itself.

In the first distribution the whole animal is divided among a few 224
persons, who receive whole sections on the bone, unless the animal is so
large that the meat has to be cut off in strips to be carried. The first of these
persons are the hunters, each of whom gets a fore- or hindquarter or the
equivalent. The giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not matle by the
owner himself) receives a generous portion. The owner of the arrow, who
may be one of the hunters, or anybody, keeps the rest.

In the second distribution, the several persons who got meat in the 224
first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. The 602
amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much
as the giver can manage. In the second distribution, close kinship is the
factor that sets the pattern of giving. A man's first obligation at this point [606]
is to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous [593]
portions as he can while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are
to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself
at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if

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They hang meat in the bushes to dry and can keep it for some time. It is not 251
uncommon for them to eat quite sparingly and save bits for a coming 261
journey or against a future day of hunger, as they eat sparingly of mangetti nuts and *tsi* when they must make a supply they have carried from a great distance last as long as possible.

The !Kung are well accustomed to restraining themselves in regard to 261
food. Thus when a visitor comes to a fire where people are preparing food 576
or eating, he should sit at a discreet distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share.

Although the hunters supply only about a fifth of the people's food 433
and the women four fifths, the women play a dependent role in !Kung 462
society. Nevertheless, the men do not ill-treat the women and require no 562
extreme form of obedience or subservience of them.

The primary factor in the dominance of the men is undoubtedly 562
strength. !Kung men are small and slender, but they are wiry and vigorous 147
and, with their strength, they carry and protect the very life of their people.

Another factor that brings men clearly forward is the character of 562
hunting and its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is nothing 462
splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. Many of the vegetable 262
foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh and are not very satisfying. 224
The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once a young man, /Qui, who was said to be the best hunter in the region, had been charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. He knelt, facing the creature, until it was within close range and shot an arrow straight into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by /Qui's [535]
wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes and the women—some of the plumes in their hair—danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of !Kung hunters.

MATERIAL CULTURE

HOUSE TYPE AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN • The 342
building of the scherm—the Bushman reed-and-grass dwelling—is women's [543]
work, associated with vegetation and gathering. Each woman builds for her own family. However, unless no better shade can be found or unless it is raining, the women often do not bother to build these shelters. Especially after the long days of walking, it is easier just to settle in the bushes.

In the Nyae Nyae region, wood and grass are everywhere, and a [137]
woman can gather her material and build her scherm in less than an hour. [161]
She breaks up flexible branches about six feet long, digs holes with her

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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various ways. The affine who marries into the band, as long as he lives with the band, has a right to the water, to the hunting, and to the gathering of the wild foods, as members born to the band have. 423

I think that primarily the values and assets that parents seek in choosing mates for their children have to do with the kind of security which is attained through human responses and relations. Friends may want their children to marry because they know and trust each other. Or a family may want to increase its kinship bonds—and thereby its security—with certain bands for any number of reasons—among them could be food, water, or a desire to have supporting friends in a certain area—and, like the crowned heads of Europe, the /Kung may deliberately seek to establish alliances through marriages. 581 185

Merging with such desires and to be balanced with them are the characteristics of the families concerned. The /Kung want their boys and girls to marry into upstanding families, among people who are 'able to feed themselves', who are 'not lazy and not thin'. They do not want 'far-hearted' in-laws who are not generous in food-sharing and gift-giving. /U, ≠Toma's wife, said she would take particular note of their generosity in giving bead ornaments to their children. She would not want a daughter of hers to marry among people who were stingy in that. Proper observance of the avoidances and other social regulations is an asset in in-laws, for they can then be assumed to have taught their children how to behave properly. 185 577 581

The individual's characteristics are also a concern. Parents of boys hope the girls to whom their sons are engaged will grow up to be good-looking, because, they say, a man takes pride in a beautiful wife. Xama, the mother of Gao, the headman of Band 2, said she had wanted for her son a light-skinned girl with good teeth who was not too thin and not too tall. But most important of all is a sweet temper, she said. A mother hopes, she said, that the girl will not be lazy or wander about visiting at night at other people's fires 'like a bitch'. The girl should observe the avoidances and the menstruation and other taboos, and in every way behave as a well brought up girl should. However, since the girls are engaged when they are very young, I suppose the parents of the boys can only watch them grow and hope. 185 581 826

Girls would not want a man 'as tall as a giraffe', we were told. They would seek a smaller husband. /U's first husband, from whom she was divorced, is so tall (almost six feet) that people laugh and say, 'Did his mother have a dream with a *//gaus* (a spirit)?'

The girls themselves, all twitters and giggles, told me what they admire in the boys. They like a good hunter like /Gunda; and they like handsome teeth and a wide smile like young Tsamgao's; and straight, slender legs like //Ao's; and a fluid, swift walk like /Gao's; and they hate a big black belly like Gao's—the middle-aged medicine man in a band distant from Gautscha, to whom the young /Doin was married.

The parents of a girl want the boy to be responsible, kind to their daughter and, above all, a good provider—which means a good hunter. They want him to make his arrows straight, to shoot swiftly and accurately, to be able to run down an eland, and, most of all, they want a son-in-law whose heart says to him, 'Why am I sitting lazily here in the werf? Why do I not get up and go hunting?' and who, in obedience to his heart, and the group's desire, and the magic which has been rubbed into his scarifications in the Ceremony of the First Killing, gets up and goes. [304] [881]

[21 cont.]

648 The Bushmen as a whole are despised by the other peoples, but in individual cases they are feared, and not least by the Whites. The Bushmen are familiar with this attitude and conduct themselves accordingly.

797 The Bushmen accept a foreign point of view only with
177 great difficulty, if at all. The mission, accordingly, can show no noteworthy success among them. On the other hand, they
157 usually grasp the intentions of others more quickly than the ordinarily more superficial Blacks. Consequently, they give brief and precise answers to the questions put to them. When asked questions that they do not want to answer, they remain silent. At the same time, in dealings with them one should note that they tire very quickly when they have to do mental work, and then they will not answer further questions, not because they do not want to, but because they are too tired.

181 The Bushmen are not generous. Nevertheless, allow-
[574] ing a stranger to partake of a meal, as well as giving him some
609 of the available water, is wholly matter-of-course with them.
[431] They very rarely, however, give any of their personal belongings, weapons, ornaments, hides, and so forth, as presents. If they themselves receive presents, they are obviously delighted.
181 It is true that they do not express their gratitude with words,
● 577 [22] but anyone who does the Bushmen a kindness may be sure that they will manifest their gratitude by deeds to the point of self-sacrifice.

To help a fellow human being who is in trouble is a moral obligation. There is a report of a prospector who lost his
[648] way in the bush forest and was then saved by the Bushmen, with whom he could not even converse; they took care of him for several days and finally put him on the right path.

Agreements and promises are kept unconditionally by the Bushman, although it is true that he usually arrives a little too late. Once, when an ox from the ox-cart of the Catholic mission had to be left behind on the way to the Okovanggo, it was put in the care of the Bushmen and they were to deliver it at the time of the next full moon. The people kept their word, and the ox was delivered, well-fed, at the specified time.

As a comrade, the Bushman is reliable and faithful (1).

181
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1. A European had once illegally

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe

481 well as great loads of melons, all of which we offered again
482 and again to carry for them, but because, they said, they might want to stop for the night or just refresh themselves along the way, they would not part with their bundles.

The place we went to was called Ai a ha'o; it was the pan where we had seen the lion. It took us almost all day to drive there, and shortly after we arrived Dasina and Kutera joined us, having traveled almost as fast as we. Those two old women must have walked at four or five miles an hour all the way, over veld so rough that the trucks couldn't go much faster.

342 Before dark, the Bushman women had built a werf, a clear-
361 ing of grass for each family with a shallow pit to sleep in and a place for the fire, all four clearings under the branches of a
353 single tree which would give them shade in the daytime. On the branches each person hung whatever there was to hang, quivers, skin bags, or aprons, and these things swung in the cold wind. The women gathered firewood and lit their fires,
757 and Dasina asked Twikwe to stand on her stomach because
562 she was tired from her long walk and wanted a massage. Before they went to sleep the men and the three young boys
574 walked to our camp, about fifty feet away, to say good-night,
577 but the women stayed at home because at night all Bushmen women stay at home. A woman does not even leave her fire to go to her neighbor's fire three feet away because people will say that she doesn't like to stay home; she speaks loudly to her neighbor instead. Bushmen are a rather conservative peo-
[181] ple, and they are very moral in that they keep their own rules.

574 The smoke in the west that Gai had seen when he roasted the tortoise intrigued him very much. Again and again he said that it was people's smoke, and one morning he said he wanted to go over to it, to look for the man who was Wita-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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142 159 sometimes he would abandon his gravity and laugh a high, 622 reaching laugh that one could hear from far away, a laugh that came from his very soul, or, as Bushmen say, from his stomach. He listened diplomatically and intently whenever 159 153 he was spoken to, staring at the gound, and had a habit of echoing, in a loud falsetto voice, the important phrases of every sentence he was told.

"We went to Keitsa Pan," someone might say to him.

"To Keitsa," Toma would reply.

". . . and we slept there, but the blind flies were very bad . . ."

"Oh, bad, bad . . ."

". . . but in the morning we saw two porcupines . . ."

". . . yes, porcupines . . ."

". . . and we killed them there. We made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry."

159 Toma was considered to be very fortunate in his marriage. 142 Of course it was through his wife, Tu, that he gained the leadership of the Gautscha people, his life free in the veld rather than in serfdom, and his two young sons, but besides all this his wife was beautiful, having a smooth face and great, clear eyes like a cat. Also, she was five feet tall, considered to be a very desirable height, and although no Bushman has ever been too fat, Tu was not too thin and her arms and legs were round. She had soft blue scars curving on her fore- [304] head which made her eyes seem to lift at the corners, and blue scars on her thighs that showed when she walked. Her 159 chief virtues, in the eyes of Bushmen, were that she deco- 577 rated herself with ornaments in her hair and kept her hands [515 301] and face washed, thus demonstrating that she cared what she looked like, rather than letting herself go now that she was married. To show that she observed propriety, cared what

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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people thought of her, she didn't leave her fire at night to go 159
visiting, even to the scherm right next to hers. Rather, if she 577
had something to say, she would shout it across the werf.

Her deference to appearances and public opinion seemed 159
to make up for her faults, for she was considered to be al- 157 593
most a model personality in spite of her extremely jealous and vindictive moods which caused her to accuse others, quite unreasonably, of selfishness, greed, and other such things. Her husband and sons were not excepted, but this was something that Toma had learned to ignore. He would simply shrug his shoulders if she railed at him, pretend he didn't hear if she railed at others.

When she didn't assault her family with her tongue she 159
sometimes harmed them actively. Very often she would lie 593
sullen with narrowed eyes in front of her scherm watching the other women walk out to the veld in the morning on their way to dig veld food, and on these days her husband and sons would eat nothing unless, driven by hunger, they went to the veld themselves, the three of them together, to dig up a few roots and eat them raw. Tu herself did not experience hunger as a result of these moods, for she would have saved herself a morsel from the day before. It was her right to do this: among Bushmen every root is owned by its digger and is shared only at its owner's wish.

Toma might ask but would never command Tu to feed her family, for as he had learned to ignore her biting tongue he had learned to accept her moods. This was his way, appeasing her, and because Toma wanted peace perhaps as much as he wanted Tu, he pampered her.

This was not always so. One day gossiping people told us 159
that early in their marriage Toma shot a fat kudu and Tu 578
said: "Don't cook all the meat because my mother will be 593
coming to visit us."

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

felt uneasy with no specific worry in mind. He did ask them 787
one specific question, though; he wanted to know where an outbreak of diarrhea that everyone had got came from, and when Tu's brother, the lame boy, who was watching, heard what was asked, he said that our cameras had sent the diarrhea, and the people almost choked themselves laughing at that. Toma laughed until he cried. "We do not really believe this," he said through his tears, looking over his shoulder at us lest we should be uneasy, "we are only joking."

Toma, Gao Feet, and Lazy Kwi took turns throwing the discs and presently the discs told them that the diarrhea "came from the fires, from people to the east." I don't know how to interpret this, but perhaps the Bushmen meant that the disease blew down the wind. The discs also foretold that someone in the west would kill a buck, that visitors were coming, and that some Europeans and some Bushmen would sit at a fire to talk. Later all these things came true. Because the oracle discs predict conservatively, their predictions often come true.

Toma lost interest in them and told everybody how he had 521
been walking home the evening before and had heard a voice which had sounded to him like the voice of a European speaking English, but when he had investigated he had found a Bushman man sitting alone in a clump of bushes practicing the sounds of English, possibly hoping to speak it, and Toma's audience all thought that was very funny and they talked on and on about it. Incidents like this are talked about forever by Bushmen, who drag them out infinitely, remembering every detail, savoring them to the fullest. This is because very little happens outside of routine. (We once asked [538
some Bushmen if they ever made up stories to tell and they, 577]
a little righteously, said no, they did not, because Bushmen do not care to hear about things that are not true.) Then the

Incidentally, we were not included by the /Kung in their gift-giving patterns. They gave us a few things spontaneously which they thought we would enjoy—python meat, for instance—but did not feel obligated to reciprocate for every gift we gave them. 431 [423]

Asking for an original gift or asking that a return gift be made after due time has elapsed is within the rules of propriety. People prefer that others give in return without their asking, but ≠Toma says he does not hesitate to ask if a gift is long overdue. If a person wants a particular object he may ask for it. Asking is also a means by which people play upon each other's feelings. One can test a friendship in this way. One can give vent to jealousy or satisfy it by acquiring some object or making someone else uncomfortable. I thought that /Ti/kay (an intelligent man, but very touchy, uncooperative, and turned inward upon himself) used to ask for gifts to play with anger, arousing it for the sake of feeling it, as children do with fear, playing witches in the dark. His remarks one day indicated a mingling of feelings and purposes. He told us that one may ask for anything. He does, he said. He goes to a person's fire and sits and asks. (I could imagine him with his black glancing eyes sitting and asking!) He asks usually for only one or two things, but if a person has a lot he may ask for more. He said he is almost never refused but that if a man had only one pot and /Ti/kay asked for it the man might say, 'I am not refusing, but it is the only pot I have. If I get another you may come for this one. I am very sorry but this is the only pot I have.' /Ti/kay said this would not make him angry unless he were refused too many times. To be refused too many times makes a person very angry. But, said /Ti/kay, he himself did not tire of people asking him for gifts. Asking, he claimed, 'formed a love' between people. It means 'he still loves me, that is why he is asking.' At least it forms a something between people, I thought. 431 578 [572]

I have stressed the mitigation of jealousy as the important value of gift-giving. /Kung informants stressed more the value of putting people under the obligation of expressing friendship by making the friendly gesture, even if it is only a token gesture. Demi said, 'The worst thing is not giving presents. If people do not like each other but one gives a gift and the other must accept, this brings a peace between them. We give to one another always. We give what we have. This is the way we live together.' [572]

Absence of Stealing

One day, when I wanted to talk with a group of informants about what the /Kung considered to be wrong-doing, I began with /Ti/kay. He said promptly, 'Making crooked arrows and fighting', but could not think of anything else. Informants had previously said that not sharing food would be the worst thing they could think of. Others had mentioned that the breaking of the incest and menstruation taboos would be very wrong and that girls should not sit in immodest posture. No one seemed to think lying was very serious wrong-doing, and no one mentioned stealing. I finally asked directly and Gao Medicine said they had not thought to mention stealing because they did not steal. 577

We had heard of the episode of the man taking honey from a tree, honey which had been found and marked and was therefore owned by someone else, and being killed for it by the owner. That was the only episode of stealing that we discovered. [685]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The /Kung stole nothing from us. Even when we went away on trips, leaving several bands of /Kung settled around our camp site, we left our supplies and equipment unlocked in the open or in our tents with confidence that nothing would be stolen. Things that we lost or forgot in the werf were returned to us, even two cigarettes in a crumpled package.

Stealing without being discovered is practically impossible in /Kung life because the /Kung know everybody's footprints and every object. Respect for ownership is strong. But, apart from that, /Ti/kay said, 'Stealing would cause nothing but trouble. It might cause fighting.'

Conclusion

During seventeen and a half months when I lived with the Nyae Nyae /Kung at Gautscha (with Bands 1 and 2 and many visitors—usually about sixty to seventy-five persons), I personally saw four flare-ups of discord and heard of three others which occurred in neighbouring bands during that period. All were resolved before they became serious quarrels. Of the seven, four were flare-ups of sexual jealousy. One was 'the talk' about Khuan//a's gift. Two were very minor disagreements about going somewhere, when Gao Beard's frustrated young wife hit him on the head with her digging-stick and when /Ti/kay gave his brother a shove for refusing to accompany him. None were about food. We considered, judging from that sample, that the /Kung managed very well to keep tensions from turning into hostility, to avoid arousing jealousy and ill will, to cohere, and to achieve the comfort and security which they so desire in human relations.

APPENDIX

!Kung Bushman Artifacts

ANIMAL MATERIALS

Hides

Made and used by men

- breech clouts
- oracle disks
- head-dresses (a few, worn in dances)
- caps (a few)

Made by men, used by women

- genital aprons
- small karosses worn around buttocks or for carrying babies

Made by men, used by all

- karosses
- bags (sewn)
- bags of whole skins
- tobacco pouches of scrota
- bracelets, armbands, knee and ankle bands
- necklaces
- thongs

Cocoons

Made by men

- dance rattles

Bone

Made and used by men

- connecting parts for arrow-shafts
- arrow-points (few)
- dishes for mixing poison

Made and used by women

- fresh bone, pounded to powder, is used to clean and soften karosses

Birds' Nests

Used by men and women

- tobacco pouches (nests of the penduline tit, *Anthoscopus minutus*)

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

and the water-holes. He made the moon and the stars, all at the same time. Then 776
he made the wind. He is the creator of all these things and he commands their 773
movements.

He created the things that grow from the ground and he created animals and painted their stripes and markings on them and gave them their names. Then he created human beings. He created animals as animals and human beings as human beings. He commanded them to breathe. Without breath they would not live. 'First was woman and then man. The man asked the woman to give him fire. She did. The woman got some veldkos and was eating it. Then the man married the woman. This was one man's cryptic account of the creation. Something about the creation of fire seems to have been left out. ≠*Gao/na* named the first woman Khwova for his wife and he named the first man ≠Gao for himself.

From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. He turns the spirits of the dead into *//ganwasi* and commands them to live in the sky with him and be his servants. He orders them to go down to earth, to mortals, to carry sickness or death to them, or he may order them to carry good fortune.

≠*Gao/na* has a medicine with which he can renew himself at any time. He also renews all the beings who live in the sky with him. They get old and he renews them. [811]
They do not die. But he has not given human beings that medicine and the /Kung said, 'We cannot make it.' (They pointed out that in this quality the medicine is like water. They cannot create water. 'We know how to dig and make the holes but we cannot create the water,' they said.)

≠*Gao/na* gave arrows and bows and assegais to human beings and he gave digging-sticks. He gave people the knowledge to make all the things which they now make and taught them to do all they know how to do. 'If he did not want us to know he [811]
would not have taught us.' He commanded human beings to dig for food with their sticks and to hunt with their weapons. From the beginning they did these things.

≠*Gao/na* created all the medicines. (The /Kung word for both material substances [757]
used as medicines and magic or spiritual medicine is *n/um*.) He created the medicine which is in the medicine songs to cure the people and he created all the other medicines. He put medicine power in the medicine men (*n/um kxau* is medicine man, owner of medicine), and he calls that power *gaoxa*, the same respect word which people may use for him when they fear to say his name.

≠*Gao/na* commanded men and women to marry and live together and have children. He controls the actions of people. If they do good deeds or bad deeds it [577]
has been under his control. He arranges all things.

Several times in our talks I asked if the great creator controlled the lives of Bush- 776
men only, or if he controlled all the people on earth. It was not surprising that the /Kung's thinking on this point was vague and contradictory. Some said, 'He is over all people. He can kill anybody.' (They had said this same thing about *Ko*.) Others claimed that ≠*Gao/na* and *//Ganwa* as well were 'only for Bushmen'. White people and black people, they said, have their own gods.

≠Gao/na's *Appearance and Dwelling Place*

The /Gikwe Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate visualize the protagonist of their old tales, *Pisibore*, as being of supernatural size. In the tortures of his death

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

considerable difficulty with the interpretation, but I believe they finally understood 513
what I was trying to say. They did, they said, and added that one sleeps very well 833
afterwards.

Co-wives attain varying degrees of harmony. The expression of jealousy, especially 595
loud wrangling, upsets everybody, as all expression of discord does. Women are 578
trained by group approval to mould their conduct to acceptance. But often painful 626
jealousy does beset them, and the tensions are there, though to some extent hidden.

/Aha, wife of a young /Ti/kay in Band 13 at Gam, and still a young woman herself, 159
had with her fierce jealousy driven /Khoa, the pretty young second wife, wailing 595
into the night, back to her family's scherm. /Ti/kay used to sit for hours upon hours
singing soft, sad, sweet laments for /Khoa, but she did not return to live with
him.

The behaviour of /Naoka and Di/ai, the wives of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1, was more typical. Both women were approaching middle age, Di/ai somewhat younger than /Naoka. /Naoka had two married daughters and a teen-age son when Gao married Di/ai. The two women obviously disliked each other, but managed to preserve a decent semblance of harmony by self-control, silence, avoiding each other as much as possible in the small space they live in by their fire, and by separating often—going with different groups of relatives and friends to gather wild plant foods, to fetch water, or to visit.

A few men said that the jealousy of co-wives could be so unbearable that they 595
would not marry a second wife, but one said it made him feel good to have two
women fighting over him. Most of the men said they wanted more than one wife.
They pitied Laurence Marshall because the laws of his land forbade his having [186]
several, which they considered him rich enough to afford. One said he would not
live where there were such nonsensical rules.

The first wife is considered to have a somewhat more highly esteemed and dominant position. She is supposed to have the right to tell a second wife what to do, and a young second wife should fetch water and wood for the older wife, but I never saw this done.

No property or other material advantage is given a first wife and no important
social advantages accrue. For instance, headmanship is inherited by the headman's [622]
eldest son by whichever wife he may be borne, and being the mother of a headman
does not place a woman above other mothers of sons.

It appeared to me that first wives were often at a disadvantage. Among the people we knew, the husbands favoured their younger, second wives with two exceptions: /Ti/kay of Band 9 favoured his first wife, the elder sister, and Gao, the headman of Band 2, favoured his first wife. Both were good-tempered, intelligent, able women. They appeared to take care of the young girls who were their co-wives, rather than to be served in any way by them. Other older first wives seemed sometimes to be dejected. One told me her husband always took the young second wife with him and, to her deep humiliation, sometimes left her, the first wife, to stay for a time with one or another family in the band, although she said to him, 'Why do you shame me so?'

None of the /Kung women informants expressed enthusiasm for polygyny. Each 185
wanted a husband to herself. They did not expound the social advantage which 595

MARRIAGE AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

588 One of the most rigid social rules the /Kung have, besides the incest taboo within the nuclear family and its extension, is the giving of bride-service. We heard of no [591] deviation from it. A boy or man of any age, a headman or headman's son, an important medicine man, all go to live with their brides' parents or other relatives in first marriages and subsequent marriages, whatever the age of the bride.

The duration of bride-service is indefinite. Informants told us a man must stay with his wife's people until three children have been born. If he goes when the girl is eight or nine, she may not have her first child for possibly seven or eight or more years. It is safe to say that ten years of bride-service are not unusual. It is long enough for the boy's youth to have turned to manhood and for him to be looked upon as an [591] able, responsible head of his family. After his bride-service is fulfilled a man may remain with his wife's band or may return with his wife and children to his own.

The Wedding of !Nai and /Gunda

159 /Nai was a pretty little girl, we think about eight years old, or so, with a quick [582] responsive smile, when she was married on 22 May 1953, at Gautscha. The bridegroom, /Gunda, was about sixteen, we judged, and the people said he was the best young hunter among the boys of the territory.

/Nai belonged to Band 1, /Gunda to Band 2. Both of these bands belong to the [621] water-hole at Gautscha and were encamped there at the time, about 100 feet apart. We lived with Band 1.

/Nai's mother, Di/ai, had divorced her former husband, Gumtsa, the father of /Nai, and was now the second wife of the medicine man, Gac, in Band 1. /Gunda's mother, Khuan//a, had divorced /Gunda's father, Bo. Khuan//a was now the second wife of Gau in Band 2. Both Gumtsa and Bo were living far from Gautscha.

159 The two mothers had betrothed their children some time previously. We heard 584 that Di/ai had had her eye on the strong young /Gunda, saying, 'We must get this [581] boy for /Nai so he will take care of her and we can get enough to eat, also karosses', and had gone to Khuan//a to propose the betrothal. Khuan//a had said, 'Yes, this is very good.' The mothers exchanged gifts. Khuan//a gave to Di/ai a necklace of five strings of ostrich egg shell beads which reached to the umbilicus (shorter strings would have been inappropriate) and Di/ai gave other beads and copper wire ornaments to Khuan//a.

Gumtsa, /Nai's father, heard about the betrothal. He had hoped to arrange a marriage between /Nai and someone of his choice at Kubi where he lived. One day in November 1952 he came to Gautscha to complain, he said, that he had not been consulted and to protest against the betrothal and take /Nai to Kubi with him. Tension [578] rose. /Nai cried and looked very frightened. The members of both Bands 1 and 2, though they had no theoretical authority in the matter, all expressed themselves and [628] poured torrents of talk over the affair, mostly supporting Di/ai in her steadfast refusal to yield /Nai, saying that Gumtsa had not fed /Nai, had not so much as sent her a gift, and should not now come and interfere in her betrothal. After four days of this Gumtsa gave up and went home.

159 Meanwhile the affair, like a spoon stirring in a pot, brought to light another ten- 584 sion. Some of /Nai's relatives began to express disapproval of her betrothal, not 578 because they wanted her to go with the father but because they were angry with

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Khuan//a, the mother of the bridegroom. They claimed that Khuan//a was stingy— 159
and worse. /Nai's stepfather, Gao, had given a present of beads to one of his relatives. 578
A knife which was gradually making its way to him as a return gift had been diverted 584
by Khuan//a to one of her relatives. Khuan//a, some claimed, was 'like that!' /Nai's MoSi, /U, the wife of ≠Toma, said in a voice that could be heard across the werf that Khuan//a had 'borrowed' a coal from her fire one day without asking. At this, Khuan//a had with quiet dignity risen from her fire place and walked off to the waterhole. /U also said, but in a low voice, that Khuan//a, while she was still married to Bo, had been sleeping in the bushes with Gau till the people said to Gau 'What are you doing with Khuan//a?' She then left Bo and married Gau, although they were distant relatives, in some way we never could trace, who should not marry. Gau loved Khuan//a so much, /U sniffed, that he spoiled her and let her have power over his belongings. /U had no doubt but that Gau would soon find himself very poor. /U disapproved of /Nai's marriage to the son of such a woman but said that she would reconsider her position if the knife which had been diverted by Khuan//a were now given to Gao, as had been expected.

It never was, but gifts of ostrich egg shell beads and a blanket were given and Gao declared himself satisfied. /Nai's mother wanted the marriage so much she was ready to overlook the matter of the knife and they all started again in peace.

Nothing more happened about /Nai's wedding until the morning of 21 May 1953, 159
when we noticed the two mothers together building the wedding scherm. They had 585
placed it between the two werfs about twenty-five feet from the fire of the bride's family. The scherm was slightly larger and more nearly round and much more carefully built than the usual skimpy structures.

Next morning /Nai's mother asked me if I would bring the wood for the bride's [123]
fire. I knew it was because her back ached, not to honour me, but I felt honoured anyway and brought the wood.

All that day /Nai sat at a short distance from her family's fire, the fire that each [354]
family keeps burning in front of the scherm for cooking and for light and warmth at night. The fire-light is more of a house to the Bushmen than the scherm is. /Nai was covered, head and all, with a big gemsbok kaross of her mother's. She wore her usual beads, but no special regalia brightened the sombre grey-brown of the old kaross.

Just as the sun was setting, without speaking to her mother and stepfather, /Nai walked alone over to another fire, seven or eight yards away, the big kaross still pulled over her head and trailing behind her. She went to this fire because it was the [591]
fire beside which she had recently been sleeping with her mother's widowed cousin, since she had reached the age when girls and boys leave off sleeping beside their parents. Her old great-uncle was there. She sat down opposite him. He paid no particular attention to her and they did not speak.

By then the sun had sunk below the horizon. /Nai uncovered her head but kept the kaross tied around her waist and over one shoulder in the way karosses are customarily worn.

Presently two girls came to /Nai. They had waited till twilight was deepening into darkness because people sleep at night and a wedding is a 'night-thing'. One was ≠Nisa, /Nai's stepfather's daughter by his first wife. The other was Xama from

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10-
Kung

837 the wives consent. This is regarded as a concern of the couples involved rather than a concern of society as a whole. One man said, 'If you want to sleep with someone's wife, you get him to sleep with yours, then neither of you goes after the other with poisoned arrows.'

[572] The word */kamheri* was used by //Ao, one of the young hunters, to express his deep feeling of friendship for John Marshall. 'We are such friends that we are */kamheri*', he said, but, as John had no wife to exchange, this remark had its funny side which delighted the men.

No actual instance of */kamheri* came to our attention and we failed in finding out if it is now practised. One man in Gam lent his first wife to a unmarried friend, one of the gossips told us, because he was in love with his second and did not care any longer for the first, but this was a mere deviation from the rules, not an instance of */kamheri*.

We heard of several irregular sexual unions in addition to the above. Rape did not appear in stories or gossip. Fornication must be very rare because there is practically no one to fornicate with. Almost all females are married except very young girls and leathery old grandmothers. Adultery is the usual form for irregular unions
684 to take. Adultery, however, is sharply limited by several deterrents. One deterrent is
837 the incest taboo, of course, which forbids extra-marital sexual relations as rigorously as it does marriage with persons to whom the taboo is extended. The same internalized sanctions induce obedience to this rule as to the marriage regulations. The same gradation of feeling probably exists, and we expect that people comply strictly within the kindred and among close affines and are no doubt less strict with name relatives.

Ease of divorce must exert a modifying influence on adulterous unions. If a [586] married couple really want to change mates, nothing need deter them but the general difficulty of extricating themselves from the web of responsibilities which marriage entails.

In a sense, the impossibility of maintaining secrecy exerts a control over extra-
151 marital relations. There is no privacy in a /Kung werf and the vast veld is not a cover.
153 The very life of these people depends on their being trained from childhood to
182 look sharply at things and to take into their attention what they see, for they must observe the most minute marks on vegetation to distinguish from the matted grasses the almost hair-thin brown vine stems that come up from the edible roots. Hunters memorize visual impressions and are able to follow the tracks of an individual animal in the midst of a large herd in a way that seems to us miraculous. It may be a week after a hunt that they return to recover an arrow that missed, miles from the werf, remembering where it lay in the vast monotonous sameness of grass and bush. They register every person's footprints in their minds, more vividly I am sure than we do faces, and read in the sand who walked where and how long ago.

185 The /Kung value control of anger, upholding self-control as an ideal, giving it
578 group and individual approval and training for it. Despite this, volatile tempers sometimes flare and burst out of all control. And always at hand are the little poisoned
[411] arrows. They are formidable weapons. There is no antidote for the poison; at least our /Kung informants said they know none and told us of tragic deaths from the poison which would have been averted had they had an antidote.

684 Adultery, so exceedingly provocative of anger and vengeance, could be very

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

dangerous under these conditions. Anger turns upon the adulterer. We were never told 684
about a woman being killed or even very severely punished, but a husband is considered to be quite within his rights by /Kung rules of conduct if he kills a man who sleeps with his wife. However, the adulterer may fight back. With poisoned arrows both men might be killed. Fighting is so dangerous it is feared by the /Kung with a pervading dread.

Nevertheless, although prudence counsels against it and anxiety attends it, adultery does occur. During the years from 1951 to 1958, five instances in our sample came to our knowledge. When it did occur, the most clearly observable behaviour was the attempt on the part of related persons and other members of the band to help resolve [627] the situation in order to avoid fighting and discord, for fighting, like fire, may spread [578] and consume much before it is quenched.

A husband and a young widower had quarrelled and almost fought over the 159
attentions of the young widower to the wife. The fight had been averted by the husband running away. He came to Gautscha where we were with Band 1. When I 684
saw him handling his weapons, his face contorted with emotion, visions possessed 627
me of the two men, both angry and afraid, shooting each other in nervous self- 578
defence, writhing, bleeding, and dying in agony, and I was as filled with the fear of fighting as any Bushman. But before sundown that day the affair was resolved in the following fashion. A relative of the young widower undertook to use his influence and went and brought the young widower and the wife to Gautscha. The relative had two motives. He wanted peace, as everybody does, and he wanted no disgrace in his family which the affair would bring, for the young widower and the wife were sexually taboo, albeit in the mildest and most extended way. He was an able man and he succeeded. The pair agreed to his behests. When they arrived at Gautscha the wife went directly to her husband and, to our suprise, in a few minutes they left the werf with their child and came over to our camp, where they settled themselves right in our cleared camp space. Presently the young widower came too, with his three children, and settled himself beside the others. Under our wings they had less fear of each other's flares of temper and tensions relaxed. In a day or so the young widower left. Peace prevailed. The wife was still with her husband in 1958. The young widower was taken by the B.P. authorities, we heard, for killing a man in another quarrel over a woman.

When John Marshall was with Band 1 in 1957–8, ≠Gao Lame, the unmarried young headman, took to sleeping with /Ghia, the second wife of Old ≠Gao, headman of Band 10. Nobody seemed to expect a great deal of /Ghia, who was thought not to have very good sense, and she was not blamed nearly so much as ≠Gao Lame. His family railed at him quite openly. 'People get killed doing that', said /U, his sister (≠Toma's wife). ≠Gao Lame eventually stopped sleeping with /Ghia. John thought the group's expressed opinion really did influence him. Furthermore, ≠Gao decided it would be best to go to Old ≠Gao and say he was sorry. Old ≠Gao said ≠Gao Lame was right to come directly to him and that they should not fight. He gave /Ghia a mild thrashing instead. Then /Ti/kay of Band 9, who was /Ghia's MoBr, roused up the whole affair by claiming that when ≠Gao Lame 'insulted' /Ghia he also insulted him—/Ti/kay. /Ti/kay, the husband of the two charming sisters, an intense and vital man, especially gifted in performing the curing ceremonies

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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159 627 684 578 as a medicine man, although in a cool moment he could speak eloquently and philosophically about the evils of fighting, was an erratic person, self-centred, frightfully jealous, shrewd to see that no one got more than he, quick to take offence. Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, husband of ≠Gao Lame's older sister, Di/ai, shouted out that /Ti/kay was a trouble-maker not to leave well enough alone. /Ti/kay thereupon foully insulted Gao Medicine, who shouted back that /Ti/kay was not fit to be a headman. /Ti/kay, now in a rage, called out that Gao lied to his own arrows. John said that some of the people flattened down on the ground or got behind things at this point. But two of /Ti/kay's half-sisters, who were present, threw themselves on him, pulled him away, and sat down beside him, holding his arms. He quieted down and Gao Medicine also sat down and was quiet. As the tempers cooled, peace took hold once more and, John says, the affair did not flare up again, at least during the remaining weeks he was there.

In some societies it would be incumbent upon kin such as MoBr or SiHu to feign anger and make a show of fighting to satisfy the conventions of honour. We observed no episodes which raised this question other than the above. John was strongly of the opinion that the emotions were genuine and that /Ti/kay's temper, which we had all experienced two or three times before, had released itself once more, but that once more a fight had been averted because people wanted peace and harmony most of all.

Illegitimacy

848 851 There were no illegitimate children in our sample in the years 1952–3 and we discovered no social norms established with respect to illegitimacy. Girls are usually married before they are old enough to have children. But, we asked, what would happen if a girl had a baby before she was married? People said the parents would go to the father of the child and say he must marry their daughter. Did they know anyone who had done this? No.

Suppose that a child were conceived in adultery and it were known with certainty that the father was not the woman's husband, what would happen to that child? we asked. The baby would be kept by its mother, of course. After they had talked things over among themselves, one informant said, and others agreed, that they thought, if the woman's husband fed the child for years while it grew, he would be justified in keeping the child and the biological father should not try to take the child away.

159 848 There is such a child now in Band 9. In 1955 or 1956 white farmers came into the Nyae Nyae region and illegally recruited some /Kung families. These families tried to run away from the farms some time later. They told us that they were followed by two white men and a white woman on horseback with guns, led by a 'tame' Bushman tracker. These people forced the /Kung to return to the farm by threats and pointed guns. In the fracas some of the /Kung got away. Husbands and wives were separated. When the S.W.A. authorities learned on which farm these /Kung families were, they acted promptly to restore them to their bands, and fined the farmer, but two years had passed. One girl had had a child by one of the /Kung men. Once they were all restored to Nyae Nyae, the girl went back to her own husband with her baby boy, and was with him in 1958. The people said the baby's bio-

/147 cont./

223 noose is released when the animal takes the bait, and at the same time the gallows springs back and pulls the animal up in the air by its neck. Concerning the material used to make the noose, see page 41 . The arrowheads of the Auin are generally
411 poisoned. I have also found arrows which had only a single unpoisoned bone point. These are used for sport, perhaps also for killing small birds.

Manufacture of the arrow poison. Burkea africana (firewood
278 of the Bushmen) is inhabited during the rainy season by a beetle (or a species of termite?) which toward the end of the rainy season pupates in the soil under the tree. The larvae are dug up, killed, dried in the sun, and rubbed between stones.

Roots of the thorny tschamma (Cucumis heptactylus Naud.) are laid on red-hot coals, taken out warm, and the bitter sap pressed out. This sap is mixed with the poisonous paste, and the resulting dirty, reddish-brown preparation represents the finished arrow poison. The poison is applied to the arrow point in a layer several millimeters thick and dries there.

The Bushmen greatly fear their own arrow poison and always
278 carry the poisoned point hidden in the shaft. The poisoned end
411 is exposed only just before it is to be used. The layer of poison on the iron points, which because of their width cannot be concealed in the arrow shaft, is always wrapped with bast which is not taken off until the arrow is to be used. All Auin can make arrow poison and readily demonstrate the process.

224 The decorative scars described on page 16 are to be regarded
304 as hunting trophies.

The hunters supposedly tell exaggerated tales. Quarrels on
521 these occasions sometimes end in bloodshed.
● 578
[231] The only domestic animal is the dog.

The Bushman doctor is supposed to let blood for healing pur-
757 poses. For instance, in the case of a man who could not run well, bloody incisions were made in his upper thigh. On the other hand, I do not know whether this procedure can be described as "bloodletting." Scars from such incisions were shown to me several times.

413 The surgical instrument is a little sharpened piece of iron.

/150 cont./

525 are placed between the players and taken by the winner, but since the luck often changes during a match, the same prize passes back and forth frequently.

I have seen this game played only by two men (not by women and children). One finds especially passionate players
524 among the Auin, in particular among older men.

535 Dancing game of the women (goei) (see Photos. 36 and 37).

I am in doubt as to whether I should classify this under games or dances.

A number of women line up along a tree trunk lying on the ground. All of them in rhythm alternately place the front part of first the right and then the left foot on the trunk. It proceeds in this fashion, slowly at first, then ever faster. If the women have their backs turned to the tree trunk, they place their heels on it in the same fashion.

Sometimes also two rows of women will face each other.
[533] Frequently, a kind of rhythmical singsong is also uttered by them.

The game is begun with everyone calling out //ai, meaning something like "let's go."

In some dances bucks' horns are tied in front of the forehead (eland bull dance). One can hardly designate these as true masked dances, however.

The Auin are acquainted with stilts, which are used by men
481 and boys. I might mention that I did not see any, but when I described them the Auin seemed to be very familiar with them.

526 Foot races (gâ).

The runners line up in a row, and at the word "gâ" they all run. The winner obtains a prize of food or of some useful object (for example, a knife).

Older people act as judges. Bloody quarrels are said to occur
[578] when the prizes are awarded.

Stick throwing (gai or albi).

Thin sticks of any length up to two meters and taken from the rosinkis bush are thrown forward with a whistling swing and from a running start (they are not flung like a spear, but grasped at one end). The object is to throw as far as possible. No prizes are offered; hence it is a real sport. Since it is fairly strenuous, this game, like all the others, incidentally, is played only when

[18 cont.]

134 The ground is covered with red sand (fox sand), which in the thorn bush areas changes to a firm, grayish-yellow; perhaps argillaceous sand. Chalk cliffs and other rocks are completely lacking. The Kaudum bed is perpetually covered with dense green grass. The sand pans have humous sand; only in the northeast near Schamatura is a peat-like swampy soil to be found with red, strongly ferruginous water. Forest fires are the order of the day, but they do little damage to the tree growth."

133 South of the Omuramba u Owambo there is a fairly large
134 number of limestone pans, which in part still contain water but are mostly dried up. The land there is drying up rapidly, according to both the Bushmen and the Europeans. During the rainy season the clayey soils are swampy, and at that time the
[136] dense bush forest is filled with myriads of mosquitoes, and
[164] malaria claims its victims from all races. The unhealthy situa-
648 tion, the difficulty of getting workers, and the irregularity of the rainfall have led to the abandonment of most of the farms outside Grootfontein, so that the Bushmen have actually gained ground there. The !Kung Bushmen outside the police zone live entirely according to their old customs and traditions. The in-
[578] dividual kin groups are in part hostile to one another. A kind
[619] of hereditary feud exists with the Hei//om, who are often attacked because of the women. The !Kung live on good terms with the farms along the northern boundary (Duwib, Keitsas, Keibeb, Kuntsas, Neitsas, Foxhof). Many of them work there for
[464] certain periods of time, and quite a few permanently; in particular, they like to let women and children work on the farms.
[177] Mr. Cleark, the owner of Keibeb, has trained a large number of
[439] them to make charcoal. These Bushmen make the charcoal out in the wilderness and deliver it. It is then resold to the mottramite mine in Abenab. Until the establishment of the police zone, a perpetual state of war existed between the police and the Bushmen. There are constant battles between the Herero of Otjituo and the !Kung because of livestock thefts. The Herero attack the Bushmen on horseback and kill them from the saddle with the kirri.

The Bushmen, who are not accustomed to shooting at rapidly moving targets, usually come out the losers. Like the

[22 cont.]

114 without compromising oneself. Only old people are suitable
124 informants, since they are no longer eager for renown.

831 In view of the hard life that the people lead, sexuality, naturally, is not excessively developed. Perverse manipulations are evidently unknown, since my informants did not even understand questions on this subject.

833 Normal sexual intercourse is usually performed in the bush during the time between the evening meal and the rising
271 of the moon. Long periods of thirst result in almost total im-
147 potence.

157 Despite all the formality, they have an unbridled
578 temperament which frequently expresses itself in violent emotional explosions over trivial affairs, which then may easily lead to serious consequences since the poisoned arrow is always at hand. For example, I was told the following story: A Bushman worked on a farm for quite a long time and, with his belly fat from eating maize, came to visit his thin companions. His brother made fun of him for being so fat, saying that he could not run any more, whereupon the fat one retorted: "Just the same, I'll live longer than you." After this brief exchange of words, the scrawny brother stabbed the fat one. -- A film com-
157 pany once wanted to make a film among the !Kung who are
648 settled behind Keibeb; the film was to be called: "When the First Whites Came into the Land." The chief of this horde had a [23] pair of old German military trousers as an emblem of his office and when he was requested to take them off, he responded with the declaration that he would take off his trousers only if the White did the same, whereupon he received a box on the ears that put him and his companions in such a rage that the film company preferred to depart in order to avoid a catastrophe.
157 That they can also be quick at repartee is shown by the following story which was repeatedly told to me by Europeans: A Bushman had been accused of poaching. The magistrate asked him: "Don't you know that these animals belong to the king (royal game)?" The Bushman answered: "I saw no 'brand' (property mark)."

As a chief or family head, the Bushman is bossy and
[593] unyielding, which is understandable in view of the rigidity of his whole conception of life. The sick Bushmen lie silent and

[59 cont.]

20. Law

671 627 The norms of natural law among the Bushmen are the same as among us. The family head is at the same time the supreme judge. Since even the nearest kin group is regarded in a sense as a foreign state, however, the boundaries between law, war, and vengeance are exceedingly fluid. The domain of law, therefore, is actually confined to the family. Since the only [681] punishment that can be effectively inflicted is the death penalty, it is rarely applied among married men, [60] for the judges and executioners must provide for the condemned man's survivors. In olden times the women condemned to death were burned or beaten to death with the kirri, and the men were killed with the poisoned arrow.

423 The right to personal possession of utilitarian objects, honey, and certain types of veldkost is strictly respected. The soil is common property of the kin group, as is any big game [224] that is killed. If a wounded animal dies in the domain of the neighboring kin group, the hunter must go there and report it. The dead prey must then be divided. Since, however, there are [578] some unpaired organs, fighting and killing easily arise concerning them. [627] Blood vengeance is practiced, but can be resolved through negotiation.

423 614 "Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

[361] "There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 1,000 [sic] kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions, come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

769 614 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's territory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

159 all thick, you know, and he had to hold his head back because
563 the rope was choking. My mother, she ran after the police
625 boys and called them to stop. She said: 'I will speak with the old man before he dies.' But the police boys had no time and they went off with the camels' heads going up and down and the old man running, running, running, behind.

"And my mother fell down in the dust and cried, and my sister did too, but I didn't, I watched my father instead because I didn't know when I would ever see him again. I told them so and I was right, because later a Bushman who came up from the south told us that they rode the camels through a river and my father was drowned. It was the rope around his neck that choked him, though. That is what happened, and I remember it all, but it happened a long time ago.

159 "After that, my mother wouldn't stay in the veld without a
563 man and she took us near the waterhole of Nurigaas because the veld was no place for us when my father was dead. But I
[577] would like to find that Nurigaas Bushman who followed my father's tracks.

"Then one day a European farmer came in his ox wagon and he said to my mother: 'Who will give me a boy for this pound of tobacco?' And my mother was afraid, so she took the tobacco and said to me: 'He wants you to go with him.' I cried, but the white man took me and put me in his ox wagon and gave my mother another cup of tobacco, but she told him she didn't want it and wanted me to come back. But the white man drove away and my mother ran along beside, crying. She said: 'Wait! Where will I get another boy when he is killed like my husband?' But the farmer didn't hear her. I got sick riding in the wagon and my bowels opened and I was ashamed because the farmer's Bushmen were riding in the wagon too, and they said: 'Why are you crying? Don't be afraid.' But I was afraid because my grandfather told me

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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181 the Bantus, who are staunch and brave and in the past have waged great wars. But Bushmen deplore and misunderstand bravery. The heroes of their legends are always little jackals who trick, lie, and narrowly escape, rather than larger, bolder [538] animals such as lions (who in the Kalahari are something of a master race). In the Bushmen's stories, lions are always being scalded, singed, duped, cuckolded, or killed.

181 Bushmen cannot afford to fight with each other and almost 182 never do because their only real weapon is their arrow poison, 578 for which there is no antidote. But even were they to disregard this danger, Bushmen would try not to fight because 422 they have no mechanism in their culture for dealing with disagreements other than to remove the causes of the disagreements. Their hold on life is too tenuous to permit quarreling among themselves. A Bushman will go to any lengths to avoid making other Bushmen jealous of him, and for this reason the few possessions that Bushmen have are constantly circling among the members of their groups. No one cares to keep a particularly good knife too long, even though he may want it desperately, because he will become the object of envy; as he sits by himself polishing a fine edge on the blade he will hear the soft voices of the other men in his band saying: "Look at him there, admiring his knife while we have nothing." Soon somebody will ask him for his knife, for everybody would like to have it, and he will give it away. Their culture insists that they share with each other, and it has never happened that a Bushman failed to share objects, food, or water with the other members of his band, for without very rigid co-operation Bushmen could not survive the famines and droughts that the Kalahari offers them.

181 The other reason for their submissiveness is that Bushmen, 609 whose possessions are only sticks and bones, beads made of eggshell and fragments of leather, are overwhelmed by the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

533 534 The young, unmarried man took a small musical instrument out of his hunting-bag, borrowed a dry tsama rind from one of the women, and, setting the instrument on the hollow rind, began to play. He filled the air with sweet, soft music, full of resonance and open, minor chords, even of rhythm and timbre as a music box would be.

The instrument itself was made of a small, flat piece of wood four or five inches square, with eleven metal prongs attached to it, arranged in two rows across two bridges. The melon rind acted as a resonator for the prongs, which were of different sizes and, when plucked, vibrated and rang like bells, in a scale which was not the octave and which I have never heard before. The name of the instrument is *te k'na*, and I believe that it is not native to Bushmen but traded from the Bantu people. Many Bushmen have them, though: Bushmen like music of any kind.

264 Soon the cornmeal was ready and we served it to the visitors on pieces of bark, in bowls formed from halves of tortoise shells, in tsama rinds. Bushmen have very little liquid food that does not come in its own natural container, and therefore they do not provide themselves with bowls. The [415 177] bowls they do have, carved from wood—an art learned from the Bantu people—are constantly in use as containers for small, loose objects, such as seeds or unstrung beads. Since the cornmeal was hot and runny, the people had some difficulty eating it with their fingers, but they got it down, the women hesitating a long time, watching the men, before they [609 538] dared to try it. I think they were afraid it would harm them, as I have heard many Bushman stories of strangers who poison tobacco or food. When they had eaten their servings and 264 609 found that they did not die, they had more, a morsel at a 578 time. We might have presented the pot to let the people help themselves, but by now we knew better. Bushmen expect

9: Thomas T25 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

each other to share, yet in strange situations they sometimes 264
distrust each other, and it was always better for us to assume 609
the blame for any inequality, real or fancied, than to make 578
people quarrel. Bushmen are very quick to blame; yet also in their hearts they want everything to work out smoothly, and are therefore also quick to forgive, especially strangers who know no better.

Although he was hungry, Gai refused to eat, preferring to play the te k'na instrument while watching the food vanish into the mouths of others rather than arouse more jealousy. That day he ate nothing but the bite of biscuit in the morning and a root at night. When the pot was empty, the man who had been laughing seized it and scraped its sides with a stick, eating and dividing the burned, hard crust. The newcomers acted badly, but this would not have been so if Gai had not arrived with us.

The sun was in the zenith, and we felt we had to go in order to be in camp before night. We were faced with the problem of what to tell the newcomers. They would surely want to come with us, but our supplies would not sustain eighteen more people, and if they came they would disrupt the harmony with their jealousies. Ukwane and Gai would be forced to share what we gave them, which was only enough for themselves and their families. No one would have enough, yet no one would leave; so before we left we explained to the newcomers that we could not take them with us because we did not have enough food to feed them or enough water for them to drink. "We hear you," they said.

We were about to leave when Gai came forward with his 609
arm around the shoulders of the young, unmarried man and said that we had to bring this boy with us. We said that we would. "Because he is my son," Gai added.

We were very surprised, for they seemed to be almost the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955) 1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

cause his wife's mother was born there, as well as at his own 423
birthplace, the Okwa Omaramba, where we had found the 621
eighteen Bushmen, who after all were not strangers but 602
closely related to Gai and Ukwane and an extension of Uk- 159
wane's band.

Ukwane himself had had three wives, and he and his first 586
wife had been divorced, which Bushmen do by announcing 587
the divorce and separating. There is no ceremony connected 159
with divorce, and no difficulty, as there is no ceremony connected with any marriage but the first. After a divorce a Bushman man may take up residence with another woman whom he prefers.

Without the visible evidence of ceremonies, however, it 837
is hard for non-Bushmen to recognize what is happening, as 159
occasionally Bushmen live together for short periods without being married, or commit adultery. But in cases such as these there is someone who does not want the union to be permanent, either the man or the woman, or perhaps his or her children; perhaps even the man and woman are tabu relatives, and unless everyone concerned is more or less in accord, the union does not take place. Among Bushmen, incest and [684]
adultery are strongly condemned.

Once, among Kung Bushmen we lived with, a woman ran 837
away from her husband to take up with another man. She 593
had considered marrying him, and they ran off one night to his family to live permanently. When her husband found out, he got so wildly angry, taking up his spear and sharpening it, [578]
that the headman of the band set off after the elopers to preserve the peace. My brother and I went with him, and at noon we found the lovers resting in the shade.

The headman talked with the elopers and told them how they were bringing shame on both their families, and how the woman's husband was violently upset. By this time the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER SEVEN

Mood Songs

000 WHEN we came to the pan of Ai a ha'o we found a small veld fire burning just at its edge on the opposite side and we noticed someone standing near it, partly obscured by the smoke. We called out to see who it was and a cracked voice answered: "Ukwane." He came over to us and told us he was looking for the piece of string that he had made which must have dropped out of his hunting-bag. He had been searching patiently over the ground all afternoon, but I did not see how he could hope to find it with all the smoke and with his hazy eyes that were almost blind. He decided to go home with us and fell in step beside us. We were hurrying because of the women's heavy loads and because of the fire, which by now was putting up a cloud of boiling, brown smoke that streaked out with the wind, making a long pathway above us that reached from the fire to the sun. Birds were being chased from
136 the bushes, still singing because they always sing in the afternoon, and insects from the grass.

●578 We went past the fire and soon it crossed our track behind
621 us and went harmlessly into the west. As we walked, Ukwane
574 told us that during the afternoon the band of seventeen Bush-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe.

men whom we had met at Okwa had arrived and were planning to live beside us, as life at Okwa was getting very hard. The veld, said Ukwane, was beginning to dry, a condition that we had noticed, which was showing itself in the scarcity of roots and in the rotten, bitter melons. But we suspected that jealousy as much as anything else had brought the seventeen people to Ai a ha'o, the fear that Ukwane's band was feasting while they were being deprived.

At camp we found only three men of the visiting band, as the others were waiting somewhere in the veld, and the members of our expedition, who were trying to find a place for the visitors to camp. The three men were looking stonily around, seeing nothing that seemed agreeable. They had first been offered a grove of trees right by our camp, but they had refused this because of the mamba which they had heard about from Ukwane and which they believed might still be near. One spot after another failed to suit them, and finally they dropped their skin bags of belongings under a pair of small trees very close to Ukwane's werf. Ukwane welcomed them, of course, but I think he felt that difficulties would arise with them living so close and always watching.

One of the men went to summon the others of his band, who had been resting in a patch of heavy thorn bushes not far from our camp, and they came, carrying their youngest children and their bags of belongings, followed by their children old enough to walk by themselves. One of these was a toddling youngster who hadn't been walking long and who surely had been carried for most of the journey. The others were three young boys of about the same ages as the boys of Ukwane's band; when they saw where they were going to be living, they abandoned their parents with a great shout and, running to Ukwane's werf, started a game of horse and rider with the three boys of Ukwane's band. The Gikwe bands

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

bers of Ukwane's band cut little strips from the cheeks of the gemsbok and sustained themselves with that.

An atmosphere of tension and strain pervaded over the whole werf. The Okwa people had arrived primed with jealousy, and had surely accused Ukwane of selfishness; the false spring, the dry conditions at Okwa had surely given their jealousy momentum. By giving most of the gemsbok to the newcomers, Ukwane had done all he could, for he had shown with his immediate generosity, and with the magnitude of his gesture, that they had nothing to fear from him. Of course, the members of his own band were as jealous of the newcomers as the newcomers were of them, but Ukwane surely felt that the internal struggles of his own band, easier to cope with, would be forgotten sooner.

The tension showed itself in struggles over food. Twikwe made a soup from a bone of the foot, mixing it in the rind of one of the melons she had gathered, and when it was cooked she drank it herself out of the tsama rind, watched all the time by her son Wite. When she could stand his hungry eyes no longer, she put her bowl on the ground so that both of them could scoop up the broth with tortoise shells. After they had eaten part of it, Twikwe decided that it was time to pass the bowl to Kutera, who sat a little distance from them, eating nothing, looking very scrawny and trying not to watch. Twikwe started to do so; then, remembering her son, who was still hungry, she reached behind her for a second tsama rind, a little one, which she would fill for him. In this way she would, of course, have none left for herself, but she preferred to share. Adults are used to hunger, and it seems that the older Bushmen become, the less they mind deprivation. Children are different, and as their needs are considered more pressing than the adults', they are accustomed to receiving

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

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[261]

more. Twikwe herself had among her possessions a fiber string, which, she said, she kept to wind around her belly when she was very hungry for the purpose of warding the hunger away.

Wite was tired and cross, and his patience was worn thin by hunger, and when he saw what his mother was doing he realized that he would have less food than he had expected. He lost his temper, shrieked at Twikwe, and tried to keep her from reaching the little rind so that she would have no container to give him a smaller share in—a very Bushman-like thing to do, instead of trying to snatch the large, full rind, perhaps—and the two of them struggled, each tugging at the little rind and each exclaiming wildly. The old woman won the struggle and filled the rind with soup, using her tortoise shell as a spoon, hindered once again by Wite, who snatched the spoon away, still trying to prevent her filling the small rind for him. Twikwe struggled for the spoon, and, seeing that he was going to lose it, Wite quickly ladled an extra spoonful into the little rind and sat back resigned while Twikwe thrust the little rind toward him. He took it finally and sat sulkily, not eating, but with his lips pressed against the side of the rind, his eyes hard and shining, staring at nothing over the top. Twikwe handed the larger share to Kutera, who pretended not to have noticed the struggle and who thanked Twikwe in an ingratiating way.

There was another struggle over food that evening, started as a malicious joke by Gai. When Gai saw Wite with a strip of meat from the gemsbok's cheek he snatched it out of Wite's hand and pretended to eat it. When Wite, tried beyond endurance, burst into tears and flew at Gai, Gai ran away and really did eat the meat, chewing as he ran, keeping just out of Wite's reach. The chase ended under a tree, where Gai, seizing a branch, grappled Wite with his legs and swung

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe

him off the ground. Wite did not resist, but swung limp and resigned, and when Gai released him he started to walk away. Gai had eaten all the meat except one morsel, and this he tossed to Wite, who picked it up from the ground and ate it apathetically.

Only the baby set a good example. I had picked him up and was carrying him when the three young boys of Ukwane's band noticed that he was mouthing something and holding something else in his hand. For a joke they extended their palms, telling him to share what he had in his hand, and he gave it readily. It was only the crackly skin that flakes off bones when they are roasted, quite flavorless, impossible to chew; Nhwakwe was only playing with it and the boys only pretended to take a bite, then threw it away. But either the baby didn't see them reject it or didn't care because in a moment he made them another present, the meat that he had been holding in his mouth. The young boys didn't see where he got it and they were about to eat it when Nhwakwe opened his mouth to smile and they noticed. They threw it down, but the baby spat some onto his finger and offered it to them anyway, and when they didn't take it he smeared it on their chests.

After the unhappy hour of eating, the people of Ukwane's band, their appetites dulled even though their bellies were not full, seemed more relaxed and the young boys went off to join the boys from the visiting band. The youngsters were always friends. The tensions suffered by all the members of both the bands did not affect their enjoyment of each other.

That evening the boys sat down near one of the fires to talk, and they told each other all the things that had happened since they last had met, perhaps a year before. Most of the incidents had happened fairly recently and most amounted to anecdotes about the other members of the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

578 bands, who at the time were barely out of earshot. One story
522 concerned Dasina, how she had fainted from smoking too
152 much the day we had come, and to show exactly what had happened, Wite and Witabe acted the scene, Wite taking the part of Dasina and fainting on Witabe's shoulder while the other boys laughed. Bushmen's jokes and stories are usually funny at the expense of a person, an animal, or the god Pishiboro, maliciousness being one way in which Bushmen rid themselves of their resentments.

536 Somewhat later Wite and Giamakwe acted for the others
831 the scene of the hyena's mating, as they imagined it or knew
825 it to be, for the night it had happened only the sound had reached us and the hyenas had not been seen. Giamakwe took the part of the male hyena, Wite took the part of the female. First they walked together on all fours and rubbed faces, and then Giamakwe climbed on Wite's back, emitting a lonesome howl just like the howl we had heard. It was not meant to be funny, and the other boys watched it calmly, treating the mating of hyenas as a matter of course. All in all, it was a majestic imitation, with snarls and growls, then mounting and pretending to copulate with shivering and ecstasy, then more growls, until finally the male fell away exhausted and curled up on his side, whereupon the female attacked him. It took a long time from start to finish, the Bushman boys being so literal that they not only gave a precise rendition of the event but took exactly the amount of time that the hyenas had taken.

574 The adults had not watched the children but were visiting quietly with each other, some of the men from the Okwa band having come to Ukwane's werf to sit at the fires. Very late at night, when the Firewood Star was rising and the Zebra Stars of Orion were just setting foot upon the earth, the visitors got up to go.

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FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

534 shaded his dwelling, had about sixty cocoons on each rattle of the pair, and in each cocoon, from which the pupa had been carefully extracted and the cocoon closed up again, there were from ten to twenty fragments of ostrich eggshell, each fragment chipped to a uniform size and round. Each pair of rattles, of course, is expected to last a lifetime and more, and I'm sure that Gai's rattles were older than he.

621 The day before we left, Ukwane's band and the visitors
578 from Okwa decided that since they were all together and in
756
533 sufficient number, they would hold a dance. Perhaps it would purge the bad season or relieve the strain of jealousies they felt toward each other. Dances are usually held at night, but this time, out of consideration for us, they agreed to hold it during the day so that we could film it. We found a place which would be suitable for filming, helped gather sufficient wood because there would have to be a fire, no matter how hot the day was, and as we did all this the six young boys got more and more excited, tried on dance rattles, danced tight little circles around each other and tugged at the elbows of the adults, urging them to start.

756 Some of the women wanted to sing, others felt too hot, too
535 tired, but the men walked among them encouraging them all.
533 A dance is long, hot work for women, the pleasure of dancing being mostly for the men. At last Twikwe and Dasina went to the spot chosen for the dance and, sitting side by side at the fire, their backs to everybody, sang a few bars and began to talk, then sang a little more, joined now by Tsetchwe, who sat beside them and began to sing in earnest. All three of them looked so small down in the grass and set up such a loud noise singing—for in order to interest the other women they were shricking the song at the top of their voices—that they seemed like three tree frogs or three cicadas, hard to notice in the landscape but putting forth earsplitting songs.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

everyone was thankful that she had not been hurt. The people 731
remarked at the size and the intensity of the fire and shook their heads at the destruction, each one telling someone else where he had been when he first had seen the blaze. They asked each other why no one put the fire out, as no one did, and soon the scherm was a heap of white ash and the old couple who owned it ruined materially, too old to start again.

A few weeks after that, two children were married. The 582
groom was about sixteen and the bride was eight. It was con- 835
sidered to be an excellent match, as the bride was pretty and the groom was already becoming famous as a hunter. But even in these auspicious circumstances complications and involved negotiations arose, until, for a while, people began to think that no wedding would take place. The bride's aunt [578]
disliked the groom's mother, and recalled an old scandal that had shadowed the family for years. The groom's mother had divorced the groom's father long ago to marry her present husband, which in itself was altogether usual, but it came out that the man and woman had maintained an adulterous relationship before the divorce and furthermore were tabu relatives, which made their union incestuous—not as severely so as marriage between parent and child or brother and sister, but incestuous nevertheless—and it caused a scandal that reverberated throughout all of Nyae Nyae. The two were middle-aged when they married, and they had clung sol- [593]
idly together through the storm of scandal and disapproval, for it was truly a marriage of love.

The little girl did not want to be a bride. When we asked 584
her how she felt about her wedding she hid her face in her hands and said that she was still a young child, too young to get married.

All in all, only the groom's family behaved well, showing patience and forbearance until at last the wedding took place.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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ple, according to custom, and, when the old headman died, 159
took over the leadership of the people in the area. He was 622
not the true headman—his position would not be inherited 591
by his son, for headmanship is passed only from father to son—but he was recognized as headman while he lived and it was a great honor to him that this was so.

Tu's brother was the rightful headman of Gautscha, but 622
he had abdicated to live with his wife's people in the north. Her elder sister's husband, a man named Gao Big Feet, also had a right to the leadership in that his wife, Dikai, was older than Tu. But neither ever contested Toma's position as leader, for it was not a position which Toma held by force or pressure but simply by his wisdom and ability, and people prospered under him. No Bushman wants prominence, but [43]
Toma went further than most in avoiding prominence; he had almost no possessions and gave away everything that came into his hands. He was diplomatic, for in exchange for his self-imposed poverty he won the respect and following of all the people there. He enjoyed his position, and, being [578]
strangely free from the normal strains and jealousies of Bushmen, he saw justice clearly and hence he led his people well. At Gautscha his werf had been right beside the werf of his father's murderer, for Toma was friendly even with him.

Toma had a short, stocky body and a shock of tangled 142
hair. He was strong, too, and very co-ordinated, so that every 159
motion he made was quick and controlled, and not a gesture 622
of his was wasted. As a result of this enormous and uncon- [151]
scious control, accidents almost never happened to him. His face was broad, lined with many deep wrinkles at the corners of his eyes and mouth as though from smiling, though it was not from smiling that he got them but from years of squinting at the sun. His expression was usually dark and wondering, his forehead drawn intently into a frown, but

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

people thought of her, she didn't leave her fire at night to go 159
visiting, even to the scherm right next to hers. Rather, if she 577
had something to say, she would shout it across the werf.

Her deference to appearances and public opinion seemed 159
to make up for her faults, for she was considered to be al- 157 593
most a model personality in spite of her extremely jealous and vindictive moods which caused her to accuse others, quite unreasonably, of selfishness, greed, and other such things. Her husband and sons were not excepted, but this was something that Toma had learned to ignore. He would simply shrug his shoulders if she railed at him, pretend he didn't hear if she railed at others.

When she didn't assault her family with her tongue she 159
sometimes harmed them actively. Very often she would lie 593
sullen with narrowed eyes in front of her scherm watching the other women walk out to the veld in the morning on their way to dig veld food, and on these days her husband and sons would eat nothing unless, driven by hunger, they went to the veld themselves, the three of them together, to dig up a few roots and eat them raw. Tu herself did not experience hunger as a result of these moods, for she would have saved herself a morsel from the day before. It was her right to do this: among Bushmen every root is owned by its digger and is shared only at its owner's wish.

Toma might ask but would never command Tu to feed her family, for as he had learned to ignore her biting tongue he had learned to accept her moods. This was his way, appeasing her, and because Toma wanted peace perhaps as much as he wanted Tu, he pampered her.

This was not always so. One day gossiping people told us 159
that early in their marriage Toma shot a fat kudu and Tu 578 593
said: "Don't cook all the meat because my mother will be coming to visit us."

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 Toma remarked that the meat was there for any use, but
578 Tu misunderstood him and, thinking that he denied meat to
593
152 her and to her mother, she flew into a rage, attacked Toma, and gave him a nasty bite on his arm. Toma lost his temper entirely and pinched her cheeks together until his fingers met in her mouth. His anger had come now, the people said, and he threw her into the fire, saying: "She is a woman. Why does she make me so angry? Shall I take a stick?"

A small crowd had gathered, and, as usual, the family quarrel became a public affair. Several people helped Tu out of the fire, found her barely scorched, but her cousin seized Toma and began to shake him. This enraged Toma so much that he caught the cousin around the waist and threw him into the onlooking crowd. The people said: "We must stop Toma because if he is so angry he may kill someone," and with that they led the cousin out of Toma's sight.

Toma shouted after: "If you do that again, we will get our arrows and fight to the death. Stop here. I am very angry. Do not make me more angry."

One of the men who had helped Tu said to the cousin: "I took his wife from the fire. You, her cousin, almost got killed for the way you went at Toma. If you want to help people, don't get angry with them. Keep calm. Don't increase anger as you did with Toma." With these sage words the incident was over.

159 The people said: "After that everyone knew how angry
593 Toma could be, so from that day on he never had another fight." Everyone honored and respected him, everyone except his wife.

But Tu had certain redeeming qualities. When she was in a good mood she was charming. She would smile at everyone, speak in a light voice instead of the low, menacing voice that

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

since that was all he remembered we went on again to the source of the first of the three fires.

It was there that we found Toma. He had been there all the time, only a few miles from where we had camped, and when he heard our jeep coming he watched us over the top of a bush before showing himself to see first who we were.

We saw him when he ran toward us. He was quite far off and we saw first his dark figure detach itself from the bush and run with long, swinging strides toward our jeep. He waved his arms and we knew at once that this, at last, was Toma. Before he reached us a second figure appeared from behind another bush and ran beside him, and we knew from the disjointed stride that this second man was Gao Big Feet, Toma's brother-in-law. We turned our jeep toward them and soon we met and the two men embraced us and laughed and said that they had known we would come back someday, and then they climbed in the jeep and took us to their werf, stopping first to get their spears and quivers, which they had left in the bushes, for no Bushman, no matter how excited, ever greets people with his weapons on his back because this might be taken as a sign that he was quarrelsome, looking for a fight.

Their werf was in a tiny thicket of thorn trees at the edge of the plain, screened in front by bushes, carefully concealed, but on a rise of ground where a man standing could easily scan the surrounding plain without being seen himself. There Toma and Gao Feet could observe the movements of the antelope that crossed the plains below them, waiting patient in the dappled shade of their trees' broad leaves as lions do. The two families stood in front of their bushes to meet us and they, too, embraced us and they all climbed in the jeep to do this, then climbed out again and stood back to see how we were.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

We had met him for the first time at Gautscha. He had 159 224
come in from the veld one night to visit his brother, and we had met him in the morning. Short Kwi was a young, small man, shorter than his wife and so slender that he looked almost like a child. With long, light feet that took him everywhere, with heavy thighs but light calves like the thin shanks [142]
of a greyhound, and with a narrow, deep chest and lungs that never winded, he was obviously built for hunting. In the rainy season when the veld was soft and muddy he often hunted with only a spear and ran the great antelopes down, for though their hooves sunk and split in the mud, causing them eventually to tire, Short Kwi never tired and his strong legs bore him after them relentlessly, sweeping him down the long plains like a wind of death.

His life in the veld seemed lonely, but I doubt that it was; he had his wife, who adored him, for company in the evenings, and although she may have missed companionship more than he did, they were both shy, both quiet, and it may [573]
be that they both enjoyed their life apart. Short Kwi hunted most of the time. He would hunt on and on and when word would reach the large band of his wife's family that he had killed, the band would go out to where the animal was, dry the meat, and eat it. When there was enough meat Short Kwi would rest, would relax in the sun, would talk with his wife or make himself a new skin bag or garment, and when word would reach him that all the meat was gone he would move again. The men of his wife's family hunted too, of course, but never as successfully as he, yet his great ability set [578] ●
him so far apart from ordinary mortals that for once the [554]
Bushmen forgot their jealousy and agreed that he was the best hunter the Kalahari had ever known.

It is a custom among Bushman hunters to cut strips of skin 301 224

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

The Sun Dance

578 431 EARLY in the morning, when the sun was rising red into the smoke and the sky was bright, we heard a woman quarreling at Short Kwi's werf. Her voice was strident, harsh, and loud, and carried well above the ordinary sounds of morning—children talking, firewood breaking as limbs were snapped for the breakfast fires—and, solicitous of Short Kwi, for today was the day he was going to Windhoek, we went over to see.

We saw a startling sight. Many people had got there before us, hearing the quarrel and being moved to go there out of curiosity, and it seemed as if everyone had already taken sides, for the people had arranged themselves in two groups facing each other and were fighting. The speaker, the woman whose voice had awakened us, was an old woman who lived at one of the farthest werfs, and her opponent, the person whom she was berating, was Gao Feet. These two sat on their haunches on opposite sides of Short Kwi's fire, leaning toward each other, glaring sourly. Arranged behind them were all the others. The larger group by far, including Toma, Tu, Dikai, and Lazy Kwi, crouched behind Gao Feet. Short Kwi him-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

self, on Gao Feet's side, was sitting propped on the blankets 578 we had given him to keep him warm in case of shock, feeling 431 better and obviously taking an interest, for the matter was clearly close to everybody's heart. In fact, everyone was so interested in the quarrel that no one looked up when we came, for the people all sat with their ears pricked, waiting for a chance to speak. They, too, were glaring, deadly earnest, as though the argument were for their lives. Now and then someone would contribute a word or two, but for the most part the old woman did the talking. She looked bitter as gall; her eyes were burning and she hissed like a goose; she was accusing Gao Feet of having failed to give her a present of tsi nuts when he had come to Nama. Gao Feet was rubbing his face and it began to look as if he were losing. He said, obviously having said it before, that he had brought only a few. The woman said, also not for the first time, that she had expected him to give her a present and now he was refusing to do so. It was her right, she said, her due. Toma edged himself forward until he was beside Gao Feet, his friend and brother-in-law, and together they tried to pacify her, telling her that really Gao Feet had none to give, but her eyes burned so fiercely and the people behind her glared so that Toma and Gao Feet lost conviction and before long they fell silent again, defeated by themselves, for what they had tried to say was true. Finally the argument centered itself at its probable source, a gift given to Gao Feet's father by the woman's father which had not completed itself in an exchange. The woman's father, now long dead, could not receive it, Gao Feet's father, living far away at another pan at the farthest end of Nyae Nyae, could not give it unless he moved to 431 Nama, so it was up to Gao Feet to assume responsibility. 867

Throughout the two crowds, children were sitting wide- 869 eyed and open-eared. Things like this are remembered and 578

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

431 talked about always; Bushman children listen for hours to
867 discussions of this kind and thereby know the history of every
869 object, every exchange between their families, before they are
578 ten or twelve years old. A debt unpaid is a sword against the debtor, to be used against him any time, for any reason. Jealousy and spite had surely preyed on the old woman's mind when she had started this discussion, for she had got up to seek out Gao Feet very early, just at dawn.

578 In the end, the argument was concluded and the crowd
609 scattered by us when we told Short Kwi that we were ready to take him to the hospital in Windhoek if he would go. He said he would, and the people, glaring bitterly at him, at each other, and at us, stood up and went to their scherms, saying to the other members of their families what they would have said to their opponents if they had had a chance.

Soon Short Kwi's werf was nearly empty. The only people who remained were Short Kwi, his family, ourselves, Toma, and Gao Feet. These two talked together, vindicating themselves, and then, before long and before we had a chance to discuss our plans to move Short Kwi, some of the people who had been on Gao Feet's side in the argument came back and crouched beside us stolidly, waiting to hear what might now be said. Jealousy had been aroused.

609 Because of the long journey and Short Kwi's condition, we thought that it would be best for him to leave at once, but his wife spoke out against this, saying that the rest of her family, probably at this moment on their way here, would be heartbroken to find them gone. She would like to wait for them, she said, to say good-by. Gao Feet agreed with her. He added that if her mother were to come and find her gone the old woman would cry and cry for days, but Toma shook his head. "Perhaps Short Kwi can be helped," he said. "Perhaps

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

pink and made her skin look gold. My mother gave her under- 609
clothes and a bright bathrobe which my mother found hastily in our bundle of cloth that we intended to give away as gifts, the bathrobe intended to be cut into pieces as scarves for children, for we ourselves had no need of bathrobes in the desert. Short Kwi's wife could wear it while the pink dress dried. We sent a set of clothing out to Short Kwi, robbing my father and brother, and last of all we quickly made a little red dress for the daughter from more of our gift cloth, fitting it on her as she stood there, for we heard the truck motor starting and knew that we had very little time. All this we did in less than two hours.

When we came out of the tent we found ourselves in the middle of a crowd of women crouched together in a mass. Tu and Dikai were at the front, nearest to us, for they had been looking under the tent flap to see what we were giving Short [578] Kwi's wife and wondering, no doubt, if they would get the same. They glared at us when we came out, and Tu was yellow-eyed.

The truck was ready, Short Kwi was braced with grass and blankets comfortably on top. His wife tried uneasily to join him, her new skirt binding her legs badly, for the apron worn by Bushman women is supple and free, and falls between the legs when the woman is in motion. People boosted her; she finally got up, and reached out her arms to her daughter, who stood, a lonely baby, by the truck's great wheel, waiting to be seen, to be taken. Toma lifted the little girl and her mother caught her.

The motor had been running, and almost before we knew what had happened the truck had gone, had disappeared among the trees. The two, Short Kwi and his wife, had taken one last, desperate look at the veld, the werfs, and all the people, and their little girl had seemed frightened even though

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

609 she was with her father and mother, though perhaps not nearly as frightened as she would be later when she was far away from Nama Pan in the streets of the city.

732 It was a very sad and heavy day the day that Short Kwi left. It depresses Bushmen terribly to see one of their number crippled, which, of course, in almost every case means the end of that person's productive life as a supporter of the people —one becomes a poor person and depends upon the enforced charity of one's near relatives while suffering avoidance by one's remoter kin; but it depresses Bushmen even more to see one of their number taken away. It is the end of a link in their unity, and when it happens part of the chain of their relationships, part of their pattern is destroyed. That day many people who surely expected never to see Short Kwi again stayed alone by their fires or played the guashi idly, but spoke not a word. The rest of the people, all but Toma, Gao
152 Feet, and Lazy Kwi, were beset with jealousy and quarreled
578 on and on all day, with us, with each other. They were jealous because we had given Short Kwi and his wife clothing and within the hour after Short Kwi's departure a crowd of people was squatting in the dust around our camp. The crowd was so thick that we could hardly get through. No one budged an inch to let us by, and when they would catch our eyes, the women, particularly those who had waited outside our tent when we had given Short Kwi's wife the clothes, pointed to holes and frayed spots in their karosses which clearly showed that they, too, needed clothing, and when we did nothing (we had presents of blankets, cloth, beads, shirts, pants, pipes, and knives to give to everyone when we left, but could not give dresses to all the women and could not give the presents now) they glared at us with stony faces and hard eyes.

152 In the afternoon the people were still there, quite dusty

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

now but motionless; in the evening they began to get up, one/52
by one, to go to the veld for food and firewood. Dikai had relented entirely. Before she went off to her evening's work she put her arm around me and told me that she and I were cemented together by our names. But Tu, who suffered from/52
jealousy more than Dikai, was angry still and chose that mo-578
ment to make a scene, to force someone to do something for her as well as for Short Kwi. She arose from the vigilant, crouching people and, followed at a distance by her baby daughter, went up to our cook, Philip, and demanded that he give her firewood. He refused because there were three dead trees right outside of camp that Tu could easily have got, in plain sight, not twenty feet away, but she did not look at these. Instead, she began to scream at Philip in a most bitter harangue, and though she became aware at last that everyone had fallen silent and was listening to her she couldn't stop her tongue but went on and on until her entire audience was embarrassed and didn't know where to look. Worse, Philip lost his patience and told her to go away. She bit her lip, glaring, and suddenly there was perfect silence; her words had left her and she just had to stand there, too proud to leave, alone in the center of the crowd of crouching people watching, and she looked very silly and forlorn, robbed of her dignity by her tongue and with her hair ornaments askew on the [626]
back of her head. No one would speak to her; this time she had gone too far.

It was Norna, her daughter, who provided her with the chance to escape. Norna, frightened and bewildered and embarrassed too, had crept up beside Tu and had taken the string of her kaross. Tu must have felt a tug, for she looked down suddenly and, seeing this, turned on Norna, slapping the string out of Norna's hand. There was another agonizing pause and silence while Norna slowly took the string again,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

152 and again Tu slapped it away. This time Norna began to
578 cry, lonely and forlorn in front of all the people, turned on by her mother, and she looked very small and defenseless and bereft; she cried sadly, not angrily, big tears running down her face, her fist in her mouth, looking up at her mother with enormous eyes. This was Tu's chance. She snatched up Norna and carried her back to the werf.

It was a terrible incident for everyone. That evening Tu still felt her shame and when I went to the werf to visit for a moment she took the occasion to fix me with her eyes all the way across the werf and tell me loudly that in the morning I would have to help her clear grass for another werf, for she was not going to "live among these people any more." Tu's mother, a shameless old woman, came up to me to tell me a joke and Tu smoldered.

Not only the adults felt a sense of tension. That evening Dikai, looking rather worn and tired, was sitting by her fire rubbing her shoulders, which usually ached, she said, when
862 her two sons, also tired, threw themselves down each on one
152 side of her and began to nurse, each leaning heavily against
578 her, each at a breast. Perhaps because she was tired or per-
593 haps because she had been about to put some tsi nuts in her
775 fire but now could not because her sons were in the way, she looked down at them and mildly suggested to Little Gashe that perhaps he could bring himself to stop nursing altogether, being old enough now. Little Gashe did not take this kindly at all. He looked up at her, then took his mouth from her nipple and cursed her with a formal, deadly curse. "May the spirit of Nisa, who is dead," he said, "take you by the throat and choke you." He then took the nipple back in his mouth and sucked on, thoughtfully.

152 I could hardly believe my ears. Children are expected not
578 to curse their parents, but, worst of all, Little Gashe had in-
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9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

voked those supposedly unmentioned beings, the spirits of the dead. Dikai was not offended, though; she gazed down at him calmly. "You, you little thing," she said, "no curse that you could say would hurt me."

Much later in the evening when John and Dan and I were sitting at our own fire just before going to bed, Dikai and her nephew, Toma's son, came to visit us, Dikai with Little Dabe asleep on her back. It was a quiet evening, people were sitting at their own werfs and though they were screened from us by grass we could hear their voices talking and see the light of their fires. When Dikai came, Lazy Kwi, whose werf was on the other side of our camp, heard her speak and stood up to see what was happening, looming suddenly from where he had been sitting only a few feet away. He came through the grass to visit also, and we sat by the fire listening to Dikai as she told us about various relatives in the north and what kinship terms we should use for them, I being named for her and John for Toma. Lazy Kwi told Dan that Dan had been named for him, but named Kwi Cheeks instead of Lazy Kwi, and when Dan asked why his nickname was Cheeks all Lazy Kwi could say was: "Because of your cheeks." We thought, but we could not think of a reason, as there was nothing about Dan's cheeks that might attract attention, except that he had recently shaved his beard so that his cheeks were visible.

Dan said that now he had no beard, no hair, no name, which Lazy Kwi thought was terribly funny and said: "Throw away your beard hairs, throw away your name, but take Kwi instead and be my namesake." Shortly after that we went to bed. Relations seemed less strained.

One morning about a week after Short Kwi had gone, when the people were resting and the werf was quiet, we heard a

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

196 woman calls her brothers-in-law by words formed from this root,
601 but not her sisters-in-law; whereas a man does the opposite. The result is, that anyone calling a connexion tahō is called tahō by that person. Other connexions are called twi, a word which seems to mean "to tie", "to net", as twishiba "a riempi net", or "string bag". A woman calls both parents-in-law and son- and daughter-in-law twi, but a man calls his wife's parents simply "father" and "mother". I think he calls his son- and daughter-in-law twi, but have no clear examples.

Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to
591 be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parents' home and stay there till the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact, the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so. This does not explain why a man calls his wife's parents "father" and "mother".

A man is supposed not to speak to his mother-in-law, nor a
606 woman to her father-in-law. Of the former I had personal evidence: my Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. As to not speaking, I think that means more—not sitting near, not consorting with a person, rather than never addressing him. A Naron granny gave
183 me a vivid description of the family settling the name of a new-
553 born child. The relations present all quarrel over it: the father
578 says, he wants the little girl called after one of his people, but the
606 mother's mother tells him that is not at all necessary, the baby is to be named after her. This shows that speech between the two is not absolutely forbidden.

There is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister
183 speaking or sitting together,—but here, too, the sitting, not the
593 speaking, is the important part. I have heard a fully grown brother and sister addressing each other, while passing at a good distance. This rule explains why the relationship between a man
604 and his brother's child is nearer than that with his sister's child,
601 the former being called ǂku "son", the latter tahō, a more distant term; whereas a woman calls her sister's son "son", her brother's son tahō.

MEAT FROM THE CHASE is shared by all among the band. An old woman, *below*, is skinning her portion of an ostrich.

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become both the measure of a man's ability and a test of his readiness to marry. Part of the explanation may come from the passion in hunting. Like their fires, the tales of hunting burn brightly for the !Kung in the night, warming their memories. Of equal or greater significance is the !Kung craving for meat and undoubtedly for protein. Unlike the sharing of *veldkos*, limited to the nuclear family, a complex system of distribution insures that everyone in the *werft* will get a share of all game killed. This is done, they say, simply to prevent jealousy and the inevitable renunciations that go with it. The !Kung declare "We are a jealous people" and they try to keep jealousy at a minimum, for they fear it.

Still another aspect of hunting—perhaps the most important in terms of subsistence—is the by-products it provides. Sinew is used for thongs

[p. 56]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

SHARING, TALKING, AND GIVING: RELIEF OF SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THIS paper describes customs, practised by the /Kung Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region of South Africa, which help them to avoid situations that are likely to arouse ill will and hostility among individuals within the bands and between bands. Two customs which seem to be especially helpful and which I describe in detail are meat-sharing and gift-giving. I mention also the /Kung habits of talking, aspects of their good manners, their borrowing and lending, and their not stealing.[1]

The common human needs for co-operation and companionship are particularly apparent among the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Independent living, outside the band structure,[2] does not exist for individuals. Nuclear families do not live alone. The arduous hunting-gathering life would be impossible without the co-operation and companionship of a larger group. Moreover, in this society the ownership of the resources of food and water is organized through the headmen of bands, and individuals have rights to these resources by being members of a band connected to the headman by some near or remote kin or affinal bond. The /Kung are also extremely dependent emotionally on the sense of belonging and on companionship. Their need to avoid loneliness, I think, is actually visible in the way families cluster together in their werfs and in the way people sit, often touching someone else, shoulder against shoulder, ankle across ankle. Comfort and security for them lie in belonging to their group, free from hostility or rejection.

Their security and comfort must be achieved side by side with self-interest and much jealous watchfulness. Altruism, kindness, sympathy, or genuine generosity were not qualities which I observed often in their behaviour. However, these qualities were not entirely lacking, especially between parents and offspring, between siblings and between spouses. One mother carried her sick adult daughter on her back for three days in searing summer heat for us to give her medicine. /Naoka carried her lame son, Lame ≠Gao, for years. Gau clucked and fussed over his second wife, Khuan//a, when she was sick. When /U had a baby, her sister, Di/ai, gathered veldkos for her for five days. On the other hand, people do not generally help each other. They laugh when the lame man, Kham, falls down and do not help him up. /U's jealous eyes were like those of a viper when we gave more attention to her husband, ≠Toma, than to her because he was much more ill. And, in the extreme, there is the report from the 1958 expedition of an instance of callous indifference in one band and the probable abandonment of a dying old childless woman, an old aunt, when her sister, with whom she lived, had died.

Occasions when tempers have got out of control are remembered with awe. The

[1] This description of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region is based on observations made during our several expeditions between 1951 and 1959. Changes in the conditions under which the /Kung live are to be expected, and how these changes will affect the practice of the customs here described we do not know.

[2] Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Band Organization', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960.

12; Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

578 deadly poisoned arrows are always at hand. Men have killed each other with them in quarrels—though rarely—and the /Kung fear fighting with a conscious and active fear. They speak about it often. Any expression of discord ('bad words') makes them uneasy. Their desire to avoid both hostility and rejection leads them to conform in high degree to the unspoken social law. If they do deviate they usually yield readily to expressed group opinion and reform their ways. I think that most /Kung cannot bear the sense of rejection which even mild disapproval makes them feel. They also conform strictly to certain specific useful customs which are like instruments for avoiding discord.

Talking and 'Talks'

521 I mention talking as an aid to peaceful social relations because it is so very much a part of the daily experience of the /Kung and, I believe, usefully serves three particular functions. It keeps up good open communication among the members of the band; through its constantly flowing expression it is a salutary outlet for emotions; and it serves as the principal sanction in social discipline. Songs are also used for social discipline. The /Kung say that a song composed specifically about someone's behaviour and sung to express disapproval, perhaps from the deepest shadow of the werf at night, is a very effective means of bringing people who deviate back into the pattern of approved behaviour. Nevertheless, during our observations, songs were not used as much as talking. If people disapprove of an individual's behaviour, they may criticize him or her directly, usually putting a question, 'Why do you do that?' or they may gossip a bit or make oblique hints. In the more intense instances 'a talk' may ensue.

521 The /Kung are the most loquacious people I know. Conversation in a /Kung werf is a constant sound like the sound of a brook, and as low and lapping, except for shrieks of laughter. People cluster together in little groups during the day, talking, perhaps making artifacts at the same time. At night families talk late by their fires, or visit at other family fires with their children between their knees or in their arms if the wind is cold.

There always seems to be plenty to talk about. People tell about events with much detail and repetition and discuss the comings and goings of their relatives and friends and make plans. Their greatest preoccupation and the subject they talk about most often, I think, is food. The men's imaginations turn to hunting. They converse musingly, as though enjoying a sort of day-dream together, about past hunts, telling over and over where game was found and who killed it. They wonder where the game is at present and say what fat bucks they hope to kill. They also plan their next hunts with practicality. Women (who, incidentally, do not talk as much as men) gave me the impression of talking more about who gave or did not give them food and their anxieties about not having food. They spoke to me about women who were remembered for being especially quick and able gatherers, but did not have pleasurable satisfaction in remembering their hot, monotonous, arduous days of digging and picking and trudging home with their heavy loads.

431 Another frequent subject of conversation is gift-giving. Men and women speak
521 of the persons to whom they have given or propose to give gifts. They express satisfaction or dissatisfaction with what they have received. If someone has delayed

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unexpectedly long in making a return gift the people discuss this. One man was excused by his friends because his wife, they said, had got things into her hands and made him poor, so that he now had nothing suitable to give. Sometimes, on the other hand, people were blamed for being ungenerous (' far-hearted ') or not very capable in managing their lives, and no one defended them for these defects or asked others to have patience with them.

As far as we know, only two general subjects are taboo in conversation. Men and women must not speak openly together of sexual matters except as they make jokes in the joking relationship. The /Kung avoid speaking the names of the gods aloud and do not converse about the gods for fear of attracting their attention and perhaps their displeasure. They told us their myths, but only when we asked them to. It is evidently not the habit of these Bushmen to recount the myths as they sit by their fires. They do not invent stories. They said they had no interest in hearing things that are not true and wonder why anybody has.

While a person speaks the listeners are in vibrant response, repeating the phrases and interposing a contrapuntal ' eh '. ' Yesterday ', ' eh ', ' at Deboragu ', ' eh ', ' I saw old /Gaishay.' ' You saw Old /Gaishay ', ' eh, eh '. ' He said he had seen the great python under the bank.' ' EH ! ', ' The PYTHON ! ' ' He wants us ', ' eh, eh, eh ', ' to help him catch it '. The ' ehs ' overlap and coincide with the phrase and the people so often all talk at once that one wonders how anyone knows what the speaker has said.

Bursts of laughter accompany the conversations. Sometimes the /Kung laugh mildly with what I would call a sense of humour about people and events, often they shriek and howl as though laughter were an outlet for tension. They laugh at mishaps that happen to other people, like the lions eating up someone else's meat, and shriek over particularly telling and insulting sexual sallies in the joking relationship. Individual singing of lyrical songs, accompanied by the *//gushi*, or snatches of the medicine music, the playing of rhythmical games, the ceremonial dances themselves occupy the evenings, as well, but mostly the evening hours are spent in talk.

' A talk ', as the /Kung call it, differs from a conversation or an arranged, purposeful discussion. It flares spontaneously, I believe from stress, when something is going on in which people are seriously concerned and in disagreement. I think that no formalities control it. Anyone who has something he wants to say joins in. People take sides and express opinions, accusing, denying, or defending persons involved. I witnessed one ' talk ' only, in 1952, which I mentioned before[1] and should mention again in this context. It occurred over a gift-giving episode at the time of /Nai's betrothal and involved persons in Bands 1 and 2 who were settled near together at the time. Khuan//a, the mother of /Gunda, /Nai's fiancé, had diverted a gift which people thought was making its way to Gao Medicine, the present husband of /Nai's mother. Instead of giving it to him at the time when an exchange of gifts was in order, she gave it to one of her relatives. /Nai's mother's sister, /U, sitting at her own scherm, began ' the talk ' by letting it be known what she thought of Khuan//a, in a voice loud enough to be heard in the two werfs, a startling contrast to the usual low flow of talk. Di/ai, /Nai's mother, sitting with her shoulder pressed against her sister's, joined in. People in the werfs went to sit at each other's scherms, forming little groups

[1] Lorna Marshall, ' Marriage Among /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxix, no. 4, Oct. 1959, pp. 352–3.

who agreed and supported each other. From where they sat, but not all at once and not in an excited babble, they made their remarks clearly, with quite long pauses between. Some expressed themselves in agreement with /U as she recounted Khuan//a's faults and deviations, past and present. Khuan//a's family and friends, who had moved to sit near her, denied the accusations from time to time, but did not talk as much or as loudly as /U. Khuan//a muttered or was silent. /U said she disapproved of her sister's daughter marrying the son of such a woman, but would reconsider her position if Khuan//a gave the expected gift to Gao Medicine. The talk lasted about twenty minutes. At that point Khuan//a got up and walked away and the ' talk ' subsided to /U's mutterings and others' low conversation. In a few days Khuan//a gave Gao Medicine a present, not the gift in question, but one which satisfied Gao, and, as they said, ' they all started again in peace '.

There is a third form of verbal expression which might be called a ' shout ' rather than a ' talk ', but as far as I know the /Kung have no special name for it. It is a verbal explosion. Fate receives the heat of the remarks in a ' shout '.

We were present on two such occasions, one in 1952, the other in 1953. Both were in response to the burning of scherms. In both instances little children, whose mothers had taken their eyes off them though they were only a few feet away, had picked up burning sticks from the fire, had dropped them on the soft, dry bedding grass in the scherms and, at the first burst of flame, had sensibly run outside unscathed. On the first occasion, the two children, who were about three years old, were frightened and were soothed and comforted by their mothers and other relatives. They were not scolded. On the second occasion, Khuan//a, the two-year-old granddaughter of Old ≠Toma and /Gam, had set fire to her grandparents' scherm. She was not apparently frightened at all and was found placidly chewing her grandfather's well-toasted sandal. She was not scolded either. What was especially interesting was the behaviour of the Bushmen. On both occasions they rushed to the burning scherms, shouting all at once, in extremely loud, excited voices, volcanic eruptions of words. The men made most of the noise, but the women were also talking excitedly. No one tried to do anything, nor could they, for the scherms burned like the fiery furnace. I asked the interpreters to stand close to one person at a time and try to hear what he said. People were telling where they had been when the fire started, why they had not got there sooner. They shouted that mothers should not take their eyes off their children, that the children might have been burned. They lamented the objects which had been destroyed—all in the greatest din I have ever heard humans produce out of themselves. It went on for about eight or ten minutes in bursts, then tapered off for another ten. While Old ≠Toma's scherm was burning, he and his wife, /Gam, the great maker of beads, sat on one side weeping. After the shouting had subsided, a dozen or more people set about looking for Old ≠Toma's knife blade and arrow points and picking up what beads they could find for /Gam in the cooling ashes. The two instances of ' shouts ' provided examples of the vehemence which vocal expression can have and vividly illustrated the /Kung way of venting emotion in words.

There is still another kind of talk, not conversation, which I consider to be an outlet for tension and anxiety. We happened to hear it only in relation to anxiety about food and do not know if other concerns sometimes find expression in this way.

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It occurs in varying degrees of intensity. It is a repeating of something over and over and over again. For instance, whether it is actually so or not, someone may be reiterating that he has no food or that no one has given him food. The remarks are made in the presence of other individuals, but the other individuals do not respond in the manner of a discussion or conversation. In an extreme instance we saw a woman visitor go into a kind of semi-trance and say over and over for perhaps half an hour or so in ≠Toma's presence that he had not given her as much meat as was her due. It was not said like an accusation. It was said as though he were not there. I had the eerie feeling that I was present in someone else's dream. ≠Toma did not argue or oppose her. He continued doing whatever he was doing and let her go on.

All these ways of talking, I believe, aid the /Kung in maintaining their peaceful social relations by keeping everyone in touch with what others are thinking and feeling, releasing tensions, and keeping pressures from building up until they burst out in aggressive acts.

Aspects of Good Manners

In /Kung society good manners require that, when /Kung meet other /Kung who are strangers, all the men should lay down their weapons and approach each other unarmed. ≠Toma, leader of Band 1, approached us unarmed the first time we met. After we were accepted and given Bushman names, we were no longer strangers and we never observed the practice again.

Good manners require that visitors be received courteously and asked to sit by the fire. The woman whose fire it is may welcome the visitor by taking a pinch of the sweet smelling *ss* powder, which she carries in a little tortoise shell hung from her neck, and sprinkling it on the visitor's head in a line from the top of the head to the forehead.

Good manners in eating express restraint. A person does not reveal eagerness or take more than a modest share. When a visitor comes to the fire of a family who are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a little distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share. On several occasions we gave small gifts of corned beef to be shared with a group. The person who received the food from us would take only a mouthful. Once an old headman only licked his fingers. The lump of food would be passed from one to another. Each would take a modest bite. The last person often got the most. I found it moving to see so much restraint about taking food among people who are all thin and often hungry, for whom food is a source of constant anxiety. We observed no unmannerly behaviour, no cheating and no encroachment about food. Although informants said that quarrels had occasionally occurred in the past between members of a band over the time to go to gather veldkos, and although we observed expressions of dissatisfaction, no quarrels of any kind arose over food during our observations.

Good manners in general should be inoffensive. Any behaviour which is likely to stir up trouble is regarded with apprehension and disapproval by the /Kung. In view of this, the joking relationship has its interesting side. Men and women who have the joking relationship insult each other in a facetious way and also point out actual faults or remark on actual episodes which embarrass a person. Everyone joins in the

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576 uproarious, derisive laughter. All this is joking and one should not take offence.
[522] The /Kung say this teaches young persons to keep their tempers.

In contrast to the joking is their care in other aspects of conduct to avoid giving offence. ≠Toma said, for instance, that, if he were forming a hunting party and a man whom he did not want asked to join him, he would be careful to refuse indirectly by making some excuse and try not to offend the man.

521 Gossip which can stir up trouble is discouraged. People do gossip but usually
578 discreetly, in low voices, with near and trusted relatives and friends. It is best to mind one's own business, they say.

People are expected to control their tempers and do so to a remarkable degree.
152 If they are angry, aggrieved, or frustrated, they tend to mope rather than to become
578 aggressive, expressing their feelings in low mutters to their close relatives and friends.
626 ≠Toma told us that he had lost his temper twice when he was a young man and on one occasion had knocked his father down. On the other he had pushed his wife into hot ashes. It had so frightened him to realize that he could lose control of himself and behave in this violent way that, he said, he had not lost his temper since.

Meat-sharing

224 The /Kung custom of sharing meat helps to keep stress and hostility over food at
416 a low intensity. The practical value of using up the meat when it is fresh is obvious to
578 all and the /Kung are fully aware of the enormous social value of the custom. The fear of hunger is mitigated; the person one shares with will share in turn when he gets meat and people are sustained by a web of mutual obligation. If there is hunger, it is commonly shared. There are no distinct haves and have-nots. One is not alone.

To have a concept of the potential stress and jealousy which meat-sharing mitigates in /Kung society one has only to imagine one family eating meat and others not when they are settled only five or ten feet apart in a firelit werf and there are no walls for privacy. The veld does not hide secret killing and eating because actions are printed in its sands for all to read. The idea of eating alone and not sharing is shocking to the /Kung. It makes them shriek with an uneasy laughter. Lions could do that, they say, not men.

224 The custom of meat-sharing applies only to the big game animals. Small animals the size of duikers or smaller, birds, tortoises, lizards, grasshoppers, snakes, and ostrich eggs are picked up incidentally and belong to the person who shoots, snares, finds or catches them. He may keep these for himself and his immediate family and may share them as he chooses, as if they were veldkos. ≠Toma says that, if there is only a little, he and his family eat a meal and give a little to anyone who happens to be near by at the time.

Meat-sharing applies to the big animals which are deliberately hunted by organized hunting parties. In the Nyae Nyae region they are kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok, warthogs and ostrich. Eland are found less commonly and buffalo rarely. The Nyae Nyae hunters managed to shoot giraffe occasionally. Giraffe are royal game by S.W.A. law, but the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not known this. When they were told, they called them 'Morrisi cows'. (Mr. Robert Morris was the Commissioner of Native Affairs at Runtu.)

The system by which meat is shared begins with the hunters, but the composition

another through the seasons, always going back and forth between food and water, they carry their young children and their belongings. With plenty of most materials at hand to replace artifacts as required, the /Kung have not developed means of permanent storage and have not needed or wanted to encumber themselves with surpluses or duplicates. They do not even want to carry one of everything. They borrow what they do not own. With this ease, they have not hoarded, and the accumulation of objects has not become associated with status. Instead of keeping things, they use them to express generosity and friendly intent, and to put people under obligation to make return tokens of friendship. And, even more specifically, in my opinion, they mitigate jealousy and envy, to which they are prone, by passing things on to others. These are the objectives in gift-giving.

Except, as ≠Toma said, that it would be surprising to see a man give a present to a woman who was not related to him (and vice versa, I imagine), anyone may give to anyone. Degree or kind of kinship or affinity, having the joking relationship or lacking it, impose no requirements or restrictions, nor does status in the community in a conventional way. We did hear people say, however, that a headman may feel that he should lean well to the generous side in his giving, for his position as headman sets him out from the others a little and he wants whatever attention this attracts not to be envious. Someone remarked that this could keep a headman poor.

The times of giving are determined almost entirely by the individual's convenience. The /Kung do not know their birthdays or anniversaries and have no special days of the year which they mark by giving gifts. Gifts are required by convention on only three ceremonial occasions. The type or quantity of the gift is not patterned but it should be generous. The occasions are betrothals and weddings, when the parents exchange gifts and give to the young couple, and the ceremony of a baby's first haircut, when the */gu/na*, the person for whom the baby is named, should give him a fine present.

Relatives give to young people with the idea of setting them up in life. Gao Beard gave a spear and a kaross to his FaSiHuSo, saying it was his duty to see that the boy got some things because among the boy's relatives he was the most able to do so. The boy's father was very old, he explained. People expect to wait a long time for young people to make return gifts.

The two rigid requirements in gift-giving are that one must not refuse a proffered gift and that one must give in return. Demi said that, even if he might prefer not to be obligated to someone, he would accept and prepare to make his return gift. If a gift were to be refused, he continued, the giver would be terribly angry. He would say, 'Something is very wrong here.' This could involve whole groups in tensions, bad words, taking sides—even 'a talk' might occur—just what the /Kung do not want. Demi said it does not happen: a /Kung never refuses a gift. And a /Kung does not fail to give in return. ≠Toma said that would be 'neglecting friendship'. A person would know that others thought him 'far-hearted' and 'this would worry him'.

In reciprocating one does not give the same object back again but something of comparable value. The interval of time between receiving and reciprocating varied from a few weeks to a few years. Propriety requires that there be no unseemly haste. The giving must not look like trading.

Incidentally, we were not included by the /Kung in their gift-giving patterns. They gave us a few things spontaneously which they thought we would enjoy—python meat, for instance—but did not feel obligated to reciprocate for every gift we gave them. 431 [123]

Asking for an original gift or asking that a return gift be made after due time has elapsed is within the rules of propriety. People prefer that others give in return without their asking, but ≠Toma says he does not hesitate to ask if a gift is long overdue. If a person wants a particular object he may ask for it. Asking is also a means by which people play upon each other's feelings. One can test a friendship in this way. One can give vent to jealousy or satisfy it by acquiring some object or making someone else uncomfortable. I thought that /Ti/kay (an intelligent man, but very touchy, uncooperative, and turned inward upon himself) used to ask for gifts to play with anger, arousing it for the sake of feeling it, as children do with fear, playing witches in the dark. His remarks one day indicated a mingling of feelings and purposes. He told us that one may ask for anything. He does, he said. He goes to a person's fire and sits and asks. (I could imagine him with his black glancing eyes sitting and asking!) He asks usually for only one or two things, but if a person has a lot he may ask for more. He said he is almost never refused but that if a man had only one pot and /Ti/kay asked for it the man might say, 'I am not refusing, but it is the only pot I have. If I get another you may come for this one. I am very sorry but this is the only pot I have.' /Ti/kay said this would not make him angry unless he were refused too many times. To be refused too many times makes a person very angry. But, said /Ti/kay, he himself did not tire of people asking him for gifts. Asking, he claimed, 'formed a love' between people. It means 'he still loves me, that is why he is asking.' At least it forms a something between people, I thought. 431 578 [572]

I have stressed the mitigation of jealousy as the important value of gift-giving. /Kung informants stressed more the value of putting people under the obligation of expressing friendship by making the friendly gesture, even if it is only a token gesture. Demi said, 'The worst thing is not giving presents. If people do not like each other but one gives a gift and the other must accept, this brings a peace between them. We give to one another always. We give what we have. This is the way we live together.' [572]

Absence of Stealing

One day, when I wanted to talk with a group of informants about what the /Kung considered to be wrong-doing, I began with /Ti/kay. He said promptly, 'Making crooked arrows and fighting', but could not think of anything else. Informants had previously said that not sharing food would be the worst thing they could think of. Others had mentioned that the breaking of the incest and menstruation taboos would be very wrong and that girls should not sit in immodest posture. No one seemed to think lying was very serious wrong-doing, and no one mentioned stealing. I finally asked directly and Gao Medicine said they had not thought to mention stealing because they did not steal. 577

We had heard of the episode of the man taking honey from a tree, honey which had been found and marked and was therefore owned by someone else, and being killed for it by the owner. That was the only episode of stealing that we discovered. [585]

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577 685 The /Kung stole nothing from us. Even when we went away on trips, leaving several bands of /Kung settled around our camp site, we left our supplies and equipment unlocked in the open or in our tents with confidence that nothing would be stolen. Things that we lost or forgot in the werf were returned to us, even two cigarettes in a crumpled package.

Stealing without being discovered is practically impossible in /Kung life because the /Kung know everybody's footprints and every object. Respect for ownership is strong. But, apart from that, /Ti/kay said, 'Stealing would cause nothing but trouble. It might cause fighting.' [576]

Conclusion

578 During seventeen and a half months when I lived with the Nyae Nyae /Kung at Gautscha (with Bands 1 and 2 and many visitors—usually about sixty to seventy-five persons), I personally saw four flare-ups of discord and heard of three others which occurred in neighbouring bands during that period. All were resolved before they became serious quarrels. Of the seven, four were flare-ups of sexual jealousy. One was 'the talk' about Khuan//a's gift. Two were very minor disagreements about going somewhere, when Gao Beard's frustrated young wife hit him on the head with her digging-stick and when /Ti/kay gave his brother a shove for refusing to accompany him. None were about food. We considered, judging from that sample, that the /Kung managed very well to keep tensions from turning into hostility, to avoid arousing jealousy and ill will, to cohere, and to achieve the comfort and security which they so desire in human relations.

APPENDIX

!Kung Bushman Artifacts

ANIMAL MATERIALS

Hides

281 462 *Made and used by men*

- breech clouts
- oracle disks
- head-dresses (a few, worn in dances) [237]
- caps (a few) [534]

Made by men, used by women

- genital aprons [321]
- small karosses worn around buttocks or for carrying babies

Made by men, used by all

- karosses
- bags (sewn)
- bags of whole skins
- tobacco pouches of scrota
- bracelets, armbands, knee and ankle bands [237]
- necklaces
- thongs

Cocoons

Made by men

- dance rattles

Bone

Made and used by men

- connecting parts for arrow-shafts
- arrow-points (few)
- dishes for mixing poison

Made and used by women

- fresh bone, pounded to powder, is used to clean and soften karosses

Birds' Nests

Used by men and women

- tobacco pouches (nests of the penduline tit, *Anthoscopus minutus*)

 776

also commonly used for any man (not a boy) older than the speaker when the speaker must avoid saying the name. The people address the gods as */nan* and *gaoxa* more commonly than as *n|iha*. We were told that they call the great god */nan* ' when he is good '. [576]

It is interesting to know that the power of the great god, his omnipotence which he was so mysteriously able to create for himself, is called *gaoxa* and that the special potent ' spiritual ' medicine which the great god puts into the medicine men, the curing power, is also called *gaoxa*. [756]

The /Kung often call the great god ' father ' especially in supplication, and plead that he succour his ' children ' and give them rain or good fortune in the hunt or whatever they may be asking for. [782]

Nonabe is a term of great disrespect, a ' scolding ' term. When used for a human being it is a curse and a terrific insult. A man who felt himself greatly wronged by another and in violent anger would say of the man who wronged him, ' That *Nonabe*! ' But he would not say this to the man's face ' for if he did there might be a fight (so great is the insult). When he saw the man in person he would come in peace to him, not showing his anger '. *Nonabe* is used in blasphemy by the medicine men in trance, along with other insults when they are combating the gods and the *||gamvasi* in the medicine dances, demanding that they take away the evil they have brought. [578] [756]

The Fear of the Names

The Nyae Nyae /Kung ' fear ' (*koa*) to utter the names of the gods. The word 'means both' to be afraid of, as one is afraid of a mamba, and 'to respect and avoid', as one respects one's mother-in-law and avoids speaking to her and saying her name. 776 784

Children must strictly avoid saying any of the names of the gods. Old men and women need not observe an absolutely restrictive taboo in uttering the names, and may and do say them, but there seems to be an element of taboo (it is a ' death-thing ', they say) and fear of drawing attention to themselves. We were aware of their unwillingness to speak of religious matters early in our work and therefore waited until our relations were well established before questioning them. Our information was gathered for the most part in 1953 and 1955 at many different sessions with fifteen men and eight women informants who had proved to be reliable. Others joined the talks casually and when they wished to do so. Our informants declared themselves willing to teach me because I wished to know. Throughout the discussions people varied in the degree of caution and discretion with which they spoke the names. Sometimes we talked literally in whispers and usually at least in low voices, saying ' the one in the east ', ' the one in the west '. On one occasion /Ti/kay told me that my questions made him sick. He meant to claim, I ascertained, that he had an actual physical sensation such as a nervous twinge or slight nausea. The woman who first told me the name of the wife of the great god put her lips to my ear and whispered, barely audibly, ' *Huwodi* '. Next day, unfortunately, she had a high fever. She recovered, but the episode put an end to my trying to learn from her about the wives of the gods. /U, when someone was ill at Cho/ana, and she was filled with anxiety and longing to be home at Gautscha, made me promise not to say the names or ask any more questions, at least until we were all safely back. [124] [753]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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535 consciousness or deep unconsciousness.[1] They may become stiff or froth at the mouth
796 or lie still as if in coma. Some of them habitually remain in trance only a short time,
[756 others for hours. One man used to remain in a semi-trance for most of the day fol-
787] lowing a dance.

[753] A Bushman curing cannot be fully described in words; it must be heard and I give only an outline here. The medicine man begins by dancing and singing with the others whatever medicine song is being sung. He then leaves the line of dancing men and leans, still singing, over the person he is going to cure. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The /Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. He grunts with shuddering, gurgling, gasping grunts which intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high, piercing, quavering yell. Finally the medicine man throws up his arms to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *||Gaowa* or the *||gaowasi*, with a sharp yelping cry of '*Kai Kai Kai*'. This shows that it is heavy work to draw the sickness out. The effect of the sound on one observer, myself, was striking—gooseflesh and a stopping of the breath which made it seem as though the heart stood still an instant. A medicine man goes to every person present, leaning over each to cure, even the babies, who, amazingly,
[852] seldom cry, though he gurgles and gasps right into their ears. If someone is actually sick, he returns to him again and again through the night.

After the curing has been going on for some time, medicine men begin to reach their state of frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. Fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. They rush out into the darkness, where *||Gaowa* and the *||gaowasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. 'Filthy face! Take away the sickness you have brought.' 'Uncovered penis[2]! You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away.' '*Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die.' At this point they may fall into deep unconsciousness or sink down semi-conscious, eyes closed, unable to walk.

The medicine men who have not reached their full frenzy or who have passed through it attend those who are in it. The /Kung believe that at such a time the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *||Gaowa* and the *||gaowasi*. They call this 'half death'. It is a dangerous time and the man's body must be watched over and kept warm. The medicine men lean over the one who is in trance. They

[276] [1] The /Kung know about the drug called dagga. They told us that it grows in B.P. and that when they go to trade they sometimes get a little. They like to have some when they go hunting; it keeps one from feeling tired or discouraged, they say. They might take some at a dance if they had it, but they are not dependent on it or on any other substance to induce trance. The trances are psychologically induced.

[195 [2] /Kung men swear a great deal. The swearing
578] plays always upon the themes of the genital organs, sexual intercourse, incest, and excrement. In deprecation they call each other genital organs or tell each other to go and commit incest with their mothers, sisters, wives' mothers, or sons' wives. We have not recorded their saying 'daughter'. Is that thought so terrible to them that its expression is beyond even these hardened swearers? They use the same themes in their blasphemy against the gods. 'Uncovered' or 'thrown-away penis' may mean 'circumcised'. This is a great insult among the /Kung who do not circumcise but know that the Bantu do. 'Filthy face' means 'covered with excrement'.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48'30" S, 181
20°34'36" E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but 131
extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and
Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch [123]
of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In [162]
it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and [648]
9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of
about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the [182]
region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and
preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north [192]
and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen- [829]
speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung 181
Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is sur- 182
vival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in
their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring
food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the [621]
mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their [578]
social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals
within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between [628]
bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on [771]
survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the
sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region 433
have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we re- 262
fer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of
a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired,
but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know 222
more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several 262
species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen
suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad
for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets.
Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this re-
gion as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman
groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any
water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are
the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-
resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these;
doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

believed that they bring ill-luck on the parents. What treatment is 845
adopted in the other tribes is not definitely stated; among the Naron 847
it appears that they are both allowed to live.

The exposure or killing of deformed children does not seem to occur 847
in any of the tribes. Abortion, however, is often induced by treading on the body of the pregnant woman. It appears to be practised mainly when she is unmarried, and therefore to imply that only married women have the right to bear and rear children.

There is no account of any special ceremony held in connection 852
with birth, although if there is enough food—but only then—a feast followed by a dance may be given by the parents. The child is 553
usually named shortly after birth, without special ceremony. The name is given by the parents in consultation with the grandparents and other relatives, and among most of the North-Western tribes is generally that of some near relative. Boys, for instance, may receive the name of a paternal grandfather or uncle, girls that of a maternal grandmother or aunt. Often there is a squabble about the name [578]
between the father's people and those of the mother; whichever party is in force generally succeeds in having its wishes adopted, and the child is named after a member on that side of the family.[1]

The Heikum system of naming closely resembles that of the 171
Hottentots, and has in all probability been taken over from them. 553
"Each child," says Fourie,[2] "is generally given three names, namely a first name, a second name, and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother, and the second name by the old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the surname of the mother and girls that of the father.[3] Thus *|Uirob Geirob |Geibeb* married a woman *|Kao-tamas* 171
Gamanis |Garus and begot two sons, namely *||Otoab |Gonab |Garub* 551
and *Gogob Gomob |Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras |Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *||Otoab* become *||Otoab |Gonab |Garub |Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose. A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nicknames are common, and are given to children when quite young.

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 30–1; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66.
[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 61.
[3] This feature is specially characteristic of the Hottentot system of name-giving. V. below, p. 267.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

681 There are, further, various sanctions by which non-fulfilment or the breach of any recognized custom is penalized, and which thus also serve as another and more direct means of securing conformance with the pattern of social life. In this category we may place ritual sanctions, where any departure from a prescribed rule of conduct is followed automatically by evil results, without any direct interference on the part of the community. The breaking of a taboo, for instance, is [784] held to produce serious consequences, such as death or disease or ill-luck in the chase. Thus among the Cape Bushmen, as we have seen, girls who do not observe the restrictions imposed upon them at the time of puberty are believed to change into frogs, while men who are seen by the girls at this time become permanently fixed in whatever position they then occupy, and so on. And again there are the [224] numerous observances and avoidances associated with hunting, which if neglected will result in ill-success, the loss of a wounded animal, etc. All sanctions of this sort—and in the preceding pages we have had occasion to notice a good many of them—may be regarded as legal mechanisms, in the sense that they operate to maintain the observance of accepted usages and customs.

627 Other breaches of custom, however, involve the direct intervention of the members of the community. In general, when disputes arise [578] between the members of the band—among the Naron they are said [692] to be infrequent—there is no appeal to any supreme authority, for, as we have just noted, there is no such authority, nor are cases of wrongdoing or quarrels referred to the chiefs where these exist. The only remedy is self-help. But in so far as self-help is the recognized mode of reaction, it must also be regarded as a legal institution. Blood vengeance indeed is the principal, if not the only, recognized way of dealing with serious offences committed against a person even by members of the same band.[1]

The principal actions penalized in this way are adultery, theft, and [684] homicide. In the case of adultery, as we have already seen, the injured husband attempts to kill the adulterer, if he possibly can, while the unfaithful wife is beaten and in some cases divorced. Theft also [685] provokes blood vengeance, when the thief refuses to restore the stolen property.[2] Even if he does, he is reproached for his deed, and

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 155; Trenk, op. cit., 169; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35–6.

[2] According to one of the texts published by Bleek and Lloyd (*Bushman Folklore*, 416–25), among the Kung a man who steals in the camp is killed by the others present, who all shoot at him with their arrows. A married woman who steals is also sometimes shot by her own husband. More frequently, however, she is burned alive in a hut; although, if her parents are

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

619 621 Bushmen from all parts of the Ghansiveld, even from different tribes, owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again [221] [423] Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

114 619 621 All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery, however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys' [881] puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement [574] that in the months of March and April different bands come together for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and 726 obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several 619 Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band, 621 although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

578 On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are 619 not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife- 621 stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the 628 form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially [685] is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who 648 encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen, 685

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auen," 157.
[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 13.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154.
[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 154; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 11; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 85.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

various ways. The affine who marries into the band, as long as he lives with the band, has a right to the water, to the hunting, and to the gathering of the wild foods, as members born to the band have. 423

I think that primarily the values and assets that parents seek in choosing mates for their children have to do with the kind of security which is attained through human responses and relations. Friends may want their children to marry because they know and trust each other. Or a family may want to increase its kinship bonds—and thereby its security—with certain bands for any number of reasons—among them could be food, water, or a desire to have supporting friends in a certain area—and, like the crowned heads of Europe, the /Kung may deliberately seek to establish alliances through marriages. 581 185

Merging with such desires and to be balanced with them are the characteristics of the families concerned. The /Kung want their boys and girls to marry into upstanding families, among people who are ' able to feed themselves ', who are ' not lazy and not thin '. They do not want ' far-hearted ' in-laws who are not generous in food-sharing and gift-giving. /U, ≠Toma's wife, said she would take particular note of their generosity in giving bead ornaments to their children. She would not want a daughter of hers to marry among people who were stingy in that. Proper observance of the avoidances and other social regulations is an asset in in-laws, for they can then be assumed to have taught their children how to behave properly. 185 577 581

The individual's characteristics are also a concern. Parents of boys hope the girls to whom their sons are engaged will grow up to be good-looking, because, they say, a man takes pride in a beautiful wife. Xama, the mother of Gao, the headman of Band 2, said she had wanted for her son a light-skinned girl with good teeth who was not too thin and not too tall. But most important of all is a sweet temper, she said. A mother hopes, she said, that the girl will not be lazy or wander about visiting at night at other people's fires ' like a bitch '. The girl should observe the avoidances and the menstruation and other taboos, and in every way behave as a well brought up girl should. However, since the girls are engaged when they are very young, I suppose the parents of the boys can only watch them grow and hope. 185 581 826

Girls would not want a man ' as tall as a giraffe ', we were told. They would seek a smaller husband. /U's first husband, from whom she was divorced, is so tall (almost six feet) that people laugh and say, ' Did his mother have a dream with a *//gaua* (a spirit)? '

The girls themselves, all twitters and giggles, told me what they admire in the boys. They like a good hunter like /Gunda; and they like handsome teeth and a wide smile like young Tsamgao's; and straight, slender legs like //Ao's; and a fluid, swift walk like /Gao's; and they hate a big black belly like Gao's—the middle-aged medicine man in a band distant from Gautscha, to whom the young /Doin was married.

The parents of a girl want the boy to be responsible, kind to their daughter and, above all, a good provider—which means a good hunter. They want him to make his arrows straight, to shoot swiftly and accurately, to be able to run down an eland, and, most of all, they want a son-in-law whose heart says to him, ' Why am I sitting lazily here in the werf? Why do I not get up and go hunting? ' and who, in obedience to his heart, and the group's desire, and the magic which has been rubbed into his scarifications in the Ceremony of the First Killing, gets up and goes. [304] [881]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. 513 593
Individual adjustments are made.

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the will to hunt, good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt. It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness. 582 224 884 [304]

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of hunting is ceremonially linked with marriage. At the time of the wedding, the boy must bring to his bride's parents an animal that he himself has killed. The animal he brings must not be eaten by the bride. 585 224

A boy who never killed any large meat animal would not be given a wife, informants said. This was why the strange old deviant, /Gaishay, had remained a bachelor. For reasons no one understood he could not hunt; he gathered veldkos like a woman. Gossip had it that twice he had tried to drag a woman against her will into his scherm but had not succeeded. Informants remarked, 'Women like meat.' They do, but there is far more to it than that. 582 589 [462]

As John Marshall shows in his film, *The Hunters*, the primary sources of physical life, sex and food, are involved. In /Kung concept they are linked together, and, as they pertain to men, their duality is lifted to oneness in the being of the man, who is the sexually powerful male and the provider, the hunter. Power as a man and a male and worthiness and dignity are associated with hunting and not with the failure to hunt. 562 828 224

Since they are related, both the sexual and the hunting powers of the young man can be captured at once with a bride. For the first several years of marriage the boy goes to live with his bride's parents, or her people, should her parents be dead, to hunt for them. The parents of girls speak constantly of wanting their sons-in-law to provide them with food as though it were an obsession. 'We are old', they say, or 'We shall soon be old [whether this is actually true or not]; we need a young man to hunt for us'; 'our daughter's husband must get us something to eat'; 'we need karosses'; 'we want meat'—these are their refrains. 583 [591] [606]

Another value the /Kung place upon the boy's hunting during his bride-service appears in their belief that if the husband hunts for his wife and feeds her while she is still a growing child she becomes the more his. Food seems to be a main concern in bride-service, but the people also say that they want to be sure that the boy measures up in every way and will take good care of their daughter, and that the girl will have time to get used to her husband. [581] [593]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

583 One of the most rigid social rules the /Kung have, besides the incest taboo within the nuclear family and its extension, is the giving of bride-service. We heard of no [591] deviation from it. A boy or man of any age, a headman or headman's son, an important medicine man, all go to live with their brides' parents or other relatives in first marriages and subsequent marriages, whatever the age of the bride.

The duration of bride-service is indefinite. Informants told us a man must stay with his wife's people until three children have been born. If he goes when the girl is eight or nine, she may not have her first child for possibly seven or eight or more years. It is safe to say that ten years of bride-service are not unusual. It is long enough for the boy's youth to have turned to manhood and for him to be looked upon as an [591] able, responsible head of his family. After his bride-service is fulfilled a man may remain with his wife's band or may return with his wife and children to his own.

The Wedding of /Nai and /Gunda

159 /Nai was a pretty little girl, we think about eight years old, or so, with a quick [582] responsive smile, when she was married on 22 May 1953, at Gautscha. The bridegroom, /Gunda, was about sixteen, we judged, and the people said he was the best young hunter among the boys of the territory.

/Nai belonged to Band 1, /Gunda to Band 2. Both of these bands belong to the [621] water-hole at Gautscha and were encamped there at the time, about 100 feet apart. We lived with Band 1.

/Nai's mother, Di/ai, had divorced her former husband, Gumtsa, the father of /Nai, and was now the second wife of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1. /Gunda's mother, Khuan//a, had divorced /Gunda's father, Bo. Khuan//a was now the second wife of Gau in Band 2. Both Gumtsa and Bo were living far from Gautscha.

159 The two mothers had betrothed their children some time previously. We heard 584 that Di/ai had had her eye on the strong young /Gunda, saying, 'We must get this boy for /Nai so he will take care of her and we can get enough to eat, also karosses', [581] and had gone to Khuan//a to propose the betrothal. Khuan//a had said, 'Yes, this is very good.' The mothers exchanged gifts. Khuan//a gave to Di/ai a necklace of five strings of ostrich egg shell beads which reached to the umbilicus (shorter strings would have been inappropriate) and Di/ai gave other beads and copper wire ornaments to Khuan//a.

Gumtsa, /Nai's father, heard about the betrothal. He had hoped to arrange a marriage between /Nai and someone of his choice at Kubi where he lived. One day in November 1952 he came to Gautscha to complain, he said, that he had not been consulted and to protest against the betrothal and take /Nai to Kubi with him. Tension [578] rose. /Nai cried and looked very frightened. The members of both Bands 1 and 2, though they had no theoretical authority in the matter, all expressed themselves and [628] poured torrents of talk over the affair, mostly supporting Di/ai in her steadfast refusal to yield /Nai, saying that Gumtsa had not fed /Nai, had not so much as sent her a gift, and should not now come and interfere in her betrothal. After four days of this Gumtsa gave up and went home.

159 Meanwhile the affair, like a spoon stirring in a pot, brought to light another ten- 584 sion. Some of /Nai's relatives began to express disapproval of her betrothal, not 578 because they wanted her to go with the father but because they were angry with

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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logical father, as well as his mother's husband, should do something nice for him. 159
Perhaps when he receives his first assegai his begetter will give it, for that is a very 848
proud thing—but we do not know what the future holds for these people or where they will be by then.

The dominance of men

Wives are much desired by the young men, who usually wait for years for their 562
infant fiancées to grow up, and by men who want second wives, and by widowers. [581]
/Kung women are not only precious as mates, they are the food-gatherers and supply [222]
more of the daily food than the men do. Hunting[1] is very arduous in the Kalahari and [462]
the hunters succeed in bringing a big meat animal to the werf only about once or [224]
twice a month. Meanwhile women have dug roots and gathered berries and the other wild plant foods to feed their families every day. /Kung women in their two roles make a very great contribution.

In /Kung society, however, the magnitude of their contribution does not make women dominant. There are factors which bring the men forward clearly into dominance and leadership.

The primary factor is undoubtedly strength. /Kung men are small and slender, [142]
but they are wiry and vigorous. With their strength they carry and protect the very 147
life of their people. When they swing their weapons and implements and their small children on to their shoulders and stride out in front of the women, the image seems to reveal, as vividly as if a great artist had painted it, how the laden following women are borne up by the strength of their men and take heart from them.

Another factor which brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and 462
its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is only drudgery in digging and 562
picking in the hot sun and trudging back in the early evening to the werf with heavy [222]
roots and berries and babies all sagging in the pouches of their karosses, a small dead tree or two on one shoulder for the night fire, possibly another child astride the other shoulder. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh [262]
and are not very satisfying. There is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving [262]
for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally [224]
the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once, when an eland had been killed and the hunters were sighted [152]
with the meat on their backs, moving in a dark, lumpy, bobbing line in the golden grass, we heard the sound of voices in the werf rising in volume and pitch like the hum of excited bees. Some people ran toward the hunters, others crowded together at the edge of the werf, some danced up and down, the children squealed and ran about, the boys grappled and tussled together. The motion and sound had the effect of a vibration. Another time a young man who was said to be the best hunter in
the region (/Qui Hunter we called him, his people called him Short /Qui), had been 462
charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. 562
He knelt facing the creature till it was within close range and shot an arrow straight 224

[1] John Marshall has described /Kung hunting in his film, *The Hunters*, Peabody Museum Film Study Center, Harvard University, and in 'Man as Hunter', *Natural History*, the magazine of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, vol. lxvii, No. 6, June, and No. 7, August, 1958. [113]

NARON
≠AUIN
NOGAU

[70 cont.]

her food, which is given to her by an old woman. On the sixth day
881 the girl goes looking for veldkost with an old woman, and, when she has returned, she herself makes the fire and cooks the food in the circle of her guests, for the first time officially independent.
(502) Girls may marry even before this ceremony.

[71] Among the ≠Auin the initiation is held for each girl
881 at the time of the first menstruation. The same is true among the Naron. The eland bull dance is performed every night during
881 the girl's period. Two old men attach real or wooden eland
535 horns to their heads and wait in the bush. Then the menstruating girl comes and sits down or lies down surrounded by old women, in the center of a circle of younger women who stage a dance. The two eland bulls soon appear and then quickly disappear again. The dance is very indecent. Among the Nussan, men masked as birds (!) take the place of the eland bulls.

Once a year, in autumn when the veldkost is harvested,
796 there is a great festival. The day is called: "//gam gna she (the great day)." On this occasion food is prepared, and the Bushmen come from all sides. They dance and sing, but they are supposed to stay at home; no one may hunt, look for veldkost, or do any kind of work. [Fig. 25 appears here.]

4. Courtship, Wedding, and Marriage

If a young Bushman wants to marry, he does not go to the girl, but instead must speak with her parents; at the same time
584 the girl's consent to the marriage is necessary. Once this consent is given, presents are exchanged between the parents of the engaged couple, or a gemsbok is shot and divided between the two families. Immediately after the presents have been exchanged, preparations for the wedding are begun. If enough game, above all, a gemsbok, is at hand, they dance through the entire night and sing: "Ueeõ, ueeeõ, ö, eee, gueeõ, guueeõ,"
[539] etc.

Then the young man takes his wife and moves to the horde
581 of his father. Great importance is attached to virginity before
[591] marriage. "It simply does not happen among us that a girl

NARON
!AUIN
NOGAU

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
[842] spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
843 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
845 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

[301
789
303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

!Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
584 are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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553 602 835 properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

[60] The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, 619 in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling 553 of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin 601 terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen— 602 sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [10] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ǒassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ǒassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father [613] [622] to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

[423] There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A consider- 768 able amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

582 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside 648 the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

584 First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

● 581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

various taboos. They wait for the children to grow up, hoping that they will be like their families in these qualities. 581

The marriage takes place when the parents agree, but it must be after the boy has killed a game animal and is scarified. The age at which young people marry varies greatly. We know girls who were married for five or six years before they menstruated; others were somewhat older at marriage. 582

!Kung society rigorously, and without exception, requires that all men, in first and subsequent marriages, go to live with the parents of their brides, and give them bride service. This service is essentially hunting. "Our daughter's husband must give us meat." "We shall soon be old; we need a young man to hunt for us." These are the refrains of the people. 581 583

The duration of bride service is indefinite. The !Kung say it should be long enough for three children to be born. Since the girls are so young, it may mean that eight or ten years elapse before three children have been born. Divorce may terminate bride service. After his obligations are fulfilled, a man has the right to return to his own people with his wife and dependents or he may choose to stay with his wife's people.

The young couple is expected not to have sexual intercourse until the girl is ready. No social rule patterns the time, which is a matter of individual adjustment, but the boy must not force the girl. If she complained to her parents, they might disapprove of the boy, dissolve the marriage, and send him away. His parents would have to try to find another bride for him and he would have to wait for years again for her to grow up. 585 586

The !Kung are polygynous. First marriages are ordinarily arranged by their parents between children who have not been previously married. Only occasionally is a young girl betrothed for her first marriage to a man who had been married before, perhaps a young man who had lost his wife by death or divorce, or possibly, but rarely, to her sister's husband or some other man as his second wife. Usually second marriages are contracted later in life when a woman becomes available for remarriage through widowhood or divorce. In such marriages, the man and woman concerned make their own arrangements. The number of wives a man may have is determined not by social rule but by the man's ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. There is no great excess of women, and prestige and wealth do not concentrate in !Kung society to give certain categories of men, such as headmen or medicine men, more power or right than others to acquire wives. A sampling of eighty-eight marriages showed that only nine of the men had two wives. None had more than two. 595 587 595 554

Although the first wife is considered to have a somewhat more esteemed and dominant position, no property or other material advantage is given to her and no important social advantage accrues.

!Kung co-wives live very closely together. They share one scherm and one family fire. They care for and nurse each other's children. Even when

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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the women told her "a girl may do as she pleases, but a married woman may not".[1] And again Dornan writes of the Hiechware: "Sexual intercourse by the lovers before marriage, though looked upon as wrong, is very often indulged in."[2] Vague generalizations such as these really tell us next to nothing about the nature of sexual life before marriage; they simply ignore the many important sociological problems connected with the whole question of courtship and selection, social attitude towards prenuptial unchastity, legitimacy, and marriage. 114 836

Similarly Trenk says that the girls among the Namib Bushmen are generally virgins when they enter into marriage, because most of them marry soon after puberty.[3] But that premarital unchastity does actually occur is shown by his statement in another context that the children born to an unmarried woman are taken over and looked after by the man she subsequently marries, although as soon as they grow up they must be returned to their real father.[4] This implies that physiological paternity is acknowledged by these Bushmen, and that marriage is not necessary to legalize the status of children. The latter implication at least is at variance with what is known of other Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed. Among the Heikum, for example, abortion is sometimes practised by unmarried women who are pregnant, or, when "illegitimate" (i.e. prenuptial) births occur, the children are usually buried alive.[5] Here, therefore, marriage would seem to be an essential preliminary to the right to procreate and rear children, and therefore to the foundation of the family. [582] 848 [842] [847] [581]

A family is constituted by a union between one man and one or more women, this union being legalized by marriage. The Cape Bushmen are now said to be monogamous,[6] but polygynous marriages also have been recorded by earlier writers.[7] The Namib Bushmen, according to Trenk, are monogamous; Seydel, on the other hand, curtly remarks that both polygyny and polyandry occur![8] There is no other mention of polyandry among any of the Bushmen, and the statement can hardly be accepted as accurate without full confirmation. The more northerly tribes all permit polygyny, although the frequency of such marriages varies. Among the Naron at Sandfontein monogamy 595 [114]

[1] Op. cit., 32. [2] Op. cit., 128. [3] Op. cit., 169. [4] Ibid., 168.
[5] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.
[6] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, ix; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 62.
[7] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 271; Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, i, 30; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 95.
[8] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505: "Vielmännerei und Vielweiberei wird beobachtet."

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own 591
//gaus his mother builds a hut for them."

A different form of marriage ceremony has been recorded for the 585
now extinct inhabitants of Basutoland and Orange Free State. Here, [184]
the consent of the bride having been obtained and also the approval of her parents, who received some kind of present, a day was fixed for the event. All the neighbours round about were invited to a feast. When they had all begun to make merry, the young man took the opportunity to seize the bride. This was the signal for her relatives to set upon him with their digging-sticks; they gave him a sound thrashing, and a general fight ensued. If the bridegroom managed to keep a tight hold through all this, the issue was decided, and he was a married man. If not, he would have to undergo a second ordeal some other time before he could again claim his bride.[1]

Among the North-Western Bushmen girls taken in war or found [727]
trespassing are also often held as wives by their captors.[2] Miss Bleek 583
indeed, says of the Naron that marriage is nominally by capture.[3] A young man wishing to marry comes with an older man to another village, ostensibly to pay a visit, and sits chatting, without mentioning his purpose. They look out for a good opportunity, and then carry off the girl to their own village. By this act she is married, whether she likes it or not. It seems, however, that talk about the marriage mostly precedes the "capture". "The mother thinks it proper to make a fuss, but if her objections are only for show, the men take no part in the matter, and the girl is led away, probably quite willingly, though etiquette demands some coyness. If, however, the mother really objects, thinks her daughter too young, or does not like the suitor, she rouses the men to action, and the would-be bridegroom and his friend have to depart." During Miss Bleek's stay at Sandfontein an attempt at real capture did occur, but the assailants were driven off in this way. In the old days, she adds, much fighting seems to have [721]
been caused by attempted capture; now fear of the white man tames [177]
down the affair.

Married Life

The relation between husband and wife in one of its aspects is [581]
sexual. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual intercourse 837

[1] Stow, op. cit., 96, quoting Miss L. C. Lemue; cf. Arbousset, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* (English trans., 1842), p. 351; Dornan, "Bushmen of Basutoland," 442.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 85.
[3] *Naron*, 33.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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only to the treatment of women and their paramours; nothing is said of the wife's remedies when her husband is unfaithful. 114 684

Besides this sexual relation between husband and wife, there is also the economic relation. The two share the same hut, and take their meals in common. It is the duty of the wife to build the hut, to provide the vegetable food, the firewood and water, and to cook the meals; while it is the duty of the husband to provide game for himself and his wife, to make her clothes and certain of her utensils. The economic burden of the woman has led some writers to depreciate her status, but on the whole it would seem that the women are the companions of their husbands, not their servants, and will often take their own way, in spite of the man's wishes. The position of the wife within the household is, in fact, hardly inferior to that of her husband, who, it is said, is often enough henpecked by her![1] 581 [264] [462] 562 593

In addition to establishing this special relationship between husband and wife, marriage leads also to the formation of further special relationships, especially with the parents-in-law. After marriage, as we have seen, the young couple may remain for some time with the wife's parents before finally taking up their residence in the husband's group. Among the Kung and the neighbouring tribes to the east the husband has during this period of temporary matrilocal residence to hunt for his parents-in-law and to supply them in this way with animal food. If he neglects to do this, says Vedder, his wife may be taken away from him.[2] We thus get a special economic relationship between a man and his wife's parents, based directly upon the fact of his marriage. Probably something similar exists among the other Bushman tribes having temporary matrilocal residence, but no concrete information is available about them in this connection. 591 606 [583]

Among almost all the Bushmen, moreover, marriage further creates a special form of etiquette between a man and his parents-in-law, and in some cases between a woman and her husband's parents. Thus among the Kung the husband has to avoid his mother-in-law, the wife apparently also her father-in-law. The wife's parents do not enter the hut of the young couple, nor again may the husband enter their hut. The game which he kills for his father-in-law he lays down in front of the latter's hut.[3] Similarly among the Naron a man is not 606

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; Chapman, op. cit., i, 291; Lebzelter, op. cit., 14. For an unsympathetic account of the wife's status, cf. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 122.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 8; Chapman, op. cit., i, 258.
[3] Vedder, loc. cit.; Chapman, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 63.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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587 "after a certain length of time", and, as among the Naron, there is no
[736] levirate. We are not told whose duty it is to look after the children of a widow, but in the case of a widower his children remain with him, and if he marries again are brought up by his new wife.[1]

The survivor of a marriage among the Namib Bushmen is not
[768] allowed to remarry until a full season has elapsed since the death of his or her partner. The belief is that if, for example, a woman marries
[761] a widower immediately after the death of his first wife, she also will soon die. A widow returns to her own people on the death of her husband, taking with her the unweaned children, who must, however, later return to their father's relatives. If she marries again the new husband must look after the children until they are old enough. There is no mention of the levirate, but the existence of the sororate is implied in Trenk's statement that a widower is expected to marry an eligible sister of his dead wife.[2] This is also noted of the Kung by Lebzelter.[3]

Birth and Infancy

581 A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth
586 of a child. This is clearly indicated in the fact, already mentioned, that among both the Namib Bushmen and the Heikum barrenness is regarded as one of the main grounds for divorce. It is customary
844 among the Naron and the Heikum for a woman to return to her
591 mother's home for her first confinement, if she has already left with her husband to settle among his people; while among the Kung a newly-married couple remain with the wife's parents until after the birth of a child. It is probable therefore that among all the North-Western tribes a woman's first child is born at the home of her parents; about the other Bushman tribes there is no definite statement on this point.

843 Pregnant women carry on their normal daily occupations until the last moment, collecting veldkos and water, walking as far as the rest do, and so on, although they are apparently treated with some consideration in the way of food. Among the Kung a pregnant woman may not eat sour veldkos, nor anything sweet, nor any fat meat. No one may pass behind her back, nor may a pot be put on the fire before she has smeared herself with the soot clinging to it.[4] There

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 137.
[2] Op. cit., 14.
[3] Op. cit., 168.
[4] Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 14.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

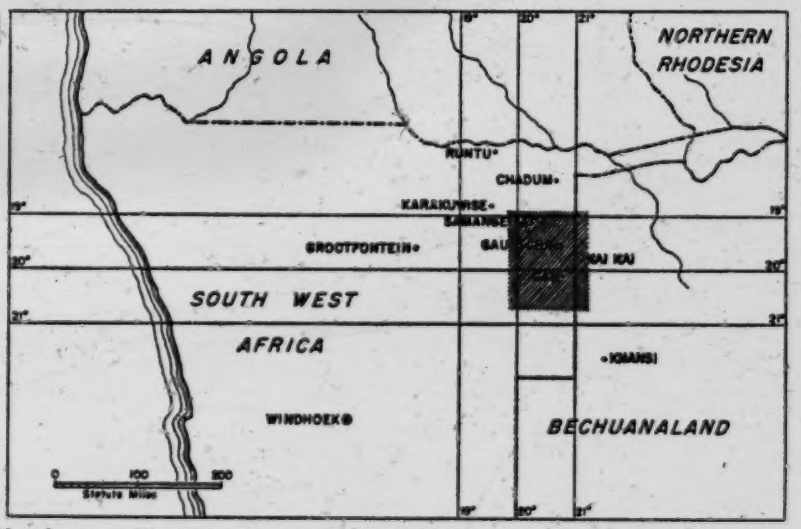
MARRIAGE AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

101 BECAUSE within the area we indicate by shading on the map[1] the /Kung Bushmen intermarry among themselves, by custom and preference, members of the Harvard Peabody Smithsonian Kalahari Expeditions needed a convenient way of referring to that area as a unit and arbitrarily called it the region of Nyae Nyae.

Nyae Nyae is a corruption of the /Kung name //Nua/ei. The name Nyae Nyae refers
131 strictly to a group of pans in South West Africa (S.W.A.) centred approximately at Gautscha Pan at about 19°48′30″ S, 20°34′36″ E. We extend the application of the name to an area around the pans of about 10,000 square miles, lying for the most part

[102]



Map of portions of South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Angola. The shading marks the Nyae Nyae region.

in S.W.A. but reaching some miles over the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate (B.P.). There are no strictly conceived boundaries around the area. We can only vaguely define it by saying that it does not include Karakuwise to the west or Chadum to the north. It does not, we think, reach eastward much farther than Kai Kai, or southward much beyond Blaubush Pan (40 or 50 miles south of Gam).

101 We establish the periphery of the region on the basis of statements made by
582 /Kung informants in the interior. They say that they intermarry among the bands
[131] which live within the area we describe and do not customarily marry with other

[1] The sketch-map here provided is based on the National Geographic *Map of Africa and the Arabian Peninsula*, March 1950, and the *Times Atlas of the World*, Vol. IV. The orientation of Gautscha is taken from the S.W.A. Surveyor-General's map dated at Windhoek 7:11:35.

[102]

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101 Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung
582 whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

619 The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the
[648] territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their inter-
648 marrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

162 About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28
[621] bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants
[177] other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

621 My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the
[114] years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

[162] FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

601 /Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1]
[595] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and
[596] extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal
[611] residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally,
[614] There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins
[835] are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

621 As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consangui-
582 nity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[113] [1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

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but there might very likely be some between whom marriage would be permissible, 621 582
such as, for instance, a man and his WiSi or his widowed BrWi.

The /Kung have no unit within which endogamy is absolutely required. Those of the Nyae Nyae region almost all marry among themselves within the region, not because a formulated social rule definitely prohibits their marrying outside but because they almost never go out. They do not like strange places, strange situations, or strange persons, and have no way of feeding themselves where they cannot depend on receiving food from relatives or friends and, in strange country, either do not know where the wild foods grow or might not be allowed to gather them if they found any. Nevertheless, a few Nyae Nyae /Kung have married other /Kung outside the region, and one /Kung woman we know is married outside her own race, with acceptance and ease of relations all around among her people and his, to a Chwana man at Gam, near the southern border of the region. We think in all probability there must be other mixed marriages along the Bechuanaland border which we do not know about, but we are safe in saying that among the Nyae Nyae /Kung such marriages are rare. [648]

Prolonged intermarriage within the region has woven these people together and 571
much visiting among kin develops acquaintanceships and friendships which unite 619
the whole Nyae Nyae /Kung population. They feel themselves to be an in-group 621
and express this feeling in the words *ju /ŏassi*.[1] *Ju* means 'person' or 'persons';

[1] S. Passarge puts the phrase on his map in *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari* (Berlin, 1907, Dietrich Reimer, p. 19), spelling it *Sn'gnassi*. He places it on the line of 20° S., slightly to the east of 20° E., near what we call the centre of the Nyae Nyae region, in the area designated on his and other maps as the Kaukau Veld. He places the phrase as if it were the name of a Bushman group, like Heikom, Naron, or some other. He places the name *'Kung* somewhat to the north-west. That is the name we spell */Kung*, which D. Bleek (*A Bushman Dictionary*, American Oriental Society, 1956, p. 447) records as */Kũ*, */Ku* or */Kuŋ* (person, Bushman).

Passarge places the name *'Kung* once more at about 23° S. as the name of another Bushman group. In sound the name is the same or very, very like the name of the more northerly group. Miss Bleek refers to this group as being popularly called 'Koon'. L. F. Maingard distinguishes between the two by spelling the name of the southerly group */Kõ*. The */Kõ* are to be found in B.P., in and south of Okwa. Whereas the /Kung language has four clicks (symbolized now as dental /, alveolar ≠, alveolar palatal /, lateral //), the */Kõ* language is very different and has a fifth click, that of the southern Bushman language groups, the labial ⊙. The phrase *ju /ŏassi* has nothing to do with the */Kõ*.

Maingard in 'Three Bushman Languages' (*African Studies*, 16/1, 1957, p. 37) uses the phrase as the name of a dialect of /Kung—'. . . *dyu/ŏãã:si* (Northern Group, a dialect of /khũ, partly in South West Africa and partly in the Bechuanaland Protectorate)'. Bleek (op. cit., p. 354) does not record the phrase in /Kung (her northern Group II), but gives it in Auen (N I) and says it means 'Bushman'. She spells it *ju /mmusi*. [101]

We think that the phrase *ju /ŏassi*, which we started spelling in this way because we did not know any better and continue because it is simpler, can be applied to groups of varying size and definition, on a variety of bases, when the in-group quality in comparison with the out-group is to be expressed in some way. When we asked what they call themselves, our /Kung informants often replied '*ju /ŏassi*' as though the phrase might be coextensive with Bushman as distinguished from non-Bushman (Europeans, */ku*, whom the /Kung also call '*ju gaw*; or Bantu, whom the /Kung call *ju dao*, 'black people' or */gomu* (or */komu?*), 'animals without hooves'). They also use *ju /ŏassi* when one might expect them to say '/Kung' as distinguished from other Bushman language groups, or when they distinguish themselves from other /Kung outside their region. They said that the Maksukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south were *ju dole* and they know that the Bushmen at Karakuwise, Nuregas, and Chadum speak /Kung but said they were *ju dole* nevertheless. I had the impression that it was the out-group quality in the phrase (strange and therefore potentially harmful) which was being expressed when they applied it as above and claimed that the Maksukau were a murderous people who have a medicine so deadly that you die if you but glance at it, and that those Nuregas /Kung put poison into the pipes they give you to smoke. One's friend or relative can also be *ju dole* if one is displeased with him.

Isaak Utuhile (a Chwana chief under Queen Moremi, in Kubi, B.P.) said that in the phrase *ju /ŏassi*

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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571 we were unable to find a precise translation of */ōassi* but think it connotes the *we* as
619 distinct from the *they* and has an overtone of something good and safe. The phrase is
621 an opposite of *ju dole*. *Dole* means strange or harmful or bad—evidently synonyms to the /Kung.

602 Because there were so many kinship ties among the people and because they have
621 a system (the name relationship—to be mentioned later) by which they apply kin
[608] terms to persons who are not consanguineous relatives or affines, I wondered for a time if we should find that the people who call themselves *ju /ōassi* comprised a kin group of the type which Murdock calls a deme.[1] A deme is bilateral and endogamous, Murdock says, 'comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite the members'. Though the Nyae Nyae region has the elements of a deme, I am convinced that it does not constitute, strictly speaking, an organized kin group of this type, of which the people are conscious as a social form. The endogamy of the region is customary and preferred, but not required by a social rule, and it is not from the group of people as a whole who are *ju /ōassi* that social regulation derives.

Marriage regulations: the incest taboo and its expression in avoidances

582 Marriages are forbidden in /Kung social organization on one basis only. That
835 basis is incest. In common with nearly all mankind (excepting, of course, the Pharaohs and a few other rare examples), the /Kung incest taboo prohibits marriage or sexual relations between Fa and Da, Mo and So, Br and Si. The incest taboo is extended beyond the nuclear family to certain additional categories of persons, and marriage with them is also rigorously forbidden by /Kung social law.

The /Kung did not express the belief that in-breeding *per se* produces inferior off-
[842] spring and must for that reason be avoided. Although they believe that in conception the semen unites with menstrual blood, their language does not use the image of blood as ours does. They do not think of relatives as having the same blood or any
[827] physical substance in common, actually or by way of figure of speech to represent inheritable characteristics, in so far as we know, and do not think that common inheritance is somehow what makes it wrong to marry close kin.

The thought that incest has been avoided by mankind because it would be exceedingly disruptive to the internal cohesion of the nuclear family comes to the mind of the analyst of social forms but not to the minds of /Kung informants. And no mention was made of the obvious social advantage of marrying outside the nuclear family and thereby weaving a supporting web of kinship with many other families and bands.

The /Kung feel a deep, internalized, pervading horror of incest which they do not try to explain. Incest with parent, offspring, or sibling is unthinkable. 'Only dogs do that—not men.' 'It would be madness (*di*).' 'It would be dangerous, like going up to a lion.' Many refused to speak with me about such 'bad things'.

571 the Bushmen were saying of themselves, in effect,
619 'We are not animals, we are human beings', a con-
621 notation we did not discover in the thinking of the /Kung themselves. Ledimo, our chief interpreter, also a Chwana, said the phrase had the connotation of 'perfect persons' and that 'clean' and 'empty' were aspects of the word */ōassi*, he thought. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas paraphrased it in the title of her book, *The Harmless People* (Knopf, New York; Martin Secker & Warburg, London, 1959).

[1] Murdock, op. cit., pp. 62–63.

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The /Kung extend the incest taboo to certain categories of persons outside the nuclear family because they hold that the relationships resemble the relationships of the nuclear family and that it would therefore be incestuous to unite them in marriage. A man will say explicitly that he must not marry this or that woman because it would be 'like' marrying his mother, daughter, or sister. 582 835

The sexual constraints required between persons to whom the immediate or the extended incest taboo applies find expression in the marriage regulations and, in a secondary way, I believe, in certain avoidances which express constraint, namely: (1) Sexual joking and sexual insults, which are permitted between persons who have the joking relationship and must be avoided by others. (2) A sitting taboo. The same persons who must avoid sexual joking must also avoid sitting close to each other or to each other's family fires—with two exceptions, namely: (*a*) parents and offspring, who must never make sexual jokes but who do not at any age observe the sitting taboo; and (*b*) all young children, including siblings. The /Kung believe that the persons who must observe the sitting taboo should not allow their genital organs to touch the same spot. No great distance need separate these persons when they sit. About 18 inches is a minimum but is sufficient. The taboo is applied without sex differentiation: men must not sit near men or women, or women near women or men if they do not have the joking relationship. (3) With the exception of siblings of any age, the same persons who avoid joking avoid using each other's names in direct address. They use a kin term instead or the men may use a respect term for each other—*/nau*, 'old man'. (4) Brothers and sisters do not sit near each other when they reach adolescence and, after marriage, when they have dwelling-places of their own, do not enter each other's scherms (shelters). (5) Parents and SoWi and DaHu, in addition to observing the joking, sitting, and name avoidances, do not enter each other's scherms and do not speak to each other in the first few years of their affinal relationship. They are the only persons in /Kung society who must avoid speaking together. After three children have been born, this avoidance is eased somewhat. In-laws may then speak occasionally; once in two or three days would be considered permissible. This interesting avoidance, so varied in intensity and so widely spread in human societies, appears in /Kung society to afford whatever benefits it has without imposing great hardship at any time. A daughter-in-law may lean her scherm upon her husband's parents' scherm and build her fire only about four or five feet away, and what she wants to say to her parents-in-law she says aloud to her husband or child and her parents-in-law overhear and respond in like manner. A son-in-law also could communicate in this way. I think only a /Kung or an informed observer would know that the in-laws were not speaking directly to each other. 602 835 [593] [593] 606

The symbolism or expression of sexual constraint which underlies the joking and sitting avoidances is also observable in the modesty of these people. I believe that their modesty is not obedience to a specific taboo, like the sitting taboo, but is a more general response to being constantly in the presence of persons to whom the incest taboo applies, before whom any expression of sex would be improper. The general demeanour of the /Kung is modest. The dancing, if it gives any expression at all to sexuality or eroticism, conveys it with such restraint and delicacy as to be in extreme contrast to the dancing of the neighbouring Bantu tribes. Both men and women among the /Kung are exceedingly modest about exposing their genital 834 [831]

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834 organs and, though the women's breasts are naked (breasts are associated with
[831] nursing, not sex), the women would not expose their buttocks, which are definitely associated with sex, as the position for sexual intercourse is for the man to be at the back of the woman. When they urinate or defecate, men, women, and all but young
[514] children who are not yet toilet trained go away from the werf and squat behind bushes or in the tall grass out of sight.

The persons who express in the avoidances the sexual constraint required by the
602 incest taboo are none the less free to engage in other activities of life together. Whether or not they must avoid joking and sitting near each other, whether or not
835 they may marry, they may talk (except with SoWi or DaHu), hunt, share meat, share the water-hole, gather plant foods, cook, eat, make journeys, visit, exchange gifts, and, if they wish, huddle their scherms and fires together. And, although they must not direct sexual jokes or insults to each other, they may laugh as heartily when they overhear the jokes as relatives do who have the joking relationship together.

Because it is interesting to compare the pattern of the joking relationship with the pattern of marriage regulation, I have indicated it when I list the various categories of persons with whom marriage is forbidden or allowed.

Extension of the incest taboo to four categories

Marriage regulations, patterned upon the incest taboo as it applies in the relation-
● 582 ships of the nuclear family, and extended to certain other relationships because they
835 are considered to be like those of the nuclear family, forbid ego's marriage with four categories of persons, as follows: (1) members of the nuclear family and certain other consanguineous relatives; (2) certain affines; (3) step-parents, stepchildren, stepbrothers, stepsisters, and the close kin of ego's father's wife other than his mother (for example, ego's mother's co-wife's sister, who is 'like' his MoSi; (4) certain name relatives.

Category 1: ego's consanguineous relatives with whom marriage is forbidden

582 In Fig. 2 are listed the consanguineous relatives whom a /Kung must not marry.
602 The terms applied to them are given in their basic form only, all complicating
835 factors being omitted as they have no bearing on marriage regulations. The term which ego applies to the male in a given category appears first; the term applied to females follows. The joking status is indicated by 'yes' if ego has the joking relationship with the given category of relatives, 'no' if he has not.

The /Kung use the expression 'We are one people' when they refer to certain consanguineous relatives—e.g. any lineal kin and the close collaterals listed in Fig. 2—but they do not consider siblings of grandparents, fourth cousins or still more remote collaterals as being of 'one people' with themselves. The /Kung, who are capable of being pushed to logical conclusions by an interrogator, say that they recognize a degree of consanguinity among such collaterals but spoke of them as
[553] 'those people'. 'Those people would name their children for their own people', they said, for example. 'We name our children for our people.'

I made considerable effort to determine whether or not I should include third
[605] cousins as within 'one people'. Many of the informants from whom we gathered genealogical data did not know the names of their third cousins, but, when we estab-

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lished the definition, with sticks and diagrams in the sand and the names of some actual people, ≠Toma, the leader of the band we lived with, insisted that third cousins were ' one's own people '. We ' red people ' might marry our own third cousins, he said, but Bushmen would know that they were one people and should not marry.

FIG. 2. *Consanguineous relatives whom ego must not marry*

	Male	*Female*	*Joking*
Great-grandparents	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Grandparents	*/gu/na*	*tŭn*	yes
Parents	*ba*	*dai*	no
Siblings of parents	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Siblings	*/go*	*/kwi*	yes, same sex no, opp. sex
Cousins, 1st, 2nd, 3rd	*/gu/na*	*tŭn*	yes
Offspring	*/ha*	*≠ khai*	no
Nephews, nieces	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Grandchildren	*/gu/na*	*tŭn*	yes
Great-grandchildren	*tsu*	*//ga*	no

The kin who are likened, by being of the same generation, to his parents, to his offspring, and to his siblings, are those to whom a /Kung feels the marriage regulations are particularly directed. Siblings of parents are ' like ' parents, cousins are ' like ' siblings, nephews and nieces are ' like ' offspring. Marriage with all these is rigorously forbidden.

Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren is also forbidden but is not a concern. Age and consanguinity combine to push the very thought virtually out of mind. To the /Kung it seemed utterly ridiculous of me to inquire even about the collaterals in these generations. ' Those old people are already dead ', said someone. ' It will be for my grandson to mind the rules when the young children grow up ', said ≠Toma in effect. ' It is not my wish to marry a baby.'

Category 2: affines

The second category of persons to whom the incest taboo is extended is composed of certain affines. Their affinal relationship is considered to be indissoluble once it is established, and ego's marriage with them is prohibited, even though the person through whom the affinal relationship with ego is brought about be dead or divorced. The thought of incestuous relations with at least some of these affines (especially parents of spouse and spouses of offspring) is as horrifying to a /Kung as if they were members of his nuclear family. We learned of no instances of the taboo being broken among them.

The affines with whom marriage is forbidden, who correspond terminologically with ego's parents' generation, ego's own and that of his offspring, are listed in Fig. 3. Joking is allowed or not as it is with ego's kin in these generations.

Parents of ego's SoWi and DaHu are terminologically of ego's generation and he may joke with them but he must not marry them, for that would make his So and SoWi or Da and DaHu stepbrother and stepsister to each other, which would be most awkward.

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582 Why marriage is prohibited with HuBrSo and WiSiDa was explained by ≠Toma.
602 Marriages with HuBr or WiSi are highly preferred marriages. This makes ≠Toma
835 'feel like' his WiSiHu, he said, even though he is not married to her, and, as a result, his WiSiDa seems to him like his own daughter.

FIG. 3. *Affines*

[601]

Marriage forbidden	*Male*	*Female*	*Joking*
Parents of ego's spouse	*≠tum*	*/utsu*	no
Spouses of FaBr, FaSi, MoBr, MoSi	*tru*	*//ga*	no
SiHuFa w.s., BrWiMo m.s.	*tru*	*//ga*	no
(Ego's generation terminologically)			
Parents of SoWi, DaHu	*/umba*	*/undai*	yes
Spouses of So and Da	*≠tum*	*/utsu*	no
HuBrSo, WiSiDa	*tru*	*//ga*	no

Marriage with a BrWiMo or SiHuFa seems improper to the /Kung because a
[587] man's marriage with his BrWi is highly preferred, as is a woman's with a SiHu (should the death of the spouse or divorce make their marriage possible), and the parents of these affines therefore seem 'like' parents of the spouse.

In the sibling category among affines ego is prohibited from marrying only WiBrWi or HuSiHu. The reason for this prohibition appears to lie in the consistency of the joking pattern, about which three more points must be made. First, throughout

FIG. 4. *Marriage forbidden with WiBrWi, HuSiHu*

Male ego		*Female ego*	
	Joking		*Joking*
Br and BrWi	yes	Br and BrWi	no
Si and SiHu	no	Si and SiHu	yes
WiSi and WiSiHu	yes	HuBr and HuBrWi	yes
WiBr and WiBrWi	no	HuSi and HuSiHu	no

the whole system (except among remote name relatives), ego maintains the same joking status with *both* members of a married couple, for example, with FaBr and FaBrWi, WiSi and WiSiHu, &c. Secondly, in the differentiation of sex between siblings among ego's affines with respect to the joking relationship, the point of reference is the spouse. Ego has the joking relationship with his own spouse and with the sibling of his spouse who is the same sex as his spouse. He avoids joking with his spouse's sibling whose sex is opposite to his spouse. Thirdly, among affines in the sibling category the extended incest taboo and the avoidances coincide. Sex permitting, if ego may joke he may marry, and if he avoids joking he is prohibited from marrying. As we list ego's siblings and affines in Fig. 4 we see that WiBrWi and HuSiHu are the only ones whose sex is opposite to ego's, making marriage possible, but with whom ego is constrained from joking because he does not joke with his WiBr or HuSi, according the same joking status to both members of a married couple.

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Categories 3 and 4: step-parents, &c.; name relatives 582

The third category to which the incest taboo is extended, step-parents, &c., needs 835
no elucidation.

The fourth category, certain name relatives, should be further described. The 553
name relationship, described in the paper on kin terminology,[1] is connected with a 608
system of naming children. The /Kung have no surnames. A /Kung father invariably names his first-born son or daughter for his parent of the same sex; usually the second-born for the parent of the child's mother; subsequent children for his own sibling or the sibling of the child's mother or the spouses of those siblings. He never names a child for himself or for the child's mother. Because this pattern of naming exists, the /Kung feel that if two non-consanguineous persons have the same name, they are likely to have had consanguineous connexions in the forgotten past, and from this concept the /Kung have developed what we called their name relationship. In a system too complex to summarize here they apply kin terms to persons on the basis of their names.

The names have passed from family to family, through intermarriage in the region, and from generation to generation, to such an extent that every /Kung of [619] the region whom we interrogated on the subject had a kin term for every other /Kung, except for one man who had once met four /Kung from afar for whom he had no terms. This had made him uneasy.

The /Kung welcome the sense of belonging to an in-group which the name rela- 553
tionship affords them. They welcome also the fact that they know how to behave with 602
people with respect to the avoidances. They fear (*koa*) to make a mistake about joking 608
and sitting, they say, and feel secure in righteousness and propriety when they know what behaviour is correct and conform to it. The kin terms sort out the whole /Kung population of the region for them. They avoid joking with name relatives whose names classify them with kin or affines of the generation of parents, or with offspring or with a sibling of opposite sex or with great-grandparents. They may joke with name relatives whose names classify them with grandparents, a sibling of the same sex, or the spouse. (Cf. Figs. 2 and 3.)

The incest taboo is extended to name relatives. If ego is forbidden to marry them 553
because of the way their names classify them, he also does not joke with them. But, 582
as we shall see when we consider approved marriages, the system does not maintain 608
perfect consistency between joking and marriage among name relatives, and it does 835
not follow that if ego must not joke he therefore must not marry. The incest taboo is extended specifically to the following name relatives: (1) anyone who has the name of ego's parent or offspring; (2) the parent, offspring or sibling of opposite sex of anyone who has the same name as ego, (3) anyone who has the same name as ego's spouse's parent or his offspring's spouse. ≠Toma explained that it would 'sound as though' one had married his parent, child, or one of these close affines.

Deviations from the rules 183

The /Kung conform strictly to their marriage regulations in the first two cate- 582
gories, kindred and affines. None of the persons whose genealogical records we 835
605

[1] Marshall, op. cit., pp. 13–15, 22–23.

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183 gathered (about 175) had married lineal kin or collaterals, at least through first cousins.
●582 However, informants told about two /Kung men in B.P. who had married their
835 cousins: we could not find out which type of cousins. What was interesting was the
605 attitude of the informants. They said the men should not have done this, but there was no talk of madness or danger or expressions of horror such as we had observed when incest was spoken of at other times. No punishments, social or divine, had been meted out, according to the informants. Some said they thought it was not too bad a thing for a man to do, especially if the woman were a FaSiDa, who is not, they said, so much like your sister as a MoSiDa. I believe that the anomaly of the system's allowing joking with cousins, although it prohibits marriage, mitigates, in all probability, the force of the incest taboo and accounts to some extent for the tolerance towards the breakers of this rule.

How much deviation there is in marrying second and third cousins we do not
[124] know. We soon gave up trying to gather data on relatives more remote than first cousins because informants so often did not know the names and we could not rely on the information.

582 One account came to our ears of a man who had violated the incest taboo with his
627 stepdaughter. He was /Gunda Legs, the MoBr of old Gau of Band 1, and he lived
684 with Band 9. He is dead now. What he did was so outside the good and the normal
835 that it could be accounted for only by madness. He had drunk the milk of a young gemsbok doe, the people told us, and this is what had made him mad. Something
159 came from his forehead and went in and out, a sort of swelling. After that he fell
[753] in love with his stepdaughter, ≠Nisa, and married her, and both she and her mother were his wives at the same time. The people 'laughed at him' so much because he had made such a horrifying 'mistake' that he took his stepdaughter and lived apart from his band—the only instance we know of a man and woman living alone. They had a son, ≠Toma, who died young. When /Gunda's madness waned he sometimes came back to his people; he would go again when his madness returned. People said they did not understand why ≠Nisa went with him. They mocked at her, said that she was *dole*, 'bad', and that it was 'nonsense' to fall in love with one's stepfather.
Our informants laughed uneasily when they told about it as they laugh when they
[154] tell of vultures eating their meat or of being chased by fierce bees when they try to take a honeycomb. There came to my mind a penetrating remark made by //Kushay, the wife of /Qui in Band 1, which might, I thought, be applied to ≠Nisa. //Kushay had said, 'When a Bushman girl goes against the customs of her people and people talk about her and say she is bad, she is very unhappy. She would hear the people talking and be ashamed and would come to them angry—angry because she is ashamed', or, I thought, go away because she is ashamed.

Deviations occur in the fourth category. Two men we met had married women
183 with the same names as their mothers. A man named /Ti/kay married the daughter of
553 another /Ti/kay, and there were other such instances. /Qui, the husband of the above
582 //Kushay in Band 1, said he proposed to do this himself. The girl's family had flatly
608 refused, but he was going to keep on trying. ≠Toma said he would not do this but
835 he sees some people doing these things. There are not enough women whom a man may properly marry, he said, and he would be in favour of changing the marriage prohibitions among name relatives so that a man need avoid only ugly women.

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Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with 602
three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made.

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu/na* and *tũn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *//ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a 182
touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and con- 183
sistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society 582
tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many cate- 593
gories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship 602
as soon as marriage takes place.

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly 587
approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is 768
expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines.

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. 583
This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one 619
marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, [584]
as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened.

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in 595
which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power 554
or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, 556
but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries [422]
his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women [482]

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584 Boys are always considerably older than girls before their parents betroth them.
[805] We never knew the precise age of a /Kung because they reckon time from one season to the next, not in years, and do not keep track of a person's age by any measurement. Boys appear to be usually around twelve to fourteen or fifteen before they are
[868] betrothed. At this age their fathers begin to take them on the long hard hunts for the
[883] big animals which supply the people's meat and begin their serious hunting training.

As to girls, wives are in such demand in this polygynous society that the parents of boys have their eyes upon every girl baby and may say to the parents of an unborn infant, ' If it is a girl, let us have her for our son.' It seems to be more usual, however, to betroth the girls when they are about two to five or six. The boys wait patiently for long years for their fiancées to grow up.

We wondered what would happen if, when the time at last came for the marriage, the boy or girl should refuse the parents' choice. It appears that they seldom do. A boy is usually too eager to get a wife. To refuse the betrothed might mean he would have to wait for years and years again for a girl baby to grow up. The girls are usually too young to protest but it sometimes happens that one does. /Kung
593 parents are exceedingly protective and permissive with their children, and delight
855 in them, especially in their infancy. I have sometimes seen an older child scolded or
861 snapped at by an impatient mother but I never saw a child severely punished. No hard work and few, if any, regular chores are demanded of dependent children. The same protectiveness and permissiveness were apparent in parents' lenience with respect to their girls' betrothals. They complied with the girls' wishes.

The marriage may take place when the parents agree. The age of the young people
582 varies greatly. For the girl, there are no definite age or other requirements. The girl need not, for instance, show physical signs of maturity. When the important Ceremony of First Menstruation is performed, the girl may have been married for years. Bau, who was married to Tsamgao in 1951, did not have her first child for six years. /Nai was married to /Gunda in May 1953. She menstruated for the first time in March 1959. To be married as young as that is not at all unusual, but we have known several girls to be somewhat older.

The parents explain that when the girls marry young they ' get used to ' their
582 husbands. I am sure there is a great deal in this and I am sure it strongly affects the
593 relations of husbands and wives, but I had insufficient opportunity to observe eight- or nine-year-old brides with teen-age husbands, and insufficient means, through interpreters, to grasp the nature of their relationship. What is the young husband like to a girl child? The friendly, gentle old man, Demi, said to me, ' They enjoy their youth together .'

The young couples are expected not to have sexual intercourse till the girls are ' big
593 enough ', informants said, and the boys must not force the girls. If a girl complained
834 to her parents and the parents took her back and sent the young husband away, he might have to wait for years again for another bride to grow up. The /Kung are
[123] prevented by their incest taboos and their modesty from speaking freely about sex and I learned nothing about the actual sexual practices of the young couples. /Nai and her young husband, /Gunda, had only one good kaross between them; they slept
513 together bundled in it, feet to feet. Bau and Tsamgao slept quite apart—at different
593 fires—when we observed them in 1952. In 1953 they slept at their own fire, apart, she

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inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. 513 593
Individual adjustments are made.

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must 582
have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung 224
boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does 884
not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or [304]
by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the will to hunt, good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt. It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness.

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of 585
hunting is ceremonially linked with marriage. At the time of the wedding, the boy 224
must bring to his bride's parents an animal that he himself has killed. The animal he brings must not be eaten by the bride.

A boy who never killed any large meat animal would not be given a wife, in- 582
formants said. This was why the strange old deviant, /Gaishay, had remained a 589
bachelor. For reasons no one understood he could not hunt; he gathered veldkos like a woman. Gossip had it that twice he had tried to drag a woman against her will [462]
into his scherm but had not succeeded. Informants remarked, 'Women like meat.' They do, but there is far more to it than that.

As John Marshall shows in his film, *The Hunters*, the primary sources of physical 562
life, sex and food, are involved. In /Kung concept they are linked together, and, as 828
they pertain to men, their duality is lifted to oneness in the being of the man, who 224
is the sexually powerful male and the provider, the hunter. Power as a man and a male and worthiness and dignity are associated with hunting and not with the failure to hunt.

Since they are related, both the sexual and the hunting powers of the young man 583
can be captured at once with a bride. For the first several years of marriage the
boy goes to live with his bride's parents, or her people, should her parents be dead, [591]
to hunt for them. The parents of girls speak constantly of wanting their sons- [606]
in-law to provide them with food as though it were an obsession. 'We are old', they say, or 'We shall soon be old [whether this is actually true or not]; we need a young man to hunt for us'; 'our daughter's husband must get us something to eat'; 'we need karosses'; 'we want meat'—these are their refrains.

Another value the /Kung place upon the boy's hunting during his bride-service
appears in their belief that if the husband hunts for his wife and feeds her while she [581]
is still a growing child she becomes the more his. Food seems to be a main concern
in bride-service, but the people also say that they want to be sure that the boy [593]
measures up in every way and will take good care of their daughter, and that the girl will have time to get used to her husband.

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583 One of the most rigid social rules the /Kung have, besides the incest taboo within the nuclear family and its extension, is the giving of bride-service. We heard of no [591] deviation from it. A boy or man of any age, a headman or headman's son, an important medicine man, all go to live with their brides' parents or other relatives in first marriages and subsequent marriages, whatever the age of the bride.

The duration of bride-service is indefinite. Informants told us a man must stay with his wife's people until three children have been born. If he goes when the girl is eight or nine, she may not have her first child for possibly seven or eight or more years. It is safe to say that ten years of bride-service are not unusual. It is long enough for the boy's youth to have turned to manhood and for him to be looked upon as an [591] able, responsible head of his family. After his bride-service is fulfilled a man may remain with his wife's band or may return with his wife and children to his own.

The Wedding of !Nai and /Gunda

159 /Nai was a pretty little girl, we think about eight years old, or so, with a quick responsive smile, when she was married on 22 May 1953, at Gautscha. The bride- [582] groom, /Gunda, was about sixteen, we judged, and the people said he was the best young hunter among the boys of the territory.

/Nai belonged to Band 1, /Gunda to Band 2. Both of these bands belong to the [621] water-hole at Gautscha and were encamped there at the time, about 100 feet apart. We lived with Band 1.

/Nai's mother, Di/ai, had divorced her former husband, Gumtsa, the father of /Nai, and was now the second wife of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1. /Gunda's mother, Khuan//a, had divorced /Gunda's father, Bo. Khuan//a was now the second wife of Gau in Band 2. Both Gumtsa and Bo were living far from Gautscha.

159 The two mothers had betrothed their children some time previously. We heard 584 that Di/ai had had her eye on the strong young /Gunda, saying, 'We must get this boy for /Nai so he will take care of her and we can get enough to eat, also karosses', [581] and had gone to Khuan//a to propose the betrothal. Khuan//a had said, 'Yes, this is very good.' The mothers exchanged gifts. Khuan//a gave to Di/ai a necklace of five strings of ostrich egg shell beads which reached to the umbilicus (shorter strings would have been inappropriate) and Di/ai gave other beads and copper wire ornaments to Khuan//a.

Gumtsa, /Nai's father, heard about the betrothal. He had hoped to arrange a marriage between /Nai and someone of his choice at Kubi where he lived. One day in November 1952 he came to Gautscha to complain, he said, that he had not been consulted and to protest against the betrothal and take /Nai to Kubi with him. Tension [578] rose. /Nai cried and looked very frightened. The members of both Bands 1 and 2, though they had no theoretical authority in the matter, all expressed themselves and [628] poured torrents of talk over the affair, mostly supporting Di/ai in her steadfast refusal to yield /Nai, saying that Gumtsa had not fed /Nai, had not so much as sent her a gift, and should not now come and interfere in her betrothal. After four days of this Gumtsa gave up and went home.

159 Meanwhile the affair, like a spoon stirring in a pot, brought to light another ten- 584 sion. Some of /Nai's relatives began to express disapproval of her betrothal, not 578 because they wanted her to go with the father but because they were angry with

/156 cont./

423 foster the growth of the veld crop, he alone may lay claim to the yield of the burned veld. Others, even members of the same settlement, are not allowed to use it.

The territorial property of the individual hordes is precisely delimited, and the boundaries are known to everyone. Boundary markers naturally do not exist, but with his marvelous sense of place, the Bushman knows exactly, to the last bush, the extent of his territory.

565 Social distinctions do not exist, just as there are no servants or domestics.

576 They greet each other by extending hands in a manner that differs from our practice (see Photo. 43).

567 727 Slavery is unknown. Men who have been, captured in war are killed; captured women are taken into the victorious group and accorded completely equal rights.

R. Marriage, Position of the Woman, Children

●582 Men marry between the ages of about 16 and 18 years, girls between 13 and 16. Both sets of figures naturally are estimates.

584 The candidate for marriage addresses his suit to the girl's mother. If the latter is no longer alive, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is consulted only secondarily. The suitor brings his future in-laws presents in the form of game and veld food, sometimes over a period of more than a year.

If the affair proceeds smoothly, the man takes the girl to his hut after a time and the marriage is regarded as consummated.

If, in spite of the consent of her parents, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to express her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man will finally take the girl to his hut by force and have coitus with her. If she runs away, he brings her back. In this manner, her resistance seems to be gradually overcome.

684 If a man were to violate a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be killed.

585 No special ceremonies are observed to conclude the marriage. The marriage is considered consummated by coitus.

/156 cont./

584 The betrothal, which takes place immediately before the couple move into the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl's wrist, as can be seen in Photograph 44. Since, however, "betrothal" and "marriage" are separated only by the walk to the hut, the seizing of the bride's forearm may be regarded as concluding the marriage.

The seizing of the forearm is a fairly violent gesture, and on the way to the hut the bride allows herself in a certain sense to be dragged along. Could it be that this perhaps represents a vestige of an earlier custom of abducting the woman?

606 It is curious how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit down with her. If, for instance, he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law will go away. If he is absolutely forced to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.

163 I noted that most women had two or three children who were about two to three years apart (see p. 5).

591 The woman goes to the family or settlement of her husband, not the other way around. The fact that the young couple stays for some time in the settlement of the wife's parents, roughly until the first child is born, may have given rise to error. Later on, the couple always returns to the man's horde.

582 A man may not marry his own sister and likewise, naturally, neither his mother nor daughter. Other degrees of relationship constitute no absolute obstacle to marriage.

As a rule, however, one does not marry within his own family and, if possible, not even within his own horde. Preferably women are brought in from far away, often from groups speaking another language (Naroon, Genkuin, Hei-um [Heikum]).

851 The birth of a child does not necessitate a temporary separation of the marriage partners.

684 837 Marital fidelity seems to be observed to a fair extent. The adulterer is killed, and the wife is treated according to the temperament of the deceived husband, that is, she is given a more or less violent beating.

/157 cont./

881 manhood. In the case of girls no special preparation occurs. As soon as a girl has her first menstrual period, people from neighboring and friendly settlements assemble for a great celebration. The girl lies prone on the ground while old women form the orchestra near her, singing and clapping their hands. The younger [535] women stamp /158/ along in goose step, their buttocks exposed. Individual men from time to time enter the circle and all of them imitate the movements and sounds of rutting animals. I believe that this is the eland bull dance. A girl may marry [582] only after the onset of the first menses.

S. Birth and Death

The birth takes place in the open air outside the settlement. 844 The woman sits on the ground with the upper part of her body propped up and her knees drawn up.

[845] Reviving apparently stillborn children by rubbing their limbs and bodies is practiced.

Old women assist at the birth. In difficult cases, for instance, when the woman is ill at the time of the birth, the "doctor" is called in.

The doctor, among other means that he employs, is supposed to relieve a difficult birth by performing a kind of sucking with his mouth at the vagina.

When he assists at a birth, the doctor murmurs magical formulas.

The umbilical cord is severed with the sharp edge of a reed splinter, never with any other object. Practical reasons for this could not be given: "It has always been so."

The man slings his bowstring around the body of the woman in labor. Then he goes away and during the birth stays in his hut.

I was unable to determine any symbolic significance in the use of the bowstring. The explanation was: "The birth is easier."

[846] The woman who has given birth is spared as long as a month after delivery and does not need to work.

The newborn child is wiped off with the nest of the weaver bird (?). In no case is water used.

[8 cont.]

177 nothing can be done without Erob; we also pray to him whenever
776 somebody is ill, but we have no song for that, we do it in our
782 hearts." In these conceptions Christian influence is obvious.

881 They have no initiation for boys, but there is one for girls at the time of the first menstruation.

The girls' initiation is called "dorob."

At the onset of the menses, the girl becomes a "X'ába X'ábesa"; a special hut (omba) is built for her, where she is guarded by older women who feed her. The girl is allowed to eat anything, but nothing with her hands. When the menses end, a two-day festival begins, which terminates with a concluding dance. The candidate is seated in the center. Men and women go around
[534] her in a circle. The men blow on wooden trumpets. (These trumpets are made by the !Kung at only one place.) At the same time the drum is beaten (!guruba). At the conclusion, the women make "music." They clap their hands and sing:

[539] e-e-e-e-a-eje a jeja ni u u e . . .

Between times the drums and wooden trumpets sound.

539 Then the choral song of the men begins.

881 boro ai /i-he ≠hasa	Daughter my has become tall (just)
≠hau ge	Stand erect (tall)
/gai /ka uta (?) /noro-re	Good be now our little sunshine (1)

1. Literally: "Shine, you."

/ari ni tessa	Dance (2), sing, sue for her hand (3)

2. Literally: "Jump."

3. Literally: "Ask for!"

!goasa hi bare	People, be glad
Ti Komi !gǒǒ̆ Kǒǒ̆...Kǒǒ̆... Kǒǒǒ̆	So, in this way, people, you should do it.

Then the dance begins anew.

[582] The engagement usually takes place long before the
585 girl's initiation. Hence the rule is that the wedding and the girl's
881

[9 cont.]

586 Up to the birth of the first child, the marriage is dissolvable, but not thereafter. Monogamy is the rule; where
595 there is polygamy, the first wife is the "head wife." The eldest
596 brother of the head wife is the family head. The boys belong to
611 the family of the wife, and the daughters to the family of the father.

582 The strictest exogamy prevails. Son and daughter may marry neither into the father's kin group nor into the mother's
[587] kin group. On the other hand, a young widow is usually married by one of her brothers-in-law.

551 The following kin-group names were reported to me:
!Nui-a, Dai, áben, orasi, Gombe, χ'am, χ'am-Kha.

805 The following times of the day are differentiated:
eruba, time before sunrise.
!khoasa, time of sunrise (N. khoa-am = to open, that is, the door for the sun is opened).
sorésa, "the sun shines."
sorésa ≠kam go, "the young sun goes," breakfast time. In effect, below the tropics one has the impression that the sun, after it has stood on the horizon for a while, moves toward the zenith with great speed.
sorésa !khoai go, "the sun goes back." Noon.
//gui-sa, "it declines (lies down)." Afternoon.
[512] ≠khai-am-go, "to rise and go." After hunting or searching for veldkost, the Bushmen usually take a rest before it is time to go home and start cooking (late afternoon).
≠kha-go, "to go through." (The sun goes through the gate of the night.) Dusk, sunset.
!khui-sa, to be evening.
dschu-ba, night (N. tsuχub).

821 These Bushmen have the idea that the old sun dies every night and a new, young sun appears the next morning. That the
[171] moon dies every month and is resurrected again is a notion so widespread in Africa that it is really unnecessary to make special mention of it.

805 The year begins when a new rainy season sets in.
//hauba, "storms rise." Rainy season.

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

372 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in
881 the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other
184 hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not
585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the mar-
582 riage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A
595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 [12] A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

[15 cont.]

881 the man's encampment and took up married life. Nowadays the
585 first menstruation and wedding no longer always coincide.

584 The consent of the girl is absolutely necessary for the conclusion of the marriage. People often are betrothed already in childhood. Once the girl has grown up, that is, once she has become sexually mature, the suitor goes to the girl's parents. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to enter the encampments of their prospective parents-in-law. If father and mother agree, then they go to the grandparents to obtain their consent. Then oxen, wethers, and goats are collected for the feast. Then the suitor goes to his parents, who in turn consult the grandparents. In the bridegroom's house also livestock is now collected, or, as the case may be, begged or purchased.
585 Then a great feast begins. There is dancing, and long trumpets are blown.

During the wedding dance the men sing:
[539] "Huwi é haa -- huwi é taa -- huwi áni taa." (The girl has grown up.)

The women clap their hands and sing:
"Jee jeee ja! jee jeee ja!"

881 A boys' initiation in the true sense of the term is no longer held. When the boy has grown up, however, a celebration
852 is held and livestock is killed. Similarly, when a child has been born, a celebration takes place, at which wethers or sheep are slaughtered. It is striking that among these Bushmen a sheep usually takes the place of the goat.

551 The boy receives the father's name; the daughter, the mother's name. The children belong to the family of the woman,
611 and the oldest uncle, or oldest brother of the woman, is the head of the family. It is prohibited to marry the children of the
582 mother's sisters.

The kinship terms are as follows:

601

German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
Father	//khum-khe	//gub, dadab, eib
Mother	//khums	//gus, is
Son	a χ'oron-khe	/gõab/gõb
Daughter	χ'ams-khe	/gõas/gõs
Brother	!gasab	!gasab
Sister	di !gas-khe	!gasas

[16]

German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
601 Son of father's brother	awób (1) !garis-khe	--

1. In this connection cf. !awi (N.): "To bear the first child."

Son of mother's brother	/góa khoaba	--
Daughter of father's brother	//khum khoás	--
Daughter of mother's brother	//khum khoás	--
Father's brother	di khoáb-khe	--
Mother's brother	khoes-khe-khoaba	--
Father's sister	di-khoaba	--
Mother's sister	//khum khoás	--
Sister-in-law	//khum khoas	--
Wife	tarás	--
Husband	aubā	--

Khoás (pronounced like quás) corresponds to Khois in Nama. Khoib, however, means man, human being, friend, and comparative KhoiXa-Khoin = blood relative.

//Khum Khoas therefore signifies 'blood-related mother," which is properly applied to mother's sisters and their daughters and to the daughters of father's brother, but curiously enough also [582] to the sisters-in-law, probably because there is also a marriage prohibition with respect to them. Father's sisters and their daughters do not have this title, and one may marry these cousins.

Chapter 6

The !Kung Bushmen

131 The whole enormous region between Ewale, Ukuanjama, Oondonga, the Umaramba u Owambo up to its source, and from there across the farm bush veld up to north of Otjituo, and the whole Sand Veld east of the Omuramba Omatako to Alexeck on

[30 cont.]

881 old people are seated. The young man may not eat any of the meat; he may only drink the soup, which is also rubbed on him. From now on he is regarded as an adult, a marriageable man;
582 584 his parents ask him whether he wants to be married. The boy commonly replies: "I am still weak and do not know whether I can take good care of her." Then the parents allow him to wait until he himself wants to marry. Von Zastrow and Vedder (p. 415) report the following concerning the boys' initiation:

[31] "On this occasion the boys are told how they must
881 conduct themselves when they go out to seek a wife, and how they
[867] must behave towards a mother-in-law. To sit down by an evening
[584] fire next to an adult girl is tantamount to a marriage proposal, even if not a word is spoken. Under no circumstances may one
[606] look at the mother-in-law. They also practice animal dances in the bush, the kind that are performed by the men later at joyous celebrations, and also in times of distress. Finally, the young
[304] Bushman receives the tribal marking, a number of skin incisions on the cheek below the temple. Each tribe has a certain number of skin incisions. In order to make them stand out clearly even
[386] after healing, pulverized charcoal is put into the incisions. As a result, the tribal marking later looks like a black streak on the yellow skin.

224 "There is nothing against applying another mark on the
304 future huntsman during this celebration, namely, the hunting
881 inoculation. This must be done by a man who has special powers and knowledge at his disposal. In order to sharpen the future hunter's eye for game generally and certain game in particular, it is necessary to make a deep incision between the eyes over the root of the nose, into which the practiced hand of the surgeon sprinkles a powder of dried and pulverized parts of all kinds of game.

"The inoculation may later be repeated several times if the hunter has no luck in hunting.

881 "A person who has received the tribal marking is now re-
884 garded as a Bush 'man'; he can make his own bow and arrows, like those of the old people, and go hunting with them. Also, the way is now open for him to found a family."

582 It practically never happens that a Bushman remains

[31 cont.]

582 unmarried. Marriage is concluded at an early age. The age that
165 Bushmen attain is not great. There are relatively few old people
among them, although some of them, it is true, attain a very
593 high age. The children must obey their parents even when they
are grown up and married.

888 The Bushmen indignantly denied that they kill the old people or expose them in the bush. If someone is old, weak, or ill, then they simply walk more slowly or leave the sick person behind with a companion. My informants did report to me that dur-
[731] ing periods of extreme thirst not only old people, but also women and children who were unable to move on were left behind. This happened only in desperate circumstances, when those who were half-dead from thirst could not be helped in any case and a stay would have resulted in death for the whole kin group. As soon
764 as someone has died, all the women and girls sit around the corpse and weep. There is no singing on this occasion. Then some of the men go and dig a grave in the bush, cut off medium-sized pieces of wood, and place these in the bottom of the grave as a foundation, over which is spread the hay that the deceased was lying on. Then all take the body to the grave and bury it in a crouched position with the back toward the sunrise. Every relative must give a few glass beads and ornaments if the deceased is a woman. This finery is placed around the neck of the deceased. The corpse is rubbed down with green aromatic powder and ocher and is wrapped in its hides and blankets. They either throw thorn on the covered grave or make a four-cornered gutter in the sand around the grave and posts are pounded into the gutter to make a fence. The grave is now in the center of the fence, like the living person in the center of his hut. A cup of water and some food are put near the head area. Deceased men have bows, arrows, and their hunting bag placed on the chest. Children are given their miniature bows. The Bushmen say that they give the bows and arrows not because the deceased needs them for hunting in the beyond, but because they do not want to use the effects of the deceased, whom they loved. According to Vedder (1), the dead

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Bushleute, pp. 420-421.

[41 cont.]

622 between the chief and the other old men. When the village chief dies, it is not his eldest son, but the eldest son of his sister [Figs. 13 and 14 appear here] who takes over the village.

58 There are certain marriage prohibitions and requirements, which are illustrated by the following schema.

[534]

Fig. 13. Dance Drum of the !Kung (Kuntsas). (Greatly reduced.)

[805]
[211]

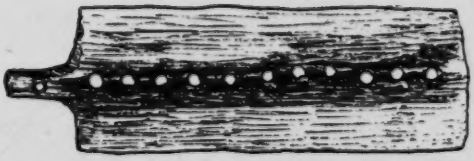

Fig. 14. Calendar Board of the !Kung (actual size [as shown in the original text]).

Father's brother X wife	Father X mother	Father's sister X husband
Brother--sister	A--sister	Cousin (male) -- cousin (female

If A is taken as an example, the children of his father's sister are his cousins. Marriage with these cousins is prohibited. On the other hand, A must marry the father's brother's daughter if she so desires. The man on his part, however, cannot force the

[41 cont.]
582 girl to marry him. Naturally, these sisters ordinarily do not remember their prerogative until they have failed to get another man whom they desire. Thus the young men are often forced to marry girls who are much older than themselves. If the wife
587 dies, the widower must marry a sister of his wife in case she agrees. [42] If, on the other hand, the man dies, the widow
(589) must stay with the parents-in-law for about a year. It is illegal to marry the wife or the children of a deceased brother. The widow must marry a man from another kin group and move to his vil-
611 lage (1). The boys belong to the father's kin group, the girls to
THE MOTHER'S KIN GROUP.

768
842
589
732
627

1. "The fate of many a young childless widow is much worse, however. A Bushman communicated the following concerning this matter: 'When a man dies and leaves behind a wife without children, and the brother-in-law refuses to accept his brother's bow and thereby his sister-in-law, she may return to her father's village. But this does not by any means always happen. As a woman who did not bear children she is not highly regarded. Her life has no significance. The men of the village talk about her case and designate one from their midst to destroy the useless life. This man will come to the widow's hut in the evening and will sit down across from her at her fire. He has a bow and arrow with him. The widow knows what is in store for her, but gives no sign. The two talk about trivial matters. After a while the man takes the bow in his hand and shoots an arrow through the heart of the woman sitting across from him. The unfortunate woman dies and is buried as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible. Blood vengeance on the part of the woman's kin group is not to be feared. After all, she did not bear any children.'" (Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 419.)

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
532 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
535 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
323 customary.
302

A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the
304 custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
(751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

NARON
≠AUIN
NOGAU

[70 cont.]

her food, which is given to her by an old woman. On the sixth day
881 the girl goes looking for veldkost with an old woman, and, when she has returned, she herself makes the fire and cooks the food in the circle of her guests, for the first time officially independent.
(502) Girls may marry even before this ceremony.

[71] Among the ≠Auin the initiation is held for each girl
881 at the time of the first menstruation. The same is true among the Naron. The eland bull dance is performed every night during
881 the girl's period. Two old men attach real or wooden eland
535 horns to their heads and wait in the bush. Then the menstruating girl comes and sits down or lies down surrounded by old women, in the center of a circle of younger women who stage a dance. The two eland bulls soon appear and then quickly disappear again. The dance is very indecent. Among the Nussan, men masked as birds (!) take the place of the eland bulls.

Once a year, in autumn when the veldkost is harvested,
796 there is a great festival. The day is called: "//gam gna she (the great day)." On this occasion food is prepared, and the Bushmen come from all sides. They dance and sing, but they are supposed to stay at home; no one may hunt, look for veldkost, or do any kind of work. [Fig. 25 appears here.]

4. Courtship, Wedding, and Marriage

If a young Bushman wants to marry, he does not go to the girl, but instead must speak with her parents; at the same time
584 the girl's consent to the marriage is necessary. Once this consent is given, presents are exchanged between the parents of the engaged couple, or a gemsbok is shot and divided between the two families. Immediately after the presents have been exchanged, preparations for the wedding are begun. If enough game, above all, a gemsbok, is at hand, they dance through the
[539] entire night and sing: "Ueeõ, ueeeõ, õ, eee, gueeõ, guueeõ," etc.

Then the young man takes his wife and moves to the horde
581 of his father. Great importance is attached to virginity before
[541] marriage. "It simply does not happen among us that a girl

NAAON
IAUIN
NOGAU

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
[842] spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
843 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
845 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

[301
789
303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

*Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course, are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she
584 is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

[72 cont.]

163 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
591 couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker. Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least nominally.

Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
422 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is
685 punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand, a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the individual's private property.

The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
628 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively
721 against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

601 and most of the persons who eventually become his secondary affines would be name-relatives. They keep whatever term they had and add */umba* or */undai*. Theoretically, if they should not have a name-relationship they would fall back on the generational method.

When terms are applied to secondary affines by the generational method, the primary affine is the point of reference. Ego applies a term to the parent or child of the primary affine which is in the alternate generation terminologically to that of the primary affine. A term in the same generation terminologically as that of the primary affine is applied to the sibling of the primary affine. The list of terms on p. 16 shows the correspondence of the generational terms with the affinal terms. Diagram 8 (p. 17) illustrates this situation.

Consanguineous relatives of ego's may be named for secondary affines as well as primary affines. When they are, ego applies to them the same term which he applies to the secondary affine but drops */umba* and */undai*.

All relatives to whom the generational and sibling terms are applied, except name-relatives (see p. 15), have terms applied to their spouses by ego which are paired with the generational and sibling terms as listed below.

Generational or sibling term for males	*Spouse*	*Generational or sibling term for females*	*Spouse*
tsu	//ga or /utsu (//ga is preferred for FaBrWi or MoBrWi; /utsu is preferred in other relationships)	//ga or di/guma	tsu or tun/ga m.s. (tsu is preferred for FaSiHu and MoSiHu; tun/ga is preferred in other relationships)
/gu/na	tũn	tũn	/gu/na or tun/ga w.s.
tun/ga w.s.		/gu/na w.s.	tun/ga w.s.
when collateral	tũn w.s.		
when affine	/kwi w.s.		
/go or tsi	tũn m.s. /utsu w.s.	/kwi or tsi	tun/ga

Part II: Some Aspects of Behaviour as Related to Categories of Kin

Marriage

842 The /Kung know that biological descent is from the father and mother, believing that the father's semen unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form the child. But their language does not emphasize the concept of blood as ours does. A 602 /Kung speaks of a person who has blood ties with himself as being of his own people, emphasizing the phrase in some way, as when we say ' very own '.

●582 Marriage with any consanguineous kin is forbidden in /Kung culture. This prohibition is quite strictly obeyed. The very thought of marriage with a parent, off-684 spring or sibling is horrifying to the /Kung. They could hardly be brought to talk about such ' bad things '. They told us about a man who married a woman and her

daughter at the same time. Although he had blood ties with neither, this was analogous to marrying a daughter and it was thought the man must be mad to do so. Informants said specifically that /Kung do not marry uncles or aunts because they are 'like' parents. Cousins, they say, are 'like' siblings and nephews and nieces 'like' offspring. Marriage with any of these would be shocking. 582 684

In the genealogies of about 175 /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region there is no instance of marriage among any of the above-mentioned relatives. However, we heard of two first-cousin marriages among some distant /Kung. 582 [183]

A /Kung must not marry a person who has the same name as his parent. In the two instances we know where this rule was broken the people lied, admitting it only after someone else told us about it. A man must not marry a woman to whom he applies the term */utsu* (this seems to be regarded as a particularly stringent prohibition), nor may a woman marry a man she terms *≠tum*. We know a man who broke this rule. His marriage with his */utsu* caused a scandal which was still reverberating after two years. [553 183] [684]

The preferred marriage among /Kung is with a non-consanguineous name-relative whom ego terms *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn* m.s. SiHu and HuBr are both termed *tun!ga* w.s. and BrWi and WiSi are termed *tũn* m.s. These are considered desirable marriages, especially the sororate, but neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory. [587]

Marriages with persons termed */umba* or */undai* are not forbidden. Persons who use the terms *tsu* and *||ga* for each other may marry unless one has the name of the other's parent. Persons who use the sibling terms may marry. These marriages, though not forbidden, are not preferred.

There is no category of persons with whom sexual intercourse is permitted by /Kung custom except the spouse. If illicit sexual intercourse is indulged in, it is carefully concealed. 837

The Joking Relationship

The joking relationship is an important element in /Kung culture. It is in the foreground of people's minds. The /Kung never once mentioned the generational aspect of their kin terminology system but whenever kinship matters were discussed they spoke of the joking relationship. The /Kung do not train their children to know the precise genealogical position of collaterals,[1] but they teach them the term to use and the joking status of the term. Sometimes an informant would not know whether, for instance, a relative he termed *tsu* was his FaBr, his MoBr or who, but would say that his parents taught him to use that term for the relative and that he must not joke with him. 602 [867] 601 602

The joking relationship creates a dichotomy which divides consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives into two groups. Every kinship term is associated with a joking status and the culture either allows ego to joke or prohibits him from joking with every person to whom he applies a kinship term.

[1] As to lineal kin, all our informants knew the precise genealogical position and names of their grandparents and grandchildren but many did not know the names of their great-grandparents. (We did not meet any /Kung who had a great-grandchild.)

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Oschimpoloveld. On the east they extend into the Bechuana- /101
land Protectorate and on the north into Angola. Among /131
them are included the *†Aukwe* or *‡Ao-//ŏin* in the south between Sandfontein and */Gum*, the *Ssu-‡gnassi* to the north-east and the *‡Kŭng* to the northwest.

Next in importance and numbers to the Bushmen of the /101
Kalahari are the *Hei-//om* living in the vicinity of the /131
Etosha Pan and on the outskirts of Ovamboland in the Groot- /177
fontein and Outjo districts. They are generally believed to [174]
have resulted from the interbreeding of Hottentots with a now extinct tribe of Bushmen which originally inhabited the greater portion of the present Damaraland and Ovamboland. Their manner of life is still that of Bushmen but, unlike their [197]
neighbours of the Kalahari, they have no language of their own and speak a Nama dialect. Except among the groups in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organisation has disappeared almost completely. The groups living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture. In Eastern Ovamboland they are known by the Ovambo as *Ovachwagga;* in north-western Ovamboland they call themselves *Ovambo* Bushmen but are referred to by the Ukuanyama as *Wakeddi* or *Ovakeddi*. Both *Ovachwagga* and *Ovakeddi*, especially the [582] ●
latter, are being rapidly absorbed into the *Ovambo* through intermarriage. The *Ovachwagga* speak both the Ovambo and [191]
Hottentot languages. Among the *Ovakeddi*, on the other /197
hand, only the older members of the various groups still have a knowledge of the latter language. Of the groups along the banks of and immediately to the north of the Ovambo Omuramba very little is known. To the west they are in contact with the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha region; to the north with the Ovambo and to the east with */Kŭng* of the Oschimpoloveld or northern Omaheke. The *Hei-//om* of the remaining portions of Grootfontein and Outjo and of the districts of Otjiwarongo and Gobabis are scattered about on farms and are living in close association with Hottentots and Klip Kaffirs with whom they show various degrees of intermixture. In Gobabis there is only a small remnant, known locally also as the *Nama* or *Kakuja* Bushmen on account of the extent to which they have interbred with these races and the neighbouring tribes of the Kalahari.

Of the tribes which were left in Namaqualand during the /101
latter half of the last century only a few individuals have /131
survived. The */Geinin* of the Namib between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//Obanen* of the Huns Mountains, and the */Koma-san* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateau have disappeared completely. The */Huinin* are represented by a few groups at the southern extremity of the */Huib* plateau and adjacent part of the Namib. The */Ganin* of the Nauwkloof Mountains have likewise become almost totally extinct.

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people. [423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such, 621 by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-//om*, on the other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the [582 591] chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are 361 placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the [184] *Hei-//om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial [562] and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and [882 342] boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various 342 tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a [462] husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations. When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish 166 a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who 342 deposits his household and other effects on the place on which [622] his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated [312] in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

881 ceremony, which may last for a month or even longer. The latter, as practised among the *ǂAo-//ēin*, consists of several stages. On the first day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the smoke of the "devil's" fire (*//gāua-da*) and are required to partake of the "devil's" urine (*//gāua-/kam*). The proceedings of the second day begin with dancing before daybreak. After sunrise and at sunset they are given a small quantity of *//nōun* (one of the staple vegetable foods of the Kalahari Bushmen) to eat and a little water to drink. During the day their bodies are blackened from head to foot with powdered roasted *//nōun*. After partaking of the evening meal they retire to rest without dancing. On the morning of the third day they start dancing at sunrise and dance without interruption and without food or water all day long until sunset, when they go to sleep. On the following morning before sunrise their hands are washed with water by the elders and they are given a little *//nōun* to eat. Thereafter they are taken to a pan of water and required to walk through it. The rest of the day is spent in collecting veldkos. In the evening they are introduced to the "Devil" and partake of honey brought by the latter. On the fifth day their bodies are cleansed with chewed roasted *//nōun* and they are permitted to move about the camp and partake of food. They may, however, not speak to young unmarried women. As they retire to rest at night their bows and arrows are handed to them by the elders. From now onwards each lad is taken separately and required to prove his skill in stalking and killing game with bow and arrow. [304] Each one who passes through the test in a satisfactory manner is tattooed with meat taken from the animals shot by him and then permitted to return to the werft.

Courtship and Marriage, Death, Etc.

582 Marriage within the group is forbidden and is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. As a rule men do not go far for wives and intermarriage takes place between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women. The southern groups among the Bushmen 184 595 of the Kalahari are monogamous but as one proceeds northwards polygamy is met with. Among the *Hei-//om*, for example, each man has two wives as a rule. The wives may or may not be related. The second wife is taken some time after the first. The wife taken first is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over the second wife. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation. Polygamy is rarely met with among the *ǂAo-//ēin* and *Naron*. Exchange of wives

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

● 582 Even Gai had been married once before, when he was in his teens, to a wife not yet eleven, as most Bushmen marry at a very early age. A Bushman girl can be betrothed before she is weaned, while she still lies on her back and waves her tiny feet. When she is eight or nine she marries and her young husband, who is probably in his late teens, comes to live all or part of the time with her family. He will not have intercourse with her until she reaches puberty—she must pass her first menstruation and her breasts must show. They then [591 live together as man and wife, always with her family, as 885] Bushmen are matrilocal until the couple has borne three children, the sign of adulthood, or, if they are not so blessed, until they reach the age when most people have three children. Then, if they wish, they may live with the husband's family.

It is said that when a man raises his wife, feeds her, and cares for her, the two enjoy their youth together, she is the more his, and a more stable marriage results than if she were allowed to grow up wild and free and perhaps make a hasty choice of too young a husband (one of her own age) in the passion of her adolescence. An early marriage also ensures that the girl will be a first wife, a more desirable and authoritative position than that of a second, or co-wife. The girl's parents benefit from an early union as well, for the young man hunts for them and the meat he kills goes to their band.

This system may be good for women, but it is hard on young men, who often must endure desire for years and years, waiting all through their teens and early twenties before they can possess their wives. One young man among the Kung Bushmen had been thirty when his wife had died, and he had found no one else to marry except an infant girl. When we knew him he had been waiting five years for his wife to grow up, and at that time she was only about seven (younger than his son, who was about eleven); and when he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

thought that he would have to wait at least four years more 582
for her, he would get into such a passion of desire that he
would have to send his wife away for a time, lest he forget
himself and break one of the most stringent rules. Bushmen [833
believe that it harms a girl terribly to be possessed before she 834]
is mature. It might even drive her mad.

Bushmen have no real solution for this problem, as there 548
are no prostitutes and only in a few bands are there promiscu- 588
ous women. Homosexuality is not permitted either; the 838
young men just have to get used to being tempted constantly
but never gratified.

Gai had raised his young wife, and when she reached pu- 593
berty he had possessed her and she had borne him a son. This 587
was the young man Gai had found at Okwa. Shortly after
that his young wife had died and Gai then had married Tse-
tchwe, whose young fiancé had been taken away by a farmer
to work on a farm. Gai and Tsetchwe had borne two chil-
dren. Only one was still alive; this was Nhwakwe.

When we asked about the residence and about the parents 159
of Gai, an argument arose. Gai lived with Ukwane because
his wife wanted to live with her mother, Dasina, and Dasina
lived with Ukwane because she and Ukwane were relatives,
sharing a common grandparent. Gai himself, said Ukwane,
was conceived by a Bushman mother and a Bushman father
named Gwena, but Gwena had died while Gai was still in
the womb. When that had happened, Gai's mother had gone [582]
to Chukudu to marry a Bakalahari man. She and the Bakala-
hari had then moved to the big rock in the Okwa Omaramba,
where Gai was born. This was Ukwane's side of the story.

Gai had been listening, and when Ukwane had finished,
Gai raised himself up on his elbow to say that Ukwane was 159
quite mistaken, for the Bakalahari was his real father. An ar-
gument dragged on, the old people insisting that Ukwane was

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

731 days, although not all were completely cured; and many, feeling that their luck was very bad at Gautscha, decided to take
361 their chances at other places in the veld where, although there was no water, there were watery roots that could be scraped for moisture. One day many of the people walked away in single file, taking their belongings and carrying on their backs their relatives still too sick to travel, leaving Gautscha Pan deserted except for the three small family bands who made their permanent home there.

764 One day when we were traveling in the veld about twenty
888 miles from Gautscha we came upon an old man lying on his face on the sand in an open place. He was a member of one of the bands at Gautscha that tried to escape bad luck, and, thinking he was hurt, we stopped at once. But he was not hurt; when we came near him he did not get up, but turned his face away from us and lay as if dazed, pressing one hand to his forehead. We knew him; he was the only Bushman of any nation we had ever met or even heard of who had never
[582 881 162] married, this because Bushman men must shoot a buck and undergo initiation before they can marry, which he had never done. Instead he lived with his sister, who took care of him and provided him with food, and who had been very ill during the plague at Gautscha. As we looked at him the headman of that band stepped out of the bushes and told us that the old man was not ill but grieving for his sister, who lay dead in a grove of thorn trees a little way beyond. The old man, who had been alone with his sister when she died, had been too weak from the illness to bury her, and had only been able to hide her body under a pile of stones. When the other members of the band had returned to the grove after a day or so of veld food-gathering, it had been too late, to dangerous because of the now roaming spirit, ~~for them to assist~~

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

everyone was thankful that she had not been hurt. The people 731
remarked at the size and the intensity of the fire and shook their heads at the destruction, each one telling someone else where he had been when he first had seen the blaze. They asked each other why no one put the fire out, as no one did, and soon the scherm was a heap of white ash and the old couple who owned it ruined materially, too old to start again.

A few weeks after that, two children were married. The 582
groom was about sixteen and the bride was eight. It was con- 835
sidered to be an excellent match, as the bride was pretty and the groom was already becoming famous as a hunter. But even in these auspicious circumstances complications and involved negotiations arose, until, for a while, people began to think that no wedding would take place. The bride's aunt [578]
disliked the groom's mother, and recalled an old scandal that had shadowed the family for years. The groom's mother had divorced the groom's father long ago to marry her present husband, which in itself was altogether usual, but it came out that the man and woman had maintained an adulterous relationship before the divorce and furthermore were tabu relatives, which made their union incestuous—not as severely so as marriage between parent and child or brother and sister, but incestuous nevertheless—and it caused a scandal that reverberated throughout all of Nyae Nyae. The two were middle-aged when they married, and they had clung sol- [593]
idly together through the storm of scandal and disapproval, for it was truly a marriage of love.

The little girl did not want to be a bride. When we asked 584
her how she felt about her wedding she hid her face in her hands and said that she was still a young child, too young to get married.

All in all, only the groom's family behaved well, showing patience and forbearance until at last the wedding took place.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

621 The other werfs were much nearer us, as the people wanted
574 to keep an eye on each other, to see that we gave food or presents to all when we gave to one, but also because they enjoyed being together and wanted to be able to visit each other quickly at any time at all. Next to our camp on one side was Lazy Kwi's werf, and on the other side lived Toma with his wife and Gao Feet with his wives. At the far end of their werf lived Crooked Kwi with his wife and the old grandmother. They were between our camp and the pan, and beside their werf ran a pathway, the way used by the people on the other side of us to reach the water.

593 On the other side of the path, in the shade of a tree, lived one more small band, the band of a young man of perhaps thirty, who lived with his twelve-year-old son and his eight-
[582] year-old wife, whom he was nourishing while waiting for her to grow. These young people had chosen their spot because
[591] the little girl was Gao Feet's daughter by his first wife and was still so young that she wanted to live near her mother. She was a sad little girl with a grave face and troubled, wondering eyes; in fact, all these young people were very grave and sad—the young man's first wife had died and he now had no one to care for him because the little girl, his new wife, spent a great deal of time with her mother and he was left alone. The son was lonely too, having no mother and no one to care for him except his sad young father. His father was too troubled, too preoccupied, to be a companion to him, his little stepmother was too young, and he spent most of his time sitting on a rise of ground overlooking the werf where he lived, watching other people going by.

[142] The little girl took after her mother, Gao Feet's ugly wife, but her two men, her husband and her stepson, were a family
533 of great beauty. Both had wide, grave eyes and golden skins, and both were musicians, but the young father himself was

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

164 Short Kwi's wife, who looked around at them all gravely, listening, and when they had finished she nodded her head. "A medicine man of Europeans," they said.

"So," said she.

We talked about the foot for a while, for although he had covered it we could still see the toes. The people of the werf described how Short Kwi was bitten and everyone claimed credit for his part in saving Short Kwi's life. One man had killed the snake, another had cut the fang punctures, and others had given advice at the time and later. The leg had [752] swelled enormously and the medicine men had cut the swollen skin to let blood; the scars of this still showed on the healthy thigh above the blanket. All the people seemed very depressed when talking about it, though; for one reason, they ate meat less often, but also they truly admired him and did not seem to enjoy watching the disaster. Toma asked Short Kwi how he felt and Short Kwi said he thought that his leg had seemed to be getting a little better during the last few days.

● 582 It was almost evening, and we heard voices singing in the veld. Two women and a young girl were coming home from a trip for veld food. These three were also very happy to see us and the little girl kissed me but not the men, then asked for her mother, who lived at Nama and whom she had not seen for seasons, and we told her that her mother was well. The girl had been newly married and she was as pretty as she could be, with lots of beads, and with long ornaments of tsi nuts hanging beside her face. She wore a fine kaross which [291 822 224 841 784] she had rubbed with red powder, often a sign to men that a girl is menstruating, as perhaps she was, that men may be careful not to touch her and endanger their powers to hunt. Marriage seemed to have agreed with her. She looked very

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

happy. She was only ten, but already she had lost her childish belly, although her breasts had not yet begun to grow.

Now everyone was in the werf and people had begun to go back to their fires, leaving Short Kwi alone. When most people were gone, Short Kwi's brother-in-law squatted beside him and, taking his injured leg, began laboriously to help him move toward the veld, toward a little path that we had not noticed before. Short Kwi's wife had cleared the path; it led to a place in the veld where Short Kwi could urinate, and slowly, painfully, Short Kwi and his brother-in-law moved down it, the brother-in-law duckwalking, carrying the bad leg while Short Kwi—he who once could run great elands down—edged himself forward on his buttocks, using his hands to brace himself and his good leg to pull himself along.

We were not at his fire when he got back, but we could see him through the trees, inching, and then, when Short Kwi was alone with his wife and daughter, we could watch him sitting by his fire, looking idly around. He was like a wild goose with pinioned wings, squatting there before his fire, watching the sky, the veld, and other people come and go.

Those of us from Nama made a camp apart from the werf, through long grass as high as our chests, inside a little glade of thorn trees. We cleared some of the grass and built a fire, and even then the Bushmen could not stop talking about Short Kwi, although they tried to change the subject; they spoke of him creeping along on his buttocks, even this impossible without someone to help, and all because he had failed to notice an adder that was waiting in his path. Of course, the Bushmen said, he was lucky to be alive. I felt that he was luckier than they supposed, because of his wife, that quiet, gracious, gentle, pretty woman, and his grave little daughter, the image of her mother. The people felt, said

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam

I think ǃkŭŋ, ǃkoⁿⁿe "grandfather", "grandmother" are derived from ǃkuⁿⁿa "great", "large", "stout". These terms are used in addressing any elderly relatives, or people distinctly senior to the speaker, much as "Oom", "Tante" are used in Afrikaans. In the tables appended I give these titles, where they were specially mentioned in a list of terms of relationship, but in the folklore they are so widely used, that one might sometimes translate them "old man", "old woman". 196 601

I can give no explanation of the fact, that a woman calls her father's parents her "real" grandparents, and her mother's parents her "lent" ones, while a man reverses the process; his mother's parents are his "real" grandparents. My aunt, Dr. Lloyd, who took down this information, evidently made no inquiry, and to-day there are no Colonial Bushmen left capable of telling us. These adjectives are not used in ordinary conversation, any more than we use the terms "paternal", "maternal". 601 [124]

The Bushman did not explain why the mother's brother is called "son". I should say a particularly affectionate relationship is indicated. As to the title for the mother's sister, he said: "They are wont to say their 'grandmother' to their mother's sister, they say their 'grandmother' to her. A man says his 'daughter' to her. Then the man's aunt says her 'father' to him, for they (the mother and aunt) feel that they are women who are one. Bushmen say, women who are one, to the women of one house. When girls have one mother, they say they are women who are one."

ǃke means "companion", "friend", "someone loved". Xoa ǃke-ke means "mother's other friend" or "chum", of whom was said: "They make their other friend of one person; they say their other friend to her." 196 601

In certain ǃxam tales the wife's unmarried younger sister stays with her, as helper and baby-minder. An elder sister would be sure to be married. This sister I take to be the "other friend" of the wife, the "little sister-in-law" of the husband, the ǃkouki-©pwa. For this term is only applied to a little girl. [538]

I know of no marriage laws among the Bushmen to explain the title of sister being occasionally given to the father's or mother's sister's daughter. Bushmen sometimes marry a cousin of that or any other sort, but more often they marry someone else. The only girl a Bushman may not marry is his *own* sister. 582 601

[Text continues on page 62]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

Brother and sister are the only relations who are forbidden to 582
marry, and by this, real brother and sister are meant, the children of one father and mother, not cousins. I never heard a title for any cousin, however related, though several were present Cousins sometimes marry, but more often a bride from a distance is procured.

A pair of sisters have a very close relationship. They are 593
generally chums, and help each other with their babies. A child [601]
calls its mother's sister its "little mother". In speaking of the [604]
occasional bigamy found among the **Naron** in contrast to other 595
Bushman tribes, an old man said to me:

"A man may take a second wife, if he wishes. If they agree well, they live in one hut; if not, each makes herself a hut. A man had better take his wife's younger sister as his second wife; then they do not quarrel, but live in one hut."

ǁka in **ǁkashe** "maternal aunt" may be derived from **ǁkai** 196
"together". **Ho** used as a verb means "to marry", also "to give 601
birth to children". **Ti kweba** and **ti kwesa** mean simply "my man", "my woman"; they are more often used than **hoba** and **hosha**.

A widow may marry her late husband's brother, but need not 587
do so. She is quite at liberty to marry any other man. If she remarries, her husband is expected to look after her children; [604]
otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. The widow may stay near her husband's people, or return to her own people, as she pleases.

Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, are very fond 597
of adopting a grandchild. They will half adopt one, even during 603
both parents' lifetime. The grandmother is generally the person [868]
who teaches a child to speak.

In concluding these notes on the tables of relationship, I should 114
like to say that I know they are very incomplete. At the time of my stay among the **ǁkau ǁen** and **Naron** I had not realized the importance of this side of native life; nor apparently had my aunt, Dr. Lloyd, whose work I rely on for the **ǂxam** and **ǃkuŋ** tables. Still, I think sufficient has been collected to show the general trend of Bushman family ties.

One must always remember, that people depending on nature 105
for their entire food supply, can only exist in very small, widely 161
scattered groups. Families cannot be large. Drought and famine

[Text Continues on page 70]

ll: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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582

YOUNG COUPLE stands, shyly smiling, at outskirts of *werft*. Marriage among the !Kung, as in the case here, often occurs before the girls reach puberty.

222 461 on the season. In the long days of wilting between the October spring and the January summer, food is scarce and the women may go out every day into the failing veld, leaving their *werft* early in the morning and returning late in the afternoon. All 222 that a woman gathers belongs to her 422 alone, and of course is shared with her family. She feeds her husband, her 593 children and often a visitor or two, at her own hearth. No formal instruction 222 is practiced among the !Kúng, with the possible exception of certain kinds 868 of religious teaching and what might be called an occasional hunting school. 857 Learning to gather comes from the children's observation of the more experienced women. Girls soon learn to [824] recognize more than a hundred kinds of edible plants that grow in *Nyae Nyae*, as well as the seasons and places in which these plants grow. They learn to see tiny, shriveled root vines coiled around thorns in the thickets and, in the process, develop fine powers of observation. Possibly complementary to this lack of formal instruction, no formal pressure is exerted on young people to take up adult roles. Girls, if they wish, accompany their mothers on gathering trips. If they do not, they rarely feel guilty. A girl usually be- [582] gins to feel responsible soon after she marries, which is often before puberty. But only when she has children of her own does a woman see the world through the eyes of a provider.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48′30″ S, 20°34′36″ E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and 9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen-speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is survival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we refer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired, but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets. Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this region as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these; doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 462 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsī, the men always accompany the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsī* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater portion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging implement is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

222 [412] [101] [484] [361] [854] [482] [372]

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes, pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

252 264

222 433 731 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—

186 [582]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

Both the father and mother expect and receive respect and obedience 593
from their children. Although the mother's influence is always felt, I believe that the father's authority is greater. It is not formalized or expressed in a harsh or domineering way. As long as the father lives, he is the head of the family, symbolically. Even when too old to hunt, if he is still a forceful [882]
person, he remains the one in authority, the leader of the sons-in-law and his daughters, of his sons and their wives. Gradually, however, when he becomes very old, the younger men make their own plans without necessarily consulting him.

!Kung families are responsible for dependents. Thus, old, dependent 737
parents are unfailingly supported by their offspring and may choose with which one of their offspring they will live. Orphaned children are taken 736
by their grandparents or by a sibling of their parents. It happens occasionally that a person has no living parent, offspring, or sibling. In that case, other relatives assume the responsibility.

THE NAME RELATIONSHIP • Although !Kung society has developed no 571
formal political structure under which the bands are united, and there are 602
no organizations outside the bands, these people have a means of extending 553
the concept of kinship beyond close consanguineous relatives and affines 619
and of recognizing, in what we call the name relationship, the web of remote interrelationship that long intermarriage within the region has established.

Invariably the first son and the first daughter are named by their father for their paternal grandparents. Other children are usually named for their mother's parents, the siblings of their parents, and the spouses of those siblings, and may occasionally be named for other relatives. Thus, a few names are used over and over through the generations. We recorded only [651]
forty-six men's names and forty-one women's names in the region. The !Kung assume that persons who have the same name are related, though the exact nature of the relationship is forgotten. They believe, also, that people with the same name somehow have a common entity. They bestow [601]
upon each other kin terms that are appropriate to the name, according to a system. The !Kung have intermarried within the Nyae Nyae region to [882]
such an extent that everyone has a kin term he associates with each one of the names. This means that the people of the whole region are what we call name relatives, all applying kin terms to each other.

From the !Kung point of view the custom has two values. It regulates 553
the incest taboo in its furthermost extension, especially the joking relation- 602
ship that symbolizes the taboo. (For example, a man should not marry or 835
make sexual jokes with a woman who has the same name as his mother.) The !Kung feel secure in righteousness when they know they are behaving

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

553 602 835 [601] properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, 619 in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling 553 of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin 601 terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen— 602 sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [601] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ŏassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ŏassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 [613] [622] INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

[423] There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A consider- 768 able amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

● 582 648 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

584 First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

various taboos. They wait for the children to grow up, hoping that they will be like their families in these qualities. 581

The marriage takes place when the parents agree, but it must be after the boy has killed a game animal and is scarified. The age at which young people marry varies greatly. We know girls who were married for five or six years before they menstruated; others were somewhat older at marriage. 582

!Kung society rigorously, and without exception, requires that all men, in first and subsequent marriages, go to live with the parents of their brides, and give them bride service. This service is essentially hunting. "Our daughter's husband must give us meat." "We shall soon be old; we need a young man to hunt for us." These are the refrains of the people. 591 583

The duration of bride service is indefinite. The !Kung say it should be long enough for three children to be born. Since the girls are so young, it may mean that eight or ten years elapse before three children have been born. Divorce may terminate bride service. After his obligations are fulfilled, a man has the right to return to his own people with his wife and dependents or he may choose to stay with his wife's people.

The young couple is expected not to have sexual intercourse until the girl is ready. No social rule patterns the time, which is a matter of individual adjustment, but the boy must not force the girl. If she complained to her parents, they might disapprove of the boy, dissolve the marriage, and send him away. His parents would have to try to find another bride for him and he would have to wait for years again for her to grow up. 585 [586]

The !Kung are polygynous. First marriages are ordinarily arranged by their parents between children who have not been previously married. Only occasionally is a young girl betrothed for her first marriage to a man who had been married before, perhaps a young man who had lost his wife by death or divorce, or possibly, but rarely, to her sister's husband or some other man as his second wife. Usually second marriages are contracted later in life when a woman becomes available for remarriage through widowhood or divorce. In such marriages, the man and woman concerned make their own arrangements. The number of wives a man may have is determined not by social rule but by the man's ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. There is no great excess of women, and prestige and wealth do not concentrate in !Kung society to give certain categories of men, such as headmen or medicine men, more power or right than others to acquire wives. A sampling of eighty-eight marriages showed that only nine of the men had two wives. None had more than two. 595 587 595 [554]

Although the first wife is considered to have a somewhat more esteemed and dominant position, no property or other material advantage is given to her and no important social advantage accrues.

!Kung co-wives live very closely together. They share one scherm and one family fire. They care for and nurse each other's children. Even when

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

they are jealous of each other, as they so often are, !Kung society demands of them that they preserve a decent semblance of harmony and, by self-control and silence, avoid disturbing other people with jealous wrangling.

The band itself, as a structured unit, is not a factor in regulating marriage. Persons may marry either within their bands or outside them if relationships and marriage regulations permit. Neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory, but marriage with a brother's wife or a sister's husband is considered to be good and suitable, particularly as a second marriage, should death or divorce make it possible for these affines to marry again These relationships are not especially preferred in first marriages.

Marriages are forbidden in !Kung society only on the basis of the incest taboo, which is very strongly felt. It rigorously prohibits the !Kung from marriage with members of the nuclear family. It also extends to stepparents, stepbrothers and stepsisters, stepchildren, and to three additional categories of persons: certain kin, certain affines, and certain name relatives, whose relationships are considered to resemble those of the nuclear family.[8]

The !Kung conform strictly to the marriage regulations where they feel the internal sanction strongly, as they do with close kin and affines. But with the more remote relatives, third cousins, and even second cousins, and with name relatives, they deviate without any apparent sense of guilt and without incurring the grave disapproval of society.

Widowers may marry again without restriction. A widow is supposed to wait until one rainy season has passed so that "the rain may wash the death away," but often she does not.

A couple may divorce without formality. This may be by mutual consent, or one spouse may simply leave the other. No religious or legal dispensation is involved and parental consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties for there is no dowry or bride-price to be resolved. Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way, and they are free to remarry without restrictions. Although the !Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it because it is untoward and can cause trouble. Divorces are not uncommon among young people of about the age at which young people in our society would be getting married, but, once a compatible mate is found, there is a notable stability in the marriages.

!Kung society forbids any sexual relations outside marriage, with one exception, called */kamheri*. */Kamheri* means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided the wives consent. When deviations from the sexual regulations do occur, the usual form is adultery, since almost all Bushman women are in the married state from early youth. But adultery meets with deterrents in this society. The strongly felt incest taboo prevents extramarital sexual relations as well as marriage with close relatives. Ease of divorce enables persons who really wish to change mates

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the !Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy. 553 602 121 [229]

(8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts. 582

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband stepbrother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself. 582 551

(9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty. 532 [201] [304]

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees. 000

(10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people 622 662

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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Kuangari Bunja Sambiu Djiriku	in South West Africa
Mbukushu	in South West Africa and B. P.
Bayei Batawana Herero	in B. P.

[621] These !Kung may live in independent villages near a
[224] Bantu kraal and devote much of their time to hunting and
[222] gathering, or they may be incorporated into the compounds of
[464] their protectors and work as domestic servants and farm hands.
However, all of these Bantu-associated !Kung are in contact
131 with groups of more independent !Kung living inland. Ties
184 of real and fictive kinship and marriage link the river
602 dwelling !Kung with the !Kung of the dry interior. The loca-
• 582 tion of these non-!Kung peoples is shown in Map 6, p. 34.

131 Map 7 illustrates how the European and Bantu-associated !Kung form a ring of population around the peripheries of the northwest Kalahari. These settled areas enclose an interior of about 25,000 square miles, one third of which is in Bechuanaland and two thirds in South West Africa. Most of

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574 before she goes out to gather again. The hunters tend to
462 work more frequently than the gatherers. Typically a man will
[224] go out on two or three consecutive days and then spend two or three days in camp. Unlike the women, who maintained a consistent gathering routine throughout the year, the hunting activity of the men came in intermittent bursts. It was not unusual for a man to hunt avidly for a week and then do no hunting at all for two weeks. Since hunting was an unpredictable business, and subject to magical control, hunters would sometimes experience a run of bad luck and would stop hunting for a month or longer. For instance, ≠oma, the best hunter of the Dobe camp, did not hunt at all for a three-month period in 1963 because he said that his luck had left him. He remained in camp, apparently awaiting inspiration, while his wife patiently provided food for him. Most of the men of the Dobe camp went through similar periods of inactivity.

883 Non-productive Camp Members -- People who are under twenty
[887] years and over sixty-five years of age contribute very little to the food input of a camp. Young women are not expected to
[582] contribute food until they are married. Girls typically marry
[574] between the ages of fifteen and twenty, so it is not unusual to find healthy, active, teenagers visiting from camp to camp while their older relatives provide food for them. The assumption of adult responsibility by the boys is even more delayed.

883
224 A boy does not begin to play-hunt until he is twelve years old, and seven or eight years may pass before he kills his first buck, an event which signals his entry into manhood.

[648] Nowadays many adolescent boys spend several years working on
[464] the Bantu cattle posts where they receive clothing and rations.

• [582] This interval of work undoubtedly delays their attainment of social maturity and boys do not normally marry until they reach their middle twenties. It is significant that, upon marriage, practically all of the young men return to the camps and take up hunting as a full time occupation.

888 The aged hold a respected position in Bushman society. They are the effective as well as the titular leaders of the camps. The oldest people are fed and cared for by their children and grandchildren long after their productive years have
888 passed. The blind, the senile and the crippled are held in
734 awe and respect by the Bushmen, because they often possess special ritual and technical skills. For instance, /wan!a, the eighty year old female leader of the !gose camps, was senile and partially blind, but she was recognized as the leading exponent of the Women's Curing Dance. The two male elders of the !gose camps were both totally blind, but this did not prevent their active participation in decision-making and in ritual curing.

000 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

patriarch of any small group, though his authority is very limited." 621
This latter observation is also made by Seydel of the Namib Bushmen. [888]

The bands of these Bushmen may therefore be regarded as consisting of small groups of families all related by consanguinity or through marriage. Membership of the group is apparently not based on descent traced exclusively through either the male or the female line, since both married sons and married daughters with their spouses and children may belong to the same group. There is no definite statement as to whether marriage between members of the same 582
group is permitted or not. Generally it would seem that a wife is sought outside the group. Among the Cape Bushmen the only girl a man may not marry is his own sister. Marriage with first cousins (both ortho-cousins and cross-cousins) is sometimes found, but more often marriage takes place with "someone else", to quote Miss Bleek's words.[1] The same applies to the Namib Bushmen,[2] and similarly, among the !O Kung, "some of the married couples we met were cousins, but the majority were unrelated, as far as they knew. Some young married people stay with the man's family, others with the [591]
woman's."[3]

Among the North-Western Bushmen the bands, which here are 621
proportionately much larger, definitely tend to be exogamous. Fourie 184
says of the Heikum: "Marriage within the group is forbidden and 582
is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. [591]
As a rule men do not go far for wives, and intermarriage takes place [835]
between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women."[4] Among the Auen the only absolute prohibition on marriage is said to be between brother and sister, parent and child, but as a rule marriage does not take place between close relatives, and if possible also not between members of the same band. Wives are procured from a distance; often even [619]
from other tribes.[5] The Kung also marry outside their own band[6];

[1] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 59.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112.
[3] Trenk, op. cit., 162.
[4] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 92.
[5] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 156: "Die eigene Schwester darf nicht geheiratet werden, ebenso natürlich nicht Mutter und Tochter. Andere Verwandtschaft bilden kein absolutes Hindernis. Es ist aber die Regel, dass nicht innerhalb der eigenen Familie, auch möglichst nicht innerhalb der eigenen Horde geheiratet wird. Frauen werden mit Vorliebe weit hergeholt, oft von Stämmen anderer Sprache."
[6] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910), 8.

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184 while of the Aikwe (Naron) Passarge says that a man wishing to marry
582 must select his bride from another band, since marriage within the
621 band is not permitted.[1] A few cases were found by Miss Bleek among the Naron at Sandfontein in which both husband and wife were from one village. The fact, however, that such marriages were regarded by the people as being against the general rule indicates that here, too, the tendency is to insist on marriage outside the band.[2]

After marriage the wife generally goes to live with her husband's
591 people, although the young couple may remain for some time with
183 the wife's parents before finally settling at the husband's home.[3] As a rule, therefore, marriage is patrilocal. Among the Naron, however, this rule is not always strictly observed, although it is recognized. "Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parent's home and stay there until the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so."[4] Passarge
114 indeed, goes so far as to assert of this tribe that the man definitely
591 joins the family of his wife, and becomes a member of their band[5]—a fact which he interprets elsewhere as denoting that the Bushmen are a matrilineal people.[6] It is far more probable, however, that he was misled by the custom of temporary matrilocal marriage than that the condition he describes is the normal rule. There is no other evidence to support his statement that the Bushmen have matrilineal institutions.

In fact the prevailing rule in these tribes that marriage should be exogamous and patrilocal suggests rather the possibility that
621 the families constituting the band may be related to one another in the male line. The only definite statement to this effect is about the Heikum, of whom we are told by Fourie that a band consists of the

[1] Op. cit., 105
[2] Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Vedder, loc. cit.; Fourie, op. cit., 93; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," (14).
[3] *The Naron*, 34.
[4] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66; cf. *idem*, *The Naron*, 34.
[5] Op. cit., 106: "Der Mann schliesst sich der Familie seiner Frau an und wird ein Mitglied der anderen Sippe."
[6] *Sudafrika*, p. 252: "Jeder Stamm setzt sich aus Sippen zusammen, die bis zum heutigen Tage die matriarchalische Organisation beibehalten haben. Das geht daraus hervor, dass der Mann bei der Heirat zu der Horde der Frau übergeht."

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the women told her "a girl may do as she pleases, but a married woman may not".[1] And again Dorman writes of the Hiechware: "Sexual intercourse by the lovers before marriage, though looked upon as wrong, is very often indulged in."[2] Vague generalizations such as these really tell us next to nothing about the nature of sexual life before marriage; they simply ignore the many important sociological problems connected with the whole question of courtship and selection, social attitude towards prenuptial unchastity, legitimacy, and marriage. 114 836

Similarly Trenk says that the girls among the Namib Bushmen are generally virgins when they enter into marriage, because most of them marry soon after puberty.[3] But that premarital unchastity does actually occur is shown by his statement in another context that the children born to an unmarried woman are taken over and looked after by the man she subsequently marries, although as soon as they grow up they must be returned to their real father.[4] This implies that physiological paternity is acknowledged by these Bushmen, and that marriage is not necessary to legalize the status of children. The latter implication at least is at variance with what is known of other Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed. Among the Heikum, for example, abortion is sometimes practised by unmarried women who are pregnant, or, when "illegitimate" (i.e. prenuptial) births occur, the children are usually buried alive.[5] Here, therefore, marriage would seem to be an essential preliminary to the right to procreate and rear children, and therefore to the foundation of the family. [582] 848 [842] [847] [581]

A family is constituted by a union between one man and one or more women, this union being legalized by marriage. The Cape Bushmen are now said to be monogamous,[6] but polygynous marriages also have been recorded by earlier writers.[7] The Namib Bushmen, according to Trenk, are monogamous; Seydel, on the other hand, curtly remarks that both polygyny and polyandry occur![8] There is no other mention of polyandry among any of the Bushmen, and the statement can hardly be accepted as accurate without full confirmation. The more northerly tribes all permit polygyny, although the frequency of such marriages varies. Among the Naron at Sandfontein monogamy 595 [114]

[1] Op. cit., 32. [2] Op. cit., 128. [3] Op. cit., 169. [4] Ibid., 168.
[5] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.
[6] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, ix; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 62.
[7] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, i, 30; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 95.
[8] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 105: "Vielmännerei und Vielweiberei wird beobachtet."

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595 is the rule, but a second wife is not considered wrong; it is thought better for a man in such a case to marry the younger sister of his first wife, then the two will not quarrel.[1] Further east in this tribe three or four wives are not infrequent, and actually a man often marries the sisters and "cousins" of his first wife.[2] The Auen at Rietfontein all have only one wife, "because of the scarcity of food," while those at Gam on the average have two, and sometimes even five wives. The wife first married holds a higher social position than the rest, which may, however, says Kaufmann, be due merely to her greater age.[3] Among the Kung a second wife may be taken, if the first consents; but owing to the difficulty of providing for more than one wife, adds Lebzelter, polygynous marriages are extremely rare.[4] Of the Heikum, again, Fourie tells us that each man as a rule has two wives, who may or may not be related. The second wife is married some time after the first, who is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over her. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife, and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation.[5] Polygynous marriages are also found among the !O Kung of Angola and among the Hiechware, but are here said to be comparatively rare.[6]

The occurrence of such marriages implies a numerical [114] preponderance of women, or else that some of the men must remain [162] bachelors; but unfortunately in no instance are figures given to show the proportion of men and women, or even of monogamous and polygynous marriages, within the band. The motives for polygyny are also not clearly defined. We are told, however, that [622] chiefs among the Naron mostly had two wives,[7] so that here it may be [554] partly associated with rank; while among the Auen, and probably also among the Heikum, the second wife is often not taken until the first is old and past child-bearing. A similar statement is made by Barrow about the Cape Bushmen.[8] In such cases naturally only the older men have more than one wife.

The Cape and the Namib Bushmen, as previously mentioned, are ● 582 said to forbid marriage only between own brother and sister, parent and child; and so do the !O Kung of Angola. Beyond this no special prohibition or injunction appears to exist. Among the Heikum, on the other hand, the range of forbidden relatives is extended to include all cousins and nieces; while in all the North-Western tribes, including

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34. [2] Passarge, op. cit., 106. [3] Op. cit., 157. [4] Op. cit., 13–14.
[5] Op. cit., 92. [6] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112; Dornan, op. cit., 124.
[7] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37. [8] Loc. cit.

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the Heikum, there is also a definite tendency towards band exogamy.[1] 582
This means that in general courtship and marriage take place between persons belonging to different bands, and therefore to different localities.

As a rule boys and girls are not permitted to marry until they have reached the age of puberty, and have passed through the [881] puberty ceremonies.[2] Marriage generally takes place shortly afterwards. Among the Naron and the Auen, for example, most people are married by the time they are twenty, many of them, indeed, when they are several years younger, and so, too, among the Kung marriage takes place at quite an early age.[3]

Marriage Ceremonies

From the sketchy descriptions available about the marriage customs 584
of the Bushmen, there does not appear to be any elaborate ceremonial attaching to the process of courtship and marriage. The actual details recorded vary slightly from tribe to tribe, but in the main [184] features there is a considerable degree of uniformity.[4] The initiative lies as a rule in the hands of the prospective bridegroom. When he has found a suitable girl, he either himself or through an intermediary such as his best friend has to win the consent of her parents, above all of her mother, to whom he brings gifts in the form of game and vegetable foods, blankets, skins, beadwork, and so on. This period of courtship may last for a considerable time, often over a year or so. If no objection is taken to him, and his gifts are accepted, he after a 585
while simply takes the girl to his hut, and the marriage is regarded as settled. As a rule, this step is accompanied by a feast, in which the families and friends of both bride and bridegroom participate. Among the Northern and Namib Bushmen, indeed, it is obligatory on the bridegroom that he should kill a head of big game and present it to either the bride or her mother for the marriage feast. After marriage he also has to present his wife with a full woman's kaross, as well as other articles of clothing and ornaments, while she brings with her all her own property, mainly in the form of domestic utensils.

[1] Lebzelter says of the Kung: "Die Kinder der Vaterschwestern gelten als Vettern, unter ihnen ist die Ehe verboten. Dagegen sind die Kinder der Vaterbruder Geschwister und man muss die Tochter des Vaterbruders heiraten, falls diese es verlangt" (op. cit., 14). This needs to be confirmed; it is at variance with the tendency to band exogamy noted among all the North-Western Bushmen, including the Kung.

[2] Passarge, op. cit., 101; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157, 158; Fourie, op. cit., 89, 91.

[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 33–4.

[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 504–5; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 258; Passarge, op. cit., 105; Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; Vedder, op. cit., 8; Dornan, op. cit., 124–8.

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Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with 602 three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made.

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu/na* and *tŭn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *//ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a 182 touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and con- 183 sistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society 582 tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many cate- 593 gories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship 602 as soon as marriage takes place.

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly 587 approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is 768 expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines.

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. 583 This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one 619 marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, [584] as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened.

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in 595 which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power 554 or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, 556 but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries [422] his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women [482]

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185 polygyny affords women—that none remain long without the support of a husband.
595 They just said they did not want to be second wives, nor did they want their husbands to take second wives, and protests and quarrels attended a husband's proposal to do so.

Marriage by capture

583 Marriage by capture was spoken of fairly frequently by the /Kung in conversation. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas and I questioned a number of informants about it and we are convinced that wives are not actually acquired by this means at present. Perhaps they were in the past. The /Kung are a present-oriented people who make [181] no concerted or consistent effort to retain their history and teach it to their children, and we obtained no significant data on their past customs. Nowadays the idea of capturing wives appears to be enjoyed by the men as a fantasy. The remarks of one /Gaishay illustrate what I mean. He weighs, at a good guess, about ninety pounds and looks like a miniature Mephistopheles. With a gleam he told me that if he wanted to take another wife he would go to her werf, seize her, throw her over his shoulder and run off with her. That is the way Bushmen do, he said, and he wished I could see him do so. I also wished that I could.

Arrangements for marriage

584 First marriages are arranged by the parents of the bride and groom, and second marriages also if the couple are still young. Adults, when both have been married before, may contract subsequent marriages themselves.

[611] Although there is a slight paternal emphasis in this society which recognizes bilateral descent, and the father names all his children, his authority is not clearly [593] dominant over the mother's in the choice of a mate for their child. By and large, it appears that the father and mother talk things over and come to agreement. If they do not agree, it appears that the strength of personality of one or the other, the opinions of relatives, and various circumstances have weight in the decision.

Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may take the initiative and go to the other parents with the proposal. A go-between is not required, though it is possible that a friend will sometimes act as such. The parents visit and talk, and, if they all agree, the arrangement is thereby settled upon. They normally give each other gifts in honour of the occasion.

Property does not enter much into the consideration of the parents in arranging marriages for their children. No property settlement is made, no bride-price paid, no dower given, though at the time of the wedding a few gifts are exchanged.

Food and water must, one imagines, weigh in the parents' thinking when a marriage is being arranged, and may sometimes be a determining factor. However, there is a considerable amount of equalization in these supplies. Veldkos[1] and water-holes
423 are not owned by individuals but by headmen for their bands, in a way I shall describe in a paper on bands. In the Nyae Nyae region each band has access to a supply, else the people would be dead or somewhere else, and things balance out in

[1] *Veldkos* (field food) is an Afrikaans word used to refer to any kind of wild plant material which people gather to eat. Edible fruits, seeds, roots, tubers, leaves, all are included.

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inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. 513 593
Individual adjustments are made.

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must 582
have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung 224
boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does 884
not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great
antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When
the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or [304]
by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each
boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female
on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed
into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the
will to hunt, good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and
to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn
celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt.
It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness.

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may
elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of 585
hunting is ceremonially linked with marriage. At the time of the wedding, the boy 224
must bring to his bride's parents an animal that he himself has killed. The animal
he brings must not be eaten by the bride.

A boy who never killed any large meat animal would not be given a wife, in- 582
formants said. This was why the strange old deviant, /Gaishay, had remained a 589
bachelor. For reasons no one understood he could not hunt; he gathered veldkos
like a woman. Gossip had it that twice he had tried to drag a woman against her will [462]
into his scherm but had not succeeded. Informants remarked, 'Women like meat.'
They do, but there is far more to it than that.

As John Marshall shows in his film, *The Hunters*, the primary sources of physical 562
life, sex and food, are involved. In /Kung concept they are linked together, and, as 828
they pertain to men, their duality is lifted to oneness in the being of the man, who 224
is the sexually powerful male and the provider, the hunter. Power as a man and a male
and worthiness and dignity are associated with hunting and not with the failure to hunt.

Since they are related, both the sexual and the hunting powers of the young man 583
can be captured at once with a bride. For the first several years of marriage the
boy goes to live with his bride's parents, or her people, should her parents be dead, [591]
to hunt for them. The parents of girls speak constantly of wanting their sons- [606]
in-law to provide them with food as though it were an obsession. 'We are old',
they say, or 'We shall soon be old [whether this is actually true or not]; we need a
young man to hunt for us'; 'our daughter's husband must get us something to eat';
'we need karosses'; 'we want meat'—these are their refrains.

Another value the /Kung place upon the boy's hunting during his bride-service
appears in their belief that if the husband hunts for his wife and feeds her while she [581]
is still a growing child she becomes the more his. Food seems to be a main concern
in bride-service, but the people also say that they want to be sure that the boy [593]
measures up in every way and will take good care of their daughter, and that the
girl will have time to get used to her husband.

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● 588 One of the most rigid social rules the /Kung have, besides the incest taboo within the nuclear family and its extension, is the giving of bride-service. We heard of no [591] deviation from it. A boy or man of any age, a headman or headman's son, an important medicine man, all go to live with their brides' parents or other relatives in first marriages and subsequent marriages, whatever the age of the bride.

The duration of bride-service is indefinite. Informants told us a man must stay with his wife's people until three children have been born. If he goes when the girl is eight or nine, she may not have her first child for possibly seven or eight or more years. It is safe to say that ten years of bride-service are not unusual. It is long enough for the boy's youth to have turned to manhood and for him to be looked upon as an able, responsible head of his family. After his bride-service is fulfilled a man may [591] remain with his wife's band or may return with his wife and children to his own.

The Wedding of !Nai and |Gunda

159 /Nai was a pretty little girl, we think about eight years old, or so, with a quick responsive smile, when she was married on 22 May 1953, at Gautscha. The bride- [582] groom, /Gunda, was about sixteen, we judged, and the people said he was the best young hunter among the boys of the territory.

/Nai belonged to Band 1, /Gunda to Band 2. Both of these bands belong to the [621] water-hole at Gautscha and were encamped there at the time, about 100 feet apart. We lived with Band 1.

/Nai's mother, Di/ai, had divorced her former husband, Gumtsa, the father of /Nai, and was now the second wife of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1. /Gunda's mother, Khuan//a, had divorced /Gunda's father, Bo. Khuan//a was now the second wife of Gau in Band 2. Both Gumtsa and Bo were living far from Gautscha.

159 The two mothers had betrothed their children some time previously. We heard 584 that Di/ai had had her eye on the strong young /Gunda, saying, 'We must get this boy for /Nai so he will take care of her and we can get enough to eat, also karosses', [581] and had gone to Khuan//a to propose the betrothal. Khuan//a had said, 'Yes, this is very good.' The mothers exchanged gifts. Khuan//a gave to Di/ai a necklace of five strings of ostrich egg shell beads which reached to the umbilicus (shorter strings would have been inappropriate) and Di/ai gave other beads and copper wire ornaments to Khuan//a.

Gumtsa, /Nai's father, heard about the betrothal. He had hoped to arrange a marriage between /Nai and someone of his choice at Kubi where he lived. One day in November 1952 he came to Gautscha to complain, he said, that he had not been consulted and to protest against the betrothal and take /Nai to Kubi with him. Tension [578] rose. /Nai cried and looked very frightened. The members of both Bands 1 and 2, though they had no theoretical authority in the matter, all expressed themselves and [628] poured torrents of talk over the affair, mostly supporting Di/ai in her steadfast refusal to yield /Nai, saying that Gumtsa had not fed /Nai, had not so much as sent her a gift, and should not now come and interfere in her betrothal. After four days of this Gumtsa gave up and went home.

159 Meanwhile the affair, like a spoon stirring in a pot, brought to light another ten- 584 sion. Some of /Nai's relatives began to express disapproval of her betrothal, not 578 because they wanted her to go with the father but because they were angry with

[27 cont.]

221 Bushmen shrink to miserable skeletons. Many of them at this
[648] time! run to the Blacks or Whites in order to earn something. In
[731] dry years no attention is paid to the kin group boundaries. All
[423] gather around the few water holes that are still open. As soon as the rain begins, conditions start to improve; the people start moving out in various directions, not to meet again until several months later at the time of the veldkost harvest here and there.

7. The Course of Life

584 I shall render in literal translation the account that my informant gave of the way a young man courts a girl:

If a young man wants to marry a girl, he must first speak to her and say: "I love you and want to marry you." If the girl is willing, she says first: "You must wait." Then she goes to her parents and asks them whether they have heard that the boy has spoken to her. The parents then ask whether the girl wants to marry the man. [28] If the girl says, "Yes," then the parents say, "He wants you; he has seen that you are good and hard-working; you may marry." If, however, the young man has thought the matter over and takes back his words, the girl goes to her parents once more, and the boy to his. The latter say: "You wanted it this way; nothing can be done about it." In case the girl definitely gives her consent, however, the young man brings all kinds of little presents and gives them to his future bride, who takes them to her parents. The parents-in-law must now in turn give presents. With the exchange of presents, the
[583] marriage is regarded as legally concluded.

[114] The hunting test described by Passarge (1) and others is not
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584
[113]

1. Passarge, Die Buschmänner der Kalahari, 1907.

the rule. Some vain girls demand it, and sometimes young men will voluntarily go through with it in order to beat his rivals. This hunting test is carried out in the following manner. The boy goes hunting without weapons and pursues the game (as a rule,

! [i.e. The hot season -- Analyst]

[28 cont.]

224 a gemsbok) until it is tired and then drives it to the vicinity of
584 the hut of his intended. The pursuit of such a large antelope is not as difficult as it looks, for these ruminants are seized with serious cramps if they are not given time to settle down to ruminate. In other words, the pursuit of such a large antelope simply involves continually disturbing the animal for a long period of time. Then the young man calls to the people and asks them for weapons. All of them leap up, and the girl, too, stands up and watches as her people run with the spears. The hunter kills the game before her eyes. Then they bring the meat and cook it, and the girl says: "That is a courageous hunter; I want to marry
584 him." It is not unusual, however, for a young man to marry far away from his relatives, without having asked for the consent of his parents. In that case, the young woman must stay with her parents while the husband returns home and reports the marriage to his parents. The latter say: "How can you do this, when we don't know whether it will turn out all right?" The husband, however, says: "I have already done it, and I am merely telling you." Thereupon the parents answer: "Well, it's all right."
[591] Then the husband returns to his young wife, or to her kin group and brings his wife and child to his own kin group, where they are received. According to Vedder (Tsumeb), the young man sends a messenger with a piece of game to the father of the girl of his choice. If the father accepts the game, the betrothal is regarded
583 as concluded. As soon as the youth moves to the encampment of
591 his father-in-law, the marriage is regarded as concluded. He
[585] must work for a year for his father-in-law and deliver all hunting spoils to him, but he may not enter the hut of his parents-in-law. Once the first child is born, he moves with wife and child to his kin group.

585 Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report on the conclusion of a
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[113] 2. Von Zastrow and Vedder, "Die Buschmänner," p. 417, in Schultze-Ewarth, Das Eingeborenenrecht, Vol. II.

marriage:

"There is much dancing. The animal dances have a pervasive erotic element. In one of the first dances the bridegroom

[28 cont.]

535 makes his appearance as the bull of some animal species that the
585 two kin groups especially prize. He takes his place in the row of dancing men. Across from them the women have taken up their position in a long row and accompany the dance by stamping, singing, and clapping their hands. The bride stands among them. She is in no way distinguished from the other women and girls. After a few turns, the bridegroom steps out of the row of men, goes dancing toward the bride, seizes her, and dances back again. The bride then comes from the row of women, clapping her hands, stamping, and singing as she moves toward the bridegroom; without touching him, she turns back, keeping her face turned toward the bridegroom, and rejoins the row of female dancers. With this, the external formality of concluding the marriage in front of many witnesses is over.

583 "It is the young man's duty, however, to leave his paternal
591 kin group for a year and to work for his parents-in-law. This means that any spoils he gets from hunting must be left in his mother-in-law's hut. He, of course, gets his piece during the distribution of the meat, but he is not yet regarded as the actual provider for his young wife, who, as before, receives her share of the meat from her mother, although she searches for veldkost for herself and her husband.

(224) "As a hunter, the man eats only the flesh of the rump.
262 The women and children receive the legs and intestines. Children are not allowed to eat certain parts; for example, a child may
(825) not eat the heart of a jackal. The child would not become sick
(828) by doing so, but since the jackal is very cowardly, the child would also become cowardly.

591 [29] "After the first year of marriage with its obligatory service, the young wife follows her husband to the encampment where the man's father or his kin group resides.

845 "If the child is so weak that it probably will not live,
847 or if it has a physical defect, it is buried alive on the same day, with or without the consent of the father and mother.

553 "The name of the child is given by the father. This is
852 done a few days after birth. The father spits on the child's chest and calls it by name. Others sprinkle it with water from a well.

[72 cont.] The SUITOR

584 brings his future parents-in-law presents in the form of game and
[583] veldkost, sometimes for more than a year. If matters go smoothly,
[585] he takes the girl to his hut after a while, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. If, in spite of her parents' consent, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to state her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man finally takes the girl forcibly into his hut. Should a man do vio-
684 lence to a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be

301

Fig. 26. Nagau Girl in Festive Finery of Ostrich Egg Beads (Girls' Initiation).

killed. There are no special ceremonies when the marriage is
585 concluded. The engagement, undertaken before the couple settles in the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl around her wrist. Since, however, the "engagement" and "wedding" are separated in time only by the walk to the hut, the grasping of the bride's lower arm may be regarded as concluding the marriage. [Fig. 26 appears here.] The seizing of the lower arm is done rather violently, and on the walk to the hut the bride allows herself to be dragged along to a certain extent.
606 It is curious to note how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids his mother-in-law's company and does not sit with her. For example, when he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law goes away. If it is absolutely necessary for him to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.
163 Kaufmann observed that most of the women had two or three

[72 cont.]

163 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
591 couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker. Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least nominally.

Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
422 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is
685 punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the individual's private property.

The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
628 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively
721 against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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888 621 respect. In his family, the old man decided where the band would live.

157 Lazy Kwi's sister-in-law was called "the old woman." Her name referred not to her age but to her bearing and her personality, for she was outspoken, positive, and sure, qualities that are seldom found in young Bushmen.

609 She was not at all surprised to see us. She took my ear to turn my head, and kissed me on the cheek. Lazy Kwi laughed when he greeted us, showing a gap in his mouth where a tooth was missing, and called me his wife, a joke among Bushman men, who pretend they will marry any woman who is not a tabu relative. His baby hugged my legs and showed a huge white smile, then held up his arms to be lifted. He had grown so that I could hardly get him off the ground.

586 159 Many Bushmen who greeted us had been at Gam when we had lived there, and among them was a young girl whose name was Ungka, a very common name; as she had no distinguishing nickname, we called her Beautiful Ungka, for so she was. She was probably the most beautiful girl in all Nyae Nyae, and even though she was only sixteen years old she already had a flaming past. When she was ten she was married to a man much older than herself, but, young as she was, she knew what she wanted, and because the old man filled her with loathing she cut off all her hair and all her ornaments, rubbed ashes on her face until she was filthy, and swore she would stay that way until her marriage was dissolved. Of course it wasn't long before her husband and her parents complied with her wishes and she became single once again.

●583 159 When she was about thirteen she attracted the attention of another much older man who was already married but who became so inflamed by her beauty that he begged her parents to give her to him as a second wife. This time her parents consulted with her, entreating her to marry him as

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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she was getting older every day and already developing a rep- 583
utation for shrewishness, but Beautiful Ungka flatly refused. 159
When her admirer heard of this he felt he could not live without her and he asked his wife to kidnap her for him, but his wife, far older than Beautiful Ungka and quite possibly jealous, would not, so nothing remained for her admirer but to kidnap her himself. This he did, planning carefully, and one night when everybody was asleep he stole quietly to Beautiful Ungka's scherm, lifted her bodily from the side of her grandmother, and bore her away on his shoulder. The grandmother awoke and set up an outcry; but Beautiful Ungka, a girl of remarkable self-possession and composure, didn't kick or struggle because she knew she wouldn't stay with her captor long. When her kidnapper reached home, masculine and forceful, he flung Beautiful Ungka down in the back of his scherm on the far side of his wife "to show," said the Bushmen, "that he wasn't afraid of his wife or anybody," and Beautiful Ungka lay still, as if subdued, until she heard that her captor and his wife were asleep. Then she got up, stepped over them, and walked home. That was the end of that episode.

Every day she became more beautiful. Her parents tried 159
hard to marry her to a steady young man, and as she would 585
have none of her suitors, they chose a second husband for [584]
her, this time a young and presentable man in his twenties who had quite a number of worldly goods got by working at Gam for the Chuanas. So Beautiful Ungka, now fourteen, was married again. By now she had menstruated and was old 159
enough for intercourse, but although she lived with her 593
young husband she wouldn't let him touch her and he was driven to despair. He did everything for her, requiring no work from her at all—his relatives helped feed him—and once he walked forty miles, from Gam, where he was living, to

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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556 on the quantity of objects they want to possess. They do not even want
48 one each of the common tools of their lives. They borrow from each other,
[426] and there is less to carry.

431 Instead of acquiring prestige by accumulating possessions, the !Kung
571 seek it in the opposite way. They practice a custom of gift giving to such an extent that their belongings all move in a slow flowing current among them and no one keeps anything of particular value very long. !Kung society requires that gifts be made in return, and the custom serves as a means to mitigate jealousy, to express friendly intent, and to weave people together in mutual obligation.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE FAMILY AND THE DOMESTIC GROUP • The
59 family is the primary and the most cohesive social unit of the !Kung. By far
574 the strongest bonds they feel are those of the nuclear family—the bonds
[594] between parent and offspring, between siblings, between spouses. These
[621] relationships are the basis of residence; by that I mean that people live together and have membership in their bands and rights to its food and water resources because they are linked to the band by one of these relationships. I believe that, in addition to the structured aspects, there is great emotional cohesiveness in !Kung families and that this is observable in the way families within the band build their fires near each other, come and go together, or, if there should be a quarrel, literally stand by each other, drawing close together.

The !Kung family passes through four phases. In its simplest nuclear form it consists of a man, his wife, and such children as are born to them.
[595] First marriages are always with just one wife. A later nuclear phase may be
[583] polygynous. When the daughters of a !Kung couple marry, and the daughters' husbands come to live with their brides' parents to give them bride
[591] service, the unit becomes an extended family. In a second extended phase, the married sons may have returned from bride service with their wives and offspring. In this phase, the married daughters with their husbands and offspring may stay or they may go to live with their husbands' people.

[589] • The headship of a family is strongly associated with males. A widowed mother is regarded as a dependent, not as a family head. When the old father of an extended family dies, that particular family ceases to be an extended family. Families of siblings may live together in the same band, but no one of them has authority over another unless one of the siblings happens to be headman of the band. If they are no longer involved in bride service themselves, and their offspring are not yet married, these families become independent nuclear families again, to become new, extended families when the offspring marry.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

various taboos. They wait for the children to grow up, hoping that they will be like their families in these qualities. 581

The marriage takes place when the parents agree, but it must be after the boy has killed a game animal and is scarified. The age at which young people marry varies greatly. We know girls who were married for five or six years before they menstruated; others were somewhat older at marriage. 582

!Kung society rigorously, and without exception, requires that all men, in first and subsequent marriages, go to live with the parents of their brides, and give them bride service. This service is essentially hunting. "Our daughter's husband must give us meat." "We shall soon be old; we need a young man to hunt for us." These are the refrains of the people. 591 583

The duration of bride service is indefinite. The !Kung say it should be long enough for three children to be born. Since the girls are so young, it may mean that eight or ten years elapse before three children have been born. Divorce may terminate bride service. After his obligations are fulfilled, a man has the right to return to his own people with his wife and dependents or he may choose to stay with his wife's people.

The young couple is expected not to have sexual intercourse until the girl is ready. No social rule patterns the time, which is a matter of individual adjustment, but the boy must not force the girl. If she complained to her parents, they might disapprove of the boy, dissolve the marriage, and send him away. His parents would have to try to find another bride for him and he would have to wait for years again for her to grow up. 585 [586]

The !Kung are polygynous. First marriages are ordinarily arranged by their parents between children who have not been previously married. Only occasionally is a young girl betrothed for her first marriage to a man who had been married before, perhaps a young man who had lost his wife by death or divorce, or possibly, but rarely, to her sister's husband or some other man as his second wife. Usually second marriages are contracted later in life when a woman becomes available for remarriage through widowhood or divorce. In such marriages, the man and woman concerned make their own arrangements. The number of wives a man may have is determined not by social rule but by the man's ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. There is no great excess of women, and prestige and wealth do not concentrate in !Kung society to give certain categories of men, such as headmen or medicine men, more power or right than others to acquire wives. A sampling of eighty-eight marriages showed that only nine of the men had two wives. None had more than two. 595 587 595 [554]

Although the first wife is considered to have a somewhat more esteemed and dominant position, no property or other material advantage is given to her and no important social advantage accrues.

!Kung co-wives live very closely together. They share one scherm and one family fire. They care for and nurse each other's children. Even when

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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622 leadership, the people may turn quite informally to some other man for leadership in their daily life—ask him for help and advice, fall in with his plans. Such a leader has no authority and receives no honors or rewards.

Headmanship is inherited by the eldest son from the father. If that son dies or leaves the band, the headmanship passes to the next eldest son.

No strictly formulated rules, insofar as we know, provide for further succession. We have no observations of our own of situations in which a headman had no son.[10]

622 621 571 The rule of succession does not provide for a headmanship to pass collaterally to a headman's younger brother. However, a younger brother may set up a band of his own in the same territory if he does not prefer to live under the headmanship of his older brother or if he does not continue to live with his wife's people. The younger brother has his own rights to the veldkos and water that derive from his father and he can share them with his family and band. Nevertheless, as long as a son of the headman in rightful succession is living in the territory, he has higher authority and is responsible for the overall planning. Should the principal headman's band die out or realign itself, the collateral band led by the younger brother would become the principal one.

621 622 602 571 The bonds that bring the !Kung into membership in bands are the same consanguineous and affinal bonds on which a nuclear family is formed: the bonds of parent-offspring, siblings, and spouses. Everyone who lives in a !Kung band is linked by one of these bonds with the headman, sometimes directly or sometimes in a chainlike manner through one or two other persons. A description of a typical band will illustrate this point. Band II of Gautscha has forty-one members. The headman, Gao Beard, has two wives and four young children. With Gao Beard live his younger brother, one of his younger sisters, each with spouse and children, and his elderly, dependent and widowed mother. Gao asked his first wife's father, Old ≠Toma, whom he likes very much, to join his band. Old ≠Toma brought with him into the band his wife, a married son with wife and child, two younger sons, his wife's sister, and her son by a now divorced husband. He also brought sixteen other persons—Gau and his people. Gau belongs to another band but was at the time living in Band II because he had married, as a second wife, Old ≠Toma's wife's sister and, middle-aged though they are, he was in bride service to her people. After a time Gau can choose whether to stay on in Band II or to go back to the band in which he originated. He said that he thought he would decide to stay with Old ≠Toma and Gao Beard because he likes Old ≠Toma and because Gao Beard has a mangetti grove.

621 423 People retain throughout their lives their membership in the band in which they were born and their rights to its veldkos and water resources.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen FX10

taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own 591
//gaus his mother builds a hut for them."

A different form of marriage ceremony has been recorded for the 585
now extinct inhabitants of Basutoland and Orange Free State. Here, [184]
the consent of the bride having been obtained and also the approval of her parents, who received some kind of present, a day was fixed for the event. All the neighbours round about were invited to a feast. When they had all begun to make merry, the young man took the opportunity to seize the bride. This was the signal for her relatives to set upon him with their digging-sticks; they gave him a sound thrashing, and a general fight ensued. If the bridegroom managed to keep a tight hold through all this, the issue was decided, and he was a married man. If not, he would have to undergo a second ordeal some other time before he could again claim his bride.[1]

Among the North-Western Bushmen girls taken in war or found [727]
trespassing are also often held as wives by their captors.[2] Miss Bleek 583
indeed, says of the Naron that marriage is nominally by capture.[3] A young man wishing to marry comes with an older man to another village, ostensibly to pay a visit, and sits chatting, without mentioning his purpose. They look out for a good opportunity, and then carry off the girl to their own village. By this act she is married, whether she likes it or not. It seems, however, that talk about the marriage mostly precedes the "capture". "The mother thinks it proper to make a fuss, but if her objections are only for show, the men take no part in the matter, and the girl is led away, probably quite willingly, though etiquette demands some coyness. If, however, the mother really objects, thinks her daughter too young, or does not like the suitor, she rouses the men to action, and the would-be bridegroom and his friend have to depart." During Miss Bleek's stay at Sandfontein an attempt at real capture did occur, but the assailants were driven off in this way. In the old days, she adds, much fighting seems to have [721]
been caused by attempted capture; now fear of the white man tames [177]
down the affair.

Married Life

The relation between husband and wife in one of its aspects is [581]
sexual. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual intercourse 837

[1] Stow, op. cit., 96, quoting Miss L. C. Lemue; cf. Arbousset, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* (English trans., 1842), p. 351; Dornan, "Bushmen of Basutoland," 442.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 85.
[3] *Naron*, 33.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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only to the treatment of women and their paramours; nothing is said of the wife's remedies when her husband is unfaithful. 114 684

Besides this sexual relation between husband and wife, there is also the economic relation. The two share the same hut, and take their meals in common. It is the duty of the wife to build the hut, to provide the vegetable food, the firewood and water, and to cook the meals; while it is the duty of the husband to provide game for himself and his wife, to make her clothes and certain of her utensils. The economic burden of the woman has led some writers to depreciate her status, but on the whole it would seem that the women are the companions of their husbands, not their servants, and will often take their own way, in spite of the man's wishes. The position of the wife within the household is, in fact, hardly inferior to that of her husband, who, it is said, is often enough henpecked by her![1] 581 [264] [462] 562 593

In addition to establishing this special relationship between husband and wife, marriage leads also to the formation of further special relationships, especially with the parents-in-law. After marriage, as we have seen, the young couple may remain for some time with the wife's parents before finally taking up their residence in the husband's group. Among the Kung and the neighbouring tribes to the east the husband has during this period of temporary matrilocal residence to hunt for his parents-in-law and to supply them in this way with animal food. If he neglects to do this, says Vedder, his wife may be taken away from him.[2] We thus get a special economic relationship between a man and his wife's parents, based directly upon the fact of his marriage. Probably something similar exists among the other Bushman tribes having temporary matrilocal residence, but no concrete information is available about them in this connection. 591 606 [583]

Among almost all the Bushmen, moreover, marriage further creates a special form of etiquette between a man and his parents-in-law, and in some cases between a woman and her husband's parents. Thus among the Kung the husband has to avoid his mother-in-law, the wife apparently also her father-in-law. The wife's parents do not enter the hut of the young couple, nor again may the husband enter their hut. The game which he kills for his father-in-law he lays down in front of the latter's hut.[3] Similarly among the Naron a man is not 606

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; Chapman, op. cit., i, 291; Lebzelter, op. cit., 14. For an unsympathetic account of the wife's status, cf. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 122.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 8; Chapman, op. cit., i, 258.
[3] Vedder, loc. cit.; Chapman, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 63.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with 602 three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made.

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu/na* and *tŭn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *//ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a 182 touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and con- 183 sistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society 582 tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many cate- 593 gories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship 602 as soon as marriage takes place.

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly 587 approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is 768 expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines.

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. 583 This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one 619 marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, [584] as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened.

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in 595 which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power 554 or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, 556 but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries [422] his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women [482]

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185 polygyny affords women—that none remain long without the support of a husband.
595 They just said they did not want to be second wives, nor did they want their husbands to take second wives, and protests and quarrels attended a husband's proposal to do so.

Marriage by capture

583 Marriage by capture was spoken of fairly frequently by the /Kung in conversation. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas and I questioned a number of informants about it and we are convinced that wives are not actually acquired by this means at present. Perhaps they were in the past. The /Kung are a present-oriented people who make [181] no concerted or consistent effort to retain their history and teach it to their children, and we obtained no significant data on their past customs. Nowadays the idea of capturing wives appears to be enjoyed by the men as a fantasy. The remarks of one /Gaishay illustrate what I mean. He weighs, at a good guess, about ninety pounds and looks like a miniature Mephistopheles. With a gleam he told me that if he wanted to take another wife he would go to her werf, seize her, throw her over his shoulder and run off with her. That is the way Bushmen do, he said, and he wished I could see him do so. I also wished that I could.

Arrangements for marriage

584 First marriages are arranged by the parents of the bride and groom, and second marriages also if the couple are still young. Adults, when both have been married before, may contract subsequent marriages themselves.

[611] Although there is a slight paternal emphasis in this society which recognizes bilateral descent, and the father names all his children, his authority is not clearly [593] dominant over the mother's in the choice of a mate for their child. By and large, it appears that the father and mother talk things over and come to agreement. If they do not agree, it appears that the strength of personality of one or the other, the opinions of relatives, and various circumstances have weight in the decision.

Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may take the initiative and go to the other parents with the proposal. A go-between is not required, though it is possible that a friend will sometimes act as such. The parents visit and talk, and, if they all agree, the arrangement is thereby settled upon. They normally give each other gifts in honour of the occasion.

Property does not enter much into the consideration of the parents in arranging marriages for their children. No property settlement is made, no bride-price paid, no dower given, though at the time of the wedding a few gifts are exchanged.

Food and water must, one imagines, weigh in the parents' thinking when a marriage is being arranged, and may sometimes be a determining factor. However, there is a considerable amount of equalization in these supplies. Veldkos[1] and water-holes 423 are not owned by individuals but by headmen for their bands, in a way I shall describe in a paper on bands. In the Nyae Nyae region each band has access to a supply, else the people would be dead or somewhere else, and things balance out in

[1] *Veldkos* (field food) is an Afrikaans word used to refer to any kind of wild plant material which people gather to eat. Edible fruits, seeds, roots, tubers, leaves, all are included.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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584 Boys are always considerably older than girls before their parents betroth them.
[805] We never knew the precise age of a /Kung because they reckon time from one season to the next, not in years, and do not keep track of a person's age by any measurement. Boys appear to be usually around twelve to fourteen or fifteen before they are
[868] betrothed. At this age their fathers begin to take them on the long hard hunts for the
[883] big animals which supply the people's meat and begin their serious hunting training.

As to girls, wives are in such demand in this polygynous society that the parents of boys have their eyes upon every girl baby and may say to the parents of an unborn infant, 'If it is a girl, let us have her for our son.' It seems to be more usual, however, to betroth the girls when they are about two to five or six. The boys wait patiently for long years for their fiancées to grow up.

We wondered what would happen if, when the time at last came for the marriage, the boy or girl should refuse the parents' choice. It appears that they seldom do. A boy is usually too eager to get a wife. To refuse the betrothed might mean he would have to wait for years and years again for a girl baby to grow up. The girls are usually too young to protest but it sometimes happens that one does. /Kung
593 parents are exceedingly protective and permissive with their children, and delight
855 in them, especially in their infancy. I have sometimes seen an older child scolded or
861 snapped at by an impatient mother but I never saw a child severely punished. No hard work and few, if any, regular chores are demanded of dependent children. The same protectiveness and permissiveness were apparent in parents' lenience with respect to their girls' betrothals. They complied with the girls' wishes.

The marriage may take place when the parents agree. The age of the young people
582 varies greatly. For the girl, there are no definite age or other requirements. The girl need not, for instance, show physical signs of maturity. When the important Ceremony of First Menstruation is performed, the girl may have been married for years. Bau, who was married to Tsamgao in 1951, did not have her first child for six years. /Nai was married to /Gunda in May 1953. She menstruated for the first time in March 1959. To be married as young as that is not at all unusual, but we have known several girls to be somewhat older.

The parents explain that when the girls marry young they 'get used to' their
582 husbands. I am sure there is a great deal in this and I am sure it strongly affects the
593 relations of husbands and wives, but I had insufficient opportunity to observe eight- or nine-year-old brides with teen-age husbands, and insufficient means, through interpreters, to grasp the nature of their relationship. What is the young husband like to a girl child? The friendly, gentle old man, Demi, said to me, 'They enjoy their youth together.'

The young couples are expected not to have sexual intercourse till the girls are 'big
593 enough', informants said, and the boys must not force the girls. If a girl complained
834 to her parents and the parents took her back and sent the young husband away, he might have to wait for years again for another bride to grow up. The /Kung are
[123] prevented by their incest taboos and their modesty from speaking freely about sex and I learned nothing about the actual sexual practices of the young couples. /Nai and her young husband, /Gunda, had only one good kaross between them; they slept
513 together bundled in it, feet to feet. Bau and Tsamgao slept quite apart—at different
593 fires—when we observed them in 1952. In 1953 they slept at their own fire, apart, she

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588 One of the most rigid social rules the /Kung have, besides the incest taboo within the nuclear family and its extension, is the giving of bride-service. We heard of no [591] deviation from it. A boy or man of any age, a headman or headman's son, an important medicine man, all go to live with their brides' parents or other relatives in first marriages and subsequent marriages, whatever the age of the bride.

The duration of bride-service is indefinite. Informants told us a man must stay with his wife's people until three children have been born. If he goes when the girl is eight or nine, she may not have her first child for possibly seven or eight or more years. It is safe to say that ten years of bride-service are not unusual. It is long enough for the boy's youth to have turned to manhood and for him to be looked upon as an [591] able, responsible head of his family. After his bride-service is fulfilled a man may remain with his wife's band or may return with his wife and children to his own.

The Wedding of /Nai and /Gunda

159 /Nai was a pretty little girl, we think about eight years old, or so, with a quick [582] responsive smile, when she was married on 22 May 1953, at Gautscha. The bridegroom, /Gunda, was about sixteen, we judged, and the people said he was the best young hunter among the boys of the territory.

/Nai belonged to Band 1, /Gunda to Band 2. Both of these bands belong to the [621] water-hole at Gautscha and were encamped there at the time, about 100 feet apart. We lived with Band 1.

/Nai's mother, Di/ai, had divorced her former husband, Gumtsa, the father of /Nai, and was now the second wife of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1. /Gunda's mother, Khuan//a, had divorced /Gunda's father, Bo. Khuan//a was now the second wife of Gau in Band 2. Both Gumtsa and Bo were living far from Gautscha.

159 The two mothers had betrothed their children some time previously. We heard ● 584 that Di/ai had had her eye on the strong young /Gunda, saying, 'We must get this [581] boy for /Nai so he will take care of her and we can get enough to eat, also karosses', and had gone to Khuan//a to propose the betrothal. Khuan//a had said, 'Yes, this is very good.' The mothers exchanged gifts. Khuan//a gave to Di/ai a necklace of five strings of ostrich egg shell beads which reached to the umbilicus (shorter strings would have been inappropriate) and Di/ai gave other beads and copper wire ornaments to Khuan//a.

Gumtsa, /Nai's father, heard about the betrothal. He had hoped to arrange a marriage between /Nai and someone of his choice at Kubi where he lived. One day in November 1952 he came to Gautscha to complain, he said, that he had not been consulted and to protest against the betrothal and take /Nai to Kubi with him. Tension [578] rose. /Nai cried and looked very frightened. The members of both Bands 1 and 2, though they had no theoretical authority in the matter, all expressed themselves and [628] poured torrents of talk over the affair, mostly supporting Di/ai in her steadfast refusal to yield /Nai, saying that Gumtsa had not fed /Nai, had not so much as sent her a gift, and should not now come and interfere in her betrothal. After four days of this Gumtsa gave up and went home.

159 Meanwhile the affair, like a spoon stirring in a pot, brought to light another tension. Some of /Nai's relatives began to express disapproval of her betrothal, not 584 because they wanted her to go with the father but because they were angry with 578

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Khuan//a, the mother of the bridegroom. They claimed that Khuan//a was stingy— 159
and worse. /Nai's stepfather, Gao, had given a present of beads to one of his relatives. 578
A knife which was gradually making its way to him as a return gift had been diverted 584
by Khuan//a to one of her relatives. Khuan//a, some claimed, was 'like that!' /Nai's MoSi, /U, the wife of ≠Toma, said in a voice that could be heard across the werf that Khuan//a had 'borrowed' a coal from her fire one day without asking. At this, Khuan//a had with quiet dignity risen from her fire place and walked off to the waterhole. /U also said, but in a low voice, that Khuan//a, while she was still married to Bo, had been sleeping in the bushes with Gau till the people said to Gau 'What are you doing with Khuan//a?' She then left Bo and married Gau, although they were distant relatives, in some way we never could trace, who should not marry. Gau loved Khuan//a so much, /U sniffed, that he spoiled her and let her have power over his belongings. /U had no doubt but that Gau would soon find himself very poor. /U disapproved of /Nai's marriage to the son of such a woman but said that she would reconsider her position if the knife which had been diverted by Khuan//a were now given to Gao, as had been expected.

It never was, but gifts of ostrich egg shell beads and a blanket were given and Gao declared himself satisfied. /Nai's mother wanted the marriage so much she was ready to overlook the matter of the knife and they all started again in peace.

Nothing more happened about /Nai's wedding until the morning of 21 May 1953, 159
when we noticed the two mothers together building the wedding scherm. They had 585
placed it between the two werfs about twenty-five feet from the fire of the bride's family. The scherm was slightly larger and more nearly round and much more carefully built than the usual skimpy structures.

Next morning /Nai's mother asked me if I would bring the wood for the bride's [123]
fire. I knew it was because her back ached, not to honour me, but I felt honoured anyway and brought the wood.

All that day /Nai sat at a short distance from her family's fire, the fire that each [354]
family keeps burning in front of the scherm for cooking and for light and warmth at night. The fire-light is more of a house to the Bushmen than the scherm is. /Nai was covered, head and all, with a big gemsbok kaross of her mother's. She wore her usual beads, but no special regalia brightened the sombre grey-brown of the old kaross.

Just as the sun was setting, without speaking to her mother and stepfather, /Nai
walked alone over to another fire, seven or eight yards away, the big kaross still
pulled over her head and trailing behind her. She went to this fire because it was the [591]
fire beside which she had recently been sleeping with her mother's widowed cousin, since she had reached the age when girls and boys leave off sleeping beside their parents. Her old great-uncle was there. She sat down opposite him. He paid no particular attention to her and they did not speak.

By then the sun had sunk below the horizon. /Nai uncovered her head but kept the kaross tied around her waist and over one shoulder in the way karosses are customarily worn.

Presently two girls came to /Nai. They had waited till twilight was deepening into darkness because people sleep at night and a wedding is a 'night-thing'. One was ≠Nisa, /Nai's stepfather's daughter by his first wife. The other was Xama from

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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587 was meant. That would be very uncomfortable, he said. It would make her shiver and
589 might make her sick. The rainy season's passing is what cleanses the woman. When
[783] she is about to go to her new husband she prepares herself by washing in the ordinary way.

Unless a woman is quite old she does not remain long unmarried. One man said, 'Even if a widow is thick and tall, but is a good woman, some man will want her.' Widows may marry as second wives of married men, or they may marry widowers, divorced men, or bachelors. The two young widows and the two divorced women who were unmarried in 1953, had remarried by 1955. Only the very old widows remain unmarried.

There are so few unmarried women that widowers have difficulty in finding wives. The young widowed musician, /Gao, was an example. After his first wife's death he had married the daughter of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, when she was approximately ten or eleven years old, about the age of his own son, and was patiently waiting for her to grow up. Only one of the old widowers had succeeded in finding a wife by 1957.

736 The children of a widowed parent are kept by that parent. A widower may leave
768 his children with a woman relative, but they remain his. Orphaned children go to live with relatives. There is a tendency to feel that the boys belong eventually to the
[611] father's side of the family, the girls to the mother's. This concept came to our attention several times, but we did not find it to be a rigid social rule. The relative who
[604] is expected to take the children if they are young is the MoSi. But the FaSi might be nearer or more able for one reason or another to take them and might do so. FaBr would be the relative most likely to take half-grown boys, but again MoBr might be the one. Failing these, some other relative would take them. When it came to arrang-
●[584] ing marriages for orphaned children, informants said that the father's elder brother would have the most authority; a stepfather or stepmother has none.

[597] Adoption does not exist in /Kung society.

Divorce may terminate a marriage. The couple may divorce without formality,
586 by mutual consent or by one spouse simply leaving the other. The /Kung word for ending a marriage in this way is *!kao joo*. I use the word 'divorce' for convenience, although no legal action takes place. No religious dispensation is involved, no permission or action on the part of the headman or group is required. If parents of a very young couple withheld consent this might influence the couple, but the parents' consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties, for there is no dowry or bride-price to be resolved. The only property a /Kung owns
[422] personally consists of movables, and these are never owned in common by man and wife. Every artifact down to a single bead belongs to an individual, who takes his property with him in case of divorce.

Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way. They are free to remarry without restrictions.

Divorce is never obligatory and the grounds are not formalized; the desire of the couple concerned is the determining factor. A condition such as sterility, for example, or a wrongdoing such as adultery, might or might not lead to divorce, depending on how the couple felt about it. Mistreatment or failure to provide would certainly be considered justification for divorce, should they ever occur, but justifica-

/156 cont./

423 foster the growth of the veld crop, he alone may lay claim to the yield of the burned veld. Others, even members of the same settlement, are not allowed to use it.

The territorial property of the individual hordes is precisely delimited, and the boundaries are known to everyone. Boundary markers naturally do not exist, but with his marvelous sense of place, the Bushman knows exactly, to the last bush, the extent of his territory.

565 Social distinctions do not exist, just as there are no servants or domestics.

576 They greet each other by extending hands in a manner that differs from our practice (see Photo. 43).

567 727 Slavery is unknown. Men who have been, captured in war are killed; captured women are taken into the victorious group and accorded completely equal rights.

R. Marriage, Position of the Woman, Children

582 Men marry between the ages of about 16 and 18 years, girls between 13 and 16. Both sets of figures naturally are estimates.

584 The candidate for marriage addresses his suit to the girl's mother. If the latter is no longer alive, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is consulted only secondarily. The suitor brings his future in-laws presents in the form of game and veld food, sometimes over a period of more than a year.

If the affair proceeds smoothly, the man takes the girl to his hut after a time and the marriage is regarded as consummated.

If, in spite of the consent of her parents, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to express her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man will finally take the girl to his hut by force and have coitus with her. If she runs away, he brings her back. In this manner, her resistance seems to be gradually overcome.

684 If a man were to violate a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be killed.

585 No special ceremonies are observed to conclude the marriage. The marriage is considered consummated by coitus.

/156 cont./

584 The betrothal, which takes place immediately before the couple move into the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl's wrist, as can be seen in Photograph 44. Since, however, "betrothal" and "marriage" are separated only by the walk to the hut, the seizing of the bride's forearm may be regarded as concluding the marriage.

The seizing of the forearm is a fairly violent gesture, and on the way to the hut the bride allows herself in a certain sense to be dragged along. Could it be that this perhaps represents a vestige of an earlier custom of abducting the woman?

606 It is curious how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit down with her. If, for instance, he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law will go away. If he is absolutely forced to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.

163 I noted that most women had two or three children who were about two to three years apart (see p. 5).

591 The woman goes to the family or settlement of her husband, not the other way around. The fact that the young couple stays for some time in the settlement of the wife's parents, roughly until the first child is born, may have given rise to error. Later on, the couple always returns to the man's horde.

582 A man may not marry his own sister and likewise, naturally, neither his mother nor daughter. Other degrees of relationship constitute no absolute obstacle to marriage.

As a rule, however, one does not marry within his own family and, if possible, not even within his own horde. Preferably women are brought in from far away, often from groups speaking another language (Naroon, Genkuin, Hei-um [Heikum]).

851 The birth of a child does not necessitate a temporary separation of the marriage partners.

684 837 Marital fidelity seems to be observed to a fair extent. The adulterer is killed, and the wife is treated according to the temperament of the deceived husband, that is, she is given a more or less violent beating.

2: Kaufmann--75 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Photo. 43.
Extending the Hand in Greeting.

Photo. 44.
Betrothal or Marriage.

[8 cont.] HENCE THE RULE IS THAT THE WEDDING AND THE GIRLS
585 initiation coincide, and usually the girl moves to the village of
881^ her first husband immediately after the completion of the festivi-
[591] ties.

584 When a man is courting, he must first attempt to obtain the consent of the girl. Once he has succeeded, he goes to the girl's parents. If they also give their consent, the engagement is settled. At this point, all communication is interrupted until the bridegroom appears and says to the girl's parents: "I want to have the wedding now." If the parents agree, they go to their relatives to spread the happy news. If the relatives object, they can still prevent the marriage. If they do not, the date of the wedding feast is fixed. In the bush, the bridegroom must bring the bride's parents a piece of big game. Usually people make matters
439 simpler for themselves. Either they have already earned a head
584 of cattle from a black farmer, and this stands ready in the farmer's
648 herd to be fetched for the wedding feast, or -- and this is more
452 common -- the Bushman will begin a begging tour around the black farmyards until someone gives him a cow as an advance on hides to be supplied later or on work to be performed.

452 And miraculously, this always succeeds. It is to be ex-
648 plained on various grounds. A black farmer, whose worst character traits include avarice and greed, would never give another Black who possesses nothing one of his dearly beloved cows on the strength of uncertain promises. And not unjustly. The next day the cow would have disappeared into the stomachs of the borrower and his friends, and on the day after that the borrower would have disappeared beyond the tribal boundaries. Repeatedly the Bushmen came to my camp too late. But from the Ukuanjama I always received the assurance: "The Bushmen will keep their word; they will certainly come if they are alive." In addition to this, of course, there is the symbiosis. Each village has its
[437] Bushmen. During the period of the harvest they suddenly appear
[9] and help with it. Between times they never miss a celebration, and at one time or another this one comes with hides and another with honey. And finally the chiefs of the Bushmen kin
[622] groups see to it that nothing happens to injure the reputation of
[674] the Bushmen. It is unheard of for these people to commit theft.

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

372 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in
881 the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other
184 hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not
585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the mar-
582 riage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A
595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 [12] A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

[15 cont.]

881 the man's encampment and took up married life. Nowadays the
585 first menstruation and wedding no longer always coincide.

584 The consent of the girl is absolutely necessary for the conclusion of the marriage. People often are betrothed already in childhood. Once the girl has grown up, that is, once she has become sexually mature, the suitor goes to the girl's parents. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to enter the encampments of their prospective parents-in-law. If father and mother agree, then they go to the grandparents to obtain their consent. Then oxen, wethers, and goats are collected for the feast. Then the suitor goes to his parents, who in turn consult the grandparents. In the bridegroom's house also livestock is now collected, or, as the case may be, begged or purchased.
585 Then a great feast begins. There is dancing, and long trumpets are blown.

During the wedding dance the men sing:
[539] "Huwi é haa -- huwi é taa -- huwi áni taa." (The girl has grown up.)

The women clap their hands and sing:
"Jee jeee ja! jee jeee ja!"

881 A boys' initiation in the true sense of the term is no longer held. When the boy has grown up, however, a celebration
852 is held and livestock is killed. Similarly, when a child has been born, a celebration takes place, at which wethers or sheep are slaughtered. It is striking that among these Bushmen a sheep usually takes the place of the goat.

551 The boy receives the father's name; the daughter, the mother's name. The children belong to the family of the woman,
611 and the oldest uncle, or oldest brother of the woman, is the head
582 of the family. It is prohibited to marry the children of the mother's sisters.

The kinship terms are as follows:

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German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
Father	//khum-khe	//gub, dadab, eib
Mother	//khums	//gus, is
Son	a χ'oron-khe	/gõab/gõb
Daughter	χ'ams-khe	/gõas/gõs
Brother	!gasab	!gasab
Sister	di !gas-khe	!gasas

[27 cont.]

221 Bushmen shrink to miserable skeletons. Many of them at this
[648] time! run to the Blacks or Whites in order to earn something. In
[731] dry years no attention is paid to the kin group boundaries. All
[423] gather around the few water holes that are still open. As soon as the rain begins, conditions start to improve; the people start moving out in various directions, not to meet again until several months later at the time of the veldkost harvest here and there.

7. The Course of Life

584 I shall render in literal translation the account that my informant gave of the way a young man courts a girl:

If a young man wants to marry a girl, he must first speak to her and say: "I love you and want to marry you." If the girl is willing, she says first: "You must wait." Then she goes to her parents and asks them whether they have heard that the boy has spoken to her. The parents then ask whether the girl wants to marry the man. [28] If the girl says, "Yes," then the parents say, "He wants you; he has seen that you are good and hard-working; you may marry." If, however, the young man has thought the matter over and takes back his words, the girl goes to her parents once more, and the boy to his. The latter say: "You wanted it this way; nothing can be done about it." In case the girl definitely gives her consent, however, the young man brings all kinds of little presents and gives them to his future bride, who takes them to her parents. The parents-in-law must now in turn give presents. With the exchange of presents, the
[583] marriage is regarded as legally concluded.

[114] The hunting test described by Passarge (1) and others is not
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[113]

1. Passarge, Die Buschmänner der Kalahari, 1907.

the rule. Some vain girls demand it, and sometimes young men will voluntarily go through with it in order to beat his rivals. This hunting test is carried out in the following manner. The boy goes hunting without weapons and pursues the game (as a rule,

1 [i.e. The hot season -- Analyst]

[28 cont.]

224 a gemsbok) until it is tired and then drives it to the vicinity of
584 the hut of his intended. The pursuit of such a large antelope is not as difficult as it looks, for these ruminants are seized with serious cramps if they are not given time to settle down to ruminate. In other words, the pursuit of such a large antelope simply involves continually disturbing the animal for a long period of time. Then the young man calls to the people and asks them for weapons. All of them leap up, and the girl, too, stands up and watches as her people run with the spears. The hunter kills the game before her eyes. Then they bring the meat and cook it, and the girl says: "That is a courageous hunter; I want to marry
584 him." It is not unusual, however, for a young man to marry far away from his relatives, without having asked for the consent of his parents. In that case, the young woman must stay with her parents while the husband returns home and reports the marriage to his parents. The latter say: "How can you do this, when we don't know whether it will turn out all right?" The husband, however, says: "I have already done it, and I am merely telling you." Thereupon the parents answer: "Well, it's all right."
[591] Then the husband returns to his young wife, or to her kin group and brings his wife and child to his own kin group, where they are received. According to Vedder (Tsumeb), the young man sends a messenger with a piece of game to the father of the girl of his choice. If the father accepts the game, the betrothal is regarded
583 as concluded. As soon as the youth moves to the encampment of
591 his father-in-law, the marriage is regarded as concluded. He
[585] must work for a year for his father-in-law and deliver all hunting spoils to him, but he may not enter the hut of his parents-in-law. Once the first child is born, he moves with wife and child to his kin group.

585 Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report on the conclusion of a
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[113] 2. Von Zastrow and Vedder, "Die Buschmänner," p. 417, in Schultze-Ewarth, Das Eingeborenenrecht, Vol. II.

marriage:

"There is much dancing. The animal dances have a pervasive erotic element. In one of the first dances the bridegroom

[30 cont.]

881 old people are seated. The young man may not eat any of the meat; he may only drink the soup, which is also rubbed on him. From now on he is regarded as an adult, a marriageable man;
582 his parents ask him whether he wants to be married. The boy
584 commonly replies: "I am still weak and do not know whether I can take good care of her." Then the parents allow him to wait until he himself wants to marry. Von Zastrow and Vedder (p. 415) report the following concerning the boys' initiation:

[31] "On this occasion the boys are told how they must
881 conduct themselves when they go out to seek a wife, and how they
[867] must behave towards a mother-in-law. To sit down by an evening
[584] fire next to an adult girl is tantamount to a marriage proposal, even if not a word is spoken. Under no circumstances may one
[606] look at the mother-in-law. They also practice animal dances in the bush, the kind that are performed by the men later at joyous celebrations, and also in times of distress. Finally, the young
[304] Bushman receives the tribal marking, a number of skin incisions on the cheek below the temple. Each tribe has a certain number of skin incisions. In order to make them stand out clearly even
[386] after healing, pulverized charcoal is put into the incisions. As a result, the tribal marking later looks like a black streak on the yellow skin.

224 "There is nothing against applying another mark on the
304 future huntsman during this celebration, namely, the hunting
881 inoculation. This must be done by a man who has special powers and knowledge at his disposal. In order to sharpen the future hunter's eye for game generally and certain game in particular, it is necessary to make a deep incision between the eyes over the root of the nose, into which the practiced hand of the surgeon sprinkles a powder of dried and pulverized parts of all kinds of game.

"The inoculation may later be repeated several times if the hunter has no luck in hunting.

881 "A person who has received the tribal marking is now re-
884 garded as a Bush 'man'; he can make his own bow and arrows, like those of the old people, and go hunting with them. Also, the way is now open for him to found a family."

582 It practically never happens that a Bushman remains

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

532 Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
535 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
323 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
302 customary.

304 A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
(751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

[70 cont.]

881 her food, which is given to her by an old woman. On the sixth day the girl goes looking for veldkost with an old woman, and, when she has returned, she herself makes the fire and cooks the food in the circle of her guests, for the first time officially independent. [582] Girls may marry even before this ceremony.

[71] Among the ≠Auin the initiation is held for each girl 881 at the time of the first menstruation. The same is true among the Naron. The eland bull dance is performed every night during 881 the girl's period. Two old men attach real or wooden eland 535 horns to their heads and wait in the bush. Then the menstruating girl comes and sits down or lies down surrounded by old women, in the center of a circle of younger women who stage a dance. The two eland bulls soon appear and then quickly disappear again. The dance is very indecent. Among the Nussan, men masked as birds (!) take the place of the eland bulls.

796 Once a year, in autumn when the veldkost is harvested, there is a great festival. The day is called: "//gam gna she (the great day)." On this occasion food is prepared, and the Bushmen come from all sides. They dance and sing, but they are supposed to stay at home; no one may hunt, look for veldkost, or do any kind of work. [Fig. 25 appears here.]

4. Courtship, Wedding, and Marriage

If a young Bushman wants to marry, he does not go to the girl, but instead must speak with her parents; at the same time 584 the girl's consent to the marriage is necessary. Once this consent is given, presents are exchanged between the parents of the engaged couple, or a gemsbok is shot and divided between the two families. Immediately after the presents have been exchanged, preparations for the wedding are begun. If enough game, above all, a gemsbok, is at hand, they dance through the [539] entire night and sing: "Ueeõ, ueeeõ, õ, eee, gueeõ, guueeõ," etc.

Then the young man takes his wife and moves to the horde 581 of his father. Great importance is attached to virginity before [541] marriage. "It simply does not happen among us that a girl

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
[842] spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
843 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
845 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

[301
789
303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

*Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
584 are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

[72 cont.] THE SUITOR

584 brings his future parents-in-law presents in the form of game and
[583] veldkost, sometimes for more than a year. If matters go smoothly,
[585] he takes the girl to his hut after a while, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. If, in spite of her parents' consent, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to state her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man finally takes the girl forcibly into his hut. Should a man do vio-
684 lence to a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be

301

Fig. 26. Nagau Girl in Festive Finery of Ostrich Egg Beads (Girls' Initiation).

killed. There are no special ceremonies when the marriage is
585 concluded. The engagement, undertaken before the couple settles in the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl around her wrist. Since, however, the "engagement" and "wedding" are separated in time only by the walk to the hut, the grasping of the bride's lower arm may be regarded as concluding the marriage. [Fig. 26 appears here.] The seizing of the lower arm is done rather violently, and on the walk to the hut the bride allows herself to be dragged along to a certain extent.
606 It is curious to note how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids his mother-in-law's company and does not sit with her. For example, when he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law goes away. If it is absolutely necessary for him to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.
163 Kaufmann observed that most of the women had two or three

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Exchange of wives
is practised among some of the Kalahari groups but not by 184 837
the *Hei-||om*.

Among the *Hei-||om* a young man eligible for marriage 584
is known as a *!gari-khoib*. When he desires to marry he first speaks about the matter to his best friend (*|hosab*) who then approaches the parents of the prospective bride. The latter will reply, "We are poor, we cannot afford to give our daughter away." Thereupon the *|hosab* returns to the suitor and tells him to go and speak to the mother himself. The suitor then proceeds to the *||gāus* of the girl's mother, taking his bow and arrows with him. On arrival at her hut he sits down some distance away and says, "I want your daughter." The mother replies, "We are too poor to give our daughter away," to which the suitor responds, "I have come myself to speak to you. If you die, I will bury you, if your husband dies I will bury him," thereby implying that he has become one of the family and prepared to share their sorrows and sufferings. The mother then replies, "You 584
are right, you may take her. I will do as you say and see 585
whether you will carry out your promises," and taking his bow and arrows, proceeds to her daughter's hut (*!gari-khois oms*) and places them in the hut. Then, without speaking to her daughter, she returns to her own hut. The daughter knows to whom the bow and arrows belong. The suitor goes to the girl's hut towards dusk but does not speak to her. Being still shy and afraid of men, she may run away but does not go to her mother's hut as she is afraid of being punished. He remains in the *!gari-khois oms*, sleeping in it at night and hunting during the day. If, after two or three days, she does not come back he returns to his *||gāus* and, after obtaining some beadwork from his mother and sister, presents it to his mother-in-law through his sister. He returns to his bride's hut in the meantime. The mother-in-law must accept the present (*||ama-xun*) as the marriage was completed when she took his bow and arrows and placed them in her daughter's hut. Towards midnight the mother takes her daughter to the *!gari-khois oms* and, if necessary, removes her there by force. The bride and bridegroom do not speak to each other nor, under normal circumstances, are the presents sent to her mother by the bridegroom until they have slept together. After the marriage has been consummated the husband goes out hunting to obtain meat for the *!gu-ǂa-ǂnab* or the dance after an animal was killed for the purpose of making a wife's leather skirt. The young couple continue to live in the *!gari-khois oms* for some months before taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own *||gāus* his mother builds a hut for them.

Parent-in-law taboo is met with among all the tribes. The 606
son-in-law neither looks at nor speaks to his mother-in-law, nor will he mention her name or enter her hut even in case of sickness or during her absence. When, in the absence of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

everyone was thankful that she had not been hurt. The people 731
remarked at the size and the intensity of the fire and shook their heads at the destruction, each one telling someone else where he had been when he first had seen the blaze. They asked each other why no one put the fire out, as no one did, and soon the scherm was a heap of white ash and the old couple who owned it ruined materially, too old to start again.

A few weeks after that, two children were married. The 582
groom was about sixteen and the bride was eight. It was con- 835
sidered to be an excellent match, as the bride was pretty and the groom was already becoming famous as a hunter. But even in these auspicious circumstances complications and involved negotiations arose, until, for a while, people began to think that no wedding would take place. The bride's aunt [578]
disliked the groom's mother, and recalled an old scandal that had shadowed the family for years. The groom's mother had divorced the groom's father long ago to marry her present husband, which in itself was altogether usual, but it came out that the man and woman had maintained an adulterous relationship before the divorce and furthermore were tabu relatives, which made their union incestuous—not as severely so as marriage between parent and child or brother and sister, but incestuous nevertheless—and it caused a scandal that reverberated throughout all of Nyae Nyae. The two were middle-aged when they married, and they had clung sol- [593]
idly together through the storm of scandal and disapproval, for it was truly a marriage of love.

The little girl did not want to be a bride. When we asked 584
her how she felt about her wedding she hid her face in her hands and said that she was still a young child, too young to get married.

All in all, only the groom's family behaved well, showing patience and forbearance until at last the wedding took place.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

584 One day the young man killed a little buck and, according to custom, gave most of it to his bride's parents, thus proving that he hunted well and would provide for them and their daughter. With this the engagement was sealed. Shortly after-
585 ward the mothers of the bride and groom built a scherm for the young couple which they furnished with wood and water and enlivened with a fire, kindled by brands from their own fires. Very early the following day the bride's mother adorned
[301 822 831] the bride, washing her, hanging white bead ornaments from her hair, rubbing her clothing with red, sweet-smelling powder, a symbol to Bushmen of beauty. Then, sitting her upon one large kaross, they covered her with another and left her to spend the day motionless, waiting for evening, when the union would take place.

788 It is common in Bushman ceremonies for a person at a transitional moment of life to be raised from the ground and hidden from the sun, as though suspended between earth and sky. Young people on the day of their first marriage are protected in this way; so are newborn babies, and so are girls
[841] on the day of their first menstruation. At a funeral, too, the body before burial is covered and raised from the ground, and perhaps all this is because a person is especially susceptible to damage at times of life when change is taking place, when, perhaps, a person is as delicate and fragile as a new moth emerged from a cocoon.

585 Because the sun brings death, no ceremony or part of any
[821 761] ceremony is performed when the sun is strong; but when evening came and the sun itself was dying, the groom was led to his new home by his three brothers, who took him by the hands and pulled him there, forced him, for custom demanded that he show reluctance. The bride, according to custom, refused to go to her husband and had to be picked up by another little girl and carried to him. In the drama of re-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

she was getting older every day and already developing a rep- 583
utation for shrewishness, but Beautiful Ungka flatly refused. 159
When her admirer heard of this he felt he could not live without her and he asked his wife to kidnap her for him, but his wife, far older than Beautiful Ungka and quite possibly jealous, would not, so nothing remained for her admirer but to kidnap her himself. This he did, planning carefully, and one night when everybody was asleep he stole quietly to Beautiful Ungka's scherm, lifted her bodily from the side of her grandmother, and bore her away on his shoulder. The grandmother awoke and set up an outcry; but Beautiful Ungka, a girl of remarkable self-possession and composure, didn't kick or struggle because she knew she wouldn't stay with her captor long. When her kidnapper reached home, masculine and forceful, he flung Beautiful Ungka down in the back of his scherm on the far side of his wife "to show," said the Bushmen, "that he wasn't afraid of his wife or anybody," and Beautiful Ungka lay still, as if subdued, until she heard that her captor and his wife were asleep. Then she got up, stepped over them, and walked home. That was the end of that episode.

Every day she became more beautiful. Her parents tried 159
hard to marry her to a steady young man, and as she would 585
have none of her suitors, they chose a second husband for [584]
her, this time a young and presentable man in his twenties who had quite a number of worldly goods got by working at Gam for the Chuanas. So Beautiful Ungka, now fourteen, was married again. By now she had menstruated and was old 159
enough for intercourse, but although she lived with her 593
young husband she wouldn't let him touch her and he was driven to despair. He did everything for her, requiring no work from her at all—his relatives helped feed him—and once he walked forty miles, from Gam, where he was living, to

553 602 835 properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

[601] The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, 619 in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling 553 of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin 601 terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen— 602 sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [101] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ǒassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ǒassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilin- [613] ages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father [622] to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

[423] There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A consider- 768 able amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

582 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside 648 the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

584 First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

the Heikum, there is also a definite tendency towards band exogamy.[1] 582
This means that in general courtship and marriage take place between persons belonging to different bands, and therefore to different localities.

As a rule boys and girls are not permitted to marry until they have reached the age of puberty, and have passed through the [881] puberty ceremonies.[2] Marriage generally takes place shortly afterwards. Among the Naron and the Auen, for example, most people are married by the time they are twenty, many of them, indeed, when they are several years younger, and so, too, among the Kung marriage takes place at quite an early age.[3]

Marriage Ceremonies

From the sketchy descriptions available about the marriage customs of the Bushmen, there does not appear to be any elaborate ceremonial 584 attaching to the process of courtship and marriage. The actual details recorded vary slightly from tribe to tribe, but in the main [184] features there is a considerable degree of uniformity.[4] The initiative lies as a rule in the hands of the prospective bridegroom. When he has found a suitable girl, he either himself or through an intermediary such as his best friend has to win the consent of her parents, above all of her mother, to whom he brings gifts in the form of game and vegetable foods, blankets, skins, beadwork, and so on. This period of courtship may last for a considerable time, often over a year or so. If no objection is taken to him, and his gifts are accepted, he after a while simply takes the girl to his hut, and the marriage is regarded as 585 settled. As a rule, this step is accompanied by a feast, in which the families and friends of both bride and bridegroom participate. Among the Northern and Namib Bushmen, indeed, it is obligatory on the bridegroom that he should kill a head of big game and present it to either the bride or her mother for the marriage feast. After marriage he also has to present his wife with a full woman's kaross, as well as other articles of clothing and ornaments, while she brings with her all her own property, mainly in the form of domestic utensils.

[1] Lebzelter says of the Kung: "Die Kinder der Vaterschwestern gelten als Vettern, unter ihnen ist die Ehe verboten. Dagegen sind die Kinder der Vaterbruder Geschwister und man muss die Tochter des Vaterbruders heiraten, falls diese es verlangt" (op. cit., 14). This needs to be confirmed; it is at variance with the tendency to band exogamy noted among all the North-Western Bushmen, including the Kung.

[2] Passarge, op. cit., 101; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157, 158; Fourie, op. cit., 89, 91.

[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 33–4.

[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 504–5; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 258; Passarge, op. cit., 105; Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; Vedder, op. cit., 8; Dornan, op. cit., 124–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

584 [114] The account given by Fourie of the Heikum marriage ceremonies is fuller than most of the others, and may be quoted for the sake of the details it contains.[1] "A young man eligible for marriage is known as a */gari-khoib*. When he desires to marry he first speaks about the matter to his best friend (*/hosab*), who then approaches the parents of the prospective bride. The latter will reply: 'We are poor, we cannot afford to give our daughter away.' Thereupon the */hosab* returns to the suitor and tells him to go and speak to the mother himself. The suitor then proceeds to the *//gaus* of the girl's mother, taking his bow and arrows with him. On arrival at her hut he sits down some distance away and says 'I want your daughter'. The mother replies, 'We are too poor to give our daughter away,' to which the suitor responds, 'I have come myself to speak to you. If you die, I will bury you, if your husband dies I will bury him,' thereby implying that he has become one of the family and prepared to share their sorrows and sufferings. The mother then replies, 'You are right, you may take her. I will do as you say and see whether you will carry out your 585 promises,' and taking his bow and arrows, proceeds to her daughter's hut (*/gari-khois oms*) and places them in the hut. Then, without speaking to her daughter, she returns to her own hut. The daughter knows to whom the bow and arrows belong. The suitor goes to the girl's hut towards dusk but does not speak to her. Being still shy and afraid of men, she may run away, but does not go to her mother's hut as she is afraid of being punished. He remains in the */gari-khois oms*, sleeping in it at night and hunting during the day. If, after two or three days, she does not come back he returns to his *//gaus* and, after obtaining some beadwork from his mother and sister, presents it to his mother-in-law through his sister. He returns to his bride's hut in the meantime. The mother-in-law must accept the present (*//ama-xun*) as the marriage was completed when she took his bow and arrows and placed them in her daughter's hut. Towards midnight the mother takes her daughter to the */gari-khois oms*, and, if necessary, removes her there by force. The bride and bridegroom do not speak to each other, nor, under normal circumstances, are the presents sent to her mother until they have slept together. After the marriage has been consummated the husband goes out hunting to obtain an animal for the */gu-/a-/nab*, or the dance after an animal was killed for the purpose of making a wife's leather skirt. The young 591 couple continue to live in the */gari-khois oms* for some months before

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 59–60; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 93.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. 513 593
Individual adjustments are made.

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the will to hunt, good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt. It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness. 582 224 884 [304]

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of hunting is ceremonially linked with marriage. At the time of the wedding, the boy must bring to his bride's parents an animal that he himself has killed. The animal he brings must not be eaten by the bride. 585 224

A boy who never killed any large meat animal would not be given a wife, informants said. This was why the strange old deviant, /Gaishay, had remained a bachelor. For reasons no one understood he could not hunt; he gathered veldkos like a woman. Gossip had it that twice he had tried to drag a woman against her will into his scherm but had not succeeded. Informants remarked, 'Women like meat.' They do, but there is far more to it than that. 582 589 [462]

As John Marshall shows in his film, *The Hunters*, the primary sources of physical life, sex and food, are involved. In /Kung concept they are linked together, and, as they pertain to men, their duality is lifted to oneness in the being of the man, who is the sexually powerful male and the provider, the hunter. Power as a man and a male and worthiness and dignity are associated with hunting and not with the failure to hunt. 562 828 224

Since they are related, both the sexual and the hunting powers of the young man can be captured at once with a bride. For the first several years of marriage the boy goes to live with his bride's parents, or her people, should her parents be dead, to hunt for them. The parents of girls speak constantly of wanting their sons-in-law to provide them with food as though it were an obsession. 'We are old', they say, or 'We shall soon be old [whether this is actually true or not]; we need a young man to hunt for us'; 'our daughter's husband must get us something to eat'; 'we need karosses'; 'we want meat'—these are their refrains. 583 [591] [606]

Another value the /Kung place upon the boy's hunting during his bride-service appears in their belief that if the husband hunts for his wife and feeds her while she is still a growing child she becomes the more his. Food seems to be a main concern in bride-service, but the people also say that they want to be sure that the boy measures up in every way and will take good care of their daughter, and that the girl will have time to get used to her husband. [581] [593]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Khuan//a, the mother of the bridegroom. They claimed that Khuan//a was stingy— 159
and worse. /Nai's stepfather, Gao, had given a present of beads to one of his relatives. 578
A knife which was gradually making its way to him as a return gift had been diverted 584
by Khuan//a to one of her relatives. Khuan//a, some claimed, was 'like that!' /Nai's MoSi, /U, the wife of ≠Toma, said in a voice that could be heard across the werf that Khuan//a had 'borrowed' a coal from her fire one day without asking. At this, Khuan//a had with quiet dignity risen from her fire place and walked off to the water-hole. /U also said, but in a low voice, that Khuan//a, while she was still married to Bo, had been sleeping in the bushes with Gau till the people said to Gau 'What are you doing with Khuan//a?' She then left Bo and married Gau, although they were distant relatives, in some way we never could trace, who should not marry. Gau loved Khuan//a so much, /U sniffed, that he spoiled her and let her have power over his belongings. /U had no doubt but that Gau would soon find himself very poor. /U disapproved of /Nai's marriage to the son of such a woman but said that she would reconsider her position if the knife which had been diverted by Khuan//a were now given to Gao, as had been expected.

It never was, but gifts of ostrich egg shell beads and a blanket were given and Gao declared himself satisfied. /Nai's mother wanted the marriage so much she was ready to overlook the matter of the knife and they all started again in peace.

Nothing more happened about /Nai's wedding until the morning of 21 May 1953, 159
when we noticed the two mothers together building the wedding scherm. They had 585
placed it between the two werfs about twenty-five feet from the fire of the bride's family. The scherm was slightly larger and more nearly round and much more carefully built than the usual skimpy structures.

Next morning /Nai's mother asked me if I would bring the wood for the bride's [123]
fire. I knew it was because her back ached, not to honour me, but I felt honoured anyway and brought the wood.

All that day /Nai sat at a short distance from her family's fire, the fire that each [354]
family keeps burning in front of the scherm for cooking and for light and warmth at night. The fire-light is more of a house to the Bushmen than the scherm is. /Nai was covered, head and all, with a big gemsbok kaross of her mother's. She wore her usual beads, but no special regalia brightened the sombre grey-brown of the old kaross.

Just as the sun was setting, without speaking to her mother and stepfather, /Nai walked alone over to another fire, seven or eight yards away, the big kaross still pulled over her head and trailing behind her. She went to this fire because it was the [591]
fire beside which she had recently been sleeping with her mother's widowed cousin, since she had reached the age when girls and boys leave off sleeping beside their parents. Her old great-uncle was there. She sat down opposite him. He paid no particular attention to her and they did not speak.

By then the sun had sunk below the horizon. /Nai uncovered her head but kept the kaross tied around her waist and over one shoulder in the way karosses are customarily worn.

Presently two girls came to /Nai. They had waited till twilight was deepening into darkness because people sleep at night and a wedding is a 'night-thing'. One was ≠Nisa, /Nai's stepfather's daughter by his first wife. The other was Xama from

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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159 585 Band 2. She was /Nai's second cousin (MoFaBrSoDa) and the first cousin once removed of the groom (MoSiDaDa). The attendants were not selected for their precise relationship to the bride. They were the only young kinswomen present in the two bands. The girls sat down and chatted with /Nai for a moment and then stood up and, giggling and chattering, took /Nai by the arms. /Nai drew back. Then Xama pulled /Nai's arms over her shoulders, bent and took /Nai on to her back so that her feet did not touch the ground. Xama carried /Nai in this position to the wedding scherm, laid her down inside, to the left of the opening as one entered, in the dark shadow, and covered her over with the kaross. There /Nai remained. We did not see her again that night.

It is the custom for the parents to take brands from their own fires to light the wedding fire of the bride and groom. Presumably this was done, though I did not see it. When the girls arrived the fire was burning and a young man, a cousin of the groom, was tending it. The two girls sat down by the fire on the women's side.

562 834 352 /Kung men and women must sit on opposite sides of the fire.[1] They believe that if male and female genital organs should touch the same spot on the ground the man's hunting powers would be vitiated and the woman would get a sickness in her genito-urinary tract, not an ordinary, human, communicable disease but a magical one. The woman's side is to the left as one faces the entrance to the scherm, the men's to the right. The fire is always in front of the entrance if the scherm is built, but, more often than not, if the weather is good, or the people are travelling and staying only one night, or the wife is lazy, she hangs the family belongings in a bush and does [342] not build a scherm. Then it is the custom to thrust two upright sticks into the ground to represent the entrance, so that the family may orient itself.

159 585 In the werf of Band 2, about twenty or thirty yards to the west, a group of boys had come to /Gunda to attend him. They were all the young boys of the werf who were approximately his age, two cousins (MoSiSo) and four of the sons of /Gunda's stepfather by his first wife. The boys made a show of catching /Gunda and held him by the arms for a moment, laughing and talking. Then they formed a line with /Gunda following at the end, walked to the wedding fire, and sat down on the men's

[1] This taboo reveals the association which, I 224 833 believe, the /Kung make between the hunting power of men and the male sexual principle. Both must be protected, and sexual activity must be controlled and constrained lest the life-giving and food-producing force of men be weakened or drained away. During the period of a hunt a man must not have sexual intercourse—that is, while the man is looking for game and, after he has shot his little poisoned arrow into the animal, while he is tracking it for miles and waiting and watching for days till it dies of the poison. A hunt usually demands many days and nights of effort and privation.

[783] Too frequent indulgence in sexual intercourse with one's wife, even when no hunt is in progress, is believed to diminish a man's hunting power. Some [841] men believed that once in five nights was best; others thought once in three nights was all right. Men who have the joking relationship constantly play upon the theme of excess, taunting each other: 'You do not know hunting, you know women', 'You cannot leave your wife long enough to hunt.'

The /Kung are less strict about another taboo. A woman is supposed not to touch a man's hunting gear at any time, because this would lessen his power to hunt. But I have often seen women touch assegais and quivers. Indeed it has sometimes been urgently necessary to do so when the children got hold of them, as, for instance, when the three-year-old ≠Gao, agile as a flea, took after us with his father's assegai, infuriated with us for some sudden notion of his own. There is a medicine called *gow gowsi*, made from a plant, which may be rubbed on the weapons to purify them if they are touched by women, but I never saw this done and doubted if anyone bothered with it. The effect of a woman's touching the hunting gear is much stronger if she is menstruating. I assume they are more careful then.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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side. /Gunda sat behind the line of boys, in a deep shadow, to show that he was 159
' ashamed ' and respected (feared, *koa*) the wedding scherm. 585

One of the boys began to play, not their ceremonial music or special wedding music, but songs of the *//guashi*, as they call them, the little wordless melodies these [533] people compose about happenings in their lives, about pleasures or distress, about their moods. They play and sing these melodies for hours upon hours in the afternoons when they are resting or in the evenings by their fires, and they played for hours that night at the wedding fire.

Soon young guests began to arrive, the children of both werfs with whom /Nai played, all of them younger than the boys who attended /Gunda and the girls who carried /Nai. The youngest guest was the ubiquitous three-year-old boy who never missed anything. No adults came.

One boy brought four mangetti nuts with him and roasted, cracked, and ate them himself. That was all that appeared by way of a feast. Di/ai said that they would like to have given the children something to eat but there was nothing in the werf that night. Even though the others had had something to eat, the bride and groom would have had to abstain. They must not talk or eat, to show they are ' ashamed '. The young guests seemed to enjoy themselves, nevertheless, and were still singing and chatting when I left at midnight.

Soon after sunrise the following morning—/Gunda had already departed—/Nai's mother went to the wedding scherm and sat down beside the embers of the night's fire. /Nai stood shivering beside her in her little genital apron and the duiker skin [291] which women wear around their buttocks and up between their legs, but stripped of her kaross. The mother had brought a little fat (eland fat, if they had it, would be [825] used) and a bit of powdered red stone, one of the red earths (*|gam !gai gwoie*), mixed with fat. She rubbed /Nai all over with the fat, and drew a line on her forehead and a circular design on her cheeks with the red powder mixed with fat. Over in werf 2, [302] Gao, Nai's stepfather, presented /Gunda with a blanket.

This completed the wedding ceremony.

/Nai was a lively child who loved the dancing and singing games the girls play. 159
She often danced alone, tapping her bare feet on a stone in rapid rhythm or making a game of printing a design in the sand with tiny steps. She liked babies and as often 462 as not had her infant half-brother or some very small cousin tied to her back. That morning she appeared to turn into a housewife as though it were her next blithe step. When the women went to gather veldkos, she put on her own little duiker skin [222] kaross, took her digging-stick and went with them. At the end of the day, when they returned in the slanting sunset light, she had two big roots. She went straight to her own fire, blew on the embers, added wood, and sat down. Three ostrich egg shells [415] full of water and her digging-stick were her household goods. These she arranged beside the scherm. /Gunda came and sat down opposite her. She smiled at him and set the roots in the ashes to cook.

It has been said in talks with informants that the bridegroom must bring an 159
antelope which he himself has killed to the parents of the bride before the wedding, 183
but no animal had been brought; there had not been a scrap of meat in the werf for 585
days. I asked Di/ai about this. ' Oh, that,' she said in effect. ' Yes, he should give me an antelope, but we thought we would have the wedding first and that /Gunda would

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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585 [159] [183] then come with us when we leave tomorrow to gather *tsi*. He will hunt from that place and get us some meat.'

The ritual elements in the wedding ceremony, in so far as we observed, were as follows: (1) carrying the bride so that her feet do not touch the ground; (2) covering her head so that the sun does not shine upon it; (3) waiting till the sun has set before taking her to the wedding scherm; (4) the fact that the scherm is specially built and set apart from the others; (5) anointing with fat; (6) painting a design on the forehead and cheeks with powdered red stone; (7) lighting the wedding fire with brands from the fires of the bride's and groom's parents.

585 881 [174] Apart from the third and seventh, all these elements occur also in the Ceremony of the First Menstruation, a more elaborate and prolonged ceremony from which the /Kung wedding ceremony undoubtedly derives. The design on the face is the same; the girl's feet must not touch the ground from the instant her first menstruation begins to the end of the period, when she is washed and anointed with both eland or other fat and the oil of the *tsi* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch).[1] When the girl is taken to her special scherm or moved out of it to urinate or defecate she is carried on the back of a kinswoman. A kaross over her head shields her from the sun whether she is sitting in the scherm or being carried out.

Our endeavour to bring to light the meaning of the ritual elements yielded little. The meaning or origin of the design on the face, I was convinced, was not withheld but lost to memory, lore or myth. 'It is our custom' was all the people could tell me.

[171] About the ritual of the feet not touching the ground, the custom frequently observed by divine kings and menstruating girls, the /Kung had no more illumination. They think that the carrying is the overcoming of the girl's symbolized modesty about going to the arms of her bridegroom, which she should properly feign even if she is eager to go, and her reluctance to separate from her own family: I think that when the attendants take hold of the bride and groom by the arm and pull them a little they symbolize the overcoming of reluctance and modesty and perhaps there is even a vestige of bride capture in that gesture, but of the feet not touching the ground the meaning is lost. Obviously, however, in this society the bride is equated to the [174] menstruating girl. In the past the girl's wedding and her first menstruation may have been celebrated at one time.

585 821 The /Kung say that the sun is death-giving. When the three months of life-giving rains are past, the sun dries up the water pools. It kills the fresh leaves and fruits, dries the roots and berries, and would scorch the people if they did not find shade and dig shallow pits and lie in them covered lightly with sand which they have moistened with their urine for coolness. They pity the morning star, the *kuli |gaishay*, which crosses the sky all day ahead of the sun, has no branches to carry for shade and cannot turn aside to rest under a tree. The sun is a 'death thing' and the bride 593 585 is shielded from it.

602 The most important element of behaviour with respect to kinship in the wedding

[113] [1] Robert Story, *Some Plants Used by the Bushmen in Obtaining Food and Water*, Department of Agriculture, Division of Botany, Union of South Africa, Botanical Survey, Memoir No. 30, 1958, p. 25. Dr. Story was a member of the 1955 and 1957 expeditions. We gratefully acknowledge whatever botanical identifications we mention as his.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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ceremony is the avoidance of the parents, which is symbolic of the incest taboo. Any (preferably young) kinswoman who is tall enough and strong enough, whether she herself is married or not, and whether or not she has the joking relation with the bride, may carry the bride; and any may attend her. Only the mother absolutely must not do so. Likewise the groom's father must not attend him. Neither pair of parents go to sit by the wedding fire, for they must not sit near their son's wife or daughter's husband, nor speak to them. Guests of mature years might go and sit by the wedding fire only if they have the joking relationship with both the bride and the groom. Very young guests, such as we saw at /Nai's and /Gunda's fire, may go, whether they joke or not with the bride and groom, because the avoidances are not stringently observed with young children.

Termination of marriage and remarriage

Widows and widowers are not avoided in any special way because of their widowhood.

If her husband dies, a young widow usually returns to her own parents or lives with one of her own siblings, but, if her people are dead, or if it is her preference, she may stay on with her deceased husband's people. It is the duty of her HuBr to hunt for her if she needs his support.

Several possibilities are open to a young widower: rarely he might stay with his deceased wife's parents or siblings; more likely he would return to his own parents or siblings; and, when he marries again, he goes into matrilocal residence with the new bride. In any case, a man is responsible for his wife's parents and young siblings, and, if they depended on him for support, he would take them with him. They would be likely to prefer, however, to live with an adult son, daughter, or sibling of their own if they had any.

Old widowers or widows whose own parents are dead usually live with either a son or daughter, or perhaps with their own sibling—as they wish.

The surviving spouse is free to marry again within the regulations of the extended incest taboo, which applies to all marriages.

Parents would arrange the subsequent marriage of a widowed boy or girl. Adults may make their own arrangements directly. My impression was that persons might be considered fully adult somewhere in their middle or late twenties.

An adult man takes the initiative and asks the woman to marry him. Robert Dyson in the 1951 expedition learned that one way for a man to ask a woman to marry him is to present her with a bow and arrow. If she accepts it she indicates her willingness to consider his suit.

No restriction of time is put upon the remarriage of a widower, but a widow should not remarry until one rainy season has passed. She is then considered 'clean' and may marry again. ≠Toma said, 'The rain washes (*//num*) the death away from the widow.' *//Num* is the gesture of wiping a dish with one finger and then licking the finger. /Ti/kay of Band 9 said that some men wait for a rainy season to pass, but that others would be pleased the husband was dead and, without waiting, say, 'This is my chance.' One interpreter understood that the widow had to take off her kaross and spend a night out, letting the rain fall on her, but ≠Toma said this was not what

/156 cont./

423 foster the growth of the veld crop, he alone may lay claim to the yield of the burned veld. Others, even members of the same settlement, are not allowed to use it.

The territorial property of the individual hordes is precisely delimited, and the boundaries are known to everyone. Boundary markers naturally do not exist, but with his marvelous sense of place, the Bushman knows exactly, to the last bush, the extent of his territory.

565 Social distinctions do not exist, just as there are no servants or domestics.

576 They greet each other by extending hands in a manner that differs from our practice (see Photo. 43).

567 727 Slavery is unknown. Men who have been, captured in war are killed; captured women are taken into the victorious group and accorded completely equal rights.

R. Marriage, Position of the Woman, Children

582 Men marry between the ages of about 16 and 18 years, girls between 13 and 16. Both sets of figures naturally are estimates.

584 The candidate for marriage addresses his suit to the girl's mother. If the latter is no longer alive, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is consulted only secondarily. The suitor brings his future in-laws presents in the form of game and veld food, sometimes over a period of more than a year.

If the affair proceeds smoothly, the man takes the girl to his hut after a time and the marriage is regarded as consummated.

If, in spite of the consent of her parents, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to express her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man will finally take the girl to his hut by force and have coitus with her. If she runs away, he brings her back. In this manner, her resistance seems to be gradually overcome.

684 If a man were to violate a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be killed.

585 No special ceremonies are observed to conclude the marriage. The marriage is considered consummated by coitus.

[8 cont.]

177 nothing can be done without Erob; we also pray to him whenever
776 somebody is ill, but we have no song for that, we do it in our
782 hearts." In these conceptions Christian influence is obvious.

881 They have no initiation for boys, but there is one for girls at the time of the first menstruation.

The girls' initiation is called "dorob."

At the onset of the menses, the girl becomes a "χ'ábа χ'ábesa"; a special hut (omba) is built for her, where she is guarded by older women who feed her. The girl is allowed to eat anything, but nothing with her hands. When the menses end, a two-day festival begins, which terminates with a concluding dance. The candidate is seated in the center. Men and women go around
[534] her in a circle. The men blow on wooden trumpets. (These trumpets are made by the !Kung at only one place.) At the same time the drum is beaten (!guruba). At the conclusion, the women make "music." They clap their hands and sing:

[539] e-e-e-e-a-eje a jeja ni u u e . . .

Between times the drums and wooden trumpets sound.

539 Then the choral song of the men begins.

881 boro ai /i-he ≠hasa	Daughter my has become tall (just)
≠hau ge	Stand erect (tall)
/gai /ka uta (?) /noro-re	Good be now our little sunshine (1)

1. Literally: "Shine, you."

/ari ni tessa	Dance (2), sing, sue for her hand (3)

2. Literally: "Jump."

3. Literally: "Ask for!"

!goasa hi bare	People, be glad
Ti Komi !gǒǎ Kǒǒ...Kǒǒ... Kǒǒǒ	So, in this way, people, you should do it.

Then the dance begins anew.

[582] The engagement usually takes place long before the
● 585 girl's initiation. Hence the rule is that the wedding and the girl's
881

[8 cont.] HENCE THE RULE IS THAT THE WEDDING AND THE GIRLS
585 initiation coincide, and usually the girl moves to the village of
881 her first husband immediately after the completion of the festivi-
[591] ties.

584 When a man is courting, he must first attempt to obtain the consent of the girl. Once he has succeeded, he goes to the girl's parents. If they also give their consent, the engagement is settled. At this point, all communication is interrupted until the bridegroom appears and says to the girl's parents: "I want to have the wedding now." If the parents agree, they go to their relatives to spread the happy news. If the relatives object, they can still prevent the marriage. If they do not, the date of the wedding feast is fixed. In the bush, the bridegroom must bring the bride's parents a piece of big game. Usually people make matters
439 simpler for themselves. Either they have already earned a head
584 of cattle from a black farmer, and this stands ready in the farmer's
648 herd to be fetched for the wedding feast, or -- and this is more
452 common -- the Bushman will begin a begging tour around the black farmyards until someone gives him a cow as an advance on hides to be supplied later or on work to be performed.

452 And miraculously, this always succeeds. It is to be ex-
648 plained on various grounds. A black farmer, whose worst character traits include avarice and greed, would never give another Black who possesses nothing one of his dearly beloved cows on the strength of uncertain promises. And not unjustly. The next day the cow would have disappeared into the stomachs of the borrower and his friends, and on the day after that the borrower would have disappeared beyond the tribal boundaries. Repeatedly the Bushmen came to my camp too late. But from the Ukuanjama I always received the assurance: "The Bushmen will keep their word; they will certainly come if they are alive." In addition to this, of course, there is the symbiosis. Each village has its
[437] Bushmen. During the period of the harvest they suddenly appear
/9/ and help with it. Between times they never miss a celebration, and at one time or another this one comes with hides and another with honey. And finally the chiefs of the Bushmen kin
[622] groups see to it that nothing happens to injure the reputation of
[674] the Bushmen. It is unheard of for these people to commit theft.

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

372 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in
881 the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other
184 hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not
585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the mar-
582 riage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A
595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 [12] A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

/14 cont./

000 chronic, good-natured imbiber . . .

776 In heaven there is one god, Erob. Lightning (dábara)
[821] and rain (!nanus) are sent by him. He calls heaven χ'ameiba.
This word is very interesting. It can mean both "place of the
/15/ souls (χ'a) " or "place of the χ'amab." The souls
[775] (um-ské) go to heaven after death. "This is what they say,"
said the man, "I haven't been there yet."

He did not know Gauab and Heiseb. Concerning other spirits, he said that people had mentioned them, but he did not believe in them. The spirits are supposedly called "gangarob."
756 The old Bushmen had neither doctors nor medicines against ill-
753 nesses. To my question about what made people ill, he responded with philosophical equanimity: "If one becomes ill, he is ill like an animal." He knew nothing about the sun (soris)
[821] and moon (χ'ab). A sacred fire is unknown to him.
[778]

224 Of greatest interest is his report, undoubtedly based
782 upon autopsy, concerning an initial offering at the hunt. I give the report in literal translation:

"Before people go out to the hunt, they meet at an omsati tree (//Khaia-aib). There a fire is made. Each hunter rips off a number of leaves, spits on them, and throws them into the fire as he shouts:

[539] Érob, Érob, áu tere! God, God, help us!

"When the game has been killed, one first cuts a piece each from the lung, liver, and stomach and throws each piece singly to the side, saying all the while:

Érob úre, Érob úre! God take, God take!

[539] "Then they start to eat."

This function is performed by the one who has killed the game.

The following was communicated to me concerning the
881 social organization:
585

There are initiation ceremonies. The celebration of the first menstruation originally coincided with the wedding. On the first day of menstruation the girl went into a pontok especially constructed for this purpose. Then there was dancing for two or three days, and after the cessation of the menses the girl went to

[15 cont.]

881 the man's encampment and took up married life. Nowadays the
585 first menstruation and wedding no longer always coincide.

584 The consent of the girl is absolutely necessary for the conclusion of the marriage. People often are betrothed already in childhood. Once the girl has grown up, that is, once she has become sexually mature, the suitor goes to the girl's parents. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to enter the encampments of their prospective parents-in-law. If father and mother agree, then they go to the grandparents to obtain their consent. Then oxen, wethers, and goats are collected for the feast. Then the suitor goes to his parents, who in turn consult the grandparents. In the bridegroom's house also livestock is now collected, or, as the case may be, begged or purchased.
585 Then a great feast begins. There is dancing, and long trumpets are blown.

During the wedding dance the men sing:
[539] "Huwi é haa -- huwi é taa -- huwi áni taa." (The girl has grown up.)
The women clap their hands and sing:
"Jee jeee ja! jee jeee ja!"

881 A boys' initiation in the true sense of the term is no longer held. When the boy has grown up, however, a celebration
852 is held and livestock is killed. Similarly, when a child has been born, a celebration takes place, at which wethers or sheep are slaughtered. It is striking that among these Bushmen a sheep usually takes the place of the goat.

551 The boy receives the father's name; the daughter, the mother's name. The children belong to the family of the woman,
611 and the oldest uncle, or oldest brother of the woman, is the head of the family. It is prohibited to marry the children of the
582 mother's sisters.

The kinship terms are as follows:

601

German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
Father	//khum-khe	//gub, dadab, eib
Mother	//khums	//gus, is
Son	a χ'oron-khe	/gõab/gõb
Daughter	χ'ams-khe	/gõas/gõs
Brother	!gasab	!gasab
Sister	di !gas-khe	!gasas

[28 cont.]

224 a gemsbok) until it is tired and then drives it to the vicinity of
584 the hut of his intended. The pursuit of such a large antelope is not as difficult as it looks, for these ruminants are seized with serious cramps if they are not given time to settle down to ruminate. In other words, the pursuit of such a large antelope simply involves continually disturbing the animal for a long period of time. Then the young man calls to the people and asks them for weapons. All of them leap up, and the girl, too, stands up and watches as her people run with the spears. The hunter kills the game before her eyes. Then they bring the meat and cook it, and the girl says: "That is a courageous hunter; I want to marry
584 him." It is not unusual, however, for a young man to marry far away from his relatives, without having asked for the consent of his parents. In that case, the young woman must stay with her parents while the husband returns home and reports the marriage to his parents. The latter say: "How can you do this, when we don't know whether it will turn out all right?" The husband, however, says: "I have already done it, and I am merely telling you." Thereupon the parents answer: "Well, it's all right."
[591] Then the husband returns to his young wife, or to her kin group and brings his wife and child to his own kin group, where they are received. According to Vedder (Tsumeb), the young man sends a messenger with a piece of game to the father of the girl of his choice. If the father accepts the game, the betrothal is regarded
583 as concluded. As soon as the youth moves to the encampment of
591 his father-in-law, the marriage is regarded as concluded. He
[585] must work for a year for his father-in-law and deliver all hunting spoils to him, but he may not enter the hut of his parents-in-law. Once the first child is born, he moves with wife and child to his kin group.

585 Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report on the conclusion of a
535

[113] 2. Von Zastrow and Vedder, "Die Buschmänner," p. 417, in Schultze-Ewarth, Das Eingeborenenrecht, Vol. II.

marriage:

"There is much dancing. The animal dances have a pervasive erotic element. In one of the first dances the bridegroom

[28 cont.]

535 makes his appearance as the bull of some animal species that the
585 two kin groups especially prize. He takes his place in the row of dancing men. Across from them the women have taken up their position in a long row and accompany the dance by stamping, singing, and clapping their hands. The bride stands among them. She is in no way distinguished from the other women and girls. After a few turns, the bridegroom steps out of the row of men, goes dancing toward the bride, seizes her, and dances back again. The bride then comes from the row of women, clapping her hands, stamping, and singing as she moves toward the bridegroom; without touching him, she turns back, keeping her face turned toward the bridegroom, and rejoins the row of female dancers. With this, the external formality of concluding the marriage in front of many witnesses is over.

583 "It is the young man's duty, however, to leave his paternal
591 kin group for a year and to work for his parents-in-law. This means that any spoils he gets from hunting must be left in his mother-in-law's hut. He, of course, gets his piece during the distribution of the meat, but he is not yet regarded as the actual provider for his young wife, who, as before, receives her share of the meat from her mother, although she searches for veldkost for herself and her husband.

(224) "As a hunter, the man eats only the flesh of the rump.
262 The women and children receive the legs and intestines. Children are not allowed to eat certain parts; for example, a child may not eat the heart of a jackal. The child would not become sick
(825) by doing so, but since the jackal is very cowardly, the child would
(828) also become cowardly.

591 [29] "After the first year of marriage with its obligatory service, the young wife follows her husband to the encampment where the man's father or his kin group resides.

845 "If the child is so weak that it probably will not live,
847 or if it has a physical defect, it is buried alive on the same day, with or without the consent of the father and mother.

553 "The name of the child is given by the father. This is
852 done a few days after birth. The father spits on the child's chest and calls it by name. Others sprinkle it with water from a well.

[72 cont.] THE SUITOR

584 brings his future parents-in-law presents in the form of game and
[583] veldkost, sometimes for more than a year. If matters go smoothly,
[585] he takes the girl to his hut after a while, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. If, in spite of her parents' consent, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to state her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man finally takes the girl forcibly into his hut. Should a man do vio-
684 lence to a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be

301

Fig. 26. Nagau Girl in Festive Finery of Ostrich Egg Beads (Girls' Initiation).

killed. There are no special ceremonies when the marriage is
585 concluded. The engagement, undertaken before the couple settles in the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl around her wrist. Since, however, the "engagement" and "wedding" are separated in time only by the walk to the hut, the grasping of the bride's lower arm may be regarded as concluding the marriage. [Fig. 26 appears here.] The seizing of the lower arm is done rather violently, and on the walk to the hut the bride allows herself to be dragged along to a certain extent.
606 It is curious to note how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids his mother-in-law's company and does not sit with her. For example, when he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law goes away. If it is absolutely necessary for him to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.
163 Kaufmann observed that most of the women had two or three

[72 cont.]

163 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
591 couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker. Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least nominally.

Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
422 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is
685 punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand, a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the individual's private property.

The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
628 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively
721 against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

Exchange of wives is practised among some of the Kalahari groups but not by the *Hei-||om*. 184 837

Among the *Hei-||om* a young man eligible for marriage is known as a *!gari-khoib*. When he desires to marry he first speaks about the matter to his best friend (*|hosab*) who then approaches the parents of the prospective bride. The latter will reply, "We are poor, we cannot afford to give our daughter away." Thereupon the *|hosab* returns to the suitor and tells him to go and speak to the mother himself. The suitor then proceeds to the *||gāus* of the girl's mother, taking his bow and arrows with him. On arrival at her hut he sits down some distance away and says, "I want your daughter." The mother replies, "We are too poor to give our daughter away," to which the suitor responds, "I have come myself to speak to you. If you die, I will bury you, if your husband dies I will bury him," thereby implying that he has become one of the family and prepared to share their sorrows and sufferings. The mother then replies, "You are right, you may take her. I will do as you say and see whether you will carry out your promises," and taking his bow and arrows, proceeds to her daughter's hut (*!gari-khois oms*) and places them in the hut. Then, without speaking to her daughter, she returns to her own hut. The daughter knows to whom the bow and arrows belong. The suitor goes to the girl's hut towards dusk but does not speak to her. Being still shy and afraid of men, she may run away but does not go to her mother's hut as she is afraid of being punished. He remains in the *!gari-khois oms*, sleeping in it at night and hunting during the day. If, after two or three days, she does not come back he returns to his *||gāus* and, after obtaining some beadwork from his mother and sister, presents it to his mother-in-law through his sister. He returns to his bride's hut in the meantime. The mother-in-law must accept the present (*||ama-xun*) as the marriage was completed when she took his bow and arrows and placed them in her daughter's hut. Towards midnight the mother takes her daughter to the *!gari-khois oms* and, if necessary, removes her there by force. The bride and bridegroom do not speak to each other nor, under normal circumstances, are the presents sent to her mother by the bridegroom until they have slept together. After the marriage has been consummated the husband goes out hunting to obtain meat for the *!gu-ǂa-ǂnab* or the dance after an animal was killed for the purpose of making a wife's leather skirt. The young couple continue to live in the *!gari-khois oms* for some months before taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own *||gāus* his mother builds a hut for them. 584 584 585

Parent-in-law taboo is met with among all the tribes. The son-in-law neither looks at nor speaks to his mother-in-law, nor will he mention her name or enter her hut even in case of sickness or during her absence. When, in the absence of 606

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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584 One day the young man killed a little buck and, according to custom, gave most of it to his bride's parents, thus proving that he hunted well and would provide for them and their daughter. With this the engagement was sealed. Shortly after-
585 ward the mothers of the bride and groom built a scherm for the young couple which they furnished with wood and water and enlivened with a fire, kindled by brands from their own fires. Very early the following day the bride's mother adorned
[301 822 831] the bride, washing her, hanging white bead ornaments from her hair, rubbing her clothing with red, sweet-smelling powder, a symbol to Bushmen of beauty. Then, sitting her upon one large kaross, they covered her with another and left her to spend the day motionless, waiting for evening, when the union would take place.

788 It is common in Bushman ceremonies for a person at a transitional moment of life to be raised from the ground and hidden from the sun, as though suspended between earth and sky. Young people on the day of their first marriage are protected in this way; so are newborn babies, and so are girls
[847] on the day of their first menstruation. At a funeral, too, the body before burial is covered and raised from the ground, and perhaps all this is because a person is especially susceptible to damage at times of life when change is taking place, when, perhaps, a person is as delicate and fragile as a new moth emerged from a cocoon.

585 Because the sun brings death, no ceremony or part of any
[821 761] ceremony is performed when the sun is strong; but when evening came and the sun itself was dying, the groom was led to his new home by his three brothers, who took him by the hands and pulled him there, forced him, for custom demanded that he show reluctance. The bride, according to custom, refused to go to her husband and had to be picked up by another little girl and carried to him. In the drama of re-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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luctance the bride struggled while the other girl caught her. 585
She lifted the bride and carried her on her shoulders, not upright as a figure of triumph but wrapped in the kaross and motionless, like a dead little animal, then put her shrouded body on the floor of the new scherm and left her there to lie quietly while the wedding guests arrived. Again according to custom, the groom seemed to take no notice of his new bride; the people in the werf paid no attention, and, in fact, all the people went about their business in such a matter-of-fact way that an observer would think that nothing had happened although the young people were now married, the wedding had taken place.

The parents of the couple could not attend the wedding, [551
for the young bride and groom were so tabu to them at this 784]
time that they could not even mention their names. In fact, no older person could attend, and the guests who came were all children, three-year-olds to teen-agers, who sat by the young couple's fire decorously, the boys on the man's side, the girls on the woman's, and talked quietly for twenty minutes or so, the youngest guests leaving when their bedtimes came. That was all. In the morning the little girl and her young husband were anointed with fat by their mothers, and they lived together from that day on.

A month later the bride's mother, who was herself a young 844
woman, bore another child, her second daughter. We were at her werf at the time, sitting in the shade. That day the young woman had not gone out for veld food, but was lying propped up on her elbow in front of her scherm when suddenly, without telling anyone what was happening, she stood up and walked into the bushes, only to come back some time
later with her baby in the fold of her kaross. We might not [854]
have known what had happened except that she was smiling a sure, sweet smile because she was pleased with herself. Her

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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she was getting older every day and already developing a rep- 583
utation for shrewishness, but Beautiful Ungka flatly refused. 159
When her admirer heard of this he felt he could not live without her and he asked his wife to kidnap her for him, but his wife, far older than Beautiful Ungka and quite possibly jealous, would not, so nothing remained for her admirer but to kidnap her himself. This he did, planning carefully, and one night when everybody was asleep he stole quietly to Beautiful Ungka's scherm, lifted her bodily from the side of her grandmother, and bore her away on his shoulder. The grandmother awoke and set up an outcry; but Beautiful Ungka, a girl of remarkable self-possession and composure, didn't kick or struggle because she knew she wouldn't stay with her captor long. When her kidnapper reached home, masculine and forceful, he flung Beautiful Ungka down in the back of his scherm on the far side of his wife "to show," said the Bushmen, "that he wasn't afraid of his wife or anybody," and Beautiful Ungka lay still, as if subdued, until she heard that her captor and his wife were asleep. Then she got up, stepped over them, and walked home. That was the end of that episode.

Every day she became more beautiful. Her parents tried 159
hard to marry her to a steady young man, and as she would 585
have none of her suitors, they chose a second husband for [584]
her, this time a young and presentable man in his twenties who had quite a number of worldly goods got by working at Gam for the Chuanas. So Beautiful Ungka, now fourteen, was married again. By now she had menstruated and was old 159
enough for intercourse, but although she lived with her 593
young husband she wouldn't let him touch her and he was driven to despair. He did everything for her, requiring no work from her at all—his relatives helped feed him—and once he walked forty miles, from Gam, where he was living, to

182 another through the seasons, always going back and forth between food and water,
431 they carry their young children and their belongings. With plenty of most materials at hand to replace artifacts as required, the /Kung have not developed means of permanent storage and have not needed or wanted to encumber themselves with surpluses or duplicates. They do not even want to carry one of everything. They borrow what they do not own. With this ease, they have not hoarded, and the
[556] accumulation of objects has not become associated with status. Instead of keeping things, they use them to express generosity and friendly intent, and to put people under obligation to make return tokens of friendship. And, even more specifically,
[154] in my opinion, they mitigate jealousy and envy, to which they are prone, by passing things on to others. These are the objectives in gift-giving.

431 Except, as ≠Toma said, that it would be surprising to see a man give a present to a woman who was not related to him (and vice versa, I imagine), anyone may give to anyone. Degree or kind of kinship or affinity, having the joking relationship or lacking it, impose no requirements or restrictions, nor does status in the community in a conventional way. We did hear people say, however, that a headman may feel that he should lean well to the generous side in his giving, for his position as headman sets him out from the others a little and he wants whatever attention this attracts
[602] not to be envious. Someone remarked that this could keep a headman poor.

The times of giving are determined almost entirely by the individual's convenience. The /Kung do not know their birthdays or anniversaries and have no special days of the year which they mark by giving gifts. Gifts are required by convention on only three ceremonial occasions. The type or quantity of the gift is not patterned but it should be generous. The occasions are betrothals and weddings, when the
[585] parents exchange gifts and give to the young couple, and the ceremony of a baby's first haircut, when the */gu/na*, the person for whom the baby is named, should give
[852] him a fine present.

Relatives give to young people with the idea of setting them up in life. Gao Beard gave a spear and a kaross to his FaSiHuSo, saying it was his duty to see that the boy got some things because among the boy's relatives he was the most able to do so. The boy's father was very old, he explained. People expect to wait a long time for young people to make return gifts.

The two rigid requirements in gift-giving are that one must not refuse a proffered gift and that one must give in return. Demi said that, even if he might prefer not to be obligated to someone, he would accept and prepare to make his return gift. If a gift were to be refused, he continued, the giver would be terribly angry. He would
[508] say, 'Something is very wrong here.' This could involve whole groups in tensions, bad words, taking sides—even 'a talk' might occur—just what the /Kung do not want. Demi said it does not happen: a /Kung never refuses a gift. And a /Kung does not fail to give in return. ≠Toma said that would be 'neglecting friendship'. A person would know that others thought him 'far-hearted' and 'this would worry him'.

In reciprocating one does not give the same object back again but something of comparable value. The interval of time between receiving and reciprocating varied from a few weeks to a few years. Propriety requires that there be no unseemly haste. The giving must not look like trading.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

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digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

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The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

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The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

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The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

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ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

[p. 256]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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!Kung

various taboos. They wait for the children to grow up, hoping that they 581
will be like their families in these qualities.

The marriage takes place when the parents agree, but it must be after 582
the boy has killed a game animal and is scarified. The age at which young people marry varies greatly. We know girls who were married for five or six years before they menstruated; others were somewhat older at marriage.

!Kung society rigorously, and without exception, requires that all men, 591
in first and subsequent marriages, go to live with the parents of their brides, 583
and give them bride service. This service is essentially hunting. "Our daughter's husband must give us meat." "We shall soon be old; we need a young man to hunt for us." These are the refrains of the people.

The duration of bride service is indefinite. The !Kung say it should be long enough for three children to be born. Since the girls are so young, it may mean that eight or ten years elapse before three children have been born. Divorce may terminate bride service. After his obligations are fulfilled, a man has the right to return to his own people with his wife and dependents or he may choose to stay with his wife's people.

The young couple is expected not to have sexual intercourse until the 585
girl is ready. No social rule patterns the time, which is a matter of individual adjustment, but the boy must not force the girl. If she complained to her [586]
parents, they might disapprove of the boy, dissolve the marriage, and send him away. His parents would have to try to find another bride for him and he would have to wait for years again for her to grow up.

The !Kung are polygynous. First marriages are ordinarily arranged by 595
their parents between children who have not been previously married. 587
Only occasionally is a young girl betrothed for her first marriage to a man who had been married before, perhaps a young man who had lost his wife by death or divorce, or possibly, but rarely, to her sister's husband or some other man as his second wife. Usually second marriages are contracted later in life when a woman becomes available for remarriage through widowhood or divorce. In such marriages, the man and woman concerned make their own arrangements. The number of wives a man may have is determined 595
not by social rule but by the man's ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. There is no great excess of women, and prestige [554]
and wealth do not concentrate in !Kung society to give certain categories of men, such as headmen or medicine men, more power or right than others to acquire wives. A sampling of eighty-eight marriages showed that only nine of the men had two wives. None had more than two.

Although the first wife is considered to have a somewhat more esteemed and dominant position, no property or other material advantage is given to her and no important social advantage accrues.

!Kung co-wives live very closely together. They share one scherm and one family fire. They care for and nurse each other's children. Even when

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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the Heikum, there is also a definite tendency towards band exogamy.[1] 582
This means that in general courtship and marriage take place between persons belonging to different bands, and therefore to different localities.

As a rule boys and girls are not permitted to marry until they have reached the age of puberty, and have passed through the [881] puberty ceremonies.[2] Marriage generally takes place shortly afterwards. Among the Naron and the Auen, for example, most people are married by the time they are twenty, many of them, indeed, when they are several years younger, and so, too, among the Kung marriage takes place at quite an early age.[3]

Marriage Ceremonies

From the sketchy descriptions available about the marriage customs of the Bushmen, there does not appear to be any elaborate ceremonial 584 attaching to the process of courtship and marriage. The actual details recorded vary slightly from tribe to tribe, but in the main [184] features there is a considerable degree of uniformity.[4] The initiative lies as a rule in the hands of the prospective bridegroom. When he has found a suitable girl, he either himself or through an intermediary such as his best friend has to win the consent of her parents, above all of her mother, to whom he brings gifts in the form of game and vegetable foods, blankets, skins, beadwork, and so on. This period of courtship may last for a considerable time, often over a year or so. If no objection is taken to him, and his gifts are accepted, he after a while simply takes the girl to his hut, and the marriage is regarded as 585 settled. As a rule, this step is accompanied by a feast, in which the families and friends of both bride and bridegroom participate. Among the Northern and Namib Bushmen, indeed, it is obligatory on the bridegroom that he should kill a head of big game and present it to either the bride or her mother for the marriage feast. After marriage he also has to present his wife with a full woman's kaross, as well as other articles of clothing and ornaments, while she brings with her all her own property, mainly in the form of domestic utensils.

[1] Lebzelter says of the Kung: "Die Kinder der Vaterschwestern gelten als Vettern, unter ihnen ist die Ehe verboten. Dagegen sind die Kinder der Vaterbrüder Geschwister und man muss die Tochter des Vaterbruders heiraten, falls diese es verlangt" (op. cit., 14). This needs to be confirmed; it is at variance with the tendency to band exogamy noted among all the North-Western Bushmen, including the Kung.

[2] Passarge, op. cit., 101; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157, 158; Fourie, op. cit., 89, 91.

[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 33–4.

[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 504–5; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 358; Passarge, op. cit., 105; Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; Vedder, op. cit., 8; Dornan, op. cit., 124–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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584 [114] The account given by Fourie of the Heikum marriage ceremonies is fuller than most of the others, and may be quoted for the sake of the details it contains.[1] "A young man eligible for marriage is known as a */gari-khoib*. When he desires to marry he first speaks about the matter to his best friend (*/hosab*), who then approaches the parents of the prospective bride. The latter will reply: 'We are poor, we cannot afford to give our daughter away.' Thereupon the */hosab* returns to the suitor and tells him to go and speak to the mother himself. The suitor then proceeds to the *//gaus* of the girl's mother, taking his bow and arrows with him. On arrival at her hut he sits down some distance away and says 'I want your daughter'. The mother replies, 'We are too poor to give our daughter away,' to which the suitor responds, 'I have come myself to speak to you. If you die, I will bury you, if your husband dies I will bury him,' thereby implying that he has become one of the family and prepared to share their sorrows and sufferings. The mother then replies, 'You are right, you may take her. I will do as you say and see whether you will carry out your
585 promises,' and taking his bow and arrows, proceeds to her daughter's hut (*/gari-khois oms*) and places them in the hut. Then, without speaking to her daughter, she returns to her own hut. The daughter knows to whom the bow and arrows belong. The suitor goes to the girl's hut towards dusk but does not speak to her. Being still shy and afraid of men, she may run away, but does not go to her mother's hut as she is afraid of being punished. He remains in the */gari-khois oms*, sleeping in it at night and hunting during the day. If, after two or three days, she does not come back he returns to his *//gaus* and, after obtaining some beadwork from his mother and sister, presents it to his mother-in-law through his sister. He returns to his bride's hut in the meantime. The mother-in-law must accept the present (*//ama-xun*) as the marriage was completed when she took his bow and arrows and placed them in her daughter's hut. Towards midnight the mother takes her daughter to the */gari-khois oms*, and, if necessary, removes her there by force. The bride and bridegroom do not speak to each other, nor, under normal circumstances, are the presents sent to her mother until they have slept together. After the marriage has been consummated the husband goes out hunting to obtain an animal for the */gu-/a-/nab*, or the dance after an animal was killed for the purpose of making a wife's leather skirt. The young
591 couple continue to live in the */gari-khois oms* for some months before

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 59–60; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 93.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen FX10

taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own 591
//gaus his mother builds a hut for them."

A different form of marriage ceremony has been recorded for the 585
now extinct inhabitants of Basutoland and Orange Free State. Here, [184]
the consent of the bride having been obtained and also the approval of her parents, who received some kind of present, a day was fixed for the event. All the neighbours round about were invited to a feast. When they had all begun to make merry, the young man took the opportunity to seize the bride. This was the signal for her relatives to set upon him with their digging-sticks; they gave him a sound thrashing, and a general fight ensued. If the bridegroom managed to keep a tight hold through all this, the issue was decided, and he was a married man. If not, he would have to undergo a second ordeal some other time before he could again claim his bride.[1]

Among the North-Western Bushmen girls taken in war or found [727]
trespassing are also often held as wives by their captors.[2] Miss Bleek 583
indeed, says of the Naron that marriage is nominally by capture.[3] A young man wishing to marry comes with an older man to another village, ostensibly to pay a visit, and sits chatting, without mentioning his purpose. They look out for a good opportunity, and then carry off the girl to their own village. By this act she is married, whether she likes it or not. It seems, however, that talk about the marriage mostly precedes the "capture". "The mother thinks it proper to make a fuss, but if her objections are only for show, the men take no part in the matter, and the girl is led away, probably quite willingly, though etiquette demands some coyness. If, however, the mother really objects, thinks her daughter too young, or does not like the suitor, she rouses the men to action, and the would-be bridegroom and his friend have to depart." During Miss Bleek's stay at Sandfontein an attempt at real capture did occur, but the assailants were driven off in this way. In the old days, she adds, much fighting seems to have [721]
been caused by attempted capture; now fear of the white man tames [177]
down the affair.

Married Life

The relation between husband and wife in one of its aspects is [581]
sexual. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual intercourse 837

[1] Stow, op. cit., 96, quoting Miss L. C. Lemue; cf. Arbousset, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* (English trans., 1842), p. 351; Dornan, "Bushmen of Basutoland," 442.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 85.
[3] *Naron*, 33.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

587 was meant. That would be very uncomfortable, he said. It would make her shiver and
589 might make her sick. The rainy season's passing is what cleanses the woman. When
[783] she is about to go to her new husband she prepares herself by washing in the ordinary way.

Unless a woman is quite old she does not remain long unmarried. One man said, 'Even if a widow is thick and tall, but is a good woman, some man will want her.' Widows may marry as second wives of married men, or they may marry widowers, divorced men, or bachelors. The two young widows and the two divorced women who were unmarried in 1953, had remarried by 1955. Only the very old widows remain unmarried.

There are so few unmarried women that widowers have difficulty in finding wives. The young widowed musician, /Gao, was an example. After his first wife's death he had married the daughter of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, when she was approximately ten or eleven years old, about the age of his own son, and was patiently waiting for her to grow up. Only one of the old widowers had succeeded in finding a wife by 1957.

736 The children of a widowed parent are kept by that parent. A widower may leave
768 his children with a woman relative, but they remain his. Orphaned children go to live with relatives. There is a tendency to feel that the boys belong eventually to the
[611] father's side of the family, the girls to the mother's. This concept came to our attention several times, but we did not find it to be a rigid social rule. The relative who
[604] is expected to take the children if they are young is the MoSi. But the FaSi might be nearer or more able for one reason or another to take them and might do so. FaBr would be the relative most likely to take half-grown boys, but again MoBr might be the one. Failing these, some other relative would take them. When it came to arrang-
[584] ing marriages for orphaned children, informants said that the father's elder brother would have the most authority; a stepfather or stepmother has none.

[597] Adoption does not exist in /Kung society.

Divorce may terminate a marriage. The couple may divorce without formality,
586 by mutual consent or by one spouse simply leaving the other. The /Kung word for ending a marriage in this way is */kao joo*. I use the word 'divorce' for convenience, although no legal action takes place. No religious dispensation is involved, no permission or action on the part of the headman or group is required. If parents of a very young couple withheld consent this might influence the couple, but the parents' consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties, for there is no dowry or bride-price to be resolved. The only property a /Kung owns
[422] personally consists of movables, and these are never owned in common by man and wife. Every artifact down to a single bead belongs to an individual, who takes his property with him in case of divorce.

Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way. They are free to remarry without restrictions.

Divorce is never obligatory and the grounds are not formalized; the desire of the couple concerned is the determining factor. A condition such as sterility, for example, or a wrongdoing such as adultery, might or might not lead to divorce, depending on how the couple felt about it. Mistreatment or failure to provide would certainly be considered justification for divorce, should they ever occur, but justifica-

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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tion is not necessary. 'A wife can get tired of loving her husband', we were told, 586
'and just tell him to go away.'

We learned about seven divorces only in our sample. The middle-aged Khuan//a, the mother of the bridegroom, /Gunda, had left her first husband to marry her lover. Another middle-aged woman left her husband because he was on the point of marrying a second wife. Jealousy between the two young wives at Gam, lamented in song by the young husband, had been the cause of the third. The whims of young girls caused others. A girl named /Ungka, married to a considerably older man, hated him though he was good to her and gave her oil and ornaments for her hair. She cut off her hair and threw it, ornaments and all, into the fire. She thrust her head into the ashes and made herself filthy. In another instance, the girl took offence the first night of her marriage and left her young husband next day, to his painful chagrin. The lenient and patient parents of these girls arranged other marriages. Di/ai, the mother of [587] the bride /Nai, and now the wife of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, was divorced from two former husbands in her youth. And /U, her sister, while still very young had been persuaded by ≠Toma to leave her tall young husband from Gam and to marry him.

Our data on frequency of divorce are too scant to be significant. We have merely the impression that there seems to be some tendency for couples to separate while they are young and in whatever adolescent turbulence the /Kung experience, but that, on the other hand, there is considerable stability in marriage once a compatible mate is found. At least, no divorces occurred between 1952 and 1959 in eight of the bands of our sample. We lack data on the others.

Young children of divorced parents remain with the mother. As they grow to adolescence the girls usually stay with their mothers, the boys may go to their fathers or stay with their mothers or spend some time with each.

Although the /Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it. Divorce is untoward, disruptive; it can cause trouble. Anything other than peace and [181] harmony in human relations makes the /Kung uneasy.

Extra-marital sexual relations

Murdock points out that 'Our own culture includes a blanket taboo against 171
fornication, an over-all prohibition of all sexual intercourse outside of the marital relationship.'[1] He goes on to say that our society is highly aberrant in this and that 'from available evidence [however] it seems unlikely that a general prohibition of sex relations outside of marriage occurs in as many as five per cent of the peoples of the earth'.[2]

/Kung society has an over-all prohibition against any sexual relations outside of 837
marriage with one exception. It makes no requirements such as sexual hospitality or *jus primae noctis*. It makes no provision for sexual access to certain categories of kin or affines outside of marriage, such as BrWi. Premarital unchastity, unchastity of widows, and prostitution are not among their social conventions. But */kamheri*, [836] though not required, is either fully permitted or tolerated as not a very bad thing; I never reached certainty as to which of these attitudes the society adopted.

/Kamheri means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided

[1] Murdock, op. cit., p. 263. [2] Ibid., p. 264.

837 the wives consent. This is regarded as a concern of the couples involved rather than a concern of society as a whole. One man said, 'If you want to sleep with someone's wife, you get him to sleep with yours, then neither of you goes after the other with poisoned arrows.'

The word */kamheri* was used by //Ao, one of the young hunters, to express his deep [572] feeling of friendship for John Marshall. 'We are such friends that we are */kamheri*', he said, but, as John had no wife to exchange, this remark had its funny side which delighted the men.

No actual instance of */kamheri* came to our attention and we failed in finding out if it is now practised. One man in Gam lent his first wife to a unmarried friend, one of the gossips told us, because he was in love with his second and did not care any longer for the first, but this was a mere deviation from the rules, not an instance of */kamheri*.

We heard of several irregular sexual unions in addition to the above. Rape did not appear in stories or gossip. Fornication must be very rare because there is practically no one to fornicate with. Almost all females are married except very young girls and leathery old grandmothers. Adultery is the usual form for irregular unions
684 to take. Adultery, however, is sharply limited by several deterrents. One deterrent is
837 the incest taboo, of course, which forbids extra-marital sexual relations as rigorously as it does marriage with persons to whom the taboo is extended. The same internalized sanctions induce obedience to this rule as to the marriage regulations. The same gradation of feeling probably exists, and we expect that people comply strictly within the kindred and among close affines and are no doubt less strict with name relatives.

Ease of divorce must exert a modifying influence on adulterous unions. If a ● [586] married couple really want to change mates, nothing need deter them but the general difficulty of extricating themselves from the web of responsibilities which marriage entails.

In a sense, the impossibility of maintaining secrecy exerts a control over extra-
151 marital relations. There is no privacy in a /Kung werf and the vast veld is not a cover.
153 The very life of these people depends on their being trained from childhood to
182 look sharply at things and to take into their attention what they see, for they must observe the most minute marks on vegetation to distinguish from the matted grasses the almost hair-thin brown vine stems that come up from the edible roots. Hunters memorize visual impressions and are able to follow the tracks of an individual animal in the midst of a large herd in a way that seems to us miraculous. It may be a week after a hunt that they return to recover an arrow that missed, miles from the werf, remembering where it lay in the vast monotonous sameness of grass and bush. They register every person's footprints in their minds, more vividly I am sure than we do faces, and read in the sand who walked where and how long ago.

185 The /Kung value control of anger, upholding self-control as an ideal, giving it
578 group and individual approval and training for it. Despite this, volatile tempers sometimes flare and burst out of all control. And always at hand are the little poisoned [411] arrows. They are formidable weapons. There is no antidote for the poison; at least our /Kung informants said they know none and told us of tragic deaths from the poison which would have been averted had they had an antidote.

684 Adultery, so exceedingly provocative of anger and vengeance, could be very

/156 cont./

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

/157/ Divorce rarely occurs, and then only when the woman
● 586 has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

In most cases, however, the woman remains with her hus-
[595] band even in old age, while he provides himself with one or two younger and stronger women.

The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

587 Widows are permitted to marry again after a certain time, as is also the case for divorced women.

589 There is no special dress for widows.

The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to
562 that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-
264 pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

[184] The Rietfontein Auin always have just one wife. The reason
595 for this is said to be that "little food" is available. The Auin from Gam, on the average, have two, sometimes five wives.

Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto de-
548 scribed, there are supposed to be prostitutes among the married
684 women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auin declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by
847 stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

[9 cont.]

586 Up to the birth of the first child, the marriage is dissolvable, but not thereafter. Monogamy is the rule; where
595 there is polygamy, the first wife is the "head wife." The eldest
596 brother of the head wife is the family head. The boys belong to
611 the family of the wife, and the daughters to the family of the father.

582 The strictest exogamy prevails. Son and daughter may marry neither into the father's kin group nor into the mother's
[587] kin group. On the other hand, a young widow is usually married by one of her brothers-in-law.

551 The following kin-group names were reported to me:
!Nui-a, Dai, áben, orasi, Gombe, χ'am, χ'am-Kha.

805 The following times of the day are differentiated:

eruba, time before sunrise.

!khoasa, time of sunrise (N. khoa-am = to open, that is, the door for the sun is opened).

sorésa, "the sun shines."

sorésa ≠kam go, "the young sun goes," breakfast time. In effect, below the tropics one has the impression that the sun, after it has stood on the horizon for a while, moves toward the zenith with great speed.

sorésa !khoai go, "the sun goes back." Noon.

//gui-sa, "it declines (lies down)." Afternoon.

[512] ≠khai-am-go, "to rise and go." After hunting or searching for veldkost, the Bushmen usually take a rest before it is time to go home and start cooking (late afternoon).

≠kha-go, "to go through." (The sun goes through the gate of the night.) Dusk, sunset.

!khui-sa, to be evening.

dschu-ba, night (N. tsuχub).

821 These Bushmen have the idea that the old sun dies every night and a new, young sun appears the next morning. That the
[171] moon dies every month and is resurrected again is a notion so widespread in Africa that it is really unnecessary to make special mention of it.

805 The year begins when a new rainy season sets in.
//hauba, "storms rise." Rainy season.

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

372 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in
881 the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other
184 hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not
585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the mar-
582 riage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A
595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 [12] A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

[29 cont.]

847 child live, the older child would have to die. We are left with the choice of killing one of the children so that one can stay alive.' The explanation is absolutely convincing. There is the [593] added consideration that the Bushman mothers lose their maternal instincts when they see that a child is not thriving. I saw a six-month-old Bushman child, a really pitiful figure. The mother did not have sufficient food for her child. My wife offered to give the child the bottle. The proposal was joyfully accepted. For a few days, the child was brought at the specified times. It gladly took the bottle. But then the mother felt that her freedom was restricted. After all, she had to remain in the vicinity of the house for the sake of the child. She did not lack food at all. I provided for her. The desire for veldkost was too great, however, and the child was brought only in the morning and evening and received his meal. Naturally, no noticeable improvement could be observed. Hence, at an opportune occasion the mother disappeared, and when she reappeared, she was without the child. She and her friends had buried it alive."

853 Matters are certainly not always as hopeless as Vedder describes them. First of all, at a very early age the children are given pre-chewed veldkost, and, secondly, the women of the kin group help one another out with the breast feeding. During 854 the day the infant stays in a hide sack on the mother's back, and at night the children sleep at the mother's breast; the smallest lies directly at the breast, while during the cold season the others cuddle around the mother's legs. From earliest childhood, the 867 children are taught to honor the old people and not to take anything away from anyone. For the boys, the father soon carves a bow and arrow, for the girls a little digging stick. Nothing is said to little children when they take things, but once the boy has been given a bow, he may not touch anyone else's bow and arrow; otherwise he gets a beating. The boys greatly fear the women. 868 The bigger boys stay together by themselves and go hunting for 857 small game or accompany adults on the hunt for large game.

586 Marriage is absolutely indissoluble. Separation is also impossible, for outside the kin group the woman would perish in the wilderness. So far as I have observed, the relationship between 593 marriage partners is in general very good, and not uncommonly the

NARON
!AUIN
NOGAU

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the
[842] horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
843 spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
845 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

[301
789
303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

!Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
584 are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

cause his wife's mother was born there, as well as at his own 423
birthplace, the Okwa Omaramba, where we had found the 621
eighteen Bushmen, who after all were not strangers but 602
closely related to Gai and Ukwane and an extension of Ukwane's band. 159

Ukwane himself had had three wives, and he and his first 586
wife had been divorced, which Bushmen do by announcing 587
the divorce and separating. There is no ceremony connected 159
with divorce, and no difficulty, as there is no ceremony connected with any marriage but the first. After a divorce a Bushman man may take up residence with another woman whom he prefers.

Without the visible evidence of ceremonies, however, it 837
is hard for non-Bushmen to recognize what is happening, as 159
occasionally Bushmen live together for short periods without being married, or commit adultery. But in cases such as these there is someone who does not want the union to be permanent, either the man or the woman, or perhaps his or her children; perhaps even the man and woman are tabu relatives, and unless everyone concerned is more or less in accord, the union does not take place. Among Bushmen, incest and [684]
adultery are strongly condemned.

Once, among Kung Bushmen we lived with, a woman ran 837
away from her husband to take up with another man. She 593
had considered marrying him, and they ran off one night to his family to live permanently. When her husband found out, he got so wildly angry, taking up his spear and sharpening it, [578]
that the headman of the band set off after the elopers to preserve the peace. My brother and I went with him, and at noon we found the lovers resting in the shade.

The headman talked with the elopers and told them how they were bringing shame on both their families, and how the woman's husband was violently upset. By this time the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

837 593 woman had begun to regret her act, and as her children, whom she had brought with her, were crying for their father, she agreed to return. She then explained her reason for leaving; her husband, who had until recently been a serf Bushman, could not hunt well and was not able to clothe her. She was a handsome woman, but her kaross showed that what she said was true—the only garment that she had had to wear on the day of her elopement was tattered and old. She also explained how she and her lover had passed the night, she sleeping on one side of the fire, he on the other, with the children between. She put straws on the ground, a straw for each person, to show how it was, and we believed her.

The whole affair seemed to center itself around raiment, for though the woman was poorly dressed with what her husband had given her, the beads and ornaments that she had made for herself were fine and white. Her children, too, were poorly clothed with leather, but they also wore white beads, and her lover, the man who had attracted her so much that she committed an unconscionable act, was dressed beautifully in a soft new leather loincloth, sewed finely and worked with white beads. I myself was adorned with the story, for when we came upon the spot where the lovers were resting I found that I had a pen but no paper and so wrote everything that happened on my arms and legs.

When we got home, the woman's husband took her back and was very glad to have her. No one ever mentioned the affair again.

586 595 In the same band there was another man, about forty years old, who took a beautiful young girl not yet twenty as his second wife. His first wife, also forty and the mother of three, was very jealous and bothered the beautiful girl until the girl, who did not love the husband anyway, ran away from

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe
Kung

him and back to her parents. The husband was enraged and 586 595
set off after her, but when he finally found her his anger had been replaced by longing and he pleaded with her, reasoned with her parents, and plied them with the meat of an entire eland he had shot, asking for her to return. But she would not, her parents would not make her, and finally she drove him away with these words: "I don't want an old husband like you, you man with a big black belly."

Thereafter, the marriage was recognized by everyone as dissolved. The husband was sadly disappointed, but the two women, at least, were pleased.

Both Kung and Gikwe Bushmen permit divorce, condemn 593
adultery. We saw very little marital strife among the Kung [586
with whom we lived for over a year, and none among the 837]
Gikwe. Even so, many Bushmen over thirty years old in both groups had previously been widowed or divorced. Death and strife take too many people; a Bushman cannot really expect his first marriage to last him all his life.

Ukwane's second wife had been a widow, the mother of 159
Twikwe, and when that woman had died Twikwe had lived 587
on with Ukwane. His third wife was Kutera, and their only living child was Gaiamakwe. Ukwane had another son still living at Chukudu, the Bakalahari settlement, who was surely one of the Bushmen servants in that long procession of Bakalahari villagers we had seen moving to winter quarters. We told Ukwane about this migration and Ukwane said he was sorry to hear it because he had hoped very much to see his son again before he died and many seasons might pass now before the son would come.

Kutera herself had been married twice before, once to a Bakalahari, once to a Bushman named Gainaho, and last to Ukwane, to whom she had been married about fifteen years.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

888 621 respect. In his family, the old man decided where the band would live.

157 Lazy Kwi's sister-in-law was called "the old woman." Her name referred not to her age but to her bearing and her personality, for she was outspoken, positive, and sure, qualities that are seldom found in young Bushmen.

609 She was not at all surprised to see us. She took my ear to turn my head, and kissed me on the cheek. Lazy Kwi laughed when he greeted us, showing a gap in his mouth where a tooth was missing, and called me his wife, a joke among Bushman men, who pretend they will marry any woman who is not a tabu relative. His baby hugged my legs and showed a huge white smile, then held up his arms to be lifted. He had grown so that I could hardly get him off the ground.

586 159 Many Bushmen who greeted us had been at Gam when we had lived there, and among them was a young girl whose name was Ungka, a very common name; as she had no distinguishing nickname, we called her Beautiful Ungka, for so she was. She was probably the most beautiful girl in all Nyae Nyae, and even though she was only sixteen years old she already had a flaming past. When she was ten she was married to a man much older than herself, but, young as she was, she knew what she wanted, and because the old man filled her with loathing she cut off all her hair and all her ornaments, rubbed ashes on her face until she was filthy, and swore she would stay that way until her marriage was dissolved. Of course it wasn't long before her husband and her parents complied with her wishes and she became single once again.

583 159 When she was about thirteen she attracted the attention of another much older man who was already married but who became so inflamed by her beauty that he begged her parents to give her to him as a second wife. This time her parents consulted with her, entreating her to marry him as

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

various taboos. They wait for the children to grow up, hoping that they will be like their families in these qualities. 581

The marriage takes place when the parents agree, but it must be after the boy has killed a game animal and is scarified. The age at which young people marry varies greatly. We know girls who were married for five or six years before they menstruated; others were somewhat older at marriage. 582

!Kung society rigorously, and without exception, requires that all men, in first and subsequent marriages, go to live with the parents of their brides, and give them bride service. This service is essentially hunting. "Our daughter's husband must give us meat." "We shall soon be old; we need a young man to hunt for us." These are the refrains of the people. 581 583

The duration of bride service is indefinite. The !Kung say it should be long enough for three children to be born. Since the girls are so young, it may mean that eight or ten years elapse before three children have been born. Divorce may terminate bride service. After his obligations are fulfilled, a man has the right to return to his own people with his wife and dependents or he may choose to stay with his wife's people.

The young couple is expected not to have sexual intercourse until the girl is ready. No social rule patterns the time, which is a matter of individual adjustment, but the boy must not force the girl. If she complained to her parents, they might disapprove of the boy, dissolve the marriage, and send him away. His parents would have to try to find another bride for him and he would have to wait for years again for her to grow up. 585 [586]

The !Kung are polygynous. First marriages are ordinarily arranged by their parents between children who have not been previously married. Only occasionally is a young girl betrothed for her first marriage to a man who had been married before, perhaps a young man who had lost his wife by death or divorce, or possibly, but rarely, to her sister's husband or some other man as his second wife. Usually second marriages are contracted later in life when a woman becomes available for remarriage through widowhood or divorce. In such marriages, the man and woman concerned make their own arrangements. The number of wives a man may have is determined not by social rule but by the man's ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. There is no great excess of women, and prestige and wealth do not concentrate in !Kung society to give certain categories of men, such as headmen or medicine men, more power or right than others to acquire wives. A sampling of eighty-eight marriages showed that only nine of the men had two wives. None had more than two. 595 587 595 [554]

Although the first wife is considered to have a somewhat more esteemed and dominant position, no property or other material advantage is given to her and no important social advantage accrues.

!Kung co-wives live very closely together. They share one scherm and one family fire. They care for and nurse each other's children. Even when

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

595 they are jealous of each other, as they so often are, !Kung society demands of them that they preserve a decent semblance of harmony and, by self-control and silence, avoid disturbing other people with jealous wrangling.

582 The band itself, as a structured unit, is not a factor in regulating
621 marriage. Persons may marry either within their bands or outside them if
587 relationships and marriage regulations permit. Neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory, but marriage with a brother's wife or a sister's husband is considered to be good and suitable, particularly as a second marriage, should death or divorce make it possible for these affines to marry again.
582 These relationships are not especially preferred in first marriages.

Marriages are forbidden in !Kung society only on the basis of the incest taboo, which is very strongly felt. It rigorously prohibits the !Kung from marriage with members of the nuclear family. It also extends to stepparents, stepbrothers and stepsisters, stepchildren, and to three additional categories of persons: certain kin, certain affines, and certain name relatives, whose relationships are considered to resemble those of the nuclear family.[8]

582 The !Kung conform strictly to the marriage regulations where they feel
183 the internal sanction strongly, as they do with close kin and affines. But with the more remote relatives, third cousins, and even second cousins, and with name relatives, they deviate without any apparent sense of guilt and without incurring the grave disapproval of society.

587 Widowers may marry again without restriction. A widow is supposed to wait until one rainy season has passed so that "the rain may wash the death away," but often she does not.

586 A couple may divorce without formality. This may be by mutual consent, or one spouse may simply leave the other. No religious or legal dispensation is involved and parental consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties for there is no dowry or bride-
[587] price to be resolved. Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way, and they are free to remarry without restrictions. Although the !Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it because it is untoward and can cause trouble. Divorces are not uncommon among young people of about the age at which young people in our society would be getting married, but, once a compatible mate is found, there is a notable stability in the marriages.

837 !Kung society forbids any sexual relations outside marriage, with one exception, called */kamheri*. */Kamheri* means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided the wives consent. When deviations from the sexual regulations do occur, the usual form is adultery, since almost all Bushman women are in the married state from early youth.
[835] But adultery meets with deterrents in this society. The strongly felt incest taboo prevents extramarital sexual relations as well as marriage with close relatives. Ease of divorce enables persons who really wish to change mates

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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male relatives of the chief with their wives and families.[1] The relationship to one another of the families in the bands of the other North-Western tribes is not indicated by our authorities. It is reasonable, however, to expect that most of them at least will be similarly connected, since as a rule married sons with their wives and children will remain together in the same band as their father, while married daughters will leave it to join the bands of their husbands. Moreover, in case of divorce the children remain with their father, and although unweaned children must go with their mother, they can be claimed later by him if he likes.[2]

Dornan says that "the Bushmen of the Kalahari are divided into many small clans",[3] but the term "clan", as used by him, applies sometimes to what has here been called a tribe, and sometimes to a hunting band. He speaks also of exogamous "totemic families" and "totemic clans" among the Hiechware and adjoining tribes, but admits that here the occurrence of this "totemism" is the result of Bantu influence.[4] There is no evidence yet that definitely goes to show the existence of totemism among any of the other Bushman peoples.

Nor, as far as can be seen at present, is there any real clan organization among the Bushmen.[5] The bands of the Cape and Namib Bushmen and of the !O Kung are certainly not clans, while the little we know of the social structure of the band among the North-Western Bushmen does not in itself justify our regarding them as such. There is also nothing at all to indicate the existence of a clan organization cutting across the system of grouping into hunting bands.

It must again be emphasized, however, that our knowledge of the social organization of the Bushmen is fragmentary, and that there are many questions relating to the structure of the band about which no adequate information is available. We are nowhere told clearly, for instance, how membership of the band is determined among the North-Western Bushmen.[6] In general it would seem that children

[1] Op. cit., 86. [2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 34; Kaufmann, op. cit., 117.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 67. [4] Op. cit., 161; cf. 68, 128.
[5] The *clan* is commonly defined as "an exogamous, unilateral group of persons all the members of which are held to be related to one another and bound together by a common tie. This tie may be a belief in common descent from some ancestor, real or mythical, it may be the common possession of a totem, or the common habitation of a village or district" (*Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 5th ed., p. 55). A patrilineal clan is one of which membership is determined by descent traced through the male line, i.e. a person belongs to the clan of his father and his clansmen are related to him primarily through his father. A matrilineal clan is one in which descent is similarly traced through the mother.
[6] Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung (op. cit.), says curtly (p. 114) that a boy belongs to the family of his father, a girl to that of her mother ("Die Knaben gehoren zur Sippe des Vaters, die Mädchen zu der der Mutter"). This statement is at variance with all so far known about the Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed before it can be accepted as accurate.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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606 supposed to speak to his wife's mother, nor a woman to her husband's
[114] father. Of the former Miss Bleek had personal evidence, since her Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. Actually it seems that sitting near or consorting together is avoided, rather than the actual addressing of the person concerned.[1] So, too, among the Auen a man avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit together with her. If he approaches a fire in order to sit there, she gets up and goes away; if he wants to speak to her, he must do so from a distance.[2] Among the Heikum, again, as we have seen, a young couple who are visiting the wife's parents will erect their hut on the opposite side of the camp, so that the husband may not be too near his parents-in-law. He neither looks at nor speaks to his wife's mother, nor will he mention her name or enter her hut even in case of sickness or during her absence. When she is away and he wishes to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never
[60] refer to each other by name, but always as "my son-in-law" or "my mother-in-law". The son-in-law also does not associate with his father-in-law, but avoids him in the same way. Should they meet accidentally, they may exchange greetings, but no general conversation will take place, nor will they look each other in the face.[3] A similar avoidance of the parents-in-law among the Cape Bushmen is indicated in one of the texts obtained by Bleek and Lloyd, but no details are given.[4]

Dissolution of Marriage

586 The duration of married life varies. Among the Naron, says Miss Bleek, "One sees couples who have grown old together, on the other hand one hears of cases of desertion on either side. If there are no children, no one worries about it. If there are youngsters, the relations try to bring the parents to reason." Where separation does take place, the children belong to the father; an unweaned child must go with the mother, but the father can claim it later if he likes.
[587] People who have separated are not ostracized, but both parties generally marry again.[5] No indication is given of the grounds for separation. Among the Auen divorce is rare, and only takes place

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 64; *idem*, *Naron*, 32.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 156.
[3] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 93–4.
[4] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 58.
[5] *Naron*, 34.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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when the wife is too old; she may then simply be sent back to her 586
people. Generally, however, she stays with her husband, who then [595]
takes a second wife, younger and more active. The children of a divorced woman remain with their father, and are brought up by his new wife.[1] Among the Heikum separation of husband and wife may take place under various circumstances, as when the woman is childless, but this, says Fourie, is entirely a matter for adjustment between them. The wife on separation returns to her own group; the present made to her mother at marriage is not returned to the husband. The children are looked upon as belonging to the father, but if husband and wife should separate the girls, according to Fourie, are taken by the father and the sons by the mother.[2] This statement [114]
runs counter to those given above about what happens in the other North-Western tribes under similar circumstances, and is almost certainly inaccurate.

Among the Namib Bushmen divorce may result only from barrenness or adultery, and is at the discretion of the husband. If he decides to separate from his wife, he brings her back to her parents. The mature children remain with him, while the youngsters who have to go with their mother also come to him when grown up. After divorce both parties are at liberty to marry again as soon as they wish.[3]

Marriage is, of course, also dissolved by the death of either husband 587
or wife. As a rule the survivor may remarry. Among the Bushmen of Basutoland, however, a widow is said to have found it difficult [589]
to get a second husband, owing perhaps, writes Arbousset,[4] to the [754]
popular belief that most of the deaths which occurred were due to [761]
witchcraft rather than disease. On the other hand, great attention was paid to her in the camp, where no piece of game was ever eaten without her having a share.

Further north this fear of marriage with a widow is not found. [184]
Among the Naron she may, if she likes, marry her late husband's brother, but need not necessarily do so; she is quite at liberty to marry another man. If she remarries, and if young enough most widows do so, her new husband is expected to look after the children; [736]
otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. An unmarried widow may stay near her late husband's people, or return to her own group, as she pleases.[5] Widows among the Auen may also marry 587

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 137.
[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505.
[3] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 67.
[4] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 60.
[5] Op. cit. (English trans.), 364.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

587 "after a certain length of time", and, as among the Naron, there is no
[736] levirate. We are not told whose duty it is to look after the children of a widow, but in the case of a widower his children remain with him, and if he marries again are brought up by his new wife.[1]

The survivor of a marriage among the Namib Bushmen is not
[768] allowed to remarry until a full season has elapsed since the death of his or her partner. The belief is that if, for example, a woman marries
[761] a widower immediately after the death of his first wife, she also will soon die. A widow returns to her own people on the death of her husband, taking with her the unweaned children, who must, however, later return to their father's relatives. If she marries again the new husband must look after the children until they are old enough. There is no mention of the levirate, but the existence of the sororate is implied in Trenk's statement that a widower is expected to marry an eligible sister of his dead wife.[2] This is also noted of the Kung by Lebzelter.[3]

Birth and Infancy

581 A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth
586 of a child. This is clearly indicated in the fact, already mentioned, that among both the Namib Bushmen and the Heikum barrenness is regarded as one of the main grounds for divorce. It is customary
844 among the Naron and the Heikum for a woman to return to her
591 mother's home for her first confinement, if she has already left with her husband to settle among his people; while among the Kung a newly-married couple remain with the wife's parents until after the birth of a child. It is probable therefore that among all the North-Western tribes a woman's first child is born at the home of her parents; about the other Bushman tribes there is no definite statement on this point.

843 Pregnant women carry on their normal daily occupations until the last moment, collecting veldkos and water, walking as far as the rest do, and so on, although they are apparently treated with some consideration in the way of food. Among the Kung a pregnant woman may not eat sour veldkos, nor anything sweet, nor any fat meat. No one may pass behind her back, nor may a pot be put on the fire before she has smeared herself with the soot clinging to it.[4] There

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 137.
[2] Op. cit., 14.
[3] Op. cit., 168.
[4] Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 14.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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582 Why marriage is prohibited with HuBrSo and WiSiDa was explained by ≠Toma.
602 Marriages with HuBr or WiSi are highly preferred marriages. This makes ≠Toma
835 'feel like' his WiSiHu, he said, even though he is not married to her, and, as a result, his WiSiDa seems to him like his own daughter.

FIG. 3. *Affines*

[601]

Marriage forbidden	*Male*	*Female*	*Joking*
Parents of ego's spouse	*≠tum*	*/utsu*	no
Spouses of FaBr, FaSi, MoBr, MoSi	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
SiHuFa w.s., BrWiMo m.s.	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
(Ego's generation terminologically)			
Parents of SoWi, DaHu	*/umba*	*/umdai*	yes
Spouses of So and Da	*≠tum*	*/utsu*	no
HuBrSo, WiSiDa	*tsu*	*//ga*	no

Marriage with a BrWiMo or SiHuFa seems improper to the /Kung because a
[587] man's marriage with his BrWi is highly preferred, as is a woman's with a SiHu (should the death of the spouse or divorce make their marriage possible), and the parents of these affines therefore seem 'like' parents of the spouse.

In the sibling category among affines ego is prohibited from marrying only WiBrWi or HuSiHu. The reason for this prohibition appears to lie in the consistency of the joking pattern, about which three more points must be made. First, throughout

FIG. 4. *Marriage forbidden with WiBrWi, HuSiHu*

Male ego	*Joking*	*Female ego*	*Joking*
Br and BrWi	yes	Br and BrWi	no
Si and SiHu	no	Si and SiHu	yes
WiSi and WiSiHu	yes	HuBr and HuBrWi	yes
WiBr and WiBrWi	no	HuSi and HuSiHu	no

the whole system (except among remote name relatives), ego maintains the same joking status with *both* members of a married couple, for example, with FaBr and FaBrWi, WiSi and WiSiHu, &c. Secondly, in the differentiation of sex between siblings among ego's affines with respect to the joking relationship, the point of reference is the spouse. Ego has the joking relationship with his own spouse and with the sibling of his spouse who is the same sex as his spouse. He avoids joking with his spouse's sibling whose sex is opposite to his spouse. Thirdly, among affines in the sibling category the extended incest taboo and the avoidances coincide. Sex permitting, if ego may joke he may marry, and if he avoids joking he is prohibited from marrying. As we list ego's siblings and affines in Fig. 4 we see that WiBrWi and HuSiHu are the only ones whose sex is opposite to ego's, making marriage possible, but with whom ego is constrained from joking because he does not joke with his WiBr or HuSi, according the same joking status to both members of a married couple.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with 602 three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made.

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu/na* and *tŭn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *//ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a 182 touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and con- 183 sistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society 582 tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many cate- 593 gories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship 602 as soon as marriage takes place.

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly 587 approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is 768 expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines.

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. 583 This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one 619 marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, [584] as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened.

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in 595 which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power 554 or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, 556 but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries [422] his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women [482]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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ceremony is the avoidance of the parents, which is symbolic of the incest taboo. Any (preferably young) kinswoman who is tall enough and strong enough, whether she herself is married or not, and whether or not she has the joking relation with the bride, may carry the bride; and any may attend her. Only the mother absolutely must not do so. Likewise the groom's father must not attend him. Neither pair of parents go to sit by the wedding fire, for they must not sit near their son's wife or daughter's husband, nor speak to them. Guests of mature years might go and sit by the wedding fire only if they have the joking relationship with both the bride and the groom. Very young guests, such as we saw at /Nai's and /Gunda's fire, may go, whether they joke or not with the bride and groom, because the avoidances are not stringently observed with young children.

585 593 602

Termination of marriage and remarriage

Widows and widowers are not avoided in any special way because of their widowhood. 589 768

If her husband dies, a young widow usually returns to her own parents or lives with one of her own siblings, but, if her people are dead, or if it is her preference, she may stay on with her deceased husband's people. It is the duty of her HuBr to hunt for her if she needs his support. [736 607]

Several possibilities are open to a young widower: rarely he might stay with his deceased wife's parents or siblings; more likely he would return to his own parents or siblings; and, when he marries again, he goes into matrilocal residence with the new bride. In any case, a man is responsible for his wife's parents and young siblings, and, if they depended on him for support, he would take them with him. They would be likely to prefer, however, to live with an adult son, daughter, or sibling of their own if they had any. [587 736]

Old widowers or widows whose own parents are dead usually live with either a son or daughter, or perhaps with their own sibling—as they wish.

The surviving spouse is free to marry again within the regulations of the extended incest taboo, which applies to all marriages. 587 885

Parents would arrange the subsequent marriage of a widowed boy or girl. Adults may make their own arrangements directly. My impression was that persons might be considered fully adult somewhere in their middle or late twenties.

An adult man takes the initiative and asks the woman to marry him. Robert Dyson in the 1951 expedition learned that one way for a man to ask a woman to marry him is to present her with a bow and arrow. If she accepts it she indicates her willingness to consider his suit.

No restriction of time is put upon the remarriage of a widower, but a widow should not remarry until one rainy season has passed. She is then considered 'clean' and may marry again. ≠Toma said, 'The rain washes (*//num*) the death away from the widow.' *//Num* is the gesture of wiping a dish with one finger and then licking the finger. /Ti/kay of Band 9 said that some men wait for a rainy season to pass, but that others would be pleased the husband was dead and, without waiting, say, 'This is my chance.' One interpreter understood that the widow had to take off her kaross and spend a night out, letting the rain fall on her, but ≠Toma said this was not what 587 589

587 was meant. That would be very uncomfortable, he said. It would make her shiver and
589 might make her sick. The rainy season's passing is what cleanses the woman. When
[783] she is about to go to her new husband she prepares herself by washing in the ordinary way.

Unless a woman is quite old she does not remain long unmarried. One man said, 'Even if a widow is thick and tall, but is a good woman, some man will want her.' Widows may marry as second wives of married men, or they may marry widowers, divorced men, or bachelors. The two young widows and the two divorced women who were unmarried in 1953, had remarried by 1955. Only the very old widows remain unmarried.

There are so few unmarried women that widowers have difficulty in finding wives. The young widowed musician, /Gao, was an example. After his first wife's death he had married the daughter of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, when she was approximately ten or eleven years old, about the age of his own son, and was patiently waiting for her to grow up. Only one of the old widowers had succeeded in finding a wife by 1957.

736 The children of a widowed parent are kept by that parent. A widower may leave
768 his children with a woman relative, but they remain his. Orphaned children go to live with relatives. There is a tendency to feel that the boys belong eventually to the
[611] father's side of the family, the girls to the mother's. This concept came to our attention several times, but we did not find it to be a rigid social rule. The relative who
[604] is expected to take the children if they are young is the MoSi. But the FaSi might be nearer or more able for one reason or another to take them and might do so. FaBr would be the relative most likely to take half-grown boys, but again MoBr might be the one. Failing these, some other relative would take them. When it came to arrang-
[584] ing marriages for orphaned children, informants said that the father's elder brother would have the most authority; a stepfather or stepmother has none.

[597] Adoption does not exist in /Kung society.

586 Divorce may terminate a marriage. The couple may divorce without formality, by mutual consent or by one spouse simply leaving the other. The /Kung word for ending a marriage in this way is */kao joo*. I use the word 'divorce' for convenience, although no legal action takes place. No religious dispensation is involved, no permission or action on the part of the headman or group is required. If parents of a very young couple withheld consent this might influence the couple, but the parents' consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties, for there is no dowry or bride-price to be resolved. The only property a /Kung owns
[422] personally consists of movables, and these are never owned in common by man and wife. Every artifact down to a single bead belongs to an individual, who takes his property with him in case of divorce.

Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way. They are free to remarry without restrictions.

Divorce is never obligatory and the grounds are not formalized; the desire of the couple concerned is the determining factor. A condition such as sterility, for example, or a wrongdoing such as adultery, might or might not lead to divorce, depending on how the couple felt about it. Mistreatment or failure to provide would certainly be considered justification for divorce, should they ever occur, but justifica-

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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tion is not necessary. 'A wife can get tired of loving her husband', we were told, 586
'and just tell him to go away.'

We learned about seven divorces only in our sample. The middle-aged Khuan//a, the mother of the bridegroom, /Gunda, had left her first husband to marry her lover. Another middle-aged woman left her husband because he was on the point of marrying a second wife. Jealousy between the two young wives at Gam, lamented in song by the young husband, had been the cause of the third. The whims of young girls caused others. A girl named /Ungka, married to a considerably older man, hated him though he was good to her and gave her oil and ornaments for her hair. She cut off her hair and threw it, ornaments and all, into the fire. She thrust her head into the ashes and made herself filthy. In another instance, the girl took offence the first night of her marriage and left her young husband next day, to his painful chagrin. The lenient and patient parents of these girls arranged other marriages. Di/ai, the mother of [587] the bride /Nai, and now the wife of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, was divorced from two former husbands in her youth. And /U, her sister, while still very young had been persuaded by ≠Toma to leave her tall young husband from Gam and to marry him.

Our data on frequency of divorce are too scant to be significant. We have merely the impression that there seems to be some tendency for couples to separate while they are young and in whatever adolescent turbulence the /Kung experience, but that, on the other hand, there is considerable stability in marriage once a compatible mate is found. At least, no divorces occurred between 1952 and 1959 in eight of the bands of our sample. We lack data on the others.

Young children of divorced parents remain with the mother. As they grow to adolescence the girls usually stay with their mothers, the boys may go to their fathers or stay with their mothers or spend some time with each.

Although the /Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it. Divorce is untoward, disruptive; it can cause trouble. Anything other than peace and [181] harmony in human relations makes the /Kung uneasy.

Extra-marital sexual relations

Murdock points out that 'Our own culture includes a blanket taboo against 171
fornication, an over-all prohibition of all sexual intercourse outside of the marital relationship.'[1] He goes on to say that our society is highly aberrant in this and that 'from available evidence [however] it seems unlikely that a general prohibition of sex relations outside of marriage occurs in as many as five per cent of the peoples of the earth'.[2]

/Kung society has an over-all prohibition against any sexual relations outside of 837
marriage with one exception. It makes no requirements such as sexual hospitality or *jus primae noctis*. It makes no provision for sexual access to certain categories of kin or affines outside of marriage, such as BrWi. Premarital unchastity, unchastity of [836] widows, and prostitution are not among their social conventions. But */kamheri*, though not required, is either fully permitted or tolerated as not a very bad thing; I never reached certainty as to which of these attitudes the society adopted.

/Kamheri means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided

[1] Murdock, op. cit., p. 263. [2] Ibid., p. 264.

/156 cont./

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

/157/ Divorce rarely occurs, and then only when the woman
586 has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

In most cases, however, the woman remains with her hus-
[595] band even in old age, while he provides himself with one or two younger and stronger women.

The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

587 Widows are permitted to marry again after a certain time, as is also the case for divorced women.

589 There is no special dress for widows.

The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to
562 that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-
264 pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

[184] The Rietfontein Auin always have just one wife. The reason
595 for this is said to be that "little food" is available. The Auin from Gam, on the average, have two, sometimes five wives.

Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto de-
548 scribed, there are supposed to be prostitutes among the married
684 women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auin declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by
847 stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

[9 cont.]

586 Up to the birth of the first child, the marriage is dis-
solvable, but not thereafter. Monogamy is the rule; where
595 there is polygamy, the first wife is the "head wife." The eldest
596 brother of the head wife is the family head. The boys belong to
(611) the family of the wife, and the daughters to the family of the
father.

582 The strictest exogamy prevails. Son and daughter may
marry neither into the father's kin group nor into the mother's
[587] kin group. On the other hand, a young widow is usually married
by one of her brothers-in-law.

551 The following kin-group names were reported to me:
!Nui-a, Dai, áben, orasi, Gombe, χ'am, χ'am-Kha.

805 The following times of the day are differentiated:
eruba, time before sunrise.
!khoasa, time of sunrise (N. khoa-am = to open, that is, the door for the sun is opened).
sorésa, "the sun shines."
sorésa ≠kam go, "the young sun goes," breakfast time. In effect, below the tropics one has the impression that the sun, after it has stood on the horizon for a while, moves toward the zenith with great speed.
sorésa !khoai go, "the sun goes back." Noon.
//gui-sa, "it declines (lies down)." Afternoon.
[512] ≠khai-am-go, "to rise and go." After hunting or searching for veldkost, the Bushmen usually take a rest before it is time to go home and start cooking (late afternoon).
≠kha-go, "to go through." (The sun goes through the gate of the night.) Dusk, sunset.
!khui-sa, to be evening.
dschu-ba, night (N. tsuχub).

821 These Bushmen have the idea that the old sun dies every
night and a new, young sun appears the next morning. That the
[171] moon dies every month and is resurrected again is a notion so
widespread in Africa that it is really unnecessary to make special
mention of it.

805 The year begins when a new rainy season sets in.
//hauba, "storms rise." Rainy season.

[41 cont.]

582 girl to marry him. Naturally, these sisters ordinarily do not remember their prerogative until they have failed to get another man whom they desire. Thus the young men are often forced to marry girls who are much older than themselves. If the wife 587 dies, the widower must marry a sister of his wife in case she agrees. [42] If, on the other hand, the man dies, the widow (589) must stay with the parents-in-law for about a year. It is illegal to marry the wife or the children of a deceased brother. The widow must marry a man from another kin group and move to his village (1). The boys belong to the father's kin group, the girls to 611 THE MOTHER'S KIN GROUP.

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1. "The fate of many a young childless widow is much worse, however. A Bushman communicated the following concerning this matter: 'When a man dies and leaves behind a wife without children, and the brother-in-law refuses to accept his brother's bow and thereby his sister-in-law, she may return to her father's village. But this does not by any means always happen. As a woman who did not bear children she is not highly regarded. Her life has no significance. The men of the village talk about her case and designate one from their midst to destroy the useless life. This man will come to the widow's hut in the evening and will sit down across from her at her fire. He has a bow and arrow with him. The widow knows what is in store for her, but gives no sign. The two talk about trivial matters. After a while the man takes the bow in his hand and shoots an arrow through the heart of the woman sitting across from him. The unfortunate woman dies and is buried as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible. Blood vengeance on the part of the woman's kin group is not to be feared. After all, she did not bear any children.'" (Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 419.)

NARON
!AUIN
NOGAU

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
(842) spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
843 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
845 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

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Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

*!Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
584 are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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daughter at the same time. Although he had blood ties with neither, this was analogous to marrying a daughter and it was thought the man must be mad to do so. Informants said specifically that /Kung do not marry uncles or aunts because they are 'like' parents. Cousins, they say, are 'like' siblings and nephews and nieces 'like' offspring. Marriage with any of these would be shocking. 582 684

In the genealogies of about 175 /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region there is no instance of marriage among any of the above-mentioned relatives. However, we heard of two first-cousin marriages among some distant /Kung. 582 [183]

A /Kung must not marry a person who has the same name as his parent. In the two instances we know where this rule was broken the people lied, admitting it only after someone else told us about it. A man must not marry a woman to whom he applies the term */utsu* (this seems to be regarded as a particularly stringent prohibition), nor may a woman marry a man she terms *≠tum*. We know a man who broke this rule. His marriage with his */utsu* caused a scandal which was still reverberating after two years. [553 183] [684]

The preferred marriage among /Kung is with a non-consanguineous name-relative whom ego terms */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.) or *tũn* m.s. SiHu and HuBr are both termed *tun/ga* w.s. and BrWi and WiSi are termed *tũn* m.s. These are considered desirable marriages, especially the sororate, but neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory. [587]

Marriages with persons termed */umba* or */undai* are not forbidden. Persons who use the terms *tsu* and *//ga* for each other may marry unless one has the name of the other's parent. Persons who use the sibling terms may marry. These marriages, though not forbidden, are not preferred.

There is no category of persons with whom sexual intercourse is permitted by /Kung custom except the spouse. If illicit sexual intercourse is indulged in, it is carefully concealed. 837

The Joking Relationship

The joking relationship is an important element in /Kung culture. It is in the foreground of people's minds. The /Kung never once mentioned the generational aspect of their kin terminology system but whenever kinship matters were discussed they spoke of the joking relationship. The /Kung do not train their children to know the precise genealogical position of collaterals,[1] but they teach them the term to use and the joking status of the term. Sometimes an informant would not know whether, for instance, a relative he termed *tsu* was his FaBr, his MoBr or who, but would say that his parents taught him to use that term for the relative and that he must not joke with him. 602 [867] 601 602

The joking relationship creates a dichotomy which divides consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives into two groups. Every kinship term is associated with a joking status and the culture either allows ego to joke or prohibits him from joking with every person to whom he applies a kinship term.

[1] As to lineal kin, all our informants knew the precise genealogical position and names of their grandparents and grandchildren but many did not know the names of their great-grandparents. (We did not meet any /Kung who had a great-grandchild.)

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

cause his wife's mother was born there, as well as at his own 423
birthplace, the Okwa Omaramba, where we had found the 621
eighteen Bushmen, who after all were not strangers but 602
closely related to Gai and Ukwane and an extension of Ukwane's band. 159

Ukwane himself had had three wives, and he and his first 586
wife had been divorced, which Bushmen do by announcing 587
the divorce and separating. There is no ceremony connected 159
with divorce, and no difficulty, as there is no ceremony connected with any marriage but the first. After a divorce a Bushman man may take up residence with another woman whom he prefers.

Without the visible evidence of ceremonies, however, it 837
is hard for non-Bushmen to recognize what is happening, as 159
occasionally Bushmen live together for short periods without being married, or commit adultery. But in cases such as these there is someone who does not want the union to be permanent, either the man or the woman, or perhaps his or her children; perhaps even the man and woman are tabu relatives, and unless everyone concerned is more or less in accord, the union does not take place. Among Bushmen, incest and [684]
adultery are strongly condemned.

Once, among Kung Bushmen we lived with, a woman ran 837
away from her husband to take up with another man. She 593
had considered marrying him, and they ran off one night to his family to live permanently. When her husband found out, he got so wildly angry, taking up his spear and sharpening it, [578]
that the headman of the band set off after the elopers to preserve the peace. My brother and I went with him, and at noon we found the lovers resting in the shade.

The headman talked with the elopers and told them how they were bringing shame on both their families, and how the woman's husband was violently upset. By this time the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

him and back to her parents. The husband was enraged and 586 set off after her, but when he finally found her his anger had been replaced by longing and he pleaded with her, reasoned with her parents, and plied them with the meat of an entire eland he had shot, asking for her to return. But she would not, her parents would not make her, and finally she drove him away with these words: "I don't want an old husband like you, you man with a big black belly."

Thereafter, the marriage was recognized by everyone as dissolved. The husband was sadly disappointed, but the two women, at least, were pleased.

Both Kung and Gikwe Bushmen permit divorce, condemn 593 adultery. We saw very little marital strife among the Kung 586 with whom we lived for over a year, and none among the 837 Gikwe. Even so, many Bushmen over thirty years old in both groups had previously been widowed or divorced. Death and strife take too many people; a Bushman cannot really expect his first marriage to last him all his life.

Ukwane's second wife had been a widow, the mother of 159 Twikwe, and when that woman had died Twikwe had lived 587 on with Ukwane. His third wife was Kutera, and their only living child was Gaiamakwe. Ukwane had another son still living at Chukudu, the Bakalahari settlement, who was surely one of the Bushmen servants in that long procession of Bakalahari villagers we had seen moving to winter quarters. We told Ukwane about this migration and Ukwane said he was sorry to hear it because he had hoped very much to see his son again before he died and many seasons might pass now before the son would come.

Kutera herself had been married twice before, once to a Bakalahari, once to a Bushman named Gainaho, and last to Ukwane, to whom she had been married about fifteen years.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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thought that he would have to wait at least four years more 562
for her, he would get into such a passion of desire that he
would have to send his wife away for a time, lest he forget
himself and break one of the most stringent rules. Bushmen [833
believe that it harms a girl terribly to be possessed before she 834]
is mature. It might even drive her mad.

Bushmen have no real solution for this problem, as there 548
are no prostitutes and only in a few bands are there promiscu- 588
ous women. Homosexuality is not permitted either; the 838
young men just have to get used to being tempted constantly
but never gratified.

Gai had raised his young wife, and when she reached pu- 593
berty he had possessed her and she had borne him a son. This 587
was the young man Gai had found at Okwa. Shortly after
that his young wife had died and Gai then had married Tse-
tchwe, whose young fiancé had been taken away by a farmer
to work on a farm. Gai and Tsetchwe had borne two chil-
dren. Only one was still alive; this was Nhwakwe.

When we asked about the residence and about the parents 159
of Gai, an argument arose. Gai lived with Ukwane because
his wife wanted to live with her mother, Dasina, and Dasina
lived with Ukwane because she and Ukwane were relatives,
sharing a common grandparent. Gai himself, said Ukwane,
was conceived by a Bushman mother and a Bushman father
named Gwena, but Gwena had died while Gai was still in
the womb. When that had happened, Gai's mother had gone [582]
to Chukudu to marry a Bakalahari man. She and the Bakala-
hari had then moved to the big rock in the Okwa Omaramba,
where Gai was born. This was Ukwane's side of the story.

Gai had been listening, and when Ukwane had finished,
Gai raised himself up on his elbow to say that Ukwane was 159
quite mistaken, for the Bakalahari was his real father. An ar-
gument dragged on, the old people insisting that Ukwane was

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

Brother and sister are the only relations who are forbidden to 582
marry, and by this, real brother and sister are meant, the children of one father and mother, not cousins. I never heard a title for any cousin, however related, though several were present Cousins sometimes marry, but more often a bride from a distance is procured.

A pair of sisters have a very close relationship. They are 593
generally chums, and help each other with their babies. A child [601]
calls its mother's sister its "little mother". In speaking of the [604]
occasional bigamy found among the **Naron** in contrast to other 595
Bushman tribes, an old man said to me:

"A man may take a second wife, if he wishes. If they agree well, they live in one hut; if not, each makes herself a hut. A man had better take his wife's younger sister as his second wife; then they do not quarrel, but live in one hut."

ǁka in **ǁkashe** "maternal aunt" may be derived from **ǁkai** 196
"together". **He** used as a verb means "to marry", also "to give 601
birth to children". **Ti kweba** and **ti kwesa** mean simply "my man", "my woman"; they are more often used than **hoba** and **hosha**.

A widow may marry her late husband's brother, but need not 587
do so. She is quite at liberty to marry any other man. If she remarries, her husband is expected to look after her children; [604]
otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. The widow may stay near her husband's people, or return to her own people, as she pleases.

Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, are very fond 597
of adopting a grandchild. They will half adopt one, even during 603
both parents' lifetime. The grandmother is generally the person [868]
who teaches a child to speak.

In concluding these notes on the tables of relationship, I should 114
like to say that I know they are very incomplete. At the time of my stay among the **ǁkau ǁen** and **Naron** I had not realized the importance of this side of native life; nor apparently had my aunt, Dr. Lloyd, whose work I rely on for the **ǂxam** and **ǃkuŋ** tables. Still, I think sufficient has been collected to show the general trend of Bushman family ties.

One must always remember, that people depending on nature 105
for their entire food supply, can only exist in very small, widely 161
scattered groups. Families cannot be large. Drought and famine

[Text continues on page 70]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

various taboos. They wait for the children to grow up, hoping that they 581
will be like their families in these qualities.

The marriage takes place when the parents agree, but it must be after 582
the boy has killed a game animal and is scarified. The age at which young people marry varies greatly. We know girls who were married for five or six years before they menstruated; others were somewhat older at marriage.

!Kung society rigorously, and without exception, requires that all men, 581
in first and subsequent marriages, go to live with the parents of their brides, 583
and give them bride service. This service is essentially hunting. "Our daughter's husband must give us meat." "We shall soon be old; we need a young man to hunt for us." These are the refrains of the people.

The duration of bride service is indefinite. The !Kung say it should be long enough for three children to be born. Since the girls are so young, it may mean that eight or ten years elapse before three children have been born. Divorce may terminate bride service. After his obligations are fulfilled, a man has the right to return to his own people with his wife and dependents or he may choose to stay with his wife's people.

The young couple is expected not to have sexual intercourse until the 585
girl is ready. No social rule patterns the time, which is a matter of individual adjustment, but the boy must not force the girl. If she complained to her [586]
parents, they might disapprove of the boy, dissolve the marriage, and send him away. His parents would have to try to find another bride for him and he would have to wait for years again for her to grow up.

The !Kung are polygynous. First marriages are ordinarily arranged by 595
their parents between children who have not been previously married. 587
Only occasionally is a young girl betrothed for her first marriage to a man who had been married before, perhaps a young man who had lost his wife by death or divorce, or possibly, but rarely, to her sister's husband or some other man as his second wife. Usually second marriages are contracted later in life when a woman becomes available for remarriage through widowhood or divorce. In such marriages, the man and woman concerned make their own arrangements. The number of wives a man may have is determined 595
not by social rule but by the man's ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. There is no great excess of women, and prestige [554]
and wealth do not concentrate in !Kung society to give certain categories of men, such as headmen or medicine men, more power or right than others to acquire wives. A sampling of eighty-eight marriages showed that only nine of the men had two wives. None had more than two.

Although the first wife is considered to have a somewhat more esteemed and dominant position, no property or other material advantage is given to her and no important social advantage accrues.

!Kung co-wives live very closely together. They share one scherm and one family fire. They care for and nurse each other's children. Even when

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

595 they are jealous of each other, as they so often are, !Kung society demands of them that they preserve a decent semblance of harmony and, by self-control and silence, avoid disturbing other people with jealous wrangling.

582 621 The band itself, as a structured unit, is not a factor in regulating marriage. Persons may marry either within their bands or outside them if relationships and marriage regulations permit. Neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory, but marriage with a brother's wife or a sister's husband is considered to be good and suitable, particularly as a second marriage, should death or divorce make it possible for these affines to marry again. These relationships are not especially preferred in first marriages.

587

582

Marriages are forbidden in !Kung society only on the basis of the incest taboo, which is very strongly felt. It rigorously prohibits the !Kung from marriage with members of the nuclear family. It also extends to stepparents, stepbrothers and stepsisters, stepchildren, and to three additional categories of persons: certain kin, certain affines, and certain name relatives, whose relationships are considered to resemble those of the nuclear family.[8]

582 183 The !Kung conform strictly to the marriage regulations where they feel the internal sanction strongly, as they do with close kin and affines. But with the more remote relatives, third cousins, and even second cousins, and with name relatives, they deviate without any apparent sense of guilt and without incurring the grave disapproval of society.

587 Widowers may marry again without restriction. A widow is supposed to wait until one rainy season has passed so that "the rain may wash the death away," but often she does not.

586 A couple may divorce without formality. This may be by mutual consent, or one spouse may simply leave the other. No religious or legal dispensation is involved and parental consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties for there is no dowry or bride-price to be resolved. Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way, and they are free to remarry without restrictions. Although the !Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it because it is untoward and can cause trouble. Divorces are not uncommon among young people of about the age at which young people in our society would be getting married, but, once a compatible mate is found, there is a notable stability in the marriages.

[587]

837 !Kung society forbids any sexual relations outside marriage, with one exception, called */kamheri*. */Kamheri* means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided the wives consent. When deviations from the sexual regulations do occur, the usual form is adultery, since almost all Bushman women are in the married state from early youth. But adultery meets with deterrents in this society. The strongly felt incest taboo prevents extramarital sexual relations as well as marriage with close relatives. Ease of divorce enables persons who really wish to change mates

[835]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

606 supposed to speak to his wife's mother, nor a woman to her husband's
[114] father. Of the former Miss Bleek had personal evidence, since her Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. Actually it seems that sitting near or consorting together is avoided, rather than the actual addressing of the person concerned.[1] So, too, among the Auen a man avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit together with her. If he approaches a fire in order to sit there, she gets up and goes away; if he wants to speak to her, he must do so from a distance.[2] Among the Heikum, again, as we have seen, a young couple who are visiting the wife's parents will erect their hut on the opposite side of the camp, so that the husband may not be too near his parents-in-law. He neither looks at nor speaks to his wife's mother, nor will he mention her name or enter her hut even in case of sickness or during her absence. When she is away and he wishes to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never
[601] refer to each other by name, but always as "my son-in-law" or "my mother-in-law". The son-in-law also does not associate with his father-in-law, but avoids him in the same way. Should they meet accidentally, they may exchange greetings, but no general conversation will take place, nor will they look each other in the face.[3] A similar avoidance of the parents-in-law among the Cape Bushmen is indicated in one of the texts obtained by Bleek and Lloyd, but no details are given.[4]

Dissolution of Marriage

The duration of married life varies. Among the Naron, says
586 Miss Bleek, "One sees couples who have grown old together, on the other hand one hears of cases of desertion on either side. If there are no children, no one worries about it. If there are youngsters, the relations try to bring the parents to reason." Where separation does take place, the children belong to the father; an unweaned child must go with the mother, but the father can claim it later if he likes.
● [587] People who have separated are not ostracized, but both parties generally marry again.[5] No indication is given of the grounds for separation. Among the Auen divorce is rare, and only takes place

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 64; *idem*, *Naron*, 32.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 156.
[3] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 93–4.
[4] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 58.
[5] *Naron*, 34.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

when the wife is too old; she may then simply be sent back to her 586
people. Generally, however, she stays with her husband, who then
takes a second wife, younger and more active. The children of a [595]
divorced woman remain with their father, and are brought up by
his new wife.[1] Among the Heikum separation of husband and wife
may take place under various circumstances, as when the woman is
childless, but this, says Fourie, is entirely a matter for adjustment
between them. The wife on separation returns to her own group;
the present made to her mother at marriage is not returned to the
husband. The children are looked upon as belonging to the father,
but if husband and wife should separate the girls, according to Fourie,
are taken by the father and the sons by the mother.[2] This statement
runs counter to those given above about what happens in the other [114]
North-Western tribes under similar circumstances, and is almost
certainly inaccurate.

Among the Namib Bushmen divorce may result only from barrenness or adultery, and is at the discretion of the husband. If he decides to separate from his wife, he brings her back to her parents. The mature children remain with him, while the youngsters who have to go with their mother also come to him when grown up. After divorce both parties are at liberty to marry again as soon as they wish.[3]

Marriage is, of course, also dissolved by the death of either husband 587 ●
or wife. As a rule the survivor may remarry. Among the Bushmen
of Basutoland, however, a widow is said to have found it difficult [589]
to get a second husband, owing perhaps, writes Arbousset,[4] to the [754]
popular belief that most of the deaths which occurred were due to [761]
witchcraft rather than disease. On the other hand, great attention
was paid to her in the camp, where no piece of game was ever eaten
without her having a share.

Further north this fear of marriage with a widow is not found. [184]
Among the Naron she may, if she likes, marry her late husband's
brother, but need not necessarily do so; she is quite at liberty to
marry another man. If she remarries, and if young enough most
widows do so, her new husband is expected to look after the children; [736]
otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. An unmarried
widow may stay near her late husband's people, or return to her own
group, as she pleases.[5] Widows among the Auen may also marry 587

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157.
[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505.
[3] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 67.
[4] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 60.
[5] Op. cit. (English trans.), 364.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

587 "after a certain length of time", and, as among the Naron, there is no levirate. We are not told whose duty it is to look after the children of [736] a widow, but in the case of a widower his children remain with him, and if he marries again are brought up by his new wife.[1]

The survivor of a marriage among the Namib Bushmen is not [768] allowed to remarry until a full season has elapsed since the death of his or her partner. The belief is that if, for example, a woman marries [761] a widower immediately after the death of his first wife, she also will soon die. A widow returns to her own people on the death of her husband, taking with her the unweaned children, who must, however, later return to their father's relatives. If she marries again the new husband must look after the children until they are old enough. There is no mention of the levirate, but the existence of the sororate is implied in Trenk's statement that a widower is expected to marry an eligible sister of his dead wife.[2] This is also noted of the Kung by Lebzelter.[3]

Birth and Infancy

581 A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth 586 of a child. This is clearly indicated in the fact, already mentioned, that among both the Namib Bushmen and the Heikum barrenness is regarded as one of the main grounds for divorce. It is customary 844 among the Naron and the Heikum for a woman to return to her 591 mother's home for her first confinement, if she has already left with her husband to settle among his people; while among the Kung a newly-married couple remain with the wife's parents until after the birth of a child. It is probable therefore that among all the North-Western tribes a woman's first child is born at the home of her parents; about the other Bushman tribes there is no definite statement on this point.

843 Pregnant women carry on their normal daily occupations until the last moment, collecting veldkos and water, walking as far as the rest do, and so on, although they are apparently treated with some consideration in the way of food. Among the Kung a pregnant woman may not eat sour veldkos, nor anything sweet, nor any fat meat. No one may pass behind her back, nor may a pot be put on the fire before she has smeared herself with the soot clinging to it.[4] There

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 137.
[2] Op. cit., 14.
[3] Op. cit., 168.
[4] Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 14.

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people. [423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such, 621 by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-//om*, on the [582 other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the 591] chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are 361 placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the [184] *Hei-//om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial [562] and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and [882 boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away 342] from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various 342 tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a [462] husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations. When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish 166 a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who 342 deposits his household and other effects on the place on which [622] his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated [312] in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

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1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. 513 593
Individual adjustments are made.

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must 582
have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung 224
boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does 884
not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great
antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When
the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or [304]
by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each
boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female
on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed
into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the
will to hunt; good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and
to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn
celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt.
It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness.

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may
elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of 585
hunting is ceremonially linked with marriage. At the time of the wedding, the boy 224
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1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ceremony is the avoidance of the parents, which is symbolic of the incest taboo. Any (preferably young) kinswoman who is tall enough and strong enough, whether she herself is married or not, and whether or not she has the joking relation with the bride, may carry the bride; and any may attend her. Only the mother absolutely must not do so. Likewise the groom's father must not attend him. Neither pair of parents go to sit by the wedding fire, for they must not sit near their son's wife or daughter's husband, nor speak to them. Guests of mature years might go and sit by the wedding fire only if they have the joking relationship with both the bride and the groom. Very young guests, such as we saw at /Nai's and /Gunda's fire, may go, whether they joke or not with the bride and groom, because the avoidances are not stringently observed with young children. 585 593 602

Termination of marriage and remarriage

Widows and widowers are not avoided in any special way because of their widowhood. 589 768

If her husband dies, a young widow usually returns to her own parents or lives with one of her own siblings, but, if her people are dead, or if it is her preference, she may stay on with her deceased husband's people. It is the duty of her HuBr to hunt for her if she needs his support. [736] [607]

Several possibilities are open to a young widower: rarely he might stay with his deceased wife's parents or siblings; more likely he would return to his own parents or siblings; and, when he marries again, he goes into matrilocal residence with the new bride. In any case, a man is responsible for his wife's parents and young siblings, and, if they depended on him for support, he would take them with him. They would be likely to prefer, however, to live with an adult son, daughter, or sibling of their own if they had any. [587] [736]

Old widowers or widows whose own parents are dead usually live with either a son or daughter, or perhaps with their own sibling—as they wish.

The surviving spouse is free to marry again within the regulations of the extended incest taboo, which applies to all marriages. 587 885

Parents would arrange the subsequent marriage of a widowed boy or girl. Adults may make their own arrangements directly. My impression was that persons might be considered fully adult somewhere in their middle or late twenties.

An adult man takes the initiative and asks the woman to marry him. Robert Dyson in the 1951 expedition learned that one way for a man to ask a woman to marry him is to present her with a bow and arrow. If she accepts it she indicates her willingness to consider his suit.

No restriction of time is put upon the remarriage of a widower, but a widow should not remarry until one rainy season has passed. She is then considered 'clean' and may marry again. ≠Toma said, 'The rain washes (*//num*) the death away from the widow.' *//Num* is the gesture of wiping a dish with one finger and then licking the finger. /Ti/kay of Band 9 said that some men wait for a rainy season to pass, but that others would be pleased the husband was dead and, without waiting, say, 'This is my chance.' One interpreter understood that the widow had to take off her kaross and spend a night out, letting the rain fall on her, but ≠Toma said this was not what 587 589

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

587 was meant. That would be very uncomfortable, he said. It would make her shiver and
589 might make her sick. The rainy season's passing is what cleanses the woman. When
[783] she is about to go to her new husband she prepares herself by washing in the ordinary way.

Unless a woman is quite old she does not remain long unmarried. One man said, 'Even if a widow is thick and tall, but is a good woman, some man will want her.' Widows may marry as second wives of married men, or they may marry widowers, divorced men, or bachelors. The two young widows and the two divorced women who were unmarried in 1953, had remarried by 1955. Only the very old widows remain unmarried.

There are so few unmarried women that widowers have difficulty in finding wives. The young widowed musician, /Gao, was an example. After his first wife's death he had married the daughter of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, when she was approximately ten or eleven years old, about the age of his own son, and was patiently waiting for her to grow up. Only one of the old widowers had succeeded in finding a wife by 1957.

736 The children of a widowed parent are kept by that parent. A widower may leave
768 his children with a woman relative, but they remain his. Orphaned children go to live with relatives. There is a tendency to feel that the boys belong eventually to the
[611] father's side of the family, the girls to the mother's. This concept came to our attention several times, but we did not find it to be a rigid social rule. The relative who
[604] is expected to take the children if they are young is the MoSi. But the FaSi might be nearer or more able for one reason or another to take them and might do so. FaBr would be the relative most likely to take half-grown boys, but again MoBr might be the one. Failing these, some other relative would take them. When it came to arrang-
[584] ing marriages for orphaned children, informants said that the father's elder brother would have the most authority; a stepfather or stepmother has none.

[597] Adoption does not exist in /Kung society.

Divorce may terminate a marriage. The couple may divorce without formality,
586 by mutual consent or by one spouse simply leaving the other. The /Kung word for ending a marriage in this way is */kao joo*. I use the word 'divorce' for convenience, although no legal action takes place. No religious dispensation is involved, no permission or action on the part of the headman or group is required. If parents of a very young couple withheld consent this might influence the couple, but the parents' consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties, for there is no dowry or bride-price to be resolved. The only property a /Kung owns
[422] personally consists of movables, and these are never owned in common by man and wife. Every artifact down to a single bead belongs to an individual, who takes his property with him in case of divorce.

Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way. They are free to remarry without restrictions.

Divorce is never obligatory and the grounds are not formalized; the desire of the couple concerned is the determining factor. A condition such as sterility, for example, or a wrongdoing such as adultery, might or might not lead to divorce, depending on how the couple felt about it. Mistreatment or failure to provide would certainly be considered justification for divorce, should they ever occur, but justifica-

/156 cont./

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

/157/ Divorce rarely occurs, and then only when the woman
586 has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

In most cases, however, the woman remains with her hus-
[595] band even in old age, while he provides himself with one or two younger and stronger women.

The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

587 Widows are permitted to marry again after a certain time, as is also the case for divorced women.

589 There is no special dress for widows.

The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to
562 that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-
264 pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

[184] The Rietfontein Auin always have just one wife. The reason
595 for this is said to be that "little food" is available. The Auin from Gam, on the average, have two, sometimes five wives.

Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto de-
548 scribed, there are supposed to be prostitutes among the married
684 women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auin declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by
847 stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

[41 cont.]

582 girl to marry him. Naturally, these sisters ordinarily do not remember their prerogative until they have failed to get another man whom they desire. Thus the young men are often forced to marry girls who are much older than themselves. If the wife 587 dies, the widower must marry a sister of his wife in case she agrees. [42] If, on the other hand, the man dies, the widow (589) must stay with the parents-in-law for about a year. It is illegal to marry the wife or the children of a deceased brother. The widow must marry a man from another kin group and move to his village (1). The boys belong to the father's kin group, the girls to 611 The MOTHER'S KIN GROUP.

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1. "The fate of many a young childless widow is much worse, however. A Bushman communicated the following concerning this matter: 'When a man dies and leaves behind a wife without children, and the brother-in-law refuses to accept his brother's bow and thereby his sister-in-law, she may return to her father's village. But this does not by any means always happen. As a woman who did not bear children she is not highly regarded. Her life has no significance. The men of the village talk about her case and designate one from their midst to destroy the useless life. This man will come to the widow's hut in the evening and will sit down across from her at her fire. He has a bow and arrow with him. The widow knows what is in store for her, but gives no sign. The two talk about trivial matters. After a while the man takes the bow in his hand and shoots an arrow through the heart of the woman sitting across from him. The unfortunate woman dies and is buried as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible. Blood vengeance on the part of the woman's kin group is not to be feared. After all, she did not bear any children.'" (Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 419.)

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

The old man who had never shot a buck, who had never married, now almost blind, too thin, and without people.

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Tu made Noma clothes of ostrich-eggshell beads, an art taught to Bushmen by the gemsbok people.

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[p. 176 (G)]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

556 on the quantity of objects they want to possess. They do not even want
48 one each of the common tools of their lives. They borrow from each other,
[426] and there is less to carry.

431 Instead of acquiring prestige by accumulating possessions, the !Kung
571 seek it in the opposite way. They practice a custom of gift giving to such an extent that their belongings all move in a slow flowing current among them and no one keeps anything of particular value very long. !Kung society requires that gifts be made in return, and the custom serves as a means to mitigate jealousy, to express friendly intent, and to weave people together in mutual obligation.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE FAMILY AND THE DOMESTIC GROUP • The
59 family is the primary and the most cohesive social unit of the !Kung. By far
57 the strongest bonds they feel are those of the nuclear family—the bonds
[594] between parent and offspring, between siblings, between spouses. These
[621] relationships are the basis of residence; by that I mean that people live together and have membership in their bands and rights to its food and water resources because they are linked to the band by one of these relationships. I believe that, in addition to the structured aspects, there is great emotional cohesiveness in !Kung families and that this is observable in the way families within the band build their fires near each other, come and go together, or, if there should be a quarrel, literally stand by each other, drawing close together.

The !Kung family passes through four phases. In its simplest nuclear form it consists of a man, his wife, and such children as are born to them.
[545] First marriages are always with just one wife. A later nuclear phase may be
[583] polygynous. When the daughters of a !Kung couple marry, and the daughters' husbands come to live with their brides' parents to give them bride
[591] service, the unit becomes an extended family. In a second extended phase, the married sons may have returned from bride service with their wives and offspring. In this phase, the married daughters with their husbands and offspring may stay or they may go to live with their husbands' people.

[589] • The headship of a family is strongly associated with males. A widowed mother is regarded as a dependent, not as a family head. When the old father of an extended family dies, that particular family ceases to be an extended family. Families of siblings may live together in the same band, but no one of them has authority over another unless one of the siblings happens to be headman of the band. If they are no longer involved in bride service themselves, and their offspring are not yet married, these families become independent nuclear families again, to become new, extended families when the offspring marry.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

361 [606] exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes." Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent [882] young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young men; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of married people. ~~The dancing~~ place is to the west within the circle.

"The large tree (*!heis*) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved 361 as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women 562 are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely, [622] the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for kindling the principal fire (*!ou-!ais*) or for other menial purposes when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this *!heis*. Under [372] it is made the first fire (*!hei-!ais*) on the establishment of a new [224] *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed in the chase."[1]

Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among 114 all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the 361 only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. "Where several families live together," he says, "the huts are ranged in a circle, the head of the group ("Dorfälteste") living in the east."[3]

Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families 592 are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they [595] get on well; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share [882] a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree, and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with [589] a boy; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone, are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting 342 as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52. [2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4-5; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

when the wife is too old; she may then simply be sent back to her 586
people. Generally, however, she stays with her husband, who then
takes a second wife, younger and more active. The children of a [595]
divorced woman remain with their father, and are brought up by
his new wife.[1] Among the Heikum separation of husband and wife
may take place under various circumstances, as when the woman is
childless, but this, says Fourie, is entirely a matter for adjustment
between them. The wife on separation returns to her own group;
the present made to her mother at marriage is not returned to the
husband. The children are looked upon as belonging to the father,
but if husband and wife should separate the girls, according to Fourie,
are taken by the father and the sons by the mother.[2] This statement
runs counter to those given above about what happens in the other [114]
North-Western tribes under similar circumstances, and is almost
certainly inaccurate.

Among the Namib Bushmen divorce may result only from barrenness or adultery, and is at the discretion of the husband. If he decides to separate from his wife, he brings her back to her parents. The mature children remain with him, while the youngsters who have to go with their mother also come to him when grown up. After divorce both parties are at liberty to marry again as soon as they wish.[3]

Marriage is, of course, also dissolved by the death of either husband 587
or wife. As a rule the survivor may remarry. Among the Bushmen
of Basutoland, however, a widow is said to have found it difficult [589]
to get a second husband, owing perhaps, writes Arbousset,[4] to the [754]
popular belief that most of the deaths which occurred were due to [761]
witchcraft rather than disease. On the other hand, great attention
was paid to her in the camp, where no piece of game was ever eaten
without her having a share.

Further north this fear of marriage with a widow is not found. [184]
Among the Naron she may, if she likes, marry her late husband's
brother, but need not necessarily do so; she is quite at liberty to
marry another man. If she remarries, and if young enough most
widows do so, her new husband is expected to look after the children; [736]
otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. An unmarried
widow may stay near her late husband's people, or return to her own
group, as she pleases.[5] Widows among the Auen may also marry 587

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157.
[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 60.
[3] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 305.
[4] Op. cit. (English trans.), 364.
[5] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 67.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. 513
Individual adjustments are made. 593

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung 582
boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does 224
not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great 884
antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or [304]
by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the will to hunt, good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt. It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness.

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of 585
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1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

588 One of the most rigid social rules the /Kung have, besides the incest taboo within the nuclear family and its extension, is the giving of bride-service. We heard of no [591] deviation from it. A boy or man of any age, a headman or headman's son, an important medicine man, all go to live with their brides' parents or other relatives in first marriages and subsequent marriages, whatever the age of the bride.

The duration of bride-service is indefinite. Informants told us a man must stay with his wife's people until three children have been born. If he goes when the girl is eight or nine, she may not have her first child for possibly seven or eight or more years. It is safe to say that ten years of bride-service are not unusual. It is long enough for the boy's youth to have turned to manhood and for him to be looked upon as an [591] able, responsible head of his family. After his bride-service is fulfilled a man may remain with his wife's band or may return with his wife and children to his own.

The Wedding of !Nai and /Gunda

159 /Nai was a pretty little girl, we think about eight years old, or so, with a quick responsive smile, when she was married on 22 May 1953, at Gautscha. The bride- [582] groom, /Gunda, was about sixteen, we judged, and the people said he was the best young hunter among the boys of the territory.

/Nai belonged to Band 1, /Gunda to Band 2. Both of these bands belong to the [621] water-hole at Gautscha and were encamped there at the time, about 100 feet apart. We lived with Band 1.

/Nai's mother, Di/ai, had divorced her former husband, Gumtsa, the father of /Nai, and was now the second wife of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1. /Gunda's mother, Khuan//a, had divorced /Gunda's father, Bo. Khuan//a was now the second wife of Gau in Band 2. Both Gumtsa and Bo were living far from Gautscha.

159 The two mothers had betrothed their children some time previously. We heard 584 that Di/ai had had her eye on the strong young /Gunda, saying, 'We must get this [581] boy for /Nai so he will take care of her and we can get enough to eat, also karosses', and had gone to Khuan//a to propose the betrothal. Khuan//a had said, 'Yes, this is very good.' The mothers exchanged gifts. Khuan//a gave to Di/ai a necklace of five strings of ostrich egg shell beads which reached to the umbilicus (shorter strings would have been inappropriate) and Di/ai gave other beads and copper wire ornaments to Khuan//a.

Gumtsa, /Nai's father, heard about the betrothal. He had hoped to arrange a marriage between /Nai and someone of his choice at Kubi where he lived. One day in November 1952 he came to Gautscha to complain, he said, that he had not been consulted and to protest against the betrothal and take /Nai to Kubi with him. Tension [578] rose. /Nai cried and looked very frightened. The members of both Bands 1 and 2, though they had no theoretical authority in the matter, all expressed themselves and [628] poured torrents of talk over the affair, mostly supporting Di/ai in her steadfast refusal to yield /Nai, saying that Gumtsa had not fed /Nai, had not so much as sent her a gift, and should not now come and interfere in her betrothal. After four days of this Gumtsa gave up and went home.

159 Meanwhile the affair, like a spoon stirring in a pot, brought to light another ten- 584 sion. Some of /Nai's relatives began to express disapproval of her betrothal, not 578 because they wanted her to go with the father but because they were angry with

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Khuan//a, the mother of the bridegroom. They claimed that Khuan//a was stingy— 159
and worse. /Nai's stepfather, Gao, had given a present of beads to one of his relatives. 578
A knife which was gradually making its way to him as a return gift had been diverted 584
by Khuan//a to one of her relatives. Khuan//a, some claimed, was 'like that!' /Nai's MoSi, /U, the wife of ≠Toma, said in a voice that could be heard across the werf that Khuan//a had 'borrowed' a coal from her fire one day without asking. At this, Khuan//a had with quiet dignity risen from her fire place and walked off to the waterhole. /U also said, but in a low voice, that Khuan//a, while she was still married to Bo, had been sleeping in the bushes with Gau till the people said to Gau 'What are you doing with Khuan//a?' She then left Bo and married Gau, although they were distant relatives, in some way we never could trace, who should not marry. Gau loved Khuan//a so much, /U sniffed, that he spoiled her and let her have power over his belongings. /U had no doubt but that Gau would soon find himself very poor. /U disapproved of /Nai's marriage to the son of such a woman but said that she would reconsider her position if the knife which had been diverted by Khuan//a were now given to Gao, as had been expected.

It never was, but gifts of ostrich egg shell beads and a blanket were given and Gao declared himself satisfied. /Nai's mother wanted the marriage so much she was ready to overlook the matter of the knife and they all started again in peace.

Nothing more happened about /Nai's wedding until the morning of 21 May 1953, 159
when we noticed the two mothers together building the wedding scherm. They had 585
placed it between the two werfs about twenty-five feet from the fire of the bride's family. The scherm was slightly larger and more nearly round and much more carefully built than the usual skimpy structures.

Next morning /Nai's mother asked me if I would bring the wood for the bride's [123]
fire. I knew it was because her back ached, not to honour me, but I felt honoured anyway and brought the wood.

All that day /Nai sat at a short distance from her family's fire, the fire that each [354]
family keeps burning in front of the scherm for cooking and for light and warmth at night. The fire-light is more of a house to the Bushmen than the scherm is. /Nai was covered, head and all, with a big gemsbok kaross of her mother's. She wore her usual beads, but no special regalia brightened the sombre grey-brown of the old kaross.

Just as the sun was setting, without speaking to her mother and stepfather, /Nai
walked alone over to another fire, seven or eight yards away, the big kaross still
pulled over her head and trailing behind her. She went to this fire because it was the [591] ●
fire beside which she had recently been sleeping with her mother's widowed cousin, since she had reached the age when girls and boys leave off sleeping beside their parents. Her old great-uncle was there. She sat down opposite him. He paid no particular attention to her and they did not speak.

By then the sun had sunk below the horizon. /Nai uncovered her head but kept the kaross tied around her waist and over one shoulder in the way karosses are customarily worn.

Presently two girls came to /Nai. They had waited till twilight was deepening into darkness because people sleep at night and a wedding is a 'night-thing'. One was ≠Nisa, /Nai's stepfather's daughter by his first wife. The other was Xama from

/156 cont./

584 The betrothal, which takes place immediately before the couple move into the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl's wrist, as can be seen in Photograph 44. Since, however, "betrothal" and "marriage" are separated only by the walk to the hut, the seizing of the bride's forearm may be regarded as concluding the marriage.

The seizing of the forearm is a fairly violent gesture, and on the way to the hut the bride allows herself in a certain sense to be dragged along. Could it be that this perhaps represents a vestige of an earlier custom of abducting the woman?

It is curious how the relationship of the son-in-law to his
606 mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit down with her. If, for instance, he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law will go away. If he is absolutely forced to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.

I noted that most women had two or three children who
163 were about two to three years apart (see p. 5).

The woman goes to the family or settlement of her husband,
591 not the other way around. The fact that the young couple stays for some time in the settlement of the wife's parents, roughly until the first child is born, may have given rise to error. Later on, the couple always returns to the man's horde.

582 A man may not marry his own sister and likewise, naturally, neither his mother nor daughter. Other degrees of relationship constitute no absolute obstacle to marriage.

As a rule, however, one does not marry within his own family and, if possible, not even within his own horde. Preferably women are brought in from far away, often from groups speaking another language (Naroon, Genkuin, Hei-um [Heikum]).

The birth of a child does not necessitate a temporary separa-
851 tion of the marriage partners.

Marital fidelity seems to be observed to a fair extent. The
684 adulterer is killed, and the wife is treated according to the
837 temperament of the deceived husband, that is, she is given a more or less violent beating.

[8 cont.] HENCE THE RULE IS THAT THE WEDDING AND THE
585 GIRLS initiation coincide, and usually the girl moves to the village of
881 her first husband immediately after the completion of the festivi-
[591] ties.

584 When a man is courting, he must first attempt to obtain the consent of the girl. Once he has succeeded, he goes to the girl's parents. If they also give their consent, the engagement is settled. At this point, all communication is interrupted until the bridegroom appears and says to the girl's parents: "I want to have the wedding now." If the parents agree, they go to their relatives to spread the happy news. If the relatives object, they can still prevent the marriage. If they do not, the date of the wedding feast is fixed. In the bush, the bridegroom must bring the bride's parents a piece of big game. Usually people make matters
439 simpler for themselves. Either they have already earned a head
584 of cattle from a black farmer, and this stands ready in the farmer's
648 herd to be fetched for the wedding feast, or -- and this is more
452 common -- the Bushman will begin a begging tour around the black farmyards until someone gives him a cow as an advance on hides to be supplied later or on work to be performed.

452 And miraculously, this always succeeds. It is to be ex-
648 plained on various grounds. A black farmer, whose worst character traits include avarice and greed, would never give another Black who possesses nothing one of his dearly beloved cows on the strength of uncertain promises. And not unjustly. The next day the cow would have disappeared into the stomachs of the borrower and his friends, and on the day after that the borrower would have disappeared beyond the tribal boundaries. Repeatedly the Bushmen came to my camp too late. But from the Ukuanjama I always received the assurance: "The Bushmen will keep their word; they will certainly come if they are alive." In addition to this, of course, there is the symbiosis. Each village has its
[437] Bushmen. During the period of the harvest they suddenly appear
[9] and help with it. Between times they never miss a celebration, and at one time or another this one comes with hides and another with honey. And finally the chiefs of the Bushmen kin
[622] groups see to it that nothing happens to injure the reputation of
[674] the Bushmen. It is unheard of for these people to commit theft.

[28 cont.]

224 a gemsbok) until it is tired and then drives it to the vicinity of
584 the hut of his intended. The pursuit of such a large antelope is not as difficult as it looks, for these ruminants are seized with serious cramps if they are not given time to settle down to ruminate. In other words, the pursuit of such a large antelope simply involves continually disturbing the animal for a long period of time. Then the young man calls to the people and asks them for weapons. All of them leap up, and the girl, too, stands up and watches as her people run with the spears. The hunter kills the game before her eyes. Then they bring the meat and cook it, and the girl says: "That is a courageous hunter; I want to marry
584 him." It is not unusual, however, for a young man to marry far away from his relatives, without having asked for the consent of his parents. In that case, the young woman must stay with her parents while the husband returns home and reports the marriage to his parents. The latter say: "How can you do this, when we don't know whether it will turn out all right?" The husband, however, says: "I have already done it, and I am merely telling you." Thereupon the parents answer: "Well, it's all right."
● [591] Then the husband returns to his young wife, or to her kin group and brings his wife and child to his own kin group, where they are received. According to Vedder (Tsumeb), the young man sends a messenger with a piece of game to the father of the girl of his choice. If the father accepts the game, the betrothal is regarded
583 as concluded. As soon as the youth moves to the encampment of
591 his father-in-law, the marriage is regarded as concluded. He
[585] must work for a year for his father-in-law and deliver all hunting spoils to him, but he may not enter the hut of his parents-in-law. Once the first child is born, he moves with wife and child to his kin group.

585 Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report on the conclusion of a
535

[113] 2. Von Zastrow and Vedder, "Die Buschmänner," p. 417, in Schultze-Ewarth, Das Eingeborenenrecht, Vol. II.

marriage:

"There is much dancing. The animal dances have a pervasive erotic element. In one of the first dances the bridegroom

[28 cont.]

535 makes his appearance as the bull of some animal species that the
585 two kin groups especially prize. He takes his place in the row of dancing men. Across from them the women have taken up their position in a long row and accompany the dance by stamping, singing, and clapping their hands. The bride stands among them. She is in no way distinguished from the other women and girls. After a few turns, the bridegroom steps out of the row of men, goes dancing toward the bride, seizes her, and dances back again. The bride then comes from the row of women, clapping her hands, stamping, and singing as she moves toward the bridegroom; without touching him, she turns back, keeping her face turned toward the bridegroom, and rejoins the row of female dancers. With this, the external formality of concluding the marriage in front of many witnesses is over.

583 "It is the young man's duty, however, to leave his paternal
591 kin group for a year and to work for his parents-in-law. This means that any spoils he gets from hunting must be left in his mother-in-law's hut. He, of course, gets his piece during the distribution of the meat, but he is not yet regarded as the actual provider for his young wife, who, as before, receives her share of the meat from her mother, although she searches for veldkost for herself and her husband.

(224) "As a hunter, the man eats only the flesh of the rump.
262 The women and children receive the legs and intestines. Children are not allowed to eat certain parts; for example, a child may
(825) not eat the heart of a jackal. The child would not become sick
(828) by doing so, but since the jackal is very cowardly, the child would also become cowardly.

591 [29] "After the first year of marriage with its obligatory service, the young wife follows her husband to the encampment where the man's father or his kin group resides.

845 "If the child is so weak that it probably will not live,
847 or if it has a physical defect, it is buried alive on the same day, with or without the consent of the father and mother.

553 "The name of the child is given by the father. This is
852 done a few days after birth. The father spits on the child's chest and calls it by name. Others sprinkle it with water from a well.

[70 cont.]

her food, which is given to her by an old woman. On the sixth day
881 the girl goes looking for veldkost with an old woman, and, when she has returned, she herself makes the fire and cooks the food in the circle of her guests, for the first time officially independent.
(582) Girls may marry even before this ceremony.

[71] Among the ≠Auin the initiation is held for each girl
881 at the time of the first menstruation. The same is true among the Naron. The eland bull dance is performed every night during
881 the girl's period. Two old men attach real or wooden eland
535 horns to their heads and wait in the bush. Then the menstruating girl comes and sits down or lies down surrounded by old women, in the center of a circle of younger women who stage a dance. The two eland bulls soon appear and then quickly disappear again. The dance is very indecent. Among the Nussan, men masked as birds (!) take the place of the eland bulls.

796 Once a year, in autumn when the veldkost is harvested, there is a great festival. The day is called: "//gam gna she (the great day)." On this occasion food is prepared, and the Bushmen come from all sides. They dance and sing, but they are supposed to stay at home; no one may hunt, look for veldkost, or do any kind of work. [Fig. 25 appears here.]

4. Courtship, Wedding, and Marriage

If a young Bushman wants to marry, he does not go to the girl, but instead must speak with her parents; at the same time
584 the girl's consent to the marriage is necessary. Once this consent is given, presents are exchanged between the parents of the engaged couple, or a gemsbok is shot and divided between the two families. Immediately after the presents have been exchanged, preparations for the wedding are begun. If enough game, above all, a gemsbok, is at hand, they dance through the
[539] entire night and sing: "Ueeõ, ueeeõ, õ, eee, gueeõ, guueeõ," etc.

Then the young man takes his wife and moves to the horde
581 of his father. Great importance is attached to virginity before
[591] marriage. "It simply does not happen among us that a girl

[72 cont.]

163 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes
591 stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his
authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker.
Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least
nominally.

Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
422 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is
685 punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial
district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same
serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand,
a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not
shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost
is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on
the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the individual's private property.

The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
628 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively
721 against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of
the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war
is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people.
[423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such,
621 by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-//om*, on the
[582 other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the
● 59] chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out
361 on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the
[184] *Hei-//om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial
[562] and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and
[882 boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away
342] from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also
[589] visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various
342 tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a
[462] husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations. When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish
166 a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who
342 deposits his household and other effects on the place on which
[622] his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated
[312] in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

582 Even Gai had been married once before, when he was in his teens, to a wife not yet eleven, as most Bushmen marry at a very early age. A Bushman girl can be betrothed before she is weaned, while she still lies on her back and waves her tiny feet. When she is eight or nine she marries and her young husband, who is probably in his late teens, comes to live all or part of the time with her family. He will not have intercourse with her until she reaches puberty—she must pass her first menstruation and her breasts must show. They then [59/885] live together as man and wife, always with her family, as Bushmen are matrilocal until the couple has borne three children, the sign of adulthood, or, if they are not so blessed, until they reach the age when most people have three children. Then, if they wish, they may live with the husband's family.

It is said that when a man raises his wife, feeds her, and cares for her, the two enjoy their youth together, she is the more his, and a more stable marriage results than if she were allowed to grow up wild and free and perhaps make a hasty choice of too young a husband (one of her own age) in the passion of her adolescence. An early marriage also ensures that the girl will be a first wife, a more desirable and authoritative position than that of a second, or co-wife. The girl's parents benefit from an early union as well, for the young man hunts for them and the meat he kills goes to their band.

This system may be good for women, but it is hard on young men, who often must endure desire for years and years, waiting all through their teens and early twenties before they can possess their wives. One young man among the Kung Bushmen had been thirty when his wife had died, and he had found no one else to marry except an infant girl. When we knew him he had been waiting five years for his wife to grow up, and at that time she was only about seven (younger than his son, who was about eleven); and when he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 Toma the headman, sometimes known as Male Toma, an
[55] honorary name, sometimes known as Toma the Short, so-called because of his stocky build, was a famous person, and once had been a serf. He was born of serf parents at Gam, and as a boy had worked for the Chuanas, drawing their water and herding their cattle and goats.

672 When Toma was a boy, his father was murdered by a
682 child, the result of a terrible accident which took place one
159 day when Toma's father was arguing with the father of a boy named Gao. Gao, who couldn't have been more than ten years old, became upset and angry when he heard his father quarreling and, taking his father's weapons, shot Toma's father in the chest with a poisoned arrow. The old man was helped to the shade, the arrow was drawn out and the wound sucked, but as there is no antidote for arrow poison the old man lived only for the rest of the day and by night he was dead.

Oddly enough, the crime was connected with the old man and not with Gao, the young murderer, for ever after that day the old man was referred to as Tsamko Bone Arrow,
[55] while Gao in later years became known as Gao Wild Pig, after a pig he had killed which was in some way remarkable.

159 Toma flourished as a young man and became an excellent hunter with tireless legs, tireless eyes, and a deadly aim, and it was said of him that he never returned from a hunt without having killed at least a wildebeest, if not something larger. Hence, the people connected with him ate a great deal of meat and his popularity grew. He once said of himself: "From the day I was born I was born for meat."

159 When Toma was in his late teens, some say, his powers
622 in hunting attracted the attention of the headman of Gau-
591 tscha Pan, who offered Toma the hand of his daughter, Tu, in marriage. Toma accepted, went to live with his wife's peo-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ple, according to custom, and, when the old headman died, 159
took over the leadership of the people in the area. He was 622
not the true headman—his position would not be inherited 591
by his son, for headmanship is passed only from father to son—but he was recognized as headman while he lived and it was a great honor to him that this was so.

Tu's brother was the rightful headman of Gautscha, but 622
he had abdicated to live with his wife's people in the north. Her elder sister's husband, a man named Gao Big Feet, also had a right to the leadership in that his wife, Dikai, was older than Tu. But neither ever contested Toma's position as leader, for it was not a position which Toma held by force or pressure but simply by his wisdom and ability, and people prospered under him. No Bushman wants prominence, but [431]
Toma went further than most in avoiding prominence; he had almost no possessions and gave away everything that came into his hands. He was diplomatic, for in exchange for his self-imposed poverty he won the respect and following of all the people there. He enjoyed his position, and, being [578]
strangely free from the normal strains and jealousies of Bushmen, he saw justice clearly and hence he led his people well. At Gautscha his werf had been right beside the werf of his father's murderer, for Toma was friendly even with him.

Toma had a short, stocky body and a shock of tangled 142
hair. He was strong, too, and very co-ordinated, so that every 159
motion he made was quick and controlled, and not a gesture 622
of his was wasted. As a result of this enormous and uncon- [151]
scious control, accidents almost never happened to him. His face was broad, lined with many deep wrinkles at the corners of his eyes and mouth as though from smiling, though it was not from smiling that he got them but from years of squinting at the sun. His expression was usually dark and wondering, his forehead drawn intently into a frown, but

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

621 The other werfs were much nearer us, as the people wanted
574 to keep an eye on each other, to see that we gave food or presents to all when we gave to one, but also because they enjoyed being together and wanted to be able to visit each other quickly at any time at all. Next to our camp on one side was Lazy Kwi's werf, and on the other side lived Toma with his wife and Gao Feet with his wives. At the far end of their werf lived Crooked Kwi with his wife and the old grandmother. They were between our camp and the pan, and beside their werf ran a pathway, the way used by the people on the other side of us to reach the water.

593 On the other side of the path, in the shade of a tree, lived one more small band, the band of a young man of perhaps thirty, who lived with his twelve-year-old son and his eight-
[583] year-old wife, whom he was nourishing while waiting for her to grow. These young people had chosen their spot because
[591] the little girl was Gao Feet's daughter by his first wife and was still so young that she wanted to live near her mother. She was a sad little girl with a grave face and troubled, wondering eyes; in fact, all these young people were very grave and sad—the young man's first wife had died and he now had no one to care for him because the little girl, his new wife, spent a great deal of time with her mother and he was left alone. The son was lonely too, having no mother and no one to care for him except his sad young father. His father was too troubled, too preoccupied, to be a companion to him, his little stepmother was too young, and he spent most of his time sitting on a rise of ground overlooking the werf where he lived, watching other people going by.

[142] The little girl took after her mother, Gao Feet's ugly wife, but her two men, her husband and her stepson, were a family
533 of great beauty. Both had wide, grave eyes and golden skins, and both were musicians, but the young father himself was

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

521 young boys began to speak sounds that were for all the world like the sounds of English, with flat, almost nasal tones, perfect in cadence and inflection, and the people laughed again.

000 Because it was getting close to noon and the sun, now only veiled by the smoke, was burning over our heads, we decided to start our search for Short Kwi. After Toma, Toma's son, Gao Fect, and Lazy Kwi decided to go with us and the others decided to stay at home, we got on the truck and drove away, lurching over the stones at the edge of camp and out to the wild veld, to the west, where the soft wind was blowing and the horizon seemed dim because of the smoke. Ledimo, the interpreter, came too, and my brother and myself, and that night we slept in the veld, not even bothering to build a fire, but eating a few handfuls of cold food and sleeping in our blankets around the truck. The following afternoon we reached the werf of Short Kwi and his people. This werf, too, was hidden in the bushes and if the men of the band hadn't come out into the plain to meet us we might have gone by it,

361 for Toma himself hadn't known exactly where it was. They came out because they knew it would be us they were meeting, for, they explained later, the European farmers couldn't possibly have found them there.

Six men and several young boys suddenly stepped from the bushes and appeared in front of our truck, all of them brown and naked and waving wildly to us, and the truck stopped so fast that those of us on top were nearly thrown off, and we all climbed down to greet them.

591 602 Three of the men were brothers, the brothers-in-law of Short Kwi, for their old mother had a strong hold on her family and kept them all beside her. Her sons and her daughters all lived with her; the sons at least might have been expected to live with the families of their wives, but they had never left her and they were here with her now. They stood

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

together in front of the truck and when we climbed down they embraced us.

We went on toward the werf with these men and boys clinging to the sides of the truck and laughing loudly at those among them who were raked by thorn branches that the truck drove through, and at the edge of the werf we saw the women standing all together, waving and calling to us, and we stopped again and they too embraced us and kissed me, and the little children gravely shook my hand.

Short Kwi's mother-in-law was there with a wide and toothless smile, her face all wrinkled like a little shriveled pear, and many other people, among them the old man who had never shot a buck and whose sister had died in the forest; he now was nobody's close relative and we noticed he had lost an eye and seemed even more malevolent and sad. He greeted us distantly, but the others were enthusiastic. The little children tried to climb on me and finally someone put a baby in my arms. The baby bit me, but he meant me no harm, for when he bit I felt the sharp edge of a new tooth coming, which probably itched.

We passed through the bushes and came into the werf, where the people had obviously been living for a long time, judging by the size of the ash heaps at the fires and the depth of the nests that people had dug for themselves. Looking around, it came to us that many people whom we had expected to see were not there, Short Kwi for one, and his wife. When we asked for them, Short Kwi's brother-in-law said that he would take us to see him presently. When we asked for the others who were missing—among them the man with two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama—we were told that these people had all been taken by the farmers and had never been seen again. We were very sad to hear it, for many of them were too old to have to do the heavy

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

196 woman calls her brothers-in-law by words formed from this root,
601 but not her sisters-in-law; whereas a man does the opposite. The result is, that anyone calling a connexion tshō is called tshō by that person. Other connexions are called twi, a word which seems to mean "to tie", "to net", as twishiba "a riempi net", or "string bag". A woman calls both parents-in-law and son- and daughter-in-law twi, but a man calls his wife's parents simply "father" and "mother". I think he calls his son- and daughter-in-law twi, but have no clear examples.

Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to
● 591 be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parents' home and stay there till the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact, the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so. This does not explain why a man calls his wife's parents "father" and "mother".

A man is supposed not to speak to his mother-in-law, nor a
606 woman to her father-in-law. Of the former I had personal evidence: my Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. As to not speaking, I think that means more—not sitting near, not consorting with a person, rather than never addressing him. A Naron granny gave
183 me a vivid description of the family settling the name of a new-
553 born child. The relations present all quarrel over it: the father
578 says, he wants the little girl called after one of his people, but the
606 mother's mother tells him that is not at all necessary, the baby is to be named after her. This shows that speech between the two is not absolutely forbidden.

There is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister
183 speaking or sitting together,—but here, too, the sitting, not the
593 speaking, is the important part. I have heard a fully grown brother and sister addressing each other, while passing at a good distance. This rule explains why the relationship between a man
604 and his brother's child is nearer than that with his sister's child,
601 the former being called lîku "son", the latter tshō, a more distant term; whereas a woman calls her sister's son "son", her brother's son tshō.

622
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208 quarrels, a focal point in discussion of plans, a comfort to the bereaved and a strength for those in doubt.

621 The functions of headman, as headman, are of a different nature.
602 In order to take up residence with a band, a person must have certain ties of kin with members of the band.
[591] Such a person may live with his own parents or siblings, or with his wife's parents or siblings. It is a wide choice, providing for flexibility—but within limits. There are, of course, exceptions, and visitors from other bands are never denied, but possession of some kinship tie seems to be a general requirement for residence which,

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556 on the quantity of objects they want to possess. They do not even want
48 one each of the common tools of their lives. They borrow from each other,
[42b] and there is less to carry.

431 Instead of acquiring prestige by accumulating possessions, the !Kung
571 seek it in the opposite way. They practice a custom of gift giving to such an extent that their belongings all move in a slow flowing current among them and no one keeps anything of particular value very long. !Kung society requires that gifts be made in return, and the custom serves as a means to mitigate jealousy, to express friendly intent, and to weave people together in mutual obligation.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE FAMILY AND THE DOMESTIC GROUP • The
59 family is the primary and the most cohesive social unit of the !Kung. By far
576 the strongest bonds they feel are those of the nuclear family—the bonds
[594] between parent and offspring, between siblings, between spouses. These
[621] relationships are the basis of residence; by that I mean that people live together and have membership in their bands and rights to its food and water resources because they are linked to the band by one of these relationships. I believe that, in addition to the structured aspects, there is great emotional cohesiveness in !Kung families and that this is observable in the way families within the band build their fires near each other, come and go together, or, if there should be a quarrel, literally stand by each other, drawing close together.

The !Kung family passes through four phases. In its simplest nuclear form it consists of a man, his wife, and such children as are born to them.
[595] First marriages are always with just one wife. A later nuclear phase may be
[583] polygynous. When the daughters of a !Kung couple marry, and the daughters' husbands come to live with their brides' parents to give them bride
[591] service, the unit becomes an extended family. In a second extended phase, the married sons may have returned from bride service with their wives and offspring. In this phase, the married daughters with their husbands and offspring may stay or they may go to live with their husbands' people.

[589] • The headship of a family is strongly associated with males. A widowed mother is regarded as a dependent, not as a family head. When the old father of an extended family dies, that particular family ceases to be an extended family. Families of siblings may live together in the same band, but no one of them has authority over another unless one of the siblings happens to be headman of the band. If they are no longer involved in bride service themselves, and their offspring are not yet married, these families become independent nuclear families again, to become new, extended families when the offspring marry.

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various taboos. They wait for the children to grow up, hoping that they will be like their families in these qualities. 581

The marriage takes place when the parents agree, but it must be after the boy has killed a game animal and is scarified. The age at which young people marry varies greatly. We know girls who were married for five or six years before they menstruated; others were somewhat older at marriage. 582

!Kung society rigorously, and without exception, requires that all men, in first and subsequent marriages, go to live with the parents of their brides, and give them bride service. This service is essentially hunting. "Our daughter's husband must give us meat." "We shall soon be old; we need a young man to hunt for us." These are the refrains of the people. 581 583

The duration of bride service is indefinite. The !Kung say it should be long enough for three children to be born. Since the girls are so young, it may mean that eight or ten years elapse before three children have been born. Divorce may terminate bride service. After his obligations are fulfilled, a man has the right to return to his own people with his wife and dependents or he may choose to stay with his wife's people.

The young couple is expected not to have sexual intercourse until the girl is ready. No social rule patterns the time, which is a matter of individual adjustment, but the boy must not force the girl. If she complained to her parents, they might disapprove of the boy, dissolve the marriage, and send him away. His parents would have to try to find another bride for him and he would have to wait for years again for her to grow up. 585 [586]

The !Kung are polygynous. First marriages are ordinarily arranged by their parents between children who have not been previously married. Only occasionally is a young girl betrothed for her first marriage to a man who had been married before, perhaps a young man who had lost his wife by death or divorce, or possibly, but rarely, to her sister's husband or some other man as his second wife. Usually second marriages are contracted later in life when a woman becomes available for remarriage through widowhood or divorce. In such marriages, the man and woman concerned make their own arrangements. The number of wives a man may have is determined not by social rule but by the man's ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. There is no great excess of women, and prestige and wealth do not concentrate in !Kung society to give certain categories of men, such as headmen or medicine men, more power or right than others to acquire wives. A sampling of eighty-eight marriages showed that only nine of the men had two wives. None had more than two. 595 587 595 [554]

Although the first wife is considered to have a somewhat more esteemed and dominant position, no property or other material advantage is given to her and no important social advantage accrues.

!Kung co-wives live very closely together. They share one scherm and one family fire. They care for and nurse each other's children. Even when

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114 but little light on the social organization of the people, since the
602 information given about the rights and duties regulating the conduct towards one another of people related either by consanguinity or through marriage is somewhat meagre. But they suggest at least that there is much in the social life of the Bushmen which could be revealed by a careful study of the usages connected with kinship.

There is some evidence, however, to show that among the Cape
621 and Namib Bushmen, who as we have seen live in very small groups, the members of such a group are as a rule all related either by consanguinity or through marriage. Of the Cape Bushmen, for example, Miss Bleek says elsewhere: "They live in small family groups, and have no chiefs. . . . Three or four huts stand together. In one is the father, in others his married children. At most eight or ten huts of connections were dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, but this is an institution of later days . . . (at marriage)
[591] sometimes the young couple build their hut near the bridegroom's father, sometimes near the bride's. They seem to keep the family groups fairly even."[1] The accounts given by Trenk and especially
[114] by Seydel of the social structure of the band among the Namib Bushmen are not nearly so definite, but on the whole seem to indicate a similar principle of grouping.[2]

This is also found among the IO Kung of Angola, where again the local groups are very small. The details given by Miss Bleek bring out very clearly the structure of these groups[3]: "The families living together are nearly always related; in two cases the men were brothers-in-law, in the first the sister of one man was the wife of the other, in the second the wives were half-sisters. A cousin of the wives and an aunt resided with them. At another place I found a father with his second wife and small children, a grown-up son with wife and children, and a grown-up daughter whose husband was temporarily absent. The next lot were uncle and nephews, then a mother with married daughter, with a nephew and step-son of the mother's. The last lot encountered, the horde on the Mushumbo, consisted of an old man with two sons, several grandsons both in the male and female line, a son-in-law and nephews and great-nephews, mostly brother's descendants. He introduced himself as the 'father'
[888] of them all. Chiefs are non-existent, but deference is paid to the

[1] *The Mantis and his Friends*, pp. viii, ix.
[2] Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," 168, 170; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.
[3] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

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patriarch of any small group, though his authority is very limited." 621
This latter observation is also made by Seydel of the Namib Bushmen. [888]

The bands of these Bushmen may therefore be regarded as consisting of small groups of families all related by consanguinity or through marriage. Membership of the group is apparently not based on descent traced exclusively through either the male or the female line, since both married sons and married daughters with their spouses and children may belong to the same group. There is no definite statement as to whether marriage between members of the same 582
group is permitted or not. Generally it would seem that a wife is sought outside the group. Among the Cape Bushmen the only girl a man may not marry is his own sister. Marriage with first cousins (both ortho-cousins and cross-cousins) is sometimes found, but more often marriage takes place with "someone else", to quote Miss Bleek's words.[1] The same applies to the Namib Bushmen,[2] and similarly, among the !O Kung, "some of the married couples we met were cousins, but the majority were unrelated, as far as they knew. Some young married people stay with the man's family, others with the [591]
woman's."[3]

Among the North-Western Bushmen the bands, which here are 621
proportionately much larger, definitely tend to be exogamous. Fourie 184
says of the Heikum: "Marriage within the group is forbidden and 582
is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. [591]
As a rule men do not go far for wives, and intermarriage takes place [835]
between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women."[4] Among the Auen the only absolute prohibition on marriage is said to be between brother and sister, parent and child, but as a rule marriage does not take place between close relatives, and if possible also not between members of the same band. Wives are procured from a distance; often even [619]
from other tribes.[5] The Kung also marry outside their own band[6];

[1] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 59.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 92.
[4] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 156: "Die eigene Schwester darf nicht geheiratet werden, ebenso natürlich nicht Mutter und Tochter. Andere Verwandtschaft bilden kein absolutes Hindernis. Es ist aber die Regel, dass nicht innerhalb der eigenen Familie, auch möglichst nicht innerhalb der eigenen Horde geheiratet wird. Frauen werden mit Vorliebe weit hergeholt, oft von Stämmen anderer Sprache."
[5] Trenk, op. cit., 168.
[6] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Ko-Buschmannsprache," *Z. KolSpr.*, I (1910), 8.

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184 while of the Aikwe (Naron) Passarge says that a man wishing to marry
582 must select his bride from another band, since marriage within the
621 band is not permitted.[1] A few cases were found by Miss Bleek among the Naron at Sandfontein in which both husband and wife were from one village. The fact, however, that such marriages were regarded by the people as being against the general rule indicates that here, too, the tendency is to insist on marriage outside the band.[2]

After marriage the wife generally goes to live with her husband's
591 people, although the young couple may remain for some time with
183 the wife's parents before finally settling at the husband's home.[3] As a rule, therefore, marriage is patrilocal. Among the Naron, however, this rule is not always strictly observed, although it is recognized. "Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parent's home and stay there until the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so."[4] Passarge
114 indeed, goes so far as to assert of this tribe that the man definitely
591 joins the family of his wife, and becomes a member of their band[5]—a fact which he interprets elsewhere as denoting that the Bushmen are a matrilineal people.[6] It is far more probable, however, that he was misled by the custom of temporary matrilocal marriage than that the condition he describes is the normal rule. There is no other evidence to support his statement that the Bushmen have matrilineal institutions.

In fact the prevailing rule in these tribes that marriage should be exogamous and patrilocal suggests rather the possibility that
621 the families constituting the band may be related to one another in the male line. The only definite statement to this effect is about the Heikum, of whom we are told by Fourie that a band consists of the

[1] Op. cit., 105 [2] *The Naron*, 34.
[3] Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Vedder, loc. cit.; Fourie, op. cit., 93; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," (14).
[4] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66; cf. *idem*, *The Naron*, 34.
[5] Op. cit., 106: "Der Mann schliesst sich der Familie seiner Frau an und wird ein Mitglied der anderen Sippe."
[6] *Südafrika*, p. 252: "Jeder Stamm setzt sich aus Sippen zusammen, die bis zum heutigen Tage die matriarchalische Organisation beibehalten haben. Das geht daraus hervor, dass der Mann bei der Heirat zu der Horde der Frau übergeht."

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male relatives of the chief with their wives and families.[1] The relationship to one another of the families in the bands of the other North-Western tribes is not indicated by our authorities. It is reasonable, however, to expect that most of them at least will be similarly connected, since as a rule married sons with their wives and children will remain together in the same band as their father, while married daughters will leave it to join the bands of their husbands. Moreover, in case of divorce the children remain with their father, and although unweaned children must go with their mother, they can be claimed later by him if he likes.[2]

Dornan says that "the Bushmen of the Kalahari are divided into many small clans",[3] but the term "clan", as used by him, applies sometimes to what has here been called a tribe, and sometimes to a hunting band. He speaks also of exogamous "totemic families" and "totemic clans" among the Hiechware and adjoining tribes, but admits that here the occurrence of this "totemism" is the result of Bantu influence.[4] There is no evidence yet that definitely goes to show the existence of totemism among any of the other Bushman peoples.

Nor, as far as can be seen at present, is there any real clan organization among the Bushmen.[5] The bands of the Cape and Namib Bushmen and of the !O Kung are certainly not clans, while the little we know of the social structure of the band among the North-Western Bushmen does not in itself justify our regarding them as such. There is also nothing at all to indicate the existence of a clan organization cutting across the system of grouping into hunting bands.

It must again be emphasized, however, that our knowledge of the social organization of the Bushmen is fragmentary, and that there are many questions relating to the structure of the band about which no adequate information is available. We are nowhere told clearly, for instance, how membership of the band is determined among the North-Western Bushmen.[6] In general it would seem that children

[1] Op. cit., 86. [2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 34; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 67. [4] Op. cit., 161; cf. 68, 128.
[5] The *clan* is commonly defined as "an exogamous, unilateral group of persons all the members of which are held to be related to one another and bound together by a common tie. This tie may be a belief in common descent from some ancestor, real or mythical, it may be the common possession of a totem, or the common habitation of a village or district" (*Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 5th ed., p. 55). A patrilineal clan is one of which membership is determined by descent traced through the male line, i.e. a person belongs to the clan of his father and his clansmen are related to him primarily through his father. A matrilineal clan is one in which descent is similarly traced through the mother.
[6] Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung (op. cit.), says curtly (p. 114) that a boy belongs to the family of his father, a girl to that of her mother ("Die Knaben gehoren zur Sippe des Vaters, die Mädchen zu der der Mutter"). This statement is at variance with all so far known about the Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed before it can be accepted as accurate.

584 [114] The account given by Fourie of the Heikum marriage ceremonies is fuller than most of the others, and may be quoted for the sake of the details it contains.[1] "A young man eligible for marriage is known as a */gari-khoib*. When he desires to marry he first speaks about the matter to his best friend (*/hosab*), who then approaches the parents of the prospective bride. The latter will reply: 'We are poor, we cannot afford to give our daughter away.' Thereupon the */hosab* returns to the suitor and tells him to go and speak to the mother himself. The suitor then proceeds to the *//gaus* of the girl's mother, taking his bow and arrows with him. On arrival at her hut he sits down some distance away and says 'I want your daughter'. The mother replies, 'We are too poor to give our daughter away,' to which the suitor responds, 'I have come myself to speak to you. If you die, I will bury you, if your husband dies I will bury him,' thereby implying that he has become one of the family and prepared to share their sorrows and sufferings. The mother then replies, 'You are right, you may take her. I will do as you say and see whether you will carry out your 585 promises,' and taking his bow and arrows, proceeds to her daughter's hut (*/gari-khois oms*) and places them in the hut. Then, without speaking to her daughter, she returns to her own hut. The daughter knows to whom the bow and arrows belong. The suitor goes to the girl's hut towards dusk but does not speak to her. Being still shy and afraid of men, she may run away, but does not go to her mother's hut as she is afraid of being punished. He remains in the */gari-khois oms*, sleeping in it at night and hunting during the day. If, after two or three days, she does not come back he returns to his *//gaus* and, after obtaining some beadwork from his mother and sister, presents it to his mother-in-law through his sister. He returns to his bride's hut in the meantime. The mother-in-law must accept the present (*//ama-xun*) as the marriage was completed when she took his bow and arrows and placed them in her daughter's hut. Towards midnight the mother takes her daughter to the */gari-khois oms*, and, if necessary, removes her there by force. The bride and bridegroom do not speak to each other, nor, under normal circumstances, are the presents sent to her mother until they have slept together. After the marriage has been consummated the husband goes out hunting to obtain an animal for the */gu-ʃa-ʃnab*, or the dance after an animal was killed for the purpose of making a wife's leather skirt. The young 591 couple continue to live in the */gari-khois oms* for some months before

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 59–60; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 93.

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taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own 591
//gaus his mother builds a hut for them."

A different form of marriage ceremony has been recorded for the 585
now extinct inhabitants of Basutoland and Orange Free State. Here, [184]
the consent of the bride having been obtained and also the approval of her parents, who received some kind of present, a day was fixed for the event. All the neighbours round about were invited to a feast. When they had all begun to make merry, the young man took the opportunity to seize the bride. This was the signal for her relatives to set upon him with their digging-sticks; they gave him a sound thrashing, and a general fight ensued. If the bridegroom managed to keep a tight hold through all this, the issue was decided, and he was a married man. If not, he would have to undergo a second ordeal some other time before he could again claim his bride.[1]

Among the North-Western Bushmen girls taken in war or found [727]
trespassing are also often held as wives by their captors.[2] Miss Bleek 583
indeed, says of the Naron that marriage is nominally by capture.[3] A young man wishing to marry comes with an older man to another village, ostensibly to pay a visit, and sits chatting, without mentioning his purpose. They look out for a good opportunity, and then carry off the girl to their own village. By this act she is married, whether she likes it or not. It seems, however, that talk about the marriage mostly precedes the "capture". "The mother thinks it proper to make a fuss, but if her objections are only for show, the men take no part in the matter, and the girl is led away, probably quite willingly, though etiquette demands some coyness. If, however, the mother really objects, thinks her daughter too young, or does not like the suitor, she rouses the men to action, and the would-be bridegroom and his friend have to depart." During Miss Bleek's stay at Sandfontein an attempt at real capture did occur, but the assailants were driven off in this way. In the old days, she adds, much fighting seems to have [721]
been caused by attempted capture; now fear of the white man tames [177]
down the affair.

Married Life

The relation between husband and wife in one of its aspects is [581]
sexual. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual intercourse 837

[1] Stow, op. cit., 96, quoting Miss L. C. Lemue; cf. Arbousset, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* (English trans., 1842), p. 351; Dornan, "Bushmen of Basutoland," 442.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 85.
[3] *Naron*, 33.

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only to the treatment of women and their paramours; nothing is said of the wife's remedies when her husband is unfaithful. 114 684

Besides this sexual relation between husband and wife, there is also the economic relation. The two share the same hut, and take their meals in common. It is the duty of the wife to build the hut, to provide the vegetable food, the firewood and water, and to cook the meals; while it is the duty of the husband to provide game for himself and his wife, to make her clothes and certain of her utensils. The economic burden of the woman has led some writers to depreciate her status, but on the whole it would seem that the women are the companions of their husbands, not their servants, and will often take their own way, in spite of the man's wishes. The position of the wife within the household is, in fact, hardly inferior to that of her husband, who, it is said, is often enough henpecked by her![1] 581 [264] [462] 562 593

In addition to establishing this special relationship between husband and wife, marriage leads also to the formation of further special relationships, especially with the parents-in-law. After marriage, as we have seen, the young couple may remain for some time with the wife's parents before finally taking up their residence in the husband's group. Among the Kung and the neighbouring tribes to the east the husband has during this period of temporary matrilocal residence to hunt for his parents-in-law and to supply them in this way with animal food. If he neglects to do this, says Vedder, his wife may be taken away from him.[2] We thus get a special economic relationship between a man and his wife's parents, based directly upon the fact of his marriage. Probably something similar exists among the other Bushman tribes having temporary matrilocal residence, but no concrete information is available about them in this connection. 591 606 [583]

Among almost all the Bushmen, moreover, marriage further creates a special form of etiquette between a man and his parents-in-law, and in some cases between a woman and her husband's parents. Thus among the Kung the husband has to avoid his mother-in-law, the wife apparently also her father-in-law. The wife's parents do not enter the hut of the young couple, nor again may the husband enter their hut. The game which he kills for his father-in-law he lays down in front of the latter's hut.[3] Similarly among the Naron a man is not 606

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; Chapman, op. cit., i, 291; Lebzelter, op. cit., 14. For an unsympathetic account of the wife's status, cf. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 122.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 8; Chapman, op. cit., i, 258.
[3] Vedder, loc. cit.; Chapman, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 63.

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587 "after a certain length of time", and, as among the Naron, there is no
[736] levirate. We are not told whose duty it is to look after the children of a widow, but in the case of a widower his children remain with him, and if he marries again are brought up by his new wife.[1]

The survivor of a marriage among the Namib Bushmen is not
[768] allowed to remarry until a full season has elapsed since the death of his or her partner. The belief is that if, for example, a woman marries
[761] a widower immediately after the death of his first wife, she also will soon die. A widow returns to her own people on the death of her husband, taking with her the unweaned children, who must, however, later return to their father's relatives. If she marries again the new husband must look after the children until they are old enough. There is no mention of the levirate, but the existence of the sororate is implied in Trenk's statement that a widower is expected to marry an eligible sister of his dead wife.[2] This is also noted of the Kung by Lebzelter.[3]

Birth and Infancy

581 A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth
586 of a child. This is clearly indicated in the fact, already mentioned, that among both the Namib Bushmen and the Heikum barrenness is regarded as one of the main grounds for divorce. It is customary
844 among the Naron and the Heikum for a woman to return to her
591 mother's home for her first confinement, if she has already left with her husband to settle among his people; while among the Kung a newly-married couple remain with the wife's parents until after the birth of a child. It is probable therefore that among all the North-Western tribes a woman's first child is born at the home of her parents; about the other Bushman tribes there is no definite statement on this point.

843 Pregnant women carry on their normal daily occupations until the last moment, collecting veldkos and water, walking as far as the rest do, and so on, although they are apparently treated with some consideration in the way of food. Among the Kung a pregnant woman may not eat sour veldkos, nor anything sweet, nor any fat meat. No one may pass behind her back, nor may a pot be put on the fire before she has smeared herself with the soot clinging to it.[4] There

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 157.
[2] Op. cit., 14.
[3] Op. cit., 168.
[4] Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 14.

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judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury 622
resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. 692
The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a [695]
decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band.
Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the 681
relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kirri or by stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property, assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but self-defence is in no way penalized.

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is 114
difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these 692
Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is 681
no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama [171]
Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, [184]
to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the other Bushman tribes.

Relations with Other Bands

619
Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting 621
territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married [591]
man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also [574]
frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from [438]
one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also find the members of several different bands assembled together for a while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

/136 cont./

142 The tribe at Gam in particular consists almost exclusively of comparatively large people who, even after a thorough washing, display a decidedly darker coloration than the other Auin.

162 According to my observations, there is something like one to two women for each man, and from two to three children for each woman.

162 847 [862] In this connection I would like to mention that newborn children are always killed if the mother is still nursing a child, which continues until about the third year of life. The killing is done immediately after birth by the mother, who buries the newborn child alive. The father has nothing to do with it. Since marital [853] intetcourse continues during the nursing period and since this period lasts for about three years, it follows that approximately every third child is reared while those born in the meantime are killed without exception. This might well be a principal factor in the unquestionable decline in the population.

● 592 595 Since each woman has her special windscreen (hut), the man lives alternately with one and then another of his wives; the latter in turn have their children living with them, and it therefore follows that about three to four persons occupy each hut.

221 361 The size of the settlements (villages) is quite indefinite and changes according to the circumstances. During the dry season a settlement is formed usually by one to two families, whereas during the period of ample veld food, in other words, toward the end and shortly after /137/ [map appears here] /138/ the rainy season, sometimes up to 30 families join together to form a "village." In April, 1908, about 400 men were living in a settlement near Sidonitzaub. If their dependents are included, one will arrive at a figure of at least 1,000 persons.

[701] All the men are armed warriors.

161 As has already been noted, one can clearly observe a decrease in the population, which, judging by its rapid progress, can be designated as swiftly approaching extinction. Aside from infanti- [136] cide and malaria, the decrease of wild game may also be given as a reason for the population decline, since this decrease makes food more difficult to obtain. Older Auin state that in former times attacks by lions caused heavy losses.

[Text continues on page 7]

unmarried son or two, and their daughters' children. Bush- 105
men are polygynous, and a man is allowed by custom to have 621
as many wives as he can afford, depending on how well he [575]
hunts—usually a man can afford only one wife, sometimes two (often a pair of sisters), and once we heard of a man with four wives. For this reason there are often more women than men in a band.

The immediate family, a man, his wife, or wives, and chil- 105
dren, is the only solid social unit; otherwise the small bands 592 ●
are always breaking up and recombining with other small 621
bands as the structures of single families change, through marriages, divorces, deaths, or as the family decides to pay a prolonged visit to a different group of relatives.

Any Bushman will either be related by blood or marriage 105
or will be acquainted with all the other Bushmen in his area 602
but this is as far as Bushmen go in their affinities. They do 609
not recognize as their own people strange Bushmen who speak the same language; in fact, they suspect and fear them as they do any stranger.

We have visited four of the Bushman language groups, two 114-
of which we stayed with for long periods of time. In 1951, 131
after a survey expedition to learn where Bushmen could be found, we went into the Nyae Nyae area of South-West Africa, close to the border of Bechuanaland, to look for Kung Bushmen. We found a band living near a waterhole, as it was June, the drought of the year, and we stayed with them for four months. At first only a few Bushmen were there, but as [609
the news spread that we were friendly, more and more peo- 276]
ple came to visit us and receive presents of tobacco and salt, for Bushmen love to smoke but rarely have tobacco, which they get in trade. Also, most of the Bushmen had never seen a European before, none had ever seen a European woman, and they came by dozens to sit together in a cluster

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GIKwe

could have found his shallow pit at any time of the day or night.

Nobody was there; everyone had run away. We sat down and waited while Gai put his hands to his mouth and shouted, trying to summon the people back again. When nobody came or even answered him, he flung his pipe to the ground and marched off to find them among the bushes, alternately shouting to his hidden relatives and muttering to himself, for they might be far away and the day was getting warm.

We sat in the middle ground between the depressions so that we wouldn't risk stepping on or crushing anybody's hidden things, for, without knowing it, a European can in a moment trample through a Bushman's cache, breaking the delicate bone or wooden objects, bending the reed arrows, or crushing eggshell beads. Also, among certain groups of Bushmen, every fire has a man's side and a woman's side, determined by the position of the fire as you face the doorway of the scherm, the man's side being on the right, the woman's on the left. If a man sits on the woman's side, or where a woman has been sitting, he will become impotent and will also lose his power to hunt, and if a woman sits where a man has been sitting, she will get a disease in her vagina. Something intangible, invisible, but dangerously powerful, remains on the ground. We did not know which side was which of this werf's fires, or even for sure where the fires were; we did not even know that the Gikwe had this custom, for we had learned it from Kung Bushmen, but we knew that if they did they would not welcome our contaminating their ground. We would have liked to look around, but the best thing we could do was to keep our big boots and our bodies away from their delicate, fragile, almost invisible community.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

622 leadership, the people may turn quite informally to some other man for leadership in their daily life—ask him for help and advice, fall in with his plans. Such a leader has no authority and receives no honors or rewards.

Headmanship is inherited by the eldest son from the father. If that son dies or leaves the band, the headmanship passes to the next eldest son.

No strictly formulated rules, insofar as we know, provide for further succession. We have no observations of our own of situations in which a headman had no son.[10]

622 621 571 The rule of succession does not provide for a headmanship to pass collaterally to a headman's younger brother. However, a younger brother may set up a band of his own in the same territory if he does not prefer to live under the headmanship of his older brother or if he does not continue to live with his wife's people. The younger brother has his own rights to the veldkos and water that derive from his father and he can share them with his family and band. Nevertheless, as long as a son of the headman in rightful succession is living in the territory, he has higher authority and is responsible for the overall planning. Should the principal headman's band die out or realign itself, the collateral band led by the younger brother would become the principal one.

621 622 602 571 The bonds that bring the !Kung into membership in bands are the same consanguineous and affinal bonds on which a nuclear family is formed: the bonds of parent-offspring, siblings, and spouses. Everyone who lives in a !Kung band is linked by one of these bonds with the headman, sometimes directly or sometimes in a chainlike manner through one or two other persons. A description of a typical band will illustrate this point. Band II of Gautscha has forty-one members. The headman, Gao Beard, has two wives and four young children. With Gao Beard live his younger brother, one of his younger sisters, each with spouse and children, and his elderly, dependent and widowed mother. Gao asked his first wife's father, Old ≠Toma, whom he likes very much, to join his band. Old ≠Toma brought with him into the band his wife, a married son with wife and child, two younger sons, his wife's sister, and her son by a now divorced husband. He also brought sixteen other persons—Gau and his people. Gau belongs to another band but was at the time living in Band II because he had married, as a second wife, Old ≠Toma's wife's sister and, middle-aged though they are, he was in bride service to her people. After a time Gau can choose whether to stay on in Band II or to go back to the band in which he originated. He said that he thought he would decide to stay with Old ≠Toma and Gao Beard because he likes Old ≠Toma and because Gao Beard has a mangetti grove.

[162] [592] [583]

621 423 People retain throughout their lives their membership in the band in which they were born and their rights to its veldkos and water resources.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

obvious from the fact that although several chiefs were present, 361
there was no common supreme chief.[1] Such gatherings are only 619
temporary in nature, and produced by some special circumstance. 621
They cannot therefore be regarded as indicative of the normal [622]
groupings of the Bushmen.

Social Structure of the Band

Within the band the only division is into families. The family 592
among the Bushmen consists of a man and his wife or wives, together [595]
with their dependent children. It is a unit of outstanding importance in their social and economic life. The members of a family usually live together in one hut; the children until they are mature remain under the direct control of their parents, are nourished and are educated by them; husband and wife jointly contribute to the maintenance of their household, and the domestic tasks and industries are apportioned between them according to fixed custom. The family, moreover, has much freedom of movement, and, as already mentioned, single families will often roam about separately for a while within the territory of their band.

The relationship between the different families constituting a band 114
is seldom defined clearly by the various observers. In particular 601
the information available about the kinship organization of the 602
Bushmen is very inadequate. Miss Bleek has recently published lists 621
of relationship terms for each of the three main linguistic groups defined by her.[2] From these it appears that among all the Bushmen there are, in addition to various descriptive terms of relationship, also certain terms applied not to individuals but to whole groups of different relatives, while still others are used reciprocally between people standing in a particular relationship to each other. Relationship terms of the last two types, when found in other societies, are usually indicative of a definite organization of the community on the basis of kinship; and it is probable therefore that some such organization exists among the Bushmen as well. Unfortunately the 114
lists given by Miss Bleek appear to be drawn from vocabulary sources 601
rather than from an actual study of kinship itself, and cannot there- 114
fore be used with any degree of confidence. In any case they throw 602

[1] Op. cit., 138, 155. It should be mentioned here that the figures given by Kaufmann are, as a rule, far in excess of those given by other writers of about the same time and on the same district (e.g. Müller, German official estimate), and cannot therefore be accepted without question. [114]

[2] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1924), 57–70.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

361 [606] exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes." Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent [882] young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young men; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of married people. The dancing place is to the west within the circle.

"The large tree (*!heis*) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved 361 as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women 562 are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely, [622] the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for kindling the principal fire (*!ou-|ais*) or for other menial purposes when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this *!heis*. Under [372] it is made the first fire (*!hei-|ais*) on the establishment of a new [224] *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed in the chase."[1]

Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among 114 all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the 361 only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. "Where several families live together," he says, "the huts are ranged in a circle, the head of the group ("Dorfälteste") living in the east."[3]

Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families 592 are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they [595] get on well; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share [882] a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree, and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with [589] a boy; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone, are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting 342 as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52. [2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4–5; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 51; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

exchanged from hut to hut, the women going to one hut, the men to another, and so on. Only the owners sit in a hut, while the visitors gather round the fire outside. The little children play about everywhere, the bigger boys and girls by themselves. There is no fixed time for going to sleep. As a rule the people turn in to bed fairly early, but if it is a fine evening dancing may be started and kept up till late, everybody taking part except the old people and the little children.[1] 512 [574] [535]

Food and Fire

The Bushmen will eat almost anything that can be eaten. Of animal foods the favourite is game of all kinds, when it can be obtained, and they are also very fond of hare, spring hare, guinea fowl, korhaan, partridge, ostrich, and other birds, as well as birds' eggs. Fish too are eaten wherever they can be caught, and among the Bushmen of the Okavango swamps are a staple article of diet. Anteaters, ant bears, tortoises, porcupines, bull frogs, snakes, and lizards are greatly relished, while among insects locusts, scorpions, beetles, young bees and honey, termites, flying ants and ants' eggs are also eaten. In fact all kinds of living animals are made use of as food, with the almost universal exception of the baboon and the hyena—the former "on account of its being so like a man", the latter "because it eats human corpses". 262 [825]

The most important vegetable foods in the Southern and Central Kalahari are the *tsama* (*Citrullus vulgaris*), "uintjies" (*Cyperus edulis Dtr.*), *Grewia* berries, and the *//noun* (*Bauhinea esculenta*); in the Namib the *Inaras* fruit (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*) forms almost the sole article of diet when in season; while as one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, such as the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuande, and omuve. In addition numerous other varieties of edible roots, berries, cucumbers, tubers, melons, and ground nuts appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season, when they form the principal part of the daily menu.[2] [824]

Much of the food is eaten raw, but the Bushmen know how to prepare and cook it. Each family prepares its own food. Cooking 252 [592]

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 32; Fourie, "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 88.

[2] Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 54 sqq.; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 234–5; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 659 sqq.; Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 139–40, 144 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 253–5; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 114 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 6–7; Fourie, op. cit., 98 sq.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The /Kung extend the incest taboo to certain categories of persons outside the nuclear family because they hold that the relationships resemble the relationships of the nuclear family and that it would therefore be incestuous to unite them in marriage. A man will say explicitly that he must not marry this or that woman because it would be 'like' marrying his mother, daughter, or sister. 582 835

The sexual constraints required between persons to whom the immediate or the extended incest taboo applies find expression in the marriage regulations and, in a secondary way, I believe, in certain avoidances which express constraint, namely: (1) Sexual joking and sexual insults, which are permitted between persons who have the joking relationship and must be avoided by others. (2) A sitting taboo. The same persons who must avoid sexual joking must also avoid sitting close to each other or to each other's family fires—with two exceptions, namely: (*a*) parents and offspring, who must never make sexual jokes but who do not at any age observe the sitting taboo; and (*b*) all young children, including siblings. The /Kung believe that the persons who must observe the sitting taboo should not allow their genital organs to touch the same spot. No great distance need separate these persons when they sit. About 18 inches is a minimum but is sufficient. The taboo is applied without sex differentiation: men must not sit near men or women, or women near women or men if they do not have the joking relationship. (3) With the exception of siblings of any age, the same persons who avoid joking avoid using each other's names in direct address. They use a kin term instead or the men may use a respect term for each other—*/nau*, 'old man'. (4) Brothers and sisters do not sit near each other when they reach adolescence and, after marriage, when they have dwelling-places of their own, do not enter each other's scherms (shelters). (5) Parents and SoWi and DaHu, in addition to observing the joking, sitting, and name avoidances, do not enter each other's scherms and do not speak to each other in the first few years of their affinal relationship. They are the only persons in /Kung society who must avoid speaking together. After three children have been born, this avoidance is eased somewhat. In-laws may then speak occasionally; once in two or three days would be considered permissible. This interesting avoidance, so varied in intensity and so widely spread in human societies, appears in /Kung society to afford whatever benefits it has without imposing great hardship at any time. A daughter-in-law may lean her scherm upon her husband's parents' scherm and build her fire only about four or five feet away, and what she wants to say to her parents-in-law she says aloud to her husband or child and her parents-in-law overhear and respond in like manner. A son-in-law also could communicate in this way. I think only a /Kung or an informed observer would know that the in-laws were not speaking directly to each other. 602 835 [593] [593] 606

The symbolism or expression of sexual constraint which underlies the joking and sitting avoidances is also observable in the modesty of these people. I believe that their modesty is not obedience to a specific taboo, like the sitting taboo, but is a more general response to being constantly in the presence of persons to whom the incest taboo applies, before whom any expression of sex would be improper. The general demeanour of the /Kung is modest. The dancing, if it gives any expression at all to sexuality or eroticism, conveys it with such restraint and delicacy as to be in extreme contrast to the dancing of the neighbouring Bantu tribes. Both men and women among the /Kung are exceedingly modest about exposing their genital 834 [831]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with 602
three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made.

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu/na* and *tŭn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *//ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a 182
touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and con- 183
sistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society 582
tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many cate- 593
gories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship 602
as soon as marriage takes place.

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly 587
approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is 768
expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines.

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. 583
This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one 619
marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, [584]
as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened.

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in 595
which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power 554
or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, 556
but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries [422]
his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women [482]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

185 polygyny affords women—that none remain long without the support of a husband.
595 They just said they did not want to be second wives, nor did they want their husbands to take second wives, and protests and quarrels attended a husband's proposal to do so.

Marriage by capture

583 Marriage by capture was spoken of fairly frequently by the /Kung in conversation. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas and I questioned a number of informants about it and we are convinced that wives are not actually acquired by this means at present. Perhaps they were in the past. The /Kung are a present-oriented people who make [181] no concerted or consistent effort to retain their history and teach it to their children, and we obtained no significant data on their past customs. Nowadays the idea of capturing wives appears to be enjoyed by the men as a fantasy. The remarks of one /Gaishay illustrate what I mean. He weighs, at a good guess, about ninety pounds and looks like a miniature Mephistopheles. With a gleam he told me that if he wanted to take another wife he would go to her werf, seize her, throw her over his shoulder and run off with her. That is the way Bushmen do, he said, and he wished I could see him do so. I also wished that I could.

Arrangements for marriage

584 First marriages are arranged by the parents of the bride and groom, and second marriages also if the couple are still young. Adults, when both have been married before, may contract subsequent marriages themselves.

[611] Although there is a slight paternal emphasis in this society which recognizes bilateral descent, and the father names all his children, his authority is not clearly [593] dominant over the mother's in the choice of a mate for their child. By and large, it appears that the father and mother talk things over and come to agreement. If they do not agree, it appears that the strength of personality of one or the other, the opinions of relatives, and various circumstances have weight in the decision.

Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may take the initiative and go to the other parents with the proposal. A go-between is not required, though it is possible that a friend will sometimes act as such. The parents visit and talk, and, if they all agree, the arrangement is thereby settled upon. They normally give each other gifts in honour of the occasion.

Property does not enter much into the consideration of the parents in arranging marriages for their children. No property settlement is made, no bride-price paid, no dower given, though at the time of the wedding a few gifts are exchanged.

Food and water must, one imagines, weigh in the parents' thinking when a marriage is being arranged, and may sometimes be a determining factor. However, there is a considerable amount of equalization in these supplies. Veldkos[1] and water-holes 423 are not owned by individuals but by headmen for their bands, in a way I shall describe in a paper on bands. In the Nyae Nyae region each band has access to a supply, else the people would be dead or somewhere else, and things balance out in

[1] *Veldkos* (field food) is an Afrikaans word used to refer to any kind of wild plant material which people gather to eat. Edible fruits, seeds, roots, tubers, leaves, all are included.

584 Boys are always considerably older than girls before their parents betroth them.
[805] We never knew the precise age of a /Kung because they reckon time from one season to the next, not in years, and do not keep track of a person's age by any measurement. Boys appear to be usually around twelve to fourteen or fifteen before they are
[868] betrothed. At this age their fathers begin to take them on the long hard hunts for the
[883] big animals which supply the people's meat and begin their serious hunting training.

As to girls, wives are in such demand in this polygynous society that the parents of boys have their eyes upon every girl baby and may say to the parents of an unborn infant, 'If it is a girl, let us have her for our son.' It seems to be more usual, however, to betroth the girls when they are about two to five or six. The boys wait patiently for long years for their fiancées to grow up.

We wondered what would happen if, when the time at last came for the marriage, the boy or girl should refuse the parents' choice. It appears that they seldom do. A boy is usually too eager to get a wife. To refuse the betrothed might mean he would have to wait for years and years again for a girl baby to grow up. The girls are usually too young to protest but it sometimes happens that one does. /Kung
593 parents are exceedingly protective and permissive with their children, and delight
855 in them, especially in their infancy. I have sometimes seen an older child scolded or
861 snapped at by an impatient mother but I never saw a child severely punished. No hard work and few, if any, regular chores are demanded of dependent children. The same protectiveness and permissiveness were apparent in parents' lenience with respect to their girls' betrothals. They complied with the girls' wishes.

The marriage may take place when the parents agree. The age of the young people
582 varies greatly. For the girl, there are no definite age or other requirements. The girl need not, for instance, show physical signs of maturity. When the important Ceremony of First Menstruation is performed, the girl may have been married for years. Bau, who was married to Tsamgao in 1951, did not have her first child for six years. /Nai was married to /Gunda in May 1953. She menstruated for the first time in March 1959. To be married as young as that is not at all unusual, but we have known several girls to be somewhat older.

The parents explain that when the girls marry young they 'get used to' their
582 husbands. I am sure there is a great deal in this and I am sure it strongly affects the
593 relations of husbands and wives, but I had insufficient opportunity to observe eight- or nine-year-old brides with teen-age husbands, and insufficient means, through interpreters, to grasp the nature of their relationship. What is the young husband like to a girl child? The friendly, gentle old man, Demi, said to me, 'They enjoy their youth together.'

593 The young couples are expected not to have sexual intercourse till the girls are 'big
834 enough', informants said, and the boys must not force the girls. If a girl complained to her parents and the parents took her back and sent the young husband away, he might have to wait for years again for another bride to grow up. The /Kung are
[123] prevented by their incest taboos and their modesty from speaking freely about sex and I learned nothing about the actual sexual practices of the young couples. /Nai and her young husband, /Gunda, had only one good kaross between them; they slept
513 together bundled in it, feet to feet. Bau and Tsamgao slept quite apart—at different
593 fires—when we observed them in 1952. In 1953 they slept at their own fire, apart, she

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. 513 593
Individual adjustments are made.

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the will to hunt, good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt. It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness. 582 224 884 [304]

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of hunting is ceremonially linked with marriage. At the time of the wedding, the boy must bring to his bride's parents an animal that he himself has killed. The animal he brings must not be eaten by the bride. 585 224

A boy who never killed any large meat animal would not be given a wife, informants said. This was why the strange old deviant, /Gaishay, had remained a bachelor. For reasons no one understood he could not hunt; he gathered veldkos like a woman. Gossip had it that twice he had tried to drag a woman against her will into his scherm but had not succeeded. Informants remarked, 'Women like meat.' They do, but there is far more to it than that. 582 589 [462]

As John Marshall shows in his film, *The Hunters*, the primary sources of physical life, sex and food, are involved. In /Kung concept they are linked together, and, as they pertain to men, their duality is lifted to oneness in the being of the man, who is the sexually powerful male and the provider, the hunter. Power as a man and a male and worthiness and dignity are associated with hunting and not with the failure to hunt. 562 828 224

Since they are related, both the sexual and the hunting powers of the young man can be captured at once with a bride. For the first several years of marriage the boy goes to live with his bride's parents, or her people, should her parents be dead, to hunt for them. The parents of girls speak constantly of wanting their sons-in-law to provide them with food as though it were an obsession. 'We are old', they say, or 'We shall soon be old' [whether this is actually true or not]; we need a young man to hunt for us'; 'our daughter's husband must get us something to eat'; 'we need karosses'; 'we want meat'—these are their refrains. 583 [591] [606]

Another value the /Kung place upon the boy's hunting during his bride-service appears in their belief that if the husband hunts for his wife and feeds her while she is still a growing child she becomes the more his. Food seems to be a main concern in bride-service, but the people also say that they want to be sure that the boy measures up in every way and will take good care of their daughter, and that the girl will have time to get used to her husband. [581] [593]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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585 [159] [183] then come with us when we leave tomorrow to gather *tsi*. He will hunt from that place and get us some meat.'

The ritual elements in the wedding ceremony, in so far as we observed, were as follows: (1) carrying the bride so that her feet do not touch the ground; (2) covering her head so that the sun does not shine upon it; (3) waiting till the sun has set before taking her to the wedding scherm; (4) the fact that the scherm is specially built and set apart from the others; (5) anointing with fat; (6) painting a design on the forehead and cheeks with powdered red stone; (7) lighting the wedding fire with brands from the fires of the bride's and groom's parents.

585 881 [174] Apart from the third and seventh, all these elements occur also in the Ceremony of the First Menstruation, a more elaborate and prolonged ceremony from which the /Kung wedding ceremony undoubtedly derives. The design on the face is the same; the girl's feet must not touch the ground from the instant her first menstruation begins to the end of the period, when she is washed and anointed with both eland or other fat and the oil of the *tsi* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch).[1] When the girl is taken to her special scherm or moved out of it to urinate or defecate she is carried on the back of a kinswoman. A kaross over her head shields her from the sun whether she is sitting in the scherm or being carried out.

Our endeavour to bring to light the meaning of the ritual elements yielded little. The meaning or origin of the design on the face, I was convinced, was not withheld but lost to memory, lore or myth. 'It is our custom' was all the people could tell me.

[171] About the ritual of the feet not touching the ground, the custom frequently observed by divine kings and menstruating girls, the /Kung had no more illumination. They think that the carrying is the overcoming of the girl's symbolized modesty about going to the arms of her bridegroom, which she should properly feign even if she is eager to go, and her reluctance to separate from her own family: I think that when the attendants take hold of the bride and groom by the arm and pull them a little they symbolize the overcoming of reluctance and modesty and perhaps there is even a vestige of bride capture in that gesture, but of the feet not touching the ground the meaning is lost. Obviously, however, in this society the bride is equated to the [174] menstruating girl. In the past the girl's wedding and her first menstruation may have been celebrated at one time.

585 821 The /Kung say that the sun is death-giving. When the three months of life-giving rains are past, the sun dries up the water pools. It kills the fresh leaves and fruits, dries the roots and berries, and would scorch the people if they did not find shade and dig shallow pits and lie in them covered lightly with sand which they have moistened with their urine for coolness. They pity the morning star, the *'kuli |gaishay*, which crosses the sky all day ahead of the sun, has no branches to carry for shade and 593 585 602 cannot turn aside to rest under a tree. The sun is a 'death thing' and the bride is shielded from it.

The most important element of behaviour with respect to kinship in the wedding

[113] [1] Robert Story, *Some Plants Used by the Bushmen in Obtaining Food and Water*, Department of Agriculture, Division of Botany, Union of South Africa, Botanical Survey, Memoir No. 30, 1958, p. 25. Dr. Story was a member of the 1955 and 1957 expeditions. We gratefully acknowledge whatever botanical identifications we mention as his.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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ceremony is the avoidance of the parents, which is symbolic of the incest taboo. Any (preferably young) kinswoman who is tall enough and strong enough, whether she herself is married or not, and whether or not she has the joking relation with the bride, may carry the bride; and any may attend her. Only the mother absolutely must not do so. Likewise the groom's father must not attend him. Neither pair of parents go to sit by the wedding fire, for they must not sit near their son's wife or daughter's husband, nor speak to them. Guests of mature years might go and sit by the wedding fire only if they have the joking relationship with both the bride and the groom. Very young guests, such as we saw at /Nai's and /Gunda's fire, may go, whether they joke or not with the bride and groom, because the avoidances are not stringently observed with young children.

Termination of marriage and remarriage

Widows and widowers are not avoided in any special way because of their widowhood.

If her husband dies, a young widow usually returns to her own parents or lives with one of her own siblings, but, if her people are dead, or if it is her preference, she may stay on with her deceased husband's people. It is the duty of her HuBr to hunt for her if she needs his support.

Several possibilities are open to a young widower: rarely he might stay with his deceased wife's parents or siblings; more likely he would return to his own parents or siblings; and, when he marries again, he goes into matrilocal residence with the new bride. In any case, a man is responsible for his wife's parents and young siblings, and, if they depended on him for support, he would take them with him. They would be likely to prefer, however, to live with an adult son, daughter, or sibling of their own if they had any.

Old widowers or widows whose own parents are dead usually live with either a son or daughter, or perhaps with their own sibling—as they wish.

The surviving spouse is free to marry again within the regulations of the extended incest taboo, which applies to all marriages.

Parents would arrange the subsequent marriage of a widowed boy or girl. Adults may make their own arrangements directly. My impression was that persons might be considered fully adult somewhere in their middle or late twenties.

An adult man takes the initiative and asks the woman to marry him. Robert Dyson in the 1951 expedition learned that one way for a man to ask a woman to marry him is to present her with a bow and arrow. If she accepts it she indicates her willingness to consider his suit.

No restriction of time is put upon the remarriage of a widower, but a widow should not remarry until one rainy season has passed. She is then considered 'clean' and may marry again. ≠Toma said, 'The rain washes (*||num*) the death away from the widow.' *||Num* is the gesture of wiping a dish with one finger and then licking the finger. /Ti/kay of Band 9 said that some men wait for a rainy season to pass, but that others would be pleased the husband was dead and, without waiting, say, 'This is my chance.' One interpreter understood that the widow had to take off her kaross and spend a night out, letting the rain fall on her, but ≠Toma said this was not what

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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562 into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by
[462] /Qui's wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes
[224] and the women, some of the plumes in their hair, danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of /Kung men and the way it should be.

By comparison with the men, the women are considerably more circumscribed in
157 knowledge, less ready for new experience, more suspicious and apprehensive of
562 strangers. They draw back and seem on the whole somewhat timid. The men protect them in many ways. They would not let the women ride with us in the truck, for instance, unless some of the men were with them.

The women expect the dependent role. They have their say in conversation but do not take part in the serious conclaves of the men, saying often, ' The men know these things. We do not know. The men must decide. ' And one woman said, 'A man can do everything—shoot and make fire. ' /Kung women are encouraged to be compliant by the fact that, in their love of peace, the /Kung like quiet, modest, gentle women. Overbearing, strident, demanding, or nagging women would disturb not only their own husbands but the whole werf. Disapproval of anyone's behaviour
[626] is expressed by the group in talk, and also by songs, such as the song of *The Two Baus*, which was composed about two loudly quarrelsome co-wives. When the two Baus heard this song strummed on the *||guashi* or hummed here and there in the shadows of the werf at night, they mended their ways.

Though the /Kung like gentleness and compliance in women, their society does
562 not impose extreme forms of obedience or subservience upon them and women are not ill treated. One man told Laurence Marshall that if he wanted to go somewhere and his wife wanted to go somewhere else he might have to talk, talk, talk, talk, talk, talk to persuade her.

We once saw a woman strike her husband on the head with her digging-stick in
562 a fit of frustration because he had coerced her to go with him when she wanted to
593 remain visiting her parents. He had coerced her swiftly and decisively by snatching her baby from her arms and walking ahead with it. In a flash the wife ran a few steps and hit him, then she went around in a circle, stamping her feet in great, high stamps like an enraged samurai in a Japanese print, then she followed her husband. I personally never saw a /Kung man hit a woman. This is not to say no /Kung ever did, but it is far from common.

The dominance of the /Kung men is more protective and life-giving than crushing to the women. On the whole a good balance seems to be attained and there is a notable freedom from quarrelling between husbands and wives. The instances of strife that we have mentioned are exceptional breaks in the usual peace of their well-adjusted human relations.

/157 cont./

The water and food collected by menstruating women are
841 consumed only by the women themselves and old people; the younger ones "it makes weak."

593 The authority of the parents practically ceases as soon as
858 the children are in a position to provide food for themselves.

A child is named soon after birth by the grandfather or grand-
553 mother (whether on the paternal or the maternal side was not determined).

Boys reach puberty between 14 and 16 years of age and girls
145 between 13 and 15 years of age (estimates).

The declaration of a boy's maturity is a special event in the
881 life of the Bushman. Under the leadership of the "doctor," several youths from neighboring settlements march into the bush and live together there for some weeks on the veld crop. During this time they receive some sort of instruction in secret affairs. Young and old Auin alike, whom I interrogated separately, denied that this instruction pertains to sexual matters. To the question of what they did during their stay in the bush, I always received the answer: "They dance." They did, indeed, describe for me a kind of dance which decidedly has something childishly mysteri-
[535] ous about it. A boy seats himself "piggyback" on the back of another, and both wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier tramping with his feet as rapidly as possible without moving forward, while both of them utter a low "hu, hu" in as horrifying a manner as possible.

It is indeed difficult to imagine that this interesting occupation should last for weeks, interrupted only by sleeping and eating.

In addition, the young people seem to be treated quite badly in the course of this preparation and to receive little to eat; all of them concurred in the opinion that it is "miserable."

I learned through hints that the candidates for manhood play all kinds of tricks on neighboring villages during the night and play as "ghosts" a bit, as well as stealing food.

The actual attainment of manhood, after which the boys are
[884] warriors and are allowed to marry, is not solely dependent on attending the preparation, but also on the killing of the first piece of big game.

Tattooing is not connected with the official attainment of
[304] manhood

[21 cont.]

157 them thought of asking a question about it. The Bushmen of
today at least do not believe that any kind of magic is concealed
[177] in the Europeans' machines. They learn to use European instru-
ments fairly quickly; in particular, they soon become familiar
with the rifle. Dornan reported that there was a large number
of improvised rifles that the Bushmen had adapted. In a new
environment, the Bushman is wholly self-possessed and coolly
[648] observant. He is highly adaptable. The girls, of whom a num-
ber are kept by farmers as concubines, are quite skillful at
[177] housekeeping. In Ovamboland they quickly adopt the living
habits and economic activities of the Bantu. An Ongandjera
Bushman acts as an instructor at the teacher's college in Oonipa.
He owns a small kraal that is well-maintained in Ovambo fashion
and, in addition, has built himself a round hut of tiles in which
[648] he keeps his "library." They seldom stay long on the farms, but
[147] probably in the main because the food does not agree with them.
609 The Bushmen are most distrustful of other people. Every armed
person whom they encounter is regarded from the outset as an
enemy. The Bushman is allowed to enter the regions of other tribes
only if he is unarmed. Even along the edge of the farm zone
the mutual distrust is so great that a Bushman who has been sent
to a farm as a messenger dares not leave the road, which is
regarded as a neutral zone, if another kin group has settled in
the vicinity. If two armed Bushmen who are strangers approach
each other, they disarm at first sight before they greet each
other. When a Bushman comes to a village or to a farmhouse,
he will put down his arms at a certain distance and sit down to
186 wait patiently, if need be for hours, until he is questioned. A
609 distinct sense of race is not apparent. Everything that does not
belong to one's own kin group is regarded as strange, even
hostile, except when common persecution causes a sense of
solidarity to spring up among all those who are persecuted. At
the same time, they very clearly possess a kind of sense of
humanity as a whole, that is, they do not believe that they are
the only people, and they are convinced, for example, that the
people of all races are received in the heavenly house. Their
602 conduct toward relatives is regulated by numerous customs, but
in general it is formal and almost ceremonial, even toward the
[593] wife and children. The Bushman is never importunate.
[157]

[22 cont.]

114 without compromising oneself. Only old people are suitable
124 informants, since they are no longer eager for renown.

In view of the hard life that the people lead, sexuality,
831 naturally, is not excessively developed. Perverse manipulations are evidently unknown, since my informants did not even understand questions on this subject.

833 Normal sexual intercourse is usually performed in the bush during the time between the evening meal and the rising
271 of the moon. Long periods of thirst result in almost total im-
147 potence.

157 Despite all the formality, they have an unbridled
578 temperament which frequently expresses itself in violent emotional explosions over trivial affairs, which then may easily lead to serious consequences since the poisoned arrow is always at hand. For example, I was told the following story: A Bushman worked on a farm for quite a long time and, with his belly fat from eating maize, came to visit his thin companions. His brother made fun of him for being so fat, saying that he could not run any more, whereupon the fat one retorted: "Just the same, I'll live longer than you." After this brief exchange of words, the scrawny brother stabbed the fat one. -- A film com-
157 pany once wanted to make a film among the !Kung who are
648 settled behind Keibeb; the film was to be called: "When the First Whites Came into the Land." The chief of this horde had a [23] pair of old German military trousers as an emblem of his office and when he was requested to take them off, he responded with the declaration that he would take off his trousers only if the White did the same, whereupon he received a box on the ears that put him and his companions in such a rage that the film company preferred to depart in order to avoid a catastrophe.
157 That they can also be quick at repartee is shown by the following story which was repeatedly told to me by Europeans: A Bushman had been accused of poaching. The magistrate asked him: "Don't you know that these animals belong to the king (royal game)?" The Bushman answered: "I saw no 'brand' (property mark)."

As a chief or family head, the Bushman is bossy and
[593] unyielding, which is understandable in view of the rigidity of his whole conception of life. The sick Bushmen lie silent and

[23 cont.]

105 and in the beyond by his traditional conceptions, and the preserva-
182 tion of this adaptation, in the spiritual as well as in the material realm, is achieved by means of a strict selection of all the cultural goods offered from the outside. This selection is consciously carried out. Put briefly: the Bushmen have hitherto refused higher
[177] economic forms not because they do not possess the ability to handle them, but because they did not want to adopt them. If the material preconditions collapse, then they adopt, step by step or all at once, totally different ways of life, as is shown by their Bantuization in Ovamboland and probably also by the formation of the Hottentot people through the adoption of livestock raising on the part of a number of Bushman tribes. Their average intelli-
[153] gence is no less than that of any other race. Every Bushman knows
[184] the entire spiritual heritage of his tribe.

Of the same Bushmen, F. Schinz (2) says:

[113] 2. F. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika, Leipzig, 1891.

181 "The Bushman is always faithful to his master and will follow him anywhere without pay; one need not worry about leaving him alone at the wagon and will rarely have to reprimand him for dishonesty. All travelers and hunters unanimously praise
[593] the great affection that exists between parents and children, which goes so far that the father or mother will sacrifice themselves in order to save their child. I was told [24] by the hunter L. that at the Okovanggo he once witnessed a scene in which a young Bushman, who was one of the members of the hunting expedition, was in danger of being trampled to death by an angry elephant that stormed toward him. At the last moment when his paralyzed companions had already given the boy up for lost, his father sprang forth, and flung his throwing club at the forehead of the enormous animal. The elephant now turned against his new attacher and furiously crushed him under his feet, giving the son the opportunity to flee."

[114] My observations are fully in accord with those of Dornan (1)

[113] 1. Dornan, Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari, London, 1925.

[24 cont.]

181 He states:

181 593 "It has been asserted that the Bushmen have no feeling for one another. I have frequently heard it said that the mothers are cruel to their children and occasionally kill them when their burden becomes too great. As far as I can see, this is untrue. I have frequently seen Bushman mothers kiss their little ones, exactly as European women do, and when the children are ill, they go to all kinds of trouble. The fathers, it is true, are frequently gruff and rough, but never brutal to their children. The girls are usually seen in company with their mothers, the boys with the men. Between mother and daughter there is an intimate relationship of
181 trust. It has also been asserted that Bushmen are ungrateful; this is also quite untrue. They show their feeling of gratitude neither to one another nor to the Whites, but anyone who gains their trust through kindness can tell that they are indeed grateful. They show their gratitude not by words but by deeds. If someone is in need or in distress and a Bushman friend is in the vicinity, the latter will stay by him to the bitter end."

The !Kung Bushman in particular is much more a rational than a sentimental person. The extraordinary difficulty that he encounters in obtaining his livelihood makes him extremely independent in his thinking. It was surprising to see the sureness with
[124] which not only men but women, too, were able to act as interpreters. Whereas among the Bantu it is difficult to keep the conversation on the subject, the Bushman always sticks to the point. Even the tribal traditions, insofar as superstitious conceptions are concerned, are not safe from the skepticism of the individual. For instance, I once asked a number of Bushmen whether they hunt lions. They
[775] answered in the negative, and when I said that this was probably
[771] because the lions harbored the spirits of eminent deceased Bushmen, they laughed and said that this was just a tale of the Hei//om Bushmen and some Bushman doctors who had learned this from them. Other men of the same tribe, on the other hand, were firmly convinced that the spirits of great Bushmen doctors reside in the lions.

181 There are also many stories about bush spirits, especially in
771 the Otjimpolo Veld. My informants repeatedly observed, however, that they did not know whether there was any truth in them, because They had never seen any.

[29 cont.]

847 child live, the older child would have to die. We are left with the choice of killing one of the children so that one can stay alive.' The explanation is absolutely convincing. There is the [593] added consideration that the Bushman mothers lose their maternal instincts when they see that a child is not thriving. I saw a six-month-old Bushman child, a really pitiful figure. The mother did not have sufficient food for her child. My wife offered to give the child the bottle. The proposal was joyfully accepted. For a few days, the child was brought at the specified times. It gladly took the bottle. But then the mother felt that her freedom was restricted. After all, she had to remain in the vicinity of the house for the sake of the child. She did not lack food at all. I provided for her. The desire for veldkost was too great, however, and the child was brought only in the morning and evening and received his meal. Naturally, no noticeable improvement could be observed. Hence, at an opportune occasion the mother disappeared, and when she reappeared, she was without the child. She and her friends had buried it alive."

853 Matters are certainly not always as hopeless as Vedder describes them. First of all, at a very early age the children are given pre-chewed veldkost, and, secondly, the women of the kin group help one another out with the breast feeding. During 854 the day the infant stays in a hide sack on the mother's back, and at night the children sleep at the mother's breast; the smallest lies directly at the breast, while during the cold season the others cuddle around the mother's legs. From earliest childhood, the 867 children are taught to honor the old people and not to take anything away from anyone. For the boys, the father soon carves a bow and arrow, for the girls a little digging stick. Nothing is said to little children when they take things, but once the boy has been given a bow, he may not touch anyone else's bow and arrow; otherwise he gets a beating. The boys greatly fear the women. 868 The bigger boys stay together by themselves and go hunting for 857 small game or accompany adults on the hunt for large game.

586 Marriage is absolutely indissoluble. Separation is also impossible, for outside the kin group the woman would perish in the wilderness. So far as I have observed, the relationship between 593 marriage partners is in general very good, and not uncommonly the

[29 cont.]

593 men are strongly influenced by their wives. It practically never
[562] happens that a man beats his wife. Monogamy [30] is the rule.
595 I know of one single case of a man having two sisters as wives. It is true that certain marriage laws frequently force the men to marry considerably older girls. It is therefore understandable that in such circumstances the desire for a younger life's companion frequently arises, but the consent of the first wife is absolutely necessary. It is said: "He who has a good wife may have several; he who has a bad one must be content with her alone." The Bush-
842 men do not know any means of preventing pregnancy, and, accordingly, very soon after marriage the young wife will find herself
843 with child. The husband and his sisters-in-law must see to it that she eats no sour veld fruit, nothing sweet, and no fat meat. No one is allowed to walk behind the pregnant woman's back; no pot is supposed to be put on the fire until the woman has been rubbed with the soot of the pot; she is not supposed to sit where the other
844 people are, but must stay to one side. When the time for delivery approaches, she must step over the legs of her husband, who has rubbed medicine into incisions in his calves. When the woman feels that the birth pangs are beginning, she goes into the bush by herself and looks for veldkost. She is not supposed to sit down while doing so, because that would have harmful effects on the birth. Then she picks grass, prepares a place under a tree, puts her bag of veldkost to one side, and gives birth to the child in a squatting position, grasping a branch with her hands. Then she takes the child, severs the umbilical cord herself, puts it in her veldkost bag, and goes home with it. The cord is always severed with a quartz knife (as among the Dama). The umbilical cord (!nm) is buried. Only women who are unafraid and who have already given birth to one child follow this procedure. A woman who is giving birth for the first time and is afraid does not go into the veld, but stays at home. As soon as the pains begin, she weeps and goes out, sits down, and stands up again. Older women of the kin group accompany her, and in their presence the child is finally born inside the hut. The men may not be present. Children, too, may not look on, and if they creep up out of curiosity, they are soundly thrashed.
[845] If there are difficulties, the abdomen is massaged. Von Zastrow
002

[31 cont.]

582 unmarried. Marriage is concluded at an early age. The age that
165 Bushmen attain is not great. There are relatively few old people among them, although some of them, it is true, attain a very
● 593 high age. The children must obey their parents even when they are grown up and married.

888 The Bushmen indignantly denied that they kill the old people or expose them in the bush. If someone is old, weak, or ill, then they simply walk more slowly or leave the sick person behind with a companion. My informants did report to me that dur-
[731] ing periods of extreme thirst not only old people, but also women and children who were unable to move on were left behind. This happened only in desperate circumstances, when those who were half-dead from thirst could not be helped in any case and a stay would have resulted in death for the whole kin group. As soon
764 as someone has died, all the women and girls sit around the corpse and weep. There is no singing on this occasion. Then some of the men go and dig a grave in the bush, cut off medium-sized pieces of wood, and place these in the bottom of the grave as a foundation, over which is spread the hay that the deceased was lying on. Then all take the body to the grave and bury it in a crouched position with the back toward the sunrise. Every relative must give a few glass beads and ornaments if the deceased is a woman. This finery is placed around the neck of the deceased. The corpse is rubbed down with green aromatic powder and ocher and is wrapped in its hides and blankets. They either throw thorn on the covered grave or make a four-cornered gutter in the sand around the grave and posts are pounded into the gutter to make a fence. The grave is now in the center of the fence, like the living person in the center of his hut. A cup of water and some food are put near the head area. Deceased men have bows, arrows, and their hunting bag placed on the chest. Children are given their miniature bows. The Bushmen say that they give the bows and arrows not because the deceased needs them for hunting in the beyond, but because they do not want to use the effects of the deceased, whom they loved. According to Vedder (1), the dead

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Bushleute, pp. 420-421.

[42 cont.]

178 He died when his successor, Amme, was still a small boy. Amme,
622 however, was unable [43] to learn much from his father; he was not a good chief, and he died while still young. Since then the !Kung Bushmen have not had a supreme chief. One of my informants, Doctor X'amme, claimed to be the great-grandson of the great chief of the same name.

The following from Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) should

1. Op. cit., pp. 412, 424.

be mentioned:

593 "The father is the chief of the family. All must respect
596 him. Children may not call him by name. -- The chief's posi-
622

[276]

Fig. 15. Dacha Pipe of the !Kung Bushmen (from the Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart, 29464).

tion is generally passed from father to son. If the son is not yet an adult when his father dies, the father's younger brother takes
423 his place. Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited
614 from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

"There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 100 kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

164 [45 cont.]
[753] Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The
[192] terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no
[302] means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is
[593] usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin
842 hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy
[757] is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine
[278] for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is
841 done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband
[757] and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on
853 the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least
[826] until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished
164 by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care.
[515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky
[278] sap of a plant called timba.
[757]

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams
[145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long;
302 the toenails are often fissured.

601 The sibling category is divided on the basis of sex. Ego jokes with a sibling of
602 the same sex as his own and is prohibited from joking with a sibling of opposite
[593] sex. This creates a 'cross' and 'parallel' pattern which is observed in the use of the terms, man-speaking and woman-speaking, among persons classified by name with siblings and among affines of the sibling category.

Sex is not the differentiating factor with respect to the joking relationship among groups of kin apart from siblings. All other consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives are grouped in the joking or non-joking dichotomy according to their categorical classification, as follows:

Ego has the joking relationship with anyone of either sex who is classified with himself or herself, to whom ego applies the term *lgulna* (or *tunlga* w.s.) or *tũn*. Consanguineous kin may be so classified by generation (i.e. cousins) as shown in Diagram 1, or by the factor of the name, i.e. the person for whom ego is named or persons named for ego. Ego has the joking relationship with grandparents and grandchildren unless the factor of the name places ego terminologically in the other, non-joking, division. Among affines, ego has the joking relationship with his or her spouse, and
607 also with BrWi and WiSi, *tũn* m.s., and SiHu and HuBr, *tunlga* w.s., who are all considered suitable persons to marry. Ego may joke with affines termed *lumba* and *lundai*, who are in ego's generation terminologically as they are his offspring's spouses' parents. Persons named for any of the above affines would be termed *lgulna* (or *tunlga* w.s.) or *tũn* by ego and ego could joke with them. He could joke also with any name-relatives to whom he applies these terms.

602 Joking is prohibited with parents and offspring of either sex and with anyone of either sex who is classified with them by being of the same generation, when the generational method of applying terms is used, or by being named for them, when the homonymous method of applying terms is used; or with name-relatives classified in this category. Joking is also prohibited with affines associated with this category, i.e. parents of spouse, and spouses of offspring. The terms which are associated with the non-joking status are the parent–child terms, and *tsu*, *||ga* or *dilguma*, and the affinal terms, *≠tum*, *tunlga* m.s. and *|utsu*.

When informants were trying to explain the joking relationship to us they had an additional statement to make about the prohibition of joking. They said that, as they must not joke with their parents or offspring, in like manner they must not joke with a person and the offspring of that person. This concept is doubtless associated with the generational method of applying terms. It is not thought to be a contradiction or inconsistency to joke both with a person and the offspring of that person when the homonymous method of applying terms is followed. When a person is named for another his biological position is disregarded and he is terminologically classified with the person for whom he is named. The homonymous method is never applied nor the biological position disregarded in the nuclear family or among primary affines.

Joking, of course, is always reciprocal; if ego may joke with A, A may joke with ego. If B is named for A, the term which ego applies to B always has the same joking status as the term he applies to A. Ego's joking status is the same with both persons of a married couple (cf. p. 18), except in the case of name-relatives with whom he assumes his status individually (cf. p. 15).

372 *hei-doros*. The new *!ou-|ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *||gāus*
361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case
[132] only in times of drought when the game have moved far afield
622 and great difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos.
372 Further, people driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *||gāus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the *!ou-|ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.
372 Persistent ill-health among the members of the community
622 or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase
[751] may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after
77[7] consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the *!ou-|ais* are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new *!ou-|ais* in front of his hut with the hei-doros and applies *|norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it had been.
184 The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire is
372 met with among all the organised primitive groups. Want of space and time does not permit, however, of a detailed account being given of the superstitions which have gathered about this custom among the various tribes.

Family Life.

593 Each family within the group occupies its own hut. Children sleep with their parents until they are strong enough to go about by themselves, when the boys join the others under the tree and the girls take up residence in the hut for unmarried girls.

512 The women rise early, light the fire and prepare the food for the morning meal which usually consists of veldkos. After having eaten, the men go out visiting or hunting or engage in some other occupation such as preparing skins, weapons, etc. The women accompany each other in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. When food is obtainable at no great distance they are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have to go far they may not reach home until late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they proceed to prepare food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water. The food is ready by the time the men arrive in the evening and the latter are able to partake of it without delay.

462 There is a sharp division of labour between the men and women of the group. The former do the hunting and snaring of game, prepare the weapons, skins for clothing, snares, fire-

606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as " my son-in-law " or " my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidently they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

847 Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.

844 A pregnant woman is generally treated with great considera-
[84] tion. For the first confinement it is customary for her to return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-//om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water,
846 etc. In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner
848 it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies
165 follow in rapid succession during the course of married life
847 but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted
[845] the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five
[162] or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood. Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance
[593] is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among
553 the *Hei-//om* each child is generally given three names,
[55] namely a first name, a second name and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother and the second name by the

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of the old women, Dasina, who was Tsetchwe's mother, inhaled too deeply and began to faint. Tsetchwe half turned her mother so that everyone would not see her, and, putting an arm around her for support, let the old woman lean on her shoulder. Our interpreter laughed, and Tsetchwe turned to glare. Tsetchwe's back was exactly like her mother's, broad but curved in at the waist, the old woman's a little bloated but Tsetchwe's young and strong. 609 276 621

Another old woman was smoking, too, puffing on a short, wide pipe cut from a leg bone of some large antelope, so big that she had to stuff one end with grass to keep the tobacco inside. She almost unhinged her jaw each time she puffed. She would inhale and spit, cough, and inhale again without a sign of dizziness, and when she saw Dasina faint she too laughed out loudly. Her name, she told us, was Twikwe.

Twikwe was skinny and tall as a man, with long, lanky arms that she flung about in the air, gesturing, and long legs that jerked when she walked. She wore only a short piece of leather that reached from her waist to her thighs, and we could see that she was wrinkled from head to foot, her skin hanging in long, vertical wrinkles down her thighs and belly, like an old apple that has dried. She talked incessantly and loudly, always opening and closing her mouth, and she joked, for Ukwane and the young boys near her laughed at everything she said. She was telling how her husband had outdistanced her as they were running away and was surely running still. Every now and then she stopped her talk to shout out to him, jeering, saying that he was depriving himself of tobacco and should come back; then everyone would listen, but no sound came from him, no answer. He never did come back, and in the weeks we were there we never saw him. Perhaps he was running away from Twikwe, for we later learned that he was living in a valley with his other wife. 142 156 593 621 [596]

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mediately down a hole. Gai continued treading in the half- 522
hearted hope of another mouse, with a disappointed, intent 224
expression on his face because the first had escaped him. Witabe, on the jeep, suddenly thought the whole performance so funny that he burst into laughter and laughed until he didn't make a sound, until tears ran out of his eyes and onto his belly, until he could hardly breathe, all to see Gai, the sole support of eleven people, the great hunter and provider, treading on top of a straw pile to chase away a mouse.

Gai was a little abashed and he stopped treading, but he did put his hand into the nest and pulled out the mouse's bed, a little ball of finer grass mixed with the mouse's own fur. Gai pulled it apart to show how it was made. We saw the mouse again when Witabe poked it out of the hole with a stick, but it ran back in at once, this time for good, so we went on, leaving the mouse with his home in a shambles and his soft bed gone.

We got back to camp late in the afternoon, and Tsetchwe 354
was so glad to see us that she threw her arms around me and held up her baby for me to kiss. She and I were the only young women for miles around, so there was a bond between us. She often gave me her baby to mind—not an easy job because Nhwakwe was as innocent as he was bold, and I had once taken him from under the wheels of a truck that was about to move. I had carried him to the werf for safety, but he hadn't stayed long; in a short time we had seen the grass moving at the edge of camp and Nhwakwe had appeared once more, this time dragging a toy, having walked the long distance all by himself and having navigated purely by a sense of direction, for the thick grass was high above his head.

Tsetchwe did not kiss her husband or even greet him, as 576
Bushmen are accustomed to short absences from each other 593
and it is not the custom for men and women to kiss. They

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576 show affection openly only to people of the same sex and
593 to their children. Tsetchwe looked at Gai, though, and she smiled.

124 Twikwe greeted us by smiling her wry smile and saying:
825 "So."

262 The springbok was thrown to the ground, but before it could go into the pot, Bill Donnellan, the doctor, came over to the werf to dissect it, this being an opportunity to find what the Bushmen thought about the systems of the body and what they knew about anatomy.

Gai agreed to tell what he knew, so the springbok was dragged to a sandy spot and a small fire was built—just two crossed sticks with one or two coals and a tiny flame, yet it warmed us, as the evening was becoming very cold. All the people sat around to watch as Bill opened the belly of the springbok and rolled it onto its back. He pointed to the diaphragm and asked what it was. Gai told him the name. "What is it for?" Bill asked.

"We eat it."

"Is it for anything else?"

"We don't know. We just eat it."

"What about the liver?"

"We eat the liver."

"Does the liver do anything for the springbok?"

"It stays there and then we kill him and eat it."

"And what about the stomach?"

"We Bushmen eat the stomach, too, and all the things in the springbok."

"Doesn't the stomach do anything for the springbok?"

"Yes, he eats grass which goes in there and makes him fat, and then we eat the fat."

124
825 Unwilling to give up easily, Bill passed on to the urogenital system, which is, after all, exterior and which anyone should

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857 The game represents ostriches, perhaps ostriches fighting or
526 mating.
535

The game was intoxicating. The boys danced so fast, so perfectly, and made their rhythm so vigorous and free, that Gai, who had been sitting quietly listening to Ukwane, could stand it no longer. Throwing his great cape around himself, he suddenly leaped to his feet and sprang among the little boys, scattering them like a hawk among sparrows, towering over their heads as he began to dance. He stamped, bent, straightened, and swung his long leg over the little boys' backs, dancing with far more abandon, not as precisely as they, but madly; he took our breath away.

He wore his great kaross backward, flung across his chest, and when he stood still waiting for his turn to leap forward and crouch he was as motionless and dignified as a tribune standing, and when he danced the great wings of his kaross swung like the cape of a bullfighter, masculine, open, and free. He was a wonderful sight, and the old people watching him smiled, and the little boys dancing under his long legs and under the wings of his cape looked up at him and laughed with pleasure because he was playing their game.

Gai was a man of great dignity and for him the dance was not altogether a success, for when the young boys tried to swing their legs over his back they generally kicked him in the rear or in the face. Soon he tired of it and came back to the fire to sit by Ukwane, but he was too excited to stay
524 quiet long and in a moment he tore off his cape and, calling
593 Ukwane and his oldest son, he began another rhythmic game,
533 called "Kaross." This is played by several men or boys who rub the kaross between their hands in the way that they rub it to soften or cure it, only they rub more vigorously and accompany themselves with several very rhythmic, very gay, fast songs, sung in falsetto, to imitate the falsetto singing of

women because, say the men, women's voices are admirably 533 beautiful.

Twikwe and Tsetchwe sat side by side, their legs straight [516] out in front of them, the soles of their feet lit by the fire. 535 They sang gaily and clapped their hands while the baby 562 Nhwakwe walked up and down on Tsetchwe's leg, balancing himself like a child who is walking on a railing, then climbed to her shoulder and stood there triumphantly without holding on, gazing around like a child on a hill. He looked utterly astonished when Tsetchwe suddenly swept him to the ground and, flinging off her cape, jumped to her feet and began to dance. Everyone was astonished. Women almost never dance, although they are quite welcome to, but least of all Tsetchwe, a very conscientious mother and wife.

Tsetchwe's dance was extremely lively and extremely gay, and everyone except Nhwakwe looked up at her happily. She sang and waved her arms with great abandon, and danced her gay dance right behind the men, just for once flinging motherhood to the four winds and dancing right over her baby, who came trotting sadly after her, holding up his arms to be carried. In a moment the baby gave up and went to the lap of his grandmother, frowning as his mother danced happily by him again. When Tsetchwe finally got tired and flung herself down on the ground he ran to her and nursed immediately to reassure himself. She held him loosely in one arm as she coughed from exertion and laughed, with a pleased, shy expression on her face that said: this is what I used to do when I was younger.

When the people were tired of dancing they still seemed 821 to feel like talking, and as the moon was down and the stars showed clearly we asked Ukwane to tell us something about the sky, and we pointed to several stars to learn their names.

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cause his wife's mother was born there, as well as at his own 423
birthplace, the Okwa Omaramba, where we had found the 621
eighteen Bushmen, who after all were not strangers but 602
closely related to Gai and Ukwane and an extension of Ukwane's band. 159

Ukwane himself had had three wives, and he and his first 586
wife had been divorced, which Bushmen do by announcing 587
the divorce and separating. There is no ceremony connected 159
with divorce, and no difficulty, as there is no ceremony connected with any marriage but the first. After a divorce a Bushman man may take up residence with another woman whom he prefers.

Without the visible evidence of ceremonies, however, it 837
is hard for non-Bushmen to recognize what is happening, as 159
occasionally Bushmen live together for short periods without being married, or commit adultery. But in cases such as these there is someone who does not want the union to be permanent, either the man or the woman, or perhaps his or her children; perhaps even the man and woman are tabu relatives, and unless everyone concerned is more or less in accord, the union does not take place. Among Bushmen, incest and [684]
adultery are strongly condemned.

Once, among Kung Bushmen we lived with, a woman ran 837
away from her husband to take up with another man. She 593
had considered marrying him, and they ran off one night to his family to live permanently. When her husband found out, he got so wildly angry, taking up his spear and sharpening it, [578]
that the headman of the band set off after the elopers to preserve the peace. My brother and I went with him, and at noon we found the lovers resting in the shade.

The headman talked with the elopers and told them how they were bringing shame on both their families, and how the woman's husband was violently upset. By this time the

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837 woman had begun to regret her act, and as her children,
593 whom she had brought with her, were crying for their father, she agreed to return. She then explained her reason for leaving; her husband, who had until recently been a serf Bushman, could not hunt well and was not able to clothe her. She was a handsome woman, but her kaross showed that what she said was true—the only garment that she had had to wear on the day of her elopement was tattered and old. She also explained how she and her lover had passed the night, she sleeping on one side of the fire, he on the other, with the children between. She put straws on the ground, a straw for each person, to show how it was, and we believed her.

The whole affair seemed to center itself around raiment, for though the woman was poorly dressed with what her husband had given her, the beads and ornaments that she had made for herself were fine and white. Her children, too, were poorly clothed with leather, but they also wore white beads, and her lover, the man who had attracted her so much that she committed an unconscionable act, was dressed beautifully in a soft new leather loincloth, sewed finely and worked with white beads. I myself was adorned with the story, for when we came upon the spot where the lovers were resting I found that I had a pen but no paper and so wrote everything that happened on my arms and legs.

When we got home, the woman's husband took her back and was very glad to have her. No one ever mentioned the affair again.

586 In the same band there was another man, about forty years
595 old, who took a beautiful young girl not yet twenty as his second wife. His first wife, also forty and the mother of three, was very jealous and bothered the beautiful girl until the girl, who did not love the husband anyway, ran away from

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him and back to her parents. The husband was enraged and 586 set off after her, but when he finally found her his anger had been replaced by longing and he pleaded with her, reasoned with her parents, and plied them with the meat of an entire eland he had shot, asking for her to return. But she would not, her parents would not make her, and finally she drove him away with these words: "I don't want an old husband like you, you man with a big black belly."

Thereafter, the marriage was recognized by everyone as dissolved. The husband was sadly disappointed, but the two women, at least, were pleased.

Both Kung and Gikwe Bushmen permit divorce, condemn 593 adultery. We saw very little marital strife among the Kung [586 with whom we lived for over a year, and none among the 837] Gikwe. Even so, many Bushmen over thirty years old in both groups had previously been widowed or divorced. Death and strife take too many people; a Bushman cannot really expect his first marriage to last him all his life.

Ukwane's second wife had been a widow, the mother of 159 Twikwe, and when that woman had died Twikwe had lived 587 on with Ukwane. His third wife was Kutera, and their only living child was Gaiamakwe. Ukwane had another son still living at Chukudu, the Bakalahari settlement, who was surely one of the Bushmen servants in that long procession of Bakalahari villagers we had seen moving to winter quarters. We told Ukwane about this migration and Ukwane said he was sorry to hear it because he had hoped very much to see his son again before he died and many seasons might pass now before the son would come.

Kutera herself had been married twice before, once to a Bakalahari, once to a Bushman named Gainaho, and last to Ukwane, to whom she had been married about fifteen years.

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thought that he would have to wait at least four years more 562
for her, he would get into such a passion of desire that he
would have to send his wife away for a time, lest he forget
himself and break one of the most stringent rules. Bushmen [833
believe that it harms a girl terribly to be possessed before she 834]
is mature. It might even drive her mad.

Bushmen have no real solution for this problem, as there 548
are no prostitutes and only in a few bands are there promiscu- 588
ous women. Homosexuality is not permitted either; the 838
young men just have to get used to being tempted constantly
but never gratified.

Gai had raised his young wife, and when she reached pu- 593
berty he had possessed her and she had borne him a son. This 587
was the young man Gai had found at Okwa. Shortly after
that his young wife had died and Gai then had married Tse-
tchwe, whose young fiancé had been taken away by a farmer
to work on a farm. Gai and Tsetchwe had borne two chil-
dren. Only one was still alive; this was Nhwakwe.

When we asked about the residence and about the parents 159
of Gai, an argument arose. Gai lived with Ukwane because
his wife wanted to live with her mother, Dasina, and Dasina
lived with Ukwane because she and Ukwane were relatives,
sharing a common grandparent. Gai himself, said Ukwane,
was conceived by a Bushman mother and a Bushman father
named Gwena, but Gwena had died while Gai was still in
the womb. When that had happened, Gai's mother had gone [582]
to Chukudu to marry a Bakalahari man. She and the Bakala-
hari had then moved to the big rock in the Okwa Omaramba,
where Gai was born. This was Ukwane's side of the story.

Gai had been listening, and when Ukwane had finished,
Gai raised himself up on his elbow to say that Ukwane was 159
quite mistaken, for the Bakalahari was his real father. An ar-
gument dragged on, the old people insisting that Ukwane was

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everyone was thankful that she had not been hurt. The people 731
remarked at the size and the intensity of the fire and shook
their heads at the destruction, each one telling someone else
where he had been when he first had seen the blaze. They
asked each other why no one put the fire out, as no one did,
and soon the scherm was a heap of white ash and the old
couple who owned it ruined materially, too old to start again.

A few weeks after that, two children were married. The 582
groom was about sixteen and the bride was eight. It was con- 835
sidered to be an excellent match, as the bride was pretty and
the groom was already becoming famous as a hunter. But
even in these auspicious circumstances complications and in-
volved negotiations arose, until, for a while, people began to
think that no wedding would take place. The bride's aunt [578]
disliked the groom's mother, and recalled an old scandal that
had shadowed the family for years. The groom's mother had
divorced the groom's father long ago to marry her present
husband, which in itself was altogether usual, but it came
out that the man and woman had maintained an adulterous
relationship before the divorce and furthermore were tabu
relatives, which made their union incestuous—not as se-
verely so as marriage between parent and child or brother
and sister, but incestuous nevertheless—and it caused a scan-
dal that reverberated throughout all of Nyae Nyae. The two
were middle-aged when they married, and they had clung sol- [593]
idly together through the storm of scandal and disapproval,
for it was truly a marriage of love.

The little girl did not want to be a bride. When we asked 584
her how she felt about her wedding she hid her face in her
hands and said that she was still a young child, too young to
get married.

All in all, only the groom's family behaved well, showing
patience and forbearance until at last the wedding took place.

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she was getting older every day and already developing a rep- 583
utation for shrewishness, but Beautiful Ungka flatly refused. 159
When her admirer heard of this he felt he could not live without her and he asked his wife to kidnap her for him, but his wife, far older than Beautiful Ungka and quite possibly jealous, would not, so nothing remained for her admirer but to kidnap her himself. This he did, planning carefully, and one night when everybody was asleep he stole quietly to Beautiful Ungka's scherm, lifted her bodily from the side of her grandmother, and bore her away on his shoulder. The grandmother awoke and set up an outcry; but Beautiful Ungka, a girl of remarkable self-possession and composure, didn't kick or struggle because she knew she wouldn't stay with her captor long. When her kidnapper reached home, masculine and forceful, he flung Beautiful Ungka down in the back of his scherm on the far side of his wife "to show," said the Bushmen, "that he wasn't afraid of his wife or anybody," and Beautiful Ungka lay still, as if subdued, until she heard that her captor and his wife were asleep. Then she got up, stepped over them, and walked home. That was the end of that episode.

Every day she became more beautiful. Her parents tried 159
hard to marry her to a steady young man, and as she would 585
have none of her suitors, they chose a second husband for [584]
her, this time a young and presentable man in his twenties who had quite a number of worldly goods got by working at Gam for the Chuanas. So Beautiful Ungka, now fourteen, was married again. By now she had menstruated and was old 159
enough for intercourse, but although she lived with her 593
young husband she wouldn't let him touch her and he was driven to despair. He did everything for her, requiring no work from her at all—his relatives helped feed him—and once he walked forty miles, from Gam, where he was living, to

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Kung

159 Gautscha, where we were, to ask for medicines from us that
593 would relieve headaches that Beautiful Ungka had, then forty miles back again to bring her what we gave him. And yet she would not love him; she told him the medicines didn't help her at all (which was probably true) and she asked to go back to her parents. But her parents, wanting her to try harder to stay married, wouldn't rescue her, and her husband was pleased. After that her husband borrowed a donkey from the Chuanas to bring her to us at Gautscha, hoping that we could cure her with pills, not of her headaches but of her moods. She rode all the way while he walked leading the donkey, and when they arrived she said she would not live with him but with others of her relatives instead. Public opinion prevailed in this case and Beautiful Ungka was finally forced to stay with him. While he went the forty miles back to Gam to return the donkey, Beautiful Ungka got a relative of hers to build a scherm for them, and when her husband came back they lived in it together.

One night in this scherm, when Beautiful Ungka's husband was sleeping and she was lying reluctantly beside him, he must have dreamed of her, for he tried to possess her in his sleep. Beautiful Ungka, malicious girl that she was, sprang from her bed and rushed about the werf in the darkness screaming as loud as she was able, calling him dirty and filthy and at the same time telling all the startled people what had taken place. Her husband was ridiculed for days, and Beautiful Ungka used the event as an excuse to separate, for shortly after that her parents came to live with her, saddened and defeated, and her husband was sent away. But the young man loved her still and would walk miles to visit her, for they were still married, only to be sent back wherever he had come from as soon as he arrived.

159 All that can be said is that she was extremely handsome.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Crooked Kwi and his wife, who once had run away from him.

Dikai made a bow from a branch, an arrow from a reed, and gave them to her younger son.

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[p. 176(C)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

people thought of her, she didn't leave her fire at night to go 159
visiting, even to the scherm right next to hers. Rather, if she 577
had something to say, she would shout it across the werf.

Her deference to appearances and public opinion seemed 159
to make up for her faults, for she was considered to be al- 157 593
most a model personality in spite of her extremely jealous and vindictive moods which caused her to accuse others, quite unreasonably, of selfishness, greed, and other such things. Her husband and sons were not excepted, but this was something that Toma had learned to ignore. He would simply shrug his shoulders if she railed at him, pretend he didn't hear if she railed at others.

When she didn't assault her family with her tongue she 159
sometimes harmed them actively. Very often she would lie 593
sullen with narrowed eyes in front of her scherm watching the other women walk out to the veld in the morning on their way to dig veld food, and on these days her husband and sons would eat nothing unless, driven by hunger, they went to the veld themselves, the three of them together, to dig up a few roots and eat them raw. Tu herself did not experience hunger as a result of these moods, for she would have saved herself a morsel from the day before. It was her right to do this: among Bushmen every root is owned by its digger and is shared only at its owner's wish.

Toma might ask but would never command Tu to feed her family, for as he had learned to ignore her biting tongue he had learned to accept her moods. This was his way, appeasing her, and because Toma wanted peace perhaps as much as he wanted Tu, he pampered her.

This was not always so. One day gossiping people told us 159
that early in their marriage Toma shot a fat kudu and Tu 578 593
said: "Don't cook all the meat because my mother will be coming to visit us."

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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159 Toma remarked that the meat was there for any use, but
578 Tu misunderstood him and, thinking that he denied meat to
593 her and to her mother, she flew into a rage, attacked Toma,
152 and gave him a nasty bite on his arm. Toma lost his temper entirely and pinched her cheeks together until his fingers met in her mouth. His anger had come now, the people said, and he threw her into the fire, saying: "She is a woman. Why does she make me so angry? Shall I take a stick?"

A small crowd had gathered, and, as usual, the family quarrel became a public affair. Several people helped Tu out of the fire, found her barely scorched, but her cousin seized Toma and began to shake him. This enraged Toma so much that he caught the cousin around the waist and threw him into the onlooking crowd. The people said: "We must stop Toma because if he is so angry he may kill someone," and with that they led the cousin out of Toma's sight.

Toma shouted after: "If you do that again, we will get our arrows and fight to the death. Stop here. I am very angry. Do not make me more angry."

One of the men who had helped Tu said to the cousin: "I took his wife from the fire. You, her cousin, almost got killed for the way you went at Toma. If you want to help people, don't get angry with them. Keep calm. Don't increase anger as you did with Toma." With these sage words the incident was over.

159 The people said: "After that everyone knew how angry
593 Toma could be, so from that day on he never had another fight." Everyone honored and respected him, everyone except his wife.

But Tu had certain redeeming qualities. When she was in a good mood she was charming. She would smile at everyone, speak in a light voice instead of the low, menacing voice that

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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she used when she was angry, a cat growling, and would be 159
affectionate to Toma and her sons. Very often, when she was 593
happy, she would dance a light, short dance to a song that she sang herself.

Tu had borne four children, four sons, to Toma, but the 163
first two sons had died. One of these had died at birth, "had died in the veld without a name," said Toma. The oldest living children, born after the others were dead, were a boy of about eight years old and a boy of five. While we were there in 1953, Tu bore her first daughter, a strawberry of a baby 553
who was named for two people—named first for Toma's sis- 123
ter, but also Norna for my mother; her name is Lorna, but Bushmen have trouble with the *l*. In order to fit us into their society, the Bushmen had given us names and niches in the kinship of Toma's family. My father was named for Toma's father, my mother was named for Toma's mother, my brother was named Toma for Toma, and I was called Dikai for Tu's sister. Toma therefore named his daughter for the person who was named for his mother—not at all unusual, as it often happens that a child may bear the names of two of its relations.

Now, hoping to find Toma once again, we started the truck 361
motors, fired a rifle, called and called, in case he might be living far from the water, but no sound came from the great veld to answer us and we began to search in the bush around the pan for signs that might show us where he was. We found two empty scherms built in the rainy season, their grass thatches gray with weather, their little piles of fire ashes sunk into the ground, and near these scherms we found the skull of a bird and the shoulder blade of an antelope, all white, bleached, and dry. Farther on we saw a tree where the woven grass nests of weaver birds were hanging empty, swinging

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

361 with the wind, which made us think of the empty scherms, and still farther we found one more empty dwelling, the tiny grass nest of a mouse that hung on a bush, from a thorn.

We went around and around the pan in three huge circles, occasionally calling Toma's name, and when at last we were sure that no one was there we went back to the pan and sat in the shade of some bushes to think. Lazy Kwi sat with his chin in his hands, gazing into the sunlit veld. He was sure, he said, that no one lived at Gautscha Pan, so there was no use going there. Toma and his family had not lived at Nama for a whole season and since wind and rain had erased all traces of their passing we could not tell where they had gone. Lazy Kwi thought for a long time and at last he said that he had heard from the Bantu people at Gam that Toma had been indentured by Bantu people at another cattle post called Kai Kai, near Gam, and had been set to work minding a herd of goats. Lazy Kwi had not believed that this could have happened, but now he said that it was possible and in that case Toma would have to live not far from Kai Kai, somewhere in the veld but not too far from water. And there was such a place, said Lazy Kwi, but in the east and far from Nama Pan.

It was early afternoon, so hot that even the insects of the veld were silent. We decided to leave at once in order to reach the waterhole that Lazy Kwi had mentioned before night. We put a little meat, some water, and our blankets in the jeep, and my brother and I, Lazy Kwi and Ledimo, the interpreter, got ready to go, leaving the others to make a camp.

855 Before we left, Lazy Kwi took leave of his family, then got
● 593 his bag of tsi beans and baobab seeds from his wife and put a handful or two into another bag which he would take with him, leaving the larger share with her. When his little son saw what he was doing and realized that his father was preparing

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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to go, he began to cry, saying: "Father, Father," and when 855
Lazy Kwi hesitated a moment, then said he was going any- 593
way, the little boy picked up a handful of stones and threw one at him. This amused Lazy Kwi's wife, who smiled and tried halfheartedly to take the stones away, but it angered [861]
Lazy Kwi, who caught his son by the arm and boxed his ears. That made the little boy so furious that he had a tantrum; he screamed and cried and arched his back to draw away from his mother, who tried to pick him up, both mother and child doing exactly what they had done when the little boy was a baby and no doubt had been doing ever since. His mother al- [862]
ways did have a terrible time managing him, and he was still nursing although he was now five or six years old. Before his father left, his mother had managed to mollify him somewhat, and she sat on the ground, letting him sit on her leg to nurse. He drank from one breast and held the other in his hand as he glared over his mother's shoulder at his father, who was already in the jeep.

We drove all afternoon, going fast because the ground was 133
hard and not too bumpy, and the plains of Nyae Nyae seemed even longer, even wider than the plains of Ai a ha'o, being more slanted. We saw the Aha Mountains, a series of large rock outcrops quite separate from each other, blunt-ended like drumlins, which the Bushmen call "The Knife's Back." They appeared on the horizon shortly after we left Nama, distant and blue over the yellow veld, so surprising to see in that flat country that we stopped to look at them. They seemed so misty and far, so infinitely alluring, that we longed to go there. When we drove on, they stayed as relatively fixed as the moon would, which showed how far away they were. Lazy Kwi said that once on a clear day he had seen them from the top of the Gautscha baobab.

We reached the waterhole at the end of the afternoon, a

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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159 224 157 scrambled for the safety of their companions, by now quite far away.

The hunters, victorious in this battle of nerves, had the bull wildebeest all to themselves, but now found that they could not approach it either. Having fended off the lions (it thought), it now tried to lunge to its feet to fend off the men. Short Kwi borrowed the spear from its owner and hurled it into the wildebeest's neck, where it stuck fast. Now they had no weapon at all. Their arrows would be useless. The sticks and stones they threw at the spear did not dislodge it and all their efforts to retrieve it by creeping up on the wildebeest from behind did not succeed, for as soon as one of them would edge near enough to touch the spear the wildebeest would toss its horns so quickly that the man would have to jump back, grazed. At last, while one of the men distracted the wildebeest from the front, Short Kwi backed off and rushed at it, jumped over it, and, as he passed over its back, jerked the spear free. The bull lunged and the curved horns hooked upward, but too late. Short Kwi was gone. Wanting a picture, John asked Short Kwi to do it again, but Short Kwi shook his head. "This time he will remember," Short Kwi said, and dispatched the bull by hurling the spear into its throat.

159 224 593 823 Sometimes, as on these occasions, Short Kwi hunted with others, but mostly he hunted alone. He knew every bush and stone in the area of thousands of square miles that he ranged over, and he lived for hunting. Caring more for this, his passion, than for society, he often hunted as he did when we had first heard of him, alone in the veld with only his wife—a young woman who was intelligent and gay and almost pretty, to whom Short Kwi was devoted—his baby daughter, and his mother-in-law.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

We had met him for the first time at Gautscha. He had 159 224
come in from the veld one night to visit his brother, and we had met him in the morning. Short Kwi was a young, small man, shorter than his wife and so slender that he looked almost like a child. With long, light feet that took him everywhere, with heavy thighs but light calves like the thin shanks [142] of a greyhound, and with a narrow, deep chest and lungs that never winded, he was obviously built for hunting. In the rainy season when the veld was soft and muddy he often hunted with only a spear and ran the great antelopes down, for though their hooves sunk and split in the mud, causing them eventually to tire, Short Kwi never tired and his strong legs bore him after them relentlessly, sweeping him down the long plains like a wind of death.

His life in the veld seemed lonely, but I doubt that it was; he had his wife, who adored him, for company in the evenings, and although she may have missed companionship more than he did, they were both shy, both quiet, and it may [573] be that they both enjoyed their life apart. Short Kwi hunted most of the time. He would hunt on and on and when word would reach the large band of his wife's family that he had killed, the band would go out to where the animal was, dry the meat, and eat it. When there was enough meat Short Kwi would rest, would relax in the sun, would talk with his wife or make himself a new skin bag or garment, and when word would reach him that all the meat was gone he would move again. The men of his wife's family hunted too, of course, but never as successfully as he, yet his great ability set [578 554] him so far apart from ordinary mortals that for once the Bushmen forgot their jealousy and agreed that he was the best hunter the Kalahari had ever known.

It is a custom among Bushman hunters to cut strips of skin 301 224

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

the people who crowded her in, and, clambering out of the 576
jeep, ran back to retrieve it. It was an enormous bundle, but she dragged it to the jeep and tried to stuff it in, paying no attention at all to the others who insisted loudly that there was no room. She finally got it in, climbed in after it, and sat on it to squash it down. She completely ignored a lofty glance from her husband, a reproach for her impoliteness, and searched through her clothing for her pipe and her flint, with which 593
she struck a light and smoked. In a sense, she and Toma were mismated, for the idea that she would have fewer things, less conveniences than someone else seemed to haunt Tu, while Toma seemed possessed with the fear that he would have more. When Tu took, Toma gave away.

We drove down the plain, leaving the nests in the forest be- 484
hind ourselves forever, toward the eastern horizon, which was blue and shimmering in the heat of the late afternoon. We were too crowded and too jostled to talk much, everyone preferring to crouch quietly and ignore discomfort, except Tu, higher than the others on her bag of grass, who seemed very cheerful indeed and talked on and on. We stopped several times along the way—in fact, we had hardly started before Tu plucked at John's shoulder and asked him to wait. She had seen a gemsbok cucumber growing on a vine in the grass and wanted to pick it, so John stopped the jeep. Tu climbed out and found several, which she tossed in, letting them roll about freely on the floor. We were about to start again when Dikai also saw some cucumbers and we had to wait while she gathered those, and no sooner had we driven on again, the little cucumbers rolling against our ankles and prickling us with their spines, than Little Dabe vomited and we had to wait a third time while Dikai cleaned him up with a tuft of grass.

Toma sighed. Men plan to spend several days traveling

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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lap and looked drowsily at her father. "Ehe," said Toma, 521
pointing at her, pleased that she still remembered her European name.

The talk returned to food and hunting and Toma remembered an eland the people had eaten which Short Kwi had killed, and this reminded everyone of the puff-adder bite, and Gao Feet, who had seen Short Kwi, began to describe the wound. He stammered and repeated whole phrases again and [191] [158]
again, but finally he finished and those who had not seen Short Kwi drew in their breath and seemed very depressed. Short Kwi had been sick a year and had not died, but the flesh had gone from the calf of his leg, said Gao, the skin had gone from his foot, his foot was curled and the bones were showing. The wound stank, too, said Gao, and at this Tu said she didn't think she could bear to see him. Her children were asleep around her and she looked very sad, but by now all the faces lit by the fire were depressed and sad, and soon after that people began to go home, carrying their sleeping children. The night was almost over, the Southern Cross lay on its side and the Firewood Star was high over our heads. Last to leave was the old woman, Dikai's mother, who got stiffly to her feet and waved good-night to us.

"Good night, Old Grandmother," I said. [608]

She turned her head to face me. "You should call me Mother. I embraced you when you came," she said.

Quite far away a fire at the werf flared up, the center point 593 ●
between two tall trees whose branches formed a delicate, pointed arch lit from below, showing the fire's brown owner sitting with his back to us, his elbows on his knees, perhaps gazing into the flames. It was Crooked Kwi, and he seemed very small beneath the high trees but very bright in the firelight and, somehow, very important. In a moment his wife walked into the firelight and sat beside him and they sat to-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

● 573 gether without speaking and then his wife lay down and he lay down and their fire began to die. Soon all the werf was dark.

513 In the morning, in the salmon dawn, the first light, we woke up to find doves singing and a fresh, warm wind blowing. It was easy to sleep now, and the people slept for hours, rolling away from their piles of ashes as the day warmed, until they lay curled or sprawled in all parts of the werf with Toma's son, by chance, asleep in the center, flat on his belly with his head in the curve of his arm, relaxed and strong and breathing deeply.

222 At noon the adults began to get up. The women went into the forest behind their werf for sticks to burn and a few roots [252] to eat, and when they had built up their fires they roasted the roots and shared them with their families. Toma said that we would go back to Nama Pan right away, but his wife and the other women wanted to gather tsi; it was very abundant right beside the forest and they hated to leave all that food just lying there. "Perhaps other people will come here and eat it," said Tu, so Toma changed his mind and everyone took bags, nets, skins, anything that could be used as a container, and they spent the afternoon gathering tsi. They got mountains of it. There was plenty in the patch that they had chosen and with all of them picking the nuts from among the round leaves of the tsi plants they filled every bag, skin, and net that they had. They gathered almost three hundred pounds. The women felt so happy that they were singing a gay, light song in three or four parts. When the people had picked all they 431 could find, when every possible bag was full, they said they were ready to go to Nama, but when we brought the jeep and began to load it they were already busy with their endless preoccupation, that of giving and receiving, and had already

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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621 The other werfs were much nearer us, as the people wanted
574 to keep an eye on each other, to see that we gave food or presents to all when we gave to one, but also because they enjoyed being together and wanted to be able to visit each other quickly at any time at all. Next to our camp on one side was Lazy Kwi's werf, and on the other side lived Toma with his wife and Gao Feet with his wives. At the far end of their werf lived Crooked Kwi with his wife and the old grandmother. They were between our camp and the pan, and beside their werf ran a pathway, the way used by the people on the other side of us to reach the water.

● 593 On the other side of the path, in the shade of a tree, lived one more small band, the band of a young man of perhaps thirty, who lived with his twelve-year-old son and his eight-
[583] year-old wife, whom he was nourishing while waiting for her to grow. These young people had chosen their spot because
[591] the little girl was Gao Feet's daughter by his first wife and was still so young that she wanted to live near her mother. She was a sad little girl with a grave face and troubled, wondering eyes; in fact, all these young people were very grave and sad—the young man's first wife had died and he now had no one to care for him because the little girl, his new wife, spent a great deal of time with her mother and he was left alone. The son was lonely too, having no mother and no one to care for him except his sad young father. His father was too troubled, too preoccupied, to be a companion to him, his little stepmother was too young, and he spent most of his time sitting on a rise of ground overlooking the werf where he lived, watching other people going by.

[142] The little girl took after her mother, Gao Feet's ugly wife, but her two men, her husband and her stepson, were a family
533 of great beauty. Both had wide, grave eyes and golden skins, and both were musicians, but the young father himself was

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

happy. She was only ten, but already she had lost her childish 382 [145] belly, although her breasts had not yet begun to grow.

Now everyone was in the werf and people had begun to go 593 back to their fires, leaving Short Kwi alone. When most people were gone, Short Kwi's brother-in-law squatted beside 514 164 481 him and, taking his injured leg, began laboriously to help him move toward the veld, toward a little pathway that we had not noticed before. Short Kwi's wife had cleared the path; it led to a place in the veld where Short Kwi could urinate, and slowly, painfully, Short Kwi and his brother-in-law moved down it, the brother-in-law duckwalking, carrying the bad leg while Short Kwi—he who once could run great elands down—edged himself forward on his buttocks, using his hands to brace himself and his good leg to pull himself along.

We were not at his fire when he got back, but we could see 164 him through the trees, inching, and then, when Short Kwi was alone with his wife and daughter, we could watch him sitting by his fire, looking idly around. He was like a wild goose with pinioned wings, squatting there before his fire, watching the sky, the veld, and other people come and go.

Those of us from Nama made a camp apart from the werf, 361 through long grass as high as our chests, inside a little glade 521 of thorn trees. We cleared some of the grass and built a fire, and even then the Bushmen could not stop talking about Short Kwi, although they tried to change the subject; they spoke of him creeping along on his buttocks, even this impossible without someone to help, and all because he had failed to notice an adder that was waiting in his path. Of course, the Bushmen said, he was lucky to be alive. I felt that he was luckier than they supposed, because of his wife, that 593 quiet, gracious, gentle, pretty woman, and his grave little daughter, the image of her mother. The people felt, said

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

593 Toma, that Short Kwi's wife would leave him now for a better man, but she had not and was not going to. He was, after all, the same husband, only sadder.

Later in the night we went back to talk with Short Kwi once more, to tell him that we thought he could be helped to walk again, but not that we thought his leg would have to come off, for we did not want to frighten him. Our plan was to drive him to Windhoek, the capital of South-West Africa, where he could go to a hospital and perhaps be fitted with an artificial leg. We planned eventually to tell him this, but gradually. The long grass was wet with dew when we pushed through it this time, and we were drenched. Short Kwi was still sitting where we had seen him, still beside his wife, not speaking. When we asked him if he would come with us because we believed he could be helped, he smiled such a heartbreaking smile of pure happiness that we felt sickened because we knew what he thought. His wife looked at him and smiled and then they both looked up at us and their smiles faded and their faces fell and I think that when they saw us they knew we couldn't restore his leg to him.

151 Early in the morning when the sky became light, misty yellow—for the sun was still swallowed by smoke—we broke camp and made a comfortable bed for Short Kwi on top of the truck, then went to the werf to get him. He and his brother-in-law were just creeping back on the path from the veld, but Short Kwi's belongings were ready, tied up in bundles by his wife. We waited a long time while Short Kwi made his way toward us, sweat standing out on his forehead although the air was cool, but, oddly, even his slow and painful creeping seemed graceful. It did not have the heaving awkwardness of movement that one associates with injured human beings, but rather the liquidity and co-ordination of a

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

152 and again Tu slapped it away. This time Norna began to
578 cry, lonely and forlorn in front of all the people, turned on by her mother, and she looked very small and defenseless and bereft; she cried sadly, not angrily, big tears running down her face, her fist in her mouth, looking up at her mother with enormous eyes. This was Tu's chance. She snatched up Norna and carried her back to the werf.

It was a terrible incident for everyone. That evening Tu still felt her shame and when I went to the werf to visit for a moment she took the occasion to fix me with her eyes all the way across the werf and tell me loudly that in the morning I would have to help her clear grass for another werf, for she was not going to "live among these people any more." Tu's mother, a shameless old woman, came up to me to tell me a joke and Tu smoldered.

Not only the adults felt a sense of tension. That evening Dikai, looking rather worn and tired, was sitting by her fire rubbing her shoulders, which usually ached, she said, when
862 her two sons, also tired, threw themselves down each on one
152 side of her and began to nurse, each leaning heavily against
578
593 her, each at a breast. Perhaps because she was tired or per-
775 haps because she had been about to put some tsi nuts in her fire but now could not because her sons were in the way, she looked down at them and mildly suggested to Little Gashe that perhaps he could bring himself to stop nursing altogether, being old enough now. Little Gashe did not take this kindly at all. He looked up at her, then took his mouth from her nipple and cursed her with a formal, deadly curse. "May the spirit of Nisa, who is dead," he said, "take you by the throat and choke you." He then took the nipple back in his mouth and sucked on, thoughtfully.

152 I could hardly believe my ears. Children are expected not
578
593 to curse their parents, but, worst of all, Little Gashe had in-
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9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

voked those supposedly unmentioned beings, the spirits of 152 578 the dead. Dikai was not offended, though; she gazed down 593 775 at him calmly. "You, you little thing," she said, "no curse that you could say would hurt me."

Much later in the evening when John and Dan and I were 574 sitting at our own fire just before going to bed, Dikai and her 608 nephew, Toma's son, came to visit us, Dikai with Little Dabe asleep on her back. It was a quiet evening, people were sitting at their own werfs and though they were screened from us by grass we could hear their voices talking and see the light of their fires. When Dikai came, Lazy Kwi, whose werf was on the other side of our camp, heard her speak and stood up to see what was happening, looming suddenly from where he had been sitting only a few feet away. He came through the grass to visit also, and we sat by the fire listening to Dikai as she told us about various relatives in the north and what kinship terms we should use for them, I being named for her and John for Toma. Lazy Kwi told Dan that Dan had been named for him, but named Kwi Cheeks instead of Lazy Kwi, and when Dan asked why his nickname was Cheeks all Lazy Kwi could say was: "Because of your cheeks." We thought, but we could not think of a reason, as there was nothing about Dan's cheeks that might attract attention, except that he had recently shaved his beard so that his cheeks were visible.

Dan said that now he had no beard, no hair, no name, which Lazy Kwi thought was terribly funny and said: "Throw away your beard hairs, throw away your name, but take Kwi instead and be my namesake." Shortly after that we went to bed. Relations seemed less strained.

One morning about a week after Short Kwi had gone, when 732 the people were resting and the werf was quiet, we heard a

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

196 woman calls her brothers-in-law by words formed from this root,
601 but not her sisters-in-law; whereas a man does the opposite. The result is, that anyone calling a connexion tahō is called tahō by that person. Other connexions are called twi, a word which seems to mean "to tie", "to net", as twishiba "a riempi net", or "string bag". A woman calls both parents-in-law and son- and daughter-in-law twi, but a man calls his wife's parents simply "father" and "mother". I think he calls his son- and daughter-in-law twi, but have no clear examples.

Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to
591 be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parents' home and stay there till the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact, the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so. This does not explain why a man calls his wife's parents "father" and "mother".

A man is supposed not to speak to his mother-in-law, nor a
606 woman to her father-in-law. Of the former I had personal evidence: my Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. As to not speaking, I think that means more—not sitting near, not consorting with a person, rather than never addressing him. A Naron granny gave
183 me a vivid description of the family settling the name of a new-
553 born child. The relations present all quarrel over it: the father
578 says, he wants the little girl called after one of his people, but the
606 mother's mother tells him that is not at all necessary, the baby is to be named after her. This shows that speech between the two is not absolutely forbidden.

There is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister
183 speaking or sitting together,—but here, too, the sitting, not the
593 speaking, is the important part. I have heard a fully grown brother and sister addressing each other, while passing at a good distance. This rule explains why the relationship between a man
604 and his brother's child is nearer than that with his sister's child,
601 the former being called tiku "son", the latter tahō, a more distant term; whereas a woman calls her sister's son "son", her brother's son tahō.

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

Brother and sister are the only relations who are forbidden to marry, and by this, real brother and sister are meant, the children of one father and mother, not cousins. I never heard a title for any cousin, however related, though several were present Cousins sometimes marry, but more often a bride from a distance is procured. 582

A pair of sisters have a very close relationship. They are generally chums, and help each other with their babies. A child calls its mother's sister its "little mother". In speaking of the occasional bigamy found among the **Naron** in contrast to other Bushman tribes, an old man said to me: 593 [601] [604] 595

"A man may take a second wife, if he wishes. If they agree well, they live in one hut; if not, each makes herself a hut. A man had better take his wife's younger sister as his second wife; then they do not quarrel, but live in one hut."

ǁka in **ǁkashe** "maternal aunt" may be derived from **ǁkai** "together". **Ho** used as a verb means "to marry", also "to give birth to children". **Ti kweba** and **ti kwesa** mean simply "my man", "my woman"; they are more often used than **hoba** and **hosha**. 196 601

A widow may marry her late husband's brother, but need not do so. She is quite at liberty to marry any other man. If she remarries, her husband is expected to look after her children; otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. The widow may stay near her husband's people, or return to her own people, as she pleases. 587 [604]

Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, are very fond of adopting a grandchild. They will half adopt one, even during both parents' lifetime. The grandmother is generally the person who teaches a child to speak. 597 603 [868]

In concluding these notes on the tables of relationship, I should like to say that I know they are very incomplete. At the time of my stay among the **ǁkau ǁen** and **Naron** I had not realized the importance of this side of native life; nor apparently had my aunt, Dr. Lloyd, whose work I rely on for the **ǂxam** and **ǃkuŋ** tables. Still, I think sufficient has been collected to show the general trend of Bushman family ties. 114

One must always remember, that people depending on nature for their entire food supply, can only exist in very small, widely scattered groups. Families cannot be large. Drought and famine 105 161

[Text Continues on page 70]

222 461 on the season. In the long days of wilting between the October spring and the January summer, food is scarce and the women may go out every day into the failing veld, leaving their *werft* early in the morning and returning late in the afternoon. All 222 that a woman gathers belongs to her 422 alone, and of course is shared with her family. She feeds her husband, her 593 children and often a visitor or two, at her own hearth. No formal instruction 222 is practiced among the !Kung, with 868 the possible exception of certain kinds of religious teaching and what might be called an occasional hunting school. 857 Learning to gather comes from the children's observation of the more experienced women. Girls soon learn to [824] recognize more than a hundred kinds of edible plants that grow in *Nyae Nyae*, as well as the seasons and places in which these plants grow. They learn to see tiny, shriveled root vines coiled around thorns in the thickets and, in the process, develop fine powers of observation. Possibly complementary to this lack of formal instruction, no formal pressure is exerted on young people to take up adult roles. Girls, if they wish, accompany their mothers on gathering trips. If they do not, they rarely feel guilty. A girl usually be- [582] gins to feel responsible soon after she marries, which is often before puberty. But only when she has children of her own does a woman see the world through the eyes of a provider.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

SHARING, TALKING, AND GIVING: RELIEF OF SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THIS paper describes customs, practised by the /Kung Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region of South Africa, which help them to avoid situations that are likely to arouse ill will and hostility among individuals within the bands and between bands. Two customs which seem to be especially helpful and which I describe in detail are meat-sharing and gift-giving. I mention also the /Kung habits of talking, aspects of their good manners, their borrowing and lending, and their not stealing.[1] 121

The common human needs for co-operation and companionship are particularly apparent among the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Independent living, outside the band structure,[2] does not exist for individuals. Nuclear families do not live alone. The arduous hunting-gathering life would be impossible without the co-operation and companionship of a larger group. Moreover, in this society the ownership of the resources of food and water is organized through the headmen of bands, and individuals have rights to these resources by being members of a band connected to the headman by some near or remote kin or affinal bond. The /Kung are also extremely dependent emotionally on the sense of belonging and on companionship. Their need to avoid loneliness, I think, is actually visible in the way families cluster together in their werfs and in the way people sit, often touching someone else, shoulder against shoulder, ankle across ankle. Comfort and security for them lie in belonging to their group, free from hostility or rejection. 601 [423] [622] [608] 571

Their security and comfort must be achieved side by side with self-interest and much jealous watchfulness. Altruism, kindness, sympathy, or genuine generosity were not qualities which I observed often in their behaviour. However, these qualities were not entirely lacking, especially between parents and offspring, between siblings and between spouses. One mother carried her sick adult daughter on her back for three days in searing summer heat for us to give her medicine. /Naoka carried her lame son, Lame ≠Gao, for years. Gau clucked and fussed over his second wife, Khuan//a, when she was sick. When /U had a baby, her sister, Di/ai, gathered veldkos for her for five days. On the other hand, people do not generally help each other. They laugh when the lame man, Kham, falls down and do not help him up. /U's jealous eyes were like those of a viper when we gave more attention to her husband, ≠Toma, than to her because he was much more ill. And, in the extreme, there is the report from the 1958 expedition of an instance of callous indifference in one band and the probable abandonment of a dying old childless woman, an old aunt, when her sister, with whom she lived, had died. 578 593 578 666

Occasions when tempers have got out of control are remembered with awe. The

[1] This description of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region is based on observations made during our several expeditions between 1951 and 1959. Changes in the conditions under which the /Kung live are to be expected, and how these changes will affect the practice of the customs here described we do not know.

[2] Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Band Organization', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960. [114]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

of the hunting party is not a matter of convention or of anxious concern. Hunting parties are freely organized by men who like to hunt with each other. No categories of kin or affines are prohibited from hunting together, whether they have a joking relationship or not or practise the sitting and speaking taboo. Men from different bands may hunt together.

A father has authority over his sons and sons-in-law and could tell them to go hunting or to accompany him and would expect them to obey. In other relationships participation in a hunting party is voluntary. Any man may instigate a hunt and may ask others to join. No one is formally in command of a party, unless he is the father with his sons or sons-in-law, but often an informal kind of leadership develops out of skill and judgement and the men fall in with the plans and suggestions of the best hunter or reach agreement among themselves somehow.

Hunting parties are usually composed of from two to four or five men. One hunter alone is at a disadvantage. A man cannot leave the meat unguarded from lions, hyaenas, jackals, and vultures while he goes to bring help from the band to carry it not can he carry it alone. Only occasionally are parties larger than four or five. For two parties to hunt in different directions would be more advantageous than to form a larger single party.

When the kill is made the hunters have the prerogative of eating the liver on the spot and may eat more of the meat until their hunger is satisfied. If they are far from the band, they may eat the parts that are especially perishable or most awkward to carry, like the head, and they sometimes eat the cherished marrow. They then carry the animal to the band, either in its parts, bones and all, or, if the animal is very big, leaving most of the bones and cutting the meat into strips which dry in the sun to biltong and are more easily carried on the carrying-sticks. The blood is carried in bags made of the stomach, rumen, and bladder.

The gall bladder and testicles are discarded at the kill. Eventually the hooves are thrown away and usually the picked bones and horns. (The /Kung make only a few artifacts of bone and horn which last a long time and seldom need replacing.) Sinews are kept for making cord. The hide would be skinned off whole and tanned if it were suitable for a kaross and someone wanted a new kaross at the time. Otherwise, the hide is dried, pounded up, and eaten. Hides are quite tasty. Feet are picked of every tissue; gristle is dried and pounded. Soft parts, such as the foetus, udder, heart, lungs, brains, and blood, are often given to old people with poor teeth. Intestines are enjoyed and desired by all. The meat of the rump, back, chest, and neck is highly appreciated. Nothing is wasted; all is distributed.

The owner of the animal is the owner of the first arrow to be effectively shot into the animal so that it penetrates enough for its poison to work. That person is responsible for the distribution. The headman of the band is not the one to distribute the meat by virtue of his headmanship, unless he happens to be at the same time the owner of the arrow. The owner may or may not be one of the hunters.

Hunters have arrows which they acquire in three different ways. Each man makes arrows for himself, shaping the points (usually now of metal, but still possibly of bone or wood) with some slight distinction so that he will know them from the arrows of other men. Secondly, arrows are given as gifts. The man who made the arrow or who himself acquired it as a gift, may give it to someone else, either a man or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

vour it. Thus, according to our observations, a !Kung band gets on an average 224
only about fifteen to eighteen large animals in a usual year.

The meat of the large game animals does not belong to the hunters to do with as they choose. However, they always have the prerogative of eating the [242]
liver at the site of the kill and, if their hunger is not satisfied, they may eat more. The bulk of the meat is then carried to the band, where it is distributed among the members according to a system. The meat belongs to the owner of the first arrow that penetrates the animal so that it stays in. He has the responsibility of making the first distribution.

Anyone in the band may be the owner of the arrow. A hunter carries 224
arrows he acquires in three different ways. Each man has his own that he 411
makes himself, shaping the points with some little distinction so that he 422
will know them from the arrows of other men. In addition he carries 426
arrows that have been given or lent to him. When an arrow is given to him, 431
he is the owner as much as if he had made it himself, but if he uses that 571
arrow he must make a special gift of meat to the donor. When he uses an arrow that is loaned to him, he merely shoots for the person who lent it and who remains the owner of the arrow. !Kung society makes a great deal of giving and lending arrows. Women and old men, as well as men in their hunting prime, receive arrows as gifts and may give them or lend them to a hunter, asking him to shoot for them. A hunter cannot refuse an arrow— [576]
as a person cannot refuse any gift—without offending the giver. He accepts the arrow and with it an obligation, but he gives or lends arrows in return and involves others in obligation to him. Hunters choose to use one or another of their arrows, with the result that the responsibility of distributing the meat, with its advantages and obligations, is shared by members of the band as is the meat itself.

In the first distribution the whole animal is divided among a few 224
persons, who receive whole sections on the bone, unless the animal is so large that the meat has to be cut off in strips to be carried. The first of these persons are the hunters, each of whom gets a fore- or hindquarter or the equivalent. The giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not made by the owner himself) receives a generous portion. The owner of the arrow, who may be one of the hunters, or anybody, keeps the rest.

In the second distribution, the several persons who got meat in the 224
first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. The 602
amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution, close kinship is the factor that sets the pattern of giving. A man's first obligation at this point [606]
is to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous [593]
portions as he can while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

Both the father and mother expect and receive respect and obedience 593 from their children. Although the mother's influence is always felt, I believe that the father's authority is greater. It is not formalized or expressed in a harsh or domineering way. As long as the father lives, he is the head of the family, symbolically. Even when too old to hunt, if he is still a forceful [882] person, he remains the one in authority, the leader of the sons-in-law and his daughters, of his sons and their wives. Gradually, however, when he becomes very old, the younger men make their own plans without necessarily consulting him.

!Kung families are responsible for dependents. Thus, old, dependent 737 parents are unfailingly supported by their offspring and may choose with which one of their offspring they will live. Orphaned children are taken 736 by their grandparents or by a sibling of their parents. It happens occasionally that a person has no living parent, offspring, or sibling. In that case, other relatives assume the responsibility.

THE NAME RELATIONSHIP • Although !Kung society has developed no 571 formal political structure under which the bands are united, and there are 602 no organizations outside the bands, these people have a means of extending 553 the concept of kinship beyond close consanguineous relatives and affines 619 and of recognizing, in what we call the name relationship, the web of remote interrelationship that long intermarriage within the region has established.

Invariably the first son and the first daughter are named by their father for their paternal grandparents. Other children are usually named for their mother's parents, the siblings of their parents, and the spouses of those siblings, and may occasionally be named for other relatives. Thus, a few names are used over and over through the generations. We recorded only [551] forty-six men's names and forty-one women's names in the region. The !Kung assume that persons who have the same name are related, though the exact nature of the relationship is forgotten. They believe, also, that people with the same name somehow have a common entity. They bestow [601] upon each other kin terms that are appropriate to the name, according to a system. The !Kung have intermarried within the Nyae Nyae region to [582] such an extent that everyone has a kin term he associates with each one of the names. This means that the people of the whole region are what we call name relatives, all applying kin terms to each other.

From the !Kung point of view the custom has two values. It regulates 553 the incest taboo in its furthermost extension, especially the joking relation- 602 ship that symbolizes the taboo. (For example, a man should not marry or 835 make sexual jokes with a woman who has the same name as his mother.) The !Kung feel secure in righteousness when they know they are behaving

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

only to the treatment of women and their paramours; nothing is said of the wife's remedies when her husband is unfaithful. 114 684

Besides this sexual relation between husband and wife, there is also the economic relation. The two share the same hut, and take their meals in common. It is the duty of the wife to build the hut, to provide the vegetable food, the firewood and water, and to cook the meals; while it is the duty of the husband to provide game for himself and his wife, to make her clothes and certain of her utensils. The economic burden of the woman has led some writers to depreciate her status, but on the whole it would seem that the women are the companions of their husbands, not their servants, and will often take their own way, in spite of the man's wishes. The position of the wife within the household is, in fact, hardly inferior to that of her husband, who, it is said, is often enough henpecked by her![1] 581 [264] [462] 562 593

In addition to establishing this special relationship between husband and wife, marriage leads also to the formation of further special relationships, especially with the parents-in-law. After marriage, as we have seen, the young couple may remain for some time with the wife's parents before finally taking up their residence in the husband's group. Among the Kung and the neighbouring tribes to the east the husband has during this period of temporary matrilocal residence to hunt for his parents-in-law and to supply them in this way with animal food. If he neglects to do this, says Vedder, his wife may be taken away from him.[2] We thus get a special economic relationship between a man and his wife's parents, based directly upon the fact of his marriage. Probably something similar exists among the other Bushman tribes having temporary matrilocal residence, but no concrete information is available about them in this connection. 591 606 [583]

Among almost all the Bushmen, moreover, marriage further creates a special form of etiquette between a man and his parents-in-law, and in some cases between a woman and her husband's parents. Thus among the Kung the husband has to avoid his mother-in-law, the wife apparently also her father-in-law. The wife's parents do not enter the hut of the young couple, nor again may the husband enter their hut. The game which he kills for his father-in-law he lays down in front of the latter's hut.[3] Similarly among the Naron a man is not 606

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 137; Chapman, op. cit., i, 291; Lebzelter, op. cit., 14. For an unsympathetic account of the wife's status, cf. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 122.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 8; Chapman, op. cit., i, 258.
[3] Vedder, loc. cit.; Chapman, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 63.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

857 sleepy, and crawl on to the grass in the hut. No one sends them to bed.

So the children, during infancy and childhood, remain under the
● 593 tutelage and in the care of their parents. Once they are grown up, no one really controls them. The tie between parents and mature children is simply one of respect and love, but there is no lack of family affection. Grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives
603 are also respected to some extent, according to character. Among the Naron, grandparents, especially on the mother's side, take a
[597] great interest in their grandchildren, and often adopt one which has been weaned, while among the Heikum orphans are generally adopted by the maternal grandparents. The grandmother is often
[868] the person who teaches a child to speak. Between two sisters there
593 is usually a close bond of affection, they are generally companions, and help each other with their babies. In certain Cape Bushman tales the wife's unmarried sister is shown staying with her, as helper and nurse of the baby. On the other hand, among some of the North-Western tribes at least, there is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister speaking or sitting together. Here too, as in the case of the mother-in-law, the sitting and not the speaking appears to be the important part, for Miss Bleek records having heard an adult brother and sister address each other, while passing at a good distance.[1]

Girls' Puberty Ceremonies

881 The attainment of puberty is marked among all the Bushmen by the performance of certain ceremonies, through which the young people have to pass before being admitted to full membership of the group. Puberty ceremonies for girls are definitely found in all the
[184] Bushman tribes, but corresponding ceremonies for boys appear to be restricted to the northern tribes. These ceremonies vary somewhat from tribe to tribe.

Among the Cape Bushmen a girl at the time of her first menstruation was in a state of taboo. "She is put into a tiny hut, made by her mother, with a very small aperture for the door, which her mother closes upon her. When she goes out, she looks down upon the ground; and when she returns to the hut, she sits and looks down. She does not go far, or walk about at this time. When presently she becomes a 'big girl', she is allowed to look about, and to look afar

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 59, 66–7; cf. *idem*, *Naron*, 32; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

previously noted, plays an important part in the usages relating to game shot with the bow and arrow, as well as in the first-fruits ceremony; while among the Kung he is similarly responsible for the ceremony performed before the edible bulbs of the new season may be gathered. There is no record of similar religious and economic functions being vested in the chief in other Bushman tribes, so that, in the present light of our knowledge, such customs cannot be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture; but in the tribes where they do occur they obviously show that the chief may, in fact, exercise a considerable influence in the life of the community. 622 [184]

On the whole the chief appears to be essentially a leader rather than a ruler. His actual authority over the members of his band is very slight, and dependent to a considerable extent upon his personality. If, for example, he is a man of strong character, or possesses a gun, he will have a correspondingly greater influence; but the only special authority he has is over the members of his own family, and he has no power to enforce his will outside it. He has nothing in the way of judicial functions, nor does he exercise any organized control over the members of the band. Great freedom of action prevails within the band, and as a rule every adult man can do as he pleases, provided, of course, that he does not infringe against recognized law and custom. In general the head of each family has control over the movements of his wife or wives and children—and over the latter only while they are small. No one really controls grown-up sons and daughters. [157] [593]

This absence of any organized system of public control does not imply that the Bushmen have no laws. On the contrary all their institutions, manners and customs serve to regulate the relations between the members of the band, and thus to maintain law and order. The child at birth comes into a world where there already exist definite forms of organization and behaviour, of ceremonial, of manners and fashions, and as he grows up he falls more or less unconsciously into acting and thinking like those around him, and in this way comes to conform to social norms. There are moreover more or less deliberate means of impressing upon young people the social sentiments necessary for the maintenance of the law and order of the community. The education they receive in the households of their parents and out in the veld, and above all the highly-important teachings at the puberty ceremonies for boys, instruct them in tribal lore and tradition, inculcate social norms, and determine their activities accordingly. 183 867 [881]

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A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

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[283]

digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

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[594]
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The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

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[162]
[101]
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The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

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The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

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ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

[p. 256]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

556 on the quantity of objects they want to possess. They do not even want
48 one each of the common tools of their lives. They borrow from each other,
[42b] and there is less to carry.

431 Instead of acquiring prestige by accumulating possessions, the !Kung
571 seek it in the opposite way. They practice a custom of gift giving to such an extent that their belongings all move in a slow flowing current among them and no one keeps anything of particular value very long. !Kung society requires that gifts be made in return, and the custom serves as a means to mitigate jealousy, to express friendly intent, and to weave people together in mutual obligation.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE FAMILY AND THE DOMESTIC GROUP • The
59 family is the primary and the most cohesive social unit of the !Kung. By far
57 the strongest bonds they feel are those of the nuclear family—the bonds
[59] between parent and offspring, between siblings, between spouses. These
[62] relationships are the basis of residence; by that I mean that people live together and have membership in their bands and rights to its food and water resources because they are linked to the band by one of these relationships. I believe that, in addition to the structured aspects, there is great emotional cohesiveness in !Kung families and that this is observable in the way families within the band build their fires near each other, come and go together, or, if there should be a quarrel, literally stand by each other, drawing close together.

The !Kung family passes through four phases. In its simplest nuclear form it consists of a man, his wife, and such children as are born to them.
[595] First marriages are always with just one wife. A later nuclear phase may be
[583] polygynous. When the daughters of a !Kung couple marry, and the daughters' husbands come to live with their brides' parents to give them bride
[591] service, the unit becomes an extended family. In a second extended phase, the married sons may have returned from bride service with their wives and offspring. In this phase, the married daughters with their husbands and offspring may stay or they may go to live with their husbands' people.

[582] • The headship of a family is strongly associated with males. A widowed mother is regarded as a dependent, not as a family head. When the old father of an extended family dies, that particular family ceases to be an extended family. Families of siblings may live together in the same band, but no one of them has authority over another unless one of the siblings happens to be headman of the band. If they are no longer involved in bride service themselves, and their offspring are not yet married, these families become independent nuclear families again, to become new, extended families when the offspring marry.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

101 Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung
582 whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

619 The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the
[648] territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

648 About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28
162 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of
[621] burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants
[177] other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

621 My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the
[114] years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

[162] FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

601 /Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1]
[595] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and
[596] extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal
[611] residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally,
[614] There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the
[835] incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

621 As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous
582 unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[113] [1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

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Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with 602
three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made.

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu/na* and *tŭn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *||ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a 182
touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and con- 183
sistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society 582
tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many cate- 593
gories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship 602
as soon as marriage takes place.

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly 587
approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is 768
expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines.

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. 583
This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one 619
marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, [584]
as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened.

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in 595
which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power 554
or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, 556
but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries [422]
his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women [482]

[482] in the pouches of their karosses along with their babies. This puts a strict limit upon
559 any desire to possess great quantities of property in movables. Furthermore, gift-
556 giving keeps all personal property moving in a current through the region and no
595 one possesses very much more than another. The determining factors in obtaining
[422] more than one wife are apt to be the personalities of the individuals and the man's
[431] ability to hunt. 'Women love meat', we were told, and like their husbands to be good hunters.

The number of wives a man may have is not regulated by social rules but by his
595 ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. None of the nine polygynists in the band had more than two. However, we heard of a man named Gao, now dead, who had had four wives all at one time. He had been a fabulous hunter and maker of arrows and was the father of the /Ti/kay who is the husband of two sisters, /Naoka and /Nai, in Band 9.

Only two of the nine pairs of co-wives had traceable consanguineous relationship. The above /Ti/kay's wives were sisters—the only ones—and, in Band 10, Old ≠Gao's younger wife, /Ghia, was the BrDa of his older wife, Bau.

/Kwi, sister, is the term which co-wives apply to each other, unless they have the
[601] same name, in which case they term each other */gu/na*. The /Kung, though they do not institutionalize the sororate, say it is a good idea to marry sisters because they are not so likely to be jealous of each other as other women. /Ti/kay's wives, who appeared to live in harmony and affection and to support each other, provided an example of the validity of this opinion.

Marriage to the same man gives co-wives the joking relationship, and they do not observe the sitting or the name avoidance, though they may have avoided each other before marriage.

/Kung co-wives share one scherm and one family fire. The scherm, the little
[342] shelter of branches and grass which the women build, a half hemisphere in shape, is only 3 to 4 ft. wide on the open side, about 3 ft. deep at the centre, perhaps 4 to 5 ft. high at the peak. In it and in front of it, beside their one fire, the two wives live, share their man, share the food they gather, share the work of fetching water and wood, nurse each other's babies, and co-operate in whatever degree of harmony their spirits can attain.

Husbands and wives may sleep separately or lie close together, side by side, or
513 feet to feet. The woman holds her infant in her arms. Young children sleep near by bundled together, two or three in one kaross. Girls at about seven or eight go to sleep with a grandmother or a widowed friend or relative. The boys of the band, beginning at the same age, all sleep at a boys' fire.

[595] /Ti/kay (Band 9), husband of the two attractive sisters, sees to it that his wives lie
[821] close to him, especially on cold nights, one on each side. Sleeping thus they were like the three stars of Orion which we call the Belt, but which the /Kung say are three zebras, two females with a male between them.

513 It is under such conditions that the /Kung usually have sexual intercourse—at
833 night, in their sleeping place. They cover themselves with their karosses and are very discreet. The position is to lie on the side, the man at the back of the woman. Men pull the labia of the women before intercourse. The wives of /Ti/kay told me that they took pleasure in intercourse. I asked them if they had orgasms. We had

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considerable difficulty with the interpretation, but I believe they finally understood 513
what I was trying to say. They did, they said, and added that one sleeps very well 833
afterwards.

Co-wives attain varying degrees of harmony. The expression of jealousy, especially 595
loud wrangling, upsets everybody, as all expression of discord does. Women are 578
trained by group approval to mould their conduct to acceptance. But often painful 626
jealousy does beset them, and the tensions are there, though to some extent hidden.

/Aha, wife of a young /Ti/kay in Band 13 at Gam, and still a young woman herself, 159
had with her fierce jealousy driven /Khoa, the pretty young second wife, wailing 595
into the night, back to her family's scherm. /Ti/kay used to sit for hours upon hours
singing soft, sad, sweet laments for /Khoa, but she did not return to live with
him.

The behaviour of /Naoka and Di/ai, the wives of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1, was more typical. Both women were approaching middle age, Di/ai somewhat younger than /Naoka. /Naoka had two married daughters and a teen-age son when Gao married Di/ai. The two women obviously disliked each other, but managed to preserve a decent semblance of harmony by self-control, silence, avoiding each other as much as possible in the small space they live in by their fire, and by separating often—going with different groups of relatives and friends to gather wild plant foods, to fetch water, or to visit.

A few men said that the jealousy of co-wives could be so unbearable that they 595
would not marry a second wife, but one said it made him feel good to have two
women fighting over him. Most of the men said they wanted more than one wife.
They pitied Laurence Marshall because the laws of his land forbade his having [186]
several, which they considered him rich enough to afford. One said he would not
live where there were such nonsensical rules.

The first wife is considered to have a somewhat more highly esteemed and dominant position. She is supposed to have the right to tell a second wife what to do, and a young second wife should fetch water and wood for the older wife, but I never saw this done.

No property or other material advantage is given a first wife and no important social advantages accrue. For instance, headmanship is inherited by the headman's [672]
eldest son by whichever wife he may be borne, and being the mother of a headman
does not place a woman above other mothers of sons.

It appeared to me that first wives were often at a disadvantage. Among the people we knew, the husbands favoured their younger, second wives with two exceptions: /Ti/kay of Band 9 favoured his first wife, the elder sister, and Gao, the headman of Band 2, favoured his first wife. Both were good-tempered, intelligent, able women. They appeared to take care of the young girls who were their co-wives, rather than to be served in any way by them. Other older first wives seemed sometimes to be dejected. One told me her husband always took the young second wife with him and, to her deep humiliation, sometimes left her, the first wife, to stay for a time with one or another family in the band, although she said to him, 'Why do you shame me so?'

None of the /Kung women informants expressed enthusiasm for polygyny. Each 185
wanted a husband to herself. They did not expound the social advantage which 595

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185 polygyny affords women—that none remain long without the support of a husband.
595 They just said they did not want to be second wives, nor did they want their husbands to take second wives, and protests and quarrels attended a husband's proposal to do so.

Marriage by capture

583 Marriage by capture was spoken of fairly frequently by the /Kung in conversation. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas and I questioned a number of informants about it and we are convinced that wives are not actually acquired by this means at present. Perhaps they were in the past. The /Kung are a present-oriented people who make [181] no concerted or consistent effort to retain their history and teach it to their children, and we obtained no significant data on their past customs. Nowadays the idea of capturing wives appears to be enjoyed by the men as a fantasy. The remarks of one /Gaishay illustrate what I mean. He weighs, at a good guess, about ninety pounds and looks like a miniature Mephistopheles. With a gleam he told me that if he wanted to take another wife he would go to her werf, seize her, throw her over his shoulder and run off with her. That is the way Bushmen do, he said, and he wished I could see him do so. I also wished that I could.

Arrangements for marriage

584 First marriages are arranged by the parents of the bride and groom, and second marriages also if the couple are still young. Adults, when both have been married before, may contract subsequent marriages themselves.

[611] Although there is a slight paternal emphasis in this society which recognizes bilateral descent, and the father names all his children, his authority is not clearly [593] dominant over the mother's in the choice of a mate for their child. By and large, it appears that the father and mother talk things over and come to agreement. If they do not agree, it appears that the strength of personality of one or the other, the opinions of relatives, and various circumstances have weight in the decision.

Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may take the initiative and go to the other parents with the proposal. A go-between is not required, though it is possible that a friend will sometimes act as such. The parents visit and talk, and, if they all agree, the arrangement is thereby settled upon. They normally give each other gifts in honour of the occasion.

Property does not enter much into the consideration of the parents in arranging marriages for their children. No property settlement is made, no bride-price paid, no dower given, though at the time of the wedding a few gifts are exchanged.

Food and water must, one imagines, weigh in the parents' thinking when a marriage is being arranged, and may sometimes be a determining factor. However, there is a considerable amount of equalization in these supplies. Veldkos[1] and water-holes 423 are not owned by individuals but by headmen for their bands, in a way I shall describe in a paper on bands. In the Nyae Nyae region each band has access to a supply, else the people would be dead or somewhere else, and things balance out in

[1] *Veldkos* (field food) is an Afrikaans word used to refer to any kind of wild plant material which people gather to eat. Edible fruits, seeds, roots, tubers, leaves, all are included.

/136 cont./

142 The tribe at Gam in particular consists almost exclusively of comparatively large people who, even after a thorough washing, display a decidedly darker coloration than the other Auin.

162 According to my observations, there is something like one to two women for each man, and from two to three children for each woman.

162 847 [862] In this connection I would like to mention that newborn children are always killed if the mother is still nursing a child, which continues until about the third year of life. The killing is done immediately after birth by the mother, who buries the newborn child alive. The father has nothing to do with it. Since marital [853] intercourse continues during the nursing period and since this period lasts for about three years, it follows that approximately every third child is reared while those born in the meantime are killed without exception. This might well be a principal factor in the unquestionable decline in the population.

592 595 Since each woman has her special windscreen (hut), the man lives alternately with one and then another of his wives; the latter in turn have their children living with them, and it therefore follows that about three to four persons occupy each hut.

221 361 The size of the settlements (villages) is quite indefinite and changes according to the circumstances. During the dry season a settlement is formed usually by one to two families, whereas during the period of ample veld food, in other words, toward the end and shortly after /137/ [map appears here] /138/ the rainy season, sometimes up to 30 families join together to form a "village." In April, 1908, about 400 men were living in a settlement near Sidonitzaub. If their dependents are included, one will arrive at a figure of at least 1,000 persons.

[701] All the men are armed warriors.

161 As has already been noted, one can clearly observe a decrease in the population, which, judging by its rapid progress, can be designated as swiftly approaching extinction. Aside from infanti- [136] cide and malaria, the decrease of wild game may also be given as a reason for the population decline, since this decrease makes food more difficult to obtain. Older Auin state that in former times attacks by lions caused heavy losses.

[Text continues on page 7]

/156 cont./

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

/157/ Divorce rarely occurs, and then only when the woman
586 has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

In most cases, however, the woman remains with her hus-
[595] band even in old age, while he provides himself with one or two younger and stronger women.

The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

587 Widows are permitted to marry again after a certain time, as is also the case for divorced women.

589 There is no special dress for widows.

The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to
562 that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-
264 pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

[184] The Rietfontein Auin always have just one wife. The reason
595 for this is said to be that "little food" is available. The Auin from Gam, on the average, have two, sometimes five wives.

Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto de-
548 scribed, there are supposed to be prostitutes among the married
684 women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auin declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by
847 stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

[9 cont.]

586 Up to the birth of the first child, the marriage is dissolvable, but not thereafter. Monogamy is the rule; where
595 there is polygamy, the first wife is the "head wife." The eldest
596 brother of the head wife is the family head. The boys belong to
611 the family of the wife, and the daughters to the family of the father.

582 The strictest exogamy prevails. Son and daughter may marry neither into the father's kin group nor into the mother's
[587] kin group. On the other hand, a young widow is usually married by one of her brothers-in-law.

551 The following kin-group names were reported to me: !Nui-a, Dai, áben, orasi, Gombe, χ'am, χ'am-Kha.

805 The following times of the day are differentiated:

eruba, time before sunrise.

!khoasa, time of sunrise (N. khoa-am = to open, that is, the door for the sun is opened).

sorésa, "the sun shines."

sorésa ≠kam go, "the young sun goes," breakfast time. In effect, below the tropics one has the impression that the sun, after it has stood on the horizon for a while, moves toward the zenith with great speed.

sorésa !khoai go, "the sun goes back." Noon.

//gui-sa, "it declines (lies down)." Afternoon.

[512] ≠khai-am-go, "to rise and go." After hunting or searching for veldkost, the Bushmen usually take a rest before it is time to go home and start cooking (late afternoon).

≠kha-go, "to go through." (The sun goes through the gate of the night.) Dusk, sunset.

!khui-sa, to be evening.

dschu-ba, night (N. tsuχub).

821 These Bushmen have the idea that the old sun dies every night and a new, young sun appears the next morning. That the
[171] moon dies every month and is resurrected again is a notion so widespread in Africa that it is really unnecessary to make special mention of it.

805 The year begins when a new rainy season sets in.

//hauba, "storms rise." Rainy season.

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

372 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in
881 the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other
184 hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not
585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the mar-
582 riage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A
595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 [12] A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

[29 cont.]

593 men are strongly influenced by their wives. It practically never
[562] happens that a man beats his wife. Monogamy [30] is the rule.
595 I know of one single case of a man having two sisters as wives. It is true that certain marriage laws frequently force the men to marry considerably older girls. It is therefore understandable that in such circumstances the desire for a younger life's companion frequently arises, but the consent of the first wife is absolutely necessary. It is said: "He who has a good wife may have several; he who has a bad one must be content with her alone." The Bush-
842 men do not know any means of preventing pregnancy, and, accordingly, very soon after marriage the young wife will find herself
843 with child. The husband and his sisters-in-law must see to it that she eats no sour veld fruit, nothing sweet, and no fat meat. No one is allowed to walk behind the pregnant woman's back; no pot is supposed to be put on the fire until the woman has been rubbed with the soot of the pot; she is not supposed to sit where the other
844 people are, but must stay to one side. When the time for delivery approaches, she must step over the legs of her husband, who has rubbed medicine into incisions in his calves. When the woman feels that the birth pangs are beginning, she goes into the bush by herself and looks for veldkost. She is not supposed to sit down while doing so, because that would have harmful effects on the birth. Then she picks grass, prepares a place under a tree, puts her bag of veldkost to one side, and gives birth to the child in a squatting position, grasping a branch with her hands. Then she takes the child, severs the umbilical cord herself, puts it in her veldkost bag, and goes home with it. The cord is always severed with a quartz knife (as among the Dama). The umbilical cord (!nm̃) is buried. Only women who are unafraid and who have already given birth to one child follow this procedure. A woman who is giving birth for the first time and is afraid does not go into the veld, but stays at home. As soon as the pains begin, she weeps and goes out, sits down, and stands up again. Older women of the kin group accompany her, and in their presence the child is finally born inside the hut. The men may not be present. Children, too, may not look on, and if they creep up out of curiosity, they are soundly thrashed.
[845] If there are difficulties, the abdomen is massaged. Von Zastrow
002

[62 cont.]

278 one person after another stepped up to the pan and threw his share of snake poison into it. Then the pan was removed from the fire.
[535] The Bushmen now performed a new dance, in which they imitated the convulsions of animals dying from the poison. After another half hour the poison was clear, and when everyone had convinced himself that it was the right color, a red mineral powder was added and thoroughly stirred into it. Then poisonous spiders were taken out of the reeds and thrown into the [63] pan. These came from the Langen Mountain in the Cape Colony, in other words, had been brought from afar. When the mass had thickened somewhat more, the arrows were smeared with it and dried in the shade (ibid., p. 380).

●595 These Bushmen, the M'Kabba, are monogamists.

563 Farini maintains (ibid., p. 171) that he met a black Pygmy who came from the tribe of the Kara-Kara north of Amboland (1).

1. At the mission station Usikualuthi I was told by the missionary, Mrs. Quarni, who has made most meritorious contributions to investigations of the country, that shortly before the war a number of black Pygmies who lived in the swamps along the Kunene had come to Chief Moala. She saw these people.

252 Concerning the food of the Bushmen, Dornan has the following to report: The Marsawa [sic] eat meat either roasted or grilled, rarely boiled, because they believe that the latter will
251 make them sick. The Bushmen of Basutoland cut the meat into tiny pieces, mixed it with fat, and then sewed it into hide sacks as preserved meat. As reserves in case of famine, the Kalahari Bushmen keep giraffe skins on tall trees. Veldkost is stored in turtle shells and ostrich eggs, as is water. The Basutoland Bushmen gathered grass seeds and stored them for times of hunger.

252 The tsama are prepared in the following manner: A hole is dug, and a fire is made in it. As soon as the soil is sufficiently

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

532 535 Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.

323 302 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is customary.

304 A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and (751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

● 595 836 684 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-

584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen

582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may

304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.

881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse

(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the

761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In

764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;

178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

NARON
IAUIN
NOGAU

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
[842] spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
843 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
845 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

[301
789
303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

*Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
584 are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

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term itself. Cf. System B, p. 16.) We know of no rule to prevent a name-relative being classified with any consanguineous kin or affine should his name not be on ego's ancestral list. 553 601

Supposing a name did not occur on ego's ancestral list but did occur several times among his contemporary consanguineous kin and affines, the question arises as to which kinsman or affine would be the one with whom ego would classify a person of that name. We have no precise data on this point, but we think that consanguinity takes precedence over affinity, or the near over the more distant relationship.

The spouses of kin are always paired terminologically with the kin (see p. 18), but this is not true of name-relatives. Ego establishes the name-relationship with each person of a married couple individually. It was in this connexion that we learnt of an aspect of the /Kung system which has not yet been mentioned.

Informants told us that ego may apply a term to the parents and children of an individual name-relative on the generational basis, if he has no term established by his ancestral list. If ego's term for a man is */gu!na* he may apply the term *tsu* to that man's Fa and So, observing the same alternation of the terms */gu!na* and *tsu* that is apparent in Diagram 1.

In this connexion informants told us furthermore that ' boys follow their fathers, girls follow their mothers ', meaning that a son is classified with respect to his father and a daughter with respect to her mother. Assuming that ego applies the term *tũn* to a woman, he could apply the term *||ga* to her Mo and Da. If ego applied the term *tsu* to that woman's Hu, he would use the term */gu!na* for her HuFa and for her So.

We think ego would use this method only if the parent or child of the name-relative had a name for which ego had no term. The /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region had so many name links that we did not observe people applying terms to parents and children of name-relatives in this manner.

There are a few additional terms to be mentioned. Co-wives of polygynous marriages use the terms */kwi*, elder Si, and *tsī*, younger Si, for each other, unless they have the same name, in which case they retain the term */gu!na*. 601 [595]

Step-father is *ba-tsu*, step-mother is *dai-||ga*, step-son is */ha-tsu*, and step-daughter is *≠khai-||ga*.

Mama is a word, heard often, which is not strictly a kinship term. It is applied m.s. and w.s. to any male or female when people wish to express pleasure, gratitude, or affection and it includes an element of respect. It is applied so frequently to grandparents that it becomes almost an alternate to the terms. [576]

System B

The second constellation of kin terms applies to affines. Whereas a person ' enters ' System A initially by way of biological ties and/or homonymy, he ' enters ' System B by way of marital ties—of himself, of his offspring and of his siblings. 601

We shall designate as ' primary ' certain affinal relationships which have a factor in common, namely: terms applied in these relationships are linked to the relationship, as the parent and child terms are linked to those relationships; nothing changes them. The method of homonymy is not practised. Furthermore, when a person comes into one of the primary affinal relationships with ego, ego drops whatever term he

881 ceremony, which may last for a month or even longer. The latter, as practised among the *ǂAo-//ēin*, consists of several stages. On the first day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the smoke of the "devil's" fire (*//gāua-da*) and are required to partake of the "devil's" urine (*//gāua-/kam*). The proceedings of the second day begin with dancing before daybreak. After sunrise and at sunset they are given a small quantity of *//nōun* (one of the staple vegetable foods of the Kalahari Bushmen) to eat and a little water to drink. During the day their bodies are blackened from head to foot with powdered roasted *//nōun*. After partaking of the evening meal they retire to rest without dancing. On the morning of the third day they start dancing at sunrise and dance without interruption and without food or water all day long until sunset, when they go to sleep. On the following morning before sunrise their hands are washed with water by the elders and they are given a little *//nōun* to eat. Thereafter they are taken to a pan of water and required to walk through it. The rest of the day is spent in collecting veldkos. In the evening they are introduced to the "Devil" and partake of honey brought by the latter. On the fifth day their bodies are cleansed with chewed roasted *//nōun* and they are permitted to move about the camp and partake of food. They may, however, not speak to young unmarried women. As they retire to rest at night their bows and arrows are handed to them by the elders. From now onwards each lad is taken separately and required to prove his skill in stalking and killing game with bow and arrow. [304] Each one who passes through the test in a satisfactory manner is tattooed with meat taken from the animals shot by him and then permitted to return to the werft.

Courtship and Marriage, Death, Etc.

582 Marriage within the group is forbidden and is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. As a rule men do not go far for wives and intermarriage takes place between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women. The southern groups among the Bushmen 184 595 of the Kalahari are monogamous but as one proceeds northwards polygamy is met with. Among the *Ilei-//om*, for example, each man has two wives as a rule. The wives may or may not be related. The second wife is taken some time after the first. The wife taken first is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over the second wife. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation. Polygamy is rarely met with among the *ǂAo-//ēin* and *Naron*. Exchange of wives

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

unmarried son or two, and their daughters' children. Bush- 105
men are polygynous, and a man is allowed by custom to have 621
as many wives as he can afford, depending on how well he [615]
hunts—usually a man can afford only one wife, sometimes two (often a pair of sisters), and once we heard of a man with four wives. For this reason there are often more women than men in a band.

The immediate family, a man, his wife, or wives, and chil- 105
dren, is the only solid social unit; otherwise the small bands 592
are always breaking up and recombining with other small 621
bands as the structures of single families change, through marriages, divorces, deaths, or as the family decides to pay a prolonged visit to a different group of relatives.

Any Bushman will either be related by blood or marriage 105
or will be acquainted with all the other Bushmen in his area 602
but this is as far as Bushmen go in their affinities. They do 609
not recognize as their own people strange Bushmen who speak the same language; in fact, they suspect and fear them as they do any stranger.

We have visited four of the Bushman language groups, two 114-
of which we stayed with for long periods of time. In 1951, 131
after a survey expedition to learn where Bushmen could be found, we went into the Nyae Nyae area of South-West Africa, close to the border of Bechuanaland, to look for Kung Bushmen. We found a band living near a waterhole, as it was June, the drought of the year, and we stayed with them for four months. At first only a few Bushmen were there, but as [609
the news spread that we were friendly, more and more peo- 276]
ple came to visit us and receive presents of tobacco and salt, for Bushmen love to smoke but rarely have tobacco, which they get in trade. Also, most of the Bushmen had never seen a European before, none had ever seen a European woman, and they came by dozens to sit together in a cluster

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

of the old women, Dasina, who was Tsetchwe's mother, inhaled too deeply and began to faint. Tsetchwe half turned her mother so that everyone would not see her, and, putting an arm around her for support, let the old woman lean on her shoulder. Our interpreter laughed, and Tsetchwe turned to glare. Tsetchwe's back was exactly like her mother's, broad but curved in at the waist, the old woman's a little bloated but Tsetchwe's young and strong. 609 276 621

Another old woman was smoking, too, puffing on a short, wide pipe cut from a leg bone of some large antelope, so big that she had to stuff one end with grass to keep the tobacco inside. She almost unhinged her jaw each time she puffed. She would inhale and spit, cough, and inhale again without a sign of dizziness, and when she saw Dasina faint she too laughed out loudly. Her name, she told us, was Twikwe.

Twikwe was skinny and tall as a man, with long, lanky arms that she flung about in the air, gesturing, and long legs that jerked when she walked. She wore only a short piece of leather that reached from her waist to her thighs, and we could see that she was wrinkled from head to foot, her skin hanging in long, vertical wrinkles down her thighs and belly, like an old apple that has dried. She talked incessantly and loudly, always opening and closing her mouth, and she joked, for Ukwane and the young boys near her laughed at everything she said. She was telling how her husband had outdistanced her as they were running away and was surely running still. Every now and then she stopped her talk to shout out to him, jeering, saying that he was depriving himself of tobacco and should come back; then everyone would listen, but no sound came from him, no answer. He never did come back, and in the weeks we were there we never saw him. Perhaps he was running away from Twikwe, for we later learned that he was living in a valley with his other wife. 142 156 593 621 [596]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kuing

837 woman had begun to regret her act, and as her children,
593 whom she had brought with her, were crying for their father, she agreed to return. She then explained her reason for leaving; her husband, who had until recently been a serf Bushman, could not hunt well and was not able to clothe her. She was a handsome woman, but her kaross showed that what she said was true—the only garment that she had had to wear on the day of her elopement was tattered and old. She also explained how she and her lover had passed the night, she sleeping on one side of the fire, he on the other, with the children between. She put straws on the ground, a straw for each person, to show how it was, and we believed her.

The whole affair seemed to center itself around raiment, for though the woman was poorly dressed with what her husband had given her, the beads and ornaments that she had made for herself were fine and white. Her children, too, were poorly clothed with leather, but they also wore white beads, and her lover, the man who had attracted her so much that she committed an unconscionable act, was dressed beautifully in a soft new leather loincloth, sewed finely and worked with white beads. I myself was adorned with the story, for when we came upon the spot where the lovers were resting I found that I had a pen but no paper and so wrote everything that happened on my arms and legs.

When we got home, the woman's husband took her back and was very glad to have her. No one ever mentioned the affair again.

586 In the same band there was another man, about forty years
● 595 old, who took a beautiful young girl not yet twenty as his second wife. His first wife, also forty and the mother of three, was very jealous and bothered the beautiful girl until the girl, who did not love the husband anyway, ran away from

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

him and back to her parents. The husband was enraged and 586 595
set off after her, but when he finally found her his anger had been replaced by longing and he pleaded with her, reasoned with her parents, and plied them with the meat of an entire eland he had shot, asking for her to return. But she would not, her parents would not make her, and finally she drove him away with these words: "I don't want an old husband like you, you man with a big black belly."

Thereafter, the marriage was recognized by everyone as dissolved. The husband was sadly disappointed, but the two women, at least, were pleased.

Both Kung and Gikwe Bushmen permit divorce, condemn 593
adultery. We saw very little marital strife among the Kung [586
with whom we lived for over a year, and none among the 837]
Gikwe. Even so, many Bushmen over thirty years old in both groups had previously been widowed or divorced. Death and strife take too many people; a Bushman cannot really expect his first marriage to last him all his life.

Ukwane's second wife had been a widow, the mother of 159
Twikwe, and when that woman had died Twikwe had lived 587
on with Ukwane. His third wife was Kutera, and their only living child was Gaiamakwe. Ukwane had another son still living at Chukudu, the Bakalahari settlement, who was surely one of the Bushmen servants in that long procession of Bakalahari villagers we had seen moving to winter quarters. We told Ukwane about this migration and Ukwane said he was sorry to hear it because he had hoped very much to see his son again before he died and many seasons might pass now before the son would come.

Kutera herself had been married twice before, once to a Bakalahari, once to a Bushman named Gainaho, and last to Ukwane, to whom she had been married about fifteen years.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

sibly as the result of a very prevalent eye disease. He had been 163
blind when we knew him as a baby; now his infected eye had 164
shrunk away, leaving a socket. As I watched him, I noticed that his good eye had become infected too and bothered him; he had developed a habit of turning his head from side to side, squinting with his good eye, trying to see depth or judge distance, and also a habit of rubbing both eyes with his knuckles. When Dikai saw me watching him she pointed to her own eyes, then to Dabe's, to show that she and Dabe, too, had the infection, and when I said that I would give her medicine when we got back to Nama she nodded. "I was waiting for you to come," she said.

Hearing me speak of medicine, Little Gashe glared at me 164
balefully. I had treated his eyes before and perhaps he remembered that the medicine was painful, or perhaps he was afraid that I would harm his eyes. He scrambled into his mother's lap to nurse and, facing toward her for safety, glared at me over her shoulder. Little Dabe, seeing this, climbed into Dikai's lap too and she had to nurse them both, one on [862]
each knee, at each breast. Her lap became a battlefield. They kicked and pushed and got in each other's way.

Dikai and her two boys were only half of Gao Feet's fam- 595
ily, for he had another wife, his first wife, who had a daughter and a grandchild. We were not surprised that these people were not with Gao Feet; his two wives did not get along well. Since Dikai was young and pretty, Gao Feet spent his time with her. We asked Gao Feet where his first wife was, and he told us that she was living with her daughter's family and with Dikai's mother in a dry forest not far away where tsi was growing. We asked for other people, the other members of 621
Toma's large band, and Toma told us that they were well, living far away in a mangetti forest. Naturally, Toma's family had not seen this group for some time because of the dis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

beside her, and I remembered the eye medicine I had prom- 609
ised to her, so I nodded and went to get it, but when I re-
turned with it I found that she had mistakenly awakened her
sons and they now crouched behind her, peering out at me,
their small faces distorted with distrust and apprehension. I
held out my hand to Little Gashe, but he retired completely
behind his mother, pushing Little Dabe out the other side,
so I held out my hand to Little Dabe, causing him to shrink
back, pushing Little Gashe. Finally Dikai stood up and left
them both exposed, and then Gao Feet held Little Gashe,
Dikai held Little Dabe, and I put the medicine in as quickly 603
as possible, but both children had tantrums of rage and
arched their backs, and as soon as they were released they
would have nothing further to do with their parents, but
went to sleep at their grandmother's fire instead, on the
opposite side of the werf. The light was very dim, only the
stars were showing and the fires had died, and these two for-
lorn children made two red little shapes as they lay down at
their grandmother's fire; their skins reflected the red glow of
coals, for they lay right in the ashes for warmth; they had for-
saken their parents' karosses and there was no room for them
under their grandmother's—another child was sleeping there.

Gao Feet gave up trying to urge them to come home and at 595 574
last he, too, lay down to sleep, snug between his two wives,
who were resting, not sleeping, for whenever someone at one
of the other fires said something of interest, one or the other
of them would put up her head and remark upon it. Tu slept
alone with her children, for Toma had gone visiting, and one
by one the people at Tu's fire moved away toward their own
werfs, calling to each other in the dark. At last only a few 521
voices were heard at one of the werfs; they seemed very gay
and very lighthearted, all talking at once, and now and then
Toma's voice was heard above them all. Hearing him, Tu

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam
Auen
Kung

601 I believe the term "sister" is used to a cousin who has been
[597] brought up as an adopted child in the speaker's family, just as a grandparent calls a grandchild "my child", if he adopts it.

[595] The ǂxam-ka-ǀ'e are monogamous, and in their folklore there is only one case of the punishment of incest, that of brother and sister.

I do not know whether the omissions in this table of relationships are accidental, or owing to the fact that the terms omitted are seldom or never used.

II. Northern Group: The ǂk'au ǂen (*Auen*), *and* ǀkuŋ *or Bushmen of the N.W. Kalahari*

193 These tribes likewise use the descriptive method in denoting
601 terms of relationship. They, too, show in a few of such terms endings for masculine and feminine, which do not appear in any other nouns. For example: tsi or siŋ "brother", tsisi "sister", where we again find nasalization for the masculine, and si instead of ti for the feminine ending, or a prefixed di "female".

[193] Ma is the diminutive ending; ǀna means "big, grown up", ǂga
196 means "old, worn out". ǀku or ǀkū I think means "kinsman" or
601 "namesake". Thus the greatuncle is the "old kinsman", the mother's brother is the "big kinsman", the father's brother and sister are "little" ones, as are cousins, nephews and nieces, which would point to their having less influence. This rather contradicts the statement of the ǂk'au ǂen, that in case of a man's death, his brother must provide for his children. However, the father's brother is addressed as tshu or tsu, a term of affection applied in this tongue more to relations by marriage, but in ǀkuŋ, used by grandparents and grandchildren mutually, and by uncle and nephew. ǀko, the name for the mother's sister is, I think, a word related to ǀkoïte "grandmother", probably a feminine form of ǀku or ǀkoïŋ. Mama used reciprocally by grandparents and grandchildren seems to be a term of affection.

Ba and tai are evidently related to the ǂxam terms of address to parents ibo, itau. There is no special word for husband or wife in these two dialects. ǀkwā and ǀkao are simply "man", and dzou and zau "woman". ǀkwā o m ba seems to mean "man of my father", which does not seem sense for the mother's father. Tai o dzou "mother of wife" is of course quite clear.

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

Brother and sister are the only relations who are forbidden to marry, and by this, real brother and sister are meant, the children of one father and mother, not cousins. I never heard a title for any cousin, however related, though several were present Cousins sometimes marry, but more often a bride from a distance is procured. 582

A pair of sisters have a very close relationship. They are generally chums, and help each other with their babies. A child calls its mother's sister its "little mother". In speaking of the occasional bigamy found among the **Naron** in contrast to other Bushman tribes, an old man said to me: 593 [601] [604] 595

"A man may take a second wife, if he wishes. If they agree well, they live in one hut; if not, each makes herself a hut. A man had better take his wife's younger sister as his second wife; then they do not quarrel, but live in one hut."

ǁka in **ǁkashe** "maternal aunt" may be derived from **ǁkai** "together". **Ho** used as a verb means "to marry", also "to give birth to children". **Ti kweba** and **ti kwesa** mean simply "my man", "my woman"; they are more often used than **hoba** and **hosha**. 196 601

A widow may marry her late husband's brother, but need not do so. She is quite at liberty to marry any other man. If she remarries, her husband is expected to look after her children; otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. The widow may stay near her husband's people, or return to her own people, as she pleases. 587 [604]

Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, are very fond of adopting a grandchild. They will half adopt one, even during both parents' lifetime. The grandmother is generally the person who teaches a child to speak. 597 603 [868]

In concluding these notes on the tables of relationship, I should like to say that I know they are very incomplete. At the time of my stay among the **ǁkau ǁen** and **Naron** I had not realized the importance of this side of native life; nor apparently had my aunt, Dr. Lloyd, whose work I rely on for the **ǂxam** and **ǃkuŋ** tables. Still, I think sufficient has been collected to show the general trend of Bushman family ties. 114

One must always remember, that people depending on nature for their entire food supply, can only exist in very small, widely scattered groups. Families cannot be large. Drought and famine 105 161

[Text continues on page 70]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

556 on the quantity of objects they want to possess. They do not even want
48 one each of the common tools of their lives. They borrow from each other,
[42b] and there is less to carry.

431 Instead of acquiring prestige by accumulating possessions, the !Kung
571 seek it in the opposite way. They practice a custom of gift giving to such an extent that their belongings all move in a slow flowing current among them and no one keeps anything of particular value very long. !Kung society requires that gifts be made in return, and the custom serves as a means to mitigate jealousy, to express friendly intent, and to weave people together in mutual obligation.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE FAMILY AND THE DOMESTIC GROUP • The
59 family is the primary and the most cohesive social unit of the !Kung. By far
57 the strongest bonds they feel are those of the nuclear family—the bonds
[594] between parent and offspring, between siblings, between spouses. These
[621] relationships are the basis of residence; by that I mean that people live together and have membership in their bands and rights to its food and water resources because they are linked to the band by one of these relationships. I believe that, in addition to the structured aspects, there is great emotional cohesiveness in !Kung families and that this is observable in the way families within the band build their fires near each other, come and go together, or, if there should be a quarrel, literally stand by each other, drawing close together.

The !Kung family passes through four phases. In its simplest nuclear form it consists of a man, his wife, and such children as are born to them.
[595] First marriages are always with just one wife. A later nuclear phase may be
[583] polygynous. When the daughters of a !Kung couple marry, and the daughters' husbands come to live with their brides' parents to give them bride
[591] service, the unit becomes an extended family. In a second extended phase, the married sons may have returned from bride service with their wives and offspring. In this phase, the married daughters with their husbands and offspring may stay or they may go to live with their husbands' people.

[589] • The headship of a family is strongly associated with males. A widowed mother is regarded as a dependent, not as a family head. When the old father of an extended family dies, that particular family ceases to be an extended family. Families of siblings may live together in the same band, but no one of them has authority over another unless one of the siblings happens to be headman of the band. If they are no longer involved in bride service themselves, and their offspring are not yet married, these families become independent nuclear families again, to become new, extended families when the offspring marry.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

various taboos. They wait for the children to grow up, hoping that they will be like their families in these qualities. 581

The marriage takes place when the parents agree, but it must be after the boy has killed a game animal and is scarified. The age at which young people marry varies greatly. We know girls who were married for five or six years before they menstruated; others were somewhat older at marriage. 582

!Kung society rigorously, and without exception, requires that all men, in first and subsequent marriages, go to live with the parents of their brides, and give them bride service. This service is essentially hunting. "Our daughter's husband must give us meat." "We shall soon be old; we need a young man to hunt for us." These are the refrains of the people. 591 583

The duration of bride service is indefinite. The !Kung say it should be long enough for three children to be born. Since the girls are so young, it may mean that eight or ten years elapse before three children have been born. Divorce may terminate bride service. After his obligations are fulfilled, a man has the right to return to his own people with his wife and dependents or he may choose to stay with his wife's people.

The young couple is expected not to have sexual intercourse until the girl is ready. No social rule patterns the time, which is a matter of individual adjustment, but the boy must not force the girl. If she complained to her parents, they might disapprove of the boy, dissolve the marriage, and send him away. His parents would have to try to find another bride for him and he would have to wait for years again for her to grow up. 585 [586]

The !Kung are polygynous. First marriages are ordinarily arranged by their parents between children who have not been previously married. Only occasionally is a young girl betrothed for her first marriage to a man who had been married before, perhaps a young man who had lost his wife by death or divorce, or possibly, but rarely, to her sister's husband or some other man as his second wife. Usually second marriages are contracted later in life when a woman becomes available for remarriage through widowhood or divorce. In such marriages, the man and woman concerned make their own arrangements. The number of wives a man may have is determined not by social rule but by the man's ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. There is no great excess of women, and prestige and wealth do not concentrate in !Kung society to give certain categories of men, such as headmen or medicine men, more power or right than others to acquire wives. A sampling of eighty-eight marriages showed that only nine of the men had two wives. None had more than two. 595 587 595 [554]

Although the first wife is considered to have a somewhat more esteemed and dominant position, no property or other material advantage is given to her and no important social advantage accrues.

!Kung co-wives live very closely together. They share one scherm and one family fire. They care for and nurse each other's children. Even when

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

they are jealous of each other, as they so often are, !Kung society demands of them that they preserve a decent semblance of harmony and, by self-control and silence, avoid disturbing other people with jealous wrangling.

The band itself, as a structured unit, is not a factor in regulating marriage. Persons may marry either within their bands or outside them if relationships and marriage regulations permit. Neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory, but marriage with a brother's wife or a sister's husband is considered to be good and suitable, particularly as a second marriage, should death or divorce make it possible for these affines to marry again These relationships are not especially preferred in first marriages.

Marriages are forbidden in !Kung society only on the basis of the incest taboo, which is very strongly felt. It rigorously prohibits the !Kung from marriage with members of the nuclear family. It also extends to step-parents, stepbrothers and stepsisters, stepchildren, and to three additional categories of persons: certain kin, certain affines, and certain name relatives, whose relationships are considered to resemble those of the nuclear family.[8]

The !Kung conform strictly to the marriage regulations where they feel the internal sanction strongly, as they do with close kin and affines. But with the more remote relatives, third cousins, and even second cousins, and with name relatives, they deviate without any apparent sense of guilt and without incurring the grave disapproval of society.

Widowers may marry again without restriction. A widow is supposed to wait until one rainy season has passed so that "the rain may wash the death away," but often she does not.

A couple may divorce without formality. This may be by mutual consent, or one spouse may simply leave the other. No religious or legal dispensation is involved and parental consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties for there is no dowry or bride-price to be resolved. Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way, and they are free to remarry without restrictions. Although the !Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it because it is untoward and can cause trouble. Divorces are not uncommon among young people of about the age at which young people in our society would be getting married, but, once a compatible mate is found, there is a notable stability in the marriages.

!Kung society forbids any sexual relations outside marriage, with one exception, called */kamheri*. */Kamheri* means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided the wives consent. When deviations from the sexual regulations do occur, the usual form is adultery, since almost all Bushman women are in the married state from early youth. But adultery meets with deterrents in this society. The strongly felt incest taboo prevents extramarital sexual relations as well as marriage with close relatives. Ease of divorce enables persons who really wish to change mates

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

obvious from the fact that although several chiefs were present, there was no common supreme chief.[1] Such gatherings are only temporary in nature, and produced by some special circumstance. They cannot therefore be regarded as indicative of the normal groupings of the Bushmen. 361 619 621 [622]

Social Structure of the Band

Within the band the only division is into families. The family among the Bushmen consists of a man and his wife or wives, together with their dependent children. It is a unit of outstanding importance in their social and economic life. The members of a family usually live together in one hut; the children until they are mature remain under the direct control of their parents, are nourished and are educated by them; husband and wife jointly contribute to the maintenance of their household, and the domestic tasks and industries are apportioned between them according to fixed custom. The family, moreover, has much freedom of movement, and, as already mentioned, single families will often roam about separately for a while within the territory of their band. 592 [595]

The relationship between the different families constituting a band is seldom defined clearly by the various observers. In particular the information available about the kinship organization of the Bushmen is very inadequate. Miss Bleek has recently published lists of relationship terms for each of the three main linguistic groups defined by her.[2] From these it appears that among all the Bushmen there are, in addition to various descriptive terms of relationship, also certain terms applied not to individuals but to whole groups of different relatives, while still others are used reciprocally between people standing in a particular relationship to each other. Relationship terms of the last two types, when found in other societies, are usually indicative of a definite organization of the community on the basis of kinship; and it is probable therefore that some such organization exists among the Bushmen as well. Unfortunately the lists given by Miss Bleek appear to be drawn from vocabulary sources rather than from an actual study of kinship itself, and cannot therefore be used with any degree of confidence. In any case they throw 114 601 602 621 114 601 114 602

[1] Op. cit., 138, 155. It should be mentioned here that the figures given by Kaufmann are, as a rule, far in excess of those given by other writers of about the same time and on the same district (e.g. Müller, German official estimate), and cannot therefore be accepted without question. [114]

[2] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1924), 57–70.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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361 [606] exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes." Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent [882] young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young men; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of married people. The dancing place is to the west within the circle.

"The large tree (*!heis*) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved 361 as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women 562 are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely, [622] the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for kindling the principal fire (*!ou-!ais*) or for other menial purposes when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this *!heis*. Under [372] it is made the first fire (*!hei-!ais*) on the establishment of a new [224] *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed in the chase."[1]

Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among 114 all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the 361 only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. "Where several families live together," he says, "the huts are ranged in a circle, the head of the group ("Dorfälteste") living in the east."[3]

Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families 592 are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they [595] get on well; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share [882] a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree, and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with [589] a boy; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone, are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting 342 as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52. [2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4-5; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 51; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the women told her "a girl may do as she pleases, but a married woman may not".[1] And again Dornan writes of the Hiechware: "Sexual intercourse by the lovers before marriage, though looked upon as wrong, is very often indulged in."[2] Vague generalizations such as these really tell us next to nothing about the nature of sexual life before marriage; they simply ignore the many important sociological problems connected with the whole question of courtship and selection, social attitude towards prenuptial unchastity, legitimacy, and marriage. 114 836

Similarly Trenk says that the girls among the Namib Bushmen are generally virgins when they enter into marriage, because most of them marry soon after puberty.[3] But that premarital unchastity does actually occur is shown by his statement in another context that the children born to an unmarried woman are taken over and looked after by the man she subsequently marries, although as soon as they grow up they must be returned to their real father.[4] This implies that physiological paternity is acknowledged by these Bushmen, and that marriage is not necessary to legalize the status of children. The latter implication at least is at variance with what is known of other Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed. Among the Heikum, for example, abortion is sometimes practised by unmarried women who are pregnant, or, when "illegitimate" (i.e. prenuptial) births occur, the children are usually buried alive.[5] Here, therefore, marriage would seem to be an essential preliminary to the right to procreate and rear children, and therefore to the foundation of the family. [582] 848 [842] [847] [581]

A family is constituted by a union between one man and one or more women, this union being legalized by marriage. The Cape Bushmen are now said to be monogamous,[6] but polygynous marriages also have been recorded by earlier writers.[7] The Namib Bushmen, according to Trenk, are monogamous; Seydel, on the other hand, curtly remarks that both polygyny and polyandry occur![8] There is no other mention of polyandry among any of the Bushmen, and the statement can hardly be accepted as accurate without full confirmation. The more northerly tribes all permit polygyny, although the frequency of such marriages varies. Among the Naron at Sandfontein monogamy 595 [114]

[1] Op. cit., 32. [2] Op. cit., 128. [3] Op. cit., 169. [4] Ibid., 168.
[5] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.
[6] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, ix; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 62.
[7] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, i, 30; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 95.
[8] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505: "Vielmännerei und Vielweiberei wird beobachtet."

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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595 is the rule, but a second wife is not considered wrong; it is thought better for a man in such a case to marry the younger sister of his first wife, then the two will not quarrel.[1] Further east in this tribe three or four wives are not infrequent, and actually a man often marries the sisters and "cousins" of his first wife.[2] The Auen at Rietfontein all have only one wife, "because of the scarcity of food," while those at Gam on the average have two, and sometimes even five wives. The wife first married holds a higher social position than the rest, which may, however, says Kaufmann, be due merely to her greater age.[3] Among the Kung a second wife may be taken, if the first consents; but owing to the difficulty of providing for more than one wife, adds Lebzelter, polygynous marriages are extremely rare.[4] Of the Heikum, again, Fourie tells us that each man as a rule has two wives, who may or may not be related. The second wife is married some time after the first, who is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over her. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife, and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation.[5] Polygynous marriages are also found among the !O Kung of Angola and among the Hiechware, but are here said to be comparatively rare.[6]

The occurrence of such marriages implies a numerical [114] preponderance of women, or else that some of the men must remain [162] bachelors; but unfortunately in no instance are figures given to show the proportion of men and women, or even of monogamous and polygynous marriages, within the band. The motives for polygyny are also not clearly defined. We are told, however, that [622] chiefs among the Naron mostly had two wives,[7] so that here it may be [554] partly associated with rank; while among the Auen, and probably also among the Heikum, the second wife is often not taken until the first is old and past child-bearing. A similar statement is made by Barrow about the Cape Bushmen.[8] In such cases naturally only the older men have more than one wife.

The Cape and the Namib Bushmen, as previously mentioned, are 582 said to forbid marriage only between own brother and sister, parent and child; and so do the !O Kung of Angola. Beyond this no special prohibition or injunction appears to exist. Among the Heikum, on the other hand, the range of forbidden relatives is extended to include all cousins and nieces; while in all the North-Western tribes, including

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34. [2] Passarge, op. cit., 106. [3] Op. cit., 137. [4] Op. cit., 13–14.
[5] Op. cit., 92. [6] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112; Dornan, op. cit., 124.
[7] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37. [8] Loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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when the wife is too old; she may then simply be sent back to her 586
people. Generally, however, she stays with her husband, who then
takes a second wife, younger and more active. The children of a [595]
divorced woman remain with their father, and are brought up by his new wife.[1] Among the Heikum separation of husband and wife may take place under various circumstances, as when the woman is childless, but this, says Fourie, is entirely a matter for adjustment between them. The wife on separation returns to her own group; the present made to her mother at marriage is not returned to the husband. The children are looked upon as belonging to the father, but if husband and wife should separate the girls, according to Fourie, are taken by the father and the sons by the mother.[2] This statement
runs counter to those given above about what happens in the other [114]
North-Western tribes under similar circumstances, and is almost certainly inaccurate.

Among the Namib Bushmen divorce may result only from barrenness or adultery, and is at the discretion of the husband. If he decides to separate from his wife, he brings her back to her parents. The mature children remain with him, while the youngsters who have to go with their mother also come to him when grown up. After divorce both parties are at liberty to marry again as soon as they wish.[3]

Marriage is, of course, also dissolved by the death of either husband 587
or wife. As a rule the survivor may remarry. Among the Bushmen
of Basutoland, however, a widow is said to have found it difficult [589]
to get a second husband, owing perhaps, writes Arbousset,[4] to the [754]
popular belief that most of the deaths which occurred were due to [761]
witchcraft rather than disease. On the other hand, great attention was paid to her in the camp, where no piece of game was ever eaten without her having a share.

Further north this fear of marriage with a widow is not found. [184]
Among the Naron she may, if she likes, marry her late husband's brother, but need not necessarily do so; she is quite at liberty to marry another man. If she remarries, and if young enough most
widows do so, her new husband is expected to look after the children; [736]
otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. An unmarried widow may stay near her late husband's people, or return to her own group, as she pleases.[5] Widows among the Auen may also marry 587

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157.
[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 305.
[3] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 67.
[4] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 60.
[5] Op. cit. (English trans.), 364.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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554 887 band, such as migrations and hunting parties, appear rather to be regulated by the skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men generally.[1]

Among the North-Western tribes, on the other hand, where the 622 bands are on the whole more considerable in size, each band has a [184] recognized chief (*//exa* or *//exaba*, *gao-aob* or *gai-khoib*; the last two [192] words are of Hottentot origin).[2] The office is as a rule hereditary in the male line, descending from father to son, or, failing such, to the nearest male relative. The heir succeeds only when he attains maturity, i.e. when he has passed through the puberty ceremonies and has killed his first head of big game. During his minority there is no regency—things just go on, as Kaufmann says. Among the Heikum and the Kung, however, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds. This [184] rule of succession is so much at variance with what we know of the [171] other North-Western Bushmen, and even of the structure of the band in the two tribes mentioned, that, if the information be correct, the practice can only be regarded as due to the influence of the neighbouring OvaMbo, who are definitely organized on a matrilineal [611] basis. There is no other instance of matrilineal succession among the Bushmen.

No tribute or services are rendered to the chief, nor are there any special signs of chieftainship, such as a particular dress or mode of life. We are told by Miss Bleek that Naron chiefs mostly have two [595] wives, but whether this is in any way associated with their status is not made clear. The main functions of the chief apparently are to direct the movements of the people from place to place and to allocate the work for the day, to order the burning of the veld, and, in particular, to lead in war. Among the Heikum we also know that in him are vested certain other functions the performance of which is of vital importance to the welfare of the community. He alone, as we have seen, "is able to bring forth from fire the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune." The various beliefs and practices centring in the first fire kindled by him at every new encampment, while fully demonstrating the importance of this fire in the social life of the people, at the same time also reflect his religious significance and emphasize the dependence of the community upon him in this aspect of their life. He also, as we have

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109; Trenk, op. cit., 170; Seydel, op. cit., 504.

[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 154; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36–7; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 86–8; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 14.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

101 Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung
582 whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

619 The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal [648] political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

648 162 About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of [621] burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants [177] other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

621 My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on [114] which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

[162] FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	5
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

601 /Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and [595] extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal [596] residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally, [611] There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the [614] incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins [835] are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

621 As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consangui-
582 nity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[113] [1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

[9 cont.]

586 Up to the birth of the first child, the marriage is dis-
595 solvable, but not thereafter. Monogamy is the rule; where
596 there is polygamy, the first wife is the "head wife." The eldest
611 brother of the head wife is the family head. The boys belong to the family of the wife, and the daughters to the family of the father.

582 The strictest exogamy prevails. Son and daughter may marry neither into the father's kin group nor into the mother's
[587] kin group. On the other hand, a young widow is usually married by one of her brothers-in-law.

551 The following kin-group names were reported to me: !Nui-a, Dai, áben, orasi, Gombe, χ'am, χ'am-Kha.

805 The following times of the day are differentiated:

eruba, time before sunrise.

!khoasa, time of sunrise (N. khoa-am = to open, that is, the door for the sun is opened).

sorésa, "the sun shines."

sorésa ≠kam go, "the young sun goes," breakfast time. In effect, below the tropics one has the impression that the sun, after it has stood on the horizon for a while, moves toward the zenith with great speed.

sorésa !khoai go, "the sun goes back." Noon.

//gui-sa, "it declines (lies down)." Afternoon.

[512] ≠khai-am-go, "to rise and go." After hunting or searching for veldkost, the Bushmen usually take a rest before it is time to go home and start cooking (late afternoon).

≠kha-go, "to go through." (The sun goes through the gate of the night.) Dusk, sunset.

!khui-sa, to be evening.

dschu-ba, night (N. tsuχub).

821 These Bushmen have the idea that the old sun dies every night and a new, young sun appears the next morning. That the
[171] moon dies every month and is resurrected again is a notion so widespread in Africa that it is really unnecessary to make special mention of it.

805 The year begins when a new rainy season sets in.

//hauba, "storms rise." Rainy season.

000 [42 cont.]
622 the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is
372 the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo.
778 Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are
[262] "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a
784 very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language.
Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is
166 available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the
372 village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha
[596] fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they
252 have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha
264 fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave im-
621 mediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the
[462] windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire
he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does.
Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large
game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains
seated there, while the women and children make themselves
comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The
game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and
[262] shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children,
who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is
[622] consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has
the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The
hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has
described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

178 When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the
622 Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight
organization and a common leader. When Captain François went
beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable
support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note
that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of
Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a
Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a

2. He himself was a half-breed.

chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest
chief I heard of was "χ'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

[42 cont.]

178 He died when his successor, Amme, was still a small boy. Amme,
622 however, was unable [43] to learn much from his father; he was not a good chief, and he died while still young. Since then the !Kung Bushmen have not had a supreme chief. One of my informants, Doctor X'amme, claimed to be the great-grandson of the great chief of the same name.

The following from Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) should

1. Op. cit., pp. 412, 424.

be mentioned:

593 "The father is the chief of the family. All must respect
596 him. Children may not call him by name. -- The chief's posi-
622

[276]

Fig. 15. Dacha Pipe of the !Kung Bushmen (from the Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart, 29464).

tion is generally passed from father to son. If the son is not yet an adult when his father dies, the father's younger brother takes
423 his place. Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited
614 from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

"There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 100 kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the
horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
[842] spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
843 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
845 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong
to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu;
the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and
father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is
forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage
is forbidden even with the children
of the mother's brothers and
mother's sisters; within the
individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy
is the rule, but, as among
the !Kung, a man may
take a second wife provided
he has the consent of the first.

[301
789
303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-
in-law or to support her.

≠Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
584 are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she
is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take
her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

481 trees, and on our way we found a path where before there
487 had been none. We followed it, it led to camp, and at its end we found Gai and eighteen other Bushmen, whose feet as they had walked in single file had worn a track. As we ap-
609 proached, the eighteen strangers drew back and together, the women behind the men, babies in their arms, and watched us hostilely. Gai persuaded them to sit down, which they did, all together, and when we asked them if they were hungry they said yes, so we gave them a drink of water and set a big pot of cornmeal to cook on our fire. We gave them each tobacco, which they smoked while they waited for the cornmeal to cook.

621 In that band there were six men, five of them in their thir-
162 ties, five women who seemed much younger, and one woman
596 who was very old. There were also three young boys and three babies, two girls and a boy. We guessed from the looks of the people—and later found that we were right—that the band was a small extended family. The old woman seemed to be the key figure of the band, for with her were her two sons and three daughters, their wives and husbands, and their children. The sixth man—a boy, really—did not seem to belong in this tightly woven group, for he was not married, being too young; he seemed too young to be the child of the old woman, though too old to be her grandchild, and I wondered who he was. Witabe's father was not there, and on that trip we did not find him.

142 The three sisters of the band were all arrestingly beautiful. They looked alike, with very fine faces, slender features, large eyes, and they all wore handsome white bead ornaments. Heavy eyelids, set off by the pronounced, delicate bones of their faces, made them look of uncertain race, or like houris, and their slender bodies with skins slightly wrinkled made them seem of uncertain age. Perhaps the sun had made the

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

587 was meant. That would be very uncomfortable, he said. It would make her shiver and
589 might make her sick. The rainy season's passing is what cleanses the woman. When
[783] she is about to go to her new husband she prepares herself by washing in the ordinary way.

Unless a woman is quite old she does not remain long unmarried. One man said, 'Even if a widow is thick and tall, but is a good woman, some man will want her.' Widows may marry as second wives of married men, or they may marry widowers, divorced men, or bachelors. The two young widows and the two divorced women who were unmarried in 1953, had remarried by 1955. Only the very old widows remain unmarried.

There are so few unmarried women that widowers have difficulty in finding wives. The young widowed musician, /Gao, was an example. After his first wife's death he had married the daughter of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, when she was approximately ten or eleven years old, about the age of his own son, and was patiently waiting for her to grow up. Only one of the old widowers had succeeded in finding a wife by 1957.

736 The children of a widowed parent are kept by that parent. A widower may leave
768 his children with a woman relative, but they remain his. Orphaned children go to live with relatives. There is a tendency to feel that the boys belong eventually to the
[611] father's side of the family, the girls to the mother's. This concept came to our attention several times, but we did not find it to be a rigid social rule. The relative who
[604] is expected to take the children if they are young is the MoSi. But the FaSi might be nearer or more able for one reason or another to take them and might do so. FaBr would be the relative most likely to take half-grown boys, but again MoBr might be the one. Failing these, some other relative would take them. When it came to arrang-
[584] ing marriages for orphaned children, informants said that the father's elder brother would have the most authority; a stepfather or stepmother has none.

●[597] Adoption does not exist in /Kung society.

Divorce may terminate a marriage. The couple may divorce without formality,
586 by mutual consent or by one spouse simply leaving the other. The /Kung word for ending a marriage in this way is */kao joo*. I use the word 'divorce' for convenience, although no legal action takes place. No religious dispensation is involved, no permission or action on the part of the headman or group is required. If parents of a very young couple withheld consent this might influence the couple, but the parents' consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties, for there is no dowry or bride-price to be resolved. The only property a /Kung owns
[422] personally consists of movables, and these are never owned in common by man and wife. Every artifact down to a single bead belongs to an individual, who takes his property with him in case of divorce.

Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way. They are free to remarry without restrictions.

Divorce is never obligatory and the grounds are not formalized; the desire of the couple concerned is the determining factor. A condition such as sterility, for example, or a wrongdoing such as adultery, might or might not lead to divorce, depending on how the couple felt about it. Mistreatment or failure to provide would certainly be considered justification for divorce, should they ever occur, but justifica-

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam
Auen
Kung

601 I believe the term "sister" is used to a cousin who has been
●[597] brought up as an adopted child in the speaker's family, just as a grandparent calls a grandchild "my child", if he adopts it.

[595] The ǂxam-ka-ǀ'e are monogamous, and in their folklore there is only one case of the punishment of incest, that of brother and sister.

I do not know whether the omissions in this table of relationships are accidental, or owing to the fact that the terms omitted are seldom or never used.

II. Northern Group: The ǂk'au ǂen (*Auen*), *and* ǀkuŋ *or Bushmen of the N.W. Kalahari*

193 These tribes likewise use the descriptive method in denoting
601 terms of relationship. They, too, show in a few of such terms endings for masculine and feminine, which do not appear in any other nouns. For example: tsi or siŋ "brother", tsisi "sister", where we again find nasalization for the masculine, and si instead of ti for the feminine ending, or a prefixed di "female".

[193] Ma is the diminutive ending; ǀna means "big, grown up", ǂga
196 means "old, worn out". ǀku or ǀkū I think means "kinsman" or
601 "namesake". Thus the greatuncle is the "old kinsman", the mother's brother is the "big kinsman", the father's brother and sister are "little" ones, as are cousins, nephews and nieces, which would point to their having less influence. This rather contradicts the statement of the ǂk'au ǂen, that in case of a man's death, his brother must provide for his children. However, the father's brother is addressed as tshu or tsu, a term of affection applied in this tongue more to relations by marriage, but in ǀkuŋ, used by grandparents and grandchildren mutually, and by uncle and nephew. ǀko, the name for the mother's sister is, I think, a word related to ǀkoïte "grandmother", probably a feminine form of ǀku or ǀkōïŋ. Mama used reciprocally by grandparents and grandchildren seems to be a term of affection.

Ba and tai are evidently related to the ǂxam terms of address to parents ibo, itau. There is no special word for husband or wife in these two dialects. ǀkwā and ǀkao are simply "man", and dzou and zau "woman". ǀkwā o m ba seems to mean "man of my father", which does not seem sense for the mother's father. Tai o dzou "mother of wife" is of course quite clear.

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

Brother and sister are the only relations who are forbidden to marry, and by this, real brother and sister are meant, the children of one father and mother, not cousins. I never heard a title for any cousin, however related, though several were present Cousins sometimes marry, but more often a bride from a distance is procured. 582

A pair of sisters have a very close relationship. They are generally chums, and help each other with their babies. A child calls its mother's sister its "little mother". In speaking of the occasional bigamy found among the Naron in contrast to other Bushman tribes, an old man said to me: 593 [601] [604] 595

"A man may take a second wife, if he wishes. If they agree well, they live in one hut; if not, each makes herself a hut. A man had better take his wife's younger sister as his second wife; then they do not quarrel, but live in one hut."

ǁka in ǁkasha "maternal aunt" may be derived from ǁkai "together". He used as a verb means "to marry", also "to give birth to children". Ti kweba and ti kwesa mean simply "my man", "my woman"; they are more often used than heba and hesha. 196 601

A widow may marry her late husband's brother, but need not do so. She is quite at liberty to marry any other man. If she remarries, her husband is expected to look after her children; otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. The widow may stay near her husband's people, or return to her own people, as she pleases. 587 [604]

Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, are very fond of adopting a grandchild. They will half adopt one, even during both parents' lifetime. The grandmother is generally the person who teaches a child to speak. 597 603 [868]

In concluding these notes on the tables of relationship, I should like to say that I know they are very incomplete. At the time of my stay among the ǁkau ǁen and Naron I had not realized the importance of this side of native life; nor apparently had my aunt, Dr. Lloyd, whose work I rely on for the ǂxam and !kuŋ tables. Still, I think sufficient has been collected to show the general trend of Bushman family ties. 114

One must always remember, that people depending on nature for their entire food supply, can only exist in very small, widely scattered groups. Families cannot be large. Drought and famine 105 161

[Text continues on page 70]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

857 sleepy, and crawl on to the grass in the hut. No one sends them to bed.

So the children, during infancy and childhood, remain under the 593 tutelage and in the care of their parents. Once they are grown up, no one really controls them. The tie between parents and mature children is simply one of respect and love, but there is no lack of family affection. Grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives 603 are also respected to some extent, according to character. Among the Naron, grandparents, especially on the mother's side, take a great interest in their grandchildren, and often adopt one which has [597] been weaned, while among the Heikum orphans are generally adopted by the maternal grandparents. The grandmother is often [868] the person who teaches a child to speak. Between two sisters there 593 is usually a close bond of affection, they are generally companions, and help each other with their babies. In certain Cape Bushman tales the wife's unmarried sister is shown staying with her, as helper and nurse of the baby. On the other hand, among some of the North-Western tribes at least, there is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister speaking or sitting together. Here too, as in the case of the mother-in-law, the sitting and not the speaking appears to be the important part, for Miss Bleek records having heard an adult brother and sister address each other, while passing at a good distance.[1]

Girls' Puberty Ceremonies

881 The attainment of puberty is marked among all the Bushmen by the performance of certain ceremonies, through which the young people have to pass before being admitted to full membership of the group. Puberty ceremonies for girls are definitely found in all the [184] Bushman tribes, but corresponding ceremonies for boys appear to be restricted to the northern tribes. These ceremonies vary somewhat from tribe to tribe.

Among the Cape Bushmen a girl at the time of her first menstruation was in a state of taboo. "She is put into a tiny hut, made by her mother, with a very small aperture for the door, which her mother closes upon her. When she goes out, she looks down upon the ground; and when she returns to the hut, she sits and looks down. She does not go far, or walk about at this time. When presently she becomes a 'big girl', she is allowed to look about, and to look afar

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 59, 66–7; cf. *idem*, *Naron*, 32; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

101 Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung
582 whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

619 The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the
[648] territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

648 About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28
162 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of
[621] burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants
[177] other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

621 My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the
[114] years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

[162] FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

601 /Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1]
[595] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and
[596] extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal
[611] residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally,
[614] There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins
[835] are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

621 As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous
582 unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[113] [1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

lished the definition, with sticks and diagrams in the sand and the names of some actual people, ≠Toma, the leader of the band we lived with, insisted that third cousins were ' one's own people '. We ' red people ' might marry our own third cousins, he said, but Bushmen would know that they were one people and should not marry. 582 602 835 [605]

FIG. 2. *Consanguineous relatives whom ego must not marry* [601]

	Male	*Female*	*Joking*
Great-grandparents	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Grandparents	*/gu/na*	*tsin*	yes
Parents	*ba*	*dai*	no
Siblings of parents	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Siblings	*/go*	*/kwi*	yes, same sex no, opp. sex
Cousins, 1st, 2nd, 3rd	*/gu/na*	*tsin*	yes
Offspring	*/ka*	*≠ khai*	no
Nephews, nieces	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Grandchildren	*/gu/na*	*tsin*	yes
Great-grandchildren	*tsu*	*//ga*	no

The kin who are likened, by being of the same generation, to his parents, to his offspring, and to his siblings, are those to whom a /Kung feels the marriage regulations are particularly directed. Siblings of parents are ' like ' parents, cousins are ' like ' siblings, nephews and nieces are ' like ' offspring. Marriage with all these is rigorously forbidden.

Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren is also forbidden but is not a concern. Age and consanguinity combine to push the very thought virtually out of mind. To the /Kung it seemed utterly ridiculous of me to inquire even about the collaterals in these generations. ' Those old people are already dead ', said someone. ' It will be for my grandson to mind the rules when the young children grow up ', said ≠Toma in effect. ' It is not my wish to marry a baby.'

Category 2: affines

The second category of persons to whom the incest taboo is extended is composed of certain affines. Their affinal relationship is considered to be indissoluble once it is established, and ego's marriage with them is prohibited, even though the person through whom the affinal relationship with ego is brought about be dead or divorced. The thought of incestuous relations with at least some of these affines (especially parents of spouse and spouses of offspring) is as horrifying to a /Kung as if they were members of his nuclear family. We learned of no instances of the taboo being broken among them.

The affines with whom marriage is forbidden, who correspond terminologically with ego's parents' generation, ego's own and that of his offspring, are listed in Fig. 3. Joking is allowed or not as it is with ego's kin in these generations.

Parents of ego's SoWi and DaHu are terminologically of ego's generation and he may joke with them but he must not marry them, for that would make his So and SoWi or Da and DaHu stepbrother and stepsister to each other, which would be most awkward.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

582 Why marriage is prohibited with HuBrSo and WiSiDa was explained by ≠Toma.
602 Marriages with HuBr or WiSi are highly preferred marriages. This makes ≠Toma
835 'feel like' his WiSiHu, he said, even though he is not married to her, and, as a result, his WiSiDa seems to him like his own daughter.

FIG. 3. *Affines*

[601]

Marriage forbidden	*Male*	*Female*	*Joking*
Parents of ego's spouse	*≠tum*	*|utsu*	no
Spouses of FaBr, FaSi, MoBr, MoSi	*tsu*	*||ga*	no
SiHuFa w.s., BrWiMo m.s.	*tsu*	*||ga*	no
(Ego's generation terminologically)			
Parents of SoWi, DaHu	*|umba*	*|undai*	yes
Spouses of So and Da	*≠tum*	*|utsu*	no
HuBrSo, WiSiDa	*tsu*	*||ga*	no

Marriage with a BrWiMo or SiHuFa seems improper to the /Kung because a
[587] man's marriage with his BrWi is highly preferred, as is a woman's with a SiHu (should the death of the spouse or divorce make their marriage possible), and the parents of these affines therefore seem 'like' parents of the spouse.

In the sibling category among affines ego is prohibited from marrying only WiBrWi or HuSiHu. The reason for this prohibition appears to lie in the consistency of the joking pattern, about which three more points must be made. First, throughout

FIG. 4. *Marriage forbidden with WiBrWi, HuSiHu*

Male ego	*Joking*	*Female ego*	*Joking*
Br and BrWi	yes	Br and BrWi	no
Si and SiHu	no	Si and SiHu	yes
WiSi and WiSiHu	yes	HuBr and HuBrWi	yes
WiBr and WiBrWi	no	HuSi and HuSiHu	no

the whole system (except among remote name relatives), ego maintains the same joking status with *both* members of a married couple, for example, with FaBr and FaBrWi, WiSi and WiSiHu, &c. Secondly, in the differentiation of sex between siblings among ego's affines with respect to the joking relationship, the point of reference is the spouse. Ego has the joking relationship with his own spouse and with the sibling of his spouse who is the same sex as his spouse. He avoids joking with his spouse's sibling whose sex is opposite to his spouse. Thirdly, among affines in the sibling category the extended incest taboo and the avoidances coincide. Sex permitting, if ego may joke he may marry, and if he avoids joking he is prohibited from marrying. As we list ego's siblings and affines in Fig. 4 we see that WiBrWi and HuSiHu are the only ones whose sex is opposite to ego's, making marriage possible, but with whom ego is constrained from joking because he does not joke with his WiBr or HuSi, according the same joking status to both members of a married couple.

[482] 554 556 595 [422] [431] in the pouches of their karosses along with their babies. This puts a strict limit upon any desire to possess great quantities of property in movables. Furthermore, gift-giving keeps all personal property moving in a current through the region and no one possesses very much more than another. The determining factors in obtaining more than one wife are apt to be the personalities of the individuals and the man's ability to hunt. 'Women love meat', we were told, and like their husbands to be good hunters.

595 The number of wives a man may have is not regulated by social rules but by his ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. None of the nine polygynists in the band had more than two. However, we heard of a man named Gao, now dead, who had had four wives all at one time. He had been a fabulous hunter and maker of arrows and was the father of the /Ti/kay who is the husband of two sisters, /Naoka and /Nai, in Band 9.

Only two of the nine pairs of co-wives had traceable consanguineous relationship. The above /Ti/kay's wives were sisters—the only ones—and, in Band 10, Old ≠Gao's younger wife, /Ghia, was the BrDa of his older wife, Bau.

[601] /*Kwi*, sister, is the term which co-wives apply to each other, unless they have the same name, in which case they term each other /*gu/na*. The /Kung, though they do not institutionalize the sororate, say it is a good idea to marry sisters because they are not so likely to be jealous of each other as other women. /Ti/kay's wives, who appeared to live in harmony and affection and to support each other, provided an example of the validity of this opinion.

Marriage to the same man gives co-wives the joking relationship, and they do not observe the sitting or the name avoidance, though they may have avoided each other before marriage.

[342] /Kung co-wives share one scherm and one family fire. The scherm, the little shelter of branches and grass which the women build, a half hemisphere in shape, is only 3 to 4 ft. wide on the open side, about 3 ft. deep at the centre, perhaps 4 to 5 ft. high at the peak. In it and in front of it, beside their one fire, the two wives live, share their man, share the food they gather, share the work of fetching water and wood, nurse each other's babies, and co-operate in whatever degree of harmony their spirits can attain.

513 Husbands and wives may sleep separately or lie close together, side by side, or feet to feet. The woman holds her infant in her arms. Young children sleep near by bundled together, two or three in one kaross. Girls at about seven or eight go to sleep with a grandmother or a widowed friend or relative. The boys of the band, beginning at the same age, all sleep at a boys' fire.

[595] [821] /Ti/kay (Band 9), husband of the two attractive sisters, sees to it that his wives lie close to him, especially on cold nights, one on each side. Sleeping thus they were like the three stars of Orion which we call the Belt, but which the /Kung say are three zebras, two females with a male between them.

513 833 It is under such conditions that the /Kung usually have sexual intercourse—at night, in their sleeping place. They cover themselves with their karosses and are very discreet. The position is to lie on the side, the man at the back of the woman. Men pull the labia of the women before intercourse. The wives of /Ti/kay told me that they took pleasure in intercourse. I asked them if they had orgasms. We had

[15 cont.]

881 the man's encampment and took up married life. Nowadays the
585 first menstruation and wedding no longer always coincide.

584 The consent of the girl is absolutely necessary for the conclusion of the marriage. People often are betrothed already in childhood. Once the girl has grown up, that is, once she has become sexually mature, the suitor goes to the girl's parents. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to enter the encampments of their prospective parents-in-law. If father and mother agree, then they go to the grandparents to obtain their consent. Then oxen, wethers, and goats are collected for the feast. Then the suitor goes to his parents, who in turn consult the grandparents. In the bridegroom's house also livestock is now collected, or, as the case may be, begged or purchased.
585 Then a great feast begins. There is dancing, and long trumpets are blown.

During the wedding dance the men sing:
[539] "Huwi é haa -- huwi é taa -- huwi áni taa." (The girl has grown up.)

The women clap their hands and sing:
"Jee jeee ja! jee jeee ja!"

881 A boys' initiation in the true sense of the term is no longer held. When the boy has grown up, however, a celebration
852 is held and livestock is killed. Similarly, when a child has been born, a celebration takes place, at which wethers or sheep are slaughtered. It is striking that among these Bushmen a sheep usually takes the place of the goat.

551 The boy receives the father's name; the daughter, the mother's name. The children belong to the family of the woman,
611 and the oldest uncle, or oldest brother of the woman, is the head
582 of the family. It is prohibited to marry the children of the mother's sisters.

The kinship terms are as follows:

601

German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
Father	//khum-khe	//gub, dadab, eib
Mother	//khums	//gus, is
Son	a χ'oron-khe	/gõab/gõb
Daughter	χ'ams-khe	/gõas/gõs
Brother	!gasab	!gasab
Sister	di !gas-khe	!gasas

[16]

German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
601 Son of father's brother	awób (1) !garis-khe	--

1. In this connection cf. !awi (N.): "To bear the first child."

Son of mother's brother	/góa khoaba	--
Daughter of father's brother	//khum khoás	--
Daughter of mother's brother	//khum khoás	--
Father's brother	di khoáb-khe	--
Mother's brother	khoes-khe-khoaba	--
Father's sister	di-khoaba	--
Mother's sister	//khum khoás	--
Sister-in-law	//khum khoas	--
Wife	tarás	--
Husband	aubā	--

Khoás (pronounced like quás) corresponds to Khois in Nama. Khoib, however, means man, human being, friend, and comparative KhoiXa-Khoin = blood relative.

//Khum Khoas therefore signifies 'blood-related mother," which is properly applied to mother's sisters and their daughters and to the daughters of father's brother, but curiously enough also [582] to the sisters-in-law, probably because there is also a marriage prohibition with respect to them. Father's sisters and their daughters do not have this title, and one may marry these cousins.

Chapter 6

The !Kung Bushmen

131 The whole enormous region between Ewale, Ukuanjama, Oondonga, the Umaramba u Owambo up to its source, and from there across the farm bush veld up to north of Otjituo, and the whole Sand Veld east of the Omuramba Omatako to Alexeck on

NARON
≠AUIN
NOGAU

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
[842] spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
843 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
845 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

[301
789
303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

≠Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course, are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she
584 is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

B /260 cont./

191 In addition to the Bushman language, the Heikum of the
192 Omatako also speak Nama, whereas the Kung of the Kaukau
133 Veld speak only their Bushman language. The reason for this is readily seen if one realizes that the Kaukau Veld is an oasis enclosed on all sides by the large waterless stretches of the Kalahari, and hence is visited only during the rainy season by a few Betschuana hunters, but otherwise is completely isolated. Most of the Bushmen whom we encountered in the Kaukau Veld had never seen a white man prior to our arrival.

B
H
192
601

Word List and Grammatical Outline of the Heikum and Kung Language

1. Persons

English	Heikum	Kung	Nama
Human being	tschu	tschu	Khóib
Man	tschu n|ō (|o = männlich)*	tschu n|ō	áob
Woman	tsau	tschau	tarás
Son	daba |oma	daba |oma	|oab
Daughter	daba tsauma	daba tschauma	|oas
Brother	tsng	tsng	|gasab
My brother	mé tsng	me tsng	—
Sister	tsau tsng	tsau tsng	|gas
Father	ombá	ombā	dadáb
Mother	mdei	medei	máma
Grandfather	omba n|ā (n|a = alt)**	omba n|ā	aúda
Grandmother	tschau |á	tschau |á	aúmama
Master	gaucha	gaucha	gáob
Captain of a settlement	tschu gaucha	tschu gaucha	—
Servant	ǂēi	tschu nǂoa	|ān
Herero	Damá	Damá	Damán
Betschuana	Birin	ǂgabé	Birin
Ovambo	|ave	—	—

B
H
192

*männlich, "male" **alt, "old"

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

648 self-reliant. No European farms or institutions such as hospitals, schools, missions, trading posts, labour-recruiting or tax-collecting offices have been established in the Nyae Nyae region. The first government official to go into the region, Mr. Claude McIntyre, Senior Welfare Officer of the Administration of South West Africa, came with our first expedition to Gautscha Pan in 1951. The contact of the /Kung of this region with the neighbouring Bantu-speaking Negro tribes consists of occasional trading trips or visits to their Bushman relatives who are working for Chwana or Herero in western Bechuanaland.

123 We lived for seventeen months with the /Kung of Nyae Nyae; for six weeks in 1951, for fourteen consecutive months in 1952–3, for six weeks again in 1955.

115 During this time we had several interpreters. We wish to express our gratitude particularly to two, Ngani and Kernel Ledimo, who had an exceptionally intelligent grasp of our purposes and problems and whose work was patient and precise. Ngani (this is his own preferred spelling of his name) is a Heikum Bushman who lived for many years with Mr. Courtney Clark in Grootfontein. Among the nine languages Ngani speaks are /Kung and English. Kernel Ledimo is a Chwana of the Batwana tribe who grew up among /Kung Bushmen on his father's cattle posts and was educated in an English school in Bechuanaland.

121 184 We made the kinship terminology of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region a subject of special study. Our investigation of the /Kõ and /Gikwe kinship terminology shows that there is not one system common to all Bushman groups. This paper deals only with the /Kung system.

124 Our method of study was first to take genealogies of the members of six bands, comprising about 175 persons. This took a good deal of time but was rewarding as a background which helped us to place in their web of relationships most of the 600 [123] /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region whom we came eventually to know by sight or name as we travelled about or as they visited us.

124 After we had gathered the genealogical material we began to ask people what kinship terms they used for each other. We asked many informants, going over and ●601 over the same questions. The terms for parents, offspring, and siblings were easily learned. But the terms for grandparents, grandchildren, and all collaterals threw us into confusion. For each grandparent or grandchild, of either sex, we found that a person might use one of two terms (and one of these has an alternate); and a person might use one of three terms for each collateral, with an alternate, a diminutive, and a distinction man-speaking and woman-speaking to complicate matters. The same term might be applied to relatives on either the paternal or maternal side. We did not know for some time what factor determined, for instance, whether a person applied the term *a* or *b* to his FaFa or MoFa or the term *a*, *b*, or *c* to his FaBr, MoBr or some other collateral. When we asked we were usually told, 'It is our custom', but one informant gravely explained that 'God created people and told them what terms to use for each other. Parents have taught their children ever since what terms to use.' It was ≠Toma, perhaps our most intelligent informant, who at last figured out what it was we did not understand and told us what he had assumed everyone knew, that the term 'followed the name'. In other words there is a factor, which we finally called the factor of the name, which under certain circumstances determines what term the individual uses. We began afresh to gather information to understand and

test this factor and eventually we learned that there are two aspects to the /Kung system of kin terminology. In one terms are applied according to the biological position of the persons; in the other terms are applied because persons are classified with others by having the same names, in ways this paper will explain. The factor of the name has resulted in kin terms being applied by persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, but who are considered to be related through the factor of the name in what we call the name-relationship.

Miss Bleek in her paper on 'Bushman Terms of Relationship'[1] has recorded /Kung terms. Students of the subject interested in comparing her paper with this will find them in agreement to a considerable extent, but Miss Bleek's paper does not go so deeply into the terminology as this does nor does it bring out the significance of the factor of the name.[2]

Our material on /Kung kin terminology is presented in two parts. (I) The first part (A) deals with terms applied to consanguineous kin, and explains the factor of the name and the way the application of terms is extended through the factor of the name to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, in what we call the name-relationship; and (B) deals with terms applied to affines. (II) The second part deals with certain aspects of behaviour related to kin terminology, touching briefly upon marriage prohibitions and preferences from the point of view of terminology. It deals more fully with the joking relationship, an aspect of behaviour which relates closely to terminological categories. The paper finally touches upon the way the name-relationship serves as an amalgamating factor within a whole region among people who have no larger organized social units than autonomous bands, small ones of 10–15 persons up to large ones of 40–60 persons, composed of consanguineous kin and their affines.

Space does not permit here a description of the composition of bands, but we hope in a future publication to give data on the family and bands, on hunting and veldkos territories, marriage, residence, settlement patterns, and on the behaviour among kin in forming hunting and gathering parties, arrow-lending, meat-sharing, gift-giving, &c.

[1] D. F. Bleek, 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 57–70.

[2] Miss Bleek (ibid.) sometimes gives the descriptive phrase in place of, or in addition to, the term, as if we should say father's brother or mother's brother instead of uncle. For instance, *ho siy* is a descriptive phrase meaning father's younger brother or younger sister. There are differences of spelling. We should like to follow Miss Bleek's spelling, but we put down as best we could what we heard and cannot change over to her spelling because in the different areas the Bushmen's pronunciation may possibly have varied slightly. There are some terms given by Miss Bleek which we did not hear in the Nyae Nyae region. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae do not use the term *tsau* for Br. We did not hear *||ge*, not *soig||ge*, not *tsa* as a prefix to *siy*. Otherwise the terms we record are recognizable as the same terms which Miss Bleek records. Miss Bleek, on the other hand, does not record all the terms which we record as used in the Nyae Nyae area. The principal difference lies, we think, in her not taking into account the factor of the name. We think she had an inkling of there being such a factor among the /Kung she worked with, for she says they had a word */ku* which she thought meant 'kinsman' or 'namesake'. In any case, she does not show all the terms which in the Nyae Nyae region might be applied to grandparents, grandchildren and collaterals on both the paternal and maternal sides. A detailed comparison of the papers would show several examples, but one will suffice to illustrate the point. Miss Bleek records the terms for FaBr, *tsu*, and MoBr, *tsau||ga*, giving the impression that the /Kung system makes a terminological distinction between the paternal and maternal siblings, whereas we found that in the Nyae Nyae area both terms, *tsu* and *tsau||ga*, might be used for either FaBr or MoBr, and, besides, that the sibling term, elder Br, might also be used for FaBr or MoBr, as will be explained.

PART I: /KUNG KIN TERMINOLOGY

Some General Principles

●601 1. Terminologically no two persons may be simultaneously interrelated in more than one way. Persons may change their terminological relationship by marriage or, under some circumstances, by having their names changed, but when this occurs the former terminological relationship is supplanted by the latter.

2. Except in the relationship of Hu, Wi, DaHu, and WiFa, the relative biological age of any two persons applying kin terms to each other is almost invariably indicated. Either the terms *per se* imply relative age, as do the terms for biological father and son, or the term has a diminutive form which is applied by the older person to the younger.

3. The same terms are used both in address and in reference, except the term for Mo, which has a vocative form as well. In reference, but not in address, the possessive adjective precedes the term, as for instance *mi !ha*, my son. In address children usually double the terms; they say, for example, *tsu tsu*, 'uncle uncle'. The exception to this is the vocative form of the term for Mo which we did not hear doubled.

4. It is to be assumed that the terms are the same, man-speaking (m.s.) and woman-speaking (w.s.), unless the contrary is indicated.

5. In the description of the /Kung kinship system, when we use the English terms without designating relationships more specifically it is because our terminology fits the /Kung system. When we say grandparents we mean precisely to include FaFa, MoFa, FaMo, and MoMo. The terms uncle and aunt include siblings of both of ego's parents and the spouses of those siblings. The /Kung make no distinction between paternal and maternal cousins, nor between cross and parallel cousins, so one can conveniently use the term cousin to include FaBrSo, FaBrDa, FaSiSo, FaSiDa, MoBrSo, MoBrDa, MoSiSo, MoSiDa. When we use the terms nephew and niece we include BrSo, SiSo, BrDa, SiDa.

It will be useful for analytical purposes to distinguish two constellations of 'kin' terminology which we shall refer to as System A and System B. System A is applied to consanguineous kin and to persons classified with them by being named for and by having the same name as consanguineous kin and, in the case of spouses of collaterals, by being married to consanguineous kin. System B is applied to affines.

System A

We distinguish three categories of terms within System A. Category one comprises *parent–child terms*; category two, *sibling terms*; category three comprises two pairs of terms, with an alternate to one of the terms, woman-speaking, making five terms in all. We shall refer to the terms of category three as *generational terms*.[1]

[1] Professor Douglas Oliver, who kindly read and criticized the manuscript, helped us with many excellent suggestions for which we are most grateful. It was he who suggested, among other things, the designation 'generational terms' for this category, and pointed out the generational structure.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Here are the parent–child terms:[1]

Fa	ba (b^ha)[2]
Mo	dai[3] (t^hai)
Mo (voc.)	aiya (āiya)
So	/ha (ŋ/^ha)
Da	≠khai (ŋ≠kxai)

These terms are subject to no modification. They are used by a person for no other relatives than his biological parents or offspring and no other terms can be applied in these relationships.

Sibling terms are as follows:

elder Br	/go (/o)
elder Si	/kwi (/kwi)
younger Br or Si	tsĩ (tsĩ)

The above terms are used for both full and half siblings. These terms are fixed to the sibling relationship in the sense that no other terms replace them under any condition; but, unlike the parent–child terms which are applied to no other relationship, the sibling terms are under certain circumstances extended to other relationships than that of biological sibling.

The generational terms are as follows:

Applied to males	*Applied to females*
tsu (tsũ)	//ga (g//^ha)
/gu/na (/uŋ/^ha)	tũn (txũŋ)
tun/ga w.s. (txuŋ.g/a) alternate to /gu/na	

The terms are reciprocal. If a male ego applies the term *tsu* to a man, he is termed *tsu* by that man. Or, if a male ego terms a woman *//ga*, she terms him *tsu*. It is the same with the *!gu!na–tũn* pair.

The above statements are subject to the qualification that, when using these terms, the older person invariably uses a diminutive form for the younger person. We shall list the diminutives here, and then, to avoid being cumbersome, omit them henceforth throughout the text. The diminutive is expressed by adding the suffix *ma*,

[1] The spelling of the Bushman terms used in this paper is an approximation. We represented the Bushman sounds as we heard them as nearly as we could without using symbols except for the clicks. The four clicks are symbolized as follows: dental /, alveolar ≠, alveolar palatal /, and lateral //.

[2] Mr. Ernst Westphal of the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, when he visited our expedition at Gautscha Pan, took down the terms in phonetic symbols as /Kung informants pronounced them. We give his symbols in parentheses the first time the term is given. We wish to express our gratitude to him.

[3] Mr. Westphal spells the term for Mo with a *t* (t^hai), as does Miss Bleek (*tai*). Professor Clement M. Doke, in his outline of the phonetics of the language of the /Kung, *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 130–65, on p. 150 spells it *?ai*. We feel apologetic about insisting on *dai*, but we thought we heard the voiced sound *d*. We wondered if the *d* derived from *di* which means female and occurs in the term *di!guna* which is applied to persons who have the same name as one's mother (cf. p. 9).

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601 'young' or 'small', to the term. In some instances the diminutives used man-speaking are derived from different terms from those used woman-speaking.

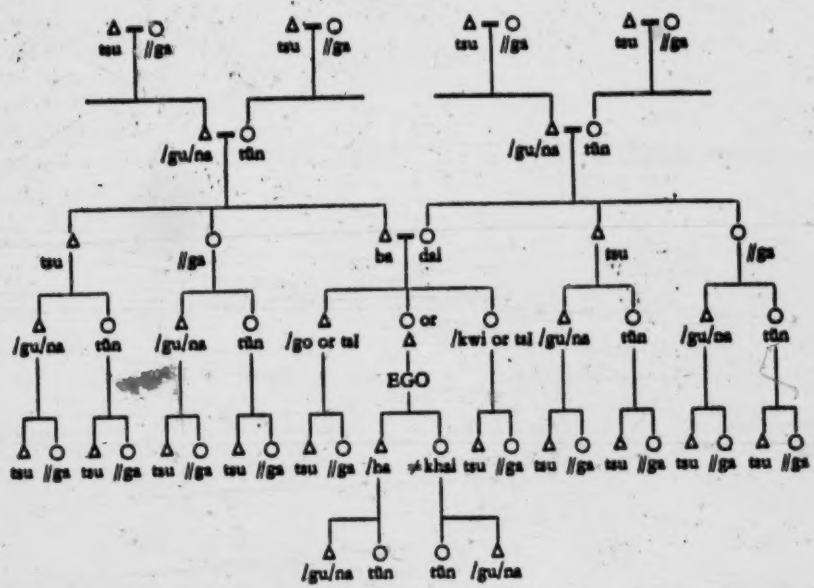
Term	*Diminutive*
	Applied to males
tsu	tsuma m.s. w.s. (tsũm^{h}a)
/gu/na	/guma m.s. (/ũm^{h}a) toma w.s. (txwõm^{h}a)
tun/ga w.s.	toma w.s.
	Applied to females
tũn	toma m.s. /guma w.s.
//ga	tsuma m.s. //gama w.s. (g//^{h}am^{h}a)

The generational terms may apply to all lineal kin and to all collateral kin save those related by parent-child or sibling ties.

Ego applies the terms */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.) and *tũn* to persons in his own generation and in generations alternate with his own; he applies *tsu* and *//ga* to persons in generations adjacent to his own or alternate with these latter.

Thus System A appears as in Diagram 1.

DIAGRAM 1



Terms for lineal and collateral relatives may be continued into the descending generations, alternating as in the ascending generations.

We have already stated that the generational terms *may* apply to all collateral kin 601 and to all lineal kin save those related by parent–child or sibling ties. Up to now we have been assuming, for the sake of orderly procedure, that a /Kung Bushman applies these terms, in the manner specified, to all consanguineous kin solely according to his *biological* position among them. This assumption is correct with respect to the parent–child and sibling relationships; in these instances the biological tie is the sole basis for classifying relatives. But for all other consanguineous relatives, as well as for many other persons besides, a factor other than the biological tie may determine the nature of the terminological relationship. We refer to *the factor of the name.*

The principle underlying the factor of the name is that persons who share the same name occupy identical positions in certain sectors of the kinship constellation we have called System A. Based on this principle, a method of classifying persons terminologically has been developed. We shall refer to this method as the *homonymous method*, and distinguish it from the *generational method* as set out in Diagram 1.

When it comes into conflict with the generational method, the homonymous method takes precedence. It has been developed and extended in the /Kung system more 84 fully than in the /Gikwe and /Kõ systems, where it exists, but where it has remained minor, and is practised only among persons who do not have consanguineous or affinal ties. The /Kung, on the other hand, make wide use of the homonymous method.

The complicated system by which terms are applied in this method will be ex- 551 plained step by step, but first the customs followed by the /Kung in the naming of children will be described.

1. The /Kung have no surnames.

2. Names are sex-linked, hence men and women never have the same name.

3. Parent and child must not bear the same name in /Kung culture. The /Kung said it would be madness for a man to name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Our genealogies of about 175 /Kung show no deviation from this rule.

4. Children are always named for relatives, either consanguineous or affinal, 553 although they may bear the name of a non-related person as a second name. They are named for someone in the first or second ascending generation.

5. Fathers have the right to name both sons and daughters. A man invariably names his first-born son for his father (i.e. the child's FaFa) and his first-born daughter for his mother (i.e. the child's FaMo). If he has more than one wife, he names the first-born son and daughter of each wife for his father and mother respectively. Thus siblings, though they are not named for each other, often bear the same name, having been named for the same person. A man usually but not invariably names his second-born son for the child's MoFa and second-born daughter for her MoMo. Fifty-one per cent. of the /Kung in our records are named for their grandparents. Subsequent children are usually named for the siblings of their father or mother, or for the spouses of those siblings. Very rarely is a child named for other relatives. We have recorded two named for cousins of their parents. It is not their custom, /Kung informants told us, for them to name their children for the children's great-grandparents or for the siblings of the children's grandparents.

6. We have recorded about 46 men's names and about 41 women's names in use [551] among the 600 people we know in the Nyae Nyae region.

553 7. Names are occasionally changed.

[551] 8. Nicknames are in common use. They are usually descriptive of physical characteristics, such as Gow Umbilicus or Gow Beard.

553 It must be kept in mind, as the description of the homonymous method of applying terms proceeds, that the /Kung distinguish between being named for, and having the same name as, a person. When one is named for someone, one is brought into the kinship constellation of that person. Merely fortuitously having the same name as someone does not do this to the same degree. We shall at first limit the description to situations where one is *named for* another.

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A child is, as we have said, never named for a parent, nor is a child named for a sibling (though they may have the same name). In these categories of relationship, therefore, the homonymous method of applying terms is not operative. In other categories of relationship, however, when a person is named for another, he is, with respect to ego, terminologically taken out of his biological category and classified in the category of the person for whom he is named. Ego applies a term to him according to his homonymous classification.

There are three categories, with respect to ego, into which persons may be classified by their names. (1) The parent–child category: Although ego is never named for his parent, some of his relatives will be. (Some of his nephews and nieces, for example, would certainly be named for ego's Fa or Mo.) When this occurs, ego applies a term to that person which classifies the person with the parent of ego's for whom he or she was named. The terms are *tsu* applied to males, *||ga* applied to females. The terms *ba* and *dai* are applied, as we have said, only to the biological parents. The terms *tsu* and *||ga* are the terms applied to persons in generations adjacent to ego's (i.e. his parents' generation, cf. Diagram 1, p. 6), and are the terms used to classify persons terminologically in the parent category. The same terms would be used for persons named for ego's offspring who again would be terminologically classified as in adjacent generations with respect to ego. (2) The sibling category: If a person is named for ego's sibling, ego classifies him or her terminologically with that sibling and applies the sibling term, i.e. *!go* (elder Br), */kwi* (elder Si) or *tsī* (younger Br or younger Si). (3) Ego's category: We consider that the third category is basically ego's category and that it includes persons who are classified by name or generation with ego. Persons may be classified in this category by being named for ego, or for ego's spouse, who is of the same terminological generation as ego. The person for whom ego is named and the spouse of that person are in this category. The way people are classified within it will be brought out as the description proceeds, but more information must first be given about the terms associated with it, namely: *!gu!na* (*tun!ga* w.s.) and *tũn*.

The term *!gu!na*, unlike any of the other terms, so far as we know, is a translateable word. */Gu*[1] means name, *!na* means big or old. The diminutive which derives from the term is *!guma*, small or young name. As terms *!gu!na* and *!guma* always occur modified with the augmentative or diminutive suffix, never simply as *!gu*, the word for name.

[114 194]

[1] This is undoubtedly the word which Miss Bleek heard as */ku* (cf. 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', p. 62). It seemed to us particularly difficult to determine, when a word began with the alveolar palatal click, whether the consonant release was voiced or unvoiced. We have two opinions here, Miss Bleek's */ku* and our */gu*. Mr. Westphal hears no consonant, i.e. */ũ*.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Another term is derived from *!gu*, i.e. *di!guma*. *Di* means female, *!guma* small or young name. *Di!guma* is applied, m.s. and w.s., only to women who have the same name as one's mother and is an alternate to *||ga* in this one sense.

When the generational method of applying terms was described we saw *!gu!na* applied, m.s. and w.s., in ego's generation and the generations of ego's grandfather and grandson, to males only. Woman-speaking, as a generational term *!gu!na* had an alternate, *tun!ga*, which was preferred. *Tũn* is the term applied to females associated with these generations.

When the homonymous method is used the term *!gu!na*, or its diminutive *!guma*, is applied by a male to a male, and by a female to a female. Ego applies the term to persons named for him and to the person for whom he is named. He also applies the term to persons who have the same name as himself, but who are not named for him, with two exceptions: (1) siblings, though they are not named for each other, frequently have the same name, being named for the same person. When this occurs the sibling terms are retained, taking precedence over the term *!gu!na*; and (2) in certain affinal relationships the affinal term is retained even though ego and the affine have the same name (see p. 16).

In addition the terms applied to persons named for ego's spouse are *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn*. The affinal terms for spouse are used only for ego's actual spouse. Persons named for the spouse, who is terminologically of ego's generation, have the generational terms applied to them which classify them with ego's generation.

The term *tũn* is applied to a woman who is the spouse of any male whom ego terms *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.). *Tun!ga* is the term applied to the spouse of a woman whom a female ego terms *!gu!na*.

Kin who are named for ego's parents or offspring, for his siblings, or for himself or his spouse constitute the basis but not the limit of classification of kin by the homonymous method. Other kin in ego's and in the *descending* generations are classified by ego into the same three categories if they have been named for the kin who were originally so classified. For example, ego applies the term *tsu* to A because A was named for ego's Fa, and he continues to apply the term *tsu* to persons who are named for A, and so forth.

To understand how the method works in the *ascending* generations we must look at the same three categories from another point of view, seeing ego classified with the person for whom he is named, i.e. his *!gu!na*. Ego's *!gu!na*'s parents use the term *tsu* (the 'adjacent' generational term) for a male ego, *||ga* for a female ego, because ego is named for their offspring. Ego's *!gu!na*'s So and Da use the terms *tsu* or *||ga* for ego because ego is named for their parent. Ego's *!gu!na*'s siblings apply a sibling term to ego because he is named for their sibling. And ego's *!gu!na*'s spouse uses the generational terms which place ego in the same generation as the spouse—i.e. *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn*, classifying ego with the spouse because he is named for the spouse. In each case ego reciprocates.

It will be more convenient to keep ego's point of view in our illustrations and to express the situation from ego's angle, stating that ego applies the term *tsu* or *||ga* to his *!gu!na*'s Fa, Mo, So, and Da; *!go*, *!kwi* or *tsĩ*, the sibling terms, to his *!gu!na*'s siblings; and *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn* to his *!gu!na*'s spouse.

Diagrams will be given to illustrate the homonymous method of applying terms,

128 Diagrams will be given to illustrate the homonymous method of applying terms,
601 but they do not illustrate a typical family. No Bushman family we know has as many
162 living children as in Diagram 4. Bushmen are completely nomadic and must carry
105 their young children and all their possessions, walking seventy or eighty miles or
847 more as they move from one wild crop of roots or nuts to another. They limit, by infanticide, the number of infants to those they can carry and care for. ≠Toma, one of our informants, helping me one day to construct one of these hypothetical illustrations, laughed and said, 'Who is this who has so many children? Is it an ostrich?'

Diagram 2

601 In this illustration ego's *!gu!na* is his FaFa. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the So and Da of his *!gu!na*. They and ego use the adjacent generational terms, *tsu* and *!!ga*, for each other.

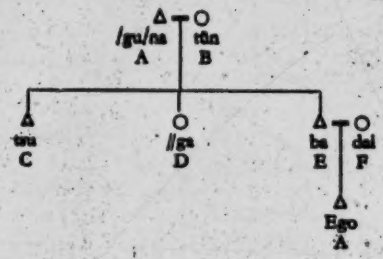
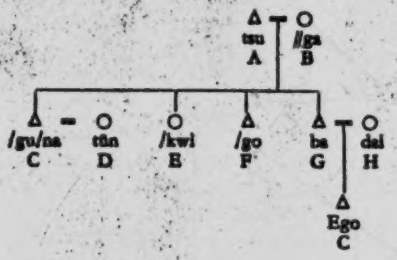


Diagram 3

Here ego is named for his FaBr. In this case ego's FaFa is ego's *!gu!na*'s Fa and ego's FaMo is his *!gu!na*'s Mo; *tsu* and *!!ga* are the terms used. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the Br and Si of ego's *!gu!na*; the sibling terms are used. Ego applies the term *tũn* to the wife of his *!gu!na*.



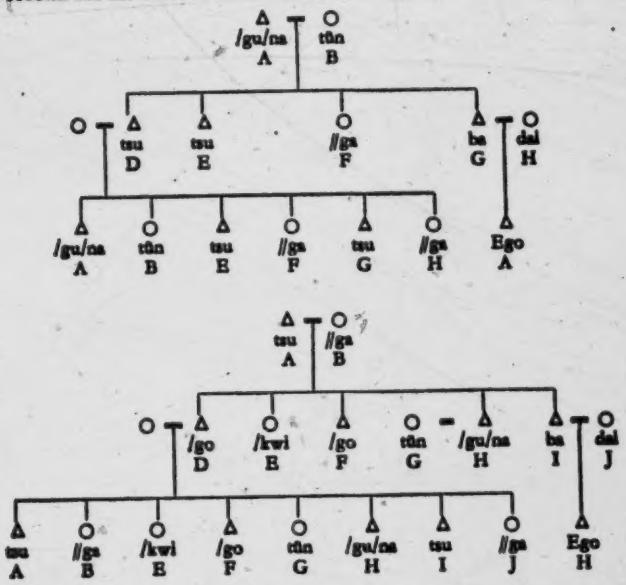
Diagrams 2 and 3 illustrate ego's application of terms to members of his *!gu!na*'s family. Letters represent names. A person who is designated by the same letter as a person in a generation above him has been named for that person. The naming is customary and correct as far as it goes. Some of the children would be named for their mother's parents or siblings, but, as those persons would be ego's affines, until the affinal terms are given this aspect of the illustrations will be postponed.

There is a secondary application of the terms originally applied by ego to members of his *!gu!na*'s nuclear family and spouse. Ego applies terms to persons who are named for the latter, and continues during his lifetime applying to persons descending from

his */gu/na*'s nuclear family the same terms that he applied to the persons for whom 601 they were named. Diagram 4 illustrates this point.

DIAGRAM 4

Diagram 4 shows terms applied to cousins. In the first instance ego is named for his FaFa, in the second for his FaBr.



Diagrams 5 and 6 show how the homonymous method appears when ego applies terms to persons who are named for himself and his own parents, children, siblings, and spouse, and to the persons who are named for them.

We have been assuming up to this point in the illustrations that ego is named for 553 someone on his father's side of the family. What has been said about the paternal side 601 would be applicable to the maternal side if ego were named for someone on that side. We shall refer to either the paternal or maternal side as the *off-side* if it does not include the person for whom ego is named. Diagram 7 illustrates the application of terms on the off-side.

Unless a person is terminologically taken out of his biological generation through the factor of the name, the terms applied by the generational method are retained.

Grandparents on the off-side are always termed */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.) and *tũn*, or, 601 since they are biologically older, it is more precise to say that they apply the term */gu/na* or *tun/ga* to a male ego, *tũn* to a female ego, and that ego reciprocates. These are the generational terms applied in the generational method, retained because ego is not named for the parent or child of his off-side grandparents, which would require the term *tsu* or *//ga* to be applied.

DIAGRAM 5

● 601 Diagram 5 shows what terms ego would apply to nephews and nieces, children of his brother D, if the children were named, as they customarily would be, for ego's Fa, Mo, and his siblings. The illustration also shows the terms and the names carried, linked together, into the descending generation. (We use two affinal terms here, BrWi, *tŭn*, and Wi, *tsau*. Cf. p. 16.)

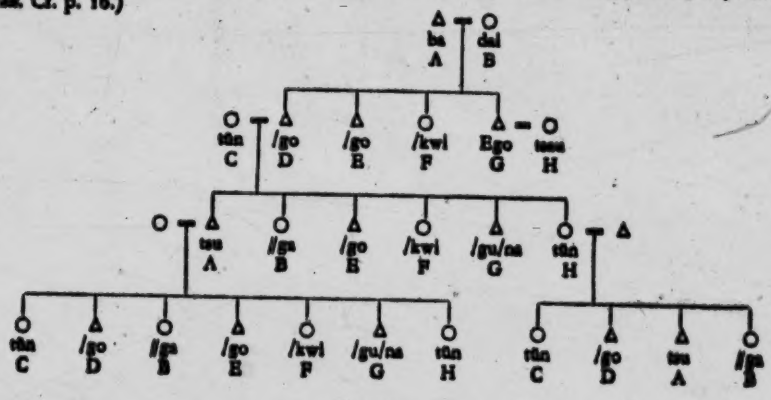


DIAGRAM 6

In Diagram 6 it is assumed, for variety, that ego is a woman. The illustration shows what terms she would apply to her grandchildren if they were named, as they customarily would have been named, by their Fa, ego's son C.

It can be seen in Diagram 6 how it is that grandparents and grandchildren do not fall into the sibling category with respect to each other and are never, therefore, termed */go* and */kwi*, but always */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.) and *tŭn* or *tsu* and *//ga*. For ego to use the sibling terms [553] for a grandchild, that child would have to be named for ego's Br or Si. This, the /Kung told us, is not their custom.

Ego, being a woman in this illustration, uses the term */gu/na* for her granddaughter A who is named for her. (We remind the reader that, for the sake of brevity, we are omitting diminutive forms. Actually */guma* is the form of the term used for the younger person.) Ego's grandson B is named for ego's husband. */Hoa* is the term for the actual husband. The term */gu/na* is used for someone named for one's husband.

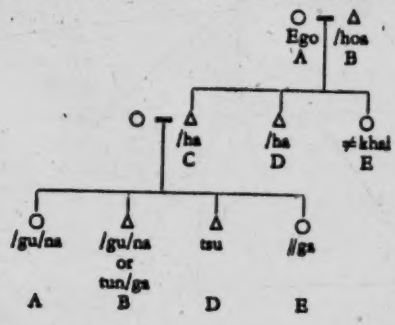
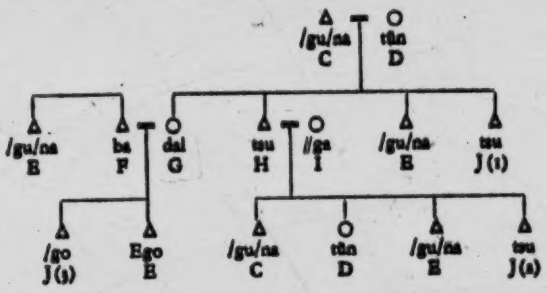


Diagram 7 assumes that ego's uncles H and J (1) retain the 'adjacent' generational 601
term *tsu* for ego for the same reason, namely, that in this case the factor of the name requires no other. Ego's maternal uncle E applies the term */gu/na* to ego because he and ego have the same name.

Whereas ego applies the term */gu/na* to anyone either named for or having the same [533]
name as himself, in other relationships a distinction is made between being named for someone and merely having the same name. In Diagram 7 it is to be noted that, although ego has a brother named J (3), he does not apply the sibling terms to J (1) or J (2). J (1), assumed to be older than ego, established the term used between them, which is the 'adjacent' generational term *tsu*. As J (2) is named for J (1), not for ego's Br, ego uses the term *tsu* for J (2). He would use the sibling term for someone named for his brother.

DIAGRAM 7

Ego is named for his FaBr E. This diagram shows terms applied to the side of the family which does not include the person for whom ego is named. Ego is assumed to be younger than his uncles and aunts and older than his cousins.



There is one further complexity which may beset the student of /Kung kin termino- 553
logy in his effort to understand the principles upon which the application of terms 601
is based. Names may be changed and, when they are, the person is reclassified and the kin terms applied to him or her are changed accordingly. One blazing hot day in the werft I heard old Hama call her little granddaughter *//gama* (diminutive of *//ga*). I felt the whole system, which had caused me so much difficulty and confusion, begin to swirl and dissolve into formlessness, for the child was named for old Hama and, if I understood the system at all, old Hama must call that child */guma* (diminutive of */gu/na*). I fanned myself with my helmet, kept my voice low and asked old Hama if I had heard correctly. 'Oh, yes,' she said. Little Hama's name had been changed, she told me. Her son Gao, the other day when his sister was visiting, had decided to give his sister's name to his daughter instead of old Hama's. Now she and her little granddaughter were *//ga* and *//gama* to each other. Old Hama said she was very disappointed. I was not. I took a deep breath and went on to the next task.

The Name-Relationship

In the /Kung kinship system, generational and sibling terms are applied to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties with ego if they have the same names as

553 ego or his kin or affines. We shall refer to this aspect of the kinship system as the
601 name-relationship.

Among name-relatives, as among consanguineous relatives, it is the biologically older person who classifies the younger with respect to his (the older's) kinship constellation, using the diminutive form of the term for the younger person. The younger person reciprocates.

551 One of the factors in the name-relationship is an ancestral list of names to which
553 terms are linked. Each /Kung has his own individual list to learn, taught to him by his parents and his *!gu!na*. No one could tell us exactly how the list is compiled, but
601 the theory which lies behind the list is that there were among ego's forbears persons whose names required certain terms. (One surmises they were great-grandparents and their siblings and the siblings of grandparents, &c. or perhaps still earlier generations.) Name-relatives who have these names may have had some distant consanguineous connexions. Ego no longer knows, but the old people knew, and in following their teaching ego knows he is following his proper homonymous pattern. Every informant had such a list and told us what term he linked with every name we knew. Some had more than one term linked with a name. ≠Toma used the term *tũn* for women named Khwova who came from the Gum region and */kwi* for Khwovas from the north. His parents, he said, told him to do this.

553 There is a system of applying terms to name-relatives. Ego is in the place of first
601 priority in the sense that invariably the term *!gu!na* is applied to any name-relative having the same name as himself. Furthermore, ego applies terms to the Fa, Mo, So, Da, sibling and spouse of a *!gu!na* who is a name-relative having the same name as himself, as he does in the case of the person for whom he is named. However, this is carried no further. He does not apply terms to persons named for these name-relatives and he does not apply terms to the nuclear family and spouse of a person he terms *!gu!na* unless the *!gu!na* has the same name as himself.

The term *tsu* is invariably applied to any male name-relative who has the same name as ego's Fa, *||ga* or *di!guma* to any female name-relative with the same name as ego's Mo.

[114 There are gaps in our knowledge at this point; confusion in the data was not re-
551] solved. We think, but are not certain, that next in order comes the ancestral list, taking precedence over siblings, children and spouses as a source of terms to apply to name-relatives. We think the terms applied to name-relatives derive mainly from the ascending generations, except *!gu!na*, applied to persons with the same name as ego's. To illustrate, take a man named Bo. Unless Bo is ego's name, or the name of ego's Fa, ego would use for Bo the term which was linked to the name Bo on his ancestral list. We think that, even if Bo were the name of ego's Br or the Hu of a female ego, the sibling or spouse term would not take precedence over the term linked with the name Bo on the ancestral list. We are certain that the ancestral list does take precedence over ego's children as a source of terms for name-relatives.

We have been assuming that the name occurs on the ancestral list. If a person
[551] should come along whose name was not on his ancestral list, but was the same as one of ego's consanguineous kin or affines, ego would apply the term to that person which he applies to the consanguineous kin or affine. (In the case of an affine ego would use a kin term corresponding to the affinal term, not the affinal

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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term itself. Cf. System B, p. 16.) We know of no rule to prevent a name-relative being classified with any consanguineous kin or affine should his name not be on ego's ancestral list. 553 601

Supposing a name did not occur on ego's ancestral list but did occur several times among his contemporary consanguineous kin and affines, the question arises as to wl ich kinsman or affine would be the one with whom ego would classify a person of that name. We have no precise data on this point, but we think that consanguinity takes precedence over affinity, or the near over the more distant relationship.

The spouses of kin are always paired terminologically with the kin (see p. 18), but this is not true of name-relatives. Ego establishes the name-relationship with each person of a married couple individually. It was in this connexion that we learnt of an aspect of the /Kung system which has not yet been mentioned.

Informants told us that ego may apply a term to the parents and children of an individual name-relative on the generational basis, if he has no term established by his ancestral list. If ego's term for a man is */gu!na* he may apply the term *tsu* to that man's Fa and So, observing the same alternation of the terms */gu!na* and *tsu* that is apparent in Diagram 1.

In this connexion informants told us furthermore that ' boys follow their fathers, girls follow their mothers ', meaning that a son is classified with respect to his father and a daughter with respect to her mother. Assuming that ego applies the term *tũn* to a woman, he could apply the term *||ga* to her Mo and Da. If ego applied the term *tsu* to that woman's Hu, he would use the term */gu!na* for her HuFa and for her So.

We think ego would use this method only if the parent or child of the name-relative had a name for which ego had no term. The /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region had so many name links that we did not observe people applying terms to parents and children of name-relatives in this manner.

There are a few additional terms to be mentioned. Co-wives of polygynous marriages use the terms */kwi*, elder Si, and *tsī*, younger Si, for each other, unless they have the same name, in which case they retain the term */gu!na*. 601 [595]

Step-father is *ba-tsu*, step-mother is *dai-||ga*, step-son is */ha-tsu*, and step-daughter is *≠khai-||ga*.

Mama is a word, heard often, which is not strictly a kinship term. It is applied m.s. and w.s. to any male or female when people wish to express pleasure, gratitude, or affection and it includes an element of respect. It is applied so frequently to grandparents that it becomes almost an alternate to the terms. [576]

System B

The second constellation of kin terms applies to affines. Whereas a person ' enters ' System A initially by way of biological ties and/or homonymy, he ' enters ' System B by way of marital ties—of himself, of his offspring and of his siblings. 601

We shall designate as ' primary ' certain affinal relationships which have a factor in common, namely: terms applied in these relationships are linked to the relationship, as the parent and child terms are linked to those relationships; nothing changes them. The method of homonymy is not practised. Furthermore, when a person comes into one of the primary affinal relationships with ego, ego drops whatever term he

601 previously used and adopts the term which is linked to the affinal relationship, even if the person has the same name as himself.

The primary affinal relationships comprise: the spouses of siblings; ego's spouse; the parents and siblings of ego's spouse, and the spouses of the latter; the spouses of ego's offspring and their parents.

Three pairs of terms are applied exclusively to affines: (1) */hoa* (man), Hu, and *tsau* (woman), Wi (these have no diminutives); (2) ≠*tum* (≠ᵗum), dim. ≠*tumma* (rare), and */utsu* (/ᵗutsu), dim. */utsuma*; and (3) */umba* (ŋ/um.ba), dim. */umbama* and */undai* (ŋ/un.tʰai), dim. */undaima*. The diminutives are not always used among affines. The older person sometimes uses the term itself for the younger.

Applied to males:			*Applied to females:*		
	Affinal term	*Term applied to kin named for affine*		*Affinal term*	*Term applied to kin named for affine*
Ego's generation					
Hu	/hoa	/gu/na w.s. *or* tun/ga w.s.	Wi	tsau	tŭn
SoWiFa, DaHuFa	/umba	/gu/na *or* tun/ga w.s.	SoWiMo, DaHuMo	/undai	tŭn
Generations adjacent to ego's					
HuFa, WiFa, DaHu	≠tum	tsu	HuMo, WiMo, SoWi	/utsu	//ga
The sibling category					
SiHu	tun/ga m.s.; tun/ga w.s.	tsu m.s.; /gu/na w.s. *or* tun/ga w.s.	BrWi	tŭn m.s.; /utsu w.s.	tŭn m.s.; //ga w.s.
HuBr	tun/ga w.s.	/gu/na w.s. *or* tun/ga w.s.	HuBrWi	/kwi w.s.	/kwi w.s.
WiSiHu	/go m.s.	/go m.s.	WiSi	tŭn m.s.	tŭn m.s.
WiBr	tun/ga m.s.	tsu m.s.	WiBrWi	/utsu m.s.	//ga m.s.
HuSiHu	≠tum w.s.	tsu w.s.	HuSi	/utsu w.s.	//ga w.s.

The term *tun/ga* is applied exclusively to affines, man-speaking. Woman-speaking, *tun/ga* is used as a generational term, an alternate to */gu/na*, and is also applied to affines. (The diminutive of *tun/ga* is *tun/gama* m.s. and *toma* w.s.) The generational term *tŭn* m.s., and the sibling terms are also used for affines.

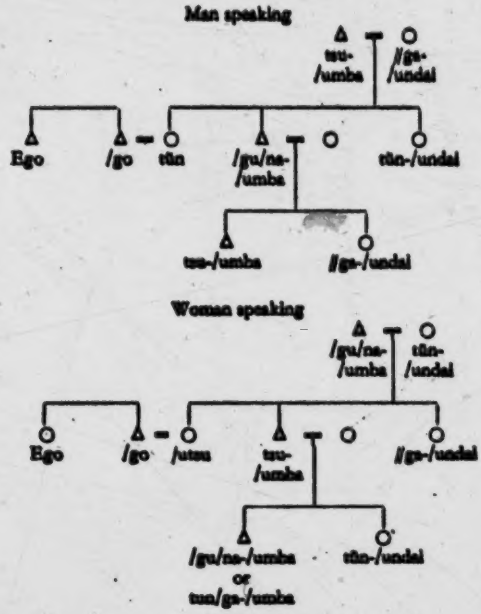
Consanguineous kin of ego's may be named for any of the primary affines, for instance, his grandchildren for his SoWiFa or SoWiMo, &c. The exclusively affinal terms are not used for those consanguineous kin, but generational or sibling terms are used which correspond with the affinal terms. The reason for the correspondence between the terms will become apparent when we discuss the joking relationship later on (see pp. 19, 20). The terms are listed below. The siblings of spouses show a 'cross' and 'parallel' pattern. The sibling who is the same sex as ego's spouse corresponds to the */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.)–*tŭn* category, the sibling of opposite sex corresponds to the *tsu*–*//ga* category. Spouses of ego's spouse's siblings correspond in the same way. An informant explained the use of the sibling term */go* for WiSiHu,

saying, 'That man and I married sisters. We are therefore like brothers.' The same analogy could be made for HuBrWi, */kwi*. 601

There is a group of affines we call 'secondary' to distinguish them from primary affines. They differ from primary affines in that terms are not linked to the relationship as terms are to the primary affines but, as in the case of collateral kin, terms may be applied by either the generational or the homonymous method.

Diagram 8

Diagram 8 illustrates the application of terms to secondary affines by the generational method. Ego's BrWi (*tũn* m.s., */utsu* w.s.) is the point of reference.



The secondary affines comprise the parents, children and siblings of primary affines who are not themselves primary affines, such as SoWiFa, or consanguineous kin, such as grandchildren.

The terms applied to secondary affines are the generational and sibling terms combined with the affinal terms */umba* and */undai*, i.e. *tsu-/umba* and *//ga-/undai*; */gu/na* (or *tsu/ga* w.s.)-*/umba* and *tũn-/undai*; */ga-/umba* and */kwi-/undai*; *tsĩ-/umba* and *tsĩ-/undai*. Though it is strictly correct to use the combined term, many people dropped one or the other part in addressing each other, especially */umba* or */undai* if speaking to children.

The homonymous method takes precedence and terms are applied to secondary affines in the same way as they are applied to name-relatives. In actual practice ego

601 and most of the persons who eventually become his secondary affines would be name-relatives. They keep whatever term they had and add *lumba* or *lundai*. Theoretically, if they should not have a name-relationship they would fall back on the generational method.

When terms are applied to secondary affines by the generational method, the primary affine is the point of reference. Ego applies a term to the parent or child of the primary affine which is in the alternate generation terminologically to that of the primary affine. A term in the same generation terminologically as that of the primary affine is applied to the sibling of the primary affine. The list of terms on p. 16 shows the correspondence of the generational terms with the affinal terms. Diagram 8 (p. 17) illustrates this situation.

Consanguineous relatives of ego's may be named for secondary affines as well as primary affines. When they are, ego applies to them the same term which he applies to the secondary affine but drops *lumba* and *lundai*.

All relatives to whom the generational and sibling terms are applied, except name-relatives (see p. 15), have terms applied to their spouses by ego which are paired with the generational and sibling terms as listed below.

Generational or sibling term for males	*Spouse*	*Generational or sibling term for females*	*Spouse*
tsu	//ga or /utsu (//ga is preferred for FaBrWi or MoBrWi; /utsu is preferred in other relationships)	//ga or di/guma	tsu or tun/ga m.s. (tsu is preferred for FaSiHu and MoSiHu; tun/ga is preferred in other relationships)
/gu/na	tūn	tūn	/gu/na or tun/ga w.s.
tun/ga w.s.		/gu/na w.s.	tun/ga w.s.
when collateral	tūn w.s.		
when affine	/kwi w.s.		
/go or tsi	tūn m.s. /utsu w.s.	/kwi or tsi	tun/ga

Part II: Some Aspects of Behaviour as Related to Categories of Kin

Marriage

842 The /Kung know that biological descent is from the father and mother, believing that the father's semen unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form the
602 child. But their language does not emphasize the concept of blood as ours does. A /Kung speaks of a person who has blood ties with himself as being of his own people, emphasizing the phrase in some way, as when we say ' very own '.

582 Marriage with any consanguineous kin is forbidden in /Kung culture. This pro-
684 hibition is quite strictly obeyed. The very thought of marriage with a parent, offspring or sibling is horrifying to the /Kung. They could hardly be brought to talk about such ' bad things '. They told us about a man who married a woman and her

daughter at the same time. Although he had blood ties with neither, this was analogous to marrying a daughter and it was thought the man must be mad to do so. Informants said specifically that /Kung do not marry uncles or aunts because they are ' like ' parents. Cousins, they say, are ' like ' siblings and nephews and nieces ' like ' offspring. Marriage with any of these would be shocking. 582 684

In the genealogies of about 175 /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region there is no instance of marriage among any of the above-mentioned relatives. However, we heard of two first-cousin marriages among some distant /Kung. 582 [183]

A /Kung must not marry a person who has the same name as his parent. In the two instances we know where this rule was broken the people lied, admitting it only after someone else told us about it. A man must not marry a woman to whom he applies the term */utsu* (this seems to be regarded as a particularly stringent prohibition), nor may a woman marry a man she terms ≠*tum*. We know a man who broke this rule. His marriage with his */utsu* caused a scandal which was still reverberating after two years. [553 183] [684]

The preferred marriage among /Kung is with a non-consanguineous name-relative whom ego terms *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn* m.s. SiHu and HuBr are both termed *tun!ga* w.s. and BrWi and WiSi are termed *tũn* m.s. These are considered desirable marriages, especially the sororate, but neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory. [587]

Marriages with persons termed */umba* or */undai* are not forbidden. Persons who use the terms *tsu* and *||ga* for each other may marry unless one has the name of the other's parent. Persons who use the sibling terms may marry. These marriages, though not forbidden, are not preferred.

There is no category of persons with whom sexual intercourse is permitted by /Kung custom except the spouse. If illicit sexual intercourse is indulged in, it is carefully concealed. 837

The Joking Relationship

The joking relationship is an important element in /Kung culture. It is in the foreground of people's minds. The /Kung never once mentioned the generational aspect of their kin terminology system but whenever kinship matters were discussed they spoke of the joking relationship. The /Kung do not train their children to know the precise genealogical position of collaterals,[1] but they teach them the term to use and the joking status of the term. Sometimes an informant would not know whether, for instance, a relative he termed *tsu* was his FaBr, his MoBr or who, but would say that his parents taught him to use that term for the relative and that he must not joke with him. 602 [867] 601 602

The joking relationship creates a dichotomy which divides consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives into two groups. Every kinship term is associated with a joking status and the culture either allows ego to joke or prohibits him from joking with every person to whom he applies a kinship term.

[1] As to lineal kin, all our informants knew the precise genealogical position and names of their grandparents and grandchildren but many did not know the names of their great-grandparents. (We did not meet any /Kung who had a great-grandchild.)

601 The sibling category is divided on the basis of sex. Ego jokes with a sibling of
602 the same sex as his own and is prohibited from joking with a sibling of opposite
[593] sex. This creates a 'cross' and 'parallel' pattern which is observed in the use of the terms, man-speaking and woman-speaking, among persons classified by name with siblings and among affines of the sibling category.

Sex is not the differentiating factor with respect to the joking relationship among groups of kin apart from siblings. All other consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives are grouped in the joking or non-joking dichotomy according to their categorical classification, as follows:

Ego has the joking relationship with anyone of either sex who is classified with himself or herself, to whom ego applies the term *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn*. Consanguineous kin may be so classified by generation (i.e. cousins) as shown in Diagram 1, or by the factor of the name, i.e. the person for whom ego is named or persons named for ego. Ego has the joking relationship with grandparents and grandchildren unless the factor of the name places ego terminologically in the other, non-joking, division. Among affines, ego has the joking relationship with his or her spouse, and
607 also with BrWi and WiSi, *tũn* m.s., and SiHu and HuBr, *tun!ga* w.s., who are all considered suitable persons to marry. Ego may joke with affines termed *!umba* and *!undai*, who are in ego's generation terminologically as they are his offspring's spouses' parents. Persons named for any of the above affines would be termed *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn* by ego and ego could joke with them. He could joke also with any name-relatives to whom he applies these terms.

602 Joking is prohibited with parents and offspring of either sex and with anyone of either sex who is classified with them by being of the same generation, when the generational method of applying terms is used, or by being named for them, when the homonymous method of applying terms is used; or with name-relatives classified in this category. Joking is also prohibited with affines associated with this category, i.e. parents of spouse, and spouses of offspring. The terms which are associated with the non-joking status are the parent–child terms, and *tsu*, *||ga* or *di!guma*, and the affinal terms, *≠tum*, *tun!ga* m.s. and *!utsu*.

When informants were trying to explain the joking relationship to us they had an additional statement to make about the prohibition of joking. They said that, as they must not joke with their parents or offspring, in like manner they must not joke with a person and the offspring of that person. This concept is doubtless associated with the generational method of applying terms. It is not thought to be a contradiction or inconsistency to joke both with a person and the offspring of that person when the homonymous method of applying terms is followed. When a person is named for another his biological position is disregarded and he is terminologically classified with the person for whom he is named. The homonymous method is never applied nor the biological position disregarded in the nuclear family or among primary affines.

Joking, of course, is always reciprocal; if ego may joke with A, A may joke with ego. If B is named for A, the term which ego applies to B always has the same joking status as the term he applies to A. Ego's joking status is the same with both persons of a married couple (cf. p. 18), except in the case of name-relatives with whom he assumes his status individually (cf. p. 15).

The following table gives the joking status of each term. 601 602

Consanguineal kin			*Affines*		
Ego's generation and alternate generations					
Joking permitted					
(Ego)			Hu	/hoa	
Anyone termed:	/gu/na		Wi	tsau	
	tun/ga	w.s.	DaHuFa, SoWiFa	/umba	
	tũn		DaHuMo, SoWiMo	/undai	
			Anyone termed:	/gu/na-/umba	
				tun/ga-/umba	w.s.
				tũn-/undai	
Generations adjacent to ego's					
Joking prohibited					
Fa	ba		HuFa, WiFa, DaHu	≠tum	
Mo	dai				
So	/ha				
Da	≠khai		HuMo, WiMo, SoWi	/utsu	
Anyone termed:	tsu		Anyone termed:	tsu-/umba	
	//ga			//ga-/undai	
	di/gumo				

Ego's siblings of same sex as ego, ego's spouse's siblings of same sex as spouse, and the spouses of these siblings

Joking permitted

Elder Br	/go	m.s.	BrWi, WiSi	tũn	m.s.
Younger Br	tsi	m.s.			
Elder Si	/kwi	w.s.	SiHu, HuBr	tun/ga	w.s.
Younger Si	tsi	w.s.			
Anyone termed:	/go	m.s.	WiSiHu	/go	m.s.
	/kwi	w.s.	HuBrWi	/kwi	w.s.
Any male termed:	tsi	m.s.			
Any female termed:	tsi	w.s.			

Ego's siblings of opposite sex, ego's spouse's siblings of opposite sex from spouse, and the spouses of these siblings

Joking prohibited

Elder Br	/go	w.s.	BrWi, HuSi	/utsu	w.s.
Younger Br	tsi	w.s.			
Elder Si	/kwi	m.s.	SiHu, WiBr	tun/ga	m.s.
Younger Si	tsi	m.s.			
Anyone termed:	/go	w.s.	HuSiHu	≠tum	w.s.
	/kwi	m.s.	WiBrWi	/utsu	m.s.
Any female termed:	tsi	m.s.			
Any male termed:	tsi	w.s.			

The jokes which are permitted among persons who have the joking relationship, 602 and which are avoided by others, are sexual jokes and insults. Anyone may make jokes that are not sexually tinged. Persons who have the joking relationship constantly use it and enjoy it. Men accuse each other of excessive preoccupation with sexual intercourse or of having genital organs of excessive size or abnormal condition (castration or circumcision). Men accuse women with whom they may joke of being

602 ugly, slovenly, or wanton. The women retaliate, perhaps accusing the men of being worthy only of castration or of unfaithful wives. We noticed that the /Kung do not call each other sons of bitches. They are not concerned with lineage.

602 It is not thought proper to make blatant or insulting sexual jokes with old persons. 888 The deference which is shown to aged persons is expressed by moderation, and the joking relationship between an old person and a considerably younger person, [603] especially between grandparents and grandchildren, becomes a cosy friendly intimacy without the sexual emphasis.

Though the /Kung enjoy the joking relationship, it was our impression that their 602 primary concern lay in the prohibition against joking. They said it would be 'madness' to joke with persons they should not joke with. When they meet strangers they do not dare to joke until they find out whether or not it is proper for them to do so. They gave us /Kung names. This placed us in the scheme of things and people could know what their status was with us.

The /Kung say they 'fear' (*koa*) to joke when they should not and they 'fear' (*koa*) the persons with whom joking is forbidden. The word *koa* is the same word that they use when they say they fear a lion or a mamba. They also use it to mean avoid. We think it holds the same combination of fear and respect that our word holds when we say we fear the Lord.

[828 A /Kung told us that joking was not only amusing but that it served a good pur- 865] pose in teaching people, young men especially, to hold their tempers and to have poise in their social relations. We thought that joking served a good purpose in [182 providing an outlet in laughter for aggression and various social restraints, but we 154] wondered if it had not primarily been developed as a response to restraints upon sexual intercourse. Incest must be a concern among a people who live in small bands 835] of consanguineous kin and close affines, bands which are isolated for the most part within their own territories except for more or less infrequent visits to other bands. The restraints which are considered to be good and necessary may be strengthened by the symbol of avoidance of sexual joking. Respect due to a parent has perhaps come to be associated with this symbol and this may account for joking being restricted with parents of both sexes. It seems that respect in general is not required between siblings; only sexual restraint is required and this is symbolized by the restriction in joking imposed on siblings of opposite sex, whereas ego may joke with a sibling of the same sex. It is possible that the culture allows joking between grandparents and grandchildren (with the rather few exceptions when the factor of the name intervenes to classify them in the non-joking category) because joking is associated with a welcome ease and intimacy of relationship and the great difference in age removes the necessity of symbolizing sexual restraint between them.

The Name-Relationship as a Factor in Social Consolidation

553 The /Kung believe that the name is somehow a part of the entity of a person and ●601 that when one is named for a person one partakes of that person's entity in some way and in some degree. Informants could give us no further elucidation of this belief.

It seems evident that, when incorporated into the system of kinship terminology, [174] the belief has produced the homonymous method of applying terms. It is our conjecture that the homonymous method was added to the system after the generational method had been established.

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method had been established. The /Kõ and /Gikwe have not incorporated the belief into their terminological systems except in a very limited way. The /Kung, however, have done so, and appear to have adapted it as logically as possible to the generational method. They apply it only to somewhat distant relationships, namely, grandparents, grandchildren, collaterals, secondary affines, and name-relatives. They do not apply it in the close biological relationships of parent, offspring or sibling or in the primary affinal relationships. Consistency is maintained by the rule that a child must not be named for a parent.

We think that the term *!gu!na* came into the system with the homonymous method and that perhaps it used originally to be applied only to the person for whom ego is named. It is not strictly a kinship term, being composed of translateable words, ' big or old name '. We think it may have been superimposed upon *tun!ga* (which probably comes from the same root as *tũn*). *Tun!ga* may originally have been applied to grandfather, man-speaking as well as woman-speaking, and later *!gu!na* may have become associated with grandfather because so many men are named for their grandfathers. If this is so, an anomalous situation remains unresolved. *Tun!ga* is applied to consanguineous kin and affines and allows joking, woman-speaking. Man-speaking, it is applied only to affines and prohibits joking. If it was originally the term for grandfather, man-speaking, we reason that it should allow joking, and we cannot explain this anomaly.

Whatever may be the answer to these questions, the /Kung have put to good use the belief that persons who have the same name partake of each other's entities. This belief has given them the name-relationship.

It is our impression that the practice of applying terms to name-relatives has appealed to the /Kung and that they have developed it to the full. The /Kung apply a kinship term to every /Kung they meet or almost everyone. /Qui was the only informant who worked with us on this subject who had ever met a /Kung Bushman for whom he had no kinship term. He had met four who came from a distance and whose names were not among those commonly used in the Nyae Nyae region. Ta//ne was one of the names. Gao, who was present, told /Qui that he had a *tsu* named Ta//ne, and he and /Qui nodded together in agreement that they would find a way for /Qui to give Ta//ne a term should they meet again. We know two men who used the term *!go* for each other because each of them had a brother named Dam. The system seems to have been flexible and expansive in the application of terms to name-relatives.

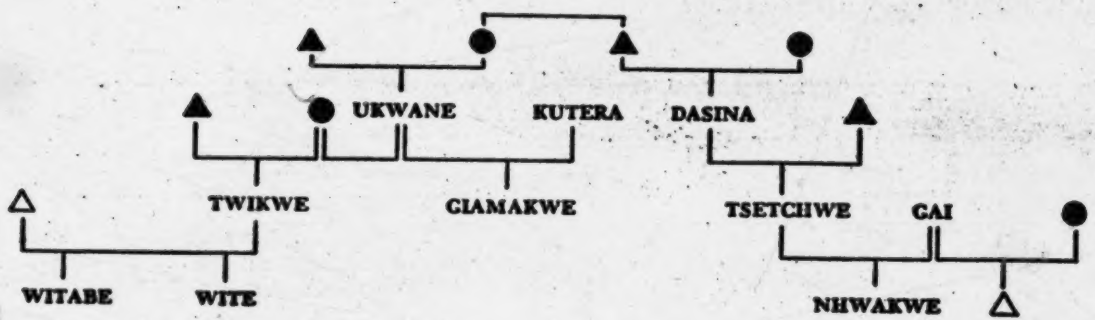
The /Kung are small of stature and non-aggressive. They are timid and apprehensive of strangers. Their word for stranger is *ju dole*. *Ju* means person, *dole* means strange or harmful—one word for both concepts, in the /Kung language, as though they were a single concept. The /Kung have no social organization larger than the band of kin who live together but they have utilized the name-relationship to supply the cohesive factor which is supplied in other societies by various social structures. When a /Kung meets a stranger and finds that he has the same name as one of his kin and bestows a kinship term upon him, he is reassured and feels a sense of belonging.

Gao, the brother of /U, went on an errand for us to Khadum. Khadum is about 115 miles north of Gautscha and about 40 miles north of Cho/ana where we were staying at the time. He had never been to Khadum before, and the /Kung Bushmen who lived

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

GIKWE

CHART OF UKWANE'S FAMILY



KEY

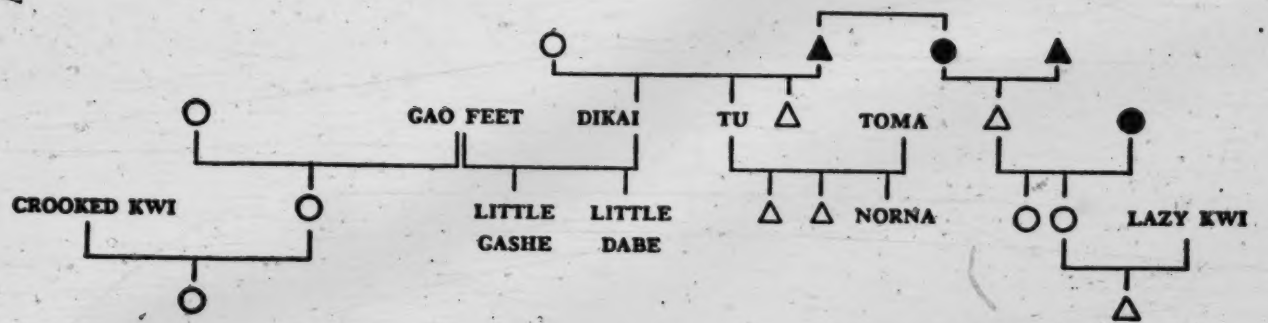
= *marriage*
= *siblings*
△ = *man*
○ = *woman*
▲ = *dead man*
● = *dead woman*

[p. x]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

KUNG

CHART OF TOMA'S FAMILY



[P.xi]

601

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam

BANTU STUDIES

BUSHMAN TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP

By D. F. Bleek

I. Southern Group: The ǂxam-ka-ḷ'e *or Bushmen of the old Cape Colony*

THE ǂxam-ka-ḷ'e follow the descriptive method of denoting relationships, though we find some general titles or possibly expressions of affection and respect among them. 601

Many of their terms of relationship allow an etymological explanation. Thus, ǂa "father" is identical with ǂa "out of", sometimes used as "to come out of". Xoa "mother" seems to be a feminine contracted form of the same word, xai being the feminine ending of ⊙pwaxai "daughter", and ǁkaxai "sister", the masculine forms of which are ⊙pwoŋ "son", and ǁkã "brother". 193 196 601

In Nama ǂa is a vulgar word for "beget" or "bear", ǂaĭ is "child", while xai signifies "to cohabit", xais being often used as "wife".

Oa forms the plural ǂakn-gu or ǂkn-gu, which may denote "fathers" or "parents". Xoa forms xoakn-gu "mothers", often used where we should say "the older women" or "mother and her friends".

The words ibo, itau are terms of address, "my father," "my mother." Though i alone means "we", here it is used for "my". "One person is the one who says ibo," was a Bushman's explanation. "Our father" would be i ǂa. Ibo sometimes becomes bobo. I think it may have some connexion with the Nama masculine ending ba, and itau with the Nama feminine plural ending ti or te, corresponding to an old femine singular ta, now turned in Nama to sa. Taras is the Nama polite term for "woman", "mistress". Certainly te, ite, aiti appear as endings to feminine terms of relationship among the ǂxam-ka-ḷ'e as in ǂaiti "wife", "woman", ḷkoïte "granny", ⊙pwaitente "mother-in-law", ǁk'aiti "child's mother-in-law". In some masculine terms of relationship we get

[p. 57]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam

193 ã or ũ or a nasalization of the vowel, as ǃkõũ "grandfather", ǁkã "brother", ⊙pwoũ "son", ǁk'en "child's father-in-law".

[196] These endings are particularly interesting, as otherwise the [601] ǂxam language has no signs of gender. Perhaps they show that in some former stage this was a language with genders, just as English still shows its old division into genders in its names for classes of people.

601 On the use of tata a Bushman said: "We say ǂbo, we say ǂ ca, [192] but the children who are lately there say tata; they should say ǂbo. The habit of saying tata comes from the Boers."

⊙pwa is the ǂxam diminutive; in allied dialects it denotes 193 "child", which in ǂxam is ǃkwã. That ⊙poũ "son" and ⊙pwaxai 196 "daughter" are derivatives is clear. I think that ⊙pwai-ǂhi 601 "father-in-law" is derived from ⊙pwa "child" and ǂhaũ "to marry", the man whose child one marries. ⊙pwaitente would be the feminine form thereof. ǂha "husband", "wife" is certainly derived from ǂhaũ.

The second, more unusual title for parents-in-law I cannot explain; ǃkwi is "person", but I have no example of any other use of ǁk'a, except that it seems part of the terms ǁk'en and ǁk'aiti, applied to the parents of a son- or daughter-in-law, or of a brother- or sister-in-law.

On a man's behaviour to his parents-in-law we have the 606 following note: "They (the sons-in-law) do not talk to their mother-in-law in haste, for they are silent. Their father-in-law is the one with whom they talk. He (the son-in-law) acts like this, at another time he does not talk to his father-in-law; he merely talks to his wife, his wife is the one who talks to her father. He also acts like this to his mother-in-law, he speaks with her. He speaks with her, he is silent."

This looks as if there are occasions on which one or other of the wife's parents may be addressed, and others when they may [538] not. I have noticed in their stories of the Mantis, that his adopted daughter's husband does not often address the Mantis directly, but says to his own son, "Tell Grandfather so-and-so," which the child does. However, in one story the two men speak directly to each other.

ǁkã, ǁkaxai "brother", "sister", may be derived from ǁka 196 "like", "to be like". In Nama ǁkàb means "the same". The 601 adjective ǃkori simply means "big".

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam

I think ǃkōŋ, ǃkoⁿte "grandfather", "grandmother" are derived from ǃkuⁿya "great", "large", "stout". These terms are used in addressing any elderly relatives, or people distinctly senior to the speaker, much as "Oom", "Tante" are used in Afrikaans. In the tables appended I give these titles, where they were specially mentioned in a list of terms of relationship, but in the folklore they are so widely used, that one might sometimes translate them "old man", "old woman". 196 601

I can give no explanation of the fact, that a woman calls her father's parents her "real" grandparents, and her mother's parents her "lent" ones, while a man reverses the process; his mother's parents are his "real" grandparents. My aunt, Dr. Lloyd, who took down this information, evidently made no inquiry, and to-day there are no Colonial Bushmen left capable of telling us. These adjectives are not used in ordinary conversation, any more than we use the terms "paternal", "maternal". 601 [124]

The Bushman did not explain why the mother's brother is called "son". I should say a particularly affectionate relationship is indicated. As to the title for the mother's sister, he said: "They are wont to say their 'grandmother' to their mother's sister, they say their 'grandmother' to her. A man says his 'daughter' to her. Then the man's aunt says her 'father' to him, for they (the mother and aunt) feel that they are women who are one. Bushmen say, women who are one, to the women of one house. When girls have one mother, they say they are women who are one."

ǃke means "companion", "friend", "someone loved". Xoa ǃke-ko means "mother's other friend" or "chum", of whom was said: "They make their other friend of one person; they say their other friend to her." 196 601

In certain ǃxam tales the wife's unmarried younger sister stays with her, as helper and baby-minder. An elder sister would be sure to be married. This sister I take to be the "other friend" of the wife, the "little sister-in-law" of the husband, the ǃkouki-©pwa. For this term is only applied to a little girl. [538]

I know of no marriage laws among the Bushmen to explain the title of sister being occasionally given to the father's or mother's sister's daughter. Bushmen sometimes marry a cousin of that or any other sort, but more often they marry someone else. The only girl a Bushman may not marry is his *own* sister. 582 601

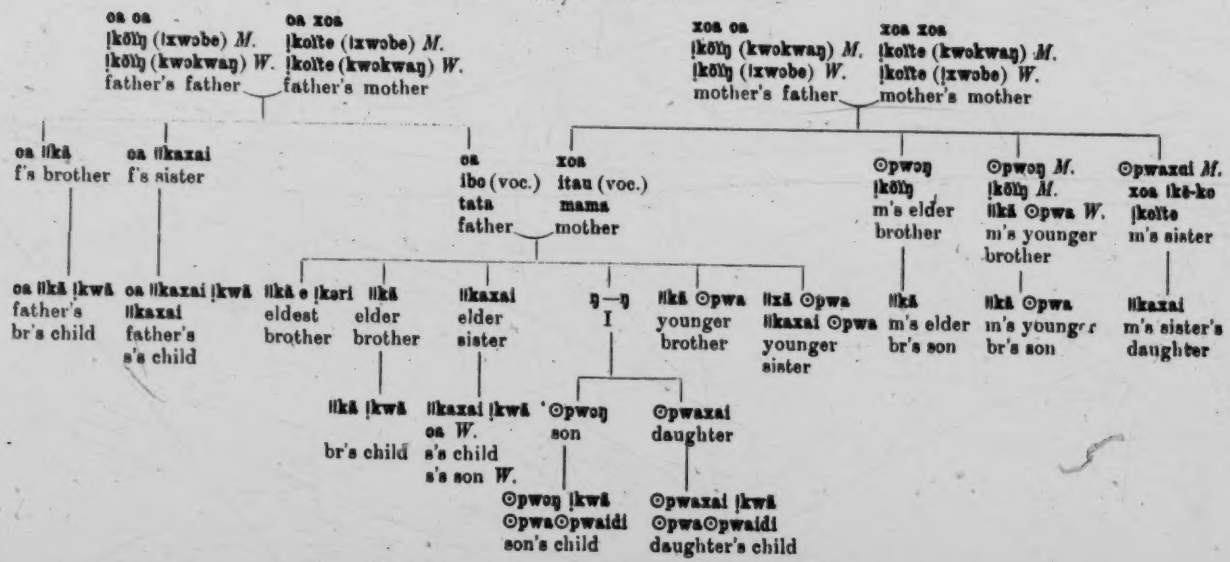
[Text continues on page 62]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam
601

Tables of Bushman Terms of Relationship

1. Southern Group: Among the ǂxam-ka-ǀ'e

(a) *Blood relations*



M. means man speaking; *W.* means woman speaking.

[p. 60]

(b) *Relations by Marriage*

ǂk'en sister's father — ǂk'aiti husband's mother

⊙pwai ǂhi *M.* ǂk'ạ ǂkwi husband's father — ⊙pwaitente *M.* ǂk'ạ ǂkwi husband's mother

⊙pwai ǂhi *M.* ǂk'ạ ǂkwi *M.* wife's father — ⊙pwaitente *M.* ǂk'ạ ǂkwi *M.* wife's mother

ǂk'en brother's father — ǂk'aiti wife's mother

ǂk'en son's father — ǂk'aiti wife's mother

⊙pwon ǂha ⊙pwaitente son's wife

ǂkaxai ǂha *M.* sister's husband

ǂha ǂkaxai *W.* husband's sister

ǂha ǂkã *W.* ǂkhwi *W.* husband's brother

ǂkã ǂha *M.* brother's wife

ǂha *W.* gwai *W.* husband-man

ǂha *M.* ǂaiti *M.* wife-woman

ǂkaxai ǂha *W.* sister's husband

ǂha ǂkaxai *M.* wife's sister

ǂxã *M.* wife's sister's husband

ǂkouki wife's little sister

ǂha ǂkã *M.* ǂkhwi *M.* wife's brother

ǂkã ǂha *W.* brother's wife

ǂken daughter's husband's father — ǂk'aiti mother

⊙pwa *M.*

⊙pwaxai ǂha daughter's husband

[p.61]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam
Auen
Kung

601 I believe the term "sister" is used to a cousin who has been
[597] brought up as an adopted child in the speaker's family, just as a grandparent calls a grandchild "my child", if he adopts it.

[595] The ǂxam-ka-ǀ'e are monogamous, and in their folklore there is only one case of the punishment of incest, that of brother and sister.

I do not know whether the omissions in this table of relationships are accidental, or owing to the fact that the terms omitted are seldom or never used.

II. Northern Group: The ǂk'au ǂen (*Auen*), *and* ǀkuŋ *or Bushmen of the N.W. Kalahari*

193 These tribes likewise use the descriptive method in denoting
601 terms of relationship. They, too, show in a few of such terms endings for masculine and feminine, which do not appear in any other nouns. For example: tsi or siŋ "brother", tsisi "sister"; where we again find nasalization for the masculine, and si instead of ti for the feminine ending, or a prefixed di "female".

[193] Ma is the diminutive ending; ǀna means "big, grown up", ǂga
196 means "old, worn out". ǀku or ǀkū I think means "kinsman" or
601 "namesake". Thus the greatuncle is the "old kinsman", the mother's brother is the "big kinsman", the father's brother and sister are "little" ones, as are cousins, nephews and nieces, which would point to their having less influence. This rather contradicts the statement of the ǂk'au ǂen, that in case of a man's death, his brother must provide for his children. However, the father's brother is addressed as tahu or tsu, a term of affection applied in this tongue more to relations by marriage, but in ǀkuŋ, used by grandparents and grandchildren mutually, and by uncle and nephew. ǀko, the name for the mother's sister is, I think, a word related to ǀkoïte "grandmother", probably a feminine form of ǀku or ǀkoïŋ. Mama used reciprocally by grandparents and grandchildren seems to be a term of affection.

Ba and tai are evidently related to the ǂxam terms of address to parents ibo, itau. There is no special word for husband or wife in these two dialects. ǀkwā and ǀkao are simply "man", and dzou and zau "woman". ǀkwā o m ba seems to mean "man of my father", which does not seem sense for the mother's father. Tai o dzou "mother of wife" is of course quite clear.

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Auen
Kung
Naron

Some ǂk'au ǂen terms are apparently borrowed from **Naron**, for instance, **ǀwiakwe** "brother-in-law" and **ǂkū** "greatniece". **ǀwi ǀkwā** would be the correct form, corresponding to **ǀwi dzou** "sister-in-law". **ǂkū** is simply **Naron** for "child". My informants lived on the border of the tribes, and so they often used **Naron** words or **Naron** forms of roots belonging to both. 196 601 [192]

The **ǀkuŋ** terms show more variety. **ǀkū ǂnue** seems to be "one namesake" or "first namesake" or "kinsman". **ǂga** and **ǂge** seem peculiar to this dialect. They may be northern forms of **ǂkā** "brother", or of the **Naron ǂka**.

On the relationship between son-in-law and father-in-law the following note appears in a **ǀkuŋ** story, explaining the sentence, "A person called him 'Kai-he'." 538

"The person did not say his (Karu's) name, but just called him by the little word which is his name, 'Ai-he.' His mother-in-law said, 'My son-in-law,' but his father-in-law did not call him 'My son-in-law', but addressed him as 'Ai-he'. And he heard his father-in-law. His father-in-law was a man, and respected his daughter, so did not say his daughter's husband's name, but merely called his son-in-law by his little name which was 'Ai-he'."

III. The **Naron** *or Bushmen of the Central Kalahari*

This tribe is less descriptive in its terms of relationship than its Northern and Southern neighbours, yet its system can hardly be called a classificatory one. Remarkable is the number of reciprocal titles used between different generations. Grandparents and grandchildren address each other as **mama**. Parents and children call each other by two forms of the same roots, either **aba** or **ǂku**. **Aba** is the verb "to bear", "to beget", also "to carry in a kaross". The father is the begetter, the child the begotten one. **Eisha** I take to be a contracted feminine form of the same. 601 196 601

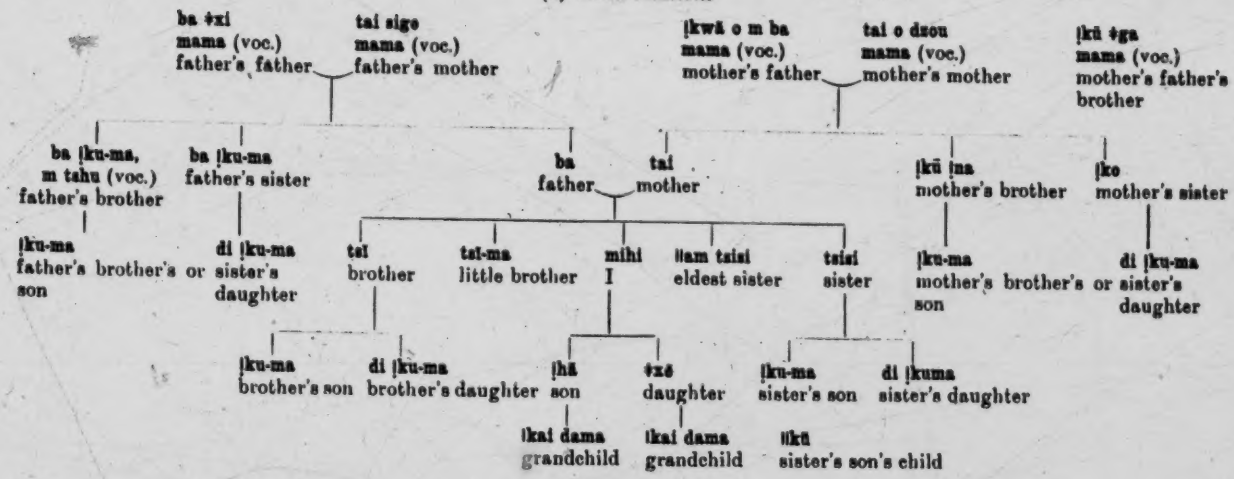
ǂkuŋ is also used as "big, grown up", **ǂkuŋ kwena** means "grown-up people", **ǂkuŋ ǂarro kwena** "old people", literally "big bodied people". The application of this word to parents is easy to understand, but the use of a very similar form to designate children is not clear.

Likewise the word **tahō** is a puzzle. It is used for all grandchildren, but only for the father's parents. It is employed reciprocally between a mother's brother and a sister's child. A

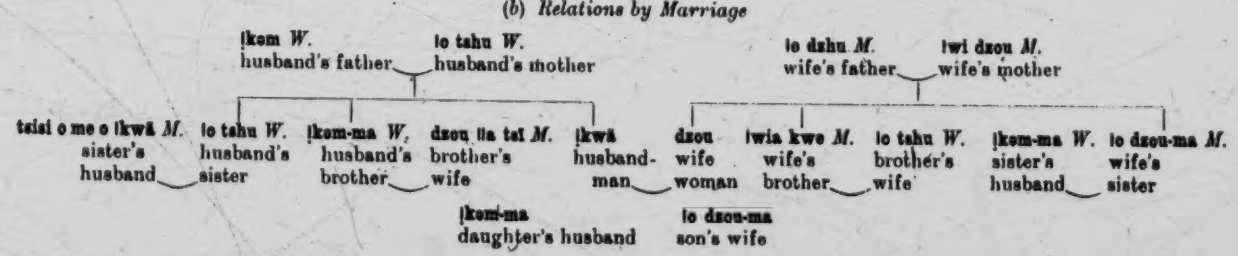
– [Text continues on page 66]

2. Northern Group: Among the ǂk'au ǂen (Auen)

(a) *Blood relations*



(b) *Relations by Marriage*



[p. 64]

601

[p. 65]

AMONG THE ǃkuŋ

(a) *Blood relations*

ba ba
ǃkū ǃnue
tsù (boy sp.)
father's father

ba tai
txū
father's mother

tai ba
txuŋ ǂga
tsu
mother's father

tai tai
ǃkū ǃnue
ǂga *M.*
mother's mother

tsu, ba siŋ
father's brother

ba tsasiŋ
father's sister

ba
father

tai
mother

txuŋ ǂga
mother's brother

tai tsasiŋ, ǂkhui *M.*
mother's sister

ǂkò
elder brother

tsaũ
brother

(me) siŋ
younger brother

mihi
I

ǂkhui
(elder) sister

tsasiŋ
sister

ǂga-ma
brother's daughter

siŋ
brother's son

ǂhã, ha (voc.)
son

ǂxe
daughter

ǂga-ma
sister's daughter

txū ǂga-ma, siŋ
sister's son

tsu-ma *M.*
soiŋ ǂge *W.*
ǃku ǃnu-ma
son's son

ǂhã ǂge
son's daughter

siŋ ǂge *M.*
txū ǂga-ma *M.*
ǂga-ma ǂge *W.*
daughter's son

ǂxe ku *M*
ǂxe ǂge *W.*
daughter's daughter

(b) *Relations by Marriage*

ǂga
uncle's wife

ǃnum ba
husband's father

ǃnum tai
husband's mother

ǃkao
husband

ǂkum
wife's father

ǃwi zau
wife's mother

zau
wife
ǂkum
daughter's husband

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

196 woman calls her brothers-in-law by words formed from this root,
601 but not her sisters-in-law; whereas a man does the opposite. The result is, that anyone calling a connexion tshō is called tshō by that person. Other connexions are called twi, a word which seems to mean "to tie", "to net", as twishiba "a riempi net", or "string bag". A woman calls both parents-in-law and son- and daughter-in-law twi, but a man calls his wife's parents simply "father" and "mother". I think he calls his son- and daughter-in-law twi, but have no clear examples.

591 Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parents' home and stay there till the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact, the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so. This does not explain why a man calls his wife's parents "father" and "mother".

606 A man is supposed not to speak to his mother-in-law, nor a woman to her father-in-law. Of the former I had personal evidence: my Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. As to not speaking, I think that means more—not sitting near, not consorting with a person, rather than never addressing him. A Naron granny gave
183 me a vivid description of the family settling the name of a new-
553 born child. The relations present all quarrel over it: the father
578 says, he wants the little girl called after one of his people, but the
606 mother's mother tells him that is not at all necessary, the baby is to be named after her. This shows that speech between the two is not absolutely forbidden.

There is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister
183 speaking or sitting together,—but here, too, the sitting, not the
593 speaking, is the important part. I have heard a fully grown brother and sister addressing each other, while passing at a good distance. This rule explains why the relationship between a man
604 and his brother's child is nearer than that with his sister's child,
601 the former being called ǁku "son", the latter tshō, a more distant term; whereas a woman calls her sister's son "son", her brother's son tshō.

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

Brother and sister are the only relations who are forbidden to marry, and by this, real brother and sister are meant, the children of one father and mother, not cousins. I never heard a title for any cousin, however related, though several were present Cousins sometimes marry, but more often a bride from a distance is procured. 582

A pair of sisters have a very close relationship. They are generally chums, and help each other with their babies. A child calls its mother's sister its "little mother". In speaking of the occasional bigamy found among the **Naron** in contrast to other Bushman tribes, an old man said to me: 593 [601] [604] 595

"A man may take a second wife, if he wishes. If they agree well, they live in one hut; if not, each makes herself a hut. A man had better take his wife's younger sister as his second wife; then they do not quarrel, but live in one hut."

ǁka in **ǁkashe** "maternal aunt" may be derived from **ǁkai** "together". **Ho** used as a verb means "to marry", also "to give birth to children". **Ti kweba** and **ti kwesa** mean simply "my man", "my woman"; they are more often used than **hoba** and **hosha**. 196 601

A widow may marry her late husband's brother, but need not do so. She is quite at liberty to marry any other man. If she remarries, her husband is expected to look after her children; otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. The widow may stay near her husband's people, or return to her own people, as she pleases. 587 [604]

Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, are very fond of adopting a grandchild. They will half adopt one, even during both parents' lifetime. The grandmother is generally the person who teaches a child to speak. 597 603 [868]

In concluding these notes on the tables of relationship, I should like to say that I know they are very incomplete. At the time of my stay among the **ǁkau ǁen** and **Naron** I had not realized the importance of this side of native life; nor apparently had my aunt, Dr. Lloyd, whose work I rely on for the **ǂxam** and **ǃkuŋ** tables. Still, I think sufficient has been collected to show the general trend of Bushman family ties. 114

One must always remember, that people depending on nature for their entire food supply, can only exist in very small, widely scattered groups. Families cannot be large. Drought and famine 105 161

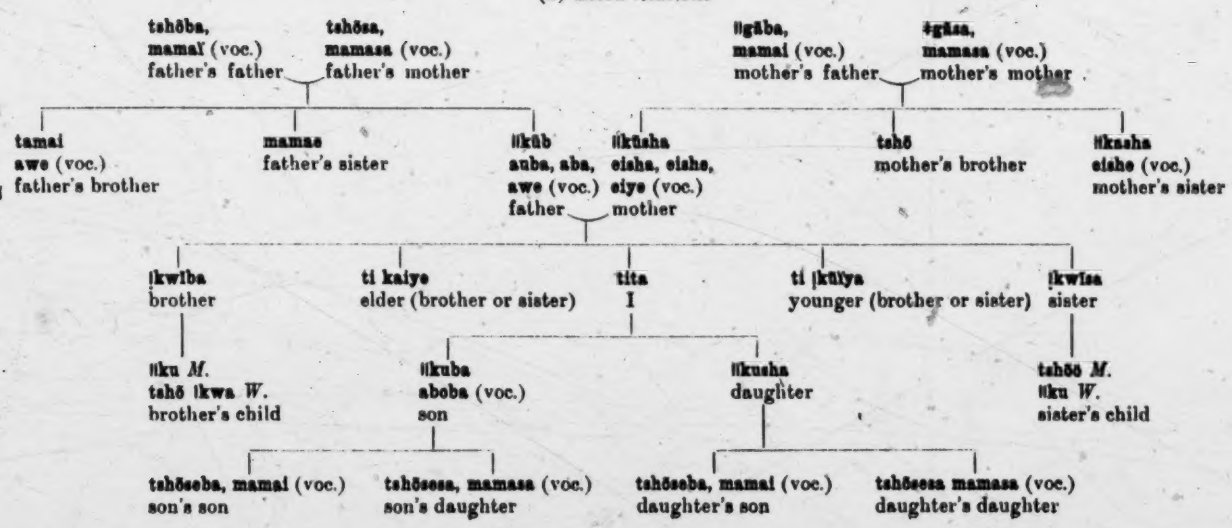
[Text Continues on page 70]

601

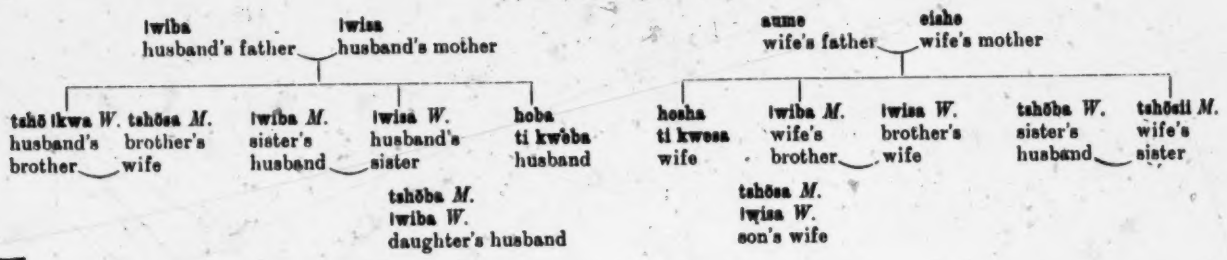
[p. 68]

3. Central Group: Among the Naron

(a) *Blood relations*



(*b*) *Relations by Marriage*



[P. 69]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

Both the father and mother expect and receive respect and obedience 593
from their children. Although the mother's influence is always felt, I believe
that the father's authority is greater. It is not formalized or expressed in a
harsh or domineering way. As long as the father lives, he is the head of
the family, symbolically. Even when too old to hunt, if he is still a forceful [887]
person, he remains the one in authority, the leader of the sons-in-law and
his daughters, of his sons and their wives. Gradually, however, when he
becomes very old, the younger men make their own plans without necessarily
consulting him.

!Kung families are responsible for dependents. Thus, old, dependent 737
parents are unfailingly supported by their offspring and may choose with
which one of their offspring they will live. Orphaned children are taken 736
by their grandparents or by a sibling of their parents. It happens occasionally
that a person has no living parent, offspring, or sibling. In that case, other
relatives assume the responsibility.

THE NAME RELATIONSHIP • Although !Kung society has developed no 571
formal political structure under which the bands are united, and there are 602
no organizations outside the bands, these people have a means of extending 553
the concept of kinship beyond close consanguineous relatives and affines 619
and of recognizing, in what we call the name relationship, the web of
remote interrelationship that long intermarriage within the region has
established.

Invariably the first son and the first daughter are named by their father
for their paternal grandparents. Other children are usually named for their
mother's parents, the siblings of their parents, and the spouses of those
siblings, and may occasionally be named for other relatives. Thus, a few
names are used over and over through the generations. We recorded only [551]
forty-six men's names and forty-one women's names in the region. The
!Kung assume that persons who have the same name are related, though
the exact nature of the relationship is forgotten. They believe, also, that
people with the same name somehow have a common entity. They bestow [601]
upon each other kin terms that are appropriate to the name, according to
a system. The !Kung have intermarried within the Nyae Nyae region to [582]
such an extent that everyone has a kin term he associates with each one
of the names. This means that the people of the whole region are what we
call name relatives, all applying kin terms to each other.

From the !Kung point of view the custom has two values. It regulates 553
the incest taboo in its furthermost extension, especially the joking relation- 602
ship that symbolizes the taboo. (For example, a man should not marry or 835
make sexual jokes with a woman who has the same name as his mother.)
The !Kung feel secure in righteousness when they know they are behaving

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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553 602 835 properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

[601] The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, 619 in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling 553 of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin 601 terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen— 602 sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [701] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ǒassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ǒassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father [613] to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship. [622]

[423] There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A consider- 768 able amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

582 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside 648 the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

584 First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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obvious from the fact that although several chiefs were present, 361
there was no common supreme chief.[1] Such gatherings are only 619
temporary in nature, and produced by some special circumstance. 621
They cannot therefore be regarded as indicative of the normal [622]
groupings of the Bushmen.

Social Structure of the Band

Within the band the only division is into families. The family 592
among the Bushmen consists of a man and his wife or wives, together [595]
with their dependent children. It is a unit of outstanding importance in their social and economic life. The members of a family usually live together in one hut; the children until they are mature remain under the direct control of their parents, are nourished and are educated by them; husband and wife jointly contribute to the maintenance of their household, and the domestic tasks and industries are apportioned between them according to fixed custom. The family, moreover, has much freedom of movement, and, as already mentioned, single families will often roam about separately for a while within the territory of their band.

The relationship between the different families constituting a band 114
is seldom defined clearly by the various observers. In particular 601
the information available about the kinship organization of the 602
Bushmen is very inadequate. Miss Bleek has recently published lists 621
of relationship terms for each of the three main linguistic groups defined by her.[2] From these it appears that among all the Bushmen there are, in addition to various descriptive terms of relationship, also certain terms applied not to individuals but to whole groups of different relatives, while still others are used reciprocally between people standing in a particular relationship to each other. Relationship terms of the last two types, when found in other societies, are usually indicative of a definite organization of the community on the basis of kinship; and it is probable therefore that some such organization exists among the Bushmen as well. Unfortunately the 114
lists given by Miss Bleek appear to be drawn from vocabulary sources 601
rather than from an actual study of kinship itself, and cannot there- 114
fore be used with any degree of confidence. In any case they throw 602

[1] Op. cit., 138, 155. It should be mentioned here that the figures given by Kaufmann are, as a rule, far in excess of those given by other writers of about the same time and on the same district (e.g. Müller, German official estimate), and cannot therefore be accepted without question. [114]

[2] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1924), 57–70.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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606 supposed to speak to his wife's mother, nor a woman to her husband's father. Of the former Miss Bleek had personal evidence, since her [114] Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. Actually it seems that sitting near or consorting together is avoided, rather than the actual addressing of the person concerned.[1] So, too, among the Auen a man avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit together with her. If he approaches a fire in order to sit there, she gets up and goes away; if he wants to speak to her, he must do so from a distance.[2] Among the Heikum, again, as we have seen, a young couple who are visiting the wife's parents will erect their hut on the opposite side of the camp, so that the husband may not be too near his parents-in-law. He neither looks at nor speaks to his wife's mother, nor will he mention her name or enter her hut even in case of sickness or during her absence. When she is away and he wishes to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never [60] refer to each other by name, but always as "my son-in-law" or "my mother-in-law". The son-in-law also does not associate with his father-in-law, but avoids him in the same way. Should they meet accidentally, they may exchange greetings, but no general conversation will take place, nor will they look each other in the face.[3] A similar avoidance of the parents-in-law among the Cape Bushmen is indicated in one of the texts obtained by Bleek and Lloyd, but no details are given.[4]

Dissolution of Marriage

The duration of married life varies. Among the Naron, says 586 Miss Bleek, "One sees couples who have grown old together, on the other hand one hears of cases of desertion on either side. If there are no children, no one worries about it. If there are youngsters, the relations try to bring the parents to reason." Where separation does take place, the children belong to the father; an unweaned child must go with the mother, but the father can claim it later if he likes. [587] People who have separated are not ostracized, but both parties generally marry again.[5] No indication is given of the grounds for separation. Among the Auen divorce is rare, and only takes place

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 64; *idem*, *Naron*, 32.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 156.
[3] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 93–4.
[4] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 58.
[5] *Naron*, 34.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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571 we were unable to find a precise translation of */ōassi* but think it connotes the *we* as
619 distinct from the *they* and has an overtone of something good and safe. The phrase is
621 an opposite of *ju dole*. *Dole* means strange or harmful or bad—evidently synonyms to the /Kung.

602 Because there were so many kinship ties among the people and because they have
621 a system (the name relationship—to be mentioned later) by which they apply kin
[608] terms to persons who are not consanguineous relatives or affines, I wondered for a time if we should find that the people who call themselves *ju /ōassi* comprised a kin group of the type which Murdock calls a deme.[1] A deme is bilateral and endogamous, Murdock says, 'comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite the members'. Though the Nyae Nyae region has the elements of a deme, I am convinced that it does not constitute, strictly speaking, an organized kin group of this type, of which the people are conscious as a social form. The endogamy of the region is customary and preferred, but not required by a social rule, and it is not from the group of people as a whole who are *ju /ōassi* that social regulation derives.

Marriage regulations: the incest taboo and its expression in avoidances

582 Marriages are forbidden in /Kung social organization on one basis only. That
835 basis is incest. In common with nearly all mankind (excepting, of course, the Pharaohs and a few other rare examples), the /Kung incest taboo prohibits marriage or sexual relations between Fa and Da, Mo and So, Br and Si. The incest taboo is extended beyond the nuclear family to certain additional categories of persons, and marriage with them is also rigorously forbidden by /Kung social law.

[842] The /Kung did not express the belief that in-breeding *per se* produces inferior offspring and must for that reason be avoided. Although they believe that in conception the semen unites with menstrual blood, their language does not use the image of blood as ours does. They do not think of relatives as having the same blood or any
[827] physical substance in common, actually or by way of figure of speech to represent inheritable characteristics, in so far as we know, and do not think that common inheritance is somehow what makes it wrong to marry close kin.

The thought that incest has been avoided by mankind because it would be exceedingly disruptive to the internal cohesion of the nuclear family comes to the mind of the analyst of social forms but not to the minds of /Kung informants. And no mention was made of the obvious social advantage of marrying outside the nuclear family and thereby weaving a supporting web of kinship with many other families and bands.

The /Kung feel a deep, internalized, pervading horror of incest which they do not try to explain. Incest with parent, offspring, or sibling is unthinkable. 'Only dogs do that—not men.' 'It would be madness (*di*).' 'It would be dangerous, like going up to a lion.' Many refused to speak with me about such 'bad things'.

571 the Bushmen were saying of themselves, in effect,
619 'We are not animals, we are human beings', a con-
621 notation we did not discover in the thinking of the /Kung themselves. Ledimo, our chief interpreter, also a Chwana, said the phrase had the connotation of 'perfect persons' and that 'clean' and 'empty' were aspects of the word */ōassi*, he thought. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas paraphrased it in the title of her book, *The Harmless People* (Knopf, New York; Martin Secker & Warburg, London, 1959).

[1] Murdock, op. cit., pp. 62–63.

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The /Kung extend the incest taboo to certain categories of persons outside the nuclear family because they hold that the relationships resemble the relationships of the nuclear family and that it would therefore be incestuous to unite them in marriage. A man will say explicitly that he must not marry this or that woman because it would be 'like' marrying his mother, daughter, or sister. 582 835

The sexual constraints required between persons to whom the immediate or the extended incest taboo applies find expression in the marriage regulations and, in a secondary way, I believe, in certain avoidances which express constraint, namely: (1) Sexual joking and sexual insults, which are permitted between persons who have the joking relationship and must be avoided by others. (2) A sitting taboo. The same persons who must avoid sexual joking must also avoid sitting close to each other or to each other's family fires—with two exceptions, namely: (*a*) parents and offspring, who must never make sexual jokes but who do not at any age observe the sitting taboo; and (*b*) all young children, including siblings. The /Kung believe that the persons who must observe the sitting taboo should not allow their genital organs to touch the same spot. No great distance need separate these persons when they sit. About 18 inches is a minimum but is sufficient. The taboo is applied without sex differentiation: men must not sit near men or women, or women near women or men if they do not have the joking relationship. (3)With the exception of siblings of any age, the same persons who avoid joking avoid using each other's names in direct address. They use a kin term instead or the men may use a respect term for each other—*!nau*, 'old man'. (4) Brothers and sisters do not sit near each other when they reach adolescence and, after marriage, when they have dwelling-places of their own, do not enter each other's scherms (shelters). (5) Parents and SoWi and DaHu, in addition to observing the joking, sitting, and name avoidances, do not enter each other's scherms and do not speak to each other in the first few years of their affinal relationship. They are the only persons in /Kung society who must avoid speaking together. After three children have been born, this avoidance is eased somewhat. In-laws may then speak occasionally; once in two or three days would be considered permissible. This interesting avoidance, so varied in intensity and so widely spread in human societies, appears in /Kung society to afford whatever benefits it has without imposing great hardship at any time. A daughter-in-law may lean her scherm upon her husband's parents' scherm and build her fire only about four or five feet away, and what she wants to say to her parents-in-law she says aloud to her husband or child and her parents-in-law overhear and respond in like manner. A son-in-law also could communicate in this way. I think only a /Kung or an informed observer would know that the in-laws were not speaking directly to each other. 602 835 [593] [593] 606

The symbolism or expression of sexual constraint which underlies the joking and sitting avoidances is also observable in the modesty of these people. I believe that their modesty is not obedience to a specific taboo, like the sitting taboo, but is a more general response to being constantly in the presence of persons to whom the incest taboo applies, before whom any expression of sex would be improper. The general demeanour of the /Kung is modest. The dancing, if it gives any expression at all to sexuality or eroticism, conveys it with such restraint and delicacy as to be in extreme contrast to the dancing of the neighbouring Bantu tribes. Both men and women among the /Kung are exceedingly modest about exposing their genital 834 [831]

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834 organs and, though the women's breasts are naked (breasts are associated with
[831] nursing, not sex), the women would not expose their buttocks, which are definitely associated with sex, as the position for sexual intercourse is for the man to be at the back of the woman. When they urinate or defecate, men, women, and all but young
[514] children who are not yet toilet trained go away from the werf and squat behind bushes or in the tall grass out of sight.

The persons who express in the avoidances the sexual constraint required by the
●602 incest taboo are none the less free to engage in other activities of life together.
835 Whether or not they must avoid joking and sitting near each other, whether or not they may marry, they may talk (except with SoWi or DaHu), hunt, share meat, share the water-hole, gather plant foods, cook, eat, make journeys, visit, exchange gifts, and, if they wish, huddle their scherms and fires together. And, although they must not direct sexual jokes or insults to each other, they may laugh as heartily when they overhear the jokes as relatives do who have the joking relationship together.

Because it is interesting to compare the pattern of the joking relationship with the pattern of marriage regulation, I have indicated it when I list the various categories of persons with whom marriage is forbidden or allowed.

Extension of the incest taboo to four categories

Marriage regulations, patterned upon the incest taboo as it applies in the relation-
582 ships of the nuclear family, and extended to certain other relationships because they
835 are considered to be like those of the nuclear family, forbid ego's marriage with four categories of persons, as follows: (1) members of the nuclear family and certain other consanguineous relatives; (2) certain affines; (3) step-parents, stepchildren, stepbrothers, stepsisters, and the close kin of ego's father's wife other than his mother (for example, ego's mother's co-wife's sister, who is 'like' his MoSi; (4) certain name relatives.

Category 1: ego's consanguineous relatives with whom marriage is forbidden

582 In Fig. 2 are listed the consanguineous relatives whom a /Kung must not marry.
602 The terms applied to them are given in their basic form only, all complicating
835 factors being omitted as they have no bearing on marriage regulations. The term which ego applies to the male in a given category appears first; the term applied to females follows. The joking status is indicated by 'yes' if ego has the joking relationship with the given category of relatives, 'no' if he has not.

The /Kung use the expression 'We are one people' when they refer to certain consanguineous relatives—e.g. any lineal kin and the close collaterals listed in Fig. 2—but they do not consider siblings of grandparents, fourth cousins or still more remote collaterals as being of 'one people' with themselves. The /Kung, who are capable of being pushed to logical conclusions by an interrogator, say that they recognize a degree of consanguinity among such collaterals but spoke of them as
[553] 'those people'. 'Those people would name their children for their own people', they said, for example. 'We name our children for our people.'

I made considerable effort to determine whether or not I should include third
[605] cousins as within 'one people'. Many of the informants from whom we gathered genealogical data did not know the names of their third cousins, but, when we estab-

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lished the definition, with sticks and diagrams in the sand and the names of some actual people, ≠Toma, the leader of the band we lived with, insisted that third cousins were ' one's own people '. We ' red people ' might marry our own third cousins, he said, but Bushmen would know that they were one people and should not marry. [605]

582 602 835

FIG. 2. *Consanguineous relatives whom ego must not marry* [601]

	Male	*Female*	*Joking*
Great-grandparents	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Grandparents	*/gu/na*	*tŭn*	yes
Parents	*ba*	*dai*	no
Siblings of parents	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Siblings	*/go*	*/kwi*	yes, same sex no, opp. sex
Cousins, 1st, 2nd, 3rd	*/gu/na*	*tŭn*	yes
Offspring	*/ka*	*≠ khai*	no
Nephews, nieces	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Grandchildren	*/gu/na*	*tŭn*	yes
Great-grandchildren	*tsu*	*//ga*	no

The kin who are likened, by being of the same generation, to his parents, to his offspring, and to his siblings, are those to whom a /Kung feels the marriage regulations are particularly directed. Siblings of parents are ' like ' parents, cousins are ' like ' siblings, nephews and nieces are ' like ' offspring. Marriage with all these is rigorously forbidden.

Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren is also forbidden but is not a concern. Age and consanguinity combine to push the very thought virtually out of mind. To the /Kung it seemed utterly ridiculous of me to inquire even about the collaterals in these generations. ' Those old people are already dead ', said someone. ' It will be for my grandson to mind the rules when the young children grow up ', said ≠Toma in effect. ' It is not my wish to marry a baby.'

Category 2: affines

The second category of persons to whom the incest taboo is extended is composed of certain affines. Their affinal relationship is considered to be indissoluble once it is established, and ego's marriage with them is prohibited, even though the person through whom the affinal relationship with ego is brought about be dead or divorced. The thought of incestuous relations with at least some of these affines (especially parents of spouse and spouses of offspring) is as horrifying to a /Kung as if they were members of his nuclear family. We learned of no instances of the taboo being broken among them.

The affines with whom marriage is forbidden, who correspond terminologically with ego's parents' generation, ego's own and that of his offspring, are listed in Fig. 3. Joking is allowed or not as it is with ego's kin in these generations.

Parents of ego's SoWi and DaHu are terminologically of ego's generation and he may joke with them but he must not marry them, for that would make his So and SoWi or Da and DaHu stepbrother and stepsister to each other, which would be most awkward.

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582 Why marriage is prohibited with HuBrSo and WiSiDa was explained by ≠Toma.
602 Marriages with HuBr or WiSi are highly preferred marriages. This makes ≠Toma
835 'feel like' his WiSiHu, he said, even though he is not married to her, and, as a result, his WiSiDa seems to him like his own daughter.

FIG. 3. *Affines*

[601]

Marriage forbidden	*Male*	*Female*	*Joking*
Parents of ego's spouse	*≠tum*	*|utsu*	no
Spouses of FaBr, FaSi, MoBr, MoSi	*tsu*	*||ga*	no
SiHuFa w.s., BrWiMo m.s.	*tsu*	*||ga*	no
(Ego's generation terminologically)			
Parents of SoWi, DaHu	*|umba*	*|undai*	yes
Spouses of So and Da	*≠tum*	*|utsu*	no
HuBrSo, WiSiDa	*tsu*	*||ga*	no

Marriage with a BrWiMo or SiHuFa seems improper to the /Kung because a
[587] man's marriage with his BrWi is highly preferred, as is a woman's with a SiHu (should the death of the spouse or divorce make their marriage possible), and the parents of these affines therefore seem 'like' parents of the spouse.

In the sibling category among affines ego is prohibited from marrying only WiBrWi or HuSiHu. The reason for this prohibition appears to lie in the consistency of the joking pattern, about which three more points must be made. First, throughout

FIG. 4. *Marriage forbidden with WiBrWi, HuSiHu*

Male ego	*Joking*	*Female ego*	*Joking*
Br and BrWi	yes	Br and BrWi	no
Si and SiHu	no	Si and SiHu	yes
WiSi and WiSiHu	yes	HuBr and HuBrWi	yes
WiBr and WiBrWi	no	HuSi and HuSiHu	no

the whole system (except among remote name relatives), ego maintains the same joking status with *both* members of a married couple, for example, with FaBr and FaBrWi, WiSi and WiSiHu, &c. Secondly, in the differentiation of sex between siblings among ego's affines with respect to the joking relationship, the point of reference is the spouse. Ego has the joking relationship with his own spouse and with the sibling of his spouse who is the same sex as his spouse. He avoids joking with his spouse's sibling whose sex is opposite to his spouse. Thirdly, among affines in the sibling category the extended incest taboo and the avoidances coincide. Sex permitting, if ego may joke he may marry, and if he avoids joking he is prohibited from marrying. As we list ego's siblings and affines in Fig. 4 we see that WiBrWi and HuSiHu are the only ones whose sex is opposite to ego's, making marriage possible, but with whom ego is constrained from joking because he does not joke with his WiBr or HuSi, according the same joking status to both members of a married couple.

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Categories 3 and 4: step-parents, &c; name relatives 582

The third category to which the incest taboo is extended, step-parents, &c., needs 835 no elucidation.

The fourth category, certain name relatives, should be further described. The 553 name relationship, described in the paper on kin terminology,[1] is connected with a 608 system of naming children. The /Kung have no surnames. A /Kung father invariably names his first-born son or daughter for his parent of the same sex; usually the second-born for the parent of the child's mother; subsequent children for his own sibling or the sibling of the child's mother or the spouses of those siblings. He never names a child for himself or for the child's mother. Because this pattern of naming exists, the /Kung feel that if two non-consanguineous persons have the same name, they are likely to have had consanguineous connexions in the forgotten past, and from this concept the /Kung have developed what we called their name relationship. In a system too complex to summarize here they apply kin terms to persons on the basis of their names.

The names have passed from family to family, through intermarriage in the [619] region, and from generation to generation, to such an extent that every /Kung of the region whom we interrogated on the subject had a kin term for every other /Kung, except for one man who had once met four /Kung from afar for whom he had no terms. This had made him uneasy.

The /Kung welcome the sense of belonging to an in-group which the name rela- 553 tionship affords them. They welcome also the fact that they know how to behave with 602 people with respect to the avoidances. They fear (*koa*) to make a mistake about joking 608 and sitting, they say, and feel secure in righteousness and propriety when they know what behaviour is correct and conform to it. The kin terms sort out the whole /Kung population of the region for them. They avoid joking with name relatives whose names classify them with kin or affines of the generation of parents, or with offspring or with a sibling of opposite sex or with great-grandparents. They may joke with name relatives whose names classify them with grandparents, a sibling of the same sex, or the spouse. (Cf. Figs. 2 and 3.)

The incest taboo is extended to name relatives. If ego is forbidden to marry them 553 because of the way their names classify them, he also does not joke with them. But, 582 as we shall see when we consider approved marriages, the system does not maintain 608 perfect consistency between joking and marriage among name relatives, and it does 835 not follow that if ego must not joke he therefore must not marry. The incest taboo is extended specifically to the following name relatives: (1) anyone who has the name of ego's parent or offspring; (2) the parent, offspring or sibling of opposite sex of anyone who has the same name as ego, (3) anyone who has the same name as ego's spouse's parent or his offspring's spouse. ≠Toma explained that it would 'sound as though' one had married his parent, child, or one of these close affines.

Deviations from the rules 183

The /Kung conform strictly to their marriage regulations in the first two cate- 582 gories, kindred and affines. None of the persons whose genealogical records we 835 605

[1] Marshall, op. cit., pp. 13–15, 22–23.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with 602
three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made.

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu|na* and *tũn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *||ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a 182
touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and con- 183
sistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society 582
tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many cate- 593
gories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship 602
as soon as marriage takes place.

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly 587
approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is 768
expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines.

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. 583
This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one 619
marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units
have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, [584]
as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened.

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in 595
which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power 554
or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, 556
but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give
them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries [422]
his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women [482]

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585 then come with us when we leave tomorrow to gather *tsi*. He will hunt from that
[159] place and get us some meat.'
[183] The ritual elements in the wedding ceremony, in so far as we observed, were as follows: (1) carrying the bride so that her feet do not touch the ground; (2) covering her head so that the sun does not shine upon it; (3) waiting till the sun has set before taking her to the wedding scherm; (4) the fact that the scherm is specially built and set apart from the others; (5) anointing with fat; (6) painting a design on the forehead and cheeks with powdered red stone; (7) lighting the wedding fire with brands from the fires of the bride's and groom's parents.

585 Apart from the third and seventh, all these elements occur also in the Ceremony of
881 the First Menstruation, a more elaborate and prolonged ceremony from which the
[174] /Kung wedding ceremony undoubtedly derives. The design on the face is the same; the girl's feet must not touch the ground from the instant her first menstruation begins to the end of the period, when she is washed and anointed with both eland or other fat and the oil of the *tsi* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch).[1] When the girl is taken to her special scherm or moved out of it to urinate or defecate she is carried on the back of a kinswoman. A kaross over her head shields her from the sun whether she is sitting in the scherm or being carried out.

Our endeavour to bring to light the meaning of the ritual elements yielded little. The meaning or origin of the design on the face, I was convinced, was not withheld but lost to memory, lore or myth. 'It is our custom' was all the people could tell me.

[171] About the ritual of the feet not touching the ground, the custom frequently observed by divine kings and menstruating girls, the /Kung had no more illumination. They think that the carrying is the overcoming of the girl's symbolized modesty about going to the arms of her bridegroom, which she should properly feign even if she is eager to go, and her reluctance to separate from her own family: I think that when the attendants take hold of the bride and groom by the arm and pull them a little they symbolize the overcoming of reluctance and modesty and perhaps there is even a vestige of bride capture in that gesture, but of the feet not touching the ground the meaning is lost. Obviously, however, in this society the bride is equated to the
[174] menstruating girl. In the past the girl's wedding and her first menstruation may have been celebrated at one time.

The /Kung say that the sun is death-giving. When the three months of life-
585 giving rains are past, the sun dries up the water pools. It kills the fresh leaves and
821 fruits, dries the roots and berries, and would scorch the people if they did not find shade and dig shallow pits and lie in them covered lightly with sand which they have moistened with their urine for coolness. They pity the morning star, the *kuli |gaishay*, which crosses the sky all day ahead of the sun, has no branches to carry for shade and
593 cannot turn aside to rest under a tree. The sun is a 'death thing' and the bride
585 is shielded from it.
602 The most important element of behaviour with respect to kinship in the wedding

[113] [1] Robert Story, *Some Plants Used by the Bushmen in Obtaining Food and Water*, Department of Agriculture, Division of Botany, Union of South Africa, Botanical Survey, Memoir No. 30, 1958, p. 25. Dr. Story was a member of the 1955 and 1957 expeditions. We gratefully acknowledge whatever botanical identifications we mention as his.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ceremony is the avoidance of the parents, which is symbolic of the incest taboo. Any (preferably young) kinswoman who is tall enough and strong enough, whether she herself is married or not, and whether or not she has the joking relation with the bride, may carry the bride; and any may attend her. Only the mother absolutely must not do so. Likewise the groom's father must not attend him. Neither pair of parents go to sit by the wedding fire, for they must not sit near their son's wife or daughter's husband, nor speak to them. Guests of mature years might go and sit by the wedding fire only if they have the joking relationship with both the bride and the groom. Very young guests, such as we saw at /Nai's and /Gunda's fire, may go, whether they joke or not with the bride and groom, because the avoidances are not stringently observed with young children.

585 593 602

Termination of marriage and remarriage

Widows and widowers are not avoided in any special way because of their widowhood. 589 768

If her husband dies, a young widow usually returns to her own parents or lives with one of her own siblings, but, if her people are dead, or if it is her preference, she may stay on with her deceased husband's people. It is the duty of her HuBr to hunt for her if she needs his support. [736] [607]

Several possibilities are open to a young widower: rarely he might stay with his deceased wife's parents or siblings; more likely he would return to his own parents or siblings; and, when he marries again, he goes into matrilocal residence with the new bride. In any case, a man is responsible for his wife's parents and young siblings, and, if they depended on him for support, he would take them with him. They would be likely to prefer, however, to live with an adult son, daughter, or sibling of their own if they had any. [587] [736]

Old widowers or widows whose own parents are dead usually live with either a son or daughter, or perhaps with their own sibling—as they wish.

The surviving spouse is free to marry again within the regulations of the extended incest taboo, which applies to all marriages. 587 885

Parents would arrange the subsequent marriage of a widowed boy or girl. Adults may make their own arrangements directly. My impression was that persons might be considered fully adult somewhere in their middle or late twenties.

An adult man takes the initiative and asks the woman to marry him. Robert Dyson in the 1951 expedition learned that one way for a man to ask a woman to marry him is to present her with a bow and arrow. If she accepts it she indicates her willingness to consider his suit.

No restriction of time is put upon the remarriage of a widower, but a widow should not remarry until one rainy season has passed. She is then considered 'clean' and may marry again. ≠Toma said, 'The rain washes (*//num*) the death away from the widow.' *//Num* is the gesture of wiping a dish with one finger and then licking the finger. /Ti/kay of Band 9 said that some men wait for a rainy season to pass, but that others would be pleased the husband was dead and, without waiting, say, 'This is my chance.' One interpreter understood that the widow had to take off her kaross and spend a night out, letting the rain fall on her, but ≠Toma said this was not what 587 589

/155 cont./

628 unable to learn whether these obligations also extend to more distant degrees of kinship.

If the murderer himself has died or cannot be reached, blood vengeance extends to his nearest male relatives.

The sons of a murdered man are obligated to take blood revenge as soon as they are grown.

The mother of the future avenger inculcates this duty in her [867] son as she rears him. As soon as the young man has killed the [884] first piece of game, his obligation goes into effect. He turns [602] to his kinsmen for help, which is immediately granted him. Similarly, the one who has reason to fear blood vengeance finds armed support among his relatives and fellow villagers. One can imagine what a maze of obligations for blood vengeance can arise from this situation.

619 It can happen that two settlements are "saddled" with so many obligations for vengeance that an encounter between mem-
628 bers of these settlements immediately leads to bloodshed. Perhaps this also helps to explain the fact that some villages within the Auin region have for many years been so hostile to one another that a boundary violation is punished by death on the spot.

Example: Auin from Rietfontein and Gam. It goes without saying that a mortal enmity more often exists between Bushmen of different languages, for instance, between Auin and Naroon, or Auin and Genkuin [Ginkwe]. An enmity of this kind evidently does not extend to the group as a whole; instead, it is doubtless always confined to a certain number of families and settlements.

The basis for the administration of justice is extensive and
628 energetic self-help. Any injustice inflicted is avenged by the injured party or his kinsmen with a beating or murder.

As an example of the kind of self-help and the complications resulting from it, I shall cite the following authenticated case. An old Auin from Olifantskluft was visiting his brother-in-law in Sidonitzaub. The host set a snare and caught a giant bustard which the guest found, took out of the snare, and began to consume. His host arrived on the scene and stabbed his brother-in-law in the stomach with his throwing spear. The murderer fled, but he was apprehended and shot by relatives of

[21 cont.]

157 them thought of asking a question about it. The Bushmen of
today at least do not believe that any kind of magic is concealed
[177] in the Europeans' machines. They learn to use European instru-
ments fairly quickly; in particular, they soon become familiar
with the rifle. Dornan reported that there was a large number
of improvised rifles that the Bushmen had adapted. In a new
environment, the Bushman is wholly self-possessed and coolly
observant. He is highly adaptable. The girls, of whom a num-
[648] ber are kept by farmers as concubines, are quite skillful at
housekeeping. In Ovamboland they quickly adopt the living
[177] habits and economic activities of the Bantu. An Ongandjera
Bushman acts as an instructor at the teacher's college in Oonipa.
He owns a small kraal that is well-maintained in Ovambo fashion
and, in addition, has built himself a round hut of tiles in which
[648] he keeps his "library." They seldom stay long on the farms, but
[147] probably in the main because the food does not agree with them.
609 The Bushmen are most distrustful of other people. Every armed
person whom they encounter is regarded from the outset as an
enemy. The Bushman is allowed to enter the regions of other tribes
only if he is unarmed. Even along the edge of the farm zone
the mutual distrust is so great that a Bushman who has been sent
to a farm as a messenger dares not leave the road, which is
regarded as a neutral zone, if another kin group has settled in
the vicinity. If two armed Bushmen who are strangers approach
each other, they disarm at first sight before they greet each
other. When a Bushman comes to a village or to a farmhouse,
he will put down his arms at a certain distance and sit down to
wait patiently, if need be for hours, until he is questioned. A
186 distinct sense of race is not apparent. Everything that does not
609 belong to one's own kin group is regarded as strange, even
hostile, except when common persecution causes a sense of
solidarity to spring up among all those who are persecuted. At
the same time, they very clearly possess a kind of sense of
humanity as a whole, that is, they do not believe that they are
the only people, and they are convinced, for example, that the
people of all races are received in the heavenly house. Their
602 conduct toward relatives is regulated by numerous customs, but
in general it is formal and almost ceremonial, even toward the
[593] wife and children. The Bushman is never importunate.
[157]

MASARWA
OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

600 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib
769 Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu
[774] doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the
[825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals,
[824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe
[776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at
551 her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say
602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo
105 delta, J. Seiner reports:
101 "The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting.
[563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe
[144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease, AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY,

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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test this factor and eventually we learned that there are two aspects to the /Kung system of kin terminology. In one terms are applied according to the biological position of the persons; in the other terms are applied because persons are classified with others by having the same names, in ways this paper will explain. The factor of the name has resulted in kin terms being applied by persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, but who are considered to be related through the factor of the name in what we call the name-relationship.

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Miss Bleek in her paper on 'Bushman Terms of Relationship'[1] has recorded /Kung terms. Students of the subject interested in comparing her paper with this will find them in agreement to a considerable extent, but Miss Bleek's paper does not go so deeply into the terminology as this does nor does it bring out the significance of the factor of the name.[2]

128

Our material on /Kung kin terminology is presented in two parts. (I) The first part (A) deals with terms applied to consanguineous kin, and explains the factor of the name and the way the application of terms is extended through the factor of the name to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, in what we call the name-relationship; and (B) deals with terms applied to affines. (II) The second part deals with certain aspects of behaviour related to kin terminology, touching briefly upon marriage prohibitions and preferences from the point of view of terminology. It deals more fully with the joking relationship, an aspect of behaviour which relates closely to terminological categories. The paper finally touches upon the way the name-relationship serves as an amalgamating factor within a whole region among people who have no larger organized social units than autonomous bands, small ones of 10–15 persons up to large ones of 40–60 persons, composed of consanguineous kin and their affines.

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Space does not permit here a description of the composition of bands, but we hope in a future publication to give data on the family and bands, on hunting and veldkos territories, marriage, residence, settlement patterns, and on the behaviour among kin in forming hunting and gathering parties, arrow-lending, meat-sharing, gift-giving, &c.

[1] D. F. Bleek, 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 57–70.

[2] Miss Bleek (ibid.) sometimes gives the descriptive phrase in place of, or in addition to, the term, as if we should say father's brother or mother's brother instead of uncle. For instance, *ba siy* is a descriptive phrase meaning father's younger brother or younger sister. There are differences of spelling. We should like to follow Miss Bleek's spelling, but we put down as best we could what we heard and cannot change over to her spelling because in the different areas the Bushmen's pronunciation may possibly have varied slightly. There are some terms given by Miss Bleek which we did not hear in the Nyae Nyae region. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae do not use the term *tsaw* for Br. We did not hear *||ge*, nor *soig||ge*, nor *tsa* as a prefix to *siy*. Otherwise the terms we record are recognizable as the same terms which Miss Bleek records. Miss Bleek, on the other hand, does not record all the terms which we record as used in the Nyae Nyae area. The principal difference lies, we think, in her not taking into account the factor of the name. We think she had an inkling of there being such a factor among the /Kung she worked with, for she says they had a word */ka* which she thought meant 'kinsman' or 'namesake'. In any case, she does not show all the terms which in the Nyae Nyae region might be applied to grandparents, grandchildren and collaterals on both the paternal and maternal sides. A detailed comparison of the papers would show several examples, but one will suffice to illustrate the point. Miss Bleek records the terms for FaBr, *tsu*, and MoBr, *tsow||ga*, giving the impression that the /Kung system makes a terminological distinction between the paternal and maternal siblings, whereas we found that in the Nyae Nyae area both terms, *tsu* and *tsow||ga*, might be used for either FaBr or MoBr, and, besides, that the sibling term, elder Br, might also be used for FaBr or MoBr, as will be explained.

[113]

601 and most of the persons who eventually become his secondary affines would be name-relatives. They keep whatever term they had and add *!umba* or *!undai*. Theoretically, if they should not have a name-relationship they would fall back on the generational method.

When terms are applied to secondary affines by the generational method, the primary affine is the point of reference. Ego applies a term to the parent or child of the primary affine which is in the alternate generation terminologically to that of the primary affine. A term in the same generation terminologically as that of the primary affine is applied to the sibling of the primary affine. The list of terms on p. 16 shows the correspondence of the generational terms with the affinal terms. Diagram 8 (p. 17) illustrates this situation.

Consanguineous relatives of ego's may be named for secondary affines as well as primary affines. When they are, ego applies to them the same term which he applies to the secondary affine but drops *!umba* and *!undai*.

All relatives to whom the generational and sibling terms are applied, except name-relatives (see p. 15), have terms applied to their spouses by ego which are paired with the generational and sibling terms as listed below.

Generational or sibling term for males	*Spouse*	*Generational or sibling term for females*	*Spouse*
tsu	//ga or /utsu (//ga is preferred for FaBrWi or MoBrWi; /utsu is preferred in other relationships)	//ga or di/gumn	tsu or tun/ga m.s. (tsu is preferred for FaSiHu and MoSiHu; tun/ga is preferred in other relationships)
/gu/na	tūn	tūn	/gu/na or tun/ga w.s.
tun/ga w.s. when collateral when affine	tūn w.s. /kwi w.s.	/gu/na w.s.	tun/ga w.s.
/go or tsi	tūn m.s. /utsu w.s.	/kwi or tsi	tun/ga

Part II: Some Aspects of Behaviour as Related to Categories of Kin

Marriage

842 The /Kung know that biological descent is from the father and mother, believing that the father's semen unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form the
●602 child. But their language does not emphasize the concept of blood as ours does. A /Kung speaks of a person who has blood ties with himself as being of his own people, emphasizing the phrase in some way, as when we say ' very own '.

582 Marriage with any consanguineous kin is forbidden in /Kung culture. This pro-
684 hibition is quite strictly obeyed. The very thought of marriage with a parent, offspring or sibling is horrifying to the /Kung. They could hardly be brought to talk about such ' bad things '. They told us about a man who married a woman and her

daughter at the same time. Although he had blood ties with neither, this was analogous to marrying a daughter and it was thought the man must be mad to do so. Informants said specifically that /Kung do not marry uncles or aunts because they are ' like ' parents. Cousins, they say, are ' like ' siblings and nephews and nieces ' like ' offspring. Marriage with any of these would be shocking. 582 684

In the genealogies of about 175 /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region there is no instance of marriage among any of the above-mentioned relatives. However, we heard of two first-cousin marriages among some distant /Kung. 582 [183]

A /Kung must not marry a person who has the same name as his parent. In the two instances we know where this rule was broken the people lied, admitting it only after someone else told us about it. A man must not marry a woman to whom he applies the term *|utsu* (this seems to be regarded as a particularly stringent prohibition), nor may a woman marry a man she terms *≠tum*. We know a man who broke this rule. His marriage with his *|utsu* caused a scandal which was still reverberating after two years. [553 183] [684]

The preferred marriage among /Kung is with a non-consanguineous name-relative whom ego terms *|gu|na* (or *tun|ga* w.s.) or *tũn* m.s. SiHu and HuBr are both termed *tun|ga* w.s. and BrWi and WiSi are termed *tũn* m.s. These are considered desirable marriages, especially the sororate, but neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory. [587]

Marriages with persons termed */umba* or */undai* are not forbidden. Persons who use the terms *tsu* and *||ga* for each other may marry unless one has the name of the other's parent. Persons who use the sibling terms may marry. These marriages, though not forbidden, are not preferred.

There is no category of persons with whom sexual intercourse is permitted by /Kung custom except the spouse. If illicit sexual intercourse is indulged in, it is carefully concealed. 837

The Joking Relationship

The joking relationship is an important element in /Kung culture. It is in the foreground of people's minds. The /Kung never once mentioned the generational aspect of their kin terminology system but whenever kinship matters were discussed they spoke of the joking relationship. The /Kung do not train their children to know the precise genealogical position of collaterals,[1] but they teach them the term to use and the joking status of the term. Sometimes an informant would not know whether, for instance, a relative he termed *tsu* was his FaBr, his MoBr or who, but would say that his parents taught him to use that term for the relative and that he must not joke with him. 602 [867] 601 602

The joking relationship creates a dichotomy which divides consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives into two groups. Every kinship term is associated with a joking status and the culture either allows ego to joke or prohibits him from joking with every person to whom he applies a kinship term.

[1] As to lineal kin, all our informants knew the precise genealogical position and names of their grandparents and grandchildren but many did not know the names of their great-grandparents. (We did not meet any /Kung who had a great-grandchild.)

601 The sibling category is divided on the basis of sex. Ego jokes with a sibling of
602 the same sex as his own and is prohibited from joking with a sibling of opposite
[593] sex. This creates a 'cross' and 'parallel' pattern which is observed in the use of the terms, man-speaking and woman-speaking, among persons classified by name with siblings and among affines of the sibling category.

Sex is not the differentiating factor with respect to the joking relationship among groups of kin apart from siblings. All other consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives are grouped in the joking or non-joking dichotomy according to their categorical classification, as follows:

Ego has the joking relationship with anyone of either sex who is classified with himself or herself, to whom ego applies the term *|gu|na* (or *tun|ga* w.s.) or *tũn*. Consanguineous kin may be so classified by generation (i.e. cousins) as shown in Diagram 1, or by the factor of the name, i.e. the person for whom ego is named or persons named for ego. Ego has the joking relationship with grandparents and grandchildren unless the factor of the name places ego terminologically in the other, non-joking, division. Among affines, ego has the joking relationship with his or her spouse, and
607 also with BrWi and WiSi, *tũn* m.s., and SiHu and HuBr, *tun|ga* w.s., who are all considered suitable persons to marry. Ego may joke with affines termed *|umba* and *|undai*, who are in ego's generation terminologically as they are his offspring's spouses' parents. Persons named for any of the above affines would be termed *|gu|na* (or *tun|ga* w.s.) or *tũn* by ego and ego could joke with them. He could joke also with any name-relatives to whom he applies these terms.

602 Joking is prohibited with parents and offspring of either sex and with anyone of either sex who is classified with them by being of the same generation, when the generational method of applying terms is used, or by being named for them, when the homonymous method of applying terms is used; or with name-relatives classified in this category. Joking is also prohibited with affines associated with this category, i.e. parents of spouse, and spouses of offspring. The terms which are associated with the non-joking status are the parent–child terms, and *tsu*, *||ga* or *di|guma*, and the affinal terms, *≠tum*, *tun|ga* m.s. and *|utsu*.

When informants were trying to explain the joking relationship to us they had an additional statement to make about the prohibition of joking. They said that, as they must not joke with their parents or offspring, in like manner they must not joke with a person and the offspring of that person. This concept is doubtless associated with the generational method of applying terms. It is not thought to be a contradiction or inconsistency to joke both with a person and the offspring of that person when the homonymous method of applying terms is followed. When a person is named for another his biological position is disregarded and he is terminologically classified with the person for whom he is named. The homonymous method is never applied nor the biological position disregarded in the nuclear family or among primary affines.

Joking, of course, is always reciprocal; if ego may joke with A, A may joke with ego. If B is named for A, the term which ego applies to B always has the same joking status as the term he applies to A. Ego's joking status is the same with both persons of a married couple (cf. p. 18), except in the case of name-relatives with whom he assumes his status individually (cf. p. 15).

The following table gives the joking status of each term. 601 602

Consanguineous kin — *Affines*

Ego's generation and alternate generations

Joking permitted

(Ego)			Hu	/hoa	
Anyone termed:	/gu/na		Wi	tsau	
	tun/ga	w.s.	DaHuFa, SoWiFa	/umba	
	tũn		DaHuMo, SoWiMo	/undai	
			Anyone termed:	/gu/na-/umba	
				tun/ga-/umba	w.s.
				tũn-/undai	

Generations adjacent to ego's

Joking prohibited

Fa	ba	HuFa, WiFa, DaHu	ǂtum	
Mo	dai			
So	/ha			
Da	ǂkhai	HuMo, WiMo, SoWi	/utsu	
Anyone termed:	tsu			
	//ga	Anyone termed:	tsu-/umba	
	di/guma		//ga-/undai	

Ego's siblings of same sex as ego, ego's spouse's siblings of same sex as spouse, and the spouses of these siblings

Joking permitted

Elder Br	/go	m.s.	BrWi, WiSi	tũn	m.s.
Younger Br	tai	m.s.			
Elder Si	/kwi	w.s.	SiHu, HuBr	tun/ga	w.s.
Younger Si	tai	w.s.			
Anyone termed:	/go	m.s.	WiSiHu	/go	m.s.
	/kwi	w.s.	HuBrWi	/kwi	w.s.
Any male termed:	tai	m.s.			
Any female termed:	tai	w.s.			

Ego's siblings of opposite sex, ego's spouse's siblings of opposite sex from spouse, and the spouses of these siblings

Joking prohibited

Elder Br	/go	w.s.	BrWi, HuSi	/utsu	w.s.
Younger Br	tai	w.s.			
Elder Si	/kwi	m.s.	SiHu, WiBr	tun/ga	m.s.
Younger Si	tai	m.s.			
Anyone termed:	/go	w.s.	HuSiHu	ǂtum	w.s.
	/kwi	m.s.	WiBrWi	/utsu	m.s.
Any female termed:	tai	m.s.			
Any male termed:	tai	w.s.			

The jokes which are permitted among persons who have the joking relationship, 602 and which are avoided by others, are sexual jokes and insults. Anyone may make jokes that are not sexually tinged. Persons who have the joking relationship constantly use it and enjoy it. Men accuse each other of excessive preoccupation with sexual intercourse or of having genital organs of excessive size or abnormal condition (castration or circumcision). Men accuse women with whom they may joke of being

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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602 ugly, slovenly, or wanton. The women retaliate, perhaps accusing the men of being worthy only of castration or of unfaithful wives. We noticed that the /Kung do not call each other sons of bitches. They are not concerned with lineage.

602 It is not thought proper to make blatant or insulting sexual jokes with old persons. The deference which is shown to aged persons is expressed by moderation, and 888 the joking relationship between an old person and a considerably younger person, [603] especially between grandparents and grandchildren, becomes a cosy friendly intimacy without the sexual emphasis.

Though the /Kung enjoy the joking relationship, it was our impression that their 602 primary concern lay in the prohibition against joking. They said it would be 'madness' to joke with persons they should not joke with. When they meet strangers they do not dare to joke until they find out whether or not it is proper for them to do so. They gave us /Kung names. This placed us in the scheme of things and people could know what their status was with us.

The /Kung say they 'fear' (*koa*) to joke when they should not and they 'fear' (*koa*) the persons with whom joking is forbidden. The word *koa* is the same word that they use when they say they fear a lion or a mamba. They also use it to mean avoid. We think it holds the same combination of fear and respect that our word holds when we say we fear the Lord.

[828 A /Kung told us that joking was not only amusing but that it served a good pur- 865] pose in teaching people, young men especially, to hold their tempers and to have poise in their social relations. We thought that joking served a good purpose in [182 providing an outlet in laughter for aggression and various social restraints, but we 154] wondered if it had not primarily been developed as a response to restraints upon sexual intercourse. Incest must be a concern among a people who live in small bands 835] of consanguineous kin and close affines, bands which are isolated for the most part within their own territories except for more or less infrequent visits to other bands. The restraints which are considered to be good and necessary may be strengthened by the symbol of avoidance of sexual joking. Respect due to a parent has perhaps come to be associated with this symbol and this may account for joking being restricted with parents of both sexes. It seems that respect in general is not required between siblings; only sexual restraint is required and this is symbolized by the restriction in joking imposed on siblings of opposite sex, whereas ego may joke with a sibling of the same sex. It is possible that the culture allows joking between grandparents and grandchildren (with the rather few exceptions when the factor of the name intervenes to classify them in the non-joking category) because joking is associated with a welcome ease and intimacy of relationship and the great difference in age removes the necessity of symbolizing sexual restraint between them.

The Name-Relationship as a Factor in Social Consolidation

553 The /Kung believe that the name is somehow a part of the entity of a person and 601 that when one is named for a person one partakes of that person's entity in some way and in some degree. Informants could give us no further elucidation of this belief.

It seems evident that, when incorporated into the system of kinship terminology, [174] the belief has produced the homonymous method of applying terms. It is our conjecture that the homonymous method was added to the system after the generational method had been established.

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

method had been established. The /Kō and /Gikwe have not incorporated the belief into their terminological systems except in a very limited way. The /Kung, however, have done so, and appear to have adapted it as logically as possible to the generational method. They apply it only to somewhat distant relationships, namely, grandparents, grandchildren, collaterals, secondary affines, and name-relatives. They do not apply it in the close biological relationships of parent, offspring or sibling or in the primary affinal relationships. Consistency is maintained by the rule that a child must not be named for a parent. 553 601 [184]

We think that the term *!gu!na* came into the system with the homonymous method and that perhaps it used originally to be applied only to the person for whom ego is named. It is not strictly a kinship term, being composed of translateable words, 'big or old name'. We think it may have been superimposed upon *tun!ga* (which probably comes from the same root as *tūn*). *Tun!ga* may originally have been applied to grandfather, man-speaking as well as woman-speaking, and later *!gu!na* may have become associated with grandfather because so many men are named for their grandfathers. If this is so, an anomalous situation remains unresolved. *Tun!ga* is applied to consanguineous kin and affines and allows joking, woman-speaking. Man-speaking, it is applied only to affines and prohibits joking. If it was originally the term for grandfather, man-speaking, we reason that it should allow joking, and we cannot explain this anomaly. 174 601

Whatever may be the answer to these questions, the /Kung have put to good use the belief that persons who have the same name partake of each other's entities. This belief has given them the name-relationship. 553 601 602

It is our impression that the practice of applying terms to name-relatives has appealed to the /Kung and that they have developed it to the full. The /Kung apply a kinship term to every /Kung they meet or almost everyone. /Qui was the only informant who worked with us on this subject who had ever met a /Kung Bushman for whom he had no kinship term. He had met four who came from a distance and whose names were not among those commonly used in the Nyae Nyae region. Ta//ne was one of the names. Gao, who was present, told /Qui that he had a *tsu* named Ta//ne, and he and /Qui nodded together in agreement that they would find a way for /Qui to give Ta//ne a term should they meet again. We know two men who used the term *!go* for each other because each of them had a brother named Dam. The system seems to have been flexible and expansive in the application of terms to name-relatives.

The /Kung are small of stature and non-aggressive. They are timid and apprehensive of strangers. Their word for stranger is *ju dole*. *Ju* means person, *dole* means strange or harmful—one word for both concepts, in the /Kung language, as though they were a single concept. The /Kung have no social organization larger than the band of kin who live together but they have utilized the name-relationship to supply the cohesive factor which is supplied in other societies by various social structures. When a /Kung meets a stranger and finds that he has the same name as one of his kin and bestows a kinship term upon him, he is reassured and feels a sense of belonging. 602 609 [181 105 553 619]

Gao, the brother of /U, went on an errand for us to Khadum. Khadum is about 115 miles north of Gautscha and about 40 miles north of Cho/ana where we were staying at the time. He had never been to Khadum before, and the /Kung Bushmen who lived

602 there at once called him *ju dole*. He was in haste to say that he had heard that the father
609 of one of the people at Khadum had the same name as his father and that another had a brother named Gao. 'Oh,' said the Khadum people, in effect, 'so you are Gao's */gu!na*', and they took him to their fire and gave him a present of edible gum.

602 The name connexions of the /Kung of Nyae Nyae extend throughout the region.
619 Thinking of Gautscha Pan as approximately the centre, the name connexions extend about 80 miles to the south, and include the /Kung who live at Gum and at a few
182 small water-holes south of Gum. To the north of Gautscha Pan they extend about 75 miles to Samangaigai, and about 100 miles to Cho/ana, and may be said now to touch upon Khadum, 115 miles from Gautscha Pan. The country to the west, between Gautscha Pan and the farmed area of South West Africa, is waterless and uninhabited. To the east the /Kung name connexions reach some 60 or 80 miles to the cattle posts of Chwana and Herero at Kai Kai and Kubi, where some /Kung work as herdsmen and others visit and trade. The /Kung who live in this region are not *ju dole* to each other. The name-relationship makes them feel they are one people.

619 But there are edges to this sense of being one people. At Karakuwise to the north-west, about 100 miles away from the centre of the Nyae Nyae area, and at Nuragas, about 200 miles away, there are /Kung Bushmen. Although none of the Nyae Nyae people have been there, the people of Nyae Nyae know that those people speak the same language. However, the Karakuwise and the Nuragas people are distant, and they are *ju dole*. The people of Nyae Nyae say that they hear that the people of Nuragas put a strange poison into the pipes they give you to smoke which makes you become as thin as a stick and then die. The people of Nyae Nyae do not know the names of the people at Nuragas.

Résumé

000 LA TERMINOLOGIE DE LA PARENTÉ CHEZ LES BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

Les Boschimans /Kung sont des chasseurs et des ramasseurs nomades, qui ont eu très peu de contacts avec d'autres tribus ou avec des Européens; ils vivent en petites bandes de parents consanguins et d'affins proches, qui sont, pour la plupart, isolés à l'intérieur de leurs propres territoires, sauf pour des visites plus ou moins rares par d'autres bandes. Le système /Kung de terminologie de parenté présente deux aspects: d'après l'un, les termes sont appliqués suivant la situation biologique des personnes; d'après l'autre, les personnes sont classées avec d'autres, du fait qu'elles ont les mêmes noms. Du point de vue terminologique, deux personnes quelconques ne peuvent être apparentées simultanément de plus d'une façon, bien qu'elles puissent changer leur rapport terminologique par le mariage, ou, parfois, par le changement de leurs noms. En général, les termes employés indiquent l'âge biologique relatif des personnes qui s'appliquent mutuellement des termes de parenté. Les mêmes termes sont utilisés en s'adressant à une personne et en y faisant allusion. Pour les besoins de l'analyse, on peut distinguer entre deux systèmes de terminologie de parenté: le système A s'applique à des parents consanguins et aux personnes classées avec eux, soit par suite d'un rapport entre leurs noms, soit parce qu'elles se sont mariées avec ces parents. Le système B s'applique aux affins. Il y a trois catégories de termes dans le système A, selon leur emploi entre: (1) père ou mère et enfant; (2) 'siblings' (enfants de mêmes père et mère), et (3) générations. Dans cette dernière catégorie, la personne plus âgée emploie invariablement une forme diminutive en s'adressant, ou en faisant allusion, à la personne

unmarried son or two, and their daughters' children. Bush- 105
men are polygynous, and a man is allowed by custom to have 621
as many wives as he can afford, depending on how well he [595]
hunts—usually a man can afford only one wife, sometimes two (often a pair of sisters), and once we heard of a man with four wives. For this reason there are often more women than men in a band.

The immediate family, a man, his wife, or wives, and chil- 105
dren, is the only solid social unit; otherwise the small bands 592
are always breaking up and recombining with other small 621
bands as the structures of single families change, through marriages, divorces, deaths, or as the family decides to pay a prolonged visit to a different group of relatives.

Any Bushman will either be related by blood or marriage 105
or will be acquainted with all the other Bushmen in his area 602 ●
but this is as far as Bushmen go in their affinities. They do 609
not recognize as their own people strange Bushmen who speak the same language; in fact, they suspect and fear them as they do any stranger.

We have visited four of the Bushman language groups, two 114-
of which we stayed with for long periods of time. In 1951, 131
after a survey expedition to learn where Bushmen could be found, we went into the Nyae Nyae area of South-West Africa, close to the border of Bechuanaland, to look for Kung Bushmen. We found a band living near a waterhole, as it was June, the drought of the year, and we stayed with them for four months. At first only a few Bushmen were there, but as [609
the news spread that we were friendly, more and more peo- 276]
ple came to visit us and receive presents of tobacco and salt, for Bushmen love to smoke but rarely have tobacco, which they get in trade. Also, most of the Bushmen had never seen a European before, none had ever seen a European woman, and they came by dozens to sit together in a cluster

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

136 stood on his branch with the legs wide apart, bracing himself against the wind. When I got near he dropped from his branch and let the wind carry him away, and I saw that he had been watching a colony of ground squirrels close by which had not seen him and did not see me. They, too, were miserable with the cold, for they walked around slowly as they looked for seeds to eat. I sat down to watch them, which they noticed, and some of them stood up to watch me. Their fur was oddly greenish and it blew in the wind showing little patches of white. They had long fat bellies, long heavy thighs, and little feet, and when they stood up they, too, kept their legs wide apart and braced. As they peered at me I heard on the wind almost inaudibly high, soft whistles, their cries of warning to each other. They decided I was dangerous and vanished down their holes.

123 I came back to the werf with some wood, which I gave to the Bushmen. They reached out their hands for it and put it on their fires, but they didn't say a word. Later, in our camp, we put all the wood we had on one great fire, where the Bushmen joined us and where we spent the morning making and drinking cocoa. We even put up a white canvas, and, lying between it and the fire, we were fairly warm.

423 621 602 159 Ukwane used that occasion to tell us something about his life and his relatives, his former wives, the children he had fathered and where they lived. Most of this centered around melon rights, or who could live in which areas, for if a person is born in a certain area he or she has a right to eat the melons that grow there and all the veld food. It is perhaps this factor that explains in part why the Gikwe bands are composed the way they are; a man may eat the melons wherever his wife can and wherever his father and mother could, so that every Bushman has in this way some kind of rights in many places. Gai, for example, ate melons at Ai a ha'o be-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

cause his wife's mother was born there, as well as at his own 423
birthplace, the Okwa Omaramba, where we had found the 621 602
eighteen Bushmen, who after all were not strangers but 159
closely related to Gai and Ukwane and an extension of Ukwane's band.

Ukwane himself had had three wives, and he and his first 586
wife had been divorced, which Bushmen do by announcing 587 159
the divorce and separating. There is no ceremony connected with divorce, and no difficulty, as there is no ceremony connected with any marriage but the first. After a divorce a Bushman man may take up residence with another woman whom he prefers.

Without the visible evidence of ceremonies, however, it 837
is hard for non-Bushmen to recognize what is happening, as 159
occasionally Bushmen live together for short periods without being married, or commit adultery. But in cases such as these there is someone who does not want the union to be permanent, either the man or the woman, or perhaps his or her children; perhaps even the man and woman are tabu relatives, and unless everyone concerned is more or less in accord, the union does not take place. Among Bushmen, incest and [684]
adultery are strongly condemned.

Once, among Kung Bushmen we lived with, a woman ran 837
away from her husband to take up with another man. She 593
had considered marrying him, and they ran off one night to his family to live permanently. When her husband found out, he got so wildly angry, taking up his spear and sharpening it, [578]
that the headman of the band set off after the elopers to preserve the peace. My brother and I went with him, and at noon we found the lovers resting in the shade.

The headman talked with the elopers and told them how they were bringing shame on both their families, and how the woman's husband was violently upset. By this time the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

521 young boys began to speak sounds that were for all the world like the sounds of English, with flat, almost nasal tones, perfect in cadence and inflection, and the people laughed again.

000 Because it was getting close to noon and the sun, now only veiled by the smoke, was burning over our heads, we decided to start our search for Short Kwi. After Toma, Toma's son, Gao Fect, and Lazy Kwi decided to go with us and the others decided to stay at home, we got on the truck and drove away, lurching over the stones at the edge of camp and out to the wild veld, to the west, where the soft wind was blowing and the horizon seemed dim because of the smoke. Ledimo, the interpreter, came too, and my brother and myself, and that night we slept in the veld, not even bothering to build a fire, but eating a few handfuls of cold food and sleeping in our blankets around the truck. The following afternoon we reached the werf of Short Kwi and his people. This werf, too, was hidden in the bushes and if the men of the band hadn't come out into the plain to meet us we might have gone by it,
361 for Toma himself hadn't known exactly where it was. They came out because they knew it would be us they were meeting, for, they explained later, the European farmers couldn't possibly have found them there.

Six men and several young boys suddenly stepped from the bushes and appeared in front of our truck, all of them brown and naked and waving wildly to us, and the truck stopped so fast that those of us on top were nearly thrown off, and we all climbed down to greet them.

591 Three of the men were brothers, the brothers-in-law of
● 602 Short Kwi, for their old mother had a strong hold on her family and kept them all beside her. Her sons and her daughters all lived with her; the sons at least might have been expected to live with the families of their wives, but they had never left her and they were here with her now. They stood

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

together in front of the truck and when we climbed down 591 602 they embraced us.

We went on toward the werf with these men and boys 609 clinging to the sides of the truck and laughing loudly at those 576 among them who were raked by thorn branches that the truck drove through, and at the edge of the werf we saw the women standing all together, waving and calling to us, and we stopped again and they too embraced us and kissed me, and the little children gravely shook my hand.

Short Kwi's mother-in-law was there with a wide and toothless smile, her face all wrinkled like a little shriveled pear, and many other people, among them the old man who had never shot a buck and whose sister had died in the forest; he now was nobody's close relative and we noticed he had lost an eye and seemed even more malevolent and sad. He greeted us distantly, but the others were enthusiastic. The little children tried to climb on me and finally someone put a baby in my arms. The baby bit me, but he meant me no harm, for when he bit I felt the sharp edge of a new tooth coming, which probably itched.

We passed through the bushes and came into the werf, 361 where the people had obviously been living for a long time, judging by the size of the ash heaps at the fires and the depth of the nests that people had dug for themselves. Looking around, it came to us that many people whom we had expected to see were not there, Short Kwi for one, and his wife. When we asked for them, Short Kwi's brother-in-law said that he would take us to see him presently. When we asked for the others who were missing—among them the man with 648 two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama—we were told that these people had all been taken by the farmers and had never been seen again. We were very sad to hear it, for many of them were too old to have to do the heavy

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959.
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

732 rumble, a faint roaring in the veld, the sound blown to us on the wind. Toma must have heard it first, for he stood up from his nap and squinted his eyes at the veld. "A truck," he said. "Your truck. Not the farmers."

He was right; it was our truck. Soon we saw its top among the bushes; when it burst through the bushes at the edge of the pan the Bushman men ran to meet it and, as it did not stop, ran along beside it, craning their necks to look in the front and the back. Soon they dropped behind and walked slowly in its dust cloud. Short Kwi had not come.

The news of Short Kwi was good. At the hospital, his gangrenous flesh had been removed and enough of his calf was left so that a peg leg could be attached to it. A peg leg had been chosen instead of an artificial leg because, in the veld, an artificial leg would be impossible to repair or replace, but a peg leg could be replaced with the carved branch of any tree. It would be months before Short Kwi and his family could return to Nama because Short Kwi would have to learn to walk again, using the peg. When he was able to come, a truck from the government of South-West Africa would bring him.

We told all this to the Bushmen, but they were not really pleased. The miracle which they had perhaps expected had not taken place, for Short Kwi was still a cripple, and he always would be. They did not think of Tu's brother, the lame boy who would someday be a headman, who managed his lame leg and his crutch so well that he had hunted successfully and was initiated into manhood; they turned their sad faces away from the truck and went back to their scherms in silence.

574 602 The following morning, adding somewhat to the tension and unease, the rest of Short Kwi's band arrived. They looked

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

very sleek and prosperous, for they were staggering under 574
loads of food, their bags and nets bulging with tsi and their 602
carrying-poles strung with the meat of the gemsbok. They put down their loads and the women began immediately to make a large and busy werf on the far side of Toma's. In a very short time the werf was built and strewn with food and objects, and the people sitting among their possessions looked so comfortable and settled that one would never have thought that they had just arrived.

The old woman, Short Kwi's mother-in-law, did cry when she found her daughter gone. She squatted sadly on the ground and wiped her tears from her wrinkled, dusty cheeks with her fingers. All her relatives, clustered around her, trying to comfort her, telling her that, after all, her daughter would return, that she herself would be looked after and not allowed to starve, and presently the old woman stopped crying, wiped [342]
her eyes, and got up to build herself a tiny hut, a shade of grass and branches.

That night, when darkness fell, when the moon rose blood 857
red among the trees and the frogs in the pan began their sing- 533
ing, we were again sitting by our fire, again hosts to a good many visitors, when we heard high voices singing a medicine song. We stood up to look over the grass and saw a fire where no werf was, with five young girls around it singing, clapping a rhythm, their faces lit red by the fire and their backs lit palely by the moon. They were all alone there, far from their homes.

We asked our visitors if there was going to be a dance, 857
which did not seem likely, everyone being in such low spirits, 535
and those who wanted to dance said yes while those who didn't said no. Soon some little children joined the dance, though, among them Little Gashe and Little Dabe. Little

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208 quarrels, a focal point in discussion of plans, a comfort to the bereaved and a strength for those in doubt.

621 The functions of headman, as headman, are of a different nature. In order to take up residence with a
602 band, a person must have certain ties of kin with members of the band.
[591] Such a person may live with his own parents or siblings, or with his wife's parents or siblings. It is a wide choice, providing for flexibility—but within limits. There are, of course, exceptions, and visitors from other bands are never denied, but possession of some kinship tie seems to be a general requirement for residence which,

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602 if violated, would subject the violator to criticism by the band.

626 SHORT of fighting, all the !Kung can do to control the actions of individuals is to criticize. But this is apparently enough. A man, expelled from his band, *might* be able to survive alone in the desert—with luck, he might even manage for years. If he could persuade his family to come with him, they might survive together even more easily, for the family is the basic subsistence unit. But freshly gone, he would be an outlaw and, in time, become a stranger to his people. This would be an unthinkable

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

SHARING, TALKING, AND GIVING: RELIEF OF SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THIS paper describes customs, practised by the /Kung Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region of South Africa, which help them to avoid situations that are likely to arouse ill will and hostility among individuals within the bands and between bands. Two customs which seem to be especially helpful and which I describe in detail are meat-sharing and gift-giving. I mention also the /Kung habits of talking, aspects of their good manners, their borrowing and lending, and their not stealing.[1]

The common human needs for co-operation and companionship are particularly apparent among the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Independent living, outside the band structure,[2] does not exist for individuals. Nuclear families do not live alone. The arduous hunting-gathering life would be impossible without the co-operation and companionship of a larger group. Moreover, in this society the ownership of the resources of food and water is organized through the headmen of bands, and individuals have rights to these resources by being members of a band connected to the headman by some near or remote kin or affinal bond. The /Kung are also extremely dependent emotionally on the sense of belonging and on companionship. Their need to avoid loneliness, I think, is actually visible in the way families cluster together in their werfs and in the way people sit, often touching someone else, shoulder against shoulder, ankle across ankle. Comfort and security for them lie in belonging to their group, free from hostility or rejection.

Their security and comfort must be achieved side by side with self-interest and much jealous watchfulness. Altruism, kindness, sympathy, or genuine generosity were not qualities which I observed often in their behaviour. However, these qualities were not entirely lacking, especially between parents and offspring, between siblings and between spouses. One mother carried her sick adult daughter on her back for three days in searing summer heat for us to give her medicine. /Naoka carried her lame son, Lame ≠Gao, for years. Gau clucked and fussed over his second wife, Khuan//a, when she was sick. When /U had a baby, her sister, Di/ai, gathered veldkos for her for five days. On the other hand, people do not generally help each other. They laugh when the lame man, Kham, falls down and do not help him up. /U's jealous eyes were like those of a viper when we gave more attention to her husband, ≠Toma, than to her because he was much more ill. And, in the extreme, there is the report from the 1958 expedition of an instance of callous indifference in one band and the probable abandonment of a dying old childless woman, an old aunt, when her sister, with whom she lived, had died.

Occasions when tempers have got out of control are remembered with awe. The

[1] This description of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region is based on observations made during our several expeditions between 1951 and 1959. Changes in the conditions under which the /Kung live are to be expected, and how these changes will affect the practice of the customs here described we do not know.

[2] Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Band Organization', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. Thirdly, people lend arrows to one another. The status of the arrow plays its part in the distribution of the animal killed with it. There is much giving and lending of arrows. The society seems to want to extinguish in every way possible the concept of the meat belonging to the hunter.

A hunter chooses which arrow he will use. The owner of the arrow—who *ipso facto* owns the animal—may therefore be the hunter himself, who has chosen to use an arrow he made or one that was given him, or he may be a person who lent the arrow to the hunter.

There may be several hunters in the hunting party and several arrows in the animal, but this seems to cause no confusion or conflict. Every arrow is known, of course. The hunters may see which first penetrates effectively so that its poison could account for the kill. But I think that often it is arranged beforehand who will own the animal. A man asking another to accompany him might say, 'Come and help me get a buck.' Or 'Old Gau lent me an arrow and asked me to hunt for him. You come too.'

I think there is little or no dissension as to who owned the animal because it is not a cause for great stress; each hunter gets a share of the meat anyway. I think also that a man wants sometimes to be the owner of the meat in order to start the distribution off in the direction of his own kin and affines, but that one is also content sometimes not to have the onus of the main distribution.

The first distribution of the animal is made in large portions usually to five or six persons. They are the owner of the arrow, the giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not one the owner had made himself), and the hunters. The meat, always uncooked in the first distribution, is given on the bone, unless the animal is large and the meat has been cut into strips at the kill.

In a second distribution the several persons who got meat in the first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. This meat also is given uncooked. The amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution close kinship is the factor which sets the pattern of the giving. Certain obligations are compulsory. A man's first obligation at this point, we were told, is to give to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous portions as he can, while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others. The meat may be cooked and the quantities small.

Visitors, even though they are not close kin or affines, are given meat by the people whom they are visiting. This is a strongly felt social rule. Visitors may receive small quantities of cooked meat, which is like being asked to dinner.

Name relatives often receive generous portions of meat because they have the same name as the giver or because their names associate them with his close kin, but this seems to be more a favour than an absolute rule. ≠Toma said there were far too many men named ≠Toma for him to give them special consideration.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

vour it. Thus, according to our observations, a !Kung band gets on an average 224
only about fifteen to eighteen large animals in a usual year.

The meat of the large game animals does not belong to the hunters to do with as they choose. However, they always have the prerogative of eating the [212] liver at the site of the kill and, if their hunger is not satisfied, they may eat more. The bulk of the meat is then carried to the band, where it is distributed among the members according to a system. The meat belongs to the owner of the first arrow that penetrates the animal so that it stays in. He has the responsibility of making the first distribution.

Anyone in the band may be the owner of the arrow. A hunter carries 224
arrows he acquires in three different ways. Each man has his own that he 411
makes himself, shaping the points with some little distinction so that he 422
will know them from the arrows of other men. In addition he carries 426
arrows that have been given or lent to him. When an arrow is given to him, 431
he is the owner as much as if he had made it himself, but if he uses that 571
arrow he must make a special gift of meat to the donor. When he uses an arrow that is loaned to him, he merely shoots for the person who lent it and who remains the owner of the arrow. !Kung society makes a great deal of giving and lending arrows. Women and old men, as well as men in their hunting prime, receive arrows as gifts and may give them or lend them to a hunter, asking him to shoot for them. A hunter cannot refuse an arrow— [576] as a person cannot refuse any gift—without offending the giver. He accepts the arrow and with it an obligation, but he gives or lends arrows in return and involves others in obligation to him. Hunters choose to use one or another of their arrows, with the result that the responsibility of distributing the meat, with its advantages and obligations, is shared by members of the band as is the meat itself.

In the first distribution the whole animal is divided among a few 224
persons, who receive whole sections on the bone, unless the animal is so large that the meat has to be cut off in strips to be carried. The first of these persons are the hunters, each of whom gets a fore- or hindquarter or the equivalent. The giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not matle by the owner himself) receives a generous portion. The owner of the arrow, who may be one of the hunters, or anybody, keeps the rest.

In the second distribution, the several persons who got meat in the 224
first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. The 602
amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution, close kinship is the factor that sets the pattern of giving. A man's first obligation at this point [606] is to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous [593] portions as he can while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

224 they are present, and to other kin, affines, and friends who are there, possibly
602 only in small quantities by then.

Everyone who receives meat gives again, in another wave of sharing, to his or her parents, parents-in-law, spouses, offspring, siblings, and others.
[574] This meat may be cooked and the quantities small. Visitors receive small amounts of cooked meat from their hosts. It ends in everybody getting some meat.

224 In the later waves of sharing, when the primary distribution and pri-
431 mary kinship obligations have been fulfilled, the giving of meat from one's own portion has the quality of gift giving. !Kung society requires at this point only that a person should give with reasonable generosity in proportion to what he has received and not keep more than an equitable amount for himself, and that the person who receives a gift of meat must give a reciprocal gift of meat at some time in the future. People give to whom they please, this time to some, next time to others, more generously or less generously
[571] according to their own (to us often unfathomable) reasons. We are certain, however, that the motives are the same as in gift giving in general: the person gives to measure up to what is expected of him, to make friendly gestures, to win favor, to repay past favors and obligations, and to enmesh others in future obligation.

224 Aside from the practical advantage of using up meat while it is still
431 fresh, the !Kung custom of meat sharing has enormous social value. It does
181 a great deal to mitigate tensions. The fear of hunger is lessened. People are
[154] sustained by a web of mutual obligation. Moreover, they are fully conscious
[183] of these values, and the custom is so strongly established and so faithfully followed that the idea of not sharing is virtually unthinkable to the !Kung.

422 Meat is not habitually cooked and eaten as a family meal among the
262 !Kung. When an individual receives a portion he owns it outright. He may
264 give and share it further, as he wishes, but it never becomes family or group property. The men, women, and children may cook their pieces when and as they wish, often roasting bits in the coals and hot ashes and eating them alone at odd times. Or someone may start a big pot boiling and several people will bring their pieces to put into it at the same time, each taking his own piece out when it is cooked.

The sense of possessing one's own piece personally is, I believe, very
[261] important to the !Kung. It gives one the responsibility of choosing when to eat one's meat and struggling with hunger as best one can when it is finished, without occasion or excuse for blaming others for eating more than their share.

224 It has often been reported that, when Bushmen kill an animal, they
261 gorge themselves until they can hardly walk. We have seen the Nyae Nyae !Kung eat hearty meals of meat when plenty appeared and they had been long without, but nothing more than we considered a normal amount.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

Both the father and mother expect and receive respect and obedience 593
from their children. Although the mother's influence is always felt, I believe that the father's authority is greater. It is not formalized or expressed in a harsh or domineering way. As long as the father lives, he is the head of the family, symbolically. Even when too old to hunt, if he is still a forceful [887]
person, he remains the one in authority, the leader of the sons-in-law and his daughters, of his sons and their wives. Gradually, however, when he becomes very old, the younger men make their own plans without necessarily consulting him.

!Kung families are responsible for dependents. Thus, old, dependent 737
parents are unfailingly supported by their offspring and may choose with which one of their offspring they will live. Orphaned children are taken 736
by their grandparents or by a sibling of their parents. It happens occasionally that a person has no living parent, offspring, or sibling. In that case, other relatives assume the responsibility.

THE NAME RELATIONSHIP • Although !Kung society has developed no 571
formal political structure under which the bands are united, and there are 602
no organizations outside the bands, these people have a means of extending 553
the concept of kinship beyond close consanguineous relatives and affines 619
and of recognizing, in what we call the name relationship, the web of remote interrelationship that long intermarriage within the region has established.

Invariably the first son and the first daughter are named by their father for their paternal grandparents. Other children are usually named for their mother's parents, the siblings of their parents, and the spouses of those siblings, and may occasionally be named for other relatives. Thus, a few names are used over and over through the generations. We recorded only [551]
forty-six men's names and forty-one women's names in the region. The !Kung assume that persons who have the same name are related, though the exact nature of the relationship is forgotten. They believe, also, that people with the same name somehow have a common entity. They bestow [601]
upon each other kin terms that are appropriate to the name, according to a system. The !Kung have intermarried within the Nyae Nyae region to [582]
such an extent that everyone has a kin term he associates with each one of the names. This means that the people of the whole region are what we call name relatives, all applying kin terms to each other.

From the !Kung point of view the custom has two values. It regulates 553
the incest taboo in its furthermost extension, especially the joking relation- 602
ship that symbolizes the taboo. (For example, a man should not marry or 835
make sexual jokes with a woman who has the same name as his mother.) The !Kung feel secure in righteousness when they know they are behaving

553 602 835 [601] properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

619 553 601 602 The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen—sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [101] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ôassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ôassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 [613] [622] INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

[423] There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A considerable amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time 768 of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

582 648 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

584 First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and traditionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

622 leadership, the people may turn quite informally to some other man for leadership in their daily life—ask him for help and advice, fall in with his plans. Such a leader has no authority and receives no honors or rewards.

Headmanship is inherited by the eldest son from the father. If that son dies or leaves the band, the headmanship passes to the next eldest son.

No strictly formulated rules, insofar as we know, provide for further succession. We have no observations of our own of situations in which a headman had no son.[10]

622 The rule of succession does not provide for a headmanship to pass
621 collaterally to a headman's younger brother. However, a younger brother
571 may set up a band of his own in the same territory if he does not prefer to live under the headmanship of his older brother or if he does not continue to live with his wife's people. The younger brother has his own rights to the veldkos and water that derive from his father and he can share them with his family and band. Nevertheless, as long as a son of the headman in rightful succession is living in the territory, he has higher authority and is responsible for the overall planning. Should the principal headman's band die out or realign itself, the collateral band led by the younger brother would become the principal one.

621 The bonds that bring the !Kung into membership in bands are the same
622 consanguineous and affinal bonds on which a nuclear family is formed:
602 the bonds of parent-offspring, siblings, and spouses. Everyone who lives in
571 a !Kung band is linked by one of these bonds with the headman, sometimes directly or sometimes in a chainlike manner through one or two other
[162] persons. A description of a typical band will illustrate this point. Band II of Gautscha has forty-one members. The headman, Gao Beard, has two
[592] wives and four young children. With Gao Beard live his younger brother, one of his younger sisters, each with spouse and children, and his elderly, dependent and widowed mother. Gao asked his first wife's father, Old ≠Toma, whom he likes very much, to join his band. Old ≠Toma brought with him into the band his wife, a married son with wife and child, two younger sons, his wife's sister, and her son by a now divorced husband.
[583] He also brought sixteen other persons—Gau and his people. Gau belongs to another band but was at the time living in Band II because he had married, as a second wife, Old ≠Toma's wife's sister and, middle-aged though they are, he was in bride service to her people. After a time Gau can choose whether to stay on in Band II or to go back to the band in which he originated. He said that he thought he would decide to stay with Old ≠Toma and Gao Beard because he likes Old ≠Toma and because Gao Beard has a mangetti grove.

621 People retain throughout their lives their membership in the band
423 in which they were born and their rights to its veldkos and water resources.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

If they leave the band they may return. Affines and the families of affines have equal rights to the resources while they are present but do not retain them if they leave.

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS • In the many strange old tales of the !Kung appears a protagonist named *ǂGao!na*—Old ǂGao. He had supernatural powers, but he looked like a man and lived on earth. Like mankind, he was subject to passion, hunger, wrongdoing, failure, frustration, and humiliation, but men imagine his feelings in larger scale and as more grotesque than their own. Themes of incest, hunger, and cannibalism run through the tales. The !Kung claim that this old protagonist and the great god of their present belief are one and the same: they have the same names, but if the present great god is the old *ǂGao!na*, he is mightily changed.

The !Kung now believe that there are two gods. The great god lives in the eastern sky where the sun rises; the lesser, in the western sky where the sun sets. The great god is the creator of all things. He created himself and named himself. He then created the lesser god and a wife for each of them. The wives bore them children. The great god gave names to all these beings. Then he created the earth and the water holes, the sky and the rain, the sun and the wind, the things that grow on the earth, and the animals with their stripes and colors, and he gave them names. He created a woman and then a man. He commanded the man and the woman and the animals to breathe, for without breathing they would not live. From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. When mortals die he takes their spirits to the place where he lives in the eastern sky, where there is a certain tree that has no name. He hangs the spirits in the tree, makes a medicine smoke in a pot beneath them, and transmutes them into the */gauwasi*, the spirits of the dead, who live in the sky with him and are his servants. He has a medicine with which he renews himself, the */gauwasi*, and the other heavenly beings and thus keeps them immortal.

The great god gave men bows and arrows and poison and digging sticks and taught them how to shoot animals and dig for food. Everything men know he taught them. Having created all things, the great god is the owner and the master of all things and commands their movements.

To "praise" himself, the !Kung believe, the great god gave himself seven divine names and one human name. The divine names are *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Kxo*, *!Gara*, *Gani ga*, *ǂGaishi ǂgai* and */Gauwa*. The human name is *ǂGao!na*, the one he shares with the old protagonist.

Although there is not an absolute taboo upon saying the names of the

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

174 [172] 1951:26). In East Africa are sites indicating that people of common origin with Bushmen inhabited those regions, and this suggests that Bushmen in past ages migrated from the northeast (Schapera 1951:27) into South Africa, where they distributed themselves from the Zambesi River to the Cape of Good Hope. Hottentots also came into southern Africa—from East Africa in all probability—bringing with them herds of cattle. Bantu-speaking Negro tribes migrated into southern Africa, it is believed during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. White settlers began in 1652 to establish themselves at 177 the Cape of Good Hope. Negroes, Hottentots, and whites encroached upon Bushmen, who were expelled from the better-watered lands or assimilated or 131 exterminated. With the exception of a few individuals, the surviving Bushmen are found now only in the Kalahari Desert.

131 (3) The numbers of Bushmen found in various political divisions in 1955 as 162 listed by Tobias (1956) are as follows:

Bechuanaland Protectorate	31,000
South West Africa	20,311
Angola	4,000
Northern Rhodesia	200
Union of South Africa	20

144 (4) Hooton classified Bushmen and Hottentots as a composite race, predominantly Negroid (1946:628) "whose racial ambiguity will probably continue to haunt us" (p. 633). [Cf. Schapera (1951:27), who says that it is generally regarded that Pygmies and Bushmen probably both diverged from a small variety of Negro; and Tobias (1961:19) who points out that no fossil remains have yet been found to provide definite evidence of this.] The resemblance of some of the physical characteristics of Bushmen to those of Mongolians is generally thought to be fortuitous (cf. Tobias 1957:4 ff.). Coon (1962:193) places the Bushmen among "tag-ends of ancient humanity, culturally as well as physically archaic," hard for classifiers to "fit into cate- [114] gories, let alone explain." The reader is referred to Schapera (1951) and Howells (1959) for judicious presentations of what is and is not known about these peoples.

114 (5) Studies on the adaptation of the Bushmen to heat and cold have been published by Wyndham and Morrison (1956).

224 (6) The nature of the Bushman hunt is graphically and empathetically portrayed 126 in a most effective and widely acclaimed film, "The Hunters," made by Mrs. Marshall's son, John Marshall, while following !Kung hunters. Information about purchase or rental of the 70-minute film may be obtained from The Film Study Center, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.—Ed.

553 (7) I think that in the name relationship of the !Kung we can see the potential 602 beginnings of a kin group. It would seem that it could be a *deme* if it existed. 121 A deme is a name Murdock proposed for a bilateral endogamous local group, in the absence of unilinear descent, "comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite

the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the !Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy. 553 662 121 [229]

(8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts. 582

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband stepbrother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself. 582 551

(9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty. 532 [301] [304]

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees. 000

(10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people 622 562

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Kuangari Bunja Sambiu Djiriku	in South West Africa
Mbukushu	in South West Africa and B. P.
Bayei Batawana Herero	in B. P.

[621] These !Kung may live in independent villages near a
[224] Bantu kraal and devote much of their time to hunting and
[222] gathering, or they may be incorporated into the compounds of
[464] their protectors and work as domestic servants and farm hands.
However, all of these Bantu-associated !Kung are in contact
131 with groups of more independent !Kung living inland. Ties
184 of real and fictive kinship and marriage link the river
602 dwelling !Kung with the !Kung of the dry interior. The loca-
582 tion of these non-!Kung peoples is shown in Map 6, p. 34.

131 Map 7 illustrates how the European and Bantu-associated !Kung form a ring of population around the peripheries of the northwest Kalahari. These settled areas enclose an interior of about 25,000 square miles, one third of which is in Bechuanaland and two thirds in South West Africa. Most of

621
161 The remaining 122 individuals were living with the Bantu. The
162 diet of these latter people consisted of a combination of
[262] Bushmen wild foods and the products of the Bantu cattle. The complete census of the 35 living units is shown in Table 3.

The 15 bands ranged in size from nine to 52 individuals. There were five small bands (of 9, 12, 12, 12, and 13 members), nine bands of intermediate size (of 17, 19, 19, 21, 22, 22, 24, 27, and 30), and one large band with 52 members. The average band had 20.7 members and the median band had 19 members. The presence of twin modes in band size (at 12 and 22 members respectively) is perhaps a function of the domestic cycle,[1] but its significance remains to be explained.

621 Each of the bands has a nucleus of individuals who have a territorial claim to the land they occupy and who tend to spend the greater part of the year in residence in their territory. These core individuals are usually old people whose descendents and their spouses make up the bulk of the
[602] band's membership. Each of the larger bands has among its members one or more families who are collaterally or affinally related to the core individuals. These collaterals and affines do not express as strong a territorial claim to the band's land as do the core individuals and they tend to move around more frequently than do the core individuals. As

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[1] I am indebted to Adam Kuper for this suggestion (personal communication).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 48]

361
312 was simple. Each waterhole supported one independent camp and each camp had its own territory.

Two of the waterholes, Mahopa and !xabe, lacked independent camps and therefore were not part of a territory. [648] The Bushmen who drank at these waterholes lived in Bantu [222] villages. They collected food in the adjacent territories of other camps such as Dobe !ubi and !angwa (see Map 14).

361 The sharing of a single territory by two or more camps
• 602 reflected the close kinship ties between the camps. This was obvious at Dobe where the leaders of the two camps were a brother and sister who often brought their two groups [562] together to make a common camp. It was also obvious at !goše where the four camps were led by descendants and collaterals of one old woman. In previous years these four independent groups at !goše had lived in one large camp.

361 The territorial arrangements of the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen, like their group structures, were extremely flexible. Most territories overlapped with one or more adjacent territories. The boundaries of territories were vaguely defined and there were areas between territories which were not claimed by any of the camps. The Bushmen did not conceive of territories as areas of exclusive occupation. The concept of territorial defense was lacking. Each territory consisted, in the words of Mrs. Marshall, of "a waterhole and a side" (L. Marshall 1960:334). This point is illustrated in Map 14.

361
433 year, but that territorial arrangements are flexible enough to permit people to collect and eat freely in territories other than their own. Thus there were no instances recorded of the members of one camp going hungry while there was still food available at other camps.

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433 Ecologically, the net effect of this flexibility of
602 territories is to produce an equitable distribution of food resources throughout the population. Kinship, real and fictive, is the social mechanism which makes possible this equitable distribution. Each independent camp maintains ties of kinship and marriage with members of every other independent camp. Implicit in every kinship tie is an obligation to share food and water. When relatives are living together, the obligations are manifested in daily exchanges of food and in mutual aid. When relatives are living at
361 different camps these obligations are latent. An individual
433 who visits another camp will invariably set up his or her hut
602
574 beside the hut of the member of the other camp to whom he or she has the closest kinship tie. The visitor is secure in the knowledge that the members of the camp will respect his or her claim to the resources of the area.

The principles of intercamp visiting will be illustrated by an example from the Dobe camp. N!ain!a, a woman about 55 years old, is a member of the Dobe camp. She is a younger

361 433 602 574 sibling of the leaders of the two Dobe camps, and therefore has an unquestionable claim to the Dobe resources. N!ain!a has two married daughters whom she frequently visits. One lives at !angwa and the other at Bate. These two daughters and their husbands make reciprocal visits to Dobe about once a month. N!ain!a has a classificatory uncle at !ubi. During the winter she would make daily trips to collect the Baobab fruits that are available only at !ubi. Her uncle, in turn, would make reciprocal visits to collect the vegetable ivory fruits which are abundant around Dobe. Thus N!ain!a maintains active claims in three of the territories adjacent to her own.

N≠eysin!a (N!ain!a's older brother) is unlike N!ain!a in that he prefers to remain in his home territory rather than visit other camps. N≠eysin!a's kinship ties with members of other camps are numerous but the reciprocal obligations implicit in these kinship ties remain latent because N≠eysin!a rarely visits his relatives in other camps.

361 Inter-territorial visiting is perhaps the most important single principle of land utilization among the Dobe area Bushmen. 311 Concerning land utilization <u>within</u> the individual territory, three significant features should be noted.

First, each of the territories borders on an uninhabited hinterland of indefinite size (see Map 14). Because of this, it is difficult to derive an estimate, in square miles, of the

132
221 this account of the seasonal round has come full circle to the starting point.

312
433 In summary, there are, in effect, only three basic sets of subsistence conditions for the Bushmen:

1. Water everywhere - Food everywhere
2. Water limited - Food abundant
3. Water limited - Food scarce.

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312
433 When the first set of conditions prevail during the rains of November through March, Bushman life is sweet. The camps can live near the most concentrated food sources within their
[628]
[574] territory, or share in the food supply of neighboring camps,
[602] or easily undertake the long trips to visit relatives at distant waterholes.

When the second set of conditions prevail, from April through July, freedom of movement is more restricted but food is still abundant enough to make life comfortable.

When the third set of conditions prevail, from August through October, the Bushmen must resort to increasingly arduous tactics in order to maintain a good diet, or, alternatively they must content themselves with foods of less desirability in terms of abundance, ease of collecting and nutritive value.

It is during the three lean months of the year that the Bushmen life approaches the precarious conditions that have

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

obvious from the fact that although several chiefs were present, 361
there was no common supreme chief.[1] Such gatherings are only 619
temporary in nature, and produced by some special circumstance. 621
They cannot therefore be regarded as indicative of the normal [622]
groupings of the Bushmen.

Social Structure of the Band

Within the band the only division is into families. The family 592
among the Bushmen consists of a man and his wife or wives, together [595]
with their dependent children. It is a unit of outstanding importance in their social and economic life. The members of a family usually live together in one hut; the children until they are mature remain under the direct control of their parents, are nourished and are educated by them; husband and wife jointly contribute to the maintenance of their household, and the domestic tasks and industries are apportioned between them according to fixed custom. The family, moreover, has much freedom of movement, and, as already mentioned, single families will often roam about separately for a while within the territory of their band.

The relationship between the different families constituting a band 114
is seldom defined clearly by the various observers. In particular 601
the information available about the kinship organization of the 602
Bushmen is very inadequate. Miss Bleek has recently published lists 621
of relationship terms for each of the three main linguistic groups defined by her.[2] From these it appears that among all the Bushmen there are, in addition to various descriptive terms of relationship, also certain terms applied not to individuals but to whole groups of different relatives, while still others are used reciprocally between people standing in a particular relationship to each other. Relationship terms of the last two types, when found in other societies, are usually indicative of a definite organization of the community on the basis of kinship; and it is probable therefore that some such organization exists among the Bushmen as well. Unfortunately the 114
lists given by Miss Bleek appear to be drawn from vocabulary sources 601
rather than from an actual study of kinship itself, and cannot there- 114
fore be used with any degree of confidence. In any case they throw 602

[1] Op. cit., 138, 155. It should be mentioned here that the figures given by Kaufmann are, as a rule, far in excess of those given by other writers of about the same time and on the same district (e.g. Müller, German official estimate), and cannot therefore be accepted without question. [114]

[2] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1924), 57–70.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

114 but little light on the social organization of the people, since the
602 information given about the rights and duties regulating the conduct towards one another of people related either by consanguinity or through marriage is somewhat meagre. But they suggest at least that there is much in the social life of the Bushmen which could be revealed by a careful study of the usages connected with kinship.

There is some evidence, however, to show that among the Cape
621 and Namib Bushmen, who as we have seen live in very small groups, the members of such a group are as a rule all related either by consanguinity or through marriage. Of the Cape Bushmen, for example, Miss Bleek says elsewhere: "They live in small family groups, and have no chiefs. . . . Three or four huts stand together. In one is the father, in others his married children. At most eight or ten huts of connections were dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, but this is an institution of later days . . . (at marriage)
[591] sometimes the young couple build their hut near the bridegroom's father, sometimes near the bride's. They seem to keep the family groups fairly even."[1] The accounts given by Trenk and especially
[114] by Seydel of the social structure of the band among the Namib Bushmen are not nearly so definite, but on the whole seem to indicate a similar principle of grouping.[2]

This is also found among the !O Kung of Angola, where again the local groups are very small. The details given by Miss Bleek bring out very clearly the structure of these groups[3]: "The families living together are nearly always related; in two cases the men were brothers-in-law, in the first the sister of one man was the wife of the other, in the second the wives were half-sisters. A cousin of the wives and an aunt resided with them. At another place I found a father with his second wife and small children, a grown-up son with wife and children, and a grown-up daughter whose husband was temporarily absent. The next lot were uncle and nephews, then a mother with married daughter, with a nephew and step-son of the mother's. The last lot encountered, the horde on the Mushumbo, consisted of an old man with two sons, several grandsons both in the male and female line, a son-in-law and nephews and great-nephews, mostly brother's descendants. He introduced himself as the 'father'
[888] of them all. Chiefs are non-existent, but deference is paid to the

[1] *The Mantis and his Friends*, pp. viii, ix.
[2] Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," 168, 170; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.
[3] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

602 ugly, slovenly, or wanton. The women retaliate, perhaps accusing the men of being worthy only of castration or of unfaithful wives. We noticed that the /Kung do not call each other sons of bitches. They are not concerned with lineage.

602 It is not thought proper to make blatant or insulting sexual jokes with old persons.
888 The deference which is shown to aged persons is expressed by moderation, and the joking relationship between an old person and a considerably younger person, especially between grandparents and grandchildren, becomes a cosy friendly intimacy
[603] without the sexual emphasis.

Though the /Kung enjoy the joking relationship, it was our impression that their
602 primary concern lay in the prohibition against joking. They said it would be 'madness' to joke with persons they should not joke with. When they meet strangers they do not dare to joke until they find out whether or not it is proper for them to do so. They gave us /Kung names. This placed us in the scheme of things and people could know what their status was with us.

The /Kung say they 'fear' (*koa*) to joke when they should not and they 'fear' (*koa*) the persons with whom joking is forbidden. The word *koa* is the same word that they use when they say they fear a lion or a mamba. They also use it to mean avoid. We think it holds the same combination of fear and respect that our word holds when we say we fear the Lord.

[828 A /Kung told us that joking was not only amusing but that it served a good pur-
865] pose in teaching people, young men especially, to hold their tempers and to have poise in their social relations. We thought that joking served a good purpose in
[182 providing an outlet in laughter for aggression and various social restraints, but we
154] wondered if it had not primarily been developed as a response to restraints upon sexual intercourse. Incest must be a concern among a people who live in small bands
835] of consanguineous kin and close affines, bands which are isolated for the most part within their own territories except for more or less infrequent visits to other bands. The restraints which are considered to be good and necessary may be strengthened by the symbol of avoidance of sexual joking. Respect due to a parent has perhaps come to be associated with this symbol and this may account for joking being restricted with parents of both sexes. It seems that respect in general is not required between siblings; only sexual restraint is required and this is symbolized by the restriction in joking imposed on siblings of opposite sex, whereas ego may joke with a sibling of the same sex. It is possible that the culture allows joking between grandparents and grandchildren (with the rather few exceptions when the factor of the name intervenes to classify them in the non-joking category) because joking is associated with a welcome ease and intimacy of relationship and the great difference in age removes the necessity of symbolizing sexual restraint between them.

The Name-Relationship as a Factor in Social Consolidation

553 The /Kung believe that the name is somehow a part of the entity of a person and
601 that when one is named for a person one partakes of that person's entity in some way and in some degree. Informants could give us no further elucidation of this belief.

It seems evident that, when incorporated into the system of kinship terminology,
[174] the belief has produced the homonymous method of applying terms. It is our conjecture that the homonymous method was added to the system after the generational
method had been established.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

beside her, and I remembered the eye medicine I had prom- 609
ised to her, so I nodded and went to get it, but when I returned with it I found that she had mistakenly awakened her sons and they now crouched behind her, peering out at me, their small faces distorted with distrust and apprehension. I held out my hand to Little Gashe, but he retired completely behind his mother, pushing Little Dabe out the other side, so I held out my hand to Little Dabe, causing him to shrink back, pushing Little Gashe. Finally Dikai stood up and left them both exposed, and then Gao Feet held Little Gashe, Dikai held Little Dabe, and I put the medicine in as quickly 603 ●
as possible, but both children had tantrums of rage and arched their backs, and as soon as they were released they would have nothing further to do with their parents, but went to sleep at their grandmother's fire instead, on the opposite side of the werf. The light was very dim, only the stars were showing and the fires had died, and these two forlorn children made two red little shapes as they lay down at their grandmother's fire; their skins reflected the red glow of coals, for they lay right in the ashes for warmth; they had forsaken their parents' karosses and there was no room for them under their grandmother's—another child was sleeping there.

Gao Feet gave up trying to urge them to come home and at 595 574
last he, too, lay down to sleep, snug between his two wives, who were resting, not sleeping, for whenever someone at one of the other fires said something of interest, one or the other of them would put up her head and remark upon it. Tu slept alone with her children, for Toma had gone visiting, and one by one the people at Tu's fire moved away toward their own werfs, calling to each other in the dark. At last only a few 521
voices were heard at one of the werfs; they seemed very gay and very lighthearted, all talking at once, and now and then Toma's voice was heard above them all. Hearing him, Tu

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

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marry, and by this, real brother and sister are meant, the children of one father and mother, not cousins. I never heard a title for any cousin, however related, though several were present Cousins sometimes marry, but more often a bride from a distance is procured.

A pair of sisters have a very close relationship. They are 593
generally chums, and help each other with their babies. A child [601]
calls its mother's sister its "little mother". In speaking of the [604]
occasional bigamy found among the **Naron** in contrast to other 595
Bushman tribes, an old man said to me:

"A man may take a second wife, if he wishes. If they agree well, they live in one hut; if not, each makes herself a hut. A man had better take his wife's younger sister as his second wife; then they do not quarrel, but live in one hut."

ǁka in **ǁkaahe** "maternal aunt" may be derived from **ǁkai** 196
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otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. The widow may stay near her husband's people, or return to her own people, as she pleases.

Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, are very fond 597
of adopting a grandchild. They will half adopt one, even during 603
both parents' lifetime. The grandmother is generally the person [868]
who teaches a child to speak.

In concluding these notes on the tables of relationship, I should 114
like to say that I know they are very incomplete. At the time of my stay among the **ǁkau ǁen** and **Naron** I had not realized the importance of this side of native life; nor apparently had my aunt, Dr. Lloyd, whose work I rely on for the **ǂxam** and **ǂkuŋ** tables. Still, I think sufficient has been collected to show the general trend of Bushman family ties.

One must always remember, that people depending on nature 105
for their entire food supply, can only exist in very small, widely 161
scattered groups. Families cannot be large. Drought and famine

[Text continues on page 70]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

857 sleepy, and crawl on to the grass in the hut. No one sends them to bed.

593 So the children, during infancy and childhood, remain under the tutelage and in the care of their parents. Once they are grown up, no one really controls them. The tie between parents and mature children is simply one of respect and love, but there is no lack of family affection. Grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives
● 603 are also respected to some extent, according to character. Among the Naron, grandparents, especially on the mother's side, take a great interest in their grandchildren, and often adopt one which has
[597] been weaned, while among the Heikum orphans are generally adopted by the maternal grandparents. The grandmother is often
[868] the person who teaches a child to speak. Between two sisters there
593 is usually a close bond of affection, they are generally companions, and help each other with their babies. In certain Cape Bushman tales the wife's unmarried sister is shown staying with her, as helper and nurse of the baby. On the other hand, among some of the North-Western tribes at least, there is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister speaking or sitting together. Here too, as in the case of the mother-in-law, the sitting and not the speaking appears to be the important part, for Miss Bleek records having heard an adult brother and sister address each other, while passing at a good distance.[1]

Girls' Puberty Ceremonies

881 The attainment of puberty is marked among all the Bushmen by the performance of certain ceremonies, through which the young people have to pass before being admitted to full membership of the group. Puberty ceremonies for girls are definitely found in all the
[184] Bushman tribes, but corresponding ceremonies for boys appear to be restricted to the northern tribes. These ceremonies vary somewhat from tribe to tribe.

Among the Cape Bushmen a girl at the time of her first menstruation was in a state of taboo. "She is put into a tiny hut, made by her mother, with a very small aperture for the door, which her mother closes upon her. When she goes out, she looks down upon the ground; and when she returns to the hut, she sits and looks down. She does not go far, or walk about at this time. When presently she becomes a 'big girl', she is allowed to look about, and to look afar

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 59, 66–7; cf. *idem*, *Naron*, 32; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

587 was meant. That would be very uncomfortable, he said. It would make her shiver and
589 might make her sick. The rainy season's passing is what cleanses the woman. When
[783] she is about to go to her new husband she prepares herself by washing in the ordinary way.

Unless a woman is quite old she does not remain long unmarried. One man said, 'Even if a widow is thick and tall, but is a good woman, some man will want her.' Widows may marry as second wives of married men, or they may marry widowers, divorced men, or bachelors. The two young widows and the two divorced women who were unmarried in 1953, had remarried by 1955. Only the very old widows remain unmarried.

There are so few unmarried women that widowers have difficulty in finding wives. The young widowed musician, /Gao, was an example. After his first wife's death he had married the daughter of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, when she was approximately ten or eleven years old, about the age of his own son, and was patiently waiting for her to grow up. Only one of the old widowers had succeeded in finding a wife by 1957.

736 The children of a widowed parent are kept by that parent. A widower may leave
768 his children with a woman relative, but they remain his. Orphaned children go to live with relatives. There is a tendency to feel that the boys belong eventually to the
[611] father's side of the family, the girls to the mother's. This concept came to our attention several times, but we did not find it to be a rigid social rule. The relative who
● [604] is expected to take the children if they are young is the MoSi. But the FaSi might be nearer or more able for one reason or another to take them and might do so. FaBr would be the relative most likely to take half-grown boys, but again MoBr might be the one. Failing these, some other relative would take them. When it came to arrang-
[584] ing marriages for orphaned children, informants said that the father's elder brother would have the most authority; a stepfather or stepmother has none.

[597] Adoption does not exist in /Kung society.

Divorce may terminate a marriage. The couple may divorce without formality,
586 by mutual consent or by one spouse simply leaving the other. The /Kung word for ending a marriage in this way is */kao joo*. I use the word 'divorce' for convenience, although no legal action takes place. No religious dispensation is involved, no permission or action on the part of the headman or group is required. If parents of a very young couple withheld consent this might influence the couple, but the parents' consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties, for there is no dowry or bride-price to be resolved. The only property a /Kung owns
[422] personally consists of movables, and these are never owned in common by man and wife. Every artifact down to a single bead belongs to an individual, who takes his property with him in case of divorce.

Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way. They are free to remarry without restrictions.

Divorce is never obligatory and the grounds are not formalized; the desire of the couple concerned is the determining factor. A condition such as sterility, for example, or a wrongdoing such as adultery, might or might not lead to divorce, depending on how the couple felt about it. Mistreatment or failure to provide would certainly be considered justification for divorce, should they ever occur, but justifica-

196 woman calls her brothers-in-law by words formed from this root,
601 but not her sisters-in-law; whereas a man does the opposite. The result is, that anyone calling a connexion tshō is called tshō by that person. Other connexions are called twi, a word which seems to mean "to tie", "to net", as twishiba "a riempi net", or "string bag". A woman calls both parents-in-law and son- and daughter-in-law twi, but a man calls his wife's parents simply "father" and "mother". I think he calls his son- and daughter-in-law twi, but have no clear examples.

591 Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parents' home and stay there till the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact, the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so. This does not explain why a man calls his wife's parents "father" and "mother".

606 A man is supposed not to speak to his mother-in-law, nor a woman to her father-in-law. Of the former I had personal evidence: my Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. As to not speaking, I think that means more—not sitting near, not consorting with a person, rather than never addressing him. A Naron granny gave
183 me a vivid description of the family settling the name of a new-
553 born child. The relations present all quarrel over it: the father
578 says, he wants the little girl called after one of his people, but the
606 mother's mother tells him that is not at all necessary, the baby is to be named after her. This shows that speech between the two is not absolutely forbidden.

183 There is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister speaking or sitting together,—but here, too, the sitting, not the
593 speaking, is the important part. I have heard a fully grown brother and sister addressing each other, while passing at a good distance. This rule explains why the relationship between a man
604 and his brother's child is nearer than that with his sister's child,
601 the former being called ǂku "son", the latter tshō, a more distant term; whereas a woman calls her sister's son "son", her brother's son tshō.

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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[Text continues on page 70]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

834 organs and, though the women's breasts are naked (breasts are associated with
[831] nursing, not sex), the women would not expose their buttocks, which are definitely associated with sex, as the position for sexual intercourse is for the man to be at the back of the woman. When they urinate or defecate, men, women, and all but young
[514] children who are not yet toilet trained go away from the werf and squat behind bushes or in the tall grass out of sight.

The persons who express in the avoidances the sexual constraint required by the
602 incest taboo are none the less free to engage in other activities of life together.
835 Whether or not they must avoid joking and sitting near each other, whether or not they may marry, they may talk (except with SoWi or DaHu), hunt, share meat, share the water-hole, gather plant foods, cook, eat, make journeys, visit, exchange gifts, and, if they wish, huddle their scherms and fires together. And, although they must not direct sexual jokes or insults to each other, they may laugh as heartily when they overhear the jokes as relatives do who have the joking relationship together.

Because it is interesting to compare the pattern of the joking relationship with the pattern of marriage regulation, I have indicated it when I list the various categories of persons with whom marriage is forbidden or allowed.

Extension of the incest taboo to four categories

Marriage regulations, patterned upon the incest taboo as it applies in the relation-
582 ships of the nuclear family, and extended to certain other relationships because they
835 are considered to be like those of the nuclear family, forbid ego's marriage with four categories of persons, as follows: (1) members of the nuclear family and certain other consanguineous relatives; (2) certain affines; (3) step-parents, stepchildren, stepbrothers, stepsisters, and the close kin of ego's father's wife other than his mother (for example, ego's mother's co-wife's sister, who is 'like' his MoSi; (4) certain name relatives.

Category 1: ego's consanguineous relatives with whom marriage is forbidden

582 In Fig. 2 are listed the consanguineous relatives whom a /Kung must not marry.
602 The terms applied to them are given in their basic form only, all complicating
835 factors being omitted as they have no bearing on marriage regulations. The term which ego applies to the male in a given category appears first; the term applied to females follows. The joking status is indicated by 'yes' if ego has the joking relationship with the given category of relatives, 'no' if he has not.

The /Kung use the expression 'We are one people' when they refer to certain consanguineous relatives—e.g. any lineal kin and the close collaterals listed in Fig. 2—but they do not consider siblings of grandparents, fourth cousins or still more remote collaterals as being of 'one people' with themselves. The /Kung, who are capable of being pushed to logical conclusions by an interrogator, say that they recognize a degree of consanguinity among such collaterals but spoke of them as
[553] 'those people'. 'Those people would name their children for their own people', they said, for example. 'We name our children for our people.'

I made considerable effort to determine whether or not I should include third
[605] cousins as within 'one people'. Many of the informants from whom we gathered genealogical data did not know the names of their third cousins, but, when we estab-

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

lished the definition, with sticks and diagrams in the sand and the names of some actual people, ≠Toma, the leader of the band we lived with, insisted that third cousins were ' one's own people '. We ' red people ' might marry our own third cousins, he said, but Bushmen would know that they were one people and should not marry. 582 602 835 [605]

FIG. 2. *Consanguineous relatives whom ego must not marry* [601]

	Male	*Female*	*Joking*
Great-grandparents	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Grandparents	*/gu/na*	*tŭn*	yes
Parents	*ba*	*dai*	no
Siblings of parents	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Siblings	*/go*	*/kwi*	yes, same sex no, opp. sex
Cousins, 1st, 2nd, 3rd	*/gu/na*	*tŭn*	yes
Offspring	*/ka*	*≠ khai*	no
Nephews, nieces	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Grandchildren	*/gu/na*	*tŭn*	yes
Great-grandchildren	*tsu*	*//ga*	no

The kin who are likened, by being of the same generation, to his parents, to his offspring, and to his siblings, are those to whom a /Kung feels the marriage regulations are particularly directed. Siblings of parents are ' like ' parents, cousins are ' like ' siblings, nephews and nieces are ' like ' offspring. Marriage with all these is rigorously forbidden.

Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren is also forbidden but is not a concern. Age and consanguinity combine to push the very thought virtually out of mind. To the /Kung it seemed utterly ridiculous of me to inquire even about the collaterals in these generations. ' Those old people are already dead ', said someone. ' It will be for my grandson to mind the rules when the young children grow up ', said ≠Toma in effect. ' It is not my wish to marry a baby.'

Category 2: affines

The second category of persons to whom the incest taboo is extended is composed of certain affines. Their affinal relationship is considered to be indissoluble once it is established, and ego's marriage with them is prohibited, even though the person through whom the affinal relationship with ego is brought about be dead or divorced. The thought of incestuous relations with at least some of these affines (especially parents of spouse and spouses of offspring) is as horrifying to a /Kung as if they were members of his nuclear family. We learned of no instances of the taboo being broken among them.

The affines with whom marriage is forbidden, who correspond terminologically with ego's parents' generation, ego's own and that of his offspring, are listed in Fig. 3. Joking is allowed or not as it is with ego's kin in these generations.

Parents of ego's SoWi and DaHu are terminologically of ego's generation and he may joke with them but he must not marry them, for that would make his So and SoWi or Da and DaHu stepbrother and stepsister to each other, which would be most awkward.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Categories 3 and 4: step-parents, &c; name relatives 582

The third category to which the incest taboo is extended, step-parents, &c., needs 835 no elucidation.

The fourth category, certain name relatives, should be further described. The 553 name relationship, described in the paper on kin terminology,[1] is connected with a 608 system of naming children. The /Kung have no surnames. A /Kung father invariably names his first-born son or daughter for his parent of the same sex; usually the second-born for the parent of the child's mother; subsequent children for his own sibling or the sibling of the child's mother or the spouses of those siblings. He never names a child for himself or for the child's mother. Because this pattern of naming exists, the /Kung feel that if two non-consanguineous persons have the same name, they are likely to have had consanguineous connexions in the forgotten past, and from this concept the /Kung have developed what we called their name relationship. In a system too complex to summarize here they apply kin terms to persons on the basis of their names.

The names have passed from family to family, through intermarriage in the region, and from generation to generation, to such an extent that every /Kung of [619] the region whom we interrogated on the subject had a kin term for every other /Kung, except for one man who had once met four /Kung from afar for whom he had no terms. This had made him uneasy.

The /Kung welcome the sense of belonging to an in-group which the name rela- 553 tionship affords them. They welcome also the fact that they know how to behave with 602 people with respect to the avoidances. They fear (*koa*) to make a mistake about joking 608 and sitting, they say, and feel secure in righteousness and propriety when they know what behaviour is correct and conform to it. The kin terms sort out the whole /Kung population of the region for them. They avoid joking with name relatives whose names classify them with kin or affines of the generation of parents, or with offspring or with a sibling of opposite sex or with great-grandparents. They may joke with name relatives whose names classify them with grandparents, a sibling of the same sex, or the spouse. (Cf. Figs. 2 and 3.)

The incest taboo is extended to name relatives. If ego is forbidden to marry them 553 because of the way their names classify them, he also does not joke with them. But, 582 as we shall see when we consider approved marriages, the system does not maintain 608 perfect consistency between joking and marriage among name relatives, and it does 835 not follow that if ego must not joke he therefore must not marry. The incest taboo is extended specifically to the following name relatives: (1) anyone who has the name of ego's parent or offspring; (2) the parent, offspring or sibling of opposite sex of anyone who has the same name as ego, (3) anyone who has the same name as ego's spouse's parent or his offspring's spouse. ≠Toma explained that it would 'sound as though' one had married his parent, child, or one of these close affines.

Deviations from the rules 183

The /Kung conform strictly to their marriage regulations in the first two cate- 582 gories, kindred and affines. None of the persons whose genealogical records we 835 605

[1] Marshall, op. cit., pp. 13–15, 22–23.

183 gathered (about 175) had married lineal kin or collaterals, at least through first cousins.
582 However, informants told about two /Kung men in B.P. who had married their
835 cousins: we could not find out which type of cousins. What was interesting was the
605 attitude of the informants. They said the men should not have done this, but there was no talk of madness or danger or expressions of horror such as we had observed when incest was spoken of at other times. No punishments, social or divine, had been meted out, according to the informants. Some said they thought it was not too bad a thing for a man to do, especially if the woman were a FaSiDa, who is not, they said, so much like your sister as a MoSiDa. I believe that the anomaly of the system's allowing joking with cousins, although it prohibits marriage, mitigates, in all probability, the force of the incest taboo and accounts to some extent for the tolerance towards the breakers of this rule.

How much deviation there is in marrying second and third cousins we do not
[124] know. We soon gave up trying to gather data on relatives more remote than first cousins because informants so often did not know the names and we could not rely on the information.

582 One account came to our ears of a man who had violated the incest taboo with his
627 stepdaughter. He was /Gunda Legs, the MoBr of old Gau of Band 1, and he lived with Band 9. He is dead now. What he did was so outside the good and the normal
684 that it could be accounted for only by madness. He had drunk the milk of a young
835 gemsbok doe, the people told us, and this is what had made him mad. Something
159 came from his forehead and went in and out, a sort of swelling. After that he fell in love with his stepdaughter, ≠Nisa, and married her, and both she and her mother
[753] were his wives at the same time. The people 'laughed at him' so much because he had made such a horrifying 'mistake' that he took his stepdaughter and lived apart from his band—the only instance we know of a man and woman living alone. They had a son, ≠Toma, who died young. When /Gunda's madness waned he sometimes came back to his people; he would go again when his madness returned. People said they did not understand why ≠Nisa went with him. They mocked at her, said that she was *dole*, 'bad', and that it was 'nonsense' to fall in love with one's stepfather. Our informants laughed uneasily when they told about it as they laugh when they
[154] tell of vultures eating their meat or of being chased by fierce bees when they try to take a honeycomb. There came to my mind a penetrating remark made by //Kushay, the wife of /Qui in Band 1, which might, I thought, be applied to ≠Nisa. //Kushay had said, 'When a Bushman girl goes against the customs of her people and people talk about her and say she is bad, she is very unhappy. She would hear the people talking and be ashamed and would come to them angry—angry because she is ashamed', or, I thought, go away because she is ashamed.

Deviations occur in the fourth category. Two men we met had married women
183 with the same names as their mothers. A man named /Ti/kay married the daughter of
553 another /Ti/kay, and there were other such instances. /Qui, the husband of the above
582 //Kushay in Band 1, said he proposed to do this himself. The girl's family had flatly
608 refused, but he was going to keep on trying. ≠Toma said he would not do this but
835 he sees some people doing these things. There are not enough women whom a man may properly marry, he said, and he would be in favour of changing the marriage prohibitions among name relatives so that a man need avoid only ugly women.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The /Kung extend the incest taboo to certain categories of persons outside the nuclear family because they hold that the relationships resemble the relationships of the nuclear family and that it would therefore be incestuous to unite them in marriage. A man will say explicitly that he must not marry this or that woman because it would be 'like' marrying his mother, daughter, or sister. 582 835

The sexual constraints required between persons to whom the immediate or the extended incest taboo applies find expression in the marriage regulations and, in a secondary way, I believe, in certain avoidances which express constraint, namely: (1) Sexual joking and sexual insults, which are permitted between persons who have the joking relationship and must be avoided by others. (2) A sitting taboo. The same persons who must avoid sexual joking must also avoid sitting close to each other or to each other's family fires—with two exceptions, namely: (*a*) parents and offspring, who must never make sexual jokes but who do not at any age observe the sitting taboo; and (*b*) all young children, including siblings. The /Kung believe that the persons who must observe the sitting taboo should not allow their genital organs to touch the same spot. No great distance need separate these persons when they sit. About 18 inches is a minimum but is sufficient. The taboo is applied without sex differentiation: men must not sit near men or women, or women near women or men if they do not have the joking relationship. (3) With the exception of siblings of any age, the same persons who avoid joking avoid using each other's names in direct address. They use a kin term instead or the men may use a respect term for each other—*/nau*, 'old man'. (4) Brothers and sisters do not sit near each other when they reach adolescence and, after marriage, when they have dwelling-places of their own, do not enter each other's scherms (shelters). (5) Parents and SoWi and DaHu, in addition to observing the joking, sitting, and name avoidances, do not enter each other's scherms and do not speak to each other in the first few years of their affinal relationship. They are the only persons in /Kung society who must avoid speaking together. After three children have been born, this avoidance is eased somewhat. In-laws may then speak occasionally; once in two or three days would be considered permissible. This interesting avoidance, so varied in intensity and so widely spread in human societies, appears in /Kung society to afford whatever benefits it has without imposing great hardship at any time. A daughter-in-law may lean her scherm upon her husband's parents' scherm and build her fire only about four or five feet away, and what she wants to say to her parents-in-law she says aloud to her husband or child and her parents-in-law overhear and respond in like manner. A son-in-law also could communicate in this way. I think only a /Kung or an informed observer would know that the in-laws were not speaking directly to each other. 602 835 [593] [593] 606

The symbolism or expression of sexual constraint which underlies the joking and sitting avoidances is also observable in the modesty of these people. I believe that their modesty is not obedience to a specific taboo, like the sitting taboo, but is a more general response to being constantly in the presence of persons to whom the incest taboo applies, before whom any expression of sex would be improper. The general demeanour of the /Kung is modest. The dancing, if it gives any expression at all to sexuality or eroticism, conveys it with such restraint and delicacy as to be in extreme contrast to the dancing of the neighbouring Bantu tribes. Both men and women among the /Kung are exceedingly modest about exposing their genital 834 [831]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. 513 593
Individual adjustments are made.

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must 582
have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung 224
boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does 884
not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great
antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When
the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or [304]
by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each
boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female
on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed
into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the
will to hunt, good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and
to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn
celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt.
It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness.

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may
elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of 585
hunting is ceremonially linked with marriage. At the time of the wedding, the boy 224
must bring to his bride's parents an animal that he himself has killed. The animal
he brings must not be eaten by the bride.

A boy who never killed any large meat animal would not be given a wife, in- 582
formants said. This was why the strange old deviant, /Gaishay, had remained a 589
bachelor. For reasons no one understood he could not hunt; he gathered veldkos
like a woman. Gossip had it that twice he had tried to drag a woman against her will [462]
into his scherm but had not succeeded. Informants remarked, 'Women like meat.'
They do, but there is far more to it than that.

As John Marshall shows in his film, *The Hunters*, the primary sources of physical 562
life, sex and food, are involved. In /Kung concept they are linked together, and, as 828
they pertain to men, their duality is lifted to oneness in the being of the man, who 224
is the sexually powerful male and the provider, the hunter. Power as a man and a male
and worthiness and dignity are associated with hunting and not with the failure to hunt.

Since they are related, both the sexual and the hunting powers of the young man
can be captured at once with a bride. For the first several years of marriage the 583
boy goes to live with his bride's parents, or her people, should her parents be dead, [591]
to hunt for them. The parents of girls speak constantly of wanting their sons- [606]
in-law to provide them with food as though it were an obsession. 'We are old',
they say, or 'We shall soon be old [whether this is actually true or not]; we need a
young man to hunt for us'; 'our daughter's husband must get us something to eat';
'we need karosses'; 'we want meat'—these are their refrains.

Another value the /Kung place upon the boy's hunting during his bride-service
appears in their belief that if the husband hunts for his wife and feeds her while she [581]
is still a growing child she becomes the more his. Food seems to be a main concern [593]
in bride-service, but the people also say that they want to be sure that the boy
measures up in every way and will take good care of their daughter, and that the
girl will have time to get used to her husband.

/156 cont./

584 The betrothal, which takes place immediately before the couple move into the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl's wrist, as can be seen in Photograph 44. Since, however, "betrothal" and "marriage" are separated only by the walk to the hut, the seizing of the bride's forearm may be regarded as concluding the marriage.

The seizing of the forearm is a fairly violent gesture, and on the way to the hut the bride allows herself in a certain sense to be dragged along. Could it be that this perhaps represents a vestige of an earlier custom of abducting the woman?

●606 It is curious how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit down with her. If, for instance, he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law will go away. If he is absolutely forced to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.

I noted that most women had two or three children who
163 were about two to three years apart (see p. 5).

The woman goes to the family or settlement of her husband,
591 not the other way around. The fact that the young couple stays for some time in the settlement of the wife's parents, roughly until the first child is born, may have given rise to error. Later on, the couple always returns to the man's horde.

582 A man may not marry his own sister and likewise, naturally, neither his mother nor daughter. Other degrees of relationship constitute no absolute obstacle to marriage.

As a rule, however, one does not marry within his own family and, if possible, not even within his own horde. Preferably women are brought in from far away, often from groups speaking another language (Naroon, Genkuin, Hei-um [Heikum]).

851 The birth of a child does not necessitate a temporary separation of the marriage partners.

Marital fidelity seems to be observed to a fair extent. The
684 adulterer is killed, and the wife is treated according to the
837 temperament of the deceived husband, that is, she is given a more or less violent beating.

[30 cont.]

881 old people are seated. The young man may not eat any of the meat; he may only drink the soup, which is also rubbed on him. From now on he is regarded as an adult, a marriageable man;
582 his parents ask him whether he wants to be married. The boy
584 commonly replies: "I am still weak and do not know whether I can take good care of her." Then the parents allow him to wait until he himself wants to marry. Von Zastrow and Vedder (p. 415) report the following concerning the boys' initiation:

[31] "On this occasion the boys are told how they must
881 conduct themselves when they go out to seek a wife, and how they
[867] must behave towards a mother-in-law. To sit down by an evening
[584] fire next to an adult girl is tantamount to a marriage proposal, even if not a word is spoken. Under no circumstances may one
[606] look at the mother-in-law. They also practice animal dances in the bush, the kind that are performed by the men later at joyous celebrations, and also in times of distress. Finally, the young
[304] Bushman receives the tribal marking, a number of skin incisions on the cheek below the temple. Each tribe has a certain number of skin incisions. In order to make them stand out clearly even
[386] after healing, pulverized charcoal is put into the incisions. As a result, the tribal marking later looks like a black streak on the yellow skin.

224 "There is nothing against applying another mark on the
304 future huntsman during this celebration, namely, the hunting
881 inoculation. This must be done by a man who has special powers and knowledge at his disposal. In order to sharpen the future hunter's eye for game generally and certain game in particular, it is necessary to make a deep incision between the eyes over the root of the nose, into which the practiced hand of the surgeon sprinkles a powder of dried and pulverized parts of all kinds of game.

"The inoculation may later be repeated several times if the hunter has no luck in hunting.

881 "A person who has received the tribal marking is now re-
884 garded as a Bush 'man'; he can make his own bow and arrows, like those of the old people, and go hunting with them. Also, the way is now open for him to found a family."

582 It practically never happens that a Bushman remains

MASARWA
OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

600 769 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 [774] Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the [825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals, [824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe [776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

●606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say 551 602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo 105 delta, J. Seiner reports:

101 "The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting. [563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe [144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease, AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY,

ǂAUIN NAGAU

[72 cont.] The SUITOR

584 brings his future parents-in-law presents in the form of game and
[583] veldkost, sometimes for more than a year. If matters go smoothly,
[585] he takes the girl to his hut after a while, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. If, in spite of her parents' consent, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to state her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man finally takes the girl forcibly into his hut. Should a man do vio-
684 lence to a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be

301

Fig. 26. Nagau Girl in Festive Finery of Ostrich Egg Beads (Girls' Initiation).

killed. There are no special ceremonies when the marriage is
585 concluded. The engagement, undertaken before the couple settles in the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl around her wrist. Since, however, the "engagement" and "wedding" are separated in time only by the walk to the hut, the grasping of the bride's lower arm may be regarded as concluding the marriage. [Fig. 26 appears here.] The seizing of the lower arm is done rather violently, and on the walk to the hut the bride allows herself to be dragged along to a certain extent.
606 It is curious to note how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids his mother-in-law's company and does not sit with her. For example, when he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law goes away. If it is absolutely necessary for him to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.
163 Kaufmann observed that most of the women had two or three

Exchange of wives

is practised among some of the Kalahari groups but not by 184 837 the *Hei-||om*.

Among the *Hei-||om* a young man eligible for marriage 584 is known as a *!gari-khoib*. When he desires to marry he first speaks about the matter to his best friend (*|hosab*) who then approaches the parents of the prospective bride. The latter will reply, "We are poor, we cannot afford to give our daughter away." Thereupon the *|hosab* returns to the suitor and tells him to go and speak to the mother himself. The suitor then proceeds to the *||gāus* of the girl's mother, taking his bow and arrows with him. On arrival at her hut he sits down some distance away and says, "I want your daughter." The mother replies, "We are too poor to give our daughter away," to which the suitor responds, "I have come myself to speak to you. If you die, I will bury you, if your husband dies I will bury him," thereby implying that he has become one of the family and prepared to share their sorrows and sufferings. The mother then replies, "You 584 are right, you may take her. I will do as you say and see 585 whether you will carry out your promises," and taking his bow and arrows, proceeds to her daughter's hut (*!gari-khois oms*) and places them in the hut. Then, without speaking to her daughter, she returns to her own hut. The daughter knows to whom the bow and arrows belong. The suitor goes to the girl's hut towards dusk but does not speak to her. Being still shy and afraid of men, she may run away but does not go to her mother's hut as she is afraid of being punished. He remains in the *!gari-khois oms*, sleeping in it at night and hunting during the day. If, after two or three days, she does not come back he returns to his *||gāus* and, after obtaining some beadwork from his mother and sister, presents it to his mother-in-law through his sister. He returns to his bride's hut in the meantime. The mother-in-law must accept the present (*||ama-xun*) as the marriage was completed when she took his bow and arrows and placed them in her daughter's hut. Towards midnight the mother takes her daughter to the *!gari-khois oms* and, if necessary, removes her there by force. The bride and bridegroom do not speak to each other nor, under normal circumstances, are the presents sent to her mother by the bridegroom until they have slept together. After the marriage has been consummated the husband goes out hunting to obtain meat for the *!gu-ǂa-ǂnab* or the dance after an animal was killed for the purpose of making a wife's leather skirt. The young couple continue to live in the *!gari-khois oms* for some months before taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own *||gāus* his mother builds a hut for them.

Parent-in-law taboo is met with among all the tribes. The 606 son-in-law neither looks at nor speaks to his mother-in-law, nor will he mention her name or enter her hut even in case of sickness or during her absence. When, in the absence of

606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as " my son-in-law " or " my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidently they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

847 Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.

844 A pregnant woman is generally treated with great consideration. For the first confinement it is customary for her to [848] return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-//om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the 846 infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner 848 it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies 165 follow in rapid succession during the course of married life 847 but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted [845] the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five [162] or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood. Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance [593] is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among 553 the *Hei-//om* each child is generally given three names, [551] namely a first name, a second name and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother and the second name by the

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Xam

193 ã or ŋ or a nasalization of the vowel, as ǃkõŋ "grandfather", ǁkã "brother", ⊙pwoŋ "son", ǁk'en "child's father-in-law".
[196] These endings are particularly interesting, as otherwise the
[601] ǃxam language has no signs of gender. Perhaps they show that in some former stage this was a language with genders, just as English still shows its old division into genders in its names for classes of people.

601 On the use of tata a Bushman said: "We say ǃbo, we say i oa,
[192] but the children who are lately there say tata; they should say ǃbo. The habit of saying tata comes from the Boers."

⊙pwa is the ǃxam diminutive; in allied dialects it denotes
193 "child", which in ǃxam is ǃkwã. That ⊙poŋ "son" and ⊙pwaxai
196 "daughter" are derivatives is clear. I think that ⊙pwai-ǃhĩ
601 "father-in-law" is derived from ⊙pwa "child" and ǃhaŋ "to marry", the man whose child one marries. ⊙pwaitente would be the feminine form thereof. ǃha "husband", "wife" is certainly derived from ǃhaŋ.

The second, more unusual title for parents-in-law I cannot explain; ǃkwi is "person", but I have no example of any other use of ǁk'a, except that it seems part of the terms ǁk'en and ǁk'aiti, applied to the parents of a son- or daughter-in-law, or of a brother- or sister-in-law.

On a man's behaviour to his parents-in-law we have the
● 606 following note: "They (the sons-in-law) do not talk to their mother-in-law in haste, for they are silent. Their father-in-law is the one with whom they talk. He (the son-in-law) acts like this, at another time he does not talk to his father-in-law; he merely talks to his wife, his wife is the one who talks to her father. He also acts like this to his mother-in-law, he speaks with her. He speaks with her, he is silent."

This looks as if there are occasions on which one or other of the wife's parents may be addressed, and others when they may
[538] not. I have noticed in their stories of the Mantis, that his adopted daughter's husband does not often address the Mantis directly, but says to his own son, "Tell Grandfather so-and-so," which the child does. However, in one story the two men speak directly to each other.

ǁkã, ǁkaxai "brother", "sister", may be derived from ǁka
196 "like", "to be like". In Nama ǁkab means "the same". The
601 adjective ǃkori simply means "big".

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

196 woman calls her brothers-in-law by words formed from this root,
601 but not her sisters-in-law; whereas a man does the opposite. The result is, that anyone calling a connexion tshō is called tshō by that person. Other connexions are called twi, a word which seems to mean "to tie", "to net", as twishiba "a riempi net", or "string bag". A woman calls both parents-in-law and son- and daughter-in-law twi, but a man calls his wife's parents simply "father" and "mother". I think he calls his son- and daughter-in-law twi, but have no clear examples.

Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to
591 be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parents' home and stay there till the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact, the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so. This does not explain why a man calls his wife's parents "father" and "mother".

A man is supposed not to speak to his mother-in-law, nor a
606 woman to her father-in-law. Of the former I had personal evidence: my Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. As to not speaking, I think that means more—not sitting near, not consorting with a person, rather than never addressing him. A Naron granny gave
183 me a vivid description of the family settling the name of a new-
553 born child. The relations present all quarrel over it: the father
578 says, he wants the little girl called after one of his people, but the
606 mother's mother tells him that is not at all necessary, the baby is to be named after her. This shows that speech between the two is not absolutely forbidden.

There is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister
183 speaking or sitting together,—but here, too, the sitting, not the
593 speaking, is the important part. I have heard a fully grown brother and sister addressing each other, while passing at a good distance. This rule explains why the relationship between a man
604 and his brother's child is nearer than that with his sister's child,
601 the former being called ūku "son", the latter tshō, a more distant term; whereas a woman calls her sister's son "son", her brother's son tshō.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

vour it. Thus, according to our observations, a !Kung band gets on an average 224
only about fifteen to eighteen large animals in a usual year.

The meat of the large game animals does not belong to the hunters to do with as they choose. However, they always have the prerogative of eating the [212]
liver at the site of the kill and, if their hunger is not satisfied, they may eat more. The bulk of the meat is then carried to the band, where it is distributed among the members according to a system. The meat belongs to the owner of the first arrow that penetrates the animal so that it stays in. He has the responsibility of making the first distribution.

Anyone in the band may be the owner of the arrow. A hunter carries 224
arrows he acquires in three different ways. Each man has his own that he 411
makes himself, shaping the points with some little distinction so that he 422
will know them from the arrows of other men. In addition he carries 426
arrows that have been given or lent to him. When an arrow is given to him, 431
he is the owner as much as if he had made it himself, but if he uses that 571
arrow he must make a special gift of meat to the donor. When he uses an arrow that is loaned to him, he merely shoots for the person who lent it and who remains the owner of the arrow. !Kung society makes a great deal of giving and lending arrows. Women and old men, as well as men in their hunting prime, receive arrows as gifts and may give them or lend them to a hunter, asking him to shoot for them. A hunter cannot refuse an arrow— [576]
as a person cannot refuse any gift—without offending the giver. He accepts the arrow and with it an obligation, but he gives or lends arrows in return and involves others in obligation to him. Hunters choose to use one or another of their arrows, with the result that the responsibility of distributing the meat, with its advantages and obligations, is shared by members of the band as is the meat itself.

In the first distribution the whole animal is divided among a few 224
persons, who receive whole sections on the bone, unless the animal is so large that the meat has to be cut off in strips to be carried. The first of these persons are the hunters, each of whom gets a fore- or hindquarter or the equivalent. The giver of the arrow (if the arrow was not made by the owner himself) receives a generous portion. The owner of the arrow, who may be one of the hunters, or anybody, keeps the rest.

In the second distribution, the several persons who got meat in the 224
first distribution cut up their shares and distribute them further. The 602
amounts depend on the number of persons involved, but should be as much as the giver can manage. In the second distribution, close kinship is the factor that sets the pattern of giving. A man's first obligation at this point [606]
is to his wife's parents. He must give to them the best he has in as generous [593]
portions as he can while still fulfilling other primary obligations, which are to his own parents, his spouse, and offspring. He keeps a portion for himself at this time and from it would give to his siblings, to his wife's siblings, if

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mountains in the west of Great Namaqualand.[1] Most of the Bushmen, however, now live in flat country, where such natural shelters are denied them. Wherever they stay for more than a couple of days, crude bush huts are put up by the women. These are usually erected within walking distance of a waterhole, about an hour or two away. The people never live at the water itself, for fear of frightening away the game, which is most easily shot or trapped when coming to drink. 342 361 [462] [312] [224]

Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, "When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts."[2] 361 622 342 [372]

There seems to be as a rule no fixed form of settlement. All the families drinking at one waterhole may live in one group, or there may be several lots of huts scattered about in different directions. Among the Cape Bushmen, for example, one might find three or four huts standing together, or several huts dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, and the same appears to be true of the Naron.[3] 361

Among the Heikum, however, the camp is said to be laid out on a definite plan.[4] As a rule all the members of the band live in a common encampment or "werft" (*//gaus*). The huts of the married families are placed at a certain interval apart, and arranged in the form of an irregular circle. At or near the middle of the camp is situated a large tree, known as the */heis*. The hut of the chief (*gei-khoib*) is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. The brother of the *gei-khoib* live immediately to his left on the south side of the *//gaus*, and beyond them are placed the other married families of the community. The right or north side of the *//gaus* is reserved entirely for visiting sisters of the *gei-khoib* and their families, while any of his married daughters who may be visiting him erects her hut directly opposite to his at the furthest extremity of the camp. "This is done on account of the parent-in-law taboo (*tao-sas*) which [184] [606]

[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii; *idem*, *The Naron*, 4.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[4] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50–2; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

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361 [606] exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes." Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent [882] young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young men; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of married people. The dancing place is to the west within the circle.

"The large tree (*!heis*) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved 361 as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women 562 are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely, [622] the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for kindling the principal fire (*!ou-|ais*) or for other menial purposes when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this *!heis*. Under [372] it is made the first fire (*!hei-|ais*) on the establishment of a new [224] *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed in the chase."[1]

Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among 114 all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the 361 only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. "Where several families live together," he says, "the huts are ranged in a circle, the head of the group ("Dorfälteste") living in the east."[3]

Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families 592 are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they [595] get on well; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share [882] a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree, and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with [589] a boy; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone, are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

342 The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52. [2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4-5; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 51; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138.

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only to the treatment of women and their paramours; nothing is 114 684
said of the wife's remedies when her husband is unfaithful.

Besides this sexual relation between husband and wife, there is 581
also the economic relation. The two share the same hut, and take their [264]
meals in common. It is the duty of the wife to build the hut, to provide [462]
the vegetable food, the firewood and water, and to cook the meals;
while it is the duty of the husband to provide game for himself and
his wife, to make her clothes and certain of her utensils. The economic 562
burden of the woman has led some writers to depreciate her status, 593
but on the whole it would seem that the women are the companions
of their husbands, not their servants, and will often take their own way,
in spite of the man's wishes. The position of the wife within the house-
hold is, in fact, hardly inferior to that of her husband, who, it is said,
is often enough henpecked by her![1]

In addition to establishing this special relationship between husband 591
and wife, marriage leads also to the formation of further special 606
relationships, especially with the parents-in-law. After marriage, as
we have seen, the young couple may remain for some time with the
wife's parents before finally taking up their residence in the husband's
group. Among the Kung and the neighbouring tribes to the east the [583]
husband has during this period of temporary matrilocal residence to
hunt for his parents-in-law and to supply them in this way with animal
food. If he neglects to do this, says Vedder, his wife may be taken away
from him.[2] We thus get a special economic relationship between a
man and his wife's parents, based directly upon the fact of his marriage.
Probably something similar exists among the other Bushman tribes
having temporary matrilocal residence, but no concrete information is
available about them in this connection.

Among almost all the Bushmen, moreover, marriage further 606
creates a special form of etiquette between a man and his parents-in-
law, and in some cases between a woman and her husband's parents.
Thus among the Kung the husband has to avoid his mother-in-law,
the wife apparently also her father-in-law. The wife's parents do not
enter the hut of the young couple, nor again may the husband enter
their hut. The game which he kills for his father-in-law he lays down
in front of the latter's hut.[3] Similarly among the Naron a man is not

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; Chapman, op. cit., i, 291; Lebzelter, op. cit., 14. For an unsympathetic account of the wife's status, cf. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 122.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 8; Chapman, op. cit., i, 258.
[3] Vedder, loc. cit.; Chapman, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 63.

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606 supposed to speak to his wife's mother, nor a woman to her husband's
[114] father. Of the former Miss Bleek had personal evidence, since her Bushman kitchen boy would not enter a room in which his mother-in-law happened to be. Actually it seems that sitting near or consorting together is avoided, rather than the actual addressing of the person concerned.[1] So, too, among the Auen a man avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit together with her. If he approaches a fire in order to sit there, she gets up and goes away; if he wants to speak to her, he must do so from a distance.[2] Among the Heikum, again, as we have seen, a young couple who are visiting the wife's parents will erect their hut on the opposite side of the camp, so that the husband may not be too near his parents-in-law. He neither looks at nor speaks to his wife's mother, nor will he mention her name or enter her hut even in case of sickness or during her absence. When she is away and he wishes to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never
[601] refer to each other by name, but always as "my son-in-law" or "my mother-in-law". The son-in-law also does not associate with his father-in-law, but avoids him in the same way. Should they meet accidentally, they may exchange greetings, but no general conversation will take place, nor will they look each other in the face.[3] A similar avoidance of the parents-in-law among the Cape Bushmen is indicated in one of the texts obtained by Bleek and Lloyd, but no details are given.[4]

Dissolution of Marriage

The duration of married life varies. Among the Naron, says
586 Miss Bleek, "One sees couples who have grown old together, on the other hand one hears of cases of desertion on either side. If there are no children, no one worries about it. If there are youngsters, the relations try to bring the parents to reason." Where separation does take place, the children belong to the father; an unweaned child must go with the mother, but the father can claim it later if he likes.
[587] People who have separated are not ostracized, but both parties generally marry again.[5] No indication is given of the grounds for separation. Among the Auen divorce is rare, and only takes place

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 64; *idem*, *Naron*, 32.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 156.
[3] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 93–4.
[4] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 58.
[5] *Naron*, 34.

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ceremony is the avoidance of the parents, which is symbolic of the incest taboo. Any (preferably young) kinswoman who is tall enough and strong enough, whether she herself is married or not, and whether or not she has the joking relation with the bride, may carry the bride; and any may attend her. Only the mother absolutely must not do so. Likewise the groom's father must not attend him. Neither pair of parents go to sit by the wedding fire, for they must not sit near their son's wife or daughter's husband, nor speak to them. Guests of mature years might go and sit by the wedding fire only if they have the joking relationship with both the bride and the groom. Very young guests, such as we saw at /Nai's and /Gunda's fire, may go, whether they joke or not with the bride and groom, because the avoidances are not stringently observed with young children.

585 593 602

Termination of marriage and remarriage

Widows and widowers are not avoided in any special way because of their widowhood. 589 768

If her husband dies, a young widow usually returns to her own parents or lives with one of her own siblings, but, if her people are dead, or if it is her preference, she may stay on with her deceased husband's people. It is the duty of her HuBr to hunt for her if she needs his support. [736] [607]

Several possibilities are open to a young widower: rarely he might stay with his deceased wife's parents or siblings; more likely he would return to his own parents or siblings; and, when he marries again, he goes into matrilocal residence with the new bride. In any case, a man is responsible for his wife's parents and young siblings, and, if they depended on him for support, he would take them with him. They would be likely to prefer, however, to live with an adult son, daughter, or sibling of their own if they had any. [587] [736]

Old widowers or widows whose own parents are dead usually live with either a son or daughter, or perhaps with their own sibling—as they wish.

The surviving spouse is free to marry again within the regulations of the extended incest taboo, which applies to all marriages. 587 885

Parents would arrange the subsequent marriage of a widowed boy or girl. Adults may make their own arrangements directly. My impression was that persons might be considered fully adult somewhere in their middle or late twenties.

An adult man takes the initiative and asks the woman to marry him. Robert Dyson in the 1951 expedition learned that one way for a man to ask a woman to marry him is to present her with a bow and arrow. If she accepts it she indicates her willingness to consider his suit.

No restriction of time is put upon the remarriage of a widower, but a widow should not remarry until one rainy season has passed. She is then considered 'clean' and may marry again. ≠Toma said, 'The rain washes (*//num*) the death away from the widow.' *//Num* is the gesture of wiping a dish with one finger and then licking the finger. /Ti/kay of Band 9 said that some men wait for a rainy season to pass, but that others would be pleased the husband was dead and, without waiting, say, 'This is my chance.' One interpreter understood that the widow had to take off her kaross and spend a night out, letting the rain fall on her, but ≠Toma said this was not what 587 589

601 The sibling category is divided on the basis of sex. Ego jokes with a sibling of
602 the same sex as his own and is prohibited from joking with a sibling of opposite
[593] sex. This creates a 'cross' and 'parallel' pattern which is observed in the use of the terms, man-speaking and woman-speaking, among persons classified by name with siblings and among affines of the sibling category.

Sex is not the differentiating factor with respect to the joking relationship among groups of kin apart from siblings. All other consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives are grouped in the joking or non-joking dichotomy according to their categorical classification, as follows:

Ego has the joking relationship with anyone of either sex who is classified with himself or herself, to whom ego applies the term */gu/ns* (or *tsu/ga* w.s.) or *tŭn*. Consanguineous kin may be so classified by generation (i.e. cousins) as shown in Diagram 1, or by the factor of the name, i.e. the person for whom ego is named or persons named for ego. Ego has the joking relationship with grandparents and grandchildren unless the factor of the name places ego terminologically in the other, non-joking, division. Among affines, ego has the joking relationship with his or her spouse, and
607 also with BrWi and WiSi, *tŭn* m.s., and SiHu and HuBr, *tsu/ga* w.s., who are all considered suitable persons to marry. Ego may joke with affines termed */ŭmba* and */ŭndai*, who are in ego's generation terminologically as they are his offspring's spouses' parents. Persons named for any of the above affines would be termed */gu/ns* (or *tsu/ga* w.s.) or *tŭn* by ego and ego could joke with them. He could joke also with any name-relatives to whom he applies these terms.

602 Joking is prohibited with parents and offspring of either sex and with anyone of either sex who is classified with them by being of the same generation, when the generational method of applying terms is used, or by being named for them, when the homonymous method of applying terms is used; or with name-relatives classified in this category. Joking is also prohibited with affines associated with this category, i.e. parents of spouse, and spouses of offspring. The terms which are associated with the non-joking status are the parent-child terms, and *tsu*, *//ga* or *dilguma*, and the affinal terms, *≠tum*, *tsu/ga* m.s. and */utsu*.

When informants were trying to explain the joking relationship to us they had an additional statement to make about the prohibition of joking. They said that, as they must not joke with their parents or offspring, in like manner they must not joke with a person and the offspring of that person. This concept is doubtless associated with the generational method of applying terms. It is not thought to be a contradiction or inconsistency to joke both with a person and the offspring of that person when the homonymous method of applying terms is followed. When a person is named for another his biological position is disregarded and he is terminologically classified with the person for whom he is named. The homonymous method is never applied nor the biological position disregarded in the nuclear family or among primary affines.

Joking, of course, is always reciprocal; if ego may joke with A, A may joke with ego. If B is named for A, the term which ego applies to B always has the same joking status as the term he applies to A. Ego's joking status is the same with both persons of a married couple (cf. p. 18), except in the case of name-relatives with whom he assumes his status individually (cf. p. 15).

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571 we were unable to find a precise translation of */ŏassi* but think it connotes the *we* as
619 distinct from the *they* and has an overtone of something good and safe. The phrase is
621 an opposite of *ju dole*. *Dole* means strange or harmful or bad—evidently synonyms to the /Kung.

602 Because there were so many kinship ties among the people and because they have
621 a system (the name relationship—to be mentioned later) by which they apply kin
[608] terms to persons who are not consanguineous relatives or affines, I wondered for a time if we should find that the people who call themselves *ju /ŏassi* comprised a kin group of the type which Murdock calls a deme.[1] A deme is bilateral and endogamous, Murdock says, 'comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite the members'. Though the Nyae Nyae region has the elements of a deme, I am convinced that it does not constitute, strictly speaking, an organized kin group of this type, of which the people are conscious as a social form. The endogamy of the region is customary and preferred, but not required by a social rule, and it is not from the group of people as a whole who are *ju /ŏassi* that social regulation derives.

Marriage regulations: the incest taboo and its expression in avoidances

582 Marriages are forbidden in /Kung social organization on one basis only. That
835 basis is incest. In common with nearly all mankind (excepting, of course, the Pharaohs and a few other rare examples), the /Kung incest taboo prohibits marriage or sexual relations between Fa and Da, Mo and So, Br and Si. The incest taboo is extended beyond the nuclear family to certain additional categories of persons, and marriage with them is also rigorously forbidden by /Kung social law.

[842] The /Kung did not express the belief that in-breeding *per se* produces inferior off-
spring and must for that reason be avoided. Although they believe that in conception the semen unites with menstrual blood, their language does not use the image of blood as ours does. They do not think of relatives as having the same blood or any
[827] physical substance in common, actually or by way of figure of speech to represent inheritable characteristics, in so far as we know, and do not think that common inheritance is somehow what makes it wrong to marry close kin.

The thought that incest has been avoided by mankind because it would be exceedingly disruptive to the internal cohesion of the nuclear family comes to the mind of the analyst of social forms but not to the minds of /Kung informants. And no mention was made of the obvious social advantage of marrying outside the nuclear family and thereby weaving a supporting web of kinship with many other families and bands.

The /Kung feel a deep, internalized, pervading horror of incest which they do not try to explain. Incest with parent, offspring, or sibling is unthinkable. 'Only dogs do that—not men.' 'It would be madness (*di*).' 'It would be dangerous, like going up to a lion.' Many refused to speak with me about such 'bad things'.

571 the Bushmen were saying of themselves, in effect,
619 'We are not animals, we are human beings', a con-
621 notation we did not discover in the thinking of the /Kung themselves. Ledimo, our chief interpreter, also a Chwana, said the phrase had the connotation of 'perfect persons' and that 'clean' and 'empty' were aspects of the word */ŏassi*, he thought. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas paraphrased it in the title of her book, *The Harmless People* (Knopf, New York; Martin Secker & Warburg, London, 1959).

[1] Murdock, op. cit., pp. 62–63.

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Categories 3 and 4: step-parents, &c; name relatives

The third category to which the incest taboo is extended, step-parents, &c., needs no elucidation.

The fourth category, certain name relatives, should be further described. The name relationship, described in the paper on kin terminology,[1] is connected with a system of naming children. The /Kung have no surnames. A /Kung father invariably names his first-born son or daughter for his parent of the same sex; usually the second-born for the parent of the child's mother; subsequent children for his own sibling or the sibling of the child's mother or the spouses of those siblings. He never names a child for himself or for the child's mother. Because this pattern of naming exists, the /Kung feel that if two non-consanguineous persons have the same name, they are likely to have had consanguineous connexions in the forgotten past, and from this concept the /Kung have developed what we called their name relationship. In a system too complex to summarize here they apply kin terms to persons on the basis of their names.

The names have passed from family to family, through intermarriage in the region, and from generation to generation, to such an extent that every /Kung of the region whom we interrogated on the subject had a kin term for every other /Kung, except for one man who had once met four /Kung from afar for whom he had no terms. This had made him uneasy.

The /Kung welcome the sense of belonging to an in-group which the name relationship affords them. They welcome also the fact that they know how to behave with people with respect to the avoidances. They fear (*koa*) to make a mistake about joking and sitting, they say, and feel secure in righteousness and propriety when they know what behaviour is correct and conform to it. The kin terms sort out the whole /Kung population of the region for them. They avoid joking with name relatives whose names classify them with kin or affines of the generation of parents, or with offspring or with a sibling of opposite sex or with great-grandparents. They may joke with name relatives whose names classify them with grandparents, a sibling of the same sex, or the spouse. (Cf. Figs. 2 and 3.)

The incest taboo is extended to name relatives. If ego is forbidden to marry them because of the way their names classify them, he also does not joke with them. But, as we shall see when we consider approved marriages, the system does not maintain perfect consistency between joking and marriage among name relatives, and it does not follow that if ego must not joke he therefore must not marry. The incest taboo is extended specifically to the following name relatives: (1) anyone who has the name of ego's parent or offspring; (2) the parent, offspring or sibling of opposite sex of anyone who has the same name as ego, (3) anyone who has the same name as ego's spouse's parent or his offspring's spouse. ≠Toma explained that it would ' sound as though ' one had married his parent, child, or one of these close affines.

Deviations from the rules

The /Kung conform strictly to their marriage regulations in the first two categories, kindred and affines. None of the persons whose genealogical records we

[1] Marshall, op. cit., pp. 13–15, 22–23.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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183 gathered (about 175) had married lineal kin or collaterals, at least through first cousins.
582 However, informants told about two /Kung men in B.P. who had married their
835 cousins: we could not find out which type of cousins. What was interesting was the
605 attitude of the informants. They said the men should not have done this, but there was no talk of madness or danger or expressions of horror such as we had observed when incest was spoken of at other times. No punishments, social or divine, had been meted out, according to the informants. Some said they thought it was not too bad a thing for a man to do, especially if the woman were a FaSiDa, who is not, they said, so much like your sister as a MoSiDa. I believe that the anomaly of the system's allowing joking with cousins, although it prohibits marriage, mitigates, in all probability, the force of the incest taboo and accounts to some extent for the tolerance towards the breakers of this rule.

How much deviation there is in marrying second and third cousins we do not
[124] know. We soon gave up trying to gather data on relatives more remote than first cousins because informants so often did not know the names and we could not rely on the information.

582 One account came to our ears of a man who had violated the incest taboo with his
627 stepdaughter. He was /Gunda Legs, the MoBr of old Gau of Band 1, and he lived with Band 9. He is dead now. What he did was so outside the good and the normal
684 that it could be accounted for only by madness. He had drunk the milk of a young
835 gemsbok doe, the people told us, and this is what had made him mad. Something
159 came from his forehead and went in and out, a sort of swelling. After that he fell in love with his stepdaughter, ≠Nisa, and married her, and both she and her mother
[753] were his wives at the same time. The people 'laughed at him' so much because he had made such a horrifying 'mistake' that he took his stepdaughter and lived apart from his band—the only instance we know of a man and woman living alone. They had a son, ≠Toma, who died young. When /Gunda's madness waned he sometimes came back to his people; he would go again when his madness returned. People said they did not understand why ≠Nisa went with him. They mocked at her, said that she was *dole*, 'bad', and that it was 'nonsense' to fall in love with one's stepfather. Our informants laughed uneasily when they told about it as they laugh when they
[154] tell of vultures eating their meat or of being chased by fierce bees when they try to take a honeycomb. There came to my mind a penetrating remark made by //Kushay, the wife of /Qui in Band 1, which might, I thought, be applied to ≠Nisa. //Kushay had said, 'When a Bushman girl goes against the customs of her people and people talk about her and say she is bad, she is very unhappy. She would hear the people talking and be ashamed and would come to them angry—angry because she is ashamed', or, I thought, go away because she is ashamed.

Deviations occur in the fourth category. Two men we met had married women
183 with the same names as their mothers. A man named /Ti/kay married the daughter of
553 another /Ti/kay, and there were other such instances. /Qui, the husband of the above
582 //Kushay in Band 1, said he proposed to do this himself. The girl's family had flatly
608 refused, but he was going to keep on trying. ≠Toma said he would not do this but
835 he sees some people doing these things. There are not enough women whom a man may properly marry, he said, and he would be in favour of changing the marriage prohibitions among name relatives so that a man need avoid only ugly women.

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484 with their families on trips that would take them only hours if they were traveling alone. We stopped a fourth time in the middle of the vast plain, for John had seen a shattered ostrich egg on the ground and wanted to let the Bushmen gather it to make beads. Toma motioned him to drive on. The egg, he thought, belonged to a man named Crooked Kwi, who had left it there one season and would return for it someday soon. Toma had heard of this event from Crooked Kwi [452] himself when they had seen each other last, and, observing that the shell fragments were gathered into a pile, he supposed that this must be the very egg that Crooked Kwi had mentioned. It was just where Crooked Kwi had said it would be, too.

361 We left the eggshells behind in the immense plain and went on our way toward the eastern rim. When we got there we found the rest of Gao Feet's family—his older and uglier first wife, his old mother-in-law, his first wife's daughter, and his daughter's husband, none other than Crooked Kwi himself. These people were living in a most beautiful glade of thorn bushes that were growing thickly together among tall trees, their branches arching just over people's heads. A fire had cleared out all the grass and leaves, leaving just the brown earth and the gray lace of branches; the people were brown and their things were brown and white and the ashes of their fires were gray in the little hollows on the ground, for these people, too, had built no scherms. Tu got right out of the [253] jeep and went straight to a fire, where she began to crack some of her tsi nuts between a stick and a stone.

● 608 The rest of us exchanged greetings and the old woman, 551 Dikai's mother, embraced me. "You are my daughter. I bore you," she said. When I had first come to Gautscha Pan I had been named Dikai for her daughter, and among the Kung one is strongly identified with the person one is named for; as the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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namesake of Dikai, I had acquired her set of relationships and 608
was expected to follow the rules that applied to her. I could 551
act in a familiar way with those people whom she treated familiarly and was expected to avoid those whom she avoided. I called Dikai "Big Name," the term usually applied in such a relationship, she called me "Little Name," her nephews called me "Aunt," her mother called me "Daughter," and often her husband, Gao Feet, with roars of laughter, would say he would marry me someday.

We sat down in the werf in the delicate shade of the arching 281
branches and Dikai's mother produced a bag full of tsi nuts, 445
which the people began to roast and eat. The bag was made 252
of the entire skin of a duiker—a little nocturnal antelope no bigger than a small dog—turned inside out with the legs tied together as handles, the neck tied off as the bottom of the bag and the rump open as the top. When it was full of tsi it was solid and formed and looked eerily like a little, headless duiker.

When the day was over and the sky was getting dark I 512
made a camp for myself a few feet from the werf. The Bush- 609
man children helped me pull the grass. We built a fire in our clearing and I cooked some beans and tsi nuts that Dikai's mother had given me for myself and the children, and as Bushmen from the werf began to come over I cooked more and more. There wasn't much—the Bushmen had only half a day's supply and we hadn't expected to be away from camp so long. Everyone had a little, though, and afterward we filled ourselves up with water and we smoked. It was very cold. Be- 513
fore the night was over, the water we had in our water pail had turned to ice. On nights such as this the Bushmen prefer to sit up and talk, to keep their minds off the fact that the air is cold and they are naked and hungry, rather than to try to sleep; they wait to sleep the following day, warm in the sun.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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lap and looked drowsily at her father. "Ehe," said Toma, 521
pointing at her, pleased that she still remembered her European name.

The talk returned to food and hunting and Toma remembered an eland the people had eaten which Short Kwi had killed, and this reminded everyone of the puff-adder bite, and Gao Feet, who had seen Short Kwi, began to describe the wound. He stammered and repeated whole phrases again and [191 158] again, but finally he finished and those who had not seen Short Kwi drew in their breath and seemed very depressed. Short Kwi had been sick a year and had not died, but the flesh had gone from the calf of his leg, said Gao, the skin had gone from his foot, his foot was curled and the bones were showing. The wound stank, too, said Gao, and at this Tu said she didn't think she could bear to see him. Her children were asleep around her and she looked very sad, but by now all the faces lit by the fire were depressed and sad, and soon after that people began to go home, carrying their sleeping children. The night was almost over, the Southern Cross lay on its side and the Firewood Star was high over our heads. Last to leave was the old woman, Dikai's mother, who got stiffly to her feet and waved good-night to us.

"Good night, Old Grandmother," I said. [608]

She turned her head to face me. "You should call me Mother. I embraced you when you came," she said.

Quite far away a fire at the werf flared up, the center point 593
between two tall trees whose branches formed a delicate, pointed arch lit from below, showing the fire's brown owner sitting with his back to us, his elbows on his knees, perhaps gazing into the flames. It was Crooked Kwi, and he seemed very small beneath the high trees but very bright in the firelight and, somehow, very important. In a moment his wife walked into the firelight and sat beside him and they sat to-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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voked those supposedly unmentioned beings, the spirits of the dead. Dikai was not offended, though; she gazed down at him calmly. "You, you little thing," she said, "no curse that you could say would hurt me."

Much later in the evening when John and Dan and I were sitting at our own fire just before going to bed, Dikai and her nephew, Toma's son, came to visit us, Dikai with Little Dabe asleep on her back. It was a quiet evening, people were sitting at their own werfs and though they were screened from us by grass we could hear their voices talking and see the light of their fires. When Dikai came, Lazy Kwi, whose werf was on the other side of our camp, heard her speak and stood up to see what was happening, looming suddenly from where he had been sitting only a few feet away. He came through the grass to visit also, and we sat by the fire listening to Dikai as she told us about various relatives in the north and what kinship terms we should use for them, I being named for her and John for Toma. Lazy Kwi told Dan that Dan had been named for him, but named Kwi Cheeks instead of Lazy Kwi, and when Dan asked why his nickname was Cheeks all Lazy Kwi could say was: "Because of your cheeks." We thought, but we could not think of a reason, as there was nothing about Dan's cheeks that might attract attention, except that he had recently shaved his beard so that his cheeks were visible.

Dan said that now he had no beard, no hair, no name, which Lazy Kwi thought was terribly funny and said: "Throw away your beard hairs, throw away your name, but take Kwi instead and be my namesake." Shortly after that we went to bed. Relations seemed less strained.

One morning about a week after Short Kwi had gone, when the people were resting and the werf was quiet, we heard a

[12 cont.]

000
439 occupation. Even among the nomadic groups, however, meat, hides, and so forth are commonly traded for millet.

Also, the Blacks like to have veldkost on their table,
[222] and the Bushmen, like our sponge and berry gatherers, use their knowledge to supply them and carry on petty trade with their veldkost, as well as with honey.

222 This is the reason that veldkost, which is either scarce
137 or not very tasty, is not gathered at all any more; indeed, the knowledge of its presence is even disappearing. We must also not forget that the black shepherd boys long ago acquired the knowledge of the Bushmen by observing them. As a result, the number of those interested has naturally climbed sharply, and the veldkost plants have become rare. The following kinds are still regularly gathered:

222 /airoba (ombimbo) Sweetish, very starchy tubers, like large potatoes.
/érui (omauungá) Galls on the leaves of the omsati tree.
≠gan-i (esarata) Small fruit.
!Khui-i (oombi) Dates.
!Korob-ke (oompali) Bulbs at the roots of a liana.

251 Dried meat is made from kudu flesh, which in part is
439 kept and in part sold.

278 [13] Arrow poison is made from the sap of a tree (Euphorbiacea), !Khores-Ke. The Ondonga themselves make no
[439] arrow poison, but buy it from the Bushmen for one to two sh per
752 portion. There is no medicine against arrow poison. Deep incisions are made at the place where the arrow entered, and after blood has flowed freely from the wound, it is sucked. In the case of snakebite the same procedure is followed, and some arrow poison is placed on the wound (!!!).

278 Our Bushmen denied any knowledge of poisons added to
● 609 food. Only the "evil Bushmen" in the east had such knowledge, they claimed. This statement scarcely deserves credence.

177 In clothing, dwellings, and weapons, as well as ornaments, not much that is original remains. The process of Bantuization is much further advanced in the material culture than in the spiritual culture. It is, after all, easier to part with clothing than with ideas.

[21 cont.]

157 them thought of asking a question about it. The Bushmen of
today at least do not believe that any kind of magic is concealed
[177] in the Europeans' machines. They learn to use European instru-
ments fairly quickly; in particular, they soon become familiar
with the rifle. Dornan reported that there was a large number
of improvised rifles that the Bushmen had adapted. In a new
environment, the Bushman is wholly self-possessed and coolly
[648] observant. He is highly adaptable. The girls, of whom a num-
ber are kept by farmers as concubines, are quite skillful at
[177] housekeeping. In Ovamboland they quickly adopt the living
habits and economic activities of the Bantu. An Ongandjera
Bushman acts as an instructor at the teacher's college in Oonipa.
He owns a small kraal that is well-maintained in Ovambo fashion
and, in addition, has built himself a round hut of tiles in which
[648] he keeps his "library." They seldom stay long on the farms, but
[147] probably in the main because the food does not agree with them.
609 The Bushmen are most distrustful of other people. Every armed
person whom they encounter is regarded from the outset as an
enemy. The Bushman is allowed to enter the regions of other tribes
only if he is unarmed. Even along the edge of the farm zone
the mutual distrust is so great that a Bushman who has been sent
to a farm as a messenger dares not leave the road, which is
regarded as a neutral zone, if another kin group has settled in
the vicinity. If two armed Bushmen who are strangers approach
each other, they disarm at first sight before they greet each
other. When a Bushman comes to a village or to a farmhouse,
he will put down his arms at a certain distance and sit down to
wait patiently, if need be for hours, until he is questioned. A
186 609 distinct sense of race is not apparent. Everything that does not
belong to one's own kin group is regarded as strange, even
hostile, except when common persecution causes a sense of
solidarity to spring up among all those who are persecuted. At
the same time, they very clearly possess a kind of sense of
humanity as a whole, that is, they do not believe that they are
the only people, and they are convinced, for example, that the
people of all races are received in the heavenly house. Their
602 conduct toward relatives is regulated by numerous customs, but
in general it is formal and almost ceremonial, even toward the
[593] wife and children. The Bushman is never importunate.
[157]

[21 cont.]

648 The Bushmen as a whole are despised by the other peoples, but in individual cases they are feared, and not least by the Whites. The Bushmen are familiar with this attitude and conduct themselves accordingly.

797 The Bushmen accept a foreign point of view only with
177 great difficulty, if at all. The mission, accordingly, can show no noteworthy success among them. On the other hand, they
157 usually grasp the intentions of others more quickly than the ordinarily more superficial Blacks. Consequently, they give brief and precise answers to the questions put to them. When asked questions that they do not want to answer, they remain silent. At the same time, in dealings with them one should note that they tire very quickly when they have to do mental work, and then they will not answer further questions, not because they do not want to, but because they are too tired.

181 The Bushmen are not generous. Nevertheless, allow-
[574] ing a stranger to partake of a meal, as well as giving him some
●609 of the available water, is wholly matter-of-course with them.
[431] They very rarely, however, give any of their personal belongings, weapons, ornaments, hides, and so forth, as presents. If they themselves receive presents, they are obviously delighted.
181 It is true that they do not express their gratitude with words,
577 [22] but anyone who does the Bushmen a kindness may be sure that they will manifest their gratitude by deeds to the point of self-sacrifice.

To help a fellow human being who is in trouble is a moral obligation. There is a report of a prospector who lost his
[648] way in the bush forest and was then saved by the Bushmen, with whom he could not even converse; they took care of him for several days and finally put him on the right path.

Agreements and promises are kept unconditionally by the Bushman, although it is true that he usually arrives a little too late. Once, when an ox from the ox-cart of the Catholic mission had to be left behind on the way to the Okovanggo, it was put in the care of the Bushmen and they were to deliver it at the time of the next full moon. The people kept their word, and the ox was delivered, well-fed, at the specified time.

As a comrade, the Bushman is reliable and faithful (1).

181
648

1. A European had once illegally

method had been established. The /Kõ and /Gikwe have not incorporated the belief into their terminological systems except in a very limited way. The /Kung, however, have done so, and appear to have adapted it as logically as possible to the generational method. They apply it only to somewhat distant relationships, namely, grandparents, grandchildren, collaterals, secondary affines, and name-relatives. They do not apply it in the close biological relationships of parent, offspring or sibling or in the primary affinal relationships. Consistency is maintained by the rule that a child must not be named for a parent.

We think that the term */gu!na* came into the system with the homonymous method and that perhaps it used originally to be applied only to the person for whom ego is named. It is not strictly a kinship term, being composed of translateable words, 'big or old name'. We think it may have been superimposed upon *tun!ga* (which probably comes from the same root as *tũn*). *Tun!ga* may originally have been applied to grandfather, man-speaking as well as woman-speaking, and later */gu!na* may have become associated with grandfather because so many men are named for their grandfathers. If this is so, an anomalous situation remains unresolved. *Tun!ga* is applied to consanguineous kin and affines and allows joking, woman-speaking. Man-speaking, it is applied only to affines and prohibits joking. If it was originally the term for grandfather, man-speaking, we reason that it should allow joking, and we cannot explain this anomaly.

Whatever may be the answer to these questions, the /Kung have put to good use the belief that persons who have the same name partake of each other's entities. This belief has given them the name-relationship.

It is our impression that the practice of applying terms to name-relatives has appealed to the /Kung and that they have developed it to the full. The /Kung apply a kinship term to every /Kung they meet or almost everyone. /Qui was the only informant who worked with us on this subject who had ever met a /Kung Bushman for whom he had no kinship term. He had met four who came from a distance and whose names were not among those commonly used in the Nyae Nyae region. Ta//ne was one of the names. Gao, who was present, told /Qui that he had a *tsu* named Ta//ne, and he and /Qui nodded together in agreement that they would find a way for /Qui to give Ta//ne a term should they meet again. We know two men who used the term */go* for each other because each of them had a brother named Dam. The system seems to have been flexible and expansive in the application of terms to name-relatives.

The /Kung are small of stature and non-aggressive. They are timid and apprehensive of strangers. Their word for stranger is *ju dole*. *Ju* means person, *dole* means strange or harmful—one word for both concepts, in the /Kung language, as though they were a single concept. The /Kung have no social organization larger than the band of kin who live together but they have utilized the name-relationship to supply the cohesive factor which is supplied in other societies by various social structures. When a /Kung meets a stranger and finds that he has the same name as one of his kin and bestows a kinship term upon him, he is reassured and feels a sense of belonging.

Gao, the brother of /U, went on an errand for us to Khadum. Khadum is about 115 miles north of Gautscha and about 40 miles north of Cho/ana where we were staying at the time. He had never been to Khadum before, and the /Kung Bushmen who lived

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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602 there at once called him *ju dole*. He was in haste to say that he had heard that the father of one of the people at Khadum had the same name as his father and that another had
●609 a brother named Gao. ' Oh,' said the Khadum people, in effect, ' so you are Gao's */gu/na* ', and they took him to their fire and gave him a present of edible gum.

602 The name connexions of the /Kung of Nyae Nyae extend throughout the region. Thinking of Gautscha Pan as approximately the centre, the name connexions extend
619 about 80 miles to the south, and include the /Kung who live at Gum and at a few small water-holes south of Gum. To the north of Gautscha Pan they extend about 75
182 miles to Samangaigai, and about 100 miles to Cho/ana, and may be said now to touch upon Khadum, 115 miles from Gautscha Pan. The country to the west, between Gautscha Pan and the farmed area of South West Africa, is waterless and uninhabited. To the east the /Kung name connexions reach some 60 or 80 miles to the cattle posts of Chwana and Herero at Kai Kai and Kubi, where some /Kung work as herdsmen and others visit and trade. The /Kung who live in this region are not *ju dole* to each other. The name-relationship makes them feel they are one people.

619 But there are edges to this sense of being one people. At Karakuwise to the north-west, about 100 miles away from the centre of the Nyae Nyae area, and at Nuragas, about 200 miles away, there are /Kung Bushmen. Although none of the Nyae Nyae people have been there, the people of Nyae Nyae know that those people speak the same language. However, the Karakuwise and the Nuragas people are distant, and they are *ju dole*. The people of Nyae Nyae say that they hear that the people of Nuragas put a strange poison into the pipes they give you to smoke which makes you become as thin as a stick and then die. The people of Nyae Nyae do not know the names of the people at Nuragas.

Résumé

000 LA TERMINOLOGIE DE LA PARENTÉ CHEZ LES BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

Les Boschimans /Kung sont des chasseurs et des ramasseurs nomades, qui ont eu très peu de contacts avec d'autres tribus ou avec des Européens; ils vivent en petites bandes de parents consanguins et d'affins proches, qui sont, pour la plupart, isolés à l'intérieur de leurs propres territoires, sauf pour des visites plus ou moins rares par d'autres bandes. Le système /Kung de terminologie de parenté présente deux aspects: d'après l'un, les termes sont appliqués suivant la situation biologique des personnes; d'après l'autre, les personnes sont classées avec d'autres, du fait qu'elles ont les mêmes noms. Du point de vue terminologique, deux personnes quelconques ne peuvent être apparentées simultanément de plus d'une façon, bien qu'elles puissent changer leur rapport terminologique par le mariage, ou, parfois, par le changement de leurs noms. En général, les termes employés indiquent l'âge biologique relatif des personnes qui s'appliquent mutuellement des termes de parenté. Les mêmes termes sont utilisés en s'adressant à une personne et en y faisant allusion. Pour les besoins de l'analyse, on peut distinguer entre deux systèmes de terminologie de parenté: le système A s'applique à des parents consanguins et aux personnes classées avec eux, soit par suite d'un rapport entre leurs noms, soit parce qu'elles se sont mariées avec ces parents. Le système B s'applique aux affins. Il y a trois catégories de termes dans le système A, selon leur emploi entre: (1) père ou mère et enfant; (2) ' siblings ' (enfants de mêmes père et mère), et (3) générations. Dans cette dernière catégorie, la personne plus âgée emploie invariablement une forme diminutive en s'adressant, ou en faisant allusion, à la personne

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, 142
and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff [148]
with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the
men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and
consequently they often seem younger than they are. They [194]
are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man 291
wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather
apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole
animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at [854
the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride, 482
and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which 415 237]
are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people;
they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though [515
they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair 302]
breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped
close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell
beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny [301]
bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear
leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several 609
months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find
them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe
that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the
grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and [342]
made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right 609
into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and 621
didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass until I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned, all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

●609 pering in the grass near by. You can tell by these werfs that
621 there are Bushmen in an area, and also by their footprints on narrow trails which they share with the game and which run all through the desert. You may find footprints or you
[372] may see a little pile of white ash, the fire that a Bushman kindled where he spent the night. Otherwise, to find them you must depend on luck or on the fact that the Bushmen of an area may have heard something good about you and will not be too afraid.

105 Culturally and historically, the Bushmen are an interesting people, for they and the Hottentots, who belong to the same racial and language groups, are the earliest human inhabit-
[161] ants still living in southern Africa. There are now from thirty to fifty thousand Bushmen, who are divided into several language groups. Their languages are related to each other and
[197] to the Hottentot language, and are in what is known as the Khoisan language group, made up of most of the click languages spoken in South Africa. A click language has sharp pops and clicks made with the tongue in various parts of the mouth, combined with an implosion of the breath, very diffi-
[197] cult to understand, harder still to pronounce, as the slightest mistake may change the meaning of a word entirely. For example, the work *//kx'a*, which in one of the Bushman languages means *mangetti*, a certain kind of nut-bearing tree, is pronounced by making a lateral click for which the tongue is pulled sharply away from the sides of the mouth, producing the click one makes when calling a horse, followed by a scraped *k* turning to a g, followed by a glottal stop—a slight pause or tiny choking sound made as the back of the tongue stops the breath—which is followed at last by the vowel. To make a mistake is easy, and that is why non-Bushmen have a hard time learning the language, and why, when they do learn, they are often misunderstood.

unmarried son or two, and their daughters' children. Bush- 105
men are polygynous, and a man is allowed by custom to have 621
as many wives as he can afford, depending on how well he [595]
hunts—usually a man can afford only one wife, sometimes two (often a pair of sisters), and once we heard of a man with four wives. For this reason there are often more women than men in a band.

The immediate family, a man, his wife, or wives, and chil- 105
dren, is the only solid social unit; otherwise the small bands 592
are always breaking up and recombining with other small 621
bands as the structures of single families change, through marriages, divorces, deaths, or as the family decides to pay a prolonged visit to a different group of relatives.

Any Bushman will either be related by blood or marriage 105
or will be acquainted with all the other Bushmen in his area 602
but this is as far as Bushmen go in their affinities. They do 609
not recognize as their own people strange Bushmen who speak the same language; in fact, they suspect and fear them as they do any stranger.

We have visited four of the Bushman language groups, two 114-
of which we stayed with for long periods of time. In 1951, 131
after a survey expedition to learn where Bushmen could be found, we went into the Nyae Nyae area of South-West Africa, close to the border of Bechuanaland, to look for Kung Bushmen. We found a band living near a waterhole, as it was June, the drought of the year, and we stayed with them for four months. At first only a few Bushmen were there, but as [609
the news spread that we were friendly, more and more peo- 276]
ple came to visit us and receive presents of tobacco and salt, for Bushmen love to smoke but rarely have tobacco, which they get in trade. Also, most of the Bushmen had never seen a European before, none had ever seen a European woman, and they came by dozens to sit together in a cluster

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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[151] that marks an edible root, or see a scorpion hidden in the dust
174 and jump over it. So Bushmen survive in the most rigorous places; they survive in the dense, mosquito-ridden papyrus
131 swamps of the Okovango River, steaming like a jungle and
133 dangerous with snakes and fever, where the River Bushmen
[184] live, the only Bushmen with plenty of water; they also survive on the vast, rolling steppes of central Bechuanaland, the territory of the Gikwe Bushmen, who for the nine dry months of the year have no water at all and do without it.

609 Besides the fact that Bushmen alone can live in the land
563 they occupy, there is another reason for their remoteness and
648 shyness. They are in many instances exploited by the Bantu farmers, and by a few of the European farmers, usually those who need free or almost free labor. Many Bantu farms and households have Bushman servants, or serfs, rather, as they usually come from the land on or near the farm, and when working they are paid nothing but are given food, tobacco,
464 and sometimes cast-off clothing as wages. Some European
648 farms in Bechuanaland and some in South-West Africa have Bushman laborers too, though most European farmers do not depend on Bushman labor. Those European farmers who do employ Bushmen usually pay wages, about ten shillings a month, plus a ration of food to each Bushman who is working, though not necessarily to his family, consisting of about a pound of cornmeal and a quart of milk a day, meat occasionally, and weekly a ration of tobacco. Perhaps the employer will add a set of clothing—that is, a pair of cast-off pants and a shirt—and perhaps a blanket every year, but occasionally they pay their labor in cast-off clothing and omit the ten shillings altogether.

648 European clothing is esteemed among Bushmen, for it is
291 symbolic to them of a people mightier than themselves, and
439

also because, made of cloth instead of leather, it is more cling- 648
ing, therefore warmer and more comfortable, and dries faster 291
when wet. It is sought after and desired, it is got through em- 439
ployment; yet, even so, Bushmen hesitate to seek employment because they believe that they will be badly treated (as they sometimes are) and they often find the customary wage and food ration to be inadequate for anyone who must support a family. Supposedly, the wives of Bushmen laborers are [222
free to look on the farmer's land for roots and berries, as they 465]
would if they were living in the veld; but, as it happens, after a few years the supply of wild food around a farm becomes exhausted.

The Bantu farmers, being as a rule much poorer than the 648
European farmers, are less generous to their Bushman serfs. 464
They also give a food ration of cornmeal and milk but almost never meat, for any meat that may come into the Bantu kraal is eaten by the Bantus unless it is the carcass of a hyena or a leopard which the Bantu masters have killed for the pelt. The Bantus say: "Our Bushman servants are like our children; they herd our cattle for us and we feed them. A child does not ask for wages when he helps with the family work."

Besides this, the Bantus badly cheat the Bushmen who come in from the veld to trade cured antelope hides for metal and tobacco, sometimes asking several hides, worth several pounds apiece, for enough tobacco to fill the palm of the Bushman's hand, or for a piece of wire long enough to make an arrowhead. All in all, it does not benefit the Bushmen to 609 ●
live anywhere near Bantu or European settlements, and that 648
is why the Bushmen of the veld run and hide when they see Europeans coming, believing that they may be taken by force (as they sometimes are), and why they avoid going to a Bantu settlement except to trade for tobacco when they feel

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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609 they must smoke, or when they are dying of thirst and must
648 come in to beg for water.

159 Once I talked with a young Bushman who had visited one
563 of our camps in Bechuanaland many times, who spoke Afri-
kaans, and whom I shall call Tami. I could speak a little
[191] Afrikaans, so he and I could talk together. He was in his early thirties and had been working for some time for European farmers. When I met him he was married, and as his wife had
[465] just had a baby, he felt that his ten-shilling-a-month wage was inadequate and he planned to move to another part of the country where he hoped to be paid more. As it is rather unusual for a Bushman to uproot himself from his own country, no matter how long he has been on a farm and away from his own people, I asked him where he had come from and how he had learned Afrikaans.

[153] "Oh," he said, "I learned Afrikaans in the places I have been. I have worked for white men since I was a young boy
[191] and I have always been fast to learn their languages. In the same way I have learned the languages of the black people."

"Where did you live before you worked for white people?" I asked.

"We lived not far from Nurigaas, at the edge of the police zone. I am a young person still, but I remember that Nurigaas was all wild then. We always lived there."

"With your parents?"

"Yes, until the police boys [1] took the old man my father."

I asked him what had happened, and he said: "We lived at the edge of the police zone, you know. We lived with
888 other Bushmen there, and my sister, she was there. My
159 mother's father was still alive then, but he was too old, he
563 couldn't even carry water, and my mother had to do every-

[1] Police boys are native policemen, usually Bantu.

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181 the Bantus, who are staunch and brave and in the past have waged great wars. But Bushmen deplore and misunderstand bravery. The heroes of their legends are always little jackals who trick, lie, and narrowly escape, rather than larger, bolder [539] animals such as lions (who in the Kalahari are something of a master race). In the Bushmen's stories, lions are always being scalded, singed, duped, cuckolded, or killed.

181 Bushmen cannot afford to fight with each other and almost 182 never do because their only real weapon is their arrow poison, 578 for which there is no antidote. But even were they to disre- 422 gard this danger, Bushmen would try not to fight because they have no mechanism in their culture for dealing with disagreements other than to remove the causes of the disagreements. Their hold on life is too tenuous to permit quarreling among themselves. A Bushman will go to any lengths to avoid making other Bushmen jealous of him, and for this reason the few possessions that Bushmen have are constantly circling among the members of their groups. No one cares to keep a particularly good knife too long, even though he may want it desperately, because he will become the object of envy; as he sits by himself polishing a fine edge on the blade he will hear the soft voices of the other men in his band saying: "Look at him there, admiring his knife while we have nothing." Soon somebody will ask him for his knife, for everybody would like to have it, and he will give it away. Their culture insists that they share with each other, and it has never happened that a Bushman failed to share objects, food, or water with the other members of his band, for without very rigid co-operation Bushmen could not survive the famines and droughts that the Kalahari offers them.

181 The other reason for their submissiveness is that Bushmen, 609 whose possessions are only sticks and bones, beads made of eggshell and fragments of leather, are overwhelmed by the

possessions of Bantus and Europeans—horses and cattle, 181
dogs, melon lands, medicines, rifles, boots, and trucks—as 609
well as their enormous size, heavy necks and arms, great beards, and roaring voices. Europeans are beyond the powers of Bushmen's imagination, more awesome in stature, in possessions, in might, than even the Bushmen's god, who can be [776]
cajoled, who hunts with a bow and arrow. Bushmen consider the Europeans and the Bantus to be superior beings. Bantus [648]
and Europeans consider the Bushmen to be inferior beings, and, without resisting, a Bushman always bows to a European or a Bantu person's will.

Once an old man, a veld Bushman, told us the story of the 283
reim and the grass fiber. A reim is a leather rope which the 539
Bantus make by skinning a cow with a long, spiraling cut that goes around and around the body so that the hide comes off all in one piece a few inches wide and many yards long, which is then stretched and cured, making a piece of leather useful for harnessing oxen or building a hut.

"In the earliest days," the old man said, "the Bushmen and 539
the non-Bushmen were all one nation, and the great god 773
came to earth and gave them a rope. Half the rope was made of reim and half was made of grass fiber. The great god told all the people to pull on the rope, and the non-Bushmen came away with the reim, but the Bushmen got only the grass fiber. After that, the non-Bushmen had cattle and reims and all those things, but the Bushmen had only the things that are in the veld. If this ever happened again," the old man said, "I would tell the Bushmen to make sure they got the reim half."

So the distinction between people was caused by the great 181
god, and the Bushmen, who want only to be left in peace, do 609
not compete in issues which they cannot win. They are only [773]
frightened by other peoples and hope to be spared their atten-

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181 tion. Kung Bushmen call all strangers *zhu dole*, which means
609 "stranger" but, literally, "dangerous person"; they call all non-Bushmen *zo si*, which means "animals without hooves," because, they say, non-Bushmen are angry and dangerous like lions and hyenas. But Kung Bushmen call themselves *zhu twa si*, the harmless people. *Twa* means "just" or "only," in the sense that you say: "It was just the wind" or "It is only me."

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136 the great veld fires had burned away the dry grass farther in the north, causing new green grass to spring up, luring the antelope to come there. We saw fires very near us and we wondered if the Bushmen had followed the game to the north.

361 609 One day we came to a tiny, low forest where we decided to camp for the night. As we searched among the little trees for firewood, we came upon three scherms, three little huts, built by Bushmen and abandoned very recently. The ashes of the fires were still warm. The people who lived there had surely heard us and had run away, leaving many of their possessions behind. We found a pot, burned black from use, a 411 412 415 301 few white beads, a quiver with arrows, and a digging-stick, which is a branch a few feet long with the bark peeled off and the twigs trimmed away, sharpened at one end and used by Bushmen as a spade to break the hard ground when they dig roots. We then found footprints made by the people when they had rushed off in all directions; and later, as we followed the tracks, we even found the prints of hands and knees where someone had crawled hastily across an open place.

609 The discovery of these huts made us very hopeful, as we had traveled much farther than we had expected. We felt confident that Gishe, who had been born near our very campsite, would be able to track the people and find them, or that they would be plagued by curiosity and finally visit us. They did not, however; nor did they come back for their possessions, nor was Gishe able to find them. He had been living on a farm for many years and was no longer an expert tracker; and after the night dew had fallen during the evening that we found the werf, the tracks were old.

Of course, it was useless for us to wander around the veld hoping to stumble upon fresh tracks, although we tried the following day without success. We also sent Gishe to look for

the people, but all he did was set the veld on fire; he had been 609 careless when lighting his pipe. He had asked to have matches to start a fire in case a lion saw him, so that when we saw smoke rising from the direction he had taken, we ran to the spot, then had to run back again to save our trucks when the wind turned the fire toward our camp. After that, we were about to give up and move farther into the veld, thinking that the Bushmen had perhaps gone far away. We had only the water that we carried and we were wasting it by waiting; but in the evening, in the quiet, cold air, when some of us happened to be standing at the edge of camp, we heard an ax ringing as somebody chopped wood far away, the sound carried to us on the wind. It was surely the people; there is no other sound in the world exactly like an ax ringing, and we decided to wait a few more days.

We set up a permanent camp. We arranged our trucks, pitched our tents, and waited. The third night that we waited there, all scattered in our blankets over the ground, three lions walked among us as we slept, sniffed us, and watched us with their yellow eyes, although we didn't know until morning when we found their tracks.

The fourth night a veld fire passed us. We were awake then; we saw the bright flames leaping at the trees, smelled the smoke, and heard the fire roaring as the wind pushed it forward into the grass.

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Bushmen believe that certain famous sorcerers, once med- 754
icine men who chose to be poisoners and magicians instead 825
of healers, have taken the form of certain lions, which can al-
ways be distinguished from ordinary lions by their great size
and their ability to float in the air. Also, Bushmen say, the [521]
eclipses of the moon are caused by lions, as on very bright
nights a lion may cover the moon's face with a great paw,
giving himself darkness for better hunting.

Usually, when a lion sees you, he skulks away or bounds 136
off in great, ungainly leaps, in clumsy dodges, making a fool
of himself because he is frightened; but when one raises his
head and looks right at you, then turns as this one did, and
walks off without even looking back, you understand at once
why Bushmen believe the things they do.

As the lion walked away into a thicket of acacia trees we
climbed off the truck and followed him. It was rash of us, but
we were not afraid of him. We wanted a photograph. How-
ever, he had disappeared, and as we were looking cautiously
around among the trunks of little trees we heard a motor
roaring, gears grinding; and finally, as we watched, the jeep
arrived with Cass and Bob (Dr. Story), who told us to go
back to camp as fast as we could. Two Bushmen had arrived.

We started back at once and got there late in the afternoon, 609
and there we found them, two small men, one old, one young,
in silhouette as they squatted by the fire, turning as we came
to look at us, very nervous and very ill at ease. They had been
given food and tobacco—a blue cloud hung above their heads
—and a bucket of water, but during the course of the after-
noon they had drunk the bucket dry. As Theunis and Gishe,
the only people who could have spoken to both them and us,
had been away, the rest of the expedition had had to wait
anxiously for our return, unable to communicate a single
word.

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291 Both men were thin, brown-skinned, and wore nothing but loincloths, and they looked very out of place next to us, among our big trucks and boxes of equipment, squatting naked like two frogs against the long grass and reddening sky of their country. We sat by the fire to talk with them, and it was the old man who answered our questions. His name was [194 Ukwane, and he seemed very old, for he spoke with a hesi- 551] tant, cracked voice that faded into a whisper at the end of every phrase, and whenever some of us would leave or join the group at the fire he would stare intently at us, frowning, [104 leaning forward a little because he could barely see us, his eyes being filmed with cataracts, hazy blue.

142 Ukwane had great wrinkles lengthwise down his belly where his paunch had shrunk. His hands were knobbed and his shoulders stiff, yet his legs were as supple as a baby's, for [514 he sat crouched with his knees in the air and his heels tucked up tight against his buttocks. His skin looked old, too, like [303 old leather, hardened and black like a glove that has been left in the rain, and his curly hair was disheveled, uncut, untidy with pieces of straw.

609 Our questions frightened Ukwane, and often he was at a loss for something to reply. He thought we were policemen coming to look for some lost horses, for somehow a rumor had reached into the farthest corners of the veld that a European farmer had lost seven horses and all the people in the veld were afraid for their lives. The first thing he said was that he hadn't seen any horses and certainly hadn't taken them himself. He was too old, he said. We told him that we were not policemen and, besides, had never heard of the horses, but he was not reassured. He coughed and turned to the young man, who looked at us with nothing to say.

609 The young man was also very shy, but had a greater dignity 194 than Ukwane because of his cool, proud bearing. He said

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very little, and when he did speak it was in a voice so soft that 609
it was almost inaudible. Also, he held his hand in front of his 194
mouth with a finger against his lips, which muffled his words so that only Ukwane could understand them. This was what the young man intended; he meant for the old man to speak for them both and only wanted to help him through tight spots in the conversation.

The young man told us his name, though, which was Gai. 609
Gai sat crouching too, like Ukwane, and kept self-consciously shifting his position, pretending to be unconcerned. He glanced at us out of the corners of his eyes and smiled skeptically from time to time, for although he did not know us and, as we learned later, had not seen Europeans before, therefore had no way of judging our remarks and our expressions, he was younger than Ukwane, and prouder, and was afraid of showing his naïveté, afraid of seeming to believe a lie or disbelieving something that everyone should know was true.

Gai was extremely handsome. In fact, he was one of the 142
most beautiful human beings I have ever seen, tall for a Bushman, his head shaved, showing a strong, domed skull. His face was strong, too, a little heavy of bone, with a big jaw which he carried thrust forward and up so that he looked at you from the bottom of his eyes, a reserved gaze. His body was smooth and brown, built compactly, the body itself long in proportion to the arms and legs. Like all Bushmen, he was narrow of shoulder and hip, with a deep chest and a large belly, and when seen from the side as his belly relaxed he seemed wider from front to back than he was from side to side, very like a hunting animal whose chest is deep but narrow. Gai was also well dressed, not with a strip of leather like 291
Ukwane, but with a beautifully designed, worked, and fringed loincloth with two wide tabs at the back which he could spread to sit on. He wore a band around his hips, too,

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291 as a belt for the loincloth, with a fringe of leather strips so long that when he sat down the fringe lay on the ground.

We asked them where they lived, and Ukwane, who was afraid to answer, said he was old and did not remember. Gai said they lived many days' journey to the east. We asked if the huts beside our camp belonged to them, and they said no, they had never seen them before, neither did they have the slightest idea how they came to be there.

609 We gave them some more tobacco as a gesture of our good faith and we told them that we had come from America, hundreds of days' travel and across a great body of water, but of course they had never heard of America or the ocean and thought we meant the Okovango River, and at that they didn't really believe us, although they were too polite to tell 19 us so. "Merica," they said softly, with a beautiful, curled *r*, almost a *d* or an *l*. We said that we had come to visit them and to give them presents. We said that we were the friends of many Bushmen in the west where we had lived for a year, and had been given Bushman names, so we weren't entirely strangers. We told them the names, which made them smile, because of course they weren't Gikwe names, but Gai and Ukwane softened a little with this and admitted that, after all, the huts were theirs.

Finally they told us that a few nights ago they had been sitting at their fires, the two men, their wives and children, and one other family, when they had heard the sound of our trucks, which had frightened them so that they had run off into the veld in all directions, taking nothing with them except the few possessions that had come first to hand. Ukwane, warming a little, said that he had been so terrified that he had crawled away on his hands and knees, afraid to show his head above the tops of the bushes.

Presently they had found each other again and had settled

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into a new place, although now they had no scherms. For the 609
next days they had waited and listened, and when they had heard our truck leave they had assumed that we were gone, and had returned to get the rest of their things. Then they had noticed our trucks, and believing that they were surrounded and had fallen into our trap, they had come to surrender. Ukwane felt more relaxed and laughed at this, a [152]
warm, wheezy chuckle, showing a few teeth, slapping his chest and coughing from the smoke which he had been inhaling deeply. Seeing Ukwane, the rest of us laughed, too, but Gai only stiffened and smiled an icy smile. Behind his head the sun was setting, small and red, away over the edge of the flat plain, making all the little, distant trees against it look black and very lonely; and the new moon followed after into the salmon light, a heavy crescent flat on its back and bow-shaped, yellow and malevolent like the smile.

Before they went to sleep that night, the two men accepted a second bucketful of water as a present. The bucket they would return, but the water was for them alone, an enormous [271]
present in the desert, for which they were very grateful. They began to drink from it, scooping the water up with their hands and, later, lifting the bucket to drink from its rim. After that they lay down, naked as they were on the bare 513
ground, close to the fire, with their knees bent, letting as much skin as possible be exposed to the heat. The warm smoke and ashes blew over them and they went to sleep on their sides as Bushmen always must, with one ear on the ground but with the other up and listening, to hear what comes along. Because it was cold they woke up often, and every time they woke they drank, so in the morning only the bottom of the pail had water in it, frozen into a circle of ice.

The next day the two men agreed to take some of us to 609
their werf, and we drove off with Ukwane in the jeep and

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609 Gai on the hood to point the way. From his higher position he noticed the long horns of a gemsbok in the grass and he signaled for the jeep to stop. Then he, John, and Theunis, taking a rifle, slipped out of the jeep and ran off after it, bent over and crouched so low that only their backs showed, as the backs of animals would, gliding above the grass. The gemsbok saw them and ran away toward a patch of heavy bush in the plain, the great V of horns a crown over its head. The men ran after, standing now, and in an hour they came back to where Ukwane and I were waiting, lying on our stomachs under the jeep to be in shade, saying that they had killed it. We drove to the spot where the gemsbok, a female, lay and brought her with us, a present to offer the other Bushmen.

361 We drove for several hours and at last we came to a wide plain, grown over heavily with small trees of slender trunks, with a few short branches sprouting leaves, like fence posts. Gai directed us to one of the smaller trees in the center of the plain and told us to stop. He climbed down and looked [237] [276] around over the veld, then bent and picked up a small pipe, a piece of the leg bone of an antelope. He asked us for a match, lit his pipe, and smoked it.

At last we noticed on the other side of the tree two shallow depressions scooped in the sand and lined with grass, like the shallow, scooped nests of shore birds on a beach—the [513] homes of the families, where the people could lie curled up just below the surface of the plain to let the cold night wind [132] which blows across the veld pass over them.

Other than the depressions, except for a small pile of brown, twisted bean shells, no sign would show that people lived there. Later we saw another scooped pit and a stick thrust upright in the ground beside it, right at our feet, which was Gai's place; the stick was to mark the spot, although Gai [423]

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could have found his shallow pit at any time of the day or night.

Nobody was there; everyone had run away. We sat down and waited while Gai put his hands to his mouth and shouted, trying to summon the people back again. When nobody came or even answered him, he flung his pipe to the ground and marched off to find them among the bushes, alternately shouting to his hidden relatives and muttering to himself, for they might be far away and the day was getting warm.

We sat in the middle ground between the depressions so that we wouldn't risk stepping on or crushing anybody's hidden things, for, without knowing it, a European can in a moment trample through a Bushman's cache, breaking the delicate bone or wooden objects, bending the reed arrows, or crushing eggshell beads. Also, among certain groups of Bushmen, every fire has a man's side and a woman's side, determined by the position of the fire as you face the doorway of the scherm, the man's side being on the right, the woman's on the left. If a man sits on the woman's side, or where a woman has been sitting, he will become impotent and will also lose his power to hunt, and if a woman sits where a man has been sitting, she will get a disease in her vagina. Something intangible, invisible, but dangerously powerful, remains on the ground. We did not know which side was which of this werf's fires, or even for sure where the fires were; we did not even know that the Gikwe had this custom, for we had learned it from Kung Bushmen, but we knew that if they did they would not welcome our contaminating their ground. We would have liked to look around, but the best thing we could do was to keep our big boots and our bodies away from their delicate, fragile, almost invisible community.

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609 In a short time we heard a rustle in the veld, and a young
854 woman who seemed to be in her early twenties stepped from the bushes. She was, Ukwane said, Gai's wife, and on her hip she carried a baby, a naked three-year-old who looked at us from his wide eyes fearlessly, then, realizing that we were strangers, buried his face in his mother's arm. His mother stroked him calmly and came toward us smiling and nodding her head graciously, although a little pulse was hammering in the V of her throat. We learned later that she had been sitting in the bushes very near us, and when she had seen her husband go by she had assumed that everything was all right and had come to greet us, not bothering to answer his cries.

142 She was a short, sturdy woman with round arms, long thighs, and short calves. She had a rather large belly and square, strong shoulders, and she wore a very tattered cape
291 or kaross over her back, with a small leather apron around her hips. She had no ornaments except a row of blue scars over
304 her eyes, a decoration, and she had allowed her hair to be-
302 come disheveled, long, and a little tangled, hanging down
184 over her ears in tight spirals, instead of having shaved it off as most Bushman women do. All this gave her a very matter-of-fact air, which was not deceiving, for she saw in a glance that we were harmless and, looking us over, sat down at once beside me.

304 Her baby pulled, twisted, and tugged at her, and from the way he behaved I judged that he kept her too busy to be for-
[854] ever cutting her hair or making bead ornaments. Besides, she told us later, if she wore ornaments, the baby pulled them off. She had her row of scars, though, delicate and arching over her brow, making her eyes seem wider; as well as a row of striped scars along her thighs. These, say Bushmen, are made to imitate the beauty of zebras, and many women wear them, having been decorated when they were still young. It

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is a painful procedure. The cuts are made on the thighs and 304
forehead with a knife or ax blade, then charcoal is rubbed in, but the woman told us later that in her case it had been worth the pain and trouble because, she said, she was extremely ugly and had been made more beautiful.

Her baby's name was Nhwakwe, she told me, and after 551 276
that we were at a loss for conversation. I offered her a ciga- [609]
rette, which she declined, indicating that it made her cough. I was surprised, for she was the only Bushman I had ever met, man, woman, or child, who did not smoke.

Presently she smiled, pressed her hand to her chest, and 551
said: "Tsetchwe." It was her name. 609

"Elizabeth," I said, pointing to myself.

"Nisabe," she answered, pronouncing after me and inclining her head graciously. She looked me over carefully without really staring, which to Bushmen is rude. Then, having surely suspected that I was a woman, she put her hand on my breast gravely, and, finding that I was, she gravely touched her own breast. Many Bushmen do this; to them all Europeans look the same.

"*Tsau si*" (women), she said.

Then after a moment's pause, Tsetchwe began to teach me 609
a few words, the names of a few objects around us, grass, 222
rock, bean shell, so that we could have a conversation later. As she talked she took a handful of the beans out of her kaross, broke them open, and began to eat them. This is a [137]
wonderful, bitter bean, shaped like a lima bean, which grows on tiny bushes in patches throughout the Kalahari. When you [261]
eat these beans they burn your tongue, throat, and stomach, but they take away hunger and thirst. Besides the beans in her kaross, Tsetchwe, who began unloading, brought out a large, edible root which she had dug up—she must have been gathering food before we came—and put it in the shade of a

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609 bush beside her fireplace. Also, she brought out six round
222 green melons which are called *tsama* melons, and which, during the autumn, provide the only liquid available for all the Bushmen in the desert, and for all the game antelope be-
[271 sides. Under the green rind a tsama is very like a watermelon,
312] filled with small oval seeds and very watery in texture, but is itself pale green and smaller, the size of a small cantaloupe.
[516] Tsetchwe placed one between her feet and, gripping it firmly with her strong toes, chopped a hole in the top of it with her digging-stick; then, lifting the cap away like the lid of a jack-
271 o'-lantern, she mashed the pulp inside until it was liquid. She put the melon to her mouth and, tipping her head back, drank from it, using her long digging-stick to help push the pulp into her mouth, working it like an enormous chopstick, making a watery noise as she sucked. When Tsetchwe had collected a mouthful of seeds she put the melon down, took an old, dry tsama melon rind from her kaross, and spat the seeds into it to save them, for they can be roasted and eaten like nuts when they are dry. Tsetchwe drank all the liquid in
[264] the rind and seemed refreshed as she cast the empty rind over her shoulder and brushed off her mouth and hands.

609 At last Gai strode back into the werf, followed at a distance
621 by a group of three small boys and, much farther, by three old women who stood waist-deep in bushes, close together like three antelope, craning their necks to see us.

609 When they noticed Tsetchwe and Ukwane, they came for-
276 ward with more confidence, accepted tobacco, and, squatting
621 immediately, began to smoke. It had been months, Ukwane said, since they had used their last tobacco, had been reduced to smoking leaves, and they were very happy to have the tobacco we had give them. Bushmen love to smoke. They say
[26] that tobacco, as well as the wild beans, takes away hunger and thirst, and, besides that, it makes their hearts glad. One

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of the old women, Dasina, who was Tsetchwe's mother, inhaled too deeply and began to faint. Tsetchwe half turned her mother so that everyone would not see her, and, putting an arm around her for support, let the old woman lean on her shoulder. Our interpreter laughed, and Tsetchwe turned to glare. Tsetchwe's back was exactly like her mother's, broad but curved in at the waist, the old woman's a little bloated but Tsetchwe's young and strong.

Another old woman was smoking, too, puffing on a short, wide pipe cut from a leg bone of some large antelope, so big that she had to stuff one end with grass to keep the tobacco inside. She almost unhinged her jaw each time she puffed. She would inhale and spit, cough, and inhale again without a sign of dizziness, and when she saw Dasina faint she too laughed out loudly. Her name, she told us, was Twikwe.

Twikwe was skinny and tall as a man, with long, lanky arms that she flung about in the air, gesturing, and long legs that jerked when she walked. She wore only a short piece of leather that reached from her waist to her thighs, and we could see that she was wrinkled from head to foot, her skin hanging in long, vertical wrinkles down her thighs and belly, like an old apple that has dried. She talked incessantly and loudly, always opening and closing her mouth, and she joked, for Ukwane and the young boys near her laughed at everything she said. She was telling how her husband had outdistanced her as they were running away and was surely running still. Every now and then she stopped her talk to shout out to him, jeering, saying that he was depriving himself of tobacco and should come back; then everyone would listen, but no sound came from him, no answer. He never did come back, and in the weeks we were there we never saw him. Perhaps he was running away from Twikwe, for we later learned that he was living in a valley with his other wife.

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481 trees, and on our way we found a path where before there
487 had been none. We followed it, it led to camp, and at its end we found Gai and eighteen other Bushmen, whose feet as they had walked in single file had worn a track. As we ap-
609 proached, the eighteen strangers drew back and together, the women behind the men, babies in their arms, and watched us hostilely. Gai persuaded them to sit down, which they did, all together, and when we asked them if they were hungry they said yes, so we gave them a drink of water and set a big pot of cornmeal to cook on our fire. We gave them each tobacco, which they smoked while they waited for the cornmeal to cook.

621 In that band there were six men, five of them in their thir-
162 ties, five women who seemed much younger, and one woman
596 who was very old. There were also three young boys and three babies, two girls and a boy. We guessed from the looks of the people—and later found that we were right—that the band was a small extended family. The old woman seemed to be the key figure of the band, for with her were her two sons and three daughters, their wives and husbands, and their children. The sixth man—a boy, really—did not seem to belong in this tightly woven group, for he was not married, being too young; he seemed too young to be the child of the old woman, though too old to be her grandchild, and I wondered who he was. Witabe's father was not there, and on that trip we did not find him.

142 The three sisters of the band were all arrestingly beautiful. They looked alike, with very fine faces, slender features, large eyes, and they all wore handsome white bead ornaments. Heavy eyelids, set off by the pronounced, delicate bones of their faces, made them look of uncertain race, or like houris, and their slender bodies with skins slightly wrinkled made them seem of uncertain age. Perhaps the sun had made the

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GiKwe

533 534 The young, unmarried man took a small musical instrument out of his hunting-bag, borrowed a dry tsama rind from one of the women, and, setting the instrument on the hollow rind, began to play. He filled the air with sweet, soft music, full of resonance and open, minor chords, even of rhythm and timbre as a music box would be.

The instrument itself was made of a small, flat piece of wood four or five inches square, with eleven metal prongs attached to it, arranged in two rows across two bridges. The melon rind acted as a resonator for the prongs, which were of different sizes and, when plucked, vibrated and rang like bells, in a scale which was not the octave and which I have never heard before. The name of the instrument is *te k'na*, and I believe that it is not native to Bushmen but traded from the Bantu people. Many Bushmen have them, though: Bushmen like music of any kind.

264 Soon the cornmeal was ready and we served it to the visitors on pieces of bark, in bowls formed from halves of tortoise shells, in tsama rinds. Bushmen have very little liquid food that does not come in its own natural container, and therefore they do not provide themselves with bowls. The [445 177] bowls they do have, carved from wood—an art learned from the Bantu people—are constantly in use as containers for small, loose objects, such as seeds or unstrung beads. Since the cornmeal was hot and runny, the people had some difficulty eating it with their fingers, but they got it down, the women hesitating a long time, watching the men, before they [609 538] dared to try it. I think they were afraid it would harm them, as I have heard many Bushman stories of strangers who poison tobacco or food. When they had eaten their servings and 264 609 578 found that they did not die, they had more, a morsel at a time. We might have presented the pot to let the people help themselves, but by now we knew better. Bushmen expect

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each other to share, yet in strange situations they sometimes 264
distrust each other, and it was always better for us to assume 609
the blame for any inequality, real or fancied, than to make 578
people quarrel. Bushmen are very quick to blame; yet also in their hearts they want everything to work out smoothly, and are therefore also quick to forgive, especially strangers who know no better.

Although he was hungry, Gai refused to eat, preferring to play the te k'na instrument while watching the food vanish into the mouths of others rather than arouse more jealousy. That day he ate nothing but the bite of biscuit in the morning and a root at night. When the pot was empty, the man who had been laughing seized it and scraped its sides with a stick, eating and dividing the burned, hard crust. The newcomers acted badly, but this would not have been so if Gai had not arrived with us.

The sun was in the zenith, and we felt we had to go in order to be in camp before night. We were faced with the problem of what to tell the newcomers. They would surely want to come with us, but our supplies would not sustain eighteen more people, and if they came they would disrupt the harmony with their jealousies. Ukwane and Gai would be forced to share what we gave them, which was only enough for themselves and their families. No one would have enough, yet no one would leave; so before we left we explained to the newcomers that we could not take them with us because we did not have enough food to feed them or enough water for them to drink. "We hear you," they said.

We were about to leave when Gai came forward with his 609
arm around the shoulders of the young, unmarried man and said that we had to bring this boy with us. We said that we would. "Because he is my son," Gai added.

We were very surprised, for they seemed to be almost the

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GiKwe

●609 same age, yet we learned later that it was so. We asked the boy to come into the jeep, which he did, watched by the others. We gave everyone a present of a large handful of tobacco, and drove over the burned grass, more crowded even than we had been before.

522 On the way home we saw and shot a springbok, as there was no meat left in camp. The bullet hit the springbok in the stomach and partly eviscerated him, causing him to jump and kick before he finally died. The Bushmen thought that this was terribly funny and they laughed, slapping their thighs and kicking their heels to imitate the springbok, showing no pity at all, but then they regard animals with great detatchment. When the springbok died we tied him to the front of the jeep and drove on. The radiator boiled all the way, causing the body to decompose. Drops of blood and drops of moisture from the springbok blew back over us, mixed with the reek of decay and with a cloud of flies which we drove too slowly to escape, and which, spattered as we were, became very attracted to us. Only the Bushmen remained in good spirits, as they were pleased to see the meat and pleased with the amusement the springbok had given them.

522 224 On the way we saw an enormous hole in the earth, dug by an aardvark months ago. We stopped, and the Bushmen on their hands and knees crawled into it until all three were out of sight. After a while they backed out, one by one, reported that it was a very big hole indeed, and got back into the jeep. But before we could drive away Witabe jumped out again. He had noticed a mound of grass which looked like a haystack, it was so big, as high as a man's knees and as broad as it was tall. It was, said Gai, built by a mouse, a kind of nest, and at Witabe's request he got on top of it and jumped up and down to frighten out whatever lived inside. He was right: presently a mouse did come rushing out to vanish im-

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Gikwe

and leafy green vegetables that taste like rhubarb, have not 132 grown in yet; and so the Bushmen must go thirsty. People 271 137 have died of thirst in these false seasons.

Gathering veld food is the work of the Bushman women, 222 and I used to go with them quite often on their trips. We [462] sometimes stayed in the veld all day eating roots instead of drinking water. One day my brother came along to film the gathering of veld food, and as we were getting ready to leave, Gai also joined us. It is customary for Bushmen never to let a group of their women go anywhere with a Bantu or a European man unless a Bushman man goes with them to protect them. [609] Gai sauntered along behind us in his role of guardian, quite unhampered, as he had nothing with him but his loincloth. Dasina, Twikwe, and Tsetchwe walked in front, each with a digging-stick thrust in her belt like an enormous knife, each wearing a heavy cape, and Tsetchwe carrying her baby, who rode, carefree and swinging his feet, on her shoulder. John and I walked in the middle of the procession, and at the end came the three young boys, who did not stay in single file but ran all over the veld, ran circles around us, and shouted to each other happily.

We walked across the pan of Ai a ha'o through the fine, [137] soft grass, which left tiny, barbed seeds sticking to our legs. We walked through the brush on the opposite side and then over a wide plain, where we saw a herd of wildebeest. No one was armed, and when the wildebeest saw us, put down their heads, and ran, we could only watch helplessly as all that meat galloped away.

We walked until we came to a patch of tsama melons, perhaps twenty of them lying together, shiny, smooth, and green in the grass. The vine that once had nourished them had dried away and already some of the melons were turning yellow, overripe, ready to open and release their seeds.

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GiKwe

888 The old people, the survivors, had not expected to outlive
764 their children and grandchildren, and then they had to bury
731 them; they had scooped shallow graves for them and had placed their bodies inside, then had covered the graves with branches. The old people had then lived by the graves for months to mourn and to protect the corpses from marauding animals. It had been a ghastly season, a season of carnage, and the old people did not like to think about it even now. We watched their sad faces when they spoke of it and saw that these old people themselves felt death very near, foreseeing the day when Gai would leave them, when the melons would dry, when they would starve.

Suddenly, unnoticed into the midst of this discussion came the baby Nhwakwe, having been awakened by the voices, his eyes still filled with sleep, to put an empty vegetable husk on the head of his grandmother, Dasina. She was too de-
[158] pressed to notice, though, and presently the husk fell off and Nhwakwe stumbled back to his sleeping-place, secure between his father and his mother, as though perhaps he had not fully awakened at all.

888 Dasina was speaking. She said again: "To die is bad, but
761 in the end we all die anyway," and Ukwane said he did not expect to live another season. Then he asked us when we would have to leave. We told him that we were leaving in a very few days, and he said he was sorry to hear it, but if we liked he would come back to our country with us to tell us everything he knew about the customs of the Gikwe. We told
609 him sadly that this would not be possible, and he said that in that case he would live out his life beside our track, waiting for the day when we would return. We told him not to do even that, for European farmers would surely follow our tracks into the desert looking for Bushmen to take as servants.

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Gikwe

"I hear you," said Ukwane, "but I would still like to go with 609 you to your country."

We told him then that we lived so far away and over so much water that if he went there he could never get back, and we said that even if he did go he might find that the longing of his heart to be back among his own people would be worse to suffer, harder to bear, than even hunger and thirst. "That is true," he said. "Perhaps."

That night we had, of course, not wanted to ask about the 761 customs and beliefs of Gikwe Bushmen concerning death; we wanted very much to know, but that night the people were grieved and with Bushmen death is always a bad subject. Another day, however, Ukwane and Dasina did tell us their funeral customs, which were similar to those of the 764 Kung, though not as elaborate. We learned that the Gikwe 184 dig a grave with digging-sticks, then bind the body with the arms crossed over the chest, the knees raised and bound, the ankles tied together, and the head resting on the fists, which are drawn up to the chin. The body is then wrapped in an old kaross and placed in a sitting position in the grave, braced upright by a forked stick. Each person present throws a handful of earth into the grave to "make the person remember them" and also to make the spirit go peacefully away. The grave is then filled up and covered with thorn branches to protect the dead person from wild animals, for a hyena will sometimes unearth a corpse.

While performing a funeral, and from the time of the fu- 764 neral on, the Bushmen always stay upwind from a grave, for 775 after death the spirit blows down the wind and will be harmful to the living. Gikwe Bushmen remain by a grave for at least three months—three moons, or longer—before they

Later, when the young boys had dispersed to play horse and rider, Ukwane took his bow and played a few songs. He 533 played "Bitter Melons" again, and "A Song of Shouting," and one other song about Kutera, his wife. Both the last song and its subject were very simple, the song itself having only three or four notes and a gentle rhythm. It was composed by Ukwane one chilly night because he had asked Kutera to gather firewood during the afternoon, but she had refused. That night Ukwane had been cold because there was no fire.

Ukwane sang and played in the shade of a tree, and over his head the birds in the branches were also singing. Everything seemed very peaceful, very quiet under the hazy sky; the west wind moved the grass, yellow as young wheat, and blew the sounds of people speaking, the sounds of the young boys playing, and the fragrance of the great veld over us. The strain among the people seemed to have gone; they had held a dance together, their children were playing calmly; there was, for a time, enough to eat, as the gemsbok had not yet been quite devoured; and all these things seemed to relax the people, allowing them to see each other in more favorable lights. Their naps and their soft singing showed their relaxation, and we were glad, for we had become so fond of Ukwane and his people that we did not like to think of them abandoned by the Okwa people or involved in strife.

We were loading our trucks because we planned to leave before dawn. At the end of the afternoon all the Bushmen had drifted into our camp to watch us, and Tsetchwe helped 752 me pack. I cut my finger on the sharp edge of a box and when she saw me trying to wipe the blood away she told me to wait, so I did, and when the blood was dry she scratched it all off with a stick.

We gave her presents, and presents to all the people there. 609 We gave blankets to the people in Ukwane's band, long 123 strings of white beads to everyone, metal to makes knives or

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GiKwe

609 spearheads, tobacco and pipes, salt and candy and all the
123 water their containers would hold, all they could drink, and even enough water to wash in, for we had enough to take us to a waterhole a few hundred miles away where we could fill our drums. They did wash. Gai washed his whole body and [142] emerged a shining gold. The others washed their arms and [834] faces, modesty preventing their washing the rest, leaving them with golden arms and oval golden masks.

Tsetchwe was pleased with her presents—she hung her white beads in her hair and wrapped herself in the blanket, which, she said, was far softer than leather and which would not get stiff in the rain—but she did not seem happy. She spent the evening sitting beside me, for though we could not talk much with each other I knew that she liked me. "I will cry when you are gone," she said.

576 The two horses, formed by the six young boys, came pranc-
526 ing by, the riders riding loosely, the front feet of the horses galloping but the hind feet, because of the heavy load, trotting up and down. One horse disintegrated in front of us and the young boys who had formed it came forward slowly. The rider, a young boy from Okwa, seemed to want to ask me something. He was very shy, but finally he mustered his courage. "Are you a woman?" he said.

576 Ordinarily, he would have been too polite to ask a personal question, something which Bushmen almost never do because to them asking questions implies distrust, but it may be that on the day before our departure he had found his curiosity impossible to resist. Tsetchwe frowned at him, but I said: "Yes, I am."

The horse had been arguing with the rider, and the two boys who had been the front and hind legs seemed quite triumphant. "We told you so," one said.

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136 tle feather boas around their waists, which were the wings.

As we left the pan a boar got up from the grass where he was lying and ran before us, a warthog with a heavy neck and red bristle of a mane, with curved tusks and with his tail stiff up in the air like a banner, trotting like a horse. He held his head high and ran away proudly, and he was old and very massive for a pig.

Not long after that we saw the two thatched rooftops of the village of Gam. A feather of smoke was rising over the rooftops, and soon we were there.

648 609 The people must have heard our trucks. A small crowd was standing in the bushes, the people watching apprehensively as we came up. Mostly they were Bushmen, naked and smooth and brown, but here and there we saw a Bushman man wearing a ragged shirt or a woman in an old, filthy dress. In the crowd, towering over the Bushmen, were the Chuanas, a woman and a man, the woman dressed in a turban and a long dress, the man in shorts and a jacket. These two were the cattle-keepers. When our trucks stopped, the woman recognized us and, clapping her hands together, ran forward to meet us, followed at once by several Bushmen who also recognized us, and after that the crowd broke and all ran forward, the tense looks of apprehension gone, for if all the Bushmen had not known us they had heard of us and knew who we were. In a moment we found ourselves in the center of the crowd as all the Bushmen who knew us threw their gentle arms around us, touching us so lightly that it was like being embraced by moths. All those who did not know us crowded to look at our faces, and everyone talked at once until our ears rang. The Chuana couple, both more reserved, held back until the others had greeted us and then came forward to shake our hands.

621 When the excitement had died a little and everyone had a

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888 621 respect. In his family, the old man decided where the band would live.

157 Lazy Kwi's sister-in-law was called "the old woman." Her name referred not to her age but to her bearing and her personality, for she was outspoken, positive, and sure, qualities that are seldom found in young Bushmen.

609 She was not at all surprised to see us. She took my ear to turn my head, and kissed me on the cheek. Lazy Kwi laughed when he greeted us, showing a gap in his mouth where a tooth was missing, and called me his wife, a joke among Bushman men, who pretend they will marry any woman who is not a tabu relative. His baby hugged my legs and showed a huge white smile, then held up his arms to be lifted. He had grown so that I could hardly get him off the ground.

586 159 Many Bushmen who greeted us had been at Gam when we had lived there, and among them was a young girl whose name was Ungka, a very common name; as she had no distinguishing nickname, we called her Beautiful Ungka, for so she was. She was probably the most beautiful girl in all Nyae Nyae, and even though she was only sixteen years old she already had a flaming past. When she was ten she was married to a man much older than herself, but, young as she was, she knew what she wanted, and because the old man filled her with loathing she cut off all her hair and all her ornaments, rubbed ashes on her face until she was filthy, and swore she would stay that way until her marriage was dissolved. Of course it wasn't long before her husband and her parents complied with her wishes and she became single once again.

583 159 When she was about thirteen she attracted the attention of another much older man who was already married but who became so inflamed by her beauty that he begged her parents to give her to him as a second wife. This time her parents consulted with her, entreating her to marry him as

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When we met her at Gam we noticed that she had begun to 159
walk like a beauty, proudly and aloof, but she was only sixteen and soon her reserve broke and she was very friendly, happy to see us, and we noticed then that her husband was not with her and was nowhere to be found. In fact, as we looked at all the faces, we saw that many people who should 609
have been there were not. We asked for this person and that 648
person, and the two Chuanas, instead of answering, invited us to their house where we could talk. My mother, my brother, myself, and Ledimo, the interpreter, who had been with us before and had been almost suffocated by the demonstration of affection he had received, walked to the village of Gam while the rest of the expedition went on to make camp.

The village of Gam was more peaceful than ever. We first went through a tiny gate in the high fence of cut thorn bushes which surrounded the village, put up to keep the cattle safe from the lions and other wild creatures at night, then past the ten or fifteen Bushman scherms that housed serf Bushmen, to the central part of the village where the Bantu houses were. There had been two; now there were three, but one was unfinished, and this was a large square dwelling with a window and a door. The other two houses—occupied by the two Chuana couples—were round, built of mud plaster, and had great thatched roofs but no windows, only doors. A thorn bush had been pulled into one of the doors, intended to keep the dogs and goats of the village from walking inside, a sign that the owners planned to be away for a long time. Gourds with milk in them hung from the roofpole of the other house; leaning against the wall was a basket of souring *muhengo* grain. The Chuana woman was brewing beer. A goat had been butchered and skinned and hung from a tree by one hind foot, and the sunlight shone red through it like sunlight shining through an ear.

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648 609 The Chuana man went into the house and brought out two chairs made of poles and thongs in imitation of European chairs but much smaller. He and my mother sat in these while John, Ledimo, the Chuana woman, and I, being young people, sat on the clay ground. Presently the Chuana man began to speak, saying he hoped we had come well.

My mother asked for his cattle, how they were, and his goats, if they had increased, how the rains and crops had been, and if he had heard about the water in Lake Ngami, which he had. My mother said: "Time must have stood still here. No one looks a bit older."

"Yes," he said. "We get sick sometimes, but we have not changed."

But things had changed; it came out that their son, the other Chuana couple, two entire bands of Bushmen whom we had known at Gautscha, and many Bushmen from Gam, including the husband of Beautiful Ungka, had been taken away by Europeans to work on the farms. Three times European farmers had come, having followed in the tire tracks we ourselves had left behind the last time. They came all the way to Gam, where they had found the Bushmen, no longer shy of Europeans, and had "offered to take them for a ride on their trucks but had promised to bring them back." The Bushmen had believed them, had gone for the ride, and of course were never seen again. That is why Gam seemed so peaceful, so empty, and the people so lonesome and sad. The worst of it was that families had been separated, both between Gam and the farms and between different farms.

One group of farmers had taken some young Bushman children who had been playing in the veld. When the mothers had called their children and had got no answer, then had looked in the veld and found their children gone, they had walked in the tracks the trucks had left to follow their chil-

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dren to the farms. The mothers and the children had never returned. 648 609

The farmer who had taken the Chuana couple's son had offered him food and clothes but no wages. When his mother had refused to let him go, the farmer had told her that she herself would have to leave Gam and move to Bechuanaland (there has always been a dispute about the border between the two countries, which affects the Chuana people who try to move across). The woman, assuming that the farmer was a government official, had been too frightened by this threat to prevent her son from leaving. She had been building a large new house, even planning to put a pane of glass in the little window, but she had been too discouraged to finish it, believing that she would have to leave it soon.

It was extremely sad to sit there talking about such things. The Chuana man held his head in his hands and his wife was almost crying, and it seemed very empty and lonely there on the hot gray ground with flies all around us in the air and birds flying above.

When we went back to our camp it was already dark and 372 we found that Lazy Kwi, his wife, and all her family had moved in beside us to be near us. They seemed rather cheerful because they were all together, and they expressed their optimism by burning an entire log. This is prodigal for Bushmen, who usually burn just one small stick at a time, or at most the end of a small log, letting the fire work up the log by inches. The people sat with their legs stretched out, allowing the fire to warm them, and in the firelight their skins seemed blood red, all except Lazy Kwi, whose skin was as dark as the night. Lazy Kwi was always changing color. When 302 we first had met him we had thought he must be the darkest-skinned Bushman anywhere, but this was only so because he had rubbed himself all over with medicine paste and the

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since that was all he remembered we went on again to the source of the first of the three fires.

It was there that we found Toma. He had been there all the time, only a few miles from where we had camped, and when he heard our jeep coming he watched us over the top of a bush before showing himself to see first who we were.

We saw him when he ran toward us. He was quite far off and we saw first his dark figure detach itself from the bush and run with long, swinging strides toward our jeep. He waved his arms and we knew at once that this, at last, was Toma. Before he reached us a second figure appeared from behind another bush and ran beside him, and we knew from the disjointed stride that this second man was Gao Big Feet, Toma's brother-in-law. We turned our jeep toward them and soon we met and the two men embraced us and laughed and said that they had known we would come back someday, and then they climbed in the jeep and took us to their werf, stopping first to get their spears and quivers, which they had left in the bushes, for no Bushman, no matter how excited, ever greets people with his weapons on his back because this might be taken as a sign that he was quarrelsome, looking for a fight.

Their werf was in a tiny thicket of thorn trees at the edge of the plain, screened in front by bushes, carefully concealed, but on a rise of ground where a man standing could easily scan the surrounding plain without being seen himself. There Toma and Gao Feet could observe the movements of the antelope that crossed the plains below them, waiting patient in the dappled shade of their trees' broad leaves as lions do. The two families stood in front of their bushes to meet us and they, too, embraced us and they all climbed in the jeep to do this, then climbed out again and stood back to see how we were.

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361 We got out and sat with them in their werf to talk before deciding what we would do next. Looking around, we saw that only the two families lived here, for there were only two sleeping-places, set, for the sake of a little privacy, on the opposite sides of one of the scrawny trees. The women had not built huts, but had scooped little hollows for themselves and their husbands which they had lined with soft grass bedding, and had put up two arching sticks at each of these hollows to mark the place where the door would be if a scherm had been there, for the Kung as well as the Gikwe need a sense of place. In fact, the Kung need it even more, for without their grass and marking-sticks the Kung feel homeless. Their sleeping hollows were like the soft grass nests of pheasants, hidden in the leaves.

276 576 The Bushmen all lit pipes and passed them—each pipe reached everybody, everybody shared and smoked, and the pipes circled slowly for an hour or more until the tobacco was gone. There was a brass pipe made of an old cartridge, a bone one, a horn one, and last of all a copper one that tasted very bad. The Bushmen cracked roasted tsi nuts and passed the fat little kernels around to each other, offering them on the palms of their hands. My brother told Toma that he had missed tsi because there was none in America.

"What?" said Toma. "No tsi? Why didn't you plant some?"

"The soil is a little strong for it," said John.

"So."

"But tsi is good."

"No good," said Toma sadly. "I used to be fat. Now I am thin." He stuck out his leg and slapped at it. "Where is my fat?" he said.

He did not seem to be thinner than he used to be, though; he had only a scar on his belly and a scar on his back where

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the buffalo's horn had wounded him. Otherwise, he looked 609 very well. All the people seemed well, especially the children. Toma's oldest son wore a crown of badger skin with the long 291 hair standing up on it, and two safety pins that we had given 177 him, which he wore as earrings in his pierced ears. With all 301 this he looked bold as a pirate. His brother was nearly as big as he was, and his sister, Norna, now three, was a slender, graceful child who regarded the world with dark, wondering eyes.

Norna's sixteen-year-old uncle, Tu's brother, was there too. 481 He was a lame boy; he had been crippled in one leg since 732 childhood and could hobble only with the help of a long stick. People had despaired of him, believing that he would never be able to hunt and therefore never marry or inherit the headmanship of Gautscha Pan, but when we saw him now and looked at him closely we noticed a fine row of scars between 881 his eyes and on his arms and chest and we knew that he had 304 hunted and killed an antelope and had been scarified in his initiation. We had planned on this trip to give him presents of all kinds, to make him rich, so that he could marry whether he could hunt or not, but we saw now that this would not be necessary. When he knew that we had noticed his scars he told us in great detail the story of the hunt. He told us how he [224] had gone out with a group of hunters, how he had first seen the two horns of a kudu above a clump of bushes, how he had silently hobbled near it, propped himself on his crutch, and shot it with a poisoned arrow. The arrow had penetrated deeply and the lame boy had returned to tell the others. They had followed it with him for a day and in the evening had found it dead. It was the lame boy's kudu, though; he shot it, and to Bushmen that is the important thing. He was scarified [884] with a paste made of the kudu's meat, and ever after that he was a man.

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301 from the foreheads of the antelope they kill and fashion them
224 into bracelets which their wives wear on their arms. Short Kwi's wife and daughter wore dozens of these; their arms were covered and heavy with them. Short Kwi himself wore
[29 no ornament of any kind, nothing except a crown of badger
43] hair which he owned for a while but later gave to Toma, the very crown that Toma's son now wore.

752 One day, said Toma, Short Kwi had been walking in the
224 veld and had failed to watch where he was going. He had
159 stepped on the tail of a puff adder, which had risen up and bitten his leg, just below the knee. It was a rare and terrible accident; in all the time we had been in the Kalahari we had known of only two people besides Short Kwi who had been harmed by snakes—a young boy bitten by a mamba who had died the day he was bitten, and a young woman who had been pulled into a waterhole by a water python and had drowned. Usually, snakes move away when you come near them, or if they don't, you can usually see them; but you can't walk with your eyes on the ground all the time, especially if you are hunting, as Short Kwi had been. His misfortune was regarded as a horrible accident and it was felt that the spirits of the dead were to blame. They had led Short Kwi down the very path the puff adder had chosen, and perhaps had even placed the snake where his foot was sure to fall. Toma and Goa Feet were very depressed to think of it. Although the talk turned to other things, Gao Feet mentioned the accident again and again; everything seemed to remind him of it. At last Toma said to us: "Perhaps you can help him hunt again. Since he was bitten his people have had no meat."

648 Toma told us that he had been with Short Kwi near Nama
609 Pan when the third group of white farmers had arrived. The farmers had looked at Short Kwi and had offered to cut his leg off for him then and there. This had frightened the Bush-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

men so badly that they had fled in all directions into the veld and the white farmers had not recruited any labor. We wondered how Short Kwi had managed his escape and Toma told us that his brothers-in-law had helped him. They had carried him on their backs to a far place, taking turns.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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namesake of Dikai, I had acquired her set of relationships and 608
was expected to follow the rules that applied to her. I could 551
act in a familiar way with those people whom she treated familiarly and was expected to avoid those whom she avoided. I called Dikai "Big Name," the term usually applied in such a relationship, she called me "Little Name," her nephews called me "Aunt," her mother called me "Daughter," and often her husband, Gao Feet, with roars of laughter, would say he would marry me someday.

We sat down in the werf in the delicate shade of the arching 281
branches and Dikai's mother produced a bag full of tsi nuts, 415
which the people began to roast and eat. The bag was made 252
of the entire skin of a duiker—a little nocturnal antelope no bigger than a small dog—turned inside out with the legs tied together as handles, the neck tied off as the bottom of the bag and the rump open as the top. When it was full of tsi it was solid and formed and looked eerily like a little, headless duiker.

When the day was over and the sky was getting dark I 512
made a camp for myself a few feet from the werf. The Bush- 609
man children helped me pull the grass. We built a fire in our clearing and I cooked some beans and tsi nuts that Dikai's mother had given me for myself and the children, and as Bushmen from the werf began to come over I cooked more and more. There wasn't much—the Bushmen had only half a day's supply and we hadn't expected to be away from camp so long. Everyone had a little, though, and afterward we filled ourselves up with water and we smoked. It was very cold. Be- 513
fore the night was over, the water we had in our water pail had turned to ice. On nights such as this the Bushmen prefer to sit up and talk, to keep their minds off the fact that the air is cold and they are naked and hungry, rather than to try to sleep; they wait to sleep the following day, warm in the sun.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

574 by now, cranky from the long ride; the bundles of tsi were unloaded, the bundles of belongings, and Tu's grass bed. Lazy
361 Kwi went off to find his wife and family, but the others, all
574 Toma's people, looked around for a place to live and finally chose a tall tree, where they dropped their bundles and began to clear grass. In a very short time the werf was ready, fires were lit, tsi was roasting, and several of the Bushmen who had watched us come had gathered there to see if they should have a share of the tsi. Of course everybody got some and then sat down to eat it, burying the nuts in the hot ashes and scooping them out again with a stick when they were done.
[252 Dikai gave some tsi to me and said that I could use her fire, a
576 courtesy, so I buried the nuts in the ashes and when I thought they were done I poked for them with a stick but I couldn't find them. Pretty soon they began to explode with loud reports and puffs of gray ashes which showed where they were, but of course then it was too late. You might as well throw them away if you forget where they are, the Bushmen say.

252 Some of the newcomers were eating giraffe hide, roasting great pieces of it, dried and thick and curling; they passed chunks of it around and it looked like the soles of shoes, all that remained of a giraffe hunted long ago. When it was roasted the people put it in a wooden mortar and pounded it into powder, and then licked the powder off their palms. Again, Dikai gave some to me and I found that it was salty and not unpleasant, tasting like bacon.

201 Gao Feet plucked my elbow and when I turned to him he
576 pointed at Dikai, sitting on the other side of the fire. He had pointed his lips at her, pushing his lips forward and gesturing with his chin because Bushmen think it is rude to point with the finger. "She wants to tell you what is in her heart," he
601 said. I looked at Dikai and she passed her hand over her two sons' eyes, first Little Gashe, then Little Dabe, as they slept

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

beside her, and I remembered the eye medicine I had prom- 609
ised to her, so I nodded and went to get it, but when I returned with it I found that she had mistakenly awakened her sons and they now crouched behind her, peering out at me, their small faces distorted with distrust and apprehension. I held out my hand to Little Gashe, but he retired completely behind his mother, pushing Little Dabe out the other side, so I held out my hand to Little Dabe, causing him to shrink back, pushing Little Gashe. Finally Dikai stood up and left them both exposed, and then Gao Feet held Little Gashe, Dikai held Little Dabe, and I put the medicine in as quickly 603
as possible, but both children had tantrums of rage and arched their backs, and as soon as they were released they would have nothing further to do with their parents, but went to sleep at their grandmother's fire instead, on the opposite side of the werf. The light was very dim, only the stars were showing and the fires had died, and these two forlorn children made two red little shapes as they lay down at their grandmother's fire; their skins reflected the red glow of coals, for they lay right in the ashes for warmth; they had forsaken their parents' karosses and there was no room for them under their grandmother's—another child was sleeping there.

Gao Feet gave up trying to urge them to come home and at 595
last he, too, lay down to sleep, snug between his two wives, 574
who were resting, not sleeping, for whenever someone at one of the other fires said something of interest, one or the other of them would put up her head and remark upon it. Tu slept alone with her children, for Toma had gone visiting, and one by one the people at Tu's fire moved away toward their own werfs, calling to each other in the dark. At last only a few 521
voices were heard at one of the werfs; they seemed very gay and very lighthearted, all talking at once, and now and then Toma's voice was heard above them all. Hearing him, Tu

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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together in front of the truck and when we climbed down 591 602 they embraced us.

We went on toward the werf with these men and boys 609 clinging to the sides of the truck and laughing loudly at those 576 among them who were raked by thorn branches that the truck drove through, and at the edge of the werf we saw the women standing all together, waving and calling to us, and we stopped again and they too embraced us and kissed me, and the little children gravely shook my hand.

Short Kwi's mother-in-law was there with a wide and toothless smile, her face all wrinkled like a little shriveled pear, and many other people, among them the old man who had never shot a buck and whose sister had died in the forest; he now was nobody's close relative and we noticed he had lost an eye and seemed even more malevolent and sad. He greeted us distantly, but the others were enthusiastic. The little children tried to climb on me and finally someone put a baby in my arms. The baby bit me, but he meant me no harm, for when he bit I felt the sharp edge of a new tooth coming, which probably itched.

We passed through the bushes and came into the werf, 361 where the people had obviously been living for a long time, judging by the size of the ash heaps at the fires and the depth of the nests that people had dug for themselves. Looking around, it came to us that many people whom we had expected to see were not there, Short Kwi for one, and his wife. When we asked for them, Short Kwi's brother-in-law said that he would take us to see him presently. When we asked for the others who were missing—among them the man with 648 two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama—we were told that these people had all been taken by the farmers and had never been seen again. We were very sad to hear it, for many of them were too old to have to do the heavy

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

431 talked about always; Bushman children listen for hours to
867 discussions of this kind and thereby know the history of every
869 object, every exchange between their families, before they are
578 ten or twelve years old. A debt unpaid is a sword against the debtor, to be used against him any time, for any reason. Jealousy and spite had surely preyed on the old woman's mind when she had started this discussion, for she had got up to seek out Gao Feet very early, just at dawn.

578 In the end, the argument was concluded and the crowd
609 scattered by us when we told Short Kwi that we were ready to take him to the hospital in Windhoek if he would go. He said he would, and the people, glaring bitterly at him, at each other, and at us, stood up and went to their scherms, saying to the other members of their families what they would have said to their opponents if they had had a chance.

Soon Short Kwi's werf was nearly empty. The only people who remained were Short Kwi, his family, ourselves, Toma, and Gao Feet. These two talked together, vindicating themselves, and then, before long and before we had a chance to discuss our plans to move Short Kwi, some of the people who had been on Gao Feet's side in the argument came back and crouched beside us stolidly, waiting to hear what might now be said. Jealousy had been aroused.

609 Because of the long journey and Short Kwi's condition, we thought that it would be best for him to leave at once, but his wife spoke out against this, saying that the rest of her family, probably at this moment on their way here, would be heartbroken to find them gone. She would like to wait for them, she said, to say good-by. Gao Feet agreed with her. He added that if her mother were to come and find her gone the old woman would cry and cry for days, but Toma shook his head. "Perhaps Short Kwi can be helped," he said. "Perhaps

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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he had better go anyway. The old woman will just have to609 ●
cry."

Short Kwi's wife began to put her things in a skin bag. She seemed to be resigned. Short Kwi did not say a word, but he smiled, and he seemed to be in good spirits, ready for whatever might happen to him.

Short Kwi's wife called her daughter and when her daugh-301
ter came she took one of the child's arms; another woman609
took the other, and together they stripped off every ornament the daughter wore, every bead string in her hair, every band of antelope skin on her arms, the great wealth of them that once had shown how Short Kwi had hunted, and they did it quickly, cutting some and pulling others although it hurt the little girl and she cried sadly. The two women piled the ornaments in a mound which grew higher and higher, to be left with Tu for safekeeping. Perhaps Short Kwi was resigned to leaving, but we thought then that his wife was not.

When the little girl's arms were stripped completely Short609
Kwi's wife let her go free to rub the pale stripes that the bands had left and to wipe away her own tears. Short Kwi's wife then stood up to ask us to feed her mother when she came. We said we would.

Everything had happened so quickly that we hadn't had a chance to think or plan, and when we looked at Short Kwi and his wife now and pictured them in the streets of Windhoek, we knew we had to do something, so my mother and I and our interpreter, Ledimo, took Short Kwi's wife aside so that no one would be embarrassed and told her everything we could imagine that she would have to know in order to take care of herself and Short Kwi in the city; we racked our brains and started with the simplest things. We taught her how to open a safety pin; we told her how to find a toilet and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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60 drew a picture for her of what a toilet would look like; we told her where she could get water and how to turn a tap, how to handle menstruation when she was alone in the city in the clothes of a European, without the absorbent leather strip that Bushman women use. We told her, in order that she might not seem strange and perhaps be the object of ridicule, to wash very often and to let her hair grow, for she had recently shaved the top of her head like a monk, very decorative among Bushman women. We told her that the traffic in the city streets could kill her, that she must be extremely careful, and we did not even venture into the subject of money, for she had never heard of such a thing and, although we could have taught her the denomination of coins, we could not think how to explain the system to her, how to tell her that Europeans keep tiny discs which possess a value beyond themselves, for Bushmen have no tokens of exchange.

We told her what clothes people wore, both men and women, from the inside out, that she must clothe herself and cover her breasts always or be stared at, which is abhorrent to Bushmen, and then at last we tried to tell her what a city was, what it would look like, what buildings were made of and what they were.

At the end we told her to remember everything we said, for very few Europeans or Bantus can speak the Kung language. This was her last chance to learn. She would hereafter be unable to ask.

After that we took her to our tents and dressed her, stripping her as she had stripped her daughter and giving her a set of clothing put together from what we had. I gave her a dress which I had brought with me to wear if ever, in our travels, I should need one. It was cotton and required very little ironing; she could wash it at night and wear it dry and quite smooth in the morning. It fitted her and became her—it was

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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pink and made her skin look gold. My mother gave her under- 609
clothes and a bright bathrobe which my mother found hastily in our bundle of cloth that we intended to give away as gifts, the bathrobe intended to be cut into pieces as scarves for children, for we ourselves had no need of bathrobes in the desert. Short Kwi's wife could wear it while the pink dress dried. We sent a set of clothing out to Short Kwi, robbing my father and brother, and last of all we quickly made a little red dress for the daughter from more of our gift cloth, fitting it on her as she stood there, for we heard the truck motor starting and knew that we had very little time. All this we did in less than two hours.

When we came out of the tent we found ourselves in the middle of a crowd of women crouched together in a mass. Tu and Dikai were at the front, nearest to us, for they had been looking under the tent flap to see what we were giving Short [578]
Kwi's wife and wondering, no doubt, if they would get the same. They glared at us when we came out, and Tu was yellow-eyed.

The truck was ready, Short Kwi was braced with grass and blankets comfortably on top. His wife tried uneasily to join him, her new skirt binding her legs badly, for the apron worn by Bushman women is supple and free, and falls between the legs when the woman is in motion. People boosted her; she finally got up, and reached out her arms to her daughter, who stood, a lonely baby, by the truck's great wheel, waiting to be seen, to be taken. Toma lifted the little girl and her mother caught her.

The motor had been running, and almost before we knew what had happened the truck had gone, had disappeared among the trees. The two, Short Kwi and his wife, had taken one last, desperate look at the veld, the werfs, and all the people, and their little girl had seemed frightened even though

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

609 she was with her father and mother, though perhaps not nearly as frightened as she would be later when she was far away from Nama Pan in the streets of the city.

732 It was a very sad and heavy day the day that Short Kwi left. It depresses Bushmen terribly to see one of their number crippled, which, of course, in almost every case means the end of that person's productive life as a supporter of the people —one becomes a poor person and depends upon the enforced charity of one's near relatives while suffering avoidance by one's remoter kin; but it depresses Bushmen even more to see one of their number taken away. It is the end of a link in their unity, and when it happens part of the chain of their relationships, part of their pattern is destroyed. That day many people who surely expected never to see Short Kwi again stayed alone by their fires or played the guashi idly, but spoke not a word. The rest of the people, all but Toma, Gao
152 Feet, and Lazy Kwi, were beset with jealousy and quarreled
578 on and on all day, with us, with each other. They were jealous because we had given Short Kwi and his wife clothing and within the hour after Short Kwi's departure a crowd of people was squatting in the dust around our camp. The crowd was so thick that we could hardly get through. No one budged an inch to let us by, and when they would catch our eyes, the women, particularly those who had waited outside our tent when we had given Short Kwi's wife the clothes, pointed to holes and frayed spots in their karosses which clearly showed that they, too, needed clothing, and when we did nothing (we had presents of blankets, cloth, beads, shirts, pants, pipes, and knives to give to everyone when we left, but could not give dresses to all the women and could not give the presents now) they glared at us with stony faces and hard eyes.

152 In the afternoon the people were still there, quite dusty

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

That was beautiful, the sun, and there was no sound as it 133
went down except the sound of doves calling among the trees on the far bank, whirring, cooing, a call that was pulsing and thick, urgent, throbbing, rising in intensity as the sun got dimmer, reaching a peak as the sun disappeared. It was as though they had brought it down, and when it was gone there was no sound at all; the silence was complete.

Gautscha Pan was more than a mile square and we, Europeans and Bushmen alike, held our breath with the majesty of it, its great solitude, the great drama of sunset going on reflected in its water for no eyes to look at; and when the sun was down and the colors of the veld were dull and dark we started home, but that was an impressive last look at a place and the last I ever saw of Gautscha Pan.

In the morning our trucks were packed and ready. We were 609 ●
not happy to leave and the Bushmen were not happy to have us go. We gave them presents of all kinds, presents of pipes, of knives, of beads, of clothing, of cornmeal and tobacco; and all this pleased them, but Dikai cried when we said good-by and asked me if I would ever come back. I said that I hoped so and she kissed me and I felt wet tears on her face.

The people who had come from Gam wanted to ride a 361
little way back with us to a mangetti forest, and we were glad to have them, but the others, Toma and his band, Gao Feet and his family, wanted to return to the tsi fields where we had found them, the veld food at Nama being almost gone, and before we left they had their bundles packed and were ready to go; as our trucks moved away they waved good-by and before we were out of sight we looked back and saw their small groups going in every direction, scattering to the four winds. When we reached the mangetti forest the others climbed

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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IX. FOOD, WORK AND LAND USE

AMONG THE !KUNG BUSHMEN

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An observer planning to live with Bushmen is led to expect - from the ethnographic literature - that the Bushmen lead an arduous and exacting way of life, in which the problem of getting food is an overwhelming daily concern. Furthermore I had been told, by local Europeans, that the Bushmen were extremely shy and difficult to find, and that they were always on the move in their endless quest for game. Therefore I was unprepared for the situation in the Dobe area when I first arrived there at the end of the dry season of 1963; for camped at every waterhole were dozens of Bushmen who offered the outsider a hearty welcome and who were seemingly unconcerned by the problem of finding food.

During the course of the study, it became apparent that the Bushman subsistence was more substantial and secure than had been previously supposed. In the foregoing chapters the properties of their hunting and gathering way of life have been described. It will be appropriate, in this final chapter, to review the lines of evidence that bear on the problem of how such a carefree and secure existence is possible in a society of hunter-gatherers living in a harsh, semi-desert environment.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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101 Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung
582 whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

619 The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the
[648] territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their inter-
648 marrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

162 About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28
[621] bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants
[177] other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

621 My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the
[114] years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

[162] FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

601 /Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1]
[595] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and
[596] extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal
[611] residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally,
[614] There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the
[835] incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

621 As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous
582 unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[113] [1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

185 polygyny affords women—that none remain long without the support of a husband.
595 They just said they did not want to be second wives, nor did they want their husbands to take second wives, and protests and quarrels attended a husband's proposal to do so.

Marriage by capture

583 Marriage by capture was spoken of fairly frequently by the /Kung in conversation. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas and I questioned a number of informants about it and we are convinced that wives are not actually acquired by this means at present. Perhaps they were in the past. The /Kung are a present-oriented people who make [181] no concerted or consistent effort to retain their history and teach it to their children, and we obtained no significant data on their past customs. Nowadays the idea of capturing wives appears to be enjoyed by the men as a fantasy. The remarks of one /Gaishay illustrate what I mean. He weighs, at a good guess, about ninety pounds and looks like a miniature Mephistopheles. With a gleam he told me that if he wanted to take another wife he would go to her werf, seize her, throw her over his shoulder and run off with her. That is the way Bushmen do, he said, and he wished I could see him do so. I also wished that I could.

Arrangements for marriage

584 First marriages are arranged by the parents of the bride and groom, and second marriages also if the couple are still young. Adults, when both have been married before, may contract subsequent marriages themselves.

[611] Although there is a slight paternal emphasis in this society which recognizes bilateral descent, and the father names all his children, his authority is not clearly [593] dominant over the mother's in the choice of a mate for their child. By and large, it appears that the father and mother talk things over and come to agreement. If they do not agree, it appears that the strength of personality of one or the other, the opinions of relatives, and various circumstances have weight in the decision.

Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may take the initiative and go to the other parents with the proposal. A go-between is not required, though it is possible that a friend will sometimes act as such. The parents visit and talk, and, if they all agree, the arrangement is thereby settled upon. They normally give each other gifts in honour of the occasion.

Property does not enter much into the consideration of the parents in arranging marriages for their children. No property settlement is made, no bride-price paid, no dower given, though at the time of the wedding a few gifts are exchanged.

Food and water must, one imagines, weigh in the parents' thinking when a marriage is being arranged, and may sometimes be a determining factor. However, there is a considerable amount of equalization in these supplies. Veldkos[1] and water-holes
423 are not owned by individuals but by headmen for their bands, in a way I shall describe in a paper on bands. In the Nyae Nyae region each band has access to a supply, else the people would be dead or somewhere else, and things balance out in

[1] *Veldkos* (field food) is an Afrikaans word used to refer to any kind of wild plant material which people gather to eat. Edible fruits, seeds, roots, tubers, leaves, all are included.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

587 was meant. That would be very uncomfortable, he said. It would make her shiver and
589 might make her sick. The rainy season's passing is what cleanses the woman. When
[783] she is about to go to her new husband she prepares herself by washing in the ordinary way.

Unless a woman is quite old she does not remain long unmarried. One man said, 'Even if a widow is thick and tall, but is a good woman, some man will want her.' Widows may marry as second wives of married men, or they may marry widowers, divorced men, or bachelors. The two young widows and the two divorced women who were unmarried in 1953, had remarried by 1955. Only the very old widows remain unmarried.

There are so few unmarried women that widowers have difficulty in finding wives. The young widowed musician, /Gao, was an example. After his first wife's death he had married the daughter of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, when she was approximately ten or eleven years old, about the age of his own son, and was patiently waiting for her to grow up. Only one of the old widowers had succeeded in finding a wife by 1957.

736 The children of a widowed parent are kept by that parent. A widower may leave
768 his children with a woman relative, but they remain his. Orphaned children go to live with relatives. There is a tendency to feel that the boys belong eventually to the
●[611] father's side of the family, the girls to the mother's. This concept came to our attention several times, but we did not find it to be a rigid social rule. The relative who
[604] is expected to take the children if they are young is the MoSi. But the FaSi might be nearer or more able for one reason or another to take them and might do so. FaBr would be the relative most likely to take half-grown boys, but again MoBr might be the one. Failing these, some other relative would take them. When it came to arrang-
[584] ing marriages for orphaned children, informants said that the father's elder brother would have the most authority; a stepfather or stepmother has none.

[597] Adoption does not exist in /Kung society.

Divorce may terminate a marriage. The couple may divorce without formality,
586 by mutual consent or by one spouse simply leaving the other. The /Kung word for ending a marriage in this way is */kao joo*. I use the word 'divorce' for convenience, although no legal action takes place. No religious dispensation is involved, no permission or action on the part of the headman or group is required. If parents of a very young couple withheld consent this might influence the couple, but the parents' consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties, for there is no dowry or bride-price to be resolved. The only property a /Kung owns personally consists of movables, and these are never owned in common by man and
[422] wife. Every artifact down to a single bead belongs to an individual, who takes his property with him in case of divorce.

Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way. They are free to remarry without restrictions.

Divorce is never obligatory and the grounds are not formalized; the desire of the couple concerned is the determining factor. A condition such as sterility, for example, or a wrongdoing such as adultery, might or might not lead to divorce, depending on how the couple felt about it. Mistreatment or failure to provide would certainly be considered justification for divorce, should they ever occur, but justifica-

[9 cont.]

586 Up to the birth of the first child, the marriage is dis-
595 solvable, but not thereafter. Monogamy is the rule; where
there is polygamy, the first wife is the "head wife." The eldest
596 brother of the head wife is the family head. The boys belong to
(611) the family of the wife, and the daughters to the family of the
father.

582 The strictest exogamy prevails. Son and daughter may
marry neither into the father's kin group nor into the mother's
[587] kin group. On the other hand, a young widow is usually married
by one of her brothers-in-law.

551 The following kin-group names were reported to me:
!Nui-a, Dai, áben, orasi, Gombe, χ'am, χ'am-Kha.

805 The following times of the day are differentiated:

eruba, time before sunrise.

!khoasa, time of sunrise (N. khoa-am = to open, that is, the door for the sun is opened).

sorésa, "the sun shines."

sorésa ≠kam go, "the young sun goes," breakfast time. In effect, below the tropics one has the impression that the sun, after it has stood on the horizon for a while, moves toward the zenith with great speed.

sorésa !khoai go, "the sun goes back." Noon.

//gui-sa, "it declines (lies down)." Afternoon.

[512] ≠khai-am-go, "to rise and go." After hunting or searching for veldkost, the Bushmen usually take a rest before it is time to go home and start cooking (late afternoon).

≠kha-go, "to go through." (The sun goes through the gate of the night.) Dusk, sunset.

!khui-sa, to be evening.

dschu-ba, night (N. tsuχub).

821 These Bushmen have the idea that the old sun dies every
night and a new, young sun appears the next morning. That the
[171] moon dies every month and is resurrected again is a notion so
widespread in Africa that it is really unnecessary to make special
mention of it.

805 The year begins when a new rainy season sets in.

//hauba, "storms rise." Rainy season.

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

372 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in
881 the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other
184 hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not
585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the mar-
582 riage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A
595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 [12] A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

● 611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

[13 cont.]

Chapter 4

The Bushmen of Ukuambi

115 At an outpost of the Finnish Ukuambi Mission, where I undertook anthropological measurements, I encountered a Bushman from the hordes that live on the northern bank of the Etosha Pan and stand in a loose dependent relationship partly with Ipumbo, partly with Shanika. I was able to converse with him only a few hours.

101 These Bushmen in Ukuambi, as well as at other places, belong to the Ezimo of the Akuanambua. They themselves are [614] divided into a number of exogamous kin groups. My informant belonged to the clan Ari-Ari. The tribe calls itself Akese or Kere and comes from the region between Okaukuejo and Outjo. Today this tribal organization is broken up. The following names -- formerly independent hordes which now live mixed together -- were mentioned to me: /Aru-Kwe, Ashuche, Asécha, !Kuru-Kwei, A !Kha-ta-bé, A-Hei-tére, A !gnuri.

648 Insofar as these Bushmen do not already lead the life of the Bantu farmers, they are hunters, spies, and occasionally also executioners for the chiefs. They manufacture ostrich egg beads [+39] and poison. For twelve good ostrich eggs they receive a fat ox. The Ovambo have quite a peculiar outlook in this respect. They spurn the perfectly good eggs of their hens. The ordinarily somewhat "disreputable" ostrich eggs are purchased for dear money as a delicacy.

611 The sons belong to the family of the father, the daughters to that of the mother. The men are not allowed to eat hares, 262 but the women and children do. The eating of hyenas and boa constrictors is prohibited to all.

776 Concerning their religious conceptions I was able to discover the following: In the sky dwells the great captain !Khuwa, which means the same as Huwe. In answer to the question about God, however, he stated that this was Erob, which naturally coincides with the name for God, Ellob, of the Rhenish Mission. The name !Khuwa only occurred casually in the conversation. He was unable to give a clear answer to my question as to whether

[15 cont.]

881 the man's encampment and took up married life. Nowadays the
585 first menstruation and wedding no longer always coincide.

584 The consent of the girl is absolutely necessary for the conclusion of the marriage. People often are betrothed already in childhood. Once the girl has grown up, that is, once she has become sexually mature, the suitor goes to the girl's parents. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to enter the encampments of their prospective parents-in-law. If father and mother agree, then they go to the grandparents to obtain their consent. Then oxen, wethers, and goats are collected for the feast. Then the suitor goes to his parents, who in turn consult the grandparents. In the bridegroom's house also livestock is now collected, or, as the case may be, begged or purchased.
585 Then a great feast begins. There is dancing, and long trumpets are blown.

During the wedding dance the men sing:

[539] "Huwi é haa -- huwi é taa -- huwi áni taa." (The girl has grown up.)

The women clap their hands and sing:

"Jee jeee ja! jee jeee ja!"

881 A boys' initiation in the true sense of the term is no longer held. When the boy has grown up, however, a celebration
852 is held and livestock is killed. Similarly, when a child has been born, a celebration takes place, at which wethers or sheep are slaughtered. It is striking that among these Bushmen a sheep usually takes the place of the goat.

551 The boy receives the father's name; the daughter, the mother's name. The children belong to the family of the woman,
611 and the oldest uncle, or oldest brother of the woman, is the head
582 of the family. It is prohibited to marry the children of the mother's sisters.

The kinship terms are as follows:

601

German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
Father	//khum-khe	//gub, dadab, eib
Mother	//khums	//gus, is
Son	a χ'oron-khe	/gõab/gõb
Daughter	χ'ams-khe	/gõas/gõs
Brother	!gasab	!gasab
Sister	di !gas-khe	!gasas

[41 cont.]

582 girl to marry him. Naturally, these sisters ordinarily do not remember their prerogative until they have failed to get another man whom they desire. Thus the young men are often forced to marry girls who are much older than themselves. If the wife 587 dies, the widower must marry a sister of his wife in case she agrees. [42] If, on the other hand, the man dies, the widow (589) must stay with the parents-in-law for about a year. It is illegal to marry the wife or the children of a deceased brother. The widow must marry a man from another kin group and move to his vil- ● 611 lage (1). The boys belong to the father's kin group, the girls to THE MOTHER'S KIN GROUP.

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842
589
732
627

1. "The fate of many a young childless widow is much worse, however. A Bushman communicated the following concerning this matter: 'When a man dies and leaves behind a wife without children, and the brother-in-law refuses to accept his brother's bow and thereby his sister-in-law, she may return to her father's village. But this does not by any means always happen. As a woman who did not bear children she is not highly regarded. Her life has no significance. The men of the village talk about her case and designate one from their midst to destroy the useless life. This man will come to the widow's hut in the evening and will sit down across from her at her fire. He has a bow and arrow with him. The widow knows what is in store for her, but gives no sign. The two talk about trivial matters. After a while the man takes the bow in his hand and shoots an arrow through the heart of the woman sitting across from him. The unfortunate woman dies and is buried as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible. Blood vengeance on the part of the woman's kin group is not to be feared. After all, she did not bear any children.'" (Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 419.)

I NARON
AUIN
NOGAU

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the
(842) horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
843 spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
845 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
611 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.
596 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong
(601) to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu;
the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and
father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is
forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage
is forbidden even with the children
of the mother's brothers and
mother's sisters; within the
individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy
is the rule, but, as among
the !Kung, a man may
take a second wife provided
he has the consent of the first.

[301
789
303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-
in-law or to support her.

7Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she
584 is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take
her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

male relatives of the chief with their wives and families.[1] The relationship to one another of the families in the bands of the other North-Western tribes is not indicated by our authorities. It is reasonable, however, to expect that most of them at least will be similarly connected, since as a rule married sons with their wives and children will remain together in the same band as their father, while married daughters will leave it to join the bands of their husbands. Moreover, in case of divorce the children remain with their father, and although unweaned children must go with their mother, they can be claimed later by him if he likes.[2] 621 [114] [591] [586]

Dornan says that "the Bushmen of the Kalahari are divided into many small clans",[3] but the term "clan", as used by him, applies sometimes to what has here been called a tribe, and sometimes to a hunting band. He speaks also of exogamous "totemic families" and "totemic clans" among the Hiechware and adjoining tribes, but admits that here the occurrence of this "totemism" is the result of Bantu influence.[4] There is no evidence yet that definitely goes to show the existence of totemism among any of the other Bushman peoples. 114 614 [177]

Nor, as far as can be seen at present, is there any real clan organization among the Bushmen.[5] The bands of the Cape and Namib Bushmen and of the !O Kung are certainly not clans, while the little we know of the social structure of the band among the North-Western Bushmen does not in itself justify our regarding them as such. There is also nothing at all to indicate the existence of a clan organization cutting across the system of grouping into hunting bands.

It must again be emphasized, however, that our knowledge of the social organization of the Bushmen is fragmentary, and that there are many questions relating to the structure of the band about which no adequate information is available. We are nowhere told clearly, for instance, how membership of the band is determined among the North-Western Bushmen.[6] In general it would seem that children 621 611

[1] Op. cit., 86. [2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 34; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 67. [4] Op. cit., 161; cf. 68, 128.
[5] The *clan* is commonly defined as "an exogamous, unilateral group of persons all the members of which are held to be related to one another and bound together by a common tie. This tie may be a belief in common descent from some ancestor, real or mythical, it may be the common possession of a totem, or the common habitation of a village or district" (*Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 5th ed., p. 55). A patrilineal clan is one of which membership is determined by descent traced through the male line, i.e. a person belongs to the clan of his father and his clansmen are related to him primarily through his father. A matrilineal clan is one in which descent is similarly traced through the mother.
[6] Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung (op. cit.), says curtly (p. 114) that a boy belongs to the family of his father, a girl to that of her mother ("Die Knaben gehören zur Sippe des Vaters, die Mädchen zu der der Mutter"). This statement is at variance with all so far known about the Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed before it can be accepted as accurate. [114]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

611 621 belong to the band of which their father is a member. But, as already mentioned, there are certain cases among the Naron where both married sons and married daughters with their respective spouses and children are found living in the same band. It would throw much light on the structure of the band if we could know whether all these children are regarded as members of the band in which their parents are living, or whether some distinction is made between the children of the married sons on the one hand and those of the married daughters on the other. Without further research in the field, however, no definite statement can be made on this crucial point. There is also nothing to indicate whether people who are related or claim to be related in the male line, or again those who are related or claim to be related in the female line, are specially bound together by ties of a ceremonial, legal or economic nature. Whether further research, therefore, will show the bands of the North-Western Bushmen to be clans is problematical. The trend of the available data gives no clear indication either way.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 221 [184] Moving about constantly as they do in the search for food, the Bushmen build no permanent homes. More or less fixed villages are found only among the tribes living in the Okavango-Zambesi region, but even here there are distinct quarters for the winter (dry season) and for the summer (rainy season). During the dry season the Tannekwe live in the marsh lands of the Okavango basin, where they have small villages surrounded with palisades, after the style of their Bantu neighbours. In the rainy season, however, these become uninhabitable. The people then move out to villages on the edge of the surrounding plains, where they also have their hunting grounds. The Hukwe on the plains north-east of Lake Ngami live in similar villages during the rainy season, from which they scatter about in family groups in the dry season to hunt and collect.[1]

361 342 Everywhere else the encampments of the Bushmen are temporary. The tribes formerly living in the mountainous regions of the south and east often made their homes in caves and under rock-shelters, in which relics of their occupation may still be found. Even to-day the Namib Bushmen, during the latter part of the dry season, also live chiefly in caves or under overhanging rock-shelters on the high

[1] Seiner, "Bericsung der Omaheke," 296, 297.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

554 887 band, such as migrations and hunting parties, appear rather to be regulated by the skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men generally.[1]

Among the North-Western tribes, on the other hand, where the 622 bands are on the whole more considerable in size, each band has a [184] recognized chief (*//exa* or *//exaba*, *gao-aob* or *gei-khoib*; the last two [192] words are of Hottentot origin).[2] The office is as a rule hereditary in the male line, descending from father to son, or, failing such, to the nearest male relative. The heir succeeds only when he attains maturity, i.e. when he has passed through the puberty ceremonies and has killed his first head of big game. During his minority there is no regency—things just go on, as Kaufmann says. Among the Heikum and the Kung, however, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds. This [184] rule of succession is so much at variance with what we know of the [171] other North-Western Bushmen, and even of the structure of the band in the two tribes mentioned, that, if the information be correct, the practice can only be regarded as due to the influence of the neighbouring OvaMbo, who are definitely organized on a matrilineal [611] basis. There is no other instance of matrilineal succession among the Bushmen.

No tribute or services are rendered to the chief, nor are there any special signs of chieftainship, such as a particular dress or mode of [595] life. We are told by Miss Bleek that Naron chiefs mostly have two wives, but whether this is in any way associated with their status is not made clear. The main functions of the chief apparently are to direct the movements of the people from place to place and to allocate the work for the day, to order the burning of the veld, and, in particular, to lead in war. Among the Heikum we also know that in him are vested certain other functions the performance of which is of vital importance to the welfare of the community. He alone, as we have seen, "is able to bring forth from fire the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune." The various beliefs and practices centring in the first fire kindled by him at every new encampment, while fully demonstrating the importance of this fire in the social life of the people, at the same time also reflect his religious significance and emphasize the dependence of the community upon him in this aspect of their life. He also, as we have

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109; Trenk, op. cit., 170; Seydel, op. cit., 504.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Aula," 154; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36–7; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 86–8; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 14.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

553 602 835 [601] properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, 619 in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling 553 of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin 601 terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen— 602 sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [101] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ŏassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ŏassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father [613] to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship. [622]

There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food [423] and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A consider- 768 able amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

582 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside 648 the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

584 First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

101 Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung
582 whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

619 The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the
[648] territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

648 About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28
162 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of
[621] burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants
[177] other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

621 My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the
[114] years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

[162] FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

601 /Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1]
[595] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and
[596] extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal
[611] residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally,
[614] There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins
[835] are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

621 As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous
582 unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[113] [1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

/13 cont./

Chapter 4

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[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire. [40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 [439] Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be- [422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 [304] Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out 177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked 415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are 278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen. 805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions; 211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 [614] Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary. To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life [888] is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements [623] between the chief and the other old men.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 25]

[42 cont.]
178 He died when his successor, Amme, was still a small boy. Amme,
622 however, was unable [43] to learn much from his father; he was not a good chief, and he died while still young. Since then the !Kung Bushmen have not had a supreme chief. One of my informants, Doctor X'amme, claimed to be the great-grandson of the great chief of the same name.

The following from Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) should

1. Op. cit., pp. 412, 424.

be mentioned:

593 "The father is the chief of the family. All must respect
596 him. Children may not call him by name. -- The chief's posi-
622

[276]

Fig. 15. Dacha Pipe of the !Kung Bushmen (from the Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart, 29464).

tion is generally passed from father to son. If the son is not yet an adult when his father dies, the father's younger brother takes
423 his place. Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited
614 from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

"There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 100 kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

[43 cont.]

423 614 769 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's territory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 614 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, includes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place.

13. Illnesses and Treatment

826 The anatomical knowledge of the Bushmen is quite extensive as a result of their way of life as hunters.

The heart is regarded as the seat of life, and the breath [761] has some connection with the heart. Their surgical knowledge is 752 confined to the extraction of thorns by means of an awl-like in- 757 strument and to the relatively effective bandaging of hand and leg 278 fractures. Their supply of medicines, on the other hand, is very limited. In what follows, I shall list the common illnesses and their treatment.

Eye Inflammation

752 Both dry and exudative eye inflammations, caused by sand and irritating grass seeds, are extremely widespread, and blear eyes are the rule among older people. These diseases, however, are not nearly as grave among the !Kung living in the forest as, say, among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari or among those [826] of Naukluft. Among the latter, blear eyes are even regarded as signs of beauty in young girls. Ordinary eye inflammations that pass in a short period of time mean nothing. They are treated by [753] rubbing with fat. If the ailment lasts for a longer period of time, then //Gauab [Fig. 16 appears here] certainly had something to [755] do with it; the doctor is called in and, after some treatment, produces a "little black medicine" from the eye.

[59 cont.]

20. Law

671 The norms of natural law among the Bushmen are the
627 same as among us. The family head is at the same time the supreme judge. Since even the nearest kin group is regarded in a sense as a foreign state, however, the boundaries between law, war, and vengeance are exceedingly fluid. The domain of law, therefore, is actually confined to the family. Since the only
[681] punishment that can be effectively inflicted is the death penalty, it is rarely applied among married men, [60] for the judges and executioners must provide for the condemned man's survivors. In olden times the women condemned to death were burned or beaten to death with the kirri, and the men were killed with the poisoned arrow.

423 The right to personal possession of utilitarian objects, honey, and certain types of veldkost is strictly respected. The soil is common property of the kin group, as is any big game
[224] that is killed. If a wounded animal dies in the domain of the neighboring kin group, the hunter must go there and report it. The dead prey must then be divided. Since, however, there are
[578] some unpaired organs, fighting and killing easily arise concern-
[627] ing them. Blood vengeance is practiced, but can be resolved through negotiation.

423 "Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited
614 from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

[361] "There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 1,000 [sic] kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions, come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

769 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's terri-
614 tory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's

[60 cont.]

769 territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced
614 by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place (1).

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 434.

775 As has already been said, the Bushman does not believe
[626] in punishment after death. On the other hand, he is convinced that the evil that he himself has done will befall him or his dogs in the same way.

681 In former times banishment from the kin group was likewise
648 customary, and the exile would soon perish, since the Bushman
177 cannot survive by himself in the wilderness for any length of time. Nowadays, such individuals, just like those who were expelled from the Bantu tribes, move to land owned by Europeans and find work there. It is obvious that they do not help to improve the reputation of the Coloreds.

695 In cases of doubt, the Bushman swears by the great captain: nu X'u.

681 Instead of formal expulsion, the people may boycott out-
762 laws, who are thereby driven to such despair that they commonly commit suicide. Suicides also occur for other reasons.

21. Conflicts with Europeans

648 Before the police zone boundary was erected, the Bushmen found themselves in a latent state of war with their neighbors. Part of their list of sins will be cited here.

According to Toke, the !Kung near Keibeb in 1925 attacked eight Barotse [Lozi] and killed them, and purportedly ate them. Later, three Ovambo were attacked by surprise, killed,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

male relatives of the chief with their wives and families.[1] The relationship to one another of the families in the bands of the other North-Western tribes is not indicated by our authorities. It is reasonable, however, to expect that most of them at least will be similarly connected, since as a rule married sons with their wives and children will remain together in the same band as their father, while married daughters will leave it to join the bands of their husbands. Moreover, in case of divorce the children remain with their father, and although unweaned children must go with their mother, they can be claimed later by him if he likes.[2] 621 [114] [591] [586]

Dornan says that "the Bushmen of the Kalahari are divided into many small clans",[3] but the term "clan", as used by him, applies sometimes to what has here been called a tribe, and sometimes to a hunting band. He speaks also of exogamous "totemic families" and "totemic clans" among the Hiechware and adjoining tribes, but admits that here the occurrence of this "totemism" is the result of Bantu influence.[4] There is no evidence yet that definitely goes to show the existence of totemism among any of the other Bushman peoples. 114 614 [177]

Nor, as far as can be seen at present, is there any real clan organization among the Bushmen.[5] The bands of the Cape and Namib Bushmen and of the !O Kung are certainly not clans, while the little we know of the social structure of the band among the North-Western Bushmen does not in itself justify our regarding them as such. There is also nothing at all to indicate the existence of a clan organization cutting across the system of grouping into hunting bands.

It must again be emphasized, however, that our knowledge of the social organization of the Bushmen is fragmentary, and that there are many questions relating to the structure of the band about which no adequate information is available. We are nowhere told clearly, for instance, how membership of the band is determined among the North-Western Bushmen.[6] In general it would seem that children 621 611

[1] Op. cit., 86. [2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 34; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 67. [4] Op. cit., 161; cf. 68, 128.
[5] The *clan* is commonly defined as "an exogamous, unilateral group of persons all the members of which are held to be related to one another and bound together by a common tie. This tie may be a belief in common descent from some ancestor, real or mythical, it may be the common possession of a totem, or the common habitation of a village or district" (*Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 5th ed., p. 55). A patrilineal clan is one of which membership is determined by descent traced through the male line, i.e. a person belongs to the clan of his father and his clansmen are related to him primarily through his father. A matrilineal clan is one in which descent is similarly traced through the mother.
[6] Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung (op. cit.), says curtly (p. 14) that a boy belongs to the family of his father, a girl to that of her mother ("Die Knaben gehoren zur Sippe des Vaters, die Mädchen zu der der Mutter"). This statement is at variance with all so far known about the Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed before it can be accepted as accurate. [114]

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101 Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung
582 whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

619 The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the
[648] territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

648 About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28
162 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of
[621] burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants
[177] other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

621 My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the
[114] years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

[162] FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

601 /Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1]
[595] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and
[596] extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal
[611] residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally,
[614] There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the
[835] incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

621 As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous
582 unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[113] [1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

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but there might very likely be some between whom marriage would be permissible, such as, for instance, a man and his WiSi or his widowed BrWi. 621 582

The /Kung have no unit within which endogamy is absolutely required. Those of the Nyae Nyae region almost all marry among themselves within the region, not because a formulated social rule definitely prohibits their marrying outside but because they almost never go out. They do not like strange places, strange situations, or strange persons, and have no way of feeding themselves where they cannot depend on receiving food from relatives or friends and, in strange country, either do not know where the wild foods grow or might not be allowed to gather them if they found any. Nevertheless, a few Nyae Nyae /Kung have married other /Kung outside the region, and one /Kung woman we know is married outside her own race, with acceptance and ease of relations all around among her people and his, to a Chwana man at Gam, near the southern border of the region. We think in all probability there must be other mixed marriages along the Bechuanaland border which we do not know about, but we are safe in saying that among the Nyae Nyae /Kung such marriages are rare. [648]

Prolonged intermarriage within the region has woven these people together and much visiting among kin develops acquaintanceships and friendships which unite the whole Nyae Nyae /Kung population. They feel themselves to be an in-group and express this feeling in the words *ju |ŏassi*.[1] *Ju* means 'person' or 'persons'; 571 619 621

[1] S. Passarge puts the phrase on his map in *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari* (Berlin, 1907, Dietrich Reimer, p. 19), spelling it *Sru²gnassi*. He places it on the line of 20° S., slightly to the east of 20° E., near what we call the centre of the Nyae Nyae region, in the area designated on his and other maps as the Kaukau Veld. He places the phrase as if it were the name of a Bushman group, like Heikom, Naron, or some other, He places the name ²*Kung* somewhat to the north-west. That is the name we spell */Kung*, which D. Bleek (*A Bushman Dictionary*, American Oriental Society, 1956, p. 447) records as */Kũ*, */Ku* or */Kuŋ* (person, Bushman).

Passarge places the name ²*Kung* once more at about 23° S. as the name of another Bushman group. In sound the name is the same or very, very like the name of the more northerly group. Miss Bleek refers to this group as being popularly called 'Koon'. L. F. Maingard distinguishes between the two by spelling the name of the southerly group */Kɔ̃*. The /Kɔ̃ are to be found in B.P., in and south of Okwa. Whereas the /Kung language has four clicks (symbolized now as dental /, alveolar ≠, alveolar palatal /, lateral /||), the /Kɔ̃ language is very different and has a fifth click, that of the southern Bushman language groups, the labial ⊙. The phrase *ju |ŏassi* has nothing to do with the /Kɔ̃.

Maingard in 'Three Bushman Languages' (*African Studies*, 16/1, 1957, p. 37) uses the phrase as the name of a dialect of /Kung—'. . . *dyu||ŏã:si* (Northern Group, a dialect of /khũ, partly in South West Africa and partly in the Bechuanaland Protectorate)'. Bleek (op. cit., p. 354) does not record the phrase in /Kung (her northern Group II), but gives it in Auen (N I) and says it means 'Bushman'. She spells it *ju |nwasi*. [101]

We think that the phrase *ju |ŏassi*, which we started spelling in this way because we did not know any better and continue because it is simpler, can be applied to groups of varying size and definition, on a variety of bases, when the in-group quality in comparison with the out-group is to be expressed in some way. When we asked what they call themselves, our /Kung informants often replied '*ju |ŏassi*' as though the phrase might be coextensive with Bushman as distinguished from non-Bushman (Europeans, */ku*, whom the /Kung also call 'red people', i.e. *ju gau*; or Bantu, whom the /Kung call *ju dzo*, 'black people' or */gomu* (or */komu?*), 'animals without hooves'). They also use *ju |ŏassi* when one might expect them to say '/Kung' as distinguished from other Bushman language groups, or when they distinguish themselves from other /Kung outside their region. They said that the Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south were *ju dole* and they know that the Bushmen at Karakuwise, Nuregas, and Chadum speak /Kung but said they were *ju dole* nevertheless. I had the impression that it was the out-group quality in the phrase (strange and therefore potentially harmful) which was being expressed when they applied it as above and claimed that the Makaukau were a murderous people who have a medicine so deadly that you die if you but glance at it, and that those Nuregas /Kung put poison into the pipes they give you to smoke. One's friend or relative can also be *ju dole* if one is displeased with him.

Isaak Utuhile (a Chwana chief under Queen Moremi, in Kubi, B.P.) said that in the phrase *ju |ŏassi*

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571 we were unable to find a precise translation of */ōassi* but think it connotes the *we* as
619 distinct from the *they* and has an overtone of something good and safe. The phrase is
621 an opposite of *ju dole*. *Dole* means strange or harmful or bad—evidently synonyms to the /Kung.

602 Because there were so many kinship ties among the people and because they have
621 a system (the name relationship—to be mentioned later) by which they apply kin
[608] terms to persons who are not consanguineous relatives or affines, I wondered for a time if we should find that the people who call themselves *ju /ōassi* comprised a kin group of the type which Murdock calls a deme.[1] A deme is bilateral and endogamous, Murdock says, 'comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite the members'. Though the Nyae Nyae region has the elements of a deme, I am convinced that it does not constitute, strictly speaking, an organized kin group of this type, of which the people are conscious as a social form. The endogamy of the region is customary and preferred, but not required by a social rule, and it is not from the group of people as a whole who are *ju /ōassi* that social regulation derives.

Marriage regulations: the incest taboo and its expression in avoidances

582 Marriages are forbidden in /Kung social organization on one basis only. That
835 basis is incest. In common with nearly all mankind (excepting, of course, the Pharaohs and a few other rare examples), the /Kung incest taboo prohibits marriage or sexual relations between Fa and Da, Mo and So, Br and Si. The incest taboo is extended beyond the nuclear family to certain additional categories of persons, and marriage with them is also rigorously forbidden by /Kung social law.

[842] The /Kung did not express the belief that in-breeding *per se* produces inferior off-
spring and must for that reason be avoided. Although they believe that in conception the semen unites with menstrual blood, their language does not use the image of blood as ours does. They do not think of relatives as having the same blood or any
[827] physical substance in common, actually or by way of figure of speech to represent inheritable characteristics, in so far as we know, and do not think that common inheritance is somehow what makes it wrong to marry close kin.

The thought that incest has been avoided by mankind because it would be exceedingly disruptive to the internal cohesion of the nuclear family comes to the mind of the analyst of social forms but not to the minds of /Kung informants. And no mention was made of the obvious social advantage of marrying outside the nuclear family and thereby weaving a supporting web of kinship with many other families and bands.

The /Kung feel a deep, internalized, pervading horror of incest which they do not try to explain. Incest with parent, offspring, or sibling is unthinkable. 'Only dogs do that—not men.' 'It would be madness (*dī*).' 'It would be dangerous, like going up to a lion.' Many refused to speak with me about such 'bad things'.

571 the Bushmen were saying of themselves, in effect,
619 'We are not animals, we are human beings', a con-
621 notation we did not discover in the thinking of the /Kung themselves. Ledimo, our chief interpreter, also a Chwana, said the phrase had the connotation of 'perfect persons' and that 'clean' and 'empty' were aspects of the word */ōassi*, he thought. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas paraphrased it in the title of her book, *The Harmless People* (Knopf, New York; Martin Secker & Warburg, London, 1959).

[1] Murdock, op. cit., pp. 62–63.

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Categories 3 and 4: step-parents, &c; name relatives 582

The third category to which the incest taboo is extended, step-parents, &c., needs 835 no elucidation.

The fourth category, certain name relatives, should be further described. The 553 name relationship, described in the paper on kin terminology,[1] is connected with a 608 system of naming children. The /Kung have no surnames. A /Kung father invariably names his first-born son or daughter for his parent of the same sex; usually the second-born for the parent of the child's mother; subsequent children for his own sibling or the sibling of the child's mother or the spouses of those siblings. He never names a child for himself or for the child's mother. Because this pattern of naming exists, the /Kung feel that if two non-consanguineous persons have the same name, they are likely to have had consanguineous connexions in the forgotten past, and from this concept the /Kung have developed what we called their name relationship. In a system too complex to summarize here they apply kin terms to persons on the basis of their names.

The names have passed from family to family, through intermarriage in the [619] region, and from generation to generation, to such an extent that every /Kung of the region whom we interrogated on the subject had a kin term for every other /Kung, except for one man who had once met four /Kung from afar for whom he had no terms. This had made him uneasy.

The /Kung welcome the sense of belonging to an in-group which the name rela- 553 tionship affords them. They welcome also the fact that they know how to behave with 602 people with respect to the avoidances. They fear (*koa*) to make a mistake about joking 608 and sitting, they say, and feel secure in righteousness and propriety when they know what behaviour is correct and conform to it. The kin terms sort out the whole /Kung population of the region for them. They avoid joking with name relatives whose names classify them with kin or affines of the generation of parents, or with offspring or with a sibling of opposite sex or with great-grandparents. They may joke with name relatives whose names classify them with grandparents, a sibling of the same sex, or the spouse. (Cf. Figs. 2 and 3.)

The incest taboo is extended to name relatives. If ego is forbidden to marry them 553 because of the way their names classify them, he also does not joke with them. But, 582 as we shall see when we consider approved marriages, the system does not maintain 608 perfect consistency between joking and marriage among name relatives, and it does 835 not follow that if ego must not joke he therefore must not marry. The incest taboo is extended specifically to the following name relatives: (1) anyone who has the name of ego's parent or offspring; (2) the parent, offspring or sibling of opposite sex of anyone who has the same name as ego, (3) anyone who has the same name as ego's spouse's parent or his offspring's spouse. ≠Toma explained that it would 'sound as though' one had married his parent, child, or one of these close affines.

Deviations from the rules 183

The /Kung conform strictly to their marriage regulations in the first two cate- 582 gories, kindred and affines. None of the persons whose genealogical records we 835 605

[1] Marshall, op. cit., pp. 13–15, 22–23.

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Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made. 602

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu/na* and *tŭn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *//ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and consistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many categories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship as soon as marriage takes place. 182 183 582 593 602

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines. 587 768

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened. 583 619 [584]

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women 595 554 556 [422] [482]

/147 cont./

222 Rosinkis of the Boers
So-called "wild cucumbers"
Mushrooms which grow on termite hills

251 The veld crop that has been gathered is kept in the huts in
[415] little sacks made of duiker or ibex leather.

/148/ The Auin also stores small caches of provisions by burying sacks of veld crops; he likewise buries tschamma or ostrich egg shells filled with water. In the tops of large trees one often finds, aside from animal hides, provisions of veld crops which are kept there. [Fig. 9 appears here.]

423 Land is held in common, that is, it is the common property of a horde consisting of several families. The game in this territory, as well as the wood and the veld crops, is exclusively for the use of the members of the community that holds the land. The watering places that are to be found there are available for general use, but only if water is abundant. If water is scarce, the local group that holds the land has exclusive right to it.

361 The local groups sometimes live at considerable distances
423 from one another so that the same land is used by several settle-
621 ments. The settlements, after all, do not consist of a fixed number of families, but rather of those who are gathered together in fortuitous groupings as the occasion arises. Whatever the accidental composition of the settlements may be, their members always move within a definite area, and it is always the members of the same larger horde who form the settlements.

423 Friendly hordes permit tracking, that is, game that has been
619 wounded on the land of one horde may be pursued on the territory of a friendly horde. A part of the booty is allotted to the "landowner" within whose territory the game is killed. A definite
[685] agreement is required in each case since the Bushman attacks on sight any strange Bushman on his family's terrain.

628 Blood vengeance is not sought for a violation of territory if the local groups are especially friendly. The offender is driven off and, in addition, just as in Prussia, his "firearms" and booty are confiscated. The policing of the terrain is done by each Bushman on his communal land.

If women are caught trespassing, they are taken prisoner and
[721] led to the settlement of the owners of the terrain. This frequently leads to war if the women are harmed sexually during their captivity.

[Text continues on page 32]

/151 cont./

648 unusually good conscience. In this case he usually is engaged on a messenger's errand. As a messenger serving the Whites, he may even traverse the territory of a hostile group (always on the highway!), without anything happening to him. This is a concession which the Bushmen make to our superiority.

N. Trade, Money Substitutes, Weights and Measures

438 Trade between friendly groups or settlements is carried on by a fairly small troupe of men and women (a larger troupe would create the suspicion of hostile intentions) going to the settlement with which they want to trade and first laying aside their weapons. Then they ask for permission to enter the settlement.

[619] If two settlements are hostile to each other, which incidentally seems to be the normal state of affairs, women sometimes nevertheless go to the hostile village to trade. Trade is wholly barter.

Despite their primitive nature, these trade relations are territorially very extensive and are carried out through various intermediaries all the way from the Zambezi to the Orange River. It goes without saying that the Auin himself never goes that far.

It appears that in relation to other Bushman tribes the Auin is quite unproductive. For instance, the Kung manufactures the highly valued and profitable ostrich egg chains, and the Noroon [Naron] makes and trades hide clothing and bone arrow points, whereas the Auin appears to be exclusively an intermediary and in this way gains possession of the coveted objects.

I did not get the impression that the Auin trades goods with the express intention of exchanging them further. Rather, it seems that he first acquires the trade items for his own use and later exchanges them again when the opportunity presents itself.

The chief articles of exchange are: salt (from the Noroon), bow and arrow, points for the throwing spear (Makoba), wooden pots, wooden bowls, wooden spoons (apparently from the Ambo or Owakwanguari by way of the northern Hai//um [Heikum]), European store goods from the Aikwe [Naron] of the Chanse Veld.

Within the settlements the following articles are the chief

/154 cont./

722 Women were not taken along on the expedition; the women of the settlement attacked immediately ran away.

[622] 701 In time of war the chiefs have general powers of command. Their authority is apparently no greater than in peacetime, when it is insignificant. Indeed, it is scarcely intelligible to us how a war can be carried on effectively under such circumstances.

[888] [756] Old people naturally have greater influence. The "doctor" is merely an accompanying warrior without special authority. Generally speaking, everyone for the most part does what he considers should be done; some co-operation is nevertheless apparent.

726 There is no fighting at night; at most they will march then.

619 Alliances are concluded, even between groups speaking different languages. For instance, men of different Auin settlements will ally themselves with a Naroon [Naron] settlement to attack another Auin settlement.

There is no political connection between all the Auin settlements. They form a single community only by virtue of their common language. For example, bitter hostility exists between the Auin of Gam and the Auin of Rietfontein, while the relations between the Rietfontein Auin and the Naroon settlements south of them are amicable. The two can communicate only through interpreters.

701 Young people who are staying in a given village for courtship participate without ado in the warlike undertakings of this village. I am unable to say what happens in case the undertaking is directed at the home settlement of the candidate for marriage.

Concerning the war dance and the accompanying song, see page 37.

727 Captured men are killed, and usually boys as well (because of the danger of blood vengeance).

Women and children are taken away, married, and completely assimilated into the group. Old women are killed. Objects that are useful are taken away; the rest is destroyed.

It is not worth the trouble to set fire to the windscreens.

728 Hostilities are officially concluded; unarmed negotiators appear to have safe conduct. War damages are paid in the form of food, tools, and women.

The description of the form of government is the most difficult chapter of this account.

/154 cont./

Every Auin adult can really do as he likes on the condition that
622 he does not offend against "good Bushman custom." On the other hand, he recognizes a chief, who, however, has as good as no authority at all. If, however, the chief has a rifle, for example, or if he is a very strong man, he has correspondingly greater influence. I have the impression that the chief acts more as a representative, a position which is of most importance in dealings with the Whites.

The chief has actual sovereign rights, like every other Bushman, only over his wives and children, and over the latter only while they are small.

No tribute or service is rendered, just as there are no external insignia of the chief's office.

The chief's office is hereditary in the male descent group. The office is not inherited until the candidate belongs among the men, that is, after schooling (see below) and after the killing of the first piece of big game. There is no proxy during the minority of the candidate. It works, even so!

/155/ The settlements unite and separate again depending
619 on the circumstances.

The chief of a horde, which is not always united in one
631 village, is called aichabn.

At a gathering of about 1,000 Auin, several chiefs were present. A common supreme chief was lacking.

Evidently it is old families of chiefs that possess these traces of authority. They constitute no special caste and do not belong to a foreign race.

Q. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

428 The oldest son is the heir of the insignificant legacy, which primarily consists of a few utilitarian objects and hides.

The widow inherits nothing, but she keeps the property she already owns. Younger sons and daughters inherit nothing.

628 Blood vengeance is the basic concept that gives the legal notions their distinctive character. The son is obligated to avenge his slain father; the brother avenges his brother. I was

/155 cont./

628 unable to learn whether these obligations also extend to more distant degrees of kinship.

If the murderer himself has died or cannot be reached, blood vengeance extends to his nearest male relatives.

The sons of a murdered man are obligated to take blood revenge as soon as they are grown.

The mother of the future avenger inculcates this duty in her [867] son as she rears him. As soon as the young man has killed the [884] first piece of game, his obligation goes into effect. He turns [602] to his kinsmen for help, which is immediately granted him. Similarly, the one who has reason to fear blood vengeance finds armed support among his relatives and fellow villagers. One can imagine what a maze of obligations for blood vengeance can arise from this situation.

619 It can happen that two settlements are "saddled" with so many obligations for vengeance that an encounter between mem- 628 bers of these settlements immediately leads to bloodshed. Perhaps this also helps to explain the fact that some villages within the Auin region have for many years been so hostile to one another that a boundary violation is punished by death on the spot.

Example: Auin from Rietfontein and Gam. It goes without saying that a mortal enmity more often exists between Bushmen of different languages, for instance, between Auin and Naroon, or Auin and Genkuin [Ginkwe]. An enmity of this kind evidently does not extend to the group as a whole; instead, it is doubtless always confined to a certain number of families and settlements.

The basis for the administration of justice is extensive and 628 energetic self-help. Any injustice inflicted is avenged by the injured party or his kinsmen with a beating or murder.

As an example of the kind of self-help and the complications resulting from it, I shall cite the following authenticated case. An old Auin from Olifantskluft was visiting his brother-in-law in Sidonitzaub. The host set a snare and caught a giant bustard which the guest found, took out of the snare, and began to consume. His host arrived on the scene and stabbed his brother-in-law in the stomach with his throwing spear. The murderer fled, but he was apprehended and shot by relatives of

[18 cont.]

134 The ground is covered with red sand (fox sand), which in the thorn bush areas changes to a firm, grayish-yellow; perhaps argillaceous sand. Chalk cliffs and other rocks are completely lacking. The Kaudum bed is perpetually covered with dense green grass. The sand pans have humous sand; only in the northeast near Schamatura is a peat-like swampy soil to be found with red, strongly ferruginous water. Forest fires are the order of the day, but they do little damage to the tree growth."

133 South of the Omuramba u Owambo there is a fairly large
134 number of limestone pans, which in part still contain water but are mostly dried up. The land there is drying up rapidly, according to both the Bushmen and the Europeans. During the rainy season the clayey soils are swampy, and at that time the
[136] dense bush forest is filled with myriads of mosquitoes, and
[164] malaria claims its victims from all races. The unhealthy situa-
648 tion, the difficulty of getting workers, and the irregularity of the rainfall have led to the abandonment of most of the farms outside Grootfontein, so that the Bushmen have actually gained ground there. The !Kung Bushmen outside the police zone live entirely according to their old customs and traditions. The in-
[578] dividual kin groups are in part hostile to one another. A kind
[619] of hereditary feud exists with the Hei//om, who are often attacked because of the women. The !Kung live on good terms with the farms along the northern boundary (Duwib, Keitsas, Keibeb, Kuntsas, Neitsas, Foxhof). Many of them work there for
[464] certain periods of time, and quite a few permanently; in particular, they like to let women and children work on the farms.
[177] Mr. Cleark, the owner of Keibeb, has trained a large number of
[439] them to make charcoal. These Bushmen make the charcoal out in the wilderness and deliver it. It is then resold to the mottramite mine in Abenab. Until the establishment of the police zone, a perpetual state of war existed between the police and the Bushmen. There are constant battles between the Herero of Otjituo and the !Kung because of livestock thefts. The Herero attack the Bushmen on horseback and kill them from the saddle with the kirri.

The Bushmen, who are not accustomed to shooting at rapidly moving targets, usually come out the losers. Like the

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

method had been established. The /Kõ and /Gikwe have not incorporated the belief into their terminological systems except in a very limited way. The /Kung, however, have done so, and appear to have adapted it as logically as possible to the generational method. They apply it only to somewhat distant relationships, namely, grandparents, grandchildren, collaterals, secondary affines, and name-relatives. They do not apply it in the close biological relationships of parent, offspring or sibling or in the primary affinal relationships. Consistency is maintained by the rule that a child must not be named for a parent.

We think that the term *!gu!na* came into the system with the homonymous method and that perhaps it used originally to be applied only to the person for whom ego is named. It is not strictly a kinship term, being composed of translateable words, ' big or old name '. We think it may have been superimposed upon *tun!ga* (which probably comes from the same root as *tũn*). *Tun!ga* may originally have been applied to grandfather, man-speaking as well as woman-speaking, and later *!gu!na* may have become associated with grandfather because so many men are named for their grandfathers. If this is so, an anomalous situation remains unresolved. *Tun!ga* is applied to consanguineous kin and affines and allows joking, woman-speaking. Man-speaking, it is applied only to affines and prohibits joking. If it was originally the term for grandfather, man-speaking, we reason that it should allow joking, and we cannot explain this anomaly.

Whatever may be the answer to these questions, the /Kung have put to good use the belief that persons who have the same name partake of each other's entities. This belief has given them the name-relationship.

It is our impression that the practice of applying terms to name-relatives has appealed to the /Kung and that they have developed it to the full. The /Kung apply a kinship term to every /Kung they meet or almost everyone. /Qui was the only informant who worked with us on this subject who had ever met a /Kung Bushman for whom he had no kinship term. He had met four who came from a distance and whose names were not among those commonly used in the Nyae Nyae region. Ta//ne was one of the names. Gao, who was present, told /Qui that he had a *tsu* named Ta//ne, and he and /Qui nodded together in agreement that they would find a way for /Qui to give Ta//ne a term should they meet again. We know two men who used the term *!go* for each other because each of them had a brother named Dam. The system seems to have been flexible and expansive in the application of terms to name-relatives.

The /Kung are small of stature and non-aggressive. They are timid and apprehensive of strangers. Their word for stranger is *ju dole*. *Ju* means person, *dole* means strange or harmful—one word for both concepts, in the /Kung language, as though they were a single concept. The /Kung have no social organization larger than the band of kin who live together but they have utilized the name-relationship to supply the cohesive factor which is supplied in other societies by various social structures. When a /Kung meets a stranger and finds that he has the same name as one of his kin and bestows a kinship term upon him, he is reassured and feels a sense of belonging.

Gao, the brother of /U, went on an errand for us to Khadum. Khadum is about 115 miles north of Gautscha and about 40 miles north of Cho/ana where we were staying at the time. He had never been to Khadum before, and the /Kung Bushmen who lived

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

602 there at once called him *ju dole*. He was in haste to say that he had heard that the father of one of the people at Khadum had the same name as his father and that another had
609 a brother named Gao. 'Oh,' said the Khadum people, in effect, 'so you are Gao's *!gu!na*', and they took him to their fire and gave him a present of edible gum.

602 The name connexions of the /Kung of Nyae Nyae extend throughout the region. Thinking of Gautscha Pan as approximately the centre, the name connexions extend
619 about 80 miles to the south, and include the /Kung who live at Gum and at a few small water-holes south of Gum. To the north of Gautscha Pan they extend about 75
182 miles to Samangaigai, and about 100 miles to Cho/ana, and may be said now to touch upon Khadum, 115 miles from Gautscha Pan. The country to the west, between Gautscha Pan and the farmed area of South West Africa, is waterless and uninhabited. To the east the /Kung name connexions reach some 60 or 80 miles to the cattle posts of Chwana and Herero at Kai Kai and Kubi, where some /Kung work as herdsmen and others visit and trade. The /Kung who live in this region are not *ju dole* to each other. The name-relationship makes them feel they are one people.

619 But there are edges to this sense of being one people. At Karakuwise to the north-west, about 100 miles away from the centre of the Nyae Nyae area, and at Nuragas, about 200 miles away, there are /Kung Bushmen. Although none of the Nyae Nyae people have been there, the people of Nyae Nyae know that those people speak the same language. However, the Karakuwise and the Nuragas people are distant, and they are *ju dole*. The people of Nyae Nyae say that they hear that the people of Nuragas put a strange poison into the pipes they give you to smoke which makes you become as thin as a stick and then die. The people of Nyae Nyae do not know the names of the people at Nuragas.

Résumé

000 LA TERMINOLOGIE DE LA PARENTÉ CHEZ LES BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

Les Boschimans /Kung sont des chasseurs et des ramasseurs nomades, qui ont eu très peu de contacts avec d'autres tribus ou avec des Européens; ils vivent en petites bandes de parents consanguins et d'affins proches, qui sont, pour la plupart, isolés à l'intérieur de leurs propres territoires, sauf pour des visites plus ou moins rares par d'autres bandes. Le système /Kung de terminologie de parenté présente deux aspects: d'après l'un, les termes sont appliqués suivant la situation biologique des personnes; d'après l'autre, les personnes sont classées avec d'autres, du fait qu'elles ont les mêmes noms. Du point de vue terminologique, deux personnes quelconques ne peuvent être apparentées simultanément de plus d'une façon, bien qu'elles puissent changer leur rapport terminologique par le mariage, ou, parfois, par le changement de leurs noms. En général, les termes employés indiquent l'âge biologique relatif des personnes qui s'appliquent mutuellement des termes de parenté. Les mêmes termes sont utilisés en s'adressant à une personne et en y faisant allusion. Pour les besoins de l'analyse, on peut distinguer entre deux systèmes de terminologie de parenté: le système A s'applique à des parents consanguins et aux personnes classées avec eux, soit par suite d'un rapport entre leurs noms, soit parce qu'elles se sont mariées avec ces parents. Le système B s'applique aux affins. Il y a trois catégories de termes dans le système A, selon leur emploi entre: (1) père ou mère et enfant; (2) 'siblings' (enfants de mêmes père et mère), et (3) générations. Dans cette dernière catégorie, la personne plus âgée emploie invariablement une forme diminutive en s'adressant, ou en faisant allusion, à la personne

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

Population.

161 The Bushmen are scattered over an area of approximately [3] 60,000 square miles. Of this area at least 50,000 square miles are practically unknown and otherwise uninhabited, being accessible with considerable difficulty only during the rainy season. It is extremely difficult, therefore, to arrive at a reliable conclusion as to their numbers. On a conservative basis they are estimated to number between 2,500 and 3,500, viz.:—

162

Kaukau Bushmen—	
!Kũng	500—800
Ssu-ǂgnassi	200—300
ǂAo-//ẽin	500—600
Ngami Bushmen—	
//Aikwe	50—75
/Nu-//ẽin	200—300
Hei-//om	1,000—1,500
/Huinin and /Geinin	75—100

Physical Characteristics.

144 With the exception of certain groups who are living in the more inaccessible portions of the Kalahari, most of the Bushmen show various degrees of intermixture with the Hottentots and Bantu. No uniform racial type is consequently met with among them. This fact is not to be wondered at when the various racial influences to which they have been exposed for centuries are taken into consideration. For geographical reasons the Bushmen in certain parts of the Kalahari did not suffer to the same extent from these influences as those who were in the line of migration of the invading races. Roughly speaking three characteristic types may be distinguished among them. The first, in which the Hottentot element would appear to be the dominant one, is seen among the *Hei-//om*, *ǂAo-//ẽin* and *Naron* in the Gobabis district and among the remnants still met with on the borders of Namaqualand. The second type approximates that of the Bantu and is seen particularly among the *Hei-//om* who live on the outskirts of Ovamboland. In the third, still met with only in the Kalahari, bush characteristics are still apparently predominant. As reliable information is not available on this subject, to the investigation of which but little attention has been directed up to the present, further reference to it would not serve any useful purpose.

Social Organisation.

The Family Group.

619 Each of the language groups into which the Bushmen have been classified consist of several main sub-divisions. Though for the sake of convenience the latter will be referred to as "tribes" in this report, there is no evidence of any tribal

organisation among them. The various so-called tribes bear 619 distinctive names, mostly of Bushmen or Hottentot origin, the significance of which is in most instances no longer known. Judging by the practice which still exists among the Bushmen they are in all probability descriptive either of the territory occupied by certain groups or of some physical or other characteristic of such territory or groups. Each tribe is composed of a number of family groups all of whom claim relationship to each other through a common tribal ancestor. Thus, for example, according to the traditions of the *ǂAo-||ẽin* all the groups constituting that tribe are descended from a "first big *ǂAo-||ẽin* Bushman." A similar belief likewise exists among other tribes. Nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all members of the tribe is met with among them, nor is collective action taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. Each family group 619 forms an independent unit by itself, possessing its own group 621 area and authority over and specific rights within such area only. In relation to other groups it is collectively responsible for the actions of each of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the groups concerned and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. On occasion, however, a weak group will seek and sometimes obtain assistance from a stronger one, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature. The most common causes of inter-group [628] quarrels are trespass, theft and adultery. The ensuing conflicts generally assume the form of a blood feud which is continued until a more or less equal toll of life has been taken by both sides. Women are never killed intentionally during [727] the course of these feuds but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women are made captive and taken in marriage. Further as far as can be ascertained under no circumstances will the victors deprive the vanquished of their territory or occupy such territory lest harm or disaster should overtake them. The more widely separated groups of the tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct personal contact with each other and generally live in such superstitious fear and dread of each other that the members of one will not undertake journeys into the territory of another, even when accompanied by Europeans. The [311] group areas are separated from each other by neutral zones into which nobody will venture except during the course of visits. These zones are usually formed by belts of trees, open flats, water courses, etc. Territorial boundaries are observed [423] in a most scrupulous manner even by closely related groups who are living on the most friendly terms with each other. Each family is inseparably united to its habitat and has a superstitious dread of any locality but its own. The result is that even the members of completely disorganised groups are loth to seek employment outside the boundaries of their ancestral territory.

distribution of the rainfall upon which it is mainly dependent for its food supply. 361

The Group Fire.

All fire is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in the werft as fire-making is a matter of serious import and the chief is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune. The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out. As an illustration of this may be cited the practice as it exists among the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha Pan. When among the latter it becomes necessary to move camp, as for example, after a death has taken place, the whole community take up all their goods and chattels and, led by the *geikhoib* (chief), set off in search for a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. The chief then proceeds to the large tree (*/heis*) in the centre and kindles a fire underneath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *!norab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-!ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*!ou-ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-!ais* and the women may fetch fire from the *!ou-!ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-!ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the *!ou-!ais*. The *!ou-!ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-!ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the *!heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new *!ou-!ais* kindled by him by means of the hei-doros.

372 [622] 361 622 [767] 372 372 622 [67]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

Both the father and mother expect and receive respect and obedience 593
from their children. Although the mother's influence is always felt, I believe
that the father's authority is greater. It is not formalized or expressed in a
harsh or domineering way. As long as the father lives, he is the head of
the family, symbolically. Even when too old to hunt, if he is still a forceful [882]
person, he remains the one in authority, the leader of the sons-in-law and
his daughters, of his sons and their wives. Gradually, however, when he
becomes very old, the younger men make their own plans without necessarily
consulting him.

!Kung families are responsible for dependents. Thus, old, dependent 737
parents are unfailingly supported by their offspring and may choose with
which one of their offspring they will live. Orphaned children are taken 736
by their grandparents or by a sibling of their parents. It happens occasionally
that a person has no living parent, offspring, or sibling. In that case, other
relatives assume the responsibility.

THE NAME RELATIONSHIP • Although !Kung society has developed no 571
formal political structure under which the bands are united, and there are 602
no organizations outside the bands, these people have a means of extending 553
the concept of kinship beyond close consanguineous relatives and affines 619
and of recognizing, in what we call the name relationship, the web of
remote interrelationship that long intermarriage within the region has
established.

Invariably the first son and the first daughter are named by their father
for their paternal grandparents. Other children are usually named for their
mother's parents, the siblings of their parents, and the spouses of those
siblings, and may occasionally be named for other relatives. Thus, a few
names are used over and over through the generations. We recorded only [551]
forty-six men's names and forty-one women's names in the region. The
!Kung assume that persons who have the same name are related, though
the exact nature of the relationship is forgotten. They believe, also, that
people with the same name somehow have a common entity. They bestow [601]
upon each other kin terms that are appropriate to the name, according to
a system. The !Kung have intermarried within the Nyae Nyae region to [582]
such an extent that everyone has a kin term he associates with each one
of the names. This means that the people of the whole region are what we
call name relatives, all applying kin terms to each other.

From the !Kung point of view the custom has two values. It regulates 553
the incest taboo in its furthermost extension, especially the joking relation- 602
ship that symbolizes the taboo. (For example, a man should not marry or 835
make sexual jokes with a woman who has the same name as his mother.)
The !Kung feel secure in righteousness when they know they are behaving

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

553 602 835 [80] properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, 619 in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling 553 of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin 601 602 terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen—sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [10] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ŏassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ŏassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 [613] [622] INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

[423] There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A consider- 768 able amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

582 648 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

584 First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

131 Since the Nyae Nyae peoples are closely linked genealogically to
133 the peoples of /"ai/"ai, /Gam, and !angwa, and since their
312
619 several territories are surrounded by an uninhabited belt 60-100 miles in width, it seems more useful to include all the central water sources under the term "interior" and consider all the other river dwelling and farm !Kung as peripheral (see Map 7, p. 37).

121 This description of the subsistence ecology of !Kung
184 Bushmen therefore concerns the interior !Kung of the central
433 dialect division. It is not to be taken as representative of the !Kung in general, the great majority of whom are today living on European farms or working closely with Bantu.[1] It was pointed out in Chapter I that the selection of a study site was dictated by the necessity of finding a Bushman population living traditionally and independently. It was realized at the outset that such a population was not typical of the majority of !Kung.

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[1] A further stricture must be applied to the !Kung of the interior. In 1960 a Government Station was built at Tsumkwe, S.W.A. Since then the 800 interior !Kung on the South West African side of the border have settled there and are receiving instruction in agriculture. The 400 !Kung on the Bechuanaland side of the border have not been permitted to participate in this program. Therefore, during the period of the present study, only the interior !Kung in Bechuanaland were leading a year-round hunting and gathering way of life.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

extent by racial intermixture with other native peoples. In the Eastern and Central Kalahari, moreover, as well as in Angola, most of them are also in a state of servitude to the Bantu peoples among whom they live. Large bands of relatively independent Bushmen are now found only in the North-Western Kalahari and the adjoining districts of South-West Africa, especially in the Omaheke, Kaukauveld, and Ghansiveld. 162

Tribal Divisions

The Bushmen are divided into many different groups, each with its own distinctive language or dialect, and with a name. These groups will be spoken of here as tribes. The Bushmen do not appear to have any general or collective names for themselves. Such names have, however, been applied to them by most of the other inhabitants of South Africa. The Hottentots term them all *San*. The meaning of this word is uncertain, but Hahn interprets it as "aborigines, or settlers proper".[1] The names *Sunqua*, *Saunqua*, *Sonqua*, etc., by which the Bushmen are often referred to in the early records of the Cape, are merely verbal variations of its masc. plur. form *Sa(n)qua*. The Bantu peoples know the Bushmen by a variety of names, the most common of which are all cognate forms of the same root—*BaTwa* or *AbaTwa* (Zulu-Xosa), *BaRwa* (Suto), *MaSarwa* (Chwana), *OvaTwa* (Herero), etc. The meaning of this root has not been satisfactorily determined. A common interpretation is "people of the south", but this is not universally accepted; a more plausible alternative, perhaps, is "people of the wilderness". The name *Bushmen* itself goes back to the earliest Dutch settlers at the Cape, and is found as far back as 1685 in the Cape Records, where it occurs in several variations of its Dutch form—*Bosjesmans*, *Bosmanekens*, *Bosiesmans*, etc. It has now become generally adopted in ethnological literature and there seems no good reason why it should not be retained. 101 [619]

The languages of all the Bushmen tribes are of the same general structure, and can be regarded as belonging to one language family. They vary, however, in certain details of phonetics and especially of grammar and vocabulary, which permit of their classification into three main groups. To these the names Southern, Northern, and Central Groups respectively have been applied by Miss D. F. Bleek, 197 619

[1] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 1881, p. 3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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197 on account of their relative geographical distribution. These names
619 may also be used as affording a convenient means of grouping the different tribes.[1]

619 The SOUTHERN GROUP is distributed mainly over the region roughly south of the Tropic of Capricorn. Of the tribes included in it the [197] best known, both ethnologically and linguistically, are the */xam-ka !ke* (i.e. */xam* people), commonly spoken of as the "Cape Bushmen". They were formerly spread over the greater part of the Cape Province south of the Orange River, and seem to have been very numerous. [162] They have, however, been almost completely exterminated, and at the present time only a few individuals still survive in the north-western districts of the Province, where they are mostly employed as farm hands by Europeans.[2]

A similar fate has overtaken several other tribes of this group. The *//ŋ !ke* ("home people") of Griqualand West and Gordonia are now also represented by only a few individuals, the majority of whom are farm hands in the Langeberg District.[3] East of them, in Orange Free State and Basutoland, lived other Bushmen, of whose [162] language, folklore, and customs some records have been preserved, but who are now apparently quite extinct, and whose tribal name even is unknown.[4] They will be spoken of here as the "Basutoland Bushmen". Still further east, on the shores of Lake Chrissie in the Eastern Transvaal, live a few other Bushmen as farm hands, evidently remnants of a tribe that once roamed over the High Veld of the [177 Transvaal. They do not seem to have retained their own Bushman name, but use the term *BaTwa* applied to them by the neighbouring [197] Amaswazi, a Bantu tribe, traces of much intercourse with whom are 144 seen in both appearance and speech.[5]

[1] D. F. Bleek, "The Distribution of Bushman Languages in S. Africa," *Festschrift Meinhof*, 1927, pp. 55–64; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 1929, pp. 1–6; cf. also I. Schapera, "The Tribal Divisions of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), pp. 68–73.

[2] The literature on this tribe is considerable, although most of it is fragmentary. The most useful sources are: J. Barrow, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, 2 vols., London, 1801–4; T. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," *Globus*, xviii (1870), Nos. 5–10; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, Breslau, 1872; W. H. I. Bleek, *A Brief Account of Bushman Folklore and Other Texts*, London, 1875; L. C. Lloyd, *A Short Account of Further Bushman Material Collected*, London, 1889; G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa*, London, 1905; W. H. I. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd, *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends: Bushman Folklore*, Cape Town, n.d. (1923).

[3] D. F. Bleek, art. cit. in *Festschrift Meinhof*, p. 56; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, p. 1.

[4] T. Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage d'Exploration au Nord-Est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, Paris, 1842; J. M. Orpen, "A Glimpse into the Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, ix (1774), 1–13, reprinted in *Folk-Lore*, xxx (1919), 139–56; S. S. Dornan, "Notes on the Bushmen of Basutoland," *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, xviii (1909), 437–50.

[5] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.

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•619 To this group belong also the few Bushmen in the south-east of South-West Africa, of whom may be mentioned the */auni* in the waterless regions of the Lower Nossob and the */nu//en* (called */nusan* by the Nama Hottentots) in the Upper Nossob and Auhoup valleys. Some of these still lead a more or less independent life, but the majority are in the service of interdwelling Bantu, Hottentots, and Bastards.[1] Further east, in the south of Bechuanaland Protectorate, other Bushmen of the same group are found in the service of the BeChwana among whom they live. They have no special name for themselves, and are known simply as *MaSarwa*, the Chwana term for all Bushmen.[2]

The tribes of the NORTHERN GROUP inhabit the greater portion of the Omaheke in the north-east of South-West Africa, including part of the Kaukauveld and the Oschimpoloveld. On the east they extend into Bechuanaland Protectorate, and on the north into Angola.

In the south of this region, between Sandfontein and Gam, are found the *//Kau //en*, called *ǂaukwe* by the Central Bushmen, *ǂausan* by the Nama, *MaKaukau* by the neighbouring Bantu, and commonly spoken of as the *Auen*. They are one of the few Bushman tribes still living in comparative independence, and appear to have retained their original mode of life and organization to a considerable extent, though not without a few traces of foreign influence. Their numbers [162] at the present time are estimated at between 500 and 600.[3]

Immediately north of them, and speaking a closely-related language, live the *!Khũ* or *!Kuŋ*, commonly called *Kung*, one of the largest and most independent of the Bushman tribes.[4] Their tribal name means simply "persons, people", but when used without an adjective signifies "Bushmen" to them. They occupy the whole north-east corner of South-West Africa, extending from about Grootfontein

[1] D. F. Bleek, in *Festschrift Meinhof*, 56–7; *idem*, *Comp. Voc.*, 2–3; Papst, "Die Kalahariwüste und ihre Bewohner," *Mitt. geogr. Ges. Jena*, xiv (1895), 48–54; J. F. Herbst, *Report on Rietfontein Area* (Cape Parliamentary Papers G. 53–1908).

[2] L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, Jena, 1907, pp. 650–78.

[3] The fullest account of this tribe is by H. Kaufmann, "Die ǂAuin, Ein Beitrag zur Buschmannforschung," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 135–60; cf. also Müller, "Ein Erkundungsritt in das Kaukauveld," *D. KolBl.*, xxxiii (1912), 530–41.

[4] H. Werner, "Anthropologische, ethnologische und ethnographische Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxviii (1906), 241–68; H. Vedder, "Grundriss einer Grammatik der Buschmannsprache vom Stamm der !Kũ-Buschmänner," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910–11), 5–24, 106–17; F. Seiner, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung der Omaheke in den Jahren 1910–12," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxvi (1913), 225–316; von Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," *Z. Ethn.*, xlvi (1914), 1–7; V. Lebzelter, "Die religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khũ-Buschmänner," *Festschrift P.W. Schmidt*, Vienna, 1928, 407–15; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten am oberen Omuramba und Ovambo (Südwestafrika)," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928–9), SitzBer [12]–[16].

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619 in the west to the Okavango and Lake Ngami on the north and east. They are divided into four main local groups, the *!Ogowe* of the Lower Omuramba Omatako, the *Agau* south-east of Karakuwisa, the *Nogau* of Karakuwisa and the Upper Omuramba Omatako, and [197] the *‡Kungau* north of Tsintsabis and along the Okavango, all of which, however, speak the same language and have identical customs and [162] beliefs. Their numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 500 and 800, but if one may judge from the statements of reliable observers such as Seiner and von Zastrow this figure is a good deal too low.

[197] North of the Okavango, in Southern Angola, are found a number of other Bushmen speaking the same language as the Kung of South-West Africa and calling themselves by the same name, or sometimes by the names *!gei !kũ*, "red people," or *!o !kũ*, "forest people." They extend north up to about 15° S. lat., west to about 16° E. long., and east as far as the border of North-West Rhodesia. These Angola [177 Kung, or *!O Kung*, as they will be spoken of here, have been considerably influenced in mode of life and customs by the interdwelling 144] Bantu peoples who are their overlords, and are gradually being absorbed into them through racial intermixture. They are sometimes referred to by the names applied to them by the Bantu: *BaKhankala* or *VaNkala* in the west, *BaSukuwera* in the centre, and *VaShekeli* in the east.[1]

To the west and south-west of the Kung in South-West Africa are the *Hei-//om* or *Heikum* ("tree dwellers"), who are scattered over a large extent of the country, from north of the Etosha Pan and the outskirts of Ovamboland in Grootfontein and Outjo districts to near Rehoboth in the south.[2] This part of South-West Africa is fairly densely settled by other peoples as well, so that it is possible for only a few of these Bushmen to lead their native life. Most of them now work on farms, and except among the bands in the vicinity of the Etosha Pan every trace of their original organization is said to have 619 disappeared completely. Whether free or in service, the majority now 197 speak a Nama dialect, and in culture and physical characters also they have been influenced to a very great extent by the Nama and the 177 Bergdama. The bands living along the borders of Ovamboland have been largely influenced by Ovambo culture, and are rapidly being

[1] (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.*, xxi (1927), 47–56; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928), 105–25.

[2] H. Werner, op. cit.; L. Fourie, "Preliminary Notes on Certain Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6), 49–63; *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, Cape Town, 1928, pp. 79–105.

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absorbed into the OvaMbo through racial intermixture. Werner, however, found some of them speaking a language of their own. The examples he gives of this show it to be closely related to the language of the Kung, so that the tribe can be regarded as falling within the Northern group of Bushmen. Its numbers are estimated by Fourie at between 1,000 and 1,500.

The CENTRAL GROUP is composed of many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of Bechuanaland Protectorate, especially in the Central and Northern Kalahari. The languages of these tribes differ in some respects from those of the two previous groups, and present many close similarities to the Hottentot languages.

In close proximity to the Auen, by whom they are termed *Naron* ("insignificant people"), live the *//aikwe*, one of the best known of the Bushman tribes.[1] They are found principally in Bechuanaland Protectorate, their territory extending from Sandfontein in the west to Ghansi in the north-east and Okwa in the south-east. Further north and east, as far as Lake Ngami, are the closely related *Tsaukwe*, *Tsonokwe*, *ǂamkwe* and *!giŋkwe*, all friendly tribes, whose languages the *//aikwe* understand, and whom they include with themselves in the collective designation *K"am-ka Kwe*, "Mouth's people."[2]

Beyond them, in the marshy region extending from Lakes Ngami and Linyati in the south to the Okavango delta at Andara in the north, live the *Bugakwe*, *ǂgarikwe*, and *ǂgokwe*, who all speak the same language and term themselves collectively */tannekwe*, "river people."[3] In the sandy plains north and east of these tribes, between Okavango River and the Kwando, are the *Hukwe*, called *MaKwengo* by the MaMbukushu and *MaSarwa* by the BaRotse amongst whom they live. Still further east, between the Lower Kwando and the Zambesi Rivers, and probably extending into North-West Rhodesia, are the *Galikwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaDennassena*.[4] In

[1] H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, Oldenburg n.d. (1891), pp. 388–99; S. Passarge, *Die Busch.männer der Kalahari*, Berlin, 1907; Gentz, "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," *Globus*, lxxxiii (1903), 297–301; lxxxiv (1903), 156–9; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari*, Cambridge, 1928.

[2] Passarge, op. cit., 24; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 2.

[3] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland und seine Bewohner," *Z. Ethn.*, xxxvii (1905), 649–716; F. Seiner, "Ergebnisse einer Bereisung des Gebiets zwischen Okawango und Sambesi (Caprivi-Zipvel) in den Jahren 1905 und 1906," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxii (1911), 1–111; *idem*, "Die Buschmänner des Okawango- und Sambesigebietes der Nordkalahari," *Globus*, xcvii (1910), 341–5, 357–60.

[4] Seiner, op. cit.; J. C. B. Statham, *With my Wife across Africa by Canoe and Caravan*, London, 1924, 255–7; J. H. Wilhelm, "Aus dem Wortschatz der !Kun- und der Hukwe-Buschmannsprachen," *Z. EingebSpr.*, xii (1922), 291–304.

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619 197 physical characters and certain aspects of their culture, these tribes differ somewhat from the Naron and allied tribes, but their languages are of the same type.

619 South-east of Lake Ngami, in and around the Hainaveld, live the *Tserekwe*, *ǂdukwe*, and *ǂkabakwe*.[1] Further east, along the Botletle River and the south-east Okavango basin, are the *Ohckwe*, often known by their Bantu name *MaTete*. Closely related to them are the *MaHura*, who live along the Lower Botletle and Lake Kumadau, extending in the east to the Makarrikarri depression.[2] The name these people are known by is obviously of Bantu origin; what they call themselves has not been recorded. Finally, in the Tati district on the eastern border of Bechuanaland Protectorate, and extending into the adjacent districts of Southern Rhodesia, are still other Bushmen, whose own name is apparently *Hiechware*, "people of the open country,"[3] but who are commonly spoken of simply as *MaSarwa*, a name which, as previously mentioned, is applied by the BeChwana to Bushmen generally. All these tribes have evidently been long exposed to Bantu [177 144] influence, and are strongly mixed with Bantu blood. Some of them still lead their traditional mode of life, but they are all to some extent subject to their Bantu neighbours, often acting as their huntsmen and cattle herds, as well as being required to pay them a regular tribute.

In addition to the tribes included in these main linguistic groups, there are two other groups of Bushmen of whom mention must be made. In the coastal province of Mossamedes, South-West Angola, a number of Bushmen are found between the Capondo River on the north and the Korocas River on the south.[4] Very little is actually known of them. They are spoken of only by their Bantu names— [177 144] *BaKwando*, *BaKwisso*, *BaKubai*, and *BaKorocas*—and appear to have been considerably influenced in race and culture by the neighbouring Bantu. Their distribution suggests that they may belong to the Northern Group of Bushmen, but as no information is available about their language this cannot be definitely asserted.

619 197 The other group comprises the few isolated inhabitants of the

[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 25; R. Pöch, "Ethnographische und geographische Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," *Petermann's Mitt.*, lviii (1912), 15–20 and map.

[2] Passarge, loc. cit.; Pöch, op. cit.

[3] S. S. Dornan, "The Tati Bushmen (Masarwas) and their Language," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xlvii (1917), 37–112; *idem*, "Tati Bushmen," *Hastings' Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. xii (1921), 205–8; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, London, 1925.

[4] J. Oliviera Ferreira Diniz, *Populações indígenas de Angola*, Coimbra, 1918, 477–91.

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Namib desert strip and adjacent districts in South-West Africa.[1] 619 ●
Their language is reported to be Nama, and they are sometimes said [197]
to be degenerate Hottentots who have lost their cattle and taken to a nomadic hunting and collecting life similar to that of the Bushmen. But the little we know about their customs and social organization shows that they are true Bushmen, although they have undoubtedly been considerably influenced in both culture and physical characters by the Hottentots. They were divided into several groups, each with its own distinctive name. The */geinin* in the true Namib desert between Luderitz and Conception Bay, the *//obanen* in the region round the junction of the Great Fish and Orange Rivers, and the */koma* of the Swartrand and Tiras plateaus have apparently disappeared completely; the *!ganin* in the region between Naauwkluft and Grootfontein S. are almost totally extinct, while the */huinin* in the southern extremity of the Huib plateau just north of the Orange River are still represented by a few families. The numbers of the two last groups together are [162]
estimated at between 75 and 100. Hahn, writing of these people in [532]
1879, says that they were then still painting on rocks.[2] This may be taken as convincing proof that they really are Bushmen, for the Hottentots do not practise this art at all. Their distribution, as well as the information we have about their habits and customs, seems to link them up with the Southern Group, but there is as yet no clear evidence in support of this view.

The above classification of the Bushmen into linguistic groups is 144
quite independent of and distinct from considerations of race and 197
culture. All Bushmen are of the same racial stock, and have 184
fundamentally the same culture, just as their languages are essentially related. At the same time, there are variations in both race and culture running counter to the linguistic distinctions.

Broadly speaking, it may be said with regard to racial characters 144
that the Bushmen living south of the Molopo River are purest in type. Those further north have all mixed to a varying extent principally with Bantu but also with Hottentots and Bergdama. In the west of this region there is perhaps more Hottentot blood, although in the north-west there has also been a good deal of intermixture with Bantu (chiefly OvaMbo) and Bergdama. In the east Bantu blood,

[1] L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 98–105; E. Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), 501–6; P. Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib, ihre Familien- und Rechtsverhältnisse," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910), 166–70; *idem*, "Aus der Namib," *Z. KolPol.*, xiii (1911), 301–8.

[2] T. Hahn, "Felszeichnungen der Buschmänner," *Verh. Berl. Ges. Anthrop.*, 1879, 307–8.

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Chapter IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Tribe and Hunting Band

All the Bushmen in their native condition lead a nomadic hunting 222
and collecting life, roaming about in search of the game and wild 224
vegetable foods upon which they depend for their existence. The [182]
conditions of their subsistence necessarily prevent them from banding
together permanently in any considerable numbers. Wherever they 621
still retain to any marked degree their original mode of life and
organization they are found scattered over the land in small separate
communities.[1] Each such community will be spoken of here as a
hunting band. The members of a band share a common life, they see
one another constantly, they co-operate in many ways, and they are
all as a rule friendly and on fairly intimate terms. Each band also [619]
has occasional relations with other neighbouring bands, through
intermarriage and trade, and visitors may pass from one to another.
On the other hand, there are often quarrels between neighbouring [628]
bands, which may result in a prolonged state of feud and even lead
directly to warfare.

The various bands among the Heikum are generally referred to 621
among each other by a name which indicates either the locality in 101
which they live, or describes some physical or other characteristic
of the band itself or of its locality. The *se-khoin*, for example, are the
people of the *seb* or plain; the */gom-khoin* the people who eat the

[1] The social organization of the Bushmen is one of the least-known aspects of their culture, and sadly needs careful and detailed investigation. The most reliable sources of information refer [114] almost exclusively to the North-Western tribes: Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 1907; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," *Mitt. deutz. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910); (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.* 21 (1927); *idem*, *The Naron*, 1928; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928); L. Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. SW. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6); *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, 1928. The relevant literature on the other tribes is for the most part fragmentary, although some valuable data on the Namib Bushmen are given by Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), and by Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," *Mitt. deutz. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910). Where no special reference is made to any particular tribe the analysis given above must therefore be regarded as applying especially to the North-Western tribes, who are also the only Bushmen still leading a fairly independent life.

621 101 /*gom* or omungete nut; and the *xom-khoin* the people who *xom* or scrape together, the name indicating their method of collecting salt on the Etosha Pan, along whose southern border they live.[1] How the bands are named in the other tribes is not clearly stated. In the [114] literature they are spoken of as a rule in terms of the locality they inhabit, but no indication is given whether this is also the name by which they call themselves and are known to their neighbours.

These hunting bands are grouped into what are here called "tribes". 619 101 A tribe consists of a number of neighbouring bands, the members of which all speak what they themselves regard as one language. Each tribe has its own distinctive name. In the Southern and Central linguistic groups this usually ends in the word /*ke* or *kwe* respectively, i.e. "people"; but in most cases the meaning of the name itself has not been recorded or can no longer be determined. The few tribal names which can be interpreted seem to refer to some general characteristic of the people themselves or of the country which they inhabit. The //ŋ /*ke*, for example, are the "home people"; the /*tanneckwe* the "river people"; the *Hiechware* the "people of the open country", and the /*o* /*kũ* the "forest people", while the /*kũ* (*Kung*) are simply "people", or, as they would interpret the name "Bushmen". The *Hei-//om*, again, derive their name from the [177] Hottentot words *heis*, tree or bush, and //*om*, to sleep, and are therefore the "tree-sleeping people", i.e. those who sleep under trees; while the term *Naron*, by which the //*aikwe* now sometimes speak of themselves, appears to have been applied to them originally by the Auen and to mean "people who are insignificant".

619 The tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group. It has no social [197] solidarity, and is of very little, if any, importance in regulating social life. There appears to be no tribal organization among the Bushmen, nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all the members of the tribe, nor is collective action ever taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. The tribe in fact is merely a loose aggregate of independent hunting bands which have a common language and name.

621 The band, and not the tribe, is the real political body among the Bushmen. Each band is autonomous, leading its own life independently of the others. Its affairs are as a rule regulated by the [623] skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men in general. In [622] the North-Western tribes, however, each band has also a chief, whose

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50.

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office is hereditary. His authority is very slight, and apparently exercised mainly in regulating the movements of the people from place to place, and in leading in war. 621 [622]

Each band also acts as a unit in its relations with other bands of the same or of neighbouring tribes, and in such relations it is collectively responsible for the actions of any of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the bands concerned, and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. Occasionally, it is true, a weak band may seek and obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature.[1] 619 621

The band is also the land-owning group. Each band possesses its own hunting territory, to which it is restricted, and exercises authority over and specific rights within this territory only.[2] The members of the band roam about freely all over their own land, but do not trespass on their neighbours' territory, although single persons and small parties may occasionally pay short visits across the border, mostly for trading purposes. As a result of this territorial segregation it may often happen that the more widely separated bands of a tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct contact with each other. 423 621 [438] [619]

There are no special boundary marks between the areas occupied by different hunting bands. The limits of each area are as a rule defined by various natural landmarks, such as sand dunes, koppies, river-beds, vleis, springs, or even trees. These are well known to the people themselves and carefully observed. In some cases the areas of different bands are separated by neutral zones, formed by belts of trees, open flats, watercourses, etc. Nobody will venture into these except during the course of a visit. In particular, however, each hunting territory is defined by the waterholes in it. These constitute the real property of the band. The encampments are always erected near them, all the game on the land around them or drinking at the water may be hunted only by members of the band, and similarly only they may gather "veldkos" (wild vegetable foods) in the vicinity. The infringement of territorial rights in this respect is one of the main causes of dispute between neighbouring bands, and almost invariably leads to bloodshed. [311] [361] [628]

[1] The relations between different bands are discussed more fully below in Chapter VI, s.v. "Relations with Other Bands"; vide p. 155

[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 156; Passarge, op. cit., 31–2; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 4; Fourie, "The Bushmen," 85; Lebzelter "Bei den |Kuñ-Buschleuten," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928–9), SitzBer. (12).

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166 territory occupied by the band its members roam about freely in
361 search of food, and family groups often separate from the main body
621 to wander about on their own account for a while. Of the Naron, for example, Miss Bleek writes that she has "sometimes seen three or four huts together, sometimes twenty, with from sixty to eighty inhabitants. Every few weeks a new hut appears, or a vacant space shows where one has gone"; and she adds that as the village is such a fluctuating quantity it is difficult to estimate the numbers of a band or a tribe.[1] Indeed it seems to be a feature in the life of some of the Northern tribes that during the dry season the families in the band scatter about separately, to come together again only in the rainy
[221] season, when there is an ample supply of water and "veldkos". Thus among the Auen only one or two families may be found living together in the dry season, while towards the end of and shortly after the rainy season, when the edible plants of the veld are abundant, up to thirty families may join together.[2] It is thus by no means unusual to find several small encampments of members of the same band scattered about over its hunting territory, a fact which may easily mislead casual observers with regard to its numbers.

On the other hand, it also appears that at times members of several
361 different bands may come together for a while. Passarge mentions
619 that in 1897, during an outbreak of rinderpest when cattle were
621 dying in great numbers in the Ghansiveld, Bushmen were drawn together from all parts of the vicinity by the abundance of animal food thus provided. At one spot he saw between one and two hundred of them, at another about one hundred, and these included both Auen and Naron.[3] In the Kwebe Hills, again, his camp was passed by about one hundred men returning to the Hainaveld from the sandveld. Together with their women and children this group must therefore have numbered from three to four hundred.[4] It is almost certain that these people too must have belonged to different bands and had only come together temporarily, but this is not definitely stated by Passarge. Kaufmann, again, mentions a camp of Auen at Sidonitsaub which in April, 1908, contained about four hundred men, or with women and children about one thousand persons
[622] all told. That these belonged to a number of different bands was

[1] *The Naron*, 4.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 138; cf. Passarge, op. cit., 42; Vialls, "Kalahari Masarwas," 30.
[3] Op. cit., 7, 8.
[4] Op. cit., 10.

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obvious from the fact that although several chiefs were present, there was no common supreme chief.[1] Such gatherings are only temporary in nature, and produced by some special circumstance. They cannot therefore be regarded as indicative of the normal groupings of the Bushmen.

Social Structure of the Band

Within the band the only division is into families. The family among the Bushmen consists of a man and his wife or wives, together with their dependent children. It is a unit of outstanding importance in their social and economic life. The members of a family usually live together in one hut; the children until they are mature remain under the direct control of their parents, are nourished and are educated by them; husband and wife jointly contribute to the maintenance of their household, and the domestic tasks and industries are apportioned between them according to fixed custom. The family, moreover, has much freedom of movement, and, as already mentioned, single families will often roam about separately for a while within the territory of their band.

The relationship between the different families constituting a band is seldom defined clearly by the various observers. In particular the information available about the kinship organization of the Bushmen is very inadequate. Miss Bleek has recently published lists of relationship terms for each of the three main linguistic groups defined by her.[2] From these it appears that among all the Bushmen there are, in addition to various descriptive terms of relationship, also certain terms applied not to individuals but to whole groups of different relatives, while still others are used reciprocally between people standing in a particular relationship to each other. Relationship terms of the last two types, when found in other societies, are usually indicative of a definite organization of the community on the basis of kinship; and it is probable therefore that some such organization exists among the Bushmen as well. Unfortunately the lists given by Miss Bleek appear to be drawn from vocabulary sources rather than from an actual study of kinship itself, and cannot therefore be used with any degree of confidence. In any case they throw

[1] Op. cit., 138, 155. It should be mentioned here that the figures given by Kaufmann are, as a rule, far in excess of those given by other writers of about the same time and on the same district (e.g. Müller, German official estimate), and cannot therefore be accepted without question.

[2] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1924), 57–70.

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patriarch of any small group, though his authority is very limited." 621
This latter observation is also made by Seydel of the Namib Bushmen. [888]

The bands of these Bushmen may therefore be regarded as consisting of small groups of families all related by consanguinity or through marriage. Membership of the group is apparently not based on descent traced exclusively through either the male or the female line, since both married sons and married daughters with their spouses and children may belong to the same group. There is no definite statement as to whether marriage between members of the same 582
group is permitted or not. Generally it would seem that a wife is sought outside the group. Among the Cape Bushmen the only girl a man may not marry is his own sister. Marriage with first cousins (both ortho-cousins and cross-cousins) is sometimes found, but more often marriage takes place with "someone else", to quote Miss Bleek's words.[1] The same applies to the Namib Bushmen,[2] and similarly, among the !O Kung, "some of the married couples we met were cousins, but the majority were unrelated, as far as they knew. Some young married people stay with the man's family, others with the [591]
woman's."[3]

Among the North-Western Bushmen the bands, which here are 621
proportionately much larger, definitely tend to be exogamous. Fourie 184
says of the Heikum: "Marriage within the group is forbidden and 582
is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. [591]
As a rule men do not go far for wives, and intermarriage takes place [835]
between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women."[4] Among the Auen the only absolute prohibition on marriage is said to be between brother and sister, parent and child, but as a rule marriage does not take place between close relatives, and if possible also not between members of the same band. Wives are procured from a distance; often even [619]
from other tribes.[5] The Kung also marry outside their own band[6];

[1] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 59.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112.
[3] Trenk, op. cit., 168.
[4] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 92.
[5] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 156: "Die eigene Schwester darf nicht geheiratet werden, ebenso natürlich nicht Mutter und Tochter. Andere Verwandtschaft bilden kein absoluter Hindernis. Es ist aber die Regel, dass nicht innerhalb der eigenen Familie, auch möglichst nicht innerhalb der eigenen Horde geheiratet wird. Frauen werden mit Vorliebe weit hergeholt, oft von Stämmen anderer Sprache."
[6] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910), 8.

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judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury 622
resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. 692
The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a [695]
decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band.
Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the 681
relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kirri or by stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property, assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but self-defence is in no way penalized.

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is 114
difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these 692
Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is 681
no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama [171]
Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, [184]
to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the other Bushman tribes.

Relations with Other Bands

619
Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting 621
territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married [591]
man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also [574]
frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from [438]
one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also find the members of several different bands assembled together for a while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

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619 Bushmen from all parts of the Ghansiveld, even from different tribes,
621 owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again
[221] Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common
[423] hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

114 All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery,
619 however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between
621 different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys'
[881] puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his
[574] preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement that in the months of March and April different bands come together for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and
726 obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several
619 Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band,
621 although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

578 On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are
619 not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife-
621 stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the
628 form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially
[685] is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who
648 encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen,
685

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 137.
[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 13.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154.
[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 154; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 1; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 85.

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but formerly even to Europeans. In the Cape, for example, "If the white man were a passing hunter and friendly, if he shared his bag with the Bushmen, he was welcomed and could travel through the territory in peace; but when the settlers came in, permanently occupying the land at the springs, and doing great execution among the game, then the Bushmen retaliated by shooting the intruders or killing their stock. Whereupon the white man, unaware of any unfriendly behaviour on his part, dubbed the Bushman an untamable savage and a thief, and did his best to imprison or shoot him. Hence the war of extermination, which has reduced the race of Colonial Bushmen to its present vanishing figure."[1] 648 685

Among the Auen, when neighbouring bands are on friendly terms, wounded game may be followed by the members of the one on to the territory of the other. A portion of the game must, however, be given to the owners of the land. Refusal to do so is always dangerous. Where the bands are very friendly it does not necessarily lead to bloodshed; the trespasser is merely driven away, and his weapons and game confiscated. Otherwise, however, he is killed. Women caught trespassing are seized and taken to the camp of their captors; this often leads to war, when they are violated. And again the killing of a man by the members of another band always results in a state of feud. 619 621 685 [224] [628]

It may happen that between two bands there is so strong a feud of this nature that a meeting between their members invariably leads to bloodshed. It is probably due to this, says Kaufmann, that among the Auen many bands are so antagonistic that violation of the territorial bounds leads to immediate punishment by death; and he cites the bands at Gam and Rietfontein, between whom there was a long-standing enmity. Among the Kung there is also much hostility between neighbouring bands, especially when, as occasionally happens, an attempt is made by one band to take from another the land it occupies, if this is very rich in veldkos. The oppressed band, if the weaker, must move, but the fights are conducted with great bitterness, and the deep enmity aroused extends over generations. A similar condition of feud is reported to have existed between several bands of the Namib Bushmen, where, for example, in 1907 the people of Buntveldschuhhorn, in consequence of such a state of hostility, led an attack on those living at Aurus. Feud is also common between bands belonging to tribes of different speech, e.g. the Auen and the 628 685 628

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii.

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B
H
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MAP I

[facing p. 446 (a)]

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B
H
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619

[facing p. 446 (b)]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX10
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H
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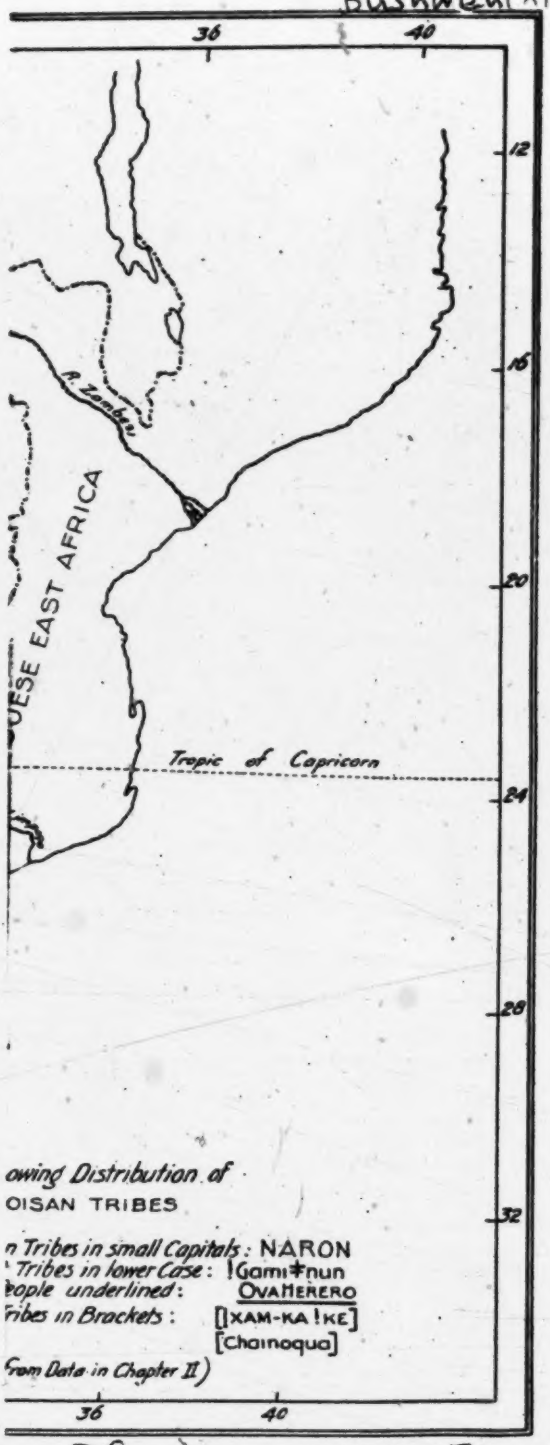

[facing p. 446 (c)]

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101 Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung
582 whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

619 The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the
[648] territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

648 About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28
162 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of
[621] burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants
[177] other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

621 My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the
[114] years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

[162] FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

601 /Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1]
[595] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and
[596] extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal
[611] residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally.
[614] There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the
[835] incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

621 As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous
582 unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[113] [1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

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but there might very likely be some between whom marriage would be permissible, such as, for instance, a man and his WiSi or his widowed BrWi. 621 582

The /Kung have no unit within which endogamy is absolutely required. Those of the Nyae Nyae region almost all marry among themselves within the region, not because a formulated social rule definitely prohibits their marrying outside but because they almost never go out. They do not like strange places, strange situations, or strange persons, and have no way of feeding themselves where they cannot depend on receiving food from relatives or friends and, in strange country, either do not know where the wild foods grow or might not be allowed to gather them if they found any. Nevertheless, a few Nyae Nyae /Kung have married other /Kung outside the region, and one /Kung woman we know is married outside her own race, with acceptance and ease of relations all around among her people and his, to a Chwana man at Gam, near the southern border of the region. We think in all probability there must be other mixed marriages along the Bechuanaland border which we do not know about, but we are safe in saying that among the Nyae Nyae /Kung such marriages are rare. [648]

Prolonged intermarriage within the region has woven these people together and much visiting among kin develops acquaintanceships and friendships which unite the whole Nyae Nyae /Kung population. They feel themselves to be an in-group and express this feeling in the words *ju /ōassi*.[1] *Ju* means 'person' or 'persons'; 571 619 621

[1] S. Passarge puts the phrase on his map in *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari* (Berlin, 1907, Dietrich Reimer, p. 19), spelling it *Sua'guassi*. He places it on the line of 20° S., slightly to the east of 20° E., near what we call the centre of the Nyae Nyae region, in the area designated on his and other maps as the Kaukau Veld. He places the phrase as if it were the name of a Bushman group, like Heikom, Naron, or some other, He places the name *'Kung* somewhat to the north-west. That is the name we spell */Kung*, which D. Bleek (*A Bushman Dictionary*, American Oriental Society, 1956, p. 447) records as */Kū*, */Ku* or */Kuŋ* (person, Bushman).

Passarge places the name *'Kung* once more at about 23° S. as the name of another Bushman group. In sound the name is the same or very, very like the name of the more northerly group. Miss Bleek refers to this group as being popularly called 'Koon'. L. F. Maingard distinguishes between the two by spelling the name of the southerly group */Kɜ*. The /Kɜ are to be found in B.P., in and south of Okwa. Whereas the /Kung language has four clicks (symbolized now as dental /, alveolar ≠, alveolar palatal /, lateral //), the /Kɜ language is very different and has a fifth click, that of the southern Bushman language groups, the labial ⊙. The phrase *ju /ōassi* has nothing to do with the /Kɜ.

Maingard in 'Three Bushman Languages' (*African Studies*, 16/1, 1957, p. 37) uses the phrase as the name of a dialect of /Kung—'. . . *dyu//ōā:si* (Northern Group, a dialect of /khū, partly in South West Africa and partly in the Bechuanaland Protectorate)'. Bleek (op. cit., p. 354) does not record the phrase in /Kung (her northern Group II), but gives it in Auen (N I) and says it means 'Bushman'. She spells it *ju /nuasi*. [101]

We think that the phrase *ju /ōassi*, which we started spelling in this way because we did not know any better and continue because it is simpler, can be applied to groups of varying size and definition, on a variety of bases, when the in-group quality in comparison with the out-group is to be expressed in some way. When we asked what they call themselves, our /Kung informants often replied '*ju /ōassi*' as though the phrase might be coextensive with Bushman as distinguished from non-Bushman (Europeans, */ku*, whom the /Kung also call 'red people', i.e. *ju gau*; or Bantu, whom the /Kung call *ju dzo*, 'black people' or */goma* (or */koma?*),' animals without hooves'). They also use *ju /ōassi* when one might expect them to say '/Kung' as distinguished from other Bushman language groups, or when they distinguish themselves from other /Kung outside their region. They said that the Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south were *ju dole* and they know that the Bushmen at Karakuwise, Nuregas, and Chadum speak /Kung but said they were *ju dole* nevertheless. I had the impression that it was the out-group quality in the phrase (strange and therefore potentially harmful) which was being expressed when they applied it as above and claimed that the Makaukau were a murderous people who have a medicine so deadly that you die if you but glance at it, and that those Nuregas /Kung put poison into the pipes they give you to smoke. One's friend or relative can also be *ju dole* if one is displeased with him.

Isaak Utuhile (a Chwana chief under Queen Moremi, in Kubi, B.P.) said that in the phrase *ju /ōassi*

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571 619 621 we were unable to find a precise translation of */õassi* but think it connotes the *we* as distinct from the *they* and has an overtone of something good and safe. The phrase is an opposite of *ju dole*. *Dole* means strange or harmful or bad—evidently synonyms to the /Kung.

602 621 [608] Because there were so many kinship ties among the people and because they have a system (the name relationship—to be mentioned later) by which they apply kin terms to persons who are not consanguineous relatives or affines, I wondered for a time if we should find that the people who call themselves *ju /õassi* comprised a kin group of the type which Murdock calls a deme.[1] A deme is bilateral and endogamous, Murdock says, 'comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite the members'. Though the Nyae Nyae region has the elements of a deme, I am convinced that it does not constitute, strictly speaking, an organized kin group of this type, of which the people are conscious as a social form. The endogamy of the region is customary and preferred, but not required by a social rule, and it is not from the group of people as a whole who are *ju /õassi* that social regulation derives.

Marriage regulations: the incest taboo and its expression in avoidances

582 835 Marriages are forbidden in /Kung social organization on one basis only. That basis is incest. In common with nearly all mankind (excepting, of course, the Pharaohs and a few other rare examples), the /Kung incest taboo prohibits marriage or sexual relations between Fa and Da, Mo and So, Br and Si. The incest taboo is extended beyond the nuclear family to certain additional categories of persons, and marriage with them is also rigorously forbidden by /Kung social law.

[842] The /Kung did not express the belief that in-breeding *per se* produces inferior offspring and must for that reason be avoided. Although they believe that in conception the semen unites with menstrual blood, their language does not use the image of blood as ours does. They do not think of relatives as having the same blood or any [827] physical substance in common, actually or by way of figure of speech to represent inheritable characteristics, in so far as we know, and do not think that common inheritance is somehow what makes it wrong to marry close kin.

The thought that incest has been avoided by mankind because it would be exceedingly disruptive to the internal cohesion of the nuclear family comes to the mind of the analyst of social forms but not to the minds of /Kung informants. And no mention was made of the obvious social advantage of marrying outside the nuclear family and thereby weaving a supporting web of kinship with many other families and bands.

The /Kung feel a deep, internalized, pervading horror of incest which they do not try to explain. Incest with parent, offspring, or sibling is unthinkable. 'Only dogs do that—not men.' 'It would be madness (*di*).' 'It would be dangerous, like going up to a lion.' Many refused to speak with me about such 'bad things'.

571 619 621 the Bushmen were saying of themselves, in effect, 'We are not animals, we are human beings', a connotation we did not discover in the thinking of the /Kung themselves. Ledimo, our chief interpreter, also a Chwana, said the phrase had the connotation of 'perfect persons' and that 'clean' and 'empty' were aspects of the word */õassi*, he thought. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas paraphrased it in the title of her book, *The Harmless People* (Knopf, New York; Martin Secker & Warburg, London, 1959).

[1] Murdock, op. cit., pp. 62–63.

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588 One of the most rigid social rules the /Kung have, besides the incest taboo within the nuclear family and its extension, is the giving of bride-service. We heard of no [591] deviation from it. A boy or man of any age, a headman or headman's son, an important medicine man, all go to live with their brides' parents or other relatives in first marriages and subsequent marriages, whatever the age of the bride.

The duration of bride-service is indefinite. Informants told us a man must stay with his wife's people until three children have been born. If he goes when the girl is eight or nine, she may not have her first child for possibly seven or eight or more years. It is safe to say that ten years of bride-service are not unusual. It is long enough for the boy's youth to have turned to manhood and for him to be looked upon as an [591] able, responsible head of his family. After his bride-service is fulfilled a man may remain with his wife's band or may return with his wife and children to his own.

The Wedding of !Nai and |Gunda

159 /Nai was a pretty little girl, we think about eight years old, or so, with a quick responsive smile, when she was married on 22 May 1953, at Gautscha. The bride- [582] groom, /Gunda, was about sixteen, we judged, and the people said he was the best young hunter among the boys of the territory.

/Nai belonged to Band 1, /Gunda to Band 2. Both of these bands belong to the [621] water-hole at Gautscha and were encamped there at the time, about 100 feet apart. We lived with Band 1.

/Nai's mother, Di/ai, had divorced her former husband, Gumtsa, the father of /Nai, and was now the second wife of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1. /Gunda's mother, Khuan//a, had divorced /Gunda's father, Bo. Khuan//a was now the second wife of Gau in Band 2. Both Gumtsa and Bo were living far from Gautscha.

159 The two mothers had betrothed their children some time previously. We heard 584 that Di/ai had had her eye on the strong young /Gunda, saying, 'We must get this boy for /Nai so he will take care of her and we can get enough to eat, also karosses', [581] and had gone to Khuan//a to propose the betrothal. Khuan//a had said, 'Yes, this is very good.' The mothers exchanged gifts. Khuan//a gave to Di/ai a necklace of five strings of ostrich egg shell beads which reached to the umbilicus (shorter strings would have been inappropriate) and Di/ai gave other beads and copper wire ornaments to Khuan//a.

Gumtsa, /Nai's father, heard about the betrothal. He had hoped to arrange a marriage between /Nai and someone of his choice at Kubi where he lived. One day in November 1952 he came to Gautscha to complain, he said, that he had not been consulted and to protest against the betrothal and take /Nai to Kubi with him. Tension [578] rose. /Nai cried and looked very frightened. The members of both Bands 1 and 2, though they had no theoretical authority in the matter, all expressed themselves and [628] poured torrents of talk over the affair, mostly supporting Di/ai in her steadfast refusal to yield /Nai, saying that Gumtsa had not fed /Nai, had not so much as sent her a gift, and should not now come and interfere in her betrothal. After four days of this Gumtsa gave up and went home.

159 Meanwhile the affair, like a spoon stirring in a pot, brought to light another ten- 584 sion. Some of /Nai's relatives began to express disapproval of her betrothal, not 578 because they wanted her to go with the father but because they were angry with

/147 cont./

222 Rosinkis of the Boers
So-called "wild cucumbers"
Mushrooms which grow on termite hills

251 The veld crop that has been gathered is kept in the huts in
[415] little sacks made of duiker or ibex leather.

/148/ The Auin also stores small caches of provisions by burying sacks of veld crops; he likewise buries tschamma or ostrich egg shells filled with water. In the tops of large trees one often finds, aside from animal hides, provisions of veld crops which are kept there. [Fig. 9 appears here.]

423 Land is held in common, that is, it is the common property of a horde consisting of several families. The game in this territory, as well as the wood and the veld crops, is exclusively for the use of the members of the community that holds the land. The watering places that are to be found there are available for general use, but only if water is abundant. If water is scarce, the local group that holds the land has exclusive right to it.

361 The local groups sometimes live at considerable distances
423 from one another so that the same land is used by several settle-
621 ments. The settlements, after all, do not consist of a fixed number of families, but rather of those who are gathered together in fortuitous groupings as the occasion arises. Whatever the accidental composition of the settlements may be, their members always move within a definite area, and it is always the members of the same larger horde who form the settlements.

Friendly hordes permit tracking, that is, game that has been
423 wounded on the land of one horde may be pursued on the territory
619 of a friendly horde. A part of the booty is allotted to the "landowner" within whose territory the game is killed. A definite
[685] agreement is required in each case since the Bushman attacks on sight any strange Bushman on his family's terrain.

Blood vengeance is not sought for a violation of territory if
628 the local groups are especially friendly. The offender is driven off and, in addition, just as in Prussia, his "firearms" and booty are confiscated. The policing of the terrain is done by each Bushman on his communal land.

If women are caught trespassing, they are taken prisoner and
[721] led to the settlement of the owners of the terrain. This frequently leads to war if the women are harmed sexually during their captivity.

[Text continues on page 32]

[18 cont.]

648 Nogau, the !Kung who are settled in the Sand Veld east of the Omuramba u Omatako are more hostile toward the Whites, and the attitude of the Whites and natives on the farms is correspondingly hostile toward them. This attitude is explained by the fact that only in recent times the Bushmen were forced out of the region west of the Omuramba and now have considerably reduced the scant living space of their brothers east of the dry bed. The living conditions in this region are hopeless. The !Kung live in symbiosis with the tribes along the Okovanggo. Lacking a stable social organization, lacking fixed dwellings in the narrower sense, the Bushmen is much less manageable than, say, the black farmers. Making the tribe collectively responsible, which is the best protection for the European, cannot be used against the Bushmen, and the likelihood of seizing a Bushman who has committed a crime on the edge of the police zone or outside it is zero. One must keep this in mind in dealing with them. On the other hand, I had no bad experiences with them.

[19] The Biological Bases of Life

1. The Number

161 Seiner has estimated the number of the !Kung at about 12,000. Since then, the wars of 1914-15, as well as the steady deterioration of the water conditions, have strongly curbed any increase, so that their number has certainly not risen in the last 20 years.

621 The basic social unit is the essentially patriarchal family horde, which on the average consists of one or two old men, four to six adult men, an equal number of women capable of bearing children, and a number of old matrons, as well as the 221 children. Toward the end of the winter they assemble in great 621 numbers at the few remaining watering places; they then meet again when the first veldkost ripens at certain places, frequently several hundreds of them; and then, when summer sets in, they again move in small groups to their family terrain. As examples, 162 I shall give four hordes for which I was able to determine the

[19 cont.]

162 In the age group of five to ten years, the number re-
165 mains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number
[123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

[20] Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in
[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman
[131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief
133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika [Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa], Berlin, 1906.

648 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample
621 water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and
622

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself, who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year 1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and smoke it' " (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions
131 of this tribe:

"The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

[31 cont.]

764 of the Bushmen are tied up in a crouched position and buried under termite hills.

"The corpse is usually lowered in such a way that it is received by a man standing in the grave. Aside from those who bring the corpse and dig the grave, no one goes to the interment. The corpse is buried either in a crouched posture or lying in a crouched position. In the case of the crouched posture, the face is eastward, and the elbows rest on the knees, while the hands are on either side of the head. In the case of the crouched position, the corpse is placed on the left side. The left hand is placed under the head, giving the appearance of a sleeping person. The face likewise looks toward the east.

766 [32] "Before their interment, feared men, such as sorcerers who had a malign influence and others who were feared in life, but not women, are firmly tied up with thongs of game hide in the crouched posture described above; then, in some cases, the spine is crushed with a stone or ax, as a result of which the head can be bent even lower and placed between the knees. Tied up in this fashion, they are thrown into a fissure in the earth, into an anteater's hole, or into a small cave."

8. The Hunt

423 It is well known that wherever the Bushmen live more or
224 less undisturbed, each kin group has its precisely defined hunting
[621] territory. Vedder believes that the engravings of game tracks indicate old boundaries, as do the stone heaps which are usually designated as Heiseb graves. In any case the question arises as to who actually established these boundaries. My informants stated unanimously that the division stems from the time when the Bushmen still had a supreme chief. There seems to be some authority, however, even today, since in the bush veld the boundary lines are drawn with reference to certain trees, which, in general do not have too long a life. The Bushmen move back and forth within their hunting territories. It sometimes happens that a young hunter is not thoroughly familiar with the boundaries or that wounded game crosses the boundary. In this case the hunter must

000 [42 cont.]
622 the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is
372 the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo.
778 Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are
[262] "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a
784 very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language.
Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is
166 available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the
373 village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha
[596] fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they
252 have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha
264
621 fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave im-
[462] mediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the
windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire
he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does.
Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large
game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains
seated there, while the women and children make themselves
comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The
game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and
[262] shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children,
who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is
[622] consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has
the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The
hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has
described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

178 When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the
622 Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight
organization and a common leader. When Captain François went
beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable
support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note
that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of
Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a
Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a

2. He himself was a half-breed.

chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest
chief I heard of was "χ'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

test this factor and eventually we learned that there are two aspects to the /Kung system of kin terminology. In one terms are applied according to the biological position of the persons; in the other terms are applied because persons are classified with others by having the same names, in ways this paper will explain. The factor of the name has resulted in kin terms being applied by persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, but who are considered to be related through the factor of the name in what we call the name-relationship. 601 602 [124]

Miss Bleek in her paper on 'Bushman Terms of Relationship'[1] has recorded /Kung terms. Students of the subject interested in comparing her paper with this will find them in agreement to a considerable extent, but Miss Bleek's paper does not go so deeply into the terminology as this does nor does it bring out the significance of the factor of the name.[2] 114 601

Our material on /Kung kin terminology is presented in two parts. (I) The first part (A) deals with terms applied to consanguineous kin, and explains the factor of the name and the way the application of terms is extended through the factor of the name to persons who have no consanguineous or affinal ties, in what we call the name-relationship; and (B) deals with terms applied to affines. (II) The second part deals with certain aspects of behaviour related to kin terminology, touching briefly upon marriage prohibitions and preferences from the point of view of terminology. It deals more fully with the joking relationship, an aspect of behaviour which relates closely to terminological categories. The paper finally touches upon the way the name-relationship serves as an amalgamating factor within a whole region among people who have no larger organized social units than autonomous bands, small ones of 10–15 persons up to large ones of 40–60 persons, composed of consanguineous kin and their affines. 128 [184 621]

Space does not permit here a description of the composition of bands, but we hope in a future publication to give data on the family and bands, on hunting and veldkos territories, marriage, residence, settlement patterns, and on the behaviour among kin in forming hunting and gathering parties, arrow-lending, meat-sharing, gift-giving, &c.

[1] D. F. Bleek, 'Bushman Terms of Relationship', *Bantu Studies*, vol. ii (1923–6), pp. 57–70.

[2] Miss Bleek (ibid.) sometimes gives the descriptive phrase in place of, or in addition to, the term, as if we should say father's brother or mother's brother instead of uncle. For instance, *ha siy* is a descriptive phrase meaning father's younger brother or younger sister. There are differences of spelling. We should like to follow Miss Bleek's spelling, but we put down as best we could what we heard and cannot change over to her spelling because in the different areas the Bushmen's pronunciation may possibly have varied slightly. There are some terms given by Miss Bleek which we did not hear in the Nyae Nyae region. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae do not use the term *tsau* for Br. We did not hear *||ge*, nor *soiy||ge*, nor *tsa* as a prefix to *siy*. Otherwise the terms we record are recognizable as the same terms which Miss Bleek records. Miss Bleek, on the other hand, does not record all the terms which we record as used in the Nyae Nyae area. The principal difference lies, we think, in her not taking into account the factor of the name. We think she had an inkling of there being such a factor among the /Kung she worked with, for she says they had a word */ku* which she thought meant 'kinsman' or 'namesake'. In any case, she does not show all the terms which in the Nyae Nyae region might be applied to grandparents, grandchildren and collaterals on both the paternal and maternal sides. A detailed comparison of the papers would show several examples, but one will suffice to illustrate the point. Miss Bleek records the terms for FaBr, *tsu*, and MoBr, *tsau||ga*, giving the impression that the /Kung system makes a terminological distinction between the paternal and maternal siblings, whereas we found that in the Nyae Nyae area both terms, *tsu* and *tsau||ga*, might be used for either FaBr or MoBr, and, besides, that the sibling term, elder Br, might also be used for FaBr or MoBr, as will be explained. [113]

organisation among them. The various so-called tribes bear 619
distinctive names, mostly of Bushmen or Hottentot origin, the significance of which is in most instances no longer known. Judging by the practice which still exists among the Bushmen they are in all probability descriptive either of the territory occupied by certain groups or of some physical or other characteristic of such territory or groups. Each tribe is composed of a number of family groups all of whom claim relationship to each other through a common tribal ancestor. Thus, for example, according to the traditions of the *ǂAo-//ẽin* all the groups constituting that tribe are descended from a "first big *ǂAo-//ẽin* Bushman." A similar belief likewise exists among other tribes. Nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all members of the tribe is met with among them, nor is collective action taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. Each family group 619
forms an independent unit by itself, possessing its own group 621
area and authority over and specific rights within such area only. In relation to other groups it is collectively responsible for the actions of each of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the groups concerned and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. On occasion, however, a weak group will seek and sometimes obtain assistance from a stronger one, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature. The most common causes of inter-group [628]
quarrels are trespass, theft and adultery. The ensuing conflicts generally assume the form of a blood feud which is continued until a more or less equal toll of life has been taken by both sides. Women are never killed intentionally during [727]
the course of these feuds but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women are made captive and taken in marriage. Further as far as can be ascertained under no circumstances will the victors deprive the vanquished of their territory or occupy such territory lest harm or disaster should overtake them. The more widely separated groups of the tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct personal contact with each other and generally live in such superstitious fear and dread of each other that the members of one will not undertake journeys into the territory of another, even when accompanied by Europeans. The [911]
group areas are separated from each other by neutral zones into which nobody will venture except during the course of visits. These zones are usually formed by belts of trees, open flats, water courses, etc. Territorial boundaries are observed [423]
in a most scrupulous manner even by closely related groups who are living on the most friendly terms with each other. Each family is inseparably united to its habitat and has a superstitious dread of any locality but its own. The result is that even the members of completely disorganised groups are loth to seek employment outside the boundaries of their ancestral territory.

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people. [423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such, 621 by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-//om*, on the [582 other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the 591] chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out 361 on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the [184] *Hei-//om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial [562] and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and [882 boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away 342] from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various 342 tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a [462] husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations. When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish 166 a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who 342 deposits his household and other effects on the place on which [622] his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated [312] in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, 142
and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff [46]
with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the
men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and
consequently they often seem younger than they are. They [194]
are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man 291
wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather
apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole
animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at [854
the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride, 482
and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which 415 237]
are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people;
they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though [515
they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair 302]
breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped
close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell
beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny [301]
bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear
leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several 609
months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find
them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe
that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the
grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and [343]
made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right 609
into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and 621
didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass un-
til I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which
was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around
it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned,
all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

609 pering in the grass near by. You can tell by these werfs that
621 there are Bushmen in an area, and also by their footprints on narrow trails which they share with the game and which run all through the desert. You may find footprints or you
[372] may see a little pile of white ash, the fire that a Bushman kindled where he spent the night. Otherwise, to find them you must depend on luck or on the fact that the Bushmen of an area may have heard something good about you and will not be too afraid.

105 Culturally and historically, the Bushmen are an interesting people, for they and the Hottentots, who belong to the same racial and language groups, are the earliest human inhabit-
[161] ants still living in southern Africa. There are now from thirty to fifty thousand Bushmen, who are divided into several lan-
[197] guage groups. Their languages are related to each other and to the Hottentot language, and are in what is known as the Khoisan language group, made up of most of the click languages spoken in South Africa. A click language has sharp pops and clicks made with the tongue in various parts of the mouth, combined with an implosion of the breath, very diffi-
[194] cult to understand, harder still to pronounce, as the slightest mistake may change the meaning of a word entirely. For example, the work *//kx'a*, which in one of the Bushman languages means *mangetti*, a certain kind of nut-bearing tree, is pronounced by making a lateral click for which the tongue is pulled sharply away from the sides of the mouth, producing the click one makes when calling a horse, followed by a scraped *k* turning to a g, followed by a glottal stop—a slight pause or tiny choking sound made as the back of the tongue stops the breath—which is followed at last by the vowel. To make a mistake is easy, and that is why non-Bushmen have a hard time learning the language, and why, when they do learn, they are often misunderstood.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

105 361 the veld, changing their abode every few days in search of food. Because of their way of life, they do not need villages to live in, so they rarely bother to build strong scherms, making small domes of grass for themselves instead, just a little shade for their heads, grass which the wind soon blows away. Sometimes they do not even bother with this, but push little sticks into the ground to mark their places. They sleep beside the sticks and arrange their few possessions around them, symbols of their homes.

105 361 823 [621] Although Bushmen are a roaming people and therefore seem to be homeless and vague about their country, each group of them has a very specific territory which that group alone may use, and they respect their boundaries rigidly. Each group also knows its own territory very well; although it may be several hundred square miles in area, the people who live there know every bush and stone, every convolution of the ground, and have usually named every place in it where a certain kind of veld food may grow, even if that place is only a few yards in diameter, or where there is only a patch of tall arrow grass or a bee tree, and in this way each group of people knows many hundred places by name. Even if you are traveling randomly with Bushmen and ask at any time on the journey for the name of the place where you happen to be standing, they will probably be able to tell you. They themselves always like to know exactly where they are.

105 621 The social structure of Bushmen is not complicated. They have no chiefs or kings, only headmen who in function are virtually indistinguishable from the people they lead, and sometimes a band will not even have a headman. A leader is not really necessary, however, because the Bushmen roam about together in small family bands rarely numbering more than twenty people. A band may consist of an old man and his wife, their daughters, the daughters' husbands, perhaps an

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

unmarried son or two, and their daughters' children. Bush- 105
men are polygynous, and a man is allowed by custom to have 621
as many wives as he can afford, depending on how well he [595]
hunts—usually a man can afford only one wife, sometimes two (often a pair of sisters), and once we heard of a man with four wives. For this reason there are often more women than men in a band.

The immediate family, a man, his wife, or wives, and chil- 105
dren, is the only solid social unit; otherwise the small bands 592
are always breaking up and recombining with other small 621
bands as the structures of single families change, through marriages, divorces, deaths, or as the family decides to pay a prolonged visit to a different group of relatives.

Any Bushman will either be related by blood or marriage 105
or will be acquainted with all the other Bushmen in his area 602
but this is as far as Bushmen go in their affinities. They do 609
not recognize as their own people strange Bushmen who speak the same language; in fact, they suspect and fear them as they do any stranger.

We have visited four of the Bushman language groups, two 114-
of which we stayed with for long periods of time. In 1951, 131
after a survey expedition to learn where Bushmen could be found, we went into the Nyae Nyae area of South-West Africa, close to the border of Bechuanaland, to look for Kung Bushmen. We found a band living near a waterhole, as it was June, the drought of the year, and we stayed with them for four months. At first only a few Bushmen were there, but as [609
the news spread that we were friendly, more and more peo- 276]
ple came to visit us and receive presents of tobacco and salt, for Bushmen love to smoke but rarely have tobacco, which they get in trade. Also, most of the Bushmen had never seen a European before, none had ever seen a European woman, and they came by dozens to sit together in a cluster

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 bush beside her fireplace. Also, she brought out six round
222 green melons which are called *tsama* melons, and which, during the autumn, provide the only liquid available for all the Bushmen in the desert, and for all the game antelope be-
[271 sides. Under the green rind a tsama is very like a watermelon,
312] filled with small oval seeds and very watery in texture, but is itself pale green and smaller, the size of a small cantaloupe.
[516] Tsetchwe placed one between her feet and, gripping it firmly with her strong toes, chopped a hole in the top of it with her digging-stick; then, lifting the cap away like the lid of a jack-
271 o'-lantern, she mashed the pulp inside until it was liquid. She put the melon to her mouth and, tipping her head back, drank from it, using her long digging-stick to help push the pulp into her mouth, working it like an enormous chopstick, making a watery noise as she sucked. When Tsetchwe had collected a mouthful of seeds she put the melon down, took an old, dry tsama melon rind from her kaross, and spat the seeds into it to save them, for they can be roasted and eaten like nuts when they are dry. Tsetchwe drank all the liquid in
[264] the rind and seemed refreshed as she cast the empty rind over her shoulder and brushed off her mouth and hands.

609 At last Gai strode back into the werf, followed at a distance
621 by a group of three small boys and, much farther, by three old women who stood waist-deep in bushes, close together like three antelope, craning their necks to see us.

609 When they noticed Tsetchwe and Ukwane, they came for-
276 ward with more confidence, accepted tobacco, and, squatting
621 immediately, began to smoke. It had been months, Ukwane said, since they had used their last tobacco, had been reduced to smoking leaves, and they were very happy to have the tobacco we had give them. Bushmen love to smoke. They say
[261] that tobacco, as well as the wild beans, takes away hunger and thirst, and, besides that, it makes their hearts glad. One

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

of the old women, Dasina, who was Tsetchwe's mother, inhaled too deeply and began to faint. Tsetchwe half turned her mother so that everyone would not see her, and, putting an arm around her for support, let the old woman lean on her shoulder. Our interpreter laughed, and Tsetchwe turned to glare. Tsetchwe's back was exactly like her mother's, broad but curved in at the waist, the old woman's a little bloated but Tsetchwe's young and strong.

Another old woman was smoking, too, puffing on a short, wide pipe cut from a leg bone of some large antelope, so big that she had to stuff one end with grass to keep the tobacco inside. She almost unhinged her jaw each time she puffed. She would inhale and spit, cough, and inhale again without a sign of dizziness, and when she saw Dasina faint she too laughed out loudly. Her name, she told us, was Twikwe.

Twikwe was skinny and tall as a man, with long, lanky arms that she flung about in the air, gesturing, and long legs that jerked when she walked. She wore only a short piece of leather that reached from her waist to her thighs, and we could see that she was wrinkled from head to foot, her skin hanging in long, vertical wrinkles down her thighs and belly, like an old apple that has dried. She talked incessantly and loudly, always opening and closing her mouth, and she joked, for Ukwane and the young boys near her laughed at everything she said. She was telling how her husband had outdistanced her as they were running away and was surely running still. Every now and then she stopped her talk to shout out to him, jeering, saying that he was depriving himself of tobacco and should come back; then everyone would listen, but no sound came from him, no answer. He never did come back, and in the weeks we were there we never saw him. Perhaps he was running away from Twikwe, for we later learned that he was living in a valley with his other wife.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe

142 The third old woman was Ukwane's wife, and her name
621 was Kutera. She was the oldest of the four women by many years, and much the frailest; her arms and legs were spindly, and she was so thin that her slender bones stuck out. She moved slowly, feebly, and spoke in a high, thin voice like the piping of a little bird. She didn't even have the big belly that Bushmen usually have; instead, her belly clung to her backbone and she looked like a little, dry bird skeleton, ready to splinter or be blown away.

The other members of the group were the three young boys. One, Giamakwe, about eleven years old, was the son of Ukwane's old age, and the other two, Wite and Witabe, about ten and fourteen, were the sons of Twikwe and the man who ran away. All were extremely thin, with arms and legs like matchsticks, and each wore a tiny rag of a loincloth that had been cast off by someone else and cut down to their sizes—just tokens of modesty, as the boys were not covered up at all. But they were very gay and active; their shyness of
857 621 us vanished immediately and was replaced by excitement; they whirled and spun like dervishes when they saw the gemsbok, played leapfrog, jounced each other, and ran circles around the werf, followed by the baby, Nhwakwe, who chased them like a puppy and could not keep up. He would tire from time to time, fall into his mother's lap to nurse, and then, refreshed, would rush headlong after the three boys again. He never did catch them, but this did not make him angry or make him cry.

224 When everyone was present, looking hungrily at the gemsbok on the jeep with a swarm of redheaded flies already at its mouth, Gai and Ukwane got their knives and rolled the gemsbok to the ground. She fell with a hard bounce, a thump as her legs or her long horns struck, and a huff as gas rushed from her open mouth. She lay stiffly, looking awkward with

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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481 trees, and on our way we found a path where before there
487 had been none. We followed it, it led to camp, and at its end we found Gai and eighteen other Bushmen, whose feet as they had walked in single file had worn a track. As we ap-
609 proached, the eighteen strangers drew back and together, the women behind the men, babies in their arms, and watched us hostilely. Gai persuaded them to sit down, which they did, all together, and when we asked them if they were hungry they said yes, so we gave them a drink of water and set a big pot of cornmeal to cook on our fire. We gave them each tobacco, which they smoked while they waited for the cornmeal to cook.

621 In that band there were six men, five of them in their thir-
162 ties, five women who seemed much younger, and one woman
596 who was very old. There were also three young boys and three babies, two girls and a boy. We guessed from the looks of the people—and later found that we were right—that the band was a small extended family. The old woman seemed to be the key figure of the band, for with her were her two sons and three daughters, their wives and husbands, and their children. The sixth man—a boy, really—did not seem to belong in this tightly woven group, for he was not married, being too young; he seemed too young to be the child of the old woman, though too old to be her grandchild, and I wondered who he was. Witabe's father was not there, and on that trip we did not find him.

142 The three sisters of the band were all arrestingly beautiful. They looked alike, with very fine faces, slender features, large eyes, and they all wore handsome white bead ornaments. Heavy eyelids, set off by the pronounced, delicate bones of their faces, made them look of uncertain race, or like houris, and their slender bodies with skins slightly wrinkled made them seem of uncertain age. Perhaps the sun had made the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

136 stood on his branch with the legs wide apart, bracing himself against the wind. When I got near he dropped from his branch and let the wind carry him away, and I saw that he had been watching a colony of ground squirrels close by which had not seen him and did not see me. They, too, were miserable with the cold, for they walked around slowly as they looked for seeds to eat. I sat down to watch them, which they noticed, and some of them stood up to watch me. Their fur was oddly greenish and it blew in the wind showing little patches of white. They had long fat bellies, long heavy thighs, and little feet, and when they stood up they, too, kept their legs wide apart and braced. As they peered at me I heard on the wind almost inaudibly high, soft whistles, their cries of warning to each other. They decided I was dangerous and vanished down their holes.

123 I came back to the werf with some wood, which I gave to the Bushmen. They reached out their hands for it and put it on their fires, but they didn't say a word. Later, in our camp, we put all the wood we had on one great fire, where the Bushmen joined us and where we spent the morning making and drinking cocoa. We even put up a white canvas, and, lying between it and the fire, we were fairly warm.

123 Ukwane used that occasion to tell us something about his
621 life and his relatives, his former wives, the children he had
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159 fathered and where they lived. Most of this centered around melon rights, or who could live in which areas, for if a person is born in a certain area he or she has a right to eat the melons that grow there and all the veld food. It is perhaps this factor that explains in part why the Gikwe bands are composed the way they are; a man may eat the melons wherever his wife can and wherever his father and mother could, so that every Bushman has in this way some kind of rights in many places. Gai, for example, ate melons at Ai a ha'o be-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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cause his wife's mother was born there, as well as at his own 423 birthplace, the Okwa Omaramba, where we had found the 621 602 eighteen Bushmen, who after all were not strangers but 159 closely related to Gai and Ukwane and an extension of Ukwane's band.

Ukwane himself had had three wives, and he and his first 586 wife had been divorced, which Bushmen do by announcing 587 the divorce and separating. There is no ceremony connected 159 with divorce, and no difficulty, as there is no ceremony connected with any marriage but the first. After a divorce a Bushman man may take up residence with another woman whom he prefers.

Without the visible evidence of ceremonies, however, it 837 is hard for non-Bushmen to recognize what is happening, as 159 occasionally Bushmen live together for short periods without being married, or commit adultery. But in cases such as these there is someone who does not want the union to be permanent, either the man or the woman, or perhaps his or her children; perhaps even the man and woman are tabu relatives, and unless everyone concerned is more or less in accord, the union does not take place. Among Bushmen, incest and [684] adultery are strongly condemned.

Once, among Kung Bushmen we lived with, a woman ran 837 away from her husband to take up with another man. She 593 had considered marrying him, and they ran off one night to his family to live permanently. When her husband found out, he got so wildly angry, taking up his spear and sharpening it, [578] that the headman of the band set off after the elopers to preserve the peace. My brother and I went with him, and at noon we found the lovers resting in the shade.

The headman talked with the elopers and told them how they were bringing shame on both their families, and how the woman's husband was violently upset. By this time the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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The people from Okwa camped right beside Ukwane; the two werfs were shaded by the same little tree.

[p. 112(H)]

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GiKwe

CHAPTER SEVEN

Mood Songs

000 WHEN we came to the pan of Ai a ha'o we found a small veld fire burning just at its edge on the opposite side and we noticed someone standing near it, partly obscured by the smoke. We called out to see who it was and a cracked voice answered: "Ukwane." He came over to us and told us he was looking for the piece of string that he had made which must have dropped out of his hunting-bag. He had been searching patiently over the ground all afternoon, but I did not see how he could hope to find it with all the smoke and with his hazy eyes that were almost blind. He decided to go home with us and fell in step beside us. We were hurrying because of the women's heavy loads and because of the fire, which by now was putting up a cloud of boiling, brown smoke that streaked out with the wind, making a long pathway above us that reached from the fire to the sun. Birds were being chased from
136 the bushes, still singing because they always sing in the afternoon, and insects from the grass.

578 We went past the fire and soon it crossed our track behind
● 621 us and went harmlessly into the west. As we walked, Ukwane
574 told us that during the afternoon the band of seventeen Bush-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

men whom we had met at Okwa had arrived and were planning to live beside us, as life at Okwa was getting very hard. The veld, said Ukwane, was beginning to dry, a condition that we had noticed, which was showing itself in the scarcity of roots and in the rotten, bitter melons. But we suspected that jealousy as much as anything else had brought the seventeen people to Ai a ha'o, the fear that Ukwane's band was feasting while they were being deprived.

At camp we found only three men of the visiting band, as the others were waiting somewhere in the veld, and the members of our expedition, who were trying to find a place for the visitors to camp. The three men were looking stonily around, seeing nothing that seemed agreeable. They had first been offered a grove of trees right by our camp, but they had refused this because of the mamba which they had heard about from Ukwane and which they believed might still be near. One spot after another failed to suit them, and finally they dropped their skin bags of belongings under a pair of small trees very close to Ukwane's werf. Ukwane welcomed them, of course, but I think he felt that difficulties would arise with them living so close and always watching.

One of the men went to summon the others of his band, who had been resting in a patch of heavy thorn bushes not far from our camp, and they came, carrying their youngest children and their bags of belongings, followed by their children old enough to walk by themselves. One of these was a toddling youngster who hadn't been walking long and who surely had been carried for most of the journey. The others were three young boys of about the same ages as the boys of Ukwane's band; when they saw where they were going to be living, they abandoned their parents with a great shout and, running to Ukwane's werf, started a game of horse and rider with the three boys of Ukwane's band. The Gikwe bands

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

574 do not meet very often, and when they do the children play
621 together day and night. All the young boys were extremely
857 happy to see each other and expressed their joy by starting their game at once, wasting neither time nor breath to say hello. Before the adults of the visiting band had set their bundles on the ground two little horses with their riders had run past, the riders trying to unseat each other.

574 They played all afternoon and into the evening while the
621 adults went about the business of setting up a camp. I went
361 to the new werf to watch and found that the women had stored away their belongings, stuffing some of their bundles among the tree roots, hanging others from the branches, and were now clearing grass, each woman clearing a small circle for her family. Soon five circles were formed, not quite touching, all sheltered by the branches and all in the space of a few square feet. I helped one woman pull grass, for she was clearing it tuft by tuft, pulling it up with her hands, and as I did this I felt something cold and firm in the grass I was holding, and, looking down, I saw that I was holding an asp. I dropped it, one of the Bushman men ran up to kill it, and one of the
[263] women lifted it between her fingers and placed it in her kaross. Later it would be cooked and eaten by a child.

224 That same afternoon, some of the members of our expedi-
574 tion went hunting and shot a gemsbok, which was brought back to camp and given to Ukwane to divide. This was, perhaps, a great mistake on our part, for Ukwane gave the entire carcass to the newcomers except for the head, one foot, and a little of the liquid from the rumen, which he kept for his own people. Twikwe dug a pit in the veld and roasted the head in it, and that night, while the newcomers were still butchering, drying, and cooking their larger share, the mem-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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534 shaded his dwelling, had about sixty cocoons on each rattle of the pair, and in each cocoon, from which the pupa had been carefully extracted and the cocoon closed up again, there were from ten to twenty fragments of ostrich eggshell, each fragment chipped to a uniform size and round. Each pair of rattles, of course, is expected to last a lifetime and more, and I'm sure that Gai's rattles were older than he.

621 578 756 533 The day before we left, Ukwane's band and the visitors from Okwa decided that since they were all together and in sufficient number, they would hold a dance. Perhaps it would purge the bad season or relieve the strain of jealousies they felt toward each other. Dances are usually held at night, but this time, out of consideration for us, they agreed to hold it during the day so that we could film it. We found a place which would be suitable for filming, helped gather sufficient wood because there would have to be a fire, no matter how hot the day was, and as we did all this the six young boys got more and more excited, tried on dance rattles, danced tight little circles around each other and tugged at the elbows of the adults, urging them to start.

756 535 533 Some of the women wanted to sing, others felt too hot, too tired, but the men walked among them encouraging them all. A dance is long, hot work for women, the pleasure of dancing being mostly for the men. At last Twikwe and Dasina went to the spot chosen for the dance and, sitting side by side at the fire, their backs to everybody, sang a few bars and began to talk, then sang a little more, joined now by Tsetchwe, who sat beside them and began to sing in earnest. All three of them looked so small down in the grass and set up such a loud noise singing—for in order to interest the other women they were shricking the song at the top of their voices—that they seemed like three tree frogs or three cicadas, hard to notice in the landscape but putting forth earsplitting songs.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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821 said to be ant lions which at night rise from the bottoms of their little traps of sand.

132 Since we had lived a year in Nyae Nyae we knew the round
821 of the seasons, which Kung Bushmen say are six in number. We came there in July, in winter and the start of the drought, the coldest season. August was bitterly cold and also dry, but in September the air began to get warmer and heralded the next season, called "little winds before the rain," a season of whirlwinds, drought, and clouds of dust. In October, suddenly and presenting a startling sight, a thorn tree near our camp turned quite green and the heat began to be intense. This was the start of the springtime, the dryest, hottest time of all the year and a time of starvation, for the water in the waterholes gets very low until only a little remains on the bottoms and the wild roots push sap into their vines so that the vines turn green and sprout but the roots themselves are shriveled. This was the worst season of the year for the peo-
361 ple. Before this, during the winter, the large extended band
621 that we had gone to visit was separated into little family groups that were scattered through the veld, living at little waterholes that did not keep their water all year long. During the dry season the water in these waterholes vanished, causing the small family bands to gather at the last sure waterhole of the area, a waterhole called Gautscha, which was beside a huge flat pan called Gautscha Pan.

There was one rather large band that always lived at Gautscha and numbered some forty people, who divided themselves into sometimes three, sometimes four family groups. They thought themselves lucky to live there, for Gautscha
[312] was considered to be a sort of paradise, where the waterhole was cool and deep, and (it was said) game gathered at all
317 times to lick the salt, for Gautscha was a salt pan. It was the salt that made Gautscha most desirable, because salt is

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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132 that the great trains dragging hampered its mating, would
136 twist and thrash and struggle, squeezing the wings between its thorax and abdomen, which did break off the wings but left the stubs. More and more ants were flying to the light and their circles were growing bigger and bigger until we couldn't move without stepping on them, but the women, getting more excited and moving very quickly, as if responding to the pace and the excitement of the ants, scooped them up and ate them as fast as they landed, spitting out the silver wings as one would spit out chaff. Over our heads a few night birds and many bats were flying, catching and eating the ants before they reached the ground, and around our feet huge pink hunting-spiders rushed in and out of the swarm, dragging the ants from their acts of copulation and carrying them away to eat them in the dark.

Before long the flight had ended. Only a few late-coming ants bumped against the light, the night birds and bats were gone, and the spiders had run away. Nothing was left but the white wings like petals all over the ground and the wings that were caught in people's throats or stuck to their faces. The women, quite composed now, brushed themselves off, and one of them sang a song:

[539]

Gurico gum, ah
Ah, ah.

[251] I noticed that each woman had managed to save a little bag or vegetable husk full of ants for her husband. These they put away.

132 That was in the late spring, a fertile season full of promise, and when it was over the best season of the year began, called the Veld Food Season, which starts some time in
361 March. The big rains have ended, the air is warm but not
621 hot, the veld is filled with water, game, fruit, roots, and

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green-leafed vegetables, and sometimes many of the people 361
of the large extended bands come together to live, to hold 621
important ceremonies which require many people, and to enjoy each other's company. Sometimes they separate into very small bands because they can now go anywhere they wish, each family going to the part of the veld where the type of food grows that the family most enjoys. There is water every- 312
where, in small seasonal waterholes, in shallow salt pans, in hollow trees, and the people thrive and grow quite fat. One 222
of their favorite foods, one that grows in great abundance at 262
this season, is a ground nut called *tsi*, which grows on a trailing vine and is so fat that if you leave a kernel of it on a piece of paper it will leave a greasy stain. Tsi is regarded by the Kung Bushmen as a very powerful food, one of the pow- [778]
erful veld foods in which there is a special essence, something mysterious and magic which gives them a life force all their own so that it would be dangerous to eat them during the year if this life force were not first subdued or not first integrated with the life force of the people. These foods are 778
the mainstays of the Bushmen's diet, and are fat; and every 789
year people in their child-bearing years, when they consider themselves subject to harm, protect themselves against these foods by a ritual act.

The act of protection is called *choa*, and it is interesting because it differs from the protective rituals performed by agricultural peoples to save their crops or animals from harm, or to cause their increase. The Bushmen choa themselves not [842]
to protect their fertility, for decrease in the number of children is not a problem to them, but to make sure that they, the young adults and mainstays of the community, will not get thin and starve.

Those whom Bushmen call "old people," adults who have 789
had three children, are expected to protect themselves and 885
also to protect young people of the same sex.

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Kung

136 tle feather boas around their waists, which were the wings.

As we left the pan a boar got up from the grass where he was lying and ran before us, a warthog with a heavy neck and red bristle of a mane, with curved tusks and with his tail stiff up in the air like a banner, trotting like a horse. He held his head high and ran away proudly, and he was old and very massive for a pig.

Not long after that we saw the two thatched rooftops of the village of Gam. A feather of smoke was rising over the rooftops, and soon we were there.

648 The people must have heard our trucks. A small crowd was
609 standing in the bushes, the people watching apprehensively as we came up. Mostly they were Bushmen, naked and smooth and brown, but here and there we saw a Bushman man wearing a ragged shirt or a woman in an old, filthy dress. In the crowd, towering over the Bushmen, were the Chuanas, a woman and a man, the woman dressed in a turban and a long dress, the man in shorts and a jacket. These two were the cattle-keepers. When our trucks stopped, the woman recognized us and, clapping her hands together, ran forward to meet us, followed at once by several Bushmen who also recognized us, and after that the crowd broke and all ran forward, the tense looks of apprehension gone, for if all the Bushmen had not known us they had heard of us and knew who we were. In a moment we found ourselves in the center of the crowd as all the Bushmen who knew us threw their gentle arms around us, touching us so lightly that it was like being embraced by moths. All those who did not know us crowded to look at our faces, and everyone talked at once until our ears rang. The Chuana couple, both more reserved, held back until the others had greeted us and then came forward to shake our hands.

621 When the excitement had died a little and everyone had a

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Kung

chance to look at everyone else and see who was there, we 621
found among the Bushmen one entire band, six people, who once had lived at Gautscha. These were an old man, his two daughters, his son, his grandson, and his son-in-law, a man 551
named Lazy Kwi. Because Kung Bushmen have relatively few names in use, resulting in the fact that many, many people have the same name—one man we knew had two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama, called after his mother, whose name was also Xama—they distinguish their various Xamas and Kwis with nicknames.

Lazy Kwi was a kind, warmhearted man, devoted to his family, and was named Lazy, an insulting name, only because he was not a good hunter. He was heavy-footed, there- 224 262
fore noisy, and not an excellent shot; but he was a good trapper and got meat for his family by snaring birds and lizards. But because he did not hunt he never owned large shares of meat and ate only what came to him by the Bushmen's system of dividing, which put him in the role of poor relation and sometimes forced him to eat what others would not touch. Once he had suppressed his pride and eaten a badger. Although the other Bushmen had turned up their noses at this rank meat, he had said: "I am the badger-eating man," laughing off their scorn to hide his shame. He had eaten it sadly, and the sweet taste of it had sickened him and had made him vomit and retch for the rest of the day. Luckily for 224 [411]
his family, his father-in-law made beautiful arrows and in the hunting system of Bushmen the man who gives or lends the arrow with which a buck is shot is automatically the owner of a large share of the meat. His father-in-law often lent arrows and often got meat. In fact, the old man had a domi- 888
nant voice in the running of the family, for though old men 621
may be aged and consumptive, those younger than they do what they say. Far from being derogatory, "Old" is a term of

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Kung

888 621 respect. In his family, the old man decided where the band would live.

157 Lazy Kwi's sister-in-law was called "the old woman." Her name referred not to her age but to her bearing and her personality, for she was outspoken, positive, and sure, qualities that are seldom found in young Bushmen.

609 She was not at all surprised to see us. She took my ear to turn my head, and kissed me on the cheek. Lazy Kwi laughed when he greeted us, showing a gap in his mouth where a tooth was missing, and called me his wife, a joke among Bushman men, who pretend they will marry any woman who is not a tabu relative. His baby hugged my legs and showed a huge white smile, then held up his arms to be lifted. He had grown so that I could hardly get him off the ground.

586 159 Many Bushmen who greeted us had been at Gam when we had lived there, and among them was a young girl whose name was Ungka, a very common name; as she had no distinguishing nickname, we called her Beautiful Ungka, for so she was. She was probably the most beautiful girl in all Nyae Nyae, and even though she was only sixteen years old she already had a flaming past. When she was ten she was married to a man much older than herself, but, young as she was, she knew what she wanted, and because the old man filled her with loathing she cut off all her hair and all her ornaments, rubbed ashes on her face until she was filthy, and swore she would stay that way until her marriage was dissolved. Of course it wasn't long before her husband and her parents complied with her wishes and she became single once again.

583 159 When she was about thirteen she attracted the attention of another much older man who was already married but who became so inflamed by her beauty that he begged her parents to give her to him as a second wife. This time her parents consulted with her, entreating her to marry him as

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sibly as the result of a very prevalent eye disease. He had been 163
blind when we knew him as a baby; now his infected eye had 164
shrunk away, leaving a socket. As I watched him, I noticed that his good eye had become infected too and bothered him; he had developed a habit of turning his head from side to side, squinting with his good eye, trying to see depth or judge distance, and also a habit of rubbing both eyes with his knuckles. When Dikai saw me watching him she pointed to her own eyes, then to Dabe's, to show that she and Dabe, too, had the infection, and when I said that I would give her medicine when we got back to Nama she nodded. "I was waiting for you to come," she said.

Hearing me speak of medicine, Little Gashe glared at me 164
balefully. I had treated his eyes before and perhaps he remembered that the medicine was painful, or perhaps he was afraid that I would harm his eyes. He scrambled into his mother's lap to nurse and, facing toward her for safety, glared at me over her shoulder. Little Dabe, seeing this, climbed into Dikai's lap too and she had to nurse them both, one on [862]
each knee, at each breast. Her lap became a battlefield. They kicked and pushed and got in each other's way.

Dikai and her two boys were only half of Gao Feet's fam- 595
ily, for he had another wife, his first wife, who had a daughter and a grandchild. We were not surprised that these people were not with Gao Feet; his two wives did not get along well. Since Dikai was young and pretty, Gao Feet spent his time with her. We asked Gao Feet where his first wife was, and he told us that she was living with her daughter's family and with Dikai's mother in a dry forest not far away where tsi was growing. We asked for other people, the other members of 621
Toma's large band, and Toma told us that they were well, living far away in a mangetti forest. Naturally, Toma's family had not seen this group for some time because of the dis-

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Kung

621 tance, but Toma said now that he would take us to see them
someday soon because he believed that we would be able to
help them; one man in their band, a man called Short Kwi, or
sometimes Kwi the Hunter, had been bitten in the leg by a
puff adder and was very badly hurt. We got the impression
159 that he had been bitten recently and, hoping that we might
621 draw the poison from the wound, we said that we would leave
752 at once. But Toma said that it had happened during the last
rainy season, so there was no use hurrying; other Bushmen
had cut the wound and had sucked the poison, saving Short
Kwi's life, but his leg was so badly hurt that he couldn't use
it. It had turned black, said Toma, and black liquid ran out
at the wound. We thought then that there would be nothing
we could do to help; but perhaps rumor had exaggerated the
misfortune, and so we told Toma that we would certainly go
to do what we could.

224 Short Kwi came from a famous family; he was the younger
159 brother of the man who murdered Toma's father, but Short
Kwi was famous in his own right, famous as a hunter. He
often killed more game in a year than many other men kill in
their lives, a great hunter among a hunting people. The other
Bushmen told stories about him—about the time he had
killed four wildebeests in a herd of many, about the time he
had killed an eland, a wildebeest, and a wild pig all in one
day. It was his technique of hunting to be relentless in his
pursuit; therefore, if he shot an animal and suspected others
to be in the vicinity he would let the wounded animal run
where it would while he hunted on and shot another, and
another, and when all were as good as dead he would rest,
then return to pick up the trail of the one that he felt would
die the soonest. He almost never lost an animal, for his eyes
[151] were sharp and he could follow a cold trail over hard ground
and even over stones; he could tell from fallen leaves whether

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Short Kwi the Hunter

THERE were about forty people who had moved in beside us621 at our camp by Nama Pan, having settled overnight into574 seven werfs, each concealed from the others in the privacy of the grass and forming a community that was superimposed on ours, for the werfs, each a little clearing containing several grass nests or several scherms symbolized by sticks thrust in the ground, surrounded us on all sides and life went on as if we weren't there. People walked back and forth through our camp on their way to patches of veld food or to the water pan, and soon little paths appeared which we had not made.

Mostly, the people were Bushmen from Gam who had left484 there right after we did and had walked along after us, taking574 their time, sleeping one night on the way. They had brought all their children and old people, all their belongings, and evidently planned to stay. Even the Chuana woman had come, riding her donkey, followed on foot by two of her Bushman servants, and she had made herself a camp quite far away from us to prevent the donkey from annoying us with its brays.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

621 574 The other werfs were much nearer us, as the people wanted to keep an eye on each other, to see that we gave food or presents to all when we gave to one, but also because they enjoyed being together and wanted to be able to visit each other quickly at any time at all. Next to our camp on one side was Lazy Kwi's werf, and on the other side lived Toma with his wife and Gao Feet with his wives. At the far end of their werf lived Crooked Kwi with his wife and the old grandmother. They were between our camp and the pan, and beside their werf ran a pathway, the way used by the people on the other side of us to reach the water.

593 On the other side of the path, in the shade of a tree, lived one more small band, the band of a young man of perhaps thirty, who lived with his twelve-year-old son and his eight-[582] year-old wife, whom he was nourishing while waiting for her to grow. These young people had chosen their spot because [591] the little girl was Gao Feet's daughter by his first wife and was still so young that she wanted to live near her mother. She was a sad little girl with a grave face and troubled, wondering eyes; in fact, all these young people were very grave and sad—the young man's first wife had died and he now had no one to care for him because the little girl, his new wife, spent a great deal of time with her mother and he was left alone. The son was lonely too, having no mother and no one to care for him except his sad young father. His father was too troubled, too preoccupied, to be a companion to him, his little stepmother was too young, and he spent most of his time sitting on a rise of ground overlooking the werf where he lived, watching other people going by.

[142] The little girl took after her mother, Gao Feet's ugly wife, but her two men, her husband and her stepson, were a family 533 of great beauty. Both had wide, grave eyes and golden skins, and both were musicians, but the young father himself was

MEAT FROM THE CHASE is shared by all among the band. An old woman, *below*, is skinning her portion of an ostrich.

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become both the measure of a man's ability and a test of his readiness to marry. Part of the explanation may come from the passion in hunting. Like their fires, the tales of hunting burn brightly for the !Kung in the night, warming their memories. Of equal or greater significance is the !Kung craving for meat and undoubtedly for protein. Unlike the sharing of *veldkos*, limited to the nuclear family, a complex system of distribution insures that everyone in the *werft* will get a share of all game killed. This is done, they say, simply to prevent jealousy and the inevitable renunciations that go with it. The !Kung declare "We are a jealous people" and they try to keep jealousy at a minimum, for they fear it.

Still another aspect of hunting—perhaps the most important in terms of subsistence—is the by-products it provides. Sinew is used for thongs

[p. 56]

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

361 THAT the !Kung live in small bands,
flexible in their composition
and spread widely over their Kala-
621 hari world, is owing in good part to
their environment and to the tech-
nological means by which they cope
with it. But the effect of the environ-
ment, carrying through the tech-
nology, penetrates the structure of
the bands themselves and influences
the way in which the !Kung distrib-
ute themselves around their resources.

[p. 71]

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208 quarrels, a focal point in discussion of plans, a comfort to the bereaved and a strength for those in doubt.

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602 The functions of headman, as headman, are of a different nature. In order to take up residence with a band, a person must have certain ties of kin with members of the band.
[591] Such a person may live with his own parents or siblings, or with his wife's parents or siblings. It is a wide choice, providing for flexibility—but within limits. There are, of course, exceptions, and visitors from other bands are never denied, but possession of some kinship tie seems to be a general requirement for residence which,

●621
602 if violated, would subject the violator to criticism by the band.

626 SHORT of fighting, all the !Kung can do to control the actions of individuals is to criticize. But this is apparently enough. A man, expelled from his band, *might* be able to survive alone in the desert—with luck, he might even manage for years. If he could persuade his family to come with him, they might survive together even more easily, for the family is the basic subsistence unit. But freshly gone, he would be an outlaw and, in time, become a stranger to his people. This would be an unthinkable

622 areas, baobab trees, and—most im-
423 portant—*mangetti* trees that hold water in their trunks, and *tsi* areas. It is these "owned" features, and the direction from the waterhole in which they lie, that define a territory. Since, as we have seen, *mangetti*'s and *tsi* are the most important !Kung resources, they are the main determinants of a direction.

But animals are *not* owned. Neatly bounded sections of the countryside are *not* owned. A territory, therefore can best be defined as the combination of a permanent waterhole and a direction: the !Kung so define it by the word "side." One headman's territory is said to be on this "side."

361 JUST as the Kalahari's scant re-
621 sources of food and water are distributed in accordance with a geographical pattern, the !Kung bands
622 are distributed in accordance with both a geographical and a social pattern. Natural resources are the focal points in the geographical pattern of band distribution: headmen are the focal points in the social pattern. In a sense, headmen tie together the two patterns, the concept of headmanship being the embodiment of a certain quantity of resources in a person around whom a band can take shape and operate. Because of their kin ties with a headman, the people living round him, clustering their *skerms* around his and moving with him over his territory, feel right in being where they are.

622 The headman receives no special
554 privileges. He is no more wealthy than other men. If he is a leader, he may assume responsibility and speak out. But, as headman, he need not speak, for headmanship is a silent office and while the headman lives—by his waterhole or out somewhere on his territory with his band—he serves his whole purpose.

423 Most of the permanent waterholes
312 have two !Kung bands associated with them, and the *tsi* areas are likewise shared by bands from the same and different waterholes. Such sharing may come about because two brothers (only one of whom may be the true headman) live together and feel they possess joint claims. It may come about through the passage of time, which confuses genealogies and lets claims, once tenuous, become firm through usage. The !Kung are a people of present tense, living—in their minds as well as with their

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HAPPY LIFE of children includes such moments as these: a laughing game of "pull-away," above.

423 bodies—from day to day. If the water-
312 holes were not shared, some bands would be without permanent water.

Not all !Kung territories are of
● 621 equal value in terms of food and water. Some people have *mangetti*
166 nuts, some have *tsi*, and some have
361 both. There is mild wealth, and gentle poverty in *Nyae Nyae*. Territories also change in value year by year. The rains may fail in some parts of *Nyae Nyae*, and fall in others. In normal years, *mangetti*'s in the north may become available earlier in the season than those of the western forests. Because of the flexibility of band composition, the bands gathering *mangetti*'s in such a favored area are enlarged by people who would otherwise have to wait.

This is usually a temporary situation, the newcomers having more the status of guests than members of the bands. Often, whole bands—headman and all—will visit kin in this manner. During years of dessication, the fact that a person has several choices of bands in which to live becomes vital to him—he can move from a hopeless place to perhaps a better one.

BY such means, balance works out between the desert's resources and the numbers and distribution of !Kung who exploit them. No one district or *mangetti* forest could support more than a limited number of people. Only certain people possess the necessary kinship qualifications to join a band. The flexibility of their

[p. 87]

621 361 166 composition enables bands to swell during lean years, while the concept of association, through a headman, to a district and a territory provides for the distribution of people throughout the barren land.

If a band were confined strictly to one territory, or could use the resources of another territory only over the bodies of the band that lived there, there would be many less *Nyae Nyae* !Kung—perhaps none at all.

823 The !Kung give various reasons for their preference of the territory they consider home. For some, it is where they were born. For others, it is where they spent their youth. And for some, it is where they are waiting in their old age. Hunters say they must know their territories—every pan and stretch of bush, every unusual tree—and they say that to amass such knowledge takes years. An old man we met while he was visiting for a few days from the west, said that the weather was more gentle in Debera, the place where he lived, and that, moreover, "there are no stones in Debera ground."

Early one autumn morning, blue and sweet, when dawn air was still fragile on our faces, a close !Kung friend stood beside me in /Gautcha Territory, looking across a pan that still smiled with water despite the late season. It was the pan where he had come, as a young man, to live with his bride. We were quiet, waiting for the rising sun. "/Gautcha is beautiful," he said.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

SHARING, TALKING, AND GIVING: RELIEF OF SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THIS paper describes customs, practised by the /Kung Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region of South Africa, which help them to avoid situations that are likely to arouse ill will and hostility among individuals within the bands and between bands. Two customs which seem to be especially helpful and which I describe in detail are meat-sharing and gift-giving. I mention also the /Kung habits of talking, aspects of their good manners, their borrowing and lending, and their not stealing.[1] 121

The common human needs for co-operation and companionship are particularly apparent among the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Independent living, outside the band structure,[2] does not exist for individuals. Nuclear families do not live alone. The arduous hunting-gathering life would be impossible without the co-operation and companionship of a larger group. Moreover, in this society the ownership of the resources of food and water is organized through the headmen of bands, and individuals have rights to these resources by being members of a band connected to the headman by some near or remote kin or affinal bond. The /Kung are also extremely dependent emotionally on the sense of belonging and on companionship. Their need to avoid loneliness, I think, is actually visible in the way families cluster together in their werfs and in the way people sit, often touching someone else, shoulder against shoulder, ankle across ankle. Comfort and security for them lie in belonging to their group, free from hostility or rejection. 601 [423] [622] [602] 571

Their security and comfort must be achieved side by side with self-interest and much jealous watchfulness. Altruism, kindness, sympathy, or genuine generosity were not qualities which I observed often in their behaviour. However, these qualities were not entirely lacking, especially between parents and offspring, between siblings and between spouses. One mother carried her sick adult daughter on her back for three days in searing summer heat for us to give her medicine. /Naoka carried her lame son, Lame ≠Gao, for years. Gau clucked and fussed over his second wife, Khuan//a, when she was sick. When /U had a baby, her sister, Di/ai, gathered veldkos for her for five days. On the other hand, people do not generally help each other. They laugh when the lame man, Kham, falls down and do not help him up. /U's jealous eyes were like those of a viper when we gave more attention to her husband, ≠Toma, than to her because he was much more ill. And, in the extreme, there is the report from the 1958 expedition of an instance of callous indifference in one band and the probable abandonment of a dying old childless woman, an old aunt, when her sister, with whom she lived, had died. 578 593 578

Occasions when tempers have got out of control are remembered with awe. The 686

[1] This description of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region is based on observations made during our several expeditions between 1951 and 1959. Changes in the conditions under which the /Kung live are to be expected, and how these changes will affect the practice of the customs here described we do not know.

[2] Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Band Organization', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960. [114]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

shriek and gurgle. They blow in his ears to open them. They take sweat from their armpits and rub him. Some fall over on to him in trance themselves and are in turn rubbed and cared for by the others. The women must sing and clap ardently while a man is in deep trance. He needs the good medicine of the music to protect him.

The curing dance draws people of a Bushman band together into concerted action as nothing else does. They stamp and clap and sing with such precision that they become like an organic being. In this close configuration—together—they face the gods. They do not plead, as they do in their individual supplications, for the favour of the divine, all-powerful beings, and do not praise them for goodness. Instead, the medicine men, on behalf of the people, releasing themselves from ordinary behaviour by trance and overcoming fear and inaction, throw themselves into combat with the gods and try to force them with hurled sticks and hurled words to take away the evils they might be bringing.

The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a drama, I believe, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in Aristotle's sense. Fear and hostility find outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there is solace and hope.

Résumé

LA RELIGION DES BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

Les Boschimans /Kung de la région de Nyae Nyae dans le sud-ouest de l'Afrique croient qu'il existe deux dieux — le grand créateur, qui habite dans l'est du ciel, où le soleil se lève, et le petit dieu qui est subordonné au grand dieu, et qui habite dans l'ouest du ciel où le soleil se couche.

Le grand dieu possède sept noms divins, que les /Kung ont peur de prononcer, et un seul nom humain. Certains de ces noms (d'après Schapera ce sont *Hishe*, *Hawe* et *Kxo*) indiquent que le concept du grand dieu tire son origine des croyances anciennes soutenues par d'autres Boschimans et par les Hottentots. Ces noms sont associés avec un être suprême bien disposé. Divers groupes de Boschimans croyaient dans un esprit malfaisant, un 'avant-coureur de la mort', *//Gaowa*. D'après la croyance actuelle des /Kung de la région de Nyae Nyae, le grand dieu a fait du petit dieu son homonyme en lui accordant tous ses noms divins (mais non son nom human), et *//Gaowa* est un des sept noms divins qui sont attribués aux deux dieux. Le nom humain ≠*Gao/na*, le vieux ≠*Gao*, est celui du protagoniste de plusieurs vieux contes bizarres, un être ayant des pouvoirs surnaturels, mais ressemblant à un homme et soumis à toutes les frustrations humaines. Les /Kung ont amalgamé l'ancien protagoniste et le grand dieu en ce qui concerne le nom, mais ils ont modifié l'image.

Le grand dieu s'est d'abord créé lui-même, et ensuite il a créé le petit dieu. Pour chacun d'eux, il a créé une épouse qui a donné naissance à des enfants. Il a créé la terre et le ciel, la femme et l'homme et il a donné des noms à toutes choses. Il a donné le nom de son épouse, Khwova, à la première femme, et son propre nom ≠*Gao* au premier homme. Le grand dieu et le petit dieu s'intéressent principalement à l'humanité. Ni l'un ni l'autre n'est associé essentiellement avec le bien ou le mal à l'égard de l'homme; tous les deux peuvent apporter de grands biens, tels que la pluie, la nourriture et les enfants, mais aussi la mort, la maladie

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

182 A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties
312 which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters
[161] them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival,
[648] for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity
134 and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

137 Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still
[222] have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage
[224] organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre
[262] content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

224 Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not
[411] necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

101 LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bush-
197 men cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking
[829] Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local group-
[184] ings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to suspect that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within them-
[621] selves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band
[622] composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

101 The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a
131 group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ʼõassi* and who live in the
[197] Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48′30″ S, 181
20°34′36″ E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but 131
extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and
Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch [123]
of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In [162]
it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and [648]
9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of
about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the [372]
region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and
preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north [192]
and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen- [829]
speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung 181
Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is sur- 182
vival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in
their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring
food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the [621]
mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their [578]
social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals
within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between [628]
bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on [771]
survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the
sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region 433
have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we re- 262
fer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of
a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired,
but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know 222
more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several 262
species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen
suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad
for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets.
Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this re-
gion as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman
groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any
water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are
the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-
resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these;
doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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Gathering Mangetti Nuts

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eral large groves of mangetti trees (*Ricinodendron rautanenii* Schinz) in the region, all on great waterless white sand dunes, and one extensive area in which *tsī* grows. *Tsī* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch) is the seed of the vine that runs along on the surface of the ground. Both mangetti nuts and *tsī* are excellent foods, rich in oils and proteins, and so important to the !Kung that they organize their lives to a considerable extent around them.

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Each band, according to !Kung social structure, owns and lives within what we call a territory. The band, through its headman (in a way to be explained later), owns the veldkos and water resources within its territory. The territories are varied in size and shape and sometimes consist of portions that are not even contiguous. The boundaries are vague, for the need to draw fine boundary lines is not great. In the interior of the region, where water is so scant, in roughly 8000 square miles live only 17 bands, comprising 447 persons. The other bands and employed groups live on what we call the periphery of the region. The !Kung say that one cannot eat the ground itself so it does not matter to whom it belongs. It is the patches of veldkos that are clearly and jealously owned, and the territories are shaped in a general way around these patches. The !Kung of the interior have settled themselves in such a way that every band has access to areas of edible roots and to either a mangetti grove or a *tsī* patch. A few bands have both.

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The strong concepts of ownership of veldkos by the band operate almost like a taboo. No external force is established to prevent one band from encroaching on another's veldkos or to prevent individuals from raiding veldkos patches to which they have no right. This is just not done. Fear of fighting is one of the deterrents. The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly

[p. 248]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

in several different bands, and they may choose among them. A band that 628
owned comparatively good resources would tend to attract more members 186
than a band with scant veldkos. This flexibility of residence pattern is one [621]
of the reasons that one finds the bands of the interior of the Nyae Nyae re- [182]
gion relatively in balance with their resources, and varying in size.

WATER • Two or more bands may share the ownership of a water hole. 312
Water holes keep their own rough population balance because, if water is 361
very scarce, people will go to live elsewhere when they have the possibility of [423]
doing so.

In the interior of this region, in roughly 8000 square miles, there are three water holes that can be called really permanent. In the driest years these do not fail. Four others dry up only in years of severe drought. Six more are semipermanent: in a very good year they may yield a little water right through, but in a dry year they are sure to dry up. When the semipermanent [621]
water holes go dry, the bands who own them may break up temporarily and the families may go to live with relatives who are at permanent water holes, or they may go as whole bands to another water hole where they have relatives.

Water is not owned as exclusively or as jealously as veldkos. Water 312
seems to belong more to mankind, as the animals do, and the ownership of 423
water holes emphasizes more the managing than the withholding of the water. The headman controls the water. His permission should be asked by travelers [622]
or visitors before taking water, "because he knows what he has and what can be done," we were told. We saw small temporary water holes marked with bundles of grass thrust into forked sticks. This was to tell visitors or travelers that the owners of the water hole were in residence, as it were, and were counting on the water. We believe that in these circumstances water would not be taken without permission. Occasions are not likely to arise where permission need be refused. The !Kung know where the others are, or are likely to be, at a given time and know how much water is available. They plan better than to get themselves into desperate situations.

One source of water appears to be owned by individuals. It is the rainwater that collects in hollow mangetti trees. The water in trees is not stolen by others who go to gather in the same mangetti forest. Water, incidentally, [27]
is the only beverage of the !Kung in the interior of the region. They have no alcoholic drinks and use no infusions of herbs.

HUNTING AND MEAT SHARING • !Kung hunting regulations do not confine 224
the hunters to territories. The game animals belong to no one until they are shot, and the hunters may follow them anywhere the spoor leads and may cross the territorial boundaries of any band. If hunters have made a kill in [43]
the territory of a neighboring band, they would not fail to give a present of

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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A Bridal Scherm The groom, to the right, and the bride, to the left, are with companions. This scherm is a particularly well-built specimen of the Bushman house.

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digging stick in a crescent curve, and tamps the branches into them. She weaves the branches together at the top and perhaps ties a few with fiber cord. This makes a frame half a hemisphere in shape, four to five feet wide on its open side, three to four feet deep, and perhaps five feet high at the peak. The woman then lays armloads of grass against the branches.

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[599].
[213]

The fire, not the scherm, is the visible symbol of home for a !Kung family. Summer and winter, each nuclear family has its own fire. The families cover their coals with ash during the day and fan them up for cooking. Toward evening, men and women go to the veld to gather wood and bring back whole dead trees, enough to keep their fires burning brightly all night.

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[162]
[101]
[372]

The werf is the group of fires of all the families in the band. A !Kung werf has no fixed pattern of orientation except to cluster closely together. With all space around them, the band with whom we lived—Band I of Gautscha, consisting of thirty-two persons with eight family fires—usually huddled into a place roughly forty to fifty feet by about twenty. The light and warmth of their fires together wall them in from infinity and darkness and protect them from predators.

361
221.

The !Kung never return to a werf they have once abandoned. They come season after season all during their lives to the same water holes and veldkos areas, but always choose a fresh spot to make a new settlement.

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324

ARTIFACTS • The artifacts of the !Kung are simple and few but well made and well cared for. These people use stone only for sharpening metal blades,

[p.256]

556 on the quantity of objects they want to possess. They do not even want
48 one each of the common tools of their lives. They borrow from each other,
[426] and there is less to carry.

431 Instead of acquiring prestige by accumulating possessions, the !Kung
571 seek it in the opposite way. They practice a custom of gift giving to such an extent that their belongings all move in a slow flowing current among them and no one keeps anything of particular value very long. !Kung society requires that gifts be made in return, and the custom serves as a means to mitigate jealousy, to express friendly intent, and to weave people together in mutual obligation.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE FAMILY AND THE DOMESTIC GROUP • The
59 family is the primary and the most cohesive social unit of the !Kung. By far
576 the strongest bonds they feel are those of the nuclear family—the bonds
[594] between parent and offspring, between siblings, between spouses. These
[621] relationships are the basis of residence; by that I mean that people live together and have membership in their bands and rights to its food and water resources because they are linked to the band by one of these relationships. I believe that, in addition to the structured aspects, there is great emotional cohesiveness in !Kung families and that this is observable in the way families within the band build their fires near each other, come and go together, or, if there should be a quarrel, literally stand by each other, drawing close together.

The !Kung family passes through four phases. In its simplest nuclear form it consists of a man, his wife, and such children as are born to them.
[595] First marriages are always with just one wife. A later nuclear phase may be
[583] polygynous. When the daughters of a !Kung couple marry, and the daughters' husbands come to live with their brides' parents to give them bride
[591] service, the unit becomes an extended family. In a second extended phase, the married sons may have returned from bride service with their wives and offspring. In this phase, the married daughters with their husbands and offspring may stay or they may go to live with their husbands' people.

[589] • The headship of a family is strongly associated with males. A widowed mother is regarded as a dependent, not as a family head. When the old father of an extended family dies, that particular family ceases to be an extended family. Families of siblings may live together in the same band, but no one of them has authority over another unless one of the siblings happens to be headman of the band. If they are no longer involved in bride service themselves, and their offspring are not yet married, these families become independent nuclear families again, to become new, extended families when the offspring marry.

they are jealous of each other, as they so often are, !Kung society demands of them that they preserve a decent semblance of harmony and, by self-control and silence, avoid disturbing other people with jealous wrangling.

The band itself, as a structured unit, is not a factor in regulating marriage. Persons may marry either within their bands or outside them if relationships and marriage regulations permit. Neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory, but marriage with a brother's wife or a sister's husband is considered to be good and suitable, particularly as a second marriage, should death or divorce make it possible for these affines to marry again. These relationships are not especially preferred in first marriages.

Marriages are forbidden in !Kung society only on the basis of the incest taboo, which is very strongly felt. It rigorously prohibits the !Kung from marriage with members of the nuclear family. It also extends to step-parents, stepbrothers and stepsisters, stepchildren, and to three additional categories of persons: certain kin, certain affines, and certain name relatives, whose relationships are considered to resemble those of the nuclear family.[8]

The !Kung conform strictly to the marriage regulations where they feel the internal sanction strongly, as they do with close kin and affines. But with the more remote relatives, third cousins, and even second cousins, and with name relatives, they deviate without any apparent sense of guilt and without incurring the grave disapproval of society.

Widowers may marry again without restriction. A widow is supposed to wait until one rainy season has passed so that "the rain may wash the death away," but often she does not.

A couple may divorce without formality. This may be by mutual consent, or one spouse may simply leave the other. No religious or legal dispensation is involved and parental consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties for there is no dowry or bride-price to be resolved. Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way, and they are free to remarry without restrictions. Although the !Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it because it is untoward and can cause trouble. Divorces are not uncommon among young people of about the age at which young people in our society would be getting married, but, once a compatible mate is found, there is a notable stability in the marriages.

!Kung society forbids any sexual relations outside marriage, with one exception, called */kamheri*. */Kamheri* means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided the wives consent. When deviations from the sexual regulations do occur, the usual form is adultery, since almost all Bushman women are in the married state from early youth. But adultery meets with deterrents in this society. The strongly felt incest taboo prevents extramarital sexual relations as well as marriage with close relatives. Ease of divorce enables persons who really wish to change mates

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

thighs, up the buttocks to the waist, and on the cheeks and forehead. 304
The !Kung say the stripes are made only for beauty* and are in imitation of gemsbok—big, stately gray antelopes with spectacular black markings.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The only social grouping above the family in 621
!Kung society is the autonomous band. A band is a group of families who live together, linked to one another and to the headman by kinship bonds, in a manner that will be illustrated presently. Nuclear families do not live alone among the !Kung. An extended family might do so, if it were a strong unit with enough young hunters and gatherers to sustain it; it would then be a band. Most of the Nyae Nyae bands were composed of several families [162] and ranged in size from twenty or twenty-five to fifty or sixty members.

Each band belongs to its own territory, or, we can say, owns its territory 621
and the resources within it. Two or more bands may belong to the same 622
territory. The focus of the band's ownership of the territory is the headman, 423
who is called *kxau* (owner). He does not own the resources as private, individual property is owned, to withhold or give as he pleases. Members born to the band have a kind of inalienable right of their own to the resources. The headman personifies those rights and gives them organization and continuity. The continuity is expressed by the attachment of the headmanship to the territory. If a headman leaves the territory to live elsewhere—except temporarily for bride service—he ceases to be headman and the headmanship falls on someone else who remains in the territory.

!Kung society accords to the headman the authority to coordinate the 622
movements of his own people in relation to their consumption of resources, and his chief duty is to plan when and where the band will move. He should protect the resources from encroachment from outsiders.

When the band moves, the headman's position is at the head of the line. He chooses the site for the new werf and has the first choice of a spot for his own fire and scherm. He has no other rewards or prerogatives. He carries his own load and is as thin as the rest.

It is not a headman's duty, as headman, to instigate or organize hunting parties, trading trips, the making of artifacts, or gift giving, nor does he make marriage arrangements. Individuals instigate their own activities. A 622
headman is not in any formalized way a judge of his people, nor must he 627
punish a wrongdoer. He may have great influence, if he is an effective leader, but wrongdoing is judged and controlled by public opinion, usually expressed in talk. Occasionally a person who is wronged seeks to avenge himself by fighting, which is greatly deplored.

If a headman is too young or too old, or lacks personal qualities of 622

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

622 leadership, the people may turn quite informally to some other man for leadership in their daily life—ask him for help and advice, fall in with his plans. Such a leader has no authority and receives no honors or rewards.

Headmanship is inherited by the eldest son from the father. If that son dies or leaves the band, the headmanship passes to the next eldest son.

No strictly formulated rules, insofar as we know, provide for further succession. We have no observations of our own of situations in which a headman had no son.[10]

622 The rule of succession does not provide for a headmanship to pass
●621 collaterally to a headman's younger brother. However, a younger brother
571 may set up a band of his own in the same territory if he does not prefer to live under the headmanship of his older brother or if he does not continue to live with his wife's people. The younger brother has his own rights to the veldkos and water that derive from his father and he can share them with his family and band. Nevertheless, as long as a son of the headman in rightful succession is living in the territory, he has higher authority and is responsible for the overall planning. Should the principal headman's band die out or realign itself, the collateral band led by the younger brother would become the principal one.

621 The bonds that bring the !Kung into membership in bands are the same
622 consanguineous and affinal bonds on which a nuclear family is formed:
602 the bonds of parent-offspring, siblings, and spouses. Everyone who lives in
571 a !Kung band is linked by one of these bonds with the headman, sometimes directly or sometimes in a chainlike manner through one or two other
[162] persons. A description of a typical band will illustrate this point. Band II of Gautscha has forty-one members. The headman, Gao Beard, has two
[592] wives and four young children. With Gao Beard live his younger brother, one of his younger sisters, each with spouse and children, and his elderly, dependent and widowed mother. Gao asked his first wife's father, Old ≠Toma, whom he likes very much, to join his band. Old ≠Toma brought with him into the band his wife, a married son with wife and child, two younger sons, his wife's sister, and her son by a now divorced husband.
[583] He also brought sixteen other persons—Gau and his people. Gau belongs to another band but was at the time living in Band II because he had married, as a second wife, Old ≠Toma's wife's sister and, middle-aged though they are, he was in bride service to her people. After a time Gau can choose whether to stay on in Band II or to go back to the band in which he originated. He said that he thought he would decide to stay with Old ≠Toma and Gao Beard because he likes Old ≠Toma and because Gao Beard has a mangetti grove.

621 People retain throughout their lives their membership in the band
423 in which they were born and their rights to its veldkos and water resources.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

If they leave the band they may return. Affines and the families of affines have equal rights to the resources while they are present but do not retain them if they leave. 621 423 [602]

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS • In the many strange old tales of the !Kung appears a protagonist named *ǂGaolna*—Old ǂGao. He had supernatural powers, but he looked like a man and lived on earth. Like mankind, he was subject to passion, hunger, wrongdoing, failure, frustration, and humiliation, but men imagine his feelings in larger scale and as more grotesque than their own. Themes of incest, hunger, and cannibalism run through the tales. The !Kung claim that this old protagonist and the great god of their present belief are one and the same: they have the same names, but if the present great god is the old *ǂGaolna*, he is mightily changed. 773

The !Kung now believe that there are two gods. The great god lives in the eastern sky where the sun rises, the lesser, in the western sky where the sun sets. The great god is the creator of all things. He created himself and named himself. He then created the lesser god and a wife for each of them. The wives bore them children. The great god gave names to all these beings. Then he created the earth and the water holes, the sky and the rain, the sun and the wind, the things that grow on the earth, and the animals with their stripes and colors, and he gave them names. He created a woman and then a man. He commanded the man and the woman and the animals to breathe, for without breathing they would not live. From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. When mortals die he takes their spirits to the place where he lives in the eastern sky, where there is a certain tree that has no name. He hangs the spirits in the tree, makes a medicine smoke in a pot beneath them, and transmutes them into the */gauwasi*, the spirits of the dead, who live in the sky with him and are his servants. He has a medicine with which he renews himself, the */gauwasi*, and the other heavenly beings and thus keeps them immortal. [776] [775]

The great god gave men bows and arrows and poison and digging sticks and taught them how to shoot animals and dig for food. Everything men know he taught them. Having created all things, the great god is the owner and the master of all things and commands their movements.

To "praise" himself, the !Kung believe, the great god gave himself seven divine names and one human name. The divine names are *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Kxo*, *!Gara*, *Gani ga*, *ǂGaishi ǂgai* and */Gauwa*. The human name is *ǂGaolna*, the one he shares with the old protagonist. 776

Although there is not an absolute taboo upon saying the names of the

121 (George Silberbauer) was already conducting research among the Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

After DeVore's return to Harvard in September, the author surveyed the Ngamiland situation and found that the Bushman population in the northwestern sector satisfied our research requirements.

161 312 621 224 222 648 In October, 1963, there were about 430 Bushmen living at nine waterholes in the !Kangwa administrative district. Over 70% of these people were organized into bands and depended on hunting and gathering for their subsistence. Although some 340 Bantu lived in the district they had not established a lord-client relationship over the Bushmen. This feudal type of social system exists elsewhere in the Kalahari but not in 114 the !Kangwa district. The author was the first white person to live in the district. The Marshall expeditions had touched the western edge of the district but had centered their research at /Gautscha, a camp about 40 miles west of our area.

The main field station was set up at Dobe, a small waterhole in Bechuanaland, two miles east of the Bechuanaland - South West Africa border. The author conducted research here for twelve months, except for intervals of work elsewhere in the Kalahari and study periods in Livingstone, Johannesburg, Windhoek and Capetown.

In October, 1964, Irven and Nancy DeVore joined the author

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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Kuangari Bunja Sambiu Djiriku	in South West Africa
Mbukushu	in South West Africa and B. P.
Bayei Batawana Herero	in B. P.

[621] These !Kung may live in independent villages near a
[224] Bantu kraal and devote much of their time to hunting and
[222] gathering, or they may be incorporated into the compounds of
[464] their protectors and work as domestic servants and farm hands.

However, all of these Bantu-associated !Kung are in contact
131 with groups of more independent !Kung living inland. Ties
184 of real and fictive kinship and marriage link the river
602 dwelling !Kung with the !Kung of the dry interior. The loca-
582 tion of these non-!Kung peoples is shown in Map 6, p. 34.

131 Map 7 illustrates how the European and Bantu-associated !Kung form a ring of population around the peripheries of the northwest Kalahari. These settled areas enclose an interior of about 25,000 square miles, one third of which is in Bechuanaland and two thirds in South West Africa. Most of

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161
563 The waterholes and their respective Bushman and Bantu populations are listed in Table 2.

<u>!Kung group structure</u>

• 621
166 The definition of the !Kung living arrangements presented the most difficult problem of the field study. The !Kung were found to be living most frequently in camps that numbered from ten to thirty individuals. But the composition of these camps changed from month to month and from day to day.

The task of defining the stable membership units was complicated by the following factors:

1. the frequent shifts of individuals and families from one camp to another,
[574] 2. the high incidence of visiting between camps,
3. the presence of long-term visitors from outside the Dobe area,
4. the Dobe area residents who were living elsewhere on extended visits, and
[563] 5. the intermarriage and co-residence of Bushmen with Bantu.

These complications are in addition to the routine changes in group structure brought about by births, deaths, post-marital residence, and the seasonal subsistence cycle.

It became evident that flexibility is the basic premise
[121] of !Kung group structure. It would therefore be inappropriate to try to impose a formal model of organization on the data,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

621
166 such as the patrilineal band or composite band models current
121 in the literature (Steward 1955, Sahlins 1959, Service 1962).

121 An account of the situation at one waterhole will serve
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312 to illustrate some of the dynamic processes at work in !Kung
621 group structure. At Dobe in October, 1963, there were two
312 camps, one with 28 members, the other with ten members. In
166
162 December, 18 members of the larger camp left on an extended
161 visit to Tsumkwe and the remaining ten people made a joint camp with the smaller group to form a camp of twenty people. In January, 1964, these two segments split up and abandoned Dobe altogether. The waterhole remained unoccupied until May, 1964, when the two segments recombined and were joined by 22 other people, who came in from five other camps. This group of 42 people wintered at Dobe in one camp. Then, in August the camp split up into a camp of twelve and a camp of 24. Six of the 22 people who had wintered at Dobe returned to other camps while 16 of these people remained at Dobe. The two Dobe camps (of twelve and 24) remained approximately stable for the remainder of the study (i.e. until January, 1965).

621 Thus at different times of the year the population of
312
161 Dobe was counted as follows:
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October 1963	38 people in 2 camps
December 1963	20 people in 1 camp
Jan.-April 1964	nil.
May 1964	42 people in 1 camp
Aug. 1964 to Jan. 1965	36 people in 2 camps

621 312 Similar variations in group structure were observed at all the waterholes of the Dobe area. However, despite these shifts in the size and composition of camps there were two lines of evidence that indicated stability. First, there was a generally acknowledged nucleus of permanent territorial residents at each waterhole. Second, when camps split up they did so consistently along the same lines of fission. The presence of these two regularities provides a basis for a preliminary account of the living arrangements of !Kung Bushmen. The complete documentation and analysis of group structure will be presented in a later paper.

[125] The starting point for this account is a single complete census of the Dobe area made by the author in November, 1964. This was a good time for a census because it is the period of [221] the year when the camps are most stable. It was the end of the dry season when most of the Bushmen were restricted to their permanent waterholes.

621 161 162 This census showed a total population of 433 Bushmen divided among 35 living units. This figure of 433 includes ten individuals who died in the year preceding the census, and 32 others who were away from the area at the time of the census, so that the total number of Bushmen who were actually physically present in the area in November, 1964, was 391. The majority of the people (311 individuals, 72% of the total) were living in 15 independent hunting and gathering bands.

621
161 The remaining 122 individuals were living with the Bantu. The
162 diet of these latter people consisted of a combination of
[262] Bushmen wild foods and the products of the Bantu cattle. The complete census of the 35 living units is shown in Table 3.

The 15 bands ranged in size from nine to 52 individuals. There were five small bands (of 9, 12, 12, 12, and 13 members), nine bands of intermediate size (of 17, 19, 19, 21, 22, 22, 24, 27, and 30), and one large band with 52 members. The average band had 20.7 members and the median band had 19 members. The presence of twin modes in band size (at 12 and 22 members respectively) is perhaps a function of the domestic cycle,[1] but its significance remains to be explained.

621 Each of the bands has a nucleus of individuals who have a territorial claim to the land they occupy and who tend to spend the greater part of the year in residence in their territory. These core individuals are usually old people whose descendents and their spouses make up the bulk of the
[602] band's membership. Each of the larger bands has among its members one or more families who are collaterally or affinally related to the core individuals. These collaterals and affines do not express as strong a territorial claim to the band's land as do the core individuals and they tend to move around more frequently than do the core individuals. As

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[1] I am indebted to Adam Kuper for this suggestion (personal communication).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 48]

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

TABLE 3

621 Census Breakdown of the 433 Dobe Area Bushmen, by Sex, Age,
161 and Living Unit Note: Independent Bands are Marked (B).
162

No.	Place	Name	Adults M	Adults F	Children M	Children F	TOTAL M	TOTAL F	TOTAL T
1.	Dobe(B)	n≠eysi	5	7	0	0	5	7	12
2.	Dobe(B)	≠ma≠qwe	7	6	5	6	12	12	24
3.	!xabe	Enamiti	3	5	0	0	3	5	8
4.	Mahopa	Enamoharadi	5	10	5	6	10	16	26
5.	Mahopa	Rotsa	3	5	0	1	3	6	9
6.	Mahopa	Kathikona	1	0	0	0	1	-	1
7.	Mahopa	Vethepa	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
8.	Mahopa	Yona	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
9.	!angwa	Isak	4	5	1	3	5	8	13
10.	!angwa(B)	bo	7	7	3	5	10	12	22
11.	!angwa	Noiye	1	2	1	-	2	2	4
12.	!angwa	Kangwadyata	2	1	1	1	3	2	5
13.	!angwa	Kamburungu	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
14.	!angwa	Vetetha	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
15.	Bate(B)	!xoma	7	8	3	3	10	11	21
16.	Bate	Liceku	5	5	1	1	6	6	12
17.	Bate	Kaku·una	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
18.	Bate	Kathedi (Mahura)	2	2	1	1	3	3	6
19.	!ubi(B)	Kamburu	11	20	13	8	24	28	52
20.	!goše(B)	/ise	7	9	1	5	8	14	22
21.	!goše(B)	/i!ay	6	5	1	-	7	5	12
22.	!goše(B)	bo	4	7	3	5	7	12	19
23.	!goše	IBatha	1	1	2	1	3	2	5
24.	!goše	Tubexo	1	1	2	-	3	1	4
25.	Nokaneng(B)	Kau≠dwa	5	6	-	2	5	8	13
26.	!gausa(B)	n≠isa	5	5	6	3	11	8	19
27.	/ai/ai(B)	//aun!a	3	5	1	3	4	8	12
28.	/ai/ai(B)	//aihan!a	2	3	1	3	3	6	9
29.	/ai/ai	Halingisi	3	5	1	1	4	6	10
30.	/ai/ai(B)	≠oma!xwa	11	12	4	3	15	15	30
31.	/ai/ai(B)	!Kum	4	6	2	5	6	11	17
32.	/ai/ai(B)	≠omažho	8	9	4	6	12	15	27
33.	/ai/ai	dumn!a	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
34.	/ai/ai	Kamakau	1	1	-	-	1	1	2
35.	/ai/ai	Kurmehe	-	1	-	-	-	1	1
Totals			131	164	64	74	195	238	433

621 territoriality and band membership are closely linked they will be discussed together in Chapter VII.

621 312 16 A note on the history of each waterhole during the period 1963-64 will serve to illustrate some dynamic features of group structure.

1. !goše - There were three bands living at this waterhole at the time of the census, numbering 12, 19, and 22 individuals, respectively. These three bands had lived in one large camp from 1961-64. In mid-1964, they split into four bands. One group of 13 went to Nokaneng on an extended visit. The other three bands, totalling 53 people, remained at !gose. The territorial nucleus of the three bands that remained consisted of the descendents of one very old woman and her three nephews.

2. !angwa - One band of 22 individuals was living here. The nucleus of this group included again a very old woman, her daughter and her son. Most of the members of the group were siblings of the daughter's husband. This band made a common camp with the members of the Batawana headman's staff. In July, 1964, they set up an independent camp.

3. Bate - One band of 21 members was living here. The nucleus consisted of two old women who were sisters and the two married offspring of these sisters. The remainder of the band consisted of affines of the sisters' children. In

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late 1964, this entire band left Bate and shifted to !Kabe, a waterhole about seven miles away.

4. Mahopa - In 1964, there were no bands at this waterhole although some 43 Bushmen lived here in Bantu villages.

5. !Kabe - No band had lived here for several years until the group arrived from Bate.

6. !ubi - One band of 52 members was living here. The nucleus consisted of an old man and his two sisters. The old man and 31 other members of this band alternate yearly between Tsumkwe, South West Africa, and !ubi, Bechuanaland. They appeared to be in the process of shifting permanently out of the Dobe area. The two sisters and 18 other people continued to live at !ubi.

7. /ai/ai - In November, 1964, there were five bands here with 9, 12, 17, 27, and 30 members, respectively. Each band has a nucleus of an old man or woman and their married offspring. In October, 1963, most of these people were living in one large camp of 83 members. In 1964, this camp broke up into six smaller groups. One group went south to /gam and five groups remained. In addition, a number of people came from /gam to live at /ai/ai, thus producing the present situation of five camps totalling 95 individuals.

8. Dobe - There were two bands here of 12 and 24 people, respectively. The territorial nucleus consisted of

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16 an old man and his sister. When the two Dobe groups divided, the old man and his two married children went one way and the old woman and her three sons went the other.

The remaining two bands were living outside of the Dobe area at the time of the census. One of them was the band of 13 from !goše that had gone to Nokaneng. The other was a group of 19 individuals who came from South West Africa to spend the summer of 1963-64 in the Dobe area and had returned to Tsumkwe in May, 1964.

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166 These brief notes indicate the extent to which bands coalesce and split, change waterholes and move in and out of the Dobe area. It does not take into account the corresponding
621 shifts made by individuals and families. In light of the above it is doubtful whether the use of the term "band" is legitimate in the context of Bushman group dynamics. The "band" may turn out to be an artifact of the observer's sampling technique and his theoretical preconceptions (see Chapter VII). Among the !Kung, for example, it appears that the cohesive social units are the extended families that make up the larger aggregations that have been called bands. This does not imply that the !Kung have what Steward (1955) called a "family level of organization" since the !Kung consistently live in aggregations of two to ten or more families. Until a complete analysis of the data is carried out, it would

621 seem more appropriate to use the non-committal term "camp" and discard the term "band".[1]

563 Apart from the fifteen independent camps, there were 122
162 !Kung Bushmen living with the Bantu. Thirteen Bush women were married to Bantu men.[2] Five of these women had borne a total of nine children who were being raised as members of their fathers' tribes and are therefore not enumerated in the Bushman census. Some of the women had brought members of their families to live at their husbands' kraals. Twenty-eight of the !Kung Bushmen were living with their Bantu in-laws. In all, the wives of Bantu and their kinsmen account for 39 of the 122 !Kung living with Bantu. There were no cases of a Bantu girl marrying a !Kung man.

648 Some families of Bushmen live with and work for Bantu
464 families. Five young married men were working as cattle
233 herders. They brought their wives and children to live with them. In addition, seven unmarried !Kung boys were working on cattle and were living in the compounds of their employers. Several old couples and a widower, who were temporarily not

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[1]This follows the lead of James Woodburn, who in his analysis of Hadza group structure (1964) discards the term "band".

[2]One of the thirteen had actually married a N/hai Bushman (the only non-!Kung Bushman in the Dobe area). This man was culturally identified with the Bantu.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Chapter IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Tribe and Hunting Band

All the Bushmen in their native condition lead a nomadic hunting 222
and collecting life, roaming about in search of the game and wild 224
vegetable foods upon which they depend for their existence. The [182]
conditions of their subsistence necessarily prevent them from banding
together permanently in any considerable numbers. Wherever they 621
still retain to any marked degree their original mode of life and
organization they are found scattered over the land in small separate
communities.[1] Each such community will be spoken of here as a
hunting band. The members of a band share a common life, they see
one another constantly, they co-operate in many ways, and they are
all as a rule friendly and on fairly intimate terms. Each band also [619]
has occasional relations with other neighbouring bands, through
intermarriage and trade, and visitors may pass from one to another.
On the other hand, there are often quarrels between neighbouring [628]
bands, which may result in a prolonged state of feud and even lead
directly to warfare.

The various bands among the Heikum are generally referred to 621
among each other by a name which indicates either the locality in 101
which they live, or describes some physical or other characteristic
of the band itself or of its locality. The *se-khoin*, for example, are the
people of the *seb* or plain; the */gom-khoin* the people who eat the

[1] The social organization of the Bushmen is one of the least-known aspects of their culture, and sadly needs careful and detailed investigation. The most reliable sources of information refer almost exclusively to the North-Western tribes: Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 1907; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910); (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.* 21 (1927); *idem*, *The Naron*, 1928; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928); L. Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. SW. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6); *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, 1928. The relevant literature on the other tribes is for the most part fragmentary, although some valuable data on the Namib Bushmen are given by Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), and by Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910). Where no special reference is made to any particular tribe the analysis given above must therefore be regarded as applying especially to the North-Western tribes, who are also the only Bushmen still leading a fairly independent life. [114]

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621 101 *!gom* or omungete nut; and the *xom-khois* the people who *xom* or scrape together, the name indicating their method of collecting salt on the Etosha Pan, along whose southern border they live.[1] How the bands are named in the other tribes is not clearly stated. In the [114] literature they are spoken of as a rule in terms of the locality they inhabit, but no indication is given whether this is also the name by which they call themselves and are known to their neighbours.

These hunting bands are grouped into what are here called "tribes". 619 101 A tribe consists of a number of neighbouring bands, the members of which all speak what they themselves regard as one language. Each tribe has its own distinctive name. In the Southern and Central linguistic groups this usually ends in the word *!ke* or *kwe* respectively, i.e. "people"; but in most cases the meaning of the name itself has not been recorded or can no longer be determined. The few tribal names which can be interpreted seem to refer to some general characteristic of the people themselves or of the country which they inhabit. The *//ŋ !ke*, for example, are the "home people"; the *!tanneckwe* the "river people"; the *Hiechwara* the "people of the open country", and the *!o !kũ* the "forest people", while the *!kũ* (*Kung*) are simply "people", or, as they would interpret the name "Bushmen". The *Hei-//om*, again, derive their name from the [177] Hottentot words *heis*, tree or bush, and *//om*, to sleep, and are therefore the "tree-sleeping people", i.e. those who sleep under trees; while the term *Naron*, by which the *//aikwe* now sometimes speak of themselves, appears to have been applied to them originally by the Auen and to mean "people who are insignificant".

619 The tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group. It has no social [197] solidarity, and is of very little, if any, importance in regulating social life. There appears to be no tribal organization among the Bushmen, nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all the members of the tribe, nor is collective action ever taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. The tribe in fact is merely a loose aggregate of independent hunting bands which have a common language and name.

621 The band, and not the tribe, is the real political body among the Bushmen. Each band is autonomous, leading its own life independently of the others. Its affairs are as a rule regulated by the [623] skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men in general. In [622] the North-Western tribes, however, each band has also a chief, whose

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50.

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office is hereditary. His authority is very slight, and apparently 621 ●
exercised mainly in regulating the movements of the people from [622]
place to place, and in leading in war.

Each band also acts as a unit in its relations with other bands of 619
the same or of neighbouring tribes, and in such relations it is 621
collectively responsible for the actions of any of its members. When
differences arise they are confined to the bands concerned, and not
participated in by the rest of the tribe. Occasionally, it is true, a
weak band may seek and obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour,
but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature.[1]

The band is also the land-owning group. Each band possesses its 423
own hunting territory, to which it is restricted, and exercises authority 621
over and specific rights within this territory only.[2] The members
of the band roam about freely all over their own land, but do not
trespass on their neighbours' territory, although single persons and [438]
small parties may occasionally pay short visits across the border,
mostly for trading purposes. As a result of this territorial segregation
it may often happen that the more widely separated bands of [619]
a tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct contact with
each other.

There are no special boundary marks between the areas occupied
by different hunting bands. The limits of each area are as a rule
defined by various natural landmarks, such as sand dunes, koppies,
river-beds, vleis, springs, or even trees. These are well known to the
people themselves and carefully observed. In some cases the areas
of different bands are separated by neutral zones, formed by belts of [311]
trees, open flats, watercourses, etc. Nobody will venture into these
except during the course of a visit. In particular, however, each
hunting territory is defined by the waterholes in it. These constitute
the real property of the band. The encampments are always erected [361]
near them, all the game on the land around them or drinking at the
water may be hunted only by members of the band, and similarly
only they may gather "veldkos" (wild vegetable foods) in the
vicinity. The infringement of territorial rights in this respect is one [628]
of the main causes of dispute between neighbouring bands, and
almost invariably leads to bloodshed.

[1] The relations between different bands are discussed more fully below in Chapter VI, s.v. "Relations with Other Bands"; vide p. 155

[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 156; Passarge, op. cit., 31–2; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 4; Fourie, "The Bushmen," 85; Lebzelter "Bei den |Kuñ-Buschleuten," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928–9), SitzBer. (12).

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114 131 621 There is unfortunately no reliable information available as to the extent of territory occupied by the band. The only writer to touch on this question is Seiner, who estimates that in the Grootfontein district in the north-east of South-West Africa the average hunting territory covers about 700 sq. km.[1] This figure, however, cannot be regarded even as approximate, for it is based on what is almost certainly an excessive estimate of the total Bushman population in that district.

Size of the Band

162 621 The number of people who make up a band varies from tribe to tribe, and even within the tribe itself, although it is never considerable. Some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen speak of bands containing from one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons,[2] but groups much smaller in size are also mentioned.[3] Certainly in more recent times the number of families living together seldom exceeded three or four.[4] The remnants of the Namib Bushmen now also live in very small groups of only a few persons,[5] and so do the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, where a band rarely has more than about twenty members.[6] Elsewhere Dornan states that he has seldom seen more than six or seven families together at a time, all told about thirty persons, and this was in a camp at permanent water.[7] The !O Kung in Angola are also found living together in very small bands. The largest group met by Miss Bleek consisted of sixteen men and fifteen women; everywhere else little parties were seen of from two to six men, with their wives and families.[8]

621 648 [177] In considering these figures it must be remembered that the Cape Bushmen were already being persecuted and dispersed, and their organization disintegrated, by their more powerful neighbours at the time when they came under observation, while the Namib Bushmen are now almost extinct and live in very unfavourable country. Whether they were formerly banded together in larger numbers there is no means of telling. The Hiechware and the !O Kung, again,

[1] Seiner, loc. cit.
[2] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 53.
[3] Burchell, op. cit., i, 456; Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 48; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 144.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii.
[5] Trenk, op. cit., 166; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Range, *Landeskunde . . . des Namalandes*, 73.
[6] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 90.
[7] Ibid., 130.
[8] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

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are the serfs of the interdwelling Bantu, and the conditions under which they live do not, therefore, permit of their association in large groups. 621 648

In the tribes to the north-west who still retain to some extent their own mode of life and organization the communities are on the whole somewhat larger, although the numbers fluctuate a good deal. In the Kaukauveld Passarge frequently saw bands of up to thirty persons, and in the Mahuraveld of between twenty and twenty-five persons.[1] Among the Naron, again, Miss Bleek speaks of a camp containing from sixty to eighty persons,[2] while among the Auen, according to Kaufmann, up to thirty families, i.e. about one hundred persons, may be found camping together.[3] Both writers agree, however, in stating that the numbers may at times be considerably less. Müller visited eight camps of Bushmen in the Kaukauveld, and the figures given by him show that in six of them the population ranged between thirty and seventy, while the remaining two had one hundred and fifty and two hundred inhabitants respectively.[4] Seiner, again, states that the bands of the Kung average fifty persons, although he mentions two encampments in the vicinity of Karakuwisa which were considerably larger[5]; while among the Tannekwe he found five encampments of Bugakwe, whose population he estimates altogether as two hundred and twenty, eight of Garikwe containing all told about four hundred and thirty persons, and one of Gokwe with ninety.[6] 162 621

Not too much weight can be laid on the actual figures given, as for the most part they are based on what are obviously rough estimates, not accurate observations. There seems little doubt, however, that among the North-Western tribes the bands are on the whole more considerable than in any of the other tribes, and the average given by von François[7] of between fifty to sixty persons to a band may be taken as fairly representative, although as we have seen the numbers fluctuate a good deal. [114]

Part of the difficulty in obtaining accurate information about the size of the band lies in the fact that the families composing it are not always found living together in one encampment. Within the 166 361 621

[1] *Die Buschmänner*, 9, 10. [2] *The Naron*, 4. [3] "Die Auin," 136.
[4] "Erkundungsritt in das Kaukauveld," 530. The actual figures are: 150, 40, 70, 70, 200, 30, 50, and 30.
[5] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303, 302.
[6] "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 104.
[7] *Nama und Damara*, 234.

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166 territory occupied by the band its members roam about freely in
361 search of food, and family groups often separate from the main body
621 to wander about on their own account for a while. Of the Naron, for example, Miss Bleek writes that she has "sometimes seen three or four huts together, sometimes twenty, with from sixty to eighty inhabitants. Every few weeks a new hut appears, or a vacant space shows where one has gone"; and she adds that as the village is such a fluctuating quantity it is difficult to estimate the numbers of a band or a tribe.[1] Indeed it seems to be a feature in the life of some of the Northern tribes that during the dry season the families in the band scatter about separately, to come together again only in the rainy
[221] season, when there is an ample supply of water and "veldkos". Thus among the Auen only one or two families may be found living together in the dry season, while towards the end of and shortly after the rainy season, when the edible plants of the veld are abundant, up to thirty families may join together.[2] It is thus by no means unusual to find several small encampments of members of the same band scattered about over its hunting territory, a fact which may easily mislead casual observers with regard to its numbers.

On the other hand, it also appears that at times members of several
361 different bands may come together for a while. Passarge mentions
619 that in 1897, during an outbreak of rinderpest when cattle were
621 dying in great numbers in the Ghansiveld, Bushmen were drawn together from all parts of the vicinity by the abundance of animal food thus provided. At one spot he saw between one and two hundred of them, at another about one hundred, and these included both Auen and Naron.[3] In the Kwebe Hills, again, his camp was passed by about one hundred men returning to the Hainaveld from the sandveld. Together with their women and children this group must therefore have numbered from three to four hundred.[4] It is almost certain that these people too must have belonged to different bands and had only come together temporarily, but this is not definitely stated by Passarge. Kaufmann, again, mentions a camp of Auen at Sidonitsaub which in April, 1908, contained about four hundred men, or with women and children about one thousand persons
[622] all told. That these belonged to a number of different bands was

[1] *The Naron*, 4.

[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 138; cf. Passarge, op. cit., 42; Vialls, "Kalahari Mazarwas," 30.

[3] Op. cit., 7, 8.

[4] Op. cit., 10.

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obvious from the fact that although several chiefs were present, there was no common supreme chief.[1] Such gatherings are only temporary in nature, and produced by some special circumstance. They cannot therefore be regarded as indicative of the normal groupings of the Bushmen. 361 619 621 [622]

Social Structure of the Band

Within the band the only division is into families. The family among the Bushmen consists of a man and his wife or wives, together with their dependent children. It is a unit of outstanding importance in their social and economic life. The members of a family usually live together in one hut; the children until they are mature remain under the direct control of their parents, are nourished and are educated by them; husband and wife jointly contribute to the maintenance of their household, and the domestic tasks and industries are apportioned between them according to fixed custom. The family, moreover, has much freedom of movement, and, as already mentioned, single families will often roam about separately for a while within the territory of their band. 592 [595]

The relationship between the different families constituting a band is seldom defined clearly by the various observers. In particular the information available about the kinship organization of the Bushmen is very inadequate. Miss Bleek has recently published lists of relationship terms for each of the three main linguistic groups defined by her.[2] From these it appears that among all the Bushmen there are, in addition to various descriptive terms of relationship, also certain terms applied not to individuals but to whole groups of different relatives, while still others are used reciprocally between people standing in a particular relationship to each other. Relationship terms of the last two types, when found in other societies, are usually indicative of a definite organization of the community on the basis of kinship; and it is probable therefore that some such organization exists among the Bushmen as well. Unfortunately the lists given by Miss Bleek appear to be drawn from vocabulary sources rather than from an actual study of kinship itself, and cannot therefore be used with any degree of confidence. In any case they throw 114 601 602 621 114 601 114 602

[1] Op. cit., 138, 155. It should be mentioned here that the figures given by Kaufmann are, as a rule, far in excess of those given by other writers of about the same time and on the same district (e.g. Müller, German official estimate), and cannot therefore be accepted without question. [114]

[2] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1924), 57–70.

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114 but little light on the social organization of the people, since the
602 information given about the rights and duties regulating the conduct towards one another of people related either by consanguinity or through marriage is somewhat meagre. But they suggest at least that there is much in the social life of the Bushmen which could be revealed by a careful study of the usages connected with kinship.

There is some evidence, however, to show that among the Cape
621 and Namib Bushmen, who as we have seen live in very small groups, the members of such a group are as a rule all related either by consanguinity or through marriage. Of the Cape Bushmen, for example, Miss Bleek says elsewhere: "They live in small family groups, and have no chiefs. . . . Three or four huts stand together. In one is the father, in others his married children. At most eight or ten huts of connections were dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, but this is an institution of later days . . . (at marriage)
[591] sometimes the young couple build their hut near the bridegroom's father, sometimes near the bride's. They seem to keep the family groups fairly even."[1] The accounts given by Trenk and especially
[114] by Seydel of the social structure of the band among the Namib Bushmen are not nearly so definite, but on the whole seem to indicate a similar principle of grouping.[2]

This is also found among the !O Kung of Angola, where again the local groups are very small. The details given by Miss Bleek bring out very clearly the structure of these groups[3]: "The families living together are nearly always related; in two cases the men were brothers-in-law, in the first the sister of one man was the wife of the other, in the second the wives were half-sisters. A cousin of the wives and an aunt resided with them. At another place I found a father with his second wife and small children, a grown-up son with wife and children, and a grown-up daughter whose husband was temporarily absent. The next lot were uncle and nephews, then a mother with married daughter, with a nephew and step-son of the mother's. The last lot encountered, the horde on the Mushumbo, consisted of an old man with two sons, several grandsons both in the male and female line, a son-in-law and nephews and great-nephews, mostly brother's descendants. He introduced himself as the 'father'
[888] of them all. Chiefs are non-existent, but deference is paid to the

[1] *The Mantis and his Friends*, pp. viii, ix.
[2] Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," 168, 170; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.
[3] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

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patriarch of any small group, though his authority is very limited." 621
This latter observation is also made by Seydel of the Namib Bushmen. [888]

The bands of these Bushmen may therefore be regarded as consisting of small groups of families all related by consanguinity or through marriage. Membership of the group is apparently not based on descent traced exclusively through either the male or the female line, since both married sons and married daughters with their spouses and children may belong to the same group. There is no definite statement as to whether marriage between members of the same 582
group is permitted or not. Generally it would seem that a wife is sought outside the group. Among the Cape Bushmen the only girl a man may not marry is his own sister. Marriage with first cousins (both ortho-cousins and cross-cousins) is sometimes found, but more often marriage takes place with "someone else", to quote Miss Bleek's words.[1] The same applies to the Namib Bushmen,[2] and similarly, among the !O Kung, "some of the married couples we met were cousins, but the majority were unrelated, as far as they knew. Some young married people stay with the man's family, others with the [591]
woman's."[3]

Among the North-Western Bushmen the bands, which here are 621
proportionately much larger, definitely tend to be exogamous. Fourie 184
says of the Heikum: "Marriage within the group is forbidden and 582
is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. [591]
As a rule men do not go far for wives, and intermarriage takes place [835]
between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women."[4] Among the Auen the only absolute prohibition on marriage is said to be between brother and sister, parent and child, but as a rule marriage does not take place between close relatives, and if possible also not between members of the same band. Wives are procured from a distance; often even [619]
from other tribes.[5] The Kung also marry outside their own band[6];

[1] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 59.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112.
[3] Trenk, op. cit., 168.
[4] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 92.
[5] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 156: "Die eigene Schwester darf nicht geheiratet werden, ebenso natürlich nicht Mutter und Tochter. Andere Verwandtschaft bilden kein absolutes Hindernis. Es ist aber die Regel, dass nicht innerhalb der eigenen Familie, auch möglichst nicht innerhalb der eigenen Horde geheiratet wird. Frauen werden mit Vorliebe weit hergeholt, oft von Stämmen anderer Sprache."
[6] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910), 8.

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184 while of the Aikwe (Naron) Passarge says that a man wishing to marry
582 must select his bride from another band, since marriage within the
621 band is not permitted.[1] A few cases were found by Miss Bleek among the Naron at Sandfontein in which both husband and wife were from one village. The fact, however, that such marriages were regarded by the people as being against the general rule indicates that here, too, the tendency is to insist on marriage outside the band.[2]

After marriage the wife generally goes to live with her husband's
591 people, although the young couple may remain for some time with
183 the wife's parents before finally settling at the husband's home.[3] As a rule, therefore, marriage is patrilocal. Among the Naron, however, this rule is not always strictly observed, although it is recognized. "Women are said to leave their own home on marriage, and to be taken to the husband's home. But in a few months, when the wife has settled down, it is customary for the young couple to return to her parent's home and stay there until the first child is about a year old, so that the girl may have her mother's help and advice. Sometimes the son-in-law settles altogether with his wife's people, but not always. In fact the Naron all say that a man must settle at his father's place, though they do not always do so."[4] Passarge
114 indeed, goes so far as to assert of this tribe that the man definitely
591 joins the family of his wife, and becomes a member of their band[5]—a fact which he interprets elsewhere as denoting that the Bushmen are a matrilineal people.[6] It is far more probable, however, that he was misled by the custom of temporary matrilocal marriage than that the condition he describes is the normal rule. There is no other evidence to support his statement that the Bushmen have matrilineal institutions.

In fact the prevailing rule in these tribes that marriage should be exogamous and patrilocal suggests rather the possibility that
621 the families constituting the band may be related to one another in the male line. The only definite statement to this effect is about the Heikum, of whom we are told by Fourie that a band consists of the

[1] Op. cit., 105 [2] *The Naron*, 34.
[3] Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Vedder, loc. cit.; Fourie, op. cit., 93; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," (14).
[4] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66; cf. *idem*, *The Naron*, 34.
[5] Op. cit., 106: "Der Mann schliesst sich der Familie seiner Frau an und wird ein Mitglied der anderen Sippe."
[6] *Südafrika*, p. 252: "Jeder Stamm setzt sich aus Sippen zusammen, die bis zum heutigen Tage die matriarchalische Organisation beibehalten haben. Das geht daraus hervor, dass der Mann bei der Heirat zu der Horde der Frau übergeht."

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male relatives of the chief with their wives and families.[1] The relationship to one another of the families in the bands of the other North-Western tribes is not indicated by our authorities. It is reasonable, however, to expect that most of them at least will be similarly connected, since as a rule married sons with their wives and children will remain together in the same band as their father, while married daughters will leave it to join the bands of their husbands. Moreover, in case of divorce the children remain with their father, and although unweaned children must go with their mother, they can be claimed later by him if he likes.[2] 621 [114] [591] [586]

Dornan says that "the Bushmen of the Kalahari are divided into many small clans",[3] but the term "clan", as used by him, applies sometimes to what has here been called a tribe, and sometimes to a hunting band. He speaks also of exogamous "totemic families" and "totemic clans" among the Hiechware and adjoining tribes, but admits that here the occurrence of this "totemism" is the result of Bantu influence.[4] There is no evidence yet that definitely goes to show the existence of totemism among any of the other Bushman peoples. 114 614 [177]

Nor, as far as can be seen at present, is there any real clan organization among the Bushmen.[5] The bands of the Cape and Namib Bushmen and of the !O Kung are certainly not clans, while the little we know of the social structure of the band among the North-Western Bushmen does not in itself justify our regarding them as such. There is also nothing at all to indicate the existence of a clan organization cutting across the system of grouping into hunting bands.

It must again be emphasized, however, that our knowledge of the social organization of the Bushmen is fragmentary, and that there are many questions relating to the structure of the band about which no adequate information is available. We are nowhere told clearly, for instance, how membership of the band is determined among the North-Western Bushmen.[6] In general it would seem that children 621 611

[1] Op. cit., 86. [2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 34; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 67. [4] Op. cit., 161; cf. 68, 128.
[5] The *clan* is commonly defined as "an exogamous, unilateral group of persons all the members of which are held to be related to one another and bound together by a common tie. This tie may be a belief in common descent from some ancestor, real or mythical, it may be the common possession of a totem, or the common habitation of a village or district" (*Notes and Queries on Anthropology*, 5th ed., p. 55). A patrilineal clan is one of which membership is determined by descent traced through the male line, i.e. a person belongs to the clan of his father and his clansmen are related to him primarily through his father. A matrilineal clan is one in which descent is similarly traced through the mother.
[6] Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung (op. cit.), says curtly (p. 114) that a boy belongs to the family of his father, a girl to that of her mother ("Die Knaben gehören zur Sippe des Vaters, die Mädchen zu der der Mutter"). This statement is at variance with all so far known about the Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed before it can be accepted as accurate. [114]

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611 621 belong to the band of which their father is a member. But, as already mentioned, there are certain cases among the Naron where both married sons and married daughters with their respective spouses and children are found living in the same band. It would throw much light on the structure of the band if we could know whether all these children are regarded as members of the band in which their parents are living, or whether some distinction is made between the children of the married sons on the one hand and those of the married daughters on the other. Without further research in the field, however, no definite statement can be made on this crucial point. There is also nothing to indicate whether people who are related or claim to be related in the male line, or again those who are related or claim to be related in the female line, are specially bound together by ties of a ceremonial, legal or economic nature. Whether further research, therefore, will show the bands of the North-Western Bushmen to be clans is problematical. The trend of the available data gives no clear indication either way.

Encampments and Dwellings

361 221 [184] Moving about constantly as they do in the search for food, the Bushmen build no permanent homes. More or less fixed villages are found only among the tribes living in the Okavango-Zambesi region, but even here there are distinct quarters for the winter (dry season) and for the summer (rainy season). During the dry season the Tannekwe live in the marsh lands of the Okavango basin, where they have small villages surrounded with palisades, after the style of their Bantu neighbours. In the rainy season, however, these become uninhabitable. The people then move out to villages on the edge of the surrounding plains, where they also have their hunting grounds. The Hukwe on the plains north-east of Lake Ngami live in similar villages during the rainy season, from which they scatter about in family groups in the dry season to hunt and collect.[1]

361 342 Everywhere else the encampments of the Bushmen are temporary. The tribes formerly living in the mountainous regions of the south and east often made their homes in caves and under rock-shelters, in which relics of their occupation may still be found. Even to-day the Namib Bushmen, during the latter part of the dry season, also live chiefly in caves or under overhanging rock-shelters on the high

[1] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omahake," 296, 297.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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221 compelled to turn back to permanent waterholes. Thus in the rainy
312 season the Aikwe, Tsaukwe, /Amkwe, /Dukwe, and Tserekwe all hunt
423 in the wide sandveld pierced by the bed of the Letyahau, keeping to some extent to their respective hunting territories, but apparently also hunting together peacefully in the most central parts of the region. In the dry season, however, they turn back to the limestone pans of the Ghansiveld and Mahuraveld and to the river-courses of the Tauche-Botletle system, where permanent water is to be found.[1] The same alternation of residence with the seasons occurs, as we have seen, among the Tannekwe and the Hukwe, and may also be noted among the Kung and the Auen in the Omaheke and Kaukauveld.[2]

It is not only in alternation of residence that the change of season
[621] makes itself felt. In some cases it also affects the very cohesion of the band itself; for, as already mentioned, both among the Auen and among some of the Central Kalahari tribes the members of the band concentrate together during the rainy season when there is a more abundant supply of food, but as the dry season comes on the families scatter and wander off in different directions.

From their huts the people go out every day in search of food.
462 The women rise early, light the fire, and prepare the food for the
512 morning meal, which usually consists of veldkos left over from the previous evening. After having eaten, the men may go out hunting or visiting or engage in some other occupation, such as preparing skins, weapons, and utensils. The women accompany one another in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. "One may see a group of women and little children start off in one direction, single file of course, then some men in another, then four or five boys together, then girls, small and big, then some more men, and so on." When food is obtainable at no great distance, the women are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have far to go they may not reach home till late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they start the fires and proceed to prepare the food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water from the neighbouring waterhole.
[264] Food is ready by the time the men arrive in the late afternoon, and the evening meal, the principal meal of the day, is then eaten without delay. Meals are taken in common by the members of the family,
512 each family eating at its own hut. Afterwards visits are usually
[574]

[1] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 31–2.
[2] Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in the werft, as firemaking is a matter of serious import and the chief is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off misfortune. The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out." 372 622

As an illustration he cites[1] the practices existing among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan. Here, when it becomes necessary to move camp, as for example after a death has taken place, the whole community takes up all its goods and chattels, and, led by the *gei-khoib* (chief), sets off in search of a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. "The chief then proceeds to the large tree (*/heis*) in the centre and kindles a fire underneath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *!norab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-/ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*/ou-/ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-/ais* and the women may fetch fire from the */ou-/ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-/ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the */ou-/ais*. The */ou-/ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-/ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the */heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new */ou-/ais* kindled

166 361 622 [768] 372 622 [276] [621]

[1] Op. cit., 87–8; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52–3.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Chapter VI

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIFE

Land Tenure

Each hunting band among the Bushmen, as we have already noted, 423
claims rights of ownership over a certain stretch of land, and 621
vigorously resents trespass upon it by members of other bands. Within the band land is owned in common. The hunting territory belongs to the whole band, and all the members of the band have an equal right to hunt and collect over any part of it and to use the water in it. Often the members of the band are scattered apart, so that the same territory is exploited by the inhabitants of several [361]
different encampments. These encampments, as we have seen, are not made up of any fixed number of families, but fluctuate a good deal in size. Whatever their momentary disposition, however, their [221]
inhabitants always roam within a definitely limited area, and it is always the members of the same band who establish these different encampments within its bounds.

As the Bushmen practise neither agriculture nor pastoralism, there 423
is no question of cultivation or grazing rights. There is said, however, to exist a certain private ownership of land among the Auen, in the [222]
sense that when a man burns a patch of veld in order to promote the growth of veldkos on it, he alone has a claim to its products. Others, even people living at the same encampment, may not gather veldkos on this patch without his permission.[1] Somewhat analogous to this 222
are the private rights recognized by all Bushmen over objects found 422
in the veld. A man who finds an ostrich nest with one or two eggs, for example, sticks an arrow in the ground close by as a sign of ownership, and waits until the tale of eggs is complete before carrying them off. Should another man take the marked eggs, the first finder follows the spoor to the thief's hut, and demands them back. If they are [685]
restored, there is no fighting, but the thief does not escape reproaches [626]
for wrongdoing, especially from the neighbours of the finder; while in case of refusal bloodshed almost inevitably follows. In the same

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 155.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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224 where bush is scarce, frequently seek shelter during the day in the numerous anteater holes. Finding a morning spoor leading to one of these holes, the hunter, silently as a cat, creeps up to the hole and plants himself before it, leaving a small open space under the left arm, for which the buck charges, when it is pinned and dealt a stunning blow over the head with the kirri held in the right hand. In this way numbers of these animals are killed. The kirri is also used for knocking down hares and game birds; it is thrown from a distance of twenty-five to thirty feet, and generally stuns the game so that it is easily [223] secured. Birds are preferably aimed at just when they are rising from the ground, as the slightest blow will then upset their balance and bring them down before they have time to escape.

Bigger game, such as the giraffe, eland, hartebeest, ostrich, and springbok are generally hunted with the bow and arrow, which are used all the year round. As a rule the men hunt alone, or a man and boy together. They find the spoor of an animal and follow it, finally creeping up to the leeward side on hands and knees, using all possible cover, and then raise themselves gently to shoot. Or else they lie in wait for the game on its way to the water, or in the vicinity of a place where it comes to lick salt. The men hide themselves between stones, or dig a hole in the ground, piling up the earth in front and sticking green branches on top to deceive the game. Occasionally, again, several men surround game in a pan, some standing to leeward ready to shoot, while the others drive from windward, approaching from different quarters.

Once he has wounded an animal, the hunter takes up its trail and follows it leisurely, knowing that he will ultimately reach the corpse, if the poison on the arrow has been at all effective. There is always the great danger, however, that if the buck has run too far, and he takes too long to reach it, hyenas or the vultures may have got there first. Also care must be taken that the animal does not run out of [423] the hunting territory, as it is then as good as lost, or, where the [621] neighbouring band is friendly enough to permit of its being followed over the border, the meat must be shared with the members of that band. When at last he comes up with the buck the hunter, if it is not already dead, dispatches it with the spear or kirri. He then cuts [252] it up, roasts and eats some of the meat, and carries the rest home; or, if near the huts, he may carry the whole buck home. If it is too big to manage, he will light a fire to summon the other members of the band to the spot. Everybody shares in the meat, which is doled

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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222 622 [184] A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to [782] [539] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the [462] [857] women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be [415] plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre [237] or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 182 The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the [221] migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have [621] seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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daughters are competely excluded from the inheritance. The eldest 428
son also becomes the head of the family after the death of his father, [768]
and must care for the widow and give her food.[1]

Regulation of Public Life

In spite of the loose cohesion of the band, and the facility with 648
which the family groups composing it may wander about separately, the Bushmen are by no means devoid of government and law. Where they are subject to the Bantu or other peoples there is of course not much possibility of an independent political life. In the Okavango marshes, for example, they are in the position of serfs to the BaTawana, by whom they are required to pay an annual tribute of skins, ostrich feathers, and egg-shell beads. The territory occupied by the BaTawana is divided into local districts, each under control of a minor chief (*kxosani*), to whom all the Bushmen in the district have to pay their tribute, and for whom they often have to perform such services as herding his cattle and hunting for him. In the Oschimpoloveld again the Bushmen pay tribute to the OvaKwangari; in the Southern Kalahari they are the serfs and herdsmen of the BaTlaro and other BeChwana tribes among whom they live, and so, too, in the North-East Kalahari, where they are subject to the BaMangwato.[2]

But where the Bushmen are still to some extent independent, each 621
band, as we have seen, is a separate political unit and regulates its own affairs. There is no well-developed system of organized government. In the small family groups of the Cape and Namib Bushmen [622]
and of the !O Kung deference is paid to the head of the group, but 554
his authority in general is very limited. The common affairs of the 887

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 10, 35; Kaufmann, op. cit., 159; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

[2] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 121–2; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 65–6; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Languages," 56. In August, 1926, the High Commissioner for S. Africa (H.E. the Earl of Athlone), addressing an assembly of BaMangwato at their chief town Serowe, made the following important declaration with reference to this servitude: "It has been stated that the Masarwa are the slaves of the Mangwato. The Government does not regard them as slaves, but realizes that they are a backward people who serve the Mangwato in return for the food and shelter they receive. I understand that for the most part they are contented and that they do not wish to change. But the Government will not allow any tribe to demand compulsory service from another, and wants to encourage the Masarwa to support themselves. Any Masarwa who wish to leave their masters and live independently of them should understand that they are at liberty to do so, and that if the Mangwato attempt to retain them against their will the Government will not allow it. It is the duty of the Chiefs and Headmen to help these people to stand on their own feet, and I expect the missionaries and the Chief and his Councillors to join the Government in preventing anything in the nature of compulsory service in Bechuanaland" (*Report on Bechuanaland Protectorate*, 1926–7, Colonial Reports No. 1379, p. 6). What effect this pronouncement has had upon the status of the Bushmen it is still too early to determine.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury 622
resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. 692
The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a [695]
decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band.
Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the 681
relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kirri or by stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property, assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but self-defence is in no way penalized.

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is 114
difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these 692
Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is 681
no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama [171]
Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, [184]
to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the other Bushman tribes.

Relations with Other Bands

619
Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting 621
territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married [591]
man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also [574]
frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from [438]
one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also find the members of several different bands assembled together for a while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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619 621 Bushmen from all parts of the Ghansiveld, even from different tribes, owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again [221] [423] Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

114 619 621 All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery, however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys' [881] puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement [574] that in the months of March and April different bands come together for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and 726 obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several 619 Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band, 621 although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

578 On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are 619 not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife- 621 stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the 628 form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially [685] is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who 648 encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen, 685

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 137.
[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 13.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 134.
[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 154; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 13; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 85.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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but formerly even to Europeans. In the Cape, for example, "If the white man were a passing hunter and friendly, if he shared his bag with the Bushmen, he was welcomed and could travel through the territory in peace; but when the settlers came in, permanently occupying the land at the springs, and doing great execution among the game, then the Bushmen retaliated by shooting the intruders or killing their stock. Whereupon the white man, unaware of any unfriendly behaviour on his part, dubbed the Bushman an untamable savage and a thief, and did his best to imprison or shoot him. Hence the war of extermination, which has reduced the race of Colonial Bushmen to its present vanishing figure."[1] 648 685

Among the Auen, when neighbouring bands are on friendly terms, wounded game may be followed by the members of the one on to the territory of the other. A portion of the game must, however, be given to the owners of the land. Refusal to do so is always dangerous. Where the bands are very friendly it does not necessarily lead to bloodshed; the trespasser is merely driven away, and his weapons and game confiscated. Otherwise, however, he is killed. Women caught trespassing are seized and taken to the camp of their captors; this often leads to war, when they are violated. And again the killing of a man by the members of another band always results in a state of feud. 619 621 685 [224] [628]

It may happen that between two bands there is so strong a feud of this nature that a meeting between their members invariably leads to bloodshed. It is probably due to this, says Kaufmann, that among the Auen many bands are so antagonistic that violation of the territorial bounds leads to immediate punishment by death; and he cites the bands at Gam and Rietfontein, between whom there was a long-standing enmity. Among the Kung there is also much hostility between neighbouring bands, especially when, as occasionally happens, an attempt is made by one band to take from another the land it occupies, if this is very rich in veldkos. The oppressed band, if the weaker, must move, but the fights are conducted with great bitterness, and the deep enmity aroused extends over generations. A similar condition of feud is reported to have existed between several bands of the Namib Bushmen, where, for example, in 1907 the people of Buntveldschuhhorn, in consequence of such a state of hostility, led an attack on those living at Aurus. Feud is also common between bands belonging to tribes of different speech, e.g. the Auen and the 628 685 628

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

considerable difficulty with the interpretation, but I believe they finally understood 513
what I was trying to say. They did, they said, and added that one sleeps very well 833
afterwards.

Co-wives attain varying degrees of harmony. The expression of jealousy, especially 595
loud wrangling, upsets everybody, as all expression of discord does. Women are 578
trained by group approval to mould their conduct to acceptance. But often painful 626
jealousy does beset them, and the tensions are there, though to some extent hidden.

/Aha, wife of a young /Ti/kay in Band 13 at Gam, and still a young woman herself, 159
had with her fierce jealousy driven /Khoa, the pretty young second wife, wailing
into the night, back to her family's scherm. /Ti/kay used to sit for hours upon hours 595
singing soft, sad, sweet laments for /Khoa, but she did not return to live with him.

The behaviour of /Naoka and Di/ai, the wives of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1, was more typical. Both women were approaching middle age, Di/ai somewhat younger than /Naoka. /Naoka had two married daughters and a teen-age son when Gao married Di/ai. The two women obviously disliked each other, but managed to preserve a decent semblance of harmony by self-control, silence, avoiding each other as much as possible in the small space they live in by their fire, and by separating often—going with different groups of relatives and friends to gather wild plant foods, to fetch water, or to visit.

A few men said that the jealousy of co-wives could be so unbearable that they 595
would not marry a second wife, but one said it made him feel good to have two women fighting over him. Most of the men said they wanted more than one wife. They pitied Laurence Marshall because the laws of his land forbade his having [186]
several, which they considered him rich enough to afford. One said he would not live where there were such nonsensical rules.

The first wife is considered to have a somewhat more highly esteemed and dominant position. She is supposed to have the right to tell a second wife what to do, and a young second wife should fetch water and wood for the older wife, but I never saw this done.

No property or other material advantage is given a first wife and no important social advantages accrue. For instance, headmanship is inherited by the headman's [622]
eldest son by whichever wife he may be borne, and being the mother of a headman does not place a woman above other mothers of sons.

It appeared to me that first wives were often at a disadvantage. Among the people we knew, the husbands favoured their younger, second wives with two exceptions: /Ti/kay of Band 9 favoured his first wife, the elder sister, and Gao, the headman of Band 1, favoured his first wife. Both were good-tempered, intelligent, able women. They appeared to take care of the young girls who were their co-wives, rather than to be served in any way by them. Other older first wives seemed sometimes to be dejected. One told me her husband always took the young second wife with him and, to her deep humiliation, sometimes left her, the first wife, to stay for a time with one or another family in the band, although she said to him, 'Why do you shame me so?'

None of the /Kung women informants expressed enthusiasm for polygyny. Each 185
wanted a husband to herself. They did not expound the social advantage which 595

/139 cont./

372 are made in one of the sticks, and the rounded end of the other stick fits into them. [Figs. 1, 2, and 3 appear here.]

The first stick is placed on the ground and held down with both feet. The other stick is placed with its round end in one of the hollows, and it is twirled as rapidly as possible between the flat palms of the hands. As can be seen in the picture Photo. 19), the hands slide downward during this process, and frequently a second man immediately starts at the top when the hands of the first operator have moved all the way down. A kind of tinder of thoroughly dried birds' nests (weaver bird?) is placed around the bored hole. The fine dust from the twirling begins to smoulder after a few minutes, and the tinder is then fanned to a flame by blowing with the mouth.

● [622] The "captain" (aichab) of the settlement sees to it that the fire does not go out. A "sacred" fire does not exist. Keeping the fire from going out is a matter of sheer practicality since twirling to make fire is, after all, fairly strenuous.

354 A few stones, which, incidentally, are not found everywhere in the Kalahari, represent the hearth. In rainy weather cooking is done inside the windscreen.

462 The woman does the cooking while the children help her. In exceptional cases the paterfamilias may busy himself at the cooking fire.

On occasion all the members of a family will go out to get water and wood. Construction of the house is purely woman's work. Bachelors' huts are likewise built by the women of the horde.

415 439 Wooden cooking pots exist. Supposedly they are obtained through barter from the Ambo.

The Auin either carves primitive spoons out of wood himself, 322 or he obtains them through barter from the region of the Ngami 415 [439] [Lake Ngami?]. Frequently special artists at carving are to be found among the older men. The upper, concave part of a 415 small turtle shell, whose lower, flat side has been cut off, often [321] serves as a spoon.

These shells are also used as drinking vessels, and, along with hollowed-out tschama, they are the only drinking vessels that I found.

/154 cont./

722 Women were not taken along on the expedition; the women of the settlement attacked immediately ran away.

[622] 701 In time of war the chiefs have general powers of command. Their authority is apparently no greater than in peacetime, when it is insignificant. Indeed, it is scarcely intelligible to us how a war can be carried on effectively under such circumstances.

[888] [756] Old people naturally have greater influence. The "doctor" is merely an accompanying warrior without special authority. Generally speaking, everyone for the most part does what he considers should be done; some co-operation is nevertheless apparent.

726 There is no fighting at night; at most they will march then.

619 Alliances are concluded, even between groups speaking different languages. For instance, men of different Auin settlements will ally themselves with a Naroon [Naron] settlement to attack another Auin settlement.

There is no political connection between all the Auin settlements. They form a single community only by virtue of their common language. For example, bitter hostility exists between the Auin of Gam and the Auin of Rietfontein, while the relations between the Rietfontein Auin and the Naroon settlements south of them are amicable. The two can communicate only through interpreters.

701 Young people who are staying in a given village for courtship participate without ado in the warlike undertakings of this village. I am unable to say what happens in case the undertaking is directed at the home settlement of the candidate for marriage.

Concerning the war dance and the accompanying song, see page 37.

727 Captured men are killed, and usually boys as well (because of the danger of blood vengeance).

Women and children are taken away, married, and completely assimilated into the group. Old women are killed. Objects that are useful are taken away; the rest is destroyed.

It is not worth the trouble to set fire to the windscreens.

728 Hostilities are officially concluded; unarmed negotiators appear to have safe conduct. War damages are paid in the form of food, tools, and women.

The description of the form of government is the most difficult chapter of this account.

/154 cont./

Every Auin adult can really do as he likes on the condition that
622 he does not offend against "good Bushman custom." On the other hand, he recognizes a chief, who, however, has as good as no authority at all. If, however, the chief has a rifle, for example, or if he is a very strong man, he has correspondingly greater influence. I have the impression that the chief acts more as a representative, a position which is of most importance in dealings with the Whites.

The chief has actual sovereign rights, like every other Bushman, only over his wives and children, and over the latter only while they are small.

No tribute or service is rendered, just as there are no external insignia of the chief's office.

The chief's office is hereditary in the male descent group. The office is not inherited until the candidate belongs among the men, that is, after schooling (see below) and after the killing of the first piece of big game. There is no proxy during the minority of the candidate. It works, even so!

/155/ The settlements unite and separate again depending
619 on the circumstances.

The chief of a horde, which is not always united in one
631 village, is called aichabn.

At a gathering of about 1,000 Auin, several chiefs were present. A common supreme chief was lacking.

Evidently it is old families of chiefs that possess these traces of authority. They constitute no special caste and do not belong to a foreign race.

Q. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

428 The oldest son is the heir of the insignificant legacy, which primarily consists of a few utilitarian objects and hides.

The widow inherits nothing, but she keeps the property she already owns. Younger sons and daughters inherit nothing.

628 Blood vengeance is the basic concept that gives the legal notions their distinctive character. The son is obligated to avenge his slain father; the brother avenges his brother. I was

[8 cont.] HENCE THE RULE IS THAT THE WEDDING AND THE
585 GIRLS initiation coincide, and usually the girl moves to the village of
881A her first husband immediately after the completion of the festivi-
[591] ties.

584 When a man is courting, he must first attempt to obtain the consent of the girl. Once he has succeeded, he goes to the girl's parents. If they also give their consent, the engagement is settled. At this point, all communication is interrupted until the bridegroom appears and says to the girl's parents: "I want to have the wedding now." If the parents agree, they go to their relatives to spread the happy news. If the relatives object, they can still prevent the marriage. If they do not, the date of the wedding feast is fixed. In the bush, the bridegroom must bring the bride's parents a piece of big game. Usually people make matters
439 simpler for themselves. Either they have already earned a head
584 of cattle from a black farmer, and this stands ready in the farmer's
648 herd to be fetched for the wedding feast, or -- and this is more
452 common -- the Bushman will begin a begging tour around the black farmyards until someone gives him a cow as an advance on hides to be supplied later or on work to be performed.

452 And miraculously, this always succeeds. It is to be ex-
648 plained on various grounds. A black farmer, whose worst character traits include avarice and greed, would never give another Black who possesses nothing one of his dearly beloved cows on the strength of uncertain promises. And not unjustly. The next day the cow would have disappeared into the stomachs of the borrower and his friends, and on the day after that the borrower would have disappeared beyond the tribal boundaries. Repeatedly the Bushmen came to my camp too late. But from the Ukuanjama I always received the assurance: "The Bushmen will keep their word; they will certainly come if they are alive." In addition to this, of course, there is the symbiosis. Each village has its
[437] Bushmen. During the period of the harvest they suddenly appear
[9] and help with it. Between times they never miss a celebration, and at one time or another this one comes with hides and another with honey. And finally the chiefs of the Bushmen kin
[622] groups see to it that nothing happens to injure the reputation of
[674] the Bushmen. It is unheard of for these people to commit theft.

[19 cont.]

162 In the age group of five to ten years, the number re-
165 mains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number
[123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

[20] Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in
[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman
[131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief
133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika [Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa], Berlin, 1906.

648 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample
621 water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and
622

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself, who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year 1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and smoke it' " (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions
131 of this tribe:

"The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire. [40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by
[439] the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be-
[422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should
[304] be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out
177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked
415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are
278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen.
805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions;
211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary.
[614] To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so
[888] great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements
[623] between the chief and the other old men.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 25]

[41 cont.]

622 between the chief and the other old men. When the village chief dies, it is not his eldest son, but the eldest son of his sister [Figs. 13 and 14 appear here] who takes over the village.

582 There are certain marriage prohibitions and requirements, which are illustrated by the following schema.

[534]

Fig. 13. Dance Drum of the !Kung (Kuntsas). (Greatly reduced.)

[805]
[211]

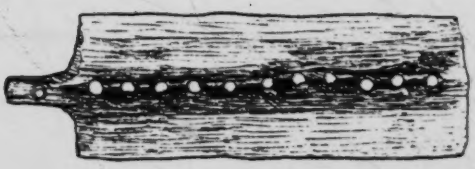

Fig. 14. Calendar Board of the !Kung (actual size [as shown in the original text]).

Father's brother X wife	Father X mother	Father's sister X husband
Brother--sister	A--sister	Cousin (male) -- cousin (female

If A is taken as an example, the children of his father's sister are his cousins. Marriage with these cousins is prohibited. On the other hand, A must marry the father's brother's daughter if she so desires. The man on his part, however, cannot force the

000 [42 cont.]
●622 the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is
372 the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo.
778 Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are
[262] "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a
784 very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language.
Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is
166 available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the
373 village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha
[596] fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they
262 have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha
264 fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave im-
621 mediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the
[462] windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire
he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does.
Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large
game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains
seated there, while the women and children make themselves
comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The
game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and
[262] shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children,
who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is
[622] consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has
the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The
hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has
described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

178 When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the
622 Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight
organization and a common leader. When Captain François went
beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable
support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note
that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of
Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a
Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a

2. He himself was a half-breed.

chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest
chief I heard of was "χ'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

[42 cont.]

178 He died when his successor, Amme, was still a small boy. Amme,
622 however, was unable [43] to learn much from his father; he was not a good chief, and he died while still young. Since then the !Kung Bushmen have not had a supreme chief. One of my informants, Doctor X'amme, claimed to be the great-grandson of the great chief of the same name.

The following from Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) should

1. Op. cit., pp. 412, 424.

be mentioned:

593 "The father is the chief of the family. All must respect
596 him. Children may not call him by name. -- The chief's posi-
622

[276]

Fig. 15. Dacha Pipe of the !Kung Bushmen (from the Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart, 29464).

tion is generally passed from father to son. If the son is not yet an adult when his father dies, the father's younger brother takes
423 his place. Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited
614 from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

"There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 100 kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

3: Lebzelter--114 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

535
539 ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

χ'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

● 622
782
769 Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

782
881 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are implored in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

787
695
684 "If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

[72 cont.]

163 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
591 couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker. Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least nominally.

422 Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
685 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand, a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the individual's private property.

The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
628 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively
721 against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people. [423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such, 621 by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-//om*, on the [582 591] other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out on a definite plan. 361 The huts of the married families are placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the [184] *Hei-//om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial [562] and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and [882 342] boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various 342 tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a [462] husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations. When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish 166 a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who 342 deposits his household and other effects on the place on which [622] his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated [312] in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

distribution of the rainfall upon which it is mainly dependent for its food supply. 361

The Group Fire.

All fire is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in the werft as fire-making is a matter of serious import and the chief is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune. The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out. As an illustration of this may be cited the practice as it exists among the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha Pan. When among the latter it becomes necessary to move camp, as for example, after a death has taken place, the whole community take up all their goods and chattels and, led by the *geikhoib* (chief), set off in search for a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. The chief then proceeds to the large tree (*!heis*) in the centre and kindles a fire underneath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *!norab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-!ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*!ou-ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-!ais* and the women may fetch fire from the *!ou-!ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-!ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the *!ou-!ais*. The *!ou-!ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-!ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the *!heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new *!ou-!ais* kindled by him by means of the hei-doros.

372 [622] 361 622 [768] 372 372 622 [619]

372 *hei-doros:* The new *!ou-|ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *||gāus*
361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case
[132] only in times of drought when the game have moved far afield
622 and great difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos.
372 Further, people driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *||gāus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the *!ou-|ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.
372 Persistent ill-health among the members of the community
622 or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase
[751 may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after
777] consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the *!ou-|ais* are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new *!ou-|ais* in front of his hut with the hei-doros and applies *|norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it had been.
184 The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire is
372 met with among all the organised primitive groups. Want of space and time does not permit, however, of a detailed account being given of the superstitions which have gathered about this custom among the various tribes.

Family Life

593 Each family within the group occupies its own hut. Children sleep with their parents until they are strong enough to go about by themselves, when the boys join the others under the tree and the girls take up residence in the hut for unmarried girls.

512 The women rise early, light the fire and prepare the food for the morning meal which usually consists of veldkos. After having eaten, the men go out visiting or hunting or engage in some other occupation such as preparing skins, weapons, etc. The women accompany each other in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. When food is obtainable at no great distance they are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have to go far they may not reach home until late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they proceed to prepare food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water. The food is ready by the time the men arrive in the evening and the latter are able to partake of it without delay.

462 There is a sharp division of labour between the men and women of the group. The former do the hunting and snaring of game, prepare the weapons, skins for clothing, snares, fire-

184 Kalahari only insect poison is used, and further north and
278 north-west only plant poison.

224 All tribes observe certain customary practices in connection
[184] with the hunting of animals with bow and arrow. These vary considerably among the different tribes. The following is an account of the practice as met with among the *Hei-||om*. After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *||gāus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's trucks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals. The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is skinned by the men.
252 The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the purpose, is cut into
[237] sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then removed to the *||gāus* by the men who may occasionally be assisted by the women. On arrival at the *||gāus* all the meat is laid on the ground under the *!heis* either on sticks which were used in carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib*
224 (chief) now comes forward and if he finds that the *!hei-|ais*
● 622 (fire under the tree) has gone out he returns to his hut, brings
252 fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the meat in the meantime being hung on the *!heis* (tree in centre of camp). After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men—the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and "tastes" (tsũ-tsũ) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as *≠koms*.

224 All meat killed with bow and arrow is *so.ra* and may not
262 be partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, however, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *so.ra* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *so.ra*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *so.ra* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the

hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*‡ei-ti*). Her 224 portion is known as the *‡noe-di* and is the only meat which 262 may be partaken of by women. The *‡noe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the *‡kham-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The *‡noe-di*, however, may not be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *||gāus*. It is not brought under the *!heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The *‡kham-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women [78H] partake of any other meat than the *‡noe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu* (youths) is known as *!om-||gani* and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles, etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at the *axarogudi ‡gaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the *!heis* [252] or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *sora* to him and if he [78H] eats any other part, *e.g.*, the *‡koms* he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions about two finger breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis* may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *‡noe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-||gani*, under which is included the *‡koms*. The latter may be eaten only under the *!heis*. After it has [264] been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is [34] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *‡koms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib* and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat 224 killed by the members of an outlying *||gāus*, the *gei-khoib*, 622 likewise having to taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the *||gāus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *||gāus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he

224 visits a *//gāus* for this purpose he kindles the *!hei-/ais*
622 with fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own.

224 Any want of success in the chase is generally attributed to
777 some chance incident. For example, a man, who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife had her periods, will not hunt again when she is in that condition nor will she eat any of the *‡noe-di* at such times. The meat of an animal
262 killed by a dog may not be eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating. This prohibition is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. If, however, an animal is killed with bow and arrow after having been brought at bay by a dog, the meat is *so.ra* and women may eat the *‡noe-di*. The remains of an animal killed by a lion are not *so.ra* and may be partaken of by all individuals. Care, however, is taken not to offend the lion which likewise observes certain practices after each kill. After having had his fill he buries the sacrum and haunchbones and covers them over with the dung (stomach contents) of the animal. If he should be unsuccessful in hunting his prey he returns to the spot of the last kill, digs up the buried parts and inters them in another place. This he does to restore his luck and if he should find that the bones have been taken away he will follow the person who removed them right into the *//gāus*.

184 *So.ra* applies only to meat killed with bow and arrow and
224 as far as is known at present this practice exists among the
262 *Xom-khoin*, *!Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*. Among these
784 groups the meat of the following animals is *so.ra*, namely, steinbuck, duiker, springbuck, hartebeest, gemsbuck, kudu, wildebeest and giraffe. The eland, which is a comparatively rare visitor to the parts occupied by these groups is not killed at all by the *Xom-khoin* who believe that harm will befall any person who eats its meat. In other words the *Xom-khoin* consider the eland to be absolute *so.ra*. Among other groups the man who shoots an eland must, on returning to the *//gāus*, sleep under the *!heis* as intercourse with his wife will prevent the poison from killing the animal. The same applies to a person who shoots a giraffe.

412 The implements and utensils which are used in the collection and preparation of food are very few in number. Vegetable food is dug up with a sharpened stick, 2 to 5 feet in length.
252 Ö intjes. *//ñoun* and other similar plant foods are roasted in hot ashes covered with cinders. Ants (Bushman rice) are dealt with in a similar manner and then recovered again by means of a sieve of grass matting. Locusts are either roasted or boiled. Frogs, etc., are sometimes roasted over the fire on a wooden spit (braaistok) stuck into the ground. Birds, snakes, small antelope, etc., are prepared by placing them in a hollow made in the ashes with a flat paddle-shaped wooden scoop and covering them over with live coals. The meat of larger

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 Toma the headman, sometimes known as Male Toma, an [55] honorary name, sometimes known as Toma the Short, so-called because of his stocky build, was a famous person, and once had been a serf. He was born of serf parents at Gam, and as a boy had worked for the Chuanas, drawing their water and herding their cattle and goats.

672 When Toma was a boy, his father was murdered by a 682 child, the result of a terrible accident which took place one 159 day when Toma's father was arguing with the father of a boy named Gao. Gao, who couldn't have been more than ten years old, became upset and angry when he heard his father quarreling and, taking his father's weapons, shot Toma's father in the chest with a poisoned arrow. The old man was helped to the shade, the arrow was drawn out and the wound sucked, but as there is no antidote for arrow poison the old man lived only for the rest of the day and by night he was dead.

Oddly enough, the crime was connected with the old man and not with Gao, the young murderer, for ever after that day the old man was referred to as Tsamko Bone Arrow, [55] while Gao in later years became known as Gao Wild Pig, after a pig he had killed which was in some way remarkable.

159 Toma flourished as a young man and became an excellent hunter with tireless legs, tireless eyes, and a deadly aim, and it was said of him that he never returned from a hunt without having killed at least a wildebeest, if not something larger. Hence, the people connected with him ate a great deal of meat and his popularity grew. He once said of himself: "From the day I was born I was born for meat."

159 When Toma was in his late teens, some say, his powers 622 in hunting attracted the attention of the headman of Gau- 591 tscha Pan, who offered Toma the hand of his daughter, Tu, in marriage. Toma accepted, went to live with his wife's peo-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ple, according to custom, and, when the old headman died, 159
took over the leadership of the people in the area. He was 622
not the true headman—his position would not be inherited 591
by his son, for headmanship is passed only from father to son—but he was recognized as headman while he lived and it was a great honor to him that this was so.

Tu's brother was the rightful headman of Gautscha, but 622
he had abdicated to live with his wife's people in the north. Her elder sister's husband, a man named Gao Big Feet, also had a right to the leadership in that his wife, Dikai, was older than Tu. But neither ever contested Toma's position as leader, for it was not a position which Toma held by force or pressure but simply by his wisdom and ability, and people prospered under him. No Bushman wants prominence, but [43]
Toma went further than most in avoiding prominence; he had almost no possessions and gave away everything that came into his hands. He was diplomatic, for in exchange for his self-imposed poverty he won the respect and following of all the people there. He enjoyed his position, and, being [578]
strangely free from the normal strains and jealousies of Bushmen, he saw justice clearly and hence he led his people well. At Gautscha his werf had been right beside the werf of his father's murderer, for Toma was friendly even with him.

Toma had a short, stocky body and a shock of tangled 142
hair. He was strong, too, and very co-ordinated, so that every 159
motion he made was quick and controlled, and not a gesture 622
of his was wasted. As a result of this enormous and uncon- [51]
scious control, accidents almost never happened to him. His face was broad, lined with many deep wrinkles at the corners of his eyes and mouth as though from smiling, though it was not from smiling that he got them but from years of squinting at the sun. His expression was usually dark and wondering, his forehead drawn intently into a frown, but

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

142 159 sometimes he would abandon his gravity and laugh a high, 622 reaching laugh that one could hear from far away, a laugh that came from his very soul, or, as Bushmen say, from his stomach. He listened diplomatically and intently whenever 159 153 he was spoken to, staring at the gound, and had a habit of echoing, in a loud falsetto voice, the important phrases of every sentence he was told.

"We went to Keitsa Pan," someone might say to him.

"To Keitsa," Toma would reply.

". . . and we slept there, but the blind flies were very bad . . ."

"Oh, bad, bad . . ."

". . . but in the morning we saw two porcupines . . ."

". . . yes, porcupines . . ."

". . . and we killed them there. We made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry . . ."

". . . made them cry."

159 Toma was considered to be very fortunate in his marriage. 142 Of course it was through his wife, Tu, that he gained the leadership of the Gautscha people, his life free in the veld rather than in serfdom, and his two young sons, but besides all this his wife was beautiful, having a smooth face and great, clear eyes like a cat. Also, she was five feet tall, considered to be a very desirable height, and although no Bushman has ever been too fat, Tu was not too thin and her arms and [304] legs were round. She had soft blue scars curving on her forehead which made her eyes seem to lift at the corners, and blue scars on her thighs that showed when she walked. Her 159 chief virtues, in the eyes of Bushmen, were that she deco- 577 rated herself with ornaments in her hair and kept her hands [515 301] and face washed, thus demonstrating that she cared what she looked like, rather than letting herself go now that she was married. To show that she observed propriety, cared what

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DELOUSING is a courtesy among kinsmen: the salty-tasting lice are eaten.

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There are about 1,000 !Kung—gathered into 28 bands—who build their ephemeral camps, or *werft*'s, separately in an area of 10,000 square miles. The houses in the *werft*'s are of grass, pressed over a framework of sticks, making small quarter-shells, with their backs to the prevailing wind. Gossamer things, made of the same grass that sways and crowds against their doors, they are positioned in a loose pattern according to their occupants' kinship, and all are held—finally—by the headman, who builds his shelter under the tallest tree.

[622]

From a little distance, when the sound of voices is lost on the wind, one would not know a *werft* was near. The people never return to the same *werft*—preferring to build anew and saying it would not be safe from the spirits of the dead, or sanitary, to do so. Perhaps, also, they find it sad to see the little houses toppling, day by day, into the grass of the new year.

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AS A STARTING POINT, labor among the !Kung is divided between two basic subsistence activities—hunting game and gathering *veldkos*. Men hunt, because their bodies are better suited to the chase. Women gather, because they could not leave their children for the long periods of hunting that men both enjoy and endure.

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Women's work—the technology of gathering—is simple and adaptable: the tools are easily acquired, the methods quickly learned. The constant necessity to provide and the almost daily edge of effort slowly bends the

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
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The headman of each band is considered to "own" a waterhole. What he is considered to "own," is both the water and the *veldkos* of the district. The ground itself is described as *chi dole*, worthless. Headmanship is hereditary, the headman being the oldest son of the previous headman although, if the male line is cut off for a generation, headmanship is passed through the eldest daughter to her eldest son. But head-

[p. 72]

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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622 manship is different from leadership,
554 which is not hereditary. Leadership depends heavily on a man's character, his hunting prowess, and especially his ability to focus people's opinions. Usually headman and leader are the same person but, should a headman be too young—perhaps still in his mother's womb—or very old, a band will have a separate leader.

622 Theoretically, the right to refuse
554 water to members of another band
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belongs to the headman, although we never saw this done nor did we ever hear of such a thing. Neither leadership nor headmanship implies any overt coercive power over the other members of a band. Only as a sort of coagulation of group opinion can headman or leaders exert a control —which, even then, is not final. The leader, being the kind of person to whom others come when decisions must be made, is often an arbiter, in

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208 quarrels, a focal point in discussion of plans, a comfort to the bereaved and a strength for those in doubt.

621 The functions of headman, as headman, are of a different nature.
602 In order to take up residence with a band, a person must have certain ties of kin with members of the band.
[591] Such a person may live with his own parents or siblings, or with his wife's parents or siblings. It is a wide choice, providing for flexibility—but within limits. There are, of course, exceptions, and visitors from other bands are never denied, but possession of some kinship tie seems to be a general requirement for residence which,

626 horror to a !Kung! The worst dream might be to see the fires flickering in the *werft* at midnight and be unable to go to them. All the people we knew could tell us of only one time when such a departure from the group occurred: and the man had gone insane, had murdered and then run raving into the veld. There he had lived for a little while in a hole, then died.

[158]

622 It is in connection with the need to live widely spread over the land that the !Kung headman's functions are peculiar. There is one essential qualification to headmanship, in addition to heredity. A headman cannot leave his waterhole to join another

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band and still remain a headman, for he, in his person, does not possess headmanship. It is only when a person is *born* headman, and in association with his waterhole, that he assumes the full authority of headmanship. We have seen that headmen were considered to "own" the water and *veldkos* of a district. I believe this association is another way of expressing what the !Kung mean by "own": the headman is the symbol of a place.

In the same manner that a headman "owns" a district, he also "owns" other geographical features of the country. These include pans that fill during the rains, *veldkos*

622 423 areas, baobab trees, and—most important—*mangetti* trees that hold water in their trunks, and *tsi* areas. It is these "owned" features, and the direction from the waterhole in which they lie, that define a territory. Since, as we have seen, *mangetti*'s and *tsi* are the most important !Kung resources, they are the main determinants of a direction.

But animals are *not* owned. Neatly bounded sections of the countryside are *not* owned. A territory, therefore can best be defined as the combination of a permanent waterhole and a direction: the !Kung so define it by the word "side." One headman's territory is said to be on this "side."

361 621 622 JUST as the Kalahari's scant resources of food and water are distributed in accordance with a geographical pattern, the !Kung bands are distributed in accordance with both a geographical and a social pattern: Natural resources are the focal points in the geographical pattern of band distribution: headmen are the focal points in the social pattern. In a sense, headmen tie together the two patterns, the concept of headmanship being the embodiment of a certain quantity of resources in a person around whom a band can take shape and operate. Because of their kin ties with a headman, the people living round him, clustering their *skerms* around his and moving with him over his territory, feel right in being where they are.

622 554 The headman receives no special privileges. He is no more wealthy than other men. If he is a leader, he may assume responsibility and speak out. But, as headman, he need not speak, for headmanship is a silent office and while the headman lives—by his waterhole or out somewhere on his territory with his band—he serves his whole purpose.

423 312 Most of the permanent waterholes have two !Kung bands associated with them, and the *tsi* areas are likewise shared by bands from the same and different waterholes. Such sharing may come about because two brothers (only one of whom may be the true headman) live together and feel they possess joint claims. It may come about through the passage of time, which confuses genealogies and lets claims, once tenuous, become firm through usage. The !Kung are a people of present tense, living—in their minds as well as with their

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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SHARING, TALKING, AND GIVING: RELIEF OF SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THIS paper describes customs, practised by the /Kung Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region of South Africa, which help them to avoid situations that are likely to arouse ill will and hostility among individuals within the bands and between bands. Two customs which seem to be especially helpful and which I describe in detail are meat-sharing and gift-giving. I mention also the /Kung habits of talking, aspects of their good manners, their borrowing and lending, and their not stealing.[1] 121

The common human needs for co-operation and companionship are particularly apparent among the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Independent living, outside the band structure,[2] does not exist for individuals. Nuclear families do not live alone. The arduous hunting-gathering life would be impossible without the co-operation and companionship of a larger group. Moreover, in this society the ownership of the resources of food and water is organized through the headmen of bands, and individuals have rights to these resources by being members of a band connected to the headman by some near or remote kin or affinal bond. The /Kung are also extremely dependent emotionally on the sense of belonging and on companionship. Their need to avoid loneliness, I think, is actually visible in the way families cluster together in their werfs and in the way people sit, often touching someone else, shoulder against shoulder, ankle across ankle. Comfort and security for them lie in belonging to their group, free from hostility or rejection. 601 [423] [622] [608] 571

Their security and comfort must be achieved side by side with self-interest and much jealous watchfulness. Altruism, kindness, sympathy, or genuine generosity were not qualities which I observed often in their behaviour. However, these qualities were not entirely lacking, especially between parents and offspring, between siblings and between spouses. One mother carried her sick adult daughter on her back for three days in searing summer heat for us to give her medicine. /Naoka carried her lame son, Lame ≠Gao, for years. Gau clucked and fussed over his second wife, Khuan//a, when she was sick. When /U had a baby, her sister, Di/ai, gathered veldkos for her for five days. On the other hand, people do not generally help each other. They laugh when the lame man, Kham, falls down and do not help him up. /U's jealous eyes were like those of a viper when we gave more attention to her husband, ≠Toma, than to her because he was much more ill. And, in the extreme, there is the report from the 1958 expedition of an instance of callous indifference in one band and the probable abandonment of a dying old childless woman, an old aunt, when her sister, with whom she lived, had died. 578 593 578

Occasions when tempers have got out of control are remembered with awe. The 606

[1] This description of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region is based on observations made during our several expeditions between 1951 and 1959. Changes in the conditions under which the /Kung live are to be expected, and how these changes will affect the practice of the customs here described we do not know.

[2] Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Band Organization', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960. [114]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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of the hunting party is not a matter of convention or of anxious concern. Hunting parties are freely organized by men who like to hunt with each other. No categories of kin or affines are prohibited from hunting together, whether they have a joking relationship or not or practise the sitting and speaking taboo. Men from different bands may hunt together. 224

A father has authority over his sons and sons-in-law and could tell them to go hunting or to accompany him and would expect them to obey. In other relationships participation in a hunting party is voluntary. Any man may instigate a hunt and may ask others to join. No one is formally in command of a party, unless he is the father with his sons or sons-in-law, but often an informal kind of leadership develops out of skill and judgement and the men fall in with the plans and suggestions of the best hunter or reach agreement among themselves somehow. [593]

Hunting parties are usually composed of from two to four or five men. One hunter alone is at a disadvantage. A man cannot leave the meat unguarded from lions, hyaenas, jackals, and vultures while he goes to bring help from the band to carry it nor can he carry it alone. Only occasionally are parties larger than four or five. For two parties to hunt in different directions would be more advantageous than to form a larger single party.

When the kill is made the hunters have the prerogative of eating the liver on the spot and may eat more of the meat until their hunger is satisfied. If they are far from the band, they may eat the parts that are especially perishable or most awkward to carry, like the head, and they sometimes eat the cherished marrow. They then carry the animal to the band, either in its parts, bones and all, or, if the animal is very big, leaving most of the bones and cutting the meat into strips which dry in the sun to biltong and are more easily carried on the carrying-sticks. The blood is carried in bags made of the stomach, rumen, and bladder. [851] [415]

The gall bladder and testicles are discarded at the kill. Eventually the hooves are thrown away and usually the picked bones and horns. (The /Kung make only a few artifacts of bone and horn which last a long time and seldom need replacing.) Sinews are kept for making cord. The hide would be skinned off whole and tanned if it were suitable for a kaross and someone wanted a new kaross at the time. Otherwise, the hide is dried, pounded up, and eaten. Hides are quite tasty. Feet are picked of every tissue; gristle is dried and pounded. Soft parts, such as the foetus, udder, heart, lungs, brains, and blood, are often given to old people with poor teeth. Intestines are enjoyed and desired by all. The meat of the rump, back, chest, and neck is highly appreciated. Nothing is wasted; all is distributed. [331] [283] [281] [886]

The owner of the animal is the owner of the first arrow to be effectively shot into the animal so that it penetrates enough for its poison to work. That person is responsible for the distribution. The headman of the band is not the one to distribute the meat by virtue of his headmanship, unless he happens to be at the same time the owner of the arrow. The owner may or may not be one of the hunters. [488] [622]

Hunters have arrows which they acquire in three different ways. Each man makes arrows for himself, shaping the points (usually now of metal, but still possibly of bone or wood) with some slight distinction so that he will know them from the arrows of other men. Secondly, arrows are given as gifts. The man who made the arrow or who himself acquired it as a gift, may give it to someone else, either a man or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. 432 204 41 [93]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

another through the seasons, always going back and forth between food and water, they carry their young children and their belongings. With plenty of most materials at hand to replace artifacts as required, the /Kung have not developed means of permanent storage and have not needed or wanted to encumber themselves with surpluses or duplicates. They do not even want to carry one of everything. They borrow what they do not own. With this ease, they have not hoarded, and the accumulation of objects has not become associated with status. Instead of keeping things, they use them to express generosity and friendly intent, and to put people under obligation to make return tokens of friendship. And, even more specifically, in my opinion, they mitigate jealousy and envy, to which they are prone, by passing things on to others. These are the objectives in gift-giving.

Except, as ≠Toma said, that it would be surprising to see a man give a present to a woman who was not related to him (and vice versa, I imagine), anyone may give to anyone. Degree or kind of kinship or affinity, having the joking relationship or lacking it, impose no requirements or restrictions, nor does status in the community in a conventional way. We did hear people say, however, that a headman may feel that he should lean well to the generous side in his giving, for his position as headman sets him out from the others a little and he wants whatever attention this attracts not to be envious. Someone remarked that this could keep a headman poor.

The times of giving are determined almost entirely by the individual's convenience. The /Kung do not know their birthdays or anniversaries and have no special days of the year which they mark by giving gifts. Gifts are required by convention on only three ceremonial occasions. The type or quantity of the gift is not patterned but it should be generous. The occasions are betrothals and weddings, when the parents exchange gifts and give to the young couple, and the ceremony of a baby's first haircut, when the */gu/na*, the person for whom the baby is named, should give him a fine present.

Relatives give to young people with the idea of setting them up in life. Gao Beard gave a spear and a kaross to his FaSiHuSo, saying it was his duty to see that the boy got some things because among the boy's relatives he was the most able to do so. The boy's father was very old, he explained. People expect to wait a long time for young people to make return gifts.

The two rigid requirements in gift-giving are that one must not refuse a proffered gift and that one must give in return. Demi said that, even if he might prefer not to be obligated to someone, he would accept and prepare to make his return gift. If a gift were to be refused, he continued, the giver would be terribly angry. He would say, 'Something is very wrong here.' This could involve whole groups in tensions, bad words, taking sides—even 'a talk' might occur—just what the /Kung do not want. Demi said it does not happen: a /Kung never refuses a gift. And a /Kung does not fail to give in return. ≠Toma said that would be 'neglecting friendship'. A person would know that others thought him 'far-hearted' and 'this would worry him'.

In reciprocating one does not give the same object back again but something of comparable value. The interval of time between receiving and reciprocating varied from a few weeks to a few years. Propriety requires that there be no unseemly haste. The giving must not look like trading.

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A Headman ≠Toma is the leader of the main Guatscha band.

142 males average approximately five feet, two inches) with yellowish brown skin that becomes heavily wrinkled in old age. They have very little facial and body hair, and their short, black, head hair is so curly it spirals into peppercorn tufts. The Bushman face is flat and triangular; the brown eyes are set rather wide apart. A variety of eye folds narrow the apertures of the eyes. The nose is extremely broad with a very low bridge, the lips are everted but not protruding or only slightly so, and the ear is somewhat square in shape with a deeply rolled rim (helix). The Bushman body and limbs are slender; the frame is delicate. A notable feature is the inward curve of the small of the back. The penis is semierect. In women there is what is called the "Hottentot apron" (elongation of the *labia minora*). Steatopygia (fat on the buttocks) is invariably mentioned in the literature as one of the important physical characteristics of Bushman and Hottentot women and recorded as being very prominently developed in some. By comparison with the extreme examples that are seen among some Hottentot women and in illustrations, the northern and central Bushman women whom we observed did not have marked steatopygia, although some had buttocks that could be called plump.

197 LANGUAGE • Bushman languages and those of the Hottentots are classified as a language family known as Click or Khoisan (Greenberg 1955:80).
[194] Clicks are so unusual as to be almost unique to Bushman and Hottentot (they occur also in two East African languages—Sandawe and Hatsa—according to Greenberg) and are so distinguishing a feature of these languages that much attention is given them.

194 The Khoisan clicks, striking implosive sounds, are velaric suction stops
197 (Heffner 1960:119; cf. Beach 1938:73 ff.). The northern and central Bushman languages have four, made with the tongue, as follows: the dental (/), lateral (//), alveolar (!), and palatal (≠). The southern Bushman lan-

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182 A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties
312 which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters
[161] them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival,
[648] for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in
the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been
134 comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity
and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level
mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily
available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant
when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated
with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy
soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage
organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thor-
ough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they
are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

137 Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still
[222] have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again
to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-
[224] sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage
[262] organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre
content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the
various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

224 Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking sur-
faces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed
with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not
[411] necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the
advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death
as certainly to big game as to small.

101 LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bush-
197 men cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings
and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans
refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking
[829] Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a mul-
titude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local group-
[184] ings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the
language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while
they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within them-
[621] selves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band
[622] composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Or-
ganization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

101 The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a
131 group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ǒassi* and who live in the
[197] Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

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The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or *tsi*, the men always ac-

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in several different bands, and they may choose among them. A band that owned comparatively good resources would tend to attract more members than a band with scant veldkos. This flexibility of residence pattern is one of the reasons that one finds the bands of the interior of the Nyae Nyae region relatively in balance with their resources, and varying in size.

WATER • Two or more bands may share the ownership of a water hole. Water holes keep their own rough population balance because, if water is very scarce, people will go to live elsewhere when they have the possibility of doing so.

In the interior of this region, in roughly 8000 square miles, there are three water holes that can be called really permanent. In the driest years these do not fail. Four others dry up only in years of severe drought. Six more are semipermanent: in a very good year they may yield a little water right through, but in a dry year they are sure to dry up. When the semipermanent water holes go dry, the bands who own them may break up temporarily and the families may go to live with relatives who are at permanent water holes, or they may go as whole bands to another water hole where they have relatives.

Water is not owned as exclusively or as jealously as veldkos. Water seems to belong more to mankind, as the animals do, and the ownership of water holes emphasizes more the managing than the withholding of the water. The headman controls the water. His permission should be asked by travelers or visitors before taking water, "because he knows what he has and what can be done," we were told. We saw small temporary water holes marked with bundles of grass thrust into forked sticks. This was to tell visitors or travelers that the owners of the water hole were in residence, as it were, and were counting on the water. We believe that in these circumstances water would not be taken without permission. Occasions are not likely to arise where permission need be refused. The !Kung know where the others are, or are likely to be, at a given time and know how much water is available. They plan better than to get themselves into desperate situations.

One source of water appears to be owned by individuals. It is the rainwater that collects in hollow mangetti trees. The water in trees is not stolen by others who go to gather in the same mangetti forest. Water, incidentally, is the only beverage of the !Kung in the interior of the region. They have no alcoholic drinks and use no infusions of herbs.

HUNTING AND MEAT SHARING • !Kung hunting regulations do not confine the hunters to territories. The game animals belong to no one until they are shot, and the hunters may follow them anywhere the spoor leads and may cross the territorial boundaries of any band. If hunters have made a kill in the territory of a neighboring band, they would not fail to give a present of

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553 602 835 properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

[601] The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, 619 in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling 553 of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin 601 terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen— 602 sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [101] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ǒassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ǒassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilin- [613] ages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father [622] to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

[423] There is not much property to inher[illegible] Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A consider- 768 able amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

582 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside 648 the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

584 First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

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thighs, up the buttocks to the waist, and on the cheeks and forehead. 304
The !Kung say the stripes are made only for beauty" and are in imitation of gemsbok—big, stately gray antelopes with spectacular black markings.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The only social grouping above the family in 621
!Kung society is the autonomous band. A band is a group of families who live together, linked to one another and to the headman by kinship bonds, in a manner that will be illustrated presently. Nuclear families do not live alone among the !Kung. An extended family might do so, if it were a strong unit with enough young hunters and gatherers to sustain it; it would then be a band. Most of the Nyae Nyae bands were composed of several families [162] and ranged in size from twenty or twenty-five to fifty or sixty members.

Each band belongs to its own territory, or, we can say, owns its territory 621
and the resources within it. Two or more bands may belong to the same 622
territory. The focus of the band's ownership of the territory is the headman, 423
who is called *kxau* (owner). He does not own the resources as private, individual property is owned, to withhold or give as he pleases. Members born to the band have a kind of inalienable right of their own to the resources. The headman personifies those rights and gives them organization and continuity. The continuity is expressed by the attachment of the headmanship to the territory. If a headman leaves the territory to live elsewhere—except temporarily for bride service—he ceases to be headman and the headmanship falls on someone else who remains in the territory.

!Kung society accords to the headman the authority to coordinate the 622
movements of his own people in relation to their consumption of resources, and his chief duty is to plan when and where the band will move. He should protect the resources from encroachment from outsiders.

When the band moves, the headman's position is at the head of the line. He chooses the site for the new werf and has the first choice of a spot for his own fire and scherm. He has no other rewards or prerogatives. He carries his own load and is as thin as the rest.

It is not a headman's duty, as headman, to instigate or organize hunting parties, trading trips, the making of artifacts, or gift giving, nor does he make marriage arrangements. Individuals instigate their own activities. A 622
headman is not in any formalized way a judge of his people, nor must he 627
punish a wrongdoer. He may have great influence, if he is an effective leader, but wrongdoing is judged and controlled by public opinion, usually expressed in talk. Occasionally a person who is wronged seeks to avenge himself by fighting, which is greatly deplored.

If a headman is too young or too old, or lacks personal qualities of 622

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622 leadership, the people may turn quite informally to some other man for leadership in their daily life—ask him for help and advice, fall in with his plans. Such a leader has no authority and receives no honors or rewards.

Headmanship is inherited by the eldest son from the father. If that son dies or leaves the band, the headmanship passes to the next eldest son.

No strictly formulated rules, insofar as we know, provide for further succession. We have no observations of our own of situations in which a headman had no son.[10]

622 621 571 The rule of succession does not provide for a headmanship to pass collaterally to a headman's younger brother. However, a younger brother may set up a band of his own in the same territory if he does not prefer to live under the headmanship of his older brother or if he does not continue to live with his wife's people. The younger brother has his own rights to the veldkos and water that derive from his father and he can share them with his family and band. Nevertheless, as long as a son of the headman in rightful succession is living in the territory, he has higher authority and is responsible for the overall planning. Should the principal headman's band die out or realign itself, the collateral band led by the younger brother would become the principal one.

621 622 602 571 The bonds that bring the !Kung into membership in bands are the same consanguineous and affinal bonds on which a nuclear family is formed: the bonds of parent-offspring, siblings, and spouses. Everyone who lives in a !Kung band is linked by one of these bonds with the headman, sometimes directly or sometimes in a chainlike manner through one or two other persons. A description of a typical band will illustrate this point. Band II [162] of Gautscha has forty-one members. The headman, Gao Beard, has two [592] wives and four young children. With Gao Beard live his younger brother, one of his younger sisters, each with spouse and children, and his elderly, dependent and widowed mother. Gao asked his first wife's father, Old ≠Toma, whom he likes very much, to join his band. Old ≠Toma brought with him into the band his wife, a married son with wife and child, two younger sons, his wife's sister, and her son by a now divorced husband. [583] He also brought sixteen other persons—Gau and his people. Gau belongs to another band but was at the time living in Band II because he had married, as a second wife, Old ≠Toma's wife's sister and, middle-aged though they are, he was in bride service to her people. After a time Gau can choose whether to stay on in Band II or to go back to the band in which he originated. He said that he thought he would decide to stay with Old ≠Toma and Gao Beard because he likes Old ≠Toma and because Gao Beard has a mangetti grove.

621 423 People retain throughout their lives their membership in the band in which they were born and their rights to its veldkos and water resources.

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the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the !Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy. 553 602 121 [229]

(8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts. 582

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband stepbrother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself. 582 551

(9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty. 532 [301] [304]

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees. 000

(10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people 622 562

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●622 562 refer to one woman as a "headman"), nor does her husband. A headman's daughter, as it were, holds the place until her son is born to fill it. Primogeniture would be in force: the eldest daughter's son would take precedence over a younger daughter's son. If a daughter's husband is an effective person by nature, he could lead the band and perform the functions of headman indefinitely. The band, on the other hand, might find it more advantageous not to wait for a son to be born to the headman's daughter but to realign itself under another headman. Within the proper frame of kinship this is a voluntary matter.

782 539 (11) I paraphrase some of the prayers as follows:

"You have created me and given me power to walk about and hunt. Why do you lead me in the wrong way so that I find no animals?"

"Give rain, *!Nau*, wet the earth. Let there be veldkos. We are starving because we have to stay by the water hole where there is no more veldkos. You have favored some people with rain. Will you not favor us?"

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621 101 /gom or omungete nut; and the *xam-khois* the people who *xam* or scrape together, the name indicating their method of collecting salt on the Etosha Pan, along whose southern border they live.[1] How the bands are named in the other tribes is not clearly stated. In the [114] literature they are spoken of as a rule in terms of the locality they inhabit, but no indication is given whether this is also the name by which they call themselves and are known to their neighbours.

619 101 These hunting bands are grouped into what are here called "tribes". A tribe consists of a number of neighbouring bands, the members of which all speak what they themselves regard as one language. Each tribe has its own distinctive name. In the Southern and Central linguistic groups this usually ends in the word */ke* or *kwe* respectively, i.e. "people"; but in most cases the meaning of the name itself has not been recorded or can no longer be determined. The few tribal names which can be interpreted seem to refer to some general characteristic of the people themselves or of the country which they inhabit. The *//ŋ /ke*, for example, are the "home people"; the */tannekwe* the "river people"; the *Hiechwara* the "people of the open country", and the */o /kŭ* the "forest people", while the */kŭ* (*Kung*) are simply "people", or, as they would interpret the name "Bushmen". The *Hei-//om*, again, derive their name from the [177] Hottentot words *heis*, tree or bush, and *//om*, to sleep, and are therefore the "tree-sleeping people", i.e. those who sleep under trees; while the term *Naron*, by which the *//aikwe* now sometimes speak of themselves, appears to have been applied to them originally by the Auen and to mean "people who are insignificant".

619 [197] The tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group. It has no social solidarity, and is of very little, if any, importance in regulating social life. There appears to be no tribal organization among the Bushmen, nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all the members of the tribe, nor is collective action ever taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. The tribe in fact is merely a loose aggregate of independent hunting bands which have a common language and name.

621 The band, and not the tribe, is the real political body among the Bushmen. Each band is autonomous, leading its own life independently of the others. Its affairs are as a rule regulated by the [623] skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men in general. In [622] the North-Western tribes, however, each band has also a chief, whose

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 30.

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office is hereditary. His authority is very slight, and apparently 621
exercised mainly in regulating the movements of the people from [622]
place to place, and in leading in war.

Each band also acts as a unit in its relations with other bands of 619
the same or of neighbouring tribes, and in such relations it is 621
collectively responsible for the actions of any of its members. When
differences arise they are confined to the bands concerned, and not
participated in by the rest of the tribe. Occasionally, it is true, a
weak band may seek and obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour,
but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature.[1]

The band is also the land-owning group. Each band possesses its 423
own hunting territory, to which it is restricted, and exercises authority 621
over and specific rights within this territory only.[2] The members
of the band roam about freely all over their own land, but do not [438]
trespass on their neighbours' territory, although single persons and
small parties may occasionally pay short visits across the border,
mostly for trading purposes. As a result of this territorial segregation
it may often happen that the more widely separated bands of [619]
a tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct contact with
each other.

There are no special boundary marks between the areas occupied
by different hunting bands. The limits of each area are as a rule
defined by various natural landmarks, such as sand dunes, koppies,
river-beds, vleis, springs, or even trees. These are well known to the
people themselves and carefully observed. In some cases the areas [311]
of different bands are separated by neutral zones, formed by belts of
trees, open flats, watercourses, etc. Nobody will venture into these
except during the course of a visit. In particular, however, each
hunting territory is defined by the waterholes in it. These constitute
the real property of the band. The encampments are always erected [361]
near them, all the game on the land around them or drinking at the
water may be hunted only by members of the band, and similarly
only they may gather "veldkos" (wild vegetable foods) in the
vicinity. The infringement of territorial rights in this respect is one [628]
of the main causes of dispute between neighbouring bands, and
almost invariably leads to bloodshed.

[1] The relations between different bands are discussed more fully below in Chapter VI, s.v. "Relations with Other Bands"; vide p. 155

[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 156; Passarge, op. cit., 31–2; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 4; Fourie, "The Bushmen," 85; Lebzelter "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928–9), SitzBer. (12).

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166 territory occupied by the band its members roam about freely in
361 search of food, and family groups often separate from the main body
621 to wander about on their own account for a while. Of the Naron, for example, Miss Bleek writes that she has "sometimes seen three or four huts together, sometimes twenty, with from sixty to eighty inhabitants. Every few weeks a new hut appears, or a vacant space shows where one has gone"; and she adds that as the village is such a fluctuating quantity it is difficult to estimate the numbers of a band or a tribe.[1] Indeed it seems to be a feature in the life of some of the Northern tribes that during the dry season the families in the band scatter about separately, to come together again only in the rainy
[221] season, when there is an ample supply of water and "veldkos". Thus among the Auen only one or two families may be found living together in the dry season, while towards the end of and shortly after the rainy season, when the edible plants of the veld are abundant, up to thirty families may join together.[2] It is thus by no means unusual to find several small encampments of members of the same band scattered about over its hunting territory, a fact which may easily mislead casual observers with regard to its numbers.

On the other hand, it also appears that at times members of several
361 different bands may come together for a while. Passarge mentions
619 that in 1897, during an outbreak of rinderpest when cattle were
621 dying in great numbers in the Ghansiveld, Bushmen were drawn together from all parts of the vicinity by the abundance of animal food thus provided. At one spot he saw between one and two hundred of them, at another about one hundred, and these included both Auen and Naron.[3] In the Kwebe Hills, again, his camp was passed by about one hundred men returning to the Hainaveld from the sandveld. Together with their women and children this group must therefore have numbered from three to four hundred.[4] It is almost certain that these people too must have belonged to different bands and had only come together temporarily, but this is not definitely stated by Passarge. Kaufmann, again, mentions a camp of Auen at Sidonitsaub which in April, 1908, contained about four hundred men, or with women and children about one thousand persons
[622] all told. That these belonged to a number of different bands was

[1] *The Naron*, 4.

[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 136, 138; cf. Passarge, op. cit., 42; Vialls, "Kalahari Masarwas," 30.

[3] Op. cit., 7, 8.

[4] Op. cit., 10.

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obvious from the fact that although several chiefs were present, 361
there was no common supreme chief.[1] Such gatherings are only 619
temporary in nature, and produced by some special circumstance. 621
They cannot therefore be regarded as indicative of the normal [622]
groupings of the Bushmen.

Social Structure of the Band

Within the band the only division is into families. The family 592
among the Bushmen consists of a man and his wife or wives, together [595]
with their dependent children. It is a unit of outstanding importance
in their social and economic life. The members of a family usually
live together in one hut; the children until they are mature remain
under the direct control of their parents, are nourished and are
educated by them; husband and wife jointly contribute to the
maintenance of their household, and the domestic tasks and industries
are apportioned between them according to fixed custom. The family,
moreover, has much freedom of movement, and, as already mentioned,
single families will often roam about separately for a while within
the territory of their band.

The relationship between the different families constituting a band 114
is seldom defined clearly by the various observers. In particular 601
the information available about the kinship organization of the 602
Bushmen is very inadequate. Miss Bleek has recently published lists 621
of relationship terms for each of the three main linguistic groups
defined by her.[2] From these it appears that among all the Bushmen
there are, in addition to various descriptive terms of relationship,
also certain terms applied not to individuals but to whole groups of
different relatives, while still others are used reciprocally between
people standing in a particular relationship to each other. Relationship terms of the last two types, when found in other societies, are
usually indicative of a definite organization of the community on
the basis of kinship; and it is probable therefore that some such
organization exists among the Bushmen as well. Unfortunately the 114
lists given by Miss Bleek appear to be drawn from vocabulary sources 601
rather than from an actual study of kinship itself, and cannot therefore be used with any degree of confidence. In any case they throw 114 602

[1] Op. cit., 138, 155. It should be mentioned here that the figures given by Kaufmann are, as a rule, far in excess of those given by other writers of about the same time and on the same district (e.g. Müller, German official estimate), and cannot therefore be accepted without question. [114]

[2] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," *Bantu Studies*, ii (1924), 57–70.

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mountains in the west of Great Namaqualand.[1] Most of the Bushmen, however, now live in flat country, where such natural shelters are denied them. Wherever they stay for more than a couple of days, crude bush huts are put up by the women. These are usually erected within walking distance of a waterhole, about an hour or two away. The people never live at the water itself, for fear of frightening away the game, which is most easily shot or trapped when coming to drink. 342 361 [462] [312] [224]

Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, "When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who deposits his household and other effects on the place on which his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts."[2] 361 622 342 [372]

There seems to be as a rule no fixed form of settlement. All the families drinking at one waterhole may live in one group, or there may be several lots of huts scattered about in different directions. Among the Cape Bushmen, for example, one might find three or four huts standing together, or several huts dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, and the same appears to be true of the Naron.[3] 361

Among the Heikum, however, the camp is said to be laid out on a definite plan.[4] As a rule all the members of the band live in a common encampment or "werft" (*//gaus*). The huts of the married families are placed at a certain interval apart, and arranged in the form of an irregular circle. At or near the middle of the camp is situated a large tree, known as the */heis*. The hut of the chief (*gei-khoib*) is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. The brother of the *gei-khoib* live immediately to his left on the south side of the *//gaus*, and beyond them are placed the other married families of the community. The right or north side of the *//gaus* is reserved entirely for visiting sisters of the *gei-khoib* and their families, while any of his married daughters who may be visiting him erects her hut directly opposite to his at the furthest extremity of the camp. "This is done on account of the parent-in-law taboo (*tao-sas*) which [184] [606]

[1] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166. [2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii; *idem*, *The Naron*, 4.
[4] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50–2; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.

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361 [606] exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes." Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent [882] young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young men; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of married people. The dancing place is to the west within the circle.

"The large tree (*!heis*) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved 361 as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women 562 are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely, [622] the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for kindling the principal fire (*!ou-!ais*) or for other menial purposes when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this *!heis*. Under [372] it is made the first fire (*!hei-!ais*) on the establishment of a new [224] *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed in the chase."[1]

Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among 114 all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the 361 only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. "Where several families live together," he says, "the huts are ranged in a circle, the head of the group ("Dorfälteste") living in the east."[3]

Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families 592 are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they [595] get on well; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share [882] a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree, and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with [589] a boy; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone, are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting 342 as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 32. [2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4–5; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 31; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138.

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Cooking

252 is done chiefly by the women, assisted by the children; in exceptional
[462] cases the men also may cook. Wild cucumbers, nuts, bulbs, and similar plant foods are baked in hot ashes covered with cinders. A bright fire is made and allowed to die down, a hole is scraped in the ashes with a flat, paddle-shaped wooden scoop, the food put in and covered over. It is then eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge, after being pounded up in wooden mortars or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood. Birds, snakes, small antelopes, etc., are baked in the same manner; ants are similarly treated, and then sifted through a mat of loosely-woven reeds, while locusts are either baked or boiled. *Grewia* berries are sometimes eaten as picked, stone and all, sometimes stamped in the mortar and swallowed uncooked. Some specially dainty kinds of meat are roasted over the fire on a wooden spit stuck into the ground. Other kinds of meat, again, as well as stamped
[439] locusts, *tsama* seeds and foods obtained from the white man, such as mealie meal, are cooked with water.

The "tame" Bushmen now use any sort of receptacle, such as a
415 paraffin or paint tin, for cooking purposes; the Auen and Naron
[439] in their more primitive condition used wooden pots, made by themselves or obtained by barter; while among the more Northern tribes clay pots obtained by barter from the OvaMbo and other Bantu tribes are sometimes found. The actual manufacture of clay pots by the
[184] Bushmen themselves seems to have been restricted to the tribes
[323] south of the Molopo. Food is eaten direct from the pot or from plates
[264] and bowls made of wood. Wooden spoons are sometimes found among the Northern tribes, but generally either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Fire is everywhere made by drilling a thin hard stick in another,
372 somewhat softer, in which there is a notch (Plate IX). This second stick is held firmly on the ground by one foot, while the drill-stick with its lower end pressed into the notch, is twirled rapidly between the hands until sparks come. A little dry grass is in readiness to catch the spark, and when it has caught alight dry wood is gradually added until a good fire has been set going.

In this connection reference must be made to certain special
372 observances relating to fire which have recently been recorded by
622 Fourie about the Heikum. "All fire," he says,[1] "is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to

[1] Op. cit., 87.

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use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in the werft, as firemaking is a matter of serious import and the chief is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off misfortune. The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out." 372 622

As an illustration he cites[1] the practices existing among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan. Here, when it becomes necessary to move camp, as for example after a death has taken place, the whole community takes up all its goods and chattels, and, led by the *gei-khoib* (chief), sets off in search of a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. "The chief then proceeds to the large tree (*/heis*) in the centre and kindles a fire underneath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *!norab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-/ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*!ou-/ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-/ais* and the women may fetch fire from the *!ou-/ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-/ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the *!ou-/ais*. The *!ou-/ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-/ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the */heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new *!ou-/ais* kindled

166 361 622 [768] 372 622 [276] [621]

[1] Op. cit., 87–8; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52–3.

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372 by him by means of the *hei-doros*. The new *!ou-!ais* now serves to
622 supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gaus*
361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case only in
221 times of drought when the game has moved far afield and great
672 difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos. Further, people
622 driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *//gaus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the *!ou-!ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.

622 "Persistent ill-health among the members of the community or diffi-
372 culty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the *!ou-!ais*, are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new *!ou-!ais* in front of his hut with the *hei-doros* and applies *!norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it has been."

114 "The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire," Fourie goes on to say, "is met with among all the organized primitive
372 groups" of Bushmen in South-West Africa. The only previous
622 information hinting at observances of this kind is found in a curt statement by Kaufmann that among the Auen the "captain" of a village sees to it that the fire does not go out. But he adds that there is no "sacred" fire, and attributes the guarding of the fire against extinction to the practical inconveniences of the method employed in making it.[1] Quite recently, however, Lebzelter has reported the occurrence of similar observances among the Kung, although his remarks on the subject are very scanty. He states merely that the Kung, like the Bergdama, have the sacred fire round which only the men may sit. "When the camp is moved," he concludes, "the head of the group takes with him a brand from this fire"[2]—presumably to use it for

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 139; "Der 'Kapitän' (Aichab) der Werft achtet darauf, dass das Feuer nicht ausgeht. Ein 'heiliges' Feuer ist nicht vorhanden. Die Bewahrung des Feuers vor dem Verlöschen geschieht lediglich aus praktischen Gründe, da das Feuerquirlen immerhin ziemlich anstrengend ist."

[2] "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 14: "Wie die Honigkaffern haben auch die !Kuñ das Sochafeuer. Es ist dies das heilige Feuer, bei dem nur die Männer sein dürfen. Wenn die Werft übersiedelt, dann nimmt das Werftoberhaupt einen Feuerbrand mit Sochafeuer mit."

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lighting a new fire at the next encampment, although this is a practice which, as we have just seen, Fourie explicitly denies for the Heikum. 372 622 [114]

There is no indication at all in the available literature that similar usages relating to fire are found among the rest of the Bushmen, nor is there any further evidence of their occurrence among the tribes mentioned above. On the other hand the sacred fire also plays a very conspicuous part in the social and ritual life of the OvaHerero, OvaMbo, and Bergdama, all of them close neighbours of the Bushmen tribes among whom it is found, and with the last two of whom the Heikum at least have intermixed considerably. It is probable therefore that the special observances relating to fire among the Heikum and the Kung may represent borrowed elements of culture; but much fuller information is needed about them before this can be definitely asserted. Whatever their origin, however, these usages now obviously play an important part in the social life of the people. In particular, the fact that at the present time the chief of the band has certain exclusive functions in connection with fire is of outstanding significance in the whole sphere of public life, and one which cannot be dismissed merely because it may be due to the effects of contact with other peoples. To this point we shall have to return when discussing the political institutions of the Bushmen. [184] 171 372 [177] [622]

Special Usages relating to Food

There is not much information available about food taboos, but it appears that, in some of the tribes at least, certain foods are forbidden to persons at different stages of life. In the texts obtained by Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen there are preserved the details of some of the food taboos prevalent among this people. Thus little children were not allowed to eat the heart of the jackal (on account of this animal's great timidity), certain portions of the ostrich, or the tip of the springbok's tail; a menstruating girl might not eat game killed by the young men, lest she bring them ill luck—she had to eat only game taken by her father; a certain kind of tortoise was forbidden to young unmarried men and women, for fear of arousing the wrath of the rain; women were not allowed to eat the flesh of the lynx; the tail of the porcupine was forbidden to certain (unspecified) persons; while all refrained from eating a certain small portion of the flesh of the hare.[1] The published information relating 262 825 [841] [821] 262 [114]

[1] L. C. Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, cf. references in Index, s.v. "Food—not to be eaten."

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on the ground under the */heis* either on sticks which were used in 224
carrying it or on branches. The *gei-khoib* (chief) now comes forward 252
and if he finds that the */hei-/ais* (fire under the tree) has gone out he 224
returns to his hut, brings fire and wood and re-lights it. If he is 252
absent when the meat is brought in he is immediately sent for, the 622
meat in the meantime being hung on the */heis* (tree in centre of camp).
After having kindled the fire the *gei-khoib* instructs one of the men— [372]
the one who has shot the animal is excluded from doing any work—to open the bones and collect the marrow. The blood and the marrow are placed on the fire in separate pots and at the same time some of the meat for the men is also cooked. As soon as the latter is ready for eating the *gei-khoib* removes a piece from the pot and 'tastes' (*tsa-tsa*) it. This is done by holding it between the teeth and fingers [264]
and cutting off and eating a morsel or two. The meat is now safe for the members of his group to eat. The cooked meat is then pounded with a stone, teased between the fingers and thrown into the pot containing the blood. The melted marrow is next stirred into the mixture of blood and meat. The resulting dish is known as */koms*.

"All meat killed with bow and arrow is *soxa* [taboo] and may not be 224
partaken of until it has been tasted by the *gei-khoib*. The liver, how- 262
ever, is eaten by the men immediately after the animal has been cut [622]
up and is thus excluded from the scope of the *soxa* as far as men are concerned, but to the women it is *soxa*. All parts of the animal are eaten, but certain categories of people may eat only certain prescribed portions of the animal, the rest of the meat being *soxa* to them. For example, the wife of the man who killed the animal is entitled to the superficial covering of meat and fat of the hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*/ei-ti*). Her portion is known as the */noe-di* and is the only meat which may be partaken of by women. The */noe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the */kham-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The */noe-di*, however, may not [622]
be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *//gaus*. It is not brought under the */heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the [252]
fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The */kham-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women partake of any other meat than the */noe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an

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224 animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu*
262 (youths) is known as */om-//gani*, and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles,
224 etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at
252 the *axarogudi ǂgaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the
262 animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the */heis* or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him, and if he eats any other part, e.g. the *ǂkoms*, he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions of about two finger-breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis*
[574] may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *ǂnoe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-//gani*,
[264] under which is included the *ǂkoms*. The latter may be eaten only under the */heis*. After it has been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is
[841] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *ǂkoms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib*, and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

"A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat killed by
224 the members of an outlying *//gaus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to
262 taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the
622 *//gaus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *//gaus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he visits a *//gaus* for this purpose he kindles the */hei-/ais* with
[372] fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own."

Apart from the light it throws upon certain functions of the chief,
114 this account illustrates admirably both the existence of special ritual
224 observances in regard to game killed in the chase, and the fact that
[622] food obtained in this way is shared among all the people present at the encampment. This latter feature has also been noted by other writers on the different Bushman tribes,[1] and it can safely be asserted

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 55; Kaufmann, op. cit., 155–6 D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, pp. viii–ix; *idem*, *The Naron*, 16.

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595 is the rule, but a second wife is not considered wrong; it is thought better for a man in such a case to marry the younger sister of his first wife, then the two will not quarrel.[1] Further east in this tribe three or four wives are not infrequent, and actually a man often marries the sisters and "cousins" of his first wife.[2] The Auen at Rietfontein all have only one wife, "because of the scarcity of food," while those at Gam on the average have two, and sometimes even five wives. The wife first married holds a higher social position than the rest, which may, however, says Kaufmann, be due merely to her greater age.[3] Among the Kung a second wife may be taken, if the first consents; but owing to the difficulty of providing for more than one wife, adds Lebzelter, polygynous marriages are extremely rare.[4] Of the Heikum, again, Fourie tells us that each man as a rule has two wives, who may or may not be related. The second wife is married some time after the first, who is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over her. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife, and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation.[5] Polygynous marriages are also found among the !O Kung of Angola and among the Hiechware, but are here said to be comparatively rare.[6]

The occurrence of such marriages implies a numerical [114] preponderance of women, or else that some of the men must remain [162] bachelors; but unfortunately in no instance are figures given to show the proportion of men and women, or even of monogamous and polygynous marriages, within the band. The motives for polygyny are also not clearly defined. We are told, however, that [622] chiefs among the Naron mostly had two wives,[7] so that here it may be [554] partly associated with rank; while among the Auen, and probably also among the Heikum, the second wife is often not taken until the first is old and past child-bearing. A similar statement is made by Barrow about the Cape Bushmen.[8] In such cases naturally only the older men have more than one wife.

The Cape and the Namib Bushmen, as previously mentioned, are 582 said to forbid marriage only between own brother and sister, parent and child; and so do the !O Kung of Angola. Beyond this no special prohibition or injunction appears to exist. Among the Heikum, on the other hand, the range of forbidden relatives is extended to include all cousins and nieces; while in all the North-Western tribes, including

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34. [2] Passarge, op. cit., 106. [3] Op. cit., 157. [4] Op. cit., 13–14.
[5] Op. cit., 92. [6] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112; Dornan, op. cit., 124.
[7] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37. [8] Loc. cit.

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224 returning to the camp, sleep under the central tree and avoid sexual intercourse with his wife, lest the poison prove ineffective and the animal escape. The meat of an animal killed by a dog may not be [841] eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating; this is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. Any want of success is generally attributed to some chance accident; for example, a man who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife was menstruating will not hunt again while she is in that condition, nor will she eat any of the *!noe-di* at such times.[1]

These practices and beliefs obviously represent only a small portion of what must be an elaborate series of usages relating to hunting, but they suffice to indicate how the Bushmen, fully aware of the uncertainty attendant upon their efforts, seek to relieve their apprehensions and to obtain confidence by the aid of magic and taboo.

Collecting

224 Hunting in the old days was unquestionably the principal source
136 of subsistence in Bushman life. But with the decrease of the game
648 in their region and with the enforcement against them of the game
222 laws framed by the white man, its importance is diminishing, and at the present time the Bushmen depend very largely for the means of existence on the wild vegetable foods growing in the veld.

[241] Agriculture in any form is altogether unknown to them in their
222 traditional mode of life. The nearest they have got to it is found
224 in the practice observed by the North-Western tribes of burning the
311 veld at the end of the dry season.[2] This, it is said, is done primarily in order that the edible bulbs, roots, etc., should come up better during the approaching rainy season. It is also used, however, as a means of hunting, for the men spread round the fire in a semicircle and drive all the game rushing from it before them in a certain direction where some hunters are lying in wait; moreover, the new grass growing soon after the burning attracts the game, which returns to the area, and thus makes it good hunting ground. Incidentally the burning serves to kill off snakes, scorpions, and other noxious creatures. Men may only [423] burn in their own territory; to do so across the border, or to gather wood where others have burned, is a great offence. In former times, [622] among the Naron, the chiefs are said to have regulated the burning;

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 102.
[2] Jedika, "Reise nach dem Okavango," *D. KolBl.*, xiii (1902), 491; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147, 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 17.

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nowadays the thing is done in a haphazard manner, and generally passes as an accident. 222 [224] [311]

The collection of veldkos is done by both men and women; but whereas with the former it is incidental to their hunting, the latter are collectors only, and set out every day, usually in company, to go over several miles of land. The digging-sticks they use are from 3 to 4 feet long, and consist of pieces of hard wood, pointed at one end. In the south, where the veld is hard, and in the mountainous parts of the east these sticks were sometimes tipped with a buck's horn and weighted by means of a perforated stone ball passed over their lower end and wedged in (Plate IX); but in the Kalahari, where there is only sand to cope with, this is never found. The foods gathered are chiefly roots, bulbs, ground nuts, berries, melons, and, in fact, anything at all edible, the food naturally varying with the season of the year. At the same time, the women also catch all sorts of small animals which they come across—iguanas, tortoises, frogs, locusts, flying ants, etc.—and they gather dry sticks for the evening fire. [462] [412] [184]

Among the Heikum the following ceremony is observed in connection with the gathering of veldkos by the women. "It is practised," says Fourie,[1] "when the fruit of the *|huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the *|huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gaus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered are indicated by the *gei-khois*. On the return of the women to the *//gaus* they deposit the bags containing the fruit in front of the hut of the *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* then fills four or five basins by taking a little from the bag of each woman and places them under the */heis*. Her husband now kindles the */hei-/ais*, and, after having applied *|norab* and *dabas* to appease the fire for a plentiful harvest, takes a handful or two of the fruit and eats it. The fruit is now free and both men and women may eat it." There is no known name for this ceremony, but the first fruit is called */gao-ei-/un*. The ceremony in this form is not found in any of the other Bushman tribes, but is met with also in slightly different form among the Bergdama. The possibility of borrowing must therefore again be kept in mind; but, whether borrowed or not, the ceremony is of importance as indicating the development of a special ritual in connection with one of the principal sources of food supply. 222 622 [184] [171]

[1] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56–7; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W.A." 98–9.

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222 622 [184] A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to [782] [539] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the [462] [857] women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be [415] [237] plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 182 The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the [221] [621] migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kũ-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

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daughters are competely excluded from the inheritance. The eldest 428
son also becomes the head of the family after the death of his father, [768]
and must care for the widow and give her food.[1]

Regulation of Public Life

In spite of the loose cohesion of the band, and the facility with 648
which the family groups composing it may wander about separately, the Bushmen are by no means devoid of government and law. Where they are subject to the Bantu or other peoples there is of course not much possibility of an independent political life. In the Okavango marshes, for example, they are in the position of serfs to the BaTawana, by whom they are required to pay an annual tribute of skins, ostrich feathers, and egg-shell beads. The territory occupied by the BaTawana is divided into local districts, each under control of a minor chief (*kxosani*), to whom all the Bushmen in the district have to pay their tribute, and for whom they often have to perform such services as herding his cattle and hunting for him. In the Oschimpoloveld again the Bushmen pay tribute to the OvaKwangari; in the Southern Kalahari they are the serfs and herdsmen of the BaTlaro and other BeChwana tribes among whom they live, and so, too, in the North-East Kalahari, where they are subject to the BaMangwato.[2]

But where the Bushmen are still to some extent independent, each 621
band, as we have seen, is a separate political unit and regulates its own affairs. There is no well-developed system of organized government. In the small family groups of the Cape and Namib Bushmen [622]
and of the !O Kung deference is paid to the head of the group, but 554
his authority in general is very limited. The common affairs of the 887

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 10, 35; Kaufmann, op. cit., 159; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

[2] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 121–2; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 65–6; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Languages," 56. In August, 1926, the High Commissioner for S. Africa (H.E. the Earl of Athlone), addressing an assembly of BaMangwato at their chief town Serowe, made the following important declaration with reference to this servitude: "It has been stated that the Masarwa are the slaves of the Mangwato. The Government does not regard them as slaves, but realizes that they are a backward people who serve the Mangwato in return for the food and shelter they receive. I understand that for the most part they are contented and that they do not wish to change. But the Government will not allow any tribe to demand compulsory service from another, and wants to encourage the Masarwa to support themselves. Any Masarwa who wish to leave their masters and live independently of them should understand that they are at liberty to do so, and that if the Mangwato attempt to retain them against their will the Government will not allow it. It is the duty of the Chiefs and Headmen to help these people to stand on their own feet, and I expect the missionaries and the Chief and his Councillors to join the Government in preventing anything in the nature of compulsory service in Bechuanaland" (*Report on Bechuanaland Protectorate*, 1926–7, Colonial Reports No. 1379, p. 6). What effect this pronouncement has had upon the status of the Bushmen it is still too early to determine.

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554 887 band, such as migrations and hunting parties, appear rather to be regulated by the skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men generally.[1]

622 Among the North-Western tribes, on the other hand, where the bands are on the whole more considerable in size, each band has a [184] recognized chief (*//exa* or *//exaba*, *gao-aob* or *gei-khoib*; the last two [192] words are of Hottentot origin).[2] The office is as a rule hereditary in the male line, descending from father to son, or, failing such, to the nearest male relative. The heir succeeds only when he attains maturity, i.e. when he has passed through the puberty ceremonies and has killed his first head of big game. During his minority there is no regency—things just go on, as Kaufmann says. Among the Heikum and the Kung, however, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds. This [184] rule of succession is so much at variance with what we know of the [171] other North-Western Bushmen, and even of the structure of the band in the two tribes mentioned, that, if the information be correct, the practice can only be regarded as due to the influence of the neighbouring OvaMbo, who are definitely organized on a matrilineal [611] basis. There is no other instance of matrilineal succession among the Bushmen.

No tribute or services are rendered to the chief, nor are there any special signs of chieftainship, such as a particular dress or mode of life. We are told by Miss Bleek that Naron chiefs mostly have two [595] wives, but whether this is in any way associated with their status is not made clear. The main functions of the chief apparently are to direct the movements of the people from place to place and to allocate the work for the day, to order the burning of the veld, and, in particular, to lead in war. Among the Heikum we also know that in him are vested certain other functions the performance of which is of vital importance to the welfare of the community. He alone, as we have seen, "is able to bring forth from fire the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune." The various beliefs and practices centring in the first fire kindled by him at every new encampment, while fully demonstrating the importance of this fire in the social life of the people, at the same time also reflect his religious significance and emphasize the dependence of the community upon him in this aspect of their life. He also, as we have

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109; Trenk, op. cit., 170; Seydel, op. cit., 304.

[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 154; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36–7; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 86–8; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 14.

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previously noted, plays an important part in the usages relating to game shot with the bow and arrow, as well as in the first-fruits ceremony; while among the Kung he is similarly responsible for the ceremony performed before the edible bulbs of the new season may be gathered. There is no record of similar religious and economic functions being vested in the chief in other Bushman tribes, so that, in the present light of our knowledge, such customs cannot be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture; but in the tribes where they do occur they obviously show that the chief may, in fact, exercise a considerable influence in the life of the community. 622 [184]

On the whole the chief appears to be essentially a leader rather than a ruler. His actual authority over the members of his band is very slight, and dependent to a considerable extent upon his personality. If, for example, he is a man of strong character, or possesses a gun, he will have a correspondingly greater influence; but the only special authority he has is over the members of his own family, and he has no power to enforce his will outside it. He has nothing in the way of judicial functions, nor does he exercise any organized control over the members of the band. Great freedom of action prevails within the band, and as a rule every adult man can do as he pleases, provided, of course, that he does not infringe against recognized law and custom. In general the head of each family has control over the movements of his wife or wives and children—and over the latter only while they are small. No one really controls grown-up sons and daughters. [157] [593]

This absence of any organized system of public control does not imply that the Bushmen have no laws. On the contrary all their institutions, manners and customs serve to regulate the relations between the members of the band, and thus to maintain law and order. The child at birth comes into a world where there already exist definite forms of organization and behaviour, of ceremonial, of manners and fashions, and as he grows up he falls more or less unconsciously into acting and thinking like those around him, and in this way comes to conform to social norms. There are moreover more or less deliberate means of impressing upon young people the social sentiments necessary for the maintenance of the law and order of the community. The education they receive in the households of their parents and out in the veld, and above all the highly-important teachings at the puberty ceremonies for boys, instruct them in tribal lore and tradition, inculcate social norms, and determine their activities accordingly. 83 867 [881]

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627 related to the homicide were killed by the brother. What happened
682 afterwards we are not told, but judging from what is known of blood revenge among the Bushmen it is hardly likely that the matter was allowed to rest there.

Among the Auen, for example, a son is obliged to exact blood
628 vengeance on the slayer of his father, a brother for his brother. If
682 the slayer himself is dead or out of reach, the feud extends to his nearest male relative. A son whose father has been killed is obliged to undertake vengeance as soon as he is grown up. His mother impresses this obligation upon him during his childhood, and as soon as he has caught his first head of big game the obligation must be carried out. He applies to his nearest relatives for help, which is given without question. In the same way whoever has to fear blood vengeance is supported by his relatives and the members of his band. Not only
[562] men but women also may become the objects of the blood feud, although as a rule the latter are taken and held as wives by their captors. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen the slayer is killed by the relatives of the dead man. All the male members of the latter's family combine to revenge his death; an arrow is shot at the slayer, and if this does not immediately kill him he is beaten to death with the kirri. Murderesses are also killed in this manner; but otherwise
[562] women, even for such serious offences as theft and adultery, are only punished by thrashing, although this may sometimes be very severely administered.

We are not told whether the killing of the slayer or his substitute leads to the cessation of the feud, but from an instance quoted by Kaufmann it apparently does not. An old Auen man from Olifantskloof was visiting a brother-in-law at Sidonitsaub. The host put out a snare, in which he caught a giant bustard. This was found by the guest, who took it out of the snare and began to consume it. While he was doing so, the host came up and observing the theft pierced him through the body with a spear. The slayer then fled, but was pursued by the relatives of the dead man and killed. Since then a blood feud has existed between these two bands, connected though they were by marriage.

The only exception to this general rule of self-help is recorded by
[184] Seydel of the Namib Bushmen.[1] He states, it is true, that in case of
622 minor offences self-help is frequently resorted to, but adds that all
692 serious offences are formally adjudicated. The court consists of one

[1] Seydel, op. cit., 505–6.

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judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury 622
resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. 692
The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a [695]
decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band.
Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the 681
relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kirri or by stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property, assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but self-defence is in no way penalized.

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is 114
difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these 692
Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is 681
no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama [171]
Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, [184]
to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the other Bushman tribes.

Relations with Other Bands

619
Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting 621
territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married [591]
man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also [574]
frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from [438]
one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also find the members of several different bands assembled together for a while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

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628 Naron, or the Auen and the !Ginkwe. This does not extend to the whole tribe, but only to the bands concerned. The Naron at Sandfontein, in the same way, were also hostile to the /nu//en in the south as well as to the Auen in the north; trespass and wife-stealing led to many fights between them.

628 726 701 [622] [887] [411] Fights between opposing bands are therefore by no means unusual, but the extent of each campaign is small.[1] The chiefs have general command in war, but their authority is scarcely greater than in peace, where, as we have seen, it is but slight. The older men with experience naturally have an influence corresponding to their knowledge and ability. Every man and youth takes part in a campaign, the weapons used being the ordinary hunting bow and arrow as well as the spear. The magician also fights, but without any special authority or functions. We have no eyewitness account of any such campaigns, but Kaufmann gives a description, obtained from a "trustworthy Kafir informant", which may serve to convey some idea of their nature. Among the Auen there is no formal declaration of war, but when a man wears a cap of aardwolf (*Proteles cristatus*) skin, then he is on the warpath. Several friendly villages came together and decided to attack another village. The war caps were put on, and after sunset the men marched in the direction of the enemy village. In the neighbourhood of the latter a halt was made and without lighting a fire, although it was the cold time of the year, they waited until the morning. After sunrise, when it was somewhat warmer, the village was surrounded and attacked from all sides, the spear being chiefly used. There was loud shouting and calling, but no special war cry; and in general everybody fought as he pleased.

628 727 [184] [721] If possible, all men are killed, and also boys, for fear of the blood feud. Women are never killed intentionally, but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women and girls are made captive and taken in marriage. All objects that can be used are also taken away, but the huts are not regarded as worth the burning. Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, the victors will under no circumstances deprive the vanquished of their territory or even occupy it, lest harm and disaster overtake them; on the other hand among the Kung, as already mentioned, disputes over the possession of land are among the prime causes of war. What happens to the land of the defeated group in other tribes is not stated. The

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, op. cit., 85.

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire.

[40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by
[439] the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be-
[422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should
[304] be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out
177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked
415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are
278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen.
805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions;
211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary.
[614] To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so
[888] great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements
[623] BETWEEN THE CHIEF AND THE OTHER OLD MEN.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 25]

The same informant gave more information about 'making cloud'. He said:[1] 821
'And, our gall, when we die, sits in the sky; it sits green in the sky, when we are 826
dead.' His mother told him, Dia/kwain continued, 'that it (thus) happens to us if we [775]
sit in the shade when the place is not particularly warm, when it is (only) moderately warm, (and) we feel that the summer seems as if it would be hot. We think: "Allow me to sit for a little in the shade under the bush; for the sun's eye is not a little hot; I will sit a little while in the shade"; (then) we make clouds; our liver goes out from the place where we are sitting in the shade, if the place is not hot. Therefore, we make clouds on account of it. For, when it is really summer, then we (may) sit in the shade.'

We do not know what connexion there may be between the concept of *n/ow* held at present by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae and the /Gikwe myth of Pisiboro's hair making the rain clouds, or the hair of the dead resembling clouds and becoming the dead person's clouds, as Dia/kwain told Dr. Bleek, or a person's gall 'sitting green in the sky', or a person making clouds because his liver goes out from the place where he is sitting in the shade if the place is not hot. We hope someone else may be able to throw more light on this. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae make so little point of teaching [869] old stories or lore to their children that much must be lost.

What the /Kung believe now, Demi told us, is that there is nothing about hair itself which affects the weather. It is the *n/ow* of the person which the hair 'gives'. As we understand it, some of the *n/ow* which is in a person is in the hair. When hair is burned in the fire, the *n/ow* is released into the air in the smell.[2] It goes into the sky and, Demi said, the rain 'fears' it. (*Koa*, the word 'to fear', means to respect, to avoid, as when something is taboo, and to be afraid of.) When a person's urine is burned, it also carries the *n/ow* of the person into the sky.

/Kung informants told us that it would be possible to use the *n/ow* of persons to 789
control the weather, should there be need. If the big rains were unusually late and the 791
people were suffering from the dryness, or if the rain storms were so frequent and 821
heavy that the people had much trouble hunting and gathering veldkos, or if a storm were especially frightening, they might try to start or stop the rain. A person known with certainty to have a rain-bringing *n/ow*, because the weather at his birth had given evidence of it, could be asked either to urinate in the fire or to burn some of his hair. The smell of his urine or hair would go up into the sky and influence the rain to come. A person with a cold-bringing *n/ow* could be asked to do the same to stop the rain, if this were wanted.

We have no observations on who would instigate the burning of urine or hair to 821
control the weather. We did not see it done. No one in a /Kung community is a 791
specialist in rain-making, nor has anyone special authority in making a decision about [23]
the control of weather. The medicine men (*shamen*) have as their function the curing of the people, not the control of weather. It would be in keeping with the practice of the /Kung of this region, as we observed it in other connexions, for the group to 623
come to a consensus by talking the matter over informally as they sat by their fires, 821
and then for the parents or someone else to bid a child urinate in the fire. It seems to 789
us unlikely that an individual would make the decision entirely alone, without speaking

[1] Ibid., p. 399.
[2] Cf. a myth about the Rain Bull, which refers to the smell of burning horns, p. 239.

623 about it to others, unless it were a hunter caught in a storm alone in the veld; but
821 an individual, even without necessarily expressing a consensus, we think might say
789 to another, 'Why don't you burn some of your hair?', which would probably be enough to instigate the act. And, in all likelihood, it would be done with so little formality that the observer would not know anything was happening unless he knew what to watch for and were alerted.

[171 There was no ceremony regularly performed by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae to ensure
821] plentiful rain, like the Hottentots' *guri≠ab*. The Rain dance of the /Kung, which is
789 danced often, all through the year, is a medicine dance, among several others, such
535 as the Giraffe, Sun, Gemsbok, Honey, and Mamba dances. All these are 'strong'
796 things, the /Kung believe. The dances so named have 'strong' medicine music. They
755 are danced during the medicine men's ceremony to cure the sick and protect the people and drive away any of the *//gauasi*, the spirits of the dead, who might be lurking to bring some evil upon the people. The Rain dance has this as its purpose, not the control of weather.

One night when the Rain dance was being beautifully danced with a fine precision and vigour of clapping, singing, and stamping, which to us suggested fervour, we were watching it so intently that we had not noticed the sky. The first storm of the season had crept up behind us and suddenly burst over us like a bomb. We asked
[821] Gao if he believed the dance had brought the rain. He said that the rain was due to come. The dance had not brought it.

821 A *n/ow* animal, as well as a human, has either a good or a bad *n/ow*, but it seems
825 not to be known clearly how it gets the one or the other. Good or bad *n/ow* is not correlated with one sex or one species. One giraffe, for example, either male or female, may have the rain-bringing, another the cold-bringing kind.

It seems that long or short horns may have something to do with good or bad *n/ow*, not the long-hornedness of gemsbok as compared with the short-hornedness of giraffes, but, within the species, the comparative length of horn. But one kind of *n/ow* is not inherent in short-hornedness nor is the other kind in long-hornedness. It is not so simple as that. And informants did not know what association, if any, the short or long horns may have with ≠Toma's vague idea that the short or long legs of a child in the womb might have something to do with the child's *n/ow*.

When a hunter kills a *n/ow* animal, he either *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) it. Like the mother who *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) her child at birth, the hunter has no voluntary control over this and cannot tell which he has done unless the effect is observed in the weather. A hunter with good or bad *n/ow* may *≠gani* or *//ghui* an animal which has either good or bad *n/ow* and long or short horns. The precise nature of the interaction remains obscure, but hunters took an interest in telling about the kind of *n/ow* they thought they had, and gave instances of observing the effects of their killing various types of animals. If a man should kill a female kudu with short horns and the water should freeze that night, it would be evident that he had *//ghui*(ed) the animal. He would expect to continue to *//ghui* short-horned female kudus. However, although a man's *n/ow* remains constant throughout his life, the way it interacts with other factors may change, and after a time he may find he has begun to *≠gani* short-horned female kudus. We think the /Kung became a little tired of our finding this complicated.

One day in September the sun blazed in the clear sky. The heat beat down upon us.

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621 101 *!gom* or omungete nut; and the *xom-khoin* the people who *xom* or scrape together, the name indicating their method of collecting salt on the Etosha Pan, along whose southern border they live.[1] How the bands are named in the other tribes is not clearly stated. In the [114] literature they are spoken of as a rule in terms of the locality they inhabit, but no indication is given whether this is also the name by which they call themselves and are known to their neighbours.

These hunting bands are grouped into what are here called "tribes". 619 101 A tribe consists of a number of neighbouring bands, the members of which all speak what they themselves regard as one language. Each tribe has its own distinctive name. In the Southern and Central linguistic groups this usually ends in the word */ke* or *kwe* respectively, i.e. "people"; but in most cases the meaning of the name itself has not been recorded or can no longer be determined. The few tribal names which can be interpreted seem to refer to some general characteristic of the people themselves or of the country which they inhabit. The *//ŋ !ke*, for example, are the "home people"; the */tannekwe* the "river people"; the *Hiechwara* the "people of the open country", and the */o !kū* the "forest people", while the */kū* (*Kung*) are simply "people", or, as they would interpret the name "Bushmen". The *Hei-//om*, again, derive their name from the [177] Hottentot words *heis*, tree or bush, and *//om*, to sleep, and are therefore the "tree-sleeping people", i.e. those who sleep under trees; while the term *Naron*, by which the *//aikwe* now sometimes speak of themselves, appears to have been applied to them originally by the Auen and to mean "people who are insignificant".

619 The tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group. It has no social [197] solidarity, and is of very little, if any, importance in regulating social life. There appears to be no tribal organization among the Bushmen, nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all the members of the tribe, nor is collective action ever taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. The tribe in fact is merely a loose aggregate of independent hunting bands which have a common language and name.

621 The band, and not the tribe, is the real political body among the Bushmen. Each band is autonomous, leading its own life independently of the others. Its affairs are as a rule regulated by the [623] skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men in general. In [622] the North-Western tribes, however, each band has also a chief, whose

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 50.

thing for him. She was his daughter, so she was glad to do it, [888] but my sister and I thought he was just an old man who sat 159 and coughed and spit. He didn't like the Europeans or the 563 black people either, and my father didn't either, and that is why we lived on the other side of the police zone. On one side were the police boys with camels—that was in the old days with the camel patrol [2]—and on the other side the lions and the Bushmen asked for your pass.

"One day my father went hunting and he was gone two [224] days. Then my sister said: 'He must have shot a giraffe.' A giraffe is royal game, you know, and you can go to jail if you kill one, only my father didn't know it then.

"Yes, and that day two police boys came on camels and a 159 white man on a camel. The police boys had a rifle and the 563 white policeman had a rifle and a little gun in his hand. They 625 had a Nurigaas Bushman walking with them, but he didn't come near us because he was ashamed. One police boy spoke the language of the Bushmen, and he said: 'Where is the old man who lives here?' and my mother pointed to my grandfather and she said: 'This is the one,' but the police boy said: 'Not that one, I want your husband. Where is he?' 'I don't know,' said my mother, but the police boy said: 'How can an old woman like you lie to me?' and my mother just covered up her face and said nothing. Then the police boy and the Nurigaas Bushman found my father's spoor off in the veld, and they all followed him with the police boy and the Nurigaas Bushman walking and the white man and the other police boy on the camels. Next morning they came back with my father, they had his hands tied behind and a rope around his neck and he was running behind the camel. His face was

[2] Until quite recently, the police who had occasion to go into the desert rode on camels because camels could endure desert conditions far better than horses, and could go through soft sand where trucks could not.

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159 all thick, you know, and he had to hold his head back because
563 the rope was choking. My mother, she ran after the police
625 boys and called them to stop. She said: 'I will speak with the old man before he dies.' But the police boys had no time and they went off with the camels' heads going up and down and the old man running, running, running, behind.

"And my mother fell down in the dust and cried, and my sister did too, but I didn't, I watched my father instead because I didn't know when I would ever see him again. I told them so and I was right, because later a Bushman who came up from the south told us that they rode the camels through a river and my father was drowned. It was the rope around his neck that choked him, though. That is what happened, and I remember it all, but it happened a long time ago.

159 "After that, my mother wouldn't stay in the veld without a
563 man and she took us near the waterhole of Nurigaas because the veld was no place for us when my father was dead. But I
[571] would like to find that Nurigaas Bushman who followed my father's tracks.

"Then one day a European farmer came in his ox wagon and he said to my mother: 'Who will give me a boy for this pound of tobacco?' And my mother was afraid, so she took the tobacco and said to me: 'He wants you to go with him.' I cried, but the white man took me and put me in his ox wagon and gave my mother another cup of tobacco, but she told him she didn't want it and wanted me to come back. But the white man drove away and my mother ran along beside, crying. She said: 'Wait! Where will I get another boy when he is killed like my husband?' But the farmer didn't hear her. I got sick riding in the wagon and my bowels opened and I was ashamed because the farmer's Bushmen were riding in the wagon too, and they said: 'Why are you crying? Don't be afraid.' But I was afraid because my grandfather told me

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considerable difficulty with the interpretation, but I believe they finally understood 513
what I was trying to say. They did, they said, and added that one sleeps very well 833
afterwards.

Co-wives attain varying degrees of harmony. The expression of jealousy, especially 595
loud wrangling, upsets everybody, as all expression of discord does. Women are 578
trained by group approval to mould their conduct to acceptance. But often painful 626
jealousy does beset them, and the tensions are there, though to some extent hidden.

/Aha, wife of a young /Ti/kay in Band 13 at Gam, and still a young woman herself, 159
had with her fierce jealousy driven /Khoa, the pretty young second wife, wailing 595
into the night, back to her family's scherm. /Ti/kay used to sit for hours upon hours
singing soft, sad, sweet laments for /Khoa, but she did not return to live with
him.

The behaviour of /Naoka and Di/ai, the wives of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1, was more typical. Both women were approaching middle age, Di/ai somewhat younger than /Naoka. /Naoka had two married daughters and a teen-age son when Gao married Di/ai. The two women obviously disliked each other, but managed to preserve a decent semblance of harmony by self-control, silence, avoiding each other as much as possible in the small space they live in by their fire, and by separating often—going with different groups of relatives and friends to gather wild plant foods, to fetch water, or to visit.

A few men said that the jealousy of co-wives could be so unbearable that they 595
would not marry a second wife, but one said it made him feel good to have two
women fighting over him. Most of the men said they wanted more than one wife.
They pitied Laurence Marshall because the laws of his land forbade his having [186]
several, which they considered him rich enough to afford. One said he would not
live where there were such nonsensical rules.

The first wife is considered to have a somewhat more highly esteemed and dominant position. She is supposed to have the right to tell a second wife what to do, and a young second wife should fetch water and wood for the older wife, but I never saw this done.

No property or other material advantage is given a first wife and no important social advantages accrue. For instance, headmanship is inherited by the headman's eldest son by whichever wife he may be borne, and being the mother of a headman [622] does not place a woman above other mothers of sons.

It appeared to me that first wives were often at a disadvantage. Among the people we knew, the husbands favoured their younger, second wives with two exceptions: /Ti/kay of Band 9 favoured his first wife, the elder sister, and Gao, the headman of Band 2, favoured his first wife. Both were good-tempered, intelligent, able women. They appeared to take care of the young girls who were their co-wives, rather than to be served in any way by them. Other older first wives seemed sometimes to be dejected. One told me her husband always took the young second wife with him and, to her deep humiliation, sometimes left her, the first wife, to stay for a time with one or another family in the band, although she said to him, 'Why do you shame me so?'

None of the /Kung women informants expressed enthusiasm for polygyny. Each 185
wanted a husband to herself. They did not expound the social advantage which 595

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562 into its heart. Back in the werf, while the meat was being cut up and distributed by
[462] /Qui's wife's brothers, he slept exhausted on the mound of black and white plumes
[224] and the women, some of the plumes in their hair, danced a dance of praise around him. This is the role of /Kung men and the way it should be.

By comparison with the men, the women are considerably more circumscribed in
157 knowledge, less ready for new experience, more suspicious and apprehensive of
562 strangers. They draw back and seem on the whole somewhat timid. The men protect them in many ways. They would not let the women ride with us in the truck, for instance, unless some of the men were with them.

The women expect the dependent role. They have their say in conversation but do not take part in the serious conclaves of the men, saying often, ' The men know these things. We do not know. The men must decide. ' And one woman said, 'A man can do everything—shoot and make fire. ' /Kung women are encouraged to be compliant by the fact that, in their love of peace, the /Kung like quiet, modest, gentle women. Overbearing, strident, demanding, or nagging women would disturb not only their own husbands but the whole werf. Disapproval of anyone's behaviour
[626] is expressed by the group in talk, and also by songs, such as the song of *The Two Baus*, which was composed about two loudly quarrelsome co-wives. When the two Baus heard this song strummed on the *//guashi* or hummed here and there in the shadows of the werf at night, they mended their ways.

Though the /Kung like gentleness and compliance in women, their society does
562 not impose extreme forms of obedience or subservience upon them and women are not ill treated. One man told Laurence Marshall that if he wanted to go somewhere and his wife wanted to go somewhere else he might have to talk, talk, talk, talk, talk, talk to persuade her.

We once saw a woman strike her husband on the head with her digging-stick in
562 a fit of frustration because he had coerced her to go with him when she wanted to
593 remain visiting her parents. He had coerced her swiftly and decisively by snatching her baby from her arms and walking ahead with it. In a flash the wife ran a few steps and hit him, then she went around in a circle, stamping her feet in great, high stamps like an enraged samurai in a Japanese print, then she followed her husband. I personally never saw a /Kung man hit a woman. This is not to say no /Kung ever did, but it is far from common.

The dominance of the /Kung men is more protective and life-giving than crushing to the women. On the whole a good balance seems to be attained and there is a notable freedom from quarrelling between husbands and wives. The instances of strife that we have mentioned are exceptional breaks in the usual peace of their well-adjusted human relations.

[60 cont.]

769 territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced
614 by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place (1).

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 434.

775 As has already been said, the Bushman does not believe
[626] in punishment after death. On the other hand, he is convinced that the evil that he himself has done will befall him or his dogs in the same way.

681 In former times banishment from the kin group was likewise
648 customary, and the exile would soon perish, since the Bushman
177 cannot survive by himself in the wilderness for any length of time. Nowadays, such individuals, just like those who were expelled from the Bantu tribes, move to land owned by Europeans and find work there. It is obvious that they do not help to improve the reputation of the Coloreds.

695 In cases of doubt, the Bushman swears by the great captain: nu X'u.

681 Instead of formal expulsion, the people may boycott out-
762 laws, who are thereby driven to such despair that they commonly commit suicide. Suicides also occur for other reasons.

21. Conflicts with Europeans

648 Before the police zone boundary was erected, the Bushmen found themselves in a latent state of war with their neighbors. Part of their list of sins will be cited here.

According to Toke, the !Kung near Keibeb in 1925 attacked eight Barotse [Lozi] and killed them, and purportedly ate them. Later, three Ovambo were attacked by surprise, killed,

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now but motionless; in the evening they began to get up, one 152
by one, to go to the veld for food and firewood. Dikai had relented entirely. Before she went off to her evening's work she put her arm around me and told me that she and I were cemented together by our names. But Tu, who suffered from 152
jealousy more than Dikai, was angry still and chose that mo- 578
ment to make a scene, to force someone to do something for her as well as for Short Kwi. She arose from the vigilant, crouching people and, followed at a distance by her baby daughter, went up to our cook, Philip, and demanded that he give her firewood. He refused because there were three dead trees right outside of camp that Tu could easily have got, in plain sight, not twenty feet away, but she did not look at these. Instead, she began to scream at Philip in a most bitter harangue, and though she became aware at last that everyone had fallen silent and was listening to her she couldn't stop her tongue but went on and on until her entire audience was embarrassed and didn't know where to look. Worse, Philip lost his patience and told her to go away. She bit her lip, glaring, and suddenly there was perfect silence; her words had left her and she just had to stand there, too proud to leave, alone in the center of the crowd of crouching people watching, and she looked very silly and forlorn, robbed of her dignity by her tongue and with her hair ornaments askew on the [626] ●
back of her head. No one would speak to her; this time she had gone too far.

It was Norna, her daughter, who provided her with the chance to escape. Norna, frightened and bewildered and embarrassed too, had crept up beside Tu and had taken the string of her kaross. Tu must have felt a tug, for she looked down suddenly and, seeing this, turned on Norna, slapping the string out of Norna's hand. There was another agonizing pause and silence while Norna slowly took the string again,

621
602 if violated, would subject the violator to criticism by the band.

●626 SHORT of fighting, all the !Kung can do to control the actions of individuals is to criticize. But this is apparently enough. A man, expelled from his band, *might* be able to survive alone in the desert—with luck, he might even manage for years. If he could persuade his family to come with him, they might survive together even more easily, for the family is the basic subsistence unit. But freshly gone, he would be an outlaw and, in time, become a stranger to his people. This would be an unthinkable

626 horror to a !Kung! The worst dream might be to see the fires flickering in the *werft* at midnight and be unable to go to them. All the people we knew could tell us of only one time when such a departure from the group occurred: and the man had gone insane, had murdered and then run raving into the veld. There he had lived for a little while in a hole, then died.

[158]

It is in connection with the need to live widely spread over the land that the !Kung headman's functions are peculiar. There is one essential qualification to headmanship, in addition to heredity. A headman cannot leave his waterhole to join another

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SHARING, TALKING, AND GIVING: RELIEF OF SOCIAL TENSIONS AMONG /KUNG BUSHMEN

LORNA MARSHALL

THIS paper describes customs, practised by the /Kung Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region of South Africa, which help them to avoid situations that are likely to arouse ill will and hostility among individuals within the bands and between bands. Two customs which seem to be especially helpful and which I describe in detail are meat-sharing and gift-giving. I mention also the /Kung habits of talking, aspects of their good manners, their borrowing and lending, and their not stealing.[1] 121

The common human needs for co-operation and companionship are particularly apparent among the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Independent living, outside the band structure,[2] does not exist for individuals. Nuclear families do not live alone. The arduous hunting-gathering life would be impossible without the co-operation and companionship of a larger group. Moreover, in this society the ownership of the resources of food and water is organized through the headmen of bands, and individuals have rights to these resources by being members of a band connected to the headman by some near or remote kin or affinal bond. The /Kung are also extremely dependent emotionally on the sense of belonging and on companionship. Their need to avoid loneliness, I think, is actually visible in the way families cluster together in their werfs and in the way people sit, often touching someone else, shoulder against shoulder, ankle across ankle. Comfort and security for them lie in belonging to their group, free from hostility or rejection. 601 [423] [622] [602] 571

Their security and comfort must be achieved side by side with self-interest and much jealous watchfulness. Altruism, kindness, sympathy, or genuine generosity were not qualities which I observed often in their behaviour. However, these qualities were not entirely lacking, especially between parents and offspring, between siblings and between spouses. One mother carried her sick adult daughter on her back for three days in searing summer heat for us to give her medicine. /Naoka carried her lame son, Lame ≠Gao, for years. Gau clucked and fussed over his second wife, Khuan//a, when she was sick. When /U had a baby, her sister, Di/ai, gathered veldkos for her for five days. On the other hand, people do not generally help each other. They laugh when the lame man, Kham, falls down and do not help him up. /U's jealous eyes were like those of a viper when we gave more attention to her husband, ≠Toma, than to her because he was much more ill. And, in the extreme, there is the report from the 1958 expedition of an instance of callous indifference in one band and the probable abandonment of a dying old childless woman, an old aunt, when her sister, with whom she lived, had died. 578 593

Occasions when tempers have got out of control are remembered with awe. The 578 606

[1] This description of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region is based on observations made during our several expeditions between 1951 and 1959. Changes in the conditions under which the /Kung live are to be expected, and how these changes will affect the practice of the customs here described we do not know.

[2] Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Band Organization', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960. [114]

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deadly poisoned arrows are always at hand. Men have killed each other with them in quarrels—though rarely—and the /Kung fear fighting with a conscious and active fear. They speak about it often. Any expression of discord ('bad words') makes them uneasy. Their desire to avoid both hostility and rejection leads them to conform in high degree to the unspoken social law. If they do deviate they usually yield readily to expressed group opinion and reform their ways. I think that most /Kung cannot bear the sense of rejection which even mild disapproval makes them feel. They also conform strictly to certain specific useful customs which are like instruments for avoiding discord.

Talking and 'Talks'

I mention talking as an aid to peaceful social relations because it is so very much a part of the daily experience of the /Kung and, I believe, usefully serves three particular functions. It keeps up good open communication among the members of the band; through its constantly flowing expression it is a salutary outlet for emotions; and it serves as the principal sanction in social discipline. Songs are also used for social discipline. The /Kung say that a song composed specifically about someone's behaviour and sung to express disapproval, perhaps from the deepest shadow of the werf at night, is a very effective means of bringing people who deviate back into the pattern of approved behaviour. Nevertheless, during our observations, songs were not used as much as talking. If people disapprove of an individual's behaviour, they may criticize him or her directly, usually putting a question, 'Why do you do that?' or they may gossip a bit or make oblique hints. In the more intense instances 'a talk' may ensue.

The /Kung are the most loquacious people I know. Conversation in a /Kung werf is a constant sound like the sound of a brook, and as low and lapping, except for shrieks of laughter. People cluster together in little groups during the day, talking, perhaps making artifacts at the same time. At night families talk late by their fires, or visit at other family fires with their children between their knees or in their arms if the wind is cold.

There always seems to be plenty to talk about. People tell about events with much detail and repetition and discuss the comings and goings of their relatives and friends and make plans. Their greatest preoccupation and the subject they talk about most often, I think, is food. The men's imaginations turn to hunting. They converse musingly, as though enjoying a sort of day-dream together, about past hunts, telling over and over where game was found and who killed it. They wonder where the game is at present and say what fat bucks they hope to kill. They also plan their next hunts with practicality. Women (who, incidentally, do not talk as much as men) gave me the impression of talking more about who gave or did not give them food and their anxieties about not having food. They spoke to me about women who were remembered for being especially quick and able gatherers, but did not have pleasurable satisfaction in remembering their hot, monotonous, arduous days of digging and picking and trudging home with their heavy loads.

Another frequent subject of conversation is gift-giving. Men and women speak of the persons to whom they have given or propose to give gifts. They express satisfaction or dissatisfaction with what they have received. If someone has delayed

who agreed and supported each other. From where they sat, but not all at once and not in an excited babble, they made their remarks clearly, with quite long pauses between. Some expressed themselves in agreement with /U as she recounted Khuan//a's faults and deviations, past and present. Khuan//a's family and friends, who had moved to sit near her, denied the accusations from time to time, but did not talk as much or as loudly as /U. Khuan//a muttered or was silent. /U said she disapproved of her sister's daughter marrying the son of such a woman, but would reconsider her position if Khuan//a gave the expected gift to Gao Medicine. The talk lasted about twenty minutes. At that point Khuan//a got up and walked away and the ' talk ' subsided to /U's mutterings and others' low conversation. In a few days Khuan//a gave Gao Medicine a present, not the gift in question, but one which satisfied Gao, and, as they said, ' they all started again in peace '.

There is a third form of verbal expression which might be called a ' shout ' rather than a ' talk ', but as far as I know the /Kung have no special name for it. It is a verbal explosion. Fate receives the heat of the remarks in a ' shout '.

We were present on two such occasions, one in 1952, the other in 1953. Both were in response to the burning of scherms. In both instances little children, whose mothers had taken their eyes off them though they were only a few feet away, had picked up burning sticks from the fire, had dropped them on the soft, dry bedding grass in the scherms and, at the first burst of flame, had sensibly run outside unscathed. On the first occasion, the two children, who were about three years old, were frightened and were soothed and comforted by their mothers and other relatives. They were not scolded. On the second occasion, Khuan//a, the two-year-old granddaughter of Old ≠Toma and /Gam, had set fire to her grandparents' scherm. She was not apparently frightened at all and was found placidly chewing her grandfather's well-toasted sandal. She was not scolded either. What was especially interesting was the behaviour of the Bushmen. On both occasions they rushed to the burning scherms, shouting all at once, in extremely loud, excited voices, volcanic eruptions of words. The men made most of the noise, but the women were also talking excitedly. No one tried to do anything, nor could they, for the scherms burned like the fiery furnace. I asked the interpreters to stand close to one person at a time and try to hear what he said. People were telling where they had been when the fire started, why they had not got there sooner. They shouted that mothers should not take their eyes off their children, that the children might have been burned. They lamented the objects which had been destroyed—all in the greatest din I have ever heard humans produce out of themselves. It went on for about eight or ten minutes in bursts, then tapered off for another ten. While Old ≠Toma's scherm was burning, he and his wife, /Gam, the great maker of beads, sat on one side weeping. After the shouting had subsided, a dozen or more people set about looking for Old ≠Toma's knife blade and arrow points and picking up what beads they could find for /Gam in the cooling ashes. The two instances of ' shouts ' provided examples of the vehemence which vocal expression can have and vividly illustrated the /Kung way of venting emotion in words.

There is still another kind of talk, not conversation, which I consider to be an outlet for tension and anxiety. We happened to hear it only in relation to anxiety about food and do not know if other concerns sometimes find expression in this way.

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It occurs in varying degrees of intensity. It is a repeating of something over and over and over again. For instance, whether it is actually so or not, someone may be reiterating that he has no food or that no one has given him food. The remarks are made in the presence of other individuals, but the other individuals do not respond in the manner of a discussion or conversation. In an extreme instance we saw a woman visitor go into a kind of semi-trance and say over and over for perhaps half an hour or so in ≠Toma's presence that he had not given her as much meat as was her due. It was not said like an accusation. It was said as though he were not there. I had the eerie feeling that I was present in someone else's dream. ≠Toma did not argue or oppose her. He continued doing whatever he was doing and let her go on. 154 541 578 636

All these ways of talking, I believe, aid the /Kung in maintaining their peaceful social relations by keeping everyone in touch with what others are thinking and feeling, releasing tensions, and keeping pressures from building up until they burst out in aggressive acts.

Aspects of Good Manners

In /Kung society good manners require that, when /Kung meet other /Kung who are strangers, all the men should lay down their weapons and approach each other unarmed. ≠Toma, leader of Band 1, approached us unarmed the first time we met. After we were accepted and given Bushman names, we were no longer strangers and we never observed the practice again. 576 [123]

Good manners require that visitors be received courteously and asked to sit by the fire. The woman whose fire it is may welcome the visitor by taking a pinch of the sweet smelling *sa* powder, which she carries in a little tortoise shell hung from her neck, and sprinkling it on the visitor's head in a line from the top of the head to the forehead. 574 [302]

Good manners in eating express restraint. A person does not reveal eagerness or take more than a modest share. When a visitor comes to the fire of a family who are preparing food or eating, he should sit at a little distance, not to seem importunate, and wait to be asked to share. On several occasions we gave small gifts of corned beef to be shared with a group. The person who received the food from us would take only a mouthful. Once an old headman only licked his fingers. The lump of food would be passed from one to another. Each would take a modest bite. The last person often got the most. I found it moving to see so much restraint about taking food among people who are all thin and often hungry, for whom food is a source of constant anxiety. We observed no unmannerly behaviour, no cheating and no encroachment about food. Although informants said that quarrels had occasionally occurred in the past between members of a band over the time to go to gather veldkos, and although we observed expressions of dissatisfaction, no quarrels of any kind arose over food during our observations. 264 [574] [578]

Good manners in general should be inoffensive. Any behaviour which is likely to stir up trouble is regarded with apprehension and disapproval by the /Kung. In view of this, the joking relationship has its interesting side. Men and women who have the joking relationship insult each other in a facetious way and also point out actual faults or remark on actual episodes which embarrass a person. Everyone joins in the 576 522

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uproarious, derisive laughter. All this is joking and one should not take offence. The /Kung say this teaches young persons to keep their tempers.

In contrast to the joking is their care in other aspects of conduct to avoid giving offence. ≠Toma said, for instance, that, if he were forming a hunting party and a man whom he did not want asked to join him, he would be careful to refuse indirectly by making some excuse and try not to offend the man.

Gossip which can stir up trouble is discouraged. People do gossip but usually discreetly, in low voices, with near and trusted relatives and friends. It is best to mind one's own business, they say.

People are expected to control their tempers and do so to a remarkable degree. If they are angry, aggrieved, or frustrated, they tend to mope rather than to become aggressive, expressing their feelings in low mutters to their close relatives and friends. ≠Toma told us that he had lost his temper twice when he was a young man and on one occasion had knocked his father down. On the other he had pushed his wife into hot ashes. It had so frightened him to realize that he could lose control of himself and behave in this violent way that, he said, he had not lost his temper since.

Meat-sharing

The /Kung custom of sharing meat helps to keep stress and hostility over food at a low intensity. The practical value of using up the meat when it is fresh is obvious to all and the /Kung are fully aware of the enormous social value of the custom. The fear of hunger is mitigated; the person one shares with will share in turn when he gets meat and people are sustained by a web of mutual obligation. If there is hunger, it is commonly shared. There are no distinct haves and have-nots. One is not alone.

To have a concept of the potential stress and jealousy which meat-sharing mitigates in /Kung society one has only to imagine one family eating meat and others not when they are settled only five or ten feet apart in a firelit werf and there are no walls for privacy. The veld does not hide secret killing and eating because actions are printed in its sands for all to read. The idea of eating alone and not sharing is shocking to the /Kung. It makes them shriek with an uneasy laughter. Lions could do that, they say, not men.

The custom of meat-sharing applies only to the big game animals. Small animals the size of duikers or smaller, birds, tortoises, lizards, grasshoppers, snakes, and ostrich eggs are picked up incidentally and belong to the person who shoots, snares, finds or catches them. He may keep these for himself and his immediate family and may share them as he chooses, as if they were veldkos. ≠Toma says that, if there is only a little, he and his family eat a meal and give a little to anyone who happens to be near by at the time.

Meat-sharing applies to the big animals which are deliberately hunted by organized hunting parties. In the Nyae Nyae region they are kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest, hartebeest, springbok, warthogs and ostrich. Eland are found less commonly and buffalo rarely. The Nyae Nyae hunters managed to shoot giraffe occasionally. Giraffe are royal game by S.W.A. law, but the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not known this. When they were told, they called them 'Morrisi cows'. (Mr. Robert Morris was the Commissioner of Native Affairs at Runtu.)

The system by which meat is shared begins with the hunters, but the composition

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Good and evil are thus explained by a duality which has its principal source in the omnipotent ≠*Gao/na*'s own self-oriented nature. The scope of this duality is enlarged by the similar duality in the natures of *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*, who sometimes do good deeds to man and sometimes bad, when they are doing the work commanded by their master, and, also, when they instigate actions on their own initiative, as they sometimes do, especially I gather when ≠*Gao/na* is not around, for he is omnipotent but not omniscient or omnipresent. 772 776 [775]

Evil is sometimes accounted for by the gods working at cross purposes among themselves. For instance, *//Gauwa* might lead a man to find honey which ≠*Gao/na* had intended for someone else whom he wished to favour. ≠*Gao/na* would be angry and take revenge upon the man who found the honey. But, on the other hand, the gods may talk things over and agree together and man may benefit. The *//gauwasi* might want to take a person in death. One god would say, ' Go ahead ', but the other says, ' No, let us not take him.' The first then agrees and the person is left. That is how people may be very ill and still be cured. [753]

Punishment

The concept of sin as an offence against the gods is vague among the /Kung. Man's wrong-doing against man is not left to ≠*Gao/na*'s punishment nor is it considered to be his concern. Man corrects or avenges such wrong-doings himself in his social context. ≠*Gao/na* punishes people for his own reasons, which are sometimes quite obscure. It was interesting to see in the examples given how often food was involved. 776 [783] 626

Burning bees, I learned, displeases ≠*Gao/na* intensely. He likes the bees, his wife is the ' mother of the bees ', and he is very fond of honey himself. On one occasion, two men found honey in a tree. They tried to chop it out but the bees stung them so badly that they built a fire to drive them away and many bees were burned. ≠*Gao/na* did not like this. He sent a sickness upon the men and both died. When a person has burned bees, his body becomes hot as though burned by fire and he dies. [753]

≠*Gao/na* might change himself into a gemsbok and be walking in the veld. A hunter might come along and kill that gemsbok, thinking how lucky he was to get it. He would take the meat home and eat it and the next day he would be dead. Others who had no part in the killing would not die. ≠Toma who was telling this went on to say that ≠*Gao/na* might regret having done such a thing—killing a man who was just hunting to feed his children instead of helping him—and, to make amends, he might particularly favour that man's son.

If ≠*Gao/na* really sets out to kill someone in punishment, ≠Toma told us, one method he uses is to convert himself into honey and place himself in a tree like an ordinary honeycomb. Then he directs the person he wants to kill to that tree. The person takes the honey home, eats it, and then dies.

≠Toma added that ≠*Gao/na* might punish a person just a little by giving him a mild sickness, which would be comparable to giving him a thrashing. A good person who had done no wrong at all might also be punished by a mild sickness. ≠*Gao/na*'s motive, ≠Toma explained, might be to ' test ' him or to 'break ' him. (Ledimo and I worked carefully over this translation. We think we have the correct idea.) Why? we asked, but ≠Toma could not say. Not man's due, but whim and pride [753]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

224 meat to the owners of the territory should they happen to encounter them,
[43] but this is a gift, not an obligatory tribute. The vastness and emptiness of
the country allow this freedom in hunting rights and the wandering nature
[182] of the game requires that the hunters, if they are to succeed at all, be free
to look for game wherever they can find it.

222 The !Kung eagerly pick up tortoises, certain kinds of lizards, snakes,
ostrich eggs, and grasshoppers, and they relish termites when these insects
[262] swarm out in nuptial flight. These items provide incidental delicacies and
gathering them is like the gathering of veldkos. The person who gathers
224 them may keep them for himself and his own family. Men gladly shoot small
223 animals and birds if they happen upon them—wart hogs, duikers, other small
antelope, porcupines, badgers, pythons, spring hares, ostriches, paouws,
guinea fowl, red-winged partridges, occasional migrating geese, and other
birds. They may keep them for their own families. They do not, however,
devote their hunting time to the smaller animal creatures if they find fresh
spoor of the larger ones. Hunting the big game animals that feed a whole
band is the work of a man's prime and is incumbent on him.

224 Hunting parties usually consist of from two to four or five men. A man
cannot hunt effectively alone in this country. Several parties hunting in
different directions are more advantageous than one larger party. Any man
may organize a hunting party, with relatives and friends from his own band
or from neighboring bands—men he likes to hunt with. No one is formally
a leader; the men talk and plan together and are likely to fall in with the
suggestions of the one whom they consider the best hunter. Participation in
any given hunting party is voluntary. What !Kung society urges is that the
[461] hunters hunt; it does not restrict the ways and means. The force of public
[626] opinion upon men not to sit in the werf, not to be lazy but to do their share,
is tremendous.

The game the !Kung hunt deliberately and purposefully are the several
big antelopes found in the region: eland, kudu, gemsbok, wildebeest,
hartebeest, springbok. They also hunt the more rarely seen buffalo and oc-
casionally manage to shoot a giraffe. Although there is this considerable
variety of kind, there is not a great abundance of game. The herds are small
and the hunts long and hard.[6] The antelope, because they can go for long
periods without drinking, move and drift about anywhere in the vast monoto-
[409] nous veld and are very difficult to find. Hunters often search for days, cover-
ing scores of miles, before finding spoor fresh enough to follow, and they may
[411] follow it for days before catching up with the animal. Their little arrows kill
by poison rather than by piercing deeply, and, when an animal is shot, if it
is big, it may wander for three or four more days until it dies of the poison.
[136] Smaller animals succumb in a shorter time. The hunters must track the
animal and find it before the lions, leopards, hyenas, jackals, or vultures de-
vour it.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Chapter VI

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIFE

Land Tenure

Each hunting band among the Bushmen, as we have already noted, 423
claims rights of ownership over a certain stretch of land, and 621
vigorously resents trespass upon it by members of other bands. Within the band land is owned in common. The hunting territory belongs to the whole band, and all the members of the band have an equal right to hunt and collect over any part of it and to use the water in it. Often the members of the band are scattered apart, so that the same territory is exploited by the inhabitants of several [361]
different encampments. These encampments, as we have seen, are not made up of any fixed number of families, but fluctuate a good deal [221]
in size. Whatever their momentary disposition, however, their inhabitants always roam within a definitely limited area, and it is always the members of the same band who establish these different encampments within its bounds.

As the Bushmen practise neither agriculture nor pastoralism, there 423
is no question of cultivation or grazing rights. There is said, however, [222]
to exist a certain private ownership of land among the Auen, in the sense that when a man burns a patch of veld in order to promote the growth of veldkos on it, he alone has a claim to its products. Others, even people living at the same encampment, may not gather veldkos on this patch without his permission.[1] Somewhat analogous to this 222
are the private rights recognized by all Bushmen over objects found 422
in the veld. A man who finds an ostrich nest with one or two eggs, for example, sticks an arrow in the ground close by as a sign of ownership, and waits until the tale of eggs is complete before carrying them off. Should another man take the marked eggs, the first finder follows the spoor to the thief's hut, and demands them back. If they are [685]
restored, there is no fighting, but the thief does not escape reproaches [626]
for wrongdoing, especially from the neighbours of the finder; while in case of refusal bloodshed almost inevitably follows. In the same

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 155.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

183 gathered (about 175) had married lineal kin or collaterals, at least through first cousins.
582 However, informants told about two /Kung men in B.P. who had married their
835 cousins: we could not find out which type of cousins. What was interesting was the
605 attitude of the informants. They said the men should not have done this, but there was no talk of madness or danger or expressions of horror such as we had observed when incest was spoken of at other times. No punishments, social or divine, had been meted out, according to the informants. Some said they thought it was not too bad a thing for a man to do, especially if the woman were a FaSiDa, who is not, they said, so much like your sister as a MoSiDa. I believe that the anomaly of the system's allowing joking with cousins, although it prohibits marriage, mitigates, in all probability, the force of the incest taboo and accounts to some extent for the tolerance towards the breakers of this rule.

How much deviation there is in marrying second and third cousins we do not
[124] know. We soon gave up trying to gather data on relatives more remote than first cousins because informants so often did not know the names and we could not rely on the information.

582 One account came to our ears of a man who had violated the incest taboo with his
627 stepdaughter. He was /Gunda Legs, the MoBr of old Gau of Band 1, and he lived
684 with Band 9. He is dead now. What he did was so outside the good and the normal
835 that it could be accounted for only by madness. He had drunk the milk of a young gemsbok doe, the people told us, and this is what had made him mad. Something
159 came from his forehead and went in and out, a sort of swelling. After that he fell
[753] in love with his stepdaughter, ≠Nisa, and married her, and both she and her mother were his wives at the same time. The people 'laughed at him' so much because he had made such a horrifying 'mistake' that he took his stepdaughter and lived apart from his band—the only instance we know of a man and woman living alone. They had a son, ≠Toma, who died young. When /Gunda's madness waned he sometimes came back to his people; he would go again when his madness returned. People said they did not understand why ≠Nisa went with him. They mocked at her, said that she was *dole*, 'bad', and that it was 'nonsense' to fall in love with one's stepfather.
Our informants laughed uneasily when they told about it as they laugh when they
[154] tell of vultures eating their meat or of being chased by fierce bees when they try to take a honeycomb. There came to my mind a penetrating remark made by //Kushay, the wife of /Qui in Band 1, which might, I thought, be applied to ≠Nisa. //Kushay had said, 'When a Bushman girl goes against the customs of her people and people talk about her and say she is bad, she is very unhappy. She would hear the people talking and be ashamed and would come to them angry—angry because she is ashamed', or, I thought, go away because she is ashamed.

183 Deviations occur in the fourth category. Two men we met had married women
553 with the same names as their mothers. A man named /Ti/kay married the daughter of another /Ti/kay, and there were other such instances. /Qui, the husband of the above
582 //Kushay in Band 1, said he proposed to do this himself. The girl's family had flatly
608 refused, but he was going to keep on trying. ≠Toma said he would not do this but
835 he sees some people doing these things. There are not enough women whom a man may properly marry, he said, and he would be in favour of changing the marriage prohibitions among name relatives so that a man need avoid only ugly women.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

dangerous under these conditions. Anger turns upon the adulterer. We were never told 684
about a woman being killed or even very severely punished, but a husband is considered to be quite within his rights by /Kung rules of conduct if he kills a man who sleeps with his wife. However, the adulterer may fight back. With poisoned arrows both men might be killed. Fighting is so dangerous it is feared by the /Kung with a pervading dread.

Nevertheless, although prudence counsels against it and anxiety attends it, adultery does occur. During the years from 1951 to 1958, five instances in our sample came to our knowledge. When it did occur, the most clearly observable behaviour was the [627]
attempt on the part of related persons and other members of the band to help resolve [578]
the situation in order to avoid fighting and discord, for fighting, like fire, may spread and consume much before it is quenched.

A husband and a young widower had quarrelled and almost fought over the 159
attentions of the young widower to the wife. The fight had been averted by the 684
husband running away. He came to Gautscha where we were with Band 1. When I 627
saw him handling his weapons, his face contorted with emotion, visions possessed 578
me of the two men, both angry and afraid, shooting each other in nervous self-defence, writhing, bleeding, and dying in agony, and I was as filled with the fear of fighting as any Bushman. But before sundown that day the affair was resolved in the following fashion. A relative of the young widower undertook to use his influence and went and brought the young widower and the wife to Gautscha. The relative had two motives. He wanted peace, as everybody does, and he wanted no disgrace in his family which the affair would bring, for the young widower and the wife were sexually taboo, albeit in the mildest and most extended way. He was an able man and he succeeded. The pair agreed to his behests. When they arrived at Gautscha the wife went directly to her husband and, to our suprise, in a few minutes they left the werf with their child and came over to our camp, where they settled themselves right in our cleared camp space. Presently the young widower came too, with his three children, and settled himself beside the others. Under our wings they had less fear of each other's flares of temper and tensions relaxed. In a day or so the young widower left. Peace prevailed. The wife was still with her husband in 1958. The young widower was taken by the B.P. authorities, we heard, for killing a man in another quarrel over a woman.

When John Marshall was with Band 1 in 1957–8, ≠Gao Lame, the unmarried young headman, took to sleeping with /Ghia, the second wife of Old ≠Gao, headman of Band 10. Nobody seemed to expect a great deal of /Ghia, who was thought not to have very good sense, and she was not blamed nearly so much as ≠Gao Lame. His family railed at him quite openly. 'People get killed doing that', said /U, his sister (≠Toma's wife). ≠Gao Lame eventually stopped sleeping with /Ghia. John thought the group's expressed opinion really did influence him. Furthermore, ≠Gao decided it would be best to go to Old ≠Gao and say he was sorry. Old ≠Gao said ≠Gao Lame was right to come directly to him and that they should not fight. He gave /Ghia a mild thrashing instead. Then /Ti/kay of Band 9, who was /Ghia's MoBr, roused up the whole affair by claiming that when ≠Gao Lame 'insulted' /Ghia he also insulted him—/Ti/kay. /Ti/kay, the husband of the two charming sisters, an intense and vital man, especially gifted in performing the curing ceremonies

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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159 627 684 578 as a medicine man, although in a cool moment he could speak eloquently and philosophically about the evils of fighting, was an erratic person, self-centred, frightfully jealous, shrewd to see that no one got more than he, quick to take offence. Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, husband of ≠Gao Lame's older sister, Di/ai, shouted out that /Ti/kay was a trouble-maker not to leave well enough alone. /Ti/kay thereupon foully insulted Gao Medicine, who shouted back that /Ti/kay was not fit to be a headman. /Ti/kay, now in a rage, called out that Gao lied to his own arrows. John said that some of the people flattened down on the ground or got behind things at this point. But two of /Ti/kay's half-sisters, who were present, threw themselves on him, pulled him away, and sat down beside him, holding his arms. He quieted down and Gao Medicine also sat down and was quiet. As the tempers cooled, peace took hold once more and, John says, the affair did not flare up again, at least during the remaining weeks he was there.

In some societies it would be incumbent upon kin such as MoBr or SiHu to feign anger and make a show of fighting to satisfy the conventions of honour. We observed no episodes which raised this question other than the above. John was strongly of the opinion that the emotions were genuine and that /Ti/kay's temper, which we had all experienced two or three times before, had released itself once more, but that once more a fight had been averted because people wanted peace and harmony most of all.

Illegitimacy

848 851 There were no illegitimate children in our sample in the years 1952–3 and we discovered no social norms established with respect to illegitimacy. Girls are usually married before they are old enough to have children. But, we asked, what would happen if a girl had a baby before she was married? People said the parents would go to the father of the child and say he must marry their daughter. Did they know anyone who had done this? No.

Suppose that a child were conceived in adultery and it were known with certainty that the father was not the woman's husband, what would happen to that child? we asked. The baby would be kept by its mother, of course. After they had talked things over among themselves, one informant said, and others agreed, that they thought, if the woman's husband fed the child for years while it grew, he would be justified in keeping the child and the biological father should not try to take the child away.

159 848 There is such a child now in Band 9. In 1955 or 1956 white farmers came into the Nyae Nyae region and illegally recruited some /Kung families. These families tried to run away from the farms some time later. They told us that they were followed by two white men and a white woman on horseback with guns, led by a 'tame' Bushman tracker. These people forced the /Kung to return to the farm by threats and pointed guns. In the fracas some of the /Kung got away. Husbands and wives were separated. When the S.W.A. authorities learned on which farm these /Kung families were, they acted promptly to restore them to their bands, and fined the farmer, but two years had passed. One girl had had a child by one of the /Kung men. Once they were all restored to Nyae Nyae, the girl went back to her own husband with her baby boy, and was with him in 1958. The people said the baby's bio-

[41 cont.]

582 girl to marry him. Naturally, these sisters ordinarily do not remember their prerogative until they have failed to get another man whom they desire. Thus the young men are often forced to marry girls who are much older than themselves. If the wife 587 dies, the widower must marry a sister of his wife in case she agrees. [42] If, on the other hand, the man dies, the widow (589) must stay with the parents-in-law for about a year. It is illegal to marry the wife or the children of a deceased brother. The widow must marry a man from another kin group and move to his vil- 611 lage (1). The boys belong to the father's kin group, the girls to THE MOTHER'S KIN GROUP.

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1. "The fate of many a young childless widow is much worse, however. A Bushman communicated the following concerning this matter: 'When a man dies and leaves behind a wife without children, and the brother-in-law refuses to accept his brother's bow and thereby his sister-in-law, she may return to her father's village. But this does not by any means always happen. As a woman who did not bear children she is not highly regarded. Her life has no significance. The men of the village talk about her case and designate one from their midst to destroy the useless life. This man will come to the widow's hut in the evening and will sit down across from her at her fire. He has a bow and arrow with him. The widow knows what is in store for her, but gives no sign. The two talk about trivial matters. After a while the man takes the bow in his hand and shoots an arrow through the heart of the woman sitting across from him. The unfortunate woman dies and is buried as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible. Blood vengeance on the part of the woman's kin group is not to be feared. After all, she did not bear any children.'" (Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 419.)

[59 cont.]

20. Law

671 The norms of natural law among the Bushmen are the
627 same as among us. The family head is at the same time the supreme judge. Since even the nearest kin group is regarded in a sense as a foreign state, however, the boundaries between law, war, and vengeance are exceedingly fluid. The domain of law, therefore, is actually confined to the family. Since the only
[681] punishment that can be effectively inflicted is the death penalty, it is rarely applied among married men, [60] for the judges and executioners must provide for the condemned man's survivors. In olden times the women condemned to death were burned or beaten to death with the kirri, and the men were killed with the poisoned arrow.

423 The right to personal possession of utilitarian objects, honey, and certain types of veldkost is strictly respected. The soil is common property of the kin group, as is any big game
[224] that is killed. If a wounded animal dies in the domain of the neighboring kin group, the hunter must go there and report it.
[578] The dead prey must then be divided. Since, however, there are some unpaired organs, fighting and killing easily arise concern-
[627] ing them. Blood vengeance is practiced, but can be resolved through negotiation.

423 "Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited
614 from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

[361] "There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 1,000 [sic] kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions, come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

769 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's terri-
614 tory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

unexpectedly long in making a return gift the people discuss this. One man was excused by his friends because his wife, they said, had got things into her hands and made him poor, so that he now had nothing suitable to give. Sometimes, on the other hand, people were blamed for being ungenerous (' far-hearted ') or not very capable in managing their lives, and no one defended them for these defects or asked others to have patience with them.

As far as we know, only two general subjects are taboo in conversation. Men and women must not speak openly together of sexual matters except as they make jokes in the joking relationship. The /Kung avoid speaking the names of the gods aloud and do not converse about the gods for fear of attracting their attention and perhaps their displeasure. They told us their myths, but only when we asked them to. It is evidently not the habit of these Bushmen to recount the myths as they sit by their fires. They do not invent stories. They said they had no interest in hearing things that are not true and wonder why anybody has.

While a person speaks the listeners are in vibrant response, repeating the phrases and interposing a contrapuntal ' eh '. ' Yesterday ', ' eh ', ' at Deboragu ', ' eh ', ' I saw old /Gaishay.' ' You saw Old /Gaishay ', ' eh, eh '. ' He said he had seen the great python under the bank.' ' EH! ', ' The PYTHON! ' ' He wants us ', ' eh, eh, eh ', ' to help him catch it '. The ' ehs ' overlap and coincide with the phrase and the people so often all talk at once that one wonders how anyone knows what the speaker has said.

Bursts of laughter accompany the conversations. Sometimes the /Kung laugh mildly with what I would call a sense of humour about people and events, often they shriek and howl as though laughter were an outlet for tension. They laugh at mishaps that happen to other people, like the lions eating up someone else's meat, and shriek over particularly telling and insulting sexual sallies in the joking relationship. Individual singing of lyrical songs, accompanied by the *//gwashi*, or snatches of the medicine music, the playing of rhythmical games, the ceremonial dances themselves occupy the evenings, as well, but mostly the evening hours are spent in talk.

' A talk ', as the /Kung call it, differs from a conversation or an arranged, purposeful discussion. It flares spontaneously, I believe from stress, when something is going on in which people are seriously concerned and in disagreement. I think that no formalities control it. Anyone who has something he wants to say joins in. People take sides and express opinions, accusing, denying, or defending persons involved. I witnessed one ' talk ' only, in 1952, which I mentioned before[1] and should mention again in this context. It occurred over a gift-giving episode at the time of /Nai's betrothal and involved persons in Bands 1 and 2 who were settled near together at the time. Khuan//a, the mother of /Gunda, /Nai's fiancé, had diverted a gift which people thought was making its way to Gao Medicine, the present husband of /Nai's mother. Instead of giving it to him at the time when an exchange of gifts was in order, she gave it to one of her relatives. /Nai's mother's sister, /U, sitting at her own scherm, began ' the talk ' by letting it be known what she thought of Khuan//a, in a voice loud enough to be heard in the two werfs, a startling contrast to the usual low flow of talk. Di/ai, /Nai's mother, sitting with her shoulder pressed against her sister's, joined in. People in the werfs went to sit at each other's scherms, forming little groups

[1] Lorna Marshall, ' Marriage Among /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxix, no. 4, Oct. 1959, pp. 352-3.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

521 who agreed and supported each other. From where they sat, but not all at once and
578 not in an excited babble, they made their remarks clearly, with quite long pauses
629 between. Some expressed themselves in agreement with /U as she recounted Khuan//a's faults and deviations, past and present. Khuan//a's family and friends, who had moved to sit near her, denied the accusations from time to time, but did not talk as much or as loudly as /U. Khuan//a muttered or was silent. /U said she disapproved of her sister's daughter marrying the son of such a woman, but would reconsider her position if Khuan//a gave the expected gift to Gao Medicine. The talk lasted about twenty minutes. At that point Khuan//a got up and walked away and the 'talk' subsided to /U's mutterings and others' low conversation. In a few days Khuan//a gave Gao Medicine a present, not the gift in question, but one which satisfied Gao, and, as they said, 'they all started again in peace'.

152 There is a third form of verbal expression which might be called a 'shout' rather
521 than a 'talk', but as far as I know the /Kung have no special name for it. It is a verbal explosion. Fate receives the heat of the remarks in a 'shout'.

We were present on two such occasions, one in 1952, the other in 1953. Both were in response to the burning of scherms. In both instances little children, whose mothers had taken their eyes off them though they were only a few feet away, had picked up burning sticks from the fire, had dropped them on the soft, dry bedding grass in the scherms and, at the first burst of flame, had sensibly run outside unscathed. On the first occasion, the two children, who were about three years old, were frightened and were soothed and comforted by their mothers and other relatives. They were not scolded. On the second occasion, Khuan//a, the two-year-old granddaughter of Old ≠Toma and /Gam, had set fire to her grandparents' scherm. She was not apparently frightened at all and was found placidly chewing her grandfather's well-toasted sandal. She was not scolded either. What was especially interesting was the behaviour of the Bushmen. On both occasions they rushed to the burning scherms, shouting all at once, in extremely loud, excited voices, volcanic eruptions of words. The men made most of the noise, but the women were also talking excitedly. No one tried to do anything, nor could they, for the scherms burned like the fiery furnace. I asked the interpreters to stand close to one person at a time and try to hear what he said. People were telling where they had been when the fire started, why they had not got there sooner. They shouted that mothers should not take their eyes off their children, that the children might have been burned. They lamented the objects which had been destroyed—all in the greatest din I have ever heard humans produce out of themselves. It went on for about eight or ten minutes in bursts, then tapered off for another ten. While Old ≠Toma's scherm was burning, he and his wife, /Gam, the great maker of beads, sat on one side weeping. After the shouting had subsided, a dozen or more people set about looking for Old ≠Toma's knife blade and arrow points and picking up what beads they could find for /Gam in the cooling ashes. The two instances of 'shouts' provided examples of the vehemence which vocal expression can have and vividly illustrated the /Kung way of venting emotion in words.

154 There is still another kind of talk, not conversation, which I consider to be an
521 outlet for tension and anxiety. We happened to hear it only in relation to anxiety
578 about food and do not know if other concerns sometimes find expression in this way.
626

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

thighs, up the buttocks to the waist, and on the cheeks and forehead. 304
The !Kung say the stripes are made only for beauty* and are in imitation of gemsbok—big, stately gray antelopes with spectacular black markings.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The only social grouping above the family in 621
!Kung society is the autonomous band. A band is a group of families who live together, linked to one another and to the headman by kinship bonds, in a manner that will be illustrated presently. Nuclear families do not live alone among the !Kung. An extended family might do so, if it were a strong unit with enough young hunters and gatherers to sustain it; it would then be a band. Most of the Nyae Nyae bands were composed of several families [162]
and ranged in size from twenty or twenty-five to fifty or sixty members.

Each band belongs to its own territory, or, we can say, owns its territory 621
and the resources within it. Two or more bands may belong to the same 622
territory. The focus of the band's ownership of the territory is the headman, 423
who is called *kxau* (owner). He does not own the resources as private, individual property is owned, to withhold or give as he pleases. Members born to the band have a kind of inalienable right of their own to the resources. The headman personifies those rights and gives them organization and continuity. The continuity is expressed by the attachment of the headmanship to the territory. If a headman leaves the territory to live elsewhere—except temporarily for bride service—he ceases to be headman and the headmanship falls on someone else who remains in the territory.

!Kung society accords to the headman the authority to coordinate the 622
movements of his own people in relation to their consumption of resources, and his chief duty is to plan when and where the band will move. He should protect the resources from encroachment from outsiders.

When the band moves, the headman's position is at the head of the line. He chooses the site for the new werf and has the first choice of a spot for his own fire and scherm. He has no other rewards or prerogatives. He carries his own load and is as thin as the rest.

It is not a headman's duty, as headman, to instigate or organize hunting parties, trading trips, the making of artifacts, or gift giving, nor does he make marriage arrangements. Individuals instigate their own activities. A 622
headman is not in any formalized way a judge of his people, nor must he 627
punish a wrongdoer. He may have great influence, if he is an effective leader, but wrongdoing is judged and controlled by public opinion, usually expressed in talk. Occasionally a person who is wronged seeks to avenge himself by fighting, which is greatly deplored.

If a headman is too young or too old, or lacks personal qualities of 622

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

681 There are, further, various sanctions by which non-fulfilment or the breach of any recognized custom is penalized, and which thus also serve as another and more direct means of securing conformance with the pattern of social life. In this category we may place ritual sanctions, where any departure from a prescribed rule of conduct is followed automatically by evil results, without any direct interference on the part of the community. The breaking of a taboo, for instance, is [784] held to produce serious consequences, such as death or disease or ill-luck in the chase. Thus among the Cape Bushmen, as we have seen, girls who do not observe the restrictions imposed upon them at the time of puberty are believed to change into frogs, while men who are seen by the girls at this time become permanently fixed in whatever position they then occupy, and so on. And again there are the [224] numerous observances and avoidances associated with hunting, which if neglected will result in ill-success, the loss of a wounded animal, etc. All sanctions of this sort—and in the preceding pages we have had occasion to notice a good many of them—may be regarded as legal mechanisms, in the sense that they operate to maintain the observance of accepted usages and customs.

●627 Other breaches of custom, however, involve the direct intervention of the members of the community. In general, when disputes arise [578] between the members of the band—among the Naron they are said [692] to be infrequent—there is no appeal to any supreme authority, for, as we have just noted, there is no such authority, nor are cases of wrongdoing or quarrels referred to the chiefs where these exist. The only remedy is self-help. But in so far as self-help is the recognized mode of reaction, it must also be regarded as a legal institution. Blood vengeance indeed is the principal, if not the only, recognized way of dealing with serious offences committed against a person even by members of the same band.[1]

The principal actions penalized in this way are adultery, theft, and homicide. In the case of adultery, as we have already seen, the injured [684] husband attempts to kill the adulterer, if he possibly can, while the unfaithful wife is beaten and in some cases divorced. Theft also [685] provokes blood vengeance, when the thief refuses to restore the stolen property.[2] Even if he does, he is reproached for his deed, and

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 155; Trenk, op. cit., 169; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35–6.

[2] According to one of the texts published by Bleek and Lloyd (*Bushman Folklore*, 416–25), among the Kung a man who steals in the camp is killed by the others present, who all shoot at him with their arrows. A married woman who steals is also sometimes shot by her own husband. More frequently, however, she is burned alive in a hut; although, if her parents are

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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among the Namib Bushmen the victim may take back not only the stolen property, but also all the thief's possessions. That blood vengeance is actually exercised in case of theft appears from the following incident recorded by Miss Bleek. An Auen man had a good deal of tobacco, most of which he hid in a tree. Returning later he found the tobacco gone, and human footprints round the tree. He followed the spoor to one of a cluster of huts, where he saw a Bushman sitting at the fire cutting the stolen tobacco. Although he had only a spear with him, he darted up and stabbed the thief to death. The man's wife, intervening, was also stabbed. Then the assailant tried to escape, but was shot in the side by a poisoned arrow from the group round the next fire. He succeeded in reaching his home, but died of the poison a few days later. Similarly, in the waterless regions of the Namib Desert, men on the hunt often store up supplies of water in ostrich egg-shells and also of meat. Another person coming upon this supply may take from it, but must follow the spoor of the owner, tell him about it, and recompense him. If this is not done the owner, when he discovers the loss, will follow the spoor of the thief until he finds him and will then kill him if he can.

Here, according to Trenk, homicide in case of theft and adultery is apparently not regarded as murder, but as punishment, and the relatives of the deceased may not take blood vengeance. But, as shown in the instance quoted from Miss Bleek, among other Bushmen homicide, whether deliberate or accidental, leads inevitably to blood vengeance, the relatives of the dead man combining to kill the murderer. This appears also from another instance recorded by Knudsen.[1] A Bushman, not far from Bethanie in South-West Africa, shot another in the leg with an arrow during a honey beer drinking-bout. The wounded man revenged himself on the spot by shooting his assailant in the heart and killing him. The dead man's brother pursued the killer, who fled, but could not overtake him, and so returned to the camp, where he met the man's wife carrying a child. He tore it from her, threw it up in the air and caught it on the point of his spear. The mother saved herself by fleeing, but two other women

still living, she may be handed over to them and they all have to leave the camp. Should the father be dead and the mother alive, the thief is still taken and given back to the latter, after the stolen property has been recovered. But, if she is an old offender, the mother is said to give her, through a son, to another person, to be burned to death. These facts, obtained from a single young informant, need, however, to be confirmed. The deliberate burning to death of people, for whatever reason, is not reported of any of the other Bushmen.

[1] Quoted in Moritz, "Die älteren Reiseberichte über Deutsch-Südwestafrika," *Mitt. deutz. Schutzgeb.*, xxix (1916), 154.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

627 related to the homicide were killed by the brother. What happened
682 afterwards we are not told, but judging from what is known of blood revenge among the Bushmen it is hardly likely that the matter was allowed to rest there.

Among the Auen, for example, a son is obliged to exact blood
628 vengeance on the slayer of his father, a brother for his brother. If
682 the slayer himself is dead or out of reach, the feud extends to his nearest male relative. A son whose father has been killed is obliged to undertake vengeance as soon as he is grown up. His mother impresses this obligation upon him during his childhood, and as soon as he has caught his first head of big game the obligation must be carried out. He applies to his nearest relatives for help, which is given without question. In the same way whoever has to fear blood vengeance is supported by his relatives and the members of his band. Not only
[562] men but women also may become the objects of the blood feud, although as a rule the latter are taken and held as wives by their captors. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen the slayer is killed by the relatives of the dead man. All the male members of the latter's family combine to revenge his death; an arrow is shot at the slayer, and if this does not immediately kill him he is beaten to death with the kirri. Murderesses are also killed in this manner; but otherwise
[562] women, even for such serious offences as theft and adultery, are only punished by thrashing, although this may sometimes be very severely administered.

We are not told whether the killing of the slayer or his substitute leads to the cessation of the feud, but from an instance quoted by Kaufmann it apparently does not. An old Auen man from Olifantskloof was visiting a brother-in-law at Sidonitsaub. The host put out a snare, in which he caught a giant bustard. This was found by the guest, who took it out of the snare and began to consume it. While he was doing so, the host came up and observing the theft pierced him through the body with a spear. The slayer then fled, but was pursued by the relatives of the dead man and killed. Since then a blood feud has existed between these two bands, connected though they were by marriage.

The only exception to this general rule of self-help is recorded by
[184] Seydel of the Namib Bushmen.[1] He states, it is true, that in case of
622 minor offences self-help is frequently resorted to, but adds that all
692 serious offences are formally adjudicated. The court consists of one

[1] Seydel, op. cit., 505–6.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

588 One of the most rigid social rules the /Kung have, besides the incest taboo within the nuclear family and its extension, is the giving of bride-service. We heard of no [591] deviation from it. A boy or man of any age, a headman or headman's son, an important medicine man, all go to live with their brides' parents or other relatives in first marriages and subsequent marriages, whatever the age of the bride.

The duration of bride-service is indefinite. Informants told us a man must stay with his wife's people until three children have been born. If he goes when the girl is eight or nine, she may not have her first child for possibly seven or eight or more years. It is safe to say that ten years of bride-service are not unusual. It is long enough for the boy's youth to have turned to manhood and for him to be looked upon as an [591] able, responsible head of his family. After his bride-service is fulfilled a man may remain with his wife's band or may return with his wife and children to his own.

The Wedding of !Nai and /Gunda

159 /Nai was a pretty little girl, we think about eight years old, or so, with a quick [582] responsive smile, when she was married on 22 May 1953, at Gautscha. The bridegroom, /Gunda, was about sixteen, we judged, and the people said he was the best young hunter among the boys of the territory.

/Nai belonged to Band 1, /Gunda to Band 2. Both of these bands belong to the [621] water-hole at Gautscha and were encamped there at the time, about 100 feet apart. We lived with Band 1.

/Nai's mother, Di/ai, had divorced her former husband, Gumtsa, the father of /Nai, and was now the second wife of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1. /Gunda's mother, Khuan//a, had divorced /Gunda's father, Bo. Khuan//a was now the second wife of Gau in Band 2. Both Gumtsa and Bo were living far from Gautscha.

159 The two mothers had betrothed their children some time previously. We heard 584 that Di/ai had had her eye on the strong young /Gunda, saying, 'We must get this [581] boy for /Nai so he will take care of her and we can get enough to eat, also karosses', and had gone to Khuan//a to propose the betrothal. Khuan//a had said, 'Yes, this is very good.' The mothers exchanged gifts. Khuan//a gave to Di/ai a necklace of five strings of ostrich egg shell beads which reached to the umbilicus (shorter strings would have been inappropriate) and Di/ai gave other beads and copper wire ornaments to Khuan//a.

Gumtsa, /Nai's father, heard about the betrothal. He had hoped to arrange a marriage between /Nai and someone of his choice at Kubi where he lived. One day in November 1952 he came to Gautscha to complain, he said, that he had not been consulted and to protest against the betrothal and take /Nai to Kubi with him. Tension [578] rose. /Nai cried and looked very frightened. The members of both Bands 1 and 2, though they had no theoretical authority in the matter, all expressed themselves and [628] poured torrents of talk over the affair, mostly supporting Di/ai in her steadfast refusal to yield /Nai, saying that Gumtsa had not fed /Nai, had not so much as sent her a gift, and should not now come and interfere in her betrothal. After four days of this Gumtsa gave up and went home.

159 Meanwhile the affair, like a spoon stirring in a pot, brought to light another ten- 584 sion. Some of /Nai's relatives began to express disapproval of her betrothal, not 578 because they wanted her to go with the father but because they were angry with

/147 cont./

222 Rosinkis of the Boers
So-called "wild cucumbers"
Mushrooms which grow on termite hills

251 The veld crop that has been gathered is kept in the huts in
[415] little sacks made of duiker or ibex leather.

/148/ The Auin also stores small caches of provisions by burying sacks of veld crops; he likewise buries tschamma or ostrich egg shells filled with water. In the tops of large trees one often finds, aside from animal hides, provisions of veld crops which are kept there. [Fig. 9 appears here.]

423 Land is held in common, that is, it is the common property of a horde consisting of several families. The game in this territory, as well as the wood and the veld crops, is exclusively for the use of the members of the community that holds the land. The watering places that are to be found there are available for general use, but only if water is abundant. If water is scarce, the local group that holds the land has exclusive right to it.

361 The local groups sometimes live at considerable distances
423 from one another so that the same land is used by several settle-
621 ments. The settlements, after all, do not consist of a fixed number of families, but rather of those who are gathered together in fortuitous groupings as the occasion arises. Whatever the accidental composition of the settlements may be, their members always move within a definite area, and it is always the members of the same larger horde who form the settlements.

423 Friendly hordes permit tracking, that is, game that has been
619 wounded on the land of one horde may be pursued on the territory of a friendly horde. A part of the booty is allotted to the "landowner" within whose territory the game is killed. A definite
[685] agreement is required in each case since the Bushman attacks on sight any strange Bushman on his family's terrain.

628 Blood vengeance is not sought for a violation of territory if the local groups are especially friendly. The offender is driven off and, in addition, just as in Prussia, his "firearms" and booty are confiscated. The policing of the terrain is done by each Bushman on his communal land.

If women are caught trespassing, they are taken prisoner and
[721] led to the settlement of the owners of the terrain. This frequently leads to war if the women are harmed sexually during their captivity.

[Text continues on page 32]

/148 cont./

628 captivity. Blood vengeance is exacted by the Bushmen for
684 adultery under all circumstances.

J. Luxuries

276 Tobacco, which is exclusively an imported product, is
[439] greatly coveted. A pipe of tobacco is the Auin's greatest pleasure. [Fig. 10 appears here.]

Taking snuff is unknown.

Everybody smokes, including little children.

The Auin manufacture a tobacco pipe (see Fig. 10) from a
324 soft red stone (serpentine) which supposedly is found only at the watering place Korikas. Indeed, immediately above the source, one does find a kind of modest quarry there.

/149/ A fragment of this stone is conically hollowed out with a lance point or an iron knife and then shaved down on the outside toward the hollow until the wall is about two to four millimeters thick. This pipe resembles an ordinary conical cigar
276 tip. A wadding made from the nest of the weaver bird (?) prevents the tobacco from falling out.

Occasionally one will also see a pipe plug or cleaner which usually is made of rosinkis wood without the bark and is attrac-
[531] tively decorated with a kind of pyrography. The decoration consists of lines and dots scratched in with a red-hot needle. The hairline precision of the lines is particularly striking.

The pipe plug (see Fig. 11) is worn around the neck on a chain of glass beads or on a leather belt (see also Photo. 1, the second man from the right).

The Auin only occasionally receives tobacco, either from
[439] the Whites when he performs services for them as a messenger,
[648] guide, and the like, or from Kaffirs employed by Whites, who exchange it for veld food.

Hemp or dacha of the Kaffirs (haium of the Auin).

Hemp is smoked in the ordinary tobacco pipes with equal passion by men and women.

I did not see anyone who had become ill from smoking hemp. The Auin themselves were only aware that its enjoyment sometimes produces nausea.

/154 cont./

Every Auin adult can really do as he likes on the condition that
622 he does not offend against "good Bushman custom." On the other hand, he recognizes a chief, who, however, has as good as no authority at all. If, however, the chief has a rifle, for example, or if he is a very strong man, he has correspondingly greater influence. I have the impression that the chief acts more as a representative, a position which is of most importance in dealings with the Whites.

The chief has actual sovereign rights, like every other Bushman, only over his wives and children, and over the latter only while they are small.

No tribute or service is rendered, just as there are no external insignia of the chief's office.

The chief's office is hereditary in the male descent group. The office is not inherited until the candidate belongs among the men, that is, after schooling (see below) and after the killing of the first piece of big game. There is no proxy during the minority of the candidate. It works, even so!

/155/ The settlements unite and separate again depending
619 on the circumstances.

The chief of a horde, which is not always united in one
631 village, is called aichabn.

At a gathering of about 1,000 Auin, several chiefs were present. A common supreme chief was lacking.

Evidently it is old families of chiefs that possess these traces of authority. They constitute no special caste and do not belong to a foreign race.

Q. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

428 The oldest son is the heir of the insignificant legacy, which primarily consists of a few utilitarian objects and hides.

The widow inherits nothing, but she keeps the property she already owns. Younger sons and daughters inherit nothing.

628 Blood vengeance is the basic concept that gives the legal notions their distinctive character. The son is obligated to avenge his slain father; the brother avenges his brother. I was

/155 cont./

628 unable to learn whether these obligations also extend to more distant degrees of kinship.

If the murderer himself has died or cannot be reached, blood vengeance extends to his nearest male relatives.

The sons of a murdered man are obligated to take blood revenge as soon as they are grown.

The mother of the future avenger inculcates this duty in her [867] son as she rears him. As soon as the young man has killed the [884] first piece of game, his obligation goes into effect. He turns [602] to his kinsmen for help, which is immediately granted him. Similarly, the one who has reason to fear blood vengeance finds armed support among his relatives and fellow villagers. One can imagine what a maze of obligations for blood vengeance can arise from this situation.

619 It can happen that two settlements are "saddled" with so many obligations for vengeance that an encounter between mem-
628 bers of these settlements immediately leads to bloodshed. Perhaps this also helps to explain the fact that some villages within the Auin region have for many years been so hostile to one another that a boundary violation is punished by death on the spot.

Example: Auin from Rietfontein and Gam. It goes without saying that a mortal enmity more often exists between Bushmen of different languages, for instance, between Auin and Naroon, or Auin and Genkuin [Ginkwe]. An enmity of this kind evidently does not extend to the group as a whole; instead, it is doubtless always confined to a certain number of families and settlements.

The basis for the administration of justice is extensive and
628 energetic self-help. Any injustice inflicted is avenged by the injured party or his kinsmen with a beating or murder.

As an example of the kind of self-help and the complications resulting from it, I shall cite the following authenticated case. An old Auin from Olifantskluft was visiting his brother-in-law in Sidonitzaub. The host set a snare and caught a giant bustard which the guest found, took out of the snare, and began to consume. His host arrived on the scene and stabbed his brother-in-law in the stomach with his throwing spear. The murderer fled, but he was apprehended and shot by relatives of

/155 cont./

628 the slain man. Now, naturally, a blood feud exists between the settlements, which, incidentally, are related to each other directly and by marriage.

Furthermore, it is interesting that the Auin from
648 Sidonitzaub sent a messenger to me in Rietfontein, where I was
[123] station commander, and had him inquire whether I had any objection to their making "orlog" [Tr., probably from the Dutch word oorlog, "war"]. I conveyed to them that the affair was none of my business since the war would take place in British territory. Unfortunately I was transferred from Rietfontein shortly afterward and was therefore unable to witness the campaign as a "military correspondent." According to reliable reports, the war has been settled and three men were killed.

This inquiry addressed to me makes it clear that under the pressure of present conditions the "unfortunate child of the moment" does not always surrender immediately to the impulses of the moment.

It is scarcely possible to give even a rough picture of the
674 legal notions of the Auin.

There is no doubt that the Bushman possesses a very definite sense of justice, but I do not feel capable of comparing it intelligibly to our own conceptions of justice.

It is a little easier to indicate what the Bushman (Auin) regards as absolute injustice, such as murder, theft, adultery, violation of the family territory, and stealing water (the latter only if little water is available). At any rate, with extended investigation, the catalogue could be considerably enlarged.

Personal property includes the hut (though this is not an ob-
422 ject of value), weapons, clothing, utilitarian objects, hides, and ornaments.

It is true that the gathered veld crop, game that has been killed, and water that has been collected are also personal /156/ property, but these are subject to extensive communal use which becomes more limited only in case of famine or a water shortage.

The land of the horde is communal property, as are the
423 game, veld crop, wood, and water on the land, the latter with limitations.

When a Bushman has burned off a piece of land in order to

[72 cont.]

169 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
591 couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker. Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least nominally.

Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
422 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is
685 punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand, a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the individual's private property.

The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
● 628 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively
721 against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

organisation among them. The various so-called tribes bear 619
distinctive names, mostly of Bushmen or Hottentot origin, the significance of which is in most instances no longer known. Judging by the practice which still exists among the Bushmen they are in all probability descriptive either of the territory occupied by certain groups or of some physical or other characteristic of such territory or groups. Each tribe is composed of a number of family groups all of whom claim relationship to each other through a common tribal ancestor. Thus, for example, according to the traditions of the *ǂAo-||ēin* all the groups constituting that tribe are descended from a "first big *ǂAo-||ēin* Bushman." A similar belief likewise exists among other tribes. Nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all members of the tribe is met with among them, nor is collective action taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. Each family group 619
forms an independent unit by itself, possessing its own group 621
area and authority over and specific rights within such area only. In relation to other groups it is collectively responsible for the actions of each of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the groups concerned and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. On occasion, however, a weak group will seek and sometimes obtain assistance from a stronger one, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature. The most common causes of inter-group [628]
quarrels are trespass, theft and adultery. The ensuing conflicts generally assume the form of a blood feud which is continued until a more or less equal toll of life has been taken by both sides. Women are never killed intentionally during [727]
the course of these feuds but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women are made captive and taken in marriage. Further as far as can be ascertained under no circumstances will the victors deprive the vanquished of their territory or occupy such territory lest harm or disaster should overtake them. The more widely separated groups of the tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct personal contact with each other and generally live in such superstitious fear and dread of each other that the members of one will not undertake journeys into the territory of another, even when accompanied by Europeans. The [911]
group areas are separated from each other by neutral zones into which nobody will venture except during the course of visits. These zones are usually formed by belts of trees, open flats, water courses, etc. Territorial boundaries are observed [423]
in a most scrupulous manner even by closely related groups who are living on the most friendly terms with each other. Each family is inseparably united to its habitat and has a superstitious dread of any locality but its own. The result is that even the members of completely disorganised groups are loth to seek employment outside the boundaries of their ancestral territory.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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!Kung

square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48′30″ S, 181
20°34′36″ E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but 131
extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and
Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch [123]
of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In [162]
it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and [648]
9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of
about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the [372]
region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and
preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north [192]
and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen- [829]
speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung 181
Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is sur- 182
vival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in
their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring
food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the [621]
mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their [578]
social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals
within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between [628]
bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on [771]
survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the
sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region 433
have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we re- 262
fer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of
a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired,
but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know 222
more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several 262
species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen
suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad
for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets.
Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this re-
gion as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman
groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any
water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are
the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-
resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these;
doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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Gathering Mangetti Nuts

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eral large groves of mangetti trees (*Ricinodendron rautanenii* Schinz) in the region, all on great waterless white sand dunes, and one extensive area in which *tsī* grows. *Tsī* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch) is the seed of the vine that runs along on the surface of the ground. Both mangetti nuts and *tsī* are excellent foods, rich in oils and proteins, and so important to the !Kung that they organize their lives to a considerable extent around them.

Each band, according to !Kung social structure, owns and lives within what we call a territory. The band, through its headman (in a way to be explained later), owns the veldkos and water resources within its territory. The territories are varied in size and shape and sometimes consist of portions that are not even contiguous. The boundaries are vague, for the need to draw fine boundary lines is not great. In the interior of the region, where water is so scant, in roughly 8000 square miles live only 17 bands, comprising 447 persons. The other bands and employed groups live on what we call the periphery of the region. The !Kung say that one cannot eat the ground itself so it does not matter to whom it belongs. It is the patches of veldkos that are clearly and jealously owned, and the territories are shaped in a general way around these patches. The !Kung of the interior have settled themselves in such a way that every band has access to areas of edible roots and to either a mangetti grove or a *tsī* patch. A few bands have both.

The strong concepts of ownership of veldkos by the band operate almost like a taboo. No external force is established to prevent one band from encroaching on another's veldkos or to prevent individuals from raiding veldkos patches to which they have no right. This is just not done. Fear of fighting is one of the deterrents. The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly

[p. 248]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or tsi, the men always ac-

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 462 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsī the men always accompany the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with tsī and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater portion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging implement is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

222 [412] [101] [484] [361] [854] [482] [372]

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes, pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

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222 433 731 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

128 166 [582] There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

in several different bands, and they may choose among them. A band that owned comparatively good resources would tend to attract more members than a band with scant veldkos. This flexibility of residence pattern is one of the reasons that one finds the bands of the interior of the Nyae Nyae region relatively in balance with their resources, and varying in size.

WATER • Two or more bands may share the ownership of a water hole. Water holes keep their own rough population balance because, if water is very scarce, people will go to live elsewhere when they have the possibility of doing so.

In the interior of this region, in roughly 8000 square miles, there are three water holes that can be called really permanent. In the driest years these do not fail. Four others dry up only in years of severe drought. Six more are semipermanent: in a very good year they may yield a little water right through, but in a dry year they are sure to dry up. When the semipermanent water holes go dry, the bands who own them may break up temporarily and the families may go to live with relatives who are at permanent water holes, or they may go as whole bands to another water hole where they have relatives.

Water is not owned as exclusively or as jealously as veldkos. Water seems to belong more to mankind, as the animals do, and the ownership of water holes emphasizes more the managing than the withholding of the water. The headman controls the water. His permission should be asked by travelers or visitors before taking water, "because he knows what he has and what can be done," we were told. We saw small temporary water holes marked with bundles of grass thrust into forked sticks. This was to tell visitors or travelers that the owners of the water hole were in residence, as it were, and were counting on the water. We believe that in these circumstances water would not be taken without permission. Occasions are not likely to arise where permission need be refused. The !Kung know where the others are, or are likely to be, at a given time and know how much water is available. They plan better than to get themselves into desperate situations.

One source of water appears to be owned by individuals. It is the rainwater that collects in hollow mangetti trees. The water in trees is not stolen by others who go to gather in the same mangetti forest. Water, incidentally, is the only beverage of the !Kung in the interior of the region. They have no alcoholic drinks and use no infusions of herbs.

HUNTING AND MEAT SHARING • !Kung hunting regulations do not confine the hunters to territories. The game animals belong to no one until they are shot, and the hunters may follow them anywhere the spoor leads and may cross the territorial boundaries of any band. If hunters have made a kill in the territory of a neighboring band, they would not fail to give a present of

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224 By killing one male kudu (600 lbs.) with a weight 24 times greater than that of a steenbok (25 lbs.) a hunter would provide his camp with a quantity of meat roughly equivalent to that provided by 20 steenbok (assuming that the kudu has a somewhat lower ratio of edible to inedible parts than does a steenbok).

[628] On the face of it, hunting large antelope would appear to have overwhelming advantages in terms of meat. However, when news of such a kill reaches neighboring camps, dozens of friends and relatives descend upon the killer's camp to assist him in disposing of the meat. Thus at the end of several jovial days the superabundance of meat disappears and the fortunate hunter is out looking for meat again. The killing of a large antelope therefore has more prestige value than nutritional value to the family of the man who killed it.

This pattern of sharing large kills beyond the boundaries of a camp is ecologically adaptive because meat spoils quickly, especially during the rainy season and it is often necessary to eat meat that is in danger of becoming rotten.

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251 The Bushmen know how to make biltong (dried strips of meat) but rarely do this. This infrequency of making biltong is probably both a cause and an effect of sharing meat widely. The only part of a large antelope kill that is consistently set aside for future consumption is the hide. This part of

825
262 the animal evidently has much better storage properties than
224 the flesh.
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In general, the larger the animal killed, the more widely its meat is shared. The meat of springhare, hare, steenbok, and duiker is usually consumed by the hunter's immediate family. The meat of wart hog, antbear and porcupine is
[628] shared out among the members of a hunter's camp. The meat of kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok is shared out among the hunter's camp and among members of neighboring camps.

825 Birds - The eating of birds again illustrates the selective
262 food tastes of the Bushmen. Of the 75 species of birds
223 recorded only eight species were said to be eaten and of these only four species were observed to be systematically hunted. The four important game birds were:

crowned quinea fowl	red-billed francolin
Swainson's francolin	red-crested korhaan

The other birds eaten were:

Kori bustard	double-banded sandgrouse
Cape turtledove	red-billed teal

Snares were regularly set in order to capture guinea fowl, francolin and korhaan. Occasionally other birds triggered the snares. Usually these other species were fed to the dogs. Occasionally they were simply discarded.

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262 Only the eggs of the above eight species appeared to be
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hills hold standing water only during the summer months. During this season, the members of two /ai/ai camps, the !ubi camp, and the Bate camp mingle freely at its water sources. This mingling of groups also occurs at some of the large summer pans such as !gauŠa and čharačharaha where members of different winter groups come together for weeks or even months.

The foregoing discussion has highlighted the flexible nature of !Kung Bushmen territoriality. This flexibility is manifested in the frequency of visiting between waterholes, the vagueness of territorial boundaries and the existence of food areas that are said to belong to nobody.

TABLE 7

221 The kills made by the hunters of the Dobe camp during a 28-
224 day period (6 July to 2 August 1964).
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Date	Hunter	Species	Technique	estimated weight of meat
July				
7.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80 lbs.
7.	≠oma//gwe	steenbok	snare	12
9.	/ase	steenbok	snare	12
17.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
20.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
20.	≠oma//gwe	honey badger	snare	10
20.	≠oma//gwe	python	collected	20
21.	/ase	steenbok	snare	12
23.	n≠eysin!a	steenbok	snare	12
23.	≠oma//gwe	hare	snare	3
24.	≠oma	bat-eared fox	with dogs	4
27.	/ase	hare	snare	3
27.	≠gau	korhaan	snare	2
27.	n≠eysin!a	korhaan	snare	2
28.	≠oma	wart hog	with dogs	80
29.	≠oma//gwe	kori bustard	snare	10
30.	n≠eysin!a	steenbok	snare	12
31.	/ase	porcupine	cornered in burrow	20
				454 lbs.[1]

[1] In addition to the meat from these 18 kills, the Dobe Bushmen received gifts of meat from other camps. The weight of meat from these outside sources is estimated at 36 lbs. Therefore, the total meat eaten at Dobe was around 490 lbs.

132 highs in the 90's. The warmer weather heralds the onset of
312 spring which is the most difficult season of the year. Most
137 of the waterholes have no mongongo nuts within a ten mile
222 radius. The alternative foods, roots and bulbs, are being collected daily by some of the people, while others are making the long overnight journeys to the nut forests.

221 Since territories vary in the abundance of early spring
574 foods there was a noticeable tendency for families to visit
628 other camps. For instance in September, Bate still had a good supply of Sclerocarya caffra, nuts; and several families from Dobe, Mahopa, and !angwa converged upon Bate to eat these nuts. Similarly !ubi had a supply of Baobab fruits (Adansonia digititata) and other families made extended visits to relatives there. The maintenance of close ties between camps made possible a more equitable distribution of foodstuffs, so that, if there was scarcity at one camp, and food at another, the members of the first camp would not go hungry. This is one of the highly adaptive features of the fluidity of !Kung group structure.

[563] Some families fall back on the Herero villages at this
[431] time of year to beg for milk. This occurs especially among those people who have a sister or cousin married to a Bantu man. Both the Bushman and Herero codes of good manners demand that visiting in-laws be fed (L. Marshall 1961).

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221 this account of the seasonal round has come full circle to the starting point.

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433 In summary, there are, in effect, only three basic sets of subsistence conditions for the Bushmen:

1. Water everywhere - Food everywhere
2. Water limited - Food abundant
3. Water limited - Food scarce.

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433 When the first set of conditions prevail during the rains of November through March, Bushman life is sweet. The camps
[628] can live near the most concentrated food sources within their
[574] territory, or share in the food supply of neighboring camps,
[602] or easily undertake the long trips to visit relatives at distant waterholes.

When the second set of conditions prevail, from April through July, freedom of movement is more restricted but food is still abundant enough to make life comfortable.

When the third set of conditions prevail, from August through October, the Bushmen must resort to increasingly arduous tactics in order to maintain a good diet, or, alternatively they must content themselves with foods of less desirability in terms of abundance, ease of collecting and nutritive value.

It is during the three lean months of the year that the Bushmen life approaches the precarious conditions that have

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312 transhumant annual round, in which they alternate between their
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361 rainy season range and their dry season range.

484 The Dobe area !Kung do not undertake long marches of
574 30-70 miles for the purpose of getting food. This task can be
628 readily fulfilled within a day's walk of their territorial water sources. When such long marches occur, they are invariably for the purposes of visiting, trading, and marital exchanges with relatives at distant camps. As such, these trips should not be confused with the normal routines of subsistence.

311 Range Size and Population Density -- By plotting the movements
433 of the various camps in their annual subsistence cycle, the
162 observer can derive a rough estimate of the total land area that is required to support the population of 430 Bushmen. It would be much more difficult to estimate the area necessary to support a single camp, because of the considerable overlap of territories and the frequent visiting between camps. It will be more useful to treat the entire population as a unit. It is estimated that the 800 square miles that lie within a six-mile radius of major water sources are sufficient to support the population for most of the year. Beyond this radius lies a hinterland which is rarely penetrated; perhaps a further 200 square miles of this hinterland is utilized in the course of a single year. Thus the total annual range of the Dobe area Bushmen may be estimated at 1,000 square miles. This calculation sets the effective population

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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Chapter IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Tribe and Hunting Band

All the Bushmen in their native condition lead a nomadic hunting 222
and collecting life, roaming about in search of the game and wild 224
vegetable foods upon which they depend for their existence. The [182]
conditions of their subsistence necessarily prevent them from banding together permanently in any considerable numbers. Wherever they 621
still retain to any marked degree their original mode of life and organization they are found scattered over the land in small separate communities.[1] Each such community will be spoken of here as a hunting band. The members of a band share a common life, they see one another constantly, they co-operate in many ways, and they are all as a rule friendly and on fairly intimate terms. Each band also [619]
has occasional relations with other neighbouring bands, through intermarriage and trade, and visitors may pass from one to another. On the other hand, there are often quarrels between neighbouring [628]
bands, which may result in a prolonged state of feud and even lead directly to warfare.

The various bands among the Heikum are generally referred to 621
among each other by a name which indicates either the locality in 101
which they live, or describes some physical or other characteristic of the band itself or of its locality. The *se-khoin*, for example, are the people of the *seb* or plain; the */gom-khoin* the people who eat the

[1] The social organization of the Bushmen is one of the least-known aspects of their culture, and sadly needs careful and detailed investigation. The most reliable sources of information refer [114]
almost exclusively to the North-Western tribes: Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 1907; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910); (Miss) D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," *Archiv Anthrop., N.F.* 21 (1927); *idem*, *The Naron*, 1928; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," *Bantu Studies*, iii (1928); L. Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," *J. SW. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i (1925–6); *idem*, "The Bushmen of South-West Africa," in *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, 1928. The relevant literature on the other tribes is for the most part fragmentary, although some valuable data on the Namib Bushmen are given by Seydel, "Aus der Namib," *D. KolBl.*, xxxi (1910), and by Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," *Mitt. deuts. Schutzgeb.*, xxiii (1910). Where no special reference is made to any particular tribe the analysis given above must therefore be regarded as applying especially to the North-Western tribes, who are also the only Bushmen still leading a fairly independent life.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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office is hereditary. His authority is very slight, and apparently exercised mainly in regulating the movements of the people from place to place, and in leading in war. 621 [622]

Each band also acts as a unit in its relations with other bands of the same or of neighbouring tribes, and in such relations it is collectively responsible for the actions of any of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the bands concerned, and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. Occasionally, it is true, a weak band may seek and obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature.[1] 619 621

The band is also the land-owning group. Each band possesses its own hunting territory, to which it is restricted, and exercises authority over and specific rights within this territory only.[2] The members of the band roam about freely all over their own land, but do not trespass on their neighbours' territory, although single persons and small parties may occasionally pay short visits across the border, mostly for trading purposes. As a result of this territorial segregation it may often happen that the more widely separated bands of a tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct contact with each other. 423 621 [438] [619]

There are no special boundary marks between the areas occupied by different hunting bands. The limits of each area are as a rule defined by various natural landmarks, such as sand dunes, koppies, river-beds, vleis, springs, or even trees. These are well known to the people themselves and carefully observed. In some cases the areas of different bands are separated by neutral zones, formed by belts of trees, open flats, watercourses, etc. Nobody will venture into these except during the course of a visit. In particular, however, each hunting territory is defined by the waterholes in it. These constitute the real property of the band. The encampments are always erected near them, all the game on the land around them or drinking at the water may be hunted only by members of the band, and similarly only they may gather "veldkos" (wild vegetable foods) in the vicinity. The infringement of territorial rights in this respect is one of the main causes of dispute between neighbouring bands, and almost invariably leads to bloodshed. [311] [361] [628]

[1] The relations between different bands are discussed more fully below in Chapter VI, s.v. "Relations with Other Bands"; vide p. 155

[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 156; Passarge, op. cit., 31-2; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 4; Fourie, "The Bushmen," 85; Lebzelter "Bei den |Kuñ-Buschleuten," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928-9), SitzBer. (12).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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among the Namib Bushmen the victim may take back not only the stolen property, but also all the thief's possessions. That blood vengeance is actually exercised in case of theft appears from the following incident recorded by Miss Bleek. An Auen man had a good deal of tobacco, most of which he hid in a tree. Returning later he found the tobacco gone, and human footprints round the tree. He followed the spoor to one of a cluster of huts, where he saw a Bushman sitting at the fire cutting the stolen tobacco. Although he had only a spear with him, he darted up and stabbed the thief to death. The man's wife, intervening, was also stabbed. Then the assailant tried to escape, but was shot in the side by a poisoned arrow from the group round the next fire. He succeeded in reaching his home, but died of the poison a few days later. Similarly, in the waterless regions of the Namib Desert, men on the hunt often store up supplies of water in ostrich egg-shells and also of meat. Another person coming upon this supply may take from it, but must follow the spoor of the owner, tell him about it, and recompense him. If this is not done the owner, when he discovers the loss, will follow the spoor of the thief until he finds him and will then kill him if he can.

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Here, according to Trenk, homicide in case of theft and adultery is apparently not regarded as murder, but as punishment, and the relatives of the deceased may not take blood vengeance. But, as shown in the instance quoted from Miss Bleek, among other Bushmen homicide, whether deliberate or accidental, leads inevitably to blood vengeance, the relatives of the dead man combining to kill the murderer. This appears also from another instance recorded by Knudsen.[1] A Bushman, not far from Bethanie in South-West Africa, shot another in the leg with an arrow during a honey beer drinking-bout. The wounded man revenged himself on the spot by shooting his assailant in the heart and killing him. The dead man's brother pursued the killer, who fled, but could not overtake him, and so returned to the camp, where he met the man's wife carrying a child. He tore it from her, threw it up in the air and caught it on the point of his spear. The mother saved herself by fleeing, but two other women

114 628 682 [184] 627 682

still living, she may be handed over to them and they all have to leave the camp. Should the father be dead and the mother alive, the thief is still taken and given back to the latter, after the stolen property has been recovered. But, if she is an old offender, the mother is said to give her, through a son, to another person, to be burned to death. These facts, obtained from a single young informant, need, however, to be confirmed. The deliberate burning to death of people, for whatever reason, is not reported of any of the other Bushmen.

[1] Quoted in Moritz, "Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Deutsch-Südwestafrika," *Mitt. deutz. Schutzgeb.*, xxix (1916), 154.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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627 related to the homicide were killed by the brother. What happened
682 afterwards we are not told, but judging from what is known of blood revenge among the Bushmen it is hardly likely that the matter was allowed to rest there.

Among the Auen, for example, a son is obliged to exact blood
628 vengeance on the slayer of his father, a brother for his brother. If
682 the slayer himself is dead or out of reach, the feud extends to his nearest male relative. A son whose father has been killed is obliged to undertake vengeance as soon as he is grown up. His mother impresses this obligation upon him during his childhood, and as soon as he has caught his first head of big game the obligation must be carried out. He applies to his nearest relatives for help, which is given without question. In the same way whoever has to fear blood vengeance is supported by his relatives and the members of his band. Not only
[562] men but women also may become the objects of the blood feud, although as a rule the latter are taken and held as wives by their captors. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen the slayer is killed by the relatives of the dead man. All the male members of the latter's family combine to revenge his death; an arrow is shot at the slayer, and if this does not immediately kill him he is beaten to death with the kirri. Murderesses are also killed in this manner; but otherwise
[562] women, even for such serious offences as theft and adultery, are only punished by thrashing, although this may sometimes be very severely administered.

We are not told whether the killing of the slayer or his substitute leads to the cessation of the feud, but from an instance quoted by Kaufmann it apparently does not. An old Auen man from Olifantskloof was visiting a brother-in-law at Sidonitsaub. The host put out a snare, in which he caught a giant bustard. This was found by the guest, who took it out of the snare and began to consume it. While he was doing so, the host came up and observing the theft pierced him through the body with a spear. The slayer then fled, but was pursued by the relatives of the dead man and killed. Since then a blood feud has existed between these two bands, connected though they were by marriage.

The only exception to this general rule of self-help is recorded by
[184] Seydel of the Namib Bushmen.[1] He states, it is true, that in case of
622 minor offences self-help is frequently resorted to, but adds that all
692 serious offences are formally adjudicated. The court consists of one

[1] Seydel, op. cit., 505–6.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

619 621 Bushmen from all parts of the Ghansiveld, even from different tribes, owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again [221] [423] Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

114 619 621 All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery, however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys' [881] puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement [574] that in the months of March and April different bands come together for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and 726 obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several 619 Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band, 621 although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

578 619 621 628 On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife-stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially [685] is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who 648 encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen, 685

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157.
[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 13.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154.
[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 154; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 13; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 85.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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but formerly even to Europeans. In the Cape, for example, "If the white man were a passing hunter and friendly, if he shared his bag with the Bushmen, he was welcomed and could travel through the territory in peace; but when the settlers came in, permanently occupying the land at the springs, and doing great execution among the game, then the Bushmen retaliated by shooting the intruders or killing their stock. Whereupon the white man, unaware of any unfriendly behaviour on his part, dubbed the Bushman an untamable savage and a thief, and did his best to imprison or shoot him. Hence the war of extermination, which has reduced the race of Colonial Bushmen to its present vanishing figure."[1] 648 685

Among the Auen, when neighbouring bands are on friendly terms, wounded game may be followed by the members of the one on to the territory of the other. A portion of the game must, however, be given to the owners of the land. Refusal to do so is always dangerous. Where the bands are very friendly it does not necessarily lead to bloodshed; the trespasser is merely driven away, and his weapons and game confiscated. Otherwise, however, he is killed. Women caught trespassing are seized and taken to the camp of their captors; this often leads to war, when they are violated. And again the killing of a man by the members of another band always results in a state of feud. 619 621 685 [224] [628]

It may happen that between two bands there is so strong a feud of this nature that a meeting between their members invariably leads to bloodshed. It is probably due to this, says Kaufmann, that among the Auen many bands are so antagonistic that violation of the territorial bounds leads to immediate punishment by death; and he cites the bands at Gam and Rietfontein, between whom there was a long-standing enmity. Among the Kung there is also much hostility between neighbouring bands, especially when, as occasionally happens, an attempt is made by one band to take from another the land it occupies, if this is very rich in veldkos. The oppressed band, if the weaker, must move, but the fights are conducted with great bitterness, and the deep enmity aroused extends over generations. A similar condition of feud is reported to have existed between several bands of the Namib Bushmen, where, for example, in 1907 the people of Buntveldschuhhorn, in consequence of such a state of hostility, led an attack on those living at Aurus. Feud is also common between bands belonging to tribes of different speech, e.g. the Auen and the 628 685 628

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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628 Naron, or the Auen and the !Ginkwe. This does not extend to the whole tribe, but only to the bands concerned. The Naron at Sandfontein, in the same way, were also hostile to the /nu//en in the south as well as to the Auen in the north; trespass and wife-stealing led to many fights between them.

628 726 701 [622] [887] [411] Fights between opposing bands are therefore by no means unusual, but the extent of each campaign is small.[1] The chiefs have general command in war, but their authority is scarcely greater than in peace, where, as we have seen, it is but slight. The older men with experience naturally have an influence corresponding to their knowledge and ability. Every man and youth takes part in a campaign, the weapons used being the ordinary hunting bow and arrow as well as the spear. The magician also fights, but without any special authority or functions. We have no eyewitness account of any such campaigns, but Kaufmann gives a description, obtained from a "trustworthy Kafir informant", which may serve to convey some idea of their nature. Among the Auen there is no formal declaration of war, 628 721 but when a man wears a cap of aardwolf (*Proteles cristatus*) skin, then he is on the warpath. Several friendly villages came together and decided to attack another village. The war caps were put on, and after sunset the men marched in the direction of the enemy village. In the neighbourhood of the latter a halt was made 628 and without lighting a fire, although it was the cold time of the year, 726 they waited until the morning. After sunrise, when it was somewhat warmer, the village was surrounded and attacked from all sides, the spear being chiefly used. There was loud shouting and calling, but no special war cry; and in general everybody fought as he pleased.

628 727 If possible, all men are killed, and also boys, for fear of the blood feud. Women are never killed intentionally, but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women and girls are made captive and taken in marriage. All objects that can be used are also taken away, but the huts are not regarded as worth the burning. Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, the victors will [184] under no circumstances deprive the vanquished of their territory or [721] even occupy it, lest harm and disaster overtake them; on the other hand among the Kung, as already mentioned, disputes over the possession of land are among the prime causes of war. What happens to the land of the defeated group in other tribes is not stated. The

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, op. cit., 85.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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campaign is brought to an end among the Auen by agreement, The 628
unarmed negotiators passing freely between the two groups, and an 727
indemnity is paid to the victors in the form of women, material 728
objects, and food. There is no information relating to peace-making
in other tribes, and even Kaufmann's statement about the Auen lacks [114]
corroboration.

/154 cont./

Every Auin adult can really do as he likes on the condition that
622 he does not offend against "good Bushman custom." On the other hand, he recognizes a chief, who, however, has as good as no authority at all. If, however, the chief has a rifle, for example, or if he is a very strong man, he has correspondingly greater influence. I have the impression that the chief acts more as a representative, a position which is of most importance in dealings with the Whites.

The chief has actual sovereign rights, like every other Bushman, only over his wives and children, and over the latter only while they are small.

No tribute or service is rendered, just as there are no external insignia of the chief's office.

The chief's office is hereditary in the male descent group. The office is not inherited until the candidate belongs among the men, that is, after schooling (see below) and after the killing of the first piece of big game. There is no proxy during the minority of the candidate. It works, even so!

/155/ The settlements unite and separate again depending
619 on the circumstances.

The chief of a horde, which is not always united in one
631 village, is called aichabn.

At a gathering of about 1,000 Auin, several chiefs were present. A common supreme chief was lacking.

Evidently it is old families of chiefs that possess these traces of authority. They constitute no special caste and do not belong to a foreign race.

Q. Administration of Justice and Social Conditions

428 The oldest son is the heir of the insignificant legacy, which primarily consists of a few utilitarian objects and hides.

The widow inherits nothing, but she keeps the property she already owns. Younger sons and daughters inherit nothing.

628 Blood vengeance is the basic concept that gives the legal notions their distinctive character. The son is obligated to avenge his slain father; the brother avenges his brother. I was

[20 cont.]

101 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposed-
131 ly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are
[648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the
[631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief, the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notorious Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-
[197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do
[342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in
[301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh
[827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron
[411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations
[114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

101 Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung
582 whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

619 The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal [648] political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

648 About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28
162 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of [621] burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants [177] other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

621 My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on [114] which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

[162] FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

601 /Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1]
[595] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and
[596] extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal
[611] residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally,
[614] There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the
[835] incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

621 As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consangui-
582 nity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[113] [1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

but there might very likely be some between whom marriage would be permissible, such as, for instance, a man and his WiSi or his widowed BrWi. 621 582

The /Kung have no unit within which endogamy is absolutely required. Those of the Nyae Nyae region almost all marry among themselves within the region, not because a formulated social rule definitely prohibits their marrying outside but because they almost never go out. They do not like strange places, strange situations, or strange persons, and have no way of feeding themselves where they cannot depend on receiving food from relatives or friends and, in strange country, either do not know where the wild foods grow or might not be allowed to gather them if they found any. Nevertheless, a few Nyae Nyae /Kung have married other /Kung outside the region, and one /Kung woman we know is married outside her own race, with acceptance and ease of relations all around among her people and his, to a Chwana man at Gam, near the southern border of the region. We think in all probability there must be other mixed marriages along the Bechuanaland border which we do not know about, but we are safe in saying that among the Nyae Nyae /Kung such marriages are rare. [648]

Prolonged intermarriage within the region has woven these people together and much visiting among kin develops acquaintanceships and friendships which unite the whole Nyae Nyae /Kung population. They feel themselves to be an in-group and express this feeling in the words *ju /ǒassi*.[1] *Ju* means 'person' or 'persons'; 571 619 621

[1] S. Passarge puts the phrase on his map in *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari* (Berlin, 1907, Dietrich Reimer, p. 19), spelling it *Sa'guassi*. He places it on the line of 20° S., slightly to the east of 20° E., near what we call the centre of the Nyae Nyae region, in the area designated on his and other maps as the Kaukau Veld. He places the phrase as if it were the name of a Bushman group, like Heikom, Naron, or some other, He places the name *'Kung* somewhat to the north-west. That is the name we spell */Kung*, which D. Bleek (*A Bushman Dictionary*, American Oriental Society, 1956, p. 447) records as */Kũ*, */Ku* or */Kuŋ* (person, Bushman).

Passarge places the name *'Kung* once more at about 23° S. as the name of another Bushman group. In sound the name is the same or very, very like the name of the more northerly group. Miss Bleek refers to this group as being popularly called 'Koon'. L. F. Maingard distinguishes between the two by spelling the name of the southerly group */Kɔ̃*. The /Kɔ̃ are to be found in B.P., in and south of Okwa. Whereas the /Kung language has four clicks (symbolized now as dental /, alveolar ≠, alveolar palatal /, lateral //), the /Kɔ̃ language is very different and has a fifth click, that of the southern Bushman language groups, the labial ⊙. The phrase *ju /ǒassi* has nothing to do with the /Kɔ̃.

Maingard in 'Three Bushman Languages' (*African Studies*, 16/1, 1957, p. 37) uses the phrase as the name of a dialect of /Kung—'. . . *dyu/ǒõ:si* (Northern Group, a dialect of /khũ, partly in South West Africa and partly in the Bechuanaland Protectorate)'. Bleek (op. cit., p. 354) does not record the phrase in /Kung (her northern Group II), but gives it in Auen (N I) and says it means 'Bushman'. She spells it *ju /mwasi*. [101]

We think that the phrase *ju /ǒassi*, which we started spelling in this way because we did not know any better and continue because it is simpler, can be applied to groups of varying size and definition, on a variety of bases, when the in-group quality in comparison with the out-group is to be expressed in some way. When we asked what they call themselves, our /Kung informants often replied '*ju /ǒassi*' as though the phrase might be coextensive with Bushman as distinguished from non-Bushman (Europeans, */ku*, whom the /Kung also call 'red people', i.e. *ju gau*; or Bantu, whom the /Kung call *ju dzo*, 'black people' or */gowa* (or */kowa?*),' animals without hooves'). They also use *ju /ǒassi* when one might expect them to say '/Kung' as distinguished from other Bushman language groups, or when they distinguish themselves from other /Kung outside their region. They said that the Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south were *ju dole* and they know that the Bushmen at Karakuwise, Nuregas, and Chadum speak /Kung but said they were *ju dole* nevertheless. I had the impression that it was the out-group quality in the phrase (strange and therefore potentially harmful) which was being expressed when they applied it as above and claimed that the Makaukau were a murderous people who have a medicine so deadly that you die if you but glance at it, and that those Nuregas /Kung put poison into the pipes they give you to smoke. One's friend or relative can also be *ju dole* if one is displeased with him.

Isaak Utuhile (a Chwana chief under Queen Moremi, in Kubi, B.P.) said that in the phrase *ju /ǒassi*

/136 cont./ The approximate number of Auin,
162 naturally in the form of the very roughest estimate, is apparent from the following compilation:

There reside in the region of

Oas	about 300	persons
Dawis	" 150	"
Stampriet	" 250	"
Rooigrauwater	" 50	"
Korikas	" 150	"
Olifantskloof	" 200	"
Habakobis	" 100	"
Rietfontein	" 200	"
Tjumda	" 100	"
Go	" 150	"
Sidonitzaub	" 1,000	"
Karasburg	" 100	"
Epukiro	" 100	"
Ganab	" 100	"
Gam	" 100	"
Total	about 3,000	persons

[114] In my opinion the number of Bushmen living in the Kalahari (not only the Auin) has been consistently underestimated.

I wrote these lines in October, 1908. Today, in other words,
165 not yet a year later, I am forced to change my opinion, since
161 the malaria of the last rainy season has taken many victims and has decimated the Auin as well as the other tribes. According to the figures provided, I consider myself justified in suggesting that of the Auin estimated above at 3,000, only about half at most remain.

It is impossible to obtain more precise statistics since the
648 Bushmen successfully evade any kind of control. Even the administration of the protectorate takes account of this fact by dispensing from the outset with any registration or the like by the Kalahari Bushmen.

No special racial layers are to be distinguished among the
144 Auin, although it is doubtless true that certain individuals can be shown to have more Negro blood than others.

/148 cont./

628 captivity. Blood vengeance is exacted by the Bushmen for
684 adultery under all circumstances.

J. Luxuries

276 Tobacco, which is exclusively an imported product, is
[439] greatly coveted. A pipe of tobacco is the Auin's greatest pleasure. [Fig. 10 appears here.]

Taking snuff is unknown.

Everybody smokes, including little children.

The Auin manufacture a tobacco pipe (see Fig. 10) from a
324 soft red stone (serpentine) which supposedly is found only at the watering place Korikas. Indeed, immediately above the source, one does find a kind of modest quarry there.

/149/ A fragment of this stone is conically hollowed out with a lance point or an iron knife and then shaved down on the outside toward the hollow until the wall is about two to four millimeters thick. This pipe resembles an ordinary conical cigar
276 tip. A wadding made from the nest of the weaver bird (?) prevents the tobacco from falling out.

Occasionally one will also see a pipe plug or cleaner which usually is made of rosinkis wood without the bark and is attrac-
[531] tively decorated with a kind of pyrography. The decoration consists of lines and dots scratched in with a red-hot needle. The hairline precision of the lines is particularly striking.

The pipe plug (see Fig. 11) is worn around the neck on a chain of glass beads or on a leather belt (see also Photo. 1, the second man from the right).

The Auin only occasionally receives tobacco, either from
[439] the Whites when he performs services for them as a messenger,
[648] guide, and the like, or from Kaffirs employed by Whites, who exchange it for veld food.

Hemp or dacha of the Kaffirs (haium of the Auin).

Hemp is smoked in the ordinary tobacco pipes with equal passion by men and women.

I did not see anyone who had become ill from smoking hemp. The Auin themselves were only aware that its enjoyment sometimes produces nausea.

/151 cont./

533 music than others. I have observed a man who played his musical bow in every spare moment.

Rhythmic hand clapping accompanies singing.

534 Dance rattles (guri) are made of the cocoons of a night
237 butterfly. These cocoons are strung on strings and dried. While the cocoons are still soft, little stones or pieces of ostrich egg shell are pressed into the inner cavity and the soft envelope is closed over them (see Photo. 39).

The rattles, when they are dried and hard, are strung and
535 fastened to the ankle. They are supposed to be used at all dances.

War dance (see Photos. 41 and 42).

The women sit or stand, clapping their hands and singing, while the men crouch or stand opposite them. One man slides out of the row on his knees toward the row of women and makes war-like gestures, as though he were evading an arrow, flinging a spear, etc.

One of the women thrusts out an arm and utters a brief, deep cry, thereby indicating that a spear has been thrown or an arrow shot. The man pretends he is wounded and screams. If he is "dead," he crawls back, and a new solo dancer takes his place. Women, too, are sometimes "dead" or "wounded."

Indecisive battles are indicated.

Here, too, there are very passionate dancers, both male and female, as well as those who have a special talent for mimicry.

The porcupine dance (see Photo. 40) is performed only by men. A number of men stand facing one another, stamp the ground rhythmically, and utter loud shouts. One of them is the "porcupine," which is beaten to death by another man or stabbed with a spear. Everything is indicated by motions.

Eland bull dance. I was unable to learn the nature of this dance, but apparently the rutting lust of the eland is imitated.

M. Means of Transportation

487 Bush paths are formed by the Bushmen on the main lines of traffic, for instance, from the settlement to water. When a
648 Bushman uses the pad (that is, the road of the Whites), he has an

/151 cont./

648 unusually good conscience. In this case he usually is engaged on a messenger's errand. As a messenger serving the Whites, he may even traverse the territory of a hostile group (always on the highway!), without anything happening to him. This is a concession which the Bushmen make to our superiority.

N. Trade, Money Substitutes, Weights and Measures

438 Trade between friendly groups or settlements is carried on by a fairly small troupe of men and women (a larger troupe would create the suspicion of hostile intentions) going to the settlement with which they want to trade and first laying aside their weapons. Then they ask for permission to enter the settlement.

If two settlements are hostile to each other, which inci- [619] dentally seems to be the normal state of affairs, women sometimes nevertheless go to the hostile village to trade. Trade is wholly barter.

Despite their primitive nature, these trade relations are territorially very extensive and are carried out through various intermediaries all the way from the Zambezi to the Orange River. It goes without saying that the Auin himself never goes that far.

It appears that in relation to other Bushman tribes the Auin is quite unproductive. For instance, the Kung manufactures the highly valued and profitable ostrich egg chains, and the Noroon [Naron] makes and trades hide clothing and bone arrow points, whereas the Auin appears to be exclusively an intermediary and in this way gains possession of the coveted objects.

I did not get the impression that the Auin trades goods with the express intention of exchanging them further. Rather, it seems that he first acquires the trade items for his own use and later exchanges them again when the opportunity presents itself.

The chief articles of exchange are: salt (from the Noroon), bow and arrow, points for the throwing spear (Makoba), wooden pots, wooden bowls, wooden spoons (apparently from the Ambo or Owakwanguari by way of the northern Hai//um [Heikum]), European store goods from the Aikwe [Naron] of the Chanse Veld.

Within the settlements the following articles are the chief

/155 cont./

628 the slain man. Now, naturally, a blood feud exists between the settlements, which, incidentally, are related to each other directly and by marriage.

648 Furthermore, it is interesting that the Auin from
[123] Sidonitzaub sent a messenger to me in Rietfontein, where I was station commander, and had him inquire whether I had any objection to their making "orlog" [Tr., probably from the Dutch word oorlog, "war"]. I conveyed to them that the affair was none of my business since the war would take place in British territory. Unfortunately I was transferred from Rietfontein shortly afterward and was therefore unable to witness the campaign as a "military correspondent." According to reliable reports, the war has been settled and three men were killed.

This inquiry addressed to me makes it clear that under the pressure of present conditions the "unfortunate child of the moment" does not always surrender immediately to the impulses of the moment.

674 It is scarcely possible to give even a rough picture of the legal notions of the Auin.

There is no doubt that the Bushman possesses a very definite sense of justice, but I do not feel capable of comparing it intelligibly to our own conceptions of justice.

It is a little easier to indicate what the Bushman (Auin) regards as absolute injustice, such as murder, theft, adultery, violation of the family territory, and stealing water (the latter only if little water is available). At any rate, with extended investigation, the catalogue could be considerably enlarged.

422 Personal property includes the hut (though this is not an object of value), weapons, clothing, utilitarian objects, hides, and ornaments.

It is true that the gathered veld crop, game that has been killed, and water that has been collected are also personal /156/ property, but these are subject to extensive communal use which becomes more limited only in case of famine or a water shortage.

423 The land of the horde is communal property, as are the game, veld crop, wood, and water on the land, the latter with limitations.

When a Bushman has burned off a piece of land in order to

/159 cont./

756 with a considerable portion of actual experience and knowledge.

The doctors are paid for their efforts.

There are also female doctors.

I have observed no sign of hostility toward Whites among
●[648] these people. They know how to evade observation, however, even better than the ordinary Bushman, and that says a good deal.

Only the doctor may eat a certain kind of poisonous snake, apparently the so-called black mamba, which I regard as an older type of cobra.

U. Totemism

771 I was unable to observe any indications that might lead one to deduce the existence of totemism.

V. Medicine

A man who was suffering from headache had colored his
755 forehead with a black grease that supposedly had curative powers and had wound a thin thong firmly around his head. Our household remedy of firmly squeezing the sides of the aching head with both hands was familiar to the Auin.

The Bushman doctor makes an antidote from the black
278 752 mamba, which he alone may eat. This antidote is supposed to help against the bites of all snakes, except that of the mamba itself.

He dries and pulverizes the lungs, gall, and liver, as well as the poisonous fangs with the poison glands. This powder is stirred into a paste with the fat of the same snake, and the paste, so I was informed, is rubbed into the enlarged wound, which has first been sucked out.

At the same time, various deep incisions are made on the upper arm and chest, from which considerable blood flows.

Poisons that work internally are not manufactured. The Auin
278 maintain, however, that the arrow poison also works internally.

The manufacture of arrow poison was described above.

[1 cont.]

115 German or English language, spoken and written, but also of their native tongue in grammar and phonetics.

000 Among the Zulu and Swazi I made my studies more as the occasion arose. Here I was indebted in particular to Father Andreas Ngidi in Inkamana, Princess Maris Dhlamini in Mbabane, and the Italian missionaries in Swaziland for my data. My travels were aided predominantly by the missions. Whereas in the diocese of the Catholic missions of Zululand and Marianhill the main emphasis of the work was upon anthropological and prehistoric
[121] matters, in Southwest Africa ethnological studies were the special task of the expedition. Through the kindness of the provicar,
115 Father Schleipen of the Catholic Mission in Windhoek, the schoolteacher Alois Kheibeb was assigned to me, with whose help I came in contact with the old Dama. At the [2] Catholic Mission in Okombahe, Father Bachmann introduced me to the brother of Chief Gottlieb Horeseb, who came with a few other people to tell me stories. In Grootfontein it was Father Jaeger who placed his Dama schoolteacher, Nikolaus Horeseb, at my disposal. I then further succeeded in obtaining a very intelligent !Kung woman, Katiti, who was married to a Hei//om, and this made it possible for me to have verbal contact with the !Kung. In Ovamboland I was able to rely on the generous support of the Finnish Evangelical Mission. Through the help of Mr. Leuch I engaged a respected man from Oshigambo, Erastus Mbumba, who had been a clerk in Swakopmund for 13 years and who spoke superb German. The Bushmen informants in Ovamboland spoke Ovambo. In Epukiro the mission superior, Father Watterott, O.M.J., placed at my disposal the village headman, Franz Arenat, who in turn established contact for me with the Nogau Bushmen. The interpreters
[124] have to be paid well. To all those who helped me in my work, I should like at this point to express my heartfelt thanks.

123 In order to achieve genuine success in the ethnological field, it is necessary to gain the confidence and sympathy of the natives and to instill in them the conviction that one has no evil intentions toward them or would want to make them look ridiculous; money alone does not suffice. The relationship between the
648 Whites and Coloreds is of such a kind that the native from the
576 outset faces the White with the greatest distrust. The natives are basically a courteous people, and among themselves they live

[2 cont.]

648 576 according to strictly regulated codes of conduct. No native would say something unpleasant to another without cause. Modes of address such as are frequently heard among us, for example, "You don't look well, are you ill?" and similar amiable remarks, are out of the question. Each native expects to be treated in accordance with his social position. The natives cannot understand it when, say, a European traveler or missionary treats young people with extraordinary kindness; on the other hand, they find the casual treatment of older people and patresfamilias a sign of crude tactlessness. In Ovamboland, for example, the term of 123 648 respect for men is tati = "father." The ethnologist who treats the grey-haired men of a native tribe as though they were old people of his own race who, in whatever position they may find themselves, have fulfilled their life's task and therefore deserve respect will have won half the battle. However simple and matter-of-course following this maxim might seem, in actual practice it turns out to be quite difficult in many cases. Quite aside from the fact that many a scholar sees in the native less a fellow human being than an object of study, the chief difficulty lies in the traditional forms of conduct that the Whites have adopted toward the natives. No native is allowed to sit on a chair in the company of Whites. In European houses there is usually a little bench in front of or behind the entrance door for black notables. The ordinary native is made to squat on the floor. It is maintained, not unjustly, to be sure, that this is the natives' original manner of sitting; nonetheless, the Black finds this manner of sitting a humiliation if it is forced upon him by the European. The native, in the view of the Europeans residing there, is simply an inferior kind of human being, with whom they do not even want to go to the same church, a circumstance that makes the task of many missionaries considerably more difficult. Should the traveler make a radical break with these customs and practices, he would have to forego the company and support of the Europeans, on whom he is, after all, dependent. Hence, an extraordinary measure of tact is required in order not to injure the pride of either the Whites or the natives. At the same time, it is true that among certain tribes, such as the Herero or the Ombarantu, the dislike of the Whites is so intense that useful

[2 cont.]

123 ethnological work among them, for the time being, is quite im-
648 possible. Even among the Bushmen the matter was by no means simple. Old Khame, who later became my good friend and informant, at first refused to help, saying: "Why should I open my heart to you, since I know very well that you are my enemy." The native also senses very accurately whether the respect one shows him is genuine. Finally, through the way he is treated, he suffers from inferiority complexes that make dealings [3] with him even more difficult. I have treated the natives as though they were Europeans, but naturally with due regard for the native forms of conduct, and in my relations with them I can say that I have been successful.

123 A single serious conflict with the natives can mean the end of an expedition. It is not just that the colonial authorities rightly grant permission to cross the police zone only to those people who have proved capable of getting along with the natives; another reason is the fact that the transmission of news among the [203] natives is extraordinarily rapid. The news of my measurements in Walvis Bay reached the Otjiwarongo Reserve within 14 days, and from there it reached Otjituo in the extreme northeast in a week, not, as one might think, by postal communication, but through migratory Herero. Upon my arrival in Otjituo the people there were already acquainted with my intentions and my personality. The reader may possibly object to my actual accounts on the ground that I have succeeded in providing a fully rounded picture for only a very few tribes. I can truthfully say that there was a sincere intention to investigate the material thoroughly everywhere. I carried on the investigations among the individual [122] tribes for as long as I had money available. It is impossible, after all, to depend entirely on a single informant; instead, several informants are needed in every case. Ethnological inquiries are practically the only situations in which the natives have the opportunity to lay down conditions. I can force the native to string
123 wire, to harvest maize, or to herd cattle as much as I want at the
124 low price customary in the country, but I cannot force him to reveal his old tribal traditions. Not even the Bushmen wanted to take "brown money," but only "white" and "yellow." After I gained the confidence of the natives, as I can truthfully state,

[8 cont.] HENCE THE RULE IS THAT THE WEDDING AND THE GIRLS
585 initiation coincide, and usually the girl moves to the village of
881^ her first husband immediately after the completion of the festivi-
[591] ties.

584 When a man is courting, he must first attempt to obtain the consent of the girl. Once he has succeeded, he goes to the girl's parents. If they also give their consent, the engagement is settled. At this point, all communication is interrupted until the bridegroom appears and says to the girl's parents: "I want to have the wedding now." If the parents agree, they go to their relatives to spread the happy news. If the relatives object, they can still prevent the marriage. If they do not, the date of the wedding feast is fixed. In the bush, the bridegroom must bring the bride's parents a piece of big game. Usually people make matters
439 simpler for themselves. Either they have already earned a head
584 of cattle from a black farmer, and this stands ready in the farmer's
648 herd to be fetched for the wedding feast, or -- and this is more
452 common -- the Bushman will begin a begging tour around the black farmyards until someone gives him a cow as an advance on hides to be supplied later or on work to be performed.

452 And miraculously, this always succeeds. It is to be ex-
648 plained on various grounds. A black farmer, whose worst character traits include avarice and greed, would never give another Black who possesses nothing one of his dearly beloved cows on the strength of uncertain promises. And not unjustly. The next day the cow would have disappeared into the stomachs of the borrower and his friends, and on the day after that the borrower would have disappeared beyond the tribal boundaries. Repeatedly the Bushmen came to my camp too late. But from the Ukuanjama I always received the assurance: "The Bushmen will keep their word; they will certainly come if they are alive." In addition to this, of course, there is the symbiosis. Each village has its
[437] Bushmen. During the period of the harvest they suddenly appear
[9] and help with it. Between times they never miss a celebration, and at one time or another this one comes with hides and another with honey. And finally the chiefs of the Bushmen kin
[622] groups see to it that nothing happens to injure the reputation of
[674] the Bushmen. It is unheard of for these people to commit theft.

[9 cont.]

805 shauba, cold season (N. sáob).

!kn-aba, hot season (N. !nái, warm).

535 Among dances, an ostrich and an ape dance were mentioned to me.

123 The studies, which began so promisingly, came to an end because I was evidently unable to present the village chief with enough presents. One evening a boy appeared and told me that the Bushmen had "had to go hunting." I continued to wait a number of days for the !Kung called by Mr. Eaddes. The messengers returned with the news that they had found no one. Another Sunday coat for the village mayor and some yellow money for the Bushmen, and priceless material could have been obtained.

[107] Chapter 3

The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of the Ondonga [Ndonga]

173 According to their tradition, these Bushmen came from Herero country. Hence they represent the connecting link between the "Saan" in the Gobabis district and the Hei//om [Heikum] of the north. The people as a whole designate them-
101 selves as Daman = the wealthy. The horde around Oshigambo calls itself //Huru-Khái. They call their dialect Cháraba. I do not be-
131 lieve that they live far in the interior of the Otjimpolo Veld. They have an enormous respect for the !Kung. The outermost cattle posts of the Ondonga probably coincide pretty much with
172 the boundaries of their territory. A number of them are Bantu-
143 ized and have small physiques. The others engage in hunting
439 and supply the black farmers with the flesh of wild game, hides,
648 ostrich egg beads, and poison. They serve as beaters on the great hunts of Chief Martin. At the court they count for nothing. The farmers like to see them. Little acts of assistance, a sack of berries or veldkost, soften the heart of the black housewife, so that here, as in Uukualuthi [among the Kualuthi?], there are a number of do-nothings who are nonetheless gladly received.

[13 cont.]

Chapter 4

The Bushmen of Ukuambi

115 At an outpost of the Finnish Ukuambi Mission, where I undertook anthropological measurements, I encountered a Bushman from the hordes that live on the northern bank of the Etosha Pan and stand in a loose dependent relationship partly with Ipumbo, partly with Shanika. I was able to converse with him only a few hours.

101 These Bushmen in Ukuambi, as well as at other places, belong to the Ezimo of the Akuanambua. They themselves are [614] divided into a number of exogamous kin groups. My informant belonged to the clan Ari-Ari. The tribe calls itself Akese or Kere and comes from the region between Okaukuejo and Outjo. Today this tribal organization is broken up. The following names -- formerly independent hordes which now live mixed together -- were mentioned to me: /Aru-Kwe, Ashuche, Asécha, !Kuru-Kwei, A !Kha-ta-bé, A-Hei-tére, A !gnuri.

648 Insofar as these Bushmen do not already lead the life of the Bantu farmers, they are hunters, spies, and occasionally also executioners for the chiefs. They manufacture ostrich egg beads [+39] and poison. For twelve good ostrich eggs they receive a fat ox. The Ovambo have quite a peculiar outlook in this respect. They spurn the perfectly good eggs of their hens. The ordinarily somewhat "disreputable" ostrich eggs are purchased for dear money as a delicacy.

611 The sons belong to the family of the father, the daughters to that of the mother. The men are not allowed to eat hares, 262 but the women and children do. The eating of hyenas and boa constrictors is prohibited to all.

776 Concerning their religious conceptions I was able to discover the following: In the sky dwells the great captain !Khuwa, which means the same as Huwe. In answer to the question about God, however, he stated that this was Erob, which naturally coincides with the name for God, Ellob, of the Rhenish Mission. The name !Khuwa only occurred casually in the conversation. He was unable to give a clear answer to my question as to whether

[18 cont.]

134 The ground is covered with red sand (fox sand), which in the thorn bush areas changes to a firm, grayish-yellow; perhaps argillaceous sand. Chalk cliffs and other rocks are completely lacking. The Kaudum bed is perpetually covered with dense green grass. The sand pans have humous sand; only in the northeast near Schamatura is a peat-like swampy soil to be found with red, strongly ferruginous water. Forest fires are the order of the day, but they do little damage to the tree growth."

133 South of the Omuramba u Owambo there is a fairly large
134 number of limestone pans, which in part still contain water but are mostly dried up. The land there is drying up rapidly, according to both the Bushmen and the Europeans. During the rainy season the clayey soils are swampy, and at that time the
[136] dense bush forest is filled with myriads of mosquitoes, and
[164] malaria claims its victims from all races. The unhealthy situa-
648 tion, the difficulty of getting workers, and the irregularity of the rainfall have led to the abandonment of most of the farms outside Grootfontein, so that the Bushmen have actually gained ground there. The !Kung Bushmen outside the police zone live entirely according to their old customs and traditions. The in-
[578] dividual kin groups are in part hostile to one another. A kind
[619] of hereditary feud exists with the Hei//om, who are often attacked because of the women. The !Kung live on good terms with the farms along the northern boundary (Duwib, Keitsas, Keibeb, Kuntsas, Neitsas, Foxhof). Many of them work there for
[464] certain periods of time, and quite a few permanently; in particular, they like to let women and children work on the farms.
[177] Mr. Cleark, the owner of Keibeb, has trained a large number of
[439] them to make charcoal. These Bushmen make the charcoal out in the wilderness and deliver it. It is then resold to the mottramite mine in Abenab. Until the establishment of the police zone, a perpetual state of war existed between the police and the Bushmen. There are constant battles between the Herero of Otjituo and the !Kung because of livestock thefts. The Herero attack the Bushmen on horseback and kill them from the saddle with the kirri.

The Bushmen, who are not accustomed to shooting at rapidly moving targets, usually come out the losers. Like the

[18 cont.]

648 Nogau, the !Kung who are settled in the Sand Veld east of the Omuramba u Omatako are more hostile toward the Whites, and the attitude of the Whites and natives on the farms is correspondingly hostile toward them. This attitude is explained by the fact that only in recent times the Bushmen were forced out of the region west of the Omuramba and now have considerably reduced the scant living space of their brothers east of the dry bed. The living conditions in this region are hopeless. The !Kung live in symbiosis with the tribes along the Okovanggo. Lacking a stable social organization, lacking fixed dwellings in the narrower sense, the Bushmen is much less manageable than, say, the black farmers. Making the tribe collectively responsible, which is the best protection for the European, cannot be used against the Bushmen, and the likelihood of seizing a Bushman who has committed a crime on the edge of the police zone or outside it is zero. One must keep this in mind in dealing with them. On the other hand, I had no bad experiences with them.

[19] The Biological Bases of Life

1. The Number

161 Seiner has estimated the number of the !Kung at about 12,000. Since then, the wars of 1914-15, as well as the steady deterioration of the water conditions, have strongly curbed any increase, so that their number has certainly not risen in the last 20 years.

621 The basic social unit is the essentially patriarchal family horde, which on the average consists of one or two old men, four to six adult men, an equal number of women capable of bearing children, and a number of old matrons, as well as the 221 children. Toward the end of the winter they assemble in great 621 numbers at the few remaining watering places; they then meet again when the first veldkost ripens at certain places, frequently several hundreds of them; and then, when summer sets in, they again move in small groups to their family terrain. As examples, 162 I shall give four hordes for which I was able to determine the

[19 cont.]

162 In the age group of five to ten years, the number re-
165 mains the same.

The mortality rate is therefore very low, as among us, in fact, even lower, since the dangerous infectious diseases of childhood are absent. Insofar as the few figures given here permit one to draw conclusions, the sex ratio is 1:1. It is impossible to say what the sex ratio is among the adults. A great number
[123] of the men disappeared when I arrived -- since most of them had a bad conscience and did not want to be pinned down either metrically or photographically. It is certainly clear, however, that the higher the age group, the greater is the excess of women.

[20] Concerning the gray-haired individuals of an advanced age, in other words, over 60 years old, I counted four men and 13 women in the case of the four hordes mentioned above, in other words, a ratio of 1:3. As is the case among us, there, too, the women on the average reach a higher age.

161 C. v. François (1) on his journey to the Okovanggo in
[113]

1. Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, IV, 1891.

1891 estimated the population of the region at 500 Honigkaffir and Hei//om, 2,000 !Kung and 10,000 Okawango. The Bushman
[131] tribe of the Wasseckeri was supposed to live north of the Okovanggo, between the Kuando and Cuito. He calls the chief
133 of the northern !Kung the person best acquainted with the land, and this chief assured him that the water conditions had been much better in earlier times. Many of the vleis that are now dry formerly had water the year round. The Okaluombe (Apato) is supposed to have formerly flowed into the Ngami.

Theodor Leutwein (2) reports:

[113]

2. Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika [Eleven Years as Governor in German Southwest Africa], Berlin, 1906.

●648 "North of Grootfontein at Gaub, a place with ample
621 water, a number of Kaffir and Bushmen had formed a village and
622

[20 cont.]

648 put themselves under a chief, a Herero half-breed named
621 Krüger, whose position was acknowledged" (see p. 87). "In
622 Naidaus a Bushman leader named Aribib introduced himself, who, like Krüger in the east, was recognized as the captain of the Bushmen in the west" (p. 88).

114 "During the journey of Captain Volkmann in the year 1902 to the Okovanggo, the !Kung Bushmen provided extensive help. Volkmann describes these !Kung in the following manner:
147 'The Bushmen, who are almost totally naked, are very sensitive to the cold. In the morning each Bushman has a burning log in
372 his hand, which he holds close to his chest. The other hand is placed on the shoulder with the upper arm pressed close to the body. At the resting place the log is used immediately to make
481 a fire. When a Bushman walks in front of the horse as leader, he
222 springs with incredible speed, now here and now there, to get a tuber or root out of the ground. Various berries growing on low
276 shrubs are also very popular. Anything that can serve is used as a tobacco pipe: kudu horns, calabashes, hollowed fruit of the Strychnos, old metal cartridge shells, and so forth. Most of all they like to smoke through water, which is never renewed. When they run out of tobacco, they boil the bark of a tree in the thick tobacco water, dry the bark, which has some tobacco taste, and smoke it' " (p. 180).

101 F. Seiner reports the following concerning the divisions
131 of this tribe:

"The Kung, to the best of our present knowledge, are divided into four groups. The western group seems to extend from the Portuguese border near Kurinkuru along the route via Tschitschib to the Omuramba u Owambo and then seems to be bounded by the latter and in the east by the line Nuragas--Blockfontein. The Karakuwisa group bordering them to the east inhabits the valley of the Omuramba u Omatako from Karakuwisa to Blockfontein during the dry season, and during the rainy season also the steppes 100 to 150 kilometers east and west of the Omuramba and the latter itself up to the Kanovlei. The more southerly group extends from the latter in the Omuramba to around Osondema; we shall call these Nog-au, who have already settled in the central Kalahari and can scarcely be classed with

[20 cont.]

101 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposed-
131 ly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are
[648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the
[631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief, the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notorious Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-
[197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do
[342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in
[301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh
[827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron
[411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations
[114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

[21 cont.]

157 them thought of asking a question about it. The Bushmen of
today at least do not believe that any kind of magic is concealed
[177] in the Europeans' machines. They learn to use European instru-
ments fairly quickly; in particular, they soon become familiar
with the rifle. Dornan reported that there was a large number
of improvised rifles that the Bushmen had adapted. In a new
environment, the Bushman is wholly self-possessed and coolly
observant. He is highly adaptable. The girls, of whom a num-
● [648] ber are kept by farmers as concubines, are quite skillful at
housekeeping. In Ovamboland they quickly adopt the living
[177] habits and economic activities of the Bantu. An Ongandjera
Bushman acts as an instructor at the teacher's college in Oonipa.
He owns a small kraal that is well-maintained in Ovambo fashion
and, in addition, has built himself a round hut of tiles in which
[648] he keeps his "library." They seldom stay long on the farms, but
[147] probably in the main because the food does not agree with them.
609 The Bushmen are most distrustful of other people. Every armed
person whom they encounter is regarded from the outset as an
enemy. The Bushman is allowed to enter the regions of other tribes
only if he is unarmed. Even along the edge of the farm zone
the mutual distrust is so great that a Bushman who has been sent
to a farm as a messenger dares not leave the road, which is
regarded as a neutral zone, if another kin group has settled in
the vicinity. If two armed Bushmen who are strangers approach
each other, they disarm at first sight before they greet each
other. When a Bushman comes to a village or to a farmhouse,
he will put down his arms at a certain distance and sit down to
wait patiently, if need be for hours, until he is questioned. A
186 distinct sense of race is not apparent. Everything that does not
609 belong to one's own kin group is regarded as strange, even
hostile, except when common persecution causes a sense of
solidarity to spring up among all those who are persecuted. At
the same time, they very clearly possess a kind of sense of
humanity as a whole, that is, they do not believe that they are
the only people, and they are convinced, for example, that the
people of all races are received in the heavenly house. Their
602 conduct toward relatives is regulated by numerous customs, but
in general it is formal and almost ceremonial, even toward the
[543] wife and children. The Bushman is never importunate.
[157]

[21 cont.]

648 The Bushmen as a whole are despised by the other peoples, but in individual cases they are feared, and not least by the Whites. The Bushmen are familiar with this attitude and conduct themselves accordingly.

797 177 The Bushmen accept a foreign point of view only with great difficulty, if at all. The mission, accordingly, can show no noteworthy success among them. On the other hand, they 157 usually grasp the intentions of others more quickly than the ordinarily more superficial Blacks. Consequently, they give brief and precise answers to the questions put to them. When asked questions that they do not want to answer, they remain silent. At the same time, in dealings with them one should note that they tire very quickly when they have to do mental work, and then they will not answer further questions, not because they do not want to, but because they are too tired.

181 The Bushmen are not generous. Nevertheless, allow- [574] ing a stranger to partake of a meal, as well as giving him some 609 of the available water, is wholly matter-of-course with them. [431] They very rarely, however, give any of their personal belongings, weapons, ornaments, hides, and so forth, as presents. If they themselves receive presents, they are obviously delighted. 181 It is true that they do not express their gratitude with words, 577 [22] but anyone who does the Bushmen a kindness may be sure that they will manifest their gratitude by deeds to the point of self-sacrifice.

To help a fellow human being who is in trouble is a moral obligation. There is a report of a prospector who lost his [648] way in the bush forest and was then saved by the Bushmen, with whom he could not even converse; they took care of him for several days and finally put him on the right path.

Agreements and promises are kept unconditionally by the Bushman, although it is true that he usually arrives a little too late. Once, when an ox from the ox-cart of the Catholic mission had to be left behind on the way to the Okovanggo, it was put in the care of the Bushmen and they were to deliver it at the time of the next full moon. The people kept their word, and the ox was delivered, well-fed, at the specified time.

As a comrade, the Bushman is reliable and faithful (1).

181 648 1. A European had once illegally

/22 cont./

181
648

appropriated a number of little trees and planted them in front of his house. On one occasion when he was in town with his Bushmen, the original owner of the trees declared that in the afternoon he was going to see about it. The Bushmen heard this and disappeared. When the two Whites came to the farm, the little trees had disappeared. The Bushmen had run ahead and had hurriedly removed them on their own initiative.

181 The Bushmen are at all times courageous and steadfast people, characteristics which, indeed, their very way of life would produce.

831 The Bushmen strictly avoid talking about sexual matters
[864] in the presence of women and children. Just as in general they are a people without imagination, they do not have any form of the more subtle erotic phantasies.

The endless obscene stories that one hears from the Blacks as soon as he has gained their confidence are unknown among the Bushmen.

The sexual element is absent in their religious cele-
[535] brations, but it finds expression in many of their dances, which imitate the love play of animals.

834 On the whole, their sense of modesty cannot be denied, even though, naturally, they do not have such decent forms of conduct as the genteel Bantu, among whom it is regarded as extremely improper to look at the breasts of the women. The
[516] girls and women never sit in the typical squatting position, but rather sit on the ground with the legs crossed.

(576) Although the life of the Bushmen within the encampment is openly in view, those principles that we regard as natural tact are nonetheless observed.

(514) The Bushman performs his necessities at all times out of sight of the others, and love scenes are never enacted in public.

114 It is naturally very difficult to learn anything more
124 precise concerning the more intimate details of sexual life

[22 cont.]

114 without compromising oneself. Only old people are suitable
124 informants, since they are no longer eager for renown.

831 In view of the hard life that the people lead, sexuality, naturally, is not excessively developed. Perverse manipulations are evidently unknown, since my informants did not even understand questions on this subject.

833 Normal sexual intercourse is usually performed in the bush during the time between the evening meal and the rising
271 of the moon. Long periods of thirst result in almost total im-
147 potence.

157 Despite all the formality, they have an unbridled
578 temperament which frequently expresses itself in violent emotional explosions over trivial affairs, which then may easily lead to serious consequences since the poisoned arrow is always at hand. For example, I was told the following story: A Bushman worked on a farm for quite a long time and, with his belly fat from eating maize, came to visit his thin companions. His brother made fun of him for being so fat, saying that he could not run any more, whereupon the fat one retorted: "Just the same, I'll live longer than you." After this brief exchange of words, the scrawny brother stabbed the fat one. -- A film com-
157 pany once wanted to make a film among the !Kung who are
648 settled behind Keibeb; the film was to be called: "When the First Whites Came into the Land." The chief of this horde had a [23] pair of old German military trousers as an emblem of his office and when he was requested to take them off, he responded with the declaration that he would take off his trousers only if the White did the same, whereupon he received a box on the ears that put him and his companions in such a rage that the film company preferred to depart in order to avoid a catastrophe.
157 That they can also be quick at repartee is shown by the following story which was repeatedly told to me by Europeans: A Bushman had been accused of poaching. The magistrate asked him: "Don't you know that these animals belong to the king (royal game)?" The Bushman answered: "I saw no 'brand' (property mark)."

As a chief or family head, the Bushman is bossy and
[593] unyielding, which is understandable in view of the rigidity of his whole conception of life. The sick Bushmen lie silent and

[27 cont.]

221 Bushmen shrink to miserable skeletons. Many of them at this
648 time run to the Blacks or Whites in order to earn something. In
[731] dry years no attention is paid to the kin group boundaries. All
[423] gather around the few water holes that are still open. As soon as the rain begins, conditions start to improve; the people start moving out in various directions, not to meet again until several months later at the time of the veldkost harvest here and there.

7. The Course of Life

584 I shall render in literal translation the account that my informant gave of the way a young man courts a girl:

If a young man wants to marry a girl, he must first speak to her and say: "I love you and want to marry you." If the girl is willing, she says first: "You must wait." Then she goes to her parents and asks them whether they have heard that the boy has spoken to her. The parents then ask whether the girl wants to marry the man. [28] If the girl says, "Yes," then the parents say, "He wants you; he has seen that you are good and hard-working; you may marry." If, however, the young man has thought the matter over and takes back his words, the girl goes to her parents once more, and the boy to his. The latter say: "You wanted it this way; nothing can be done about it." In case the girl definitely gives her consent, however, the young man brings all kinds of little presents and gives them to his future bride, who takes them to her parents. The parents-in-law must now in turn give presents. With the exchange of presents, the
[583] marriage is regarded as legally concluded.

[114] The hunting test described by Passarge (1) and others is not
224
584
[113]

1. Passarge, Die Buschmänner der Kalahari, 1907.

the rule. Some vain girls demand it, and sometimes young men will voluntarily go through with it in order to beat his rivals. This hunting test is carried out in the following manner. The boy goes hunting without weapons and pursues the game (as a rule,

1 [i.e. The hot season -- Analyst]

[43 cont.]

732 Blindness in one eye is very common as the result of wounds inflicted by thorns. Among very old people I have also found blindness as the result of cataract. Here and there one also finds [648] Bushmen who in olden times had been captured by the Herero, who shot out their eyes with grass seed.

Ear Ailments

757 They are relatively rare. For an ordinary earache, leaves are stuffed into the ear "so that it will stay warm." The aching ear is likewise held over the fire, in which some medicine has been placed. If pus comes out of the ear, the ache stops and all

[413]

Fig. 16. Scratching Instrument. Iron leaf fastened to a little stick with resin and leather strips. (Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg; actual size [as shown in original text].)

[753] [44] is well. If //Gauab has put something in it, however, the pains become so strong that one can no longer sleep or hear. In [755] such cases one must call an especially powerful doctor, who draws out the spirits of sickness; otherwise the patient will die.

[45 cont.]

147
262

> Bushmen stared longingly at the discolored lump of fat. Finally they sent a deputation to me, saying that they wanted the bacon for their dogs. The moment they received it, it was skillfully divided according to families and consumed in the course of a great feast, without any harmful effects.

enormous quantities, but such excesses as a rule are followed by an indisposition. The day after a major feast, almost all of them lie in the sun with stomach-ache and gripes. In other words, even a Bushman should not be credited with the impossible with regard to food; many things that seem repulsive to us, such as earthworms, lizards, thick grubs, mice, and the like, are in themselves not at all harmful to health, especially since the Bushman only eats them cooked or roasted. Bushmen who have grown up on the farms can take the same diet as the Whites or Blacks. On
147 the other hand, the wild Bushmen who have grown up on veldkost
262 and the flesh of wild animals cannot accustom themselves to the
648 work and prison diet of the Blacks. A term in jail of any great length means condemnation to a slow but sure death for most Bushmen. The prisoners show the symptoms of vitamin deficiency, become infirm, get edemata on their legs, dropsy, and unfailingly perish. In the initial stage severe sluggishness of the bowels sets in. Ample portions of fresh meat can keep the Bushman healthy even in imprisonment. The fact that Bushmen run away from the
[464] farms is based in most cases upon their inability to endure any
[146] longer the diet given them. The vitamin need of the Bushman who has grown up in the wilderness is undoubtedly much greater, and his longing for meat, which often appears pathological, can be explained as a physiological craving for vitamins.

Diseases of the Urogenital System

164 Catarrhs of the bladder occur; in such cases a flat stone
(755) is warmed in the fire and placed on the bladder region. Hematuria, evidently the result of nephritis, was twice treated by my friend

[52 cont.]

754 further. The belly of the unconscious person swells enormously.
755 When all other procedures have proved futile and someone remembers that this or that doctor has the magic medicine, he is called in, takes some of his bloodlike fluid from his horn, and first smears his own feet and then rubs the patient's feet and, above all, the patient's stomach in a circular massage. Gradually the swelling recedes, the patient gets up, sits down, and is cured.

648 This story, based upon the fact that there are roots with bloodlike sap, became known by the farmers in a confused fashion and was the cause of the ridiculous fear of the secret poisons of the Bushmen that many farmers have.

15. The Elements

773 Heaven and earth, sun and moon, all was made by X'u,
821 the great captain, the supreme being. In the sun-scorched deserts inhabited by the Bushmen, the sun is no dispenser of mercy. During the hot season even the Bushman is forced to remain in the shade in the daytime, because the sand is so hot that he cannot walk on it.

The sun was a daughter of man. The Bushmen had seen her, and the men had to carry this daughter, but since she burned with such heat on their shoulders, the men had to frequently change places. When the shoulders of all the men were burned, they left the sun lying in the bush and did not take her to the huts. This is the place from which the sun rose. She is from the great captain.

When the sun sets, she sits down on the earth to eat. When it is to be day, one of her shoulderblades goes to the other side of the world where it appears as the sun. The sun's rays (/gam ǂhǂsn) are the arms of the sun. The eclipse of the sun (ǂKáo) is caused by the lions so that they can more easily eat human beings.

The Bushman becomes cheerful only when the cool of the evening arrives, and at the time of the full moon he celebrates his festivals. There is no question of moon worship, however, among the !Kung Bushmen I visited.

[60 cont.]

769 territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced
614 by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place (1).

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 434.

775 As has already been said, the Bushman does not believe
[626] in punishment after death. On the other hand, he is convinced that the evil that he himself has done will befall him or his dogs in the same way.

681 In former times banishment from the kin group was likewise
● 648 customary, and the exile would soon perish, since the Bushman
177 cannot survive by himself in the wilderness for any length of time. Nowadays, such individuals, just like those who were expelled from the Bantu tribes, move to land owned by Europeans and find work there. It is obvious that they do not help to improve the reputation of the Coloreds.

695 In cases of doubt, the Bushman swears by the great captain: nu X'u.

681 Instead of formal expulsion, the people may boycott out-
762 laws, who are thereby driven to such despair that they commonly commit suicide. Suicides also occur for other reasons.

21. Conflicts with Europeans

648 Before the police zone boundary was erected, the Bushmen found themselves in a latent state of war with their neighbors. Part of their list of sins will be cited here.

According to Toke, the !Kung near Keibeb in 1925 attacked eight Barotse [Lozi] and killed them, and purportedly ate them. Later, three Ovambo were attacked by surprise, killed,

[60 cont.]

648 and their brains eaten. (The latter report probably referred to the people of Karakowisa.) Concerning our !Kung, a farmer wrote at that time (1927):

"Lately, complaints about the slaughtering of cattle stolen by the Bushmen are increasing at a disquieting rate. Only in very rare cases can the culprits be brought to justice. It is true that the police make the greatest effort to do so, but success is rare. In the first place, a single white policeman with a native police assistant cannot do a great deal in view of the great mobility of the Bushmen. He will usually appear on the scene too late to be able to take up the prosecution successfully. The farmers concerned have made all kinds of proposals, which usually amount to the idea that the police and farmers should simultaneously set out after the wandering Bushmen. It would probably be best to draw a clear boundary line for the idle Bushmen, across which they may not pass into the territory inhabited by Whites. That the Bushman knows how to respect boundaries is apparent from the fact that he is careful not to enter the hunting territory of another kin group. Every Bushman caught within such a delimited territory inhabited by Whites [61] should without further ado be arrested and punished by forced labor, which, in view of his holy terror of any kind of work, would probably be most unpleasant to him.

"Under the conditions prevailing at the present time it is primarily the farmers bordering on Bushman territory who suffer to the extent that many of them are seriously considering giving up farming, because otherwise the last head of cattle will be slaughtered within the foreseeable future. The farmer, with his neighbors, should be allowed to follow the trails leading from fresh slaughtering places and, in serious cases, to fire on the Bushmen, just as the Bushman, after all, would use his bow and arrow. The Bushman recognizes no authority; hence he should be placed under extraordinary laws. When, as recently happened here, a strong police patrol spends almost a month to catch cattle thieves, and then the 12 accused, who doubtless were guilty of slaughtering the animals, all have to be acquitted because a witness for the Crown fails to support the case for the prosecution, then it is

[61 cont.]

648 clear that our laws are unsuitable for these Bushmen. One can readily understand that the injured farmer, who in a short period of time has had about 20 head of cattle stolen and eaten, will become desperate in view of the acquittal, since he can well imagine that as a result of the acquittal, the reasons for which the Bushmen do not understand anyway, the latter will be tempted to further acts of depredation."

From the Epukiro region another farmer reports:

"I live not far from the boundary of Bechuanaland. There are a great many vagrant Bushmen here, who are armed with poisoned arrows. These Bushmen frequently attack the cattle of the natives whenever it is any distance from the kraal. A few days ago Bushmen stole and killed two head of cattle belonging to a Herero kraal about six miles from our camp. The Herero followed the trail of the Bushmen and found them. The latter immediately made use of their bows, and one of the Herero was wounded by an arrow on the right side of his chest. The wound was inflicted about four o'clock in the afternoon; about one o'clock in the afternoon of the following day the wounded man died. As soon as my friend learned of the situation, he sent some permanganate of potash to the kraal with directions as to its use. But this seems to have arrived too late. One of the horses was slightly wounded in the head, but it appears to be nothing serious. I saw the corpse of the Herero early in the morning after his death; it was badly swollen and decomposed. The natives said that decomposition set in even before death. -- As will be remembered, three years ago the Gobabis magistrate, Mr. Reyneveldt, was wounded by Bushmen with a poisoned arrow in the same region and died shortly thereafter."

(These data are taken from the Windhuker Zeitung.) [Fig. 21a appears here.]

[65 cont.]

101 north. Beyond this there is a great river and many black people
131 (Okawango). They know only the Herero as their western neighbors. In other words, they came much later than the latter. Unquestionably as recently as 20 years ago some people of this group were still settled along the central Omurambo Omatako, where F. Seiner reports them from Otjituo and Nuragas. The Naron live south of them, and to the southeast the ≠Auin. In the southwest, at least formerly, there were Bushmen of the Hei//om group and /Gowanin (Sand Kaffir). Probably these Hei//om were the people formerly designated as Saan. Nogau, ≠Auin, and Naron actually belong to
[101] the Kalahari group. Throughout the farm zone which formerly
[175] extended to the English frontier, the tribal units were more or less
648 destroyed, and there arose a mixed Bushman population which constantly replenished its numbers from the free tribes. On the other hand, however, Bushmen from the farm zone always went back to the bush, partly of their own free will and partly in flight from the police. In the Gobabis district the boundary of the police zone coincides with the land boundary. The relationships between the Whites and the Hereros on the one hand, and the Bushmen on the other, are therefore [66] very tense. A few years ago,
175 648 after the Bushmen had been prohibited from hunting big game, they rebelled and declared a feud against the magistrate in Gobabis by shooting some arrows against the door of his house one night. The magistrate, Van Rynefeldt, wanted to hunt them down in the bush, but was struck by a poisoned arrow shot from ambush and died. A great roundup of Bushmen was organized and many of them were taken to the prison in Gobabis, where a number of them died as a
[178] result of the vitamin-poor diet. Since then the Bushmen in this region have again chosen a chief and represent a modest power. As a result of these conditions, it was much more difficult to gain
123 their confidence than in the north. In this respect, P. Watterott and the village mayor of Epukiro, Franz Arenat, were especially helpful to me. These Bushmen are of special interest since there
198 is a special women's language among them. It is called Hee-aziba he auseashu. It is in part also spoken by the children and is characterized by having many words that have no clicks. It was only with great difficulty that I was able to take down a few words, for example:

[68 cont.]

142 Racially, these Bushmen are smaller and lighter in color than
144 those of the north and show the admixtures of the southern Bushman race to a much greater degree. There is constant coming and go-
648 ing in this region. Seiner (1) reports the following:

[113]

1. J. Seiner, "Der Verbindungsweg zwischen Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika und der Betschuanalandeisenbahn [The Line of Communication between German Southwest Africa and the Bechuanaland Railway]," Globus, Vol. 96, 1910.

"The Bushmen from around Rietfontein are friendly to the Germans and repeatedly supplied the station garrison with effective help against the Herero and Ovambandjeru passing through. At the time of my stay in January and February, 1907, there was a small village of the Au-nin, who belong to Passarge's Kaukau people, one kilometer north of the barracks, and a village of the Ai-khoe, whom Passarge includes among the Ngami people, one and a half kilometers southwest of the station. The Bushmen of the latter village were subject to the Au-nin, who called them Naru (subordinates, slaves). Since in June, 1908, Dr. Pöch found only Au-nin in Rietfontein, it would seem that the Ai-khoe, in the meantime had emigrated or were driven out by the Au-nin."

To some extent all these tribes represent a cultural unit. A
[184] 114 fine study by First Lieutenant Kaufmann (2) is available for the

[113]

2. Kaufmann, "Die ǂAu-in, "Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, 1910.

ǂAuin, and one by D.F.Bleek (3) for the Naron. I shall now compare

[113]

3. D.F.Bleek, "The Naron, A Bushman Tribe of the Central Kalahari," Publications of the School of African Life and Language, Cambridge, 1928.

these tribes with one another, and it is to be understood that only the data concerning the Nogau are my own.

/246 cont./

142 The Herero, like the Bushmen, give the use of veld food,
147 especially the onion known as unki, as the cause of this peculiarity.
171 The attached photographs illustrate the swelling in the case of a Bushman (Fig. 3) and a Herero (Fig. 4).

The nose is sharply set off from the forehead and strikingly
142 small. The bridge of the nose is so flat that in some cases one can scarcely speak of a bridge of the nose; the area between the cheekbones is an almost level surface. The tip /247/ of the nose is small and pointed slightly upward. The largest diameter of the nostrils runs diagonally. The lips are narrow in comparison with those of most Negroes; their color is almost exactly that of the surrounding skin of the face.

The teeth of the majority of individuals are in pretty good condition; among the 39 persons I examined, I found only 28 carious teeth. In comparison with a European, the extreme wear of the teeth is striking; it progresses with age and is so marked in old people that the teeth are worn down to the roots, again a consequence of the way of life dependent upon a root diet. The incisors very slightly point forward.

The Heikum do not have artificial deformities of the teeth.
304 Several of those examined displayed the well-known Herero
● 648 deformity (filing down the inner sides of the two central upper incisors and removal of the four lower incisors) [Figs. 3 and 4 appear here], which is explained by the fact that these Bushmen had been Herero slaves in their childhood and were marked in the Herero manner by their former masters.

The ear is of normal size; its outline is rounded, not bent at an
142 angle. The ear lobe is always joined to the head.

In spite of general gauntness, the marked development of the abdomen in most cases is striking, even among the adults.

The female breast is conical in the case of individuals who have not borne children; the region around the nipple is usually separated by a gentle furrow from the rest of the breast. The color of the nipple area is deep brown. The nipple is raised.

[304] Circumcision is not practiced by either men or women. Among the Heikum and Kung women I did not find the abnormally pro-
[144] nounced development of the buttocks, known as steatopygia, which is so common among Hottentot women. To my mind this is

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

648 self-reliant. No European farms or institutions such as hospitals, schools, missions, trading posts, labour-recruiting or tax-collecting offices have been established in the Nyae Nyae region. The first government official to go into the region, Mr. Claude McIntyre, Senior Welfare Officer of the Administration of South West Africa, came with our first expedition to Gautscha Pan in 1951. The contact of the /Kung of this region with the neighbouring Bantu-speaking Negro tribes consists of occasional trading trips or visits to their Bushman relatives who are working for Chwana or Herero in western Bechuanaland.

123 We lived for seventeen months with the /Kung of Nyae Nyae; for six weeks in 1951, for fourteen consecutive months in 1952–3, for six weeks again in 1955.

115 During this time we had several interpreters. We wish to express our gratitude particularly to two, Ngani and Kernel Ledimo, who had an exceptionally intelligent grasp of our purposes and problems and whose work was patient and precise. Ngani (this is his own preferred spelling of his name) is a Heikum Bushman who lived for many years with Mr. Courtney Clark in Grootfontein. Among the nine languages Ngani speaks are /Kung and English. Kernel Ledimo is a Chwana of the Batwana tribe who grew up among /Kung Bushmen on his father's cattle posts and was educated in an English school in Bechuanaland.

121 184 We made the kinship terminology of the /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region a subject of special study. Our investigation of the /Kõ and /Gikwe kinship terminology shows that there is not one system common to all Bushman groups. This paper deals only with the /Kung system.

124 Our method of study was first to take genealogies of the members of six bands, comprising about 175 persons. This took a good deal of time but was rewarding as a background which helped us to place in their web of relationships most of the 600 [123] /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region whom we came eventually to know by sight or name as we travelled about or as they visited us.

124 601 After we had gathered the genealogical material we began to ask people what kinship terms they used for each other. We asked many informants, going over and over the same questions. The terms for parents, offspring, and siblings were easily learned. But the terms for grandparents, grandchildren, and all collaterals threw us into confusion. For each grandparent or grandchild, of either sex, we found that a person might use one of two terms (and one of these has an alternate); and a person might use one of three terms for each collateral, with an alternate, a diminutive, and a distinction man-speaking and woman-speaking to complicate matters. The same term might be applied to relatives on either the paternal or maternal side. We did not know for some time what factor determined, for instance, whether a person applied the term *a* or *b* to his FaFa or MoFa or the term *a*, *b*, or *c* to his FaBr, MoBr or some other collateral. When we asked we were usually told, 'It is our custom', but one informant gravely explained that 'God created people and told them what terms to use for each other. Parents have taught their children ever since what terms to use.' It was ≠Toma, perhaps our most intelligent informant, who at last figured out what it was we did not understand and told us what he had assumed everyone knew, that the term 'followed the name'. In other words there is a factor, which we finally called the factor of the name, which under certain circumstances determines what term the individual uses. We began afresh to gather information to understand and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

[151] that marks an edible root, or see a scorpion hidden in the dust
174 and jump over it. So Bushmen survive in the most rigorous places; they survive in the dense, mosquito-ridden papyrus
131 swamps of the Okovango River, steaming like a jungle and
133 dangerous with snakes and fever, where the River Bushmen
[184] live, the only Bushmen with plenty of water; they also survive on the vast, rolling steppes of central Bechuanaland, the territory of the Gikwe Bushmen, who for the nine dry months of the year have no water at all and do without it.

609 Besides the fact that Bushmen alone can live in the land
563 they occupy, there is another reason for their remoteness and
648 shyness. They are in many instances exploited by the Bantu farmers, and by a few of the European farmers, usually those who need free or almost free labor. Many Bantu farms and households have Bushman servants, or serfs, rather, as they usually come from the land on or near the farm, and when working they are paid nothing but are given food, tobacco,
464 and sometimes cast-off clothing as wages. Some European
648 farms in Bechuanaland and some in South-West Africa have Bushman laborers too, though most European farmers do not depend on Bushman labor. Those European farmers who do employ Bushmen usually pay wages, about ten shillings a month, plus a ration of food to each Bushman who is working, though not necessarily to his family, consisting of about a pound of cornmeal and a quart of milk a day, meat occasionally, and weekly a ration of tobacco. Perhaps the employer will add a set of clothing—that is, a pair of cast-off pants and a shirt—and perhaps a blanket every year, but occasionally they pay their labor in cast-off clothing and omit the ten shillings altogether.

648 European clothing is esteemed among Bushmen, for it is
291 symbolic to them of a people mightier than themselves, and
439

also because, made of cloth instead of leather, it is more cling- 648
ing, therefore warmer and more comfortable, and dries faster 291
when wet. It is sought after and desired, it is got through em- 439
ployment; yet, even so, Bushmen hesitate to seek employment because they believe that they will be badly treated (as they sometimes are) and they often find the customary wage and food ration to be inadequate for anyone who must support a family. Supposedly, the wives of Bushmen laborers are [222
free to look on the farmer's land for roots and berries, as they 465]
would if they were living in the veld; but, as it happens, after a few years the supply of wild food around a farm becomes exhausted.

The Bantu farmers, being as a rule much poorer than the 648
European farmers, are less generous to their Bushman serfs. 464
They also give a food ration of cornmeal and milk but almost never meat, for any meat that may come into the Bantu kraal is eaten by the Bantus unless it is the carcass of a hyena or a leopard which the Bantu masters have killed for the pelt. The Bantus say: "Our Bushman servants are like our children; they herd our cattle for us and we feed them. A child does not ask for wages when he helps with the family work."

Besides this, the Bantus badly cheat the Bushmen who come in from the veld to trade cured antelope hides for metal and tobacco, sometimes asking several hides, worth several pounds apiece, for enough tobacco to fill the palm of the Bushman's hand, or for a piece of wire long enough to make an arrowhead. All in all, it does not benefit the Bushmen to 609
live anywhere near Bantu or European settlements, and that 648
is why the Bushmen of the veld run and hide when they see Europeans coming, believing that they may be taken by force (as they sometimes are), and why they avoid going to a Bantu settlement except to trade for tobacco when they feel

609 they must smoke, or when they are dying of thirst and must
648 come in to beg for water.

159 Once I talked with a young Bushman who had visited one
563 of our camps in Bechuanaland many times, who spoke Afri-
kaans, and whom I shall call Tami. I could speak a little
[191] Afrikaans, so he and I could talk together. He was in his early thirties and had been working for some time for European farmers. When I met him he was married, and as his wife had
[465] just had a baby, he felt that his ten-shilling-a-month wage was inadequate and he planned to move to another part of the country where he hoped to be paid more. As it is rather unusual for a Bushman to uproot himself from his own country, no matter how long he has been on a farm and away from his own people, I asked him where he had come from and how he had learned Afrikaans.

[153] "Oh," he said, "I learned Afrikaans in the places I have been. I have worked for white men since I was a young boy
[191] and I have always been fast to learn their languages. In the same way I have learned the languages of the black people."

"Where did you live before you worked for white people?" I asked.

"We lived not far from Nurigaas, at the edge of the police zone. I am a young person still, but I remember that Nurigaas was all wild then. We always lived there."

"With your parents?"

"Yes, until the police boys [1] took the old man my father."

I asked him what had happened, and he said: "We lived at the edge of the police zone, you know. We lived with
888 other Bushmen there, and my sister, she was there. My
159 mother's father was still alive then, but he was too old, he
563 couldn't even carry water, and my mother had to do every-

[1] Police boys are native policemen, usually Bantu.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

that white people used to hunt Bushmen and wanted to kill 159
us for our land. The farmer took me to his farm and I pulled 363
weeds and watched his cattle. He gave me milk and corn- [465
meal, but I didn't like it. I told him milk was for babies and 262]
I wanted him to take me back to my country, but he laughed at me.

"He called me Goliath because I was so small. Goliath, come here. Goliath, watch my calves. And later he gave me a shirt to cover my body and then I went to work for another master, who gave me a goat, and then I worked for my [465]
last master, who paid me shillings. But I am leaving here too because in South-West Africa they pay better. I am a father now, you know."

The day Tami left, I walked over the veld toward a road to say good-by to him, and when I got halfway there I found that he had come halfway to say good-by to me. He was holding his goat by the horns, and behind him his wife, wearing a horrid rag of a European dress, was standing with the baby inside the front of the dress. I gave Tami a knife and his wife a scarf of mine, although I had nothing to give to the baby, and they said good-by to me and turned, Tami dragging the goat around, pretending to be very jaunty, and they set out walking toward the road that leads to South-West Africa.

Times have changed since Tami's father died. In those 648
days, to be sure, there was a great deal more friction between Bushmen and non-Bushmen than there is now because the Bushmen who lived near the farms of European or Bantu farmers quite often killed cattle. It is sometimes said that they did so because they were unable to distinguish between cattle and wild game, or that the cattle drove away the wild game so that the Bushmen would have had no meat if they had not killed the cattle, but I very much doubt that either of these things was true. Most probably, the Bushmen found

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

648 that hunting cattle was extremely easy, and also, very probably, they wanted to revenge themselves upon the owners of the cattle, whom they believed to be encroaching upon the [423] land they considered their own. Today, largely because the ownership of the land has been determined, many fewer cattle are killed by Bushmen.

566 687 Of course, it is quite against the law for any farmer to keep Bushmen against their will and without recompense, but in the most remote outposts, on many farms, the laws cannot always be enforced. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate today, 657 563 566 and also, I believe, in South-West Africa, the governments are trying to set wage scales and provide education for Bushmen, something very difficult for these governments to do as the Bushmen represent only a small fragment of the population, pay no taxes whatever, of course, and are in great demand as laborers; but the only Bushmen who so far can benefit from this are those who already live on the more central farms. Most Bushmen live in the veld, many in almost unreachable parts of the desert, and these people are still being taken by farmers and made to work almost as slaves.

466 566 Usually Bushmen do not run away from their masters unless a very good chance presents itself, such as the master's departure for a time, in which case he may return to find that all his Bushmen have run. But to escape is not always easy; the Bantus usually ride after the escaping Bushmen and drag them back, sometimes beating them severely as well. We once learned of a Bushman who, trying to escape, was captured by his Bantu master and beaten to death, his potential labor being sacrificed to set an example for others.

A European farmer can sometimes get police help in recapturing his escaped Bushmen if the farmer has paid the Bushmen some wages in advance and is owed the Bushmen's labor. European farmers are also not always lenient with

possessions of Bantus and Europeans—horses and cattle, 181
dogs, melon lands, medicines, rifles, boots, and trucks—as 609
well as their enormous size, heavy necks and arms, great beards, and roaring voices. Europeans are beyond the powers of Bushmen's imagination, more awesome in stature, in possessions, in might, than even the Bushmen's god, who can be [776]
cajoled, who hunts with a bow and arrow. Bushmen consider the Europeans and the Bantus to be superior beings. Bantus [648]
and Europeans consider the Bushmen to be inferior beings, and, without resisting, a Bushman always bows to a European or a Bantu person's will.

Once an old man, a veld Bushman, told us the story of the 283
reim and the grass fiber. A reim is a leather rope which the 539
Bantus make by skinning a cow with a long, spiraling cut that goes around and around the body so that the hide comes off all in one piece a few inches wide and many yards long, which is then stretched and cured, making a piece of leather useful for harnessing oxen or building a hut.

"In the earliest days," the old man said, "the Bushmen and 539
the non-Bushmen were all one nation, and the great god 773
came to earth and gave them a rope. Half the rope was made of reim and half was made of grass fiber. The great god told all the people to pull on the rope, and the non-Bushmen came away with the reim, but the Bushmen got only the grass fiber. After that, the non-Bushmen had cattle and reims and all those things, but the Bushmen had only the things that are in the veld. If this ever happened again," the old man said, "I would tell the Bushmen to make sure they got the reim half."

So the distinction between people was caused by the great 181
god, and the Bushmen, who want only to be left in peace, do 609
not compete in issues which they cannot win. They are only [773]
frightened by other peoples and hope to be spared their atten-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER FOUR

The Fire

After a long talk with Gai and Ukwane we found that, because of a shortage of melons and roots, they did not like to live at the place where we found them, which was called Gu Nu, and they were planning to move. We asked them if they would mind our coming with them when they did move, and they, with great aplomb, showing no surprise at what must have seemed a strange request, said politely that they would not mind at all. We had good relations with them by that time and had already been living near them for several days. 166 648

As we would be asking them to spend time talking with us, we agreed to give them food, water, and firewood to make up for what they might gather if we were not taking their time, as well as salt and tobacco to make their hearts glad. It seemed to be a good arrangement, and they were as pleased as we.

Soon after that, when Ukwane had decided where to go, we packed up our camp, they packed up theirs, and we put everything on the trucks and drove away. The Bushmen all rode with us except the two oldest women, Kutera and Dasina, who said they were too tired to ride and preferred to walk. They did, too, taking with them all their possessions as 481 482

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

CHAPTER TEN

Beautiful Ungka and Lazy Kwi

For two days we drove our trucks through the scrub forests 648 of Nyae Nyae and on the third day we came to a water pan not far from the village of Gam. In 1953 we had lived at Gam a short time; it was the cattle post of a very wealthy Chuana farmer. This farmer lived at Tsau, a large Bantu town several days' travel from Gam, but he had cattle posts with herders all through the country, keeping only fragments of his great herd at each one. Two Chuana families guarded his cattle at Gam. The village had once been the home of about a hundred Bushmen, but when the Chuanas had taken it, many of the Bushmen had been made serfs and they and their families now worked for the Chuanas, tending the herds.

The little pan near Gam was full of blue water, and was [135] surrounded by yellow-leafed trees. We found two ostriches be- 136 side it. The ostriches stared mutely at us first, very wide between the eyes and square at the jaw, until it came to them that we were not ostriches; and with that they rushed headlong away, flapping their ostrich-feathered wings, working their naked thighs and knees like pistons, wildly out of control. They had an air of old people with tough, gray, varicose-veined legs, wearing nothing to hide their nakedness but lit-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

136 tle feather boas around their waists, which were the wings.

As we left the pan a boar got up from the grass where he was lying and ran before us, a warthog with a heavy neck and red bristle of a mane, with curved tusks and with his tail stiff up in the air like a banner, trotting like a horse. He held his head high and ran away proudly, and he was old and very massive for a pig.

Not long after that we saw the two thatched rooftops of the village of Gam. A feather of smoke was rising over the rooftops, and soon we were there.

648 609 The people must have heard our trucks. A small crowd was standing in the bushes, the people watching apprehensively as we came up. Mostly they were Bushmen, naked and smooth and brown, but here and there we saw a Bushman man wearing a ragged shirt or a woman in an old, filthy dress. In the crowd, towering over the Bushmen, were the Chuanas, a woman and a man, the woman dressed in a turban and a long dress, the man in shorts and a jacket. These two were the cattle-keepers. When our trucks stopped, the woman recognized us and, clapping her hands together, ran forward to meet us, followed at once by several Bushmen who also recognized us, and after that the crowd broke and all ran forward, the tense looks of apprehension gone, for if all the Bushmen had not known us they had heard of us and knew who we were. In a moment we found ourselves in the center of the crowd as all the Bushmen who knew us threw their gentle arms around us, touching us so lightly that it was like being embraced by moths. All those who did not know us crowded to look at our faces, and everyone talked at once until our ears rang. The Chuana couple, both more reserved, held back until the others had greeted us and then came forward to shake our hands.

621 When the excitement had died a little and everyone had a

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

When we met her at Gam we noticed that she had begun to 159
walk like a beauty, proudly and aloof, but she was only sixteen and soon her reserve broke and she was very friendly, happy to see us, and we noticed then that her husband was not with her and was nowhere to be found. In fact, as we looked at all the faces, we saw that many people who should 609
have been there were not. We asked for this person and that 648
person, and the two Chuanas, instead of answering, invited us to their house where we could talk. My mother, my brother, myself, and Ledimo, the interpreter, who had been with us before and had been almost suffocated by the demonstration of affection he had received, walked to the village of Gam while the rest of the expedition went on to make camp.

The village of Gam was more peaceful than ever. We first went through a tiny gate in the high fence of cut thorn bushes which surrounded the village, put up to keep the cattle safe from the lions and other wild creatures at night, then past the ten or fifteen Bushman scherms that housed serf Bushmen, to the central part of the village where the Bantu houses were. There had been two; now there were three, but one was unfinished, and this was a large square dwelling with a window and a door. The other two houses—occupied by the two Chuana couples—were round, built of mud plaster, and had great thatched roofs but no windows, only doors. A thorn bush had been pulled into one of the doors, intended to keep the dogs and goats of the village from walking inside, a sign that the owners planned to be away for a long time. Gourds with milk in them hung from the roofpole of the other house; leaning against the wall was a basket of souring *muhengo* grain. The Chuana woman was brewing beer. A goat had been butchered and skinned and hung from a tree by one hind foot, and the sunlight shone red through it like sunlight shining through an ear.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

648 609 The Chuana man went into the house and brought out two chairs made of poles and thongs in imitation of European chairs but much smaller. He and my mother sat in these while John, Ledimo, the Chuana woman, and I, being young people, sat on the clay ground. Presently the Chuana man began to speak, saying he hoped we had come well.

My mother asked for his cattle, how they were, and his goats, if they had increased, how the rains and crops had been, and if he had heard about the water in Lake Ngami, which he had. My mother said: "Time must have stood still here. No one looks a bit older."

"Yes," he said. "We get sick sometimes, but we have not changed."

But things had changed; it came out that their son, the other Chuana couple, two entire bands of Bushmen whom we had known at Gautscha, and many Bushmen from Gam, including the husband of Beautiful Ungka, had been taken away by Europeans to work on the farms. Three times European farmers had come, having followed in the tire tracks we ourselves had left behind the last time. They came all the way to Gam, where they had found the Bushmen, no longer shy of Europeans, and had "offered to take them for a ride on their trucks but had promised to bring them back." The Bushmen had believed them, had gone for the ride, and of course were never seen again. That is why Gam seemed so peaceful, so empty, and the people so lonesome and sad. The worst of it was that families had been separated, both between Gam and the farms and between different farms.

One group of farmers had taken some young Bushman children who had been playing in the veld. When the mothers had called their children and had got no answer, then had looked in the veld and found their children gone, they had walked in the tracks the trucks had left to follow their chil-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

dren to the farms. The mothers and the children had never 648 609
returned.

The farmer who had taken the Chuana couple's son had offered him food and clothes but no wages. When his mother had refused to let him go, the farmer had told her that she herself would have to leave Gam and move to Bechuanaland (there has always been a dispute about the border between the two countries, which affects the Chuana people who try to move across). The woman, assuming that the farmer was a government official, had been too frightened by this threat to prevent her son from leaving. She had been building a large new house, even planning to put a pane of glass in the little window, but she had been too discouraged to finish it, believing that she would have to leave it soon.

It was extremely sad to sit there talking about such things. The Chuana man held his head in his hands and his wife was almost crying, and it seemed very empty and lonely there on the hot gray ground with flies all around us in the air and birds flying above.

When we went back to our camp it was already dark and 372
we found that Lazy Kwi, his wife, and all her family had moved in beside us to be near us. They seemed rather cheerful because they were all together, and they expressed their optimism by burning an entire log. This is prodigal for Bushmen, who usually burn just one small stick at a time, or at most the end of a small log, letting the fire work up the log by inches. The people sat with their legs stretched out, allowing the fire to warm them, and in the firelight their skins seemed blood red, all except Lazy Kwi, whose skin was as dark as the night. Lazy Kwi was always changing color. When 302
we first had met him we had thought he must be the darkest-skinned Bushman anywhere, but this was only so because he had rubbed himself all over with medicine paste and the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

tree, and, looking inside it, found that it was filled with rain 222 271
water. They told the rest of us, who went to get a drink. It was just a dead and blasted tree full of murky water, but, standing in front of it, Lazy Kwi began to fumble in his hunting-bag for his drinking-straw. He slipped the straw into a crack in the bark, drank, and held the straw for the next person. The straw was a reed with a hollow center and very hard to drink from, I found when my turn came to take a sip, for it was badly cracked. It was all one could do to suck hard enough to moisten one's tongue, the water was stagnant, and the reed tasted strongly of the inside of Lazy Kwi's hunting-bag, but everyone drank, and when they had enough they returned to the fire. Something must have reminded Lazy [648] Kwi of the European farmers on the way, for he announced naïvely: "They did not give me a shirt to put on my body."

When the fire was burning well the two men went to the 222
bee tree. It too was dead, taller than the others in the forest and quite conspicuous. Lazi Kwi knocked on it with his ax and it gave forth a hollow sound. Then Lazy Kwi picked a straw and poked it into a tiny hole in the wood, and when he withdrew it there was honey on it and two bees. One bee detached itself and stung Lazy Kwi on the ribs and Lazy Kwi shook his skin like a dog. His father-in-law came forward with a smoking branch and held this near the hole. He blew smoke inside and the bees began to moan, low and ominously, the moan mounting in volume as Lazy Kwi chopped a piece from the tree above the hive. Four or five bees flew out of their hole; one flew at me and stung my face. The sting felt like a blow and in a moment the side of my face was numb and swollen. Lazy Kwi saw what had happened and he [752]
scratched the sting out with his fingernail. The old man by now had chopped away a large section of the tree and the bees poured down from the opening like water from a tap, but

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

415
with his possessions—bowls, fire sticks with which the Bush- 482
men kindle fires, skins, and little bags of food.

Just before we left, the Chuana woman came to say good-by 648
and I gave her some tea and a bottle of perfume that was given to me when I left America. My mother gave her a silk scarf and some bars of scented soap, and the woman, overwhelmed, sat down on the ground with these things in her lap and with the aid of the interpreter she started to thank us, but then she said: "Too much thanks is like a curse. I sit here with my delights."

After that we climbed on the trucks and drove away, looking back to see the sky of evening and the dry hills around Gam, and the Chuana woman still sitting on the ground waving to us. In back of her, a group of serf Bushman women were thoughtfully carrying away the firewood we had left behind.

Many miles from Gam we camped for the night and all 36
the sky in the west was hazy red with the flat-topped thorn trees blue below it, and suddenly through the haze a herd of giraffes ran from a thicket near us into the open plain. There were nine giraffes and eight were females, all strung out in a line with their strong legs slowly opening, then bunching as they ran and their heads on their long necks stretching out and back, out and back. Behind the females ran the bull, an enormous creature half again as tall as they were, half again as broad, mighty and ponderous as he reached his long legs forward to overtake his wives.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

clumsy, before it dropped to the earth again. The last pale 133
light faded on the horizon and for a minute the sky looked like the cold sky over tundra or over an icy sea before the empty veld turned dark.

To clear the grass from our camping-site we lit a little grass fire, being too tired to pull up every blade of grass by hand, and the little flames seemed so cheerful and warm that we felt better right away. We made a cooking-fire and cooked our meat, then unrolled our blankets to lie upon, and we found that because the wind had died our cooking-fire shed so much heat that we were as warm as we would have been in a shelter.

We made coffee and talked all evening, and unnoticeably 133
our fire burned very low and we got colder, the night seemed 648
darker and in the dark the koorhan began to call again, and when we looked far over the veld for the light of another fire but saw none it came to us that Toma might have been taken by the farmers after all. We talked for a while about that, but then Lazy Kwi said he believed that Toma was somewhere not very far away but was too clever to show himself. After our last expedition had left Nyae Nyae the last time, Lazy Kwi told us, Toma had waited months, whole seasons, for us to come back and when he had heard the trucks of the farmers he had gone to them, thinking it was us. "Now he is angry. Now he is too clever to make that mistake again," said Lazy Kwi.

That did seem possible, so we stood up and shouted 123
Toma's name again; but even at night, when sound carries best, we heard only our echo, distant and diffuse, and at last we built up our fire and got ready to sleep. The night was perfectly quiet. No sound came from the wind or animals, only the sparks snapping from our fire, which burned for a while but soon died to embers and the smoke rose white and ghostly into the dark.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

buffalo, not hearing them, would relax, lie down, and itself 224
get stiff and sore. In the morning the two men had found where the buffalo had slept, also a damp spot of its urine with black flecks in it (which I believe were flecks of blood) and Toma had pushed a poison arrow into the spot of urine so that the buffalo would be unable to urinate again, unable to rid itself of more poison.

The men had followed the buffalo's track for three days, knowing from its footprints that it was getting weaker, staggering, and in the morning of the fourth day they had come over a rise of ground and had seen it far ahead of them, lying on its side as if dead. The two men wisely had not gone up to it, but had squatted where they were to watch it, remaining this way for most of the day, and when the buffalo had not even flicked its tail or heaved its sides in breathing, Toma had considered it safe enough to approach. He had done this cautiously, very carefully, balancing his long spear in his hand, but just as Toma had stood near the buffalo, spear poised for the stab that would kill it surely, the buffalo had lurched to its feet, had chased Toma, and had tossed him on its horns.

The great boss, the heavy mass of horn on the buffalo's 752
forehead, had cracked Toma's ribs and one curved horn had hooked in Toma's side, passing through his body and out his back. Toma had lain unconscious and Lazy Kwi had carried [482]
him home; later, other hunters of Toma's band had found the buffalo truly dead, partly eaten by vultures, and had taken the meat; but nothing, no medicines or cures that the Bushmen had used, had helped Toma, and the people had expected him to die.

Gautscha was the country of Toma's wife, and when Toma 752
had realized how sick he was he had wanted to return to his 648
own people, the people of Gam. Lazy Kwi and another man

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

752 had carried him there and it was there that the second group
648 of farmers had found him, unable to escape or to resist, and they had taken him away. His wife was still waiting at Gautscha and Lazy Kwi had returned there to tell her that her husband had gone.

At the farm, though, Toma's luck had begun to turn. The farmer had gradually managed to heal his wounds with medicine and treatment, and by the start of the dry season Toma had felt quite well. One night, when the veld was quiet and dark, Toma had thanked the farmer in his heart, had gathered all the Bushmen on the farm together, and had led the people over the veld, all the way back to Nyae Nyae. It had been a long walk, a long way, but Toma had managed. Now, said Lazy Kwi, Toma's wound ached on cold days and sometimes his vision was blurry, but he was pleased with himself and pleased to be back in his own country.

Lazy Kwi was pleased with him too, and he smiled when he finished the story.

When the first light of morning came, the air was so cold that our breath made clouds. We got up, fed the fire, and cooked the remainder of last night's meat, then drove off in the jeep again, for in that early light we had seen the smoke of three veld fires on the horizon, one in the south, two in the west, perhaps kindled by Bushmen during the night, perhaps revived by the wind from old embers, and we planned to make a circle to investigate them all.

222 On the way we found a bee tree that had been raided for its honey and we believed that Toma had done it, although the break was old and the bees were gone away; but after looking at it a moment Lazy Kwi remembered that he had done it himself during the last rains. He remembered too that there
[153] had been very little honey and that he had got stung, and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

301 from the foreheads of the antelope they kill and fashion them
224 into bracelets which their wives wear on their arms. Short Kwi's wife and daughter wore dozens of these; their arms were covered and heavy with them. Short Kwi himself wore
[291 no ornament of any kind, nothing except a crown of badger
43] hair which he owned for a while but later gave to Toma, the very crown that Toma's son now wore.

752 One day, said Toma, Short Kwi had been walking in the
224 veld and had failed to watch where he was going. He had
159 stepped on the tail of a puff adder, which had risen up and bitten his leg, just below the knee. It was a rare and terrible accident; in all the time we had been in the Kalahari we had known of only two people besides Short Kwi who had been harmed by snakes—a young boy bitten by a mamba who had died the day he was bitten, and a young woman who had been pulled into a waterhole by a water python and had drowned. Usually, snakes move away when you come near them, or if they don't, you can usually see them; but you can't walk with your eyes on the ground all the time, especially if you are hunting, as Short Kwi had been. His misfortune was regarded as a horrible accident and it was felt that the spirits of the dead were to blame. They had led Short Kwi down the very path the puff adder had chosen, and perhaps had even placed the snake where his foot was sure to fall. Toma and Goa Feet were very depressed to think of it. Although the talk turned to other things, Gao Feet mentioned the accident again and again; everything seemed to remind him of it. At last Toma said to us: "Perhaps you can help him hunt again. Since he was bitten his people have had no meat."

● 648 Toma told us that he had been with Short Kwi near Nama
609 Pan when the third group of white farmers had arrived. The farmers had looked at Short Kwi and had offered to cut his leg off for him then and there. This had frightened the Bush-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

men so badly that they had fled in all directions into the veld and the white farmers had not recruited any labor. We wondered how Short Kwi had managed his escape and Toma told us that his brothers-in-law had helped him. They had carried him on their backs to a far place, taking turns.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

together in front of the truck and when we climbed down they embraced us.

We went on toward the werf with these men and boys clinging to the sides of the truck and laughing loudly at those among them who were raked by thorn branches that the truck drove through, and at the edge of the werf we saw the women standing all together, waving and calling to us, and we stopped again and they too embraced us and kissed me, and the little children gravely shook my hand.

Short Kwi's mother-in-law was there with a wide and toothless smile, her face all wrinkled like a little shriveled pear, and many other people, among them the old man who had never shot a buck and whose sister had died in the forest; he now was nobody's close relative and we noticed he had lost an eye and seemed even more malevolent and sad. He greeted us distantly, but the others were enthusiastic. The little children tried to climb on me and finally someone put a baby in my arms. The baby bit me, but he meant me no harm, for when he bit I felt the sharp edge of a new tooth coming, which probably itched.

We passed through the bushes and came into the werf, where the people had obviously been living for a long time, judging by the size of the ash heaps at the fires and the depth of the nests that people had dug for themselves. Looking around, it came to us that many people whom we had expected to see were not there, Short Kwi for one, and his wife. When we asked for them, Short Kwi's brother-in-law said that he would take us to see him presently. When we asked for the others who were missing—among them the man with two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama—we were told that these people had all been taken by the farmers and had never been seen again. We were very sad to hear it, for many of them were too old to have to do the heavy

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

648 work required on the farms, and also because certain members of the families were still here and now these families were broken forever.

164 On our way to see Short Kwi, the brother-in-law led us to the far end of the werf, behind a clump of bushes, to the scherm where Short Kwi lived. We saw him there, sitting with his wife and little daughter by the ashes of their fire, side by side, and we caught our breath at the sight of him. He looked tiny, no bigger than a child, and his flesh had wasted away so that his pale skin stretched tightly over all his bones. His leg was hidden by a blanket, his hands were as thin and fragile as a girl's, and his eyes were huge. He looked up at us when we came and smiled wanly, wryly, and his wife and daughter looked up at us and his wife also smiled wanly, but his daughter did not smile at all. The first thing Short Kwi did was to rearrange the blanket over his foot to hide his toes, but not before we had seen them, dry and black, dead entirely like the toes of a mummy. His leg was the first thing in his mind, but this was natural; we reminded him of better days.

302 We sat down at his fire to talk, all of us who had come from
824 Nama and most of the people from his werf, and his wife gave those of us from Nama a palmful of sa, the finely powdered yellow-green leaves that smell halfway between roses and sage. We crossed our faces with it, sprinkling a stripe up the bridge of our noses to our foreheads and another stripe across our cheeks. It smelled very nice, a sweet present to give to someone who has arrived from a long journey. Hours later it was still fragrant and we could smell it, faintly, for days.

164 We asked Short Kwi to show us his leg and as he started to unwind the blanket the Bushmen from Nama leaned forward, fascinated, but the other Bushmen did not look because they had seen it before. Short Kwi drew back the blan-

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

/KUNG BUSHMAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS[1]

LORNA MARSHALL

MY purpose in this paper is to describe some of the religious beliefs held currently by the /Kung Bushmen of the interior bands of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. I shall limit the paper to a description of their concepts of the gods, the problem of evil, supplication, the spirits of the dead, and the ceremonial curing dance, but leave for another paper a more detailed account of medicine men, how they become medicine men, and more about their practices and beliefs. We gathered the information which I present principally on our expeditions of 1952–3 and 1955.

Schapera traces considerable borrowing in the past by the Bushmen from Hottentots and Bergdama.[2] I did not have opportunity to trace, to any significant extent, possible present-day borrowing or exchange of ideas, and can only report that contact, and therefore opportunity for exchange, takes place between the interior bands of /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region and the Tswana and Herero on the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung have contact also, but much less frequently, with Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south and through them to some extent with Naron in the Ghanzi region of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae occasionally see /Kung to the north of their region, who in turn see the Okavango and Ovambo tribes. Although the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not enough contact with white people before we came to absorb any Christian ideas directly from them, and no Christian missionary has been in the interior of the region, an influence of Christianity cannot be precluded because the Tswana do have contact with Christianity. Our own highly valued interpreter, Kernel Ledimo, who grew up near the border and spoke Bushman from his childhood, had been educated in an Anglican mission school. Although there has been contact with people who have Christian ideas, I do not recognize with certainty any Christian elements among /Kung beliefs.

One is left to wonder if the change in the concept of the nature of the gods, particularly in that of the great god, which appears when one compares the old tales with current concepts, was brought about entirely by the philosophical and logical powers of the /Kung themselves and by their adjustment to emotional needs, or whether influences from without played some part. I hope that the research of others may throw light on this point.

I should like to mention a few of the well-known Bushman beliefs, recorded in the past, which the present Nyae Nyae /Kung do *not* have and then proceed to a more systematic description of beliefs which they hold at present.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung have various beliefs and lore about the sun and moon, Canopus, the Pleiades, and other stars, and they have the well-known myth of the moon and the hare; but they do not attribute active divinity to the heavenly bodies, which are 'just stars', they say in effect, and we did not find that they either fear

[1] We are grateful for a grant towards the publication of this long article.

[2] I. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, London: Routledge, 1930. Reference is particularly to chapter vii.

14: Willet Y-4 (no date) 1965 FX10 Bushmen FX10

PREFACE

The Bushmen of Southern Africa are today represented by scattered groups of hunters on the plains of the Kalahari and on the farms of South West Africa and Angola. They are a unique and mysterious people and have attracted the attention of numerous writers since the early settlers at the Cape first made contact with the Sonquas. In this Bibliography an attempt has been made to list most aspects of the culture of the Bushmen. A bibliography on rock art was compiled in 1947, thus only a few items appear on this subject. Those included are of interest because they suggest some facet of culture or culture history. Some items are predominently of a physical anthropological nature but contain sufficient ethnological information to justify their inclusion. 101 113

The items are arranged in alphabetical order under broad subject headings and an Author-Title index has been provided. The section entitled History, was included because it was felt that the earliest references to Bushmen at the Cape and later in the interior, are of interest, in creating a picture of the life and customs of the extinct groups of Bushmen. The history of the tragic clashes between the Bushmen and other races which led to their extinction in most of Southern Africa, is traced in such historical works as J. Sutherland, Memoir respecting the Kaffirs Hottentots and Bushmans of South Africa and Donald Moodie, The Record 113 114 [648]

The main body of the bibliography is devoted to the ethnology of the Bushmen and here are included items by authors, some of whom are not ethnologists but whose work is of sufficient value to allow its inclusion in this section. The items included in the small section entitled Bushman Folklore, include popularised versions of the work of Dorothea Bleek and Lucy C. Lloyd. The section on Linguistics is purely restricted to works available in Johannesburg and no attempt has been made to obtain works by the Portuguese students of the Bushmen or other foreign linguistic studies. This can therefore claim to be no more than a token coverage of a field, in which a vast amount of work has been and still is, being done. The section entitled General, contains work not sufficiently scientific to be included under Ethnology, yet of interest, often because of their excellent illustrations. This section begins with works published after 1900 and works of a similar nature published before this date, appear in History.

Sources. Mendelssohn, South African Bibliography provided some of the older items. Many of the older periodical references were traced through the bibliography in - I. Schapera, Khoisan Peoples of South Africa and the Johannesburg Public Library's Index to South African Periodicals was also used. A list of periodical abbreviations indicates the sources consulted. Periodical titles were written out in full when they appeared only once.

Brief annotations are given in some cases. Page references and an indication of contents, have been provided for some of the older items which do not contain an index.

My sincere thanks are due to Prof. L.F. Maingard, Prof. M.C. Marwick, and Mr. C. B. Silberbauer for their valuable advice, to Prof. Manuel Cuerreiro for kindly sending material on the Portuguese contribution to Bushman Studies, of which I could include only a very small number, and to Prof. P.V. Tobias for so kinily allowing me access to his bibliography on cards in the Anatomy Department. 113 127

[P.1]

14: Willet Y-4 (no date) 1965 FX10 Bushmen FX10

I: HISTORY

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15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

LORNA MARSHALL · *The !Kung Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert*[1]

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION · The Bushmen live in those parts of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa that lie in the British Bechuanaland Protectorate, in South West Africa, and in southeastern Angola. A few additional remnants of Bushman groups still exist in Northern Rhodesia and at Lake Chrissie in South Africa. In the past Bushmen had a much wider distribution.[2]

Many Bushmen live among, and some work for, the Bantu-speaking tribes in settlements where sufficient water resources have been developed to support cattle, and some Bushmen work for white farmers in the Ghanzi area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and in South West Africa. However, many still live in small, independent, nomadic groups, widely dispersed in the vast areas of the desert.

It is very difficult to arrive at a precise population count of the Bushmen, but a recent estimate gathered from various contemporary sources (Tobias 1956) indicates that in 1955 there were 55,531 Bushmen.[3] These figures are higher than any previously propounded (cf. Schapera 1939) and come as a surprise to many.

The Bushmen are linked with the Hottentots, a southern African people who resemble them physically and with whom they have linguistic affiliations, but who are a pastoral people with a more complex social structure. Bushmen and Hottentots together are called the *Khoisan* peoples, a coined term combining the Hottentots' term for themselves (*Khoi*) and their name for the Bushmen (*San*). The Khoisan peoples have been referred to as a distinct race (Murdock 1959: 8) or, as Howells puts it, "a major racial variety of man" (1959:306). The obscurity of their origins and racial affinities are in themselves subjects in which research continues and interesting postulations engage the attention of scientists in various fields.[4]

PHYSICAL FEATURES · The physical features of the Bushmen have drawn much attention from anthropologists. Bushmen are of small stature (adult males average approximately five feet, two inches) WITH YELLOWISH BROWN SKIN THAT BECOMES HEAVILY WRINKLED IN OLD AGE.

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182 A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties
312 which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters
[161] them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival,
[648] for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in
the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been
134 comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity
and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level
mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily
available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant
when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated
with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy
soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage
organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thor-
ough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they
are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

137 Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still
[222] have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again
to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-
[224] sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage
[262] organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre
content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the
various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

224 Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking sur-
faces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed
with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not
[411] necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the
advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death
as certainly to big game as to small.

101 LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bush-
197 men cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings
and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans
refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking
[829] Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a mul-
titude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local group-
[184] ings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the
language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while
they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within them-
[621] selves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band
[622] composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Or-
ganization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

101 The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a
131 group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ŏassi* and who live in the
[197] Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

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square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48′30″ S, 181
20°34′36″ E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but 131
extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and
Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch [123]
of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In [162]
it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and [648]
9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of
about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the [332]
region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and
preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north [192]
and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen- [829]
speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung 181
Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is sur- 182
vival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in
their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring
food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the [621]
mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their [578]
social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals
within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between [628]
bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on [771]
survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the
sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region 433
have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we re- 262
fer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of
a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired,
but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know 222
more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several 262
species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen
suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad
for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets.
Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this re-
gion as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman
groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any
water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are
the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-
resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these;
doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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553 602 835 [601] properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, 619 in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling 553 of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin 601 602 terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen—sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [10] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ôassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ôassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilin- [613] ages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father [622] to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

[423] There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A consider- 768 able amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

582 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside 648 the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

584 First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

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drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope.

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera

121 (George Silberbauer) was already conducting research among the Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.

After DeVore's return to Harvard in September, the author surveyed the Ngamiland situation and found that the Bushman population in the northwestern sector satisfied our research requirements.

161 312 621 224 222 648 In October, 1963, there were about 430 Bushmen living at nine waterholes in the !Kangwa administrative district. Over 70% of these people were organized into bands and depended on hunting and gathering for their subsistence. Although some 340 Bantu lived in the district they had not established a lord-client relationship over the Bushmen. This feudal type of social system exists elsewhere in the Kalahari but not in 114 the !Kangwa district. The author was the first white person to live in the district. The Marshall expeditions had touched the western edge of the district but had centered their research at /Gautscha, a camp about 40 miles west of our area.

The main field station was set up at Dobe, a small waterhole in Bechuanaland, two miles east of the Bechuanaland - South West Africa border. The author conducted research here for twelve months, except for intervals of work elsewhere in the Kalahari and study periods in Livingstone, Johannesburg, Windhoek and Capetown.

In October, 1964, Irven and Nancy DeVore joined the author

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 6

II. THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE BUSHMEN

Defining Bushmen

101 Bushmen may be defined racially, linguistically or culturally. None of these criteria used alone will give a 142 satisfactory definition. If the presence of "Bush" physical 144 type is used as the criterion of Bushman status, then some members of Hottentot tribes would be incorrectly included, and members of the hybridized Bushmen peoples of Ngamiland 197 would be excluded. Similarly the presence of a click non- 121 Bantu language would include not only Hottentots again, but also the Hottentot speaking negroid Bergdama of South West 224 Africa, and the Hadza-Sandawe peoples of Tanganyika. A 222 464 strictly economic criterion, such as the presence of a hunting 648 and gathering way of life would arbitrarily exclude the many 241 233 thousands of Bushmen who are working on European Farms or practicing agriculture and pastoralism.

114 A further complication in defining Bushmen is offered by 197 the recent work of Westphal (1962a,1962b,1963). He has demonstrated that the so-called Central Group of Bushman languages of Bleek (1929) are in fact closely related to Hottentot.

101 [114] In this paper a simple ethnic definition of Bushmen is adopted, following the lead of Joyce (1939) and Tobias (1956). Throughout Bechuanaland, the Tswana word "sarwa" is applied to

The economic position

114 Tobias erred when he estimated that in 1956, 35,000 of
224 the 55,000 Bushmen "lead a hunting and food-gathering life,
222
161 barely removed from that of the late Upper Palaeolithic or of the South African Later Stone Age." (1957:33). The first comment concerns the numbers of Bushmen still hunting; the second the "primitiveness" of the modern Bushmen hunters.

162 Of the 15,000 Bushmen in South West Africa at least
131 9,500 are working on European farms. An additional 3,000
464 are either working for Bantu agriculturalists or practicing
648 agriculture and stock-keeping themselves. (Republic of
224 South Africa 1964:29,41). This leaves 2,500 as hunter-gatherers in South West Africa.

In Bechuanaland an estimated 16,300 Bushmen work on European farms or Bantu cattle posts. A further 2,000 are practicing a mixed agricultural and hunting way of life. The remaining 6,100 lead a hunting and gathering way of life. The main concentrations of the latter are in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (3,000) and in western Ngamiland (1,600).

The Batwa of the Lake Chrissie area have been working on European farms for nearly a century (Potgieter and Ziervogel 1955:3). The Bushmen in the Gemsbok Park are a major tourist attraction, but may do some hunting.

In Rhodesia, the Bushmen in the Wankie area are all

162 working on farms. Many of the Pandamatenga Bushmen work in
131
464 Victoria Falls and Livingstone. Some have gone as far afield
648 as Lusaka and Salisbury looking for work. The Kwengo Bushmen
224 of Barotseland no longer maintain a hunting way of life.
(Clark, personal communication). Their numbers are estimated
at 200.

161 This tally of Bushmen hunter-gatherers gives a total of
162
224 9,300 against an overall total of 44,100 Bushmen. Twenty
222 percent of the Bushmen hunting full time seems a much more
[114] reasonable proportion than Tobias' 64 percent. It is unlikely
that a change of such magnitude could have occurred between
the date of his census (1956) and the present one (1964).

162 The figure of 9,300 is nevertheless quite substantial
224
222 and indicates the remarkable persistance of the hunting-
178 gathering way of life in spite of the fact that even the most
isolated of the hunting tribes maintain close contact with
184 their European and Bantu neighbors. A large proportion of
[221] the /Gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve spend
[648] part of the dry season squatting on European farms adjacent
[312] to their area. In the north the hunting !Kung often share
[464] their waterholes with Bantu cattle herders. Most of the
[233] young !Kung men spend a year or more working as cattle herds
on a contract basis.

000 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had

184 The northern !Kung of Angola and Ovamboland are closely
648 associated with Bantu agriculturalists. In 1925 Bleek ob-
222 served that "In contradistinction to the southern !Kũ the
241
439 women and children (i.e. of the Angola !Kung) are not collectors of wild food. Once or twice a year when certain berries ripen, the whole tribe goes out berry picking; otherwise they live by hunting and bartering part of the meat and skins obtained for the agricultural produce of their neighbors...." (1928:108). Westphal visited the Angola !Kung in 1964 and confirmed Bleek's observations (Westphal personal communication).

184 The southern division of !Kung work on the European
221
464 farms in the Ghanzi and Gobabis districts. Many of them
648 spend the summer months in the veld, hunting and gathering, but return each year to winter on the farms (Silberbauer n.d.).

Among the central division of !Kung are found Bantu-associated peoples, farm laborers, and independent traditional hunters and gatherers. In the Grootfontein district of South West Africa several thousand central !Kung are working
131 on European farms. Along the Okavango river for 500 miles
184 of its length from Cuangar in the northwest to Sehitwa on
648 Lake Ngami, some further thousands of central !Kung live with, and work for, the Bantu of the following tribes:

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184
648

Kuangari Bunja Sambiu Djiriku	in South West Africa
Mbukushu	in South West Africa and B. P.
Bayei Batawana Herero	in B. P.

[621] These !Kung may live in independent villages near a
[224] Bantu kraal and devote much of their time to hunting and
[222] gathering, or they may be incorporated into the compounds of
[464] their protectors and work as domestic servants and farm hands.

However, all of these Bantu-associated !Kung are in contact
131 with groups of more independent !Kung living inland. Ties
184 of real and fictive kinship and marriage link the river
602 dwelling !Kung with the !Kung of the dry interior. The loca-
582 tion of these non-!Kung peoples is shown in Map 6, p. 34.

131 Map 7 illustrates how the European and Bantu-associated !Kung form a ring of population around the peripheries of the northwest Kalahari. These settled areas enclose an interior of about 25,000 square miles, one third of which is in Bechuanaland and two thirds in South West Africa. Most of

621 seem more appropriate to use the non-committal term "camp" and discard the term "band".[1]

563 Apart from the fifteen independent camps, there were 122
162 !Kung Bushmen living with the Bantu. Thirteen Bush women were married to Bantu men.[2] Five of these women had borne a total of nine children who were being raised as members of their fathers' tribes and are therefore not enumerated in the Bushman census. Some of the women had brought members of their families to live at their husbands' kraals. Twenty-eight of the !Kung Bushmen were living with their Bantu in-laws. In all, the wives of Bantu and their kinsmen account for 39 of the 122 !Kung living with Bantu. There were no cases of a Bantu girl marrying a !Kung man.

648 Some families of Bushmen live with and work for Bantu
464
233 families. Five young married men were working as cattle herders. They brought their wives and children to live with them. In addition, seven unmarried !Kung boys were working on cattle and were living in the compounds of their employers. Several old couples and a widower, who were temporarily not

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[1]This follows the lead of James Woodburn, who in his analysis of Hadza group structure (1964) discards the term "band".

[2]One of the thirteen had actually married a N/hai Bushman (the only non-!Kung Bushman in the Dobe area). This man was culturally identified with the Bantu.

648
464 attached to an independent camp were living with the Bantu.
[233] These working Bushmen, with their spouses and families,
[162] numbered 44 people.

The Batawana headman, Isak Utuhile, was the only one of the Bantu residents to maintain a staff of retainers and their families. This sort of benevolent feudalism is a common practice throughout the Tswana tribal areas of Bechuanaland (Schapera 1953:28; Tagart 1933) but, with this one exception,
[162] is absent in the Dobe area. The headman supports four assistants (including a uniformed Bushman police constable) and their families, a total of 13 people.

Finally there was an Ad Hoc grouping of 26 !Kung who lived at the kraal of Enamoharadi, a Herero woman at Mahopa. These people lacked a territorial nucleus and therefore could
[224] not be considered as an independent camp. Several !Kung
[222] women helped with the domestic duties but the majority chose
[262] to use Mahopa as a base of operations for hunting and gathering and to drink the milk of Enamoharadi's cattle when it was offered to them.

361 Except for the women who are married to Bantu, most of
648 the !Kung remain only temporarily in Bantu villages, for periods ranging from one month to two years. Also it was observed that most of the !Kung living with Bantu spent at least half the year hunting and gathering. Furthermore many

of the !Kung who were independent at the time of the census had a History of living with Bantu for periods in the past.

It is difficult to determine to what extent the !Kung living arrangements have been affected by the Bantu presence, beyond stating the obvious facts, that, until the Bantu came, there could be no intermarriage and no opportunities for employment. At this stage of analysis, it would certainly be premature to attribute the fluidity of band membership to the effects of contact, since there is good evidence that this flexibility is adaptive in the context of traditional subsistence patterns (see Chapters VII and VIII).

A history of contact

127 This historical sketch of the period 1879-1965 is based on the testimony of informants resident in the Dobe area. Since none of the Bushmen and very few of the Bantu had any knowledge of the dates of historical events, these were provided by discussions with the British administration at Maun and by a survey of the early literature on the area.

173 The pre-contact period - There is no evidence in their oral tradition that the !Kung of the interior have migrated there from elsewhere. This corroborates the !Kung belief quoted by Lorna Marshall that "they have lived in the Nyae

[174] Nyae area since time began" (1960:325). The interior !Kung cannot, by their own account, be considered to be recent refugees from more favorable habitats.

174
439 The interior !Kung have had trading relations with Bantu
[411] peoples on their periphery for over eighty years. The evidence
[415] for this is the presence of iron-tipped weapons, pottery and
[276] tobacco. The present-day !Kung have no knowledge of iron-working or pottery-making and they do not raise tobacco. The old people state that their grandfathers had these things
[173] before the first non-Bushmen came to the interior. Men in
[411] their 60's and 70's today can remember their grandfathers telling them that they began hunting with bone arrows and did not obtain iron for arrows until they were well into adult
[411] life. The making of bone arrow heads is still common know-
[321] ledge today but, as there is an abundant supply of iron fencing
[325] wire, none of the men hunt with bone. The art of chipping
[178] flint is not known in the Dobe area. It is probable that
[324] these Bantu goods (and also some European goods such as beads and buttons) reached the interior through Bushman trading intermediaries some years before the arrival of the first Bantu and Europeans.

173 <u>Early contacts, 1879-1925</u> - There is disagreement among the !Kung about whether the Europeans or the Bantu were the first to penetrate the interior. Apparently the first pene-
175 trations occurred during the period 1875-1890. Hendrik Van
648 Zyl, a professional hunter, is the first European known to have reached the interior (Silberbauer 1965:114-115). In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56/57]

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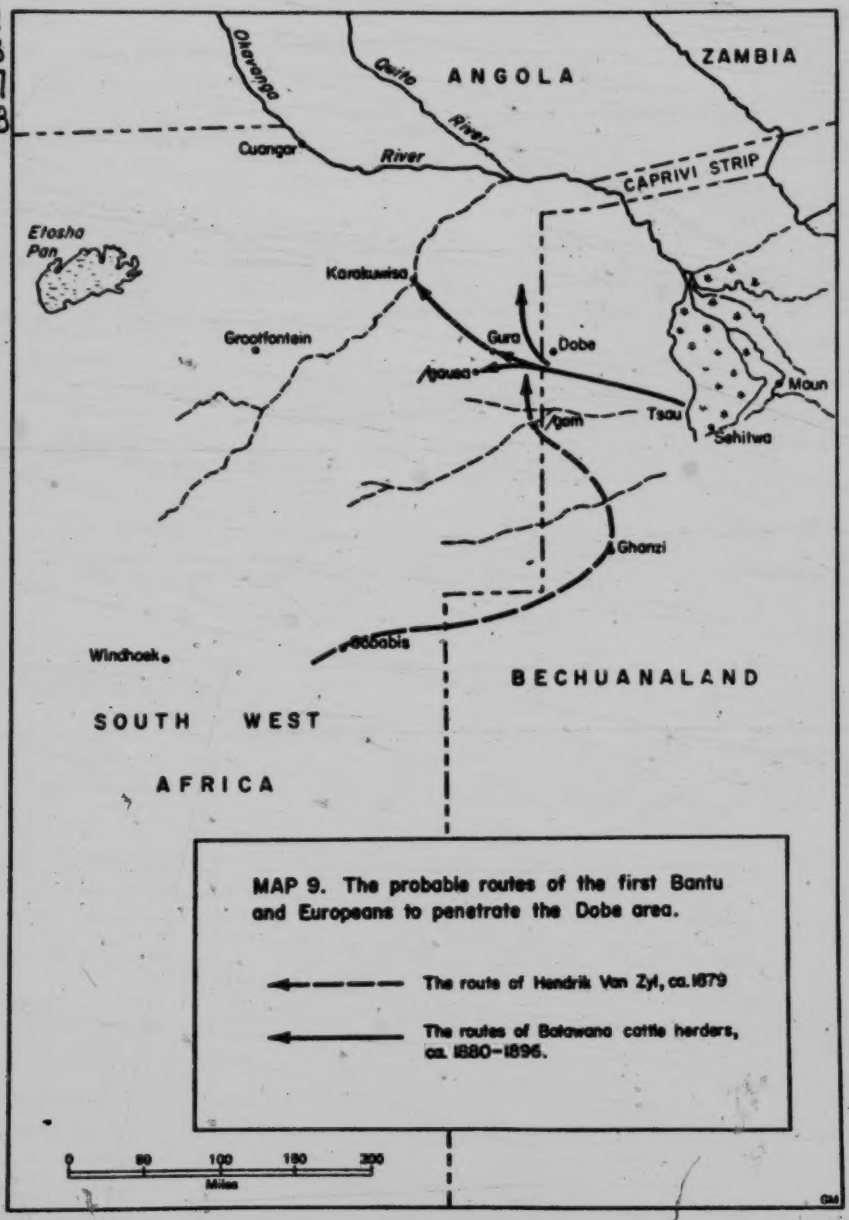

MAP 9. The probable routes of the first Bantu and Europeans to penetrate the Dobe area.

The route of Hendrik Van Zyl, ca. 1879

The routes of Batawana cattle herders, ca. 1880–1896.

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648 late 1870's, Van Zyl was hunting elephant and rhinoceros in the Ghanzi District. In 1879, he camped at /gam and is known [563] to have visited /ai/ai and !ubi. One of the white hunters with Van Zyl had an affair with a !Kung woman named n/ahka; the descendents of this union are today living at !ubi. These people acknowledge their European ancestry but otherwise are culturally !Kung.

During roughly the same period, the Batawana cattle herders from the Tsau area on the Okavango swamps began to move their cattle out to summer waterholes in the west. By the 1890's, they had penetrated as far west as Karakuwisa in what was then German South West Africa. They had also established cattle posts at /ai/ai, Gura, and at /gauša Pan (see Map 9).

The Rinderpest epidemic of 1896-7, is an historical landmark throughout the stock raising areas of southern Africa. At the time of the outbreak only two Batawana families were summering their herds of cattle in the interior. The Ramadjagote family was at /Gauša Pan and the Ledimo family was at Gura. The Rinderpest devastated the herds on the Okavango but fortunately did not reach the central !Kung interior. When the two families drove their cattle back to the river after the epidemic had passed, it was found that theirs were the only herds left intact in western Ngamiland.

175 The Ramadjagote and Ledimo families owe their present pre-
648 eminent position in Batawana tribal affairs to that stroke of fortune, because in exchange for the use of their breeding stock the two families were granted by the tribe two vast tracts of land west of the Okavango swamps.

The Ledimo family received rights to hunt, to graze their cattle and to collect tribute over all the lands that lay west of the swamps and north of the Aha Hills. The Ramadajagote family received a similar concession over the lands that lay south of the Aha Hills (see Map 10). Both families have exercised these rights in Western Ngamiland until recent years and one of the senior Ledimos still maintains a cattle post at n!aun!au. However, in 1965, with the election of the first democratic government in Bechuanaland, these and other traditional concessions are being abolished.

It should be added that although the British declared a protectorate over Bechuanaland in 1896 (Sillery 1952:60ff), their official presence was not felt in the Dobe area until many years later. In 1934, Captain Webb of the Bechuanaland Police made the first official tour of duty to !angwa and /ai/ai.

The next historical event to affect the !Kung of the interior was the Herero-German War of 1904-07. In 1904, the Hereros of South West Africa rose in rebellion against a

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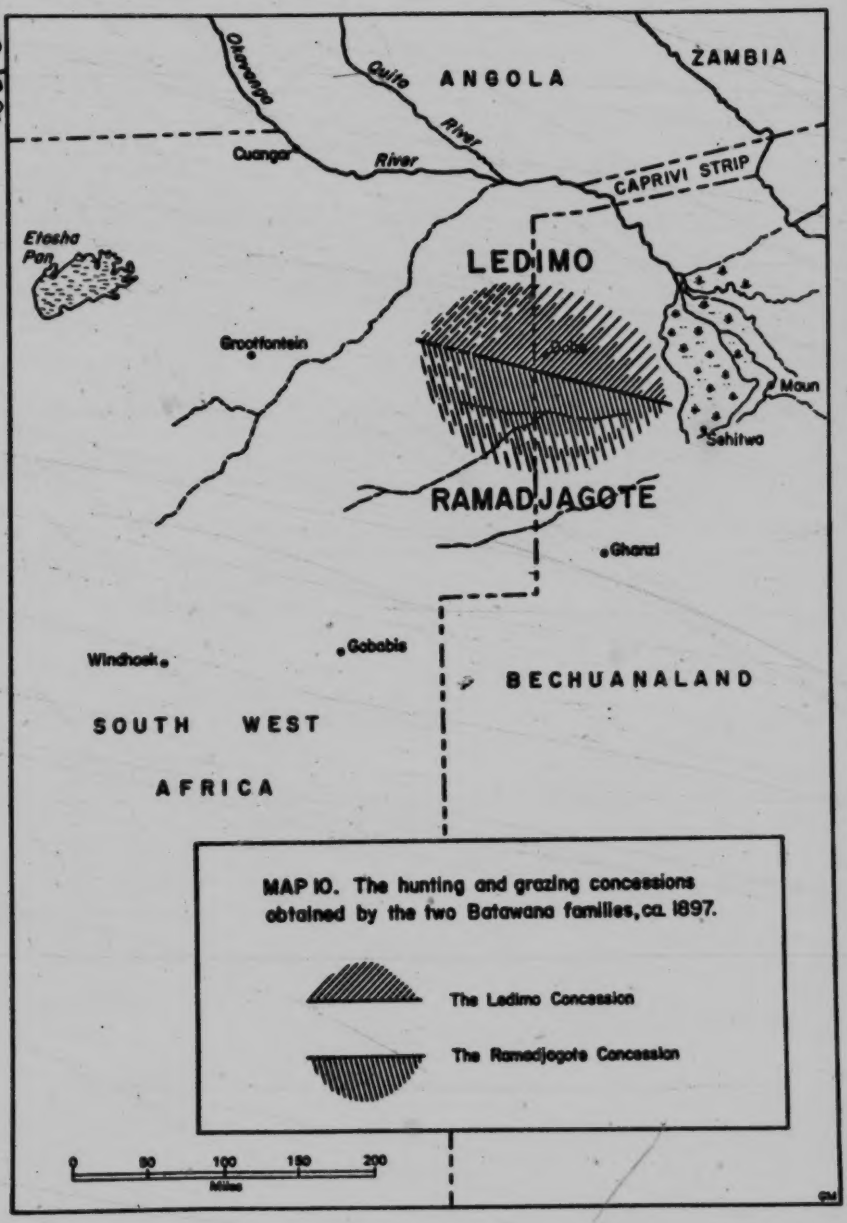

MAP 10. The hunting and grazing concessions obtained by the two Batawana families, ca. 1897.

The Ledimo Concession

The Ramadjogote Concession

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• 648 cruel German administration. The Germans launched a genocidal campaign against the Hereros and succeeded in exterminating the majority of the tribe.[1] Several thousand Hereros, fleeing before the German patrols managed to escape east to Bechuanaland where the British government granted them asylum. Many of these refugees passed through the Dobe area on their way to safety and the details of their flight are remembered today by the older !Kung. One German patrol pursued the refugees as far as Gura, a well situated 30 miles west of Dobe, where they found an abandoned Batawana cattle post. Thinking that they had reached the frontier of British territory, they turned back, but before doing so, they carved a boundary marker on a baobab tree, which may still be seen today (see Map 11).

At the time of the rebellion none of the refugees had settled in the Dobe area. They all continued on to the Batawana villages on the swamps where they were given breeding stock and allowed to resume a normal life. Until the mid-1920's, the only non-Bushman presence in the interior was the annual summer hunting trips led by the Ramadjagote and Ledimo families.

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[1]The ghastly details are found in the Union of South Africa's official inquiry (1918).

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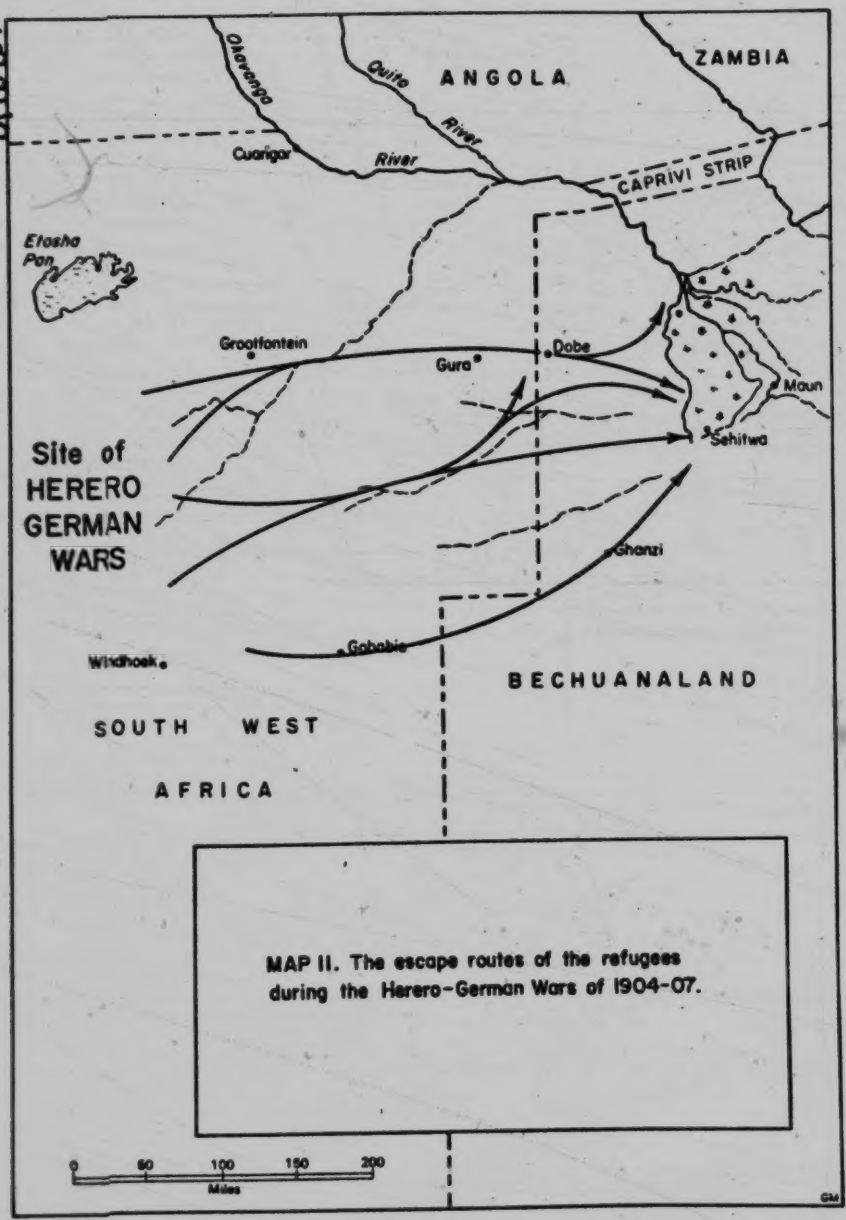

MAP II. The escape routes of the refugees during the Herero-German Wars of 1904-07.

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Bantu settlement, 1925-1960 - Around 1925, the first Bantu families came to live permanently in the Dobe area. These families and those that followed them were drawn largely from the Herero refugees who had settled in the Tsau area a generation before. They apparently decided to move up-country in order to escape the overcrowded and overgrazed conditions prevailing in the river districts. In the early 1930's, ten more families settled in the Dobe area. These newcomers deepened several of the natural waterholes and dug three new wells to bring the total number of permanent water sources to eleven. In 1934, Captain Webb visited the area and reported that the Bantu were occupying these waterholes on the Bechuanaland side and other waterholes on the South West Africa side of the border. Bantu families continued to settle in the Dobe area throughout the 1930's and 40's, until by 1948, there were an estimated 150 Bantu with 3,000 head of cattle resident up-country.

For many years the relations between Bantu and Bushmen had gone unregulated. There were reports of Bushmen stealing cattle and of retaliatory measures by the Bantu which included whipping Bushmen and coercing the young men into service as cattle boys. In 1948, the Batawana tribal administration appointed Isak Utuhile, a Mutawana man resident at .'Kabe, as the first official Headman of the Dobe area. This

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appointment was precipitated in part by the murder in 1946 of a Mukgalahadi man by a !Kung Bushman. It was many months before a police patrol could reach the Dobe area to arrest the suspect.[1] The tribal government felt at the time that a more permanent representative of their authority was required. Isak described as his terms of reference the prevention of cattle theft and the prevention of exploitation of Bushmen by the Bantu. Since 1948, Isak has administered customary law and judged disputes from his Kgotla (court) at !angwa.

The Bantu population of the Dobe area remained stable until 1954 when there occurred a major influx of Herero pastoralists from the Makakun area to the east. The circumstances that brought this move about are worth mentioning because this migration initiated a series of political events that have produced the present curious situation in the Dobe area.

In the late 1940's, there had been an expansion of Tsetse fly into cattle-raising areas that had formerly been free of fly. This forced hundreds of pastoralists to evacuate the infested areas and thus put an even greater pressure on the grazing in the shrinking fly-free areas. The Dobe area, which starts 60 miles west of the Tsetse fly front, appeared

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[1] The suspect, a young man named ≠oma, was arraigned in Maun in September, 1946, but for unknown reasons was never brought to trial.

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to offer to the displaced Hereros an attractive living space. Accordingly some 18 families totalling over 120 people with 4,000 head of cattle trekked west in 1954. But instead of settling at the Dobe area wells, these migrants "leap-frogged" these wells and trekked directly into South West Africa where they occupied the waterholes of the Nyae Nyae area. There was a long standing precedent for such a move. Pastoralists from Bechuanaland had been summering cattle in South West Africa since the 1890's, and some of the Dobe area Bantu spent the year round at their South West cattle posts.

The Marshall family had made their first expedition to the Nyae Nyae pans in 1951. At that time they found a few of the water sources supporting Bantu cattle posts. They returned on their second expedition in 1955 to find what appeared to be a major Bantu encroachment of the Bushmen in the Nyae Nyae region. Their reports to the South West Administration led to the expulsion of these Herero in 1956 and the closing of the border to all movements of cattle. The Bantu were forced to withdraw to wells on the B.P. side and today the majority of them are bunched up at two wells within five miles of the border. Since 1957, the South African police have patrolled the border road and they have shot on sight any cattle that stray across the line into South West Africa.

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648 The Bushman residents of Bechuanaland, however, were not immediately affected by these restrictions. They continued to hunt and gather on the South West side and to visit their kinsmen at localities in the Nyae Nyae area.

648 <u>The period of European presence, 1960-1965</u> - In 1960, the
177 South African Government put into operation its plan to civilize the !Kung Bushmen of the interior. A government station was set up at Tsumkwe where a borehole was sunk. Mr. C. V. McIntyre, the Bushman Affairs Commissioner, took up residence at Tsumkwe. The !Kung Bushmen from Nyae Nyae were
[241] ingathered and provided with rations of maize meal. After they had been settled around the borehole a program was initiated to teach them agriculture. Because of a series of drought years this program has not met with success.

[162] By 1964, over 800 !Kung Bushmen had been settled at Tsumkwe. Less than 50 of these people had come from the
[178] Bechuanaland side. It is not clear why the Bechuanaland
[162] !Kung have not participated in this program to a greater
[224] extent, but the fact remains that over 350 !Kung continue to
[222] hunt and gather in the Dobe area and seem to indicate no intention of moving to Tsumkwe.[1]

648 The latest development in the political situation in

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[1]Some B.P. Bushmen insist that they were refused permission to live at Tsumkwe. Others say they fear to go there.

648 the interior is the construction of a cattle fence along the length of the Bechuanaland/South West Africa border. This job was scheduled to begin in February 1965, and will serve to isolate further the B.P. !Kung from their relatives in South West Africa.

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312 was simple. Each waterhole supported one independent camp and each camp had its own territory.

Two of the waterholes, Mahopa and !xabe, lacked independent camps and therefore were not part of a territory. [648] The Bushmen who drank at these waterholes lived in Bantu [222] villages. They collected food in the adjacent territories of other camps such as Dobe !ubi and !angwa (see Map 14).

361 The sharing of a single territory by two or more camps
602 reflected the close kinship ties between the camps. This was obvious at Dobe where the leaders of the two camps were a brother and sister who often brought their two groups [562] together to make a common camp. It was also obvious at !goše where the four camps were led by descendants and collaterals of one old woman. In previous years these four independent groups at !goše had lived in one large camp.

361 The territorial arrangements of the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen, like their group structures, were extremely flexible. Most territories overlapped with one or more adjacent territories. The boundaries of territories were vaguely defined and there were areas between territories which were not claimed by any of the camps. The Bushmen did not conceive of territories as areas of exclusive occupation. The concept of territorial defense was lacking. Each territory consisted, in the words of Mrs. Marshall, of "a waterhole and a side" (L. Marshall 1960:334). This point is illustrated in Map 14.

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361 The distribution of camps during the summer follows two phases. In the early phase when water is standing in a dozen or more localities camps are found at most waters. This is the time of maximum freedom of movement because ponds fill up in the usually waterless belts and make it possible for people to visit relatives 35-70 miles away.

The distribution of camps in December 1963 is illustrated in Map 17, p.157.

The second phase of summer life begins as these smaller waters dry up in February and March. Then most of the Bushmen converge on the large summer waters such as !Gauša Pan (not to be confused with /Gauša Pan in the Nyae Nyae area).

!Gauša Pan in its peak season (Jan-March in 1964) was a pond 400 feet long and 125 feet across, located in a local [162] drainage area between two dunes. In addition to a resident [648] population of 40 Bushmen (augmented by dozens of temporary visitors) the pan supported four Bantu cattle posts with [136] about 500 head of cattle. The pan was a watering place for kudu and wildebeeste and had resident flocks of red-billed teal, white-bellied stork and hammerkops. Within a 3 mile radius of the pan there were remains of at least ten abandoned Bushmen camps that had been occupied in previous years.

[162] Besides !Gauša there were four other big pans in the Dobe area, each of which supported large Bushmen camps (of

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224 A boy does not begin to play-hunt until he is twelve years old, and seven or eight years may pass before he kills his first buck, an event which signals his entry into manhood.

[648] Nowadays many adolescent boys spend several years working on
[464] the Bantu cattle posts where they receive clothing and rations.
[582] This interval of work undoubtedly delays their attainment of social maturity and boys do not normally marry until they reach their middle twenties. It is significant that, upon marriage, practically all of the young men return to the camps and take up hunting as a full time occupation.

888 The aged hold a respected position in Bushman society. They are the effective as well as the titular leaders of the camps. The oldest people are fed and cared for by their children and grandchildren long after their productive years have
888 passed. The blind, the senile and the crippled are held in
734 awe and respect by the Bushmen, because they often possess special ritual and technical skills. For instance, /wan!a, the eighty year old female leader of the !gose camps, was senile and partially blind, but she was recognized as the leading exponent of the Women's Curing Dance. The two male elders of the !gose camps were both totally blind, but this did not prevent their active participation in decision-making and in ritual curing.

000 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social

824 is not eaten. Next is a casing of granular-textured fruit
262 which is eaten. The fruit encloses the nut itself. This consists of a thick outer shell which must be cracked open with the nut-cracking stones. Within the thick shell is a softer inner shell which encloses the nut kernel which is the staple of the Bushman diet. This inner kernel is "packaged" within four protective layers and this explains its remarkable storage properties.

824 In the late summer and autumn months the Bushmen eat
252 large quantities of both the fruit and the nut. First the women boil potfuls of whole fruit in order to separate the outer flesh from the hard shell. The flesh of the fruit produces a delicious fruit puree that tastes like stewed prunes. After the fruit is eaten, the nuts themselves are set aside for later cracking and eating.

184 The summer hunting situation appears to vary from camp
221 to camp. At the !Gausa camp very little hunting was done.
224 [177] The resident men assisted the Bantu in cattle herding and they
[648] received calabashes of sour milk as payment. At Characharaha
[464] the men hunted more, killing gemsbok, python and porcupine. At one summer camp, Mokoro, where there were no Bantu resident, two young men killed four large buck in the space of one month (two kudu and two gemsbok). This Mokoro camp was an
[177] unusually successful one. The availability of cows' milk and meat no doubt lessens the men's incentive for hunting

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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114 131 621 There is unfortunately no reliable information available as to the extent of territory occupied by the band. The only writer to touch on this question is Seiner, who estimates that in the Grootfontein district in the north-east of South-West Africa the average hunting territory covers about 700 sq. km.[1] This figure, however, cannot be regarded even as approximate, for it is based on what is almost certainly an excessive estimate of the total Bushman population in that district.

Size of the Band

162 621 The number of people who make up a band varies from tribe to tribe, and even within the tribe itself, although it is never considerable. Some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen speak of bands containing from one hundred to one hundred and fifty persons,[2] but groups much smaller in size are also mentioned.[3] Certainly in more recent times the number of families living together seldom exceeded three or four.[4] The remnants of the Namib Bushmen now also live in very small groups of only a few persons,[5] and so do the Hiechware in the Eastern Kalahari, where a band rarely has more than about twenty members.[6] Elsewhere Dorman states that he has seldom seen more than six or seven families together at a time, all told about thirty persons, and this was in a camp at permanent water.[7] The !O Kung in Angola are also found living together in very small bands. The largest group met by Miss Bleek consisted of sixteen men and fifteen women; everywhere else little parties were seen of from two to six men, with their wives and families.[8]

621 648 [177] In considering these figures it must be remembered that the Cape Bushmen were already being persecuted and dispersed, and their organization disintegrated, by their more powerful neighbours at the time when they came under observation, while the Namib Bushmen are now almost extinct and live in very unfavourable country. Whether they were formerly banded together in larger numbers there is no means of telling. The Hiechware and the !O Kung, again,

[1] Seiner, loc. cit.
[2] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Burchell, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 53.
[3] Burchell, op. cit., i, 456; Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 48; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 144.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*, p. viii.
[5] Trenk, op. cit., 166; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Range, *Landeskunde . . . des Namalandes*, 73.
[6] Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 90.
[7] Ibid., 130.
[8] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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are the serfs of the interdwelling Bantu, and the conditions under which they live do not, therefore, permit of their association in large groups. 621 648

In the tribes to the north-west who still retain to some extent their own mode of life and organization the communities are on the whole somewhat larger, although the numbers fluctuate a good deal. In the Kaukauveld Passarge frequently saw bands of up to thirty persons, and in the Mahuraveld of between twenty and twenty-five persons.[1] Among the Naron, again, Miss Bleek speaks of a camp containing from sixty to eighty persons,[2] while among the Auen, according to Kaufmann, up to thirty families, i.e. about one hundred persons, may be found camping together.[3] Both writers agree, however, in stating that the numbers may at times be considerably less. Müller visited eight camps of Bushmen in the Kaukauveld, and the figures given by him show that in six of them the population ranged between thirty and seventy, while the remaining two had one hundred and fifty and two hundred inhabitants respectively.[4] Seiner, again, states that the bands of the Kung average fifty persons, although he mentions two encampments in the vicinity of Karakuwisa which were considerably larger[5]; while among the Tannekwe he found five encampments of Bugakwe, whose population he estimates altogether as two hundred and twenty, eight of Garikwe containing all told about four hundred and thirty persons, and one of Gokwe with ninety.[6] 162 621

Not too much weight can be laid on the actual figures given, as for the most part they are based on what are obviously rough estimates, not accurate observations. There seems little doubt, however, that among the North-Western tribes the bands are on the whole more considerable than in any of the other tribes, and the average given by von François[7] of between fifty to sixty persons to a band may be taken as fairly representative, although as we have seen the numbers fluctuate a good deal. [114]

Part of the difficulty in obtaining accurate information about the size of the band lies in the fact that the families composing it are not always found living together in one encampment. Within the 166 361 621

[1] *Die Buschmänner*, 9, 10. [2] *The Naron*, 4. [3] "Die Auin," 136.
[4] "Erkundungsritt in das Kaukauveld," 530. The actual figures are: 150, 40, 70, 70, 200, 30, 50, and 30.
[5] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303, 302.
[6] "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 104.
[7] *Nama und Damara*, 234.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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224 returning to the camp, sleep under the central tree and avoid sexual intercourse with his wife, lest the poison prove ineffective and the animal escape. The meat of an animal killed by a dog may not be [841] eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating; this is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. Any want of success is generally attributed to some chance accident; for example, a man who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife was menstruating will not hunt again while she is in that condition, nor will she eat any of the *tnoe-di* at such times.[1]

These practices and beliefs obviously represent only a small portion of what must be an elaborate series of usages relating to hunting, but they suffice to indicate how the Bushmen, fully aware of the uncertainty attendant upon their efforts, seek to relieve their apprehensions and to obtain confidence by the aid of magic and taboo.

Collecting

224 Hunting in the old days was unquestionably the principal source
136 of subsistence in Bushman life. But with the decrease of the game
●648 in their region and with the enforcement against them of the game
222 laws framed by the white man, its importance is diminishing, and at the present time the Bushmen depend very largely for the means of existence on the wild vegetable foods growing in the veld.

[241] Agriculture in any form is altogether unknown to them in their
222 traditional mode of life. The nearest they have got to it is found
224 in the practice observed by the North-Western tribes of burning the
311 veld at the end of the dry season.[2] This, it is said, is done primarily in order that the edible bulbs, roots, etc., should come up better during the approaching rainy season. It is also used, however, as a means of hunting, for the men spread round the fire in a semicircle and drive all the game rushing from it before them in a certain direction where some hunters are lying in wait; moreover, the new grass growing soon after the burning attracts the game, which returns to the area, and thus makes it good hunting ground. Incidentally the burning serves to kill off snakes, scorpions, and other noxious creatures. Men may only [423] burn in their own territory; to do so across the border, or to gather wood where others have burned, is a great offence. In former times, [622] among the Naron, the chiefs are said to have regulated the burning;

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 102.
[2] Jodika, "Reise nach dem Okavango," *D. KolBl.*, xiii (1902), 495; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147, 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 17.

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daughters are competely excluded from the inheritance. The eldest 428
son also becomes the head of the family after the death of his father, [768]
and must care for the widow and give her food.[1]

Regulation of Public Life

In spite of the loose cohesion of the band, and the facility with 648
which the family groups composing it may wander about separately, the Bushmen are by no means devoid of government and law. Where they are subject to the Bantu or other peoples there is of course not much possibility of an independent political life. In the Okavango marshes, for example, they are in the position of serfs to the BaTawana, by whom they are required to pay an annual tribute of skins, ostrich feathers, and egg-shell beads. The territory occupied by the BaTawana is divided into local districts, each under control of a minor chief (*kxosani*), to whom all the Bushmen in the district have to pay their tribute, and for whom they often have to perform such services as herding his cattle and hunting for him. In the Oschimpoloveld again the Bushmen pay tribute to the OvaKwangari; in the Southern Kalahari they are the serfs and herdsmen of the BaTlaro and other BeChwana tribes among whom they live, and so, too, in the North-East Kalahari, where they are subject to the BaMangwato.[2]

But where the Bushmen are still to some extent independent, each 621
band, as we have seen, is a separate political unit and regulates its own affairs. There is no well-developed system of organized government. In the small family groups of the Cape and Namib Bushmen [622]
and of the !O Kung deference is paid to the head of the group, but 554
his authority in general is very limited. The common affairs of the 887

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 10, 35; Kaufmann, op. cit., 159; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

[2] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 121–2; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 65–6; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Languages," 56. In August, 1926, the High Commissioner for S. Africa (H.E. the Earl of Athlone), addressing an assembly of BaMangwato at their chief town Serowe, made the following important declaration with reference to this servitude: "It has been stated that the Masarwa are the slaves of the Mangwato. The Government does not regard them as slaves, but realizes that they are a backward people who serve the Mangwato in return for the food and shelter they receive. I understand that for the most part they are contented and that they do not wish to change. But the Government will not allow any tribe to demand compulsory service from another, and wants to encourage the Masarwa to support themselves. Any Masarwa who wish to leave their masters and live independently of them should understand that they are at liberty to do so, and that if the Mangwato attempt to retain them against their will the Government will not allow it. It is the duty of the Chiefs and Headmen to help these people to stand on their own feet, and I expect the missionaries and the Chief and his Councillors to join the Government in preventing anything in the nature of compulsory service in Bechuanaland" (*Report on Bechuanaland Protectorate*, 1926–7, Colonial Reports No. 1379, p. 6). What effect this pronouncement has had upon the status of the Bushmen it is still too early to determine.

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619 621 Bushmen from all parts of the Ghansiveld, even from different tribes, owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again [221] [423] Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

114 619 621 All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery, however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys' [881] puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his [574] preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement that in the months of March and April different bands come together for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and 726 obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several 619 621 Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band, although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

578 619 621 628 On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife-stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially [685] is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who 648 encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen, 685

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 117.
[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 13.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154.
[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 154; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 1; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 85.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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but formerly even to Europeans. In the Cape, for example, "If the white man were a passing hunter and friendly, if he shared his bag with the Bushmen, he was welcomed and could travel through the territory in peace; but when the settlers came in, permanently occupying the land at the springs, and doing great execution among the game, then the Bushmen retaliated by shooting the intruders or killing their stock. Whereupon the white man, unaware of any unfriendly behaviour on his part, dubbed the Bushman an untamable savage and a thief, and did his best to imprison or shoot him. Hence the war of extermination, which has reduced the race of Colonial Bushmen to its present vanishing figure."[1] 648 685

Among the Auen, when neighbouring bands are on friendly terms, wounded game may be followed by the members of the one on to the territory of the other. A portion of the game must, however, be given to the owners of the land. Refusal to do so is always dangerous. Where the bands are very friendly it does not necessarily lead to bloodshed; the trespasser is merely driven away, and his weapons and game confiscated. Otherwise, however, he is killed. Women caught trespassing are seized and taken to the camp of their captors; this often leads to war, when they are violated. And again the killing of a man by the members of another band always results in a state of feud. 619 621 685 [224] [628]

It may happen that between two bands there is so strong a feud of this nature that a meeting between their members invariably leads to bloodshed. It is probably due to this, says Kaufmann, that among the Auen many bands are so antagonistic that violation of the territorial bounds leads to immediate punishment by death; and he cites the bands at Gam and Rietfontein, between whom there was a long-standing enmity. Among the Kung there is also much hostility between neighbouring bands, especially when, as occasionally happens, an attempt is made by one band to take from another the land it occupies, if this is very rich in veldkos. The oppressed band, if the weaker, must move, but the fights are conducted with great bitterness, and the deep enmity aroused extends over generations. A similar condition of feud is reported to have existed between several bands of the Namib Bushmen, where, for example, in 1907 the people of Buntveldschuhhorn, in consequence of such a state of hostility, led an attack on those living at Aurus. Feud is also common between bands belonging to tribes of different speech, e.g. the Auen and the 628 685 628

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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Nama word for "master, lord", and has been used by some 177
missionaries for "God". The Naron and Auen were vague as to 776
the nature of *!khuba*. The old men did not know of him; the middle-aged men said *Hishe* was *!khuba*; while some of the younger people said he was the sky, others that he dwelt in the sky; they prayed to him to let them live long and to make them well when ill. Women who when young had been kidnapped and held as slaves by Nama chiefs were very fluent on the subject of *!khuba*; the others, [648] remarks Miss Bleek, had evidently picked up the word without [567] attaching any clear meaning to it, beyond that it was some sort of deity and that it was "good to pray to it". The same word (given by him in its vocative form *!khutse*) was also found among the partly-disorganized groups of these Bushmen by Fourie, who translates it "God".

A few of Miss Bleek's informants further mentioned *Huwu* or 776
Huwuba, but they did not know much about him—he was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the [177] "captain" of the white people.[1]

Huwu or *Hu'e* figures very prominently among the Kung, however. [184] Miss Lloyd's young informants from near Lake Ngami only once mentioned him. They began the tale of the Moon and the Hare [773] with the words, *Huwe* made all things; and in explanation said, *Huwe* made all things to eat (i.e. all animals that are eaten), and *Huwe* is a man.[2] Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, much further west, speaks of *Huwe* as a "good being", to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things. They pray to [782] him for food, as we have already seen, at a special ceremony held [796] once a year when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen, and they also in case of sickness call upon him to restore them to [755] health.[3]

Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*)[4] or *Xuwa*,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 24–6; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.
[3] "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.
[4] It may be mentioned here that Lebzelter is inconsistent in the orthography he employs: *!Kuk* is elsewhere written *//Khuu*, *//gauab* alternates with *!gauab*, *gagorob* with *!gau !gorob*, and so on. [114]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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Knowledge of Disease and Doctoring

164 The Bushmen in their own environment and leading their own mode of life seem on the whole to be a healthy and hardy people. Those communities in the north which have not been much in contact with civilization are said to be remarkably free from infectious, contagious, and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons, when malaria becomes unduly prevalent, the incidence of disease is very small amongst them. Malaria, however, carries off many victims, for the Bushmen do not seem able to withstand it better than other peoples. Kaufmann, as we have seen, records that in 1909 the mortality caused by it was especially high, whole villages dying out, so that the numbers of the Auen were reduced to less than half. Seiner, another trustworthy observer, states that [114] among the Kung fully 20 per cent of the deaths that occur, especially of children, may be attributed to it; and it is officially recorded that in the years 1917, 1923, and 1925 "large numbers" of Bushmen died from it along the north-eastern and eastern borders of South-West Africa. Smallpox, typhoid, dysentery, and phthisis are also mentioned as occurring in these parts, the latter being promoted by [276] excessive indulgence in tobacco and dagga smoking. Where contact with other peoples is frequent, syphilis is often found, as well as [177] measles, influenza, whooping-cough, scarlet fever, and other European diseases. European clothing and dwellings have a bad effect upon the Bushmen. They are particularly susceptible to pulmonary affections when removed from their natural surroundings, and a considerable number of those who have suffered from bronchitis, pneumonia, etc., subsequently succumb to tuberculosis. When imprisoned, as many of them are in South-West Africa for cattle [648] stealing or breaking the game laws, they rapidly decline in strength and die in great numbers, however kindly treated by the gaol authorities.[1]

753 Sickness in most instances is attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the person affected, to evil magic exercised against him by other persons, to the malicious interference of the ghosts of dead people who send the "spirits of disease" into 000 the patient's body, or to some similar supernatural cause. Treatment

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138, 139; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293; Doman, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 140–4; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29–30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95; *Official Year Book of S.A.*, No. 8, pp. 983–6 *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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eland, Castor and Pollux his wives; the Magellanic Clouds a steenbok; 184
Orion's sword three male tortoises hung upon a stick, his belt three 821
female tortoises so hung, etc. As these names indicate, there is
a good deal of folklore centring in the stars, and indeed a considerable 184
part of the vast collections of Cape Bushman lore made by Bleek 773
and Lloyd relate to the heavenly bodies, which are regarded as once 821
having been men or animals before being transformed into their present state. In one tale, for instance, it is related that a girl of the early race (preceding the Bushmen) wished for a little light, so that the people might see to return home by night. She therefore threw wood-ashes into the sky and these became the Milky Way. In another, again, it is told how a girl, at the time of her puberty seclusion, saw some people eating together at a dassie's house of branches. As a result they and the house, fixed by her looks, became stars in the sky, where they are now to be seen as the Corona Australis.[1]

The Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, according to Dornan, 184
also "have considerable acquaintance with various groups or 821
prominent stars, and have names for them", but the only one mentioned by him is the Southern Cross, referred to as the "giraffe star" and said to be somewhat like this animal in appearance.[2]

For shorter lengths of time the Bushmen go by the Moon, but 805
they make no attempt to reckon how many moons there are in the year or in a season.[3] They observe the phases of the Moon closely, [821]
but seem to have no division of time into anything corresponding to weeks, although they readily pick up the European system of weeks [177]
when working for white people, and will come regularly on the seventh day for tobacco, etc. Otherwise, in their intercourse with [648] ●
white people, the wage, if not given daily, is demanded at the New Moon.[4]

The day is apparently divided according to the position of the sun, but no names have been recorded for any fixed divisions or parts of the day.

The notion of time is also used to indicate distance, for which there 804
are no special units. Generally distance is reckoned by the time it 805 823

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10 sq.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 165.
[3] Lebzelter says, however ("Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15) that the Eastern Kung have a "vegetation year" of 10 months. The year is reckoned from one veldkos harvest to another. He omits to give any further details.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

648 that hunting cattle was extremely easy, and also, very probably, they wanted to revenge themselves upon the owners of the cattle, whom they believed to be encroaching upon the [423] land they considered their own. Today, largely because the ownership of the land has been determined, many fewer cattle are killed by Bushmen.

566 687 Of course, it is quite against the law for any farmer to keep Bushmen against their will and without recompense, but in the most remote outposts, on many farms, the laws cannot always be enforced. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate today, ●657 and also, I believe, in South-West Africa, the governments 563 are trying to set wage scales and provide education for Bush- 566 men, something very difficult for these governments to do as the Bushmen represent only a small fragment of the population, pay no taxes whatever, of course, and are in great demand as laborers; but the only Bushmen who so far can benefit from this are those who already live on the more central farms. Most Bushmen live in the veld, many in almost unreachable parts of the desert, and these people are still being taken by farmers and made to work almost as slaves.

466 566 Usually Bushmen do not run away from their masters unless a very good chance presents itself, such as the master's departure for a time, in which case he may return to find that all his Bushmen have run. But to escape is not always easy; the Bantus usually ride after the escaping Bushmen and drag them back, sometimes beating them severely as well. We once learned of a Bushman who, trying to escape, was captured by his Bantu master and beaten to death, his potential labor being sacrificed to set an example for others.

A European farmer can sometimes get police help in recapturing his escaped Bushmen if the farmer has paid the Bushmen some wages in advance and is owed the Bushmen's labor. European farmers are also not always lenient with

[59 cont.]

20. Law

671 627 The norms of natural law among the Bushmen are the same as among us. The family head is at the same time the supreme judge. Since even the nearest kin group is regarded in a sense as a foreign state, however, the boundaries between law, war, and vengeance are exceedingly fluid. The domain of law, therefore, is actually confined to the family. Since the only [681] punishment that can be effectively inflicted is the death penalty, it is rarely applied among married men, [60] for the judges and executioners must provide for the condemned man's survivors. In olden times the women condemned to death were burned or beaten to death with the kirri, and the men were killed with the poisoned arrow.

423 The right to personal possession of utilitarian objects, honey, and certain types of veldkost is strictly respected. The soil is common property of the kin group, as is any big game [224] that is killed. If a wounded animal dies in the domain of the neighboring kin group, the hunter must go there and report it. [578] The dead prey must then be divided. Since, however, there are some unpaired organs, fighting and killing easily arise concern- [627] ing them. Blood vengeance is practiced, but can be resolved through negotiation.

423 614 "Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

[361] "There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 1,000 [sic] kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions, come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

769 614 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's territory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

159 Toma the headman, sometimes known as Male Toma, an [55] honorary name, sometimes known as Toma the Short, so-called because of his stocky build, was a famous person, and once had been a serf. He was born of serf parents at Gam, and as a boy had worked for the Chuanas, drawing their water and herding their cattle and goats.

672 682 159 When Toma was a boy, his father was murdered by a child, the result of a terrible accident which took place one day when Toma's father was arguing with the father of a boy named Gao. Gao, who couldn't have been more than ten years old, became upset and angry when he heard his father quarreling and, taking his father's weapons, shot Toma's father in the chest with a poisoned arrow. The old man was helped to the shade, the arrow was drawn out and the wound sucked, but as there is no antidote for arrow poison the old man lived only for the rest of the day and by night he was dead.

Oddly enough, the crime was connected with the old man and not with Gao, the young murderer, for ever after that day the old man was referred to as Tsamko Bone Arrow, [55] while Gao in later years became known as Gao Wild Pig, after a pig he had killed which was in some way remarkable.

159 Toma flourished as a young man and became an excellent hunter with tireless legs, tireless eyes, and a deadly aim, and it was said of him that he never returned from a hunt without having killed at least a wildebeest, if not something larger. Hence, the people connected with him ate a great deal of meat and his popularity grew. He once said of himself: "From the day I was born I was born for meat."

159 622 591 When Toma was in his late teens, some say, his powers in hunting attracted the attention of the headman of Gautscha Pan, who offered Toma the hand of his daughter, Tu, in marriage. Toma accepted, went to live with his wife's peo-

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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372 by him by means of the *hei-doros*. The new */ou-/ais* now serves to
622 supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gaus* (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case only in
361 221 times of drought when the game has moved far afield and great
672 difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos. Further, people
622 driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *//gaus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the */ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.

622 "Persistent ill-health among the members of the community or diffi-
372 culty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the */ou-/ais*, are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new */ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the *hei-doros* and applies */norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it has been."

"The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire,"
114 Fourie goes on to say, "is met with among all the organized primitive
372 groups" of Bushmen in South-West Africa. The only previous
622 information hinting at observances of this kind is found in a curt statement by Kaufmann that among the Auen the "captain" of a village sees to it that the fire does not go out. But he adds that there is no "sacred" fire, and attributes the guarding of the fire against extinction to the practical inconveniences of the method employed in making it.[1] Quite recently, however, Lebzelter has reported the occurrence of similar observances among the Kung, although his remarks on the subject are very scanty. He states merely that the Kung, like the Bergdama, have the sacred fire round which only the men may sit. "When the camp is moved," he concludes, "the head of the group takes with him a brand from this fire"[2]—presumably to use it for

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 139; "Der 'Kapitän' (Aichab) der Werft achtet darauf, dass das Feuer nicht ausgeht. Ein 'heiliges' Feuer ist nicht vorhanden. Die Bewahrung des Feuers vor dem Verlöschen geschieht lediglich aus praktischen Gründe, da das Feuerquirlen immerhin ziemlich anstrengend ist."

[2] "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 14: "Wie die Honigkaffern haben auch die !Kuh das Sochafeuer. Es ist dies das heilige Feuer, bei dem nur die Männer sein dürfen. Wenn die Werft übersiedelt, dann nimmt das Werftoberhaupt einen Feuerbrand mit Sochafeuer mit."

/155 cont./

628 the slain man. Now, naturally, a blood feud exists between the settlements, which, incidentally, are related to each other directly and by marriage.

648 Furthermore, it is interesting that the Auin from Sidonitzaub sent a messenger to me in Rietfontein, where I was [123] station commander, and had him inquire whether I had any objection to their making "orlog" [Tr., probably from the Dutch word oorlog, "war"]. I conveyed to them that the affair was none of my business since the war would take place in British territory. Unfortunately I was transferred from Rietfontein shortly afterward and was therefore unable to witness the campaign as a "military correspondent." According to reliable reports, the war has been settled and three men were killed.

This inquiry addressed to me makes it clear that under the pressure of present conditions the "unfortunate child of the moment" does not always surrender immediately to the impulses of the moment.

674 It is scarcely possible to give even a rough picture of the legal notions of the Auin.

There is no doubt that the Bushman possesses a very definite sense of justice, but I do not feel capable of comparing it intelligibly to our own conceptions of justice.

It is a little easier to indicate what the Bushman (Auin) regards as absolute injustice, such as murder, theft, adultery, violation of the family territory, and stealing water (the latter only if little water is available). At any rate, with extended investigation, the catalogue could be considerably enlarged.

422 Personal property includes the hut (though this is not an object of value), weapons, clothing, utilitarian objects, hides, and ornaments.

It is true that the gathered veld crop, game that has been killed, and water that has been collected are also personal /156/ property, but these are subject to extensive communal use which becomes more limited only in case of famine or a water shortage.

423 The land of the horde is communal property, as are the game, veld crop, wood, and water on the land, the latter with limitations.

When a Bushman has burned off a piece of land in order to

[8 cont.] HENCE THE RULE IS THAT THE WEDDING AND THE
585 GIRLS initiation coincide, and usually the girl moves to the village of
581A her first husband immediately after the completion of the festivi-
[591] ties.

584 When a man is courting, he must first attempt to obtain the consent of the girl. Once he has succeeded, he goes to the girl's parents. If they also give their consent, the engagement is settled. At this point, all communication is interrupted until the bridegroom appears and says to the girl's parents: "I want to have the wedding now." If the parents agree, they go to their relatives to spread the happy news. If the relatives object, they can still prevent the marriage. If they do not, the date of the wedding feast is fixed. In the bush, the bridegroom must bring the bride's parents a piece of big game. Usually people make matters
439 simpler for themselves. Either they have already earned a head
584 of cattle from a black farmer, and this stands ready in the farmer's
648 herd to be fetched for the wedding feast, or -- and this is more
452 common -- the Bushman will begin a begging tour around the black farmyards until someone gives him a cow as an advance on hides to be supplied later or on work to be performed.

452 And miraculously, this always succeeds. It is to be ex-
648 plained on various grounds. A black farmer, whose worst character traits include avarice and greed, would never give another Black who possesses nothing one of his dearly beloved cows on the strength of uncertain promises. And not unjustly. The next day the cow would have disappeared into the stomachs of the borrower and his friends, and on the day after that the borrower would have disappeared beyond the tribal boundaries. Repeatedly the Bushmen came to my camp too late. But from the Ukuanjama I always received the assurance: "The Bushmen will keep their word; they will certainly come if they are alive." In addition to this, of course, there is the symbiosis. Each village has its
[437] Bushmen. During the period of the harvest they suddenly appear
[9] and help with it. Between times they never miss a celebration, and at one time or another this one comes with hides and another with honey. And finally the chiefs of the Bushmen kin
[622] groups see to it that nothing happens to injure the reputation of
[674] the Bushmen. It is unheard of for these people to commit theft.

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Grove

674 LATE in the afternoon of the day we met Toma, we decided
685 to find the rest of his band—his wife's mother and the other part of Gao Feet's family. There were now nine adults and five children all intending to ride in the jeep and we were very crowded, but to relieve this condition as much as possible Toma left some of his possessions behind. He left a large, dry hide, scraped but not yet cured, rolled up and thrust in the branches of a tree, and a skin bag stuffed full of bedding grass under a bush. Someday he would return for them, perhaps when a season or two had passed, when he would be roaming near that spot again. Bushmen commonly leave their things anywhere they wish, for the things are never touched by others; theft is so unknown that Bushmen do not even forbid it, having no need for tabus or laws against that which never happens.

576 When Tu was in the jeep, wedged in tightly between others with her youngest children in her lap, she gave the werf that she was leaving one last glance and noticed the bag of grass that Toma had left behind. It was her bed too, after all, and when she saw it she pushed aside her children, pushed aside

[59 cont.]

20. Law

671 The norms of natural law among the Bushmen are the
627 same as among us. The family head is at the same time the supreme judge. Since even the nearest kin group is regarded in a sense as a foreign state, however, the boundaries between law, war, and vengeance are exceedingly fluid. The domain of law, therefore, is actually confined to the family. Since the only
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[224] that is killed. If a wounded animal dies in the domain of the neighboring kin group, the hunter must go there and report it.
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[627] ing them. Blood vengeance is practiced, but can be resolved through negotiation.

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614 from ancient times. The territory is called Gao and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

[361] "There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 1,000 [sic] kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions, come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

769 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's terri-
614 tory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's

[60 cont.]

769 territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced
614 by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place (1).

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 434.

775 As has already been said, the Bushman does not believe
[626] in punishment after death. On the other hand, he is convinced that the evil that he himself has done will befall him or his dogs in the same way.

● 681 In former times banishment from the kin group was likewise
648 customary, and the exile would soon perish, since the Bushman
177 cannot survive by himself in the wilderness for any length of time. Nowadays, such individuals, just like those who were expelled from the Bantu tribes, move to land owned by Europeans and find work there. It is obvious that they do not help to improve the reputation of the Coloreds.

695 In cases of doubt, the Bushman swears by the great captain: nu X'u.

681 Instead of formal expulsion, the people may boycott out-
762 laws, who are thereby driven to such despair that they commonly commit suicide. Suicides also occur for other reasons.

21. Conflicts with Europeans

648 Before the police zone boundary was erected, the Bushmen found themselves in a latent state of war with their neighbors. Part of their list of sins will be cited here.

According to Toke, the !Kung near Keibeb in 1925 attacked eight Barotse [Lozi] and killed them, and purportedly ate them. Later, three Ovambo were attacked by surprise, killed,

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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[681] There are, further, various sanctions by which non-fulfilment or the breach of any recognized custom is penalized, and which thus also serve as another and more direct means of securing conformance with the pattern of social life. In this category we may place ritual sanctions, where any departure from a prescribed rule of conduct is followed automatically by evil results, without any direct interference on the part of the community. The breaking of a taboo, for instance, is [784] held to produce serious consequences, such as death or disease or ill-luck in the chase. Thus among the Cape Bushmen, as we have seen, girls who do not observe the restrictions imposed upon them at the time of puberty are believed to change into frogs, while men who are seen by the girls at this time become permanently fixed in whatever position they then occupy, and so on. And again there are the [224] numerous observances and avoidances associated with hunting, which if neglected will result in ill-success, the loss of a wounded animal, etc. All sanctions of this sort—and in the preceding pages we have had occasion to notice a good many of them—may be regarded as legal mechanisms, in the sense that they operate to maintain the observance of accepted usages and customs.

Other breaches of custom, however, involve the direct intervention 627 of the members of the community. In general, when disputes arise [578] between the members of the band—among the Naron they are said [692] to be infrequent—there is no appeal to any supreme authority, for, as we have just noted, there is no such authority, nor are cases of wrongdoing or quarrels referred to the chiefs where these exist. The only remedy is self-help. But in so far as self-help is the recognized mode of reaction, it must also be regarded as a legal institution. Blood vengeance indeed is the principal, if not the only, recognized way of dealing with serious offences committed against a person even by members of the same band.[1]

The principal actions penalized in this way are adultery, theft, and [684] homicide. In the case of adultery, as we have already seen, the injured husband attempts to kill the adulterer, if he possibly can, while the unfaithful wife is beaten and in some cases divorced. Theft also [685] provokes blood vengeance, when the thief refuses to restore the stolen property.[2] Even if he does, he is reproached for his deed, and

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 155; Trenk, op. cit., 169; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35–6.

[2] According to one of the texts published by Bleek and Lloyd (*Bushman Folklore*, 416–25), among the Kung a man who steals in the camp is killed by the others present, who all shoot at him with their arrows. A married woman who steals is also sometimes shot by her own husband. More frequently, however, she is burned alive in a hut; although, if her parents are

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury 622
resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. 692
The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a [695]
decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band.
Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the 681
relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kirri or by
stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former
times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely
beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property,
assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are
punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and
abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but
self-defence is in no way penalized.

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is 114
difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these 692
Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is 681
no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama [171]
Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come
to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the
same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated
from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, [184]
to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the
other Bushman tribes.

Relations with Other Bands

619
Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting 621
territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their
own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally
have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a
rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married [591]
man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before
returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also [574]
frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as
we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her
first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from [438]
one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also
find the members of several different bands assembled together for a
while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak
of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 Toma the headman, sometimes known as Male Toma, an [55] honorary name, sometimes known as Toma the Short, so-called because of his stocky build, was a famous person, and once had been a serf. He was born of serf parents at Gam, and as a boy had worked for the Chuanas, drawing their water and herding their cattle and goats.

672 When Toma was a boy, his father was murdered by a 682 child, the result of a terrible accident which took place one 159 day when Toma's father was arguing with the father of a boy named Gao. Gao, who couldn't have been more than ten years old, became upset and angry when he heard his father quarreling and, taking his father's weapons, shot Toma's father in the chest with a poisoned arrow. The old man was helped to the shade, the arrow was drawn out and the wound sucked, but as there is no antidote for arrow poison the old man lived only for the rest of the day and by night he was dead.

Oddly enough, the crime was connected with the old man and not with Gao, the young murderer, for ever after that day the old man was referred to as Tsamko Bone Arrow, [55] while Gao in later years became known as Gao Wild Pig, after a pig he had killed which was in some way remarkable.

159 Toma flourished as a young man and became an excellent hunter with tireless legs, tireless eyes, and a deadly aim, and it was said of him that he never returned from a hunt without having killed at least a wildebeest, if not something larger. Hence, the people connected with him ate a great deal of meat and his popularity grew. He once said of himself: "From the day I was born I was born for meat."

159 When Toma was in his late teens, some say, his powers 622 in hunting attracted the attention of the headman of Gau- 591 tscha Pan, who offered Toma the hand of his daughter, Tu, in marriage. Toma accepted, went to live with his wife's peo-

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

among the Namib Bushmen the victim may take back not only the stolen property, but also all the thief's possessions. That blood vengeance is actually exercised in case of theft appears from the following incident recorded by Miss Bleek. An Auen man had a good deal of tobacco, most of which he hid in a tree. Returning later he found the tobacco gone, and human footprints round the tree. He followed the spoor to one of a cluster of huts, where he saw a Bushman sitting at the fire cutting the stolen tobacco. Although he had only a spear with him, he darted up and stabbed the thief to death. The man's wife, intervening, was also stabbed. Then the assailant tried to escape, but was shot in the side by a poisoned arrow from the group round the next fire. He succeeded in reaching his home, but died of the poison a few days later. Similarly, in the waterless regions of the Namib Desert, men on the hunt often store up supplies of water in ostrich egg-shells and also of meat. Another person coming upon this supply may take from it, but must follow the spoor of the owner, tell him about it, and recompense him. If this is not done the owner, when he discovers the loss, will follow the spoor of the thief until he finds him and will then kill him if he can.

Here, according to Trenk, homicide in case of theft and adultery is apparently not regarded as murder, but as punishment, and the relatives of the deceased may not take blood vengeance. But, as shown in the instance quoted from Miss Bleek, among other Bushmen homicide, whether deliberate or accidental, leads inevitably to blood vengeance, the relatives of the dead man combining to kill the murderer. This appears also from another instance recorded by Knudsen.[1] A Bushman, not far from Bethanie in South-West Africa, shot another in the leg with an arrow during a honey beer drinking-bout. The wounded man revenged himself on the spot by shooting his assailant in the heart and killing him. The dead man's brother pursued the killer, who fled, but could not overtake him, and so returned to the camp, where he met the man's wife carrying a child. He tore it from her, threw it up in the air and caught it on the point of his spear. The mother saved herself by fleeing, but two other women

still living, she may be handed over to them and they all have to leave the camp. Should the father be dead and the mother alive, the thief is still taken and given back to the latter, after the stolen property has been recovered. But, if she is an old offender, the mother is said to give her, through a son, to another person, to be burned to death. These facts, obtained from a single young informant, need, however, to be confirmed. The deliberate burning to death of people, for whatever reason, is not reported of any of the other Bushmen.

[1] Quoted in Moritz, "Die älteren Reiseberichte über Deutsch-Südwestafrika," *Mitt. deutz. Schutzgeb.*, xxix (1916), 154.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

627 related to the homicide were killed by the brother. What happened
● 682 afterwards we are not told, but judging from what is known of blood revenge among the Bushmen it is hardly likely that the matter was allowed to rest there.

Among the Auen, for example, a son is obliged to exact blood
628 vengeance on the slayer of his father, a brother for his brother. If
682 the slayer himself is dead or out of reach, the feud extends to his nearest male relative. A son whose father has been killed is obliged to undertake vengeance as soon as he is grown up. His mother impresses this obligation upon him during his childhood, and as soon as he has caught his first head of big game the obligation must be carried out. He applies to his nearest relatives for help, which is given without question. In the same way whoever has to fear blood vengeance is supported by his relatives and the members of his band. Not only
[562] men but women also may become the objects of the blood feud, although as a rule the latter are taken and held as wives by their captors. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen the slayer is killed by the relatives of the dead man. All the male members of the latter's family combine to revenge his death; an arrow is shot at the slayer, and if this does not immediately kill him he is beaten to death with the kirri. Murderesses are also killed in this manner; but otherwise
[562] women, even for such serious offences as theft and adultery, are only punished by thrashing, although this may sometimes be very severely administered.

We are not told whether the killing of the slayer or his substitute leads to the cessation of the feud, but from an instance quoted by Kaufmann it apparently does not. An old Auen man from Olifantskloof was visiting a brother-in-law at Sidonitsaub. The host put out a snare, in which he caught a giant bustard. This was found by the guest, who took it out of the snare and began to consume it. While he was doing so, the host came up and observing the theft pierced him through the body with a spear. The slayer then fled, but was pursued by the relatives of the dead man and killed. Since then a blood feud has existed between these two bands, connected though they were by marriage.

The only exception to this general rule of self-help is recorded by
[184] Seydel of the Namib Bushmen.[1] He states, it is true, that in case of
622 minor offences self-help is frequently resorted to, but adds that all
692 serious offences are formally adjudicated. The court consists of one

[1] Seydel, op. cit., 505–6.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

183 gathered (about 175) had married lineal kin or collaterals, at least through first cousins.
582 However, informants told about two /Kung men in B.P. who had married their
835 cousins: we could not find out which type of cousins. What was interesting was the
605 attitude of the informants. They said the men should not have done this, but there was no talk of madness or danger or expressions of horror such as we had observed when incest was spoken of at other times. No punishments, social or divine, had been meted out, according to the informants. Some said they thought it was not too bad a thing for a man to do, especially if the woman were a FaSiDa, who is not, they said, so much like your sister as a MoSiDa. I believe that the anomaly of the system's allowing joking with cousins, although it prohibits marriage, mitigates, in all probability, the force of the incest taboo and accounts to some extent for the tolerance towards the breakers of this rule.

How much deviation there is in marrying second and third cousins we do not
[124] know. We soon gave up trying to gather data on relatives more remote than first cousins because informants so often did not know the names and we could not rely on the information.

582 One account came to our ears of a man who had violated the incest taboo with his
627 stepdaughter. He was /Gunda Legs, the MoBr of old Gau of Band 1, and he lived with Band 9. He is dead now. What he did was so outside the good and the normal
684 that it could be accounted for only by madness. He had drunk the milk of a young
835 gemsbok doe, the people told us, and this is what had made him mad. Something
159 came from his forehead and went in and out, a sort of swelling. After that he fell in love with his stepdaughter, ≠Nisa, and married her, and both she and her mother
[753] were his wives at the same time. The people 'laughed at him' so much because he had made such a horrifying 'mistake' that he took his stepdaughter and lived apart from his band—the only instance we know of a man and woman living alone. They had a son, ≠Toma, who died young. When /Gunda's madness waned he sometimes came back to his people; he would go again when his madness returned. People said they did not understand why ≠Nisa went with him. They mocked at her, said that she was *dole*, 'bad', and that it was 'nonsense' to fall in love with one's stepfather.
Our informants laughed uneasily when they told about it as they laugh when they
[154] tell of vultures eating their meat or of being chased by fierce bees when they try to take a honeycomb. There came to my mind a penetrating remark made by //Kushay, the wife of /Qui in Band 1, which might, I thought, be applied to ≠Nisa. //Kushay had said, 'When a Bushman girl goes against the customs of her people and people talk about her and say she is bad, she is very unhappy. She would hear the people talking and be ashamed and would come to them angry—angry because she is ashamed', or, I thought, go away because she is ashamed.

Deviations occur in the fourth category. Two men we met had married women
183 with the same names as their mothers. A man named /Ti/kay married the daughter of
553 another /Ti/kay, and there were other such instances. /Qui, the husband of the above
582 //Kushay in Band 1, said he proposed to do this himself. The girl's family had flatly
608 refused, but he was going to keep on trying. ≠Toma said he would not do this but
835 he sees some people doing these things. There are not enough women whom a man may properly marry, he said, and he would be in favour of changing the marriage prohibitions among name relatives so that a man need avoid only ugly women.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

837 the wives consent. This is regarded as a concern of the couples involved rather than a concern of society as a whole. One man said, 'If you want to sleep with someone's wife, you get him to sleep with yours, then neither of you goes after the other with poisoned arrows.'

[572] The word */kamheri* was used by //Ao, one of the young hunters, to express his deep feeling of friendship for John Marshall. 'We are such friends that we are */kamheri*', he said, but, as John had no wife to exchange, this remark had its funny side which delighted the men.

No actual instance of */kamheri* came to our attention and we failed in finding out if it is now practised. One man in Gam lent his first wife to a unmarried friend, one of the gossips told us, because he was in love with his second and did not care any longer for the first, but this was a mere deviation from the rules, not an instance of */kamheri*.

We heard of several irregular sexual unions in addition to the above. Rape did not appear in stories or gossip. Fornication must be very rare because there is practically no one to fornicate with. Almost all females are married except very young girls and leathery old grandmothers. Adultery is the usual form for irregular unions to take. Adultery, however, is sharply limited by several deterrents. One deterrent is 684 the incest taboo, of course, which forbids extra-marital sexual relations as rigorously 837 as it does marriage with persons to whom the taboo is extended. The same internalized sanctions induce obedience to this rule as to the marriage regulations. The same gradation of feeling probably exists, and we expect that people comply strictly within the kindred and among close affines and are no doubt less strict with name relatives.

Ease of divorce must exert a modifying influence on adulterous unions. If a [586] married couple really want to change mates, nothing need deter them but the general difficulty of extricating themselves from the web of responsibilities which marriage entails.

In a sense, the impossibility of maintaining secrecy exerts a control over extra-151 marital relations. There is no privacy in a /Kung werf and the vast veld is not a cover. 153 The very life of these people depends on their being trained from childhood to 182 look sharply at things and to take into their attention what they see, for they must observe the most minute marks on vegetation to distinguish from the matted grasses the almost hair-thin brown vine stems that come up from the edible roots. Hunters memorize visual impressions and are able to follow the tracks of an individual animal in the midst of a large herd in a way that seems to us miraculous. It may be a week after a hunt that they return to recover an arrow that missed, miles from the werf, remembering where it lay in the vast monotonous sameness of grass and bush. They register every person's footprints in their minds, more vividly I am sure than we do faces, and read in the sand who walked where and how long ago.

185 The /Kung value control of anger, upholding self-control as an ideal, giving it 578 group and individual approval and training for it. Despite this, volatile tempers sometimes flare and burst out of all control. And always at hand are the little poisoned [411] arrows. They are formidable weapons. There is no antidote for the poison; at least our /Kung informants said they know none and told us of tragic deaths from the poison which would have been averted had they had an antidote.

684 Adultery, so exceedingly provocative of anger and vengeance, could be very

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

dangerous under these conditions. Anger turns upon the adulterer. We were never told about a woman being killed or even very severely punished, but a husband is considered to be quite within his rights by /Kung rules of conduct if he kills a man who sleeps with his wife. However, the adulterer may fight back. With poisoned arrows both men might be killed. Fighting is so dangerous it is feared by the /Kung with a pervading dread. 684

Nevertheless, although prudence counsels against it and anxiety attends it, adultery does occur. During the years from 1951 to 1958, five instances in our sample came to our knowledge. When it did occur, the most clearly observable behaviour was the attempt on the part of related persons and other members of the band to help resolve the situation in order to avoid fighting and discord, for fighting, like fire, may spread and consume much before it is quenched. [627] [578]

A husband and a young widower had quarrelled and almost fought over the attentions of the young widower to the wife. The fight had been averted by the husband running away. He came to Gautscha where we were with Band 1. When I saw him handling his weapons, his face contorted with emotion, visions possessed me of the two men, both angry and afraid, shooting each other in nervous self-defence, writhing, bleeding, and dying in agony, and I was as filled with the fear of fighting as any Bushman. But before sundown that day the affair was resolved in the following fashion. A relative of the young widower undertook to use his influence and went and brought the young widower and the wife to Gautscha. The relative had two motives. He wanted peace, as everybody does, and he wanted no disgrace in his family which the affair would bring, for the young widower and the wife were sexually taboo, albeit in the mildest and most extended way. He was an able man and he succeeded. The pair agreed to his behests. When they arrived at Gautscha the wife went directly to her husband and, to our suprise, in a few minutes they left the werf with their child and came over to our camp, where they settled themselves right in our cleared camp space. Presently the young widower came too, with his three children, and settled himself beside the others. Under our wings they had less fear of each other's flares of temper and tensions relaxed. In a day or so the young widower left. Peace prevailed. The wife was still with her husband in 1958. The young widower was taken by the B.P. authorities, we heard, for killing a man in another quarrel over a woman. 159 684 627 578

When John Marshall was with Band 1 in 1957–8, ≠Gao Lame, the unmarried young headman, took to sleeping with /Ghia, the second wife of Old ≠Gao, headman of Band 10. Nobody seemed to expect a great deal of /Ghia, who was thought not to have very good sense, and she was not blamed nearly so much as ≠Gao Lame. His family railed at him quite openly. 'People get killed doing that', said /U, his sister (≠Toma's wife). ≠Gao Lame eventually stopped sleeping with /Ghia. John thought the group's expressed opinion really did influence him. Furthermore, ≠Gao decided it would be best to go to Old ≠Gao and say he was sorry. Old ≠Gao said ≠Gao Lame was right to come directly to him and that they should not fight. He gave /Ghia a mild thrashing instead. Then /Ti/kay of Band 9, who was /Ghia's MoBr, roused up the whole affair by claiming that when ≠Gao Lame 'insulted' /Ghia he also insulted him—/Ti/kay. /Ti/kay, the husband of the two charming sisters, an intense and vital man, especially gifted in performing the curing ceremonies

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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159 as a medicine man, although in a cool moment he could speak eloquently and philo-
627 sophically about the evils of fighting, was an erratic person, self-centred, frightfully
684 jealous, shrewd to see that no one got more than he, quick to take offence. Gao, the
578 medicine man in Band 1, husband of ≠Gao Lame's older sister, Di/ai, shouted out that /Ti/kay was a trouble-maker not to leave well enough alone. /Ti/kay thereupon foully insulted Gao Medicine, who shouted back that /Ti/kay was not fit to be a headman. /Ti/kay, now in a rage, called out that Gao lied to his own arrows. John said that some of the people flattened down on the ground or got behind things at this point. But two of /Ti/kay's half-sisters, who were present, threw themselves on him, pulled him away, and sat down beside him, holding his arms. He quieted down and Gao Medicine also sat down and was quiet. As the tempers cooled, peace took hold once more and, John says, the affair did not flare up again, at least during the remaining weeks he was there.

In some societies it would be incumbent upon kin such as MoBr or SiHu to feign anger and make a show of fighting to satisfy the conventions of honour. We observed no episodes which raised this question other than the above. John was strongly of the opinion that the emotions were genuine and that /Ti/kay's temper, which we had all experienced two or three times before, had released itself once more, but that once more a fight had been averted because people wanted peace and harmony most of all.

Illegitimacy

There were no illegitimate children in our sample in the years 1952–3 and we
848 discovered no social norms established with respect to illegitimacy. Girls are usually
851 married before they are old enough to have children. But, we asked, what would happen if a girl had a baby before she was married? People said the parents would go to the father of the child and say he must marry their daughter. Did they know anyone who had done this? No.

Suppose that a child were conceived in adultery and it were known with certainty that the father was not the woman's husband, what would happen to that child? we asked. The baby would be kept by its mother, of course. After they had talked things over among themselves, one informant said, and others agreed, that they thought, if the woman's husband fed the child for years while it grew, he would be justified in keeping the child and the biological father should not try to take the child away.

159 There is such a child now in Band 9. In 1955 or 1956 white farmers came
848 into the Nyae Nyae region and illegally recruited some /Kung families. These families tried to run away from the farms some time later. They told us that they were followed by two white men and a white woman on horseback with guns, led by a 'tame' Bushman tracker. These people forced the /Kung to return to the farm by threats and pointed guns. In the fracas some of the /Kung got away. Husbands and wives were separated. When the S.W.A. authorities learned on which farm these /Kung families were, they acted promptly to restore them to their bands, and fined the farmer, but two years had passed. One girl had had a child by one of the /Kung men. Once they were all restored to Nyae Nyae, the girl went back to her own husband with her baby boy, and was with him in 1958. The people said the baby's bio-

/148 cont./

628 captivity. Blood vengeance is exacted by the Bushmen for
684 adultery under all circumstances.

J. Luxuries

276 Tobacco, which is exclusively an imported product, is
[439] greatly coveted. A pipe of tobacco is the Auin's greatest pleasure. [Fig. 10 appears here.]

Taking snuff is unknown.

Everybody smokes, including little children.

The Auin manufacture a tobacco pipe (see Fig. 10) from a
324 soft red stone (serpentine) which supposedly is found only at the watering place Korikas. Indeed, immediately above the source, one does find a kind of modest quarry there.

/149/ A fragment of this stone is conically hollowed out with a lance point or an iron knife and then shaved down on the outside toward the hollow until the wall is about two to four millimeters thick. This pipe resembles an ordinary conical cigar
276 tip. A wadding made from the nest of the weaver bird (?) prevents the tobacco from falling out.

Occasionally one will also see a pipe plug or cleaner which usually is made of rosinkis wood without the bark and is attrac-
[531] tively decorated with a kind of pyrography. The decoration consists of lines and dots scratched in with a red-hot needle. The hairline precision of the lines is particularly striking.

The pipe plug (see Fig. 11) is worn around the neck on a chain of glass beads or on a leather belt (see also Photo. 1, the second man from the right).

The Auin only occasionally receives tobacco, either from
[439] the Whites when he performs services for them as a messenger,
[648] guide, and the like, or from Kaffirs employed by Whites, who exchange it for veld food.

Hemp or dacha of the Kaffirs (haium of the Auin).

Hemp is smoked in the ordinary tobacco pipes with equal passion by men and women.

I did not see anyone who had become ill from smoking hemp. The Auin themselves were only aware that its enjoyment sometimes produces nausea.

/156 cont./

423 foster the growth of the veld crop, he alone may lay claim to the yield of the burned veld. Others, even members of the same settlement, are not allowed to use it.

The territorial property of the individual hordes is precisely delimited, and the boundaries are known to everyone. Boundary markers naturally do not exist, but with his marvelous sense of place, the Bushman knows exactly, to the last bush, the extent of his territory.

565 Social distinctions do not exist, just as there are no servants or domestics.

576 They greet each other by extending hands in a manner that differs from our practice (see Photo. 43).

Slavery is unknown. Men who have been, captured in war
567 are killed; captured women are taken into the victorious group
727 and accorded completely equal rights.

R. Marriage, Position of the Woman, Children

582 Men marry between the ages of about 16 and 18 years, girls between 13 and 16. Both sets of figures naturally are estimates.

The candidate for marriage addresses his suit to the girl's
584 mother. If the latter is no longer alive, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is consulted only secondarily. The suitor brings his future in-laws presents in the form of game and veld food, sometimes over a period of more than a year.

If the affair proceeds smoothly, the man takes the girl to his hut after a time and the marriage is regarded as consummated.

If, in spite of the consent of her parents, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to express her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man will finally take the girl to his hut by force and have coitus with her. If she runs away, he brings her back. In this manner, her resistance seems to be gradually overcome.

684 If a man were to violate a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be killed.

585 No special ceremonies are observed to conclude the marriage. The marriage is considered consummated by coitus.

/156 cont./

584 The betrothal, which takes place immediately before the couple move into the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl's wrist, as can be seen in Photograph 44. Since, however, "betrothal" and "marriage" are separated only by the walk to the hut, the seizing of the bride's forearm may be regarded as concluding the marriage.

The seizing of the forearm is a fairly violent gesture, and on the way to the hut the bride allows herself in a certain sense to be dragged along. Could it be that this perhaps represents a vestige of an earlier custom of abducting the woman?

606 It is curious how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit down with her. If, for instance, he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law will go away. If he is absolutely forced to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.

163 I noted that most women had two or three children who were about two to three years apart (see p. 5).

591 The woman goes to the family or settlement of her husband, not the other way around. The fact that the young couple stays for some time in the settlement of the wife's parents, roughly until the first child is born, may have given rise to error. Later on, the couple always returns to the man's horde.

582 A man may not marry his own sister and likewise, naturally, neither his mother nor daughter. Other degrees of relationship constitute no absolute obstacle to marriage.

As a rule, however, one does not marry within his own family and, if possible, not even within his own horde. Preferably women are brought in from far away, often from groups speaking another language (Naroon, Genkuin, Hei-um [Heikum]).

851 The birth of a child does not necessitate a temporary separation of the marriage partners.

684 837 Marital fidelity seems to be observed to a fair extent. The adulterer is killed, and the wife is treated according to the temperament of the deceived husband, that is, she is given a more or less violent beating.

/156 cont./

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

/157/ Divorce rarely occurs, and then only when the woman
586 has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

In most cases, however, the woman remains with her hus-
[595] band even in old age, while he provides himself with one or two younger and stronger women.

The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

587 Widows are permitted to marry again after a certain time, as is also the case for divorced women.

589 There is no special dress for widows.

The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to
562 that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-
264 pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

[184] The Rietfontein Auin always have just one wife. The reason
595 for this is said to be that "little food" is available. The Auin from Gam, on the average, have two, sometimes five wives.

Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto de-
548 scribed, there are supposed to be prostitutes among the married
684 women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auin declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by
847 stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

535
539 ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

X'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa	Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe	Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

622
782
769 Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

782
881 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are implored in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

787
695
684 "If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa. Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and 532 535 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones. 323 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is 302 customary.

304 A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and (751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the 836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and 684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con- 584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen 582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may 304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced. 881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse (836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the 761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In 764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush; 1178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

ǂAUIN NAGAU

[72 cont.] The SUITOR

584 brings his future parents-in-law presents in the form of game and
[583] veldkost, sometimes for more than a year. If matters go smoothly,
[585] he takes the girl to his hut after a while, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. If, in spite of her parents' consent, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to state her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man finally takes the girl forcibly into his hut. Should a man do violence to a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be

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Fig. 26. Nagau Girl in Festive Finery of Ostrich Egg Beads (Girls' Initiation).

killed. There are no special ceremonies when the marriage is
585 concluded. The engagement, undertaken before the couple settles in the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl around her wrist. Since, however, the "engagement" and "wedding" are separated in time only by the walk to the hut, the grasping of the bride's lower arm may be regarded as concluding the marriage. [Fig. 26 appears here.] The seizing of the lower arm is done rather violently, and on the walk to the hut the bride allows herself to be dragged along to a certain extent.
606 It is curious to note how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids his mother-in-law's company and does not sit with her. For example, when he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law goes away. If it is absolutely necessary for him to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.
163 Kaufmann observed that most of the women had two or three

601 and most of the persons who eventually become his secondary affines would be name-relatives. They keep whatever term they had and add *lumba* or *lundai*. Theoretically, if they should not have a name-relationship they would fall back on the generational method.

When terms are applied to secondary affines by the generational method, the primary affine is the point of reference. Ego applies a term to the parent or child of the primary affine which is in the alternate generation terminologically to that of the primary affine. A term in the same generation terminologically as that of the primary affine is applied to the sibling of the primary affine. The list of terms on p. 16 shows the correspondence of the generational terms with the affinal terms. Diagram 8 (p. 17) illustrates this situation.

Consanguineous relatives of ego's may be named for secondary affines as well as primary affines. When they are, ego applies to them the same term which he applies to the secondary affine but drops *lumba* and *lundai*.

All relatives to whom the generational and sibling terms are applied, except name-relatives (see p. 15), have terms applied to their spouses by ego which are paired with the generational and sibling terms as listed below.

Generational or sibling term for males	*Spouse*	*Generational or sibling term for females*	*Spouse*
tsu	//ga or /utsu (//ga is preferred for FaBrWi or MoBrWi; /utsu is preferred in other relationships)	//ga or di/guma	tsu or tun/ga m.s. (tsu is preferred for FaSiHu and MoSiHu; tun/ga is preferred in other relationships)
/gu/na	tũn	tũn	/gu/na or tun/ga w.s.
tun/ga w.s. when collateral when affine	tũn w.s. /kwi w.s.	/gu/na w.s.	tun/ga w.s.
/go or tsi	tũn m.s. /utsu w.s.	/kwi or tsi	tun/ga

Part II: Some Aspects of Behaviour as Related to Categories of Kin

Marriage

842 The /Kung know that biological descent is from the father and mother, believing that the father's semen unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form the
602 child. But their language does not emphasize the concept of blood as ours does. A /Kung speaks of a person who has blood ties with himself as being of his own people, emphasizing the phrase in some way, as when we say ' very own '.

582 Marriage with any consanguineous kin is forbidden in /Kung culture. This prohibition is quite strictly obeyed. The very thought of marriage with a parent, off-
●684 spring or sibling is horrifying to the /Kung. They could hardly be brought to talk about such ' bad things '. They told us about a man who married a woman and her

daughter at the same time. Although he had blood ties with neither, this was analogous to marrying a daughter and it was thought the man must be mad to do so. Informants said specifically that /Kung do not marry uncles or aunts because they are ' like ' parents. Cousins, they say, are ' like ' siblings and nephews and nieces ' like ' offspring. Marriage with any of these would be shocking. 582 684

In the genealogies of about 175 /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region there is no instance of marriage among any of the above-mentioned relatives. However, we heard of two first-cousin marriages among some distant /Kung. 582 [183]

A /Kung must not marry a person who has the same name as his parent. In the two instances we know where this rule was broken the people lied, admitting it only after someone else told us about it. A man must not marry a woman to whom he applies the term */utsu* (this seems to be regarded as a particularly stringent prohibition), nor may a woman marry a man she terms ≠*tum*. We know a man who broke this rule. His marriage with his */utsu* caused a scandal which was still reverberating after two years. [553 183] [684]

The preferred marriage among /Kung is with a non-consanguineous name-relative whom ego terms *!gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn* m.s. SiHu and HuBr are both termed *tun!ga* w.s. and BrWi and WiSi are termed *tũn* m.s. These are considered desirable marriages, especially the sororate, but neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory. [587]

Marriages with persons termed */umba* or */undai* are not forbidden. Persons who use the terms *tsu* and *//ga* for each other may marry unless one has the name of the other's parent. Persons who use the sibling terms may marry. These marriages, though not forbidden, are not preferred.

There is no category of persons with whom sexual intercourse is permitted by /Kung custom except the spouse. If illicit sexual intercourse is indulged in, it is carefully concealed. 837

The Joking Relationship

The joking relationship is an important element in /Kung culture. It is in the foreground of people's minds. The /Kung never once mentioned the generational aspect of their kin terminology system but whenever kinship matters were discussed they spoke of the joking relationship. The /Kung do not train their children to know the precise genealogical position of collaterals,[1] but they teach them the term to use and the joking status of the term. Sometimes an informant would not know whether, for instance, a relative he termed *tsu* was his FaBr, his MoBr or who, but would say that his parents taught him to use that term for the relative and that he must not joke with him. 602 [867] 601 602

The joking relationship creates a dichotomy which divides consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives into two groups. Every kinship term is associated with a joking status and the culture either allows ego to joke or prohibits him from joking with every person to whom he applies a kinship term.

[1] As to lineal kin, all our informants knew the precise genealogical position and names of their grandparents and grandchildren but many did not know the names of their great-grandparents. (We did not meet any /Kung who had a great-grandchild.)

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

cause his wife's mother was born there, as well as at his own 423
birthplace, the Okwa Omaramba, where we had found the 621
eighteen Bushmen, who after all were not strangers but 159
closely related to Gai and Ukwane and an extension of Ukwane's band.

Ukwane himself had had three wives, and he and his first 586
wife had been divorced, which Bushmen do by announcing 587
the divorce and separating. There is no ceremony connected 159
with divorce, and no difficulty, as there is no ceremony connected with any marriage but the first. After a divorce a Bushman man may take up residence with another woman whom he prefers.

Without the visible evidence of ceremonies, however, it 837
is hard for non-Bushmen to recognize what is happening, as 159
occasionally Bushmen live together for short periods without being married, or commit adultery. But in cases such as these there is someone who does not want the union to be permanent, either the man or the woman, or perhaps his or her children; perhaps even the man and woman are tabu relatives, and unless everyone concerned is more or less in accord, the union does not take place. Among Bushmen, incest and [687] ●
adultery are strongly condemned.

Once, among Kung Bushmen we lived with, a woman ran 837
away from her husband to take up with another man. She 593
had considered marrying him, and they ran off one night to his family to live permanently. When her husband found out, he got so wildly angry, taking up his spear and sharpening it, [578]
that the headman of the band set off after the elopers to preserve the peace. My brother and I went with him, and at noon we found the lovers resting in the shade.

The headman talked with the elopers and told them how they were bringing shame on both their families, and how the woman's husband was violently upset. By this time the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

837 with the woman who becomes his wife; at the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with women, whether
●684 married or unmarried, other than his wife or wives. Marital infidelity appears to be severely condemned by all the Bushmen. Among the Naron, for example, a man who catches his wife misconducting herself tries to kill her lover and beats her, but he generally does not drive her away if she has children.[1] Marital fidelity among the Auen is said to be fairly well maintained. When adultery does occur, the adulterer is, if possible, killed, while the wife is more or less severely beaten, according to the temper of the husband; she is apparently never killed. Kauffman adds that there nevertheless appears to exist a form of prostitution in which a married woman offers herself
[548] to different men for gifts, although if this comes to the notice of the husband he will drive her away. Our author finds it difficult to reconcile this with the blood vengeance exercised in case of adultery, but adds the explanation given him by the people, that "if a woman is intimate with many men, the husband can hardly wage 'war' with them all".[2] Of the Kung Lebzelter says merely that the adulterer is killed, and the guilty wife thrashed.[3] Among the Namib Bushmen, again, an adulterer can either be killed or forced to pay compensation. We are not told, however, the circumstances under which one alternative is exercised rather than the other, nor in what the compensation consists. The wife is sent away, and the adulterer, if unmarried, is then expected to marry her. If she is pregnant the child
[848] must be reared by him, and sent back when grown up to the original husband.[4]

114 684 In all these cases, it will be noticed, we have to deal with generalized statements. In no instance is any concrete illustration given of what actually took place in such cases of adultery as may have come under the observation of our authorities. It is not possible, therefore, to decide how much truth really underlies the statements that the adulterer is generally killed. It is evident, however, that the sexual prerogatives conferred by marriage are jealously guarded. Unfortunately almost all the information bearing on this point refers

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 34; cf. Passarge, op. cit., 106.
[2] Op. cit., 136, 157.
[3] Op. cit., 14.
[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168. Seydel (op. cit., 305) states that while formerly blood vengeance was invariably exercised in case of adultery, nowadays the reaction has been toned down, and the guilty party ("der schuldige Teil") is merely thrashed very severely ("halbtot") with a stick!

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

only to the treatment of women and their paramours; nothing is said of the wife's remedies when her husband is unfaithful. 114 684

Besides this sexual relation between husband and wife, there is also the economic relation. The two share the same hut, and take their meals in common. It is the duty of the wife to build the hut, to provide the vegetable food, the firewood and water, and to cook the meals; while it is the duty of the husband to provide game for himself and his wife, to make her clothes and certain of her utensils. The economic burden of the woman has led some writers to depreciate her status, but on the whole it would seem that the women are the companions of their husbands, not their servants, and will often take their own way, in spite of the man's wishes. The position of the wife within the household is, in fact, hardly inferior to that of her husband, who, it is said, is often enough henpecked by her![1] 581 [264] [462] 562 593

In addition to establishing this special relationship between husband and wife, marriage leads also to the formation of further special relationships, especially with the parents-in-law. After marriage, as we have seen, the young couple may remain for some time with the wife's parents before finally taking up their residence in the husband's group. Among the Kung and the neighbouring tribes to the east the husband has during this period of temporary matrilocal residence to hunt for his parents-in-law and to supply them in this way with animal food. If he neglects to do this, says Vedder, his wife may be taken away from him.[2] We thus get a special economic relationship between a man and his wife's parents, based directly upon the fact of his marriage. Probably something similar exists among the other Bushman tribes having temporary matrilocal residence, but no concrete information is available about them in this connection. 591 606 [583]

Among almost all the Bushmen, moreover, marriage further creates a special form of etiquette between a man and his parents-in-law, and in some cases between a woman and her husband's parents. Thus among the Kung the husband has to avoid his mother-in-law, the wife apparently also her father-in-law. The wife's parents do not enter the hut of the young couple, nor again may the husband enter their hut. The game which he kills for his father-in-law he lays down in front of the latter's hut.[3] Similarly among the Naron a man is not 606

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; Chapman, op. cit., i, 291; Lebzelter, op. cit., 14. For an unsympathetic account of the wife's status, cf. Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 122.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 8; Chapman, op. cit., i, 258.
[3] Vedder, loc. cit.; Chapman, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 63.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

681 There are, further, various sanctions by which non-fulfilment or the breach of any recognized custom is penalized, and which thus also serve as another and more direct means of securing conformance with the pattern of social life. In this category we may place ritual sanctions, where any departure from a prescribed rule of conduct is followed automatically by evil results, without any direct interference on the part of the community. The breaking of a taboo, for instance, is [784] held to produce serious consequences, such as death or disease or ill-luck in the chase. Thus among the Cape Bushmen, as we have seen, girls who do not observe the restrictions imposed upon them at the time of puberty are believed to change into frogs, while men who are seen by the girls at this time become permanently fixed in whatever position they then occupy, and so on. And again there are the [224] numerous observances and avoidances associated with hunting, which if neglected will result in ill-success, the loss of a wounded animal, etc. All sanctions of this sort—and in the preceding pages we have had occasion to notice a good many of them—may be regarded as legal mechanisms, in the sense that they operate to maintain the observance of accepted usages and customs.

627 Other breaches of custom, however, involve the direct intervention of the members of the community. In general, when disputes arise [578] between the members of the band—among the Naron they are said [692] to be infrequent—there is no appeal to any supreme authority, for, as we have just noted, there is no such authority, nor are cases of wrongdoing or quarrels referred to the chiefs where these exist. The only remedy is self-help. But in so far as self-help is the recognized mode of reaction, it must also be regarded as a legal institution. Blood vengeance indeed is the principal, if not the only, recognized way of dealing with serious offences committed against a person even by members of the same band.[1]

The principal actions penalized in this way are adultery, theft, and [684] homicide. In the case of adultery, as we have already seen, the injured husband attempts to kill the adulterer, if he possibly can, while the unfaithful wife is beaten and in some cases divorced. Theft also [685] provokes blood vengeance, when the thief refuses to restore the stolen property.[2] Even if he does, he is reproached for his deed, and

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 155; Trenk, op. cit., 169; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35–6.

[2] According to one of the texts published by Bleek and Lloyd (*Bushman Folklore*, 416–25), among the Kung a man who steals in the camp is killed by the others present, who all shoot at him with their arrows. A married woman who steals is also sometimes shot by her own husband. More frequently, however, she is burned alive in a hut; although, if her parents are

/138 cont./

342 bushes and dispense altogether with any construction.

Tree houses are unknown. In any case, they would be possible only in the Kaukau Veld (baobab), since in the Auin region proper the trees are too weak for this purpose.

Each woman has her own windscreen. If she does not have one, she will live under a special bush.

[882] Young girls and young unmarried men sometimes live in special "girls' houses" or "bachelors' houses," separated according to sex.

34 Any kind of special buildings, like meeting houses, storage rooms, and so forth, are unknown.

514 There is little neatness in the vicinity of the huts. Special toilets do not exist. The sole consideration with regard to evacuation is to be hidden from sight. One finds great accumulations of feces away from the main direction of the wind. The practice of burying excrement, common among the Herero, apparently does not occur.

768 The pontok (windscreen) is by no means a valuable possession. After the owner's death the entire horde leaves the locality. Hence any question about the inheritance of the hut is an empty one.

342 There is no door, and it would not be easy to attach one, considering the construction of the hut. In this connection it should be mentioned that things are left carelessly lying around in the settlements, even when all the people are absent. In any ●685 case a theft would be paid for with the death of the thief. Since [151] the Bushman knows the footprints of every person in the region, the culprit would always be found. In this respect the Bushman operates as reliably as the best police dog.

352 They lie upon grass covered with a few tanned hides. There 513 are no other household furnishings.

/139/ C. Food

372 The doro (fire-making instrument) (Fig. 1) consists of two round sticks of the Burkea africana. Several round, flat hollows

[Text continues on page 10]

/147 cont./

222 Rosinkis of the Boers
So-called "wild cucumbers"
Mushrooms which grow on termite hills

251 The veld crop that has been gathered is kept in the huts in
[415] little sacks made of duiker or ibex leather.

/148/ The Auin also stores small caches of provisions by burying sacks of veld crops; he likewise buries tschamma or ostrich egg shells filled with water. In the tops of large trees one often finds, aside from animal hides, provisions of veld crops which are kept there. [Fig. 9 appears here.]

423 Land is held in common, that is, it is the common property of a horde consisting of several families. The game in this territory, as well as the wood and the veld crops, is exclusively for the use of the members of the community that holds the land. The watering places that are to be found there are available for general use, but only if water is abundant. If water is scarce, the local group that holds the land has exclusive right to it.

361 The local groups sometimes live at considerable distances
423 from one another so that the same land is used by several settle-
621 ments. The settlements, after all, do not consist of a fixed number of families, but rather of those who are gathered together in fortuitous groupings as the occasion arises. Whatever the accidental composition of the settlements may be, their members always move within a definite area, and it is always the members of the same larger horde who form the settlements.

423 Friendly hordes permit tracking, that is, game that has been
619 wounded on the land of one horde may be pursued on the territory of a friendly horde. A part of the booty is allotted to the "landowner" within whose territory the game is killed. A definite
[685] agreement is required in each case since the Bushman attacks on sight any strange Bushman on his family's terrain.

628 Blood vengeance is not sought for a violation of territory if the local groups are especially friendly. The offender is driven off and, in addition, just as in Prussia, his "firearms" and booty are confiscated. The policing of the terrain is done by each Bushman on his communal land.

If women are caught trespassing, they are taken prisoner and
[721] led to the settlement of the owners of the terrain. This frequently leads to war if the women are harmed sexually during their captivity.

[Text continues on page 32]

[72 cont.]

163 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
591 couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker. Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least nominally.

Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
422 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is
●685 punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand, a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the individual's private property.

The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
628 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively
721 against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

CHAPTER TWELVE

The Grove

674 LATE in the afternoon of the day we met Toma, we decided
● 685 to find the rest of his band—his wife's mother and the other part of Gao Feet's family. There were now nine adults and five children all intending to ride in the jeep and we were very crowded, but to relieve this condition as much as possible Toma left some of his possessions behind. He left a large, dry hide, scraped but not yet cured, rolled up and thrust in the branches of a tree, and a skin bag stuffed full of bedding grass under a bush. Someday he would return for them, perhaps when a season or two had passed, when he would be roaming near that spot again. Bushmen commonly leave their things anywhere they wish, for the things are never touched by others; theft is so unknown that Bushmen do not even forbid it, having no need for tabus or laws against that which never happens.

576 When Tu was in the jeep, wedged in tightly between others with her youngest children in her lap, she gave the werf that she was leaving one last glance and noticed the bag of grass that Toma had left behind. It was her bed too, after all, and when she saw it she pushed aside her children, pushed aside

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Incidentally, we were not included by the /Kung in their gift-giving patterns. They gave us a few things spontaneously which they thought we would enjoy—python meat, for instance—but did not feel obligated to reciprocate for every gift we gave them. 431 [123]

Asking for an original gift or asking that a return gift be made after due time has elapsed is within the rules of propriety. People prefer that others give in return without their asking, but ≠Toma says he does not hesitate to ask if a gift is long overdue. If a person wants a particular object he may ask for it. Asking is also a means by which people play upon each other's feelings. One can test a friendship in this way. One can give vent to jealousy or satisfy it by acquiring some object or making someone else uncomfortable. I thought that /Ti/kay (an intelligent man, but very touchy, uncooperative, and turned inward upon himself) used to ask for gifts to play with anger, arousing it for the sake of feeling it, as children do with fear, playing witches in the dark. His remarks one day indicated a mingling of feelings and purposes. He told us that one may ask for anything. He does, he said. He goes to a person's fire and sits and asks. (I could imagine him with his black glancing eyes sitting and asking!) He asks usually for only one or two things, but if a person has a lot he may ask for more. He said he is almost never refused but that if a man had only one pot and /Ti/kay asked for it the man might say, 'I am not refusing, but it is the only pot I have. If I get another you may come for this one. I am very sorry but this is the only pot I have.' /Ti/kay said this would not make him angry unless he were refused too many times. To be refused too many times makes a person very angry. But, said /Ti/kay, he himself did not tire of people asking him for gifts. Asking, he claimed, 'formed a love' between people. It means 'he still loves me, that is why he is asking.' At least it forms a something between people, I thought. 431 578 [572]

I have stressed the mitigation of jealousy as the important value of gift-giving. /Kung informants stressed more the value of putting people under the obligation of expressing friendship by making the friendly gesture, even if it is only a token gesture. Demi said, 'The worst thing is not giving presents. If people do not like each other but one gives a gift and the other must accept, this brings a peace between them. We give to one another always. We give what we have. This is the way we live together.' [572]

Absence of Stealing

One day, when I wanted to talk with a group of informants about what the /Kung considered to be wrong-doing, I began with /Ti/kay. He said promptly, 'Making crooked arrows and fighting', but could not think of anything else. Informants had previously said that not sharing food would be the worst thing they could think of. Others had mentioned that the breaking of the incest and menstruation taboos would be very wrong and that girls should not sit in immodest posture. No one seemed to think lying was very serious wrong-doing, and no one mentioned stealing. I finally asked directly and Gao Medicine said they had not thought to mention stealing because they did not steal. 577

We had heard of the episode of the man taking honey from a tree, honey which had been found and marked and was therefore owned by someone else, and being killed for it by the owner. That was the only episode of stealing that we discovered. [285]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The /Kung stole nothing from us. Even when we went away on trips, leaving several bands of /Kung settled around our camp site, we left our supplies and equipment unlocked in the open or in our tents with confidence that nothing would be stolen. Things that we lost or forgot in the werf were returned to us, even two cigarettes in a crumpled package.

Stealing without being discovered is practically impossible in /Kung life because the /Kung know everybody's footprints and every object. Respect for ownership is strong. But, apart from that, /Ti/kay said, 'Stealing would cause nothing but trouble. It might cause fighting.'

Conclusion

During seventeen and a half months when I lived with the Nyae Nyae /Kung at Gautscha (with Bands 1 and 2 and many visitors—usually about sixty to seventy-five persons), I personally saw four flare-ups of discord and heard of three others which occurred in neighbouring bands during that period. All were resolved before they became serious quarrels. Of the seven, four were flare-ups of sexual jealousy. One was 'the talk' about Khuan//a's gift. Two were very minor disagreements about going somewhere, when Gao Beard's frustrated young wife hit him on the head with her digging-stick and when /Ti/kay gave his brother a shove for refusing to accompany him. None were about food. We considered, judging from that sample, that the /Kung managed very well to keep tensions from turning into hostility, to avoid arousing jealousy and ill will, to cohere, and to achieve the comfort and security which they so desire in human relations.

APPENDIX

!Kung Bushman Artifacts

ANIMAL MATERIALS

Hides

Made and used by men

- breech clouts
- oracle disks
- head-dresses (a few, worn in dances)
- caps (a few)

Made by men, used by women

- genital aprons
- small karosses worn around buttocks or for carrying babies

Made by men, used by all

- karosses
- bags (sewn)
- bags of whole skins
- tobacco pouches of scrota
- bracelets, armbands, knee and ankle bands
- necklaces
- thongs

Cocoons

Made by men

- dance rattles

Bone

Made and used by men

- connecting parts for arrow-shafts
- arrow-points (few)
- dishes for mixing poison

Made and used by women

- fresh bone, pounded to powder, is used to clean and soften karosses

Birds' Nests

Used by men and women

- tobacco pouches (nests of the penduline tit, *Anthoscopus minutus*)

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or tsi, the men always ac-

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Chapter VI

ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL LIFE

Land Tenure

Each hunting band among the Bushmen, as we have already noted, 423
claims rights of ownership over a certain stretch of land, and 621
vigorously resents trespass upon it by members of other bands. Within the band land is owned in common. The hunting territory belongs to the whole band, and all the members of the band have an equal right to hunt and collect over any part of it and to use the water in it. Often the members of the band are scattered apart, so that the same territory is exploited by the inhabitants of several [361]
different encampments. These encampments, as we have seen, are not made up of any fixed number of families, but fluctuate a good deal [221]
in size. Whatever their momentary disposition, however, their inhabitants always roam within a definitely limited area, and it is always the members of the same band who establish these different encampments within its bounds.

As the Bushmen practise neither agriculture nor pastoralism, there 423
is no question of cultivation or grazing rights. There is said, however, [222]
to exist a certain private ownership of land among the Auen, in the sense that when a man burns a patch of veld in order to promote the growth of veldkos on it, he alone has a claim to its products. Others, even people living at the same encampment, may not gather veldkos on this patch without his permission.[1] Somewhat analogous to this 222
are the private rights recognized by all Bushmen over objects found 422
in the veld. A man who finds an ostrich nest with one or two eggs, for example, sticks an arrow in the ground close by as a sign of ownership, and waits until the tale of eggs is complete before carrying them off. Should another man take the marked eggs, the first finder follows the spoor to the thief's hut, and demands them back. If they are [685]
restored, there is no fighting, but the thief does not escape reproaches [626]
for wrongdoing, especially from the neighbours of the finder; while in case of refusal bloodshed almost inevitably follows. In the same

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 155.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed 182
in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, 312
however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this 823
ever-present problem.

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried 312
in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is
one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have [685]
given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially [824]
the *Inaras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve [271]
thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season. In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then carefully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource
fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the [221]
permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and resume their normal hunting life.[1]

Industries and Trade

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the 511
Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are essentially domestic.[2]

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and 322
spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, [342]
the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other [411]
burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is
gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes [412]

[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 51; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 297; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 51, 70–1, and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 671–3; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293–4.

[2] The most comprehensive account of Bushman industries is to be found in Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 89–113, pl. xxiii-xxix, which relates chiefly to the Auen; cf. also van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 62–80; Passarge, op. cit., 81–94; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 297–301; Kaufmann-op. cit., 152–3; Schultze, op. cit., 658 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschi leute," 257; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 8–18 *passim*; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 103. [114]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

[423] have seen, individual rights may occasionally be recognized. All
422 portable property is generally owned by individuals, and theft is
[685] severely punished. Huts, which are really of no value, belong to the families occupying them; a man's clothes, weapons, skins, ornaments, utensils, and indeed everything that he makes belong to him alone to do with as he likes, and in the same way anything that a woman makes, e.g. her ornaments, or receives from her husband, e.g. her clothing, is her own property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission. Lebzelter,
867 indeed, goes so far as to assert that among the Kung the sense of private ownership is inculcated even into children. As soon as they are old enough, he says, their parents make for them small bows, digging-sticks, etc., and teach them that they themselves now own these objects and therefore must no longer take those of others.

422 Food, whether vegetable or animal, and water are also private
22 property, and belong to the person who has obtained them. Everyone who has food is, however, expected to give to those who have none. Thus a man who shoots a buck or bird will cut it up, and share with the other people present—but the dividing is done by him, and the skin, sinews, etc., belong to him to be done with as he pleases. In the same way all veldkos is also shared by the members of the band. The result is that practically all food obtained is evenly distributed through the whole camp. But, as we have seen, caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water may be stored away, and these belong to the person who hides them and may not be used without his
[685] permission; while private rights may also be acquired over wild honey or ostrich eggs, and theft in such cases is severely punished.

The question of inheritance rarely arises, as generally most of a
428 man's possessions, especially his weapons and clothing, are buried
[768] with him. But during her lifetime a woman will often hand over her
[431] ornaments to her daughter; while among the Auen such of a man's belongings as are not buried with him, e.g. utensils and skins, are inherited by his eldest son. The younger sons and daughters get nothing, nor does the widow, but she keeps her own property. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, a man's weapons, clothing, sandals, cooking utensils, and hunting dogs are inherited by the eldest son. At the same time, he adds, the usage
[425] exists that as soon as the eldest son thus becomes sole heir to his late father, all the property he has himself hitherto possessed, such as weapons, clothing, etc., must go to his next brother. Widows and

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

681 There are, further, various sanctions by which non-fulfilment or the breach of any recognized custom is penalized, and which thus also serve as another and more direct means of securing conformance with the pattern of social life. In this category we may place ritual sanctions, where any departure from a prescribed rule of conduct is followed automatically by evil results, without any direct interference on the part of the community. The breaking of a taboo, for instance, is [784] held to produce serious consequences, such as death or disease or ill-luck in the chase. Thus among the Cape Bushmen, as we have seen, girls who do not observe the restrictions imposed upon them at the time of puberty are believed to change into frogs, while men who are seen by the girls at this time become permanently fixed in whatever position they then occupy, and so on. And again there are the [224] numerous observances and avoidances associated with hunting, which if neglected will result in ill-success, the loss of a wounded animal, etc. All sanctions of this sort—and in the preceding pages we have had occasion to notice a good many of them—may be regarded as legal mechanisms, in the sense that they operate to maintain the observance of accepted usages and customs.

Other breaches of custom, however, involve the direct intervention 627 of the members of the community. In general, when disputes arise [578] between the members of the band—among the Naron they are said [692] to be infrequent—there is no appeal to any supreme authority, for, as we have just noted, there is no such authority, nor are cases of wrongdoing or quarrels referred to the chiefs where these exist. The only remedy is self-help. But in so far as self-help is the recognized mode of reaction, it must also be regarded as a legal institution. Blood vengeance indeed is the principal, if not the only, recognized way of dealing with serious offences committed against a person even by members of the same band.[1]

The principal actions penalized in this way are adultery, theft, and [684] homicide. In the case of adultery, as we have already seen, the injured husband attempts to kill the adulterer, if he possibly can, while the unfaithful wife is beaten and in some cases divorced. Theft also [685] provokes blood vengeance, when the thief refuses to restore the stolen property.[2] Even if he does, he is reproached for his deed, and

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 155; Trenk, op. cit., 169; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35–6.

[2] According to one of the texts published by Bleek and Lloyd (*Bushman Folklore*, 416–25), among the Kung a man who steals in the camp is killed by the others present, who all shoot at him with their arrows. A married woman who steals is also sometimes shot by her own husband. More frequently, however, she is burned alive in a hut; although, if her parents are

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

among the Namib Bushmen the victim may take back not only the stolen property, but also all the thief's possessions. That blood vengeance is actually exercised in case of theft appears from the following incident recorded by Miss Bleek. An Auen man had a good deal of tobacco, most of which he hid in a tree. Returning later he found the tobacco gone, and human footprints round the tree. He followed the spoor to one of a cluster of huts, where he saw a Bushman sitting at the fire cutting the stolen tobacco. Although he had only a spear with him, he darted up and stabbed the thief to death. The man's wife, intervening, was also stabbed. Then the assailant tried to escape, but was shot in the side by a poisoned arrow from the group round the next fire. He succeeded in reaching his home, but died of the poison a few days later. Similarly, in the waterless regions of the Namib Desert, men on the hunt often store up supplies of water in ostrich egg-shells and also of meat. Another person coming upon this supply may take from it, but must follow the spoor of the owner, tell him about it, and recompense him. If this is not done the owner, when he discovers the loss, will follow the spoor of the thief until he finds him and will then kill him if he can.

Here, according to Trenk, homicide in case of theft and adultery is apparently not regarded as murder, but as punishment, and the relatives of the deceased may not take blood vengeance. But, as shown in the instance quoted from Miss Bleek, among other Bushmen homicide, whether deliberate or accidental, leads inevitably to blood vengeance, the relatives of the dead man combining to kill the murderer. This appears also from another instance recorded by Knudsen.[1] A Bushman, not far from Bethanie in South-West Africa, shot another in the leg with an arrow during a honey beer drinking-bout. The wounded man revenged himself on the spot by shooting his assailant in the heart and killing him. The dead man's brother pursued the killer, who fled, but could not overtake him, and so returned to the camp, where he met the man's wife carrying a child. He tore it from her, threw it up in the air and caught it on the point of his spear. The mother saved herself by fleeing, but two other women

still living, she may be handed over to them and they all have to leave the camp. Should the father be dead and the mother alive, the thief is still taken and given back to the latter, after the stolen property has been recovered. But, if she is an old offender, the mother is said to give her, through a son, to another person, to be burned to death. These facts, obtained from a single young informant, need, however, to be confirmed. The deliberate burning to death of people, for whatever reason, is not reported of any of the other Bushmen.

[1] Quoted in Moritz, "Die älteren Reiseberichte über Deutsch-Südwestafrika," *Mitt. deutz. Schutzgeb.*, xxix (1916), 154.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

619 621 Bushmen from all parts of the Ghansiveld, even from different tribes, owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again [221] [423] Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

114 619 621 All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery, however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys' [881] puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement [574] that in the months of March and April different bands come together for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and 726 obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several 619 621 Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band, although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

578 619 621 628 On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife-stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially [685] is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who 648 encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen, 685

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157.
[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 13.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154.
[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 154; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 13; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 85.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

but formerly even to Europeans. In the Cape, for example, "If the white man were a passing hunter and friendly, if he shared his bag with the Bushmen, he was welcomed and could travel through the territory in peace; but when the settlers came in, permanently occupying the land at the springs, and doing great execution among the game, then the Bushmen retaliated by shooting the intruders or killing their stock. Whereupon the white man, unaware of any unfriendly behaviour on his part, dubbed the Bushman an untamable savage and a thief, and did his best to imprison or shoot him. Hence the war of extermination, which has reduced the race of Colonial Bushmen to its present vanishing figure."[1] 648 685

Among the Auen, when neighbouring bands are on friendly terms, wounded game may be followed by the members of the one on to the territory of the other. A portion of the game must, however, be given to the owners of the land. Refusal to do so is always dangerous. Where the bands are very friendly it does not necessarily lead to bloodshed; the trespasser is merely driven away, and his weapons and game confiscated. Otherwise, however, he is killed. Women caught trespassing are seized and taken to the camp of their captors; this often leads to war, when they are violated. And again the killing of a man by the members of another band always results in a state of feud. 619 621 685 [224] [628]

It may happen that between two bands there is so strong a feud of this nature that a meeting between their members invariably leads to bloodshed. It is probably due to this, says Kaufmann, that among the Auen many bands are so antagonistic that violation of the territorial bounds leads to immediate punishment by death; and he cites the bands at Gam and Rietfontein, between whom there was a long-standing enmity. Among the Kung there is also much hostility between neighbouring bands, especially when, as occasionally happens, an attempt is made by one band to take from another the land it occupies, if this is very rich in veldkos. The oppressed band, if the weaker, must move, but the fights are conducted with great bitterness, and the deep enmity aroused extends over generations. A similar condition of feud is reported to have existed between several bands of the Namib Bushmen, where, for example, in 1907 the people of Buntveldschuhhorn, in consequence of such a state of hostility, led an attack on those living at Aurus. Feud is also common between bands belonging to tribes of different speech, e.g. the Auen and the 628 685 628

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

648 that hunting cattle was extremely easy, and also, very probably, they wanted to revenge themselves upon the owners of the cattle, whom they believed to be encroaching upon the [423] land they considered their own. Today, largely because the ownership of the land has been determined, many fewer cattle are killed by Bushmen.

566 687 Of course, it is quite against the law for any farmer to keep Bushmen against their will and without recompense, but in the most remote outposts, on many farms, the laws cannot always be enforced. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate today, 657 563 566 and also, I believe, in South-West Africa, the governments are trying to set wage scales and provide education for Bushmen, something very difficult for these governments to do as the Bushmen represent only a small fragment of the population, pay no taxes whatever, of course, and are in great demand as laborers; but the only Bushmen who so far can benefit from this are those who already live on the more central farms. Most Bushmen live in the veld, many in almost unreachable parts of the desert, and these people are still being taken by farmers and made to work almost as slaves.

466 566 Usually Bushmen do not run away from their masters unless a very good chance presents itself, such as the master's departure for a time, in which case he may return to find that all his Bushmen have run. But to escape is not always easy; the Bantus usually ride after the escaping Bushmen and drag them back, sometimes beating them severely as well. We once learned of a Bushman who, trying to escape, was captured by his Bantu master and beaten to death, his potential labor being sacrificed to set an example for others.

A European farmer can sometimes get police help in recapturing his escaped Bushmen if the farmer has paid the Bushmen some wages in advance and is owed the Bushmen's labor. European farmers are also not always lenient with

Bushmen who try to escape. But to escape from any master is 466
by no means impossible; Bushmen are not locked up at night 566
or guarded during the day. Even the chain gangs of Bushmen
that you may see in European settlements (Bushmen living [687]
near the farms are put in jail occasionally for killing giraffes
or stealing cattle) are always straggling down a road with a
defenseless guard trailing far behind, and we often wondered
why Bushmen were so docile, so easy to exploit, allowing
themselves to be badly treated and taken away from their
homes. Some people, like Tami, have no choice because they
have forgotten the fine skills required to live in the veld and
would die there. Some young Bushmen find the promise of
European clothing and customs too alluring to resist and are
willing to give up their own ways and customs for a shirt or a
ragged dress. Perhaps others welcome the promise of food
every day, even though they find that on the farms they are
poorer than ever, having little enough food, and when their
leather clothes fall into rags they cannot hunt to get new ones.
Perhaps, too, they are surprised to find their Bantu or Euro-
pean masters not always as dangerous as they feared.

But these things are not true of everyone. Many servants
long for their homes; many veld Bushmen hide from Euro-
peans for fear they will be taken away, for they know that a
European does not have to force them to come with him,
only to persuade them, and since they are afraid of him they
hear themselves agreeing to go, and, shortly after, find them-
selves working on his farm, angry with themselves and filled
with remorse.

We learned two reasons for the submissiveness of Bush- 181
men. One reason is that it is not in their nature to fight, not
in their experience to deal with people other than themselves.
They would much rather run, hide, and wait until a menace
has passed than to defend themselves forcefully, quite unlike

[55 cont.] WHATEVER I COULD GET FROM MY
114 individual informants I took down with the
771 exactness of a trained scientist, faithful to
776 the letter and with due regard for all pre-
[124] cautions. From these notations I have drawn the inevitable conclusion that a benign supreme being is a reality in their world picture.

776 surrounding Hei//om tribes, [56] for they use the word Somseb.
171 We should sooner think of Huwe. Huwe or Hue was what the !Kung Bushmen of Tsumeb examined by Vedder called the supreme being. I also know the expression Chuwa from the Bushmen of Ukuambi. This supreme being is conceived of in human form;
776 it looks like a Bushman and also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky
772 in a house that has two floors; his wife, whose name is unknown, lives on the lower floor, as well as many children. The souls
[775] of the deceased live on the upper floor. "The house" (it is supposed to be similar to, but not entirely like a Bushman windscreen) "is hairy on the outside, like a caterpillar." There are various things up there, but only a single house, namely, that of the captain. Honey, crickets, and fat flies are there in great abundance. The great captain lives on them. In addition, there are a great many butterflies. The following are regarded as the
776 functions of this supreme being:

1. In the opinion of some, the great captain made the sun, moon, and everything. In the opinion of others, the highest of the spirits, /Nawa, did this.

2. The great captain calls the doctors to their calling and gives them supernatural power.

3. He is the lord of the rain and the lightning.

4. Through the highest of the spirits he sends luck on the hunt or on the search for veldkost.

5. When someone thinks or speaks ill of him, he punishes
[688] him with lightning. He is not concerned about the other activities of his Bushman children, however, unless someone swears falsely.
695 The Kung have a regular oath, and one of my informants reported
776 the following to me:

When a group goes hunting and one of the participants is

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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The principal actions penalized in this way are adultery, theft, and [684] homicide. In the case of adultery, as we have already seen, the injured husband attempts to kill the adulterer, if he possibly can, while the unfaithful wife is beaten and in some cases divorced. Theft also [685] provokes blood vengeance, when the thief refuses to restore the stolen property.[2] Even if he does, he is reproached for his deed, and

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 155; Trenk, op. cit., 169; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35–6.

[2] According to one of the texts published by Bleek and Lloyd (*Bushman Folklore*, 416–25), among the Kung a man who steals in the camp is killed by the others present, who all shoot at him with their arrows. A married woman who steals is also sometimes shot by her own husband. More frequently, however, she is burned alive in a hut; although, if her parents are

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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627 related to the homicide were killed by the brother. What happened
682 afterwards we are not told, but judging from what is known of blood revenge among the Bushmen it is hardly likely that the matter was allowed to rest there.

Among the Auen, for example, a son is obliged to exact blood
628 vengeance on the slayer of his father, a brother for his brother. If
682 the slayer himself is dead or out of reach, the feud extends to his nearest male relative. A son whose father has been killed is obliged to undertake vengeance as soon as he is grown up. His mother impresses this obligation upon him during his childhood, and as soon as he has caught his first head of big game the obligation must be carried out. He applies to his nearest relatives for help, which is given without question. In the same way whoever has to fear blood vengeance is supported by his relatives and the members of his band. Not only
[562] men but women also may become the objects of the blood feud, although as a rule the latter are taken and held as wives by their captors. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen the slayer is killed by the relatives of the dead man. All the male members of the latter's family combine to revenge his death; an arrow is shot at the slayer, and if this does not immediately kill him he is beaten to death with the kirri. Murderesses are also killed in this manner; but otherwise
[562] women, even for such serious offences as theft and adultery, are only punished by thrashing, although this may sometimes be very severely administered.

We are not told whether the killing of the slayer or his substitute leads to the cessation of the feud, but from an instance quoted by Kaufmann it apparently does not. An old Auen man from Olifantskloof was visiting a brother-in-law at Sidonitsaub. The host put out a snare, in which he caught a giant bustard. This was found by the guest, who took it out of the snare and began to consume it. While he was doing so, the host came up and observing the theft pierced him through the body with a spear. The slayer then fled, but was pursued by the relatives of the dead man and killed. Since then a blood feud has existed between these two bands, connected though they were by marriage.

The only exception to this general rule of self-help is recorded by
[184] Seydel of the Namib Bushmen.[1] He states, it is true, that in case of
622 minor offences self-help is frequently resorted to, but adds that all
692 serious offences are formally adjudicated. The court consists of one

[1] Seydel, op. cit., 305–6.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury 622
resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. 692
The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a [695]
decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band.
Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the 681
relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kirri or by stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property, assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but self-defence is in no way penalized.

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difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these 692
Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is 681
no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama [171]
Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, [184]
to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the other Bushman tribes.

Relations with Other Bands

619
Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting 621
territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married [591]
man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also [574]
frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from [438]
one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also find the members of several different bands assembled together for a while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together

[55 cont.] WHATEVER I COULD GET FROM MY
114 individual informants I took down with the
771 exactness of a trained scientist, faithful to
776 the letter and with due regard for all pre-
[124] cautions. From these notations I have drawn the inevitable conclusion that a benign supreme being is a reality in their world picture.

776 surrounding Hei//om tribes, [56] for they use the word Somseb.
171 We should sooner think of Huwe. Huwe or Hue was what the !Kung Bushmen of Tsumeb examined by Vedder called the supreme being. I also know the expression Chuwa from the Bushmen of Ukuambi. This supreme being is conceived of in human form;
776 it looks like a Bushman and also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky
772 in a house that has two floors; his wife, whose name is unknown, lives on the lower floor, as well as many children. The souls
[775] of the deceased live on the upper floor. "The house" (it is supposed to be similar to, but not entirely like a Bushman windscreen) "is hairy on the outside, like a caterpillar." There are various things up there, but only a single house, namely, that of the captain. Honey, crickets, and fat flies are there in great abundance. The great captain lives on them. In addition, there are a great many butterflies. The following are regarded as the
776 functions of this supreme being:

1. In the opinion of some, the great captain made the sun, moon, and everything. In the opinion of others, the highest of the spirits, /Nawa, did this.

2. The great captain calls the doctors to their calling and gives them supernatural power.

3. He is the lord of the rain and the lightning.

4. Through the highest of the spirits he sends luck on the hunt or on the search for veldkost.

5. When someone thinks or speaks ill of him, he punishes
[688] him with lightning. He is not concerned about the other activities of his Bushman children, however, unless someone swears falsely.
● 695 The Kung have a regular oath, and one of my informants reported
776 the following to me:

When a group goes hunting and one of the participants is

[56 cont.]

695 776 not seen for the duration of the hunt, he is suspected of having sneaked away. Then he swears by the great captain nuχu, and all believe him.

776 Ordinarily, however, the great captain has everything taken care of by the highest of the spirits and lesser spirits. The chief concern of the Bushmen, therefore, is to stay in the good graces of these spirits, but the great captain does offer protection against all evil spirits, and for that reason people turn to him [762] with the following prayers in case of severe illness and before the start of a journey:

[57]

[539] χ'u, χ'u hûi mi, //kai tsao mi	Lord, Lord, help me, raise me.
to 'oba !khu !gaise /ani u mī	"the lord shall lead me well to the place,
/nāna /ge a	
!nore gana ti /ge a gana ti tsa	where I am going, and he shall lead me back well, so that I
/Nane /ā mi tsu (1)	come home safely."

1. Notation of the Dama interpreter.

[724] Before the hunt the doctors pray to the great captain for hunting luck. There is no doubt that the Bushmen conceive of this "great captain" as an all-powerful and at the same time benign being. His executive organ, as has been noted, is the highest of the Gauab. The latter is called "the Gauab" by the common people, but he has a name known only by the doctors, and saying it may have serious consequences. Since I finally [123] had the honor to be regarded as an equal by the doctors, I learned his name. He is called /Nawa. They were unable to give me an interpretation of this name, but Miss Bleek, from dance songs of the Angola Kung, reports the word /Nwa-se, supposedly an abbreviation for Nwima-se = new moon. According to this, we [174] might be able to see in this chief Gauab the high god of a lunar- [771] mythological religion which has been superimposed as a foreign element upon the primitive monotheism of the χ'u or Huwe faith. As is always the case in such matters, the supreme being of the invading religion has been transformed into a more or less evil [171] principle. It also functions as such in the belief of the Nama and

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

535
539 ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

χ'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

622
782
769 Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

782
881 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are implored in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

787
695
684 "If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

[60 cont.]

769 territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced
614 by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place (1).

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 434.

775 As has already been said, the Bushman does not believe
[626] in punishment after death. On the other hand, he is convinced that the evil that he himself has done will befall him or his dogs in the same way.

681 In former times banishment from the kin group was likewise
648 customary, and the exile would soon perish, since the Bushman
177 cannot survive by himself in the wilderness for any length of time. Nowadays, such individuals, just like those who were expelled from the Bantu tribes, move to land owned by Europeans and find work there. It is obvious that they do not help to improve the reputation of the Coloreds.

695 In cases of doubt, the Bushman swears by the great captain: nu X'u.

681 Instead of formal expulsion, the people may boycott out-
762 laws, who are thereby driven to such despair that they commonly commit suicide. Suicides also occur for other reasons.

21. Conflicts with Europeans

645 Before the police zone boundary was erected, the Bushmen found themselves in a latent state of war with their neighbors. Part of their list of sins will be cited here.

According to Toke, the !Kung near Keibeb in 1925 attacked eight Barotse [Lozi] and killed them, and purportedly ate them. Later, three Ovambo were attacked by surprise, killed,

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/136 cont./

142 The tribe at Gam in particular consists almost exclusively of comparatively large people who, even after a thorough washing, display a decidedly darker coloration than the other Auin.

162 According to my observations, there is something like one to two women for each man, and from two to three children for each woman.

162 847 [862] In this connection I would like to mention that newborn children are always killed if the mother is still nursing a child, which continues until about the third year of life. The killing is done immediately after birth by the mother, who buries the newborn child alive. The father has nothing to do with it. Since marital [853] intercourse continues during the nursing period and since this period lasts for about three years, it follows that approximately every third child is reared while those born in the meantime are killed without exception. This might well be a principal factor in the unquestionable decline in the population.

592 595 Since each woman has her special windscreen (hut), the man lives alternately with one and then another of his wives; the latter in turn have their children living with them, and it therefore follows that about three to four persons occupy each hut.

221 361 The size of the settlements (villages) is quite indefinite and changes according to the circumstances. During the dry season a settlement is formed usually by one to two families, whereas during the period of ample veld food, in other words, toward the end and shortly after /137/ [map appears here] /138/ the rainy season, sometimes up to 30 families join together to form a "village." In April, 1908, about 400 men were living in a settlement near Sidonitzaub. If their dependents are included, one will arrive at a figure of at least 1,000 persons.

[701] All the men are armed warriors.

161 As has already been noted, one can clearly observe a decrease in the population, which, judging by its rapid progress, can be designated as swiftly approaching extinction. Aside from infanti- [136] cide and malaria, the decrease of wild game may also be given as a reason for the population decline, since this decrease makes food more difficult to obtain. Older Auin state that in former times attacks by lions caused heavy losses.

[Text continues on page 7]

/154 cont./

722 Women were not taken along on the expedition; the women of the settlement attacked immediately ran away.

[622] 701 In time of war the chiefs have general powers of command. Their authority is apparently no greater than in peacetime, when it is insignificant. Indeed, it is scarcely intelligible to us how a war can be carried on effectively under such circumstances.

[888] [756] Old people naturally have greater influence. The "doctor" is merely an accompanying warrior without special authority. Generally speaking, everyone for the most part does what he considers should be done; some co-operation is nevertheless apparent.

There is no fighting at night; at most they will march then.

726 619 Alliances are concluded, even between groups speaking different languages. For instance, men of different Auin settlements will ally themselves with a Naroon [Naron] settlement to attack another Auin settlement.

There is no political connection between all the Auin settlements. They form a single community only by virtue of their common language. For example, bitter hostility exists between the Auin of Gam and the Auin of Rietfontein, while the relations between the Rietfontein Auin and the Naroon settlements south of them are amicable. The two can communicate only through interpreters.

701 Young people who are staying in a given village for courtship participate without ado in the warlike undertakings of this village. I am unable to say what happens in case the undertaking is directed at the home settlement of the candidate for marriage.

Concerning the war dance and the accompanying song, see page 37.

727 Captured men are killed, and usually boys as well (because of the danger of blood vengeance).

Women and children are taken away, married, and completely assimilated into the group. Old women are killed. Objects that are useful are taken away; the rest is destroyed.

It is not worth the trouble to set fire to the windscreens.

728 Hostilities are officially concluded; unarmed negotiators appear to have safe conduct. War damages are paid in the form of food, tools, and women.

The description of the form of government is the most difficult chapter of this account.

[72 cont.]

163 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
591 couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker. Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least nominally.

Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
422 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is
685 punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand, a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the individual's private property.

The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
628 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively
721 against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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628 Naron, or the Auen and the !Ginkwe. This does not extend to the whole tribe, but only to the bands concerned. The Naron at Sandfontein, in the same way, were also hostile to the /nu//en in the south as well as to the Auen in the north; trespass and wife-stealing led to many fights between them.

628 726 701 [622] [887] [411] Fights between opposing bands are therefore by no means unusual, but the extent of each campaign is small.[1] The chiefs have general command in war, but their authority is scarcely greater than in peace, where, as we have seen, it is but slight. The older men with experience naturally have an influence corresponding to their knowledge and ability. Every man and youth takes part in a campaign, the weapons used being the ordinary hunting bow and arrow as well as the spear. The magician also fights, but without any special authority or functions. We have no eyewitness account of any such campaigns, but Kaufmann gives a description, obtained from a "trustworthy Kafir informant", which may serve to convey some idea of their nature. Among the Auen there is no formal declaration of war, but when a man wears a cap of aardwolf (*Proteles cristatus*) skin, then he is on the warpath. Several friendly villages came together and decided to attack another village. The war caps were put on, and after sunset the men marched in the direction of the enemy village. In the neighbourhood of the latter a halt was made and without lighting a fire, although it was the cold time of the year, they waited until the morning. After sunrise, when it was somewhat warmer, the village was surrounded and attacked from all sides, the spear being chiefly used. There was loud shouting and calling, but no special war cry; and in general everybody fought as he pleased.

628 721 628 726

628 727 If possible, all men are killed, and also boys, for fear of the blood feud. Women are never killed intentionally, but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women and girls are made captive and taken in marriage. All objects that can be used are also taken away, but the huts are not regarded as worth the burning. Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, the victors will under no circumstances deprive the vanquished of their territory or even occupy it, lest harm and disaster overtake them; on the other hand among the Kung, as already mentioned, disputes over the possession of land are among the prime causes of war. What happens to the land of the defeated group in other tribes is not stated. The [184] [721]

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, op. cit., 85.

/144 cont./

411 quiver. Sometimes the arrows are in a special quiver made of
[237] eland horn or bark, which is closed off at both ends with a leather cover (see Photos. 29 and 32).

The Auin almost always carries in his quiver a small container like the arrow quiver of eland horn or bark just described, in which he keeps arrowheads, poison, and other small necessities for shooting.

The notched end of the arrow is pulled toward the chest when the bow is drawn.

714 The war cap is to be regarded as the sole battle ornament. It is made of aardwolf hide (see Photo. 21).

H. Hunting and Agriculture

224 Hunting is done both individually and in groups.

Hunting dogs are to be found in occasional, isolated instances,
[231] but then they are usually obtained from the Kaffir or Betschuana.
[439] The Auin maintain, however, that they know how to train hunting dogs. Collars and the like are not customary.

/145/ [Fig. 8 appears here.]

[422] I was unable to discover whether marks of ownership are applied to weapons and the like. On the other hand, I noticed that people immediately recognize their possessions.

There are no closed seasons on hunting.

The Auin prepares a kind of dried meat. Pieces of meat of any
251 length and width are cut very thin (almost transparent) and are dried on trees in the sun. This dried mass, as hard as wood and inedible to a European, keeps for weeks during the dry season. There must be an almost unlimited surplus of meat available, how-
[264] ever, if the Auin is to decide to preserve some, since he is accustomed to stuff himself to the point of unconsciousness. I have seen a single Bushman, without any help, consume a fully grown Klipbok weighing about six kilograms.

224 Undoubtedly there are especially industrious and impassioned huntsmen, as well as the opposite. I found some people who were absolutely useless on the hunt.

[Text continues on page 25]

/153 cont./

325 A jackal tail fastened to a stick is used to fan the fire.

[237] A hollow reed serves as a bellows, through which one blows with his mouth to fan the fire. Whether this actually suffices to bring the iron to a red heat, however, I am unable to say.

412 Two rocks take the place of hammer and anvil. Should iron tools, such as an ax or the like, happen to be available to the Auin, these are naturally preferred.

Two pieces of green wood roughly fastened together like pincers serve as tongs.

326 The smiths (only a few, usually older people know this trade) are respected, as is shown by the fact that they are "provided with food everywhere," which is apparently the way the Auin customarily express their special esteem. [Fig. 13 appears here.]

/154/ P. Political Conditions

721 The Auin, like all Bushmen, is very warlike. Every man and youth is a warrior and capable in the use of weapons.

[714] There is no declaration of war, but if a Bushman is wearing his cap of aardwolf hide, he is on the warpath (see Photo. 21).

Special training in the handling of weapons is unnecessary, since daily life forces the Auin to use his weapons constantly in hunting.

726 I myself have not witnessed any of their wars. A reliable Kaffir described an Auin campaign, in which he participated, as follows:

Several friendly settlements decided to join in an attack on another Auin settlement. They put on their war caps and after sundown marched off in the direction of the enemy. They halted in the vicinity of the enemy settlement and, without lighting a fire (this was during the cold season!), waited for morning. After sunrise, when it had become a little warmer, they surrounded the settlement and attacked it from all sides.

My informant related that the Auin had attacked with great determination and had primarily used the lance.

The attack was made with loud shrieks and cries; no special war cry was recognized.

372

Auen

Photo. 19.
Manipulation of Device for Firemaking.

291
●714

Photo. 21.
War Cap and Peace Cap.

411

Photo. 23.
Throwing
Lance.

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[77 cont.]

411 into the reed shaft while the other is poisoned. In other cases, the short arrowhead is joined to a bone spindle by means of a connecting piece made of grass, and this bone spindle is in turn fixed into the shaft so that the arrow is tripartite. The arrows are either carried in the quiver already assembled, or the points [78] are kept in small containers of bark or horn closed off at both ends by leather caps. Three bows of the Nogau had lengths [411] of 89, 95, and 100 centimeters. Animal tendons are used.

The battle insigne of the ≠Auin is a war cap made from the [714] hide of the aardwolf. The bow of the Naron is made of Grevia 411 wood and is about a meter long. Not only tendons but also plant fibers are used for the bowstring. The plant strings are a surrogate that the Bushmen are forced to use today due to the lack of game. The bow itself is reinforced at the ends with a binding of tendons or leather.

The arrow shafts resemble those of the ≠Auin, as do the points. The iron points are not removable and are called male. The metal is obtained from the north and is worked cold by the [325] ≠Auin. The Naron themselves make no iron arrowheads. [Fig. 28 appears here.]

Whereas during Kaufmann's time the ≠Auin did not have the kirri, the Naron have it today; its lower end is sharpened to a point so that it can also be used as a digging stick. The Nogau, though not too commonly, have throwing clubs that [411] correspond to those of the Dama and Herero, but are more crudely worked.

Concerning the Naron, Bleek also mentions harpoons with long, composite shafts, which serve to get jumping hares and the like out of their holes. This tool will be described in greater detail under the Dama [untranslated].

Like all Bushmen, the Nogau make fire by rubbing two 372 sticks together. The female stick is called Dane-di, the male Dane-≠goa. Firemaking itself is designated as Dalisi, one of the many strange words without clicks that we find among the Nogau.

Bushman wells are likewise used and are called //a-si.

312 The girls have a toy (gai-dum) consisting of several sticks of various kinds, which they wear on the chest. They drum on 524 IT WITH THE FINGERS.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 155]

/138 cont./

177 Since contact with the Whites was established, wars have
●721 apparently declined considerably, but even today they exact a decidedly heavy toll.

22 The Auin is at the lowest stage of human development; he is exclusively a collector and hunter.

This way of life is dictated to him by the nature of his en-
133 vironment. This part of the Kalahari, where the watering places
137 are sometimes 100 kilometers apart and very limited in number,
182 does not permit livestock raising, especially also since the tschama [sometimes spelled tsama, a kind of melon] enjoyed by the cattle is comparatively rare.

In the Auin region the plain dominates the landscape.
133 Primary rocks rise up here and there only along the river banks. So-called dunes give the landscape a gently hilly character, especially in the vicinity of the rivers (dry river beds which carry
137 water only after violent rains). The ground cover alternates between grass, shrub, and tree steppe and dense undergrowth. The
132 amount of precipitation is very small; the lack of sufficient statistical data makes it impossible to give a more precise estimate.

B. Dwellings and Furnishings

342 The typical form of the dwelling is the windscreen, in other words, the most primitive form of human habitation, which scarcely deserves the designation "hut." Its construction is completed in a few minutes. A few twigs are stuck loosely into the ground at the thicker end in a semicircle and propped against each other at the branching end. I have never seen the supports firmly fastened to one another, although I have examined several hundred huts. Grass is thrown on the framework, and the construction is finished. During the dry season the structures are usually built even more hastily and sometimes consist merely of a few bundles of grass that have been thrown loosely between the twigs of a living bush. The entire structure is often scarcely a meter high and has no roof. It is thus a genuine windscreen, intended to protect its inhabitants from drafts while they are lying down.

If the settlement remains at a particular place for only a few days, the people content themselves with the shadow of some

/147 cont./

222 Rosinkis of the Boers
So-called "wild cucumbers"
Mushrooms which grow on termite hills

251 The veld crop that has been gathered is kept in the huts in
[415] little sacks made of duiker or ibex leather.

/148/ The Auin also stores small caches of provisions by burying sacks of veld crops; he likewise buries tschamma or ostrich egg shells filled with water. In the tops of large trees one often finds, aside from animal hides, provisions of veld crops which are kept there. [Fig. 9 appears here.]

423 Land is held in common, that is, it is the common property of a horde consisting of several families. The game in this territory, as well as the wood and the veld crops, is exclusively for the use of the members of the community that holds the land. The watering places that are to be found there are available for general use, but only if water is abundant. If water is scarce, the local group that holds the land has exclusive right to it.

361 The local groups sometimes live at considerable distances
423 from one another so that the same land is used by several settle-
621 ments. The settlements, after all, do not consist of a fixed number of families, but rather of those who are gathered together in fortuitous groupings as the occasion arises. Whatever the accidental composition of the settlements may be, their members always move within a definite area, and it is always the members of the same larger horde who form the settlements.

423 Friendly hordes permit tracking, that is, game that has been
619 wounded on the land of one horde may be pursued on the territory of a friendly horde. A part of the booty is allotted to the "landowner" within whose territory the game is killed. A definite
[685] agreement is required in each case since the Bushman attacks on sight any strange Bushman on his family's terrain.

628 Blood vengeance is not sought for a violation of territory if the local groups are especially friendly. The offender is driven off and, in addition, just as in Prussia, his "firearms" and booty are confiscated. The policing of the terrain is done by each Bushman on his communal land.

If women are caught trespassing, they are taken prisoner and
[721] led to the settlement of the owners of the terrain. This frequently leads to war if the women are harmed sexually during their captivity.

[Text continues on page 32]

/153 cont./

325 A jackal tail fastened to a stick is used to fan the fire.

[237] A hollow reed serves as a bellows, through which one blows with his mouth to fan the fire. Whether this actually suffices to bring the iron to a red heat, however, I am unable to say.

412 Two rocks take the place of hammer and anvil. Should iron tools, such as an ax or the like, happen to be available to the Auin, these are naturally preferred.

Two pieces of green wood roughly fastened together like pincers serve as tongs.

326 The smiths (only a few, usually older people know this trade) are respected, as is shown by the fact that they are "provided with food everywhere," which is apparently the way the Auin customarily express their special esteem. [Fig. 13 appears here.]

/154/ P. Political Conditions

● 721 The Auin, like all Bushmen, is very warlike. Every man and youth is a warrior and capable in the use of weapons.

[714] There is no declaration of war, but if a Bushman is wearing his cap of aardwolf hide, he is on the warpath (see Photo. 21).

Special training in the handling of weapons is unnecessary, since daily life forces the Auin to use his weapons constantly in hunting.

726 I myself have not witnessed any of their wars. A reliable Kaffir described an Auin campaign, in which he participated, as follows:

Several friendly settlements decided to join in an attack on another Auin settlement. They put on their war caps and after sundown marched off in the direction of the enemy. They halted in the vicinity of the enemy settlement and, without lighting a fire (this was during the cold season!), waited for morning. After sunrise, when it had become a little warmer, they surrounded the settlement and attacked it from all sides.

My informant related that the Auin had attacked with great determination and had primarily used the lance.

The attack was made with loud shrieks and cries; no special war cry was recognized.

[72 cont.]

163 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes
591 stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his
authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker.
Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least
nominally.

422 Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
685 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is
punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial
district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same
serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand,
a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not
shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost
is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on
the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the individual's private property.

The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
628 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively
721 against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of
the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war
is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

Gathering Mangetti Nuts

eral large groves of mangetti trees (*Ricinodendron rautanenii* Schinz) in the region, all on great waterless white sand dunes, and one extensive area in which *tsĩ* grows. *Tsĩ* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch) is the seed of the vine that runs along on the surface of the ground. Both mangetti nuts and *tsĩ* are excellent foods, rich in oils and proteins, and so important to the !Kung that they organize their lives to a considerable extent around them.

Each band, according to !Kung social structure, owns and lives within what we call a territory. The band, through its headman (in a way to be explained later), owns the veldkos and water resources within its territory. The territories are varied in size and shape and sometimes consist of portions that are not even contiguous. The boundaries are vague, for the need to draw fine boundary lines is not great. In the interior of the region, where water is so scant, in roughly 8000 square miles live only 17 bands, comprising 447 persons. The other bands and employed groups live on what we call the periphery of the region. The !Kung say that one cannot eat the ground itself so it does not matter to whom it belongs. It is the patches of veldkos that are clearly and jealously owned, and the territories are shaped in a general way around these patches. The !Kung of the interior have settled themselves in such a way that every band has access to areas of edible roots and to either a mangetti grove or a *tsĩ* patch. A few bands have both.

The strong concepts of ownership of veldkos by the band operate almost like a taboo. No external force is established to prevent one band from encroaching on another's veldkos or to prevent individuals from raiding veldkos patches to which they have no right. This is just not done. Fear of fighting is one of the deterrents. The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

The poisoned arrows of the Bushmen are as deadly to man as to game and they are always at hand. A mere nick and a speck of poison in the bloodstream can be fatal. There are no known antidotes.

As skilled trackers of game, Bushmen develop their powers of visual observation and train their visual memories to such a high degree that they know everyone's footprint as well as his face. This is another deterrent, for no one could steal veldkos without leaving his marks and having his identity detected. Theoretically, in !Kung society the thief may rightfully be killed by the person or the band from whom he has stolen, but he may fight back, and relatives could also become involved and the fighting would spread. In the opinion of the !Kung, situations likely to engender hostility are assiduously to be avoided, to say nothing of actual fighting. Breaches of this intention are very rare.

Life throughout the seasons is planned around the veldkos gathering. The people know at what seasons the various veldkos will ripen and about how much each patch will yield if the rains have been good or if they have been poor. The !Kung are not, according to our way of thinking, exactly conservation-minded, but they do plan to consume their veldkos in advantageous order. They eat the perishable short-seasoned leaves and the few fruits as soon as they ripen. They leave until the dry season is advanced certain beds of roots and tubers that are edible the year around if they remain in the ground.

The headman of the band has the authority and the duty, according to !Kung social regulations, to plan the band's movements, to say to which veldkos area they will go and when, and, if the band separates temporarily into segments, to know where each segment is going and, in general, what veldkos it will consume. It is a matter of life and death to plan and control as best they can and not to travel for days, counting on food and finding that one segment of the band has eaten it all, unbeknown to the others.

Each type of veldkos and each area presents its problems of logistics, water being the determining factor in the plans, for usually water and veldkos are not in the same place. During the big rains and for several weeks after, the pans and vleys become shallow ponds and small, temporary water holes are filled. It is the time of relative plenty. The people find sufficient water to enable them to move about with comparative freedom in their country, wherever there is something to gather. When the dry season sets in, the problem is to carry enough water from the water hole to the veldkos area in ostrich egg shell containers and to carry enough veldkos back to the water hole. It is a ceaseless labor.

The distances the !Kung travel between water and fertile areas in these gathering trips vary from a few miles to twenty or thirty. The people do not manage greater distances except in the rainy season, when they go as far as seventy-five miles to a mangetti forest.

When the people go to gather mangettis or *tsi*, the men always ac-

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX 10

and the elevated ridges and plateaus of Central Africa. The route bifurcates north of Lake Nyasa. The eastern branch leads to the broad coastal belt of the Rovuma-Rufiji region and down to the Zambesi delta, the western branch to the diversified plateau between Lakes Nyasa and Bangweolo and the Zambesi River. H B 131 167

This diversified plateau region is important as the central point from which migration routes branch out into South Africa. Two principal routes may be distinguished, one leading to the south, the other to the west. The southward route, crossing the Zambesi just above or just below the famous gorge which begins at the Victoria Falls, leads through the Matabeleland plateau of Southern Rhodesia into the Northern Transvaal, avoiding the unhealthy coastlands of Portuguese East Africa on the east, and the waterless tracts of the Middle and Southern Kalahari on the west. Then, following the uplands of the great interior plateau, it leads down through the Western Transvaal and Orange Free State into the west of Cape Province, or, branching off through Zululand, passes along the south-east and south coast belt to rejoin the other line in the Cape Province. The westward route follows the southern equatorial watershed between the two well-watered regions of the Congo basin and the Northern Kalahari and so leads to the fertile and healthy highlands of Angola. Here it branches out on the north to Loanda and the Lower Congo, on the south over the Kunene into the highland plateaus of South-West Africa and across the Orange River into the Western Cape Province, where it meets the southward route.

These are the main lines of migration imposed above all on cattle-keeping peoples. The high steppes afford the best pasture and facilitate movement, and in addition are more healthy for men and animals than the low-lying coastlands or the moister portions of the interior with their malaria, tsetse fly and other infectious diseases. One other point must be noticed. South Africa by virtue of its geographical situation forms an ethnological cul-de-sac: the ocean on three sides bars all further progress. Hence invading peoples must either wipe out their predecessors completely or live side by side with them, the latter a condition likely to result in intermingling and the formation of hybrid races and cultures. Both processes have occurred frequently enough in the history of the country. H B [144 721]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own 591
//gaus his mother builds a hut for them."

A different form of marriage ceremony has been recorded for the 585
now extinct inhabitants of Basutoland and Orange Free State. Here, [184]
the consent of the bride having been obtained and also the approval of her parents, who received some kind of present, a day was fixed for the event. All the neighbours round about were invited to a feast. When they had all begun to make merry, the young man took the opportunity to seize the bride. This was the signal for her relatives to set upon him with their digging-sticks; they gave him a sound thrashing, and a general fight ensued. If the bridegroom managed to keep a tight hold through all this, the issue was decided, and he was a married man. If not, he would have to undergo a second ordeal some other time before he could again claim his bride.[1]

Among the North-Western Bushmen girls taken in war or found [727]
trespassing are also often held as wives by their captors.[2] Miss Bleek 583
indeed, says of the Naron that marriage is nominally by capture.[3] A young man wishing to marry comes with an older man to another village, ostensibly to pay a visit, and sits chatting, without mentioning his purpose. They look out for a good opportunity, and then carry off the girl to their own village. By this act she is married, whether she likes it or not. It seems, however, that talk about the marriage mostly precedes the "capture". "The mother thinks it proper to make a fuss, but if her objections are only for show, the men take no part in the matter, and the girl is led away, probably quite willingly, though etiquette demands some coyness. If, however, the mother really objects, thinks her daughter too young, or does not like the suitor, she rouses the men to action, and the would-be bridegroom and his friend have to depart." During Miss Bleek's stay at Sandfontein an attempt at real capture did occur, but the assailants were driven off in this way. In the old days, she adds, much fighting seems to have [721] ●
been caused by attempted capture; now fear of the white man tames [177]
down the affair.

Married Life

The relation between husband and wife in one of its aspects is [581]
sexual. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual intercourse 837

[1] Stow, op. cit., 96, quoting Miss L. C. Lemue; cf. Arbousset, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* (English trans., 1842), p. 351; Doman, "Bushmen of Basutoland," 442.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 85.
[3] *Naron*, 33.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

628 Naron, or the Auen and the !Ginkwe. This does not extend to the whole tribe, but only to the bands concerned. The Naron at Sandfontein, in the same way, were also hostile to the /nu//en in the south as well as to the Auen in the north; trespass and wife-stealing led to many fights between them.

628 726 701 [622] [887] [411] Fights between opposing bands are therefore by no means unusual, but the extent of each campaign is small.[1] The chiefs have general command in war, but their authority is scarcely greater than in peace, where, as we have seen, it is but slight. The older men with experience naturally have an influence corresponding to their knowledge and ability. Every man and youth takes part in a campaign, the weapons used being the ordinary hunting bow and arrow as well as the spear. The magician also fights, but without any special authority or functions. We have no eyewitness account of any such campaigns, but Kaufmann gives a description, obtained from a "trustworthy Kafir informant", which may serve to convey some idea of their nature. Among the Auen there is no formal declaration of war, but when a man wears a cap of aardwolf (*Proteles cristatus*) skin, then he is on the warpath. Several friendly villages came together and decided to attack another village. The war caps were put on, and after sunset the men marched in the direction of the enemy village. In the neighbourhood of the latter a halt was made and without lighting a fire, although it was the cold time of the year, they waited until the morning. After sunrise, when it was somewhat warmer, the village was surrounded and attacked from all sides, the spear being chiefly used. There was loud shouting and calling, but no special war cry; and in general everybody fought as he pleased.

628 721 628 726

628 727 [184] [721] If possible, all men are killed, and also boys, for fear of the blood feud. Women are never killed intentionally, but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women and girls are made captive and taken in marriage. All objects that can be used are also taken away, but the huts are not regarded as worth the burning. Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, the victors will under no circumstances deprive the vanquished of their territory or even occupy it, lest harm and disaster overtake them; on the other hand among the Kung, as already mentioned, disputes over the possession of land are among the prime causes of war. What happens to the land of the defeated group in other tribes is not stated. The

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, op. cit., 85.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

big game, especially wild horses and mules. There are in [224]
those parts wild horses and mules, both so beautifully bred
out by nature that no painter is skilful enough to paint 136
them true to life with all their colouring. The horses have
buttocks extraordinarily dappled, and over the rest of the
body are striped yellow, black, red and pure sky blue. The
mules are also striped, white and chestnut brown, but not
dappled, and are uncommonly beautiful.[39]) The Sonquas in 439
1662 brought the skin of one of these beasts to the Cape,
which our countrymen bartered from them for tobacco and
other things. It was then filled with straw and hung up for
show in the hall of the Fort, as something curious and
uncommon, which it also is, to be seen by the people of the
incoming ships.[40])

The meat of the rock-rabbits constitutes a pleasant food 262
for the Sonquas, who live principally on it and on certain
roots growing in the ground. They also keep many hunting 231
dogs,[40a]) trained to hunt the rock-rabbits which are their 224
principal food, and knowing how to drag these animals out
of their holes.

They are extremely great plunderers and marauders. 721
They steal from other Hottentots all the cattle they can get,
with which they then flee immediately to the mountains,
where they cannot be found in their retreats and hidden
caves by anybody, not even by other Hottentots.

Their huts, made only of branches twined together, 342
without woven mats, and covered solely with rushes, are
several thousand in number; for they move about from one 361
place to another, and never break up the huts, but erect
still others wherever they camp.

Their little cloaks are sewn together from the skins of 291
the wild oxen which live on the rocks. The women have a
quitazol or sunshade of ostrich feathers, tied on and about
the head, to protect themselves from the heat and burning
of the sun's piercing rays.

---

had shot a wild horse below the mane in the neck. This horse was 136
very beautifully gray dappled over its whole body, except behind
from the back over the buttocks and along the legs which were
flame-coloured, with white, sky blue and reddish brown stripes,
wonderfully beautiful . . . It had small ears like a horse. The
stuffed heads and pieces of skin which the Hottentots sometimes
brought to us belong evidently to another sort, as they have
long ears, though extraordinarily, curiously and beautifully
flame-coloured in white and chestnut brown."

[40a]) Dogs were the only domestic animals kept by the Bushmen. 231
They were generally lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half starved
and savage tempered, but excellent assistants in the chase, for 224
which they were mainly employed.

/154 cont./

722 Women were not taken along on the expedition; the women of the settlement attacked immediately ran away.

[622] 701 In time of war the chiefs have general powers of command. Their authority is apparently no greater than in peacetime, when it is insignificant. Indeed, it is scarcely intelligible to us how a war can be carried on effectively under such circumstances.

[888] [756] Old people naturally have greater influence. The "doctor" is merely an accompanying warrior without special authority. Generally speaking, everyone for the most part does what he considers should be done; some co-operation is nevertheless apparent.

There is no fighting at night; at most they will march then.

726 619 Alliances are concluded, even between groups speaking different languages. For instance, men of different Auin settlements will ally themselves with a Naroon [Naron] settlement to attack another Auin settlement.

There is no political connection between all the Auin settlements. They form a single community only by virtue of their common language. For example, bitter hostility exists between the Auin of Gam and the Auin of Rietfontein, while the relations between the Rietfontein Auin and the Naroon settlements south of them are amicable. The two can communicate only through interpreters.

701 Young people who are staying in a given village for courtship participate without ado in the warlike undertakings of this village. I am unable to say what happens in case the undertaking is directed at the home settlement of the candidate for marriage.

Concerning the war dance and the accompanying song, see page 37.

727 Captured men are killed, and usually boys as well (because of the danger of blood vengeance).

Women and children are taken away, married, and completely assimilated into the group. Old women are killed. Objects that are useful are taken away; the rest is destroyed.

It is not worth the trouble to set fire to the windscreens.

728 Hostilities are officially concluded; unarmed negotiators appear to have safe conduct. War damages are paid in the form of food, tools, and women.

The description of the form of government is the most difficult chapter of this account.

/153 cont./

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2: Kaufmann--74 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10

Auen

535
726

Photo. 41.
War Dance.

Photo. 42.
War Dance.

[62 cont.]

293 Like the prehistoric Bushmen, these people, too, wear forehead bands, into which the arrows are stuck during the hunt.

726 754 Dornan (p. 139) reports that the Kalahari Bushmen hold dances before the start of a war, and on these occasions they shoot little poisoned arrows from equally small bows in the direction of the enemy or of the sun. They believe that in so doing they are killing the shadow spirit of the enemy. They do not like to give these miniature bows and arrows to anyone because they are afraid that they might come into the possession of their enemies and thus bring about their own deaths.

226 Fishing is still quite well developed among the Masarwa people. Stone walls are sometimes built in the river, in which weir-baskets are set, or they sit in the river bed next to one another with weir-baskets, while women and children drive the fish toward them. In smaller waterholes, grass and brush are piled up on one side. Then the Bushmen step into the water and push the grass wall ahead of them, thus driving the fish into a corner. Individual fish are also speared with the assagai. According to Hodson, the best fishermen are the Bakoba Bushmen on the Okovanggo. They have harpoons and rush nets that are drawn diagonally across the river.

278 G. A. Farini (3) had an opportunity to observe the

[113] 3. G. A. Farini, Durch die Kalahariwüste [Through the Kalahari Desert], Leipzig, 1886.

manufacture of arrow poison in the Chanse Veld. The men gathered at a certain place; women were not allowed to be present. The sap was removed from about 30 to 40 poisonous bulbs by means [535] of successive incisions and was collected in a pan. As each incision was made, the Bushmen danced in a circle, making a kind of grunt. Then a hyena hide was spread out with the hair side down, and on it was spread the contents of the bags that contained the dried heads of poisonous snakes, as well as two pieces of reed approximately 15 centimeters long. Then a number of freshly killed poisonous snakes were brought. The poison sacs were removed amidst singing and the clapping of hands. Meanwhile the pan containing the poison had been put on the fire and was boiling;

ǂAUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[73 cont.]

726 Before going to war, the body is smeared with a magic medicine (/num). If old enemies are involved, the attack is carried out by subterfuge and stealth. Otherwise the opponents face each other in open battle. Depending upon the degree of enmity, they shoot at each other with either poisoned or unpoisoned arrows. Commonly, however, a conference of the leaders takes place before the beginning of the battle, which leads to a peaceful dispersal of the combatants. The principles of natural morality are honored and recognized both within and outside the horde. It is regarded as bad to inflict harm on another person or not to assist him if he is in need, not because any kind of punishment is to be feared, but because this is what elders have taught.

6. The World Picture and Religion

821 The sun is a man and is called /gam or kha//ä̃, the hunter. The moon is a woman and is called !nui or /nauga, "the one who runs around."

773 821 Formerly the sun, the moon, and the hare lived together. One day Mrs. Moon and Mr. Hare were having a quarrel. The moon split open the hare's snout with an ax. The hare then scratched the moon's face. This is still visible today. When the sun came home, he became angry and said: "Now we have had enough of the earth; now we shall go up so that the hare will be alone. I shall burn him from above, and I shall become very hot so that during the day he cannot run about as he wants to." The moon replied: "That is a good idea; at night I shall go and bring the cold, so that the hare will freeze when he looks for his food."

Since that time, the sun and moon are in the firmanent.

The dome of the sky is the covering of the sun and moon. When the sun and moon went up to the sky, they had little sacks of resin with them. They threw them away. The grains of resin are now the stars.

When the sun, moon, and hare were still together, the sun said, "Men shall not die," and the moon agreed with him. But the hare said: "No, people must die, because I, too, must die."

776 821 Rain is made by sorcerers; these are called Gowa. They do

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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619 621 Bushmen from all parts of the Ghansiveld, even from different tribes, owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again [221] [423] Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

114 619 621 All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery, however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys' [881] puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement [574] that in the months of March and April different bands come together for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and 726 obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several 619 621 Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band, although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

578 619 621 628 On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife-stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially [685] is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who 648 encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen,
685

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 137.
[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 13.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 134.
[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 154; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 13; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 85.

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[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, op. cit., 85.

/154 cont./

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Concerning the war dance and the accompanying song, see page 37.

727 Captured men are killed, and usually boys as well (because of the danger of blood vengeance).

Women and children are taken away, married, and completely assimilated into the group. Old women are killed. Objects that are useful are taken away; the rest is destroyed.

It is not worth the trouble to set fire to the windscreens.

728 Hostilities are officially concluded; unarmed negotiators appear to have safe conduct. War damages are paid in the form of food, tools, and women.

The description of the form of government is the most difficult chapter of this account.

/156 cont./

423 foster the growth of the veld crop, he alone may lay claim to the yield of the burned veld. Others, even members of the same settlement, are not allowed to use it.

The territorial property of the individual hordes is precisely delimited, and the boundaries are known to everyone. Boundary markers naturally do not exist, but with his marvelous sense of place, the Bushman knows exactly, to the last bush, the extent of his territory.

565 Social distinctions do not exist, just as there are no servants or domestics.

576 They greet each other by extending hands in a manner that differs from our practice (see Photo. 43).

567 Slavery is unknown. Men who have been, captured in war are killed; captured women are taken into the victorious group
● 727 and accorded completely equal rights.

R. Marriage, Position of the Woman, Children

582 Men marry between the ages of about 16 and 18 years, girls between 13 and 16. Both sets of figures naturally are estimates.

584 The candidate for marriage addresses his suit to the girl's mother. If the latter is no longer alive, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is consulted only secondarily. The suitor brings his future in-laws presents in the form of game and veld food, sometimes over a period of more than a year.

If the affair proceeds smoothly, the man takes the girl to his hut after a time and the marriage is regarded as consummated.

If, in spite of the consent of her parents, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to express her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man will finally take the girl to his hut by force and have coitus with her. If she runs away, he brings her back. In this manner, her resistance seems to be gradually overcome.

684 If a man were to violate a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be killed.

585 No special ceremonies are observed to conclude the marriage. The marriage is considered consummated by coitus.

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

organisation among them. The various so-called tribes bear 619
distinctive names, mostly of Bushmen or Hottentot origin, the significance of which is in most instances no longer known. Judging by the practice which still exists among the Bushmen they are in all probability descriptive either of the territory occupied by certain groups or of some physical or other characteristic of such territory or groups. Each tribe is composed of a number of family groups all of whom claim relationship to each other through a common tribal ancestor. Thus, for example, according to the traditions of the *ǂAo-||ẽin* all the groups constituting that tribe are descended from a "first big *ǂAo-||ẽin* Bushman." A similar belief likewise exists among other tribes. Nothing in the nature of a central authority whose decisions are binding on all members of the tribe is met with among them, nor is collective action taken in the interests of the tribe as a whole. Each family group 619
forms an independent unit by itself, possessing its own group 621
area and authority over and specific rights within such area only. In relation to other groups it is collectively responsible for the actions of each of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the groups concerned and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. On occasion, however, a weak group will seek and sometimes obtain assistance from a stronger one, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature. The most common causes of inter-group [628]
quarrels are trespass, theft and adultery. The ensuing conflicts generally assume the form of a blood feud which is continued until a more or less equal toll of life has been taken by both sides. Women are never killed intentionally during [727]
the course of these feuds but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women are made captive and taken in marriage. Further as far as can be ascertained under no circumstances will the victors deprive the vanquished of their territory or occupy such territory lest harm or disaster should overtake them. The more widely separated groups of the tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct personal contact with each other and generally live in such superstitious fear and dread of each other that the members of one will not undertake journeys into the territory of another, even when accompanied by Europeans. The [911]
group areas are separated from each other by neutral zones into which nobody will venture except during the course of visits. These zones are usually formed by belts of trees, open flats, water courses, etc. Territorial boundaries are observed [423]
in a most scrupulous manner even by closely related groups who are living on the most friendly terms with each other. Each family is inseparably united to its habitat and has a superstitious dread of any locality but its own. The result is that even the members of completely disorganised groups are loth to seek employment outside the boundaries of their ancestral territory.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

their numbers. To this must be added the fact that observers do not always clearly discriminate them from the Hottentots. Of the various estimates previously made, the majority go back some fifteen or twenty years, and offer little safe guidance to present conditions. The only area for which fairly reliable figures of recent date are available is South-West Africa, where in 1926 there were officially stated to be 3,600 Bushmen.[1] This figure would therefore include the Auen, Heikum, most of the Kung, a few of the Naron, the /nu//en, and other small tribes on the south-eastern border, and the remnants of the Namib Bushmen. Adopting it as a rough guide, one may safely assume that all the other Bushmen still found in Angola, the Kalahari desert, and the western districts of Southern Rhodesia, together with the few individuals in other parts, will be at least as numerous, especially when it is remembered that the Kalahari is the centre of the region now occupied by the Bushmen. We may therefore place the total number of Bushmen still in existence at a conservative minimum of about 7,000 to 7,500. Any more accurate estimate is impossible with the data at our disposal. The Bushmen may be far more numerous, but there is no ready means of ascertaining this. On the other hand, it is hardly likely, judging from even the limited data available, that they can be much fewer.

161

That formerly they were certainly far more numerous is unquestionable. The fact that they are now almost completely extinct in many parts where at one time they were found in large numbers is sufficient testimony to the great decrease they have suffered. This is especially noticeable in the Cape, where, as already mentioned, they were forcibly exterminated at the hands of successive invaders. In the case of the European settlers alone we know that during the eighteenth century frequent commandos were sent against the Bushmen in the attempt to end their depredations against stock. The figures available of the relentless destruction that followed make sad reading. In 1774, we are told, a commando in the Roggeveld killed 503 Bushmen and took 239 prisoners, while it is calculated that between the years 1785 and 1795 no fewer than 2,504 were killed and 669 made captive.[2] Since these by no means represent the total Bushman population of the Cape at that time, there is little reason to regard Fritsch's minimum estimate of 10,000 for the number of Bushmen

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727

[1] *Report on the Administration of South-West Africa for 1926* (Union of S. Africa Parliamentary Bluebook, U.G. 22, 1927), p. 28.
[2] G. E. Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, vol. i, 1910, pp. 18–19.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

B 161 727

before these destructive raids as being in any way excessive.[1] In Orange Free State and Basutoland, too, where at one time the Bushmen were also very numerous, there are now apparently no more than a few stray individuals.

B 161 164

Even in South-West Africa their numbers seem to have declined a good deal within recent years. The German official estimate for 1913 gave the Bushman population of this territory as 8,098,[2] which may be contrasted with the 1926 figure of 3,600. Allowing for probable inaccuracies in the two estimates, there does nevertheless appear to be an undeniable decrease. This may be attributed largely to the ravages of disease, especially malaria, although other factors also must be considered. The present area of Bushman occupation in the North-West Kalahari is largely infested with malaria, and all observers agree that the Bushmen suffer heavily from this disease. Thus Kaufmann put the numbers of the Auen in 1908 at approximately 3,000, but adds that in the following year more than half the tribe was swept away by malaria, while in 1917, 1923, and 1925 the same disease was again attended by a considerable mortality among all the Bushman tribes in this area.[3] Infanticide, a practice definitely recorded among the North-Western tribes, also tends to keep the numbers down; while the disappearance of game and the enforcement against the Bushmen of the game laws serve the same end by making their mode of subsistence even more precarious than it was at the best of times.

B [847]

B 161

There seems little doubt that the Bushmen are steadily dying out as a race. What relentless persecution at the hands of other peoples has not achieved is being slowly accomplished by disease and racial intermixture. Racially pure Bushmen are already in a minority, and their ultimate absorption by their neighbours is probably inevitable.

HOTTENTOTS

B H 144

Racial History

By the time when European contact with South Africa was first established, the Bushmen in the Cape had already been reduced to living in isolated groups scattered about among the more numerous

[1] Fritsch, op. cit., 395.
[2] *Die deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee* 1912/1913: *Amtliche Jahresberichte*, p. 395.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 136, 159; *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 9, 1928, p. 990.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own 591
//gaus his mother builds a hut for them."

A different form of marriage ceremony has been recorded for the 585
now extinct inhabitants of Basutoland and Orange Free State. Here, [184]
the consent of the bride having been obtained and also the approval of her parents, who received some kind of present, a day was fixed for the event. All the neighbours round about were invited to a feast. When they had all begun to make merry, the young man took the opportunity to seize the bride. This was the signal for her relatives to set upon him with their digging-sticks; they gave him a sound thrashing, and a general fight ensued. If the bridegroom managed to keep a tight hold through all this, the issue was decided, and he was a married man. If not, he would have to undergo a second ordeal some other time before he could again claim his bride.[1]

Among the North-Western Bushmen girls taken in war or found [727]
trespassing are also often held as wives by their captors.[2] Miss Bleek 583
indeed, says of the Naron that marriage is nominally by capture.[3] A young man wishing to marry comes with an older man to another village, ostensibly to pay a visit, and sits chatting, without mentioning his purpose. They look out for a good opportunity, and then carry off the girl to their own village. By this act she is married, whether she likes it or not. It seems, however, that talk about the marriage mostly precedes the "capture". "The mother thinks it proper to make a fuss, but if her objections are only for show, the men take no part in the matter, and the girl is led away, probably quite willingly, though etiquette demands some coyness. If, however, the mother really objects, thinks her daughter too young, or does not like the suitor, she rouses the men to action, and the would-be bridegroom and his friend have to depart." During Miss Bleek's stay at Sandfontein an attempt at real capture did occur, but the assailants were driven off in this way. In the old days, she adds, much fighting seems to have [721]
been caused by attempted capture; now fear of the white man tames [177]
down the affair.

Married Life

The relation between husband and wife in one of its aspects is [581]
sexual. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual intercourse 837

[1] Stow, op. cit., 96, quoting Miss L. C. Lemue; cf. Arbousset, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* (English trans., 1842), p. 351; Dornan, "Bushmen of Basutoland," 442.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 85.
[3] *Naron*, 33.

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766 others are usually abandoned before they die, and the whole camp wanders in the bush.[1]

888 There is also the well-authenticated fact that old people are sometimes deliberately abandoned. When drought and scarcity force the Bushmen to a long hurried march, some old man or woman may be too feeble to keep up with them. They then make a screen of bushes all round the old person, provide a good supply of firewood and a little food and water if possible, and push on, leaving him behind. Should game and water be found within a couple of days' march, some young fellow is sent hurrying back with supplies. Otherwise they do not come near the place again, knowing that the end must have come and hyenas dealt with the remains. This abandonment of the aged has often been characterized as an inhuman trait in the Bushmen; but when the life of the whole band depends upon rapid movement it is difficult to see how they could act otherwise. Anyone who falls out and dies on such a march will have to [766] go unburied too, and probably the same fate overtakes those killed [727] in war.[2]

114 Where burial does take place it follows almost immediately after the death. The descriptions available of the actual funeral ceremonies 764 of the Bushmen are far from being exhaustive, and naturally vary somewhat in detail, but a certain degree of uniformity may be noted. The information relating to the Southern tribes is fragmentary. Skeletons of these Bushmen are found buried both in caves and in graves out in the open, but of the customs associated with burial we have very little record. The fullest description is that given by Arbousset of the Basutoland Bushmen. He states that a dead 764 person first has his head anointed with red powder (*buchu*), mixed with melted fat. The corpse is then rudely perfumed (*grossièrement parfumée*), and laid on its side in an oblong grave, to which all the relatives and friends hasten to make their lamentations. They come even from the neighbouring villages to see and examine the body, which is then taken out of the grave; and everybody redoubles his cries and lamentations. At last they throw into the grave the hut of the dead person, and burn it above him. The grave is then filled in with earth to the level of the ground, but no heap of stones is [768] piled above it. The funeral over, the band leaves the place for a

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 158.
[2] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner, 122; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 110–11; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 14.

/154 cont./

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/159 cont./

278 752 [411] Poisoned arrows shot into the chest and abdomen are described as unconditionally deadly. Arrow wounds on extremities, as well as very superficial ones, are supposed to be curable under certain circumstances if immediate help is provided.

[751] There is no inoculation against arrow poison.

[827] An older Auin suffering from badly inflamed eyes attributed this illness to an arrow wound he had received many years earlier. His statement, of course, cannot be verified.

165 Malaria is endemic and annually exacts many lives. The number of cases resulting in death was especially great in 1908-1909. Whole settlements are supposed to have died out. Epidemics were unknown even to the "oldest people."

Venereal diseases are blessings of civilization, but evidently not yet widespread.

●731 Famine actually prevails every year toward the end of the dry season, especially if the preceding rainy season has been poor. During this time, almost all the Auin are emaciated to skeletons. Death by hunger is not supposed to /160/ occur. After all, the Bushman always finds something to eat, even if it is only grass seeds.

756 The so-called doctors decidedly possess great experience in medical matters, which, however, does not prevent them from practicing considerable charlatanism (see Section T).

W. Time Reckoning, Astonomy

805 The day is divided according to the position of the sun.

Certain time segments are indicated with great exactitude according to the position of the sun. If one asks a Bushman, "How far is it to the watering place?" he will point to the place in the sky that the sun will have reached by the time one gets there.

The concept of the month is known (gnui, "month").

The relation of the solar year to lunar months is unknown.

The Auin divides up the year, for which, incidentally, he has no definite, but rather only a very vague concept, as follows:

[7 cont.]

222 The honey badger, !uisa (N. !ous), which leads to the
825 bees, is followed ever so eagerly.

The common wild pig (gariba), the kudu (daub), the
224 gemsbok χ'uaba (N. /gaib), and all the small antelopes are hunted. Pits are no longer known, although they used to dig them in former times.

If they decide to go hunting, sexual intercourse must be
[834] avoided the night before. In the evening the hunters go into the forest and spend the night there. Before dawn they rise and pray:

[539] Pu, pu, Eró, /nari dsu /ari mate — God, tomorrow early we receive.

When a piece of game has been killed, one of the hunters cuts a piece of flesh from the animal's body and hands it to the leader of the hunt. This meat is called am-shái-khe. A fire is made, and this piece is placed on it. When it is roasted, the leader cuts off a piece and shouts:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, ha gore, ha gore — Erob, Erob, Erob, eat, eat
i Khe Khandi ô — With us flesh.

After a pause:

ha lĕ a lĕ ha góre o Khandi ô — Come! Come! Let us eat flesh.

Now the roasted flesh is consumed. Nothing is thrown away or left behind for Erob.

Then the game is cut up, and everyone goes home with his portion.

136 Snakes are not rare, although they are by no means as common as in the stony regions of the southwest.

The boa constrictor eats human beings; if it catches a Bushman, it starts to consume him at the legs!

132 In spite of the timber forest, the danger of drought is
821 great. Erob sends rain. When there is a drought, the Bushmen
● 731 dance and pray:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, /ga !goro — Erob, Erob, Erob, we are dying of thirst
/ga-wi -ma ta re — Water give us.

177 [8] It is very interesting to observe how in these certainly
776 very ancient hunting and rain prayers the former old heathen gods'
782 names Huwe and χ'amab were replaced by the Christian "Ellob."

I asked the people whether they knew any other prayers and received the following answer: "We know very well that

[10 cont.]

539 χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!
[821]

[11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and
291 the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes
731 even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They
[888] do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and
[758] the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune. Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own.

271 One must have experienced personally the feeling that overcomes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can drink again!

539 3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a
782 journey:
[484] χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is
[755] gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor performs his ceremonies.

χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai khaira téve God, let our people rise again.

789 5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil: Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

821 They do not know anything to say about the sun (sorésa). The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

753 Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those
776 persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this, and there is no spirit of sickness.

776 There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the bush. They play tricks.

775 A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know
[756] what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

[27 cont.]

221 Bushmen shrink to miserable skeletons. Many of them at this
[648] time run to the Blacks or Whites in order to earn something. In
[731] dry years no attention is paid to the kin group boundaries. All
[423] gather around the few water holes that are still open. As soon as the rain begins, conditions start to improve; the people start moving out in various directions, not to meet again until several months later at the time of the veldkost harvest here and there.

7. The Course of Life

584 I shall render in literal translation the account that my informant gave of the way a young man courts a girl:

If a young man wants to marry a girl, he must first speak to her and say: "I love you and want to marry you." If the girl is willing, she says first: "You must wait." Then she goes to her parents and asks them whether they have heard that the boy has spoken to her. The parents then ask whether the girl wants to marry the man. [28] If the girl says, "Yes," then the parents say, "He wants you; he has seen that you are good and hard-working; you may marry." If, however, the young man has thought the matter over and takes back his words, the girl goes to her parents once more, and the boy to his. The latter say: "You wanted it this way; nothing can be done about it." In case the girl definitely gives her consent, however, the young man brings all kinds of little presents and gives them to his future bride, who takes them to her parents. The parents-in-law must now in turn give presents. With the exchange of presents, the
[583] marriage is regarded as legally concluded.

[114] The hunting test described by Passarge (1) and others is not
224
584
[113]

1. Passarge, Die Buschmänner der Kalahari, 1907.

the rule. Some vain girls demand it, and sometimes young men will voluntarily go through with it in order to beat his rivals. This hunting test is carried out in the following manner. The boy goes hunting without weapons and pursues the game (as a rule,

1 [i.e. The hot season -- Analyst]

[31 cont.]

582 unmarried. Marriage is concluded at an early age. The age that
165 Bushmen attain is not great. There are relatively few old people among them, although some of them, it is true, attain a very
593 high age. The children must obey their parents even when they are grown up and married.

888 The Bushmen indignantly denied that they kill the old people or expose them in the bush. If someone is old, weak, or ill, then they simply walk more slowly or leave the sick person behind with a companion. My informants did report to me that dur-
[731] ing periods of extreme thirst not only old people, but also women and children who were unable to move on were left behind. This happened only in desperate circumstances, when those who were half-dead from thirst could not be helped in any case and a stay would have resulted in death for the whole kin group. As soon
764 as someone has died, all the women and girls sit around the corpse and weep. There is no singing on this occasion. Then some of the men go and dig a grave in the bush, cut off medium-sized pieces of wood, and place these in the bottom of the grave as a foundation, over which is spread the hay that the deceased was lying on. Then all take the body to the grave and bury it in a crouched position with the back toward the sunrise. Every relative must give a few glass beads and ornaments if the deceased is a woman. This finery is placed around the neck of the deceased. The corpse is rubbed down with green aromatic powder and ocher and is wrapped in its hides and blankets. They either throw thorn on the covered grave or make a four-cornered gutter in the sand around the grave and posts are pounded into the gutter to make a fence. The grave is now in the center of the fence, like the living person in the center of his hut. A cup of water and some food are put near the head area. Deceased men have bows, arrows, and their hunting bag placed on the chest. Children are given their miniature bows. The Bushmen say that they give the bows and arrows not because the deceased needs them for hunting in the beyond, but because they do not want to use the effects of the deceased, whom they loved. According to Vedder (1), the dead

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Bushleute, pp. 420-421.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

● 731 Later Gai came walking back and we went on toward the fire. We were going, said Gai, to a place where there was a big rock in the Okwa Omaramba, the place where he was born. On the way the ground was smoother, and Gai and Witabe rode in the jeep, and as we went the smoke got thicker, and at the end of the afternoon we saw orange flames above the tops of the bushes. Gai said that we were almost there, and all the men got out of the jeep to walk to the veld fire, leaving me to drive through alone. We were very near. We could feel the heat, and judged that the fire was larger than we had expected. Suddenly the bushes in front of us were caught by the fire and flamed up like tinder, causing me to drive the jeep away and causing the men to step back suddenly, but while I retreated they simply waited for the fire to reach some low grass, and when it did they stepped over it calmly and went on. I found a place where the fire was out, where the jeep could pass, and went safely onto the burned area. Witabe came to find me and showed me a knoll that had not burned and was not sooty, where the others had decided to camp. We left our jeep on some bare sand and unrolled our blankets under the trees.

From our knoll we saw that all the omaramba was in flames. From a fire which had started somewhere to the east of us, a great ring had spread and was now burning around us in an enormous circle. The gap where we had entered had closed again, and the fire surrounded us on our hilltop like a wall, with flames higher than our heads.

The bushes and grass had been consumed at once, but in its path the fire had left great trees in flames, with fires in the trunks that echoed like great chimneys, or fires in the upper branches that flamed like crowns of burning hair. As the trunks burned through, the trees would fall.

The orange sun set into the orange fire, hanging above the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

flames for a moment like a flame itself, then slipping down 731
behind the fire, made the rising smoke a great, soft, purple cloud. As the sky darkened, the flames around us seemed brighter and more yellow, and farther away we saw a thousand smaller fires burning, each in a tuft of grass or in a tree.

After we had eaten we sat watching our burning wall move away from us, listening to the cries of birds, day birds chased from their branches by the fire, night birds flying through the smoke to catch insects that were trying to escape. All the air stank with an oily odor given off by the burning trees—not at all the pleasant smell of burning wood, but a deathly odor, the smell of a forest being destroyed.

When we lay down in our blankets to sleep we found that even the ground was warm, and as soot and ashes drifted over us we lay awake and listened. Once during the night we heard something large run past us. A little later, farther away, we heard the sharp roar of a lion who must have tried to cross a patch of burned ground and had singed his soft paws. We heard his slow footsteps as he tested the earth carefully, then a grunt as he was scorched again. It made him cross, for he walked in a huge half-circle around us with a growl running steadily in his throat. I had thought that the Bush- [152
men were asleep, but they had also heard him and they 522]
laughed. Now and then, during the night, the burned trees crashed around us, and as our fiery wall moved slowly away, the rising smoke was gray in its yellow light, the stars were all obscured.

Before dawn in the morning the crescent of the new moon 132
rose, the tiniest sliver in the chilly air, followed by the salmon band of light, redder than usual because of the smoke. The wind must have blown a good deal of the fire back on itself because much of it was out, leaving a cloud of smoke hanging

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

132 above the earth in a layer. We were crouching at a fire we had built, warming our hands against the cold, when the sun came up. We heard birds singing in the fresh air as if nothing
512 had happened, then the sound of faint pounding far away, a mortar being struck with a pestle. Soon we heard a second mortar join the first as another woman began breakfast for her family, and we knew that two women meant perhaps six people, therefore a band.

276 Gai stood up and stretched his legs, then took a tiny coal from our fire between his thumb and finger and dropped it into his pipe, inhaling deeply and holding the smoke in his lungs while he handed the pipe to Witabe, who also puffed and returned the pipe, when at last Gai exhaled, spat, and scooped the pipe through the sand, extinguishing the fire and
[482] saving the rest of the tobacco. He stuck the pipe in his belt,
481 flung his great kaross over his chest to warm his belly, and strode off in the direction of the sound, the ragged edges of his great cape swinging at his ankles as his strong feet carried him away. He walked under a burned log that had partly fallen and was braced up by another tree, and as he did the white ashes blew from it and the light of dawn shone through the ash like light through a flurry of snow.

73) Later in the day, when we had eaten cornmeal for breakfast, while we waited for Gai to come back, we went down to the flats below our hilltop to inspect the damage of the fire. The land below our camp was in utter desolation, startling and ruined, a desert of ash. We found only the orange sand and black ashes still in the shape of the grass blades that made them, black ashes below burned bushes still in the shape of the leaves that made them, and, on the ground, flat, perfect skeletons of vines, just in the shape of the vines that made them but black, in powder, disintegrating into dust when the wind touched them. All around us lay the smolder-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

ing great carcasses of fallen trees, some with the leaves on the 731
top still green, that were filling the air with the smell of their wood burning. The ground was still warm to walk on, but all the bushes, all the little succulents, all the vines that marked the water roots were gone; no snake or lizard or animal was there, all were burned or had gone; we saw only animal tracks half filled with ashes, and a few birds come to eat dead insects. We saw a pair of secretary birds and later a pair of [136]
paouw, huge gray birds that walk more than they fly, wandering through the ruins looking for dead reptiles.

As we walked, fine black powder rose to dust our legs, and now and then, off through the standing tree trunks and between the fallen trees' great upflung roots, little whirlwinds crossed back and forth, raising the dust in spiraled pillars. [821]
Bushmen say that whirlwinds show the presence of the spir- 775
its of the dead.

Witabe's eyes searched over the ground, and when he saw 222
a small mound of earth he walked up to it and punctured it 262
with his toe. Out rushed a horde of ants, which had been safe in their tunnels when the fire passed and now began at once to repair their damaged mound. Witabe crouched among them and began to pick and eat them, selecting the soldier ants, ones with large heads and heavy jaws. He bit off the abdomens, tossing the heads away. Presently he offered some to us, as I had feared he would; as everyone else ate one, I did also, and found that it was not too unpleasant but sour and very watery, very like a blackberry before it is ripe. The workers, I am told, are tasteless, but the fighters are considered a near-delicacy; mine opened her jaws wide to fight my thumb before I ate her.

Later in the day, when the sun in the sky, the still burning 481
trees, and the fire-warmed sand made the air on the flats un- 487
bearably hot, we turned back to camp for the shade of our

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

Ukane had asked his wife if her brother had returned. She 533
had answered "Yes," and Ukwane had composed the song about it out of guilt and sorrow.

"A Song of Shouting" was beautiful, too. When Ukwane had explained it to us and we had asked him to sing some more, he smiled at us and said that he was tired. But the day of jealousies, the fact that he had not found his piece of string, and the subject of his songs had put him in a mood, and presently he began to tell us what was in his heart.

He said that he was old and blind, and that he and his 533
wife could no longer support one another but had to depend 888
on Tsetchwe and Gai. Even Twikwe and Dasina were old and would not be strong much longer, and if Gai should leave them, perhaps to go to his Bakalahari father, the old people would perish surely.

Hearing Ukwane's cracked voice saying these sad things, his wife got up from her bed and sat beside him in silence. Soon Twikwe and Dasina joined him, too, so all the old people were there, crouching near the fire, their eyes gazing over its light out into the darkness.

Presently Dasina said: "It is bad to die because when you die you are all alone," and after being silent for a moment Ukwane told us how various members of his band, once a large one, had died, reducing their number to the hardy few who lived with him now. Both his father and his mother had died of thirst, and his children, his young nieces and nephews, [731
and his grandchildren had all died in an epidemic of smallpox 165]
three years before. That had been a horrifying season, and in the hottest time, when the sun was drying them all and the ground was too hot to walk on, the smallpox had come, and pox had got into people's mouths so that they could not eat, and the children had all died one morning and their young mothers had died before night.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

888 The old people, the survivors, had not expected to outlive
764 their children and grandchildren, and then they had to bury
731 them; they had scooped shallow graves for them and had placed their bodies inside, then had covered the graves with branches. The old people had then lived by the graves for months to mourn and to protect the corpses from marauding animals. It had been a ghastly season, a season of carnage, and the old people did not like to think about it even now. We watched their sad faces when they spoke of it and saw that these old people themselves felt death very near, foreseeing the day when Gai would leave them, when the melons would dry, when they would starve.

Suddenly, unnoticed into the midst of this discussion came the baby Nhwakwe, having been awakened by the voices, his eyes still filled with sleep, to put an empty vegetable husk on the head of his grandmother, Dasina. She was too de-
[158] pressed to notice, though, and presently the husk fell off and Nhwakwe stumbled back to his sleeping-place, secure between his father and his mother, as though perhaps he had not fully awakened at all.

888 Dasina was speaking. She said again: "To die is bad, but
761 in the end we all die anyway," and Ukwane said he did not expect to live another season. Then he asked us when we would have to leave. We told him that we were leaving in a very few days, and he said he was sorry to hear it, but if we liked he would come back to our country with us to tell us everything he knew about the customs of the Gikwe. We told
609 him sadly that this would not be possible, and he said that in that case he would live out his life beside our track, waiting for the day when we would return. We told him not to do even that, for European farmers would surely follow our tracks into the desert looking for Bushmen to take as servants.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

greatly esteemed and is gathered from the crust of the pan in 317
moist balls. Bushmen sprinkle the surface with water in order
to roll up just the first layer where the salt lies. When the salt
balls dry, Bushmen crumble them into their food, preferring [263]
salt to all sweet things and honey. Once when we asked some
of the Gautscha people what they called themselves they re-
plied with this phrase: "We are a salty people, who come [101]
from a salty place."

In the dry season, two hundred people came to Gautscha 731
and lived in the bushes at the edge of the pan. This was an 361
enormous number for any area to support, but all had indis-
putable rights to be there, for either their fathers had drunk
at Gautscha or they had relatives whose fathers had; by the
rather complicated system, any Bushman may drink water
and gather veld food wherever his parents had a right to do
so, or may live with either his parents, his brothers or sisters,
or his wife at any place where the relative of his choice has
rights. There was water but not much food at Gautscha, and 731
all the people got thin and very hungry and sat around their
fires at night with sweat pouring from their bodies but with
nothing to eat; to make matters worse, one man coming for
a visit proved to be ill and gave his disease to everyone. It
was a disease that caused vomiting, high fevers, chest pains, [164]
and nosebleeds of great intensity—a woman whom I tried to
cure bled all one morning with blood squirting from her nos-
trils, pouring down over her arms and hands and dripping
from her elbows, making a dark pool on the ground. The dis-
ease struck all the people, from the youngest infants to the
oldest grandparents, and all the people lay for days scattered
all over the ground, too ill to move. We did everything we
could, of course; we provided food and medicine, firewood
and water, and took turns staying up all night to nurse the
people. As it happened, everyone got better within fourteen

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

731 days, although not all were completely cured; and many, feeling that their luck was very bad at Gautscha, decided to take
361 their chances at other places in the veld where, although there was no water, there were watery roots that could be scraped for moisture. One day many of the people walked away in single file, taking their belongings and carrying on their backs their relatives still too sick to travel, leaving Gautscha Pan deserted except for the three small family bands who made their permanent home there.

764 One day when we were traveling in the veld about twenty
888 miles from Gautscha we came upon an old man lying on his face on the sand in an open place. He was a member of one of the bands at Gautscha that tried to escape bad luck, and, thinking he was hurt, we stopped at once. But he was not hurt; when we came near him he did not get up, but turned his face away from us and lay as if dazed, pressing one hand to his forehead. We knew him; he was the only Bushman of any nation we had ever met or even heard of who had never
[582 881 162] married, this because Bushman men must shoot a buck and undergo initiation before they can marry, which he had never done. Instead he lived with his sister, who took care of him and provided him with food, and who had been very ill during the plague at Gautscha. As we looked at him the headman of that band stepped out of the bushes and told us that the old man was not ill but grieving for his sister, who lay dead in a grove of thorn trees a little way beyond. The old man, who had been alone with his sister when she died, had been too weak from the illness to bury her, and had only been able to hide her body under a pile of stones. When the other members of the band had returned to the grove after a day or so of veld food-gathering, it had been too late, to dangerous because of the now roaming spirit, for them to assist

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

789 also to protect young people of the same sex. The choa ceremonies are performed in the Veld Food Season for each of the powerful veld foods as they ripen. The ceremony itself is simple; in order to choa tsi, for example, an old woman simply chews a mouthful of tsi with a few bites of a root called *shasha* if shasha is available or any one of certain other permissible roots if shasha is not, and spits the resulting paste into her palms. If she is choaing herself she washes her hands in the paste; if she is choaing a younger woman she rubs the paste on the young woman's arms and chest. It is an important ceremony, for no young person would think of eating tsi without it, but it is at the same time a casual, household ceremony, done without fuss or audience; oftener than not, it will be performed in the morning before breakfast, say, or when the woman is resting for a moment in the veld, ceasing her digging to drink a sip of water. It is a powerful ceremony, though, for the woman choaed may then eat tsi in safety for a whole year, until the next season when it ripens again.

731 That year, in the Veld Food Season, there was a tragedy and also a wedding. The tragedy took place late one afternoon when a baby girl, playing house with a real fire, burned down her grandfather's grass scherm, thus destroying everything her grandparents owned, everything they had made over a lifetime. The two old people had been very industrious and the wife a prolific maker of ostrich-eggshell beads.

At the start of the blaze a great crowd of people gathered, arriving just in time to see the baby girl run out of the scherm as it collapsed in flames behind her. She ran straight to her [262] mother and sat at her feet, ignoring the great crowd of people and placidly eating one of her grandfather's leather sandals which she had rescued from the fire and which, she found, had been cooked to a turn. No one was angry with the child,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

everyone was thankful that she had not been hurt. The people 731 remarked at the size and the intensity of the fire and shook their heads at the destruction, each one telling someone else where he had been when he first had seen the blaze. They asked each other why no one put the fire out, as no one did, and soon the scherm was a heap of white ash and the old couple who owned it ruined materially, too old to start again.

A few weeks after that, two children were married. The 582 groom was about sixteen and the bride was eight. It was con- 835 sidered to be an excellent match, as the bride was pretty and the groom was already becoming famous as a hunter. But even in these auspicious circumstances complications and involved negotiations arose, until, for a while, people began to think that no wedding would take place. The bride's aunt [578] disliked the groom's mother, and recalled an old scandal that had shadowed the family for years. The groom's mother had divorced the groom's father long ago to marry her present husband, which in itself was altogether usual, but it came out that the man and woman had maintained an adulterous relationship before the divorce and furthermore were tabu relatives, which made their union incestuous—not as severely so as marriage between parent and child or brother and sister, but incestuous nevertheless—and it caused a scandal that reverberated throughout all of Nyae Nyae. The two were middle-aged when they married, and they had clung sol- [593] idly together through the storm of scandal and disapproval, for it was truly a marriage of love.

The little girl did not want to be a bride. When we asked 584 her how she felt about her wedding she hid her face in her hands and said that she was still a young child, too young to get married.

All in all, only the groom's family behaved well, showing patience and forbearance until at last the wedding took place.

132 themselves for the winter and in a state most suitable for food. The desert pales. Day and night, water evaporates from the pans; first becoming a film, then less than a film, with only the damp clay glistening. One noon, the clay begins to wrinkle in the sun. By June, the earth is dry: the land is fast and quietly held by winter.

132 Such would be a perfect round of seasons. In the periods of drought
●731 that have come every few years in the recent past, however, there have been no such perfect seasons and all living things have, of necessity, fastened tenaciously to the drying earth and held on. Even in normal years, the weather is unbalanced: large areas of the Kalahari may be flooded, while others receive a sprinkling of rain in what amounts to drought conditions. In this land, and through these seasons, the !Kung nation lives.

[131] THE AREA in which the !Kung now
174 live is called *Nyae Nyae*. How long they have lived there is not

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsi, the men always ac-
462 company the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsi* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater por-
222 tion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging imple-
[412] ment is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were
[101] living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some
[484] to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles
[361] to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back
[854] to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to
[482] them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the
[372] bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as
252 meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes,
264 pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

222 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the
433 impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food
731 is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families
166 therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—
[582]

[41 cont.]

582 girl to marry him. Naturally, these sisters ordinarily do not remember their prerogative until they have failed to get another man whom they desire. Thus the young men are often forced to marry girls who are much older than themselves. If the wife
587 dies, the widower must marry a sister of his wife in case she agrees. [42] If, on the other hand, the man dies, the widow
(589) must stay with the parents-in-law for about a year. It is illegal to marry the wife or the children of a deceased brother. The widow must marry a man from another kin group and move to his vil-
611 lage (1). The boys belong to the father's kin group, the girls to
The MOTHER'S KIN GROUP.

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842
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●732
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1. "The fate of many a young childless widow is much worse, however. A Bushman communicated the following concerning this matter: 'When a man dies and leaves behind a wife without children, and the brother-in-law refuses to accept his brother's bow and thereby his sister-in-law, she may return to her father's village. But this does not by any means always happen. As a woman who did not bear children she is not highly regarded. Her life has no significance. The men of the village talk about her case and designate one from their midst to destroy the useless life. This man will come to the widow's hut in the evening and will sit down across from her at her fire. He has a bow and arrow with him. The widow knows what is in store for her, but gives no sign. The two talk about trivial matters. After a while the man takes the bow in his hand and shoots an arrow through the heart of the woman sitting across from him. The unfortunate woman dies and is buried as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible. Blood vengeance on the part of the woman's kin group is not to be feared. After all, she did not bear any children.'" (Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 419.)

[43 cont.]

732 Blindness in one eye is very common as the result of wounds inflicted by thorns. Among very old people I have also found blindness as the result of cataract. Here and there one also finds (648) Bushmen who in olden times had been captured by the Herero, who shot out their eyes with grass seed.

Ear Ailments

757 They are relatively rare. For an ordinary earache, leaves are stuffed into the ear "so that it will stay warm." The aching ear is likewise held over the fire, in which some medicine has been placed. If pus comes out of the ear, the ache stops and all

[413]

Fig. 16. Scratching Instrument. Iron leaf fastened to a little stick with resin and leather strips. (Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg; actual size [as shown in original text].)

(753) [44] is well. If //Gauab has put something in it, however, the pains become so strong that one can no longer sleep or hear. In (755) such cases one must call an especially powerful doctor, who draws out the spirits of sickness; otherwise the patient will die.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the buffalo's horn had wounded him. Otherwise, he looked 609
very well. All the people seemed well, especially the children.
Toma's oldest son wore a crown of badger skin with the long 291
hair standing up on it, and two safety pins that we had given 177
him, which he wore as earrings in his pierced ears. With all 301
this he looked bold as a pirate. His brother was nearly as big
as he was, and his sister, Norna, now three, was a slender,
graceful child who regarded the world with dark, wondering
eyes.

Norna's sixteen-year-old uncle, Tu's brother, was there too. 481
He was a lame boy; he had been crippled in one leg since 732
childhood and could hobble only with the help of a long stick.
People had despaired of him, believing that he would never
be able to hunt and therefore never marry or inherit the head-
manship of Gautscha Pan, but when we saw him now and
looked at him closely we noticed a fine row of scars between 881
his eyes and on his arms and chest and we knew that he had 304
hunted and killed an antelope and had been scarified in his
initiation. We had planned on this trip to give him presents
of all kinds, to make him rich, so that he could marry whether
he could hunt or not, but we saw now that this would not be
necessary. When he knew that we had noticed his scars he
told us in great detail the story of the hunt. He told us how he
had gone out with a group of hunters, how he had first seen [324]
the two horns of a kudu above a clump of bushes, how he had
silently hobbled near it, propped himself on his crutch, and
shot it with a poisoned arrow. The arrow had penetrated
deeply and the lame boy had returned to tell the others. They
had followed it with him for a day and in the evening had
found it dead. It was the lame boy's kudu, though; he shot it,
and to Bushmen that is the important thing. He was scarified [884]
with a paste made of the kudu's meat, and ever after that he
was a man.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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609 she was with her father and mother, though perhaps not nearly as frightened as she would be later when she was far away from Nama Pan in the streets of the city.

732 It was a very sad and heavy day the day that Short Kwi left. It depresses Bushmen terribly to see one of their number crippled, which, of course, in almost every case means the end of that person's productive life as a supporter of the people —one becomes a poor person and depends upon the enforced charity of one's near relatives while suffering avoidance by one's remoter kin; but it depresses Bushmen even more to see one of their number taken away. It is the end of a link in their unity, and when it happens part of the chain of their relationships, part of their pattern is destroyed. That day many people who surely expected never to see Short Kwi again stayed alone by their fires or played the guashi idly, but spoke not a word. The rest of the people, all but Toma, Gao
152 Feet, and Lazy Kwi, were beset with jealousy and quarreled
578 on and on all day, with us, with each other. They were jealous because we had given Short Kwi and his wife clothing and within the hour after Short Kwi's departure a crowd of people was squatting in the dust around our camp. The crowd was so thick that we could hardly get through. No one budged an inch to let us by, and when they would catch our eyes, the women, particularly those who had waited outside our tent when we had given Short Kwi's wife the clothes, pointed to holes and frayed spots in their karosses which clearly showed that they, too, needed clothing, and when we did nothing (we had presents of blankets, cloth, beads, shirts, pants, pipes, and knives to give to everyone when we left, but could not give dresses to all the women and could not give the presents now) they glared at us with stony faces and hard eyes.

152 In the afternoon the people were still there, quite dusty

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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voked those supposedly unmentioned beings, the spirits of 152 578 the dead. Dikai was not offended, though; she gazed down 593 775 at him calmly. "You, you little thing," she said, "no curse that you could say would hurt me."

Much later in the evening when John and Dan and I were 574 sitting at our own fire just before going to bed, Dikai and her 608 nephew, Toma's son, came to visit us, Dikai with Little Dabe asleep on her back. It was a quiet evening, people were sitting at their own werfs and though they were screened from us by grass we could hear their voices talking and see the light of their fires. When Dikai came, Lazy Kwi, whose werf was on the other side of our camp, heard her speak and stood up to see what was happening, looming suddenly from where he had been sitting only a few feet away. He came through the grass to visit also, and we sat by the fire listening to Dikai as she told us about various relatives in the north and what kinship terms we should use for them, I being named for her and John for Toma. Lazy Kwi told Dan that Dan had been named for him, but named Kwi Cheeks instead of Lazy Kwi, and when Dan asked why his nickname was Cheeks all Lazy Kwi could say was: "Because of your cheeks." We thought, but we could not think of a reason, as there was nothing about Dan's cheeks that might attract attention, except that he had recently shaved his beard so that his cheeks were visible.

Dan said that now he had no beard, no hair, no name, which Lazy Kwi thought was terribly funny and said: "Throw away your beard hairs, throw away your name, but take Kwi instead and be my namesake." Shortly after that we went to bed. Relations seemed less strained.

One morning about a week after Short Kwi had gone, when 732 the people were resting and the werf was quiet, we heard a

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959.
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732 rumble, a faint roaring in the veld, the sound blown to us on the wind. Toma must have heard it first, for he stood up from his nap and squinted his eyes at the veld. "A truck," he said. "Your truck. Not the farmers."

He was right; it was our truck. Soon we saw its top among the bushes; when it burst through the bushes at the edge of the pan the Bushman men ran to meet it and, as it did not stop, ran along beside it, craning their necks to look in the front and the back. Soon they dropped behind and walked slowly in its dust cloud. Short Kwi had not come.

The news of Short Kwi was good. At the hospital, his gangrenous flesh had been removed and enough of his calf was left so that a peg leg could be attached to it. A peg leg had been chosen instead of an artificial leg because, in the veld, an artificial leg would be impossible to repair or replace, but a peg leg could be replaced with the carved branch of any tree. It would be months before Short Kwi and his family could return to Nama because Short Kwi would have to learn to walk again, using the peg. When he was able to come, a truck from the government of South-West Africa would bring him.

We told all this to the Bushmen, but they were not really pleased. The miracle which they had perhaps expected had not taken place, for Short Kwi was still a cripple, and he always would be. They did not think of Tu's brother, the lame boy who would someday be a headman, who managed his lame leg and his crutch so well that he had hunted successfully and was initiated into manhood; they turned their sad faces away from the truck and went back to their scherms in silence.

574 602 The following morning, adding somewhat to the tension and unease, the rest of Short Kwi's band arrived. They looked

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ing happily, but all the adults in all the werfs were too de- 521 758
pressed and sad. Finally, one by one, the men went back again to Short Kwi, who by now had rallied and was sitting up, surely having been through the worst of it the night before, and talked to him about the antelopes he had killed and about the time he killed a wildebeest, an eland, and a wild pig all in one day.

It has been said that Bushmen abandon cripples or people 888 734
who are old or sick and cannot travel. This is not true.

Far into the night, people who could not sleep sat up and 521
talked at each other's fires. We heard the guashi being played, 533
its long strings sounding in repetitious little songs of four or five notes which themselves were played over and over, for the guashi was being passed from hand to hand, played idly by people who just wanted something to do.

It was a warm night. The frogs in the pan were croaking 521
and the north wind blew the cooking-fires around. Later, 574
when the moon rose and made a blood-red fire all its own, the people began to go home. Toma and Gao Feet and their sons stopping to visit us on their way; they walked silently up to our fire from the darkness and dropped to their haunches one after the other, and sat quietly, their grave faces tilted back, hands shading their eyes. Toma's son wore the crown of badger hair, which moved in the wind a little. Presently the men and their sons stood up again one at a time and walked on, as silently on their bare feet as they had come. We heard the low voices of other people who were passing, then saw fires flare up at the werfs, and much later, when the wind had died and even the frogs were silent, we knew that some of the people were dreaming, for they groaned in their sleep.

883
224 A boy does not begin to play-hunt until he is twelve years old, and seven or eight years may pass before he kills his first buck, an event which signals his entry into manhood.
[648] Nowadays many adolescent boys spend several years working on
[464] the Bantu cattle posts where they receive clothing and rations.
[682] This interval of work undoubtedly delays their attainment of social maturity and boys do not normally marry until they reach their middle twenties. It is significant that, upon marriage, practically all of the young men return to the camps and take up hunting as a full time occupation.

888 The aged hold a respected position in Bushman society. They are the effective as well as the titular leaders of the camps. The oldest people are fed and cared for by their children and grandchildren long after their productive years have
888 passed. The blind, the senile and the crippled are held in
734 awe and respect by the Bushmen, because they often possess special ritual and technical skills. For instance, /wan!a, the eighty year old female leader of the !gose camps, was senile and partially blind, but she was recognized as the leading exponent of the Women's Curing Dance. The two male elders of the !gose camps were both totally blind, but this did not prevent their active participation in decision-making and in ritual curing.

000 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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ceremony is the avoidance of the parents, which is symbolic of the incest taboo. Any (preferably young) kinswoman who is tall enough and strong enough, whether she herself is married or not, and whether or not she has the joking relation with the bride, may carry the bride; and any may attend her. Only the mother absolutely must not do so. Likewise the groom's father must not attend him. Neither pair of parents go to sit by the wedding fire, for they must not sit near their son's wife or daughter's husband, nor speak to them. Guests of mature years might go and sit by the wedding fire only if they have the joking relationship with both the bride and the groom. Very young guests, such as we saw at /Nai's and /Gunda's fire, may go whether they joke or not with the bride and groom, because the avoidances are not stringently observed with young children.

585 593 602

Termination of marriage and remarriage

Widows and widowers are not avoided in any special way because of their widowhood. 589 768

If her husband dies, a young widow usually returns to her own parents or lives with one of her own siblings, but, if her people are dead, or if it is her preference, she may stay on with her deceased husband's people. It is the duty of her Hu‖r to hunt for her if she needs his support. [736] [607]

Several possibilities are open to a young widower: rarely he might stay with his deceased wife's parents or siblings; more likely he would return to his own parents or siblings; and, when he marries again, he goes into matrilocal residence with the new bride. In any case, a man is responsible for his wife's parents and young siblings, and, if they depended on him for support, he would take them with him. They would be likely to prefer, however, to live with an adult son, daughter, or sibling of their own if they had any. [587] [736]

Old widowers or widows whose own parents are dead usually live with either a son or daughter, or perhaps with their own sibling—as they wish.

The surviving spouse is free to marry again within the regulations of the extended incest taboo, which applies to all marriages. 587 885

Parents would arrange the subsequent marriage of a widowed boy or girl. Adults may make their own arrangements directly. My impression was that persons might be considered fully adult somewhere in their middle or late twenties.

An adult man takes the initiative and asks the woman to marry him. Robert Dyson in the 1951 expedition learned that one way for a man to ask a woman to marry him is to present her with a bow and arrow. If she accepts it she indicates her willingness to consider his suit.

No restriction of time is put upon the remarriage of a widower, but a widow should not remarry until one rainy season has passed. She is then considered 'clean' and may marry again. ≠Toma said, 'The rain washes (‖*num*) the death away from the widow.' ‖*Num* is the gesture of wiping a dish with one finger and then licking the finger. /Ti/kay of Band 9 said that some men wait for a rainy season to pass, but that others would be pleased the husband was dead and, without waiting, say, 'This is my chance.' One interpreter understood that the widow had to take off her kaross and spend a night out, letting the rain fall on her, but ≠Toma said this was not what 587 589

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

587 was meant. That would be very uncomfortable, he said. It would make her shiver and
589 might make her sick. The rainy season's passing is what cleanses the woman. When
[783] she is about to go to her new husband she prepares herself by washing in the ordinary way.

Unless a woman is quite old she does not remain long unmarried. One man said, 'Even if a widow is thick and tall, but is a good woman, some man will want her.' Widows may marry as second wives of married men, or they may marry widowers, divorced men, or bachelors. The two young widows and the two divorced women who were unmarried in 1953, had remarried by 1955. Only the very old widows remain unmarried.

There are so few unmarried women that widowers have difficulty in finding wives. The young widowed musician, /Gao, was an example. After his first wife's death he had married the daughter of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, when she was approximately ten or eleven years old, about the age of his own son, and was patiently waiting for her to grow up. Only one of the old widowers had succeeded in finding a wife by 1957.

●736 The children of a widowed parent are kept by that parent. A widower may leave
768 his children with a woman relative, but they remain his. Orphaned children go to live with relatives. There is a tendency to feel that the boys belong eventually to the
[611] father's side of the family, the girls to the mother's. This concept came to our attention several times, but we did not find it to be a rigid social rule. The relative who
[604] is expected to take the children if they are young is the MoSi. But the FaSi might be nearer or more able for one reason or another to take them and might do so. FaBr would be the relative most likely to take half-grown boys, but again MoBr might be the one. Failing these, some other relative would take them. When it came to arrang-
[584] ing marriages for orphaned children, informants said that the father's elder brother would have the most authority; a stepfather or stepmother has none.

[597] Adoption does not exist in /Kung society.

Divorce may terminate a marriage. The couple may divorce without formality,
586 by mutual consent or by one spouse simply leaving the other. The /Kung word for ending a marriage in this way is *!kao joo*. I use the word 'divorce' for convenience, although no legal action takes place. No religious dispensation is involved, no permission or action on the part of the headman or group is required. If parents of a very young couple withheld consent this might influence the couple, but the parents' consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties, for there is no dowry or bride-price to be resolved. The only property a /Kung owns
[422] personally consists of movables, and these are never owned in common by man and wife. Every artifact down to a single bead belongs to an individual, who takes his property with him in case of divorce.

Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way. They are free to remarry without restrictions.

Divorce is never obligatory and the grounds are not formalized; the desire of the couple concerned is the determining factor. A condition such as sterility, for example, or a wrongdoing such as adultery, might or might not lead to divorce, depending on how the couple felt about it. Mistreatment or failure to provide would certainly be considered justification for divorce, should they ever occur, but justifica-

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
[842] spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
843 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
845 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

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Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
● 736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

*Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
584 are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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wishes uppermost in their minds. Orphans are eagerly adopted 844
by their aunts or grandparents, and a newborn baby is wel- [736]
comed as though it were the first baby the werf had ever seen.
Sometimes, though, a baby is born that cannot be supported, and if this happens the baby is destroyed. If a woman bears a child that is crippled or badly deformed, she is expected to destroy it, and if the season is very hard and she already has a baby under a year old depending on her milk, she is forced to kill her newborn child. Bushman women can hardly bear this, but they do.

If a woman knows that she must kill her baby, she braces herself for this as best she can, and when the time comes to do it she must act immediately, must take advantage of the moment after birth before the infant has "come to life," that moment between the time the baby is born and the time her love for the baby wells up in her so that the act would be impossible forever after. She must think of the child she has already and act quickly, before she hears her infant's voice, before the baby moves or waves its feet; she must not look at it for long or hold it, but must have a shallow grave ready for it and must put it in at once and cover it and never think of it again. In times of extreme deprivation she can do this, or she can wait to watch both her children die. All this is very hard, and Bushmen, who have no mechanical form of con- [842
traception and know no way to cause miscarriage or abortion, 833]
prefer to abstain from intercourse for long periods rather than to suffer such pain.

We knew one woman who had been forced to destroy a baby to save an older child, and we knew one woman who had borne a crippled child and had been persuaded to destroy it by her mother, who had been present at the birth. Such things are very rare, though, and this is fortunate.

. . .

Both the father and mother expect and receive respect and obedience 593
from their children. Although the mother's influence is always felt, I believe that the father's authority is greater. It is not formalized or expressed in a harsh or domineering way. As long as the father lives, he is the head of the family, symbolically. Even when too old to hunt, if he is still a forceful [882]
person, he remains the one in authority, the leader of the sons-in-law and his daughters, of his sons and their wives. Gradually, however, when he becomes very old, the younger men make their own plans without necessarily consulting him.

!Kung families are responsible for dependents. Thus, old, dependent 737
parents are unfailingly supported by their offspring and may choose with which one of their offspring they will live. Orphaned children are taken 736
by their grandparents or by a sibling of their parents. It happens occasionally that a person has no living parent, offspring, or sibling. In that case, other relatives assume the responsibility.

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formal political structure under which the bands are united, and there are 602
no organizations outside the bands, these people have a means of extending 553
the concept of kinship beyond close consanguineous relatives and affines 619
and of recognizing, in what we call the name relationship, the web of remote interrelationship that long intermarriage within the region has established.

Invariably the first son and the first daughter are named by their father for their paternal grandparents. Other children are usually named for their mother's parents, the siblings of their parents, and the spouses of those siblings, and may occasionally be named for other relatives. Thus, a few names are used over and over through the generations. We recorded only [551]
forty-six men's names and forty-one women's names in the region. The !Kung assume that persons who have the same name are related, though the exact nature of the relationship is forgotten. They believe, also, that people with the same name somehow have a common entity. They bestow [601]
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such an extent that everyone has a kin term he associates with each one of the names. This means that the people of the whole region are what we call name relatives, all applying kin terms to each other.

From the !Kung point of view the custom has two values. It regulates 553
the incest taboo in its furthermost extension, especially the joking relation- 602
ship that symbolizes the taboo. (For example, a man should not marry or 835
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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

when the wife is too old; she may then simply be sent back to her 586
people. Generally, however, she stays with her husband, who then [595]
takes a second wife, younger and more active. The children of a divorced woman remain with their father, and are brought up by his new wife.[1] Among the Heikum separation of husband and wife may take place under various circumstances, as when the woman is childless, but this, says Fourie, is entirely a matter for adjustment between them. The wife on separation returns to her own group; the present made to her mother at marriage is not returned to the husband. The children are looked upon as belonging to the father, but if husband and wife should separate the girls, according to Fourie, are taken by the father and the sons by the mother.[2] This statement [114]
runs counter to those given above about what happens in the other North-Western tribes under similar circumstances, and is almost certainly inaccurate.

Among the Namib Bushmen divorce may result only from barrenness or adultery, and is at the discretion of the husband. If he decides to separate from his wife, he brings her back to her parents. The mature children remain with him, while the youngsters who have to go with their mother also come to him when grown up. After divorce both parties are at liberty to marry again as soon as they wish.[3]

Marriage is, of course, also dissolved by the death of either husband 587
or wife. As a rule the survivor may remarry. Among the Bushmen of Basutoland, however, a widow is said to have found it difficult [589]
to get a second husband, owing perhaps, writes Arbousset,[4] to the [754]
popular belief that most of the deaths which occurred were due to [761]
witchcraft rather than disease. On the other hand, great attention was paid to her in the camp, where no piece of game was ever eaten without her having a share.

Further north this fear of marriage with a widow is not found. [184]
Among the Naron she may, if she likes, marry her late husband's brother, but need not necessarily do so; she is quite at liberty to marry another man. If she remarries, and if young enough most widows do so, her new husband is expected to look after the children; [736]
otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. An unmarried widow may stay near her late husband's people, or return to her own group, as she pleases.[5] Widows among the Auen may also marry 587

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157.
[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 60.
[3] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505.
[4] Op. cit. (English trans.), 364.
[5] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 341; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 67.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

587 "after a certain length of time", and, as among the Naron, there is no levirate. We are not told whose duty it is to look after the children of [736] a widow, but in the case of a widower his children remain with him, and if he marries again are brought up by his new wife.[1]

The survivor of a marriage among the Namib Bushmen is not [768] allowed to remarry until a full season has elapsed since the death of his or her partner. The belief is that if, for example, a woman marries [761] a widower immediately after the death of his first wife, she also will soon die. A widow returns to her own people on the death of her husband, taking with her the unweaned children, who must, however, later return to their father's relatives. If she marries again the new husband must look after the children until they are old enough. There is no mention of the levirate, but the existence of the sororate is implied in Trenk's statement that a widower is expected to marry an eligible sister of his dead wife.[2] This is also noted of the Kung by Lebzelter.[3]

Birth and Infancy

581 A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth 586 of a child. This is clearly indicated in the fact, already mentioned, that among both the Namib Bushmen and the Heikum barrenness is regarded as one of the main grounds for divorce. It is customary 844 among the Naron and the Heikum for a woman to return to her 591 mother's home for her first confinement, if she has already left with her husband to settle among his people; while among the Kung a newly-married couple remain with the wife's parents until after the birth of a child. It is probable therefore that among all the North-Western tribes a woman's first child is born at the home of her parents; about the other Bushman tribes there is no definite statement on this point.

843 Pregnant women carry on their normal daily occupations until the last moment, collecting veldkos and water, walking as far as the rest do, and so on, although they are apparently treated with some consideration in the way of food. Among the Kung a pregnant woman may not eat sour veldkos, nor anything sweet, nor any fat meat. No one may pass behind her back, nor may a pot be put on the fire before she has smeared herself with the soot clinging to it.[4] There

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 137.
[2] Op. cit., 14.
[3] Op. cit., 168.
[4] Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 14.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

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/159 cont./

278 752 [411] Poisoned arrows shot into the chest and abdomen are described as unconditionally deadly. Arrow wounds on extremities, as well as very superficial ones, are supposed to be curable under certain circumstances if immediate help is provided.

[751] There is no inoculation against arrow poison.

[827] An older Auin suffering from badly inflamed eyes attributed this illness to an arrow wound he had received many years earlier. His statement, of course, cannot be verified.

165 Malaria is endemic and annually exacts many lives. The number of cases resulting in death was especially great in 1908-1909. Whole settlements are supposed to have died out. Epidemics were unknown even to the "oldest people."

Venereal diseases are blessings of civilization, but evidently not yet widespread.

731 Famine actually prevails every year toward the end of the dry season, especially if the preceding rainy season has been poor. During this time, almost all the Auin are emaciated to skeletons. Death by hunger is not supposed to /160/ occur. After all, the Bushman always finds something to eat, even if it is only grass seeds.

756 The so-called doctors decidedly possess great experience in medical matters, which, however, does not prevent them from practicing considerable charlatanism (see Section T).

W. Time Reckoning, Astonomy

805 The day is divided according to the position of the sun. Certain time segments are indicated with great exactitude according to the position of the sun. If one asks a Bushman, "How far is it to the watering place?" he will point to the place in the sky that the sun will have reached by the time one gets there.

The concept of the month is known (gnui, "month").

The relation of the solar year to lunar months is unknown.

The Auin divides up the year, for which, incidentally, he has no definite, but rather only a very vague concept, as follows:

[44 cont.]

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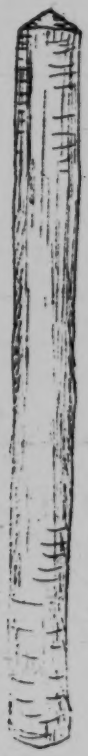
757
278

from the fire. As a cure for coughing and hoarseness, they chew the fibers of a sisal-like plant, which are twisted to make the trap cord. The plant is called kũi. It must be brought fresh from the forest. For chest pains, in recent times they have started drinking warm water to which much cooking salt is added.



Circulatory Diseases

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751

As among the Central African Pygmies, we find strong sinuosity of the arteria temporalis even among more youthful individuals. The heart quickly wears itself out as a result of the exhausting way of life and the great amount of running. The people try to increase its capabilities in every way possible. In order to stop the pounding of the heart and to run longer, they take the leaves of a tree with red fruit (in-gui). These leaves are chewed and swallowed. If this does no good, they chew the root of the ≠Na tree. If a person has a heart pain so that he cannot run, he takes roots of the Dormakar bush (!gu) and of the Hell bush (!gai !dsao), boils them both, and drinks the decoction. In case of angina pectoris, the skin of a boa constrictor is placed around the chest.

[413] Fig. 17. !Kung Instrument for Knocking Out Teeth; actual size [as shown in original text].

[47 cont.]

752 burn the wounded person at many places on his body. When the poison smells the warmth, it gathers at these places; incisions are then made there, and the blood is sucked out by means of a cupping glass made of gemsbok horn. The wounded person may neither sit nor lie down; he must be walked about for twenty-four hours. After this time he either dies or is cured. The method helps only in rare cases.

751 824 825 Snakebite is the second great danger. If one makes an incision in the lower part of the calf and rubs scrapings from a bisob root into it, the snakes smell this and do not come out of hiding. [Fig. 18 appears here.] When a person has to run great distances, bisob dust is mixed with fat and applied 752 to the legs. In case someone is nevertheless (411) bitten by a snake, the treatment is analogous to that used for arrow wounds. Injuries to the feet caused by thorns are very common. Injuries that pass through the aponeurosis are regarded as deadly. They practically always become infected. Even though wound infections take a less malignant and a slower course than among Europeans, they nonetheless sometimes lead to death. The only medicine (278) used is bisob powder scattered in the wound.

Fig. 18. Kirri of the !Kung.

756 751 Some doctors claimed to be immune to snake and scorpion bites.

What Vedder observed among the Bergdama is reported in a similar manner by Schinz:

"With the intention of testing the latter characteristic, I one day persuaded an old sorcerer visiting us in Noi !as on Ngami Lake to undertake an experiment with 12 scorpions (Buthus randus Simon) picked out by myself and having an average length of eight centimeters. In order to prevent any possibility of deception, I put the animals on the various parts of his body with tweezers, on the hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. As a rule they then immediately and excitedly moved the long postabdomen back and forth and jabbed violently once or twice into the flesh of the guinea

[47 cont.]

756 pig concerned, at which time in each case a large drop of white
751 fluid escaped from the stinger. Finally they moved about quietly without making any further attempts to sting, but they did not in any way show the excited hurry to get off the Bushman's body that has been reported by individual writers. The old man claimed not to feel any pain, and I have no reason to distrust him since, after all, if the poison had had any kind of effect upon him, he would scarcely have allowed himself to be stung in the most sensitive parts of his body for the sake of my desire for knowledge. Even a full hour after our experiment, the parts that had been stung did not show the slightest alteration. The man declared that he had attained this extraordinary faculty as a boy in the 'school' of a sorcerer, where he had been urged to apply scorpion poison, which had been taken forcibly and thinned with water and urine, on small incisions, as well as to eat the poisonous stingers pounded to a mash and boiled; supposedly immunity against snakebite can be obtained in like manner."

14. The Doctors' Test

755 One afternoon the eldest of the horde outside Keibeb came
756 to me and told me that that night a great dance would take place,
796 first, because a three-year-old child had just been bitten by a small black snake, second, because many people were sick with fever, and third, because one of the men wanted to undergo the doctors' test. Such festivals take place only during the time of the full moon. Toward nine o'clock in the evening I was lured into the camp by wild noise. The people had made somewhat larger and more fires than usual. The mother with the child bitten by the snake was seated in the center of an open semicircle. The older women squatted around her. To one side of them in single file, one behind each other, stood the younger women and girls. Both the male [48] and female doctors were busy. The chief female doctor, Biri, was "personally" absent this evening. She was crouching off to one side in the darkness of the bush. /Nawa,
[787] the highest of the //Gauab, had taken possession of her and spoke through her mouth. Her hair ornaments, long chains of beads made

[50 cont.]

756 than the smaller spirits. Their treatment is correspondingly suc-
776 cessful or unsuccessful. In other words, the doctors are vindicated in any case.

755 The treatment of illness thus follows two parallel paths:
757 one with natural means (medicines and the like), directed at the local symptoms of the ailment; and one with supernatural means, directed at the dsao that cause the feeling of sickness.

{756} During the doctors' test the following song is sung:
{796}
539

[411]

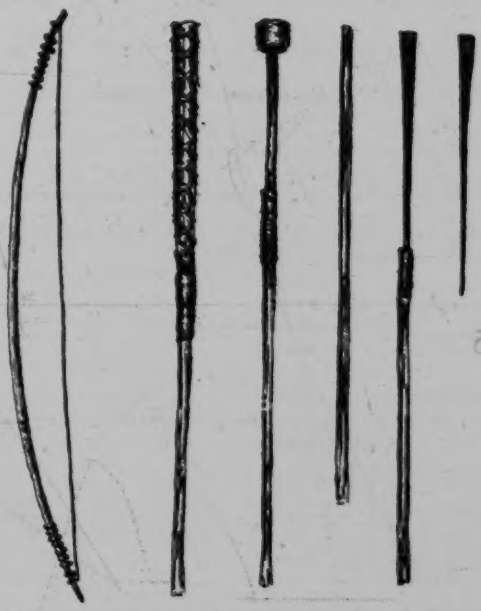

Fig. 20. Bushman Revolver of the !Kung (Foxhof; actual size [as shown in original text]).

e hehehe na ti //kau /goa dsao

During the treatment itself the following text is sung:

/o ma ga //goa ≠am /nai tha

He has no medicine yet, he must be thrown with the medicine.

751 Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) have the following to report
756

1. Die Buschmänner, p. 424.

[50 cont.]

751 concerning the witch doctors:

756 [51] "The sorcerer can protect himself against the malignant spirits of evil deceased persons. After all, he can see them and knows the means for defending himself against them. The ordinary Bushman has no eye for them, but he has a means of keeping them at arm's length. In a small leather bag about as long as a finger [411] he keeps a bow carved out of horn and numerous horn arrows stuck in a shaft of sour grass [Cyperaceae]. If he has occasion to fear evil spirits, he shoots these miniature arrows in all directions with his miniature bow. Now the evil spirits cannot get at him.

"Since in addition he has the belief that an object merely thrown in the direction of a hated person in some mysterious fashion enters that person's body and gravely harms him, he likewise uses his miniature bow to keep a pursuer or enemy off his neck by shooting an arrow, with a curse, in the direction where he imagines his enemy to be, even when he knows that this person is miles away from him."

Whereas I myself and the highly experienced J. Lunkenbein 411 regard these Bushman revolvers as harmless magical instruments, [114] Seiner has a different opinion:

"The 'revolver' is a definite instrument of murder carried hidden in the modesty apron. The bow is ten centimeters long, the arrows are from ten to 12 centimeters long, and with the former they are put in a little bag adorned with beads. In addition it should be noted that the arrows, which are wrapped crosswise with little bands of tendon, are poisoned by being smeared with [276] little bits from the body of the arrow poison caterpillar. The Bushman ordinarily crushes a few of the caterpillars, which are available only in December and January, living on a few Commiphora shrubs (Commiphora dinteri, C. seineri) or as pupa at the roots under the ground, in a bone vessel with a little wooden stick that is always in the quivers; then he smears the arrow with some sticky stuff, such as wax or resin, whereupon he brushes the arrow with the viscous, slimy caterpillar mass, which, after drying, covers the arrow as a more or less thick brown crust. Up to a distance of seven meters it is possible to puncture the skin, drawing blood, with this miniature arrow; if the arrow tip were not blunt but pointed, like the one placed in the grass shaft, the arrow would

[51 cont.]

411 penetrate the flesh itself and introduce much more poison into the
751 wound. The Bushmen try to protect themselves against this treacherous, but apparently frequently used weapon by attempting to immunize themselves against the poison. During a period of from three to four weeks they make small incisions on the crown of the head, which they keep open in order to rub increasingly greater doses of poison into the wounds. The consequences are purportedly symptoms of a more or less serious nature, with fever and vomiting."

000

The Mandrake Root (1)

1. In this connection cf. Hans Bächtold-Stäubli, Handwörterbuch des Deutschen Aberglaubens [Dictionary of German Superstitions], Vol. I. The principal source for the medieval superstition is a passage from the history of the Judaic War by Flavius Josephus (born 37 A.D.). He writes (Bellum judaicum, VII, 6, 3; works translated by Cotta and Gförer, Philadelphia, 1838, p. 762): "The valley that encloses the city of Machärus on the northern side is called Baara and produces a root of the same name. It is flaming red and in the evening throws out red rays; it is very difficult to tear it out because it withdraws from the person approaching it and remains still only if one pours urine and blood flow (menstrual blood) on it. Even then death is certain to result from any contact unless the entire root is carried away in the hand. One can also get it in another way, namely: One digs around it in such a way that only a small part of the root remains hidden; then a dog is tied to it, and when the latter tries to follow the person who has tied him, he pulls

[51 cont.]

000 out the root, but dies on the spot as a sacrifice taking the place of the person who wants the plant. Once one has it, there is no longer any danger. People take so much trouble to get it because of its following peculiarity: the demons, that is to say, evil spirits of wicked human beings who enter into the living and kill them unless help is quickly given, are driven out by this plant as soon as one so much as brings it near the patient."

751 It comes from a little bush (/gui-sa). It does not occur in
754 the Bushman region visited by me, but farther to the north. It is
824 only found accidentally. When the doctor wanders through the
756 bush, he sometimes hears low talking. Soon he sees a track resembling that of a snake and showing traces of blood. The root walks upright on this track, like a stick. He may not attack it, because he would die immediately; instead he attempts to approach from the direction in which the magic root is walking, opens the medicine bag, and lets the little mandrake walk in. Then the bag is firmly closed and at home is hung on a tall tree. The mandrake may not be taken into the hut. Something like blood drips out of the bag. Early the next morning a great fire is made; women and children and everyone assemble, each one bringing his little buck horn to obtain from the doctor some of the medicine coming from the mandrake. The medicine is rubbed on the skin. Bushmen who live among the Whites may not take this medicine because they will become sick from it. -- The medicine or the magic that is given out by the mandrake has little effect on those who were treated in the manner described above, [52] but it has considerable effect in other cases. This medicine is used to kill enemies through magic at a distance. When a doctor goes to a horde that does not yet have this medicine, he carries the horn filled with it around his neck. Some of the mandrake's magic poison passes into anyone who looks at him.

754 When the doctor sits down, anyone who has looked at him keels over and dies unless he is helped. If this person is an enemy, the doctor simply goes away and does not trouble himself any

[53 cont.]

821 rain comes down and the clouds extend over the whole world. The rain that has come down to earth does not stay there; the clouds again come forth from the earth. The rain obeys the great cap-
776 821 tain. In a storm the great captain knocks down the trees. If a person says something bad about him, however, punishment is not long in coming. X 'u says to the rain: "You must now go and kill him." And the rain goes and kills the man with lightning. But when the great captain says to the rain, "You must go now and punish him," then the lightning merely strikes the windscreen so that the whole thing collapses and the evildoer is thrown out.
[752] Then the people come running, rub the unconscious person with medicine, and burn his skin with red-hot pieces of wood until he comes to again.

Thus the angry great captain metes out punishment.

● 751 The Bushman concerned, however, is far from either pri-
[782] vately or publicly begging the great captain for forgiveness. He
823 is convinced that this would do no good. On the contrary, he
821 puts his confidence in the following procedure: It is known that where lightning strikes quartz sand, so-called lightning tubes or fulgurites arise. This phenomenon has not remained hidden from the sharp eye of the Bushmen. My friends told me: There where lightning has struck one usually finds a stone called "rain tooth." The person brushed by lightning scratches his skin with this stone,
[224] rubs in medicine which is supposed to bring luck in hunting, and
[777] tries to hunt down a gemsbok. If he succeeds, he cooks the meat of the gemsbok with the rain tooth. If there is a second person in the horde who has previously been brushed by lightning, that person must eat the meat with him. Then medicine is made from this meat and other ingredients, and this is placed in the horn of a small bushbuck and carried around the neck by the person concerned.

751 When the "rain" comes again, he again goes to the hut
821 of the person struck, walks through the fire where the buck was cooked, takes a bone of the buck (these bones remain lying on the spot), and goes with it into the nearest tree. The bone cooks in the tree, and the scum comes out on the side and the fat below. When the rain has passed, the bone is again pulled out and cooked with gemsbok horn and duiker horn and flesh; then it is

[53 cont.]

751 burned to a tinder and pulverized to make a medicine. The per-
821 son struck now has incisions made on his tongue, forehead, cheeks, chest, and legs, into which fat is rubbed, and then this medicine is smeared on. Now, for the time being, he is safe from persecution by the rain.

16. Rain Magic

789 People turn directly to the great captain when they need
[756] rain. Not all doctors are able to procure rain, only the few who
796 enjoy the special favor of the great captain. Then a dance is organized, at which the doctors put themselves in the trance state described below. At the same time the following lament is repeated countless times:

[54]

[539] !garǎ gurí dee oa ≠am	Why does it not rain?
X'uá dě rá /gaa !ái /gaa	Which lord is holding back the rain?
/gǎm khui hẽ	The sun is hot.
!kǔng-ná gurí /gǒá /gǒá	Will man live?
//gauǎna tani /gee ≠gǎo	Are the spirits bringing winter?
!kung /goá hǒǒ !koa	Where is man supposed to drink?
!kung ō dshn-ǎ	
//gaa /a //gõě !kung	If it is so, can man only die of thirst?
/ñ a //gõě	
!kunǎ //gõě ne oa	What can man do now?
Ha-!kung tam hã m tam ná	We had better stay here because we have been abandoned!
/ñ gěě	

756 Finally the great captain in heaven hears the lamenting.
789 The doctor runs from the dance place into the bush and sees that
787 a thin thread is let down from the sky. The doctor climbs up on
796 this thread. The great captain comes to meet him half way. As soon as the doctor sees the great captain, he throws a red powder (ocher with medicine) toward him. Now the great captain draws the doctor up and leads him to the heavenly house. In front of this house [Fig. 20 appears here] the doctor sees the spirits of
[775] his deceased colleagues who year in, year out, stand before the house.

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
532 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
535 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
323 customary.
302

A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the
304 custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
(751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

372 *hei-doros.* The new *!ou-/ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gāus*
361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case
[32] only in times of drought when the game have moved far afield
622 and great difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos.
372 Further, people driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *//gāus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the *!ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.
372 Persistent ill-health among the members of the community
622 or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase
● [751 may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after
77] consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the *!ou-/ais* are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new *!ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the hei-doros and applies *//norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it had been.
184 The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire is
372 met with among all the organised primitive groups. Want of space and time does not permit, however, of a detailed account being given of the superstitions which have gathered about this custom among the various tribes.

Family Life.

593 Each family within the group occupies its own hut. Children sleep with their parents until they are strong enough to go about by themselves, when the boys join the others under the tree and the girls take up residence in the hut for unmarried girls.

512 The women rise early, light the fire and prepare the food for the morning meal which usually consists of veldkos. After having eaten, the men go out visiting or hunting or engage in some other occupation such as preparing skins, weapons, etc. The women accompany each other in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. When food is obtainable at no great distance they are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have to go far they may not reach home until late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they proceed to prepare food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water. The food is ready by the time the men arrive in the evening and the latter are able to partake of it without delay.

462 There is a sharp division of labour between the men and women of the group. The former do the hunting and snaring of game, prepare the weapons, skins for clothing, snares, fire-

the *|hawa-omi* in a similar manner. The same procedure is gone through for three or four days in succession. On the last day, after the dancing has ceased, she is presented with various trinkets by the women who took part in the ceremony and, after she has been returned to the *!hawa-omi*, the *axarogu*, who are required to remain in the *!|gāus* for the occasion, are summoned to pass in Indian file behind her hut. As they pass each presses his scrotum against her hand which is protruded through a very small opening made by her mother in the back of the hut and she touches it with forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the *axarogu* against [841] sexual disease (swelling of the testicles) which is caused by 751 treading on the place where a menstruating *!gari-khois* has urinated. If she does not touch the scrotum and such a lad should pass behind her while she has her periods, his testicles will become swollen. The same will happen if she were to tread on the urine of such a boy. When this happens the youth is said to be *!gou*. After all the *axarogu* have filed past and returned to their hut, an old woman enters the *|hawa-omi* and rubs her body down (*|u*) with a preparation of roots, the name and source of which could not be ascertained. Now two of the *ǂkham-khoidi* come forward and take her to fetch water. This is done at a run, the water being brought quickly and placed at the hut of the old woman who rubbed her down. Then two other *ǂkham-khoidi* take her to fetch wood. This is likewise done at a run and after the wood has been deposited the ceremony is over. She is now a woman and known as a *!gari-khois*. While the ceremony was in progress a new hut, which is known as the *!gari-khois* [882] *oms*, was built for her by her mother. In this she now takes up her residence until she marries.

The *ǂgari-khois* is now eligible to marry and she accompanies 883 the married women on their various excursions for food, wood, etc., and associates with them. The food collected during the four or five days following her transition to womanhood is eaten only by very old women, *e.g.*, the one who rubbed her down. After that any food gathered by her is shared with her mother. She may subsequently not go to the veld to [841] gather veldkos while she is menstruating, but must remain in the *||gāus*. On such occasions she is fed by her mother.

Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after 881 reaching the age of puberty and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in the pursuit of game, especially big game. The ceremony is in reality a test of their powers of endurance and of their skill in the chase. It is always [221] carried out during the rainy season when food is plentiful. All the eligible lads are removed to a spot some distance away from the werft and placed under the charge of one or more of the elders of the group. An enclosure is made round a big tree and in this they are required to live for the time being. They sleep in the enclosure and the elders around the fire which is made at its entrance. Women are not permitted to approach or communicate with them during the course of the

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

(the same word as the title of respect). The !Kung say it is strong medicine: 776
/*num*. The !Kung take for granted his giving to man both sickness and 753
the power to cure it, and account for the power's sometimes failing to cure 778
by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work, or not, according 755
to his pleasure.

He gives the curing power to medicine men (called *num kxao*, medicine 778
owners), appearing to them (usually in dreams, sometimes in what seem 756
to be waking hallucinations) and putting the power into them. He has also [533]
put a curing power in the medicine songs that the people sing at the dances, songs named Rain, Sun, Giraffe, Eland, Honey, Buffalo, Mamba, and Spider —all powerful things. The great god gives the power freely. It is rare to find a man among the !Kung who is not a medicine man. The function of the 756
medicine men is only to cure. They are not sorcerers or witch doctors. (The [754]
!Kung are not a witch-ridden people.) !Kung medicine men receive no rewards or special prerogatives. They work together apparently without rivalry. The medicine men may cure at any time but their strongest curing occurs [535]
at the dance.

Whether or not anyone is sick, the people dance two or three times a 535
month, sometimes more often. Anyone who wants a dance may start one 781
simply by asking people to come and begin. The !Kung like to dance for many reasons. There is the inherent physical pleasure in moving to rhythm. Music and dancing are their arts, from which their aesthetic pleasure comes. [53]
The dances are also social gatherings in which all participate, men, women, 535
children, visitors—everybody. A dance draws them together as nothing else 781
does. Even more important is the fact that the dance is one concerted re- 571
ligious act of the !Kung and brings people into such unison that they become like an organic being.

At the dances not only may the sick be cured, but pending evil and mis- 535
fortune averted. The !Kung believe that the great god may send /*Gauwa* or 755
the /*gauwasi* at any time with ill for someone and that these beings may be 751
lurking, awaiting their chance to inflict it. The medicine men in the dances combat them, drive them away, and protect the people.

Usually there are several medicine men performing at the same time. 755
To cure they go into trance, which varies in depth as the ceremony proceeds. The curing cannot be described in words; it must be heard. When a man begins, he leaves the line of dancing men and, still singing, leans over the person he is going to cure, going eventually to every person present, even the infants. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The !Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. To demonstrate that this is in fact going on and is hard to do, he grunts with shuddering grunts that intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high piercing, quavering yell. Finally, the medicine man throws up his arms

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

adolescent boys, who remain in the camp for the occasion, are 881
summoned to pass in single file behind her hut. As they pass, each
presses his scrotum against her hand, passed through a small opening [751]
made by her mother in the back of the hut, and she touches it with
forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the boys against
swelling of the testicles, which is believed to result from contact, [841]
direct or indirect, with a menstruating woman or anything associated
with her. After all the boys have filed past and returned to their hut,
an old woman enters the girl's hut and rubs down her body with a
preparation of roots. The girl is then ceremonially taken to fetch
first water and then wood, which she brings at a run and places at
the hut of the old woman who cleansed her. After these have been
deposited the ceremony is over. This fetching of water and wood,
together with the cleansing, no doubt symbolizes the return of the
girl to the normal occupations of her daily life.

She is now a woman eligible for marriage, she lives in a new hut 882
built for her by her mother, accompanies the married women in their
daily occupations, and associates with them. The food collected 883
by her during the four or five days following the ceremony is
eaten only by very old women, e.g. the one who rubbed her down.
After that any food she gathers is shared with her mother. On
subsequent menstrual periods she may not go into the veld to gather [841]
veldkos, but must remain in the camp, and is fed by her mother.

In many of its details this ceremony closely resembles the puberty 171
ceremony for girls among the Hottentots. There is a strong probability 881
that it may even have been taken over from the latter, by whom the
Heikum have unquestionably been influenced to a considerable
extent. At the same time, in the seclusion of the girl in a separate
hut, the avoidance of contact with men, and the performance of a
special dance, this ceremony also presents features noted in the
corresponding ceremonies of other Bushman tribes. The differences
apparent between it and the others may therefore be due merely to
the fact that it has been studied and recorded in much fuller detail.
Without further study of the other Bushman tribes no definite
assertion can be made on this point.

The puberty ceremony for girls among the !O Kung of Angola 184
differs in several important respects from those already noted. Every 304
girl, at her first menstruation, is placed in a separate hut, and kept 881
there until the new moon is seen. A dance is held in her honour on
the first nights; both sexes take part in this, but not the girl herself.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

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773 Her real father is a monster named *//khwai-hemm*, the All-devourer,
776 but she does not dare to live with him, for fear of being eaten herself. She is married to */kwammanga*, a mythical person not identified
[821] with any animal, but seen in the rainbow. They have two children, */kwammanga-⊙pwa*, young */kwammanga*, who is brave and quiet like his father, and */ni*, the Ichneumon, who plays an important part in the mythology, particularly in advising and assisting his grandfather the Mantis, and in chiding him for his misdeeds. All these, the Bushmen say, were once men and women, people of the Early Race which preceded the Bushmen, but now they are animals.

In their myths the Mantis is gifted with supernatural powers, yet often has a most stupid and perverse character; he is sometimes mischievous, sometimes kind, and is always getting into scrapes and unnecessary fights by his foolishness. He has the power of speech, which all his possessions share with him; he dreams, and his dreams come true; he foretells the ultimate future, when he and his comrades will all be animals; he can transform himself into various other animal forms, is sometimes killed, but always comes to life again. He also has creative powers. One myth relates that the Bushmen were formerly springboks, and were changed by him into human beings; another that he gave places their names; while he gives the bucks their colours and names and has them under his special protection. He can also bring people back to life again. But he is never prayed to, although, as we have seen, there are prayers to the Moon, who is also his creation. Nor is there any evidence of observances specially connected with him, apart from the mention
●[751] of a "curious charm" made from the foot of the hartebeest and used by women for their children as a protection against him.[1]

773 The Rain or Water, */khwa*, is also acknowledged by these Bushmen
825 as a supernatural personage, and various beliefs and usages are directed
821 towards it. It is often represented as an animal; in the form of a bull it carries off a young maiden, in the form of an eland it was shot by a man of the early race with disastrous effects. It is thought
821 of most commonly, however, as an animal living in a waterhole,
825 and it is believed that wherever this animal goes, rain will fall. One
[789] of the principal methods of rain-making, therefore, is for the rain-magicians to drag this animal over as large a tract of country as they can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 6–9; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 1–7; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1–37; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*; *idem*, *Bushman Folklore*, 305.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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while those dying a "good death" go to *!khutse* (*!khuba*). "About the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say "*//gaua* thunders", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: "*//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndzambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God"); "we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to *//gaua*."[2]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain" *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds.

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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borders of the Desert, but are unknown to the Cape Bushmen and those of Griqualand West. Dornan maintains that they are original elements in the culture of the Bushmen, from whom they have been taken over by the Bantu. All the evidence, however, points in the other direction, for among the Bantu the use of divining bones of several different types is not only widespread, but also developed into an elaborate system of interpretation, while the way the Bushmen handle them shows that they do not know much about them. Moreover, it is found that the frequency of their use by the Bushmen coincides with the extent to which any tribe has been exposed to Bantu influence.[1]

Other minor beliefs and practices of the Bushmen are mentioned by writers on particular tribes, but consideration of them must be omitted in a general survey such as this. It may be noted, however, that among the Northern tribes amulets are often worn to ward off disease and other evils, while among all the Bushmen charms of various kinds are also carried to ensure good luck. Bad dreams are also regarded as evil omens, and precautions taken to counteract them. Among the Cape Bushmen, for instance, when a woman had had a bad dream, she banished it by plunging a stone into the fire, at the same time saying a spell. If she neglected to do this, the dream would accompany her when she went out to seek ants' larvae and prevent her from finding any. The Naron, in the same way, when they have had bad dreams put a bit of burning charcoal on the ground and pour water on it, then the bad dream flies away with the steam. Or, when a man is ill and *Hishe* sends bad dreams, he takes a stick after the sun has arisen, plants it in the ground between his knees, burns *buchu* and snuffs it, and recovers.[2]

[1] Werner, "Heikum und Kungbuschleute," 256; Kaufmann, "Auin," 159, Dornan, "Divination and Divining Bones," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 505–7; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 155–8; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28–9; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies*, 10–11.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 29.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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752 which he puts into the fire, and brands me all over the forehead, heating it again and again. It is the heat of the fire that gives the relief, not the root, nor any of his genuflexions over me."[1] Surgical practice seems to be limited to incisions made in the skin, but Vedder notes that cupping is also employed among the Kung. Incisions are made in the patient's skin and covered with the horn of an animal, through which the blood is then sucked out.[2]

The existence of specific antidotes for arrow poisoning is reported
278 by several of the older writers, but their statements lack confirmation.
752 The effects of such a wound, as far as can be ascertained, are almost
[114] invariably fatal.[3] The Naron also have no antidote for snake poison, the effects of which they try to counteract by tying the snake skin round the bite. Kaufmann, however, records that among the Auen the magician makes out of the black mamba, which he alone may eat, an antidote supposed to act against all snake bites except that of the mamba itself. He dries and powders the lungs, gall, and liver, as well as the poison in the fangs, and mixes this powder with the fat of the snake. The salve thus made is rubbed into the wound, which is first sucked out. At the same time several deep cuts are made in the upper arm, from which blood is allowed to stream freely.[4] There is nothing
[114] in Kaufmann's account to indicate whether this information is based on personal observation or merely upon hearsay, so that it must be received with caution. Chapman, a careful observer whose hunting expeditions brought him into frequent close contact with the Bushmen in the North-West Kalahari, describes another form of antidote with which he himself saw the Bushmen cure themselves of snake bite. This is a creeping tendrilous plant, called "eokam" by the Bushmen, but unfortunately not identified by him. About eight or ten of its seeds, either eaten or taken as a decoction, act as an emetic. The dose is repeated about three times, when the patient is cured. "They also tattoo and scarify their bodies, and make an incision near the wound, which they suck with some of the root, chewed, in their mouths. This is evidently to prevent the poison acting upon the gums in case of bleeding. The sucking out of the poison is not necessary, but is done by way of precaution. Bushmen having a bit of this root on their necks laugh at snake-bites."[5]

751 Other writers mention that "doctors" sometimes render themselves

[1] Op. cit., ii, 182. [2] Loc. cit.
[3] The question is discussed by Schapera, "Bushman Arrow Poisons," 212–13.
[4] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 19; Kaufmann, op. cit., 159. [5] Op. cit., ii, 74.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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immune to the effects of snake and scorpion poison.[1] One of these 751
animals is killed, and its poison, diluted with water and urine, is rubbed in small quantities into small cuts made in the skin, or the poison sacs are pulped and boiled, and then swallowed in small doses. Schinz records an experiment made by himself on a Bushman doctor claiming this immunity.[2] He selected twelve scorpions and placed [114]
them, by means of forceps, on different parts of the man's body—hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. Almost all of them stung the flesh deeply once or twice, in every instance causing a large drop of white matter to appear; then they crawled about leisurely, but made no further attempts at stinging. "The old man maintained that he felt no pain, and I have no reason to distrust him, as he would hardly have allowed himself to be stung by scorpions on the most sensitive parts of his body, merely to satisfy my curiosity, if the poison would have had any effects on him; even a full hour after our attempt the spots where he had been stung showed not the slightest change." This experiment seems therefore to show that there may be some foundation to the claim of immunity. The [756]
inoculation was apparently made in this case during the apprenticeship of the "doctor", under the direction of his master. Our main authorities on the Bushmen do not mention this practice at all, but I have myself spoken to several detribalized Bushmen and Nama in Little Namaqualand who claimed a similar immunity. Unfortunately I neglected to inquire further into the matter, beyond ascertaining the means of immunization.

Knowledge of Times and Seasons

In their system of time-reckoning the Bushmen make use chiefly 805
of meteorological elements, based on recurrent changes in wind and weather, and of astronomical elements, based on observations of the sun, stars, and moon. Their larger divisions of time are the [221]
seasons, which, owing to their effect on the food supply and on the [182]
movements of the people, assume a pronounced importance in Bushman life. The division of the seasons is established by the rainfall. [132]
The Cape Bushmen distinguished four seasons, rendered by Bleek [184]
and Lloyd in the English equivalents of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but the exact meaning of the native terms is not given.

[1] Campbell, *Journey in S. Africa*, 441; Thompson, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 399; Cornell, *The Glamour of Prospecting*, 232.
[2] Op. cit., 395–6.

/159 cont./

756 with a considerable portion of actual experience and knowledge.

The doctors are paid for their efforts.

There are also female doctors.

[648] I have observed no sign of hostility toward Whites among these people. They know how to evade observation, however, even better than the ordinary Bushman, and that says a good deal.

Only the doctor may eat a certain kind of poisonous snake, apparently the so-called black mamba, which I regard as an older type of cobra.

U. Totemism

771 I was unable to observe any indications that might lead one to deduce the existence of totemism.

V. Medicine

755 A man who was suffering from headache had colored his forehead with a black grease that supposedly had curative powers and had wound a thin thong firmly around his head. Our household remedy of firmly squeezing the sides of the aching head with both hands was familiar to the Auin.

278 752 The Bushman doctor makes an antidote from the black mamba, which he alone may eat. This antidote is supposed to help against the bites of all snakes, except that of the mamba itself.

He dries and pulverizes the lungs, gall, and liver, as well as the poisonous fangs with the poison glands. This powder is stirred into a paste with the fat of the same snake, and the paste, so I was informed, is rubbed into the enlarged wound, which has first been sucked out.

At the same time, various deep incisions are made on the upper arm and chest, from which considerable blood flows.

278 Poisons that work internally are not manufactured. The Auin maintain, however, that the arrow poison also works internally.

The manufacture of arrow poison was described above.

/159 cont./

278 Poisoned arrows shot into the chest and abdomen are de-
●752 scribed as unconditionally deadly. Arrow wounds on extremities,
[411] as well as very superficial ones, are supposed to be curable under certain circumstances if immediate help is provided.

[751] There is no inoculation against arrow poison.

An older Auin suffering from badly inflamed eyes attributed
[827] this illness to an arrow wound he had received many years earlier. His statement, of course, cannot be verified.

Malaria is endemic and annually exacts many lives. The
165 number of cases resulting in death was especially great in 1908-1909. Whole settlements are supposed to have died out. Epidemics were unknown even to the "oldest people."

Venereal diseases are blessings of civilization, but evidently not yet widespread.

Famine actually prevails every year toward the end of the
731 dry season, especially if the preceding rainy season has been poor. During this time, almost all the Auin are emaciated to skeletons. Death by hunger is not supposed to /160/ occur. After all, the Bushman always finds something to eat, even if it is only grass seeds.

The so-called doctors decidedly possess great experience
756 in medical matters, which, however, does not prevent them from practicing considerable charlatanism (see Section T).

W. Time Reckoning, Astonomy

805 The day is divided according to the position of the sun.

Certain time segments are indicated with great exactitude according to the position of the sun. If one asks a Bushman, "How far is it to the watering place?" he will point to the place in the sky that the sun will have reached by the time one gets there.

The concept of the month is known (gnui, "month").

The relation of the solar year to lunar months is unknown.

The Auin divides up the year, for which, incidentally, he has no definite, but rather only a very vague concept, as follows:

[12 cont.]

000 439 occupation. Even among the nomadic groups, however, meat, hides, and so forth are commonly traded for millet.

[222] Also, the Blacks like to have veldkost on their table, and the Bushmen, like our sponge and berry gatherers, use their knowledge to supply them and carry on petty trade with their veldkost, as well as with honey.

222 137 This is the reason that veldkost, which is either scarce or not very tasty, is not gathered at all any more; indeed, the knowledge of its presence is even disappearing. We must also not forget that the black shepherd boys long ago acquired the knowledge of the Bushmen by observing them. As a result, the number of those interested has naturally climbed sharply, and the veldkost plants have become rare. The following kinds are still regularly gathered:

222 /airoba (ombimbo)	Sweetish, very starchy tubers, like large potatoes.
/érui (omauungǎ)	Galls on the leaves of the omsati tree.
≠gan-i (eɨarata)	Small fruit.
!Khui-i (oombi)	Dates.
!Korob-ke (oompali)	Bulbs at the roots of a liana.

251 439 Dried meat is made from kudu flesh, which in part is kept and in part sold.

278 [13] Arrow poison is made from the sap of a tree (Euphorbiacea), !Khores-Ke. The Ondonga themselves make no [439] arrow poison, but buy it from the Bushmen for one to two sh per 752 portion. There is no medicine against arrow poison. Deep incisions are made at the place where the arrow entered, and after blood has flowed freely from the wound, it is sucked. In the case of snakebite the same procedure is followed, and some arrow poison is placed on the wound (!!!).

278 609 Our Bushmen denied any knowledge of poisons added to food. Only the "evil Bushmen" in the east had such knowledge, they claimed. This statement scarcely deserves credence.

177 In clothing, dwellings, and weapons, as well as ornaments, not much that is original remains. The process of Bantuization is much further advanced in the material culture than in the spiritual culture. It is, after all, easier to part with clothing than with ideas.

[43 cont.]

423 614 769 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's territory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 614 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, includes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place.

13. Illnesses and Treatment

826 The anatomical knowledge of the Bushmen is quite extensive as a result of their way of life as hunters.

The heart is regarded as the seat of life, and the breath [761] has some connection with the heart. Their surgical knowledge is 752 757 confined to the extraction of thorns by means of an awl-like instrument and to the relatively effective bandaging of hand and leg 278 fractures. Their supply of medicines, on the other hand, is very limited. In what follows, I shall list the common illnesses and their treatment.

Eye Inflammation

752 Both dry and exudative eye inflammations, caused by sand and irritating grass seeds, are extremely widespread, and blear eyes are the rule among older people. These diseases, however, are not nearly as grave among the !Kung living in the forest as, say, among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari or among those [826] of Naukluft. Among the latter, blear eyes are even regarded as signs of beauty in young girls. Ordinary eye inflammations that pass in a short period of time mean nothing. They are treated by [753] rubbing with fat. If the ailment lasts for a longer period of time, then //Gauab [Fig. 16 appears here] certainly had something to [755] do with it; the doctor is called in and, after some treatment, produces a "little black medicine" from the eye.

[46 cont.]

Infectious Diseases

164 The Bushmen are plagued by the two most dangerous chronic infectious diseases, tuberculosis and malaria. Leprosy is absent.

Malaria appears every year during the rainy season. Bisob [757] roots are then thrown in the fire, and the smoke is inhaled. Small [278] children more commonly die of it. I did not see any cases of black water fever or malarial cachexia.

Tuberculosis is the common cause of death among the [165] Bushmen. I saw bone tuberculosis and swellings of the glands, as well as advanced cases of lung and throat tuberculosis. The poor people are helpless, and the frequent colds further the process in a dangerous fashion. As nomads living in small groups, they are generally spared the epidemics of the Whites and Blacks. Once an epidemic has made its appearance among them, however, they die in great numbers. It is interesting to note that the Bushmen are aware that contagious diseases exist. As such, however, they only know the above-mentioned skin disease (gari).

753 The other infectious general diseases are explained as an attack by many spirits of sickness upon the horde.

Assistance at Birth

844 When a young woman anticipates her first confinement, she remains near the huts because she is afraid. The older women cheer her up, and then a resting place is made of dried grass. The woman gives birth in a squatting position. In case of difficulties [845] during delivery, the lower part of the body is massaged. Medicine or manual assistance to expedite the delivery is not given. The umbilical cord is cut off with a quartz knife and buried.

[47] Wounds and Injuries

752 The most dangerous injury a Bushman can receive is through a poisoned arrow. The poisoned arrow is cut out, a piece of wood is held in the fire until it glows, and then it is used to

[47 cont.]

752 burn the wounded person at many places on his body. When the poison smells the warmth, it gathers at these places; incisions are then made there, and the blood is sucked out by means of a cupping glass made of gemsbok horn. The wounded person may neither sit nor lie down; he must be walked about for twenty-four hours. After this time he either dies or is cured. The method helps only in rare cases.

Snakebite is the second great danger. If one makes an
751 incision in the lower part of the calf and rubs scrapings from a
824 bisob root into it, the snakes smell this and do not come out of
825 hiding. [Fig. 18 appears here.] When a person has to run great distances, bisob dust is mixed with fat and applied
752 to the legs. In case someone is nevertheless
(411) bitten by a snake, the treatment is analogous to that used for arrow wounds. Injuries to the feet caused by thorns are very common. Injuries that pass through the aponeurosis are regarded as deadly. They practically always become infected. Even though wound infections take a less malignant and a slower course than among Europeans, they nonetheless sometimes lead to death. The only medicine
(278) used is bisob powder scattered in the wound.

Fig. 18. Kirri of the !Kung.

756 Some doctors claimed to be immune
751 to snake and scorpion bites.

What Vedder observed among the Bergdama is reported in a similar manner by Schinz:

"With the intention of testing the latter characteristic, I one day persuaded an old sorcerer visiting us in Noi !as on Ngami Lake to undertake an experiment with 12 scorpions (Buthus randus Simon) picked out by myself and having an average length of eight centimeters. In order to prevent any possibility of deception, I put the animals on the various parts of his body with tweezers, on the hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. As a rule they then immediately and excitedly moved the long postabdomen back and forth and jabbed violently once or twice into the flesh of the guinea

[53 cont.]

821 rain comes down and the clouds extend over the whole world. The rain that has come down to earth does not stay there; the clouds again come forth from the earth. The rain obeys the great cap-
776 821 tain. In a storm the great captain knocks down the trees. If a person says something bad about him, however, punishment is not long in coming. X 'u says to the rain: "You must now go and kill him." And the rain goes and kills the man with lightning. But when the great captain says to the rain, "You must go now and punish him," then the lightning merely strikes the windscreen so that the whole thing collapses and the evildoer is thrown out.
[752] Then the people come running, rub the unconscious person with medicine, and burn his skin with red-hot pieces of wood until he comes to again.

Thus the angry great captain metes out punishment.

751 The Bushman concerned, however, is far from either pri-
[782] vately or publicly begging the great captain for forgiveness. He
823 is convinced that this would do no good. On the contrary, he
821 puts his confidence in the following procedure: It is known that where lightning strikes quartz sand, so-called lightning tubes or fulgurites arise. This phenomenon has not remained hidden from the sharp eye of the Bushmen. My friends told me: There where lightning has struck one usually finds a stone called "rain tooth." The person brushed by lightning scratches his skin with this stone,
[224] rubs in medicine which is supposed to bring luck in hunting, and
[777] tries to hunt down a gemsbok. If he succeeds, he cooks the meat of the gemsbok with the rain tooth. If there is a second person in the horde who has previously been brushed by lightning, that person must eat the meat with him. Then medicine is made from this meat and other ingredients, and this is placed in the horn of a small bushbuck and carried around the neck by the person concerned.

751 When the "rain" comes again, he again goes to the hut
821 of the person struck, walks through the fire where the buck was cooked, takes a bone of the buck (these bones remain lying on the spot), and goes with it into the nearest tree. The bone cooks in the tree, and the scum comes out on the side and the fat below. When the rain has passed, the bone is again pulled out and cooked with gemsbok horn and duiker horn and flesh; then it is

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

532 535 Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.

323 302 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is customary.

304 A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and (751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 836 684 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-

584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen

582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may

304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.

881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse

(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the

761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In

764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;

178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

3: Lebzelter--151 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
AUIN
NAROW
NOGAU
HEI//OM

[76 cont.]

113

South African Journal of Science, Vol. 25, 1928.

J. Moir, J.S.A., Chemical Institute, VII, 1924, p. 28.

J. Moir and J. Lewis, J.S.A., Chemical Institute, VIII, 1925, p. 11.

H. H. Curson, Some Little-known South African Poisonous Plants and their Effects in Stock. Thesis for Diploma of F.R.C.V.S., 1926.

278 lives on the roots of an acacia. The Bushman carries several of these cocoons around with him, like cartridges, in an antelope horn. If the arrow tip is to be poisoned, a fire is made, some of the acacia resin that the Bushman always carries is smeared on the arrow tip, and then a cocoon is broken and its contents rubbed on the tip. On one occasion one of my Bushmen had overlooked a small wound on his thumb, through which the poison penetrated into his blood stream. The penetration of the poison was not very painful; he merely had a feeling "as though warm water was penetrating into his flesh." The arm was considerably swollen for a week. The others made numerous incisions and [752] scarifications with glowing sticks on him in order to save him. [262] The flesh of the animal killed in this way is eaten raw, poisonous.

278 Von François (2) reports that the Hei//om of this region

[112]

2. Von François, "Reiseberichte Windhuk-Gobabis [Travel Report, Windhoek-Gobabis]," Mitteilungen aus den deutschen Schutzgebieten, V., 1892.

prepare their poison from the milky sap of the Apocynacea adenium Boehmianum. When exposed to the sun, it first becomes violet and then black. It is kept in little leather sacks and in case of need is warmed and mixed with the sap of the Habas root and applied to the arrow tips with flat sticks. These Bushmen still [411] used grooved stones to direct the arrow shaft.

/257 cont./

276 that has been cut off are very popular. The cut surface of the end of the horn is pressed to the mouth, and the smoke is sucked into the lungs in a deep draught. Very frequently simple cartridges are used as primitive, but nevertheless serviceable tobacco pipes.
[439] Clay pipes, which are not uncommon in the Kaukau Veld, are imported from the Betschuana.

/258/ A common kitchen utensil is a large, flat wooden
415 spoon with a bent handle, which, however, is not used to place food in the mouth, but only to fill vessels. The Bushmen eat with
[241] their fingers; they drink their soups from the communal wooden bowl and polish up the rest with a crooked index finger and by licking it out with the tongue.

As pots they use pumpkin [melon?] vessels bound with leather
[482] thongs and carried over the shoulder on sticks.

As a special display object in many a hut one finds a large clay vessel with strong walls and decorated with white bands that
[439] have been notched into it. This vessel is imported from the Ovambo.

The tools for firemaking command special interest. The
372 Bushman is acquainted with two, the dáni and the //oro.

The dáni (dâ = fire) consists of two wooden sticks, each about 40 centimeters long. The rounded-off end of the one stick fits into a pan-like cavity at the end of the other stick. The edge of the pan is provided with a little opening through which the glowing wood that has been rubbed to tinder can be emptied onto a smooth stone during the fire-twirling. The Bushman can make fire with this tool in less than half a minute.

The other firemaking device known to the Bushmen is the
[439] //oro, a flint with striking ring and tinder box, imported from the Betschuana.

A tool that in addition to its use in leather working also serves
412 medical purposes is a pointed iron needle about 20 centimeters long and three millimeters thick, carried in a narrow leather sheath by almost every male Bushman. The needle is used with great skill
[752] for the removal of thorns from the skin, an operation which the Bushman naturally must frequently demand of his medicine man.

In addition to the above-mentioned hunting implements, the
482 game snare and game hook, I was shown a wooden staff, approximately one and a half meters long and worked with some skill, which is used for carrying game over the shoulder,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe

Later, when the young boys had dispersed to play horse and rider, Ukwane took his bow and played a few songs. He 533 played "Bitter Melons" again, and "A Song of Shouting," and one other song about Kutera, his wife. Both the last song and its subject were very simple, the song itself having only three or four notes and a gentle rhythm. It was composed by Ukwane one chilly night because he had asked Kutera to gather firewood during the afternoon, but she had refused. That night Ukwane had been cold because there was no fire.

Ukwane sang and played in the shade of a tree, and over his head the birds in the branches were also singing. Everything seemed very peaceful, very quiet under the hazy sky; the west wind moved the grass, yellow as young wheat, and blew the sounds of people speaking, the sounds of the young boys playing, and the fragrance of the great veld over us. The strain among the people seemed to have gone; they had held a dance together, their children were playing calmly; there was, for a time, enough to eat, as the gemsbok had not yet been quite devoured; and all these things seemed to relax the people, allowing them to see each other in more favorable lights. Their naps and their soft singing showed their relaxation, and we were glad, for we had become so fond of Ukwane and his people that we did not like to think of them abandoned by the Okwa people or involved in strife.

We were loading our trucks because we planned to leave before dawn. At the end of the afternoon all the Bushmen had drifted into our camp to watch us, and Tsetchwe helped 752 me pack. I cut my finger on the sharp edge of a box and when she saw me trying to wipe the blood away she told me to wait, so I did, and when the blood was dry she scratched it all off with a stick.

We gave her presents, and presents to all the people there. 609 We gave blankets to the people in Ukwane's band, long 123 strings of white beads to everyone, metal to makes knives or

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

tree, and, looking inside it, found that it was filled with rain 222 271
water. They told the rest of us, who went to get a drink. It was just a dead and blasted tree full of murky water, but, standing in front of it, Lazy Kwi began to fumble in his hunting-bag for his drinking-straw. He slipped the straw into a crack in the bark, drank, and held the straw for the next person. The straw was a reed with a hollow center and very hard to drink from, I found when my turn came to take a sip, for it was badly cracked. It was all one could do to suck hard enough to moisten one's tongue, the water was stagnant, and the reed tasted strongly of the inside of Lazy Kwi's hunting-bag, but everyone drank, and when they had enough they returned to the fire. Something must have reminded Lazy [648] Kwi of the European farmers on the way, for he announced naïvely: "They did not give me a shirt to put on my body."

When the fire was burning well the two men went to the 222 bee tree. It too was dead, taller than the others in the forest and quite conspicuous. Lazi Kwi knocked on it with his ax and it gave forth a hollow sound. Then Lazy Kwi picked a straw and poked it into a tiny hole in the wood, and when he withdrew it there was honey on it and two bees. One bee detached itself and stung Lazy Kwi on the ribs and Lazy Kwi shook his skin like a dog. His father-in-law came forward with a smoking branch and held this near the hole. He blew smoke inside and the bees began to moan, low and ominously, the moan mounting in volume as Lazy Kwi chopped a piece from the tree above the hive. Four or five bees flew out of their hole; one flew at me and stung my face. The sting felt like a blow and in a moment the side of my face was numb and swollen. Lazy Kwi saw what had happened and he [752] scratched the sting out with his fingernail. The old man by now had chopped away a large section of the tree and the bees poured down from the opening like water from a tap, but

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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buffalo, not hearing them, would relax, lie down, and itself 224
get stiff and sore. In the morning the two men had found where the buffalo had slept, also a damp spot of its urine with black flecks in it (which I believe were flecks of blood) and Toma had pushed a poison arrow into the spot of urine so that the buffalo would be unable to urinate again, unable to rid itself of more poison.

The men had followed the buffalo's track for three days, knowing from its footprints that it was getting weaker, staggering, and in the morning of the fourth day they had come over a rise of ground and had seen it far ahead of them, lying on its side as if dead. The two men wisely had not gone up to it, but had squatted where they were to watch it, remaining this way for most of the day, and when the buffalo had not even flicked its tail or heaved its sides in breathing, Toma had considered it safe enough to approach. He had done this cautiously, very carefully, balancing his long spear in his hand, but just as Toma had stood near the buffalo, spear poised for the stab that would kill it surely, the buffalo had lurched to its feet, had chased Toma, and had tossed him on its horns.

The great boss, the heavy mass of horn on the buffalo's 752
forehead, had cracked Toma's ribs and one curved horn had hooked in Toma's side, passing through his body and out his back. Toma had lain unconscious and Lazy Kwi had carried [482]
him home; later, other hunters of Toma's band had found the buffalo truly dead, partly eaten by vultures, and had taken the meat; but nothing, no medicines or cures that the Bushmen had used, had helped Toma, and the people had expected him to die.

Gautscha was the country of Toma's wife, and when Toma 752
had realized how sick he was he had wanted to return to his 648
own people, the people of Gam. Lazy Kwi and another man

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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752 had carried him there and it was there that the second group
648 of farmers had found him, unable to escape or to resist, and they had taken him away. His wife was still waiting at Gautscha and Lazy Kwi had returned there to tell her that her husband had gone.

At the farm, though, Toma's luck had begun to turn. The farmer had gradually managed to heal his wounds with medicine and treatment, and by the start of the dry season Toma had felt quite well. One night, when the veld was quiet and dark, Toma had thanked the farmer in his heart, had gathered all the Bushmen on the farm together, and had led the people over the veld, all the way back to Nyae Nyae. It had been a long walk, a long way, but Toma had managed. Now, said Lazy Kwi, Toma's wound ached on cold days and sometimes his vision was blurry, but he was pleased with himself and pleased to be back in his own country.

Lazy Kwi was pleased with him too, and he smiled when he finished the story.

When the first light of morning came, the air was so cold that our breath made clouds. We got up, fed the fire, and cooked the remainder of last night's meat, then drove off in the jeep again, for in that early light we had seen the smoke of three veld fires on the horizon, one in the south, two in the west, perhaps kindled by Bushmen during the night, perhaps revived by the wind from old embers, and we planned to make a circle to investigate them all.

222 On the way we found a bee tree that had been raided for its honey and we believed that Toma had done it, although the break was old and the bees were gone away; but after looking at it a moment Lazy Kwi remembered that he had done it
[153] himself during the last rains. He remembered too that there had been very little honey and that he had got stung, and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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621 tance, but Toma said now that he would take us to see them
someday soon because he believed that we would be able to
help them; one man in their band, a man called Short Kwi, or
sometimes Kwi the Hunter, had been bitten in the leg by a
puff adder and was very badly hurt. We got the impression
159 that he had been bitten recently and, hoping that we might
621 draw the poison from the wound, we said that we would leave
752 at once. But Toma said that it had happened during the last
rainy season, so there was no use hurrying; other Bushmen
had cut the wound and had sucked the poison, saving Short
Kwi's life, but his leg was so badly hurt that he couldn't use
it. It had turned black, said Toma, and black liquid ran out
at the wound. We thought then that there would be nothing
we could do to help; but perhaps rumor had exaggerated the
misfortune, and so we told Toma that we would certainly go
to do what we could.

224 Short Kwi came from a famous family; he was the younger
159 brother of the man who murdered Toma's father, but Short
Kwi was famous in his own right, famous as a hunter. He
often killed more game in a year than many other men kill in
their lives, a great hunter among a hunting people. The other
Bushmen told stories about him—about the time he had
killed four wildebeests in a herd of many, about the time he
had killed an eland, a wildebeest, and a wild pig all in one
day. It was his technique of hunting to be relentless in his
pursuit; therefore, if he shot an animal and suspected others
to be in the vicinity he would let the wounded animal run
where it would while he hunted on and shot another, and
another, and when all were as good as dead he would rest,
then return to pick up the trail of the one that he felt would
die the soonest. He almost never lost an animal, for his eyes
[151] were sharp and he could follow a cold trail over hard ground
and even over stones; he could tell from fallen leaves whether

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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301 from the foreheads of the antelope they kill and fashion them
224 into bracelets which their wives wear on their arms. Short Kwi's wife and daughter wore dozens of these; their arms were covered and heavy with them. Short Kwi himself wore
[291 no ornament of any kind, nothing except a crown of badger
43] hair which he owned for a while but later gave to Toma, the very crown that Toma's son now wore.

752 One day, said Toma, Short Kwi had been walking in the
224 veld and had failed to watch where he was going. He had
159 stepped on the tail of a puff adder, which had risen up and bitten his leg, just below the knee. It was a rare and terrible accident; in all the time we had been in the Kalahari we had known of only two people besides Short Kwi who had been harmed by snakes—a young boy bitten by a mamba who had died the day he was bitten, and a young woman who had been pulled into a waterhole by a water python and had drowned. Usually, snakes move away when you come near them, or if they don't, you can usually see them; but you can't walk with your eyes on the ground all the time, especially if you are hunting, as Short Kwi had been. His misfortune was regarded as a horrible accident and it was felt that the spirits of the dead were to blame. They had led Short Kwi down the very path the puff adder had chosen, and perhaps had even placed the snake where his foot was sure to fall. Toma and Goa Feet were very depressed to think of it. Although the talk turned to other things, Gao Feet mentioned the accident again and again; everything seemed to remind him of it. At last Toma said to us: "Perhaps you can help him hunt again. Since he was bitten his people have had no meat."

648 Toma told us that he had been with Short Kwi near Nama
609 Pan when the third group of white farmers had arrived. The farmers had looked at Short Kwi and had offered to cut his leg off for him then and there. This had frightened the Bush-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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164 Short Kwi's wife, who looked around at them all gravely, listening, and when they had finished she nodded her head. "A medicine man of Europeans," they said.

"So," said she.

We talked about the foot for a while, for although he had covered it we could still see the toes. The people of the werf described how Short Kwi was bitten and everyone claimed credit for his part in saving Short Kwi's life. One man had killed the snake, another had cut the fang punctures, and others had given advice at the time and later. The leg had [752] swelled enormously and the medicine men had cut the swollen skin to let blood; the scars of this still showed on the healthy thigh above the blanket. All the people seemed very depressed when talking about it, though; for one reason, they ate meat less often, but also they truly admired him and did not seem to enjoy watching the disaster. Toma asked Short Kwi how he felt and Short Kwi said he thought that his leg had seemed to be getting a little better during the last few days.

582 It was almost evening, and we heard voices singing in the veld. Two women and a young girl were coming home from a trip for veld food. These three were also very happy to see us and the little girl kissed me but not the men, then asked for her mother, who lived at Nama and whom she had not seen for seasons, and we told her that her mother was well. The girl had been newly married and she was as pretty as she could be, with lots of beads, and with long ornaments of tsi nuts hanging beside her face. She wore a fine kaross which she had rubbed with red powder, often a sign to men that a [291 822 224 841] girl is menstruating, as perhaps she was, that men may be careful not to touch her and endanger their powers to hunt. 784 Marriage seemed to have agreed with her. She looked very

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the point, for the slightest prick, the least bit of poison getting in such a wound, would cause death.

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[752]

Depending on where the poisoned arrow hits, a small buck can die in a morning, a man in a few hours, a giraffe in four to five days. There is nothing that can be done for a man, short of amputating a limb or immediately excising the wound and cutting the nearby flesh to let the blood drain. Yet, the poison has no effect upon the game's meat. One can even eat the mixture with relative impunity: it must enter the bloodstream directly to be deadly.

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As subsistence activities, the men's and women's roles—hunting and gathering—are of unequal weight. Almost eighty per cent of the people's food is *veldkos*, more abundant than game in *Nyae Nyae*, and far more easily acquired. If from one summer to the next, a man kills twelve antelope, he feels he has had a good year.

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But, despite its relatively minor subsistence value, hunting is extremely important in !Kung culture. It has developed its body of technology, acquired a large tradition of beliefs, fostered a wealth of knowledge, and

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

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Treatment

is administered by relatives or friends, or in cases of acute and prolonged illness by a magician well versed in medical practices, who is paid for his services. In cases of the latter kind a very common method employed is massage, leading up to the extraction of foreign bodies ("disease-poisons", "spirits of disease", etc.) believed to have been introduced into the patient and thus causing his illness. When the "doctor" feels that the foreign body has been brought near enough to the surface by his treatment, he sucks the part affected and then, with a retching sound, triumphantly spits out the object he is supposed to have sucked from the patient's body. Stones, pieces of bark, small bones, etc., are thus extracted from the affected part of the patient, who in consequence is cured![1] Lebzelter records also that, while the "doctor" is busy performing this cure, the relatives and friends standing round pray to the "supreme being" to make the patient well again; and, as we have seen, the use of prayers in case of severe illness is mentioned by several other writers as well.[2] 755 [782]

More practical forms of treatment are also found, however.[3] Herbs and roots of various kinds are extensively employed as medicines. Sometimes they are burned to ashes which are then rubbed into small cuts made in the patient's body, sometimes they are boiled and given as a decoction. How far they actually do have curative effects is difficult to say, as no special study appears to have been made of their pharmacological properties, nor, save in a few instances, have they even been identified. But Dornan mentions that "for blackwater they use a plant called qilika (*Anacoampseros rhodesica*) by the Matabele; dysentery *Monsonia ovata*, and *Euclea lanceolata*; for various other diseases, *Cannabis sativa*, *Solanum nigrum*, *Lippia asperifolia* (malaria), *Cratalaria burkeana*, *Pterocarpus angolensis*, *Datura stramonium*, *Indigofera senegalensis*, and *Bauhinea reticulata*".[4] Burns, open sores, headaches, etc., are treated by rubbing medicated ointments on the part affected. Chapman describes another method of treatment undergone by himself. "Having a frightful headache from the heat of the sun, I resort to my usual Bushman remedy, at the expense of having my forehead ornamented with blisters dotted all over it the next morning. April [his Bushman guide] has a root 757 278 [824] 752

[1] A good eyewitness account of this treatment is given by Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 340–1; cf. also D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29. [114]

[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 411; cf. pp. 183 sq. above.

[3] Nolte, "Krankheiten und Heilmittel der Nama und Buschmänner," *D. Kol-Ztg.*, 1886, p. 629 sq.; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 159, 282–3; ii, 74, 182; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Dornan, loc. cit.; Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," 8–9; Fourie, loc. cit.

[4] Op. cit., 142.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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752 which he puts into the fire, and brands me all over the forehead, heating it again and again. It is the heat of the fire that gives the relief, not the root, nor any of his genuflexions over me."[1] Surgical practice seems to be limited to incisions made in the skin, but Vedder notes that cupping is also employed among the Kung. Incisions are made in the patient's skin and covered with the horn of an animal, through which the blood is then sucked out.[2]

The existence of specific antidotes for arrow poisoning is reported 278 by several of the older writers, but their statements lack confirmation. 752 The effects of such a wound, as far as can be ascertained, are almost [114] invariably fatal.[3] The Naron also have no antidote for snake poison, the effects of which they try to counteract by tying the snake skin round the bite. Kaufmann, however, records that among the Auen the magician makes out of the black mamba, which he alone may eat, an antidote supposed to act against all snake bites except that of the mamba itself. He dries and powders the lungs, gall, and liver, as well as the poison in the fangs, and mixes this powder with the fat of the snake. The salve thus made is rubbed into the wound, which is first sucked out. At the same time several deep cuts are made in the upper arm, from which blood is allowed to stream freely.[4] There is nothing [114] in Kaufmann's account to indicate whether this information is based on personal observation or merely upon hearsay, so that it must be received with caution. Chapman, a careful observer whose hunting expeditions brought him into frequent close contact with the Bushmen in the North-West Kalahari, describes another form of antidote with which he himself saw the Bushmen cure themselves of snake bite. This is a creeping tendrilous plant, called "' eokam " by the Bushmen, but unfortunately not identified by him. About eight or ten of its seeds, either eaten or taken as a decoction, act as an emetic. The dose is repeated about three times, when the patient is cured. " They also tattoo and scarify their bodies, and make an incision near the wound, which they suck with some of the root, chewed, in their mouths. This is evidently to prevent the poison acting upon the gums in case of bleeding. The sucking out of the poison is not necessary, but is done by way of precaution. Bushmen having a bit of this root on their necks laugh at snake-bites."[5]

751 Other writers mention that " doctors " sometimes render themselves

[1] Op. cit., ii, 182. [2] Loc. cit.
[3] The question is discussed by Schapera, " Bushman Arrow Poisons," 212–13.
[4] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 19; Kaufmann, op. cit., 159. [5] Op. cit., ii, 74.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

183 gathered (about 175) had married lineal kin or collaterals, at least through first cousins.
582 However, informants told about two /Kung men in B.P. who had married their
835 cousins: we could not find out which type of cousins. What was interesting was the
605 attitude of the informants. They said the men should not have done this, but there was no talk of madness or danger or expressions of horror such as we had observed when incest was spoken of at other times. No punishments, social or divine, had been meted out, according to the informants. Some said they thought it was not too bad a thing for a man to do, especially if the woman were a FaSiDa, who is not, they said, so much like your sister as a MoSiDa. I believe that the anomaly of the system's allowing joking with cousins, although it prohibits marriage, mitigates, in all probability, the force of the incest taboo and accounts to some extent for the tolerance towards the breakers of this rule.

How much deviation there is in marrying second and third cousins we do not
[124] know. We soon gave up trying to gather data on relatives more remote than first cousins because informants so often did not know the names and we could not rely on the information.

582 One account came to our ears of a man who had violated the incest taboo with his
627 stepdaughter. He was /Gunda Legs, the MoBr of old Gau of Band 1, and he lived with Band 9. He is dead now. What he did was so outside the good and the normal
684 that it could be accounted for only by madness. He had drunk the milk of a young
835 gemsbok doe, the people told us, and this is what had made him mad. Something came from his forehead and went in and out, a sort of swelling. After that he fell
159 in love with his stepdaughter, ≠Nisa, and married her, and both she and her mother
● [753] were his wives at the same time. The people 'laughed at him' so much because he had made such a horrifying 'mistake' that he took his stepdaughter and lived apart from his band—the only instance we know of a man and woman living alone. They had a son, ≠Toma, who died young. When /Gunda's madness waned he sometimes came back to his people; he would go again when his madness returned. People said they did not understand why ≠Nisa went with him. They mocked at her, said that she was *dole*, 'bad', and that it was 'nonsense' to fall in love with one's stepfather.
Our informants laughed uneasily when they told about it as they laugh when they
[154] tell of vultures eating their meat or of being chased by fierce bees when they try to take a honeycomb. There came to my mind a penetrating remark made by //Kushay, the wife of /Qui in Band 1, which might, I thought, be applied to ≠Nisa. //Kushay had said, 'When a Bushman girl goes against the customs of her people and people talk about her and say she is bad, she is very unhappy. She would hear the people talking and be ashamed and would come to them angry—angry because she is ashamed', or, I thought, go away because she is ashamed.

Deviations occur in the fourth category. Two men we met had married women
183 with the same names as their mothers. A man named /Ti/kay married the daughter of
553 another /Ti/kay, and there were other such instances. /Qui, the husband of the above
582 //Kushay in Band 1, said he proposed to do this himself. The girl's family had flatly
608 refused, but he was going to keep on trying. ≠Toma said he would not do this but
835 he sees some people doing these things. There are not enough women whom a man may properly marry, he said, and he would be in favour of changing the marriage prohibitions among name relatives so that a man need avoid only ugly women.

/158 cont./

T. Religion, Cult, Mythology

756 The Bushman doctor conjures up rain by scattering on the
[789] ground a kind of red earth which he fetches from afar and carries about with him.

I regard the doctors, who take the place of sorcerers, as quite experienced people who have a considerable gift for observation. At the same time, they throw plenty of sand in their
[775] clients' eyes. The soul of the deceased does not die. The Bush-
[769] men have great fear of the dead and even of the place of death.

Illnesses that give rise to much pain and complaining on the
●753 part of the sufferers are regarded as having been caused by a higher power (demons); others are regarded as natural illness.

The doctor practices exorcism by saying magical charms over
755 the sick person and finally, with the motion of a juggler, flinging to the ground a little piece of wood or the like which is supposed to have come from the body of the patient and to have caused the illness.

The only thing that I was able to establish concerning their
776 religious notions, despite weeks of fruitless endeavor, /159/ is that a higher power exists which may be harmful to men and may cause them to perish from serious illnesses. This higher power, which is feared, dwells "above." I could not get them to do more than point upward in the direction of the sky, except for the statement that the feared power is far beyond the treetops. [Fig. 14 appears here.]

The doctor is both physician and sorcerer. He is probably
756 also a priest, for whenever I asked questions concerning religion and the like, I was always referred to the doctor, who supposedly was informed about these matters.

Not every settlement has a doctor. Between Oas, Rietfontein, and Ganab (100 kilometers north of Rietfontein) there was supposedly only one.

The doctor has his head shaved smooth. In addition, he is said to wear ornaments that no other man may use.

Boys who have been apprenticed to a doctor for many years may later, when they have become older, replace their master.

In the treatment of the sick, charlatanism seems to be mixed

[Text continues on page 56]

[10 cont.]

539 χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!
[821]
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731 [11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They [888] do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and [758] the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune. Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own.

271 One must have experienced personally the feeling that overcomes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can drink again!

539 3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a
782 journey:
[484] χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

[755] 4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor performs his ceremonies.

χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai khaíra téve God, let our people rise again.

789 5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil: Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

821 They do not know anything to say about the sun (sorésa). The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

● 753 Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those
776 persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this, and there is no spirit of sickness.

776 There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the bush. They play tricks.

775 A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know [756] what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

/14 cont./

000 chronic, good-natured imbiber . . .

776 In heaven there is one god, Erob. Lightning (dábara)
[821] and rain (!namus) are sent by him. He calls heaven χ'ameiba.
This word is very interesting. It can mean both "place of the
/15/ souls (χ'a) " or "place of the χ'amab." The souls
[775] (um-ské) go to heaven after death. "This is what they say,"
said the man, "I haven't been there yet."

He did not know Gauab and Heiseb. Concerning other spirits, he said that people had mentioned them, but he did not believe in them. The spirits are supposedly called "gangarob."
756 The old Bushmen had neither doctors nor medicines against ill-
753 nesses. To my question about what made people ill, he re-
sponded with philosophical equanimity: "If one becomes ill,
he is ill like an animal." He knew nothing about the sun (soris)
[821] and moon (χ'ab). A sacred fire is unknown to him.
[778]

224 Of greatest interest is his report, undoubtedly based
782 upon autopsy, concerning an initial offering at the hunt. I give
the report in literal translation:

"Before people go out to the hunt, they meet at an omsati tree (//Khaia-aib). There a fire is made. Each hunter rips off a number of leaves, spits on them, and throws them into the fire as he shouts:

[539] Érob, Érob, áu tere! God, God, help us!

"When the game has been killed, one first cuts a piece each from the lung, liver, and stomach and throws each piece singly to the side, saying all the while:

Érob úre, Érob úre! God take, God take!

[539] "Then they start to eat."

This function is performed by the one who has killed the game.

The following was communicated to me concerning the
881 social organization:
585

There are initiation ceremonies. The celebration of the first menstruation originally coincided with the wedding. On the first day of menstruation the girl went into a pontok especially constructed for this purpose. Then there was dancing for two or three days, and after the cessation of the menses the girl went to

[23 cont.] THE SICK BUSHMEN LIE SILENT AND
[153] patient, but a case of illness in a village upsets all its members,
157 partly out of compassion, and partly out of fear of the spirits of sickness. The modes of conduct that I have described already permit certain conclusions concerning the structure of the psychological personality among the Bushmen. It is certainly impossible to compare the mental set of an intellectualized, highly domesticated European with that of these primitive hunters. There is absolutely no difference, however, between the simple European and the natives in their conception of life and their manner of
105 reacting to environmental influences. As I have already explained
152 in another place, we may speak of a law of inertia in cultural development (1). The primitive man is perfectly aware, perhaps

1. V. Lebzelter, "Persönlichkeit und Weltanschauung bei den Eingeborenen Südwestafrikas Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Leogesellschaft, 1932.

instinctively, perhaps by tradition, that the quantity of energy possessed by every individual is limited and that each expenditure of energy means wear on the life machine and, hence, the shortening of life. The individual, therefore, strives to attain, with the least possible expenditure of energy, what to his mind represents an optimal adaptation to the conditions of life, and to maintain this state of adaptation with the least possible expenditure of energy. The great difference between European civilization and many primitive cultures, including that of the Bushmen, lies in the fact that European culture as a whole finds itself in an unstable condition, which makes the attainment of an optimal state of adaptation possible to only a few of its members. Bushman culture, on the other hand, represents an optimal state of adaptation that can be automatically attained by each individual Bushman. In its way, therefore, it is more perfect than ours. No other people and no other race, given the same technical means and the same environmental conditions, could achieve a better adaptation. One can even speak of such an adaptation with respect to the spiritual culture. The life of the Bushman is made secure in this life

[27 cont.]

805 the like, but they have only ten months. They name them after terrestrial phenomena.

!Kai dsáa	It is cold (winter)	June
gama /ši	The grass burns	July-August
!hoá sori	It is hot	September-October
!u shē	The rain begins	November
≠khŏ shē	The trees bloom	December
/hō //gāi	It is raining	January
!Khan //gai	The veldkost is coming up	February
!nâ -mâ	The veldkost is ripe	March
ao ré //kum //ká	The rain is stopping	April
!hoá //gai	The year is at an end	May

They reckon also from harvest to harvest.

221 The most beautiful time in the life of the Bushman is March and April. Even those who live on the farms hurry into the wilderness at that time. At certain places where there are many fruit trees, such as the marula, the friendly kin groups gather from far and wide. Here the young men look for brides, and there is much dancing, because at this time the women are not tired from seeking veldkost which is now to be found everywhere. Hunting yields less at this time, since the game has water and pasture everywhere.

Soon, however, the leaves fall, the bush forest becomes red and yellow, the migratory birds fly northward, and then the first cold nights set in. Now the "Dsao" (spirits of sickness) come and (753) bring sickness to the chest. At the end of May and the beginning of July [sic] the first frosts set in. Now the Bushmen move to the watering places, which stay open for a long time. The nights now [374] become torture. Burns on the skin of the chest and abdomen occur frequently, because the Bushmen now lie very close to the [513] fire to sleep. Around this time, some of the kin groups already begin to suffer distress, because the game moves to other regions where there is still some pasture. In July the grass is finally dry [224] enough so that it can be set afire. Now the entire steppe burns. The young grass again attracts the game; hunting improves. The hot season is the worst period; the resting places of the game are quite uncertain, veldkost becomes increasingly scant, and the

[33 cont.]

224 has done the shooting must go home immediately and may not speak, eat, or drink, for if the hunter speaks with others, the kudu will not be found for a long time, and if he drinks water, the poison will become watery and will not be effective, and if he eats, the kudu will remain quiet and the poison will not work effectively. The next morning very early we must set out on the trail. The kudu is already dead. The people carry the meat home. [782] Then it is put on the socha [sacred] fire. The //Gàuab must be given some of the meat. Whoever does not do this will be punished by the //Gauab with serious illness, and the people will say: 'That is just. The //Gauab has given him the game, why does he give nothing for //Gauab?'" Here, therefore, a true primitial offering is involved.

It is interesting that the Ogowe bury arrows in the sand at various watering places, with the poisoned tip pointing upward; they do this in shady spots that game animals like to use as resting [202] places, and by certain signs, such as tying together blades of tall grass and the like, they set up warnings (Von Zastrow and Vedder).

When a Bushman horde of today is able to hunt down half a dozen large antelopes in a year, it can consider itself lucky.

The porcupine is also commonly hunted, as are the scaly anteater and the fat aardvark, which is very common but difficult to catch. Monkeys are very rare; on the other hand, tree rats make a desirable addition to the diet. The ostrich is not uncommon in open terrain, and ostrich eggs are greatly coveted. Occasionally a boa constrictor, which tastes like a fat fish, or an iguana may round out the menu.

136 Among the animals which are in any way dangerous to human beings, the lion should be mentioned in particular. They occur in great numbers, but rarely stay in one place for a long [165] period of time. A considerable number of Bushmen become their victims, especially in the north. Lions, leopards, hyenas, and 262 jackals are neither hunted nor eaten; the same is true concerning [753] birds of prey. Eating leopard meat produces fever and eczema, [825] while eating the flesh of birds of prey produces temporary blindness and symptoms of sickness similar to acute sausage poisoning.

Poisonous snakes are not eaten; they are much rarer here than in the stony regions of the central and southern areas, and they do not constitute a noteworthy danger.

[43 cont.]

423 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's terri-
614 tory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them.
769 The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place.

13. Illnesses and Treatment

826 The anatomical knowledge of the Bushmen is quite extensive as a result of their way of life as hunters.

The heart is regarded as the seat of life, and the breath
[761] has some connection with the heart. Their surgical knowledge is
752 confined to the extraction of thorns by means of an awl-like in-
757 strument and to the relatively effective bandaging of hand and leg
278 fractures. Their supply of medicines, on the other hand, is very limited. In what follows, I shall list the common illnesses and their treatment.

Eye Inflammation

752 Both dry and exudative eye inflammations, caused by sand and irritating grass seeds, are extremely widespread, and blear eyes are the rule among older people. These diseases, however, are not nearly as grave among the !Kung living in the forest as, say, among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari or among those
[826] of Naukluft. Among the latter, blear eyes are even regarded as signs of beauty in young girls. Ordinary eye inflammations that pass in a short period of time mean nothing. They are treated by
[753] rubbing with fat. If the ailment lasts for a longer period of time, then //Gauab [Fig. 16 appears here] certainly had something to
[755] do with it; the doctor is called in and, after some treatment, produces a "little black medicine" from the eye.

[43 cont.]

732 Blindness in one eye is very common as the result of wounds inflicted by thorns. Among very old people I have also found blindness as the result of cataract. Here and there one also finds (648) Bushmen who in olden times had been captured by the Herero, who shot out their eyes with grass seed.

Ear Ailments

757 They are relatively rare. For an ordinary earache, leaves are stuffed into the ear "so that it will stay warm." The aching ear is likewise held over the fire, in which some medicine has been placed. If pus comes out of the ear, the ache stops and all

[413]

Fig. 16. Scratching Instrument. Iron leaf fastened to a little stick with resin and leather strips. (Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg; actual size [as shown in original text].)

(753) [44] is well. If //Gauab has put something in it, however, the pains become so strong that one can no longer sleep or hear. In (755) such cases one must call an especially powerful doctor, who draws out the spirits of sickness; otherwise the patient will die.

[44 cont.]

Toothache

142 I rarely saw irregularities in the position of the teeth, and
[515] never protruding or receding teeth. The only care given the
teeth is the use of iron arrow points for toothpicks. The teeth are
usually yellow, covered with dense layers of tartar, and because
of the sand content of the vegetable diet, are quickly worn down
164 by chewing. Caries are extraordinarily common, but infections
also occur through the exposure of the root canal as the teeth are
● 753 worn down. If a person has a severe toothache, //Gauab has stuck
a needle into it, and the doctor must be called to get it out. If
there is no general discomfort, however, then no dsao are there.
757 A little piece of wood is sharpened to a point at one end, held
with the point against the root of the tooth, and then the tooth
is knocked out with a stone. This instrument is called "oie."
147 Small children suffer considerable pain when they teethe; some-
753 times dsao (spirits of sickness) are also at work in this case. [Fig.
17 appears here.]

Sore Throat

753 A sore throat means that //Gauab has made a cord and is
755 drawing it tight around the patient's neck. The doctor must re-
move the cord from the patient; it is about 30 centimeters long
and is like the trap cord (//kao); everyone can see it after the
treatment.

Colds (X'óā)

164 Grippe takes many victims among the Bushmen every year,
513 especially among those who are already tuberculous. In winter,
colds are extraordinarily frequent, since the people lie almost
naked around the fires. In the forest they are fairly well protected
against the wind, but on the open plain the wind changes its di-
rection at night while they are asleep, so that they not only catch
cold but often receive severe burns around the stomach -- although
this applies only to the men; the women sleep at a greater distance
FROM THE FIRE.

Gastrointestinal Disorders

753 [171] It is interesting to note that the doctrine of the importance of the liver and gall bladder in the origin of disease, which we find among all primitive and civilized peoples up to the humoral-medicine of the previous century, is already present among the Bushmen. When the gall bladder is full, one becomes sick and [755] vomits gall. Then the region of the liver is massaged, just as is done in the case of liver pains. Enlargement of the liver as the [164] result of chronic malaria is common. The moon, which dies [821] every month, also has gall sickness, and moonlight is the juice of the gall bladder vomited by it. Moonlight and gall are known [164] by the same word (goo). Spleen tumor is especially common 757 among children. They have no medicine against splenalgia. 278 They have no medicine for inducing vomiting. It is induced by putting the finger or a feather into the mouth. To stop vomiting, one chews little twigs of the goro tree. The bitter wood of the liana (χ'áá-χ'áñ) is chewed for stomach-ache. In case of con- [753] stipation the doctor must practice magic, for it is assumed that [755] the dsao have tied the stool in the intestine, and the doctor must loosen and extract the cord, just as in the case of an inflammation of the throat. The patient may not eat anything and drink very little. In case of diarrhea, even the bleeding kind, the same medicine is taken as in the case of stomach-aches. Intestinal 147 worms are unknown. We already know from earlier reports that the 262 gastrointestinal tract of the Bushman can take all kinds of things that we cannot take. As the result of habituation from early childhood on, he can digest meat that has gone bad and the like, without any trouble (1). After a long period of hunger, he can consume

1. I myself witnessed a drastic example of this. I had brought a side of bacon from Swakopmund, which supposedly had been preserved for all eternity according to a special process. When I brought it out, it had a hideous smell, and in order to prevent the Bushmen from taking it and getting sick, I had it hung high on a tree. The

164 [45 cont.]
[753] Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The
[192] terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no
[302] means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is
[593] usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin
842 hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy
[757] is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine
[278] for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is
841 done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband
[757] and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on
853 the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least
[826] until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished
164 by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care.
[515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky
[278] sap of a plant called timba.
[757]

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams
[145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long;
302 the toenails are often fissured.

[46 cont.]

Infectious Diseases

164 The Bushmen are plagued by the two most dangerous chronic infectious diseases, tuberculosis and malaria. Leprosy is absent.

Malaria appears every year during the rainy season. Bisob [757] roots are then thrown in the fire, and the smoke is inhaled. Small [278] children more commonly die of it. I did not see any cases of black water fever or malarial cachexia.

Tuberculosis is the common cause of death among the [165] Bushmen. I saw bone tuberculosis and swellings of the glands, as well as advanced cases of lung and throat tuberculosis. The poor people are helpless, and the frequent colds further the process in a dangerous fashion. As nomads living in small groups, they are generally spared the epidemics of the Whites and Blacks. Once an epidemic has made its appearance among them, however, they die in great numbers. It is interesting to note that the Bushmen are aware that contagious diseases exist. As such, however, they only know the above-mentioned skin disease (gari).

753 The other infectious general diseases are explained as an attack by many spirits of sickness upon the horde.

Assistance at Birth

844 When a young woman anticipates her first confinement, she remains near the huts because she is afraid. The older women cheer her up, and then a resting place is made of dried grass. The woman gives birth in a squatting position. In case of difficulties [845] during delivery, the lower part of the body is massaged. Medicine or manual assistance to expedite the delivery is not given. The umbilical cord is cut off with a quartz knife and buried.

[47] Wounds and Injuries

752 The most dangerous injury a Bushman can receive is through a poisoned arrow. The poisoned arrow is cut out, a piece of wood is held in the fire until it glows, and then it is used to

[49 cont.]

[787] 755 756 796 child, and the other patients, too, would be cured. That ended the first part of the ceremony.

Now the doctors' test began. The others, with the exception of the women making music, participated only as spectators. The doctors went on dancing, often holding their arms stretched out to the sky, with the fingers spread apart, and then springing to the fire and holding their hands over it. Flinging the hands toward the sky is done to give some of the little spirits of sickness back to the chief spirit /Nawa, who passes up and down along a thread between heaven and earth. It is not a gesture of prayer. Similarly, holding the hands over the fire is intended to achieve the same result, because the "little spirits of sickness" do not like the fire and hence will go away. Meanwhile, they thank the great spirit for having saved the child. Then they prayed to /Nawa that he might concentrate all the little spirits of sickness on the [753] [761] doctors' candidate and kill him so that the people would be free of evil diseases, for the dying person takes the spirits of sickness with him. By brushing, rubbing, and blowing, the old doctors now transfer the spirits of sickness to the candidate. The latter is completely exhausted, collapses from time to time, is constantly lifted up again, and, staggering, he dances on, with foam appearing at his mouth. The other doctors taunt him: "You leopard, you lion, you elephant, you insurmountable mountain, you gigantically strong man, now you can't cope with the spirits of sickness we have given you." Once more the chief doctor runs to the former patient and transfers to the candidate any disease poison he may have gathered. This hellish spectacle lasted one and a half hours; then the chief doctor went to his oracle sitting in the bush and asserted that the candidate was too strong: we have concentrated all the little spirits of sickness upon him and prayed to the chief spirit that he might take (kill) him, but the candidate is stronger than the spirits of sickness. Nevertheless, the oracle commands: "Dance on." While this happened, a woman came out of the background -- in the half-dark I was unable to see whether or not it was the chief female doctor herself -- and busied herself around the cured child. She clapped her hands and beat her palms together, with the thumb sides in front of the child's face, and thus put even the child in a brief trance. The dancing continued until around midnight when the oracle finally declared that though the

[49 cont.]

756 786 789 796

glowing all too brightly. On the other hand, I was surprised when on the occasion of such a religious dance the so-called great doctor -- after he had danced by himself long and continuously in visible ecstasy, so that in spite of the cool night and even though he was almost completely naked, the sweat ran down his entire body -- suddenly, with slow majestic steps, walked through the high flames of the fire and in so doing had to step on the burning logs with his bare feet.

753 776

[50] On a later occasion I discussed these procedures thoroughly and in detail with the chief doctor, Kasi, and with Dube and the other doctors. One of the most striking aspects of the entire ceremony is perhaps the absence of the mysterious and the magical. These little spirits of sickness are not magical creatures but, in the eyes of the Bushmen, commonplace realities. The Bushmen know very well that many illnesses are not caused by the spirits of sickness alone. If someone eats something that has gone bad, he will become ill and will be given an emetic. If someone is wounded by a shot, the wound will be treated. If the injured person has pains only in the wound and otherwise feels all right, then no spirit of sickness has entered into him. If he feels sick all over, however, then he is possessed by a spirit of sickness. These little spirits of sickness are called dsao; they are little yellow men with a fat belly and a little tail. They obey the other spirits, which, as described above, include the ordinary [775] spirits from the bodies of deceased persons, the spirits who live among the stars, and the chief spirit (/Nawa) himself. [Fig. 20 appears here.]

Finally, even the "great captain" can send the dsao directly over a person. /Nawa can do this with or without the consent of the "great captain"; the smaller spirits act on their own authority or at the command of these powers.

756 776

The doctors have their supernatural power directly from the "great capitain"; they are as powerful as /Nawa and stronger

[57 cont.]
second floor. They do nothing and they eat nothing. According 775
to other Bushmen tribes I visited, the great captain uses these cha in order to make new human beings, but among my friends of the bush veld, the dolce far niente on the second floor of the heavenly house is the final goal of man. The souls of all, the good and the wicked, come there. There is no punishment in the beyond.

[58] The body is buried in the earth. After a few days the flesh revives and then disappears. The Gauab of the deceased has arisen, comes out of the grave, goes hunting, eats and drinks, and as a shade leads a life similar to that during his lifetime. The grave is his house; the shade (1) goes to sleep there when it is

1. "Living corpse" would perhaps be better than "shade."

tired. These spirits cannot enter into stones, plants, or animals, or transform themselves into such. There is no trace of this true animism. The Gauab is rather a reduced version (since the skeleton remains in the grave) of the once living Bushman. He looks like a Bushman, but many of these Gauab are lame. They are generally malignant, and if someone walks past the grave and [753]
annoys them, they send the little spirits of sickness, who killed [776]
them during their lifetime. These spirits of sickness are thought of as little yellow men with big stomachs.

Among the !Kung Bushmen, then, we have a definite doctrine of two souls. Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report:

2. Die Buschmänner, p. 421.

"The /Oresen were wicked people. They died, but cannot have any rest. Their wickedness does not let them rest. They always want to inflict harm. This is the way that they behaved in life. This is also what they want to do after death. They torment people, frighten them, and try to kill them. When they have killed people, they eat their flesh. They come at night. The sorcerers can see the evil spirits. The sorcerers then warn the others who cannot see. The /Oresen live in the graves.

[74 cont.]

776 one time as a man and at another time as a woman.

7. Medicine

The curing practices of the Nogau Bushmen are very primi-
757 tive. They have nothing for snakebite and nothing for arrow poison.

Eland fat is a universal medicine. For the common eye
278 inflammations this fat is smeared into the eye; for headaches warm eland fat is dripped into the ear; for a cold the nostrils and nose are smeared with eland fat.

Sickness comes either from the evil head Gauab or from
753 sorcerers. The ailment is caused by a little Gauab who has settled
[754] in the body. The more gravely ill a person is, the more Gauana have entered into him. The doctors are able to draw out these
755 spirits of sickness; they do it in a fashion analogous to that prac-
756 ticed by the !Kung. There are also female doctors.

The spirits of sickness are regarded here as much more ma-
753 terial than among the !Kung; such a Gauab looks like a human
776 being, but he may also appear as a lion, a wildebeest, or a snake. Once the Gauab has been drawn out of the body, it runs away and speaks to no one.

The sorcerers in particular like to transform themselves into
756 lions. Among the Bushmen farther north [75] it is supposedly
[825] the case that when they see a wildebeest in the bush, for example, it is not a wildebeest at all, but a Gauab. The doctors receive their power from the highest Gauab (/gaua //gaicha). He is the one who appears in the wind spouts. As among the Bantu, the doctors must go to school for several years with older colleagues.
[754] They are not only able to cure, but also to practice magic in the bad sense, in that they induce /Gaua //gaicha to make ill anyone whom they want to harm.

"Whoever wants to become a sorcerer must go to school with another witch doctor. When someone is struck by lightning, it is said that Gauab struck him down with his knife. Some then become great doctors and often speak with Gauab. Gauab also comes as a wind spout."

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the 553
surname of the mother and girls that of the father. Thus *|Uirob Geirob |Geibeb* married a woman *|Kao-tamas Gamanis |Harus* and begot two sons, namely *||Otoab ǂGonab |Garub* and *Gogob Gomob |Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras |Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *||Otoab* become *||Otoab ǂGonab |Garub |Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose. A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nick- 551
names are common and are given to children when quite young. They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for example, *Ĕibarab*, the lad with the long face and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life.

The communities which have not been in contact with 164
civilization are remarkably free from infectious, contagious and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons when malaria becomes unduly prevalent the incidence of disease is very small among them. Sickness is in most instances 753
attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the affected person, to magical influences exercised by other persons or, when unduly prevalent, to something going wrong with the perpetual fire. Treatment is adminis- 757
tered by relatives and friends or in cases of acute or prolonged illness by an elder or doctor who is well versed in magical practice. Herbs of various descriptions are employed both internally and externally through incisions in the skin. Inunction with medicated ointments is also extensively resorted to. Surgical procedures are limited to incisions into the skin. Burial of the dead is carried out almost universally at present. 764
Among the more primitive groups, however, the corpse is left [834]
in the hut which is simply pressed down so as to cover it. After a death has taken place the camp is deserted and not 768
occupied again. Old people who are no longer able to help 888
themselves are left in the werft with a supply of food and water. The rest of the group then move off and do not return to it again.

Dances and Games.

Dancing and games of various kinds enter very largely into 535
the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first place among their social recreations. Some of the dances such as the *tsei*, *hăigi-ho*, and *ge-!ni* among the *ǂAo-||ĕin* and *Aikwe* and the *|hawa-ǂnab* among the *Hei-||om* would appear to be of a religious nature, being danced only on ceremonial occasions, for example, during the initiation ceremonies. On the other hand dancing is often indulged in at night for pure pleasure, especially in times of plenty. The

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GIKwe

could have found his shallow pit at any time of the day or night.

Nobody was there; everyone had run away. We sat down and waited while Gai put his hands to his mouth and shouted, trying to summon the people back again. When nobody came or even answered him, he flung his pipe to the ground and marched off to find them among the bushes, alternately shouting to his hidden relatives and muttering to himself, for they might be far away and the day was getting warm.

We sat in the middle ground between the depressions so that we wouldn't risk stepping on or crushing anybody's hidden things, for, without knowing it, a European can in a moment trample through a Bushman's cache, breaking the delicate bone or wooden objects, bending the reed arrows, or crushing eggshell beads. Also, among certain groups of Bushmen, every fire has a man's side and a woman's side, determined by the position of the fire as you face the doorway of the scherm, the man's side being on the right, the woman's on the left. If a man sits on the woman's side, or where a woman has been sitting, he will become impotent and will also lose his power to hunt, and if a woman sits where a man has been sitting, she will get a disease in her vagina. Something intangible, invisible, but dangerously powerful, remains on the ground. We did not know which side was which of this werf's fires, or even for sure where the fires were; we did not even know that the Gikwe had this custom, for we had learned it from Kung Bushmen, but we knew that if they did they would not welcome our contaminating their ground. We would have liked to look around, but the best thing we could do was to keep our big boots and our bodies away from their delicate, fragile, almost invisible community.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

821 them or seek to gain beneficent influence from them. As far as we know they do not pray to them for food as the Cape Bushmen are said once to have done, or for rain as the Naron and Auen and /O /Kung do.[1]

The /Kung beliefs about rain, which I do not describe in detail in this paper, include the idea that rain is life-giving and makes the food plants and other vegetation grow, whereas the sun is death-giving. The /Kung do not now formally personify or deify rain or worship it, but may retain a vestige of an ancient personification of rain in praying to it, in a manner of speaking, as they also do to lightning. 'Fall silently, rain. Do not make such a noise. Do not be dangerous', they say. Or, to lightning, 'Do not come against me. Go to the other side.'

825 The /Kung do not attribute divinity to the mantis but, in calling it 'the servant of //*Gamwa*', perhaps they preserve a vestige or an echo of the Cape Bushman belief in /*kaggen*. If they injure a mantis which is walking on them or throw one into the fire, [753] '//*Gamwa* would see this and say that his servant was being ill treated and would punish the person. He would make the person sick'. Mantises are *chi dole* (*chi*, thing; *dole*, bad) not because they harm you—they only prick and tickle you—but because they belong to //*Gamwa* and people are afraid of the 'owner'. The old people told them these things. We saw the /Kung hold mantises, however, without exhibiting fear or the uncanny fascinated feeling I had when I watched them (especially the huge female who lived with me, with her consort seemingly permanently attached to her, and fascinated me by never seeming to take her eyes off me as she made her slow and stately progress around the tent at night).

The /Kung react in quite a different way to millepedes. They say there are two kinds. The large one they call *ko ko chi nabe*; the small one they call *choba* or *zoba*. One day a boy picked up a millepede and threw it toward a group of women. They jumped up and fled, shrieking. Talking about it afterwards, they explained that 'even men are afraid of millepedes'. (We observed several incidents of people jump- [753] ing and running from them.) They are very dangerous, the /Kung say. If one gets on you, the shock of fright you feel could kill you. 'Millepedes work with //*Gamwa*. He sends them to eat your nose when you are asleep.' If you put a *choba* in the fire when the *n/i* berries (*Grewia flava* D.C.) are still green, the berries will not ripen [278] properly and will not be sweet. If the /Kung find the ash of a millepede which has been burned in a veld fire and has kept its shape, they take the ash for a medicine. (Cf. Schapera's account that among the Naron and Auen 'the millipede, said to belong to *Hishe*, is only touched by them [magicians]; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine.'[2])

774 825 The /Kung do not believe that animals have spirits or souls or that earthly objects (such as trees or water, for example) are entered by spirits or are themselves animated by having spirits of their own.

787 Divination is a secular practice among the /Kung. The oracle disks may be thrown and read by any man. They are five leather disks about two-and-a-half to three inches in diameter. The man who throws them gathers them into his cupped hands, flings them with a spreading motion on to a kaross on the ground, and reads what they reveal or predict. Different personifications are attributed to the disks, according to what the people want to learn from them. If advice about a hunt is wanted, the

[1] Schapera, op. cit., pp. 176–7. [2] Ibid., p. 197.

776

also commonly used for any man (not a boy) older than the speaker when the speaker must avoid saying the name. The people address the gods as */nau* and *gaoxa* more commonly than as *n/ika*. We were told that they call the great god */nau* ' when he is good '. [576]

It is interesting to know that the power of the great god, his omnipotence which he was so mysteriously able to create for himself, is called *gaoxa* and that the special potent ' spiritual ' medicine which the great god puts into the medicine men, the curing power, is also called *gaoxa*. [756]

The /Kung often call the great god ' father ' especially in supplication, and plead that he succour his ' children ' and give them rain or good fortune in the hunt or whatever they may be asking for. [782]

Nonabe is a term of great disrespect, a ' scolding ' term. When used for a human being it is a curse and a terrific insult. A man who felt himself greatly wronged by another and in violent anger would say of the man who wronged him, ' That *Nonabe* ! ' But he would not say this to the man's face ' for if he did there might be a fight (so great is the insult). When he saw the man in person he would come in peace to him, not showing his anger '. *Nonabe* is used in blasphemy by the medicine men in trance, along with other insults when they are combating the gods and the *//ganwasi* in the medicine dances, demanding that they take away the evil they have brought. [578] [756]

The Fear of the Names

The Nyae Nyae /Kung ' fear ' (*koa*) to utter the names of the gods. The word 'means both' to be afraid of, as one is afraid of a mamba, and 'to respect and avoid', as one respects one's mother-in-law and avoids speaking to her and saying her name. 776 784

Children must strictly avoid saying any of the names of the gods. Old men and women need not observe an absolutely restrictive taboo in uttering the names, and may and do say them, but there seems to be an element of taboo (it is a ' death-thing ', they say) and fear of drawing attention to themselves. We were aware of their unwillingness to speak of religious matters early in our work and therefore waited until our relations were well established before questioning them. Our information was gathered for the most part in 1953 and 1955 at many different sessions with fifteen men and eight women informants who had proved to be reliable. Others joined the talks casually and when they wished to do so. Our informants declared themselves willing to teach me because I wished to know. Throughout the discussions people varied in the degree of caution and discretion with which they spoke the names. Sometimes we talked literally in whispers and usually at least in low voices, saying ' the one in the east ', ' the one in the west '. On one occasion /Ti/kay told me that my questions made him sick. He meant to claim, I ascertained, that he had an actual physical sensation such as a nervous twinge or slight nausea. The woman who first told me the name of the wife of the great god put her lips to my ear and whispered, barely audibly, ' *Huwadi* '. Next day, unfortunately, she had a high fever. She recovered, but the episode put an end to my trying to learn from her about the wives of the gods. /U, when someone was ill at Cho/ana, and she was filled with anxiety and longing to be home at Gautscha, made me promise not to say the names or ask any more questions, at least until we were all safely back. [124] [753]

776 ‖GAUWA's *Dwelling and Appearance*

‖Gauwa lives in the western sky at the place where the sun sets. (Cf. *‖Gaunab* of the Hottentots living in a black sky and *Tsui ‖Goab* in a red sky, p. 239.) /Ti/kay said more than once that the lesser god lived in the east. That was what he remembered being told by the old people, he claimed. The other informants agreed, however, in many different interviews, that it was the other way, that the lesser god lived in the west, so I take that to be their current belief.

Some believe that *‖Gauwa* first lived in a hole, *|gu*. He made the hole, one informant told us, by pushing the earth out with his head. The hole was like a spring-hare hole, but very big. There were two entrances; one faced toward the sunrise, one faced toward the sunset. *‖Gauwa* later made a house (*choo*). The house is tied together with wire and has poles made of iron. The house stands in a flat open space. It is built up off the ground, upon the iron poles which are stuck into the ground and rise up into the air. Informants said that ' when a person is sick with sore throat, the sickness [753 has been caused by those irons which stick into the air. If *‖Gauwa* does not like a 756] person he can hurt him with those irons. The " old man " (≠*Gao/na*) tells him the way he must hurt a person.' When the medicine men are in trance they go to that house. This is how they know what it is like. They go up by a cord which hangs down from the sky. (Cf. Lebzelter's account of the Eastern Kung who believe that *‖Gaunab* moves between heaven and earth on cords.)[1]

There are two trees near *‖Gauwa*'s house. They have names. Nothing else on the earth or in the sky bears those names, one informant told us. The name of the tree which is towards the north with respect to the other is */Gaie*; the one towards the south is named */Dua*. The names mean nothing; they are ' just names '. */Gaie* and */Dua* have smooth bark and large white flowers, no thorns, no nuts. I thought they might be like baobabs which have these characteristics, but they are not. They are more nearly like the camelthorn (which incidentally has two names, *|gi* ' a respect name ' and *|ana* ' a rough name ') but are not exactly like any tree on earth.

776 The medicine men see *‖Gauwa*. Only a very big medicine man, full of the power 756 which ≠*Gao/na* had put into him, might see ≠*Gao/na* himself, as we learned, but any of the medicine men can see *‖Gauwa*. /Ti/kay thought that because *‖Gauwa* was so [787 often sent by ≠*Gao/na* as his messenger the medicine men all become familiar with him. Anyone may see *‖Gauwa* in dreams.

The image of *‖Gauwa* varies. The present image accords with tradition in some aspects. Whereas ≠*Gao/na* is ' the tallest of the Bushmen ', *‖Gauwa* is short. He has the form of a man, and the colour yellow is associated with him (similar characteristics to those of Lebzelter's little yellow mannikins with thick bellies, the *dsao*).[2] But individuals have their own interpretations. I am convinced that some of the [158 medicine men, Gao Medicine for one, really believe that they do see *‖Gauwa*. They see in the shadows among the trees and bushes objects which they interpret to be *‖Gauwa*, or they see the light of the veld fires between the branches, or some such phenomenon, or they have visions or hallucinations, perhaps while in trance. Some perhaps just imagine a form.

Demi, a medicine man in Band 12, saw *‖Gauwa* the night of the great dance at

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188. [2] Ibid.

775 to our ears. One story was that at a place between Gam and Gautscha, where a person died, something goes '*wuu wuu wuu*', making a sound like wind in an empty ostrich eggshell or a bee buzzing in a bottle. The thing once chased ≠Nisa and her daughter. [761] They were terribly frightened, and people warned each other not to go near that place again 'because a person could get such a fright he could die of it'. One cannot see the thing. One can only hear it. On being questioned, people said they thought the thing was a *||gauwa*.

[787] *||Gauwasi* are mischievous as well as conveyors of grave evils and they trick and fool people on their own initiative, often appearing to people in dreams to do so. One might dream, for instance, that the *||gauwasi* told him he would shoot a fat buck if he hunted in a certain direction. If he then hunted there and failed to kill anything, he would know that they had tricked him. ≠Toma felt, when he was sick, that he was lying on thorns and that the *||gauwasi* were pressing down on him.

The function of the *||gauwasi* is, first and foremost, to be the servants (*≠gasi*) of the gods and to carry out their orders. They obey *≠Gaolna* primarily, but are servants of *||Gauwa* as well. They are the messengers, whether good or bad fortune is being sent to the people.

775 When the gods order them to kill a person, the *||gauwasi* have innumerable ways of
761 doing so. They can allow a buffalo to gore the person, a lion to maul him, or a snake
753 to bite him. They were responsible for a man's falling to his death from a baobab tree—an appalling death to the /Kung, who are as careful and sure as cats. Lightning [821] —'rain fire'—is 'a death thing' and is used by the *||gauwasi* to kill people when the gods so command. *||Gauwasi* have the traditional miniature magic bows and arrows, with which they shoot people. One feels the pain of the little arrow piercing, when one is shot, but one cannot see the arrow; eventually one dies of it. Sickness, however, is the greatest tool of the death-bringers and they kill mostly by it. They can bring their sicknesses, death, and other misfortune to men at any time, but they are sure to come to the ceremonial curing dances and are always there in the shadows watching for their chance to inflict the ill on the person or persons whom they are sent to destroy.

Although the *||gauwasi* are associated in the people's minds primarily with sickness and death and the people fear them with a pervading fear, the /Kung do not appear to suffer in an agony of terror. I think that their fear is mitigated by the belief that the *||gauwasi* are minor characters and can be driven away and that in their own natures they are not wholly evil. Like the mortals they once were, they are capable of being [782] good, bad, or indifferent to man. People can plead with them for their favour and sometimes they feel pity and are helpful.

Man's Relations with the Gods

772 *≠Gaolna* said, when he praised himself, 'I take my own way and no one can com-
776 mand me. I am a stranger, unknowable. I am *chi dole*.' The /Kung these days evidently imagine him to be as much the self unbridled as the old protagonist of the tales. However, unlike the old *≠Gaolna*, he is not indifferent to mankind, and, even though he lives in the sky, he is not remote. On the contrary, he is deeply involved with humanity, constantly aware of what people do, constantly reacting with pleasure or displeasure, and he favours, punishes, or ill-treats man accordingly.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Good and evil are thus explained by a duality which has its principal source in the omnipotent ≠*Gao/na*'s own self-oriented nature. The scope of this duality is enlarged by the similar duality in the natures of *//Gaowa* and the *//gaowasi*, who sometimes do good deeds to man and sometimes bad, when they are doing the work commanded by their master, and, also, when they instigate actions on their own initiative, as they sometimes do, especially I gather when ≠*Gao/na* is not around, for he is omnipotent but not omniscient or omnipresent. 772 776 [775]

Evil is sometimes accounted for by the gods working at cross purposes among themselves. For instance, *//Gaowa* might lead a man to find honey which ≠*Gao/na* had intended for someone else whom he wished to favour. ≠*Gao/na* would be angry and take revenge upon the man who found the honey. But, on the other hand, the gods may talk things over and agree together and man may benefit. The *//gaowasi* might want to take a person in death. One god would say, ' Go ahead ', but the other says, ' No, let us not take him.' The first then agrees and the person is left. That is how people may be very ill and still be cured. [753]

Punishment

The concept of sin as an offence against the gods is vague among the /Kung. Man's wrong-doing against man is not left to ≠*Gao/na*'s punishment nor is it considered to be his concern. Man corrects or avenges such wrong-doings himself in his social context. ≠*Gao/na* punishes people for his own reasons, which are sometimes quite obscure. It was interesting to see in the examples given how often food was involved. 776 [783] 626

Burning bees, I learned, displeases ≠*Gao/na* intensely. He likes the bees, his wife is the ' mother of the bees ', and he is very fond of honey himself. On one occasion, two men found honey in a tree. They tried to chop it out but the bees stung them so badly that they built a fire to drive them away and many bees were burned. ≠*Gao/na* did not like this. He sent a sickness upon the men and both died. When a person has burned bees, his body becomes hot as though burned by fire and he dies. [753]

≠*Gao/na* might change himself into a gemsbok and be walking in the veld. A hunter might come along and kill that gemsbok, thinking how lucky he was to get it. He would take the meat home and eat it and the next day he would be dead. Others who had no part in the killing would not die. ≠Toma who was telling this went on to say that ≠*Gao/na* might regret having done such a thing—killing a man who was just hunting to feed his children instead of helping him—and, to make amends, he might particularly favour that man's son.

If ≠*Gao/na* really sets out to kill someone in punishment, ≠Toma told us, one method he uses is to convert himself into honey and place himself in a tree like an ordinary honeycomb. Then he directs the person he wants to kill to that tree. The person takes the honey home, eats it, and then dies.

≠Toma added that ≠*Gao/na* might punish a person just a little by giving him a mild sickness, which would be comparable to giving him a thrashing. A good person who had done no wrong at all might also be punished by a mild sickness. ≠*Gao/na*'s motive, ≠Toma explained, might be to ' test ' him or to 'break ' him. (Ledimo and I worked carefully over this translation. We think we have the correct idea.) Why? we asked, but ≠Toma could not say. Not man's due, but whim and pride [753]

776 gods, the !Kung fear to do so because it displeases the gods and draws their attention and they say, "Who is calling my name?"

The lesser god who lives in the western sky is the namesake of the great god, who, as the belief goes, gave the lesser god all seven of his own divine names, but not his human name. Although they insist in this belief, the !Kung never used any name but *//Gauwa*, one of the seven divine names, when they referred to the lesser god and we never heard them actually use this name for the great god. It would seem, then, that the [171] lesser god is the old evil spirit, *//Gauwa*, who appears in the beliefs of the Hottentots and other Bushman language groups as the destroyer and the black chief, the one who sends death, disease, and misfortune. This evil spirit was an entity distinct from the good spirit who was variously named by Bushman groups *Hishe*, *Huwe*, and so on.

In present !Kung belief, however, neither the great god nor the lesser god is all evil or all good. Both are capable of being pleased or displeased with man and of sending favors or misfortunes. The lesser god is subservient to the great god and is supposed to do his bidding. The lesser god, however, has his own entity and does instigate his own actions, sometimes even disobeying the great god. Often they disagree between themselves.

The great god looks like a man, like a Bushman, but he is "the tallest of the Bushmen" and has long black hair that is not twisted and knotted like Bushman hair. He rides a horse across the sky—you can hear him—and he has a gun as well as bows and arrows. Some say he never comes to earth but always sends *//Gauwa*, or the spirits of the dead, the *//gauwasi*, to bring the good or evil that he sends to men. Only the greatest of medicine [28] men have ever seen him.

//Gauwa, however, is commonly seen by the medicine men. They describe him as small. One said he was about two feet tall; another, that he was as small as a guinea fowl; a third, that he was as small as a mouse. Several agreed that he was covered with yellow hairs. One, however, a humble man, said that while in trance he had seen *//Gauwa* and that he was like a gray mist.

782 RELIGIOUS PRACTICES • The !Kung say that they pray spontaneously to the gods. Whenever the thought comes to them they put their prayers into words and say or think them to themselves without any formality. When they speak in prayer to the great god they address him by the respectful term *!Nau*, used for any old man, or use a title *Gaoxa* (chief), or call him "father." Sometimes they use one of his names. The prayers, a mingling [181] of mild imprecation and pleading, reveal the major concerns of the !Kung: hunger, sickness, and death.[11]

776 The great god, responsible for sending sickness and death to men, ● 753 also created and gives to men a mystical curing power that is called *gaoxa*
778
755

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

(the same word as the title of respect). The !Kung say it is strong medicine: 776
/*num*. The !Kung take for granted his giving to man both sickness and 753
the power to cure it, and account for the power's sometimes failing to cure 778
by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work, or not, according 755
to his pleasure.

He gives the curing power to medicine men (called *num kxao*, medicine 778
owners), appearing to them (usually in dreams, sometimes in what seem 756
to be waking hallucinations) and putting the power into them. He has also [533]
put a curing power in the medicine songs that the people sing at the dances, songs named Rain, Sun, Giraffe, Eland, Honey, Buffalo, Mamba, and Spider —all powerful things. The great god gives the power freely. It is rare to find a man among the !Kung who is not a medicine man. The function of the 756
medicine men is only to cure. They are not sorcerers or witch doctors. (The [754]
!Kung are not a witch-ridden people.) !Kung medicine men receive no rewards or special prerogatives. They work together apparently without rivalry. The medicine men may cure at any time but their strongest curing occurs [535]
at the dance.

Whether or not anyone is sick, the people dance two or three times a 535
month, sometimes more often. Anyone who wants a dance may start one 781
simply by asking people to come and begin. The !Kung like to dance for many reasons. There is the inherent physical pleasure in moving to rhythm. Music and dancing are their arts, from which their aesthetic pleasure comes. [53]
The dances are also social gatherings in which all participate, men, women, 535
children, visitors—everybody. A dance draws them together as nothing else 781
does. Even more important is the fact that the dance is one concerted re- 571
ligious act of the !Kung and brings people into such unison that they become like an organic being.

At the dances not only may the sick be cured, but pending evil and mis- 535
fortune averted. The !Kung believe that the great god may send */Gauwa* or 755
the */gauwasi* at any time with ill for someone and that these beings may be 751
lurking, awaiting their chance to inflict it. The medicine men in the dances combat them, drive them away, and protect the people.

Usually there are several medicine men performing at the same time. 755
To cure they go into trance, which varies in depth as the ceremony proceeds. The curing cannot be described in words; it must be heard. When a man begins, he leaves the line of dancing men and, still singing, leans over the person he is going to cure, going eventually to every person present, even the infants. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The !Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. To demonstrate that this is in fact going on and is hard to do, he grunts with shuddering grunts that intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high piercing, quavering yell. Finally, the medicine man throws up his arms

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

is no information about special pregnancy observances in any of the other tribes. 843

Among the North-Western tribes, the only ones of whom we have adequate information on this point, the labour is sometimes conducted in the camp, but generally, as soon as the first symptoms appear, the woman leaves the huts, and the birth takes place in the open, some distance away.[1] Lebzelter says of the Kung that only women giving birth for the first time are confined in the camp; the others go out into the open veld. Whether this also applies to the other tribes is not clearly indicated. Wherever delivery may take place, a little soft grass is collected, on which the woman rests. Assistance is given by her mother and some other old women. There do not appear to be any special midwives. Men may not be present at delivery. Among the Heikum tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on a tree as a warning to them that labour is in progress. Among the Auen the husband of the woman fastens his bowstring round her body; then he goes away and remains in his hut until the birth has taken place. There does not seem to be any determinate symbolic meaning attaching to this act; the explanation given to Kaufmann was that it facilitated the birth. There is no record from any of the other tribes of a similar act in which the husband is ritually linked up with the birth, except among the Kung, where, according to Lebzelter, the woman as soon as delivery is imminent must step over the legs of her husband, who has previously rubbed "medicine" into cuts made in his calves. 844

A different usage is mentioned incidentally by Seydel in connection with birth-giving among the Namib Bushmen.[2] When labour is far advanced the woman's husband makes a small fire outside the hut in which she is confined, and carefully keeps it going. No pot may be placed on this fire, nor may anything be cooked or roasted over it. It is believed that if this custom is neglected both mother and new-born child will go blind. After the birth another larger fire is kindled alongside the previous one as a sign of rejoicing, irrespective of the sex of the child. [753 [846

During labour the woman sits on the ground with knees upraised and her back supported, and is roughly massaged by the attendant women. For the act of birth itself, which generally is not prolonged,

[1] The principal descriptions of birth customs are given by Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 98–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 158; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 292; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94; Lebzelter, loc. cit.

[2] Seydel, op. cit., 504.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

that sorcerers could bewitch and thus kill a person, while the breach 761
of certain prescribed rules of conduct connected especially with the [754]
rain was held to lead automatically to death.[1] The Auen make a
distinction between people who die a "good death", i.e. easily and
without great preceding pains, and those who die in great agony.
The former are regarded as dying a natural death, the latter as
bewitched or possessed.[2] Further north, among the Kung, it is
believed that death may be caused by certain spirits known as *dsao*, [776]
who are sent by the spirits of the dead (*//gauab*) to enter the bodies [753]
of people and thus make them sick; while men who speak evil of
the "great chief" *Xu* may be killed by him through the medium
of lightning.[3] With the Hiechware, again, no death is ever the
result of natural causes. It is brought about by witchcraft or the
malevolent power of enemies. "It is strange," says Dornan,[4] "how
the old and decrepit people, who must know that their time in this
world will be short, cling tenaciously to this belief. It is useless to
argue with them upon the question. They will tell you that they
know of many people who died by the powerful medicine of their
enemies."

It is a well-known feature of primitive peoples that they are not
satisfied with what we call natural causes of death, and that whenever
a death occurs there is a belief that some sorcerer or some super-
natural agency has been the cause of it. That such a belief also
exists among the Bushmen is obvious from the statements given
above, but more detailed information on this point is very desirable,
especially as to the extent to which purely natural causes are recognized.

If death comes to a Bushman in normal times he is buried with 764
all his possessions not far from his hut, generally in the posture in
which he sleeps, i.e. on one side, with the knees drawn up against the
breast. This is the posture desired both north and south, and often
met with in excavations of Bushman graves. Everywhere, however,
Bushmen are also found buried in all sorts of other postures; evidently
time and means for a proper burial have not always been forthcoming.
In some cases, too, burial is impossible or even refused. The Auen, 766
e.g., bury only those people who have died "good deaths"; the

[1] Bleek, op. cit., 14, 16, 19; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15, 16, 21, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 393 sqq.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 158.
[3] Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 15; *idem*, "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khun-Buschmänner," 407, 409.
[4] Op. cit., 144.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

spirit remains active about the place, and they do not want to offend it."[1] 775 769

The conflicting accounts of Dornan's informants as to the fate of the dead can be harmonized if we assume, in the light of Lebzelter's statements about the Kung and the Heikum, that these Eastern Kalahari Bushmen also distinguish between the soul and the ghost; but since there is nothing in Dornan's remarks to indicate definitely the existence of such a distinction, the assumption here made must be regarded as purely speculative. It will be noticed, further, that he describes here the practice of throwing a small stone on the grave in order to appease the spirit of the dead person. This practice, as we have already noted, has sometimes been said to exist among the Southern Bushmen also. Unfortunately it is not always possible to determine how far Dornan has recorded what are actually his own observations, for much in his book has obviously been inspired by the accounts of earlier writers on the Bushmen generally. What he has to say here must therefore also be received with caution, and cannot without further inquiry be accepted as an independent confirmation. 114 775 769 [184]

It appears on the whole that, among all the Bushmen, people are believed to continue their existence after death, sometimes in their own form, sometimes in another form, and may even manifest themselves to the living. There is also a vague, ill-defined fear of the dead person's haunting the living, but it would seem that as a rule no great harm is expected from this, although, as we shall see later, most of the North-Western tribes attribute sickness to the spirits of the dead. Another fact that emerges very prominently is the apparent absence of any organized cult of the dead as such—there seems to be nothing in the way of ancestor-worship, nor of any other form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated. The only concrete mention there is of dead people being prayed to refers to the Cape Bushmen. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that his father asked a certain dead magician for rain, which speedily followed; while another mentioned a prayer addressed by his mother to a dead magician who had power over game, in order that her husband's hunting might prove more fortunate.[2] The details given in both instances are too scanty to afford much basis for speculation, but can hardly be interpreted as implying more than that in certain cases dead magicians would be 775 [753] [769] 114 184 769 789

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 147–8. [2] *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 22.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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776 First there is their chief or headman, simply termed *//gauab* by ordinary people, but whose real name, known to and uttered only by the magicians, is */nawa*. "Probably," suggests Lebzelter, "we [184] have to do here with the high god of another religion, and */nawa* is to be identified with *//nwa-se*, the New Moon of the Angola Kung." */nawa* or *//gauab* does good as well as evil. He is prayed to for [782] success in the chase, assists the hunters in their efforts, and receives [224] the first-offerings of any game taken; he is also, however, most [753] frequently the cause of illness. One informant, who had been baptized, spoke of him as the "devil" who had made the Kung; others, old magicians, credited him with giving rise to the existence and present mode of life of men and animals. He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.

775 The second group of spirits are the *//gauab* who stand at the service 776 of the "great captain". As a rule they lie around their hearth-fires in the sky, the stars, and only come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead (*xa*) and bring them to *Xu*. The third group comprises the "small" *//gauab*, the ghosts of the dead, whose home is the grave but who roam about everywhere and are injurious to mankind; the fourth are the particularly malicious little spirits dwelling in the water; and finally there is the whole horde of the [753] spirits of disease, the *dsao*, small yellow mannikins with thick bellies, who at the command of any of the other spirits enter into people [756] and thus make them ill. It is the function of the magicians to remove them from the body of the patient.[1]

The Western Kung of the Oschimpoloveld have no such elaborate 184 world of spirits. Mention is made only of the */gagorob* or */gau/gorob*, 776 small spirits who roam about in the bush and do nothing but play practical jokes on people. "They are not the spirits of the dead," says Lebzelter, "and cannot therefore be compared with the *//gauab*."[2]

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan we meet again with *//gauab*, [192] or, as the name is here rendered, */gamab*. Owing to Christian influence [177] */gamab* is now spoken of as "the devil", but Lebzelter regards this being as a "demiurge", whom he equates with */nawa* or the principal *//gauab* of the Eastern Kung, and with */gamab* of the Bergdama and Nama. */gamab* is said by the Heikum to have created mankind and the world; the souls of the dead (*darish*) come to live with him,

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der *!Kun*-Buschmänner," 407–10; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 412.

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and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the "benefactress" *Ises*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.[1]

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was doubted.[2]

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are, according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan, "I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad, and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism in which two powers, one good, Thora or Huwe, and one bad, Khauna, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."[3]

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the

[1] Op. cit., 410. [3] Op. cit., 410–11.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167–8.

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776 honoured with certain ritual observances connected with the chase;
[782] he is also prayed to for rain, before travel, and in case of illness;
[224] and finally it is from him that the magicians obtain their special
[756] powers. By the Eastern Kung he is said to have a wife and many children; among the other Kung and the Heikum he figures alone.

Few of these attributes are mentioned by Miss Bleek in her remarks
184 upon *Hishe* among the Naron and Auen, and upon *Huwe* among the
776 !O !Kung. But there are certain points of agreement. *Hishe* dwells in
[775] a house in the east, to which the ghosts of the dead repair by day;
[224] he is regarded as the creator, and as the protector of game and hunting. On the other hand *Hishe-Huwe*, sometimes alone, sometimes in double
[881] guise as man and woman, sometimes "followed by children like
[114] baboons", figures prominently in the boys' puberty ceremonies, which are not referred to at all by Lebzelter. At the same time, since these ceremonies certainly have much to do with hunting, their association with *Hishe-Huwe* is not inconsistent with his character as protector of the game and hunting, although of course it is hardly likely that this provides the only explanation for his figuring in them. Nor
[782] is he ever prayed to among these tribes, save where the name *Huwe* is substituted by the !O !Kung for *//nwa-se*, the New Moon, in the prayer for rain. Most of the prayers for food and rain, however, are directed to the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon.

A closer agreement with Lebzelter's account is provided by Dornan's
[114] discussion of *Thora-Huwe* among the North-Eastern Bushmen. *Thora* is here said to be the creator who is over all things, he sends
[821] rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting, certain
[224] hunting observances are directed towards him, he wards off disease,
[753] and protects the Bushmen from danger.

It is possible also to find a connection in certain respects between *Huwe* and the conception of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen. Among the Cape Bushmen, it is true, the Mantis is primarily a mythological character, the central figure of an elaborate series of myths relating to him and his "family". He is never worshipped, but on
[782] the other hand, like *Huwe*, he has creative powers, and is also said to
[825] have made certain bucks and to protect them. Mention is further made by these Bushmen of an afterworld to which go the spirits
[775] of the dead, but there is nothing at all to link this up with the Mantis, just as there is nothing to link up the afterworld of the North-Eastern Bushmen with *Thora*. The resemblance between the Mantis and *Huwe* is far more noticeable among the Bushmen of Basutoland.

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Here also the Mantis is the central figure of many myths; but at the same time he is the creator, he causes life or death, he is especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food and good luck in hunting, and he is also connected with certain religious dances at which the "initiated men" (probably the magicians) cure illness. The elaborate mythological character of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen and his association with so many other figures in these myths preclude an absolute identification of him and *Huwe*. The resemblance in other respects, however, appears on the whole to be striking enough to warrant our connecting the two. 184 776 [761] [224] [782] [755]

The other outstanding conception is that of *//gaua*, *//gauab*, */gamab*, etc. In all the North-Western tribes the word *//gaua* is used in the first place for the ghosts of dead persons, and one cannot resist assuming that this is its fundamental significance. Among the Naron and Auen these ghosts, which as in all the other North-Western tribes can be seen by the magicians, walk about at night, and people are afraid of them, but not do expect real harm from them; among the Eastern Kung, however, all the *//gauab* are the cause of illness, some do mischief, while others come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead; among the Heikum of Ukuambi the ghosts move about on earth and do harm to people, while among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul goes to live with */gamab*, but may return to earth to kill people. In general therefore it would seem that dead people are regarded by the North-Western Bushmen as sources of injury, and especially as causing illness and even death. The same idea is conveyed by Dornan's statement, that the North-Eastern Bushmen avoid the grave of a dead person, "lest the spirit resent the intrusion." 184 775 [753] [753] [761] [769]

The word *//gaua* is, however, used also in the sense of a personified being, whose attributes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but appear on closer analysis to show a certain uniformity. The !O Kung ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*; when anyone is killed by lightning they say "*//gaua* took him", and people who had met their death in this way were said to sit in the sky as stars, which are looked upon as "*//gaua*'s fires". Among the Eastern Kung the stars are also the fires of the *//gauab*, a shooting star heralds the death of someone, while lightning is the medium through which *Xu* punishes or kills people. Among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga *xamaba* (*/gamab*) inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like, while 184 776 [192] [821] [775] [821] [753]

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184 776 among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan */gamab* makes thunder and
[821] lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting stars. The Naron and Auen term a strong and howling wind *//gaua*,
[825] while sometimes *//gaua* is said to be a bird which makes the wind.
[777] Finally among the North-Eastern Bushmen *Khauna* is the source of
[753] bad luck and disease, is injurious to people, and sends the thunder-
[821] storm and lightning, the latter being regarded as his offspring. Further
[825] the "lightning bird", intimately associated with him, is feared and may inflict death by lightning when molested. Here again we get
[753] the general impression of *//gaua* as the source of illness and death, acting through the medium of the storm, lightning, and shooting stars.

184 776 821 In all this *//gaua* offers certain points of resemblance with the conception of the Rain held by the Cape Bushmen. Among the latter the Rain is definitely personified, it appears in their myths as a supernatural personage, generally in the form of an animal, and here it is said, "the Rain thunders, the Rain lightens." When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind and various transformations effected; the howling of the wind forebodes evil; and numerous observances have to be kept in order
[761] not to anger the Rain and thereby provoke death. There is also
[775] the belief that people killed by lightning are changed into stars; shooting stars are omens of death; the wind is sometimes spoken
[825] of as a bird; and the flight over the camp of the *Scopus umbretta*, known to the North-Eastern Bushmen as the "lightning bird", here announces the death of someone. In this connection it may be added that among the Namib Bushmen thunder and lightning are said to command great reverence, and a person struck and killed by lightning is believed to have suffered death as a punishment for some past misdeed.[1]

184 776 In some cases, among the North-Western Bushmen, *//gaua* shares certain of the attributes vested in *Huwe*. This appears most strikingly among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga, where *Huwe-Erob* does not figure at all, his place being taken by *xamaba*, who has most of the powers and privileges attributed to *Huwe-Erob* by the other
[782] Heikum and the Kung. Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan
[755] we find prayers addressed to *Erob* for rain and in illness, but at the
[775] same time the "demiurge" */gamab* is mentioned as the creator who
[821] receives the souls of the dead. Further, as we have just seen, */gamab*

[1] Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, */nawa* or the chief of the *//gauab* figures as the creator, and, as the executive of *Xu*, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success; he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of *Huwe* on the one hand and of *//gaua* on the other have been blended or confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explanation may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies for boys: according to the former, it is *Hishe* who figures in the special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled by *Gaua*. *//gaua*, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that one of Miss Bleek's informants identified *//gaua* with *Ndzambi*, the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God", while another spoke of *//gaua* as the "father" of the Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of *Huwe*, *Thora*, or the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; and with the conception of *//gaua* first as the ghosts of the dead and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder, lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples; it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

Magic and Magicians

In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

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Knowledge of Disease and Doctoring

164 The Bushmen in their own environment and leading their own mode of life seem on the whole to be a healthy and hardy people. Those communities in the north which have not been much in contact with civilization are said to be remarkably free from infectious, contagious, and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons, when malaria becomes unduly prevalent, the incidence of disease is very small amongst them. Malaria, however, carries off many victims, for the Bushmen do not seem able to withstand it better than other peoples. Kaufmann, as we have seen, records that in 1909 the mortality caused by it was especially high, whole villages dying out, so that the numbers of the Auen were reduced to less than half. Seiner, another trustworthy observer, states that [114] among the Kung fully 20 per cent of the deaths that occur, especially of children, may be attributed to it; and it is officially recorded that in the years 1917, 1923, and 1925 "large numbers" of Bushmen died from it along the north-eastern and eastern borders of South-West Africa. Smallpox, typhoid, dysentery, and phthisis are also mentioned as occurring in these parts, the latter being promoted by [276] excessive indulgence in tobacco and dagga smoking. Where contact with other peoples is frequent, syphilis is often found, as well as [177] measles, influenza, whooping-cough, scarlet fever, and other European diseases. European clothing and dwellings have a bad effect upon the Bushmen. They are particularly susceptible to pulmonary affections when removed from their natural surroundings, and a considerable number of those who have suffered from bronchitis, pneumonia, etc., subsequently succumb to tuberculosis. When [648] imprisoned, as many of them are in South-West Africa for cattle stealing or breaking the game laws, they rapidly decline in strength and die in great numbers, however kindly treated by the gaol authorities.[1]

753 Sickness in most instances is attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the person affected, to evil magic exercised against him by other persons, to the malicious interference of the ghosts of dead people who send the "spirits of disease" into 000 the patient's body, or to some similar supernatural cause. Treatment

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138, 139; Seiner, "Bericsung der Omaheke," 293; Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 140–4; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29–30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 91; *Official Year Book of S.A.*, No. 8, pp. 983–6 *passim*.

[30 cont.] VON ZASTROW
113 and Vedder (1) report further:

1

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Buschmänner, pp. 412-413.

843 "It is absolutely against the rules to do anything by word or
754 deed to the pregnant woman that might make her angry. Her evil eye in this period is especially dangerous; her angry word or her curse has an even worse effect. Sores, illness, protracted suffering, and death are the consequences of the evil eye or the curse of a pregnant woman.

844 "It is customary to sever the umbilical cord with an instrument only when the blood no longer pulsates. The umbilical cord is not tied off. The afterbirth must be carefully and secretly buried. The life of the child would be greatly endangered if an animal found it or if a feared sorcerer could appropriate a piece of it."

881 As soon as the girls have their first menstruation (/n) (2),

2. Female genitalia (/n-i).

a celebration takes place, but in this tribe I was unable to learn any of the details. On this occasion, the women dance, clap their hands, and sing, "giriri, giriri, giriri, uhu, giriri uhu," and so forth.

Men may not be present at this celebration. In a Hei//om horde neighboring the !Kung, spirits are appealed to in all directions on the occasion of this celebration, so that the girl, as an adult, will find veldkost everywhere.

The existence of a true initiation for boys is denied (3).

[114] 3. On this point I was either misunderstood
[124] or told a falsehood.

There is merely a kind of testing; an older man goes with the candidate or candidates on a hunting expedition. Under the supervision of the older person, the candidate must kill a specimen of large game. The animal is then brought to the sacred fire, at which the

[51 cont.]

000 out the root, but dies on the spot as a sacrifice taking the place of the person who wants the plant. Once one has it, there is no longer any danger. People take so much trouble to get it because of its following peculiarity: the demons, that is to say, evil spirits of wicked human beings who enter into the living and kill them unless help is quickly given, are driven out by this plant as soon as one so much as brings it near the patient."

751 It comes from a little bush (/gui-sa). It does not occur in
754 the Bushman region visited by me, but farther to the north. It is
824 only found accidentally. When the doctor wanders through the
756 bush, he sometimes hears low talking. Soon he sees a track resembling that of a snake and showing traces of blood. The root walks upright on this track, like a stick. He may not attack it, because he would die immediately; instead he attempts to approach from the direction in which the magic root is walking, opens the medicine bag, and lets the little mandrake walk in. Then the bag is firmly closed and at home is hung on a tall tree. The mandrake may not be taken into the hut. Something like blood drips out of the bag. Early the next morning a great fire is made; women and children and everyone assemble, each one bringing his little buck horn to obtain from the doctor some of the medicine coming from the mandrake. The medicine is rubbed on the skin. Bushmen who live among the Whites may not take this medicine because they will become sick from it. -- The medicine or the magic that is given out by the mandrake has little effect on those who were treated in the manner described above, [52] but it has considerable effect in other cases. This medicine is used to kill enemies through magic at a distance. When a doctor goes to a horde that does not yet have this medicine, he carries the horn filled with it around his neck. Some of the mandrake's magic poison passes into anyone who looks at him.

754 When the doctor sits down, anyone who has looked at him keels over and dies unless he is helped. If this person is an enemy, the doctor simply goes away and does not trouble himself any

[52 cont.]

754 further. The belly of the unconscious person swells enormously.
755 When all other procedures have proved futile and someone remembers that this or that doctor has the magic medicine, he is called in, takes some of his bloodlike fluid from his horn, and first smears his own feet and then rubs the patient's feet and, above all, the patient's stomach in a circular massage. Gradually the swelling recedes, the patient gets up, sits down, and is cured.

This story, based upon the fact that there are roots with
648 bloodlike sap, became known by the farmers in a confused fashion and was the cause of the ridiculous fear of the secret poisons of the Bushmen that many farmers have.

15. The Elements

773 Heaven and earth, sun and moon, all was made by X'u,
821 the great captain, the supreme being. In the sun-scorched deserts inhabited by the Bushmen, the sun is no dispenser of mercy. During the hot season even the Bushman is forced to remain in the shade in the daytime, because the sand is so hot that he cannot walk on it.

The sun was a daughter of man. The Bushmen had seen her, and the men had to carry this daughter, but since she burned with such heat on their shoulders, the men had to frequently change places. When the shoulders of all the men were burned, they left the sun lying in the bush and did not take her to the huts. This is the place from which the sun rose. She is from the great captain.

When the sun sets, she sits down on the earth to eat. When it is to be day, one of her shoulderblades goes to the other side of the world where it appears as the sun. The sun's rays (/gam ǂhǂsn) are the arms of the sun. The eclipse of the sun (ǂKáo) is caused by the lions so that they can more easily eat human beings.

The Bushman becomes cheerful only when the cool of the evening arrives, and at the time of the full moon he celebrates his festivals. There is no question of moon worship, however, among the !Kung Bushmen I visited.

[62 cont.]

293 Like the prehistoric Bushmen, these people, too, wear forehead bands, into which the arrows are stuck during the hunt.

726 Dornan (p. 139) reports that the Kalahari Bushmen hold
754 dances before the start of a war, and on these occasions they shoot little poisoned arrows from equally small bows in the direction of the enemy or of the sun. They believe that in so doing they are killing the shadow spirit of the enemy. They do not like to give these miniature bows and arrows to anyone because they are afraid that they might come into the possession of their enemies and thus bring about their own deaths.

226 Fishing is still quite well developed among the Masarwa people. Stone walls are sometimes built in the river, in which weir-baskets are set, or they sit in the river bed next to one another with weir-baskets, while women and children drive the fish toward them. In smaller waterholes, grass and brush are piled up on one side. Then the Bushmen step into the water and push the grass wall ahead of them, thus driving the fish into a corner. Individual fish are also speared with the assagai. According to Hodson, the best fishermen are the Bakoba Bushmen on the Okovanggo. They have harpoons and rush nets that are drawn diagonally across the river.

278 G. A. Farini (3) had an opportunity to observe the

[113] 3. G. A. Farini, Durch die Kalahariwüste [Through the Kalahari Desert], Leipzig, 1886.

manufacture of arrow poison in the Chanse Veld. The men gathered at a certain place; women were not allowed to be present. The sap was removed from about 30 to 40 poisonous bulbs by means
[535] of successive incisions and was collected in a pan. As each incision was made, the Bushmen danced in a circle, making a kind of grunt. Then a hyena hide was spread out with the hair side down, and on it was spread the contents of the bags that contained the dried heads of poisonous snakes, as well as two pieces of reed approximately 15 centimeters long. Then a number of freshly killed poisonous snakes were brought. The poison sacs were removed amidst singing and the clapping of hands. Meanwhile the pan containing the poison had been put on the fire and was boiling;

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[74 cont.]

776 one time as a man and at another time as a woman.

7. Medicine

The curing practices of the Nogau Bushmen are very primi-
757 tive. They have nothing for snakebite and nothing for arrow poison.

Eland fat is a universal medicine. For the common eye
278 inflammations this fat is smeared into the eye; for headaches warm eland fat is dripped into the ear; for a cold the nostrils and nose are smeared with eland fat.

Sickness comes either from the evil head Gauab or from
753 sorcerers. The ailment is caused by a little Gauab who has settled
[754] in the body. The more gravely ill a person is, the more Gauana have entered into him. The doctors are able to draw out these
755 spirits of sickness; they do it in a fashion analogous to that prac-
756 ticed by the !Kung. There are also female doctors.

The spirits of sickness are regarded here as much more ma-
753 terial than among the !Kung; such a Gauab looks like a human
776 being, but he may also appear as a lion, a wildebeest, or a snake. Once the Gauab has been drawn out of the body, it runs away and speaks to no one.

The sorcerers in particular like to transform themselves into
756 lions. Among the Bushmen farther north [75] it is supposedly
[625] the case that when they see a wildebeest in the bush, for example, it is not a wildebeest at all, but a Gauab. The doctors receive their power from the highest Gauab (/gaua //gaicha). He is the one who appears in the wind spouts. As among the Bantu, the doctors must go to school for several years with older colleagues.
[754] They are not only able to cure, but also to practice magic in the bad sense, in that they induce /Gaua //gaicha to make ill anyone whom they want to harm.

"Whoever wants to become a sorcerer must go to school with another witch doctor. When someone is struck by lightning, it is said that Gauab struck him down with his knife. Some then become great doctors and often speak with Gauab. Gauab also comes as a wind spout."

[75 cont.]

754 411 Among the Naron, according to Miss Bleek, the Bushman revolver is also in use. The doctors fight one another with it. Such an arrow is secretly shot at the opponent's kaross, and through the magic emanating from the arrow, the enemy falls sick and dies.

8. Death and Burial

761 The Nogau have the following conceptions: Death is caused by Gauab, who steals the soul and makes a little Gauab of it. The dead person is buried immediately; there is no 764 dancing, only weeping. The corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on its side with the head toward the east. Only the sleeping blanket is placed in the grave; the weapons that were left behind are kept by the brothers. The food that the deceased was carrying with him is thrown on the grave. Then bushes are placed on it.

[775] 769 In their opinion the soul of the deceased, which has been transformed into a Gauab, wanders around near the grave; therefore they detour around it. When a Nogau Bushman passes the grave of a tribal member, he prays to him for help in hunting so that the children will grow fast and become fat. He says:

[539] "I do not know how it will go with me
With the food, how it will go with me with the food;
I do not know what I should do to get something to eat,
Let us eat and become big."

775 On the other hand, there is also the belief that the great Gauab who kills a human being eats the heart or keeps it in cold water and finally makes a new Bushman of it. Among the Naron 764 the corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on his side with the face toward the east. These customs are by no means always observed, however, especially when the ground is hard. The Naron do not fear the spirits of the dead, although the doctors 769 767 see them, as do those men "who have incisions between the eyebrows." As we know from the Nogau, this includes all who have taken part in the boys' initiation. Women can never see such spirits.

Among all three tribes, old people are exposed to die.

888

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

Bushmen believe that certain famous sorcerers, once med- 754
icine men who chose to be poisoners and magicians instead 825
of healers, have taken the form of certain lions, which can always be distinguished from ordinary lions by their great size and their ability to float in the air. Also, Bushmen say, the [921]
eclipses of the moon are caused by lions, as on very bright nights a lion may cover the moon's face with a great paw, giving himself darkness for better hunting.

Usually, when a lion sees you, he skulks away or bounds 136
off in great, ungainly leaps, in clumsy dodges, making a fool of himself because he is frightened; but when one raises his head and looks right at you, then turns as this one did, and walks off without even looking back, you understand at once why Bushmen believe the things they do.

As the lion walked away into a thicket of acacia trees we climbed off the truck and followed him. It was rash of us, but we were not afraid of him. We wanted a photograph. However, he had disappeared, and as we were looking cautiously around among the trunks of little trees we heard a motor roaring, gears grinding; and finally, as we watched, the jeep arrived with Cass and Bob (Dr. Story), who told us to go back to camp as fast as we could. Two Bushmen had arrived.

We started back at once and got there late in the afternoon, 609
and there we found them, two small men, one old, one young, in silhouette as they squatted by the fire, turning as we came to look at us, very nervous and very ill at ease. They had been given food and tobacco—a blue cloud hung above their heads —and a bucket of water, but during the course of the afternoon they had drunk the bucket dry. As Theunis and Gishe, the only people who could have spoken to both them and us, had been away, the rest of the expedition had had to wait anxiously for our return, unable to communicate a single word.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

(the same word as the title of respect). The !Kung say it is strong medicine: 776
/*num*. The !Kung take for granted his giving to man both sickness and 753
the power to cure it, and account for the power's sometimes failing to cure 778
by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work, or not, according 755
to his pleasure.

He gives the curing power to medicine men (called *num kxao*, medicine 778
owners), appearing to them (usually in dreams, sometimes in what seem 756
to be waking hallucinations) and putting the power into them. He has also [533]
put a curing power in the medicine songs that the people sing at the dances, songs named Rain, Sun, Giraffe, Eland, Honey, Buffalo, Mamba, and Spider —all powerful things. The great god gives the power freely. It is rare to find a man among the !Kung who is not a medicine man. The function of the 756
medicine men is only to cure. They are not sorcerers or witch doctors. (The [754]
!Kung are not a witch-ridden people.) !Kung medicine men receive no rewards or special prerogatives. They work together apparently without rivalry. The medicine men may cure at any time but their strongest curing occurs [535]
at the dance.

Whether or not anyone is sick, the people dance two or three times a 535
month, sometimes more often. Anyone who wants a dance may start one 781
simply by asking people to come and begin. The !Kung like to dance for many reasons. There is the inherent physical pleasure in moving to rhythm. Music and dancing are their arts, from which their aesthetic pleasure comes. [53]
The dances are also social gatherings in which all participate, men, women, 535
children, visitors—everybody. A dance draws them together as nothing else 781
does. Even more important is the fact that the dance is one concerted re- 571
ligious act of the !Kung and brings people into such unison that they become like an organic being.

At the dances not only may the sick be cured, but pending evil and mis- 535
fortune averted. The !Kung believe that the great god may send */Gauwa* or 755
the */gauwasi* at any time with ill for someone and that these beings may be 751
lurking, awaiting their chance to inflict it. The medicine men in the dances combat them, drive them away, and protect the people.

Usually there are several medicine men performing at the same time. 755
To cure they go into trance, which varies in depth as the ceremony proceeds. The curing cannot be described in words; it must be heard. When a man begins, he leaves the line of dancing men and, still singing, leans over the person he is going to cure, going eventually to every person present, even the infants. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The !Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. To demonstrate that this is in fact going on and is hard to do, he grunts with shuddering grunts that intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high piercing, quavering yell. Finally, the medicine man throws up his arms

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

when the wife is too old; she may then simply be sent back to her 586
people. Generally, however, she stays with her husband, who then [595]
takes a second wife, younger and more active. The children of a divorced woman remain with their father, and are brought up by his new wife.[1] Among the Heikum separation of husband and wife may take place under various circumstances, as when the woman is childless, but this, says Fourie, is entirely a matter for adjustment between them. The wife on separation returns to her own group; the present made to her mother at marriage is not returned to the husband. The children are looked upon as belonging to the father, but if husband and wife should separate the girls, according to Fourie, are taken by the father and the sons by the mother.[2] This statement [114]
runs counter to those given above about what happens in the other North-Western tribes under similar circumstances, and is almost certainly inaccurate.

Among the Namib Bushmen divorce may result only from barrenness or adultery, and is at the discretion of the husband. If he decides to separate from his wife, he brings her back to her parents. The mature children remain with him, while the youngsters who have to go with their mother also come to him when grown up. After divorce both parties are at liberty to marry again as soon as they wish.[3]

Marriage is, of course, also dissolved by the death of either husband 587
or wife. As a rule the survivor may remarry. Among the Bushmen [589]
of Basutoland, however, a widow is said to have found it difficult [754]
to get a second husband, owing perhaps, writes Arbousset,[4] to the [761]
popular belief that most of the deaths which occurred were due to witchcraft rather than disease. On the other hand, great attention was paid to her in the camp, where no piece of game was ever eaten without her having a share.

Further north this fear of marriage with a widow is not found. [184]
Among the Naron she may, if she likes, marry her late husband's brother, but need not necessarily do so; she is quite at liberty to marry another man. If she remarries, and if young enough most widows do so, her new husband is expected to look after the children; [736]
otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. An unmarried widow may stay near her late husband's people, or return to her own group, as she pleases.[5] Widows among the Auen may also marry 587

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157.
[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 60.
[3] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505.
[4] Op. cit. (English trans.), 364.
[5] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 67.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Chapter VII

RELIGION AND MAGIC

Death and Burial

771 In discussing the social customs and economic life of the Bushmen we have had occasion to note incidentally various usages and beliefs, connected for instance with puberty and especially with food, which point to the existence of some conception of supernatural agencies, and indicate how intimately religion really enters into the everyday activities of the people. The customs and beliefs associated with death afford a further insight into the religion of the Bushmen, for we meet here with their ideas of a future state as well as of spiritual beings.

539 773 [761] The origin of death is recorded in the fable of the Moon and the Hare, which is told with some variation by all the Bushman and Hottentot tribes, as well as by certain Bantu peoples. The version found among the Cape Bushmen states that the Moon once appeared to the young Hare, telling him not to cry at the death of his mother, for she was not really dead but sleeping, and would return again living, just as the Moon dies and returns again living. But the young Hare did not believe this, and continued to cry, saying that the Moon was deceiving him, whereupon the Moon, infuriated, cursed the Hare and cleft his lip. In another, more widespread, rendering the Moon instructs the Hare to deliver the following message to mankind: "As I die and return again, so shall man die and return again." The Hare distorts the message and tells the men that they will die and not return again. The Moon curses the Hare and cleaves his lip, but ever since then death has existed on earth.[1]

761 There is not much information regarding the Bushman beliefs as to the actual causes of death. The Cape Bushman apparently recognized that deaths could occur purely by accident, as in the case of a wound from a poisoned arrow, the bite of a lion or leopard, [754] starvation, etc. On the other hand, there was also a strong belief

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 9–10; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 56 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 44–5; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 172.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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that sorcerers could bewitch and thus kill a person, while the breach 761
of certain prescribed rules of conduct connected especially with the [754]
rain was held to lead automatically to death.[1] The Auen make a
distinction between people who die a "good death", i.e. easily and without great preceding pains, and those who die in great agony. The former are regarded as dying a natural death, the latter as bewitched or possessed.[2] Further north, among the Kung, it is believed that death may be caused by certain spirits known as *dsao*, [776]
who are sent by the spirits of the dead (*//gauab*) to enter the bodies [753]
of people and thus make them sick; while men who speak evil of the "great chief" *Xu* may be killed by him through the medium of lightning.[3] With the Hiechware, again, no death is ever the result of natural causes. It is brought about by witchcraft or the malevolent power of enemies. "It is strange," says Dornan,[4] "how the old and decrepit people, who must know that their time in this world will be short, cling tenaciously to this belief. It is useless to argue with them upon the question. They will tell you that they know of many people who died by the powerful medicine of their enemies."

It is a well-known feature of primitive peoples that they are not satisfied with what we call natural causes of death, and that whenever a death occurs there is a belief that some sorcerer or some supernatural agency has been the cause of it. That such a belief also exists among the Bushmen is obvious from the statements given above, but more detailed information on this point is very desirable, especially as to the extent to which purely natural causes are recognized.

If death comes to a Bushman in normal times he is buried with 764
all his possessions not far from his hut, generally in the posture in which he sleeps, i.e. on one side, with the knees drawn up against the breast. This is the posture desired both north and south, and often met with in excavations of Bushman graves. Everywhere, however, Bushmen are also found buried in all sorts of other postures; evidently time and means for a proper burial have not always been forthcoming. In some cases, too, burial is impossible or even refused. The Auen, 766
e.g., bury only those people who have died "good deaths"; the

[1] Bleek, op. cit., 14, 16, 19; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15, 16, 21, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 393 sqq.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 158.
[3] Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 15; *idem*, "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khun-Buschmänner," 407, 409.
[4] Op. cit., 144.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

756 supernatural powers, or who are able to control, either for social purposes or for their own ends, the spiritual forces upon which the social welfare depends. There is no English word which adequately describes them, but such persons may be loosely termed magicians.

Among the Cape Bushmen, these magicians, who might be of either sex, were called */gixa* (plural, */giten*). There is unfortunately [114] no information available as to how they acquired their powers, nor have we any clear description of the part they played in the life of the community. A few details about them may, however, be gathered from the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd. Some magicians were [821] rainmakers, who went out to catch the rain bull and lead it over the land bringing rain. Others, again, had special powers over particular [825] game animals, such as the springbok or the ostrich. Some magicians were able to assume and go about in the form of animals such as the lion, springbok, jackal, or a little bird; others, even when asleep, knew what was going about at night, and took care of the people, defending them from evil magicians. For some magicians could [754] cause illness by shooting with invisible arrows, and the patients would die, even though doctored; while some were said to eat the flesh of the dead. When a magician died an earthquake took place, [823] and his heart fell, as a shooting star, out of the sky into a waterhole. His powers, however, he continued to possess even after death, [775] for there are mentioned several occasions on which a dead rainmaker was asked to send rain or a game magician to give success in hunting.[1]

These beliefs, fragmentary as they are, show definitely that the magicians were held to possess supernatural powers, which they might use for good or evil; but, apart perhaps from the making of rain, there is nothing to link them up with any cult or public ceremony, or to indicate that they ever played the part of priests.

[184] Among the Naron and Auen, however, the magicians, as we have seen, function at the puberty ceremonies. They introduce *Hishe* [881] into the dances, and make the cuts between the eyebrows of the boys. [793] Among the Naron they are also the priests, who pray to the New Moon for rain; while among the Auen they make rain by sprinkling [821] on the ground a kind of red earth, which they fetch from afar and carry about with them. The magicians, both male and female, are

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 18; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 22.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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by *Gaua* 'on the other side' into the use of the small magic quiver. 773
Tji-Tji had killed a gemsbok. *Gaua* arrived on the scene and said, 'I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep here.' After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-Tji* remarked to *Gaua*, 'Give me that stuff (*//ai*).' The latter replied, 'If I give you the *//ai*, what will you pay me?' *Tji-Tji* answered, 'I will give you the horns.' *Gaua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *//ai* and before departing taught *Tji-Tji* the *//ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic."

The small magic quiver and arrows to which reference is here 754 114 made are no doubt the miniature weapons found among all the North-Western tribes. In a set seen by the writer the bow, made of a piece 411 of bone, was barely 10 cm. long, and the arrows, for which sharp 756 thorns were used, were small in proportion. Similar arrows [184] described by other writers consisted of a stalk of grass about 6 cm. long and a head of bone or hard wood about 4 cm. long. This head was sharpened at the end inserted into the grass stalk, while the protruding end was blunted.[1]

The range of these arrows is of course very limited, and different suggestions have been put forward as to their use. They are certainly not children's toys, as these miniature bows and arrows are used only by men, who carry them concealed about their persons. From various descriptions it appears that in some cases the arrows are definitely poisoned, and consequently among Germans the name "Bushman revolver" has become applied to these miniature sets. It is claimed that they are used as real weapons and that the poison on the arrow is strong enough to bring about the death of anybody struck by it. On the other hand, Miss Bleek says that among the Naron they are not poisoned, but are used by magicians who quarrel among themselves to settle their differences. "A medicine man wishing to destroy another, comes up close and shoots at the opponent's kaross with one of these arrows, blunt end foremost. The missile falls harmlessly to the ground, but the victim dies of the magic."[2] This statement is supported by the report of a case tried at Windhoek in 1912, where it was maintained, inter alia, that a poisoned arrow of this kind had been used against the accused. In the evidence, however, it was stated by several witnesses that these

[1] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," 116–17, and references.
[2] *Naron*, 28.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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114 arrows are not poisoned but are used for "witchcraft", and "if
411 they are shot in the direction of an enemy, be he 100 kilos or more
●754 away, witchcraft will bring about his death".[1] The myth recorded
756 by Fourie also lends support to the idea that these arrows are used for magical purposes. It is possible, too, that something similar is implied in the statement, mentioned above, that among the Cape Bushmen magicians caused illness by shooting with invisible arrows, but it should be noted that no such weapons as those here described have yet been found among them.

789 Apart from the special magic practised by magicians and associated with them, there are among all the Bushmen various usages and beliefs of a nature which may be generally termed magical, and which
224 are apparently common property. Many of the hunting observances
787 already described fall into this category. So, too, does divination.
[184] Among the Cape Bushmen this occurs principally in the form of beliefs in the efficacy of omens, of which there are a great number with diverse significations. They say they feel in their bodies that certain things are going to happen; there is a kind of beating of the flesh which tells them things. Those who are stupid do not understand these teachings and disobey them, with the result that they get into trouble, are killed by a lion, and so on. These beatings tell those who understand them which way not to go, and which arrow it is better not to use, and also warn them when people are coming. They inform the hunter when game is close at hand, tell people where they can find the person for whom they are in search, i.e. which way to go, and so on.[2]

184 In the more northerly tribes is found the use of pieces of wood,
787 leather or bone as divining bones or dice. These are usually four in number, and roughly triangular in shape, two of them being broad, the other two longer and thinner. The former are called male, the latter female. In the Eastern Kalahari they are usually each marked in a special way and named, but this is not found further west. The bones may be owned and used by anyone, not only by magicians. They are used in a very crude manner: the inquirer goes on throwing them on to his kaross until he gets a favourable answer. Such bones are frequently found among the Northern and Central Kalahari Bushmen, and occasionally among those dwelling on the southern

[1] *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cd. 9146), 1918, p. 172.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17–18; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 330–9.

/158 cont./

T. Religion, Cult, Mythology

756 The Bushman doctor conjures up rain by scattering on the
[789] ground a kind of red earth which he fetches from afar and carries about with him.

I regard the doctors, who take the place of sorcerers, as quite experienced people who have a considerable gift for observation. At the same time, they throw plenty of sand in their
[775] clients' eyes. The soul of the deceased does not die. The Bush-
[769] men have great fear of the dead and even of the place of death.

Illnesses that give rise to much pain and complaining on the
753 part of the sufferers are regarded as having been caused by a higher power (demons); others are regarded as natural illness.

The doctor practices exorcism by saying magical charms over
755 the sick person and finally, with the motion of a juggler, flinging to the ground a little piece of wood or the like which is supposed to have come from the body of the patient and to have caused the illness.

The only thing that I was able to establish concerning their
776 religious notions, despite weeks of fruitless endeavor, /159/ is that a higher power exists which may be harmful to men and may cause them to perish from serious illnesses. This higher power, which is feared, dwells "above." I could not get them to do more than point upward in the direction of the sky, except for the statement that the feared power is far beyond the treetops. [Fig. 14 appears here.]

The doctor is both physician and sorcerer. He is probably
756 also a priest, for whenever I asked questions concerning religion and the like, I was always referred to the doctor, who supposedly was informed about these matters.

Not every settlement has a doctor. Between Oas, Rietfontein, and Ganab (100 kilometers north of Rietfontein) there was supposedly only one.

The doctor has his head shaved smooth. In addition, he is said to wear ornaments that no other man may use.

Boys who have been apprenticed to a doctor for many years may later, when they have become older, replace their master.

In the treatment of the sick, charlatanism seems to be mixed

[Text continues on page 56]

/159 cont./

756 with a considerable portion of actual experience and knowledge.

The doctors are paid for their efforts.

There are also female doctors.

I have observed no sign of hostility toward Whites among [648] these people. They know how to evade observation, however, even better than the ordinary Bushman, and that says a good deal.

Only the doctor may eat a certain kind of poisonous snake, apparently the so-called black mamba, which I regard as an older type of cobra.

U. Totemism

771 I was unable to observe any indications that might lead one to deduce the existence of totemism.

V. Medicine

A man who was suffering from headache had colored his ●755 forehead with a black grease that supposedly had curative powers and had wound a thin thong firmly around his head. Our household remedy of firmly squeezing the sides of the aching head with both hands was familiar to the Auin.

278 752 The Bushman doctor makes an antidote from the black mamba, which he alone may eat. This antidote is supposed to help against the bites of all snakes, except that of the mamba itself.

He dries and pulverizes the lungs, gall, and liver, as well as the poisonous fangs with the poison glands. This powder is stirred into a paste with the fat of the same snake, and the paste, so I was informed, is rubbed into the enlarged wound, which has first been sucked out.

At the same time, various deep incisions are made on the upper arm and chest, from which considerable blood flows.

278 Poisons that work internally are not manufactured. The Auin maintain, however, that the arrow poison also works internally.

The manufacture of arrow poison was described above.

[10 cont.]

539 χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!
[821]
271 [11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and
731 the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They
[488] do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and
[758] the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune. Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own.

271 One must have experienced personally the feeling that overcomes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can drink again!

539 3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a
782 journey:
[484] χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is
[755] gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor performs his ceremonies.

χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai kháira téve God, let our people rise again.

789 5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil: Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

821 They do not know anything to say about the sun (sorésa). The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

753 Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those
776 persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this, and there is no spirit of sickness.

776 There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the bush. They play tricks.

775 A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know
[756] what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

[43 cont.]

423 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's terri-
614 tory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them.
769 The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place.

13. Illnesses and Treatment

826 The anatomical knowledge of the Bushmen is quite extensive as a result of their way of life as hunters.

The heart is regarded as the seat of life, and the breath
[761] has some connection with the heart. Their surgical knowledge is
752 confined to the extraction of thorns by means of an awl-like in-
757 strument and to the relatively effective bandaging of hand and leg
278 fractures. Their supply of medicines, on the other hand, is very limited. In what follows, I shall list the common illnesses and their treatment.

Eye Inflammation

752 Both dry and exudative eye inflammations, caused by sand and irritating grass seeds, are extremely widespread, and blear eyes are the rule among older people. These diseases, however, are not nearly as grave among the !Kung living in the forest as, say, among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari or among those
[826] of Naukluft. Among the latter, blear eyes are even regarded as signs of beauty in young girls. Ordinary eye inflammations that pass in a short period of time mean nothing. They are treated by
[753] rubbing with fat. If the ailment lasts for a longer period of time, then //Gauab [Fig. 16 appears here] certainly had something to
● [755] do with it; the doctor is called in and, after some treatment, produces a "little black medicine" from the eye.

[43 cont.]

732 Blindness in one eye is very common as the result of wounds inflicted by thorns. Among very old people I have also found blindness as the result of cataract. Here and there one also finds (648) Bushmen who in olden times had been captured by the Herero, who shot out their eyes with grass seed.

Ear Ailments

757 They are relatively rare. For an ordinary earache, leaves are stuffed into the ear "so that it will stay warm." The aching ear is likewise held over the fire, in which some medicine has been placed. If pus comes out of the ear, the ache stops and all

[413]

Fig. 16. Scratching Instrument. Iron leaf fastened to a little stick with resin and leather strips. (Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg; actual size [as shown in original text].)

(753) [44] is well. If //Gauab has put something in it, however, the pains become so strong that one can no longer sleep or hear. In (755) such cases one must call an especially powerful doctor, who draws out the spirits of sickness; otherwise the patient will die.

[44 cont.]

Toothache

142 I rarely saw irregularities in the position of the teeth, and
[515] never protruding or receding teeth. The only care given the teeth is the use of iron arrow points for toothpicks. The teeth are usually yellow, covered with dense layers of tartar, and because of the sand content of the vegetable diet, are quickly worn down
164 by chewing. Caries are extraordinarily common, but infections also occur through the exposure of the root canal as the teeth are
753 worn down. If a person has a severe toothache, //Gauab has stuck a needle into it, and the doctor must be called to get it out. If there is no general discomfort, however, then no dsao are there.
757 A little piece of wood is sharpened to a point at one end, held with the point against the root of the tooth, and then the tooth is knocked out with a stone. This instrument is called "oie."
147 Small children suffer considerable pain when they teethe; some-
753 times dsao (spirits of sickness) are also at work in this case. [Fig. 17 appears here.]

Sore Throat

753 A sore throat means that //Gauab has made a cord and is
755 drawing it tight around the patient's neck. The doctor must remove the cord from the patient; it is about 30 centimeters long and is like the trap cord (//kao); everyone can see it after the treatment.

Colds (X'óã)

164 Grippe takes many victims among the Bushmen every year,
513 especially among those who are already tuberculous. In winter, colds are extraordinarily frequent, since the people lie almost naked around the fires. In the forest they are fairly well protected against the wind, but on the open plain the wind changes its direction at night while they are asleep, so that they not only catch cold but often receive severe burns around the stomach -- although this applies only to the men; the women sleep at a greater distance FROM THE FIRE.

[45]

Gastrointestinal Disorders

753 [171] It is interesting to note that the doctrine of the importance of the liver and gall bladder in the origin of disease, which we find among all primitive and civilized peoples up to the humoral medicine of the previous century, is already present among the Bushmen. When the gall bladder is full, one becomes sick and [755] vomits gall. Then the region of the liver is massaged, just as is [164] done in the case of liver pains. Enlargement of the liver as the result of chronic malaria is common. The moon, which dies [821] every month, also has gall sickness, and moonlight is the juice of the gall bladder vomited by it. Moonlight and gall are known [164] by the same word (goo). Spleen tumor is especially common 757 among children. They have no medicine against splenalgia. 278 They have no medicine for inducing vomiting. It is induced by putting the finger or a feather into the mouth. To stop vomiting, one chews little twigs of the goro tree. The bitter wood of the liana (χ'áá-χ'áñ) is chewed for stomach-ache. In case of con- [753] stipation the doctor must practice magic, for it is assumed that [755] the dsao have tied the stool in the intestine, and the doctor must loosen and extract the cord, just as in the case of an inflammation of the throat. The patient may not eat anything and drink very little. In case of diarrhea, even the bleeding kind, the same medicine is taken as in the case of stomach-aches. Intestinal 147 worms are unknown. We already know from earlier reports that the 262 gastrointestinal tract of the Bushman can take all kinds of things that we cannot take. As the result of habituation from early childhood on, he can digest meat that has gone bad and the like, without any trouble (1). After a long period of hunger, he can consume

1. I myself witnessed a drastic example of this. I had brought a side of bacon from Swakopmund, which supposedly had been preserved for all eternity according to a special process. When I brought it out, it had a hideous smell, and in order to prevent the Bushmen from taking it and getting sick, I had it hung high on a tree. The

[45 cont.]

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Bushmen stared longingly at the discolored lump of fat. Finally they sent a deputation to me, saying that they wanted the bacon for their dogs. The moment they received it, it was skillfully divided according to families and consumed in the course of a great feast, without any harmful effects.

enormous quantities, but such excesses as a rule are followed by an indisposition. The day after a major feast, almost all of them lie in the sun with stomach-ache and gripes. In other words, even a Bushman should not be credited with the impossible with regard to food; many things that seem repulsive to us, such as earthworms, lizards, thick grubs, mice, and the like, are in themselves not at all harmful to health, especially since the Bushman only eats them cooked or roasted. Bushmen who have grown up on the farms can take the same diet as the Whites or Blacks. On
147 the other hand, the wild Bushmen who have grown up on veldkost
262 and the flesh of wild animals cannot accustom themselves to the
648 work and prison diet of the Blacks. A term in jail of any great length means condemnation to a slow but sure death for most Bushmen. The prisoners show the symptoms of vitamin deficiency, become infirm, get edemata on their legs, dropsy, and unfailingly perish. In the initial stage severe sluggishness of the bowels sets in. Ample portions of fresh meat can keep the Bushman healthy even in imprisonment. The fact that Bushmen run away from the
[464] farms is based in most cases upon their inability to endure any
[146] longer the diet given them. The vitamin need of the Bushman who has grown up in the wilderness is undoubtedly much greater, and his longing for meat, which often appears pathological, can be explained as a physiological craving for vitamins.

Diseases of the Urogenital System

164 Catarrhs of the bladder occur; in such cases a flat stone
[755] is warmed in the fire and placed on the bladder region. Hematuria, evidently the result of nephritis, was twice treated by my friend

[47 cont.]
756 pig concerned, at which time in each case a large drop of white
751 fluid escaped from the stinger. Finally they moved about quietly without making any further attempts to sting, but they did not in any way show the excited hurry to get off the Bushman's body that has been reported by individual writers. The old man claimed not to feel any pain, and I have no reason to distrust him since, after all, if the poison had had any kind of effect upon him, he would scarcely have allowed himself to be stung in the most sensitive parts of his body for the sake of my desire for knowledge. Even a full hour after our experiment, the parts that had been stung did not show the slightest alteration. The man declared that he had attained this extraordinary faculty as a boy in the 'school' of a sorcerer, where he had been urged to apply scorpion poison, which had been taken forcibly and thinned with water and urine, on small incisions, as well as to eat the poisonous stingers pounded to a mash and boiled; supposedly immunity against snakebite can be obtained in like manner."

14. The Doctors' Test

755 One afternoon the eldest of the horde outside Keibeb came
756 to me and told me that that night a great dance would take place,
796 first, because a three-year-old child had just been bitten by a small black snake, second, because many people were sick with fever, and third, because one of the men wanted to undergo the doctors' test. Such festivals take place only during the time of the full moon. Toward nine o'clock in the evening I was lured into the camp by wild noise. The people had made somewhat larger and more fires than usual. The mother with the child bitten by the snake was seated in the center of an open semicircle. The older women squatted around her. To one side of them in single file, one behind each other, stood the younger women and girls. Both the male [48] and female doctors were busy. The chief female doctor, Biri, was "personally" absent this evening. She was crouching off to one side in the darkness of the bush. /Nawa,
[787] the highest of the //Gauab, had taken possession of her and spoke through her mouth. Her hair ornaments, long chains of beads made

[48 cont.]

755 from ostrich egg shells, had been put on by her proxy, Dube, a
756 very intelligent young woman. The latter, standing at the end of
796 the semicircle of seated women, conducted the ceremony. She
[276] was in a very good mood and alternately smoked her Bushman
[554] pipe and my cigarettes. There is a kind of hierarchy among the
women; those who were squatting were higher in rank than those
who were standing. All the women clapped their hands and sang
in a monotonous rhythm: ehe, ehe, ehe, ehe, etc. This, I was
[533] assured, was no song, but "music." Some hordes have bartered

[532]

Fig. 19. Sorcerer in a Bird Mask, Followed by Spirits of Sickness. (From Rock Paintings in South Africa. From Parts of the Eastern Province and Orange Free State. Copied by G. W. Stow. With an introduction and descriptive notes by Dorothea Bleek. London, Methuen, 1930.)

dance drums one and a half meters high from the Okawango, which on this occasion are played by men. [Fig. 19 appears
[184] here.] Among the Bushmen of the Sand Veld the female leader of the ceremony does not wear the ornaments of the chief female doctor; instead, the ornaments are hung on a tree. The position of the chief female doctor is not permanently held by one person; the chief doctor on occasion imparts supernatural powers to her.

755 The five doctors had taken off all their ornaments and
756 were naked except for the front apron. They put themselves
786 into an autohypnotic state by means of crowing, by producing
796

[48 cont.]

755 756 786 796 sounds similar to those of ventriloquists, and by certain muscle contractions. By pressing together the gluteal musculature of the buttocks and at the same time holding the knee joints as far apart as possible and pressing the legs together at the ankles, they eventually produced a tonic trembling cramp of the entire musculature of the lower extremity, in which they reeled back and forth. It is possible for anyone to put himself into an autohypnotic state in this way, as this author also learned from the doctors. Soon the rolled-up eyes indicated that the doctors were in a state of trance. They danced around one another, fell over one another, and lifted one another up. Some women also started making noise with the dance rattles. The Bushmen were now convinced that [787] /Nawa himself was dancing among the doctors, was visible to them, and spoke with them. At this point they say something [782] like prayers; they invoke the great spirit of the old Bushman who has killed many elephants; they call the spirits of the dead who have sent their little spirits of sickness over the living, and they especially beg /Nawa to transfer these little spirits of sickness to the doctors.

755 756 796 The doctors ran alternately to the bitten child and to those ill with fever who squatted around the fire, stroking the painful places, both from the armpits down to the soles and from the shoulders down to the fingertips. Occasionally they also sucked at the diseased spots or inhaled the breath from the mouths of the patients.

From time to time, the doctors performed these operations upon one another, first of all, as they said, in order to distribute the poisons of sickness equally among all the doctors, but also in order to obtain power from the other doctors. Thus "charged," the doctor then again ran to the patients to take their poison.

Now and then the chief doctor ran screaming around the [787] line of standing women and [49] disappeared into the bush in order to ask the chief female doctor about the will of /Nawa. After about an hour's dancing the chief doctor went to the bitten child. The child had been bitten on the back, and this was rubbed with fat and then medicine; then all the patients were again subjected to the treatment described above, and soon thereafter /Nawa an- [787] nounced through the mouth of the chief female doctor that the

[49 cont.]

[787] child, and the other patients, too, would be cured. That ended
755 the first part of the ceremony.
756
796

Now the doctors' test began. The others, with the exception of the women making music, participated only as spectators. The doctors went on dancing, often holding their arms stretched out to the sky, with the fingers spread apart, and then springing to the fire and holding their hands over it. Flinging the hands toward the sky is done to give some of the little spirits of sickness back to the chief spirit /Nawa, who passes up and down along a thread between heaven and earth. It is not a gesture of prayer. Similarly, holding the hands over the fire is intended to achieve the same result, because the "little spirits of sickness" do not like the fire and hence will go away. Meanwhile, they thank the great spirit for having saved the child. Then they prayed to /Nawa that he might concentrate all the little spirits of sickness on the
[753] doctors' candidate and kill him so that the people would be free
[761] of evil diseases, for the dying person takes the spirits of sickness with him. By brushing, rubbing, and blowing, the old doctors now transfer the spirits of sickness to the candidate. The latter is completely exhausted, collapses from time to time, is constantly lifted up again, and, staggering, he dances on, with foam appearing at his mouth. The other doctors taunt him: "You leopard, you lion, you elephant, you insurmountable mountain, you gigantically strong man, now you can't cope with the spirits of sickness we have given you." Once more the chief doctor runs to the former patient and transfers to the candidate any disease poison he may have gathered. This hellish spectacle lasted one and a half hours; then the chief doctor went to his oracle sitting in the bush and asserted that the candidate was too strong: we have concentrated all the little spirits of sickness upon him and prayed to the chief spirit that he might take (kill) him, but the candidate is stronger than the spirits of sickness. Nevertheless, the oracle commands: "Dance on." While this happened, a woman came out of the background -- in the half-dark I was unable to see whether or not it was the chief female doctor herself -- and busied herself around the cured child. She clapped her hands and beat her palms together, with the thumb sides in front of the child's face, and thus put even the child in a brief trance. The dancing continued until around midnight when the oracle finally declared that though the

[49 cont.]

755 756 796 chief spirit was not yet satisfied, she would appease him; the chief spirit would voluntarily take the little spirits of sickness away, even from the doctors. After these words the festival abruptly ended; the people went to their fires and lay down to sleep.

The candidate had passed his examination (1).

[184] 535 756 796

1. Burchell (in the translation by Hellwald, Völkerkunde [Ethnology], II, p. 519) has given a similar account from the south: "One foot remains stationary, while the other is in rapid and irregular motion without any definite change of position. The movement of the arms is so slight as to be negligible. At the same time the dancer sings without pause and keeps time with the movements. Occasionally he lowers his body and then suddenly raises it again, until finally he sinks to the ground exhausted, but still singing and rhythmically moving his body in time with the song of the spectators. Even though only one person dances at a time, the company present nonetheless also has something to do, etc."

756 786 789 796

When the excitement of the dance has reached its climax and the dancers have fallen into a kind of trance as a result of the continuous dance movement, the shrill singing, the drinking of coffee, and not least the tobacco smoke, which they keep in their mouths for minutes on end for the intoxicating effect, then the doctors, in order to demonstrate their resistance to fire, trample with bare feet on the red-hot embers taken from the campfire and spread out on the sand. In the case of a number of the younger ones, however, I believe that their resistance to fire was not quite as great as they would have one believe, and they carefully avoided the pieces that were

[50 cont.]

756 776 than the smaller spirits. Their treatment is correspondingly successful or unsuccessful. In other words, the doctors are vindicated in any case.

755 757 The treatment of illness thus follows two parallel paths: one with natural means (medicines and the like), directed at the local symptoms of the ailment; and one with supernatural means, directed at the dsao that cause the feeling of sickness.

[756] [796] 539 During the doctors' test the following song is sung:

[411]

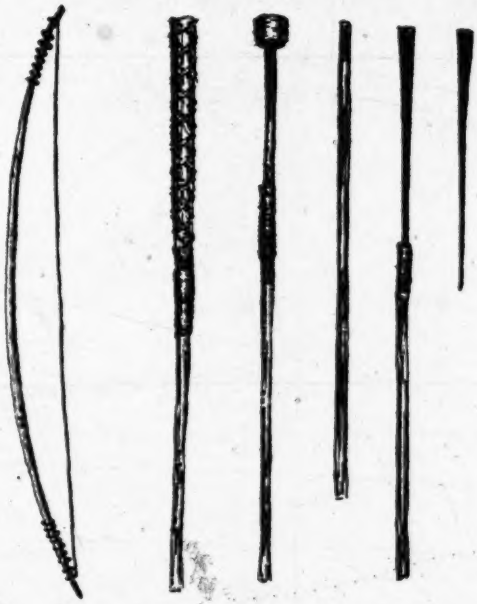

Fig. 20. Bushman Revolver of the !Kung (Foxhof; actual size [as shown in original text]).

e hehehe na ti //kau /goa dsao

During the treatment itself the following text is sung:

/o ma ga //goa ≠am /nai tha

He has no medicine yet, he must be thrown with the medicine.

751 756 Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) have the following to report

1. Die Buschmänner, p. 424.

[52 cont.]

754 further. The belly of the unconscious person swells enormously.
755 When all other procedures have proved futile and someone remembers that this or that doctor has the magic medicine, he is called in, takes some of his bloodlike fluid from his horn, and first smears his own feet and then rubs the patient's feet and, above all, the patient's stomach in a circular massage. Gradually the swelling recedes, the patient gets up, sits down, and is cured.

This story, based upon the fact that there are roots with
648 bloodlike sap, became known by the farmers in a confused fashion and was the cause of the ridiculous fear of the secret poisons of the Bushmen that many farmers have.

15. The Elements

773 Heaven and earth, sun and moon, all was made by X'u,
821 the great captain, the supreme being. In the sun-scorched deserts inhabited by the Bushmen, the sun is no dispenser of mercy. During the hot season even the Bushman is forced to remain in the shade in the daytime, because the sand is so hot that he cannot walk on it.

The sun was a daughter of man. The Bushmen had seen her, and the men had to carry this daughter, but since she burned with such heat on their shoulders, the men had to frequently change places. When the shoulders of all the men were burned, they left the sun lying in the bush and did not take her to the huts. This is the place from which the sun rose. She is from the great captain.

When the sun sets, she sits down on the earth to eat. When it is to be day, one of her shoulderblades goes to the other side of the world where it appears as the sun. The sun's rays (/gam-hⁿsn) are the arms of the sun. The eclipse of the sun (*ǂáo) is caused by the lions so that they can more easily eat human beings.

The Bushman becomes cheerful only when the cool of the evening arrives, and at the time of the full moon he celebrates his festivals. There is no question of moon worship, however, among the !Kung Bushmen I visited.

[58 cont.]

[113] Specimens of Bushmen Folklore, London, 1910-11, pp. 10-13.

776 be especially significant. The !Kung at that time told of a being called /Chue, who transforms itself in turn into various fruit trees and veldkost plants, into a Herero, etc. One day he transformed himself into a //gui tree, his wife ate of it, the tree disappeared, and /Chue changed into a fly. Another time he even became a waterhole, then again a gecko; at night [59] he always changes back into a little human being. The Herero look for him, but cannot find him. /Chue then makes a fire and dies. His father sees this and then moves to his homeland on a large mountain called //Noa. We shall probably not go wrong if we identify this /Chue with Huwe. This Huwe, as is known, is sometimes equated with the great captain X'u. In this old setting he also has distinct traits of Heiseb.

782 The !Kung who were W.H.J. Bleek's informants were also
[534] familiar with a prayer song addressed to the new moon. In accompaniment, they blew on trumpets made of antelope horns. (Bleek-Lloyd, ibid., p. 15.)

787 The old !Kung called the prophesy sticks /Chu, which evidently is the same name again as that of the great captain and is in agreement with Dornan's report concerning the Masarwa that Modimo himself spoke from the prophesy sticks.

● 755 Vedder reports that in case of illness a messenger is sent
769 to an ancestor's grave and prays: A dsi-dsi mi !hâ tí /X'ai-a? (Why is my son ill?) ǂnu /kôa (to live in health).

774 While my informants denied the presence of any animistic
825 conceptions, the old !Kung believe that certain snakes, lizards,
775 and antelope found in the vicinity of graves represent spirits of the
171 dead (1), as they do among the Bantu.

1. W.H.J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd, ibid., p. 430.

[74 cont.]

776 one time as a man and at another time as a woman.

7. Medicine

The curing practices of the Nogau Bushmen are very primi-
757 tive. They have nothing for snakebite and nothing for arrow poison.

Eland fat is a universal medicine. For the common eye
278 inflammations this fat is smeared into the eye; for headaches warm eland fat is dripped into the ear; for a cold the nostrils and nose are smeared with eland fat.

Sickness comes either from the evil head Gauab or from
753 sorcerers. The ailment is caused by a little Gauab who has settled
[754] in the body. The more gravely ill a person is, the more Gauana have entered into him. The doctors are able to draw out these
755 spirits of sickness; they do it in a fashion analogous to that prac-
756 ticed by the !Kung. There are also female doctors.

The spirits of sickness are regarded here as much more ma-
753 terial than among the !Kung; such a Gauab looks like a human
776 being, but he may also appear as a lion, a wildebeest, or a snake. Once the Gauab has been drawn out of the body, it runs away and speaks to no one.

The sorcerers in particular like to transform themselves into
756 lions. Among the Bushmen farther north [75] it is supposedly
[625] the case that when they see a wildebeest in the bush, for example, it is not a wildebeest at all, but a Gauab. The doctors receive their power from the highest Gauab (/gaua //gaicha). He is the one who appears in the wind spouts. As among the Bantu, the doctors must go to school for several years with older colleagues.
[754] They are not only able to cure, but also to practice magic in the bad sense, in that they induce /Gaua //gaicha to make ill anyone whom they want to harm.

"Whoever wants to become a sorcerer must go to school with another witch doctor. When someone is struck by lightning, it is said that Gauab struck him down with his knife. Some then become great doctors and often speak with Gauab. Gauab also comes as a wind spout."

/252 cont./

The men standing around now attempt to catch the pumpkin
535 as it flies through the air, and the women simulate great indignation when one of the men succeeds in doing so. This man then cuts up the pumpkin with a knife so that a new ball is required in order to continue the game.

Another dance, in which principally men participate, could be designated as the bird dance. The men dance in a circle, while the women stand around the circle, clap their hands, and
[534] sing. The men wear dance bangles around their ankles, which are circlets of dried bean pods whose kernels rattle at every step and in this way strongly accentuate the dance rhythm. The steps of the dance are short, scarcely half a foot long, so that the progress of the dancers in the circle is quite slow. The vigor of the stepping or stamping on the ground alternates rhythmically. At the same time a number of symbolic gestures is performed. The most respected of the dancers has tied to his forehead a large eagle's beak decorated with glass and iron beads; he frequently makes a motion of hacking with the beak, and then, by slowly raising his arms, suggests the eagle's calm gliding in the air. Another dancer carries a bird's nest in his hand during the entire dance. At a certain stage, the dancers go through the motion of picking up fruit from the ground by bending down and making scooping motions in the air just above the ground. Shortly thereafter, some men dance towards the women and perform gestures as though they wanted to seize one of the women surrounding them.

535 Suddenly one of the dancers seems about to faint. A spectator
786 whom I questioned concerning the significance of this action told me that the Mukuru (Herero term for God) was in him. Other dancers, maintaining their dance step all the while, stand around the possessed person, try to help him, and cool him with fanning until he suddenly collapses with a piercing shriek. The bystanders catch him and carry him off to one side while the others go on dancing. The "doctor" now concerns himself with the unconscious
[755] person; he blows twice in each ear and once on his forehead. Visibly, consciousness now returns and soon the one possessed is able to rise and dance again.

533 /253/ The musical accompaniment is supplied solely by the women; however, the dancing men are not entirely silent. Every

623 about it to others, unless it were a hunter caught in a storm alone in the veld; but
821 an individual, even without necessarily expressing a consensus, we think might say
789 to another, 'Why don't you burn some of your hair?', which would probably be enough to instigate the act. And, in all likelihood, it would be done with so little formality that the observer would not know anything was happening unless he knew what to watch for and were alerted.

[171 There was no ceremony regularly performed by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae to ensure
[821 plentiful rain, like the Hottentots' *guri≠ab*. The Rain dance of the /Kung, which is
789 danced often, all through the year, is a medicine dance, among several others, such
535 as the Giraffe, Sun, Gemsbok, Honey, and Mamba dances. All these are 'strong'
796 things, the /Kung believe. The dances so named have 'strong' medicine music. They
● 755 are danced during the medicine men's ceremony to cure the sick and protect the people and drive away any of the *//ganasi*, the spirits of the dead, who might be lurking to bring some evil upon the people. The Rain dance has this as its purpose, not the control of weather.

One night when the Rain dance was being beautifully danced with a fine precision and vigour of clapping, singing, and stamping, which to us suggested fervour, we were watching it so intently that we had not noticed the sky. The first storm of the season had crept up behind us and suddenly burst over us like a bomb. We asked
[821 Gao if he believed the dance had brought the rain. He said that the rain was due to come. The dance had not brought it.

821 A *n/ow* animal, as well as a human, has either a good or a bad *n/ow*, but it seems
825 not to be known clearly how it gets the one or the other. Good or bad *n/ow* is not correlated with one sex or one species. One giraffe, for example, either male or female, may have the rain-bringing, another the cold-bringing kind.

It seems that long or short horns may have something to do with good or bad *n/ow*, not the long-hornedness of gemsbok as compared with the short-hornedness of giraffes, but, within the species, the comparative length of horn. But one kind of *n/ow* is not inherent in short-hornedness nor is the other kind in long-hornedness. It is not so simple as that. And informants did not know what association, if any, the short or long horns may have with ≠Toma's vague idea that the short or long legs of a child in the womb might have something to do with the child's *n/ow*.

When a hunter kills a *n/ow* animal, he either *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) it. Like the mother who *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) her child at birth, the hunter has no voluntary control over this and cannot tell which he has done unless the effect is observed in the weather. A hunter with good or bad *n/ow* may *≠gani* or *//ghui* an animal which has either good or bad *n/ow* and long or short horns. The precise nature of the interaction remains obscure, but hunters took an interest in telling about the kind of *n/ow* they thought they had, and gave instances of observing the effects of their killing various types of animals. If a man should kill a female kudu with short horns and the water should freeze that night, it would be evident that he had *//ghui*(ed) the animal. He would expect to continue to *//ghui* short-horned female kudus. However, although a man's *n/ow* remains constant throughout his life, the way it interacts with other factors may change, and after a time he may find he has begun to *≠gani* short-horned female kudus. We think the /Kung became a little tired of our finding this complicated.

One day in September the sun blazed in the clear sky. The heat beat down upon us.

li: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

!KUNG RITUAL LIFE is sparse, but one means of reaching out to the infinite is a state of trance that may come in the course of dancing. The man being supported, above, is in such a state. The !Kung believe that a man in trance can take away a person's sickness and throw it back at the god who sent it.

786
755

[p.70]

535 consciousness or deep unconsciousness.[1] They may become stiff or froth at the mouth
796 or lie still as if in coma. Some of them habitually remain in trance only a short time,
[756 others for hours. One man used to remain in a semi-trance for most of the day fol-
787] lowing a dance.

[755] A Bushman curing cannot be fully described in words; it must be heard and I give only an outline here. The medicine man begins by dancing and singing with the others whatever medicine song is being sung. He then leaves the line of dancing men and leans, still singing, over the person he is going to cure. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The /Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. He grunts with shuddering, gurgling, gasping grunts which intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high, piercing, quavering yell. Finally the medicine man throws up his arms to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *||Gaowa* or the *||gaowasi*, with a sharp yelping cry of '*Kai Kai Kai*'. This shows that it is heavy work to draw the sickness out. The effect of the sound on one observer, myself, was striking—gooseflesh and a stopping of the breath which made it seem as though the heart stood still an instant. A medicine man goes to every person present, leaning over each to cure, even the babies, who, amazingly,
[852] seldom cry, though he gurgles and gasps right into their ears. If someone is actually sick, he returns to him again and again through the night.

After the curing has been going on for some time, medicine men begin to reach their state of frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. Fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. They rush out into the darkness, where *||Gaowa* and the *||gaowasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. 'Filthy face! Take away the sickness you have brought.' 'Uncovered penis[2]! You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away.' '*Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die.' At this point they may fall into deep unconsciousness or sink down semi-conscious, eyes closed, unable to walk.

The medicine men who have not reached their full frenzy or who have passed through it attend those who are in it. The /Kung believe that at such a time the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *||Gaowa* and the *||gaowasi*. They call this 'half death'. It is a dangerous time and the man's body must be watched over and kept warm. The medicine men lean over the one who is in trance. They

[276] [1] The /Kung know about the drug called daggа. They told us that it grows in B.P. and that when they go to trade they sometimes get a little. They like to have some when they go hunting; it keeps one from feeling tired or discouraged, they say. They might take some at a dance if they had it, but they are not dependent on it or on any other substance to induce trance. The trances are psychologically induced.

[195 [2] /Kung men swear a great deal. The swearing
578] plays always upon the themes of the genital organs, sexual intercourse, incest, and excrement. In deprecation they call each other genital organs or tell each other to go and commit incest with their mothers, sisters, wives' mothers, or sons' wives. We have not recorded their saying 'daughter'. Is that thought so terrible to them that its expression is beyond even these hardened swearers? They use the same themes in their blasphemy against the gods. 'Uncovered' or 'thrown-away penis' may mean 'circumcised'. This is a great insult among the /Kung who do not circumcise but know that the Bantu do. 'Filthy face' means 'covered with excrement'.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

776 gods, the !Kung fear to do so because it displeases the gods and draws their attention and they say, "Who is calling my name?"

The lesser god who lives in the western sky is the namesake of the great god, who, as the belief goes, gave the lesser god all seven of his own divine names, but not his human name. Although they insist in this belief, the !Kung never used any name but *//Gauwa*, one of the seven divine names, when they referred to the lesser god and we never heard them [171] actually use this name for the great god. It would seem, then, that the lesser god is the old evil spirit, *//Gauwa*, who appears in the beliefs of the Hottentots and other Bushman language groups as the destroyer and the black chief, the one who sends death, disease, and misfortune. This evil spirit was an entity distinct from the good spirit who was variously named by Bushman groups *Hishe*, *Huwe*, and so on.

In present !Kung belief, however, neither the great god nor the lesser god is all evil or all good. Both are capable of being pleased or displeased with man and of sending favors or misfortunes. The lesser god is subservient to the great god and is supposed to do his bidding. The lesser god, however, has his own entity and does instigate his own actions, sometimes even disobeying the great god. Often they disagree between themselves.

The great god looks like a man, like a Bushman, but he is "the tallest of the Bushmen" and has long black hair that is not twisted and knotted like Bushman hair. He rides a horse across the sky—you can hear him—and he has a gun as well as bows and arrows. Some say he never comes to earth but always sends *//Gauwa*, or the spirits of the dead, the *//gauwasi*, [28] to bring the good or evil that he sends to men. Only the greatest of medicine men have ever seen him.

//Gauwa, however, is commonly seen by the medicine men. They describe him as small. One said he was about two feet tall; another, that he was as small as a guinea fowl; a third, that he was as small as a mouse. Several agreed that he was covered with yellow hairs. One, however, a humble man, said that while in trance he had seen *//Gauwa* and that he was like a gray mist.

782 RELIGIOUS PRACTICES • The !Kung say that they pray spontaneously to the gods. Whenever the thought comes to them they put their prayers into words and say or think them to themselves without any formality. When they speak in prayer to the great god they address him by the respectful term *!Nau*, used for any old man, or use a title *Gaoxa* (chief), or call him [181] "father." Sometimes they use one of his names. The prayers, a mingling of mild imprecation and pleading, reveal the major concerns of the !Kung: hunger, sickness, and death.[11]

776 The great god, responsible for sending sickness and death to men, 753 also created and gives to men a mystical curing power that is called *gaoxa*
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15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

(the same word as the title of respect). The !Kung say it is strong medicine: 776
/*num*. The !Kung take for granted his giving to man both sickness and 753
the power to cure it, and account for the power's sometimes failing to cure 778
by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work, or not, according 755
to his pleasure.

He gives the curing power to medicine men (called *nlom kxao*, medicine 778
owners), appearing to them (usually in dreams, sometimes in what seem 756
to be waking hallucinations) and putting the power into them. He has also [533]
put a curing power in the medicine songs that the people sing at the dances, songs named Rain, Sun, Giraffe, Eland, Honey, Buffalo, Mamba, and Spider —all powerful things. The great god gives the power freely. It is rare to find a man among the !Kung who is not a medicine man. The function of the 756
medicine men is only to cure. They are not sorcerers or witch doctors. (The [754]
!Kung are not a witch-ridden people.) !Kung medicine men receive no rewards or special prerogatives. They work together apparently without rivalry. The medicine men may cure at any time but their strongest curing occurs [535]
at the dance.

Whether or not anyone is sick, the people dance two or three times a 535
month, sometimes more often. Anyone who wants a dance may start one 781
simply by asking people to come and begin. The !Kung like to dance for many reasons. There is the inherent physical pleasure in moving to rhythm. Music and dancing are their arts, from which their aesthetic pleasure comes. [53]
The dances are also social gatherings in which all participate, men, women, 535
children, visitors—everybody. A dance draws them together as nothing else 781
does. Even more important is the fact that the dance is one concerted re- 571
ligious act of the !Kung and brings people into such unison that they become like an organic being.

At the dances not only may the sick be cured, but pending evil and mis- 535
fortune averted. The !Kung believe that the great god may send *//Gauwa* or 755
the *//gauwasi* at any time with ill for someone and that these beings may be 751
lurking, awaiting their chance to inflict it. The medicine men in the dances combat them, drive them away, and protect the people.

Usually there are several medicine men performing at the same time. 755
To cure they go into trance, which varies in depth as the ceremony proceeds. The curing cannot be described in words; it must be heard. When a man begins, he leaves the line of dancing men and, still singing, leans over the person he is going to cure, going eventually to every person present, even the infants. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The !Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. To demonstrate that this is in fact going on and is hard to do, he grunts with shuddering grunts that intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high piercing, quavering yell. Finally, the medicine man throws up his arms

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance A medicine man is going into a trance.

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to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Gauwa* or the *//gauwasi*, who are there beyond the firelight, with a sharp, yelping cry of *"kai kai kai."*

The medicine men are usually only in shallow trance at this point, but, when the curing has been going on for some time, they begin to reach a state of patterned frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. They believe that fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. The medicine men rush out into the darkness, where *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. "Filthy face!" they screech. "Take away the sickness you have brought. You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away. . . . *Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die." At this point the medicine man may fall down in deep trance and appear to be unconscious or semiconscious, with eyes closed, stiff as a board, unable to walk. This stage of trance may last only a brief time or may continue for hours—even into the next day. Gradually it is resolved and the medicine man takes up his normal activities.

[372]

[274]

The !Kung believe that at the time of deep trance the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*. They call this "half death." It is a dangerous time. The women must continue to sing the medicine music. The man's body must be watched over, rubbed, and kept warm by other medicine men who are in less deep trance.

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The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a

[p. 272]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

drama, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in the Aristotelian sense. Fear and hostility find an outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there are support and solace and hope.

CHANGE

Today (1962) the pattern of life for the Nyae Nyae !Kung has begun to change radically. Many Bushmen of other language groups have had prolonged contact with the Bantu peoples among whom they live, and some have worked on Europeans' farms. Systematic studies of their social changes are lacking. The Nyae Nyae !Kung, as described here, had contact with Herero and Tswana neighbors in trade, but this contact did not appear to change the social structure of the independent !Kung. They are only now beginning to feel the impact of European contact. They were remote; they are no longer so. When, in 1951, we first worked our way to their area from the outposts of the farm lands, we were eight arduous days en route, in trackless, waterless country of bush and heavy sand, our four trucks heavy with water and petrol, equipment and supplies. Today a well-cleared track gives access in a day. Farmers began to come into the area to get the Bushmen to work for them and have their eyes upon the land.

The government of South West Africa, realizing the problem of the Bushmen, has appointed one of their most competent administrators of native affairs to be Bushman Affairs Commissioner, and is supplying him with funds and equipment. He and his wife are in the Nyae Nyae area and are working with several families of !Kung. He is leading one group of them into agriculture and this year they harvested a crop of corn. Others of the men are employed in road building and are being paid a cash wage, currently a shilling a day. It is too early to say what will happen to their social forms in so radical a change, which ones they will lose entirely, which they will retain and adapt to new conditions. All we know is that the !Kung who are taking part in the experiment have expressed themselves as willing and anxious to try to develop a new way of life.

NOTES

(1) Some of the ethnographic material used here has been previously published in my articles in *Africa* which are cited in the bibliography appended to this chapter. The ethnographic material is used with the permission of the International African Institute and the editor of *Africa*.

(2) Skeletal remains of Bushmen are found associated with late stone age implements in South Africa, but not with early or middle stone age (Schapera

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

844 she lies on her side. The umbilical cord is not tied, but cut with a knife; the Auen use the sharp edge of a reed for this purpose, never anything else. A plaster of mud and leaves is put on the baby's abdomen, if there is much bleeding. Before, during, and immediately after the birth the mother may not be washed with water, nor may the child, which is simply wiped off with the soft grass and put into its mother's kaross. Among the Auen, when birth is difficult or when, [845] e.g., the woman is ill at the time of delivery, the magician is called in [755] to lighten the process, which he attempts to do by sucking with his mouth at the vagina and by "murmuring spells". This is the only instance recorded of any magical assistance being given at birth.

Immediately after the child is born and wiped clean it is simply 846 put into the kaross of its mother, who then returns to the camp. Among the Heikum and the Auen she is now for a week or more relieved of her normal daily duties, such as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. Among the Naron, however, she is said to resume her ordinary avocations immediately. Occasionally [845] harder births occur, and then the woman may be quiet for a few days, if she pulls through; but a really difficult birth means the death of both mother and child, as no method of helping is known save massage. In the event of the mother dying during or shortly after childbirth, [853] some other woman may suckle the child and rear it, if it lives; but [847] more often than not it is buried alive with its mother, especially among the wilder bands.

In this connection refefence may be made to a practice recorded 853 by Seiner of the Kung, but not reported by any of the other writers on this or other tribes. He states the belief exists that if a child is placed too soon at its mother's breast both will die. Immediately after it is born the infant is therefore handed over to another woman to be suckled. Often enough, however, there is no suitable woman in the small band, and so the hungry infant makes futile attempts at several different dry breasts, to be returned finally, strengthless and dying, to the arms of its mother. He attributes the great infant [165] mortality chiefly to this practice, which often results in the infant's not receiving its mother's breast until too late.

845 Twin births are said to be very rare. Among the Auen and the Heikum one of twins is invariably killed by being buried alive by the 847 mother or one of her attendants immediately after the birth. If the children are of opposite sexes, it is always the boy who is killed in this way. Among the Kung, again, both are buried alive at birth, for it is

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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medicine, in which is burnt snake powder. When a man is sick, 535
this dance is danced round him, and the dancers put both hands under 796
their arm-pits, and press their hands upon him, and when he coughs [755]
the initiated put out their hands and receive what has injured him—
secret things. The initiated who know secret things are Qogne;
the sick person is hang cāi."

Cagn, said Qing, was the first being and made all things—the sky, 776
the moon, stars, mountains, and animals. The Bushmen prayed [782]
to him. On being asked how, Qing answered, in a low, imploring
tone: "O Cagn! O Cagn! are we not your children, do you not [539]
see our hunger? give us food"—"and he gives us both hands
full." To the further question, where *Cagn* was, he responded,
"We don't know, but the elands do. Have you not hunted and [825]
heard his cry, when the elands suddenly start and run to his call?
Where he is, the elands are in droves like cattle."

Cagn's wife was *Coti*. When asked where she came from, Qing
said, "I don't know, perhaps with those who brought the Sun;
but you are now asking the secrets that are not spoken of." These [794]
secrets he himself did not know—"only the initiated men of that
dance know these things." *Cagn* also had two sons, *Cogaǂ* and
Gcwi, and together with him and *Cogaǂ* there was another great
"chief", *Qwangciqutshaa*. All three had great power, but it was
Cagn who gave orders through the other two. Of all these personages 773
various tales were related by Qing. One of them, describing how 776
Cogaǂ was killed by baboons and restored to life again by *Cagn*,
is almost identical with the similar story told by the Cape Bushmen
of *|kaggen* and *!gaunu-ts'axau*. In all these tales *Cagn* appears as
a human being, but with supernatural powers. He can change
himself into different forms, is then sometimes killed and eaten by
animals or people, but always comes to life again. He possesses
various magical charms, the strongest of which is his tooth; and the [825]
birds are his messengers who report to him what is going on.
Occasionally he gets into trouble, from which he is extricated by
Cogaǂ, just as in the Cape Bushman stories *|kaggen* is aided by *|ni*.

Another name for the Mantis among these Bushmen, according 776
to Arbousset, is *'ngo*. This may explain the following quotation
from Campbell: "They had a name which they gave to God, who
is above them, and another to God who is under them. The former
is a male, the latter a female. The male God they call Goba, the
female Ko; and her attendants are called Gauna." *Ko* (*'ngo*), as

[see category 116, p. 182 for the author's explanation of the 'initiated.' — Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama word for "master, lord", and has been used by some 177
missionaries for "God". The Naron and Auen were vague as to 776
the nature of */khuba*. The old men did not know of him; the middle-aged men said *Hishe* was */khuba*; while some of the younger people said he was the sky, others that he dwelt in the sky; they prayed to him to let them live long and to make them well when ill. Women who when young had been kidnapped and held as slaves by Nama chiefs were very fluent on the subject of */khuba*; the others, [648] remarks Miss Bleek, had evidently picked up the word without [567] attaching any clear meaning to it, beyond that it was some sort of deity and that it was "good to pray to it". The same word (given by him in its vocative form */khutse*) was also found among the partly-disorganized groups of these Bushmen by Fourie, who translates it "God".

A few of Miss Bleek's informants further mentioned *Huwu* or 776
Huwuba, but they did not know much about him—he was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the [177] "captain" of the white people.[1]

Huwu or *Hu'e* figures very prominently among the Kung, however. [184] Miss Lloyd's young informants from near Lake Ngami only once mentioned him. They began the tale of the Moon and the Hare [773] with the words, *Huwe* made all things; and in explanation said, *Huwe* made all things to eat (i.e. all animals that are eaten), and *Huwe* is a man.[2] Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, much further west, speaks of *Huwe* as a "good being", to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things. They pray to [782] him for food, as we have already seen, at a special ceremony held [796] once a year when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen, and they also in case of sickness call upon him to restore them to [755] health.[3]

Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*)[4] or *Xuwa*,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 24–6; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.
[3] "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.
[4] It may be mentioned here that Lebzelter is inconsistent in the orthography he employs: *!Kuŏ* is elsewhere written *//Khuŏ*, *//gauŏ* alternates with */gauŏ*, *gagoroŏ* with */gau /goroŏ*, [114] and so on.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Here also the Mantis is the central figure of many myths; but at the same time he is the creator, he causes life or death, he is especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food and good luck in hunting, and he is also connected with certain religious dances at which the "initiated men" (probably the magicians) cure illness. The elaborate mythological character of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen and his association with so many other figures in these myths preclude an absolute identification of him and *Huwe*. The resemblance in other respects, however, appears on the whole to be striking enough to warrant our connecting the two. 184 776 [761] [224] [782] [755]

The other outstanding conception is that of *//gaua*, *//gauab*, */gamab*, etc. In all the North-Western tribes the word *//gaua* is used in the first place for the ghosts of dead persons, and one cannot resist assuming that this is its fundamental significance. Among the Naron and Auen these ghosts, which as in all the other North-Western tribes can be seen by the magicians, walk about at night, and people are afraid of them, but not do expect real harm from them; among the Eastern Kung, however, all the *//gauab* are the cause of illness, some do mischief, while others come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead; among the Heikum of Ukuambi the ghosts move about on earth and do harm to people, while among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul goes to live with */gamab*, but may return to earth to kill people. In general therefore it would seem that dead people are regarded by the North-Western Bushmen as sources of injury, and especially as causing illness and even death. The same idea is conveyed by Dornan's statement, that the North-Eastern Bushmen avoid the grave of a dead person, "lest the spirit resent the intrusion." 184 775 [753] [753] [761] [769]

The word *//gaua* is, however, used also in the sense of a personified being, whose attributes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but appear on closer analysis to show a certain uniformity. The !O Kung ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*; when anyone is killed by lightning they say "*//gaua* took him", and people who had met their death in this way were said to sit in the sky as stars, which are looked upon as "*//gaua*'s fires". Among the Eastern Kung the stars are also the fires of the *//gauab*, a shooting star heralds the death of someone, while lightning is the medium through which *Xu* punishes or kills people. Among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga *xamaba* (*/gamab*) inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like, while 184 776 [192] [821] [775] [821] [753]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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184 776 among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan */gamab* makes thunder and
[821] lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting stars. The Naron and Auen term a strong and howling wind *//gaua*,
[825] while sometimes *//gaua* is said to be a bird which makes the wind.
[777] Finally among the North-Eastern Bushmen *Khauna* is the source of
[753] bad luck and disease, is injurious to people, and sends the thunder-
[821] storm and lightning, the latter being regarded as his offspring. Further the "lightning bird", intimately associated with him, is feared and
[825] may inflict death by lightning when molested. Here again we get the general impression of *//gaua* as the source of illness and death,
[753] acting through the medium of the storm, lightning, and shooting stars.

184 In all this *//gaua* offers certain points of resemblance with the
776 conception of the Rain held by the Cape Bushmen. Among the latter the Rain is definitely personified, it appears in their myths
821 as a supernatural personage, generally in the form of an animal, and here it is said, "the Rain thunders, the Rain lightens." When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind and various transformations effected; the howling of the wind forebodes evil; and numerous observances have to be kept in order
[761] not to anger the Rain and thereby provoke death. There is also
[775] the belief that people killed by lightning are changed into stars; shooting stars are omens of death; the wind is sometimes spoken
[825] of as a bird; and the flight over the camp of the *Scopus umbretta*, known to the North-Eastern Bushmen as the "lightning bird", here announces the death of someone. In this connection it may be added that among the Namib Bushmen thunder and lightning are said to command great reverence, and a person struck and killed by lightning is believed to have suffered death as a punishment for some past misdeed.[1]

184 In some cases, among the North-Western Bushmen, *//gaua* shares
776 certain of the attributes vested in *Huwe*. This appears most strikingly among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga, where *Huwe-Erob* does not figure at all, his place being taken by *xamaba*, who has most of the powers and privileges attributed to *Huwe-Erob* by the other
[782] Heikum and the Kung. Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan
[755] we find prayers addressed to *Erob* for rain and in illness, but at the
[775] same time the "demiurge" */gamab* is mentioned as the creator who
[821] receives the souls of the dead. Further, as we have just seen, */gamab*

[1] Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 504.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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also the doctors of the community. The millipede, said to belong to *Hishe*, is only touched by them; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine. [756] [825]

Naron magicians (*tsho k'auba* or */nu k'auba*) do not dress or live differently from the rest of the community. "No one would know them apart," says Miss Bleek, "nor do they seem to have much influence to-day." The Auen seem to have many more magicians than the Naron, by whom they are looked up to in magic matters. Here, according to Kaufmann, the magicians, (*tsho k'au*, */nu k'au* or */geixa*) have their skulls shaved clean, and also carry a few ornaments which may not be worn by other people. The magic art in both tribes is learned by apprenticeship. During the month of the puberty ceremony one or two boys are taught their trade by the old magicians. At the next ceremony they return and are taught more; and boys who have been with a magician for many years can when they become older succeed their master.[1] [184] [868]

Magicians among the Kung are of two kinds, and both are called in especially for illness. The */u k'au*, who sucks out the disease from the body of the patient, is "an evil person, who speaks to no one and always looks black"; while the */ue k'au*, according to Vedder, is the ordinary worker in magic and the poison-mixer, and also prepares medicines from herbs and roots by cooking.[2] Lebzelter gives further information about the magicians. Both men and women can be summoned by the "great captain" to exercise this calling. The power they receive from him is greater than that of all the spirits with the exception of */nawa*, and is equal to that of the latter. Magicians are thus "born and not made", to use Lebzelter's expression, but nevertheless it appears that they have to learn the secrets of their calling by apprenticeship. They accompany the old magicians at least once in the search for medicine plants, and are then subjected to a test. The old magicians in the customary manner attempt to cure a sick person by sucking out the "disease poison" ("Krankheitsgift") or the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient; then they administer all the "disease poison" extracted by them to the initiates. If the latter do not die from this treatment, they have satisfactorily passed the test! [184] [755] [278] [787]

The magicians, apart from being able to cure illnesses by banishing the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient, also have the [787]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 159.
[2] "Grammatik der !kû-Buschmannsprache," 8-9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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756 faculty of seeing and speaking to the *//gauab*, and only they know
[787] and utter the real name, */nawa*, of the chief of the latter. The evening
[782] before a hunting expedition they pray to *//gauab* for help, and certain
of them also have the power of conjuring down rain. This they
756 achieve in the following manner. When rain is needed, all the
789 people of the camp take part in a dance, during which they sing over and over again a mournful song lamenting the condition of hunger and thirst to which they are reduced. "Finally the great captain in the sky hears the lamentation. The magician goes outside the camp and sees that a thin cord is being let down from the sky. He climbs a certain way up this, but the great captain comes down to meet him half-way. As soon as the magician sees the great captain, he throws a powder up to him; whereupon the great captain lifts him up high and takes him into his house. There the magician prays to him: 'Lord, help us, the children are dying, we thirst and hunger.'
[782] So long does he pray and plead that at last the captain says: 'It is
[776] well, I shall send water, that the children may have water and veldkos.'
[821] Then he again accompanies the magician half-way down the cord. As soon as the latter has reached the ground, he releases his hold upon the cord, which is at once drawn up again. The rain follows immediately."[1]

184 Among the !O Kung in Angola there are also two kinds of magicians.
756 The *!num-k'au* officiates at puberty dances, makes scarifications,
791 sees spirits, and also conjures up *//gaua*, while the *tsho-k'au* heals the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's
[881] body through sucking. For this he receives a present. Both
[787] men and women apparently can become magicians of either kind,
[755] if taught by an older practitioner. There is said to be no ceremony of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.[2]

It will be noticed that both terms which distinguish the two classes of magician among the Kung and the !O Kung are also found among the Naron and Auen for magicians. This would suggest that there is a similar division of functions in these tribes also, but neither Miss Bleek nor Kaufmann definitely states this.

773 The origin of magic among the Naron and Auen is said by Fourie
[789] to be attributed to *//gaua*, and he gives the following myth in confirmation.[3] "The Bushman *Tji-Tji* is said to have been initiated

[1] Lebzelter, "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 408–9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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borders of the Desert, but are unknown to the Cape Bushmen and 184
those of Griqualand West. Dornan maintains that they are original 787
elements in the culture of the Bushmen, from whom they have been
taken over by the Bantu. All the evidence, however, points in 114
the other direction, for among the Bantu the use of divining bones 177
of several different types is not only widespread, but also developed 787
into an elaborate system of interpretation, while the way the Bushmen handle them shows that they do not know much about them. Moreover, it is found that the frequency of their use by the Bushmen coincides with the extent to which any tribe has been exposed to Bantu influence.[1]

Other minor beliefs and practices of the Bushmen are mentioned 751
by writers on particular tribes, but consideration of them must be [184]
omitted in a general survey such as this. It may be noted, however, that among the Northern tribes amulets are often worn to ward off disease and other evils, while among all the Bushmen charms of various [777]
kinds are also carried to ensure good luck. Bad dreams are also 787
regarded as evil omens, and precautions taken to counteract them. 789
Among the Cape Bushmen, for instance, when a woman had had a bad dream, she banished it by plunging a stone into the fire, at the same time saying a spell. If she neglected to do this, the dream would accompany her when she went out to seek ants' larvae and prevent her from finding any. The Naron, in the same way, when they have had bad dreams put a bit of burning charcoal on the ground and pour water on it, then the bad dream flies away with the steam. Or, [755]
when a man is ill and *Hishe* sends bad dreams, he takes a stick after the sun has arisen, plants it in the ground between his knees, burns *buchu* and snuffs it, and recovers.[2]

[1] Werner, "Heikum und Kunghanchkwe," 256; Kaufmann, "Auin," 159, Dornan, "Divination and Divining Bones," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 505–7; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 255–8; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28–9; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies*, 10–11.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 29.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Treatment

is administered by relatives or friends, or in cases of acute and prolonged illness by a magician well versed in medical practices, who is paid for his services. In cases of the latter kind a very common method employed is massage, leading up to the extraction of foreign bodies ("disease-poisons", "spirits of disease", etc.) believed to have been introduced into the patient and thus causing his illness. When the "doctor" feels that the foreign body has been brought near enough to the surface by his treatment, he sucks the part affected and then, with a retching sound, triumphantly spits out the object he is supposed to have sucked from the patient's body. Stones, pieces of bark, small bones, etc., are thus extracted from the affected part of the patient, who in consequence is cured![1] Lebzelter records also that, while the "doctor" is busy performing this cure, the relatives and friends standing round pray to the "supreme being" to make the patient well again; and, as we have seen, the use of prayers in case of severe illness is mentioned by several other writers as well.[2]

755 ● [782]

More practical forms of treatment are also found, however.[3] Herbs and roots of various kinds are extensively employed as medicines. Sometimes they are burned to ashes which are then rubbed into small cuts made in the patient's body, sometimes they are boiled and given as a decoction. How far they actually do have curative effects is difficult to say, as no special study appears to have been made of their pharmacological properties, nor, save in a few instances, have they even been identified. But Dornan mentions that "for blackwater they use a plant called qilika (*Anacoampseros rhodesica*) by the Matabele; dysentery *Monsonia ovata*, and *Euclea lanceolata*; for various other diseases, *Cannabis sativa*, *Solanum nigrum*, *Lippia asperifolia* (malaria), *Cratalaria burkeana*, *Pterocarpus angolensis*, *Datura stramonium*, *Indigofera senegalensis*, and *Bauhinea reticulata*".[4] Burns, open sores, headaches, etc., are treated by rubbing medicated ointments on the part affected. Chapman describes another method of treatment undergone by himself. "Having a frightful headache from the heat of the sun, I resort to my usual Bushman remedy, at the expense of having my forehead ornamented with blisters dotted all over it the next morning. April [his Bushman guide] has a root

757 278 [824] 752

[1] A good eyewitness account of this treatment is given by Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 340–1; cf. also D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29. [114]

[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 411; cf. pp. 183 sq. above.

[3] Nolte, "Krankheiten und Heilmittel der Nama und Buschmänner," *D. Kol-Ztg.*, 1886, p. 629 sq.; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 159, 282–3; ii, 74, 182; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Dornan, loc. cit.; Vedder, "Grammatik der ǂKõ-Buschmannsprache," 8–9; Fourie, loc. cit.

[4] Op. cit., 142.

/140 cont./

301 Earrings of Molentza chain; necklaces of glass beads. Rings on arms, wrists, and legs as among the men.

The "Bushman doctor" wears special ornaments that other [756] people are not permitted to wear. Unfortunately, I was not able to obtain any of these ornaments.

[882] Girls, it is said, do not start wearing ornaments until after their first menses.

[796] All the ornaments are worn for dances and ceremonies. The headdress of the women in Photograph 20 is worn only on special festive occasions.

302 The "doctor" has his head shaved smooth. I did not notice [756] a special hairdress. The men frequently stick individual loose [301] ostrich feathers in the hair, while the women like to braid brass or iron beads into the hair. In addition, the women use a kind of pomade made of various pulverized plant parts which are combined with fat from antelope skin.

Men sometimes cut their head-hair with a knife or a piece of glass.

There is no differentiation in hair style between girls and married women.

[386] The hair is frequently dyed with a mixture of fat and red clay. I am uncertain, however, whether or not this is a means of making the hair fall out in places. On the other hand, in that case there would probably have to be another ingredient /141/ in this mixture that I was unable to discover.

In case a beard is present, which does not occur often, it is neither cut nor removed in any other way.

[142] Pubic hair is sparse and is sometimes shaved off (with a piece of glass). It is said that women have no pubic hair at all.

E. Artificial Deformities

A kind of cosmetic of a reddish-brown color is used by the women.

It consists of a mixture of fat and red clay (see Section D above) and is manufactured by the women themselves.

[535] This cosmetic is regarded solely as a means of beautification and is used especially at festivals (dances).

/141 cont./

302 Men and boys do not use this cosmetic, nor do old women, but only young women and girls.

The mixture is applied in circles on the cheeks (see Photo. 20, woman farthest to the left), but it is also rubbed on the body in any other place possible, such as on the arms or belly. Frequently the entire body is greased with it.

Among men a kind of black grease is used. This has "a pleasant odor," at least according to Bushman notions. It is [756] manufactured by the "doctor." The men smear it under and on the nose. It is questionable whether it is more a means of beautification or of enjoyment.

All male Auin have a green line over the root of the nose, 304 and usually also a crossbar under and at right angles to it. The crossbar is usually not colored (cf. Fig. 4).

Both lines consist of innumerable small transverse cuts. There are almost always two to four deep, especially conspicuous scars in the longer line. The length of the longitudinal line is usually from 2.5 to 3.5 centimeters, and that of the crossbar from one to 1.5 centimeters. Sometimes the longitudinal line is considerably longer and extends to the hairline. In the case of one Auin about 20 years old, no forehead tattoo was observed. In answer to questioning he replied that "it would be done later." On the other hand, I found a forehead tattoo on a quite undeveloped girl who [881] was at most eight years old. Hence it would seem that the tattoo is not connected with sexual maturity, an impression which the Auin themselves confirmed. One woman had two parallel longitudinal lines; another had two lines on each cheek, which in size and execution were like the vertical forehead line. Both were Auin by birth; in other words, they had not married into the tribe.

[177] According to the statements of the Auin, the forehead tattoo was copied from the Betschuana.

The forehead tattoo is called gi. Evidently no special significance is attached to it. Incidentally, I have seen the same tattoo among all the other Bushmen tribes. [Fig. 4 appears here.]

As a tool for making the countless little transverse incisions [412] that constitute the forehead tattoo, any sharpened little piece of iron may be used. I was unable to determine the pigment used to produce the green color, which is indelible.

/154 cont./

722 Women were not taken along on the expedition; the women of the settlement attacked immediately ran away.

[622] 701 In time of war the chiefs have general powers of command. Their authority is apparently no greater than in peacetime, when it is insignificant. Indeed, it is scarcely intelligible to us how a war can be carried on effectively under such circumstances.

[888] [756] Old people naturally have greater influence. The "doctor" is merely an accompanying warrior without special authority. Generally speaking, everyone for the most part does what he considers should be done; some co-operation is nevertheless apparent.

726 There is no fighting at night; at most they will march then.

619 Alliances are concluded, even between groups speaking different languages. For instance, men of different Auin settlements will ally themselves with a Naroon [Naron] settlement to attack another Auin settlement.

There is no political connection between all the Auin settlements. They form a single community only by virtue of their common language. For example, bitter hostility exists between the Auin of Gam and the Auin of Rietfontein, while the relations between the Rietfontein Auin and the Naroon settlements south of them are amicable. The two can communicate only through interpreters.

701 Young people who are staying in a given village for courtship participate without ado in the warlike undertakings of this village. I am unable to say what happens in case the undertaking is directed at the home settlement of the candidate for marriage.

Concerning the war dance and the accompanying song, see page 37.

727 Captured men are killed, and usually boys as well (because of the danger of blood vengeance).

Women and children are taken away, married, and completely assimilated into the group. Old women are killed. Objects that are useful are taken away; the rest is destroyed.

It is not worth the trouble to set fire to the windscreens.

728 Hostilities are officially concluded; unarmed negotiators appear to have safe conduct. War damages are paid in the form of food, tools, and women.

The description of the form of government is the most difficult chapter of this account.

/158 cont./

T. Religion, Cult, Mythology

756 [789] The Bushman doctor conjures up rain by scattering on the ground a kind of red earth which he fetches from afar and carries about with him.

I regard the doctors, who take the place of sorcerers, as quite experienced people who have a considerable gift for observation. At the same time, they throw plenty of sand in their [775] [769] clients' eyes. The soul of the deceased does not die. The Bushmen have great fear of the dead and even of the place of death.

753 Illnesses that give rise to much pain and complaining on the part of the sufferers are regarded as having been caused by a higher power (demons); others are regarded as natural illness.

755 The doctor practices exorcism by saying magical charms over the sick person and finally, with the motion of a juggler, flinging to the ground a little piece of wood or the like which is supposed to have come from the body of the patient and to have caused the illness.

776 The only thing that I was able to establish concerning their religious notions, despite weeks of fruitless endeavor, /159/ is that a higher power exists which may be harmful to men and may cause them to perish from serious illnesses. This higher power, which is feared, dwells "above." I could not get them to do more than point upward in the direction of the sky, except for the statement that the feared power is far beyond the treetops. [Fig. 14 appears here.]

756 The doctor is both physician and sorcerer. He is probably also a priest, for whenever I asked questions concerning religion and the like, I was always referred to the doctor, who supposedly was informed about these matters.

Not every settlement has a doctor. Between Oas, Rietfontein, and Ganab (100 kilometers north of Rietfontein) there was supposedly only one.

The doctor has his head shaved smooth. In addition, he is said to wear ornaments that no other man may use.

Boys who have been apprenticed to a doctor for many years may later, when they have become older, replace their master.

In the treatment of the sick, charlatanism seems to be mixed

[Text continues on page 56]

/159 cont./

756 with a considerable portion of actual experience and knowledge.

The doctors are paid for their efforts.

There are also female doctors.

[648] I have observed no sign of hostility toward Whites among these people. They know how to evade observation, however, even better than the ordinary Bushman, and that says a good deal.

Only the doctor may eat a certain kind of poisonous snake, apparently the so-called black mamba, which I regard as an older type of cobra.

U. Totemism

771 I was unable to observe any indications that might lead one to deduce the existence of totemism.

V. Medicine

755 A man who was suffering from headache had colored his forehead with a black grease that supposedly had curative powers and had wound a thin thong firmly around his head. Our household remedy of firmly squeezing the sides of the aching head with both hands was familiar to the Auin.

278 752 The Bushman doctor makes an antidote from the black mamba, which he alone may eat. This antidote is supposed to help against the bites of all snakes, except that of the mamba itself.

He dries and pulverizes the lungs, gall, and liver, as well as the poisonous fangs with the poison glands. This powder is stirred into a paste with the fat of the same snake, and the paste, so I was informed, is rubbed into the enlarged wound, which has first been sucked out.

At the same time, various deep incisions are made on the upper arm and chest, from which considerable blood flows.

278 Poisons that work internally are not manufactured. The Auin maintain, however, that the arrow poison also works internally.

The manufacture of arrow poison was described above.

/159 cont./

278 752 [411] Poisoned arrows shot into the chest and abdomen are described as unconditionally deadly. Arrow wounds on extremities, as well as very superficial ones, are supposed to be curable under certain circumstances if immediate help is provided.

[751] There is no inoculation against arrow poison.

[827] An older Auin suffering from badly inflamed eyes attributed this illness to an arrow wound he had received many years earlier. His statement, of course, cannot be verified.

165 Malaria is endemic and annually exacts many lives. The number of cases resulting in death was especially great in 1908-1909. Whole settlements are supposed to have died out. Epidemics were unknown even to the "oldest people."

Venereal diseases are blessings of civilization, but evidently not yet widespread.

731 Famine actually prevails every year toward the end of the dry season, especially if the preceding rainy season has been poor. During this time, almost all the Auin are emaciated to skeletons. Death by hunger is not supposed to /160/ occur. After all, the Bushman always finds something to eat, even if it is only grass seeds.

●756 The so-called doctors decidedly possess great experience in medical matters, which, however, does not prevent them from practicing considerable charlatanism (see Section T).

W. Time Reckoning, Astonomy

805 The day is divided according to the position of the sun.

Certain time segments are indicated with great exactitude according to the position of the sun. If one asks a Bushman, "How far is it to the watering place?" he will point to the place in the sky that the sun will have reached by the time one gets there.

The concept of the month is known (gnui, "month").

The relation of the solar year to lunar months is unknown.

The Auin divides up the year, for which, incidentally, he has no definite, but rather only a very vague concept, as follows:

[10 cont.]

539 χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!
[821]
271
731 [11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They [488] do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and [758] the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune. Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own.

271 One must have experienced personally the feeling that overcomes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can drink again!

539 3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a
782 journey:
[484] χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

[755] 4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor performs his ceremonies.

χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai khaira téve God, let our people rise again.

789 5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil: Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

821 They do not know anything to say about the sun (soréa). The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

753 Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those
776 persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this, and there is no spirit of sickness.

776 There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the bush. They play tricks.

775 A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know [756] what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

/14 cont./

000 chronic, good-natured imbiber . . .

776 In heaven there is one god, Erob. Lightning (dábara)
[821] and rain (!nanus) are sent by him. He calls heaven χ'ameiba.
This word is very interesting. It can mean both "place of the
/15/ souls (χ'a) " or "place of the χ'amab." The souls
[775] (um-ské) go to heaven after death. "This is what they say, "
said the man, "I haven't been there yet."

He did not know Gauab and Heiseb. Concerning other spirits, he said that people had mentioned them, but he did not believe in them. The spirits are supposedly called "gangarob."
●756 The old Bushmen had neither doctors nor medicines against ill-
753 nesses. To my question about what made people ill, he responded with philosophical equanimity: "If one becomes ill, he is ill like an animal." He knew nothing about the sun (soris)
[821] and moon (χ'ab). A sacred fire is unknown to him.
[778]

224 Of greatest interest is his report, undoubtedly based
782 upon autopsy, concerning an initial offering at the hunt. I give the report in literal translation:

"Before people go out to the hunt, they meet at an omsati tree (//Khaia-aib). There a fire is made. Each hunter rips off a number of leaves, spits on them, and throws them into the fire as he shouts:

[539] Érob, Érob, áu tere! God, God, help us!

"When the game has been killed, one first cuts a piece each from the lung, liver, and stomach and throws each piece singly to the side, saying all the while:

Érob úre, Érob úre! God take, God take!

[539] "Then they start to eat."

This function is performed by the one who has killed the game.

881 The following was communicated to me concerning the
585 social organization:

There are initiation ceremonies. The celebration of the first menstruation originally coincided with the wedding. On the first day of menstruation the girl went into a pontok especially constructed for this purpose. Then there was dancing for two or three days, and after the cessation of the menses the girl went to

[38 cont.]

412 415 Fig. 4. Wooden Mortars of the !Kung. (1/4 natural size [as shown in the original text]).

Fig. 5. Wooden Vessels of the !Kung.

Fig. 6. Large Wooden Bowl of the !Kung (probably imported from the north — Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 2158).

Fig. 7. Pestle and Digging Stick or the !Kung (greatly reduced).

Fig. 8. (1) Digging Stick with !Kwe; (2) Veld Hoe (Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 1278 and 1497).

301 lengthen them. Some people possess such a great number of these chains that they cover the entire forehead. Children often wear small rectangular pendants, and women have large, medallion-like round ones that are worn like a diadem in the middle of the forehead. Little chains of small ostrich egg beads up to five centimeters long are worn as ear pendants. Children are also given armbands and anklebands made of ostrich egg beads. Brass beads from ancient times are rare and are worn exclusively as hair pendants, as are copper beads. Glass beads are not greatly valued, and only blue ones are worn, if any. On the other hand, beads made from aromatic wood are common. Longer chains of alter-
[756] nating wood and ostrich egg beads and worn in the hair are insignia of the female doctors. The men have tight little leather straps
[827] at the wrists and ankles, which probably serve to strengthen the
[411] musculature in running and using the bow. In addition, they have a few armbands of brass or iron. Every man and woman wears a string around the neck, which has one or two appetite sticks (see
[777] below) and various talismans attached at the front. Finally, a little horn containing various kinds of medicine is worn around the neck by many of the men. The younger women and girls
[303] usually also possess a tortoise shell powder box of the kind described below for the Dama. Body painting is scarcely practiced;
[302] concerning tattooing, see page 56. The children occasionally wear armbands that they make themselves with grass or various fruits.

[47 cont.]

752 burn the wounded person at many places on his body. When the poison smells the warmth, it gathers at these places; incisions are then made there, and the blood is sucked out by means of a cupping glass made of gemsbok horn. The wounded person may neither sit nor lie down; he must be walked about for twenty-four hours. After this time he either dies or is cured. The method helps only in rare cases.

Snakebite is the second great danger. If one makes an
751 incision in the lower part of the calf and rubs scrapings from a
824 bisob root into it, the snakes smell this and do not come out of
825 hiding. [Fig. 18 appears here.] When a person has to run great distances, bisob dust is mixed with fat and applied
752 to the legs. In case someone is nevertheless
(411) bitten by a snake, the treatment is analogous to that used for arrow wounds. Injuries to the feet caused by thorns are very common. Injuries that pass through the aponeurosis are regarded as deadly. They practically always become infected. Even though wound infections take a less malignant and a slower course than among Europeans, they nonetheless sometimes lead to death. The only medicine
(278) used is bisob powder scattered in the wound.

Fig. 18. Kirri of the !Kung.

756 Some doctors claimed to be immune
751 to snake and scorpion bites.

What Vedder observed among the Bergdama is reported in a similar manner by Schinz:

"With the intention of testing the latter characteristic, I one day persuaded an old sorcerer visiting us in Noi !as on Ngami Lake to undertake an experiment with 12 scorpions (Buthus randus Simon) picked out by myself and having an average length of eight centimeters. In order to prevent any possibility of deception, I put the animals on the various parts of his body with tweezers, on the hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. As a rule they then immediately and excitedly moved the long postabdomen back and forth and jabbed violently once or twice into the flesh of the guinea

[47 cont.]

756 pig concerned, at which time in each case a large drop of white
751 fluid escaped from the stinger. Finally they moved about quietly without making any further attempts to sting, but they did not in any way show the excited hurry to get off the Bushman's body that has been reported by individual writers. The old man claimed not to feel any pain, and I have no reason to distrust him since, after all, if the poison had had any kind of effect upon him, he would scarcely have allowed himself to be stung in the most sensitive parts of his body for the sake of my desire for knowledge. Even a full hour after our experiment, the parts that had been stung did not show the slightest alteration. The man declared that he had attained this extraordinary faculty as a boy in the 'school' of a sorcerer, where he had been urged to apply scorpion poison, which had been taken forcibly and thinned with water and urine, on small incisions, as well as to eat the poisonous stingers pounded to a mash and boiled; supposedly immunity against snakebite can be obtained in like manner."

14. The Doctors' Test

755 One afternoon the eldest of the horde outside Keibeb came
756 to me and told me that that night a great dance would take place,
796 first, because a three-year-old child had just been bitten by a small black snake, second, because many people were sick with fever, and third, because one of the men wanted to undergo the doctors' test. Such festivals take place only during the time of the full moon. Toward nine o'clock in the evening I was lured into the camp by wild noise. The people had made somewhat larger and more fires than usual. The mother with the child bitten by the snake was seated in the center of an open semicircle. The older women squatted around her. To one side of them in single file, one behind each other, stood the younger women and girls. Both the male [48] and female doctors were busy. The chief female doctor, Biri, was "personally" absent this evening. She was crouching off to one side in the darkness of the bush. /Nawa,
[787] the highest of the //Gauab, had taken possession of her and spoke through her mouth. Her hair ornaments, long chains of beads made

[48 cont.]

755 from ostrich egg shells, had been put on by her proxy, Dube, a
●756 very intelligent young woman. The latter, standing at the end of
796 the semicircle of seated women, conducted the ceremony. She
[276] was in a very good mood and alternately smoked her Bushman
[554] pipe and my cigarettes. There is a kind of hierarchy among the women; those who were squatting were higher in rank than those who were standing. All the women clapped their hands and sang in a monotonous rhythm: ehe, ehe, ehe, ehe, etc. This, I was
[533] assured, was no song, but "music." Some hordes have bartered

[532]

Fig. 19. Sorcerer in a Bird Mask, Followed by Spirits of Sickness. (From Rock Paintings in South Africa. From Parts of the Eastern Province and Orange Free State. Copied by G. W. Stow. With an introduction and descriptive notes by Dorothea Bleek. London, Methuen, 1930.)

dance drums one and a half meters high from the Okawango, which on this occasion are played by men. [Fig. 19 appears
[184] here.] Among the Bushmen of the Sand Veld the female leader of the ceremony does not wear the ornaments of the chief female doctor; instead, the ornaments are hung on a tree. The position of the chief female doctor is not permanently held by one person; the chief doctor on occasion imparts supernatural powers to her.

755 The five doctors had taken off all their ornaments and
756 were naked except for the front apron. They put themselves
786 into an autohypnotic state by means of crowing, by producing
796

[48 cont.]

755 sounds similar to those of ventriloquists, and by certain muscle
756 contractions. By pressing together the gluteal musculature of the
786 buttocks and at the same time holding the knee joints as far apart
796 as possible and pressing the legs together at the ankles, they eventually produced a tonic trembling cramp of the entire musculature of the lower extremity, in which they reeled back and forth. It is possible for anyone to put himself into an autohypnotic state in this way, as this author also learned from the doctors. Soon the rolled-up eyes indicated that the doctors were in a state of trance. They danced around one another, fell over one another, and lifted one another up. Some women also started making noise with the dance rattles. The Bushmen were now convinced that
[787] /Nawa himself was dancing among the doctors, was visible to them, and spoke with them. At this point they say something
[782] like prayers; they invoke the great spirit of the old Bushman who has killed many elephants; they call the spirits of the dead who have sent their little spirits of sickness over the living, and they especially beg /Nawa to transfer these little spirits of sickness to the doctors.

755 The doctors ran alternately to the bitten child and to
756 those ill with fever who squatted around the fire, stroking the
796 painful places, both from the armpits down to the soles and from the shoulders down to the fingertips. Occasionally they also sucked at the diseased spots or inhaled the breath from the mouths of the patients.

From time to time, the doctors performed these operations upon one another, first of all, as they said, in order to distribute the poisons of sickness equally among all the doctors, but also in order to obtain power from the other doctors. Thus "charged," the doctor then again ran to the patients to take their poison.

Now and then the chief doctor ran screaming around the
[787] line of standing women and [49] disappeared into the bush in order to ask the chief female doctor about the will of /Nawa. After about an hour's dancing the chief doctor went to the bitten child. The child had been bitten on the back, and this was rubbed with fat and then medicine; then all the patients were again subjected to the treatment described above, and soon thereafter /Nawa an-
[787] nounced through the mouth of the chief female doctor that the

[49 cont.]

[787] 755 756 796 child, and the other patients, too, would be cured. That ended the first part of the ceremony.

Now the doctors' test began. The others, with the exception of the women making music, participated only as spectators. The doctors went on dancing, often holding their arms stretched out to the sky, with the fingers spread apart, and then springing to the fire and holding their hands over it. Flinging the hands toward the sky is done to give some of the little spirits of sickness back to the chief spirit /Nawa, who passes up and down along a thread between heaven and earth. It is not a gesture of prayer. Similarly, holding the hands over the fire is intended to achieve the same result, because the "little spirits of sickness" do not like the fire and hence will go away. Meanwhile, they thank the great spirit for having saved the child. Then they prayed to /Nawa that he might concentrate all the little spirits of sickness on the doctors' candidate and kill him so that the people would be free [753] [761] of evil diseases, for the dying person takes the spirits of sickness with him. By brushing, rubbing, and blowing, the old doctors now transfer the spirits of sickness to the candidate. The latter is completely exhausted, collapses from time to time, is constantly lifted up again, and, staggering, he dances on, with foam appearing at his mouth. The other doctors taunt him: "You leopard, you lion, you elephant, you insurmountable mountain, you gigantically strong man, now you can't cope with the spirits of sickness we have given you." Once more the chief doctor runs to the former patient and transfers to the candidate any disease poison he may have gathered. This hellish spectacle lasted one and a half hours; then the chief doctor went to his oracle sitting in the bush and asserted that the candidate was too strong: we have concentrated all the little spirits of sickness upon him and prayed to the chief spirit that he might take (kill) him, but the candidate is stronger than the spirits of sickness. Nevertheless, the oracle commands: "Dance on." While this happened, a woman came out of the background -- in the half-dark I was unable to see whether or not it was the chief female doctor herself -- and busied herself around the cured child. She clapped her hands and beat her palms together, with the thumb sides in front of the child's face, and thus put even the child in a brief trance. The dancing continued until around midnight when the oracle finally declared that though the

[49 cont.]

755 chief spirit was not yet satisfied, she would appease him; the chief
756 spirit would voluntarily take the little spirits of sickness away, even
796 from the doctors. After these words the festival abruptly ended; the people went to their fires and lay down to sleep.

The candidate had passed his examination (1).

[184] 535 756 796

1. Burchell (in the translation by Hellwald, Völkerkunde [Ethnology], II, p. 519) has given a similar account from the south: "One foot remains stationary, while the other is in rapid and irregular motion without any definite change of position. The movement of the arms is so slight as to be negligible. At the same time the dancer sings without pause and keeps time with the movements. Occasionally he lowers his body and then suddenly raises it again, until finally he sinks to the ground exhausted, but still singing and rhythmically moving his body in time with the song of the spectators. Even though only one person dances at a time, the company present nonetheless also has something to do, etc."

756 786 789 796

When the excitement of the dance has reached its climax and the dancers have fallen into a kind of trance as a result of the continuous dance movement, the shrill singing, the drinking of coffee, and not least the tobacco smoke, which they keep in their mouths for minutes on end for the intoxicating effect, then the doctors, in order to demonstrate their resistance to fire, trample with bare feet on the red-hot embers taken from the campfire and spread out on the sand. In the case of a number of the younger ones, however, I believe that their resistance to fire was not quite as great as they would have one believe, and they carefully avoided the pieces that were

[49 cont.]

756 786 789 796

glowing all too brightly. On the other hand, I was surprised when on the occasion of such a religious dance the so-called great doctor -- after he had danced by himself long and continuously in visible ecstasy, so that in spite of the cool night and even though he was almost completely naked, the sweat ran down his entire body -- suddenly, with slow majestic steps, walked through the high flames of the fire and in so doing had to step on the burning logs with his bare feet.

753 776 [50] On a later occasion I discussed these procedures thoroughly and in detail with the chief doctor, Kasi, and with Dube and the other doctors. One of the most striking aspects of the entire ceremony is perhaps the absence of the mysterious and the magical. These little spirits of sickness are not magical creatures but, in the eyes of the Bushmen, commonplace realities. The Bushmen know very well that many illnesses are not caused by the spirits of sickness alone. If someone eats something that has gone bad, he will become ill and will be given an emetic. If someone is wounded by a shot, the wound will be treated. If the injured person has pains only in the wound and otherwise feels all right, then no spirit of sickness has entered into him. If he feels sick all over, however, then he is possessed by a spirit of sickness. These little spirits of sickness are called dsao; they are little yellow men with a fat belly and a little tail. They obey the other spirits, which, as described above, include the ordinary [775] spirits from the bodies of deceased persons, the spirits who live among the stars, and the chief spirit (/Nawa) himself. [Fig. 20 appears here.]

Finally, even the "great captain" can send the dsao directly over a person. /Nawa can do this with or without the consent of the "great captain"; the smaller spirits act on their own authority or at the command of these powers.

756 776 The doctors have their supernatural power directly from the "great capitain"; they are as powerful as /Nawa and stronger

[50 cont.]

756 776 than the smaller spirits. Their treatment is correspondingly successful or unsuccessful. In other words, the doctors are vindicated in any case.

755 757 The treatment of illness thus follows two parallel paths: one with natural means (medicines and the like), directed at the local symptoms of the ailment; and one with supernatural means, directed at the dsao that cause the feeling of sickness.

[756] [796] 539 During the doctors' test the following song is sung:

[411]

Fig. 20. Bushman Revolver of the !Kung (Foxhof; actual size [as shown in original text]).

e hehehe na ti //kau /goa dsao

During the treatment itself the following text is sung:

/o ma ga //goa ≠am /nai tha

He has no medicine yet, he must be thrown with the medicine.

751 756 Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) have the following to report

1. Die Buschmänner, p. 424.

[50 cont.]

751 concerning the witch doctors:

756 [51] "The sorcerer can protect himself against the malignant spirits of evil deceased persons. After all, he can see them and knows the means for defending himself against them. The ordinary Bushman has no eye for them, but he has a means of keeping them at arm's length. In a small leather bag about as long as a finger [411] he keeps a bow carved out of horn and numerous horn arrows stuck in a shaft of sour grass [Cyperaceae]. If he has occasion to fear evil spirits, he shoots these miniature arrows in all directions with his miniature bow. Now the evil spirits cannot get at him.

"Since in addition he has the belief that an object merely thrown in the direction of a hated person in some mysterious fashion enters that person's body and gravely harms him, he likewise uses his miniature bow to keep a pursuer or enemy off his neck by shooting an arrow, with a curse, in the direction where he imagines his enemy to be, even when he knows that this person is miles away from him."

Whereas I myself and the highly experienced J. Lunkenbein regard these Bushman revolvers as harmless magical instruments, 411 [114] Seiner has a different opinion:

"The 'revolver' is a definite instrument of murder carried hidden in the modesty apron. The bow is ten centimeters long, the arrows are from ten to 12 centimeters long, and with the former they are put in a little bag adorned with beads. In addition it should be noted that the arrows, which are wrapped crosswise with little bands of tendon, are poisoned by being smeared with [278] little bits from the body of the arrow poison caterpillar. The Bushman ordinarily crushes a few of the caterpillars, which are available only in December and January, living on a few Commiphora shrubs (Commiphora dinteri, C. seineri) or as pupa at the roots under the ground, in a bone vessel with a little wooden stick that is always in the quivers; then he smears the arrow with some sticky stuff, such as wax or resin, whereupon he brushes the arrow with the viscous, slimy caterpillar mass, which, after drying, covers the arrow as a more or less thick brown crust. Up to a distance of seven meters it is possible to puncture the skin, drawing blood, with this miniature arrow; if the arrow tip were not blunt but pointed, like the one placed in the grass shaft, the arrow would

[51 cont.]

000 out the root, but dies on the spot as a sacrifice taking the place of the person who wants the plant. Once one has it, there is no longer any danger. People take so much trouble to get it because of its following peculiarity: the demons, that is to say, evil spirits of wicked human beings who enter into the living and kill them unless help is quickly given, are driven out by this plant as soon as one so much as brings it near the patient."

751 It comes from a little bush (/gui-sa). It does not occur in
754 the Bushman region visited by me, but farther to the north. It is
824 only found accidentally. When the doctor wanders through the
756 bush, he sometimes hears low talking. Soon he sees a track resembling that of a snake and showing traces of blood. The root walks upright on this track, like a stick. He may not attack it, because he would die immediately; instead he attempts to approach from the direction in which the magic root is walking, opens the medicine bag, and lets the little mandrake walk in. Then the bag is firmly closed and at home is hung on a tall tree. The mandrake may not be taken into the hut. Something like blood drips out of the bag. Early the next morning a great fire is made; women and children and everyone assemble, each one bringing his little buck horn to obtain from the doctor some of the medicine coming from the mandrake. The medicine is rubbed on the skin. Bushmen who live among the Whites may not take this medicine because they will become sick from it. -- The medicine or the magic that is given out by the mandrake has little effect on those who were treated in the manner described above, [52] but it has considerable effect in other cases. This medicine is used to kill enemies through magic at a distance. When a doctor goes to a horde that does not yet have this medicine, he carries the horn filled with it around his neck. Some of the mandrake's magic poison passes into anyone who looks at him.

754 When the doctor sits down, anyone who has looked at him keels over and dies unless he is helped. If this person is an enemy, the doctor simply goes away and does not trouble himself any

[53 cont.]

751 burned to a tinder and pulverized to make a medicine. The per-
821 son struck now has incisions made on his tongue, forehead, cheeks, chest, and legs, into which fat is rubbed, and then this medicine is smeared on. Now, for the time being, he is safe from persecution by the rain.

16. Rain Magic

789 People turn directly to the great captain when they need
[756] rain. Not all doctors are able to procure rain, only the few who
796 enjoy the special favor of the great captain. Then a dance is organized, at which the doctors put themselves in the trance state described below. At the same time the following lament is repeated countless times:

[54]

[539] !garā gurí dee oa ≠am	Why does it not rain?
X'uá dě rá /gaa !ái /gaa	Which lord is holding back the rain?
/gám khui hē	The sun is hot.
!kûng-ná gurí /gǒá /gǒá	Will man live?
//gauána tani /gee ≠gáo	Are the spirits bringing winter?
!kung /goá hǒǒ !koa !kung ō dshn-ǎ	Where is man supposed to drink?
//gaa /a //gõě !kung /ñ a //gõě	If it is so, can man only die of thirst?
!kunǎ //gõě ne oa	What can man do now?
Ha-!kung tam hā m tam ná /ñ gěě	We had better stay here because we have been abandoned!

756 Finally the great captain in heaven hears the lamenting.
789 The doctor runs from the dance place into the bush and sees that
787 a thin thread is let down from the sky. The doctor climbs up on
796 this thread. The great captain comes to meet him half way. As soon as the doctor sees the great captain, he throws a red powder (ocher with medicine) toward him. Now the great captain draws the doctor up and leads him to the heavenly house. In front of this house [Fig. 20 appears here] the doctor sees the spirits of
[775] his deceased colleagues who year in, year out, stand before the house.

[54 cont.]

756 house. The doctor then begins to pray: "Lord, help us, the chil-
789 dren are dying, we are dying of thirst and hunger." He prays and
787 begs until the captain says: "It is good, I shall send water so that
796 the children will have water and veldkost." Then the great captain again accompanies the doctor halfway down. As soon as the doctor is down below, he lets go of the thread which is immediately drawn up. Now the people dance and sing, for the rain has come:

[539] /gá-é dsó-jā /gaa	We rejoice now over the rain.
//ē gà djusǎ !kho ǎdshója /ga	Then we rejoice all together.
//ē gā hin a /gaa /gaa	Then the rain comes.
da //goá dshn !gu da adschŏéa χ'u	Then the people praise the lord.

532]

Fig. 21. Spirits of the Dead and Rain Animal (from Bleek, Rock Paintings in South Africa etc., Pl. 58).

776 Another !Kung said to me: "The great captain in the sky
821 sends the rain and all that comes from above. If he does not want to, everything remains shut up. The rain is opened up above; a great vlei is there. I do not know the name of the great captain. The Hei//om call him Som-seb."

17. Religion

771 After a critical look at the sum of the conceptions determining
177 the religious life of the !Kung, one recognizes, as would naturally be expected in the case of such an ancient people, that the elements

[58 cont.]

775 From there they make their rounds. They always return to their
769 graves. Hence, a Bushman always makes a detour around a grave. He does not point at a grave with his finger, and he does not call to a companion: 'There is a grave!' A great detour is made around the area where there is a grave. When a Bushman unexpectedly passes a grave, he puts a stone on it. That is a greeting for the dead person. In so doing, one makes the grave more secure against wild animals."

769 From the region of Foxhof I have the following informa-
775 tion to add:

"The Gauab that arises from the flesh of the corpse remains seated by the grave. When a relative passes by and the Gauab is sitting out in the open, the Gauab thinks: I know this person well; why is he passing by here without giving me any water. Then the Gauab becomes angry and makes him sick. Then when the doctors sing, they recognize what the trouble is and say: Today you passed by the grave of N. and did not give anything. Tomorrow morning very early you must take water and
775 an ostrich egg and place them by the grave. Such a Gauab also
787 goes hunting, kills game, makes a fire, cuts open the game, takes the fat, and brings it to the doctors while they are singing.
[756] The Gauab, whom the other people cannot see, sits down at some distance from the dancers. The doctor sees him, however, and goes to the Gauab. The latter tells him where the game lies, and the doctor tells this to the other people, who fetch the game and praise the Gauab.

775 "The stars are the campfires of the Gauab.

"The Gauana take the souls that they have stolen to their village and then back to the grave. The people often hear a voice in the veld; this is the Gauab calling, and on their way they find a piece of dead game. When the Gauab is out hunting and has gone too far from his grave, he must sleep in a tree. Some of the souls stolen by the Gauab are brought to the captain of the Gauana. The souls that are taken there again become actual persons up above with the captain of the rain. The others, however, are the little Gauab who go hunting here."

[114] The observations made by Bleek (3) 50 years ago seem to
776 be especially significant.

3. W. H. J. Bleek and L.C.Lloyd,

[113]

[74 cont.]

776 one time as a man and at another time as a woman.

7. Medicine

The curing practices of the Nogau Bushmen are very primi-
757 tive. They have nothing for snakebite and nothing for arrow poison.

Eland fat is a universal medicine. For the common eye
278 inflammations this fat is smeared into the eye; for headaches warm eland fat is dripped into the ear; for a cold the nostrils and nose are smeared with eland fat.

Sickness comes either from the evil head Gauab or from
753 sorcerers. The ailment is caused by a little Gauab who has settled
[754] in the body. The more gravely ill a person is, the more Gauana have entered into him. The doctors are able to draw out these
755 spirits of sickness; they do it in a fashion analogous to that prac-
756 ticed by the !Kung. There are also female doctors.

The spirits of sickness are regarded here as much more ma-
753 terial than among the !Kung; such a Gauab looks like a human
776 being, but he may also appear as a lion, a wildebeest, or a snake. Once the Gauab has been drawn out of the body, it runs away and speaks to no one.

The sorcerers in particular like to transform themselves into
756 lions. Among the Bushmen farther north [75] it is supposedly
[825] the case that when they see a wildebeest in the bush, for example, it is not a wildebeest at all, but a Gauab. The doctors receive their power from the highest Gauab (/gaua //gaicha). He is the one who appears in the wind spouts. As among the Bantu, the doctors must go to school for several years with older colleagues.
[754] They are not only able to cure, but also to practice magic in the bad sense, in that they induce /Gaua //gaicha to make ill anyone whom they want to harm.

"Whoever wants to become a sorcerer must go to school with another witch doctor. When someone is struck by lightning, it is said that Gauab struck him down with his knife. Some then become great doctors and often speak with Gauab. Gauab also comes as a wind spout."

[78 cont.]

000 it with the fingers. [Fig. 29 appears here.]

[79] The lion is neither eaten nor hunted. The jackal and
224 262 leopard are eaten, as is the liver of the latter. Baboons are not
825 eaten, because they were formerly Bushmen.

304 The line of tattooing between the eyebrows make people
302 into leopards among the Nogau. The Naron smear themselves with red and black color. The other incisions and tattooing are made purely for adornment.

825 Among the Naron, millepedes are regarded as creatures
756 of Hise, and only doctors may touch them and make medicine of them. Among the Nogau and ǂAuin there are magical bones
787 that are used to predict the future. The Naron also believe that
[172] the rock engravings stem from //gauwa.

Among the Auin it is forbidden to eat hyena flesh, and
262 likewise the flesh of the shabrack jackal because it is a dog.

The following important data supplied by Gentz (1) should

224
[114]
[113]

1. "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften [Some Contributions to Knowledge of the Southwest African Tribes]," Globus, Vol. 83, 1903.

be added:

"I have repeatedly found Bushman arrows on which the point, usually made of bone (for the most part ostrich bone), was made of wood. The game sling, reproduced in Figure 29, is constructed as follows: A strong string, four to five millimeters thick, which at one end terminates in a simple loop, is fastened at the other end to a flexible young tree or branch that is bent far over. A small, thinner string with a transverse stick is attached at the loop end. The string is placed around a small post driven into the ground at an angle, and it is prevented from slipping off by means of a flat piece of wood buried under the ground and planted against the free end of the transverse stick; the sling is placed in a circle on the ground over the flat piece of wood. The game, which follows its customary track to the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Dancers

When Bushmen dance their medicine dances, the medicine 535 begins to work in the bodies of the medicine men. Medicine 756 is warmed to potency as the exercise of dancing warms the shaman's body, and by the heat of the fire that the shaman dances around. The medicine purges evil and cures a sickness that is known to the Gikwe as "star sickness," a mysterious, magic sickness that has no tangible symptoms but together with evil is brought to people by the spirits of the dead. You can tell that powerful curing medicine is at work during one of these dances because the medicine men fall into trance, shudder and shriek and roll their eyes up into their heads, fall into the fire or wash their faces with flaming coals and are not burned, and when they rub their fire-warmed hands on you to cure you their hands are hot and dry and flutter like moths, and presently the star sickness leaves you, enters the bodies of the medicine men, and is shrieked into the air, hurled back to the spirits of the dead who brought it.

There are many types of medicine at work in the Kalahari, 756 and every band among the Gikwe, Kung, or any Bushman 825 nation possesses certain of these. Some bands, for instance,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

756 have the giraffe, rain, and gemsbok medicine. Others might
825 have the ratel, fire, and gemsbok medicine. Ukwane's band had the sun, dove, and gemsbok medicine. Almost every band has the gemsbok medicine, for magically the gemsbok are very important animals, obvious from the black medicine markings on a gemsbok's face.

756 The medicine songs are songs without words and are given
535 to both Kung and Gikwe Bushmen by the great god who
776 sends his messengers, the spirits of the dead, to a sleeping
775 person. The spirits of the dead teach the person a medicine song in a dream, and when the person awakens he teaches the song to the other members of his band.

At dances, women sing the medicine songs, men dance and use the medicine to cure people, for almost all men are made medicine men when they are in their late teens, after they have been initiated into manhood, having shot their first buck. They are made medicine men by older medicine men, and although any Bushman man may become a medicine man, only certain of them find that they have strong healing power, and these are the ones who practice, who fall into trance at dances and chase evil from their people. Ukwane himself had been one of these. None of the people he cured ever died, he said, but as he grew old his powers seemed to leave him, so now he did not practice any more. In his band Gai became the strong healer.

756 Of course, a medicine dance is a great affair, for it usually
535 takes place at night and lasts all night into the morning. Everyone in the band takes part, every young boy old enough to walk may dance, every young girl may sing with the women, and women themselves may dance if they feel inclined. People talk, eat, and smoke between dances, or go off to bed to sleep for a while, so, all in all, dances are social af-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

fairs as well as important curing ceremonies and might be called informal rituals, for everyone has a good time. 756 535

Underlying the gaiety and informality of a dance, however, is deep magic, taken very seriously by everyone, for using this magic is the way in which the Bushmen protect themselves from the dark forces in themselves and their country, the only way in which they can protect their lives from the evil of dissension, from thirst and starvation, from disease and death. In their dances the Bushmen defy the great god himself and his ominous messengers, the spirits of the dead.

To have a dance, the women sit in a circle with their babies asleep on their backs and sing the medicine songs in several parts with falsetto voices, clapping their hands in a sharp, staccato rhythm at counterpoint to the rhythm of their voices. Behind their backs the men dance one behind the other, circling slowly around, taking very short, pounding steps which are again at counterpoint to both the rhythms of the singing and the clapping. Now and then the men sing, too, in their deeper voices, and their dance rattles—rattles made from dry cocoons strung together with sinew cords and tied to their legs—add a sharp, high clatter like the sound of shaken gourds, very well timed because the men step accurately. A Bushman dance is an infinitely complicated pattern of voices and rhythm, an orchestra of bodies, making music that is infinitely varied and always precise. [534]

It is with great care and effort that this perfection is achieved, for the people learn the songs and dances when they are children and work for perfection in skill and timing all their lives. Even the dance rattles are carefully tended, hung from tree branches to preserve their dryness, their sharp sound, and a great deal of labor goes into their making. Gai's pair of rattles, which swung in the wind from the branch that 534

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

534 shaded his dwelling, had about sixty cocoons on each rattle of the pair, and in each cocoon, from which the pupa had been carefully extracted and the cocoon closed up again, there were from ten to twenty fragments of ostrich eggshell, each fragment chipped to a uniform size and round. Each pair of rattles, of course, is expected to last a lifetime and more, and I'm sure that Gai's rattles were older than he.

621 The day before we left, Ukwane's band and the visitors
578 from Okwa decided that since they were all together and in
756 sufficient number, they would hold a dance. Perhaps it would
533 purge the bad season or relieve the strain of jealousies they felt toward each other. Dances are usually held at night, but this time, out of consideration for us, they agreed to hold it during the day so that we could film it. We found a place which would be suitable for filming, helped gather sufficient wood because there would have to be a fire, no matter how hot the day was, and as we did all this the six young boys got more and more excited, tried on dance rattles, danced tight little circles around each other and tugged at the elbows of the adults, urging them to start.

756 Some of the women wanted to sing, others felt too hot, too
535 tired, but the men walked among them encouraging them all.
533 A dance is long, hot work for women, the pleasure of dancing being mostly for the men. At last Twikwe and Dasina went to the spot chosen for the dance and, sitting side by side at the fire, their backs to everybody, sang a few bars and began to talk, then sang a little more, joined now by Tsetchwe, who sat beside them and began to sing in earnest. All three of them looked so small down in the grass and set up such a loud noise singing—for in order to interest the other women they were shricking the song at the top of their voices—that they seemed like three tree frogs or three cicadas, hard to notice in the landscape but putting forth earsplitting songs.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

At last a few more women joined the singers and the sing- 756
ing mounted, the voices took on several parts. At last the 535
men began to join, dancing toward the circle in twos and 533
threes, moaning the song in their throats, leaning on long staffs, their coming heralded by the dry, loud staccato of their rattles.

The men came from different directions, and they stood so tall and danced so strongly, with their muscles standing out on their necks, that their coming was like the coming of bull antelope, they were so radiant of strength and tension, they were so lithe and male. They came together out of the trees and, without the slightest change of pace, arranged themselves around the dance circle, wheeling slowly, one after the other, and the dance began.

The air was hot, the sun was shining strongly, the fire was 786
sending a shuddering cloud of heat around the dancers, and 756
as the dancers moved almost imperceptibly faster and faster, 535
Gai suddenly flung his arms into the air and with a piercing shriek crashed to the ground. He landed stiffly with a bounce, his head cracking. On the ground he writhed and groaned, and Ukwane pulled him by the arms to remove his body from the dance circle.

Gai was in deep trance. Ukwane was ministering to Gai's body because Gai's spirit had rushed away.

Bushmen say that when the medicine in a medicine man 774
becomes stimulated by a dance, warmed by the fire and by 756
the heat of the man's body, the man's spirit may leave him, 535
causing his body to fall because there is nothing there to hold it up, and fly into the veld, where it seeks out the evil that is troubling people. Some medicine men in this way have seen the spirits of the dead, some have seen the great god. At another dance we once attended, one man's spirit rushed into the veld, where it came upon a pride of lions that had been

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

774 troubling the people by their constant presence and by their
756 deafening roars at night. The man's spirit spoke with the
535 lions, defied them, and ordered them away, and the lions did go; they troubled the people no longer.

786 When the spirit returns, the medicine man comes to him-
756 self, as Gai did presently. He stood up and ran into the veld,
535 gaining speed as he went. Far out in the veld he screamed, a shriek of definace, then turned and charged back toward the dance fire. He passed through the dance like a wind through dry leaves; the people ducked aside and shrank away from his feet, then settled together when he had gone by. Gai shricked again, turned himself, and rushed back, charging bull-like toward the fire again; this time Ukwane seized his arms and though Gai plowed forward, Ukwane hung on, dragging behind with all his weight, until at last Gai fell headlong into the dance fire and his hair burst into flames.

Ukwane snatched him out and slapped out the fire in his hair, and Gai, his mouth open and his eyes quite wild, sparks still falling from his head like stars, strained against Ukwane's hands. At last he broke away.

786 In a moment he bent slowly over the fire and washed his
756 hands in the flames, then went to one of the women in the
535 circle of singers and, placing one hand on her chest, the other
783 on her back, shuddered and groaned as he sucked the evil from her, then straightened suddenly and shrieked the evil into the air. In this way Gai cured all the people, followed as he went by Ukwane, who now held Gai's arm to keep him upright. Before long, Gai had fallen again exhausted and was dragged by the ankles to a place in the shade.

786 I looked at him and saw that his eyes were closed, his eye-
756 lids puffed, and thought he seemed unconscious. His breath
535 came rasping through his mouth and nose, and his pulse, showing in "the heart's place," seemed very quick. But he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

was all right; no one paid any attention to him as they would have had he not been well. His baby came to watch him, though, and gazed down into his swollen face. 786 756 535

It was very hot. The dancers and the women singing steamed with perspiration, first becoming gold in color, then ash white as dust stuck to them. Soon the women felt that they had sung enough, their feelings showing clearly in the diminished vigor of their songs, until finally the singing faded out entirely and the dance stopped. The men complained, but the women would sing no more and presently everyone had drifted away, leaving only the children wheeling slowly around the track worn by the dancers' feet, dancing soberly, carefully, without music, and Gai, who now lay prone and forgotten in the dust, in the shade of a little tree.

Hours later, when even the children had wandered back to the werfs and had joined their parents, who were tired from the exercise and were taking afternoon naps, Gai came to himself once more; he sat up and wiped his face, got slowly to his feet, and walked slowly home to sleep, next to his wife beside their fire.

All the Bushmen were asleep but Twikwe. Some people 513 lay on their backs with their arms shading their eyes, their mouths open, some on their bellies, their arms and legs sprawled. All the young boys except Giamakwe lay like puppies, tangled together in a knot of arms and legs, for even in sleep they would not be parted. Giamakwe slept at a little distance from the others on his side with his body bent backward into a U, his head almost touching his buttocks, as limp and supple as a young snake or a young cat that drapes over your hand. Even Nhwakwe was fast asleep, lying on his belly and using as his couch his father's body, his head on his father's chest. Both were deep in slumber, Nhwakwe snoring

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

also commonly used for any man (not a boy) older than the speaker when the speaker must avoid saying the name. The people address the gods as */nan* and *gaoxa* more commonly than as *n/iha*. We were told that they call the great god */nan* ' when he is good '.

It is interesting to know that the power of the great god, his omnipotence which he was so mysteriously able to create for himself, is called *gaoxa* and that the special potent ' spiritual ' medicine which the great god puts into the medicine men, the curing power, is also called *gaoxa*.

The /Kung often call the great god ' father ' especially in supplication, and plead that he succour his ' children ' and give them rain or good fortune in the hunt or whatever they may be asking for.

Nonabe is a term of great disrespect, a ' scolding ' term. When used for a human being it is a curse and a terrific insult. A man who felt himself greatly wronged by another and in violent anger would say of the man who wronged him, ' That *Nonabe*! ' But he would not say this to the man's face ' for if he did there might be a fight (so great is the insult). When he saw the man in person he would come in peace to him, not showing his anger '. *Nonabe* is used in blasphemy by the medicine men in trance, along with other insults when they are combating the gods and the *//gamwasi* in the medicine dances, demanding that they take away the evil they have brought.

The Fear of the Names

The Nyae Nyae /Kung ' fear ' (*koa*) to utter the names of the gods. The word 'means both' to be afraid of, as one is afraid of a mamba, and 'to respect and avoid', as one respects one's mother-in-law and avoids speaking to her and saying her name.

Children must strictly avoid saying any of the names of the gods. Old men and women need not observe an absolutely restrictive taboo in uttering the names, and may and do say them, but there seems to be an element of taboo (it is a ' death-thing ', they say) and fear of drawing attention to themselves. We were aware of their unwillingness to speak of religious matters early in our work and therefore waited until our relations were well established before questioning them. Our information was gathered for the most part in 1953 and 1955 at many different sessions with fifteen men and eight women informants who had proved to be reliable. Others joined the talks casually and when they wished to do so. Our informants declared themselves willing to teach me because I wished to know. Throughout the discussions people varied in the degree of caution and discretion with which they spoke the names. Sometimes we talked literally in whispers and usually at least in low voices, saying ' the one in the east ', ' the one in the west '. On one occasion /Ti/kay told me that my questions made him sick. He meant to claim, I ascertained, that he had an actual physical sensation such as a nervous twinge or slight nausea. The woman who first told me the name of the wife of the great god put her lips to my ear and whispered, barely audibly, ' *Huwedi* '. Next day, unfortunately, she had a high fever. She recovered, but the episode put an end to my trying to learn from her about the wives of the gods. /U, when someone was ill at Cho/ana, and she was filled with anxiety and longing to be home at Gautscha, made me promise not to say the names or ask any more questions, at least until we were all safely back.

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are big doors on the ends and small doors on the sides. Our informants believe that all the *//ganwasi* (spirits of the dead) live on the lower floor, and that ≠*Gao!na* and his wife and children live on the upper floor. Although the house differs so much from a Bushman scherm, the /Kung use the same word for it, *choo*. No mortal has seen ≠*Gao!na*'s dwelling place, not even the greatest of medicine men. The old people were told about it, but how they were told is not known. When ≠*Gao!na* appears to the great medicine men he meets them somewhere else.

The image of the house accords with beliefs held by North-Western Bushmen as Schapera reports: 'But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Hawe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama.'[1]

The image accords in several respects also with that of the Eastern Kung, whom Lebzelter describes, except that in the belief of the Eastern Kung the spirits of the dead live on the upper floor and ≠*Gao!na* on the lower.[2] The stone walls and the corrugated iron roof are the new elements, added as the Nyae Nyae /Kung visualize him in his present power, possessing and commanding all things.

Only exceptionally great medicine men see ≠*Gao!na*. If I understood correctly, this is not because he is generally invisible but because he comes near only to them. ≠*Gao!na* is 'wild', as an animal is 'wild', meaning 'keeping his distance'. He has so much power in him that he is dangerous. If he came into a werf his power might destroy it. Some of the medicine men said that ≠*Gao!na* would not come nearer than about a hundred yards, pointing to a tree to illustrate the distance. /Ti/kay, who claimed that he himself had never seen ≠*Gao!na*, said that even a big medicine man is apt to be frightened when he sees ≠*Gao!na* for the first time and might say, 'What does this man want? He is bad. I don't like him.' /Ti/kay continued, saying that even a *very* big medicine man, long in medicine, having seen ≠*Gao!na* many times, would still be frightened, but when sickness came and he was curing and was full of power, he would keep a 'tight heart' and take a stick and would rush at ≠*Gao!na* and hit him and yell, 'You sent a bad sickness. You must take it back.' And the sick person would get better. This is how all the medicine men habitually treat the lesser god and the spirits of the dead, whom they meet regularly at the medicine dances, but, as ≠*Gao!na* does not come to the medicine dances, the great medicine man would encounter him only under special circumstances and would indeed need all his courage.

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 397.

[2] 'This "supreme being" [*Hawe* or *Xa*] is regarded as anthropomorphic, he looks like a Bushman and he also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky in a house with two storeys, the lower of which is occupied by himself, his wife, whose name is unknown, and many children, while the upper is occupied, as already mentioned, by the souls of the dead (*xa*). In appearance this house is similar to the ordinary Bushman hut, although not quite the same, and its exterior is "hairy like a caterpillar." Honey, locusts, fat flies, and butterflies are found here in superabundance, and the "great captain" feeds upon these; the souls of the dead, however, merely sit around and eat nothing. *Xa* summons the magicians to their profession, and gives them supernatural powers; he is the lord over rain and lightning, as well as over the spirits, *//gamab*, and through the chief of the latter he sends good fortune in hunting or in the collection of veldkos. If anybody thinks or speaks evil of him, he punishes the evildoer with lightning; otherwise he takes no interest in the doings of his "Bushman children", except when somebody swears falsely by him, for the Kung have a regular oath in which they invoke him. He is prayed to by them in fixed form for rain, in case of severe illness, before going out hunting or before undertaking a dangerous journey' (Ibid., p. 184).

776 It was characteristic of the /Kung that none of the medicine men whom we knew
● 756 claimed to have seen ≠*Gaolna*. They were not great enough, they said. The /Kung
[156] do not wish to risk drawing upon themselves the invidious attention of mortals or the whimsical displeasure of the gods by setting themselves up noticeably before others. Some said that they had been told by their parents of only one great medicine man among their neighbouring bands who had seen ≠*Gaolna*. His name was Gao. He died long ago.

776 Although ≠*Gaolna* comes only to the great medicine men 'in the flesh', so to speak,
787 he appears to anyone in dreams and 'helps all his people'. A hunter said that
[224] ≠*Gaolna* stands beside one in one's dream and says, 'You have been walking and walking and you got nothing. Today I shall give you meat.' The hunter gets up and goes out on to the veld. He sees an animal and shoots it. ≠*Gaolna* may say, on the other hand, 'These days you will not find an animal even if you hunt'; and it will be the truth. He may tell you in a dream where to find honey in a tree or where to
[756 find an ant hill. He gives power to the medicine men in dreams and also medicine
533] songs. A medicine woman described vividly how he had taught her a medicine song which she then gave to her people. He stood beside her instructing her to sing the song over and over until she had learned it.

//*Gauwa*, The Lesser God

776 Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung the word //*Gauwa* has three interpretations. First,
[775] a //*gauwa* is the spirit of a dead person; the spirits of the dead in the plural are //*gauwasi*. Second, the Nyae Nyae /Kung, as we have said, call the children born to the gods 'little //*gauwasi*'. Third, they apply the name //*Gauwa* to both the great and the lesser god. It is one of the seven names they have in common. In the current beliefs of the Nyae Nyae /Kung there is not a being called //*Gauwa* who is a separate entity apart from the great and the lesser god.

Among other Bushmen and the Hottentots, //*Gauwa* was a being distinct from the other being who is variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, &c. As I interpret the present belief of the /Kung, the lesser god is that old, traditional //*Gauwa*. He has been transmuted, however, from the old image to a new one, as the old protagonist, ≠*Gaolna*, was transmuted into the great god. //*Gauwa*'s name has been attributed to the great god as the great god's names have been attributed to him. The two beings remain separate entities in the /*gulna*–/*guma* relationship.

I base the interpretation that the lesser god is the traditional //*Gauwa* on the facts that many of his attributes are the same as or similar to those of the traditional being and that I did not hear people use any other name for him but //*Gauwa* and did not once hear the name //*Gauwa* used for the great god when people spoke spontaneously of him, although they insisted that it was one of the seven names which the gods have in common.

Excerpts from Schapera indicate that //*Gauwa* was generally the destroyer. Vedder reports that the /Kung at Tsumeb expect only evil from him and think of him as opposed to *Huwe*. But Lebzelter's Eastern Kung believed that he was good as well as evil, that he helped hunters, and some thought he was the creator. 'He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.'[1] By the Heikum also he was

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188.

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thought to be the creator. ' The souls of the dead come to live with him, and he eats 776
their hearts.'[1] Hottentots considered him to be wholly the destroyer, the black chief, opposed to *Tsui ||Goab*, the creator and rain-giver. '. . . it is further said, by the Naman, that " *Tsui ||Goab* lives in a beautiful heaven, and *||Gaunab* lives in a dark heaven quite separated from the heaven of *Tsui ||Goab* ", while the Korana told Wuras that *Tsui ||Goab* lived in the Red Sky and *||Gaunab* in the Black Sky.'[2]

||Gauwa in past concepts was more independent than now but otherwise he preserves the same mingling of characteristics. He does both good and evil deeds, from [761]
man's point of view, with emphasis upon death-giving and evil-doing. He has now become subservient to the great god, *≠Gao/na*, a servant who carries out orders and does his master's work. He should always obey *≠Gao/na*, but he preserves considerable independence, nevertheless, and instigates his own affairs.

One of his works is to go about to see what is going on. ' He tells the old man in the east whatever he sees and hears. " These people are staying well, those are not so well ",' Gao Medicine said, and continued, ' He may say to the old man, " Let us help these people get some food." Or he may tell him that lightning is killing some people and ask, " What shall I do? " '

Gao Scarf told us, in effect, that one time *||Gauwa* went to *≠Gao/na* and asked him for medicine. *≠Gao/na* was annoyed. He said, ' The medicine must stay with me. I am bigger than you.' *||Gauwa* went away and did not ask any more until some time had passed. Then he went and asked again. *≠Gao/na* said, ' You bad, stupid fellow! You think you are clever but you are not. I am bigger than you. I have everything. You must come and ask me every time, but this time take the medicine and go and work with your Bushmen.' That is how *||Gauwa*, as well as *≠Gao/na*, gives medicine [756]
to the medicine men.

||Gauwa is a ' small man ', he has small sense, and he makes many mistakes. If someone is sick, when the medicine men at the curing dances see him lurking, they rush at him, give him a blow, and shout that he has brought the wrong medicine. ' Idiot! You have done wrong. You make me ashamed. Go away.' And *||Gauwa* then runs away. Sometimes after his chastisement he comes back with the proper medicine to cure and the sick person recovers.

The /Kung associate *||Gauwa* with whirlwinds as the other Bushman and Hottentot 776
groups did. The /Kung call a whirlwind *||gauwa ≠a*, which means *||Gauwa* smell. 821
≠A is not an ordinary odour, which one can actually smell, and a whirlwind is not 761
an ordinary wind, which is *maa*. The /Kung believe that a whirlwind is ' a death thing ', ' a fight '. *||Gauwa* walks in the whirlwind and his smell is in it, and death is in it. If the wind passes over a person, the *≠a* goes into him, and he will get sick and die. The spirits of the dead, the *||gauwasi*, also come in the whirlwinds. One cannot [775]
see or hear *||Gauwa* or the *||gauwasi* in the whirlwinds. There are no precautions one can take to protect oneself against them except to try to get away. Little ' dust devils ' played around us very frequently in the Kalahari, and often awesome black funnels of ashes formed in the veld fires and reached from the earth to the heavens. Sometimes white clouds condensed on their tops and we believe that we saw 'pillars of cloud by day' like those the children of Israel saw.

[1] Ibid., pp. 188–9. [2] Ibid., p. 389.

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776 ||GAUWA's *Dwelling and Appearance*

||Gauwa lives in the western sky at the place where the sun sets. (Cf. *||Gaunab* of the Hottentots living in a black sky and *Tsui ||Goab* in a red sky, p. 239.) /Ti/kay said more than once that the lesser god lived in the east. That was what he remembered being told by the old people, he claimed. The other informants agreed, however, in many different interviews, that it was the other way, that the lesser god lived in the west, so I take that to be their current belief.

Some believe that *||Gauwa* first lived in a hole, */ga*. He made the hole, one informant told us, by pushing the earth out with his head. The hole was like a spring-hare hole, but very big. There were two entrances; one faced toward the sunrise, one faced toward the sunset. *||Gauwa* later made a house (*choo*). The house is tied together with wire and has poles made of iron. The house stands in a flat open space. It is built up off the ground, upon the iron poles which are stuck into the ground and rise up into the air. Informants said that ' when a person is sick with sore throat, the sickness [753 has been caused by those irons which stick into the air. If *||Gauwa* does not like a ● 756] person he can hurt him with those irons. The " old man " (*≠Gao/na*) tells him the way he must hurt a person.' When the medicine men are in trance they go to that house. This is how they know what it is like. They go up by a cord which hangs down from the sky. (Cf. Lebzelter's account of the Eastern Kung who believe that *||Gaunab* moves between heaven and earth on cords.)[1]

There are two trees near *||Gauwa*'s house. They have names. Nothing else on the earth or in the sky bears those names, one informant told us. The name of the tree which is towards the north with respect to the other is */Gais*; the one towards the south is named */Dua*. The names mean nothing; they are ' just names '. */Gais* and */Dua* have smooth bark and large white flowers, no thorns, no nuts. I thought they might be like baobabs which have these characteristics, but they are not. They are more nearly like the camelthorn (which incidentally has two names, */gi* ' a respect name ' and */ana* ' a rough name ') but are not exactly like any tree on earth.

776 The medicine men see *||Gauwa*. Only a very big medicine man, full of the power 756 which *≠Gao/na* had put into him, might see *≠Gao/na* himself, as we learned, but any of the medicine men can see *||Gauwa*. /Ti/kay thought that because *||Gauwa* was so [787 often sent by *≠Gao/na* as his messenger the medicine men all become familiar with him. Anyone may see *||Gauwa* in dreams.

The image of *||Gauwa* varies. The present image accords with tradition in some aspects. Whereas *≠Gao/na* is ' the tallest of the Bushmen ', *||Gauwa* is short. He has the form of a man, and the colour yellow is associated with him (similar characteristics to those of Lebzelter's little yellow mannikins with thick bellies, the *dsao*).[2] But individuals have their own interpretations. I am convinced that some of the [158 medicine men, Gao Medicine for one, really believe that they do see *||Gauwa*. They see in the shadows among the trees and bushes objects which they interpret to be *||Gauwa*, or they see the light of the veld fires between the branches, or some such phenomenon, or they have visions or hallucinations, perhaps while in trance. Some perhaps just imagine a form.

Demi, a medicine man in Band 12, saw *||Gauwa* the night of the great dance at

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188. [2] Ibid.

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Gam when four bands danced together. Demi was the smallest Bushman we had seen in the region. He was bedecked with many beads and walked with a prance like a bantam cock. He had seen *//Ganwa* in the darkness, he told us. He had confronted him and driven him off with imprecations and sticks. I asked him to tell me what *//Ganwa* looked like. *//Ganwa* is as big as a mouse and has legs like a mouse, he promptly told me, showing me a pipe about four inches long to demonstrate *//Ganwa*'s size. (Demi did not say *//Ganwa* was a mouse; he said ' as big as '.) *//Ganwa* is covered all over with short yellow hairs. This bright, prancing little man had seen a little god. None of the other medicine men saw *//Ganwa* as small as that. 776 756

Gao Scarf sees *//Ganwa* regularly. He is like a man in form, but not such as we. He is about two and a half feet tall. (Gao demonstrated with a stick.) He has yellow hair over his whole body. He does not speak as we speak. He says, ' *hu hu hu* ', like the medicine men when they are performing a ceremony, but softly. Only medicine men hear him and understand him.

Another Gao said that *//Ganwa* is about a foot tall and the colour of a wart hog. He has the form of a man.

When Gao Medicine is in trance, he often sees *//Ganwa*. He is a being about the height of a guinea-fowl, grey in colour like the bark of the ubiquitous camelthorn tree. But to Gao, *//Ganwa* is not clearly visible; he is like a mist.

/Ti/kay claimed to me that he was ' young in medicine ' and had never seen *//Ganwa*, as he had claimed that he had never seen ≠*Gaolna*. This was an engaging torsion of the truth. I myself had many times seen /Ti/kay appear to confront *//Ganwa* during his curing. /Ti/kay was to me the most spectacular of all the medicine men in performing the ceremony. He did not fear to scream into the shadows, ' *Nonabe!* You have brought a bad medicine. It is going to kill someone. Take it back.' The people, I am sure, did not believe that he was ' young in medicine ' and that he did not see *//Ganwa* when the other medicine men did. /Ti/kay, as I think is apparent even in these brief accounts of him, was something of a deviant. I believe that he contradicted other informants because his nature habitually drove him to oppose others and that, at the same time, he deliberately and rationally tried to deceive me and lead me astray, first for one reason, then another. He was jealous of our harmonious relations with ≠Toma and Gao Medicine. We were pleased and grateful to them when they would work with us and he refused, and this made him spiteful. Also, due to some influence which we do not know about, he may actually believe some of the things he told us, such as that *//Ganwa* lives in the east instead of the west. We were never certain about him. [115 156]

The *//Gauwasi*

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe strongly and vividly in the existence of spirits of the dead, the *//gauwasi*, who live immortal lives in the sky with ≠*Gaolna*, doing his bidding. The *//gauwasi* come to earth and enter into the affairs of men when ≠*Gaolna* so commands them. The /Kung fear them, pray to them to invoke their mercy or sympathy, exhort them in anger. The concept of having special relations with their own ancestors or of worshipping ancestors is lacking. 775 [769]

The people claim that they fear to speak of the *//gauwasi* lest they call attention to themselves or offend the spirits. They say it is a ' death thing to speak of them much ',

The great creator receives the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person and 775
turns these elements into a *//ganwa*. To do this he makes a fire under the tree which 776
grows in his werf, the tree for which we know no name. He puts a pot on the fire, and in this he boils medicines. Only he has these particular medicines. Men do not know their names. *≠Gao/na* then hangs the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person in the tree. The tree itself is medicine. That is why the people fear it and why *≠Gao/na* hangs the spirits in it. The medicine smoke rises and blows around the dead person's spirit, heart, and blood, and they are transmuted into a *//ganwa*. *≠Gao/na* then smears the *//ganwa* with fat. This fat is not from an animal; it belongs only to *≠Gao/na* and is called */thoo*. *≠Gao/na* then takes the *//ganwa* to live with him in his house.

The *//ganwasi* have bodies which resemble those they had on earth except for their 775
hair. We were told that their hair is changed from the Bushman's spirals to *≠Gao/na*'s [756]
hair, which is long, like a European's, but as black as a Bushman's. Only medicine men who have full medicine see the *//ganwasi*.

The *//ganwasi* eat food. As I understand it, they, like *≠Gao/na* and *//Ganwa*, eat the same foods that mortals eat, meat and veldkos, but they have their own supplies. They also are very fond of honey. They are said on occasion also to steal the veldkos of human beings from the places where they grow, and they sometimes change [825]
themselves into birds—not vultures, but smaller birds called */gwara*—and in this form come into the werf and eat the people's meat right where it hangs in the branches beside the scherms. The *//ganwasi* have their own implements, weapons, karosses, &c. They want nothing from men and there is no point in offering them things. [782]

≠Gao/na gives the *//ganwasi* everlasting life. They grow older but, before they are very old, he rejuvenates them. He has a medicine for this which he does not give to men. Children who die remain children.

//Ganwasi keep their own spouses if they wish, and they live together but do not beget children. No great point was made of this. It was interesting to learn that, if [761]
a *//ganwa* tires of his wife and wants another, he may kill a living woman who attracts him, so, if a beautiful woman dies, one who is fresh and clean and wears fine ornaments, one could suspect that some *//ganwa* has taken her for himself. And a strong young hunter might be killed by a female *//ganwa* who wanted him. In spite of the power and dominance of the gods, the *//ganwasi* take things into their own hands sometimes.

No distinction is made between a good and a bad person when he dies. All go to the great god in the east and all become *//ganwasi* without differentiation in status or function. With the exception of suicide, no distinction is made either between a good [762]
and a bad death, such as is reported by Fourie of the Auen, according to Schapera: 'People who die a "good death" are said to go to */kkutsu*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaua*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress.'[1] Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung suicides are said to stay with *//Ganwa* in the west. Burial also has no effect upon the status in the after-life—whether a person is buried properly bound in a deep round grave, or scratched into a shallow trench, or not buried at all and eaten by beasts.

The beliefs which we associate with ghosts—the haunting of graves or certain other places, appearing as spectres to persons, &c.—are not highly developed among the /Kung but are not entirely lacking. Three stories of *//ganwasi* haunting graves came

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 168.

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776 in demonstrating his supremacy and power would be a reason in keeping with the nature of one who said, 'I am *chi dole*.'

≠*Gao/na* is fortunately not a god of mighty wrath and vengeance. 'He does not get too angry,' ≠Toma remarked. 'That is why there are still people living on earth.' He and others who were present at our talk went on to point out again ≠*Gao/na*'s benefactions, such as giving children, giving rain, and giving poison. One of his benefactions was poison, they said. He taught Bushmen how to put it on their arrows so that they could kill animals and eat, as the god of the black people gave cattle and the knowledge of growing crops so that his people could live.

Prayer

782 There are no priests among the /Kung and it is not the function of medicine men
[756 to pray for the people or to lead them in prayer. Individuals frequently pray, how-
793] ever, spontaneously and alone. Anybody, everybody, may pray directly to ≠*Gao/na*, to //*Gauwa* or to the //*gauwasi*, at any time or place, without assuming special posture or observing any other formalities.

The people say the words of their prayers silently to themselves, or they say them aloud, as though thinking aloud, but speaking directly to the gods. They may also speak to each other to be overheard by the gods. When men go to look for honey, they may pray to *Khwova/na*, the mother of the bees, to give them luck. Demi said, 'We talk to ourselves and she feels pity and leads us to the honey.'

The prayers seem very often to be in the form of questions which imply accusation—'Why do you do thus and so?'—but the people mean to plead mildly, without displaying anger. The blasphemy of the medicine men, usual when they are in trance, does not appear in the prayers. The people often use the respect terms but they also sometimes speak the names. There is no rule about which names shall be used. It is to be noted that they also say 'father' and refer to themselves as his children. They use the second or third person, one as readily as the other.

'/*Nau*, excuse this man and make him well.'

'Sympathize with me, /*Nau*, because you are our *Gauxa*. Feel pity for me.'

'≠*Gao/na*, why have you made me grieve so? You gave me this person, why will you take him back? Favour me. Let this person live. If he dies, where shall I go?'

'/*Gara* has taken that person while we were still loving him. Why has he taken him?'

'You have created me and given me power to walk about and hunt. Why do you guide us so that we do not get animals?'

'≠*Gao/na*, when the women are walking in the veld looking for veldkos, let them find a dead animal. Shoot it for them with your bullet. Favour us.'

'Give rain. Wet the earth. Let there be veldkos. We are starving because we have to stay by the water-hole where there is no more veldkos. He has favoured some people with rain. Will he not favour us?'

'Please, our father, great man, will you send us rain?'

'Father (*wba*), why is it you help other people and do not help me to find food? We are all your sons. Help me too. I am the same as your other sons.'

'*Gani ga*, give us coolness.'

'Give us your water (rain). Give us a chance to rest. Give us food. We have nothing else if you do not give us food. Let food grow.'

'Why does ≠*Gao/na* send lightning? Why does he destroy our houses with mad rain?

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The dancing of the men in the curing ceremonial dances has its own special style. 796 535 In other dances, that of the *Choma*, the Men's Dance, the Eland Dance of the First Menstruation Ceremony, and in the numerous singing-dancing or rhythmic games which the /Kung play for fun, one sees enchanting pantomime and imitation of [524] animals. In the ceremonial dances we sometimes thought we saw what might be a vestige of the imitation of animals' horns in the way the arms were held, but in comparison with the visual expressiveness of the games, the purpose is not to express by gesture but to produce sound, to be part of the music.

The men wear rattles made of strings of dried cocoons with little seeds or stones inside, which make a swishing sound. These are the only instruments used in the dance. [533] (The /Kung, incidentally, have no drums.) The men dance with knees bent and bodies carried with little motion, leaning forward. On the strong accented beat, the dancer gives a hop and comes down with both feet. On the second beat he holds his weight on one foot (alternating right and left) and with the other stamps a single step or ripples two or three light stamps into the time of the single step. The steps are very precise. They are minute in size, advancing only two or three inches, but they are strongly stamped, and ten or twenty dancers stamping together produce a loud thud. The women clap loudly and sharply. The majority of them clap the basic pattern of a particular piece, while some strike a beat or beats which are complementary to the basic beat. The clapping and stamping are of such precision that they give the effect of a well-played battery of percussion instruments producing a solid structure of intricate rhythm. Above the percussion sounds, the voices of the men and women weave together in parts, singing the medicine songs.[1] Since singing and dancing are one, producing the music, I speak of medicine songs or medicine dances interchangeably.

The medicine songs or dances of the /Kung are named *Rain*, *Sun*, *Giraffe*, *Eland*, *Honey*, *Buffalo*, and *Mamba*. Some of the /Kung have *Gemsbok* and *Spider* Medicine music as well. The Rain Dance is not danced as a specific rain-making ceremony. The dances named for animals do not produce magic to control these animals in hunting or to prevent snake-bite, for example. The dances are named for these things because the things are vital, life-and-death things and they are strong, as the curing medicine in the music is strong.

After several dances have been danced the medicine men begin to cure. The /Kung 535 do not have sorcerers, witches, or witch doctors, and do not believe that the divine 796 beings enter into the medicine men or speak through them. Almost all the /Kung 756 men are medicine men. They do not all choose to practise, for one reason or another, but there are always several in a band who are active. Medicine men receive no rewards other than their inner satisfactions and emotional release. I know that some of them feel a deep responsibility for the welfare of their people and great anxiety and concern if their curing fails, and a corresponding satisfaction if it prevails. Others of them appear to be less concerned about the people whom they try to cure and more inwardly turned.

When the medicine men are curing, all of them experience varying degrees of [787] self-induced trance, which includes a period of frenzy and a period of semi-

[1] Nicholas England is in the process of tracing the songs and analysing the music, and he has a paper in preparation which will include /Kung beliefs and practices about them.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

535 consciousness or deep unconsciousness.[1] They may become stiff or froth at the mouth
796 or lie still as if in coma. Some of them habitually remain in trance only a short time,
[756 others for hours. One man used to remain in a semi-trance for most of the day fol-
787] lowing a dance.

[755] A Bushman curing cannot be fully described in words; it must be heard and I give only an outline here. The medicine man begins by dancing and singing with the others whatever medicine song is being sung. He then leaves the line of dancing men and leans, still singing, over the person he is going to cure. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The /Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. He grunts with shuddering, gurgling, gasping grunts which intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high, piercing, quavering yell. Finally the medicine man throws up his arms to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Ganwa* or the *//ganwasi*, with a sharp yelping cry of '*Kai Kai Kai*'. This shows that it is heavy work to draw the sickness out. The effect of the sound on one observer, myself, was striking—gooseflesh and a stopping of the breath which made it seem as though the heart stood still an instant. A medicine man goes to every person present, leaning over each to cure, even the babies, who, amazingly, [852] seldom cry, though he gurgles and gasps right into their ears. If someone is actually sick, he returns to him again and again through the night.

After the curing has been going on for some time, medicine men begin to reach their state of frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. Fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. They rush out into the darkness, where *//Ganwa* and the *//ganwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them.[2] 'Filthy face! Take away the sickness you have brought.' 'Uncovered penis[2]! You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away.' '*Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die.' At this point they may fall into deep unconsciousness or sink down semi-conscious, eyes closed, unable to walk.

The medicine men who have not reached their full frenzy or who have passed through it attend those who are in it. The /Kung believe that at such a time the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Ganwa* and the *//ganwasi*. They call this 'half death'. It is a dangerous time and the man's body must be watched over and kept warm. The medicine men lean over the one who is in trance. They

[276] [1] The /Kung know about the drug called dagga. They told us that it grows in B.P. and that when they go to trade they sometimes get a little. They like to have some when they go hunting; it keeps one from feeling tired or discouraged, they say. They might take some at a dance if they had it, but they are not dependent on it or on any other substance to induce trance. The trances are psychologically induced.

[195 578] [2] /Kung men swear a great deal. The swearing plays always upon the themes of the genital organs, sexual intercourse, incest, and excrement. In deprecation they call each other genital organs or tell each other to go and commit incest with their mothers, sisters, wives' mothers, or sons' wives. We have not recorded their saying 'daughter'. Is that thought so terrible to them that its expression is beyond even these hardened swearers? They use the same themes in their blasphemy against the gods. 'Uncovered' or 'thrown-away penis' may mean 'circumcised'. This is a great insult among the /Kung who do not circumcise but know that the Bantu do. 'Filthy face' means 'covered with excrement'.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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!Kung

776 gods, the !Kung fear to do so because it displeases the gods and draws their attention and they say, "Who is calling my name?"

The lesser god who lives in the western sky is the namesake of the great god, who, as the belief goes, gave the lesser god all seven of his own divine names, but not his human name. Although they insist in this belief, the !Kung never used any name but *//Gauwa*, one of the seven divine names, when they referred to the lesser god and we never heard them [771] actually use this name for the great god. It would seem, then, that the lesser god is the old evil spirit, *//Gauwa*, who appears in the beliefs of the Hottentots and other Bushman language groups as the destroyer and the black chief, the one who sends death, disease, and misfortune. This evil spirit was an entity distinct from the good spirit who was variously named by Bushman groups *Hishe*, *Huwe*, and so on.

In present !Kung belief, however, neither the great god nor the lesser god is all evil or all good. Both are capable of being pleased or displeased with man and of sending favors or misfortunes. The lesser god is subservient to the great god and is supposed to do his bidding. The lesser god, however, has his own entity and does instigate his own actions, sometimes even disobeying the great god. Often they disagree between themselves.

The great god looks like a man, like a Bushman, but he is "the tallest of the Bushmen" and has long black hair that is not twisted and knotted like Bushman hair. He rides a horse across the sky—you can hear him—and he has a gun as well as bows and arrows. Some say he never comes to earth but always sends *//Gauwa*, or the spirits of the dead, the *//gauwasi*, [778] to bring the good or evil that he sends to men. Only the greatest of medicine men have ever seen him.

//Gauwa, however, is commonly seen by the medicine men. They describe him as small. One said he was about two feet tall; another, that he was as small as a guinea fowl; a third, that he was as small as a mouse. Several agreed that he was covered with yellow hairs. One, however, a humble man, said that while in trance he had seen *//Gauwa* and that he was like a gray mist.

782 RELIGIOUS PRACTICES • The !Kung say that they pray spontaneously to the gods. Whenever the thought comes to them they put their prayers into words and say or think them to themselves without any formality. When they speak in prayer to the great god they address him by the respectful term *!Nau*, used for any old man, or use a title *Gaoxa* (chief), or call him "father." Sometimes they use one of his names. The prayers, a mingling [781] of mild imprecation and pleading, reveal the major concerns of the !Kung: hunger, sickness, and death.[11]

776 The great god, responsible for sending sickness and death to men,
753 also created and gives to men a mystical curing power that is called *gaoxa*
778
755

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

(the same word as the title of respect). The !Kung say it is strong medicine: 776
/*num*. The !Kung take for granted his giving to man both sickness and 753
the power to cure it, and account for the power's sometimes failing to cure 778
by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work, or not, according 755
to his pleasure.

He gives the curing power to medicine men (called *num kxao*, medicine 778
owners), appearing to them (usually in dreams, sometimes in what seem 756
to be waking hallucinations) and putting the power into them. He has also [533]
put a curing power in the medicine songs that the people sing at the dances,
songs named Rain, Sun, Giraffe, Eland, Honey, Buffalo, Mamba, and Spider
—all powerful things. The great god gives the power freely. It is rare to find
a man among the !Kung who is not a medicine man. The function of the 756
medicine men is only to cure. They are not sorcerers or witch doctors. (The [754]
!Kung are not a witch-ridden people.) !Kung medicine men receive no re-
wards or special prerogatives. They work together apparently without rivalry.
The medicine men may cure at any time but their strongest curing occurs [535]
at the dance.

Whether or not anyone is sick, the people dance two or three times a 535
month, sometimes more often. Anyone who wants a dance may start one 781
simply by asking people to come and begin. The !Kung like to dance for
many reasons. There is the inherent physical pleasure in moving to rhythm.
Music and dancing are their arts, from which their aesthetic pleasure comes. [53]
The dances are also social gatherings in which all participate, men, women, 535
children, visitors—everybody. A dance draws them together as nothing else 781
does. Even more important is the fact that the dance is one concerted re- 571
ligious act of the !Kung and brings people into such unison that they become
like an organic being.

At the dances not only may the sick be cured, but pending evil and mis- 535
fortune averted. The !Kung believe that the great god may send //*Gauwa* or 755
the //*gauwasi* at any time with ill for someone and that these beings may be 751
lurking, awaiting their chance to inflict it. The medicine men in the dances
combat them, drive them away, and protect the people.

Usually there are several medicine men performing at the same time. 755
To cure they go into trance, which varies in depth as the ceremony proceeds.
The curing cannot be described in words; it must be heard. When a man
begins, he leaves the line of dancing men and, still singing, leans over the
person he is going to cure, going eventually to every person present, even the
infants. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and
flutters his hands. The !Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness,
real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. To
demonstrate that this is in fact going on and is hard to do, he grunts with
shuddering grunts that intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a
high piercing, quavering yell. Finally, the medicine man throws up his arms

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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184 304 881 During her seclusion a row of small parallel cuts, which are all blackened with ashes, is made on her face, or arms, or legs by her father or a male magician. Miss Bleek is convinced that these cuts are partly for ornament, but adds that there also appears to be a [776] religious element present, as one woman informant said that //güüa, a supernatural personage, leads this dance, and that the cuts are made in his honour.[1] Both the scarifications and the presence of a supernatural being are foreign to the puberty ceremonies for girls in other Bushman tribes; but, as will be seen shortly, both occur (in somewhat different form) in the puberty ceremonies for boys among the North-Western tribes.

184 881 In all the ceremonies so far described, girls are required to pass through the rites individually as soon as they have their first period. Among the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, however, it appears from the very fragmentary data supplied by Dornan that girls are initiated in groups. The central feature of the ceremony, as described [304] by him, is an operation performed on each of the girls, which consists in the "perforation of the clitoris" (*sic*) with a stone knife, the operators being the older women.[2] If this information be correct, [177] we have here a ceremony in every way distinct from those of the other Bushmen, and one which can only be regarded as having been borrowed from the neighbouring BeChwana, whose puberty ceremonies for girls are of a somewhat similar nature.

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

881 Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after reaching the age of puberty, and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in hunting, especially in the pursuit of big game. Among the North-Western tribes this ceremony is carried out in a secluded spot in the bush, near which no woman may come.[3] Here all the eligible big boys from several neighbouring encampments are taken [756] by the old men, with a couple of magicians in charge; and here they remain for about a month, living together in a big hut or enclosure. During the first few days they are roughly handled and half-starved;

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122.
[2] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 159.
[3] Passarge, op. cit., 100–1; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23–5; *idem*, [114] "Buschmänner von Angola," 122; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 51; Fourie, op. cit., 91–2. Passarge states that the ceremony takes place during the dry season, i.e. at the coldest time of the year; Fourie, on the other hand, that it is always held during the rainy season, when food is plentiful. The other writers do not mention the time of year.

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Division of Labour

In the manufacture of these different utensils, implements, and garments, as well as in the collection of food, there is no division of labour within the band save as between the two sexes. Every man is expected to be able to hunt, to make bows and arrows, and to do all the other things that are done by men; and in the same way every woman is expected to do the work recognized as pertaining to women. Some women, it is true, are more clever and industrious than others in making beads, some men better at hunting or at twisting rope and boring pipes, but all know how these things are done and none devotes his life to any one of them exclusively. The only special occupation is that of the magician, who in addition to having religious and magical functions is also the physician, but otherwise even he lives and works as do the rest, getting a few presents for his occasional services. 462 [463] [756]

The division of labour between the sexes is clearly marked. A man hunts and snares game, fishes, collects veldkos as the opportunity arises while he is out hunting, prepares skins, makes the clothing for himself and his family, makes his own weapons, arrow-poison, firesticks, and other implements, twists rope, manufactures the larger wooden vessels and other utensils, makes fire, and occasionally assists the women in fetching wood and water. A woman builds the hut for her family, gathers veldkos and prepares the food, fetches wood and water, maintains the fire, makes her own ornaments, and is also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Among the Auen the beginnings of specialized labour are found in that certain men work in iron, i.e. make spear and arrow heads and other implements out of any pieces of iron they can obtain. The production of raw iron from the ore is unknown to all the Bushmen, who, as a rule, obtain whatever iron they use by barter from the neighbouring Bantu peoples. Among the !O Kung of Angola a further division of labour was found by Miss Bleek in a group at Rusembu, where only the good shots went hunting, while other men worked in iron, and another appeared to be the trader and honey gatherer.[1] But specialization of this kind is quite exceptional in Bushman life. 184 463 [326] [439]

Trade

Although the Bushmen are thus able to draw from the resources of their environment almost everything they really need, economically 177 439

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 153; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55.

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Ko ('ngo), as

776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are
[787] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while
[224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is
[782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with
[756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant,
[791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians, who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded
[773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do
[184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his special protection.

Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis.
184 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to
776 Miss Lloyd several tales about */xwe*, a little personage not identified with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a variety of things. */xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about
776 *Hishe* or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys'
[881] puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people, bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans.
[756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws
[114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the
177 idea of */khuba* or */xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba"). This is the
776

[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32–3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 501, 505–6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404–13.

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776 "the Lord" or "the great captain", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Huwu* or *Hu's*. This "supreme being" is regarded as anthropomorphic, he looks like a Bushman and he also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky in a house with two storeys, the lower of which is occupied by himself, his wife, whose name is unknown, and many children, while the upper is occupied, as already mentioned, by the souls of the dead (*xa*). In appearance this house is similar to the ordinary Bushman hut, although not quite the same, and its exterior is "hairy like a caterpillar". Honey, locusts, fat flies, and butterflies [825] are found here in superabundance, and the "great captain" feeds [775] upon these; the souls of the dead, however, merely sit around and eat nothing. *Xu* summons the magicians to their profession, and [756] gives them supernatural powers; he is the lord over rain and lightning, as well as over the spirits, *//gauab*, and through the chief of the latter he sends good fortune in hunting or in the collection of veldkos. If anybody thinks or speaks evil of him, he punishes the evildoer with lightning; otherwise he takes no interest in the doings of his "Bushman children", except when somebody swears falsely by [782] him, for the Kung have a regular oath in which they invoke him. He is prayed to by them in fixed form for rain, in case of severe illness, before going out hunting or before undertaking a dangerous journey.[1]

The Western Kung of Ukuanyama (Oschimpoloveld) speak of [184] *Erob*, translated by Lebzelter as "God", who, like *Xu*, lives in a house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is [782] often prayed to, especially for rain and in hunting, as well as in case [224] of illness, "because he has made all things and can do everything and knows everything", and he is given the first offerings of the chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth, [821] and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.[2]

821 *Erob* also figures as the "supreme being" among the Heikum of 184 the Etosha Pan, although in prayers for rain and in case of illness he 776 is addressed as *Xu*. The group in North-Eastern Ondonga speak [782] of the "supreme being" as *Xamaba*, the groups at Ukuambi know him as *Erob* or *Xuwa*, and the group at Uukualuthi as *Erob*; and among them all, as among the Eastern Kung, he lives in the sky in a house to which the souls of the dead are brought. Almost

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //*Kaun*-Buschmänner," 407-9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen," 412.

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while those dying a "good death" go to *!khutse* (*!khuba*). "About the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1] 114 192 776 [773] [881]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say "*//gaua* thunders", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: "*//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndzambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God"); "we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to *//gaua*."[2] 184 192 776 [751] [821] [761] [775] [821] [881] [304] [782]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain" *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds. 114 184 776 [192] [821] [756] [787]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4.

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776 First there is their chief or headman, simply termed *//gauab* by ordinary people, but whose real name, known to and uttered only by the magicians, is */nawa*. "Probably," suggests Lebzelter, "we [184] have to do here with the high god of another religion, and */nawa* is to be identified with *//nwa-se*, the New Moon of the Angola Kung." */nawa* or *//gauab* does good as well as evil. He is prayed to for [782] success in the chase, assists the hunters in their efforts, and receives [224] the first-offerings of any game taken; he is also, however, most [753] frequently the cause of illness. One informant, who had been baptized, spoke of him as the "devil" who had made the Kung; others, old magicians, credited him with giving rise to the existence and present mode of life of men and animals. He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.

775 The second group of spirits are the *//gauab* who stand at the service of the "great captain". As a rule they lie around their hearth-776 fires in the sky, the stars, and only come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead (*xa*) and bring them to *Xu*. The third group comprises the "small" *//gauab*, the ghosts of the dead, whose home is the grave but who roam about everywhere and are injurious to mankind; the fourth are the particularly malicious little spirits dwelling in the water; and finally there is the whole horde of the [753] spirits of disease, the *dsao*, small yellow mannikins with thick bellies, who at the command of any of the other spirits enter into people and thus make them ill. It is the function of the magicians to remove [756] them from the body of the patient.[1]

The Western Kung of the Oschimpoloveld have no such elaborate 184 world of spirits. Mention is made only of the */gagorob* or */gau/gorob*, 776 small spirits who roam about in the bush and do nothing but play practical jokes on people. "They are not the spirits of the dead," says Lebzelter, "and cannot therefore be compared with the *//gauab*."[2]

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan we meet again with *//gauab*, [192] or, as the name is here rendered, */gamab*. Owing to Christian influence [177] */gamab* is now spoken of as "the devil", but Lebzelter regards this being as a "demiurge", whom he equates with */nawa* or the principal *//gauab* of the Eastern Kung, and with */gamab* of the Bergdama and Nama. */gamab* is said by the Heikum to have created mankind and the world; the souls of the dead (*darish*) come to live with him,

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der /'Kłun-Buschmänner," 407–10; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 412.

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and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the "benefactress" *Ises*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.[1]

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was doubted.[2]

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are, according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan, "I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad, and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism in which two powers, one good, Thora or Huwe, and one bad, Khauna, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."[3]

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the

[1] Op. cit., 410. [3] Op. cit., 410–11.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167–8.

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Nama. Nama influence is seen also in the word *Heiseb* found among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga. This is one of the names applied to the mythical hero more commonly known as *Heitsi Eibib*, who figures so prominently in the religious system of the Nama. Its absence from the other Bushman tribes is clearly suggestive, although the name *Hishe* found among the Naron and Auen may possibly be a corruption of it. The various current interpretations of *//gaua* as " the evil being ", " the devil " or " Satan " must likewise be dismissed as alien to native Bushman ideas. The word has been widely used by missionaries among the Nama for " Devil ", and there can be little doubt that it is ultimately from this source that such interpretations have been derived. 177 776 [184] [797]

All these direct symptoms of borrowing from other peoples show clearly that the religious conceptions of the Northern Bushmen as recorded above can by no means be regarded as untainted by foreign influences. The final interpretation of these conceptions will therefore have to take into account the religious ideas of the neighbouring peoples as well, especially of the Nama, in order that a full basis for discussion may be obtained. This is all the more necessary since the information relating to them as now held by the Bushmen is hardly sufficient to enable us to determine satisfactorily the full meaning attached to them by the people, to determine, that is, what part they really play in native life. For the moment, however, it may be of service if we attempt to reduce to some order the various accounts given by our authorities of these conceptions. 177 771

A general survey of the attributes said to be vested in the different beings figuring in the religion and mythology of the Northern Bushmen seems to show that on the whole we have to deal with two main conceptions. There is in the first place the conception known variously to the North-Western Bushmen as *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Xuwa*, *Hishe*, or *Erob*, and to the North-Eastern Bushmen as *Thora* or *Huwe*. By Lebzelter, whose account cannot be entirely freed from a suspicion of prejudice in favour of the monotheistic doctrine associated with the name of Pater W. Schmidt and his school of disciples, *Xu* or *Erob* is spoken of as an anthropomorphic " supreme good being " dwelling in a house in the sky, where he receives the souls of the dead. He is regarded as the creator; he controls the rain and its associated phenomena of thunder and lightning, and punishes evil-doers with lightning; he sends good fortune in hunting and in the collection of veldkos, is prayed to before and after hunting, and is 776 [184] [114] [821] [224] [782] [756]

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776 honoured with certain ritual observances connected with the chase;
[782] he is also prayed to for rain, before travel, and in case of illness;
[224] and finally it is from him that the magicians obtain their special
[756] powers. By the Eastern Kung he is said to have a wife and many children; among the other Kung and the Heikum he figures alone.

Few of these attributes are mentioned by Miss Bleek in her remarks
184 upon *Hishe* among the Naron and Auen, and upon *Huwe* among the
776 !O !Kung. But there are certain points of agreement. *Hishe* dwells in
[775] a house in the east, to which the ghosts of the dead repair by day;
[224] he is regarded as the creator, and as the protector of game and hunting. On the other hand *Hishe-Huwe*, sometimes alone, sometimes in double
[881] guise as man and woman, sometimes "followed by children like
[114] baboons", figures prominently in the boys' puberty ceremonies, which are not referred to at all by Lebzelter. At the same time, since these ceremonies certainly have much to do with hunting, their association with *Hishe-Huwe* is not inconsistent with his character as protector of the game and hunting, although of course it is hardly likely that this provides the only explanation for his figuring in them. Nor
[782] is he ever prayed to among these tribes, save where the name *Huwe* is substituted by the !O !Kung for *//nwa-se*, the New Moon, in the prayer for rain. Most of the prayers for food and rain, however, are directed to the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon.

A closer agreement with Lebzelter's account is provided by Dornan's
[114] discussion of *Thora-Huwe* among the North-Eastern Bushmen. *Thora* is here said to be the creator who is over all things, he sends
[821] rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting, certain
[224] hunting observances are directed towards him, he wards off disease,
[753] and protects the Bushmen from danger.

It is possible also to find a connection in certain respects between *Huwe* and the conception of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen. Among the Cape Bushmen, it is true, the Mantis is primarily a mythological character, the central figure of an elaborate series of myths relating to him and his "family". He is never worshipped, but on
[782] the other hand, like *Huwe*, he has creative powers, and is also said to
[825] have made certain bucks and to protect them. Mention is further made by these Bushmen of an afterworld to which go the spirits
[775] of the dead, but there is nothing at all to link this up with the Mantis, just as there is nothing to link up the afterworld of the North-Eastern Bushmen with *Thora*. The resemblance between the Mantis and *Huwe* is far more noticeable among the Bushmen of Basutoland.

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makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people 184
by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, 776
/nawa or the chief of the *//gauab* figures as the creator, and, as the [821]
executive of *Xu*, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is [224]
honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success; [782]
he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems [753]
extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of *Huwe* [178]
on the one hand and of *//gaua* on the other have been blended or
confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make
this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explana- 114
tion may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek 178
and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies 776
for boys: according to the former, it is *Hishe* who figures in the 881
special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled [184]
by *Gaua*. *//gaua*, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's
puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar
confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do
the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a
suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that
one of Miss Bleek's informants identified *//gaua* with *Ndzambi*,
the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for
"God", while another spoke of *//gaua* as the "father" of the
Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of *Huwe*, *Thora*, or 184
the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the 776
source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food
gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; [224]
and with the conception of *//gaua* first as the ghosts of the dead [753]
and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness [821]
and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder, [775]
lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an
interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the
possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples;
it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from
the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions
common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

Magic and Magicians

In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the 756
mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

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•756 supernatural powers, or who are able to control, either for social purposes or for their own ends, the spiritual forces upon which the social welfare depends. There is no English word which adequately describes them, but such persons may be loosely termed magicians.

Among the Cape Bushmen, these magicians, who might be of either sex, were called */gixa* (plural, */giten*). There is unfortunately [114] no information available as to how they acquired their powers, nor have we any clear description of the part they played in the life of the community. A few details about them may, however, be gathered from the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd. Some magicians were [821] rainmakers, who went out to catch the rain bull and lead it over the land bringing rain. Others, again, had special powers over particular [825] game animals, such as the springbok or the ostrich. Some magicians were able to assume and go about in the form of animals such as the lion, springbok, jackal, or a little bird; others, even when asleep, knew what was going about at night, and took care of the people, defending them from evil magicians. For some magicians could [757] cause illness by shooting with invisible arrows, and the patients would die, even though doctored; while some were said to eat the flesh of the dead. When a magician died an earthquake took place, [823] and his heart fell, as a shooting star, out of the sky into a waterhole. His powers, however, he continued to possess even after death, [775] for there are mentioned several occasions on which a dead rainmaker was asked to send rain or a game magician to give success in hunting.[1]

These beliefs, fragmentary as they are, show definitely that the magicians were held to possess supernatural powers, which they might use for good or evil; but, apart perhaps from the making of rain, there is nothing to link them up with any cult or public ceremony, or to indicate that they ever played the part of priests.

[184] Among the Naron and Auen, however, the magicians, as we have seen, function at the puberty ceremonies. They introduce *Hishe* [881] into the dances, and make the cuts between the eyebrows of the boys. [793] Among the Naron they are also the priests, who pray to the New Moon for rain; while among the Auen they make rain by sprinkling [821] on the ground a kind of red earth, which they fetch from afar and carry about with them. The magicians, both male and female, are

Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 18; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 22.

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also the doctors of the community. The millipede, said to belong to *Hishe*, is only touched by them; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine. 756 [825]

Naron magicians (*tsho k'auba* or */nu k'auba*) do not dress or live differently from the rest of the community. "No one would know them apart," says Miss Bleek, "nor do they seem to have much influence to-day." The Auen seem to have many more magicians than the Naron, by whom they are looked up to in magic matters. Here, according to Kaufmann, the magicians, (*tsho k'au*, */nu k'au* or */geixa*) have their skulls shaved clean, and also carry a few ornaments which may not be worn by other people. The magic art in both tribes is learned by apprenticeship. During the month of the puberty ceremony one or two boys are taught their trade by the old magicians. At the next ceremony they return and are taught more; and boys who have been with a magician for many years can when they become older succeed their master.[1] [184] [868]

Magicians among the Kung are of two kinds, and both are called in especially for illness. The */u k'au*, who sucks out the disease from the body of the patient, is "an evil person, who speaks to no one and always looks black"; while the */ue k'au*, according to Vedder, is the ordinary worker in magic and the poison-mixer, and also prepares medicines from herbs and roots by cooking.[2] Lebzelter gives further information about the magicians. Both men and women can be summoned by the "great captain" to exercise this calling. The power they receive from him is greater than that of all the spirits with the exception of */nawa*, and is equal to that of the latter. Magicians are thus "born and not made", to use Lebzelter's expression, but nevertheless it appears that they have to learn the secrets of their calling by apprenticeship. They accompany the old magicians at least once in the search for medicine plants, and are then subjected to a test. The old magicians in the customary manner attempt to cure a sick person by sucking out the "disease poison" ("Krankheitsgift") or the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient; then they administer all the "disease poison" extracted by them to the initiates. If the latter do not die from this treatment, they have satisfactorily passed the test! [184] [755] [278] [787]

The magicians, apart from being able to cure illnesses by banishing the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient, also have the [787]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 159.
[2] "Grammatik der !kû-Buschmannsprache," 8-9.

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756 faculty of seeing and speaking to the *//gauab*, and only they know
[787] and utter the real name, */nawa*, of the chief of the latter. The evening
[782] before a hunting expedition they pray to *//gauab* for help, and certain
of them also have the power of conjuring down rain. This they
756 achieve in the following manner. When rain is needed, all the
789 people of the camp take part in a dance, during which they sing over and over again a mournful song lamenting the condition of hunger and thirst to which they are reduced. "Finally the great captain in the sky hears the lamentation. The magician goes outside the camp and sees that a thin cord is being let down from the sky. He climbs a certain way up this, but the great captain comes down to meet him half-way. As soon as the magician sees the great captain, he throws a powder up to him; whereupon the great captain lifts him up high and takes him into his house. There the magician prays to him: 'Lord, help us, the children are dying, we thirst and hunger.'
[782] So long does he pray and plead that at last the captain says: 'It is
[776] well, I shall send water, that the children may have water and veldkos.'
[821] Then he again accompanies the magician half-way down the cord. As soon as the latter has reached the ground, he releases his hold upon the cord, which is at once drawn up again. The rain follows immediately."[1]

184 Among the !O Kung in Angola there are also two kinds of magicians.
756 The *!num-k'au* officiates at puberty dances, makes scarifications,
791 sees spirits, and also conjures up *//gaua*, while the *tsho-k'au* heals the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's
[881] body through sucking. For this he receives a present. Both
[787] men and women apparently can become magicians of either kind,
[755] if taught by an older practitioner. There is said to be no ceremony of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.[2]

It will be noticed that both terms which distinguish the two classes of magician among the Kung and the !O Kung are also found among the Naron and Auen for magicians. This would suggest that there is a similar division of functions in these tribes also, but neither Miss Bleek nor Kaufmann definitely states this.

773 The origin of magic among the Naron and Auen is said by Fourie
[789] to be attributed to *//gaua*, and he gives the following myth in confirmation.[3] "The Bushman *Tji-Tji* is said to have been initiated

[1] Lebzelter, "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 408–9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

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by *Gaua* 'on the other side' into the use of the small magic quiver. 773
Tji-Tji had killed a gemsbok. *Gaua* arrived on the scene and said, 'I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep here.' After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-Tji* remarked to *Gaua*, 'Give me that stuff (*//ai*).' The latter replied, 'If I give you the *//ai*, what will you pay me?' *Tji-Tji* answered, 'I will give you the horns.' *Gaua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *//ai* and before departing taught *Tji-Tji* the *//ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic."

The small magic quiver and arrows to which reference is here 754 114 made are no doubt the miniature weapons found among all the North- 411 Western tribes. In a set seen by the writer the bow, made of a piece 756 of bone, was barely 10 cm. long, and the arrows, for which sharp [184] thorns were used, were small in proportion. Similar arrows described by other writers consisted of a stalk of grass about 6 cm. long and a head of bone or hard wood about 4 cm. long. This head was sharpened at the end inserted into the grass stalk, while the protruding end was blunted.[1]

The range of these arrows is of course very limited, and different suggestions have been put forward as to their use. They are certainly not children's toys, as these miniature bows and arrows are used only by men, who carry them concealed about their persons. From various descriptions it appears that in some cases the arrows are definitely poisoned, and consequently among Germans the name "Bushman revolver" has become applied to these miniature sets. It is claimed that they are used as real weapons and that the poison on the arrow is strong enough to bring about the death of anybody struck by it. On the other hand, Miss Bleek says that among the Naron they are not poisoned, but are used by magicians who quarrel among themselves to settle their differences. "A medicine man wishing to destroy another, comes up close and shoots at the opponent's kaross with one of these arrows, blunt end foremost. The missile falls harmlessly to the ground, but the victim dies of the magic."[2] This statement is supported by the report of a case tried at Windhoek in 1912, where it was maintained, inter alia, that a poisoned arrow of this kind had been used against the accused. In the evidence, however, it was stated by several witnesses that these

[1] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," 116–17, and references.
[2] *Naron*, 28.

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114 arrows are not poisoned but are used for "witchcraft", and "if
411 they are shot in the direction of an enemy, be he 100 kilos or more
754 away, witchcraft will bring about his death".[1] The myth recorded
756 by Fourie also lends support to the idea that these arrows are used for magical purposes. It is possible, too, that something similar is implied in the statement, mentioned above, that among the Cape Bushmen magicians caused illness by shooting with invisible arrows, but it should be noted that no such weapons as those here described have yet been found among them.

789 Apart from the special magic practised by magicians and associated with them, there are among all the Bushmen various usages and beliefs of a nature which may be generally termed magical, and which
224 are apparently common property. Many of the hunting observances
787 already described fall into this category. So, too, does divination. Among the Cape Bushmen this occurs principally in the form of
[184] beliefs in the efficacy of omens, of which there are a great number with diverse significations. They say they feel in their bodies that certain things are going to happen; there is a kind of beating of the flesh which tells them things. Those who are stupid do not understand these teachings and disobey them, with the result that they get into trouble, are killed by a lion, and so on. These beatings tell those who understand them which way not to go, and which arrow it is better not to use, and also warn them when people are coming. They inform the hunter when game is close at hand, tell people where they can find the person for whom they are in search, i.e. which way to go, and so on.[2]

184 In the more northerly tribes is found the use of pieces of wood, leather or bone as divining bones or dice. These are usually four
787 in number, and roughly triangular in shape, two of them being broad, the other two longer and thinner. The former are called male, the latter female. In the Eastern Kalahari they are usually each marked in a special way and named, but this is not found further west. The bones may be owned and used by anyone, not only by magicians. They are used in a very crude manner: the inquirer goes on throwing them on to his kaross until he gets a favourable answer. Such bones are frequently found among the Northern and Central Kalahari Bushmen, and occasionally among those dwelling on the southern

[1] *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cd. 9146), 1918, p. 172.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17–18; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 330–9.

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immune to the effects of snake and scorpion poison.[1] One of these 751
animals is killed, and its poison, diluted with water and urine, is rubbed in small quantities into small cuts made in the skin, or the poison sacs are pulped and boiled, and then swallowed in small doses. Schinz records an experiment made by himself on a Bushman doctor [114]
claiming this immunity.[2] He selected twelve scorpions and placed them, by means of forceps, on different parts of the man's body—hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. Almost all of them stung the flesh deeply once or twice, in every instance causing a large drop of white matter to appear; then they crawled about leisurely, but made no further attempts at stinging. "The old man maintained that he felt no pain, and I have no reason to distrust him, as he would hardly have allowed himself to be stung by scorpions on the most sensitive parts of his body, merely to satisfy my curiosity, if the poison would have had any effects on him; even a full hour after our attempt the spots where he had been stung showed not the slightest change." This experiment seems therefore to show that there may be some foundation to the claim of immunity. The [756]
inoculation was apparently made in this case during the apprenticeship of the "doctor", under the direction of his master. Our main authorities on the Bushmen do not mention this practice at all, but I have myself spoken to several detribalized Bushmen and Nama in Little Namaqualand who claimed a similar immunity. Unfortunately I neglected to inquire further into the matter, beyond ascertaining the means of immunization.

Knowledge of Times and Seasons

In their system of time-reckoning the Bushmen make use chiefly 805
of meteorological elements, based on recurrent changes in wind and weather, and of astronomical elements, based on observations of the sun, stars, and moon. Their larger divisions of time are the [221]
seasons, which, owing to their effect on the food supply and on the [182]
movements of the people, assume a pronounced importance in Bushman life. The division of the seasons is established by the rainfall. [132]
The Cape Bushmen distinguished four seasons, rendered by Bleek [184]
and Lloyd in the English equivalents of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but the exact meaning of the native terms is not given.

[1] Campbell, *Journey in S. Africa*, 441; Thompson, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 399; Cornell, *The Glamour of Prospecting*, 232.
[2] Op. cit., 395–6.

/147 cont./

223 noose is released when the animal takes the bait, and at the same time the gallows springs back and pulls the animal up in the air by its neck. Concerning the material used to make the noose, see page 41 . The arrowheads of the Auin are generally
411 poisoned. I have also found arrows which had only a single unpoisoned bone point. These are used for sport, perhaps also for killing small birds.

278 Manufacture of the arrow poison. Burkea africana (firewood of the Bushmen) is inhabited during the rainy season by a beetle (or a species of termite?) which toward the end of the rainy season pupates in the soil under the tree. The larvae are dug up, killed, dried in the sun, and rubbed between stones.

Roots of the thorny tschamma (Cucumis heptactylus Naud.) are laid on red-hot coals, taken out warm, and the bitter sap pressed out. This sap is mixed with the poisonous paste, and the resulting dirty, reddish-brown preparation represents the finished arrow poison. The poison is applied to the arrow point in a layer several millimeters thick and dries there.

The Bushmen greatly fear their own arrow poison and always
278 carry the poisoned point hidden in the shaft. The poisoned end
411 is exposed only just before it is to be used. The layer of poison on the iron points, which because of their width cannot be concealed in the arrow shaft, is always wrapped with bast which is not taken off until the arrow is to be used. All Auin can make arrow poison and readily demonstrate the process.

224 The decorative scars described on page 16 are to be regarded
304 as hunting trophies.

The hunters supposedly tell exaggerated tales. Quarrels on
521 these occasions sometimes end in bloodshed.
578
[231] The only domestic animal is the dog.

The Bushman doctor is supposed to let blood for healing pur-
757 poses. For instance, in the case of a man who could not run well, bloody incisions were made in his upper thigh. On the other hand, I do not know whether this procedure can be described as "bloodletting." Scars from such incisions were shown to me several times.

413 The surgical instrument is a little sharpened piece of iron.

[43 cont.]

423 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's terri-
614 tory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them.
769 The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place.

13. Illnesses and Treatment

826 The anatomical knowledge of the Bushmen is quite extensive as a result of their way of life as hunters.

The heart is regarded as the seat of life, and the breath
[761] has some connection with the heart. Their surgical knowledge is
752 confined to the extraction of thorns by means of an awl-like in-
●757 strument and to the relatively effective bandaging of hand and leg
278 fractures. Their supply of medicines, on the other hand, is very limited. In what follows, I shall list the common illnesses and their treatment.

Eye Inflammation

752 Both dry and exudative eye inflammations, caused by sand and irritating grass seeds, are extremely widespread, and blear eyes are the rule among older people. These diseases, however, are not nearly as grave among the !Kung living in the forest as, say, among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari or among those
[826] of Naukluft. Among the latter, blear eyes are even regarded as signs of beauty in young girls. Ordinary eye inflammations that pass in a short period of time mean nothing. They are treated by
[753] rubbing with fat. If the ailment lasts for a longer period of time, then //Gauab [Fig. 16 appears here] certainly had something to
[755] do with it; the doctor is called in and, after some treatment, produces a "little black medicine" from the eye.

[43 cont.]

732 Blindness in one eye is very common as the result of wounds inflicted by thorns. Among very old people I have also found blindness as the result of cataract. Here and there one also finds (648) Bushmen who in olden times had been captured by the Herero, who shot out their eyes with grass seed.

Ear Ailments

●757 They are relatively rare. For an ordinary earache, leaves are stuffed into the ear "so that it will stay warm." The aching ear is likewise held over the fire, in which some medicine has been placed. If pus comes out of the ear, the ache stops and all

[413]

Fig. 16. Scratching Instrument. Iron leaf fastened to a little stick with resin and leather strips. (Museum of Ethnology, Hamburg; actual size [as shown in original text].)

(753) [44] is well. If //Gauab has put something in it, however, the pains become so strong that one can no longer sleep or hear. In (755) such cases one must call an especially powerful doctor, who draws out the spirits of sickness; otherwise the patient will die.

[44 cont.]

Toothache

142 I rarely saw irregularities in the position of the teeth, and
[515] never protruding or receding teeth. The only care given the teeth is the use of iron arrow points for toothpicks. The teeth are usually yellow, covered with dense layers of tartar, and because of the sand content of the vegetable diet, are quickly worn down
164 by chewing. Caries are extraordinarily common, but infections also occur through the exposure of the root canal as the teeth are
753 worn down. If a person has a severe toothache, //Gauab has stuck a needle into it, and the doctor must be called to get it out. If there is no general discomfort, however, then no dsao are there.
● 757 A little piece of wood is sharpened to a point at one end, held with the point against the root of the tooth, and then the tooth is knocked out with a stone. This instrument is called "oie."
147 Small children suffer considerable pain when they teethe; some-
753 times dsao (spirits of sickness) are also at work in this case. [Fig. 17 appears here.]

Sore Throat

753 A sore throat means that //Gauab has made a cord and is
755 drawing it tight around the patient's neck. The doctor must remove the cord from the patient; it is about 30 centimeters long and is like the trap cord (//kao); everyone can see it after the treatment.

Colds (X'ōã)

164 Grippe takes many victims among the Bushmen every year,
513 especially among those who are already tuberculous. In winter, colds are extraordinarily frequent, since the people lie almost naked around the fires. In the forest they are fairly well protected against the wind, but on the open plain the wind changes its direction at night while they are asleep, so that they not only catch cold but often receive severe burns around the stomach -- although this applies only to the men; the women sleep at a greater distance FROM THE FIRE.

[44 cont.]

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from the fire. As a cure for coughing and hoarseness, they chew the fibers of a sisal-like plant, which are twisted to make the trap cord. The plant is called kūi. It must be brought fresh from the forest. For chest pains, in recent times they have started drinking warm water to which much cooking salt is added.

[413] Fig. 17. !Kung Instrument for Knocking Out Teeth; actual size [as shown in original text].

Circulatory Diseases

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As among the Central African Pygmies, we find strong sinuosity of the arteria temporalis even among more youthful individuals. The heart quickly wears itself out as a result of the exhausting way of life and the great amount of running. The people try to increase its capabilities in every way possible. In order to stop the pounding of the heart and to run longer, they take the leaves of a tree with red fruit (in-gui). These leaves are chewed and swallowed. If this does no good, they chew the root of the ≠Na tree. If a person has a heart pain so that he cannot run, he takes roots of the Dormakar bush (!gu) and of the Hell bush (!gai !dsao), boils them both, and drinks the decoction. In case of angina pectoris, the skin of a boa constrictor is placed around the chest.

Gastrointestinal Disorders

753 It is interesting to note that the doctrine of the importance
[171] of the liver and gall bladder in the origin of disease, which we find among all primitive and civilized peoples up to the humoral medicine of the previous century, is already present among the Bushmen. When the gall bladder is full, one becomes sick and
[755] vomits gall. Then the region of the liver is massaged, just as is done in the case of liver pains. Enlargement of the liver as the
[164] result of chronic malaria is common. The moon, which dies
[821] every month, also has gall sickness, and moonlight is the juice of the gall bladder vomited by it. Moonlight and gall are known
[164] by the same word (goo). Spleen tumor is especially common
●757 among children. They have no medicine against splenalgia.
278 They have no medicine for inducing vomiting. It is induced by putting the finger or a feather into the mouth. To stop vomiting, one chews little twigs of the goro tree. The bitter wood of the liana (χ'áá'-χ'áñ) is chewed for stomach-ache. In case of con-
[753] stipation the doctor must practice magic, for it is assumed that
[755] the dsao have tied the stool in the intestine, and the doctor must loosen and extract the cord, just as in the case of an inflammation of the throat. The patient may not eat anything and drink very little. In case of diarrhea, even the bleeding kind, the same medicine is taken as in the case of stomach-aches. Intestinal
147 worms are unknown. We already know from earlier reports that the
262 gastrointestinal tract of the Bushman can take all kinds of things that we cannot take. As the result of habituation from early childhood on, he can digest meat that has gone bad and the like, without any trouble (1). After a long period of hunger, he can consume

1. I myself witnessed a drastic example of this. I had brought a side of bacon from Swakopmund, which supposedly had been preserved for all eternity according to a special process. When I brought it out, it had a hideous smell, and in order to prevent the Bushmen from taking it and getting sick, I had it hung high on a tree. The

164 [45 cont.]
[753] Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The
[192] terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no
[302] means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is
[593] usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin
842 hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy
[757] is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine
[278] for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is
841 done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband
[757] and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on
853 the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least
[826] until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished
164 by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care.
[515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky
[278] sap of a plant called timba.
[757]

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams
[145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long;
302 the toenails are often fissured.

[46 cont.]

Infectious Diseases

164 The Bushmen are plagued by the two most dangerous chronic infectious diseases, tuberculosis and malaria. Leprosy is absent.

Malaria appears every year during the rainy season. Bisob
[757] roots are then thrown in the fire, and the smoke is inhaled. Small
[278] children more commonly die of it. I did not see any cases of black water fever or malarial cachexia.

Tuberculosis is the common cause of death among the
[165] Bushmen. I saw bone tuberculosis and swellings of the glands, as well as advanced cases of lung and throat tuberculosis. The poor people are helpless, and the frequent colds further the process in a dangerous fashion. As nomads living in small groups, they are generally spared the epidemics of the Whites and Blacks. Once an epidemic has made its appearance among them, however, they die in great numbers. It is interesting to note that the Bushmen are aware that contagious diseases exist. As such, however, they only know the above-mentioned skin disease (gari).

753 The other infectious general diseases are explained as an attack by many spirits of sickness upon the horde.

Assistance at Birth

844 When a young woman anticipates her first confinement, she remains near the huts because she is afraid. The older women cheer her up, and then a resting place is made of dried grass. The
[845] woman gives birth in a squatting position. In case of difficulties during delivery, the lower part of the body is massaged. Medicine or manual assistance to expedite the delivery is not given. The umbilical cord is cut off with a quartz knife and buried.

[47] Wounds and Injuries

752 The most dangerous injury a Bushman can receive is through a poisoned arrow. The poisoned arrow is cut out, a piece of wood is held in the fire until it glows, and then it is used to

[50 cont.]

756 than the smaller spirits. Their treatment is correspondingly suc-
776 cessful or unsuccessful. In other words, the doctors are vindicated in any case.

755 The treatment of illness thus follows two parallel paths:
757 one with natural means (medicines and the like), directed at the local symptoms of the ailment; and one with supernatural means, directed at the dsao that cause the feeling of sickness.

[756] [796] 539 During the doctors' test the following song is sung:

[411]

Fig. 20. Bushman Revolver of the !Kung (Foxhof; actual size [as shown in original text]).

e hehehe na ti //kau /goa dsao

During the treatment itself the following text is sung:

/o ma ga //goa ≠am /nai tha

He has no medicine yet, he must be thrown with the medicine.

751 756 Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) have the following to report

1. Die Buschmänner, p. 424.

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[74 cont.]

776 one time as a man and at another time as a woman.

7. Medicine

The curing practices of the Nogau Bushmen are very primi-
757 tive. They have nothing for snakebite and nothing for arrow poison.

Eland fat is a universal medicine. For the common eye
278 inflammations this fat is smeared into the eye; for headaches warm eland fat is dripped into the ear; for a cold the nostrils and nose are smeared with eland fat.

Sickness comes either from the evil head Gauab or from
753 sorcerers. The ailment is caused by a little Gauab who has settled
[754] in the body. The more gravely ill a person is, the more Gauana have entered into him. The doctors are able to draw out these
755 spirits of sickness; they do it in a fashion analogous to that prac-
756 ticed by the !Kung. There are also female doctors.

The spirits of sickness are regarded here as much more ma-
753 terial than among the !Kung; such a Gauab looks like a human
776 being, but he may also appear as a lion, a wildebeest, or a snake. Once the Gauab has been drawn out of the body, it runs away and speaks to no one.

The sorcerers in particular like to transform themselves into
756 lions. Among the Bushmen farther north [75] it is supposedly
[825] the case that when they see a wildebeest in the bush, for example, it is not a wildebeest at all, but a Gauab. The doctors receive their power from the highest Gauab (/gaua //gaicha). He is the one who appears in the wind spouts. As among the Bantu, the doctors must go to school for several years with older colleagues.
[754] They are not only able to cure, but also to practice magic in the bad sense, in that they induce /Gaua //gaicha to make ill anyone whom they want to harm.

"Whoever wants to become a sorcerer must go to school with another witch doctor. When someone is struck by lightning, it is said that Gauab struck him down with his knife. Some then become great doctors and often speak with Gauab. Gauab also comes as a wind spout."

/246 cont./

304 3. The third and most curious is a manner of tattooing which I should like to designate as the antelope tattoo, a kind of inoculation that I have seen in no other native African tribe. This type of tattoo is used only by males and consists of the following: [827] Through parallel incisions little pieces of antelope flesh, especially gemsbok flesh, are placed under the skin of male children, with the idea that the child thus inoculated will have the speed of the antelopes in running. The incisions are most commonly made on the buttocks, but they are also to be found on the chest, abdomen, and back.

●757 One also commonly finds scars all over the body from blood-letting incisions "to draw off" illnesses.

142 Viewed from above, the head shows no peculiarities, although dolichocephaly does not seem to me to be as marked among the Bushmen as it is among the Bantu Negroes. The protuberance at the back of the head is so little developed that it can scarcely be felt on most individuals.

The profile view of the face permits one to recognize a clear alveolar prognathy. In the case of most individuals the upper lip in the profile view extends beyond the tip of the nose. The edge of hair around the fairly straight forehead runs in an even curve from one ear to the other.

The bones of the eyebrow arches protrude sharply, while the forehead bulge is only slightly developed.

The cheekbones with the widely-projecting zygomatic arches form prominences jutting out sharply in the temporal and cheek region.

142 Most Bushmen show a striking prominence of the parotid gland region, which in the case of some individuals swells out so that it 147 is actually hemispherical. I was unable to determine whether the swelling is caused more by hypertrophy of the parotid gland or by a particularly strong development of the chewing musculature. This swelling of the parotid gland region is, I believe, not a racial peculiarity of the Bushmen, but rather a consequence of their way of life which necessitates a root diet requiring very heavy use of the chewing apparatus. At any rate, I observed the same peculiarity among the Herero, who for a long time were dependent upon veld food.

old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the 553
surname of the mother and girls that of the father. Thus
|Uirob Geirob |Geibeb married a woman *|Kao-tamas*
Gamanis |Harus and begot two sons, namely *||Otoab ǂGonab*
|Garub and *Gogob Gomob |Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras*
|Geibes. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the
father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is
added to the surname. Hence the names of *||Otoab* become
||Otoab ǂGonab |Garub |Geibemab. This practice offers a
means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose.
A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nick- 551
names are common and are given to children when quite
young. They are usually directed towards some physical
peculiarity, for example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face
and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often
retained throughout life.

The communities which have not been in contact with 164
civilization are remarkably free from infectious, contagious
and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons when
malaria becomes unduly prevalent the incidence of disease is
very small among them. Sickness is in most instances 753
attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on
the part of the affected person, to magical influences exercised
by other persons or, when unduly prevalent, to something
going wrong with the perpetual fire. Treatment is adminis- 757
tered by relatives and friends or in cases of acute or prolonged
illness by an elder or doctor who is well versed in magical
practice. Herbs of various descriptions are employed both
internally and externally through incisions in the skin.
Inunction with medicated ointments is also extensively resorted
to. Surgical procedures are limited to incisions into the skin.
Burial of the dead is carried out almost universally at present. 764
Among the more primitive groups, however, the corpse is left [884]
in the hut which is simply pressed down so as to cover it.
After a death has taken place the camp is deserted and not 768
occupied again. Old people who are no longer able to help 888
themselves are left in the werft with a supply of food and
water. The rest of the group then move off and do not
return to it again.

Dances and Games.

Dancing and games of various kinds enter very largely into 535
the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first
place among their social recreations. Some of the dances
such as the *tsei*, *hãigi-ho*, and *ge-!ni* among the *ǂAo-||ẽin*
and *Aikwe* and the *|hawa-ǂnab* among the *Hei-||om* would
appear to be of a religious nature, being danced only on
ceremonial occasions, for example, during the initiation cere-
monies. On the other hand dancing is often indulged in at
night for pure pleasure, especially in times of plenty. The

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

481 well as great loads of melons, all of which we offered again
482 and again to carry for them, but because, they said, they might want to stop for the night or just refresh themselves along the way, they would not part with their bundles.

The place we went to was called Ai a ha'o; it was the pan where we had seen the lion. It took us almost all day to drive there, and shortly after we arrived Dasina and Kutera joined us, having traveled almost as fast as we. Those two old women must have walked at four or five miles an hour all the way, over veld so rough that the trucks couldn't go much faster.

342 Before dark, the Bushman women had built a werf, a clear-
361 ing of grass for each family with a shallow pit to sleep in and a place for the fire, all four clearings under the branches of a single tree which would give them shade in the daytime. On
353 the branches each person hung whatever there was to hang, quivers, skin bags, or aprons, and these things swung in the cold wind. The women gathered firewood and lit their fires,
757 and Dasina asked Twikwe to stand on her stomach because
562 she was tired from her long walk and wanted a massage. Before they went to sleep the men and the three young boys
574 walked to our camp, about fifty feet away, to say good-night,
577 but the women stayed at home because at night all Bushmen women stay at home. A woman does not even leave her fire to go to her neighbor's fire three feet away because people will say that she doesn't like to stay home; she speaks loudly to her neighbor instead. Bushmen are a rather conservative peo-
[181] ple, and they are very moral in that they keep their own rules.

574 The smoke in the west that Gai had seen when he roasted the tortoise intrigued him very much. Again and again he said that it was people's smoke, and one morning he said he wanted to go over to it, to look for the man who was Wita-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

224 Toma's son rubbed his head with his tough little fingers to
857 make up his mind. Finally he left his friends and climbed on
866 the truck. Home was too far to walk to, he said, and he was going to forfeit. As we drove away, his friends ran after us, shouting that they would bring him his share if they were able.

151 We reached Nama Pan late in the afternoon. Toma and
152 Gao Feet cleared a werf for Short Kwi, and when he was
757 settled comfortably with his back against a tree and with soft grass and blankets arranged all around him he said softly, just to himself and anyone else who might be listening, that during the night his leg had fallen off. After he said this he began to cry, and Gao Feet slowly crouched beside him, unwound the blanket slowly, and untied the bark, then gently lifted the knee away from the calf, which remained on the ground, just like the leg of a mummy. When the calf had fallen off, Short Kwi had pushed the two pieces back together again. Short Kwi was crying and biting his hand and his wife was crying, and Toma and Gao Feet stood beside him for a minute looking, the expression on their faces as dark as night.
766 Then they picked up the leg and carried it away to the veld, where they buried it in a hole, exactly as if it were a person, they were so sad.

152 Later, when we had dressed the stump, Toma and Gao Feet came back to sit with Short Kwi and talk with him. Gao Feet told about a Bantu man he had seen far in the north who had been injured in a mine accident and had been fitted with a false foot. Short Kwi could have one too, Gao said; but Toma said, almost too depressed to speak: "What does it matter? He is a cripple now."

521 Then the men went away and left Short Kwi to rest, and
758 during the evening the children and young people were talk-

and the water-holes. He made the moon and the stars, all at the same time. Then he made the wind. He is the creator of all these things and he commands their movements. 776 773

He created the things that grow from the ground and he created animals and painted their stripes and markings on them and gave them their names. Then he created human beings. He created animals as animals and human beings as human beings. He commanded them to breathe. Without breath they would not live. 'First was woman and then man. The man asked the woman to give him fire. She did. The woman got some veldkos and was eating it. Then the man married the woman. This was one man's cryptic account of the creation. Something about the creation of fire seems to have been left out. ≠*Gao/na* named the first woman Khwova for his wife and he named the first man ≠Gao for himself.

From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. He turns the spirits of the dead into *//ganwasi* and commands them to live in the sky with him and be his servants. He orders them to go down to earth, to mortals, to carry sickness or death to them, or he may order them to carry good fortune.

≠*Gao/na* has a medicine with which he can renew himself at any time. He also renews all the beings who live in the sky with him. They get old and he renews them. They do not die. But he has not given human beings that medicine and the /Kung said, 'We cannot make it.' (They pointed out that in this quality the medicine is like water. They cannot create water. 'We know how to dig and make the holes but we cannot create the water,' they said.) [811]

≠*Gao/na* gave arrows and bows and assegais to human beings and he gave digging-sticks. He gave people the knowledge to make all the things which they now make and taught them to do all they know how to do. 'If he did not want us to know he would not have taught us.' He commanded human beings to dig for food with their sticks and to hunt with their weapons. From the beginning they did these things. [811]

≠*Gao/na* created all the medicines. (The /Kung word for both material substances used as medicines and magic or spiritual medicine is *n/um*.) He created the medicine which is in the medicine songs to cure the people and he created all the other medicines. He put medicine power in the medicine men (*n/um kxau* is medicine man, owner of medicine), and he calls that power *gaoxa*, the same respect word which people may use for him when they fear to say his name. [757]

≠*Gao/na* commanded men and women to marry and live together and have children. He controls the actions of people. If they do good deeds or bad deeds it has been under his control. He arranges all things. [577]

Several times in our talks I asked if the great creator controlled the lives of Bushmen only, or if he controlled all the people on earth. It was not surprising that the /Kung's thinking on this point was vague and contradictory. Some said, 'He is over all people. He can kill anybody.' (They had said this same thing about *Ko*.) Others claimed that ≠*Gao/na* and *//Gauwa* as well were 'only for Bushmen'. White people and black people, they said, have their own gods. 776

≠Gao/na's *Appearance and Dwelling Place*

The /Gikwe Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate visualize the protagonist of their old tales, *Pisibore*, as being of supernatural size. In the tortures of his death

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Treatment

is administered by relatives or friends, or in cases of acute and prolonged illness by a magician well versed in medical practices, who is paid for his services. In cases of the latter kind a very common method employed is massage, leading up to the extraction of foreign bodies ("disease-poisons", "spirits of disease", etc.) believed to have been introduced into the patient and thus causing his illness. When the "doctor" feels that the foreign body has been brought near enough to the surface by his treatment, he sucks the part affected and then, with a retching sound, triumphantly spits out the object he is supposed to have sucked from the patient's body. Stones, pieces of bark, small bones, etc., are thus extracted from the affected part of the patient, who in consequence is cured![1] Lebzelter records also that, while the "doctor" is busy performing this cure, the relatives and friends standing round pray to the "supreme being" to make the patient well again; and, as we have seen, the use of prayers in case of severe illness is mentioned by several other writers as well.[2] 755 [782]

More practical forms of treatment are also found, however.[3] Herbs and roots of various kinds are extensively employed as medicines. Sometimes they are burned to ashes which are then rubbed into small cuts made in the patient's body, sometimes they are boiled and given as a decoction. How far they actually do have curative effects is difficult to say, as no special study appears to have been made of their pharmacological properties, nor, save in a few instances, have they even been identified. But Dornan mentions that "for blackwater they use a plant called qilika (*Anacoampseros rhodesica*) by the Matabele; dysentery *Monsonia ovata*, and *Euclea lanceolata*; for various other diseases, *Cannabis sativa*, *Solanum nigrum*, *Lippia asperifolia* (malaria), *Cratalaria burkeana*, *Pterocarpus angolensis*, *Datura stramonium*, *Indigofera senegalensis*, and *Bauhinea reticulata*".[4] Burns, open sores, headaches, etc., are treated by rubbing medicated ointments on the part affected. Chapman describes another method of treatment undergone by himself. "Having a frightful headache from the heat of the sun, I resort to my usual Bushman remedy, at the expense of having my forehead ornamented with blisters dotted all over it the next morning. April [his Bushman guide] has a root 757 278 [824] 752

[1] A good eyewitness account of this treatment is given by Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 340–1; cf. also D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29. [114]
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 411; cf. pp. 183 sq. above.
[3] Nolte, "Krankheiten und Heilmittel der Nama und Buschmänner," *D. Kol-Ztg.*, 1886, p. 629 sq.; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 159, 282–3; ii, 74, 182; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Dornan, loc. cit.; Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kō-Buschmannsprache," 8–9; Fourie, loc. cit.
[4] Op. cit., 142.

[10 cont.]

539 χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!
[821]
271 [11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and
731 the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They
[888] do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and
[758] the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune. Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own.
271 One must have experienced personally the feeling that overcomes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can drink again!

539 3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a
782 journey:
[484] χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

[755] 4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor performs his ceremonies.

χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai kháira téve God, let our people rise again.

789 5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil: Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

821 They do not know anything to say about the sun (sorésa). The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

753 Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those
776 persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this, and there is no spirit of sickness.

776 There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the bush. They play tricks.

775 A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know
[756] what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

224 Toma's son rubbed his head with his tough little fingers to
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866 the truck. Home was too far to walk to, he said, and he was going to forfeit. As we drove away, his friends ran after us, shouting that they would bring him his share if they were able.

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9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ing happily, but all the adults in all the werfs were too de- 521/758
pressed and sad. Finally, one by one, the men went back again to Short Kwi, who by now had rallied and was sitting up, surely having been through the worst of it the night before, and talked to him about the antelopes he had killed and about the time he killed a wildebeest, an eland, and a wild pig all in one day.

It has been said that Bushmen abandon cripples or people 888/734
who are old or sick and cannot travel. This is not true.

Far into the night, people who could not sleep sat up and 521/533
talked at each other's fires. We heard the guashi being played, its long strings sounding in repetitious little songs of four or five notes which themselves were played over and over, for the guashi was being passed from hand to hand, played idly by people who just wanted something to do.

It was a warm night. The frogs in the pan were croaking 521/574
and the north wind blew the cooking-fires around. Later, when the moon rose and made a blood-red fire all its own, the people began to go home. Toma and Gao Feet and their sons stopping to visit us on their way; they walked silently up to our fire from the darkness and dropped to their haunches one after the other, and sat quietly, their grave faces tilted back, hands shading their eyes. Toma's son wore the crown of badger hair, which moved in the wind a little. Presently the men and their sons stood up again one at a time and walked on, as silently on their bare feet as they had come. We heard the low voices of other people who were passing, then saw fires flare up at the werfs, and much later, when the wind had died and even the frogs were silent, we knew that some of the people were dreaming, for they groaned in their sleep.

/158 cont./

845 If twins are born, which apparently is very rare, one child
847 is killed. When the twins are a boy and a girl, curiously enough it is the boy who is killed. The killing is done by the midwife or mother by burial immediately after birth.

852 A birth is celebrated by dancing, but only if enough food is on hand.

853 Nursing continues for two to three years.

A distinction is made between people who have died "well,"
764 that is, easily and without a painful illness, and those who die
[766] in great pain.

The former are buried in the bush near the surface in the vicinity of the settlement, and the settlement is moved.

766 The latter, whom the Bushman probably regards as possessed and fears even after death, are not buried at all since they are abandoned even before death, and the entire settlement flees.

In the case of a burial, it takes place immediately after
764 death.

The corpse is tied up in a crouched position, with the hands placed crosswise on the shoulders; the clothing is not removed.

The grave is not oriented with regard to any special direction; it is made as shallow and small as possible and is not provided with protective measures against predators.

The bow and the quiver with its contents are supposed to be hung on a stick planted into the ground over the head of the corpse. I present this with reservations, since I have never seen a grave marker of this kind.

People who have had a "good" death have died naturally;
761 the others were bewitched. I use this expression, since it seems to me to come closest to the conception of the Auin.

If an Auin has murdered another Bushman, he drags him
766 under a rosinkis bush and places him face downward on the ground.

The women of the settlement participate in the widow's
765 lament, which consists of howling and screaming. External signs of mourning are not worn.

[43 cont.]

423 614 769 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's territory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 614 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, includes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place.

13. Illnesses and Treatment

826 The anatomical knowledge of the Bushmen is quite extensive as a result of their way of life as hunters.

The heart is regarded as the seat of life, and the breath [761] has some connection with the heart. Their surgical knowledge is 752 757 confined to the extraction of thorns by means of an awl-like instrument and to the relatively effective bandaging of hand and leg 278 fractures. Their supply of medicines, on the other hand, is very limited. In what follows, I shall list the common illnesses and their treatment.

Eye Inflammation

752 Both dry and exudative eye inflammations, caused by sand and irritating grass seeds, are extremely widespread, and blear eyes are the rule among older people. These diseases, however, are not nearly as grave among the !Kung living in the forest as, say, among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari or among those [826] of Naukluft. Among the latter, blear eyes are even regarded as signs of beauty in young girls. Ordinary eye inflammations that pass in a short period of time mean nothing. They are treated by [753] rubbing with fat. If the ailment lasts for a longer period of time, then //Gauab [Fig. 16 appears here] certainly had something to [755] do with it; the doctor is called in and, after some treatment, produces a "little black medicine" from the eye.

[49 cont.]

[787] 755 756 796 child, and the other patients, too, would be cured. That ended the first part of the ceremony.

Now the doctors' test began. The others, with the exception of the women making music, participated only as spectators. The doctors went on dancing, often holding their arms stretched out to the sky, with the fingers spread apart, and then springing to the fire and holding their hands over it. Flinging the hands toward the sky is done to give some of the little spirits of sickness back to the chief spirit /Nawa, who passes up and down along a thread between heaven and earth. It is not a gesture of prayer. Similarly, holding the hands over the fire is intended to achieve the same result, because the "little spirits of sickness" do not like the fire and hence will go away. Meanwhile, they thank the great spirit for having saved the child. Then they prayed to /Nawa that he might concentrate all the little spirits of sickness on the [753] [761] doctors' candidate and kill him so that the people would be free of evil diseases, for the dying person takes the spirits of sickness with him. By brushing, rubbing, and blowing, the old doctors now transfer the spirits of sickness to the candidate. The latter is completely exhausted, collapses from time to time, is constantly lifted up again, and, staggering, he dances on, with foam appearing at his mouth. The other doctors taunt him: "You leopard, you lion, you elephant, you insurmountable mountain, you gigantically strong man, now you can't cope with the spirits of sickness we have given you." Once more the chief doctor runs to the former patient and transfers to the candidate any disease poison he may have gathered. This hellish spectacle lasted one and a half hours; then the chief doctor went to his oracle sitting in the bush and asserted that the candidate was too strong: we have concentrated all the little spirits of sickness upon him and prayed to the chief spirit that he might take (kill) him, but the candidate is stronger than the spirits of sickness. Nevertheless, the oracle commands: "Dance on." While this happened, a woman came out of the background -- in the half-dark I was unable to see whether or not it was the chief female doctor herself -- and busied herself around the cured child. She clapped her hands and beat her palms together, with the thumb sides in front of the child's face, and thus put even the child in a brief trance. The dancing continued until around midnight when the oracle finally declared that though the

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
532 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
535 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
323 customary.
302

A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the
304 custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
[751] its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
[836] between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

NARON
NOGAU
≠AUIN

[75 cont.]

754 Among the Naron, according to Miss Bleek, the Bushman
411 revolver is also in use. The doctors fight one another with it. Such an arrow is secretly shot at the opponent's kaross, and through the magic emanating from the arrow, the enemy falls sick and dies.

8. Death and Burial

761 The Nogau have the following conceptions: Death is
caused by Gauab, who steals the soul and makes a little Gauab
of it. The dead person is buried immediately; there is no
764 dancing, only weeping. The corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on its side with the head toward the east. Only the sleeping blanket is placed in the grave; the weapons that were left behind are kept by the brothers. The food that the deceased was carrying with him is thrown on the grave. Then bushes are placed on it.

[775] In their opinion the soul of the deceased, which has been
769 transformed into a Gauab, wanders around near the grave; therefore they detour around it. When a Nogau Bushman passes the grave of a tribal member, he prays to him for help in hunting so that the children will grow fast and become fat. He says:

[539] "I do not know how it will go with me
With the food, how it will go with me with the food;
I do not know what I should do to get something to eat,
Let us eat and become big."

On the other hand, there is also the belief that the great
775 Gauab who kills a human being eats the heart or keeps it in cold water and finally makes a new Bushman of it. Among the Naron
764 the corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on his side with the face toward the east. These customs are by no means always observed, however, especially when the ground is hard.
769 The Naron do not fear the spirits of the dead, although the doctors
787 see them, as do those men "who have incisions between the eyebrows." As we know from the Nogau, this includes all who have taken part in the boys' initiation. Women can never see such spirits.

Among all three tribes, old people are exposed to die.

888

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

888 The old people, the survivors, had not expected to outlive
764 their children and grandchildren, and then they had to bury
731 them; they had scooped shallow graves for them and had placed their bodies inside, then had covered the graves with branches. The old people had then lived by the graves for months to mourn and to protect the corpses from marauding animals. It had been a ghastly season, a season of carnage, and the old people did not like to think about it even now. We watched their sad faces when they spoke of it and saw that these old people themselves felt death very near, foreseeing the day when Gai would leave them, when the melons would dry, when they would starve.

Suddenly, unnoticed into the midst of this discussion came the baby Nhwakwe, having been awakened by the voices, his eyes still filled with sleep, to put an empty vegetable husk on the head of his grandmother, Dasina. She was too de-
[158] pressed to notice, though, and presently the husk fell off and Nhwakwe stumbled back to his sleeping-place, secure between his father and his mother, as though perhaps he had not fully awakened at all.

888 Dasina was speaking. She said again: "To die is bad, but
●761 in the end we all die anyway," and Ukwane said he did not expect to live another season. Then he asked us when we would have to leave. We told him that we were leaving in a very few days, and he said he was sorry to hear it, but if we liked he would come back to our country with us to tell us everything he knew about the customs of the Gikwe. We told
609 him sadly that this would not be possible, and he said that in that case he would live out his life beside our track, waiting for the day when we would return. We told him not to do even that, for European farmers would surely follow our tracks into the desert looking for Bushmen to take as servants.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

"I hear you," said Ukwane, "but I would still like to go with 609
you to your country."

We told him then that we lived so far away and over so much water that if he went there he could never get back, and we said that even if he did go he might find that the longing of his heart to be back among his own people would be worse to suffer, harder to bear, than even hunger and thirst. "That is true," he said. "Perhaps."

That night we had, of course, not wanted to ask about the 761
customs and beliefs of Gikwe Bushmen concerning death; we wanted very much to know, but that night the people were grieved and with Bushmen death is always a bad subject. Another day, however, Ukwane and Dasina did tell us their funeral customs, which were similar to those of the 764
Kung, though not as elaborate. We learned that the Gikwe 184
dig a grave with digging-sticks, then bind the body with the arms crossed over the chest, the knees raised and bound, the ankles tied together, and the head resting on the fists, which are drawn up to the chin. The body is then wrapped in an old kaross and placed in a sitting position in the grave, braced upright by a forked stick. Each person present throws a handful of earth into the grave to "make the person remember them" and also to make the spirit go peacefully away. The grave is then filled up and covered with thorn branches to protect the dead person from wild animals, for a hyena will sometimes unearth a corpse.

While performing a funeral, and from the time of the fu- 764
neral on, the Bushmen always stay upwind from a grave, for 775
after death the spirit blows down the wind and will be harmful to the living. Gikwe Bushmen remain by a grave for at least three months—three moons, or longer—before they

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

584 One day the young man killed a little buck and, according to custom, gave most of it to his bride's parents, thus proving that he hunted well and would provide for them and their daughter. With this the engagement was sealed. Shortly after-
585 ward the mothers of the bride and groom built a scherm for the young couple which they furnished with wood and water and enlivened with a fire, kindled by brands from their own fires. Very early the following day the bride's mother adorned
[301 822 831] the bride, washing her, hanging white bead ornaments from her hair, rubbing her clothing with red, sweet-smelling powder, a symbol to Bushmen of beauty. Then, sitting her upon one large kaross, they covered her with another and left her to spend the day motionless, waiting for evening, when the union would take place.

788 It is common in Bushman ceremonies for a person at a transitional moment of life to be raised from the ground and hidden from the sun, as though suspended between earth and sky. Young people on the day of their first marriage are protected in this way; so are newborn babies, and so are girls
[841] on the day of their first menstruation. At a funeral, too, the body before burial is covered and raised from the ground, and perhaps all this is because a person is especially susceptible to damage at times of life when change is taking place, when, perhaps, a person is as delicate and fragile as a new moth emerged from a cocoon.

585 Because the sun brings death, no ceremony or part of any
[821 761] ceremony is performed when the sun is strong; but when evening came and the sun itself was dying, the groom was led to his new home by his three brothers, who took him by the hands and pulled him there, forced him, for custom demanded that he show reluctance. The bride, according to custom, refused to go to her husband and had to be picked up by another little girl and carried to him. In the drama of re-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

and wipes it clean with grass. Then the mother collects the 844
stained grass, the placenta, and the bloody sand and covers
them all with stones or branches, marking the spot with a
tuft of grass stuck up in a bush so that no man will step on [784
or over the place, for the ground where a child has been born 778]
is tainted with a power so strong that any man infected with
it would lose an aspect of his masculinity, would lose his
power to hunt. The woman does not bury the placenta, for if [842]
she did she would lose her ability to bear more children.

The moment of birth is a very important one for the child
and for the mother; it is at this moment that the child ac-
quires a power, or an essence, over which he has no control,
although he can make use of it. It will last him all his life;
it is a supernatural essence that forever after connects the
person born with certain forces in the world around him:
with weather, with childbearing, with the great game ante- 778
lope, and with death, and this essence is called the *now*.

There are two kinds of *now*, a rainy or cold one and a hot
or dry one. If a person has a wet *now* and burns his hair in
a fire or urinates in a fire, the person's *now* is said to make
the weather turn cold (if it is the dry season) or bring rain
(if it is the rainy season). If a person has a dry *now* and
burns hair or urinates in a fire, the *now* is said to stop a
cold spell or a bad storm. When a person dies, too, the weather
changes violently according to the person's *now*. After a [761]
death, scorching droughts or devastating storms are sure to
follow.

We knew a Bushman woman at Gautscha whose young 778
son was living not with her but far away with the family of 821
his infant wife, and once, when a rainstorm came so violently
that branches were splintered from the trees and water ran in
torrents like waterfalls over the rocks beside the pan, the
woman began to pine and grieve for her son, who, she felt

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

disks may represent two eland bulls, two eland cows, and a hyena, the fifth disk being the factor of ill fortune, and in this role they tell the hunters in what direction they should go and what success or difficulty to expect. The names of people who are absent may be attributed to the disks, which then give news of the people. As everyone knows where everyone is likely to be and what is likely to befall, the disks are more often right than wrong. They afforded us the amusement of a remarkable coincidence, which people so delight in, when they foretold quite precisely the return of one of our party who had been away and whom we had not expected nearly so soon. 787

It was entertaining to watch a session with the disks. A group of men would gather around the thrower. The thrower always had his say, but he was not allowed to pontificate. Everyone read the disks with him and gave his own interpretation. Sometimes the men would disagree and shout at each other in effect, ' Idiot, don't you see it means this? ' At other times they were grave and intent, searching for the meaning. Whether they came to a consensus or went off, each holding to his own opinion, was never clear.

The Names of the Gods

776

The Names of the Great God

In present times the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region believe that there are two gods, one the great and one the lesser, that they have wives and children, and that they are attended by the spirits of the dead. [775]

These beings all live in the sky. The great god lives in the east at the place where the sun rises, the lesser god in the west where the sun sets.

The great god created himself. Then he created the lesser god. He created two wives, one for himself and one for the lesser god. The elder wife lives usually with the great god in the east, the younger one with the lesser god in the west, but, at any time the great god wishes, he may take both wives to live with him in the east. The wives bore six children to the gods, three boys and three girls. The great god created the earth and men and women and all things.

The great god named himself and then gave names to the lesser god and to their wives and children. He gave himself his names to praise himself. He said, ' I am *Hishe*. I am unknown, a stranger. No one can command me.' He praised himself also with the name */Gara* when he did something against the people, and the people said, ' He causes death among the people and causes the rain to thunder.' ' I am *≠Gaishi ≠gai* ', said the great god. ' I am *chi dole*. I am a bad thing. I take my own way. No one can advise me.' His being the cause of sickness and death among the people was the reason for his giving himself many names, we were told. This was apparently a satisfying reason to the /Kung, who offered no other explanation. [761]

The great god has seven divine names and one earthly name, the last being *≠Gaolna*, Old ≠Gao. His earthly name, though not as common as some, is a man's name which we came upon fairly often. I call his seven other names ' divine ' because they belong only to the gods. They are: [551 171]

Hishe	*/Gara*	*|Gamma*
Hmwe	*Gani ga*	
Kxo	*≠Gaishi ≠gai*	

thought to be the creator. ' The souls of the dead come to live with him, and he eats 776
their hearts.'[1] Hottentots considered him to be wholly the destroyer, the black chief, opposed to *Tsui ||Goab*, the creator and rain-giver. '. . . it is further said, by the Naman, that " *Tsui ||Goab* lives in a beautiful heaven, and *||Gaunab* lives in a dark heaven quite separated from the heaven of *Tsui ||Goab* ", while the Korana told Wuras that *Tsui ||Goab* lived in the Red Sky and *||Gaunab* in the Black Sky.'[2]

||Gauwa in past concepts was more independent than now but otherwise he preserves the same mingling of characteristics. He does both good and evil deeds, from [761] man's point of view, with emphasis upon death-giving and evil-doing. He has now become subservient to the great god, *≠Gaolna*, a servant who carries out orders and does his master's work. He should always obey *≠Gaolna*, but he preserves considerable independence, nevertheless, and instigates his own affairs.

One of his works is to go about to see what is going on. ' He tells the old man in the east whatever he sees and hears. " These people are staying well, those are not so well ",' Gao Medicine said, and continued, ' He may say to the old man, " Let us help these people get some food." Or he may tell him that lightning is killing some people and ask, " What shall I do? " '

Gao Scarf told us, in effect, that one time *||Gauwa* went to *≠Gaolna* and asked him for medicine. *≠Gaolna* was annoyed. He said, ' The medicine must stay with me. I am bigger than you.' *||Gauwa* went away and did not ask any more until some time had passed. Then he went and asked again. *≠Gaolna* said, ' You bad, stupid fellow! You think you are clever but you are not. I am bigger than you. I have everything. You must come and ask me every time, but this time take the medicine and go and work with your Bushmen.' That is how *||Gauwa*, as well as *≠Gaolna*, gives medicine [756] to the medicine men.

||Gauwa is a ' small man ', he has small sense, and he makes many mistakes. If someone is sick, when the medicine men at the curing dances see him lurking, they rush at him, give him a blow, and shout that he has brought the wrong medicine. ' Idiot! You have done wrong. You make me ashamed. Go away.' And *||Gauwa* then runs away. Sometimes after his chastisement he comes back with the proper medicine to cure and the sick person recovers.

The /Kung associate *||Gauwa* with whirlwinds as the other Bushman and Hottentot 776
groups did. The /Kung call a whirlwind *||gauwa ≠a*, which means *||Gauwa* smell. 821
≠A is not an ordinary odour, which one can actually smell, and a whirlwind is not 761
an ordinary wind, which is *maa*. The /Kung believe that a whirlwind is ' a death thing ', ' a fight '. *||Gauwa* walks in the whirlwind and his smell is in it, and death is in it. If the wind passes over a person, the *≠a* goes into him, and he will get sick and die. The spirits of the dead, the *||gauwasi*, also come in the whirlwinds. One cannot [775] see or hear *||Gauwa* or the *||gauwasi* in the whirlwinds. There are no precautions one can take to protect oneself against them except to try to get away. Little ' dust devils ' played around us very frequently in the Kalahari, and often awesome black funnels of ashes formed in the veld fires and reached from the earth to the heavens. Sometimes white clouds condensed on their tops and we believe that we saw 'pillars of cloud by day' like those the children of Israel saw.

[1] Ibid., pp. 188–9. [2] Ibid., p. 389.

775 and they have a respectful term, */airisi*, to use if they wish to show deference and be ingratiating. Actually the /Kung seemed to speak of the *//gauwasi* quite often and much less reluctantly than they spoke of the gods. I did not happen to hear them use */airisi* except when they were telling me the term.

775 The *//gauwasi* move about in the sky or on earth. All over the sky fine cords are
772 stretched, like the strands of a spider's web, invisible to us but strong. The *//gauwasi* move on these cords and can go anywhere. They descend to earth on one which hangs down from the sky, the one by which the medicine men climb up when they go to see *//Gauwa* in the western sky.

775 The idea that the stars are the eyes of the dead, which some Bushmen believe, is
772 not held by the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Some informants had heard that other people
821 believed this. Lazy /Qui said he did not know; certainly enough people had died to account for there being so many stars. Others said stars are just stars there in the sky. Although they have names for several of them and stories about some, they do not know what substances stars are made of or what their nature is.

775 The /Kung associate falling stars with death. They do not believe that they are
[761 spirits of the dead but that they fall to earth and become insects which are col-
825] loquially called 'ant lions' (*Myrmeleonidae*, in the order of Neuroptera). These insects are common in the region. In the larval state they live in holes in the ground where one can see them spurting out grains of earth or sand. They devour ants. The /Kung believe that the bite of a fallen star may cause you to die the next day but that, if the star likes you and wishes to spare you, its bite will do you no harm. The old people have said so. *≠Gao/na* has no particular association with ant lions other than being the creator and controller of all things.

The spirits of dead persons are transmuted into *//gauwasi* by *≠Gao/na* in the east. When a person dies, *//gauwasi* come soon to take his spirit. The children of the gods are sometimes the ones who come, we were told, but any of the *//gauwasi* may do so, either ancestors of the dead person or non-related spirits.

[774] The *//gauwasi* pull the spirit out through the head of the corpse. The head is, likewise, the egress of the spirits of the medicine men. When the medicine men are in trance,
[787] which the /Kung call half-death, their spirits go out temporarily from their bodies through their heads to encounter and combat *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*, who lurk in the shadows around the dance fire, and it is through the heads that the spirits return.

[775] The spirit which the *//gauwasi* take from the corpse is distinct from life. The /Kung believe that life, *≠toa*, is inside the body of a person or animal, that it is put there and held there by the creator. It exists in all the vital organs in the abdomen, in blood, in the heart, lungs, throat, and mouth, and is everywhere in the head. It does not exist in the arms and legs, the /Kung believe, because they know that human beings and animals can be wounded in a limb or even lose one and not die, whereas a wound in the vital parts is likely to kill. Life dies in the body and stays there—dead, as the
[774] body itself is there but dead. It is the spirit which does not die. The only word I know for spirit is *//gauwa*. The spirit is like air. It cannot be seen and cannot be kept by mortals. The *//gauwasi* take it and they take the heart and blood of the person as well. These the *//gauwasi* carry first into the western sky, to the place where *//Gauwa* lives, but they do not leave them with him. They carry them further, around by the south to the east, to the place where *≠Gao/na*, the great creator, lives.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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The great creator receives the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person and 775
turns these elements into a *//gauwa*. To do this he makes a fire under the tree which 776
grows in his werf, the tree for which we know no name. He puts a pot on the fire, and in this he boils medicines. Only he has these particular medicines. Men do not know their names. *≠Gaolna* then hangs the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person in the tree. The tree itself is medicine. That is why the people fear it and why *≠Gaolna* hangs the spirits in it. The medicine smoke rises and blows around the dead person's spirit, heart, and blood, and they are transmuted into a *//gauwa*. *≠Gaolna* then smears the *//gauwa* with fat. This fat is not from an animal; it belongs only to *≠Gaolna* and is called */thoo*. *≠Gaolna* then takes the *//gauwa* to live with him in his house.

The *//gauwasi* have bodies which resemble those they had on earth except for their 775
hair. We were told that their hair is changed from the Bushman's spirals to *≠Gaolna*'s [756]
hair, which is long, like a European's, but as black as a Bushman's. Only medicine men who have full medicine see the *//gauwasi*.

The *//gauwasi* eat food. As I understand it, they, like *≠Gaolna* and *//Gauwa*, eat the same foods that mortals eat, meat and veldkos, but they have their own supplies. They also are very fond of honey. They are said on occasion also to steal the veldkos of human beings from the places where they grow, and they sometimes change [825]
themselves into birds—not vultures, but smaller birds called */gwara*—and in this form come into the werf and eat the people's meat right where it hangs in the branches beside the scherms. The *//gauwasi* have their own implements, weapons, karosses, &c. They want nothing from men and there is no point in offering them things. [782]

≠Gaolna gives the *//gauwasi* everlasting life. They grow older but, before they are very old, he rejuvenates them. He has a medicine for this which he does not give to men. Children who die remain children.

//Gauwasi keep their own spouses if they wish, and they live together but do not beget children. No great point was made of this. It was interesting to learn that, if [761] ●
a *//gauwa* tires of his wife and wants another, he may kill a living woman who attracts him, so, if a beautiful woman dies, one who is fresh and clean and wears fine ornaments, one could suspect that some *//gauwa* has taken her for himself. And a strong young hunter might be killed by a female *//gauwa* who wanted him. In spite of the power and dominance of the gods, the *//gauwasi* take things into their own hands sometimes.

No distinction is made between a good and a bad person when he dies. All go to the great god in the east and all become *//gauwasi* without differentiation in status or function. With the exception of suicide, no distinction is made either between a good [762]
and a bad death, such as is reported by Fourie of the Auen, according to Schapera: 'People who die a "good death" are said to go to */khutse*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaus*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress.'[1] Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung suicides are said to stay with *//Gauwa* in the west. Burial also has no effect upon the status in the after-life—whether a person is buried properly bound in a deep round grave, or scratched into a shallow trench, or not buried at all and eaten by beasts.

The beliefs which we associate with ghosts—the haunting of graves or certain other places, appearing as spectres to persons, &c.—are not highly developed among the /Kung but are not entirely lacking. Three stories of *//gauwasi* haunting graves came

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 168.

775 to our ears. One story was that at a place between Gam and Gautscha, where a person died, something goes '*wuu wuu wuu*', making a sound like wind in an empty ostrich eggshell or a bee buzzing in a bottle. The thing once chased ≠Nisa and her daughter. [761] They were terribly frightened, and people warned each other not to go near that place again 'because a person could get such a fright he could die of it'. One cannot see the thing. One can only hear it. On being questioned, people said they thought the thing was a *//ganwa*.

[787] *//Ganwasi* are mischievous as well as conveyors of grave evils and they trick and fool people on their own initiative, often appearing to people in dreams to do so. One might dream, for instance, that the *//ganwasi* told him he would shoot a fat buck if he hunted in a certain direction. If he then hunted there and failed to kill anything, he would know that they had tricked him. ≠Toma felt, when he was sick, that he was lying on thorns and that the *//ganwasi* were pressing down on him.

The function of the *//ganwasi* is, first and foremost, to be the servants (≠*gasi*) of the gods and to carry out their orders. They obey ≠*Gaolna* primarily, but are servants of *//Ganwa* as well. They are the messengers, whether good or bad fortune is being sent to the people.

775 When the gods order them to kill a person, the *//ganwasi* have innumerable ways of
761 doing so. They can allow a buffalo to gore the person, a lion to maul him, or a snake
753 to bite him. They were responsible for a man's falling to his death from a baobab tree—an appalling death to the /Kung, who are as careful and sure as cats. Lightning
[821] —'rain fire'—is 'a death thing' and is used by the *//ganwasi* to kill people when the gods so command. *//Ganwasi* have the traditional miniature magic bows and arrows, with which they shoot people. One feels the pain of the little arrow piercing, when one is shot, but one cannot see the arrow; eventually one dies of it. Sickness, however, is the greatest tool of the death-bringers and they kill mostly by it. They can bring their sicknesses, death, and other misfortune to men at any time, but they are sure to come to the ceremonial curing dances and are always there in the shadows watching for their chance to inflict the ill on the person or persons whom they are sent to destroy.

Although the *//ganwasi* are associated in the people's minds primarily with sickness and death and the people fear them with a pervading fear, the /Kung do not appear to suffer in an agony of terror. I think that their fear is mitigated by the belief that the *//ganwasi* are minor characters and can be driven away and that in their own natures they are not wholly evil. Like the mortals they once were, they are capable of being [782] good, bad, or indifferent to man. People can plead with them for their favour and sometimes they feel pity and are helpful.

Man's Relations with the Gods

772 ≠*Gaolna* said, when he praised himself, 'I take my own way and no one can com-
776 mand me. I am a stranger, unknowable. I am *chi dole*.' The /Kung these days evidently imagine him to be as much the self unbridled as the old protagonist of the tales. However, unlike the old ≠*Gaolna*, he is not indifferent to mankind, and, even though he lives in the sky, he is not remote. On the contrary, he is deeply involved with humanity, constantly aware of what people do, constantly reacting with pleasure or displeasure, and he favours, punishes, or ill-treats man accordingly.

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262 to these taboos is unfortunately so fragmentary that little can be
[114] gathered of the ideas underlying them. Several of them are
undoubtedly connected with wider ritual observances, e.g. the taboo
[821] imposed on menstruating girls, and again that associated with a
[821] certain belief about the rain; but of the others no full explanation is
[773] available, although the taboo on the portion of the hare may possibly
[761] be linked up with the Bushman myth of the origin of death, in which
the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the
[825] promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon.

Among the Naron, again, "It does not seem," says Miss Bleek,[1] "as if many taboos in the food line still existed. Paauw meat and ostrich eggs are chiefly given to old men as the greatest delicacies. Some say young children, or girls till they have had their first baby, are not to eat steenbok, lest they remain small, but others tell me that all meat is eaten by everyone. Honey touched by a baboon must not be eaten, or you will die." Among the Auen, young girls and boys apparently may not eat game at all, otherwise they will remain thin; while water
[841] and food collected by a menstruating woman may be partaken of only by herself and old people—it "makes others weak".[2]

About the Heikum we have far more information on this point,
224 thanks to the excellent description given by Fourie of certain
[114] of their hunting observances.[3] The details he gives throw such a wealth of new light upon this aspect of Bushman life that they may be quoted in full. "After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *//gaus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals.
224 The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout
252 for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is
[462] skinned by the men. The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the
[281] purpose, is cut into sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is then removed to the *//gaus* by the men who may occasionally be
[462] assisted by the women. On arrival at the *//gaus* all the meat is laid

[1] *The Naron*, 7. [2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140, 157.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 100–2; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 54–6.

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when the wife is too old; she may then simply be sent back to her 586
people. Generally, however, she stays with her husband, who then
takes a second wife, younger and more active. The children of a [595]
divorced woman remain with their father, and are brought up by his new wife.[1] Among the Heikum separation of husband and wife may take place under various circumstances, as when the woman is childless, but this, says Fourie, is entirely a matter for adjustment between them. The wife on separation returns to her own group; the present made to her mother at marriage is not returned to the husband. The children are looked upon as belonging to the father, but if husband and wife should separate the girls, according to Fourie, are taken by the father and the sons by the mother.[2] This statement
runs counter to those given above about what happens in the other [114]
North-Western tribes under similar circumstances, and is almost certainly inaccurate.

Among the Namib Bushmen divorce may result only from barrenness or adultery, and is at the discretion of the husband. If he decides to separate from his wife, he brings her back to her parents. The mature children remain with him, while the youngsters who have to go with their mother also come to him when grown up. After divorce both parties are at liberty to marry again as soon as they wish.[3]

Marriage is, of course, also dissolved by the death of either husband 587
or wife. As a rule the survivor may remarry. Among the Bushmen
of Basutoland, however, a widow is said to have found it difficult [589]
to get a second husband, owing perhaps, writes Arbousset,[4] to the [754]
popular belief that most of the deaths which occurred were due to [761]
witchcraft rather than disease. On the other hand, great attention was paid to her in the camp, where no piece of game was ever eaten without her having a share.

Further north this fear of marriage with a widow is not found.
Among the Naron she may, if she likes, marry her late husband's [184]
brother, but need not necessarily do so; she is quite at liberty to marry another man. If she remarries, and if young enough most
widows do so, her new husband is expected to look after the children; [736]
otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. An unmarried widow may stay near her late husband's people, or return to her own
group, as she pleases.[5] Widows among the Auen may also marry 587

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157.
[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505.
[3] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 34; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 67.
[4] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 60.
[5] Op. cit. (English trans.), 364.

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587 "after a certain length of time", and, as among the Naron, there is no levirate. We are not told whose duty it is to look after the children of [736] a widow, but in the case of a widower his children remain with him, and if he marries again are brought up by his new wife.[2]

The survivor of a marriage among the Namib Bushmen is not [768] allowed to remarry until a full season has elapsed since the death of his or her partner. The belief is that if, for example, a woman marries [761] a widower immediately after the death of his first wife, she also will soon die. A widow returns to her own people on the death of her husband, taking with her the unweaned children, who must, however, later return to their father's relatives. If she marries again the new husband must look after the children until they are old enough. There is no mention of the levirate, but the existence of the sororate is implied in Trenk's statement that a widower is expected to marry an eligible sister of his dead wife.[3] This is also noted of the Kung by Lebzelter.[3]

Birth and Infancy

581 A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth 586 of a child. This is clearly indicated in the fact, already mentioned, that among both the Namib Bushmen and the Heikum barrenness is regarded as one of the main grounds for divorce. It is customary 844 among the Naron and the Heikum for a woman to return to her 591 mother's home for her first confinement, if she has already left with her husband to settle among his people; while among the Kung a newly-married couple remain with the wife's parents until after the birth of a child. It is probable therefore that among all the North-Western tribes a woman's first child is born at the home of her parents; about the other Bushman tribes there is no definite statement on this point.

843 Pregnant women carry on their normal daily occupations until the last moment, collecting veldkos and water, walking as far as the rest do, and so on, although they are apparently treated with some consideration in the way of food. Among the Kung a pregnant woman may not eat sour veldkos, nor anything sweet, nor any fat meat. No one may pass behind her back, nor may a pot be put on the fire before she has smeared herself with the soot clinging to it.[4] There

[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 137.
[3] Op. cit., 14.
[3] Op. cit., 168.
[4] Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 14.

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Chapter VII

RELIGION AND MAGIC

Death and Burial

771 In discussing the social customs and economic life of the Bushmen we have had occasion to note incidentally various usages and beliefs, connected for instance with puberty and especially with food, which point to the existence of some conception of supernatural agencies, and indicate how intimately religion really enters into the everyday activities of the people. The customs and beliefs associated with death afford a further insight into the religion of the Bushmen, for we meet here with their ideas of a future state as well as of spiritual beings.

539 773 [761] The origin of death is recorded in the fable of the Moon and the Hare, which is told with some variation by all the Bushman and Hottentot tribes, as well as by certain Bantu peoples. The version found among the Cape Bushmen states that the Moon once appeared to the young Hare, telling him not to cry at the death of his mother, for she was not really dead but sleeping, and would return again living, just as the Moon dies and returns again living. But the young Hare did not believe this, and continued to cry, saying that the Moon was deceiving him, whereupon the Moon, infuriated, cursed the Hare and cleft his lip. In another, more widespread, rendering the Moon instructs the Hare to deliver the following message to mankind: "As I die and return again, so shall man die and return again." The Hare distorts the message and tells the men that they will die and not return again. The Moon curses the Hare and cleaves his lip, but ever since then death has existed on earth.[1]

761 There is not much information regarding the Bushman beliefs as to the actual causes of death. The Cape Bushman apparently recognized that deaths could occur purely by accident, as in the case of a wound from a poisoned arrow, the bite of a lion or leopard, [754] starvation, etc. On the other hand, there was also a strong belief

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 9–10; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 56 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 44–5; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 172.

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that sorcerers could bewitch and thus kill a person, while the breach of certain prescribed rules of conduct connected especially with the rain was held to lead automatically to death.[1] The Auen make a distinction between people who die a "good death", i.e. easily and without great preceding pains, and those who die in great agony. The former are regarded as dying a natural death, the latter as bewitched or possessed.[2] Further north, among the Kung, it is believed that death may be caused by certain spirits known as *dsao*, who are sent by the spirits of the dead (*//gauab*) to enter the bodies of people and thus make them sick; while men who speak evil of the "great chief" *Xu* may be killed by him through the medium of lightning.[3] With the Hiechware, again, no death is ever the result of natural causes. It is brought about by witchcraft or the malevolent power of enemies. "It is strange," says Dornan,[4] "how the old and decrepit people, who must know that their time in this world will be short, cling tenaciously to this belief. It is useless to argue with them upon the question. They will tell you that they know of many people who died by the powerful medicine of their enemies."

It is a well-known feature of primitive peoples that they are not satisfied with what we call natural causes of death, and that whenever a death occurs there is a belief that some sorcerer or some supernatural agency has been the cause of it. That such a belief also exists among the Bushmen is obvious from the statements given above, but more detailed information on this point is very desirable, especially as to the extent to which purely natural causes are recognized.

If death comes to a Bushman in normal times he is buried with all his possessions not far from his hut, generally in the posture in which he sleeps, i.e. on one side, with the knees drawn up against the breast. This is the posture desired both north and south, and often met with in excavations of Bushman graves. Everywhere, however, Bushmen are also found buried in all sorts of other postures; evidently time and means for a proper burial have not always been forthcoming. In some cases, too, burial is impossible or even refused. The Auen, e.g., bury only those people who have died "good deaths"; the

[1] Bleek, op. cit., 14, 16, 19; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15, 16, 21, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 393 sqq.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 158.
[3] Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 15; *idem*, "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khun-Buschmänner," 407, 409.
[4] Op. cit., 144.

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heads, beset the entire distance with all kinds of imaginary obstacles 775
and difficulties; and even after all their labour on arriving at the desired destination they will have nothing but flies to live upon." This belief that after a time the dead arise and go to a land where there is an abundance of good food is likewise recorded by Campbell [114]
and by Miss Currle, neither of whom, however, is a specially trustworthy authority. The Bushman informants of Dr. Bleek also spoke of "the place to which the Bushmen go after death", but unfortunately the details given by them have not yet been published. We are unable, therefore, to tell if their ideas of a future life were in any way similar to those reported by Stow and the other writers.[1]

On the other hand, these Bushman informants also had a variety 821
of interesting beliefs linking up death with the phenomena of Nature. 761
The stars, they said, know the time when a Bushman dies, and the 775
fall of one announces, to those who are not aware of it, that something bad has happened. When, after this, a "hammerkop" (*Scopus umbretta*, the "lightning bird" of other South African tribes) flies, [825]
calling out, over the camp, the people know that someone belonging to them has died. When rain is accompanied by lightning, girls who are out in the open become killed by the lightning and are converted into stars, while those who are taken away by the rain become [824]
beautiful water-flowers, which will not allow themselves to be plucked and disappear when approached. Such flowers must be let alone. Hence the rule that young unmarried women and girls must hide themselves from the rain. The Moon, again, is hollow (in its first quarter) because it is carrying people who are dead. The human heart is believed to fall down after death in the form of a shooting star; the hair of a dead person is changed into clouds, while his gall appears again as a green colour in the sky, and so forth. Dead 775
people may also come in their own forms as apparitions to their relatives and friends, even in waking life. There seems, however, to be no evil portent in this; nor, indeed, does there seem to be any noticeable fear of dead persons on the whole, although we are told that the names of those who are dead must not be uttered by children at night.[2]

The Namib Bushmen, on the other hand, seem to fear dead people greatly, and, as we have seen, the thickened *dawes* sap placed in the [764]

[1] Stow, op. cit., 129; Campbell, *Second Journey in S. Africa*, i, 29; Currle, "Bushmen of Namaqualand," 117; Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 19.
[2] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 25; Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365–71, 389–401.

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775 hands of the corpse at burial is meant to conciliate his soul. Trenk
[764] says they believe only in an "evil spirit", which they fear, but he
[776] throws no light upon the nature of this spirit. He adds, however, that, according to them, the souls of the dead fly about in the air and also speak to people, yet remain unseen, except by children, to whom they often show themselves in ghostlike animal forms of oxen, horses, or gemsbok.[1]

Of the tribes further north our information is somewhat more
● 761 precise. Kaufmann, as we have seen, maintains that the Auen distinguish between those who die "good deaths" and those who die "bad deaths", and he adds that the latter are feared also after death. This distinction was not found by Miss Bleek among the Naron at Sandfontein, but is also reported by Fourie of the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron groups of the same district. He says
764 they believe in a "good being" named */khutse* and a "bad being"
775 named *Gaua*. People who die a "good death" are said to go to
[776] */khutse*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaua*. The former have a
[761] good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress. A deceased person is believed to move about in the form of a ghost at night. "*Buchu* is accordingly sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy, so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver, and arrows of the deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost returning to look for them." These usages are no doubt part of
[114] the funeral ceremony, but the context in which they are described does not make this clear.[2]

775 The word *Gaua*, or, more correctly, *//gāũa* or *//gāuwa*, which
[192] Fourie interprets as a "bad being" or "Satan", is, according to
[776] Miss Bleek, also used by the Auen and Naron in the sense of a "person
[114] who has died". Her male informants said that all people who die
[791] become *//gāuwa*, and the magicians can see them. The women, however, affirmed that only men who have been cut between the eyebrows (at the puberty ceremonies) become *//gāuwa*, and only such men can see them, though women sometimes hear them. "They evidently mean ghosts," comments Miss Bleek, "and have much the same vague fear of them as European peasants have. The ghosts

[1] "Buschleute der Namib," 168. [2] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

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782
821
[539]

O gallopers,
O gallopers,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 821 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other magicians have a similar power over the wind, */khwe*, and are protected by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind [773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears the form of a bird.[1]

773 776 [184] [794] Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed that *'Kaang* (i.e. */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, *'Kue-'akeng-'teng*, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives [761] [821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put [825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine 796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood" 535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant, [773] Qing, described as follows: "*Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the [illegible] of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it, and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night. [786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol *c* represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds. [104]

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while those dying a "good death" go to *!khutse* (*!khuba*). "About the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1] 114 192 776 [773] [881]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say "*//gaua* thunders", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: "*//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndzambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God"); "we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to *//gaua*."[2] 184 192 776 [751] [821] [761] [775] [821] [881] [304] [782]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain" *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds. 114 184 776 [192] [821] [756] [787]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 14; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4.

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and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the "benefactress" *Ises*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.[1]

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was doubted.[2]

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are, according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan, "I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad, and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism in which two powers, one good, Thora or Huwe, and one bad, Khauna, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."[3]

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the

[1] Op. cit., 410.
[2] Op. cit., 410–11.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Here also the Mantis is the central figure of many myths; but at the same time he is the creator, he causes life or death, he is especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food and good luck in hunting, and he is also connected with certain religious dances at which the "initiated men" (probably the magicians) cure illness. The elaborate mythological character of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen and his association with so many other figures in these myths preclude an absolute identification of him and *Huwe*. The resemblance in other respects, however, appears on the whole to be striking enough to warrant our connecting the two. 184 776 [761] [224] [782] [755]

The other outstanding conception is that of *//gaua*, *//gauab*, */gamab*, etc. In all the North-Western tribes the word *//gaua* is used in the first place for the ghosts of dead persons, and one cannot resist assuming that this is its fundamental significance. Among the Naron and Auen these ghosts, which as in all the other North-Western tribes can be seen by the magicians, walk about at night, and people are afraid of them, but not do expect real harm from them; among the Eastern Kung, however, all the *//gauab* are the cause of illness, some do mischief, while others come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead; among the Heikum of Ukuambi the ghosts move about on earth and do harm to people, while among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul goes to live with */gamab*, but may return to earth to kill people. In general therefore it would seem that dead people are regarded by the North-Western Bushmen as sources of injury, and especially as causing illness and even death. The same idea is conveyed by Dornan's statement, that the North-Eastern Bushmen avoid the grave of a dead person, "lest the spirit resent the intrusion." 184 775 [753] [753] [761] [769]

The word *//gaua* is, however, used also in the sense of a personified being, whose attributes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but appear on closer analysis to show a certain uniformity. The !O Kung ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*; when anyone is killed by lightning they say "*//gaua* took him", and people who had met their death in this way were said to sit in the sky as stars, which are looked upon as "*//gaua*'s fires". Among the Eastern Kung the stars are also the fires of the *//gauab*, a shooting star heralds the death of someone, while lightning is the medium through which *!Xu* punishes or kills people. Among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga *xamaba* (*/gamab*) inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like, while 184 776 [192] [821] [775] [821] [753]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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184 776 among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan */gamab* makes thunder and [821] lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting stars. The Naron and Auen term a strong and howling wind *//gaua*, [825] while sometimes *//gaua* is said to be a bird which makes the wind. [777] Finally among the North-Eastern Bushmen *Khauna* is the source of [753] bad luck and disease, is injurious to people, and sends the thunder- [821] storm and lightning, the latter being regarded as his offspring. Further the "lightning bird", intimately associated with him, is feared and [825] may inflict death by lightning when molested. Here again we get the general impression of *//gaua* as the source of illness and death, [753] acting through the medium of the storm, lightning, and shooting stars.

184 In all this *//gaua* offers certain points of resemblance with the 776 conception of the Rain held by the Cape Bushmen. Among the latter the Rain is definitely personified, it appears in their myths 821 as a supernatural personage, generally in the form of an animal, and here it is said, "the Rain thunders, the Rain lightens." When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind and various transformations effected; the howling of the wind forebodes evil; and numerous observances have to be kept in order [761] not to anger the Rain and thereby provoke death. There is also [775] the belief that people killed by lightning are changed into stars; shooting stars are omens of death; the wind is sometimes spoken [825] of as a bird; and the flight over the camp of the *Scopus umbretta*, known to the North-Eastern Bushmen as the "lightning bird", here announces the death of someone. In this connection it may be added that among the Namib Bushmen thunder and lightning are said to command great reverence, and a person struck and killed by lightning is believed to have suffered death as a punishment for some past misdeed.[1]

184 In some cases, among the North-Western Bushmen, *//gaua* shares 776 certain of the attributes vested in *Huwe*. This appears most strikingly among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga, where *Huwe-Erob* does not figure at all, his place being taken by *xamaba*, who has most of the powers and privileges attributed to *Huwe-Erob* by the other [782] Heikum and the Kung. Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan [755] we find prayers addressed to *Erob* for rain and in illness, but at the [775] same time the "demiurge" */gamab* is mentioned as the creator who [821] receives the souls of the dead. Further, as we have just seen, */gamab*

[1] Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama
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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

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The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

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Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */hei /nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

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Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gaunab* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX10

who causes sickness or death. The Northern Bushmen likewise believe that he causes death, but do not seem to attach any special significance of evil to him, save where there has been Hottentot influence. He is associated by them more particularly with certain phenomena of nature, such as thunder and lightning, shooting stars, the wind, etc., so that Miss Bleek actually regards him as a personification of the wind and the storm, while Pater Schmidt looks upon him as an ancient sky god ("Himmelsgott").[1] Closer analysis shows, however, that the phenomena of nature regarded as manifestations of *//Gaua* by the Northern Bushmen are all looked upon primarily as mediums through which he inflicts misfortune and death; and similarly we find that among the Hottentots the whirlwind, the eclipse of the moon and the sun, the rainbow and the Aurora australis are all natural phenomena of ill omen specially connected with *//Gaunab*. Since the lightning is actually a frequent cause of death, while the other phenomena, such as comets, shooting stars and eclipses, are owing to their very nature readily regarded as ominous, it is perhaps not far-fetched to see in this the reason why they should have become specially connected with *//Gaua*, the cause of sickness and death.

The impression one gets, reviewing the evidence as a whole, is that among both the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen the term *//Gaua* has several different references, which, however, are not consistently distinguished by the people themselves. Sometimes it is used for the ghost of a dead person, sometimes as a collective name for these ghosts, sometimes, again, in the sense of a personified being with various special attributes. The beliefs regarding *//Gaua*, in other words, are not crystallized into clear-cut conceptions, but are vague, inconsistent, and ambiguous. Consequently those interpretations based solely upon the conception of *//Gaua* as a personified being must be rejected as one-sided and obviously inadequate. If any special interpretation is to be sought, and in the light of our present knowledge there is none which can be advanced with full confidence, the most fruitful approach would seem to be that *//Gaua* must be regarded as a vague conception founded upon the beliefs about the fate of the dead and the ways in which the latter can affect the living society.

//Gaunab in Hottentot mythology is in conflict with *Tsui //Goab*, the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124; W. Schmidt, "Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 295.

[60 cont.]

769 territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced
614 by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place (1).

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 434.

775 As has already been said, the Bushman does not believe
[626] in punishment after death. On the other hand, he is convinced that the evil that he himself has done will befall him or his dogs in the same way.

681 In former times banishment from the kin group was likewise
648 customary, and the exile would soon perish, since the Bushman
177 cannot survive by himself in the wilderness for any length of time. Nowadays, such individuals, just like those who were expelled from the Bantu tribes, move to land owned by Europeans and find work there. It is obvious that they do not help to improve the reputation of the Coloreds.

695 In cases of doubt, the Bushman swears by the great captain: nu X'u.

681 Instead of formal expulsion, the people may boycott out-
762 laws, who are thereby driven to such despair that they commonly commit suicide. Suicides also occur for other reasons.

21. Conflicts with Europeans

648 Before the police zone boundary was erected, the Bushmen found themselves in a latent state of war with their neighbors. Part of their list of sins will be cited here.

According to Toke, the !Kung near Keibeb in 1925 attacked eight Barotse [Lozi] and killed them, and purportedly ate them. Later, three Ovambo were attacked by surprise, killed,

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The great creator receives the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person and 775
turns these elements into a *//gauwa*. To do this he makes a fire under the tree which 776
grows in his werf, the tree for which we know no name. He puts a pot on the fire, and in this he boils medicines. Only he has these particular medicines. Men do not know their names. *≠Gao/na* then hangs the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person in the tree. The tree itself is medicine. That is why the people fear it and why *≠Gao/na* hangs the spirits in it. The medicine smoke rises and blows around the dead person's spirit, heart, and blood, and they are transmuted into a *//gauwa*. *≠Gao/na* then smears the *//gauwa* with fat. This fat is not from an animal; it belongs only to *≠Gao/na* and is called */thoo*. *≠Gao/na* then takes the *//gauwa* to live with him in his house.

The *//gauwasi* have bodies which resemble those they had on earth except for their 775
hair. We were told that their hair is changed from the Bushman's spirals to *≠Gao/na*'s [756]
hair, which is long, like a European's, but as black as a Bushman's. Only medicine men who have full medicine see the *//gauwasi*.

The *//gauwasi* eat food. As I understand it, they, like *≠Gao/na* and *//Gauwa*, eat the same foods that mortals eat, meat and veldkos, but they have their own supplies. They also are very fond of honey. They are said on occasion also to steal the veldkos of human beings from the places where they grow, and they sometimes change [825]
themselves into birds—not vultures, but smaller birds called */gwara*—and in this form come into the werf and eat the people's meat right where it hangs in the branches beside the scherms. The *//gauwasi* have their own implements, weapons, karosses, &c. They want nothing from men and there is no point in offering them things. [782]

≠Gao/na gives the *//gauwasi* everlasting life. They grow older but, before they are very old, he rejuvenates them. He has a medicine for this which he does not give to men. Children who die remain children.

//Gauwasi keep their own spouses if they wish, and they live together but do not beget children. No great point was made of this. It was interesting to learn that, if [761]
a *//gauwa* tires of his wife and wants another, he may kill a living woman who attracts him, so, if a beautiful woman dies, one who is fresh and clean and wears fine ornaments, one could suspect that some *//gauwa* has taken her for himself. And a strong young hunter might be killed by a female *//gauwa* who wanted him. In spite of the power and dominance of the gods, the *//gauwasi* take things into their own hands sometimes.

No distinction is made between a good and a bad person when he dies. All go to the great god in the east and all become *//gauwasi* without differentiation in status or function. With the exception of suicide, no distinction is made either between a good [762]
and a bad death, such as is reported by Fourie of the Auen, according to Schapera: 'People who die a "good death" are said to go to */khutse*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaus*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress.'[1] Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung suicides are said to stay with *//Gauwa* in the west. Burial also has no effect upon the status in the after-life—whether a person is buried properly bound in a deep round grave, or scratched into a shallow trench, or not buried at all and eaten by beasts.

The beliefs which we associate with ghosts—the haunting of graves or certain other places, appearing as spectres to persons, &c.—are not highly developed among the /Kung but are not entirely lacking. Three stories of *//gauwasi* haunting graves came

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 168.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

year or two, during which the dead person is never spoken of but 768
with veneration and tears.[1]

Several details in this account—the anointing, perfuming, and 114
examination of the body, as well as the burning of the hut—are not 764
met with in the descriptions of other independent observers, who as a rule remark merely that the corpse is buried with all its possessions and the place then deserted.[2] On the other hand, it is certain that many of the Southern Bushmen heaped stones on the graves of their dead. This custom may have originated merely from the desire to protect the body from the ravages of hyenas and other wild animals. It has, however, sometimes been given a religious significance owing to the fact, recorded by several of the older observers, that passing [769] natives would always add a branch or a stone to the heap. It is 114
unfortunately not always possible to gather whether the natives 764
referred to were Bushmen or Hottentots. The latter certainly have 769
various practices and beliefs connected with these grave heaps, of 171
which the usage just mentioned is one of the most common, but there is no fully reliable evidence of anything similar being observed by the Southern Bushmen.

In excavated graves the corpse is sometimes found lying on its 764
left side, with one or two large flat stones placed directly upon it. The interest attaching to these "burial stones" lies in the fact that [532] in a few cases, in association with cave burials along the south coast, they have been found with figures of human beings painted upon them in the typical Bushman style. It would be unprofitable to speculate upon the significance of such stones, as there is no record of any Bushmen having explained them to our authorities; but that they were related to some definite belief can hardly be doubted.[3]

The Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, as a rule bury a dead person on the morning following his death, and in any case not [763] before the death has been confirmed by the nearest neighbours. The relatives of the dead man and the neighbours accompany the corpse to the grave, uttering or singing a funeral dirge. The grave

[1] *Voyage d'Exploration au . . . Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 303–4.
[2] Campbell, *Missionary Travels in S. Africa*, 440; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 289; Fritsch, *Drei Jahre in Südafrika*, 242. The account given by Hahn (op. cit., 121) is obviously derived from Arbousset; that in Stow (op. cit., 126–9) from Arbousset, Campbell and Sparrman. The English translation of Arbousset (p. 363) renders "grossièrement parfumée" as "coarsely embalmed", which, as it is repeated in Stow, may have given rise to some misconception. There is nothing in the nature of real embalming among the Bushmen.
[3] Fritsch, loc. cit.; Haughton, in *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, xiii, 105–6; FitzSimons, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 301, 341.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

764 is a deep hole, narrowing towards the top; its bottom is covered with small bushes, the corpse, wrapped up in its kaross, is laid upon these, then covered over with bushes, upon which finally small white stones are heaped till ground-level is reached. The surface of the [825] grave, like the corpse itself, is sprinkled with water mixed with vegetable "medicine"; this, says Seydel, is intended to keep jackals [766] and hyenas from the grave. Children are buried in the same manner, but the ceremony is simpler, only the nearest relatives accompanying the corpse to the grave.[1] Trenk gives some additional details. [775] The thickened sap of a certain small bush (*dawes*) is placed in the hands of the dead person, so that "his soul, when it reaches the 'evil spirit', may not do harm to other people, and will find rich [535] food in its other existence". At the funeral a fire is lit at the grave, round which is then held a dance accompanied by a funeral song; 765 and all the women must weep for a day. A funeral feast follows, in which honey beer plays no small part. A widow as a sign of [273] mourning cuts a round spot out of the hair over her forehead, a widower a parting directly over the middle of the head. How long the mourning lasts is not clearly stated, but, as we have already noted, a full season must elapse before the surviving partner may remarry.[2]

764 Among the Naron, as soon as a person has died those present raise a short, very distinct cry which lets the whole camp know of the [763] death. The body, wrapped up in the kaross worn by the dead person in life, is brought into a contracted position, the knees being bent up against the chest, the arms crossed and the hands laid on the shoulders, and is tied up like this with rope for purposes of transport. It is then laid near the fire, while the women howl and weep over it. Burial takes place as soon as possible after death. If this occurs at night, then on the following day; if in the morning, then on the same day. The grave is a deep, round hole, dug with the hands and digging-stick at a spot where the soil is not hard. Two or three men carry the body there, a man jumps in, receives it as it is lowered down by the ropes, and places it lying on the left side facing the east. Why this position is customary they do not know. The dead are buried in all their clothes and ornaments, and all their possessions are placed in the grave, or if too long, as in the case of a bow or spear, are hung on a bush close by. Then the grave is filled, and bushes or stones are thrown on top to keep the animals off. All the village [765] is present, and the women weep. Next day a near relative burns

[1] "Aus der Namib," 504. [2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

/158 cont./

845 If twins are born, which apparently is very rare, one child
847 is killed. When the twins are a boy and a girl, curiously enough it is the boy who is killed. The killing is done by the midwife or mother by burial immediately after birth.

852 A birth is celebrated by dancing, but only if enough food is on hand.

853 Nursing continues for two to three years.

A distinction is made between people who have died "well,"
764 that is, easily and without a painful illness, and those who die
[766] in great pain.

The former are buried in the bush near the surface in the vicinity of the settlement, and the settlement is moved.

766 The latter, whom the Bushman probably regards as possessed and fears even after death, are not buried at all since they are abandoned even before death, and the entire settlement flees.

In the case of a burial, it takes place immediately after
764 death.

The corpse is tied up in a crouched position, with the hands placed crosswise on the shoulders; the clothing is not removed.

The grave is not oriented with regard to any special direction; it is made as shallow and small as possible and is not provided with protective measures against predators.

The bow and the quiver with its contents are supposed to be hung on a stick planted into the ground over the head of the corpse. I present this with reservations, since I have never seen a grave marker of this kind.

People who have had a "good" death have died naturally;
761 the others were bewitched. I use this expression, since it seems to me to come closest to the conception of the Auin.

If an Auin has murdered another Bushman, he drags him
766 under a rosinkis bush and places him face downward on the ground.

The women of the settlement participate in the widow's
765 lament, which consists of howling and screaming. External signs of mourning are not worn.

[12 cont.]

843 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-
262 buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut.
[553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are
[177] performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:
[539] //am ≠haiba, //am ≠haiba (?)
[782] The leader answers:
!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower
422 form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 The gathering of veldkost does not have the great signifi-
[184] cance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already
[462] commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd
[657] a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main
[233] OCCUPATION.

[31 cont.]

582 unmarried. Marriage is concluded at an early age. The age that
165 Bushmen attain is not great. There are relatively few old people among them, although some of them, it is true, attain a very
593 high age. The children must obey their parents even when they are grown up and married.

888 The Bushmen indignantly denied that they kill the old people or expose them in the bush. If someone is old, weak, or ill, then they simply walk more slowly or leave the sick person behind with a companion. My informants did report to me that dur-
[731] ing periods of extreme thirst not only old people, but also women and children who were unable to move on were left behind. This happened only in desperate circumstances, when those who were half-dead from thirst could not be helped in any case and a stay would have resulted in death for the whole kin group. As soon
764 as someone has died, all the women and girls sit around the corpse and weep. There is no singing on this occasion. Then some of the men go and dig a grave in the bush, cut off medium-sized pieces of wood, and place these in the bottom of the grave as a foundation, over which is spread the hay that the deceased was lying on. Then all take the body to the grave and bury it in a crouched position with the back toward the sunrise. Every relative must give a few glass beads and ornaments if the deceased is a woman. This finery is placed around the neck of the deceased. The corpse is rubbed down with green aromatic powder and ocher and is wrapped in its hides and blankets. They either throw thorn on the covered grave or make a four-cornered gutter in the sand around the grave and posts are pounded into the gutter to make a fence. The grave is now in the center of the fence, like the living person in the center of his hut. A cup of water and some food are put near the head area. Deceased men have bows, arrows, and their hunting bag placed on the chest. Children are given their miniature bows. The Bushmen say that they give the bows and arrows not because the deceased needs them for hunting in the beyond, but because they do not want to use the effects of the deceased, whom they loved. According to Vedder (1), the dead

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Bushleute, pp. 420-421.

[31 cont.]

764 of the Bushmen are tied up in a crouched position and buried under termite hills.

"The corpse is usually lowered in such a way that it is received by a man standing in the grave. Aside from those who bring the corpse and dig the grave, no one goes to the interment. The corpse is buried either in a crouched posture or lying in a crouched position. In the case of the crouched posture, the face is eastward, and the elbows rest on the knees, while the hands are on either side of the head. In the case of the crouched position, the corpse is placed on the left side. The left hand is placed under the head, giving the appearance of a sleeping person. The face likewise looks toward the east.

766 [32] "Before their interment, feared men, such as sorcerers who had a malign influence and others who were feared in life, but not women, are firmly tied up with thongs of game hide in the crouched posture described above; then, in some cases, the spine is crushed with a stone or ax, as a result of which the head can be bent even lower and placed between the knees. Tied up in this fashion, they are thrown into a fissure in the earth, into an anteater's hole, or into a small cave."

8. The Hunt

423 It is well known that wherever the Bushmen live more or
224 less undisturbed, each kin group has its precisely defined hunting
[621] territory. Vedder believes that the engravings of game tracks indicate old boundaries, as do the stone heaps which are usually designated as Heiseb graves. In any case the question arises as to who actually established these boundaries. My informants stated unanimously that the division stems from the time when the Bushmen still had a supreme chief. There seems to be some authority, however, even today, since in the bush veld the boundary lines are drawn with reference to certain trees, which, in general do not have too long a life. The Bushmen move back and forth within their hunting territories. It sometimes happens that a young hunter is not thoroughly familiar with the boundaries or that wounded game crosses the boundary. In this case the hunter must

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
532 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
535 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
323 customary.
302

A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the
304 custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
(751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
●764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

[63 cont.]

764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not; in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] [174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [773] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

[75 cont.]

Among the Naron, according to Miss Bleek, the Bushman
754 revolver is also in use. The doctors fight one another with it.
411 Such an arrow is secretly shot at the opponent's kaross, and through the magic emanating from the arrow, the enemy falls sick and dies.

8. Death and Burial

The Nogau have the following conceptions: Death is
761 caused by Gauab, who steals the soul and makes a little Gauab of it. The dead person is buried immediately; there is no
764 dancing, only weeping. The corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on its side with the head toward the east. Only the sleeping blanket is placed in the grave; the weapons that were left behind are kept by the brothers. The food that the deceased was carrying with him is thrown on the grave. Then bushes are placed on it.

(775) In their opinion the soul of the deceased, which has been
769 transformed into a Gauab, wanders around near the grave; therefore they detour around it. When a Nogau Bushman passes the grave of a tribal member, he prays to him for help in hunting so that the children will grow fast and become fat. He says:

"I do not know how it will go with me
[539] With the food, how it will go with me with the food;
I do not know what I should do to get something to eat,
Let us eat and become big."

On the other hand, there is also the belief that the great
775 Gauab who kills a human being eats the heart or keeps it in cold water and finally makes a new Bushman of it. Among the Naron
764 the corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on his side with the face toward the east. These customs are by no means always observed, however, especially when the ground is hard.
769 The Naron do not fear the spirits of the dead, although the doctors
767 see them, as do those men "who have incisions between the eyebrows." As we know from the Nogau, this includes all who have taken part in the boys' initiation. Women can never see such spirits.

Among all three tribes, old people are exposed to die.

888

old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the 553
surname of the mother and girls that of the father. Thus *|Uirob Geirob |Geibeb* married a woman *|Kao-tamas Gamanis |Harus* and begot two sons, namely *||Otoab ǂGonab |Garub* and *Gogob Gomob |Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras |Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *||Otoab* become *||Otoab ǂGonab |Garub |Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose.
A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nick- 551
names are common and are given to children when quite young. They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life.

The communities which have not been in contact with 164
civilization are remarkably free from infectious, contagious and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons when malaria becomes unduly prevalent the incidence of disease is very small among them. Sickness is in most instances 753
attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the affected person, to magical influences exercised by other persons or, when unduly prevalent, to something going wrong with the perpetual fire. Treatment is adminis- 757
tered by relatives and friends or in cases of acute or prolonged illness by an elder or doctor who is well versed in magical practice. Herbs of various descriptions are employed both internally and externally through incisions in the skin. Inunction with medicated ointments is also extensively resorted to. Surgical procedures are limited to incisions into the skin.
Burial of the dead is carried out almost universally at present. 764
Among the more primitive groups, however, the corpse is left [884]
in the hut which is simply pressed down so as to cover it.
After a death has taken place the camp is deserted and not 768
occupied again. Old people who are no longer able to help 888
themselves are left in the werft with a supply of food and water. The rest of the group then move off and do not return to it again.

Dances and Games.

Dancing and games of various kinds enter very largely into 535
the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first place among their social recreations. Some of the dances such as the *tsei*, *hũigi-ho*, and *ge-!ni* among the *ǂAo-||ẽin* and *Aikwe* and the *|hawa-ǂnab* among the *Hei-||om* would appear to be of a religious nature, being danced only on ceremonial occasions, for example, during the initiation ceremonies. On the other hand dancing is often indulged in at night for pure pleasure, especially in times of plenty. The

communities are surrounded. Except among the groups which have long been in contact with and largely influenced by other races belief in a supreme being would appear not to exist. The partly disorganised *ǂAo-||ǎin* and *||Aikwe* groups of the Gobabis district believe in a good being named *!Khutse* or "God" and a bad being called *Gāua* or "Satan." About the nature, however, of these beings they have no idea nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them. People who die a "good death" are said to go to *!Khutse* and those dying a "bad death" to *Gāua*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress. Among the primitive groups a deceased person is believed to move about in the form of a ghost at night. *Buchu* (*tsā*) is accordingly sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver and arrows of the deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost returning to look for them. Every sphere of activity in life is influenced by some superstition or other which, as a rule, finds expression in certain avoidances or in ceremonial and other rites and practices. Examples of these have been given in connection with the subjects already discussed. It is unnecessary to allude to them any further.

Divination is widely practised and absolute faith is placed in the divining properties of the objects which are used for the purpose. The source from which these properties have been derived is attributed by some to their "first big Bushman," by others to *Gāua* ("satan"). Thus the Bushman *Tji-tji* is said to have been initiated by *Gāua* "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver. *Tji-tji* had killed a gemsbuck. *Gāua* arrived on the scene and said, "I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep here." After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-tji* remarked to *Gāua*, "Give me that stuff (*||ai*)." The latter replied, "If I give you the *||ai*, what will you pay me?" *Tji-tji* answered, "I will give you the horns." *Gāua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *||ai* and before departing taught *Tji-tji* the *||ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic.

In conclusion I desire to express my regret at having been unable to deal with the subject of this report in a comprehensive manner during the short time at my disposal. More detailed information on the Bushmen of this Territory is available, however, in the works mentioned in the bibliography.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

888 The old people, the survivors, had not expected to outlive
764 their children and grandchildren, and then they had to bury
731 them; they had scooped shallow graves for them and had placed their bodies inside, then had covered the graves with branches. The old people had then lived by the graves for months to mourn and to protect the corpses from marauding animals. It had been a ghastly season, a season of carnage, and the old people did not like to think about it even now. We watched their sad faces when they spoke of it and saw that these old people themselves felt death very near, foreseeing the day when Gai would leave them, when the melons would dry, when they would starve.

Suddenly, unnoticed into the midst of this discussion came the baby Nhwakwe, having been awakened by the voices, his eyes still filled with sleep, to put an empty vegetable husk on the head of his grandmother, Dasina. She was too de-
[158] pressed to notice, though, and presently the husk fell off and Nhwakwe stumbled back to his sleeping-place, secure between his father and his mother, as though perhaps he had not fully awakened at all.

888 Dasina was speaking. She said again: "To die is bad, but
761 in the end we all die anyway," and Ukwane said he did not expect to live another season. Then he asked us when we would have to leave. We told him that we were leaving in a very few days, and he said he was sorry to hear it, but if we liked he would come back to our country with us to tell us everything he knew about the customs of the Gikwe. We told
609 him sadly that this would not be possible, and he said that in that case he would live out his life beside our track, waiting for the day when we would return. We told him not to do even that, for European farmers would surely follow our tracks into the desert looking for Bushmen to take as servants.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

"I hear you," said Ukwane, "but I would still like to go with 609
you to your country."

We told him then that we lived so far away and over so much water that if he went there he could never get back, and we said that even if he did go he might find that the longing of his heart to be back among his own people would be worse to suffer, harder to bear, than even hunger and thirst. "That is true," he said. "Perhaps."

That night we had, of course, not wanted to ask about the 761
customs and beliefs of Gikwe Bushmen concerning death; we wanted very much to know, but that night the people were grieved and with Bushmen death is always a bad subject. Another day, however, Ukwane and Dasina did tell us their funeral customs, which were similar to those of the 764
Kung, though not as elaborate. We learned that the Gikwe 184
dig a grave with digging-sticks, then bind the body with the arms crossed over the chest, the knees raised and bound, the ankles tied together, and the head resting on the fists, which are drawn up to the chin. The body is then wrapped in an old kaross and placed in a sitting position in the grave, braced upright by a forked stick. Each person present throws a handful of earth into the grave to "make the person remember them" and also to make the spirit go peacefully away. The grave is then filled up and covered with thorn branches to protect the dead person from wild animals, for a hyena will sometimes unearth a corpse.

While performing a funeral, and from the time of the fu- 764
neral on, the Bushmen always stay upwind from a grave, for 775
after death the spirit blows down the wind and will be harmful to the living. Gikwe Bushmen remain by a grave for at least three months—three moons, or longer—before they

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
Gikwe

764 move away because they cannot bear to leave the dead per-
775 son, because they want to make sure that animals do not spoil his body, and because, said Ukwane, "He is our person, whom we love. We do not want to leave until we have given up hope."

764 We learned one other thing, and that was that the Gikwe
775 put a medicine power, a fragrant brown powder made of an
789 herb called *sasa*, in the norstrils of the dead person, and
824 sprinkled his body with sasa before the burial. This, said Ukwane, is done to ensure heavy rain in the rainy season, but also it may well have to do with protecting the living from the spirit of the dead. We did not learn more about this because Bushmen will talk about any subject you may name except the subject of the spirits of the dead. The Kung respect and fear spirits more than any other thing, and only after a year of trying did we learn about them; the Gikwe seem to feel the same way, and for that reason we did not expect to learn very much. We did find, however, that the spirits
775 of the dead are called, at least sometimes, the *kwe be ha ki* (person who is not here), and that these spirits travel in the
[82] wind—not in open, blowing wind, but in whirlwinds; that is why the Gikwe Bushmen avoid whirlwinds, because a spirit might be there to carry them away. Once a whirlwind passing through our camp uprooted a tent and carried it spinning to the sky. Possibly, explained the Bushmen, a spirit of the dead thought that there was a person inside, although sometimes the spirits cause only mischief.

764 With the Kung, the funeral customs are very much the
184 same as those of the Gikwe. The body is folded into a sitting position and bound, but the head is bowed down to the knees. Beads and a kaross ornament the body, which is also lowered into the grave and buried upright, but thereafter the custom

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

differs from that of the Gikwe. The Kung, after filling in the 764 grave and protecting it with stones or thorn branches, break 184 the scherm of the dead person down over the grave, shatter all or most of his possessions, and strew the fragments over the grave together with sasa powder. Last, they kindle a fire in front of the now destroyed scherm and bend a reed, which they thrust into the ground, so that the grave, the fire, and the pointing reed make a line toward the place where the person who is now dead was born.

The Kung then abandon the grave immediately and for- 775 ever, for when darkness falls the spirit blows down the wind and remains near its grave for an indefinite time. Whenever the Kung pass near the grave they blow sasa toward it to ensure their safety.

The Kung are so afraid of the spirits of the dead that they do not feel it necessary to remain as guardians of the grave, or even until they have "given up hope." Occasionally their custom proves unfortunate, as it has happened that the buried person rose from his grave and followed his people to their new camp. We ourselves knew a Kung Bushman who had died, been buried, and was resurrected; he clambered out of his grave at night, followed his band to their new camp, and rejoined his family to live out a happy life. It must happen rather often that people are mistaken for dead and buried accidentally—often enough, at least, to necessitate a word in the language, for those people who do revive and manage to dig out of their shallow graves are called the *twi*.

The spirit that does not become a twi does not remain alone by the grave forever, but is found by the great god in his wanderings over the veld and is taken to his home in the east. There it is hung in a tree and smoked in a medicine smoke until it becomes a *gaua*, a spirit of the dead, and can serve the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

731 days, although not all were completely cured; and many, feeling that their luck was very bad at Gautscha, decided to take
361 their chances at other places in the veld where, although there was no water, there were watery roots that could be scraped for moisture. One day many of the people walked away in single file, taking their belongings and carrying on their backs their relatives still too sick to travel, leaving Gautscha Pan deserted except for the three small family bands who made their permanent home there.

764 One day when we were traveling in the veld about twenty
888 miles from Gautscha we came upon an old man lying on his face on the sand in an open place. He was a member of one of the bands at Gautscha that tried to escape bad luck, and, thinking he was hurt, we stopped at once. But he was not hurt; when we came near him he did not get up, but turned his face away from us and lay as if dazed, pressing one hand to his forehead. We knew him; he was the only Bushman of any nation we had ever met or even heard of who had never
[582 881] married, this because Bushman men must shoot a buck and
162 undergo initiation before they can marry, which he had never done. Instead he lived with his sister, who took care of him and provided him with food, and who had been very ill during the plague at Gautscha. As we looked at him the headman of that band stepped out of the bushes and told us that the old man was not ill but grieving for his sister, who lay dead in a grove of thorn trees a little way beyond. The old man, who had been alone with his sister when she died, had been too weak from the illness to bury her, and had only been able to hide her body under a pile of stones. When the other members of the band had returned to the grove after a day or so of veld food-gathering, it had been too late, to dangerous because of the now roaming spirit, for them to assist

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the old man with a funeral, and they had had to abandon his 764 sister's body as it was. 888

The headman lifted the old man from the ground and we saw that he had not been weeping but had only been lying inert and helpless, powerless now to keep himself erect. On our truck he lay just where we put him, motionless, prone, all the way back. We passed the grove where his sister lay, a grove of high white trees with red beans on their branches, and the old man did not turn his head to look.

After that, the situation for the people who remained at 361 Gautscha got better because the summer came. Great cloud- 132 banks like mountains formed at the horizon, dispersed themselves in brown haze, and formed again, getting larger day by day. Some of the bands who had left Gautscha began to return and once again the countryside was populous, the air filled with the murmur of voices and the smell of smoke from the many fires. Some of the men went hunting and shot a giraffe, so there was lots of meat for a while.

One day some of us went to a place called Kubi Pan to see a cheetah that was supposed to live there, but instead we saw a flock of guinea fowl walking along in single file as people do, raising a cloud of dust. Two of them began to fight because it was their mating season. When we got to Kubi it was evening and the clouds on the horizon were very thick, and just when the sun set into them the full moon rose on the other side, causing a balance of the two great bodies over the earth.

It seemed to be an auspicious night. On the way home we 789 felt something electric in the air and when we got to Gau- 535 tscha the moon had risen high and pale in the clouds and we found that the Bushmen were dancing the rain dance. Everyone was there, the women all singing and the men wheeling

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

that sorcerers could bewitch and thus kill a person, while the breach 761
of certain prescribed rules of conduct connected especially with the [754]
rain was held to lead automatically to death.[1] The Auen make a
distinction between people who die a "good death", i.e. easily and without great preceding pains, and those who die in great agony. The former are regarded as dying a natural death, the latter as bewitched or possessed.[2] Further north, among the Kung, it is
believed that death may be caused by certain spirits known as *dsao*, [776]
who are sent by the spirits of the dead (*//gauab*) to enter the bodies [753]
of people and thus make them sick; while men who speak evil of the "great chief" *Xu* may be killed by him through the medium of lightning.[3] With the Hiechware, again, no death is ever the result of natural causes. It is brought about by witchcraft or the malevolent power of enemies. "It is strange," says Dornan,[4] "how the old and decrepit people, who must know that their time in this world will be short, cling tenaciously to this belief. It is useless to argue with them upon the question. They will tell you that they know of many people who died by the powerful medicine of their enemies."

It is a well-known feature of primitive peoples that they are not satisfied with what we call natural causes of death, and that whenever a death occurs there is a belief that some sorcerer or some supernatural agency has been the cause of it. That such a belief also exists among the Bushmen is obvious from the statements given above, but more detailed information on this point is very desirable, especially as to the extent to which purely natural causes are recognized.

If death comes to a Bushman in normal times he is buried with 764
all his possessions not far from his hut, generally in the posture in which he sleeps, i.e. on one side, with the knees drawn up against the breast. This is the posture desired both north and south, and often met with in excavations of Bushman graves. Everywhere, however, Bushmen are also found buried in all sorts of other postures; evidently time and means for a proper burial have not always been forthcoming. In some cases, too, burial is impossible or even refused. The Auen, 766
e.g., bury only those people who have died "good deaths"; the

[1] Bleek, op. cit., 14, 16, 19; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15, 16, 21, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 393 sqq.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 158.
[3] Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 15; *idem*, "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khun-Buschmänner," 407, 409.
[4] Op. cit., 144.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

766 others are usually abandoned before they die, and the whole camp wanders in the bush.[1]

There is also the well-authenticated fact that old people are some-
888 times deliberately abandoned. When drought and scarcity force the Bushmen to a long hurried march, some old man or woman may be too feeble to keep up with them. They then make a screen of bushes all round the old person, provide a good supply of firewood and a little food and water if possible, and push on, leaving him behind. Should game and water be found within a couple of days' march, some young fellow is sent hurrying back with supplies. Otherwise they do not come near the place again, knowing that the end must have come and hyenas dealt with the remains. This abandonment of the aged has often been characterized as an inhuman trait in the Bushmen; but when the life of the whole band depends upon rapid movement it is difficult to see how they could act other-
[766] wise. Anyone who falls out and dies on such a march will have to
[727] go unburied too, and probably the same fate overtakes those killed in war.[2]

Where burial does take place it follows almost immediately after
114 the death. The descriptions available of the actual funeral ceremonies
● 764 of the Bushmen are far from being exhaustive, and naturally vary somewhat in detail, but a certain degree of uniformity may be noted. The information relating to the Southern tribes is fragmentary. Skeletons of these Bushmen are found buried both in caves and in graves out in the open, but of the customs associated with burial we have very little record. The fullest description is that given
764 by Arbousset of the Basutoland Bushmen. He states that a dead person first has his head anointed with red powder (*buchu*), mixed with melted fat. The corpse is then rudely perfumed (*grossièrement parfumée*), and laid on its side in an oblong grave, to which all the relatives and friends hasten to make their lamentations. They come even from the neighbouring villages to see and examine the body, which is then taken out of the grave; and everybody redoubles his cries and lamentations. At last they throw into the grave the hut of the dead person, and burn it above him. The grave is then filled in with earth to the level of the ground, but no heap of stones is
[768] piled above it. The funeral over, the band leaves the place for a

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 158.
[2] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 122; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 110–11; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 14.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

year or two, during which the dead person is never spoken of but 768
with veneration and tears.[1]

Several details in this account—the anointing, perfuming, and 114
examination of the body, as well as the burning of the hut—are not 764
met with in the descriptions of other independent observers, who as a rule remark merely that the corpse is buried with all its possessions and the place then deserted.[2] On the other hand, it is certain that many of the Southern Bushmen heaped stones on the graves of their dead. This custom may have originated merely from the desire to protect the body from the ravages of hyenas and other wild animals. It has, however, sometimes been given a religious significance owing to the fact, recorded by several of the older observers, that passing [769] natives would always add a branch or a stone to the heap. It is 114 unfortunately not always possible to gather whether the natives 764 referred to were Bushmen or Hottentots. The latter certainly have 769 various practices and beliefs connected with these grave heaps, of 171 which the usage just mentioned is one of the most common, but there is no fully reliable evidence of anything similar being observed by the Southern Bushmen.

In excavated graves the corpse is sometimes found lying on its 764 left side, with one or two large flat stones placed directly upon it. The interest attaching to these "burial stones" lies in the fact that in a few cases, in association with cave burials along the south coast, [532] they have been found with figures of human beings painted upon them in the typical Bushman style. It would be unprofitable to speculate upon the significance of such stones, as there is no record of any Bushmen having explained them to our authorities; but that they were related to some definite belief can hardly be doubted.[3]

The Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, as a rule bury a dead person on the morning following his death, and in any case not before the death has been confirmed by the nearest neighbours. [763] The relatives of the dead man and the neighbours accompany the corpse to the grave, uttering or singing a funeral dirge. The grave

[1] *Voyage d'Exploration au . . . Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 303–4.

[2] Campbell, *Missionary Travels in S. Africa*, 440; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 289; Fritsch, *Drei Jahre in Südafrika*, 242. The account given by Hahn (op. cit., 121) is obviously derived from Arbousset; that in Stow (op. cit., 126–9) from Arbousset, Campbell and Sparrman. The English translation of Arbousset (p. 365) renders "grossièrement parfumée" as "coarsely embalmed", which, as it is repeated in Stow, may have given rise to some misconception. There is nothing in the nature of real embalming among the Bushmen.

[3] Fritsch, loc. cit.; Haughton, in *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, xiii, 105–6; FitzSimons, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 501, 541.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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764 is a deep hole, narrowing towards the top; its bottom is covered with small bushes, the corpse, wrapped up in its kaross, is laid upon these, then covered over with bushes, upon which finally small white stones are heaped till ground-level is reached. The surface of the [825] grave, like the corpse itself, is sprinkled with water mixed with vegetable "medicine"; this, says Seydel, is intended to keep jackals [766] and hyenas from the grave. Children are buried in the same manner, but the ceremony is simpler, only the nearest relatives accompanying the corpse to the grave.[1] Trenk gives some additional details. [775] The thickened sap of a certain small bush (*dawes*) is placed in the hands of the dead person, so that "his soul, when it reaches the 'evil spirit', may not do harm to other people, and will find rich [535] food in its other existence". At the funeral a fire is lit at the grave, round which is then held a dance accompanied by a funeral song; 765 and all the women must weep for a day. A funeral feast follows, [273] in which honey beer plays no small part. A widow as a sign of mourning cuts a round spot out of the hair over her forehead, a widower a parting directly over the middle of the head. How long the mourning lasts is not clearly stated, but, as we have already noted, a full season must elapse before the surviving partner may remarry.[2]

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[1] "Aus der Namib," 504. [2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

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 764

buchu on the grave and says *tabete*, good-bye. All then move to another locality and avoid the spot for a couple of years; no one will remain in the vicinity, owing to fear of the ghost. After the funeral there are no further mourning rites.[1] [765] [768]

The burial customs of the Auen appear to be generally similar to those of the Naron.[2] The Kung bind the corpse in the same contracted position, and according to Lebzelter also smear it with ochre. The grave, round, shallow, and narrow, is dug by the men preferably under a termite hill, but if there is none in the vicinity any other suitable spot is chosen. The bottom is covered with branches, over which is spread the grass upon which the dead person last slept. The corpse is buried lying on one side; Vedder states that it faces no special direction, Lebzelter that the back is towards the east. Women are buried with their ornaments, men have their weapons placed on the breast, and children their small bows or digging-sticks. The grave is never again visited by the relatives; if their way leads past it, they go round in a tangent.[3] [769]

In the Eastern Kalahari the Bushmen likewise often bury dead people in the termite ant-hills that are so common all over the country. A hole is excavated in which the body is placed in a contracted position. The grave is then surrounded with a fence of thorn bushes to protect it from the jackals and hyenas. The "tame" Bushmen now also bury their dead in much the same manner as do the heathen BeChwana. A round hole three or four feet deep is excavated, in the side of which a recess is made. The corpse is placed in this recess, either sitting or lying on the left side, with the knees doubled up to the chin. The grave, as a rule, is near to the place where the dead person lived. Sometimes they do not take the trouble to excavate the grave, but use an ant-hill or the cleft of a rock. Here also there is apparently no fixed orientation of the corpse, for when Dornan asked his informants if they placed it with the face to the east, some said they did, others said they did not. When a man is buried, his weapons are placed in the grave with him, together with some meat and occasionally a little water, while a woman is buried with a few ostrich egg-shells, some berries and meat. As a rule the dead person's ornaments are also added, though amongst the tame Bushmen they may be removed. "This, however, is not [171]

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 109–10; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 158.
[3] Vedder, "Kû-Buschmannsprache," 8; Lebzelter, "!Kuû-Buschleuten," 14.

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

764 often done, as they dislike touching or interfering in any way with a corpse, owing to the fear of bad luck." After the funeral 765 they usually indulge in a funeral feast, then desert the locality, and [768] never mention the dead person's name afterwards. "That they are much affected by death is certain, for they often weep at such times, especially if the deceased be a person of some importance, and bitterly lament his departure from amongst them." Signs of mourning are infrequent. Sometimes they paint their faces with white and black stripes as a sign that they have had a death in their encampment; and Dornan adds that he has heard of their painting the whole body with red and white stripes, but has never himself seen any thus decorated.[1]

Beliefs Concerning the Dead

All the accounts given above are admittedly inadequate. They 114 agree, however, in stating that the dead person is buried in a con- 764 tracted position with all his possessions, and in implying the absence 768 of any elaborate and prolonged funeral ceremony and rites of mourning. No attempt appears to have been made to ascertain what explanation the Bushmen themselves have to offer for burying the dead person with all his possessions, except only in the case of the Kung, of whom we are told by Lebzelter that their reason for placing these objects in the grave is not that the dead person may be able to use them in the future world, but because people do not want to make any further use of objects belonging to a person whom they loved while he was alive.[2]

All the descriptions of the funeral ceremonies of the Bushmen [769] point also to a vague fear of the dead person, expressed most forcibly in the fact that after the funeral the place is abandoned and perhaps never revisited. What belief underlies this fear, and what the Bushmen 775 hold to be the fate of the dead, are not always easy to determine. Stow mentions the belief, reported to him of some Southern Bushmen, that at some undefined spot on the banks of the Orange River there [304] is a place called *'too'ga*, to which after death they will all go; and that to ensure a safe journey there they all cut off the joint of the little finger of one hand. "This they consider is a guarantee that they will be able to arrive there without difficulty, and that upon their arrival they will be feasted with locusts and honey, while those who have neglected this rite will have to travel there upon their

[1] Dornan, op. cit., 144-6. [2] Op. cit., 14.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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heads, beset the entire distance with all kinds of imaginary obstacles 775
and difficulties; and even after all their labour on arriving at the desired destination they will have nothing but flies to live upon." This belief that after a time the dead arise and go to a land where there is an abundance of good food is likewise recorded by Campbell [114]
and by Miss Currle, neither of whom, however, is a specially trustworthy authority. The Bushman informants of Dr. Bleek also spoke of "the place to which the Bushmen go after death", but unfortunately the details given by them have not yet been published. We are unable, therefore, to tell if their ideas of a future life were in any way similar to those reported by Stow and the other writers.[1]

On the other hand, these Bushman informants also had a variety 821
of interesting beliefs linking up death with the phenomena of Nature. 761
The stars, they said, know the time when a Bushman dies, and the 775
fall of one announces, to those who are not aware of it, that something bad has happened. When, after this, a "hammerkop" (*Scopus umbretta*, the "lightning bird" of other South African tribes) flies, [825]
calling out, over the camp, the people know that someone belonging to them has died. When rain is accompanied by lightning, girls who are out in the open become killed by the lightning and are converted into stars, while those who are taken away by the rain become [824]
beautiful water-flowers, which will not allow themselves to be plucked and disappear when approached. Such flowers must be let alone. Hence the rule that young unmarried women and girls must hide themselves from the rain. The Moon, again, is hollow (in its first quarter) because it is carrying people who are dead. The human heart is believed to fall down after death in the form of a shooting star; the hair of a dead person is changed into clouds, while his gall appears again as a green colour in the sky, and so forth. Dead 775
people may also come in their own forms as apparitions to their relatives and friends, even in waking life. There seems, however, to be no evil portent in this; nor, indeed, does there seem to be any noticeable fear of dead persons on the whole, although we are told that the names of those who are dead must not be uttered by children at night.[2]

The Namib Bushmen, on the other hand, seem to fear dead people greatly, and, as we have seen, the thickened *dawes* sap placed in the [764]

[1] Stow, op. cit., 129; Campbell, *Second Journey in S. Africa*, i, 29; Currle, "Bushmen of Namaqualand," 117; Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 19.
[2] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 25; Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365–71, 389–401.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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775 hands of the corpse at burial is meant to conciliate his soul. Trenk
[764] says they believe only in an "evil spirit", which they fear, but he
[776] throws no light upon the nature of this spirit. He adds, however, that, according to them, the souls of the dead fly about in the air and also speak to people, yet remain unseen, except by children, to whom they often show themselves in ghostlike animal forms of oxen, horses, or gemsbok.[1]

761 Of the tribes further north our information is somewhat more precise. Kaufmann, as we have seen, maintains that the Auen distinguish between those who die "good deaths" and those who die "bad deaths", and he adds that the latter are feared also after death. This distinction was not found by Miss Bleek among the Naron at Sandfontein, but is also reported by Fourie of the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron groups of the same district. He says
764 they believe in a "good being" named */khutse* and a "bad being"
775 named *Gaua*. People who die a "good death" are said to go to
[776] */khutse*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaua*. The former have a
[761] good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress. A deceased person is believed to move about in the form of a ghost at night. "*Buchu* is accordingly sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy, so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver, and arrows of the deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost returning to look for them." These usages are no doubt part of
[114] the funeral ceremony, but the context in which they are described does not make this clear.[2]

775 The word *Gaua*, or, more correctly, *//gāūa* or *//gāuwa*, which
[192] Fourie interprets as a "bad being" or "Satan", is, according to
[776] Miss Bleek, also used by the Auen and Naron in the sense of a "person
[114] who has died". Her male informants said that all people who die
[791] become *//gāuwa*, and the magicians can see them. The women, however, affirmed that only men who have been cut between the eyebrows (at the puberty ceremonies) become *//gāuwa*, and only such men can see them, though women sometimes hear them. "They evidently mean ghosts," comments Miss Bleek, "and have much the same vague fear of them as European peasants have. The ghosts

[1] "Buschleute der Namib," 168. [2] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

/158 cont./

845 If twins are born, which apparently is very rare, one child
847 is killed. When the twins are a boy and a girl, curiously enough it is the boy who is killed. The killing is done by the midwife or mother by burial immediately after birth.

852 A birth is celebrated by dancing, but only if enough food is on hand.

853 Nursing continues for two to three years.

A distinction is made between people who have died "well,"
764 that is, easily and without a painful illness, and those who die
[766] in great pain.

The former are buried in the bush near the surface in the vicinity of the settlement, and the settlement is moved.

766 The latter, whom the Bushman probably regards as possessed and fears even after death, are not buried at all since they are abandoned even before death, and the entire settlement flees.

In the case of a burial, it takes place immediately after
764 death.

The corpse is tied up in a crouched position, with the hands placed crosswise on the shoulders; the clothing is not removed.

The grave is not oriented with regard to any special direction; it is made as shallow and small as possible and is not provided with protective measures against predators.

The bow and the quiver with its contents are supposed to be hung on a stick planted into the ground over the head of the corpse. I present this with reservations, since I have never seen a grave marker of this kind.

People who have had a "good" death have died naturally;
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If an Auin has murdered another Bushman, he drags him
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FX13 Hottentot
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[31 cont.]

764 of the Bushmen are tied up in a crouched position and buried under termite hills.

"The corpse is usually lowered in such a way that it is received by a man standing in the grave. Aside from those who bring the corpse and dig the grave, no one goes to the interment. The corpse is buried either in a crouched posture or lying in a crouched position. In the case of the crouched posture, the face is eastward, and the elbows rest on the knees, while the hands are on either side of the head. In the case of the crouched position, the corpse is placed on the left side. The left hand is placed under the head, giving the appearance of a sleeping person. The face likewise looks toward the east.

766 [32] "Before their interment, feared men, such as sorcerers who had a malign influence and others who were feared in life, but not women, are firmly tied up with thongs of game hide in the crouched posture described above; then, in some cases, the spine is crushed with a stone or ax, as a result of which the head can be bent even lower and placed between the knees. Tied up in this fashion, they are thrown into a fissure in the earth, into an anteater's hole, or into a small cave."

8. The Hunt

423 It is well known that wherever the Bushmen live more or
224 less undisturbed, each kin group has its precisely defined hunting
[621] territory. Vedder believes that the engravings of game tracks indicate old boundaries, as do the stone heaps which are usually designated as Heiseb graves. In any case the question arises as to who actually established these boundaries. My informants stated unanimously that the division stems from the time when the Bushmen still had a supreme chief. There seems to be some authority, however, even today, since in the bush veld the boundary lines are drawn with reference to certain trees, which, in general do not have too long a life. The Bushmen move back and forth within their hunting territories. It sometimes happens that a young hunter is not thoroughly familiar with the boundaries or that wounded game crosses the boundary. In this case the hunter must

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

224 857 866 Toma's son rubbed his head with his tough little fingers to make up his mind. Finally he left his friends and climbed on the truck. Home was too far to walk to, he said, and he was going to forfeit. As we drove away, his friends ran after us, shouting that they would bring him his share if they were able.

151 152 757 We reached Nama Pan late in the afternoon. Toma and Gao Feet cleared a werf for Short Kwi, and when he was settled comfortably with his back against a tree and with soft grass and blankets arranged all around him he said softly, just to himself and anyone else who might be listening, that during the night his leg had fallen off. After he said this he began to cry, and Gao Feet slowly crouched beside him, unwound the blanket slowly, and untied the bark, then gently lifted the knee away from the calf, which remained on the ground, just like the leg of a mummy. When the calf had fallen off, Short Kwi had pushed the two pieces back together again. Short Kwi was crying and biting his hand and his wife was crying, and Toma and Gao Feet stood beside him for a minute looking, the expression on their faces as dark as night.

● 766 Then they picked up the leg and carried it away to the veld, where they buried it in a hole, exactly as if it were a person, they were so sad.

152 Later, when we had dressed the stump, Toma and Gao Feet came back to sit with Short Kwi and talk with him. Gao Feet told about a Bantu man he had seen far in the north who had been injured in a mine accident and had been fitted with a false foot. Short Kwi could have one too, Gao said; but Toma said, almost too depressed to speak: "What does it matter? He is a cripple now."

521 758 Then the men went away and left Short Kwi to rest, and during the evening the children and young people were talk-

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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that sorcerers could bewitch and thus kill a person, while the breach 761
of certain prescribed rules of conduct connected especially with the [754]
rain was held to lead automatically to death.[1] The Auen make a distinction between people who die a "good death", i.e. easily and without great preceding pains, and those who die in great agony. The former are regarded as dying a natural death, the latter as bewitched or possessed.[2] Further north, among the Kung, it is believed that death may be caused by certain spirits known as *dsao*, [776]
who are sent by the spirits of the dead (*//gauab*) to enter the bodies [753]
of people and thus make them sick; while men who speak evil of the "great chief" *Xu* may be killed by him through the medium of lightning.[3] With the Hiechware, again, no death is ever the result of natural causes. It is brought about by witchcraft or the malevolent power of enemies. "It is strange," says Dornan,[4] "how the old and decrepit people, who must know that their time in this world will be short, cling tenaciously to this belief. It is useless to argue with them upon the question. They will tell you that they know of many people who died by the powerful medicine of their enemies."

It is a well-known feature of primitive peoples that they are not satisfied with what we call natural causes of death, and that whenever a death occurs there is a belief that some sorcerer or some supernatural agency has been the cause of it. That such a belief also exists among the Bushmen is obvious from the statements given above, but more detailed information on this point is very desirable, especially as to the extent to which purely natural causes are recognized.

If death comes to a Bushman in normal times he is buried with 764
all his possessions not far from his hut, generally in the posture in which he sleeps, i.e. on one side, with the knees drawn up against the breast. This is the posture desired both north and south, and often met with in excavations of Bushman graves. Everywhere, however, Bushmen are also found buried in all sorts of other postures; evidently time and means for a proper burial have not always been forthcoming. In some cases, too, burial is impossible or even refused. The Auen, 766
e.g., bury only those people who have died "good deaths"; the

[1] Bleek, op. cit., 14, 16, 19; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15, 16, 21, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 393 sqq.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 158.
[3] Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 15; *idem*, "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //*Kun*-Buschmänner," 407, 409.
[4] Op. cit., 144.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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766 others are usually abandoned before they die, and the whole camp wanders in the bush.[1]

888 There is also the well-authenticated fact that old people are sometimes deliberately abandoned. When drought and scarcity force the Bushmen to a long hurried march, some old man or woman may be too feeble to keep up with them. They then make a screen of bushes all round the old person, provide a good supply of firewood and a little food and water if possible, and push on, leaving him behind. Should game and water be found within a couple of days' march, some young fellow is sent hurrying back with supplies. Otherwise they do not come near the place again, knowing that the end must have come and hyenas dealt with the remains. This abandonment of the aged has often been characterized as an inhuman trait in the Bushmen; but when the life of the whole band depends upon rapid movement it is difficult to see how they could act otherwise. Anyone who falls out and dies on such a march will have to [766] go unburied too, and probably the same fate overtakes those killed [727] in war.[2]

114 Where burial does take place it follows almost immediately after the death. The descriptions available of the actual funeral ceremonies 764 of the Bushmen are far from being exhaustive, and naturally vary somewhat in detail, but a certain degree of uniformity may be noted. The information relating to the Southern tribes is fragmentary. Skeletons of these Bushmen are found buried both in caves and in graves out in the open, but of the customs associated with burial we have very little record. The fullest description is that given by Arbousset of the Basutoland Bushmen. He states that a dead 764 person first has his head anointed with red powder (*buchu*), mixed with melted fat. The corpse is then rudely perfumed (*grossièrement parfumée*), and laid on its side in an oblong grave, to which all the relatives and friends hasten to make their lamentations. They come even from the neighbouring villages to see and examine the body, which is then taken out of the grave; and everybody redoubles his cries and lamentations. At last they throw into the grave the hut of the dead person, and burn it above him. The grave is then filled in with earth to the level of the ground, but no heap of stones is [768] piled above it. The funeral over, the band leaves the place for a

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 158.
[2] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner, 122; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 110–11; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95; Labaster, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 14.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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764 is a deep hole, narrowing towards the top; its bottom is covered with small bushes, the corpse, wrapped up in its kaross, is laid upon these, then covered over with bushes, upon which finally small white stones are heaped till ground-level is reached. The surface of the [825] grave, like the corpse itself, is sprinkled with water mixed with vegetable "medicine"; this, says Seydel, is intended to keep jackals ●[766] and hyenas from the grave. Children are buried in the same manner, but the ceremony is simpler, only the nearest relatives accompanying the corpse to the grave.[1] Trenk gives some additional details. [775] The thickened sap of a certain small bush (*dawes*) is placed in the hands of the dead person, so that "his soul, when it reaches the 'evil spirit', may not do harm to other people, and will find rich [535] food in its other existence". At the funeral a fire is lit at the grave, round which is then held a dance accompanied by a funeral song; 765 and all the women must weep for a day. A funeral feast follows, [273] in which honey beer plays no small part. A widow as a sign of mourning cuts a round spot out of the hair over her forehead, a widower a parting directly over the middle of the head. How long the mourning lasts is not clearly stated, but, as we have already noted, a full season must elapse before the surviving partner may remarry.[2]

764 Among the Naron, as soon as a person has died those present [763] raise a short, very distinct cry which lets the whole camp know of the death. The body, wrapped up in the kaross worn by the dead person in life, is brought into a contracted position, the knees being bent up against the chest, the arms crossed and the hands laid on the shoulders, and is tied up like this with rope for purposes of transport. It is then laid near the fire, while the women howl and weep over it. Burial takes place as soon as possible after death. If this occurs at night, then on the following day; if in the morning, then on the same day. The grave is a deep, round hole, dug with the hands and digging-stick at a spot where the soil is not hard. Two or three men carry the body there, a man jumps in, receives it as it is lowered down by the ropes, and places it lying on the left side facing the east. Why this position is customary they do not know. The dead are buried in all their clothes and ornaments, and all their possessions are placed in the grave, or if too long, as in the case of a bow or spear, are hung on a bush close by. Then the grave is filled, and bushes or stones are thrown on top to keep the animals off. All the village [765] is present, and the women weep. Next day a near relative burns

[1] "Aus der Namib," 504. [2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Approved marriages

No marriages are compulsory in /Kung society. 582

Marriage is allowed with anyone to whom the incest taboo is not extended—with 602 three degrees of approval: preference, permission, and toleration. Once a marriage has taken place, no differentiation in status is made.

The joking relationship is the differentiating factor between the preference and mere permission which the society accords. In preferred marriages the man and woman are name relatives who have had the joking relationship before marriage and have applied to each other the terms */gu/na* and *tŭn*. This makes the marriage seem altogether right.

Marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply the terms *tsu* and *//ga* to each other and avoided joking before marriage, provided the incest taboo is not specifically extended to them; and, in the same way, marriage is permitted between name relatives who apply to each other the terms */go*, brother, and */kwi*, sister.

Marriage is tolerated, though rarely experienced, as I mentioned before, with persons to whom the name relationship and the application of kin terms is not extended; i.e. persons of other races, persons of other Bushman language groups, or other /Kung outside the region.

To contract a marriage with someone with whom one must not joke brings in a 182 183 touch of the anomalous which deprives the /Kung of the perfect symmetry and con- 582 sistency which so content them and make them feel secure in rightness. This society 593 tolerates the anomaly, for obviously it must not forbid marriage in too many cate- 602 gories, and adjusts the joking status by giving to man and wife the joking relationship as soon as marriage takes place.

Though neither the sororate nor the levirate is compulsory, marriage is highly 587 approved with the wife of a deceased brother or the husband of a sister. A man is 768 expected to take care of his BrWi should she need his care, even though he is not required to marry her. Marriage with a WiSi or HuBr is also highly approved. Ego has had the joking relationship with these affines.

A marriage arrangement which the /Kung consider especially good is called */oa ku*. 583 This means that an exchange is made between two bands: a boy and girl from one 619 marry a girl and boy from the other. */Oa ku* is not a common practice. Bands as units have no authority in the arrangements of marriages, which is the duty of the parents, [584] as we shall describe presently, and parents do not make the exchange between bands a major factor in their choices. If it happens to come about, however, the people are glad because each band thereby gains a person to replace the person lost and the bonds between the bands are strengthened.

Polygynous marriages

Polygyny is the ideal form of marriage among the /Kung. This is not a society in 595 which prestige and wealth concentrate to give certain categories of men more power 554 or right than others to acquire wives. Headmen and medicine men are held in esteem, 556 but their positions do not in themselves entitle them to have extra wives or give them special dispensations. Wealth tends to be fairly well equalized. Everyone carries [422] his or her own artifacts, the men on carrying-sticks over their shoulders, the women [482]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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ceremony is the avoidance of the parents, which is symbolic of the incest taboo. Any (preferably young) kinswoman who is tall enough and strong enough, whether she herself is married or not, and whether or not she has the joking relation with the bride, may carry the bride; and any may attend her. Only the mother absolutely must not do so. Likewise the groom's father must not attend him. Neither pair of parents go to sit by the wedding fire, for they must not sit near their son's wife or daughter's husband, nor speak to them. Guests of mature years might go and sit by the wedding fire only if they have the joking relationship with both the bride and the groom. Very young guests, such as we saw at /Nai's and /Gunda's fire, may go, whether they joke or not with the bride and groom, because the avoidances are not stringently observed with young children.

Termination of marriage and remarriage

Widows and widowers are not avoided in any special way because of their widowhood.

If her husband dies, a young widow usually returns to her own parents or lives with one of her own siblings, but, if her people are dead, or if it is her preference, she may stay on with her deceased husband's people. It is the duty of her HuBr to hunt for her if she needs his support.

Several possibilities are open to a young widower: rarely he might stay with his deceased wife's parents or siblings; more likely he would return to his own parents or siblings; and, when he marries again, he goes into matrilocal residence with the new bride. In any case, a man is responsible for his wife's parents and young siblings, and, if they depended on him for support, he would take them with him. They would be likely to prefer, however, to live with an adult son, daughter, or sibling of their own if they had any.

Old widowers or widows whose own parents are dead usually live with either a son or daughter, or perhaps with their own sibling—as they wish.

The surviving spouse is free to marry again within the regulations of the extended incest taboo, which applies to all marriages.

Parents would arrange the subsequent marriage of a widowed boy or girl. Adults may make their own arrangements directly. My impression was that persons might be considered fully adult somewhere in their middle or late twenties.

An adult man takes the initiative and asks the woman to marry him. Robert Dyson in the 1951 expedition learned that one way for a man to ask a woman to marry him is to present her with a bow and arrow. If she accepts it she indicates her willingness to consider his suit.

No restriction of time is put upon the remarriage of a widower, but a widow should not remarry until one rainy season has passed. She is then considered 'clean' and may marry again. ≠Toma said, 'The rain washes (*//num*) the death away from the widow.' *//Num* is the gesture of wiping a dish with one finger and then licking the finger. /Ti/kay of Band 9 said that some men wait for a rainy season to pass, but that others would be pleased the husband was dead and, without waiting, say, 'This is my chance.' One interpreter understood that the widow had to take off her kaross and spend a night out, letting the rain fall on her, but ≠Toma said this was not what

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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587 was meant. That would be very uncomfortable, he said. It would make her shiver and
589 might make her sick. The rainy season's passing is what cleanses the woman. When
[783] she is about to go to her new husband she prepares herself by washing in the ordinary way.

Unless a woman is quite old she does not remain long unmarried. One man said, 'Even if a widow is thick and tall, but is a good woman, some man will want her.' Widows may marry as second wives of married men, or they may marry widowers, divorced men, or bachelors. The two young widows and the two divorced women who were unmarried in 1953, had remarried by 1955. Only the very old widows remain unmarried.

There are so few unmarried women that widowers have difficulty in finding wives. The young widowed musician, /Gao, was an example. After his first wife's death he had married the daughter of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, when she was approximately ten or eleven years old, about the age of his own son, and was patiently waiting for her to grow up. Only one of the old widowers had succeeded in finding a wife by 1957.

736 The children of a widowed parent are kept by that parent. A widower may leave
768 his children with a woman relative, but they remain his. Orphaned children go to live
with relatives. There is a tendency to feel that the boys belong eventually to the
[611] father's side of the family, the girls to the mother's. This concept came to our attention several times, but we did not find it to be a rigid social rule. The relative who
[604] is expected to take the children if they are young is the MoSi. But the FaSi might be nearer or more able for one reason or another to take them and might do so. FaBr would be the relative most likely to take half-grown boys, but again MoBr might be the one. Failing these, some other relative would take them. When it came to arrang-
[584] ing marriages for orphaned children, informants said that the father's elder brother would have the most authority; a stepfather or stepmother has none.

[597] Adoption does not exist in /Kung society.

586 Divorce may terminate a marriage. The couple may divorce without formality, by mutual consent or by one spouse simply leaving the other. The /Kung word for ending a marriage in this way is *!kao joo*. I use the word 'divorce' for convenience, although no legal action takes place. No religious dispensation is involved, no permission or action on the part of the headman or group is required. If parents of a very young couple withheld consent this might influence the couple, but the parents' consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties, for there is no dowry or bride-price to be resolved. The only property a /Kung owns
[422] personally consists of movables, and these are never owned in common by man and wife. Every artifact down to a single bead belongs to an individual, who takes his property with him in case of divorce.

Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way. They are free to remarry without restrictions.

Divorce is never obligatory and the grounds are not formalized; the desire of the couple concerned is the determining factor. A condition such as sterility, for example, or a wrongdoing such as adultery, might or might not lead to divorce, depending on how the couple felt about it. Mistreatment or failure to provide would certainly be considered justification for divorce, should they ever occur, but justifica-

/138 cont./

342 bushes and dispense altogether with any construction.

Tree houses are unknown. In any case, they would be possible only in the Kaukau Veld (baobab), since in the Auin region proper the trees are too weak for this purpose.

Each woman has her own windscreen. If she does not have one, she will live under a special bush.

[882] Young girls and young unmarried men sometimes live in special "girls' houses" or "bachelors' houses," separated according to sex.

34 Any kind of special buildings, like meeting houses, storage rooms, and so forth, are unknown.

514 There is little neatness in the vicinity of the huts. Special toilets do not exist. The sole consideration with regard to evacuation is to be hidden from sight. One finds great accumulations of feces away from the main direction of the wind. The practice of burying excrement, common among the Herero, apparently does not occur.

● 768 The pontok (windscreen) is by no means a valuable possession. After the owner's death the entire horde leaves the locality. Hence any question about the inheritance of the hut is an empty one.

342 There is no door, and it would not be easy to attach one, considering the construction of the hut. In this connection it should be mentioned that things are left carelessly lying around in the settlements, even when all the people are absent. In any 685 case a theft would be paid for with the death of the thief. Since [151] the Bushman knows the footprints of every person in the region, the culprit would always be found. In this respect the Bushman operates as reliably as the best police dog.

352 They lie upon grass covered with a few tanned hides. There 513 are no other household furnishings.

/139/ C. Food

372 The doro (fire-making instrument) (Fig. 1) consists of two round sticks of the Burkea africana. Several round, flat hollows

[Text continues on page 10]

[41 cont.]

582 girl to marry him. Naturally, these sisters ordinarily do not remember their prerogative until they have failed to get another man whom they desire. Thus the young men are often forced to marry girls who are much older than themselves. If the wife 587 dies, the widower must marry a sister of his wife in case she agrees. [42] If, on the other hand, the man dies, the widow (589) must stay with the parents-in-law for about a year. It is illegal to marry the wife or the children of a deceased brother. The widow must marry a man from another kin group and move to his village (1). The boys belong to the father's kin group, the girls to 611 The MOTHER'S KIN GROUP.

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1. "The fate of many a young childless widow is much worse, however. A Bushman communicated the following concerning this matter: 'When a man dies and leaves behind a wife without children, and the brother-in-law refuses to accept his brother's bow and thereby his sister-in-law, she may return to her father's village. But this does not by any means always happen. As a woman who did not bear children she is not highly regarded. Her life has no significance. The men of the village talk about her case and designate one from their midst to destroy the useless life. This man will come to the widow's hut in the evening and will sit down across from her at her fire. He has a bow and arrow with him. The widow knows what is in store for her, but gives no sign. The two talk about trivial matters. After a while the man takes the bow in his hand and shoots an arrow through the heart of the woman sitting across from him. The unfortunate woman dies and is buried as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible. Blood vengeance on the part of the woman's kin group is not to be feared. After all, she did not bear any children.'" (Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 419.)

distribution of the rainfall upon which it is mainly dependent for its food supply. 361

The Group Fire.

All fire is the property of the chief. The first fire kindled by him is regarded as essential to the welfare of the community. Every man and woman knows how to use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in the werft as fire-making is a matter of serious import and the chief is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune. The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out. As an illustration of this may be cited the practice as it exists among the *Hei-//om* of the Etosha Pan. When among the latter it becomes necessary to move camp, as for example, after a death has taken place, the whole community take up all their goods and chattels and, led by the *geikhoib* (chief), set off in search for a new site to be selected by the latter. Having found a suitable one he places his belongings on the spot on which his own hut is to be erected. His followers, passing on his left, take up suitable places for their huts in like manner. The chief then proceeds to the large tree (*!heis*) in the centre and kindles a fire underneath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *!norab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-!ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*!ou-ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-!ais* and the women may fetch fire from the *!ou-!ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-!ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the *!ou-!ais*. The *!ou-!ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-!ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the *!heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new *!ou-!ais* kindled by him by means of the hei-doros.

372 [622] 361 622 [768] 372 372 622 [618]

old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the 553
surname of the mother and girls that of the father. Thus *|Uirob Geirob |Geibeb* married a woman *|Kao-tamas Gamanis |Harus* and begot two sons, namely *||Otoab ǂGonab |Garub* and *Gogob Gomob |Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras |Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *||Otoab* become *||Otoab ǂGonab |Garub |Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose.
A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nick- 551
names are common and are given to children when quite young. They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life.

The communities which have not been in contact with 164
civilization are remarkably free from infectious, contagious and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons when malaria becomes unduly prevalent the incidence of disease is very small among them. Sickness is in most instances 753
attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on the part of the affected person, to magical influences exercised by other persons or, when unduly prevalent, to something going wrong with the perpetual fire. Treatment is adminis- 757
tered by relatives and friends or in cases of acute or prolonged illness by an elder or doctor who is well versed in magical practice. Herbs of various descriptions are employed both internally and externally through incisions in the skin. Inunction with medicated ointments is also extensively resorted to. Surgical procedures are limited to incisions into the skin.
Burial of the dead is carried out almost universally at present. 764
Among the more primitive groups, however, the corpse is left [184]
in the hut which is simply pressed down so as to cover it.
After a death has taken place the camp is deserted and not 768
occupied again. Old people who are no longer able to help 888
themselves are left in the werft with a supply of food and water. The rest of the group then move off and do not return to it again.

Dances and Games.

Dancing and games of various kinds enter very largely into 535
the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first place among their social recreations. Some of the dances such as the *tsei*, *hāigi-ho*, and *ge-!ni* among the *ǂAo-||ēin* and *Aikwe* and the *|hawa-ǂnab* among the *Hei-||om* would appear to be of a religious nature, being danced only on ceremonial occasions, for example, during the initiation ceremonies. On the other hand dancing is often indulged in at night for pure pleasure, especially in times of plenty. The

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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553 602 835 [601] properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior with everyone they meet.

The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, 619 553 601 602 in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen—sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [101] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ŏassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ŏassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 [613] [622] INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

[423] There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A consider- 768 able amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

582 648 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

584 First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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use the firesticks, but will not, and may not, light a fire with them in 372
the werft, as firemaking is a matter of serious import and the chief 622
is the only person who is able to bring forth from it the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off misfortune. The first fire kindled in a new camp is never allowed to die out."

As an illustration he cites[1] the practices existing among the Heikum 166
of the Etosha Pan. Here, when it becomes necessary to move camp, 361
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neath it by means of the firedrill (*hei-doros*). Fire from the old encampment or any other source may not be used for this purpose. He next applies *†norab* and *dabas* to the fire by scraping the roots of these plants with his knife over it and, after having done so, lights his pipe with [276]
it. This first fire or fire under the tree (*hei-/ais*) is next used by his wife (*gei-khois*) for lighting the fire in front of his hut (*/ou-/ais*). The fire is now free for use by the members of the whole group. The men may come and light their pipes from the *hei-/ais* and the women may fetch fire from the */ou-/ais* for kindling their own. Thereafter the latter may proceed with the erection of the huts. Should the *hei-/ais* go out, as sometimes happens during the absence of the *gei-khoib*, it may not be lit except by the latter himself. This he does with fire from the */ou-/ais*. The */ou-/ais* is attended to by the *gei-khois* and under normal circumstances is never allowed to die. A large log is always placed upon it before the chief and his wife will leave camp for any length of time. Should it go out during their absence and the other fires remain burning he, and only he, may kindle it with fire from the *hei-/ais* or from the other huts. In the unlikely event of all the fires having become extinguished during the absence of the inhabitants, no fires may be kindled until the return of the *gei-khoib*. If in such an eventuality he has gone far and is not expected to be [621]
home soon, his people will approach a neighbouring *gei-khoib* with whom they are on friendly terms and the latter will come and make a fire under the */heis* with the *hei-doros*. On the return of their own chief, however, all the fires will be put out and a new */ou-/ais* kindled

[1] Op. cit., 87–8; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52–3.

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587 " after a certain length of time ", and, as among the Naron, there is no levirate. We are not told whose duty it is to look after the children of [736] a widow, but in the case of a widower his children remain with him, and if he marries again are brought up by his new wife.[1]

The survivor of a marriage among the Namib Bushmen is not [768] allowed to remarry until a full season has elapsed since the death of his or her partner. The belief is that if, for example, a woman marries [761] a widower immediately after the death of his first wife, she also will soon die. A widow returns to her own people on the death of her husband, taking with her the unweaned children, who must, however, later return to their father's relatives. If she marries again the new husband must look after the children until they are old enough. There is no mention of the levirate, but the existence of the sororate is implied in Trenk's statement that a widower is expected to marry an eligible sister of his dead wife.[2] This is also noted of the Kung by Lebzelter.[3]

Birth and Infancy

581 A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth 586 of a child. This is clearly indicated in the fact, already mentioned, that among both the Namib Bushmen and the Heikum barrenness is regarded as one of the main grounds for divorce. It is customary 844 among the Naron and the Heikum for a woman to return to her 591 mother's home for her first confinement, if she has already left with her husband to settle among his people; while among the Kung a newly-married couple remain with the wife's parents until after the birth of a child. It is probable therefore that among all the North-Western tribes a woman's first child is born at the home of her parents; about the other Bushman tribes there is no definite statement on this point.

843 Pregnant women carry on their normal daily occupations until the last moment, collecting veldkos and water, walking as far as the rest do, and so on, although they are apparently treated with some consideration in the way of food. Among the Kung a pregnant woman may not eat sour veldkos, nor anything sweet, nor any fat meat. *No one may pass behind her back, nor may a pot be put on the* fire before she has smeared herself with the soot clinging to it.[4] There

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 137.
[2] Op. cit., 14.
[3] Op. cit., 168.
[4] Lebzelter, " Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 14.

[423] have seen, individual rights may occasionally be recognized. All
422 portable property is generally owned by individuals, and theft is
[685] severely punished. Huts, which are really of no value, belong to the families occupying them; a man's clothes, weapons, skins, ornaments, utensils, and indeed everything that he makes belong to him alone to do with as he likes, and in the same way anything that a woman makes, e.g. her ornaments, or receives from her husband, e.g. her clothing, is her own property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission. Lebzelter,
867 indeed, goes so far as to assert that among the Kung the sense of private ownership is inculcated even into children. As soon as they are old enough, he says, their parents make for them small bows, digging-sticks, etc., and teach them that they themselves now own these objects and therefore must no longer take those of others.

422 Food, whether vegetable or animal, and water are also private
22 property, and belong to the person who has obtained them. Everyone who has food is, however, expected to give to those who have none. Thus a man who shoots a buck or bird will cut it up, and share with the other people present—but the dividing is done by him, and the skin, sinews, etc., belong to him to be done with as he pleases. In the same way all veldkos is also shared by the members of the band. The result is that practically all food obtained is evenly distributed through the whole camp. But, as we have seen, caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water may be stored away, and these belong to the person who hides them and may not be used without his
[685] permission; while private rights may also be acquired over wild honey or ostrich eggs, and theft in such cases is severely punished.

428 The question of inheritance rarely arises, as generally most of a
[768] man's possessions, especially his weapons and clothing, are buried with him. But during her lifetime a woman will often hand over her
[431] ornaments to her daughter; while among the Auen such of a man's belongings as are not buried with him, e.g. utensils and skins, are inherited by his eldest son. The younger sons and daughters get nothing, nor does the widow, but she keeps her own property. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, a man's weapons, clothing, sandals, cooking utensils, and hunting dogs are inherited by the eldest son. At the same time, he adds, the usage
[425] exists that as soon as the eldest son thus becomes sole heir to his late father, all the property he has himself hitherto possessed, such as weapons, clothing, etc., must go to his next brother. Widows and

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daughters are competely excluded from the inheritance. The eldest 428
son also becomes the head of the family after the death of his father, [768]
and must care for the widow and give her food.[1]

Regulation of Public Life

In spite of the loose cohesion of the band, and the facility with 648
which the family groups composing it may wander about separately, the Bushmen are by no means devoid of government and law. Where they are subject to the Bantu or other peoples there is of course not much possibility of an independent political life. In the Okavango marshes, for example, they are in the position of serfs to the BaTawana, by whom they are required to pay an annual tribute of skins, ostrich feathers, and egg-shell beads. The territory occupied by the BaTawana is divided into local districts, each under control of a minor chief (*kxosani*), to whom all the Bushmen in the district have to pay their tribute, and for whom they often have to perform such services as herding his cattle and hunting for him. In the Oschimpoloveld again the Bushmen pay tribute to the OvaKwangari; in the Southern Kalahari they are the serfs and herdsmen of the BaTlaro and other BeChwana tribes among whom they live, and so, too, in the North-East Kalahari, where they are subject to the BaMangwato.[2]

But where the Bushmen are still to some extent independent, each 621
band, as we have seen, is a separate political unit and regulates its own affairs. There is no well-developed system of organized government. In the small family groups of the Cape and Namib Bushmen [622]
and of the !O Kung deference is paid to the head of the group, but 554
his authority in general is very limited. The common affairs of the 887

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 10, 35; Kaufmann, op. cit., 159; Seydel, op. cit., 304; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

[2] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 121–2; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 65–6; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Languages," 56. In August, 1926, the High Commissioner for S. Africa (H.E. the Earl of Athlone), addressing an assembly of BaMangwato at their chief town Serowe, made the following important declaration with reference to this servitude: "It has been stated that the Masarwa are the slaves of the Mangwato. The Government does not regard them as slaves, but realizes that they are a backward people who serve the Mangwato in return for the food and shelter they receive. I understand that for the most part they are contented and that they do not wish to change. But the Government will not allow any tribe to demand compulsory service from another, and wants to encourage the Masarwa to support themselves. Any Masarwa who wish to leave their masters and live independently of them should understand that they are at liberty to do so, and that if the Mangwato attempt to retain them against their will the Government will not allow it. It is the duty of the Chiefs and Headmen to help these people to stand on their own feet, and I expect the missionaries and the Chief and his Councillors to join the Government in preventing anything in the nature of compulsory service in Bechuanaland" (*Report on Bechuanaland Protectorate*, 1926–7, Colonial Reports No. 1379, p. 6). What effect this pronouncement has had upon the status of the Bushmen it is still too early to determine.

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766 others are usually abandoned before they die, and the whole camp wanders in the bush.[1]

There is also the well-authenticated fact that old people are some-
888 times deliberately abandoned. When drought and scarcity force the Bushmen to a long hurried march, some old man or woman may be too feeble to keep up with them. They then make a screen of bushes all round the old person, provide a good supply of firewood and a little food and water if possible, and push on, leaving him behind. Should game and water be found within a couple of days' march, some young fellow is sent hurrying back with supplies. Otherwise they do not come near the place again, knowing that the end must have come and hyenas dealt with the remains. This abandonment of the aged has often been characterized as an inhuman trait in the Bushmen; but when the life of the whole band depends upon rapid movement it is difficult to see how they could act other-
[766] wise. Anyone who falls out and dies on such a march will have to
[727] go unburied too, and probably the same fate overtakes those killed in war.[2]

Where burial does take place it follows almost immediately after
114 the death. The descriptions available of the actual funeral ceremonies
764 of the Bushmen are far from being exhaustive, and naturally vary somewhat in detail, but a certain degree of uniformity may be noted. The information relating to the Southern tribes is fragmentary. Skeletons of these Bushmen are found buried both in caves and in graves out in the open, but of the customs associated with burial we have very little record. The fullest description is that given by Arbousset of the Basutoland Bushmen. He states that a dead
764 person first has his head anointed with red powder (*buchu*), mixed with melted fat. The corpse is then rudely perfumed (*grossièrement parfumée*), and laid on its side in an oblong grave, to which all the relatives and friends hasten to make their lamentations. They come even from the neighbouring villages to see and examine the body, which is then taken out of the grave; and everybody redoubles his cries and lamentations. At last they throw into the grave the hut of the dead person, and burn it above him. The grave is then filled in with earth to the level of the ground, but no heap of stones is
[768] piled above it. The funeral over, the band leaves the place for a

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 158.
[2] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner, 122; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 110-11; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 14.

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year or two, during which the dead person is never spoken of but 768
with veneration and tears.[1]

Several details in this account—the anointing, perfuming, and 114
examination of the body, as well as the burning of the hut—are not 764
met with in the descriptions of other independent observers, who as a rule remark merely that the corpse is buried with all its possessions and the place then deserted.[2] On the other hand, it is certain that many of the Southern Bushmen heaped stones on the graves of their dead. This custom may have originated merely from the desire to protect the body from the ravages of hyenas and other wild animals. It has, however, sometimes been given a religious significance owing to the fact, recorded by several of the older observers, that passing [769] natives would always add a branch or a stone to the heap. It is 114
unfortunately not always possible to gather whether the natives 764
referred to were Bushmen or Hottentots. The latter certainly have 769
various practices and beliefs connected with these grave heaps, of 171
which the usage just mentioned is one of the most common, but there is no fully reliable evidence of anything similar being observed by the Southern Bushmen.

In excavated graves the corpse is sometimes found lying on its 764
left side, with one or two large flat stones placed directly upon it. The interest attaching to these "burial stones" lies in the fact that in a few cases, in association with cave burials along the south coast, [532] they have been found with figures of human beings painted upon them in the typical Bushman style. It would be unprofitable to speculate upon the significance of such stones, as there is no record of any Bushmen having explained them to our authorities; but that they were related to some definite belief can hardly be doubted.[3]

The Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, as a rule bury a dead person on the morning following his death, and in any case not before the death has been confirmed by the nearest neighbours. [763] The relatives of the dead man and the neighbours accompany the corpse to the grave, uttering or singing a funeral dirge. The grave

[1] *Voyage d'Exploration au . . . Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 503–4.
[2] Campbell, *Missionary Travels in S. Africa*, 440; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 289; Fritsch, *Drei Jahre in Südafrika*, 242. The account given by Hahn (op. cit., 121) is obviously derived from Arbousset; that in Stow (op. cit., 126–9) from Arbousset, Campbell and Sparrman. The English translation of Arbousset (p. 363) renders "grossièrement parfumée" as "coarsely embalmed", which, as it is repeated in Stow, may have given rise to some misconception. There is nothing in the nature of real embalming among the Bushmen.
[3] Fritsch, loc. cit.; Haughton, in *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, xiii, 105–6; FitzSimons, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 501, 541.

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764

buchu on the grave and says *tabetu*, good-bye. All then move to [765] another locality and avoid the spot for a couple of years; no one will [768] remain in the vicinity, owing to fear of the ghost. After the funeral there are no further mourning rites.[1]

The burial customs of the Auen appear to be generally similar to those of the Naron.[2] The Kung bind the corpse in the same contracted position, and according to Lebzelter also smear it with ochre. The grave, round, shallow, and narrow, is dug by the men preferably under a termite hill, but if there is none in the vicinity any other suitable spot is chosen. The bottom is covered with branches, over which is spread the grass upon which the dead person last slept. The corpse is buried lying on one side; Vedder states that it faces no special direction, Lebzelter that the back is towards the east. Women are buried with their ornaments, men have their weapons placed on the breast, and children their small bows or digging-sticks. The grave is never again visited by the relatives; if their [768] way leads past it, they go round in a tangent.[3]

In the Eastern Kalahari the Bushmen likewise often bury dead people in the termite ant-hills that are so common all over the country. A hole is excavated in which the body is placed in a contracted position. The grave is then surrounded with a fence of thorn bushes to protect it from the jackals and hyenas. The "tame" Bushmen [171] now also bury their dead in much the same manner as do the heathen BeChwana. A round hole three or four feet deep is excavated, in the side of which a recess is made. The corpse is placed in this recess, either sitting or lying on the left side, with the knees doubled up to the chin. The grave, as a rule, is near to the place where the dead person lived. Sometimes they do not take the trouble to excavate the grave, but use an ant-hill or the cleft of a rock. Here also there is apparently no fixed orientation of the corpse, for when Dornan asked his informants if they placed it with the face to the east, some said they did, others said they did not. When a man is buried, his weapons are placed in the grave with him, together with some meat and occasionally a little water, while a woman is buried with a few ostrich egg-shells, some berries and meat. As a rule the dead person's ornaments are also added, though amongst the tame Bushmen they may be removed. "This, however, is not

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 109–10; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 158.
[3] Vedder, "Kû-Buschmannsprache," 8; Lebzelter, "!Kuñ-Buschleuten," 14.

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764 often done, as they dislike touching or interfering in any way with a corpse, owing to the fear of bad luck." After the funeral 765 they usually indulge in a funeral feast, then desert the locality, and [768] never mention the dead person's name afterwards. "That they are much affected by death is certain, for they often weep at such times, especially if the deceased be a person of some importance, and bitterly lament his departure from amongst them." Signs of mourning are infrequent. Sometimes they paint their faces with white and black stripes as a sign that they have had a death in their encampment; and Dornan adds that he has heard of their painting the whole body with red and white stripes, but has never himself seen any thus decorated.[1]

Beliefs Concerning the Dead

All the accounts given above are admittedly inadequate. They 114 agree, however, in stating that the dead person is buried in a con- 764 tracted position with all his possessions, and in implying the absence 768 of any elaborate and prolonged funeral ceremony and rites of mourning. No attempt appears to have been made to ascertain what explanation the Bushmen themselves have to offer for burying the dead person with all his possessions, except only in the case of the Kung, of whom we are told by Lebzelter that their reason for placing these objects in the grave is not that the dead person may be able to use them in the future world, but because people do not want to make any further use of objects belonging to a person whom they loved while he was alive.[2]

All the descriptions of the funeral ceremonies of the Bushmen [769] point also to a vague fear of the dead person, expressed most forcibly in the fact that after the funeral the place is abandoned and perhaps never revisited. What belief underlies this fear, and what the Bushmen 775 hold to be the fate of the dead, are not always easy to determine. Stow mentions the belief, reported to him of some Southern Bushmen, that at some undefined spot on the banks of the Orange River there is a place called *'too'ga*, to which after death they will all go; and [304] that to ensure a safe journey there they all cut off the joint of the little finger of one hand. "This they consider is a guarantee that they will be able to arrive there without difficulty, and that upon their arrival they will be feasted with locusts and honey, while those who have neglected this rite will have to travel there upon their

[1] Dornan, op. cit., 144–6. [2] Op. cit., 14.

/158 cont./

T. Religion, Cult, Mythology

756 The Bushman doctor conjures up rain by scattering on the
[789] ground a kind of red earth which he fetches from afar and carries about with him.

I regard the doctors, who take the place of sorcerers, as quite experienced people who have a considerable gift for observation. At the same time, they throw plenty of sand in their
[775] clients' eyes. The soul of the deceased does not die. The Bush-
[769] men have great fear of the dead and even of the place of death.

Illnesses that give rise to much pain and complaining on the
753 part of the sufferers are regarded as having been caused by a higher power (demons); others are regarded as natural illness.

The doctor practices exorcism by saying magical charms over
755 the sick person and finally, with the motion of a juggler, flinging to the ground a little piece of wood or the like which is supposed to have come from the body of the patient and to have caused the illness.

The only thing that I was able to establish concerning their
776 religious notions, despite weeks of fruitless endeavor, /159/ is that a higher power exists which may be harmful to men and may cause them to perish from serious illnesses. This higher power, which is feared, dwells "above." I could not get them to do more than point upward in the direction of the sky, except for the statement that the feared power is far beyond the treetops. [Fig. 14 appears here.]

The doctor is both physician and sorcerer. He is probably
756 also a priest, for whenever I asked questions concerning religion and the like, I was always referred to the doctor, who supposedly was informed about these matters.

Not every settlement has a doctor. Between Oas, Rietfontein, and Ganab (100 kilometers north of Rietfontein) there was supposedly only one.

The doctor has his head shaved smooth. In addition, he is said to wear ornaments that no other man may use.

Boys who have been apprenticed to a doctor for many years may later, when they have become older, replace their master.

In the treatment of the sick, charlatanism seems to be mixed

[Text continues on page 56]

[43 cont.]

423 614 769 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's territory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 614 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, includes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place.

13. Illnesses and Treatment

826 The anatomical knowledge of the Bushmen is quite extensive as a result of their way of life as hunters.

The heart is regarded as the seat of life, and the breath [761] has some connection with the heart. Their surgical knowledge is 752 757 confined to the extraction of thorns by means of an awl-like instrument and to the relatively effective bandaging of hand and leg 278 fractures. Their supply of medicines, on the other hand, is very limited. In what follows, I shall list the common illnesses and their treatment.

Eye Inflammation

752 Both dry and exudative eye inflammations, caused by sand and irritating grass seeds, are extremely widespread, and blear eyes are the rule among older people. These diseases, however, are not nearly as grave among the !Kung living in the forest as, say, among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari or among those [826] of Naukluft. Among the latter, blear eyes are even regarded as signs of beauty in young girls. Ordinary eye inflammations that pass in a short period of time mean nothing. They are treated by [753] rubbing with fat. If the ailment lasts for a longer period of time, then //Gauab [Fig. 16 appears here] certainly had something to [755] do with it; the doctor is called in and, after some treatment, produces a "little black medicine" from the eye.

[58 cont.]

775 From there they make their rounds. They always return to their
769 graves. Hence, a Bushman always makes a detour around a grave. He does not point at a grave with his finger, and he does not call to a companion: 'There is a grave!' A great detour is made around the area where there is a grave. When a Bushman unexpectedly passes a grave, he puts a stone on it. That is a greeting for the dead person. In so doing, one makes the grave more secure against wild animals."

769 From the region of Foxhof I have the following informa-
775 tion to add:

"The Gauab that arises from the flesh of the corpse remains seated by the grave. When a relative passes by and the Gauab is sitting out in the open, the Gauab thinks: I know this person well; why is he passing by here without giving me any water. Then the Gauab becomes angry and makes him sick. Then when the doctors sing, they recognize what the trouble is and say: Today you passed by the grave of N. and did not give anything. Tomorrow morning very early you must take water and
775 an ostrich egg and place them by the grave. Such a Gauab also
787 goes hunting, kills game, makes a fire, cuts open the game, takes the fat, and brings it to the doctors while they are singing.
[756] The Gauab, whom the other people cannot see, sits down at some distance from the dancers. The doctor sees him, however, and goes to the Gauab. The latter tells him where the game lies, and the doctor tells this to the other people, who fetch the game and praise the Gauab.

775 "The stars are the campfires of the Gauab.

"The Gauana take the souls that they have stolen to their village and then back to the grave. The people often hear a voice in the veld; this is the Gauab calling, and on their way they find a piece of dead game. When the Gauab is out hunting and has gone too far from his grave, he must sleep in a tree. Some of the souls stolen by the Gauab are brought to the captain of the Gauana. The souls that are taken there again become actual persons up above with the captain of the rain. The others, however, are the little Gauab who go hunting here."

[114] The observations made by Bleek (3) 50 years ago seem to
776 be especially significant.

3. W. H. J. Bleek and L.C.Lloyd,

[113]

[58 cont.]

[113] Specimens of Bushmen Folklore, London, 1910-11, pp. 10-13.

776 be especially significant. The !Kung at that time told of a being called /Chue, who transforms itself in turn into various fruit trees and veldkost plants, into a Herero, etc. One day he transformed himself into a //gui tree, his wife ate of it, the tree disappeared, and /Chue changed into a fly. Another time he even became a waterhole, then again a gecko; at night [59] he always changes back into a little human being. The Herero look for him, but cannot find him. /Chue then makes a fire and dies. His father sees this and then moves to his homeland on a large mountain called //Noa. We shall probably not go wrong if we identify this /Chue with Huwe. This Huwe, as is known, is sometimes equated with the great captain X'u. In this old setting he also has distinct traits of Heiseb.

782 The !Kung who were W.H.J. Bleek's informants were also
[534] familiar with a prayer song addressed to the new moon. In accompaniment, they blew on trumpets made of antelope horns. (Bleek-Lloyd, ibid., p. 15.)

787 The old !Kung called the prophesy sticks /Chu, which evidently is the same name again as that of the great captain and is in agreement with Dornan's report concerning the Masarwa that Modimo himself spoke from the prophesy sticks.

755 Vedder reports that in case of illness a messenger is sent
769 to an ancestor's grave and prays: A dsi-dsi mi !hâ tĭ /X'ai-a? (Why is my son ill?) ǂnu /kôa (to live in health).

774 While my informants denied the presence of any animistic
825 conceptions, the old !Kung believe that certain snakes, lizards,
775 and antelope found in the vicinity of graves represent spirits of the
171 dead (1), as they do among the Bantu.

1. W.H.J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd, ibid., p. 430.

3: Lebzelter--114 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

!Kung

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

535
539 ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be — We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

X'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa — Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe — Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

622 Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me
782 concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder
769 dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

782 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are
881 implored in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

"If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband
787 suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up
695 the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root
684 that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

[59 cont.]

20. Law

671 627 The norms of natural law among the Bushmen are the same as among us. The family head is at the same time the supreme judge. Since even the nearest kin group is regarded in a sense as a foreign state, however, the boundaries between law, war, and vengeance are exceedingly fluid. The domain of law, therefore, is actually confined to the family. Since the only [681] punishment that can be effectively inflicted is the death penalty, it is rarely applied among married men, [60] for the judges and executioners must provide for the condemned man's survivors. In olden times the women condemned to death were burned or beaten to death with the kirri, and the men were killed with the poisoned arrow.

423 The right to personal possession of utilitarian objects, honey, and certain types of veldkost is strictly respected. The soil is common property of the kin group, as is any big game [224] that is killed. If a wounded animal dies in the domain of the neighboring kin group, the hunter must go there and report it. [578] The dead prey must then be divided. Since, however, there are some unpaired organs, fighting and killing easily arise concern- [627] ing them. Blood vengeance is practiced, but can be resolved through negotiation.

423 614 "Each kin group has a territory that has been inherited from ancient times. The territory is called Gão and might correspond to the German concept Gau [canton, district].

[361] "There are kin groups that are so far apart that a journey of several days lies between them. For example, the territory north of the Omuramba-Owambo near Kajus, where the manketti tree (Ricinodendrum bantaneni) occurs, belongs to a kin group that ordinarily lives over 1,000 [sic] kilometers away and comes there only when the oleaginous fruit is ripe.

"Kin groups with two hunting and gathering regions, come into being through the fusion of two kin groups that have intermarried for so long that fusion came about automatically.

769 614 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's territory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them. The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's

[60 cont.]

769 territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced
614 by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place (1).

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 434.

775 As has already been said, the Bushman does not believe
[626] in punishment after death. On the other hand, he is convinced that the evil that he himself has done will befall him or his dogs in the same way.

681 In former times banishment from the kin group was likewise
648 customary, and the exile would soon perish, since the Bushman
177 cannot survive by himself in the wilderness for any length of time. Nowadays, such individuals, just like those who were expelled from the Bantu tribes, move to land owned by Europeans and find work there. It is obvious that they do not help to improve the reputation of the Coloreds.

695 In cases of doubt, the Bushman swears by the great captain: nu X'u.

681 Instead of formal expulsion, the people may boycott out-
762 laws, who are thereby driven to such despair that they commonly commit suicide. Suicides also occur for other reasons.

21. Conflicts with Europeans

648 Before the police zone boundary was erected, the Bushmen found themselves in a latent state of war with their neighbors. Part of their list of sins will be cited here.

According to Toke, the !Kung near Keibeb in 1925 attacked eight Barotse [Lozi] and killed them, and purportedly ate them. Later, three Ovambo were attacked by surprise, killed,

MASARWA
OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

600 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib
769 Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu
[774] doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the
[825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals,
[824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe
[776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at
551 her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say
602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo
105 delta, J. Seiner reports:
101 "The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting.
[563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe
[144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease, AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY,

[75 cont.]

754 411 Among the Naron, according to Miss Bleek, the Bushman revolver is also in use. The doctors fight one another with it. Such an arrow is secretly shot at the opponent's kaross, and through the magic emanating from the arrow, the enemy falls sick and dies.

8. Death and Burial

761 The Nogau have the following conceptions: Death is caused by Gauab, who steals the soul and makes a little Gauab of it. The dead person is buried immediately; there is no 764 dancing, only weeping. The corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on its side with the head toward the east. Only the sleeping blanket is placed in the grave; the weapons that were left behind are kept by the brothers. The food that the deceased was carrying with him is thrown on the grave. Then bushes are placed on it.

(775) 769 In their opinion the soul of the deceased, which has been transformed into a Gauab, wanders around near the grave; therefore they detour around it. When a Nogau Bushman passes the grave of a tribal member, he prays to him for help in hunting so that the children will grow fast and become fat. He says:

[539] "I do not know how it will go with me
With the food, how it will go with me with the food;
I do not know what I should do to get something to eat,
Let us eat and become big."

775 On the other hand, there is also the belief that the great Gauab who kills a human being eats the heart or keeps it in cold water and finally makes a new Bushman of it. Among the Naron 764 the corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on his side with the face toward the east. These customs are by no means always observed, however, especially when the ground is hard. 769 The Naron do not fear the spirits of the dead, although the doctors 787 see them, as do those men "who have incisions between the eyebrows." As we know from the Nogau, this includes all who have taken part in the boys' initiation. Women can never see such spirits.

Among all three tribes, old people are exposed to die.

888

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Gam when four bands danced together. Demi was the smallest Bushman we had 776
seen in the region. He was bedecked with many beads and walked with a prance like 756
a bantam cock. He had seen *//Gauwa* in the darkness, he told us. He had confronted him and driven him off with imprecations and sticks. I asked him to tell me what *//Gauwa* looked like. *//Gauwa* is as big as a mouse and has legs like a mouse, he promptly told me, showing me a pipe about four inches long to demonstrate *//Gauwa*'s size. (Demi did not say *//Gauwa* was a mouse; he said ' as big as '.) *//Gauwa* is covered all over with short yellow hairs. This bright, prancing little man had seen a little god. None of the other medicine men saw *//Gauwa* as small as that.

Gao Scarf sees *//Gauwa* regularly. He is like a man in form, but not such as we. He is about two and a half feet tall. (Gao demonstrated with a stick.) He has yellow hair over his whole body. He does not speak as we speak. He says, ' *hu hu hu* ', like the medicine men when they are performing a ceremony, but softly. Only medicine men hear him and understand him.

Another Gao said that *//Gauwa* is about a foot tall and the colour of a wart hog. He has the form of a man.

When Gao Medicine is in trance, he often sees *//Gauwa*. He is a being about the height of a guinea-fowl, grey in colour like the bark of the ubiquitous camelthorn tree. But to Gao, *//Gauwa* is not clearly visible; he is like a mist.

/Ti/kay claimed to me that he was ' young in medicine ' and had never seen *//Gauwa*, as he had claimed that he had never seen *≠Gaolna*. This was an engaging torsion of the truth. I myself had many times seen /Ti/kay appear to confront *//Gauwa* during his curing. /Ti/kay was to me the most spectacular of all the medicine men in performing the ceremony. He did not fear to scream into the shadows, ' *Nonabe!* You have brought a bad medicine. It is going to kill someone. Take it back.' The people, I am sure, did not believe that he was ' young in medicine ' and that he did not see *//Gauwa* when the other medicine men did. /Ti/kay, as I think is apparent even [115
in these brief accounts of him, was something of a deviant. I believe that he contra- 156]
dicted other informants because his nature habitually drove him to oppose others and that, at the same time, he deliberately and rationally tried to deceive me and lead me astray, first for one reason, then another. He was jealous of our harmonious relations with ≠Toma and Gao Medicine. We were pleased and grateful to them when they would work with us and he refused, and this made him spiteful. Also, due to some influence which we do not know about, he may actually believe some of the things he told us, such as that *//Gauwa* lives in the east instead of the west. We were never certain about him.

The *//Gauwasi*

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe strongly and vividly in the existence of spirits of 775
the dead, the *//gauwasi*, who live immortal lives in the sky with *≠Gaolna*, doing his bidding. The *//gauwasi* come to earth and enter into the affairs of men when *≠Gaolna* so commands them. The /Kung fear them, pray to them to invoke their mercy or sympathy, exhort them in anger. The concept of having special relations with their [769]
own ancestors or of worshipping ancestors is lacking.

The people claim that they fear to speak of the *//gauwasi* lest they call attention to themselves or offend the spirits. They say it is a ' death thing to speak of them much ',

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

year or two, during which the dead person is never spoken of but 764
with veneration and tears.[1]

Several details in this account—the anointing, perfuming, and 114
examination of the body, as well as the burning of the hut—are not 764
met with in the descriptions of other independent observers, who as a rule remark merely that the corpse is buried with all its possessions and the place then deserted.[2] On the other hand, it is certain that many of the Southern Bushmen heaped stones on the graves of their dead. This custom may have originated merely from the desire to protect the body from the ravages of hyenas and other wild animals. It has, however, sometimes been given a religious significance owing [769] to the fact, recorded by several of the older observers, that passing natives would always add a branch or a stone to the heap. It is 114
unfortunately not always possible to gather whether the natives 764
referred to were Bushmen or Hottentots. The latter certainly have 769
various practices and beliefs connected with these grave heaps, of 171
which the usage just mentioned is one of the most common, but there is no fully reliable evidence of anything similar being observed by the Southern Bushmen.

In excavated graves the corpse is sometimes found lying on its 764
left side, with one or two large flat stones placed directly upon it. The interest attaching to these "burial stones" lies in the fact that [532] in a few cases, in association with cave burials along the south coast, they have been found with figures of human beings painted upon them in the typical Bushman style. It would be unprofitable to speculate upon the significance of such stones, as there is no record of any Bushmen having explained them to our authorities; but that they were related to some definite belief can hardly be doubted.[3]

The Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, as a rule bury a dead person on the morning following his death, and in any case not [763] before the death has been confirmed by the nearest neighbours. The relatives of the dead man and the neighbours accompany the corpse to the grave, uttering or singing a funeral dirge. The grave

[1] *Voyage d'Exploration au . . . Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 303–4.

[2] Campbell, *Missionary Travels in S. Africa*, 440; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 289; Fritsch, *Drei Jahre in Südafrika*, 242. The account given by Hahn (op. cit., 121) is obviously derived from Arbousset; that in Stow (op. cit., 126–9) from Arbousset, Campbell and Sparrman. The English translation of Arbousset (p. 365) renders "grossièrement parfumée" as "coarsely embalmed", which, as it is repeated in Stow, may have given rise to some misconception. There is nothing in the nature of real embalming among the Bushmen.

[3] Fritsch, loc. cit.; Haughton, in *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, xiii, 105–6; FitzSimons, *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 301, 341.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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764

buchu on the grave and says *tabets*, good-bye. All then move to another locality and avoid the spot for a couple of years; no one will remain in the vicinity, owing to fear of the ghost. After the funeral there are no further mourning rites.[1] [765] [768]

The burial customs of the Auen appear to be generally similar to those of the Naron.[2] The Kung bind the corpse in the same contracted position, and according to Lebzelter also smear it with ochre. The grave, round, shallow, and narrow, is dug by the men preferably under a termite hill, but if there is none in the vicinity any other suitable spot is chosen. The bottom is covered with branches, over which is spread the grass upon which the dead person last slept. The corpse is buried lying on one side; Vedder states that it faces no special direction, Lebzelter that the back is towards the east. Women are buried with their ornaments, men have their weapons placed on the breast, and children their small bows or digging-sticks. The grave is never again visited by the relatives; if their way leads past it, they go round in a tangent.[3] [768]

In the Eastern Kalahari the Bushmen likewise often bury dead people in the termite ant-hills that are so common all over the country. A hole is excavated in which the body is placed in a contracted position. The grave is then surrounded with a fence of thorn bushes to protect it from the jackals and hyenas. The "tame" Bushmen now also bury their dead in much the same manner as do the heathen BeChwana. A round hole three or four feet deep is excavated, in the side of which a recess is made. The corpse is placed in this recess, either sitting or lying on the left side, with the knees doubled up to the chin. The grave, as a rule, is near to the place where the dead person lived. Sometimes they do not take the trouble to excavate the grave, but use an ant-hill or the cleft of a rock. Here also there is apparently no fixed orientation of the corpse, for when Dornan asked his informants if they placed it with the face to the east, some said they did, others said they did not. When a man is buried, his weapons are placed in the grave with him, together with some meat and occasionally a little water, while a woman is buried with a few ostrich egg-shells, some berries and meat. As a rule the dead person's ornaments are also added, though amongst the tame Bushmen they may be removed. "This, however, is not [171]

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 109–10; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 158.
[3] Vedder, "Kû-Buschmannsprache," 8; Lebzelter, "!Kuñ-Buschleuten," 14.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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764 often done, as they dislike touching or interfering in any way with a corpse, owing to the fear of bad luck." After the funeral 765 they usually indulge in a funeral feast, then desert the locality, and [768] never mention the dead person's name afterwards. "That they are much affected by death is certain, for they often weep at such times, especially if the deceased be a person of some importance, and bitterly lament his departure from amongst them." Signs of mourning are infrequent. Sometimes they paint their faces with white and black stripes as a sign that they have had a death in their encampment; and Dornan adds that he has heard of their painting the whole body with red and white stripes, but has never himself seen any thus decorated.[1]

Beliefs Concerning the Dead

All the accounts given above are admittedly inadequate. They 114 agree, however, in stating that the dead person is buried in a con- 764 tracted position with all his possessions, and in implying the absence 768 of any elaborate and prolonged funeral ceremony and rites of mourning. No attempt appears to have been made to ascertain what explanation the Bushmen themselves have to offer for burying the dead person with all his possessions, except only in the case of the Kung, of whom we are told by Lebzelter that their reason for placing these objects in the grave is not that the dead person may be able to use them in the future world, but because people do not want to make any further use of objects belonging to a person whom they loved while he was alive.[2]

All the descriptions of the funeral ceremonies of the Bushmen [769] point also to a vague fear of the dead person, expressed most forcibly in the fact that after the funeral the place is abandoned and perhaps never revisited. What belief underlies this fear, and what the Bushmen 775 hold to be the fate of the dead, are not always easy to determine. Stow mentions the belief, reported to him of some Southern Bushmen, that at some undefined spot on the banks of the Orange River there is a place called *'too'ga*, to which after death they will all go; and [304] that to ensure a safe journey there they all cut off the joint of the little finger of one hand. "This they consider is a guarantee that they will be able to arrive there without difficulty, and that upon their arrival they will be feasted with locusts and honey, while those who have neglected this rite will have to travel there upon their

[1] Dornan, op. cit., 144–6. [2] Op. cit., 14.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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775 water and eats it. The soul then dwells with him, but frequently comes down to earth again and kills a member "of the family which insulted it during its lifetime". The group in North-East Ondonga (Ovamboland) believe that the soul, */gaobu*, goes up into the sky, to the "house of God", and does not remain on earth; while the people of Ukuambi say that when a man is dead he becomes *xunga* and is divided into three parts: the decaying body, the ghost or shade, */gaua-i*, which goes about on earth and does mischief, and the real soul, *xaobe*, which goes to live in the house of the "great captain", and there feeds on flies.

Here, it will be noticed, the part of man surviving the death of the body is on the whole believed to fall into two separate entities, having different fates. The ghost (*//gauab*, */gaua-i*) remains on earth and in the vicinity of the grave, while the soul (*darish*, *xa*, */gau-ba*, */gaobu*, *xaobe*, the last four of which appear to be cognate forms of the same root) ascends to the "house of God" in the sky. The fate of the latter at once recalls the afterworld to which dead people are said to go by Stow and other writers on the Southern Bushmen; the former is obviously identical with the concept of *//gauwa* described by Miss Bleek for the Naron, Auen, and !O Kung. The word *//gauwa* among the North-Western tribes is, however, as we shall presently find, not restricted to the ghosts of dead persons. It is also used for a wider spiritual concept, and thus links up the beliefs concerning death with other aspects of Bushman religious belief.

In the Eastern Kalahari we meet again with the mention of an afterworld. Some of Dornan's informants said that after death the spirit of the deceased takes a long journey, and finally arrives at a certain place where he joins his fathers who have gone before him. They did not know the whereabouts of this place, but said that it is warm and has plenty of game. Other informants, however, asserted
775 that the spirits of the dead remain about the places where burials have
769 taken place. Hence the Bushmen avoid these localities as much as possible, and if they have occasion to pass them, "give them as wide a berth as possible, and often throw a small pebble on the grave, muttering at the same time some words to the spirit to ensure them good luck. This is to appease the spirit lest he might resent the intrusion. Any Bushman in the hunting field if he comes suddenly on a grave either of one of his own people, or other natives, will avoid stepping over it if he possibly can, and will throw a small stone upon it as above. All these observances indicate that they believe the

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spirit remains active about the place, and they do not want to offend it."[1] 775 769

The conflicting accounts of Dornan's informants as to the fate of the dead can be harmonized if we assume, in the light of Lebzelter's statements about the Kung and the Heikum, that these Eastern Kalahari Bushmen also distinguish between the soul and the ghost; but since there is nothing in Dornan's remarks to indicate definitely the existence of such a distinction, the assumption here made must be regarded as purely speculative. It will be noticed, further, that he describes here the practice of throwing a small stone on the grave in order to appease the spirit of the dead person. This practice, as we have already noted, has sometimes been said to exist among the [184] Southern Bushmen also. Unfortunately it is not always possible to determine how far Dornan has recorded what are actually his own observations, for much in his book has obviously been inspired by the accounts of earlier writers on the Bushmen generally. What he has to say here must therefore also be received with caution, and cannot without further inquiry be accepted as an independent confirmation. 114 775 769

It appears on the whole that, among all the Bushmen, people are believed to continue their existence after death, sometimes in their own form, sometimes in another form, and may even manifest themselves to the living. There is also a vague, ill-defined fear of the dead person's haunting the living, but it would seem that as a rule no great harm is expected from this, although, as we shall see later, most of [753] the North-Western tribes attribute sickness to the spirits of the dead. Another fact that emerges very prominently is the apparent absence of any organized cult of the dead as such—there seems to be nothing [769] in the way of ancestor-worship, nor of any other form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated. The only concrete mention there is of dead people being prayed to refers to the Cape Bushmen. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that his father asked a certain dead magician for rain, which speedily followed; while another mentioned a prayer addressed by his mother to a dead magician who had power over game, in order that her husband's hunting might prove more fortunate.[2] The details given in both instances are too scanty to afford much basis for speculation, but can hardly be interpreted as implying more than that in certain cases dead magicians would be 775 114 184 769 789

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 147–8. [2] *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 22.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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114 184 769 789 [775] asked to make use of the special powers they had possessed in life and apparently still retained, just as they would be approached when alive. The main conclusion to be drawn, in fact, is that these Bushmen do not regard dead people as wholly severed from the world of the living. There is certainly nothing here to warrant the assumption of any regular organized worship of the dead.

Worship of Heavenly Bodies

782 821 [794] Religious cult among the Cape Bushmen centres largely in the worship of the Heavenly Bodies, and especially of the Moon. Prayers directed by them to the Moon have been recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd, but unfortunately the details given are far too [114] scanty to throw much light upon the nature of the worship. One account, indeed, indicates that when the New Moon first appears every man prays to it, and Orpen also mentions having seen Bushmen throw sand in the air and shout out on seeing the crescent moon when it first appeared, but there is nothing else to suggest any special form of rite. The prayers themselves are chiefly prayers for food, and one of them, just lately published by Miss Bleek,[1] may be quoted as illustrating the form of invocation. It is spoken with raised right hand :—

539 782 821

Ho, my hand is this,
I shoot a springbok with my hand
By an arrow.

I lie down,
I will early kill a springbok
To-morrow.

Ho, Moon lying there,
Let me kill a springbok
To-morrow,
Let me eat a springbok;
With this arrow
Let me shoot a springbok
With this arrow;
Let me eat a springbok,
Let me eat filling my body
In the night which is here,
Let me fill my body.

Ho Moon lying there,
I dig out ants' food
To-morrow,
Let me eat it.

Ho Moon lying there,
I kill an ostrich to-morrow
With this arrow.

[1] "Bushman Folklore," *Africa*, ii (1929), 306.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Here also the Mantis is the central figure of many myths; but at the same time he is the creator, he causes life or death, he is especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food and good luck in hunting, and he is also connected with certain religious dances at which the "initiated men" (probably the magicians) cure illness. The elaborate mythological character of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen and his association with so many other figures in these myths preclude an absolute identification of him and *Huwe*. The resemblance in other respects, however, appears on the whole to be striking enough to warrant our connecting the two. 184 776 [761] [224] [782] [755]

The other outstanding conception is that of *//gaua*, *//gauab*, *|gamab*, etc. In all the North-Western tribes the word *//gaua* is used in the first place for the ghosts of dead persons, and one cannot resist assuming that this is its fundamental significance. Among the Naron and Auen these ghosts, which as in all the other North-Western tribes can be seen by the magicians, walk about at night, and people are afraid of them, but not do expect real harm from them; among the Eastern Kung, however, all the *//gauab* are the cause of illness, some do mischief, while others come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead; among the Heikum of Ukuambi the ghosts move about on earth and do harm to people, while among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul goes to live with *|gamab*, but may return to earth to kill people. In general therefore it would seem that dead people are regarded by the North-Western Bushmen as sources of injury, and especially as causing illness and even death. The same idea is conveyed by Dornan's statement, that the North-Eastern Bushmen avoid the grave of a dead person, "lest the spirit resent the intrusion." 184 775 [753] [753] [761] [769]

The word *//gaua* is, however, used also in the sense of a personified being, whose attributes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but appear on closer analysis to show a certain uniformity. The !O Kung ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*; when anyone is killed by lightning they say "*//gaua* took him", and people who had met their death in this way were said to sit in the sky as stars, which are looked upon as "*//gaua*'s fires". Among the Eastern Kung the stars are also the fires of the *//gauab*, a shooting star heralds the death of someone, while lightning is the medium through which *Xu* punishes or kills people. Among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga *xamaba* (*|gamab*) inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like, while 184 776 [192] [821] [775] [821] [753]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word //*gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as /*hei* /*nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word //*Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard //*Gaunab* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

/159 cont./

756 with a considerable portion of actual experience and knowledge.

The doctors are paid for their efforts.

There are also female doctors.

I have observed no sign of hostility toward Whites among [648] these people. They know how to evade observation, however, even better than the ordinary Bushman, and that says a good deal.

Only the doctor may eat a certain kind of poisonous snake, apparently the so-called black mamba, which I regard as an older type of cobra.

U. Totemism

● 771 I was unable to observe any indications that might lead one to deduce the existence of totemism.

V. Medicine

A man who was suffering from headache had colored his 755 forehead with a black grease that supposedly had curative powers and had wound a thin thong firmly around his head. Our household remedy of firmly squeezing the sides of the aching head with both hands was familiar to the Auin.

278 The Bushman doctor makes an antidote from the black 752 mamba, which he alone may eat. This antidote is supposed to help against the bites of all snakes, except that of the mamba itself.

He dries and pulverizes the lungs, gall, and liver, as well as the poisonous fangs with the poison glands. This powder is stirred into a paste with the fat of the same snake, and the paste, so I was informed, is rubbed into the enlarged wound, which has first been sucked out.

At the same time, various deep incisions are made on the upper arm and chest, from which considerable blood flows.

Poisons that work internally are not manufactured. The Auin 278 maintain, however, that the arrow poison also works internally.

The manufacture of arrow poison was described above.

[24 cont.]

181 He states:

181 593 "It has been asserted that the Bushmen have no feeling for one another. I have frequently heard it said that the mothers are cruel to their children and occasionally kill them when their burden becomes too great. As far as I can see, this is untrue. I have frequently seen Bushman mothers kiss their little ones, exactly as European women do, and when the children are ill, they go to all kinds of trouble. The fathers, it is true, are frequently gruff and rough, but never brutal to their children. The girls are usually seen in company with their mothers, the boys with the men. Between mother and daughter there is an intimate relationship of
181 trust. It has also been asserted that Bushmen are ungrateful; this is also quite untrue. They show their feeling of gratitude neither to one another nor to the Whites, but anyone who gains their trust through kindness can tell that they are indeed grateful. They show their gratitude not by words but by deeds. If someone is in need or in distress and a Bushman friend is in the vicinity, the latter will stay by him to the bitter end."

The !Kung Bushman in particular is much more a rational than a sentimental person. The extraordinary difficulty that he encounters in obtaining his livelihood makes him extremely independent in his thinking. It was surprising to see the sureness with
[124] which not only men but women, too, were able to act as interpreters. Whereas among the Bantu it is difficult to keep the conversation on the subject, the Bushman always sticks to the point. Even the tribal traditions, insofar as superstitious conceptions are concerned, are not safe from the skepticism of the individual. For instance, I once asked a number of Bushmen whether they hunt lions. They
[775] answered in the negative, and when I said that this was probably
[771] because the lions harbored the spirits of eminent deceased Bushmen, they laughed and said that this was just a tale of the Hei//om Bushmen and some Bushman doctors who had learned this from them. Other men of the same tribe, on the other hand, were firmly convinced that the spirits of great Bushmen doctors reside in the lions.

181 There are also many stories about bush spirits, especially in
771 the Otjimpolo Veld. My informants repeatedly observed, however, that they did not know whether there was any truth in them, because They had never seen any.

[54 cont.]

756 house. The doctor then begins to pray: "Lord, help us, the chil-
789 dren are dying, we are dying of thirst and hunger." He prays and
787 begs until the captain says: "It is good, I shall send water so that
796 the children will have water and veldkost." Then the great captain again accompanies the doctor halfway down. As soon as the doctor is down below, he lets go of the thread which is immediately drawn up. Now the people dance and sing, for the rain has come:

[539] /gá-é dsó-jā /gaa	We rejoice now over the rain.
//ẽ gã djusã̆ !kho ãdshója /ga	Then we rejoice all together.
//ẽ gã hin a /gaa /gaa	Then the rain comes.
da //goã́ dshn !gu da adschŏéa χ'u	Then the people praise the lord.

532]

Fig. 21. Spirits of the Dead and Rain Animal (from Bleek, Rock Paintings in South Africa etc., Pl. 58).

776 Another !Kung said to me: "The great captain in the sky
821 sends the rain and all that comes from above. If he does not want to, everything remains shut up. The rain is opened up above; a great vlei is there. I do not know the name of the great captain. The Hei//om call him Som-seb."

17. Religion

771 After a critical look at the sum of the conceptions determining
177 the religious life of the !Kung, one recognizes, as would naturally be expected in the case of such an ancient people, that the elements

[54 cont.]

171 of various religions have found entry here. Among the Bushmen
177 tribes I visited there is the common belief in a supreme good be-
171 ing, whose name varies. The people described here [55] call the
176 supreme being X'u, "the lord" or "the great captain" (1). It is

[782]

1. According to Vedder, the supreme being is Huwe (Tsumeb). When the first veld fruits ripen, an offering is brought before sunrise. A freshly broken twig is inserted into a piece of wood with a hole bored through it. The people are seated in a circle, and the eldest passes around a tobacco or dacha pipe made out of a tubular bone.

the same expression that the Cape Hottentot used in speaking to the German traveler Kolbe, with the same significance and pronunciation 705 (2). The name could not have come from the

114
171
176

2. J. Schapera (The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, 1930) has critically referred to my observations on this point. In this connection I must note: the "great captain" among the eastern !Kung may rightfully be designated as "supreme being." I have already given his characteristics in my earlier publications.

[104]
[194]

The spelling is correctly X'u. I use X' to designate a click that is even lower than "!". It is also found in other words, such as X'Ame = lion. Since not all publishers provide this character, I have sometimes been forced to write "Khu" or "Chu." This word, which the !Kung, too, translate as "lord" or "great captain," was already found, as Schapera indicates, among the Cape Hottentot in 1705 as Khourou = "Supreme Ruler" and "Great Chief" or "Great Captain"; Kolbe gives a quite analogous citation a little later, and Hahn reports of one old Nama, "The people say,

[CONTINUES ON p. 108 - ANALYST]

[55 cont.]

114 //Gaua, whose name varies, stands opposite
171 him as an antagonist who does harm to human
776 beings. Schapera believes that the original
[775] designation //Gaua stood for the spirits of the dead. This is largely correct. My researches in various places, however, show that all kinds of noncorporeal beings are understood by the term //Gaua, in other words, spirits in our sense, and immaterial forces of all kind. The great captain, of course, is regarded as actually corporeal by the !Kung. P. W. Schmidt, on the other hand, has regarded this //Gaua as the original god in heaven. A comparison of the facts of the history of religion may support this view.

114 If I understand Schapera correctly, we
776 agree that a benign high deity is indeed pres-
771 ent among the Bushmen, but one that he does not want to designate as the supreme being. I maintain, however, that this being must be so designated in accordance with general usage.
[774] The peoples of the Khoisan group, according to the evidence of the prehistoric finds, have an active history behind them; the most diverse races live on in them, and their culture in its optimal adaptation to environmental conditions is to be regarded as a residual culture. It is therefore self-evident that their world view should have a syncretistic character, especially since religious ideas are cultural elements with definite tendencies to diffuse widely. Like all human beings, the Bushmen and other primitives have thoughts that are fundamentally the same as ours.
[773] Even the Bushman has a distinct need to discover causality, but this need is felt less with regard to causal or conditional explanations for given conditions and more with regard

[55 cont.]

114 to processes. Hence, among the primitives
776 we find carefully thought out conceptions
● 771. concerning the origin of the world of ani-
773 mals, human beings, and plants more rarely than a clear answer to the question concerning the originator of the actual processes, that is, of rain, storms, sickness, death, and, generally, good and bad fortune in human life. This originator is conceived as either a human-like being above the clouds or ancestral spirits. The religious need or the need for protection is also generally oriented in terms of
114 these two conceptions. The greater the signifi-
771 cance accorded to the benign ancestral spirits
776 and the extent to which they can be influenced by magical practices, the smaller the significance of the heavenly being conceived as a general causa officiens. J. Schapera will doubtless agree with me whan I say that, in contrast to the Bantu, the need for a causal explanation and the religious need for protection are oriented around Thora, Huwe, /Gamab, and others, and that among the Bushmen this heavenly being therefore plays the role that we impute to a "good supreme being." By way of a critique of the Bushmen's conceptions it should be emphasized that the Bushmen, like all primitives, systematize their religious conceptions only to the extent that this is necessary for the satisfaction of their religious and causal-explanatory needs. We shall thus encounter varying degrees of consistency in the world picture from group to group, even from individual to individual, and no investigator will be able to discover a thoroughly organized system of Bushman religion since such does not exist. Whatever I could get from my

[55 cont.] WHATEVER I COULD GET FROM MY
114 individual informants I took down with the
771 exactness of a trained scientist, faithful to
776 the letter and with due regard for all pre-
[124] cautions. From these notations I have drawn the inevitable conclusion that a benign supreme being is a reality in their world picture.

776 surrounding Hei//om tribes, [56] for they use the word Somseb.
171 We should sooner think of Huwe. Huwe or Hue was what the !Kung Bushmen of Tsumeb examined by Vedder called the supreme being. I also know the expression Chuwa from the Bushmen of Ukuambi. This supreme being is conceived of in human form;
776 it looks like a Bushman and also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky
772 in a house that has two floors; his wife, whose name is unknown, lives on the lower floor, as well as many children. The souls
[775] of the deceased live on the upper floor. "The house" (it is supposed to be similar to, but not entirely like a Bushman windscreen) "is hairy on the outside, like a caterpillar." There are various things up there, but only a single house, namely, that of the captain. Honey, crickets, and fat flies are there in great abundance. The great captain lives on them. In addition, there are a great many butterflies. The following are regarded as the
776 functions of this supreme being:

1. In the opinion of some, the great captain made the sun, moon, and everything. In the opinion of others, the highest of the spirits, /Nawa, did this.

2. The great captain calls the doctors to their calling and gives them supernatural power.

3. He is the lord of the rain and the lightning.

4. Through the highest of the spirits he sends luck on the hunt or on the search for veldkost.

5. When someone thinks or speaks ill of him, he punishes
[688] him with lightning. He is not concerned about the other activities of his Bushman children, however, unless someone swears falsely.
695 The Kung have a regular oath, and one of my informants reported
776 the following to me:

When a group goes hunting and one of the participants is

[56 cont.]

695 not seen for the duration of the hunt, he is suspected of having
776 sneaked away. Then he swears by the great captain nuχu, and all believe him.

776 Ordinarily, however, the great captain has everything taken care of by the highest of the spirits and lesser spirits. The chief concern of the Bushmen, therefore, is to stay in the good graces of these spirits, but the great captain does offer protection against all evil spirits, and for that reason people turn to him
[782] with the following prayers in case of severe illness and before the start of a journey:

[57]

[539] χ'u, χ'u húi mi, //kai tsao mi	Lord, Lord, help me, raise me.
to 'oba !khu !gaise ≠ani u mī /nāna /ge a	"the lord shall lead me well to the place,
!nore gana ti /ge a gana ti tsa /Nane /ā mi tsu (1)	where I am going, and he shall lead me back well, so that I come home safely."

1. Notation of the Dama interpreter.

[224] Before the hunt the doctors pray to the great captain for hunting luck. There is no doubt that the Bushmen conceive of this "great captain" as an all-powerful and at the same time benign being. His executive organ, as has been noted, is the highest of the Gauab. The latter is called "the Gauab" by the common people, but he has a name known only by the doctors, and saying it may have serious consequences. Since I finally
[123] had the honor to be regarded as an equal by the doctors, I learned his name. He is called /Nawa. They were unable to give me an interpretation of this name, but Miss Bleek, from dance songs of the Angola Kung, reports the word /Nwa-se, supposedly an abbreviation for Nwima-se = new moon. According to this, we
[174] might be able to see in this chief Gauab the high god of a lunar-
[771] mythological religion which has been superimposed as a foreign element upon the primitive monotheism of the χ'u or Huwe faith. As is always the case in such matters, the supreme being of the invading religion has been transformed into a more or less evil
[171] principle. It also functions as such in the belief of the Nama and

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

776 communities are surrounded. Except among the groups which have long been in contact with and largely influenced by other races belief in a supreme being would appear not to exist. The partly disorganised *ǂAo-//ǃin* and *//Aikwe* groups of the Gobabis district believe in a good being named *!Khutse* or "God" and a bad being called *Gāua* or "Satan." About the nature, however, of these beings they have no idea nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them. People who die a "good death" are
775 said to go to *!Khutse* and those dying a "bad death" to *Gāua*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress. Among the primitive groups a deceased person is believed to move about in the form of a ghost at night. *Buchu* (*tsā*) is
[764] accordingly sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver and arrows of the deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost returning to look for them. Every sphere of activity in life is influenced
771 by some superstition or other which, as a rule, finds expression in certain avoidances or in ceremonial and other rites and practices. Examples of these have been given in connection with the subjects already discussed. It is unnecessary to allude to them any further.

787 Divination is widely practised and absolute faith is placed
776 in the divining properties of the objects which are used for the purpose. The source from which these properties have been derived is attributed by some to their "first big Bushman," by others to *Gāua* ("satan"). Thus the Bushman *Tji-tji* is said to have been initiated by *Gāua* "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver. *Tji-tji* had killed a gemsbuck. *Gāua* arrived on the scene and said, "I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep here." After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-tji* remarked to *Gāua*, "Give me that stuff (*//ai*)." The latter replied, "If I give you the *//ai*, what will you pay me?" *Tji-tji* answered, "I will give you the horns." *Gāua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *//ai* and before departing taught *Tji-tji* the *//ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic.

000 In conclusion I desire to express my regret at having been unable to deal with the subject of this report in a comprehensive manner during the short time at my disposal. More detailed information on the Bushmen of this Territory is available, however, in the works mentioned in the bibliography.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48′30″ S, 20°34′36″ E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and 9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen-speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is survival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we refer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired, but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets. Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this region as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these; doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Chapter VII

RELIGION AND MAGIC

Death and Burial

771 In discussing the social customs and economic life of the Bushmen we have had occasion to note incidentally various usages and beliefs, connected for instance with puberty and especially with food, which point to the existence of some conception of supernatural agencies, and indicate how intimately religion really enters into the everyday activities of the people. The customs and beliefs associated with death afford a further insight into the religion of the Bushmen, for we meet here with their ideas of a future state as well as of spiritual beings.

539 773 [761] The origin of death is recorded in the fable of the Moon and the Hare, which is told with some variation by all the Bushman and Hottentot tribes, as well as by certain Bantu peoples. The version found among the Cape Bushmen states that the Moon once appeared to the young Hare, telling him not to cry at the death of his mother, for she was not really dead but sleeping, and would return again living, just as the Moon dies and returns again living. But the young Hare did not believe this, and continued to cry, saying that the Moon was deceiving him, whereupon the Moon, infuriated, cursed the Hare and cleft his lip. In another, more widespread, rendering the Moon instructs the Hare to deliver the following message to mankind: "As I die and return again, so shall man die and return again." The Hare distorts the message and tells the men that they will die and not return again. The Moon curses the Hare and cleaves his lip, but ever since then death has existed on earth.[1]

761 [754] There is not much information regarding the Bushman beliefs as to the actual causes of death. The Cape Bushman apparently recognized that deaths could occur purely by accident, as in the case of a wound from a poisoned arrow, the bite of a lion or leopard, starvation, etc. On the other hand, there was also a strong belief

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 9–10; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 56 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 44–5; Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 172.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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and make the heavens the theatre of numberless poetically-conceived histories"—in which, as the texts obtained by him show, Bushman mythology is extremely rich.[1] 773 821

The selections so far published from these texts are too few to enable us to determine anything more about the nature of the worship directed to these heavenly bodies, and especially about the ceremonies associated with them; but that such worship did actually exist is evident from the facts recorded above. 821 771

There is no mention of similar prayers among the Namib Bushmen, but then no information at all is available about their ideas relating to the heavenly bodies. Among the tribes further north we again meet with moon worship. Both Naron and Auen still worship the Moon. They regard it as an old man, the Sun as a young girl, who is his wife. First the Moon pursues the Sun across the sky, later the Sun follows the Moon. They go down to their houses below the horizon in the west, then fly back at night across the earth to their houses in the east. They can be heard passing, but are not seen. The New Moon, when it appears, is invoked by the magicians, two of whom, man and woman, sit on the ground together, holding their hands out palms upward towards it, and say: "Give us rain that we may live." This worship of the Moon has penetrated into modern ideas also, for most of the people think that since the Moon is in the sky and the God (*!khuba*) the white men and Nama speak of is also in the sky, therefore God is the Moon. Their ancestors used also to pray to certain stars, particularly the morning star and the Southern Cross; but these prayers, says Miss Bleek, are memories of long ago, whereas the moon worship is continued to-day by young as well as old.[2] 776 782 821 [184] [789] [177]

A prayer to the New Moon for food, given in the eighties of last century by a Kung youth from near Lake Ngami, is also recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd[3]; but according to Lebzelter there is nowadays no trace at all among the Kung of either sun or moon worship. The sun is regarded as a woman, the moon as a man, who originally lived upon earth and were carried about on the shoulders of people; but the latter became tired of their burdens 821 [782] [178] 773 821

[1] Bleek, "Resemblances in Bushman and Australian Mythology," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, Feb., 1874, 101–2; *idem*, *Bushman Texts*, 10–12, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 8, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 72–99 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Folklore," 304, 307.

[2] *Naron*, 26–7.

[3] *Bushman Folklore*, 414–15.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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or other worship directed to these bodies.[1] How far the absence of moon worship must be attributed to the fact that these Bushmen have long been exposed to Bantu influence is difficult to say. In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the other Bushman tribes, however, as well as the fact that the Hiechware have certainly been considerably influenced by the BeChwana, this seems the most reasonable suggestion; although, as already noted, Dornan cannot be regarded as a fully reliable authority. 821 [782] [177] [114]

The evidence on the whole shows quite definitely that worship of the heavenly bodies, and especially of the Moon, exists among the Bushmen. In all the instances noted, the New Moon is prayed to; in the case of the Cape Bushmen for food, although the details of the ceremony are not available, while among the Naron, Auen, and !O Kung there is a special ceremony at which it is invoked for rain. There is nothing to suggest that the Moon is conceived of as a supreme deity, or that it forms the object of an elaborate cult. At the same time the prayers and ceremonies noted clearly constitute an act of worship. They must therefore be regarded as part of the Bushman religion. The prayers and usages relating to the sun and the stars among the Cape Bushmen suggest a wider sidereal worship, which the scanty details from the Northern tribes would seem to bear out; but the worship of the Moon seems to be by far the most prominent. 821 771 782 [776]

Supernatural Beings

In other aspects of religion and mythology there appears to be a good deal of variation in details among the different Bushmen tribes. The most prominent figure in the mythology of the Cape Bushmen is the Mantis, round whom a whole cycle of myths has been formed. Besides his own proper name, */kaggen*, he possesses several others, as does also his wife, whose most usual name, however, is */huntu!katt!katten*, the Dassie or Rock Rabbit (*Hyrax capensis*). They have three children, a daughter, of whom there is no further mention; a son, */gaunu-ts'axau* (*!gaunu* is the name of a certain star, and *ts'axau* means "eye"), who in one of the tales is killed by baboons, and restored to life again by the Mantis; and another son, */kaggen-©pwa*, the young Mantis, who also figures in one of the tales, where his likeness to his father is commented upon. Besides his own children the Mantis has an adopted daughter, */xo*, the Porcupine. 773 776 [184] [825] [825]

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 163.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the "benefactress" *Ises*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.[1]

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was doubted.[2]

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are, according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan, "I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad, and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism in which two powers, one good, Thora or Huwe, and one bad, Khauna, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."[3]

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the

[1] Op. cit., 410. [2] Op. cit., 410–11.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama. Nama influence is seen also in the word *Heiseb* found among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga. This is one of the names applied to the mythical hero more commonly known as *Heitsi Eibib*, who figures so prominently in the religious system of the Nama. Its absence from the other Bushman tribes is clearly suggestive, although the name *Hishe* found among the Naron and Auen may possibly be a corruption of it. The various current interpretations of *//gaua* as "the evil being", "the devil" or "Satan" must likewise be dismissed as alien to native Bushman ideas. The word has been widely used by missionaries among the Nama for "Devil", and there can be little doubt that it is ultimately from this source that such interpretations have been derived. 177 776 [184] [797]

All these direct symptoms of borrowing from other peoples show clearly that the religious conceptions of the Northern Bushmen as recorded above can by no means be regarded as untainted by foreign influences. The final interpretation of these conceptions will therefore have to take into account the religious ideas of the neighbouring peoples as well, especially of the Nama, in order that a full basis for discussion may be obtained. This is all the more necessary since the information relating to them as now held by the Bushmen is hardly sufficient to enable us to determine satisfactorily the full meaning attached to them by the people, to determine, that is, what part they really play in native life. For the moment, however, it may be of service if we attempt to reduce to some order the various accounts given by our authorities of these conceptions. 177 771

A general survey of the attributes said to be vested in the different beings figuring in the religion and mythology of the Northern Bushmen seems to show that on the whole we have to deal with two main conceptions. There is in the first place the conception known variously to the North-Western Bushmen as *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Xuwa*, *Hishe*, or *Erob*, and to the North-Eastern Bushmen as *Thora* or *Huwe*. By Lebzelter, whose account cannot be entirely freed from a suspicion of prejudice in favour of the monotheistic doctrine associated with the name of Pater W. Schmidt and his school of disciples, *Xu* or *Erob* is spoken of as an anthropomorphic "supreme good being" dwelling in a house in the sky, where he receives the souls of the dead. He is regarded as the creator; he controls the rain and its associated phenomena of thunder and lightning, and punishes evil-doers with lightning; he sends good fortune in hunting and in the collection of veldkos, is prayed to before and after hunting, and is 776 [184] [114] [821] [224] [782] [756]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word //*gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as /*hei* /*nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word //*Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard //*Gaunab* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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771 who causes sickness or death. The Northern Bushmen likewise
171 believe that he causes death, but do not seem to attach any special
775 significance of evil to him, save where there has been Hottentot
influence. He is associated by them more particularly with certain
761 phenomena of nature, such as thunder and lightning, shooting stars,
821 the wind, etc., so that Miss Bleek actually regards him as a personification of the wind and the storm, while Pater Schmidt looks upon him as an ancient sky god ("Himmelsgott").[1] Closer analysis shows, however, that the phenomena of nature regarded as manifestations of *//Gaua* by the Northern Bushmen are all looked upon primarily as mediums through which he inflicts misfortune and death; and similarly we find that among the Hottentots the whirlwind, the eclipse of the moon and the sun, the rainbow and the Aurora australis are all natural phenomena of ill omen specially connected with *//Gaunab*. Since the lightning is actually a frequent cause of death, while the other phenomena, such as comets, shooting stars and eclipses, are owing to their very nature readily regarded as ominous, it is perhaps
B not far-fetched to see in this the reason why they should have become
H specially connected with *//Gaua*, the cause of sickness and death.

771 The impression one gets, reviewing the evidence as a whole, is
171 that among both the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen the term
775 *//Gaua* has several different references, which, however, are not consistently distinguished by the people themselves. Sometimes it is used for the ghost of a dead person, sometimes as a collective name for these ghosts, sometimes, again, in the sense of a personified being with various special attributes. The beliefs regarding *//Gaua*, in other words, are not crystallized into clear-cut conceptions, but are vague, inconsistent, and ambiguous. Consequently those interpretations based solely upon the conception of *//Gaua* as a personified being must be rejected as one-sided and obviously inadequate. If any special interpretation is to be sought, and in the light of our present knowledge there is none which can be advanced with full confidence, the most fruitful approach would seem to be that *//Gaua* must be regarded as a vague conception founded upon the beliefs about the
B fate of the dead and the ways in which the latter can affect the living
H society.

771 *//Gaunab* in Hottentot mythology is in conflict with *Tsui //Goab*,
171 the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and
776

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124; W. Schmidt, "Die alte Buschmann-
821 Religion," 295.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui //Goab* appears to be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hishe*, *Erob* or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Mantis, by the Bushmen of Basutoland. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain, food, recovery from illness, etc.

B H 771 171 776 821 177

But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of *//Gamab*, whose name Vedder derives from the root *//gami*, " water, " and whom he regards as " originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains ". *//Gamab* is the only supernatural being of whom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death, abundance of food, etc., and he lives in " heaven " in a village where he gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama trace out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment of death till its arrival in *//Gamab's* village, and the life led there is minutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series of beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of Bergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western Bushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama, one feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a " sky dwelling " to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely attributed to Bergdama influence.

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Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' puberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui //Goab* nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected with these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction, and one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern Bushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

[1] Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, i, 97 sqq. ; *idem*, " The Berg Damara," 61 sqq.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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boys. This particular association, in other words, is peculiar to the North-Western Bushmen; but whether it has been borrowed or is simply a local development cannot be decided in the light of our present knowledge.

Finally, the Hottentots speak also of *Heitsi Eibib*, who seems to be a sort of ancestral hero, and who is worshipped at his "graves", where he is prayed to for success in hunting, etc. His mythological character in certain respects resembles that of the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen, but the latter is not the object of a grave cult, and this *Heitsi Eibib* primarily is. There is no being corresponding to him among the Northern Bushmen, although his name occurs, obviously as a borrowed element, in the *Heiseb* of the Heikum of Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga (among the former as that of a "bringer of blessings", among the latter as that of an "evil spirit"!), and possibly also in the *Hishe*, i.e. *Huwe*, of the Naron and Auen. Consequently this conception must be regarded as peculiar to the Hottentots.

The resemblances noted above are far-reaching, even when allowance is made for the by no means insignificant differences in detail. The Northern Bushmen especially seem to have many elements of religious belief virtually identical with those of the Hottentots. There has certainly been a good deal of mutual influence here, but the similarities not so much in detail as in general features are too numerous and too fundamental to be attributed solely to borrowing. Meticulous comparison must unfortunately be ruled out as at present inadvisable: we know far more about the religious system of the Hottentots than we do about that of the Bushmen, of which indeed the available information is so scanty that any elaborate discussion based on it can only be regarded as somewhat speculative. It can nevertheless be fairly confidently asserted that among both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots we find, in addition to the worship of the moon, the cult of mythical beings derived partly from animistic beliefs (*//Gaua*), and partly from the personification of the natural forces producing rain (*Tsui //Goab*, *Huwe*). It must be concluded therefore that both peoples have on the whole the same religious system, although there are obviously also considerable differences in detail which still have to be explained. The importance attaching to this community of beliefs is emphasized by the fact that this religious system differs essentially from that of the neighbouring Bantu.

The Southern Bushmen to some extent stand apart from the rest.

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They share with their Northern relatives and with the Hottentots the cult of the moon and several beliefs concerning the dead and natural phenomena, and the conception of the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen can possibly be linked up with that of *Huwe* among the Northern tribes. But the beliefs centring in the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen have no parallel further north, nor, on the other hand, do they seem to have anything exactly corresponding to either *Huwe* or *//Gaua*. Their mythology, again, is far more elaborate than that of the Hottentots, which in turn is more developed than that of the Northern Bushmen. Underlying these superficial, but unquestionably significant, differences, there is of course a great deal of fundamental similarity, as we have had occasion to note in our discussion of Bushman religion. As far as present indications go, it seems evident that while we can safely speak of one religious system common to all the Bushmen and Hottentots, we must also distinguish between the Southern Bushmen on the one hand and the Northern Bushmen and Hottentots on the other, and that a further distinction must be made in certain respects between the two latter. A good deal of further research in the field is still necessary, however, before we can finally disentangle borrowed elements from specifically local developments. The fact still remains that no really satisfactory account is available of the religion of any single Bushman tribe or of the Hottentots.

[13 cont.]

776 !Khuwa and Erob were the same. In any case, the expression Ellob used by these people comes from Outjo, where there are a number of Christian Bushmen.

!Khuwa lives in the heavenly house χ'ain !nao gároba.
[772] The people in heaven eat only large flies, !Khu !Khua-i. The figure /Nawas is unknown. The evil antagonist of Huwe, //Gauab, is also absent. These Bushmen, however, have the same doctrine
[774] of the two souls as the !Kung of the east.

775 When someone dies, he becomes the property of !Khuwa; he is a !Khunga. The actual soul, χ'aobe, goes to the heavenly house, remains there, and does nothing but eat large flies. From the bodies of the dead [14] arise the //gauá-i, which run around in the bush and stir up trouble. They correspond to the akwapungu
[171] and azizi of the Ovambo. "But the actual souls of the Ovambo and the Bushmen go different ways; those of the Ovambo go under the earth where they have their fields and herds, but those of the Bushmen go up." Since the missionary Mr. Kylves expressed the desire to make some detailed studies of the Bushmen himself, I gladly left this attractive field of study to my kind host.

197 Finally, a number of words indicate that these people
192 are to be included in the Hei//om-Nama group, a point which
[101] is very striking with respect to the !Kung elments in their world view.

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Sun	shoreba	sóres
Moon	!háwa	//khab(*)
Stars	/nāmirō-i	/gamiros
Dome of the sky	shorche	≠kanis
Earth	/huwa	!hub-eib
Lightning	/harabé	náwab
Thunder	!nau	!gurub(*)
Rain	≠nanuba	/awib(*)
Lion	χ'amba	χ'ami
Leopard	!kui-oba	!arub(*)
Large bird	anite	--
Dog	arib	arib
Boa constrictor	!aoba	--
Zebra	χorebe	--

[55 cont.] WHATEVER I COULD GET FROM MY
114 individual informants I took down with the
771 exactness of a trained scientist, faithful to
776 the letter and with due regard for all pre-
[124] cautions. From these notations I have drawn the inevitable conclusion that a benign supreme being is a reality in their world picture.

776 surrounding Hei//om tribes, [56] for they use the word Somseb.
171 We should sooner think of Huwe. Huwe or Hue was what the !Kung Bushmen of Tsumeb examined by Vedder called the supreme being. I also know the expression Chuwa from the Bushmen of Ukuambi. This supreme being is conceived of in human form;
776 it looks like a Bushman and also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky
772 in a house that has two floors; his wife, whose name is unknown, lives on the lower floor, as well as many children. The souls
[775] of the deceased live on the upper floor. "The house" (it is supposed to be similar to, but not entirely like a Bushman windscreen) "is hairy on the outside, like a caterpillar." There are various things up there, but only a single house, namely, that of the captain. Honey, crickets, and fat flies are there in great abundance. The great captain lives on them. In addition, there are a great many butterflies. The following are regarded as the
776 functions of this supreme being:

1. In the opinion of some, the great captain made the sun, moon, and everything. In the opinion of others, the highest of the spirits, /Nawa, did this.

2. The great captain calls the doctors to their calling and gives them supernatural power.

3. He is the lord of the rain and the lightning.

4. Through the highest of the spirits he sends luck on the hunt or on the search for veldkost.

5. When someone thinks or speaks ill of him, he punishes
[688] him with lightning. He is not concerned about the other activities of his Bushman children, however, unless someone swears falsely.
695 The Kung have a regular oath, and one of my informants reported
776 the following to me:

When a group goes hunting and one of the participants is

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The gemsbok people look just like gemsbok. When Bushmen 825
are hunting they must be very careful not to mistake these 776
people for ordinary gemsbok, because if a hunter should shoot a gemsbok person even by accident he would get very sick and die. But such accidents are rare, for if a group of gemsbok people are out grazing and notice that a Bushman hunter is drawing his bow at them, they will say to him: "Do not shoot us, we are not gemsbok," and the hunter will naturally leave them alone.

Under the world is another world just like this one, with 772
trees and omarambas, hills and pans, a sun and a moon, Bushmen, Bantus, and Europeans just like the people here, and the bottom of our world is that world's sky. There is no other connection between our world and the lower world except possibly through certain deep waterholes, for it was through a waterhole that the great god climbed from that world when he first came here.

Over the world, of course, is the sky, and there is nothing 821
above that. The sun, which is not only meat but a death-giving agent because it burns the veld and dries up the waterholes, is a male, and the moon when it is full is female. A crescent moon, called *nui ma ze* (moon small new), is male, and so are the great destructive thunderheads that bring hailstorms or electric storms which break down dwellings and flatten the grass. The soft gray clouds that carry land rains which blow like mists into the plants of the veld and make them grow are female. The rain of male and female clouds is itself male or female, depending on the cloud's gender or on whether the rain is creative or destructive, but if you can't tell from the rain as it falls you can tell from its footprints, for male rain leaves sharp, pierced marks in the dust and female rain leaves wide, soft splashes. And as for the stars, they are called by some the eyes of dead people and by others are

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

775 and they have a respectful term, */airisi*, to use if they wish to show deference and be ingratiating. Actually the /Kung seemed to speak of the *//gauwasi* quite often and much less reluctantly than they spoke of the gods. I did not happen to hear them use */airisi* except when they were telling me the term.

775 The *//gauwasi* move about in the sky or on earth. All over the sky fine cords are
772 stretched, like the strands of a spider's web, invisible to us but strong. The *//gauwasi* move on these cords and can go anywhere. They descend to earth on one which hangs down from the sky, the one by which the medicine men climb up when they go to see *//Gauwa* in the western sky.

775 The idea that the stars are the eyes of the dead, which some Bushmen believe, is
772 not held by the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Some informants had heard that other people
821 believed this. Lazy /Qui said he did not know; certainly enough people had died to account for there being so many stars. Others said stars are just stars there in the sky. Although they have names for several of them and stories about some, they do not know what substances stars are made of or what their nature is.

775 The /Kung associate falling stars with death. They do not believe that they are
[761 spirits of the dead but that they fall to earth and become insects which are col-
825] loquially called 'ant lions' (*Myrmeleonidae*, in the order of Neuroptera). These insects are common in the region. In the larval state they live in holes in the ground where one can see them spurting out grains of earth or sand. They devour ants. The /Kung believe that the bite of a fallen star may cause you to die the next day but that, if the star likes you and wishes to spare you, its bite will do you no harm. The old people have said so. *≠Gao/na* has no particular association with ant lions other than being the creator and controller of all things.

The spirits of dead persons are transmuted into *//gauwasi* by *≠Gao/na* in the east. When a person dies, *//gauwasi* come soon to take his spirit. The children of the gods are sometimes the ones who come, we were told, but any of the *//gauwasi* may do so, either ancestors of the dead person or non-related spirits.

[774] The *//gauwasi* pull the spirit out through the head of the corpse. The head is, likewise, the egress of the spirits of the medicine men. When the medicine men are in trance,
[787] which the /Kung call half-death, their spirits go out temporarily from their bodies through their heads to encounter and combat *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*, who lurk in the shadows around the dance fire, and it is through the heads that the spirits return.

[775] The spirit which the *//gauwasi* take from the corpse is distinct from life. The /Kung believe that life, *≠toa*, is inside the body of a person or animal, that it is put there and held there by the creator. It exists in all the vital organs in the abdomen, in blood, in the heart, lungs, throat, and mouth, and is everywhere in the head. It does not exist in the arms and legs, the /Kung believe, because they know that human beings and animals can be wounded in a limb or even lose one and not die, whereas a wound in the vital parts is likely to kill. Life dies in the body and stays there—dead, as the
[774] body itself is there but dead. It is the spirit which does not die. The only word I know for spirit is *//gauwa*. The spirit is like air. It cannot be seen and cannot be kept by mortals. The *//gauwasi* take it and they take the heart and blood of the person as well. These the *//gauwasi* carry first into the western sky, to the place where *//Gauwa* lives, but they do not leave them with him. They carry them further, around by the south to the east, to the place where *≠Gao/na*, the great creator, lives.

775 to our ears. One story was that at a place between Gam and Gautscha, where a person died, something goes '*wuu wuu wuu*', making a sound like wind in an empty ostrich eggshell or a bee buzzing in a bottle. The thing once chased ≠Nisa and her daughter. [761] They were terribly frightened, and people warned each other not to go near that place again 'because a person could get such a fright he could die of it'. One cannot see the thing. One can only hear it. On being questioned, people said they thought the thing was a *||gauwa*.

[787] *||Gauwasi* are mischievous as well as conveyors of grave evils and they trick and fool people on their own initiative, often appearing to people in dreams to do so. One might dream, for instance, that the *||gauwasi* told him he would shoot a fat buck if he hunted in a certain direction. If he then hunted there and failed to kill anything, he would know that they had tricked him. ≠Toma felt, when he was sick, that he was lying on thorns and that the *||gauwasi* were pressing down on him.

The function of the *||gauwasi* is, first and foremost, to be the servants (*≠gasi*) of the gods and to carry out their orders. They obey *≠Gaolna* primarily, but are servants of *||Gauwa* as well. They are the messengers, whether good or bad fortune is being sent to the people.

775 When the gods order them to kill a person, the *||gauwasi* have innumerable ways of
761 doing so. They can allow a buffalo to gore the person, a lion to maul him, or a snake
753 to bite him. They were responsible for a man's falling to his death from a baobab tree—an appalling death to the /Kung, who are as careful and sure as cats. Lightning [821] —'rain fire'—is 'a death thing' and is used by the *||gauwasi* to kill people when the gods so command. *||Gauwasi* have the traditional miniature magic bows and arrows, which they shoot people. One feels the pain of the little arrow piercing, when one is shot, but one cannot see the arrow; eventually one dies of it. Sickness, however, is the greatest tool of the death-bringers and they kill mostly by it. They can bring their sicknesses, death, and other misfortune to men at any time, but they are sure to come to the ceremonial curing dances and are always there in the shadows watching for their chance to inflict the ill on the person or persons whom they are sent to destroy.

Although the *||gauwasi* are associated in the people's minds primarily with sickness and death and the people fear them with a pervading fear, the /Kung do not appear to suffer in an agony of terror. I think that their fear is mitigated by the belief that the *||gauwasi* are minor characters and can be driven away and that in their own natures they are not wholly evil. Like the mortals they once were, they are capable of being [782] good, bad, or indifferent to man. People can plead with them for their favour and sometimes they feel pity and are helpful.

Man's Relations with the Gods

● 772 *≠Gaolna* said, when he praised himself, 'I take my own way and no one can com-
776 mand me. I am a stranger, unknowable. I am *chi dole*.' The /Kung these days evidently imagine him to be as much the self unbridled as the old protagonist of the tales. However, unlike the old *≠Gaolna*, he is not indifferent to mankind, and, even though he lives in the sky, he is not remote. On the contrary, he is deeply involved with humanity, constantly aware of what people do, constantly reacting with pleasure or displeasure, and he favours, punishes, or ill-treats man accordingly.

Good and evil are thus explained by a duality which has its principal source in the omnipotent ≠*Gao/na*'s own self-oriented nature. The scope of this duality is enlarged by the similar duality in the natures of *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*, who sometimes do good deeds to man and sometimes bad, when they are doing the work commanded by their master, and, also, when they instigate actions on their own initiative, as they sometimes do, especially I gather when ≠*Gao/na* is not around, for he is omnipotent but not omniscient or omnipresent. 772 776 [775]

Evil is sometimes accounted for by the gods working at cross purposes among themselves. For instance, *//Gauwa* might lead a man to find honey which ≠*Gao/na* had intended for someone else whom he wished to favour. ≠*Gao/na* would be angry and take revenge upon the man who found the honey. But, on the other hand, the gods may talk things over and agree together and man may benefit. The *//gauwasi* might want to take a person in death. One god would say, ' Go ahead ', but the other says, ' No, let us not take him.' The first then agrees and the person is left. That is how people may be very ill and still be cured. [753]

Punishment

The concept of sin as an offence against the gods is vague among the /Kung. Man's wrong-doing against man is not left to ≠*Gao/na*'s punishment nor is it considered to be his concern. Man corrects or avenges such wrong-doings himself in his social context. ≠*Gao/na* punishes people for his own reasons, which are sometimes quite obscure. It was interesting to see in the examples given how often food was involved. 776 [783 626]

Burning bees, I learned, displeases ≠*Gao/na* intensely. He likes the bees, his wife is the ' mother of the bees ', and he is very fond of honey himself. On one occasion, two men found honey in a tree. They tried to chop it out but the bees stung them so badly that they built a fire to drive them away and many bees were burned. ≠*Gao/na* did not like this. He sent a sickness upon the men and both died. When a person has burned bees, his body becomes hot as though burned by fire and he dies. [753]

≠*Gao/na* might change himself into a gemsbok and be walking in the veld. A hunter might come along and kill that gemsbok, thinking how lucky he was to get it. He would take the meat home and eat it and the next day he would be dead. Others who had no part in the killing would not die. ≠Toma who was telling this went on to say that ≠*Gao/na* might regret having done such a thing—killing a man who was just hunting to feed his children instead of helping him—and, to make amends, he might particularly favour that man's son.

If ≠*Gao/na* really sets out to kill someone in punishment, ≠Toma told us, one method he uses is to convert himself into honey and place himself in a tree like an ordinary honeycomb. Then he directs the person he wants to kill to that tree. The person takes the honey home, eats it, and then dies.

≠Toma added that ≠*Gao/na* might punish a person just a little by giving him a mild sickness, which would be comparable to giving him a thrashing. A good person who had done no wrong at all might also be punished by a mild sickness. ≠*Gao/na*'s motive, ≠Toma explained, might be to ' test ' him or to 'break ' him. (Ledimo and I worked carefully over this translation. We think we have the correct idea.) Why? we asked, but ≠Toma could not say. Not man's due, but whim and pride [753]

/10 cont./

123 Since I was able to become quite friendly with their "foreman," who possesses a small farm, I discovered some details concerning their outlook on life.

776 They believe in a supreme being which is not conceived of as a human being and which they call χ'amaba. Here we have H. Vedder's /Gamab of the Bergdama.

773 χ'amaba made everything, the sun, the moon, the stars, and also human beings. First he made the Whites, then the Blacks, and finally the Bushmen. They are unable to say how χ'amaba made human beings.

[372] The old Bushmen say that fire comes from the devil.
[776] Heiseb is the devil, according to them. Heiseb and the ostrich played together. The ostrich had the fire on his arm. While dancing the ostrich spread his wings, and Heiseb took the fire from him. Heiseb threw the fire brand behind him. There was a bush which started to burn. And there the people discovered the fire.

776 Heiseb is evil and only does evil. He is conceived as human in form. No one knows where he came from.

χ'amaba, on the other hand, is benevolent. People pray to him for help.

I took down the following prayers:

539 782 821 1. Prayer for rain: In olden times pieces of wood were cut from the !Hawewa tree. It could not be felled. These pieces of wood were thrown into the fire, and as soon as the pungent smoke rose upward, the people sang in chorus:

χ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i a a God, give water to drink.
χ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i !hanusa God, give water rain,
anita(?) a a so that we may drink.

2. Prayer of thanks for rain: When the rain has finally come, a dance of joy is performed, and the following is sung:

χ'ámaba χ'ámaba χ'ámaba God, God, God
tūta tūta We have received, we have received
!hanusa /gam-i-i !hanusa /gam-i-i Rain water, rain water
tara ái /gam ái !hanusa tutasi We can drink, drink water, receive water.

[35 cont.]

222 When all the old women have made their tests, then the children also get some, and the veldkost is, so to speak, made available for general consumption. When a woman has found a spot where (423) there is a great deal of veldkost, she makes a sign at this spot, and then everything growing there belongs to her. No one will take any of it.

(262) (888) There were and still are a whole assortment of types of socha veldkost reserved for the old people. [Fig. 3 appears here.]

11. Ergology

Fire

372 773 The Bushmen believe that there was a time when they had no fire. The following legend tells how they obtained it: "The ostrich had a firebrand under his wing. He, the owl, and Heiseb played together. Then the ostrich took fright at the owl because he thought the owl had horns. He advised all of them to sleep for a little while. When the owl was asleep, he blew at it and saw that it merely had little tufts of feathers and no horns on its head. Thereupon he awakened the two others again and invited them to go on playing. Then Heiseb said: 'Dear ostrich, please wave your wings.' The ostrich did so, and as a result its firebrand fell to the ground. Heiseb picked it up and threw it to the fig tree, and since then man has had fire." -- The narrative probably comes from the legend-circle of the Hei//om Hottentot. Otherwise, Heiseb never appears in !Kung stories. Two pieces of wood from the 372 fig tree are still used occasionally to make fire. For the most part, the most popular devices for making fire are a striking iron and flint; matches are less [36] prized. A pair of fire sticks, the sucking reeds, a few poisoned arrows, and a bird arrow make up the permanent inventory of the quiver.

[52 cont.]

754 further. The belly of the unconscious person swells enormously.
755 When all other procedures have proved futile and someone remembers that this or that doctor has the magic medicine, he is called in, takes some of his bloodlike fluid from his horn, and first smears his own feet and then rubs the patient's feet and, above all, the patient's stomach in a circular massage. Gradually the swelling recedes, the patient gets up, sits down, and is cured.

This story, based upon the fact that there are roots with
648 bloodlike sap, became known by the farmers in a confused fashion and was the cause of the ridiculous fear of the secret poisons of the Bushmen that many farmers have.

15. The Elements

● 773 Heaven and earth, sun and moon, all was made by X'u,
821 the great captain, the supreme being. In the sun-scorched deserts inhabited by the Bushmen, the sun is no dispenser of mercy. During the hot season even the Bushman is forced to remain in the shade in the daytime, because the sand is so hot that he cannot walk on it.

The sun was a daughter of man. The Bushmen had seen her, and the men had to carry this daughter, but since she burned with such heat on their shoulders, the men had to frequently change places. When the shoulders of all the men were burned, they left the sun lying in the bush and did not take her to the huts. This is the place from which the sun rose. She is from the great captain.

When the sun sets, she sits down on the earth to eat. When it is to be day, one of her shoulderblades goes to the other side of the world where it appears as the sun. The sun's rays (/gam-ǂhasn) are the arms of the sun. The eclipse of the sun (ǂKáo) is caused by the lions so that they can more easily eat human beings.

The Bushman becomes cheerful only when the cool of the evening arrives, and at the time of the full moon he celebrates his festivals. There is no question of moon worship, however, among the !Kung Bushmen I visited.

[52 cont.]

●773 Concerning the moon, I was told: "The moon was also
821 carried by people. It was not as warm as the sun, but very heavy. So the men helped each other, and with great difficulty they brought it to the huts. The moon was a man. He said: 'I prefer to remain alone and do not wish to be among you.' Thereupon the Bushmen said: 'If you go alone into the desert, you will surely die.' But the moon did not obey, went out, and died. But then it woke up again and rose like the sun; therefore, like the latter, it is from the 'Great Captain.' When it disappears, it has died. When only one side of it is visible, then it is young. When it becomes smaller, then it is old. The color of the moon comes from its gall (/góo)."

The well-known story of the moon and the hare is told there as follows:

The moon once said to the hare: "I die and wake up again, you on earth should do the same." But the hare answered: "No, we cannot do that, we who are on earth, only you can do that because you are in the air, among us this is impossible; once we die, we do not wake up again." And the hare was right; it is still so today.

821 The eclipse of the moon, !nui dsao, is caused by the lions
[825] so that they can more easily steal into the Bushman huts.

[53] Comets, χ'u !gam, are stars of the great captain;
[777] they bring luck. When a shooting star, ≠gomma, falls, it is said,
[787] just as among us, that someone has died. The stars are the camp-
[775] fires of those spirits who at the command of the great captain come down and fetch the souls of the dying.

[823] Earthquakes, χ'áno !gee, are omens of sickness. The
[787] rainbow, !khâni !náo, indicates a good year for rain.

782] What the Bushman begs and prays for is not sunshine but
[776] rain. The great captain alone dispenses rain.

Lightning and thunder are not beings in themselves, but are caused by rain. When someone is killed by lightning, it is said: "The rain has killed him." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder at a distance, the rain is saying: "Today I shall thunder over the whole earth." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder on various sides, the clouds are speaking to one another. And when they touch each other with their heads, the

[55 cont.]

114 //Gaua, whose name varies, stands opposite
171 him as an antagonist who does harm to human
776 beings. Schapera believes that the original
[775] designation //Gaua stood for the spirits of the dead. This is largely correct. My researches in various places, however, show that all kinds of noncorporeal beings are understood by the term //Gaua, in other words, spirits in our sense, and immaterial forces of all kind. The great captain, of course, is regarded as actually corporeal by the !Kung. P. W. Schmidt, on the other hand, has regarded this //Gaua as the original god in heaven. A comparison of the facts of the history of religion may support this view.

114 If I understand Schapera correctly, we
776 agree that a benign high deity is indeed pres-
771 ent among the Bushmen, but one that he does not want to designate as the supreme being. I maintain, however, that this being must be so designated in accordance with general usage.
[174] The peoples of the Khoisan group, according to the evidence of the prehistoric finds, have an active history behind them; the most diverse races live on in them, and their culture in its optimal adaptation to environmental conditions is to be regarded as a residual culture. It is therefore self-evident that their world view should have a syncretistic character, especially since religious ideas are cultural elements with definite tendencies to diffuse widely. Like all human beings, the Bushmen and other primitives have thoughts that are fundamentally the same as ours.
● [773] Even the Bushman has a distinct need to discover causality, but this need is felt less with regard to causal or conditional explanations for given conditions and more with regard

[55 cont.]

114 to processes. Hence, among the primitives
776 we find carefully thought out conceptions
771 concerning the origin of the world of ani-
773 mals, human beings, and plants more rare-
ly than a clear answer to the question con-
cerning the originator of the actual processes,
that is, of rain, storms, sickness, death, and,
generally, good and bad fortune in human
life. This originator is conceived as either a
human-like being above the clouds or ancestral
spirits. The religious need or the need for
protection is also generally oriented in terms of
114 these two conceptions. The greater the signifi-
771 cance accorded to the benign ancestral spirits
776 and the extent to which they can be influenced
by magical practices, the smaller the signifi-
cance of the heavenly being conceived as a
general causa officiens. J. Schapera will
doubtless agree with me whan I say that, in
contrast to the Bantu, the need for a causal
explanation and the religious need for protec-
tion are oriented around Thora, Huwe, /Gamab,
and others, and that among the Bushmen this
heavenly being therefore plays the role that we
impute to a "good supreme being." By way of
a critique of the Bushmen's conceptions it
should be emphasized that the Bushmen, like
all primitives, systematize their religious con-
ceptions only to the extent that this is neces-
sary for the satisfaction of their religious and
causal-explanatory needs. We shall thus en-
counter varying degrees of consistency in the
world picture from group to group, even from
individual to individual, and no investigator
will be able to discover a thoroughly organized
system of Bushman religion since such does
not exist. Whatever I could get from my

[57 cont.]

776 Dama, and the translation of Gauab as "devil" comes from this
[771] circle of ideas. A baptized !Kung in /Nuiseb also told me that the Bushmen had been made by the devil, for the latter, as the old doctors reported to me, had once said to things: "You shall
[773] be a kudu, you an eland, you a Bushman," etc., and so everything was. Among the !Kung Bushmen /Nawa is by no means always evil. He directly brings luck on the hunt, and a kind of primitial offering is sent to him in that small pieces of the flesh of the game are thrown into the fire.

/Nawa, however, usually also sends sickness, in part with, and in part without the consent of the great captain. /Nawa is neither in heaven nor on earth, but runs about on threads in the air, where the other small spirits also run about. Whether or not /Nawa
[821] has a wife is unknown. The wind has no role in the tall bush forest, but my experience among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari and the Namib indicates that /Nawa is also connected in some way with the wind, since his most personal appearance is in the violent wind spouts, and among the Naukluft Bushmen one is not supposed to speak ill of the wind because the Gauab would overturn the windscreen.

Aside from /Nawa, there is a whole host of other small spirits, such as those who are at the disposal of the great captain
[821] and /Nawa and live in the sky, where the stars are their campfires. They are the ones who steal the soul from human beings and take it to the great captain. Then there are those who, like /Nawa, run to and fro on threads stretching between heaven and earth. Very evil little spirits live in the water, and the forest and veld are peopled by the little Gauab. These, however, are only the
[775] flesh-born spirits of deceased human beings. And with this we come to

18. Doctrine of the Soul and Belief in Immortality

775 The life principle of human beings is the soul, cha. The
[774] same word also means heart. This cha is immortal. The Gauab who live among the stars take it to the great captain's house. The souls of all peoples, even those of the Whites, live there on the

[63 cont.]

764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not; in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] [174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [773] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

[64 cont.]

825 existence. The appearance of the ring-necked snake indicates
[787] misfortune.

Animistic conceptions are more pervasive in the world
774 picture of the Masarwa (2). According to Dornan, each thing is a

821

2. The Kalahari Bushmen (Dornan, op. cit., p. 165) have some knowledge of the stars. The Southern Cross is a giraffe, but the Cape Bushmen regard it as a group of lions. Some of the Bushmen regard the stars as animals or human beings who have gone up to the sky.

773

The following story is told: During the girls' initiation a girl who possessed magical powers nodded to some lions and they were immediately transformed into stars.

The Cape Bushmen told another story: During the girls' initiation a girl was quarreling with her mother because the latter refused to give her certain roots that may not be eaten at such times. The girl seized the roots and the ashes and threw them toward the sky. The roots became stars, the ashes became the Milky Way. -- Shooting stars signify misfortune.

774 kind of spirit. Human beings and animals can each transform
[825] themselves into the other. Individual doctors change into leopards, and many animals are regarded as other appearances of man, especially the springbok, the baboon, and a number of snakes. When a ring-necked snake approaches a village, it indicates
[177] death. Bantu influence is undoubtedly at work here.

The !Kung doctrine of two souls reappears in a different
[184] form among the Masarwa. The shadow of each thing, as well as
774 that of the human being, is its other soul. They believe that the
775 shadow soul remains in the vicinity of the grave, while the self walks in another place where it meets with the fathers. It is supposed to be warm there, and supposedly there is much game. In the beyond one acts the same as on this earth.

IAUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[73 cont.]

726 Before going to war, the body is smeared with a magic medicine (/num). If old enemies are involved, the attack is carried out by subterfuge and stealth. Otherwise the opponents face each other in open battle. Depending upon the degree of enmity, they shoot at each other with either poisoned or unpoisoned arrows. Commonly, however, a conference of the leaders takes place before the beginning of the battle, which leads to a peaceful dispersal of the combatants. The principles of natural morality are honored and recognized both within and outside the horde. It is regarded as bad to inflict harm on another person or not to assist him if he is in need, not because any kind of punishment is to be feared, but because this is what elders have taught.

6. The World Picture and Religion

821 The sun is a man and is called /gam or kha//ã̀, the hunter. The moon is a woman and is called !nui or /nauga, "the one who runs around."

●773 821 Formerly the sun, the moon, and the hare lived together. One day Mrs. Moon and Mr. Hare were having a quarrel. The moon split open the hare's snout with an ax. The hare then scratched the moon's face. This is still visible today. When the sun came home, he became angry and said: "Now we have had enough of the earth; now we shall go up so that the hare will be alone. I shall burn him from above, and I shall become very hot so that during the day he cannot run about as he wants to." The moon replied: "That is a good idea; at night I shall go and bring the cold, so that the hare will freeze when he looks for his food."

Since that time, the sun and moon are in the firmanent.

The dome of the sky is the covering of the sun and moon. When the sun and moon went up to the sky, they had little sacks of resin with them. They threw them away. The grains of resin are now the stars.

When the sun, moon, and hare were still together, the sun said, "Men shall not die," and the moon agreed with him. But the hare said: "No, people must die, because I, too, must die."

776 821 Rain is made by sorcerers; these are called Gowa. They do

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[73 cont.]

776 821 not die, but otherwise they are like people, except that they have black skin. When there is no rain, the Bushmen make a large [789] fire and throw into it a root, "he," and a male turtle. As soon [535] as it starts to rain, they dance, strike themselves on the thighs, [534] and sing: "Ehe, ehe, ehe, ije, ije, ije, ehe, ehe, ehe," etc. The sorcerers can transform themselves into lions.

The rain sorcerer lives on earth as other people do. The rainbow is the rain dog. The clouds are the rain hairs.

At the time of new moon, they say the moon is sleeping. During the night the sun runs back to the east.

Thunder and lightning are not made by the rain, but by Gauab who among these Bushmen has become a personification of evil. Lightning is called "Gauab's knife."

The dark night sky is the covering of the moon and sun. The dome of the sky is called /gna. My informants left it an open question as to whether the sun perhaps "might be the greatest," the one who has made everything. On the other hand, Khu is likewise regarded as the creator. He made heaven and earth, and he also made human beings live. Khu is not a human being; he is good, but nothing more is known about him. He does not interfere in the course of the world and of human life. To be sure, they say, "Khu is the greatest, and Gauab is the smallest," but nonetheless Gauab plays a larger role in their lives. He controls thunder and lightning, he races over the steppe as a destructive wind spout, visible to all, and he also kills people by tearing out their souls and making a little Gauab out of them. This little Gauab in turn runs about in the bush and does all kinds of evil things.

[74] There is a secret moon cult among the Naron. They 794 787 821 pray to the new moon for rain. In olden times certain stars, especially the morning star and the Southern Cross, which they call "fire shoe," are also supposed to have been invoked. The story of 773 821 the moon and the hare is told in the following way: The moon said: "People must die and arise again, just as I die and return again." But the hare contradicted her and said that people should remain dead. The moon then became angry and cut the hare's mouth with a hoe.

"The moon is an old man, and the sun a young girl, his wife. First the moon goes under the sky, and then the sun follows behind

[74 cont.]

773 him. They go to their huts which are under the horizon in the
8.21 west. At night or during the day, respectively, they go back to their huts in the east; one can hear them but cannot see them."

114 Kaufmann was unable to discover anything concrete con-
776 cerning the high gods of the ≠Auin. Concerning the Naron, Bleek
776 relates that a curious mixture of religious conceptions has come about. A central position is occupied by Hise or Hyesa, who is designated as !Khuba or !X'uba by the adult men. The old people knew nothing about this. The Nama designate !Khub as master or lord, and this word is used by a number of missionaries for Christ. These elders maintain that this concept has been adopted
[177] from the Nama. Formerly they only knew Hise, who lived in the east. Hise is evidently the same as Heitsi Aibib (literally, "the first tree").

The Naron relate that in olden times both the trees and the
773 animals were human beings who were transformed by Hise into their present shapes. Then Hise called the chiefs of the Whites and Blacks and said to them: "Take cows and goats and live with them." But to the first chiefs of the Bushmen he said: "Take the antelopes and live on them; make traps and hunt and live in the bush."

The expression Huwu or Huwuba is known and is supposed to
776 designate the great captain of the men in the north. The details given by Miss Bleek concerning //Gauwa are interesting. In the opinion of the Naron and ≠Auin, //Gauwa is the spirit of a de-
[775] ceased person. Medicine men can also see these spirits; the
[767] women can only hear them. Many a woman declared that only men who had gone through the initiation ceremony and who have two scars between the eyebrows can become //Gauwa. A strong, howling wind is also designated as //Gauwa, however. A few individuals also believe in a chief spirit by this name, who lives near Hise in the east and to whose house the spirits return by day. Some designate //Gauwa as the younger brother of Hise; others identify him with the latter.

The Naron put both masculine and feminine endings on the word Hise. Among the ≠Auin he appears during their dances at

192 it gets a bad *n/ow*. We heard the words used constantly in connexion with *n/ow* and
827 rain and cold, but know of the use of only one of them in another connexion. The /Kung say that a child '*//gau*(s) its name' if its teeth come late. We do not know precisely how to translate the words and hope that a linguist will some time throw more light on them.

821 ≠Toma, one of our informants, pondering on the question of how the *n/ow*
827 comes to be of one kind or the other in a person, said he thought the child's position
843 in the womb and whether the child had long or short legs might have something to do with it, but he was not sure of this, and knew no more to tell us. A caul or a breech-birth does not make the *n/ow* good or bad, he thought. Other informants
[845 thought that severely deformed infants or twins might possibly be more likely than
847] others to get a bad *n/ow*, but they too were uncertain. (Possibly this is because deformed infants and the weaker one of twins are killed at birth by /Kung mothers, so there is little occasion to think about the *n/ow* of such children.)

821 It is discovered what kind of *n/ow* a child has by observing the weather at the time
787 of its birth or soon after. If it rains the people believe the *n/ow* of the child has brought the rain and are sure the *n/ow* is good. If water should freeze when the child was born or soon after, the child's *n/ow* would be known to be bad. Should the weather continue in its normal seasonal course and no great extreme or notable change occur, the child's *n/ow* will be thought to be probably of the rain-bringing or cold-bringing kind according to the type of weather which prevailed; but if the weather is extreme at the time of the birth there is a feeling of certainty about the kind of *n/ow* the child has acquired, as the /Kung believe the effect of the *n/ow* was clearly observable.

At death as well as at birth the *n/ow* of a human being influences the weather. A /Kung told us that his *n/ow* had brought heavy rain when he was born and that everyone knew he had a rain-bringing *n/ow*. He said his mother, who lived at some distance from where he lived, noticed the weather and, if rain came at an unusual time or was unusually heavy, she feared he had died and that his *n/ow* was causing the rain to come.

821 *N/ow* is said to exist in the bodies of human beings (presumably everywhere in
826 them). Informants mentioned it particularly as associated with uterine fluid at the
[827] time of birth and with the urine and hair of humans.

Hair is associated with clouds by the /Giwke Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with whom we worked in 1955. They have a myth, told to us by the
[773] old headman, Oukwane, which says that God, whose name there is Pisiboro, and who is their one God, tore the black, black hair from his head and threw it into the sky to make the rain clouds.

775 In *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*,[1] Dr. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd record a belief about
821 death, collected in 1875 in the Katkop dialect from the informant Dia/kwain, which
826 refers to hair and clouds. We quote the statement:

> The hair of our head will resemble clouds, when we die, when we in this manner make clouds. These things are those which resemble clouds; and we think that (they) are clouds. We, who do not know, we are those who think in this manner, that (they) are clouds. We, who know, when we see that they are like this, we know that (they) are a person's clouds; (that they) are the hair of his head. We, who know, we are those who think thus, while we feel that we seeing recognize the clouds, how the clouds do in this manner form themselves.

[1] Bleek, W. H. I., and Lloyd, L. C., *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911, pp. 399–401.

A party of /Kung men had gone hunting towards the west. John, our son, was with them. In the afternoon there appeared in the western sky three little white clouds, like three powder-puffs in a neat row. They were the first clouds to be seen since the big rains had ended in March. We ran to each other, pointing them out. People felt happy. In the evening, when the hunters returned, ≠Toma came at once to me, before he put down his bow and quiver, and said that I could see for myself what it meant to ≠*gani* an animal. John had ≠*gani*(ed) the wildebeest he shot, and the clouds had appeared immediately above them. ≠Toma said this was what he had been trying all along to explain to me. 821 825

If a hunter knows with certainty that he has ≠*gani*(ed) or ||*ghui*(ed) an animal, as it was known when John killed the wildebeest that he had ≠*gani*(ed) it, he may take the horns and the scalp and forehead bone and hang them in a tree, remembering where they are and whether they had been ≠*gani*(ed) or ||*ghui*(ed). If need should arise he could get the horns which were appropriate to the need and burn them in a specially made fire away from the cooking-fires. He would take a piece of the burning horn and point it to the sky saying '*goichi goichi goichi n/ow qui*'. This we were told is 'speaking *n/ow*'. The interpreters did not know and could not find out by questioning people what the words mean. We wonder if they are an archaic spell. The horns must be entirely consumed by the fire. 821 825 789

In *Bushman Folklore*[1] there is a reference to the burning of horns in a very interesting myth about the Rain Bull, related to Dr. Bleek in 1878 by a Bushman from Strontbergen (30° S., 22° E.) whose dialect included the fifth click of the southern group, as the Katkop dialect does. In this myth a young woman cleverly saves herself from being carried away on the back of the Rain Bull to the water-pit where she would have been turned into a frog, and all of her people also would have become frogs. At the end of the myth the informant who related it said, 'The old women who had been out seeking food were those who came to burn horns, while they desired that the smell of the horns should go up, so that the Rain should not be angry with them.' 773 789

A hunter has another way of controlling the weather. To bring rain he would cut the throat of an animal he had reason to believe he habitually ≠*gani*(ed), or to stop rain, one he habitually ≠*ghui*(ed). The blood, which is ordinarily saved and eaten, would be allowed to flow on to the ground. A giraffe is the best animal for blood-letting. The forms and colours of the clouds are like giraffes, the /Kung remarked. We asked if human beings cut themselves and used their blood to start or stop rain as they do their urine or hair. The /Kung said, No, they did not. That would be unnecessarily painful. 821 825 [262]

As far as we know the /Kung did not attempt to control the weather by these means while we were with them, as they did not resort to burning urine or hair of persons. Perhaps this was because the weather took its normal, expected, seasonal course. Furthermore, we did not experience its most severe extremes for very long periods, and found it on the whole quite bearable. Or perhaps the concept of controlling weather by means of burning urine, hair or horns or letting blood, exists more in lore than in active practice. Or perhaps the long unchanging months do not stimulate the idea of actively attempting to control weather and the people content themselves with explaining rather than controlling. They appeared in many instances to have the 183 789 821 [132] 789 821

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., pp. 195 ff.

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

173 Of migration of the Bushmen from elsewhere no mention is made in local native traditions. The Hottentots, Hereros and Ovambos state that on their arrival the Bushmen were found in occupation and that the latter must have been living here ever since the creation of man. The Bushmen likewise believe that their present tribal divisions and dis- [173 829] tribution have been in existence since the very beginning of things when each tribe had its origin in a "first big Bushman" and a "first big Bushwoman" of its own by whom were handed down to their descendants the practices and customs still peculiar to and the territory still occupied by their respective tribes. Each of the existing tribes with its constituent elements is consequently looked upon as having been "born" in and having been in occupation of the same area from time immemorial. Although claiming descent [174 531] from the aboriginal race they have lost all knowledge of the arts of painting and engraving. The rock paintings and carvings left by their ancestors are considered to be the works not of man but of the "devil."

174 The view that the present day Bushmen are composed of the remnants of their race driven back by the advance of stronger invading races from the north and south is not borne out by evidence arising out of recent investigations into the life and customs of this primitive people.

Distribution.

101 131 With the exception of a few isolated remnants on the north bank of the Orange River and along the edge of the Namib desert, the Bushmen are confined entirely to the Kalahari along the eastern and north-eastern borders and to the northern portions of the territory which adjoin Ovamboland.

The Bushmen of the Kalahari region consist of three main divisions, each speaking a language of its own, viz.: the *|Nu-||ēin* or *|Nu-san* in the south, the *Ngami* Bushmen in the centre and the *Kaukau* Bushmen in the north.

The *||Nu-||ēin* inhabit those portions of the Gobabis, Gibeon and Aroab districts which lie to the east of the Elephant and Auob rivers. The northern limit of their distribution is formed by a line running roughly from Naunas across Oas to the Elephant's River, crossing the Nosob a short distance below the junction of the Black and White Nosob Rivers.

The *Ngami* Bushmen are composed of a good many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In South West Africa they are represented by only a few groups of the *||Aikwe* tribe. These groups are known as the *Naron* and are distributed along the banks of the Chapman River as far as Oas.

The *Kaukau* Bushmen inhabit the greater portion of the Omaheke, including a part of the Kaukauveld and the

535 nature of the latter may be gathered from the following dances of the *|Koma-khoin*, *Xom-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin* groups of the Etosha Pan *Hei-||om*. The common dance among the *|Koma-khoin* is the *ǂgami-sab-ǂnab*. Rattles (*|gunu-gu*) are worn round the legs of the dancers. It is danced by men who go round in a circle in Indian file while the women chant and clap their hands. Women, however, may join in the dance one at a time. When this happens and she wants to return to her companions the men as a rule try to prevent her leaving the circle by dancing round her. The *Xom-khoin* also dance the *ǂgami-sab-ǂnab* but without rattles as they do not know how to make the latter. Among the *Hei-||om* of the Etosha region the *|gunu-gu* are used only by the *|Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*.

In the Jackal and Wolf dance (*|geirab tsi ǂhiras tsira ǂnab*) which is danced by men only, is represented an hyena, which is supposed to be feeding on a carcass, keeping off a couple of hungry jackals. Every now and again as the latter attempt to approach too close to the carcass the hyena scares them off and they jump out of the way.

The horse-dance (*ha-ǂnab*) is likewise danced by men only who go round quickly in a circle while the women clap their hands in imitation of the sound made by a galloping horse.

The *|gae-ǂnab* or gemsbuck dance represents a gemsbuck bull, cow and calf being chased by two men with three or four dogs. The bull and cow carry horns but the calf does not. The gemsbuck lead and are followed by the men and dogs, who dance to and fro on the flanks until the animals are brought at bay. Then the men pretend to shoot and one of the buck goes down wounded while the others make off pursued by some of the dogs. The wounded animal fights in realistic fashion, sweeping at both man and dogs with its horns. The dance is continued until all the animals have been accounted for. Bows and arrows are represented by sticks in this dance.

The Kudu dance (*dau-ba-ǂnab*) is danced by men among the *Xom-khoin* while the women chant and clap their hands. In it are represented various phases in the life of a herd of kudu. The hands of some of the dancers are held up to imitate the horns of the bulls. From time to time as it is in progress a couple of women join in the dancing for a short time. Among the *|Koma-khoin* it is danced by women.

773 There is a legend that in the olden days the Klipkaffirs
539 used to pay tribute daily in honey, öintjes, etc., to the *gei-*
535 *khoib* of the *|Koma-khoin*. When for any reason they defaulted for two or three days, the *gei-khoib*, accompanied by his young men, set out for the Klipkaffir encampment to investigate. As soon as the latter became aware of the approach of the *gei-khoib* they grasped everything on which they could lay hands and made for his *||gäus*. On the way

they hurriedly collected whatever veldkos they came across, 773
being closely followed by the *gei-khoib*. In the *ǂao-dama-* 539
ǂnab or dance of the Klipkaffirs who live on the mountain 535
tops, are depicted a couple of Klipkaffirs, carrying heavy loads and closely followed by the Bushmen armed with kirries. The Klipkaffirs are constantly glancing backwards as if anticipating a blow from a kirri. When they see any veldkos they squat down, hurriedly dig it up and place it in their bags. While on the way they are constantly being harassed and threatened with kirries by the pursuing Bushmen. The *ǂao-dama-ǂnab* originated with the Klipkaffirs to commemorate the time when they were held in bondage by the *|Koma-khoin* and was taught by them to the latter. It is also known to other groups, *e.g.*, the *Xom-khoin*, but is danced mainly by the *|Koma-khoin*.

The *Xom-khoin* have a dance in which are depicted the 535
antics of a group of vultures at the carcass of a zebra. It is confined to men only but the women chant and clap their hands. The carcass is represented by a person lying down. A giant vulture is at the carcass. As the others, who are standing close together some distance away, approach in a row flapping their wings, he raises his wings and makes a dart at them which causes them to stop suddenly and retreat. This dance is known as *man-toeu tsi gei-aniti-ǂnab*.

Among all the remaining tribes dances of a similar description are met with, being based as a rule on episodes in the lives of wild animals. Thus the *ǂAo-||ein* and *Naron* have the turtle dove, duiker, porcupine, guineafowl, jackal and other dances. Games are played by grown-up people of both 524
sexes as well as by children. Among the *Hei-||om* the men play their games on an open place cleared of scrub outside the werft. The principal game is the *bies-||heib* which is played with a round tuber (*bies*). The players line up in two rows facing each other and the bies is rolled from one side to the other. As it approaches the opposite side each member of the latter in turn hurls a pointed stick, shaped like an assegaai (*hēi-heigu*) at it. If he misses, the *bies* is rolled to the now opposite side. If he should hit it the *bies* is left *in situ*, the sides cross over and it is rolled towards the winning side again. Those who have hit it have preference in hurling the *hei-heigu* at the *bies*. This game is played by the *|Koma-khoin* only.

Among the games played by the women of these communities may be mentioned the *goarab-|hurub* or white monkey game of the *Xom-khoin*. A white monkey was once seen by a woman who ran home and told the others. The part of the monkey is taken by a woman who stands with her hands covering the sides of her face, leaving only a small opening for peeping through. She sways her head from side to side. The other women form up in a row opposite to her. One goes forward to look at the monkey, gazes at it intently and, when the latter starts moving its head from side to side, beckons and calls to the others to come and see the wonderful

possessions of Bantus and Europeans—horses and cattle, 181
dogs, melon lands, medicines, rifles, boots, and trucks—as 609
well as their enormous size, heavy necks and arms, great beards, and roaring voices. Europeans are beyond the powers of Bushmen's imagination, more awesome in stature, in possessions, in might, than even the Bushmen's god, who can be [776]
cajoled, who hunts with a bow and arrow. Bushmen consider the Europeans and the Bantus to be superior beings. Bantus [648]
and Europeans consider the Bushmen to be inferior beings, and, without resisting, a Bushman always bows to a European or a Bantu person's will.

Once an old man, a veld Bushman, told us the story of the 283
reim and the grass fiber. A reim is a leather rope which the 539
Bantus make by skinning a cow with a long, spiraling cut that goes around and around the body so that the hide comes off all in one piece a few inches wide and many yards long, which is then stretched and cured, making a piece of leather useful for harnessing oxen or building a hut.

"In the earliest days," the old man said, "the Bushmen and 539
the non-Bushmen were all one nation, and the great god 773
came to earth and gave them a rope. Half the rope was made of reim and half was made of grass fiber. The great god told all the people to pull on the rope, and the non-Bushmen came away with the reim, but the Bushmen got only the grass fiber. After that, the non-Bushmen had cattle and reims and all those things, but the Bushmen had only the things that are in the veld. If this ever happened again," the old man said, "I would tell the Bushmen to make sure they got the reim half."

So the distinction between people was caused by the great 181
god, and the Bushmen, who want only to be left in peace, do 609
not compete in issues which they cannot win. They are only [773]
frightened by other peoples and hope to be spared their atten-

where the names came from ('The old people told us that he gave himself these names', they said) and I do not have sufficient relevant comparative material to throw possible light on the question. Informants said that ≠*Gaolna* was the oldest of the names of God and that /*Gara* was the next oldest. 776

The Names of the Lesser God

The great god named the lesser god by giving him all of his own 'divine' names but not his human name, ≠*Gaolna*. 553 776

Having been named for the great god, the lesser god is the great god's namesake, his /*guma* (/*gu* is name, *ma* is small or younger), and the great god is the /*gu!na* (/*na* means old, older, or big).

The concept of the namesake, and of the relationship between the /*gu!na* and the /*guma*, is an important one in the /Kung kinship system.[1] /*Gu!na* and /*guma* are always of the same sex, /Kung names being sex-linked. One shares in some mystical way the entity of the person for whom one is named. Incest taboos require that one must not marry the parent or offspring of one's /*gu!na* or /*guma*. Behaviour between a /*gu!na* and a /*guma* is as open and free from formal restrictions as any in /Kung society. They have the joking relationship. Only the usual respect of the young for the old is expected.

The opposite conditions exist between parent and child. A man must not name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Parent and offspring do not have the joking relationship.

It was interesting to me to find the great and lesser god in the /*gu!na*–/*guma* relationship rather than the father–son relationship, as it offers some evidence that the concept of the two gods is not influenced by the Christian concept of God, the father, and Jesus, the son. Also one comes to see that the father-son relationship would not serve the Bushmen as well as the /*gu!na*–/*guma* relationship in explaining the problem of evil, for a son would not present as sharp a duality, but, according to human standards, would express respect, obedience, deference, propriety, and assistance, which is not *in total* the function of the lesser god. 776 [177 773]

The Names of the Wives of the Gods

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe that ≠*Gaolna* gave all his own 'divine' names to both of the wives; *di*, the suffix which means 'female' is added: *Hishedi*, *Hunedi*, *Kxodi*, /*Garadi*, *Gani gadi*, ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gaidi*, ||*Gaunadi*.

≠*Gaolna*, the great god's human name, is not applied to the wives, men's names never being given to women. One would say instead ≠*Gaolna a tsin*, '≠*Gaolna* his wife'. [553]

Each wife has a human name as well. The elder one, who usually lives alone with ≠*Gaolna*, is named *Khwovalna*, Old Khwova. The younger one is ||*Gow*. (||*Gow* rhymes with *how*. The *ao* sound in the men's names Gao, ≠Gao, and /Gao I use arbitrarily and mean by it a slightly shorter, more closed sound, like the *ou* in *ouch*.) We knew only two women named ||Gow but knew many Khwovas. [104] [553]

The wives of the gods may be referred to or addressed by a respect term, used [576]

[1] Cf. Lorna Marshall, 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, no. 1, Jan. 1957, pp. 1–25.

776 The concept of ≠*Gao/na* as a powerful creator and a good being is based in the past. Schapera gives the following accounts: 'Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, . . . speaks of *Hnve* as a good being to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things.'[1] 'Lebzelter . . . says that all the groups [of Kung] investigated by him have "the belief in a supreme good being".'[2] The Western /Kung of the Oschimpoloveld believe he 'lives in a house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is often prayed to, especially for rain and hunting, as well as in case of illness because he made all things and can do everything and knows everything, and he is given the first offering of the chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth, and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.'[3]

Schapera also notes that Lebzelter reports that *Xn* of the Heikum is regarded almost everywhere among them 'as the creator of all things, including mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.'[4]

[761 811] This god of the /Kung and the Heikum in the past was not the death-giver. The old //*Gawa*, as I shall presently describe, held that role. But now, in believing that the great god of the east is all-powerful, the /Kung have logically attributed to him the control over death, and hold him ultimately responsible for it. But their concept of ≠*Gao/na*, first and foremost, is that of the creator.

776 ●773 [154] It is said that ≠*Gao/na* created himself. One informant, /Tik/ay, claimed that he came out of the water, but others said they were not told this by the old people. I could discover no formulated myth of creation which everybody knew or anything which told how he created himself. People simply said they did not know. /U turned on me and asked me if I knew. When I said I did not, she snapped, How, then, did I expect her to know? After creating himself, ≠*Gao/na* created the lesser god and then their two wives. It was stated quite specifically that there were only two wives and that the gods never took human wives. This is in contrast to the old ≠*Gao/na* of the tales, who gives the impression that he had a bevy of wives.

The great god created the earth and gave it its name, ≠*kxa*. In the earth he created holes for water and he created water. They were not told just how he created these things, the people said. He has an iron of his own with which he works, a */ka* (*/ka* is metal). Some metal tool is what he had, a special one. They 'did not see it', they said, and do not know just what kind of a tool it is or what substances he may have worked with, but they know that he is the creator and the commander of metal.

After the earth, ≠*Gao/na* made the sky in a dome over the earth, and he made rain, */ga*. He made gentle female rain, */gadi*, and violent male rain, */ga/go*. The people do not say freely the word */ga/go* because they fear the violent rains. They use a respect word, */noi*, when they speak to the rain and plead with it to be gentle. ≠*Gao/na* made thunder and lightning.

After the rain, he made the sun. Sun is a 'death thing' which dries up the veldkos

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 183. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., p. 184. [4] Ibid., pp. 184–5.

and the water-holes. He made the moon and the stars, all at the same time. Then 776
he made the wind. He is the creator of all these things and he commands their 773
movements.

He created the things that grow from the ground and he created animals and painted their stripes and markings on them and gave them their names. Then he created human beings. He created animals as animals and human beings as human beings. He commanded them to breathe. Without breath they would not live. 'First was woman and then man. The man asked the woman to give him fire. She did. The woman got some veldkos and was eating it. Then the man married the woman.' This was one man's cryptic account of the creation. Something about the creation of fire seems to have been left out. ≠*Gao/na* named the first woman Khwova for his wife and he named the first man ≠Gao for himself.

From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. He turns the spirits of the dead into *//gaowasi* and commands them to live in the sky with him and be his servants. He orders them to go down to earth, to mortals, to carry sickness or death to them, or he may order them to carry good fortune.

≠*Gao/na* has a medicine with which he can renew himself at any time. He also renews all the beings who live in the sky with him. They get old and he renews them. [811]
They do not die. But he has not given human beings that medicine and the /Kung said, 'We cannot make it.' (They pointed out that in this quality the medicine is like water. They cannot create water. 'We know how to dig and make the holes but we cannot create the water,' they said.)

≠*Gao/na* gave arrows and bows and assegais to human beings and he gave digging-sticks. He gave people the knowledge to make all the things which they now make and taught them to do all they know how to do. 'If he did not want us to know he [811]
would not have taught us.' He commanded human beings to dig for food with their sticks and to hunt with their weapons. From the beginning they did these things.

≠*Gao/na* created all the medicines. (The /Kung word for both material substances [757]
used as medicines and magic or spiritual medicine is *n/aw*.) He created the medicine which is in the medicine songs to cure the people and he created all the other medicines. He put medicine power in the medicine men (*n/aw kxau* is medicine man, owner of medicine), and he calls that power *gaowa*, the same respect word which people may use for him when they fear to say his name.

≠*Gao/na* commanded men and women to marry and live together and have children. He controls the actions of people. If they do good deeds or bad deeds it [577]
has been under his control. He arranges all things.

Several times in our talks I asked if the great creator controlled the lives of Bush- 776
men only, or if he controlled all the people on earth. It was not surprising that the /Kung's thinking on this point was vague and contradictory. Some said, 'He is over all people. He can kill anybody.' (They had said this same thing about *Ka*.) Others claimed that ≠*Gao/na* and *//Gaowa* as well were 'only for Bushmen'. White people and black people, they said, have their own gods.

≠Gao/na's *Appearance and Dwelling Place*

The /Gikwe Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate visualize the protagonist of their old tales, *Pisibore*, as being of supernatural size. In the tortures of his death

If they leave the band they may return. Affines and the families of affines have equal rights to the resources while they are present but do not retain them if they leave. 621 423 [602]

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS • In the many strange old tales of the !Kung appears a protagonist named ≠*Gaolna*—Old ≠Gao. He had supernatural powers, but he looked like a man and lived on earth. Like mankind, he was subject to passion, hunger, wrongdoing, failure, frustration, and humiliation, but men imagine his feelings in larger scale and as more grotesque than their own. Themes of incest, hunger, and cannibalism run through the tales. The !Kung claim that this old protagonist and the great god of their present belief are one and the same: they have the same names, but if the present great god is the old ≠*Gaolna*, he is mightily changed. 773 ●

The !Kung now believe that there are two gods. The great god lives in the eastern sky where the sun rises; the lesser, in the western sky where the sun sets. The great god is the creator of all things. He created himself and named himself. He then created the lesser god and a wife for each of them. The wives bore them children. The great god gave names to all these beings. Then he created the earth and the water holes, the sky and the rain, the sun and the wind, the things that grow on the earth, and the animals with their stripes and colors, and he gave them names. He created a woman and then a man. He commanded the man and the woman and the animals to breathe, for without breathing they would not live. From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. When mortals die he takes their spirits to the place where he lives in the eastern sky, where there is a certain tree that has no name. He hangs the spirits in the tree, makes a medicine smoke in a pot beneath them, and transmutes them into the /*gauwasi*, the spirits of the dead, who live in the sky with him and are his servants. He has a medicine with which he renews himself, the /*gauwasi*, and the other heavenly beings and thus keeps them immortal. [776] [775]

The great god gave men bows and arrows and poison and digging sticks and taught them how to shoot animals and dig for food. Everything men know he taught them. Having created all things, the great god is the owner and the master of all things and commands their movements.

To "praise" himself, the !Kung believe, the great god gave himself seven divine names and one human name. The divine names are *Hishe*, *Hwwe*, *Kxo*, *!Gara*, *Gani ga*, ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gai* and /*Gauwa*. The human name is ≠*Gaolna*, the one he shares with the old protagonist. 776

Although there is not an absolute taboo upon saying the names of the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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262 to these taboos is unfortunately so fragmentary that little can be
[114] gathered of the ideas underlying them. Several of them are
undoubtedly connected with wider ritual observances, e.g. the taboo
[821] imposed on menstruating girls, and again that associated with a
[821] certain belief about the rain; but of the others no full explanation is
[773] available, although the taboo on the portion of the hare may possibly
[761] be linked up with the Bushman myth of the origin of death, in which
[825] the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the
promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon.

Among the Naron, again, "It does not seem," says Miss Bleek,[1] "as if many taboos in the food line still existed. Paauw meat and ostrich eggs are chiefly given to old men as the greatest delicacies. Some say young children, or girls till they have had their first baby, are not to eat steenbok, lest they remain small, but others tell me that all meat is eaten by everyone. Honey touched by a baboon must not be eaten, or you will die." Among the Auen, young girls and boys apparently may not eat game at all, otherwise they will remain thin; while water
[841] and food collected by a menstruating woman may be partaken of only by herself and old people—it "makes others weak".[2]

About the Heikum we have far more information on this point,
224 thanks to the excellent description given by Fourie of certain
[114] of their hunting observances.[3] The details he gives throw such a wealth of new light upon this aspect of Bushman life that they may be quoted in full. "After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *//gaus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals.
224 The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout
252 for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is
[462] skinned by the men. The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the
[281] purpose, is cut into sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is
[462] then removed to the *//gaus* by the men who may occasionally be assisted by the women. On arrival at the *//gaus* all the meat is laid

[1] *The Naron*, 7. [2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140, 157.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 100–2; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 54–6.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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again; being, on the first occasion, allowed to look afar over her 881
mother's hand. She leaves the small hut, when allowed to look about and around again; and she then walks about like the other women. During the time she is in retreat, she must not look at the [825]
springbok, lest they become wild."[1] She was not allowed to eat game killed by the young men, but only that which her father had shot; and, above all, she was not to look upon or be approached by men lest harm come to both them and herself. There are several legends [773]
describing how men who were looked upon by a girl at this time became fixed in whatever position they then occupied, or even became transformed into stones, or stars in the sky, or trees which talked; while girls who were disobedient became converted into frogs or were carried off to death by the rain.[2]

Further north, in some of the North-Western tribes (Naron, Auen, Kung), the central feature of the girls' puberty ceremony is the eland bull dance, which is held in the girl's honour.[3] As soon as she has her first period, neighbours and friends assemble to a big feast given by her parents. By day she is kept in a special hut, tended by women only, and no man may come near her; while every night until her 535
period has passed the eland bull dance is performed. All the men 881
and boys leave the camp, save two old men, who tie elands' horns or wooden imitations thereof to their heads, and wait in the bushes. The older women stand in a line, singing and clapping their hands. The girl is brought from her hut, and sits or lies on the ground by them. The younger women then circle round before them, or make a figure of eight. They dance with their arms outstretched before them, and have a peculiar slow, swaying step. As they dance they lift their karosses and aprons to one side, and expose their buttocks, which they waggle from side to side. Then the two "bulls" stamp up, holding their karosses pulled well down over their shoulders, and presenting a hunched-up appearance. They join the line of dancers, sometimes leading it, sometimes in the middle of it, and dance with a slow, jogging step. The song accompanying their movements is full and low in tune, but without words. The motif of this dance clearly is the courtship of the eland bull, and although as seen by Passarge and Miss Bleek it was kept within bounds, they [831]
say that it can easily become indecent.

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 76–7.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10, 14, 18; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 10.
[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101–3; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 137–8; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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Chapter VII

RELIGION AND MAGIC

Death and Burial

771 In discussing the social customs and economic life of the Bushmen we have had occasion to note incidentally various usages and beliefs, connected for instance with puberty and especially with food, which point to the existence of some conception of supernatural agencies, and indicate how intimately religion really enters into the everyday activities of the people. The customs and beliefs associated with death afford a further insight into the religion of the Bushmen, for we meet here with their ideas of a future state as well as of spiritual beings.

539 The origin of death is recorded in the fable of the Moon and the
773 Hare, which is told with some variation by all the Bushman and
[761] Hottentot tribes, as well as by certain Bantu peoples. The version found among the Cape Bushmen states that the Moon once appeared to the young Hare, telling him not to cry at the death of his mother, for she was not really dead but sleeping, and would return again living, just as the Moon dies and returns again living. But the young Hare did not believe this, and continued to cry, saying that the Moon was deceiving him, whereupon the Moon, infuriated, cursed the Hare and cleft his lip. In another, more widespread, rendering the Moon instructs the Hare to deliver the following message to mankind: "As I die and return again, so shall man die and return again." The Hare distorts the message and tells the men that they will die and not return again. The Moon curses the Hare and cleaves his lip, but ever since then death has existed on earth.[1]

761 There is not much information regarding the Bushman beliefs as to the actual causes of death. The Cape Bushman apparently recognized that deaths could occur purely by accident, as in the case of a wound from a poisoned arrow, the bite of a lion or leopard,
[754] starvation, etc. On the other hand, there was also a strong belief

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 9–10; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 36 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 44–5; Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 172.

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 821 [539] [782]

Ho Moon lying there,
Thou must look at this arrow,
That I may shoot a springbok with it to-morrow.

In the mythology of these people the Moon is represented now as the shoe of the Mantis, which he threw into the sky to give him light, now as a man gradually sliced down to almost complete extinction by the sun; and it is also connected, as we have seen, with the origin of death. But that it is more than merely a mythological character to them is shown not only by the prayers, but also by various special observances relating to it. The Moon is not to be laughed at, lest it become angry and go into the sky (i.e. become eclipsed). A Bushman child for the same reason is warned by his father not to look at the Moon as it rises behind the mountain, for fear of arousing its anger and causing it to become obscured. Above all the Moon may not be looked at when game has been shot, lest the wounded animal be lost.[1] [773]

Prayers are also found addressed to the Sun and, more frequently, to the Stars. Abundance of food is attributed to them, and the prayers, like those addressed to the Moon, ask for success in hunting and collecting, and say, in effect, "send food, that we may live and not die." Certain stars are asked for certain foods, probably those that come into season about the time the star first appears in the evening sky. Canopus, for instance, known as the "Bushman rice (ants' larvæ) Star", is addressed as follows[2]:— 782 821 [539]

O Star coming there,
Let me see a springbok,
O Star coming there,
Let me dig out ants' food
With this stick;
O Star-body coming there,
Let me dig out ants' food
With this stick;
O Star coming there,
Let me see a springbok to-morrow;
O Star coming there,
I give thee my heart;
Do thou give me thy heart;
O Star coming there,
I may see a proteles to-morrow,
Let the dog kill it,
Let me eat it,
Let me eat filling my body,
That I may lie and sleep at night.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 7, 9–10, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 7; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, Index s. v. "Moon"; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushman", 145; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 304–6.
[2] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 307.

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821 The first appearance of this star in the evening sky is also the
788 occasion for the performance of a certain ceremony. In the words
372 of Dr. Bleek's informant, "The Bushmen perceive Canopus, they say to a child: 'Give me yonder piece of wood, that I may put (the end of) it (in the fire), that I may point (it) burning (towards) grandmother; for, grandmother carries Bushman rice; grandmother shall make a little warmth for us; for she coldly comes out; the sun shall warm grandmother's eye for us." About the same time as Canopus, Sirius appears, and a similar ceremony takes place; the man who first saw the star is asked to "burn (a stick) for us (towards) Sirius; that the sun may shining come out for us; that Sirius may not coldly come out". He holds the end of the stick in the fire until it has caught alight, and then points it towards the star, moving it up and down quickly. "He sings; he sings (about) Canopus, he sings (about) Sirius; he points to them with fire, that they may twinkle like each other. He throws fire at them. He covers himself up entirely (including his head) in (his) kaross and lies down. He arises, he sits down; while he does not again lie down; because he feels that he has worked, putting Sirius into the sun's warmth; so that Sirius may warmly come out."[1] Both these stars appear in winter, hence the cold is connected with them. The ceremony just described is therefore almost certainly a warming incantation. It is said also that it will make the stars rise higher, for the higher they stand above the eastern horizon at sunrise, and the more brightly they twinkle, the more nearly winter draws to an end.

773 In the mythology the stars are held to have once been animals
821 or people of the Early Race, in some cases people who had been transformed upon breaking some taboo. Many of the stars and constellations, as Dr. Bleek points out, bear names which they apparently owe only to the fact that they are seen at certain times when the animals or other objects whose names they bear come into season or are most abundant. This would suggest the close connection between them and the food supply. "Of course," he adds, "when such names as steinbok, hartebeest, eland, anteater, lion, tortoise, etc., had once become attached to certain stars or constellations, fancy might step in and try to discover the shapes of those animals (or other objects) in the configuration of the stars; whilst, at the same time, mythological personification would begin its work,

[1] *Bushman Folklore*, 338–41.

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and make the heavens the theatre of numberless poetically-conceived histories"—in which, as the texts obtained by him show, Bushman mythology is extremely rich.[1] 773 821

The selections so far published from these texts are too few to enable us to determine anything more about the nature of the worship directed to these heavenly bodies, and especially about the ceremonies associated with them; but that such worship did actually exist is evident from the facts recorded above. 821 771

There is no mention of similar prayers among the Namib Bushmen, but then no information at all is available about their ideas relating to the heavenly bodies. Among the tribes further north we again meet with moon worship. Both Naron and Auen still worship the Moon. They regard it as an old man, the Sun as a young girl, who is his wife. First the Moon pursues the Sun across the sky, later the Sun follows the Moon. They go down to their houses below the horizon in the west, then fly back at night across the earth to their houses in the east. They can be heard passing, but are not seen. The New Moon, when it appears, is invoked by the magicians, two of whom, man and woman, sit on the ground together, holding their hands out palms upward towards it, and say: "Give us rain that we may live." This worship of the Moon has penetrated into modern ideas also, for most of the people think that since the Moon is in the sky and the God (*!khuba*) the white men and Nama speak of is also in the sky, therefore God is the Moon. Their ancestors used also to pray to certain stars, particularly the morning star and the Southern Cross; but these prayers, says Miss Bleek, are memories of long ago, whereas the moon worship is continued to-day by young as well as old.[2] 776 782 821 [184] [789] [177]

A prayer to the New Moon for food, given in the eighties of last century by a Kung youth from near Lake Ngami, is also recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd[3]; but according to Lebzelter there is nowadays no trace at all among the Kung of either sun or moon worship. The sun is regarded as a woman, the moon as a man, who originally lived upon earth and were carried about on the shoulders of people; but the latter became tired of their burdens 821 [782] [178] 773 821

[1] Bleek, "Resemblances in Bushman and Australian Mythology," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, Feb., 1874, 101–2; *idem*, *Bushman Texts*, 10–12, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 8, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 72–99 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Folklore," 304, 307.

[2] *Naron*, 26–7.

[3] *Bushman Folklore*, 414–15.

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[821] and left them lying alone, whereupon they ascended to the sky.
[773] This story, adds Lebzelter, is not believed in at all by the people, who told it to him with great laughter.[1]

Other prayers to the New Moon are found, however, among the
[782] IO Kung in Angola. Miss Bleek describes a dance seen by her,
[535] in which the women and girls stood in a group on one side singing and clapping their hands, while the men, singing also but not clapping, were in an irregular group on the other side, wriggling their whole bodies but otherwise hardly moving. The song accompanying this dance was a repetition of the words :—

[539]

//nwa-se //kaboma //gu a i-i,	New Moon, come out, give water to us,
//nwa-se tatana //gu a i-i,	New Moon, thunder down water for us,
//nwa-se tala u //gu a i-i,	New Moon, shake down water for us.

Here also, as among the Naron and Auen, the Moon is therefore looked upon as the raingiver, and is prayed to as such—and rain, it must be remembered, makes the plants grow which feed the buck, hence it provides both vegetable and animal food. The New Moon is said to be either a child or a man, while the Full Moon is a woman. This distinction Miss Bleek interprets in the light of the difference in form presented by these two aspects of the Moon. In Naron and
[193] Nama the masculine and feminine endings are given to the same
[196] roots to denote respectively strong, tall, slender things and weak, short, round things. So here the New Moon may be called a man, because of its slenderness, the Full Moon a woman because of its round shape. The Moon is also held to be the elder sister, the sun the younger ; but apparently there are no special practices or beliefs regarding the latter, although one of Miss Bleek's informants said : " We sing to the Sun and the Stars as well as the Moon." No prayers
[782] to the former are recorded, however.[2]

The only other Bushmen of whose ideas relating to the heavenly bodies we have information are the Hiechware. Dornan states that
[184] he was unable to discover among them any special ceremonies connected with the sun and the moon, but that they certainly do reverence these bodies, although seeming to dread them more than anything else. They think they must keep on good terms with the sun and the moon if they are to be successful in hunting or anything
[782] else they undertake. He could not, however, discover any prayers

[1] Religiösen Vorstellungen der *//Khun*-Buschmänner," 401 ; *idem*, " Bei den |Kuh Buschleuten " 13.
[2] " Buschmänner von Angola," 53 ; *idem*, " Bushmen of Central Angola," 119–20, 122, 124.

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or other worship directed to these bodies.[1] How far the absence of moon worship must be attributed to the fact that these Bushmen have long been exposed to Bantu influence is difficult to say. In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the other Bushman tribes, however, as well as the fact that the Hiechware have certainly been considerably influenced by the BeChwana, this seems the most reasonable suggestion; although, as already noted, Dornan cannot be regarded as a fully reliable authority. 821 [782] [177] [114]

The evidence on the whole shows quite definitely that worship of the heavenly bodies, and especially of the Moon, exists among the Bushmen. In all the instances noted, the New Moon is prayed to; in the case of the Cape Bushmen for food, although the details of the ceremony are not available, while among the Naron, Auen, and ǀO Kung there is a special ceremony at which it is invoked for rain. There is nothing to suggest that the Moon is conceived of as a supreme deity, or that it forms the object of an elaborate cult. At the same time the prayers and ceremonies noted clearly constitute an act of worship. They must therefore be regarded as part of the Bushman religion. The prayers and usages relating to the sun and the stars among the Cape Bushmen suggest a wider sidereal worship, which the scanty details from the Northern tribes would seem to bear out; but the worship of the Moon seems to be by far the most prominent. 821 771 782 [776]

Supernatural Beings

In other aspects of religion and mythology there appears to be a good deal of variation in details among the different Bushmen tribes. The most prominent figure in the mythology of the Cape Bushmen is the Mantis, round whom a whole cycle of myths has been formed. Besides his own proper name, *ǀkaggen*, he possesses several others, as does also his wife, whose most usual name, however, is *ǀhuntu!katt!katten*, the Dassie or Rock Rabbit (*Hyrax capensis*). They have three children, a daughter, of whom there is no further mention; a son, *ǀgaunu-ts'axau* (*ǀgaunu* is the name of a certain star, and *ts'axau* means "eye"), who in one of the tales is killed by baboons, and restored to life again by the Mantis; and another son, *ǀkaggen-ʘpwa*, the young Mantis, who also figures in one of the tales, where his likeness to his father is commented upon. Besides his own children the Mantis has an adopted daughter, *ǀxo*, the Porcupine. 773 776 [184] [825] [825]

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 163.

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773 Her real father is a monster named *//khwai-hemm*, the All-devourer,
776 but she does not dare to live with him, for fear of being eaten herself. She is married to */kwammanga*, a mythical person not identified
[821] with any animal, but seen in the rainbow. They have two children, */kwammanga-⊙pwa*, young */kwammanga*, who is brave and quiet like his father, and */ni*, the Ichneumon, who plays an important part in the mythology, particularly in advising and assisting his grandfather the Mantis, and in chiding him for his misdeeds. All these, the Bushmen say, were once men and women, people of the Early Race which preceded the Bushmen, but now they are animals.

In their myths the Mantis is gifted with supernatural powers, yet often has a most stupid and perverse character; he is sometimes mischievous, sometimes kind, and is always getting into scrapes and unnecessary fights by his foolishness. He has the power of speech, which all his possessions share with him; he dreams, and his dreams come true; he foretells the ultimate future, when he and his comrades will all be animals; he can transform himself into various other animal forms, is sometimes killed, but always comes to life again. He also has creative powers. One myth relates that the Bushmen were formerly springboks, and were changed by him into human beings; another that he gave places their names; while he gives the bucks their colours and names and has them under his special protection. He can also bring people back to life again. But he is never prayed to, although, as we have seen, there are prayers to the Moon, who is also his creation. Nor is there any evidence of observances specially connected with him, apart from the mention
[751] of a "curious charm" made from the foot of the hartebeest and used by women for their children as a protection against him.[1]

773 The Rain or Water, */khwa*, is also acknowledged by these Bushmen
825 as a supernatural personage, and various beliefs and usages are directed
821 towards it. It is often represented as an animal; in the form of a bull it carries off a young maiden, in the form of an eland it was shot by a man of the early race with disastrous effects. It is thought
821 of most commonly, however, as an animal living in a waterhole,
825 and it is believed that wherever this animal goes, rain will fall. One
[789] of the principal methods of rain-making, therefore, is for the rain-magicians to drag this animal over as large a tract of country as they can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 6–9; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 1–7; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1–37; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*; *idem*, *Bushman Folklore*, 305.

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can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible. Among the many rock-paintings left by the Bushmen in the caves and rock-shelters of their country there are pictures "of wonderful animals, such as certainly never existed; these the Bushmen of fifty years ago explained as Rain bulls, Rain animals. With them are often seen frogs, fish, tortoise, and snake, the animals protected by the Rain".[1] Certain snakes found near a waterhole are believed to be kept in store by the Rain, and for fear of arousing its wrath may not be eaten by young unmarried men and women; nor may frogs be killed, lest drought ensue. When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind, and various transformations effected. Young women are particularly exposed to danger from the Rain, and to avoid this they must observe various rules of conduct. They must propitiate the waterhole by means of *buchu* and *tto* (aromatic shrubs); they must hide themselves from the Rain; they must not snap their fingers at people, nor may they be spoken to against their wish, lest the anger of the Rain be thereby aroused. There are many legends telling how disobedient girls were punished, together with those around them, by the angry Rain, or were taken up by his agency in a whirlwind and transformed into frogs, snakes, porcupines, stars, water-flowers, etc. Such transformations are also illustrated in the rock-paintings.

821 825 [532] [782] [773] [532]

The Rain thus appears as something to be respected or feared, since it has power to change people into animals and other objects, as well as to destroy with storms and terrible lightning. At the same time it also brings water and makes food grow. In connection with this latter aspect Miss Bleek says: "That Bushmen realized the life-giving powers of water is clear, as all tales of rebirth are connected therewith. The Mantis restores his son and his sister, the Blue crane, to life after they have been killed by throwing a part of their body into the water. In course of time this part grows up into the person to which it had belonged. In the same way he makes an eland of a shoe (perhaps a piece of eland's skin). An ostrich is killed; one of its feathers blows into the water and becomes a new ostrich."

821 773 825

"Yet in spite of the Bushman's dependence on water and realization of its power," she goes on to say, "he does not represent it as a man or god. One instance is known to me of the Rain being addressed, when it is wrathful and lightens; but the first part of the speech is to the dead men who ride it:—

782 821 [776]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 308.

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782
821
[539]

O gallopers,
O gallopers,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

Thou shoulds put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shoulds put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it
821 to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other magicians have a similar power over the wind, */khwe*, and are protected by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind
[773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears the form of a bird.[1]

773 Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we
776 meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from
[184] those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object
[794] of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed that *'Kaang* (i.e, */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, *'Kue-'akeng-*
[761] *'teng*, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives
[821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put
[825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine
796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood"
535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant,
[773] Qing, described as follows: "*Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the song of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it, and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night.
[786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[104] [2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol *c* represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds.

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medicine, in which is burnt snake powder. When a man is sick, 535
this dance is danced round him, and the dancers put both hands under 796
their arm-pits, and press their hands upon him, and when he coughs [755]
the initiated put out their hands and receive what has injured him—
secret things. The initiated who know secret things are Qogne;
the sick person is hang cãi."

Cagn, said Qing, was the first being and made all things—the sky, 776
the moon, stars, mountains, and animals. The Bushmen prayed
to him. On being asked how, Qing answered, in a low, imploring [782]
tone: "O Cagn! O Cagn! are we not your children, do you not [539]
see our hunger? give us food"—"and he gives us both hands
full." To the further question, where *Cagn* was, he responded,
"We don't know, but the elands do. Have you not hunted and [825]
heard his cry, when the elands suddenly start and run to his call?
Where he is, the elands are in droves like cattle."

Cagn's wife was *Coti*. When asked where she came from, Qing
said, "I don't know, perhaps with those who brought the Sun;
but you are now asking the secrets that are not spoken of." These [794]
secrets he himself did not know—"only the initiated men of that
dance know these things."[1] *Cagn* also had two sons, *Cogaǂ* and
Gcwi, and together with him and *Cogaǂ* there was another great
"chief", *Qwangciqutshaa*. All three had great power, but it was
Cagn who gave orders through the other two. Of all these personages 773
various tales were related by Qing. One of them, describing how 776
Cogaǂ was killed by baboons and restored to life again by *Cagn*,
is almost identical with the similar story told by the Cape Bushmen
of */kaggen* and */gaunu-ts'axau*. In all these tales *Cagn* appears as
a human being, but with supernatural powers. He can change
himself into different forms, is then sometimes killed and eaten by
animals or people, but always comes to life again. He possesses
various magical charms, the strongest of which is his tooth; and the [825]
birds are his messengers who report to him what is going on.
Occasionally he gets into trouble, from which he is extricated by
Cogaǂ, just as in the Cape Bushman stories */kaggen* is aided by */ni*.

Another name for the Mantis among these Bushmen, according 776
to Arbousset, is *'ngo*. This may explain the following quotation
from Campbell: "They had a name which they gave to God, who
is above them, and another to God who is under them. The former
is a male, the latter a female. The male God they call Goba, the
female Ko; and her attendants are called Gauna." *Ko* (*'ngo*), as

[1] [see category 116, p. 182 for the author's explanation of the 'initiated.' — Analyst]

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Ko (ngo), as

776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are
[787] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while
[224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is
[782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with
[756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant,
[791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians, who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded
[773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do
[184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his special protection.

Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis.
184 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to
776 Miss Lloyd several tales about */xwe*, a little personage not identified with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a variety of things. */xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

776 The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about *Hishe* or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys'
[881] puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people, bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans.
[756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws
[114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the
177 idea of */khuba* or */xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba").
776 This is the

[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32–3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 301, 305–6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404–13.

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Nama word for "master, lord", and has been used by some 177
missionaries for "God". The Naron and Auen were vague as to 776
the nature of */khuba*. The old men did not know of him; the middle-aged men said *Hishe* was */khuba*; while some of the younger people said he was the sky, others that he dwelt in the sky; they prayed to him to let them live long and to make them well when ill. Women who when young had been kidnapped and held as slaves by Nama chiefs were very fluent on the subject of */khuba*; the others, [648] remarks Miss Bleek, had evidently picked up the word without [567] attaching any clear meaning to it, beyond that it was some sort of deity and that it was "good to pray to it". The same word (given by him in its vocative form */khutse*) was also found among the partly-disorganized groups of these Bushmen by Fourie, who translates it "God".

A few of Miss Bleek's informants further mentioned *Huwu* or 776
Huwuba, but they did not know much about him—he was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the [177] "captain" of the white people.[1]

Huwu or *Hu'e* figures very prominently among the Kung, however. [184] Miss Lloyd's young informants from near Lake Ngami only once mentioned him. They began the tale of the Moon and the Hare [773] with the words, *Huwe* made all things; and in explanation said, *Huwe* made all things to eat (i.e. all animals that are eaten), and *Huwe* is a man.[2] Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, much further west, speaks of *Huwe* as a "good being", to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things. They pray to [782] him for food, as we have already seen, at a special ceremony held [796] once a year when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen, and they also in case of sickness call upon him to restore them to [755] health.[3]

Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*)[4] or *Xuwa*,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 24–6; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.
[3] "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.
[4] It may be mentioned here that Lebzelter is inconsistent in the orthography he employs: */Kui* is elsewhere written *//Khun*, *//gauab* alternates with */gauab*, *gagorob* with */gau /gorob*, and so on. [114]

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while those dying a "good death" go to *!khutse* (*!khuba*). "About the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1] 114 192 776 [773] [881]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say "*//gaua* thunders", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: "*//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndzambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God"); "we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to *//gaua*."[2] 184 192 776 [751] [821] [761] [775] [821] [881] [304] [782]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain" *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds. 114 184 776 [192] [821] [756] [787]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 14; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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756 faculty of seeing and speaking to the *//gauab*, and only they know
[787] and utter the real name, */nawa*, of the chief of the latter. The evening
[782] before a hunting expedition they pray to *//gauab* for help, and certain
of them also have the power of conjuring down rain. This they
756 achieve in the following manner. When rain is needed, all the
789 people of the camp take part in a dance, during which they sing over and over again a mournful song lamenting the condition of hunger and thirst to which they are reduced. "Finally the great captain in the sky hears the lamentation. The magician goes outside the camp and sees that a thin cord is being let down from the sky. He climbs a certain way up this, but the great captain comes down to meet him half-way. As soon as the magician sees the great captain, he throws a powder up to him; whereupon the great captain lifts him up high and takes him into his house. There the magician prays
[782] to him: 'Lord, help us, the children are dying, we thirst and hunger.'
So long does he pray and plead that at last the captain says: 'It is
[776] well, I shall send water, that the children may have water and veldkos.'
[821] Then he again accompanies the magician half-way down the cord. As soon as the latter has reached the ground, he releases his hold upon the cord, which is at once drawn up again. The rain follows immediately."[1]

184 Among the !O Kung in Angola there are also two kinds of magicians.
756 The */num-k'au* officiates at puberty dances, makes scarifications,
791 sees spirits, and also conjures up *//gaua*, while the *tsho-k'au* heals the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's
[881] body through sucking. For this he receives a present. Both
[787] men and women apparently can become magicians of either kind,
[755] if taught by an older practitioner. There is said to be no ceremony of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.[2]

It will be noticed that both terms which distinguish the two classes of magician among the Kung and the !O Kung are also found among the Naron and Auen for magicians. This would suggest that there is a similar division of functions in these tribes also, but neither Miss Bleek nor Kaufmann definitely states this.

773 The origin of magic among the Naron and Auen is said by Fourie
[789] to be attributed to *//gaua*, and he gives the following myth in confirmation.[3] "The Bushman *Tji-Tji* is said to have been initiated

[1] Lebzelter, "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 408–9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kub-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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by *Gaua* 'on the other side' into the use of the small magic quiver. 773
Tji-Tji had killed a gemsbok. *Gaua* arrived on the scene and said, 'I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep here.' After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-Tji* remarked to *Gaua*, 'Give me that stuff (*//ai*).' The latter replied, 'If I give you the *//ai*, what will you pay me?' *Tji-Tji* answered, 'I will give you the horns.' *Gaua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *//ai* and before departing taught *Tji-Tji* the *//ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic."

The small magic quiver and arrows to which reference is here 754 114 made are no doubt the miniature weapons found among all the North- 411 Western tribes. In a set seen by the writer the bow, made of a piece 756 of bone, was barely 10 cm. long, and the arrows, for which sharp [184] thorns were used, were small in proportion. Similar arrows described by other writers consisted of a stalk of grass about 6 cm. long and a head of bone or hard wood about 4 cm. long. This head was sharpened at the end inserted into the grass stalk, while the protruding end was blunted.[1]

The range of these arrows is of course very limited, and different suggestions have been put forward as to their use. They are certainly not children's toys, as these miniature bows and arrows are used only by men, who carry them concealed about their persons. From various descriptions it appears that in some cases the arrows are definitely poisoned, and consequently among Germans the name "Bushman revolver" has become applied to these miniature sets. It is claimed that they are used as real weapons and that the poison on the arrow is strong enough to bring about the death of anybody struck by it. On the other hand, Miss Bleek says that among the Naron they are not poisoned, but are used by magicians who quarrel among themselves to settle their differences. "A medicine man wishing to destroy another, comes up close and shoots at the opponent's kaross with one of these arrows, blunt end foremost. The missile falls harmlessly to the ground, but the victim dies of the magic."[2] This statement is supported by the report of a case tried at Windhoek in 1912, where it was maintained, inter alia, that a poisoned arrow of this kind had been used against the accused. In the evidence, however, it was stated by several witnesses that these

[1] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," 116–17, and references.
[2] *Naron*, 28.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

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eland, Castor and Pollux his wives; the Magellanic Clouds a steenbok; 184
Orion's sword three male tortoises hung upon a stick, his belt three 821
female tortoises so hung, etc. As these names indicate, there is
a good deal of folklore centring in the stars, and indeed a considerable 184
part of the vast collections of Cape Bushman lore made by Bleek 773
and Lloyd relate to the heavenly bodies, which are regarded as once 821
having been men or animals before being transformed into their present state. In one tale, for instance, it is related that a girl of the early race (preceding the Bushmen) wished for a little light, so that the people might see to return home by night. She therefore threw wood-ashes into the sky and these became the Milky Way. In another, again, it is told how a girl, at the time of her puberty seclusion, saw some people eating together at a dassie's house of branches. As a result they and the house, fixed by her looks, became stars in the sky, where they are now to be seen as the Corona Australis.[1]

The Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, according to Dornan, 184
also "have considerable acquaintance with various groups or 821
prominent stars, and have names for them", but the only one mentioned by him is the Southern Cross, referred to as the "giraffe star" and said to be somewhat like this animal in appearance.[2]

For shorter lengths of time the Bushmen go by the Moon, but 805
they make no attempt to reckon how many moons there are in the year or in a season.[3] They observe the phases of the Moon closely, [821]
but seem to have no division of time into anything corresponding to weeks, although they readily pick up the European system of weeks [177]
when working for white people, and will come regularly on the seventh day for tobacco, etc. Otherwise, in their intercourse with [648]
white people, the wage, if not given daily, is demanded at the New Moon.[4]

The day is apparently divided according to the position of the sun, but no names have been recorded for any fixed divisions or parts of the day.

The notion of time is also used to indicate distance, for which there 804
are no special units. Generally distance is reckoned by the time it 805
823

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10 sq.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 165.
[3] Lebzelter says, however ("Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15) that the Eastern Kung have a "vegetation year" of 10 months. The year is reckoned from one veldkos harvest to another. He omits to give any further details.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Nama
Bushmen FX10

boys. This particular association, in other words, is peculiar to the North-Western Bushmen; but whether it has been borrowed or is simply a local development cannot be decided in the light of our present knowledge.

Finally, the Hottentots speak also of *Heitsi Eibib*, who seems to be a sort of ancestral hero, and who is worshipped at his "graves", where he is prayed to for success in hunting, etc. His mythological character in certain respects resembles that of the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen, but the latter is not the object of a grave cult, and this *Heitsi Eibib* primarily is. There is no being corresponding to him among the Northern Bushmen, although his name occurs, obviously as a borrowed element, in the *Heiseb* of the Heikum of Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga (among the former as that of a "bringer of blessings", among the latter as that of an "evil spirit"!), and possibly also in the *Hishe*, i.e. *Huwe*, of the Naron and Auen. Consequently this conception must be regarded as peculiar to the Hottentots.

The resemblances noted above are far-reaching, even when allowance is made for the by no means insignificant differences in detail. The Northern Bushmen especially seem to have many elements of religious belief virtually identical with those of the Hottentots. There has certainly been a good deal of mutual influence here, but the similarities not so much in detail as in general features are too numerous and too fundamental to be attributed solely to borrowing. Meticulous comparison must unfortunately be ruled out as at present inadvisable: we know far more about the religious system of the Hottentots than we do about that of the Bushmen, of which indeed the available information is so scanty that any elaborate discussion based on it can only be regarded as somewhat speculative. It can nevertheless be fairly confidently asserted that among both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots we find, in addition to the worship of the moon, the cult of mythical beings derived partly from animistic beliefs (*//Gaua*), and partly from the personification of the natural forces producing rain (*Tsui //Goab*, *Huwe*). It must be concluded therefore that both peoples have on the whole the same religious system, although there are obviously also considerable differences in detail which still have to be explained. The importance attaching to this community of beliefs is emphasized by the fact that this religious system differs essentially from that of the neighbouring Bantu.

The Southern Bushmen to some extent stand apart from the rest.

[13 cont.]

776 !Khuwa and Erob were the same. In any case, the expression Ellob used by these people comes from Outjo, where there are a number of Christian Bushmen.

!Khuwa lives in the heavenly house χ'ain !nao gároba.
[772] The people in heaven eat only large flies, !Khu !Khua-i. The figure /Nawas is unknown. The evil antagonist of Huwe, //Gauab, is also absent. These Bushmen, however, have the same doctrine
[774] of the two souls as the !Kung of the east.

775 When someone dies, he becomes the property of !Khuwa; he is a !Khunga. The actual soul, χ'aobe, goes to the heavenly house, remains there, and does nothing but eat large flies. From the bodies of the dead [14] arise the //gauá-i, which run around in the bush and stir up trouble. They correspond to the akwapungu
[171] and azizi of the Ovambo. "But the actual souls of the Ovambo and the Bushmen go different ways; those of the Ovambo go under the earth where they have their fields and herds, but those of the Bushmen go up." Since the missionary Mr. Kylves expressed the desire to make some detailed studies of the Bushmen himself, I gladly left this attractive field of study to my kind host.

197 Finally, a number of words indicate that these people
192 are to be included in the Hei//om-Nama group, a point which
[101] is very striking with respect to the !Kung elments in their world view.

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Sun	shoreba	sóres
Moon	!hǎwa	//khab(*)
Stars	/nãmirõ-i	/gamiros
Dome of the sky	shorche	≠kanis
Earth	/huwa	!hub-eib
Lightning	/harabé	náwab
Thunder	!nau	!gurub(*)
Rain	≠nanuba	/awib(*)
Lion	χ'amba	χ'ami
Leopard	!kui-oba	!arub(*)
Large bird	anite	--
Dog	arib	arib
Boa constrictor	!aoba	--
Zebra	χorebe	--

[57 cont.]

776 Dama, and the translation of Gauab as "devil" comes from this
[171] circle of ideas. A baptized !Kung in /Nuiseb also told me that the Bushmen had been made by the devil, for the latter, as the old doctors reported to me, had once said to things: "You shall
[773] be a kudu, you an eland, you a Bushman," etc., and so everything was. Among the !Kung Bushmen /Nawa is by no means always evil. He directly brings luck on the hunt, and a kind of primitial offering is sent to him in that small pieces of the flesh of the game are thrown into the fire.

/Nawa, however, usually also sends sickness, in part with, and in part without the consent of the great captain. /Nawa is neither in heaven nor on earth, but runs about on threads in the air, where the other small spirits also run about. Whether or not /Nawa
[821] has a wife is unknown. The wind has no role in the tall bush forest, but my experience among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari and the Namib indicates that /Nawa is also connected in some way with the wind, since his most personal appearance is in the violent wind spouts, and among the Naukluft Bushmen one is not supposed to speak ill of the wind because the Gauab would overturn the windscreen.

Aside from /Nawa, there is a whole host of other small spirits, such as those who are at the disposal of the great captain
[821] and /Nawa and live in the sky, where the stars are their campfires. They are the ones who steal the soul from human beings and take it to the great captain. Then there are those who, like /Nawa, run to and fro on threads stretching between heaven and earth. Very evil little spirits live in the water, and the forest and veld are peopled by the little Gauab. These, however, are only the
[775] flesh-born spirits of deceased human beings. And with this we come to

18. Doctrine of the Soul and Belief in Immortality

775 The life principle of human beings is the soul, cha. The
● [774] same word also means heart. This cha is immortal. The Gauab who live among the stars take it to the great captain's house. The souls of all peoples, even those of the Whites, live there on the

[58 cont.]

[113] Specimens of Bushmen Folklore, London, 1910-11, pp. 10-13.

776 be especially significant. The !Kung at that time told of a being called /Chue, who transforms itself in turn into various fruit trees and veldkost plants, into a Herero, etc. One day he transformed himself into a //gui tree, his wife ate of it, the tree disappeared, and /Chue changed into a fly. Another time he even became a waterhole, then again a gecko; at night [59] he always changes back into a little human being. The Herero look for him, but cannot find him. /Chue then makes a fire and dies. His father sees this and then moves to his homeland on a large mountain called //Noa. We shall probably not go wrong if we identify this /Chue with Huwe. This Huwe, as is known, is sometimes equated with the great captain X'u. In this old setting he also has distinct traits of Heiseb.

782 The !Kung who were W.H.J. Bleek's informants were also familiar with a prayer song addressed to the new moon. In ac-
[534] companiment, they blew on trumpets made of antelope horns. (Bleek-Lloyd, ibid., p. 15.)

787 The old !Kung called the prophesy sticks /Chu, which evidently is the same name again as that of the great captain and is in agreement with Dornan's report concerning the Masarwa that Modimo himself spoke from the prophesy sticks.

755 Vedder reports that in case of illness a messenger is sent
769 to an ancestor's grave and prays: A dsi-dsi mi !hâ tí /X'ai-a? (Why is my son ill?) ≠nu /kôa (to live in health).

●774 While my informants denied the presence of any animistic
825 conceptions, the old !Kung believe that certain snakes, lizards,
775 and antelope found in the vicinity of graves represent spirits of the
171 dead (1), as they do among the Bantu.

1. W.H.J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd, ibid., p. 430.

[64 cont.]

825 existence. The appearance of the ring-necked snake indicates
[787] misfortune.

Animistic conceptions are more pervasive in the world
774 picture of the Masarwa (2). According to Dornan, each thing is a

821

2. The Kalahari Bushmen (Dornan, op. cit., p. 165) have some knowledge of the stars. The Southern Cross is a giraffe, but the Cape Bushmen regard it as a group of lions. Some of the Bushmen regard the stars as animals or human beings who have gone up to the sky.

773

The following story is told: During the girls' initiation a girl who possessed magical powers nodded to some lions and they were immediately transformed into stars.

The Cape Bushmen told another story: During the girls' initiation a girl was quarreling with her mother because the latter refused to give her certain roots that may not be eaten at such times. The girl seized the roots and the ashes and threw them toward the sky. The roots became stars, the ashes became the Milky Way. -- Shooting stars signify misfortune.

774 kind of spirit. Human beings and animals can each transform
[825] themselves into the other. Individual doctors change into leopards, and many animals are regarded as other appearances of man, especially the springbok, the baboon, and a number of snakes. When a ring-necked snake approaches a village, it indicates
[177] death. Bantu influence is undoubtedly at work here.

The !Kung doctrine of two souls reappears in a different
[184] form among the Masarwa. The shadow of each thing, as well as
774 that of the human being, is its other soul. They believe that the
775 shadow soul remains in the vicinity of the grave, while the self walks in another place where it meets with the fathers. It is supposed to be warm there, and supposedly there is much game. In the beyond one acts the same as on this earth.

MASARWA
OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

600 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib
769 Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu
[774] doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the
[825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals,
[824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe
[776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at
551 her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say
602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo
105 delta, J. Seiner reports:
101 "The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting.
[563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe
[144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease,
AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

At last a few more women joined the singers and the sing- 756
ing mounted, the voices took on several parts. At last the 535
men began to join, dancing toward the circle in twos and 533
threes, moaning the song in their throats, leaning on long staffs, their coming heralded by the dry, loud staccato of their rattles.

The men came from different directions, and they stood so tall and danced so strongly, with their muscles standing out on their necks, that their coming was like the coming of bull antelope, they were so radiant of strength and tension, they were so lithe and male. They came together out of the trees and, without the slightest change of pace, arranged themselves around the dance circle, wheeling slowly, one after the other, and the dance began.

The air was hot, the sun was shining strongly, the fire was 786
sending a shuddering cloud of heat around the dancers, and 756
as the dancers moved almost imperceptibly faster and faster, 535
Gai suddenly flung his arms into the air and with a piercing shriek crashed to the ground. He landed stiffly with a bounce, his head cracking. On the ground he writhed and groaned, and Ukwane pulled him by the arms to remove his body from the dance circle.

Gai was in deep trance. Ukwane was ministering to Gai's body because Gai's spirit had rushed away.

Bushmen say that when the medicine in a medicine man 774
becomes stimulated by a dance, warmed by the fire and by 756
the heat of the man's body, the man's spirit may leave him, 535
causing his body to fall because there is nothing there to hold it up, and fly into the veld, where it seeks out the evil that is troubling people. Some medicine men in this way have seen the spirits of the dead, some have seen the great god. At another dance we once attended, one man's spirit rushed into the veld, where it came upon a pride of lions that had been

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

774 troubling the people by their constant presence and by their
756 deafening roars at night. The man's spirit spoke with the
535 lions, defied them, and ordered them away, and the lions did go; they troubled the people no longer.

786 When the spirit returns, the medicine man comes to him-
756 self, as Gai did presently. He stood up and ran into the veld,
535 gaining speed as he went. Far out in the veld he screamed, a shriek of definace, then turned and charged back toward the dance fire. He passed through the dance like a wind through dry leaves; the people ducked aside and shrank away from his feet, then settled together when he had gone by. Gai shrieked again, turned himself, and rushed back, charging bull-like toward the fire again; this time Ukwane seized his arms and though Gai plowed forward, Ukwane hung on, dragging behind with all his weight, until at last Gai fell headlong into the dance fire and his hair burst into flames.

Ukwane snatched him out and slapped out the fire in his hair, and Gai, his mouth open and his eyes quite wild, sparks still falling from his head like stars, strained against Ukwane's hands. At last he broke away.

786 In a moment he bent slowly over the fire and washed his
756 hands in the flames, then went to one of the women in the
535 circle of singers and, placing one hand on her chest, the other
783 on her back, shuddered and groaned as he sucked the evil from her, then straightened suddenly and shrieked the evil into the air. In this way Gai cured all the people, followed as he went by Ukwane, who now held Gai's arm to keep him upright. Before long, Gai had fallen again exhausted and was dragged by the ankles to a place in the shade.

786 I looked at him and saw that his eyes were closed, his eye-
756 lids puffed, and thought he seemed unconscious. His breath
535 came rasping through his mouth and nose, and his pulse, showing in "the heart's place," seemed very quick. But he

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

821 them or seek to gain beneficent influence from them. As far as we know they do not pray to them for food as the Cape Bushmen are said once to have done, or for rain as the Naron and Auen and /O /Kung do.[1]

The /Kung beliefs about rain, which I do not describe in detail in this paper, include the idea that rain is life-giving and makes the food plants and other vegetation grow, whereas the sun is death-giving. The /Kung do not now formally personify or deify rain or worship it, but may retain a vestige of an ancient personification of rain in praying to it, in a manner of speaking, as they also do to lightning. 'Fall silently, rain. Do not make such a noise. Do not be dangerous', they say. Or, to lightning, 'Do not come against me. Go to the other side.'

825 The /Kung do not attribute divinity to the mantis but, in calling it 'the servant of *//Gamwa*', perhaps they preserve a vestige or an echo of the Cape Bushman belief in *//kaggen*. If they injure a mantis which is walking on them or throw one into the fire, [753] '*//Gamwa* would see this and say that his servant was being ill treated and would punish the person. He would make the person sick'. Mantises are *chi dole* (*chi*, thing; *dole*, bad) not because they harm you—they only prick and tickle you—but because they belong to *//Gamwa* and people are afraid of the 'owner'. The old people told them these things. We saw the /Kung hold mantises, however, without exhibiting fear or the uncanny fascinated feeling I had when I watched them (especially the huge female who lived with me, with her consort seemingly permanently attached to her, and fascinated me by never seeming to take her eyes off me as she made her slow and stately progress around the tent at night).

The /Kung react in quite a different way to millepedes. They say there are two kinds. The large one they call *ko ko chi nube*; the small one they call *choba* or *zoba*. One day a boy picked up a millepede and threw it toward a group of women. They jumped up and fled, shrieking. Talking about it afterwards, they explained that 'even men are afraid of millepedes'. (We observed several incidents of people jump- [753] ing and running from them.) They are very dangerous, the /Kung say. If one gets on you, the shock of fright you feel could kill you. 'Millepedes work with *//Gamwa*. He sends them to eat your nose when you are asleep.' If you put a *choba* in the fire when the *n//i* berries (*Grewia flava* D.C.) are still green, the berries will not ripen [278] properly and will not be sweet. If the /Kung find the ash of a millepede which has been burned in a veld fire and has kept its shape, they take the ash for a medicine. (Cf. Schapera's account that among the Naron and Auen 'the millipede, said to belong to *Hishe*, is only touched by them [magicians]; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine.'[2])

774 825 The /Kung do not believe that animals have spirits or souls or that earthly objects (such as trees or water, for example) are entered by spirits or are themselves animated by having spirits of their own.

787 Divination is a secular practice among the /Kung. The oracle disks may be thrown and read by any man. They are five leather disks about two-and-a-half to three inches in diameter. The man who throws them gathers them into his cupped hands, flings them with a spreading motion on to a kaross on the ground, and reads what they reveal or predict. Different personifications are attributed to the disks, according to what the people want to learn from them. If advice about a hunt is wanted, the

[1] Schapera, op. cit., pp. 176–7. [2] Ibid., p. 197.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

775 and they have a respectful term, */airisi*, to use if they wish to show deference and be ingratiating. Actually the /Kung seemed to speak of the *||gauwasi* quite often and much less reluctantly than they spoke of the gods. I did not happen to hear them use */airisi* except when they were telling me the term.

775 772 The *||gauwasi* move about in the sky or on earth. All over the sky fine cords are stretched, like the strands of a spider's web, invisible to us but strong. The *||gauwasi* move on these cords and can go anywhere. They descend to earth on one which hangs down from the sky, the one by which the medicine men climb up when they go to see *||Gauwa* in the western sky.

775 772 821 The idea that the stars are the eyes of the dead, which some Bushmen believe, is not held by the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Some informants had heard that other people believed this. Lazy /Qui said he did not know; certainly enough people had died to account for there being so many stars. Others said stars are just stars there in the sky. Although they have names for several of them and stories about some, they do not know what substances stars are made of or what their nature is.

775 [761 825] The /Kung associate falling stars with death. They do not believe that they are spirits of the dead but that they fall to earth and become insects which are colloquially called 'ant lions' (*Myrmeleonidae*, in the order of Neuroptera). These insects are common in the region. In the larval state they live in holes in the ground where one can see them spurting out grains of earth or sand. They devour ants. The /Kung believe that the bite of a fallen star may cause you to die the next day but that, if the star likes you and wishes to spare you, its bite will do you no harm. The old people have said so. *≠Gao/na* has no particular association with ant lions other than being the creator and controller of all things.

The spirits of dead persons are transmuted into *||gauwasi* by *≠Gao/na* in the east. When a person dies, *||gauwasi* come soon to take his spirit. The children of the gods are sometimes the ones who come, we were told, but any of the *||gauwasi* may do so, either ancestors of the dead person or non-related spirits.

[774] The *||gauwasi* pull the spirit out through the head of the corpse. The head is, likewise, the egress of the spirits of the medicine men. When the medicine men are in trance, [787] which the /Kung call half-death, their spirits go out temporarily from their bodies through their heads to encounter and combat *||Gauwa* and the *||gauwasi*, who lurk in the shadows around the dance fire, and it is through the heads that the spirits return.

[775] The spirit which the *||gauwasi* take from the corpse is distinct from life. The /Kung believe that life, *≠toa*, is inside the body of a person or animal, that it is put there and held there by the creator. It exists in all the vital organs in the abdomen, in blood, in the heart, lungs, throat, and mouth, and is everywhere in the head. It does not exist in the arms and legs, the /Kung believe, because they know that human beings and animals can be wounded in a limb or even lose one and not die, whereas a wound in the vital parts is likely to kill. Life dies in the body and stays there—dead, as the [774] body itself is there but dead. It is the spirit which does not die. The only word I know for spirit is *||gauwa*. The spirit is like air. It cannot be seen and cannot be kept by mortals. The *||gauwasi* take it and they take the heart and blood of the person as well. These the *||gauwasi* carry first into the western sky, to the place where *||Gauwa* lives, but they do not leave them with him. They carry them further, around by the south to the east, to the place where *≠Gao/na*, the great creator, lives.

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance A medicine man is going into a trance.

755

to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Gauwa* or the *//gauwasi*, who are there beyond the firelight, with a sharp, yelping cry of "*kai kai kai*."

The medicine men are usually only in shallow trance at this point, but, when the curing has been going on for some time, they begin to reach a state of patterned frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. They believe that fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. The medicine men rush out into the darkness, where *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. "Filthy face!" they screech. "Take away the sickness you have brought. You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away. . . . *Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die." At this point the medicine man may fall down in deep trance and appear to be unconscious or semiconscious, with eyes closed, stiff as a board, unable to walk. This stage of trance may last only a brief time or may continue for hours—even into the next day. Gradually it is resolved and the medicine man takes up his normal activities.

[372]

[274]

The !Kung believe that at the time of deep trance the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*. They call this "half death." It is a dangerous time. The women must continue to sing the medicine music. The man's body must be watched over, rubbed, and kept warm by other medicine men who are in less deep trance.

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The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a

[p. 272]

/158 cont./

T. Religion, Cult, Mythology

756 The Bushman doctor conjures up rain by scattering on the
[789] ground a kind of red earth which he fetches from afar and carries about with him.

I regard the doctors, who take the place of sorcerers, as quite experienced people who have a considerable gift for observation. At the same time, they throw plenty of sand in their
[775] clients' eyes. The soul of the deceased does not die. The Bush-
[769] men have great fear of the dead and even of the place of death.

Illnesses that give rise to much pain and complaining on the
753 part of the sufferers are regarded as having been caused by a higher power (demons); others are regarded as natural illness.

The doctor practices exorcism by saying magical charms over
755 the sick person and finally, with the motion of a juggler, flinging to the ground a little piece of wood or the like which is supposed to have come from the body of the patient and to have caused the illness.

The only thing that I was able to establish concerning their
776 religious notions, despite weeks of fruitless endeavor, /159/ is that a higher power exists which may be harmful to men and may cause them to perish from serious illnesses. This higher power, which is feared, dwells "above." I could not get them to do more than point upward in the direction of the sky, except for the statement that the feared power is far beyond the treetops. [Fig. 14 appears here.]

The doctor is both physician and sorcerer. He is probably
756 also a priest, for whenever I asked questions concerning religion and the like, I was always referred to the doctor, who supposedly was informed about these matters.

Not every settlement has a doctor. Between Oas, Rietfontein, and Ganab (100 kilometers north of Rietfontein) there was supposedly only one.

The doctor has his head shaved smooth. In addition, he is said to wear ornaments that no other man may use.

Boys who have been apprenticed to a doctor for many years may later, when they have become older, replace their master.

In the treatment of the sick, charlatanism seems to be mixed

[Text continues on page 56]

[6 cont.]

101 account refers only to the latter.

821 [7] The sky is designated by them as !nanu áiba Éroba Kharésa ("rain house of god").

776 For god they have the expressions "Erob" and "χ'amab"
775 only "Erob" is used in prayers. χ'amab (1) has been preserved

1. χ indicates a very low gutteral click, for which I know of no notation.

in χ'amá //gu Khe = "people who are with god," in other words, the souls of the deceased in heaven. Everyone goes there, the good as well as the bad. Erob has no wife and no children. A human being has only one soul (!gau-ba). This soul goes to the heavenly house and remains there "until Erob makes new people from it." Here is a belief in the transmigration of souls, which, it must be admitted, is not thought through any further.

No spirits of the dead remain on earth. There are little
776 bush spirits, the gangorob; they are harmless and do nothing. There are no evil little spirits. They supposedly know nothing about Heiseb and /Nawa.

136 The supply of game is ample in the tall dry forests of the Otjimpolo Veld. There are also fish in the rainy season. The
[825] Bushmen call them "shiba" (Ovambo: oshi or ochi); in other words, originally they had no word for them.

224 The Bushmen are helpless against the lion (χ'oréba).
[825] They leave a region as soon as lions make it unsafe. "There is no point in hunting them."

The leopard (χ'nába) is hunted with dogs (ariba). The
[439] chiefs of Amboland pay a good price for the skin, since little princes and princesses are not carried in a litter made of cowhide, but in a leopard skin. The jackal (≠Khai-eba) and the Löffelhund (//arúba) [a fox-like wild dog of the subfamily Octocyoninae] are hunted with enthusiasm. "Aruba" probably corresponds to N. //arob = striped jackal.

Wild dogs, "Khere," !nube (N. !goub) are preferably
[825] avoided. No notice is taken of the hyena, ≠Khai-lasa (N. ≠heirab),
[262] and it is not eaten. When they come near the camp, it is not a
[767] good sign.

[10 cont.]

539 χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!
[821]
281
731 [11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They
[488] do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and
[758] the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune. Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own.
271 One must have experienced personally the feeling that overcomes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can drink again!

539 3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a
782 journey:
[484] χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is
[755] gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor performs his ceremonies.

χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai kháira téve God, let our people rise again.

789 5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil: Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

821 They do not know anything to say about the sun (sorésa). The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

753 Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those
776 persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this, and there is no spirit of sickness.

776 There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the bush. They play tricks.

775 A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know
[756] what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

372 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in
881 the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other
184 hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not
585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the mar-
582 riage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A
595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 [12] A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

[13 cont.]

776 !Khuwa and Erob were the same. In any case, the expression Ellob used by these people comes from Outjo, where there are a number of Christian Bushmen.

!Khuwa lives in the heavenly house χ'ain !nao gároba.
[772] The people in heaven eat only large flies, !Khu !Khua-i. The figure /Nawas is unknown. The evil antagonist of Huwe, //Gauab, is also absent. These Bushmen, however, have the same doctrine
[774] of the two souls as the !Kung of the east.

775 When someone dies, he becomes the property of !Khuwa; he is a !Khunga. The actual soul, χ'aobe, goes to the heavenly house, remains there, and does nothing but eat large flies. From the bodies of the dead [14] arise the //gauá-i, which run around in the bush and stir up trouble. They correspond to the akwapungu
[171] and azizi of the Ovambo. "But the actual souls of the Ovambo and the Bushmen go different ways; those of the Ovambo go under the earth where they have their fields and herds, but those of the Bushmen go up." Since the missionary Mr. Kylves expressed the desire to make some detailed studies of the Bushmen himself, I gladly left this attractive field of study to my kind host.

197 Finally, a number of words indicate that these people
192 are to be included in the Hei//om-Nama group, a point which
[101] is very striking with respect to the !Kung elments in their world view.

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Sun	shoreba	sóres
Moon	!háwa	//khab(*)
Stars	/nāmirō-i	/gamiros
Dome of the sky	shorche	≠kanis
Earth	/huwa	!hub-eib
Lightning	/harabé	náwab
Thunder	!nau	!gurub(*)
Rain	≠nanuba	/awib(*)
Lion	χ'amba	χ'ami
Leopard	!kui-oba	!arub(*)
Large bird	anite	--
Dog	arib	arib
Boa constrictor	!aoba	--
Zebra	χorebe	--

/14 cont./

000 chronic, good-natured imbiber . . .

776 In heaven there is one god, Erob. Lightning (dábara)
[821] and rain (!nanus) are sent by him. He calls heaven χ'ameiba.
This word is very interesting. It can mean both "place of the
/15/ souls (χ'a) " or "place of the χ'amab." The souls
[775] (um-ské) go to heaven after death. "This is what they say,"
said the man, "I haven't been there yet."

He did not know Gauab and Heiseb. Concerning other spirits, he said that people had mentioned them, but he did not believe in them. The spirits are supposedly called "gangarob."
756 The old Bushmen had neither doctors nor medicines against ill-
753 nesses. To my question about what made people ill, he responded with philosophical equanimity: "If one becomes ill, he is ill like an animal." He knew nothing about the sun (soris)
[821] and moon (χ'ab). A sacred fire is unknown to him.
[778]

224 Of greatest interest is his report, undoubtedly based
782 upon autopsy, concerning an initial offering at the hunt. I give the report in literal translation:

"Before people go out to the hunt, they meet at an omsati tree (//Khaia-aib). There a fire is made. Each hunter rips off a number of leaves, spits on them, and throws them into the fire as he shouts:

[539] Érob, Érob, áu tere! God, God, help us!

"When the game has been killed, one first cuts a piece each from the lung, liver, and stomach and throws each piece singly to the side, saying all the while:

Érob úre, Érob úre! God take, God take!

[539] "Then they start to eat."

This function is performed by the one who has killed the game.

881 The following was communicated to me concerning the
585 social organization:

There are initiation ceremonies. The celebration of the first menstruation originally coincided with the wedding. On the first day of menstruation the girl went into a pontok especially constructed for this purpose. Then there was dancing for two or three days, and after the cessation of the menses the girl went to

[24 cont.]

181 He states:

181 593 "It has been asserted that the Bushmen have no feeling for one another. I have frequently heard it said that the mothers are cruel to their children and occasionally kill them when their burden becomes too great. As far as I can see, this is untrue. I have frequently seen Bushman mothers kiss their little ones, exactly as European women do, and when the children are ill, they go to all kinds of trouble. The fathers, it is true, are frequently gruff and rough, but never brutal to their children. The girls are usually seen in company with their mothers, the boys with the men. Between mother and daughter there is an intimate relationship of
181 trust. It has also been asserted that Bushmen are ungrateful; this is also quite untrue. They show their feeling of gratitude neither to one another nor to the Whites, but anyone who gains their trust through kindness can tell that they are indeed grateful. They show their gratitude not by words but by deeds. If someone is in need or in distress and a Bushman friend is in the vicinity, the latter will stay by him to the bitter end."

The !Kung Bushman in particular is much more a rational than a sentimental person. The extraordinary difficulty that he encounters in obtaining his livelihood makes him extremely independent in his thinking. It was surprising to see the sureness with
[124] which not only men but women, too, were able to act as interpreters. Whereas among the Bantu it is difficult to keep the conversation on the subject, the Bushman always sticks to the point. Even the tribal traditions, insofar as superstitious conceptions are concerned, are not safe from the skepticism of the individual. For instance, I once asked a number of Bushmen whether they hunt lions. They
[775] answered in the negative, and when I said that this was probably
[771] because the lions harbored the spirits of eminent deceased Bushmen, they laughed and said that this was just a tale of the Hei//om Bushmen and some Bushman doctors who had learned this from them. Other men of the same tribe, on the other hand, were firmly convinced that the spirits of great Bushmen doctors reside in the lions.

181 There are also many stories about bush spirits, especially in
771 the Otjimpolo Veld. My informants repeatedly observed, however, that they did not know whether there was any truth in them, because they had never seen any.

[49 cont.]

756 786 789 796 glowing all too brightly. On the other hand, I was surprised when on the occasion of such a religious dance the so-called great doctor -- after he had danced by himself long and continuously in visible ecstasy, so that in spite of the cool night and even though he was almost completely naked, the sweat ran down his entire body -- suddenly, with slow majestic steps, walked through the high flames of the fire and in so doing had to step on the burning logs with his bare feet.

753 776 [50] On a later occasion I discussed these procedures thoroughly and in detail with the chief doctor, Kasi, and with Dube and the other doctors. One of the most striking aspects of the entire ceremony is perhaps the absence of the mysterious and the magical. These little spirits of sickness are not magical creatures but, in the eyes of the Bushmen, commonplace realities. The Bushmen know very well that many illnesses are not caused by the spirits of sickness alone. If someone eats something that has gone bad, he will become ill and will be given an emetic. If someone is wounded by a shot, the wound will be treated. If the injured person has pains only in the wound and otherwise feels all right, then no spirit of sickness has entered into him. If he feels sick all over, however, then he is possessed by a spirit of sickness. These little spirits of sickness are called dsao; they are little yellow men with a fat belly and a little tail. They obey the other spirits, which, as described above, include the ordinary (775) spirits from the bodies of deceased persons, the spirits who live among the stars, and the chief spirit (/Nawa) himself. [Fig. 20 appears here.]

Finally, even the "great captain" can send the dsao directly over a person. /Nawa can do this with or without the consent of the "great captain"; the smaller spirits act on their own authority or at the command of these powers.

756 776 The doctors have their supernatural power directly from the "great capitain"; they are as powerful as /Nawa and stronger

[52 cont.]

773 Concerning the moon, I was told: "The moon was also
821 carried by people. It was not as warm as the sun, but very heavy. So the men helped each other, and with great difficulty they brought it to the huts. The moon was a man. He said: 'I prefer to remain alone and do not wish to be among you.' Thereupon the Bushmen said: 'If you go alone into the desert, you will surely die.' But the moon did not obey, went out, and died. But then it woke up again and rose like the sun; therefore, like the latter, it is from the 'Great Captain.' When it disappears, it has died. When only one side of it is visible, then it is young. When it becomes smaller, then it is old. The color of the moon comes from its gall (/góo)."

The well-known story of the moon and the hare is told there as follows:

The moon once said to the hare: "I die and wake up again, you on earth should do the same." But the hare answered: "No, we cannot do that, we who are on earth, only you can do that because you are in the air, among us this is impossible; once we die, we do not wake up again." And the hare was right; it is still so today.

821 The eclipse of the moon, !nui dsao, is caused by the lions
[825] so that they can more easily steal into the Bushman huts.

[53] Comets, χ'u !gam, are stars of the great captain;
[777] they bring luck. When a shooting star, ǂgomma, falls, it is said,
[787] just as among us, that someone has died. The stars are the camp-
● [775] fires of those spirits who at the command of the great captain come down and fetch the souls of the dying.

[823] Earthquakes, χ'áno !gee, are omens of sickness. The
[787] rainbow, !khâni !nâo, indicates a good year for rain.

[782] What the Bushman begs and prays for is not sunshine but
[776] rain. The great captain alone dispenses rain.

Lightning and thunder are not beings in themselves, but are caused by rain. When someone is killed by lightning, it is said: "The rain has killed him." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder at a distance, the rain is saying: "Today I shall thunder over the whole earth." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder on various sides, the clouds are speaking to one another. And when they touch each other with their heads, the

[53 cont.]

751 burned to a tinder and pulverized to make a medicine. The per-
821 son struck now has incisions made on his tongue, forehead, cheeks, chest, and legs, into which fat is rubbed, and then this medicine is smeared on. Now, for the time being, he is safe from persecution by the rain.

16. Rain Magic

789 People turn directly to the great captain when they need
[756] rain. Not all doctors are able to procure rain, only the few who
796 enjoy the special favor of the great captain. Then a dance is organized, at which the doctors put themselves in the trance state described below. At the same time the following lament is repeated countless times:

[54]

[539] !garǎ gurí dee oa ǂam	Why does it not rain?
X'uá dě rá /gaa !ái /gaa	Which lord is holding back the rain?
/gǎm khui hẽ	The sun is hot.
!kǔng-ná gurí /gǒá /gǒá	Will man live?
//gauǎna tani /gee ǂgáo	Are the spirits bringing winter?
!kung /goá hǒǒ !koa	Where is man supposed to drink?
!kung ō dshn-ǎ	
//gaa /a //gõě !kung	If it is so, can man only die
/n a //gõě	of thirst?
!kunǎ //gõě ne oa	What can man do now?
Ha-!kung tam hã m tam ná	We had better stay here because
/n gěě	we have been abandoned!

756 Finally the great captain in heaven hears the lamenting.
789 The doctor runs from the dance place into the bush and sees that
787 a thin thread is let down from the sky. The doctor climbs up on
796 this thread. The great captain comes to meet him half way. As soon as the doctor sees the great captain, he throws a red powder (ocher with medicine) toward him. Now the great captain draws the doctor up and leads him to the heavenly house. In front of this house [Fig. 20 appears here] the doctor sees the spirits of
[775] his deceased colleagues who year in, year out, stand before the house.

[55 cont.]

114 //Gaua, whose name varies, stands opposite
171 him as an antagonist who does harm to human
776 beings. Schapera believes that the original
[775] designation //Gaua stood for the spirits of the dead. This is largely correct. My researches in various places, however, show that all kinds of noncorporeal beings are understood by the term //Gaua, in other words, spirits in our sense, and immaterial forces of all kind. The great captain, of course, is regarded as actually corporeal by the !Kung. P. W. Schmidt, on the other hand, has regarded this //Gaua as the original god in heaven. A comparison of the facts of the history of religion may support this view.

114 If I understand Schapera correctly, we
776 agree that a benign high deity is indeed pres-
771 ent among the Bushmen, but one that he does not want to designate as the supreme being. I maintain, however, that this being must be so designated in accordance with general usage.
[174] The peoples of the Khoisan group, according to the evidence of the prehistoric finds, have an active history behind them; the most diverse races live on in them, and their culture in its optimal adaptation to environmental conditions is to be regarded as a residual culture. It is therefore self-evident that their world view should have a syncretistic character, especially since religious ideas are cultural elements with definite tendencies to diffuse widely. Like all human beings, the Bushmen and other primitives have thoughts that are fundamentally the same as ours.
[773] Even the Bushman has a distinct need to discover causality, but this need is felt less with regard to causal or conditional explanations for given conditions and more with regard

!KUNG

[55 cont.] WHATEVER I COULD GET FROM MY
114 individual informants I took down with the
771 exactness of a trained scientist, faithful to
776 the letter and with due regard for all pre-
[124] cautions. From these notations I have drawn the inevitable conclusion that a benign supreme being is a reality in their world picture.

776 surrounding Hei//om tribes, [56] for they use the word Somseb.
171 We should sooner think of Huwe. Huwe or Hue was what the !Kung Bushmen of Tsumeb examined by Vedder called the supreme being. I also know the expression Chuwa from the Bushmen of Ukuambi. This supreme being is conceived of in human form;
776 it looks like a Bushman and also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky
772 in a house that has two floors; his wife, whose name is unknown, lives on the lower floor, as well as many children. The souls
[775] of the deceased live on the upper floor. "The house" (it is supposed to be similar to, but not entirely like a Bushman windscreen) "is hairy on the outside, like a caterpillar." There are various things up there, but only a single house, namely, that of the captain. Honey, crickets, and fat flies are there in great abundance. The great captain lives on them. In addition, there are a great many butterflies. The following are regarded as the
776 functions of this supreme being:

1. In the opinion of some, the great captain made the sun, moon, and everything. In the opinion of others, the highest of the spirits, /Nawa, did this.

2. The great captain calls the doctors to their calling and gives them supernatural power.

3. He is the lord of the rain and the lightning.

4. Through the highest of the spirits he sends luck on the hunt or on the search for veldkost.

5. When someone thinks or speaks ill of him, he punishes
[688] him with lightning. He is not concerned about the other activities of his Bushman children, however, unless someone swears falsely.
695 The Kung have a regular oath, and one of my informants reported
776 the following to me:

When a group goes hunting and one of the participants is

[57 cont.]

776 Dama, and the translation of Gauab as "devil" comes from this
[171] circle of ideas. A baptized !Kung in /Nuiseb also told me that the Bushmen had been made by the devil, for the latter, as the old doctors reported to me, had once said to things: "You shall
[773] be a kudu, you an eland, you a Bushman," etc., and so everything was. Among the !Kung Bushmen /Nawa is by no means always evil. He directly brings luck on the hunt, and a kind of primitial offering is sent to him in that small pieces of the flesh of the game are thrown into the fire.

/Nawa, however, usually also sends sickness, in part with, and in part without the consent of the great captain. /Nawa is neither in heaven nor on earth, but runs about on threads in the air, where the other small spirits also run about. Whether or not /Nawa
[821] has a wife is unknown. The wind has no role in the tall bush forest, but my experience among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari and the Namib indicates that /Nawa is also connected in some way with the wind, since his most personal appearance is in the violent wind spouts, and among the Naukluft Bushmen one is not supposed to speak ill of the wind because the Gauab would overturn the windscreen.

Aside from /Nawa, there is a whole host of other small spirits, such as those who are at the disposal of the great captain
[821] and /Nawa and live in the sky, where the stars are their campfires. They are the ones who steal the soul from human beings and take it to the great captain. Then there are those who, like /Nawa, run to and fro on threads stretching between heaven and earth. Very evil little spirits live in the water, and the forest and veld are peopled by the little Gauab. These, however, are only the
[775] flesh-born spirits of deceased human beings. And with this we come to

18. Doctrine of the Soul and Belief in Immortality

775 The life principle of human beings is the soul, cha. The
[774] same word also means heart. This cha is immortal. The Gauab who live among the stars take it to the great captain's house. The souls of all peoples, even those of the Whites, live there on the

[57 cont.]
second floor. They do nothing and they eat nothing. According 775
to other Bushmen tribes I visited, the great captain uses these cha in order to make new human beings, but among my friends of the bush veld, the dolce far niente on the second floor of the heavenly house is the final goal of man. The souls of all, the good and the wicked, come there. There is no punishment in the beyond.

[58] The body is buried in the earth. After a few days the flesh revives and then disappears. The Gauab of the deceased has arisen, comes out of the grave, goes hunting, eats and drinks, and as a shade leads a life similar to that during his lifetime. The grave is his house; the shade (1) goes to sleep there when it is

1. "Living corpse" would perhaps be better than "shade."

tired. These spirits cannot enter into stones, plants, or animals, or transform themselves into such. There is no trace of this true animism. The Gauab is rather a reduced version (since the skeleton remains in the grave) of the once living Bushman. He looks like a Bushman, but many of these Gauab are lame. They are generally malignant, and if someone walks past the grave and [753]
annoys them, they send the little spirits of sickness, who killed [776]
them during their lifetime. These spirits of sickness are thought of as little yellow men with big stomachs.

Among the !Kung Bushmen, then, we have a definite doctrine of two souls. Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report:

2. Die Buschmänner, p. 421.

"The /Oresen were wicked people. They died, but cannot have any rest. Their wickedness does not let them rest. They always want to inflict harm. This is the way that they behaved in life. This is also what they want to do after death. They torment people, frighten them, and try to kill them. When they have killed people, they eat their flesh. They come at night. The sorcerers can see the evil spirits. The sorcerers then warn the others who cannot see. The /Oresen live in the graves.

[58 cont.]

775 From there they make their rounds. They always return to their
769 graves. Hence, a Bushman always makes a detour around a grave. He does not point at a grave with his finger, and he does not call to a companion: 'There is a grave!' A great detour is made around the area where there is a grave. When a Bushman unexpectedly passes a grave, he puts a stone on it. That is a greeting for the dead person. In so doing, one makes the grave more secure against wild animals."

769 From the region of Foxhof I have the following informa-
775 tion to add:

"The Gauab that arises from the flesh of the corpse remains seated by the grave. When a relative passes by and the Gauab is sitting out in the open, the Gauab thinks: 'I know this person well; why is he passing by here without giving me any water. Then the Gauab becomes angry and makes him sick. Then when the doctors sing, they recognize what the trouble is and say: 'Today you passed by the grave of N. and did not give anything. Tomorrow morning very early you must take water and
775 an ostrich egg and place them by the grave. Such a Gauab also
787 goes hunting, kills game, makes a fire, cuts open the game, takes the fat, and brings it to the doctors while they are singing.
[756] The Gauab, whom the other people cannot see, sits down at some distance from the dancers. The doctor sees him, however, and goes to the Gauab. The latter tells him where the game lies, and the doctor tells this to the other people, who fetch the game and praise the Gauab.

775 "The stars are the campfires of the Gauab.

"The Gauana take the souls that they have stolen to their village and then back to the grave. The people often hear a voice in the veld; this is the Gauab calling, and on their way they find a piece of dead game. When the Gauab is out hunting and has gone too far from his grave, he must sleep in a tree. Some of the souls stolen by the Gauab are brought to the captain of the Gauana. The souls that are taken there again become actual persons up above with the captain of the rain. The others, however, are the little Gauab who go hunting here."

[114] The observations made by Bleek (3) 50 years ago seem to
776 be especially significant.

3. W. H. J. Bleek and L.C.Lloyd,

[113]

[58 cont.]

[113] Specimens of Bushmen Folklore, London, 1910-11, pp. 10-13.

776 be especially significant. The !Kung at that time told of a being called /Chue, who transforms itself in turn into various fruit trees and veldkost plants, into a Herero, etc. One day he transformed himself into a //gui tree, his wife ate of it, the tree disappeared, and /Chue changed into a fly. Another time he even became a waterhole, then again a gecko; at night [59] he always changes back into a little human being. The Herero look for him, but cannot find him. /Chue then makes a fire and dies. His father sees this and then moves to his homeland on a large mountain, called //Noa. We shall probably not go wrong if we identify this /Chue with Huwe. This Huwe, as is known, is sometimes equated with the great captain X'u. In this old setting he also has distinct traits of Heiseb.

782 The !Kung who were W.H.J. Bleek's informants were also familiar with a prayer song addressed to the new moon. In ac-
[534] companiment, they blew on trumpets made of antelope horns. (Bleek-Lloyd, ibid., p. 15.)

787 The old !Kung called the prophesy sticks /Chu, which evidently is the same name again as that of the great captain and is in agreement with Dornan's report concerning the Masarwa that Modimo himself spoke from the prophesy sticks.

755 Vedder reports that in case of illness a messenger is sent
769 to an ancestor's grave and prays: A dsi-dsi mi !hâ tí /X'ai-a? (Why is my son ill?) ≠nu /kôa (to live in health).

774 While my informants denied the presence of any animistic
825 conceptions, the old !Kung believe that certain snakes, lizards,
775 and antelope found in the vicinity of graves represent spirits of the
171 dead (1), as they do among the Bantu.

1. W.H.J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd, ibid., p. 430.

[60 cont.]

769 territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced
614 by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place (1).

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 434.

● 775 As has already been said, the Bushman does not believe
[626] in punishment after death. On the other hand, he is convinced that the evil that he himself has done will befall him or his dogs in the same way.

681 In former times banishment from the kin group was likewise
648 customary, and the exile would soon perish, since the Bushman
177 cannot survive by himself in the wilderness for any length of time. Nowadays, such individuals, just like those who were expelled from the Bantu tribes, move to land owned by Europeans and find work there. It is obvious that they do not help to improve the reputation of the Coloreds.

695 In cases of doubt, the Bushman swears by the great captain: nu X'u.

681 Instead of formal expulsion, the people may boycott out-
762 laws, who are thereby driven to such despair that they commonly commit suicide. Suicides also occur for other reasons.

21. Conflicts with Europeans

648 Before the police zone boundary was erected, the Bushmen found themselves in a latent state of war with their neighbors. Part of their list of sins will be cited here.

According to Toke, the !Kung near Keibeb in 1925 attacked eight Barotse [Lozi] and killed them, and purportedly ate them. Later, three Ovambo were attacked by surprise, killed,

[64 cont.]

825 existence. The appearance of the ring-necked snake indicates
[787] misfortune.

Animistic conceptions are more pervasive in the world
774 picture of the Masarwa (2). According to Dornan, each thing is a

821 2. The Kalahari Bushmen (Dornan, op. cit., p. 165) have some knowledge of the stars. The Southern Cross is a giraffe, but the Cape Bushmen regard it as a group of lions. Some of the Bushmen regard the stars as animals or human beings who have gone up to the sky.

773 The following story is told: During the girls' initiation a girl who possessed magical powers nodded to some lions and they were immediately transformed into stars.

The Cape Bushmen told another story: During the girls' initiation a girl was quarreling with her mother because the latter refused to give her certain roots that may not be eaten at such times. The girl seized the roots and the ashes and threw them toward the sky. The roots became stars, the ashes became the Milky Way. -- Shooting stars signify misfortune.

774 kind of spirit. Human beings and animals can each transform
[825] themselves into the other. Individual doctors change into leopards, and many animals are regarded as other appearances of man, especially the springbok, the baboon, and a number of snakes. When a ring-necked snake approaches a village, it indicates
[177] death. Bantu influence is undoubtedly at work here.

The !Kung doctrine of two souls reappears in a different
[184] form among the Masarwa. The shadow of each thing, as well as
774 that of the human being, is its other soul. They believe that the
● 775 shadow soul remains in the vicinity of the grave, while the self walks in another place where it meets with the fathers. It is supposed to be warm there, and supposedly there is much game. In the beyond one acts the same as on this earth.

≠AUIN
NARON

[74 cont.]

773 him. They go to their huts which are under the horizon in the
8 21 west. At night or during the day, respectively, they go back to their huts in the east; one can hear them but cannot see them."

114 776 Kaufmann was unable to discover anything concrete concerning the high gods of the ≠Auin. Concerning the Naron, Bleek
776 relates that a curious mixture of religious conceptions has come about. A central position is occupied by Hise or Hyesa, who is designated as !Khuba or !X'uba by the adult men. The old people knew nothing about this. The Nama designate !Khub as master or lord, and this word is used by a number of missionaries for Christ. These elders maintain that this concept has been adopted
[177] from the Nama. Formerly they only knew Hise, who lived in the east. Hise is evidently the same as Heitsi Aibib (literally, "the first tree").

The Naron relate that in olden times both the trees and the
773 animals were human beings who were transformed by Hise into their present shapes. Then Hise called the chiefs of the Whites and Blacks and said to them: "Take cows and goats and live with them." But to the first chiefs of the Bushmen he said: "Take the antelopes and live on them; make traps and hunt and live in the bush."

The expression Huwu or Huwuba is known and is supposed to
776 designate the great captain of the men in the north. The details given by Miss Bleek concerning //Gauwa are interesting. In the opinion of the Naron and ≠Auin, //Gauwa is the spirit of a de-
[175] ceased person. Medicine men can also see these spirits; the
[187] women can only hear them. Many a woman declared that only men who had gone through the initiation ceremony and who have two scars between the eyebrows can become //Gauwa. A strong, howling wind is also designated as //Gauwa, however. A few individuals also believe in a chief spirit by this name, who lives near Hise in the east and to whose house the spirits return by day. Some designate //Gauwa as the younger brother of Hise; others identify him with the latter.

The Naron put both masculine and feminine endings on the word Hise. Among the ≠Auin he appears during their dances at

NARON
NOGAU
ǂAUIN

[75 cont.]

Among the Naron, according to Miss Bleek, the Bushman
754 revolver is also in use. The doctors fight one another with it.
411 Such an arrow is secretly shot at the opponent's kaross, and through the magic emanating from the arrow, the enemy falls sick and dies.

8. Death and Burial

The Nogau have the following conceptions: Death is
761 caused by Gauab, who steals the soul and makes a little Gauab of it. The dead person is buried immediately; there is no
764 dancing, only weeping. The corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on its side with the head toward the east. Only the sleeping blanket is placed in the grave; the weapons that were left behind are kept by the brothers. The food that the deceased was carrying with him is thrown on the grave. Then bushes are placed on it.

[775] In their opinion the soul of the deceased, which has been
769 transformed into a Gauab, wanders around near the grave; therefore they detour around it. When a Nogau Bushman passes the grave of ~~a tribal~~ member, he prays to him for help in hunting so that the children will grow fast and become fat. He says:

"I do not know how it will go with me
[539] With the food, how it will go with me with the food;
I do not know what I should do to get something to eat,
Let us eat and become big."

On the other hand, there is also the belief that the great
775 Gauab who kills a human being eats the heart or keeps it in cold water and finally makes a new Bushman of it. Among the Naron
764 the corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on his side with the face toward the east. These customs are by no means always observed, however, especially when the ground is hard.
769 The Naron do not fear the spirits of the dead, although the doctors
767 see them, as do those men "who have incisions between the eyebrows." As we know from the Nogau, this includes all who have taken part in the boys' initiation. Women can never see such spirits.

Among all three tribes, old people are exposed to die.

888

192 it gets a bad *n/ow*. We heard the words used constantly in connexion with *n/ow* and
827 rain and cold, but know of the use of only one of them in another connexion. The /Kung say that a child '*//ghui*(s) its name' if its teeth come late. We do not know precisely how to translate the words and hope that a linguist will some time throw more light on them.

821 ≠Toma, one of our informants, pondering on the question of how the *n/ow*
827 comes to be of one kind or the other in a person, said he thought the child's position
843 in the womb and whether the child had long or short legs might have something to do with it, but he was not sure of this, and knew no more to tell us. A caul or a breech-birth does not make the *n/ow* good or bad, he thought. Other informants
[845 thought that severely deformed infants or twins might possibly be more likely than others to get a bad *n/ow*, but they too were uncertain. (Possibly this is because de-
847] formed infants and the weaker one of twins are killed at birth by /Kung mothers, so there is little occasion to think about the *n/ow* of such children.)

821 It is discovered what kind of *n/ow* a child has by observing the weather at the time
787 of its birth or soon after. If it rains the people believe the *n/ow* of the child has brought the rain and are sure the *n/ow* is good. If water should freeze when the child was born or soon after, the child's *n/ow* would be known to be bad. Should the weather continue in its normal seasonal course and no great extreme or notable change occur, the child's *n/ow* will be thought to be probably of the rain-bringing or cold-bringing kind according to the type of weather which prevailed; but if the weather is extreme at the time of the birth there is a feeling of certainty about the kind of *n/ow* the child has acquired, as the /Kung believe the effect of the *n/ow* was clearly observable.

At death as well as at birth the *n/ow* of a human being influences the weather. A /Kung told us that his *n/ow* had brought heavy rain when he was born and that everyone knew he had a rain-bringing *n/ow*. He said his mother, who lived at some distance from where he lived, noticed the weather and, if rain came at an unusual time or was unusually heavy, she feared he had died and that his *n/ow* was causing the rain to come.

821 *N/ow* is said to exist in the bodies of human beings (presumably everywhere in
826 them). Informants mentioned it particularly as associated with uterine fluid at the
[827] time of birth and with the urine and hair of humans.

Hair is associated with clouds by the /Giwke Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with whom we worked in 1955. They have a myth, told to us by the
[773 old headman, Oukwane, which says that God, whose name there is Pisiboro, and who is their one God, tore the black, black hair from his head and threw it into the sky to make the rain clouds.

775 In *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*,[1] Dr. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd record a belief about
821 death, collected in 1875 in the Katkop dialect from the informant Dia/kwain, which
826 refers to hair and clouds. We quote the statement:

> The hair of our head will resemble clouds, when we die, when we in this manner make clouds. These things are those which resemble clouds; and we think that (they) are clouds. We, who do not know, we are those who think in this manner, that (they) are clouds. We, who know, when we see that they are like this, we know that (they) are a person's clouds; (that they) are the hair of his head. We, who know, we are those who think thus, while we feel that we seeing recognize the clouds, how the clouds do in this manner form themselves.

[1] Bleek, W. H. I., and Lloyd, L. C., *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911, pp. 399–401.

The same informant gave more information about 'making cloud'. He said:[1] 821
'And, our gall, when we die, sits in the sky; it sits green in the sky, when we are 826
dead.' His mother told him, Dia/kwain continued, 'that it (thus) happens to us if we 775
sit in the shade when the place is not particularly warm, when it is (only) moderately warm, (and) we feel that the summer seems as if it would be hot. We think: "Allow me to sit for a little in the shade under the bush; for the sun's eye is not a little hot; I will sit a little while in the shade"; (then) we make clouds; our liver goes out from the place where we are sitting in the shade, if the place is not hot. Therefore, we make clouds on account of it. For, when it is really summer, then we (may) sit in the shade.'

We do not know what connexion there may be between the concept of *n/ow* held at present by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae and the /Gikwe myth of Pisiboro's hair making the rain clouds, or the hair of the dead resembling clouds and becoming the dead person's clouds, as Dia/kwain told Dr. Bleek, or a person's gall 'sitting green in the sky', or a person making clouds because his liver goes out from the place where he is sitting in the shade if the place is not hot. We hope someone else may be able to throw more light on this. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae make so little point of teaching [869] old stories or lore to their children that much must be lost.

What the /Kung believe now, Demi told us, is that there is nothing about hair itself which affects the weather. It is the *n/ow* of the person which the hair 'gives'. As we understand it, some of the *n/ow* which is in a person is in the hair. When hair is burned in the fire, the *n/ow* is released into the air in the smell.[2] It goes into the sky and, Demi said, the rain 'fears' it. (*Koa*, the word 'to fear', means to respect, to avoid, as when something is taboo, and to be afraid of.) When a person's urine is burned, it also carries the *n/ow* of the person into the sky.

/Kung informants told us that it would be possible to use the *n/ow* of persons to 789
control the weather, should there be need. If the big rains were unusually late and the 791
people were suffering from the dryness, or if the rain storms were so frequent and 821
heavy that the people had much trouble hunting and gathering veldkos, or if a storm were especially frightening, they might try to start or stop the rain. A person known with certainty to have a rain-bringing *n/ow*, because the weather at his birth had given evidence of it, could be asked either to urinate in the fire or to burn some of his hair. The smell of his urine or hair would go up into the sky and influence the rain to come. A person with a cold-bringing *n/ow* could be asked to do the same to stop the rain, if this were wanted.

We have no observations on who would instigate the burning of urine or hair to 821
control the weather. We did not see it done. No one in a /Kung community is a 791
specialist in rain-making, nor has anyone special authority in making a decision about [23]
the control of weather. The medicine men (*shamen*) have as their function the curing of the people, not the control of weather. It would be in keeping with the practice of the /Kung of this region, as we observed it in other connexions, for the group to 623
come to a consensus by talking the matter over informally as they sat by their fires, 821
and then for the parents or someone else to bid a child urinate in the fire. It seems to 789
us unlikely that an individual would make the decision entirely alone, without speaking

[1] Ibid., p. 399.
[2] Cf. a myth about the Rain Bull, which refers to the smell of burning horns, p. 239.

776 communities are surrounded. Except among the groups which have long been in contact with and largely influenced by other races belief in a supreme being would appear not to exist. The partly disorganised *ǂAo-//ŏin* and *//Aikwe* groups of the Gobabis district believe in a good being named *!Khutse* or "God" and a bad being called *Gāua* or "Satan." About the nature, however, of these beings they have no idea nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them. People who die a "good death" are
775 said to go to *!Khutse* and those dying a "bad death" to *Gāua*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress. Among the primitive groups a deceased person is believed to move about in the form of a ghost at night. *Buchu* (*tsā*) is
[764] accordingly sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver and arrows of the deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost returning to look for them. Every sphere of activity in life is influenced
771 by some superstition or other which, as a rule, finds expression in certain avoidances or in ceremonial and other rites and practices. Examples of these have been given in connection with the subjects already discussed. It is unnecessary to allude to them any further.

787 Divination is widely practised and absolute faith is placed
776 in the divining properties of the objects which are used for the purpose. The source from which these properties have been derived is attributed by some to their "first big Bushman," by others to *Gāua* ("satan"). Thus the Bushman *Tji-tji* is said to have been initiated by *Gāua* "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver. *Tji-tji* had killed a gemsbuck. *Gāua* arrived on the scene and said, "I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep here." After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-tji* remarked to *Gāua*, "Give me that stuff (*//ai*)." The latter replied, "If I give you the *//ai*, what will you pay me?" *Tji-tji* answered, "I will give you the horns." *Gāua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *//ai* and before departing taught *Tji-tji* the *//ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic.

000 In conclusion I desire to express my regret at having been unable to deal with the subject of this report in a comprehensive manner during the short time at my disposal. More detailed information on the Bushmen of this Territory is available, however, in the works mentioned in the bibliography.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

ing great carcasses of fallen trees, some with the leaves on the 731
top still green, that were filling the air with the smell of their wood burning. The ground was still warm to walk on, but all the bushes, all the little succulents, all the vines that marked the water roots were gone; no snake or lizard or animal was there, all were burned or had gone; we saw only animal tracks half filled with ashes, and a few birds come to eat dead insects. We saw a pair of secretary birds and later a pair of [136]
paouw, huge gray birds that walk more than they fly, wandering through the ruins looking for dead reptiles.

As we walked, fine black powder rose to dust our legs, and now and then, off through the standing tree trunks and between the fallen trees' great upflung roots, little whirlwinds crossed back and forth, raising the dust in spiraled pillars. [821]
Bushmen say that whirlwinds show the presence of the spir- 775
its of the dead.

Witabe's eyes searched over the ground, and when he saw 222
a small mound of earth he walked up to it and punctured it 262
with his toe. Out rushed a horde of ants, which had been safe in their tunnels when the fire passed and now began at once to repair their damaged mound. Witabe crouched among them and began to pick and eat them, selecting the soldier ants, ones with large heads and heavy jaws. He bit off the abdomens, tossing the heads away. Presently he offered some to us, as I had feared he would; as everyone else ate one, I did also, and found that it was not too unpleasant but sour and very watery, very like a blackberry before it is ripe. The workers, I am told, are tasteless, but the fighters are considered a near-delicacy; mine opened her jaws wide to fight my thumb before I ate her.

Later in the day, when the sun in the sky, the still burning 481
trees, and the fire-warmed sand made the air on the flats un- 487
bearably hot, we turned back to camp for the shade of our

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

"I hear you," said Ukwane, "but I would still like to go with 609
you to your country."

We told him then that we lived so far away and over so much water that if he went there he could never get back, and we said that even if he did go he might find that the longing of his heart to be back among his own people would be worse to suffer, harder to bear, than even hunger and thirst. "That is true," he said. "Perhaps."

That night we had, of course, not wanted to ask about the 761
customs and beliefs of Gikwe Bushmen concerning death; we wanted very much to know, but that night the people were grieved and with Bushmen death is always a bad subject. Another day, however, Ukwane and Dasina did tell us their funeral customs, which were similar to those of the 764
Kung, though not as elaborate. We learned that the Gikwe 184
dig a grave with digging-sticks, then bind the body with the arms crossed over the chest, the knees raised and bound, the ankles tied together, and the head resting on the fists, which are drawn up to the chin. The body is then wrapped in an old kaross and placed in a sitting position in the grave, braced upright by a forked stick. Each person present throws a handful of earth into the grave to "make the person remember them" and also to make the spirit go peacefully away. The grave is then filled up and covered with thorn branches to protect the dead person from wild animals, for a hyena will sometimes unearth a corpse.

While performing a funeral, and from the time of the fu- 764
neral on, the Bushmen always stay upwind from a grave, for 775
after death the spirit blows down the wind and will be harmful to the living. Gikwe Bushmen remain by a grave for at least three months—three moons, or longer—before they

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
Gikwe

764 move away because they cannot bear to leave the dead per-
775 son, because they want to make sure that animals do not spoil his body, and because, said Ukwane, "He is our person, whom we love. We do not want to leave until we have given up hope."

764 We learned one other thing, and that was that the Gikwe
775 put a medicine power, a fragrant brown powder made of an
789 herb called *sasa*, in the norstrils of the dead person, and
824 sprinkled his body with sasa before the burial. This, said Ukwane, is done to ensure heavy rain in the rainy season, but also it may well have to do with protecting the living from the spirit of the dead. We did not learn more about this because Bushmen will talk about any subject you may name except the subject of the spirits of the dead. The Kung respect and fear spirits more than any other thing, and only after a year of trying did we learn about them; the Gikwe seem to feel the same way, and for that reason we did not expect to learn very much. We did find, however, that the spirits
775 of the dead are called, at least sometimes, the *kwe be ha ki* (person who is not here), and that these spirits travel in the
[82] wind—not in open, blowing wind, but in whirlwinds; that is why the Gikwe Bushmen avoid whirlwinds, because a spirit might be there to carry them away. Once a whirlwind passing through our camp uprooted a tent and carried it spinning to the sky. Possibly, explained the Bushmen, a spirit of the dead thought that there was a person inside, although sometimes the spirits cause only mischief.

764 With the Kung, the funeral customs are very much the
184 same as those of the Gikwe. The body is folded into a sitting position and bound, but the head is bowed down to the knees. Beads and a kaross ornament the body, which is also lowered into the grave and buried upright, but thereafter the custom

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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differs from that of the Gikwe. The Kung, after filling in the 764
grave and protecting it with stones or thorn branches, break 184
the scherm of the dead person down over the grave, shatter all or most of his possessions, and strew the fragments over the grave together with sasa powder. Last, they kindle a fire in front of the now destroyed scherm and bend a reed, which they thrust into the ground, so that the grave, the fire, and the pointing reed make a line toward the place where the person who is now dead was born.

The Kung then abandon the grave immediately and for- 775
ever, for when darkness falls the spirit blows down the wind and remains near its grave for an indefinite time. Whenever the Kung pass near the grave they blow sasa toward it to ensure their safety.

The Kung are so afraid of the spirits of the dead that they do not feel it necessary to remain as guardians of the grave, or even until they have "given up hope." Occasionally their custom proves unfortunate, as it has happened that the buried person rose from his grave and followed his people to their new camp. We ourselves knew a Kung Bushman who had died, been buried, and was resurrected; he clambered out of his grave at night, followed his band to their new camp, and rejoined his family to live out a happy life. It must happen rather often that people are mistaken for dead and buried accidentally—often enough, at least, to necessitate a word in the language, for those people who do revive and manage to dig out of their shallow graves are called the *twi*.

The spirit that does not become a twi does not remain alone by the grave forever, but is found by the great god in his wanderings over the veld and is taken to his home in the east. There it is hung in a tree and smoked in a medicine smoke until it becomes a *gaua*, a spirit of the dead, and can serve the

775 great god as a messenger to bring disease and death to people, or to lead them to game and honey, depending on the great god's whim.

The Kung do not consider the gauas to be either happy or sad in their roles after life, but lonely and neutral, roaming above the veld either singly or in twos, on little paths of theirs, little invisible threads like spider webs, that run through the air. Whenever Bushmen have their great night-time medicine dances, the gauas are present, just out of sight in the dark among the trees, and whenever there is a ring around the moon the Bushmen know that the gauas them-
[821] selves are dancing, for the moon is their dance fire, the ring is the circle made by their dancing feet.

have the giraffe, rain, and gemsbok medicine. Others might have the ratel, fire, and gemsbok medicine. Ukwane's band had the sun, dove, and gemsbok medicine. Almost every band has the gemsbok medicine, for magically the gemsbok are very important animals, obvious from the black medicine markings on a gemsbok's face.

The medicine songs are songs without words and are given to both Kung and Gikwe Bushmen by the great god who sends his messengers, the spirits of the dead, to a sleeping person. The spirits of the dead teach the person a medicine song in a dream, and when the person awakens he teaches the song to the other members of his band.

At dances, women sing the medicine songs, men dance and use the medicine to cure people, for almost all men are made medicine men when they are in their late teens, after they have been initiated into manhood, having shot their first buck. They are made medicine men by older medicine men, and although any Bushman man may become a medicine man, only certain of them find that they have strong healing power, and these are the ones who practice, who fall into trance at dances and chase evil from their people. Ukwane himself had been one of these. None of the people he cured ever died, he said, but as he grew old his powers seemed to leave him, so now he did not practice any more. In his band Gai became the strong healer.

Of course, a medicine dance is a great affair, for it usually takes place at night and lasts all night into the morning. Everyone in the band takes part, every young boy old enough to walk may dance, every young girl may sing with the women, and women themselves may dance if they feel inclined. People talk, eat, and smoke between dances, or go off to bed to sleep for a while, so, all in all, dances are social af-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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152 and again Tu slapped it away. This time Norna began to
578 cry, lonely and forlorn in front of all the people, turned on by her mother, and she looked very small and defenseless and bereft; she cried sadly, not angrily, big tears running down her face, her fist in her mouth, looking up at her mother with enormous eyes. This was Tu's chance. She snatched up Norna and carried her back to the werf.

It was a terrible incident for everyone. That evening Tu still felt her shame and when I went to the werf to visit for a moment she took the occasion to fix me with her eyes all the way across the werf and tell me loudly that in the morning I would have to help her clear grass for another werf, for she was not going to "live among these people any more." Tu's mother, a shameless old woman, came up to me to tell me a joke and Tu smoldered.

Not only the adults felt a sense of tension. That evening Dikai, looking rather worn and tired, was sitting by her fire rubbing her shoulders, which usually ached, she said, when
862 her two sons, also tired, threw themselves down each on one
152 side of her and began to nurse, each leaning heavily against
578 her, each at a breast. Perhaps because she was tired or per-
593
● 775 haps because she had been about to put some tsi nuts in her fire but now could not because her sons were in the way, she looked down at them and mildly suggested to Little Gashe that perhaps he could bring himself to stop nursing altogether, being old enough now. Little Gashe did not take this kindly at all. He looked up at her, then took his mouth from her nipple and cursed her with a formal, deadly curse. "May the spirit of Nisa, who is dead," he said, "take you by the throat and choke you." He then took the nipple back in
152 his mouth and sucked on, thoughtfully.

578 I could hardly believe my ears. Children are expected not
593 to curse their parents, but, worst of all, Little Gashe had in-
775

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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voked those supposedly unmentioned beings, the spirits of 152 578 the dead. Dikai was not offended, though; she gazed down 593 775 at him calmly. "You, you little thing," she said, "no curse that you could say would hurt me."

Much later in the evening when John and Dan and I were 574 sitting at our own fire just before going to bed, Dikai and her 608 nephew, Toma's son, came to visit us, Dikai with Little Dabe asleep on her back. It was a quiet evening, people were sitting at their own werfs and though they were screened from us by grass we could hear their voices talking and see the light of their fires. When Dikai came, Lazy Kwi, whose werf was on the other side of our camp, heard her speak and stood up to see what was happening, looming suddenly from where he had been sitting only a few feet away. He came through the grass to visit also, and we sat by the fire listening to Dikai as she told us about various relatives in the north and what kinship terms we should use for them, I being named for her and John for Toma. Lazy Kwi told Dan that Dan had been named for him, but named Kwi Cheeks instead of Lazy Kwi, and when Dan asked why his nickname was Cheeks all Lazy Kwi could say was: "Because of your cheeks." We thought, but we could not think of a reason, as there was nothing about Dan's cheeks that might attract attention, except that he had recently shaved his beard so that his cheeks were visible.

Dan said that now he had no beard, no hair, no name, which Lazy Kwi thought was terribly funny and said: "Throw away your beard hairs, throw away your name, but take Kwi instead and be my namesake." Shortly after that we went to bed. Relations seemed less strained.

One morning about a week after Short Kwi had gone, when 732 the people were resting and the werf was quiet, we heard a

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ing got louder, we heard the low sound of stamping feet and 535
the low singing of the men's voices, no longer obscured by 857
the pure, high singing of the women, and when we were there we were inside the cloud of red, luminous dust, and the sounds of rattles and clapping rang in our ears.

More and more women joined the singing girls, each throwing some sticks on the dance fire as she came, then finding a place to squat in the circle, the others shuffling apart to make room, and soon the fire burned up brightly, lighting the dust stirred up by the dancers' feet and showing the huddled circle of women, who by now looked like a flock of birds [516] crouched on the ground, they were so tightly crowded, their karosses like hunched, folded wings and their heads up alertly; the bright dance fire showed too the oval faces of the visitors, the smallest ones near the ground, the larger ones a little higher, and as more and more men appeared from the darkness to join the dance the dust cloud rose higher and thicker until it seemed to shine of itself, like a veil or an illusion, and you couldn't be sure if what you saw was there before you or reflected.

Within an hour everyone was there. It behooves one to go [775] to a medicine dance because the spirits of the dead, waiting in the shadows around the dance fire and on their paths above the veld, might carry off a person if he stayed at home alone.

In the circle, one man was dancing with his child on his 535
shoulder, and the child, naked and golden-skinned on the naked brown shoulder, looked gravely down. Other children were dancing, Little Dabe and Little Gashe among them, Little Gashe carrying Little Dabe again, going slower and slower because he was tired. At last Beautiful Ungka picked 535 854
up both Little Gashe and his passenger, put them in her

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disks may represent two eland bulls, two eland cows, and a hyena, the fifth disk being the factor of ill fortune, and in this role they tell the hunters in what direction they should go and what success or difficulty to expect. The names of people who are absent may be attributed to the disks, which then give news of the people. As everyone knows where everyone is likely to be and what is likely to befall, the disks are more often right than wrong. They afforded us the amusement of a remarkable coincidence, which people so delight in, when they foretold quite precisely the return of one of our party who had been away and whom we had not expected nearly so soon. 787

It was entertaining to watch a session with the disks. A group of men would gather around the thrower. The thrower always had his say, but he was not allowed to pontificate. Everyone read the disks with him and gave his own interpretation. Sometimes the men would disagree and shout at each other in effect, ' Idiot, don't you see it means this? ' At other times they were grave and intent, searching for the meaning. Whether they came to a consensus or went off, each holding to his own opinion, was never clear.

The Names of the Gods

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The Names of the Great God

In present times the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region believe that there are two gods, one the great and one the lesser, that they have wives and children, and that they are attended by the spirits of the dead. [775]

These beings all live in the sky. The great god lives in the east at the place where the sun rises, the lesser god in the west where the sun sets.

The great god created himself. Then he created the lesser god. He created two wives, one for himself and one for the lesser god. The elder wife lives usually with the great god in the east, the younger one with the lesser god in the west, but, at any time the great god wishes, he may take both wives to live with him in the east. The wives bore six children to the gods, three boys and three girls. The great god created the earth and men and women and all things.

The great god named himself and then gave names to the lesser god and to their wives and children. He gave himself his names to praise himself. He said, ' I am *Hishe*. I am unknown, a stranger. No one can command me.' He praised himself also with the name */Gara* when he did something against the people, and the people said, ' He causes death among the people and causes the rain to thunder.' ' I am *≠Gaishi ≠gai* ', said the great god. ' I am *chi dole*. I am a bad thing. I take my own way. No one can advise me.' His being the cause of sickness and death among the people was the reason for his giving himself many names, we were told. This was apparently a satisfying reason to the /Kung, who offered no other explanation. [761]

The great god has seven divine names and one earthly name, the last being *≠Gao/na*, Old ≠Gao. His earthly name, though not as common as some, is a man's name which we came upon fairly often. I call his seven other names ' divine ' because they belong only to the gods. They are: [551 171]

Hishe	*/Gara*	*//Gamma*
Hmve	*Gani ga*	
Kxo	*≠Gaishi ≠gai*	

776 [576] only for females, *kolidi*, a term which one may also apply to women when one wants to be especially polite and to honour them. It is used for women 'who possess lots of things', the /Kung explained. *Gaoxadi*, the female form of one of the respect terms for the gods, may also be applied.

[222] *Khwova/na* is also called 'the mother of the bees'. When men go to look for honey they pray to her.

'The wives of the gods have the same work as their husbands. Their work is also strong', we were told.

The Names of the Children of the Gods

The names of the six children of the gods are as follows: for the boys—*/Kwa ma*, *Nami*, */Kung go*; for the girls—*/Kharu*, */Nai*, */Kow*. *Nami*, */Kharu*, and */Nai* are familiar names to me, the others are not. These names are from Robert Dyson's notes (for which I want to express my gratitude), and it is possible that the name he writes */Kow* is the same as the one I write *//Gow*. As I have said, such questions and discrepancies about words are very common.

In the myths, but not in the /Kung's current account of their beliefs, *≠Gao/na* has two other sons who are involved in many strange events with their father. Their [821] names are *Khan//a* and *Kxoma*. They were turned into the two stars in the vertical axis of the Southern Cross which now bear their names. Alpha Crux is *Khan//a*; Gamma Crux is *Kxoma*.

Miss Bleek was told that *Hishe* was sometimes 'followed by children like baboons'.[1] The image this gives of the divine children leaping and playing and following like infant baboons is amusing. The image which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have, however, is very different. 'The girls are fresh and beautiful', they say, 'not ugly like Bushmen.' Their skin is the colour of Bushman skin but at its lightest shade (*gau*).

● [775] The children are called little *//ganwasi* (*si* is the plural suffix). The spirits of the dead are also called *//ganwasi*. It is the children's special duty to carry the spirits of mortals, when they die, from the dead bodies to their 'father in the sky'. We were told that the little *//ganwasi* are helpful to humans. 'They watch over them and help to prevent *≠Gao/na* from getting angry.'

Terms of Respect and Disrespect

776 576 In addition to the names, the Nyae Nyae /Kung apply three terms of respectful address to the gods: *gaoxa*, *n/iha*, and */nan*. As I mentioned in my paper on the structure of bands,[2] the terms *gaoxa* and *n/iha* may be applied also to human chiefs, or to persons who are over others, like a district commissioner, and they are sometimes applied to a Bushman headman, although, to be strictly proper in /Kung, a headman is called *kxau*, 'owner'. *Gaoxa* is the more exalted term. Some informants felt that to call a man *gaoxa* was to compare him to the deity, which might anger the gods. Others felt that it 'sounded like a curse' to call a man *gaoxa*. The term pleases *≠Gao/na*, however. When he hears it applied to himself he knows that the people respect and fear him and 'he has a good feeling about them'.

/Nau among the Nyae Nyae /Kung is a term of respect for any old man and it is

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 192.
[2] Cf. Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Bands,' *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960, pp. 325–35.

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776 It was characteristic of the /Kung that none of the medicine men whom we knew
756 claimed to have seen ≠*Gao/na*. They were not great enough, they said. The /Kung
[156] do not wish to risk drawing upon themselves the invidious attention of mortals or the whimsical displeasure of the gods by setting themselves up noticeably before others. Some said that they had been told by their parents of only one great medicine man among their neighbouring bands who had seen ≠*Gao/na*. His name was Gao. He died long ago.

776 Although ≠*Gao/na* comes only to the great medicine men 'in the flesh', so to speak,
787 he appears to anyone in dreams and 'helps all his people'. A hunter said that
[224] ≠*Gao/na* stands beside one in one's dream and says, 'You have been walking and walking and you got nothing. Today I shall give you meat.' The hunter gets up and goes out on to the veld. He sees an animal and shoots it. ≠*Gao/na* may say, on the other hand, 'These days you will not find an animal even if you hunt'; and it will be the truth. He may tell you in a dream where to find honey in a tree or where to
[756 find an ant hill. He gives power to the medicine men in dreams and also medicine
533] songs. A medicine woman described vividly how he had taught her a medicine song which she then gave to her people. He stood beside her instructing her to sing the song over and over until she had learned it.

//*Gauwa*, The Lesser God

776 Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung the word //*Gauwa* has three interpretations. First,
[775] a //*gauwa* is the spirit of a dead person; the spirits of the dead in the plural are //*gauwasi*. Second, the Nyae Nyae /Kung, as we have said, call the children born to the gods 'little //*gauwasi*'. Third, they apply the name //*Gauwa* to both the great and the lesser god. It is one of the seven names they have in common. In the current beliefs of the Nyae Nyae /Kung there is not a being called //*Gauwa* who is a separate entity apart from the great and the lesser god.

Among other Bushmen and the Hottentots, //*Gauwa* was a being distinct from the other being who is variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, &c. As I interpret the present belief of the /Kung, the lesser god is that old, traditional //*Gauwa*. He has been transmuted, however, from the old image to a new one, as the old protagonist, ≠*Gao/na*, was transmuted into the great god. //*Gauwa*'s name has been attributed to the great god as the great god's names have been attributed to him. The two beings remain separate entities in the /*gu/na*–/*guma* relationship.

I base the interpretation that the lesser god is the traditional //*Gauwa* on the facts that many of his attributes are the same as or similar to those of the traditional being and that I did not hear people use any other name for him but //*Gauwa* and did not once hear the name //*Gauwa* used for the great god when people spoke spontaneously of him, although they insisted that it was one of the seven names which the gods have in common.

Excerpts from Schapera indicate that //*Gauwa* was generally the destroyer. Vedder reports that the /Kung at Tsumeb expect only evil from him and think of him as opposed to *Huwe*. But Lebzelter's Eastern Kung believed that he was good as well as evil, that he helped hunters, and some thought he was the creator. 'He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.'[1] By the Heikum also he was

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188.

thought to be the creator. ' The souls of the dead come to live with him, and he eats 776
their hearts.'[1] Hottentots considered him to be wholly the destroyer, the black chief, opposed to *Tsui ||Goab*, the creator and rain-giver. '. . . it is further said, by the Naman, that " *Tsui ||Goab* lives in a beautiful heaven, and *||Gaunab* lives in a dark heaven quite separated from the heaven of *Tsui ||Goab* ", while the Korana told Wuras that *Tsui ||Goab* lived in the Red Sky and *||Gaunab* in the Black Sky.'[2]

||Gauwa in past concepts was more independent than now but otherwise he preserves the same mingling of characteristics. He does both good and evil deeds, from [761]
man's point of view, with emphasis upon death-giving and evil-doing. He has now become subservient to the great god, *≠Gao/na*, a servant who carries out orders and does his master's work. He should always obey *≠Gao/na*, but he preserves considerable independence, nevertheless, and instigates his own affairs.

One of his works is to go about to see what is going on. ' He tells the old man in the east whatever he sees and hears. " These people are staying well, those are not so well ",' Gao Medicine said, and continued, ' He may say to the old man, " Let us help these people get some food." Or he may tell him that lightning is killing some people and ask, " What shall I do? " '

Gao Scarf told us, in effect, that one time *||Gauwa* went to *≠Gao/na* and asked him for medicine. *≠Gao/na* was annoyed. He said, ' The medicine must stay with me. I am bigger than you.' *||Gauwa* went away and did not ask any more until some time had passed. Then he went and asked again. *≠Gao/na* said, ' You bad, stupid fellow! You think you are clever but you are not. I am bigger than you. I have everything. You must come and ask me every time, but this time take the medicine and go and work with your Bushmen.' That is how *||Gauwa*, as well as *≠Gao/na*, gives medicine [756]
to the medicine men.

||Gauwa is a ' small man ', he has small sense, and he makes many mistakes. If someone is sick, when the medicine men at the curing dances see him lurking, they rush at him, give him a blow, and shout that he has brought the wrong medicine. ' Idiot! You have done wrong. You make me ashamed. Go away.' And *||Gauwa* then runs away. Sometimes after his chastisement he comes back with the proper medicine to cure and the sick person recovers.

The /Kung associate *||Gauwa* with whirlwinds as the other Bushman and Hottentot 776
groups did. The /Kung call a whirlwind *||gauwa ≠a*, which means *||Gauwa* smell. 821
≠A is not an ordinary odour, which one can actually smell, and a whirlwind is not 761
an ordinary wind, which is *mas*. The /Kung believe that a whirlwind is ' a death thing ', ' a fight '. *||Gauwa* walks in the whirlwind and his smell is in it, and death is in it. If the wind passes over a person, the *≠a* goes into him, and he will get sick and die. The spirits of the dead, the *||gauwasi*, also come in the whirlwinds. One cannot [775]
see or hear *||Gauwa* or the *||gauwasi* in the whirlwinds. There are no precautions one can take to protect oneself against them except to try to get away. Little ' dust devils ' played around us very frequently in the Kalahari, and often awesome black funnels of ashes formed in the veld fires and reached from the earth to the heavens. Sometimes white clouds condensed on their tops and we believe that we saw 'pillars of cloud by day' like those the children of Israel saw.

[1] Ibid., pp. 188–9. [2] Ibid., p. 189.

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Gam when four bands danced together. Demi was the smallest Bushman we had seen in the region. He was bedecked with many beads and walked with a prance like a bantam cock. He had seen *//Ganwa* in the darkness, he told us. He had confronted him and driven him off with imprecations and sticks. I asked him to tell me what *//Ganwa* looked like. *//Ganwa* is as big as a mouse and has legs like a mouse, he promptly told me, showing me a pipe about four inches long to demonstrate *//Ganwa*'s size. (Demi did not say *//Ganwa* was a mouse; he said ' as big as '.) *//Ganwa* is covered all over with short yellow hairs. This bright, prancing little man had seen a little god. None of the other medicine men saw *//Ganwa* as small as that. 776 756

Gao Scarf sees *//Ganwa* regularly. He is like a man in form, but not such as we. He is about two and a half feet tall. (Gao demonstrated with a stick.) He has yellow hair over his whole body. He does not speak as we speak. He says, ' *hu hu hu* ', like the medicine men when they are performing a ceremony, but softly. Only medicine men hear him and understand him.

Another Gao said that *//Ganwa* is about a foot tall and the colour of a wart hog. He has the form of a man.

When Gao Medicine is in trance, he often sees *//Ganwa*. He is a being about the height of a guinea-fowl, grey in colour like the bark of the ubiquitous camelthorn tree. But to Gao, *//Ganwa* is not clearly visible; he is like a mist.

/Ti/kay claimed to me that he was ' young in medicine ' and had never seen *//Ganwa*, as he had claimed that he had never seen *≠Gao/na*. This was an engaging torsion of the truth. I myself had many times seen /Ti/kay appear to confront *//Ganwa* during his curing. /Ti/kay was to me the most spectacular of all the medicine men in performing the ceremony. He did not fear to scream into the shadows, ' *Nonabe!* You have brought a bad medicine. It is going to kill someone. Take it back.' The people, I am sure, did not believe that he was ' young in medicine ' and that he did not see *//Ganwa* when the other medicine men did. /Ti/kay, as I think is apparent even in these brief accounts of him, was something of a deviant. I believe that he contradicted other informants because his nature habitually drove him to oppose others and that, at the same time, he deliberately and rationally tried to deceive me and lead me astray, first for one reason, then another. He was jealous of our harmonious relations with ≠Toma and Gao Medicine. We were pleased and grateful to them when they would work with us and he refused, and this made him spiteful. Also, due to some influence which we do not know about, he may actually believe some of the things he told us, such as that *//Ganwa* lives in the east instead of the west. We were never certain about him. [115 156]

The *//Gauwasi*

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe strongly and vividly in the existence of spirits of the dead, the *//gauwasi*, who live immortal lives in the sky with *≠Gao/na*, doing his bidding. The *//gauwasi* come to earth and enter into the affairs of men when *≠Gao/na* so commands them. The /Kung fear them, pray to them to invoke their mercy or sympathy, exhort them in anger. The concept of having special relations with their own ancestors or of worshipping ancestors is lacking. 775 [769]

The people claim that they fear to speak of the *//gauwasi* lest they call attention to themselves or offend the spirits. They say it is a ' death thing to speak of them much ',

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775 and they have a respectful term, */airisi*, to use if they wish to show deference and be ingratiating. Actually the /Kung seemed to speak of the *//gauwasi* quite often and much less reluctantly than they spoke of the gods. I did not happen to hear them use */airisi* except when they were telling me the term.

775 The *//gauwasi* move about in the sky or on earth. All over the sky fine cords are
772 stretched, like the strands of a spider's web, invisible to us but strong. The *//gauwasi* move on these cords and can go anywhere. They descend to earth on one which hangs down from the sky, the one by which the medicine men climb up when they go to see *//Gauwa* in the western sky.

775 The idea that the stars are the eyes of the dead, which some Bushmen believe, is
772 not held by the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Some informants had heard that other people
821 believed this. Lazy /Qui said he did not know; certainly enough people had died to account for there being so many stars. Others said stars are just stars there in the sky. Although they have names for several of them and stories about some, they do not know what substances stars are made of or what their nature is.

775 The /Kung associate falling stars with death. They do not believe that they are
[761 spirits of the dead but that they fall to earth and become insects which are col-
825] loquially called 'ant lions' (*Myrmeleonidae*, in the order of Neuroptera). These insects are common in the region. In the larval state they live in holes in the ground where one can see them spurting out grains of earth or sand. They devour ants. The /Kung believe that the bite of a fallen star may cause you to die the next day but that, if the star likes you and wishes to spare you, its bite will do you no harm. The old people have said so. *≠Gao/na* has no particular association with ant lions other than being the creator and controller of all things.

The spirits of dead persons are transmuted into *//gauwasi* by *≠Gao/na* in the east. When a person dies, *//gauwasi* come soon to take his spirit. The children of the gods are sometimes the ones who come, we were told, but any of the *//gauwasi* may do so, either ancestors of the dead person or non-related spirits.

[774] The *//gauwasi* pull the spirit out through the head of the corpse. The head is, likewise, the egress of the spirits of the medicine men. When the medicine men are in trance,
[787] which the /Kung call half-death, their spirits go out temporarily from their bodies through their heads to encounter and combat *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*, who lurk in the shadows around the dance fire, and it is through the heads that the spirits return.

[775] The spirit which the *//gauwasi* take from the corpse is distinct from life. The /Kung believe that life, *≠toa*, is inside the body of a person or animal, that it is put there and held there by the creator. It exists in all the vital organs in the abdomen, in blood, in the heart, lungs, throat, and mouth, and is everywhere in the head. It does not exist in the arms and legs, the /Kung believe, because they know that human beings and animals can be wounded in a limb or even lose one and not die, whereas a wound in the vital parts is likely to kill. Life dies in the body and stays there—dead, as the
[774] body itself is there but dead. It is the spirit which does not die. The only word I know for spirit is *//gauwa*. The spirit is like air. It cannot be seen and cannot be kept by mortals. The *//gauwasi* take it and they take the heart and blood of the person as well. These the *//gauwasi* carry first into the western sky, to the place where *//Gauwa* lives, but they do not leave them with him. They carry them further, around by the south to the east, to the place where *≠Gao/na*, the great creator, lives.

The great creator receives the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person and turns these elements into a *||ganwa*. To do this he makes a fire under the tree which grows in his werf, the tree for which we know no name. He puts a pot on the fire, and in this he boils medicines. Only he has these particular medicines. Men do not know their names. *≠Gao/na* then hangs the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person in the tree. The tree itself is medicine. That is why the people fear it and why *≠Gao/na* hangs the spirits in it. The medicine smoke rises and blows around the dead person's spirit, heart, and blood, and they are transmuted into a *||ganwa*. *≠Gao/na* then smears the *||ganwa* with fat. This fat is not from an animal; it belongs only to *≠Gao/na* and is called */thoo*. *≠Gao/na* then takes the *||ganwa* to live with him in his house. 775 776

The *||ganwasi* have bodies which resemble those they had on earth except for their hair. We were told that their hair is changed from the Bushman's spirals to *≠Gao/na*'s hair, which is long, like a European's, but as black as a Bushman's. Only medicine men who have full medicine see the *||ganwasi*. 775 [756]

The *||ganwasi* eat food. As I understand it, they, like *≠Gao/na* and *||Ganwa*, eat the same foods that mortals eat, meat and veldkos, but they have their own supplies. They also are very fond of honey. They are said on occasion also to steal the veldkos of human beings from the places where they grow, and they sometimes change themselves into birds—not vultures, but smaller birds called */gwara*—and in this form come into the werf and eat the people's meat right where it hangs in the branches beside the scherms. The *||ganwasi* have their own implements, weapons, karosses, &c. They want nothing from men and there is no point in offering them things. [825] [782]

≠Gao/na gives the *||ganwasi* everlasting life. They grow older but, before they are very old, he rejuvenates them. He has a medicine for this which he does not give to men. Children who die remain children.

||Ganwasi keep their own spouses if they wish, and they live together but do not beget children. No great point was made of this. It was interesting to learn that, if a *||ganwa* tires of his wife and wants another, he may kill a living woman who attracts him, so, if a beautiful woman dies, one who is fresh and clean and wears fine ornaments, one could suspect that some *||ganwa* has taken her for himself. And a strong young hunter might be killed by a female *||ganwa* who wanted him. In spite of the power and dominance of the gods, the *||ganwasi* take things into their own hands sometimes. [761]

No distinction is made between a good and a bad person when he dies. All go to the great god in the east and all become *||ganwasi* without differentiation in status or function. With the exception of suicide, no distinction is made either between a good and a bad death, such as is reported by Fourie of the Auen, according to Schapera: 'People who die a "good death" are said to go to */kkutsi*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaua*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress.'[1] Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung suicides are said to stay with *||Ganwa* in the west. Burial also has no effect upon the status in the after-life—whether a person is buried properly bound in a deep round grave, or scratched into a shallow trench, or not buried at all and eaten by beasts. [762]

The beliefs which we associate with ghosts—the haunting of graves or certain other places, appearing as spectres to persons, &c.—are not highly developed among the /Kung but are not entirely lacking. Three stories of *||ganwasi* haunting graves came

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 168.

775 to our ears. One story was that at a place between Gam and Gautscha, where a person died, something goes '*wuu wuu wuu*', making a sound like wind in an empty ostrich eggshell or a bee buzzing in a bottle. The thing once chased ≠Nisa and her daughter. [761] They were terribly frightened, and people warned each other not to go near that place again 'because a person could get such a fright he could die of it'. One cannot see the thing. One can only hear it. On being questioned, people said they thought the thing was a *||ganwa*.

[787] *||Ganwasi* are mischievous as well as conveyors of grave evils and they trick and fool people on their own initiative, often appearing to people in dreams to do so. One might dream, for instance, that the *||ganwasi* told him he would shoot a fat buck if he hunted in a certain direction. If he then hunted there and failed to kill anything, he would know that they had tricked him. ≠Toma felt, when he was sick, that he was lying on thorns and that the *||ganwasi* were pressing down on him.

The function of the *||ganwasi* is, first and foremost, to be the servants (*≠gasi*) of the gods and to carry out their orders. They obey *≠Gaolna* primarily, but are servants of *||Ganwa* as well. They are the messengers, whether good or bad fortune is being sent to the people.

775 When the gods order them to kill a person, the *||ganwasi* have innumerable ways of
761 doing so. They can allow a buffalo to gore the person, a lion to maul him, or a snake
753 to bite him. They were responsible for a man's falling to his death from a baobab tree—an appalling death to the /Kung, who are as careful and sure as cats. Lightning [821] —'rain fire'—is 'a death thing' and is used by the *||ganwasi* to kill people when the gods so command. *||Ganwasi* have the traditional miniature magic bows and arrows, with which they shoot people. One feels the pain of the little arrow piercing, when one is shot, but one cannot see the arrow; eventually one dies of it. Sickness, however, is the greatest tool of the death-bringers and they kill mostly by it. They can bring their sicknesses, death, and other misfortune to men at any time, but they are sure to come to the ceremonial curing dances and are always there in the shadows watching for their chance to inflict the ill on the person or persons whom they are sent to destroy.

Although the *||ganwasi* are associated in the people's minds primarily with sickness and death and the people fear them with a pervading fear, the /Kung do not appear to suffer in an agony of terror. I think that their fear is mitigated by the belief that the *||ganwasi* are minor characters and can be driven away and that in their own natures they are not wholly evil. Like the mortals they once were, they are capable of being [782] good, bad, or indifferent to man. People can plead with them for their favour and sometimes they feel pity and are helpful.

Man's Relations with the Gods

772 *≠Gaolna* said, when he praised himself, 'I take my own way and no one can com-
776 mand me. I am a stranger, unknowable. I am *chi dole*.' The /Kung these days evidently imagine him to be as much the self unbridled as the old protagonist of the tales. However, unlike the old *≠Gaolna*, he is not indifferent to mankind, and, even though he lives in the sky, he is not remote. On the contrary, he is deeply involved with humanity, constantly aware of what people do, constantly reacting with pleasure or displeasure, and he favours, punishes, or ill-treats man accordingly.

Good and evil are thus explained by a duality which has its principal source in the omnipotent ≠*Gao/na*'s own self-oriented nature. The scope of this duality is enlarged by the similar duality in the natures of //*Gauwa* and the //*gauwasi*, who sometimes do good deeds to man and sometimes bad, when they are doing the work commanded by their master, and, also, when they instigate actions on their own initiative, as they sometimes do, especially I gather when ≠*Gao/na* is not around, for he is omnipotent but not omniscient or omnipresent. 772 776 [775]

Evil is sometimes accounted for by the gods working at cross purposes among themselves. For instance, //*Gauwa* might lead a man to find honey which ≠*Gao/na* had intended for someone else whom he wished to favour. ≠*Gao/na* would be angry and take revenge upon the man who found the honey. But, on the other hand, the gods may talk things over and agree together and man may benefit. The //*gauwasi* might want to take a person in death. One god would say, 'Go ahead', but the other says, 'No, let us not take him.' The first then agrees and the person is left. That is how people may be very ill and still be cured. [753]

Punishment

The concept of sin as an offence against the gods is vague among the /Kung. Man's wrong-doing against man is not left to ≠*Gao/na*'s punishment nor is it considered to be his concern. Man corrects or avenges such wrong-doings himself in his social context. ≠*Gao/na* punishes people for his own reasons, which are sometimes quite obscure. It was interesting to see in the examples given how often food was involved. 776 [783] 626]

Burning bees, I learned, displeases ≠*Gao/na* intensely. He likes the bees, his wife is the 'mother of the bees', and he is very fond of honey himself. On one occasion, two men found honey in a tree. They tried to chop it out but the bees stung them so badly that they built a fire to drive them away and many bees were burned. ≠*Gao/na* did not like this. He sent a sickness upon the men and both died. When a person has burned bees, his body becomes hot as though burned by fire and he dies. [753]

≠*Gao/na* might change himself into a gemsbok and be walking in the veld. A hunter might come along and kill that gemsbok, thinking how lucky he was to get it. He would take the meat home and eat it and the next day he would be dead. Others who had no part in the killing would not die. ≠Toma who was telling this went on to say that ≠*Gao/na* might regret having done such a thing—killing a man who was just hunting to feed his children instead of helping him—and, to make amends, he might particularly favour that man's son.

If ≠*Gao/na* really sets out to kill someone in punishment, ≠Toma told us, one method he uses is to convert himself into honey and place himself in a tree like an ordinary honeycomb. Then he directs the person he wants to kill to that tree. The person takes the honey home, eats it, and then dies.

≠Toma added that ≠*Gao/na* might punish a person just a little by giving him a mild sickness, which would be comparable to giving him a thrashing. A good person who had done no wrong at all might also be punished by a mild sickness. ≠*Gao/na*'s motive, ≠Toma explained, might be to 'test' him or to 'break' him. (Ledimo and I worked carefully over this translation. We think we have the correct idea.) Why? we asked, but ≠Toma could not say. Not man's due, but whim and pride [753]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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553 602 properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior 835 with everyone they meet.

[601] The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, 619 in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling 553 of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin 601 terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen— 602 sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [10] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ǒassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ǒassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilin- [613] ages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father [622] to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

[423] There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A consider- 768 able amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

582 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside 648 the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

584 First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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If they leave the band they may return. Affines and the families of affines have equal rights to the resources while they are present but do not retain them if they leave.

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS • In the many strange old tales of the !Kung appears a protagonist named ≠*Gao!na*—Old ≠Gao. He had supernatural powers, but he looked like a man and lived on earth. Like mankind, he was subject to passion, hunger, wrongdoing, failure, frustration, and humiliation, but men imagine his feelings in larger scale and as more grotesque than their own. Themes of incest, hunger, and cannibalism run through the tales. The !Kung claim that this old protagonist and the great god of their present belief are one and the same: they have the same names, but if the present great god is the old ≠*Gao!na*, he is mightily changed.

The !Kung now believe that there are two gods. The great god lives in the eastern sky where the sun rises; the lesser, in the western sky where the sun sets. The great god is the creator of all things. He created himself and named himself. He then created the lesser god and a wife for each of them. The wives bore them children. The great god gave names to all these beings. Then he created the earth and the water holes, the sky and the rain, the sun and the wind, the things that grow on the earth, and the animals with their stripes and colors, and he gave them names. He created a woman and then a man. He commanded the man and the woman and the animals to breathe, for without breathing they would not live. From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. When mortals die he takes their spirits to the place where he lives in the eastern sky, where there is a certain tree that has no name. He hangs the spirits in the tree, makes a medicine smoke in a pot beneath them, and transmutes them into the //*gauwasi*, the spirits of the dead, who live in the sky with him and are his servants. He has a medicine with which he renews himself, the //*gauwasi*, and the other heavenly beings and thus keeps them immortal.

The great god gave men bows and arrows and poison and digging sticks and taught them how to shoot animals and dig for food. Everything men know he taught them. Having created all things, the great god is the owner and the master of all things and commands their movements.

To "praise" himself, the !Kung believe, the great god gave himself seven divine names and one human name. The divine names are *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Kxo*, *!Gara*, *Gani ga*, ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gai* and //*Gauwa*. The human name is ≠*Gao!na*, the one he shares with the old protagonist.

Although there is not an absolute taboo upon saying the names of the

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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764 is a deep hole, narrowing towards the top; its bottom is covered with small bushes, the corpse, wrapped up in its kaross, is laid upon these, then covered over with bushes, upon which finally small white stones are heaped till ground-level is reached. The surface of the [825] grave, like the corpse itself, is sprinkled with water mixed with vegetable "medicine"; this, says Seydel, is intended to keep jackals [766] and hyenas from the grave. Children are buried in the same manner, but the ceremony is simpler, only the nearest relatives accompanying the corpse to the grave.[1] Trenk gives some additional details. [775] The thickened sap of a certain small bush (*dawes*) is placed in the hands of the dead person, so that "his soul, when it reaches the 'evil spirit', may not do harm to other people, and will find rich [535] food in its other existence". At the funeral a fire is lit at the grave, round which is then held a dance accompanied by a funeral song; 765 and all the women must weep for a day. A funeral feast follows, in which honey beer plays no small part. A widow as a sign of [273] mourning cuts a round spot out of the hair over her forehead, a widower a parting directly over the middle of the head. How long the mourning lasts is not clearly stated, but, as we have already noted, a full season must elapse before the surviving partner may remarry.[2]

764 Among the Naron, as soon as a person has died those present raise a short, very distinct cry which lets the whole camp know of the [763] death. The body, wrapped up in the kaross worn by the dead person in life, is brought into a contracted position, the knees being bent up against the chest, the arms crossed and the hands laid on the shoulders, and is tied up like this with rope for purposes of transport. It is then laid near the fire, while the women howl and weep over it. Burial takes place as soon as possible after death. If this occurs at night, then on the following day; if in the morning, then on the same day. The grave is a deep, round hole, dug with the hands and digging-stick at a spot where the soil is not hard. Two or three men carry the body there, a man jumps in, receives it as it is lowered down by the ropes, and places it lying on the left side facing the east. Why this position is customary they do not know. The dead are buried in all their clothes and ornaments, and all their possessions are placed in the grave, or if too long, as in the case of a bow or spear, are hung on a bush close by. Then the grave is filled, and bushes or stones are thrown on top to keep the animals off. All the village [765] is present, and the women weep. Next day a near relative burns

[1] "Aus der Namib," 504. [2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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764 often done, as they dislike touching or interfering in any way with a corpse, owing to the fear of bad luck." After the funeral 765 they usually indulge in a funeral feast, then desert the locality, and [768] never mention the dead person's name afterwards. "That they are much affected by death is certain, for they often weep at such times, especially if the deceased be a person of some importance, and bitterly lament his departure from amongst them." Signs of mourning are infrequent. Sometimes they paint their faces with white and black stripes as a sign that they have had a death in their encampment; and Dornan adds that he has heard of their painting the whole body with red and white stripes, but has never himself seen any thus decorated.[1]

Beliefs Concerning the Dead

All the accounts given above are admittedly inadequate. They 114 agree, however, in stating that the dead person is buried in a con- 764 tracted position with all his possessions, and in implying the absence 768 of any elaborate and prolonged funeral ceremony and rites of mourning. No attempt appears to have been made to ascertain what explanation the Bushmen themselves have to offer for burying the dead person with all his possessions, except only in the case of the Kung, of whom we are told by Lebzelter that their reason for placing these objects in the grave is not that the dead person may be able to use them in the future world, but because people do not want to make any further use of objects belonging to a person whom they loved while he was alive.[2]

All the descriptions of the funeral ceremonies of the Bushmen [769] point also to a vague fear of the dead person, expressed most forcibly in the fact that after the funeral the place is abandoned and perhaps never revisited. What belief underlies this fear, and what the Bushmen ● 775 hold to be the fate of the dead, are not always easy to determine. Stow mentions the belief, reported to him of some Southern Bushmen, that at some undefined spot on the banks of the Orange River there is a place called *'too'ga*, to which after death they will all go; and [304] that to ensure a safe journey there they all cut off the joint of the little finger of one hand. "This they consider is a guarantee that they will be able to arrive there without difficulty, and that upon their arrival they will be feasted with locusts and honey, while those who have neglected this rite will have to travel there upon their

[1] Dornan, op. cit., 144–6. [2] Op. cit., 14.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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heads, beset the entire distance with all kinds of imaginary obstacles 775 ●
and difficulties; and even after all their labour on arriving at the desired destination they will have nothing but flies to live upon." This belief that after a time the dead arise and go to a land where there is an abundance of good food is likewise recorded by Campbell [114]
and by Miss Currle, neither of whom, however, is a specially trustworthy authority. The Bushman informants of Dr. Bleek also spoke of "the place to which the Bushmen go after death", but unfortunately the details given by them have not yet been published. We are unable, therefore, to tell if their ideas of a future life were in any way similar to those reported by Stow and the other writers.[1]

On the other hand, these Bushman informants also had a variety 821
of interesting beliefs linking up death with the phenomena of Nature. 761
The stars, they said, know the time when a Bushman dies, and the 775
fall of one announces, to those who are not aware of it, that something bad has happened. When, after this, a "hammerkop" (*Scopus umbretta*, the "lightning bird" of other South African tribes) flies, [825]
calling out, over the camp, the people know that someone belonging to them has died. When rain is accompanied by lightning, girls who are out in the open become killed by the lightning and are converted into stars, while those who are taken away by the rain become [824]
beautiful water-flowers, which will not allow themselves to be plucked and disappear when approached. Such flowers must be let alone. Hence the rule that young unmarried women and girls must hide themselves from the rain. The Moon, again, is hollow (in its first quarter) because it is carrying people who are dead. The human heart is believed to fall down after death in the form of a shooting star; the hair of a dead person is changed into clouds, while his gall appears again as a green colour in the sky, and so forth. Dead 775
people may also come in their own forms as apparitions to their relatives and friends, even in waking life. There seems, however, to be no evil portent in this; nor, indeed, does there seem to be any noticeable fear of dead persons on the whole, although we are told that the names of those who are dead must not be uttered by children at night.[2]

The Namib Bushmen, on the other hand, seem to fear dead people greatly, and, as we have seen, the thickened *dawes* sap placed in the [764]

[1] Stow, op. cit., 129; Campbell, *Second Journey in S. Africa*, i, 29; Currle, "Bushmen of Namaqualand," 117; Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 19.
[2] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 25; Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365–71, 389–401.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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775 hands of the corpse at burial is meant to conciliate his soul. Trenk
[764] says they believe only in an "evil spirit", which they fear, but he
[776] throws no light upon the nature of this spirit. He adds, however, that, according to them, the souls of the dead fly about in the air and also speak to people, yet remain unseen, except by children, to whom they often show themselves in ghostlike animal forms of oxen, horses, or gemsbok.[1]

761 Of the tribes further north our information is somewhat more precise. Kaufmann, as we have seen, maintains that the Auen distinguish between those who die "good deaths" and those who die "bad deaths", and he adds that the latter are feared also after death. This distinction was not found by Miss Bleek among the Naron at Sandfontein, but is also reported by Fourie of the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron groups of the same district. He says
764 they believe in a "good being" named */khutse* and a "bad being"
775 named *Gaua*. People who die a "good death" are said to go to
[776] */khutse*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaua*. The former have a
[761] good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress. A deceased person is believed to move about in the form of a ghost at night. "*Buchu* is accordingly sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy, so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver, and arrows of the deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost returning to look for them." These usages are no doubt part of
[114] the funeral ceremony, but the context in which they are described does not make this clear.[2]

775 The word *Gaua*, or, more correctly, *//gāũa* or *//gāuwa*, which
[192] Fourie interprets as a "bad being" or "Satan", is, according to
[776] Miss Bleek, also used by the Auen and Naron in the sense of a "person
[114] who has died". Her male informants said that all people who die
[791] become *//gāuwa*, and the magicians can see them. The women, however, affirmed that only men who have been cut between the eyebrows (at the puberty ceremonies) become *//gāuwa*, and only such men can see them, though women sometimes hear them. "They evidently mean ghosts," comments Miss Bleek, "and have much the same vague fear of them as European peasants have. The ghosts

[1] "Buschleute der Namib," 168. [2] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930

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walk at night and people are afraid of them, but they do not expect 775
real harm from them. If seen, the apparitions resemble people."[1]

The same word was given three meanings by some Kung youths [192]
from near Lake Ngami—"dream, ghost, spirit." It is met with
again among the !O Kung of Angola, by whom it is sometimes used
for "ghost", sometimes more impersonally. Miss Bleek was told
by one of her female informants that when a person dies there rises
from the grave the ghost, *//gāũa*, which can be seen by magicians.
This woman claimed to be a magician, and said that she and her co- [789]
workers could conjure up *//gāũa* by dancing and singing. In what
form he appeared and whether she looked on the apparition as the
spirit of the departed, or as some other spirit, she did not say. Another
woman's death was described as follows: "She died, became a ghost,
people saw the ghost, it went away and stayed in the bush."[2]

A good deal of new information on this subject is contained in [114]
the reports recently published by Lebzelter on his researches among
the Kung and the Heikum.[3] The Eastern Kung, he says, believe
that the vital principle ("Lebensprinzip") of a man is his soul, *xa*,
which is immortal. When a man dies, this soul is fetched by the
spirits, *//Gauab*, whose hearth fires are the stars, and is taken by them [776]
to the sky hut ("Himmelshaus") of the "great captain" *Xu*. This
hut has two storeys, in the upper of which dwell the souls of all
people, including even those of the whites. They do nothing there
and also eat nothing. The body is buried, but after a few days the
flesh becomes "alive" and then disappears: out of it has arisen the
//gauab of the dead person, in the form of a smaller image or "shade"
which issues from the grave, hunts, eats, and drinks just as in life,
and when tired goes to sleep in its house, the grave. These shades
cannot enter into or transform themselves into stones, plants, or
animals; apparently they retain the human form only. The Kung
of the Oschimpoloveld, again, believe that every man has a soul,
/gau-ba, which after death comes into the "house of God" (*Erob*) in
the sky. Dead people are therefore now the people who are with
"God", and after a while "God" again makes living beings out
of them.

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul, *darish*, goes up [776]
into the sky to */Gamab*, a "demiurge", who places the heart in cold
water and eats it.

[1] *The Naron*, 26.
[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123, 124.
[3] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khun," 409–12 *passim*; *idem*, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 14.

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775 water and eats it. The soul then dwells with him, but frequently comes down to earth again and kills a member "of the family which insulted it during its lifetime". The group in North-East Ondonga (Ovamboland) believe that the soul, */gaobu*, goes up into the sky, to the "house of God", and does not remain on earth; while the people of Ukuambi say that when a man is dead he becomes *xungu* and is divided into three parts: the decaying body, the ghost or shade, */gaua-i*, which goes about on earth and does mischief, and the real soul, *xaobe*, which goes to live in the house of the "great captain", and there feeds on flies.

Here, it will be noticed, the part of man surviving the death of the body is on the whole believed to fall into two separate entities, having different fates. The ghost (*//gauab*, */gaua-i*) remains on earth and in the vicinity of the grave, while the soul (*darish*, *xa*, */gau-ba*, */gaobu*, *xaobe*, the last four of which appear to be cognate forms of the same root) ascends to the "house of God" in the sky. The fate of the latter at once recalls the afterworld to which dead people are said to go by Stow and other writers on the Southern Bushmen; the former is obviously identical with the concept of *//gauwa* described by Miss Bleek for the Naron, Auen, and !O Kung. The word *//gauwa* among the North-Western tribes is, however, as we shall presently find, not restricted to the ghosts of dead persons. It is also used for a wider spiritual concept, and thus links up the beliefs concerning death with other aspects of Bushman religious belief.

In the Eastern Kalahari we meet again with the mention of an afterworld. Some of Dornan's informants said that after death the spirit of the deceased takes a long journey, and finally arrives at a certain place where he joins his fathers who have gone before him. They did not know the whereabouts of this place, but said that it is warm and has plenty of game. Other informants, however, asserted
775 that the spirits of the dead remain about the places where burials have
769 taken place. Hence the Bushmen avoid these localities as much as possible, and if they have occasion to pass them, "give them as wide a berth as possible, and often throw a small pebble on the grave, muttering at the same time some words to the spirit to ensure them good luck. This is to appease the spirit lest he might resent the intrusion. Any Bushman in the hunting field if he comes suddenly on a grave either of one of his own people, or other natives, will avoid stepping over it if he possibly can, and will throw a small stone upon it as above. All these observances indicate that they believe the

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spirit remains active about the place, and they do not want to offend it."[1] 775 769

The conflicting accounts of Dornan's informants as to the fate of the dead can be harmonized if we assume, in the light of Lebzelter's statements about the Kung and the Heikum, that these Eastern Kalahari Bushmen also distinguish between the soul and the ghost; but since there is nothing in Dornan's remarks to indicate definitely the existence of such a distinction, the assumption here made must be regarded as purely speculative. It will be noticed, further, that he describes here the practice of throwing a small stone on the grave in order to appease the spirit of the dead person. This practice, as we have already noted, has sometimes been said to exist among the Southern Bushmen also. Unfortunately it is not always possible to determine how far Dornan has recorded what are actually his own observations, for much in his book has obviously been inspired by the accounts of earlier writers on the Bushmen generally. What he has to say here must therefore also be received with caution, and cannot without further inquiry be accepted as an independent confirmation. 114 775 769 [184]

It appears on the whole that, among all the Bushmen, people are believed to continue their existence after death, sometimes in their own form, sometimes in another form, and may even manifest themselves to the living. There is also a vague, ill-defined fear of the dead person's haunting the living, but it would seem that as a rule no great harm is expected from this, although, as we shall see later, most of the North-Western tribes attribute sickness to the spirits of the dead. Another fact that emerges very prominently is the apparent absence of any organized cult of the dead as such—there seems to be nothing in the way of ancestor-worship, nor of any other form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated. The only concrete mention there is of dead people being prayed to refers to the Cape Bushmen. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that his father asked a certain dead magician for rain, which speedily followed; while another mentioned a prayer addressed by his mother to a dead magician who had power over game, in order that her husband's hunting might prove more fortunate.[2] The details given in both instances are too scanty to afford much basis for speculation, but can hardly be interpreted as implying more than that in certain cases dead magicians would be 775 [753] [769] 114 184 769 789

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 147–8. [2] *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 22.

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114 asked to make use of the special powers they had possessed in life
184 and apparently still retained, just as they would be approached when
769 alive. The main conclusion to be drawn, in fact, is that these Bush-
789 men do not regard dead people as wholly severed from the world
[775] of the living. There is certainly nothing here to warrant the assumption of any regular organized worship of the dead.

Worship of Heavenly Bodies

782 Religious cult among the Cape Bushmen centres largely in the
821 worship of the Heavenly Bodies, and especially of the Moon. Prayers
[794] directed by them to the Moon have been recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd, but unfortunately the details given are far too
[114] scanty to throw much light upon the nature of the worship. One account, indeed, indicates that when the New Moon first appears every man prays to it, and Orpen also mentions having seen Bushmen throw sand in the air and shout out on seeing the crescent moon when it first appeared, but there is nothing else to suggest any special form of rite. The prayers themselves are chiefly prayers for food, and one of them, just lately published by Miss Bleek,[1] may be quoted as illustrating the form of invocation. It is spoken with raised right hand :—

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Ho, my hand is this,
I shoot a springbok with my hand
By an arrow.

I lie down,
I will early kill a springbok
To-morrow.

Ho, Moon lying there,
Let me kill a springbok
To-morrow,
Let me eat a springbok;
With this arrow
Let me shoot a springbok
With this arrow;
Let me eat a springbok,
Let me eat filling my body
In the night which is here,
Let me fill my body.

Ho Moon lying there,
I dig out ants' food
To-morrow,
Let me eat it.

Ho Moon lying there,
I kill an ostrich to-morrow
With this arrow.

[1] "Bushman Folklore," *Africa*, ii (1929), 306.

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776 "the Lord" or "the great captain", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Huwu* or *Hu's*. This "supreme being" is regarded as anthropomorphic, he looks like a Bushman and he also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky in a house with two storeys, the lower of which is occupied by himself, his wife, whose name is unknown, and many children, while the upper is occupied, as already mentioned, by the souls of the dead (*xa*). In appearance this house is similar to the ordinary Bushman hut, although not quite the same, and its exterior is "hairy like a caterpillar". Honey, locusts, fat flies, and butterflies [825] are found here in superabundance, and the "great captain" feeds [775] upon these; the souls of the dead, however, merely sit around and eat nothing. *Xu* summons the magicians to their profession, and [756] gives them supernatural powers; he is the lord over rain and lightning, as well as over the spirits, *//gauab*, and through the chief of the latter he sends good fortune in hunting or in the collection of veldkos. If anybody thinks or speaks evil of him, he punishes the evildoer with lightning; otherwise he takes no interest in the doings of his [782] "Bushman children", except when somebody swears falsely by him, for the Kung have a regular oath in which they invoke him. He is prayed to by them in fixed form for rain, in case of severe illness, before going out hunting or before undertaking a dangerous journey.[1]

The Western Kung of Ukuanyama (Oschimpoloveld) speak of [184] *Erob*, translated by Lebzelter as "God", who, like *Xu*, lives in a house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is [782] often prayed to, especially for rain and in hunting, as well as in case [224] of illness, "because he has made all things and can do everything and knows everything", and he is given the first offerings of the [821] chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth, and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.[2]

821 184 *Erob* also figures as the "supreme being" among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan, although in prayers for rain and in case of illness he 776 is addressed as *Xu*. The group in North-Eastern Ondonga speak [782] of the "supreme being" as *Xamaba*, the groups at Ukuambi know him as *Erob* or *Xuwa*, and the group at Uukualuthi as *Erob*; and among them all, as among the Eastern Kung, he lives in the sky in a house to which the souls of the dead are brought. Almost

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //*Khun*-Buschmänner," 407-9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen," 412.

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114 from Chapman, who records that once when some Bushmen were
776 with him and he had killed a rhinoceros they threw some dust on
[224] its tail and spat in its eyes before they touched it, muttering meanwhile "some gibberish" to *Thora*, while on another occasion when he had killed some elephants a similar performance was again enacted by his Bushman attendants.

The distinction between *Thora* and *Huwe* is not quite clear from Dornan's account. In one place he seems to imply that the two words refer to the same conception. Elsewhere, however, he remarks: "Huwe seems an inferior kind of spirit to Thora, for at times the latter is invoked to come to his aid, as if the former were not powerful enough to defend himself and his children. Some Bushmen near the Tuli River sang the following words, in an agitated and melancholy
[539] voice: 'Thora ba Huwe i-e i-e, Thora come to the help of Huwe
[782] i-e i-e,' ad lib." From their attributes, however, it seems that the two conceptions *Thora* and *Huwe* are substantially the same. In all probability the name *Huwe* has drifted in from the west, which would explain why it is sometimes substituted for *Thora*, sometimes found alongside it.[1]

192 In addition to this being variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Erob*,
821 *Thora*, etc., all the Northern Bushmen also speak of *//gauwa* (*Gaua*,
[776] *//gaua*, *//gauab*, etc.). This word, as we have already seen, is used
[184] by the North-Western Bushmen for "a person who has died", or
● [775] more precisely, as appears in certain cases, for the ghost of a dead person. It is, however, also used with a much wider application. Among the Naron and Auen at Sandfontein the wind is called *//gauwa* when it is strong and howls. One of the Naron tales recorded by Miss Bleek speaks of the wind as a man going about, and of *//gauwa* as a bird accompanying him. "*//gauwa* says: 'I make the wind and
192 thus go.'" Some of the people seemed to believe in a supreme
776 *//gauwa*, a being who lives in the east near *Hishe*, to whose house the
114 ghosts repair by day. They said he was *Hishe's* younger brother, while others said *//gauwa* was *Hishe*. Miss Bleek affirms that no ideas of good or bad qualities are connected with either of these beings, nor are they prayed to. Fourie, however, speaks of *Gaua* among the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron as a "bad being" or "Satan", to whom people dying a "bad death" are said to go,

[1] Dornan, op. cit., 148–50; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 386, 81. The translation given by Dornan of the prayer in which *Thora* is asked to come to the aid of *Huwe* cannot be relied upon. In another place (*J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1917, p. 53) he renders the same words: "God leave (us) alone is is!"

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while those dying a "good death" go to *!khutse* (*!khuba*). "About the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1] 114 192 776 [773] [881]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say "*//gaua* thunders", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: "*//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndzambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God"); "we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to *//gaua*."[2] 184 192 776 [751] [821] [761] [775] [821] [881] [304] [782]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain" *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds. 114 184 776 192 821 [756] [787]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123-4.

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776 First there is their chief or headman, simply termed *//gauab* by ordinary people, but whose real name, known to and uttered only by the magicians, is */nawa*. "Probably," suggests Lebzelter, "we [184] have to do here with the high god of another religion, and */nawa* is to be identified with *//nwa-se*, the New Moon of the Angola Kung." */nawa* or *//gauab* does good as well as evil. He is prayed to for [782] success in the chase, assists the hunters in their efforts, and receives [224] the first-offerings of any game taken; he is also, however, most [753] frequently the cause of illness. One informant, who had been baptized, spoke of him as the "devil" who had made the Kung; others, old magicians, credited him with giving rise to the existence and present mode of life of men and animals. He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.

775 776 The second group of spirits are the *//gauab* who stand at the service of the "great captain". As a rule they lie around their hearth-fires in the sky, the stars, and only come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead (*xa*) and bring them to *Xu*. The third group comprises the "small" *//gauab*, the ghosts of the dead, whose home is the grave but who roam about everywhere and are injurious to mankind; the fourth are the particularly malicious little spirits dwelling in the water; and finally there is the whole horde of the [753] spirits of disease, the *dsao*, small yellow mannikins with thick bellies, who at the command of any of the other spirits enter into people [756] and thus make them ill. It is the function of the magicians to remove them from the body of the patient.[1]

184 776 The Western Kung of the Oschimpoloveld have no such elaborate world of spirits. Mention is made only of the */gagorob* or */gau/gorob*, small spirits who roam about in the bush and do nothing but play practical jokes on people. "They are not the spirits of the dead," says Lebzelter, "and cannot therefore be compared with the *//gauab*."[2]

[192] Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan we meet again with *//gauab*, or, as the name is here rendered, */gamab*. Owing to Christian influence [177] */gamab* is now spoken of as "the devil", but Lebzelter regards this being as a "demiurge", whom he equates with */nawa* or the principal *//gauab* of the Eastern Kung, and with */gamab* of the Bergdama and Nama. */gamab* is said by the Heikum to have created mankind and the world; the souls of the dead (*darish*) come to live with him,

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der *!Khun*-Buschmänner," 407–10; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 412.

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and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the "benefactress" *Ises*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.[1]

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was doubted.[2]

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are, according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan, "I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad, and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism in which two powers, one good, Thora or Huwe, and one bad, Khauna, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."[3]

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the

[1] Op. cit., 410.
[2] Op. cit., 410–11.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167–8.

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776 honoured with certain ritual observances connected with the chase;
[782] he is also prayed to for rain, before travel, and in case of illness;
[224] and finally it is from him that the magicians obtain their special
[756] powers. By the Eastern Kung he is said to have a wife and many children; among the other Kung and the Heikum he figures alone.

Few of these attributes are mentioned by Miss Bleek in her remarks
184 upon *Hishe* among the Naron and Auen, and upon *Huwe* among the
776 !O !Kung. But there are certain points of agreement. *Hishe* dwells in
[775] a house in the east, to which the ghosts of the dead repair by day;
[224] he is regarded as the creator, and as the protector of game and hunting. On the other hand *Hishe-Huwe*, sometimes alone, sometimes in double
[881] guise as man and woman, sometimes "followed by children like
[114] baboons", figures prominently in the boys' puberty ceremonies, which are not referred to at all by Lebzelter. At the same time, since these ceremonies certainly have much to do with hunting, their association with *Hishe-Huwe* is not inconsistent with his character as protector of the game and hunting, although of course it is hardly likely that this provides the only explanation for his figuring in them. Nor
[782] is he ever prayed to among these tribes, save where the name *Huwe* is substituted by the !O !Kung for *//nwa-se*, the New Moon, in the prayer for rain. Most of the prayers for food and rain, however, are directed to the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon.

A closer agreement with Lebzelter's account is provided by Dornan's
[114] discussion of *Thora-Huwe* among the North-Eastern Bushmen. *Thora* is here said to be the creator who is over all things, he sends
[821] rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting, certain
[224] hunting observances are directed towards him, he wards off disease,
[753] and protects the Bushmen from danger.

It is possible also to find a connection in certain respects between *Huwe* and the conception of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen. Among the Cape Bushmen, it is true, the Mantis is primarily a mythological character, the central figure of an elaborate series of myths relating to him and his "family". He is never worshipped, but on
[782] the other hand, like *Huwe*, he has creative powers, and is also said to
[825] have made certain bucks and to protect them. Mention is further made by these Bushmen of an afterworld to which go the spirits
[775] of the dead, but there is nothing at all to link this up with the Mantis, just as there is nothing to link up the afterworld of the North-Eastern Bushmen with *Thora*. The resemblance between the Mantis and *Huwe* is far more noticeable among the Bushmen of Basutoland.

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Here also the Mantis is the central figure of many myths; but at the same time he is the creator, he causes life or death, he is especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food and good luck in hunting, and he is also connected with certain religious dances at which the "initiated men" (probably the magicians) cure illness. The elaborate mythological character of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen and his association with so many other figures in these myths preclude an absolute identification of him and *Huwe*. The resemblance in other respects, however, appears on the whole to be striking enough to warrant our connecting the two. 184 776 [761] [224] [782] [755]

The other outstanding conception is that of *//gaua*, *//gauab*, */gamab*, etc. In all the North-Western tribes the word *//gaua* is used in the first place for the ghosts of dead persons, and one cannot resist assuming that this is its fundamental significance. Among the Naron and Auen these ghosts, which as in all the other North-Western tribes can be seen by the magicians, walk about at night, and people are afraid of them, but not do expect real harm from them; among the Eastern Kung, however, all the *//gauab* are the cause of illness, some do mischief, while others come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead; among the Heikum of Ukuambi the ghosts move about on earth and do harm to people, while among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul goes to live with */gamab*, but may return to earth to kill people. In general therefore it would seem that dead people are regarded by the North-Western Bushmen as sources of injury, and especially as causing illness and even death. The same idea is conveyed by Dornan's statement, that the North-Eastern Bushmen avoid the grave of a dead person, "lest the spirit resent the intrusion." 184 775 [753] [753] [761] [769]

The word *//gaua* is, however, used also in the sense of a personified being, whose attributes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but appear on closer analysis to show a certain uniformity. The !O Kung ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*; when anyone is killed by lightning they say "*//gaua* took him", and people who had met their death in this way were said to sit in the sky as stars, which are looked upon as "*//gaua*'s fires". Among the Eastern Kung the stars are also the fires of the *//gauab*, a shooting star heralds the death of someone, while lightning is the medium through which *Xu* punishes or kills people. Among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga *xamaba* (*/gamab*) inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like, while 184 776 [192] [821] [775] [821] [753]

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184 776 among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan */gamab* makes thunder and [821] lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting stars. The Naron and Auen term a strong and howling wind *//gaua*, [825] while sometimes *//gaua* is said to be a bird which makes the wind. [777] Finally among the North-Eastern Bushmen *Khauna* is the source of [753] bad luck and disease, is injurious to people, and sends the thunder- [821] storm and lightning, the latter being regarded as his offspring. Further [825] the "lightning bird", intimately associated with him, is feared and may inflict death by lightning when molested. Here again we get [753] the general impression of *//gaua* as the source of illness and death, acting through the medium of the storm, lightning, and shooting stars.

184 776 821 In all this *//gaua* offers certain points of resemblance with the conception of the Rain held by the Cape Bushmen. Among the latter the Rain is definitely personified, it appears in their myths as a supernatural personage, generally in the form of an animal, and here it is said, "the Rain thunders, the Rain lightens." When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind and various transformations effected; the howling of the wind forebodes evil; and numerous observances have to be kept in order [761] not to anger the Rain and thereby provoke death. There is also [775] the belief that people killed by lightning are changed into stars; shooting stars are omens of death; the wind is sometimes spoken [825] of as a bird; and the flight over the camp of the *Scopus umbretta*, known to the North-Eastern Bushmen as the "lightning bird", here announces the death of someone. In this connection it may be added that among the Namib Bushmen thunder and lightning are said to command great reverence, and a person struck and killed by lightning is believed to have suffered death as a punishment for some past misdeed.[1]

184 776 In some cases, among the North-Western Bushmen, *//gaua* shares certain of the attributes vested in *Huwe*. This appears most strikingly among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga, where *Huwe-Erob* does not figure at all, his place being taken by *xamaba*, who has most of the powers and privileges attributed to *Huwe-Erob* by the other [782] Heikum and the Kung. Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan [755] we find prayers addressed to *Erob* for rain and in illness, but at the [775] same time the "demiurge" */gamab* is mentioned as the creator who [821] receives the souls of the dead. Further, as we have just seen, */gamab*

[1] Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.

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makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people 184
by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, 776
/nawa or the chief of the *//gauab* figures as the creator, and, as the [821]
executive of *Xu*, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is [224]
honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success; [782]
he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems [753]
extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of *Huwe* [178]
on the one hand and of *//gaua* on the other have been blended or
confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make
this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explana- 114
tion may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek 178
and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies 776
for boys: according to the former, it is *Hishe* who figures in the 881
special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled [184]
by *Gaua*. *//gaua*, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's
puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar
confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do
the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a
suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that
one of Miss Bleek's informants identified *//gaua* with *Ndzambi*,
the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for
"God", while another spoke of *//gaua* as the "father" of the
Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of *Huwe*, *Thora*, or 184
the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the 776
source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food [224]
gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; [753]
and with the conception of *//gaua* first as the ghosts of the dead [821]
and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness [775]
and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder,
lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an
interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the
possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples;
it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from
the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions
common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

Magic and Magicians

In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the 756
mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

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756 supernatural powers, or who are able to control, either for social purposes or for their own ends, the spiritual forces upon which the social welfare depends. There is no English word which adequately describes them, but such persons may be loosely termed magicians.

Among the Cape Bushmen, these magicians, who might be of either sex, were called */gixa* (plural, */giten*). There is unfortunately [114] no information available as to how they acquired their powers, nor have we any clear description of the part they played in the life of the community. A few details about them may, however, be gathered from the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd. Some magicians were [821] rainmakers, who went out to catch the rain bull and lead it over the land bringing rain. Others, again, had special powers over particular [825] game animals, such as the springbok or the ostrich. Some magicians were able to assume and go about in the form of animals such as the lion, springbok, jackal, or a little bird; others, even when asleep, knew what was going about at night, and took care of the people, defending them from evil magicians. For some magicians could [757] cause illness by shooting with invisible arrows, and the patients would die, even though doctored; while some were said to eat the flesh of the dead. When a magician died an earthquake took place, [823] and his heart fell, as a shooting star, out of the sky into a waterhole. His powers, however, he continued to possess even after death, [775] for there are mentioned several occasions on which a dead rainmaker was asked to send rain or a game magician to give success in hunting.[1]

These beliefs, fragmentary as they are, show definitely that the magicians were held to possess supernatural powers, which they might use for good or evil; but, apart perhaps from the making of rain, there is nothing to link them up with any cult or public ceremony, or to indicate that they ever played the part of priests.

[184] Among the Naron and Auen, however, the magicians, as we have seen, function at the puberty ceremonies. They introduce *Hishe* [881] into the dances, and make the cuts between the eyebrows of the boys. Among the Naron they are also the priests, who pray to the New [793] Moon for rain; while among the Auen they make rain by sprinkling [821] on the ground a kind of red earth, which they fetch from afar and carry about with them. The magicians, both male and female, are

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 18; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 22.

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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

B H 771 171 821

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

B H 771 171 769 775 [192]

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word //*gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as /*hei* /*nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

B H [191]

B H 771 171 775 761 821

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word //*Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard //*Gaunab* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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who causes sickness or death. The Northern Bushmen likewise believe that he causes death, but do not seem to attach any special significance of evil to him, save where there has been Hottentot influence. He is associated by them more particularly with certain phenomena of nature, such as thunder and lightning, shooting stars, the wind, etc., so that Miss Bleek actually regards him as a personification of the wind and the storm, while Pater Schmidt looks upon him as an ancient sky god ("Himmelsgott").[1] Closer analysis shows, however, that the phenomena of nature regarded as manifestations of *//Gaua* by the Northern Bushmen are all looked upon primarily as mediums through which he inflicts misfortune and death; and similarly we find that among the Hottentots the whirlwind, the eclipse of the moon and the sun, the rainbow and the Aurora australis are all natural phenomena of ill omen specially connected with *//Gaunab*. Since the lightning is actually a frequent cause of death, while the other phenomena, such as comets, shooting stars and eclipses, are owing to their very nature readily regarded as ominous, it is perhaps not far-fetched to see in this the reason why they should have become specially connected with *//Gaua*, the cause of sickness and death.

The impression one gets, reviewing the evidence as a whole, is that among both the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen the term *//Gaua* has several different references, which, however, are not consistently distinguished by the people themselves. Sometimes it is used for the ghost of a dead person, sometimes as a collective name for these ghosts, sometimes, again, in the sense of a personified being with various special attributes. The beliefs regarding *//Gaua*, in other words, are not crystallized into clear-cut conceptions, but are vague, inconsistent, and ambiguous. Consequently those interpretations based solely upon the conception of *//Gaua* as a personified being must be rejected as one-sided and obviously inadequate. If any special interpretation is to be sought, and in the light of our present knowledge there is none which can be advanced with full confidence, the most fruitful approach would seem to be that *//Gaua* must be regarded as a vague conception founded upon the beliefs about the fate of the dead and the ways in which the latter can affect the living society.

//Gaunab in Hottentot mythology is in conflict with *Tsui //Goab*, the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124; W. Schmidt, "Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 295.

/158 cont./

T. Religion, Cult, Mythology

756 [789] The Bushman doctor conjures up rain by scattering on the ground a kind of red earth which he fetches from afar and carries about with him.

I regard the doctors, who take the place of sorcerers, as quite experienced people who have a considerable gift for observation. At the same time, they throw plenty of sand in their [775] clients' eyes. The soul of the deceased does not die. The Bush- [769] men have great fear of the dead and even of the place of death.

Illnesses that give rise to much pain and complaining on the 753 part of the sufferers are regarded as having been caused by a higher power (demons); others are regarded as natural illness.

The doctor practices exorcism by saying magical charms over 755 the sick person and finally, with the motion of a juggler, flinging to the ground a little piece of wood or the like which is supposed to have come from the body of the patient and to have caused the illness.

The only thing that I was able to establish concerning their 776 religious notions, despite weeks of fruitless endeavor, /159/ is that a higher power exists which may be harmful to men and may cause them to perish from serious illnesses. This higher power, which is feared, dwells "above." I could not get them to do more than point upward in the direction of the sky, except for the statement that the feared power is far beyond the treetops. [Fig. 14 appears here.]

The doctor is both physician and sorcerer. He is probably 756 also a priest, for whenever I asked questions concerning religion and the like, I was always referred to the doctor, who supposedly was informed about these matters.

Not every settlement has a doctor. Between Oas, Rietfontein, and Ganab (100 kilometers north of Rietfontein) there was supposedly only one.

The doctor has his head shaved smooth. In addition, he is said to wear ornaments that no other man may use.

Boys who have been apprenticed to a doctor for many years may later, when they have become older, replace their master.

In the treatment of the sick, charlatanism seems to be mixed

[Text continues on page 56]

[6 cont.]

101 account refers only to the latter.

821 [7] The sky is designated by them as !nanu áiba Éroba Kharésa ("rain house of god").

776 For god they have the expressions "Erob" and "χ'amab"
775 only "Erob" is used in prayers. χ'amab (1) has been preserved

1. χ indicates a very low gutteral click, for which I know of no notation.

in χ'amá //gu Khe = "people who are with god," in other words, the souls of the deceased in heaven. Everyone goes there, the good as well as the bad. Erob has no wife and no children. A human being has only one soul (!gau-ba). This soul goes to the heavenly house and remains there "until Erob makes new people from it." Here is a belief in the transmigration of souls, which, it must be admitted, is not thought through any further.

No spirits of the dead remain on earth. There are little
776 bush spirits, the gangorob; they are harmless and do nothing. There are no evil little spirits. They supposedly know nothing about Heiseb and /Nawa.

136 The supply of game is ample in the tall dry forests of the Otjimpolo Veld. There are also fish in the rainy season. The
[825] Bushmen call them "shiba" (Ovambo: oshi or ochi); in other words, originally they had no word for them.

224 The Bushmen are helpless against the lion (χ'oréba).
[825] They leave a region as soon as lions make it unsafe. "There is no point in hunting them."

The leopard (χ'nába) is hunted with dogs (ariba). The
[439] chiefs of Amboland pay a good price for the skin, since little princes and princesses are not carried in a litter made of cowhide, but in a leopard skin. The jackal (≠Khai-eba) and the Löffelhund (//arúba) [a fox-like wild dog of the subfamily Octocyoninae] are hunted with enthusiasm. "Aruba" probably corresponds to N. //arob = striped jackal.

Wild dogs, "Khere," !nube (N. !goub) are preferably
[825] avoided. No notice is taken of the hyena, ≠Khai-lasa (N. ≠heirab),
[262] and it is not eaten. When they come near the camp, it is not a
[767] good sign.

[7 cont.]

222 The honey badger, !uisa (N. !ous), which leads to the
825 bees, is followed ever so eagerly.

The common wild pig (gariba), the kudu (daub), the
224 gemsbok χ'uaba (N. /gaib), and all the small antelopes are hunted. Pits are no longer known, although they used to dig them in former times.

If they decide to go hunting, sexual intercourse must be
[834] avoided the night before. In the evening the hunters go into the forest and spend the night there. Before dawn they rise and pray:

[539] Pu, pu, Eró, /nari dsu /ari mate — God, tomorrow early we receive.

When a piece of game has been killed, one of the hunters cuts a piece of flesh from the animal's body and hands it to the leader of the hunt. This meat is called am-shái-khe. A fire is made, and this piece is placed on it. When it is roasted, the leader cuts off a piece and shouts:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, ha gore, ha gore — Erob, Erob, Erob, eat, eat
i Khe Khandi ô — With us flesh.

After a pause:

ha lĕ a lĕ ha góre o Khandi ô — Come! Come! Let us eat flesh.

Now the roasted flesh is consumed. Nothing is thrown away or left behind for Erob.

Then the game is cut up, and everyone goes home with his portion.

136 Snakes are not rare, although they are by no means as common as in the stony regions of the southwest.

The boa constrictor eats human beings; if it catches a Bushman, it starts to consume him at the legs!

132 In spite of the timber forest, the danger of drought is
821 great. Erob sends rain. When there is a drought, the Bushmen
731 dance and pray:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, /ga !goro — Erob, Erob, Erob, we are dying of thirst
/ga-wi -ma ta re — Water give us.

177 [8] It is very interesting to observe how in these certainly
● 776 very ancient hunting and rain prayers the former old heathen gods'
782 names Huwe and χ'amab were replaced by the Christian "Ellob."

I asked the people whether they knew any other prayers and received the following answer: "We know very well that

[8 cont.]

177 nothing can be done without Erob; we also pray to him whenever
●776 somebody is ill, but we have no song for that, we do it in our
782 hearts." In these conceptions Christian influence is obvious.

881 They have no initiation for boys, but there is one for girls at the time of the first menstruation.

The girls' initiation is called "dorob."

At the onset of the menses, the girl becomes a "X'ába X'ábesa"; a special hut (omba) is built for her, where she is guarded by older women who feed her. The girl is allowed to eat anything, but nothing with her hands. When the menses end, a two-day festival begins, which terminates with a concluding dance. The candidate is seated in the center. Men and women go around
[534] her in a circle. The men blow on wooden trumpets. (These trumpets are made by the !Kung at only one place.) At the same time the drum is beaten (!guruba). At the conclusion, the women make "music." They clap their hands and sing:

[539] e-e-e-e-a-eje a jeja ni u u e . . .

Between times the drums and wooden trumpets sound.
539 Then the choral song of the men begins.

881 boro ai /i-he ≠hasa	Daughter my has become tall (just)
≠hau ge	Stand erect (tall)
/gai /ka uta (?) /noro-re	Good be now our little sunshine (1)

1. Literally: "Shine, you."

/ari ni tessa	Dance (2), sing, sue for her hand (3)

2. Literally: "Jump."

3. Literally: "Ask for!"

!goasa hi bare	People, be glad
Ti Komi !gŏă Kŏŏ...Kŏŏ... Kŏŏŏ	So, in this way, people, you should do it.

Then the dance begins anew.

[582] The engagement usually takes place long before the
585 girl's initiation. Hence the rule is that the wedding and the girl's
881

/10 cont./

123 Since I was able to become quite friendly with their "foreman," who possesses a small farm, I discovered some details concerning their outlook on life.

776 They believe in a supreme being which is not conceived of as a human being and which they call X'amaba. Here we have H. Vedder's /Gamab of the Bergdama.

773 X'amaba made everything, the sun, the moon, the stars, and also human beings. First he made the Whites, then the Blacks, and finally the Bushmen. They are unable to say how X'amaba made human beings.

[372] The old Bushmen say that fire comes from the devil.
[776] Heiseb is the devil, according to them. Heiseb and the ostrich played together. The ostrich had the fire on his arm. While dancing the ostrich spread his wings, and Heiseb took the fire from him. Heiseb threw the fire brand behind him. There was a bush which started to burn. And there the people discovered the fire.

776 Heiseb is evil and only does evil. He is conceived as human in form. No one knows where he came from.

X'amaba, on the other hand, is benevolent. People pray to him for help.

539 I took down the following prayers:

782 1. Prayer for rain: In olden times pieces of wood were
821 cut from the !Hawewa tree. It could not be felled. These pieces of wood were thrown into the fire, and as soon as the pungent smoke rose upward, the people sang in chorus:

X'amaba duwa /gam-i-i a a God, give water to drink.
X'amaba duwa /gam-i-i !hanusa God, give water rain,
anita(?) a a so that we may drink.

2. Prayer of thanks for rain: When the rain has finally come, a dance of joy is performed, and the following is sung:

X'ámaba X'ámaba X'ámaba God, God, God
tūta tūta We have received, we have received
!hanusa /gam-i-i !hanusa /gam-i-i Rain water, rain water
tara ái /gam ái !hanusa tutasi We can drink, drink water, receive water.

[10 cont.]

539 χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!
[821]
291 [11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and
731 the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They
[888] do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and
[758] the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune. Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own.
271 One must have experienced personally the feeling that overcomes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can drink again!

539 3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a
782 journey:
[484] χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

[755] 4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor performs his ceremonies.

χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai ~~khaira~~ téve God, let our people rise again.

789 5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil: Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

821 They do not know anything to say about the sun (sorésa). The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

753 Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those
● 776 persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this, and there is no spirit of sickness.

776 There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the bush. They play tricks.

775 A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know
[756] what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

[13 cont.]

Chapter 4

The Bushmen of Ukuambi

115 At an outpost of the Finnish Ukuambi Mission, where I undertook anthropological measurements, I encountered a Bushman from the hordes that live on the northern bank of the Etosha Pan and stand in a loose dependent relationship partly with Ipumbo, partly with Shanika. I was able to converse with him only a few hours.

101 These Bushmen in Ukuambi, as well as at other places, belong to the Ezimo of the Akuanambua. They themselves are [614] divided into a number of exogamous kin groups. My informant belonged to the clan Ari-Ari. The tribe calls itself Akese or Kere and comes from the region between Okaukuejo and Outjo. Today this tribal organization is broken up. The following names -- formerly independent hordes which now live mixed together -- were mentioned to me: /Aru-Kwe, Ashuche, Asécha, !Kuru-Kwei, A !Kha-ta-bé, A-Hei-tére, A !gnuri.

648 Insofar as these Bushmen do not already lead the life of the Bantu farmers, they are hunters, spies, and occasionally also executioners for the chiefs. They manufacture ostrich egg beads [+39] and poison. For twelve good ostrich eggs they receive a fat ox. The Ovambo have quite a peculiar outlook in this respect. They spurn the perfectly good eggs of their hens. The ordinarily somewhat "disreputable" ostrich eggs are purchased for dear money as a delicacy.

611 The sons belong to the family of the father, the daughters to that of the mother. The men are not allowed to eat hares, 262 but the women and children do. The eating of hyenas and boa constrictors is prohibited to all.

776 Concerning their religious conceptions I was able to discover the following: In the sky dwells the great captain !Khuwa, which means the same as Huwe. In answer to the question about God, however, he stated that this was Erob, which naturally coincides with the name for God, Ellob, of the Rhenish Mission. The name !Khuwa only occurred casually in the conversation. He was unable to give a clear answer to my question as to whether

[13 cont.]

776 !Khuwa and Erob were the same. In any case, the expression Ellob used by these people comes from Outjo, where there are a number of Christian Bushmen.

!Khuwa lives in the heavenly house χ'ain !nao gároba.
[772] The people in heaven eat only large flies, !Khu !Khua-i. The figure /Nawas is unknown. The evil antagonist of Huwe, //Gauab, is also absent. These Bushmen, however, have the same doctrine
[774] of the two souls as the !Kung of the east.

775 When someone dies, he becomes the property of !Khuwa; he is a !Khunga. The actual soul, χ'aobe, goes to the heavenly house, remains there, and does nothing but eat large flies. From the bodies of the dead [14] arise the //gauá-i, which run around in the bush and stir up trouble. They correspond to the akwapungu
[171] and azizi of the Ovambo. "But the actual souls of the Ovambo and the Bushmen go different ways; those of the Ovambo go under the earth where they have their fields and herds, but those of the Bushmen go up." Since the missionary Mr. Kylves expressed the desire to make some detailed studies of the Bushmen himself, I gladly left this attractive field of study to my kind host.

197 Finally, a number of words indicate that these people
192 are to be included in the Hei//om-Nama group, a point which
[101] is very striking with respect to the !Kung elments in their world view.

German	Ukuambi Bushmen	Nama
Sun	shoreba	sóres
Moon	!háwa	//khab(*)
Stars	/nāmirō-i	/gamiros
Dome of the sky	shorche	≠kanis
Earth	/huwa	!hub-eib
Lightning	/harabé	náwab
Thunder	!nau	!gurub(*)
Rain	≠nanuba	/awib(*)
Lion	χ'amba	χ'ami
Leopard	!kui-oba	!arub(*)
Large bird	anite	--
Dog	arib	arib
Boa constrictor	!aoba	--
Zebra	χorebe	--

/14 cont./

000 chronic, good-natured imbiber . . .

●776 In heaven there is one god, Erob. Lightning (dábara)
[821] and rain (!nanus) are sent by him. He calls heaven χ'ameiba.
This word is very interesting. It can mean both "place of the
/15/ souls (χ'a) " or "place of the χ'amab." The souls
[775] (um-ské) go to heaven after death. "This is what they say,"
said the man, "I haven't been there yet."

He did not know Gauab and Heiseb. Concerning other spirits, he said that people had mentioned them, but he did not believe in them. The spirits are supposedly called "gangarob."
756 The old Bushmen had neither doctors nor medicines against ill-
753 nesses. To my question about what made people ill, he responded with philosophical equanimity: "If one becomes ill, he is ill like an animal." He knew nothing about the sun (soris)
[821] and moon (χ'ab). A sacred fire is unknown to him.
[778]

224 Of greatest interest is his report, undoubtedly based
782 upon autopsy, concerning an initial offering at the hunt. I give the report in literal translation:

"Before people go out to the hunt, they meet at an omsati tree (//Khaia-aib). There a fire is made. Each hunter rips off a number of leaves, spits on them, and throws them into the fire as he shouts:

[539] Érob, Érob, áu tere! God, God, help us!

"When the game has been killed, one first cuts a piece each from the lung, liver, and stomach and throws each piece singly to the side, saying all the while:

Érob úre, Érob úre! God take, God take!

[539] "Then they start to eat."

This function is performed by the one who has killed the game.

The following was communicated to me concerning the
881 social organization:
585

There are initiation ceremonies. The celebration of the first menstruation originally coincided with the wedding. On the first day of menstruation the girl went into a pontok especially constructed for this purpose. Then there was dancing for two or three days, and after the cessation of the menses the girl went to

[35 cont.]

312 Dolichos seineri Harms (eona), and the Convolvulacea Ipomoea
824 seineri Pilger (eawa); the enormous tubers of the latter two may weigh up to 150 kilograms. Considerably more important for the natives than these 'water roots' is the Curcurbitacea Citrullus naudinianus Hook. (orura of the Herero; gab of the Hottentot); without their juicy gourds, which occur in great quantities and for the most part are edible, most of the central Kalahari would be impassable during the dry season, even for the Bushmen."

Further, F. Galton (1) reports:

[113] 1. F. Galton, Tropisches Südafrika, p. 101.

312 "In practice, the first hopeful sign when people are look-
825 ing around for water is a flight of guinea fowl; next, following the habits of the land, each tree is carefully examined until a parrot is sighted, an object visible even at a great distance because the bird likes to sit on the uppermost branches. A parrot is rarely more than half an hour away from water, and the same applies to baboons. If one proceeds with careful observation and takes a probable direction, he will see doves flying about; then little birds are found in all the bushes, and they are close to it."

10. The Veldkost

222 Just as //Gauab accompanies the hunter on the chase, he is
776 also the companion of the women who go to look for veldkost. If //Gauab takes delight in a woman, he will break the bones of an animal, killing it, and will lead the woman to it. If, however, //Gauab is angry at a woman and she finds no veldkost, then she becomes angry, gets up early in the morning, abuses //Gauab, and then takes medicine and washes her face so that //Gauab will not recognize her. Then she goes into the veld and finds something.
[782] //Gauab receives no offerings from the veldkost. The celebration
222 of the first fruits of the veld described by Vedder is no longer held.
[887] The oldest woman is brought to eat samples of each type of veldkost that is brought home for the first time in the year. Then the second oldest woman takes a taste, and so on down the line.

[49 cont.]

756 786 789 796

glowing all too brightly. On the other hand, I was surprised when on the occasion of such a religious dance the so-called great doctor -- after he had danced by himself long and continuously in visible ecstasy, so that in spite of the cool night and even though he was almost completely naked, the sweat ran down his entire body -- suddenly, with slow majestic steps, walked through the high flames of the fire and in so doing had to step on the burning logs with his bare feet.

753 776

[50] On a later occasion I discussed these procedures thoroughly and in detail with the chief doctor, Kasi, and with Dube and the other doctors. One of the most striking aspects of the entire ceremony is perhaps the absence of the mysterious and the magical. These little spirits of sickness are not magical creatures but, in the eyes of the Bushmen, commonplace realities. The Bushmen know very well that many illnesses are not caused by the spirits of sickness alone. If someone eats something that has gone bad, he will become ill and will be given an emetic. If someone is wounded by a shot, the wound will be treated. If the injured person has pains only in the wound and otherwise feels all right, then no spirit of sickness has entered into him. If he feels sick all over, however, then he is possessed by a spirit of sickness. These little spirits of sickness are called dsao; they are little yellow men with a fat belly and a little tail. They obey the other spirits, which, as described above, include the ordinary (775) spirits from the bodies of deceased persons, the spirits who live among the stars, and the chief spirit (/Nawa) himself. [Fig. 20 appears here.]

Finally, even the "great captain" can send the dsao directly over a person. /Nawa can do this with or without the consent of the "great captain"; the smaller spirits act on their own authority or at the command of these powers.

756 776

The doctors have their supernatural power directly from the "great capitain"; they are as powerful as /Nawa and stronger

[50 cont.]

756 than the smaller spirits. Their treatment is correspondingly suc-
776 cessful or unsuccessful. In other words, the doctors are vindicated in any case.

755 The treatment of illness thus follows two parallel paths:
757 one with natural means (medicines and the like), directed at the local symptoms of the ailment; and one with supernatural means, directed at the dsao that cause the feeling of sickness.

[756] [796] 539 During the doctors' test the following song is sung:

[411]

Fig. 20. Bushman Revolver of the !Kung (Foxhof; actual size [as shown in original text]).

e hehehe na ti //kau /goa dsao

During the treatment itself the following text is sung:

/o ma ga //goa ≠am /nai tha
He has no medicine yet, he must be
thrown with the medicine.

751 756 Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) have the following to report

1. Die Buschmänner, p. 424.

[52 cont.]

Concerning the moon, I was told: "The moon was also
773 carried by people. It was not as warm as the sun, but very heavy.
821 So the men helped each other, and with great difficulty they brought it to the huts. The moon was a man. He said: 'I prefer to remain alone and do not wish to be among you.' Thereupon the Bushmen said: 'If you go alone into the desert, you will surely die.' But the moon did not obey, went out, and died. But then it woke up again and rose like the sun; therefore, like the latter, it is from the 'Great Captain.' When it disappears, it has died. When only one side of it is visible, then it is young. When it becomes smaller, then it is old. The color of the moon comes from its gall (/góo)."

The well-known story of the moon and the hare is told there as follows:

The moon once said to the hare: "I die and wake up again, you on earth should do the same." But the hare answered: "No, we cannot do that, we who are on earth, only you can do that because you are in the air, among us this is impossible; once we die, we do not wake up again." And the hare was right; it is still so today.

821 The eclipse of the moon, !nui dsao, is caused by the lions
(825) so that they can more easily steal into the Bushman huts.

[53] Comets, χ'u !gam, are stars of the great captain;
(777) they bring luck. When a shooting star, ≠gomma, falls, it is said,
(787) just as among us, that someone has died. The stars are the camp-
(775) fires of those spirits who at the command of the great captain come down and fetch the souls of the dying.

(823) Earthquakes, χ'áno !gee, are omens of sickness. The
(787) rainbow, !khâni !nâo, indicates a good year for rain.

(782) What the Bushman begs and prays for is not sunshine but
(776) rain. The great captain alone dispenses rain.

Lightning and thunder are not beings in themselves, but are caused by rain. When someone is killed by lightning, it is said: "The rain has killed him." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder at a distance, the rain is saying: "Today I shall thunder over the whole earth." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder on various sides, the clouds are speaking to one another. And when they touch each other with their heads, the

[53 cont.]

821 rain comes down and the clouds extend over the whole world. The rain that has come down to earth does not stay there; the clouds
776 again come forth from the earth. The rain obeys the great cap-
821 tain. In a storm the great captain knocks down the trees. If a person says something bad about him, however, punishment is not long in coming. X 'u says to the rain: "You must now go and kill him." And the rain goes and kills the man with lightning. But when the great captain says to the rain, "You must go now and punish him," then the lightning merely strikes the windscreen so that the whole thing collapses and the evildoer is thrown out.
[752] Then the people come running, rub the unconscious person with medicine, and burn his skin with red-hot pieces of wood until he comes to again.

Thus the angry great captain metes out punishment.

751 The Bushman concerned, however, is far from either pri-
[782] vately or publicly begging the great captain for forgiveness. He
823 is convinced that this would do no good. On the contrary, he
821 puts his confidence in the following procedure: It is known that where lightning strikes quartz sand, so-called lightning tubes or fulgurites arise. This phenomenon has not remained hidden from the sharp eye of the Bushmen. My friends told me: There where lightning has struck one usually finds a stone called "rain tooth." The person brushed by lightning scratches his skin with this stone,
[224] rubs in medicine which is supposed to bring luck in hunting, and
[777] tries to hunt down a gemsbok. If he succeeds, he cooks the meat of the gemsbok with the rain tooth. If there is a second person in the horde who has previously been brushed by lightning, that person must eat the meat with him. Then medicine is made from this meat and other ingredients, and this is placed in the horn of a small bushbuck and carried around the neck by the person concerned.

751 When the "rain" comes again, he again goes to the hut
821 of the person struck, walks through the fire where the buck was cooked, takes a bone of the buck (these bones remain lying on the spot), and goes with it into the nearest tree. The bone cooks in the tree, and the scum comes out on the side and the fat below. When the rain has passed, the bone is again pulled out and cooked with gemsbok horn and duiker horn and flesh; then it is

[54 cont.]

756 house. The doctor then begins to pray: "Lord, help us, the chil-
789 dren are dying, we are dying of thirst and hunger." He prays and
787 begs until the captain says: "It is good, I shall send water so that
796 the children will have water and veldkost." Then the great captain again accompanies the doctor halfway down. As soon as the doctor is down below, he lets go of the thread which is immediately drawn up. Now the people dance and sing, for the rain has come:

[539] /gá-é dsó-jã̄ /gaa	We rejoice now over the rain.
//ẽ gã̄ djusã̄ !kho ádshója /ga	Then we rejoice all together.
//ẽ gã̄ hin a /gaa /gaa	Then the rain comes.
da //goá dshn !gu da adschŏéa χ'u	Then the people praise the lord.

532]

Fig. 21. Spirits of the Dead and Rain Animal (from Bleek, Rock Paintings in South Africa etc., Pl. 58).

776 Another !Kung said to me: "The great captain in the sky
821 sends the rain and all that comes from above. If he does not want to, everything remains shut up. The rain is opened up above; a great vlei is there. I do not know the name of the great captain. The Hei//om call him Som-seb."

17. Religion

771 After a critical look at the sum of the conceptions determining
177 the religious life of the !Kung, one recognizes, as would naturally be expected in the case of such an ancient people, that the elements

[54 cont.]

171 of various religions have found entry here. Among the Bushmen
177 tribes I visited there is the common belief in a supreme good be-
171 ing, whose name varies. The people described here [55] call the
176 supreme being X'u, "the lord" or "the great captain" (1). It is

[782]

1. According to Vedder, the supreme being is Huwe (Tsumeb). When the first veld fruits ripen, an offering is brought before sunrise. A freshly broken twig is inserted into a piece of wood with a hole bored through it. The people are seated in a circle, and the eldest passes around a tobacco or dacha pipe made out of a tubular bone.

the same expression that the Cape Hottentot used in speaking to the German traveler Kolbe, with the same significance and pronunciation 705 (2). The name could not have come from the

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2. J. Schapera (The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, 1930) has critically referred to my observations on this point. In this connection I must note: the "great captain" among the eastern !Kung may rightfully be designated as "supreme being." I have already given his characteristics in my earlier publications.

[104]
[194]

The spelling is correctly X'u. I use X' to designate a click that is even lower than "!". It is also found in other words, such as X'Ame = lion. Since not all publishers provide this character, I have sometimes been forced to write "Khu" or "Chu." This word, which the !Kung, too, translate as "lord" or "great captain," was already found, as Schapera indicates, among the Cape Hottentot in 1705 as Khourou = "Supreme Ruler" and "Great Chief" or "Great Captain"; Kolbe gives a quite analogous citation a little later, and Hahn reports of one old Nama, "The people say,

[CONTINUES ON p. 108 - ANALYST]

[55 cont.]

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if it is thundering, the Lord (Khub, i.e., Tsui//Goab) is speaking; he is scolding them" [cited in English], Schapera, ibid., p. 381.

The belief in a great captain was therefore common to the !Kung Bushmen and the Cape Hottentot, and the great age of the reports from the Cape exclude the possibility that missionary influence was at work here. Just as among the !Kung, this belief is apparently of very great antiquity among Miss Bleek's Naron and not simply taken over from the Christian Hottentot. In Ovamboland the concept X'u merges with Huwe, and I believe that J. Schapera, too, regards Huwe, Chuwe, and X'u as identical. The fact that the eastern !Kung have the belief in a supreme being was not discovered by me; rather, this discovery was made as early as 1910 by H. Vedder.

[174]

Everyone must be struck by the fact that there is substantial agreement between the reports concerning the heavenly house that I took down among the eastern !Kung and the data that H. Vedder supplies concerning the /Gamab of the Honigkaffir of the Otavi mountains. To be sure, these regions are also close to each other geographically. The question now arises: did the !Kung take this doctrine over from the Honigkaffir, as Schapera appears to assume, or is the reverse the case? Among the Bergdama of the central region, where I was able to carry out extensive studies, especially in the reservation of Okombahe, there is scarcely anything of these conceptions of the Honigkaffir. The Bergdama are a Negro tribe that has completely lost its original culture and language and for a long

[55 cont.]

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time had a dependent relationship with the Bushmen, whose quite miserable imitators they had in part become. Even today Bergdama who want to become witch doctors go from Windhoek and Okombahe to the !Kung in order to learn there. If the conceptions of the Honigkaffir reported by H. Vedder were indeed ancient Negro cultural traditions, then it should surely be possible to find parallels and, at least in the names referring to the beyond, traces of the old language. Almost always among the Bantu the world of the beyond lies under the earth, whereas among the Khoisan it is in the sky. For all these reasons, I draw the conclusion that the Honigkaffir have taken over the doctrine of /Gamab from the !Kung. The expression Erob or Elotse, which is to be found among several Bushman tribes, undoubtedly goes back to Christian Hottentot influence. The two-fold names of the supreme being among various groups in Ovamboland, on the other hand, allows one to conclude that here only one new name for a well-known conception found entry, and, to be sure, with such intensity that the Hei//om, at the Etosha Pan, for example, name their most important medicinal root the Erob root. Moreover, just as among the Honigkaffir, among the Hei//om of the Etosha Pan, too, it is /Gamab who sends thunder and lightning and who kills people with shooting stars. J. Schapera recognizes that the conception of Huwe, Thora, and the mantis as creator, as the giver of rain and success in hunting, and as the protector of human beings is common to all Bushmen (ibid., p. 195) and also has its analogue among the Hottentot. He seems to regard this being as a rain god, however.

[177]

[824]

[55 cont.]

114 //Gaua, whose name varies, stands opposite
171 him as an antagonist who does harm to human
● 776 beings. Schapera believes that the original
[775] designation //Gaua stood for the spirits of the dead. This is largely correct. My researches in various places, however, show that all kinds of noncorporeal beings are understood by the term //Gaua, in other words, spirits in our sense, and immaterial forces of all kind. The great captain, of course, is regarded as actually corporeal by the !Kung. P. W. Schmidt, on the other hand, has regarded this //Gaua as the original god in heaven. A comparison of the facts of the history of religion may support this view.

114 If I understand Schapera correctly, we
776 agree that a benign high deity is indeed pres-
771 ent among the Bushmen, but one that he does not want to designate as the supreme being. I maintain, however, that this being must be so designated in accordance with general usage.
[174] The peoples of the Khoisan group, according to the evidence of the prehistoric finds, have an active history behind them; the most diverse races live on in them, and their culture in its optimal adaptation to environmental conditions is to be regarded as a residual culture. It is therefore self-evident that their world view should have a syncretistic character, especially since religious ideas are cultural elements with definite tendencies to diffuse widely. Like all human beings, the Bushmen and other primitives have thoughts that are fundamentally the same as ours.
[773] Even the Bushman has a distinct need to discover causality, but this need is felt less with regard to causal or conditional explanations for given conditions and more with regard

[55 cont.]

114 to processes. Hence, among the primitives
776 we find carefully thought out conceptions
771 concerning the origin of the world of ani-
773 mals, human beings, and plants more rare-
ly than a clear answer to the question con-
cerning the originator of the actual processes,
that is, of rain, storms, sickness, death, and,
generally, good and bad fortune in human
life. This originator is conceived as either a
human-like being above the clouds or ancestral
spirits. The religious need or the need for
protection is also generally oriented in terms of
114 these two conceptions. The greater the signifi-
771 cance accorded to the benign ancestral spirits
776 and the extent to which they can be influenced
by magical practices, the smaller the signifi-
cance of the heavenly being conceived as a
general causa officiens. J. Schapera will
doubtless agree with me whan I say that, in
contrast to the Bantu, the need for a causal
explanation and the religious need for protec-
tion are oriented around Thora, Huwe, /Gamab,
and others, and that among the Bushmen this
heavenly being therefore plays the role that we
impute to a "good supreme being." By way of
a critique of the Bushmen's conceptions it
should be emphasized that the Bushmen, like
all primitives, systematize their religious con-
ceptions only to the extent that this is neces-
sary for the satisfaction of their religious and
causal-explanatory needs. We shall thus en-
counter varying degrees of consistency in the
world picture from group to group, even from
individual to individual, and no investigator
will be able to discover a thoroughly organized
system of Bushman religion since such does
not exist. Whatever I could get from my

[55 cont.] WHATEVER I COULD GET FROM MY
114 individual informants I took down with the
771 exactness of a trained scientist, faithful to
● 776 the letter and with due regard for all pre-
[124] cautions. From these notations I have drawn
the inevitable conclusion that a benign supreme being is a reality in their world picture.

776 surrounding Hei//om tribes, [56] for they use the word Somseb.
171 We should sooner think of Huwe. Huwe or Hue was what the !Kung Bushmen of Tsumeb examined by Vedder called the supreme being. I also know the expression Chuwa from the Bushmen of Ukuambi. This supreme being is conceived of in human form;
776 it looks like a Bushman and also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky
772 in a house that has two floors; his wife, whose name is unknown, lives on the lower floor, as well as many children. The souls
[775] of the deceased live on the upper floor. "The house" (it is supposed to be similar to, but not entirely like a Bushman windscreen) "is hairy on the outside, like a caterpillar." There are various things up there, but only a single house, namely, that of the captain. Honey, crickets, and fat flies are there in great abundance. The great captain lives on them. In addition, there are a great many butterflies. The following are regarded as the
776 functions of this supreme being.

1. In the opinion of some, the great captain made the sun, moon, and everything. In the opinion of others, the highest of the spirits, /Nawa, did this.

2. The great captain calls the doctors to their calling and gives them supernatural power.

3. He is the lord of the rain and the lightning.

4. Through the highest of the spirits he sends luck on the hunt or on the search for veldkost.

5. When someone thinks or speaks ill of him, he punishes
[688] him with lightning. He is not concerned about the other activities of his Bushman children, however, unless someone swears falsely.
695 The Kung have a regular oath, and one of my informants reported
776 the following to me:

When a group goes hunting and one of the participants is

[56 cont.]

695 not seen for the duration of the hunt, he is suspected of having
776 sneaked away. Then he swears by the great captain nu χu, and all believe him.

776 Ordinarily, however, the great captain has everything taken care of by the highest of the spirits and lesser spirits. The chief concern of the Bushmen, therefore, is to stay in the good graces of these spirits, but the great captain does offer protection against all evil spirits, and for that reason people turn to him
[763] with the following prayers in case of severe illness and before the start of a journey:

[57]

[539] χ'u, χ'u húi mi, //kai tsao mi	Lord, Lord, help me, raise me.
to 'oba !khu !gaise ≠ani u mī	"the lord shall lead me well
/nāna /ge a	to the place,
!nore gana ti /ge a gana ti tsa	where I am going, and he shall
/Nane /ā mi tsu (1)	lead me back well, so that I come home safely."

1. Notation of the Dama interpreter.

[224] Before the hunt the doctors pray to the great captain for hunting luck. There is no doubt that the Bushmen conceive of this "great captain" as an all-powerful and at the same time benign being. His executive organ, as has been noted, is the highest of the Gauab. The latter is called "the Gauab" by the common people, but he has a name known only by the doctors, and saying it may have serious consequences. Since I finally
[123] had the honor to be regarded as an equal by the doctors, I learned his name. He is called /Nawa. They were unable to give me an interpretation of this name, but Miss Bleek, from dance songs of the Angola Kung, reports the word /Nwa-se, supposedly an abbreviation for Nwima-se = new moon. According to this, we
[174] might be able to see in this chief Gauab the high god of a lunar-
[771] mythological religion which has been superimposed as a foreign element upon the primitive monotheism of the χ'u or Huwe faith. As is always the case in such matters, the supreme being of the invading religion has been transformed into a more or less evil
[171] principle. It also functions as such in the belief of the Nama and

[57 cont.]

776 Dama, and the translation of Gauab as "devil" comes from this
[171] circle of ideas. A baptized !Kung in /Nuiseb also told me that the Bushmen had been made by the devil, for the latter, as the old doctors reported to me, had once said to things: "You shall
[773] be a kudu, you an eland, you a Bushman," etc., and so everything was. Among the !Kung Bushmen /Nawa is by no means always evil. He directly brings luck on the hunt, and a kind of primitial offering is sent to him in that small pieces of the flesh of the game are thrown into the fire.

/Nawa, however, usually also sends sickness, in part with, and in part without the consent of the great captain. /Nawa is neither in heaven nor on earth, but runs about on threads in the air, where the other small spirits also run about. Whether or not /Nawa
[821] has a wife is unknown. The wind has no role in the tall bush forest, but my experience among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari and the Namib indicates that /Nawa is also connected in some way with the wind, since his most personal appearance is in the violent wind spouts, and among the Naukluft Bushmen one is not supposed to speak ill of the wind because the Gauab would overturn the windscreen.

Aside from /Nawa, there is a whole host of other small spirits, such as those who are at the disposal of the great captain
[821] and /Nawa and live in the sky, where the stars are their campfires. They are the ones who steal the soul from human beings and take it to the great captain. Then there are those who, like /Nawa, run to and fro on threads stretching between heaven and earth. Very evil little spirits live in the water, and the forest and veld are peopled by the little Gauab. These, however, are only the
[775] flesh-born spirits of deceased human beings. And with this we come to

18. Doctrine of the Soul and Belief in Immortality

775 The life principle of human beings is the soul, cha. The
[774] same word also means heart. This cha is immortal. The Gauab who live among the stars take it to the great captain's house. The souls of all peoples, even those of the Whites, live there on the

[57 cont.]
second floor. They do nothing and they eat nothing. According 775
to other Bushmen tribes I visited, the great captain uses these cha in order to make new human beings, but among my friends of the bush veld, the dolce far niente on the second floor of the heavenly house is the final goal of man. The souls of all, the good and the wicked, come there. There is no punishment in the beyond.

[58] The body is buried in the earth. After a few days the flesh revives and then disappears. The Gauab of the deceased has arisen, comes out of the grave, goes hunting, eats and drinks, and as a shade leads a life similar to that during his lifetime. The grave is his house; the shade (1) goes to sleep there when it is

1. "Living corpse" would perhaps be better than "shade."

tired. These spirits cannot enter into stones, plants, or animals, or transform themselves into such. There is no trace of this true animism. The Gauab is rather a reduced version (since the skeleton remains in the grave) of the once living Bushman. He looks like a Bushman, but many of these Gauab are lame. They are generally malignant, and if someone walks past the grave and [753]
annoys them, they send the little spirits of sickness, who killed [776]
them during their lifetime. These spirits of sickness are thought of as little yellow men with big stomachs.

Among the !Kung Bushmen, then, we have a definite doctrine of two souls. Von Zastrow and Vedder (2) report:

2. Die Buschmänner, p. 421.

"The /Oresen were wicked people. They died, but cannot have any rest. Their wickedness does not let them rest. They always want to inflict harm. This is the way that they behaved in life. This is also what they want to do after death. They torment people, frighten them, and try to kill them. When they have killed people, they eat their flesh. They come at night. The sorcerers can see the evil spirits. The sorcerers then warn the others who cannot see. The /Oresen live in the graves.

[58 cont.]

775 From there they make their rounds. They always return to their
769 graves. Hence, a Bushman always makes a detour around a grave. He does not point at a grave with his finger, and he does not call to a companion: 'There is a grave!' A great detour is made around the area where there is a grave. When a Bushman unexpectedly passes a grave, he puts a stone on it. That is a greeting for the dead person. In so doing, one makes the grave more secure against wild animals."

769 From the region of Foxhof I have the following informa-
775 tion to add:

"The Gauab that arises from the flesh of the corpse remains seated by the grave. When a relative passes by and the Gauab is sitting out in the open, the Gauab thinks: I know this person well; why is he passing by here without giving me any water. Then the Gauab becomes angry and makes him sick. Then when the doctors sing, they recognize what the trouble is and say: Today you passed by the grave of N. and did not give anything. Tomorrow morning very early you must take water and
775 an ostrich egg and place them by the grave. Such a Gauab also
787 goes hunting, kills game, makes a fire, cuts open the game, takes the fat, and brings it to the doctors while they are singing.
[756] The Gauab, whom the other people cannot see, sits down at some distance from the dancers. The doctor sees him, however, and goes to the Gauab. The latter tells him where the game lies, and the doctor tells this to the other people, who fetch the game and praise the Gauab.

775 "The stars are the campfires of the Gauab.

"The Gauana take the souls that they have stolen to their village and then back to the grave. The people often hear a voice in the veld; this is the Gauab calling, and on their way they find a piece of dead game. When the Gauab is out hunting and has gone too far from his grave, he must sleep in a tree. Some of the souls stolen by the Gauab are brought to the captain of the Gauana. The souls that are taken there again become actual persons up above with the captain of the rain. The others, however, are the little Gauab who go hunting here."

[114] The observations made by Bleek (3) 50 years ago seem to
776 be especially significant.

3. W. H. J. Bleek and L.C.Lloyd,

[113]

[58 cont.]

[113] Specimens of Bushmen Folklore, London, 1910-11, pp. 10-13.

776 be especially significant. The !Kung at that time told of a being called /Chue, who transforms itself in turn into various fruit trees and veldkost plants, into a Herero, etc. One day he transformed himself into a //gui tree, his wife ate of it, the tree disappeared, and /Chue changed into a fly. Another time he even became a waterhole, then again a gecko; at night [59] he always changes back into a little human being. The Herero look for him, but cannot find him. /Chue then makes a fire and dies. His father sees this and then moves to his homeland on a large mountain called //Noa. We shall probably not go wrong if we identify this /Chue with Huwe. This Huwe, as is known, is sometimes equated with the great captain X'u. In this old setting he also has distinct traits of Heiseb.

782 The !Kung who were W.H.J. Bleek's informants were also familiar with a prayer song addressed to the new moon. In ac-
[534] companiment, they blew on trumpets made of antelope horns. (Bleek-Lloyd, ibid., p. 15.)

787 The old !Kung called the prophesy sticks /Chu, which evidently is the same name again as that of the great captain and is in agreement with Dornan's report concerning the Masarwa that Modimo himself spoke from the prophesy sticks.

755 Vedder reports that in case of illness a messenger is sent
769 to an ancestor's grave and prays: A dsi-dsi mi !hâ tí /X'ai-a? (Why is my son ill?) ǂnu /kôa (to live in health).

774 While my informants denied the presence of any animistic
825 conceptions, the old !Kung believe that certain snakes, lizards,
775 and antelope found in the vicinity of graves represent spirits of the
171 dead (1), as they do among the Bantu.

1. W.H.J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd, ibid., p. 430.

[63 cont.]

764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not, in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] [174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [773] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

MASARWA
OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

600 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib
769 Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu
[774] doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the
[825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals,
[824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe
[776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at
551 her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say
602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo
105 delta, J. Seiner reports:
101 "The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting.
[563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe
[144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease,
AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY,

NARON
≠AUIN
NOGAU

[70 cont.]

881 Among the Naron, on the other hand, they must first pass the hunting test before they are admitted to the boys' initiation. Ten or 12 candidates are taken into the bush and must live for a month on veldkost, which is sprinkled with a medicine by the doctor before it is eaten. Women are not allowed to come near the camp.

During one of the nocturnal dances, Hise appears, dances [776] around the circle, and is then driven away by the medicine man. [787] Some say Hise looks like a woman; others describe him as a be- 535 ing three feet tall, with a flat head, large eyes, black body, 881 wings and claws (one is reminded of the spirit bird Engorori, which appears at the initiation of the Ovambo, or of the Neida Gamaseb of the Bergdama).

Some old ≠Auin saw two beings, one male and one female, 787 who looked like lions but walked upright; they were followed by children who looked like baboons.

Evidently masked dances, are involved here. The younger 535 men no longer see this Hise; the doctors explain to them that he 881 came, but could only be seen by the medicine men.

A special dance for Hise is an imitation of a bird's movements. In olden times the people also danced in pairs, while they sang in refrain: "Ostrich stomach, Hise stomach, hu, hu, hu."

The /Di dance is likewise dedicated to Hise. At this dance the men wear the dance rattles described above, as is also done for profane dances, but in addition they wear white or black ostrich feathers.

3. The Girls' Initiation

Among the Nogau when a girl has her first menstruation, 881 there is a celebration. Throughout the first day the girl must stay [343] in a closed, arbor-like pontok especially constructed for her. She is only given something to drink, nothing to eat. The women gather from far and near and perform dances around this arbor. These festivities last for five days, and only one man is present as a leader of the ceremony. During these five days the girl is regarded as "poisonous" and may not touch anything, not even

IAUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[73 cont.]

726 Before going to war, the body is smeared with a magic medicine (/num). If old enemies are involved, the attack is carried out by subterfuge and stealth. Otherwise the opponents face each other in open battle. Depending upon the degree of enmity, they shoot at each other with either poisoned or unpoisoned arrows. Commonly, however, a conference of the leaders takes place before the beginning of the battle, which leads to a peaceful dispersal of the combatants. The principles of natural morality are honored and recognized both within and outside the horde. It is regarded as bad to inflict harm on another person or not to assist him if he is in need, not because any kind of punishment is to be feared, but because this is what elders have taught.

6. The World Picture and Religion

821 The sun is a man and is called /gam or kha//ã̃, the hunter. The moon is a woman and is called !nui or /nauga, "the one who runs around."

773 821 Formerly the sun, the moon, and the hare lived together. One day Mrs. Moon and Mr. Hare were having a quarrel. The moon split open the hare's snout with an ax. The hare then scratched the moon's face. This is still visible today. When the sun came home, he became angry and said: "Now we have had enough of the earth; now we shall go up so that the hare will be alone. I shall burn him from above, and I shall become very hot so that during the day he cannot run about as he wants to." The moon replied: "That is a good idea; at night I shall go and bring the cold, so that the hare will freeze when he looks for his food."

Since that time, the sun and moon are in the firmanent.

The dome of the sky is the covering of the sun and moon. When the sun and moon went up to the sky, they had little sacks of resin with them. They threw them away. The grains of resin are now the stars.

When the sun, moon, and hare were still together, the sun said, "Men shall not die," and the moon agreed with him. But the hare said: "No, people must die, because I, too, must die."

776 821 Rain is made by sorcerers; these are called Gowa. They do

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[73 cont.]

776 821 not die, but otherwise they are like people, except that they have black skin. When there is no rain, the Bushmen make a large [789] fire and throw into it a root, "he," and a male turtle. As soon [535] as it starts to rain, they dance, strike themselves on the thighs, [534] and sing: "Ehe, ehe, ehe, ije, ije, ije, ehe, ehe, ehe," etc. The sorcerers can transform themselves into lions.

The rain sorcerer lives on earth as other people do. The rainbow is the rain dog. The clouds are the rain hairs.

At the time of new moon, they say the moon is sleeping. During the night the sun runs back to the east.

Thunder and lightning are not made by the rain, but by Gauab who among these Bushmen has become a personification of evil. Lightning is called "Gauab's knife."

The dark night sky is the covering of the moon and sun. The dome of the sky is called /gna. My informants left it an open question as to whether the sun perhaps "might be the greatest," the one who has made everything. On the other hand, Khu is likewise regarded as the creator. He made heaven and earth, and he also made human beings live. Khu is not a human being; he is good, but nothing more is known about him. He does not interfere in the course of the world and of human life. To be sure, they say, "Khu is the greatest, and Gauab is the smallest," but nonetheless Gauab plays a larger role in their lives. He controls thunder and lightning, he races over the steppe as a destructive wind spout, visible to all, and he also kills people by tearing out their souls and making a little Gauab out of them. This little Gauab in turn runs about in the bush and does all kinds of evil things.

[74] There is a secret moon cult among the Naron. They 794 pray to the new moon for rain. In olden times certain stars, espe- 787 cially the morning star and the Southern Cross, which they call 821 "fire shoe," are also supposed to have been invoked. The story of 773 the moon and the hare is told in the following way: The moon 821 said: "People must die and arise again, just as I die and return again." But the hare contradicted her and said that people should remain dead. The moon then became angry and cut the hare's mouth with a hoe.

"The moon is an old man, and the sun a young girl, his wife. First the moon goes under the sky, and then the sun follows behind

[74 cont.]

773 him. They go to their huts which are under the horizon in the
8 21 west. At night or during the day, respectively, they go back to their huts in the east; one can hear them but cannot see them."

114 Kaufmann was unable to discover anything concrete con-
776 cerning the high gods of the ≠Auin. Concerning the Naron, Bleek
776 relates that a curious mixture of religious conceptions has come about. A central position is occupied by Hise or Hyesa, who is designated as !Khuba or !X'uba by the adult men. The old people knew nothing about this. The Nama designate !Khub as master or lord, and this word is used by a number of missionaries for Christ. These elders maintain that this concept has been adopted
[177] from the Nama. Formerly they only knew Hise, who lived in the east. Hise is evidently the same as Heitsi Aibib (literally, "the first tree").

The Naron relate that in olden times both the trees and the
773 animals were human beings who were transformed by Hise into their present shapes. Then Hise called the chiefs of the Whites and Blacks and said to them: "Take cows and goats and live with them." But to the first chiefs of the Bushmen he said: "Take the antelopes and live on them; make traps and hunt and live in the bush."

The expression Huwu or Huwuba is known and is supposed to
776 designate the great captain of the men in the north. The details given by Miss Bleek concerning //Gauwa are interesting. In the opinion of the Naron and ≠Auin, //Gauwa is the spirit of a de-
[775] ceased person. Medicine men can also see these spirits; the
[787] women can only hear them. Many a woman declared that only men who had gone through the initiation ceremony and who have two scars between the eyebrows can become //Gauwa. A strong, howling wind is also designated as //Gauwa, however. A few individuals also believe in a chief spirit by this name, who lives near Hise in the east and to whose house the spirits return by day. Some designate //Gauwa as the younger brother of Hise; others identify him with the latter.

The Naron put both masculine and feminine endings on the word Hise. Among the ≠Auin he appears during their dances at

[74 cont.]

776 one time as a man and at another time as a woman.

7. Medicine

The curing practices of the Nogau Bushmen are very primi-
757 tive. They have nothing for snakebite and nothing for arrow poison.

Eland fat is a universal medicine. For the common eye
278 inflammations this fat is smeared into the eye; for headaches warm eland fat is dripped into the ear; for a cold the nostrils and nose are smeared with eland fat.

Sickness comes either from the evil head Gauab or from
753 sorcerers. The ailment is caused by a little Gauab who has settled
[754] in the body. The more gravely ill a person is, the more Gauana have entered into him. The doctors are able to draw out these
755 spirits of sickness; they do it in a fashion analogous to that prac-
756 ticed by the !Kung. There are also female doctors.

The spirits of sickness are regarded here as much more ma-
753 terial than among the !Kung; such a Gauab looks like a human
776 being, but he may also appear as a lion, a wildebeest, or a snake. Once the Gauab has been drawn out of the body, it runs away and speaks to no one.

The sorcerers in particular like to transform themselves into
756 lions. Among the Bushmen farther north [75] it is supposedly
[825] the case that when they see a wildebeest in the bush, for example, it is not a wildebeest at all, but a Gauab. The doctors receive their power from the highest Gauab (/gaua //gaicha). He is the one who appears in the wind spouts. As among the Bantu, the doctors must go to school for several years with older colleagues.
[754] They are not only able to cure, but also to practice magic in the bad sense, in that they induce /Gaua //gaicha to make ill anyone whom they want to harm.

"Whoever wants to become a sorcerer must go to school with another witch doctor. When someone is struck by lightning, it is said that Gauab struck him down with his knife. Some then become great doctors and often speak with Gauab. Gauab also comes as a wind spout."

N/ow of the /Kung is something which influences weather, bringing rain if it is 82.1
'good' *n/ow*, or cold if it is 'bad' *n/ow*. Precisely what *n/ow* consists of was never made explicit. Nothing about it can be seen. One knows of its existence, the /Kung say, by observing its effects upon the weather.

N/ow exists in all human beings, the /Kung believe, and in certain big animals, 82.1
namely: giraffe, eland, gemsbok, kudu, hartebeest, and wildebeest. For the sake of 82.5
brevity I shall refer to these animals as the *n/ow* animals. Small animals do not have *n/ow*, according to the /Kung. We wanted to learn why, but the /Kung could only tell us that they were so created. Steenbok have positively no *n/ow* at all. Some informants claimed that duikers had none, others said that duikers' *n/ow* was undeveloped. Informants were also uncertain about springbok. There are very few springbok in the region and informants said they killed them so seldom that they had not observed whether or not they had *n/ow*. Possibly other large animals would be found to have *n/ow* if the question were further pursued.[1] There was no disagreement among /Kung 82.1
informants about other things; no other things have *n/ow*—not earth itself, nor vegetation nor other objects on earth; not water, clouds, rain, thunder or lightning, nor heavenly bodies. Not even the two Gods themselves have *n/ow* in them, neither [776]
the great one who lives in the eastern sky, nor his namesake (his */guma*) who lives in the western sky, both of whom bear the names Huwe, Hishi, and ≠Gao/na, our informants told us.

N/ow gets into a human being in the womb. Exactly how this happens informants 82.1
could not tell us. It was our impression that they were not hiding information, for 84.3
they seemed willing enough to talk about *n/ow* and said it was not dangerous or 82.7
harmful in any way to speak freely about it. We think they simply did not know. One informant said, 'The child gets the *n/ow* in the womb and is born with it.' Another said, 'The *n/ow* is created in the womb.' Another said, 'The great Creator gives the [776]
n/ow and taught the people to do the things they do about it. He made all things and made all things to be known.' The *n/ow* acquired in the womb remains in a person all his life.

Some persons get a 'good' rain-bringing *n/ow*, others get a 'bad' cold-bringing *n/ow*. When we wanted to learn how this happened we were told that 'When the mother's uterine fluid flows into the ground, it makes a *n/ow* in the child which brings rain or a *n/ow* which does not bring rain'.

The mother has no voluntary control over this, nor has anyone else; and there is nothing, like medicine or magic, spell or ceremony, which can be used to cause the *n/ow* to be one kind or the other. Furthermore, the child does not inherit a good or bad *n/ow* from his mother or father or any ancestors. The philosophy, lore, or belief about the question of what causes the *n/ow* to be one or the other kind, whatever it may have been in the past, seems not to be known now with clarity or detail.

Two verbs were used in connexion with *n/ow*: to *≠gani* and to *//ghui*. The /Kung 92
say that the mother has *≠gani*(ed) the child if it gets a good *n/ow* and has *//ghui*(ed) it if 82.7

[1] Miss Lucy Lloyd (*A Short Account of Further Bushman Material, Third Report*, London, 1889, p. 19) mentions that a Bushman informant, Dia/-kwain by name, who worked with her and with Dr. Bleek before his death, and who came from the Katkop Mountains, south of the Orange River, told her that 'A baboon, when killed, resembles a man, in "making cloud"'. No more information was given in the report, but the concept of 'making cloud' suggests that possibly the now extinct or almost extinct Cape Bushmen had a belief which may have resembled in some ways the concept of *n/ow*. [171]

communities are surrounded. Except among the groups which have long been in contact with and largely influenced by other races belief in a supreme being would appear not to exist. The partly disorganised *ǂAo-||ǃin* and *||Aikwe* groups of the Gobabis district believe in a good being named *!Khutse* or "God" and a bad being called *Gāua* or "Satan." About the nature, however, of these beings they have no idea nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them. People who die a "good death" are said to go to *!Khutse* and those dying a "bad death" to *Gāua*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress. Among the primitive groups a deceased person is believed to move about in the form of a ghost at night. *Buchu* (*tsā*) is accordingly sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver and arrows of the deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost returning to look for them. Every sphere of activity in life is influenced by some superstition or other which, as a rule, finds expression in certain avoidances or in ceremonial and other rites and practices. Examples of these have been given in connection with the subjects already discussed. It is unnecessary to allude to them any further.

Divination is widely practised and absolute faith is placed in the divining properties of the objects which are used for the purpose. The source from which these properties have been derived is attributed by some to their "first big Bushman," by others to *Gāua* ("satan"). Thus the Bushman *Tji-tji* is said to have been initiated by *Gāua* "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver. *Tji-tji* had killed a gemsbuck. *Gāua* arrived on the scene and said, "I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep here." After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-tji* remarked to *Gāua*, "Give me that stuff (*||ai*)." The latter replied, "If I give you the *||ai*, what will you pay me?" *Tji-tji* answered, "I will give you the horns." *Gāua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *||ai* and before departing taught *Tji-tji* the *||ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic.

In conclusion I desire to express my regret at having been unable to deal with the subject of this report in a comprehensive manner during the short time at my disposal. More detailed information on the Bushmen of this Territory is available, however, in the works mentioned in the bibliography.

possessions of Bantus and Europeans—horses and cattle, 181
dogs, melon lands, medicines, rifles, boots, and trucks—as 609
well as their enormous size, heavy necks and arms, great beards, and roaring voices. Europeans are beyond the powers of Bushmen's imagination, more awesome in stature, in possessions, in might, than even the Bushmen's god, who can be [776] ●
cajoled, who hunts with a bow and arrow. Bushmen consider the Europeans and the Bantus to be superior beings. Bantus [648]
and Europeans consider the Bushmen to be inferior beings, and, without resisting, a Bushman always bows to a European or a Bantu person's will.

Once an old man, a veld Bushman, told us the story of the 283
reim and the grass fiber. A reim is a leather rope which the 539
Bantus make by skinning a cow with a long, spiraling cut that goes around and around the body so that the hide comes off all in one piece a few inches wide and many yards long, which is then stretched and cured, making a piece of leather useful for harnessing oxen or building a hut.

"In the earliest days," the old man said, "the Bushmen and 539
the non-Bushmen were all one nation, and the great god 773
came to earth and gave them a rope. Half the rope was made of reim and half was made of grass fiber. The great god told all the people to pull on the rope, and the non-Bushmen came away with the reim, but the Bushmen got only the grass fiber. After that, the non-Bushmen had cattle and reims and all those things, but the Bushmen had only the things that are in the veld. If this ever happened again," the old man said, "I would tell the Bushmen to make sure they got the reim half."

So the distinction between people was caused by the great 181
god, and the Bushmen, who want only to be left in peace, do 609
not compete in issues which they cannot win. They are only [773]
frightened by other peoples and hope to be spared their atten-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

252 from the yellow liver and threw that away, but he left the liver and the surrounding fat because he meant for that to be eaten.

The baby, Nhwakwe, who owned the tortoise, came to sit by his father, leaning on Gai's leg and watching, looking smiling into the belly of the tortoise. A tortoise is such a slow tough creature that its body can function although its heart is gone. Nhwakwe put his wrists to his forehead to [524] imitate in a most charming manner the way in which the tortoise was trying to hide. Nhwake looked just like the tortoise.

Gai frowned with concentration and worked with his mouth open, pulled down at the corners. When the intestines were removed, Gai stuffed the cavity with green leaves of the [263] kind that "make your gums numb," say the Bushmen, added for flavor, I believe. The tortoise at this retreated far into its shell with its legs pulled in tightly, and Gai heated the doors again to curl them down. Then he packed the opening with grass and the tortoise's dung, capped it with a tsama-melon cap, and put the tortoise into the oven that was prepared for it like a shallow little grave which the tortoise just fitted, a final agony, for the tortoise once more kicked and struggled as Gai raked hot coals over it. The steam escaping from the moist flesh caused the ashes to bubble and boil, and it was over; the meat was in the pot.

Gai flung the intestines away and sat down near his wife to smoke, and I, who wished that they could at least have killed 539 [776] the tortoise first, thought of the story of Pishiboro and one of his wives, an elephant. Pishiboro is one of the names of God.

One night, when Pishiboro and his younger brother were sleeping, the elephant wife took them both and rolled them between her thighs, which caused them great discomfort. The younger brother said to Pishiboro: "Let us go away now

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

756 have the giraffe, rain, and gemsbok medicine. Others might
825 have the ratel, fire, and gemsbok medicine. Ukwane's band had the sun, dove, and gemsbok medicine. Almost every band has the gemsbok medicine, for magically the gemsbok are very important animals, obvious from the black medicine markings on a gemsbok's face.

756 The medicine songs are songs without words and are given
[533] to both Kung and Gikwe Bushmen by the great god who
[776] sends his messengers, the spirits of the dead, to a sleeping
775 person. The spirits of the dead teach the person a medicine song in a dream, and when the person awakens he teaches the song to the other members of his band.

At dances, women sing the medicine songs, men dance and use the medicine to cure people, for almost all men are made medicine men when they are in their late teens, after they have been initiated into manhood, having shot their first buck. They are made medicine men by older medicine men, and although any Bushman man may become a medicine man, only certain of them find that they have strong healing power, and these are the ones who practice, who fall into trance at dances and chase evil from their people. Ukwane himself had been one of these. None of the people he cured ever died, he said, but as he grew old his powers seemed to leave him, so now he did not practice any more. In his band Gai became the strong healer.

756 Of course, a medicine dance is a great affair, for it usually
535 takes place at night and lasts all night into the morning. Everyone in the band takes part, every young boy old enough to walk may dance, every young girl may sing with the women, and women themselves may dance if they feel inclined. People talk, eat, and smoke between dances, or go off to bed to sleep for a while, so, all in all, dances are social af-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

133 open and tilting, but the low hills and the forests veiled the great sweep of country, and the sun, the moon, and the horizon.

105 As soon as we were there we felt very familiar, very at 184 home. We knew quite a lot about Kung Bushmen, who in ways are different from Gikwe Bushmen—as the country is not as harsh, the Kung are a little grander, living together in larger numbers because they have veld food more abundantly, a little more extravagant with their time and their possessions. They build themselves grass huts or scherms, at least during the rains, and though they know vast sections of their country perfectly, being quite sure of the whereabouts of game and certain of the whereabouts of different types of veld food, they do not have to memorize the whereabouts of each root individually and store this information in their minds for future seasons, as the Gikwe do. The Kung are diligent and powerful hunters, although in some respects their country is harder to hunt in than the land of the Gikwe, more overgrown with brush and trees. But the Kung have metal-tipped arrows and complicated poison, and the men make a point of hunting often and well because their people love meat.

312 We knew their rolling veld with its baobab trees and hidden waters, for in Nyae Nyae the people do not have to scrape roots and suck melons, but are the possessors of deep waterholes where they can drink clear water almost all year long. We knew which stalks among the grass blades marked edible roots, and where game antelope might be found.

823 We knew not only the veld but the beings that live in the 776 sky above it, and knew the beings under the earth and in the four directions. We knew where the great god lives in the east with his tree and his medicine smoke with which he makes spirits of the dead from dead people. We knew his names, for

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

besides his usual, everyday name, Gao Na—which means Big Gao, Gao being simply a man's name—he has many other hidden, secret names that may never, never be spoken during the light of day but only at night and only then at dances. Some of these names are Haishi, Gao ha, Nao, and Gara, and if he hears one of these names being called he will come to see who called it. He does not like to be disturbed during the day, he does not like the hot sun, and if a person bothers him during the day he will make that person sick. He is called at dances and cursed for the things he does to people, and some medicine men have even seen him when they were in trace; he appeared once as a yellow mouse, once as a gray man the size of a mouse, and once as a cloud of mist, although these are not his usual forms; usually he is the size and shape of a man, but, the Bushmen say, because he is wild he is always seen far away.

We knew of his wife, whose name is Khoana, a Kung Bushman woman's name, but who is also called the "Mother of Bees," and we knew of the being who lives in the west, whose name is also Gao Na and who is both the namesake and the servant of the great god, bringing good and evil to people as the great god chooses. This god of the west can also do things to people on his own initiative, and people sometimes say that evil comes when the two gods disagree.

There is one more figure, another being who has no place, such as the east or west; another god whose relation to the gods of the east and west has not been formed. His name is Gaua; he is called by the same name as the gaua si, the spirits of the dead, and though to the Kung today his identity has become vague, we felt that he well might be an older, primal figure, a god whose being has been now infused with the gods of the east and west. Today the great god of the east is sometimes called Gaua, called by the old god's name, and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

823 when he is, it is because he has brought evil, sickness, catas-
776 trophe, or death.

The old god still exists, the Bushmen know him, but his presence is diffusing; he, the old power of evil, is becoming faint, his entity obscure.

821 In the west live the *kwa kwa kwara* (knee knee nothing),
776 the people with no knees. These people have no knee joints,
823 but must stand up always. At night when the sun sets, the people with no knees catch it and kill it, for the sun is meat. They put it in a pot, and when it is cooked they tell their children to run off and play, and when the children are gone the people with no knees eat it. When the children come back, the people with no knees pick their teeth and give what they remove to the children, and then the people with no knees take the shoulder blade of the sun and throw it back into the east again, where a new sun grows and rises in the morning. If a tall man throws it you are aware of nothing, but if a short man throws it you can hear it whirring overhead. We knew a Kung Bushman man who, said he, had been to the west and had visited the people with no knees. He had been very interested to see them and very curious to know how they slept at night, for he did not imagine that they could lie down, so when darkness came he had watched and waited, and, just as he had suspected, when they had finished the sun they did not lie down but leaned against forks of the trees, where they rested, propped.

825 In the north is a great river, the Okovango, and Bantu peo-
776 ple live there. In the south live the gemsbok people, who are not ordinary gemsbok but beings in gemsbok form. It was these beings who taught the Bushmen how to make ostrich-eggshell beads, for when making a bead the gemsbok people use their long horns to bore the hole in the center. The gemsbok people often wear strings of beads around their necks.

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The gemsbok people look just like gemsbok. When Bushmen 825
are hunting they must be very careful not to mistake these 776
people for ordinary gemsbok, because if a hunter should shoot a gemsbok person even by accident he would get very sick and die. But such accidents are rare, for if a group of gemsbok people are out grazing and notice that a Bushman hunter is drawing his bow at them, they will say to him: "Do not shoot us, we are not gemsbok," and the hunter will naturally leave them alone.

Under the world is another world just like this one, with 772
trees and omarambas, hills and pans, a sun and a moon, Bushmen, Bantus, and Europeans just like the people here, and the bottom of our world is that world's sky. There is no other connection between our world and the lower world except possibly through certain deep waterholes, for it was through a waterhole that the great god climbed from that world when he first came here.

Over the world, of course, is the sky, and there is nothing 821
above that. The sun, which is not only meat but a death-giving agent because it burns the veld and dries up the waterholes, is a male, and the moon when it is full is female. A crescent moon, called *nui ma ze* (moon small new), is male, and so are the great destructive thunderheads that bring hailstorms or electric storms which break down dwellings and flatten the grass. The soft gray clouds that carry land rains which blow like mists into the plants of the veld and make them grow are female. The rain of male and female clouds is itself male or female, depending on the cloud's gender or on whether the rain is creative or destructive, but if you can't tell from the rain as it falls you can tell from its footprints, for male rain leaves sharp, pierced marks in the dust and female rain leaves wide, soft splashes. And as for the stars, they are called by some the eyes of dead people and by others are

13: Marshall
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[For the text of tales about ≠Gao.'na, the Great God, see category 539.]

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disks may represent two eland bulls, two eland cows, and a hyena, the fifth disk being the factor of ill fortune, and in this role they tell the hunters in what direction they should go and what success or difficulty to expect. The names of people who are absent may be attributed to the disks, which then give news of the people. As everyone knows where everyone is likely to be and what is likely to befall, the disks are more often right than wrong. They afforded us the amusement of a remarkable coincidence, which people so delight in, when they foretold quite precisely the return of one of our party who had been away and whom we had not expected nearly so soon. 787

It was entertaining to watch a session with the disks. A group of men would gather around the thrower. The thrower always had his say, but he was not allowed to pontificate. Everyone read the disks with him and gave his own interpretation. Sometimes the men would disagree and shout at each other in effect, 'Idiot, don't you see it means this?' At other times they were grave and intent, searching for the meaning. Whether they came to a consensus or went off, each holding to his own opinion, was never clear.

The Names of the Gods

776

The Names of the Great God

In present times the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region believe that there are two gods, one the great and one the lesser, that they have wives and children, and that they are attended by the spirits of the dead. [775]

These beings all live in the sky. The great god lives in the east at the place where the sun rises, the lesser god in the west where the sun sets.

The great god created himself. Then he created the lesser god. He created two wives, one for himself and one for the lesser god. The elder wife lives usually with the great god in the east, the younger one with the lesser god in the west, but, at any time the great god wishes, he may take both wives to live with him in the east. The wives bore six children to the gods, three boys and three girls. The great god created the earth and men and women and all things.

The great god named himself and then gave names to the lesser god and to their wives and children. He gave himself his names to praise himself. He said, 'I am *Hishe*. I am unknown, a stranger. No one can command me.' He praised himself also with the name */Gara* when he did something against the people, and the people said, 'He causes death among the people and causes the rain to thunder.' 'I am *≠Gaishi ≠gai*', said the great god. 'I am *chi dole*. I am a bad thing. I take my own way. No one can advise me.' His being the cause of sickness and death among the people was the reason for his giving himself many names, we were told. This was apparently a satisfying reason to the /Kung, who offered no other explanation. [761]

The great god has seven divine names and one earthly name, the last being *≠Gaolua*, Old ≠Gao. His earthly name, though not as common as some, is a man's name which we came upon fairly often. I call his seven other names 'divine' because they belong only to the gods. They are: [551 171]

Hishe	*/Gara*	*/Gauwa*
Huwe	*Gani ga*	
Kxo	*≠Gaishi ≠gai*	

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776 171 The name *Hishe*, Schapera tells us, is used by the Naron and Auen.[1] He thinks it may be a corruption of *Heitsi Eibib*, a mythical hero of the Hottentots.[2] As this name is not reported for other /Kung groups by Miss Bleek, Vedder, or Lebzelter, it is possible that it has been borrowed by the Nyae Nyae /Kung from the Auen. The Auen (also called Makaukau) live immediately south of the Nyae Nyae region.[3]

The name *Hnwe* is reported for Miss Lloyd's /Kung informants from Lake Ngami by Miss Bleek, for the /Kung at Tsumeb by Vedder, and for the eastern Kalahari group by Dornan, but not for the Auen or Naron, who said to Miss Bleek, as Schapera tells us,[4] that ' he [*Hnwe*] was the " captain " of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the " captain " of the white people'.

The name *Kxo* is something of a puzzle. I spelt it this way because I thought I heard both the *k* and the velar fricative sound *x*, as distinct from the name *Ko*.[5] I believe now that what I heard as *Kxo* is the name which Schapera tells us is spelt both *Xu* and *||Khu* by Lebzelter.[6] Lebzelter's account of *Xu* given him by the group he calls the eastern /Kung accords so closely with the Nyae Nyae /Kung's account of *Hishe—Hnwe—Kxo* that I feel certain that *Xu* and *Kxo* are conceptually the same being.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung did not have the name (or title) */khuba*, the Hottentot word for ' master ', which Schapera tells us the Auen and Naron were beginning to borrow from the Nama when Miss Bleek worked with the Auen at Sandfontein.[7] Nor did they have *Thora* which Dornan heard among Bushmen of the eastern Kalahari.[8] And none of the informants we worked with knew the name *Erob* recorded by Lebzelter among the /Kung in the Oschimpoloveld. Schapera tells us that this name came from the Hebrew *Elohim*, a name used by missionaries among the Nama for ' God '.[9]

776 I shall have more to say about *||Gauwa* and *≠Gaolna* presently. The remaining three names, */Gara*, *Gani ga*, and *≠Gaishi ≠gai*, do not appear in the accounts of Bushman religion which Schapera analysed. I struggled to ascertain that they were names, not terms, titles, or descriptive phrases. So far, my evidence leads me to consider them names, but I could not trace their origin. My informants had no idea

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 182.

[2] Ibid., pp. 191, 374.

[3] For the location and extent of the Nyae Nyae region see Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Bands', *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960, pp. 325-7.

[104 114] [4] Schapera, op. cit., p. 183.

[5] Some /Kung informants, /Ti/kay among them, claimed they did not know the name *Ko*. Others told us that *Ko* is a god of other people, a different god, not *≠Gaolna* or *||Gauwa*. They said, for example, that the white man's god is *Ko*. One informant said, in effect, that, even though *Ko* was a god of other people, he could kill anybody—white men, black men, and Bushmen. One is interested to note that *Ko* was the name of the female mantis god of the Bushmen of Basutoland, reported by Arbousset, as Schapera tells us (ibid., p. 181).

[6] ' Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a " supreme good being " (" ein höchstes gutes Wesen "). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *||Khu*) or *Xuwa*, " the Lord " or " the great captain ", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Hnwa* or *Hu's*.' (ibid., p. 183.)

Bushman languages present so many difficulties to those who are not experts in them—difficulties in recognizing the clicks and in sorting out variations in pronunciation between individuals even of the same group, as well as variations that are probably imposed by the position of the words in the sentence and by other grammatical configurations, &c.—that such discrepancies as *Kxo*, *Xu*, and *||Khu* are relatively slight. Fully aware of my own inadequacy in the language, I usually assume when I differ from another observer that the other is right and I am wrong. However, I cannot simply adopt another's rendering of the word without knowing if the discrepancy is due to dialectal differences or to my ignorance or what, and so must stick to my own approximations.

[7] Schapera, op. cit., pp. 182-3.

[8] Ibid., p. 183.

[9] Ibid., p. 190.

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where the names came from ('The old people told us that he gave himself these names', they said) and I do not have sufficient relevant comparative material to throw possible light on the question. Informants said that ≠*Gaoʃna* was the oldest of the names of God and that */Gara* was the next oldest. 776

The Names of the Lesser God

The great god named the lesser god by giving him all of his own 'divine' names but not his human name, ≠*Gaoʃna*. 553 776

Having been named for the great god, the lesser god is the great god's namesake, his *!gum* (*!gu* is name, *ma* is small or younger), and the great god is the *!guʃna* (*!na* means old, older, or big).

The concept of the namesake, and of the relationship between the *!guʃna* and the *!guma*, is an important one in the /Kung kinship system.[1] */Guʃna* and *!guma* are always of the same sex, /Kung names being sex-linked. One shares in some mystical way the entity of the person for whom one is named. Incest taboos require that one must not marry the parent or offspring of one's *!guʃna* or *!guma*. Behaviour between a *!guʃna* and a *!guma* is as open and free from formal restrictions as any in /Kung society. They have the joking relationship. Only the usual respect of the young for the old is expected.

The opposite conditions exist between parent and child. A man must not name a son for himself or a daughter for her mother. Parent and offspring do not have the joking relationship.

It was interesting to me to find the great and lesser god in the *!guʃna–!guma* relationship rather than the father–son relationship, as it offers some evidence that the concept of the two gods is not influenced by the Christian concept of God, the father, and Jesus, the son. Also one comes to see that the father-son relationship would not serve the Bushmen as well as the *!guʃna–!guma* relationship in explaining the problem of evil, for a son would not present as sharp a duality, but, according to human standards, would express respect, obedience, deference, propriety, and assistance, which is not *in total* the function of the lesser god. 776 [177 773]

The Names of the Wives of the Gods

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe that ≠*Gaoʃna* gave all his own 'divine' names to both of the wives; *di*, the suffix which means 'female' is added: *Hishedi*, *Hwwedi*, *Kxodi*, */Garadi*, *Gani gadi*, ≠*Gaishi* ≠*gaidi*, *||Gamwadi*.

≠*Gaoʃna*, the great god's human name, is not applied to the wives, men's names never being given to women. One would say instead ≠*Gaoʃna a tsau*, '≠*Gaoʃna* his wife'. [553]

Each wife has a human name as well. The elder one, who usually lives alone with ≠*Gaoʃna*, is named *Khwovaʃna*, Old Khwova. The younger one is *||Gow*. (*||Gow* rhymes with *how*. The *ao* sound in the men's names Gao, ≠Gao, and /Gao I use arbitrarily and mean by it a slightly shorter, more closed sound, like the *on* in *ouch*.) We knew only two women named *||Gow* but knew many Khwovas. [104] [553]

The wives of the gods may be referred to or addressed by a respect term, used [576]

[1] Cf. Lorna Marshall, 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, no. 1, Jan. 1957, pp. 1–23.

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776 [576] only for females, *kolidi*, a term which one may also apply to women when one wants to be especially polite and to honour them. It is used for women ' who possess lots of things ', the /Kung explained. *Gaoxadi*, the female form of one of the respect terms for the gods, may also be applied.

[222] *Khwova!na* is also called ' the mother of the bees '. When men go to look for honey they pray to her.

' The wives of the gods have the same work as their husbands. Their work is also strong ', we were told.

The Names of the Children of the Gods

The names of the six children of the gods are as follows: for the boys—*!Kwa ma*, *Nami*, *!Kung go*; for the girls—*!Kharu*, *!Nai*, *!Kow*. *Nami*, *!Kharu*, and *!Nai* are familiar names to me, the others are not. These names are from Robert Dyson's notes (for which I want to express my gratitude), and it is possible that the name he writes *!Kow* is the same as the one I write *||Gow*. As I have said, such questions and discrepancies about words are very common.

In the myths, but not in the /Kung's current account of their beliefs, *≠Gao!na* has two other sons who are involved in many strange events with their father. Their [821] names are *Khan||a* and *Kxoma*. They were turned into the two stars in the vertical axis of the Southern Cross which now bear their names. Alpha Crux is *Khan||a*; Gamma Crux is *Kxoma*.

Miss Bleek was told that *Hishe* was sometimes ' followed by children like baboons '.[1] The image this gives of the divine children leaping and playing and following like infant baboons is amusing. The image which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have, however, is very different. ' The girls are fresh and beautiful ', they say, ' not ugly like Bushmen.' Their skin is the colour of Bushman skin but at its lightest shade (*gau*).

[775] The children are called little *||ganwasi* (*si* is the plural suffix). The spirits of the dead are also called *||ganwasi*. It is the children's special duty to carry the spirits of mortals, when they die, from the dead bodies to their ' father in the sky '. We were told that the little *||ganwasi* are helpful to humans. ' They watch over them and help to prevent *≠Gao!na* from getting angry.'

Terms of Respect and Disrespect

776 In addition to the names, the Nyae Nyae /Kung apply three terms of respectful 576 address to the gods: *gaoxa*, *n|iha*, and *!nau*. As I mentioned in my paper on the structure of bands,[2] the terms *gaoxa* and *n|iha* may be applied also to human chiefs, or to persons who are over others, like a district commissioner, and they are sometimes applied to a Bushman headman, although, to be strictly proper in /Kung, a headman is called *kxau*, ' owner '. *Gaoxa* is the more exalted term. Some informants felt that to call a man *gaoxa* was to compare him to the deity, which might anger the gods. Others felt that it ' sounded like a curse ' to call a man *gaoxa*. The term pleases *≠Gao!na*, however. When he hears it applied to himself he knows that the people respect and fear him and ' he has a good feeling about them '.

!Nau among the Nyae Nyae /Kung is a term of respect for any old man and it is

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 192.
[2] Cf. Lorna Marshall, ' /Kung Bushman Bands,' *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960, pp. 325–33.

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also commonly used for any man (not a boy) older than the speaker when the speaker must avoid saying the name. The people address the gods as */nau* and *gaoxa* more commonly than as *n/iha*. We were told that they call the great god */nau* ' when he is good '. [576]

It is interesting to know that the power of the great god, his omnipotence which he was so mysteriously able to create for himself, is called *gaoxa* and that the special potent ' spiritual ' medicine which the great god puts into the medicine men, the curing power, is also called *gaoxa*. [756]

The /Kung often call the great god ' father ' especially in supplication, and plead that he succour his ' children ' and give them rain or good fortune in the hunt or whatever they may be asking for. [782]

Nonabe is a term of great disrespect, a ' scolding ' term. When used for a human being it is a curse and a terrific insult. A man who felt himself greatly wronged by another and in violent anger would say of the man who wronged him, ' That *Nonabe*! ' But he would not say this to the man's face ' for if he did there might be a fight (so great is the insult). When he saw the man in person he would come in peace to him, not showing his anger '. *Nonabe* is used in blasphemy by the medicine men in trance, along with other insults when they are combating the gods and the *//gaowasi* in the medicine dances, demanding that they take away the evil they have brought. [578] [756]

The Fear of the Names

The Nyae Nyae /Kung ' fear ' (*koa*) to utter the names of the gods. The word 'means both' to be afraid of, as one is afraid of a mamba, and 'to respect and avoid', as one respects one's mother-in-law and avoids speaking to her and saying her name. 776 784

Children must strictly avoid saying any of the names of the gods. Old men and women need not observe an absolutely restrictive taboo in uttering the names, and may and do say them, but there seems to be an element of taboo (it is a ' death-thing ', they say) and fear of drawing attention to themselves. We were aware of their unwillingness to speak of religious matters early in our work and therefore waited until our relations were well established before questioning them. Our information was gathered for the most part in 1953 and 1955 at many different sessions with fifteen men and eight women informants who had proved to be reliable. Others joined the talks casually and when they wished to do so. Our informants declared themselves willing to teach me because I wished to know. Throughout the discussions people varied in the degree of caution and discretion with which they spoke the names. Sometimes we talked literally in whispers and usually at least in low voices, saying ' the one in the east ', ' the one in the west '. On one occasion /Ti/kay told me that my questions made him sick. He meant to claim, I ascertained, that he had an actual physical sensation such as a nervous twinge or slight nausea. The woman who first told me the name of the wife of the great god put her lips to my ear and whispered, barely audibly, ' *Huwedi* '. Next day, unfortunately, she had a high fever. She recovered, but the episode put an end to my trying to learn from her about the wives of the gods. /U, when someone was ill at Cho/ana, and she was filled with anxiety and longing to be home at Gautscha, made me promise not to say the names or ask any more questions, at least until we were all safely back. [124] [753]

776 782 In spite of their reluctance to say the gods' names in serious discussion, the /Kung say them in blasphemy. (The word for cursing or blasphemy is *za*. Cursing is also called 'mouth-medicine'.) The medicine men curse the gods when they are combating their evil intents in the curing ceremony. A light-hearted blasphemy also occurs among the /Kung, as among ourselves, and the names slip from men's mouths in an insouciant way, as though they did not really mean them, as we say 'God Almighty!' or 'Jesus Christ!' in our inconsequential swearing.

I wondered if we should find that certain names were more closely associated with certain phenomena, like lightning or rain, or with special functions, such as presiding over childbirth, but all my inquiries on this theme led me to the conclusion that the names do not have such associations. There appears to be, however, a vague tendency, though not a strict rule, to associate some names more with benefaction, others more with ill treatment of the people. *Gani ga*, which is a very respectful name, seemed to come to mind when they wanted to show that they were well disposed towards the god and wanted to thank him or ask him sweetly to help them. */Gara* and *≠Gaishi ≠gai* we heard spoken in anger. They are 'scolding' names. One man used *Huwe* when he spoke of the greatness and power of the god, saying '*Huwe* was the tallest of the Bushmen, a great man with many names', and *Hishe* was the name used when the creator said, 'I am *Hishe*. I am unknown.' *Kxo* was not often uttered. The name *//Gauwa* will be discussed later.

Two Images of *≠GAO/NA*

≠Gao/na, *the Protagonist of the Old Tales*

776 539 *≠Gao/na*, we were told, was the oldest name of the great god. Through that name the /Kung identify the great god with an old *≠Gao/na*, the protagonist of many ancient tales. Some sense of logical necessity, I believe, compelled the /Kung to merge the two concepts so that they say, when they are asked, that the *≠Gao/na* of the tales and the great god are the same being, but this is a forced and superficial verbal resolution, for the two beings could hardly be more different. The people, I believe, really imagine them as different, and behave in quite a different manner as they speak of them. They tell the tales of the old *≠Gao/na*'s doings without restraint, [522] say his name aloud, howl and roll on the ground with laughter at his humiliations, whereas, when they speak of the great one in the east, they whisper and avoid his name. Yet they think that somehow in the rightness of things these two beings must be one, so one they are said to be.

The old *≠Gao/na* was a kind of culture hero. He had supernatural powers. He could change himself into other forms and could change people into animals, bring people back to life, &c. He was a great magician, with powers over magic substances and objects. But, although he gave fire to mankind, he could not be called a great [372] benefactor of mankind. He wanted fire for himself because he liked cooked food and gave the fire to man rather as an afterthought. He was not very much concerned with man or with man's morals. He was not the death-giver, involved in the mysterious inevitable necessity of death, or a wrathful punisher, like Jehovah. Such vengeance as he took was not a mighty vengeance but only a getting back at those who tricked [266] him. And usually his reason for killing someone was his own hunger. In those older days, according to the tales, people were always eating one another or parts of one

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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another or parts of themselves. In appearance and other characteristics the old ≠*Gao/na* was more man-like than supernatural. He lived on the earth among men. Like men he was subject to passions, hungers, sins, stupidities, failures, frustrations, and humiliations, but men imagine his to be on a larger scale and more grotesque than their own. Like Bushmen of today, his great concerns were hunger and sex. To the /Kung the two worst sins, the unthinkable, unspeakable sins, are cannibalism and incest. ≠*Gao/na* committed both these sins quite unconcernedly. He ate his older brother-in-law and his younger brother-in-law and raped his son's wife.

≠Gao/na, *his* Tun/ga (*the Fat Paouw*), *and the Pit*[1]

≠*Gao/na*'s wives were sisters. They had a brother who was a paouw. One day ≠*Gao/na* met the paouw, his *tun/ga*. [*Tun/ga* is the kin term for wife's brother older than the speaker.] His *tun/ga* was very fat. A fat paouw has bags of fat under his wings. ≠*Gao/na* and his *tun/ga* spoke together and parted. ≠*Gao/na* was surprised to see so much fat. He said, 'Oh, how fat my *tun/ga* is.' A few miles on they met again. ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Look, do you see that veld fire over there?' He pointed with his arm away up. The paouw said, 'Do you mean *that* fire?' He pointed, but only with a restricted gesture, keeping his wing to his side. 'No, ≠*Gao/na* said, 'THAT fire,' and he pointed with his arm far up, his whole armpit showing. 'I see it,' said the paouw, and he stretched his wing far up to point. ≠*Gao/na* was standing behind him. He seized the fat below the paouw's wing and cut it off and ran home. The paouw cursed ≠*Gao/na*. 'Break your bones and die,' he said. 'Die of a broken back or die of a broken neck,' he said.

≠*Gao/na* took the fat home and rubbed his wooden basins with it. His wives came home and found the wooden basins covered with fat and they asked him what he had eaten that was so fat. ≠*Gao/na* said that he got the fat from a puff adder. He said he beat it with a stick until the fat from the front went down the back to the middle, and beat the tail until the fat from the back went up the back to the middle. ≠*Gao/na* now planned how he would get his *tun/ga*. He slept that night. The next morning he set snares under the tree where the paouw went to eat gum. ≠*Gao/na* then met the paouw again. The paouw was wary and wouldn't come near. ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Why are you so wild with me?' [Wild is the opposite of tame, domesticated, or confident.] 'There is a tree there with gum under it but my eyes are not good enough to see it.' He said,' Let us have a contest; we shall see who can see the gum first. The one who sees it first must run and snatch it.' So they went to the tree and saw the gum. The paouw ran fast to get it, and ≠*Gao/na* ran too but he did not run so fast. The paouw snatched the gum and the snare caught him, and ≠*Gao/na* ran up and clubbed him, and carried him home. ≠*Gao/na*'s wives were out for veldkos. He put the fat from the other wing in a small pot and the body of the paouw in a big pot. When the wing fat was ready he ate it, and ate and ate, but he ate too much and he went out and had diarrhoea. The wives came home and suspected that perhaps he had killed their brother. The paouw began to expand in the pot and he swelled and swelled until *koah!* the pot burst and pieces of meat came whizzing out so that ≠*Gao/na* had to duck away from them. When all the meat was out, the paouw came back together again and flew away. ≠*Gao/na* chased after him but the wives called to him, 'Come back, you forgot your stick.' ≠*Gao/na* came back and got his stick and ran after the paouw again. The wives called him, 'Come back, you forgot your

[1] I wish to acknowledge with gratitude and pleasure the assistance of our daughter, Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, in gathering the material of the old tales, as well as other data. The first tale is hers. In paraphrasing the tales, we adhered to the events, the ideas, and the details, incorporating them as they were told us, but we have put the tales into our own words, attempting to preserve something of the quality of the telling as it came to our ears.

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sticks. /Kai /Kini cooked his food with the fire. Other people ate raw food. One day ≠*Gao/na* 539
was walking in the veld and he came upon the place where /Kai /Kini was living. He was not there but his children were. They were eating cooked *//karu*. ≠*Gao/na* asked for some and found it very good. ' Oh, you eat nice cooked food,' said ≠*Gao/na*. ' How do you cook it? ' The children said, ' Our father has a nice thing and he always gives us cooked food. He does all the best for us.' ≠*Gao/na* said, ' I shall come back tomorrow and eat this kind of food again.'

Next day he went back. As he was walking along he saw /Kai /Kini and his children digging for food in the ground and he hid himself and watched. When they had gathered enough, they went back to their werf and /Kai /Kini went and got his fire sticks from the place where he had hidden them. He twirled and twirled and twirled the male stick against the female stick, saying, 'Fire will come; fire will come.' When the fire was made and the food was cooking, /Kai /Kini hid his fire sticks again. ≠*Gao/na* was watching all the time. When the food was dished up, he came out from his hiding-place and sat down by the fire and they all ate together.

After a while ≠*Gao/na* said, ' Now we must make a game to play ', and he made a *jani* toy, mounting it with a guinea-fowl feather, weighting it with a *tsi* nut. He tossed it into the air with his stick and, when it floated down, ran and caught it and tossed it up again and again without its ever falling to the ground. /Kai /Kini wanted to play. ≠*Gao/na* gave him the *jani*, but /Kai /Kini could not toss it high and did not get away from his house in following it. ≠*Gao/na* said the guinea-fowl feather was no good, they must put a big paouw feather on it. This they did and the *jani* flew high. ≠*Gao/na* then opened the wind and the wind blew from the eastern side and blew the *jani* toward the west. /Kai /Kini followed and followed it, fascinated, tossing it higher each time he caught it. ≠*Gao/na* followed /Kai /Kini and, when they came to the place where the fire sticks were hidden, he seized them and ran with them into the veld. As he ran he broke them into little pieces and then threw them the whole world over. ' All the world is going to get fire now ', he said. ' Fire, fire, go over the world.' Since then there has been fire in every piece of wood and all men can get it out and cook their food. /Kai /Kini stopped playing and looked at ≠*Gao/na*. ≠*Gao/na* told him, ' It is not right that you alone should have fire. From now on you will not be a person ', and he changed /Kai /Kini into a bird named ≠*ore*.

These events were told by the old old people. They happened long ago.

The Present Image: /Gao/na, *the Creator*

In his present image, the image of power, ≠*Gao/na*, the creator and controller of 776 ●
all things, is very different from the old protagonist. Bushman informants insisted on their belief, nevertheless, that ≠*Gao/na* of the tales and ≠*Gao/na*, the great god of the eastern sky, are one and the same. For them, through the name, one being has merged into the other and a continuity has been maintained.

The /Kung did not bring up the question of how his nature became so changed. I surmise that it may have been when the name *Huwe* found its way from the Berg- [177
dama to the /Kung, and the name *Hishe* from the Auen, that certain elements of the 178]
present image came in, changing the earthly old ≠*Gao/na* into a lofty sky god. But I know nothing about the names */Gara*, *Gani ga*, and ≠*Gaiski* ≠*gai* and nothing about the time or order in which the names may have been created by the /Kung, or adopted, or with which characteristic one or the other may be associated. I *am* sure that current emotional needs and the imaginations of the people who are now living have continued to be at work upon the image, interpreting it, re-creating it, and bringing it to its present form.

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●776 The concept of ≠*Gao/na* as a powerful creator and a good being is based in the past. Schapera gives the following accounts: 'Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, . . . speaks of *Hawe* as a good being to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things.'[1] 'Lebzelter . . . says that all the groups [of Kung] investigated by him have "the belief in a supreme good being".'[2] The Western /Kung of the Oschimpoloveld believe he 'lives in a house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is often prayed to, especially for rain and hunting, as well as in case of illness because he made all things and can do everything and knows everything, and he is given the first offering of the chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth, and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.'[3]

Schapera also notes that Lebzelter reports that *Xu* of the Heikum is regarded almost everywhere among them 'as the creator of all things, including mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.'[4]

This god of the /Kung and the Heikum in the past was not the death-giver. The [761 811] old //*Gauwa*, as I shall presently describe, held that role. But now, in believing that the great god of the east is all-powerful, the /Kung have logically attributed to him the control over death, and hold him ultimately responsible for it. But their concept of ≠*Gao/na*, first and foremost, is that of the creator.

776 773 [154] It is said that ≠*Gao/na* created himself. One informant, /Tik/ay, claimed that he came out of the water, but others said they were not told this by the old people. I could discover no formulated myth of creation which everybody knew or anything which told how he created himself. People simply said they did not know. /U turned on me and asked me if I knew. When I said I did not, she snapped, How, then, did I expect her to know? After creating himself, ≠*Gao/na* created the lesser god and then their two wives. It was stated quite specifically that there were only two wives and that the gods never took human wives. This is in contrast to the old ≠*Gao/na* of the tales, who gives the impression that he had a bevy of wives.

The great god created the earth and gave it its name, ≠*kxa*. In the earth he created holes for water and he created water. They were not told just how he created these things, the people said. He has an iron of his own with which he works, a */ka* (*/ka* is metal). Some metal tool is what he had, a special one. They 'did not see it', they said, and do not know just what kind of a tool it is or what substances he may have worked with, but they know that he is the creator and the commander of metal.

After the earth, ≠*Gao/na* made the sky in a dome over the earth, and he made rain, */ga*. He made gentle female rain, */gadi*, and violent male rain, */ga/go*. The people do not say freely the word */ga/go* because they fear the violent rains. They use a respect word, */noi*, when they speak to the rain and plead with it to be gentle. ≠*Gao/na* made thunder and lightning.

After the rain, he made the sun. Sun is a 'death thing' which dries up the veldkos

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 183. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., p. 184. [4] Ibid., pp. 184–5.

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and the water-holes. He made the moon and the stars, all at the same time. Then 776
he made the wind. He is the creator of all these things and he commands their 773
movements.

He created the things that grow from the ground and he created animals and painted their stripes and markings on them and gave them their names. Then he created human beings. He created animals as animals and human beings as human beings. He commanded them to breathe. Without breath they would not live. ' First was woman and then man. The man asked the woman to give him fire. She did. The woman got some veldkos and was eating it. Then the man married the woman. This was one man's cryptic account of the creation. Something about the creation of fire seems to have been left out. ≠*Gao/na* named the first woman Khwova for his wife and he named the first man ≠Gao for himself.

From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. He turns the spirits of the dead into *//ganwasi* and commands them to live in the sky with him and be his servants. He orders them to go down to earth, to mortals, to carry sickness or death to them, or he may order them to carry good fortune.

≠*Gao/na* has a medicine with which he can renew himself at any time. He also renews all the beings who live in the sky with him. They get old and he renews them. [811]
They do not die. But he has not given human beings that medicine and the /Kung said, ' We cannot make it.' (They pointed out that in this quality the medicine is like water. They cannot create water. ' We know how to dig and make the holes but we cannot create the water,' they said.)

≠*Gao/na* gave arrows and bows and assegais to human beings and he gave digging-sticks. He gave people the knowledge to make all the things which they now make and taught them to do all they know how to do. ' If he did not want us to know he [811]
would not have taught us.' He commanded human beings to dig for food with their sticks and to hunt with their weapons. From the beginning they did these things.

≠*Gao/na* created all the medicines. (The /Kung word for both material substances [757]
used as medicines and magic or spiritual medicine is *n/um*.) He created the medicine which is in the medicine songs to cure the people and he created all the other medicines. He put medicine power in the medicine men (*n/um kxau* is medicine man, owner of medicine), and he calls that power *gaoxa*, the same respect word which people may use for him when they fear to say his name.

≠*Gao/na* commanded men and women to marry and live together and have children. He controls the actions of people. If they do good deeds or bad deeds it [577]
has been under his control. He arranges all things.

Several times in our talks I asked if the great creator controlled the lives of Bush- 776
men only, or if he controlled all the people on earth. It was not surprising that the /Kung's thinking on this point was vague and contradictory. Some said, ' He is over all people. He can kill anybody.' (They had said this same thing about *Ko*.) Others claimed that ≠*Gao/na* and *//Gauwa* as well were ' only for Bushmen '. White people and black people, they said, have their own gods.

≠Gao/na's *Appearance and Dwelling Place*

The /Gikwe Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate visualize the protagonist of their old tales, *Pisibero*, as being of supernatural size. In the tortures of his death

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● 776 throes, his thrashing and writhing limbs gouged out the omurambas,[1] the putrefaction of his body became the rivers, and his black hair became the rain clouds. But the /Kung, it seems, always thought of their protagonist as man-like in size and appearance. The old ≠*Gao/na* was man-like. ≠*Gao/na*, the great god of the east, is also man-like. He has the power to change himself into the forms of animals or objects and sometimes does so, but in his own form he is a man. The people say he is 'the tallest of the Bushmen'. His bearing, as the people at present imagine him, suggests [115] to me the Tswana or white men, or the tall aggressive Herero. Gao Medicine, Gao Beard, Old Demi, ≠Toma, /Qui, and /Ti/kay told us from time to time how they imagine ≠*Gao/na* to be. He has a big head. He has black hair, but it is long, not twisted and knotted like the Bushman peppercorn, and he has a long beard and hair on his chest (not at all like Bushmen, whose beards and body hair are sparse). Gao Medicine thinks that ≠*Gao/na*'s skin is reddish in colour, *//ga*, like Europeans, but others claimed that it is the colour of Bushman skin in its light tones, *gan*. ≠*Gao/na* wears European clothes and a hat. His pants and shirt are white. 'He is the great god and has power over all these things, so he possesses them.' He has a horse and rides everywhere across the earth and sky. You can sometimes hear the sound of his horse's hooves passing overhead. Especially when it rains he goes about a great deal and you can see the tracks of his horse. They are like those of the Hereros' horses, not exceptional in size or form. He has a gun and when he starts out, for instance to visit his *//gumu* in the west, he shoots it off to let the people know he is passing through, and shoots again when he returns. The shots can be heard by everybody. The bullet which he shoots is named *//guri*.

≠*Gao/na* hunts for his own food with his gun or with his bow and arrows, as he pleases. Some informants think that he hunts animals on earth and that he eats earthly veldkos, but has his own supplies of these foods. Others were vague about what kind of food he eats. They know that he and the lesser god and the *//gauwasi* are all very fond of earthly honey and take it whenever they find it. The people all believe that the gods never lack food.

If ≠*Gao/na* hears his name spoken in the daytime and is displeased, he comes down on his horse at sunset and beats stiff dry hides with a stick or snaps an eland-hide reim[2] to make a noise like thunder to frighten all the people.

The majority of out informants held the above beliefs about ≠*Gao/na*, telling us these details from time to time as we sat in groups. Some informants, however, held a different opinion. Several who were working with Robert Dyson in 1931 claimed that ≠*Gao/na* never came to earth. Their old people had told them this, they said. All concurred in the belief that he does not come to the medicine dances.

≠*Gao/na* lives in a house at the place where the sun rises in the eastern sky. Near the house is a great tree—one tree. The /Kung fear the tree and the house, they say. The lesser god in the west lives beside two trees, and these two trees have names. I was repeatedly told that the one tree of the great god in the east had no name. Perhaps, however, it has and the name is one which is really taboo. The tree is associated with the spirits of the dead, as I shall mention later. ≠*Gao/na*'s house has two stories. It is long, made of stone, with a shining roof of corrugated iron. There

[1] Ancient watercourses, now usually dry.
[2] A pliable strip or thong used for twisting into ropes.

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are big doors on the ends and small doors on the sides. Our informants believe that all the *//ganwasi* (spirits of the dead) live on the lower floor, and that *≠Gao/na* and his wife and children live on the upper floor. Although the house differs so much from a Bushman scherm, the /Kung use the same word for it, *choo*. No mortal has seen *≠Gao/na*'s dwelling place, not even the greatest of medicine men. The old people were told about it, but how they were told is not known. When *≠Gao/na* appears to the great medicine men he meets them somewhere else. 776

The image of the house accords with beliefs held by North-Western Bushmen as Schapera reports: 'But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Hnwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama.'[1]

The image accords in several respects also with that of the Eastern Kung, whom Lebzelter describes, except that in the belief of the Eastern Kung the spirits of the dead live on the upper floor and *≠Gao/na* on the lower.[2] The stone walls and the corrugated iron roof are the new elements, added as the Nyae Nyae /Kung visualize him in his present power, possessing and commanding all things. [177]

Only exceptionally great medicine men see *≠Gao/na*. If I understood correctly, this is not because he is generally invisible but because he comes near only to them. *≠Gao/na* is 'wild', as an animal is 'wild', meaning 'keeping his distance'. He has so much power in him that he is dangerous. If he came into a werf his power might destroy it. Some of the medicine men said that *≠Gao/na* would not come nearer than about a hundred yards, pointing to a tree to illustrate the distance. /Ti/kay, who claimed that he himself had never seen *≠Gao/na*, said that even a big medicine man is apt to be frightened when he sees *≠Gao/na* for the first time and might say, 'What does this man want? He is bad. I don't like him.' /Ti/kay continued, saying that even a *very* big medicine man, long in medicine, having seen *≠Gao/na* many times, would still be frightened, but when sickness came and he was curing and was full of power, he would keep a 'tight heart' and take a stick and would rush at *≠Gao/na* and hit him and yell, 'You sent a bad sickness. You must take it back.' And the sick person would get better. This is how all the medicine men habitually treat the lesser god and the spirits of the dead, whom they meet regularly at the medicine dances, but, as *≠Gao/na* does not come to the medicine dances, the great medicine man would encounter him only under special circumstances and would indeed need all his courage. 776 756

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 397.

[2] 'This "supreme being" [*Hnwe* or *Xa*] is regarded as anthropomorphic, he looks like a Bushman and he also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky in a house with two storeys, the lower of which is occupied by himself, his wife, whose name is unknown, and many children, while the upper is occupied, as already mentioned, by the souls of the dead (*xa*). In appearance this house is similar to the ordinary Bushman hut, although not quite the same, and its exterior is "hairy like a caterpillar." Honey, locusts, fat flies, and butterflies are found here in superabundance, and the "great captain" feeds upon these; the souls of the dead, however, merely sit around and eat nothing. *Xa* summons the magicians to their profession, and gives them supernatural powers; he is the lord over rain and lightning, as well as over the spirits, *//ganwasi*, and through the chief of the latter he sends good fortune in hunting or in the collection of veldkos. If anybody thinks or speaks evil of him, he punishes the evildoer with lightning; otherwise he takes no interest in the doings of his "Bushman children", except when somebody swears falsely by him, for the Kung have a regular oath in which they invoke him. He is prayed to by them in fixed form for rain, in case of severe illness, before going out hunting or before undertaking a dangerous journey' (Ibid., p. 184).

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776 It was characteristic of the /Kung that none of the medicine men whom we knew
756 claimed to have seen ≠*Gaolna*. They were not great enough, they said. The /Kung
[156] do not wish to risk drawing upon themselves the invidious attention of mortals or the whimsical displeasure of the gods by setting themselves up noticeably before others. Some said that they had been told by their parents of only one great medicine man among their neighbouring bands who had seen ≠*Gaolna*. His name was Gao. He died long ago.

776 Although ≠*Gaolna* comes only to the great medicine men 'in the flesh', so to speak,
787 he appears to anyone in dreams and 'helps all his people'. A hunter said that
[224] ≠*Gaolna* stands beside one in one's dream and says, 'You have been walking and walking and you got nothing. Today I shall give you meat.' The hunter gets up and goes out on to the veld. He sees an animal and shoots it. ≠*Gaolna* may say, on the other hand, 'These days you will not find an animal even if you hunt'; and it will be the truth. He may tell you in a dream where to find honey in a tree or where to
[756 find an ant hill. He gives power to the medicine men in dreams and also medicine
533] songs. A medicine woman described vividly how he had taught her a medicine song which she then gave to her people. He stood beside her instructing her to sing the song over and over until she had learned it.

//*Gauwa*, The Lesser God

776 Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung the word //*Gauwa* has three interpretations. First,
[775] a //*gauwa* is the spirit of a dead person; the spirits of the dead in the plural are //*gauwasi*. Second, the Nyae Nyae /Kung, as we have said, call the children born to the gods 'little //*gauwasi*'. Third, they apply the name //*Gauwa* to both the great and the lesser god. It is one of the seven names they have in common. In the current beliefs of the Nyae Nyae /Kung there is not a being called //*Gauwa* who is a separate entity apart from the great and the lesser god.

Among other Bushmen and the Hottentots, //*Gauwa* was a being distinct from the other being who is variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, &c. As I interpret the present belief of the /Kung, the lesser god is that old, traditional //*Gauwa*. He has been transmuted, however, from the old image to a new one, as the old protagonist, ≠*Gaolna*, was transmuted into the great god. //*Gauwa*'s name has been attributed to the great god as the great god's names have been attributed to him. The two beings remain separate entities in the /*gulna*–/*guma* relationship.

I base the interpretation that the lesser god is the traditional //*Gauwa* on the facts that many of his attributes are the same as or similar to those of the traditional being and that I did not hear people use any other name for him but //*Gauwa* and did not once hear the name //*Gauwa* used for the great god when people spoke spontaneously of him, although they insisted that it was one of the seven names which the gods have in common.

Excerpts from Schapera indicate that //*Gauwa* was generally the destroyer. Vedder reports that the /Kung at Tsumeb expect only evil from him and think of him as opposed to *Huwe*. But Lebzelter's Eastern Kung believed that he was good as well as evil, that he helped hunters, and some thought he was the creator. 'He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.'[1] By the Heikum also he was

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188.

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thought to be the creator. 'The souls of the dead come to live with him, and he eats their hearts.'[1] Hottentots considered him to be wholly the destroyer, the black chief, opposed to *Tsui ||Goab*, the creator and rain-giver. '. . . it is further said, by the Naman, that "*Tsui ||Goab* lives in a beautiful heaven, and *||Gaunab* lives in a dark heaven quite separated from the heaven of *Tsui ||Goab*", while the Korana told Wuras that *Tsui ||Goab* lived in the Red Sky and *||Gaunab* in the Black Sky.'[2] 776

||Gauwa in past concepts was more independent than now but otherwise he preserves the same mingling of characteristics. He does both good and evil deeds, from man's point of view, with emphasis upon death-giving and evil-doing. He has now become subservient to the great god, *≠Gaolna*, a servant who carries out orders and does his master's work. He should always obey *≠Gaolna*, but he preserves considerable independence, nevertheless, and instigates his own affairs. [761]

One of his works is to go about to see what is going on. 'He tells the old man in the east whatever he sees and hears. "These people are staying well, those are not so well",' Gao Medicine said, and continued, 'He may say to the old man, "Let us help these people get some food." Or he may tell him that lightning is killing some people and ask, "What shall I do?"'

Gao Scarf told us, in effect, that one time *||Gauwa* went to *≠Gaolna* and asked him for medicine. *≠Gaolna* was annoyed. He said, 'The medicine must stay with me. I am bigger than you.' *||Gauwa* went away and did not ask any more until some time had passed. Then he went and asked again. *≠Gaolna* said, 'You bad, stupid fellow! You think you are clever but you are not. I am bigger than you. I have everything. You must come and ask me every time, but this time take the medicine and go and work with your Bushmen.' That is how *||Gauwa*, as well as *≠Gaolna*, gives medicine to the medicine men. [756]

||Gauwa is a 'small man', he has small sense, and he makes many mistakes. If someone is sick, when the medicine men at the curing dances see him lurking, they rush at him, give him a blow, and shout that he has brought the wrong medicine. 'Idiot! You have done wrong. You make me ashamed. Go away.' And *||Gauwa* then runs away. Sometimes after his chastisement he comes back with the proper medicine to cure and the sick person recovers.

The /Kung associate *||Gauwa* with whirlwinds as the other Bushman and Hottentot groups did. The /Kung call a whirlwind *||gauwa ≠a*, which means *||Gauwa* smell. *≠A* is not an ordinary odour, which one can actually smell, and a whirlwind is not an ordinary wind, which is *maa*. The /Kung believe that a whirlwind is 'a death thing', 'a fight'. *||Gauwa* walks in the whirlwind and his smell is in it, and death is in it. If the wind passes over a person, the *≠a* goes into him, and he will get sick and die. The spirits of the dead, the *||gauwasi*, also come in the whirlwinds. One cannot see or hear *||Gauwa* or the *||gauwasi* in the whirlwinds. There are no precautions one can take to protect oneself against them except to try to get away. Little 'dust devils' played around us very frequently in the Kalahari, and often awesome black funnels of ashes formed in the veld fires and reached from the earth to the heavens. Sometimes white clouds condensed on their tops and we believe that we saw 'pillars of cloud by day' like those the children of Israel saw. 776 821 761 [775]

[1] Ibid., pp. 188–9. [2] Ibid., p. 189.

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776 ‖GAUWA's *Dwelling and Appearance*

‖Gauwa lives in the western sky at the place where the sun sets. (Cf. *‖Gaunab* of the Hottentots living in a black sky and *Tsui ‖Goab* in a red sky, p. 239.) /Ti/kay said more than once that the lesser god lived in the east. That was what he remembered being told by the old people, he claimed. The other informants agreed, however, in many different interviews, that it was the other way, that the lesser god lived in the west, so I take that to be their current belief.

Some believe that *‖Gauwa* first lived in a hole, */ge*. He made the hole, one informant told us, by pushing the earth out with his head. The hole was like a spring-hare hole, but very big. There were two entrances; one faced toward the sunrise, one faced toward the sunset. *‖Gauwa* later made a house (*choo*). The house is tied together with wire and has poles made of iron. The house stands in a flat open space. It is built up off the ground, upon the iron poles which are stuck into the ground and rise up into the air. Informants said that ' when a person is sick with sore throat, the sickness [753 has been caused by those irons which stick into the air. If *‖Gauwa* does not like a 756] person he can hurt him with those irons. The " old man " (*≠Gao/na*) tells him the way he must hurt a person.' When the medicine men are in trance they go to that house. This is how they know what it is like. They go up by a cord which hangs down from the sky. (Cf. Lebzelter's account of the Eastern Kung who believe that *‖Gaunab* moves between heaven and earth on cords.)[1]

There are two trees near *‖Gauwa*'s house. They have names. Nothing else on the earth or in the sky bears those names, one informant told us. The name of the tree which is towards the north with respect to the other is */Gaie*; the one towards the south is named */Dua*. The names mean nothing; they are ' just names '. */Gaie* and */Dua* have smooth bark and large white flowers, no thorns, no nuts. I thought they might be like baobabs which have these characteristics, but they are not. They are more nearly like the camelthorn (which incidentally has two names, */gi* ' a respect name ' and */ana* ' a rough name ') but are not exactly like any tree on earth.

776 The medicine men see *‖Gauwa*. Only a very big medicine man, full of the power 756 which *≠Gao/na* had put into him, might see *≠Gao/na* himself, as we learned, but any of the medicine men can see *‖Gauwa*. /Ti/kay thought that because *‖Gauwa* was so [787 often sent by *≠Gao/na* as his messenger the medicine men all become familiar with him. Anyone may see *‖Gauwa* in dreams.

The image of *‖Gauwa* varies. The present image accords with tradition in some aspects. Whereas *≠Gao/na* is ' the tallest of the Bushmen ', *‖Gauwa* is short. He has the form of a man, and the colour yellow is associated with him (similar characteristics to those of Lebzelter's little yellow mannikins with thick bellies, the *dzoo*).[2] But individuals have their own interpretations. I am convinced that some of the [158 medicine men, Gao Medicine for one, really believe that they do see *‖Gauwa*. They see in the shadows among the trees and bushes objects which they interpret to be *‖Gauwa*, or they see the light of the veld fires between the branches, or some such phenomenon, or they have visions or hallucinations, perhaps while in trance. Some perhaps just imagine a form.

Demi, a medicine man in Band 12, saw *‖Gauwa* the night of the great dance at

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188. [2] Ibid.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Gam when four bands danced together. Demi was the smallest Bushman we had seen in the region. He was bedecked with many beads and walked with a prance like a bantam cock. He had seen *//Ganwa* in the darkness, he told us. He had confronted him and driven him off with imprecations and sticks. I asked him to tell me what *//Ganwa* looked like. *//Ganwa* is as big as a mouse and has legs like a mouse, he promptly told me, showing me a pipe about four inches long to demonstrate *//Ganwa*'s size. (Demi did not say *//Ganwa* was a mouse; he said ' as big as '.) *//Ganwa* is covered all over with short yellow hairs. This bright, prancing little man had seen a little god. None of the other medicine men saw *//Ganwa* as small as that. 776 756

Gao Scarf sees *//Ganwa* regularly. He is like a man in form, but not such as we. He is about two and a half feet tall. (Gao demonstrated with a stick.) He has yellow hair over his whole body. He does not speak as we speak. He says, ' *hu hu hu* ', like the medicine men when they are performing a ceremony, but softly. Only medicine men hear him and understand him.

Another Gao said that *//Ganwa* is about a foot tall and the colour of a wart hog. He has the form of a man.

When Gao Medicine is in trance, he often sees *//Ganwa*. He is a being about the height of a guinea-fowl, grey in colour like the bark of the ubiquitous camelthorn tree. But to Gao, *//Ganwa* is not clearly visible; he is like a mist.

/Ti/kay claimed to me that he was ' young in medicine ' and had never seen *//Ganwa*, as he had claimed that he had never seen ≠*Gaolna*. This was an engaging torsion of the truth. I myself had many times seen /Ti/kay appear to confront *//Ganwa* during his curing. /Ti/kay was to me the most spectacular of all the medicine men in performing the ceremony. He did not fear to scream into the shadows, ' *Nonabe!* You have brought a bad medicine. It is going to kill someone. Take it back.' The people, I am sure, did not believe that he was ' young in medicine ' and that he did not see *//Ganwa* when the other medicine men did. /Ti/kay, as I think is apparent even in these brief accounts of him, was something of a deviant. I believe that he contradicted other informants because his nature habitually drove him to oppose others and that, at the same time, he deliberately and rationally tried to deceive me and lead me astray, first for one reason, then another. He was jealous of our harmonious relations with ≠Toma and Gao Medicine. We were pleased and grateful to them when they would work with us and he refused, and this made him spiteful. Also, due to some influence which we do not know about, he may actually believe some of the things he told us, such as that *//Ganwa* lives in the east instead of the west. We were never certain about him. [115 156]

THE *//GAUWASI*

The Nyae Nyae /Kung believe strongly and vividly in the existence of spirits of the dead, the *//gauwasi*, who live immortal lives in the sky with ≠*Gaolna*, doing his bidding. The *//gauwasi* come to earth and enter into the affairs of men when ≠*Gaolna* so commands them. The /Kung fear them, pray to them to invoke their mercy or sympathy, exhort them in anger. The concept of having special relations with their own ancestors or of worshipping ancestors is lacking. 775 [769]

The people claim that they fear to speak of the *//gauwasi* lest they call attention to themselves or offend the spirits. They say it is a ' death thing to speak of them much ',

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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The great creator receives the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person and turns these elements into a *||gauwa*. To do this he makes a fire under the tree which grows in his werf, the tree for which we know no name. He puts a pot on the fire, and in this he boils medicines. Only he has these particular medicines. Men do not know their names. *≠Gao/na* then hangs the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person in the tree. The tree itself is medicine. That is why the people fear it and why *≠Gao/na* hangs the spirits in it. The medicine smoke rises and blows around the dead person's spirit, heart, and blood, and they are transmuted into a *||gauwa*. *≠Gao/na* then smears the *||gauwa* with fat. This fat is not from an animal; it belongs only to *≠Gao/na* and is called */thoo*. *≠Gao/na* then takes the *||gauwa* to live with him in his house. 775 776

The *||gauwasi* have bodies which resemble those they had on earth except for their hair. We were told that their hair is changed from the Bushman's spirals to *≠Gao/na*'s hair, which is long, like a European's, but as black as a Bushman's. Only medicine men who have full medicine see the *||gauwasi*. 775 [756]

The *||gauwasi* eat food. As I understand it, they, like *≠Gao/na* and *||Gauwa*, eat the same foods that mortals eat, meat and veldkos, but they have their own supplies. They also are very fond of honey. They are said on occasion also to steal the veldkos of human beings from the places where they grow, and they sometimes change themselves into birds—not vultures, but smaller birds called */gwara*—and in this form come into the werf and eat the people's meat right where it hangs in the branches beside the scherms. The *||gauwasi* have their own implements, weapons, karosses, &c. They want nothing from men and there is no point in offering them things. [825] [782]

≠Gao/na gives the *||gauwasi* everlasting life. They grow older but, before they are very old, he rejuvenates them. He has a medicine for this which he does not give to men. Children who die remain children.

||Gauwasi keep their own spouses if they wish, and they live together but do not beget children. No great point was made of this. It was interesting to learn that, if a *||gauwa* tires of his wife and wants another, he may kill a living woman who attracts him, so, if a beautiful woman dies, one who is fresh and clean and wears fine ornaments, one could suspect that some *||gauwa* has taken her for himself. And a strong young hunter might be killed by a female *||gauwa* who wanted him. In spite of the power and dominance of the gods, the *||gauwasi* take things into their own hands sometimes. [761]

No distinction is made between a good and a bad person when he dies. All go to the great god in the east and all become *||gauwasi* without differentiation in status or function. With the exception of suicide, no distinction is made either between a good and a bad death, such as is reported by Fourie of the Auen, according to Schapera: 'People who die a "good death" are said to go to */khutse*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaua*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress.'[1] Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung suicides are said to stay with *||Gauwa* in the west. Burial also has no effect upon the status in the after-life—whether a person is buried properly bound in a deep round grave, or scratched into a shallow trench, or not buried at all and eaten by beasts. [762]

The beliefs which we associate with ghosts—the haunting of graves or certain other places, appearing as spectres to persons, &c.—are not highly developed among the /Kung but are not entirely lacking. Three stories of *||gauwasi* haunting graves came

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 168.

775 to our ears. One story was that at a place between Gam and Gautscha, where a person died, something goes '*wuu wuu wuu*', making a sound like wind in an empty ostrich eggshell or a bee buzzing in a bottle. The thing once chased ≠Nisa and her daughter.
[761] They were terribly frightened, and people warned each other not to go near that place again 'because a person could get such a fright he could die of it'. One cannot see the thing. One can only hear it. On being questioned, people said they thought the thing was a *||ganwa*.

[787] *||Ganwasi* are mischievous as well as conveyors of grave evils and they trick and fool people on their own initiative, often appearing to people in dreams to do so. One might dream, for instance, that the *||ganwasi* told him he would shoot a fat buck if he hunted in a certain direction. If he then hunted there and failed to kill anything, he would know that they had tricked him. ≠Toma felt, when he was sick, that he was lying on thorns and that the *||ganwasi* were pressing down on him.

The function of the *||ganwasi* is, first and foremost, to be the servants (*≠gasi*) of the gods and to carry out their orders. They obey *≠Gaolna* primarily, but are servants of *||Ganwa* as well. They are the messengers, whether good or bad fortune is being sent to the people.

775 When the gods order them to kill a person, the *||ganwasi* have innumerable ways of
761 doing so. They can allow a buffalo to gore the person, a lion to maul him, or a snake
753 to bite him. They were responsible for a man's falling to his death from a baobab tree—an appalling death to the /Kung, who are as careful and sure as cats. Lightning
[821] —'rain fire'—is 'a death thing' and is used by the *||ganwasi* to kill people when the gods so command. *||Ganwasi* have the traditional miniature magic bows and arrows, with which they shoot people. One feels the pain of the little arrow piercing, when one is shot, but one cannot see the arrow; eventually one dies of it. Sickness, however, is the greatest tool of the death-bringers and they kill mostly by it. They can bring their sicknesses, death, and other misfortune to men at any time, but they are sure to come to the ceremonial curing dances and are always there in the shadows watching for their chance to inflict the ill on the person or persons whom they are sent to destroy.

Although the *||ganwasi* are associated in the people's minds primarily with sickness and death and the people fear them with a pervading fear, the /Kung do not appear to suffer in an agony of terror. I think that their fear is mitigated by the belief that the *||ganwasi* are minor characters and can be driven away and that in their own nature they are not wholly evil. Like the mortals they once were, they are capable of being
[782] good, bad, or indifferent to man. People can plead with them for their favour and sometimes they feel pity and are helpful.

Man's Relations with the Gods

772 *≠Gaolna* said, when he praised himself, 'I take my own way and no one can com-
● 776 mand me. I am a stranger, unknowable. I am *chi dole*.' The /Kung these days evidently imagine him to be as much the self unbridled as the old protagonist of the tales. However, unlike the old *≠Gaolna*, he is not indifferent to mankind, and, even though he lives in the sky, he is not remote. On the contrary, he is deeply involved with humanity, constantly aware of what people do, constantly reacting with pleasure or displeasure, and he favours, punishes, or ill-treats man accordingly.

Good and evil are thus explained by a duality which has its principal source in the omnipotent ≠*Gaolna*'s own self-oriented nature. The scope of this duality is enlarged by the similar duality in the natures of *||Gauwa* and the *||gauwasi*, who sometimes do good deeds to man and sometimes bad, when they are doing the work commanded by their master, and, also, when they instigate actions on their own initiative, as they sometimes do, especially I gather when ≠*Gaolna* is not around, for he is omnipotent but not omniscient or omnipresent. 772 776 [775]

Evil is sometimes accounted for by the gods working at cross purposes among themselves. For instance, *||Gauwa* might lead a man to find honey which ≠*Gaolna* had intended for someone else whom he wished to favour. ≠*Gaolna* would be angry and take revenge upon the man who found the honey. But, on the other hand, the gods may talk things over and agree together and man may benefit. The *||gauwasi* might want to take a person in death. One god would say, 'Go ahead', but the other says, 'No, let us not take him.' The first then agrees and the person is left. That is how people may be very ill and still be cured. [753]

Punishment

The concept of sin as an offence against the gods is vague among the /Kung. Man's wrong-doing against man is not left to ≠*Gaolna*'s punishment nor is it considered to be his concern. Man corrects or avenges such wrong-doings himself in his social context. ≠*Gaolna* punishes people for his own reasons, which are sometimes quite obscure. It was interesting to see in the examples given how often food was involved. 776 [783] 626

Burning bees, I learned, displeases ≠*Gaolna* intensely. He likes the bees, his wife is the 'mother of the bees', and he is very fond of honey himself. On one occasion, two men found honey in a tree. They tried to chop it out but the bees stung them so badly that they built a fire to drive them away and many bees were burned. ≠*Gaolna* did not like this. He sent a sickness upon the men and both died. When a person has burned bees, his body becomes hot as though burned by fire and he dies. [753]

≠*Gaolna* might change himself into a gemsbok and be walking in the veld. A hunter might come along and kill that gemsbok, thinking how lucky he was to get it. He would take the meat home and eat it and the next day he would be dead. Others who had no part in the killing would not die. ≠Toma who was telling this went on to say that ≠*Gaolna* might regret having done such a thing—killing a man who was just hunting to feed his children instead of helping him—and, to make amends, he might particularly favour that man's son.

If ≠*Gaolna* really sets out to kill someone in punishment, ≠Toma told us, one method he uses is to convert himself into honey and place himself in a tree like an ordinary honeycomb. Then he directs the person he wants to kill to that tree. The person takes the honey home, eats it, and then dies.

≠Toma added that ≠*Gaolna* might punish a person just a little by giving him a mild sickness, which would be comparable to giving him a thrashing. A good person who had done no wrong at all might also be punished by a mild sickness. ≠*Gaolna*'s motive, ≠Toma explained, might be to 'test' him or to 'break' him. (Ledimo and I worked carefully over this translation. We think we have the correct idea.) Why? we asked, but ≠Toma could not say. Not man's due, but whim and pride [753]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

776 in demonstrating his supremacy and power would be a reason in keeping with the nature of one who said, 'I am *chi dole*.'

≠*Gaolna* is fortunately not a god of mighty wrath and vengeance. 'He does not get too angry,' ≠Toma remarked. 'That is why there are still people living on earth.' He and others who were present at our talk went on to point out again ≠*Gaolna*'s benefactions, such as giving children, giving rain, and giving poison. One of his benefactions was poison, they said. He taught Bushmen how to put it on their arrows so that they could kill animals and eat, as the god of the black people gave cattle and the knowledge of growing crops so that his people could live.

Prayer

782 [756 793] There are no priests among the /Kung and it is not the function of medicine men to pray for the people or to lead them in prayer. Individuals frequently pray, however, spontaneously and alone. Anybody, everybody, may pray directly to ≠*Gaolna*, to //*Gauwa* or to the //*gauwasi*, at any time or place, without assuming special posture or observing any other formalities.

The people say the words of their prayers silently to themselves, or they say them aloud, as though thinking aloud, but speaking directly to the gods. They may also speak to each other to be overheard by the gods. When men go to look for honey, they may pray to *Khwoalna*, the mother of the bees, to give them luck. Demi said, 'We talk to ourselves and she feels pity and leads us to the honey.'

The prayers seem very often to be in the form of questions which imply accusation—'Why do you do thus and so?'—but the people mean to plead mildly, without displaying anger. The blasphemy of the medicine men, usual when they are in trance, does not appear in the prayers. The people often use the respect terms but they also sometimes speak the names. There is no rule about which names shall be used. It is to be noted that they also say 'father' and refer to themselves as his children. They use the second or third person, one as readily as the other.

'/*Nau*, excuse this man and make him well.'

'Sympathize with me, /*Nau*, because you are our *Gauxa*. Feel pity for me.'

'≠*Gaolna*, why have you made me grieve so? You gave me this person, why will you take him back? Favour me. Let this person live. If he dies, where shall I go?'

'/*Gara* has taken that person while we were still loving him. Why has he taken him?'

'You have created me and given me power to walk about and hunt. Why do you guide us so that we do not get animals?'

'≠*Gaolna*, when the women are walking in the veld looking for veldkos, let them find a dead animal. Shoot it for them with your bullet. Favour us.'

'Give rain. Wet the earth. Let there be veldkos. We are starving because we have to stay by the water-hole where there is no more veldkos. He has favoured some people with rain. Will he not favour us?'

'Please, our father, great man, will you send us rain?'

'Father (*mba*), why is it you help other people and do not help me to find food? We are all your sons. Help me too. I am the same as your other sons.'

'*Gasi ga*, give us coolness.'

'Give us your water (rain). Give us a chance to rest. Give us food. We have nothing else if you do not give us food. Let food grow.'

'Why does ≠*Gaolna* send lightning? Why does he destroy our houses with mad rain?

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Why does the lightning not go and die somewhere and leave us alone and just let a gentle rain give us water?' 782

If someone were struck and killed by lightning, Gao Medicine said he would say,

'*Hishe*, why have you taken this person? Why do you strike us with storm? You cannot always be good; you keep changing. You created all things and are present in every movement. Why must you do ill?'

About another storm, Gao Medicine said,

'It is */Nau* who makes these things. He is scolding us because we are his children. It is because of our bad ways we are so punished. We must not complain. This is a good time, the time of rain. We must not complain.'

When the people are pleased they thank *≠Gao/na* and say, 'This is how you must serve your children.'

The /Kung pray directly to *//Gauwa* as well as to *≠Gao/na*. One old man named Tuka/na made a prayer into a song and taught it to his people. The men sometimes sing it when they are walking along in the veld on hunting trips. It says in effect: [533]

'*//Gauwa* must help us that we kill an animal.
//Gauwa, help us. We are dying of hunger.
//Gauwa does not give us help.
He is cheating. He is bluffing.
//Gauwa will bring something for us to kill next day
After he himself hunts and has eaten meat,
When he is full and is feeling well.'

The song then changes to the past tense and tells how *//Gauwa* favoured them in the past and gave them luck in the hunt and they ate and afterwards the man said to the women:

'You must sing well.
We are happy now.
Our hearts are shining.
I shall put on my rattles,
And put on my headband,
And put a feather in my hair
To explain to *//Gauwa* how happy we are that he has helped us and that we have eaten.
My heart is awake.
When we do not have meat
My heart is sad from hunger
Like an old man, sick and slow.
When we have meat my heart is lively.

The concerns and anxieties of these people are manifest in their prayers. The pervasive, unremitting anxiety about food becomes vividly apparent. The concept that *≠Gao/na* has great power and that he is not evil incarnate, but has a dual nature which can feel pity as well as displeasure, makes beneficence a possibility. The /Kung believe that, influenced by the medicine men's scolding or by supplication, he may change his evil intent, and this gives them hope. [154 776]

If they leave the band they may return. Affines and the families of affines have equal rights to the resources while they are present but do not retain them if they leave. 621 423 [602]

RELIGION

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS • In the many strange old tales of the !Kung appears a protagonist named *≠Gaolna*—Old ≠Gao. He had supernatural powers, but he looked like a man and lived on earth. Like mankind, he was subject to passion, hunger, wrongdoing, failure, frustration, and humiliation, but men imagine his feelings in larger scale and as more grotesque than their own. Themes of incest, hunger, and cannibalism run through the tales. The !Kung claim that this old protagonist and the great god of their present belief are one and the same: they have the same names, but if the present great god is the old *≠Gaolna*, he is mightily changed. 773

The !Kung now believe that there are two gods. The great god lives in the eastern sky where the sun rises; the lesser, in the western sky where the sun sets. The great god is the creator of all things. He created himself and named himself. He then created the lesser god and a wife for each of them. The wives bore them children. The great god gave names to all these beings. Then he created the earth and the water holes, the sky and the rain, the sun and the wind, the things that grow on the earth, and the animals with their stripes and colors, and he gave them names. He created a woman and then a man. He commanded the man and the woman and the animals to breathe, for without breathing they would not live. From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. When mortals die he takes their spirits to the place where he lives in the eastern sky, where there is a certain tree that has no name. He hangs the spirits in the tree, makes a medicine smoke in a pot beneath them, and transmutes them into the *//gauwasi*, the spirits of the dead, who live in the sky with him and are his servants. He has a medicine with which he renews himself, the *//gauwasi*, and the other heavenly beings and thus keeps them immortal. [776] [775]

The great god gave men bows and arrows and poison and digging sticks and taught them how to shoot animals and dig for food. Everything men know he taught them. Having created all things, the great god is the owner and the master of all things and commands their movements.

To "praise" himself, the !Kung believe, the great god gave himself seven divine names and one human name. The divine names are *Hishe, Huwe, Kxo, !Gara, Gani ga, ≠Gaishi ≠gai* and *//Gauwa*. The human name is *≠Gaolna*, the one he shares with the old protagonist. 776

Although there is not an absolute taboo upon saying the names of the

776 gods, the !Kung fear to do so because it displeases the gods and draws their attention and they say, "Who is calling my name?"

The lesser god who lives in the western sky is the namesake of the great god, who, as the belief goes, gave the lesser god all seven of his own divine names, but not his human name. Although they insist in this belief, the !Kung never used any name but *//Gauwa*, one of the seven divine names, when they referred to the lesser god and we never heard them actually use this name for the great god. It would seem, then, that the lesser god is the old evil spirit, *//Gauwa*, who appears in the beliefs of the Hottentots and other Bushman language groups as the destroyer and the black chief, the one who sends death, disease, and misfortune. This evil spirit was an entity distinct from the good spirit who was variously named by Bushman groups *!Hishe*, *!Huwe*, and so on.

In present !Kung belief, however, neither the great god nor the lesser god is all evil or all good. Both are capable of being pleased or displeased with man and of sending favors or misfortunes. The lesser god is subservient to the great god and is supposed to do his bidding. The lesser god, however, has his own entity and does instigate his own actions, sometimes even disobeying the great god. Often they disagree between themselves.

The great god looks like a man, like a Bushman, but he is "the tallest of the Bushmen" and has long black hair that is not twisted and knotted like Bushman hair. He rides a horse across the sky—you can hear him—and he has a gun as well as bows and arrows. Some say he never comes to earth but always sends *//Gauwa*, or the spirits of the dead, the *//gauwasi*, to bring the good or evil that he sends to men. Only the greatest of medicine men have ever seen him.

//Gauwa, however, is commonly seen by the medicine men. They describe him as small. One said he was about two feet tall; another, that he was as small as a guinea fowl; a third, that he was as small as a mouse. Several agreed that he was covered with yellow hairs. One, however, a humble man, said that while in trance he had seen *//Gauwa* and that he was like a gray mist.

782 RELIGIOUS PRACTICES • The !Kung say that they pray spontaneously to the gods. Whenever the thought comes to them they put their prayers into words and say or think them to themselves without any formality. When they speak in prayer to the great god they address him by the respectful term *!Nau*, used for any old man, or use a title *Gaoxa* (chief), or call him "father." Sometimes they use one of his names. The prayers, a mingling of mild imprecation and pleading, reveal the major concerns of the !Kung: hunger, sickness, and death.[11]

776 753 778 755 The great god, responsible for sending sickness and death to men, also created and gives to men a mystical curing power that is called *gaoxa*

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

(the same word as the title of respect). The !Kung say it is strong medicine: 776
/*num*. The !Kung take for granted his giving to man both sickness and 753
the power to cure it, and account for the power's sometimes failing to cure 778
by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work, or not, according 755
to his pleasure.

He gives the curing power to medicine men (called *num kxao*, medicine 778
owners), appearing to them (usually in dreams, sometimes in what seem 756
to be waking hallucinations) and putting the power into them. He has also [533]
put a curing power in the medicine songs that the people sing at the dances, songs named Rain, Sun, Giraffe, Eland, Honey, Buffalo, Mamba, and Spider —all powerful things. The great god gives the power freely. It is rare to find a man among the !Kung who is not a medicine man. The function of the 756
medicine men is only to cure. They are not sorcerers or witch doctors. (The [754]
!Kung are not a witch-ridden people.) !Kung medicine men receive no rewards or special prerogatives. They work together apparently without rivalry. The medicine men may cure at any time but their strongest curing occurs [535]
at the dance.

Whether or not anyone is sick, the people dance two or three times a 535
month, sometimes more often. Anyone who wants a dance may start one 781
simply by asking people to come and begin. The !Kung like to dance for many reasons. There is the inherent physical pleasure in moving to rhythm. Music and dancing are their arts, from which their aesthetic pleasure comes. [53]
The dances are also social gatherings in which all participate, men, women, 535
children, visitors—everybody. A dance draws them together as nothing else 781
does. Even more important is the fact that the dance is one concerted re- 571
ligious act of the !Kung and brings people into such unison that they become like an organic being.

At the dances not only may the sick be cured, but pending evil and mis- 535
fortune averted. The !Kung believe that the great god may send //*Gauwa* or 755
the //*gauwasi* at any time with ill for someone and that these beings may be 751
lurking, awaiting their chance to inflict it. The medicine men in the dances combat them, drive them away, and protect the people.

Usually there are several medicine men performing at the same time. 755
To cure they go into trance, which varies in depth as the ceremony proceeds. The curing cannot be described in words; it must be heard. When a man begins, he leaves the line of dancing men and, still singing, leans over the person he is going to cure, going eventually to every person present, even the infants. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The !Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. To demonstrate that this is in fact going on and is hard to do, he grunts with shuddering grunts that intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high piercing, quavering yell. Finally, the medicine man throws up his arms

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

184 304 881 During her seclusion a row of small parallel cuts, which are all blackened with ashes, is made on her face, or arms, or legs by her father or a male magician. Miss Bleek is convinced that these cuts are partly for ornament, but adds that there also appears to be a [776] religious element present, as one woman informant said that *//gäüa*, a supernatural personage, leads this dance, and that the cuts are made in his honour.[1] Both the scarifications and the presence of a supernatural being are foreign to the puberty ceremonies for girls in other Bushman tribes; but, as will be seen shortly, both occur (in somewhat different form) in the puberty ceremonies for boys among the North-Western tribes.

184 881 In all the ceremonies so far described, girls are required to pass through the rites individually as soon as they have their first period. Among the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, however, it appears from the very fragmentary data supplied by Dornan that girls are initiated in groups. The central feature of the ceremony, as described [304] by him, is an operation performed on each of the girls, which consists in the "perforation of the clitoris" (*sic*) with a stone knife, the operators being the older women.[2] If this information be correct, [177] we have here a ceremony in every way distinct from those of the other Bushmen, and one which can only be regarded as having been borrowed from the neighbouring BeChwana, whose puberty ceremonies for girls are of a somewhat similar nature.

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

881 Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after reaching the age of puberty, and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in hunting, especially in the pursuit of big game. Among the North-Western tribes this ceremony is carried out in a secluded spot in the bush, near which no woman may come.[3] Here all the eligible big boys from several neighbouring encampments are taken [756] by the old men, with a couple of magicians in charge; and here they remain for about a month, living together in a big hut or enclosure. During the first few days they are roughly handled and half-starved;

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122.
[2] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 159.
[3] Passarge, op. cit., 100–1; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23–5; *idem*, [114] "Buschmänner von Angola," 122; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 51; Fourie, op. cit., 91–2. Passarge states that the ceremony takes place during the dry season, i.e. at the coldest time of the year; Fourie, on the other hand, that it is always held during the rainy season, when food is plentiful. The other writers do not mention the time of year.

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they may have no fire, and eat no meat, but live only on a little water 881
and on raw roots and berries, which are sprinkled by the magicians
with powdered bark "medicine". The greater part of this early 535
period is spent in the performance of sacred dances (*/gi*, men's dance), 881
which are held all through the day and often continued at night.

These dances among the Naron and Auen are described as follows by Miss Bleek: "All gather in a circle, clap their hands, and sing a weird, solemn tune with the refrain 'honk a honk'. Then they stamp round in a circle waving their arms to another phase of the melody (no words are used); then they stand still and sing the first part again and so on." At this dance the boys often wear ostrich feathers, or the head and beak of the white stork, as head ornaments; otherwise there is no special costume. Anyone owning dancing rattles also wears them, as at the ordinary dances.

On one of the nights of this dance, "a supernatural being called 535
Hishe approaches the dancers, circles round them, and is driven away 776
by the medicine men. The older men had seen this being. One said 881
that it was like a woman in appearance, another that it was not a person at all, but a creature about three feet high with a flat head, red eyes underneath the head, a black body, wings, and claws. Some old Auen said two beings came, male and female, looking like lions, but walking upright. They were followed by children like baboons. The male came first and called the others, they danced round and vanished to the east. Apparently medicine men of different times and places got up different bogies. Latterly their invention seems to have failed, for the middle-aged men told me Hishe came to the dance, but only the medicine men saw her and drove her away." Similarly, among the !O Kung of Angola, "the spirit Huwe occasionally appears and dances with them, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double form as man and woman. Huwe then retires without any particular demonstration."

As will be shown subsequently, Hishe and Huwe are beings who 776
figure prominently in the religious beliefs of the Naron and Kung 881
respectively. There can be little doubt, therefore, inadequate though
our information is on this point, that these ceremonies serve in some [869]
way to introduce the initiates to the mysteries of tribal religion.

More light is thrown on the routine of these ceremonies by Fourie's 881
description of them as practised among the Auen.[1] "On the first
day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the

[1] Loc. cit.

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at Sandfontein powdered acid roots are rubbed into the wounds to keep them from closing as they heal, but no colouring matter is applied; further east, however, according to Passarge, wood ash is rubbed in to make the wounds black. All men in the North-Western tribes have these cuts (see Frontispiece), which are supposed to make them "see well", i.e. to bring them good luck in hunting. After this operation the boys are permitted to return to the camp. They are now regarded as men, they can marry, and they take part in the councils of the men and associate with them. 304 881 [184] [224] 882

The rites described above appear to exist only in the North-Western tribes. There is no definite record of any puberty ceremonies for boys among the Southern Bushmen, and according to Miss Bleek the /nu//en, one of the tribes falling in this division, distinctly denied that such ceremonies were held by them,[1] while in the same way their existence among the Namib Bushmen is emphatically denied by Trenk.[2] 184 881

It should be mentioned here, however, that from information obtained by Orpen from a member of the now extinct tribe of Basuto-land Bushmen it appears that there were certain dances connected with religious beliefs, the secrets of which were known only to the men initiated into them.[3] Campbell also records a dance of these Bushmen as described to him by an informant: "When the Bushmen dance, Ko (a deity) sometimes comes and informs them where game is to be procured; and when any animals are killed, certain parts of them may only be eaten by particular persons. She is a large, white figure, and sheds such a brightness around, that they can hardly see the fire for it; all see and hear her as she dances with them . . . They cannot feel what she is, but should a man be permitted to touch her, which seldom happens, she breathes hard upon his arm, and this makes him shoot better . . . After Ko comes up from the ground and dances a short time with them, she disappears, and is succeeded by her nymphs, who likewise dance a while with them."[4] The description of this dance at once reminds one of the puberty dances for boys among the North-Western Bushmen, where Huwe or Hishe also comes and dances with them, and there is the same suggestion that the ceremony is in some way connected with hunting; but there is nothing definite either in Campbell's account or in Orpen's to indicate that the dances referred to by them were in any way connected with puberty ceremonies for boys. 794 535 776 [881]

[1] *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 10.
[2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.
[3] "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Folk-Lore*, XXX, 142.
[4] Campbell, *Second Journey into South Africa*, ii, 31–2.

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that sorcerers could bewitch and thus kill a person, while the breach 761
of certain prescribed rules of conduct connected especially with the [754]
rain was held to lead automatically to death.[1] The Auen make a distinction between people who die a "good death", i.e. easily and without great preceding pains, and those who die in great agony. The former are regarded as dying a natural death, the latter as bewitched or possessed.[2] Further north, among the Kung, it is believed that death may be caused by certain spirits known as *dsao*, [776]
who are sent by the spirits of the dead (*//gauab*) to enter the bodies [753]
of people and thus make them sick; while men who speak evil of the "great chief" *Xu* may be killed by him through the medium of lightning.[3] With the Hiechware, again, no death is ever the result of natural causes. It is brought about by witchcraft or the malevolent power of enemies. "It is strange," says Dornan,[4] "how the old and decrepit people, who must know that their time in this world will be short, cling tenaciously to this belief. It is useless to argue with them upon the question. They will tell you that they know of many people who died by the powerful medicine of their enemies."

It is a well-known feature of primitive peoples that they are not satisfied with what we call natural causes of death, and that whenever a death occurs there is a belief that some sorcerer or some supernatural agency has been the cause of it. That such a belief also exists among the Bushmen is obvious from the statements given above, but more detailed information on this point is very desirable, especially as to the extent to which purely natural causes are recognized.

If death comes to a Bushman in normal times he is buried with 764
all his possessions not far from his hut, generally in the posture in which he sleeps, i.e. on one side, with the knees drawn up against the breast. This is the posture desired both north and south, and often met with in excavations of Bushman graves. Everywhere, however, Bushmen are also found buried in all sorts of other postures; evidently time and means for a proper burial have not always been forthcoming. In some cases, too, burial is impossible or even refused. The Auen, 766
e.g., bury only those people who have died "good deaths"; the

[1] Bleek, op. cit., 14, 16, 19; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15, 16, 21, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 393 sqq.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 158.
[3] Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 15; *idem*, "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //*Kun*-Buschmänner," 407, 409.
[4] Op. cit., 144.

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775 hands of the corpse at burial is meant to conciliate his soul. Trenk
[764] says they believe only in an "evil spirit", which they fear, but he
[776] throws no light upon the nature of this spirit. He adds, however, that, according to them, the souls of the dead fly about in the air and also speak to people, yet remain unseen, except by children, to whom they often show themselves in ghostlike animal forms of oxen, horses, or gemsbok.[1]

761 Of the tribes further north our information is somewhat more precise. Kaufmann, as we have seen, maintains that the Auen distinguish between those who die "good deaths" and those who die "bad deaths", and he adds that the latter are feared also after death. This distinction was not found by Miss Bleek among the Naron at Sandfontein, but is also reported by Fourie of the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron groups of the same district. He says
764 they believe in a "good being" named */khutse* and a "bad being"
775 named *Gaua*. People who die a "good death" are said to go to
[776] */khutse*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaua*. The former have a
[761] good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress. A deceased person is believed to move about in the form of a ghost at night. "*Buchu* is accordingly sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy, so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver, and arrows of the deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost returning to look for them." These usages are no doubt part of
[114] the funeral ceremony, but the context in which they are described does not make this clear.[2]

775 The word *Gaua*, or, more correctly, *//gāūa* or *//gāuwa*, which
[192] Fourie interprets as a "bad being" or "Satan", is, according to
[776] Miss Bleek, also used by the Auen and Naron in the sense of a "person
[114] who has died". Her male informants said that all people who die
[791] become *//gāuwa*, and the magicians can see them. The women, however, affirmed that only men who have been cut between the eyebrows (at the puberty ceremonies) become *//gāuwa*, and only such men can see them, though women sometimes hear them. "They evidently mean ghosts," comments Miss Bleek, "and have much the same vague fear of them as European peasants have. The ghosts

[1] "Buschleute der Namib," 168. [2] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

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walk at night and people are afraid of them, but they do not expect 775
real harm from them. If seen, the apparitions resemble people."[1]

The same word was given three meanings by some Kung youths [192]
from near Lake Ngami—"dream, ghost, spirit." It is met with
again among the !O Kung of Angola, by whom it is sometimes used
for "ghost", sometimes more impersonally. Miss Bleek was told
by one of her female informants that when a person dies there rises
from the grave the ghost, *//gāũa*, which can be seen by magicians.
This woman claimed to be a magician, and said that she and her co-
workers could conjure up *//gāũa* by dancing and singing. In what [789]
form he appeared and whether she looked on the apparition as the
spirit of the departed, or as some other spirit, she did not say. Another
woman's death was described as follows: "She died, became a ghost,
people saw the ghost, it went away and stayed in the bush."[2]

A good deal of new information on this subject is contained in [114]
the reports recently published by Lebzelter on his researches among
the Kung and the Heikum.[3] The Eastern Kung, he says, believe
that the vital principle ("Lebensprinzip") of a man is his soul, *xa*,
which is immortal. When a man dies, this soul is fetched by the
spirits, *//Gauab*, whose hearth fires are the stars, and is taken by them [776]
to the sky hut ("Himmelshaus") of the "great captain" *Xu*. This
hut has two storeys, in the upper of which dwell the souls of all
people, including even those of the whites. They do nothing there
and also eat nothing. The body is buried, but after a few days the
flesh becomes "alive" and then disappears: out of it has arisen the
//gauab of the dead person, in the form of a smaller image or "shade"
which issues from the grave, hunts, eats, and drinks just as in life,
and when tired goes to sleep in its house, the grave. These shades
cannot enter into or transform themselves into stones, plants, or
animals; apparently they retain the human form only. The Kung
of the Oschimpoloveld, again, believe that every man has a soul,
/gau-ba, which after death comes into the "house of God" (*Erob*) in
the sky. Dead people are therefore now the people who are with
"God", and after a while "God" again makes living beings out
of them.

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul, *darish*, goes up [776]
into the sky to */Gamab*, a "demiurge", who places the heart in cold
water and eats it.

[1] *The Naron*, 26.
[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123, 124.
[3] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khun," 409–12 *passim*; *idem*, "Bei den 'Kuil-Buschleuten," 14.

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and make the heavens the theatre of numberless poetically-conceived histories"—in which, as the texts obtained by him show, Bushman mythology is extremely rich.[1] 773 821

The selections so far published from these texts are too few to enable us to determine anything more about the nature of the worship directed to these heavenly bodies, and especially about the ceremonies associated with them; but that such worship did actually exist is evident from the facts recorded above. 821 771

There is no mention of similar prayers among the Namib Bushmen, but then no information at all is available about their ideas relating to the heavenly bodies. Among the tribes further north we again meet with moon worship. Both Naron and Auen still worship the Moon. They regard it as an old man, the Sun as a young girl, who is his wife. First the Moon pursues the Sun across the sky, later the Sun follows the Moon. They go down to their houses below the horizon in the west, then fly back at night across the earth to their houses in the east. They can be heard passing, but are not seen. The New Moon, when it appears, is invoked by the magicians, two of whom, man and woman, sit on the ground together, holding their hands out palms upward towards it, and say: "Give us rain that we may live." This worship of the Moon has penetrated into modern ideas also, for most of the people think that since the Moon is in the sky and the God (*!khuba*) the white men and Nama speak of is also in the sky, therefore God is the Moon. Their ancestors used also to pray to certain stars, particularly the morning star and the Southern Cross; but these prayers, says Miss Bleek, are memories of long ago, whereas the moon worship is continued to-day by young as well as old.[2] 776 782 821 [184] [789] [177]

A prayer to the New Moon for food, given in the eighties of last century by a Kung youth from near Lake Ngami, is also recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd[3]; but according to Lebzelter there is nowadays no trace at all among the Kung of either sun or moon worship. The sun is regarded as a woman, the moon as a man, who originally lived upon earth and were carried about on the shoulders of people; but the latter became tired of their burdens 821 [182] [178] 773 821

[1] Bleek, "Resemblances in Bushman and Australian Mythology," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, Feb., 1874, 101–2; *idem*, *Bushman Texts*, 10–12, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 8, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 72–99 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Folklore," 304, 307.
[2] *Naron*, 26–7.
[3] *Bushman Folklore*, 414–15.

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or other worship directed to these bodies.[1] How far the absence 821
of moon worship must be attributed to the fact that these Bushmen [782] [177]
have long been exposed to Bantu influence is difficult to say. In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the other Bushman tribes, however, as well as the fact that the Hiechware have certainly been considerably influenced by the BeChwana, this seems the most reasonable suggestion; although, as already noted, Dornan cannot [114]
be regarded as a fully reliable authority.

The evidence on the whole shows quite definitely that worship 821
of the heavenly bodies, and especially of the Moon, exists among 771
the Bushmen. In all the instances noted, the New Moon is prayed to; 782
in the case of the Cape Bushmen for food, although the details of the ceremony are not available, while among the Naron, Auen, and !O Kung there is a special ceremony at which it is invoked for rain. There is nothing to suggest that the Moon is conceived of [776]
as a supreme deity, or that it forms the object of an elaborate cult. At the same time the prayers and ceremonies noted clearly constitute an act of worship. They must therefore be regarded as part of the Bushman religion. The prayers and usages relating to the sun and the stars among the Cape Bushmen suggest a wider sidereal worship, which the scanty details from the Northern tribes would seem to bear out; but the worship of the Moon seems to be by far the most prominent.

Supernatural Beings

In other aspects of religion and mythology there appears to be 773
a good deal of variation in details among the different Bushmen 776
tribes. The most prominent figure in the mythology of the Cape [184]
Bushmen is the Mantis, round whom a whole cycle of myths has been formed. Besides his own proper name, */kaggen*, he possesses several others, as does also his wife, whose most usual name, however, is */huntu!katt!katten*, the Dassie or Rock Rabbit (*Hyrax capensis*). [825]
They have three children, a daughter, of whom there is no further mention; a son, */gaunu-ts'axau* (*/gaunu* is the name of a certain star, and *ts'axau* means "eye"), who in one of the tales is killed by baboons, and restored to life again by the Mantis; and another son, */kaggen-⊙pwa*, the young Mantis, who also figures in one of the tales, where his likeness to his father is commented upon. Besides his own children the Mantis has an adopted daughter, */xo*, the Porcupine. [825]

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 163.

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773 Her real father is a monster named *//khwai-hemm*, the All-devourer,
● 776 but she does not dare to live with him, for fear of being eaten herself.
She is married to */kwammanga*, a mythical person not identified
[821] with any animal, but seen in the rainbow. They have two children, */kwammanga-⊙pwa*, young */kwammanga*, who is brave and quiet like his father, and */ni*, the Ichneumon, who plays an important part in the mythology, particularly in advising and assisting his grandfather the Mantis, and in chiding him for his misdeeds. All these, the Bushmen say, were once men and women, people of the Early Race which preceded the Bushmen, but now they are animals.

In their myths the Mantis is gifted with supernatural powers, yet often has a most stupid and perverse character; he is sometimes mischievous, sometimes kind, and is always getting into scrapes and unnecessary fights by his foolishness. He has the power of speech, which all his possessions share with him; he dreams, and his dreams come true; he foretells the ultimate future, when he and his comrades will all be animals; he can transform himself into various other animal forms, is sometimes killed, but always comes to life again. He also has creative powers. One myth relates that the Bushmen were formerly springboks, and were changed by him into human beings; another that he gave places their names; while he gives the bucks their colours and names and has them under his special protection. He can also bring people back to life again. But he is never prayed to, although, as we have seen, there are prayers to the Moon, who is also his creation. Nor is there any evidence of observances specially connected with him, apart from the mention
[751] of a "curious charm" made from the foot of the hartebeest and used by women for their children as a protection against him.[1]

773 The Rain or Water, */khwa*, is also acknowledged by these Bushmen
825 as a supernatural personage, and various beliefs and usages are directed
821 towards it. It is often represented as an animal; in the form of a bull it carries off a young maiden, in the form of an eland it was shot by a man of the early race with disastrous effects. It is thought
821 of most commonly, however, as an animal living in a waterhole,
825 and it is believed that wherever this animal goes, rain will fall. One
[789] of the principal methods of rain-making, therefore, is for the rain-magicians to drag this animal over as large a tract of country as they can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 6–9; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 1–7; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1–37; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*; *Idem*, *Bushman Folklore*, 301.

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can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible. Among the many rock-paintings left by the Bushmen in the caves and rock-shelters of their country there are pictures "of wonderful animals, such as certainly never existed; these the Bushmen of fifty years ago explained as Rain bulls, Rain animals. With them are often seen frogs, fish, tortoise, and snake, the animals protected by the Rain".[1] Certain snakes found near a waterhole are believed to be kept in store by the Rain, and for fear of arousing its wrath may not be eaten by young unmarried men and women; nor may frogs be killed, lest drought ensue. When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind, and various transformations effected. Young women are particularly exposed to danger from the Rain, and to avoid this they must observe various rules of conduct. They must propitiate the waterhole by means of *buchu* and *tto* (aromatic shrubs); they must hide themselves from the Rain; they must not snap their fingers at people, nor may they be spoken to against their wish, lest the anger of the Rain be thereby aroused. There are many legends telling how disobedient girls were punished, together with those around them, by the angry Rain, or were taken up by his agency in a whirlwind and transformed into frogs, snakes, porcupines, stars, water-flowers, etc. Such transformations are also illustrated in the rock-paintings.

821 825 [532] [782] [773] [532]

The Rain thus appears as something to be respected or feared, since it has power to change people into animals and other objects, as well as to destroy with storms and terrible lightning. At the same time it also brings water and makes food grow. In connection with this latter aspect Miss Bleek says: "That Bushmen realized the life-giving powers of water is clear, as all tales of rebirth are connected therewith. The Mantis restores his son and his sister, the Blue crane, to life after they have been killed by throwing a part of their body into the water. In course of time this part grows up into the person to which it had belonged. In the same way he makes an eland of a shoe (perhaps a piece of eland's skin). An ostrich is killed; one of its feathers blows into the water and becomes a new ostrich."

821 773 825

"Yet in spite of the Bushman's dependence on water and realization of its power," she goes on to say, "he does not represent it as a man or god. One instance is known to me of the Rain being addressed, when it is wrathful and lightens; but the first part of the speech is to the dead men who ride it:—

782 821 [776]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 308.

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782
821
[539]

O gallopers,
O gallopers,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself :—

Thou shoulds put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shoulds put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it
821 to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other magicians have a similar power over the wind, */khwe*, and are protected by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind
[773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears the form of a bird.[1]

773 Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we
776 meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from
[184] those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object
[794] of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed that *'Kaang* (i.e. */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, *'Kue-'akeng-*
[761] *'teng*, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives
[821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put
[825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine
796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood"
535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant,
[773] Qing, described as follows: "*Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the song of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it, and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night.
[786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[104] [2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol *c* represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds.

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medicine, in which is burnt snake powder. When a man is sick, 535
this dance is danced round him, and the dancers put both hands under 796
their arm-pits, and press their hands upon him, and when he coughs [755]
the initiated put out their hands and receive what has injured him—
secret things. The initiated who know secret things are Qogne;
the sick person is hang cāi."

Cagn, said Qing, was the first being and made all things—the sky, 776
the moon, stars, mountains, and animals. The Bushmen prayed
to him. On being asked how, Qing answered, in a low, imploring [782]
tone: "O Cagn! O Cagn! are we not your children, do you not [539]
see our hunger? give us food"—"and he gives us both hands
full." To the further question, where *Cagn* was, he responded,
"We don't know, but the elands do. Have you not hunted and [825]
heard his cry, when the elands suddenly start and run to his call?
Where he is, the elands are in droves like cattle."

Cagn's wife was *Coti*. When asked where she came from, Qing
said, "I don't know, perhaps with those who brought the Sun;
but you are now asking the secrets that are not spoken of." These [794]
secrets he himself did not know—"only the initiated men of that
dance know these things." *Cagn* also had two sons, *Cogaǂ* and
Gcwi, and together with him and *Cogaǂ* there was another great
"chief", *Qwangciqutshaa*. All three had great power, but it was
Cagn who gave orders through the other two. Of all these personages 773
various tales were related by Qing. One of them, describing how 776
Cogaǂ was killed by baboons and restored to life again by *Cagn*,
is almost identical with the similar story told by the Cape Bushmen
of */kaggen* and */gaunu-ts'axau*. In all these tales *Cagn* appears as
a human being, but with supernatural powers. He can change
himself into different forms, is then sometimes killed and eaten by
animals or people, but always comes to life again. He possesses
various magical charms, the strongest of which is his tooth; and the [825]
birds are his messengers who report to him what is going on.
Occasionally he gets into trouble, from which he is extricated by
Cogaǂ, just as in the Cape Bushman stories */kaggen* is aided by */ni*.

Another name for the Mantis among these Bushmen, according 776
to Arbousset, is *'ngo*. This may explain the following quotation
from Campbell: "They had a name which they gave to God, who
is above them, and another to God who is under them. The former
is a male, the latter a female. The male God they call Goba, the
female Ko; and her attendants are called Gauna." *Ko* (*'ngo*), as

[1] [see category 116, p. 182 for the author's explanation of the 'initiated.' — Analyst]

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Ko ('ngo), as

776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are
[797] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while
[224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is
[782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with
[756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant,
[791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians, who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded
[773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do
[184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his special protection.

Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis.
184 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to
776 Miss Lloyd several tales about */xwe*, a little personage not identified with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a variety of things. */xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about
776 *Hishe* or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys'
[88] puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people, bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans.
[756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws
[114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the
177 idea of */khuba* or */xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba"). This is the
776

[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32–3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 301, 305–6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404–13.

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Nama word for "master, lord", and has been used by some 177
missionaries for "God". The Naron and Auen were vague as to 776
the nature of */khuba*. The old men did not know of him; the middle-aged men said *Hishe* was */khuba*; while some of the younger people said he was the sky, others that he dwelt in the sky; they prayed to him to let them live long and to make them well when ill. Women who when young had been kidnapped and held as slaves by Nama chiefs were very fluent on the subject of */khuba*; the others, [648] remarks Miss Bleek, had evidently picked up the word without [567] attaching any clear meaning to it, beyond that it was some sort of deity and that it was "good to pray to it". The same word (given by him in its vocative form */khutse*) was also found among the partly-disorganized groups of these Bushmen by Fourie, who translates it "God".

A few of Miss Bleek's informants further mentioned *Huwu* or 776
Huwuba, but they did not know much about him—he was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the [177] "captain" of the white people.[1]

Huwu or *Hu'e* figures very prominently among the Kung, however. [184] Miss Lloyd's young informants from near Lake Ngami only once mentioned him. They began the tale of the Moon and the Hare [773] with the words, *Huwe* made all things; and in explanation said, *Huwe* made all things to eat (i.e. all animals that are eaten), and *Huwe* is a man.[2] Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, much further west, speaks of *Huwe* as a "good being", to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things. They pray to [782] him for food, as we have already seen, at a special ceremony held [796] once a year when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen, and they also in case of sickness call upon him to restore them to [755] health.[3]

Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*)[4] or *Xuwa*,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 24–6; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.
[3] "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.
[4] It may be mentioned here that Lebzelter is inconsistent in the orthography he employs: */Kuŋ* is elsewhere written *//Khun*, *//gauab* alternates with */gauab*, *gagorob* with */gau /gorob*, and so on. [114]

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776 "the Lord" or "the great captain", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Huwu* or *Hu'e*. This "supreme being" is regarded as anthropomorphic, he looks like a Bushman and he also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky in a house with two storeys, the lower of which is occupied by himself, his wife, whose name is unknown, and many children, while the upper is occupied, as already mentioned, by the souls of the dead (*xa*). In appearance this house is similar to the ordinary Bushman hut, although not quite the same, and its exterior is "hairy like a caterpillar". Honey, locusts, fat flies, and butterflies [825] are found here in superabundance, and the "great captain" feeds [775] upon these; the souls of the dead, however, merely sit around and eat nothing. *Xu* summons the magicians to their profession, and [756] gives them supernatural powers; he is the lord over rain and lightning, as well as over the spirits, *//gauab*, and through the chief of the latter he sends good fortune in hunting or in the collection of veldkos. If anybody thinks or speaks evil of him, he punishes the evildoer with lightning; otherwise he takes no interest in the doings of his [782] "Bushman children", except when somebody swears falsely by him, for the Kung have a regular oath in which they invoke him. He is prayed to by them in fixed form for rain, in case of severe illness, before going out hunting or before undertaking a dangerous journey.[1]

The Western Kung of Ukuanyama (Oschimpoloveld) speak of [184] *Erob*, translated by Lebzelter as "God", who, like *Xu*, lives in a house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is [782] often prayed to, especially for rain and in hunting, as well as in case [224] of illness, "because he has made all things and can do everything and knows everything", and he is given the first offerings of the [821] chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth, and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.[2]

821 *Erob* also figures as the "supreme being" among the Heikum of 184 the Etosha Pan, although in prayers for rain and in case of illness he 776 is addressed as *Xu*. The group in North-Eastern Ondonga speak [782] of the "supreme being" as *Xamaba*, the groups at Ukuambi know him as *Erob* or *Xuwa*, and the group at Uukualuthi as *Erob*; and among them all, as among the Eastern Kung, he lives in the sky in a house to which the souls of the dead are brought. Almost

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //*Khun*-Buschmänner," 407-9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen," 412.

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everywhere he is regarded as the creator of all things, including mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.[1] 184 776 [821] [782] [224]

The !O Kung in Angola did not mention *Erob* or *Xuwa*, but spoke again of *Huwe*. Here, as we have seen, *Huwe* occasionally appears at the boys' puberty ceremonies and dances with the initiates, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double guise as man and woman. In the prayer to the New Moon his name may also be substituted for *//nwa-se*, but apart from this substitution there is no evidence of worship directed towards him. He is further said to appear to people in dreams.[2] Of the attributes found by Lebzelter for the "supreme being" among the Kung and the Heikum no mention at all is made by Miss Bleek. [787]

Huwe appears again among the Bushmen of the Eastern Kalahari. They believe, according to Dornan, in a spirit which they variously call *Dʒimo*, *Thora*, and *Huwe*. *Dʒimo* is a corruption of the Chwana word *Modimo*, nowadays generally rendered "God", and is, says Dornan, "largely used by the tame Bushmen with the same signification." *Thora* and *Huwe* are the regular Bushman words. *Huwe* is here spoken of as the good spirit who wards off disease, gives plenty, and protects the Bushmen from danger. When any danger threatens, they will call upon him; Dornan mentions having once heard some Bushmen of the Sansokwe River sing over and over again the words *Huwe ka hume ie ie*, *Huwe* come to our aid ie ie. More often, however, they speak of *Thora*. They say he made all things, but they are not sure where he dwells, or if he is a person. According to Dornan they look upon him as the Great One, who is over all things, who sends rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting. They often use *Thora* to ensure success in hunting; when, e.g. they have killed an animal they will praise him for bringing it under their arrows. This statement Dornan seems to have derived [177] [782] 114 776 224 [821]

[1] Lebzelter, op. cit., 410–12; cf. Schmidt, "Die alten Buschmann-Religion," 192, summarizing Lebzelter's data.

[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 14; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122, 123.

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114 from Chapman, who records that once when some Bushmen were
●776 with him and he had killed a rhinoceros they threw some dust on
[224] its tail and spat in its eyes before they touched it, muttering meanwhile "some gibberish" to *Thora*, while on another occasion when he had killed some elephants a similar performance was again enacted by his Bushman attendants.

The distinction between *Thora* and *Huwe* is not quite clear from Dornan's account. In one place he seems to imply that the two words refer to the same conception. Elsewhere, however, he remarks: "Huwe seems an inferior kind of spirit to Thora, for at times the latter is invoked to come to his aid, as if the former were not powerful enough to defend himself and his children. Some Bushmen near the Tuli River sang the following words, in an agitated and melancholy
[539] voice: 'Thora ba Huwe i-e i-e, Thora come to the help of Huwe
[782] i-e i-e,' ad lib." From their attributes, however, it seems that the two conceptions *Thora* and *Huwe* are substantially the same. In all probability the name *Huwe* has drifted in from the west, which would explain why it is sometimes substituted for *Thora*, sometimes found alongside it.[1]

192 In addition to this being variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Erob*,
821 *Thora*, etc., all the Northern Bushmen also speak of *//gauwa* (*Gaua*,
[776] *//gaua*, *//gauab*, etc.). This word, as we have already seen, is used
[184] by the North-Western Bushmen for "a person who has died", or
[775] more precisely, as appears in certain cases, for the ghost of a dead person. It is, however, also used with a much wider application. Among the Naron and Auen at Sandfontein the wind is called *//gauwa* when it is strong and howls. One of the Naron tales recorded by Miss Bleek speaks of the wind as a man going about, and of *//gauwa* as a bird accompanying him. "*//gauwa* says: 'I make the wind and
192 thus go.'" Some of the people seemed to believe in a supreme
776 *//gauwa*, a being who lives in the east near *Hishe*, to whose house the
114 ghosts repair by day. They said he was *Hishe's* younger brother, while others said *//gauwa* was *Hishe*. Miss Bleek affirms that no ideas of good or bad qualities are connected with either of these beings, nor are they prayed to. Fourie, however, speaks of *Gaua* among the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron as a "bad being" or "Satan", to whom people dying a "bad death" are said to go,

[1] Dornan, op. cit., 148–50; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 386, 81. The translation given by Dornan of the prayer in which *Thora* is asked to come to the aid of *Huwe* cannot be relied upon. In another place (*J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1917, p. 53) he renders the same words: "God leave (us) alone ie ie!"

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while those dying a "good death" go to *!khutse* (*!khuba*). "About the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The 10 Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say "*//gaua* thunders", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: "*//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndzambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God"); "we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to *//gaua*."[2]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain" *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds.

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4.

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●776 First there is their chief or headman, simply termed *//gauab* by ordinary people, but whose real name, known to and uttered only by the magicians, is */nawa*. "Probably," suggests Lebzelter, "we [184] have to do here with the high god of another religion, and */nawa* is to be identified with *//nwa-se*, the New Moon of the Angola Kung." */nawa* or *//gauab* does good as well as evil. He is prayed to for [782] success in the chase, assists the hunters in their efforts, and receives [224] the first-offerings of any game taken; he is also, however, most [753] frequently the cause of illness. One informant, who had been baptized, spoke of him as the "devil" who had made the Kung; others, old magicians, credited him with giving rise to the existence and present mode of life of men and animals. He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.

775 The second group of spirits are the *//gauab* who stand at the service of the "great captain". As a rule they lie around their hearth-776 fires in the sky, the stars, and only come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead (*xa*) and bring them to *Xu*. The third group comprises the "small" *//gauab*, the ghosts of the dead, whose home is the grave but who roam about everywhere and are injurious to mankind; the fourth are the particularly malicious little spirits dwelling in the water; and finally there is the whole horde of the [753] spirits of disease, the *dsao*, small yellow mannikins with thick bellies, who at the command of any of the other spirits enter into people [756] and thus make them ill. It is the function of the magicians to remove them from the body of the patient.[1]

184 The Western Kung of the Oschimpoloveld have no such elaborate 776 world of spirits. Mention is made only of the */gagorob* or */gau/gorob*, small spirits who roam about in the bush and do nothing but play practical jokes on people. "They are not the spirits of the dead," says Lebzelter, "and cannot therefore be compared with the *//gauab*."[2]

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan we meet again with *//gauab*, [192] or, as the name is here rendered, */gamab*. Owing to Christian influence [177] */gamab* is now spoken of as "the devil", but Lebzelter regards this being as a "demiurge", whom he equates with */nawa* or the principal *//gauab* of the Eastern Kung, and with */gamab* of the Bergdama and Nama. */gamab* is said by the Heikum to have created mankind and the world; the souls of the dead (*darish*) come to live with him,

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //'Kłau-Buschmänner," 407–10; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 412.

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and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the "benefactress" *Ises*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.[1]

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was doubted.[2]

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are, according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan, "I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad, and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism in which two powers, one good, Thora or Huwe, and one bad, Khauna, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."[3]

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the

[1] Op. cit., 410.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167–8.
[3] Op. cit., 410–11.

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184 776 Bushmen of the Orange Free State, where, as we have seen, Campbell [192] mentions that the spirits attendant upon *Ko* (the Mantis) are called *Gauna*, and that after *Ko* has disappeared from the dance in which she was taking part, " her nymphs " also come and dance for a while. Nothing more is said about them, however.[1]

114 The problem now arises as to the real nature of these beings. 776 The information relating to them is sometimes vague, sometimes inconsistent, and at all times obviously inadequate. No interpretation of their nature can therefore be regarded as fully reliable until it has been confirmed by a much more careful and detailed study in the field than has yet been made of the beliefs and usages connected with them. Moreover, as we shall see subsequently, the conception 171 of *//gaua* also figures prominently among the Hottentots and 776 Bergdama, whose religious beliefs and practices in general offer other features of resemblance to those of the Bushmen. A comparison of the Bushman concepts on the one hand and those of the Hottentots and Bergdama on the other, may thus succeed in throwing further light upon the problem, the final consideration of which may therefore be delayed until the religions of these peoples have also been passed in review.

177 Certain points arise, however, which may at once be dealt with. The notions of */khuba* among the Naron and Auen, and of *Dzimo* 776 among the Hiechware, may be set aside in the attempt to ascertain the real nature of Bushman religious conceptions. They have admittedly been taken over from other peoples, the former from the Nama, the latter from the BeChwana. *Erob*, mentioned by Lebzelter [797] as the name for the " Supreme Being " among the Western Kung and certain of the Heikum, is simply a corruption of the word *Elob*, from the Hebrew *Elohim*, which has been used by many missionaries among the Nama as a translation for " God ".[2] Its occurrence among these Bushmen is therefore an obvious indication of Christian influence, entering either directly through the missionaries or, more probably, through contact with the Nama; and in this connection it must be remembered that almost all the Heikum now speak only

[1] *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 31–2.

[2] Pater Schmidt, in accepting Lebzelter's data as convincing evidence for the existence of a Supreme Being among the Bushmen, remarks about *Erob* (" Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 397, n. 4): " Wenn er christlichen Ursprungs sein soll, von Elob, aus Elohim, so darf man fragen, warum das Inlaut *-l* in *r* übergegangen wäre." To this it may be replied that the sound *l* does not occur at all in Nama, save in a few words taken over from European languages, and that in most borrowed words where it does occur the Nama form of the word replaces it by *r*. The transmutation of *Elob* into *Erob* therefore follows a definite law of phonetic change in Nama. Cf. on this point Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, pp. 18–19.

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Nama. Nama influence is seen also in the word *Heiseb* found among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga. This is one of the names applied to the mythical hero more commonly known as *Heitsi Eibib*, who figures so prominently in the religious system of the Nama. Its absence from the other Bushman tribes is clearly suggestive, although the name *Hishe* found among the Naron and Auen may possibly be a corruption of it. The various current interpretations of *//gaua* as " the evil being ", " the devil " or " Satan " must likewise be dismissed as alien to native Bushman ideas. The word has been widely used by missionaries among the Nama for " Devil ", and there can be little doubt that it is ultimately from this source that such interpretations have been derived.

All these direct symptoms of borrowing from other peoples show clearly that the religious conceptions of the Northern Bushmen as recorded above can by no means be regarded as untainted by foreign influences. The final interpretation of these conceptions will therefore have to take into account the religious ideas of the neighbouring peoples as well, especially of the Nama, in order that a full basis for discussion may be obtained. This is all the more necessary since the information relating to them as now held by the Bushmen is hardly sufficient to enable us to determine satisfactorily the full meaning attached to them by the people, to determine, that is, what part they really play in native life. For the moment, however, it may be of service if we attempt to reduce to some order the various accounts given by our authorities of these conceptions.

A general survey of the attributes said to be vested in the different beings figuring in the religion and mythology of the Northern Bushmen seems to show that on the whole we have to deal with two main conceptions. There is in the first place the conception known variously to the North-Western Bushmen as *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Xuwa*, *Hishe*, or *Erob*, and to the North-Eastern Bushmen as *Thora* or *Huwe*. By Lebzelter, whose account cannot be entirely freed from a suspicion of prejudice in favour of the monotheistic doctrine associated with the name of Pater W. Schmidt and his school of disciples, *Xu* or *Erob* is spoken of as an anthropomorphic " supreme good being " dwelling in a house in the sky, where he receives the souls of the dead. He is regarded as the creator; he controls the rain and its associated phenomena of thunder and lightning, and punishes evil-doers with lightning; he sends good fortune in hunting and in the collection of veldkos, is prayed to before and after hunting, and is

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776 honoured with certain ritual observances connected with the chase;
[782] he is also prayed to for rain, before travel, and in case of illness;
[224] and finally it is from him that the magicians obtain their special
[756] powers. By the Eastern Kung he is said to have a wife and many children; among the other Kung and the Heikum he figures alone.

Few of these attributes are mentioned by Miss Bleek in her remarks
184 upon *Hishe* among the Naron and Auen, and upon *Huwe* among the
776 !O !Kung. But there are certain points of agreement. *Hishe* dwells in
[775] a house in the east, to which the ghosts of the dead repair by day;
[224] he is regarded as the creator, and as the protector of game and hunting. On the other hand *Hishe-Huwe*, sometimes alone, sometimes in double
[881] guise as man and woman, sometimes "followed by children like
[114] baboons", figures prominently in the boys' puberty ceremonies, which are not referred to at all by Lebzelter. At the same time, since these ceremonies certainly have much to do with hunting, their association with *Hishe-Huwe* is not inconsistent with his character as protector of the game and hunting, although of course it is hardly likely that this provides the only explanation for his figuring in them. Nor
[782] is he ever prayed to among these tribes, save where the name *Huwe* is substituted by the !O !Kung for *//nwa-se*, the New Moon, in the prayer for rain. Most of the prayers for food and rain, however, are directed to the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon.

A closer agreement with Lebzelter's account is provided by Dornan's
[114] discussion of *Thora-Huwe* among the North-Eastern Bushmen. *Thora* is here said to be the creator who is over all things, he sends
[821] rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting, certain
[224] hunting observances are directed towards him, he wards off disease,
[753] and protects the Bushmen from danger.

It is possible also to find a connection in certain respects between *Huwe* and the conception of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen. Among the Cape Bushmen, it is true, the Mantis is primarily a mythological character, the central figure of an elaborate series of myths
[782] relating to him and his "family". He is never worshipped, but on the other hand, like *Huwe*, he has creative powers, and is also said to
[825] have made certain bucks and to protect them. Mention is further
[775] made by these Bushmen of an afterworld to which go the spirits of the dead, but there is nothing at all to link this up with the Mantis, just as there is nothing to link up the afterworld of the North-Eastern Bushmen with *Thora*. The resemblance between the Mantis and *Huwe* is far more noticeable among the Bushmen of Basutoland.

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Here also the Mantis is the central figure of many myths; but at the same time he is the creator, he causes life or death, he is especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food and good luck in hunting, and he is also connected with certain religious dances at which the "initiated men" (probably the magicians) cure illness. The elaborate mythological character of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen and his association with so many other figures in these myths preclude an absolute identification of him and *Huwe*. The resemblance in other respects, however, appears on the whole to be striking enough to warrant our connecting the two. 184 776 [761] [224] [782] [755]

The other outstanding conception is that of *//gaua*, *//gauab*, */gamab*, etc. In all the North-Western tribes the word *//gaua* is used in the first place for the ghosts of dead persons, and one cannot resist assuming that this is its fundamental significance. Among the Naron and Auen these ghosts, which as in all the other North-Western tribes can be seen by the magicians, walk about at night, and people are afraid of them, but not do expect real harm from them; among the Eastern Kung, however, all the *//gauab* are the cause of illness, some do mischief, while others come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead; among the Heikum of Ukuambi the ghosts move about on earth and do harm to people, while among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul goes to live with */gamab*, but may return to earth to kill people. In general therefore it would seem that dead people are regarded by the North-Western Bushmen as sources of injury, and especially as causing illness and even death. The same idea is conveyed by Dornan's statement, that the North-Eastern Bushmen avoid the grave of a dead person, "lest the spirit resent the intrusion." 184 775 [753] [753] [761] [769]

The word *//gaua* is, however, used also in the sense of a personified being, whose attributes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but appear on closer analysis to show a certain uniformity. The !O Kung ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*; when anyone is killed by lightning they say "*//gaua* took him", and people who had met their death in this way were said to sit in the sky as stars, which are looked upon as "*//gaua*'s fires". Among the Eastern Kung the stars are also the fires of the *//gauab*, a shooting star heralds the death of someone, while lightning is the medium through which *Xu* punishes or kills people. Among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga *xamaba* (*/gamab*) inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like, while 184 776 [192] [821] [775] [821] [753]

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184 776 among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan */gamab* makes thunder and [821] lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting stars. The Naron and Auen term a strong and howling wind *//gaua*, [825] while sometimes *//gaua* is said to be a bird which makes the wind. [777] Finally among the North-Eastern Bushmen *Khauna* is the source of [753] bad luck and disease, is injurious to people, and sends the thunder- [821] storm and lightning, the latter being regarded as his offspring. Further [825] the "lightning bird", intimately associated with him, is feared and may inflict death by lightning when molested. Here again we get [753] the general impression of *//gaua* as the source of illness and death, acting through the medium of the storm, lightning, and shooting stars.

184 776 821 In all this *//gaua* offers certain points of resemblance with the conception of the Rain held by the Cape Bushmen. Among the latter the Rain is definitely personified, it appears in their myths as a supernatural personage, generally in the form of an animal, and here it is said, "the Rain thunders, the Rain lightens." When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind and various transformations effected; the howling of the wind forebodes evil; and numerous observances have to be kept in order [761] not to anger the Rain and thereby provoke death. There is also [775] the belief that people killed by lightning are changed into stars; shooting stars are omens of death; the wind is sometimes spoken [825] of as a bird; and the flight over the camp of the *Scopus umbretta*, known to the North-Eastern Bushmen as the "lightning bird", here announces the death of someone. In this connection it may be added that among the Namib Bushmen thunder and lightning are said to command great reverence, and a person struck and killed by lightning is believed to have suffered death as a punishment for some past misdeed.[1]

184 776 In some cases, among the North-Western Bushmen, *//gaua* shares certain of the attributes vested in *Huwe*. This appears most strikingly among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga, where *Huwe-Erob* does not figure at all, his place being taken by *xamaba*, who has most of the powers and privileges attributed to *Huwe-Erob* by the other [782] Heikum and the Kung. Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan [755] we find prayers addressed to *Erob* for rain and in illness, but at the [775] same time the "demiurge" */gamab* is mentioned as the creator who [821] receives the souls of the dead. Further, as we have just seen, */gamab*

[1] Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.

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makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, /*nawa* or the chief of the //*gauab* figures as the creator, and, as the executive of *Xu*, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success; he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of *Huwe* on the one hand and of //*gaua* on the other have been blended or confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explanation may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies for boys: according to the former, it is *Hishe* who figures in the special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled by *Gaua*. //*gaua*, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that one of Miss Bleek's informants identified //*gaua* with *Ndzambi*, the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God", while another spoke of //*gaua* as the "father" of the Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of *Huwe*, *Thora*, or the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; and with the conception of //*gaua* first as the ghosts of the dead and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder, lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples; it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

Magic and Magicians

In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

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756 faculty of seeing and speaking to the *//gauab*, and only they know
[787] and utter the real name, */nawa*, of the chief of the latter. The evening
[782] before a hunting expedition they pray to *//gauab* for help, and certain
of them also have the power of conjuring down rain. This they
756 achieve in the following manner. When rain is needed, all the
789 people of the camp take part in a dance, during which they sing over and over again a mournful song lamenting the condition of hunger and thirst to which they are reduced. "Finally the great captain in the sky hears the lamentation. The magician goes outside the camp and sees that a thin cord is being let down from the sky. He climbs a certain way up this, but the great captain comes down to meet him half-way. As soon as the magician sees the great captain, he throws a powder up to him; whereupon the great captain lifts him up high and takes him into his house. There the magician prays to him: 'Lord, help us, the children are dying, we thirst and hunger.'
[782] So long does he pray and plead that at last the captain says: 'It is
[776] well, I shall send water, that the children may have water and veldkos.'
[821] Then he again accompanies the magician half-way down the cord. As soon as the latter has reached the ground, he releases his hold upon the cord, which is at once drawn up again. The rain follows immediately."[1]

184 Among the !O Kung in Angola there are also two kinds of magicians.
756 The */num-k'au* officiates at puberty dances, makes scarifications,
791 sees spirits, and also conjures up *//gaua*, while the *tsho-k'au* heals the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's
[881] body through sucking. For this he receives a present. Both
[787] men and women apparently can become magicians of either kind,
[755] if taught by an older practitioner. There is said to be no ceremony of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.[2]

It will be noticed that both terms which distinguish the two classes of magician among the Kung and the !O Kung are also found among the Naron and Auen for magicians. This would suggest that there is a similar division of functions in these tribes also, but neither Miss Bleek nor Kaufmann definitely states this.

773 The origin of magic among the Naron and Auen is said by Fourie
[789] to be attributed to *//gaua*, and he gives the following myth in confirmation.[3] "The Bushman *Tji-Tji* is said to have been initiated

[1] Lebzelter, "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 408–9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

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771 who causes sickness or death. The Northern Bushmen likewise
171 believe that he causes death, but do not seem to attach any special
775 significance of evil to him, save where there has been Hottentot
influence. He is associated by them more particularly with certain
761 phenomena of nature, such as thunder and lightning, shooting stars,
821 the wind, etc., so that Miss Bleek actually regards him as a personification of the wind and the storm, while Pater Schmidt looks upon him as an ancient sky god ("Himmelsgott").[1] Closer analysis shows, however, that the phenomena of nature regarded as manifestations of //*Gaua* by the Northern Bushmen are all looked upon primarily as mediums through which he inflicts misfortune and death; and similarly we find that among the Hottentots the whirlwind, the eclipse of the moon and the sun, the rainbow and the Aurora australis are all natural phenomena of ill omen specially connected with //*Gaunab*. Since the lightning is actually a frequent cause of death, while the other phenomena, such as comets, shooting stars and eclipses, are owing to their very nature readily regarded as ominous, it is perhaps
B not far-fetched to see in this the reason why they should have become
H specially connected with //*Gaua*, the cause of sickness and death.

771 The impression one gets, reviewing the evidence as a whole, is
171 that among both the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen the term
775 //*Gaua* has several different references, which, however, are not consistently distinguished by the people themselves. Sometimes it is used for the ghost of a dead person, sometimes as a collective name for these ghosts, sometimes, again, in the sense of a personified being with various special attributes. The beliefs regarding //*Gaua*, in other words, are not crystallized into clear-cut conceptions, but are vague, inconsistent, and ambiguous. Consequently those interpretations based solely upon the conception of //*Gaua* as a personified being must be rejected as one-sided and obviously inadequate. If any special interpretation is to be sought, and in the light of our present knowledge there is none which can be advanced with full confidence, the most fruitful approach would seem to be that //*Gaua* must be regarded as a vague conception founded upon the beliefs about the
B fate of the dead and the ways in which the latter can affect the living
H society.

771 //*Gaunab* in Hottentot mythology is in conflict with *Tsui* //*Goab*,
171 the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and
776

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124; W. Schmidt, "Die alte Buschmann-
821 Religion," 295.

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abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui //Goab* appears to be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hishe*, *Erob* or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Mantis, by the Bushmen of Basutoland. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain, food, recovery from illness, etc.

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But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of *//Gamab*, whose name Vedder derives from the root *//gami*, " water, " and whom he regards as " originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains ". *//Gamab* is the only supernatural being of whom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death, abundance of food, etc., and he lives in " heaven " in a village where he gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama trace out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment of death till its arrival in *//Gamab's* village, and the life led there is minutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series of beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of Bergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western Bushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama, one feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a " sky dwelling " to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely attributed to Bergdama influence.

B H 771 171 831

Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' puberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui //Goab* nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected with these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction, and one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern Bushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

[1] Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, i, 97 sqq. ; *idem*, " The Berg Damara," 61 sqq.

[38 cont.]

412 Fig. 4. Wooden Mortars of the !Kung. (1/4 natural size [as shown
415 in the original text]).

Fig. 5. Wooden Vessels of the !Kung.

Fig. 6. Large Wooden Bowl of the !Kung (probably imported from the north — Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 2158).

Fig. 7. Pestle and Digging Stick or the !Kung (greatly reduced).

Fig. 8. (1) Digging Stick with !Kwe; (2) Veld Hoe (Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 1278 and 1497).

301 lengthen them. Some people possess such a great number of these chains that they cover the entire forehead. Children often wear small rectangular pendants, and women have large, medallion-like round ones that are worn like a diadem in the middle of the forehead. Little chains of small ostrich egg beads up to five centimeters long are worn as ear pendants. Children are also given armbands and anklebands made of ostrich egg beads. Brass beads from ancient times are rare and are worn exclusively as hair pendants, as are copper beads. Glass beads are not greatly valued, and only blue ones are worn, if any. On the other hand, beads made from aromatic wood are common. Longer chains of alter-
[202] nating wood and ostrich egg beads and worn in the hair are insignia of the female doctors. The men have tight little leather straps
[827] at the wrists and ankles, which probably serve to strengthen the
[411] musculature in running and using the bow. In addition, they have a few armbands of brass or iron. Every man and woman wears a string around the neck, which has one or two appetite sticks (see
[777] below) and various talismans attached at the front. Finally, a little horn containing various kinds of medicine is worn around the neck by many of the men. The younger women and girls
[303] usually also possess a tortoise shell powder box of the kind described below for the Dama. Body painting is scarcely practiced;
[302] concerning tattooing, see page 56. The children occasionally wear armbands that they make themselves with grass or various fruits.

[52 cont.]

773 Concerning the moon, I was told: "The moon was also
821 carried by people. It was not as warm as the sun, but very heavy. So the men helped each other, and with great difficulty they brought it to the huts. The moon was a man. He said: 'I prefer to remain alone and do not wish to be among you.' Thereupon the Bushmen said: 'If you go alone into the desert, you will surely die.' But the moon did not obey, went out, and died. But then it woke up again and rose like the sun; therefore, like the latter, it is from the 'Great Captain.' When it disappears, it has died. When only one side of it is visible, then it is young. When it becomes smaller, then it is old. The color of the moon comes from its gall (/gôo)."

The well-known story of the moon and the hare is told there as follows:

The moon once said to the hare: "I die and wake up again, you on earth should do the same." But the hare answered: "No, we cannot do that, we who are on earth, only you can do that because you are in the air, among us this is impossible; once we die, we do not wake up again." And the hare was right; it is still so today.

821 The eclipse of the moon, !nui dsao, is caused by the lions
[825] so that they can more easily steal into the Bushman huts.

[53] Comets, χ'u !gam, are stars of the great captain;
[777] they bring luck. When a shooting star, ≠gomma, falls, it is said,
[787] just as among us, that someone has died. The stars are the camp-
[775] fires of those spirits who at the command of the great captain come down and fetch the souls of the dying.

[823] Earthquakes, χ'áno !gee, are omens of sickness. The
[787] rainbow, !khâni !nâo, indicates a good year for rain.

[782] What the Bushman begs and prays for is not sunshine but
[776] rain. The great captain alone dispenses rain.

Lightning and thunder are not beings in themselves, but are caused by rain. When someone is killed by lightning, it is said: "The rain has killed him." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder at a distance, the rain is saying: "Today I shall thunder over the whole earth." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder on various sides, the clouds are speaking to one another. And when they touch each other with their heads, the

[53 cont.]

821 rain comes down and the clouds extend over the whole world. The rain that has come down to earth does not stay there; the clouds again come forth from the earth. The rain obeys the great cap-
776 821 tain. In a storm the great captain knocks down the trees. If a person says something bad about him, however, punishment is not long in coming. X 'u says to the rain: "You must now go and kill him." And the rain goes and kills the man with lightning. But when the great captain says to the rain, "You must go now and punish him," then the lightning merely strikes the windscreen so that the whole thing collapses and the evildoer is thrown out.
[755] Then the people come running, rub the unconscious person with medicine, and burn his skin with red-hot pieces of wood until he comes to again.

Thus the angry great captain metes out punishment.

751 The Bushman concerned, however, is far from either pri-
[782] vately or publicly begging the great captain for forgiveness. He
823 is convinced that this would do no good. On the contrary, he
821 puts his confidence in the following procedure: It is known that where lightning strikes quartz sand, so-called lightning tubes or fulgurites arise. This phenomenon has not remained hidden from the sharp eye of the Bushmen. My friends told me: There where lightning has struck one usually finds a stone called "rain tooth." The person brushed by lightning scratches his skin with this stone,
[224] rubs in medicine which is supposed to bring luck in hunting, and
[777] tries to hunt down a gemsbok. If he succeeds, he cooks the meat of the gemsbok with the rain tooth. If there is a second person in the horde who has previously been brushed by lightning, that person must eat the meat with him. Then medicine is made from this meat and other ingredients, and this is placed in the horn of a small bushbuck and carried around the neck by the person concerned.

751 When the "rain" comes again, he again goes to the hut
821 of the person struck, walks through the fire where the buck was cooked, takes a bone of the buck (these bones remain lying on the spot), and goes with it into the nearest tree. The bone cooks in the tree, and the scum comes out on the side and the fat below. When the rain has passed, the bone is again pulled out and cooked with gemsbok horn and duiker horn and flesh; then it is

[63 cont.]

764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not; in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] [174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [773] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

372 *hei-doros.* The new *!ou-/ais* now serves to supply the other members of the group. At times it may happen that all the members of the community may not be living in the *//gāus*
361 (camp), but in some outside werft. This is usually the case
[132] only in times of drought when the game have moved far afield
622 and great difficulty is being experienced in obtaining veldkos.
372 Further, people driven out by another group and seeking protection are sometimes allowed to live some distance away from the *//gāus*. Such communities are not allowed to make their own fire or to obtain it from any other source, but the *!ou-/ais* of the *gei-khoib* in whose territory they are living.
372 Persistent ill-health among the members of the community
622 or difficulty in obtaining veldkos or want of luck in the chase
[751 may cause the *gei-khoib*, either of his own accord or after
● 77] consultation with his people, to proclaim that it is necessary to make a new fire. In such an event all fires, including the *!ou-/ais* are extinguished by being covered over with ashes. The *gei-khoib* at the same time notifies all outside camps of his decision and the latter likewise extinguish their fires. He then kindles a new *!ou-/ais* in front of his hut with the hei-doros and applies *!norab* and *dabas* in the manner described above. The new fire is not made on the same spot as the old fire, but a few feet away from the place on which it had been.
184 The custom of kindling and maintaining a perpetual fire is
372 met with among all the organised primitive groups. Want of space and time does not permit, however, of a detailed account being given of the superstitions which have gathered about this custom among the various tribes.

Family Life.

593 Each family within the group occupies its own hut. Children sleep with their parents until they are strong enough to go about by themselves, when the boys join the others under the tree and the girls take up residence in the hut for unmarried girls.

512 The women rise early, light the fire and prepare the food for the morning meal which usually consists of veldkos. After having eaten, the men go out visiting or hunting or engage in some other occupation such as preparing skins, weapons, etc. The women accompany each other in search of veldkos and go out soon after the men have left. When food is obtainable at no great distance they are usually back in camp towards midday. When they have to go far they may not reach home until late in the afternoon. Wood is collected on their way back. Immediately after their return they proceed to prepare food, the younger married women and young girls in the meantime fetching water. The food is ready by the time the men arrive in the evening and the latter are able to partake of it without delay.

462 There is a sharp division of labour between the men and women of the group. The former do the hunting and snaring of game, prepare the weapons, skins for clothing, snares, fire-

224 visits a *//gāus* for this purpose he kindles the *!kei-/ais*
622 with fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own.

224 Any want of success in the chase is generally attributed to
●777 some chance incident. For example, a man, who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife had her periods, will not hunt again when she is in that condition nor will she eat any of the *‡noe-di* at such times. The meat of an animal
[262] killed by a dog may not be eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating. This prohibition is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. If, however, an animal is killed with bow and arrow after having been brought at bay by a dog, the meat is *so.ra* and women may eat the *‡noe-di*. The remains of an animal killed by a lion are not *so.ra* and may be partaken of by all individuals. Care, however, is taken not to offend the lion which likewise observes certain practices after each kill. After having had his fill he buries the sacrum and haunchbones and covers them over with the dung (stomach contents) of the animal. If he should be unsuccessful in hunting his prey he returns to the spot of the last kill, digs up the buried parts and inters them in another place. This he does to restore his luck and if he should find that the bones have been taken away he will follow the person who removed them right into the *//gāus*.
184 *So.ra* applies only to meat killed with bow and arrow and
224 as far as is known at present this practice exists among the
262 *Xom-khoin*, *!Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*. Among these
784 groups the meat of the following animals is *so.ra*, namely, steinbuck, duiker, springbuck, hartebeest, gemsbuck, kudu, wildebeest and giraffe. The eland, which is a comparatively rare visitor to the parts occupied by these groups is not killed at all by the *Xom-khoin* who believe that harm will befall any person who eats its meat. In other words the *Xom-khoin* consider the eland to be absolute *so.ra*. Among other groups the man who shoots an eland must, on returning to the *//gāus*, sleep under the *!kei* as intercourse with his wife will prevent the poison from killing the animal. The same applies to a person who shoots a giraffe.

412 The implements and utensils which are used in the collection and preparation of food are very few in number. Vegetable food is dug up with a sharpened stick, 2 to 5 feet in length.
252 Ö intjes, *//ñoun* and other similar plant foods are roasted in hot ashes covered with cinders. Ants (Bushman rice) are dealt with in a similar manner and then recovered again by means of a sieve of grass matting. Locusts are either roasted or boiled. Frogs, etc., are sometimes roasted over the fire on a wooden spit (braaistok) stuck into the ground. Birds, snakes, small antelope, etc., are prepared by placing them in a hollow made in the ashes with a flat paddle-shaped wooden scoop and covering them over with live coals. The meat of larger

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and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the "benefactress" *Ises*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.[1] 184 776 [821] [761]

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was doubted.[2] [192] [782] [775] [756] [753] [372]

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are, according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan, "I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad, and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism in which two powers, one good, Thora or Huwe, and one bad, Khauna, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."[3] [192] [753] [777] [782] 184 776 821 825 771 776

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the 184 776 192

[1] Op. cit., 410. [2] Op. cit., 410–11.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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184 776 among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan */gamab* makes thunder and [821] lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting stars. The Naron and Auen term a strong and howling wind *//gaua*, [825] while sometimes *//gaua* is said to be a bird which makes the wind. [777] Finally among the North-Eastern Bushmen *Khauna* is the source of [753] bad luck and disease, is injurious to people, and sends the thunder- [821] storm and lightning, the latter being regarded as his offspring. Further [825] the "lightning bird", intimately associated with him, is feared and may inflict death by lightning when molested. Here again we get [753] the general impression of *//gaua* as the source of illness and death, acting through the medium of the storm, lightning, and shooting stars.

184 776 821 In all this *//gaua* offers certain points of resemblance with the conception of the Rain held by the Cape Bushmen. Among the latter the Rain is definitely personified, it appears in their myths as a supernatural personage, generally in the form of an animal, and here it is said, "the Rain thunders, the Rain lightens." When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind and various transformations effected; the howling of the wind [761] forebodes evil; and numerous observances have to be kept in order [775] not to anger the Rain and thereby provoke death. There is also the belief that people killed by lightning are changed into stars; shooting stars are omens of death; the wind is sometimes spoken [825] of as a bird; and the flight over the camp of the *Scopus umbretta*, known to the North-Eastern Bushmen as the "lightning bird", here announces the death of someone. In this connection it may be added that among the Namib Bushmen thunder and lightning are said to command great reverence, and a person struck and killed by lightning is believed to have suffered death as a punishment for some past misdeed.[1]

184 776 In some cases, among the North-Western Bushmen, *//gaua* shares certain of the attributes vested in *Huwe*. This appears most strikingly among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga, where *Huwe-Erob* does not figure at all, his place being taken by *xamaba*, who has most of the powers and privileges attributed to *Huwe-Erob* by the other [782] Heikum and the Kung. Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan [755] we find prayers addressed to *Erob* for rain and in illness, but at the [775] same time the "demiurge" */gamab* is mentioned as the creator who [821] receives the souls of the dead. Further, as we have just seen, */gamab*

[1] Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 504.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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borders of the Desert, but are unknown to the Cape Bushmen and 184
those of Griqualand West. Dornan maintains that they are original 787
elements in the culture of the Bushmen, from whom they have been 114
taken over by the Bantu. All the evidence, however, points in 177
the other direction, for among the Bantu the use of divining bones 787
of several different types is not only widespread, but also developed into an elaborate system of interpretation, while the way the Bushmen handle them shows that they do not know much about them. Moreover, it is found that the frequency of their use by the Bushmen coincides with the extent to which any tribe has been exposed to Bantu influence.[1]

Other minor beliefs and practices of the Bushmen are mentioned 751
by writers on particular tribes, but consideration of them must be [184]
omitted in a general survey such as this. It may be noted, however, that among the Northern tribes amulets are often worn to ward off disease and other evils, while among all the Bushmen charms of various [777]
kinds are also carried to ensure good luck. Bad dreams are also 787
regarded as evil omens, and precautions taken to counteract them. 789
Among the Cape Bushmen, for instance, when a woman had had a bad dream, she banished it by plunging a stone into the fire, at the same time saying a spell. If she neglected to do this, the dream would accompany her when she went out to seek ants' larvae and prevent her from finding any. The Naron, in the same way, when they have had bad dreams put a bit of burning charcoal on the ground and pour water on it, then the bad dream flies away with the steam. Or, [755]
when a man is ill and *Hishe* sends bad dreams, he takes a stick after the sun has arisen, plants it in the ground between his knees, burns *buchu* and snuffs it, and recovers.[2]

[1] Werner, "Heikum und Kungbuschleute," 256; Kaufmann, "Auin," 159, Dornan, "Divination and Divining Bones," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 505–7; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 155–8; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28–9; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies*, 10–11.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 29.

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

372 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in
881 the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other
184 hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not
585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the mar-
582 riage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A
595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 [12] A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

/14 cont./

000 chronic, good-natured imbiber . . .

776 In heaven there is one god, Erob. Lightning (dábara)
[821] and rain (!nanus) are sent by him. He calls heaven χ'ameiba.
This word is very interesting. It can mean both "place of the
/15/ souls (χ'a) " or "place of the χ'amab." The souls
[775] (um-ské) go to heaven after death. "This is what they say,"
said the man, "I haven't been there yet."

He did not know Gauab and Heiseb. Concerning other spirits, he said that people had mentioned them, but he did not believe in them. The spirits are supposedly called "gangarob."
756 The old Bushmen had neither doctors nor medicines against ill-
753 nesses. To my question about what made people ill, he responded with philosophical equanimity: "If one becomes ill, he is ill like an animal." He knew nothing about the sun (soris)
[821] and moon (χ'ab). A sacred fire is unknown to him.
[778]

224 Of greatest interest is his report, undoubtedly based
782 upon autopsy, concerning an initial offering at the hunt. I give the report in literal translation:

"Before people go out to the hunt, they meet at an omsati tree (//Khaia-aib). There a fire is made. Each hunter rips off a number of leaves, spits on them, and throws them into the fire as he shouts:

[539] Érob, Érob, áu tere! God, God, help us!

"When the game has been killed, one first cuts a piece each from the lung, liver, and stomach and throws each piece singly to the side, saying all the while:

Érob úre, Érob úre! God take, God take!

[539] "Then they start to eat."

This function is performed by the one who has killed the game.

881 The following was communicated to me concerning the
585 social organization:

There are initiation ceremonies. The celebration of the first menstruation originally coincided with the wedding. On the first day of menstruation the girl went into a pontok especially constructed for this purpose. Then there was dancing for two or three days, and after the cessation of the menses the girl went to

[36 cont.]

Dwellings

342 The dwelling of the Bushman consists of the simple windscreen, semicircular in form and about 150 centimeters high. On [177] several farms, however, even the Bushmen have taken to building beehive huts in the Herero manner. The windscreens in a settle- [361] ment more or less form a circle, and the socha fire is to be found [778] near the windscreen of the village chief. During warm nights the [372] Bushmen do not sleep under the windscreen but outside it. [513]

372

Fig. 3. Sticks for Firemaking, Kalahari Bushmen (Museum of Ethnology, Lurich).

000 [42 cont.]
622 the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is
372 the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo.
● 778 Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are
[262] "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a
784 very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language.
Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is
166 available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the
372 village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha
[596] fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they
262 have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha
264 fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave im-
621 mediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the
[462] windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire
he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does.
Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large
game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains
seated there, while the women and children make themselves
comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The
game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and
[262] shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children,
who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is
[622] consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has
the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The
hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has
described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

178 When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the
622 Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight
organization and a common leader. When Captain François went
beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable
support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note
that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of
Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a
Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a

2. He himself was a half-breed.

chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest
chief I heard of was "χ'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GIKwe

could have found his shallow pit at any time of the day or night.

Nobody was there; everyone had run away. We sat down and waited while Gai put his hands to his mouth and shouted, trying to summon the people back again. When nobody came or even answered him, he flung his pipe to the ground and marched off to find them among the bushes, alternately shouting to his hidden relatives and muttering to himself, for they might be far away and the day was getting warm.

We sat in the middle ground between the depressions so that we wouldn't risk stepping on or crushing anybody's hidden things, for, without knowing it, a European can in a moment trample through a Bushman's cache, breaking the delicate bone or wooden objects, bending the reed arrows, or crushing eggshell beads. Also, among certain groups of Bushmen, every fire has a man's side and a woman's side, determined by the position of the fire as you face the doorway of the scherm, the man's side being on the right, the woman's on the left. If a man sits on the woman's side, or where a woman has been sitting, he will become impotent and will also lose his power to hunt, and if a woman sits where a man has been sitting, she will get a disease in her vagina. Something intangible, invisible, but dangerously powerful, remains on the ground. We did not know which side was which of this werf's fires, or even for sure where the fires were; we did not even know that the Gikwe had this custom, for we had learned it from Kung Bushmen, but we knew that if they did they would not welcome our contaminating their ground. We would have liked to look around, but the best thing we could do was to keep our big boots and our bodies away from their delicate, fragile, almost invisible community.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

green-leafed vegetables, and sometimes many of the people 361
of the large extended bands come together to live, to hold 621
important ceremonies which require many people, and to enjoy each other's company. Sometimes they separate into very small bands because they can now go anywhere they wish, each family going to the part of the veld where the type of food grows that the family most enjoys. There is water everywhere, in small seasonal waterholes, in shallow salt pans, in 312
hollow trees, and the people thrive and grow quite fat. One of their favorite foods, one that grows in great abundance at 222 262
this season, is a ground nut called *tsi*, which grows on a trailing vine and is so fat that if you leave a kernel of it on a piece of paper it will leave a greasy stain. Tsi is regarded by the Kung Bushmen as a very powerful food, one of the powerful veld foods in which there is a special essence, something mysterious and magic which gives them a life force all their own so that it would be dangerous to eat them during the year if this life force were not first subdued or not first integrated with the life force of the people. These foods are 778
the mainstays of the Bushmen's diet, and are fat; and every 789
year people in their child-bearing years, when they consider themselves subject to harm, protect themselves against these foods by a ritual act.

The act of protection is called *choa*, and it is interesting because it differs from the protective rituals performed by agricultural peoples to save their crops or animals from harm, or to cause their increase. The Bushmen choa themselves not to protect their fertility, for decrease in the number of children is not a problem to them, but to make sure that they, the young adults and mainstays of the community, will not get thin and starve.

Those whom Bushmen call "old people," adults who have 789 885
had three children, are expected to protect themselves and
also to protect young people of the same sex.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

and wipes it clean with grass. Then the mother collects the 844
stained grass, the placenta, and the bloody sand and covers
them all with stones or branches, marking the spot with a
tuft of grass stuck up in a bush so that no man will step on [784
or over the place, for the ground where a child has been born 778]
is tainted with a power so strong that any man infected with
it would lose an aspect of his masculinity, would lose his
power to hunt. The woman does not bury the placenta, for if [842]
she did she would lose her ability to bear more children.

The moment of birth is a very important one for the child and for the mother; it is at this moment that the child acquires a power, or an essence, over which he has no control, although he can make use of it. It will last him all his life; it is a supernatural essence that forever after connects the person born with certain forces in the world around him: with weather, with childbearing, with the great game antelope, and with death, and this essence is called the *now*. 778

There are two kinds of *now*, a rainy or cold one and a hot or dry one. If a person has a wet *now* and burns his hair in a fire or urinates in a fire, the person's *now* is said to make the weather turn cold (if it is the dry season) or bring rain (if it is the rainy season). If a person has a dry *now* and burns hair or urinates in a fire, the *now* is said to stop a cold spell or a bad storm. When a person dies, too, the weather changes violently according to the person's *now*. After a [761]
death, scorching droughts or devastating storms are sure to follow.

We knew a Bushman woman at Gautscha whose young 778
son was living not with her but far away with the family of 821
his infant wife, and once, when a rainstorm came so violently that branches were splintered from the trees and water ran in torrents like waterfalls over the rocks beside the pan, the woman began to pine and grieve for her son, who, she felt

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

778 sure, was dead. At last a visitor came from her son's band
821 who assured her that her son was safe and well, and she knew then that the storm was not for his *now*, loose in the air, but possibly for the *now* of someone else, though when she heard the news it did not matter to her who might have died, for she was happy.

The effect of *now* is simple when a person dies, or when a person burns his hair or urinates to change the weather. With childbearing for women and with killing the great antelope
[825] for men (as the great antelope also have *now*, although the small ones do not) the *now* has a larger, more complex effect. In these cases the *now* of the hunter interacts with the *now* of the antelope, the *now* of the woman interacts with the *now* of the child newly born, and when the blood of the antelope falls upon the ground as the antelope is killed, when the fluid of the womb falls upon the ground at the child's birth, the interaction of *nows* takes place, and this brings a change in the weather. In this way a mother may bring rain or drought when she bears a child, a hunter may bring rain or drought when he kills an antelope, no matter what kind of *now* the mother or the hunter may have. The mother or the hunter can only watch the weather to see what has taken place.

Now is intangible, mystic, and diffuse, and Bushmen themselves do not fully understand its workings. They do not know how or why *now* changes weather but only that it does. They watch the changes carefully, though, and by observing have discovered the limits of their own *nows*. When the fluid from a mother's womb falls upon the ground the child's *now* is determined, and it is partly for this reason that birth is such a mighty thing.

844 Birth is usually joyous. Bushmen of all ages adore their children and grandchildren, placing a child's health and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

222 the smoke had confused them and they did not sting, although they flew everywhere looking for us. The old man turned his back, hunched his head between his shoulders, and hid from them as one would hide if one were being pelted with stones. When the swarm had dispersed a little he finished the opening. The Bushmen say that when bees are disturbed they are vicious only at first. After a while they become disorganized and confused and they fly about but do not sting you. When you smoke bees you must be careful not [778] to burn them or smoke them too much because they are 825 magic creatures with medicine to control fire, and if you harm them they will cause fire to burn you. A young boy whom we knew once burned some bees, and that night, when he was asleep by the fire, the fire sought him out and burned the skin of his belly, touching him only and no one else.

Lazy Kwi and the old man did the work perfectly. They were not stung badly, the tree was open, and no bees were seriously harmed. Inside the tree we could see the brown combs hanging and the bees as thick as fur around them. Lazy Kwi took out the combs and put them in a wooden bowl, licking his fingers afterward, and before we went back we ate some of the honey. There were two kinds, old honey and new honey, and the new honey was pale yellow and very [262] sweet and mild, winter honey made from the small, dry flowers of the veld. The old honey was much sweeter and strong enough to burn your mouth. Before we left, the old man [515] and Lazy Kwi carefully wiped their hands and arms with grass, for they were covered with honey and things were beginning to stick to them. Then we went back to camp and in the afternoon we packed to go on toward Gautscha Pan.

415 482 [222] Lazy Kwi packed a skin bag full of tsi nuts and the seeds of baobab fruit, alum-like powdery stones that ripen at the start of the dry season. The old man had a huge net bag filled

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

had been robbing its hives of honey for years. Gao Feet said 222 that its hives were raided every few months or so and wondered if there would be any honey left for us. While pondering this question we stopped at the base of the tree and looked up, high above us, at a crack in its trunk where bees were flying, and in a moment, to my great surprise, the whole hive of them had poured down over our heads and were stinging us badly. We dropped everything that we carried and ran as fast as we could into the bushes, slapping wildly at ourselves, scattering in every direction, and each of us, as we reached thick bushes, hid in the branches, only to be routed out again by someone else pursued by bees, and in this way we were scattered further. Far from the hive though we were, the air around us was full of bees; they kept us hiding and cowering like jackals, peering out from under bushes, away from our water jars and ostrich eggs which we had dropped in our hurry, and they held us in this way for hours. We were tired 222 825 and wanted to go home, but we could not leave our water. I, 778 at least, was astonished that such a thing should have happened, but to the Bushmen it was no surprise. The bees, those magic, medicine creatures, were having their revenge. As a group, we were responsible for having killed the bees of another hive. The Bushmen were only surprised at themselves for not having foreseen the disaster.

In the middle of the afternoon my brother borrowed every- 222 body's clothing and, swathing himself in it while the lenders 271 crouched naked in the bushes, braved the swarm and retrieved our water. Then we went back toward Gautscha, pausing on the way to dig a water root which Lazy Kwi had known was there. The root was quite large, very wet, and though it was as puckery as alum it did quench thirst.

Late afternoon had come now, and I was so tired that I sat 000 down to lean against a bush, where I almost fell asleep. Toma

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

776 gods, the !Kung fear to do so because it displeases the gods and draws their attention and they say, "Who is calling my name?"

The lesser god who lives in the western sky is the namesake of the great god, who, as the belief goes, gave the lesser god all seven of his own divine names, but not his human name. Although they insist in this belief, the !Kung never used any name but *//Gauwa*, one of the seven divine names, when they referred to the lesser god and we never heard them [[71] actually use this name for the great god. It would seem, then, that the lesser god is the old evil spirit, *//Gauwa*, who appears in the beliefs of the Hottentots and other Bushman language groups as the destroyer and the black chief, the one who sends death, disease, and misfortune. This evil spirit was an entity distinct from the good spirit who was variously named by Bushman groups *!Hishe*, *!Huwe*, and so on.

In present !Kung belief, however, neither the great god nor the lesser god is all evil or all good. Both are capable of being pleased or displeased with man and of sending favors or misfortunes. The lesser god is subservient to the great god and is supposed to do his bidding. The lesser god, however, has his own entity and does instigate his own actions, sometimes even disobeying the great god. Often they disagree between themselves.

The great god looks like a man, like a Bushman, but he is "the tallest of the Bushmen" and has long black hair that is not twisted and knotted like Bushman hair. He rides a horse across the sky—you can hear him—and he has a gun as well as bows and arrows. Some say he never comes to earth but always sends *//Gauwa*, or the spirits of the dead, the *//gauwasi*, to bring the good or evil that he sends to men. Only the greatest of medicine [78] men have ever seen him.

//Gauwa, however, is commonly seen by the medicine men. They describe him as small. One said he was about two feet tall; another, that he was as small as a guinea fowl; a third, that he was as small as a mouse. Several agreed that he was covered with yellow hairs. One, however, a humble man, said that while in trance he had seen *//Gauwa* and that he was like a gray mist.

782 RELIGIOUS PRACTICES • The !Kung say that they pray spontaneously to the gods. Whenever the thought comes to them they put their prayers into words and say or think them to themselves without any formality. When they speak in prayer to the great god they address him by the respectful term *!Nau*, used for any old man, or use a title *Gaoxa* (chief), or call him [[81] "father." Sometimes they use one of his names. The prayers, a mingling of mild imprecation and pleading, reveal the major concerns of the !Kung: hunger, sickness, and death.[11]

776 The great god, responsible for sending sickness and death to men,
753 also created and gives to men a mystical curing power that is called *gaoxa*
778
755

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

(the same word as the title of respect). The !Kung say it is strong medicine: 776
/*num*. The !Kung take for granted his giving to man both sickness and 753
the power to cure it, and account for the power's sometimes failing to cure 778
by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work, or not, according 755
to his pleasure.

He gives the curing power to medicine men (called *num kxao*, medicine 778
owners), appearing to them (usually in dreams, sometimes in what seem 756
to be waking hallucinations) and putting the power into them. He has also [533]
put a curing power in the medicine songs that the people sing at the dances,
songs named Rain, Sun, Giraffe, Eland, Honey, Buffalo, Mamba, and Spider
—all powerful things. The great god gives the power freely. It is rare to find
a man among the !Kung who is not a medicine man. The function of the 756
medicine men is only to cure. They are not sorcerers or witch doctors. (The [754]
!Kung are not a witch-ridden people.) !Kung medicine men receive no re-
wards or special prerogatives. They work together apparently without rivalry.
The medicine men may cure at any time but their strongest curing occurs [535]
at the dance.

Whether or not anyone is sick, the people dance two or three times a 535
month, sometimes more often. Anyone who wants a dance may start one 781
simply by asking people to come and begin. The !Kung like to dance for
many reasons. There is the inherent physical pleasure in moving to rhythm.
Music and dancing are their arts, from which their aesthetic pleasure comes. [53]
The dances are also social gatherings in which all participate, men, women, 535
children, visitors—everybody. A dance draws them together as nothing else 781
does. Even more important is the fact that the dance is one concerted re- 571
ligious act of the !Kung and brings people into such unison that they become
like an organic being.

At the dances not only may the sick be cured, but pending evil and mis- 535
fortune averted. The !Kung believe that the great god may send *//Gauwa* or 755
the *//gauwasi* at any time with ill for someone and that these beings may be 751
lurking, awaiting their chance to inflict it. The medicine men in the dances
combat them, drive them away, and protect the people.

Usually there are several medicine men performing at the same time. 755
To cure they go into trance, which varies in depth as the ceremony proceeds.
The curing cannot be described in words; it must be heard. When a man
begins, he leaves the line of dancing men and, still singing, leans over the
person he is going to cure, going eventually to every person present, even the
infants. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and
flutters his hands. The !Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness,
real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. To
demonstrate that this is in fact going on and is hard to do, he grunts with
shuddering grunts that intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a
high piercing, quavering yell. Finally, the medicine man throws up his arms

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Bushmen FX10

boys. This particular association, in other words, is peculiar to the North-Western Bushmen; but whether it has been borrowed or is simply a local development cannot be decided in the light of our present knowledge.

Finally, the Hottentots speak also of *Heitsi Eibib*, who seems to be a sort of ancestral hero, and who is worshipped at his "graves", where he is prayed to for success in hunting, etc. His mythological character in certain respects resembles that of the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen, but the latter is not the object of a grave cult, and this *Heitsi Eibib* primarily is. There is no being corresponding to him among the Northern Bushmen, although his name occurs, obviously as a borrowed element, in the *Heiseb* of the Heikum of Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga (among the former as that of a "bringer of blessings", among the latter as that of an "evil spirit"!), and possibly also in the *Hishe*, i.e. *Huwe*, of the Naron and Auen. Consequently this conception must be regarded as peculiar to the Hottentots.

The resemblances noted above are far-reaching, even when allowance is made for the by no means insignificant differences in detail. The Northern Bushmen especially seem to have many elements of religious belief virtually identical with those of the Hottentots. There has certainly been a good deal of mutual influence here, but the similarities not so much in detail as in general features are too numerous and too fundamental to be attributed solely to borrowing. Meticulous comparison must unfortunately be ruled out as at present inadvisable: we know far more about the religious system of the Hottentots than we do about that of the Bushmen, of which indeed the available information is so scanty that any elaborate discussion based on it can only be regarded as somewhat speculative. It can nevertheless be fairly confidently asserted that among both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots we find, in addition to the worship of the moon, the cult of mythical beings derived partly from animistic beliefs (*//Gaua*), and partly from the personification of the natural forces producing rain (*Tsui //Goab*, *Huwe*). It must be concluded therefore that both peoples have on the whole the same religious system, although there are obviously also considerable differences in detail which still have to be explained. The importance attaching to this community of beliefs is emphasized by the fact that this religious system differs essentially from that of the neighbouring Bantu.

The Southern Bushmen to some extent stand apart from the rest.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

(the same word as the title of respect). The !Kung say it is strong medicine: 776
/*num*. The !Kung take for granted his giving to man both sickness and 753
the power to cure it, and account for the power's sometimes failing to cure 778
by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work, or not, according 755
to his pleasure.

He gives the curing power to medicine men (called *num kxao*, medicine 778
owners), appearing to them (usually in dreams, sometimes in what seem 756
to be waking hallucinations) and putting the power into them. He has also [533]
put a curing power in the medicine songs that the people sing at the dances,
songs named Rain, Sun, Giraffe, Eland, Honey, Buffalo, Mamba, and Spider
—all powerful things. The great god gives the power freely. It is rare to find
a man among the !Kung who is not a medicine man. The function of the 756
medicine men is only to cure. They are not sorcerers or witch doctors. (The [754]
!Kung are not a witch-ridden people.) !Kung medicine men receive no re-
wards or special prerogatives. They work together apparently without rivalry.
The medicine men may cure at any time but their strongest curing occurs [535]
at the dance.

Whether or not anyone is sick, the people dance two or three times a 535
month, sometimes more often. Anyone who wants a dance may start one 781
simply by asking people to come and begin. The !Kung like to dance for
many reasons. There is the inherent physical pleasure in moving to rhythm.
Music and dancing are their arts, from which their aesthetic pleasure comes. [53]
The dances are also social gatherings in which all participate, men, women, 535
children, visitors—everybody. A dance draws them together as nothing else 781
does. Even more important is the fact that the dance is one concerted re- 571
ligious act of the !Kung and brings people into such unison that they become
like an organic being.

At the dances not only may the sick be cured, but pending evil and mis- 535
fortune averted. The !Kung believe that the great god may send *//Gauwa* or 755
the *//gauwasi* at any time with ill for someone and that these beings may be 751
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infants. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and
flutters his hands. The !Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness,
real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. To
demonstrate that this is in fact going on and is hard to do, he grunts with
shuddering grunts that intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a
high piercing, quavering yell. Finally, the medicine man throws up his arms

[7 cont.]

222 The honey badger, !uisa (N. !ous), which leads to the
825 bees, is followed ever so eagerly.

The common wild pig (gariba), the kudu (daub), the
224 gemsbok χ'uaba (N. /gaib), and all the small antelopes are hunted. Pits are no longer known, although they used to dig them in former times.

If they decide to go hunting, sexual intercourse must be
[834] avoided the night before. In the evening the hunters go into the forest and spend the night there. Before dawn they rise and pray:

[539] Pu, pu, Eró, /nari dsu /ari mate — God, tomorrow early we receive.

When a piece of game has been killed, one of the hunters cuts a piece of flesh from the animal's body and hands it to the leader of the hunt. This meat is called am-shái-khe. A fire is made, and this piece is placed on it. When it is roasted, the leader cuts off a piece and shouts:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, ha gore, ha gore — Erob, Erob, Erob, eat, eat
i Khe Khandi ô — With us flesh.

After a pause:

ha lĕ a lĕ ha góre o Khandi ô — Come! Come! Let us eat flesh.

Now the roasted flesh is consumed. Nothing is thrown away or left behind for Erob.

Then the game is cut up, and everyone goes home with his portion.

136 Snakes are not rare, although they are by no means as common as in the stony regions of the southwest.

The boa constrictor eats human beings; if it catches a Bushman, it starts to consume him at the legs!

132 In spite of the timber forest, the danger of drought is
821 great. Erob sends rain. When there is a drought, the Bushmen
731 dance and pray:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, /ga !goro — Erob, Erob, Erob, we are dying of thirst
/ga-wi -ma ta re — Water give us.

177 [8] It is very interesting to observe how in these certainly
776 very ancient hunting and rain prayers the former old heathen gods'
● 782 names Huwe and χ'amab were replaced by the Christian "Ellob."

I asked the people whether they knew any other prayers and received the following answer: "We know very well that

[8 cont.]

177 nothing can be done without Erob; we also pray to him whenever
776 somebody is ill, but we have no song for that, we do it in our
782 hearts." In these conceptions Christian influence is obvious.

881 They have no initiation for boys, but there is one for girls at the time of the first menstruation.

The girls' initiation is called "dorob."

At the onset of the menses, the girl becomes a "X'ába X'ábesa"; a special hut (omba) is built for her, where she is guarded by older women who feed her. The girl is allowed to eat anything, but nothing with her hands. When the menses end, a two-day festival begins, which terminates with a concluding dance. The candidate is seated in the center. Men and women go around
[534] her in a circle. The men blow on wooden trumpets. (These trumpets are made by the !Kung at only one place.) At the same time the drum is beaten (!guruba). At the conclusion, the women make "music." They clap their hands and sing:

[539] e-e-e-e-a-eje a jeja ni u u e . . .

Between times the drums and wooden trumpets sound.
539 Then the choral song of the men begins.

881 boro ai /i-he ≠hasa	Daughter my has become tall (just)
≠hau ge	Stand erect (tall)
/gai /ka uta (?) /noro-re	Good be now our little sunshine (1)

1. Literally: "Shine, you."

/ari ni tessa	Dance (2), sing, sue for her hand (3)

2. Literally: "Jump."

3. Literally: "Ask for!"

!goasa hi bare	People, be glad
Ti Komi !gŏă Kŏŏ...Kŏŏ... Kŏŏŏ	So, in this way, people, you should do it.

Then the dance begins anew.

[582] The engagement usually takes place long before the
585 girl's initiation. Hence the rule is that the wedding and the girl's
881

/10 cont./

123 Since I was able to become quite friendly with their "foreman," who possesses a small farm, I discovered some details concerning their outlook on life.

776 They believe in a supreme being which is not conceived of as a human being and which they call χ'amaba. Here we have H. Vedder's /Gamab of the Bergdama.

773 χ'amaba made everything, the sun, the moon, the stars, and also human beings. First he made the Whites, then the Blacks, and finally the Bushmen. They are unable to say how χ'amaba made human beings.

[372] The old Bushmen say that fire comes from the devil.
[776] Heiseb is the devil, according to them. Heiseb and the ostrich played together. The ostrich had the fire on his arm. While dancing the ostrich spread his wings, and Heiseb took the fire from him. Heiseb threw the fire brand behind him. There was a bush which started to burn. And there the people discovered the fire.

776 Heiseb is evil and only does evil. He is conceived as human in form. No one knows where he came from.

χ'amaba, on the other hand, is benevolent. People pray to him for help.

539 I took down the following prayers:

●782 1. Prayer for rain: In olden times pieces of wood were
821 cut from the !Hawewa tree. It could not be felled. These pieces of wood were thrown into the fire, and as soon as the pungent smoke rose upward, the people sang in chorus:

χ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i a a God, give water to drink.
χ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i !hanusa God, give water rain,
anita(?) a a so that we may drink.

2. Prayer of thanks for rain: When the rain has finally come, a dance of joy is performed, and the following is sung:

χ'ámaba χ'ámaba χ'ámaba God, God, God
tũta tũta We have received, we have received
!hanusa /gam-i-i !hanusa /gam-i-i Rain water, rain water
tara ái /gam ái !hanusa tutasi We can drink, drink water, receive water.

[10 cont.]

539 χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!
[821]
271
731 [11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They [488] do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and [758] the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune. Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own.

271 One must have experienced personally the feeling that overcomes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can drink again!

539 3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a
782 journey:
[484] χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

[755] 4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor performs his ceremonies.

χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai kháira téve God, let our people rise again.

789 5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil: Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

821 They do not know anything to say about the sun (sorésa). The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

753 Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those
776 persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this, and there is no spirit of sickness.

776 There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the bush. They play tricks.

775 A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know [756] what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

[12 cont.]

843 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-
262 buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut.
[553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are
[177] performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:

[539] //am ≠haiba, //am ≠haiba (?)
[782] The leader answers:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower
422 form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 The gathering of veldkost does not have the great signifi-
[184] cance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already
[462] commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd
[857] a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main
[233] OCCUPATION.

/14 cont./

000 chronic, good-natured imbiber . . .

776 In heaven there is one god, Erob. Lightning (dábara)
[821] and rain (!nanus) are sent by him. He calls heaven χ'ameiba.
This word is very interesting. It can mean both "place of the
/15/ souls (χ'a) " or "place of the χ'amab." The souls
[775] (um-ské) go to heaven after death. "This is what they say,"
said the man, "I haven't been there yet."

He did not know Gauab and Heiseb. Concerning other spirits, he said that people had mentioned them, but he did not believe in them. The spirits are supposedly called "gangarob."
756 The old Bushmen had neither doctors nor medicines against ill-
753 nesses. To my question about what made people ill, he responded with philosophical equanimity: "If one becomes ill, he is ill like an animal." He knew nothing about the sun (soris)
[821] and moon (χ'ab). A sacred fire is unknown to him.
[778]

224 Of greatest interest is his report, undoubtedly based
782 upon autopsy, concerning an initial offering at the hunt. I give the report in literal translation:

"Before people go out to the hunt, they meet at an omsati tree (//Khaia-aib). There a fire is made. Each hunter rips off a number of leaves, spits on them, and throws them into the fire as he shouts:

[539] Érob, Érob, áu tere! God, God, help us!

"When the game has been killed, one first cuts a piece each from the lung, liver, and stomach and throws each piece singly to the side, saying all the while:

Érob úre, Érob úre! God take, God take!

[539] "Then they start to eat."

This function is performed by the one who has killed the game.

The following was communicated to me concerning the
881 social organization:
585

There are initiation ceremonies. The celebration of the first menstruation originally coincided with the wedding. On the first day of menstruation the girl went into a pontok especially constructed for this purpose. Then there was dancing for two or three days, and after the cessation of the menses the girl went to

[33 cont.]

224 has done the shooting must go home immediately and may not speak, eat, or drink, for if the hunter speaks with others, the kudu will not be found for a long time, and if he drinks water, the poison will become watery and will not be effective, and if he eats, the kudu will remain quiet and the poison will not work effectively. The next morning very early we must set out on the trail. The kudu is already dead. The people carry the meat home. [782] Then it is put on the socha [sacred] fire. The //Gauab must be given some of the meat. Whoever does not do this will be punished by the //Gauab with serious illness, and the people will say: 'That is just. The //Gauab has given him the game, why does he give nothing for //Gauab?'" Here, therefore, a true primitial offering is involved.

It is interesting that the Ogowe bury arrows in the sand at various watering places, with the poisoned tip pointing upward; they do this in shady spots that game animals like to use as resting [202] places, and by certain signs, such as tying together blades of tall grass and the like, they set up warnings (Von Zastrow and Vedder).

When a Bushman horde of today is able to hunt down half a dozen large antelopes in a year, it can consider itself lucky.

The porcupine is also commonly hunted, as are the scaly anteater and the fat aardvark, which is very common but difficult to catch. Monkeys are very rare; on the other hand, tree rats make a desirable addition to the diet. The ostrich is not uncommon in open terrain, and ostrich eggs are greatly coveted. Occasionally a boa constrictor, which tastes like a fat fish, or an iguana may round out the menu.

136 Among the animals which are in any way dangerous to human beings, the lion should be mentioned in particular. They occur in great numbers, but rarely stay in one place for a long [165] period of time. A considerable number of Bushmen become their victims, especially in the north. Lions, leopards, hyenas, and 262 jackals are neither hunted nor eaten; the same is true concerning [753] birds of prey. Eating leopard meat produces fever and eczema, [825] while eating the flesh of birds of prey produces temporary blindness and symptoms of sickness similar to acute sausage poisoning.

Poisonous snakes are not eaten; they are much rarer here than in the stony regions of the central and southern areas, and they do not constitute a noteworthy danger.

[35 cont.]

312 Dolichos seineri Harms (eona), and the Convolvulacea Ipomoea
824 seineri Pilger (eawa); the enormous tubers of the latter two may weigh up to 150 kilograms. Considerably more important for the natives than these 'water roots' is the Curcurbitacea Citrullus naudinianus Hook. (orura of the Herero; gab of the Hottentot); without their juicy gourds, which occur in great quantities and for the most part are edible, most of the central Kalahari would be impassable during the dry season, even for the Bushmen."

Further, F. Galton (1) reports:

[113] 1. F. Galton, Tropisches Südafrika, p. 101.

312 "In practice, the first hopeful sign when people are look-
825 ing around for water is a flight of guinea fowl; next, following the habits of the land, each tree is carefully examined until a parrot is sighted, an object visible even at a great distance because the bird likes to sit on the uppermost branches. A parrot is rarely more than half an hour away from water, and the same applies to baboons. If one proceeds with careful observation and takes a probable direction, he will see doves flying about; then little birds are found in all the bushes, and they are close to it."

10. The Veldkost

222 Just as //Gauab accompanies the hunter on the chase, he is
776 also the companion of the women who go to look for veldkost. If //Gauab takes delight in a woman, he will break the bones of an animal, killing it, and will lead the woman to it. If, however, //Gauab is angry at a woman and she finds no veldkost, then she becomes angry, gets up early in the morning, abuses //Gauab, and then takes medicine and washes her face so that //Gauab will not recognize her. Then she goes into the veld and finds something.
[782] //Gauab receives no offerings from the veldkost. The celebration
222 of the first fruits of the veld described by Vedder is no longer held.
[887] The oldest woman is brought to eat samples of each type of veldkost that is brought home for the first time in the year. Then the second oldest woman takes a taste, and so on down the line.

[48 cont.]

755 756 786 796 sounds similar to those of ventriloquists, and by certain muscle contractions. By pressing together the gluteal musculature of the buttocks and at the same time holding the knee joints as far apart as possible and pressing the legs together at the ankles, they eventually produced a tonic trembling cramp of the entire musculature of the lower extremity, in which they reeled back and forth. It is possible for anyone to put himself into an autohypnotic state in this way, as this author also learned from the doctors. Soon the rolled-up eyes indicated that the doctors were in a state of trance. They danced around one another, fell over one another, and lifted one another up. Some women also started making noise with the dance rattles. The Bushmen were now convinced that [787] /Nawa himself was dancing among the doctors, was visible to them, and spoke with them. At this point they say something [782] like prayers; they invoke the great spirit of the old Bushman who has killed many elephants; they call the spirits of the dead who have sent their little spirits of sickness over the living, and they especially beg /Nawa to transfer these little spirits of sickness to the doctors.

755 756 796 The doctors ran alternately to the bitten child and to those ill with fever who squatted around the fire, stroking the painful places, both from the armpits down to the soles and from the shoulders down to the fingertips. Occasionally they also sucked at the diseased spots or inhaled the breath from the mouths of the patients.

From time to time, the doctors performed these operations upon one another, first of all, as they said, in order to distribute the poisons of sickness equally among all the doctors, but also in order to obtain power from the other doctors. Thus "charged," the doctor then again ran to the patients to take their poison.

Now and then the chief doctor ran screaming around the [787] line of standing women and [49] disappeared into the bush in order to ask the chief female doctor about the will of /Nawa. After about an hour's dancing the chief doctor went to the bitten child. The child had been bitten on the back, and this was rubbed with fat and then medicine; then all the patients were again subjected to the treatment described above, and soon thereafter /Nawa an- [787] nounced through the mouth of the chief female doctor that the

[52 cont.]

773 Concerning the moon, I was told: "The moon was also
821 carried by people. It was not as warm as the sun, but very heavy. So the men helped each other, and with great difficulty they brought it to the huts. The moon was a man. He said: 'I prefer to remain alone and do not wish to be among you.' Thereupon the Bushmen said: 'If you go alone into the desert, you will surely die.' But the moon did not obey, went out, and died. But then it woke up again and rose like the sun; therefore, like the latter, it is from the 'Great Captain.' When it disappears, it has died. When only one side of it is visible, then it is young. When it becomes smaller, then it is old. The color of the moon comes from its gall (/góo)."

The well-known story of the moon and the hare is told there as follows:

The moon once said to the hare: "I die and wake up again, you on earth should do the same." But the hare answered: "No, we cannot do that, we who are on earth, only you can do that because you are in the air, among us this is impossible; once we die, we do not wake up again." And the hare was right; it is still so today.

821 The eclipse of the moon, !nui dsao, is caused by the lions
[825] so that they can more easily steal into the Bushman huts.

[53] Comets, χ 'u !gam, are stars of the great captain;
[777] they bring luck. When a shooting star, ≠gomma, falls, it is said,
[787] just as among us, that someone has died. The stars are the camp-
[775] fires of those spirits who at the command of the great captain come down and fetch the souls of the dying.

[823] Earthquakes, χ'áno !gee, are omens of sickness. The
[787] rainbow, !khâni !náo, indicates a good year for rain.

● [782] What the Bushman begs and prays for is not sunshine but
[776] rain. The great captain alone dispenses rain.

Lightning and thunder are not beings in themselves, but are caused by rain. When someone is killed by lightning, it is said: "The rain has killed him." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder at a distance, the rain is saying: "Today I shall thunder over the whole earth." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder on various sides, the clouds are speaking to one another. And when they touch each other with their heads, the

[53 cont.]

821 rain comes down and the clouds extend over the whole world. The rain that has come down to earth does not stay there; the clouds again come forth from the earth. The rain obeys the great cap-
776 821 tain. In a storm the great captain knocks down the trees. If a person says something bad about him, however, punishment is not long in coming. X 'u says to the rain: "You must now go and kill him." And the rain goes and kills the man with lightning. But when the great captain says to the rain, "You must go now and punish him," then the lightning merely strikes the windscreen so that the whole thing collapses and the evildoer is thrown out.
[753] Then the people come running, rub the unconscious person with medicine, and burn his skin with red-hot pieces of wood until he comes to again.

Thus the angry great captain metes out punishment.

751 The Bushman concerned, however, is far from either pri-
[782] vately or publicly begging the great captain for forgiveness. He
823 is convinced that this would do no good. On the contrary, he
821 puts his confidence in the following procedure: It is known that where lightning strikes quartz sand, so-called lightning tubes or fulgurites arise. This phenomenon has not remained hidden from the sharp eye of the Bushmen. My friends told me: There where lightning has struck one usually finds a stone called "rain tooth." The person brushed by lightning scratches his skin with this stone,
[224] rubs in medicine which is supposed to bring luck in hunting, and
[777] tries to hunt down a gemsbok. If he succeeds, he cooks the meat of the gemsbok with the rain tooth. If there is a second person in the horde who has previously been brushed by lightning, that person must eat the meat with him. Then medicine is made from this meat and other ingredients, and this is placed in the horn of a small bushbuck and carried around the neck by the person concerned.

751 When the "rain" comes again, he again goes to the hut
821 of the person struck, walks through the fire where the buck was cooked, takes a bone of the buck (these bones remain lying on the spot), and goes with it into the nearest tree. The bone cooks in the tree, and the scum comes out on the side and the fat below. When the rain has passed, the bone is again pulled out and cooked with gemsbok horn and duiker horn and flesh; then it is

[54 cont.]

771 of various religions have found entry here. Among the Bushmen
177 tribes I visited there is the common belief in a supreme good be-
171 ing, whose name varies. The people described here [55] call the
176 supreme being χ'u, "the lord" or "the great captain" (1). It is

[782]

1. According to Vedder, the supreme being is Huwe (Tsumeb). When the first veld fruits ripen, an offering is brought before sunrise. A freshly broken twig is inserted into a piece of wood with a hole bored through it. The people are seated in a circle, and the eldest passes around a tobacco or dacha pipe made out of a tubular bone.

the same expression that the Cape Hottentot used in speaking to the German traveler Kolbe, with the same significance and pronunciation 705 (2). The name could not have come from the[1]

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171
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2. J. Schapera (The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa, 1930) has critically referred to my observations on this point. In this connection I must note: the "great captain" among the eastern !Kung may rightfully be designated as "supreme being." I have already given his characteristics in my earlier publications.

[104]
[194]

The spelling is correctly χ'u. I use χ' to designate a click that is even lower than "!". It is also found in other words, such as χ'Ame = lion. Since not all publishers provide this character, I have sometimes been forced to write "Khu" or "Chu." This word, which the !Kung, too, translate as "lord" or "great captain," was already found, as Schapera indicates, among the Cape Hottentot in 1705 as Khourou = "Supreme Ruler" and "Great Chief" or "Great Captain"; Kolbe gives a quite analogous citation a little later, and Hahn reports of one old Nama, "The people say,

[1] [CONTINUES ON p. 108 - ANALYST]

[56 cont.]

695 not seen for the duration of the hunt, he is suspected of having
776 sneaked away. Then he swears by the great captain nuχu, and all believe him.

776 Ordinarily, however, the great captain has everything taken care of by the highest of the spirits and lesser spirits. The chief concern of the Bushmen, therefore, is to stay in the good graces of these spirits, but the great captain does offer protection against all evil spirits, and for that reason people turn to him
[762] with the following prayers in case of severe illness and before the start of a journey:

[57]

[539] χ'u, χ'u hũi mi, //kai tsao mi	Lord, Lord, help me, raise me.
to 'oba !khu !gaise ≠ani u mĩ	"the lord shall lead me well to the place,
/nãna /ge a	
!nore gana ti /ge a gana ti tsa	where I am going, and he shall lead me back well, so that I
/Nane /ã mi tsu (1)	come home safely."

1. Notation of the Dama interpreter.

[224] Before the hunt the doctors pray to the great captain for hunting luck. There is no doubt that the Bushmen conceive of this "great captain" as an all-powerful and at the same time benign being. His executive organ, as has been noted, is the highest of the Gauab. The latter is called "the Gauab" by the common people, but he has a name known only by the doctors, and saying it may have serious consequences. Since I finally
[123] had the honor to be regarded as an equal by the doctors, I learned his name. He is called /Nawa. They were unable to give me an interpretation of this name, but Miss Bleek, from dance songs of the Angola Kung, reports the word /Nwa-se, supposedly an abbreviation for Nwima-se = new moon. According to this, we
[174] might be able to see in this chief Gauab the high god of a lunar-
[771] mythological religion which has been superimposed as a foreign element upon the primitive monotheism of the χ'u or Huwe faith. As is always the case in such matters, the supreme being of the invading religion has been transformed into a more or less evil
[171] principle. It also functions as such in the belief of the Nama and

[58 cont.]

[113] Specimens of Bushmen Folklore, London, 1910-11, pp. 10-13.

776 be especially significant. The !Kung at that time told of a being called /Chue, who transforms itself in turn into various fruit trees and veldkost plants, into a Herero, etc. One day he transformed himself into a //gui tree, his wife ate of it, the tree disappeared, and /Chue changed into a fly. Another time he even became a waterhole, then again a gecko; at night [59] he always changes back into a little human being. The Herero look for him, but cannot find him. /Chue then makes a fire and dies. His father sees this and then moves to his homeland on a large mountain called //Noa. We shall probably not go wrong if we identify this /Chue with Huwe. This Huwe, as is known, is sometimes equated with the great captain X'u. In this old setting he also has distinct traits of Heiseb.

782 [534] The !Kung who were W.H.J. Bleek's informants were also familiar with a prayer song addressed to the new moon. In accompaniment, they blew on trumpets made of antelope horns. (Bleek-Lloyd, ibid., p. 15.)

787 The old !Kung called the prophesy sticks /Chu, which evidently is the same name again as that of the great captain and is in agreement with Dornan's report concerning the Masarwa that Modimo himself spoke from the prophesy sticks.

755 769 Vedder reports that in case of illness a messenger is sent to an ancestor's grave and prays: A dsi-dsi mi !hâ tí /X'ai-a? (Why is my son ill?) ǂnu /kôa (to live in health).

774 825 775 171 While my informants denied the presence of any animistic conceptions, the old !Kung believe that certain snakes, lizards, and antelope found in the vicinity of graves represent spirits of the dead (1), as they do among the Bantu.

1. W.H.J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd, ibid., p. 430.

3: Lebzelter--114 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

!KUNG

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

535
539 ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be — We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

χ'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa — Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe — Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

622 Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me
782 concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder
769 dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

782 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are
881 implored in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

"If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband
787 suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up
695 the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root
684 that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

[63 cont.]

764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not; in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] [174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [173] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

776

also commonly used for any man (not a boy) older than the speaker when the speaker must avoid saying the name. The people address the gods as */nau* and *gaoxa* more commonly than as *n/iha*. We were told that they call the great god */nau* ' when he is good '. [576]

It is interesting to know that the power of the great god, his omnipotence which he was so mysteriously able to create for himself, is called *gaoxa* and that the special potent ' spiritual ' medicine which the great god puts into the medicine men, the curing power, is also called *gaoxa*. [756]

The /Kung often call the great god ' father ' especially in supplication, and plead that he succour his ' children ' and give them rain or good fortune in the hunt or whatever they may be asking for. [782]

Nonabe is a term of great disrespect, a ' scolding ' term. When used for a human being it is a curse and a terrific insult. A man who felt himself greatly wronged by another and in violent anger would say of the man who wronged him, ' That *Nonabe*! ' But he would not say this to the man's face ' for if he did there might be a fight (so great is the insult). When he saw the man in person he would come in peace to him, not showing his anger '. *Nonabe* is used in blasphemy by the medicine men in trance, along with other insults when they are combating the gods and the *//ganwasi* in the medicine dances, demanding that they take away the evil they have brought. [578] [756]

The Fear of the Names

The Nyae Nyae /Kung ' fear ' (*koa*) to utter the names of the gods. The word 'means both' to be afraid of, as one is afraid of a mamba, and 'to respect and avoid', as one respects one's mother-in-law and avoids speaking to her and saying her name. 776 784

Children must strictly avoid saying any of the names of the gods. Old men and women need not observe an absolutely restrictive taboo in uttering the names, and may and do say them, but there seems to be an element of taboo (it is a ' death-thing ', they say) and fear of drawing attention to themselves. We were aware of their unwillingness to speak of religious matters early in our work and therefore waited until our relations were well established before questioning them. Our information was gathered for the most part in 1953 and 1955 at many different sessions with fifteen men and eight women informants who had proved to be reliable. Others joined the talks casually and when they wished to do so. Our informants declared themselves willing to teach me because I wished to know. Throughout the discussions people varied in the degree of caution and discretion with which they spoke the names. Sometimes we talked literally in whispers and usually at least in low voices, saying ' the one in the east ', ' the one in the west '. On one occasion /Ti/kay told me that my questions made him sick. He meant to claim, I ascertained, that he had an actual physical sensation such as a nervous twinge or slight nausea. The woman who first told me the name of the wife of the great god put her lips to my ear and whispered, barely audibly, ' *Hunudi* '. Next day, unfortunately, she had a high fever. She recovered, but the episode put an end to my trying to learn from her about the wives of the gods. /U, when someone was ill at Cho/ana, and she was filled with anxiety and longing to be home at Gautscha, made me promise not to say the names or ask any more questions, at least until we were all safely back. [124] [753]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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776 782 In spite of their reluctance to say the gods' names in serious discussion, the /Kung say them in blasphemy. (The word for cursing or blasphemy is *za*. Cursing is also called 'mouth-medicine'.) The medicine men curse the gods when they are combating their evil intents in the curing ceremony. A light-hearted blasphemy also occurs among the /Kung, as among ourselves, and the names slip from men's mouths in an insouciant way, as though they did not really mean them, as we say 'God Almighty!' or 'Jesus Christ!' in our inconsequential swearing.

I wondered if we should find that certain names were more closely associated with certain phenomena, like lightning or rain, or with special functions, such as presiding over childbirth, but all my inquiries on this theme led me to the conclusion that the names do not have such associations. There appears to be, however, a vague tendency, though not a strict rule, to associate some names more with benefaction, others more with ill treatment of the people. *Gani ga*, which is a very respectful name, seemed to come to mind when they wanted to show that they were well disposed towards the god and wanted to thank him or ask him sweetly to help them. */Gara* and *≠Gaishi ≠gai* we heard spoken in anger. They are 'scolding' names. One man used *Hnwe* when he spoke of the greatness and power of the god, saying '*Hnwe* was the tallest of the Bushmen, a great man with many names', and *Hishe* was the name used when the creator said, 'I am *Hishe*. I am unknown.' *Kxo* was not often uttered. The name *//Gauwa* will be discussed later.

Two Images of *≠GAO/NA*

≠Gao/na, *the Protagonist of the Old Tales*

776 539 *≠Gao/na*, we were told, was the oldest name of the great god. Through that name the /Kung identify the great god with an old *≠Gao/na*, the protagonist of many ancient tales. Some sense of logical necessity, I believe, compelled the /Kung to merge the two concepts so that they say, when they are asked, that the *≠Gao/na* of the tales and the great god are the same being, but this is a forced and superficial verbal resolution, for the two beings could hardly be more different. The people, I believe, really imagine them as different, and behave in quite a different manner as they speak of them. They tell the tales of the old *≠Gao/na*'s doings without restraint, [522] say his name aloud, howl and roll on the ground with laughter at his humiliations, whereas, when they speak of the great one in the east, they whisper and avoid his name. Yet they think that somehow in the rightness of things these two beings must be one, so one they are said to be.

The old *≠Gao/na* was a kind of culture hero. He had supernatural powers. He could change himself into other forms and could change people into animals, bring people back to life, &c. He was a great magician, with powers over magic substances and objects. But, although he gave fire to mankind, he could not be called a great [372] benefactor of mankind. He wanted fire for himself because he liked cooked food and gave the fire to man rather as an afterthought. He was not very much concerned with man or with man's morals. He was not the death-giver, involved in the mysterious inevitable necessity of death, or a wrathful punisher, like Jehovah. Such vengeance as he took was not a mighty vengeance but only a getting back at those who tricked [266] him. And usually his reason for killing someone was his own hunger. In those oldet days, according to the tales, people were always eating one another or parts of one

The great creator receives the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person and 775
turns these elements into a *//ganwa*. To do this he makes a fire under the tree which 776
grows in his werf, the tree for which we know no name. He puts a pot on the fire, and in this he boils medicines. Only he has these particular medicines. Men do not know their names. *≠Gaolna* then hangs the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person in the tree. The tree itself is medicine. That is why the people fear it and why *≠Gaolna* hangs the spirits in it. The medicine smoke rises and blows around the dead person's spirit, heart, and blood, and they are transmuted into a *//ganwa*. *≠Gaolna* then smears the *//ganwa* with fat. This fat is not from an animal; it belongs only to *≠Gaolna* and is called */thoo*. *≠Gaolna* then takes the *//ganwa* to live with him in his house.

The *//ganwasi* have bodies which resemble those they had on earth except for their 775
hair. We were told that their hair is changed from the Bushman's spirals to *≠Gaolna*'s [756]
hair, which is long, like a European's, but as black as a Bushman's. Only medicine men who have full medicine see the *//ganwasi*.

The *//ganwasi* eat food. As I understand it, they, like *≠Gaolna* and *//Ganwa*, eat the same foods that mortals eat, meat and veldkos, but they have their own supplies. They also are very fond of honey. They are said on occasion also to steal the veldkos of human beings from the places where they grow, and they sometimes change [825]
themselves into birds—not vultures, but smaller birds called */gwara*—and in this form come into the werf and eat the people's meat right where it hangs in the branches beside the scherms. The *//ganwasi* have their own implements, weapons, karosses, &c. They want nothing from men and there is no point in offering them things. [782] ●

≠Gaolna gives the *//ganwasi* everlasting life. They grow older but, before they are very old, he rejuvenates them. He has a medicine for this which he does not give to men. Children who die remain children.

//Ganwasi keep their own spouses if they wish, and they live together but do not beget children. No great point was made of this. It was interesting to learn that, if [761]
a *//ganwa* tires of his wife and wants another, he may kill a living woman who attracts him, so, if a beautiful woman dies, one who is fresh and clean and wears fine ornaments, one could suspect that some *//ganwa* has taken her for himself. And a strong young hunter might be killed by a female *//ganwa* who wanted him. In spite of the power and dominance of the gods, the *//ganwasi* take things into their own hands sometimes.

No distinction is made between a good and a bad person when he dies. All go to the great god in the east and all become *//ganwasi* without differentiation in status or function. With the exception of suicide, no distinction is made either between a good [762]
and a bad death, such as is reported by Fourie of the Auen, according to Schapera: 'People who die a "good death" are said to go to */khutse*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaua*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress.'[1] Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung suicides are said to stay with *//Ganwa* in the west. Burial also has no effect upon the status in the after-life—whether a person is buried properly bound in a deep round grave, or scratched into a shallow trench, or not buried at all and eaten by beasts.

The beliefs which we associate with ghosts—the haunting of graves or certain other places, appearing as spectres to persons, &c.—are not highly developed among the /Kung but are not entirely lacking. Three stories of *//ganwasi* haunting graves came

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 160.

775 to our ears. One story was that at a place between Gam and Gautscha, where a person died, something goes '*wuu wuu wuu*', making a sound like wind in an empty ostrich eggshell or a bee buzzing in a bottle. The thing once chased ≠Nisa and her daughter. [761] They were terribly frightened, and people warned each other not to go near that place again 'because a person could get such a fright he could die of it'. One cannot see the thing. One can only hear it. On being questioned, people said they thought the thing was a *||ganwa*.

[787] *||Ganwasi* are mischievous as well as conveyors of grave evils and they trick and fool people on their own initiative, often appearing to people in dreams to do so. One might dream, for instance, that the *||ganwasi* told him he would shoot a fat buck if he hunted in a certain direction. If he then hunted there and failed to kill anything, he would know that they had tricked him. ≠Toma felt, when he was sick, that he was lying on thorns and that the *||ganwasi* were pressing down on him.

The function of the *||ganwasi* is, first and foremost, to be the servants (*≠gasi*) of the gods and to carry out their orders. They obey *≠Gaolna* primarily, but are servants of *||Ganwa* as well. They are the messengers, whether good or bad fortune is being sent to the people.

775 When the gods order them to kill a person, the *||ganwasi* have innumerable ways of 761 doing so. They can allow a buffalo to gore the person, a lion to maul him, or a snake 753 to bite him. They were responsible for a man's falling to his death from a baobab tree—an appalling death to the /Kung, who are as careful and sure as cats. Lightning [821] —'rain fire'—is 'a death thing' and is used by the *||ganwasi* to kill people when the gods so command. *||Ganwasi* have the traditional miniature magic bows and arrows, with which they shoot people. One feels the pain of the little arrow piercing, when one is shot, but one cannot see the arrow; eventually one dies of it. Sickness, however, is the greatest tool of the death-bringers and they kill mostly by it. They can bring their sicknesses, death, and other misfortune to men at any time, but they are sure to come to the ceremonial curing dances and are always there in the shadows watching for their chance to inflict the ill on the person or persons whom they are sent to destroy.

Although the *||ganwasi* are associated in the people's minds primarily with sickness and death and the people fear them with a pervading fear, the /Kung do not appear to suffer in an agony of terror. I think that their fear is mitigated by the belief that the *||ganwasi* are minor characters and can be driven away and that in their own natures they are not wholly evil. Like the mortals they once were, they are capable of being [782] good, bad, or indifferent to man. People can plead with them for their favour and sometimes they feel pity and are helpful.

Man's Relations with the Gods

772 *≠Gaolna* said, when he praised himself, 'I take my own way and no one can com- 776 mand me. I am a stranger, unknowable. I am *chi dole*.' The /Kung these days evidently imagine him to be as much the self unbridled as the old protagonist of the tales. However, unlike the old *≠Gaolna*, he is not indifferent to mankind, and, even though he lives in the sky, he is not remote. On the contrary, he is deeply involved with humanity, constantly aware of what people do, constantly reacting with pleasure or displeasure, and he favours, punishes, or ill-treats man accordingly.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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776 in demonstrating his supremacy and power would be a reason in keeping with the nature of one who said, 'I am *chi dole*.'

≠*Gaolna* is fortunately not a god of mighty wrath and vengeance. 'He does not get too angry,' ≠Toma remarked. 'That is why there are still people living on earth.' He and others who were present at our talk went on to point out again ≠*Gaolna*'s benefactions, such as giving children, giving rain, and giving poison. One of his benefactions was poison, they said. He taught Bushmen how to put it on their arrows so that they could kill animals and eat, as the god of the black people gave cattle and the knowledge of growing crops so that his people could live.

Prayer

782 [756 793] There are no priests among the /Kung and it is not the function of medicine men to pray for the people or to lead them in prayer. Individuals frequently pray, however, spontaneously and alone. Anybody, everybody, may pray directly to ≠*Gaolna*, to //*Gaowa* or to the //*gaowasi*, at any time or place, without assuming special posture or observing any other formalities.

The people say the words of their prayers silently to themselves, or they say them aloud, as though thinking aloud, but speaking directly to the gods. They may also speak to each other to be overheard by the gods. When men go to look for honey, they may pray to *Khwowalna*, the mother of the bees, to give them luck. Demi said, 'We talk to ourselves and she feels pity and leads us to the honey.'

The prayers seem very often to be in the form of questions which imply accusation—'Why do you do thus and so?'—but the people mean to plead mildly, without displaying anger. The blasphemy of the medicine men, usual when they are in trance, does not appear in the prayers. The people often use the respect terms but they also sometimes speak the names. There is no rule about which names shall be used. It is to be noted that they also say 'father' and refer to themselves as his children. They use the second or third person, one as readily as the other.

'/*Naa*, excuse this man and make him well.'

'Sympathize with me, /*Naa*, because you are our *Gaoxa*. Feel pity for me.'

'≠*Gaolna*, why have you made me grieve so? You gave me this person, why will you take him back? Favour me. Let this person live. If he dies, where shall I go?'

'/*Gara* has taken that person while we were still loving him. Why has he taken him?'

'You have created me and given me power to walk about and hunt. Why do you guide us so that we do not get animals?'

'≠*Gaolna*, when the women are walking in the veld looking for veldkos, let them find a dead animal. Shoot it for them with your bullet. Favour us.'

'Give rain. Wet the earth. Let there be veldkos. We are starving because we have to stay by the water-hole where there is no more veldkos. He has favoured some people with rain. Will he not favour us?'

'Please, our father, great man, will you send us rain?'

'Father (*wba*), why is it you help other people and do not help me to find food? We are all your sons. Help me too. I am the same as your other sons.'

'*Gasi ga*, give us coolness.'

'Give us your water (rain). Give us a chance to rest. Give us food. We have nothing else if you do not give us food. Let food grow.'

'Why does ≠*Gaolna* send lightning? Why does he destroy our houses with mad rain?

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Why does the lightning not go and die somewhere and leave us alone and just let a gentle rain give us water?' 782

If someone were struck and killed by lightning, Gao Medicine said he would say,

'*Hishe*, why have you taken this person? Why do you strike us with storm? You cannot always be good; you keep changing. You created all things and are present in every movement. Why must you do ill?'

About another storm, Gao Medicine said,

'It is */Nau* who makes these things. He is scolding us because we are his children. It is because of our bad ways we are so punished. We must not complain. This is a good time, the time of rain. We must not complain.'

When the people are pleased they thank *≠Gao/na* and say, 'This is how you must serve your children.'

The /Kung pray directly to *//Gauwa* as well as to *≠Gao/na*. One old man named Tuka/na made a prayer into a song and taught it to his people. The men sometimes sing it when they are walking along in the veld on hunting trips. It says in effect: [533]

'*//Gauwa* must help us that we kill an animal.
//Gauwa, help us. We are dying of hunger.
//Gauwa does not give us help.
He is cheating. He is bluffing.
//Gauwa will bring something for us to kill next day
After he himself hunts and has eaten meat,
When he is full and is feeling well.'

The song then changes to the past tense and tells how *//Gauwa* favoured them in the past and gave them luck in the hunt and they ate and afterwards the man said to the women:

'You must sing well.
We are happy now.
Our hearts are shining.
I shall put on my rattles,
And put on my headband,
And put a feather in my hair
To explain to *//Gauwa* how happy we are that he has helped us and that we have eaten.
My heart is awake.
When we do not have meat
My heart is sad from hunger
Like an old man, sick and slow.
When we have meat my heart is lively.

The concerns and anxieties of these people are manifest in their prayers. The pervasive, unremitting anxiety about food becomes vividly apparent. The concept that *≠Gao/na* has great power and that he is not evil incarnate, but has a dual nature which can feel pity as well as displeasure, makes beneficence a possibility. The /Kung believe that, influenced by the medicine men's scolding or by supplication, he may change his evil intent, and this gives them hope. [154 776]

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shriek and gurgle. They blow in his ears to open them. They take sweat from their armpits and rub him. Some fall over on to him in trance themselves and are in turn rubbed and cared for by the others. The women must sing and clap ardently while a man is in deep trance. He needs the good medicine of the music to protect him.

The curing dance draws people of a Bushman band together into concerted action as nothing else does. They stamp and clap and sing with such precision that they become like an organic being. In this close configuration—together—they face the gods. They do not plead, as they do in their individual supplications, for the favour of the divine, all-powerful beings, and do not praise them for goodness. Instead, the medicine men, on behalf of the people, releasing themselves from ordinary behaviour by trance and overcoming fear and inaction, throw themselves into combat with the gods and try to force them with hurled sticks and hurled words to take away the evils they might be bringing.

The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a drama, I believe, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in Aristotle's sense. Fear and hostility find outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there is solace and hope.

Résumé

LA RELIGION DES BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

Les Boschimans /Kung de la région de Nyae Nyae dans le sud-ouest de l'Afrique croient qu'il existe deux dieux — le grand créateur, qui habite dans l'est du ciel, où le soleil se lève, et le petit dieu qui est subordonné au grand dieu, et qui habite dans l'ouest du ciel où le soleil se couche.

Le grand dieu possède sept noms divins, que les /Kung ont peur de prononcer, et un seul nom humain. Certains de ces noms (d'après Schapera ce sont *Hishe*, *Hawe* et *Kxo*) indiquent que le concept du grand dieu tire son origine des croyances anciennes soutenues par d'autres Boschimans et par les Hottentots. Ces noms sont associés avec un être suprême bien disposé. Divers groupes de Boschimans croyaient dans un esprit malfaisant, un 'avant-coureur de la mort', *//Gaowa*. D'après la croyance actuelle des /Kung de la région de Nyae Nyae, le grand dieu a fait du petit dieu son homonyme en lui accordant tous ses noms divins (mais non son nom human), et *//Gaowa* est un des sept noms divins qui sont attribués aux deux dieux. Le nom humain ≠*Gao/na*, le vieux ≠*Gao*, est celui du protagoniste de plusieurs vieux contes bizarres, un être ayant des pouvoirs surnaturels, mais ressemblant à un homme et soumis à toutes les frustrations humaines. Les /Kung ont amalgamé l'ancien protagoniste et le grand dieu en ce qui concerne le nom, mais ils ont modifié l'image.

Le grand dieu s'est d'abord créé lui-même, et ensuite il a créé le petit dieu. Pour chacun d'eux, il a créé une épouse qui a donné naissance à des enfants. Il a créé la terre et le ciel, la femme et l'homme et il a donné des noms à toutes choses. Il a donné le nom de son épouse, Khwova, à la première femme, et son propre nom ≠*Gao* au premier homme. Le grand dieu et le petit dieu s'intéressent principalement à l'humanité. Ni l'un ni l'autre n'est associé essentiellement avec le bien ou le mal à l'égard de l'homme; tous les deux peuvent apporter de grands biens, tels que la pluie, la nourriture et les enfants, mais aussi la mort, la maladie

776 gods, the !Kung fear to do so because it displeases the gods and draws their attention and they say, "Who is calling my name?"

The lesser god who lives in the western sky is the namesake of the great god, who, as the belief goes, gave the lesser god all seven of his own divine names, but not his human name. Although they insist in this belief, the !Kung never used any name but *//Gauwa*, one of the seven divine names, when they referred to the lesser god and we never heard them [171] actually use this name for the great god. It would seem, then, that the lesser god is the old evil spirit, *//Gauwa*, who appears in the beliefs of the Hottentots and other Bushman language groups as the destroyer and the black chief, the one who sends death, disease, and misfortune. This evil spirit was an entity distinct from the good spirit who was variously named by Bushman groups *!Hishe*, *!Huwe*, and so on.

In present !Kung belief, however, neither the great god nor the lesser god is all evil or all good. Both are capable of being pleased or displeased with man and of sending favors or misfortunes. The lesser god is subservient to the great god and is supposed to do his bidding. The lesser god, however, has his own entity and does instigate his own actions, sometimes even disobeying the great god. Often they disagree between themselves.

The great god looks like a man, like a Bushman, but he is "the tallest of the Bushmen" and has long black hair that is not twisted and knotted like Bushman hair. He rides a horse across the sky—you can hear him—and he has a gun as well as bows and arrows. Some say he never comes to earth but always sends *//Gauwa*, or the spirits of the dead, the *//gauwasi*, to bring the good or evil that he sends to men. Only the greatest of medicine [258] men have ever seen him.

//Gauwa, however, is commonly seen by the medicine men. They describe him as small. One said he was about two feet tall; another, that he was as small as a guinea fowl; a third, that he was as small as a mouse. Several agreed that he was covered with yellow hairs. One, however, a humble man, said that while in trance he had seen *//Gauwa* and that he was like a gray mist.

● 782 RELIGIOUS PRACTICES • The !Kung say that they pray spontaneously to the gods. Whenever the thought comes to them they put their prayers into words and say or think them to themselves without any formality. When they speak in prayer to the great god they address him by the respectful term *!Nau*, used for any old man, or use a title *Gaoxa* (chief), or call him "father." Sometimes they use one of his names. The prayers, a mingling [181] of mild imprecation and pleading, reveal the major concerns of the !Kung: hunger, sickness, and death.[11]

776 The great god, responsible for sending sickness and death to men,
753 also created and gives to men a mystical curing power that is called *gaoxa*
778
755

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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!Kung

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refer to one woman as a "headman"), nor does her husband. A headman's daughter, as it were, holds the place until her son is born to fill it. Primogeniture would be in force: the eldest daughter's son would take precedence over a younger daughter's son. If a daughter's husband is an effective person by nature, he could lead the band and perform the functions of headman indefinitely. The band, on the other hand, might find it more advantageous not to wait for a son to be born to the headman's daughter but to realign itself under another headman. Within the proper frame of kinship this is a voluntary matter.

● 782
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(11) I paraphrase some of the prayers as follows:

"You have created me and given me power to walk about and hunt. Why do you lead me in the wrong way so that I find no animals?"

"Give rain, *!Nau*, wet the earth. Let there be veldkos. We are starving because we have to stay by the water hole where there is no more veldkos. You have favored some people with rain. Will you not favor us?"

113

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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222 622 [184] A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to [782] [539] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the [462] [857] women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be [415] [237] plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 182 The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the [221] migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have [621] seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

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114 184 769 789 [775] asked to make use of the special powers they had possessed in life and apparently still retained, just as they would be approached when alive. The main conclusion to be drawn, in fact, is that these Bushmen do not regard dead people as wholly severed from the world of the living. There is certainly nothing here to warrant the assumption of any regular organized worship of the dead.

Worship of Heavenly Bodies

782 821 [794] Religious cult among the Cape Bushmen centres largely in the worship of the Heavenly Bodies, and especially of the Moon. Prayers directed by them to the Moon have been recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd, but unfortunately the details given are far too [114] scanty to throw much light upon the nature of the worship. One account, indeed, indicates that when the New Moon first appears every man prays to it, and Orpen also mentions having seen Bushmen throw sand in the air and shout out on seeing the crescent moon when it first appeared, but there is nothing else to suggest any special form of rite. The prayers themselves are chiefly prayers for food, and one of them, just lately published by Miss Bleek,[1] may be quoted as illustrating the form of invocation. It is spoken with raised right hand :—

539 782 821

Ho, my hand is this,
I shoot a springbok with my hand
By an arrow.

I lie down,
I will early kill a springbok
To-morrow.

Ho, Moon lying there,
Let me kill a springbok
To-morrow,
Let me eat a springbok;
With this arrow
Let me shoot a springbok
With this arrow;
Let me eat a springbok,
Let me eat filling my body
In the night which is here,
Let me fill my body.

Ho Moon lying there,
I dig out ants' food
To-morrow,
Let me eat it.

Ho Moon lying there,
I kill an ostrich to-morrow
With this arrow.

[1] "Bushman Folklore," *Africa*, ii (1929), 306.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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 821

[539]
[782]

Ho Moon lying there,
Thou must look at this arrow,
That I may shoot a springbok with it to-morrow.

In the mythology of these people the Moon is represented now as the shoe of the Mantis, which he threw into the sky to give him light, now as a man gradually sliced down to almost complete extinction by the sun; and it is also connected, as we have seen, with the origin of death. But that it is more than merely a mythological character to them is shown not only by the prayers, but also by various special observances relating to it. The Moon is not to be laughed at, lest it become angry and go into the sky (i.e. become eclipsed). A Bushman child for the same reason is warned by his father not to look at the Moon as it rises behind the mountain, for fear of arousing its anger and causing it to become obscured. Above all the Moon may not be looked at when game has been shot, lest the wounded animal be lost.[1] [773]

Prayers are also found addressed to the Sun and, more frequently, to the Stars. Abundance of food is attributed to them, and the prayers, like those addressed to the Moon, ask for success in hunting and collecting, and say, in effect, "send food, that we may live and not die." Certain stars are asked for certain foods, probably those that come into season about the time the star first appears in the evening sky. Canopus, for instance, known as the "Bushman rice (ants' larvæ) Star", is addressed as follows[2]:— 782 821

[539]

O Star coming there,
Let me see a springbok,
O Star coming there,
Let me dig out ants' food
With this stick;
O Star-body coming there,
Let me dig out ants' food
With this stick;
O Star coming there,
Let me see a springbok to-morrow;
O Star coming there,
I give thee my heart;
Do thou give me thy heart;
O Star coming there,
I may see a proteles to-morrow,
Let the dog kill it,
Let me eat it,
Let me eat filling my body,
That I may lie and sleep at night.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 7, 9–10, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 7; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, Index s. v. "Moon"; Orpen, "Mythology of the Malut Bushman", 145; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 304–6.

[2] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 307.

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and make the heavens the theatre of numberless poetically-conceived 773
histories"—in which, as the texts obtained by him show, Bushman 821
mythology is extremely rich.[1]

The selections so far published from these texts are too few to 821
enable us to determine anything more about the nature of the worship 771
directed to these heavenly bodies, and especially about the ceremonies associated with them; but that such worship did actually exist is evident from the facts recorded above.

There is no mention of similar prayers among the Namib Bushmen, 776
but then no information at all is available about their ideas relating 782
to the heavenly bodies. Among the tribes further north we again 821
meet with moon worship. Both Naron and Auen still worship the [184]
Moon. They regard it as an old man, the Sun as a young girl, who is his wife. First the Moon pursues the Sun across the sky, later the Sun follows the Moon. They go down to their houses below the horizon in the west, then fly back at night across the earth to their houses in the east. They can be heard passing, but are not seen. The New Moon, when it appears, is invoked by the magicians, two of whom, man and woman, sit on the ground together, holding their hands out palms upward towards it, and say: "Give us rain that we [789]
may live." This worship of the Moon has penetrated into modern ideas also, for most of the people think that since the Moon is in the [177]
sky and the God (*!khuba*) the white men and Nama speak of is also in the sky, therefore God is the Moon. Their ancestors used also to pray to certain stars, particularly the morning star and the Southern Cross; but these prayers, says Miss Bleek, are memories of long ago, whereas the moon worship is continued to-day by young as well as old.[2]

A prayer to the New Moon for food, given in the eighties of last 821
century by a Kung youth from near Lake Ngami, is also recorded [782]
in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd[3]; but according to Lebzelter [178]
there is nowadays no trace at all among the Kung of either sun or moon worship. The sun is regarded as a woman, the moon as a man, 773
who originally lived upon earth and were carried about on the 821
shoulders of people; but the latter became tired of their burdens

[1] Bleek, "Resemblances in Bushman and Australian Mythology," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, Feb., 1874, 101–2; *idem*, *Bushman Texts*, 10–12, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 8, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 72–99 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Folklore," 304, 307.
[2] *Naron*, 26–7.
[3] *Bushman Folklore*, 414–15.

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821 and left them lying alone, whereupon they ascended to the sky.
[773] This story, adds Lebzelter, is not believed in at all by the people, who told it to him with great laughter.[1]

Other prayers to the New Moon are found, however, among the
[782] !O Kung in Angola. Miss Bleek describes a dance seen by her,
[535] in which the women and girls stood in a group on one side singing and clapping their hands, while the men, singing also but not clapping, were in an irregular group on the other side, wriggling their whole bodies but otherwise hardly moving. The song accompanying this dance was a repetition of the words :—

[539]

//nwa-se //kekema //gu a i-i,	New Moon, come out, give water to us,
//nwa-se tetana //gu a i-i,	New Moon, thunder down water for us,
//nwa-se tala u //gu a i-i,	New Moon, shake down water for us.

Here also, as among the Naron and Auen, the Moon is therefore looked upon as the raingiver, and is prayed to as such—and rain, it must be remembered, makes the plants grow which feed the buck, hence it provides both vegetable and animal food. The New Moon is said to be either a child or a man, while the Full Moon is a woman. This distinction Miss Bleek interprets in the light of the difference in form presented by these two aspects of the Moon. In Naron and
[193] Nama the masculine and feminine endings are given to the same
[196] roots to denote respectively strong, tall, slender things and weak, short, round things. So here the New Moon may be called a man, because of its slenderness, the Full Moon a woman because of its round shape. The Moon is also held to be the elder sister, the sun the younger; but apparently there are no special practices or beliefs regarding the latter, although one of Miss Bleek's informants said: "We sing to the Sun and the Stars as well as the Moon." No prayers
[782] to the former are recorded, however.[2]

The only other Bushmen of whose ideas relating to the heavenly bodies we have information are the Hiechware. Dornan states that
[184] he was unable to discover among them any special ceremonies connected with the sun and the moon, but that they certainly do reverence these bodies, although seeming to dread them more than anything else. They think they must keep on good terms with the sun and the moon if they are to be successful in hunting or anything
[782] else they undertake. He could not, however, discover any prayers

[1] Religiösen Vorstellungen der *//Khun*-Buschmänner," 401; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ Buschleuten" 13.
[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 53; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 119–20, 122, 124.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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or other worship directed to these bodies.[1] How far the absence 821
of moon worship must be attributed to the fact that these Bushmen [782]
have long been exposed to Bantu influence is difficult to say. In [177]
view of the comparative evidence afforded by the other Bushman tribes, however, as well as the fact that the Hiechware have certainly been considerably influenced by the BeChwana, this seems the most reasonable suggestion; although, as already noted, Dornan cannot [114]
be regarded as a fully reliable authority.

The evidence on the whole shows quite definitely that worship 821
of the heavenly bodies, and especially of the Moon, exists among 771
the Bushmen. In all the instances noted, the New Moon is prayed to; 782
in the case of the Cape Bushmen for food, although the details of the ceremony are not available, while among the Naron, Auen, and !O Kung there is a special ceremony at which it is invoked for rain. There is nothing to suggest that the Moon is conceived of [776]
as a supreme deity, or that it forms the object of an elaborate cult. At the same time the prayers and ceremonies noted clearly constitute an act of worship. They must therefore be regarded as part of the Bushman religion. The prayers and usages relating to the sun and the stars among the Cape Bushmen suggest a wider sidereal worship, which the scanty details from the Northern tribes would seem to bear out; but the worship of the Moon seems to be by far the most prominent.

Supernatural Beings

In other aspects of religion and mythology there appears to be 773
a good deal of variation in details among the different Bushmen 776
tribes. The most prominent figure in the mythology of the Cape [184]
Bushmen is the Mantis, round whom a whole cycle of myths has been formed. Besides his own proper name, */kaggen*, he possesses several others, as does also his wife, whose most usual name, however, is */huntu!katt!katten*, the Dassie or Rock Rabbit (*Hyrax capensis*). [825]
They have three children, a daughter, of whom there is no further mention; a son, */gaunu-ts'axau* (*/gaunu* is the name of a certain star, and *ts'axau* means "eye"), who in one of the tales is killed by baboons, and restored to life again by the Mantis; and another son, */kaggen-⊙pwa*, the young Mantis, who also figures in one of the tales, where his likeness to his father is commented upon. Besides his own children the Mantis has an adopted daughter, */xo*, the Porcupine. [825]

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 163.

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can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible. Among 821 825 the many rock-paintings left by the Bushmen in the caves and rock- [532] shelters of their country there are pictures "of wonderful animals, such as certainly never existed; these the Bushmen of fifty years ago explained as Rain bulls, Rain animals. With them are often seen frogs, fish, tortoise, and snake, the animals protected by the Rain".[1] Certain snakes found near a waterhole are believed to be kept in store by the Rain, and for fear of arousing its wrath may not be eaten by young unmarried men and women; nor may frogs be killed, lest drought ensue. When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind, and various transformations effected. Young women are particularly exposed to danger from the Rain, and to avoid this they must observe various rules of conduct. They [782] must propitiate the waterhole by means of *buchu* and *tto* (aromatic shrubs); they must hide themselves from the Rain; they must not snap their fingers at people, nor may they be spoken to against their wish, lest the anger of the Rain be thereby aroused. There are many [773] legends telling how disobedient girls were punished, together with those around them, by the angry Rain, or were taken up by his agency in a whirlwind and transformed into frogs, snakes, porcupines, stars, water-flowers, etc. Such transformations are also illustrated [532] in the rock-paintings.

The Rain thus appears as something to be respected or feared, 821 since it has power to change people into animals and other objects, as 773 well as to destroy with storms and terrible lightning. At the same 825 time it also brings water and makes food grow. In connection with this latter aspect Miss Bleek says: "That Bushmen realized the life-giving powers of water is clear, as all tales of rebirth are connected therewith. The Mantis restores his son and his sister, the Blue crane, to life after they have been killed by throwing a part of their body into the water. In course of time this part grows up into the person to which it had belonged. In the same way he makes an eland of a shoe (perhaps a piece of eland's skin). An ostrich is killed; one of its feathers blows into the water and becomes a new ostrich."

"Yet in spite of the Bushman's dependence on water and realization 782 821 of its power," she goes on to say, "he does not represent it as a man [776] or god. One instance is known to me of the Rain being addressed, when it is wrathful and lightens; but the first part of the speech is to the dead men who ride it:—

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 32[illegible].

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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821
[539]

O gallopers,
O gallopers,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it
821 to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other magicians have a similar power over the wind, */khwe*, and are protected by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind
[773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears the form of a bird.[1]

773 Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we
776 meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from
[184] those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object
[794] of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed that *'Kaang* (i.e. */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, *'Kue-'akeng-*
[761] *'teng*, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives
[821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put
[825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine
796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood"
535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant,
[773] Qing, described as follows: "*Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the song of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it, and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night.
[786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[104] [2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol *c* represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds.

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medicine, in which is burnt snake powder. When a man is sick, 535
this dance is danced round him, and the dancers put both hands under 796
their arm-pits, and press their hands upon him, and when he coughs [755]
the initiated put out their hands and receive what has injured him—
secret things. The initiated who know secret things are Qogne;
the sick person is hang cāi."

Cagn, said Qing, was the first being and made all things—the sky, 776
the moon, stars, mountains, and animals. The Bushmen prayed
to him. On being asked how, Qing answered, in a low, imploring [782]
tone: "O Cagn! O Cagn! are we not your children, do you not [539]
see our hunger? give us food"—"and he gives us both hands
full." To the further question, where *Cagn* was, he responded,
"We don't know, but the elands do. Have you not hunted and [825]
heard his cry, when the elands suddenly start and run to his call?
Where he is, the elands are in droves like cattle."

Cagn's wife was *Coti*. When asked where she came from, Qing
said, "I don't know, perhaps with those who brought the Sun;
but you are now asking the secrets that are not spoken of." These [794]
secrets he himself did not know—"only the initiated men of that
dance know these things." *Cagn* also had two sons, *Cogaʒ* and
Gcwi, and together with him and *Cogaʒ* there was another great
"chief", *Qwangciqutshaa*. All three had great power, but it was
Cagn who gave orders through the other two. Of all these personages 773
various tales were related by Qing. One of them, describing how 776
Cogaʒ was killed by baboons and restored to life again by *Cagn*,
is almost identical with the similar story told by the Cape Bushmen
of */kaggen* and */gaunu-ts'axau*. In all these tales *Cagn* appears as
a human being, but with supernatural powers. He can change
himself into different forms, is then sometimes killed and eaten by
animals or people, but always comes to life again. He possesses
various magical charms, the strongest of which is his tooth; and the [825]
birds are his messengers who report to him what is going on.
Occasionally he gets into trouble, from which he is extricated by
Cogaʒ, just as in the Cape Bushman stories */kaggen* is aided by */ni*.

Another name for the Mantis among these Bushmen, according 776
to Arbousset, is *'ngo*. This may explain the following quotation
from Campbell: "They had a name which they gave to God, who
is above them, and another to God who is under them. The former
is a male, the latter a female. The male God they call Goba, the
female Ko; and her attendants are called Gauna." *Ko* (*'ngo*), as

N [see category 116, p. 182 for the author's explanation of the 'initiated.' — Analyst]

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Ko ('ngo), as

776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are
[787] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while
[224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is
[782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with
[756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant,
[791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians, who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded
[773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do
[184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his special protection.

Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis.
184 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to
776 Miss Lloyd several tales about *!xwe*, a little personage not identified with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a variety of things. *!xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about
776 *Hishe* or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys'
[88] puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people, bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans.
[756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws
[114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the
177 idea of *!khuba* or *!xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba"). This is the
776

[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32–3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 501, 505–6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404–13.

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Nama word for "master, lord", and has been used by some 177
missionaries for "God". The Naron and Auen were vague as to 776
the nature of */khuba*. The old men did not know of him; the middle-aged men said *Hishe* was */khuba*; while some of the younger people said he was the sky, others that he dwelt in the sky; they prayed to him to let them live long and to make them well when ill. Women who when young had been kidnapped and held as slaves by Nama chiefs were very fluent on the subject of */khuba*; the others, [648] remarks Miss Bleek, had evidently picked up the word without [567] attaching any clear meaning to it, beyond that it was some sort of deity and that it was "good to pray to it". The same word (given by him in its vocative form */khutse*) was also found among the partly-disorganized groups of these Bushmen by Fourie, who translates it "God".

A few of Miss Bleek's informants further mentioned *Huwu* or 776
Huwuba, but they did not know much about him—he was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the [177] "captain" of the white people.[1]

Huwu or *Hu'e* figures very prominently among the Kung, however. [184] Miss Lloyd's young informants from near Lake Ngami only once mentioned him. They began the tale of the Moon and the Hare [773] with the words, *Huwe* made all things; and in explanation said, *Huwe* made all things to eat (i.e. all animals that are eaten), and *Huwe* is a man.[2] Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, much further west, speaks of *Huwe* as a "good being", to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things. They pray to him for food, as we have already seen, at a special ceremony held [782] once a year when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen, [796] and they also in case of sickness call upon him to restore them to [755] health.[3]

Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*)[4] or *Xuwa*,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 24–6; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.
[3] "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.
[4] It may be mentioned here that Lebzelter is inconsistent in the orthography he employs: */Kuh* is elsewhere written *//Khun*, *//gauab* alternates with */gauab*, *gagorob* with */gau /gorob*, and so on. [114]

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776 "the Lord" or "the great captain", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Huwu* or *Hu's*. This "supreme being" is regarded as anthropomorphic, he looks like a Bushman and he also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky in a house with two storeys, the lower of which is occupied by himself, his wife, whose name is unknown, and many children, while the upper is occupied, as already mentioned, by the souls of the dead (*xa*). In appearance this house is similar to the ordinary Bushman hut, although not quite the same, and its exterior is "hairy like a caterpillar". Honey, locusts, fat flies, and butterflies [825] are found here in superabundance, and the "great captain" feeds [775] upon these; the souls of the dead, however, merely sit around and eat nothing. *Xu* summons the magicians to their profession, and [756] gives them supernatural powers; he is the lord over rain and lightning, as well as over the spirits, *//gauab*, and through the chief of the latter he sends good fortune in hunting or in the collection of veldkos. If anybody thinks or speaks evil of him, he punishes the evildoer with lightning; otherwise he takes no interest in the doings of his "Bushman children", except when somebody swears falsely by [782] him, for the Kung have a regular oath in which they invoke him. He is prayed to by them in fixed form for rain, in case of severe illness, before going out hunting or before undertaking a dangerous journey.[1]

The Western Kung of Ukuanyama (Oschimpoloveld) speak of [184] *Erob*, translated by Lebzelter as "God", who, like *Xu*, lives in a house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is [782] often prayed to, especially for rain and in hunting, as well as in case [224] of illness, "because he has made all things and can do everything and knows everything", and he is given the first offerings of the chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth, [821] and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.[2]

821 *Erob* also figures as the "supreme being" among the Heikum of 184 the Etosha Pan, although in prayers for rain and in case of illness he 776 is addressed as *Xu*. The group in North-Eastern Ondonga speak [782] of the "supreme being" as *Xamaba*, the groups at Ukuambi know him as *Erob* or *Xuwa*, and the group at Uukualuthi as *Erob*; and among them all, as among the Eastern Kung, he lives in the sky in a house to which the souls of the dead are brought. Almost

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Kaun-Buschmänner," 407-9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 13.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen," 412.

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everywhere he is regarded as the creator of all things, including mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.[1] 184 776 [821] [782] [224]

The IO Kung in Angola did not mention *Erob* or *Xuwa*, but spoke again of *Huwe*. Here, as we have seen, *Huwe* occasionally appears at the boys' puberty ceremonies and dances with the initiates, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double guise as man and woman. In the prayer to the New Moon his name may also be substituted for *//nwa-se*, but apart from this substitution there is no evidence of worship directed towards him. He is further said to appear to people in dreams.[2] Of the attributes found by Lebzelter for the "supreme being" among the Kung and the Heikum no mention at all is made by Miss Bleek. [787]

Huwe appears again among the Bushmen of the Eastern Kalahari. They believe, according to Dornan, in a spirit which they variously call *Dtimo*, *Thora*, and *Huwe*. *Dtimo* is a corruption of the Chwana word *Modimo*, nowadays generally rendered "God", and is, says Dornan, "largely used by the tame Bushmen with the same signification." *Thora* and *Huwe* are the regular Bushman words. *Huwe* is here spoken of as the good spirit who wards off disease, gives plenty, and protects the Bushmen from danger. When any danger threatens, they will call upon him; Dornan mentions having once heard some Bushmen of the Sansokwe River sing over and over again the words *Huwe ka hume ie ie*, *Huwe* come to our aid ie ie. More often, however, they speak of *Thora*. They say he made all things, but they are not sure where he dwells, or if he is a person. According to Dornan they look upon him as the Great One, who is over all things, who sends rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting. They often use *Thora* to ensure success in hunting; when, e.g. they have killed an animal they will praise him for bringing it under their arrows. This statement Dornan seems to have derived [177] [782] 114 776 224 [821]

[1] Lebzelter, op. cit., 410–12; cf. Schmidt, "Die alten Buschmann-Religion," 197, summarizing Lebzelter's data.

[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122, 123.

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114 from Chapman, who records that once when some Bushmen were
776 with him and he had killed a rhinoceros they threw some dust on
[224] its tail and spat in its eyes before they touched it, muttering meanwhile "some gibberish" to *Thora*, while on another occasion when he had killed some elephants a similar performance was again enacted by his Bushman attendants.

The distinction between *Thora* and *Huwe* is not quite clear from Dornan's account. In one place he seems to imply that the two words refer to the same conception. Elsewhere, however, he remarks: "Huwe seems an inferior kind of spirit to Thora, for at times the latter is invoked to come to his aid, as if the former were not powerful enough to defend himself and his children. Some Bushmen near the Tuli River sang the following words, in an agitated and melancholy
[539] voice: 'Thora ba Huwe i-e i-e, Thora come to the help of Huwe
[782] i-e i-e,' ad lib." From their attributes, however, it seems that the two conceptions *Thora* and *Huwe* are substantially the same. In all probability the name *Huwe* has drifted in from the west, which would explain why it is sometimes substituted for *Thora*, sometimes found alongside it.[1]

192 In addition to this being variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Erob*,
821 *Thora*, etc., all the Northern Bushmen also speak of *//gauwa* (*Gaua*,
[776] *//gaua*, *//gauab*, etc.). This word, as we have already seen, is used
[184] by the North-Western Bushmen for "a person who has died", or
[775] more precisely, as appears in certain cases, for the ghost of a dead person. It is, however, also used with a much wider application. Among the Naron and Auen at Sandfontein the wind is called *//gauwa* when it is strong and howls. One of the Naron tales recorded by Miss Bleek speaks of the wind as a man going about, and of *//gauwa* as a bird accompanying him. "*//gauwa* says: 'I make the wind and
192 thus go.'" Some of the people seemed to believe in a supreme
776 *//gauwa*, a being who lives in the east near *Hishe*, to whose house the
114 ghosts repair by day. They said he was *Hishe's* younger brother, while others said *//gauwa* was *Hishe*. Miss Bleek affirms that no ideas of good or bad qualities are connected with either of these beings, nor are they prayed to. Fourie, however, speaks of *Gaua* among the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron as a "bad being" or "Satan", to whom people dying a "bad death" are said to go,

[1] Dornan, op. cit., 148–50; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 386, 81. The translation given by Dornan of the prayer in which *Thora* is asked to come to the aid of *Huwe* cannot be relied upon. In another place (*J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1917, p. 53) he renders the same words: "God leave (us) alone ie ie!"

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while those dying a "good death" go to *!khutse* (*!khuba*). "About the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1] 114 192 776 [773] [881]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say "*//gaua* thunders", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: "*//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndzambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God"); "we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to *//gaua*."[2] 184 192 776 [751] [821] [761] [775] [821] [881] [304] [782]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain" *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds. 114 184 776 [192] [821] [756] [787]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4.

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776 First there is their chief or headman, simply termed *//gauab* by ordinary people, but whose real name, known to and uttered only by the magicians, is */nawa*. "Probably," suggests Lebzelter, "we [184] have to do here with the high god of another religion, and */nawa* is to be identified with *//nwa-se*, the New Moon of the Angola Kung." */nawa* or *//gauab* does good as well as evil. He is prayed to for [782] [224] [753] success in the chase, assists the hunters in their efforts, and receives the first-offerings of any game taken; he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. One informant, who had been baptized, spoke of him as the "devil" who had made the Kung; others, old magicians, credited him with giving rise to the existence and present mode of life of men and animals. He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.

775 776 The second group of spirits are the *//gauab* who stand at the service of the "great captain". As a rule they lie around their hearth-fires in the sky, the stars, and only come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead (*xa*) and bring them to *Xu*. The third group comprises the "small" *//gauab*, the ghosts of the dead, whose home is the grave but who roam about everywhere and are injurious to mankind; the fourth are the particularly malicious little spirits dwelling in the water; and finally there is the whole horde of the [753] spirits of disease, the *dsao*, small yellow mannikins with thick bellies, who at the command of any of the other spirits enter into people and thus make them ill. It is the function of the magicians to remove [756] them from the body of the patient.[1]

The Western Kung of the Oschimpoloveld have no such elaborate 184 world of spirits. Mention is made only of the */gagorob* or */gau/gorob*, 776 small spirits who roam about in the bush and do nothing but play practical jokes on people. "They are not the spirits of the dead," says Lebzelter, "and cannot therefore be compared with the *//gauab*."[2]

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan we meet again with *//gauab*, [192] or, as the name is here rendered, */gamab*. Owing to Christian influence [177] */gamab* is now spoken of as "the devil", but Lebzelter regards this being as a "demiurge", whom he equates with */nawa* or the principal *//gauab* of the Eastern Kung, and with */gamab* of the Bergdama and Nama. */gamab* is said by the Heikum to have created mankind and the world; the souls of the dead (*darish*) come to live with him,

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der /!*Kun*-Buschmänner," 407–10; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 412.

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and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the "benefactress" *Ises*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.[1]

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was doubted.[2]

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are, according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan, "I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad, and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism in which two powers, one good, Thora or Huwe, and one bad, Khauna, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."[3]

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the

[1] Op. cit., 410. [2] Op. cit., 410–11.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167–8.

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Nama. Nama influence is seen also in the word *Heiseb* found among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga. This is one of the names applied to the mythical hero more commonly known as *Heitsi Eibib*, who figures so prominently in the religious system of the Nama. Its absence from the other Bushman tribes is clearly suggestive, although the name *Hishe* found among the Naron and Auen may possibly be a corruption of it. The various current interpretations of *//gaua* as "the evil being", "the devil" or "Satan" must likewise be dismissed as alien to native Bushman ideas. The word has been widely used by missionaries among the Nama for "Devil", and there can be little doubt that it is ultimately from this source that such interpretations have been derived.

All these direct symptoms of borrowing from other peoples show clearly that the religious conceptions of the Northern Bushmen as recorded above can by no means be regarded as untainted by foreign influences. The final interpretation of these conceptions will therefore have to take into account the religious ideas of the neighbouring peoples as well, especially of the Nama, in order that a full basis for discussion may be obtained. This is all the more necessary since the information relating to them as now held by the Bushmen is hardly sufficient to enable us to determine satisfactorily the full meaning attached to them by the people, to determine, that is, what part they really play in native life. For the moment, however, it may be of service if we attempt to reduce to some order the various accounts given by our authorities of these conceptions.

A general survey of the attributes said to be vested in the different beings figuring in the religion and mythology of the Northern Bushmen seems to show that on the whole we have to deal with two main conceptions. There is in the first place the conception known variously to the North-Western Bushmen as *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Xuwa*, *Hishe*, or *Erob*, and to the North-Eastern Bushmen as *Thora* or *Huwe*. By Lebzelter, whose account cannot be entirely freed from a suspicion of prejudice in favour of the monotheistic doctrine associated with the name of Pater W. Schmidt and his school of disciples, *Xu* or *Erob* is spoken of as an anthropomorphic "supreme good being" dwelling in a house in the sky, where he receives the souls of the dead. He is regarded as the creator; he controls the rain and its associated phenomena of thunder and lightning, and punishes evil-doers with lightning; he sends good fortune in hunting and in the collection of veldkos, is prayed to before and after hunting, and is

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776 honoured with certain ritual observances connected with the chase;
[782] he is also prayed to for rain, before travel, and in case of illness;
[224] and finally it is from him that the magicians obtain their special
[756] powers. By the Eastern Kung he is said to have a wife and many children; among the other Kung and the Heikum he figures alone.

Few of these attributes are mentioned by Miss Bleek in her remarks
184 upon *Hishe* among the Naron and Auen, and upon *Huwe* among the
776 !O !Kung. But there are certain points of agreement. *Hishe* dwells in
[775] a house in the east, to which the ghosts of the dead repair by day;
[224] he is regarded as the creator, and as the protector of game and hunting. On the other hand *Hishe-Huwe*, sometimes alone, sometimes in double
[881] guise as man and woman, sometimes "followed by children like
[114] baboons", figures prominently in the boys' puberty ceremonies, which are not referred to at all by Lebzelter. At the same time, since these ceremonies certainly have much to do with hunting, their association with *Hishe-Huwe* is not inconsistent with his character as protector of the game and hunting, although of course it is hardly likely that this provides the only explanation for his figuring in them. Nor
[782] is he ever prayed to among these tribes, save where the name *Huwe* is substituted by the !O !Kung for *//nwa-se*, the New Moon, in the prayer for rain. Most of the prayers for food and rain, however, are directed to the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon.

A closer agreement with Lebzelter's account is provided by Dornan's
[114] discussion of *Thora-Huwe* among the North-Eastern Bushmen. *Thora* is here said to be the creator who is over all things, he sends
[821] rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting, certain
[224] hunting observances are directed towards him, he wards off disease,
[753] and protects the Bushmen from danger.

It is possible also to find a connection in certain respects between *Huwe* and the conception of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen. Among the Cape Bushmen, it is true, the Mantis is primarily a mythological character, the central figure of an elaborate series of myths relating to him and his "family". He is never worshipped, but on
[782] the other hand, like *Huwe*, he has creative powers, and is also said to
[825] have made certain bucks and to protect them. Mention is further made by these Bushmen of an afterworld to which go the spirits
[775] of the dead, but there is nothing at all to link this up with the Mantis, just as there is nothing to link up the afterworld of the North-Eastern Bushmen with *Thora*. The resemblance between the Mantis and *Huwe* is far more noticeable among the Bushmen of Basutoland.

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Here also the Mantis is the central figure of many myths; but at the same time he is the creator, he causes life or death, he is especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food and good luck in hunting, and he is also connected with certain religious dances at which the "initiated men" (probably the magicians) cure illness. The elaborate mythological character of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen and his association with so many other figures in these myths preclude an absolute identification of him and *Huwe*. The resemblance in other respects, however, appears on the whole to be striking enough to warrant our connecting the two. 184 776 [761] [224] [782] [755]

The other outstanding conception is that of *//gaua*, *//gauab*, */gamab*, etc. In all the North-Western tribes the word *//gaua* is used in the first place for the ghosts of dead persons, and one cannot resist assuming that this is its fundamental significance. Among the Naron and Auen these ghosts, which as in all the other North-Western tribes can be seen by the magicians, walk about at night, and people are afraid of them, but not do expect real harm from them; among the Eastern Kung, however, all the *//gauab* are the cause of illness, some do mischief, while others come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead; among the Heikum of Ukuambi the ghosts move about on earth and do harm to people, while among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul goes to live with */gamab*, but may return to earth to kill people. In general therefore it would seem that dead people are regarded by the North-Western Bushmen as sources of injury, and especially as causing illness and even death. The same idea is conveyed by Dornan's statement, that the North-Eastern Bushmen avoid the grave of a dead person, "lest the spirit resent the intrusion." 184 775 [753] [753] [761] [769]

The word *//gaua* is, however, used also in the sense of a personified being, whose attributes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but appear on closer analysis to show a certain uniformity. The !O Kung ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*; when anyone is killed by lightning they say "*//gaua* took him", and people who had met their death in this way were said to sit in the sky as stars, which are looked upon as "*//gaua*'s fires". Among the Eastern Kung the stars are also the fires of the *//gauab*, a shooting star heralds the death of someone, while lightning is the medium through which *Xu* punishes or kills people. Among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga *xamaba* (*/gamab*) inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like, while 184 776 [192] [821] [775] [821] [753]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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184 776 among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan */gamab* makes thunder and [821] lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting stars. The Naron and Auen term a strong and howling wind *//gaua*, [825] while sometimes *//gaua* is said to be a bird which makes the wind. [777] Finally among the North-Eastern Bushmen *Khauna* is the source of [753] bad luck and disease, is injurious to people, and sends the thunder- [821] storm and lightning, the latter being regarded as his offspring. Further the "lightning bird", intimately associated with him, is feared and [825] may inflict death by lightning when molested. Here again we get the general impression of *//gaua* as the source of illness and death, [753] acting through the medium of the storm, lightning, and shooting stars.

184 In all this *//gaua* offers certain points of resemblance with the 776 conception of the Rain held by the Cape Bushmen. Among the latter the Rain is definitely personified, it appears in their myths 821 as a supernatural personage, generally in the form of an animal, and here it is said, "the Rain thunders, the Rain lightens." When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind and various transformations effected; the howling of the wind forebodes evil; and numerous observances have to be kept in order [761] not to anger the Rain and thereby provoke death. There is also [775] the belief that people killed by lightning are changed into stars; shooting stars are omens of death; the wind is sometimes spoken [825] of as a bird; and the flight over the camp of the *Scopus umbretta*, known to the North-Eastern Bushmen as the "lightning bird", here announces the death of someone. In this connection it may be added that among the Namib Bushmen thunder and lightning are said to command great reverence, and a person struck and killed by lightning is believed to have suffered death as a punishment for some past misdeed.[1]

184 In some cases, among the North-Western Bushmen, *//gaua* shares 776 certain of the attributes vested in *Huwe*. This appears most strikingly among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga, where *Huwe-Erob* does not figure at all, his place being taken by *xamaba*, who has most of the powers and privileges attributed to *Huwe-Erob* by the other [782] Heikum and the Kung. Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan [755] we find prayers addressed to *Erob* for rain and in illness, but at the [775] same time the "demiurge" */gamab* is mentioned as the creator who [821] receives the souls of the dead. Further, as we have just seen, */gamab*

[1] Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 104.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people 184
by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, 776
/nawa or the chief of the *//gauab* figures as the creator, and, as the [821]
executive of *Xu*, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is [224]
honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success; [782]
he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems [753]
extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of *Huwe* [178]
on the one hand and of *//gaua* on the other have been blended or
confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make
this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explana- 114
tion may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek 178
and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies 776
for boys: according to the former, it is *Hishe* who figures in the 881
special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled [184]
by *Gaua*. *//gaua*, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's
puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar
confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do
the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a
suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that
one of Miss Bleek's informants identified *//gaua* with *Ndzambi*,
the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for
"God", while another spoke of *//gaua* as the "father" of the
Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of *Huwe*, *Thora*, or 184
the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the 776
source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food [224]
gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; [753]
and with the conception of *//gaua* first as the ghosts of the dead [821]
and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness [775]
and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder,
lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an
interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the
possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples;
it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from
the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions
common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

Magic and Magicians

In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the 756
mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

756 faculty of seeing and speaking to the *//gauab*, and only they know
[787] and utter the real name, */nawa*, of the chief of the latter. The evening
[782] before a hunting expedition they pray to *//gauab* for help, and certain
756 of them also have the power of conjuring down rain. This they
789 achieve in the following manner. When rain is needed, all the people of the camp take part in a dance, during which they sing over and over again a mournful song lamenting the condition of hunger and thirst to which they are reduced. "Finally the great captain in the sky hears the lamentation. The magician goes outside the camp and sees that a thin cord is being let down from the sky. He climbs a certain way up this, but the great captain comes down to meet him half-way. As soon as the magician sees the great captain, he throws a powder up to him; whereupon the great captain lifts him up high and takes him into his house. There the magician prays
[782] to him: 'Lord, help us, the children are dying, we thirst and hunger.'
[776] So long does he pray and plead that at last the captain says: 'It is
[821] well, I shall send water, that the children may have water and veldkos.' Then he again accompanies the magician half-way down the cord. As soon as the latter has reached the ground, he releases his hold upon the cord, which is at once drawn up again. The rain follows immediately."[1]

184 Among the !O Kung in Angola there are also two kinds of magicians.
756 The */num-k'au* officiates at puberty dances, makes scarifications,
791 sees spirits, and also conjures up *//gaua*, while the *tsho-k'au* heals
[881] the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's
[787] body through sucking. For this he receives a present. Both
[755] men and women apparently can become magicians of either kind, if taught by an older practitioner. There is said to be no ceremony of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.[2]

It will be noticed that both terms which distinguish the two classes of magician among the Kung and the !O Kung are also found among the Naron and Auen for magicians. This would suggest that there is a similar division of functions in these tribes also, but neither Miss Bleek nor Kaufmann definitely states this.

773 The origin of magic among the Naron and Auen is said by Fourie
[789] to be attributed to *//gaua*, and he gives the following myth in confirmation.[3] "The Bushman *Tji-Tji* is said to have been initiated

[1] Lebzelter, "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 408–9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Treatment

is administered by relatives or friends, or in cases of acute and prolonged illness by a magician well versed in medical practices, who is 755
paid for his services. In cases of the latter kind a very common method employed is massage, leading up to the extraction of foreign bodies (" disease-poisons ", " spirits of disease ", etc.) believed to have been introduced into the patient and thus causing his illness. When the " doctor " feels that the foreign body has been brought near enough to the surface by his treatment, he sucks the part affected and then, with a retching sound, triumphantly spits out the object he is supposed to have sucked from the patient's body. Stones, pieces of bark, small bones, etc., are thus extracted from the affected part of the patient, who in consequence is cured ![1] Lebzelter records also that, while the " doctor " is busy performing this cure, the relatives [782]
and friends standing round pray to the " supreme being " to make the patient well again; and, as we have seen, the use of prayers in case of severe illness is mentioned by several other writers as well.[2]

More practical forms of treatment are also found, however.[3] Herbs 757
and roots of various kinds are extensively employed as medicines. 278
Sometimes they are burned to ashes which are then rubbed into small cuts made in the patient's body, sometimes they are boiled and given as a decoction. How far they actually do have curative effects is difficult to say, as no special study appears to have been made of their pharmacological properties, nor, save in a few instances, have they even been identified. But Dornan mentions that " for blackwater they use a plant called qilika (*Anacoampseros rhodesica*) by the Matabele; [824]
dysentery *Monsonia ovata*, and *Euclea lanceolata*; for various other diseases, *Cannabis sativa*, *Solanum nigrum*, *Lippia asperifolia* (malaria), *Cratalaria burkeana*, *Pterocarpus angolensis*, *Datura stramonium*, *Indigofera senegalensis*, and *Bauhinea reticulata* ".[4] Burns, open 752
sores, headaches, etc., are treated by rubbing medicated ointments on the part affected. Chapman describes another method of treatment undergone by himself. " Having a frightful headache from the heat of the sun, I resort to my usual Bushman remedy, at the expense of having my forehead ornamented with blisters dotted all over it the next morning. April [his Bushman guide] has a root

[1] A good eyewitness account of this treatment is given by Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*; [114]
340–1; cf. also D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29.
[2] " Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 411; cf. pp. 183 sq. above.
[3] Nolte, " Krankheiten und Heilmittel der Nama und Buschmänner," *D. Kol-Ztg.*, 1886, p. 629 sq.; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 159, 282–3; ii, 74, 182; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Dornan, loc. cit.; Vedder, " Grammatik der !Kō-Buschmannsprache," 8–9; Fourie, loc. cit.
[4] Op. cit., 142.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 Band 2. She was /Nai's second cousin (MoFaBrSoDa) and the first cousin once
585 removed of the groom (MoSiDaDa). The attendants were not selected for their precise relationship to the bride. They were the only young kinswomen present in the two bands. The girls sat down and chatted with /Nai for a moment and then stood up and, giggling and chattering, took /Nai by the arms. /Nai drew back. Then Xama pulled /Nai's arms over her shoulders, bent and took /Nai on to her back so that her feet did not touch the ground. Xama carried /Nai in this position to the wedding scherm, laid her down inside, to the left of the opening as one entered, in the dark shadow, and covered her over with the kaross. There /Nai remained. We did not see her again that night.

It is the custom for the parents to take brands from their own fires to light the wedding fire of the bride and groom. Presumably this was done, though I did not see it. When the girls arrived the fire was burning and a young man, a cousin of the groom, was tending it. The two girls sat down by the fire on the women's side.

562 /Kung men and women must sit on opposite sides of the fire.[1] They believe that if
834 male and female genital organs should touch the same spot on the ground the man's
352 hunting powers would be vitiated and the woman would get a sickness in her genito-urinary tract, not an ordinary, human, communicable disease but a magical one. The woman's side is to the left as one faces the entrance to the scherm, the men's to the right. The fire is always in front of the entrance if the scherm is built, but, more often than not, if the weather is good, or the people are travelling and staying
[342] only one night, or the wife is lazy, she hangs the family belongings in a bush and does not build a scherm. Then it is the custom to thrust two upright sticks into the ground to represent the entrance, so that the family may orient itself.

In the werf of Band 2, about twenty or thirty yards to the west, a group of boys had
159 come to /Gunda to attend him. They were all the young boys of the werf who
585 were approximately his age, two cousins (MoSiSo) and four of the sons of /Gunda's stepfather by his first wife. The boys made a show of catching /Gunda and held him by the arms for a moment, laughing and talking. Then they formed a line with /Gunda following at the end, walked to the wedding fire, and sat down on the men's

[1] This taboo reveals the association which, I
224 believe, the /Kung make between the hunting power
833 of men and the male sexual principle. Both must be protected, and sexual activity must be controlled and constrained lest the life-giving and food-producing force of men be weakened or drained away. During the period of a hunt a man must not have sexual intercourse—that is, while the man is looking for game and, after he has shot his little poisoned arrow into the animal, while he is tracking it for miles and waiting and watching for days till it dies of the poison. A hunt usually demands many days and nights of effort and privation.

● [783] Too frequent indulgence in sexual intercourse with one's wife, even when no hunt is in progress, is believed to diminish a man's hunting power. Some
[841] men believed that once in five nights was best; others thought once in three nights was all right. Men who have the joking relationship constantly play upon the theme of excess, taunting each other: 'You do not know hunting, you know women', 'You cannot leave your wife long enough to hunt.'

The /Kung are less strict about another taboo. A woman is supposed not to touch a man's hunting gear at any time, because this would lessen his power to hunt. But I have often seen women touch assegais and quivers. Indeed it has sometimes been urgently necessary to do so when the children got hold of them, as, for instance, when the three-year-old ≠Gao, agile as a flea, took after us with his father's assegai, infuriated with us for some sudden notion of his own. There is a medicine called *gow gowns*, made from a plant, which may be rubbed on the weapons to purify them if they are touched by women, but I never saw this done and doubted if anyone bothered with it. The effect of a woman's touching the hunting gear is much stronger if she is menstruating. I assume they are more careful then.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

587 was meant. That would be very uncomfortable, he said. It would make her shiver and
589 might make her sick. The rainy season's passing is what cleanses the woman. When
[783] she is about to go to her new husband she prepares herself by washing in the ordinary way.

Unless a woman is quite old she does not remain long unmarried. One man said, 'Even if a widow is thick and tall, but is a good woman, some man will want her.' Widows may marry as second wives of married men, or they may marry widowers, divorced men, or bachelors. The two young widows and the two divorced women who were unmarried in 1953, had remarried by 1955. Only the very old widows remain unmarried.

There are so few unmarried women that widowers have difficulty in finding wives. The young widowed musician, /Gao, was an example. After his first wife's death he had married the daughter of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, when she was approximately ten or eleven years old, about the age of his own son, and was patiently waiting for her to grow up. Only one of the old widowers had succeeded in finding a wife by 1957.

736 The children of a widowed parent are kept by that parent. A widower may leave
768 his children with a woman relative, but they remain his. Orphaned children go to live with relatives. There is a tendency to feel that the boys belong eventually to the
[611] father's side of the family, the girls to the mother's. This concept came to our attention several times, but we did not find it to be a rigid social rule. The relative who
[604] is expected to take the children if they are young is the MoSi. But the FaSi might be nearer or more able for one reason or another to take them and might do so. FaBr would be the relative most likely to take half-grown boys, but again MoBr might be the one. Failing these, some other relative would take them. When it came to arrang-
[584] ing marriages for orphaned children, informants said that the father's elder brother would have the most authority; a stepfather or stepmother has none.

[597] Adoption does not exist in /Kung society.

Divorce may terminate a marriage. The couple may divorce without formality,
586 by mutual consent or by one spouse simply leaving the other. The /Kung word for ending a marriage in this way is *!kao joo*. I use the word 'divorce' for convenience, although no legal action takes place. No religious dispensation is involved, no permission or action on the part of the headman or group is required. If parents of a very young couple withheld consent this might influence the couple, but the parents' consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties, for there is no dowry or bride-price to be resolved. The only property a /Kung owns
[422] personally consists of movables, and these are never owned in common by man and wife. Every artifact down to a single bead belongs to an individual, who takes his property with him in case of divorce.

Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way. They are free to remarry without restrictions.

Divorce is never obligatory and the grounds are not formalized; the desire of the couple concerned is the determining factor. A condition such as sterility, for example, or a wrongdoing such as adultery, might or might not lead to divorce, depending on how the couple felt about it. Mistreatment or failure to provide would certainly be considered justification for divorce, should they ever occur, but justifica-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

774 troubling the people by their constant presence and by their
756 deafening roars at night. The man's spirit spoke with the
535 lions, defied them, and ordered them away, and the lions did go; they troubled the people no longer.

786 When the spirit returns, the medicine man comes to him-
756 self, as Gai did presently. He stood up and ran into the veld,
535 gaining speed as he went. Far out in the veld he screamed, a shriek of definace, then turned and charged back toward the dance fire. He passed through the dance like a wind through dry leaves; the people ducked aside and shrank away from his feet, then settled together when he had gone by. Gai shrieked again, turned himself, and rushed back, charging bull-like toward the fire again; this time Ukwane seized his arms and though Gai plowed forward, Ukwane hung on, dragging behind with all his weight, until at last Gai fell headlong into the dance fire and his hair burst into flames.

Ukwane snatched him out and slapped out the fire in his hair, and Gai, his mouth open and his eyes quite wild, sparks still falling from his head like stars, strained against Ukwane's hands. At last he broke away.

786 In a moment he bent slowly over the fire and washed his
756 hands in the flames, then went to one of the women in the
535 circle of singers and, placing one hand on her chest, the other
783 on her back, shuddered and groaned as he sucked the evil from her, then straightened suddenly and shrieked the evil into the air. In this way Gai cured all the people, followed as he went by Ukwane, who now held Gai's arm to keep him upright. Before long, Gai had fallen again exhausted and was dragged by the ankles to a place in the shade.

786 I looked at him and saw that his eyes were closed, his eye-
756 lids puffed, and thought he seemed unconscious. His breath
535 came rasping through his mouth and nose, and his pulse, showing in "the heart's place," seemed very quick. But he

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Good and evil are thus explained by a duality which has its principal source in the omnipotent ≠*Gao/na*'s own self-oriented nature. The scope of this duality is enlarged by the similar duality in the natures of *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*, who sometimes do good deeds to man and sometimes bad, when they are doing the work commanded by their master, and, also, when they instigate actions on their own initiative, as they sometimes do, especially I gather when ≠*Gao/na* is not around, for he is omnipotent but not omniscient or omnipresent. 772 776 [775]

Evil is sometimes accounted for by the gods working at cross purposes among themselves. For instance, *//Gauwa* might lead a man to find honey which ≠*Gao/na* had intended for someone else whom he wished to favour. ≠*Gao/na* would be angry and take revenge upon the man who found the honey. But, on the other hand, the gods may talk things over and agree together and man may benefit. The *//gauwasi* might want to take a person in death. One god would say, 'Go ahead', but the other says, 'No, let us not take him.' The first then agrees and the person is left. That is how people may be very ill and still be cured. [753]

Punishment

The concept of sin as an offence against the gods is vague among the /Kung. Man's wrong-doing against man is not left to ≠*Gao/na*'s punishment nor is it considered to be his concern. Man corrects or avenges such wrong-doings himself in his social context. ≠*Gao/na* punishes people for his own reasons, which are sometimes quite obscure. It was interesting to see in the examples given how often food was involved. 776 [783] 626

Burning bees, I learned, displeases ≠*Gao/na* intensely. He likes the bees, his wife is the 'mother of the bees', and he is very fond of honey himself. On one occasion, two men found honey in a tree. They tried to chop it out but the bees stung them so badly that they built a fire to drive them away and many bees were burned. ≠*Gao/na* did not like this. He sent a sickness upon the men and both died. When a person has burned bees, his body becomes hot as though burned by fire and he dies. [753]

≠*Gao/na* might change himself into a gemsbok and be walking in the veld. A hunter might come along and kill that gemsbok, thinking how lucky he was to get it. He would take the meat home and eat it and the next day he would be dead. Others who had no part in the killing would not die. ≠Toma who was telling this went on to say that ≠*Gao/na* might regret having done such a thing—killing a man who was just hunting to feed his children instead of helping him—and, to make amends, he might particularly favour that man's son.

If ≠*Gao/na* really sets out to kill someone in punishment, ≠Toma told us, one method he uses is to convert himself into honey and place himself in a tree like an ordinary honeycomb. Then he directs the person he wants to kill to that tree. The person takes the honey home, eats it, and then dies.

≠Toma added that ≠*Gao/na* might punish a person just a little by giving him a mild sickness, which would be comparable to giving him a thrashing. A good person who had done no wrong at all might also be punished by a mild sickness. ≠*Gao/na*'s motive, ≠Toma explained, might be to 'test' him or to 'break' him. (Ledimo and I worked carefully over this translation. We think we have the correct idea.) Why? we asked, but ≠Toma could not say. Not man's due, but whim and pride [753]

[42 cont.]

000 622 372 778 [262] 784 the mother's kin group. One of the tasks of the village chief is the guarding of the socha fire. Socha means pure or sacred or taboo. Foods that are prohibited for certain age groups or for one sex are "socha" for these persons. The word "socha" seems to me to be a very ancient one, or else it is a loan word from another language. Every place has at least two fires: the ordinary one, which is 166 available to everyone, and the socha fire for men only. When the 373 [596] village moves to another place, the family head takes the socha fire along. During the march veldkost is gathered. Once they 252 264 621 have arrived at the new place, the family head starts a new socha fire under a tall tree and roasts the veldkost. The boys leave im- [462] mediately and go hunting, while the women and girls set up the windscreen. Whatever the old man has roasted at the socha fire he is supposed to eat by himself; ordinarily this is what he does. Finally a messenger arrives and announces that a head of large game has been killed. Hours pass; the old man simply remains seated there, while the women and children make themselves comfortable in the new windscreen. [Fig. 15 appears here.] The game is brought to the socha fire, and the meat from the legs and [262] shoulder blade is cut off and given to the women and children, who are never allowed to eat meat from the bone. All the rest is [622] consumed by the men at the socha fire. The village chief also has the task of organizing the celebration for the first veld fruits. The hordes that I visited no longer practice this custom. Vedder has described it for the !Kung of Gaub.

178 622 When Lieutenant Fischer rode from Namutoni to the Okovanggo in 1908, the Bushmen everywhere still had a tight organization and a common leader. When Captain François went beyond Grootfontein for the first time, he was given considerable support by the chief of the !Kung Bushmen. It is worthy of note that the famed copper mines of Tsumeb, on which the welfare of Southwest Africa depends to a great extent, were discovered by a Bushman chief (2). Since then the eastern !Kung have not had a

2. He himself was a half-breed.

chief. The northern !Kung supposedly still have one. The oldest chief I heard of was "χ'amme," the lion. He was a great huntsman.

hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*ǂei-ti*). Her 224 262
portion is known as the *ǂnoe-di* and is the only meat which may be partaken of by women. The *ǂnoe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the *ǂkham-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The *ǂnoe-di*, however, may not be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *||gāus*. It is not brought under the *!heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The *ǂkham-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women [784] partake of any other meat than the *ǂnoe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu* (youths) is known as *!om-||gani* and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles, etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at the *axarogudi ǂgaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the *!heis* [252] or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him and if he [784] eats any other part, *e.g.*, the *ǂkoms* he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions about two finger breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis* may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *ǂnoe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-||gani*, under which is included the *ǂkoms*. The latter may be eaten only under the *!heis*. After it has [264] been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is [841] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *ǂkoms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib* and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat 224 killed by the members of an outlying *||gāus*, the *gei-khoib* 622 likewise having to taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the *||gāus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *||gāus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

224 visits a *||gāus* for this purpose he kindles the *!hei-|ais*
622 with fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own.

224 Any want of success in the chase is generally attributed to
777 some chance incident. For example, a man, who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife had her periods, will not hunt again when she is in that condition nor will she eat any of the *ǂnoe-di* at such times. The meat of an animal
[262] killed by a dog may not be eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating. This prohibition is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. If, however, an animal is killed with bow and arrow after having been brought at bay by a dog, the meat is *so.ra* and women may eat the *ǂnoe-di*. The remains of an animal killed by a lion are not *so.ra* and may be partaken of by all individuals. Care, however, is taken not to offend the lion which likewise observes certain practices after each kill. After having had his fill he buries the sacrum and haunchbones and covers them over with the dung (stomach contents) of the animal. If he should be unsuccessful in hunting his prey he returns to the spot of the last kill, digs up the buried parts and inters them in another place. This he does to restore his luck and if he should find that the bones have been taken away he will follow the person who removed them right into the *||gūus*.

184 *So.ra* applies only to meat killed with bow and arrow and
224 as far as is known at present this practice exists among the
262 *Xom-khoin*, *|Koma-khoin* and *Go-gara-khoin*. Among these
784 groups the meat of the following animals is *so.ra*, namely, steinbuck, duiker, springbuck, hartebeest, gemsbuck, kudu, wildebeest and giraffe. The eland, which is a comparatively rare visitor to the parts occupied by these groups is not killed at all by the *Xom-khoin* who believe that harm will befall any person who eats its meat. In other words the *Xom-khoin* consider the eland to be absolute *so.ra*. Among other groups the man who shoots an eland must, on returning to the *||gāus*, sleep under the *!heis* as intercourse with his wife will prevent the poison from killing the animal. The same applies to a person who shoots a giraffe.

412 The implements and utensils which are used in the collection and preparation of food are very few in number. Vegetable food is dug up with a sharpened stick, 2 to 5 feet in length.
252 Ö intjes, *||ñoun* and other similar plant foods are roasted in hot ashes covered with cinders. Ants (Bushman rice) are dealt with in a similar manner and then recovered again by means of a sieve of grass matting. Locusts are either roasted or boiled. Frogs, etc., are sometimes roasted over the fire on a wooden spit (braaistok) stuck into the ground. Birds, snakes, small antelope, etc., are prepared by placing them in a hollow made in the ashes with a flat paddle-shaped wooden scoop and covering them over with live coals. The meat of larger

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GIKwe

could have found his shallow pit at any time of the day or night.

Nobody was there; everyone had run away. We sat down and waited while Gai put his hands to his mouth and shouted, trying to summon the people back again. When nobody came or even answered him, he flung his pipe to the ground and marched off to find them among the bushes, alternately shouting to his hidden relatives and muttering to himself, for they might be far away and the day was getting warm.

We sat in the middle ground between the depressions so that we wouldn't risk stepping on or crushing anybody's hidden things, for, without knowing it, a European can in a moment trample through a Bushman's cache, breaking the delicate bone or wooden objects, bending the reed arrows, or crushing eggshell beads. Also, among certain groups of Bushmen, every fire has a man's side and a woman's side, determined by the position of the fire as you face the doorway of the scherm, the man's side being on the right, the woman's on the left. If a man sits on the woman's side, or where a woman has been sitting, he will become impotent and will also lose his power to hunt, and if a woman sits where a man has been sitting, she will get a disease in her vagina. Something intangible, invisible, but dangerously powerful, remains on the ground. We did not know which side was which of this werf's fires, or even for sure where the fires were; we did not even know that the Gikwe had this custom, for we had learned it from Kung Bushmen, but we knew that if they did they would not welcome our contaminating their ground. We would have liked to look around, but the best thing we could do was to keep our big boots and our bodies away from their delicate, fragile, almost invisible community.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

know, but Gai became embarassed and said gravely that 124 825
Pishiboro put that system there for reproduction and he alone knew how it worked.

Ukwane then said that he would explain instead, because 221
he was an old man. Gai could not speak of sex in front of 831 784
women because it was both improper and dangerous and 826
would weaken his power to hunt, but Ukwane was too old 888
for hunting and, besides, was past the age when many of the 124
tabus concerning sex applied to him. Old Bushmen understand everything better anyway, young Bushmen say.

Ukwane knew a great deal. He named every major part, 124 825
inside and out, of the animal, even naming the major veins and arteries that lead to and from the heart. We were not surprised to find that Bushmen, who prefer to be specific rather than general when dealing with minute things, distinguish more exterior parts of the body then we do. They have names, for example, for the inside of the elbow and the back of the knee. The *leg* of an animal means the hind leg, the front leg is the *arm*, and these are called by the same names as the arm and leg of human beings. Birds, too, fly with their arms and land on their legs, but I never could discover what insects do.

Ukwane went on to explain the various systems of the body, saying in the case of the urogenital system that liquid, which was "the little springboks," ran from the testicles into the kidneys, then down again and out the penis. He stuck to this version, too, even when Bill suggested that it might be otherwise. This does not mean that Bushmen think that urine [842] causes conception, for they recognize the role of semen, believing that it unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form a child.

Ukwane understood the course of food and water through 124 827
the digestive system, but said that food and water spread out

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

luctance the bride struggled while the other girl caught her. 585
She lifted the bride and carried her on her shoulders, not upright as a figure of triumph but wrapped in the kaross and motionless, like a dead little animal, then put her shrouded body on the floor of the new scherm and left her there to lie quietly while the wedding guests arrived. Again according to custom, the groom seemed to take no notice of his new bride; the people in the werf paid no attention, and, in fact, all the people went about their business in such a matter-of-fact way that an observer would think that nothing had happened although the young people were now married, the wedding had taken place.

The parents of the couple could not attend the wedding, [551
for the young bride and groom were so tabu to them at this 784]
time that they could not even mention their names. In fact, no older person could attend, and the guests who came were all children, three-year-olds to teen-agers, who sat by the young couple's fire decorously, the boys on the man's side, the girls on the woman's, and talked quietly for twenty minutes or so, the youngest guests leaving when their bedtimes came. That was all. In the morning the little girl and her young husband were anointed with fat by their mothers, and they lived together from that day on.

A month later the bride's mother, who was herself a young 844
woman, bore another child, her second daughter. We were at her werf at the time, sitting in the shade. That day the young woman had not gone out for veld food, but was lying propped up on her elbow in front of her scherm when suddenly, without telling anyone what was happening, she stood up and walked into the bushes, only to come back some time
later with her baby in the fold of her kaross. We might not [854]
have known what had happened except that she was smiling a sure, sweet smile because she was pleased with herself. Her

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

and wipes it clean with grass. Then the mother collects the 844
stained grass, the placenta, and the bloody sand and covers
them all with stones or branches, marking the spot with a
tuft of grass stuck up in a bush so that no man will step on [784
or over the place, for the ground where a child has been born 778]
is tainted with a power so strong that any man infected with
it would lose an aspect of his masculinity, would lose his
power to hunt. The woman does not bury the placenta, for if [842]
she did she would lose her ability to bear more children.

The moment of birth is a very important one for the child and for the mother; it is at this moment that the child acquires a power, or an essence, over which he has no control, although he can make use of it. It will last him all his life; it is a supernatural essence that forever after connects the person born with certain forces in the world around him: with weather, with childbearing, with the great game ante- 778
lope, and with death, and this essence is called the *now*.

There are two kinds of *now*, a rainy or cold one and a hot or dry one. If a person has a wet *now* and burns his hair in a fire or urinates in a fire, the person's *now* is said to make the weather turn cold (if it is the dry season) or bring rain (if it is the rainy season). If a person has a dry *now* and burns hair or urinates in a fire, the *now* is said to stop a cold spell or a bad storm. When a person dies, too, the weather changes violently according to the person's *now*. After a [761]
death, scorching droughts or devastating storms are sure to follow.

We knew a Bushman woman at Gautscha whose young 778
son was living not with her but far away with the family of 821
his infant wife, and once, when a rainstorm came so violently that branches were splintered from the trees and water ran in torrents like waterfalls over the rocks beside the pan, the woman began to pine and grieve for her son, who, she felt

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

another Bushman, and because he was so happy to see someone and imagined the two of them passing the night together talking by a fire, he waved and called and ran up to the other Bushman. But when he got there he found that he had been mistaken—what he had thought was a man had been only a stump.

A second song was about two jealous co-wives, and the song, more ironic than sad, was composed by the husband to ridicule them. The names of these two women were Nunkwe and Aite, which sound for all the world like Gikwe names, as perhaps they were, and we wondered how far this song had traveled, by how many ears and mouths, before it found itself at Nama Pan.

The third song was called "*Chiviba*," a song composed by a young man who had brought veld food to his people in a chiviba, a basket made of branches. His people laughed at him and said that he was lazy not to have a bag to carry the veld-food in, but nevertheless they were not too proud to eat what he had brought. The fourth song was called "*Ka Te Te*," the song of the redwing partridge. The redwing partridge is most strongly tabued as food, may never be eaten, and *ka te te* is an imitation of its cry. The song was composed by a man who heard a redwing partridge making a sound in the evening and knew that the sound foretold a misfortune or a death.

Because the young man who owned the guashi was lonely and brooding, it was natural that he should play. The other people loved to hear him and often when he played several people, usually men, would gather to lie in the shade near him or sit beside him with their chins on their raised knees and listen, sometimes singing softly as he sang, very harmoniously, but paying no attention, just singing in their own way within a set harmony, dreaming and soft, and although the young man played for his own ears, not theirs, he could infect

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

164 Short Kwi's wife, who looked around at them all gravely, listening, and when they had finished she nodded her head. "A medicine man of Europeans," they said.

"So," said she.

We talked about the foot for a while, for although he had covered it we could still see the toes. The people of the werf described how Short Kwi was bitten and everyone claimed credit for his part in saving Short Kwi's life. One man had killed the snake, another had cut the fang punctures, and others had given advice at the time and later. The leg had [758] swelled enormously and the medicine men had cut the swollen skin to let blood; the scars of this still showed on the healthy thigh above the blanket. All the people seemed very depressed when talking about it, though; for one reason, they ate meat less often, but also they truly admired him and did not seem to enjoy watching the disaster. Toma asked Short Kwi how he felt and Short Kwi said he thought that his leg had seemed to be getting a little better during the last few days.

582 It was almost evening, and we heard voices singing in the veld. Two women and a young girl were coming home from a trip for veld food. These three were also very happy to see us and the little girl kissed me but not the men, then asked for her mother, who lived at Nama and whom she had not seen for seasons, and we told her that her mother was well. The girl had been newly married and she was as pretty as she could be, with lots of beads, and with long ornaments of tsi nuts hanging beside her face. She wore a fine kaross which [291] she had rubbed with red powder, often a sign to men that a [822] girl is menstruating, as perhaps she was, that men may be [224] careful not to touch her and endanger their powers to hunt. [841] Marriage seemed to have agreed with her. She looked very [784]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

can afford to be a little luxurious. They rub it on themselves and on their implements and they eat it. ≠Toma said that, when he had eland fat to give, he took shrewd note of certain objects he might like to have and gave their owners especially generous gifts of fat. 302 431

Real property and the sources of food and water are owned by the headman for the band and cannot be given away. However, meat, once it is distributed after the hunt, and veldkos, once it is gathered, become private property and may be given. Artifacts are privately owned by the individual man, woman, or child, as outrightly owned if received as a gift as if made by the individual. They borrow and lend a great deal—in itself this is one of the ways they support each other and aid themselves in maintaining social solidarity—but this does not blur the clarity of ownership. Each object acquires some markings of its own from the maker and from usage. It is easy for the /Kung, with their highly developed powers of observation and visual memory, to keep track of the commonest objects, know the ownership, and remember the history of the gifts. 422 431 [423]

As far as we know, no artifacts or materials are taboo as gifts. For instance, women may be given weapons, although it is taboo for women to touch them. 431

In quantity the gifts varied. One which /Ti/kay gave to ≠Toma was considered generous. It was a fine ostrich egg shell headband, three ostrich egg shells, and a well-tanned duiker skin as soft as suede. Another generous gift consisted of a knife, a spear, and a triple string of traded white European beads. Often gifts were less. The feelings persons have for each other, the degree of their past indebtedness, what they happen to possess and can give, determine the generosity of the gift. [984]

The acquisition *per se* of the objects was seldom, I believe, of primary importance to most individuals in gift-giving—that is, if the objects were their own artifacts. As the /Kung come into more contact with Europeans—and this is already happening—they will feel sharply the lack of our things and will need and want more. It makes them feel inferior to be without clothes when they stand among strangers who are clothed. But in their own life and with their own artifacts they were comparatively free from material pressures. Except for food and water (important exceptions!) of which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have a sufficiency—but barely so, judging from the fact that all are thin though not emaciated—they all had what they needed or could make what they needed, for every man can and does make the things that men make and every woman the things that women make. No one was dependent upon acquiring objects by gift-giving. 182 431 [834]

They lived in a kind of material plenty because they adapted the tools of their living to materials which lay in abundance around them and which were free for anyone to take (wood, reeds, bone for weapons and implements, fibres for cordage, grass for shelters), or to materials which were at least sufficient for the needs of the population. The Nyae Nyae /Kung had hides enough for garments and bags; they kept extra hides when they needed them for new garments or when they wanted them for trade; otherwise they ate them. The /Kung could always use more ostrich egg-shells for beads to wear or trade with, but, as it is, enough are found for every woman to have a dozen or more shells for water containers—all she can carry—and a goodly number of bead ornaments. 182 433

In their nomadic hunting-gathering life, travelling from one source of food to 182 431

also commonly used for any man (not a boy) older than the speaker when the speaker must avoid saying the name. The people address the gods as */nau* and *gaoxa* more commonly than as *n/iha*. We were told that they call the great god */nau* ' when he is good '.

It is interesting to know that the power of the great god, his omnipotence which he was so mysteriously able to create for himself, is called *gaoxa* and that the special potent ' spiritual ' medicine which the great god puts into the medicine men, the curing power, is also called *gaoxa*.

The /Kung often call the great god ' father ' especially in supplication, and plead that he succour his ' children ' and give them rain or good fortune in the hunt or whatever they may be asking for.

Nonabe is a term of great disrespect, a ' scolding ' term. When used for a human being it is a curse and a terrific insult. A man who felt himself greatly wronged by another and in violent anger would say of the man who wronged him, ' That *Nonabe*! ' But he would not say this to the man's face ' for if he did there might be a fight (so great is the insult). When he saw the man in person he would come in peace to him, not showing his anger '. *Nonabe* is used in blasphemy by the medicine men in trance, along with other insults when they are combating the gods and the *//gamwasi* in the medicine dances, demanding that they take away the evil they have brought.

The Fear of the Names

The Nyae Nyae /Kung ' fear ' (*koa*) to utter the names of the gods. The word 'means both' to be afraid of, as one is afraid of a mamba, and 'to respect and avoid', as one respects one's mother-in-law and avoids speaking to her and saying her name.

Children must strictly avoid saying any of the names of the gods. Old men and women need not observe an absolutely restrictive taboo in uttering the names, and may and do say them, but there seems to be an element of taboo (it is a ' death-thing ', they say) and fear of drawing attention to themselves. We were aware of their unwillingness to speak of religious matters early in our work and therefore waited until our relations were well established before questioning them. Our information was gathered for the most part in 1953 and 1955 at many different sessions with fifteen men and eight women informants who had proved to be reliable. Others joined the talks casually and when they wished to do so. Our informants declared themselves willing to teach me because I wished to know. Throughout the discussions people varied in the degree of caution and discretion with which they spoke the names. Sometimes we talked literally in whispers and usually at least in low voices, saying ' the one in the east ', ' the one in the west '. On one occasion /Ti/kay told me that my questions made him sick. He meant to claim, I ascertained, that he had an actual physical sensation such as a nervous twinge or slight nausea. The woman who first told me the name of the wife of the great god put her lips to my ear and whispered, barely audibly, ' *Hwwdi* '. Next day, unfortunately, she had a high fever. She recovered, but the episode put an end to my trying to learn from her about the wives of the gods. /U, when someone was ill at Cho/ana, and she was filled with anxiety and longing to be home at Gautscha, made me promise not to say the names or ask any more questions, at least until we were all safely back.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

681 There are, further, various sanctions by which non-fulfilment or the breach of any recognized custom is penalized, and which thus also serve as another and more direct means of securing conformance with the pattern of social life. In this category we may place ritual sanctions, where any departure from a prescribed rule of conduct is followed automatically by evil results, without any direct interference on the part of the community. The breaking of a taboo, for instance, is [784] held to produce serious consequences, such as death or disease or ill-luck in the chase. Thus among the Cape Bushmen, as we have seen, girls who do not observe the restrictions imposed upon them at the time of puberty are believed to change into frogs, while men who are seen by the girls at this time become permanently fixed in whatever position they then occupy, and so on. And again there are the [224] numerous observances and avoidances associated with hunting, which if neglected will result in ill-success, the loss of a wounded animal, etc. All sanctions of this sort—and in the preceding pages we have had occasion to notice a good many of them—may be regarded as legal mechanisms, in the sense that they operate to maintain the observance of accepted usages and customs.

627 Other breaches of custom, however, involve the direct intervention of the members of the community. In general, when disputes arise [578] between the members of the band—among the Naron they are said [692] to be infrequent—there is no appeal to any supreme authority, for, as we have just noted, there is no such authority, nor are cases of wrongdoing or quarrels referred to the chiefs where these exist. The only remedy is self-help. But in so far as self-help is the recognized mode of reaction, it must also be regarded as a legal institution. Blood vengeance indeed is the principal, if not the only, recognized way of dealing with serious offences committed against a person even by members of the same band.[1]

The principal actions penalized in this way are adultery, theft, and [684] homicide. In the case of adultery, as we have already seen, the injured husband attempts to kill the adulterer, if he possibly can, while the unfaithful wife is beaten and in some cases divorced. Theft also [685] provokes blood vengeance, when the thief refuses to restore the stolen property.[2] Even if he does, he is reproached for his deed, and

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 155; Trenk, op. cit., 169; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35–6.

[2] According to one of the texts published by Bleek and Lloyd (*Bushman Folklore*, 416–25), among the Kung a man who steals in the camp is killed by the others present, who all shoot at him with their arrows. A married woman who steals is also sometimes shot by her own husband. More frequently, however, she is burned alive in a hut; although, if her parents are

[48 cont.]

755 from ostrich egg shells, had been put on by her proxy, Dube, a
756 very intelligent young woman. The latter, standing at the end of
796 the semicircle of seated women, conducted the ceremony. She
[276] was in a very good mood and alternately smoked her Bushman
[554] pipe and my cigarettes. There is a kind of hierarchy among the women; those who were squatting were higher in rank than those who were standing. All the women clapped their hands and sang in a monotonous rhythm: ehe, ehe, ehe, ehe, etc. This, I was
[533] assured, was no song, but "music." Some hordes have bartered

(532)

Fig. 19. Sorcerer in a Bird Mask, Followed by Spirits of Sickness. (From Rock Paintings in South Africa. From Parts of the Eastern Province and Orange Free State. Copied by G.W.Stow. With an introduction and descriptive notes by Dorothea Bleek. London, Methuen, 1930.)

dance drums one and a half meters high from the Okawango, which on this occasion are played by men. [Fig. 19 appears
[184] here.] Among the Bushmen of the Sand Veld the female leader of the ceremony does not wear the ornaments of the chief female doctor; instead, the ornaments are hung on a tree. The position of the chief female doctor is not permanently held by one person; the chief doctor on occasion imparts supernatural powers to her.

755 The five doctors had taken off all their ornaments and
756 were naked except for the front apron. They put themselves
786 into an autohypnotic state by means of crowing, by producing
796

[48 cont.]

755 756 786 796 sounds similar to those of ventriloquists, and by certain muscle contractions. By pressing together the gluteal musculature of the buttocks and at the same time holding the knee joints as far apart as possible and pressing the legs together at the ankles, they eventually produced a tonic trembling cramp of the entire musculature of the lower extremity, in which they reeled back and forth. It is possible for anyone to put himself into an autohypnotic state in this way, as this author also learned from the doctors. Soon the rolled-up eyes indicated that the doctors were in a state of trance. They danced around one another, fell over one another, and lifted one another up. Some women also started making noise with the dance rattles. The Bushmen were now convinced that [787] /Nawa himself was dancing among the doctors, was visible to them, and spoke with them. At this point they say something [782] like prayers; they invoke the great spirit of the old Bushman who has killed many elephants; they call the spirits of the dead who have sent their little spirits of sickness over the living, and they especially beg /Nawa to transfer these little spirits of sickness to the doctors.

755 756 796 The doctors ran alternately to the bitten child and to those ill with fever who squatted around the fire, stroking the painful places, both from the armpits down to the soles and from the shoulders down to the fingertips. Occasionally they also sucked at the diseased spots or inhaled the breath from the mouths of the patients.

From time to time, the doctors performed these operations upon one another, first of all, as they said, in order to distribute the poisons of sickness equally among all the doctors, but also in order to obtain power from the other doctors. Thus "charged," the doctor then again ran to the patients to take their poison.

Now and then the chief doctor ran screaming around the [787] line of standing women and [49] disappeared into the bush in order to ask the chief female doctor about the will of /Nawa. After about an hour's dancing the chief doctor went to the bitten child. The child had been bitten on the back, and this was rubbed with fat and then medicine; then all the patients were again subjected to the treatment described above, and soon thereafter /Nawa an- [787] nounced through the mouth of the chief female doctor that the

[49 cont.]

755 chief spirit was not yet satisfied, she would appease him; the chief
756 spirit would voluntarily take the little spirits of sickness away, even
796 from the doctors. After these words the festival abruptly ended; the people went to their fires and lay down to sleep.

The candidate had passed his examination (1).

[184] 535 756 796

1. Burchell (in the translation by Hellwald, Völkerkunde [Ethnology], II, p. 519) has given a similar account from the south: "One foot remains stationary, while the other is in rapid and irregular motion without any definite change of position. The movement of the arms is so slight as to be negligible. At the same time the dancer sings without pause and keeps time with the movements. Occasionally he lowers his body and then suddenly raises it again, until finally he sinks to the ground exhausted, but still singing and rhythmically moving his body in time with the song of the spectators. Even though only one person dances at a time, the company present nonetheless also has something to do, etc."

756 786 789 796

When the excitement of the dance has reached its climax and the dancers have fallen into a kind of trance as a result of the continuous dance movement, the shrill singing, the drinking of coffee, and not least the tobacco smoke, which they keep in their mouths for minutes on end for the intoxicating effect, then the doctors, in order to demonstrate their resistance to fire, trample with bare feet on the red-hot embers taken from the campfire and spread out on the sand. In the case of a number of the younger ones, however, I believe that their resistance to fire was not quite as great as they would have one believe, and they carefully avoided the pieces that were

[49 cont.]

756 786 789 796

glowing all too brightly. On the other hand, I was surprised when on the occasion of such a religious dance the so-called great doctor -- after he had danced by himself long and continuously in visible ecstasy, so that in spite of the cool night and even though he was almost completely naked, the sweat ran down his entire body -- suddenly, with slow majestic steps, walked through the high flames of the fire and in so doing had to step on the burning logs with his bare feet.

753 776

[50] On a later occasion I discussed these procedures thoroughly and in detail with the chief doctor, Kasi, and with Dube and the other doctors. One of the most striking aspects of the entire ceremony is perhaps the absence of the mysterious and the magical. These little spirits of sickness are not magical creatures but, in the eyes of the Bushmen, commonplace realities. The Bushmen know very well that many illnesses are not caused by the spirits of sickness alone. If someone eats something that has gone bad, he will become ill and will be given an emetic. If someone is wounded by a shot, the wound will be treated. If the injured person has pains only in the wound and otherwise feels all right, then no spirit of sickness has entered into him. If he feels sick all over, however, then he is possessed by a spirit of sickness. These little spirits of sickness are called dsao; they are little yellow men with a fat belly and a little tail. They obey the other spirits, which, as described above, include the ordinary [775] spirits from the bodies of deceased persons, the spirits who live among the stars, and the chief spirit (/Nawa) himself. [Fig. 20 appears here.]

Finally, even the "great captain" can send the dsao directly over a person. /Nawa can do this with or without the consent of the "great captain"; the smaller spirits act on their own authority or at the command of these powers.

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The doctors have their supernatural power directly from the "great capitain"; they are as powerful as /Nawa and stronger

/252 cont./

535 The men standing around now attempt to catch the pumpkin as it flies through the air, and the women simulate great indignation when one of the men succeeds in doing so. This man then cuts up the pumpkin with a knife so that a new ball is required in order to continue the game.

Another dance, in which principally men participate, could be designated as the bird dance. The men dance in a circle, while the women stand around the circle, clap their hands, and [534] sing. The men wear dance bangles around their ankles, which are circlets of dried bean pods whose kernels rattle at every step and in this way strongly accentuate the dance rhythm. The steps of the dance are short, scarcely half a foot long, so that the progress of the dancers in the circle is quite slow. The vigor of the stepping or stamping on the ground alternates rhythmically. At the same time a number of symbolic gestures is performed. The most respected of the dancers has tied to his forehead a large eagle's beak decorated with glass and iron beads; he frequently makes a motion of hacking with the beak, and then, by slowly raising his arms, suggests the eagle's calm gliding in the air. Another dancer carries a bird's nest in his hand during the entire dance. At a certain stage, the dancers go through the motion of picking up fruit from the ground by bending down and making scooping motions in the air just above the ground. Shortly thereafter, some men dance towards the women and perform gestures as though they wanted to seize one of the women surrounding them.

535 Suddenly one of the dancers seems about to faint. A spectator whom I questioned concerning the significance of this action told 786 me that the Mukuru (Herero term for God) was in him. Other dancers, maintaining their dance step all the while, stand around the possessed person, try to help him, and cool him with fanning until he suddenly collapses with a piercing shriek. The bystanders catch him and carry him off to one side while the others go on dancing. The "doctor" now concerns himself with the unconscious [755] person; he blows twice in each ear and once on his forehead. Visibly, consciousness now returns and soon the one possessed is able to rise and dance again.

533 /253/ The musical accompaniment is supplied solely by the women; however, the dancing men are not entirely silent. Every

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

At last a few more women joined the singers and the sing- 756
ing mounted, the voices took on several parts. At last the 535
men began to join, dancing toward the circle in twos and 533
threes, moaning the song in their throats, leaning on long staffs, their coming heralded by the dry, loud staccato of their rattles.

The men came from different directions, and they stood so tall and danced so strongly, with their muscles standing out on their necks, that their coming was like the coming of bull antelope, they were so radiant of strength and tension, they were so lithe and male. They came together out of the trees and, without the slightest change of pace, arranged themselves around the dance circle, wheeling slowly, one after the other, and the dance began.

The air was hot, the sun was shining strongly, the fire was 786
sending a shuddering cloud of heat around the dancers, and 756
as the dancers moved almost imperceptibly faster and faster, 535
Gai suddenly flung his arms into the air and with a piercing shriek crashed to the ground. He landed stiffly with a bounce, his head cracking. On the ground he writhed and groaned, and Ukwane pulled him by the arms to remove his body from the dance circle.

Gai was in deep trance. Ukwane was ministering to Gai's body because Gai's spirit had rushed away.

Bushmen say that when the medicine in a medicine man 774
becomes stimulated by a dance, warmed by the fire and by 756
the heat of the man's body, the man's spirit may leave him, 535
causing his body to fall because there is nothing there to hold it up, and fly into the veld, where it seeks out the evil that is troubling people. Some medicine men in this way have seen the spirits of the dead, some have seen the great god. At another dance we once attended, one man's spirit rushed into the veld, where it came upon a pride of lions that had been

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

774 troubling the people by their constant presence and by their
756 deafening roars at night. The man's spirit spoke with the
535 lions, defied them, and ordered them away, and the lions did go; they troubled the people no longer.

786 When the spirit returns, the medicine man comes to him-
756 self, as Gai did presently. He stood up and ran into the veld,
535 gaining speed as he went. Far out in the veld he screamed, a shriek of definace, then turned and charged back toward the dance fire. He passed through the dance like a wind through dry leaves; the people ducked aside and shrank away from his feet, then settled together when he had gone by. Gai shrieked again, turned himself, and rushed back, charging bull-like toward the fire again; this time Ukwane seized his arms and though Gai plowed forward, Ukwane hung on, dragging behind with all his weight, until at last Gai fell headlong into the dance fire and his hair burst into flames.

Ukwane snatched him out and slapped out the fire in his hair, and Gai, his mouth open and his eyes quite wild, sparks still falling from his head like stars, strained against Ukwane's hands. At last he broke away.

786 In a moment he bent slowly over the fire and washed his
756 hands in the flames, then went to one of the women in the
535 circle of singers and, placing one hand on her chest, the other
783 on her back, shuddered and groaned as he sucked the evil from her, then straightened suddenly and shrieked the evil into the air. In this way Gai cured all the people, followed as he went by Ukwane, who now held Gai's arm to keep him upright. Before long, Gai had fallen again exhausted and was dragged by the ankles to a place in the shade.

786 I looked at him and saw that his eyes were closed, his eye-
756 lids puffed, and thought he seemed unconscious. His breath
535 came rasping through his mouth and nose, and his pulse, showing in "the heart's place," seemed very quick. But he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

was all right; no one paid any attention to him as they would 786 756
have had he not been well. His baby came to watch him, 535
though, and gazed down into his swollen face.

It was very hot. The dancers and the women singing steamed with perspiration, first becoming gold in color, then ash white as dust stuck to them. Soon the women felt that they had sung enough, their feelings showing clearly in the diminished vigor of their songs, until finally the singing faded out entirely and the dance stopped. The men complained, but the women would sing no more and presently everyone had drifted away, leaving only the children wheeling slowly around the track worn by the dancers' feet, dancing soberly, carefully, without music, and Gai, who now lay prone and forgotten in the dust, in the shade of a little tree.

Hours later, when even the children had wandered back to the werfs and had joined their parents, who were tired from the exercise and were taking afternoon naps, Gai came to himself once more; he sat up and wiped his face, got slowly to his feet, and walked slowly home to sleep, next to his wife beside their fire.

All the Bushmen were asleep but Twikwe. Some people 513
lay on their backs with their arms shading their eyes, their mouths open, some on their bellies, their arms and legs sprawled. All the young boys except Giamakwe lay like puppies, tangled together in a knot of arms and legs, for even in sleep they would not be parted. Giamakwe slept at a little distance from the others on his side with his body bent backward into a U, his head almost touching his buttocks, as limp and supple as a young snake or a young cat that drapes over your hand. Even Nhwakwe was fast asleep, lying on his belly and using as his couch his father's body, his head on his father's chest. Both were deep in slumber, Nhwakwe snoring

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

535 854 kaross, and carried them to their mother; in this way, one by one, the dancing babies were eliminated and the circle was left to the men.

535 The dance went on all night, reaching a climax after mid-
●786 night when the moon was high and sailing overhead. The medicine men were seized with trances that shook their bodies and rattled their teeth and sent them rushing headlong into the black shadows to curse at the spirits of the dead. Dust mounted, the sound of the high singing and the rattles was deafening, and even in the pauses between dances the medicine men screamed.

535 When hours had passed, when the moon was low and only its thick red glow showed on the horizon, the dance reached a lull and many people went home. Soon only a core of dancers and singers remained, perhaps twenty people in all. These were the strong young men, wiry enough to have withstood ten hours of dancing, and the old widows and middle-aged women, those who had no small children to worry them, women who were tougher than the young girls and did not mind that they felt tired. It is a strong thing to dance all night; it brings powerful, enduring medicine, and these few people, willing to withstand fatigue and cold, wore away the night to dance for the medicine of the rising sun.

When the moon was down and the dance fire had burned to embers, was almost out, I went to the veld to gather firewood. Just then the first stars began to dim in the soft, cold air, the eastern sky turned pale; faintly, the first birds began
535 533 to cry, and from where I stood in the veld I heard the song change to the sun-dance. The song lasted only for a moment, as the singers acknowledged the paleness, and a little later, as the light in the east became brighter and the colors of the

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IKUNG RITUAL DANCE is sparse, but one means of reaching out to the infinite is a state of trance that may come in the course of dancing. The man being supported, above, is in such a state. The Ikung believe that a man in trance can take away a person's sickness and throw it back at the god who sent it.

[p.70]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

782
821
[539]

O gallopers,
O gallopers,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself :—

Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it
821 to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other magicians have a similar power over the wind, */khwe*, and are protected by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind
[773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears the form of a bird.[1]

773 Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we
776 meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from
[184] those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object
[794] of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed that *'Kaang* (i.e. */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, *'Kue-'akeng-*
[761] *'teng*, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives
[821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put
[825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine
796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood"
535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant,
[773] Qing, described as follows: "*Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the song of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it, and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night.
● [786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[104] [2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol *c* represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds.

/159 cont./

●787 Fig. 14. Prophecy Wood. One-half natural size
[as shown in the original text].

a, b, c, d, bits of wood of a set; d^1, side view of d; e e, holes for a string.

The prophecy wood consists of a set of four variously shaped bits of wood. These are thrown like our dice and the future can be predicted from their position, for example, whether hunting will be successful, or whether there will be a war.

An A'uin maintained that from the prophecy wood he saw "an ox-wagon with two Whites approaching the settlement." [791] The wood appears to belong to a dwindling group of persons who, like the "doctors," are cleverer than most people.

[6 cont.]

101 account refers only to the latter.

821 [7] The sky is designated by them as !nanu áiba Éroba Kharésa ("rain house of god").

776 For god they have the expressions "Erob" and "χ'amab."
775 only "Erob" is used in prayers. χ'amab (1) has been preserved

1. χ indicates a very low gutteral click, for which I know of no notation.

in χ'amá //gu Khe = "people who are with god," in other words, the souls of the deceased in heaven. Everyone goes there, the good as well as the bad. Erob has no wife and no children. A human being has only one soul (!gau-ba). This soul goes to the heavenly house and remains there "until Erob makes new people from it." Here is a belief in the transmigration of souls, which, it must be admitted, is not thought through any further.

No spirits of the dead remain on earth. There are little
776 bush spirits, the gangorob; they are harmless and do nothing. There are no evil little spirits. They supposedly know nothing about Heiseb and /Nawa.

136 The supply of game is ample in the tall dry forests of the Otjimpolo Veld. There are also fish in the rainy season. The
[825] Bushmen call them "shiba" (Ovambo: oshi or ochi); in other words, originally they had no word for them.

224 The Bushmen are helpless against the lion (χ'oréba).
[825] They leave a region as soon as lions make it unsafe. "There is no point in hunting them."

The leopard (χ'nába) is hunted with dogs (ariba). The
[439] chiefs of Amboland pay a good price for the skin, since little princes and princesses are not carried in a litter made of cowhide, but in a leopard skin. The jackal (≠Khai-eba) and the Löffelhund (//aruba) [a fox-like wild dog of the subfamily Octocyoninae] are hunted with enthusiasm. "Aruba" probably corresponds to N. //arob = striped jackal.

Wild dogs, "Khere," !nube (N. !goub) are preferably
[825] avoided. No notice is taken of the hyena, ≠Khai-lasa (N. ≠heirab),
[262] and it is not eaten. When they come near the camp, it is not a
[787] good sign.

[32 cont.]

222 Termites are captured in two ways. During the night holes are dug near the tall termite hills, and these holes are illuminated with wooden torches. A hide is placed on the floor of the hole, and soon so many termites are on it that the hide can be carried home. The second method is used to catch those termites that have no structures above ground, but have a network of corridors running horizontally immediately below the surface. A hole is dug deeper than the corridors, and the termites fall into it as they run frightened back and forth on their [33] horizontal paths. [821] This kind of termite serves as a weather prophet for the rain [787] doctor, since they construct the most openings facing upward when a rainy year is in prospect. The lion was not hunted. In olden 224 262 times, only the old people ate the large game. The flesh of predatory animals is forbidden to all children; on the other hand, there is no prohibition against eating hare.

224 Naturally, the Bushmen are very anxious to have success in hunting. !Khu himself, the great captain, brings luck in hunting. He orders the supreme //Gauab (/Nawa) to direct the arrow. The doctors always pray to the great captain to send hunting luck, but there is no specific formula. They do this "quietly to themselves." An old prospector in Kalkfeld told me that he had seen the following among the !Kung Bushmen: "Before they go hunting, they draw the outline of the animal in the sand and with all kinds of ceremonies they shoot an arrow into the drawing. Where the figure is hit, the game will also be struck."

I shall now render fairly literally the course of a kudu hunt as it was described to me by a Bushman: "When I have found a kudu track, then we follow it very quietly and when we have found the place where the kudu ate, then one must be very careful. One person goes ahead, and the others follow. Now, when I see the kudu standing, I take out the poisoned arrow and shoot. Then I look to see what the kudu is doing or shoot once more; then I follow him to see whether the arrow will drop out; if the arrow falls out, I take it and see how deeply it penetrated into the kudu. Then I have to go back to the other hunters and state exactly how everything was. Then we go home. One should not run after the kudu, but must leave it alone. The person who

[47 cont.]

756 pig concerned, at which time in each case a large drop of white
751 fluid escaped from the stinger. Finally they moved about quietly without making any further attempts to sting, but they did not in any way show the excited hurry to get off the Bushman's body that has been reported by individual writers. The old man claimed not to feel any pain, and I have no reason to distrust him since, after all, if the poison had had any kind of effect upon him, he would scarcely have allowed himself to be stung in the most sensitive parts of his body for the sake of my desire for knowledge. Even a full hour after our experiment, the parts that had been stung did not show the slightest alteration. The man declared that he had attained this extraordinary faculty as a boy in the 'school' of a sorcerer, where he had been urged to apply scorpion poison, which had been taken forcibly and thinned with water and urine, on small incisions, as well as to eat the poisonous stingers pounded to a mash and boiled; supposedly immunity against snakebite can be obtained in like manner."

14. The Doctors' Test

755 One afternoon the eldest of the horde outside Keibeb came
756 to me and told me that that night a great dance would take place,
796 first, because a three-year-old child had just been bitten by a small black snake, second, because many people were sick with fever, and third, because one of the men wanted to undergo the doctors' test. Such festivals take place only during the time of the full moon. Toward nine o'clock in the evening I was lured into the camp by wild noise. The people had made somewhat larger and more fires than usual. The mother with the child bitten by the snake was seated in the center of an open semicircle. The older women squatted around her. To one side of them in single file, one behind each other, stood the younger women and girls. Both the male [48] and female doctors were busy. The chief female doctor, Biri, was "personally" absent this evening. She was crouching off to one side in the darkness of the bush. /Nawa,
[787] the highest of the //Gauab, had taken possession of her and spoke through her mouth. Her hair ornaments, long chains of beads made

[48 cont.]

755 756 786 796 sounds similar to those of ventriloquists, and by certain muscle contractions. By pressing together the gluteal musculature of the buttocks and at the same time holding the knee joints as far apart as possible and pressing the legs together at the ankles, they eventually produced a tonic trembling cramp of the entire musculature of the lower extremity, in which they reeled back and forth. It is possible for anyone to put himself into an autohypnotic state in this way, as this author also learned from the doctors. Soon the rolled-up eyes indicated that the doctors were in a state of trance. They danced around one another, fell over one another, and lifted one another up. Some women also started making noise with the dance rattles. The Bushmen were now convinced that [787] /Nawa himself was dancing among the doctors, was visible to them, and spoke with them. At this point they say something [782] like prayers; they invoke the great spirit of the old Bushman who has killed many elephants; they call the spirits of the dead who have sent their little spirits of sickness over the living, and they especially beg /Nawa to transfer these little spirits of sickness to the doctors.

755 756 796 The doctors ran alternately to the bitten child and to those ill with fever who squatted around the fire, stroking the painful places, both from the armpits down to the soles and from the shoulders down to the fingertips. Occasionally they also sucked at the diseased spots or inhaled the breath from the mouths of the patients.

From time to time, the doctors performed these operations upon one another, first of all, as they said, in order to distribute the poisons of sickness equally among all the doctors, but also in order to obtain power from the other doctors. Thus "charged," the doctor then again ran to the patients to take their poison.

Now and then the chief doctor ran screaming around the [787] line of standing women and [49] disappeared into the bush in order to ask the chief female doctor about the will of /Nawa. After about an hour's dancing the chief doctor went to the bitten child. The child had been bitten on the back, and this was rubbed with fat and then medicine; then all the patients were again subjected to the treatment described above, and soon thereafter /Nawa an- [787] nounced through the mouth of the chief female doctor that the

[49 cont.]

[787] child, and the other patients, too, would be cured. That ended the first part of the ceremony.

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Now the doctors' test began. The others, with the exception of the women making music, participated only as spectators. The doctors went on dancing, often holding their arms stretched out to the sky, with the fingers spread apart, and then springing to the fire and holding their hands over it. Flinging the hands toward the sky is done to give some of the little spirits of sickness back to the chief spirit /Nawa, who passes up and down along a thread between heaven and earth. It is not a gesture of prayer. Similarly, holding the hands over the fire is intended to achieve the same result, because the "little spirits of sickness" do not like the fire and hence will go away. Meanwhile, they thank the great spirit for having saved the child. Then they prayed to /Nawa that he might concentrate all the little spirits of sickness on the doctors' candidate and kill him so that the people would be free of evil diseases, for the dying person takes the spirits of sickness with him. By brushing, rubbing, and blowing, the old doctors now transfer the spirits of sickness to the candidate. The latter is completely exhausted, collapses from time to time, is constantly lifted up again, and, staggering, he dances on, with foam appearing at his mouth. The other doctors taunt him: "You leopard, you lion, you elephant, you insurmountable mountain, you gigantically strong man, now you can't cope with the spirits of sickness we have given you." Once more the chief doctor runs to the former patient and transfers to the candidate any disease poison he may have gathered. This hellish spectacle lasted one and a half hours; then the chief doctor went to his oracle sitting in the bush and asserted that the candidate was too strong: we have concentrated all the little spirits of sickness upon him and prayed to the chief spirit that he might take (kill) him, but the candidate is stronger than the spirits of sickness. Nevertheless, the oracle commands: "Dance on." While this happened, a woman came out of the background -- in the half-dark I was unable to see whether or not it was the chief female doctor herself -- and busied herself around the cured child. She clapped her hands and beat her palms together, with the thumb sides in front of the child's face, and thus put even the child in a brief trance. The dancing continued until around midnight when the oracle finally declared that though the

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[52 cont.]

773 Concerning the moon, I was told: "The moon was also
821 carried by people. It was not as warm as the sun, but very heavy. So the men helped each other, and with great difficulty they brought it to the huts. The moon was a man. He said: 'I prefer to remain alone and do not wish to be among you.' Thereupon the Bushmen said: 'If you go alone into the desert, you will surely die.' But the moon did not obey, went out, and died. But then it woke up again and rose like the sun; therefore, like the latter, it is from the 'Great Captain.' When it disappears, it has died. When only one side of it is visible, then it is young. When it becomes smaller, then it is old. The color of the moon comes from its gall (/góo)."

The well-known story of the moon and the hare is told there as follows:

The moon once said to the hare: "I die and wake up again, you on earth should do the same." But the hare answered: "No, we cannot do that, we who are on earth, only you can do that because you are in the air, among us this is impossible; once we die, we do not wake up again." And the hare was right; it is still so today.

821 The eclipse of the moon, !nui dsao, is caused by the lions
[825] so that they can more easily steal into the Bushman huts.

[53] Comets, X'u !gam, are stars of the great captain;
[777] they bring luck. When a shooting star, ≠gomma, falls, it is said,
[787] just as among us, that someone has died. The stars are the camp-
[775] fires of those spirits who at the command of the great captain come down and fetch the souls of the dying.

[823] Earthquakes, X'áno !gee, are omens of sickness. The
[787] rainbow, !khâni !nâo, indicates a good year for rain.

[782] What the Bushman begs and prays for is not sunshine but
[776] rain. The great captain alone dispenses rain.

Lightning and thunder are not beings in themselves, but are caused by rain. When someone is killed by lightning, it is said: "The rain has killed him." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder at a distance, the rain is saying: "Today I shall thunder over the whole earth." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder on various sides, the clouds are speaking to one another. And when they touch each other with their heads, the

[53 cont.]

751 burned to a tinder and pulverized to make a medicine. The per-
821 son struck now has incisions made on his tongue, forehead, cheeks, chest, and legs, into which fat is rubbed, and then this medicine is smeared on. Now, for the time being, he is safe from persecution by the rain.

16. Rain Magic

789 People turn directly to the great captain when they need
[756] rain. Not all doctors are able to procure rain, only the few who
796 enjoy the special favor of the great captain. Then a dance is organized, at which the doctors put themselves in the trance state described below. At the same time the following lament is repeated countless times:

[54]

[539] !garǎ̃ gurĩ dee oa ≠am	Why does it not rain?
X 'uǎ dẽ rá /gaa !ái /gaa	Which lord is holding back the rain?
/gǎm khui hẽ	The sun is hot.
!kũng-ná gurĩ /gõá /gõá	Will man live?
//gauǎna tani /gee ≠gǎo	Are the spirits bringing winter?
!kung /goá hõõ !koa !kung õ dshn-ǎ	Where is man supposed to drink?
//gaa /a //gõẽ !kung /ñ a //gõẽ	If it is so, can man only die of thirst?
!kunǎ //gõẽ ne oa	What can man do now?
Ha-!kung tam hã̄ m tam ná /ñ gẽẽ	We had better stay here because we have been abandoned!

756 Finally the great captain in heaven hears the lamenting.
789 The doctor runs from the dance place into the bush and sees that
787 a thin thread is let down from the sky. The doctor climbs up on
796 this thread. The great captain comes to meet him half way. As soon as the doctor sees the great captain, he throws a red powder (ocher with medicine) toward him. Now the great captain draws the doctor up and leads him to the heavenly house. In front of this house [Fig. 20 appears here] the doctor sees the spirits of
[775] his deceased colleagues who year in, year out, stand before the house.

[54 cont.]

756 house. The doctor then begins to pray: "Lord, help us, the chil-
789 dren are dying, we are dying of thirst and hunger." He prays and
●787 begs until the captain says: "It is good, I shall send water so that
796 the children will have water and veldkost." Then the great captain again accompanies the doctor halfway down. As soon as the doctor is down below, he lets go of the thread which is immediately drawn up. Now the people dance and sing, for the rain has come:

[539] /gá-é dsó-jā /gaa	We rejoice now over the rain.
//ē gā djusā !kho ádshójа /ga	Then we rejoice all together.
//ē gā hin a /gaa /gaa	Then the rain comes.
da //goá dshn !gu da adschóéa χ'u	Then the people praise the lord.

532]

Fig. 21. Spirits of the Dead and Rain Animal (from Bleek, Rock Paintings in South Africa etc., Pl. 58).

776 Another !Kung said to me: "The great captain in the sky
821 sends the rain and all that comes from above. If he does not want to, everything remains shut up. The rain is opened up above; a great vlei is there. I do not know the name of the great captain. The Hei//om call him Som-seb."

17. Religion

771 After a critical look at the sum of the conceptions determining
177 the religious life of the !Kung, one recognizes, as would naturally be expected in the case of such an ancient people, that the elements

[58 cont.]

775 From there they make their rounds. They always return to their
769 graves. Hence, a Bushman always makes a detour around a grave. He does not point at a grave with his finger, and he does not call to a companion: 'There is a grave!' A great detour is made around the area where there is a grave. When a Bushman unexpectedly passes a grave, he puts a stone on it. That is a greeting for the dead person. In so doing, one makes the grave more secure against wild animals."

769 From the region of Foxhof I have the following informa-
775 tion to add:

"The Gauab that arises from the flesh of the corpse remains seated by the grave. When a relative passes by and the Gauab is sitting out in the open, the Gauab thinks: I know this person well; why is he passing by here without giving me any water. Then the Gauab becomes angry and makes him sick. Then when the doctors sing, they recognize what the trouble is and say: Today you passed by the grave of N. and did not give anything. Tomorrow morning very early you must take water and
775 an ostrich egg and place them by the grave. Such a Gauab also
●787 goes hunting, kills game, makes a fire, cuts open the game, takes the fat, and brings it to the doctors while they are singing.
[756] The Gauab, whom the other people cannot see, sits down at some distance from the dancers. The doctor sees him, however, and goes to the Gauab. The latter tells him where the game lies, and the doctor tells this to the other people, who fetch the game and praise the Gauab.

775 "The stars are the campfires of the Gauab.

"The Gauana take the souls that they have stolen to their village and then back to the grave. The people often hear a voice in the veld; this is the Gauab calling, and on their way they find a piece of dead game. When the Gauab is out hunting and has gone too far from his grave, he must sleep in a tree. Some of the souls stolen by the Gauab are brought to the captain of the Gauana. The souls that are taken there again become actual persons up above with the captain of the rain. The others, however, are the little Gauab who go hunting here."

(114] The observations made by Bleek (3) 50 years ago seem to
776 be especially significant.

3. W. H. J. Bleek and L.C.Lloyd,

[113]

[58 cont.]

[113] Specimens of Bushmen Folklore, London, 1910-11, pp. 10-13.

776 be especially significant. The !Kung at that time told of a being called /Chue, who transforms itself in turn into various fruit trees and veldkost plants, into a Herero, etc. One day he transformed himself into a //gui tree, his wife ate of it, the tree disappeared, and /Chue changed into a fly. Another time he even became a waterhole, then again a gecko; at night [59] he always changes back into a little human being. The Herero look for him, but cannot find him. /Chue then makes a fire and dies. His father sees this and then moves to his homeland on a large mountain called //Noa. We shall probably not go wrong if we identify this /Chue with Huwe. This Huwe, as is known, is sometimes equated with the great captain X'u. In this old setting he also has distinct traits of Heiseb.

782 The !Kung who were W.H.J. Bleek's informants were also familiar with a prayer song addressed to the new moon. In ac-
[534] companiment, they blew on trumpets made of antelope horns. (Bleek-Lloyd, ibid., p. 15.)

787 The old !Kung called the prophesy sticks /Chu, which evidently is the same name again as that of the great captain and is in agreement with Dornan's report concerning the Masarwa that Modimo himself spoke from the prophesy sticks.

755 Vedder reports that in case of illness a messenger is sent
769 to an ancestor's grave and prays: A dsi-dsi mi !hâ tí /X'ai-a? (Why is my son ill?) ǂnu /kôa (to live in health).

774 While my informants denied the presence of any animistic
825 conceptions, the old !Kung believe that certain snakes, lizards,
775 and antelope found in the vicinity of graves represent spirits of the
171 dead (1), as they do among the Bantu.

1. W.H.J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd, ibid., p. 430.

3: Lebzelter--114 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

!KUNG

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

535
539 ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

χ'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

622
782
769 Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

782
881 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are implored in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

787
695
684 "If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

[64 cont.]

825 existence. The appearance of the ring-necked snake indicates
[787] misfortune.

Animistic conceptions are more pervasive in the world
774 picture of the Masarwa (2). According to Dornan, each thing is a

821

2. The Kalahari Bushmen (Dornan, op. cit., p. 165) have some knowledge of the stars. The Southern Cross is a giraffe, but the Cape Bushmen regard it as a group of lions. Some of the Bushmen regard the stars as animals or human beings who have gone up to the sky.

773 The following story is told: During the girls' initiation a girl who possessed magical powers nodded to some lions and they were immediately transformed into stars.

The Cape Bushmen told another story: During the girls' initiation a girl was quarreling with her mother because the latter refused to give her certain roots that may not be eaten at such times. The girl seized the roots and the ashes and threw them toward the sky. The roots became stars, the ashes became the Milky Way. -- Shooting stars signify misfortune.

774 kind of spirit. Human beings and animals can each transform
[825] themselves into the other. Individual doctors change into leopards, and many animals are regarded as other appearances of man, especially the springbok, the baboon, and a number of snakes. When a ring-necked snake approaches a village, it indicates
[177] death. Bantu influence is undoubtedly at work here.

The !Kung doctrine of two souls reappears in a different
[184] form among the Masarwa. The shadow of each thing, as well as
774 that of the human being, is its other soul. They believe that the
775 shadow soul remains in the vicinity of the grave, while the self walks in another place where it meets with the fathers. It is supposed to be warm there, and supposedly there is much game. In the beyond one acts the same as on this earth.

MASARWA
OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

600 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib
769 Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu
[774] doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the
[825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals,
[824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe
[776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at
551 her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say
602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo
105 delta, J. Seiner reports:
101 "The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting.
[563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe
[144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease.
AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY,

NARON
≠AUIN
NOGAU

[70 cont.]

881 Among the Naron, on the other hand, they must first pass the hunting test before they are admitted to the boys' initiation. Ten or 12 candidates are taken into the bush and must live for a month on veldkost, which is sprinkled with a medicine by the doctor before it is eaten. Women are not allowed to come near the camp.

During one of the nocturnal dances, Hise appears, dances [776] around the circle, and is then driven away by the medicine man. [787] Some say Hise looks like a woman; others describe him as a being three feet tall, with a flat head, large eyes, black body, 535 881 wings and claws (one is reminded of the spirit bird Engorori, which appears at the initiation of the Ovambo, or of the Neida Gamaseb of the Bergdama).

Some old ≠Auin saw two beings, one male and one female, 787 who looked like lions but walked upright; they were followed by children who looked like baboons.

Evidently masked dances, are involved here. The younger 535 men no longer see this Hise; the doctors explain to them that he 881 came, but could only be seen by the medicine men.

A special dance for Hise is an imitation of a bird's movements. In olden times the people also danced in pairs, while they sang in refrain: "Ostrich stomach, Hise stomach, hu, hu, hu."

The /Di dance is likewise dedicated to Hise. At this dance the men wear the dance rattles described above, as is also done for profane dances, but in addition they wear white or black ostrich feathers.

3. The Girls' Initiation

Among the Nogau when a girl has her first menstruation, 881 there is a celebration. Throughout the first day the girl must stay [343] in a closed, arbor-like pontok especially constructed for her. She is only given something to drink, nothing to eat. The women gather from far and near and perform dances around this arbor. These festivities last for five days, and only one man is present as a leader of the ceremony. During these five days the girl is regarded as "poisonous" and may not touch anything, not even

ǂAUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[73 cont.]

776 821 not die, but otherwise they are like people, except that they have black skin. When there is no rain, the Bushmen make a large [789] fire and throw into it a root, "he," and a male turtle. As soon [535] as it starts to rain, they dance, strike themselves on the thighs, [534] and sing: "Ehe, ehe, ehe, ije, ije, ije, ehe, ehe, ehe," etc. The sorcerers can transform themselves into lions.

The rain sorcerer lives on earth as other people do. The rainbow is the rain dog. The clouds are the rain hairs.

At the time of new moon, they say the moon is sleeping. During the night the sun runs back to the east.

Thunder and lightning are not made by the rain, but by Gauab who among these Bushmen has become a personification of evil. Lightning is called "Gauab's knife."

The dark night sky is the covering of the moon and sun. The dome of the sky is called /gna. My informants left it an open question as to whether the sun perhaps "might be the greatest," the one who has made everything. On the other hand, Khu is likewise regarded as the creator. He made heaven and earth, and he also made human beings live. Khu is not a human being; he is good, but nothing more is known about him. He does not interfere in the course of the world and of human life. To be sure, they say, "Khu is the greatest, and Gauab is the smallest," but nonetheless Gauab plays a larger role in their lives. He controls thunder and lightning, he races over the steppe as a destructive wind spout, visible to all, and he also kills people by tearing out their souls and making a little Gauab out of them. This little Gauab in turn runs about in the bush and does all kinds of evil things.

[74] There is a secret moon cult among the Naron. They 794 ● 987 821 pray to the new moon for rain. In olden times certain stars, especially the morning star and the Southern Cross, which they call "fire shoe," are also supposed to have been invoked. The story of 773 821 the moon and the hare is told in the following way: The moon said: "People must die and arise again, just as I die and return again." But the hare contradicted her and said that people should remain dead. The moon then became angry and cut the hare's mouth with a hoe.

"The moon is an old man, and the sun a young girl, his wife. First the moon goes under the sky, and then the sun follows behind

[74 cont.]

773 him. They go to their huts which are under the horizon in the
8 21 west. At night or during the day, respectively, they go back to their huts in the east; one can hear them but cannot see them."

114 Kaufmann was unable to discover anything concrete con-
776 cerning the high gods of the ≠Auin. Concerning the Naron, Bleek
776 relates that a curious mixture of religious conceptions has come about. A central position is occupied by Hise or Hyesa, who is designated as !Khuba or !Xuba by the adult men. The old people knew nothing about this. The Nama designate !Khub as master or lord, and this word is used by a number of missionaries for Christ. These elders maintain that this concept has been adopted
[777] from the Nama. Formerly they only knew Hise, who lived in the east. Hise is evidently the same as Heitsi Aibib (literally, "the first tree").

The Naron relate that in olden times both the trees and the
773 animals were human beings who were transformed by Hise into their present shapes. Then Hise called the chiefs of the Whites and Blacks and said to them: "Take cows and goats and live with them." But to the first chiefs of the Bushmen he said: "Take the antelopes and live on them; make traps and hunt and live in the bush."

The expression Huwu or Huwuba is known and is supposed to
776 designate the great captain of the men in the north. The details given by Miss Bleek concerning //Gauwa are interesting. In the opinion of the Naron and ≠Auin, //Gauwa is the spirit of a de-
[775] ceased person. Medicine men can also see these spirits; the
[776] women can only hear them. Many a woman declared that only men who had gone through the initiation ceremony and who have two scars between the eyebrows can become //Gauwa. A strong, howling wind is also designated as //Gauwa, however. A few individuals also believe in a chief spirit by this name, who lives near Hise in the east and to whose house the spirits return by day. Some designate //Gauwa as the younger brother of Hise; others identify him with the latter.

The Naron put both masculine and feminine endings on the word Hise. Among the ≠Auin he appears during their dances at

[75 cont.]

754 Among the Naron, according to Miss Bleek, the Bushman
411 revolver is also in use. The doctors fight one another with it. Such an arrow is secretly shot at the opponent's kaross, and through the magic emanating from the arrow, the enemy falls sick and dies.

8. Death and Burial

The Nogau have the following conceptions: Death is
761 caused by Gauab, who steals the soul and makes a little Gauab of it. The dead person is buried immediately; there is no
764 dancing, only weeping. The corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on its side with the head toward the east. Only the sleeping blanket is placed in the grave; the weapons that were left behind are kept by the brothers. The food that the deceased was carrying with him is thrown on the grave. Then bushes are placed on it.

(775) In their opinion the soul of the deceased, which has been
769 transformed into a Gauab, wanders around near the grave; therefore they detour around it. When a Nogau Bushman passes the grave of a tribal member, he prays to him for help in hunting so that the children will grow fast and become fat. He says:

"I do not know how it will go with me
[539] With the food, how it will go with me with the food;
I do not know what I should do to get something to eat,
Let us eat and become big."

On the other hand, there is also the belief that the great
775 Gauab who kills a human being eats the heart or keeps it in cold water and finally makes a new Bushman of it. Among the Naron
764 the corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on his side with the face toward the east. These customs are by no means always observed, however, especially when the ground is hard. The Naron do not fear the spirits of the dead, although the doctors
769 see them, as do those men "who have incisions between the eye-
787 brows." As we know from the Nogau, this includes all who have taken part in the boys' initiation. Women can never see such spirits.

Among all three tribes, old people are exposed to die.

888

+ AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[78 cont.]

000 it with the fingers. [Fig. 29 appears here.]

224 [79] The lion is neither eaten nor hunted. The jackal and
262 leopard are eaten, as is the liver of the latter. Baboons are not
825 eaten, because they were formerly Bushmen.

304 The line of tattooing between the eyebrows make people
302 into leopards among the Nogau. The Naron smear themselves with red and black color. The other incisions and tattooing are made purely for adornment.

825 Among the Naron, millepedes are regarded as creatures
756 of Hise, and only doctors may touch them and make medicine of them. Among the Nogau and ǂAuin there are magical bones
● 787 that are used to predict the future. The Naron also believe that
[172] the rock engravings stem from //gauwa.

Among the Auin it is forbidden to eat hyena flesh, and
262 likewise the flesh of the shabrack jackal because it is a dog.

The following important data supplied by Gentz (1) should

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[114]
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1. "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften [Some Contributions to Knowledge of the Southwest African Tribes]," Globus, Vol. 83, 1903.

be added:

"I have repeatedly found Bushman arrows on which the point, usually made of bone (for the most part ostrich bone), was made of wood. The game sling, reproduced in Figure 29, is constructed as follows: A strong string, four to five millimeters thick, which at one end terminates in a simple loop, is fastened at the other end to a flexible young tree or branch that is bent far over. A small, thinner string with a transverse stick is attached at the loop end. The string is placed around a small post driven into the ground at an angle, and it is prevented from slipping off by means of a flat piece of wood buried under the ground and planted against the free end of the transverse stick; the sling is placed in a circle on the ground over the flat piece of wood. The game, which follows its customary track to the

/256 cont./

224 3. A piece of root wood, called /un /gei, is pierced and
301 worn on a bast string on the chest. This little piece of root has
828 its distinctive story. When the Bushmen are hunting and want a clear eye to see game, they scrape a bit off its surface and rub the powdery scrapings between the eyes and from there upward across the middle of the forehead to the hairline. They believe that they can increase their keenness of vision by this procedure. An experiment that I made with the powder produced no change on the skin that was treated and naturally did not have any visible effect on my keenness of vision.

4. Little wooden sticks which are used as oracular instruments,
301 especially by the Kung people of the Kaukau Veld.
787 These are four wooden sticks which are strung on a string and worn on the chest. They are about as long as a finger and about two centimeters wide. Two of them are about as thick as a finger; the two others are only a few millimeters thick. One end of the sticks is cut off smooth, and the other pointed. These four sticks are questioned for all imaginable purposes. If the Bushman wants to know where game is, where he is to expect an enemy, or which route he is to take, he asks his sticks. He does so in the following manner. He spreads a piece of leather in front of him and crouches on the ground. Then he places all four sticks parallel and on top of one another in his left hand, the back of the hand being turned toward the ground. With a sudden jerk, accompanied by clicking the tongue, he throws the little sticks on the cloth; naturally, the sticks are scattered with their tips pointing in various directions. Depending on the matter at hand, each little stick signifies something special. When I had a Bushman captain in the Kaukau Veld consult his oracle concerning the fate of our patrol, one of the thick sticks in this throw signified the oxcart that accompanied the patrol. A lively argument concerning the significance of the sticks in a given case frequently arises between the consulter of the oracle and the spectator; finally, the view of the more respected of the two apparently wins out.

/257/ The clothing of the Kung people in the Kaukau Veld
184 is essentially the same as that of the Heikum on the Omuramba
291 ua omatako; even the ornaments do not show any great differences.
301 Nevertheless, I was struck by certain peculiarities of the Kaukau people that I did not find among the Heikum.

6:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
'Kung

192 it gets a bad *n/ow*. We heard the words used constantly in connexion with *n/ow* and
827 rain and cold, but know of the use of only one of them in another connexion. The /Kung say that a child '*//ghui*(s) its name' if its teeth come late. We do not know precisely how to translate the words and hope that a linguist will some time throw more light on them.

821 ≠Toma, one of our informants, pondering on the question of how the *n/ow*
827 comes to be of one kind or the other in a person, said he thought the child's position
843 in the womb and whether the child had long or short legs might have something to do with it, but he was not sure of this, and knew no more to tell us. A caul or a breech-birth does not make the *n/ow* good or bad, he thought. Other informants
[845 thought that severely deformed infants or twins might possibly be more likely than
847] others to get a bad *n/ow*, but they too were uncertain. (Possibly this is because deformed infants and the weaker one of twins are killed at birth by /Kung mothers, so there is little occasion to think about the *n/ow* of such children.)

821 It is discovered what kind of *n/ow* a child has by observing the weather at the time
787 of its birth or soon after. If it rains the people believe the *n/ow* of the child has brought the rain and are sure the *n/ow* is good. If water should freeze when the child was born or soon after, the child's *n/ow* would be known to be bad. Should the weather continue in its normal seasonal course and no great extreme or notable change occur, the child's *n/ow* will be thought to be probably of the rain-bringing or cold-bringing kind according to the type of weather which prevailed; but if the weather is extreme at the time of the birth there is a feeling of certainty about the kind of *n/ow* the child has acquired, as the /Kung believe the effect of the *n/ow* was clearly observable.

At death as well as at birth the *n/ow* of a human being influences the weather. A /Kung told us that his *n/ow* had brought heavy rain when he was born and that everyone knew he had a rain-bringing *n/ow*. He said his mother, who lived at some distance from where he lived, noticed the weather and, if rain came at an unusual time or was unusually heavy, she feared he had died and that his *n/ow* was causing the rain to come.

821 *N/ow* is said to exist in the bodies of human beings (presumably everywhere in
826 them). Informants mentioned it particularly as associated with uterine fluid at the
[827] time of birth and with the urine and hair of humans.

Hair is associated with clouds by the /Giwke Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with whom we worked in 1955. They have a myth, told to us by the
[773 old headman, Oukwane, which says that God, whose name there is Pisiboro, and who is their one God, tore the black, black hair from his head and threw it into the sky to make the rain clouds.

775 In *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*,[1] Dr. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd record a belief about
821 death, collected in 1875 in the Katkop dialect from the informant Dia/kwain, which
826 refers to hair and clouds. We quote the statement:

> The hair of our head will resemble clouds, when we die, when we in this manner make clouds. These things are those which resemble clouds; and we think that (they) are clouds. We, who do not know, we are those who think in this manner, that (they) are clouds. We, who know, when we see that they are like this, we know that (they) are a person's clouds; (that they) are the hair of his head. We, who know, we are those who think thus, while we feel that we seeing recognize the clouds, how the clouds do in this manner form themselves.

[1] Bleek, W. H. I., and Lloyd, L. C., *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911, pp. 399–401.

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

T76 communities are surrounded. Except among the groups which have long been in contact with and largely influenced by other races belief in a supreme being would appear not to exist. The partly disorganised *ǂAo-||ǎin* and *||Aikwe* groups of the Gobabis district believe in a good being named *!Khutse* or "God" and a bad being called *Gāua* or "Satan." About the nature, however, of these beings they have no idea nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them. People who die a "good death" are T75 said to go to *!Khutse* and those dying a "bad death" to *Gāua*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress. Among the primitive groups a deceased person is believed to move about in the form of a ghost at night. *Buchu* (*tsā*) is [76] accordingly sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver and arrows of the deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost returning to look for them. Every sphere of activity in life is influenced T71 by some superstition or other which, as a rule, finds expression in certain avoidances or in ceremonial and other rites and practices. Examples of these have been given in connection with the subjects already discussed. It is unnecessary to allude to them any further.

● T87 Divination is widely practised and absolute faith is placed T76 in the divining properties of the objects which are used for the purpose. The source from which these properties have been derived is attributed by some to their "first big Bushman," by others to *Gāua* ("satan"). Thus the Bushman *Tji-tji* is said to have been initiated by *Gāua* "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver. *Tji-tji* had killed a gemsbuck. *Gāua* arrived on the scene and said, "I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep here." After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-tji* remarked to *Gāua*, "Give me that stuff (*||ai*)." The latter replied, "If I give you the *||ai*, what will you pay me?" *Tji-tji* answered, "I will give you the horns." *Gāua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *||ai* and before departing taught *Tji-tji* the *||ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic.

000 In conclusion I desire to express my regret at having been unable to deal with the subject of this report in a comprehensive manner during the short time at my disposal. More detailed information on the Bushmen of this Territory is available, however, in the works mentioned in the bibliography.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

533 another Bushman, and because he was so happy to see someone and imagined the two of them passing the night together talking by a fire, he waved and called and ran up to the other Bushman. But when he got there he found that he had been mistaken—what he had thought was a man had been only a stump.

A second song was about two jealous co-wives, and the song, more ironic than sad, was composed by the husband to ridicule them. The names of these two women were Nunkwe and Aite, which sound for all the world like Gikwe names, as perhaps they were, and we wondered how far this song had traveled, by how many ears and mouths, before it found itself at Nama Pan.

The third song was called "*Chiviba*," a song composed by a young man who had brought veld food to his people in a chiviba, a basket made of branches. His people laughed at him and said that he was lazy not to have a bag to carry the veld food in, but nevertheless they were not too proud to eat what he had brought. The fourth song was called "*Ka Te Te*," the song of the redwing partridge. The redwing partridge is most strongly tabued as food, may never be eaten, and *ka te te* is an imitation of its cry. The song was composed by a man who heard a redwing partridge making a sound in the evening and knew that the sound foretold a misfortune or a death.

Because the young man who owned the guashi was lonely and brooding, it was natural that he should play. The other people loved to hear him and often when he played several people, usually men, would gather to lie in the shade near him or sit beside him with their chins on their raised knees and listen, sometimes singing softly as he sang, very harmoniously, but paying no attention, just singing in their own way within a set harmony, dreaming and soft, and although the young man played for his own ears, not theirs, he could infect

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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132 or perhaps kindled by the wind from old embers, and their new smoke rose white against the sulphurous sky. The dawn was warm, the north wind blew and, though the smoke it carried stung our eyes, it carried too the sound of insect voices and frog voices from the pan. These songs and cries of creatures made the air seem alive, the veld large, quite different from the deathly quiet dawns of frost.

● 787 We were getting ready to look for Short Kwi and his people, and that morning we packed a truck. Everyone felt apprehensive, and at Toma's werf Gao Feet, a medicine man, was throwing oracle discs to see what would happen. He crouched in front of his kaross, which he had spread to throw the discs on, and beside him sat Toma and several other men, their lips pressed against their hands, absorbed, watching. We watched over his shoulder; at a distance, for oracle discs are men's business, the women were standing up to see.

Gao Feet had five discs made of antelope hide, which he would shake in his hands and then drop upon the kaross. When they fell in certain positions, they would tell him certain things. Before he would throw them, though, he would assign identity to them; if he was wondering where people were he would call them men and women, or name them after people he wanted to see, and if he was trying to predict the outcome of a hunt he would call them kudu or gemsbok or wildebeest, male and female, then would see in which direction game could be found, and how far away. Sometimes, too, he would call one disc a hyena and then, if this disc fell upon the disc that was the wounded antelope, he would know that hunting that day would be useless; the hunters would never find their prey.

Sometimes he threw them with a particular question in mind and sometimes, as this morning, he named them and then threw them just to see what would turn up. Perhaps he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

felt uneasy with no specific worry in mind. He did ask them 787
one specific question, though; he wanted to know where an outbreak of diarrhea that everyone had got came from, and when Tu's brother, the lame boy, who was watching, heard what was asked, he said that our cameras had sent the diarrhea, and the people almost choked themselves laughing at that. Toma laughed until he cried. "We do not really believe this," he said through his tears, looking over his shoulder at us lest we should be uneasy, "we are only joking."

Toma, Gao Feet, and Lazy Kwi took turns throwing the discs and presently the discs told them that the diarrhea "came from the fires, from people to the east." I don't know how to interpret this, but perhaps the Bushmen meant that the disease blew down the wind. The discs also foretold that someone in the west would kill a buck, that visitors were coming, and that some Europeans and some Bushmen would sit at a fire to talk. Later all these things came true. Because the oracle discs predict conservatively, their predictions often come true.

Toma lost interest in them and told everybody how he had 521
been walking home the evening before and had heard a voice which had sounded to him like the voice of a European speaking English, but when he had investigated he had found a Bushman man sitting alone in a clump of bushes practicing the sounds of English, possibly hoping to speak it, and Toma's audience all thought that was very funny and they talked on and on about it. Incidents like this are talked about forever by Bushmen, who drag them out infinitely, remembering every detail, savoring them to the fullest. This is because very little happens outside of routine. (We once asked [538
some Bushmen if they ever made up stories to tell and they, 577]
a little righteously, said no, they did not, because Bushmen do not care to hear about things that are not true.) Then the

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WHEN THEY GATHER, the men are most likely to discuss hunting—the great exploits of memory, or plans for the future. For the chase is their passion.

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ORACLE DISKS, *bottom left*, are made from eland hide, in sets of five. The !Kung often use them to determine the direction of their next hunting foray.

821 them or seek to gain beneficent influence from them. As far as we know they do not pray to them for food as the Cape Bushmen are said once to have done, or for rain as the Naron and Auen and /O /Kung do.[1]

The /Kung beliefs about rain, which I do not describe in detail in this paper, include the idea that rain is life-giving and makes the food plants and other vegetation grow, whereas the sun is death-giving. The /Kung do not now formally personify or deify rain or worship it, but may retain a vestige of an ancient personification of rain in praying to it, in a manner of speaking, as they also do to lightning. 'Fall silently, rain. Do not make such a noise. Do not be dangerous', they say. Or, to lightning, 'Do not come against me. Go to the other side.'

825 The /Kung do not attribute divinity to the mantis but, in calling it 'the servant of *//Gamwa*', perhaps they preserve a vestige or an echo of the Cape Bushman belief in *//kaggen*. If they injure a mantis which is walking on them or throw one into the fire,
[753] '*//Gamwa* would see this and say that his servant was being ill treated and would punish the person. He would make the person sick'. Mantises are *chi dole* (*chi*, thing; *dole*, bad) not because they harm you—they only prick and tickle you—but because they belong to *//Gamwa* and people are afraid of the 'owner'. The old people told them these things. We saw the /Kung hold mantises, however, without exhibiting fear or the uncanny fascinated feeling I had when I watched them (especially the huge female who lived with me, with her consort seemingly permanently attached to her, and fascinated me by never seeming to take her eyes off me as she made her slow and stately progress around the tent at night).

The /Kung react in quite a different way to millepedes. They say there are two kinds. The large one they call *ko ko chi nabe*; the small one they call *choba* or *zoba*. One day a boy picked up a millepede and threw it toward a group of women. They jumped up and fled, shrieking. Talking about it afterwards, they explained that 'even men are afraid of millepedes'. (We observed several incidents of people jump-
[753] ing and running from them.) They are very dangerous, the /Kung say. If one gets on you, the shock of fright you feel could kill you. 'Millepedes work with *//Gamwa*. He sends them to eat your nose when you are asleep.' If you put a *choba* in the fire when the *n//i* berries (*Grewia flava* D.C.) are still green, the berries will not ripen
[278] properly and will not be sweet. If the /Kung find the ash of a millepede which has been burned in a veld fire and has kept its shape, they take the ash for a medicine. (Cf. Schapera's account that among the Naron and Auen 'the millipede, said to belong to *Hishe*, is only touched by them [magicians]; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine.'[2])

774 The /Kung do not believe that animals have spirits or souls or that earthly objects
825 (such as trees or water, for example) are entered by spirits or are themselves animated by having spirits of their own.

● 787 Divination is a secular practice among the /Kung. The oracle disks may be thrown and read by any man. They are five leather disks about two-and-a-half to three inches in diameter. The man who throws them gathers them into his cupped hands, flings them with a spreading motion on to a kaross on the ground, and reads what they reveal or predict. Different personifications are attributed to the disks, according to what the people want to learn from them. If advice about a hunt is wanted, the

[1] Schapera, op. cit., pp. 176–7. [2] Ibid., p. 197.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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disks may represent two eland bulls, two eland cows, and a hyena, the fifth disk being the factor of ill fortune, and in this role they tell the hunters in what direction they should go and what success or difficulty to expect. The names of people who are absent may be attributed to the disks, which then give news of the people. As everyone knows where everyone is likely to be and what is likely to befall, the disks are more often right than wrong. They afforded us the amusement of a remarkable coincidence, which people so delight in, when they foretold quite precisely the return of one of our party who had been away and whom we had not expected nearly so soon. 787

It was entertaining to watch a session with the disks. A group of men would gather around the thrower. The thrower always had his say, but he was not allowed to pontificate. Everyone read the disks with him and gave his own interpretation. Sometimes the men would disagree and shout at each other in effect, 'Idiot, don't you see it means this?' At other times they were grave and intent, searching for the meaning. Whether they came to a consensus or went off, each holding to his own opinion, was never clear.

The Names of the Gods

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The Names of the Great God

In present times the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region believe that there are two gods, one the great and one the lesser, that they have wives and children, and that they are attended by the spirits of the dead. [775]

These beings all live in the sky. The great god lives in the east at the place where the sun rises, the lesser god in the west where the sun sets.

The great god created himself. Then he created the lesser god. He created two wives, one for himself and one for the lesser god. The elder wife lives usually with the great god in the east, the younger one with the lesser god in the west, but, at any time the great god wishes, he may take both wives to live with him in the east. The wives bore six children to the gods, three boys and three girls. The great god created the earth and men and women and all things.

The great god named himself and then gave names to the lesser god and to their wives and children. He gave himself his names to praise himself. He said, 'I am *Hishe*. I am unknown, a stranger. No one can command me.' He praised himself also with the name */Gara* when he did something against the people, and the people said, 'He causes death among the people and causes the rain to thunder.' 'I am *≠Gaishi ≠gai*', said the great god. 'I am *chi dole*. I am a bad thing. I take my own way. No one can advise me.' His being the cause of sickness and death among the people was the reason for his giving himself many names, we were told. This was apparently a satisfying reason to the /Kung, who offered no other explanation. [761]

The great god has seven divine names and one earthly name, the last being *≠Gaolna*, Old ≠Gao. His earthly name, though not as common as some, is a man's name which we came upon fairly often. I call his seven other names 'divine' because they belong only to the gods. They are: [551 171]

Hishe	*/Gara*	*/Gauwa*
Hmwe	*Gani ga*	
Kxo	*≠Gaishi ≠gai*	

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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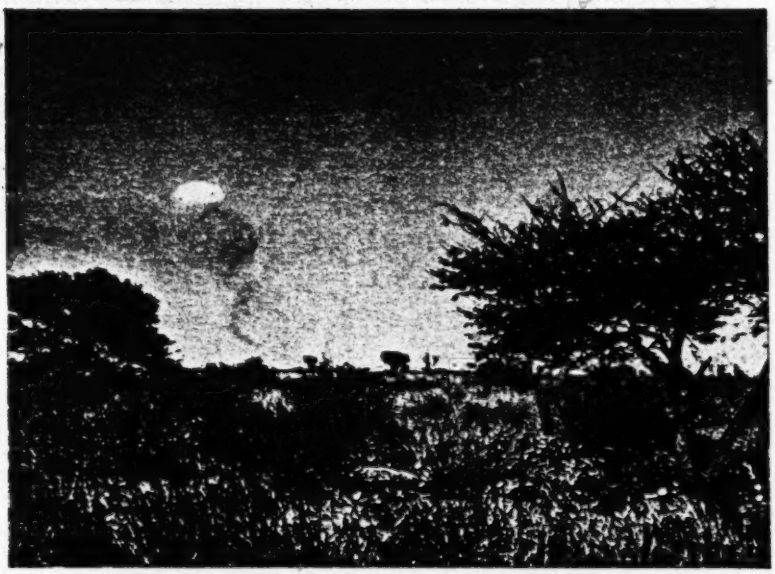

1. Whirlwinds in the huge veld fires become pillars of cloud by day

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2. The oracle disks

[p.228 (A)]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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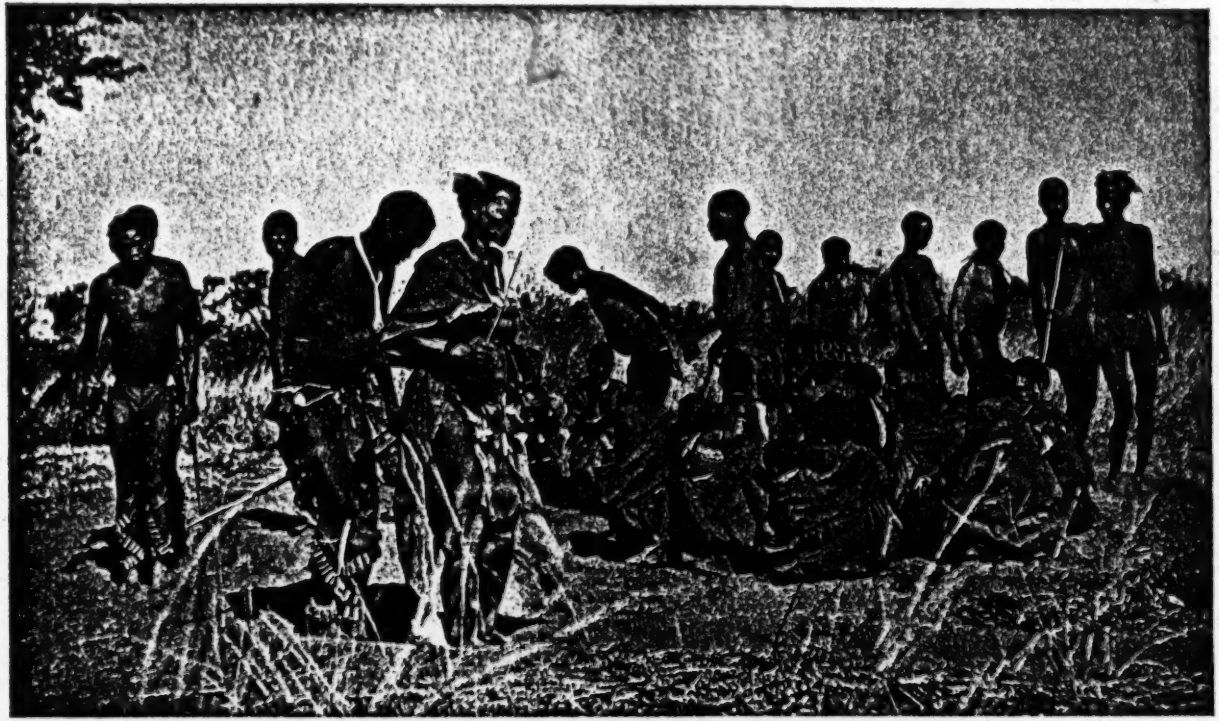

8. Occasionally a woman dances with the men for a brief time. All the men who are dancing except two (fourth and sixth from right) are practising medicine men. The one at the farthest left and the one bending forward are beginning to go into trance. Others hold them. In this stage they cure the people, leaning over one and then another, laying on their hands, and making their 'medicine' gestures and sounds

[p. 228 (E)]

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13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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9. The next stage of trance

10. Two medicine men in deep trance; the people rest

[p.228(F)]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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12. Five medicine men at sunrise after they had danced and cured all night long. The women must still clap and sing the protective medicine music. The men in semi-trance care for those in deep trance, or 'half-death', as they call it

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13. The tradition is continued. Playing 'dance', a little girl claps and sings while two boys dance around her

[p. 228 (H)]

13 Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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776 It was characteristic of the /Kung that none of the medicine men whom we knew
756 claimed to have seen ≠*Gao!na*. They were not great enough, they said. The /Kung
[156] do not wish to risk drawing upon themselves the invidious attention of mortals or the whimsical displeasure of the gods by setting themselves up noticeably before others. Some said that they had been told by their parents of only one great medicine man among their neighbouring bands who had seen ≠*Gao!na*. His name was Gao. He died long ago.

776 Although ≠*Gao!na* comes only to the great medicine men 'in the flesh', so to speak,
787 he appears to anyone in dreams and 'helps all his people'. A hunter said that
[224] ≠*Gao!na* stands beside one in one's dream and says, 'You have been walking and walking and you got nothing. Today I shall give you meat.' The hunter gets up and goes out on to the veld. He sees an animal and shoots it. ≠*Gao!na* may say, on the other hand, 'These days you will not find an animal even if you hunt'; and it will be the truth. He may tell you in a dream where to find honey in a tree or where to
[756 find an ant hill. He gives power to the medicine men in dreams and also medicine
533] songs. A medicine woman described vividly how he had taught her a medicine song which she then gave to her people. He stood beside her instructing her to sing the song over and over until she had learned it.

//*Gauwa*, The Lesser God

776 Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung the word //*Gauwa* has three interpretations. First,
[775] a //*gauwa* is the spirit of a dead person; the spirits of the dead in the plural are //*gauwasi*. Second, the Nyae Nyae /Kung, as we have said, call the children born to the gods 'little //*gauwasi*'. Third, they apply the name //*Gauwa* to both the great and the lesser god. It is one of the seven names they have in common. In the current beliefs of the Nyae Nyae /Kung there is not a being called //*Gauwa* who is a separate entity apart from the great and the lesser god.

Among other Bushmen and the Hottentots, //*Gauwa* was a being distinct from the other being who is variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, &c. As I interpret the present belief of the /Kung, the lesser god is that old, traditional //*Gauwa*. He has been transmuted, however, from the old image to a new one, as the old protagonist, ≠*Gao!na*, was transmuted into the great god. //*Gauwa*'s name has been attributed to the great god as the great god's names have been attributed to him. The two beings remain separate entities in the *!gu!na–!guma* relationship.

I base the interpretation that the lesser god is the traditional //*Gauwa* on the facts that many of his attributes are the same as or similar to those of the traditional being and that I did not hear people use any other name for him but //*Gauwa* and did not once hear the name //*Gauwa* used for the great god when people spoke spontaneously of him, although they insisted that it was one of the seven names which the gods have in common.

Excerpts from Schapera indicate that //*Gauwa* was generally the destroyer. Vedder reports that the /Kung at Tsumeb expect only evil from him and think of him as opposed to *Huwe*. But Lebzelter's Eastern Kung believed that he was good as well as evil, that he helped hunters, and some thought he was the creator. 'He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.'[1] By the Heikum also he was

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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776 ‖GAUWA's *Dwelling and Appearance*

‖Gauwa lives in the western sky at the place where the sun sets. (Cf. *‖Gaunab* of the Hottentots living in a black sky and *Tsui ‖Goab* in a red sky, p. 239.) /Ti/kay said more than once that the lesser god lived in the east. That was what he remembered being told by the old people, he claimed. The other informants agreed, however, in many different interviews, that it was the other way, that the lesser god lived in the west, so I take that to be their current belief.

Some believe that *‖Gauwa* first lived in a hole, */ga*. He made the hole, one informant told us, by pushing the earth out with his head. The hole was like a spring-hare hole, but very big. There were two entrances; one faced toward the sunrise, one faced toward the sunset. *‖Gauwa* later made a house (*choo*). The house is tied together with wire and has poles made of iron. The house stands in a flat open space. It is built up off the ground, upon the iron poles which are stuck into the ground and rise up into the air. Informants said that ' when a person is sick with sore throat, the sickness [753 has been caused by those irons which stick into the air. If *‖Gauwa* does not like a 756] person he can hurt him with those irons. The " old man " (*≠Gao/na*) tells him the way he must hurt a person.' When the medicine men are in trance they go to that house. This is how they know what it is like. They go up by a cord which hangs down from the sky. (Cf. Lebzelter's account of the Eastern Kung who believe that *‖Gaunab* moves between heaven and earth on cords.)[1]

There are two trees near *‖Gauwa*'s house. They have names. Nothing else on the earth or in the sky bears those names, one informant told us. The name of the tree which is towards the north with respect to the other is */Gaix*; the one towards the south is named */Dua*. The names mean nothing; they are ' just names '. */Gaix* and */Dua* have smooth bark and large white flowers, no thorns, no nuts. I thought they might be like baobabs which have these characteristics, but they are not. They are more nearly like the camelthorn (which incidentally has two names, */gi* ' a respect name ' and */aua* ' a rough name ') but are not exactly like any tree on earth.

776 The medicine men see *‖Gauwa*. Only a very big medicine man, full of the power 756 which *≠Gao/na* had put into him, might see *≠Gao/na* himself, as we learned, but any of the medicine men can see *‖Gauwa*. /Ti/kay thought that because *‖Gauwa* was so [757 often sent by *≠Gao/na* as his messenger the medicine men all become familiar with him. Anyone may see *‖Gauwa* in dreams.

The image of *‖Gauwa* varies. The present image accords with tradition in some aspects. Whereas *≠Gao/na* is ' the tallest of the Bushmen ', *‖Gauwa* is short. He has the form of a man, and the colour yellow is associated with him (similar characteristics to those of Lebzelter's little yellow mannikins with thick bellies, the *dzao*).[2] But individuals have their own interpretations. I am convinced that some of the [158 medicine men, Gao Medicine for one, really believe that they do see *‖Gauwa*. They see in the shadows among the trees and bushes objects which they interpret to be *‖Gauwa*, or they see the light of the veld fires between the branches, or some such phenomenon, or they have visions or hallucinations, perhaps while in trance. Some perhaps just imagine a form.

Demi, a medicine man in Band 12, saw *‖Gauwa* the night of the great dance at

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188. [2] Ibid.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

775 and they have a respectful term, */airisi*, to use if they wish to show deference and be ingratiating. Actually the /Kung seemed to speak of the *//gauwasi* quite often and much less reluctantly than they spoke of the gods. I did not happen to hear them use */airisi* except when they were telling me the term.

775 The *//gauwasi* move about in the sky or on earth. All over the sky fine cords are
772 stretched, like the strands of a spider's web, invisible to us but strong. The *//gauwasi* move on these cords and can go anywhere. They descend to earth on one which hangs down from the sky, the one by which the medicine men climb up when they go to see *//Gauwa* in the western sky.

775 The idea that the stars are the eyes of the dead, which some Bushmen believe, is
772 not held by the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Some informants had heard that other people
821 believed this. Lazy /Qui said he did not know; certainly enough people had died to account for there being so many stars. Others said stars are just stars there in the sky. Although they have names for several of them and stories about some, they do not know what substances stars are made of or what their nature is.

775 The /Kung associate falling stars with death. They do not believe that they are
[761 spirits of the dead but that they fall to earth and become insects which are col-
825] loquially called 'ant lions' (*Myrmeleonidae*, in the order of Neuroptera). These insects are common in the region. In the larval state they live in holes in the ground where one can see them spurting out grains of earth or sand. They devour ants. The /Kung believe that the bite of a fallen star may cause you to die the next day but that, if the star likes you and wishes to spare you, its bite will do you no harm. The old people have said so. *≠Gao/na* has no particular association with ant lions other than being the creator and controller of all things.

The spirits of dead persons are transmuted into *//gauwasi* by *≠Gao/na* in the east. When a person dies, *//gauwasi* come soon to take his spirit. The children of the gods are sometimes the ones who come, we were told, but any of the *//gauwasi* may do so, either ancestors of the dead person or non-related spirits.

[774] The *//gauwasi* pull the spirit out through the head of the corpse. The head is, likewise, the egress of the spirits of the medicine men. When the medicine men are in trance,
[787] which the /Kung call half-death, their spirits go out temporarily from their bodies through their heads to encounter and combat *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*, who lurk in the shadows around the dance fire, and it is through the heads that the spirits return.

[775] The spirit which the *//gauwasi* take from the corpse is distinct from life. The /Kung believe that life, *≠toa*, is inside the body of a person or animal, that it is put there and held there by the creator. It exists in all the vital organs in the abdomen, in blood, in the heart, lungs, throat, and mouth, and is everywhere in the head. It does not exist in the arms and legs, the /Kung believe, because they know that human beings and animals can be wounded in a limb or even lose one and not die, whereas a wound in the vital parts is likely to kill. Life dies in the body and stays there—dead, as the
[774] body itself is there but dead. It is the spirit which does not die. The only word I know for spirit is *//gauwa*. The spirit is like air. It cannot be seen and cannot be kept by mortals. The *//gauwasi* take it and they take the heart and blood of the person as well. These the *//gauwasi* carry first into the western sky, to the place where *//Gauwa* lives, but they do not leave them with him. They carry them further, around by the south to the east, to the place where *≠Gao/na*, the great creator, lives.

775 to our ears. One story was that at a place between Gam and Gautscha, where a person died, something goes '*wnn wnn wnn*', making a sound like wind in an empty ostrich eggshell or a bee buzzing in a bottle. The thing once chased ≠Nisa and her daughter. [761] They were terribly frightened, and people warned each other not to go near that place again 'because a person could get such a fright he could die of it'. One cannot see the thing. One can only hear it. On being questioned, people said they thought the thing was a *//ganwa*.

[787] *//Ganwasi* are mischievous as well as conveyors of grave evils and they trick and fool people on their own initiative, often appearing to people in dreams to do so. One might dream, for instance, that the *//ganwasi* told him he would shoot a fat buck if he hunted in a certain direction. If he then hunted there and failed to kill anything, he would know that they had tricked him. ≠Toma felt, when he was sick, that he was lying on thorns and that the *//ganwasi* were pressing down on him.

The function of the *//ganwasi* is, first and foremost, to be the servants (*≠gasi*) of the gods and to carry out their orders. They obey *≠Gaolna* primarily, but are servants of *//Ganwa* as well. They are the messengers, whether good or bad fortune is being sent to the people.

775 When the gods order them to kill a person, the *//ganwasi* have innumerable ways of
761 doing so. They can allow a buffalo to gore the person, a lion to maul him, or a snake
753 to bite him. They were responsible for a man's falling to his death from a baobab tree—an appalling death to the /Kung, who are as careful and sure as cats. Lightning [821] —'rain fire'—is 'a death thing' and is used by the *//ganwasi* to kill people when the gods so command. *//Ganwasi* have the traditional miniature magic bows and arrows, with which they shoot people. One feels the pain of the little arrow piercing, when one is shot, but one cannot see the arrow; eventually one dies of it. Sickness, however, is the greatest tool of the death-bringers and they kill mostly by it. They can bring their sicknesses, death, and other misfortune to men at any time, but they are sure to come to the ceremonial curing dances and are always there in the shadows watching for their chance to inflict the ill on the person or persons whom they are sent to destroy.

Although the *//ganwasi* are associated in the people's minds primarily with sickness and death and the people fear them with a pervading fear, the /Kung do not appear to suffer in an agony of terror. I think that their fear is mitigated by the belief that the *//ganwasi* are minor characters and can be driven away and that in their own natures they are not wholly evil. Like the mortals they once were, they are capable of being [782] good, bad, or indifferent to man. People can plead with them for their favour and sometimes they feel pity and are helpful.

Man's Relations with the Gods

772 *≠Gaolna* said, when he praised himself, 'I take my own way and no one can com-
776 mand me. I am a stranger, unknowable. I am *chi dole*.' The /Kung these days evidently imagine him to be as much the self unbridled as the old protagonist of the tales. However, unlike the old *≠Gaolna*, he is not indifferent to mankind, and, even though he lives in the sky, he is not remote. On the contrary, he is deeply involved with humanity, constantly aware of what people do, constantly reacting with pleasure or displeasure, and he favours, punishes, or ill-treats man accordingly.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The dancing of the men in the curing ceremonial dances has its own special style. 796 In other dances, that of the *Choma*, the Men's Dance, the Eland Dance of the First 535 Menstruation Ceremony, and in the numerous singing-dancing or rhythmic games which the /Kung play for fun, one sees enchanting pantomime and imitation of [524] animals. In the ceremonial dances we sometimes thought we saw what might be a vestige of the imitation of animals' horns in the way the arms were held, but in comparison with the visual expressiveness of the games, the purpose is not to express by gesture but to produce sound, to be part of the music.

The men wear rattles made of strings of dried cocoons with little seeds or stones inside, which make a swishing sound. These are the only instruments used in the dance. [533] (The /Kung, incidentally, have no drums.) The men dance with knees bent and bodies carried with little motion, leaning forward. On the strong accented beat, the dancer gives a hop and comes down with both feet. On the second beat he holds his weight on one foot (alternating right and left) and with the other stamps a single step or ripples two or three light stamps into the time of the single step. The steps are very precise. They are minute in size, advancing only two or three inches, but they are strongly stamped, and ten or twenty dancers stamping together produce a loud thud. The women clap loudly and sharply. The majority of them clap the basic pattern of a particular piece, while some strike a beat or beats which are complementary to the basic beat. The clapping and stamping are of such precision that they give the effect of a well-played battery of percussion instruments producing a solid structure of intricate rhythm. Above the percussion sounds, the voices of the men and women weave together in parts, singing the medicine songs.[1] Since singing and dancing are one, producing the music, I speak of medicine songs or medicine dances interchangeably.

The medicine songs or dances of the /Kung are named *Rain*, *Sun*, *Giraffe*, *Eland*, *Honey*, *Buffalo*, and *Mamba*. Some of the /Kung have *Gemsbok* and *Spider* Medicine music as well. The Rain Dance is not danced as a specific rain-making ceremony. The dances named for animals do not produce magic to control these animals in hunting or to prevent snake-bite, for example. The dances are named for these things because the things are vital, life-and-death things and they are strong, as the curing medicine in the music is strong.

After several dances have been danced the medicine men begin to cure. The /Kung 535 do not have sorcerers, witches, or witch doctors, and do not believe that the divine 796 beings enter into the medicine men or speak through them. Almost all the /Kung 756 men are medicine men. They do not all choose to practise, for one reason or another, but there are always several in a band who are active. Medicine men receive no rewards other than their inner satisfactions and emotional release. I know that some of them feel a deep responsibility for the welfare of their people and great anxiety and concern if their curing fails, and a corresponding satisfaction if it prevails. Others of them appear to be less concerned about the people whom they try to cure and more inwardly turned.

When the medicine men are curing, all of them experience varying degrees of [787] self-induced trance, which includes a period of frenzy and a period of semi-

[1] Nicholas England is in the process of tracing the songs and analysing the music, and he has a paper in preparation which will include /Kung beliefs and practices about them.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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535 consciousness or deep unconsciousness.[1] They may become stiff or froth at the mouth
796 or lie still as if in coma. Some of them habitually remain in trance only a short time,
[756 others for hours. One man used to remain in a semi-trance for most of the day fol-
● 787] lowing a dance.

A Bushman curing cannot be fully described in words; it must be heard and I give
[753] only an outline here. The medicine man begins by dancing and singing with the others whatever medicine song is being sung. He then leaves the line of dancing men and leans, still singing, over the person he is going to cure. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The /Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. He grunts with shuddering, gurgling, gasping grunts which intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high, piercing, quavering yell. Finally the medicine man throws up his arms to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Gaowa* or the *//gaowasi*, with a sharp yelping cry of '*Kai Kai Kai*'. This shows that it is heavy work to draw the sickness out. The effect of the sound on one observer, myself, was striking—gooseflesh and a stopping of the breath which made it seem as though the heart stood still an instant. A medicine man goes to every person present, leaning over each to cure, even the babies, who, amazingly,
[852] seldom cry, though he gurgles and gasps right into their ears. If someone is actually sick, he returns to him again and again through the night.

After the curing has been going on for some time, medicine men begin to reach their state of frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. Fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. They rush out into the darkness, where *//Gaowa* and the *//gaowasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. '*Filthy face! Take away the sickness you have brought.*' '*Uncovered penis*[2]! *You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away.*' '*Hishe*, *you are a liar. This man will not die.*' At this point they may fall into deep unconsciousness or sink down semi-conscious, eyes closed, unable to walk.

The medicine men who have not reached their full frenzy or who have passed through it attend those who are in it. The /Kung believe that at such a time the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Gaowa* and the *//gaowasi*. They call this '*half death*'. It is a dangerous time and the man's body must be watched over and kept warm. The medicine men lean over the one who is in trance. They

[276] [1] The /Kung know about the drug called dagga. They told us that it grows in B.P. and that when they go to trade they sometimes get a little. They like to have some when they go hunting; it keeps one from feeling tired or discouraged, they say. They might take some at a dance if they had it, but they are not dependent on it or on any other substance to induce trance. The trances are psychologically induced.

[195 [2] /Kung men swear a great deal. The swearing
576] plays always upon the themes of the genital organs, sexual intercourse, incest, and excrement. In deprecation they call each other genital organs or tell each other to go and commit incest with their mothers, sisters, wives' mothers, or sons' wives. We have not recorded their saying '*daughter*'. Is that thought so terrible to them that its expression is beyond even these hardened swearers? They use the same themes in their blasphemy against the gods. '*Uncovered*' or '*thrown-away penis*' may mean '*circumcised*'. This is a great insult among the /Kung who do not circumcise but know that the Bantu do. '*Filthy face*' means '*covered with excrement*'.

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Ko ('ngo), as

776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are
[787] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while
[224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is
[782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with
[756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant,
[791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians, who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded
[773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do
[184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his special protection.

Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis.
184 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to
776 Miss Lloyd several tales about */xwe*, a little personage not identified with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a variety of things. */xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

776 The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about *Hishe* or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys'
[88] puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people, bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans.
[756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws
[114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the
177 idea of */khuba* or */xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba"). This is the
776

[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32–3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 501, 505–6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404–13.

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everywhere he is regarded as the creator of all things, including mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.[1] 184 776 [821] [782] [224]

The IO Kung in Angola did not mention *Erob* or *Xuwa*, but spoke again of *Huwe*. Here, as we have seen, *Huwe* occasionally appears at the boys' puberty ceremonies and dances with the initiates, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double guise as man and woman. In the prayer to the New Moon his name may also be substituted for *//nwa-se*, but apart from this substitution there is no evidence of worship directed towards him. He is further said to appear to people in dreams.[2] Of the attributes found by Lebzelter for the "supreme being" among the Kung and the Heikum no mention at all is made by Miss Bleek. [787]

Huwe appears again among the Bushmen of the Eastern Kalahari. They believe, according to Dornan, in a spirit which they variously call *Dʒimo*, *Thora*, and *Huwe*. *Dʒimo* is a corruption of the Chwana word *Modimo*, nowadays generally rendered "God", and is, says Dornan, "largely used by the tame Bushmen with the same signification." *Thora* and *Huwe* are the regular Bushman words. *Huwe* is here spoken of as the good spirit who wards off disease, gives plenty, and protects the Bushmen from danger. When any danger threatens, they will call upon him; Dornan mentions having once heard some Bushmen of the Sansokwe River sing over and over again the words *Huwe ka hume ie ie*, *Huwe* come to our aid ie ie. More often, however, they speak of *Thora*. They say he made all things, but they are not sure where he dwells, or if he is a person. According to Dornan they look upon him as the Great One, who is over all things, who sends rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting. They often use *Thora* to ensure success in hunting; when, e.g. they have killed an animal they will praise him for bringing it under their arrows. This statement Dornan seems to have derived [177] [782] 114 776 224 [821]

[1] Lebzelter, op. cit., 410–12; cf. Schmidt, "Die alten Buschmann-Religion," 197, summarizing Lebzelter's data.

[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 54; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122, 123.

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while those dying a "good death" go to */khutse* (*/khuba*). "About the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1] 114 192 776 [773] [881]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say "*//gaua* thunders", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: "*//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndtambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God"); "we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to *//gaua*."[2] 184 192 776 [751] [821] [761] [775] [821] [881] [304] [782]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain" *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds. 114 184 776 [192] [821] [756] [787]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 14; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4.

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also the doctors of the community. The millipede, said to belong to *Hishe*, is only touched by them; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine. 756 [825]

Naron magicians (*tsho k'auba* or */nu k'auba*) do not dress or live differently from the rest of the community. "No one would know them apart," says Miss Bleek, "nor do they seem to have much influence to-day." The Auen seem to have many more magicians than the Naron, by whom they are looked up to in magic matters. Here, according to Kaufmann, the magicians, (*tsho k'au*, */nu k'au* or */geixa*) have their skulls shaved clean, and also carry a few ornaments which may not be worn by other people. The magic art in both tribes is learned by apprenticeship. During the month of the puberty ceremony one or two boys are taught their trade by the old magicians. At the next ceremony they return and are taught more; and boys who have been with a magician for many years can when they become older succeed their master.[1] [184] [868]

Magicians among the Kung are of two kinds, and both are called in especially for illness. The */u k'au*, who sucks out the disease from the body of the patient, is "an evil person, who speaks to no one and always looks black"; while the */ue k'au*, according to Vedder, is the ordinary worker in magic and the poison-mixer, and also prepares medicines from herbs and roots by cooking.[2] Lebzelter gives further information about the magicians. Both men and women can be summoned by the "great captain" to exercise this calling. The power they receive from him is greater than that of all the spirits with the exception of */nawa*, and is equal to that of the latter. Magicians are thus "born and not made", to use Lebzelter's expression, but nevertheless it appears that they have to learn the secrets of their calling by apprenticeship. They accompany the old magicians at least once in the search for medicine plants, and are then subjected to a test. The old magicians in the customary manner attempt to cure a sick person by sucking out the "disease poison" ("Krankheitsgift") or the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient; then they administer all the "disease poison" extracted by them to the initiates. If the latter do not die from this treatment, they have satisfactorily passed the test! [184] [755] [278] [787]

The magicians, apart from being able to cure illnesses by banishing the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient, also have the [787]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 159.
[2] "Grammatik der !kû-Buschmannsprache," 8-9.

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756 faculty of seeing and speaking to the *//gauab*, and only they know
[787] and utter the real name, */nawa*, of the chief of the latter. The evening
[782] before a hunting expedition they pray to *//gauab* for help, and certain
of them also have the power of conjuring down rain. This they
756 achieve in the following manner. When rain is needed, all the
789 people of the camp take part in a dance, during which they sing over and over again a mournful song lamenting the condition of hunger and thirst to which they are reduced. "Finally the great captain in the sky hears the lamentation. The magician goes outside the camp and sees that a thin cord is being let down from the sky. He climbs a certain way up this, but the great captain comes down to meet him half-way. As soon as the magician sees the great captain, he throws a powder up to him; whereupon the great captain lifts him up high and takes him into his house. There the magician prays to him: 'Lord, help us, the children are dying, we thirst and hunger.'
[782] So long does he pray and plead that at last the captain says: 'It is
[776] well, I shall send water, that the children may have water and veldkos.'
[821] Then he again accompanies the magician half-way down the cord. As soon as the latter has reached the ground, he releases his hold upon the cord, which is at once drawn up again. The rain follows immediately."[1]

184 Among the !O Kung in Angola there are also two kinds of magicians.
The */num-k'au* officiates at puberty dances, makes scarifications,
756 sees spirits, and also conjures up *//gaua*, while the *tsho-k'au* heals
791 the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's
[881] body through sucking. For this he receives a present. Both
[787] men and women apparently can become magicians of either kind,
[755] if taught by an older practitioner. There is said to be no ceremony of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.[2]

It will be noticed that both terms which distinguish the two classes of magician among the Kung and the !O Kung are also found among the Naron and Auen for magicians. This would suggest that there is a similar division of functions in these tribes also, but neither Miss Bleek nor Kaufmann definitely states this.

773 The origin of magic among the Naron and Auen is said by Fourie
[789] to be attributed to *//gaua*, and he gives the following myth in confirmation.[3] "The Bushman *Tji-Tji* is said to have been initiated

[1] Lebzelter, "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 408–9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

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114 arrows are not poisoned but are used for "witchcraft", and "if
411 they are shot in the direction of an enemy, be he 100 kilos or more
754 away, witchcraft will bring about his death".[1] The myth recorded
756 by Fourie also lends support to the idea that these arrows are used for magical purposes. It is possible, too, that something similar is implied in the statement, mentioned above, that among the Cape Bushmen magicians caused illness by shooting with invisible arrows, but it should be noted that no such weapons as those here described have yet been found among them.

789 Apart from the special magic practised by magicians and associated with them, there are among all the Bushmen various usages and beliefs of a nature which may be generally termed magical, and which
224 are apparently common property. Many of the hunting observances
787 already described fall into this category. So, too, does divination.
[184] Among the Cape Bushmen this occurs principally in the form of beliefs in the efficacy of omens, of which there are a great number with diverse significations. They say they feel in their bodies that certain things are going to happen; there is a kind of beating of the flesh which tells them things. Those who are stupid do not understand these teachings and disobey them, with the result that they get into trouble, are killed by a lion, and so on. These beatings tell those who understand them which way not to go, and which arrow it is better not to use, and also warn them when people are coming. They inform the hunter when game is close at hand, tell people where they can find the person for whom they are in search, i.e. which way to go, and so on.[2]

184 In the more northerly tribes is found the use of pieces of wood,
787 leather or bone as divining bones or dice. These are usually four in number, and roughly triangular in shape, two of them being broad, the other two longer and thinner. The former are called male, the latter female. In the Eastern Kalahari they are usually each marked in a special way and named, but this is not found further west. The bones may be owned and used by anyone, not only by magicians. They are used in a very crude manner: the inquirer goes on throwing them on to his kaross until he gets a favourable answer. Such bones are frequently found among the Northern and Central Kalahari Bushmen, and occasionally among those dwelling on the southern

[1] *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cd. 9146), 1918, p. 172.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17–18; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 330–9.

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borders of the Desert, but are unknown to the Cape Bushmen and 184
those of Griqualand West. Dornan maintains that they are original 787
elements in the culture of the Bushmen, from whom they have been 114
taken over by the Bantu. All the evidence, however, points in 177
the other direction, for among the Bantu the use of divining bones 787
of several different types is not only widespread, but also developed into an elaborate system of interpretation, while the way the Bushmen handle them shows that they do not know much about them. Moreover, it is found that the frequency of their use by the Bushmen coincides with the extent to which any tribe has been exposed to Bantu influence.[1]

Other minor beliefs and practices of the Bushmen are mentioned 751
by writers on particular tribes, but consideration of them must be [184]
omitted in a general survey such as this. It may be noted, however, that among the Northern tribes amulets are often worn to ward off disease and other evils, while among all the Bushmen charms of various [777]
kinds are also carried to ensure good luck. Bad dreams are also 787
regarded as evil omens, and precautions taken to counteract them. 789
Among the Cape Bushmen, for instance, when a woman had had a bad dream, she banished it by plunging a stone into the fire, at the same time saying a spell. If she neglected to do this, the dream would accompany her when she went out to seek ants' larvae and prevent her from finding any. The Naron, in the same way, when they have had bad dreams put a bit of burning charcoal on the ground and pour water on it, then the bad dream flies away with the steam. Or, [755]
when a man is ill and *Hishe* sends bad dreams, he takes a stick after the sun has arisen, plants it in the ground between his knees, burns *buchu* and snuffs it, and recovers.[2]

[1] Werner, "Heikum und Kungbuschleute," 256; Kaufmann, "Auin," 159, Dornan, "Divination and Divining Bones," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 505–7; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 155–8; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28–9; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies*, 10–11.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 29.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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584 One day the young man killed a little buck and, according to custom, gave most of it to his bride's parents, thus proving that he hunted well and would provide for them and their daughter. With this the engagement was sealed. Shortly after-
585 ward the mothers of the bride and groom built a scherm for the young couple which they furnished with wood and water and enlivened with a fire, kindled by brands from their own fires. Very early the following day the bride's mother adorned
[301 822 831] the bride, washing her, hanging white bead ornaments from her hair, rubbing her clothing with red, sweet-smelling powder, a symbol to Bushmen of beauty. Then, sitting her upon one large kaross, they covered her with another and left her to spend the day motionless, waiting for evening, when the union would take place.

788 It is common in Bushman ceremonies for a person at a transitional moment of life to be raised from the ground and hidden from the sun, as though suspended between earth and sky. Young people on the day of their first marriage are protected in this way; so are newborn babies, and so are girls
[841] on the day of their first menstruation. At a funeral, too, the body before burial is covered and raised from the ground, and perhaps all this is because a person is especially susceptible to damage at times of life when change is taking place, when, perhaps, a person is as delicate and fragile as a new moth emerged from a cocoon.

585 Because the sun brings death, no ceremony or part of any
[821 761] ceremony is performed when the sun is strong; but when evening came and the sun itself was dying, the groom was led to his new home by his three brothers, who took him by the hands and pulled him there, forced him, for custom demanded that he show reluctance. The bride, according to custom, refused to go to her husband and had to be picked up by another little girl and carried to him. In the drama of re-

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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821 The first appearance of this star in the evening sky is also the
●789 occasion for the performance of a certain ceremony. In the words
372 of Dr. Bleek's informant, "The Bushmen perceive Canopus, they say to a child: 'Give me yonder piece of wood, that I may put (the end of) it (in the fire), that I may point (it) burning (towards) grandmother; for, grandmother carries Bushman rice; grandmother shall make a little warmth for us; for she coldly comes out; the sun shall warm grandmother's eye for us." About the same time as Canopus, Sirius appears, and a similar ceremony takes place; the man who first saw the star is asked to "burn (a stick) for us (towards) Sirius; that the sun may shining come out for us; that Sirius may not coldly come out". He holds the end of the stick in the fire until it has caught alight, and then points it towards the star, moving it up and down quickly. "He sings; he sings (about) Canopus, he sings (about) Sirius; he points to them with fire, that they may twinkle like each other. He throws fire at them. He covers himself up entirely (including his head) in (his) kaross and lies down. He arises, he sits down; while he does not again lie down; because he feels that he has worked, putting Sirius into the sun's warmth; so that Sirius may warmly come out."[1] Both these stars appear in winter, hence the cold is connected with them. The ceremony just described is therefore almost certainly a warming incantation. It is said also that it will make the stars rise higher, for the higher they stand above the eastern horizon at sunrise, and the more brightly they twinkle, the more nearly winter draws to an end.

773 In the mythology the stars are held to have once been animals
821 or people of the Early Race, in some cases people who had been transformed upon breaking some taboo. Many of the stars and constellations, as Dr. Bleek points out, bear names which they apparently owe only to the fact that they are seen at certain times when the animals or other objects whose names they bear come into season or are most abundant. This would suggest the close connection between them and the food supply. "Of course," he adds, "when such names as steinbok, hartebeest, eland, anteater, lion, tortoise, etc., had once become attached to certain stars or constellations, fancy might step in and try to discover the shapes of those animals (or other objects) in the configuration of the stars; whilst, at the same time, mythological personification would begin its work,

[1] *Bushman Folklore*, 338–41.

/158 cont./

T. Religion, Cult, Mythology

756 The Bushman doctor conjures up rain by scattering on the
[789] ground a kind of red earth which he fetches from afar and carries about with him.

I regard the doctors, who take the place of sorcerers, as quite experienced people who have a considerable gift for observation. At the same time, they throw plenty of sand in their
[775] clients' eyes. The soul of the deceased does not die. The Bush-
[769] men have great fear of the dead and even of the place of death.

Illnesses that give rise to much pain and complaining on the
753 part of the sufferers are regarded as having been caused by a higher power (demons); others are regarded as natural illness.

The doctor practices exorcism by saying magical charms over
755 the sick person and finally, with the motion of a juggler, flinging to the ground a little piece of wood or the like which is supposed to have come from the body of the patient and to have caused the illness.

The only thing that I was able to establish concerning their
776 religious notions, despite weeks of fruitless endeavor, /159/ is that a higher power exists which may be harmful to men and may cause them to perish from serious illnesses. This higher power, which is feared, dwells "above." I could not get them to do more than point upward in the direction of the sky, except for the statement that the feared power is far beyond the treetops. [Fig. 14 appears here.]

The doctor is both physician and sorcerer. He is probably
756 also a priest, for whenever I asked questions concerning religion and the like, I was always referred to the doctor, who supposedly was informed about these matters.

Not every settlement has a doctor. Between Oas, Rietfontein, and Ganab (100 kilometers north of Rietfontein) there was supposedly only one.

The doctor has his head shaved smooth. In addition, he is said to wear ornaments that no other man may use.

Boys who have been apprenticed to a doctor for many years may later, when they have become older, replace their master.

In the treatment of the sick, charlatanism seems to be mixed

[Text continues on page 56]

[10 cont.]

539 χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!
[821]
291
731 [11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They
[488] do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and
[758] the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune. Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own.
271 One must have experienced personally the feeling that overcomes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can drink again!

539 3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a
782 journey:
[484] χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is
[755] gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor performs his ceremonies.

χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai kháira téve God, let our people rise again.

789 5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil: Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

821 They do not know anything to say about the sun (sorésa). The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

753 Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those
776 persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this, and there is no spirit of sickness.

776 There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the bush. They play tricks.

775 A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know
[756] what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

[49 cont.]

755 chief spirit was not yet satisfied, she would appease him; the chief
756 spirit would voluntarily take the little spirits of sickness away, even
796 from the doctors. After these words the festival abruptly ended;
the people went to their fires and lay down to sleep.

The candidate had passed his examination (1).

[184]
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1. Burchell (in the translation by Hellwald, Völkerkunde [Ethnology], II, p. 519) has given a similar account from the south: "One foot remains stationary, while the other is in rapid and irregular motion without any definite change of position. The movement of the arms is so slight as to be negligible. At the same time the dancer sings without pause and keeps time with the movements. Occasionally he lowers his body and then suddenly raises it again, until finally he sinks to the ground exhausted, but still singing and rhythmically moving his body in time with the song of the spectators. Even though only one person dances at a time, the company present nonetheless also has something to do, etc."

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When the excitement of the dance has reached its climax and the dancers have fallen into a kind of trance as a result of the continuous dance movement, the shrill singing, the drinking of coffee, and not least the tobacco smoke, which they keep in their mouths for minutes on end for the intoxicating effect, then the doctors, in order to demonstrate their resistance to fire, trample with bare feet on the red-hot embers taken from the campfire and spread out on the sand. In the case of a number of the younger ones, however, I believe that their resistance to fire was not quite as great as they would have one believe, and they carefully avoided the pieces that were

[49 cont.]

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glowing all too brightly. On the other hand, I was surprised when on the occasion of such a religious dance the so-called great doctor -- after he had danced by himself long and continuously in visible ecstasy, so that in spite of the cool night and even though he was almost completely naked, the sweat ran down his entire body -- suddenly, with slow majestic steps, walked through the high flames of the fire and in so doing had to step on the burning logs with his bare feet.

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[50] On a later occasion I discussed these procedures thoroughly and in detail with the chief doctor, Kasi, and with Dube and the other doctors. One of the most striking aspects of the entire ceremony is perhaps the absence of the mysterious and the magical. These little spirits of sickness are not magical creatures but, in the eyes of the Bushmen, commonplace realities. The Bushmen know very well that many illnesses are not caused by the spirits of sickness alone. If someone eats something that has gone bad, he will become ill and will be given an emetic. If someone is wounded by a shot, the wound will be treated. If the injured person has pains only in the wound and otherwise feels all right, then no spirit of sickness has entered into him. If he feels sick all over, however, then he is possessed by a spirit of sickness. These little spirits of sickness are called dsao; they are little yellow men with a fat belly and a little tail. They obey the other spirits, which, as described above, include the ordinary
(775) spirits from the bodies of deceased persons, the spirits who live among the stars, and the chief spirit (/Nawa) himself. [Fig. 20 appears here.]

Finally, even the "great captain" can send the dsao directly over a person. /Nawa can do this with or without the consent of the "great captain"; the smaller spirits act on their own authority or at the command of these powers.

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The doctors have their supernatural power directly from the "great capitain"; they are as powerful as /Nawa and stronger

[53 cont.]

751 burned to a tinder and pulverized to make a medicine. The per-
821 son struck now has incisions made on his tongue, forehead, cheeks, chest, and legs, into which fat is rubbed, and then this medicine is smeared on. Now, for the time being, he is safe from persecution by the rain.

16. Rain Magic

●789 People turn directly to the great captain when they need
[756] rain. Not all doctors are able to procure rain, only the few who
796 enjoy the special favor of the great captain. Then a dance is organized, at which the doctors put themselves in the trance state described below. At the same time the following lament is repeated countless times:

[54]

[539] !garǎ gurí dee oa ≠am	Why does it not rain?
X'uá dě rá /gaa !ái /gaa	Which lord is holding back the rain?
/gǎm khui hē	The sun is hot.
!kǔng-ná gurí /gǒá /gǒá	Will man live?
//gauǎna tani /gee ≠gǎo	Are the spirits bringing winter?
!kung /goá hǒǒ !koa !kung ō dshn-ǎ	Where is man supposed to drink?
//gaa /a //goě !kung /ñ a //goě	If it is so, can man only die of thirst?
!kunǎ //goě ne oa	What can man do now?
Ha-!kung tam hā m tam ná /ñ gěě	We had better stay here because we have been abandoned!

756 Finally the great captain in heaven hears the lamenting.
789 The doctor runs from the dance place into the bush and sees that
787 a thin thread is let down from the sky. The doctor climbs up on
796 this thread. The great captain comes to meet him half way. As soon as the doctor sees the great captain, he throws a red powder (ocher with medicine) toward him. Now the great captain draws the doctor up and leads him to the heavenly house. In front of this house [Fig. 20 appears here] the doctor sees the spirits of
[775] his deceased colleagues who year in, year out, stand before the house.

[54 cont.]

756 house. The doctor then begins to pray: "Lord, help us, the chil-
789 dren are dying, we are dying of thirst and hunger." He prays and
787 begs until the captain says: "It is good, I shall send water so that
796 the children will have water and veldkost." Then the great captain again accompanies the doctor halfway down. As soon as the doctor is down below, he lets go of the thread which is immediately drawn up. Now the people dance and sing, for the rain has come:

[539] /gá-é dsó-jā /gaa	We rejoice now over the rain.
//ē gā djusǎ !kho ǎdshójа /ga	Then we rejoice all together.
//ē gā hin a /gaa /gaa	Then the rain comes.
da //goá dshn !gu da adschŏéa χ'u	Then the people praise the lord.

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Fig. 21. Spirits of the Dead and Rain Animal (from Bleek, Rock Paintings in South Africa etc., Pl. 58).

776 Another !Kung said to me: "The great captain in the sky
821 sends the rain and all that comes from above. If he does not want to, everything remains shut up. The rain is opened up above; a great vlei is there. I do not know the name of the great captain. The Hei//om call him Som-seb."

17. Religion

771 After a critical look at the sum of the conceptions determining
177 the religious life of the !Kung, one recognizes, as would naturally be expected in the case of such an ancient people, that the elements

NARON
!AUIN
NOGAU

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the
[842] horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
843 spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
845 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

[301 789 303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

*Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
584 are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

[73 cont.]

776 821 not die, but otherwise they are like people, except that they have black skin. When there is no rain, the Bushmen make a large [789] fire and throw into it a root, "he," and a male turtle. As soon [535] as it starts to rain, they dance, strike themselves on the thighs, [534] and sing: "Ehe, ehe, ehe, ije, ije, ije, ehe, ehe, ehe," etc. The sorcerers can transform themselves into lions.

The rain sorcerer lives on earth as other people do. The rainbow is the rain dog. The clouds are the rain hairs.

At the time of new moon, they say the moon is sleeping. During the night the sun runs back to the east.

Thunder and lightning are not made by the rain, but by Gauab who among these Bushmen has become a personification of evil. Lightning is called "Gauab's knife."

The dark night sky is the covering of the moon and sun. The dome of the sky is called /gna. My informants left it an open question as to whether the sun perhaps "might be the greatest," the one who has made everything. On the other hand, Khu is likewise regarded as the creator. He made heaven and earth, and he also made human beings live. Khu is not a human being; he is good, but nothing more is known about him. He does not interfere in the course of the world and of human life. To be sure, they say, "Khu is the greatest, and Gauab is the smallest," but nonetheless Gauab plays a larger role in their lives. He controls thunder and lightning, he races over the steppe as a destructive wind spout, visible to all, and he also kills people by tearing out their souls and making a little Gauab out of them. This little Gauab in turn runs about in the bush and does all kinds of evil things.

[74] There is a secret moon cult among the Naron. They 794 pray to the new moon for rain. In olden times certain stars, espe- 987 cially the morning star and the Southern Cross, which they call 821 "fire shoe," are also supposed to have been invoked. The story of 773 the moon and the hare is told in the following way: The moon 821 said: "People must die and arise again, just as I die and return again." But the hare contradicted her and said that people should remain dead. The moon then became angry and cut the hare's mouth with a hoe.

"The moon is an old man, and the sun a young girl, his wife. First the moon goes under the sky, and then the sun follows behind

The same informant gave more information about 'making cloud'. He said:[1] 821
'And, our gall, when we die, sits in the sky; it sits green in the sky, when we are 826
dead.' His mother told him, Dia/kwain continued, 'that it (thus) happens to us if we [775]
sit in the shade when the place is not particularly warm, when it is (only) moderately warm, (and) we feel that the summer seems as if it would be hot. We think: "Allow me to sit for a little in the shade under the bush; for the sun's eye is not a little hot; I will sit a little while in the shade"; (then) we make clouds; our liver goes out from the place where we are sitting in the shade, if the place is not hot. Therefore, we make clouds on account of it. For, when it is really summer, then we (may) sit in the shade.'

We do not know what connexion there may be between the concept of *n/ow* held at present by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae and the /Gikwe myth of Pisiboro's hair making the rain clouds, or the hair of the dead resembling clouds and becoming the dead person's clouds, as Dia/kwain told Dr. Bleek, or a person's gall 'sitting green in the sky', or a person making clouds because his liver goes out from the place where he is sitting in the shade if the place is not hot. We hope someone else may be able to throw more light on this. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae make so little point of teaching [869] old stories or lore to their children that much must be lost.

What the /Kung believe now, Demi told us, is that there is nothing about hair itself which affects the weather. It is the *n/ow* of the person which the hair 'gives'. As we understand it, some of the *n/ow* which is in a person is in the hair. When hair is burned in the fire, the *n/ow* is released into the air in the smell.[2] It goes into the sky and, Demi said, the rain 'fears' it. (*Koa*, the word 'to fear', means to respect, to avoid, as when something is taboo, and to be afraid of.) When a person's urine is burned, it also carries the *n/ow* of the person into the sky.

/Kung informants told us that it would be possible to use the *n/ow* of persons to 789
control the weather, should there be need. If the big rains were unusually late and the 791
people were suffering from the dryness, or if the rain storms were so frequent and 821
heavy that the people had much trouble hunting and gathering veldkos, or if a storm were especially frightening, they might try to start or stop the rain. A person known with certainty to have a rain-bringing *n/ow*, because the weather at his birth had given evidence of it, could be asked either to urinate in the fire or to burn some of his hair. The smell of his urine or hair would go up into the sky and influence the rain to come. A person with a cold-bringing *n/ow* could be asked to do the same to stop the rain, if this were wanted.

We have no observations on who would instigate the burning of urine or hair to 821
control the weather. We did not see it done. No one in a /Kung community is a 791
specialist in rain-making, nor has anyone special authority in making a decision about [23]
the control of weather. The medicine men (*shamen*) have as their function the curing of the people, not the control of weather. It would be in keeping with the practice of the /Kung of this region, as we observed it in other connexions, for the group to 623
come to a consensus by talking the matter over informally as they sat by their fires, 821
and then for the parents or someone else to bid a child urinate in the fire. It seems to 789
us unlikely that an individual would make the decision entirely alone, without speaking

[1] Ibid., p. 399.
[2] Cf. a myth about the Rain Bull, which refers to the smell of burning horns, p. 239.

623 about it to others, unless it were a hunter caught in a storm alone in the veld; but
821 an individual, even without necessarily expressing a consensus, we think might say
789 to another, 'Why don't you burn some of your hair?', which would probably be enough to instigate the act. And, in all likelihood, it would be done with so little formality that the observer would not know anything was happening unless he knew what to watch for and were alerted.

[171 There was no ceremony regularly performed by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae to ensure
821] plentiful rain, like the Hottentots' *guri≠ab*. The Rain dance of the /Kung, which is
789 danced often, all through the year, is a medicine dance, among several others, such
535 as the Giraffe, Sun, Gemsbok, Honey, and Mamba dances. All these are 'strong'
796 things, the /Kung believe. The dances so named have 'strong' medicine music. They
755 are danced during the medicine men's ceremony to cure the sick and protect the people and drive away any of the *//ganasi*, the spirits of the dead, who might be lurking to bring some evil upon the people. The Rain dance has this as its purpose, not the control of weather.

One night when the Rain dance was being beautifully danced with a fine precision and vigour of clapping, singing, and stamping, which to us suggested fervour, we were watching it so intently that we had not noticed the sky. The first storm of the season had crept up behind us and suddenly burst over us like a bomb. We asked
[82] Gao if he believed the dance had brought the rain. He said that the rain was due to come. The dance had not brought it.

821 A *n/ow* animal, as well as a human, has either a good or a bad *n/ow*, but it seems
825 not to be known clearly how it gets the one or the other. Good or bad *n/ow* is not correlated with one sex or one species. One giraffe, for example, either male or female, may have the rain-bringing, another the cold-bringing kind.

It seems that long or short horns may have something to do with good or bad *n/ow*, not the long-hornedness of gemsbok as compared with the short-hornedness of giraffes, but, within the species, the comparative length of horn. But one kind of *n/ow* is not inherent in short-hornedness nor is the other kind in long-hornedness. It is not so simple as that. And informants did not know what association, if any, the short or long horns may have with ≠Toma's vague idea that the short or long legs of a child in the womb might have something to do with the child's *n/ow*.

When a hunter kills a *n/ow* animal, he either *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) it. Like the mother who *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) her child at birth, the hunter has no voluntary control over this and cannot tell which he has done unless the effect is observed in the weather. A hunter with good or bad *n/ow* may *≠gani* or *//ghui* an animal which has either good or bad *n/ow* and long or short horns. The precise nature of the interaction remains obscure, but hunters took an interest in telling about the kind of *n/ow* they thought they had, and gave instances of observing the effects of their killing various types of animals. If a man should kill a female kudu with short horns and the water should freeze that night, it would be evident that he had *//ghui*(ed) the animal. He would expect to continue to *//ghui* short-horned female kudus. However, although a man's *n/ow* remains constant throughout his life, the way it interacts with other factors may change, and after a time he may find he has begun to *≠gani* short-horned female kudus. We think the /Kung became a little tired of our finding this complicated.

One day in September the sun blazed in the clear sky. The heat beat down upon us.

A party of /Kung men had gone hunting towards the west. John, our son, was with them. In the afternoon there appeared in the western sky three little white clouds, like three powder-puffs in a neat row. They were the first clouds to be seen since the big rains had ended in March. We ran to each other, pointing them out. People felt happy. In the evening, when the hunters returned, ≠Toma came at once to me, before he put down his bow and quiver, and said that I could see for myself what it meant to ≠*gani* an animal. John had ≠*gani*(ed) the wildebeest he shot, and the clouds had appeared immediately above them. ≠Toma said this was what he had been trying all along to explain to me. 821 825

If a hunter knows with certainty that he has ≠*gani*(ed) or ||*ghui*(ed) an animal, as it was known when John killed the wildebeest that he had ≠*gani*(ed) it, he may take the horns and the scalp and forehead bone and hang them in a tree, remembering where they are and whether they had been ≠*gani*(ed) or ||*ghui*(ed). If need should arise he could get the horns which were appropriate to the need and burn them in a specially made fire away from the cooking-fires. He would take a piece of the burning horn and point it to the sky saying '*goichi goichi goichi n/ow qui*'. This we were told is 'speaking *n/ow*'. The interpreters did not know and could not find out by questioning people what the words mean. We wonder if they are an archaic spell. The horns must be entirely consumed by the fire. 821 825 789

In *Bushman Folklore*[1] there is a reference to the burning of horns in a very interesting myth about the Rain Bull, related to Dr. Bleek in 1878 by a Bushman from Strontbergen (30° S., 22° E.) whose dialect included the fifth click of the southern group, as the Katkop dialect does. In this myth a young woman cleverly saves herself from being carried away on the back of the Rain Bull to the water-pit where she would have been turned into a frog, and all of her people also would have become frogs. At the end of the myth the informant who related it said, 'The old women who had been out seeking food were those who came to burn horns, while they desired that the smell of the horns should go up, so that the Rain should not be angry with them.' 773 789

A hunter has another way of controlling the weather. To bring rain he would cut the throat of an animal he had reason to believe he habitually ≠*gani*(ed), or to stop rain, one he habitually ≠*ghui*(ed). The blood, which is ordinarily saved and eaten, would be allowed to flow on to the ground. A giraffe is the best animal for blood-letting. The forms and colours of the clouds are like giraffes, the /Kung remarked. We asked if human beings cut themselves and used their blood to start or stop rain as they do their urine or hair. The /Kung said, No, they did not. That would be unnecessarily painful. 821 825 [262]

As far as we know the /Kung did not attempt to control the weather by these means while we were with them, as they did not resort to burning urine or hair of persons. Perhaps this was because the weather took its normal, expected, seasonal course. Furthermore, we did not experience its most severe extremes for very long periods, and found it on the whole quite bearable. Or perhaps the concept of controlling weather by means of burning urine, hair or horns or letting blood, exists more in lore than in active practice. Or perhaps the long unchanging months do not stimulate the idea of actively attempting to control weather and the people content themselves with explaining rather than controlling. They appeared in many instances to have the 183 789 821 [32] 789 821

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., pp. 193 ff.

169 attitude of accepting resignedly what befell. It seemed to be in keeping with their
821 habits of thought that Gao said to us, ' When Bara comes (the season of the rains) and the rains do not fall, we desire and wait.'

Résumé

LE N/OW

000 Le *N/ow* est une croyance des Boschimans /Kung de la région autour de Nyae Nyae, dans l'Afrique Sud-ouest, touchant la pluie et le froid. Il tombe dix pouces environ de pluie au cours d'une année moyenne dans cette partie du désert du Kalahari, ce qui est suffisant pour maintenir une végétstion de couverture comprenant de l'herbe, des arbustes et des arbrisseaux. Cette végétation, désignée *wildkos* en langue tsal, comprend de nombreuses racines, feuilles, fruits et noix comestibles. Les /Kung, seuls habitants de l'intérieur de cette région, sont des nomades qui vivent de la chasse et de la cueillette. Ils ont à subir de grandes difficultés si les pluies sont insuffisantes et il en résulte que le veldkos est sec et épars. Ils disent que la pluie est vivifiante et que le soleil est mortel. Les grandes pluies tombent en été; elles commencent fin décembre ou en janvier et persistent jusqu'en mars; quelques averses rares tombent quelquefois au cours des mois de septembre, octobre et novembre. Les /Kung considèrent les nuages minces, qui ne donnent pas de pluie, comme étant du sexe masculin, et les gros nuages comme des femelles. La pluie elle-même est mâle ou femelle suivant la force avec laquelle elle tombe. Les mois d'automne qui suivent les pluies sont les meilleurs mois de l'année et les /Kung parcourent la région en faisant la chasse et la cueillette du veldkos nouveau. L'hiver est la saison sèche, avec un soleil brûlant pendant le jour et un froid glacial pendant la nuit; la plupart des mares se tarissent. Le *n/ow* est une chose qui influence les conditions atmosphériques et on l'appelle ' néfaste ' s'il apporte le froid et ' bon ' s'il apporte la pluie. Le *n/ow* n'est pas visible, mais on croit qu'il est présent dans tous les êtres humains et dans certains grands animaux; toutefois, il n'existe dans rien d'autre. Le bon ou le mauvais *n/ow* s'introduit dans un enfant avant sa naissance et il demeure chez cet individu pendant toute sa vie. Il n'y a aucun moyen de modifier l'espèce de *n/ow* qu'une personne possède et ce *n/ow* n'est pas héréditaire. L'espèce de *n/ow* est révélée en observant les conditions atmosphériques au moment de la naissance de l'enfant, ou peu de temps après. Le *n/ow* d'un être humain peut aussi influencer les conditions atmosphériques au moment de sa mort. Il existe dans le corps et il est associé avec le liquide utérin, l'urine, et la chevelure. L'association entre la chevelure et les nuages est constatée parmi d'autres tribus boschimans, mais le rapport n'est pas très clairement défini chez les /Kung. Ils croient qu'une partie du *n/ow* appartenant à un individu se trouve dans la chevelure et que lorsque les cheveux (ou l'urine) sont consumés dans le feu le *n/ow* est dégagé dans l'air avec l'odeur. Il monte au ciel et la pluie ' en a peur '. De cette façon, il deviendrait possible d'utiliser le *n/ow* des gens pour faire tomber ou arrêter la pluie. Étant donné que les /Kung n'ont pas de ' faiseurs de pluie ' officiels, ni de rites pour invoquer la pluie, la cérémonie aurait probablement lieu d'une façon officieuse, de manière à échapper à l'attention des observateurs. Les animaux peuvent également avoir un bon ou un mauvais *n/ow* mais le fait d'en posséder un n'a aucun rapport avec le sexe ou une espèce quelconque. Un chasseur peut tuer un animal, de façon à influer sur les conditions atmosphériques, mais, dans ce cas, c'est une question de chance et non pas de choix. Il peut également garder les cornes et les brûler, afin d'invoquer la pluie, ou trancher la gorge de l'animal en laissant le sang couler par terre. Cependant, les /Kung n'ont fait usage d'aucune de ces méthodes pendant le temps que l'auteur est resté parmi eux, sans doute parce que le temps a suivi son cours normal ou parce que les /Kung sont habitués à accepter ce qui advient.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
Gikwe

764 move away because they cannot bear to leave the dead per-
775 son, because they want to make sure that animals do not spoil his body, and because, said Ukwane, "He is our person, whom we love. We do not want to leave until we have given up hope."

764 We learned one other thing, and that was that the Gikwe
775 put a medicine power, a fragrant brown powder made of an
● 789 herb called *sasa*, in the norstrils of the dead person, and
824 sprinkled his body with sasa before the burial. This, said Ukwane, is done to ensure heavy rain in the rainy season, but also it may well have to do with protecting the living from the spirit of the dead. We did not learn more about this because Bushmen will talk about any subject you may name except the subject of the spirits of the dead. The Kung respect and fear spirits more than any other thing, and only after a year of trying did we learn about them; the Gikwe seem to feel the same way, and for that reason we did not expect to learn very much. We did find, however, that the spirits
775 of the dead are called, at least sometimes, the *kwe be ha ki* (person who is not here), and that these spirits travel in the
[82] wind—not in open, blowing wind, but in whirlwinds; that is why the Gikwe Bushmen avoid whirlwinds, because a spirit might be there to carry them away. Once a whirlwind passing through our camp uprooted a tent and carried it spinning to the sky. Possibly, explained the Bushmen, a spirit of the dead thought that there was a person inside, although sometimes the spirits cause only mischief.

764 With the Kung, the funeral customs are very much the
184 same as those of the Gikwe. The body is folded into a sitting position and bound, but the head is bowed down to the knees. Beads and a kaross ornament the body, which is also lowered into the grave and buried upright, but thereafter the custom

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the old man with a funeral, and they had had to abandon his 764+ 888
sister's body as it was.

The headman lifted the old man from the ground and we saw that he had not been weeping but had only been lying inert and helpless, powerless now to keep himself erect. On our truck he lay just where we put him, motionless, prone, all the way back. We passed the grove where his sister lay, a grove of high white trees with red beans on their branches, and the old man did not turn his head to look.

After that, the situation for the people who remained at 361
Gautscha got better because the summer came. Great cloud- 132
banks like mountains formed at the horizon, dispersed themselves in brown haze, and formed again, getting larger day by day. Some of the bands who had left Gautscha began to return and once again the countryside was populous, the air filled with the murmur of voices and the smell of smoke from the many fires. Some of the men went hunting and shot a giraffe, so there was lots of meat for a while.

One day some of us went to a place called Kubi Pan to see a cheetah that was supposed to live there, but instead we saw a flock of guinea fowl walking along in single file as people do, raising a cloud of dust. Two of them began to fight because it was their mating season. When we got to Kubi it was evening and the clouds on the horizon were very thick, and just when the sun set into them the full moon rose on the other side, causing a balance of the two great bodies over the earth.

It seemed to be an auspicious night. On the way home we 789
felt something electric in the air and when we got to Gau- 535
tscha the moon had risen high and pale in the clouds and we found that the Bushmen were dancing the rain dance. Everyone was there, the women all singing and the men wheeling

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

789 in a circle around the dance fire, the clouds of dust rising un-
535 der their feet making them look like specters in the eerie light between the fire and the moon. The dance was very powerful. The men wheeled faster, the singing mounted in pitch. A medicine man coming from a far werf and singing as he came sprang among the dancers like a leopard, soft-footed and fine, and as he looked around him for a moment before beginning to dance, the moon behind his head filled a white ostrich feather in his hair with light. He smiled to himself, then, dancing suddenly, led the other dancers in a serpentine track through the circle of women, over the fire, and out the other side. The wind blew hard along the ground, and the smoke and fire streamed into the veld. The singing was very hard, very fast, and as the dancers swung around the circle dancing harder and faster, it suddenly began to rain.

It was like a miracle. It was the first rain of the year. First, there were just a few drops, but soon it was raining steadily in gusts behind the wind, causing the dancers to relax a little but to continue their dancing without paying attention to the fact that they were drenched. A bolt of lightning illuminated the veld for miles around with a blue-green light not of this world, showing all the trees and bushes stark and rain-lashed in the grass, then a blast of thunder as the light went out which struck us deaf as the lightning had struck us blind. For a moment it was black and still except for the lashing rain, and in the silence we heard a lion roaring far out in the veld, answered by another lion which was a little nearer, and then a peal of thunder shook them silent, drowning even their great voices.

132 The people had not danced to bring the rain; they had
[789] known that rain was coming and had danced to use its strong medicine. It rained all night, the rain so drenching and torrential that it put out the dance fire and drove the dancers

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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green-leafed vegetables, and sometimes many of the people 361
of the large extended bands come together to live, to hold 621
important ceremonies which require many people, and to enjoy each other's company. Sometimes they separate into very small bands because they can now go anywhere they wish, each family going to the part of the veld where the type of food grows that the family most enjoys. There is water everywhere, in small seasonal waterholes, in shallow salt pans, in 312
hollow trees, and the people thrive and grow quite fat. One
of their favorite foods, one that grows in great abundance at 222 262
this season, is a ground nut called *tsi*, which grows on a trailing vine and is so fat that if you leave a kernel of it on a piece of paper it will leave a greasy stain. Tsi is regarded by the Kung Bushmen as a very powerful food, one of the powerful veld foods in which there is a special essence, something mysterious and magic which gives them a life force all [778]
their own so that it would be dangerous to eat them during the year if this life force were not first subdued or not first integrated with the life force of the people. These foods are 778
the mainstays of the Bushmen's diet, and are fat; and every 789
year people in their child-bearing years, when they consider themselves subject to harm, protect themselves against these foods by a ritual act.

The act of protection is called *choa*, and it is interesting because it differs from the protective rituals performed by agricultural peoples to save their crops or animals from harm, or to cause their increase. The Bushmen choa themselves not [842]
to protect their fertility, for decrease in the number of children is not a problem to them, but to make sure that they, the young adults and mainstays of the community, will not get thin and starve.

Those whom Bushmen call "old people," adults who have 789
had three children, are expected to protect themselves and 885
also to protect young people of the same sex.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

789 also to protect young people of the same sex. The choa ceremonies are performed in the Veld Food Season for each of the powerful veld foods as they ripen. The ceremony itself is simple; in order to choa tsi, for example, an old woman simply chews a mouthful of tsi with a few bites of a root called *shasha* if shasha is available or any one of certain other permissible roots if shasha is not, and spits the resulting paste into her palms. If she is choaing herself she washes her hands in the paste; if she is choaing a younger woman she rubs the paste on the young woman's arms and chest. It is an important ceremony, for no young person would think of eating tsi without it, but it is at the same time a casual, household ceremony, done without fuss or audience; oftener than not, it will be performed in the morning before breakfast, say, or when the woman is resting for a moment in the veld, ceasing her digging to drink a sip of water. It is a powerful ceremony, though, for the woman choaed may then eat tsi in safety for a whole year, until the next season when it ripens again.

731 That year, in the Veld Food Season, there was a tragedy and also a wedding. The tragedy took place late one afternoon when a baby girl, playing house with a real fire, burned down her grandfather's grass scherm, thus destroying everything her grandparents owned, everything they had made over a lifetime. The two old people had been very industrious and the wife a prolific maker of ostrich-eggshell beads.

At the start of the blaze a great crowd of people gathered, arriving just in time to see the baby girl run out of the scherm as it collapsed in flames behind her. She ran straight to her [262] mother and sat at her feet, ignoring the great crowd of people and placidly eating one of her grandfather's leather sandals which she had rescued from the fire and which, she found, had been cooked to a turn. No one was angry with the child,

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walk at night and people are afraid of them, but they do not expect 775
real harm from them. If seen, the apparitions resemble people."[1]

The same word was given three meanings by some Kung youths [192]
from near Lake Ngami—"dream, ghost, spirit." It is met with
again among the !O Kung of Angola, by whom it is sometimes used
for "ghost", sometimes more impersonally. Miss Bleek was told
by one of her female informants that when a person dies there rises
from the grave the ghost, *//gāũa*, which can be seen by magicians.
This woman claimed to be a magician, and said that she and her co-
workers could conjure up *//gāũa* by dancing and singing. In what [789]
form he appeared and whether she looked on the apparition as the
spirit of the departed, or as some other spirit, she did not say. Another
woman's death was described as follows: "She died, became a ghost,
people saw the ghost, it went away and stayed in the bush."[2]

A good deal of new information on this subject is contained in [114]
the reports recently published by Lebzelter on his researches among
the Kung and the Heikum.[3] The Eastern Kung, he says, believe
that the vital principle ("Lebensprinzip") of a man is his soul, *xa*,
which is immortal. When a man dies, this soul is fetched by the
spirits, *//Gauab*, whose hearth fires are the stars, and is taken by them [776]
to the sky hut ("Himmelshaus") of the "great captain" *Xu*. This
hut has two storeys, in the upper of which dwell the souls of all
people, including even those of the whites. They do nothing there
and also eat nothing. The body is buried, but after a few days the
flesh becomes "alive" and then disappears: out of it has arisen the
//gauab of the dead person, in the form of a smaller image or "shade"
which issues from the grave, hunts, eats, and drinks just as in life,
and when tired goes to sleep in its house, the grave. These shades
cannot enter into or transform themselves into stones, plants, or
animals; apparently they retain the human form only. The Kung
of the Oschimpoloveld, again, believe that every man has a soul,
/gau-ba, which after death comes into the "house of God" (*Erob*) in
the sky. Dead people are therefore now the people who are with
"God", and after a while "God" again makes living beings out
of them.

Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul, *darish*, goes up [776]
into the sky to */Gamab*, a "demiurge", who places the heart in cold
water and eats it.

[1] *The Naron*, 26.
[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 341; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123, 124.
[3] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khun," 409–12 *passim*; *idem*, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 14.

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spirit remains active about the place, and they do not want to offend it."[1] 775 769

The conflicting accounts of Dornan's informants as to the fate of the dead can be harmonized if we assume, in the light of Lebzelter's statements about the Kung and the Heikum, that these Eastern Kalahari Bushmen also distinguish between the soul and the ghost; but since there is nothing in Dornan's remarks to indicate definitely the existence of such a distinction, the assumption here made must be regarded as purely speculative. It will be noticed, further, that he describes here the practice of throwing a small stone on the grave in order to appease the spirit of the dead person. This practice, as we have already noted, has sometimes been said to exist among the Southern Bushmen also. Unfortunately it is not always possible to determine how far Dornan has recorded what are actually his own observations, for much in his book has obviously been inspired by the accounts of earlier writers on the Bushmen generally. What he has to say here must therefore also be received with caution, and cannot without further inquiry be accepted as an independent confirmation. 114 775 769 [184]

It appears on the whole that, among all the Bushmen, people are believed to continue their existence after death, sometimes in their own form, sometimes in another form, and may even manifest themselves to the living. There is also a vague, ill-defined fear of the dead person's haunting the living, but it would seem that as a rule no great harm is expected from this, although, as we shall see later, most of the North-Western tribes attribute sickness to the spirits of the dead. Another fact that emerges very prominently is the apparent absence of any organized cult of the dead as such—there seems to be nothing in the way of ancestor-worship, nor of any other form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated. The only concrete mention there is of dead people being prayed to refers to the Cape Bushmen. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that his father asked a certain dead magician for rain, which speedily followed; while another mentioned a prayer addressed by his mother to a dead magician who had power over game, in order that her husband's hunting might prove more fortunate.[2] The details given in both instances are too scanty to afford much basis for speculation, but can hardly be interpreted as implying more than that in certain cases dead magicians would be 775 [753] [769] 114 184 769 789

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 147–8. [2] *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 22.

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114 184 769 789 [775] asked to make use of the special powers they had possessed in life and apparently still retained, just as they would be approached when alive. The main conclusion to be drawn, in fact, is that these Bushmen do not regard dead people as wholly severed from the world of the living. There is certainly nothing here to warrant the assumption of any regular organized worship of the dead.

Worship of Heavenly Bodies

782 821 [794] Religious cult among the Cape Bushmen centres largely in the worship of the Heavenly Bodies, and especially of the Moon. Prayers directed by them to the Moon have been recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd, but unfortunately the details given are far too [114] scanty to throw much light upon the nature of the worship. One account, indeed, indicates that when the New Moon first appears every man prays to it, and Orpen also mentions having seen Bushmen throw sand in the air and shout out on seeing the crescent moon when it first appeared, but there is nothing else to suggest any special form of rite. The prayers themselves are chiefly prayers for food, and one of them, just lately published by Miss Bleek,[1] may be quoted as illustrating the form of invocation. It is spoken with raised right hand :—

539 782 821

Ho, my hand is this,
I shoot a springbok with my hand
By an arrow.

I lie down,
I will early kill a springbok
To-morrow.

Ho, Moon lying there,
Let me kill a springbok
To-morrow,
Let me eat a springbok;
With this arrow
Let me shoot a springbok
With this arrow;
Let me eat a springbok,
Let me eat filling my body
In the night which is here,
Let me fill my body.

Ho Moon lying there,
I dig out ants' food
To-morrow,
Let me eat it.

Ho Moon lying there,
I kill an ostrich to-morrow
With this arrow.

[1] "Bushman Folklore," *Africa*, ii (1929), 306.

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and make the heavens the theatre of numberless poetically-conceived histories"—in which, as the texts obtained by him show, Bushman mythology is extremely rich.[1] 773 821

The selections so far published from these texts are too few to enable us to determine anything more about the nature of the worship directed to these heavenly bodies, and especially about the ceremonies associated with them; but that such worship did actually exist is evident from the facts recorded above. 821 771

There is no mention of similar prayers among the Namib Bushmen, but then no information at all is available about their ideas relating to the heavenly bodies. Among the tribes further north we again meet with moon worship. Both Naron and Auen still worship the Moon. They regard it as an old man, the Sun as a young girl, who is his wife. First the Moon pursues the Sun across the sky, later the Sun follows the Moon. They go down to their houses below the horizon in the west, then fly back at night across the earth to their houses in the east. They can be heard passing, but are not seen. The New Moon, when it appears, is invoked by the magicians, two of whom, man and woman, sit on the ground together, holding their hands out palms upward towards it, and say: "Give us rain that we may live." This worship of the Moon has penetrated into modern ideas also, for most of the people think that since the Moon is in the sky and the God (*!khuba*) the white men and Nama speak of is also in the sky, therefore God is the Moon. Their ancestors used also to pray to certain stars, particularly the morning star and the Southern Cross; but these prayers, says Miss Bleek, are memories of long ago, whereas the moon worship is continued to-day by young as well as old.[2] 776 782 821 [184] [789] [177]

A prayer to the New Moon for food, given in the eighties of last century by a Kung youth from near Lake Ngami, is also recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd[3]; but according to Lebzelter there is nowadays no trace at all among the Kung of either sun or moon worship. The sun is regarded as a woman, the moon as a man, who originally lived upon earth and were carried about on the shoulders of people; but the latter became tired of their burdens 821 [182] [178] 773 821

[1] Bleek, "Resemblances in Bushman and Australian Mythology," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, Feb., 1874, 101–2; *idem*, *Bushman Texts*, 10–12, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 8, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 72–99 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Folklore," 304, 307.
[2] *Naron*, 26–7.
[3] *Bushman Folklore*, 414–15.

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773 Her real father is a monster named *//khwai-hemm*, the All-devourer,
776 but she does not dare to live with him, for fear of being eaten herself. She is married to */kwammanga*, a mythical person not identified
[821] with any animal, but seen in the rainbow. They have two children, */kwammanga-⊙pwa*, young */kwammanga*, who is brave and quiet like his father, and */ni*, the Ichneumon, who plays an important part in the mythology, particularly in advising and assisting his grandfather the Mantis, and in chiding him for his misdeeds. All these, the Bushmen say, were once men and women, people of the Early Race which preceded the Bushmen, but now they are animals.

In their myths the Mantis is gifted with supernatural powers, yet often has a most stupid and perverse character; he is sometimes mischievous, sometimes kind, and is always getting into scrapes and unnecessary fights by his foolishness. He has the power of speech, which all his possessions share with him; he dreams, and his dreams come true; he foretells the ultimate future, when he and his comrades will all be animals; he can transform himself into various other animal forms, is sometimes killed, but always comes to life again. He also has creative powers. One myth relates that the Bushmen were formerly springboks, and were changed by him into human beings; another that he gave places their names; while he gives the bucks their colours and names and has them under his special protection. He can also bring people back to life again. But he is never prayed to, although, as we have seen, there are prayers to the Moon, who is also his creation. Nor is there any evidence of observances specially connected with him, apart from the mention
[751] of a "curious charm" made from the foot of the hartebeest and used by women for their children as a protection against him.[1]

773 The Rain or Water, */khwa*, is also acknowledged by these Bushmen
825 as a supernatural personage, and various beliefs and usages are directed
821 towards it. It is often represented as an animal; in the form of a bull it carries off a young maiden, in the form of an eland it was shot by a man of the early race with disastrous effects. It is thought
821 of most commonly, however, as an animal living in a waterhole,
825 and it is believed that wherever this animal goes, rain will fall. One
[789] of the principal methods of rain-making, therefore, is for the rain-magicians to drag this animal over as large a tract of country as they can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 6–9; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 5–7; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1–37; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*; *idem*, *Bushman Folklore*, 305.

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756 faculty of seeing and speaking to the *//gauab*, and only they know
[787] and utter the real name, */nawa*, of the chief of the latter. The evening
[782] before a hunting expedition they pray to *//gauab* for help, and certain
756 of them also have the power of conjuring down rain. This they
789 achieve in the following manner. When rain is needed, all the people of the camp take part in a dance, during which they sing over and over again a mournful song lamenting the condition of hunger and thirst to which they are reduced. "Finally the great captain in the sky hears the lamentation. The magician goes outside the camp and sees that a thin cord is being let down from the sky. He climbs a certain way up this, but the great captain comes down to meet him half-way. As soon as the magician sees the great captain, he throws a powder up to him; whereupon the great captain lifts him up high and takes him into his house. There the magician prays to him: 'Lord, help us, the children are dying, we thirst and hunger.'
[782] So long does he pray and plead that at last the captain says: 'It is
[776] well, I shall send water, that the children may have water and veldkos.'
[821] Then he again accompanies the magician half-way down the cord. As soon as the latter has reached the ground, he releases his hold upon the cord, which is at once drawn up again. The rain follows immediately."[1]

184 Among the !O Kung in Angola there are also two kinds of magicians.
756 The */num-k'au* officiates at puberty dances, makes scarifications,
791 sees spirits, and also conjures up *//gaua*, while the *tsho-k'au* heals the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's
[881] body through sucking. For this he receives a present. Both
[787] men and women apparently can become magicians of either kind,
[755] if taught by an older practitioner. There is said to be no ceremony of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.[2]

It will be noticed that both terms which distinguish the two classes of magician among the Kung and the !O Kung are also found among the Naron and Auen for magicians. This would suggest that there is a similar division of functions in these tribes also, but neither Miss Bleek nor Kaufmann definitely states this.

773 The origin of magic among the Naron and Auen is said by Fourie
[789] to be attributed to *//gaua*, and he gives the following myth in confirmation.[3] "The Bushman *Tji-Tji* is said to have been initiated

[1] Lebzelter, "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 408–9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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114 arrows are not poisoned but are used for "witchcraft", and "if
411 they are shot in the direction of an enemy, be he 100 kilos or more
754 away, witchcraft will bring about his death".[1] The myth recorded
756 by Fourie also lends support to the idea that these arrows are used for magical purposes. It is possible, too, that something similar is implied in the statement, mentioned above, that among the Cape Bushmen magicians caused illness by shooting with invisible arrows, but it should be noted that no such weapons as those here described have yet been found among them.

Apart from the special magic practised by magicians and associated
789 with them, there are among all the Bushmen various usages and beliefs of a nature which may be generally termed magical, and which
224 are apparently common property. Many of the hunting observances
787 already described fall into this category. So, too, does divination.
[184] Among the Cape Bushmen this occurs principally in the form of beliefs in the efficacy of omens, of which there are a great number with diverse significations. They say they feel in their bodies that certain things are going to happen; there is a kind of beating of the flesh which tells them things. Those who are stupid do not understand these teachings and disobey them, with the result that they get into trouble, are killed by a lion, and so on. These beatings tell those who understand them which way not to go, and which arrow it is better not to use, and also warn them when people are coming. They inform the hunter when game is close at hand, tell people where they can find the person for whom they are in search, i.e. which way to go, and so on.[2]

In the more northerly tribes is found the use of pieces of wood,
184 leather or bone as divining bones or dice. These are usually four
787 in number, and roughly triangular in shape, two of them being broad, the other two longer and thinner. The former are called male, the latter female. In the Eastern Kalahari they are usually each marked in a special way and named, but this is not found further west. The bones may be owned and used by anyone, not only by magicians. They are used in a very crude manner: the inquirer goes on throwing them on to his kaross until he gets a favourable answer. Such bones are frequently found among the Northern and Central Kalahari Bushmen, and occasionally among those dwelling on the southern

[1] *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cd. 9146), 1918, p. 172.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17–18; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 330–9.

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borders of the Desert, but are unknown to the Cape Bushmen and 184
those of Griqualand West. Dornan maintains that they are original 787
elements in the culture of the Bushmen, from whom they have been 114
taken over by the Bantu. All the evidence, however, points in 177
the other direction, for among the Bantu the use of divining bones 787
of several different types is not only widespread, but also developed into an elaborate system of interpretation, while the way the Bushmen handle them shows that they do not know much about them. Moreover, it is found that the frequency of their use by the Bushmen coincides with the extent to which any tribe has been exposed to Bantu influence.[1]

Other minor beliefs and practices of the Bushmen are mentioned 751
by writers on particular tribes, but consideration of them must be [184]
omitted in a general survey such as this. It may be noted, however, that among the Northern tribes amulets are often worn to ward off disease and other evils, while among all the Bushmen charms of various [777]
kinds are also carried to ensure good luck. Bad dreams are also 787
regarded as evil omens, and precautions taken to counteract them. 789
Among the Cape Bushmen, for instance, when a woman had had a bad dream, she banished it by plunging a stone into the fire, at the same time saying a spell. If she neglected to do this, the dream would accompany her when she went out to seek ants' larvae and prevent her from finding any. The Naron, in the same way, when they have had bad dreams put a bit of burning charcoal on the ground and pour water on it, then the bad dream flies away with the steam. Or, [755]
when a man is ill and *Hishe* sends bad dreams, he takes a stick after the sun has arisen, plants it in the ground between his knees, burns *buchu* and snuffs it, and recovers.[2]

[1] Werner, "Heikum und Kungbuschleute," 256; Kaufmann, "Auin," 159, Dornan, "Divination and Divining Bones," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx, 505–7; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 155–8; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28–9; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies*, 10–11.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 29.

/159 cont./

787 Fig. 14. Prophecy Wood. One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].

a, b, c, d, bits of wood of a set; d^1, side view of d; e e, holes for a string.

The prophecy wood consists of a set of four variously shaped bits of wood. These are thrown like our dice and the future can be predicted from their position, for example, whether hunting will be successful, or whether there will be a war.

An Auin maintained that from the prophecy wood he saw "an ox-wagon with two Whites approaching the settlement."

[791] The wood appears to belong to a dwindling group of persons who, like the "doctors," are cleverer than most people.

The same informant gave more information about ' making cloud '. He said:[1] 821
'And, our gall, when we die, sits in the sky; it sits green in the sky, when we are 826
dead.' His mother told him, Dia/kwain continued, ' that it (thus) happens to us if we [775]
sit in the shade when the place is not particularly warm, when it is (only) moderately warm, (and) we feel that the summer seems as if it would be hot. We think: "Allow me to sit for a little in the shade under the bush; for the sun's eye is not a little hot; I will sit a little while in the shade "; (then) we make clouds; our liver goes out from the place where we are sitting in the shade, if the place is not hot. Therefore, we make clouds on account of it. For, when it is really summer, then we (may) sit in the shade.'

We do not know what connexion there may be between the concept of *n/ow* held at present by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae and the /Gikwe myth of Pisiboro's hair making the rain clouds, or the hair of the dead resembling clouds and becoming the dead person's clouds, as Dia/kwain told Dr. Bleek, or a person's gall ' sitting green in the sky ', or a person making clouds because his liver goes out from the place where he is sitting in the shade if the place is not hot. We hope someone else may be able to throw more light on this. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae make so little point of teaching [869] old stories or lore to their children that much must be lost.

What the /Kung believe now, Demi told us, is that there is nothing about hair itself which affects the weather. It is the *n/ow* of the person which the hair ' gives '. As we understand it, some of the *n/ow* which is in a person is in the hair. When hair is burned in the fire, the *n/ow* is released into the air in the smell.[2] It goes into the sky and, Demi said, the rain ' fears ' it. (*Koa*, the word ' to fear ', means to respect, to avoid, as when something is taboo, and to be afraid of.) When a person's urine is burned, it also carries the *n/ow* of the person into the sky.

/Kung informants told us that it would be possible to use the *n/ow* of persons to 789
control the weather, should there be need. If the big rains were unusually late and the 791
people were suffering from the dryness, or if the rain storms were so frequent and 821
heavy that the people had much trouble hunting and gathering veldkos, or if a storm were especially frightening, they might try to start or stop the rain. A person known with certainty to have a rain-bringing *n/ow*, because the weather at his birth had given evidence of it, could be asked either to urinate in the fire or to burn some of his hair. The smell of his urine or hair would go up into the sky and influence the rain to come. A person with a cold-bringing *n/ow* could be asked to do the same to stop the rain, if this were wanted.

We have no observations on who would instigate the burning of urine or hair to 821
control the weather. We did not see it done. No one in a /Kung community is a 791
specialist in rain-making, nor has anyone special authority in making a decision about [23]
the control of weather. The medicine men (*shamen*) have as their function the curing of the people, not the control of weather. It would be in keeping with the practice of the /Kung of this region, as we observed it in other connexions, for the group to 623
come to a consensus by talking the matter over informally as they sat by their fires, 821
and then for the parents or someone else to bid a child urinate in the fire. It seems to 789
us unlikely that an individual would make the decision entirely alone, without speaking

[1] Ibid., p. 399.
[2] Cf. a myth about the Rain Bull, which refers to the smell of burning horns, p. 239.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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775 hands of the corpse at burial is meant to conciliate his soul. Trenk
[764] says they believe only in an "evil spirit", which they fear, but he
[776] throws no light upon the nature of this spirit. He adds, however, that, according to them, the souls of the dead fly about in the air and also speak to people, yet remain unseen, except by children, to whom they often show themselves in ghostlike animal forms of oxen, horses, or gemsbok.[1]

761 Of the tribes further north our information is somewhat more precise. Kaufmann, as we have seen, maintains that the Auen distinguish between those who die "good deaths" and those who die "bad deaths", and he adds that the latter are feared also after death. This distinction was not found by Miss Bleek among the Naron at Sandfontein, but is also reported by Fourie of the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron groups of the same district. He says
764 they believe in a "good being" named *!khutse* and a "bad being"
775 named *Gaua*. People who die a "good death" are said to go to
[776] *!khutse*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaua*. The former have a
[761] good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress. A deceased person is believed to move about in the form of a ghost at night. "*Buchu* is accordingly sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy, so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver, and arrows of the deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost returning to look for them." These usages are no doubt part of
[114] the funeral ceremony, but the context in which they are described does not make this clear.[2]

775 The word *Gaua*, or, more correctly, *//gāũa* or *//gāuwa*, which
[192] Fourie interprets as a "bad being" or "Satan", is, according to
[776] Miss Bleek, also used by the Auen and Naron in the sense of a "person
[114] who has died". Her male informants said that all people who die
[791] become *//gāuwa*, and the magicians can see them. The women, however, affirmed that only men who have been cut between the eyebrows (at the puberty ceremonies) become *//gāuwa*, and only such men can see them, though women sometimes hear them. "They evidently mean ghosts," comments Miss Bleek, "and have much the same vague fear of them as European peasants have. The ghosts

[1] "Buschleute der Namib," 168. [2] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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782
821
[539]

O gallopers,
O gallopers,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

Thou shoulder put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shoulder put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it
821 to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other magicians have a similar power over the wind, */khwe*, and are protected by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind
[773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears the form of a bird.[1]

773 Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we
776 meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from
[184] those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object
[794] of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed that *'Kaang* (i.e. */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, *'Kue-'akeng-*
[761] *'teng*, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives
[821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put
[825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine
796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood"
535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant,
[773] Qing, described as follows: "*Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the song of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it, and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night.
[786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[104] [2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol *c* represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds.

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 Ko ('ngo), as

776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are
[787] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while
[224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is
[782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with
[756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant,
[791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians, who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded
[773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do
[184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his special protection.

184 Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis.
776 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to Miss Lloyd several tales about */xwe*, a little personage not identified with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a variety of things. */xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

776 The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about *Hishe* or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys'
[88] puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people, bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans.
[756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws
[114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

177 From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the
776 idea of */khuba* or */xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba"). This is the

[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32–3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 501, 505–6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404–13.

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756 faculty of seeing and speaking to the *//gauab*, and only they know
[787] and utter the real name, */nawa*, of the chief of the latter. The evening
[782] before a hunting expedition they pray to *//gauab* for help, and certain
of them also have the power of conjuring down rain. This they
756 achieve in the following manner. When rain is needed, all the
789 people of the camp take part in a dance, during which they sing over and over again a mournful song lamenting the condition of hunger and thirst to which they are reduced. "Finally the great captain in the sky hears the lamentation. The magician goes outside the camp and sees that a thin cord is being let down from the sky. He climbs a certain way up this, but the great captain comes down to meet him half-way. As soon as the magician sees the great captain, he throws a powder up to him; whereupon the great captain lifts him up high and takes him into his house. There the magician prays to him: 'Lord, help us, the children are dying, we thirst and hunger.'
[782] So long does he pray and plead that at last the captain says: 'It is
[776] well, I shall send water, that the children may have water and veldkos.'
[821] Then he again accompanies the magician half-way down the cord. As soon as the latter has reached the ground, he releases his hold upon the cord, which is at once drawn up again. The rain follows immediately."[1]

184 Among the !O Kung in Angola there are also two kinds of magicians.
756 The *!num-k'au* officiates at puberty dances, makes scarifications,
791 sees spirits, and also conjures up *//gaua*, while the *tsho-k'au* heals
[881] the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's
[787] body through sucking. For this he receives a present. Both
[755] men and women apparently can become magicians of either kind, if taught by an older practitioner. There is said to be no ceremony of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.[2]

It will be noticed that both terms which distinguish the two classes of magician among the Kung and the !O Kung are also found among the Naron and Auen for magicians. This would suggest that there is a similar division of functions in these tribes also, but neither Miss Bleek nor Kaufmann definitely states this.

773 The origin of magic among the Naron and Auen is said by Fourie
[789] to be attributed to *//gaua*, and he gives the following myth in confirmation.[3] "The Bushman *Tji-Tji* is said to have been initiated

[1] Lebzelter, "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 408–9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word *//gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as */hei /nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word *//Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard *//Gaunab* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

776 in demonstrating his supremacy and power would be a reason in keeping with the nature of one who said, 'I am *chi dole*.'

≠*Gaolna* is fortunately not a god of mighty wrath and vengeance. 'He does not get too angry,' ≠Toma remarked. 'That is why there are still people living on earth.' He and others who were present at our talk went on to point out again ≠*Gaolna*'s benefactions, such as giving children, giving rain, and giving poison. One of his benefactions was poison, they said. He taught Bushmen how to put it on their arrows so that they could kill animals and eat, as the god of the black people gave cattle and the knowledge of growing crops so that his people could live.

Prayer

782 There are no priests among the /Kung and it is not the function of medicine men
756 to pray for the people or to lead them in prayer. Individuals frequently pray, how-
793 ever, spontaneously and alone. Anybody, everybody, may pray directly to ≠*Gaolna*, to ||*Gauwa* or to the ||*gauwasi*, at any time or place, without assuming special posture or observing any other formalities.

The people say the words of their prayers silently to themselves, or they say them aloud, as though thinking aloud, but speaking directly to the gods. They may also speak to each other to be overheard by the gods. When men go to look for honey, they may pray to *Khwonlna*, the mother of the bees, to give them luck. Demi said, 'We talk to ourselves and she feels pity and leads us to the honey.'

The prayers seem very often to be in the form of questions which imply accusation—'Why do you do thus and so?'—but the people mean to plead mildly, without displaying anger. The blasphemy of the medicine men, usual when they are in trance, does not appear in the prayers. The people often use the respect terms but they also sometimes speak the names. There is no rule about which names shall be used. It is to be noted that they also say 'father' and refer to themselves as his children. They use the second or third person, one as readily as the other.

'/*Nau*, excuse this man and make him well.'

'Sympathize with me, /*Nau*, because you are our *Gauxa*. Feel pity for me.'

'≠*Gaolna*, why have you made me grieve so? You gave me this person, why will you take him back? Favour me. Let this person live. If he dies, where shall I go?'

'/*Gara* has taken that person while we were still loving him. Why has he taken him?'

'You have created me and given me power to walk about and hunt. Why do you guide us so that we do not get animals?'

'≠*Gaolna*, when the women are walking in the veld looking for veldkos, let them find a dead animal. Shoot it for them with your bullet. Favour us.'

'Give rain. Wet the earth. Let there be veldkos. We are starving because we have to stay by the water-hole where there is no more veldkos. He has favoured some people with rain. Will he not favour us?'

'Please, our father, great man, will you send us rain?'

'Father (*wba*), why is it you help other people and do not help me to find food? We are all your sons. Help me too. I am the same as your other sons.'

'*Gani ga*, give us coolness.'

'Give us your water (rain). Give us a chance to rest. Give us food. We have nothing else if you do not give us food. Let food grow.'

'Why does ≠*Gaolna* send lightning? Why does he destroy our houses with mad rain?

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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756 supernatural powers, or who are able to control, either for social purposes or for their own ends, the spiritual forces upon which the social welfare depends. There is no English word which adequately describes them, but such persons may be loosely termed magicians.

Among the Cape Bushmen, these magicians, who might be of either sex, were called */gixa* (plural, */giten*). There is unfortunately [114] no information available as to how they acquired their powers, nor have we any clear description of the part they played in the life of the community. A few details about them may, however, be gathered from the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd. Some magicians were [821] rainmakers, who went out to catch the rain bull and lead it over the land bringing rain. Others, again, had special powers over particular [825] game animals, such as the springbok or the ostrich. Some magicians were able to assume and go about in the form of animals such as the lion, springbok, jackal, or a little bird; others, even when asleep, knew what was going about at night, and took care of the people, defending them from evil magicians. For some magicians could [757] cause illness by shooting with invisible arrows, and the patients would die, even though doctored; while some were said to eat the flesh of the dead. When a magician died an earthquake took place, [823] and his heart fell, as a shooting star, out of the sky into a waterhole. His powers, however, he continued to possess even after death, [775] for there are mentioned several occasions on which a dead rainmaker was asked to send rain or a game magician to give success in hunting.[1]

These beliefs, fragmentary as they are, show definitely that the magicians were held to possess supernatural powers, which they might use for good or evil; but, apart perhaps from the making of rain, there is nothing to link them up with any cult or public ceremony, or to indicate that they ever played the part of priests.

[184] Among the Naron and Auen, however, the magicians, as we have seen, function at the puberty ceremonies. They introduce *Hishe* [881] into the dances, and make the cuts between the eyebrows of the boys. [793] Among the Naron they are also the priests, who pray to the New Moon for rain; while among the Auen they make rain by sprinkling [821] on the ground a kind of red earth, which they fetch from afar and carry about with them. The magicians, both male and female, are

Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 18; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 22.

ǂAUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[73 cont.]

776 821 [789] [535] [534] not die, but otherwise they are like people, except that they have black skin. When there is no rain, the Bushmen make a large fire and throw into it a root, "he," and a male turtle. As soon as it starts to rain, they dance, strike themselves on the thighs, and sing: "Ehe, ehe, ehe, ije, ije, ije, ehe, ehe, ehe," etc. The sorcerers can transform themselves into lions.

The rain sorcerer lives on earth as other people do. The rainbow is the rain dog. The clouds are the rain hairs.

At the time of new moon, they say the moon is sleeping. During the night the sun runs back to the east.

Thunder and lightning are not made by the rain, but by Gauab who among these Bushmen has become a personification of evil. Lightning is called "Gauab's knife."

The dark night sky is the covering of the moon and sun. The dome of the sky is called /gna. My informants left it an open question as to whether the sun perhaps "might be the greatest," the one who has made everything. On the other hand, Khu is likewise regarded as the creator. He made heaven and earth, and he also made human beings live. Khu is not a human being; he is good, but nothing more is known about him. He does not interfere in the course of the world and of human life. To be sure, they say, "Khu is the greatest, and Gauab is the smallest," but nonetheless Gauab plays a larger role in their lives. He controls thunder and lightning, he races over the steppe as a destructive wind spout, visible to all, and he also kills people by tearing out their souls and making a little Gauab out of them. This little Gauab in turn runs about in the bush and does all kinds of evil things.

794 787 821 [74] There is a secret moon cult among the Naron. They pray to the new moon for rain. In olden times certain stars, especially the morning star and the Southern Cross, which they call "fire shoe," are also supposed to have been invoked. The story of 773 821 the moon and the hare is told in the following way: The moon said: "People must die and arise again, just as I die and return again." But the hare contradicted her and said that people should remain dead. The moon then became angry and cut the hare's mouth with a hoe.

"The moon is an old man, and the sun a young girl, his wife. First the moon goes under the sky, and then the sun follows behind

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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at Sandfontein powdered acid roots are rubbed into the wounds to 304
keep them from closing as they heal, but no colouring matter is 881
applied; further east, however, according to Passarge, wood ash is [184]
rubbed in to make the wounds black. All men in the North-Western
tribes have these cuts (see Frontispiece), which are supposed to make [224]
them "see well", i.e. to bring them good luck in hunting. After
this operation the boys are permitted to return to the camp. They 882
are now regarded as men, they can marry, and they take part in the
councils of the men and associate with them.

The rites described above appear to exist only in the North-Western 184
tribes. There is no definite record of any puberty ceremonies for 881
boys among the Southern Bushmen, and according to Miss Bleek
the /*nu*//*en*, one of the tribes falling in this division, distinctly denied
that such ceremonies were held by them,[1] while in the same way their
existence among the Namib Bushmen is emphatically denied by Trenk.[2]

It should be mentioned here, however, that from information 794
obtained by Orpen from a member of the now extinct tribe of Basuto- 535
land Bushmen it appears that there were certain dances connected with 776
religious beliefs, the secrets of which were known only to the men
initiated into them.[3] Campbell also records a dance of these Bushmen
as described to him by an informant: "When the Bushmen dance,
Ko (a deity) sometimes comes and informs them where game is to be
procured; and when any animals are killed, certain parts of them may
only be eaten by particular persons. She is a large, white figure,
and sheds such a brightness around, that they can hardly see the fire
for it; all see and hear her as she dances with them . . . They cannot
feel what she is, but should a man be permitted to touch her, which
seldom happens, she breathes hard upon his arm, and this makes him
shoot better . . . After Ko comes up from the ground and dances
a short time with them, she disappears, and is succeeded by her
nymphs, who likewise dance a while with them."[4] The description
of this dance at once reminds one of the puberty dances for boys [881]
among the North-Western Bushmen, where Huwe or Hishe also
comes and dances with them, and there is the same suggestion that
the ceremony is in some way connected with hunting; but there is
nothing definite either in Campbell's account or in Orpen's to indicate
that the dances referred to by them were in any way connected with
puberty ceremonies for boys.

[1] *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 10.
[2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.
[3] "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Folk-Lore*, xxx, 142.
[4] Campbell, *Second Journey into South Africa*, ii, 31–2.

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114 184 769 789 [775] asked to make use of the special powers they had possessed in life and apparently still retained, just as they would be approached when alive. The main conclusion to be drawn, in fact, is that these Bushmen do not regard dead people as wholly severed from the world of the living. There is certainly nothing here to warrant the assumption of any regular organized worship of the dead.

Worship of Heavenly Bodies

782 821 [794] Religious cult among the Cape Bushmen centres largely in the worship of the Heavenly Bodies, and especially of the Moon. Prayers directed by them to the Moon have been recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd, but unfortunately the details given are far too [114] scanty to throw much light upon the nature of the worship. One account, indeed, indicates that when the New Moon first appears every man prays to it, and Orpen also mentions having seen Bushmen throw sand in the air and shout out on seeing the crescent moon when it first appeared, but there is nothing else to suggest any special form of rite. The prayers themselves are chiefly prayers for food, and one of them, just lately published by Miss Bleek,[1] may be quoted as illustrating the form of invocation. It is spoken with raised right hand :—

539 782 821

Ho, my hand is this,
I shoot a springbok with my hand
By an arrow.

I lie down,
I will early kill a springbok
To-morrow.

Ho, Moon lying there,
Let me kill a springbok
To-morrow,
Let me eat a springbok;
With this arrow
Let me shoot a springbok
With this arrow;
Let me eat a springbok,
Let me eat filling my body
In the night which is here,
Let me fill my body.

Ho Moon lying there,
I dig out ants' food
To-morrow,
Let me eat it.

Ho Moon lying there,
I kill an ostrich to-morrow
With this arrow.

[1] "Bushman Folklore," *Africa*, ii (1929), 306.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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782
821
[539]

O gallopers,
O gallopers,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it
821 to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other magicians have a similar power over the wind, */khwe*, and are protected by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind
[773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears the form of a bird.[1]

773 Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we
776 meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from
[184] those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object
[794] of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed that *'Kaang* (i.e. */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, *'Kue-'akeng-*
[761] *'teng*, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives
[821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put
[825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine
796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood"
535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant,
[773] Qing, described as follows: "*Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the song of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it, and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night.
[786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[104] [2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol *c* represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

medicine, in which is burnt snake powder. When a man is sick, 535
this dance is danced round him, and the dancers put both hands under 796
their arm-pits, and press their hands upon him, and when he coughs [755]
the initiated put out their hands and receive what has injured him—
secret things. The initiated who know secret things are Qogne;
the sick person is hang cãi."

Cagn, said Qing, was the first being and made all things—the sky, 776
the moon, stars, mountains, and animals. The Bushmen prayed [782]
to him. On being asked how, Qing answered, in a low, imploring
tone: "O Cagn! O Cagn! are we not your children, do you not [539]
see our hunger? give us food"—"and he gives us both hands
full." To the further question, where *Cagn* was, he responded,
"We don't know, but the elands do. Have you not hunted and [825]
heard his cry, when the elands suddenly start and run to his call?
Where he is, the elands are in droves like cattle."

Cagn's wife was *Coti*. When asked where she came from, Qing
said, "I don't know, perhaps with those who brought the Sun;
but you are now asking the secrets that are not spoken of." These [794]
secrets he himself did not know—"only the initiated men of that
dance know these things." *Cagn* also had two sons, *Cogaǂ* and
Gcwi, and together with him and *Cogaǂ* there was another great
"chief", *Qwangciqutshaa*. All three had great power, but it was
Cagn who gave orders through the other two. Of all these personages 773
various tales were related by Qing. One of them, describing how 776
Cogaǂ was killed by baboons and restored to life again by *Cagn*,
is almost identical with the similar story told by the Cape Bushmen
of */kaggen* and */gaunu-ts'axau*. In all these tales *Cagn* appears as
a human being, but with supernatural powers. He can change
himself into different forms, is then sometimes killed and eaten by
animals or people, but always comes to life again. He possesses
various magical charms, the strongest of which is his tooth; and the [825]
birds are his messengers who report to him what is going on.
Occasionally he gets into trouble, from which he is extricated by
Cogaǂ, just as in the Cape Bushman stories */kaggen* is aided by */ni*.

Another name for the Mantis among these Bushmen, according 776
to Arbousset, is *'ngo*. This may explain the following quotation
from Campbell: "They had a name which they gave to God, who
is above them, and another to God who is under them. The former
is a male, the latter a female. The male God they call Goba, the
female Ko; and her attendants are called Gauna." *Ko* (*'ngo*), as

N [see category 116, p. 182 for the author's explanation of the 'initiated.' — Analyst]

/140 cont./

301 Earrings of Molentza chain; necklaces of glass beads. Rings on arms, wrists, and legs as among the men.

[756] The "Bushman doctor" wears special ornaments that other people are not permitted to wear. Unfortunately, I was not able to obtain any of these ornaments.

[882] Girls, it is said, do not start wearing ornaments until after their first menses.

[796] All the ornaments are worn for dances and ceremonies. The headdress of the women in Photograph 20 is worn only on special festive occasions.

302 The "doctor" has his head shaved smooth. I did not notice
[756] a special hairdress. The men frequently stick individual loose
[301] ostrich feathers in the hair, while the women like to braid brass or iron beads into the hair. In addition, the women use a kind of pomade made of various pulverized plant parts which are combined with fat from antelope skin.

Men sometimes cut their head-hair with a knife or a piece of glass.

There is no differentiation in hair style between girls and married women.

[386] The hair is frequently dyed with a mixture of fat and red clay. I am uncertain, however, whether or not this is a means of making the hair fall out in places. On the other hand, in that case there would probably have to be another ingredient /141/ in this mixture that I was unable to discover.

In case a beard is present, which does not occur often, it is neither cut nor removed in any other way.

[142] Pubic hair is sparse and is sometimes shaved off (with a piece of glass). It is said that women have no pubic hair at all.

E. Artificial Deformities

A kind of cosmetic of a reddish-brown color is used by the women.

It consists of a mixture of fat and red clay (see Section D above) and is manufactured by the women themselves.

[535] This cosmetic is regarded solely as a means of beautification and is used especially at festivals (dances).

[47 cont.]

756 pig concerned, at which time in each case a large drop of white
751 fluid escaped from the stinger. Finally they moved about quietly without making any further attempts to sting, but they did not in any way show the excited hurry to get off the Bushman's body that has been reported by individual writers. The old man claimed not to feel any pain, and I have no reason to distrust him since, after all, if the poison had had any kind of effect upon him, he would scarcely have allowed himself to be stung in the most sensitive parts of his body for the sake of my desire for knowledge. Even a full hour after our experiment, the parts that had been stung did not show the slightest alteration. The man declared that he had attained this extraordinary faculty as a boy in the 'school' of a sorcerer, where he had been urged to apply scorpion poison, which had been taken forcibly and thinned with water and urine, on small incisions, as well as to eat the poisonous stingers pounded to a mash and boiled; supposedly immunity against snakebite can be obtained in like manner."

14. The Doctors' Test

755 One afternoon the eldest of the horde outside Keibeb came
756 to me and told me that that night a great dance would take place,
●796 first, because a three-year-old child had just been bitten by a small black snake, second, because many people were sick with fever, and third, because one of the men wanted to undergo the doctors' test. Such festivals take place only during the time of the full moon. Toward nine o'clock in the evening I was lured into the camp by wild noise. The people had made somewhat larger and more fires than usual. The mother with the child bitten by the snake was seated in the center of an open semicircle. The older women squatted around her. To one side of them in single file, one behind each other, stood the younger women and girls. Both the male [48] and female doctors were busy. The chief female doctor, Biri, was "personally" absent this evening. She was crouching off to one side in the darkness of the bush. /Nawa,
[787] the highest of the //Gauab, had taken possession of her and spoke through her mouth. Her hair ornaments, long chains of beads made

[48 cont.]

755 from ostrich egg shells, had been put on by her proxy, Dube, a
756 very intelligent young woman. The latter, standing at the end of
● 796 the semicircle of seated women, conducted the ceremony. She
[276] was in a very good mood and alternately smoked her Bushman
[554] pipe and my cigarettes. There is a kind of hierarchy among the women; those who were squatting were higher in rank than those who were standing. All the women clapped their hands and sang in a monotonous rhythm: ehe, ehe, ehe, ehe, etc. This, I was
[533] assured, was no song, but "music." Some hordes have bartered

[532]

Fig. 19. Sorcerer in a Bird Mask, Followed by Spirits of Sickness. (From Rock Paintings in South Africa. From Parts of the Eastern Province and Orange Free State. Copied by G.W. Stow. With an introduction and descriptive notes by Dorothea Bleek. London, Methuen, 1930.)

dance drums one and a half meters high from the Okawango, which on this occasion are played by men. [Fig. 19 appears
[184] here.] Among the Bushmen of the Sand Veld the female leader of the ceremony does not wear the ornaments of the chief female doctor; instead, the ornaments are hung on a tree. The position of the chief female doctor is not permanently held by one person; the chief doctor on occasion imparts supernatural powers to her.

755 The five doctors had taken off all their ornaments and
756 were naked except for the front apron. They put themselves
786 into an autohypnotic state by means of crowing, by producing
796

[48 cont.]

755 756 786 796 sounds similar to those of ventriloquists, and by certain muscle contractions. By pressing together the gluteal musculature of the buttocks and at the same time holding the knee joints as far apart as possible and pressing the legs together at the ankles, they eventually produced a tonic trembling cramp of the entire musculature of the lower extremity, in which they reeled back and forth. It is possible for anyone to put himself into an autohypnotic state in this way, as this author also learned from the doctors. Soon the rolled-up eyes indicated that the doctors were in a state of trance. They danced around one another, fell over one another, and lifted one another up. Some women also started making noise with the dance rattles. The Bushmen were now convinced that [787] /Nawa himself was dancing among the doctors, was visible to them, and spoke with them. At this point they say something [782] like prayers; they invoke the great spirit of the old Bushman who has killed many elephants; they call the spirits of the dead who have sent their little spirits of sickness over the living, and they especially beg /Nawa to transfer these little spirits of sickness to the doctors.

755 756 796 The doctors ran alternately to the bitten child and to those ill with fever who squatted around the fire, stroking the painful places, both from the armpits down to the soles and from the shoulders down to the fingertips. Occasionally they also sucked at the diseased spots or inhaled the breath from the mouths of the patients.

From time to time, the doctors performed these operations upon one another, first of all, as they said, in order to distribute the poisons of sickness equally among all the doctors, but also in order to obtain power from the other doctors. Thus "charged," the doctor then again ran to the patients to take their poison.

Now and then the chief doctor ran screaming around the [787] line of standing women and [49] disappeared into the bush in order to ask the chief female doctor about the will of /Nawa. After about an hour's dancing the chief doctor went to the bitten child. The child had been bitten on the back, and this was rubbed with fat and then medicine; then all the patients were again subjected to the treatment described above, and soon thereafter /Nawa an- [787] nounced through the mouth of the chief female doctor that the

[49 cont.]

[787] 755 756 796

child, and the other patients, too, would be cured. That ended the first part of the ceremony.

Now the doctors' test began. The others, with the exception of the women making music, participated only as spectators. The doctors went on dancing, often holding their arms stretched out to the sky, with the fingers spread apart, and then springing to the fire and holding their hands over it. Flinging the hands toward the sky is done to give some of the little spirits of sickness back to the chief spirit /Nawa, who passes up and down along a thread between heaven and earth. It is not a gesture of prayer. Similarly, holding the hands over the fire is intended to achieve the same result, because the "little spirits of sickness" do not like the fire and hence will go away. Meanwhile, they thank the great spirit for having saved the child. Then they prayed to /Nawa that he might concentrate all the little spirits of sickness on the doctors' candidate and kill him so that the people would be free of evil diseases, for the dying person takes the spirits of sickness with him. By brushing, rubbing, and blowing, the old doctors now transfer the spirits of sickness to the candidate. The latter is completely exhausted, collapses from time to time, is constantly lifted up again, and, staggering, he dances on, with foam appearing at his mouth. The other doctors taunt him: "You leopard, you lion, you elephant, you insurmountable mountain, you gigantically strong man, now you can't cope with the spirits of sickness we have given you." Once more the chief doctor runs to the former patient and transfers to the candidate any disease poison he may have gathered. This hellish spectacle lasted one and a half hours; then the chief doctor went to his oracle sitting in the bush and asserted that the candidate was too strong: we have concentrated all the little spirits of sickness upon him and prayed to the chief spirit that he might take (kill) him, but the candidate is stronger than the spirits of sickness. Nevertheless, the oracle commands: "Dance on." While this happened, a woman came out of the background -- in the half-dark I was unable to see whether or not it was the chief female doctor herself -- and busied herself around the cured child. She clapped her hands and beat her palms together, with the thumb sides in front of the child's face, and thus put even the child in a brief trance. The dancing continued until around midnight when the oracle finally declared that though the

[753] [761]

[49 cont.]

755 chief spirit was not yet satisfied, she would appease him; the chief
756 spirit would voluntarily take the little spirits of sickness away, even
796 from the doctors. After these words the festival abruptly ended;
the people went to their fires and lay down to sleep.

The candidate had passed his examination (1).

[184] 1. Burchell (in the translation by Hellwald,
535 Völkerkunde [Ethnology], II, p. 519) has
756 given a similar account from the south: "One
796 foot remains stationary, while the other is in rapid and irregular motion without any definite change of position. The movement of the arms is so slight as to be negligible. At the same time the dancer sings without pause and keeps time with the movements. Occasionally he lowers his body and then suddenly raises it again, until finally he sinks to the ground exhausted, but still singing and rhythmically moving his body in time with the song of the spectators. Even though only one person dances at a time, the company present nonetheless also has something to do, etc."

756 When the excitement of the dance has
786 reached its climax and the dancers have fallen
789 into a kind of trance as a result of the continu-
796 ous dance movement, the shrill singing, the drinking of coffee, and not least the tobacco smoke, which they keep in their mouths for minutes on end for the intoxicating effect, then the doctors, in order to demonstrate their resistance to fire, trample with bare feet on the red-hot embers taken from the campfire and spread out on the sand. In the case of a number of the younger ones, however, I believe that their resistance to fire was not quite as great as they would have one believe, and they carefully avoided the pieces that were

[49 cont.]

756 786 789 796

glowing all too brightly. On the other hand, I was surprised when on the occasion of such a religious dance the so-called great doctor -- after he had danced by himself long and continuously in visible ecstasy, so that in spite of the cool night and even though he was almost completely naked, the sweat ran down his entire body -- suddenly, with slow majestic steps, walked through the high flames of the fire and in so doing had to step on the burning logs with his bare feet.

753 776

[50] On a later occasion I discussed these procedures thoroughly and in detail with the chief doctor, Kasi, and with Dube and the other doctors. One of the most striking aspects of the entire ceremony is perhaps the absence of the mysterious and the magical. These little spirits of sickness are not magical creatures but, in the eyes of the Bushmen, commonplace realities. The Bushmen know very well that many illnesses are not caused by the spirits of sickness alone. If someone eats something that has gone bad, he will become ill and will be given an emetic. If someone is wounded by a shot, the wound will be treated. If the injured person has pains only in the wound and otherwise feels all right, then no spirit of sickness has entered into him. If he feels sick all over, however, then he is possessed by a spirit of sickness. These little spirits of sickness are called dsao; they are little yellow men with a fat belly and a little tail. They obey the other spirits, which, as described above, include the ordinary (775) spirits from the bodies of deceased persons, the spirits who live among the stars, and the chief spirit (/Nawa) himself. [Fig. 20 appears here.]

Finally, even the "great captain" can send the dsao directly over a person. /Nawa can do this with or without the consent of the "great captain"; the smaller spirits act on their own authority or at the command of these powers.

756 776

The doctors have their supernatural power directly from the "great capitain"; they are as powerful as /Nawa and stronger

[50 cont.]

756 than the smaller spirits. Their treatment is correspondingly suc-
776 cessful or unsuccessful. In other words, the doctors are vindicated in any case.

755 The treatment of illness thus follows two parallel paths:
757 one with natural means (medicines and the like), directed at the local symptoms of the ailment; and one with supernatural means, directed at the dsao that cause the feeling of sickness.

[756] During the doctors' test the following song is sung:
796
539

[411]

Fig. 20. Bushman Revolver of the !Kung (Foxhof; actual size [as shown in original text]).

e hehehe na ti //kau /goa dsao

During the treatment itself the following text is sung:

/o ma ga //goa ≠am /nai tha

He has no medicine yet, he must be thrown with the medicine.

751 Von Zastrow and Vedder (1) have the following to report
756

1. Die Buschmänner, p. 424.

[53 cont.]

751 burned to a tinder and pulverized to make a medicine. The per-
821 son struck now has incisions made on his tongue, forehead, cheeks, chest, and legs, into which fat is rubbed, and then this medicine is smeared on. Now, for the time being, he is safe from persecution by the rain.

16. Rain Magic

789 People turn directly to the great captain when they need
[756] rain. Not all doctors are able to procure rain, only the few who
796 enjoy the special favor of the great captain. Then a dance is organized, at which the doctors put themselves in the trance state described below. At the same time the following lament is repeated countless times:

[54]

[539] !garǎ gurí dee oa ≠am	Why does it not rain?
X 'uǎ dě rá /gaa !ǎi /gaa	Which lord is holding back the rain?
/gǎm khui hē	The sun is hot.
!kǔng-ná gurí /gǒá /gǒá	Will man live?
//gauǎna tani /gee ≠gǎo	Are the spirits bringing winter?
!kung /goá hǒǒ !koa !kung ō dshn-ǎ	Where is man supposed to drink?
//gaa /a //gõě !kung /ñ a //gõě	If it is so, can man only die of thirst?
!kunǎ //goě ne oa	What can man do now?
Ha-!kung tam hā m tam ná /ñ gěě	We had better stay here because we have been abandoned!

756 Finally the great captain in heaven hears the lamenting.
789 The doctor runs from the dance place into the bush and sees that
787 a thin thread is let down from the sky. The doctor climbs up on
796 this thread. The great captain comes to meet him half way. As soon as the doctor sees the great captain, he throws a red powder (ocher with medicine) toward him. Now the great captain draws the doctor up and leads him to the heavenly house. In front of this house [Fig. 20 appears here] the doctor sees the spirits of
[775] his deceased colleagues who year in, year out, stand before the house.

[54 cont.]

756 house. The doctor then begins to pray: "Lord, help us, the chil-
789 dren are dying, we are dying of thirst and hunger." He prays and
787 begs until the captain says: "It is good, I shall send water so that
796 the children will have water and veldkost." Then the great captain again accompanies the doctor halfway down. As soon as the doctor is down below, he lets go of the thread which is immediately drawn up. Now the people dance and sing, for the rain has come:

[539] /gá-é dsó-jā /gaa	We rejoice now over the rain.
//ē gā djusā !kho ádshója /ga	Then we rejoice all together.
//ē gā hin a /gaa /gaa	Then the rain comes.
da //goá dshn !gu da adschŏéa χ'u	Then the people praise the lord.

532]

Fig. 21. Spirits of the Dead and Rain Animal (from Bleek, Rock Paintings in South Africa etc., Pl. 58).

776 Another !Kung said to me: "The great captain in the sky
821 sends the rain and all that comes from above. If he does not want to, everything remains shut up. The rain is opened up above; a great vlei is there. I do not know the name of the great captain. The Hei//om call him Som-seb."

17. Religion

771 After a critical look at the sum of the conceptions determining
177 the religious life of the !Kung, one recognizes, as would naturally be expected in the case of such an ancient people, that the elements

NARON
≠AUIN
NOGAU

[70 cont.]

her food, which is given to her by an old woman. On the sixth day
881 the girl goes looking for veldkost with an old woman, and, when she has returned, she herself makes the fire and cooks the food in the circle of her guests, for the first time officially independent.
(502) Girls may marry even before this ceremony.

[71] Among the ≠Auin the initiation is held for each girl
881 at the time of the first menstruation. The same is true among the Naron. The eland bull dance is performed every night during
881 the girl's period. Two old men attach real or wooden eland
535 horns to their heads and wait in the bush. Then the menstruating girl comes and sits down or lies down surrounded by old women, in the center of a circle of younger women who stage a dance. The two eland bulls soon appear and then quickly disappear again. The dance is very indecent. Among the Nussan, men masked as birds (!) take the place of the eland bulls.

Once a year, in autumn when the veldkost is harvested,
796 there is a great festival. The day is called: "//gam gna she (the great day)." On this occasion food is prepared, and the Bushmen come from all sides. They dance and sing, but they are supposed to stay at home; no one may hunt, look for veldkost, or do any kind of work. [Fig. 25 appears here.]

4. Courtship, Wedding, and Marriage

If a young Bushman wants to marry, he does not go to the girl, but instead must speak with her parents; at the same time
584 the girl's consent to the marriage is necessary. Once this consent is given, presents are exchanged between the parents of the engaged couple, or a gemsbok is shot and divided between the two families. Immediately after the presents have been exchanged, preparations for the wedding are begun. If enough game, above all, a gemsbok, is at hand, they dance through the entire night and sing: "Ueeö, ueeeö, ö, eee, gueeö, guueeö,"
[539] etc.

Then the young man takes his wife and moves to the horde
581 of his father. Great importance is attached to virginity before
[591] marriage. "It simply does not happen among us that a girl

821 171 192 similar to the /Kung word *n/ow* in sound but refers to a different belief. In the /Kung belief, *n/ow* influences rain. The Hottentot concept of */nau* supposes a state of being which exists when people are in periods of crisis in their lives. Professor Schapera[1] says of the state of */nau*, summarizing Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis:

> All periods of crisis in the life of a Hottentot involve his separation from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis is exposed to danger on every side; he must retire from contact with other people, and take special care of himself. But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things upon which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence he is secluded, and must abstain scrupulously from his usual tasks.
>
> Such a person is said to be */nau*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay into that group of his people already possessing the new characteristic he has acquired, in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more.

Remarried persons or persons newly widowed are examples.

171 796 821 Mrs. Hoernlé records a rain ceremony of the Hottentots which has several elements in common with the /Kung belief about *n/ow*. The Hottentot ceremony is called the *guri≠ab* (yearly killing).[2] Professor Schapera's[3] description of the *guri≠ab*, which follows, is, as he says, based mainly on Mrs. Hoernlé's account.

> . . . It [the ceremony] is held, if possible, on the banks of a stream, and if there is no stream near by, then a trench is dug to simulate one. When the old men judge that the summer rains are due (about November or December), they tell the chief that it is time to hold the yearly feast, and he sends word to all the outlying families, and decides the time and spot for the ceremony.
>
> Each family contributes according to its means, all bringing milk, and those who can, some female animal, a cow or a ewe, which must be pregnant. The feast cannot be held at all without one pregnant animal. . . . fires are lit to cook the meat for the feast. In addition a fire is lit on the banks of the stream for the special part of the ceremony. The animals are killed and cut up very carefully, so as to preserve intact the uteri, which are kept till after the feast. Eating apparently goes on most of the time until all the food is finished.
>
> When the fire at the riverside is ready, and a channel has been made to the river or stream, the old men of the tribe who are good at prophesying take the uteri, hold them over the fire and pierce them with sticks so that the uterine fluid flows directly through the fire and down the river. At the same time milk in plenty and fat from the animals are thrown on the fire, so that liquid really flows, and great clouds of smoke rise into the sky. Meanwhile all the people round gather together in a great tribal dance, calling on *Tsui ‖Goab* to send the rain in plenty, to make the ground soft and the grass green, so that they may have plenty of food for the year.

The uterine fluid, the fire and clouds of smoke rising into the sky, and the association of the ceremony with rain are the elements in the Hottentot belief which are similar to the elements in the /Kung Bushman belief of *n/ow*. But, though there are these interesting common elements, the /Kung concept differs largely from the Hottentot *guri≠ab*.

[1] Schapera, I., *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 256–7.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., 'A Hottentot Rain Ceremony', *Bantu Studies*, i, No. 2 (May 1922), pp. 3–4.

[3] Schapera, op. cit., p. 379.

623 about it to others, unless it were a hunter caught in a storm alone in the veld; but
821 an individual, even without necessarily expressing a consensus, we think might say
789 to another, 'Why don't you burn some of your hair?', which would probably be enough to instigate the act. And, in all likelihood, it would be done with so little formality that the observer would not know anything was happening unless he knew what to watch for and were alerted.

[171 There was no ceremony regularly performed by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae to ensure
821] plentiful rain, like the Hottentots' *guri≠ab*. The Rain dance of the /Kung, which is
789 danced often, all through the year, is a medicine dance, among several others, such
535 as the Giraffe, Sun, Gemsbok, Honey, and Mamba dances. All these are 'strong'
796 things, the /Kung believe. The dances so named have 'strong' medicine music. They
755 are danced during the medicine men's ceremony to cure the sick and protect the people and drive away any of the *//gauasi*, the spirits of the dead, who might be lurking to bring some evil upon the people. The Rain dance has this as its purpose, not the control of weather.

One night when the Rain dance was being beautifully danced with a fine precision and vigour of clapping, singing, and stamping, which to us suggested fervour, we were watching it so intently that we had not noticed the sky. The first storm of the season had crept up behind us and suddenly burst over us like a bomb. We asked
[821] Gao if he believed the dance had brought the rain. He said that the rain was due to come. The dance had not brought it.

821 A *n/ow* animal, as well as a human, has either a good or a bad *n/ow*, but it seems
825 not to be known clearly how it gets the one or the other. Good or bad *n/ow* is not correlated with one sex or one species. One giraffe, for example, either male or female, may have the rain-bringing, another the cold-bringing kind.

It seems that long or short horns may have something to do with good or bad *n/ow*, not the long-hornedness of gemsbok as compared with the short-hornedness of giraffes, but, within the species, the comparative length of horn. But one kind of *n/ow* is not inherent in short-hornedness nor is the other kind in long-hornedness. It is not so simple as that. And informants did not know what association, if any, the short or long horns may have with ≠Toma's vague idea that the short or long legs of a child in the womb might have something to do with the child's *n/ow*.

When a hunter kills a *n/ow* animal, he either *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) it. Like the mother who *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) her child at birth, the hunter has no voluntary control over this and cannot tell which he has done unless the effect is observed in the weather. A hunter with good or bad *n/ow* may *≠gani* or *//ghui* an animal which has either good or bad *n/ow* and long or short horns. The precise nature of the interaction remains obscure, but hunters took an interest in telling about the kind of *n/ow* they thought they had, and gave instances of observing the effects of their killing various types of animals. If a man should kill a female kudu with short horns and the water should freeze that night, it would be evident that he had *//ghui*(ed) the animal. He would expect to continue to *//ghui* short-horned female kudus. However, although a man's *n/ow* remains constant throughout his life, the way it interacts with other factors may change, and after a time he may find he has begun to *≠gani* short-horned female kudus. We think the /Kung became a little tired of our finding this complicated.

One day in September the sun blazed in the clear sky. The heat beat down upon us.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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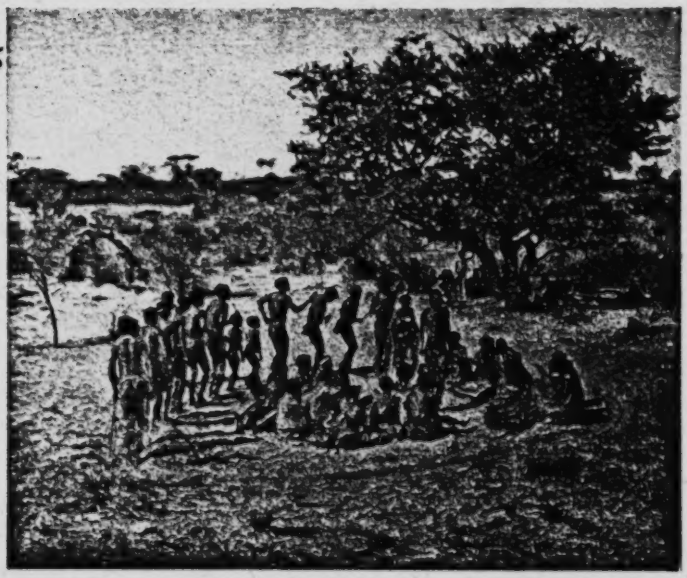
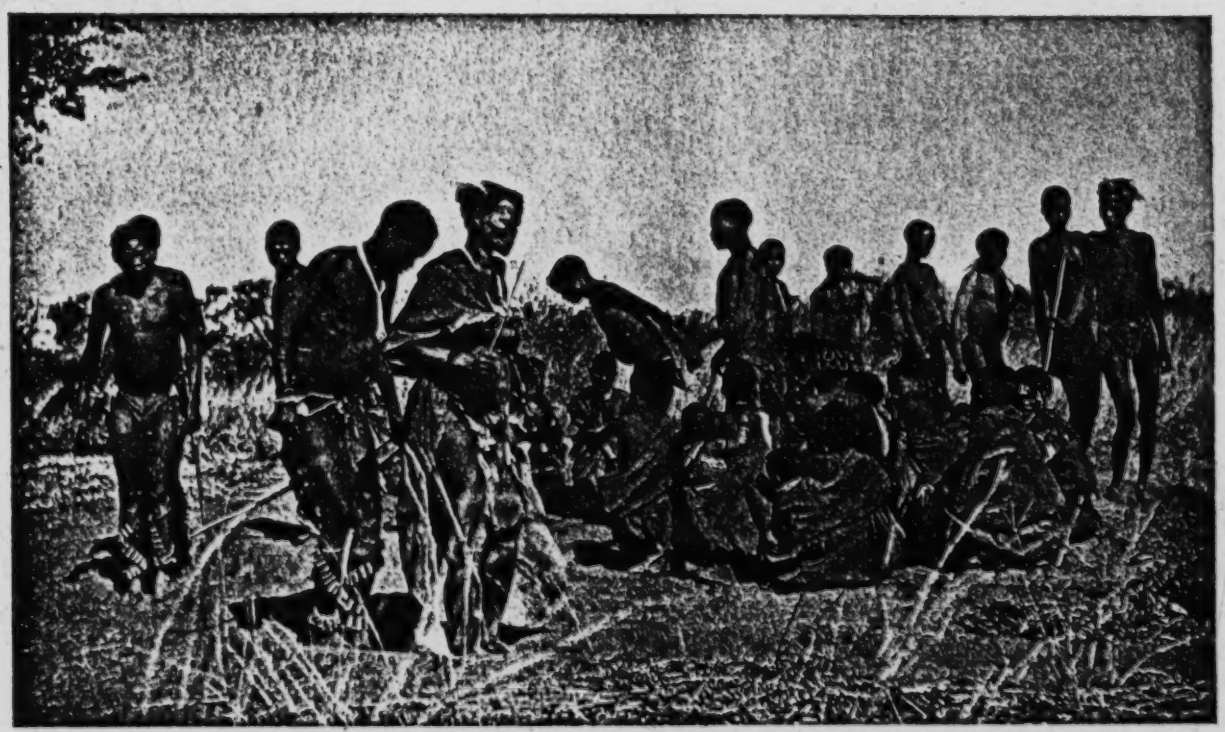


6. The curing dance; the men cut through the circle of singing, clapping women. The time for dancing is the night, but occasionally the /Kung dance in the daytime when there is a reason, such as obliging us when we asked for a daytime dance to photograph or as a preliminary to a *choma* ceremony

7. The dance rattles, strings of cocoons, add a swish, swish to the thud of the small, strong, stamping steps

[p. 228 (D)]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung



8. Occasionally a woman dances with the men for a brief time. All the men who are dancing except two (fourth and sixth from right) are practising medicine men. The one at the farthest left and the one bending forward are beginning to go into trance. Others hold them. In this stage they cure the people, leaning over one and then another, laying on their hands, and making their 'medicine' gestures and sounds

[p.228 (E)]

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13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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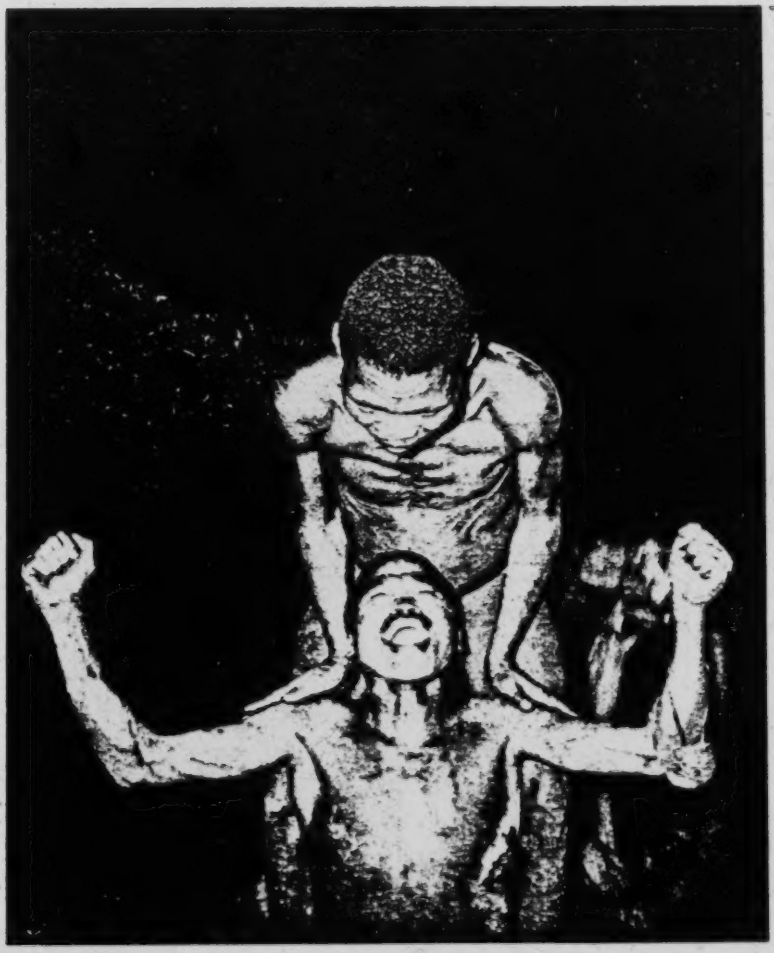
9. The next stage of trance

10. Two medicine men in deep trance; the people rest

[p. 228(F)]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung



11. The scream

[p. 228 (G)]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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12. Five medicine men at sunrise after they had danced and cured all night long. The women must still clap and sing the protective medicine music. The men in semi-trance care for those in deep trance, or 'half-death', as they call it

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13. The tradition is continued. Playing 'dance', a little girl claps and sings while two boys dance around her

[p. 228 (H)]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance

The ceremonial curing dance is the one religious act which has form and in which the people are united. The purpose of the dance is to cure sickness and to drive away evil. If there is actual sickness among the people or if real misfortune has come upon them, the dance will be held especially to cure these ills. But the people dance often when no one is actually known to be sick, and when no particular misfortune has come, to drive away evil which might be there but which one cannot see, and to feel protected by goodness.

The protecting goodness is the 'medicine', the magic power called *gaaxa*, which the /Kung believe the great god puts into the bodies of the medicine men and into the medicine songs. The /Kung believe that the great god endowed the power with its own autonomous potency, but nevertheless account for its failing to cure sometimes by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work or not, according to his pleasure or displeasure. *Gaaxa* is the power evoked and activated during the curing dance.

I believe the ceremonial curing dance to be a religious act, but, although very serious, especially in its final curing aspect, it is not piously solemn or constrained and it provides occasion for pleasure and aesthetic satisfaction. The music can be sung at any time, for lullabies or just for singing. Music and dancing are the arts of the /Kung. The good young dancers, especially, feel the delight which is inherent in fine integration of movement and rhythm (one can see this clearly), and the people watch and admire good dancing and take pleasure in it, and in the music.

[517 533]

Furthermore, the dances are a socially unifying factor. All the people of the werf come together and participate, men and women, old and young. The men often dance with their babies on their shoulders in the early part of the dance, and the children dance and play among them, until they fall fast asleep in their mothers' laps.

[852]

Anyone who wants a dance may start it by going around to people and asking them to come and begin. Someone who was sick would ask for a dance, but young people who love to dance often start just for fun. Sometimes their dances do not turn into curing dances, but usually, once the music begins, the adults join in and the dance becomes a real one. The dances last all night oftener than not. There is a special potency in those which are danced at dawn. The /Kung dance, at irregular intervals, on an average of once in ten days, more or less. Almost invariably they dance at least once during the full moon.

[883]

Among the /Kung the women and girls always sit close together in a circle around a dance fire which may be built wherever there is convenient clear space. Their function is to clap and sing. The men dance in a line, one close behind the another, around the circle of women, in either direction, and cut through the circle past the fire. They sing as they dance. Occasionally a woman gets up and dances with them, though it is not her role, as though she could no longer resist the impulse. When a woman joins the line of dancers, the man behind her holds out his arms towards her but does not touch her. She dances with dignity, making tiny stamping steps, hardly moving, eyes cast down. If there is a delicate overtone of eroticism expressed in the dancing of the women, it is most subtle and constrained—in extreme contrast to the overt expression of many of the Bantu dances.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The dancing of the men in the curing ceremonial dances has its own special style. 796 535
In other dances, that of the *Choma*, the Men's Dance, the Eland Dance of the First Menstruation Ceremony, and in the numerous singing-dancing or rhythmic games which the /Kung play for fun, one sees enchanting pantomime and imitation of [524] animals. In the ceremonial dances we sometimes thought we saw what might be a vestige of the imitation of animals' horns in the way the arms were held, but in comparison with the visual expressiveness of the games, the purpose is not to express by gesture but to produce sound, to be part of the music.

The men wear rattles made of strings of dried cocoons with little seeds or stones inside, which make a swishing sound. These are the only instruments used in the dance. [533] (The /Kung, incidentally, have no drums.) The men dance with knees bent and bodies carried with little motion, leaning forward. On the strong accented beat, the dancer gives a hop and comes down with both feet. On the second beat he holds his weight on one foot (alternating right and left) and with the other stamps a single step or ripples two or three light stamps into the time of the single step. The steps are very precise. They are minute in size, advancing only two or three inches, but they are strongly stamped, and ten or twenty dancers stamping together produce a loud thud. The women clap loudly and sharply. The majority of them clap the basic pattern of a particular piece, while some strike a beat or beats which are complementary to the basic beat. The clapping and stamping are of such precision that they give the effect of a well-played battery of percussion instruments producing a solid structure of intricate rhythm. Above the percussion sounds, the voices of the men and women weave together in parts, singing the medicine songs.[1] Since singing and dancing are one, producing the music, I speak of medicine songs or medicine dances interchangeably.

The medicine songs or dances of the /Kung are named *Rain*, *Sun*, *Giraffe*, *Eland*, *Honey*, *Buffalo*, and *Mamba*. Some of the /Kung have *Gemsbok* and *Spider* Medicine music as well. The Rain Dance is not danced as a specific rain-making ceremony. The dances named for animals do not produce magic to control these animals in hunting or to prevent snake-bite, for example. The dances are named for these things because the things are vital, life-and-death things and they are strong, as the curing medicine in the music is strong.

After several dances have been danced the medicine men begin to cure. The /Kung 535
do not have sorcerers, witches, or witch doctors, and do not believe that the divine 796
beings enter into the medicine men or speak through them. Almost all the /Kung 756
men are medicine men. They do not all choose to practise, for one reason or another, but there are always several in a band who are active. Medicine men receive no rewards other than their inner satisfactions and emotional release. I know that some of them feel a deep responsibility for the welfare of their people and great anxiety and concern if their curing fails, and a corresponding satisfaction if it prevails. Others of them appear to be less concerned about the people whom they try to cure and more inwardly turned.

When the medicine men are curing, all of them experience varying degrees of [787] self-induced trance, which includes a period of frenzy and a period of semi-

[1] Nicholas England is in the process of tracing the songs and analysing the music, and he has a paper in preparation which will include /Kung beliefs and practices about them.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

535 consciousness or deep unconsciousness.[1] They may become stiff or froth at the mouth
796 or lie still as if in coma. Some of them habitually remain in trance only a short time,
[756 others for hours. One man used to remain in a semi-trance for most of the day fol-
787] lowing a dance.

[755] A Bushman curing cannot be fully described in words; it must be heard and I give only an outline here. The medicine man begins by dancing and singing with the others whatever medicine song is being sung. He then leaves the line of dancing men and leans, still singing, over the person he is going to cure. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The /Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. He grunts with shuddering, gurgling, gasping grunts which intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high, piercing, quavering yell. Finally the medicine man throws up his arms to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Ganwa* or the *//ganwasi*, with a sharp yelping cry of '*Kai Kai Kai*'. This shows that it is heavy work to draw the sickness out. The effect of the sound on one observer, myself, was striking—gooseflesh and a stopping of the breath which made it seem as though the heart stood still an instant. A medicine man goes to every person present, leaning over each to cure, even the babies, who, amazingly,
[852] seldom cry, though he gurgles and gasps right into their ears. If someone is actually sick, he returns to him again and again through the night.

After the curing has been going on for some time, medicine men begin to reach their state of frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. Fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. They rush out into the darkness, where *//Ganwa* and the *//ganwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. 'Filthy face! Take away the sickness you have brought.' 'Uncovered penis[2]! You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away.' '*Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die.' At this point they may fall into deep unconsciousness or sink down semi-conscious, eyes closed, unable to walk.

The medicine men who have not reached their full frenzy or who have passed through it attend those who are in it. The /Kung believe that at such a time the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Ganwa* and the *//ganwasi*. They call this 'half death'. It is a dangerous time and the man's body must be watched over and kept warm. The medicine men lean over the one who is in trance. They

[276] [1] The /Kung know about the drug called dagga. They told us that it grows in B.P. and that when they go to trade they sometimes get a little. They like to have some when they go hunting; it keeps one from feeling tired or discouraged, they say. They might take some at a dance if they had it, but they are not dependent on it or on any other substance to induce trance. The trances are psychologically induced.

[195 [2] /Kung men swear a great deal. The swearing
576] plays always upon the themes of the genital organs, sexual intercourse, incest, and excrement. In deprecation they call each other genital organs or tell each other to go and commit incest with their mothers, sisters, wives' mothers, or sons' wives. We have not recorded their saying 'daughter'. Is that thought so terrible to them that its expression is beyond even these hardened swearers? They use the same themes in their blasphemy against the gods. 'Uncovered' or 'thrown-away penis' may mean 'circumcised'. This is a great insult among the /Kung who do not circumcise but know that the Bantu do. 'Filthy face' means 'covered with excrement'.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

shriek and gurgle. They blow in his ears to open them. They take sweat from their armpits and rub him. Some fall over on to him in trance themselves and are in turn rubbed and cared for by the others. The women must sing and clap ardently while a man is in deep trance. He needs the good medicine of the music to protect him. 535 796

The curing dance draws people of a Bushman band together into concerted action as nothing else does. They stamp and clap and sing with such precision that they become like an organic being. In this close configuration—together—they face the gods. They do not plead, as they do in their individual supplications, for the favour of the divine, all-powerful beings, and do not praise them for goodness. Instead, the medicine men, on behalf of the people, releasing themselves from ordinary behaviour by trance and overcoming fear and inaction, throw themselves into combat with the gods and try to force them with hurled sticks and hurled words to take away the evils they might be bringing. [621] [782]

The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a drama, I believe, of releasing the emotions of the people and purging them, in Aristotle's sense. Fear and hostility find outlet and the people have acted together to protect themselves. In this there is solace and hope. [154]

Résumé

LA RELIGION DES BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

LES Boschimans /Kung de la région de Nyae Nyae dans le sud-ouest de l'Afrique croient qu'il existe deux dieux — le grand créateur, qui habite dans l'est du ciel, où le soleil se lève, et le petit dieu qui est subordonné au grand dieu, et qui habite dans l'ouest du ciel où le soleil se couche. 600

Le grand dieu possède sept noms divins, que les /Kung ont peur de prononcer, et un seul nom humain. Certains de ces noms (d'après Schapera ce sont *Hishe*, *Hawe* et *Kxo*) indiquent que le concept du grand dieu tire son origine des croyances anciennes soutenues par d'autres Boschimans et par les Hottentots. Ces noms sont associés avec un être suprême bien disposé. Divers groupes de Boschimans croyaient dans un esprit malfaisant, un 'avant-coureur de la mort', *//Gawwa*. D'après la croyance actuelle des /Kung de la région de Nyae Nyae, le grand dieu a fait du petit dieu son homonyme en lui accordant tous ses noms divins (mais non son nom human), et *//Gawwa* est un des sept noms divins qui sont attribués aux deux dieux. Le nom humain ≠*Gao/na*, le vieux ≠*Gao*, est celui du protagoniste de plusieurs vieux contes bizarres, un être ayant des pouvoirs surnaturels, mais ressemblant à un homme et soumis à toutes les frustrations humaines. Les /Kung ont amalgamé l'ancien protagoniste et le grand dieu en ce qui concerne le nom, mais ils ont modifié l'image.

Le grand dieu s'est d'abord créé lui-même, et ensuite il a créé le petit dieu. Pour chacun d'eux, il a créé une épouse qui a donné naissance à des enfants. Il a créé la terre et le ciel, la femme et l'homme et il a donné des noms à toutes choses. Il a donné le nom de son épouse, Khwova, à la première femme, et son propre nom ≠*Gao* au premier homme. Le grand dieu et le petit dieu s'intéressent principalement à l'humanité. Ni l'un ni l'autre n'est associé essentiellement avec le bien ou le mal à l'égard de l'homme; tous les deux peuvent apporter de grands biens, tels que la pluie, la nourriture et les enfants, mais aussi la mort, la maladie

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

782
821
[539]

O gallopers,
O gallopers,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my but.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it
821 to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other magicians have a similar power over the wind, */khwe*, and are protected by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind
[773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears the form of a bird.[1]

773 Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we
776 meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from
[184] those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object
[794] of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed that *'Kaang* (i.e. */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, *'Kue-'akeng-*
[761] *'teng*, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives
[821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put
[825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine
● 796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood"
535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant,
[773] Qing, described as follows: "*Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the song of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it, and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night.
[786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[104] [2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol *c* represents the dental click, written */* in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

medicine, in which is burnt snake powder. When a man is sick, 535
this dance is danced round him, and the dancers put both hands under 796
their arm-pits, and press their hands upon him, and when he coughs [755]
the initiated put out their hands and receive what has injured him—
secret things. The initiated who know secret things are Qogne;
the sick person is hang cāi."

Cagn, said Qing, was the first being and made all things—the sky, 776
the moon, stars, mountains, and animals. The Bushmen prayed
to him. On being asked how, Qing answered, in a low, imploring [782]
tone: "O Cagn! O Cagn! are we not your children, do you not [539]
see our hunger? give us food"—"and he gives us both hands
full." To the further question, where *Cagn* was, he responded,
"We don't know, but the elands do. Have you not hunted and [825]
heard his cry, when the elands suddenly start and run to his call?
Where he is, the elands are in droves like cattle."

Cagn's wife was *Coti*. When asked where she came from, Qing
said, "I don't know, perhaps with those who brought the Sun;
but you are now asking the secrets that are not spoken of." These [794]
secrets he himself did not know—"only the initiated men of that
dance know these things." *Cagn* also had two sons, *Cogaǂ* and
Gcwi, and together with him and *Cogaǂ* there was another great
"chief", *Qwangciqutshaa*. All three had great power, but it was
Cagn who gave orders through the other two. Of all these personages 773
various tales were related by Qing. One of them, describing how 776
Cogaǂ was killed by baboons and restored to life again by *Cagn*,
is almost identical with the similar story told by the Cape Bushmen
of */kaggen* and */gaunu-ts'axau*. In all these tales *Cagn* appears as
a human being, but with supernatural powers. He can change
himself into different forms, is then sometimes killed and eaten by
animals or people, but always comes to life again. He possesses
various magical charms, the strongest of which is his tooth; and the [825]
birds are his messengers who report to him what is going on.
Occasionally he gets into trouble, from which he is extricated by
Cogaǂ, just as in the Cape Bushman stories */kaggen* is aided by */ni*.

Another name for the Mantis among these Bushmen, according 776
to Arbousset, is *'ngo*. This may explain the following quotation
from Campbell: "They had a name which they gave to God, who
is above them, and another to God who is under them. The former
is a male, the latter a female. The male God they call Goba, the
female Ko; and her attendants are called Gauna." *Ko* (*'ngo*), as

N [see category 116, p. 182 for the author's explanation of the 'initiated.' — Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Nama word for "master, lord", and has been used by some 177
missionaries for "God". The Naron and Auen were vague as to 776
the nature of */khuba*. The old men did not know of him; the middle-aged men said *Hishe* was */khuba*; while some of the younger people said he was the sky, others that he dwelt in the sky; they prayed to him to let them live long and to make them well when ill. Women who when young had been kidnapped and held as slaves by Nama chiefs were very fluent on the subject of */khuba*; the others, [648] remarks Miss Bleek, had evidently picked up the word without [567] attaching any clear meaning to it, beyond that it was some sort of deity and that it was "good to pray to it". The same word (given by him in its vocative form */khutse*) was also found among the partly-disorganized groups of these Bushmen by Fourie, who translates it "God".

A few of Miss Bleek's informants further mentioned *Huwu* or 776
Huwuba, but they did not know much about him—he was the "captain" of the men in the north, the Makoba and others. They also said he was the brother of *Hishe*, while one man called him the [177] "captain" of the white people.[1]

Huwu or *Hu'e* figures very prominently among the Kung, however. [184] Miss Lloyd's young informants from near Lake Ngami only once mentioned him. They began the tale of the Moon and the Hare [773] with the words, *Huwe* made all things; and in explanation said, *Huwe* made all things to eat (i.e. all animals that are eaten), and *Huwe* is a man.[2] Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, much further west, speaks of *Huwe* as a "good being", to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things. They pray to [782] him for food, as we have already seen, at a special ceremony held [796] once a year when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen, [755] and they also in case of sickness call upon him to restore them to health.[3]

Lebzelter, in his account of Kung religion, says that all the groups investigated by him have the belief in a "supreme good being" ("ein höchstes gutes Wesen"). Among the Eastern Kung this being is termed *Xu* (elsewhere he spells the name *//Khu*)[4] or *Xuwa*,

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 24–6; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Quoted in D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.
[3] "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.
[4] It may be mentioned here that Lebzelter is inconsistent in the orthography he employs: *!Kui* is elsewhere written *//Khu*, *//gauab* alternates with *!gauab*, *gagorob* with *!gau !gorob*, [114] and so on.

[1] Introduction

121 The purpose of my expedition, on which I was accompanied by my wife, Maria Lebzelter-Grammetbauer, was to study the anthropology and ethnology of the native tribes, especially of the Bushmen, as well as the archeology of South Africa. The original plan came from Professor Father Dr. Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D.
122 Repeated generous stipends from His Holiness Pope Pius XI made possible the continuation of the expedition, which was fostered with tireless zeal by Father Schmidt. The Austrian Government, by means of special administrative measures, made it possible for me to set out on this journey. Furthermore, the editor of Anthropos, Professor Father W. Koppers, repeatedly lent considerable support to the expeditionary fund. The Research Grant Board in Johannesburg granted me -- although for purely anthropological purposes -- a single subvention of 50 pounds.

114 I have already described the program and execution of my South African expedition in the first volume of this work. Here, before presenting the ethnological results, I should like to portray in rough outline how these results were arrived at. I must state in advance that there was a space of only three weeks between the time when the measures taken by the Austrian authorities made it certain that I could leave my homeland and my actual departure. Hence, a [122] more detailed study of the native languages was out of the question. The conditions under which a person today can do ethnological field work are fundamentally different from those of the pioneering era. [177] Through the activity of the missions, there is growing up among all [177] tribes, except for the Bushmen, a stratum of intelligent individuals who, if not in this generation, certainly in the next, will take over the research among their own people. I recall a lawyer's clerk in Natal (Swazi) who had acquired a pamphlet of ethnological lectures from Johannesburg and had learned it by heart. When he turned to a White ethnologist, in order to begin the practical work, the latter assured him that just as a race horse could not be used for plowing, so an ox could not be used for racing. Meanwhile, however, a number of very creditable works by natives have
115 already appeared in print. In my investigations I have always used native schoolteachers who had a command not only of the

[21 cont.]

648 The Bushmen as a whole are despised by the other peoples, but in individual cases they are feared, and not least by the Whites. The Bushmen are familiar with this attitude and conduct themselves accordingly.

797 The Bushmen accept a foreign point of view only with
177 great difficulty, if at all. The mission, accordingly, can show no noteworthy success among them. On the other hand, they
157 usually grasp the intentions of others more quickly than the ordinarily more superficial Blacks. Consequently, they give brief and precise answers to the questions put to them. When asked questions that they do not want to answer, they remain silent. At the same time, in dealings with them one should note that they tire very quickly when they have to do mental work, and then they will not answer further questions, not because they do not want to, but because they are too tired.

181 The Bushmen are not generous. Nevertheless, allow-
[574] ing a stranger to partake of a meal, as well as giving him some
609 of the available water, is wholly matter-of-course with them.
[43] They very rarely, however, give any of their personal belongings, weapons, ornaments, hides, and so forth, as presents. If they themselves receive presents, they are obviously delighted.
181 It is true that they do not express their gratitude with words,
577 [22] but anyone who does the Bushmen a kindness may be sure that they will manifest their gratitude by deeds to the point of self-sacrifice.

To help a fellow human being who is in trouble is a moral obligation. There is a report of a prospector who lost his
[648] way in the bush forest and was then saved by the Bushmen, with whom he could not even converse; they took care of him for several days and finally put him on the right path.

Agreements and promises are kept unconditionally by the Bushman, although it is true that he usually arrives a little too late. Once, when an ox from the ox-cart of the Catholic mission had to be left behind on the way to the Okovanggo, it was put in the care of the Bushmen and they were to deliver it at the time of the next full moon. The people kept their word, and the ox was delivered, well-fed, at the specified time.

As a comrade, the Bushman is reliable and faithful (1).

181
648

1. A European had once illegally

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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184 776 [192] Bushmen of the Orange Free State, where, as we have seen, Campbell mentions that the spirits attendant upon *Ko* (the Mantis) are called *Gauna*, and that after *Ko* has disappeared from the dance in which she was taking part, "her nymphs" also come and dance for a while. Nothing more is said about them, however.[1]

114 776 The problem now arises as to the real nature of these beings. The information relating to them is sometimes vague, sometimes inconsistent, and at all times obviously inadequate. No interpretation of their nature can therefore be regarded as fully reliable until it has been confirmed by a much more careful and detailed study in the field than has yet been made of the beliefs and usages connected with them. Moreover, as we shall see subsequently, the conception 171 776 of *//gaua* also figures prominently among the Hottentots and Bergdama, whose religious beliefs and practices in general offer other features of resemblance to those of the Bushmen. A comparison of the Bushman concepts on the one hand and those of the Hottentots and Bergdama on the other, may thus succeed in throwing further light upon the problem, the final consideration of which may therefore be delayed until the religions of these peoples have also been passed in review.

177 776 Certain points arise, however, which may at once be dealt with. The notions of *!khuba* among the Naron and Auen, and of *Dṭimo* among the Hiechware, may be set aside in the attempt to ascertain the real nature of Bushman religious conceptions. They have admittedly been taken over from other peoples, the former from the Nama, the latter from the BeChwana. *Erob*, mentioned by Lebzelter [797] as the name for the "Supreme Being" among the Western Kung and certain of the Heikum, is simply a corruption of the word *Elob*, from the Hebrew *Elohim*, which has been used by many missionaries among the Nama as a translation for "God".[2] Its occurrence among these Bushmen is therefore an obvious indication of Christian influence, entering either directly through the missionaries or, more probably, through contact with the Nama; and in this connection it must be remembered that almost all the Heikum now speak only

[1] *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 31–2.

[2] Pater Schmidt, in accepting Lebzelter's data as convincing evidence for the existence of a Supreme Being among the Bushmen, remarks about *Erob* ("Die alte Buschmann-Religion," 397, n. 4): "Wenn er christlichen Ursprungs sein soll, von Elob, aus Elohim, so darf man fragen, warum das Inlaut -*l* in *r* übergegangen wäre." To this it may be replied that the sound *l* does not occur at all in Nama, save in a few words taken over from European languages, and that in most borrowed words where it does occur the Nama form of the word replaces it by *r*. The transmutation of *Elob* into *Erob* therefore follows a definite law of phonetic change in Nama. Cf. on this point Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, pp. 18–19.

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Nama. Nama influence is seen also in the word *Heiseb* found among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga. This is one of the names applied to the mythical hero more commonly known as *Heitsi Eibib*, who figures so prominently in the religious system of the Nama. Its absence from the other Bushman tribes is clearly suggestive, although the name *Hishe* found among the Naron and Auen may possibly be a corruption of it. The various current interpretations of *//gaua* as " the evil being ", " the devil " or " Satan " must likewise be dismissed as alien to native Bushman ideas. The word has been widely used by missionaries among the Nama for " Devil ", and there can be little doubt that it is ultimately from this source that such interpretations have been derived. 177 776 [184] [797]

All these direct symptoms of borrowing from other peoples show clearly that the religious conceptions of the Northern Bushmen as recorded above can by no means be regarded as untainted by foreign influences. The final interpretation of these conceptions will therefore have to take into account the religious ideas of the neighbouring peoples as well, especially of the Nama, in order that a full basis for discussion may be obtained. This is all the more necessary since the information relating to them as now held by the Bushmen is hardly sufficient to enable us to determine satisfactorily the full meaning attached to them by the people, to determine, that is, what part they really play in native life. For the moment, however, it may be of service if we attempt to reduce to some order the various accounts given by our authorities of these conceptions. 177 771

A general survey of the attributes said to be vested in the different beings figuring in the religion and mythology of the Northern Bushmen seems to show that on the whole we have to deal with two main conceptions. There is in the first place the conception known variously to the North-Western Bushmen as *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Xuwa*, *Hishe*, or *Erob*, and to the North-Eastern Bushmen as *Thora* or *Huwe*. By Lebzelter, whose account cannot be entirely freed from a suspicion of prejudice in favour of the monotheistic doctrine associated with the name of Pater W. Schmidt and his school of disciples, *Xu* or *Erob* is spoken of as an anthropomorphic " supreme good being " dwelling in a house in the sky, where he receives the souls of the dead. He is regarded as the creator; he controls the rain and its associated phenomena of thunder and lightning, and punishes evil-doers with lightning; he sends good fortune in hunting and in the collection of veldkos, is prayed to before and after hunting, and is 776 [184] [114] [821] [224] [782] [756]

/160 cont./

cold dry season,
805 warm dry season,
short rainy season,
rainy season.

Just as these various seasons of the year tend to be very irregular in the Kalahari, the Auin's division of the year also is quite variable.

821 There is only one designation, a collective name, for the starry sky.

173 I have not been able to detect any traces of a "history." Only events going back at most two generations are transmitted as an oral tradition.

172 The Auin know nothing about the Bushman drawings. At the watering place Kazupitzaub between Oas and Olifantskluft, in other words, in the Auin region, there are supposedly Bushman drawings on rock walls. The Auin call these drawings the "work of Satan." I should observe that this expression was given me by an interpreter who was unable to supply me with a better translation of the Bushman concept. In case I should once again go to this region, I shall report on this matter.

173 In their own opinion, the Auin have been living in the region they now occupy "as long as there have been human beings."

X. Counting and Calculating

802 Fingers and toes are used for counting.

Five is expressed by the word for hand, ten by two hands, 15 by two hands and one foot, 20 by two hands and two feet.

Among about 20 Rietfontein Auin, there was only one who could count beyond 20. I cannot say, however, whether this man may not have hit upon the idea through my suggestion. He counted up to 40.

/267 cont./

16. Numbers

802

English	Heikum	Kung	Name
1	tschin ≠ē	tschin ≠ē	/ai
2	tschi dzá	tschidzá	/gam
3	tschin /ǎni	tschin /ǎni	/oná
4	unsicher	unsicher	hagá
/268/			
5	/gau	/gau (/gau = hand)	—

6-9 quite uncertain among the Heikum and Kung

10	/gau ≠eissen (finger) (toes)	/gau ≠eissen	—

Among the Heikum and Kung one can discover with certainty only the terms for 1, 2, 3, 5, and 10; all the other expressions are uncertain. It is noteworthy that 5 is designated by "hand," and 10 by "hand and toes."

Among the Heikum and Kung Bushmen the manner of counting on the fingers is the same.

To indicate 1, the little finger of the left hand is grasped with the index finger and thumb of the right hand and bent in the hollow of the hand; for 2, 3, and 4, the fourth, third, and second fingers of the left hand follow, and are bent in the hollow of the hand in the same manner. For 6, 7, 8, and 9, the same procedure is used with the right hand as was used with the left for 1, 2, 3, and 4. In order to indicate 10, the two hands, flat but slightly hollowed, are placed against each other with the palms together.

201 The Bushman likes to touch his lower lip briefly with the tip of the little finger of his right hand before he goes through the motions of counting on his fingers.

194 It has proved impossible to determine whether in the language of the Heikum or the Kung the change of pitch in the pronunciation of vowels plays a part as it does in the language of the Hottentots.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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802 177 In counting, they use only the numerals one and two quite freely. Three they sometimes use, taking the Nama word for it, although they are more apt to speak of "two and one" than "three". For anything above three they generally make use of the word "many", although by the Northern Bushmen Nama or Bantu numerals may sometimes by substituted. These higher numerals, however, are evidently picked up from their neighbours by ear, and repeated without much consideration of their value, as, says Miss Bleek, a child of three will count in imitation of its seniors, varying the sequence of numerals each time. In some cases, among both the Cape 802 Bushmen and several of the North-Western tribes, such formations [803] are also found as $4 = 2 + 2$, $5 = 2 + 2 + 1$, and so on up to ten. The numeral system of the Bushmen is thus essentially binary in principle. Occasionally, however, modifications occur suggestive of a quinary system. Thus in Naron the words for "four" mean "two fingers and two fingers", but "five" is "hand" (sometimes, however $2 + 2 + 1$ fingers), "ten" is "both hands", "fifteen" "both hands, one foot"; and the same system occurs in Auen. As these words indicate, the Bushmen count larger numbers on their fingers. In counting, they begin with the little finger of the left hand, touching each finger in turn on the lips, then continue in the same manner from the thumb of the right hand. As a rule, it may be added, nothing that they want to count exceeds ten, indeed, hardly ever reaches that numeral![2]

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[2] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; cf. Schmidl, "Zahl und Zählen in Afrika," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, xlv (1915), pp. 194–5, for a useful summary sketch of Bushman numeral systems.

[pp. 221-446 not processed for the FX10 Bushmen file. see category 116, FX13 Hottentot]

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Bushmen FX10

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see category 116, FX13 Hottentot]

/151 cont./

438 objects of exchange: veld food, meat, articles of clothing, and utilitarian objects. It appears that barter is also carried out in a smaller circle. To the "child of the moment," something different is always preferred.

[443] Markets are not held.

The chains of ostrich egg shells have a certain fixed value [435] since they are highly coveted. A leaf [Platte] of tobacco likewise has a fixed value.

/152/ This means that under all circumstances, wherever [436] one goes, both tobacco and chains can be traded. Only in this sense is it possible to speak of money substitutes. I am convinced that with a sufficient number of tobacco leaves [Plattentabak] in one's pocket, and without any provisions, one can live by barter, that is, if the Bushman himself happens to have anything.

The only things that one might not be able to obtain from the Auin in exchange for tobacco are lance points.

The Auin is unacquainted with our custom of indicating 804 length with two fingers of one or both hands. Length is indicated by pointing with one finger to the index finger of the other hand or to a stick.

A "fathom" is indicated by extending both arms, in a manner similar to ours.

As a "dry measure" they use one or both cupped hands, the latter held close together.

Another dry measure is made by crooking the arm and filling the hollow between the arm and chest with a cloth, or both arms are crooked with the hands fastened together in front of the body and the hollow is filled with a cloth.

We also have the saying "an armful."

The hide cap is also used for measuring.

As rough as the measures are, they nonetheless appear to have a certain, though naturally quite inexact validity. I have observed how a Bushman exchanged "an armful" of veld food for tobacco. The owner of the tobacco did not deem the goods he received sufficient, and the other had to add "a handful."

Weights are estimated. Naturally, an object for comparison is always present.

Weights are estimated, as among us, by briefly lifting the weights to be compared, one after the other. Even the accompanying

/152 cont./

804 reflective and sly facial expression is exactly the same as ours.

O. Techniques

439 511 A definite domestic industry is present. Whatever the Auin really needs, he is able to manufacture for himself. All imported objects are luxury items. I make an exception in the case of the iron lance points, but I believe that if necessary the Bushman could even do without them.

463 The beginnings of a division of labor can be seen in the fact that only certain individuals practice the smith's trade, which, incidentally, does not extend to the manufacture of lance points.

323 Pottery is unknown.

439 Pots, supposedly from the Okovangga, are to be found sporadically. The Auin, however, is unable to repair such a vessel, as by puttying.

285 Rings of braided grass are manufactured. I myself have never seen them, since they are only made of young, but no longer green grass, in other words, shortly after the rainy season.

[294] It is said that at the same time of year certain special artists braid hat-like head coverings.

The grass rings and hats have only a limited durability, for in September and October there was none left for me to see.

[415] Sieves are made of parallel grass leaves joined together by thin strings. They are used to strain food.

"Kirris" are made with attractive decorations (Fig. 12).

413 531 A root stock with a knotty end is peeled and made smooth. A kind of pyrography is practiced on it by wrapping it, leaving bare spaces, with a long strip of the wet bark that was peeled off, and then placing the entire stick in red-hot coals. The unwrapped parts burn to a black color, while the other parts remain white.

I could not learn the purpose of these decorated sticks among the Auin. They use rough, pointed sticks for digging sticks. The kirris, therefore, seem to be luxury articles.

412 Iron knives, sharpened pieces of iron, or lance points are used as tools. As an example of pyrography, see the pipe plug, page 33.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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Bushmen FX10

eland, Castor and Pollux his wives; the Magellanic Clouds a steenbok; 184
Orion's sword three male tortoises hung upon a stick, his belt three 821
female tortoises so hung, etc. As these names indicate, there is
a good deal of folklore centring in the stars, and indeed a considerable 184
part of the vast collections of Cape Bushman lore made by Bleek 773
and Lloyd relate to the heavenly bodies, which are regarded as once 821
having been men or animals before being transformed into their present state. In one tale, for instance, it is related that a girl of the early race (preceding the Bushmen) wished for a little light, so that the people might see to return home by night. She therefore threw wood-ashes into the sky and these became the Milky Way. In another, again, it is told how a girl, at the time of her puberty seclusion, saw some people eating together at a dassie's house of branches. As a result they and the house, fixed by her looks, became stars in the sky, where they are now to be seen as the Corona Australis.[1]

The Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, according to Dornan, 184
also "have considerable acquaintance with various groups or 821
prominent stars, and have names for them", but the only one mentioned by him is the Southern Cross, referred to as the "giraffe star" and said to be somewhat like this animal in appearance.[2]

For shorter lengths of time the Bushmen go by the Moon, but 805
they make no attempt to reckon how many moons there are in the year or in a season.[3] They observe the phases of the Moon closely, [821]
but seem to have no division of time into anything corresponding to weeks, although they readily pick up the European system of weeks [177]
when working for white people, and will come regularly on the seventh day for tobacco, etc. Otherwise, in their intercourse with white people, the wage, if not given daily, is demanded at the [648]
New Moon.[4]

The day is apparently divided according to the position of the sun, but no names have been recorded for any fixed divisions or parts of the day.

The notion of time is also used to indicate distance, for which there 804
are no special units. Generally distance is reckoned by the time it 805
823

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10 sq.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 165.
[3] Lebzelter says, however ("Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15) that the Eastern Kung have a "vegetation year" of 10 months. The year is reckoned from one veldkos harvest to another. He omits to give any further details.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.

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[pp. 221-446 not processed
for the FX10 Bushmen file.
see category 116, FX13 Hottentot]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

584 Boys are always considerably older than girls before their parents betroth them.
[805] We never knew the precise age of a /Kung because they reckon time from one season to the next, not in years, and do not keep track of a person's age by any measurement. Boys appear to be usually around twelve to fourteen or fifteen before they are
[868] betrothed. At this age their fathers begin to take them on the long hard hunts for the
[883] big animals which supply the people's meat and begin their serious hunting training.

As to girls, wives are in such demand in this polygynous society that the parents of boys have their eyes upon every girl baby and may say to the parents of an unborn infant, 'If it is a girl, let us have her for our son.' It seems to be more usual, however, to betroth the girls when they are about two to five or six. The boys wait patiently for long years for their fiancées to grow up.

We wondered what would happen if, when the time at last came for the marriage, the boy or girl should refuse the parents' choice. It appears that they seldom do. A boy is usually too eager to get a wife. To refuse the betrothed might mean he would have to wait for years and years again for a girl baby to grow up. The girls are usually too young to protest but it sometimes happens that one does. /Kung
593 parents are exceedingly protective and permissive with their children, and delight
855 in them, especially in their infancy. I have sometimes seen an older child scolded or
861 snapped at by an impatient mother but I never saw a child severely punished. No hard work and few, if any, regular chores are demanded of dependent children. The same protectiveness and permissiveness were apparent in parents' lenience with respect to their girls' betrothals. They complied with the girls' wishes.

The marriage may take place when the parents agree. The age of the young people
582 varies greatly. For the girl, there are no definite age or other requirements. The girl need not, for instance, show physical signs of maturity. When the important Ceremony of First Menstruation is performed, the girl may have been married for years. Bau, who was married to Tsamgao in 1951, did not have her first child for six years. /Nai was married to /Gunda in May 1953. She menstruated for the first time in March 1959. To be married as young as that is not at all unusual, but we have known several girls to be somewhat older.

The parents explain that when the girls marry young they 'get used to' their
582 husbands. I am sure there is a great deal in this and I am sure it strongly affects the
593 relations of husbands and wives, but I had insufficient opportunity to observe eight- or nine-year-old brides with teen-age husbands, and insufficient means, through interpreters, to grasp the nature of their relationship. What is the young husband like to a girl child? The friendly, gentle old man, Demi, said to me, 'They enjoy their youth together.'

593 The young couples are expected not to have sexual intercourse till the girls are 'big
834 enough', informants said, and the boys must not force the girls. If a girl complained to her parents and the parents took her back and sent the young husband away, he might have to wait for years again for another bride to grow up. The /Kung are
[123] prevented by their incest taboos and their modesty from speaking freely about sex and I learned nothing about the actual sexual practices of the young couples. /Nai and her young husband, /Gunda, had only one good kaross between them; they slept
513 together bundled in it, feet to feet. Bau and Tsamgao slept quite apart—at different
593 fires—when we observed them in 1952. In 1953 they slept at their own fire, apart, she

/159 cont./

278 752 [411] Poisoned arrows shot into the chest and abdomen are described as unconditionally deadly. Arrow wounds on extremities, as well as very superficial ones, are supposed to be curable under certain circumstances if immediate help is provided.

[751] There is no inoculation against arrow poison.

[827] An older Auin suffering from badly inflamed eyes attributed this illness to an arrow wound he had received many years earlier. His statement, of course, cannot be verified.

165 Malaria is endemic and annually exacts many lives. The number of cases resulting in death was especially great in 1908-1909. Whole settlements are supposed to have died out. Epidemics were unknown even to the "oldest people."

Venereal diseases are blessings of civilization, but evidently not yet widespread.

731 Famine actually prevails every year toward the end of the dry season, especially if the preceding rainy season has been poor. During this time, almost all the Auin are emaciated to skeletons. Death by hunger is not supposed to /160/ occur. After all, the Bushman always finds something to eat, even if it is only grass seeds.

756 The so-called doctors decidedly possess great experience in medical matters, which, however, does not prevent them from practicing considerable charlatanism (see Section T).

W. Time Reckoning, Astonomy

•805 The day is divided according to the position of the sun. Certain time segments are indicated with great exactitude according to the position of the sun. If one asks a Bushman, "How far is it to the watering place?" he will point to the place in the sky that the sun will have reached by the time one gets there.

The concept of the month is known (gnui, "month").

The relation of the solar year to lunar months is unknown.

The Auin divides up the year, for which, incidentally, he has no definite, but rather only a very vague concept, as follows:

/160 cont./

805 cold dry season,
warm dry season,
short rainy season,
rainy season.

Just as these various seasons of the year tend to be very irregular in the Kalahari, the Auin's division of the year also is quite variable.

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173 In their own opinion, the Auin have been living in the region they now occupy "as long as there have been human beings."

X. Counting and Calculating

802 Fingers and toes are used for counting.

Five is expressed by the word for hand, ten by two hands, 15 by two hands and one foot, 20 by two hands and two feet.

Among about 20 Rietfontein Auin, there was only one who could count beyond 20. I cannot say, however, whether this man may not have hit upon the idea through my suggestion. He counted up to 40.

[9 cont.]

586 Up to the birth of the first child, the marriage is dis-
595 solvable, but not thereafter. Monogamy is the rule; where
596 there is polygamy, the first wife is the "head wife." The eldest
611 brother of the head wife is the family head. The boys belong to
the family of the wife, and the daughters to the family of the
father.

582 The strictest exogamy prevails. Son and daughter may
marry neither into the father's kin group nor into the mother's
[587] kin group. On the other hand, a young widow is usually married
by one of her brothers-in-law.

551 The following kin-group names were reported to me:
!Nui-a, Dai, aben, orasi, Gombe, χ'am, χ'am-Kha.

805 The following times of the day are differentiated:
eruba, time before sunrise.
!khoasa, time of sunrise (N. khoa-am = to open, that is, the door for the sun is opened).
sorésa, "the sun shines."
sorésa ≠kam go, "the young sun goes," breakfast time. In effect, below the tropics one has the impression that the sun, after it has stood on the horizon for a while, moves toward the zenith with great speed.
sorésa !khoai go, "the sun goes back." Noon.
//gui-sa, "it declines (lies down)." Afternoon.
[512] ≠khai-am-go, "to rise and go." After hunting or searching for veldkost, the Bushmen usually take a rest before it is time to go home and start cooking (late afternoon).
≠kha-go, "to go through." (The sun goes through the gate of the night.) Dusk, sunset.
!khui-sa, to be evening.
dschu-ba, night (N. tsuχub).

821 These Bushmen have the idea that the old sun dies every
night and a new, young sun appears the next morning. That the
[171] moon dies every month and is resurrected again is a notion so
widespread in Africa that it is really unnecessary to make special
mention of it.

805 The year begins when a new rainy season sets in.
//hauba, "storms rise." Rainy season.

[9 cont.]

805 shauba, cold season (N. sáob).

!kn-aba, hot season (N. !nái, warm).

535 Among dances, an ostrich and an ape dance were mentioned to me.

123 The studies, which began so promisingly, came to an end because I was evidently unable to present the village chief with enough presents. One evening a boy appeared and told me that the Bushmen had "had to go hunting." I continued to wait a number of days for the !Kung called by Mr. Eaddes. The messengers returned with the news that they had found no one. Another Sunday coat for the village mayor and some yellow money for the Bushmen, and priceless material could have been obtained.

[107] Chapter 3

The Dama Bushmen from the Palm Bush East of the Ondonga [Ndonga]

173 According to their tradition, these Bushmen came from Herero country. Hence they represent the connecting link between the "Saan" in the Gobabis district and the Hei//om [Heikum] of the north. The people as a whole designate them-
101 selves as Daman = the wealthy. The horde around Oshigambo calls itself //Huru-Khái. They call their dialect Cháraba. I do not be-
131 lieve that they live far in the interior of the Otjimpolo Veld. They have an enormous respect for the !Kung. The outermost cattle posts of the Ondonga probably coincide pretty much with
177 the boundaries of their territory. A number of them are Bantu-
142 ized and have small physiques. The others engage in hunting
439 and supply the black farmers with the flesh of wild game, hides,
648 ostrich egg beads, and poison. They serve as beaters on the great hunts of Chief Martin. At the court they count for nothing. The farmers like to see them. Little acts of assistance, a sack of berries or veldkost, soften the heart of the black housewife, so that here, as in Uukualuthi [among the Kualuthi?], there are a number of do-nothings who are nonetheless gladly received.

[26 cont.]

142 The athletic type thus represents the best realization of the human type among the races.

Since, from the day of conception on, environmental influences are predominantly of a harmful nature, the average type finally arrived at is the type formed by the average harmful effects, which, on the one hand, are of a hereditary and constitutional nature, and, on the other hand, are conditional effects during the individual's lifetime. The more unfavorable the living conditions are, the greater will be the harmful effect coefficient, and the more the average physical type will approach the asthenic. Only environmental improvement, brought about by high civilization, permits athletic forms to develop in considerable numbers.

According to our schema, we may designate the Bushmen as asthenic on the average, and the best developed among them
[146] as respiratory. In the case of many male individuals, there is an ability for considerable fat accumulation, and on the farms I encountered a number of Bushmen who had adapted themselves to a flour diet and had considerable body weight.

The digestive type thus certainly does occur among them,
[146] even though we must keep in mind that the diet, which is rich in meat and poor in carbohydrates, counteracts its development.

5. The Course of the Day

805 The !Kung Bushmen divide the 24 hour day into seven seg-
[192] ments, which are:

/gam X'ǂ-o-a, dawn.
/gam do di /gii, time of sunrise.
!nai /kho, (the sun) is in the middle.
ha ti ≠náu, (the sun) will go down.
X'ǂ-o ti ≠náu, the sun is now asleep.
/gu gǂ djo-o, one can no longer see the people because it is dark.
!a ds ĩ, midnight.

512 The division of the day varies somewhat with the season of the year. With the exception of the so-called hot season,

[26 cont.]

512 from about August 20th to the end of December, the following daily routine is normally observed. Before dawn, it becomes very cold, the people wake up, and the boys stir up the fire and put on it the remains of the evening meal. The old people move closer to the fire and go on sleeping until the sun comes up. Then they have their breakfast, which consists of the remains of the [462] evening meal. The able men now go hunting. The women continue to sit around the fire for awhile and nurse their children. [462] At about 10 o'clock the women and children, as well as the girls, go out in a group to look for veldkost. Almost every woman [482] old enough to bear children carries a child on her back, while a second child often rides on her shoulders. The smaller boys stay at home and help the old people, who get up about an hour later [361] to fetch water. The huts are never located close to the water: 1. because people get sick close to the water; 2. because the lions come there; 3. because the game would be frightened away. The watering place itself is visited quite irregularly, because in disturbed times the enemy lurks there, and occasionally also the police. The male and female doctors go into the bush, usually not very far, alone or only with a disciple, to gather medicine. Around four o'clock in the afternoon the women come back and begin to cook. Around this time, too, the men begin to return with the spoils of the hunt. When the sun goes down, [264] they all sit by the fire and eat. Each family has its own fire. Then some will continue to chat for awhile, while others go to sleep, and gradually it becomes quiet.

[264] They do not eat at noon. From eleven to four o'clock the camp is deserted, and even the old people sleep somewhere in the forest. The hunters and the women collecting veldkost also [27] take a long midday rest during the hot afternoon hours. During the hot season, on the other hand, they set out soon after midnight to hunt and search for veldkost, because later in the day the sand is too hot to walk on.

6. The Divisions of the Year

805 The Bushmen reckon time according to full moons, for example, agreeing to meet after three or four full moons, and

[27 cont.]

805 the like, but they have only ten months. They name them after terrestrial phenomena.

!Kai dsáa	It is cold (winter)	June
gama /ēi	The grass burns	July-August
!hoá sori	It is hot	September-October
!u shē	The rain begins	November
≠khŏ shē	The trees bloom	December
/hō //gāi	It is raining	January
!Khan //gai	The veldkost is coming up	February
!nā -mā	The veldkost is ripe	March
ao rē //kum //kā	The rain is stopping	April
!hoá //gai	The year is at an end	May

They reckon also from harvest to harvest.

221 The most beautiful time in the life of the Bushman is March and April. Even those who live on the farms hurry into the wilderness at that time. At certain places where there are many fruit trees, such as the marula, the friendly kin groups gather from far and wide. Here the young men look for brides, and there is much dancing, because at this time the women are not tired from seeking veldkost which is now to be found everywhere. Hunting yields less at this time, since the game has water and pasture everywhere.

Soon, however, the leaves fall, the bush forest becomes red and yellow, the migratory birds fly northward, and then the first cold nights set in. Now the "Dsao" (spirits of sickness) come and [753] bring sickness to the chest. At the end of May and the beginning of July [sic] the first frosts set in. Now the Bushmen move to the watering places, which stay open for a long time. The nights now [374] become torture. Burns on the skin of the chest and abdomen occur frequently, because the Bushmen now lie very close to the [513] fire to sleep. Around this time, some of the kin groups already begin to suffer distress, because the game moves to other regions where there is still some pasture. In July the grass is finally dry [224] enough so that it can be set afire. Now the entire steppe burns. The young grass again attracts the game; hunting improves. The hot season is the worst period; the resting places of the game are quite uncertain, veldkost becomes increasingly scant, and the

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire.

[40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by
[439] the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be-
[422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should
[304] be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out
177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked
415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are
278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen.
● 805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions;
211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary.
[614] To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so
[888] great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements
[623] between the chief and the other old men.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 25]

[41 cont.]

622 between the chief and the other old men. When the village chief dies, it is not his eldest son, but the eldest son of his sister [Figs. 13 and 14 appear here] who takes over the village.

582 There are certain marriage prohibitions and requirements, which are illustrated by the following schema.

[534]

Fig. 13. Dance Drum of the !Kung (Kuntsas). (Greatly reduced.)

[805]
[211]

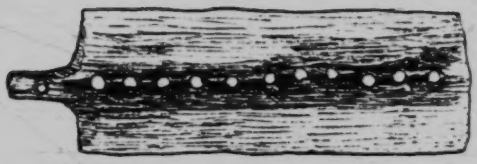

Fig. 14. Calendar Board of the !Kung (actual size [as shown in the original text]).

Father's brother X wife	Father X mother	Father's sister X husband
Brother--sister	A--sister	Cousin (male) -- cousin (female

If A is taken as an example, the children of his father's sister are his cousins. Marriage with these cousins is prohibited. On the other hand, A must marry the father's brother's daughter if she so desires. The man on his part, however, cannot force the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

521 lifted her head and her face showed in the firelight; her eyes shone quite yellow and she looked dangerous, like a leopard, as she glared in the direction of his voice.

361 On my way home I passed Lazy Kwi's house, which his
342 wife had started in his absence, and as she had planned a large scherm and had already built the framework, many large branches stuck upright in the ground, but had not yet covered it with grass, I could see Lazy Kwi inside. He was between me and his fire, and in silhouette against the red light he looked like a creature in a cage, for he was peering through the lattice of branches to see who was passing by. I stopped
252 to show who I was, and noticed a bird roasting by his fire, a little duck which must have been snared by Lazy Kwi's old father-in-law. It was plucked and trussed and tied to a stick which was pushed into the ground so that the duck hung over the coals. It looked about done to me, so I asked Lazy Kwi, who was obviously alone with it, awake only to tend it, if it wasn't ready, and Lazy Kwi looked first at me, then at the
[805 82] duck, then up at the sky, and shook his head. He was timing it by a star, he explained, and the star had risen but wasn't high enough yet, so I said good-night and went home and left him in his lattice; and just before I went to sleep I heard great shouts of laughter, for Toma had found someone who hadn't heard the lion story and was telling it again.

136
278 arrows: Diamphidia nigro-ornata and Polycada flexuosa. These are described in Chapter VI.

Climate

132
[133] The Kalahari Desert has a mean elevation of 3,000 feet above sea level and lies within the summer rainfall area of Southern Africa. These factors contribute to a climatic regime that is characterized by hot summers with a three to four month rainy season, and by moderate to cool winters without rainfall.

132
805 Five seasons may be distinguished in the Dobe area. Most Bushmen recognize five (although some divide the year into eight or more seasons) and their sbheme will be followed here.

Seasons

1. !huma (spring rains) -- The Bushman year begins in October or November with the onset of the first rains. These consist of light convectional thundershowers that often fall on one area and miss other areas entirely. The first rains have the effect of triggering growth and reproduction in the flora and fauna and may overnight transform the landscape from a parched and dry state to one of lush greenery.

2. bara (main summer rains) -- These rains fall from December to March and coincide with the season of plentiful food. There is a wide variation from year to year in the

132 805 dates of onset and termination of the main rains. For instance, in 1963-64, the major rains were concentrated in an eight-day period in late November and early December and were very light during the next three months. In the following rainy season, 1964-65, the major rains came later. They were only just beginning when we left the study area in [137] January, 1965. During the period of the main rains, the [312] major summer foods (fruits, berries, melons) make their [262] appearance, and there is standing water in the molapos far from the permanent wells.

3. ≠obe (autumn) -- The autumn season is brief. In [312] 1964, it fell in April after the rains had ceased. The weather remains warm and the high evaporation rates rapidly dry out the pools of summer water.

4. :gum (winter) -- This cold dry season extends from May through August. It is heralded by a sharp drop in nightly temperatures and during 1964 the Dobe area experienced six weeks of freezing or near-freezing nights in June and July. The days are clear and, by tropical standards, cool, often characterized by strong dessicating winds from the south and west with gusts estimated at up to 40 knots. [312] Water is available only at the permanent wells and plant foods [262] become increasingly scarce as the season progresses.

5. :gā (early spring) -- This season begins in late

132
• 805
[312]
[262]

August with a rapid increase in daily temperatures and ends in October or November with the onset of the first rains. It is a hot dry period during which water and food supply reach their annual low levels. However, the increasing day-length appears to prepare the flora and fauna for the season of reproduction which is triggered by the first rains.

Rainfall

Until 1961 there was no weather station in the central !Kung interior. In that year a rain gauge and other recording instruments were established at Tsumkhwe, South West Africa, a government station 35 miles west of Dobe. The data from this station are not available to the author. The only other sources of rainfall data are the author's fifteen-month series of measurements made at Dobe (1963-64) and the long-term records from stations on the periphery of the Kalahari. The peripheral stations and their rainfall are listed below:

South West Africa

Epukiro - (200 miles southwest of Dobe) - 13.2 inches per annum.

Grootfontein - (200 miles west of Dobe and 1,000 feet higher in elevation) - 17.3 inches per annum.

Bechuanaland Protectorate

Ghanzi - (175 miles south of Dobe) - 18.5 inches per annum.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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immune to the effects of snake and scorpion poison.[1] One of these 751
animals is killed, and its poison, diluted with water and urine, is rubbed in small quantities into small cuts made in the skin, or the poison sacs are pulped and boiled, and then swallowed in small doses. Schinz records an experiment made by himself on a Bushman doctor [114]
claiming this immunity.[2] He selected twelve scorpions and placed them, by means of forceps, on different parts of the man's body—hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. Almost all of them stung the flesh deeply once or twice, in every instance causing a large drop of white matter to appear; then they crawled about leisurely, but made no further attempts at stinging. "The old man maintained that he felt no pain, and I have no reason to distrust him, as he would hardly have allowed himself to be stung by scorpions on the most sensitive parts of his body, merely to satisfy my curiosity, if the poison would have had any effects on him; even a full hour after our attempt the spots where he had been stung showed not the slightest change." This experiment seems therefore to show that there may be some foundation to the claim of immunity. The [756]
inoculation was apparently made in this case during the apprenticeship of the "doctor", under the direction of his master. Our main authorities on the Bushmen do not mention this practice at all, but I have myself spoken to several detribalized Bushmen and Nama in Little Namaqualand who claimed a similar immunity. Unfortunately I neglected to inquire further into the matter, beyond ascertaining the means of immunization.

Knowledge of Times and Seasons

In their system of time-reckoning the Bushmen make use chiefly 805
of meteorological elements, based on recurrent changes in wind and weather, and of astronomical elements, based on observations of the sun, stars, and moon. Their larger divisions of time are the [221]
seasons, which, owing to their effect on the food supply and on the [182]
movements of the people, assume a pronounced importance in Bushman life. The division of the seasons is established by the rainfall. [132]
The Cape Bushmen distinguished four seasons, rendered by Bleek [184]
and Lloyd in the English equivalents of spring, summer, autumn, and winter, but the exact meaning of the native terms is not given.

[1] Campbell, *Journey in S. Africa*, 441; Thompson, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 399; Cornell, *The Glamour of Prospecting*, 232.
[2] Op. cit., 395–6.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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184 805 The Naron have three seasons: spring, when the birds mate and the first flowers come, from about August to October; summer, when it is hot and the rain falls, or is expected, from November to March; and winter, or the cold time, from April to July. The !O Kung also have three seasons: the cold dry time from about April to September, the first rains from then to about November, and the real rainy season from about December to March or April. The Auen, Kung, and Heikum, on the other hand, distinguish four seasons: the cold dry season (winter), the small or first rainy season (early spring), the hot, dry season (spring and early summer), and the big or second rainy season (late summer). When all the seasons have passed, a year is finished; but there is no clear conception of the year as a period of time, nor do they reckon in years. Mothers can tell in which season their babies were born, and for three or four years know how many seasons ago it was, but after that they get confused. Hence, for instance, no person knows his positive age, although his comparative age as regards the other members of the family is always well established.[1]

184 805 821 The Naron observe the sun sufficiently to know that it makes a shorter path in winter than in summer, but apparently the stars foretell the coming of the seasons better. When the Pleiades rise just before dawn, the cold is due; when they come before midnight, spring is at hand. Besides the Pleiades the Naron also have names for the Southern Cross, Orion, the Milky Way, and the Great Bear, which is just visible at Sandfontein; and they know when each constellation will rise and set in the different seasons.[2]

184 821 The other North-Western Bushmen apparently take no special interest in the stars. The !O Kung, for instance, as we have seen, speak of all the stars as *//gaua*'s fires, and have no separate names for any of them; and the same seems to be true of the Kung and Heikum. The Cape Bushmen, on the other hand, were close observers of the movements of the stars and constellations, and had names for a great many of them. Thus Archernar is the "Star-digging-stick's stone" or the "Digging-stick's stone of Canopus", while Canopus itself is the "Bushman's rice star"; the Pointers to the Southern Cross are male lions; α, β, and γ Crucis are lionesses; Aldebaran is a male hartebeest, and Orion is a female hartebeest; Procyon a male

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Comparative Vocabularies*, passim; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 110; *idem*, *Naron*, 39; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 160; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 99.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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eland, Castor and Pollux his wives; the Magellanic Clouds a steenbok; 184
Orion's sword three male tortoises hung upon a stick, his belt three 821
female tortoises so hung, etc. As these names indicate, there is
a good deal of folklore centring in the stars, and indeed a considerable 184
part of the vast collections of Cape Bushman lore made by Bleek 773
and Lloyd relate to the heavenly bodies, which are regarded as once 821
having been men or animals before being transformed into their present state. In one tale, for instance, it is related that a girl of the early race (preceding the Bushmen) wished for a little light, so that the people might see to return home by night. She therefore threw wood-ashes into the sky and these became the Milky Way. In another, again, it is told how a girl, at the time of her puberty seclusion, saw some people eating together at a dassie's house of branches. As a result they and the house, fixed by her looks, became stars in the sky, where they are now to be seen as the Corona Australis.[1]

The Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, according to Dornan, 184
also "have considerable acquaintance with various groups or 821
prominent stars, and have names for them", but the only one mentioned by him is the Southern Cross, referred to as the "giraffe star" and said to be somewhat like this animal in appearance.[2]

For shorter lengths of time the Bushmen go by the Moon, but 805
they make no attempt to reckon how many moons there are in the year or in a season.[3] They observe the phases of the Moon closely, [821]
but seem to have no division of time into anything corresponding to weeks, although they readily pick up the European system of weeks [177]
when working for white people, and will come regularly on the seventh day for tobacco, etc. Otherwise, in their intercourse with [648]
white people, the wage, if not given daily, is demanded at the New Moon.[4]

The day is apparently divided according to the position of the sun, but no names have been recorded for any fixed divisions or parts of the day.

The notion of time is also used to indicate distance, for which there 804
are no special units. Generally distance is reckoned by the time it 805
823

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10 sq.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 165.
[3] Lebzelter says, however ("Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15) that the Eastern Kung have a "vegetation year" of 10 months. The year is reckoned from one veldkos harvest to another. He omits to give any further details.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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Bushmen FX10

804 takes to reach the place. If, for instance, a Bushman is asked how far a
805 certain waterhole is, he points to the part of the sky which the sun
823 will have reached by the time one gets to that waterhole; or, if it is far, he says: "One night on the way," or "two", etc.; or, again, if asked the length of a journey, he will name the places at which he slept or will sleep, touching a finger to his lips for each, then hold up the fingers, saying: "So many nights" (not days).[1]

802 In counting, they use only the numerals one and two quite
177 freely. Three they sometimes use, taking the Nama word for it, although they are more apt to speak of "two and one" than "three". For anything above three they generally make use of the word "many", although by the Northern Bushmen Nama or Bantu numerals may sometimes by substituted. These higher numerals, however, are evidently picked up from their neighbours by ear, and repeated without much consideration of their value, as, says Miss Bleek, a child of three will count in imitation of its seniors, varying the sequence of numerals each time. In some cases, among both the Cape
802 Bushmen and several of the North-Western tribes, such formations
[803] are also found as 4 = 2 + 2, 5 = 2 + 2 + 1, and so on up to ten. The numeral system of the Bushmen is thus essentially binary in principle. Occasionally, however, modifications occur suggestive of a quinary system. Thus in Naron the words for "four" mean "two fingers and two fingers", but "five" is "hand" (sometimes, however 2 + 2 + 1 fingers), "ten" is "both hands", "fifteen" "both hands, one foot"; and the same system occurs in Auen. As these words indicate, the Bushmen count larger numbers on their fingers. In counting, they begin with the little finger of the left hand, touching each finger in turn on the lips, then continue in the same manner from the thumb of the right hand. As a rule, it may be added, nothing that they want to count exceeds ten, indeed, hardly ever reaches that numeral![2]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 38; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.

[2] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; cf. Schmidl, "Zahl und Zählen in Afrika," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, xlv (1915), pp. 194–5, for a useful summary sketch of Bushman numeral systems.

[pp. 221-446 not processed
for the FX10 Bushmen file.
see category 116, FX13 Hottentot]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Eyes-on-His-Feet 539

≠*Gaolna*'s younger brother-in-law, his *tun/gama*, was named Eyes-on-His-Feet. He and ≠*Gaolna* went together to gather veldkos. They found *//karu*. After a time they came to a place where they wanted to stay and made a fire to roast the *//karu*. While they were sitting by the fire ≠*Gaolna* watched his *tun/gama*'s feet and saw what looked like eyes. He tossed dust on them and the eyes blinked. ≠*Gaolna* said, 'These are really his eyes. His face is just smooth. His eyes are on his feet.' ≠*Gaolna* then asked the *tun/gama* to lean over and press the *//karu* down into the ashes so that they would be all covered and would roast evenly. While the *tun/gama* was doing this, ≠*Gaolna* threw coals on his feet and burned his eyes. This weakened the *tun/gama* and ≠*Gaolna* was easily able to cover him all over with coals and roast him. While the *tun/gama* was roasting there was a sound, *tsi i its ii tsi ii* (like meat sizzling), and the *tun/gama* put a magic curse on ≠*Gaolna*'s mouth. When the *tun/gama* was well roasted, ≠*Gaolna* ate all he could of him and put what he could not eat into a bag. He then tried to eat the *//karu*. He put one up to his mouth but his mouth would not open. He took another. It fell down to the side. ≠*Gaolna* could neither speak nor eat. He put the *//karu* into the bag with the remains of the *tun/gama* and went back to his people in the werf and ordered them to make a dance to cure his mouth. He danced and danced with them and treated himself. While he was dancing, his wives took his bag and ate what was left of Eyes-on-His-Feet and all the *//karu* but one. [The story makes no point of the fact that they were eating their brother, albeit unknowingly, and one feels the omission hovering on the edge of being said.] Then they filled the bag with earth and put the *//karu* on top. Suddenly ≠*Gaolna*'s mouth was cured. He went to get his bag to finish his *tun/gama*, put in his hand, took some earth, and tossed it into his mouth. He spat and swore at his wives. 'You silly women,' he said, 'what have you done?' And he thought what he would do to them. Next evening he called for another dance. A woman got up to dance but ≠*Gaolna* said, 'No, I want a good singer to dance with me, not you.' At last ≠Tamsa, the wife who had put the earth in the bag, got up to dance. She danced around ≠*Gaolna*, he danced around her, and when she came near he beat her fiercely on the stomach with his stick, until her stomach hung down below her groin. She fell unconscious and all the other wives took her and ran away and treated and treated her, crying, until she was all right. This is why Bushmen have stomachs that hang down. [826]

≠Toma and /Qui thought this was an awful story. /Qui said he did not know why ≠*Gaolna* ate his *tun/gama*. He thought the reason could not have been mere hunger—after all, /Qui pointed out, he had *//karu*. There must have been some other reason. ≠Toma said, '≠*Gaolna* is evil. Even now he goes about killing people.' [811]

In another version the awfulness of eating a human being is modified by having Eyes-on-His-Feet come to life again. During the dance, ≠*Gaolna*'s stomach began to ache and make sounds and to swell, as with severe constipation. Suddenly it burst open and Eyes-on-His-Feet sprang out, as the wives had done after their laughter, whole and alive. In still another version ≠*Gaolna* turns ≠Tamsa into a bird called *chee*, a white and yellow bird about as big as a dove. This is one of the birds which the /Kung eat. They grab it in tree-holes when it is nesting. All my efforts to learn more about the possible identity of Eyes-on-His-Feet availed nothing. I wondered if he were not originally some veldkos, for instance, with a formation that suggested eyes, or an animal turned into a human being, or personified, like the paouw, but our /Kung informants did not know. The old people had not told them.

When my inquiries suggested to my informants that I expected them, possibly, to [154]

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776 The concept of ≠*Gaolna* as a powerful creator and a good being is based in the past. Schapera gives the following accounts: 'Vedder, who studied the Kung at Tsumeb, . . . speaks of *Hnwe* as a good being to whom the people attribute the creation and maintenance of all things.'[1] 'Lebzelter . . . says that all the groups [of Kung] investigated by him have "the belief in a supreme good being".'[2] The Western /Kung of the Oschimpoloveld believe he 'lives in a house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is often prayed to, especially for rain and hunting, as well as in case of illness because he made all things and can do everything and knows everything, and he is given the first offering of the chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth, and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.'[3]

Schapera also notes that Lebzelter reports that *Xu* of the Heikum is regarded almost everywhere among them 'as the creator of all things, including mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.'[4]

This god of the /Kung and the Heikum in the past was not the death-giver. The [761 old //*Gauwa*, as I shall presently describe, held that role. But now, in believing that ●811] the great god of the east is all-powerful, the /Kung have logically attributed to him the control over death, and hold him ultimately responsible for it. But their concept of ≠*Gaolna*, first and foremost, is that of the creator.

776 It is said that ≠*Gaolna* created himself. One informant, /Tik/ay, claimed that he 773 came out of the water, but others said they were not told this by the old people. I could discover no formulated myth of creation which everybody knew or anything [154] which told how he created himself. People simply said they did not know. /U turned on me and asked me if I knew. When I said I did not, she snapped, How, then, did I expect her to know? After creating himself, ≠*Gaolna* created the lesser god and then their two wives. It was stated quite specifically that there were only two wives and that the gods never took human wives. This is in contrast to the old ≠*Gaolna* of the tales, who gives the impression that he had a bevy of wives.

The great god created the earth and gave it its name, ≠*kxa*. In the earth he created holes for water and he created water. They were not told just how he created these things, the people said. He has an iron of his own with which he works, a */ka* (*/ka* is metal). Some metal tool is what he had, a special one. They 'did not see it', they said, and do not know just what kind of a tool it is or what substances he may have worked with, but they know that he is the creator and the commander of metal.

After the earth, ≠*Gaolna* made the sky in a dome over the earth, and he made rain, */ga*. He made gentle female rain, */gadi*, and violent male rain, */ga/go*. The people do not say freely the word */ga/go* because they fear the violent rains. They use a respect word, */noi*, when they speak to the rain and plead with it to be gentle. ≠*Gaolna* made thunder and lightning.

After the rain, he made the sun. Sun is a 'death thing' which dries up the veldkos

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 183. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., p. 184. [4] Ibid., pp. 184–5.

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and the water-holes. He made the moon and the stars, all at the same time. Then 776
he made the wind. He is the creator of all these things and he commands their 773
movements.

He created the things that grow from the ground and he created animals and painted their stripes and markings on them and gave them their names. Then he created human beings. He created animals as animals and human beings as human beings. He commanded them to breathe. Without breath they would not live. 'First was woman and then man. The man asked the woman to give him fire. She did. The woman got some veldkos and was eating it. Then the man married the woman. This was one man's cryptic account of the creation. Something about the creation of fire seems to have been left out. ≠*Gao/na* named the first woman Khwova for his wife and he named the first man ≠Gao for himself.

From the beginning he created men and women to be mortal. He turns the spirits of the dead into ||*ganwasi* and commands them to live in the sky with him and be his servants. He orders them to go down to earth, to mortals, to carry sickness or death to them, or he may order them to carry good fortune.

≠*Gao/na* has a medicine with which he can renew himself at any time. He also renews all the beings who live in the sky with him. They get old and he renews them. [B11] ●
They do not die. But he has not given human beings that medicine and the /Kung said, 'We cannot make it.' (They pointed out that in this quality the medicine is like water. They cannot create water. 'We know how to dig and make the holes but we cannot create the water,' they said.)

≠*Gao/na* gave arrows and bows and assegais to human beings and he gave digging-sticks. He gave people the knowledge to make all the things which they now make and taught them to do all they know how to do. 'If he did not want us to know he [B11]
would not have taught us.' He commanded human beings to dig for food with their sticks and to hunt with their weapons. From the beginning they did these things.

≠*Gao/na* created all the medicines. (The /Kung word for both material substances [757]
used as medicines and magic or spiritual medicine is *n/um*.) He created the medicine which is in the medicine songs to cure the people and he created all the other medicines. He put medicine power in the medicine men (*n/um kxau* is medicine man, owner of medicine), and he calls that power *gaoxa*, the same respect word which people may use for him when they fear to say his name.

≠*Gao/na* commanded men and women to marry and live together and have children. He controls the actions of people. If they do good deeds or bad deeds it [577]
has been under his control. He arranges all things.

Several times in our talks I asked if the great creator controlled the lives of Bush- 776
men only, or if he controlled all the people on earth. It was not surprising that the /Kung's thinking on this point was vague and contradictory. Some said, 'He is over all people. He can kill anybody.' (They had said this same thing about *Ko*.) Others claimed that ≠*Gao/na* and ||*Gauwa* as well were 'only for Bushmen'. White people and black people, they said, have their own gods.

≠Gao/na's *Appearance and Dwelling Place*

The /Gikwe Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate visualize the protagonist of their old tales, *Pisibore*, as being of supernatural size. In the tortures of his death

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[482] in the pouches of their karosses along with their babies. This puts a strict limit upon
559 any desire to possess great quantities of property in movables. Furthermore, gift-
556 giving keeps all personal property moving in a current through the region and no
595 one possesses very much more than another. The determining factors in obtaining
[422] more than one wife are apt to be the personalities of the individuals and the man's
[431] ability to hunt. 'Women love meat', we were told, and like their husbands to be good hunters.

The number of wives a man may have is not regulated by social rules but by his
595 ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. None of the nine polygynists in the band had more than two. However, we heard of a man named Gao, now dead, who had had four wives all at one time. He had been a fabulous hunter and maker of arrows and was the father of the /Ti/kay who is the husband of two sisters, /Naoka and /Nai, in Band 9.

Only two of the nine pairs of co-wives had traceable consanguineous relationship. The above /Ti/kay's wives were sisters—the only ones—and, in Band 10, Old ≠Gao's younger wife, /Ghia, was the BrDa of his older wife, Bau.

/Kwi, sister, is the term which co-wives apply to each other, unless they have the
[601] same name, in which case they term each other *!gu!na*. The /Kung, though they do not institutionalize the sororate, say it is a good idea to marry sisters because they are not so likely to be jealous of each other as other women. /Ti/kay's wives, who appeared to live in harmony and affection and to support each other, provided an example of the validity of this opinion.

Marriage to the same man gives co-wives the joking relationship, and they do not observe the sitting or the name avoidance, though they may have avoided each other before marriage.

/Kung co-wives share one scherm and one family fire. The scherm, the little
[342] shelter of branches and grass which the women build, a half hemisphere in shape, is only 3 to 4 ft. wide on the open side, about 3 ft. deep at the centre, perhaps 4 to 5 ft. high at the peak. In it and in front of it, beside their one fire, the two wives live, share their man, share the food they gather, share the work of fetching water and wood, nurse each other's babies, and co-operate in whatever degree of harmony their spirits can attain.

Husbands and wives may sleep separately or lie close together, side by side, or
513 feet to feet. The woman holds her infant in her arms. Young children sleep near by bundled together, two or three in one kaross. Girls at about seven or eight go to sleep with a grandmother or a widowed friend or relative. The boys of the band, beginning at the same age, all sleep at a boys' fire.

[595] /Ti/kay (Band 9), husband of the two attractive sisters, sees to it that his wives lie
[821] close to him, especially on cold nights, one on each side. Sleeping thus they were like the three stars of Orion which we call the Belt, but which the /Kung say are three zebras, two females with a male between them.

513 It is under such conditions that the /Kung usually have sexual intercourse—at
833 night, in their sleeping place. They cover themselves with their karosses and are very discreet. The position is to lie on the side, the man at the back of the woman. Men pull the labia of the women before intercourse. The wives of /Ti/kay told me that they took pleasure in intercourse. I asked them if they had orgasms. We had

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585 then come with us when we leave tomorrow to gather *tsi*. He will hunt from that
[159] place and get us some meat.'
[183] The ritual elements in the wedding ceremony, in so far as we observed, were as follows: (1) carrying the bride so that her feet do not touch the ground; (2) covering her head so that the sun does not shine upon it; (3) waiting till the sun has set before taking her to the wedding scherm; (4) the fact that the scherm is specially built and set apart from the others; (5) anointing with fat; (6) painting a design on the forehead and cheeks with powdered red stone; (7) lighting the wedding fire with brands from the fires of the bride's and groom's parents.

585 Apart from the third and seventh, all these elements occur also in the Ceremony of
881 the First Menstruation, a more elaborate and prolonged ceremony from which the
[174] /Kung wedding ceremony undoubtedly derives. The design on the face is the same; the girl's feet must not touch the ground from the instant her first menstruation begins to the end of the period, when she is washed and anointed with both eland or other fat and the oil of the *tsi* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch).[1] When the girl is taken to her special scherm or moved out of it to urinate or defecate she is carried on the back of a kinswoman. A kaross over her head shields her from the sun whether she is sitting in the scherm or being carried out.

Our endeavour to bring to light the meaning of the ritual elements yielded little. The meaning or origin of the design on the face, I was convinced, was not withheld but lost to memory, lore or myth. 'It is our custom' was all the people could tell me.

About the ritual of the feet not touching the ground, the custom frequently
[171] observed by divine kings and menstruating girls, the /Kung had no more illumination. They think that the carrying is the overcoming of the girl's symbolized modesty about going to the arms of her bridegroom, which she should properly feign even if she is eager to go, and her reluctance to separate from her own family: I think that when the attendants take hold of the bride and groom by the arm and pull them a little they symbolize the overcoming of reluctance and modesty and perhaps there is even a vestige of bride capture in that gesture, but of the feet not touching the ground the meaning is lost. Obviously, however, in this society the bride is equated to the
[174] menstruating girl. In the past the girl's wedding and her first menstruation may have been celebrated at one time.

The /Kung say that the sun is death-giving. When the three months of life-
585 giving rains are past, the sun dries up the water pools. It kills the fresh leaves and
821 fruits, dries the roots and berries, and would scorch the people if they did not find shade and dig shallow pits and lie in them covered lightly with sand which they have moistened with their urine for coolness. They pity the morning star, the *kuli |gaishay*, which crosses the sky all day ahead of the sun, has no branches to carry for shade and
593 cannot turn aside to rest under a tree. The sun is a 'death thing' and the bride
585 is shielded from it.
602 The most important element of behaviour with respect to kinship in the wedding

[113] [1] Robert Story, *Some Plants Used by the Bushmen in Obtaining Food and Water*, Department of Agriculture, Division of Botany, Union of South Africa, Botanical Survey, Memoir No. 30, 1958, p. 25. Dr. Story was a member of the 1955 and 1957 expeditions. We gratefully acknowledge whatever botanical identifications we mention as his.

/160 cont./

805 cold dry season,
warm dry season,
short rainy season,
rainy season.

Just as these various seasons of the year tend to be very irregular in the Kalahari, the Auin's division of the year also is quite variable.

821 There is only one designation, a collective name, for the starry sky.

173 I have not been able to detect any traces of a "history."

Only events going back at most two generations are transmitted as an oral tradition.

172 The Auin know nothing about the Bushman drawings.

At the watering place Kazupitzaub between Oas and Olifantskluft, in other words, in the Auin region, there are supposedly Bushman drawings on rock walls. The Auin call these drawings the "work of Satan." I should observe that this expression was given me by an interpreter who was unable to supply me with a better translation of the Bushman concept. In case I should once again go to this region, I shall report on this matter.

173 In their own opinion, the Auin have been living in the region they now occupy "as long as there have been human beings."

X. Counting and Calculating

802 Fingers and toes are used for counting.

Five is expressed by the word for hand, ten by two hands, 15 by two hands and one foot, 20 by two hands and two feet.

Among about 20 Rietfontein Auin, there was only one who could count beyond 20. I cannot say, however, whether this man may not have hit upon the idea through my suggestion. He counted up to 40.

[6 cont.]

101 account refers only to the latter.

821 [7] The sky is designated by them as !nanu áiba Éroba Kharésa ("rain house of god").

776 For god they have the expressions "Erob" and "χ'amab"
775 only "Erob" is used in prayers. χ'amab (1) has been preserved

1. χ indicates a very low gutteral click, for which I know of no notation.

in χ'amá //gu Khe = "people who are with god," in other words, the souls of the deceased in heaven. Everyone goes there, the good as well as the bad. Erob has no wife and no children. A human being has only one soul (!gau-ba). This soul goes to the heavenly house and remains there "until Erob makes new people from it." Here is a belief in the transmigration of souls, which, it must be admitted, is not thought through any further.

No spirits of the dead remain on earth. There are little
776 bush spirits, the gangorob; they are harmless and do nothing. There are no evil little spirits. They supposedly know nothing about Heiseb and /Nawa.

136 The supply of game is ample in the tall dry forests of the Otjimpolo Veld. There are also fish in the rainy season. The
[825] Bushmen call them "shiba" (Ovambo: oshi or ochi); in other words, originally they had no word for them.

224 The Bushmen are helpless against the lion (χ'oréba).
[825] They leave a region as soon as lions make it unsafe. "There is no point in hunting them."

The leopard (χ'nába) is hunted with dogs (ariba). The
[439] chiefs of Amboland pay a good price for the skin, since little princes and princesses are not carried in a litter made of cowhide, but in a leopard skin. The jackal (≠Khai-eba) and the Löffelhund (//aruba) [a fox-like wild dog of the subfamily Octocyoninae] are hunted with enthusiasm. "Aruba" probably corresponds to N. //arob = striped jackal.

Wild dogs, "Khere," !nube (N. !goub) are preferably
[825] avoided. No notice is taken of the hyena, ≠Khai-lasa (N. ≠heirab),
[262] and it is not eaten. When they come near the camp, it is not a
[787] good sign.

[7 cont.]

222 825 The honey badger, !uisa (N. !ous), which leads to the bees, is followed ever so eagerly.

224 The common wild pig (gariba), the kudu (daub), the gemsbok χ'uaba (N. /gaib), and all the small antelopes are hunted. Pits are no longer known, although they used to dig them in former times.

If they decide to go hunting, sexual intercourse must be [834] avoided the night before. 'In the evening the hunters go into the forest and spend the night there. Before dawn they rise and pray:

[539] Pu, pu, Eró, /nari dsu /ari mate — God, tomorrow early we receive.

When a piece of game has been killed, one of the hunters cuts a piece of flesh from the animal's body and hands it to the leader of the hunt. This meat is called am-shái-khe. A fire is made, and this piece is placed on it. When it is roasted, the leader cuts off a piece and shouts:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, ha gore, ha gore — Erob, Erob, Erob, eat, eat
i Khe Khandi ô — With us flesh.

After a pause:

ha lĕ a lĕ ha góre o Khandi ô — Come! Come! Let us eat flesh.

Now the roasted flesh is consumed. Nothing is thrown away or left behind for Erob.

Then the game is cut up, and everyone goes home with his portion.

136 Snakes are not rare, although they are by no means as common as in the stony regions of the southwest.

The boa constrictor eats human beings; if it catches a Bushman, it starts to consume him at the legs!

132 821 731 In spite of the timber forest, the danger of drought is great. Erob sends rain. When there is a drought, the Bushmen dance and pray:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, /ga !goro — Erob, Erob, Erob, we are dying of thirst
/ga-wi -ma ta re — Water give us.

177 776 782 [8] It is very interesting to observe how in these certainly very ancient hunting and rain prayers the former old heathen gods' names Huwe and χ'amab were replaced by the Christian "Ellob."

I asked the people whether they knew any other prayers and received the following answer: "We know very well that

[9 cont.]

586 Up to the birth of the first child, the marriage is dis-
595 solvable, but not thereafter. Monogamy is the rule; where
there is polygamy, the first wife is the "head wife." The eldest
596 brother of the head wife is the family head. The boys belong to
611 the family of the wife, and the daughters to the family of the
father.

582 The strictest exogamy prevails. Son and daughter may
marry neither into the father's kin group nor into the mother's
[587] kin group. On the other hand, a young widow is usually married
by one of her brothers-in-law.

551 The following kin-group names were reported to me:
!Nui-a, Dai, aben, orasi, Gombe, χ'am, χ'am-Kha.

805 The following times of the day are differentiated:

eruba, time before sunrise.

!khoasa, time of sunrise (N. khoa-am = to open, that is, the door for the sun is opened).

sorésa, "the sun shines."

sorésa ≠kam go, "the young sun goes," breakfast time. In effect, below the tropics one has the impression that the sun, after it has stood on the horizon for a while, moves toward the zenith with great speed.

sorésa !khoai go, "the sun goes back." Noon.

//gui-sa, "it declines (lies down)." Afternoon.

[512] ≠khai-am-go, "to rise and go." After hunting or searching for veldkost, the Bushmen usually take a rest before it is time to go home and start cooking (late afternoon).

≠kha-go, "to go through." (The sun goes through the gate of the night.) Dusk, sunset.

!khui-sa, to be evening.

dschu-ba, night (N. tsuχub).

● 821 These Bushmen have the idea that the old sun dies every
night and a new, young sun appears the next morning. That the
[171] moon dies every month and is resurrected again is a notion so
widespread in Africa that it is really unnecessary to make special
mention of it.

805 The year begins when a new rainy season sets in.

//hauba, "storms rise." Rainy season.

/10 cont./

123 Since I was able to become quite friendly with their "foreman," who possesses a small farm, I discovered some details concerning their outlook on life.

776 They believe in a supreme being which is not conceived of as a human being and which they call χ'amaba. Here we have H. Vedder's /Gamab of the Bergdama.

773 χ'amaba made everything, the sun, the moon, the stars, and also human beings. First he made the Whites, then the Blacks, and finally the Bushmen. They are unable to say how χ'amaba made human beings.

[372] The old Bushmen say that fire comes from the devil.
[776] Heiseb is the devil, according to them. Heiseb and the ostrich played together. The ostrich had the fire on his arm. While dancing the ostrich spread his wings, and Heiseb took the fire from him. Heiseb threw the fire brand behind him. There was a bush which started to burn. And there the people discovered the fire.

776 Heiseb is evil and only does evil. He is conceived as human in form. No one knows where he came from.

χ'amaba, on the other hand, is benevolent. People pray to him for help.

539 I took down the following prayers:

782 1. Prayer for rain: In olden times pieces of wood were
821 cut from the !Hawewa tree. It could not be felled. These pieces of wood were thrown into the fire, and as soon as the pungent smoke rose upward, the people sang in chorus:

χ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i a a God, give water to drink.
χ'amaba duwa /gam-i-i !hanusa God, give water rain,
anita(?) a a so that we may drink.

2. Prayer of thanks for rain: When the rain has finally come, a dance of joy is performed, and the following is sung:

χ'ámaba χ'ámaba χ'ámaba God, God, God
tũta tũta We have received, we have received
!hanusa /gam-i-i !hanusa /gam-i-i Rain water, rain water
tara ái /gam ái !hanusa tutasi We can drink, drink water, receive water.

[10 cont.]

539 χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!
[821]
271 [11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and
731 the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They [488] do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and [758] the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune. Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own.

271 One must have experienced personally the feeling that overcomes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can drink again!

539 3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a
782 journey:

[484] χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

[755] 4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor performs his ceremonies.

χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai kháira téve God, let our people rise again.

789 5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil: Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

821 They do not know anything to say about the sun (sorésa). The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

753 Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those
776 persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this, and there is no spirit of sickness.

776 There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the bush. They play tricks.

775 A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know [756] what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

/14 cont./

000 chronic, good-natured imbiber . . .

776 In heaven there is one god, Erob. Lightning (dábara)
[821] and rain (!nanus) are sent by him. He calls heaven χ'ameiba.
This word is very interesting. It can mean both "place of the
/15/ souls (χ'a) " or "place of the χ'amab." The souls
[775] (um-ské) go to heaven after death. "This is what they say,"
said the man, "I haven't been there yet."

He did not know Gauab and Heiseb. Concerning other spirits, he said that people had mentioned them, but he did not believe in them. The spirits are supposedly called "gangarob."
756 The old Bushmen had neither doctors nor medicines against ill-
753 nesses. To my question about what made people ill, he responded with philosophical equanimity: "If one becomes ill, he is ill like an animal." He knew nothing about the sun (soris)
[821] and moon (χ'ab). A sacred fire is unknown to him.
[778]

224 Of greatest interest is his report, undoubtedly based
782 upon autopsy, concerning an initial offering at the hunt. I give the report in literal translation:

"Before people go out to the hunt, they meet at an omsati tree (//Khaia-aib). There a fire is made. Each hunter rips off a number of leaves, spits on them, and throws them into the fire as he shouts:

[539] Érob, Érob, áu tere! God, God, help us!

"When the game has been killed, one first cuts a piece each from the lung, liver, and stomach and throws each piece singly to the side, saying all the while:

Érob úre, Érob úre! God take, God take!

[539] "Then they start to eat."

This function is performed by the one who has killed the game.

The following was communicated to me concerning the
881 social organization:
585

There are initiation ceremonies. The celebration of the first menstruation originally coincided with the wedding. On the first day of menstruation the girl went into a pontok especially constructed for this purpose. Then there was dancing for two or three days, and after the cessation of the menses the girl went to

[32 cont.]

222 Termites are captured in two ways. During the night holes are dug near the tall termite hills, and these holes are illuminated with wooden torches. A hide is placed on the floor of the hole, and soon so many termites are on it that the hide can be carried home. The second method is used to catch those termites that have no structures above ground, but have a network of corridors running horizontally immediately below the surface. A hole is dug deeper than the corridors, and the termites fall into it as they run frightened back and forth on their [33] horizontal paths. [821] This kind of termite serves as a weather prophet for the rain [787] doctor, since they construct the most openings facing upward when a rainy year is in prospect. The lion was not hunted. In olden 224 262 times, only the old people ate the large game. The flesh of predatory animals is forbidden to all children; on the other hand, there is no prohibition against eating hare.

224 Naturally, the Bushmen are very anxious to have success in hunting. !Khu himself, the great captain, brings luck in hunting. He orders the supreme //Gauab (/Nawa) to direct the arrow. The doctors always pray to the great captain to send hunting luck, but there is no specific formula. They do this "quietly to themselves." An old prospector in Kalkfeld told me that he had seen the following among the !Kung Bushmen: "Before they go hunting, they draw the outline of the animal in the sand and with all kinds of ceremonies they shoot an arrow into the drawing. Where the figure is hit, the game will also be struck."

I shall now render fairly literally the course of a kudu hunt as it was described to me by a Bushman: "When I have found a kudu track, then we follow it very quietly and when we have found the place where the kudu ate, then one must be very careful. One person goes ahead, and the others follow. Now, when I see the kudu standing, I take out the poisoned arrow and shoot. Then I look to see what the kudu is doing or shoot once more; then I follow him to see whether the arrow will drop out; if the arrow falls out, I take it and see how deeply it penetrated into the kudu. Then I have to go back to the other hunters and state exactly how everything was. Then we go home. One should not run after the kudu, but must leave it alone. The person who

Gastrointestinal Disorders

753 It is interesting to note that the doctrine of the importance
[171] of the liver and gall bladder in the origin of disease, which we find among all primitive and civilized peoples up to the humoral medicine of the previous century, is already present among the Bushmen. When the gall bladder is full, one becomes sick and
[755] vomits gall. Then the region of the liver is massaged, just as is done in the case of liver pains. Enlargement of the liver as the
[164] result of chronic malaria is common. The moon, which dies
[821] every month, also has gall sickness, and moonlight is the juice of the gall bladder vomited by it. Moonlight and gall are known
[164] by the same word (goo). Spleen tumor is especially common
757 among children. They have no medicine against splenalgia.
278 They have no medicine for inducing vomiting. It is induced by putting the finger or a feather into the mouth. To stop vomiting, one chews little twigs of the goro tree. The bitter wood of the liana (χ'áá-χ'áñ) is chewed for stomach-ache. In case of con-
[753] stipation the doctor must practice magic, for it is assumed that
[755] the dsao have tied the stool in the intestine, and the doctor must loosen and extract the cord, just as in the case of an inflammation of the throat. The patient may not eat anything and drink very little. In case of diarrhea, even the bleeding kind, the same medicine is taken as in the case of stomach-aches. Intestinal
147 worms are unknown. We already know from earlier reports that the
262 gastrointestinal tract of the Bushman can take all kinds of things that we cannot take. As the result of habituation from early childhood on, he can digest meat that has gone bad and the like, without any trouble (1). After a long period of hunger, he can consume

1. I myself witnessed a drastic example of this. I had brought a side of bacon from Swakopmund, which supposedly had been preserved for all eternity according to a special process. When I brought it out, it had a hideous smell, and in order to prevent the Bushmen from taking it and getting sick, I had it hung high on a tree. The

[52 cont.]

754 further. The belly of the unconscious person swells enormously.
755 When all other procedures have proved futile and someone remembers that this or that doctor has the magic medicine, he is called in, takes some of his bloodlike fluid from his horn, and first smears his own feet and then rubs the patient's feet and, above all, the patient's stomach in a circular massage. Gradually the swelling recedes, the patient gets up, sits down, and is cured.

This story, based upon the fact that there are roots with
648 bloodlike sap, became known by the farmers in a confused fashion and was the cause of the ridiculous fear of the secret poisons of the Bushmen that many farmers have.

15. The Elements

773 Heaven and earth, sun and moon, all was made by X'u,
821 the great captain, the supreme being. In the sun-scorched deserts inhabited by the Bushmen, the sun is no dispenser of mercy. During the hot season even the Bushman is forced to remain in the shade in the daytime, because the sand is so hot that he cannot walk on it.

The sun was a daughter of man. The Bushmen had seen her, and the men had to carry this daughter, but since she burned with such heat on their shoulders, the men had to frequently change places. When the shoulders of all the men were burned, they left the sun lying in the bush and did not take her to the huts. This is the place from which the sun rose. She is from the great captain.

When the sun sets, she sits down on the earth to eat. When it is to be day, one of her shoulderblades goes to the other side of the world where it appears as the sun. The sun's rays (/gam ǂhǂasn) are the arms of the sun. The eclipse of the sun (ǂKáo) is caused by the lions so that they can more easily eat human beings.

The Bushman becomes cheerful only when the cool of the evening arrives, and at the time of the full moon he celebrates his festivals. There is no question of moon worship, however, among the !Kung Bushmen I visited.

[52 cont.]

773 Concerning the moon, I was told: "The moon was also
821 carried by people. It was not as warm as the sun, but very heavy. So the men helped each other, and with great difficulty they brought it to the huts. The moon was a man. He said: 'I prefer to remain alone and do not wish to be among you.' Thereupon the Bushmen said: 'If you go alone into the desert, you will surely die.' But the moon did not obey, went out, and died. But then it woke up again and rose like the sun; therefore, like the latter, it is from the 'Great Captain.' When it disappears, it has died. When only one side of it is visible, then it is young. When it becomes smaller, then it is old. The color of the moon comes from its gall (/góo)."

The well-known story of the moon and the hare is told there as follows:

The moon once said to the hare: "I die and wake up again, you on earth should do the same." But the hare answered: "No, we cannot do that, we who are on earth, only you can do that because you are in the air, among us this is impossible; once we die, we do not wake up again." And the hare was right; it is still so today.

821 The eclipse of the moon, !nui dsao, is caused by the lions
[825] so that they can more easily steal into the Bushman huts.

[53] Comets, χ'u !gam, are stars of the great captain;
[777] they bring luck. When a shooting star, ≠gomma, falls, it is said,
[787] just as among us, that someone has died. The stars are the camp-
[775] fires of those spirits who at the command of the great captain come down and fetch the souls of the dying.

[823] Earthquakes, χ'áno !gee, are omens of sickness. The
[787] rainbow, !khâni !náo, indicates a good year for rain.

[782] What the Bushman begs and prays for is not sunshine but
[776] rain. The great captain alone dispenses rain.

Lightning and thunder are not beings in themselves, but are caused by rain. When someone is killed by lightning, it is said: "The rain has killed him." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder at a distance, the rain is saying: "Today I shall thunder over the whole earth." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder on various sides, the clouds are speaking to one another. And when they touch each other with their heads, the

[53 cont.]

821 rain comes down and the clouds extend over the whole world. The rain that has come down to earth does not stay there; the clouds again come forth from the earth. The rain obeys the great cap-
776 tain. In a storm the great captain knocks down the trees. If a
821 person says something bad about him, however, punishment is not long in coming. X 'u says to the rain: "You must now go and kill him." And the rain goes and kills the man with lightning. But when the great captain says to the rain, "You must go now and punish him," then the lightning merely strikes the windscreen so that the whole thing collapses and the evildoer is thrown out.
[952] Then the people come running, rub the unconscious person with medicine, and burn his skin with red-hot pieces of wood until he comes to again.

Thus the angry great captain metes out punishment.

751 The Bushman concerned, however, is far from either pri-
[782] vately or publicly begging the great captain for forgiveness. He
823 is convinced that this would do no good. On the contrary, he
821 puts his confidence in the following procedure: It is known that where lightning strikes quartz sand, so-called lightning tubes or fulgurites arise. This phenomenon has not remained hidden from the sharp eye of the Bushmen. My friends told me: There where lightning has struck one usually finds a stone called "rain tooth." The person brushed by lightning scratches his skin with this stone,
[224] rubs in medicine which is supposed to bring luck in hunting, and
[777] tries to hunt down a gemsbok. If he succeeds, he cooks the meat of the gemsbok with the rain tooth. If there is a second person in the horde who has previously been brushed by lightning, that person must eat the meat with him. Then medicine is made from this meat and other ingredients, and this is placed in the horn of a small bushbuck and carried around the neck by the person concerned.

751 When the "rain" comes again, he again goes to the hut
821 of the person struck, walks through the fire where the buck was cooked, takes a bone of the buck (these bones remain lying on the spot), and goes with it into the nearest tree. The bone cooks in the tree, and the scum comes out on the side and the fat below. When the rain has passed, the bone is again pulled out and cooked with gemsbok horn and duiker horn and flesh; then it is

[53 cont.]

751 burned to a tinder and pulverized to make a medicine. The per-
821 son struck now has incisions made on his tongue, forehead, cheeks, chest, and legs, into which fat is rubbed, and then this medicine is smeared on. Now, for the time being, he is safe from persecution by the rain.

16. Rain Magic

789 People turn directly to the great captain when they need
[756] rain. Not all doctors are able to procure rain, only the few who
796 enjoy the special favor of the great captain. Then a dance is organized, at which the doctors put themselves in the trance state described below. At the same time the following lament is repeated countless times:

[54]

[539] !garǎ̃ gurí dee oa ≠am	Why does it not rain?
X'uǎ dě rá /gaa !ǎi /gaa	Which lord is holding back the rain?
/gǎm khui hẽ	The sun is hot.
!kũng-ná gurí /gŏá /gŏá	Will man live?
//gauǎna tani /gee ≠gǎo	Are the spirits bringing winter?
!kung /goá hŏŏ !koa !kung ō dshn-ǎ̃	Where is man supposed to drink?
//gaa /a //gõě !kung /ñ a //gõě	If it is so, can man only die of thirst?
!kunǎ̃ //goě ne oa	What can man do now?
Ha-!kung tam hã̄ m tam ná /ñ gěě	We had better stay here because we have been abandoned!

756 Finally the great captain in heaven hears the lamenting.
789 The doctor runs from the dance place into the bush and sees that
787 a thin thread is let down from the sky. The doctor climbs up on
796 this thread. The great captain comes to meet him half way. As soon as the doctor sees the great captain, he throws a red powder (ocher with medicine) toward him. Now the great captain draws the doctor up and leads him to the heavenly house. In front of this house [Fig. 20 appears here] the doctor sees the spirits of
[775] his deceased colleagues who year in, year out, stand before the house.

[54 cont.]

756 house. The doctor then begins to pray: "Lord, help us, the chil-
789 dren are dying, we are dying of thirst and hunger." He prays and
787 begs until the captain says: "It is good, I shall send water so that
796 the children will have water and veldkost." Then the great captain again accompanies the doctor halfway down. As soon as the doctor is down below, he lets go of the thread which is immediately drawn up. Now the people dance and sing, for the rain has come:

[539] /gá-é dsó-jā /gaa	We rejoice now over the rain.
//ē gā djusā !kho ádshója /ga	Then we rejoice all together.
//ē gā hin a /gaa /gaa	Then the rain comes.
da //goá dshn !gu da adschŏéa χ'u	Then the people praise the lord.

532]

Fig. 21. Spirits of the Dead and Rain Animal (from Bleek, Rock Paintings in South Africa etc., Pl. 58).

776 Another !Kung said to me: "The great captain in the sky
821 sends the rain and all that comes from above. If he does not want to, everything remains shut up. The rain is opened up above; a great vlei is there. I do not know the name of the great captain. The Hei//om call him Som-seb."

17. Religion

771 After a critical look at the sum of the conceptions determining
177 the religious life of the !Kung, one recognizes, as would naturally be expected in the case of such an ancient people, that the elements

[57 cont.]

776 Dama, and the translation of Gauab as "devil" comes from this
[771] circle of ideas. A baptized !Kung in /Nuiseb also told me that the Bushmen had been made by the devil, for the latter, as the old doctors reported to me, had once said to things: "You shall
[773] be a kudu, you an eland, you a Bushman," etc., and so everything was. Among the !Kung Bushmen /Nawa is by no means always evil. He directly brings luck on the hunt, and a kind of primitial offering is sent to him in that small pieces of the flesh of the game are thrown into the fire.

/Nawa, however, usually also sends sickness, in part with, and in part without the consent of the great captain. /Nawa is neither in heaven nor on earth, but runs about on threads in the air, where the other small spirits also run about. Whether or not /Nawa
[821] has a wife is unknown. The wind has no role in the tall bush forest, but my experience among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari and the Namib indicates that /Nawa is also connected in some way with the wind, since his most personal appearance is in the violent wind spouts, and among the Naukluft Bushmen one is not supposed to speak ill of the wind because the Gauab would overturn the windscreen.

Aside from /Nawa, there is a whole host of other small spirits, such as those who are at the disposal of the great captain
[821] and /Nawa and live in the sky, where the stars are their campfires. They are the ones who steal the soul from human beings and take it to the great captain. Then there are those who, like /Nawa, run to and fro on threads stretching between heaven and earth. Very evil little spirits live in the water, and the forest and veld are peopled by the little Gauab. These, however, are only the
[775] flesh-born spirits of deceased human beings. And with this we come to

18. Doctrine of the Soul and Belief in Immortality

775 The life principle of human beings is the soul, cha. The
[774] same word also means heart. This cha is immortal. The Gauab who live among the stars take it to the great captain's house. The souls of all peoples, even those of the Whites, live there on the

[64 cont.]

825 existence. The appearance of the ring-necked snake indicates
[787] misfortune.

Animistic conceptions are more pervasive in the world
774 picture of the Masarwa (2). According to Dornan, each thing is a

821 2. The Kalahari Bushmen (Dornan, op. cit., p. 165) have some knowledge of the stars. The Southern Cross is a giraffe, but the Cape Bushmen regard it as a group of lions. Some of the Bushmen regard the stars as animals or human beings who have gone up to the sky.

773 The following story is told: During the girls' initiation a girl who possessed magical powers nodded to some lions and they were immediately transformed into stars.

The Cape Bushmen told another story: During the girls' initiation a girl was quarreling with her mother because the latter refused to give her certain roots that may not be eaten at such times. The girl seized the roots and the ashes and threw them toward the sky. The roots became stars, the ashes became the Milky Way. -- Shooting stars signify misfortune.

774 kind of spirit. Human beings and animals can each transform
[825] themselves into the other. Individual doctors change into leopards, and many animals are regarded as other appearances of man, especially the springbok, the baboon, and a number of snakes. When a ring-necked snake approaches a village, it indicates
[177] death. Bantu influence is undoubtedly at work here.

The !Kung doctrine of two souls reappears in a different
[184] form among the Masarwa. The shadow of each thing, as well as
774 that of the human being, is its other soul. They believe that the
775 shadow soul remains in the vicinity of the grave, while the self walks in another place where it meets with the fathers. It is supposed to be warm there, and supposedly there is much game. In the beyond one acts the same as on this earth.

I AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[73 cont.]

726 Before going to war, the body is smeared with a magic medicine (/num). If old enemies are involved, the attack is carried out by subterfuge and stealth. Otherwise the opponents face each other in open battle. Depending upon the degree of enmity, they shoot at each other with either poisoned or unpoisoned arrows. Commonly, however, a conference of the leaders takes place before the beginning of the battle, which leads to a peaceful dispersal of the combatants. The principles of natural morality are honored and recognized both within and outside the horde. It is regarded as bad to inflict harm on another person or not to assist him if he is in need, not because any kind of punishment is to be feared, but because this is what elders have taught.

6. The World Picture and Religion

821 The sun is a man and is called /gam or kha//ã̃, the hunter. The moon is a woman and is called !nui or /nauga, "the one who runs around."

773 821 Formerly the sun, the moon, and the hare lived together. One day Mrs. Moon and Mr. Hare were having a quarrel. The moon split open the hare's snout with an ax. The hare then scratched the moon's face. This is still visible today. When the sun came home, he became angry and said: "Now we have had enough of the earth; now we shall go up so that the hare will be alone. I shall burn him from above, and I shall become very hot so that during the day he cannot run about as he wants to." The moon replied: "That is a good idea; at night I shall go and bring the cold, so that the hare will freeze when he looks for his food."

Since that time, the sun and moon are in the firmanent.

The dome of the sky is the covering of the sun and moon. When the sun and moon went up to the sky, they had little sacks of resin with them. They threw them away. The grains of resin are now the stars.

When the sun, moon, and hare were still together, the sun said, "Men shall not die," and the moon agreed with him. But the hare said: "No, people must die, because I, too, must die."

726 821 Rain is made by sorcerers; these are called Gowa. They do

ǂAUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[73 cont.]

776 821 [789] [535] [534] not die, but otherwise they are like people, except that they have black skin. When there is no rain, the Bushmen make a large fire and throw into it a root, "he," and a male turtle. As soon as it starts to rain, they dance, strike themselves on the thighs, and sing: "Ehe, ehe, ehe, ije, ije, ije, ehe, ehe, ehe," etc. The sorcerers can transform themselves into lions.

The rain sorcerer lives on earth as other people do. The rainbow is the rain dog. The clouds are the rain hairs.

At the time of new moon, they say the moon is sleeping. During the night the sun runs back to the east.

Thunder and lightning are not made by the rain, but by Gauab who among these Bushmen has become a personification of evil. Lightning is called "Gauab's knife."

The dark night sky is the covering of the moon and sun. The dome of the sky is called /gna. My informants left it an open question as to whether the sun perhaps "might be the greatest," the one who has made everything. On the other hand, Khu is likewise regarded as the creator. He made heaven and earth, and he also made human beings live. Khu is not a human being; he is good, but nothing more is known about him. He does not interfere in the course of the world and of human life. To be sure, they say, "Khu is the greatest, and Gauab is the smallest," but nonetheless Gauab plays a larger role in their lives. He controls thunder and lightning, he races over the steppe as a destructive wind spout, visible to all, and he also kills people by tearing out their souls and making a little Gauab out of them. This little Gauab in turn runs about in the bush and does all kinds of evil things.

[74] There is a secret moon cult among the Naron. They 794 787 821 pray to the new moon for rain. In olden times certain stars, especially the morning star and the Southern Cross, which they call "fire shoe," are also supposed to have been invoked. The story of 773 821 the moon and the hare is told in the following way: The moon said: "People must die and arise again, just as I die and return again." But the hare contradicted her and said that people should remain dead. The moon then became angry and cut the hare's mouth with a hoe.

"The moon is an old man, and the sun a young girl, his wife. First the moon goes under the sky, and then the sun follows behind

[74 cont.]

773 him. They go to their huts which are under the horizon in the
● 8 21 west. At night or during the day, respectively, they go back to their huts in the east; one can hear them but cannot see them."

114 776 Kaufmann was unable to discover anything concrete concerning the high gods of the ≠Auin. Concerning the Naron, Bleek
776 relates that a curious mixture of religious conceptions has come about. A central position is occupied by Hise or Hyesa, who is designated as !Khuba or !X'uba by the adult men. The old people knew nothing about this. The Nama designate !Khub as master or lord, and this word is used by a number of missionaries for Christ. These elders maintain that this concept has been adopted
[177] from the Nama. Formerly they only knew Hise, who lived in the east. Hise is evidently the same as Heitsi Aibib (literally, "the first tree").

The Naron relate that in olden times both the trees and the
773 animals were human beings who were transformed by Hise into their present shapes. Then Hise called the chiefs of the Whites and Blacks and said to them: "Take cows and goats and live with them." But to the first chiefs of the Bushmen he said: "Take the antelopes and live on them; make traps and hunt and live in the bush."

The expression Huwu or Huwuba is known and is supposed to
776 designate the great captain of the men in the north. The details given by Miss Bleek concerning //Gauwa are interesting. In the opinion of the Naron and ≠Auin, //Gauwa is the spirit of a de-
[775] ceased person. Medicine men can also see these spirits; the
[776] women can only hear them. Many a woman declared that only men who had gone through the initiation ceremony and who have two scars between the eyebrows can become //Gauwa. A strong, howling wind is also designated as //Gauwa, however. A few individuals also believe in a chief spirit by this name, who lives near Hise in the east and to whose house the spirits return by day. Some designate //Gauwa as the younger brother of Hise; others identify him with the latter.

The Naron put both masculine and feminine endings on the word Hise. Among the ≠Auin he appears during their dances at

N/OW

LORNA MARSHALL

821 *N/ow*[1] is a belief concerning rain and cold which is held by the /Kung Bushmen in the region around Nyae Nyae in South West Africa.

132 About ten inches of rain falls in an average year in this part of the Kalahari Desert and sinks into the deep sands. There is no run-off in streams and there are few water
137 holes. The rain is sufficient to support a covering vegetation of grass, shrubs, and scrubby trees. The vegetation includes numerous edible roots, tubers, leaves, fruits, and nuts, for which the Afrikaans language provides the convenient word *veldkos*.

105 The /Kung, the only inhabitants of the interior of this particular region, are
821 nomadic hunters and gatherers. If the rains are poor and the veldkos dry and sparse, the people suffer. Rain, they say, is life-giving; sun is death-giving.

132 Summer is the season of the 'big rains' in the western Kalahari. 'Little rains'—a few scant showers—may fall in September, October, and November. The 'big rains' begin in late December or January and continue into March. The summer storms are awesome. Every day the winds drive monstrous clouds around the sky, which domes a horizon as flat as the sea. They breed the storms. Lightning streaks from them. Thunder roars and rumbles. The earth sucks in their deluges, hissing.

821 The /Kung say that thin clouds which give no rain are male. They call them */now*.[2] The big rain clouds are female. White ones they call *//ga kwe disi*—*//ga* means cloud or rain, *disi* means females.[3] The enormous grey clouds with rain pouring from them the /Kung call */kwesi* (zebras), because they are so fleet and, though a person may think he is far from the rain, it comes swiftly and is on him. We have seen Bushmen, caught without shelter in the storms, shivering so that their teeth chattered, saying they could perish in such rain.

[532] Rain itself is male and female, */ga /go* and */ga di*. The men one day drew in the sand the spoor of male and female rain. Male rain spoor was made with all five fingers held stiffly and plunged deeply into the sand, to make big holes. Male rain breaks the trees and beats down the fruits, the men told us. It is (like) a fight, and may kill a person. Thunder and lightning accompany it, and sometimes hail. Female rain has tiny drops and does not spoil anything; it beautifies the trees and the grass and makes the veldkos grow. Its spoor was made by smoothing out a place in the sand and cover-
[532] ing it closely with tiny dots. Gao said a person (anyone) may speak to the rain, saying, 'You are doing very well', or, 'Fall silently. Don't make such a noise. Don't be

[1] We wish to thank both Dr. Mary Douglas and Professor I. Schapera for reading the manuscript about *n/ow* and for making several helpful suggestions.

[2] The /Kung language has four clicks: / is the symbol for the dental click, ≠ for the alveolar, / for the alveolar palatal, and // for the lateral.

[3] We did not know how to translate *kwe*, which occurs very often. It seemed sometimes to be a sort of article and we did not work on it especially. We regret not having done so because Miss Bleek, in her *Bushman Dictionary* (American Oriental Society, New Haven, Connecticut, 1956), records in the Auen or //K"au-//en language, which she says is very like the /Kung and which she places south of the /Kung, the phrase */ga -k"wisi*, meaning rain's hair or cloud. In /Kung */ga* and *//ga* both mean rain. We now wonder if *kwe* should be *kwi* and if it means hair in the phrase *//ga kwe disi*.

dangerous.' When they do they use the word *n/oi*. It is a word for gentle rain, and also a respect word. They use it for male rain when they are afraid of it and avoid its real name, */ga /go*.

The rains of the western Kalahari are local, falling from clouds which the winds herd. They may fill one pan and miss another. Laurence Marshall spent one whole night, tentless, in a drenching downpour, to find in the morning that a mile away no rain had fallen. But by and large the rains are sufficient in quantity and well enough dispersed to fill most of the water-holes, pans, and hollow trees, and to revive the growing things, so that the autumn months, which follow the rains, are good—the best of the year. Then the /Kung may travel anywhere within their territories to hunt and gather the fresh veldkos. The rains are life-giving.

Winter is the season of dryness. It is also the season of burning sun in the cloudless sky by day and freezing cold when the sun sets. Bitter winds catch up the sparks of the fires at night and whirl them in blazing streaks into the darkness. If water is left in an open bowl, it may be ice in the morning. By mid-winter, July, there has been no rain for three or four months. The pans and small water-holes are dry. Though there are still foods to be gathered, like the mangetti nuts in the northern forest, there is no water on the route, nor in the white sand dunes where the mangettis grow, and the people cannot carry enough in their ostrich-egg shells to go to the mangettis and return. In 7,500 square miles of the interior of the region around Nyae Nyae, there are only five water-holes which do not dry up in the winter and spring. The /Kung bands must gather around whatever permanent water-hole they belong to and restrict their hunting and gathering trips to conform one way or another to the problem of water. This region, incidentally, does not abound in tsama melons and, though there are succulent so-called ' water ' roots to be found, they seem not to be sufficient to support whole bands for long. The Nyae Nyae bands, it appears, cannot, or at least do not, base themselves for long periods away from their water-holes.

The spring months which follow the dry months of winter are the dangerous months. The sun is scorching. Fruits and leaves shrivel; the edible roots, stirred by the few tantalizing drops of the little rains, or just because it is spring, give up their juices to the first new shoots and are dry and bitter to eat. The people longingly await the rains, saying it is the sun which dries the water-holes and the plant foods. The /Kung of this region use one word for both sun and dryness, */kam*, and say the sun is death-giving.

In their beliefs about *n/ow*,[1] which they think influences the weather, as this paper will describe, they make an antithesis between rain and cold. This seems paradoxical when one experiences the devastating heat of the sun in September, October, and November, but the resolution of the paradox may lie in the fact that the hardships of the dry seasons begin with the rainless winter months and their bitterly cold nights, so that sun, dryness, cold and want become a complex which is in antithesis to rain and plenty. *N/ow* is called ' bad ' if it brings cold, ' good ' if it brings rain.

Mrs. Hoernlé[2] records a Hottentot belief called */nau*. The word appears to be

[1] We spell the /Kung word *n/ow* in this way because it rhymes with ' how '. We wish to distinguish it from another /Kung word, */nau*, which it closely resembles, but which has a slightly shorter, more [illegible] sound. */Nau* means ' old man ', according to Miss Bleek's *Bushmen Dictionary*. We heard it used as a term of respect in addressing old men.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., ' Certain Rites of Transition and the Conception of */nau* among the Hottentots ', *Harvard African Studies*, ii (1918), pp. 75–77.

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821 171 192 similar to the /Kung word *n/ow* in sound but refers to a different belief. In the /Kung belief, *n/ow* influences rain. The Hottentot concept of */nau* supposes a state of being which exists when people are in periods of crisis in their lives. Professor Schapera[1] says of the state of */nau*, summarizing Mrs. Hoernlé's analysis:

> All periods of crisis in the life of a Hottentot involve his separation from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis is exposed to danger on every side; he must retire from contact with other people, and take special care of himself. But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things upon which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence he is secluded, and must abstain scrupulously from his usual tasks.
>
> Such a person is said to be */nau*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay into that group of his people already possessing the new characteristic he has acquired, in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more.

Remarried persons or persons newly widowed are examples.

171 796 821 114 Mrs. Hoernlé records a rain ceremony of the Hottentots which has several elements in common with the /Kung belief about *n/ow*. The Hottentot ceremony is called the *guri≠ab* (yearly killing).[2] Professor Schapera's[3] description of the *guri≠ab*, which follows, is, as he says, based mainly on Mrs. Hoernlé's account.

> . . . It [the ceremony] is held, if possible, on the banks of a stream, and if there is no stream near by, then a trench is dug to simulate one. When the old men judge that the summer rains are due (about November or December), they tell the chief that it is time to hold the yearly feast, and he sends word to all the outlying families, and decides the time and spot for the ceremony.
>
> Each family contributes according to its means, all bringing milk, and those who can, some female animal, a cow or a ewe, which must be pregnant. The feast cannot be held at all without one pregnant animal. . . . fires are lit to cook the meat for the feast. In addition a fire is lit on the banks of the stream for the special part of the ceremony. The animals are killed and cut up very carefully, so as to preserve intact the uteri, which are kept till after the feast. Eating apparently goes on most of the time until all the food is finished.
>
> When the fire at the riverside is ready, and a channel has been made to the river or stream, the old men of the tribe who are good at prophesying take the uteri, hold them over the fire and pierce them with sticks so that the uterine fluid flows directly through the fire and down the river. At the same time milk in plenty and fat from the animals are thrown on the fire, so that liquid really flows, and great clouds of smoke rise into the sky. Meanwhile all the people round gather together in a great tribal dance, calling on *Tsui ||Goab* to send the rain in plenty, to make the ground soft and the grass green, so that they may have plenty of food for the year.

The uterine fluid, the fire and clouds of smoke rising into the sky, and the association of the ceremony with rain are the elements in the Hottentot belief which are similar to the elements in the /Kung Bushman belief of *n/ow*. But, though there are these interesting common elements, the /Kung concept differs largely from the Hottentot *guri≠ab*.

[1] Schapera, I., *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, New York, 1951, pp. 256–7.

[2] Hoernlé, Agnes W., 'A Hottentot Rain Ceremony', *Bantu Studies*, I, No. 2 (May 1922), pp. 3–4.

[3] Schapera, op. cit., p. 379.

N/ow of the /Kung is something which influences weather, bringing rain if it is 821
'good' *n/ow*, or cold if it is 'bad' *n/ow*. Precisely what *n/ow* consists of was never made explicit. Nothing about it can be seen. One knows of its existence, the /Kung say, by observing its effects upon the weather.

N/ow exists in all human beings, the /Kung believe, and in certain big animals, 821
namely: giraffe, eland, gemsbok, kudu, hartebeest, and wildebeest. For the sake of 825
brevity I shall refer to these animals as the *n/ow* animals. Small animals do not have *n/ow*, according to the /Kung. We wanted to learn why, but the /Kung could only tell us that they were so created. Steenbok have positively no *n/ow* at all. Some informants claimed that duikers had none, others said that duikers' *n/ow* was undeveloped. Informants were also uncertain about springbok. There are very few springbok in the region and informants said they killed them so seldom that they had not observed whether or not they had *n/ow*. Possibly other large animals would be found to have *n/ow* if the question were further pursued.[1] There was no disagreement among /Kung 821
informants about other things; no other things have *n/ow*—not earth itself, nor vegetation nor other objects on earth; not water, clouds, rain, thunder or lightning, nor heavenly bodies. Not even the two Gods themselves have *n/ow* in them, neither [776]
the great one who lives in the eastern sky, nor his namesake (his */guma*) who lives in the western sky, both of whom bear the names Huwe, Hishi, and ≠Gao/na, our informants told us.

N/ow gets into a human being in the womb. Exactly how this happens informants 821
could not tell us. It was our impression that they were not hiding information, for 843
they seemed willing enough to talk about *n/ow* and said it was not dangerous or 827
harmful in any way to speak freely about it. We think they simply did not know. One informant said, 'The child gets the *n/ow* in the womb and is born with it.' Another said, 'The *n/ow* is created in the womb.' Another said, 'The great Creator gives the [776]
n/ow and taught the people to do the things they do about it. He made all things and made all things to be known.' The *n/ow* acquired in the womb remains in a person all his life.

Some persons get a 'good' rain-bringing *n/ow*, others get a 'bad' cold-bringing *n/ow*. When we wanted to learn how this happened we were told that 'When the mother's uterine fluid flows into the ground, it makes a *n/ow* in the child which brings rain or a *n/ow* which does not bring rain'.

The mother has no voluntary control over this, nor has anyone else; and there is nothing, like medicine or magic, spell or ceremony, which can be used to cause the *n/ow* to be one kind or the other. Furthermore, the child does not inherit a good or bad *n/ow* from his mother or father or any ancestors. The philosophy, lore, or belief about the question of what causes the *n/ow* to be one or the other kind, whatever it may have been in the past, seems not to be known now with clarity or detail.

Two verbs were used in connexion with *n/ow*: to *≠gani* and to *||ghui*. The /Kung 192
say that the mother has *≠gani*(ed) the child if it gets a good *n/ow* and has *||ghui*(ed) it if 827

[1] Miss Lucy Lloyd (*A Short Account of Further Bushman Material, Third Report*, London, 1889, p. 19) mentions that a Bushman informant, Dia/kwain by name, who worked with her and with Dr. Bleek before his death, and who came from the Katkop Mountains, south of the Orange River, told her that 'A baboon, when killed, resembles a man, in "making cloud"'. No more information was given in the report, but the concept of 'making cloud' suggests that possibly the now extinct or almost extinct Cape Bushmen had a belief which may have resembled in some ways the concept of *n/ow*. [171]

198 827 it gets a bad *n/ow*. We heard the words used constantly in connexion with *n/ow* and rain and cold, but know of the use of only one of them in another connexion. The /Kung say that a child '*//ghui*(s) its name' if its teeth come late. We do not know precisely how to translate the words and hope that a linguist will some time throw more light on them.

821 827 843 ≠Toma, one of our informants, pondering on the question of how the *n/ow* comes to be of one kind or the other in a person, said he thought the child's position in the womb and whether the child had long or short legs might have something to do with it, but he was not sure of this, and knew no more to tell us. A caul or a breech-birth does not make the *n/ow* good or bad, he thought. Other informants [845 847] thought that severely deformed infants or twins might possibly be more likely than others to get a bad *n/ow*, but they too were uncertain. (Possibly this is because deformed infants and the weaker one of twins are killed at birth by /Kung mothers, so there is little occasion to think about the *n/ow* of such children.)

821 787 It is discovered what kind of *n/ow* a child has by observing the weather at the time of its birth or soon after. If it rains the people believe the *n/ow* of the child has brought the rain and are sure the *n/ow* is good. If water should freeze when the child was born or soon after, the child's *n/ow* would be known to be bad. Should the weather continue in its normal seasonal course and no great extreme or notable change occur, the child's *n/ow* will be thought to be probably of the rain-bringing or cold-bringing kind according to the type of weather which prevailed; but if the weather is extreme at the time of the birth there is a feeling of certainty about the kind of *n/ow* the child has acquired, as the /Kung believe the effect of the *n/ow* was clearly observable.

At death as well as at birth the *n/ow* of a human being influences the weather. A /Kung told us that his *n/ow* had brought heavy rain when he was born and that everyone knew he had a rain-bringing *n/ow*. He said his mother, who lived at some distance from where he lived, noticed the weather and, if rain came at an unusual time or was unusually heavy, she feared he had died and that his *n/ow* was causing the rain to come.

821 826 [827] *N/ow* is said to exist in the bodies of human beings (presumably everywhere in them). Informants mentioned it particularly as associated with uterine fluid at the time of birth and with the urine and hair of humans.

Hair is associated with clouds by the /Giwke Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with whom we worked in 1955. They have a myth, told to us by the [773] old headman, Oukwane, which says that God, whose name there is Pisiboro, and who is their one God, tore the black, black hair from his head and threw it into the sky to make the rain clouds.

775 821 826 In *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*,[1] Dr. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd record a belief about death, collected in 1875 in the Katkop dialect from the informant Dia/kwain, which refers to hair and clouds. We quote the statement:

> The hair of our head will resemble clouds, when we die, when we in this manner make clouds. These things are those which resemble clouds; and we think that (they) are clouds. We, who do not know, we are those who think in this manner, that (they) are clouds. We, who know, when we see that they are like this, we know that (they) are a person's clouds; (that they) are the hair of his head. We, who know, we are those who think thus, while we feel that we seeing recognize the clouds, how the clouds do in this manner form themselves.

[1] Bleek, W. H. I., and Lloyd, L. C., *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911, pp. 399–401.

The same informant gave more information about 'making cloud'. He said:[1] 821
'And, our gall, when we die, sits in the sky; it sits green in the sky, when we are 826
dead.' His mother told him, Dia/kwain continued, 'that it (thus) happens to us if we [175]
sit in the shade when the place is not particularly warm, when it is (only) moderately warm, (and) we feel that the summer seems as if it would be hot. We think: "Allow me to sit for a little in the shade under the bush; for the sun's eye is not a little hot; I will sit a little while in the shade"; (then) we make clouds; our liver goes out from the place where we are sitting in the shade, if the place is not hot. Therefore, we make clouds on account of it. For, when it is really summer, then we (may) sit in the shade.'

We do not know what connexion there may be between the concept of *n/ow* held at present by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae and the /Gikwe myth of Pisiboro's hair making the rain clouds, or the hair of the dead resembling clouds and becoming the dead person's clouds, as Dia/kwain told Dr. Bleek, or a person's gall 'sitting green in the sky', or a person making clouds because his liver goes out from the place where he is sitting in the shade if the place is not hot. We hope someone else may be able to throw more light on this. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae make so little point of teaching [869] old stories or lore to their children that much must be lost.

What the /Kung believe now, Demi told us, is that there is nothing about hair itself which affects the weather. It is the *n/ow* of the person which the hair 'gives'. As we understand it, some of the *n/ow* which is in a person is in the hair. When hair is burned in the fire, the *n/ow* is released into the air in the smell.[2] It goes into the sky and, Demi said, the rain 'fears' it. (*Koa*, the word 'to fear', means to respect, to avoid, as when something is taboo, and to be afraid of.) When a person's urine is burned, it also carries the *n/ow* of the person into the sky.

/Kung informants told us that it would be possible to use the *n/ow* of persons to 789
control the weather, should there be need. If the big rains were unusually late and the 791
people were suffering from the dryness, or if the rain storms were so frequent and 821
heavy that the people had much trouble hunting and gathering veldkos, or if a storm were especially frightening, they might try to start or stop the rain. A person known with certainty to have a rain-bringing *n/ow*, because the weather at his birth had given evidence of it, could be asked either to urinate in the fire or to burn some of his hair. The smell of his urine or hair would go up into the sky and influence the rain to come. A person with a cold-bringing *n/ow* could be asked to do the same to stop the rain, if this were wanted.

We have no observations on who would instigate the burning of urine or hair to 821
control the weather. We did not see it done. No one in a /Kung community is a 791
specialist in rain-making, nor has anyone special authority in making a decision about [23]
the control of weather. The medicine men (*shamen*) have as their function the curing of the people, not the control of weather. It would be in keeping with the practice of the /Kung of this region, as we observed it in other connexions, for the group to 623
come to a consensus by talking the matter over informally as they sat by their fires, 821
and then for the parents or someone else to bid a child urinate in the fire. It seems to 789
us unlikely that an individual would make the decision entirely alone, without speaking

[1] Ibid., p. 399.
[2] Cf. a myth about the Rain Bull, which refers to the smell of burning horns, p. 239.

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623 about it to others, unless it were a hunter caught in a storm alone in the veld; but
821 an individual, even without necessarily expressing a consensus, we think might say
789 to another, 'Why don't you burn some of your hair?', which would probably be enough to instigate the act. And, in all likelihood, it would be done with so little formality that the observer would not know anything was happening unless he knew what to watch for and were alerted.

[171 There was no ceremony regularly performed by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae to ensure
821] plentiful rain, like the Hottentots' *gwri≠ab*. The Rain dance of the /Kung, which is
789] danced often, all through the year, is a medicine dance, among several others, such
535 as the Giraffe, Sun, Gemsbok, Honey, and Mamba dances. All these are 'strong'
796 things, the /Kung believe. The dances so named have 'strong' medicine music. They
755 are danced during the medicine men's ceremony to cure the sick and protect the people and drive away any of the *//ganasi*, the spirits of the dead, who might be lurking to bring some evil upon the people. The Rain dance has this as its purpose, not the control of weather.

One night when the Rain dance was being beautifully danced with a fine precision and vigour of clapping, singing, and stamping, which to us suggested fervour, we were watching it so intently that we had not noticed the sky. The first storm of the season had crept up behind us and suddenly burst over us like a bomb. We asked
[82] Gao if he believed the dance had brought the rain. He said that the rain was due to come. The dance had not brought it.

821 A *n/ow* animal, as well as a human, has either a good or a bad *n/ow*, but it seems
825 not to be known clearly how it gets the one or the other. Good or bad *n/ow* is not correlated with one sex or one species. One giraffe, for example, either male or female, may have the rain-bringing, another the cold-bringing kind.

It seems that long or short horns may have something to do with good or bad *n/ow*, not the long-hornedness of gemsbok as compared with the short-hornedness of giraffes, but, within the species, the comparative length of horn. But one kind of *n/ow* is not inherent in short-hornedness nor is the other kind in long-hornedness. It is not so simple as that. And informants did not know what association, if any, the short or long horns may have with ≠Toma's vague idea that the short or long legs of a child in the womb might have something to do with the child's *n/ow*.

When a hunter kills a *n/ow* animal, he either *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) it. Like the mother who *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) her child at birth, the hunter has no voluntary control over this and cannot tell which he has done unless the effect is observed in the weather. A hunter with good or bad *n/ow* may *≠gani* or *//ghui* an animal which has either good or bad *n/ow* and long or short horns. The precise nature of the interaction remains obscure, but hunters took an interest in telling about the kind of *n/ow* they thought they had, and gave instances of observing the effects of their killing various types of animals. If a man should kill a female kudu with short horns and the water should freeze that night, it would be evident that he had *//ghui*(ed) the animal. He would expect to continue to *//ghui* short-horned female kudus. However, although a man's *n/ow* remains constant throughout his life, the way it interacts with other factors may change, and after a time he may find he has begun to *≠gani* short-horned female kudus. We think the /Kung became a little tired of our finding this complicated.

One day in September the sun blazed in the clear sky. The heat beat down upon us.

A party of /Kung men had gone hunting towards the west. John, our son, was with 821
them. In the afternoon there appeared in the western sky three little white clouds, like 825
three powder-puffs in a neat row. They were the first clouds to be seen since the big rains had ended in March. We ran to each other, pointing them out. People felt happy. In the evening, when the hunters returned, ≠Toma came at once to me, before he put down his bow and quiver, and said that I could see for myself what it meant to ≠*gani* an animal. John had ≠*gani*(ed) the wildebeest he shot, and the clouds had appeared immediately above them. ≠Toma said this was what he had been trying all along to explain to me.

If a hunter knows with certainty that he has ≠*gani*(ed) or ||*ghui*(ed) an animal, as it 821
was known when John killed the wildebeest that he had ≠*gani*(ed) it, he may take the 825
horns and the scalp and forehead bone and hang them in a tree, remembering where 789
they are and whether they had been ≠*gani*(ed) or ||*ghui*(ed). If need should arise he could get the horns which were appropriate to the need and burn them in a specially made fire away from the cooking-fires. He would take a piece of the burning horn and point it to the sky saying '*goichi goichi goichi n/ow qui*'. This we were told is 'speaking *n/ow*'. The interpreters did not know and could not find out by questioning people what the words mean. We wonder if they are an archaic spell. The horns must be entirely consumed by the fire.

In *Bushman Folklore*[1] there is a reference to the burning of horns in a very interesting 773
myth about the Rain Bull, related to Dr. Bleek in 1878 by a Bushman from Strontbergen (30° S., 22° E.) whose dialect included the fifth click of the southern group, as the Katkop dialect does. In this myth a young woman cleverly saves herself from being carried away on the back of the Rain Bull to the water-pit where she would have been turned into a frog, and all of her people also would have become frogs. At the end of the myth the informant who related it said, 'The old women who had been out seeking food were those who came to burn horns, while they desired that the smell of the horns should go up, so that the Rain should not be angry with them.' 789

A hunter has another way of controlling the weather. To bring rain he would cut 821
the throat of an animal he had reason to believe he habitually ≠*gani*(ed), or to stop 825
rain, one he habitually ≠*ghui*(ed). The blood, which is ordinarily saved and eaten, 262
would be allowed to flow on to the ground. A giraffe is the best animal for blood-letting. The forms and colours of the clouds are like giraffes, the /Kung remarked. We asked if human beings cut themselves and used their blood to start or stop rain as they do their urine or hair. The /Kung said, No, they did not. That would be unnecessarily painful.

As far as we know the /Kung did not attempt to control the weather by these means 183
while we were with them, as they did not resort to burning urine or hair of persons. 789
Perhaps this was because the weather took its normal, expected, seasonal course. 821
Furthermore, we did not experience its most severe extremes for very long periods, 132
and found it on the whole quite bearable. Or perhaps the concept of controlling weather by means of burning urine, hair or horns or letting blood, exists more in lore than in active practice. Or perhaps the long unchanging months do not stimulate the idea of actively attempting to control weather and the people content themselves with 789
explaining rather than controlling. They appeared in many instances to have the 821

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., pp. 193 ff.

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789 attitude of accepting resignedly what befell. It seemed to be in keeping with their
821 habits of thought that Gao said to us, 'When Bara comes (the season of the rains) and the rains do not fall, we desire and wait.'

Résumé

LE N/OW

000 Le *N/ow* est une croyance des Boschimans /Kung de la région autour de Nyae Nyae, dans l'Afrique Sud-ouest, touchant la pluie et le froid. Il tombe dix pouces environ de pluie au cours d'une année moyenne dans cette partie du désert du Kalahari, ce qui est suffisant pour maintenir une végétation de couverture comprenant de l'herbe, des arbustes et des arbrisseaux. Cette végétation, désignée *veldkos* en langue taal, comprend de nombreuses racines, feuilles, fruits et noix comestibles. Les /Kung, seuls habitants de l'intérieur de cette région, sont des nomades qui vivent de la chasse et de la cueillette. Ils ont à subir de grandes difficultés si les pluies sont insuffisantes et il en résulte que le veldkos est sec et épars. Ils disent que la pluie est vivifiante et que le soleil est mortel. Les grandes pluies tombent en été; elles commencent fin décembre ou en janvier et persistent jusqu'en mars; quelques averses rares tombent quelquefois au cours des mois de septembre, octobre et novembre. Les /Kung considèrent les nuages minces, qui ne donnent pas de pluie, comme étant du sexe masculin, et les gros nuages comme des femelles. La pluie elle-même est mâle ou femelle suivant la force avec laquelle elle tombe. Les mois d'automne qui suivent les pluies sont les meilleurs mois de l'année et les /Kung parcourent la région en faisant la chasse et la cueillette du veldkos nouveau. L'hiver est la saison sèche, avec un soleil brûlant pendant le jour et un froid glacial pendant la nuit; la plupart des mares se tarissent. Le *n/ow* est une chose qui influence les conditions atmosphériques et on l'appelle 'néfaste' s'il apporte le froid et 'bon' s'il apporte la pluie. Le *n/ow* n'est pas visible, mais on croit qu'il est présent dans tous les êtres humains et dans certains grands animaux; toutefois, il n'existe dans rien d'autre. Le bon ou le mauvais *n/ow* s'introduit dans un enfant avant sa naissance et il demeure chez cet individu pendant toute sa vie. Il n'y a aucun moyen de modifier l'espèce de *n/ow* qu'une personne possède et ce *n/ow* n'est pas héréditaire. L'espèce de *n/ow* est révélée en observant les conditions atmosphériques au moment de la naissance de l'enfant, ou peu de temps après. Le *n/ow* d'un être humain peut aussi influencer les conditions atmosphériques au moment de sa mort. Il existe dans le corps et il est associé avec le liquide utérin, l'urine, et la chevelure. L'association entre la chevelure et les nuages est constatée parmi d'autres tribus boschimans, mais le rapport n'est pas très clairement défini chez les /Kung. Ils croient qu'une partie du *n/ow* appartenant à un individu se trouve dans la chevelure et que lorsque les cheveux (ou l'urine) sont consumés dans le feu le *n/ow* est dégagé dans l'air avec l'odeur. Il monte au ciel et la pluie 'en a peur'. De cette façon, il deviendrait possible d'utiliser le *n/ow* des gens pour faire tomber ou arrêter la pluie. Étant donné que les /Kung n'ont pas de 'faiseurs de pluie' officiels, ni de rites pour invoquer la pluie, la cérémonie aurait probablement lieu d'une façon officieuse, de manière à échapper à l'attention des observateurs. Les animaux peuvent également avoir un bon ou un mauvais *n/ow* mais le fait d'en posséder un n'a aucun rapport avec le sexe ou une espèce quelconque. Un chasseur peut tuer un animal, de façon à influer sur les conditions atmosphériques, mais, dans ce cas, c'est une question de chance et non pas de choix. Il peut également garder les cornes et les brûler, afin d'invoquer la pluie, ou trancher la gorge de l'animal en laissant le sang couler par terre. Cependant, les /Kung n'ont fait usage d'aucune de ces méthodes pendant le temps que l'auteur est resté parmi eux, sans doute parce que le temps a suivi son cours normal ou parce que les /Kung sont habitués à accepter ce qui advient.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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Bushmen believe that certain famous sorcerers, once med- 754
icine men who chose to be poisoners and magicians instead 825
of healers, have taken the form of certain lions, which can always be distinguished from ordinary lions by their great size and their ability to float in the air. Also, Bushmen say, the [921]
eclipses of the moon are caused by lions, as on very bright nights a lion may cover the moon's face with a great paw, giving himself darkness for better hunting.

Usually, when a lion sees you, he skulks away or bounds 136
off in great, ungainly leaps, in clumsy dodges, making a fool of himself because he is frightened; but when one raises his head and looks right at you, then turns as this one did, and walks off without even looking back, you understand at once why Bushmen believe the things they do.

As the lion walked away into a thicket of acacia trees we climbed off the truck and followed him. It was rash of us, but we were not afraid of him. We wanted a photograph. However, he had disappeared, and as we were looking cautiously around among the trunks of little trees we heard a motor roaring, gears grinding; and finally, as we watched, the jeep arrived with Cass and Bob (Dr. Story), who told us to go back to camp as fast as we could. Two Bushmen had arrived.

We started back at once and got there late in the afternoon, 609
and there we found them, two small men, one old, one young, in silhouette as they squatted by the fire, turning as we came to look at us, very nervous and very ill at ease. They had been given food and tobacco—a blue cloud hung above their heads —and a bucket of water, but during the course of the afternoon they had drunk the bucket dry. As Theunis and Gishe, the only people who could have spoken to both them and us, had been away, the rest of the expedition had had to wait anxiously for our return, unable to communicate a single word.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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ing great carcasses of fallen trees, some with the leaves on the 731
top still green, that were filling the air with the smell of their wood burning. The ground was still warm to walk on, but all the bushes, all the little succulents, all the vines that marked the water roots were gone; no snake or lizard or animal was there, all were burned or had gone; we saw only animal tracks half filled with ashes, and a few birds come to eat dead insects. We saw a pair of secretary birds and later a pair of [136]
paouw, huge gray birds that walk more than they fly, wandering through the ruins looking for dead reptiles.

As we walked, fine black powder rose to dust our legs, and now and then, off through the standing tree trunks and between the fallen trees' great upflung roots, little whirlwinds crossed back and forth, raising the dust in spiraled pillars. [321]
Bushmen say that whirlwinds show the presence of the spir- 775
its of the dead.

Witabe's eyes searched over the ground, and when he saw 222
a small mound of earth he walked up to it and punctured it 262
with his toe. Out rushed a horde of ants, which had been safe in their tunnels when the fire passed and now began at once to repair their damaged mound. Witabe crouched among them and began to pick and eat them, selecting the soldier ants, ones with large heads and heavy jaws. He bit off the abdomens, tossing the heads away. Presently he offered some to us, as I had feared he would; as everyone else ate one, I did also, and found that it was not too unpleasant but sour and very watery, very like a blackberry before it is ripe. The workers, I am told, are tasteless, but the fighters are considered a near-delicacy; mine opened her jaws wide to fight my thumb before I ate her.

Later in the day, when the sun in the sky, the still burning 481
trees, and the fire-warmed sand made the air on the flats un- 487
bearably hot, we turned back to camp for the shade of our

women because, say the men, women's voices are admirably 533 beautiful.

Twikwe and Tsetchwe sat side by side, their legs straight [516] out in front of them, the soles of their feet lit by the fire. 535 They sang gaily and clapped their hands while the baby 562 Nhwakwe walked up and down on Tsetchwe's leg, balancing himself like a child who is walking on a railing, then climbed to her shoulder and stood there triumphantly without holding on, gazing around like a child on a hill. He looked utterly astonished when Tsetchwe suddenly swept him to the ground and, flinging off her cape, jumped to her feet and began to dance. Everyone was astonished. Women almost never dance, although they are quite welcome to, but least of all Tsetchwe, a very conscientious mother and wife.

Tsetchwe's dance was extremely lively and extremely gay, and everyone except Nhwakwe looked up at her happily. She sang and waved her arms with great abandon, and danced her gay dance right behind the men, just for once flinging motherhood to the four winds and dancing right over her baby, who came trotting sadly after her, holding up his arms to be carried. In a moment the baby gave up and went to the lap of his grandmother, frowning as his mother danced happily by him again. When Tsetchwe finally got tired and flung herself down on the ground he ran to her and nursed immediately to reassure himself. She held him loosely in one arm as she coughed from exertion and laughed, with a pleased, shy expression on her face that said: this is what I used to do when I was younger.

When the people were tired of dancing they still seemed 821 ● to feel like talking, and as the moon was down and the stars showed clearly we asked Ukwane to tell us something about the sky, and we pointed to several stars to learn their names.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

●821 But Ukwane said that he had been talking and singing all evening and his voice was hoarse from telling about the inside of the springbok (which by now was partly cooked and eaten). He was, in fact, too hoarse to answer questions and would rather tell a story if he had to talk. We said that
539 we would like to hear a story, and the Bushmen said that they would also like to hear some stories, so Ukwane told the last part of the story of Pishiboro and his elephant wife.

In the morning, after the elephant wife had frightened Pishiboro and his younger brother, before she had followed them away, she had told her elephant parents that she had married a man whose people might eat her, and that they should give up hope of ever seeing her again. Pishiboro knew that she had spoken with her parents, and while he was sitting upon her body with his brother, eating the breast, he looked around anxiously for he knew not what. Soon some elephant beetles came up to eat the uterus, for the elephant wife was pregnant, and when Pishiboro saw this he became very alarmed that the fetus would be eaten and he asked his brother to chase the beetles away. But the brother did not, and when Pishiboro was looking the other way, seeming to have forgotten, the brother cut open the womb, and the fetus came out.

"Oh, you foolish man," said Pishiboro. "I told you not to do that. You are lazy and stupid, and now the fetus will go to the elephant's parents and say what we have done."

Pishiboro then asked his brother to dig a hole to catch the fluid from the womb, but when the brother went to do this the fluid flowed past him. Pishiboro scrambled to dig another hole, but the fluid flowed past him, too, and only a little was caught. Pishiboro and his brother drank it.

The large part of the fluid went on until it came to the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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159 right, saying that Gai may have *thought* the Bakalahari was his real father, but that Ukwane knew better. I expect that Ukwane was right at that, for Gai certainly looked like a Bushman.

But whether father or stepfather, Gai said, the Bakalahari kept sending messages to Gai with Bushmen who might be passing through Ai a ha'o telling him to come back to Chukudu (probably to work), but Gai never did. Gai was too clever.

512 At noon the sun had warmed the air a little, although there was still an edge of frost, and the women got up and walked [313] off together into the veld to search for wood. In an hour or so they came back heavily loaded, Tsetchwe with her kaross [482 854] bulging with melons, perhaps twenty in all, a great load of wood on top of them piled higher than her head, and Nhwakwe riding on top of it all. Even in the cold air she perspired, and as her load must have weighed almost a hundred pounds, she walked leaning forward.

By night the cold had deepened. The Bushman boys came [513] out of my tent and went home for dinner, then lay by the fires to sleep when the adults curled up in the shallow pits. The moon rose, a frosty circle, hard as a coin, and before we went to sleep that night we heard a jackal calling "tsa," out on the plains.

"Tsa," called one of the Bushmen, answering him.

"Tsa!" the jackal replied.

● 821 In the morning we were very pleased to find that the cold had broken. We woke up to find the sun just rising, and on the other edge the moon just sinking down, lustrous and pale in a current of balmy air coming warm from the equator. In the east, only the planets showed of all the stars; one of them,

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"Walks-Before-the-Sun," was just starting its journey across 821
the sky. This planet, which we call the morning star and which is a different one from time to time, rises just before the sun and walks all day across the sky looking for shade. Every day, say Bushmen, the sun overtakes it and scorches it, and though people walking can cut branches from trees to [293] put up over their heads as parasols, the poor star finds no branches in the sky.

Over the moon the Firewood Star was sinking too. This is a real star, the star by which the Bushmen, when they see it rising, can tell if they have enough firewood to last the night.

When the sun was up, when the moon and all the stars 281
were gone, we went as usual to the werf, where we found 237
Ukwane curing fox skins with urine, the only liquid he had. It was not fresh urine either; it was rank, saved for days by all the people, collected in tsama rinds. We had noticed a stench, but we had not known what it was. To be certain, we asked Ukwane, and he said: "Water."

"What water?" we asked, knowing there was none.

"The water that all the people in the Kalahari have to use."

"Is it urine?"

"Yes, it is," he said.

The skins were from five Delalandes or long-eared foxes which Ukwane had snared three seasons ago. He had stretched and scraped the skins but had not cured them because until now he had not had the time. A few days ago he had told his people to begin saving urine so that he could cure and soften the hides. They had, and he now poured urine onto each skin, letting it soak, then rubbed the skin hard between his hands. He repeated this process again and again, 281
working one skin at a time, and before long the skins were moist all through, and when they were dry they were as soft as chamois. Ukwane said that he was going to trade the soft

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

825 mash the insides, then pull off the head and squeeze the in-
278 sides out like toothpaste from a tube. Both kinds of poison are equally good, they say.

Perhaps the two types of pupae are the pupae of two different kinds of beetles. Perhaps they are from the same beetle but in different stages of development. Perhaps they really are males and females, as Bushmen are often scientifically
[821] accurate, but, as Bushmen also have male and female rain clouds, perhaps not.

[439] Kung Bushmen, who use metal arrows obtained by trading
824 animal skins for wire with the Bantus, have a complicated
825 system of poisoning in which they use several ingredients for
278 the poison paste. One of these is a binding fluid, used because the pure poison squeezed from the grub will not adhere well to metal but must be made binding and sticky. The binding material comes from the bark of a tree. They chew
[415 the bark thoroughly and spit the mash into a little mortar
237] made from the knee bone of an antelope, a nice little cup, into which the Bushmen have squeezed the milky juice of sansevieria plants, got by wringing the heavy, thick leaves. This juice has an irritating effect when it is dissolved in a wound and causes the antelope to rub and scratch its wounded spot against a tree, which stimulates circulation in the area, which carries the poison more quickly through the body, which hastens death.

The paste in the mortar is thoroughly mixed, then smeared with a straw on the foreshaft of arrows, never on the head, for if the sharp edges of the head were poisoned any child might accidentally nick himself and die. When the arrow is poisoned it is propped up by a fire and the poison is allowed to dry into a shiny dark paste, to be melted again by the
411 moisture and warmth of an antelope's flank.
825
278 Gai had stored his poison cocoons in a tiny bag inside his

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe

this did no good he endured the nuisance for a moment, then 222
flung himself down on his back, put up his long legs like a 137
fighting cock, and kicked the branches down.

He dug out a great deal of earth, throwing it behind him, and finally uncovered a *ga* root, big and dark with a warty surface all covered with lumps like a toad or a stone; a fascinating thing, for although it was large and nondescript, brownish gray in brown-gray sand, marked only by an old dry vine, it was life itself to Bushmen, bitter but quite moist even in the hottest season. Tsetchwe put the root in her kaross and we went off, Gai generously carrying the baby, taking him from Tsetchwe by the forearm and swinging him up to his shoul- [854]
der. The baby rode astride Gai's neck with the soft kaross he wore draped over Gai's head. From the rear they were an apparition, as this made the baby's head, not much higher than Gai's, look like a tiny head on a man's tall, slender body.

We wanted very much to find a bi root, and while Gai, the baby, and my brother went off to look for one I waited behind with the women. We rested in a small circle in the dim shade of the grass, which, when we were sitting, came high above our heads so that all we could see was a circle of sky and, in the circle, the ragged, waxing moon. It had risen luxuriously in the daytime and was a pale, large crescent, pearl-colored in the sun. The moon is a root with a climbing [821]
stalk, a vine. It can be eaten.

Giamakwe began to urinate right in our midst, crouching 514
and pulling his loincloth aside. Although the adults are slightly inhibited about this, the children are not, sometimes simply turning aside to urinate as one might turn aside to cough. Presently the young boys got up and ran away, and when they did Tsetchwe herself got to her feet, stepped aside, and urinated also, standing up but leaning forward. Bushman

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We had stayed up to watch the children's games and also to 821
observe Orion setting, for the Bushmen tell a story of the 538
stars in Orion which takes place in the sky every night at certain seasons and we wanted to see it for ourselves. The story is simply that the god, who at the time the story takes place is standing on one of the Magellan clouds, shoots an arrow at three zebras. The arrow is Orion's sword, the zebras are the three stars of Orion's belt, the star in the center being a male zebra and the two stars flanking him his wives. The arrow falls short, as one can see, and presently, as the constellation touches the horizon, the zebras step upon the earth, first a female, then the male, then the other female. It is slow and deliberate, and that night we saw it plainly. The zebras vanished into the brush at the horizon, but the arrow was still there.

When the constellation had gone, when many of the peo- 533
ple were asleep and we were about to leave the werf, Ukwane 534
took out his hunting-bow and, setting one tip on a dry melon shell, he began to tap the string with a reed, making a sound. Soon he played a song, humming a melody and playing an accompaniment on his bow.

He sat alone at his fire, his wife a tiny heap under her 533
kaross and fast asleep some distance away. He was squatting, [516]
his eyes on the embers of his fire, holding one end of the bow with his toes. With the fingers of one hand he touched the string, making different notes, and when he wanted to change the pitch he turned his head slightly, catching the other end of the string with his chin.

His song was a mood piece, as are all Bushman songs except the medicine songs. It was a song of pure music without words, a song composed to express a feeling the composer had had, a mood, or an emotion. The mood songs do have names or titles, but these only tell the subject of the piece,

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764 move away because they cannot bear to leave the dead per-
775 son, because they want to make sure that animals do not spoil his body, and because, said Ukwane, "He is our person, whom we love. We do not want to leave until we have given up hope."

764 We learned one other thing, and that was that the Gikwe
775 put a medicine power, a fragrant brown powder made of an
789 herb called *sasa*, in the norstrils of the dead person, and
824 sprinkled his body with sasa before the burial. This, said Ukwane, is done to ensure heavy rain in the rainy season, but also it may well have to do with protecting the living from the spirit of the dead. We did not learn more about this because Bushmen will talk about any subject you may name except the subject of the spirits of the dead. The Kung respect and fear spirits more than any other thing, and only after a year of trying did we learn about them; the Gikwe seem to feel the same way, and for that reason we did not expect to learn very much. We did find, however, that the spirits
775 of the dead are called, at least sometimes, the *kwe be ha ki* (person who is not here), and that these spirits travel in the
[82] wind—not in open, blowing wind, but in whirlwinds; that is why the Gikwe Bushmen avoid whirlwinds, because a spirit might be there to carry them away. Once a whirlwind passing through our camp uprooted a tent and carried it spinning to the sky. Possibly, explained the Bushmen, a spirit of the dead thought that there was a person inside, although sometimes the spirits cause only mischief.

764 With the Kung, the funeral customs are very much the
184 same as those of the Gikwe. The body is folded into a sitting position and bound, but the head is bowed down to the knees. Beads and a kaross ornament the body, which is also lowered into the grave and buried upright, but thereafter the custom

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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T15 great god as a messenger to bring disease and death to people, or to lead them to game and honey, depending on the great god's whim.

The Kung do not consider the gauas to be either happy or sad in their roles after life, but lonely and neutral, roaming above the veld either singly or in twos, on little paths of theirs, little invisible threads like spider webs, that run through the air. Whenever Bushmen have their great night-time medicine dances, the gauas are present, just out of sight in the dark among the trees, and whenever there is a ring around the moon the Bushmen know that the gauas them-
● [821] selves are dancing, for the moon is their dance fire, the ring is the circle made by their dancing feet.

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823 when he is, it is because he has brought evil, sickness, catas-
776 trophe, or death.

The old god still exists, the Bushmen know him, but his presence is diffusing; he, the old power of evil, is becoming faint, his entity obscure.

● 821 In the west live the *kwa kwa kwara* (knee knee nothing),
716 the people with no knees. These people have no knee joints,
823 but must stand up always. At night when the sun sets, the people with no knees catch it and kill it, for the sun is meat. They put it in a pot, and when it is cooked they tell their children to run off and play, and when the children are gone the people with no knees eat it. When the children come back, the people with no knees pick their teeth and give what they remove to the children, and then the people with no knees take the shoulder blade of the sun and throw it back into the east again, where a new sun grows and rises in the morning. If a tall man throws it you are aware of nothing, but if a short man throws it you can hear it whirring overhead. We knew a Kung Bushman man who, said he, had been to the west and had visited the people with no knees. He had been very interested to see them and very curious to know how they slept at night, for he did not imagine that they could lie down, so when darkness came he had watched and waited, and, just as he had suspected, when they had finished the sun they did not lie down but leaned against forks of the trees, where they rested, propped.

825 In the north is a great river, the Okovango, and Bantu peo-
776 ple live there. In the south live the gemsbok people, who are not ordinary gemsbok but beings in gemsbok form. It was these beings who taught the Bushmen how to make ostrich-eggshell beads, for when making a bead the gemsbok people use their long horns to bore the hole in the center. The gemsbok people often wear strings of beads around their necks.

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The gemsbok people look just like gemsbok. When Bushmen 825 776
are hunting they must be very careful not to mistake these people for ordinary gemsbok, because if a hunter should shoot a gemsbok person even by accident he would get very sick and die. But such accidents are rare, for if a group of gemsbok people are out grazing and notice that a Bushman hunter is drawing his bow at them, they will say to him: "Do not shoot us, we are not gemsbok," and the hunter will naturally leave them alone.

Under the world is another world just like this one, with 772
trees and omarambas, hills and pans, a sun and a moon, Bushmen, Bantus, and Europeans just like the people here, and the bottom of our world is that world's sky. There is no other connection between our world and the lower world except possibly through certain deep waterholes, for it was through a waterhole that the great god climbed from that world when he first came here.

Over the world, of course, is the sky, and there is nothing 821
above that. The sun, which is not only meat but a death-giving agent because it burns the veld and dries up the waterholes, is a male, and the moon when it is full is female. A crescent moon, called *nui ma ze* (moon small new), is male, and so are the great destructive thunderheads that bring hailstorms or electric storms which break down dwellings and flatten the grass. The soft gray clouds that carry land rains which blow like mists into the plants of the veld and make them grow are female. The rain of male and female clouds is itself male or female, depending on the cloud's gender or on whether the rain is creative or destructive, but if you can't tell from the rain as it falls you can tell from its footprints, for male rain leaves sharp, pierced marks in the dust and female rain leaves wide, soft splashes. And as for the stars, they are called by some the eyes of dead people and by others are

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said to be ant lions which at night rise from the bottoms of their little traps of sand.

Since we had lived a year in Nyae Nyae we knew the round of the seasons, which Kung Bushmen say are six in number. We came there in July, in winter and the start of the drought, the coldest season. August was bitterly cold and also dry, but in September the air began to get warmer and heralded the next season, called "little winds before the rain," a season of whirlwinds, drought, and clouds of dust. In October, suddenly and presenting a startling sight, a thorn tree near our camp turned quite green and the heat began to be intense. This was the start of the springtime, the dryest, hottest time of all the year and a time of starvation, for the water in the waterholes gets very low until only a little remains on the bottoms and the wild roots push sap into their vines so that the vines turn green and sprout but the roots themselves are shriveled. This was the worst season of the year for the people. Before this, during the winter, the large extended band that we had gone to visit was separated into little family groups that were scattered through the veld, living at little waterholes that did not keep their water all year long. During the dry season the water in these waterholes vanished, causing the small family bands to gather at the last sure waterhole of the area, a waterhole called Gautscha, which was beside a huge flat pan called Gautscha Pan.

There was one rather large band that always lived at Gautscha and numbered some forty people, who divided themselves into sometimes three, sometimes four family groups. They thought themselves lucky to live there, for Gautscha was considered to be a sort of paradise, where the waterhole was cool and deep, and (it was said) game gathered at all times to lick the salt, for Gautscha was a salt pan. It was the salt that made Gautscha most desirable, because salt is

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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584 One day the young man killed a little buck and, according to custom, gave most of it to his bride's parents, thus proving that he hunted well and would provide for them and their daughter. With this the engagement was sealed. Shortly after-
585 ward the mothers of the bride and groom built a scherm for the young couple which they furnished with wood and water and enlivened with a fire, kindled by brands from their own fires. Very early the following day the bride's mother adorned
[301 822 831] the bride, washing her, hanging white bead ornaments from her hair, rubbing her clothing with red, sweet-smelling powder, a symbol to Bushmen of beauty. Then, sitting her upon one large kaross, they covered her with another and left her to spend the day motionless, waiting for evening, when the union would take place.

788 It is common in Bushman ceremonies for a person at a transitional moment of life to be raised from the ground and hidden from the sun, as though suspended between earth and sky. Young people on the day of their first marriage are protected in this way; so are newborn babies, and so are girls
[84] on the day of their first menstruation. At a funeral, too, the body before burial is covered and raised from the ground, and perhaps all this is because a person is especially susceptible to damage at times of life when change is taking place, when, perhaps, a person is as delicate and fragile as a new moth emerged from a cocoon.

585 Because the sun brings death, no ceremony or part of any
[821 761] ceremony is performed when the sun is strong; but when evening came and the sun itself was dying, the groom was led to his new home by his three brothers, who took him by the hands and pulled him there, forced him, for custom demanded that he show reluctance. The bride, according to custom, refused to go to her husband and had to be picked up by another little girl and carried to him. In the drama of re-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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and wipes it clean with grass. Then the mother collects the 844
stained grass, the placenta, and the bloody sand and covers
them all with stones or branches, marking the spot with a
tuft of grass stuck up in a bush so that no man will step on [784
or over the place, for the ground where a child has been born 778]
is tainted with a power so strong that any man infected with
it would lose an aspect of his masculinity, would lose his
power to hunt. The woman does not bury the placenta, for if [842]
she did she would lose her ability to bear more children.

The moment of birth is a very important one for the child and for the mother; it is at this moment that the child acquires a power, or an essence, over which he has no control, although he can make use of it. It will last him all his life; it is a supernatural essence that forever after connects the person born with certain forces in the world around him: with weather, with childbearing, with the great game antelope, and with death, and this essence is called the *now*. 778

There are two kinds of *now*, a rainy or cold one and a hot or dry one. If a person has a wet *now* and burns his hair in a fire or urinates in a fire, the person's *now* is said to make the weather turn cold (if it is the dry season) or bring rain (if it is the rainy season). If a person has a dry *now* and burns hair or urinates in a fire, the *now* is said to stop a cold spell or a bad storm. When a person dies, too, the weather changes violently according to the person's *now*. After a [761] death, scorching droughts or devastating storms are sure to follow.

We knew a Bushman woman at Gautscha whose young 778
son was living not with her but far away with the family of 821
his infant wife, and once, when a rainstorm came so violently that branches were splintered from the trees and water ran in torrents like waterfalls over the rocks beside the pan, the woman began to pine and grieve for her son, who, she felt

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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778 sure, was dead. At last a visitor came from her son's band
821 who assured her that her son was safe and well, and she knew then that the storm was not for his *now*, loose in the air, but possibly for the *now* of someone else, though when she heard the news it did not matter to her who might have died, for she was happy.

The effect of *now* is simple when a person dies, or when a person burns his hair or urinates to change the weather. With childbearing for women and with killing the great antelope for men (as the great antelope also have *now*, although the [825] small ones do not) the *now* has a larger, more complex effect. In these cases the *now* of the hunter interacts with the *now* of the antelope, the *now* of the woman interacts with the *now* of the child newly born, and when the blood of the antelope falls upon the ground as the antelope is killed, when the fluid of the womb falls upon the ground at the child's birth, the interaction of *nows* takes place, and this brings a change in the weather. In this way a mother may bring rain or drought when she bears a child, a hunter may bring rain or drought when he kills an antelope, no matter what kind of *now* the mother or the hunter may have. The mother or the hunter can only watch the weather to see what has taken place.

Now is intangible, mystic, and diffuse, and Bushmen themselves do not fully understand its workings. They do not know how or why *now* changes weather but only that it does. They watch the changes carefully, though, and by observing have discovered the limits of their own *nows*. When the fluid from a mother's womb falls upon the ground the child's *now* is determined, and it is partly for this reason that birth is such a mighty thing.

844 Birth is usually joyous. Bushmen of all ages adore their children and grandchildren, placing a child's health and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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521 lifted her head and her face showed in the firelight; her eyes shone quite yellow and she looked dangerous, like a leopard, as she glared in the direction of his voice.

361 On my way home I passed Lazy Kwi's house, which his
342 wife had started in his absence, and as she had planned a large scherm and had already built the framework, many large branches stuck upright in the ground, but had not yet covered it with grass, I could see Lazy Kwi inside. He was between me and his fire, and in silhouette against the red light he looked like a creature in a cage, for he was peering through the lattice of branches to see who was passing by. I stopped
252 to show who I was, and noticed a bird roasting by his fire, a little duck which must have been snared by Lazy Kwi's old father-in-law. It was plucked and trussed and tied to a stick which was pushed into the ground so that the duck hung over the coals. It looked about done to me, so I asked Lazy Kwi, who was obviously alone with it, awake only to tend it, if it wasn't ready, and Lazy Kwi looked first at me, then at the
[805 duck, then up at the sky, and shook his head. He was timing
82] it by a star, he explained, and the star had risen but wasn't high enough yet, so I said good-night and went home and left him in his lattice; and just before I went to sleep I heard great shouts of laughter, for Toma had found someone who hadn't heard the lion story and was telling it again.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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/KUNG BUSHMAN RELIGIOUS BELIEFS[1]

LORNA MARSHALL

MY purpose in this paper is to describe some of the religious beliefs held currently by the /Kung Bushmen of the interior bands of the Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. I shall limit the paper to a description of their concepts of the gods, the problem of evil, supplication, the spirits of the dead, and the ceremonial curing dance, but leave for another paper a more detailed account of medicine men, how they become medicine men, and more about their practices and beliefs. We gathered the information which I present principally on our expeditions of 1952–3 and 1955.

Schapera traces considerable borrowing in the past by the Bushmen from Hottentots and Bergdama.[2] I did not have opportunity to trace, to any significant extent, possible present-day borrowing or exchange of ideas, and can only report that contact, and therefore opportunity for exchange, takes place between the interior bands of /Kung in the Nyae Nyae region and the Tswana and Herero on the border of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung have contact also, but much less frequently, with Makaukau (Auen) Bushmen to the south and through them to some extent with Naron in the Ghanzi region of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae occasionally see /Kung to the north of their region, who in turn see the Okavango and Ovambo tribes. Although the Nyae Nyae /Kung had not enough contact with white people before we came to absorb any Christian ideas directly from them, and no Christian missionary has been in the interior of the region, an influence of Christianity cannot be precluded because the Tswana do have contact with Christianity. Our own highly valued interpreter, Kernel Ledimo, who grew up near the border and spoke Bushman from his childhood, had been educated in an Anglican mission school. Although there has been contact with people who have Christian ideas, I do not recognize with certainty any Christian elements among /Kung beliefs.

One is left to wonder if the change in the concept of the nature of the gods, particularly in that of the great god, which appears when one compares the old tales with current concepts, was brought about entirely by the philosophical and logical powers of the /Kung themselves and by their adjustment to emotional needs, or whether influences from without played some part. I hope that the research of others may throw light on this point.

I should like to mention a few of the well-known Bushman beliefs, recorded in the past, which the present Nyae Nyae /Kung do *not* have and then proceed to a more systematic description of beliefs which they hold at present.

The Nyae Nyae /Kung have various beliefs and lore about the sun and moon, Canopus, the Pleiades, and other stars, and they have the well-known myth of the moon and the hare; but they do not attribute active divinity to the heavenly bodies, which are 'just stars', they say in effect, and we did not find that they either fear

[1] We are grateful for a grant towards the publication of this long article.

[2] I. Schapera, *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, London: Routledge, 1930. Reference is particularly to chapter vii.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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821 them or seek to gain beneficent influence from them. As far as we know they do not pray to them for food as the Cape Bushmen are said once to have done, or for rain as the Naron and Auen and /O /Kung do.[1]

The /Kung beliefs about rain, which I do not describe in detail in this paper, include the idea that rain is life-giving and makes the food plants and other vegetation grow, whereas the sun is death-giving. The /Kung do not now formally personify or deify rain or worship it, but may retain a vestige of an ancient personification of rain in praying to it, in a manner of speaking, as they also do to lightning. 'Fall silently, rain. Do not make such a noise. Do not be dangerous', they say. Or, to lightning, 'Do not come against me. Go to the other side.'

825 The /Kung do not attribute divinity to the mantis but, in calling it 'the servant of *//Gamwa*', perhaps they preserve a vestige or an echo of the Cape Bushman belief in *//kaggen*. If they injure a mantis which is walking on them or throw one into the fire, [753] '*//Gamwa* would see this and say that his servant was being ill treated and would punish the person. He would make the person sick'. Mantises are *chi dole* (*chi*, thing; *dole*, bad) not because they harm you—they only prick and tickle you—but because they belong to *//Gamwa* and people are afraid of the 'owner'. The old people told them these things. We saw the /Kung hold mantises, however, without exhibiting fear or the uncanny fascinated feeling I had when I watched them (especially the huge female who lived with me, with her consort seemingly permanently attached to her, and fascinated me by never seeming to take her eyes off me as she made her slow and stately progress around the tent at night).

The /Kung react in quite a different way to millepedes. They say there are two kinds. The large one they call *ko ko chi nabe*; the small one they call *choba* or *zoba*. One day a boy picked up a millepede and threw it toward a group of women. They jumped up and fled, shrieking. Talking about it afterwards, they explained that 'even men are afraid of millepedes'. (We observed several incidents of people jump- [753] ing and running from them.) They are very dangerous, the /Kung say. If one gets on you, the shock of fright you feel could kill you. 'Millepedes work with *//Gamwa*. He sends them to eat your nose when you are asleep.' If you put a *choba* in the fire when the *n/i* berries (*Grewia flava* D.C.) are still green, the berries will not ripen [278] properly and will not be sweet. If the /Kung find the ash of a millepede which has been burned in a veld fire and has kept its shape, they take the ash for a medicine. (Cf. Schapera's account that among the Naron and Auen 'the millipede, said to belong to *Hishe*, is only touched by them [magicians]; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine.'[2])

774 825 The /Kung do not believe that animals have spirits or souls or that earthly objects (such as trees or water, for example) are entered by spirits or are themselves animated by having spirits of their own.

787 Divination is a secular practice among the /Kung. The oracle disks may be thrown and read by any man. They are five leather disks about two-and-a-half to three inches in diameter. The man who throws them gathers them into his cupped hands, flings them with a spreading motion on to a kaross on the ground, and reads what they reveal or predict. Different personifications are attributed to the disks, according to what the people want to learn from them. If advice about a hunt is wanted, the

[1] Schapera, op. cit., pp. 176–7. [2] Ibid., p. 197.

776 [576] only for females, *kolidi*, a term which one may also apply to women when one wants to be especially polite and to honour them. It is used for women 'who possess lots of things', the /Kung explained. *Gaoxadi*, the female form of one of the respect terms for the gods, may also be applied.

[222] *Khwova/na* is also called 'the mother of the bees'. When men go to look for honey they pray to her.

'The wives of the gods have the same work as their husbands. Their work is also strong', we were told.

The Names of the Children of the Gods

The names of the six children of the gods are as follows: for the boys—*/Kwa ma*, *Nami*, */Kung go*; for the girls—*/Kharu*, */Nai*, */Kow*. *Nami*, */Kharu*, and */Nai* are familiar names to me, the others are not. These names are from Robert Dyson's notes (for which I want to express my gratitude), and it is possible that the name he writes */Kow* is the same as the one I write *//Gow*. As I have said, such questions and discrepancies about words are very common.

In the myths, but not in the /Kung's current account of their beliefs, *≠Gaolna* has two other sons who are involved in many strange events with their father. Their [821] names are *Khan//a* and *Kxoma*. They were turned into the two stars in the vertical axis of the Southern Cross which now bear their names. Alpha Crux is *Khan//a*; Gamma Crux is *Kxoma*.

Miss Bleek was told that *Hishe* was sometimes 'followed by children like baboons'.[1] The image this gives of the divine children leaping and playing and following like infant baboons is amusing. The image which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have, however, is very different. 'The girls are fresh and beautiful', they say, 'not ugly like Bushmen.' Their skin is the colour of Bushman skin but at its lightest shade (*gau*).

[775] The children are called little *//ganwasi* (*si* is the plural suffix). The spirits of the dead are also called *//ganwasi*. It is the children's special duty to carry the spirits of mortals, when they die, from the dead bodies to their 'father in the sky'. We were told that the little *//ganwasi* are helpful to humans. 'They watch over them and help to prevent *≠Gaolna* from getting angry.'

Terms of Respect and Disrespect

776 In addition to the names, the Nyae Nyae /Kung apply three terms of respectful address to the gods: *gaoxa*, *n/iha*, and */nan*. As I mentioned in my paper on the struc-
576 ture of bands,[2] the terms *gaoxa* and *n/iha* may be applied also to human chiefs, or to persons who are over others, like a district commissioner, and they are sometimes applied to a Bushman headman, although, to be strictly proper in /Kung, a headman is called *kxau*, 'owner'. *Gaoxa* is the more exalted term. Some informants felt that to call a man *gaoxa* was to compare him to the deity, which might anger the gods. Others felt that it 'sounded like a curse' to call a man *gaoxa*. The term pleases *≠Gaolna*, however. When he hears it applied to himself he knows that the people respect and fear him and 'he has a good feeling about them'.

/Nau among the Nyae Nyae /Kung is a term of respect for any old man and it is

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 191.
[2] Cf. Lorna Marshall, '/Kung Bushman Bands,' *Africa*, vol. xxx, no. 4, Oct. 1960, pp. 325–35.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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thought to be the creator. ' The souls of the dead come to live with him, and he eats 776
their hearts.'[1] Hottentots considered him to be wholly the destroyer, the black chief, opposed to *Tsui ||Goab*, the creator and rain-giver. '. . . it is further said, by the Naman, that " *Tsui ||Goab* lives in a beautiful heaven, and *||Gaunab* lives in a dark heaven quite separated from the heaven of *Tsui ||Goab* ", while the Korana told Wuras that *Tsui ||Goab* lived in the Red Sky and *||Gaunab* in the Black Sky.'[2]

||Gaunwa in past concepts was more independent than now but otherwise he preserves the same mingling of characteristics. He does both good and evil deeds, from [761]
man's point of view, with emphasis upon death-giving and evil-doing. He has now become subservient to the great god, *≠Gaoʃna*, a servant who carries out orders and does his master's work. He should always obey *≠Gaoʃna*, but he preserves considerable independence, nevertheless, and instigates his own affairs.

One of his works is to go about to see what is going on. ' He tells the old man in the east whatever he sees and hears. " These people are staying well, those are not so well ",' Gao Medicine said, and continued, ' He may say to the old man, " Let us help these people get some food." Or he may tell him that lightning is killing some people and ask, " What shall I do? " '

Gao Scarf told us, in effect, that one time *||Gaunwa* went to *≠Gaoʃna* and asked him for medicine. *≠Gaoʃna* was annoyed. He said, ' The medicine must stay with me. I am bigger than you.' *||Gaunwa* went away and did not ask any more until some time had passed. Then he went and asked again. *≠Gaoʃna* said, ' You bad, stupid fellow! You think you are clever but you are not. I am bigger than you. I have everything. You must come and ask me every time, but this time take the medicine and go and work with your Bushmen.' That is how *||Gaunwa*, as well as *≠Gaoʃna*, gives medicine [756]
to the medicine men.

||Gaunwa is a ' small man ', he has small sense, and he makes many mistakes. If someone is sick, when the medicine men at the curing dances see him lurking, they rush at him, give him a blow, and shout that he has brought the wrong medicine. ' Idiot! You have done wrong. You make me ashamed. Go away.' And *||Gaunwa* then runs away. Sometimes after his chastisement he comes back with the proper medicine to cure and the sick person recovers.

The /Kung associate *||Gaunwa* with whirlwinds as the other Bushman and Hottentot 776
groups did. The /Kung call a whirlwind *||gaunwa ≠a*, which means *||Gaunwa* smell. 821 ●
≠A is not an ordinary odour, which one can actually smell, and a whirlwind is not 761
an ordinary wind, which is *mas*. The /Kung believe that a whirlwind is ' a death thing ', ' a fight '. *||Gaunwa* walks in the whirlwind and his smell is in it, and death is in it. If the wind passes over a person, the *≠a* goes into him, and he will get sick and die. The spirits of the dead, the *||gaunwasi*, also come in the whirlwinds. One cannot [775]
see or hear *||Gaunwa* or the *||gaunwasi* in the whirlwinds. There are no precautions one can take to protect oneself against them except to try to get away. Little ' dust devils ' played around us very frequently in the Kalahari, and often awesome black funnels of ashes formed in the veld fires and reached from the earth to the heavens. Sometimes white clouds condensed on their tops and we believe that we saw 'pillars of cloud by day' like those the children of Israel saw.

[1] Ibid., pp. 188-9. [2] Ibid., p. 189.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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775 and they have a respectful term, */airisi*, to use if they wish to show deference and be ingratiating. Actually the /Kung seemed to speak of the *||gauwasi* quite often and much less reluctantly than they spoke of the gods. I did not happen to hear them use */airisi* except when they were telling me the term.

775 The *||gauwasi* move about in the sky or on earth. All over the sky fine cords are
772 stretched, like the strands of a spider's web, invisible to us but strong. The *||gauwasi* move on these cords and can go anywhere. They descend to earth on one which hangs down from the sky, the one by which the medicine men climb up when they go to see *||Gauwa* in the western sky.

775 The idea that the stars are the eyes of the dead, which some Bushmen believe, is
772 not held by the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Some informants had heard that other people
● 821 believed this. Lazy /Qui said he did not know; certainly enough people had died to account for there being so many stars. Others said stars are just stars there in the sky. Although they have names for several of them and stories about some, they do not know what substances stars are made of or what their nature is.

775 The /Kung associate falling stars with death. They do not believe that they are
[761 spirits of the dead but that they fall to earth and become insects which are col-
825] loquially called 'ant lions' (*Myrmeleonidae*, in the order of Neuropters). These insects are common in the region. In the larval state they live in holes in the ground where one can see them spurting out grains of earth or sand. They devour ants. The /Kung believe that the bite of a fallen star may cause you to die the next day but that, if the star likes you and wishes to spare you, its bite will do you no harm. The old people have said so. *≠Gaolna* has no particular association with ant lions other than being the creator and controller of all things.

The spirits of dead persons are transmuted into *||gauwasi* by *≠Gaolna* in the east. When a person dies, *||gauwasi* come soon to take his spirit. The children of the gods are sometimes the ones who come, we were told, but any of the *||gauwasi* may do so, either ancestors of the dead person or non-related spirits.

[774] The *||gauwasi* pull the spirit out through the head of the corpse. The head is, likewise, the egress of the spirits of the medicine men. When the medicine men are in trance,
[787] which the /Kung call half-death, their spirits go out temporarily from their bodies through their heads to encounter and combat *||Gauwa* and the *||gauwasi*, who lurk in the shadows around the dance fire, and it is through the heads that the spirits return.

[775] The spirit which the *||gauwasi* take from the corpse is distinct from life. The /Kung believe that life, *≠toa*, is inside the body of a person or animal, that it is put there and held there by the creator. It exists in all the vital organs in the abdomen, in blood, in the heart, lungs, throat, and mouth, and is everywhere in the head. It does not exist in the arms and legs, the /Kung believe, because they know that human beings and animals can be wounded in a limb or even lose one and not die, whereas a wound in the vital parts is likely to kill. Life dies in the body and stays there—dead, as the
[774] body itself is there but dead. It is the spirit which does not die. The only word I know for spirit is *||gauwa*. The spirit is like air. It cannot be seen and cannot be kept by mortals. The *||gauwasi* take it and they take the heart and blood of the person as well. These the *||gauwasi* carry first into the western sky, to the place where *||Gauwa* lives, but they do not leave them with him. They carry them further, around by the south to the east, to the place where *≠Gaolna*, the great creator, lives.

775 to our ears. One story was that at a place between Gam and Gautscha, where a person died, something goes '*wuu wuu wuu*', making a sound like wind in an empty ostrich eggshell or a bee buzzing in a bottle. The thing once chased ≠Nisa and her daughter. [761] They were terribly frightened, and people warned each other not to go near that place again 'because a person could get such a fright he could die of it'. One cannot see the thing. One can only hear it. On being questioned, people said they thought the thing was a *//gauwa*.

[787] *//Gauwasi* are mischievous as well as conveyors of grave evils and they trick and fool people on their own initiative, often appearing to people in dreams to do so. One might dream, for instance, that the *//gauwasi* told him he would shoot a fat buck if he hunted in a certain direction. If he then hunted there and failed to kill anything, he would know that they had tricked him. ≠Toma felt, when he was sick, that he was lying on thorns and that the *//gauwasi* were pressing down on him.

The function of the *//gauwasi* is, first and foremost, to be the servants (*≠gasi*) of the gods and to carry out their orders. They obey *≠Gaolna* primarily, but are servants of *//Gauwa* as well. They are the messengers, whether good or bad fortune is being sent to the people.

775 When the gods order them to kill a person, the *//gauwasi* have innumerable ways of 761 doing so. They can allow a buffalo to gore the person, a lion to maul him, or a snake 753 to bite him. They were responsible for a man's falling to his death from a baobab tree—an appalling death to the /Kung, who are as careful and sure as cats. Lightning [821] —'rain fire'—is 'a death thing' and is used by the *//gauwasi* to kill people when the gods so command. *//Gauwasi* have the traditional miniature magic bows and arrows, with which they shoot people. One feels the pain of the little arrow piercing, when one is shot, but one cannot see the arrow; eventually one dies of it. Sickness, however, is the greatest tool of the death-bringers and they kill mostly by it. They can bring their sicknesses, death, and other misfortune to men at any time, but they are sure to come to the ceremonial curing dances and are always there in the shadows watching for their chance to inflict the ill on the person or persons whom they are sent to destroy.

Although the *//gauwasi* are associated in the people's minds primarily with sickness and death and the people fear them with a pervading fear, the /Kung do not appear to suffer in an agony of terror. I think that their fear is mitigated by the belief that the *//gauwasi* are minor characters and can be driven away and that in their own natures they are not wholly evil. Like the mortals they once were, they are capable of being [782] good, bad, or indifferent to man. People can plead with them for their favour and sometimes they feel pity and are helpful.

Man's Relations with the Gods

772 *≠Gaolna* said, when he praised himself, 'I take my own way and no one can com- 776 mand me. I am a stranger, unknowable. I am *chi doh*.' The /Kung these days evidently imagine him to be as much the self unbridled as the old protagonist of the tales. However, unlike the old *≠Gaolna*, he is not indifferent to mankind, and, even though he lives in the sky, he is not remote. On the contrary, he is deeply involved with humanity, constantly aware of what people do, constantly reacting with pleasure or displeasure, and he favours, punishes, or ill-treats man accordingly.

312 at the waterholes consists primarily of roots and bulbs of the
221
824 genera: Eulophia, Vigna, Walleria, and Coccinia, and the edible sap of Acacia spp. and Terminalia sericea. It is this time of year that the heart of the dwarf vegetable ivory palm is eaten,
[164] (Hyphenae). Those who eat its fibrous pulp experience stomach cramps and diarrhea, but, as the Bushmen say, it make one's "mouth work" and gives one a sensation of a full stomach.
221 Hunting is arduous business in the heat and men who go out in
224 the early morning find it necessary to spend the mid-day hours resting in the shade. The principal animal killed is the springhare.

132 The first rains are convectional thundershowers. Their distribution is spotty. A storm may briefly inundate one area and miss entirely another area only a mile away.

312 The Bushmen observe the storm clouds travelling across
222 the horizon and try to judge where the showers have drenched
[821] the ground. They then set out in family groups in the direction of the rains. If they find that water has collected in the hollows of mongongo trees, they will stay in the nut groves for several days and eat nuts until the water is exhausted. They then fill their karosses with nuts and return to the permanent water. If, on reaching the nut groves, they find that no water has collected they will be forced to fill their karosses with nuts and return to camp the same day. In certain areas

132
433 physical condition of the Bushmen was visibly poorer in November 1964 by comparison with November 1963.

2. Main rains

132 The Bushmen say that a series of intense downpours
361 (measuring 2-3 inches) heralds the beginning of the main
[821] rains and ushers in their season of abundance. Such a fall occurred in 1963 at the end of November. The immediate effect of these downpours is to produce standing water in the small molapos that lie in the interstices of the dunes. When these seasonal waters become established, virtually the entire Bushman population moves out to live at them. Thus from December through March the permanent waterholes are largely deserted.

312 With the coming of the main rains, the summer foods
433 begin to ripen. These foods appear around the summer water
222 sources and they appear also around the permanent waterholes. It is significant, that, although foods become available at the permanent waterholes, the Bushmen tend to avoid these foods. They prefer to eat the foods that are around the summer waters. This illustrates one way that the Bushmen take maximum advantage of the more distant foods. They defer exploitation of the foods around the permanent waterhole until the winter when the alternative water sources have dried out.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

lighting a new fire at the next encampment, although this is a practice which, as we have just seen, Fourie explicitly denies for the Heikum. 372 622 [114]

There is no indication at all in the available literature that similar usages relating to fire are found among the rest of the Bushmen, nor [184] is there any further evidence of their occurrence among the tribes mentioned above. On the other hand the sacred fire also plays a very conspicuous part in the social and ritual life of the OvaHerero, OvaMbo, and Bergdama, all of them close neighbours of the Bushmen tribes among whom it is found, and with the last two of whom the Heikum at least have intermixed considerably. It is probable therefore that the special observances relating to fire among the Heikum and the Kung may represent borrowed elements of culture; but much [177] fuller information is needed about them before this can be definitely asserted. Whatever their origin, however, these usages now obviously play an important part in the social life of the people. In particular, the fact that at the present time the chief of the band has certain ex- [622] clusive functions in connection with fire is of outstanding significance in the whole sphere of public life, and one which cannot be dismissed merely because it may be due to the effects of contact with other peoples. To this point we shall have to return when discussing the political institutions of the Bushmen. 171 372

Special Usages relating to Food

There is not much information available about food taboos, but it appears that, in some of the tribes at least, certain foods are forbidden to persons at different stages of life. In the texts obtained by Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen there are preserved the details of some of the food taboos prevalent among this people. Thus little children were not allowed to eat the heart of the jackal (on account of this animal's great timidity), certain portions of the ostrich, or the tip of the springbok's tail; a menstruating girl might not eat game [841] killed by the young men, lest she bring them ill luck—she had to eat only game taken by her father; a certain kind of tortoise was forbidden to young unmarried men and women, for fear of arousing [821] the wrath of the rain; women were not allowed to eat the flesh of the lynx; the tail of the porcupine was forbidden to certain (unspecified) persons; while all refrained from eating a certain small portion of the flesh of the hare.[1] The published information relating 262 825 262 [114]

[1] L. C. Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, cf. references in Index, s.v. "Food—not to be eaten."

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262 to these taboos is unfortunately so fragmentary that little can be
[114] gathered of the ideas underlying them. Several of them are
undoubtedly connected with wider ritual observances, e.g. the taboo
[821] imposed on menstruating girls, and again that associated with a
[821] certain belief about the rain; but of the others no full explanation is
[773] available, although the taboo on the portion of the hare may possibly
[761] be linked up with the Bushman myth of the origin of death, in which
[825] the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the
promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon.

Among the Naron, again, "It does not seem," says Miss Bleek,[1] "as if many taboos in the food line still existed. Paauw meat and ostrich eggs are chiefly given to old men as the greatest delicacies. Some say young children, or girls till they have had their first baby, are not to eat steenbok, lest they remain small, but others tell me that all meat is eaten by everyone. Honey touched by a baboon must not be eaten, or you will die." Among the Auen, young girls and boys apparently may not eat game at all, otherwise they will remain thin; while water
[841] and food collected by a menstruating woman may be partaken of only by herself and old people—it "makes others weak".[2]

About the Heikum we have far more information on this point,
224 thanks to the excellent description given by Fourie of certain
[114] of their hunting observances.[3] The details he gives throw such a wealth of new light upon this aspect of Bushman life that they may be quoted in full. "After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *//gaus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals.
224 The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout
252 for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is
[462] skinned by the men. The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the
[281] purpose, is cut into sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is
[462] then removed to the *//gaus* by the men who may occasionally be assisted by the women. On arrival at the *//gaus* all the meat is laid

[1] *The Naron*, 7. [2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140, 157.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 100–2; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 54–6.

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heads, beset the entire distance with all kinds of imaginary obstacles 775
and difficulties; and even after all their labour on arriving at the desired destination they will have nothing but flies to live upon." This belief that after a time the dead arise and go to a land where there is an abundance of good food is likewise recorded by Campbell and by Miss Currle, neither of whom, however, is a specially trustworthy authority. [114] The Bushman informants of Dr. Bleek also spoke of "the place to which the Bushmen go after death", but unfortunately the details given by them have not yet been published. We are unable, therefore, to tell if their ideas of a future life were in any way similar to those reported by Stow and the other writers.[1]

On the other hand, these Bushman informants also had a variety 821 ●
of interesting beliefs linking up death with the phenomena of Nature. 761
The stars, they said, know the time when a Bushman dies, and the 775
fall of one announces, to those who are not aware of it, that something bad has happened. When, after this, a "hammerkop" (*Scopus umbretta*, the "lightning bird" of other South African tribes) flies, [825]
calling out, over the camp, the people know that someone belonging to them has died. When rain is accompanied by lightning, girls who are out in the open become killed by the lightning and are converted into stars, while those who are taken away by the rain become beautiful water-flowers, which will not allow themselves to be plucked [824]
and disappear when approached. Such flowers must be let alone. Hence the rule that young unmarried women and girls must hide themselves from the rain. The Moon, again, is hollow (in its first quarter) because it is carrying people who are dead. The human heart is believed to fall down after death in the form of a shooting star; the hair of a dead person is changed into clouds, while his gall appears again as a green colour in the sky, and so forth. Dead 775
people may also come in their own forms as apparitions to their relatives and friends, even in waking life. There seems, however, to be no evil portent in this; nor, indeed, does there seem to be any noticeable fear of dead persons on the whole, although we are told that the names of those who are dead must not be uttered by children at night.[2]

The Namib Bushmen, on the other hand, seem to fear dead people greatly, and, as we have seen, the thickened *dawes* sap placed in the [764]

[1] Stow, op. cit., 129; Campbell, *Second Journey in S. Africa*, i, 29; Currle, "Bushmen of Namaqualand," 117; Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 19.
[2] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 25; Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365–71, 389–401.

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114 184 769 789 [775] asked to make use of the special powers they had possessed in life and apparently still retained, just as they would be approached when alive. The main conclusion to be drawn, in fact, is that these Bushmen do not regard dead people as wholly severed from the world of the living. There is certainly nothing here to warrant the assumption of any regular organized worship of the dead.

Worship of Heavenly Bodies

782 821 [794] Religious cult among the Cape Bushmen centres largely in the worship of the Heavenly Bodies, and especially of the Moon. Prayers directed by them to the Moon have been recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd, but unfortunately the details given are far too [114] scanty to throw much light upon the nature of the worship. One account, indeed, indicates that when the New Moon first appears every man prays to it, and Orpen also mentions having seen Bushmen throw sand in the air and shout out on seeing the crescent moon when it first appeared, but there is nothing else to suggest any special form of rite. The prayers themselves are chiefly prayers for food, and one of them, just lately published by Miss Bleek,[1] may be quoted as illustrating the form of invocation. It is spoken with raised right hand :—

539 782 821

Ho, my hand is this,
I shoot a springbok with my hand
By an arrow.

I lie down,
I will early kill a springbok
To-morrow.

Ho, Moon lying there,
Let me kill a springbok
To-morrow,
Let me eat a springbok;
With this arrow
Let me shoot a springbok
With this arrow;
Let me eat a springbok,
Let me eat filling my body
In the night which is here,
Let me fill my body.

Ho Moon lying there,
I dig out ants' food
To-morrow,
Let me eat it.

Ho Moon lying there,
I kill an ostrich to-morrow
With this arrow.

[1] "Bushman Folklore," *Africa*, ii (1929), 306.

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 821 [539] [782]

Ho Moon lying there,
Thou must look at this arrow,
That I may shoot a springbok with it to-morrow.

In the mythology of these people the Moon is represented now as the shoe of the Mantis, which he threw into the sky to give him light, now as a man gradually sliced down to almost complete extinction by the sun; and it is also connected, as we have seen, with the origin of death. But that it is more than merely a mythological character to them is shown not only by the prayers, but also by various special observances relating to it. The Moon is not to be laughed at, lest it become angry and go into the sky (i.e. become eclipsed). A Bushman child for the same reason is warned by his father not to look at the Moon as it rises behind the mountain, for fear of arousing its anger and causing it to become obscured. Above all the Moon may not be looked at when game has been shot, lest the wounded animal be lost.[1] [773]

Prayers are also found addressed to the Sun and, more frequently, to the Stars. Abundance of food is attributed to them, and the prayers, like those addressed to the Moon, ask for success in hunting and collecting, and say, in effect, "send food, that we may live and not die." Certain stars are asked for certain foods, probably those that come into season about the time the star first appears in the evening sky. Canopus, for instance, known as the "Bushman rice (ants' larvæ) Star", is addressed as follows[2]:— 782 821

[539]

O Star coming there,
Let me see a springbok,
O Star coming there,
Let me dig out ants' food
With this stick;
O Star-body coming there,
Let me dig out ants' food
With this stick;
O Star coming there,
Let me see a springbok to-morrow;
O Star coming there,
I give thee my heart;
Do thou give me thy heart;
O Star coming there,
I may see a proteles to-morrow,
Let the dog kill it,
Let me eat it,
Let me eat filling my body,
That I may lie and sleep at night.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 7, 9–10, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 7; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, Index s. v. "Moon"; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushman", 141; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 304–6.
[2] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 307.

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821 The first appearance of this star in the evening sky is also the
788 occasion for the performance of a certain ceremony. In the words
372 of Dr. Bleek's informant, "The Bushmen perceive Canopus, they say to a child: 'Give me yonder piece of wood, that I may put (the end of) it (in the fire), that I may point (it) burning (towards) grandmother; for, grandmother carries Bushman rice; grandmother shall make a little warmth for us; for she coldly comes out; the sun shall warm grandmother's eye for us." About the same time as Canopus, Sirius appears, and a similar ceremony takes place; the man who first saw the star is asked to "burn (a stick) for us (towards) Sirius; that the sun may shining come out for us; that Sirius may not coldly come out". He holds the end of the stick in the fire until it has caught alight, and then points it towards the star, moving it up and down quickly. "He sings; he sings (about) Canopus, he sings (about) Sirius; he points to them with fire, that they may twinkle like each other. He throws fire at them. He covers himself up entirely (including his head) in (his) kaross and lies down. He arises, he sits down; while he does not again lie down; because he feels that he has worked, putting Sirius into the sun's warmth; so that Sirius may warmly come out."[1] Both these stars appear in winter, hence the cold is connected with them. The ceremony just described is therefore almost certainly a warming incantation. It is said also that it will make the stars rise higher, for the higher they stand above the eastern horizon at sunrise, and the more brightly they twinkle, the more nearly winter draws to an end.

773 In the mythology the stars are held to have once been animals
821 or people of the Early Race, in some cases people who had been transformed upon breaking some taboo. Many of the stars and constellations, as Dr. Bleek points out, bear names which they apparently owe only to the fact that they are seen at certain times when the animals or other objects whose names they bear come into season or are most abundant. This would suggest the close connection between them and the food supply. "Of course," he adds, "when such names as steinbok, hartebeest, eland, anteater, lion, tortoise, etc., had once become attached to certain stars or constellations, fancy might step in and try to discover the shapes of those animals (or other objects) in the configuration of the stars; whilst, at the same time, mythological personification would begin its work,

[1] *Bushman Folklore*, 338–41.

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and make the heavens the theatre of numberless poetically-conceived histories"—in which, as the texts obtained by him show, Bushman mythology is extremely rich.[1]

The selections so far published from these texts are too few to enable us to determine anything more about the nature of the worship directed to these heavenly bodies, and especially about the ceremonies associated with them; but that such worship did actually exist is evident from the facts recorded above.

There is no mention of similar prayers among the Namib Bushmen, but then no information at all is available about their ideas relating to the heavenly bodies. Among the tribes further north we again meet with moon worship. Both Naron and Auen still worship the Moon. They regard it as an old man, the Sun as a young girl, who is his wife. First the Moon pursues the Sun across the sky, later the Sun follows the Moon. They go down to their houses below the horizon in the west, then fly back at night across the earth to their houses in the east. They can be heard passing, but are not seen. The New Moon, when it appears, is invoked by the magicians, two of whom, man and woman, sit on the ground together, holding their hands out palms upward towards it, and say: "Give us rain that we may live." This worship of the Moon has penetrated into modern ideas also, for most of the people think that since the Moon is in the sky and the God (*!khuba*) the white men and Nama speak of is also in the sky, therefore God is the Moon. Their ancestors used also to pray to certain stars, particularly the morning star and the Southern Cross; but these prayers, says Miss Bleek, are memories of long ago, whereas the moon worship is continued to-day by young as well as old.[2]

A prayer to the New Moon for food, given in the eighties of last century by a Kung youth from near Lake Ngami, is also recorded in the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd[3]; but according to Lebzelter there is nowadays no trace at all among the Kung of either sun or moon worship. The sun is regarded as a woman, the moon as a man, who originally lived upon earth and were carried about on the shoulders of people; but the latter became tired of their burdens

[1] Bleek, "Resemblances in Bushman and Australian Mythology," *Cape Monthly Mag.*, Feb., 1874, 101–2; *idem*, *Bushman Texts*, 10–12, 15; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 8, 22; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 72–99 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Folklore," 304, 307.
[2] *Naron*, 26–7.
[3] *Bushman Folklore*, 414–15.

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821 [773] and left them lying alone, whereupon they ascended to the sky. This story, adds Lebzelter, is not believed in at all by the people, who told it to him with great laughter.[1]

[782] Other prayers to the New Moon are found, however, among the [535] IO Kung in Angola. Miss Bleek describes a dance seen by her, in which the women and girls stood in a group on one side singing and clapping their hands, while the men, singing also but not clapping, were in an irregular group on the other side, wriggling their whole bodies but otherwise hardly moving. The song accompanying this dance was a repetition of the words :—

[539]

//nwa-se //kabama //gu a i-i,	New Moon, come out, give water to us,
//nwa-se tatana //gu a i-i,	New Moon, thunder down water for us,
//nwa-se tale u //gu a i-i,	New Moon, shake down water for us.

Here also, as among the Naron and Auen, the Moon is therefore looked upon as the raingiver, and is prayed to as such—and rain, it must be remembered, makes the plants grow which feed the buck, hence it provides both vegetable and animal food. The New Moon is said to be either a child or a man, while the Full Moon is a woman. This distinction Miss Bleek interprets in the light of the difference in form presented by these two aspects of the Moon. In Naron and [193] Nama the masculine and feminine endings are given to the same [196] roots to denote respectively strong, tall, slender things and weak, short, round things. So here the New Moon may be called a man, because of its slenderness, the Full Moon a woman because of its round shape. The Moon is also held to be the elder sister, the sun the younger; but apparently there are no special practices or beliefs regarding the latter, although one of Miss Bleek's informants said: "We sing to the Sun and the Stars as well as the Moon." No prayers [782] to the former are recorded, however.[2]

The only other Bushmen of whose ideas relating to the heavenly bodies we have information are the Hiechware. Dornan states that [184] he was unable to discover among them any special ceremonies connected with the sun and the moon, but that they certainly do reverence these bodies, although seeming to dread them more than anything else. They think they must keep on good terms with the sun and the moon if they are to be successful in hunting or anything [782] else they undertake. He could not, however, discover any prayers

[1] Religiösen Vorstellungen der *//Khun*-Buschmänner," 401; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh Buschleuten" 13.

[2] "Buschmänner von Angola," 53; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 119–20, 122, 124.

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or other worship directed to these bodies.[1] How far the absence of moon worship must be attributed to the fact that these Bushmen have long been exposed to Bantu influence is difficult to say. In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the other Bushman tribes, however, as well as the fact that the Hiechware have certainly been considerably influenced by the BeChwana, this seems the most reasonable suggestion; although, as already noted, Dornan cannot be regarded as a fully reliable authority. 821 [782] [177] [114]

The evidence on the whole shows quite definitely that worship of the heavenly bodies, and especially of the Moon, exists among the Bushmen. In all the instances noted, the New Moon is prayed to; in the case of the Cape Bushmen for food, although the details of the ceremony are not available, while among the Naron, Auen, and !O Kung there is a special ceremony at which it is invoked for rain. There is nothing to suggest that the Moon is conceived of as a supreme deity, or that it forms the object of an elaborate cult. At the same time the prayers and ceremonies noted clearly constitute an act of worship. They must therefore be regarded as part of the Bushman religion. The prayers and usages relating to the sun and the stars among the Cape Bushmen suggest a wider sidereal worship, which the scanty details from the Northern tribes would seem to bear out; but the worship of the Moon seems to be by far the most prominent. 821 771 782 [776]

Supernatural Beings

In other aspects of religion and mythology there appears to be a good deal of variation in details among the different Bushmen tribes. The most prominent figure in the mythology of the Cape Bushmen is the Mantis, round whom a whole cycle of myths has been formed. Besides his own proper name, */kaggen*, he possesses several others, as does also his wife, whose most usual name, however, is */huntu!katt!katten*, the Dassie or Rock Rabbit (*Hyrax capensis*). They have three children, a daughter, of whom there is no further mention; a son, */gaunu-ts'axau* (*/gaunu* is the name of a certain star, and *ts'axau* means "eye"), who in one of the tales is killed by baboons, and restored to life again by the Mantis; and another son, */kaggen-©pwa*, the young Mantis, who also figures in one of the tales, where his likeness to his father is commented upon. Besides his own children the Mantis has an adopted daughter, */xo*, the Porcupine. 773 776 [184] [825] [825]

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 163.

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773 Her real father is a monster named *//khwai-hemm*, the All-devourer,
776 but she does not dare to live with him, for fear of being eaten herself. She is married to */kwammanga*, a mythical person not identified
[821] with any animal, but seen in the rainbow. They have two children, */kwammanga-⊙pwa*, young */kwammanga*, who is brave and quiet like his father, and */ni*, the Ichneumon, who plays an important part in the mythology, particularly in advising and assisting his grandfather the Mantis, and in chiding him for his misdeeds. All these, the Bushmen say, were once men and women, people of the Early Race which preceded the Bushmen, but now they are animals.

In their myths the Mantis is gifted with supernatural powers, yet often has a most stupid and perverse character; he is sometimes mischievous, sometimes kind, and is always getting into scrapes and unnecessary fights by his foolishness. He has the power of speech, which all his possessions share with him; he dreams, and his dreams come true; he foretells the ultimate future, when he and his comrades will all be animals; he can transform himself into various other animal forms, is sometimes killed, but always comes to life again. He also has creative powers. One myth relates that the Bushmen were formerly springboks, and were changed by him into human beings; another that he gave places their names; while he gives the bucks their colours and names and has them under his special protection. He can also bring people back to life again. But he is never prayed to, although, as we have seen, there are prayers to the Moon, who is also his creation. Nor is there any evidence of observances specially connected with him, apart from the mention
[751] of a "curious charm" made from the foot of the hartebeest and used by women for their children as a protection against him.[1]

773 The Rain or Water, */khwa*, is also acknowledged by these Bushmen
825 as a supernatural personage, and various beliefs and usages are directed
821 towards it. It is often represented as an animal; in the form of a bull it carries off a young maiden, in the form of an eland it was shot by a man of the early race with disastrous effects. It is thought
821 of most commonly, however, as an animal living in a waterhole,
825 and it is believed that wherever this animal goes, rain will fall. One
[789] of the principal methods of rain-making, therefore, is for the rain-magicians to drag this animal over as large a tract of country as they can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 6–9; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 5–7; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1–37; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*; *idem*, *Bushman Folklore*, 305.

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can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible. Among the many rock-paintings left by the Bushmen in the caves and rock-shelters of their country there are pictures "of wonderful animals, such as certainly never existed; these the Bushmen of fifty years ago explained as Rain bulls, Rain animals. With them are often seen frogs, fish, tortoise, and snake, the animals protected by the Rain".[1] Certain snakes found near a waterhole are believed to be kept in store by the Rain, and for fear of arousing its wrath may not be eaten by young unmarried men and women; nor may frogs be killed, lest drought ensue. When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind, and various transformations effected. Young women are particularly exposed to danger from the Rain, and to avoid this they must observe various rules of conduct. They must propitiate the waterhole by means of *buchu* and *tto* (aromatic shrubs); they must hide themselves from the Rain; they must not snap their fingers at people, nor may they be spoken to against their wish, lest the anger of the Rain be thereby aroused. There are many legends telling how disobedient girls were punished, together with those around them, by the angry Rain, or were taken up by his agency in a whirlwind and transformed into frogs, snakes, porcupines, stars, water-flowers, etc. Such transformations are also illustrated in the rock-paintings.

The Rain thus appears as something to be respected or feared, since it has power to change people into animals and other objects, as well as to destroy with storms and terrible lightning. At the same time it also brings water and makes food grow. In connection with this latter aspect Miss Bleek says: "That Bushmen realized the life-giving powers of water is clear, as all tales of rebirth are connected therewith. The Mantis restores his son and his sister, the Blue crane, to life after they have been killed by throwing a part of their body into the water. In course of time this part grows up into the person to which it had belonged. In the same way he makes an eland of a shoe (perhaps a piece of eland's skin). An ostrich is killed; one of its feathers blows into the water and becomes a new ostrich."

"Yet in spite of the Bushman's dependence on water and realization of its power," she goes on to say, "he does not represent it as a man or god. One instance is known to me of the Rain being addressed, when it is wrathful and lightens; but the first part of the speech is to the dead men who ride it:—

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 3[illegible].

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821
[539]

O gallopers,
O gallopers,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it
821 to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other magicians have a similar power over the wind, */khwe*, and are protected by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind
[773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears the form of a bird.[1]

773 Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we
776 meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from
[184] those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object
[794] of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed that *'Kaang* (i.e. */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, *'Kue-'akeng-*
[761] *'teng*, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives
[821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put
[825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine
796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood"
535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant,
[773] Qing, described as follows: "*Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the song of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it, and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night.
[786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[104] [2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol *c* represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds.

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776 "the Lord" or "the great captain", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Huwu* or *Hu'e*. This "supreme being" is regarded as anthropomorphic, he looks like a Bushman and he also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky in a house with two storeys, the lower of which is occupied by himself, his wife, whose name is unknown, and many children, while the upper is occupied, as already mentioned, by the souls of the dead (*xa*). In appearance this house is similar to the ordinary Bushman hut, although not quite the same, and its exterior is "hairy like a caterpillar". Honey, locusts, fat flies, and butterflies [825] are found here in superabundance, and the "great captain" feeds [775] upon these; the souls of the dead, however, merely sit around and eat nothing. *Xu* summons the magicians to their profession, and [756] gives them supernatural powers; he is the lord over rain and lightning, as well as over the spirits, *//gauab*, and through the chief of the latter he sends good fortune in hunting or in the collection of veldkos. If anybody thinks or speaks evil of him, he punishes the evildoer with lightning; otherwise he takes no interest in the doings of his "Bushman children", except when somebody swears falsely by [782] him, for the Kung have a regular oath in which they invoke him. He is prayed to by them in fixed form for rain, in case of severe illness, before going out hunting or before undertaking a dangerous journey.[1]

The Western Kung of Ukuanyama (Oschimpoloveld) speak of [184] *Erob*, translated by Lebzelter as "God", who, like *Xu*, lives in a house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is [782] often prayed to, especially for rain and in hunting, as well as in case [224] of illness, "because he has made all things and can do everything and knows everything", and he is given the first offerings of the chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth, [821] and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.[2]

821 *Erob* also figures as the "supreme being" among the Heikum of 184 the Etosha Pan, although in prayers for rain and in case of illness he 776 is addressed as *Xu*. The group in North-Eastern Ondonga speak [782] of the "supreme being" as *Xamaba*, the groups at Ukuambi know him as *Erob* or *Xuwa*, and the group at Uukualuthi as *Erob*; and among them all, as among the Eastern Kung, he lives in the sky in a house to which the souls of the dead are brought. Almost

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khun-Buschmänner," 407-9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen," 412.

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everywhere he is regarded as the creator of all things, including mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.[1] 184 776 [821] [782] [224]

The IO Kung in Angola did not mention *Erob* or *Xuwa*, but spoke again of *Huwe*. Here, as we have seen, *Huwe* occasionally appears at the boys' puberty ceremonies and dances with the initiates, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double guise as man and woman. In the prayer to the New Moon his name may also be substituted for *//nwa-se*, but apart from this substitution there is no evidence of worship directed towards him. He is further said to appear to people in dreams.[2] Of the attributes found by Lebzelter for the "supreme being" among the Kung and the Heikum no mention at all is made by Miss Bleek. [787]

Huwe appears again among the Bushmen of the Eastern Kalahari. They believe, according to Dornan, in a spirit which they variously call *Dʒimo*, *Thora*, and *Huwe*. *Dʒimo* is a corruption of the Chwana word *Modimo*, nowadays generally rendered "God", and is, says Dornan, "largely used by the tame Bushmen with the same signification." *Thora* and *Huwe* are the regular Bushman words. *Huwe* is here spoken of as the good spirit who wards off disease, gives plenty, and protects the Bushmen from danger. When any danger threatens, they will call upon him; Dornan mentions having once heard some Bushmen of the Sansokwe River sing over and over again the words *Huwe ka hume ie ie*, *Huwe* come to our aid ie ie. More often, however, they speak of *Thora*. They say he made all things, but they are not sure where he dwells, or if he is a person. According to Dornan they look upon him as the Great One, who is over all things, who sends rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting. They often use *Thora* to ensure success in hunting; when, e.g. they have killed an animal they will praise him for bringing it under their arrows. This statement Dornan seems to have derived [177] [782] 114 776 224 [821]

[1] Lebzelter, op. cit., 410–12; cf. Schmidt, "Die alten Buschmann-Religion," 197, summarizing Lebzelter's data.

[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 14; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122, 123.

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114 776 [224] from Chapman, who records that once when some Bushmen were with him and he had killed a rhinoceros they threw some dust on its tail and spat in its eyes before they touched it, muttering meanwhile "some gibberish" to *Thora*, while on another occasion when he had killed some elephants a similar performance was again enacted by his Bushman attendants.

The distinction between *Thora* and *Huwe* is not quite clear from Dornan's account. In one place he seems to imply that the two words refer to the same conception. Elsewhere, however, he remarks: "Huwe seems an inferior kind of spirit to Thora, for at times the latter is invoked to come to his aid, as if the former were not powerful enough to defend himself and his children. Some Bushmen near the Tuli River sang the following words, in an agitated and melancholy [539] voice: 'Thora ba Huwe i-e i-e, Thora come to the help of Huwe [782] i-e i-e,' ad lib." From their attributes, however, it seems that the two conceptions *Thora* and *Huwe* are substantially the same. In all probability the name *Huwe* has drifted in from the west, which would explain why it is sometimes substituted for *Thora*, sometimes found alongside it.[1]

192 ●821 [776] [184] [775] In addition to this being variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Erob*, *Thora*, etc., all the Northern Bushmen also speak of *//gauwa* (*Gaua*, *//gaua*, *//gauab*, etc.). This word, as we have already seen, is used by the North-Western Bushmen for "a person who has died", or more precisely, as appears in certain cases, for the ghost of a dead person. It is, however, also used with a much wider application. Among the Naron and Auen at Sandfontein the wind is called *//gauwa* when it is strong and howls. One of the Naron tales recorded by Miss Bleek speaks of the wind as a man going about, and of *//gauwa* as a bird accompanying him. "*//gauwa* says: 'I make the wind and thus go.'" Some of the people seemed to believe in a supreme 192 776 114 *//gauwa*, a being who lives in the east near *Hishe*, to whose house the ghosts repair by day. They said he was *Hishe's* younger brother, while others said *//gauwa* was *Hishe*. Miss Bleek affirms that no ideas of good or bad qualities are connected with either of these beings, nor are they prayed to. Fourie, however, speaks of *Gaua* among the partly-disorganized Auen and Naron as a "bad being" or "Satan", to whom people dying a "bad death" are said to go,

[1] Dornan, op. cit., 148–50; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 386, 81. The translation given by Dornan of the prayer in which *Thora* is asked to come to the aid of *Huwe* cannot be relied upon. In another place (*J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, 1917, p. 53) he renders the same words: "God leave (us) alone is is!"

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while those dying a "good death" go to *!khutse* (*!khuba*). "About the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1] 114 192 776 [773] [881]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say "*//gaua* thunders", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: "*//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndzambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God"); "we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to *//gaua*."[2] 184 192 776 [751] [821] [761] [775] [821] [881] [304] [782]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain" *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds. 114 184 776 [192] [821] [756] [787]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 34; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4.

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and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the "benefactress" *Ises*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.[1]

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was doubted.[2]

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are, according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan, "I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad, and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism in which two powers, one good, Thora or Huwe, and one bad, Khauna, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."[3]

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the

[1] Op. cit., 410. [2] Op. cit., 410–11.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167–8.

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Nama. Nama influence is seen also in the word *Heiseb* found among 177
the Heikum of the Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga. This 776
is one of the names applied to the mythical hero more commonly known as *Heitsi Eibib*, who figures so prominently in the religious system of the Nama. Its absence from the other Bushman tribes is clearly suggestive, although the name *Hishe* found among the [184]
Naron and Auen may possibly be a corruption of it. The various current interpretations of *//gaua* as " the evil being ", " the devil " or " Satan " must likewise be dismissed as alien to native Bushman ideas. [797]
The word has been widely used by missionaries among the Nama for " Devil ", and there can be little doubt that it is ultimately from this source that such interpretations have been derived.

All these direct symptoms of borrowing from other peoples show 177
clearly that the religious conceptions of the Northern Bushmen as 771
recorded above can by no means be regarded as untainted by foreign influences. The final interpretation of these conceptions will therefore have to take into account the religious ideas of the neighbouring peoples as well, especially of the Nama, in order that a full basis for discussion may be obtained. This is all the more necessary since the information relating to them as now held by the Bushmen is hardly sufficient to enable us to determine satisfactorily the full meaning attached to them by the people, to determine, that is, what part they really play in native life. For the moment, however, it may be of service if we attempt to reduce to some order the various accounts given by our authorities of these conceptions.

A general survey of the attributes said to be vested in the different 776
beings figuring in the religion and mythology of the Northern Bushmen seems to show that on the whole we have to deal with two main conceptions. There is in the first place the conception known [184]
variously to the North-Western Bushmen as *Huwe*, *Xu*, *Xuwa*, *Hishe*, or *Erob*, and to the North-Eastern Bushmen as *Thora* or *Huwe*. By Lebzelter, whose account cannot be entirely freed from a suspicion [114]
of prejudice in favour of the monotheistic doctrine associated with the name of Pater W. Schmidt and his school of disciples, *Xu* or *Erob* is spoken of as an anthropomorphic " supreme good being " dwelling in a house in the sky, where he receives the souls of the dead. He is regarded as the creator; he controls the rain and its [821]
associated phenomena of thunder and lightning, and punishes evil-doers with lightning; he sends good fortune in hunting and in the [224]
collection of veldkos, is prayed to before and after hunting, and is [782] [756]

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776 honoured with certain ritual observances connected with the chase;
[782] he is also prayed to for rain, before travel, and in case of illness;
[224] and finally it is from him that the magicians obtain their special
[756] powers. By the Eastern Kung he is said to have a wife and many children; among the other Kung and the Heikum he figures alone.

Few of these attributes are mentioned by Miss Bleek in her remarks
184 upon *Hishe* among the Naron and Auen, and upon *Huwe* among the
776 !O !Kung. But there are certain points of agreement. *Hishe* dwells in
[775] a house in the east, to which the ghosts of the dead repair by day;
[224] he is regarded as the creator, and as the protector of game and hunting. On the other hand *Hishe-Huwe*, sometimes alone, sometimes in double
[881] guise as man and woman, sometimes "followed by children like
[114] baboons", figures prominently in the boys' puberty ceremonies, which are not referred to at all by Lebzelter. At the same time, since these ceremonies certainly have much to do with hunting, their association with *Hishe-Huwe* is not inconsistent with his character as protector of the game and hunting, although of course it is hardly likely that this provides the only explanation for his figuring in them. Nor
[782] is he ever prayed to among these tribes, save where the name *Huwe* is substituted by the !O !Kung for *//nwa-se*, the New Moon, in the prayer for rain. Most of the prayers for food and rain, however, are directed to the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon.

A closer agreement with Lebzelter's account is provided by Dornan's
[114] discussion of *Thora-Huwe* among the North-Eastern Bushmen. *Thora* is here said to be the creator who is over all things, he sends
[821] rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting, certain
[224] hunting observances are directed towards him, he wards off disease,
[753] and protects the Bushmen from danger.

It is possible also to find a connection in certain respects between *Huwe* and the conception of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen. Among the Cape Bushmen, it is true, the Mantis is primarily a mythological character, the central figure of an elaborate series of myths relating to him and his "family". He is never worshipped, but on
[782] the other hand, like *Huwe*, he has creative powers, and is also said to
[825] have made certain bucks and to protect them. Mention is further
[775] made by these Bushmen of an afterworld to which go the spirits of the dead, but there is nothing at all to link this up with the Mantis, just as there is nothing to link up the afterworld of the North-Eastern Bushmen with *Thora*. The resemblance between the Mantis and *Huwe* is far more noticeable among the Bushmen of Basutoland.

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Here also the Mantis is the central figure of many myths; but at the same time he is the creator, he causes life or death, he is especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food and good luck in hunting, and he is also connected with certain religious dances at which the "initiated men" (probably the magicians) cure illness. The elaborate mythological character of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen and his association with so many other figures in these myths preclude an absolute identification of him and *Huwe*. The resemblance in other respects, however, appears on the whole to be striking enough to warrant our connecting the two. 184 776 [761] [224] [782] [755]

The other outstanding conception is that of *//gaua*, *//gauab*, *|gamab*, etc. In all the North-Western tribes the word *//gaua* is used in the first place for the ghosts of dead persons, and one cannot resist assuming that this is its fundamental significance. Among the Naron and Auen these ghosts, which as in all the other North-Western tribes can be seen by the magicians, walk about at night, and people are afraid of them, but not do expect real harm from them; among the Eastern Kung, however, all the *//gauab* are the cause of illness, some do mischief, while others come down to earth to steal the souls of the dead; among the Heikum of Ukuambi the ghosts move about on earth and do harm to people, while among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan the soul goes to live with *|gamab*, but may return to earth to kill people. In general therefore it would seem that dead people are regarded by the North-Western Bushmen as sources of injury, and especially as causing illness and even death. The same idea is conveyed by Dornan's statement, that the North-Eastern Bushmen avoid the grave of a dead person, "lest the spirit resent the intrusion." 184 775 [753] [753] [761] [769]

The word *//gaua* is, however, used also in the sense of a personified being, whose attributes differ slightly from tribe to tribe, but appear on closer analysis to show a certain uniformity. The !O Kung ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*; when anyone is killed by lightning they say "*//gaua* took him", and people who had met their death in this way were said to sit in the sky as stars, which are looked upon as "*//gaua*'s fires". Among the Eastern Kung the stars are also the fires of the *//gauab*, a shooting star heralds the death of someone, while lightning is the medium through which *Xu* punishes or kills people. Among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga *xamaba* (*|gamab*) inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like, while 184 776 [192] [821] [775] [821] [753]

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184 776 among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan */gamab* makes thunder and [821] lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting stars. The Naron and Auen term a strong and howling wind *//gaua*, [825] while sometimes *//gaua* is said to be a bird which makes the wind. [777] Finally among the North-Eastern Bushmen *Khauna* is the source of [753] bad luck and disease, is injurious to people, and sends the thunder- [821] storm and lightning, the latter being regarded as his offspring. Further the "lightning bird", intimately associated with him, is feared and [825] may inflict death by lightning when molested. Here again we get the general impression of *//gaua* as the source of illness and death, [753] acting through the medium of the storm, lightning, and shooting stars.

184 In all this *//gaua* offers certain points of resemblance with the 776 conception of the Rain held by the Cape Bushmen. Among the latter the Rain is definitely personified, it appears in their myths 821 as a supernatural personage, generally in the form of an animal, and here it is said, "the Rain thunders, the Rain lightens." When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind and various transformations effected; the howling of the wind forebodes evil; and numerous observances have to be kept in order [761] not to anger the Rain and thereby provoke death. There is also [775] the belief that people killed by lightning are changed into stars; shooting stars are omens of death; the wind is sometimes spoken [825] of as a bird; and the flight over the camp of the *Scopus umbretta*, known to the North-Eastern Bushmen as the "lightning bird", here announces the death of someone. In this connection it may be added that among the Namib Bushmen thunder and lightning are said to command great reverence, and a person struck and killed by lightning is believed to have suffered death as a punishment for some past misdeed.[1]

184 In some cases, among the North-Western Bushmen, *//gaua* shares 776 certain of the attributes vested in *Huwe*. This appears most strikingly among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga, where *Huwe-Erob* does not figure at all, his place being taken by *xamaba*, who has most of the powers and privileges attributed to *Huwe-Erob* by the other [782] Heikum and the Kung. Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan [755] we find prayers addressed to *Erob* for rain and in illness, but at the [775] same time the "demiurge" */gamab* is mentioned as the creator who [821] receives the souls of the dead. Further, as we have just seen, */gamab*

[1] Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.

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makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people 184
by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, 776
/nawa or the chief of the *//gauab* figures as the creator, and, as the [821]
executive of *Xu*, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is [224]
honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success; [782]
he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems [753]
extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of *Huwe* [178]
on the one hand and of *//gaua* on the other have been blended or
confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make
this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explana- 114
tion may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek 178
and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies 776
for boys: according to the former, it is *Hishe* who figures in the 881
special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled [184]
by *Gaua*. *//gaua*, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's
puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar
confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do
the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a
suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that
one of Miss Bleek's informants identified *//gaua* with *Ndzambi*,
the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for
"God", while another spoke of *//gaua* as the "father" of the
Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of *Huwe*, *Thora*, or 184
the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the 776
source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food [224]
gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; [753]
and with the conception of *//gaua* first as the ghosts of the dead [821]
and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness [775]
and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder,
lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an
interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the
possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples;
it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from
the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions
common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

Magic and Magicians

In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the 756
mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

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756 supernatural powers, or who are able to control, either for social purposes or for their own ends, the spiritual forces upon which the social welfare depends. There is no English word which adequately describes them, but such persons may be loosely termed magicians.

Among the Cape Bushmen, these magicians, who might be of either sex, were called */gixa* (plural, */giten*). There is unfortunately [114] no information available as to how they acquired their powers, nor have we any clear description of the part they played in the life of the community. A few details about them may, however, be gathered from the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd. Some magicians were [821] rainmakers, who went out to catch the rain bull and lead it over the land bringing rain. Others, again, had special powers over particular [825] game animals, such as the springbok or the ostrich. Some magicians were able to assume and go about in the form of animals such as the lion, springbok, jackal, or a little bird; others, even when asleep, knew what was going about at night, and took care of the people, defending them from evil magicians. For some magicians could [757] cause illness by shooting with invisible arrows, and the patients would die, even though doctored; while some were said to eat the flesh of the dead. When a magician died an earthquake took place, [823] and his heart fell, as a shooting star, out of the sky into a waterhole. His powers, however, he continued to possess even after death, [775] for there are mentioned several occasions on which a dead rainmaker was asked to send rain or a game magician to give success in hunting.[1]

These beliefs, fragmentary as they are, show definitely that the magicians were held to possess supernatural powers, which they might use for good or evil; but, apart perhaps from the making of rain, there is nothing to link them up with any cult or public ceremony, or to indicate that they ever played the part of priests.

[184] Among the Naron and Auen, however, the magicians, as we have seen, function at the puberty ceremonies. They introduce *Hishe* [881] into the dances, and make the cuts between the eyebrows of the boys. [793] Among the Naron they are also the priests, who pray to the New Moon for rain; while among the Auen they make rain by sprinkling [821] on the ground a kind of red earth, which they fetch from afar and carry about with them. The magicians, both male and female, are

Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 18; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 22.

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756 faculty of seeing and speaking to the *//gauab*, and only they know
[787] and utter the real name, */nawa*, of the chief of the latter. The evening
[782] before a hunting expedition they pray to *//gauab* for help, and certain
of them also have the power of conjuring down rain. This they
756 achieve in the following manner. When rain is needed, all the
789 people of the camp take part in a dance, during which they sing over and over again a mournful song lamenting the condition of hunger and thirst to which they are reduced. "Finally the great captain in the sky hears the lamentation. The magician goes outside the camp and sees that a thin cord is being let down from the sky. He climbs a certain way up this, but the great captain comes down to meet him half-way. As soon as the magician sees the great captain, he throws a powder up to him; whereupon the great captain lifts him up high and takes him into his house. There the magician prays
[782] to him: 'Lord, help us, the children are dying, we thirst and hunger.'
[776] So long does he pray and plead that at last the captain says: 'It is well, I shall send water, that the children may have water and veldkos.'
[821] Then he again accompanies the magician half-way down the cord. As soon as the latter has reached the ground, he releases his hold upon the cord, which is at once drawn up again. The rain follows immediately."[1]

184 Among the !O Kung in Angola there are also two kinds of magicians.
756 The */num-k'au* officiates at puberty dances, makes scarifications,
791 sees spirits, and also conjures up *//gaua*, while the *tsho-k'au* heals the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's
[881] body through sucking. For this he receives a present. Both
[787] men and women apparently can become magicians of either kind,
[785] if taught by an older practitioner. There is said to be no ceremony of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.[2]

It will be noticed that both terms which distinguish the two classes of magician among the Kung and the !O Kung are also found among the Naron and Auen for magicians. This would suggest that there is a similar division of functions in these tribes also, but neither Miss Bleek nor Kaufmann definitely states this.

773 The origin of magic among the Naron and Auen is said by Fourie
[789] to be attributed to *//gaua*, and he gives the following myth in confirmation.[3] "The Bushman *Tji-Tji* is said to have been initiated

[1] Lebzelter, "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 408–9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

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184 805 The Naron have three seasons: spring, when the birds mate and the first flowers come, from about August to October; summer, when it is hot and the rain falls, or is expected, from November to March; and winter, or the cold time, from April to July. The !O Kung also have three seasons: the cold dry time from about April to September, the first rains from then to about November, and the real rainy season from about December to March or April. The Auen, Kung, and Heikum, on the other hand, distinguish four seasons: the cold dry season (winter), the small or first rainy season (early spring), the hot, dry season (spring and early summer), and the big or second rainy season (late summer). When all the seasons have passed, a year is finished; but there is no clear conception of the year as a period of time, nor do they reckon in years. Mothers can tell in which season their babies were born, and for three or four years know how many seasons ago it was, but after that they get confused. Hence, for instance, no person knows his positive age, although his comparative age as regards the other members of the family is always well established.[1]

184 805 821 The Naron observe the sun sufficiently to know that it makes a shorter path in winter than in summer, but apparently the stars foretell the coming of the seasons better. When the Pleiades rise just before dawn, the cold is due; when they come before midnight, spring is at hand. Besides the Pleiades the Naron also have names for the Southern Cross, Orion, the Milky Way, and the Great Bear, which is just visible at Sandfontein; and they know when each constellation will rise and set in the different seasons.[2]

184 821 The other North-Western Bushmen apparently take no special interest in the stars. The !O Kung, for instance, as we have seen, speak of all the stars as *//gaua*'s fires, and have no separate names for any of them; and the same seems to be true of the Kung and Heikum. The Cape Bushmen, on the other hand, were close observers of the movements of the stars and constellations, and had names for a great many of them. Thus Archernar is the "Star-digging-stick's stone" or the "Digging-stick's stone of Canopus", while Canopus itself is the "Bushman's rice star"; the Pointers to the Southern Cross are male lions; α, β, and γ Crucis are lionesses; Aldebaran is a male hartebeest, and Orion is a female hartebeest; Procyon a male

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Comparative Vocabularies*, passim; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 110; *idem*, *Naron*, 39; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 160; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 99.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.

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eland, Castor and Pollux his wives; the Magellanic Clouds a steenbok; Orion's sword three male tortoises hung upon a stick, his belt three female tortoises so hung, etc. As these names indicate, there is a good deal of folklore centring in the stars, and indeed a considerable part of the vast collections of Cape Bushman lore made by Bleek and Lloyd relate to the heavenly bodies, which are regarded as once having been men or animals before being transformed into their present state. In one tale, for instance, it is related that a girl of the early race (preceding the Bushmen) wished for a little light, so that the people might see to return home by night. She therefore threw wood-ashes into the sky and these became the Milky Way. In another, again, it is told how a girl, at the time of her puberty seclusion, saw some people eating together at a dassie's house of branches. As a result they and the house, fixed by her looks, became stars in the sky, where they are now to be seen as the Corona Australis.[1] 184 821 184 773 821

The Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, according to Dornan, also "have considerable acquaintance with various groups or prominent stars, and have names for them", but the only one mentioned by him is the Southern Cross, referred to as the "giraffe star" and said to be somewhat like this animal in appearance.[2] 184 821

For shorter lengths of time the Bushmen go by the Moon, but they make no attempt to reckon how many moons there are in the year or in a season.[3] They observe the phases of the Moon closely, but seem to have no division of time into anything corresponding to weeks, although they readily pick up the European system of weeks when working for white people, and will come regularly on the seventh day for tobacco, etc. Otherwise, in their intercourse with white people, the wage, if not given daily, is demanded at the New Moon.[4] 805 [821] [177] [648]

The day is apparently divided according to the position of the sun, but no names have been recorded for any fixed divisions or parts of the day.

The notion of time is also used to indicate distance, for which there are no special units. Generally distance is reckoned by the time it 804 805 823

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10 sq.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 165.
[3] Lebzelter says, however ("Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 15) that the Eastern Kung have a "vegetation year" of 10 months. The year is reckoned from one veldkos harvest to another. He omits to give any further details.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.

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turned back with cattle and all to the BeChwana, by whom they were murdered with assegais."[1] A thoroughly convincing proof!

Appendix

Comparative Note on Bushmen and Hottentot Religion

The analysis given above of Hottentot religious conceptions shows that in many respects they bear a striking resemblance to those of the Bushmen, although there are also considerable differences. Both peoples worship the Moon. The Southern Bushmen also have prayers to the sun and to various stars, which the Hottentots and most of the Northern Bushmen have not, but even here the worship of the Moon is far more developed than that of the other celestial bodies. This common feature is all the more significant since none of the Bantu peoples of South Africa pray to the Moon.

Neither Bushmen nor Hottentots, again, have any organized family or tribal ancestor worship, nor any form of religious practice in which the spirits of the dead are regularly invoked or propitiated, although among the Southern Bushmen as well as among the Hottentots dead people are occasionally prayed to. In the beliefs of both peoples the dead are in some way connected with the stars, but it is held above all that dead people become mischievous ghosts, which in particular are the cause of sickness and death. Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots use some form of the word //*gaua* for these ghosts, although the Hottentots customarily speak of them as /*hei* /*nun* and by certain other names as well. Among both peoples, moreover, the magicians are somehow in special contact with the ghosts, and consequently have the power to cure the illness caused by them. Certain of the North-Western Bushmen, however, believe also that the soul of a dead person, as distinguished from his ghost, goes to live with the being *Huwe* in a house in the sky, while the Southern Bushmen likewise speak of an afterworld to which dead people go, without, however, associating this afterworld with any supernatural being. These beliefs are apparently not found at all among the Hottentots.

Both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots further use the word //*Gaua* as the name of a definitely personified being, closely connected with the ghosts of the dead. But here there is also a difference. The Hottentots regard //*Gaunab* primarily as an evil being,

[1] Op. cit., 122.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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771 who causes sickness or death. The Northern Bushmen likewise
171 believe that he causes death, but do not seem to attach any special
775 significance of evil to him, save where there has been Hottentot
761 influence. He is associated by them more particularly with certain
821 phenomena of nature, such as thunder and lightning, shooting stars, the wind, etc., so that Miss Bleek actually regards him as a personification of the wind and the storm, while Pater Schmidt looks upon him as an ancient sky god ("Himmelsgott").[1] Closer analysis shows, however, that the phenomena of nature regarded as manifestations of //*Gaua* by the Northern Bushmen are all looked upon primarily as mediums through which he inflicts misfortune and death; and similarly we find that among the Hottentots the whirlwind, the eclipse of the moon and the sun, the rainbow and the Aurora australis are all natural phenomena of ill omen specially connected with //*Gaunab*. Since the lightning is actually a frequent cause of death, while the other phenomena, such as comets, shooting stars and eclipses, are owing to their very nature readily regarded as ominous, it is perhaps
B not far-fetched to see in this the reason why they should have become
H specially connected with //*Gaua*, the cause of sickness and death.

771 The impression one gets, reviewing the evidence as a whole, is
171 that among both the Hottentots and the Northern Bushmen the term
775 //*Gaua* has several different references, which, however, are not consistently distinguished by the people themselves. Sometimes it is used for the ghost of a dead person, sometimes as a collective name for these ghosts, sometimes, again, in the sense of a personified being with various special attributes. The beliefs regarding //*Gaua*, in other words, are not crystallized into clear-cut conceptions, but are vague, inconsistent, and ambiguous. Consequently those interpretations based solely upon the conception of //*Gaua* as a personified being must be rejected as one-sided and obviously inadequate. If any special interpretation is to be sought, and in the light of our present knowledge there is none which can be advanced with full confidence, the most fruitful approach would seem to be that //*Gaua* must be regarded as a vague conception founded upon the beliefs about the
B fate of the dead and the ways in which the latter can affect the living
H society.

771 //*Gaunab* in Hottentot mythology is in conflict with *Tsui* //*Goab*,
171 the creator, the guardian of health, the source of prosperity and
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[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124; W. Schmidt, "Die alte Buschmann-
821 Religion," 295.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui //Goab* appears to be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hishe*, *Erob* or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Mantis, by the Bushmen of Basutoland. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain, food, recovery from illness, etc.

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But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of *//Gamab*, whose name Vedder derives from the root *//gami*, " water, " and whom he regards as " originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains ". *//Gamab* is the only supernatural being of whom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death, abundance of food, etc., and he lives in " heaven " in a village where he gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama trace out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment of death till its arrival in *//Gamab's* village, and the life led there is minutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series of beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of Bergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western Bushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama, one feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a " sky dwelling " to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely attributed to Bergdama influence.

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Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' puberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui //Goab* nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected with these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction, and one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern Bushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

[1] Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, i, 97 sqq. ; *idem*, " The Berg Damara," 61 sqq.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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584 One day the young man killed a little buck and, according to custom, gave most of it to his bride's parents, thus proving that he hunted well and would provide for them and their daughter. With this the engagement was sealed. Shortly after-
585 ward the mothers of the bride and groom built a scherm for the young couple which they furnished with wood and water and enlivened with a fire, kindled by brands from their own fires. Very early the following day the bride's mother adorned
[301 822 831] the bride, washing her, hanging white bead ornaments from her hair, rubbing her clothing with red, sweet-smelling powder, a symbol to Bushmen of beauty. Then, sitting her upon one large kaross, they covered her with another and left her to spend the day motionless, waiting for evening, when the union would take place.

788 It is common in Bushman ceremonies for a person at a transitional moment of life to be raised from the ground and hidden from the sun, as though suspended between earth and sky. Young people on the day of their first marriage are protected in this way; so are newborn babies, and so are girls
[841] on the day of their first menstruation. At a funeral, too, the body before burial is covered and raised from the ground, and perhaps all this is because a person is especially susceptible to damage at times of life when change is taking place, when, perhaps, a person is as delicate and fragile as a new moth emerged from a cocoon.

585 Because the sun brings death, no ceremony or part of any
[821 761] ceremony is performed when the sun is strong; but when evening came and the sun itself was dying, the groom was led to his new home by his three brothers, who took him by the hands and pulled him there, forced him, for custom demanded that he show reluctance. The bride, according to custom, refused to go to her husband and had to be picked up by another little girl and carried to him. In the drama of re-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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164 Short Kwi's wife, who looked around at them all gravely, listening, and when they had finished she nodded her head. "A medicine man of Europeans," they said.

"So," said she.

We talked about the foot for a while, for although he had covered it we could still see the toes. The people of the werf described how Short Kwi was bitten and everyone claimed credit for his part in saving Short Kwi's life. One man had killed the snake, another had cut the fang punctures, and others had given advice at the time and later. The leg had [752] swelled enormously and the medicine men had cut the swollen skin to let blood; the scars of this still showed on the healthy thigh above the blanket. All the people seemed very depressed when talking about it, though; for one reason, they ate meat less often, but also they truly admired him and did not seem to enjoy watching the disaster. Toma asked Short Kwi how he felt and Short Kwi said he thought that his leg had seemed to be getting a little better during the last few days.

582 It was almost evening, and we heard voices singing in the veld. Two women and a young girl were coming home from a trip for veld food. These three were also very happy to see us and the little girl kissed me but not the men, then asked for her mother, who lived at Nama and whom she had not seen for seasons, and we told her that her mother was well. The girl had been newly married and she was as pretty as she could be, with lots of beads, and with long ornaments of tsi nuts hanging beside her face. She wore a fine kaross which she had rubbed with red powder, often a sign to men that a [291 822 224 841 784] girl is menstruating, as perhaps she was, that men may be careful not to touch her and endanger their powers to hunt. Marriage seemed to have agreed with her. She looked very

[52 cont.]

773 Concerning the moon, I was told: "The moon was also
821 carried by people. It was not as warm as the sun, but very heavy. So the men helped each other, and with great difficulty they brought it to the huts. The moon was a man. He said: 'I prefer to remain alone and do not wish to be among you.' Thereupon the Bushmen said: 'If you go alone into the desert, you will surely die.' But the moon did not obey, went out, and died. But then it woke up again and rose like the sun; therefore, like the latter, it is from the 'Great Captain.' When it disappears, it has died. When only one side of it is visible, then it is young. When it becomes smaller, then it is old. The color of the moon comes from its gall (/góo)."

The well-known story of the moon and the hare is told there as follows:

The moon once said to the hare: "I die and wake up again, you on earth should do the same." But the hare answered: "No, we cannot do that, we who are on earth, only you can do that because you are in the air, among us this is impossible; once we die, we do not wake up again." And the hare was right; it is still so today.

821 The eclipse of the moon, !nui dsao, is caused by the lions
[825] so that they can more easily steal into the Bushman huts.

[53] Comets, χ'u !gam, are stars of the great captain;
[777] they bring luck. When a shooting star, ǂgomma, falls, it is said,
[787] just as among us, that someone has died. The stars are the camp-
[775] fires of those spirits who at the command of the great captain come down and fetch the souls of the dying.

●[823] Earthquakes, χ'áno !gee, are omens of sickness. The
[787] rainbow, !khâni !náo, indicates a good year for rain.

(782) What the Bushman begs and prays for is not sunshine but
[776] rain. The great captain alone dispenses rain.

Lightning and thunder are not beings in themselves, but are caused by rain. When someone is killed by lightning, it is said: "The rain has killed him." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder at a distance, the rain is saying: "Today I shall thunder over the whole earth." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder on various sides, the clouds are speaking to one another. And when they touch each other with their heads, the

[53 cont.]

821 rain comes down and the clouds extend over the whole world. The rain that has come down to earth does not stay there; the clouds again come forth from the earth. The rain obeys the great cap-
776 821 tain. In a storm the great captain knocks down the trees. If a person says something bad about him, however, punishment is not long in coming. X 'u says to the rain: "You must now go and kill him." And the rain goes and kills the man with lightning. But when the great captain says to the rain, "You must go now and punish him," then the lightning merely strikes the windscreen so that the whole thing collapses and the evildoer is thrown out.
[752] Then the people come running, rub the unconscious person with medicine, and burn his skin with red-hot pieces of wood until he comes to again.

Thus the angry great captain metes out punishment.

751 The Bushman concerned, however, is far from either pri-
[782] vately or publicly begging the great captain for forgiveness. He
● 823 is convinced that this would do no good. On the contrary, he
821 puts his confidence in the following procedure: It is known that where lightning strikes quartz sand, so-called lightning tubes or fulgurites arise. This phenomenon has not remained hidden from the sharp eye of the Bushmen. My friends told me: There where lightning has struck one usually finds a stone called "rain tooth." The person brushed by lightning scratches his skin with this stone,
[224] rubs in medicine which is supposed to bring luck in hunting, and
[777] tries to hunt down a gemsbok. If he succeeds, he cooks the meat of the gemsbok with the rain tooth. If there is a second person in the horde who has previously been brushed by lightning, that person must eat the meat with him. Then medicine is made from this meat and other ingredients, and this is placed in the horn of a small bushbuck and carried around the neck by the person concerned.

751 When the "rain" comes again, he again goes to the hut
821 of the person struck, walks through the fire where the buck was cooked, takes a bone of the buck (these bones remain lying on the spot), and goes with it into the nearest tree. The bone cooks in the tree, and the scum comes out on the side and the fat below. When the rain has passed, the bone is again pulled out and cooked with gemsbok horn and duiker horn and flesh; then it is

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

FOREWORD.

The Kalahari is not a sandy desert in the sense that it is devoid of vegetation; it is the absence of surface water which makes the region such a hazard to human habitation. It is the last refuge of the Bushman. Primitive though he is, he survived in this inhospitable environment owing to his acute powers of perception and his fine appreciation of the gifts of nature. He is a skilled hunter with his bow and arrow and has an intimate knowledge of the natural resources of food and water. Dr. Story compliments him by saying that his knowledge was usually imparted cheerfully and with humour and "always with intelligence".

The Division of Botany was grateful to accept the invitation for Dr. Story to accompany the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody expedition of 1955. This was the fifth expedition of its kind and had as its objective the further documentation of the way of life of the Bushman. Dr. Story's assignment was to investigate the plants used by them in obtaining food and water.

It is inevitable that, with the advance of civilisation, the remnants of this interesting race will lose its intimate contact with nature and in the end its very identity. Wishing to complete their records before this happens the Harvard-Smithsonian-Peabody organisation, is, as we go to press, returning on yet another expedition. The Division of Botany is glad of this opportunity to continue the collection of data on the plants of economic importance to the Bushmen in the Kalahari.

The balance in nature between supply and demand is of endless interest to the ecologist. In times of plenty—when vegetation is abundant—the animal population increases: in times of poverty—when the vegetation is reduced by the prevailing climatic conditions—the animal population is reduced by the effects of hunger and thirst. So it is with the primitive human, who is dependent for his survival on the animal and plant life which surrounds him. Overpopulation at any time spells destruction for him at a later date. It is obvious too, that primitive man must have had a strong influence on the distribution and density of edible wild plants. Some will have become more widespread and others less numerous. More and more examples of rare species among the tuberous rooted *Asclepiadaceae* have come to light during the botanical exploration of southern Africa. It is felt that the edibility of these and some other tuberous rooted plants, in a large measure, accounts for their sparse distribution.

Dr. Story's observations support this view, and many other interesting facts are recorded in his preliminary report on the vegetable aspect of the Bushman's diet.

R. A. Dyer,
Chief: Division of Botany and
Director of Botanical Survey.

Pretoria,
October, 1957.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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105 the veld, changing their abode every few days in search of
361 food. Because of their way of life, they do not need villages to live in, so they rarely bother to build strong scherms, making small domes of grass for themselves instead, just a little shade for their heads, grass which the wind soon blows away. Sometimes they do not even bother with this, but push little sticks into the ground to mark their places. They sleep beside the sticks and arrange their few possessions around them, symbols of their homes.

105 Although Bushmen are a roaming people and therefore
361 seem to be homeless and vague about their country, each
● 823 group of them has a very specific territory which that group
[621] alone may use, and they respect their boundaries rigidly. Each group also knows its own territory very well; although it may be several hundred square miles in area, the people who live there know every bush and stone, every convolution of the ground, and have usually named every place in it where a certain kind of veld food may grow, even if that place is only a few yards in diameter, or where there is only a patch of tall arrow grass or a bee tree, and in this way each group of people knows many hundred places by name. Even if you are traveling randomly with Bushmen and ask at any time on the journey for the name of the place where you happen to be standing, they will probably be able to tell you. They themselves always like to know exactly where they are.

105 The social structure of Bushmen is not complicated. They
621 have no chiefs or kings, only headmen who in function are virtually indistinguishable from the people they lead, and sometimes a band will not even have a headman. A leader is not really necessary, however, because the Bushmen roam about together in small family bands rarely numbering more than twenty people. A band may consist of an old man and his wife, their daughters, the daughters' husbands, perhaps an

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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133 open and tilting, but the low hills and the forests veiled the great sweep of country, and the sun, the moon, and the horizon.

105 As soon as we were there we felt very familiar, very at
184 home. We knew quite a lot about Kung Bushmen, who in ways are different from Gikwe Bushmen—as the country is not as harsh, the Kung are a little grander, living together in larger numbers because they have veld food more abundantly, a little more extravagant with their time and their possessions. They build themselves grass huts or scherms, at least during the rains, and though they know vast sections of their country perfectly, being quite sure of the whereabouts of game and certain of the whereabouts of different types of veld food, they do not have to memorize the whereabouts of each root individually and store this information in their minds for future seasons, as the Gikwe do. The Kung are diligent and powerful hunters, although in some respects their country is harder to hunt in than the land of the Gikwe, more overgrown with brush and trees. But the Kung have metal-tipped arrows and complicated poison, and the men make a point of hunting often and well because their people love meat.

312 We knew their rolling veld with its baobab trees and hidden waters, for in Nyae Nyae the people do not have to scrape roots and suck melons, but are the possessors of deep waterholes where they can drink clear water almost all year long. We knew which stalks among the grass blades marked edible roots, and where game antelope might be found.

823 We knew not only the veld but the beings that live in the
776 sky above it, and knew the beings under the earth and in the four directions. We knew where the great god lives in the east with his tree and his medicine smoke with which he makes spirits of the dead from dead people. We knew his names, for

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besides his usual, everyday name, Gao Na—which means Big Gao, Gao being simply a man's name—he has many other hidden, secret names that may never, never be spoken during the light of day but only at night and only then at dances. Some of these names are Haishi, Gao ha, Nao, and Gara, and if he hears one of these names being called he will come to see who called it. He does not like to be disturbed during the day, he does not like the hot sun, and if a person bothers him during the day he will make that person sick. He is called at dances and cursed for the things he does to people, and some medicine men have even seen him when they were in trace; he appeared once as a yellow mouse, once as a gray man the size of a mouse, and once as a cloud of mist, although these are not his usual forms; usually he is the size and shape of a man, but, the Bushmen say, because he is wild he is always seen far away.

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We knew of his wife, whose name is Khoana, a Kung Bushman woman's name, but who is also called the "Mother of Bees," and we knew of the being who lives in the west, whose name is also Gao Na and who is both the namesake and the servant of the great god, bringing good and evil to people as the great god chooses. This god of the west can also do things to people on his own initiative, and people sometimes say that evil comes when the two gods disagree.

There is one more figure, another being who has no place, such as the east or west; another god whose relation to the gods of the east and west has not been formed. His name is Gaua; he is called by the same name as the gaua si, the spirits of the dead, and though to the Kung today his identity has become vague, we felt that he well might be an older, primal figure, a god whose being has been now infused with the gods of the east and west. Today the great god of the east is sometimes called Gaua, called by the old god's name, and

823 when he is, it is because he has brought evil, sickness, catas-
776 trophe, or death.

The old god still exists, the Bushmen know him, but his presence is diffusing; he, the old power of evil, is becoming faint, his entity obscure.

821 In the west live the *kwa kwa kwara* (knee knee nothing),
776 the people with no knees. These people have no knee joints,
823 but must stand up always. At night when the sun sets, the people with no knees catch it and kill it, for the sun is meat. They put it in a pot, and when it is cooked they tell their children to run off and play, and when the children are gone the people with no knees eat it. When the children come back, the people with no knees pick their teeth and give what they remove to the children, and then the people with no knees take the shoulder blade of the sun and throw it back into the east again, where a new sun grows and rises in the morning. If a tall man throws it you are aware of nothing, but if a short man throws it you can hear it whirring overhead. We knew a Kung Bushman man who, said he, had been to the west and had visited the people with no knees. He had been very interested to see them and very curious to know how they slept at night, for he did not imagine that they could lie down, so when darkness came he had watched and waited, and, just as he had suspected, when they had finished the sun they did not lie down but leaned against forks of the trees, where they rested, propped.

825 In the north is a great river, the Okovango, and Bantu peo-
776 ple live there. In the south live the gemsbok people, who are not ordinary gemsbok but beings in gemsbok form. It was these beings who taught the Bushmen how to make ostrich-eggshell beads, for when making a bead the gemsbok people use their long horns to bore the hole in the center. The gemsbok people often wear strings of beads around their necks.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 224 157 scrambled for the safety of their companions, by now quite far away.

The hunters, victorious in this battle of nerves, had the bull wildebeest all to themselves, but now found that they could not approach it either. Having fended off the lions (it thought), it now tried to lunge to its feet to fend off the men. Short Kwi borrowed the spear from its owner and hurled it into the wildebeest's neck, where it stuck fast. Now they had no weapon at all. Their arrows would be useless. The sticks and stones they threw at the spear did not dislodge it and all their efforts to retrieve it by creeping up on the wildebeest from behind did not succeed, for as soon as one of them would edge near enough to touch the spear the wildebeest would toss its horns so quickly that the man would have to jump back, grazed. At last, while one of the men distracted the wildebeest from the front, Short Kwi backed off and rushed at it, jumped over it, and, as he passed over its back, jerked the spear free. The bull lunged and the curved horns hooked upward, but too late. Short Kwi was gone. Wanting a picture, John asked Short Kwi to do it again, but Short Kwi shook his head. "This time he will remember," Short Kwi said, and dispatched the bull by hurling the spear into its throat.

159 224 593 823 Sometimes, as on these occasions, Short Kwi hunted with others, but mostly he hunted alone. He knew every bush and stone in the area of thousands of square miles that he ranged over, and he lived for hunting. Caring more for this, his passion, than for society, he often hunted as he did when we had first heard of him, alone in the veld with only his wife—a young woman who was intelligent and gay and almost pretty, to whom Short Kwi was devoted—his baby daughter, and his mother-in-law.

621
361
166

composition enables bands to swell during lean years, while the concept of association, through a headman, to a district and a territory provides for the distribution of people throughout the barren land.

If a band were confined strictly to one territory, or could use the resources of another territory only over the bodies of the band that lived there, there would be many less *Nyae Nyae* !Kung—perhaps none at all.

823

The !Kung give various reasons for their preference of the territory they consider home. For some, it is where they were born. For others, it is where they spent their youth. And for some, it is where they are waiting in their old age. Hunters say they must know their territories—every pan and stretch of bush, every unusual tree—and they say that to amass such knowledge takes years. An old man we met while he was visiting for a few days from the west, said that the weather was more gentle in Debera, the place where he lived, and that, moreover, "there are no stones in Debera ground."

Early one autumn morning, blue and sweet, when dawn air was still fragile on our faces, a close !Kung friend stood beside me in /Gautcha Territory, looking across a pan that still smiled with water despite the late season. It was the pan where he had come, as a young man, to live with his bride. We were quiet, waiting for the rising sun. "/Gautcha is beautiful," he said.

[p. 88]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48′30″ S, 20°34′36″ E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and 9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen-speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is survival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we refer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired, but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets. Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this region as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these; doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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222 622 [184] A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to [782] [539] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 [462] [857] [415] [237] Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 182 [221] [621] The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kõ-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

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finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this ever-present problem. 182 312 823

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially the *Inaras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season. In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then carefully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and resume their normal hunting life.[1] 312 [685] [824] [271] [221]

Industries and Trade

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are essentially domestic.[2] 511

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes 322 [342] [411] [412]

[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 51; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 297; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 51, 70–1, and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 671–3; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293–4.

[2] The most comprehensive account of Bushman industries is to be found in Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 89–113, pl. xxiii–xxix, which relates chiefly to the Auen; cf. also van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 62–80; Passarge, op. cit., 81–94; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 297–301; Kaufmann, op. cit., 152–3; Schultze, op. cit., 658 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschileute," 257; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 8–18 *passim*; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 103. [114]

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756 supernatural powers, or who are able to control, either for social purposes or for their own ends, the spiritual forces upon which the social welfare depends. There is no English word which adequately describes them, but such persons may be loosely termed magicians.

Among the Cape Bushmen, these magicians, who might be of either sex, were called */gixa* (plural, */giten*). There is unfortunately [114] no information available as to how they acquired their powers, nor have we any clear description of the part they played in the life of the community. A few details about them may, however, be gathered from the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd. Some magicians were [821] rainmakers, who went out to catch the rain bull and lead it over the land bringing rain. Others, again, had special powers over particular [825] game animals, such as the springbok or the ostrich. Some magicians were able to assume and go about in the form of animals such as the lion, springbok, jackal, or a little bird; others, even when asleep, knew what was going about at night, and took care of the people, defending them from evil magicians. For some magicians could [757] cause illness by shooting with invisible arrows, and the patients would die, even though doctored; while some were said to eat the flesh of the dead. When a magician died an earthquake took place, [823] and his heart fell, as a shooting star, out of the sky into a waterhole. His powers, however, he continued to possess even after death, [775] for there are mentioned several occasions on which a dead rainmaker was asked to send rain or a game magician to give success in hunting.[1]

These beliefs, fragmentary as they are, show definitely that the magicians were held to possess supernatural powers, which they might use for good or evil; but, apart perhaps from the making of rain, there is nothing to link them up with any cult or public ceremony, or to indicate that they ever played the part of priests.

[184] Among the Naron and Auen, however, the magicians, as we have seen, function at the puberty ceremonies. They introduce *Hishe* [881] into the dances, and make the cuts between the eyebrows of the boys. [793] Among the Naron they are also the priests, who pray to the New Moon for rain; while among the Auen they make rain by sprinkling [821] on the ground a kind of red earth, which they fetch from afar and carry about with them. The magicians, both male and female, are

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 18; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 22.

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eland, Castor and Pollux his wives; the Magellanic Clouds a steenbok; 184
Orion's sword three male tortoises hung upon a stick, his belt three 821
female tortoises so hung, etc. As these names indicate, there is
a good deal of folklore centring in the stars, and indeed a considerable 184
part of the vast collections of Cape Bushman lore made by Bleek 773
and Lloyd relate to the heavenly bodies, which are regarded as once 821
having been men or animals before being transformed into their present state. In one tale, for instance, it is related that a girl of the early race (preceding the Bushmen) wished for a little light, so that the people might see to return home by night. She therefore threw wood-ashes into the sky and these became the Milky Way. In another, again, it is told how a girl, at the time of her puberty seclusion, saw some people eating together at a dassie's house of branches. As a result they and the house, fixed by her looks, became stars in the sky, where they are now to be seen as the Corona Australis.[1]

The Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, according to Dornan, 184
also "have considerable acquaintance with various groups or 821
prominent stars, and have names for them", but the only one mentioned by him is the Southern Cross, referred to as the "giraffe star" and said to be somewhat like this animal in appearance.[2]

For shorter lengths of time the Bushmen go by the Moon, but 805
they make no attempt to reckon how many moons there are in the year or in a season.[3] They observe the phases of the Moon closely, [821]
but seem to have no division of time into anything corresponding to weeks, although they readily pick up the European system of weeks [177]
when working for white people, and will come regularly on the seventh day for tobacco, etc. Otherwise, in their intercourse with [648]
white people, the wage, if not given daily, is demanded at the New Moon.[4]

The day is apparently divided according to the position of the sun, but no names have been recorded for any fixed divisions or parts of the day.

The notion of time is also used to indicate distance, for which there 804
are no special units. Generally distance is reckoned by the time it 805
823

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10 sq.
[2] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 161.
[3] Lebzelter says, however ("Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 15) that the Eastern Kung have a "vegetation year" of 10 months. The year is reckoned from one veldkos harvest to another. He omits to give any further details.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, loc. cit.; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.

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804 takes to reach the place. If, for instance, a Bushman is asked how far a
805 certain waterhole is, he points to the part of the sky which the sun
823 will have reached by the time one gets to that waterhole; or, if it is far, he says: "One night on the way," or "two", etc.; or, again, if asked the length of a journey, he will name the places at which he slept or will sleep, touching a finger to his lips for each, then hold up the fingers, saying: "So many nights" (not days).[1]

802 In counting, they use only the numerals one and two quite
177 freely. Three they sometimes use, taking the Nama word for it, although they are more apt to speak of "two and one" than "three". For anything above three they generally make use of the word "many", although by the Northern Bushmen Nama or Bantu numerals may sometimes by substituted. These higher numerals, however, are evidently picked up from their neighbours by ear, and repeated without much consideration of their value, as, says Miss Bleek, a child of three will count in imitation of its seniors, varying the sequence of numerals each time. In some cases, among both the Cape
802 Bushmen and several of the North-Western tribes, such formations
[803] are also found as $4 = 2 + 2$, $5 = 2 + 2 + 1$, and so on up to ten. The numeral system of the Bushmen is thus essentially binary in principle. Occasionally, however, modifications occur suggestive of a quinary system. Thus in Naron the words for "four" mean "two fingers and two fingers", but "five" is "hand" (sometimes, however $2 + 2 + 1$ fingers), "ten" is "both hands", "fifteen" "both hands, one foot"; and the same system occurs in Auen. As these words indicate, the Bushmen count larger numbers on their fingers. In counting, they begin with the little finger of the left hand, touching each finger in turn on the lips, then continue in the same manner from the thumb of the right hand. As a rule, it may be added, nothing that they want to count exceeds ten, indeed, hardly ever reaches that numeral![2]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 38; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.

[2] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; cf. Schmidl, "Zahl und Zählen in Afrika," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, xlv (1915), pp. 194–5, for a useful summary sketch of Bushman numeral systems.

[pp. 221-446 not processed
for the FX10 Bushmen file.
see category 116, FX13 Hottentot]

[33 cont.]

136 Among the dangerous insects, the anopheles mosquito naturally comes first. It is present in enormous numbers during the [34] rainy season. In some places, small reddish-brown ticks are common. The Glossina [tsetse fly] seems to be absent; I encountered them only in the Kunene swamps. Among human parasites, bugs and fleas are practically unknown; on the other hand, lice are extraordinarily common, without being especially noticed by their owners.

9. The Water Supply

312 During the dry season, the water supply plays a decisive role. Every Bushman carries in his quiver the two reed tubes for the so-called Bushman well. It is by no means true, however, that the Bushmen are able to obtain water in this way at any time and place. It is only in places where some dampness is still visible [Fig. 1 appears here] that the earth is loosened with a digging stick, and then the reed, which, by inserting the parts into each other, may be over a meter long, is sunk into the ground. As the accompanying figure shows, the Bushman does not keep the drainage reed and the sucking reed in his mouth simultaneously. The representations which suggest this might well be completely false; instead, the Bushman has the sucking reed in the right-hand corner of his mouth, and as soon as he has his mouth full of water he lets it flow into the closed hollow of his left hand in which the drainage reed is placed. The water gained in this way is of course thoroughly mixed with saliva. It cannot be kept for any length of time.

312 824 Water reservoirs are also provided by the few baobab trees, which contain puddles of water in their interiors. An artful method is used in the Sand Veld. A palm tree is drilled halfway up its trunk; then the palm pith is scraped out as far as possible, and the opening is carefully sealed. The water rising from the roots gathers in this hollow and has a good taste.

Among the thirst-quenching roots, that of a liana (!gõa) was named in particular.

[34 cont.]

312 824 Concerning other water-containing trees, F. Seiner reports:

"The water-containing trees always have two or more trunks, and the source of the water is to be sought up where the branches fork. If the saddle formed where the branches separate shows a hole, a hollow area is traced in the adjoining part of the trunk, which may contain up to 60 liters of water. The water is obtained by tying, Bushman fashion, a small bundle of dry grass, or better still, a handkerchief, to the tip of a stick and inserting it in the hollow. When the stick is drawn out, the water drips

Fig. 1. !Kung at a Bushman Well.

from the saturated bundle or cloth, which is pressed out over a cup. [Fig. 2 appears here.]

[35] "The most important water roots are the Asclepiadacea Fockea damarana Schltr. (ehoe), the Leguminosa

[532]
[224]

Fig. 2. //Gauab drives the game toward the hunters (from
[113] Kühn and Obermann, Buschmannkunst [Bushman Art]).

[35 cont.]

312 824 Dolichos seineri Harms (eona), and the Convolvulacea Ipomoea seineri Pilger (eawa); the enormous tubers of the latter two may weigh up to 150 kilograms. Considerably more important for the natives than these 'water roots' is the Curcurbitacea Citrullus naudinianus Hook. (orura of the Herero; gab of the Hottentot); without their juicy gourds, which occur in great quantities and for the most part are edible, most of the central Kalahari would be impassable during the dry season, even for the Bushmen."

Further, F. Galton (1) reports:

[113] 1. F. Galton, Tropisches Südafrika, p. 101.

312 825 "In practice, the first hopeful sign when people are looking around for water is a flight of guinea fowl; next, following the habits of the land, each tree is carefully examined until a parrot is sighted, an object visible even at a great distance because the bird likes to sit on the uppermost branches. A parrot is rarely more than half an hour away from water, and the same applies to baboons. If one proceeds with careful observation and takes a probable direction, he will see doves flying about; then little birds are found in all the bushes, and they are close to it."

10. The Veldkost

222 776 Just as //Gauab accompanies the hunter on the chase, he is also the companion of the women who go to look for veldkost. If //Gauab takes delight in a woman, he will break the bones of an animal, killing it, and will lead the woman to it. If, however, //Gauab is angry at a woman and she finds no veldkost, then she becomes angry, gets up early in the morning, abuses //Gauab, and then takes medicine and washes her face so that //Gauab will not recognize her. Then she goes into the veld and finds something. [782] //Gauab receives no offerings from the veldkost. The celebration 222 of the first fruits of the veld described by Vedder is no longer held. [887] The oldest woman is brought to eat samples of each type of veldkost that is brought home for the first time in the year. Then the second oldest woman takes a taste, and so on down the line.

[39 cont.]

192 sometimes radial and sometimes in rows, is called !khui. The
411 incision at the lower end of the arrow shaft is called /gei. The arrow points are usually little triangular iron plates (//khai). The entire tip, including the binding and the poisoned part, is called !hui. [Figs. 10 and 11 appear here.]

411 The arrows are 65 to 68 centimeters long. They are usu-
278 ally poisoned. The poison, which looks like dark wax, is smeared on little sticks and preserved in this way. It consists of five in-
[463] gredients, the most important of which is euphorbia sap. Only

[8.24]

Fig. 10. Buphane disticha Herb., Plant Used for Arrow Poison by the !Kung (Medley Wood, Natal Plants, VI, 1912).

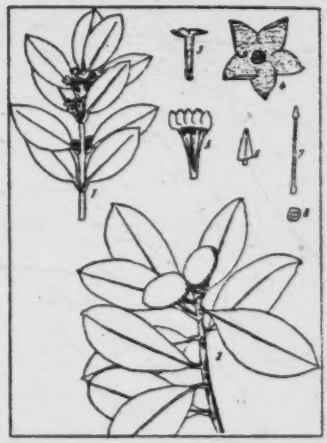

Fig. 11. Acocanthera venenata, Plant Used for Arrow Poison by the !Kung (Sim, The Forests and Forest Flora of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 1907).

certain persons prepare the poison. They know that the plant poisons are not equally effective every year. Hence, a small bushbuck is shot first, then a larger animal (say, a leopard), and finally a gemsbok. Only when the proper results are obtained with all these animals is the poison traded.

411 The lances of the !Kung consist of a shaft about 160 centimeters long, which is greatly reduced in thickness toward the back end.

[47 cont.]

752 burn the wounded person at many places on his body. When the poison smells the warmth, it gathers at these places; incisions are then made there, and the blood is sucked out by means of a cupping glass made of gemsbok horn. The wounded person may neither sit nor lie down; he must be walked about for twenty-four hours. After this time he either dies or is cured. The method helps only in rare cases.

Snakebite is the second great danger. If one makes an
751 incision in the lower part of the calf and rubs scrapings from a
●824 bisob root into it, the snakes smell this and do not come out of
825 hiding. [Fig. 18 appears here.] When a person has to run great distances, bisob dust is mixed with fat and applied
752 to the legs. In case someone is nevertheless
(411) bitten by a snake, the treatment is analogous to that used for arrow wounds. Injuries to the feet caused by thorns are very common. Injuries that pass through the aponeurosis are regarded as deadly. They practically always become infected. Even though wound infections take a less malignant and a slower course than among Europeans, they nonetheless sometimes lead to death. The only medicine
(278) used is bisob powder scattered in the wound.

Fig. 18. Kirri of the !Kung.

756 Some doctors claimed to be immune
751 to snake and scorpion bites.

What Vedder observed among the Bergdama is reported in a similar manner by Schinz:

"With the intention of testing the latter characteristic, I one day persuaded an old sorcerer visiting us in Noi !as on Ngamì Lake to undertake an experiment with 12 scorpions (Buthus randus Simon) picked out by myself and having an average length of eight centimeters. In order to prevent any possibility of deception, I put the animals on the various parts of his body with tweezers, on the hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. As a rule they then immediately and excitedly moved the long postabdomen back and forth and jabbed violently once or twice into the flesh of the guinea

[51 cont.]

000 out the root, but dies on the spot as a sacrifice taking the place of the person who wants the plant. Once one has it, there is no longer any danger. People take so much trouble to get it because of its following peculiarity: the demons, that is to say, evil spirits of wicked human beings who enter into the living and kill them unless help is quickly given, are driven out by this plant as soon as one so much as brings it near the patient."

751 It comes from a little bush (/gui-sa). It does not occur in
754 the Bushman region visited by me, but farther to the north. It is
824 only found accidentally. When the doctor wanders through the
756 bush, he sometimes hears low talking. Soon he sees a track resembling that of a snake and showing traces of blood. The root walks upright on this track, like a stick. He may not attack it, because he would die immediately; instead he attempts to approach from the direction in which the magic root is walking, opens the medicine bag, and lets the little mandrake walk in. Then the bag is firmly closed and at home is hung on a tall tree. The mandrake may not be taken into the hut. Something like blood drips out of the bag. Early the next morning a great fire is made; women and children and everyone assemble, each one bringing his little buck horn to obtain from the doctor some of the medicine coming from the mandrake. The medicine is rubbed on the skin. Bushmen who live among the Whites may not take this medicine because they will become sick from it. -- The medicine or the magic that is given out by the mandrake has little effect on those who were treated in the manner described above, [52] but it has considerable effect in other cases. This medicine is used to kill enemies through magic at a distance. When a doctor goes to a horde that does not yet have this medicine, he carries the horn filled with it around his neck. Some of the mandrake's magic poison passes into anyone who looks at him.

754 When the doctor sits down, anyone who has looked at him keels over and dies unless he is helped. If this person is an enemy, the doctor simply goes away and does not trouble himself any

[55 cont.]

114
171
776

time had a dependent relationship with the Bushmen, whose quite miserable imitators they had in part become. Even today Bergdama who want to become witch doctors go from Windhoek and Okombahe to the !Kung in order to learn there. If the conceptions of the Honigkaffir reported by H. Vedder were indeed ancient Negro cultural traditions, then it should surely be possible to find parallels and, at least in the names referring to the beyond, traces of the old language. Almost always among the Bantu the world of the beyond lies under the earth, whereas among the Khoisan it is in the sky. For all these reasons, I draw the conclusion that the Honigkaffir have taken over the doctrine of /Gamab from
[177] the !Kung. The expression Erob or Elotse, which is to be found among several Bushman tribes, undoubtedly goes back to Christian Hottentot influence. The two-fold names of the supreme being among various groups in Ovamboland, on the other hand, allows one to conclude that here only one new name for a well-known conception found entry, and,
[824] to be sure, with such intensity that the Hei//om, at the Etosha Pan, for example, name their most important medicinal root the Erob root. Moreover, just as among the Honigkaffir, among the Hei//om of the Etosha Pan, too, it is /Gamab who sends thunder and lightning and who kills people with shooting stars. J. Schapera recognizes that the conception of Huwe, Thora, and the mantis as creator, as the giver of rain and success in hunting, and as the protector of human beings is common to all Bushmen (ibid., p. 195) and also has its analogue among the Hottentot. He seems to regard this being as a rain god, however.

MASARWA
OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

600 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib
769 Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu
[774] doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the
[825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals,
[824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe
[776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at
551 her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say
602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo
105 delta, J. Seiner reports:
101 "The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting.
[563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe
[144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease, AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY.

/253 cont./

224 the large bullfrog, whose bass voice resounds in all the puddles during the rainy season.[1] The flesh of the frog is boiled with the
252 skin and bones, pounded to a paste in wooden vessels, and then eaten. Among the insects, grasshoppers and termites are used for
222 food. Both are roasted. In the brief time that they are winged, the termites are lured in such great numbers to a fire maintained for the purpose of catching them that it is an easy matter for the Bushman to collect a rich booty in a few hours. A special delicacy in the Bushman household is wild honey, which, as I was able to ascertain, is extremely tasty /254/ and is to be found in quantity on the Omuramba omatako as well as in the Kaukau Veld.

825 The bullfrog is called ntchei by the Bushmen (Herero: otjisume), the termite, /ui (Herero: othohumboli).

The vegetable diet naturally changes with the seasons and is
262 quite varied. I shall attempt to give a brief survey, though at
824 the same time I am aware that it can lay no claim to completeness.

1. The chamá or taba (Herero: omatanga). These are the roasted kernels of the Kaffir pumpkin [melon?], widely known here, which produce quite a tasty dish.

2. The //ǔni (Herero: omarunga); this is the Heikum Bushman name for the palm tree that is common in this region. The edible parts of the tree are the apple-sized fruit, whose skin has a sweetish taste reminiscent of St. John's bread, and the soft interior of the trunk. The latter is a whitish, soft, fibrous pulp, which the Bush-
[252] men prepare by cooking and pounding.

3. A species of white mushroom called naú by the Bushmen, majova by the Herero. The mushroom grows during the rainy season especially along the edges of termite hills; the diameter of its cap reaches about 20 centimeters. It is eaten raw as well as
[252] boiled. I do not know whether it is true that excessive eating of this mushroom has a detrimental effect on mental activity, as the Herero aver — ejova, plural majova, is the Herero word for stupid.

4. The unki, a well-known species of onion, about the size of a hazel nut, called //au by the Bushmen, is very common and forms an important part of the kitchen provisions, not only among the Bushmen, but also among the Herero.

[252] 5. The //guitcha of the Bushmen, ussessenga of the Herero,

/254 cont./

262 is a tuberous fruit, eaten roasted, whose taste is reminiscent of
824 potatoes.
[252]

6. A similar tuberous fruit is the ondubi of the Herero; the plant has rose-colored blossoms and long lanceolate leaves.

7. The árugu (Herero: omakungu), a type of cucumber. The plant is a climber whose fruits resemble our cucumbers; they reach the length of a finger and, when they ripen, become bright
[252] red in color. They are roasted in ashes and eaten warm.

8. The //ániba (Herero: maramba), a small bush with a bean-like fruit, similar in appearance and taste to our broad beans.

9. The sng of the Kung Bushmen; this is a large climber with double-lobate leaves whose mighty root is greatly prized by the Bushmen as a water tuber. The fruit is the size of a walnut and consists of two cotyledons enclosed by a rind which in its fresh state is soft and becomes very hard when dry. Between the fruit and the rind there is a small quantity of a whitish, slimy fluid which keeps the interior of the rind /255/ lubricated. After re-
[252] moval of the rind, the fruit is dried and roasted and then has the taste of the groundnut which is so common in East Africa. Its use has a distinctly laxative effect.

10. Like the Herero, the Bushmen are acquainted with other water tubers. The Herero word chue designates a smaller root with a very high water content, which has the shape and size of our beet.

11. The /a fruit of the Kung people is a nut slightly larger than the walnut, whose kernel, in a hard shell, tastes like our hazelnut. The hard inner shell is enclosed by a softer outer shell
[252] which has a distinctively sweet taste and which the Bushmen boil to a sauce which in appearance and taste is distinctly reminiscent of applesauce.

291 There is not much to be said about the clothing of the Heikum. The men content themselves in most cases with a leather loincloth which is fastened in the back and front to a belt tied around the waist.

The women wear the same kind of leather cloth of slightly greater length around their loins and tie a second hide from one shoulder to the opposite hip.

As the spellings of the Bushman names on my herbarium specimens are from field notes, they are often different from the spellings given in this paper, which was done after I had had the opportunity of consulting the authors I have mentioned. It will be noticed that many of the plants do not have the full set of Bushman names. The main reason is that we were not in contact with the Eastern !khũ speakers until we had passed Ghanzi, and lost contact successively with the |gikwe, ||ganakwe and !h3: speakers as the expedition drew to a close. Other reasons are that my field notes were sometimes inadequate, that I forgot to ask, and that some plants appeared restricted to certain areas and were not known to all the groups of Bushmen. 128 [184]

As the expedition was during the winter when most of the plants were in poor condition, very little photography was done in the field. Most of the photographs are from plants which were sent back to Pretoria and cultivated there, or from plants which grow naturally in the Transvaal. In this paper the plants and photographs are arranged according to de Dalla Torre and Harms (1900-1907). Specimen numbers are in brackets. 126 [128]

There is little doubt that the plants discussed here represent only a fraction of those used, for we covered a very small part of the area over which the Bushmen range, and this when probably most of the annuals were dead, when some foods were out of season and when the above ground parts of many bulbous and tuberous plants had withered and disappeared so that the plants themselves could not be found. 114

Because of poor yield, poor quality, difficulty in harvesting or lack of flavour, not many of the Bushman food plants would be worth cultivating in their present form for the use of civilised people, but they offer a large field to the plant breeder. The most promising have been noted accordingly in the text. 000

There were few bones around the Bushman encampments, but this does not necessarily mean that there is a scarcity of meat in their diet, for the bones might have been removed by porcupines (Alexander, 1956; Dart, 1957) or eaten by hyaenas. A more reliable indication was the scantiness of the Bushmen's skin coverings. There are sharp frosts in the Kalahari and sometimes bitter winds, and one may argue that the Bushmen would provide themselves with sufficient skins if they had a regular supply of meat, although admittedly they eat skins after charring them on the coals and pounding them in a mortar. Vegetable refuse from former meals and fresh vegetable food, however, were found at all the Bushman encampments, and additional gatherings were the permanent chore of the women and children and of the men to a lesser degree. The insanitary condition of the surroundings also provided unmistakable evidence that the bulk of their food was of vegetable origin. 262 [291] [132] [364]

Their knowledge of field botany was astonishingly good. It has to be, otherwise they would have no chance of survival in their arid country. Fragments of stem, dead leaves, and other small clues of this nature, after being unerringly identified, were all the Bushmen needed to find many of the storage organs they were seeking. Differences which escaped me would enable them to distinguish between edible and harmful plants, and they had a thorough knowledge of the areas and habitats in which their food plants grew. They must have an influence on the distribution of plants, 824 137X

be eaten after boiling, "pulp, rind and all". Dinter (1912:21-22) says also that the Bushmen use the heart of the palm as a green vegetable, and that a sweet sap may be tapped from the upper part of the stem and fermented to make an alcoholic drink. He gives the yield of fruits from one palm as between 20 and 50 kilograms (48 to 120 lb.). His reference to the heart of the palm is obscure, but Chapman (1868:I:55-56), who is more explicit, says that this is the core of the young trunk. 262 114 [273]

Aloe rubrolutea Schinz (5135). 137X

Eastern !khũ Bushman n||ɔru

This species was in full bloom in early August, and made a striking show with its spikes of brick-red flowers. The plants formed rosettes of leaves 12 inches across, producing a slender erect five-foot flowering stalk. Among the hundreds of speciments seen there were none arborescent, although elsewhere arborescent forms are common (Reynolds 1950: 328). Those seen at Nama Pan were similar in habit to *Aloe zebrina*.

Aloe rubrolutea was seen only on the rocky outcrops near Nama Pan and Gam, growing in patches of an acre or so, but it has a wide distribution extending from South West Africa through the Bechuanaland Protectorate to the northern Transvaal and Portuguese East Africa.

The flowers are stripped off the flowering stalk and pounded to make a spinach-like vegetable. Although the Bushmen said that they did not eat the leaves, they were tasted raw and boiled and were found to be juicy and not unpleasant, and to have no harmful effects. They would be a good source of water in an emergency. 252 262

Aloe zebrina Bak. (4995). 137Y

!h5: Bushman..... !ganja
!ganakwe Bushman n||ɔru
!gikwe Bushman... n||uru
Naron Bushman... n||ɔru

The plant forms a rosette of rigid dark green leaves which have pale transverse bands and numerous sharp teeth along the margins. It may have a stem 30 centimetres long (Reynolds, 1950: 282), but those seen on the expedition were stemless. The flowering stalks were three or four feet high. The sap in the epidermis of the leaves is greenish-yellow. It oozes out of the vessels fairly quickly if a leaf is cut across, and hardens and changes colour on exposure to the air, becoming brown and glassy. The bulk of the sap, which is in the inner part of the leaf, is colourless and translucent, and does not ooze out if the leaf is cut.

Only one small clump of this Aloe was seen, on deep sand about 80 miles directly south-east of Ghanzi. It is, however, recorded from Angola and South West Africa and across the continent to the east.

The Bushmen stated that the leaves were a good source of water. One of these plants was sent to Pretoria and grew well in cultivation. On being tested, the leaves proved extremely unpleasant, not because of any bad taste but because their sap is in the form of a thick, revolting slime. Boiling or roasting did nothing towards making them more palatable. Either the Bushmen were confusing this Aloe with another species, or it 262 312 824

262 271 824 [114] is eaten only when they are in the greatest need. Reynolds (1950: 285), quoting W. B. Hooker, states that its flowers may be eaten after boiling, but I did not think of asking the Bushmen about this, and they did not volunteer any information.

X137 *Dipcadi* sp. (5163, 5307).

!h3: Bushman.....	n!ñom
Naron Bushman.....	n!om
Eastern !khû Bushman	n!umʃé:

Although the above-ground parts had been killed by frost, enough remained for the plant to be identified as a species of Dipcadi. The bulbs were two inches below the surface of the soil, in appearance like a small onion. They were planted in Pretoria, but although they were still alive two years after being collected, they had failed to produce leaves or flowers up to the time this report was written.

Specimens were collected at Nama Pan, in parkland on sandy soil. As the plant was recognised and named by one of the southern !h3: Bushmen who was with us, it probably extends into the Kalahari well south of Ghanzi.

[262] The bulbs are edible after cooking.

Scilla sp. near *Scilla lancifolia* Bak. (5190) Photograph 5.

Eastern !khû Bushman !ú

This plant has a rounded two-inch bulb covered with a thick layer of dark brown papery scales. In the summer it produces three or four spreading leaves, usually six inches long but up to 10, and one and a half inches wide at the widest part. They are thin but fleshy, strap-shaped (but in section widely V-shaped near the base), and light green, sometimes faintly mottled with darker green. The inflorescence is four inches long and the flowers small and not conspicuous, with purple stamens and a recurved perianth.

It was common in shallow sand overlying rock near Gautscha Pan and Nama Pan but was not easy to find because the leaves and inflorescences had been frosted, and blown away by the wind by the time the expedition had reached those parts. A number of bulbs collected there produced leaves and flowers in Pretoria the following summer, and it was from these plants that the notes were made.

[252 262] The bulb is edible after roasting but I have not tried it personally.

It would be dangerous to experiment with plants like this if what the Bushmen say is true, for it could be easily confused with another species which has an inedible bulb. The inedible species (No. 5181) is shown in photograph 6 and may be distinguished by its longer bulb and longer leaves (10 inches long and over, and two inches wide at the widest part). They have a translucent fringed margin, are pointed, narrowly V-shaped in section and more numerous, about 12 to a plant. In addition, the

older leaves are marked at the base on the lower surface with narrow wavy black bands. Specimens were collected in sandy soil in open park-land near Nama Pan and flowered in Pretoria the following summer. The leaves and inflorescences, like those of the edible species, die back during the winter. 137x

Neither of the two species could be named in the National Herbarium, for the genus is not well documented and badly in need of revision.

Sansevieria scabrifolia Dinter (4951) Photograph 7.

!h5: Bushman.....	|xa-ji
||ganakwe Bushman...	!gwi:
||gikwe Bushman.....	!gwi:
Naron Bushman.....	!gwi:
Eastern !khû Bushman	!hwi:

A stemless plant with bunches of stiff, erect, strap-like leaves 10 inches long and a little less than an inch wide, concave on the front or upper surface and rounded on the back, and without a midrib. They rise at intervals of a foot or so, and in tufts of up to a dozen, from a brown-skinned horizontal rhizome three inches below the ground, and are light green mottled with dark green. They are tough and fibrous rather than succulent, which is the term that has been used to describe the leaves of closely allied species. The plants may occur singly but are more often massed in communities 20 to 50 yards across. Those sent to Pretoria for growing have never thrived and never flowered, nor were they seen flowering in the field, but it is known that the inflorescence is spike-like along a 12-inch flowering stalk, and that it consists of crowded usually off-white flowers half an inch across. Flowering seems to occur rather rarely and sporadically in the genus as a whole.

This species was widespread and fairly frequent north and south of Ghanzi. It was not found in the open grassland but always among trees and scrub, though not necessarily shaded by them.

The rhizome is a useful source of water. It has a crisp, white fibrous flesh which is juicy and, although slightly bitter, not unpleasant. There are several species of Sansevieria growing in cultivation in Pretoria all alike in habit, and all have been tested. There is no perceptible difference in the taste or juiciness of any of them. 312 824

The leaf fibres of the plant described are used by the Bushmen in making a string of surprisingly good quality. 283 824

Wallera nutans Kirk (5311) Photograph 8.

Eastern !khû Bushman t/ûi

The plants are about six inches high, with a slender erect central stem bearing paired light green grass-like leaves, strongly keeled and somewhat fleshy and faintly crystalline on the surface. Both the stem and the keel of the leaves are sparsely covered with short soft spines. Three or four strongly scented nodding flowers are borne, superficially very like potato flowers. There is a firm round storage organ a few inches below the surface of the ground, slightly larger than a golf ball and the colour of a new potato. 137x

It is recorded from South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, the Transvaal, Portuguese East Africa and Natal. On the expedition it was not seen north of the Ghanzi area but near Ghanzi and to the south it was widely scattered, and sometimes fairly common in small patches. 137

The fruits are edible, and the remarks on the fruits of *Ximenia caffra* apply to the fruits of this species also. Ripe fruits were found at Ghanzi in July, although fruiting is usually over by then. [824]

Ximenia caffra Sond. (4949) Photograph 12.

!hɔ: Bushman..... n≠ ʔuri
||ganakwe Bushman... n≠ ʔuri
gikwe Bushman..... ≠ɔri
Naron Bushman..... n≠ ʔuri

A stout or straggly evergreen bush or small tree, usually about six feet high, with soft brittle branches and knobby rough twigs which are densely leafy and sometimes end in a sharp spine. There are often spines in the axils of the leaves as well. The leaves are dark green and tend to curve backwards slightly, and they and the young twigs are softly hairy. The flowers appear in early summer. They are massed along the twigs and have four recurved green petals with conspicuous white hairs on the inside. The fruit is the size of a plum, and an attractive light red.

It probably occurs in Angola, for it has been recorded from northern South West Africa near the Angola border. It is also known from Northern and Southern Rhodesia, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, the Transvaal, Portuguese East Africa and Natal. Like the other species of *Ximenia*, it was not seen along the route of the expedition north of the Ghanzi area.

The fruit is edible. It has a bitter skin and a large stone, and a reddish pulp between them, pleasantly flavoured but astringent and sour, and particularly sour next to the stone. It is at its best when over-ripe, for it does not become soft and unpleasant as many fruits do, but dries out slightly, becoming wrinkled in the process and more mellow, with the flavour of a prune. The stone is rich in oil, but this is said to be very pungent (Marloth, 1913-1932: I: 165) and to contain a rubbery substance (Schweikerdt, 1937: 179-182). The Bushmen use it to anoint themselves but do not consider it edible. It has been tested in England for possible commercial uses, but it was decided that the oil was not worth extracting. [302 824]

Hydnora sp. (5162) Photograph 13.

Eastern !khû Bushman ||hɔk ʔam

This curious plant is parasitic on the roots of *Combretum hereroense*. It is almost completely subterranean and is without chlorophyll. There is very little of the plant until it produces its flowers and fruits, which are much larger than the vegetative parts. The fruits are buried a few inches deep and are the size and shape of a pomegranate, but have a dark roughened woody shell split by many fine irregular cracks. The inner skin which shows through is red until the fruit ripens, when it becomes white. If the fruit is cut open a large, slightly sticky mass of pin-head brownish seeds is exposed, embedded in a pasty matrix which fills the inside of the fruit but is separate from the shell. Flowering was over by the time the first specimens were seen, but it is known that the flowers of this genus have a smell of carrion and that they protrude above the ground, where they can be reached by the insects necessary to bring about their fertilisation. They have no petals or sepals in the usual sense, their

x137 place being taken by a few thick fleshy erect lobes, and from the woody remnants of old flowers in this particular species it could be seen that they had four lobes. The two species recorded from South West Africa are *Hydnora africana* and *Hydnora solmsiana*, parasitic respectively on species of Euphorbia and species of Acacia. Number 5162 is either a new species, or one of the known ones parasitic on a hitherto unrecorded host. The material collected was inadequate for specific determination, and the seeds which were planted did not germinate.

This Hydnora was seen only in the immediate neighbourhood of Nama Pan, where it appeared to be fairly frequent.

The host plant is a straggly shrub up to six feet high, with grayish woolly leaves an inch long. It has the characteristic four-winged fruits of the genus, and many remain on the twigs through the winter. It was not seen in the country to the south of Ghanzi, but was common from Ghanzi northwards, and is widely distributed in Portuguese East Africa, the Transvaal and Rhodesia. A glossy-leafed form of it is also known, but was not seen along the route of the expedition.

[262] The whole mass inside the Hydnora fruit is edible. It is astringent and slightly sweet, and is eaten raw. The fruits would be difficult to find if it were not that they are eaten by various animals. A litter of [222 half-eaten fruits and fragments of rind and shallow burrowings often 824] show where the fruits have been excavated, and where more may be expected. They ripen about the end of August.

Talinum arnotii Hook. f. (5256) Photograph 14.

Eastern !khû Bushman ,lgwi_ja (stems and leaves)
≠k"arɔ (tuber)

During the winter there is seldom any sign of this plant above ground for the branches wither and die back with the first frosts. There is a perennial tuber a few inches underground, irregularly shaped and up to a pound in weight, crisp in texture and exuding a little cloudy astringent juice when injured. It has a brown skin and a reddish-brown zoned flesh. Although it is often eaten into hollows, presumably by rodents and insects, it is not eaten by the Bushmen. The stems appear in September and form a loose mat three feet in diameter on the surface of the ground. They are reddish-brown, prostrate and sappy, and the leaves are dull green and fleshy, channelled down the centre on the upper surface and with slightly crystalline appearance. The bright yellow flowers, which are produced in midsummer, are an inch across and quite showy, but open only in the heat of the day. They have two sepals and five petals. The flower-stalk starts bending when the flowers are mature, and by the time the fruits are fully formed it is curved sharply back. The fruits are the size of a small pea, shiny green and pointed at the tip, and covered by the withered remains of the perianth. They become yellow when ripe, with a papery shell and seeds the size of a pinhead.

The tubers of this plant were often unearthed in the more open parts round Nama Pan. I am doubtful whether it should be kept separate from *Talinum caffrum*, which is distributed from the Cape Province northwards to the Sudan and is very variable in its leaves and habit.

[262] The leaves and smaller branches of this species are used by the [252] Bushmen as a green vegetable. They are usually prepared by being pounded in a mortar to a paste which is dark green and slightly slimy and has a faintly acid taste with a flavour of lettuce.

Pollichia campestris Ait. (4963, 5040) Photograph 15. 137/x

A small grey-green bush with much-branched slender soft stems, fairly compact when growing in the open but usually found as a semi-scrambler up to four feet high. The leaves arise in tufts of about three, the tufts being opposite each other and at intervals of anything up to an inch along the stem. They are lanceolate and usually under half an inch long. The plant bears what at first sight appear to be fleshy translucent fruits like small white or yellowish mulberries, but which are actually parts of the flowers.

This is a widespread plant throughout Africa, and was seen at intervals all along the route taken by the expedition.

The fleshy parts of the flowers are edible and sweet, with a queer earthy flavour, and are loosely attached so that they may be easily collected by pulling the stems through the hands. The plant, however, did not appear common enough to be of importance as a food. [262]

Boscia albitrunca (Burch.) Gilg and Benedict (4998, 5208) Photograph 16.

!h3: Bushman.....	ɸhun
!ganakwe Bushman...	n|ßu-ni
|gikwe Bushman.....	n|ßu-ni
Naron Bushman.....	n|ßu-ni
Eastern !khû Bushman	zâ

This is a rather variable tree, sometimes with erect branches and sometimes with a spreading crown, usually bearing many thin twigs with much dead wood among them. The bark is sometimes loose, dark and coarsely fissured and sometimes white and flaky. The species was also often seen in the form of a many-stemmed shrub about four feet high. It is evergreen, and did not seem to be at all affected by the heavy frosts that were experienced in the central Kalahari. The leaves arise singly or in bunches of four or five from small knobs on the twigs, and are leathery and about one inch long and a third as wide. Although the flowers are small and inconspicuous as individuals, they are borne in masses towards the tips of the twigs and make quite a show. In the Cape and the Transvaal at least the tree appears to be sporadic in its flowering. The fruits are borne on half-inch jointed stalks, and are half an inch in diameter, pale-skinned and translucent, with several large stones surrounded by a thin, watery pulp.

The tree was scattered evenly throughout the country from Molepolole to Ghanzi and Gautscha Pan, and has been recorded from the Cape Province northwards to the tropics. It occurred singly, occasionally in open communities, but it was never seen to form thickets.

The fruits are eaten by the Bushmen, but they do not make pleasant eating, for the pulp has a rather slimy texture and a sickly-sweet taste. [262]

Sim (1907:123) refers to a meal which is prepared from the roots by drying and beating them. The resulting meal is then sifted to remove the fibres and may be made into a porridge. There are reports of gastro-intestinal disturbances after the eating of Boscia roots, but the reports have not been confirmed, and Steyn (1934: 561) fed large quantities to a rabbit without ill effects. It is suspected that people are susceptible only when they are not accustomed to this food. The Bushmen were not asked about their use of the roots, and did not volunteer any information. [252] [114 124]

The older trees are often hollow, and form natural reservoirs for rain water which is tapped by the Bushmen. (See Adansonia.) 312 824

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

[262] It furnishes the Bushmen not only with an edible gum, but also with
411 the material for making quivers. These are made from the lateral roots,
824 which are a foot or so below the surface. A suitably straight length is exposed and cut through, and after the cortex has been loosened by gently pounding it, it may be slipped off the woody central portion. The tube so obtained is then covered at one end with skin. The roots of this tree, like those of *Acacia giraffae*, have a most unpleasant smell when cut, something which is not apparent in the above-ground parts.

X137 *Burkea africana* Hook. (5332) Photograph 18.

Eastern Ikhû Bushman -Ik'u

An evergreen tree, with attractive drooping grayish compound leaves which are silvery when young. The tips of the youngest twigs are covered with a dense reddish pubescence, but this soon wears off and the older branches and the stem have a dark brown rough bark. The flowers are small but massed in showy hanging spikes six inches long and as thick as a pencil. They are cream-coloured and scented, and produce flat one-seeded or two-seeded pods two inches long. In the Transvaal the tree has a spreading crown. Beyond Tsau the habit was very different—the branches were ascending and shorter and gave the tree a slender appearance almost like a Lombardy poplar.

It is a widespread species in tropical Africa, extending from the Magaliesberg northwards to Abyssinia and Nigeria (Codd, 1951:61). Along the route of the expedition it was scattered from the south up to a point 171 miles from Molepolole, after which it was not seen again until 65 miles north-west of Tsau. It was found only on heavy sand, and beyond Tsau where sand and hard soil sometimes alternated at intervals of a mile or so the corresponding zones of Burkea were sharply defined. The central gap in its distribution is probably a climatic one, for there was deep sand in this area and conditions were apparently ideal for Burkea.

136 Burkea occasionally produces a little edible gum from injuries, but
262 it is more important indirectly because of being the host of at least two edible caterpillars, one being the larva of the moth *Nudaurelia bellina* Westwood. This caterpillar is in length and thickness slightly bigger than one's little finger. It is marked with black dots on a yellowish-green ground, with a black transverse band just below each segment and a row of stiff black bristles on each segment. It is recorded from South West Africa and is no doubt known to the Bushmen and eaten by them, but as the expedition passed through those parts too early in the season no specimens of the caterpillar were seen. The Bushmen did bring in the pupae of what they said was an edible caterpillar, and Mr. L. Vari of the Transvaal Museum was unable to distinguish them from the pupae of *Nudaurelia bellina*. One cannot, however, assume from this that they are in fact the same, for the pupae of different species in this group may be indistinguishable.

136 Another caterpillar found on Burkea and recorded also from South West Africa is the larva of the moth *Cirina forda* Westwood. It is black below and silvery or golden yellow above, with a line of black markings down the centre of the back. It is sparsely covered with long white hairs. Many other species of caterpillars have similar hairs which are extremely irritant, but these are quite harmless.

X137 *triloba* they are what is known as dorsifixed, that is they are fixed a little way up from the base so that the stipule is free at both ends. The flowers are the same size in the two species and have the same long stalk, but those of *Vigna triloba* are predominantly purple. They tend to open in the early morning and to close during the heat of the day.

Vigna triloba is reported from a variety of soils and is widespread through southern Africa, but it was not seen on the expedition until the Nama Pan area was reached.

262 It has a finger-thick tap-root which is edible after boiling or roasting, [252] although fibrous and slightly bitter. In mature plants it may extend downwards further than can conveniently be dug, but it is easily broken off. There appear to have been no previous records of its use as a food plant.

X137 *Commiphora pyracanthoides* Engl. (5137) Photograph 23.

Eastern !khũ Bushman n|ño

A deciduous, rigid, twiggy two-foot shrub with spine-tipped twigs, branches that curve downwards, and a bark that is pale green and flaky on the older parts and grayish on the young twigs. The flowers are less than a quarter of an inch long and inconspicuous, and are borne in bunches on small knobs scattered along the twigs. Male and female flowers are on separate plants. The knobs also bear the leaves, which appear after the flowers and are glaucous, simple and finely serrate, and about three quarters of an inch long and half an inch wide. The fruits are "ovoid, about the size of a green pea, though reddish brown when ripe. When the fruits are ripe, the fleshy covering may be easily split apart in two halves exposing the black seed with a red aril covering it partly at the base and extending in four slender 'fingers', producing an intriguing pattern". (Codd, 1951:87.)

The species extends from South West Africa to the northern Transvaal, but was uncommon in the area round Nama Pan. One specimen collected there was grown in Pretoria. Leaves and flowers were obtained in the summer following, and from this material the determination was made possible.

[262] The plant exudes an edible gum from injuries and is a useful source 312 of water in an emergency, the water being in a sappy underground organ ● 824 which is like that of one of the following species of Commiphora, No. 4994. It is known as a water plant among the Bantu of the Transvaal as well.

X137 *Commiphora* spp. (4994 edible, 5030 inedible).

4994		5030	
!hɔ: Bushman..	dʒã	|gikwe Bushman	!ana
|gikwe Bushman	dʒã		
Naron Bushman	|uri		

Two species of Commiphora were collected in the Kalahari south of Ghanzi. They were completely deciduous rigid two-foot shrubs with many sharply-tipped twigs and a flaky bark. At first sight they were identical, and even close examination revealed no bigger difference than that one of them was a little more of a thicket than the other and slightly 8.24 grayer. The Bushmen, however, stated emphatically that the grayish one [278] was poisonous and the other not. They said also that the grayish one [825] WAS THE HOST OF THE INSECT WHICH THEY USE FOR MAKING THEIR ARROW POISON, AND THAT IT HAD HARDER ROOTS THAN THE OTHER.

was the host of the insect which they use for making their arrow poison. 824
and that it had harder roots than the other. The fruits, flowers and leaves might have shown the difference clearly, but no trace of them could be found, and though plants were sent to the Transvaal for growing they failed to become established.

In spite of its unpromising appearance, the non-poisonous one is a 312
useful source of water. This is in a sappy unbranched vertical underground 824
part about an inch and a half thick. The Bushmen excavate down its [222]
length as deeply as they can reach, then break it off and withdraw it.
They remove the thin outer skin and chew the remaining part, which is [271]
crisp and has a little tasteless sap. As a source of water it does not compare with the various species of Cucurbitaceae—weight for weight it contains far less, and the labour of digging it up is considerable. However, it must be a reliable standby when the Cucurbitaceae are not in fruit, and in the central Kalahari it is plentiful. In the southern part it is apparently absent, for it was not seen until 256 miles north-west of Molepolole.

Dichapetalum cymosum (Hook.) Engl. 5109, 5266, 5338 Photograph 24. 137X

Eastern Ikhū Bushman ma-ī

This plant produces a number of slender erect woody stems up to 12 inches high, sparingly branched and often buried in the sand at the base. The leaves are four inches long, numerous, sessile, alternate, broader in the upper half where they are about one and a half inches across, and tapering at the base, with a stiff papery texture and with veins prominent above and below. They have a slight bloom on the upper surface and the younger leaves at least have a pair of narrow hairy stipules at the base. The younger parts of the plant are hairy, but the hairs wear off with age, and during the winter the leaves turn brown and hard and finally drop. The flowers are scented and have white petals forked at the end, but as they are small and nearly covered by the sepals, they are not conspicuous. The fruits are like a loquat, and may be brown or yellow. The have one or two big seeds covered by a little flesh.

Dichapetalum is distributed widely but patchily from the northern Transvaal through to Angola and Rhodesia. On the expedition it was seen for the first time between Tsau and Kaikai, and beyond that it was fairly frequent but scattered. It was usually in open situations, and seldom where there was dense tree growth.

Though the leaves are extremely poisonous, the flesh of the fruits 262
is harmless and is eaten by the Bushmen. They emphasised that the flesh only could be used, and that the stone was poisonous. They did not mention the skin, but the following note on Schoenfelder's specimen 31, in the National Herbarium, indicates that it, too, is poisonous:—

> "Fruits like small yellow oranges are eaten peeled in great quantities by the Kung Bushmen. When still green can be eaten [252]
> after baking in hot ash. Used like fruit, fresh. The peel of the [278
> fruit is stamped and mixed with other food to poison stealing dogs 824]
> (Diriko)."

Marloth (1913-25: II: I: 120) and Engler (1912: 577) also refer to the edibility of the fruits.

There are four other plants of very similar appearance which could 137X
be confused with *Dichapetalum cymosum*, and although they were not collected on the expedition, their distribution does overlap. They are *Pachystigma pygmaeum*, *Pygmaeothamnus zeyheri*, *Parinari capense* and *Diospyros chamaethamnus*. The first two bear inedible fruits and may be

X137 [262] distinguished by their having opposite leaves. The latter two bear edible fruits and like *Dichapetalum* have alternate leaves. The differences are that *Parinari capense* has leaves dark green above and covered with a white felt below, and that *Diospyros chamaethamnus* has no stipules.

Another species, *Dichapetalum venenatum*, has been described, but is in my opinion not specifically distinct from *Dichapetalum cymosum*.

Ricinodendron rautanenii Schinz (5336) Photograph 25.

Eastern !khũ Bushman ,||k'a:

The trees seen on the expedition were about 25 feet high and were then (at the end of August) quite bare, resembling slender baobabs, with similar but thinner stems, and smooth bark and stubby branches. Specimens collected elsewhere showed that the leaves are digitately compound, with about five leaflets and two prominent green glands at the top of the leaf-stalk. They are dark green above and pale below and covered with a pale to brownish powdery wool which is found on the young twigs and fruits also. The trees are either male or female. The small creamy flowers are borne in bunches towards the tips of the twigs and the female flowers give rise to reddish fruits the size of a small plum, consisting of a thin pulp surrounding a very hard nut. This is light coloured like an almond, thick and strong and marked all over with numerous small pores.

The only trees seen were on heavy sand near the banks of the Eiseb omuramba, 29 miles from Gam on the way to Windhoek, where they were dominant in a belt several miles wide. They formed a woodland, with the trees spaced about 25 yards apart. Herbarium records show that this is the usual mode of occurrence. The species has been recorded from South West Africa, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, Rhodesia and Portuguese East Africa.

252 262 The pulp of the fruit is edible raw or stewed. It does not readily go bad, but in time it dries and shrivels and in this condition, turned hard and crumbly, is still a wholesome food, edible raw or cooked. The stone contains one or two firm white-fleshed kernels which are, like the pulp, edible raw or cooked. The tree is an important source of Bushman food because of the quality and quantity of its fruit and because the fruits remain good for a long time even without being stored. Those seen on the expedition were on the ground beneath the trees and were still perfectly good to eat. The tree is additionally useful in that it sometimes collects [312 824] and holds rain water in hollows in its trunk (see Adansonia).

X137 *Sclerocarya caffra* Sond. (5292) Photograph 26.

Eastern !khũ Bushman -gzi

A few mature specimens were seen, about 20 feet high, and a few young ones. The mature trees had a single clean bole with a flaking bark and a branching rounded crown, and were very different in appearance from the young ones which consisted of four or five thick and sappy unbranched stems about five feet high, with a smooth brown bark. This was in August, and all were quite leafless. The following description is taken from Codd (1951):— "The leaves are pinnate with three or four pairs of well-spaced leaflets and a terminal leaflet. The leaflets are oval, smooth, tapering to an abrupt point and are about one and a half inches long and one inch wide. Flowers are inconspicuous and are produced in small sprays just before the appearance of the young leaves, some trees

X137 *Grewia retinervis* Burret (4875, 5066) Photograph 31.

!h3: Bushman.....	⊖b3:
||ganakwe Bushman...	||?ani
|gikwe Bushman.....	||gani
Naron Bushman.....	||gani
Eastern !khû Bushman	!gwa

A straggly many-stemmed five-foot shrub, sometimes a weak scrambler up to 10 feet high. The stems are half an inch thick at the base, rounded and slightly woolly when young, slightly flattened and glabrous when old, and tough and pliant. Its leavers are alternate, pale green, one and a half inches long and an inch wide, ovate with a pointed tip, toothed, and roughly hairy to the touch. They wither and fall soon after being frosted, but if out of reach of the frost remain on the bushes at least until the end of July. The plant bears spreading yellow flowers half an inch wide, and fruits the size of a pea, with a papery brown skin enclosing a few large pips and some fibrous mealy material. *Grewia retinervis* is closely allied to *Grewia flavescens*, so much so that I doubt whether the two should be considered anything more than varieties of one species. The differences are that *Grewia flavescens* is usually taller, and not so conspicuously veined on the upper surface of the leaves. Mr. B. de Winter, of the National Herbarium, Pretoria, has observed also that its older stems are square in section and those of *Grewia retinervis* are flattened.

Grewia retinervis was scattered over most of the area covered by the expedition, and common in the central Kalahari, specially in open grassy country. It has been recorded from the northern Cape and the Transvaal as well as South West Africa and the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

262 The fruits are edible. They ripen in winter, and have a slightly sweet
[251 taste and a pleasant flavour. They may be stored after being dried, and
252] are then soaked or boiled before being eaten. The crop, if one may judge from the 1955 season, is abundant, and the amount fairly constant for all the bushes. The fruits form an important part of the Bushmen diet,
[146 although little of them appears digestible. The roughage is voided almost
147] unchanged, in enormous faecal masses up to two and a half inches in diameter.

824 The dry stems of this plant nearly always contain the tunnelings of
372 grubs, and the tunnellings are packed with their excreta in the form of a brown, pith-like substance which forms a useful tinder. The Bushmen split the stems down the centre, make a slight depression in the flat surface and use this as a socket for the fire-drill.

X137 *Grewia* sp. aff. *Grewia bicolor* Juss. (5056).

Eastern !khû Bushman gamak'wɔ:

A slender shrub up to six feet high, with many sparingly branched stems. The leaves are one and a half inches by one inch, very finely toothed, dark green above and pale below, pointed at the tip and rounded at the base. Both surfaces are covered with a fine grayish felt which is thicker on the lower surface. Typical *Grewia bicolor* has wool on the lower surface only. The fruits are the size of a pea, and have a little flesh covering usually one big seed. No flowers were seen.

This is another of the plants with a distribution which begins in the Ghanzi area and extends northwards, and the remarks made as to the distribution and importance of *Grewia flavescens* apply here also.

[262] The fruits are edible.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

137X

Adansonia digitata L. Photograph 32.

Eastern !khũ Bushman ≠m

The Baobab, as it is commonly called, is shown in photograph 32. Its stem may have a circumference of up to 148 feet, and makes it quite unmistakable. In winter it is leafless but in summer it bears dense dark-green foliage. The flowers are pure white and up to six inches across, and the fruits, as described by Codd (1951: 120) are "oblong or egg-shaped, five to six inches or more in length and three to four inches in diameter, with a woody shell which is softly grey-velvety on the outside".

The southernmost specimens were seen in the neighbourhood of Ghanzi, and from there it occurred sporadically to Gautscha Pan, the furthest point north reached by the expedition. There were big gaps in its distribution and it was rare throughout, but in some parts of the Transvaal it occurs abundantly and may have an unbroken distribution over many square miles of country. It is widely distributed in the drier regions of north and south tropical Africa.

Inside the shell of the fruit is a white, pith-like substance which may be eaten raw, or ground up and stirred into water to make a drink, or boiled to make a porridge. It has an acid-sweet taste. The seeds which are embedded in the flesh are also edible and are eaten like nuts. In other parts of Africa they are prepared in a somewhat involved way which includes protracted boiling, fermenting and drying. There are several records of the fact that the young leaves make quite a good substitute for spinach, but as the expedition was during the winter and as the trees are deciduous, I cannot say whether the Bushmen know of this, nor whether the trees we saw were of the glabrous variety which is the one used for spinach. No seedlings were seen. It is known that the white shoot from the germinating seed can be used as a substitute for asparagus, and that the tender root of the very young Baobab is also edible (Dalziel, 1937: 113). The trees are often hollow, and like *Boscia albitrunca* and *Ricinodendron rautenii* may act as reservoirs for rain water which can be used in times of scarcity. The Bushmen reach it by fitting hollow grass stalks end to end to form a tube, and sucking it out. A further product of the Baobab is a large caterpillar which feeds upon the leaves and which is an important article of food aming the Natives of the northern Transvaal. It is recorded also from South West Africa, and is very likely known to and used by the Bushmen.

252 262 [272] 271 312 824 262 136 825

137X

Ochna pulchra Hook. (5273) Photograph 33.

Eastern !khũ Bushman !i and !e:i

A semi-deciduous tree with a clean but usually rather twisted bole which is white to light gray and has a peeling bark. The branches are bent and rigid and the wood brittle. They bear glossy light green alternate leaves which are almost sessile and usually entire, rarely with a very finely toothed margin. The tree has an attractive appearance even in winter, and the young leaves add to this in the spring for they range from pale green to reddish-brown. The flowers are borne in early summer, in showy scented bunches. They have yellow petals and a green calyx, which persists after the petals have fallen and turns bright red. The fruits are hard and green when immature but turn fleshy and black as they ripen. There are usually two or three, the size and shape of small beans, attached to a fleshy red swelling in the centre of the flower. The leaves have been suspected of causing poisoning in stock, but tests carried out on mammals have so far been inconclusive. (Uys and Thomas 1952, Steyn, 1949: 125.)

By the spring there may be nothing left to mark the position of the plant. 137X
How extraordinarily observant the Bushmen are was well shown when they 824
were asked if they could find a specimen and demonstrate its use. One man guided the party for four miles across country featureless except for clumps of trees to a spot where he knew of one growing. It was found after a short search—nothing more than two or three small sticks among the grasses, with the bark shredding into white silky fibres.

Raphionacme burkei is found from South West Africa through the 137X
Bechuanaland Protectorate into the northern Transvaal and the northern Cape. Two specimens were seen in the central Kalahari, and the species was determined from one of them which was sent to Pretoria for cultivation and flowered there in the following summer.

It is a well-known source of water among the Bushmen of the Kala- 271
hari. They extract the water from the storage organ by planing a pile 312
of shavings off it with the edge of a split stick, and then squeezing the 824
shavings in the hand and allowing the water to run into the mouth. This rather roundabout way of doing things appears to be without good reason, because the flesh of the storage organ may be chewed without any ill effect. It is firm and crisp, slightly fibrous, and faintly bitter.

Pentarrhinum insipidum E. Mey. (5171, 5191) Photograph 40. 137X

Eastern !khû Bushman n!ɔ-ʃu and n!wa-ʃu

A leafy deciduous climber up to 10 feet high, and a vigorous grower which may completely cover the host tree. It has freely branching lax stems which are quite tough in spite of being only a matter of an eighth of an inch in thickness. They are covered with a fine white down which is just perceptible to the naked eye, and when broken they exude a little milky juice, so little that it is easily overlooked. At intervals of about five inches arise pairs of leaves, deeply cordate at the base, and with long stalks. In the younger stages they are minutely hairy but they become glabrous or nearly so as they grow older. The flowers rise in a group on a three-inch slender stalk from between the leaves. They are brownish with a yellow or white central portion, small and faintly scented. The fruits are occasionally produced in pairs but are more usually solitary. They are beaked, three inches long and half as wide, covered with blunt prickles, longitudinally wrinkled and dull green.

At Nama Pan this was a frequent climber among the trees, and it is widespread over southern Africa. It was not, however, seen in the country south of Ghanzi.

At maturity the fruits are hard and woody and packed with the fine 262
silky hairs that form the pappus of the seeds, but when green they are 252
softer and may be eaten raw or cooked as a vegetable, and may be stored for three weeks before they deteriorate. Their rather copious white latex is quite harmless. They have a crisp texture when raw and a pleasant flavour, nutty and faintly peppery. When boiled they are reminiscent of Asparagus. When the seeds inside have turned brown the fruit will be found too hard to make good eating. The leaves, too, may be eaten raw as a salad, and are used that way by some Transvaal Natives, but the Bushmen method of preparation is to pound them to a pulp in a wooden mortar.

Pentarrhinum insipidum grows well from seed and is a rapid producer 137X
of green material. It might be a useful fodder plant for domestic stock.

inch long and less than a quarter of an inch wide. No flowers were seen on the expedition, but from herbarium records it is known that they are yellow and tubular and produce papery pods two inches long and half an inch wide. The pods split down their centre when they are mature. 137X

This plant is known from the northern Cape, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and South West Africa, and was widespread and fairly frequent north and south of Ghanzi.

Although it is not an edible plant it is nevertheless a producer of food, for all the Bushman digging-sticks seen were made from it. The only preparation is that the bark is peeled off, the spines trimmed, and one of the ends cut at a slant. The stick is about four feet long. In sandy soils and for the type of digging usually required it is a more efficient tool than a spade. It may be made to loosen a narrow cylinder of earth, and this cylinder, if a little wider than the object sought, is all that is necessary. With a spade on the other hand it is usually impossible to avoid a funnel-shaped excavation which entails the removal of far more soil. 322 412 824

Catophractes alexandri D. Don (4893) Photograph 52. 137X

!hɔ: Bushman.....	n!ain!ai
ǂganakwe Bushman...	!ga:!gaba
ǂgikwe Bushman.....	ga:giba:
Naron Bushman.....	n!ain!ai

A five-foot erect silvery bush with opposite leaves, some brightly coloured in the autumn and winter. They often bear slender sharp spines in their axils, which afterwards develop into branches and bear leaves and spines in their turn. The leaves and younger woody parts are covered with a dense white wool, but this afterwards disappears from the woody parts and they become a reddish brown. The flowers, which are about two inches long, are white, trumpet-shaped and showy, and produce a pod covered with short blunt prickles and up to three inches long, dark and woody when mature and splitting down the centre. The seeds have a circular membranous wing round them.

The plant is recorded from Angola, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Transvaal. It was fairly frequent south and north of Ghanzi, in patches down the banks of pans, on limestone, and occasionally also on slight slopes in sandy country.

Catophractes alexandri is not a food plant but deserves mention because of its importance in the preparation of food—it is used as a fire-drill together with *Grewia retinervis*, as is described in the notes on that species. 372 412 824

Corallocarpus sphaerocarpus Cogn. (5020, 5138, 5230) Photograph 53. 137X

ǂgikwe Bushman.....	ǂhurugu
Naron Bushman.....	ǂhɔrɔ
Eastern !khû Bushman	ǂhɔrɔ

A very variable plant creeping by means of tendrils over shrubs and low trees, and with sparse leaves, dissected or lobed and rough to the touch, rising in groups or singly from nodes on the rather sappy stem. The leaves are not flat even when perfectly fresh, but inrolled slightly at the margins as though they were beginning to wilt. Three or four sessile half-inch ovoid fruits are borne in a cluster at the nodes as well, which in

X137 *Citrullus vulgaris* Schrad. (4937, 4999) Photograph 57.

!h5: Bushman.....	dam
ǂganakwe Bushman...	nǂan
ǂgikwe Bushman.....	nǂan
Naron Bushman.....	nǂa-ǂ
Eastern !khû Bushman	_t'a_ma

This plant, one of the melons and commonly known as the tsama, has stout six-foot vines half an inch in diameter at the base and a quarter of an inch at the tip. They are covered rather densely with light brown hairs, which turn white and stiff with age. The vines are usually prostrate, but occasionally festoon themselves over grasses and low shrubs with the help of small Y-shaped tendrils, curly at the tips. The leaves are borne on two-inch stalks and are hairy on the ribs, dull green, rough to the touch and deeply lobed. Each plant produces male and female flowers. They are an inch in diameter and pale yellow, and the fruits which follow are rounded and up to six inches in diameter and six and a half pounds in weight. As many as 34, of all sizes, have been counted on one plant. The rind, densely hairy when young but later quite smooth, is dark green mottled longitudinally with light green, and contains a crisp, juicy, tasteless white flesh in which numerous flattened brown seeds are embedded. The melons can endure heavy frosts without becoming spoilt, but the rest of the plant is very susceptible. The frosts, however, merely hastens its death for it is in any case an annual.

This melon is indigenous to south-west Asia and the warm dry regions throughout Africa. The water-melon is merely an improved variety of the same species, which has been known in Egypt and Babylonia since the beginning of history (Marloth, 1913-1925: III: II: 205). The tsama was widespread but patchy along the route of the expedition, and areas of abundant melon alternated with long stretches where it was not seen. It was not confined to the sand but grew also on the hard soil of the pans.

262 The tsama is unquestionably the most important plant to the Bushmen
312 in this part of the Kalahari. They are known to use it as their sole source
824 of water for months on end and it is extremely doubtful whether they would be able to live permanently in the Kalahari without it. Its importance is
[184] shown by the fact that one group of Bushmen in the central Kalahari had
[244] a small patch of tsama which they had grown from seed, and the Bushmen are not as a rule agriculturalists. Nevertheless, the tsama is not an infallible standby, for the reasons given in the discussion on *Citrullus naudinianus*, and when the need arises the Bushmen can and must substitute more meagre but at the same time more reliable sources of water, for example from *Sansevieria scabrifolia*. When it is used for drinking-water
252 the melon is opened at the top like an egg and the central portion cut out
262 and eaten. The rest of the pulp is then mashed inside the rind with a
312 stick to a watery mass which is half drunk and half eaten, the pips being put aside and later roasted and pounded (without being peeled) to make an edible meal. The melons are sometimes roasted before being eaten, which adds a little flavour, and they may be cut up and mixed with meat to form a stew, which is conveniently cooked in the rind itself. Although no bitter specimens of the tsama were found along the route of the expedition, they do occur. Their flesh is poisonous and unfit for human consumption, but their seeds are free of poison and edible after roasting.

At some villages of Bakalahari (which are a Bantu tribe), the tsama is regularly cultivated. These and wild melons are collected and stored under shelter, and goats, horses, cattle and even dogs are kept with tsama as the main source of water. The livestock use the melon more economi-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

825 mash the insides, then pull off the head and squeeze the in-
278 sides out like toothpaste from a tube. Both kinds of poison are equally good, they say.

Perhaps the two types of pupae are the pupae of two different kinds of beetles. Perhaps they are from the same beetle but in different stages of development. Perhaps they really are males and females, as Bushmen are often scientifically
[821] accurate, but, as Bushmen also have male and female rain clouds, perhaps not.

[439] Kung Bushmen, who use metal arrows obtained by trading
●824 animal skins for wire with the Bantus, have a complicated
825 system of poisoning in which they use several ingredients for
278 the poison paste. One of these is a binding fluid, used because the pure poison squeezed from the grub will not adhere well to metal but must be made binding and sticky. The binding material comes from the bark of a tree. They chew
[415 the bark thoroughly and spit the mash into a little mortar
237] made from the knee bone of an antelope, a nice little cup, into which the Bushmen have squeezed the milky juice of sansevieria plants, got by wringing the heavy, thick leaves. This juice has an irritating effect when it is dissolved in a wound and causes the antelope to rub and scratch its wounded spot against a tree, which stimulates circulation in the area, which carries the poison more quickly through the body, which hastens death.

The paste in the mortar is thoroughly mixed, then smeared with a straw on the foreshaft of arrows, never on the head, for if the sharp edges of the head were poisoned any child might accidentally nick himself and die. When the arrow is poisoned it is propped up by a fire and the poison is allowed to dry into a shiny dark paste, to be melted again by the
411 moisture and warmth of an antelope's flank.
825
278 Gai had stored his poison cocoons in a tiny bag inside his

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

222 The women stopped and began to gather up the green melons, Twikwe picking them with a mechanical, stereotyped gesture. She first slipped her hand under a melon; then, twisting her elbow, she lifted the melon and held it pinched between the heel of her hand and her forearm, and with a scoop slipped it into the pocket of her kaross on the side. In a moment the side of her kaross was full, and she stood erect for an instant, looked at the sky, shifted her weight, and suddenly the melons rolled to the back of her kaross, leaving the side free for more. She was very efficient. In a moment she had a load. I was a little surprised at her, however, for now she would have to carry the melons with her all day whereas she might have gathered them on the way home. But Bushman women do not seem to mind this.

The women left behind the yellow melons which would have been bitter and rotten, touching them disappointedly with their toes instead. The false spring was hastening the time when all the melons would be gone, forcing the Bush-
222 men to eat roots as a staple diet, not as desirable because of
● 824 the uses that tsama melons have. Melons are eaten as both
[252] food and water, their pulp is added to meat which needs liquid for boiling, their seeds are roasted and eaten or ground into powder and used as flour, their rinds serve as mixing-
[415] bowls, as containers for small, loose objects, as cooking-pots with or without the pulp inside, as urine-containers for curing hides, as targets for the children's shooting practice, as children's drums, as resonators for musical instruments, and all this amounts to a serious loss for Bushmen when the melons rot or dry.

222 We went on until we were about two miles from camp. We were going to an almost imperceptible small hill, a place, said Twikwe, where a great deal of veld food grew. On the way a moving shadow caught our attention, and we looked up

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
Gikwe

764 move away because they cannot bear to leave the dead per-
775 son, because they want to make sure that animals do not spoil his body, and because, said Ukwane, "He is our person, whom we love. We do not want to leave until we have given up hope."

764 We learned one other thing, and that was that the Gikwe
775 put a medicine power, a fragrant brown powder made of an
789 herb called *sasa*, in the norstrils of the dead person, and
824 sprinkled his body with sasa before the burial. This, said Ukwane, is done to ensure heavy rain in the rainy season, but also it may well have to do with protecting the living from the spirit of the dead. We did not learn more about this because Bushmen will talk about any subject you may name except the subject of the spirits of the dead. The Kung respect and fear spirits more than any other thing, and only after a year of trying did we learn about them; the Gikwe seem to feel the same way, and for that reason we did not expect to learn very much. We did find, however, that the spirits
775 of the dead are called, at least sometimes, the *kwe be ha ki* (person who is not here), and that these spirits travel in the
[82] wind—not in open, blowing wind, but in whirlwinds; that is why the Gikwe Bushmen avoid whirlwinds, because a spirit might be there to carry them away. Once a whirlwind passing through our camp uprooted a tent and carried it spinning to the sky. Possibly, explained the Bushmen, a spirit of the dead thought that there was a person inside, although sometimes the spirits cause only mischief.

764 With the Kung, the funeral customs are very much the
184 same as those of the Gikwe. The body is folded into a sitting position and bound, but the head is bowed down to the knees. Beads and a kaross ornament the body, which is also lowered into the grave and buried upright, but thereafter the custom

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

648 work required on the farms, and also because certain members of the families were still here and now these families were broken forever.

164 On our way to see Short Kwi, the brother-in-law led us to the far end of the werf, behind a clump of bushes, to the scherm where Short Kwi lived. We saw him there, sitting with his wife and little daughter by the ashes of their fire, side by side, and we caught our breath at the sight of him. He looked tiny, no bigger than a child, and his flesh had wasted away so that his pale skin stretched tightly over all his bones. His leg was hidden by a blanket, his hands were as thin and fragile as a girl's, and his eyes were huge. He looked up at us when we came and smiled wanly, wryly, and his wife and daughter looked up at us and his wife also smiled wanly, but his daughter did not smile at all. The first thing Short Kwi did was to rearrange the blanket over his foot to hide his toes, but not before we had seen them, dry and black, dead entirely like the toes of a mummy. His leg was the first thing in his mind, but this was natural; we reminded him of better days.

302 We sat down at his fire to talk, all of us who had come from
824 Nama and most of the people from his werf, and his wife gave those of us from Nama a palmful of sa, the finely powdered yellow-green leaves that smell halfway between roses and sage. We crossed our faces with it, sprinkling a stripe up the bridge of our noses to our foreheads and another stripe across our cheeks. It smelled very nice, a sweet present to give to someone who has arrived from a long journey. Hours later it was still fragrant and we could smell it, faintly, for days.

164 We asked Short Kwi to show us his leg and as he started to unwind the blanket the Bushmen from Nama leaned forward, fascinated, but the other Bushmen did not look because they had seen it before. Short Kwi drew back the blan-

222 461 on the season. In the long days of wilting between the October spring and the January summer, food is scarce and the women may go out every day into the failing veld, leaving their *werft* early in the morning and returning late in the afternoon. All 222 422 that a woman gathers belongs to her alone, and of course is shared with her family. She feeds her husband, her 593 children and often a visitor or two, at her own hearth. No formal instruction 222 is practiced among the !Kung, with the possible exception of certain kinds 868 of religious teaching and what might be called an occasional hunting school. 857 Learning to gather comes from the children's observation of the more experienced women. Girls soon learn to [824] recognize more than a hundred kinds of edible plants that grow in *Nyae Nyae*, as well as the seasons and places in which these plants grow. They learn to see tiny, shriveled root vines coiled around thorns in the thickets and, in the process, develop fine powers of observation. Possibly complementary to this lack of formal instruction, no formal pressure is exerted on young people to take up adult roles. Girls, if they wish, accompany their mothers on gathering trips. If they do not, they rarely feel guilty. A girl usually be- [582] gins to feel responsible soon after she marries, which is often before puberty. But only when she has children of her own does a woman see the world through the eyes of a provider.

Sinews

Made and used by men

bow-strings
wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison adheres well to sinew)
binding for hafts
snares

Made by men, used by all

strings for *//gwashi* (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

fine rolled cord

Horn

Made and used by men

horns fitted with leather covers for carrying arrow-points
horns for cupping

Used by all

horns for pipes
horns for spoons

Shell

Made by men, used by all

ostrich egg-shell water-containers
tortoise-shell dippers
tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

ostrich egg-shell beads

Feathers

Used by boys on *jani* toys
Worn by all occasionally in hair

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

Wood

Made and used by men

bows
spear handles
axe or adze handles
knife handles
knife sheaths
spring-hare hook handles[1]
fire-making sticks
hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

digging sticks
carrying sticks
stirring sticks
mortars and pestles
bowls
spoons
fire scrapers
//gwashi (musical instrument)
one-stringed violin
jani toys
beads

Made by women

frames for scherms

Fibres

(from *sansevieria*, aloe, */nos* tree roots, other roots)

Rolled by men and women

cord

Made and used by men

carrying-nets
snares

Made and used by all

ornaments

Grass

Made by men and women

stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-containers
ornaments

Made by women

scherms

Made by children

toys of grass folded and woven to suggest animals

Used by all for beds

[1] Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying. They carry only the hook around with them and whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

VEGETABLE MATERIALS (*contd.*)

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Reeds

Made and used by men

arrowshafts

Used by women

strips for tying frames of scherms and for tying grass on scherms in times of high wind

Worn by all as head and chest bands

Bark

Made and used by men

quivers

Tsi Nuts

Used by all as beads

Used by boys as weights for *jani* toy

STONE

324
462
[302]

Made by men

arrow-straighteners
pipes

Used by men for

sharpening blades
hammers
anvils
weights to stretch nets
marking graves

Used by women

powdered red earth for ceremonial markings on face

OBTAINED BY TRADE WITH BANTU

439

Malleable Metal and Wire

Made and used by men

arrow-points
spear-blades
spring-hare hooks

Made by men, used by all

pipes
awls

Used by men

knives
axes or adzes
chisels (few)
files (few
fire-strikers) (few)

Used by all

beads—copper, glass, shell, &c.
pots—Bantu clay, European iron
pipes (few), European briar, old cartridge-shells
receptacles (few)
old scraps of garments and blankets
oddments such as buttons for ornaments

Résumé

LE PARTAGE ET LE PARLER: SOULAGEMENT DES TENSIONS SOCIALES CHEZ LES BANDES DE BOSCHIMANS /KUNG

000

Dans cette communication, l'auteur décrit plusieurs coutumes de Boschimans /Kung dans la région Nyae Nyae de l'Afrique du sud-ouest, coutumes qui les ont aidés à maintenir des relations pacifiques au sein de leurs groupes et entre les divers groupes de la région. Ces coutumes ont été observées au cours des expéditions Marshall de 1951–9. Les modifications

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

guages, some now virtually extinct, were characterized by a fifth click made 194
with the lips, called the kiss click (⊙). In addition to clicks, the Bushman 197
languages have tones: high, middle, low, rising, and falling. Oswin Köhler [114]
has given special attention to tone as well as to other features in his study
of Bushman languages, especially Barakwenga (Köhler 1962).

Each of the large divisions of the Bushman languages—the northern, 197
central, and southern divisions (see Bleek 1956)—differs markedly from the
others. Within each group are several languages, sometimes resembling each
other enough to be considered merely dialects of the same language, but
more often differing so widely as to be distinct, mutually quite unintelligible
languages. The !Kung described in this chapter (Köhler's and Westphal's
!Xũ) belong to the northern group.

HABITAT • The Kalahari Desert, some 1200 miles long, with a mean high 133
altitude of about 3000 feet, forms part of the great plateau of southern
Africa. It is a basin in form, covered with wind-blown sands, sometimes red, [134]
sometimes white, to a depth of 300 to 400 feet. The underlying rock crops
out rarely in ridges and a few low hills.

Stamp (1953:78) classifies the Kalahari as a semidesert. Its conditions 132
are not the most extreme. Our expeditions recorded daytime air temperatures
in the shade up to 115° F. and sand temperatures in the sun up to 140° F. In
winter the temperature at night falls below freezing but for most of the year
the nights are temperate. Although they seem acclimated to the heat, the [147]
Bushmen appear to find the colder temperatures very uncomfortable and
shiver violently if they are away from their fires when the cold south winds
blow.[8]

The rainfall, which comes in summer thunderstorms—6 to 10 inches, in- 137
creasing in the better-watered parts toward the north, according to Welling- [132]
ton (1955:61)—though slight, is sufficient to sustain a varied drought-
resistant vegetation, and the country is covered with grass, brush, and scant
small trees. In the northern and northwestern parts, the trees are more [824]
numerous and taller and include shivi groves and nut-bearing mangetti—
important sources of food to the Bushmen. And in all the areas of the desert
that Bushmen inhabit are found edible plants, in scant, far-apart patches per-
haps, but existing. The vegetation, furthermore, provides material for fires, 824
shelter, weapons, implements, tanning, poison for arrows, and juices (for ex-
ample tsama melons, on which these people can live when there is no water).
In short, this desert provides the things that make life possible; otherwise
the Bushmen would be dead or somewhere else.

The desert is a forceful shaper of the outlines of Bushman culture, and 182
both the possibilities it permits and the limitations it imposes have been mean- [114]
ingfully summarized by Robert Story in a personal communication:

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed //*guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

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The *Choa* Ceremony The mother takes the girl's hands to scrape the *tsi* out of the ashes.

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[224]

choa-ed. The old woman who attends her performs this part of the ceremony (or her mother may do so). She scrapes a root called *sha sha* into the water hole. To *choa* the veldkos, the old woman takes the girl's hands in hers and together they place the veldkos in the fire. When it is cooked, they scrape it out together and the old woman puts *sha sha* in her mouth, chews it, and blows on the girl's hands and on the veldkos. This protects the girl from having an upset stomach. Each veldkos must be *choa*-ed the first time the girl eats it after the First Menstruation ceremony.

841
[224]

No ceremonials mark subsequent menstruation periods, and the women do not seclude themselves during the flow or avoid gathering veldkos or dipping water from the water hole. They continue only to practice certain avoidances that in general have to do with men's hunting. The menstruating woman must not touch hunting gear; it would be very bad, for the arrows would be useless. She must not have sexual intercourse with her husband; it would make him tired and thin. Men in the years of their hunting prime should not talk or listen to talk about menstruation, for to do so might make them lazy in hunting.

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The girls who are married before their first menstruation have the same menstruation ceremony when the time comes as do the unmarried girls.

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[852]

There is no genital mutilation practiced among the girls and women of the !Kung. Girls are scarified, but not at the time of the menstruation ceremony. The scarification is begun when the girl is about seven or eight and is continued little by little over several years. Stripes are made on the legs,

[p. 266]

137
136 of animals named and known by the Dobe area Bushmen. Of
[126] these 420 species, 350 species were collected and identified
433 by the author. Two-thirds of the plant species and half of
824 the animal species are utilized by the Bushmen. Of these,
825 they classify 85 species of plants and 54 species of animals as edible. It is therefore evident that the Bushmen have a remarkably broad subsistence base. On closer examination, however, one finds that the Bushmen are highly selective in their food habits. In fact, only nine species of plants constituted about three-quarters of the total vegetable diet; and one species alone, the mongongo nut, accounted for at least half of the total. Furthermore, of the 54 animal species eaten, only 17 species were consistently hunted.

824 A plant species may be regarded by the Bushmen as a
262 major food for one or more of several reasons. Certain foods are prized because of their abundance or because of the long season during which they are available. Other foods are prized because of the ease with which they are collected. For this reason fruits are generally more popular than roots since the latter have to be dug out of the ground. Then there are foods which are especially good tasting and/or believed to be highly nutritious. The various plant foods are evaluated pragmatically and rationally and few species
825 are restricted by magico-religious taboos. This is in sharp
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825
262 contrast to the evaluation of animal foods all of which fall under taboos of varying strictness.

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262 By using these criteria of abundance, duration of eating season, ease of exploitation, tastiness and nutritional value, the Bushmen have arranged the universe of edible plants hierarchically in terms of the overall desirability of each species as food.

This scheme divides the 85 edible species into six classes:

I.	Primary	1 species
II.	Major	8 spp.
III.	Minor	14 spp.
IV.	Supplementary	32 spp.
V.	Rare	13 spp.
VI.	Problematic	17 spp.
TOTAL		85 species

I. Primary food - All Bushmen of the Dobe area agree that their primary food is the nut of the mongongo (mangetti) tree: *Ricinodendron rautanenii*. This food rates high on all the criteria of desirability described above. It is superabundant (millions of nuts rot on the ground each year for want of eating); it is eaten in all months of the year; it is easy to collect, has a delicious taste, and is highly

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824 nutritious.[1]

It should be added that meat is considered by all the Bushmen as a primary food. Informants agreed that an ideal diet should consist primarily of meat and mongongo nuts. In actual practice this ideal is not always attained.

II. Major foods - After Ricinodendron there are eight species that Bushmen consider as major foods but none of these rate high on all five criteria of desirability. There are three species which are superabundant in quantity and delicious to the taste, but are available for only a short period of the year. They flourish during the rains but by winter, three months later, they have become shrivelled and dried out. The three summer species are: Grewia flava, the morethlwa berry; Ximenia caffra, the sour plum; and Citrullus
[312] lanatus, the famous Tsama melon. The latter species also serves as an alternative source of water but this is not important in terms of food strategy because the season of Tsama melons coincides with the season of abundant standing water. Among the /gwi Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, the Tsama melon is a more important source of water because it

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[146] [1]The nut of Ricinodendron has been chemically analyzed (quoted in Watt and Breyer-Brandwijk 1962:428). The kernel of the nut was found to yield 60%, by weight, of a quick-drying fixed oil, rich in proteins. The fruit of the nut, which is also eaten by the !Kung Bushmen, yielded, among other constituents, 31% saccharose and 7.9% protein.

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persists into the winter dry season (Silberbauer 1965).

The fruit of the baobab tree, Adansonia digitata, is another of the major foods. It is most important during winter but tends to rot if left on the ground and therefore cannot be eaten in all months of the year.

The vegetable ivory palm, Hyphaene ventricosa, has two edible parts. The fruit of the mature form is abundant but yields very little of food value. The dwarf form of the palm lacks fruit but the heart of the stalk is an important item of diet. This latter food has two distinct disadvantages. It is difficult to collect because the stiff palm fronds must [164] be laboriously hacked away to reach the heart. Also those who eat its fibrous pulp complain of stomach cramps and diarrhea. Therefore it is eaten only when more desirable foods are not available.

The nut of the morula tree, Sclerocarya caffra, is a delectable food, even tastier than the mongongo nut. But it rates low on the important criterion of ease of eating. The nut meats are small and crumble easily; so they must be carefully picked out of the shell with a thorn. This operation requires patience and it was observed that the women ate many more morula nuts than did the men. The morula tree is also important in subsistence because one of the species of beetle used in arrow poison feeds on its leaves.

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Bauhinia esculenta, the "Tsi bean", ranks with Ricinodendron as the primary food of the Nyae Nyae Pan area (L. Marshall 1965), where both the beans and roots are eaten. In the Dobe area, however, this species of Bauhinia has a spotty distribution. In order to reach the large groves, the Dobe area Bushmen must travel long distances to the borders of the Nyae Nyae area. Because of this factor, the "Tsi bean" is not popular in the Dobe area, where the alternative primary food, Ricinodendron, is locally abundant.

[312] The last of these eight major species is, in a sense, the most important, not because of its abundance or its food value (it is neither plentiful nor nutritious) but because of its water storage properties. This is the plant, Fockea monroi, the root of which may contain up to a pint of water. At the end of the dry season when food has become exhausted within a walking radius of the permanent waterholes, people often move into the waterless bush where food is still plentiful. Here they are able to live for one or two weeks by digging out and drinking the juice of the Fockea roots.

It may be useful to think of Ricinodendron and Fockea as the "alpha" and "omega" of the Bushman food plants. The first, Ricinodendron, is the food that carries the Bushmen through the months and years, while the second, Fockea, is the critical plant that enables the Bushmen to eat well through

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

the short but severe dry hot season.

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III. Minor foods - Next in importance to these nine species is a series of 14 species which rate high on one or two of the criteria of desirability. These include seven species of edible roots and bulbs (including Coccinia spp., Eulophia spp., Lapeirousia spp., Vigna spp., and Walleria spp.) which taken individually are not important but as a class they become a major item of diet during the winter dry season. This is the time of year when the more abundant summer fruits and melons are not available. The winter foods include as well the edible gum from the trees Terminalia sericea and Acacia mellifera.

Five of these minor foods occur only during the summer. These include the berries of three species of the genus Grewia, and the edible leaves of the species Dipcadi glaucum and Talinum crispatulatum.

All of the species of Class III are seasonally limited. When available, each species was eaten several times a week. On this basis they can be distinguished from the major foods of Classes I and II which were eaten daily.

IV. Supplementary foods - There were 32 species of plants which were supplementary to foods of Classes I, II, and III, or which were eaten when the more desirable foods had become locally exhausted. The list comprises ten species

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262 of fruits and berries (including five species of Grewia), two species of melon, one species of leafy green, ten species of edible gum, and nine species of roots. The roots taken as a class were especially important during the winter season when the fruits and berries were not available. In general, the foods of Class IV were both less abundant and less tasty than the corresponding foods of Class III.

V. Rare foods - This class of foods includes 13 species which were observed to be eaten only on a few occasions. Nevertheless, several of these were classified as important foods by the Bushmen. For instance, the fruit of Guibourtia coleosperma was considered excellent eating, but this tree bears fruit only once in several years. Had the study been carried out during a year when Guibourtia was in fruit, it might have ranked higher. Maguire (n.d.), who did botanical research near Dobe in 1952-53, has listed Guibourtia as a major food.

Most of the foods in Class V were locally uncommon. These include two species of fruit, eight species of root, and the curious parasitic plant Hydnora sp. which bears an underground fruit (Story 1958:19-20).

VI. Problematic foods - Finally there are seventeen species which the Bushmen said were edible but which were not observed to be eaten during the study period. Some of these

824 262 such as Boscia albitrunca and Bauhinia macrantha did not come into fruit in 1963-64 because of the drought. The majority were not eaten because of their unattractive taste and because more desirable foods were available.

These 85 species are listed alphabetically by class in Table 5, pp. 108-110.

The way in which the Bushmen arrange these 85 plants in order of their importance as foods suggests a productive analogy to the way they utilize space in subsistence activities.

262 222 The Bushmen typically occupy a camp for a period of weeks and eat their way out of it. For instance, at a camp in the mongongo forest, the members of the camp will exhaust the nuts within a one-mile radius the first week of occupation, within a two-mile radius the second week, and within a three-mile radius the third week. The longer a group lives at a camp, the farther they must travel each day to get food. This is a feature of daily subsistence that occurs at both winter and summer camps. For instance, at the Dobe winter camp, in June the gatherers were making daily round trips of six to nine miles to reach the mongongo nuts. By August the daily round trips had increased to ~~twelve~~13 miles.

This progressive increase in walking distance occurs because the Bushmen are highly selective in their food habits. They do not eat out all the food in a given area. They start

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 111)

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

TABLE 5

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THE 85 SPECIES OF BUSHMAN FOODS ARRANGED, BY CLASSES, IN ORDER OF DECREASING DESIRABILITY

Class I. Primary Food		
1.	Ricinodendron rautanenii	(fruit and nut)
Class II. Major Foods		
2.	Adansonia digitata	(fruit)
3.	Bauhinia esculenta	(beans and root)
4.	Citrullus lanatus	(melon)
5.	Fockea monroi	(root)
6.	Grewia flava	(berry)
7.	Hyphaene ventricosa	(fruit and stalk)
8.	Sclerocarya caffra	(fruit and nut)
9.	Ximenia caffra	(fruit)
Class III. Minor Foods		
10.	Acacia mellifera	(gum)
11.	Coccinia rehmannii	(root)
12.	Coccinia sp. (or Trochomeria sp.)	(root)
13.	Diospyros chamaethamnus	(fruit)
14.	Dipcadi glaucum	(leaves)
15.	Eulophia sp.	(root)
16.	Eulophia sp.	(root)
17.	Grewia bicolor	(berry)
18.	Grewia flavescens	(berry)
19.	Lapeirousia coerulea	(bulb)
20.	Talinum crispatulatum	(leaves)
21.	Terminalia sericea	(gum)
22.	Vigna dinteri	(root)
23.	Walleria muricata	(bulb)
Class IV. Supplementary Foods		
24.	Acacia erubescens (var. A. dulcis)	(gum)
25.	A. fleckii	(gum)
26.	A. gillettiae (var. A. uncinata)	(gum)
27.	A. giraffae	(gum)
28.	A. heteracantha	(gum)
29.	Annona stenophylla	(fruit)
30.	Burkea africana	(gum)
31.	Ceropegia sp. nr. C. leucotaenia	(bulb)
32.	C. sp. nr. C. mozambicensis	(bulb)
33.	Citrullus naudinianus	(melon)
34.	Coccinia sessilifolia	(melon and root)
35.	C. sp.	(root)

824
262

36.	Combretum imberbe	(gum)
37.	C. mechowianum	(gum)
38.	Cyperus fulgens	(bulb)
39.	C. sp.	(bulb)
40.	Dichrostachys glomerata	(gum)
41.	Dipcadi longifolia	(bulb)
42.	D. sp.	(bulb)
43.	Grewia avellana	(berry)
44.	G. falcistipulata	(berry)
45.	G. retinervis	(berry)
46.	G. subspathulata	(berry)
47.	G. sp.	(berry)
48.	Mukia maderaspatana	(leaves)
49.	Raphionacme sp.	(root)
50.	R. sp.	(root)
51.	Strychnos spinosa	(fruit)
52.	Terminalia prunioides	(gum)
53.	Vangueria longicalyx	(fruit)
54.	V. infausta	(fruit)
55.	Ximenia americana	(fruit)

Class V. Rare Foods

56.	Corallocarpus welwitschii	(root)
57.	Cucumis sp.	(root)
58,	Guibourtia coleosperma	(berry)
59.	Hydnora sp.	(root)
60.	Ipomoea verbascoidea	(root)
61.	Lapeirousia sp.	(bulb)
62.	Nymphaea sp.	(root)
63.	Ochna pulchra	(berry)
64.	Raphionacme burkei	(root)
65.	R. sp.	(root)
66.	Salacia lubberti	(fruit)
67.	Strychnos pungens	(fruit)
68.	Vigna unguiciculata	(root)

Class VI. Problematic Foods

69.	Acacia karoo	(gum)
70.	Amaranthus sp.	(leaves)
71.	Aristida gracilior	(seeds)
72.	Bauhinia macrantha	(beans)
73.	Boscia albitrunca	(fruit)
74.	Cephalocroton pueschellii	(fruit)
75.	Clerodendrum uncinatum	(fruit)
76.	Combretum psidioides	(gum)
77.	C. zeyheri	(gum)
78.	Dichapetalum cymosum	(fruit)
79.	Dichrostachys cinerea	(gum)
80.	Dipcadi longifolium	(bulb)
81.		

16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

• 824
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[192]

81. Grewia sp. (berry)
82. Ziziphus mucronata (berry)
83. not determined - !Kung name -"todi" (root)
84. not determined - !Kung name -"!!gwi" (root)
85. not determined - !Kung name -"//aižeri" (root)

222
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[825] species of beetles were observed to be eaten. Termites and locusts were not eaten. Honey is highly regarded as food by the Bushmen, and the hunters often investigated bees nests but honey was never observed to be eaten at the Dobe camp and only rarely at other camps.

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824
825 In summary the plant and animal resources of the Dobe area include 85 plant and 54 animal species which are eaten. Closer examination reveals that only a small number of these edible species play a major role in the diet. Only 26 of the 139 edible species may be considered as major Bushman foods: 9 species of plants and 17 species of animals.

361 Each of the groups moves in a "direction" from its waterhole.
312 For instance, the Dobe people move to the west and north, the !angwa people move to the northwest, and the !gose people move to the east.

361 The concept of territoriality as applied to the Bushmen differs from the concept used by zoologists in discussing the spatial arrangements of animals. The zoological usage refers to the exclusive use of space, by an organism or group of organisms who defend this space against competing members of the same species (Bourlière 1964:94-100).

By contrast the Bushmen groups do not defend boundaries and members of all groups travel freely between camps. However, land utilization is not at all a random phenomenon.
[222] The Bushmen population is organized into land-holding units,
[224] and the members of a unit tend to spend the greater part of the year hunting and gathering within a specific area.

Thus, in the context of this study, the term "territory" refers to <u>the area within which an independent camp moves during the annual subsistence cycle</u>.

361 The locations and spatial configurations of territories
• 824 are determined by the distribution of water and food resources.
[312] Each territory has within it a permanent waterhole, one or more seasonal water sources, and one or more mongongo nut forests. Every territory includes, in addition, a selection

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824 of summer foods such as the berries of Grewia spp. and melons of the Citrullus vines, and a selection of winter foods such as roots of the genera Vigna and Coccinia, and edible gums from the genera Acacia, Terminalia, and Burkea.

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824 No two territories have the same constellation of plant foods and no single territory provides the complete inventory of 85 species of plant foods. The Bushmen are well aware of the variations in plant resources between the several territories and there is general agreement on the "strong" and "weak" points of each territory. For instance, !ubi is famous for its Baobab fruits (Adansonia digitata), a food which most other territories lack. /ai/ai is known for the abundance of its wild orange trees (Strychnos spp.) but is considered "weak" in vegetable ivory palms (Hyphaene ventricosa) which are rare south of the Aha Hills. Dobe, on the other hand, is said to be "strong" in vegetable ivory palms and "weak" in the wild orange trees. Bate is famous for its groves of trees bearing the morula nut (Sclerocarya caffra) but is "weak" in trees bearing the mongongo nut
[132] (Ricinodendron rautanenii). Furthermore, local variations in seasonal rainfall may produce an abundance of food in one territory and leave another territory with a food scarcity.

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433 The important point is that every territory has enough food to sustain at least some of its members throughout the

311 area of each territory.

[312] Second, the area and shape of an individual territory is
[824] influenced by the distance between the important resources within it, such as water sources and mongongo nut forests. It is these point resources and not the spaces between them that are the significant features of the landscape.

Third, territories overlap each other and there is disagreement as to the ownership of these overlapping areas. Most Bushmen say that these areas are owned by all, which means, in effect, that they are owned by no one.

Each of these features will be discussed in detail.

1. Hinterland - It was mentioned earlier that the Dobe area
[312] was surrounded by a belt of uninhabited country. Except for a few summer months there is no standing water in this belt and, as a consequence, the Dobe area people rarely bother to hunt and gather within it. This outer belt is not lacking
[136] in food resources, however. Surveys of the country by Land-
[137] Rover indicate that the game and plant foods there are even more abundant than they are within the traditional territories. Why then are these resources so infrequently utilized?

311 The answer lies in the fact that the Bushmen can usually
312 satisfy their annual subsistence requirements within a radius
361 of 15-20 miles from their permanent waterholes. Whenever possible the Bushmen prefer to make their camp sites at

311 361 beyond the area enclosed by the dotted line, and this line therefore accurately represents the total utilizable space of the Dobe area.

311 312 361 824 2. Point resources - In Map 15, the picture of land utilization was simplified by omitting the actual patterning of food resources. In fact, the extent and configuration of the intensively utilized areas is influenced by the location of the mongongo nut forests and the distance of these forests from the permanent waterholes. These resources are plotted in Map 16. For instance, in an area where the mongongo nuts within a walking radius of water are sufficient to support a camp throughout the year, a group's territory will be small. However, in an area where the mongongo nuts are less locally abundant, the territory must, of necessity, be much larger.

The people of !goše, for example, are fortunate in having a vast nut forest within a ten mile radius of their waterhole. [162] The nuts from this forest are abundant enough to support the 62 members of the !gose camp throughout the year. By contrast, the nut forests near Dobe are much less abundant than at !goše. [162] The 36 members of the Dobe camps have to walk farther (up to 18 miles at the end of the dry season) in order to collect the mongongo nuts. As a result, the effective annual territory of the Dobe people is larger than that of the !goše people, despite the fact that the population of Dobe is smaller than

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 147]

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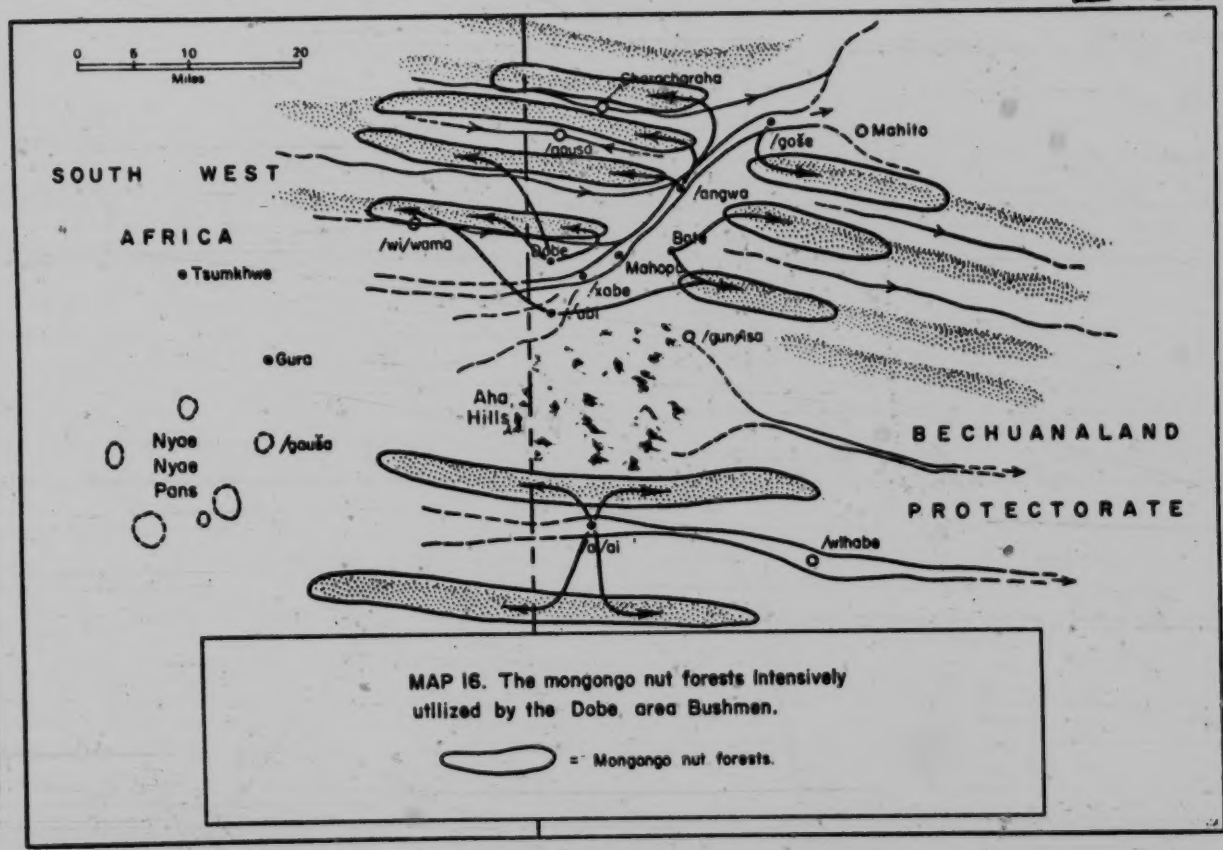

MAP 16. The mongongo nut forests intensively utilized by the Dobe area Bushmen.

= Mongongo nut forests.

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16: Lee E-5 (1963-1965) 1966 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

VIII. WATER AND THE SEASONAL ROUND

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The Kalahari desert is not a food poor area. Most of it is situated between the 10 and 20 inch isohyet and therefore it is marginal for cultivation (without irrigation), but the desert supports a remarkable abundance and variety of edible wild plants which have become genetically adapted to arid conditions.

Geographers have classified the Kalahari as "desert" because of the lack of surface water (Wellington 1955 etc.). This in turn is a function of the sandy terrain which supports surface water only during a brief summer season. In the few localities where the underlying geological formations are exposed, permanent standing water is found. And these point sources of water are usually surrounded by waterless belts of up to 200 miles in width. Edible plants on the other hand are widely distributed both in the immediate vicinity of water and at considerable distances from it. The geographical separation of food and water in certain seasons is the critical problem of !Kung Bushman subsistence.

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This is not a major problem during the rainy season when seasonal standing water may be found in close proximity to the concentrated food resources. Nor is this a major problem during the early winter when food is available around the

312 permanent water sources. Nevertheless for one season every
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433 year Bushmen must face a situation in which major foods and
824 permanent water are a considerable distance apart. How Bushmen arrange their lives to meet this situation will be illustrated by data from the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen.

312 According to the Bushmen, water has always existed in
824
222 the eight permanent waterholes of the Dobe area. Seven of these waterholes are situated in or near the dry bed of one molapo, the !angwadum. The eighth, 25 miles to the south, is in the bed of another molapo, the /ai/aidum. These molapos lie in the center of a belt of flatlands which varies in width from 5-10 miles. It was pointed out in Chapter IV that the molapos interrupt the basic system of parallel dunes that cover most of the northwestern Kalahari. But it is only on these dunes that the primary Bushman food, the mongongo nut, is found. The result is that each of the eight waterholes is three to seven miles distant from the nearest grove of mongongo nuts. Thus gatherers who are camped at a permanent water must make a minimum daily round trip of six to fourteen miles in order to gather mongongo nuts. As the nearest nuts become exhausted the round trip distance becomes greater and greater, until it reaches a distance that is too far to walk in a day. This distance varies from camp to camp but 12 miles (6 miles out and 6 miles returning) was close to the maximum that the

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824 people were willing to walk in a single day for the purpose
222 of food gathering. In order to exploit food resources further than seven miles from water, the Bushmen feel that it is necessary to make a temporary camp at the food and stay overnight.

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222 The options available to Bushmen facing such a situation are three: 1) they may carry water to the food and live there until their water is exhausted; 2) they may move to the food and dig water-rich roots to satisfy their moisture requirements; or 3) they may wait until rainfall produces standing water nearer the desirable foods.

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147 There are no physiological short cuts to solving the water problem. There is no evidence that the Bushmen's daily water requirements are less than that of other peoples (Wyndham in press; Silberbauer 1965). Like all peoples, the Bushmen must drink water to live and their daily requirements are a function of such factors as ambient air temperature, wind velocity and the work they have to do[1] (Ladell 1958; Adolph et al. 1947).

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[1]Ladell, a physiologist specializing in problems of human life in arid regions has said: "It can be categorically stated that no man of any race, however acclimatized and trained, can survive in a hot desert climate without very liberal supplies of water; there is, and can be, no substitute for water and there is no remedy for its deficiency". (1958:85).

312 221 The availability of water can be regarded as the most important determinant of Bushman subsistence activities. A season by season account of these activities will serve to illustrate how subsistence strategies take maximum advantage of water sources. The annual subsistence cycle is described under six headings:

1. First rains
2. Main rains
3. Autumn
4. Early winter
5. Late winter
6. Spring

1. <u>First rains</u>

The onset of the first rains finds the Bushmen clustered [361] around their permanent waterholes. It is this time of year [574] that camp membership is most stable because all areas are short of food and there are fewer incentives for visiting [132] other camps. Also the weather is hot with mean daily maxima of 100°F and walking is uncomfortable.

312 221 824 Food, in the vicinity of permanent water, is in short supply. Fruits, berries, melons and leafy greens, which appear only during the main rains, are nowhere available. The mongongo nuts are still abundant but are found only at distances of ten or more miles from the permanent waterholes. The diet

312 at the waterholes consists primarily of roots and bulbs of the
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824 genera: Eulophia, Vigna, Walleria, and Coccinia, and the edible sap of Acacia spp. and Terminalia sericea. It is this time of year that the heart of the dwarf vegetable ivory palm is eaten,
[164] (Hyphaene). Those who eat its fibrous pulp experience stomach cramps and diarrhea, but, as the Bushmen say, it make one's "mouth work" and gives one a sensation of a full stomach.

221 Hunting is arduous business in the heat and men who go out in
224 the early morning find it necessary to spend the mid-day hours resting in the shade. The principal animal killed is the springhare.

132 The first rains are convectional thundershowers. Their distribution is spotty. A storm may briefly inundate one area and miss entirely another area only a mile away.

312 The Bushmen observe the storm clouds travelling across
222 the horizon and try to judge where the showers have drenched
[821] the ground. They then set out in family groups in the direction of the rains. If they find that water has collected in the hollows of mongongo trees, they will stay in the nut groves for several days and eat nuts until the water is exhausted. They then fill their karosses with nuts and return to the permanent water. If, on reaching the nut groves, they find that no water has collected they will be forced to fill their karosses with nuts and return to camp the same day. In certain areas

824 222 Citrullus lanatus - the well-known "tsamma" melon was one of the superabundant foods. It was intensively exploited throughout the mid-summer until it was exhausted within a radius of five miles of the !Gausa Pan. This is a remarkably successful plant around the areas of human habitation. It is an annual (Story 1964:20) and will sprout from seed wherever the pips have been discarded. It is interesting that the Bushmen do not consider cultivating this melon, a common practice among the neighboring Bantu.

Grewia flava berries were superabundant in the vicinity of !Gausa and Characharaha. The amount a woman could bring home was limited only by the speed at which she could pick them from the five-foot tall bushes. In addition, six other species of Grewia were locally available: (G. bicolor, G. flavescens, G. avellana, G. falcistipulata, G. retinervis, and G. subspathulata). It is interesting that, because G. flava has the tastiest berry of all the Grewias, the other six species were largely ignored until the G. flava had been exhausted within a six mile radius of !Gausa.

824 262 When the new crop of mongongo nuts falls, the gatherers can ignore the previous year's crop. The mongongo nut has two edible portions: an outer fruit and an inner kernel. Figure 3 on page 161 shows a mongongo nut in cross section magnified four times to show detail. The outer layer of skin

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 162]

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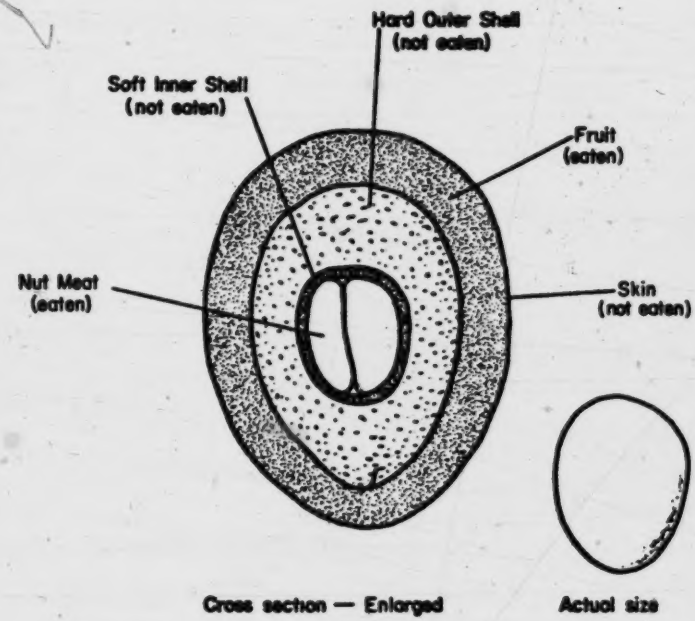

FIGURE 3.
MONGONGO NUT (Ricinodendron rautanenii)

824 is not eaten. Next is a casing of granular-textured fruit
262 which is eaten. The fruit encloses the nut itself. This consists of a thick outer shell which must be cracked open with the nut-cracking stones. Within the thick shell is a softer inner shell which encloses the nut kernel which is the staple of the Bushman diet. This inner kernel is "packaged" within four protective layers and this explains its remarkable storage properties.

824 In the late summer and autumn months the Bushmen eat
252 large quantities of both the fruit and the nut. First the women boil potfuls of whole fruit in order to separate the outer flesh from the hard shell. The flesh of the fruit produces a delicious fruit puree that tastes like stewed prunes. After the fruit is eaten, the nuts themselves are set aside for later cracking and eating.

184 The summer hunting situation appears to vary from camp
221 to camp. At the !Gausa camp very little hunting was done.
224 [177] The resident men assisted the Bantu in cattle herding and they
[648] received calabashes of sour milk as payment. At Characharaha
[464] the men hunted more, killing gemsbok, python and porcupine. At one summer camp, Mokoro, where there were no Bantu resident, two young men killed four large buck in the space of one month (two kudu and two gemsbok). This Mokoro camp was an
[177] unusually successful one. The availability of cows' milk and meat no doubt lessens the men's incentive for hunting

221 of winter from May to mid-July is a period of relative abun-
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433 dance. This is due to the fact that the permanent waters
[361] have not been occupied during the summer months, and there is abundant food in their vicinity when the Bushmen return to
[824] them in May. Subsistence has a double base, including both the tail-end of the summer foods such as the Grewia berries, and the first series of winter roots and bulbs. Mongongo nuts are also locally available. The distribution of the Bushmen population during the winter of 1964 is shown in Map 19, p. 165.

221 The root foods are generally associated with the winter
824 subsistence. This is curious because as perennials the bulbs may be dug out at any time of the year. But the Bushmen do not concentrate on root foods during the summer months: they pass them over in favor of the foods of shorter duration, the fruits and melons. They state that they do not like the flavor of the root foods during the winter.

In May and June these root plants are exploited and the pressure on them increases through the winter as the nuts become locally exhausted. The major roots are Eulophia spp., Vigna dinteri, Walleria muricata, Coccinia spp., Coccinia rehmannii and Ceropegia spp. - nine species in all. These have edible bulbs or storage organs which range in size from one to three inches in diameter.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 166]

221
222 well into September. On the other hand, at /ai/ai, where 109
184 Bushmen were living, the local mongongo nuts were exhausted at the beginning of July.

Since each territory was known for a different selection of winter foods, the transition took a different form at each waterhole. At Dobe, the mongongo nuts were replaced as the staple of the diet by Baobab fruits (Adansonia) and vegetable ivory palm hearts (Hyphaene). At Bate the people shifted from mongongo nuts to Sclerocarya caffra nuts. At !angwa, the people concentrated on collecting Acacia spp. gums.

221 In general the diet of the Bushmen becomes much more
• 824 eclectic during the latter half of the winter. It was during
146 this season that the Bushmen took advantage of a wide selection of edible species. Instead of eating mongongo nuts with a few other species as "side dishes", the people had to diversify their diet in order to live well. During August and September no less than 25 species of roots, bulbs and edible gums formed the basis of the diet.

222 There was an alternative strategy to eating less desirable
312 foods. If a family was prepared to make the effort required to reach the nutting groves, they would fill their water containers (ostrich egg shells and the stomachs of antelope) and walk to the nuts. They would collect and eat there until

251 were roasted in the coals of the fire and then pounded to
252 the consistency of coarse meal in the wooden mortar. This
262 roasted hide had the taste and texture of crisp crackling and was delicious when pounded and mixed with the flesh of roots of the genera Coccinia, Walleria and Eulophia. These stores of dried hide and meat did not serve as a staple surplus so much as an emergency delicacy to brighten the diet when a day's hunting had been unsuccessful.

221 The major food strategy during the hot dry spring was
222 the 7-14 day trip to the waterless country where mongongo nuts
312 were still plentiful. At these camps the only source of
361 water was the juice from the roots of Fockea monroi. Fockea
824 has an uneven distribution in the Dobe area. The Bushmen must camp in a nut forest that is in close proximity to patches of Fockea. The maximum period that a group was observed to live on Fockea roots was two weeks. The limitation is set by the density of Fockea plants in an area, and the amount of fluid that each plant holds. Life at the Fockea patches is difficult because people have to work hard to obtain water as well as food. Each Fockea root storage organ contains 8-16 ounces of recoverable moisture. Thus a daily ration of 72 ounces of water can be obtained by digging out 5-10 Fockea roots.

312 But the dilemma of living on Fockea lies in the fact that
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312 824 222 a great deal of energy must be expended in digging out these roots, and the concomitant of this expenditure of energy is a much greater fluid loss through sweating.

It was mentioned earlier that the body's daily water loss is in part a function of the intensity of activity. For instance, an individual who is resting in the shade will lose half the water that is lost by another individual who is walking in the sun.[1] When standing water is available, the amount of energy expended in obtaining water is small. An individual walks a few hundred yards from his camp to the waterhole, drinks his fill there, then fills his water containers and walks back to the shade of his camp. On the other hand, an individual who is living on Fockea roots must walk several miles per day in the sun and must dig out a number of large roots that are buried 12-18 inches deep in the hard soil of the molapos. Therefore an individual who drinks Fockea juice must first replace the considerable quantity of water that is lost through the effort of searching and digging the Fockea roots; this is in addition to the water that is lost in the course of normal daily activities such as hunting, food gathering and resting.

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[1] Adolph and associates (1947) present detailed analyses of this and other factors in sweat production.

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222 The net effect of this effort is that an individual must drink much more than the minimum daily requirement of 72 ounces of water. In fact, men who were living on Fockea roots, were observed to dig out between 15 and 20 of the roots per day. The quantity of water provided by these roots is estimated at 150-300 ounces, part of which went to provide water for the children of the camp.

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312 A description of one Fockea trip, in which the author participated, will serve to illustrate some of the difficulties of living away from standing water.

[123] This trip began on 6 November and ended on 16 November, 1964. The group consisted of 12 Bushmen (plus the author); there were three men, four women, and five children. One of the young women gave birth during her stay so the returning group consisted of 13 Bushmen.

November 6 - This group (minus one of the men who came out the following day) set out from the Dobe waterhole at 10:00
[103] a.m. They spent the day walking to a nut forest named !wi/wama which was situated eleven miles west of Dobe. The original plan was to remain there for five days.

[481] The pace was leisurely to suit the three older children
[855] (ages 12, 8, 6 respectively) who went on foot and the young
[843] woman who was in the terminal month of her pregnancy. On the way we stopped at intervals to eat seven different species of

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484 location closer to the nuts. By 7:00 a.m. this camp had been
312 deserted. The women and their children had gone to collect
[462] nuts and the men had set out to find Fockea roots and to hunt
[224] along the way. The men carried no water with them on the hunt. The author accompanied the men.

We walked south for several miles looking for fresh animal tracks and for patches of Fockea plants. We passed through two molapos where the Fockea plants were likely to exist, but to our disappointment we found none. It was 10:00 a.m. before we dug out the first Fockea of the day.
[132] By this time the morning coolness had disappeared and we had to walk and dig in the sun with shade temperatures about
312 100°F. The first Fockea worth digging were found 4-1/2 miles
824 south of our camp at !wi/wama. The roots were the size of a football and weighed about three pounds.

The flesh of Fockea is white and juicy with a spongy granular texture. The juice is milky in color and slightly astringent so that it smarts when accidentally rubbed into small cuts on the hands. There are two methods of extracting the moisture from the root. First, one cuts open the root with a knife and chops off chunks of the flesh inside. This may be eaten directly like watermelon. The disadvantage of this method is that one must swallow about three pounds of roughage in order to extract one pint of moisture; in other

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824 words, 15 lbs. of roughage per day for the minimum water requirment. This is the most efficient means of processing water from Fockea roots because the digestive system can convert all the moisture that is in the Fockea flesh.

However, the Bushmen say (and I can corroborate this) that a man cannot swallow 15 pounds of pulp per day. The stomach becomes full long before one's thirst is quenched. It is probable also that such a great quantity of roughage would put an intolerable burden on the human digestive system, even of people whose digestive systems are accustomed to processing quantities of fibrous roughage.

The more common way of extracting moisture from the root is to squeeze the juice out by hand. The juice may be squeezed directly into the mouth, or squeezed into a cup and then drunk. This is a less efficient way of extracting moisture because much of the juice remains in the fibers after squeezing. Also some of the juice runs down the arms. It does offer a distinct psychological advantage, however, because one is able to drink the juice and thus satisfy the swallowing reflex which is connected with the neurophysiological sensation of thirst (Ladell 1958). Eating the flesh of Fockea does not satisfy this sensation.

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224 The men continued to eat and drink Fockea from 10:00 a.m. to 12:20 p.m. Then we started to hunt in a northerly direction.
[312]
[824]

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Abundance of Resources -- The habitat of the Dobe area !Kung Bushmen is rich in naturally-occurring foods. The three distinct plant associations - of the Dune, the Flats, and the Molapo - each support a distinctive constellation of food plants. By far the most important of these is the Dune association and its main constituent, the mongongo tree. From the vast groves of this tree, many thousands of nuts are harvested each year. The mongongo nut, because of its abundance and reliability, resembles a cultivated staple crop such as maize or rice. In terms of nutritional value - proteins and sugars - it even exceeds the cereal crops. Furthermore, it is drought-resistant so that the mongongo nut will still be abund-
[221] ant in dry years when cultivated crops fail. The excellent storage properties of the nut allow it to be harvested in all months of the year. This factor is especially important during the dry winter months when the short-term rainy season foods are not available. It is not surprising, therefore, that when the Bushmen are asked to explain why they have not taken to cultivation, they reply: "Why should we plant when there are so many mongongo nuts in the world?"

Variety of Resources -- The mongongo nut is only one, albeit the most important, of the 85 species of edible plants available to the Bushmen. The existence of this variety of foodstuffs

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824 allows for a wide range of alternatives in subsistence
433 strategy. During the summer months the Bushmen have no prob-
824 lem other than to choose among the tastiest and most easily
221 collected foods; other species which are quite edible but less attractive are simply bypassed, so that gathering never exhausts all the available foods of an area.

During the dry season, when the fruits and melons have gone, the gatherers still have multiple options open to them. They may plan a hike to the molapos to collect the edible Acacia gums, or they may go to the flats to dig out roots and bulbs. Even at the end of the dry season, when the stronger members of a group are making the long hikes to the mongongo forests, the older, less mobile members can derive an adequate subsistence from an eclectic diet of minor foods which are closer to home.

433 Plants versus Game -- The security of Bushman subsistence
222 derives in part from the fact that meat is of secondary import-
224 ance to vegetables in the diet. The !Kung males are persistent, but not particularly successful hunters. Although hunting accounts for over half of the subsistence effort of a camp, meat comprises only 20-40 per cent of the diet. The basis of the Bushman diet is plant food, and meat has come to be regarded as a special treat. When meat is available, it is welcomed as a break from the routine of vegetable foods, but it is never

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

exchanged from hut to hut, the women going to one hut, the men to another, and so on. Only the owners sit in a hut, while the visitors gather round the fire outside. The little children play about everywhere, the bigger boys and girls by themselves. There is no fixed time for going to sleep. As a rule the people turn in to bed fairly early, but if it is a fine evening dancing may be started and kept up till late, everybody taking part except the old people and the little children.[1] 512 [574] [535]

Food and Fire

The Bushmen will eat almost anything that can be eaten. Of animal foods the favourite is game of all kinds, when it can be obtained, and they are also very fond of hare, spring hare, guinea fowl, korhaan, partridge, ostrich, and other birds, as well as birds' eggs. Fish too are eaten wherever they can be caught, and among the Bushmen of the Okavango swamps are a staple article of diet. Anteaters, ant bears, tortoises, porcupines, bull frogs, snakes, and lizards are greatly relished, while among insects locusts, scorpions, beetles, young bees and honey, termites, flying ants and ants' eggs are also eaten. In fact all kinds of living animals are made use of as food, with the almost universal exception of the baboon and the hyena—the former "on account of its being so like a man", the latter "because it eats human corpses". 262 [825]

The most important vegetable foods in the Southern and Central Kalahari are the *tsama* (*Citrullus vulgaris*), "uintjies" (*Cyperus edulis Dtr.*), *Grewia* berries, and the *//noun* (*Bauhinea esculenta*); in the Namib the *!naras* fruit (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*) forms almost the sole article of diet when in season; while as one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, such as the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuande, and omuve. In addition numerous other varieties of edible roots, berries, cucumbers, tubers, melons, and ground nuts appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season, when they form the principal part of the daily menu.[2] [824]

Much of the food is eaten raw, but the Bushmen know how to prepare and cook it. Each family prepares its own food. Cooking 252 [592]

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 32; Fourie, "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 88.

[2] Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 54 sqq.; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 234–5; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 659 sqq.; Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 139–40, 144 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 253–5; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 114 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 6–7; Fourie, op. cit., 98 sq.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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222 way private rights can be indicated over honey in a nest, or by a woman
422 who has located a spot with a specially abundant supply of veldkos. Whoever removes anything from such places is regarded as a thief.[1] It must be emphasized, however, that rights of this nature are only
[423] acquired by chance, and that apart from them there appears to be no restriction at all upon the free exploitation of the hunting territory and all its resources by any member of the band.

Hunting

224 Once they have passed through the puberty ceremonies, boys and
[883] girls participate in the full economic life of the band. All the men
[462] are hunters, and spend the greater part of their daily life in pursuing or ensnaring game. Their methods of hunting vary with the nature of the intended prey, and according to the season of the year.

Weapons

The principal method is by means of pursuit and the use of weapons.
411 The latter amongst all the Bushmen consist primarily of the bow and arrow.[2] The bows are small, and on the whole fairly crude and of simple make (Plate IXd). They are as a rule prepared from the wood
[824] of the *Grewia flava*, a thin length of which is cut and roughly shaped is such a way as to taper gradually almost to a point at the ends. The
[283] string is made either from two thin sinews twisted together or some-
[237] times, among the Northern tribes, from wood fibre worked into a
[284] strong cord. It is attached by a simple slip-knot and wound tightly several times round the basal end of the bow-stave, to which a small leather collar or sinew band is usually fixed to prevent the string from slipping when hitched over it. The stave is then bent and the string knotted to the other end, where it is kept in place by a leather band. The bow is kept permanently strung. Its stave is frequently strengthened with additional sinew bindings, especially round the centre, which prevent it from splitting and also form a convenient grip for the hand.

The arrows are complex in structure and vary considerably in

[1] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 120; *idem*, in *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, ix (1896), p. xvii; Vialls, "The Masarwa," 32; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.

[2] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), 113–17; cf. Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 68–71; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4; van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements," 80–5; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hanneinann," 94–6, 99–100.

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finds expression in the numerous observances and beliefs developed in relation to the sources of water, and especially to the rain. Here, however, we may note how the Bushmen cope in practice with this ever-present problem. 182 312 823

Caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water are often buried in the ground or hidden in a tree for future use, and to steal them is one of the greatest offences in Bushmen life. When even these have given out, a substitute is found in various succulent plants, especially the *Inaras* and the *tsama*, which contain enough moisture to relieve thirst and which are still available for the first part of the dry season. In some parts of the Kalahari water may still be found below the surface at this time, and to obtain it the people make use of an ingenious filter. A hole is dug in the sand where the green colour of the grass indicates the presence of the subterranean water, and with a reed tube to the lower end of which is attached a bundle of grass they painfully suck out drop by drop the water that has collected below, then carefully transfer it to the egg-shell bottles. But when even this resource fails them, they are compelled to make hurried marches back to the permanent waterholes, to which they cling until the coming of the rainy season again enables them to move out into the sand veld and resume their normal hunting life.[1] 312 [685] [824] [271] [221]

Industries and Trade

Industries

Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the Bushmen have need of little but their weapons and utensils. Their household possessions are few, for they seldom own more than they can conveniently carry about with them, and all their industries are essentially domestic.[2] 511

From wood they make their huts, the staves of their bows and spears, quivers for their arrows, digging-, throwing-, and firesticks, the long barbed stick used for catching spring hares and other burrowing animals, the poison sticks on which the arrow poison is gathered in lumps after it has been prepared, the spits (sometimes 322 [342] [411] [412]

[1] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels*, 51; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 297; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 51, 70–1, and fig.; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 671–3; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 293–4.

[2] The most comprehensive account of Bushman industries is to be found in Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 89–113, pl. xxiii–xxix, which relates chiefly to the Auen; cf. also van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements"; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 62–80; Passarge, op. cit., 81–94; Gentz, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 297–301; Kaufmann op. cit., 152–3; Schultze, op. cit., 658 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschileute," 257; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 8–18 *passim*; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 103. [114]

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322 decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops
[412] for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-
[415] western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom,
[283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

824 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
285 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
[412] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

237 Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water,
[415] and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women
[306] make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops, and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small
412 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell
324 beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or
[439] three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by
[326] barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.
178 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
324 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
[323] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
[237] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while
[415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.

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heads, beset the entire distance with all kinds of imaginary obstacles 775
and difficulties; and even after all their labour on arriving at the desired destination they will have nothing but flies to live upon." This belief that after a time the dead arise and go to a land where there is an abundance of good food is likewise recorded by Campbell [114]
and by Miss Currle, neither of whom, however, is a specially trustworthy authority. The Bushman informants of Dr. Bleek also spoke of "the place to which the Bushmen go after death", but unfortunately the details given by them have not yet been published. We are unable, therefore, to tell if their ideas of a future life were in any way similar to those reported by Stow and the other writers.[1]

On the other hand, these Bushman informants also had a variety 821
of interesting beliefs linking up death with the phenomena of Nature. 761
The stars, they said, know the time when a Bushman dies, and the 775
fall of one announces, to those who are not aware of it, that something bad has happened. When, after this, a "hammerkop" (*Scopus umbretta*, the "lightning bird" of other South African tribes) flies, [825]
calling out, over the camp, the people know that someone belonging to them has died. When rain is accompanied by lightning, girls who are out in the open become killed by the lightning and are converted into stars, while those who are taken away by the rain become [824]
beautiful water-flowers, which will not allow themselves to be plucked and disappear when approached. Such flowers must be let alone. Hence the rule that young unmarried women and girls must hide themselves from the rain. The Moon, again, is hollow (in its first quarter) because it is carrying people who are dead. The human heart is believed to fall down after death in the form of a shooting star; the hair of a dead person is changed into clouds, while his gall appears again as a green colour in the sky, and so forth. Dead 775
people may also come in their own forms as apparitions to their relatives and friends, even in waking life. There seems, however, to be no evil portent in this; nor, indeed, does there seem to be any noticeable fear of dead persons on the whole, although we are told that the names of those who are dead must not be uttered by children at night.[2]

The Namib Bushmen, on the other hand, seem to fear dead people greatly, and, as we have seen, the thickened *dawes* sap placed in the [764]

[1] Stow, op. cit., 129; Campbell, *Second Journey in S. Africa*, i, 29; Currle, "Bushmen of Namaqualand," 117; Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 19.
[2] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 25; Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365–71, 389–401.

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Treatment

is administered by relatives or friends, or in cases of acute and prolonged illness by a magician well versed in medical practices, who is paid for his services. In cases of the latter kind a very common method employed is massage, leading up to the extraction of foreign bodies ("disease-poisons", "spirits of disease", etc.) believed to have been introduced into the patient and thus causing his illness. When the "doctor" feels that the foreign body has been brought near enough to the surface by his treatment, he sucks the part affected and then, with a retching sound, triumphantly spits out the object he is supposed to have sucked from the patient's body. Stones, pieces of bark, small bones, etc., are thus extracted from the affected part of the patient, who in consequence is cured![1] Lebzelter records also that, while the "doctor" is busy performing this cure, the relatives and friends standing round pray to the "supreme being" to make the patient well again; and, as we have seen, the use of prayers in case of severe illness is mentioned by several other writers as well.[2] 755 [782]

More practical forms of treatment are also found, however.[3] Herbs and roots of various kinds are extensively employed as medicines. Sometimes they are burned to ashes which are then rubbed into small cuts made in the patient's body, sometimes they are boiled and given as a decoction. How far they actually do have curative effects is difficult to say, as no special study appears to have been made of their pharmacological properties, nor, save in a few instances, have they even been identified. But Dornan mentions that "for blackwater they use a plant called qilika (*Anacoampseros rhodesica*) by the Matabele; dysentery *Monsonia ovata*, and *Euclea lanceolata*; for various other diseases, *Cannabis sativa*, *Solanum nigrum*, *Lippia asperifolia* (malaria), *Cratalaria burkeana*, *Pterocarpus angolensis*, *Datura stramonium*, *Indigofera senegalensis*, and *Bauhinea reticulata*".[4] Burns, open sores, headaches, etc., are treated by rubbing medicated ointments on the part affected. Chapman describes another method of treatment undergone by himself. "Having a frightful headache from the heat of the sun, I resort to my usual Bushman remedy, at the expense of having my forehead ornamented with blisters dotted all over it the next morning. April [his Bushman guide] has a root 757 278 [824] 752

[1] A good eyewitness account of this treatment is given by Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 340–1; cf. also D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 29. [114]
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 411; cf. pp. 183 sq. above.
[3] Nolte, "Krankheiten und Heilmittel der Nama und Buschmänner," *D. Kol-Ztg.*, 1886, p. 629 sq.; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 159, 282–3; ii, 74, 182; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; Dornan, loc. cit.; Vedder, "Grammatik der ǂKõ-Buschmannsprache," 8–9; Fourie, loc. cit.
[4] Op. cit., 142.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

side. /Gunda sat behind the line of boys, in a deep shadow, to show that he was 159
' ashamed ' and respected (feared, *koa*) the wedding scherm. 585

One of the boys began to play, not their ceremonial music or special wedding music, but songs of the *//guashi*, as they call them, the little wordless melodies these [533] people compose about happenings in their lives, about pleasures or distress, about their moods. They play and sing these melodies for hours upon hours in the afternoons when they are resting or in the evenings by their fires, and they played for hours that night at the wedding fire.

Soon young guests began to arrive, the children of both werfs with whom /Nai played, all of them younger than the boys who attended /Gunda and the girls who carried /Nai. The youngest guest was the ubiquitous three-year-old boy who never missed anything. No adults came.

One boy brought four mangetti nuts with him and roasted, cracked, and ate them himself. That was all that appeared by way of a feast. Di/ai said that they would like to have given the children something to eat but there was nothing in the werf that night. Even though the others had had something to eat, the bride and groom would have had to abstain. They must not talk or eat, to show they are ' ashamed '. The young guests seemed to enjoy themselves, nevertheless, and were still singing and chatting when I left at midnight.

Soon after sunrise the following morning—/Gunda had already departed—/Nai's mother went to the wedding scherm and sat down beside the embers of the night's fire. /Nai stood shivering beside her in her little genital apron and the duiker skin [291] which women wear around their buttocks and up between their legs, but stripped of her kaross. The mother had brought a little fat (eland fat, if they had it, would be [825] used) and a bit of powdered red stone, one of the red earths (*/gam !gai gwoie*), mixed with fat. She rubbed /Nai all over with the fat, and drew a line on her forehead and a circular design on her cheeks with the red powder mixed with fat. Over in werf 2, [302] Gao, Nai's stepfather, presented /Gunda with a blanket.

This completed the wedding ceremony.

/Nai was a lively child who loved the dancing and singing games the girls play. 159
She often danced alone, tapping her bare feet on a stone in rapid rhythm or making a 462
game of printing a design in the sand with tiny steps. She liked babies and as often as not had her infant half-brother or some very small cousin tied to her back. That morning she appeared to turn into a housewife as though it were her next blithe step. When the women went to gather veldkos, she put on her own little duiker skin [222] kaross, took her digging-stick and went with them. At the end of the day, when they returned in the slanting sunset light, she had two big roots. She went straight to her own fire, blew on the embers, added wood, and sat down. Three ostrich egg shells [415] full of water and her digging-stick were her household goods. These she arranged beside the scherm. /Gunda came and sat down opposite her. She smiled at him and set the roots in the ashes to cook.

It has been said in talks with informants that the bridegroom must bring an 159
antelope which he himself has killed to the parents of the bride before the wedding, 183
but no animal had been brought; there had not been a scrap of meat in the werf for 585
days. I asked Di/ai about this. ' Oh, that,' she said in effect. ' Yes, he should give me an antelope, but we thought we would have the wedding first and that /Gunda would

[6 cont.]

101 account refers only to the latter.

821 [7] The sky is designated by them as !nanu áiba Éroba Kharésa ("rain house of god").

776 For god they have the expressions "Erob" and "χ'amab."
775 only "Erob" is used in prayers. χ'amab (1) has been preserved

1. χ indicates a very low gutteral click, for which I know of no notation.

in χ'amá //gu Khe = "people who are with god," in other words, the souls of the deceased in heaven. Everyone goes there, the good as well as the bad. Erob has no wife and no children. A human being has only one soul (!gau-ba). This soul goes to the heavenly house and remains there "until Erob makes new people from it." Here is a belief in the transmigration of souls, which, it must be admitted, is not thought through any further.

No spirits of the dead remain on earth. There are little
776 bush spirits, the gangorob; they are harmless and do nothing. There are no evil little spirits. They supposedly know nothing about Heiseb and /Nawa.

136 The supply of game is ample in the tall dry forests of the Otjimpolo Veld. There are also fish in the rainy season. The
[825] Bushmen call them "shiba" (Ovambo: oshi or ochi); in other words, originally they had no word for them.

224 The Bushmen are helpless against the lion (χ'oréba).
[825] They leave a region as soon as lions make it unsafe. "There is no point in hunting them."

The leopard (χ'nába) is hunted with dogs (ariba). The
[439] chiefs of Amboland pay a good price for the skin, since little princes and princesses are not carried in a litter made of cowhide, but in a leopard skin. The jackal (≠Khai-eba) and the Löffelhund (//arúba) [a fox-like wild dog of the subfamily Octocyoninae] are hunted with enthusiasm. "Aruba" probably corresponds to N. //arob = striped jackal.

Wild dogs, "Khere," !nube (N. !goub) are preferably
[825] avoided. No notice is taken of the hyena, ≠Khai-lasa (N. ≠heirab),
[262] and it is not eaten. When they come near the camp, it is not a
[787] good sign.

[7 cont.]

222 The honey badger, !uisa (N. !ous), which leads to the
825 bees, is followed ever so eagerly.

The common wild pig (gariba), the kudu (daub), the
224 gemsbok χ'uaba (N. /gaib), and all the small antelopes are hunted. Pits are no longer known, although they used to dig them in former times.

If they decide to go hunting, sexual intercourse must be
[834] avoided the night before. In the evening the hunters go into the forest and spend the night there. Before dawn they rise and pray:

[539] Pu, pu, Eró, /nari dsu /ari mate — God, tomorrow early we receive.

When a piece of game has been killed, one of the hunters cuts a piece of flesh from the animal's body and hands it to the leader of the hunt. This meat is called am-shái-khe. A fire is made, and this piece is placed on it. When it is roasted, the leader cuts off a piece and shouts:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, ha gore, ha gore — Erob, Erob, Erob, eat, eat
i Khe Khandi ô — With us flesh.

After a pause:

ha lĕ a lĕ ha góre o Khandi ô — Come! Come! Let us eat flesh.

Now the roasted flesh is consumed. Nothing is thrown away or left behind for Erob.

Then the game is cut up, and everyone goes home with his portion.

136 Snakes are not rare, although they are by no means as common as in the stony regions of the southwest.

The boa constrictor eats human beings; if it catches a Bushman, it starts to consume him at the legs!

132 In spite of the timber forest, the danger of drought is
821 great. Erob sends rain. When there is a drought, the Bushmen
731 dance and pray:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, /ga !goro — Erob, Erob, Erob, we are dying of thirst
/ga-wi -ma ta re — Water give us.

177 [8] It is very interesting to observe how in these certainly
776 very ancient hunting and rain prayers the former old heathen gods'
782 names Huwe and χ'amab were replaced by the Christian "Ellob."

I asked the people whether they knew any other prayers and received the following answer: "We know very well that

[28 cont.]

535 makes his appearance as the bull of some animal species that the
585 two kin groups especially prize. He takes his place in the row of dancing men. Across from them the women have taken up their position in a long row and accompany the dance by stamping, singing, and clapping their hands. The bride stands among them. She is in no way distinguished from the other women and girls. After a few turns, the bridegroom steps out of the row of men, goes dancing toward the bride, seizes her, and dances back again. The bride then comes from the row of women, clapping her hands, stamping, and singing as she moves toward the bridegroom; without touching him, she turns back, keeping her face turned toward the bridegroom, and rejoins the row of female dancers. With this, the external formality of concluding the marriage in front of many witnesses is over.

583 "It is the young man's duty, however, to leave his paternal
591 kin group for a year and to work for his parents-in-law. This means that any spoils he gets from hunting must be left in his mother-in-law's hut. He, of course, gets his piece during the distribution of the meat, but he is not yet regarded as the actual provider for his young wife, who, as before, receives her share of the meat from her mother, although she searches for veldkost for herself and her husband.

(224) "As a hunter, the man eats only the flesh of the rump.
262 The women and children receive the legs and intestines. Children are not allowed to eat certain parts; for example, a child may
[825] not eat the heart of a jackal. The child would not become sick
[828] by doing so, but since the jackal is very cowardly, the child would also become cowardly.

591 [29] "After the first year of marriage with its obligatory service, the young wife follows her husband to the encampment where the man's father or his kin group resides.

845 "If the child is so weak that it probably will not live,
847 or if it has a physical defect, it is buried alive on the same day, with or without the consent of the father and mother.

553 "The name of the child is given by the father. This is
852 done a few days after birth. The father spits on the child's chest and calls it by name. Others sprinkle it with water from a well.

[33 cont.]

224 has done the shooting must go home immediately and may not speak, eat, or drink, for if the hunter speaks with others, the kudu will not be found for a long time, and if he drinks water, the poison will become watery and will not be effective, and if he eats, the kudu will remain quiet and the poison will not work effectively. The next morning very early we must set out on the trail. The kudu is already dead. The people carry the meat home. [782] Then it is put on the socha [sacred] fire. The //Gauab must be given some of the meat. Whoever does not do this will be punished by the //Gauab with serious illness, and the people will say: 'That is just. The //Gauab has given him the game, why does he give nothing for //Gauab?'" Here, therefore, a true primitial offering is involved.

It is interesting that the Ogowe bury arrows in the sand at various watering places, with the poisoned tip pointing upward; they do this in shady spots that game animals like to use as resting [202] places, and by certain signs, such as tying together blades of tall grass and the like, they set up warnings (Von Zastrow and Vedder).

When a Bushman horde of today is able to hunt down half a dozen large antelopes in a year, it can consider itself lucky.

The porcupine is also commonly hunted, as are the scaly anteater and the fat aardvark, which is very common but difficult to catch. Monkeys are very rare; on the other hand, tree rats make a desirable addition to the diet. The ostrich is not uncommon in open terrain, and ostrich eggs are greatly coveted. Occasionally a boa constrictor, which tastes like a fat fish, or an iguana may round out the menu.

136 Among the animals which are in any way dangerous to human beings, the lion should be mentioned in particular. They occur in great numbers, but rarely stay in one place for a long [165] period of time. A considerable number of Bushmen become their 262 victims, especially in the north. Lions, leopards, hyenas, and jackals are neither hunted nor eaten; the same is true concerning [753] birds of prey. Eating leopard meat produces fever and eczema, [825] while eating the flesh of birds of prey produces temporary blindness and symptoms of sickness similar to acute sausage poisoning.

Poisonous snakes are not eaten; they are much rarer here than in the stony regions of the central and southern areas, and they do not constitute a noteworthy danger.

[35 cont.]

312 Dolichos seineri Harms (eona), and the Convolvulacea Ipomoea
824 seineri Pilger (eawa); the enormous tubers of the latter two may weigh up to 150 kilograms. Considerably more important for the natives than these 'water roots' is the Curcurbitacea Citrullus naudinianus Hook. (orura of the Herero; gab of the Hottentot); without their juicy gourds, which occur in great quantities and for the most part are edible, most of the central Kalahari would be impassable during the dry season, even for the Bushmen."

Further, F. Galton (1) reports:

[113] 1. F. Galton, Tropisches Südafrika, p. 101.

312 "In practice, the first hopeful sign when people are look-
825 ing around for water is a flight of guinea fowl; next, following the habits of the land, each tree is carefully examined until a parrot is sighted, an object visible even at a great distance because the bird likes to sit on the uppermost branches. A parrot is rarely more than half an hour away from water, and the same applies to baboons. If one proceeds with careful observation and takes a probable direction, he will see doves flying about; then little birds are found in all the bushes, and they are close to it."

10. The Veldkost

222 Just as //Gauab accompanies the hunter on the chase, he is
776 also the companion of the women who go to look for veldkost. If //Gauab takes delight in a woman, he will break the bones of an animal, killing it, and will lead the woman to it. If, however, //Gauab is angry at a woman and she finds no veldkost, then she becomes angry, gets up early in the morning, abuses //Gauab, and then takes medicine and washes her face so that //Gauab will not recognize her. Then she goes into the veld and finds something.
[782] //Gauab receives no offerings from the veldkost. The celebration
222 of the first fruits of the veld described by Vedder is no longer held.
[887] The oldest woman is brought to eat samples of each type of veldkost that is brought home for the first time in the year. Then the second oldest woman takes a taste, and so on down the line.

[47 cont.]

752 burn the wounded person at many places on his body. When the poison smells the warmth, it gathers at these places; incisions are then made there, and the blood is sucked out by means of a cupping glass made of gemsbok horn. The wounded person may neither sit nor lie down; he must be walked about for twenty-four hours. After this time he either dies or is cured. The method helps only in rare cases.

751 824 825 Snakebite is the second great danger. If one makes an incision in the lower part of the calf and rubs scrapings from a bisob root into it, the snakes smell this and do not come out of hiding. [Fig. 18 appears here.] When a person has to run great distances, bisob dust is mixed with fat and applied 752 to the legs. In case someone is nevertheless (411) bitten by a snake, the treatment is analogous to that used for arrow wounds. Injuries to the feet caused by thorns are very common. Injuries that pass through the aponeurosis are regarded as deadly. They practically always become infected. Even though wound infections take a less malignant and a slower course than among Europeans, they nonetheless sometimes lead to death. The only medicine (278) used is bisob powder scattered in the wound.

Fig. 18. Kirri of the !Kung.

756 751 Some doctors claimed to be immune to snake and scorpion bites.

What Vedder observed among the Bergdama is reported in a similar manner by Schinz:

"With the intention of testing the latter characteristic, I one day persuaded an old sorcerer visiting us in Noi !as on Ngami Lake to undertake an experiment with 12 scorpions (Buthus randus Simon) picked out by myself and having an average length of eight centimeters. In order to prevent any possibility of deception, I put the animals on the various parts of his body with tweezers, on the hands, legs, arms, mouth, and testicles. As a rule they then immediately and excitedly moved the long postabdomen back and forth and jabbed violently once or twice into the flesh of the guinea

[52 cont.]

773 Concerning the moon, I was told: "The moon was also
821 carried by people. It was not as warm as the sun, but very heavy. So the men helped each other, and with great difficulty they brought it to the huts. The moon was a man. He said: 'I prefer to remain alone and do not wish to be among you.' Thereupon the Bushmen said: 'If you go alone into the desert, you will surely die.' But the moon did not obey, went out, and died. But then it woke up again and rose like the sun; therefore, like the latter, it is from the 'Great Captain.' When it disappears, it has died. When only one side of it is visible, then it is young. When it becomes smaller, then it is old. The color of the moon comes from its gall (/góo)."

The well-known story of the moon and the hare is told there as follows:

The moon once said to the hare: "I die and wake up again, you on earth should do the same." But the hare answered: "No, we cannot do that, we who are on earth, only you can do that because you are in the air, among us this is impossible; once we die, we do not wake up again." And the hare was right; it is still so today.

821 The eclipse of the moon, !nui dsao, is caused by the lions
●[825] so that they can more easily steal into the Bushman huts.

[53] Comets, χ'u !gam, are stars of the great captain;
[777] they bring luck. When a shooting star, ≠gomma, falls, it is said,
[787] just as among us, that someone has died. The stars are the camp-
[775] fires of those spirits who at the command of the great captain come down and fetch the souls of the dying.

[823] Earthquakes, χ'áno !gee, are omens of sickness. The
[787] rainbow, !khâni !náo, indicates a good year for rain.

[782] What the Bushman begs and prays for is not sunshine but
[776] rain. The great captain alone dispenses rain.

Lightning and thunder are not beings in themselves, but are caused by rain. When someone is killed by lightning, it is said: "The rain has killed him." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder at a distance, the rain is saying: "Today I shall thunder over the whole earth." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder on various sides, the clouds are speaking to one another. And when they touch each other with their heads, the

[58 cont.]

[113] Specimens of Bushmen Folklore, London, 1910-11, pp. 10-13.

776 be especially significant. The !Kung at that time told of a being called /Chue, who transforms itself in turn into various fruit trees and veldkost plants, into a Herero, etc. One day he transformed himself into a //gui tree, his wife ate of it, the tree disappeared, and /Chue changed into a fly. Another time he even became a waterhole, then again a gecko; at night [59] he always changes back into a little human being. The Herero look for him, but cannot find him. /Chue then makes a fire and dies. His father sees this and then moves to his homeland on a large mountain called //Noa. We shall probably not go wrong if we identify this /Chue with Huwe. This Huwe, as is known, is sometimes equated with the great captain X'u. In this old setting he also has distinct traits of Heiseb.

782 The !Kung who were W.H.J. Bleek's informants were also familiar with a prayer song addressed to the new moon. In ac-
[534] companiment, they blew on trumpets made of antelope horns. (Bleek-Lloyd, ibid., p. 15.)

787 The old !Kung called the prophesy sticks /Chu, which evidently is the same name again as that of the great captain and is in agreement with Dornan's report concerning the Masarwa that Modimo himself spoke from the prophesy sticks.

755 Vedder reports that in case of illness a messenger is sent
769 to an ancestor's grave and prays: A dsi-dsi mi !hâ tĩ /X'ai-a? (Why is my son ill?) /nu /kôa (to live in health).

774 While my informants denied the presence of any animistic
825 conceptions, the old !Kung believe that certain snakes, lizards,
775 and antelope found in the vicinity of graves represent spirits of the
171 dead (1), as they do among the Bantu.

1. W.H.J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd, ibid., p. 430.

[63 cont.]

764 [178] termite hills, sometimes in rock fissures, and commonly Betschuana [Tswana] style, in lateral niche graves. Besides food and water, a man's weapons are put in the grave with him, and for a woman, some ostrich eggs.

776 777 Now for the world view of the Masarwa. As Dornan reports, Thora is the very great one who [64] is above all things. He sends the rain and the game, veldkost and hunting luck. They commonly invoke Thora for luck on the hunt and thank him when they have had it (1).

[113] 1. P. Schebesta, "Die religiösen Anschauungen Südafrikas [The Religious View of South Africa]," Anthropos, XVIII-XIX, 1923-24.

776 [224] [782] Chapman reports that Bushmen who once had killed a rhinoceros sprinkled some dust on the animal's tail and eyes and at the same time murmured words of thanks to Thora.

The Bushmen are not entirely clear as to whether Thora is a spirit or not; in any case they have great respect for him. They believe that Thora makes all things, but they do not know where he lives or whether he is a person. The western tribes primarily use the word Huwe. The Tati, however, also know this word and regard Huwe as a good spirit who keeps away sickness, gives abundant food, and protects the Bushmen in times of danger. They call [782] upon him when in need. The Sansoque say, Huwe ka hume ie ie [539] (Huwe, come and help us). Huwe, however, seems to be weaker than Thora and must turn to him for help. A Bushman song from Thuli goes: Tho-ra ba Hu-we ie ie (Thora, come to the aid of Huwe).

[171] [174] Among many Bushman tribes and also among the Hottentot, an evil principle, "Khauna," is known, a concept that stems from the times when the Bushmen and Hottentot were one people. The [773] Kalahari Bushmen are not certain whether Thora or Khauna made the first human beings.

●825 Incidentally, the Kalahari Bushmen believe that men and animals can change their shapes; thus, for example, a person may appear as a leopard. In particular, springboks, baboons, and some snakes are regarded as human beings in another stage of their

[64 cont.]

825 existence. The appearance of the ring-necked snake indicates
[787] misfortune.

Animistic conceptions are more pervasive in the world
774 picture of the Masarwa (2). According to Dornan, each thing is a

821 2. The Kalahari Bushmen (Dornan, op. cit., p. 165) have some knowledge of the stars. The Southern Cross is a giraffe, but the Cape Bushmen regard it as a group of lions. Some of the Bushmen regard the stars as animals or human beings who have gone up to the sky.

773 The following story is told: During the girls' initiation a girl who possessed magical powers nodded to some lions and they were immediately transformed into stars.

The Cape Bushmen told another story: During the girls' initiation a girl was quarreling with her mother because the latter refused to give her certain roots that may not be eaten at such times. The girl seized the roots and the ashes and threw them toward the sky. The roots became stars, the ashes became the Milky Way. -- Shooting stars signify misfortune.

774 kind of spirit. Human beings and animals can each transform
[825] themselves into the other. Individual doctors change into leopards, and many animals are regarded as other appearances of man, especially the springbok, the baboon, and a number of snakes. When a ring-necked snake approaches a village, it indicates
[177] death. Bantu influence is undoubtedly at work here.

The !Kung doctrine of two souls reappears in a different
[184] form among the Masarwa. The shadow of each thing, as well as
774 that of the human being, is its other soul. They believe that the
775 shadow soul remains in the vicinity of the grave, while the self walks in another place where it meets with the fathers. It is supposed to be warm there, and supposedly there is much game. In the beyond one acts the same as on this earth.

[64 cont.]

000 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib
769 Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

787 Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu
[774] doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the
● [825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals,
[824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe
[776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at
551 her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say
602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo
105 delta, J. Seiner reports:
101 "The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting.
[563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe
[144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease,
AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY,

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[74 cont.]

776 one time as a man and at another time as a woman.

7. Medicine

The curing practices of the Nogau Bushmen are very primi-
757 tive. They have nothing for snakebite and nothing for arrow poison.

Eland fat is a universal medicine. For the common eye
278 inflammations this fat is smeared into the eye; for headaches warm eland fat is dripped into the ear; for a cold the nostrils and nose are smeared with eland fat.

Sickness comes either from the evil head Gauab or from
753 sorcerers. The ailment is caused by a little Gauab who has settled
[754] in the body. The more gravely ill a person is, the more Gauana have entered into him. The doctors are able to draw out these
755 spirits of sickness; they do it in a fashion analogous to that prac-
756 ticed by the !Kung. There are also female doctors.

The spirits of sickness are regarded here as much more ma-
753 terial than among the !Kung; such a Gauab looks like a human
776 being, but he may also appear as a lion, a wildebeest, or a snake. Once the Gauab has been drawn out of the body, it runs away and speaks to no one.

The sorcerers in particular like to transform themselves into
756 lions. Among the Bushmen farther north [75] it is supposedly
[825] the case that when they see a wildebeest in the bush, for example, it is not a wildebeest at all, but a Gauab. The doctors receive their power from the highest Gauab (/gaua //gaicha). He is the one who appears in the wind spouts. As among the Bantu, the doctors must go to school for several years with older colleagues.
[754] They are not only able to cure, but also to practice magic in the bad sense, in that they induce /Gaua //gaicha to make ill anyone whom they want to harm.

"Whoever wants to become a sorcerer must go to school with another witch doctor. When someone is struck by lightning, it is said that Gauab struck him down with his knife. Some then become great doctors and often speak with Gauab. Gauab also comes as a wind spout."

[78 cont.]

it with the fingers. [Fig. 29 appears here.]

[79] The lion is neither eaten nor hunted. The jackal and leopard are eaten, as is the liver of the latter. Baboons are not eaten, because they were formerly Bushmen.

The line of tattooing between the eyebrows make people into leopards among the Nogau. The Naron smear themselves with red and black color. The other incisions and tattooing are made purely for adornment.

Among the Naron, millepedes are regarded as creatures of Hise, and only doctors may touch them and make medicine of them. Among the Nogau and ǂAuin there are magical bones that are used to predict the future. The Naron also believe that the rock engravings stem from //gauwa.

Among the Auin it is forbidden to eat hyena flesh, and likewise the flesh of the shabrack jackal because it is a dog.

The following important data supplied by Gentz (1) should be added:

1. "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften [Some Contributions to Knowledge of the Southwest African Tribes]," Globus, Vol. 83, 1903.

"I have repeatedly found Bushman arrows on which the point, usually made of bone (for the most part ostrich bone), was made of wood. The game sling, reproduced in Figure 29, is constructed as follows: A strong string, four to five millimeters thick, which at one end terminates in a simple loop, is fastened at the other end to a flexible young tree or branch that is bent far over. A small, thinner string with a transverse stick is attached at the loop end. The string is placed around a small post driven into the ground at an angle, and it is prevented from slipping off by means of a flat piece of wood buried under the ground and planted against the free end of the transverse stick; the sling is placed in a circle on the ground over the flat piece of wood. The game, which follows its customary track to the

/253 cont./

224 the large bullfrog, whose bass voice resounds in all the puddles during the rainy season.[1] The flesh of the frog is boiled with the
252 skin and bones, pounded to a paste in wooden vessels, and then eaten. Among the insects, grasshoppers and termites are used for
222 food. Both are roasted. In the brief time that they are winged, the termites are lured in such great numbers to a fire maintained for the purpose of catching them that it is an easy matter for the Bushman to collect a rich booty in a few hours. A special delicacy in the Bushman household is wild honey, which, as I was able to ascertain, is extremely tasty /254/ and is to be found in quantity on the Omuramba omatako as well as in the Kaukau Veld.

825 The bullfrog is called ntchei by the Bushmen (Herero: otjisume), the termite, /ui (Herero: othohumboli).

The vegetable diet naturally changes with the seasons and is
262 quite varied. I shall attempt to give a brief survey, though at
824 the same time I am aware that it can lay no claim to completeness.

1. The chamá or taba (Herero: omatanga). These are the roasted kernels of the Kaffir pumpkin [melon?], widely known here, which produce quite a tasty dish.

2. The //ǘni (Herero: omarunga); this is the Heikum Bushman name for the palm tree that is common in this region. The edible parts of the tree are the apple-sized fruit, whose skin has a sweetish taste reminiscent of St. John's bread, and the soft interior of the trunk. The latter is a whitish, soft, fibrous pulp, which the Bush-
[252] men prepare by cooking and pounding.

3. A species of white mushroom called naú by the Bushmen, majova by the Herero. The mushroom grows during the rainy season especially along the edges of termite hills; the diameter of its cap reaches about 20 centimeters. It is eaten raw as well as
[252] boiled. I do not know whether it is true that excessive eating of this mushroom has a detrimental effect on mental activity, as the Herero aver – ejova, plural majova, is the Herero word for stupid.

4. The unki, a well-known species of onion, about the size of a hazel nut, called //au by the Bushmen, is very common and forms an important part of the kitchen provisions, not only among the Bushmen, but also among the Herero.

[252] 5. The //guitcha of the Bushmen, ussessenga of the Herero,

N/ow of the /Kung is something which influences weather, bringing rain if it is 821
'good' *n/ow*, or cold if it is 'bad' *n/ow*. Precisely what *n/ow* consists of was never made explicit. Nothing about it can be seen. One knows of its existence, the /Kung say, by observing its effects upon the weather.

N/ow exists in all human beings, the /Kung believe, and in certain big animals, 821
namely: giraffe, eland, gemsbok, kudu, hartebeest, and wildebeest. For the sake of 825
brevity I shall refer to these animals as the *n/ow* animals. Small animals do not have *n/ow*, according to the /Kung. We wanted to learn why, but the /Kung could only tell us that they were so created. Steenbok have positively no *n/ow* at all. Some informants claimed that duikers had none, others said that duikers' *n/ow* was undeveloped. Informants were also uncertain about springbok. There are very few springbok in the region and informants said they killed them so seldom that they had not observed whether or not they had *n/ow*. Possibly other large animals would be found to have *n/ow* if the question were further pursued.[1] There was no disagreement among /Kung 821
informants about other things; no other things have *n/ow*—not earth itself, nor vegetation nor other objects on earth; not water, clouds, rain, thunder or lightning, nor heavenly bodies. Not even the two Gods themselves have *n/ow* in them, neither [776]
the great one who lives in the eastern sky, nor his namesake (his */guma*) who lives in the western sky, both of whom bear the names Huwe, Hishi, and ≠Gao/na, our informants told us.

N/ow gets into a human being in the womb. Exactly how this happens informants 821
could not tell us. It was our impression that they were not hiding information, for 843
they seemed willing enough to talk about *n/ow* and said it was not dangerous or 827
harmful in any way to speak freely about it. We think they simply did not know. One informant said, 'The child gets the *n/ow* in the womb and is born with it.' Another said, 'The *n/ow* is created in the womb.' Another said, 'The great Creator gives the [776]
n/ow and taught the people to do the things they do about it. He made all things and made all things to be known.' The *n/ow* acquired in the womb remains in a person all his life.

Some persons get a 'good' rain-bringing *n/ow*, others get a 'bad' cold-bringing *n/ow*. When we wanted to learn how this happened we were told that 'When the mother's uterine fluid flows into the ground, it makes a *n/ow* in the child which brings rain or a *n/ow* which does not bring rain'.

The mother has no voluntary control over this, nor has anyone else; and there is nothing, like medicine or magic, spell or ceremony, which can be used to cause the *n/ow* to be one kind or the other. Furthermore, the child does not inherit a good or bad *n/ow* from his mother or father or any ancestors. The philosophy, lore, or belief about the question of what causes the *n/ow* to be one or the other kind, whatever it may have been in the past, seems not to be known now with clarity or detail.

Two verbs were used in connexion with *n/ow*: to *≠gani* and to *||ghui*. The /Kung 192
say that the mother has *≠gani*(ed) the child if it gets a good *n/ow* and has *||ghui*(ed) it if 827

[1] Miss Lucy Lloyd (*A Short Account of Further Bushman Material, Third Report*, London, 1889, p. 19) mentions that a Bushman informant, Dia/-kwain by name, who worked with her and with Dr. Bleek before his death, and who came from the Katkop Mountains, south of the Orange River, told her that 'A baboon, when killed, resembles a man, in "making cloud"'. No more information was given in the report, but the concept of 'making cloud' suggests that possibly the now extinct or almost extinct Cape Bushmen had a belief which may have resembled in some ways the concept of *n/ow*. [171]

623 about it to others, unless it were a hunter caught in a storm alone in the veld; but
821 an individual, even without necessarily expressing a consensus, we think might say
789 to another, 'Why don't you burn some of your hair?', which would probably be enough to instigate the act. And, in all likelihood, it would be done with so little formality that the observer would not know anything was happening unless he knew what to watch for and were alerted.

[171 There was no ceremony regularly performed by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae to ensure
821 plentiful rain, like the Hottentots' *guri≠ab*. The Rain dance of the /Kung, which is
789 danced often, all through the year, is a medicine dance, among several others, such
535 as the Giraffe, Sun, Gemsbok, Honey, and Mamba dances. All these are 'strong'
796 things, the /Kung believe. The dances so named have 'strong' medicine music. They
755 are danced during the medicine men's ceremony to cure the sick and protect the people and drive away any of the *//gamasi*, the spirits of the dead, who might be lurking to bring some evil upon the people. The Rain dance has this as its purpose, not the control of weather.

One night when the Rain dance was being beautifully danced with a fine precision and vigour of clapping, singing, and stamping, which to us suggested fervour, we were watching it so intently that we had not noticed the sky. The first storm of the season had crept up behind us and suddenly burst over us like a bomb. We asked
[821 Gao if he believed the dance had brought the rain. He said that the rain was due to come. The dance had not brought it.

821 A *n/ow* animal, as well as a human, has either a good or a bad *n/ow*, but it seems
● 825 not to be known clearly how it gets the one or the other. Good or bad *n/ow* is not correlated with one sex or one species. One giraffe, for example, either male or female, may have the rain-bringing, another the cold-bringing kind.

It seems that long or short horns may have something to do with good or bad *n/ow*, not the long-hornedness of gemsbok as compared with the short-hornedness of giraffes, but, within the species, the comparative length of horn. But one kind of *n/ow* is not inherent in short-hornedness nor is the other kind in long-hornedness. It is not so simple as that. And informants did not know what association, if any, the short or long horns may have with ≠Toma's vague idea that the short or long legs of a child in the womb might have something to do with the child's *n/ow*.

When a hunter kills a *n/ow* animal, he either *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) it. Like the mother who *≠gani*(s) or *//ghui*(s) her child at birth, the hunter has no voluntary control over this and cannot tell which he has done unless the effect is observed in the weather. A hunter with good or bad *n/ow* may *≠gani* or *//ghui* an animal which has either good or bad *n/ow* and long or short horns. The precise nature of the interaction remains obscure, but hunters took an interest in telling about the kind of *n/ow* they thought they had, and gave instances of observing the effects of their killing various types of animals. If a man should kill a female kudu with short horns and the water should freeze that night, it would be evident that he had *//ghui*(ed) the animal. He would expect to continue to *//ghui* short-horned female kudus. However, although a man's *n/ow* remains constant throughout his life, the way it interacts with other factors may change, and after a time he may find he has begun to *≠gani* short-horned female kudus. We think the /Kung became a little tired of our finding this complicated.

One day in September the sun blazed in the clear sky. The heat beat down upon us.

A party of /Kung men had gone hunting towards the west. John, our son, was with 821
them. In the afternoon there appeared in the western sky three little white clouds, like 825
three powder-puffs in a neat row. They were the first clouds to be seen since the big
rains had ended in March. We ran to each other, pointing them out. People felt
happy. In the evening, when the hunters returned, ≠Toma came at once to me,
before he put down his bow and quiver, and said that I could see for myself what it
meant to ≠*gani* an animal. John had ≠*gani*(ed) the wildebeest he shot, and the clouds
had appeared immediately above them. ≠Toma said this was what he had been trying
all along to explain to me.

If a hunter knows with certainty that he has ≠*gani*(ed) or ||*ghui*(ed) an animal, as it 821
was known when John killed the wildebeest that he had ≠*gani*(ed) it, he may take the 825
horns and the scalp and forehead bone and hang them in a tree, remembering where 789
they are and whether they had been ≠*gani*(ed) or ||*ghui*(ed). If need should arise he
could get the horns which were appropriate to the need and burn them in a specially
made fire away from the cooking-fires. He would take a piece of the burning horn
and point it to the sky saying '*goichi goichi goichi n/ow qui*'. This we were told is
'speaking *n/ow*'. The interpreters did not know and could not find out by questioning
people what the words mean. We wonder if they are an archaic spell. The horns must
be entirely consumed by the fire.

In *Bushman Folklore*[1] there is a reference to the burning of horns in a very interesting 773
myth about the Rain Bull, related to Dr. Bleek in 1878 by a Bushman from Stronbergen (30° S., 22° E.) whose dialect included the fifth click of the southern group, as the Katkop dialect does. In this myth a young woman cleverly saves herself from being carried away on the back of the Rain Bull to the water-pit where she would have been turned into a frog, and all of her people also would have become frogs. At the end of the myth the informant who related it said, 'The old women who had been out seeking food were those who came to burn horns, while they desired that the smell of the horns should go up, so that the Rain should not be angry with them.' 789

A hunter has another way of controlling the weather. To bring rain he would cut 821
the throat of an animal he had reason to believe he habitually ≠*gani*(ed), or to stop 825
rain, one he habitually ≠*ghui*(ed). The blood, which is ordinarily saved and eaten, [262]
would be allowed to flow on to the ground. A giraffe is the best animal for blood-letting. The forms and colours of the clouds are like giraffes, the /Kung remarked. We asked if human beings cut themselves and used their blood to start or stop rain as they do their urine or hair. The /Kung said, No, they did not. That would be unnecessarily painful.

As far as we know the /Kung did not attempt to control the weather by these means 183
while we were with them, as they did not resort to burning urine or hair of persons. 789
Perhaps this was because the weather took its normal, expected, seasonal course. 821
Furthermore, we did not experience its most severe extremes for very long periods, [132]
and found it on the whole quite bearable. Or perhaps the concept of controlling weather by means of burning urine, hair or horns or letting blood, exists more in lore than in active practice. Or perhaps the long unchanging months do not stimulate the idea of actively attempting to control weather and the people content themselves with 789
explaining rather than controlling. They appeared in many instances to have the 821

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., pp. 193 ff.

X137 *triloba* they are what is known as dorsifixed, that is they are fixed a little way up from the base so that the stipule is free at both ends. The flowers are the same size in the two species and have the same long stalk, but those of *Vigna triloba* are predominantly purple. They tend to open in the early morning and to close during the heat of the day.

Vigna triloba is reported from a variety of soils and is widespread through southern Africa, but it was not seen on the expedition until the Nama Pan area was reached.

262 It has a finger-thick tap-root which is edible after boiling or roasting,
[252] although fibrous and slightly bitter. In mature plants it may extend downwards further than can conveniently be dug, but it is easily broken off. There appear to have been no previous records of its use as a food plant.

X137 *Commiphora pyracanthoides* Engl. (5137) Photograph 23.

Eastern !khũ Bushman a|ʃo

A deciduous, rigid, twiggy two-foot shrub with spine-tipped twigs, branches that curve downwards, and a bark that is pale green and flaky on the older parts and grayish on the young twigs. The flowers are less than a quarter of an inch long and inconspicuous, and are borne in bunches on small knobs scattered along the twigs. Male and female flowers are on separate plants. The knobs also bear the leaves, which appear after the flowers and are glaucous, simple and finely serrate, and about three quarters of an inch long and half an inch wide. The fruits are "ovoid, about the size of a green pea, though reddish brown when ripe. When the fruits are ripe, the fleshy covering may be easily split apart in two halves exposing the black seed with a red aril covering it partly at the base and extending in four slender 'fingers', producing an intriguing pattern". (Codd, 1951:87.)

The species extends from South West Africa to the northern Transvaal, but was uncommon in the area round Nama Pan. One specimen collected there was grown in Pretoria. Leaves and flowers were obtained in the summer following, and from this material the determination was made possible.

[262] The plant exudes an edible gum from injuries and is a useful source
312 of water in an emergency, the water being in a sappy underground organ
824 which is like that of one of the following species of Commiphora, No. 4994. It is known as a water plant among the Bantu of the Transvaal as well.

X137 *Commiphora* spp. (4994 edible, 5030 inedible).

4994		5030	
!h5: Bushman..	dʒã	|gikwe Bushman	!ana
|gikwe Bushman	dʒã		
Naron Bushman	|uri		

Two species of Commiphora were collected in the Kalahari south of Ghanzi. They were completely deciduous rigid two-foot shrubs with many sharply-tipped twigs and a flaky bark. At first sight they were identical, and even close examination revealed no bigger difference than that one of them was a little more of a thicket than the other and slightly
8.24 grayer. The Bushmen, however, stated emphatically that the grayish one
[278] was poisonous and the other not. They said also that the grayish one
[825] WAS THE HOST OF THE INSECT WHICH THEY USE FOR MAKING THEIR ARROW POISON, AND THAT IT HAD HARDER ROOTS THAN THE OTHER.

7:Story N-5 (1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10

137X

Adansonia digitata L. Photograph 32.

Eastern !khû Bushman ≠m

The Baobab, as it is commonly called, is shown in photograph 32. Its stem may have a circumference of up to 148 feet, and makes it quite unmistakable. In winter it is leafless but in summer it bears dense dark-green foliage. The flowers are pure white and up to six inches across, and the fruits, as described by Codd (1951: 120) are "oblong or egg-shaped, five to six inches or more in length and three to four inches in diameter, with a woody shell which is softly grey-velvety on the outside".

The southernmost specimens were seen in the neighbourhood of Ghanzi, and from there it occurred sporadically to Gautscha Pan, the furthest point north reached by the expedition. There were big gaps in its distribution and it was rare throughout, but in some parts of the Transvaal it occurs abundantly and may have an unbroken distribution over many square miles of country. It is widely distributed in the drier regions of north and south tropical Africa.

Inside the shell of the fruit is a white, pith-like substance which may be eaten raw, or ground up and stirred into water to make a drink, or boiled to make a porridge. It has an acid-sweet taste. The seeds which are embedded in the flesh are also edible and are eaten like nuts. In other parts of Africa they are prepared in a somewhat involved way which includes protracted boiling, fermenting and drying. There are several records of the fact that the young leaves make quite a good substitute for spinach, but as the expedition was during the winter and as the trees are deciduous, I cannot say whether the Bushmen know of this, nor whether the trees we saw were of the glabrous variety which is the one used for spinach. No seedlings were seen. It is known that the white shoot from the germinating seed can be used as a substitute for asparagus, and that the tender root of the very young Baobab is also edible (Dalziel, 1937: 113). The trees are often hollow, and like *Boscia albitrunca* and *Ricinodendron rautenii* may act as reservoirs for rain water which can be used in times of scarcity. The Bushmen reach it by fitting hollow grass stalks end to end to form a tube, and sucking it out. A further product of the Baobab is a large caterpillar which feeds upon the leaves and which is an important article of food aming the Natives of the northern Transvaal. It is recorded also from South West Africa, and is very likely known to and used by the Bushmen.

252 262 [272] 271 312 824 262 136 825

137X

Ochna pulchra Hook. (5273) Photograph 33.

Eastern !khû Bushman !i and !e:i

A semi-deciduous tree with a clean but usually rather twisted bole which is white to light gray and has a peeling bark. The branches are bent and rigid and the wood brittle. They bear glossy light green alternate leaves which are almost sessile and usually entire, rarely with a very finely toothed margin. The tree has an attractive appearance even in winter, and the young leaves add to this in the spring for they range from pale green to reddish-brown. The flowers are borne in early summer, in showy scented bunches. They have yellow petals and a green calyx, which persists after the petals have fallen and turns bright red. The fruits are hard and green when immature but turn fleshy and black as they ripen. There are usually two or three, the size and shape of small beans, attached to a fleshy red swelling in the centre of the flower. The leaves have been suspected of causing poisoning in stock, but tests carried out on mammals have so far been inconclusive. (Uys and Thomas 1952, Steyn, 1949: 125.)

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

Bushmen believe that certain famous sorcerers, once med- 754
icine men who chose to be poisoners and magicians instead 825
of healers, have taken the form of certain lions, which can al-
ways be distinguished from ordinary lions by their great size
and their ability to float in the air. Also, Bushmen say, the [921]
eclipses of the moon are caused by lions, as on very bright
nights a lion may cover the moon's face with a great paw,
giving himself darkness for better hunting.

Usually, when a lion sees you, he skulks away or bounds 136
off in great, ungainly leaps, in clumsy dodges, making a fool
of himself because he is frightened; but when one raises his
head and looks right at you, then turns as this one did, and
walks off without even looking back, you understand at once
why Bushmen believe the things they do.

As the lion walked away into a thicket of acacia trees we
climbed off the truck and followed him. It was rash of us, but
we were not afraid of him. We wanted a photograph. How-
ever, he had disappeared, and as we were looking cautiously
around among the trunks of little trees we heard a motor
roaring, gears grinding; and finally, as we watched, the jeep
arrived with Cass and Bob (Dr. Story), who told us to go
back to camp as fast as we could. Two Bushmen had arrived.

We started back at once and got there late in the afternoon, 609
and there we found them, two small men, one old, one young,
in silhouette as they squatted by the fire, turning as we came
to look at us, very nervous and very ill at ease. They had been
given food and tobacco—a blue cloud hung above their heads
—and a bucket of water, but during the course of the after-
noon they had drunk the bucket dry. As Theunis and Gishe,
the only people who could have spoken to both them and us,
had been away, the rest of the expedition had had to wait
anxiously for our return, unable to communicate a single
word.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

576 show affection openly only to people of the same sex and
593 to their children. Tsetchwe looked at Gai, though, and she smiled.

124 . Twikwe greeted us by smiling her wry smile and saying:
825 "So."

262 The springbok was thrown to the ground, but before it could go into the pot, Bill Donnellan, the doctor, came over to the werf to dissect it, this being an opportunity to find what the Bushmen thought about the systems of the body and what they knew about anatomy.

Gai agreed to tell what he knew, so the springbok was dragged to a sandy spot and a small fire was built—just two crossed sticks with one or two coals and a tiny flame, yet it warmed us, as the evening was becoming very cold. All the people sat around to watch as Bill opened the belly of the springbok and rolled it onto its back. He pointed to the diaphragm and asked what it was. Gai told him the name. "What is it for?" Bill asked.

"We eat it."

"Is it for anything else?"

"We don't know. We just eat it."

"What about the liver?"

"We eat the liver."

"Does the liver do anything for the springbok?"

"It stays there and then we kill him and eat it."

"And what about the stomach?"

"We Bushmen eat the stomach, too, and all the things in the springbok."

"Doesn't the stomach do anything for the springbok?"

"Yes, he eats grass which goes in there and makes him fat, and then we eat the fat."

124
825 Unwilling to give up easily, Bill passed on to the urogenital system, which is, after all, exterior and which anyone should

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

know, but Gai became embarassed and said gravely that 124 825
Pishiboro put that system there for reproduction and he alone knew how it worked.

Ukwane then said that he would explain instead, because 221
he was an old man. Gai could not speak of sex in front of 831
women because it was both improper and dangerous and 784 826
would weaken his power to hunt, but Ukwane was too old 888
for hunting and, besides, was past the age when many of the 124
tabus concerning sex applied to him. Old Bushmen understand everything better anyway, young Bushmen say.

Ukwane knew a great deal. He named every major part, 124
inside and out, of the animal, even naming the major veins 825
and arteries that lead to and from the heart. We were not surprised to find that Bushmen, who prefer to be specific rather than general when dealing with minute things, distinguish more exterior parts of the body then we do. They have names, for example, for the inside of the elbow and the back of the knee. The *leg* of an animal means the hind leg, the front leg is the *arm*, and these are called by the same names as the arm and leg of human beings. Birds, too, fly with their arms and land on their legs, but I never could discover what insects do.

Ukwane went on to explain the various systems of the body, saying in the case of the urogenital system that liquid, which was "the little springboks," ran from the testicles into the kidneys, then down again and out the penis. He stuck to this version, too, even when Bill suggested that it might be otherwise. This does not mean that Bushmen think that urine [842]
causes conception, for they recognize the role of semen, believing that it unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form a child.

Ukwane understood the course of food and water through 124
the digestive system, but said that food and water spread out 827

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

CHAPTER FIVE

Gai and Ukwane

At our camp in Ai a ha'o I had a small tent not high 136
enough to stand in, tied to a very small thorn tree. The tent was made of ragged, waterproof fabric which billowed in and out when the wind blew, and when lit from the inside by a candle at night looked luminous, pale green, like an aquarium or a lantern on the moon. The tent was a shade from the blazing sun at noon and a shelter from the wind, and through the thin canvas I could hear the creatures that passed at night—hares and small buck that made the long grass rustle, and occasionally small predatory animals, such as jackals, whose footsteps make a sound and which sometimes call "*tsa, tsa,*" their sad, loud cry that means in Gikwe "water, [192] water."

Whenever an animal called, someone would surely answer 524
it. People do this for fun, a hobby, answering every animal 825
except the lion. In the Kalahari it is considered safer to let the lion have the last word.

I had luckily pitched my tent in the sun, and during the 123
long cold period that followed our arrival at Ai a ha'o I was the only person who was warm because the tent kept out the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

281 skins with Bakalahari people for tobacco when we had gone and when the tobacco we had given him had all been used. We asked how much he would get and he measured an imaginary pile in the palm of his hand—not much for four or five days' work, although the skins of Delalandes foxes are quite small.

136 There were Delalandes foxes living not far from Ai a ha'o, a colony of them, for they always live together. I saw them often and they were charming creatures, fuzzy with huge ears and black stockings. I have always admired them, for although they have no defenses, can neither run fast nor fight, they are not afraid to go mousing far from their burrows. Then, when they are surprised by a menace, they have to run home, and they start off all together and run and run, humping on and on at an even pace, neither speeding nor slacking, until long after you first saw them they disappear into their holes. They are humble creatures, but persistent and brave. One member of our expedition hunted them for months with rifle and shotgun, trying to get a specimen for a museum in the United States, but I am glad to say he never succeeded. Ukwane caught them, though, the easy way. He set five snares for them at five mouse-runs in the grass; five foxes strangled in the snares, and Ukwane came around the following day to gather them up.

123 We filmed Ukwane working the skins. Then we found the
825 shoulder blade of the gemsbok we had shot weeks ago still
321 lying in the werf and we asked Gai to make an arrowhead out
411 of it so we could film that, too. It was the right kind of bone, the kind that Bushmen use. The small antelope and even some of the larger ones, such as springbok and wildebeest, have bones which are too fragile to penetrate another antelope's heavy hide. Gai agreed to make the arrow; he broke off the scapular spine and pushed it into a fresh tsama melon to

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GIKwe

let it soak. When it was moist all the way through he called to us and we then filmed him making the arrow. 123 825 321 411

We took a long time setting up the cameras, reading light meters, focusing the lenses, and finally took a picture with the still camera. To our astonishment, when the shutter clicked Gai let out a great huff of breath. One of the interpreters must have told him at some time to be absolutely still, and he had begun holding his breath when he had first seen the camera. We thanked him and told him he need never do it again, but we laughed and he was embarrassed.

Always, Bushmen were wonderful people to film. They were totally unselfconscious, never looked at the camera, and, furthermore, had infinite patience. They would stop what they were doing, wait, start again and repeat what they had done before, making each repeated action seem miraculously as if it were being done for the first time. But on this occasion Gai got bored. He had a quiverful of arrows anyway, and while he waited for us to load the camera the arrow he was working got brittle and dry. When this happened he had to suck it until it was moist again, then whittle some more.

He made the foreshaft of the arrow first, chopping with his knife to hack the rough shape of it, pausing occasionally to hone the knife blade on the tough sole of his foot, then cocking his head and squinting down the blade to see the edge. He then carefully whittled the head, leaving a tiny spine up the middle for strength but shaving the edges so thin that you could see light through them. As he worked, though, he yawned and sighed with boredom and now and then he would pause to sing a nonsense song, "bibibi di bo," by flapping his lower lip with his finger.

When the arrowhead was finished he fitted it into a reed shaft exactly the right size and bound it in place with a bit of fine sinew which he had also sucked to moisten. Then he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

411 123 825 321 turned the arrow over and over, sighting down its length to see if it was straight. It was.

123 411 825 278 Gai then surprised us somewhat by taking from his hunting-bag twelve round nut-like tiny shells which we recognized as the cocoons or pupa cases of the poison grubs, the source of poison for the Bushmen's deadly little arrows. Gai said he would poison his arrow, a process which he seemed to find more interesting than making it, and we said we would be very glad to see. We wondered where he had got the grubs, for he and Ukwane had both told us that there were no poison grubs anywhere near Ai a ha'o, and he said he had received them from the people whom we had met in the Okwa Omaramba, as they had plenty there.

825 278 We regretted very much that we had never seen a tree or shrub that houses the poison grubs of the Gikwe, and that we had never been able to catch one of the adults of the beetle that in its pupa stage is poisonous. Gai said that his grubs came from between the roots of a bush, called in Gikwe simply a poison bush. We do not know if the grubs are the same as the grubs used by Kung Bushmen, which live among the roots of a tree, called by the Kung a poison tree, called by us marula kaffra. The grubs of the Kung are from the beetle *diamphidia simplex*, which lays its eggs on the leaves of the tree. Once, all in one afternoon at a single tree of Kung Bushmen, I was shown by a young hunter the yellow eggs on a leaf, the young larvae just hatched, which the hunter said crawl down the tree under the bark to pupate in the earth among the roots, and the pupae of this beetle.

It has always amazed me that the Bushmen ever discovered these beetles, which are only one species among thousands in South Africa, and which the Bushmen say are poisonous only in their pupa stage. The pupae themselves are

enclosed in the tiny brown pupa casings with brittle shells 825 ●
like eggshells, exactly the color of the earth around them, and 278
are found only among the roots of certain trees and bushes. Nothing edible grows among the roots, and although the marula kaffra has edible nuts that drop and are gathered from the surface of the ground, there would be no likely reason for Bushmen to be digging there. Bushmen do eat certain bee- [262]
tles, certain ants, and certain caterpillars, which, they say, are sweet as honey, but even if a Bushman were to eat a poison beetle he would not die (unless he had a cracked lip or an ulcer) because the poison works only in the blood stream, and even the black meat of an antelope taken from the site of the arrow wound can be eaten with impunity.

Only people who pay the closest attention to every tiny object and who investigate all its possibilities could ever have discovered a thing like this.

I not only do not know if the beetles used by the Kung are the same kind as those used by the Gikwe; I also do not know if the Kung use only one kind, for I have seen Kung Bushmen take two kinds of pupa from the roots of the same tree, from cocoons that appeared to be exactly alike. Even the Kung do not know, when they see a cocoon, which kind it is. One kind of pupa is small and pure yellow with a black head, a thorax, an abdomen, and six small legs. The other kind is larger, fatter, and orange, with no noticeable body sections such as thorax and abdomen, but more like a caterpillar, the same all the way down. The yellow pupae, the Bushmen say, are males, with sacks of poison only under their front legs. To get the poison Bushmen pull off a leg and squeeze out a single drop, discarding the rest of the body. The orange pupae are said to be females, with poison throughout the entire body. To get poison from these, Bushmen tap the grub all over to

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

825 mash the insides, then pull off the head and squeeze the in-
278 sides out like toothpaste from a tube. Both kinds of poison are equally good, they say.

Perhaps the two types of pupae are the pupae of two different kinds of beetles. Perhaps they are from the same beetle but in different stages of development. Perhaps they really are males and females, as Bushmen are often scientifically
[821] accurate, but, as Bushmen also have male and female rain clouds, perhaps not.

[439] Kung Bushmen, who use metal arrows obtained by trading
824 animal skins for wire with the Bantus, have a complicated
825 system of poisoning in which they use several ingredients for
278 the poison paste. One of these is a binding fluid, used because the pure poison squeezed from the grub will not adhere well to metal but must be made binding and sticky. The binding material comes from the bark of a tree. They chew
[415 the bark thoroughly and spit the mash into a little mortar
237] made from the knee bone of an antelope, a nice little cup, into which the Bushmen have squeezed the milky juice of sansevieria plants, got by wringing the heavy, thick leaves. This juice has an irritating effect when it is dissolved in a wound and causes the antelope to rub and scratch its wounded spot against a tree, which stimulates circulation in the area, which carries the poison more quickly through the body, which hastens death.

The paste in the mortar is thoroughly mixed, then smeared with a straw on the foreshaft of arrows, never on the head, for if the sharp edges of the head were poisoned any child might accidentally nick himself and die. When the arrow is poisoned it is propped up by a fire and the poison is allowed to dry into a shiny dark paste, to be melted again by the
411 moisture and warmth of an antelope's flank.
825
278 Gai had stored his poison cocoons in a tiny bag inside his

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

hunting-bag, and when he came to poison his arrow he took 411 them all out and felt them, shook them, to see if they were 825 fresh. Then he took his arrow, his cocoons, and a scrap of 278 leather he had been saving which was so thin and ragged it had very little use, and, moving all these things to a place in the grass far away from the werf, he sat down to work. He did not work in the werf because a drop of poison might be spilled and months later would still be dangerous.

Gai first spread out his rag as a work table and arranged his cocoons upon it. Then he called Witabe, who was watching from the werf, and asked for a fire, which Witabe brought in the form of a few sticks in one hand and a live coal from one of the werf fires in the bare palm of his other hand.

At last Gai was ready and his fire burning. After inspecting his fingers carefully for cracks in the skin and telling us to sit upwind from him so that no drops of poison would blow on us, he scratched open one of the cocoons. The shell was as brittle as a little seed pod. It opened easily and Gai fished inside carefully with a straw, dragging out the grub, which struggled feebly with one slight, almost imperceptible convulsion and then lay alive but motionless, curled in a U on the palm of Gai's hand. The cocoon was small and the grub must have filled it entirely, for, once outside, the grub seemed twice as large as its casing. It was a yellow one, like the kind the Kung call males, but I cannot say for certain that it was exactly the same.

Gai laid it across his thumbnail and tapped it gently, mixing the insides. Then he twisted off the head, squeezed the body, forced the paste inside onto the shaft of his arrow, and smeared it evenly with his straw. Gikwe Bushmen do not have to use a binding fluid, for their bone arrows hold the poison very well.

After the foreshaft was coated evenly all around with the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

411 poison of several grubs, Gai dried the arrow by the fire, then
825 coated the foreshaft again. In all, he used ten grubs, all that
278 he had except two which were found to be shriveled and dead. The last coating he did not smear; pulling off the grub's head, he dotted the arrow with little spots of poison. He did not poison the arrowhead but only the foreshaft.

When the arrow was finished and the poison dried to lacquer on the shaft, Gai carefully collected all the cocoons and all the grub skins and burned them in the fire, keeping out of the smoke. He then called for a fresh tsama melon, which Witabe brought him and which he used to wash his hands. At last he put his arrow in his quiver and lit his pipe. He was through.

411 While we were there with the camera set up and loaded
184 we asked Gai to demonstrate for us the way he would shoot a bow, which he did, and we were surprised to see that the Gikwe, who use bows of the same size and shape and arrows of the same size as the Kung's, have a different arrow release. The Kung grip the arrow between the thumb and the side of the forefinger as they draw back on the string, but Gai gripped it between the first two fingers, holding his thumb back. He said that all other Gikwe do the same.

283 Ukane called to us from the werf and said that since we were here he would show us how a Gikwe Bushman makes a string. We went over to him, and he did make a string for us by pulling the tough fibers out of aloes and rolling them together on his thigh, leaving just enough fiber unwound at the end to splice with the next rolled section. The string was so strong that when he jerked it between his hands it neither broke nor raveled. It took him only a few minutes to make it,
[286] and he said that when he had many such strings he would tie them together to make himself a net.

As he worked, for the sake of efficiency, he held the fibers

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

578 bands, who at the time were barely out of earshot. One story
522 concerned Dasina, how she had fainted from smoking too
152 much the day we had come, and to show exactly what had happened, Wite and Witabe acted the scene, Wite taking the part of Dasina and fainting on Witabe's shoulder while the other boys laughed. Bushmen's jokes and stories are usually funny at the expense of a person, an animal, or the god Pishiboro, maliciousness being one way in which Bushmen rid themselves of their resentments.

536 Somewhat later Wite and Giamakwe acted for the others
831 the scene of the hyena's mating, as they imagined it or knew
825 it to be, for the night it had happened only the sound had reached us and the hyenas had not been seen. Giamakwe took the part of the male hyena, Wite took the part of the female. First they walked together on all fours and rubbed faces, and then Giamakwe climbed on Wite's back, emitting a lonesome howl just like the howl we had heard. It was not meant to be funny, and the other boys watched it calmly, treating the mating of hyenas as a matter of course. All in all, it was a majestic imitation, with snarls and growls, then mounting and pretending to copulate with shivering and ecstasy, then more growls, until finally the male fell away exhausted and curled up on his side, whereupon the female attacked him. It took a long time from start to finish, the Bushman boys being so literal that they not only gave a precise rendition of the event but took exactly the amount of time that the hyenas had taken.

574 The adults had not watched the children but were visiting quietly with each other, some of the men from the Okwa band having come to Ukwane's werf to sit at the fires. Very late at night, when the Firewood Star was rising and the Zebra Stars of Orion were just setting foot upon the earth, the visitors got up to go.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

CHAPTER EIGHT

The Dancers

When Bushmen dance their medicine dances, the medicine 535
begins to work in the bodies of the medicine men. Medicine 756
is warmed to potency as the exercise of dancing warms the shaman's body, and by the heat of the fire that the shaman dances around. The medicine purges evil and cures a sickness that is known to the Gikwe as "star sickness," a mysterious, magic sickness that has no tangible symptoms but together with evil is brought to people by the spirits of the dead. You can tell that powerful curing medicine is at work during one of these dances because the medicine men fall into trance, shudder and shriek and roll their eyes up into their heads, fall into the fire or wash their faces with flaming coals and are not burned, and when they rub their fire-warmed hands on you to cure you their hands are hot and dry and flutter like moths, and presently the star sickness leaves you, enters the bodies of the medicine men, and is shrieked into the air, hurled back to the spirits of the dead who brought it.

There are many types of medicine at work in the Kalahari, 756
and every band among the Gikwe, Kung, or any Bushman 825
nation possesses certain of these. Some bands, for instance,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

have the giraffe, rain, and gemsbok medicine. Others might have the ratel, fire, and gemsbok medicine. Ukwane's band had the sun, dove, and gemsbok medicine. Almost every band has the gemsbok medicine, for magically the gemsbok are very important animals, obvious from the black medicine markings on a gemsbok's face.

The medicine songs are songs without words and are given to both Kung and Gikwe Bushmen by the great god who sends his messengers, the spirits of the dead, to a sleeping person. The spirits of the dead teach the person a medicine song in a dream, and when the person awakens he teaches the song to the other members of his band.

At dances, women sing the medicine songs, men dance and use the medicine to cure people, for almost all men are made medicine men when they are in their late teens, after they have been initiated into manhood, having shot their first buck. They are made medicine men by older medicine men, and although any Bushman man may become a medicine man, only certain of them find that they have strong healing power, and these are the ones who practice, who fall into trance at dances and chase evil from their people. Ukwane himself had been one of these. None of the people he cured ever died, he said, but as he grew old his powers seemed to leave him, so now he did not practice any more. In his band Gai became the strong healer.

Of course, a medicine dance is a great affair, for it usually takes place at night and lasts all night into the morning. Everyone in the band takes part, every young boy old enough to walk may dance, every young girl may sing with the women, and women themselves may dance if they feel inclined. People talk, eat, and smoke between dances, or go off to bed to sleep for a while, so, all in all, dances are social af-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

823 when he is, it is because he has brought evil, sickness, catas-
776 trophe, or death.

The old god still exists, the Bushmen know him, but his presence is diffusing; he, the old power of evil, is becoming faint, his entity obscure.

821 In the west live the *kwa kwa kwara* (knee knee nothing),
716 the people with no knees. These people have no knee joints,
823 but must stand up always. At night when the sun sets, the people with no knees catch it and kill it, for the sun is meat. They put it in a pot, and when it is cooked they tell their children to run off and play, and when the children are gone the people with no knees eat it. When the children come back, the people with no knees pick their teeth and give what they remove to the children, and then the people with no knees take the shoulder blade of the sun and throw it back into the east again, where a new sun grows and rises in the morning. If a tall man throws it you are aware of nothing, but if a short man throws it you can hear it whirring overhead. We knew a Kung Bushman man who, said he, had been to the west and had visited the people with no knees. He had been very interested to see them and very curious to know how they slept at night, for he did not imagine that they could lie down, so when darkness came he had watched and waited, and, just as he had suspected, when they had finished the sun they did not lie down but leaned against forks of the trees, where they rested, propped.

● 825 In the north is a great river, the Okovango, and Bantu peo-
776 ple live there. In the south live the gemsbok people, who are not ordinary gemsbok but beings in gemsbok form. It was these beings who taught the Bushmen how to make ostrich-eggshell beads, for when making a bead the gemsbok people use their long horns to bore the hole in the center. The gemsbok people often wear strings of beads around their necks.

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The gemsbok people look just like gemsbok. When Bushmen 825 776
are hunting they must be very careful not to mistake these people for ordinary gemsbok, because if a hunter should shoot a gemsbok person even by accident he would get very sick and die. But such accidents are rare, for if a group of gemsbok people are out grazing and notice that a Bushman hunter is drawing his bow at them, they will say to him: "Do not shoot us, we are not gemsbok," and the hunter will naturally leave them alone.

Under the world is another world just like this one, with 772
trees and omarambas, hills and pans, a sun and a moon, Bushmen, Bantus, and Europeans just like the people here, and the bottom of our world is that world's sky. There is no other connection between our world and the lower world except possibly through certain deep waterholes, for it was through a waterhole that the great god climbed from that world when he first came here.

Over the world, of course, is the sky, and there is nothing 821
above that. The sun, which is not only meat but a death-giving agent because it burns the veld and dries up the waterholes, is a male, and the moon when it is full is female. A crescent moon, called *nui ma ze* (moon small new), is male, and so are the great destructive thunderheads that bring hailstorms or electric storms which break down dwellings and flatten the grass. The soft gray clouds that carry land rains which blow like mists into the plants of the veld and make them grow are female. The rain of male and female clouds is itself male or female, depending on the cloud's gender or on whether the rain is creative or destructive, but if you can't tell from the rain as it falls you can tell from its footprints, for male rain leaves sharp, pierced marks in the dust and female rain leaves wide, soft splashes. And as for the stars, they are called by some the eyes of dead people and by others are

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778 sure, was dead. At last a visitor came from her son's band
821 who assured her that her son was safe and well, and she knew then that the storm was not for his *now*, loose in the air, but possibly for the *now* of someone else, though when she heard the news it did not matter to her who might have died, for she was happy.

The effect of *now* is simple when a person dies, or when a person burns his hair or urinates to change the weather. With childbearing for women and with killing the great antelope
[825] for men (as the great antelope also have *now*, although the small ones do not) the *now* has a larger, more complex effect. In these cases the *now* of the hunter interacts with the *now* of the antelope, the *now* of the woman interacts with the *now* of the child newly born, and when the blood of the antelope falls upon the ground as the antelope is killed, when the fluid of the womb falls upon the ground at the child's birth, the interaction of *nows* takes place, and this brings a change in the weather. In this way a mother may bring rain or drought when she bears a child, a hunter may bring rain or drought when he kills an antelope, no matter what kind of *now* the mother or the hunter may have. The mother or the hunter can only watch the weather to see what has taken place.

Now is intangible, mystic, and diffuse, and Bushmen themselves do not fully understand its workings. They do not know how or why *now* changes weather but only that it does. They watch the changes carefully, though, and by observing have discovered the limits of their own *nows*. When the fluid from a mother's womb falls upon the ground the child's *now* is determined, and it is partly for this reason that birth is such a mighty thing.

844 Birth is usually joyous. Bushmen of all ages adore their children and grandchildren, placing a child's health and

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222the smoke had confused them and they did not sting, although they flew everywhere looking for us. The old man turned his back, hunched his head between his shoulders, and hid from them as one would hide if one were being pelted with stones. When the swarm had dispersed a little he finished the opening. The Bushmen say that when bees are disturbed they are vicious only at first. After a while they become disorganized and confused and they fly about but do not sting you. When you smoke bees you must be careful not [778 to burn them or smoke them too much because they are 825] magic creatures with medicine to control fire, and if you harm them they will cause fire to burn you. A young boy whom we knew once burned some bees, and that night, when he was asleep by the fire, the fire sought him out and burned the skin of his belly, touching him only and no one else.

Lazy Kwi and the old man did the work perfectly. They were not stung badly, the tree was open, and no bees were seriously harmed. Inside the tree we could see the brown combs hanging and the bees as thick as fur around them. Lazy Kwi took out the combs and put them in a wooden bowl, licking his fingers afterward, and before we went back we ate some of the honey. There were two kinds, old honey and new honey, and the new honey was pale yellow and very [262 sweet and mild, winter honey made from the small, dry flowers of the veld. The old honey was much sweeter and strong enough to burn your mouth. Before we left, the old man [515 and Lazy Kwi carefully wiped their hands and arms with grass, for they were covered with honey and things were beginning to stick to them. Then we went back to camp and in the afternoon we packed to go on toward Gautscha Pan.

415 Lazy Kwi packed a skin bag full of tsi nuts and the seeds 482 [222 of baobab fruit, alum-like powdery stones that ripen at the start of the dry season. The old man had a huge net bag filled

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the wind or passing feet had disarranged them; and the meat 224 159 that resulted from his prolific hunting was never wasted, for 151 he would bring other hunters to help him dry it, then carry it [251 476] off to a werf somewhere to share with others.

He knew the habits of animals from the ways of the largest 159 antelope all the way down to the smallest species of mice; in 825 fact, he must have known animals very well, for he could always find them. He knew when he was in danger and when he was safe, and he was as brave as he was careful. Once, Short 159 Kwi, John, and two other hunters were tracking a bull wilde- 224 beest that one of the hunters had shot. They came upon it 157 lying down, surrounded by a very large pride of lions. There were twenty or thirty lions in all, having got there first and claiming the wildebeest as their own, for the bushes were full of lions walking back and forth, watching several other lions brave the fallen wildebeest, still able to protect itself with its horns. The braver lions were standing near the wildebeest, obviously steeling themselves for the attack, when the hunters arrived. The Bushmen had followed the wildebeest's trail through thorns and over the parching desert and were not to be deprived, and, speaking softly to the lions, they said: "We know you are strong, Big Lions, we know you are brave, but this meat is ours and you must give it back to us."

Even after these words the lions did not give ground. Their round eyes watched the hunters and they began to growl, and the four men, quite unarmed except for their arrows and a spear (to use a spear would have been folly), said respectfully: "Great Lions, Old Lions, this meat belongs to us," and then advanced on the lions, throwing little stones and clods of dirt. The lions in the bushes began to back away, while the braver lions stood their ground until a clod struck one of them, causing him to huff and run back a little. At this, the courage of the other lions broke and they all turned and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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veld began to show, the women sang the sun-dance fully, a 535
song quite different from the others, very even, very simple, 533
steady, dignified, and grave.

The dawn wind lifted and blew away the smoke and dust and made the people shiver. The light showed the dancers moving stiffly, the singers hunched together for support and warmth, and revealed dusty, dirty faces and dirty teeth. Dust had made mud in the corners of our mouths and eyes.

Only about ten women were singing in the circle now, and they sat all together at one spot, leaving a lot of space around the fire; only four men danced and they moved slowly in their track, burdened by their rattles. They, too, stayed close together so that most of their huge track was bare.

When the sun was over the horizon the dance stopped. The women ended their song abruptly, stood up, shook the dust and straw from their clothing, and walked away. They did not speak to one another because they were tired. The men talked for a moment as they sat down, stretched, untied their rattles, before walking off two by two toward their werfs. Soon all that remained was the dance track, a deep circular rut in the ground, the big heap of dead white ashes, and the dusty bushes and trees.

The people who had been dancing during the night slept 513
all through the heat of the day and as the afternoon came, lying in the shade of trees and bushes. Flies buzzed over them, the afternoon shadows lengthened and the day cooled, and still they slept on.

When the light was red and the sun was almost setting, 481
the women began to stir, getting to their feet slowly, and then 825
alone or in twos and threes, followed by their children, walked down the path to the water, the last ones to leave

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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481 hurrying because one of the little boys had found a millipede
825 and was trotting behind them carrying it. Bushman women do not like millipedes; millipedes make them very nervous. Someone persuaded the child to drop it, which he did reluctantly. It was a giant, shiny black and a foot long, and it ran away with the front of its body in the air, its head bent like a curbed horse. The little boy watched it go.

515 The women walked through the acacia trees and reached the pan, the shining lake, red now with sunset, and even though the air was getting cool the children ran in the shallow water, splashing, the women crouched on the rocks to bathe. They took off their karosses and bathed their arms and legs and faces, washing all the dust away, then brushed their teeth with their fingers. Beautiful Ungka called for Little Dabe and hung her ornaments on him while she bathed. He ran through the water playing, splashing with the other children, quite unconscious of his gorgeous array. Beautiful Ungka was so supple that as she sat bathing she could lay her body down on the rocks between her raised knees, which she did to reach the water, saving herself the trouble of moving forward.

292 After they had bathed, the young girls made aloe circlets for their heads, red in the red light of the sky, and they seemed very innocent and beautiful, fresh and clean; they dressed themselves slowly as the sun went down, then walked into the water, where they danced, slowly, idly, kicking to make a rhythmic splash.

854 Little Dabe, on the shore now, found the rocks hard on his feet and began to wail, and all alone on top of the rocks, picking his feet up one after the other, he was like a peacock in his ornaments, with his complaining, raucous cry. Beauti-
854 ful Ungka carried him then, although she too was barefoot,
415 bouncing him up and down while the other women rinsed and filled their ostrich eggshells.

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had been robbing its hives of honey for years. Gao Feet said 222 that its hives were raided every few months or so and wondered if there would be any honey left for us. While pondering this question we stopped at the base of the tree and looked up, high above us, at a crack in its trunk where bees were flying, and in a moment, to my great surprise, the whole hive of them had poured down over our heads and were stinging us badly. We dropped everything that we carried and ran as fast as we could into the bushes, slapping wildly at ourselves, scattering in every direction, and each of us, as we reached thick bushes, hid in the branches, only to be routed out again by someone else pursued by bees, and in this way we were scattered further. Far from the hive though we were, the air around us was full of bees; they kept us hiding and cowering like jackals, peering out from under bushes, away from our water jars and ostrich eggs which we had dropped in our hurry, and they held us in this way for hours. We were tired 222 and wanted to go home, but we could not leave our water. I, 825 778 at least, was astonished that such a thing should have happened, but to the Bushmen it was no surprise. The bees, those magic, medicine creatures, were having their revenge. As a group, we were responsible for having killed the bees of another hive. The Bushmen were only surprised at themselves for not having foreseen the disaster.

In the middle of the afternoon my brother borrowed every- 222 body's clothing and, swathing himself in it while the lenders 271 crouched naked in the bushes, braved the swarm and retrieved our water. Then we went back toward Gautscha, pausing on the way to dig a water root which Lazy Kwi had known was there. The root was quite large, very wet, and though it was as puckery as alum it did quench thirst.

Late afternoon had come now, and I was so tired that I sat 000 down to lean against a bush, where I almost fell asleep. Toma

224 than to be squatting around the edges of the pans, making little guises with sticks and string into which guinea fowl invariably fall.

224 The technology of hunting is the most complex in !Kung culture, and
278 the most involved aspect of that technology is their amazing poison. Without it, the little unfeathered arrows, driven by a light bow, would be useless against big game. With the poison, a !Kung hunter could kill an elephant although, perhaps fortunately, for both, the two seldom encounter one another.

224 THERE are four kinds of poison—a
278 root (which is rarely used), two grubs and the pod of a tree. One of
● 825 the two kinds of grub is the larva of an unidentified beetle that lives in a bush; the other is the larva of a beetle that lives in certain Murula trees, identified as *Diamphidia sim-*

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plex. This identity, however, is complicated by the presence of still a third beetle, a parasitic one that apparently lives on the grubs of *Diamphidia simplex*, so that it is not now clear *which* is the poisonous grub. The Bushmen are aware of the parasite and feel that its grub does contain poison. They say it "runs around and runs away." They may be speaking of the beetle, for it is difficult to imagine a grub running, and the grub may be so similar to the young *Diamphidia* that the !Kung simply confuse the two. Lastly, still a fourth insect—smaller, and hairy—said to become easily inflamed, is occasionally encountered among the grubs. It is possible that this is the insect that has a poisonous larva: in any case, somewhere in the community is a poisonous grub, and how the Bushmen found it we have no idea.

Assuming *Diamphidia* to be the

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BAGS FOR FOOD, above, like eggshells for water, give !Kung some freedom in moving. Food may be brought to water or water carried far into the desert.

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poison-bearer, its cycle is somewhat as follows: the beetle lays its eggs in the Murula tree leaves. Hatching in the rains, the grubs migrate down the trunk, progressing through a number of growth stages. Finally, they make their cocoons under the ground near the tree. In these cocoons, they struggle through metamorphosis and emerge as small, bravely-colored beetles at the New Year's rains, providing the Bushmen have not already dug them up. The hunters know the particular trees frequented by the beetles and make expeditions to them at least twice a year to replenish their supply. Then the grubs are dug up, and used on the spot or kept in their cocoons, depending on the man's needs.

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The poisoning of !Kung arrows is a long process, with a number of variations. The most common poison is a mixture of the grub and the previously mentioned tree-pod. The grubs are crushed and the pod is warmed until its contents melt slightly and can be crushed with the grubs. This mixture is thinned with the copious spit which results from chewing any of a variety of barks and is then smeared on the foreshaft of the arrow—but cleaned immaculately off

[p. 53]

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821 them or seek to gain beneficent influence from them. As far as we know they do not pray to them for food as the Cape Bushmen are said once to have done, or for rain as the Naron and Auen and /O /Kung do.[1]

The /Kung beliefs about rain, which I do not describe in detail in this paper, include the idea that rain is life-giving and makes the food plants and other vegetation grow, whereas the sun is death-giving. The /Kung do not now formally personify or deify rain or worship it, but may retain a vestige of an ancient personification of rain in praying to it, in a manner of speaking, as they also do to lightning. 'Fall silently, rain. Do not make such a noise. Do not be dangerous', they say. Or, to lightning, 'Do not come against me. Go to the other side.'

825 The /Kung do not attribute divinity to the mantis but, in calling it 'the servant of *//Gamwa*', perhaps they preserve a vestige or an echo of the Cape Bushman belief in *//kaggen*. If they injure a mantis which is walking on them or throw one into the fire, [753] '*//Gamwa* would see this and say that his servant was being ill treated and would punish the person. He would make the person sick'. Mantises are *chi dole* (*chi*, thing; *dole*, bad) not because they harm you—they only prick and tickle you—but because they belong to *//Gamwa* and people are afraid of the 'owner'. The old people told them these things. We saw the /Kung hold mantises, however, without exhibiting fear or the uncanny fascinated feeling I had when I watched them (especially the huge female who lived with me, with her consort seemingly permanently attached to her, and fascinated me by never seeming to take her eyes off me as she made her slow and stately progress around the tent at night).

The /Kung react in quite a different way to millepedes. They say there are two kinds. The large one they call *ko ko chi nabe*; the small one they call *choba* or *zoba*. One day a boy picked up a millepede and threw it toward a group of women. They jumped up and fled, shrieking. Talking about it afterwards, they explained that 'even men are afraid of millepedes'. (We observed several incidents of people jump- [753] ing and running from them.) They are very dangerous, the /Kung say. If one gets on you, the shock of fright you feel could kill you. 'Millepedes work with *//Gamwa*. He sends them to eat your nose when you are asleep.' If you put a *choba* in the fire when the *n/i* berries (*Grewia flava* D.C.) are still green, the berries will not ripen [278] properly and will not be sweet. If the /Kung find the ash of a millepede which has been burned in a veld fire and has kept its shape, they take the ash for a medicine. (Cf. Schapera's account that among the Naron and Auen 'the millipede, said to belong to *Hishe*, is only touched by them [magicians]; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine.'[2])

774 The /Kung do not believe that animals have spirits or souls or that earthly objects 825 (such as trees or water, for example) are entered by spirits or are themselves animated by having spirits of their own.

787 Divination is a secular practice among the /Kung. The oracle disks may be thrown and read by any man. They are five leather disks about two-and-a-half to three inches in diameter. The man who throws them gathers them into his cupped hands, flings them with a spreading motion on to a kaross on the ground, and reads what they reveal or predict. Different personifications are attributed to the disks, according to what the people want to learn from them. If advice about a hunt is wanted, the

[1] Schapera, op. cit., pp. 12[illegible]. [2] Ibid., p. 197.

775 and they have a respectful term, */airisi*, to use if they wish to show deference and be ingratiating. Actually the /Kung seemed to speak of the *//gauwasi* quite often and much less reluctantly than they spoke of the gods. I did not happen to hear them use */airisi* except when they were telling me the term.

775 The *//gauwasi* move about in the sky or on earth. All over the sky fine cords are
772 stretched, like the strands of a spider's web, invisible to us but strong. The *//gauwasi* move on these cords and can go anywhere. They descend to earth on one which hangs down from the sky, the one by which the medicine men climb up when they go to see *//Gauwa* in the western sky.

775 The idea that the stars are the eyes of the dead, which some Bushmen believe, is
772 not held by the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Some informants had heard that other people
821 believed this. Lazy /Qui said he did not know; certainly enough people had died to account for there being so many stars. Others said stars are just stars there in the sky. Although they have names for several of them and stories about some, they do not know what substances stars are made of or what their nature is.

775 The /Kung associate falling stars with death. They do not believe that they are
[761 spirits of the dead but that they fall to earth and become insects which are colloquially called 'ant lions' (*Myrmeleonidae*, in the order of Neuroptera). These insects
825 are common in the region. In the larval state they live in holes in the ground where one can see them spurting out grains of earth or sand. They devour ants. The /Kung believe that the bite of a fallen star may cause you to die the next day but that, if the star likes you and wishes to spare you, its bite will do you no harm. The old people have said so. *≠Gaolna* has no particular association with ant lions other than being the creator and controller of all things.

The spirits of dead persons are transmuted into *//gauwasi* by *≠Gaolna* in the east. When a person dies, *//gauwasi* come soon to take his spirit. The children of the gods are sometimes the ones who come, we were told, but any of the *//gauwasi* may do so, either ancestors of the dead person or non-related spirits.

[774 The *//gauwasi* pull the spirit out through the head of the corpse. The head is, likewise, the egress of the spirits of the medicine men. When the medicine men are in trance,
[787 which the /Kung call half-death, their spirits go out temporarily from their bodies through their heads to encounter and combat *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*, who lurk in the shadows around the dance fire, and it is through the heads that the spirits return.

[775 The spirit which the *//gauwasi* take from the corpse is distinct from life. The /Kung believe that life, *≠toa*, is inside the body of a person or animal, that it is put there and held there by the creator. It exists in all the vital organs in the abdomen, in blood, in the heart, lungs, throat, and mouth, and is everywhere in the head. It does not exist in the arms and legs, the /Kung believe, because they know that human beings and animals can be wounded in a limb or even lose one and not die, whereas a wound in the vital parts is likely to kill. Life dies in the body and stays there—dead, as the
[774 body itself is there but dead. It is the spirit which does not die. The only word I know for spirit is *//gauwa*. The spirit is like air. It cannot be seen and cannot be kept by mortals. The *//gauwasi* take it and they take the heart and blood of the person as well. These the *//gauwasi* carry first into the western sky, to the place where *//Gauwa* lives, but they do not leave them with him. They carry them further, around by the south to the east, to the place where *≠Gaolna*, the great creator, lives.

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The great creator receives the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person and 775
turns these elements into a *//gauwa*. To do this he makes a fire under the tree which 776
grows in his werf, the tree for which we know no name. He puts a pot on the fire, and in this he boils medicines. Only he has these particular medicines. Men do not know their names. *≠Gao/na* then hangs the spirit, heart, and blood of the dead person in the tree. The tree itself is medicine. That is why the people fear it and why *≠Gao/na* hangs the spirits in it. The medicine smoke rises and blows around the dead person's spirit, heart, and blood, and they are transmuted into a *//gauwa*. *≠Gao/na* then smears the *//gauwa* with fat. This fat is not from an animal; it belongs only to *≠Gao/na* and is called */tkoo*. *≠Gao/na* then takes the *//gauwa* to live with him in his hou

The *//gauwasi* have bodies which resemble those they had on earth except for their 775
hair. We were told that their hair is changed from the Bushman's spirals to *≠Gao/na*'s [756]
hair, which is long, like a European's, but as black as a Bushman's. Only medicine men who have full medicine see the *//gauwasi*.

The *//gauwasi* eat food. As I understand it, they, like *≠Gao/na* and *//Gauwa*, eat the same foods that mortals eat, meat and veldkos, but they have their own supplies. They also are very fond of honey. They are said on occasion also to steal the veldkos of human beings from the places where they grow, and they sometimes change [825] ●
themselves into birds—not vultures, but smaller birds called */gwara*—and in this form come into the werf and eat the people's meat right where it hangs in the branches beside the scherms. The *//gauwasi* have their own implements, weapons, karosses, &c. They want nothing from men and there is no point in offering them things. [782]

≠Gao/na gives the *//gauwasi* everlasting life. They grow older but, before they are very old, he rejuvenates them. He has a medicine for this which he does not give to men. Children who die remain children.

//Gauwasi keep their own spouses if they wish, and they live together but do not beget children. No great point was made of this. It was interesting to learn that, if [761]
a *//gauwa* tires of his wife and wants another, he may kill a living woman who attracts him, so, if a beautiful woman dies, one who is fresh and clean and wears fine ornaments, one could suspect that some *//gauwa* has taken her for himself. And a strong young hunter might be killed by a female *//gauwa* who wanted him. In spite of the power and dominance of the gods, the *//gauwasi* take things into their own hands sometimes.

No distinction is made between a good and a bad person when he dies. All go to the great god in the east and all become *//gauwasi* without differentiation in status or function. With the exception of suicide, no distinction is made either between a good [762]
and a bad death, such as is reported by Fourie of the Auen, according to Schapera: 'People who die a "good death" are said to go to */khutsi*, those dying a "bad death" to *Gaus*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress.'[1] Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung suicides are said to stay with *//Gauwa* in the west. Burial also has no effect upon the status in the after-life—whether a person is buried properly bound in a deep round grave, or scratched into a shallow trench, or not buried at all and eaten by beasts.

The beliefs which we associate with ghosts—the haunting of graves or certain other places, appearing as spectres to persons, &c.—are not highly developed among the /Kung but are not entirely lacking. Three stories of *//gauwasi* haunting graves came

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 168.

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136 of animals named and known by the Dobe area Bushmen. Of
[126] these 420 species, 350 species were collected and identified
433 by the author. Two-thirds of the plant species and half of
824 the animal species are utilized by the Bushmen. Of these,
825 they classify 85 species of plants and 54 species of animals as edible. It is therefore evident that the Bushmen have a remarkably broad subsistence base. On closer examination, however, one finds that the Bushmen are highly selective in their food habits. In fact, only nine species of plants constituted about three-quarters of the total vegetable diet; and one species alone, the mongongo nut, accounted for at least half of the total. Furthermore, of the 54 animal species eaten, only 17 species were consistently hunted.

824 A plant species may be regarded by the Bushmen as a
262 major food for one or more of several reasons. Certain foods are prized because of their abundance or because of the long season during which they are available. Other foods are prized because of the ease with which they are collected. For this reason fruits are generally more popular than roots since the latter have to be dug out of the ground. Then there are foods which are especially good tasting and/or believed to be highly nutritious. The various plant foods are evaluated pragmatically and rationally and few species
825 are restricted by magico-religious taboos. This is in sharp
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262 contrast to the evaluation of animal foods all of which fall under taboos of varying strictness.

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262 By using these criteria of abundance, duration of eating season, ease of exploitation, tastiness and nutritional value, the Bushmen have arranged the universe of edible plants hierarchically in terms of the overall desirability of each species as food.

This scheme divides the 85 edible species into six classes:

I.	Primary	1 species
II.	Major	8 spp.
III.	Minor	14 spp.
IV.	Supplementary	32 spp.
V.	Rare	13 spp.
VI.	Problematic	17 spp.
TOTAL		85 species

I. Primary food - All Bushmen of the Dobe area agree that their primary food is the nut of the mongongo (mangetti) tree: Ricinodendron rautanenii. This food rates high on all the criteria of desirability described above. It is superabundant (millions of nuts rot on the ground each year for want of eating); it is eaten in all months of the year; it is easy to collect, has a delicious taste, and is highly

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262 dimension in which the gatherers move farther and farther in order to eat the desirable foods, and a hierarchical dimension in which people remain in one area and eat their way through classes of species of decreasing desirability.

136 Animal Resources

The 223 known species of animals in the Dobe area are divided taxonomically as follows:

mammals	42 spp.
birds	75 spp.
reptiles and amphibians	24 spp.
invertebrates	82 spp.
TOTAL	223 spp.

262 Mammals - The mammals represent the highest percentage of
825 animal biomass in the Dobe area and it is not surprising that the meat of mammals accounts for over 90% of the animal diet of the Bushmen. In all, 29 of the 42 mammal species are known to be eaten by the Bushmen and only seven mammal species are universally tabooed as food.

Personal, age specific, and sex specific taboos play an important role in the eating of mammals. No individual Bushman will eat all of the 29 eaten species and no two individuals have the same set of tabooed species. Each person has his own prescription of what species he may and may not eat. The mammals can be divided into seven degrees of taboos.

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First, there are nine species which are eaten by all people regardless of sex and age, although there are restrictions on the anatomical parts. For instance, women may not eat kudu intestines, but may eat the meat of the extremities. This class of animals includes:

giraffe	hartebeeste
eland	kudu
roan antelope	duiker
gemsbok	hare
wildebeeste	

A second group of species may be eaten by all except premenstrual adolescent girls. The mammals include:

steenbok	springhare

Third are the species that are eaten by most people. Individuals may not eat one or another of these species because of personal dietary restrictions set by the ritual curers:

wart hog	porcupine
buffalo	bat-eared fox
antbear	pangolin

Fourth are species that are eaten by a few people of both sexes and are avoided by most people:

genet	slender mongoose
honey badger	banded mongoose
aardwolf	cheetah

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Fifth are species that are eaten only by old women for whom the food taboos of adult life have been lifted:

lion	caracul
leopard	zebra
jackal	

Sixth is a species that is eaten only by ritual curers for magical purposes:

cape polecat (zorilla)

Finally there are seven species that are universally tabooed. These include the carnivorous species that are said to eat people:

spotted hyena	brown hyena
wild dog	wild cat

as well as three species of primates that the Bushmen say are close relatives of man:

vervet monkey	baboon
galago	

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The small mammals, such as rodents, bats, and squirrels, are not hunted or eaten. The Bushmen said that no taboos were associated with these species. However, these species were not worth killing because each carried only a few ounces of meat. Occasionally squirrels that are found dead or accidentally caught in snares are fed to the dogs.

The important point in terms of food resources is that

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262 all hunters may hunt every species regardless of whether a
224 given species is personally tabooed.

In actual practice only ten species of mammal were consistently hunted by the Dobe area Bushmen. These are: kudu, wildebeeste, gemsbok, steenbok, duiker, wart hog, antbear, porcupine, springhare, and common hare.

In addition to the above a further ten species were observed to be occasionally killed and eaten. These include:

pangolin	bat-eared fox
genet	honey badger
aardwolf	cheetah
slender mongoose	jackal
caracul	cape polecat

825 The Bushmen generally consider the meat of herbivorous
262 mammals as the most desirable food. The meat of insectivorous mammals such as antbear, pangolin and bat-eared fox is less highly prized. The meat of carnivores is generally undesirable but nevertheless eaten by at least some people, when it is available. At the bottom of the list of preferences is the meat of hyena and wild dog. The Bushman explanation is that since these species eat people, to eat their meat is indirectly an act of cannibalism.

[224] There is evidence of regional and historical variation in the species systematically hunted by the !Kung of the

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central interior. John Marshall found that most of the meat brought in by the Nyae Nyae area hunters was from the large ungulates such as wildebeeste, eland and gemsbok. Small mammals such as springhare were rarely hunted (1957, and personal communication). By contrast, the most frequent kills in the Dobe area were the smaller animals: springhare, steenbok and duiker, whereas the killing of a large antelope was a rare and great event. Giraffe and eland were not hunted by the men of the Dobe area.

[173] The older Bushmen state that in the early days there were more game animals and more Bushmen in the central interior and that their forefathers used to hunt in large groups, killing giraffe, buffalo and even elephant.

At present, the most important single source of meat in the Bushman diet is wart hog. It was not the most frequent mammal killed. Springhare, steenbok and duiker were all killed more frequently than wart hog. But the southern African wart hog weighs about 170 lbs., whereas the springhare weighs only 7-1/2 lbs, the steenbok, 25 lbs., and the duiker 43 lbs. At the Dobe camp wart hog were killed at the rate of three per month throughout the study period. The edible portion of each carcass is about 50%. Therefore wart hog provided a regular supply of c. 255 lbs. of meat per month to the members of the Dobe camp.

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Steenbok and duiker were the next in importance because of the frequency with which they were killed, especially during the winter when they were systematically trapped and during late spring when the young could be easily run down on foot.

Springhare were the most frequent animal killed. The 7-1/2 lb. carcass has a high percentage of edible meat (60%) and the killing rate in some seasons was as high as 10 per week.

It is difficult to evaluate the large antelopes, kudu, wildebeeste, and gemsbok in terms of their dietary importance because they were rarely killed. A hunter who had killed five large antelopes in a year was considered to be above average. Most of the hunters killed one or two per year, Even a single kill, however, provides a massive return in meat. The average dead weights[1] of these species are:

kudu (M)	600 lbs.
kudu (F)	350 lbs.
gemsbok (M)	444 lbs.
gemsbok (F)	514 lbs.
wildebeeste (M)	550 lbs.
wildebeeste (F)	450 lbs.

[1]All the mammal weights quoted in this study were provided by Reay Smithers (personal communications).

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224 By killing one male kudu (600 lbs.) with a weight 24 times greater than that of a steenbok (25 lbs.) a hunter would provide his camp with a quantity of meat roughly equivalent to that provided by 20 steenbok (assuming that the kudu has a somewhat lower ratio of edible to inedible parts than does a steenbok).

[628] On the face of it, hunting large antelope would appear to have overwhelming advantages in terms of meat. However, when news of such a kill reaches neighboring camps, dozens of friends and relatives descend upon the killer's camp to assist him in disposing of the meat. Thus at the end of several jovial days the superabundance of meat disappears and the fortunate hunter is out looking for meat again. The killing of a large antelope therefore has more prestige value than nutritional value to the family of the man who killed it.

This pattern of sharing large kills beyond the boundaries of a camp is ecologically adaptive because meat spoils quickly, especially during the rainy season and it is often necessary to eat meat that is in danger of becoming rotten.

825 The Bushmen know how to make biltong (dried strips of meat)
262 but rarely do this. This infrequency of making biltong is
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251 probably both a cause and an effect of sharing meat widely. The only part of a large antelope kill that is consistently set aside for future consumption is the hide. This part of

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262 the animal evidently has much better storage properties than
224 the flesh.
[251]

In general, the larger the animal killed, the more widely its meat is shared. The meat of springhare, hare, steenbok, and duiker is usually consumed by the hunter's immediate family. The meat of wart hog, antbear and porcupine is
[628] shared out among the members of a hunter's camp. The meat of kudu, wildebeeste and gemsbok is shared out among the hunter's camp and among members of neighboring camps.

825 <u>Birds</u> - The eating of birds again illustrates the selective
262 food tastes of the Bushmen. Of the 75 species of birds
223 recorded only eight species were said to be eaten and of these only four species were observed to be systematically hunted. The four important game birds were:

crowned quinea fowl	red-billed francolin
Swainson's francolin	red-crested korhaan

The other birds eaten were:

Kori bustard	double-banded sandgrouse
Cape turtledove	red-billed teal

Snares were regularly set in order to capture guinea fowl, francolin and korhaan. Occasionally other birds triggered the snares. Usually these other species were fed to the dogs. Occasionally they were simply discarded.

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262 Only the eggs of the above eight species appeared to be
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gathered and eaten. With one exception all other birds eggs were ignored. The exception was the ostrich eggs which were highly prized as water containers and as material for making ostrich egg shell beads.

Reptiles and Amphibians

Only four species of reptile - two tortoises, one leguaan, and the rock python - were regarded by the Bushmen as edible. One species of frog, Pixiecephalus sp. was regarded as edible. Of these five species, the large leopard tortoise (Geochelone pardalis) is the most important food. These tortoises weigh 5-8 pounds. They are sluggish and easily collected. For this reason, the tortoises were the only species of vertebrate that were collected by the women. All other vertebrates were the exclusive concern of the men.

The rock python, a large non-poisonous snake, was regularly collected by the men. This provided c. 25 lbs. of meat per specimen. The pythons collected varied in length from 8-15 feet. The other three species were rarely observed to be eaten.

Invertebrates

Insects have traditionally been considered by ethnographers to be a major Bushman food (Bodenheimer 1951:137-195). However, among the Bushmen of the Dobe area insects played a minor role in the diet. One species of antlion and three

222 262 [825] species of beetles were observed to be eaten. Termites and locusts were not eaten. Honey is highly regarded as food by the Bushmen, and the hunters often investigated bees nests but honey was never observed to be eaten at the Dobe camp and only rarely at other camps.

262 824 825 In summary the plant and animal resources of the Dobe area include 85 plant and 54 animal species which are eaten. Closer examination reveals that only a small number of these edible species play a major role in the diet. Only 26 of the 139 edible species may be considered as major Bushman foods: 9 species of plants and 17 species of animals.

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exchanged from hut to hut, the women going to one hut, the men to another, and so on. Only the owners sit in a hut, while the visitors gather round the fire outside. The little children play about everywhere, the bigger boys and girls by themselves. There is no fixed time for going to sleep. As a rule the people turn in to bed fairly early, but if it is a fine evening dancing may be started and kept up till late, everybody taking part except the old people and the little children.[1]

Food and Fire

The Bushmen will eat almost anything that can be eaten. Of animal foods the favourite is game of all kinds, when it can be obtained, and they are also very fond of hare, spring hare, guinea fowl, korhaan, partridge, ostrich, and other birds, as well as birds' eggs. Fish too are eaten wherever they can be caught, and among the Bushmen of the Okavango swamps are a staple article of diet. Anteaters, ant bears, tortoises, porcupines, bull frogs, snakes, and lizards are greatly relished, while among insects locusts, scorpions, beetles, young bees and honey, termites, flying ants and ants' eggs are also eaten. In fact all kinds of living animals are made use of as food, with the almost universal exception of the baboon and the hyena—the former "on account of its being so like a man", the latter "because it eats human corpses".

The most important vegetable foods in the Southern and Central Kalahari are the *tsama* (*Citrullus vulgaris*), "uintjies" (*Cyperus edulis Dtr.*), *Grewia* berries, and the *||noun* (*Bauhinea esculenta*); in the Namib the *!naras* fruit (*Acanthosicyos horrida Welw.*) forms almost the sole article of diet when in season; while as one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, such as the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuande, and omuve. In addition numerous other varieties of edible roots, berries, cucumbers, tubers, melons, and ground nuts appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season, when they form the principal part of the daily menu.[2]

Much of the food is eaten raw, but the Bushmen know how to prepare and cook it. Each family prepares its own food. Cooking

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 32; Fourie, "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 88.

[2] Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 54 sqq.; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 234–5; Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 659 sqq.; Passarge, op. cit., 44 sqq.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 139–40, 144 sqq.; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 253–5; Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 114 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 6–7; Fourie, op. cit., 98 sq.

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lighting a new fire at the next encampment, although this is a practice which, as we have just seen, Fourie explicitly denies for the Heikum. 372 622 [114]

There is no indication at all in the available literature that similar usages relating to fire are found among the rest of the Bushmen, nor is there any further evidence of their occurrence among the tribes mentioned above. On the other hand the sacred fire also plays a very conspicuous part in the social and ritual life of the OvaHerero, OvaMbo, and Bergdama, all of them close neighbours of the Bushmen tribes among whom it is found, and with the last two of whom the Heikum at least have intermixed considerably. It is probable therefore that the special observances relating to fire among the Heikum and the Kung may represent borrowed elements of culture; but much fuller information is needed about them before this can be definitely asserted. Whatever their origin, however, these usages now obviously play an important part in the social life of the people. In particular, the fact that at the present time the chief of the band has certain exclusive functions in connection with fire is of outstanding significance in the whole sphere of public life, and one which cannot be dismissed merely because it may be due to the effects of contact with other peoples. To this point we shall have to return when discussing the political institutions of the Bushmen. [184] 171 372 [177] [622]

Special Usages relating to Food

There is not much information available about food taboos, but it appears that, in some of the tribes at least, certain foods are forbidden to persons at different stages of life. In the texts obtained by Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen there are preserved the details of some of the food taboos prevalent among this people. Thus little children were not allowed to eat the heart of the jackal (on account of this animal's great timidity), certain portions of the ostrich, or the tip of the springbok's tail; a menstruating girl might not eat game killed by the young men, lest she bring them ill luck—she had to eat only game taken by her father; a certain kind of tortoise was forbidden to young unmarried men and women, for fear of arousing the wrath of the rain; women were not allowed to eat the flesh of the lynx; the tail of the porcupine was forbidden to certain (unspecified) persons; while all refrained from eating a certain small portion of the flesh of the hare.[1] The published information relating 262 825 [841] [821] 262 [114]

[1] L. C. Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, cf. references in Index, s.v. "Food—not to be eaten."

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262 to these taboos is unfortunately so fragmentary that little can be
[114] gathered of the ideas underlying them. Several of them are
undoubtedly connected with wider ritual observances, e.g. the taboo
[821] imposed on menstruating girls, and again that associated with a
[821] certain belief about the rain; but of the others no full explanation is
[773] available, although the taboo on the portion of the hare may possibly
[761] be linked up with the Bushman myth of the origin of death, in which
the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the
[825] promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon.

Among the Naron, again, "It does not seem," says Miss Bleek,[1] "as if many taboos in the food line still existed. Paauw meat and ostrich eggs are chiefly given to old men as the greatest delicacies. Some say young children, or girls till they have had their first baby, are not to eat steenbok, lest they remain small, but others tell me that all meat is eaten by everyone. Honey touched by a baboon must not be eaten, or you will die." Among the Auen, young girls and boys apparently may not eat game at all, otherwise they will remain thin; while water
[841] and food collected by a menstruating woman may be partaken of only by herself and old people—it "makes others weak".[2]

About the Heikum we have far more information on this point,
224 thanks to the excellent description given by Fourie of certain
[114] of their hunting observances.[3] The details he gives throw such a wealth of new light upon this aspect of Bushman life that they may be quoted in full. "After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *//gaus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals.
224 The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout
252 for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is
[462] skinned by the men. The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the
[281] purpose, is cut into sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is
then removed to the *//gaus* by the men who may occasionally be
[462] assisted by the women. On arrival at the *//gaus* all the meat is laid

[1] *The Naron*, 7.
[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140, 157.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 100–2; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 54–6.

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again; being, on the first occasion, allowed to look afar over her 881
mother's hand. She leaves the small hut, when allowed to look about and around again; and she then walks about like the other women. During the time she is in retreat, she must not look at the [825]
springbok, lest they become wild."[1] She was not allowed to eat game killed by the young men, but only that which her father had shot; and, above all, she was not to look upon or be approached by men lest harm come to both them and herself. There are several legends [773]
describing how men who were looked upon by a girl at this time became fixed in whatever position they then occupied, or even became transformed into stones, or stars in the sky, or trees which talked; while girls who were disobedient became converted into frogs or were carried off to death by the rain.[2]

Further north, in some of the North-Western tribes (Naron, Auen, Kung), the central feature of the girls' puberty ceremony is the eland bull dance, which is held in the girl's honour.[3] As soon as she has her first period, neighbours and friends assemble to a big feast given by her parents. By day she is kept in a special hut, tended by women only, and no man may come near her; while every night until her 535
period has passed the eland bull dance is performed. All the men 881
and boys leave the camp, save two old men, who tie elands' horns or wooden imitations thereof to their heads, and wait in the bushes. The older women stand in a line, singing and clapping their hands. The girl is brought from her hut, and sits or lies on the ground by them. The younger women then circle round before them, or make a figure of eight. They dance with their arms outstretched before them, and have a peculiar slow, swaying step. As they dance they lift their karosses and aprons to one side, and expose their buttocks, which they waggle from side to side. Then the two "bulls" stamp up, holding their karosses pulled well down over their shoulders, and presenting a hunched-up appearance. They join the line of dancers, sometimes leading it, sometimes in the middle of it, and dance with a slow, jogging step. The song accompanying their movements is full and low in tune, but without words. The motif of this dance clearly is the courtship of the eland bull, and although as seen by Passarge and Miss Bleek it was kept within bounds, they [831]
say that it can easily become indecent.

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 76-7.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10, 14, 18; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 10.
[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101-3; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157-8; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23.

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out by the hunter, who, however, keeps the skin, sinews, etc., for himself. 224

The Cape Bushmen occasionally dressed themselves up in the skin of an animal or in the feathers of an ostrich in order to approach the game unsuspected. A kind of saddle made of grass in which were stuck ostrich feathers was placed on the shoulders, while a long stick with the head curved to look like an ostrich was carried in the hand. The hunter by imitating the motions of the bird feeding, running or preening its feathers contrived to get as close to the flock as possible, always moving up wind, before discharging his poisoned arrow. In a well-known rock painting from Herschel reproduced by Stow[1] there is portrayed such a scene, in which the hunter is shown under the feathers of an ostrich, cautiously approaching, with poised arrow, a number of real ostriches who are feeding peacefully close by. Similar disguises are employed by the Namib Bushmen, but appear to be generally unknown among the tribes further north, although the ostrich disguise is reported by Dornan of the Hiechware and on hearsay by Kaufmann of the Auen. Various other ruses are known, however. Some men are very clever at imitating the calls of various birds and animals and by this means get quite close and thus secure their quarry. Again, "in the season when the young animals are not able to follow their dams, they are hidden by the mothers, who feed in the vicinity. The Bushmen having found where a young one is hidden, will go close up to it and imitate its cry. The mother, hearing the cry and thinking that some wild animal has attacked her calf, immediately rushes up to protect it, and is easily killed. Numbers of animals, more especially the smaller buck, are destroyed in this manner."[2] 223 825 [292] [532] [184] 224 825

Almost every Bushman village has also a large number of dogs which accompany their masters on the hunt.[3] These are the only domestic animals possessed by the Bushmen. They are lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half-starved and savage-tempered. They are quite silent on the spoor and never betray the presence of the hunters by barking, though they will snarl and sometimes bark if one approaches an encampment. "It is really wonderful," says Herbst, "with what courage these lean mongrels will tackle a leopard, a courage no doubt begotten of hunger and an absolute confidence in their masters, who, with their knobkerries, are never far behind so 224 [231]

[1] Stow, op. cit., pl. vii, facing p. 82.
[2] Dornan, op. cit., 105; cf. Kaufmann, op. cit., 146.
[3] Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, ii, 262–3; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 375; Herbst, *Report on Riietfontein Area*, 6; Range, *Beiträge zur Landeskunde des Namalandes*, 73; Schultze, op. cit., 667; Dornan, op. cit., 103–4; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 16.

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226 more important as a mode of subsistence than hunting.[1] It[2] is also
[462] the work of the men. Among the Cape Bushmen, especially those
living along the banks of the Orange River, the principal method
[227] employed lay in the use of funnel-shaped traps of closely woven reeds,
about 3 feet long and 18 inches to 2 feet wide, narrowing towards the
mouth. These traps were stretched across the stream in a shallow
part, and while some men stood waiting behind them, others waded
up stream from a point below and drove the fish before them to the
reed traps, where they were then caught and thrown on shore.

In the Okavango basin this method is also used, but there is a variety
of others as well. Sometimes the fish in the lakes and rivers are speared
[177] from flat-bottomed boats, probably adopted from the MaMbukushu
[501] and MaKoba of the same region. Sometimes, again, small stone dams
are built from each bank so as to run out into the river in a slanting
direction, leaving a narrow opening in which is placed the reed trap.
The fish are either swept into these traps by the force of the current,
or are driven in by the Bushmen themselves. Or, again, reed fences
or stone dams are built straight across the beds of the dry courses
into which the river overflows at times of flood. When the flood has
reached its highest level, and the water begins to sink, the retreat of
the fish carried along into these courses is cut off, so that they are
easily caught.

Special Hunting Observances

224 The method of hunting by pursuit and the use of weapons is
304 surrounded by all the Bushmen with various special usages and
beliefs. Charms to ensure good luck in the chase are found among
them all. With the North-Western tribes these most commonly take
the form of scarifications serving to endow the hunter with the
qualities of certain animals and enabling him to hunt them successfully.
The cuts are made as a rule on the arms, sometimes on the cheeks,
occasionally also on the back, chest, or belly. A tiny piece of meat is
then burned to ashes, which are rubbed into the wounds. The meat
[825] is that of an animal whose qualities are specially desirable, e.g. that
of the springbok for swiftness. These cuts are usually given to boys
soon after they begin to hunt, and are executed by old men who are
themselves successful hunters. The cuts made between the eyebrows

[1] Barrow, op. cit., i, 290, 300; Lichtenstein, op. cit., ii, 44; Alexander, op. cit., i, 237; Passarge, "Okawangoumpfland," 697–8; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296; Dornan, op. cit., 106–9.

[2] [i.e., fishing.—Analyst]

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764 is a deep hole, narrowing towards the top; its bottom is covered with small bushes, the corpse, wrapped up in its kaross, is laid upon these, then covered over with bushes, upon which finally small white stones are heaped till ground-level is reached. The surface of the [825] grave, like the corpse itself, is sprinkled with water mixed with vegetable "medicine"; this, says Seydel, is intended to keep jackals [766] and hyenas from the grave. Children are buried in the same manner, but the ceremony is simpler, only the nearest relatives accompanying the corpse to the grave.[1] Trenk gives some additional details. [775] The thickened sap of a certain small bush (*dawes*) is placed in the hands of the dead person, so that "his soul, when it reaches the 'evil spirit', may not do harm to other people, and will find rich [535] food in its other existence". At the funeral a fire is lit at the grave, round which is then held a dance accompanied by a funeral song; 765 and all the women must weep for a day. A funeral feast follows, in which honey beer plays no small part. A widow as a sign of [273] mourning cuts a round spot out of the hair over her forehead, a widower a parting directly over the middle of the head. How long the mourning lasts is not clearly stated, but, as we have already noted, a full season must elapse before the surviving partner may remarry.[2]

764 Among the Naron, as soon as a person has died those present [763] raise a short, very distinct cry which lets the whole camp know of the death. The body, wrapped up in the kaross worn by the dead person in life, is brought into a contracted position, the knees being bent up against the chest, the arms crossed and the hands laid on the shoulders, and is tied up like this with rope for purposes of transport. It is then laid near the fire, while the women howl and weep over it. Burial takes place as soon as possible after death. If this occurs at night, then on the following day; if in the morning, then on the same day. The grave is a deep, round hole, dug with the hands and digging-stick at a spot where the soil is not hard. Two or three men carry the body there, a man jumps in, receives it as it is lowered down by the ropes, and places it lying on the left side facing the east. Why this position is customary they do not know. The dead are buried in all their clothes and ornaments, and all their possessions are placed in the grave, or if too long, as in the case of a bow or spear, are hung on a bush close by. Then the grave is filled, and bushes or stones are thrown on top to keep the animals off. All the village [765] is present, and the women weep. Next day a near relative burns

[1] "Aus der Namib," 304. [2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

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heads, beset the entire distance with all kinds of imaginary obstacles 775
and difficulties; and even after all their labour on arriving at the desired destination they will have nothing but flies to live upon." This belief that after a time the dead arise and go to a land where there is an abundance of good food is likewise recorded by Campbell [114]
and by Miss Currle, neither of whom, however, is a specially trustworthy authority. The Bushman informants of Dr. Bleek also spoke of "the place to which the Bushmen go after death", but unfortunately the details given by them have not yet been published. We are unable, therefore, to tell if their ideas of a future life were in any way similar to those reported by Stow and the other writers.[1]

On the other hand, these Bushman informants also had a variety 821
of interesting beliefs linking up death with the phenomena of Nature. 761
The stars, they said, know the time when a Bushman dies, and the 775
fall of one announces, to those who are not aware of it, that something bad has happened. When, after this, a "hammerkop" (*Scopus umbretta*, the "lightning bird" of other South African tribes) flies, [825]
calling out, over the camp, the people know that someone belonging to them has died. When rain is accompanied by lightning, girls who are out in the open become killed by the lightning and are converted into stars, while those who are taken away by the rain become [824]
beautiful water-flowers, which will not allow themselves to be plucked and disappear when approached. Such flowers must be let alone. Hence the rule that young unmarried women and girls must hide themselves from the rain. The Moon, again, is hollow (in its first quarter) because it is carrying people who are dead. The human heart is believed to fall down after death in the form of a shooting star; the hair of a dead person is changed into clouds, while his gall appears again as a green colour in the sky, and so forth. Dead 775
people may also come in their own forms as apparitions to their relatives and friends, even in waking life. There seems, however, to be no evil portent in this; nor, indeed, does there seem to be any noticeable fear of dead persons on the whole, although we are told that the names of those who are dead must not be uttered by children at night.[2]

The Namib Bushmen, on the other hand, seem to fear dead people greatly, and, as we have seen, the thickened *dawes* sap placed in the [764]

[1] Stow, op. cit., 129; Campbell, *Second Journey in S. Africa*, i, 29; Currle, "Bushmen of Namaqualand," 117; Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 19.
[2] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 21, 25; Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365–71, 389–401.

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or other worship directed to these bodies.[1] How far the absence of moon worship must be attributed to the fact that these Bushmen have long been exposed to Bantu influence is difficult to say. In view of the comparative evidence afforded by the other Bushman tribes, however, as well as the fact that the Hiechware have certainly been considerably influenced by the BeChwana, this seems the most reasonable suggestion; although, as already noted, Dornan cannot be regarded as a fully reliable authority. 821 [782] [177] [114]

The evidence on the whole shows quite definitely that worship of the heavenly bodies, and especially of the Moon, exists among the Bushmen. In all the instances noted, the New Moon is prayed to; in the case of the Cape Bushmen for food, although the details of the ceremony are not available, while among the Naron, Auen, and !O Kung there is a special ceremony at which it is invoked for rain. There is nothing to suggest that the Moon is conceived of as a supreme deity, or that it forms the object of an elaborate cult. At the same time the prayers and ceremonies noted clearly constitute an act of worship. They must therefore be regarded as part of the Bushman religion. The prayers and usages relating to the sun and the stars among the Cape Bushmen suggest a wider sidereal worship, which the scanty details from the Northern tribes would seem to bear out; but the worship of the Moon seems to be by far the most prominent. 821 771 782 [776]

Supernatural Beings

In other aspects of religion and mythology there appears to be a good deal of variation in details among the different Bushmen tribes. The most prominent figure in the mythology of the Cape Bushmen is the Mantis, round whom a whole cycle of myths has been formed. Besides his own proper name, */kaggen*, he possesses several others, as does also his wife, whose most usual name, however, is */huntu!katt!katten*, the Dassie or Rock Rabbit (*Hyrax capensis*). They have three children, a daughter, of whom there is no further mention; a son, */gaunu-ts'axau* (*/gaunu* is the name of a certain star, and *ts'axau* means "eye"), who in one of the tales is killed by baboons, and restored to life again by the Mantis; and another son, */kaggen-⊙pwa*, the young Mantis, who also figures in one of the tales, where his likeness to his father is commented upon. Besides his own children the Mantis has an adopted daughter, */xo*, the Porcupine. 773 776 [184] [825] [825]

[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 163.

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773 Her real father is a monster named *//khwai-hemm*, the All-devourer,
776 but she does not dare to live with him, for fear of being eaten herself. She is married to */kwammanga*, a mythical person not identified
[821] with any animal, but seen in the rainbow. They have two children, */kwammanga-⊙pwa*, young */kwammanga*, who is brave and quiet like his father, and */ni*, the Ichneumon, who plays an important part in the mythology, particularly in advising and assisting his grandfather the Mantis, and in chiding him for his misdeeds. All these, the Bushmen say, were once men and women, people of the Early Race which preceded the Bushmen, but now they are animals.

In their myths the Mantis is gifted with supernatural powers, yet often has a most stupid and perverse character; he is sometimes mischievous, sometimes kind, and is always getting into scrapes and unnecessary fights by his foolishness. He has the power of speech, which all his possessions share with him; he dreams, and his dreams come true; he foretells the ultimate future, when he and his comrades will all be animals; he can transform himself into various other animal forms, is sometimes killed, but always comes to life again. He also has creative powers. One myth relates that the Bushmen were formerly springboks, and were changed by him into human beings; another that he gave places their names; while he gives the bucks their colours and names and has them under his special protection. He can also bring people back to life again. But he is never prayed to, although, as we have seen, there are prayers to the Moon, who is also his creation. Nor is there any evidence of observances specially connected with him, apart from the mention
[751] of a "curious charm" made from the foot of the hartebeest and used by women for their children as a protection against him.[1]

773 The Rain or Water, */khwa*, is also acknowledged by these Bushmen
825 as a supernatural personage, and various beliefs and usages are directed
821 towards it. It is often represented as an animal; in the form of a bull it carries off a young maiden, in the form of an eland it was shot by a man of the early race with disastrous effects. It is thought
821 of most commonly, however, as an animal living in a waterhole,
825 and it is believed that wherever this animal goes, rain will fall. One
[789] of the principal methods of rain-making, therefore, is for the rain-magicians to drag this animal over as large a tract of country as they can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 6–9; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 5–7; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 1–37; D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis and his Friends*; *Idem*, *Bushman Folklore*, 301.

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can, in order that the rain should extend as far as possible. Among the many rock-paintings left by the Bushmen in the caves and rock-shelters of their country there are pictures "of wonderful animals, such as certainly never existed; these the Bushmen of fifty years ago explained as Rain bulls, Rain animals. With them are often seen frogs, fish, tortoise, and snake, the animals protected by the Rain".[1] Certain snakes found near a waterhole are believed to be kept in store by the Rain, and for fear of arousing its wrath may not be eaten by young unmarried men and women; nor may frogs be killed, lest drought ensue. When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind, and various transformations effected. Young women are particularly exposed to danger from the Rain, and to avoid this they must observe various rules of conduct. They must propitiate the waterhole by means of *buchu* and *tto* (aromatic shrubs); they must hide themselves from the Rain; they must not snap their fingers at people, nor may they be spoken to against their wish, lest the anger of the Rain be thereby aroused. There are many legends telling how disobedient girls were punished, together with those around them, by the angry Rain, or were taken up by his agency in a whirlwind and transformed into frogs, snakes, porcupines, stars, water-flowers, etc. Such transformations are also illustrated in the rock-paintings.

The Rain thus appears as something to be respected or feared, since it has power to change people into animals and other objects, as well as to destroy with storms and terrible lightning. At the same time it also brings water and makes food grow. In connection with this latter aspect Miss Bleek says: "That Bushmen realized the life-giving powers of water is clear, as all tales of rebirth are connected therewith. The Mantis restores his son and his sister, the Blue crane, to life after they have been killed by throwing a part of their body into the water. In course of time this part grows up into the person to which it had belonged. In the same way he makes an eland of a shoe (perhaps a piece of eland's skin). An ostrich is killed; one of its feathers blows into the water and becomes a new ostrich."

"Yet in spite of the Bushman's dependence on water and realization of its power," she goes on to say, "he does not represent it as a man or god. One instance is known to me of the Rain being addressed, when it is wrathful and lightens; but the first part of the speech is to the dead men who ride it:—

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 308.

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782
821
[539]

O gallopers,
O gallopers,
Do ye not know me?
Ye do not seem to know my hut.

Then they speak to the Rain itself:—

Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs,
For the women are looking shocked at thee;
Thou shouldst put thy tail between thy legs for the children.

The Rain seems here to be thought of as a magic animal ridden by spirits."

791 821 Certain magicians have power over the Rain, and can cause it to come or stay away, as they please. These powers remain with them even after death, and just as in life they are asked for rain, so when they are dead, they may also be entreated to send it. Other magicians have a similar power over the wind, */khwe*, and are protected by it. The howling of the wind is believed to forebode evil; it tells the beasts of prey where to find people, and when it blows strongly they can approach the huts unheard. In the mythology the wind [773] is represented as having formerly been a man, which now wears the form of a bird.[1]

773 776 [184] [794] Among the Bushmen of Basutoland and the Orange Free State we meet again with tales about the Mantis, differing but slightly from those of the Cape. He seems, however, to have been here the object of a definite cult as well. According to Arbousset, it was believed that *'Kaang* (i.e. */kaggen*) or, as he was also termed, *'Kue-'akeng-'teng*, "the man (master) of all things," causes life and death and gives [761] [821] or refuses rain. All the animals have special marks which he has put [825] upon them; deficiency of game is attributed to him, and he is invoked for success in the chase. He is also worshipped in times of famine 796 and before going to war, when the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood" 535 is performed all through the night. This dance Orpen's informant, [773] Qing, described as follows: "*Cagn* (i.e. */kaggen*)[2] gave us the song of this dance, and told us to dance it, and people would die from it, and he would give charms to raise them again. It is a circular dance of men and women, following each other, and it is danced all night. [786] Some fall down, some become as if mad and sick, blood runs from the noses of others whose charms are weak, and they eat charm medicine, in which is burnt snake powder.

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 9, 20–1; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 195–9, 393–7 *et passim*; D. F. Bleek, *Bushman Folklore*, 307–9.

[104] [2] In some orthographies, especially that used for the Zulu-Xosa languages, the symbol *c* represents the dental click, written / in the standard orthography for Bushman and Hottentot languages. *Cagn* is therefore merely another way of writing */kaggen*; both represent the same sounds.

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medicine, in which is burnt snake powder. When a man is sick, 535
this dance is danced round him, and the dancers put both hands under 796
their arm-pits, and press their hands upon him, and when he coughs [755]
the initiated put out their hands and receive what has injured him—
secret things. The initiated who know secret things are Qogne;
the sick person is hang cāi."

Cagn, said Qing, was the first being and made all things—the sky, 776
the moon, stars, mountains, and animals. The Bushmen prayed
to him. On being asked how, Qing answered, in a low, imploring [782]
tone: "O Cagn! O Cagn! are we not your children, do you not [539]
see our hunger? give us food"—"and he gives us both hands
full." To the further question, where *Cagn* was, he responded,
"We don't know, but the elands do. Have you not hunted and [825]
heard his cry, when the elands suddenly start and run to his call?
Where he is, the elands are in droves like cattle."

Cagn's wife was *Coti*. When asked where she came from, Qing
said, "I don't know, perhaps with those who brought the Sun;
but you are now asking the secrets that are not spoken of." These [794]
secrets he himself did not know—"only the initiated men of that
dance know these things." *Cagn* also had two sons, *Cogaʒ* and
Gcwi, and together with him and *Cogaʒ* there was another great
"chief", *Qwangciqutshaa*. All three had great power, but it was
Cagn who gave orders through the other two. Of all these personages 773
various tales were related by Qing. One of them, describing how 776
Cogaʒ was killed by baboons and restored to life again by *Cagn*,
is almost identical with the similar story told by the Cape Bushmen
of */kaggen* and */gaunu-ts'axau*. In all these tales *Cagn* appears as
a human being, but with supernatural powers. He can change
himself into different forms, is then sometimes killed and eaten by
animals or people, but always comes to life again. He possesses
various magical charms, the strongest of which is his tooth; and the
birds are his messengers who report to him what is going on. [825]
Occasionally he gets into trouble, from which he is extricated by
Cogaʒ, just as in the Cape Bushman stories */kaggen* is aided by */ni*.

Another name for the Mantis among these Bushmen, according 776
to Arbousset, is *'ngo*. This may explain the following quotation
from Campbell: "They had a name which they gave to God, who
is above them, and another to God who is under them. The former
is a male, the latter a female. The male God they call Goba, the
female Ko; and her attendants are called Gauna." *Ko* (*'ngo*), as

N [see category 116, p. 182 for the author's explanation of the 'initiated.' — Analyst]

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776 "the Lord" or "the great captain", whom he identifies with Vedder's *Huwu* or *Hu'e*. This "supreme being" is regarded as anthropomorphic, he looks like a Bushman and he also speaks Kung. He lives in the sky in a house with two storeys, the lower of which is occupied by himself, his wife, whose name is unknown, and many children, while the upper is occupied, as already mentioned, by the souls of the dead (*xa*). In appearance this house is similar to the ordinary Bushman hut, although not quite the same, and its exterior is "hairy like a caterpillar". Honey, locusts, fat flies, and butterflies [825] are found here in superabundance, and the "great captain" feeds [775] upon these; the souls of the dead, however, merely sit around and eat nothing. *Xu* summons the magicians to their profession, and [756] gives them supernatural powers; he is the lord over rain and lightning, as well as over the spirits, *//gauab*, and through the chief of the latter he sends good fortune in hunting or in the collection of veldkos. If anybody thinks or speaks evil of him, he punishes the evildoer with lightning; otherwise he takes no interest in the doings of his [782] "Bushman children", except when somebody swears falsely by him, for the Kung have a regular oath in which they invoke him. He is prayed to by them in fixed form for rain, in case of severe illness, before going out hunting or before undertaking a dangerous journey.[1]

The Western Kung of Ukuanyama (Oschimpoloveld) speak of [184] *Erob*, translated by Lebzelter as "God", who, like *Xu*, lives in a house in the sky to which the souls of the dead are brought. He is [782] often prayed to, especially for rain and in hunting, as well as in case [224] of illness, "because he has made all things and can do everything and knows everything", and he is given the first offerings of the [821] chase. The rain comes at his command as a mist out of the earth, and then falls down, thereupon making thunder and lightning.[2]

821 *Erob* also figures as the "supreme being" among the Heikum of 184 the Etosha Pan, although in prayers for rain and in case of illness he 776 is addressed as *Xu*. The group in North-Eastern Ondonga speak [782] of the "supreme being" as *Xamaba*, the groups at Ukuambi know him as *Erob* or *Xuwa*, and the group at Uukualuthi as *Erob*; and among them all, as among the Eastern Kung, he lives in the sky in a house to which the souls of the dead are brought. Almost

[1] "Religiösen Vorstellungen der //Khun-Buschmänner," 407-9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] "Religiösen Vorstellungen," 412.

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and he eats their hearts; he has forbidden people to eat the hare and the ostrich; he makes thunder and lightning; and the stars are his hearth-fire. Often he takes a star and throws it at a man, then the latter dies—a belief held in slightly different form by the Eastern Kung also, who regard a shooting star as foreboding the death of someone. Mention is further made of the "Saviour" or bringer of blessings ("Heilbringer") *Heiseb* or *Iseb*, to whom belongs the "benefactress" *Ises*, who gave the bow and arrow to mankind.[1]

The name */gamab* is also found among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga under the form *xamaba*. Here, however, Lebzelter speaks of *xamaba* as "the Supreme Being" who has made all things, including mankind, and who sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, before a journey is undertaken, and in case of illness; he receives the souls of the dead in his house in the sky; he can be spoken to by the magicians, and he inflicts illness upon people whom he does not like. There is also an "evil spirit" *Heiseb*, "from whom comes the fire"; while in the bush there are said to be hobgoblins, */ga/ga hu*, but none of Lebzelter's informants had seen them, and their existence was doubted.[2]

In the Eastern Kalahari, again, *Huwe* and sometimes *Thora* are, according to Dornan, engaged in a contest with an "evil spirit" variously known as *Gaua*, *Khauna*, or *Gauna*. He is the destroyer, the one who sends bad luck and disease, and is ever on the look-out to injure people. The Bushmen invoke the aid of *Thora* to defeat his attempts to injure them. He sends the thunderstorm and the lightning, of which the people are very much afraid; they will mutter to themselves, *Khauna ka rue ie ie*, "Khauna leave us alone." They look upon the lightning as his offspring, nor will they kill the lightning bird or hammerkop (*Scopus umbretta*) or rob its nest if they can help it. "Once in the company of a Bushman," says Dornan, "I wanted to shoot one of these birds, but he said it would be bad, and that Khauna would not like it, so I desisted." If a person is struck by lightning, he is supposed to have got in the way of the lightning bird when trying to rob its nest. "The religion of the Kalahari Bushmen," concludes Dornan, "is thus a kind of dualism in which two powers, one good, Thora or Huwe, and one bad, Khauna, are engaged in a struggle for the mastery."[3]

The word *Gauna* (*//gauwa*), finally, crops up again among the

[1] Op. cit., 410. [2] Op. cit., 410–11.
[3] *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 150, 153, 167–8.

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776 honoured with certain ritual observances connected with the chase;
[782] he is also prayed to for rain, before travel, and in case of illness;
[224] and finally it is from him that the magicians obtain their special
[756] powers. By the Eastern Kung he is said to have a wife and many children; among the other Kung and the Heikum he figures alone.

184 Few of these attributes are mentioned by Miss Bleek in her remarks
776 upon *Hishe* among the Naron and Auen, and upon *Huwe* among the !O !Kung. But there are certain points of agreement. *Hishe* dwells in
[775] a house in the east, to which the ghosts of the dead repair by day;
[224] he is regarded as the creator, and as the protector of game and hunting. On the other hand *Hishe-Huwe*, sometimes alone, sometimes in double
[881] guise as man and woman, sometimes "followed by children like
[114] baboons", figures prominently in the boys' puberty ceremonies, which are not referred to at all by Lebzelter. At the same time, since these ceremonies certainly have much to do with hunting, their association with *Hishe-Huwe* is not inconsistent with his character as protector of the game and hunting, although of course it is hardly likely that this provides the only explanation for his figuring in them. Nor
[782] is he ever prayed to among these tribes, save where the name *Huwe* is substituted by the !O !Kung for *//nwa-se*, the New Moon, in the prayer for rain. Most of the prayers for food and rain, however, are directed to the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon.

A closer agreement with Lebzelter's account is provided by Dornan's
[114] discussion of *Thora-Huwe* among the North-Eastern Bushmen. *Thora* is here said to be the creator who is over all things, he sends
[821] rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting, certain
[224] hunting observances are directed towards him, he wards off disease,
[753] and protects the Bushmen from danger.

It is possible also to find a connection in certain respects between *Huwe* and the conception of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen. Among the Cape Bushmen, it is true, the Mantis is primarily a mythological character, the central figure of an elaborate series of myths relating to him and his "family". He is never worshipped, but on
[782] the other hand, like *Huwe*, he has creative powers, and is also said to
[825] have made certain bucks and to protect them. Mention is further made by these Bushmen of an afterworld to which go the spirits
[775] of the dead, but there is nothing at all to link this up with the Mantis, just as there is nothing to link up the afterworld of the North-Eastern Bushmen with *Thora*. The resemblance between the Mantis and *Huwe* is far more noticeable among the Bushmen of Basutoland.

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184 776 among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan */gamab* makes thunder and [821] lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people by means of shooting stars. The Naron and Auen term a strong and howling wind *//gaua*, [825] while sometimes *//gaua* is said to be a bird which makes the wind. [777] Finally among the North-Eastern Bushmen *Khauna* is the source of [753] bad luck and disease, is injurious to people, and sends the thunder- [821] storm and lightning, the latter being regarded as his offspring. Further [825] the "lightning bird", intimately associated with him, is feared and may inflict death by lightning when molested. Here again we get [753] the general impression of *//gaua* as the source of illness and death, acting through the medium of the storm, lightning, and shooting stars.

184 In all this *//gaua* offers certain points of resemblance with the 776 conception of the Rain held by the Cape Bushmen. Among the 821 latter the Rain is definitely personified, it appears in their myths as a supernatural personage, generally in the form of an animal, and here it is said, "the Rain thunders, the Rain lightens." When the Rain is angry with anyone, people may be carried off in a whirlwind and various transformations effected; the howling of the wind forebodes evil; and numerous observances have to be kept in order [761] not to anger the Rain and thereby provoke death. There is also [775] the belief that people killed by lightning are changed into stars; shooting stars are omens of death; the wind is sometimes spoken [825] of as a bird; and the flight over the camp of the *Scopus umbretta*, known to the North-Eastern Bushmen as the "lightning bird", here announces the death of someone. In this connection it may be added that among the Namib Bushmen thunder and lightning are said to command great reverence, and a person struck and killed by lightning is believed to have suffered death as a punishment for some past misdeed.[1]

184 In some cases, among the North-Western Bushmen, *//gaua* shares 776 certain of the attributes vested in *Huwe*. This appears most strikingly among the Heikum of North-East Ondonga, where *Huwe-Erob* does not figure at all, his place being taken by *xamaba*, who has most of the powers and privileges attributed to *Huwe-Erob* by the other [782] Heikum and the Kung. Among the Heikum of the Etosha Pan [755] we find prayers addressed to *Erob* for rain and in illness, but at the [775] same time the "demiurge" */gamab* is mentioned as the creator who [821] receives the souls of the dead. Further, as we have just seen, */gamab*

[1] Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.

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756 supernatural powers, or who are able to control, either for social purposes or for their own ends, the spiritual forces upon which the social welfare depends. There is no English word which adequately describes them, but such persons may be loosely termed magicians.

Among the Cape Bushmen, these magicians, who might be of either sex, were called */gixa* (plural, */giten*). There is unfortunately [114] no information available as to how they acquired their powers, nor have we any clear description of the part they played in the life of the community. A few details about them may, however, be gathered from the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd. Some magicians were [821] rainmakers, who went out to catch the rain bull and lead it over the land bringing rain. Others, again, had special powers over particular [825] game animals, such as the springbok or the ostrich. Some magicians were able to assume and go about in the form of animals such as the lion, springbok, jackal, or a little bird; others, even when asleep, knew what was going about at night, and took care of the people, defending them from evil magicians. For some magicians could [757] cause illness by shooting with invisible arrows, and the patients would die, even though doctored; while some were said to eat the flesh of the dead. When a magician died an earthquake took place, [823] and his heart fell, as a shooting star, out of the sky into a waterhole. His powers, however, he continued to possess even after death, [775] for there are mentioned several occasions on which a dead rainmaker was asked to send rain or a game magician to give success in hunting.[1]

These beliefs, fragmentary as they are, show definitely that the magicians were held to possess supernatural powers, which they might use for good or evil; but, apart perhaps from the making of rain, there is nothing to link them up with any cult or public ceremony, or to indicate that they ever played the part of priests.

[184] Among the Naron and Auen, however, the magicians, as we have seen, function at the puberty ceremonies. They introduce *Hishe* [881] into the dances, and make the cuts between the eyebrows of the boys. [793] Among the Naron they are also the priests, who pray to the New Moon for rain; while among the Auen they make rain by sprinkling [821] on the ground a kind of red earth, which they fetch from afar and carry about with them. The magicians, both male and female, are

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 18; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 22.

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also the doctors of the community. The millipede, said to belong to *Hishe*, is only touched by them; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine. 756 [825]

Naron magicians (*tsho k'auba* or */nu k'auba*) do not dress or live differently from the rest of the community. "No one would know them apart," says Miss Bleek, "nor do they seem to have much influence to-day." The Auen seem to have many more magicians than the Naron, by whom they are looked up to in magic matters. Here, according to Kaufmann, the magicians, (*tsho k'au*, */nu k'au* or */geixa*) have their skulls shaved clean, and also carry a few ornaments which may not be worn by other people. The magic art in both tribes is learned by apprenticeship. During the month of the puberty ceremony one or two boys are taught their trade by the old magicians. At the next ceremony they return and are taught more; and boys who have been with a magician for many years can when they become older succeed their master.[1] [184] [868]

Magicians among the Kung are of two kinds, and both are called in especially for illness. The */u k'au*, who sucks out the disease from the body of the patient, is "an evil person, who speaks to no one and always looks black"; while the */ue k'au*, according to Vedder, is the ordinary worker in magic and the poison-mixer, and also prepares medicines from herbs and roots by cooking.[2] Lebzelter gives further information about the magicians. Both men and women can be summoned by the "great captain" to exercise this calling. The power they receive from him is greater than that of all the spirits with the exception of */nawa*, and is equal to that of the latter. Magicians are thus "born and not made", to use Lebzelter's expression, but nevertheless it appears that they have to learn the secrets of their calling by apprenticeship. They accompany the old magicians at least once in the search for medicine plants, and are then subjected to a test. The old magicians in the customary manner attempt to cure a sick person by sucking out the "disease poison" ("Krankheitsgift") or the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient; then they administer all the "disease poison" extracted by them to the initiates. If the latter do not die from this treatment, they have satisfactorily passed the test! [184] [755] [278] [787]

The magicians, apart from being able to cure illnesses by banishing the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient, also have the [787]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 159.
[2] "Grammatik der !kû-Buschmannsprache," 8-9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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shoulders, or holding his arms out behind her, without touching her. 535
In other dances the men dance round alone, then approach the line of singers, holding out their arms. The courting motive is clear, 535
though not indecently expressed."[1] Stow, however, describes 831
certain dances of the Southern Bushmen which he stigmatizes as lascivious and orgiastic, and in which, he says, "the women appear to have offered themselves up to sexual congress."[2] There are several suggestions also that the eland bull dance, as well as various others [114]
imitating the sexual life of animals, may assume a pronouncedly erotic character, but these suggestions are conveyed as a rule by our authorities in the form of generalized statements obviously based on hearsay, and lack concrete illustration.

Most of the dances appear to be based on episodes in the lives of 535
wild animals; the dancers imitate the animals, and go through the 825
actions characteristic of them. Several of these dances, observed by Fourie among the Heikum, may serve to illustrate their general character. In the Jackal and Wolf dance, in which only the men take part, a hyena is represented feeding on a carcase and keeping off a couple of hungry jackals. Every now and again, as the latter attempt to approach too close to the carcass, the hyena scares them off and they jump out of the way. The Horse dance is likewise danced by men only, who go round quickly in a circle, while the women clap their hands in imitation of the sound made by a galloping horse. The Gemsbok dance, again, represents a gemsbok bull, cow, and calf being chased by two men with three or four dogs. The bull and cow carry horns but the calf does not. The buck lead and are followed by the men and dogs, who dance to and fro on the flanks until the animals are brought to bay. Then the men pretend to shoot, bows and arrows being represented by sticks, and one of the buck goes down wounded, while the others make off pursued by some of the dogs. The wounded animal fights in realistic fashion, sweeping at both men and dogs with its horns. The dance is continued until all the animals have been accounted for.[3]

Among the Southern Bushmen the dancers often made themselves up to represent various animals, birds, and imaginary monsters, with the aid of either paint or the skins, heads, and horns of the objects to be represented. In many of their dances "they were so dressed as to represent a particular animal, when the dance was called by its name; such was the *t'Gorlo'ka*, the *Man-nia*, or Baboon dance, in

[1] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit. [2] Stow, op. cit., 115, 118–19. [3] Op. cit., 96.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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535 which the performers imitated all the actions and droll grimaces of
825 rival baboons, springing, gambolling, and running upon all fours, chattering and grimacing like a troop of excited simiadae. Another, and one which also appeared a favourite amongst them, was the *'Kloo-rou-o*, or Frog dance, in which they squatted, and leaped, and rolled about like a lot of inebriated batrachians. A third of this kind was the *t'Oi*, or Bee dance, when the company transformed themselves into a swarm of bees, and performed their evolutions with a buzzing chorus. "On special occasions," Stow continues, "they held a general masquerade, when each one took the disguise or head-dress of some particular bird or animal, and upheld the character during the performance. This appears to have been considered one of their grand national dances, and was reserved for their high festivals; it was one which even their greatest artists delighted to depict, and probably it had some hidden meaning known to the initiated."[1] It is not unlikely, as Stow suggests, that such dances were also of a ritual character, but of their function and relation to the social life generally hardly anything is known.

Games are often played in the evenings too, by grown-up people
526 of both sexes as well as by children.[2] A favourite game of the women,
535 found among the Southern Bushmen, as well as in the north, is a ball game which is almost a dance. The players stand in a line
[533] clapping their hands and singing a wordless tune. One of them dances about opposite the others with a melon or round tuber in her hand. At the end of the tune she throws the ball to the player at the right hand of the line, who dances out to catch it, and herself dances back to the left end, where she joins in the singing and clapping. The next player does the same, and so the game goes on till all have had several turns. Sometimes, again, they play at the capture of
524 brides by young men, as among the Naron, or at games based on
536 animal experiences, as among the Heikum. One of the latter, for instance, represents how a white monkey was once seen by a woman who ran home and told the others. "The part of the monkey is taken by a woman who stands with her hands covering the sides of her face, leaving only a small opening for peeping through. She sways her head from side to side. The other women form up in a row opposite to her. One goes forward to look at the monkey, gazes at it intently and, when the latter starts moving its head from side to

[1] Op. cit., 117–18.
[2] Stow, op. cit., 97–102; Kaufmann, op. cit., 149–50; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 18–21; Fourie op. cit., 97–8.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

various ways. The affine who marries into the band, as long as he lives with the band, has a right to the water, to the hunting, and to the gathering of the wild foods, as members born to the band have. 423

I think that primarily the values and assets that parents seek in choosing mates for their children have to do with the kind of security which is attained through human responses and relations. Friends may want their children to marry because they know and trust each other. Or a family may want to increase its kinship bonds—and thereby its security—with certain bands for any number of reasons—among them could be food, water, or a desire to have supporting friends in a certain area—and, like the crowned heads of Europe, the /Kung may deliberately seek to establish alliances through marriages. 581 185

Merging with such desires and to be balanced with them are the characteristics of the families concerned. The /Kung want their boys and girls to marry into upstanding families, among people who are ' able to feed themselves ', who are ' not lazy and not thin '. They do not want ' far-hearted ' in-laws who are not generous in food-sharing and gift-giving. /U, ≠Toma's wife, said she would take particular note of their generosity in giving bead ornaments to their children. She would not want a daughter of hers to marry among people who were stingy in that. Proper observance of the avoidances and other social regulations is an asset in in-laws, for they can then be assumed to have taught their children how to behave properly. 185 577 581

The individual's characteristics are also a concern. Parents of boys hope the girls to whom their sons are engaged will grow up to be good-looking, because, they say, a man takes pride in a beautiful wife. Xama, the mother of Gao, the headman of Band 2, said she had wanted for her son a light-skinned girl with good teeth who was not too thin and not too tall. But most important of all is a sweet temper, she said. A mother hopes, she said, that the girl will not be lazy or wander about visiting at night at other people's fires ' like a bitch '. The girl should observe the avoidances and the menstruation and other taboos, and in every way behave as a well brought up girl should. However, since the girls are engaged when they are very young, I suppose the parents of the boys can only watch them grow and hope. 185 581 826

Girls would not want a man ' as tall as a giraffe ', we were told. They would seek a smaller husband. /U's first husband, from whom she was divorced, is so tall (almost six feet) that people laugh and say, ' Did his mother have a dream with a *//gaua* (a spirit)? '

The girls themselves, all twitters and giggles, told me what they admire in the boys. They like a good hunter like /Gunda; and they like handsome teeth and a wide smile like young Tsamgao's; and straight, slender legs like //Ao's; and a fluid, swift walk like /Gao's; and they hate a big black belly like Gao's—the middle-aged medicine man in a band distant from Gautscha, to whom the young /Doin was married.

The parents of a girl want the boy to be responsible, kind to their daughter and, above all, a good provider—which means a good hunter. They want him to make his arrows straight, to shoot swiftly and accurately, to be able to run down an eland, and, most of all, they want a son-in-law whose heart says to him, ' Why am I sitting lazily here in the werf? Why do I not get up and go hunting? ' and who, in obedience to his heart, and the group's desire, and the magic which has been rubbed into his scarifications in the Ceremony of the First Killing, gets up and goes. [304] [881]

[43 cont.]

423 "The graves of the ancestors are within the kin group's terri-
614 tory. They are marked by the large piles of stone placed on them.
769 The ancestors are regarded as the guardians of the kin group's territory. Hence, departure from the territory must be announced by the chief or an elder at the ancestral grave without special ceremonies; similarly, an announcement must be made there when the kin group again moves into the territory."

423 The property of the kin group, aside from its territory, in-
614 cludes the veldkost, the game, and, above all, the watering place.

13. Illnesses and Treatment

●826 The anatomical knowledge of the Bushmen is quite extensive as a result of their way of life as hunters.

The heart is regarded as the seat of life, and the breath
[761] has some connection with the heart. Their surgical knowledge is
752 confined to the extraction of thorns by means of an awl-like in-
757 strument and to the relatively effective bandaging of hand and leg
278 fractures. Their supply of medicines, on the other hand, is very limited. In what follows, I shall list the common illnesses and their treatment.

Eye Inflammation

752 Both dry and exudative eye inflammations, caused by sand and irritating grass seeds, are extremely widespread, and blear eyes are the rule among older people. These diseases, however, are not nearly as grave among the !Kung living in the forest as, say, among the Bushmen of the western Kalahari or among those
[826] of Naukluft. Among the latter, blear eyes are even regarded as signs of beauty in young girls. Ordinary eye inflammations that pass in a short period of time mean nothing. They are treated by
[753] rubbing with fat. If the ailment lasts for a longer period of time, then //Gauab [Fig. 16 appears here] certainly had something to
[755] do with it; the doctor is called in and, after some treatment, produces a "little black medicine" from the eye.

164 [45 cont.]
[753] Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The
[192] terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no
[302] means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is
[593] usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin
842 hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy
[757] is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine
[278] for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is
841 done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband
[757] and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on
853 the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least
[826] until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished
164 by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care.
[515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky
[278] sap of a plant called timba.
[757]

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams
[145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long;
302 the toenails are often fissured.

192 it gets a bad *n/ow*. We heard the words used constantly in connexion with *n/ow* and
827 rain and cold, but know of the use of only one of them in another connexion. The
/Kung say that a child '*//gha*(s) its name' if its teeth come late. We do not know precisely how to translate the words and hope that a linguist will some time throw more light on them.

821 ≠Toma, one of our informants, pondering on the question of how the *n/ow*
827 comes to be of one kind or the other in a person, said he thought the child's position
843 in the womb and whether the child had long or short legs might have something to do with it, but he was not sure of this, and knew no more to tell us. A caul or a breech-birth does not make the *n/ow* good or bad, he thought. Other informants thought that severely deformed infants or twins might possibly be more likely than
[845 others to get a bad *n/ow*, but they too were uncertain. (Possibly this is because de-
847] formed infants and the weaker one of twins are killed at birth by /Kung mothers, so there is little occasion to think about the *n/ow* of such children.)

821 It is discovered what kind of *n/ow* a child has by observing the weather at the time
787 of its birth or soon after. If it rains the people believe the *n/ow* of the child has brought the rain and are sure the *n/ow* is good. If water should freeze when the child was born or soon after, the child's *n/ow* would be known to be bad. Should the weather continue in its normal seasonal course and no great extreme or notable change occur, the child's *n/ow* will be thought to be probably of the rain-bringing or cold-bringing kind according to the type of weather which prevailed; but if the weather is extreme at the time of the birth there is a feeling of certainty about the kind of *n/ow* the child has acquired, as the /Kung believe the effect of the *n/ow* was clearly observable.

At death as well as at birth the *n/ow* of a human being influences the weather. A /Kung told us that his *n/ow* had brought heavy rain when he was born and that everyone knew he had a rain-bringing *n/ow*. He said his mother, who lived at some distance from where he lived, noticed the weather and, if rain came at an unusual time or was unusually heavy, she feared he had died and that his *n/ow* was causing the rain to come.

821 *N/ow* is said to exist in the bodies of human beings (presumably everywhere in
826 them). Informants mentioned it particularly as associated with uterine fluid at the
[827] time of birth and with the urine and hair of humans.

Hair is associated with clouds by the /Giwke Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with whom we worked in 1955. They have a myth, told to us by the
[713] old headman, Oukwane, which says that God, whose name there is Pisiboro, and who is their one God, tore the black, black hair from his head and threw it into the sky to make the rain clouds.

775 In *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*,[1] Dr. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd record a belief about
821 death, collected in 1875 in the Katkop dialect from the informant Dia/kwain, which
826 refers to hair and clouds. We quote the statement:

> The hair of our head will resemble clouds, when we die, when we in this manner make clouds. These things are those which resemble clouds; and we think that (they) are clouds. We, who do not know, we are those who think in this manner, that (they) are clouds. We, who know, when we see that they are like this, we know that (they) are a person's clouds; (that they) are the hair of his head. We, who know, we are those who think thus, while we feel that we seeing recognize the clouds, how the clouds do in this manner form themselves.

[1] Bleek, W. H. I., and Lloyd, L. C., *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911, pp. 399-401.

The same informant gave more information about 'making cloud'. He said:[1] 821
'And, our gall, when we die, sits in the sky; it sits green in the sky, when we are 826
dead.' His mother told him, Dia/kwain continued, 'that it (thus) happens to us if we 775
sit in the shade when the place is not particularly warm, when it is (only) moderately warm, (and) we feel that the summer seems as if it would be hot. We think: "Allow me to sit for a little in the shade under the bush; for the sun's eye is not a little hot; I will sit a little while in the shade"; (then) we make clouds; our liver goes out from the place where we are sitting in the shade, if the place is not hot. Therefore, we make clouds on account of it. For, when it is really summer, then we (may) sit in the shade.'

We do not know what connexion there may be between the concept of *n/ow* held at present by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae and the /Gikwe myth of Pisiboro's hair making the rain clouds, or the hair of the dead resembling clouds and becoming the dead person's clouds, as Dia/kwain told Dr. Bleek, or a person's gall 'sitting green in the sky', or a person making clouds because his liver goes out from the place where he is sitting in the shade if the place is not hot. We hope someone else may be able to throw more light on this. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae make so little point of teaching 869
old stories or lore to their children that much must be lost.

What the /Kung believe now, Demi told us, is that there is nothing about hair itself which affects the weather. It is the *n/ow* of the person which the hair 'gives'. As we understand it, some of the *n/ow* which is in a person is in the hair. When hair is burned in the fire, the *n/ow* is released into the air in the smell.[2] It goes into the sky and, Demi said, the rain 'fears' it. (*Koa*, the word 'to fear', means to respect, to avoid, as when something is taboo, and to be afraid of.) When a person's urine is burned, it also carries the *n/ow* of the person into the sky.

/Kung informants told us that it would be possible to use the *n/ow* of persons to 789
control the weather, should there be need. If the big rains were unusually late and the 791
people were suffering from the dryness, or if the rain storms were so frequent and 821
heavy that the people had much trouble hunting and gathering veldkos, or if a storm were especially frightening, they might try to start or stop the rain. A person known with certainty to have a rain-bringing *n/ow*, because the weather at his birth had given evidence of it, could be asked either to urinate in the fire or to burn some of his hair. The smell of his urine or hair would go up into the sky and influence the rain to come. A person with a cold-bringing *n/ow* could be asked to do the same to stop the rain, if this were wanted.

We have no observations on who would instigate the burning of urine or hair to 821
control the weather. We did not see it done. No one in a /Kung community is a 791
specialist in rain-making, nor has anyone special authority in making a decision about 23
the control of weather. The medicine men (*shamen*) have as their function the curing of the people, not the control of weather. It would be in keeping with the practice of the /Kung of this region, as we observed it in other connexions, for the group to 623
come to a consensus by talking the matter over informally as they sat by their fires, 821
and then for the parents or someone else to bid a child urinate in the fire. It seems to 789
us unlikely that an individual would make the decision entirely alone, without speaking

[1] Ibid., p. 399.
[2] Cf. a myth about the Rain Bull, which refers to the smell of burning horns, p. 239.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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114 all our food and water, gasoline, and equipment in supplies to last us for several months. We crossed great drought areas, once crossing four hundred miles of the central desert of Bechuanaland where there was no water at all, and once traveling every day for two weeks into an unmapped part of the desert of South-West Africa, close to the Bechuanaland border, where we found a waterhole and refilled our empty [12] drums. All this was for the purpose of filming and studying the life and customs of the people of the Kalahari, who are called the Bushmen.

142 Bushmen are a naked, hungry people, slight of build and yellow-skinned; the only feature they have in common with their large-boned, darker-skinned neighbors, the Negro or Bantu tribes living at the edges of the Bushmen's territory, is their peppercorn curly hair. Otherwise, Bushmen are very like the Asian peoples, often having Mongolian eyefolds and rather broad, flat faces with almost no noses at all. Because of the dust, perspiration, and the blazing sun, their skins darken to a copper brown, but under their arms where sweat has washed the dust away the yellow skin shows. Bushman babies, in fact, are born pale pink, often with a dark, pigmented area at the base of their spines which Kung Bushmen [826] call "the jar"—because, they say, the mother carries her baby and her water jar together in the pouch of her garment—but which we know as the Mongolian Spot.

Physically, the Bushmen are a handsome people, though short of stature—a man being a few inches over and a woman a few inches under five feet—and a little swaybacked of carriage, which makes their bellies stick out. They are handsome 481 because of the extreme grace in their way of moving, which is 142 strong and deft and lithe; and to watch a Bushman walking or simply picking up something from the ground is like

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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know, but Gai became embarassed and said gravely that 124 825
Pishiboro put that system there for reproduction and he alone knew how it worked.

Ukwane then said that he would explain instead, because 221
he was an old man. Gai could not speak of sex in front of 831
women because it was both improper and dangerous and 784 826
would weaken his power to hunt, but Ukwane was too old 888
for hunting and, besides, was past the age when many of the 124
tabus concerning sex applied to him. Old Bushmen understand everything better anyway, young Bushmen say.

Ukwane knew a great deal. He named every major part, 124
inside and out, of the animal, even naming the major veins 825
and arteries that lead to and from the heart. We were not surprised to find that Bushmen, who prefer to be specific rather than general when dealing with minute things, distinguish more exterior parts of the body then we do. They have names, for example, for the inside of the elbow and the back of the knee. The *leg* of an animal means the hind leg, the front leg is the *arm*, and these are called by the same names as the arm and leg of human beings. Birds, too, fly with their arms and land on their legs, but I never could discover what insects do.

Ukwane went on to explain the various systems of the body, saying in the case of the urogenital system that liquid, which was "the little springboks," ran from the testicles into the kidneys, then down again and out the penis. He stuck to this version, too, even when Bill suggested that it might be otherwise. This does not mean that Bushmen think that urine [842]
causes conception, for they recognize the role of semen, believing that it unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form a child.

Ukwane understood the course of food and water through 124
the digestive system, but said that food and water spread out 827

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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124 like sweat to all the body.He did not understand what the
827 lungs did, or that air went into them, or that air went through the trachea. Breathing, said Ukwane, is air going down into the stomach, where it makes belches. Ukwane did not know about the circulation of the blood, believing that blood ebbs and flows, nor did he recognize pulses in the body except the pulse at the V of the throat, noticeable in people who wear little clothing, which is known as "the place of the heart."

124 The cold night had come, and Ukwane in the frosty grass
826 was shivering, yet he sat for an hour keeping his patience, putting his hands into the cold blood of the springbok to trace veins to their source, prefacing all his answers with positive, qualifying remarks. "I am an old man," he would say, "and I know that the diaphragm separates the heart and lungs from the stomach," or "I am Ukwane, and I know that when the heart is gone the animal cannot live, or a person either, because the heart is that animal's life."

857 As the disection and the conversation went on, the three
526 young boys, joined occasionally by Nhwakwe, the baby, played games all the time, creeping in between the adults to warm themselves by the fire and by the heat of bodies when they could stand the cold no longer. If you wear no clothing your skin is sensitive to very slight changes of temperature, and even the warmth of someone sitting beside you or the heat radiated by a few coals makes a lot of difference. When the young boys were thawed they would again leap into the darkness to play some more. They played a game of horse and rider, in which one boy would leap astride another boy and ride without holding on while the other boy would stagger forward as fast as he could. In a moment, both would fall, jump up again, hitch up their loincloths, and resume the game, only this time the horse would jump on the back of

Eyes-on-His-Feet

539

≠*Gao/na*'s younger brother-in-law, his *tun/gama*, was named Eyes-on-His-Feet. He and ≠*Gao/na* went together to gather veldkos. They found *//karu*. After a time they came to a place where they wanted to stay and made a fire to roast the *//karu*. While they were sitting by the fire ≠*Gao/na* watched his *tun/gama*'s feet and saw what looked like eyes. He tossed dust on them and the eyes blinked. ≠*Gao/na* said, 'These are really his eyes. His face is just smooth. His eyes are on his feet.' ≠*Gao/na* then asked the *tun/gama* to lean over and press the *//karu* down into the ashes so that they would be all covered and would roast evenly. While the *tun/gama* was doing this, ≠*Gao/na* threw coals on his feet and burned his eyes. This weakened the *tun/gama* and ≠*Gao/na* was easily able to cover him all over with coals and roast him. While the *tun/gama* was roasting there was a sound, *tsi i its ii tsi ii* (like meat sizzling), and the *tun/gama* put a magic curse on ≠*Gao/na*'s mouth. When the *tun/gama* was well roasted, ≠*Gao/na* ate all he could of him and put what he could not eat into a bag. He then tried to eat the *//karu*. He put one up to his mouth but his mouth would not open. He took another. It fell down to the side. ≠*Gao/na* could neither speak nor eat. He put the *//karu* into the bag with the remains of the *tun/gama* and went back to his people in the werf and ordered them to make a dance to cure his mouth. He danced and danced with them and treated himself. While he was dancing, his wives took his bag and ate what was left of Eyes-on-His-Feet and all the *//karu* but one. [The story makes no point of the fact that they were eating their brother, albeit unknowingly, and one feels the omission hovering on the edge of being said.] Then they filled the bag with earth and put the *//karu* on top. Suddenly ≠*Gao/na*'s mouth was cured. He went to get his bag to finish his *tun/gama*, put in his hand, took some earth, and tossed it into his mouth. He spat and swore at his wives. 'You silly women,' he said, 'what have you done?' And he thought what he would do to them. Next evening he called for another dance. A woman got up to dance but ≠*Gao/na* said, 'No, I want a good singer to dance with me, not you.' At last ≠Tamsa, the wife who had put the earth in the bag, got up to dance. She danced around ≠*Gao/na*, he danced around her, and when she came near he beat her fiercely on the stomach with his stick, until her stomach hung down below her groin. She fell unconscious and all the other wives took her and ran away and treated and treated her, crying, until she was all right. This is why Bushmen have stomachs that hang down. [826]

≠Toma and /Qui thought this was an awful story. /Qui said he did not know why ≠*Gao/na* ate his *tun/gama*. He thought the reason could not have been mere hunger—after all, /Qui pointed out, he had *//karu*. There must have been some other reason. ≠Toma said, '≠*Gao/na* is evil. Even now he goes about killing people.' [911]

In another version the awfulness of eating a human being is modified by having Eyes-on-His-Feet come to life again. During the dance, ≠*Gao/na*'s stomach began to ache and make sounds and to swell, as with severe constipation. Suddenly it burst open and Eyes-on-His-Feet sprang out, as the wives had done after their laughter, whole and alive. In still another version ≠*Gao/na* turns ≠Tamsa into a bird called *chee*, a white and yellow bird about as big as a dove. This is one of the birds which the /Kung eat. They grab it in tree-holes when it is nesting. All my efforts to learn more about the possible identity of Eyes-on-His-Feet availed nothing. I wondered if he were not originally some veldkos, for instance, with a formation that suggested eyes, or an animal turned into a human being, or personified, like the paouw, but our /Kung informants did not know. The old people had not told them.

When my inquiries suggested to my informants that I expected them, possibly, to [154]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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571 we were unable to find a precise translation of */ōassi* but think it connotes the *we* as
619 distinct from the *they* and has an overtone of something good and safe. The phrase is
621 an opposite of *ju dole*. *Dole* means strange or harmful or bad—evidently synonyms to the /Kung.

602 Because there were so many kinship ties among the people and because they have
621 a system (the name relationship—to be mentioned later) by which they apply kin
[608] terms to persons who are not consanguineous relatives or affines, I wondered for a time if we should find that the people who call themselves *ju /ōassi* comprised a kin group of the type which Murdock calls a deme.[1] A deme is bilateral and endogamous, Murdock says, 'comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite the members'. Though the Nyae Nyae region has the elements of a deme, I am convinced that it does not constitute, strictly speaking, an organized kin group of this type, of which the people are conscious as a social form. The endogamy of the region is customary and preferred, but not required by a social rule, and it is not from the group of people as a whole who are *ju /ōassi* that social regulation derives.

Marriage regulations: the incest taboo and its expression in avoidances

582 Marriages are forbidden in /Kung social organization on one basis only. That
835 basis is incest. In common with nearly all mankind (excepting, of course, the Pharaohs and a few other rare examples), the /Kung incest taboo prohibits marriage or sexual relations between Fa and Da, Mo and So, Br and Si. The incest taboo is extended beyond the nuclear family to certain additional categories of persons, and marriage with them is also rigorously forbidden by /Kung social law.

[842] The /Kung did not express the belief that in-breeding *per se* produces inferior offspring and must for that reason be avoided. Although they believe that in conception the semen unites with menstrual blood, their language does not use the image of blood as ours does. They do not think of relatives as having the same blood or any
[827] physical substance in common, actually or by way of figure of speech to represent inheritable characteristics, in so far as we know, and do not think that common inheritance is somehow what makes it wrong to marry close kin.

The thought that incest has been avoided by mankind because it would be exceedingly disruptive to the internal cohesion of the nuclear family comes to the mind of the analyst of social forms but not to the minds of /Kung informants. And no mention was made of the obvious social advantage of marrying outside the nuclear family and thereby weaving a supporting web of kinship with many other families and bands.

The /Kung feel a deep, internalized, pervading horror of incest which they do not try to explain. Incest with parent, offspring, or sibling is unthinkable. 'Only dogs do that—not men.' 'It would be madness (*di*).' 'It would be dangerous, like going up to a lion.' Many refused to speak with me about such 'bad things'.

571 the Bushmen were saying of themselves, in effect,
619 'We are not animals, we are human beings', a con-
621 notation we did not discover in the thinking of the /Kung themselves. Ledimo, our chief interpreter, also a Chwana, said the phrase had the connotation of 'perfect persons' and that 'clean' and 'empty' were aspects of the word */ōassi*, he thought. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas paraphrased it in the title of her book, *The Harmless People* (Knopf, New York; Martin Secker & Warburg, London, 1959).

[1] Murdock, op. cit., pp. 62–63.

/159 cont./

278 752 [411] Poisoned arrows shot into the chest and abdomen are described as unconditionally deadly. Arrow wounds on extremities, as well as very superficial ones, are supposed to be curable under certain circumstances if immediate help is provided.

[751] There is no inoculation against arrow poison.

[827] An older Auin suffering from badly inflamed eyes attributed this illness to an arrow wound he had received many years earlier. His statement, of course, cannot be verified.

165 Malaria is endemic and annually exacts many lives. The number of cases resulting in death was especially great in 1908-1909. Whole settlements are supposed to have died out. Epidemics were unknown even to the "oldest people."

Venereal diseases are blessings of civilization, but evidently not yet widespread.

731 Famine actually prevails every year toward the end of the dry season, especially if the preceding rainy season has been poor. During this time, almost all the Auin are emaciated to skeletons. Death by hunger is not supposed to /160/ occur. After all, the Bushman always finds something to eat, even if it is only grass seeds.

756 The so-called doctors decidedly possess great experience in medical matters, which, however, does not prevent them from practicing considerable charlatanism (see Section T).

W. Time Reckoning, Astonomy

805 The day is divided according to the position of the sun. Certain time segments are indicated with great exactitude according to the position of the sun. If one asks a Bushman, "How far is it to the watering place?" he will point to the place in the sky that the sun will have reached by the time one gets there.

The concept of the month is known (gnui, "month").

The relation of the solar year to lunar months is unknown.

The Auin divides up the year, for which, incidentally, he has no definite, but rather only a very vague concept, as follows:

[20 cont.]

101 the half-breed Bushmen, the Otjituo group. The Gam supposed-
131 ly dwell in the region west of the Omatako valley from Okanakasewa to Omambonde. The most serious complaints are
[648] lodged against the western group, which, in the opinion of the
[631] District Office, is for the most part under a single head chief, the notorious Namagorub, and is called !Kung-au (that is, !Kung people) by the other Bushmen. The Karakuwisa chiefs, Gnani and Ma, both crippled, are worth mentioning, and further, the leaders of the burglars of Blockfontein, Gachu and his brother Tamburi; no one, however, has as much power as the notorious Namagorub."

According to Vedder, the Bushman tribe of the Masi-
[197] Keren live in the forests south of the Otjimpolo Veld. They do
[342] not understand the !Kung language; they live communally in
[301] large rectangular houses and make incisions in the upper thigh
● [827] in order to be able to run better. Their arrows have large iron
[411] points that are not poisoned.

2. On their Character

157 In character, the Bushmen differ among themselves just as much as the members of any other people. The various types of disposition already point to this fact. In view of the relatively brief period that I was able to spend with the individual Bushmen, I do not want to give too much significance to individual characteristics. The character of a people, if one can speak of such, [21] manifests itself in the average conventional or traditional kind of reaction in different situations, and, in spite of the physically conditioned differences in character, this kind of reaction nonetheless displays a certain broad uniformity.

Since among the other Bushman tribes my observations
[114] were less detailed, I shall report everything worthwhile that I observed here.

When he is confronted with something new, the Bushman at first acts relatively uninterested. He has little curiosity. On the other hand, two !Kung Bushmen did once demand of me a detailed explanation of the motor, and they listened patiently to my account. When an American once gave a phonograph concert, they listened to it with obvious pleasure, but none of

[38 cont.]

412 Fig. 4. Wooden Mortars of the !Kung. (1/4 natural size [as shown
415 in the original text]).

Fig. 5. Wooden Vessels of the !Kung.

Fig. 6. Large Wooden Bowl of the !Kung (probably imported from the north — Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 2158).

Fig. 7. Pestle and Digging Stick or the !Kung (greatly reduced).

Fig. 8. (1) Digging Stick with !Kwe; (2) Veld Hoe (Museum of Ethnology, Berlin, III, D. 1278 and 1497).

301 lengthen them. Some people possess such a great number of these chains that they cover the entire forehead. Children often wear small rectangular pendants, and women have large, medallion-like round ones that are worn like a diadem in the middle of the forehead. Little chains of small ostrich egg beads up to five centimeters long are worn as ear pendants. Children are also given armbands and anklebands made of ostrich egg beads. Brass beads from ancient times are rare and are worn exclusively as hair pendants, as are copper beads. Glass beads are not greatly valued, and only blue ones are worn, if any. On the other hand, beads made from aromatic wood are common. Longer chains of alter-
[752] nating wood and ostrich egg beads and worn in the hair are insignia of the female doctors. The men have tight little leather straps
[827] at the wrists and ankles, which probably serve to strengthen the
[411] musculature in running and using the bow. In addition, they have a few armbands of brass or iron. Every man and woman wears a string around the neck, which has one or two appetite sticks (see
[777] below) and various talismans attached at the front. Finally, a little horn containing various kinds of medicine is worn around the neck by many of the men. The younger women and girls
[303] usually also possess a tortoise shell powder box of the kind described below for the Dama. Body painting is scarcely practiced;
[302] concerning tattooing, see page 56. The children occasionally wear armbands that they make themselves with grass or various fruits.

/246 cont./

304 3. The third and most curious is a manner of tattooing which I should like to designate as the antelope tattoo, a kind of inoculation that I have seen in no other native African tribe. This type of tattoo is used only by males and consists of the following: Through parallel incisions little pieces of antelope flesh, especially gemsbok flesh, are placed under the skin of male children, with the idea that the child thus inoculated will have the speed of the antelopes in running. The incisions are most commonly made on the buttocks, but they are also to be found on the chest, abdomen, and back.

[827]

757 One also commonly finds scars all over the body from blood-letting incisions "to draw off" illnesses.

Viewed from above, the head shows no peculiarities, although 142 dolichocephaly does not seem to me to be as marked among the Bushmen as it is among the Bantu Negroes. The protuberance at the back of the head is so little developed that it can scarcely be felt on most individuals.

The profile view of the face permits one to recognize a clear alveolar prognathy. In the case of most individuals the upper lip in the profile view extends beyond the tip of the nose. The edge of hair around the fairly straight forehead runs in an even curve from one ear to the other.

The bones of the eyebrow arches protrude sharply, while the forehead bulge is only slightly developed.

The cheekbones with the widely-projecting zygomatic arches form prominences jutting out sharply in the temporal and cheek region.

Most Bushmen show a striking prominence of the parotid gland 142 region, which in the case of some individuals swells out so that it 147 is actually hemispherical. I was unable to determine whether the swelling is caused more by hypertrophy of the parotid gland or by a particularly strong development of the chewing musculature. This swelling of the parotid gland region is, I believe, not a racial peculiarity of the Bushmen, but rather a consequence of their way of life which necessitates a root diet requiring very heavy use of the chewing apparatus. At any rate, I observed the same peculiarity among the Herero, who for a long time were dependent upon veld food.

N/ow of the /Kung is something which influences weather, bringing rain if it is 821
'good' *n/ow*, or cold if it is 'bad' *n/ow*. Precisely what *n/ow* consists of was never made explicit. Nothing about it can be seen. One knows of its existence, the /Kung say, by observing its effects upon the weather.

N/ow exists in all human beings, the /Kung believe, and in certain big animals, 821
namely: giraffe, eland, gemsbok, kudu, hartebeest, and wildebeest. For the sake of 825
brevity I shall refer to these animals as the *n/ow* animals. Small animals do not have *n/ow*, according to the /Kung. We wanted to learn why, but the /Kung could only tell us that they were so created. Steenbok have positively no *n/ow* at all. Some informants claimed that duikers had none, others said that duikers' *n/ow* was undeveloped. Informants were also uncertain about springbok. There are very few springbok in the region and informants said they killed them so seldom that they had not observed whether or not they had *n/ow*. Possibly other large animals would be found to have *n/ow* if the question were further pursued.[1] There was no disagreement among /Kung 821
informants about other things; no other things have *n/ow*—not earth itself, nor vegetation nor other objects on earth; not water, clouds, rain, thunder or lightning, nor heavenly bodies. Not even the two Gods themselves have *n/ow* in them, neither [776]
the great one who lives in the eastern sky, nor his namesake (his */guma*) who lives in the western sky, both of whom bear the names Huwe, Hishi, and ≠Gao/na, our informants told us.

N/ow gets into a human being in the womb. Exactly how this happens informants 821
could not tell us. It was our impression that they were not hiding information, for 843
they seemed willing enough to talk about *n/ow* and said it was not dangerous or 827
harmful in any way to speak freely about it. We think they simply did not know. One informant said, 'The child gets the *n/ow* in the womb and is born with it.' Another said, 'The *n/ow* is created in the womb.' Another said, 'The great Creator gives the [776]
n/ow and taught the people to do the things they do about it. He made all things and made all things to be known.' The *n/ow* acquired in the womb remains in a person all his life.

Some persons get a 'good' rain-bringing *n/ow*, others get a 'bad' cold-bringing *n/ow*. When we wanted to learn how this happened we were told that 'When the mother's uterine fluid flows into the ground, it makes a *n/ow* in the child which brings rain or a *n/ow* which does not bring rain'.

The mother has no voluntary control over this, nor has anyone else; and there is nothing, like medicine or magic, spell or ceremony, which can be used to cause the *n/ow* to be one kind or the other. Furthermore, the child does not inherit a good or bad *n/ow* from his mother or father or any ancestors. The philosophy, lore, or belief about the question of what causes the *n/ow* to be one or the other kind, whatever it may have been in the past, seems not to be known now with clarity or detail.

Two verbs were used in connexion with *n/ow*: to ≠*gani* and to //*ghui*. The /Kung 192
say that the mother has ≠*gani*(ed) the child if it gets a good *n/ow* and has //*ghui*(ed) it if 827

[1] Miss Lucy Lloyd (*A Short Account of Further Bushman Material, Third Report*, London, 1889, p. 19) mentions that a Bushman informant, Dia/-kwain by name, who worked with her and with Dr. Bleek before his death, and who came from the Katkop Mountains, south of the Orange River, told her that 'A baboon, when killed, resembles a man, [171]
in "making cloud"'. No more information was given in the report, but the concept of 'making cloud' suggests that possibly the now extinct or almost extinct Cape Bushmen had a belief which may have resembled in some ways the concept of *n/ow*.

198 it gets a bad *n/ow*. We heard the words used constantly in connexion with *n/ow* and
827 rain and cold, but know of the use of only one of them in another connexion. The /Kung say that a child '*//ghui*(s) its name' if its teeth come late. We do not know precisely how to translate the words and hope that a linguist will some time throw more light on them.

821 ≠Toma, one of our informants, pondering on the question of how the *n/ow*
827 comes to be of one kind or the other in a person, said he thought the child's position
843 in the womb and whether the child had long or short legs might have something to do with it, but he was not sure of this, and knew no more to tell us. A caul or a breech-birth does not make the *n/ow* good or bad, he thought. Other informants
[845 thought that severely deformed infants or twins might possibly be more likely than
847] others to get a bad *n/ow*, but they too were uncertain. (Possibly this is because deformed infants and the weaker one of twins are killed at birth by /Kung mothers, so there is little occasion to think about the *n/ow* of such children.)

821 It is discovered what kind of *n/ow* a child has by observing the weather at the time
787 of its birth or soon after. If it rains the people believe the *n/ow* of the child has brought the rain and are sure the *n/ow* is good. If water should freeze when the child was born or soon after, the child's *n/ow* would be known to be bad. Should the weather continue in its normal seasonal course and no great extreme or notable change occur, the child's *n/ow* will be thought to be probably of the rain-bringing or cold-bringing kind according to the type of weather which prevailed; but if the weather is extreme at the time of the birth there is a feeling of certainty about the kind of *n/ow* the child has acquired, as the /Kung believe the effect of the *n/ow* was clearly observable.

At death as well as at birth the *n/ow* of a human being influences the weather. A /Kung told us that his *n/ow* had brought heavy rain when he was born and that everyone knew he had a rain-bringing *n/ow*. He said his mother, who lived at some distance from where he lived, noticed the weather and, if rain came at an unusual time or was unusually heavy, she feared he had died and that his *n/ow* was causing the rain to come.

821 *N/ow* is said to exist in the bodies of human beings (presumably everywhere in
826 them). Informants mentioned it particularly as associated with uterine fluid at the
[827] time of birth and with the urine and hair of humans.

Hair is associated with clouds by the /Giwke Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with whom we worked in 1955. They have a myth, told to us by the
[773] old headman, Oukwane, which says that God, whose name there is Pisiboro, and who is their one God, tore the black, black hair from his head and threw it into the sky to make the rain clouds.

775 In *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*,[1] Dr. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd record a belief about
821 death, collected in 1875 in the Katkop dialect from the informant Dia/kwain, which
826 refers to hair and clouds. We quote the statement:

> The hair of our head will resemble clouds, when we die, when we in this manner make clouds. These things are those which resemble clouds; and we think that (they) are clouds. We, who do not know, we are those who think in this manner, that (they) are clouds. We, who know, when we see that they are like this, we know that (they) are a person's clouds; (that they) are the hair of his head. We, who know, we are those who think thus, while we feel that we seeing recognize the clouds, how the clouds do in this manner form themselves.

[1] Bleek, W. H. I., and Lloyd, L. C., *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911, pp. 399–401.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

know, but Gai became embarassed and said gravely that 124 825
Pishiboro put that system there for reproduction and he alone knew how it worked.

Ukwane then said that he would explain instead, because 221
he was an old man. Gai could not speak of sex in front of 831
women because it was both improper and dangerous and 784 826
would weaken his power to hunt, but Ukwane was too old 888
for hunting and, besides, was past the age when many of the 124
tabus concerning sex applied to him. Old Bushmen understand everything better anyway, young Bushmen say.

Ukwane knew a great deal. He named every major part, 124
inside and out, of the animal, even naming the major veins 825
and arteries that lead to and from the heart. We were not surprised to find that Bushmen, who prefer to be specific rather than general when dealing with minute things, distinguish more exterior parts of the body then we do. They have names, for example, for the inside of the elbow and the back of the knee. The *leg* of an animal means the hind leg, the front leg is the *arm*, and these are called by the same names as the arm and leg of human beings. Birds, too, fly with their arms and land on their legs, but I never could discover what insects do.

Ukwane went on to explain the various systems of the body, saying in the case of the urogenital system that liquid, which was "the little springboks," ran from the testicles into the kidneys, then down again and out the penis. He stuck to this version, too, even when Bill suggested that it might be otherwise. This does not mean that Bushmen think that urine [842]
causes conception, for they recognize the role of semen, believing that it unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form a child.

Ukwane understood the course of food and water through 124
the digestive system, but said that food and water spread out 827

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

124 like sweat to all the body.He did not understand what the
827 lungs did, or that air went into them, or that air went through the trachea. Breathing, said Ukwane, is air going down into the stomach, where it makes belches. Ukwane did not know about the circulation of the blood, believing that blood ebbs and flows, nor did he recognize pulses in the body except the pulse at the V of the throat, noticeable in people who wear little clothing, which is known as "the place of the heart."

124 The cold night had come, and Ukwane in the frosty grass
826 was shivering, yet he sat for an hour keeping his patience, putting his hands into the cold blood of the springbok to trace veins to their source, prefacing all his answers with positive, qualifying remarks. "I am an old man," he would say, "and I know that the diaphragm separates the heart and lungs from the stomach," or "I am Ukwane, and I know that when the heart is gone the animal cannot live, or a person either, because the heart is that animal's life."

857 As the disection and the conversation went on, the three
526 young boys, joined occasionally by Nhwakwe, the baby, played games all the time, creeping in between the adults to warm themselves by the fire and by the heat of bodies when they could stand the cold no longer. If you wear no clothing your skin is sensitive to very slight changes of temperature, and even the warmth of someone sitting beside you or the heat radiated by a few coals makes a lot of difference. When the young boys were thawed they would again leap into the darkness to play some more. They played a game of horse and rider, in which one boy would leap astride another boy and ride without holding on while the other boy would stagger forward as fast as he could. In a moment, both would fall, jump up again, hitch up their loincloths, and resume the game, only this time the horse would jump on the back of

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. 513 593
Individual adjustments are made.

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the will to hunt, good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt. It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness. 582 224 884 [304]

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of hunting is ceremonially linked with marriage. At the time of the wedding, the boy must bring to his bride's parents an animal that he himself has killed. The animal he brings must not be eaten by the bride. 585 224

A boy who never killed any large meat animal would not be given a wife, informants said. This was why the strange old deviant, /Gaishay, had remained a bachelor. For reasons no one understood he could not hunt; he gathered veldkos like a woman. Gossip had it that twice he had tried to drag a woman against her will into his scherm but had not succeeded. Informants remarked, 'Women like meat.' They do, but there is far more to it than that. 582 589 [462]

As John Marshall shows in his film, *The Hunters*, the primary sources of physical life, sex and food, are involved. In /Kung concept they are linked together, and, as they pertain to men, their duality is lifted to oneness in the being of the man, who is the sexually powerful male and the provider, the hunter. Power as a man and a male and worthiness and dignity are associated with hunting and not with the failure to hunt. 562 828 224

Since they are related, both the sexual and the hunting powers of the young man can be captured at once with a bride. For the first several years of marriage the boy goes to live with his bride's parents, or her people, should her parents be dead, to hunt for them. The parents of girls speak constantly of wanting their sons-in-law to provide them with food as though it were an obsession. 'We are old', they say, or 'We shall soon be old [whether this is actually true or not]; we need a young man to hunt for us'; 'our daughter's husband must get us something to eat'; 'we need karosses'; 'we want meat'—these are their refrains. 583 [591] [606]

Another value the /Kung place upon the boy's hunting during his bride-service appears in their belief that if the husband hunts for his wife and feeds her while she is still a growing child she becomes the more his. Food seems to be a main concern in bride-service, but the people also say that they want to be sure that the boy measures up in every way and will take good care of their daughter, and that the girl will have time to get used to her husband. [581] [593]

[28 cont.]

535 makes his appearance as the bull of some animal species that the
585 two kin groups especially prize. He takes his place in the row of dancing men. Across from them the women have taken up their position in a long row and accompany the dance by stamping, singing, and clapping their hands. The bride stands among them. She is in no way distinguished from the other women and girls. After a few turns, the bridegroom steps out of the row of men, goes dancing toward the bride, seizes her, and dances back again. The bride then comes from the row of women, clapping her hands, stamping, and singing as she moves toward the bridegroom; without touching him, she turns back, keeping her face turned toward the bridegroom, and rejoins the row of female dancers. With this, the external formality of concluding the marriage in front of many witnesses is over.

583 "It is the young man's duty, however, to leave his paternal
591 kin group for a year and to work for his parents-in-law. This means that any spoils he gets from hunting must be left in his mother-in-law's hut. He, of course, gets his piece during the distribution of the meat, but he is not yet regarded as the actual provider for his young wife, who, as before, receives her share of the meat from her mother, although she searches for veldkost for herself and her husband.

(224) "As a hunter, the man eats only the flesh of the rump.
262 The women and children receive the legs and intestines. Children are not allowed to eat certain parts; for example, a child may not eat the heart of a jackal. The child would not become sick
[825] by doing so, but since the jackal is very cowardly, the child would
[828] also become cowardly.

591 [29] "After the first year of marriage with its obligatory service, the young wife follows her husband to the encampment where the man's father or his kin group resides.

845 "If the child is so weak that it probably will not live,
847 or if it has a physical defect, it is buried alive on the same day, with or without the consent of the father and mother.

553 "The name of the child is given by the father. This is
852 done a few days after birth. The father spits on the child's chest and calls it by name. Others sprinkle it with water from a well.

/256 cont./

224 301 328 3. A piece of root wood, called /un /gei, is pierced and worn on a bast string on the chest. This little piece of root has its distinctive story. When the Bushmen are hunting and want a clear eye to see game, they scrape a bit off its surface and rub the powdery scrapings between the eyes and from there upward across the middle of the forehead to the hairline. They believe that they can increase their keenness of vision by this procedure. An experiment that I made with the powder produced no change on the skin that was treated and naturally did not have any visible effect on my keenness of vision.

301 787 4. Little wooden sticks which are used as oracular instruments, especially by the Kung people of the Kaukau Veld.

These are four wooden sticks which are strung on a string and worn on the chest. They are about as long as a finger and about two centimeters wide. Two of them are about as thick as a finger; the two others are only a few millimeters thick. One end of the sticks is cut off smooth, and the other pointed. These four sticks are questioned for all imaginable purposes. If the Bushman wants to know where game is, where he is to expect an enemy, or which route he is to take, he asks his sticks. He does so in the following manner. He spreads a piece of leather in front of him and crouches on the ground. Then he places all four sticks parallel and on top of one another in his left hand, the back of the hand being turned toward the ground. With a sudden jerk, accompanied by clicking the tongue, he throws the little sticks on the cloth; naturally, the sticks are scattered with their tips pointing in various directions. Depending on the matter at hand, each little stick signifies something special. When I had a Bushman captain in the Kaukau Veld consult his oracle concerning the fate of our patrol, one of the thick sticks in this throw signified the oxcart that accompanied the patrol. A lively argument concerning the significance of the sticks in a given case frequently arises between the consulter of the oracle and the spectator; finally, the view of the more respected of the two apparently wins out.

/257/ The clothing of the Kung people in the Kaukau Veld
184 is essentially the same as that of the Heikum on the Omuramba
291 ua omatako; even the ornaments do not show any great differences.
301 Nevertheless, I was struck by certain peculiarities of the Kaukau people that I did not find among the Heikum.

602 ugly, slovenly, or wanton. The women retaliate, perhaps accusing the men of being worthy only of castration or of unfaithful wives. We noticed that the /Kung do not call each other sons of bitches. They are not concerned with lineage.

602 It is not thought proper to make blatant or insulting sexual jokes with old persons. The deference which is shown to aged persons is expressed by moderation, and 888 the joking relationship between an old person and a considerably younger person, [603] especially between grandparents and grandchildren, becomes a cosy friendly intimacy without the sexual emphasis.

Though the /Kung enjoy the joking relationship, it was our impression that their 602 primary concern lay in the prohibition against joking. They said it would be 'madness' to joke with persons they should not joke with. When they meet strangers they do not dare to joke until they find out whether or not it is proper for them to do so. They gave us /Kung names. This placed us in the scheme of things and people could know what their status was with us.

The /Kung say they 'fear' (*koa*) to joke when they should not and they 'fear' (*koa*) the persons with whom joking is forbidden. The word *koa* is the same word that they use when they say they fear a lion or a mamba. They also use it to mean avoid. We think it holds the same combination of fear and respect that our word holds when we say we fear the Lord.

[828 A /Kung told us that joking was not only amusing but that it served a good pur- 865] pose in teaching people, young men especially, to hold their tempers and to have poise in their social relations. We thought that joking served a good purpose in [182 providing an outlet in laughter for aggression and various social restraints, but we [154 wondered if it had not primarily been developed as a response to restraints upon sexual intercourse. Incest must be a concern among a people who live in small bands 835] of consanguineous kin and close affines, bands which are isolated for the most part within their own territories except for more or less infrequent visits to other bands. The restraints which are considered to be good and necessary may be strengthened by the symbol of avoidance of sexual joking. Respect due to a parent has perhaps come to be associated with this symbol and this may account for joking being restricted with parents of both sexes. It seems that respect in general is not required between siblings; only sexual restraint is required and this is symbolized by the restriction in joking imposed on siblings of opposite sex, whereas ego may joke with a sibling of the same sex. It is possible that the culture allows joking between grandparents and grandchildren (with the rather few exceptions when the factor of the name intervenes to classify them in the non-joking category) because joking is associated with a welcome ease and intimacy of relationship and the great difference in age removes the necessity of symbolizing sexual restraint between them.

The Name-Relationship as a Factor in Social Consolidation

553 The /Kung believe that the name is somehow a part of the entity of a person and 601 that when one is named for a person one partakes of that person's entity in some way and in some degree. Informants could give us no further elucidation of this belief.

It seems evident that, when incorporated into the system of kinship terminology, [174] the belief has produced the homonymous method of applying terms. It is our conjecture that the homonymous method was added to the system after the generational method had been established.

173 Of migration of the Bushmen from elsewhere no mention is made in local native traditions. The Hottentots, Hereros and Ovambos state that on their arrival the Bushmen were found in occupation and that the latter must have been living here ever since the creation of man. The Bushmen likewise believe that their present tribal divisions and distribution have been in existence since the very beginning of things when each tribe had its origin in a "first big Bushman" and a "first big Bushwoman" of its own by whom were handed down to their descendants the practices and customs still peculiar to and the territory still occupied by their respective tribes. Each of the existing tribes with its constituent elements is consequently looked upon as having been "born" in and having been in occupation of the same area from time immemorial. Although claiming descent from the aboriginal race they have lost all knowledge of the arts of painting and engraving. The rock paintings and carvings left by their ancestors are considered to be the works not of man but of the "devil."

[173 829] [174 531]

174 The view that the present day Bushmen are composed of the remnants of their race driven back by the advance of stronger invading races from the north and south is not borne out by evidence arising out of recent investigations into the life and customs of this primitive people.

Distribution.

101 131 With the exception of a few isolated remnants on the north bank of the Orange River and along the edge of the Namib desert, the Bushmen are confined entirely to the Kalahari along the eastern and north-eastern borders and to the northern portions of the territory which adjoin Ovamboland.

The Bushmen of the Kalahari region consist of three main divisions, each speaking a language of its own, viz.: the *|Nu-||ĕin* or *|Nu-san* in the south, the *Ngami* Bushmen in the centre and the *Kaukau* Bushmen in the north.

The *||Nu-||ĕin* inhabit those portions of the Gobabis, Gibeon and Aroab districts which lie to the east of the Elephant and Auob rivers. The northern limit of their distribution is formed by a line running roughly from Naunas across Oas to the Elephant's River, crossing the Nosob a short distance below the junction of the Black and White Nosob Rivers.

The *Ngami* Bushmen are composed of a good many tribes who inhabit a considerable portion of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In South West Africa they are represented by only a few groups of the *||Aikwe* tribe. These groups are known as the *Naron* and are distributed along the banks of the Chapman River as far as Oas.

The *Kaukau* Bushmen inhabit the greater portion of the Omaheke, including a part of the Kaukauveld and the

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

182 A lack of permanent water is probably the most trying of the difficulties
312 which beset the Bushmen of the present day in the country which shelters
[161] them. However, it is this very disadvantage which has ensured their survival,
[648] for while they have been dispossessed of their country and exterminated in the less arid parts, in the "Great Thirst Land of the Kalahari" they have been comparatively safe from their European and Bantu enemies. The austerity
134 and hardships of the Kalahari are offset to some extent by its deep level mantle of sand, which prevents run-off of the rainwater and makes it readily available for plant growth. "Clay, for example, is as dry as dust to the plant when it contains 18% of water, while most sands are very nearly saturated with 18% of water" (Schantz 1911). This means not only that the sandy soil can support more luxuriant plants in greater variety, but also that storage organs are common among them, for drainage in sand is so rapid and thorough that shallow-rooted plants at least are in a stronger position if they are able to collect and store the water before it sinks into the deeper layers.

137 Although some of the storage organs are poisonous, the Bushmen still have numerous edible bulbs, tubers and roots at their disposal. Thanks again
[222] to the sand, they can harvest these quickly and easily with wooden digging-sticks which would be inadequate in a heavy or stony soil. Other storage
[224] organs which they do not eat because of bitterness or high tannin or fibre
[262] content are nevertheless important indirectly through being eaten by the various antelopes that are the Bushmen's meat supply.

224 Hunting is easier as well, for as there could be few better tracking surfaces than the Kalahari sand and, as a wounded animal can thus be followed with very little risk of loss, hard-hitting weapons and careful aim are not
[411] necessary. Instead, the Bushmen use small poisoned arrows which have the advantage of being effective on any part of the body and of bringing death as certainly to big game as to small.

101 LINGUISTIC AND BAND GROUPINGS • The major groupings among the Bush-
197 men cannot correctly be called tribes; they are, rather, linguistic groupings and the names by which they have been traditionally known by Europeans refer to language: for example, !Kung-speaking Bushmen, Naron-speaking
[829] Bushmen. The Bushmen themselves and their Bantu neighbors use a multitude of names by which they refer to various combinations of local group-
[184] ings. Our own tentative and incomplete comparisons lead us to say that the language groups differ from one another markedly in some customs while they are much the same in others.

The language groups have no political unity among or within them-
[621] selves. The only social unit larger than the family is the autonomous band
[622] composed of several families and headed by a headman (see "Political Organization," p. 267). Each of the major groupings has many bands within it.

101 The Bushmen whose social structure I describe in this chapter are a
131 group of !Kung-speakers who call themselves *ju /ŏassi* and who live in the
[197] Nyae Nyae region of South West Africa. It is a region of about 10,000

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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square miles, centered approximately at Gautscha (about 19°48′30″ S, 20°34′36″ E). The region lies for the most part in South West Africa, but extends into the Bechuanaland Protectorate to a number of Tswana and Herero settlements along the border. We arbitrarily call this particular stretch of country a region because it is a region in the minds of the Bushmen. In it are some 27 bands living independently in their own traditional way and 9 groups employed by the Tswana and Herero—a !Kung population of about 1000. These !Kung intermarry. They have not formally structured the region as an endogamous unit, but they remain within it by custom and preference. They know there are other !Kung-speakers living to the north and northwest of them, but consider them strangers, as they do the Auen-speaking and Naron-speaking Bushmen to the south.

ECONOMY

It is vividly apparent that among the !Kung Bushmen, ethos, or "the spirit which actuates manners and customs," is survival. Their time and energies are almost wholly given to this task, for life in their environment requires that they spend their days mainly in procuring food. The band organization is important to their survival, and, to secure the mutual support and companionship that it affords, they seek to regulate their social actions to reduce tension and potential hostility among the individuals within the band. They also strive to avoid the possibility of conflict between bands. Similarly, in their religious concepts and practices, the emphasis is on survival in this life on earth, not a looking forward to the eternal life in the sky after death.

WILD PLANT FOODS (*veldkos*) • The !Kung of the Nyae Nyae region have no agriculture. They subsist mainly on wild plant foods, which we refer to by the convenient Afrikaans word *veldkos*. The game the hunters of a band manage to kill is an important part of their diet and much desired, but it is by no means the daily sustenance. In this region the !Kung know more than a hundred different kinds of veldkos (cf. Story 1958). Several species of berries exist, dry and hard for the most part. A few fruits ripen suddenly in a short season. Leaves, resembling spinach, make a spring salad for a short time. Morsels of gums from certain trees are cherished like sweets. Tsama melons and wild cucumbers grow here but do not abound in this region as they do in some other parts of the Kalahari where some Bushman groups can live on them for certain seasons without having access to any water. Most important to the daily sustenance of the Nyae Nyae !Kung are the edible underground roots, tubers, and storage organs of certain drought-resistant plants. We observed the gathering of 23 different kinds of these; doubtless there are more. In addition to the roots and tubers, there are sev-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

the members" (Murdock 1949:62 ff.). This definition very nearly fits the !Kung name relationship, but we are convinced that the !Kung do not think of the region as having a consciously structured grouping to which authority is attributed, such as, for example, a rule of endogamy. 553 602 121 [229]

(8) Among consanguineous kin, ego is forbidden to marry siblings of parents, cousins (first, strictly; second, less strictly; and third, only theoretically), and nephews and nieces. Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren and great-grandchildren is also forbidden, but is not a concern. Discrepancy in age and the realization of close consanguinity combine to make the idea ridiculous and almost unthinkable. The affines whom ego must not marry are numerous, including spouses of offspring and parents of the spouse, also spouses of uncles and aunts. 582

Ego must not marry his sister's husband's father or brother's wife's mother, because, as marriages with the sister's husband and brother's wife are preferred, it seems improper to marry parents of one of these affines. Similarly, marriage with the husband's brother and wife's sister are preferred, so it seems logical to the !Kung to forbid marriage with the husband's brother's son or the wife's sister's daughter. Marriage with the parent of a son's wife or a daughter's husband is forbidden, for if ego married these affines that would make the son and son's wife or the daughter and daughter's husband stepbrother and stepsister, which would be most awkward. Marriage with the wife's brother's wife or the husband's sister's husband is also forbidden; the reason for this lies in a complexity of the joking relationship.

Lastly, marriage is prohibited with certain name relatives whose names associate them with kinsmen to whom the incest taboo is extended. Ego is supposed not to marry anyone with the same name as his parent or offspring or anyone with the same name as his spouse's parent or offspring's spouse. He should not marry the parent or offspring or sibling of anyone with the same name as himself. 582 551

(9) When the people go to the mangetti forests after the rains have begun, the young girls draw on the soft, smooth, gray bark of female mangetti trees. They make diagrammatic representations of their genital aprons, of the bead ornaments that they wear in their hair and that are male and female symbols (the long rectangular ones are male, the triangular ones are female), and of the stripes of their leg scarifications. This suggests that the scarifications were associated directly with fertility, although now the women claim they are made only for beauty. 532 [301] [304]

Incidentally, the Nyae Nyae !Kung know nothing of the cave paintings or rock engravings that abound in other parts of southern Africa. We found none in the country around them. There were drawings, however, on baobab trees, abstract-looking forms different from the girls' drawings on the mangetti trees. 000

(10) We believe that one of several possible adjustments might be made. Strictly speaking, a daughter does not become headman (though we heard people 622 662

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The /Kung extend the incest taboo to certain categories of persons outside the nuclear family because they hold that the relationships resemble the relationships of the nuclear family and that it would therefore be incestuous to unite them in marriage. A man will say explicitly that he must not marry this or that woman because it would be 'like' marrying his mother, daughter, or sister. 582 835

The sexual constraints required between persons to whom the immediate or the extended incest taboo applies find expression in the marriage regulations and, in a secondary way, I believe, in certain avoidances which express constraint, namely: (1) Sexual joking and sexual insults, which are permitted between persons who have the joking relationship and must be avoided by others. (2) A sitting taboo. The same persons who must avoid sexual joking must also avoid sitting close to each other or to each other's family fires—with two exceptions, namely: (*a*) parents and offspring, who must never make sexual jokes but who do not at any age observe the sitting taboo; and (*b*) all young children, including siblings. The /Kung believe that the persons who must observe the sitting taboo should not allow their genital organs to touch the same spot. No great distance need separate these persons when they sit. About 18 inches is a minimum but is sufficient. The taboo is applied without sex differentiation: men must not sit near men or women, or women near women or men if they do not have the joking relationship. (3)With the exception of siblings of any age, the same persons who avoid joking avoid using each other's names in direct address. They use a kin term instead or the men may use a respect term for each other—*/nau*, 'old man'. (4) Brothers and sisters do not sit near each other when they reach adolescence and, after marriage, when they have dwelling-places of their own, do not enter each other's scherms (shelters). (5) Parents and SoWi and DaHu, in addition to observing the joking, sitting, and name avoidances, do not enter each other's scherms and do not speak to each other in the first few years of their affinal relationship. They are the only persons in /Kung society who must avoid speaking together. After three children have been born, this avoidance is eased somewhat. In-laws may then speak occasionally; once in two or three days would be considered permissible. This interesting avoidance, so varied in intensity and so widely spread in human societies, appears in /Kung society to afford whatever benefits it has without imposing great hardship at any time. A daughter-in-law may lean her scherm upon her husband's parents' scherm and build her fire only about four or five feet away, and what she wants to say to her parents-in-law she says aloud to her husband or child and her parents-in-law overhear and respond in like manner. A son-in-law also could communicate in this way. I think only a /Kung or an informed observer would know that the in-laws were not speaking directly to each other. 602 835 [593] [593] 606

The symbolism or expression of sexual constraint which underlies the joking and sitting avoidances is also observable in the modesty of these people. I believe that their modesty is not obedience to a specific taboo, like the sitting taboo, but is a more general response to being constantly in the presence of persons to whom the incest taboo applies, before whom any expression of sex would be improper. The general demeanour of the /Kung is modest. The dancing, if it gives any expression at all to sexuality or eroticism, conveys it with such restraint and delicacy as to be in extreme contrast to the dancing of the neighbouring Bantu tribes. Both men and women among the /Kung are exceedingly modest about exposing their genital 834 [831]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

834 organs and, though the women's breasts are naked (breasts are associated with
[831] nursing, not sex), the women would not expose their buttocks, which are definitely associated with sex, as the position for sexual intercourse is for the man to be at the back of the woman. When they urinate or defecate, men, women, and all but young
[514] children who are not yet toilet trained go away from the werf and squat behind bushes or in the tall grass out of sight.

The persons who express in the avoidances the sexual constraint required by the
602 incest taboo are none the less free to engage in other activities of life together.
835 Whether or not they must avoid joking and sitting near each other, whether or not they may marry, they may talk (except with SoWi or DaHu), hunt, share meat, share the water-hole, gather plant foods, cook, eat, make journeys, visit, exchange gifts, and, if they wish, huddle their scherms and fires together. And, although they must not direct sexual jokes or insults to each other, they may laugh as heartily when they overhear the jokes as relatives do who have the joking relationship together.

Because it is interesting to compare the pattern of the joking relationship with the pattern of marriage regulation, I have indicated it when I list the various categories of persons with whom marriage is forbidden or allowed.

Extension of the incest taboo to four categories

Marriage regulations, patterned upon the incest taboo as it applies in the relation-
582 ships of the nuclear family, and extended to certain other relationships because they
835 are considered to be like those of the nuclear family, forbid ego's marriage with four categories of persons, as follows: (1) members of the nuclear family and certain other consanguineous relatives; (2) certain affines; (3) step-parents, stepchildren, stepbrothers, stepsisters, and the close kin of ego's father's wife other than his mother (for example, ego's mother's co-wife's sister, who is 'like' his MoSi; (4) certain name relatives.

Category 1: ego's consanguineous relatives with whom marriage is forbidden

In Fig. 2 are listed the consanguineous relatives whom a /Kung must not marry.
582 The terms applied to them are given in their basic form only, all complicating
602 factors being omitted as they have no bearing on marriage regulations. The term
835 which ego applies to the male in a given category appears first; the term applied to females follows. The joking status is indicated by 'yes' if ego has the joking relationship with the given category of relatives, 'no' if he has not.

The /Kung use the expression 'We are one people' when they refer to certain consanguineous relatives—e.g. any lineal kin and the close collaterals listed in Fig. 2 —but they do not consider siblings of grandparents, fourth cousins or still more remote collaterals as being of 'one people' with themselves. The /Kung, who are capable of being pushed to logical conclusions by an interrogator, say that they recognize a degree of consanguinity among such collaterals but spoke of them as
[553] 'those people'. 'Those people would name their children for their own people', they said, for example. 'We name our children for our people.'

I made considerable effort to determine whether or not I should include third
[605] cousins as within 'one people'. Many of the informants from whom we gathered genealogical data did not know the names of their third cousins, but, when we estab-

/143 cont./

411 All the weapons are both tools for warfare and for hunting,
[526] and in a sense they are also used for sport since contests are fought with them. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

Fig. 6. Lance Points. One-half natural size [as shown in original text].

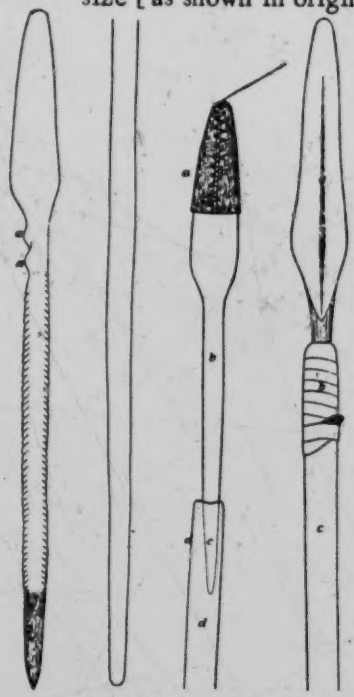

Fig. 6a Fig. 6b Fig. 6c Fig. 6d

[831] Fig. 6a. Iron point: a a, barbs. This is a "male" point; the barbs are the "testicles." The other lance points are "women," because they have no testicles (that is, barbs).

Fig. 6b. Lower end of a lance shaft, showing the tapering of a shaft at the lower end.

Fig. 6c. Iron point attached to the shaft: a, cover of sewed leather; b, iron part; c, iron part that is inserted in the shaft; d, wooden shaft.

Fig. 6d. Upper end of a spear: a, iron point; b, wrapping at

[22 cont.]

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648

appropriated a number of little trees and planted them in front of his house. On one occasion when he was in town with his Bushmen, the original owner of the trees declared that in the afternoon he was going to see about it. The Bushmen heard this and disappeared. When the two Whites came to the farm, the little trees had disappeared. The Bushmen had run ahead and had hurriedly removed them on their own initiative.

181 The Bushmen are at all times courageous and steadfast people, characteristics which, indeed, their very way of life would produce.

● 831 The Bushmen strictly avoid talking about sexual matters
[864] in the presence of women and children. Just as in general they are a people without imagination, they do not have any form of the more subtle erotic phantasies.

The endless obscene stories that one hears from the Blacks as soon as he has gained their confidence are unknown among the Bushmen.

The sexual element is absent in their religious cele-
[535] brations, but it finds expression in many of their dances, which imitate the love play of animals.

834 On the whole, their sense of modesty cannot be denied, even though, naturally, they do not have such decent forms of conduct as the genteel Bantu, among whom it is regarded as extremely improper to look at the breasts of the women. The
[516] girls and women never sit in the typical squatting position, but rather sit on the ground with the legs crossed.

(576) Although the life of the Bushmen within the encampment is openly in view, those principles that we regard as natural tact are nonetheless observed.

(514) The Bushman performs his necessities at all times out of sight of the others, and love scenes are never enacted in public.

114 It is naturally very difficult to learn anything more
124 precise concerning the more intimate details of sexual life

[22 cont.]

114 without compromising oneself. Only old people are suitable
124 informants, since they are no longer eager for renown.

In view of the hard life that the people lead, sexuality,
831 naturally, is not excessively developed. Perverse manipulations are evidently unknown, since my informants did not even understand questions on this subject.

833 Normal sexual intercourse is usually performed in the bush during the time between the evening meal and the rising
271 of the moon. Long periods of thirst result in almost total im-
147 potence.

157 Despite all the formality, they have an unbridled
578 temperament which frequently expresses itself in violent emotional explosions over trivial affairs, which then may easily lead to serious consequences since the poisoned arrow is always at hand. For example, I was told the following story: A Bushman worked on a farm for quite a long time and, with his belly fat from eating maize, came to visit his thin companions. His brother made fun of him for being so fat, saying that he could not run any more, whereupon the fat one retorted: "Just the same, I'll live longer than you." After this brief exchange of words, the scrawny brother stabbed the fat one. -- A film com-
157 pany once wanted to make a film among the !Kung who are
648 settled behind Keibeb; the film was to be called: "When the First Whites Came into the Land." The chief of this horde had a [23] pair of old German military trousers as an emblem of his office and when he was requested to take them off, he responded with the declaration that he would take off his trousers only if the White did the same, whereupon he received a box on the ears that put him and his companions in such a rage that the film company preferred to depart in order to avoid a catastrophe.
157 That they can also be quick at repartee is shown by the following story which was repeatedly told to me by Europeans: A Bushman had been accused of poaching. The magistrate asked him: "Don't you know that these animals belong to the king (royal game)?" The Bushman answered: "I saw no 'brand' (property mark)."

As a chief or family head, the Bushman is bossy and
[593] unyielding, which is understandable in view of the rigidity of his whole conception of life. The sick Bushmen lie silent and

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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know, but Gai became embarassed and said gravely that 124 825
Pishiboro put that system there for reproduction and he alone knew how it worked.

Ukwane then said that he would explain instead, because 221
he was an old man. Gai could not speak of sex in front of 831
women because it was both improper and dangerous and 784 826
would weaken his power to hunt, but Ukwane was too old 888
for hunting and, besides, was past the age when many of the 124
tabus concerning sex applied to him. Old Bushmen understand everything better anyway, young Bushmen say.

Ukwane knew a great deal. He named every major part, 124
inside and out, of the animal, even naming the major veins 825
and arteries that lead to and from the heart. We were not surprised to find that Bushmen, who prefer to be specific rather than general when dealing with minute things, distinguish more exterior parts of the body then we do. They have names, for example, for the inside of the elbow and the back of the knee. The *leg* of an animal means the hind leg, the front leg is the *arm*, and these are called by the same names as the arm and leg of human beings. Birds, too, fly with their arms and land on their legs, but I never could discover what insects do.

Ukwane went on to explain the various systems of the body, saying in the case of the urogenital system that liquid, which was "the little springboks," ran from the testicles into the kidneys, then down again and out the penis. He stuck to this version, too, even when Bill suggested that it might be otherwise. This does not mean that Bushmen think that urine [942]
causes conception, for they recognize the role of semen, believing that it unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form a child.

Ukwane understood the course of food and water through 124
the digestive system, but said that food and water spread out 827

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe

578 522 152 bands, who at the time were barely out of earshot. One story concerned Dasina, how she had fainted from smoking too much the day we had come, and to show exactly what had happened, Wite and Witabe acted the scene, Wite taking the part of Dasina and fainting on Witabe's shoulder while the other boys laughed. Bushmen's jokes and stories are usually funny at the expense of a person, an animal, or the god Pishiboro, maliciousness being one way in which Bushmen rid themselves of their resentments.

536 ●831 825 Somewhat later Wite and Giamakwe acted for the others the scene of the hyena's mating, as they imagined it or knew it to be, for the night it had happened only the sound had reached us and the hyenas had not been seen. Giamakwe took the part of the male hyena, Wite took the part of the female. First they walked together on all fours and rubbed faces, and then Giamakwe climbed on Wite's back, emitting a lonesome howl just like the howl we had heard. It was not meant to be funny, and the other boys watched it calmly, treating the mating of hyenas as a matter of course. All in all, it was a majestic imitation, with snarls and growls, then mounting and pretending to copulate with shivering and ecstasy, then more growls, until finally the male fell away exhausted and curled up on his side, whereupon the female attacked him. It took a long time from start to finish, the Bushman boys being so literal that they not only gave a precise rendition of the event but took exactly the amount of time that the hyenas had taken.

574 The adults had not watched the children but were visiting quietly with each other, some of the men from the Okwa band having come to Ukwane's werf to sit at the fires. Very late at night, when the Firewood Star was rising and the Zebra Stars of Orion were just setting foot upon the earth, the visitors got up to go.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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584 One day the young man killed a little buck and, according to custom, gave most of it to his bride's parents, thus proving that he hunted well and would provide for them and their daughter. With this the engagement was sealed. Shortly after-
585 ward the mothers of the bride and groom built a scherm for the young couple which they furnished with wood and water and enlivened with a fire, kindled by brands from their own fires. Very early the following day the bride's mother adorned
[301 122 83] the bride, washing her, hanging white bead ornaments from her hair, rubbing her clothing with red, sweet-smelling powder, a symbol to Bushmen of beauty. Then, sitting her upon one large kaross, they covered her with another and left her to spend the day motionless, waiting for evening, when the union would take place.

788 It is common in Bushman ceremonies for a person at a transitional moment of life to be raised from the ground and hidden from the sun, as though suspended between earth and sky. Young people on the day of their first marriage are protected in this way; so are newborn babies, and so are girls
[84] on the day of their first menstruation. At a funeral, too, the body before burial is covered and raised from the ground, and perhaps all this is because a person is especially susceptible to damage at times of life when change is taking place, when, perhaps, a person is as delicate and fragile as a new moth emerged from a cocoon.

585 Because the sun brings death, no ceremony or part of any
[821 761] ceremony is performed when the sun is strong; but when evening came and the sun itself was dying, the groom was led to his new home by his three brothers, who took him by the hands and pulled him there, forced him, for custom demanded that he show reluctance. The bride, according to custom, refused to go to her husband and had to be picked up by another little girl and carried to him. In the drama of re-

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and traditionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsĩ* and fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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again; being, on the first occasion, allowed to look afar over her mother's hand. She leaves the small hut, when allowed to look about and around again; and she then walks about like the other women. During the time she is in retreat, she must not look at the springbok, lest they become wild."[1] She was not allowed to eat game killed by the young men, but only that which her father had shot; and, above all, she was not to look upon or be approached by men lest harm come to both them and herself. There are several legends describing how men who were looked upon by a girl at this time became fixed in whatever position they then occupied, or even became transformed into stones, or stars in the sky, or trees which talked; while girls who were disobedient became converted into frogs or were carried off to death by the rain.[2]

Further north, in some of the North-Western tribes (Naron, Auen, Kung), the central feature of the girls' puberty ceremony is the eland bull dance, which is held in the girl's honour.[3] As soon as she has her first period, neighbours and friends assemble to a big feast given by her parents. By day she is kept in a special hut, tended by women only, and no man may come near her; while every night until her period has passed the eland bull dance is performed. All the men and boys leave the camp, save two old men, who tie elands' horns or wooden imitations thereof to their heads, and wait in the bushes. The older women stand in a line, singing and clapping their hands. The girl is brought from her hut, and sits or lies on the ground by them. The younger women then circle round before them, or make a figure of eight. They dance with their arms outstretched before them, and have a peculiar slow, swaying step. As they dance they lift their karosses and aprons to one side, and expose their buttocks, which they waggle from side to side. Then the two "bulls" stamp up, holding their karosses pulled well down over their shoulders, and presenting a hunched-up appearance. They join the line of dancers, sometimes leading it, sometimes in the middle of it, and dance with a slow, jogging step. The song accompanying their movements is full and low in tune, but without words. The motif of this dance clearly is the courtship of the eland bull, and although as seen by Passarge and Miss Bleek it was kept within bounds, they say that it can easily become indecent.

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 76–7.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10, 14, 18; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 10.
[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101–3; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157–8; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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shoulders, or holding his arms out behind her, without touching her. 535
In other dances the men dance round alone, then approach the line of singers, holding out their arms. The courting motive is clear, 535
though not indecently expressed."[1] Stow, however, describes 831
certain dances of the Southern Bushmen which he stigmatizes as lascivious and orgiastic, and in which, he says, "the women appear to have offered themselves up to sexual congress."[2] There are several suggestions also that the eland bull dance, as well as various others [114]
imitating the sexual life of animals, may assume a pronouncedly erotic character, but these suggestions are conveyed as a rule by our authorities in the form of generalized statements obviously based on hearsay, and lack concrete illustration.

Most of the dances appear to be based on episodes in the lives of 535
wild animals; the dancers imitate the animals, and go through the 825
actions characteristic of them. Several of these dances, observed by Fourie among the Heikum, may serve to illustrate their general character. In the Jackal and Wolf dance, in which only the men take part, a hyena is represented feeding on a carcase and keeping off a couple of hungry jackals. Every now and again, as the latter attempt to approach too close to the carcass, the hyena scares them off and they jump out of the way. The Horse dance is likewise danced by men only, who go round quickly in a circle, while the women clap their hands in imitation of the sound made by a galloping horse. The Gemsbok dance, again, represents a gemsbok bull, cow, and calf being chased by two men with three or four dogs. The bull and cow carry horns but the calf does not. The buck lead and are followed by the men and dogs, who dance to and fro on the flanks until the animals are brought to bay. Then the men pretend to shoot, bows and arrows being represented by sticks, and one of the buck goes down wounded, while the others make off pursued by some of the dogs. The wounded animal fights in realistic fashion, sweeping at both men and dogs with its horns. The dance is continued until all the animals have been accounted for.[3]

Among the Southern Bushmen the dancers often made themselves up to represent various animals, birds, and imaginary monsters, with the aid of either paint or the skins, heads, and horns of the objects to be represented. In many of their dances "they were so dressed as to represent a particular animal, when the dance was called by its name; such was the *t'Gorlo'ka*, the *Man-nia*, or Baboon dance, in

[1] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit. [2] Stow, op. cit., 115, 118–19. [3] Op. cit., 96.

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[482] 559 556 595 [422] [431] in the pouches of their karosses along with their babies. This puts a strict limit upon any desire to possess great quantities of property in movables. Furthermore, gift-giving keeps all personal property moving in a current through the region and no one possesses very much more than another. The determining factors in obtaining more than one wife are apt to be the personalities of the individuals and the man's ability to hunt. 'Women love meat', we were told, and like their husbands to be good hunters.

595 The number of wives a man may have is not regulated by social rules but by his ability to obtain and support them. This limits him usually to one. None of the nine polygynists in the band had more than two. However, we heard of a man named Gao, now dead, who had had four wives all at one time. He had been a fabulous hunter and maker of arrows and was the father of the /Ti/kay who is the husband of two sisters, /Naoka and /Nai, in Band 9.

Only two of the nine pairs of co-wives had traceable consanguineous relationship. The above /Ti/kay's wives were sisters—the only ones—and, in Band 10, Old ≠Gao's younger wife, /Ghia, was the BrDa of his older wife, Bau.

[601] /*Kwi*, sister, is the term which co-wives apply to each other, unless they have the same name, in which case they term each other /*gu!na*. The /Kung, though they do not institutionalize the sororate, say it is a good idea to marry sisters because they are not so likely to be jealous of each other as other women. /Ti/kay's wives, who appeared to live in harmony and affection and to support each other, provided an example of the validity of this opinion.

Marriage to the same man gives co-wives the joking relationship, and they do not observe the sitting or the name avoidance, though they may have avoided each other before marriage.

[342] /Kung co-wives share one scherm and one family fire. The scherm, the little shelter of branches and grass which the women build, a half hemisphere in shape, is only 3 to 4 ft. wide on the open side, about 3 ft. deep at the centre, perhaps 4 to 5 ft. high at the peak. In it and in front of it, beside their one fire, the two wives live, share their man, share the food they gather, share the work of fetching water and wood, nurse each other's babies, and co-operate in whatever degree of harmony their spirits can attain.

513 Husbands and wives may sleep separately or lie close together, side by side, or feet to feet. The woman holds her infant in her arms. Young children sleep near by bundled together, two or three in one kaross. Girls at about seven or eight go to sleep with a grandmother or a widowed friend or relative. The boys of the band, beginning at the same age, all sleep at a boys' fire.

[595] [821] /Ti/kay (Band 9), husband of the two attractive sisters, sees to it that his wives lie close to him, especially on cold nights, one on each side. Sleeping thus they were like the three stars of Orion which we call the Belt, but which the /Kung say are three zebras, two females with a male between them.

513 833 It is under such conditions that the /Kung usually have sexual intercourse—at night, in their sleeping place. They cover themselves with their karosses and are very discreet. The position is to lie on the side, the man at the back of the woman. Men pull the labia of the women before intercourse. The wives of /Ti/kay told me that they took pleasure in intercourse. I asked them if they had orgasms. We had

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considerable difficulty with the interpretation, but I believe they finally understood 513
what I was trying to say. They did, they said, and added that one sleeps very well 833
afterwards.

Co-wives attain varying degrees of harmony. The expression of jealousy, especially 595
loud wrangling, upsets everybody, as all expression of discord does. Women are 578
trained by group approval to mould their conduct to acceptance. But often painful 626
jealousy does beset them, and the tensions are there, though to some extent hidden.

/Aha, wife of a young /Ti/kay in Band 13 at Gam, and still a young woman herself, 159
had with her fierce jealousy driven /Khoa, the pretty young second wife, wailing 595
into the night, back to her family's scherm. /Ti/kay used to sit for hours upon hours
singing soft, sad, sweet laments for /Khoa, but she did not return to live with
him.

The behaviour of /Naoka and Di/ai, the wives of the medicine man, Gao, in Band 1, was more typical. Both women were approaching middle age, Di/ai somewhat younger than /Naoka. /Naoka had two married daughters and a teen-age son when Gao married Di/ai. The two women obviously disliked each other, but managed to preserve a decent semblance of harmony by self-control, silence, avoiding each other as much as possible in the small space they live in by their fire, and by separating often—going with different groups of relatives and friends to gather wild plant foods, to fetch water, or to visit.

A few men said that the jealousy of co-wives could be so unbearable that they 595
would not marry a second wife, but one said it made him feel good to have two
women fighting over him. Most of the men said they wanted more than one wife.
They pitied Laurence Marshall because the laws of his land forbade his having [186]
several, which they considered him rich enough to afford. One said he would not
live where there were such nonsensical rules.

The first wife is considered to have a somewhat more highly esteemed and dominant position. She is supposed to have the right to tell a second wife what to do, and a young second wife should fetch water and wood for the older wife, but I never saw this done.

No property or other material advantage is given a first wife and no important social advantages accrue. For instance, headmanship is inherited by the headman's [672]
eldest son by whichever wife he may be borne, and being the mother of a headman
does not place a woman above other mothers of sons.

It appeared to me that first wives were often at a disadvantage. Among the people we knew, the husbands favoured their younger, second wives with two exceptions: /Ti/kay of Band 9 favoured his first wife, the elder sister, and Gao, the headman of Band 2, favoured his first wife. Both were good-tempered, intelligent, able women. They appeared to take care of the young girls who were their co-wives, rather than to be served in any way by them. Other older first wives seemed sometimes to be dejected. One told me her husband always took the young second wife with him and, to her deep humiliation, sometimes left her, the first wife, to stay for a time with one or another family in the band, although she said to him, 'Why do you shame me so?'

None of the /Kung women informants expressed enthusiasm for polygyny. Each 185
wanted a husband to herself. They did not expound the social advantage which 595

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159 Band 2. She was /Nai's second cousin (MoFaBrSoDa) and the first cousin once
585 removed of the groom (MoSiDaDa). The attendants were not selected for their precise relationship to the bride. They were the only young kinswomen present in the two bands. The girls sat down and chatted with /Nai for a moment and then stood up and, giggling and chattering, took /Nai by the arms. /Nai drew back. Then Xama pulled /Nai's arms over her shoulders, bent and took /Nai on to her back so that her feet did not touch the ground. Xama carried /Nai in this position to the wedding scherm, laid her down inside, to the left of the opening as one entered, in the dark shadow, and covered her over with the kaross. There /Nai remained. We did not see her again that night.

It is the custom for the parents to take brands from their own fires to light the wedding fire of the bride and groom. Presumably this was done, though I did not see it. When the girls arrived the fire was burning and a young man, a cousin of the groom, was tending it. The two girls sat down by the fire on the women's side.

562 /Kung men and women must sit on opposite sides of the fire.[1] They believe that if
834 male and female genital organs should touch the same spot on the ground the man's
352 hunting powers would be vitiated and the woman would get a sickness in her genito-urinary tract, not an ordinary, human, communicable disease but a magical one. The woman's side is to the left as one faces the entrance to the scherm, the men's to the right. The fire is always in front of the entrance if the scherm is built, but, more often than not, if the weather is good, or the people are travelling and staying
[342] only one night, or the wife is lazy, she hangs the family belongings in a bush and does not build a scherm. Then it is the custom to thrust two upright sticks into the ground to represent the entrance, so that the family may orient itself.

In the werf of Band 2, about twenty or thirty yards to the west, a group of boys had
159 come to /Gunda to attend him. They were all the young boys of the werf who
585 were approximately his age, two cousins (MoSiSo) and four of the sons of /Gunda's stepfather by his first wife. The boys made a show of catching /Gunda and held him by the arms for a moment, laughing and talking. Then they formed a line with /Gunda following at the end, walked to the wedding fire, and sat down on the men's

[1] This taboo reveals the association which, I
224 believe, the /Kung make between the hunting power
833 of men and the male sexual principle. Both must be protected, and sexual activity must be controlled and constrained lest the life-giving and food-producing force of men be weakened or drained away. During the period of a hunt a man must not have sexual intercourse—that is, while the man is looking for game and, after he has shot his little poisoned arrow into the animal, while he is tracking it for miles and waiting and watching for days till it dies of the poison. A hunt usually demands many days and nights of effort and privation.

[783] Too frequent indulgence in sexual intercourse with one's wife, even when no hunt is in progress, is believed to diminish a man's hunting power. Some
[841] men believed that once in five nights was best; others thought once in three nights was all right. Men who have the joking relationship constantly play upon the theme of excess, taunting each other: 'You do not know hunting, you know women', 'You cannot leave your wife long enough to hunt.'

The /Kung are less strict about another taboo. A woman is supposed not to touch a man's hunting gear at any time, because this would lessen his power to hunt. But I have often seen women touch assegais and quivers. Indeed it has sometimes been urgently necessary to do so when the children got hold of them, as, for instance, when the three-year-old ≠Gao, agile as a flea, took after us with his father's assegai, infuriated with us for some sudden notion of his own. There is a medicine called *gow gowna*, made from a plant, which may be rubbed on the weapons to purify them if they are touched by women, but I never saw this done and doubted if anyone bothered with it. The effect of a woman's touching the hunting gear is much stronger if she is menstruating. I assume they are more careful then.

!KUNG

[19 cont.]

approximate ages of the members:

162

	Horde I	Horde II	Horde III	Horde IV
Men	9	7	4	10
Old men	--	--	4	1
Women of child-bearing age	10	12	13	9
Matrons	4	9	7	6
Infants	6	6	7	2
Small children:				
Boys 1-4 years old	2	3	8	3
Girls 1-4 years old	3	4	6	1
Children:				
Boys 5-10 years old	4	4	?	?
Girls 5-10 years old	3	2	?	?
Young men	5	--	?	?
Young women	5	3	?	?

The above table thus has reference to 44 women capable of bearing children and to 38 marriages, of which two are polygamous. Four are widows. In these 38 marriages, there are 15 infants, mostly under one year old. To the extent it could be determined, 12 women were pregnant, and about five of them had [842] older infants. It would seem, then, that nursing beyond one year [853] affords no practical protection against a new conception.

833 183 The rule among the Nog-au that cohabitation with the mother may be renewed only when the baby is able to sit is well known, but it is not particularly observed.

165 With these 15 infants there should accordingly be 45 small children from one to four years old; in actual fact, however, there are only 30 small children, which gives an infant mortality rate of 33 per cent. This rate is no higher than is to be expected among primitive tribes in malaria regions; in fact, it is lower than in some native locations, such as East London.

[22 cont.]

114 without compromising oneself. Only old people are suitable
124 informants, since they are no longer eager for renown.

831 In view of the hard life that the people lead, sexuality, naturally, is not excessively developed. Perverse manipulations are evidently unknown, since my informants did not even understand questions on this subject.

833 Normal sexual intercourse is usually performed in the bush during the time between the evening meal and the rising
271 of the moon. Long periods of thirst result in almost total im-
147 potence.

157 Despite all the formality, they have an unbridled
578 temperament which frequently expresses itself in violent emotional explosions over trivial affairs, which then may easily lead to serious consequences since the poisoned arrow is always at hand. For example, I was told the following story: A Bushman worked on a farm for quite a long time and, with his belly fat from eating maize, came to visit his thin companions. His brother made fun of him for being so fat, saying that he could not run any more, whereupon the fat one retorted: "Just the same, I'll live longer than you." After this brief exchange of words, the scrawny brother stabbed the fat one. -- A film com-
157 pany once wanted to make a film among the !Kung who are
648 settled behind Keibeb; the film was to be called: "When the First Whites Came into the Land." The chief of this horde had a [23] pair of old German military trousers as an emblem of his office and when he was requested to take them off, he responded with the declaration that he would take off his trousers only if the White did the same, whereupon he received a box on the ears that put him and his companions in such a rage that the film company preferred to depart in order to avoid a catastrophe.
157 That they can also be quick at repartee is shown by the following story which was repeatedly told to me by Europeans: A Bushman had been accused of poaching. The magistrate asked him: "Don't you know that these animals belong to the king (royal game)?" The Bushman answered: "I saw no 'brand' (property mark)."

As a chief or family head, the Bushman is bossy and
[593] unyielding, which is understandable in view of the rigidity of his whole conception of life. The sick Bushmen lie silent and

[68 cont.]

1. Birth and Childhood

844 Among the ≠Auin, the husband of a woman in childbed slings the string of his bow around her stomach, but he is not present at the birth itself. The cord is severed with the tip of a reed splinter.

Among the Naron and Nogau, the delivery proceeds as it does
844 among the !Kung; an old woman usually provides assistance, however.

Twins (Hoi-holi) are not desired; among the Nogau one of
845 them is killed.

Among the Nogau, the father gives the child its name.
553] There the child has its umbilical cord severed by means of a
844 sharp quartz splinter. A woman in childbed may not eat blood and head meat. Until the child is able to sit up, the husband
[833] may not cohabit with the mother. The latter custom is also found among the Betschuana. Nogau children are not allowed to eat
262 the flesh of the wildcat and of two birds (tsugnussi and /gui).
[114] Kaufmann has made some observations concerning children's
524 games; Bleek also provides some data:

Among the ≠Auin little bows and arrows serve as children's toys. The same applies to the Naron and Nagau [sic]. Stilts
[481] are known among the Auin and are used by men and boys. Con-
524 cerning children's games among the Naron, Miss Bleek reports:

The Game of the Big Water Snake

A boy crawls on his stomach to a small pile of sand which is supposed to represent the waterhole. At some distance from it, the children sit in a row, one behind the other, in such a way that each one sits between the legs of the one behind him; he puts his hands on the shoulder of the person in front of him. The biggest child [69] always sits at the front, the smallest at the back. They sing a song that in part is no longer intelligible. (Probably in the children's language.) This big "snake" now moves very slowly around the waterhole, while the water snake from time to time throws sand on it; then the others withdraw. At the end the snake catches one from the row and "eats it." I

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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thought that he would have to wait at least four years more 582
for her, he would get into such a passion of desire that he
would have to send his wife away for a time, lest he forget
himself and break one of the most stringent rules. Bushmen [833 834]
believe that it harms a girl terribly to be possessed before she
is mature. It might even drive her mad.

Bushmen have no real solution for this problem, as there 548
are no prostitutes and only in a few bands are there promiscu- 588
ous women. Homosexuality is not permitted either; the 838
young men just have to get used to being tempted constantly
but never gratified.

Gai had raised his young wife, and when she reached pu- 593
berty he had possessed her and she had borne him a son. This 587
was the young man Gai had found at Okwa. Shortly after
that his young wife had died and Gai then had married Tse-
tchwe, whose young fiancé had been taken away by a farmer
to work on a farm. Gai and Tsetchwe had borne two chil-
dren. Only one was still alive; this was Nhwakwe.

When we asked about the residence and about the parents 159
of Gai, an argument arose. Gai lived with Ukwane because
his wife wanted to live with her mother, Dasina, and Dasina
lived with Ukwane because she and Ukwane were relatives,
sharing a common grandparent. Gai himself, said Ukwane,
was conceived by a Bushman mother and a Bushman father
named Gwena, but Gwena had died while Gai was still in
the womb. When that had happened, Gai's mother had gone [582]
to Chukudu to marry a Bakalahari man. She and the Bakala-
hari had then moved to the big rock in the Okwa Omaramba,
where Gai was born. This was Ukwane's side of the story.

Gai had been listening, and when Ukwane had finished,
Gai raised himself up on his elbow to say that Ukwane was 159
quite mistaken, for the Bakalahari was his real father. An ar-
gument dragged on, the old people insisting that Ukwane was

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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wishes uppermost in their minds. Orphans are eagerly adopted 844
by their aunts or grandparents, and a newborn baby is wel- [736]
comed as though it were the first baby the werf had ever seen. Sometimes, though, a baby is born that cannot be supported, and if this happens the baby is destroyed. If a woman bears a child that is crippled or badly deformed, she is expected to destroy it, and if the season is very hard and she already has a baby under a year old depending on her milk, she is forced to kill her newborn child. Bushman women can hardly bear this, but they do.

If a woman knows that she must kill her baby, she braces herself for this as best she can, and when the time comes to do it she must act immediately, must take advantage of the moment after birth before the infant has "come to life," that moment between the time the baby is born and the time her love for the baby wells up in her so that the act would be impossible forever after. She must think of the child she has already and act quickly, before she hears her infant's voice, before the baby moves or waves its feet; she must not look at it for long or hold it, but must have a shallow grave ready for it and must put it in at once and cover it and never think of it again. In times of extreme deprivation she can do this, or she can wait to watch both her children die. All this is very hard, and Bushmen, who have no mechanical form of con- [842
traception and know no way to cause miscarriage or abortion, 833]
prefer to abstain from intercourse for long periods rather than to suffer such pain.

We knew one woman who had been forced to destroy a baby to save an older child, and we knew one woman who had borne a crippled child and had been persuaded to destroy it by her mother, who had been present at the birth. Such things are very rare, though, and this is fortunate.

. . .

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The /Kung extend the incest taboo to certain categories of persons outside the nuclear family because they hold that the relationships resemble the relationships of the nuclear family and that it would therefore be incestuous to unite them in marriage. A man will say explicitly that he must not marry this or that woman because it would be 'like' marrying his mother, daughter, or sister. 582 835

The sexual constraints required between persons to whom the immediate or the extended incest taboo applies find expression in the marriage regulations and, in a secondary way, I believe, in certain avoidances which express constraint, namely: (1) Sexual joking and sexual insults, which are permitted between persons who have the joking relationship and must be avoided by others. (2) A sitting taboo. The same persons who must avoid sexual joking must also avoid sitting close to each other or to each other's family fires—with two exceptions, namely: (*a*) parents and offspring, who must never make sexual jokes but who do not at any age observe the sitting taboo; and (*b*) all young children, including siblings. The /Kung believe that the persons who must observe the sitting taboo should not allow their genital organs to touch the same spot. No great distance need separate these persons when they sit. About 18 inches is a minimum but is sufficient. The taboo is applied without sex differentiation: men must not sit near men or women, or women near women or men if they do not have the joking relationship. (3)With the exception of siblings of any age, the same persons who avoid joking avoid using each other's names in direct address. They use a kin term instead or the men may use a respect term for each other—*/nau*, 'old man'. (4) Brothers and sisters do not sit near each other when they reach adolescence and, after marriage, when they have dwelling-places of their own, do not enter each other's scherms (shelters). (5) Parents and SoWi and DaHu, in addition to observing the joking, sitting, and name avoidances, do not enter each other's scherms and do not speak to each other in the first few years of their affinal relationship. They are the only persons in /Kung society who must avoid speaking together. After three children have been born, this avoidance is eased somewhat. In-laws may then speak occasionally; once in two or three days would be considered permissible. This interesting avoidance, so varied in intensity and so widely spread in human societies, appears in /Kung society to afford whatever benefits it has without imposing great hardship at any time. A daughter-in-law may lean her scherm upon her husband's parents' scherm and build her fire only about four or five feet away, and what she wants to say to her parents-in-law she says aloud to her husband or child and her parents-in-law overhear and respond in like manner. A son-in-law also could communicate in this way. I think only a /Kung or an informed observer would know that the in-laws were not speaking directly to each other. 602 835 [593] [593] 606

The symbolism or expression of sexual constraint which underlies the joking and sitting avoidances is also observable in the modesty of these people. I believe that their modesty is not obedience to a specific taboo, like the sitting taboo, but is a more general response to being constantly in the presence of persons to whom the incest taboo applies, before whom any expression of sex would be improper. The general demeanour of the /Kung is modest. The dancing, if it gives any expression at all to sexuality or eroticism, conveys it with such restraint and delicacy as to be in extreme contrast to the dancing of the neighbouring Bantu tribes. Both men and women among the /Kung are exceedingly modest about exposing their genital 834 [831]

834 organs and, though the women's breasts are naked (breasts are associated with
[831] nursing, not sex), the women would not expose their buttocks, which are definitely associated with sex, as the position for sexual intercourse is for the man to be at the back of the woman. When they urinate or defecate, men, women, and all but young
[514] children who are not yet toilet trained go away from the werf and squat behind bushes or in the tall grass out of sight.

The persons who express in the avoidances the sexual constraint required by the
602 incest taboo are none the less free to engage in other activities of life together.
835 Whether or not they must avoid joking and sitting near each other, whether or not they may marry, they may talk (except with SoWi or DaHu), hunt, share meat, share the water-hole, gather plant foods, cook, eat, make journeys, visit, exchange gifts, and, if they wish, huddle their scherms and fires together. And, although they must not direct sexual jokes or insults to each other, they may laugh as heartily when they overhear the jokes as relatives do who have the joking relationship together.

Because it is interesting to compare the pattern of the joking relationship with the pattern of marriage regulation, I have indicated it when I list the various categories of persons with whom marriage is forbidden or allowed.

Extension of the incest taboo to four categories

Marriage regulations, patterned upon the incest taboo as it applies in the relation-
582 ships of the nuclear family, and extended to certain other relationships because they
835 are considered to be like those of the nuclear family, forbid ego's marriage with four categories of persons, as follows: (1) members of the nuclear family and certain other consanguineous relatives; (2) certain affines; (3) step-parents, stepchildren, stepbrothers, stepsisters, and the close kin of ego's father's wife other than his mother (for example, ego's mother's co-wife's sister, who is 'like' his MoSi; (4) certain name relatives.

Category 1: ego's consanguineous relatives with whom marriage is forbidden

582 In Fig. 2 are listed the consanguineous relatives whom a /Kung must not marry.
602 The terms applied to them are given in their basic form only, all complicating
835 factors being omitted as they have no bearing on marriage regulations. The term which ego applies to the male in a given category appears first; the term applied to females follows. The joking status is indicated by 'yes' if ego has the joking relationship with the given category of relatives, 'no' if he has not.

The /Kung use the expression 'We are one people' when they refer to certain consanguineous relatives—e.g. any lineal kin and the close collaterals listed in Fig. 2 —but they do not consider siblings of grandparents, fourth cousins or still more remote collaterals as being of 'one people' with themselves. The /Kung, who are capable of being pushed to logical conclusions by an interrogator, say that they recognize a degree of consanguinity among such collaterals but spoke of them as
[553] 'those people'. 'Those people would name their children for their own people', they said, for example. 'We name our children for our people.'

I made considerable effort to determine whether or not I should include third
[605] cousins as within 'one people'. Many of the informants from whom we gathered genealogical data did not know the names of their third cousins, but, when we estab-

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

584 Boys are always considerably older than girls before their parents betroth them.
[805] We never knew the precise age of a /Kung because they reckon time from one season to the next, not in years, and do not keep track of a person's age by any measurement. Boys appear to be usually around twelve to fourteen or fifteen before they are
[868] betrothed. At this age their fathers begin to take them on the long hard hunts for the
[883] big animals which supply the people's meat and begin their serious hunting training.

As to girls, wives are in such demand in this polygynous society that the parents of boys have their eyes upon every girl baby and may say to the parents of an unborn infant, 'If it is a girl, let us have her for our son.' It seems to be more usual, however, to betroth the girls when they are about two to five or six. The boys wait patiently for long years for their fiancées to grow up.

We wondered what would happen if, when the time at last came for the marriage, the boy or girl should refuse the parents' choice. It appears that they seldom do. A boy is usually too eager to get a wife. To refuse the betrothed might mean he would have to wait for years and years again for a girl baby to grow up. The girls are usually too young to protest but it sometimes happens that one does. /Kung
593 parents are exceedingly protective and permissive with their children, and delight
855 in them, especially in their infancy. I have sometimes seen an older child scolded or
861 snapped at by an impatient mother but I never saw a child severely punished. No hard work and few, if any, regular chores are demanded of dependent children. The same protectiveness and permissiveness were apparent in parents' lenience with respect to their girls' betrothals. They complied with the girls' wishes.

The marriage may take place when the parents agree. The age of the young people
582 varies greatly. For the girl, there are no definite age or other requirements. The girl need not, for instance, show physical signs of maturity. When the important Ceremony of First Menstruation is performed, the girl may have been married for years. Bau, who was married to Tsamgao in 1951, did not have her first child for six years. /Nai was married to /Gunda in May 1953. She menstruated for the first time in March 1959. To be married as young as that is not at all unusual, but we have known several girls to be somewhat older.

The parents explain that when the girls marry young they 'get used to' their
582 husbands. I am sure there is a great deal in this and I am sure it strongly affects the
593 relations of husbands and wives, but I had insufficient opportunity to observe eight- or nine-year-old brides with teen-age husbands, and insufficient means, through interpreters, to grasp the nature of their relationship. What is the young husband like to a girl child? The friendly, gentle old man, Demi, said to me, 'They enjoy their youth together.'

593 The young couples are expected not to have sexual intercourse till the girls are 'big
● 834 enough', informants said, and the boys must not force the girls. If a girl complained to her parents and the parents took her back and sent the young husband away, he might have to wait for years again for another bride to grow up. The /Kung are
[123] prevented by their incest taboos and their modesty from speaking freely about sex and I learned nothing about the actual sexual practices of the young couples. /Nai and her young husband, /Gunda, had only one good kaross between them; they slept
513 together bundled in it, feet to feet. Bau and Tsamgao slept quite apart—at different
593 fires—when we observed them in 1952. In 1953 they slept at their own fire, apart, she

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

159 585 Band 2. She was /Nai's second cousin (MoFaBrSoDa) and the first cousin once removed of the groom (MoSiDaDa). The attendants were not selected for their precise relationship to the bride. They were the only young kinswomen present in the two bands. The girls sat down and chatted with /Nai for a moment and then stood up and, giggling and chattering, took /Nai by the arms. /Nai drew back. Then Xama pulled /Nai's arms over her shoulders, bent and took /Nai on to her back so that her feet did not touch the ground. Xama carried /Nai in this position to the wedding scherm, laid her down inside, to the left of the opening as one entered, in the dark shadow, and covered her over with the kaross. There /Nai remained. We did not see her again that night.

It is the custom for the parents to take brands from their own fires to light the wedding fire of the bride and groom. Presumably this was done, though I did not see it. When the girls arrived the fire was burning and a young man, a cousin of the groom, was tending it. The two girls sat down by the fire on the women's side.

562 834 352 /Kung men and women must sit on opposite sides of the fire.[1] They believe that if male and female genital organs should touch the same spot on the ground the man's hunting powers would be vitiated and the woman would get a sickness in her genito-urinary tract, not an ordinary, human, communicable disease but a magical one. The woman's side is to the left as one faces the entrance to the scherm, the men's to the right. The fire is always in front of the entrance if the scherm is built, but, more often than not, if the weather is good, or the people are travelling and staying [342] only one night, or the wife is lazy, she hangs the family belongings in a bush and does not build a scherm. Then it is the custom to thrust two upright sticks into the ground to represent the entrance, so that the family may orient itself.

159 585 In the werf of Band 2, about twenty or thirty yards to the west, a group of boys had come to /Gunda to attend him. They were all the young boys of the werf who were approximately his age, two cousins (MoSiSo) and four of the sons of /Gunda's stepfather by his first wife. The boys made a show of catching /Gunda and held him by the arms for a moment, laughing and talking. Then they formed a line with /Gunda following at the end, walked to the wedding fire, and sat down on the men's

[1] This taboo reveals the association which, I 224 833 believe, the /Kung make between the hunting power of men and the male sexual principle. Both must be protected, and sexual activity must be controlled and constrained lest the life-giving and food-producing force of men be weakened or drained away. During the period of a hunt a man must not have sexual intercourse—that is, while the man is looking for game and, after he has shot his little poisoned arrow into the animal, while he is tracking it for miles and waiting and watching for days till it dies of the poison. A hunt usually demands many days and nights of effort and privation.

[783] Too frequent indulgence in sexual intercourse with one's wife, even when no hunt is in progress, is believed to diminish a man's hunting power. Some [841] men believed that once in five nights was best; others thought once in three nights was all right. Men who have the joking relationship constantly play upon the theme of excess, taunting each other: 'You do not know hunting, you know women', 'You cannot leave your wife long enough to hunt.'

The /Kung are less strict about another taboo. A woman is supposed not to touch a man's hunting gear at any time, because this would lessen his power to hunt. But I have often seen women touch assegais and quivers. Indeed it has sometimes been urgently necessary to do so when the children got hold of them, as, for instance, when the three-year-old ≠Gao, agile as a flea, took after us with his father's assegai, infuriated with us for some sudden notion of his own. There is a medicine called *gwa gwa*, made from a plant, which may be rubbed on the weapons to purify them if they are touched by women, but I never saw this done and doubted if anyone bothered with it. The effect of a woman's touching the hunting gear is much stronger if she is menstruating. I assume they are more careful then.

/143 cont./

291 around the hip. The modesty apron with ostrich egg shell ornaments shown in Photograph 12 on the woman farthest to the left is supposed to have been traded from Makoba [the Koba?]. I have never seen a back apron.

c) Cloak of duiker or ibex hide. This always covers the buttocks.

d) Collecting bag (like the men's bag).

f) Digging stick.

Children's Clothing (see Photo. 22)

Girls: modesty apron and cloak.

Boys: loincloth and cloak. A collecting bag is carried by
[415] both boys and girls.

The children receive the loincloth or modesty apron when they are about five years old.

294 The articles of clothing are sewed. Holes are drilled with
[412] an iron-awl, made of any little piece of iron picked up somewhere, or with a bone splinter. The sewing is done by drawing animal tendons through the holes.

123 When I photographed some Auin women in the nude (1), I had
834

1. I am fully aware that the following is not to be regarded as a "denial of the sense of shame." I have mentioned the matter here simply because I could not fit it in elsewhere.

to take care that all the Auin men, who incidentally, had given their consent, were removed. Several Whites and Herero, on the other hand, were allowed to remain.

G. Weapons (see Photos. 25 and 26)

411
[412] f) Digging stick, also used for beating and as a throwing club.

g) Bow and arrows.

h) Throwing lance.

[7 cont.]

222 The honey badger, !uisa (N. !ous), which leads to the
825 bees, is followed ever so eagerly.

The common wild pig (gariba), the kudu (daub), the
224 gemsbok χ'uaba (N. /gaib), and all the small antelopes are hunted. Pits are no longer known, although they used to dig them in former times.

If they decide to go hunting, sexual intercourse must be
[834] avoided the night before. In the evening the hunters go into the forest and spend the night there. Before dawn they rise and pray:

[539] Pu, pu, Eró, /nari dsu /ari mate — God, tomorrow early we receive.

When a piece of game has been killed, one of the hunters cuts a piece of flesh from the animal's body and hands it to the leader of the hunt. This meat is called am-shái-khe. A fire is made, and this piece is placed on it. When it is roasted, the leader cuts off a piece and shouts:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, ha gore, ha gore — Erob, Erob, Erob, eat, eat
i Khe Khandi ô — With us flesh.

After a pause:

ha lĕ a lĕ ha góre o Khandi ô — Come! Come! Let us eat flesh.

Now the roasted flesh is consumed. Nothing is thrown away or left behind for Erob.

Then the game is cut up, and everyone goes home with his portion.

136 Snakes are not rare, although they are by no means as common as in the stony regions of the southwest.

The boa constrictor eats human beings; if it catches a Bushman, it starts to consume him at the legs!

132 In spite of the timber forest, the danger of drought is
821 great. Erob sends rain. When there is a drought, the Bushmen
731 dance and pray:

[539] Ero, Ero, Ero, /ga !goro — Erob, Erob, Erob, we are dying of thirst
/ga-wi -ma ta re — Water give us.

177 [8] It is very interesting to observe how in these certainly
776 very ancient hunting and rain prayers the former old heathen gods'
782 names Huwe and χ'amab were replaced by the Christian "Ellob."

I asked the people whether they knew any other prayers and received the following answer: "We know very well that

/22 cont./

181
648

appropriated a number of little trees and planted them in front of his house. On one occasion when he was in town with his Bushmen, the original owner of the trees declared that in the afternoon he was going to see about it. The Bushmen heard this and disappeared. When the two Whites came to the farm, the little trees had disappeared. The Bushmen had run ahead and had hurriedly removed them on their own initiative.

181 The Bushmen are at all times courageous and steadfast people, characteristics which, indeed, their very way of life would produce.

831 The Bushmen strictly avoid talking about sexual matters
[864] in the presence of women and children. Just as in general they are a people without imagination, they do not have any form of the more subtle erotic phantasies.

The endless obscene stories that one hears from the Blacks as soon as he has gained their confidence are unknown among the Bushmen.

The sexual element is absent in their religious cele-
[535] brations, but it finds expression in many of their dances, which imitate the love play of animals.

●834 On the whole, their sense of modesty cannot be denied, even though, naturally, they do not have such decent forms of conduct as the genteel Bantu, among whom it is regarded as extremely improper to look at the breasts of the women. The
[516] girls and women never sit in the typical squatting position, but rather sit on the ground with the legs crossed.

(576) Although the life of the Bushmen within the encampment is openly in view, those principles that we regard as natural tact are nonetheless observed.

(514) The Bushman performs his necessities at all times out of sight of the others, and love scenes are never enacted in public.

114 It is naturally very difficult to learn anything more
124 precise concerning the more intimate details of sexual life

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

thought that he would have to wait at least four years more 582
for her, he would get into such a passion of desire that he
would have to send his wife away for a time, lest he forget
himself and break one of the most stringent rules. Bushmen [833
believe that it harms a girl terribly to be possessed before she 834]
is mature. It might even drive her mad.

Bushmen have no real solution for this problem, as there 548
are no prostitutes and only in a few bands are there promiscu- 588
ous women. Homosexuality is not permitted either; the 838
young men just have to get used to being tempted constantly
but never gratified.

Gai had raised his young wife, and when she reached pu- 593
berty he had possessed her and she had borne him a son. This 587
was the young man Gai had found at Okwa. Shortly after
that his young wife had died and Gai then had married Tse-
tchwe, whose young fiancé had been taken away by a farmer
to work on a farm. Gai and Tsetchwe had borne two chil-
dren. Only one was still alive; this was Nhwakwe.

When we asked about the residence and about the parents 159
of Gai, an argument arose. Gai lived with Ukwane because
his wife wanted to live with her mother, Dasina, and Dasina
lived with Ukwane because she and Ukwane were relatives,
sharing a common grandparent. Gai himself, said Ukwane,
was conceived by a Bushman mother and a Bushman father
named Gwena, but Gwena had died while Gai was still in
the womb. When that had happened, Gai's mother had gone [582]
to Chukudu to marry a Bakalahari man. She and the Bakala-
hari had then moved to the big rock in the Okwa Omaramba,
where Gai was born. This was Ukwane's side of the story.

Gai had been listening, and when Ukwane had finished,
Gai raised himself up on his elbow to say that Ukwane was 159
quite mistaken, for the Bakalahari was his real father. An ar-
gument dragged on, the old people insisting that Ukwane was

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 spearheads, tobacco and pipes, salt and candy and all the
123 water their containers would hold, all they could drink, and even enough water to wash in, for we had enough to take us to a waterhole a few hundred miles away where we could fill our drums. They did wash. Gai washed his whole body and [142] emerged a shining gold. The others washed their arms and [834] faces, modesty preventing their washing the rest, leaving them with golden arms and oval golden masks.

Tsetchwe was pleased with her presents—she hung her white beads in her hair and wrapped herself in the blanket, which, she said, was far softer than leather and which would not get stiff in the rain—but she did not seem happy. She spent the evening sitting beside me, for though we could not talk much with each other I knew that she liked me. "I will cry when you are gone," she said.

576 The two horses, formed by the six young boys, came pranc-
526 ing by, the riders riding loosely, the front feet of the horses galloping but the hind feet, because of the heavy load, trotting up and down. One horse disintegrated in front of us and the young boys who had formed it came forward slowly. The rider, a young boy from Okwa, seemed to want to ask me something. He was very shy, but finally he mustered his courage. "Are you a woman?" he said.

576 Ordinarily, he would have been too polite to ask a personal question, something which Bushmen almost never do because to them asking questions implies distrust, but it may be that on the day before our departure he had found his curiosity impossible to resist. Tsetchwe frowned at him, but I said: "Yes, I am."

The horse had been arguing with the rider, and the two boys who had been the front and hind legs seemed quite triumphant. "We told you so," one said.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

304 881 The only other Bushman people among whom the occurrence of initiation rites for boys is definitely recorded are the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari. Here the main element seems to be circumcision. "The boys," according to Dornan,[1] "are operated on at the age of twelve years, all those of the same age being taken together once a year, as with them puberty comes on at an early age . . . (Then follows a description of the operation: the foreskin of the boy is seized by the operator, who pulls it forward over the gland as far as it will stretch, and then cuts it off close with one slash of a stone knife.) . . . They 881 are treated with considerable care for two or three weeks afterwards, and are fed upon meat . . . They are instructed in the traditional lore of the people, the religious observances and into the mysteries of generation. They are carefully informed that intercourse of [834] uncircumcized people is that of the beasts of the field, that in short it is fornication, as well as a good deal that will not bear to be put into print."

114 Although, as already mentioned, Dornan regards circumcision as an original Bushman custom, there can be little doubt that the 304 Hiechware have taken it over from the BeChwana among whom they 177 live. They are the only Bushman people among whom this practice is 184 asserted to occur, while its absence from other Bushman tribes is explicitly affirmed by all writers. Consequently the puberty rites in the form described by Dornan must be regarded as introduced elements of culture. It is conceivable that the boys' puberty rites among the North-Western tribes should also be attributed to Bantu influence, since nothing similar to them appears to exist in the south. But in several of their details, especially in the introduction of the tribal deities and in the form of mutilation these rites differ considerably from the corresponding rites of the neighbouring South-Western and South-Central Bantu, while on the other hand they are intimately connected with both the economic activities and the religious beliefs of the Bushmen. It is difficult therefore to imagine their having been borrowed, unless it is conceded that they have undergone considerable modification in the process of adaptation. But whether borrowed or not—and the possibility of borrowing, although difficult to establish, is not entirely eliminated—these rites clearly separate the North-Western tribes from their Southern relatives in at least one important feature of culture.

[1] Op. cit., 158–60.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

can afford to be a little luxurious. They rub it on themselves and on their implements and they eat it. ≠Toma said that, when he had eland fat to give, he took shrewd note of certain objects he might like to have and gave their owners especially generous gifts of fat.

Real property and the sources of food and water are owned by the headman for the band and cannot be given away. However, meat, once it is distributed after the hunt, and veldkos, once it is gathered, become private property and may be given. Artifacts are privately owned by the individual man, woman, or child, as outrightly owned if received as a gift as if made by the individual. They borrow and lend a great deal—in itself this is one of the ways they support each other and aid themselves in maintaining social solidarity—but this does not blur the clarity of ownership. Each object acquires some markings of its own from the maker and from usage. It is easy for the /Kung, with their highly developed powers of observation and visual memory, to keep track of the commonest objects, know the ownership, and remember the history of the gifts.

As far as we know, no artifacts or materials are taboo as gifts. For instance, women may be given weapons, although it is taboo for women to touch them.

In quantity the gifts varied. One which /Ti/kay gave to ≠Toma was considered generous. It was a fine ostrich egg shell headband, three ostrich egg shells, and a well-tanned duiker skin as soft as suede. Another generous gift consisted of a knife, a spear, and a triple string of traded white European beads. Often gifts were less. The feelings persons have for each other, the degree of their past indebtedness, what they happen to possess and can give, determine the generosity of the gift.

The acquisition *per se* of the objects was seldom, I believe, of primary importance to most individuals in gift-giving—that is, if the objects were their own artifacts. As the /Kung come into more contact with Europeans—and this is already happening—
—they will feel sharply the lack of our things and will need and want more. It makes them feel inferior to be without clothes when they stand among strangers who are clothed. But in their own life and with their own artifacts they were comparatively free from material pressures. Except for food and water (important exceptions!) of which the Nyae Nyae /Kung have a sufficiency—but barely so, judging from the fact that all are thin though not emaciated—they all had what they needed or could make what they needed, for every man can and does make the things that men make and every woman the things that women make. No one was dependent upon acquiring objects by gift-giving.

They lived in a kind of material plenty because they adapted the tools of their living to materials which lay in abundance around them and which were free for anyone to take (wood, reeds, bone for weapons and implements, fibres for cordage, grass for shelters), or to materials which were at least sufficient for the needs of the population. The Nyae Nyae /Kung had hides enough for garments and bags; they kept extra hides when they needed them for new garments or when they wanted them for trade; otherwise they ate them. The /Kung could always use more ostrich egg-shells for beads to wear or trade with, but, as it is, enough are found for every woman to have a dozen or more shells for water containers—all she can carry—and a goodly number of bead ornaments.

In their nomadic hunting-gathering life, travelling from one source of food to

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

101 Bushman language groups, Auen, Naron or /Kõ, to the south, or with other /Kung
582 whom the Nyae Nyae /Kung know to be living to the north-east and north-west of them.

619 The S.W.A. and B.P. governments administer the region as it lies within the
[648] territory of each but not as a unit in itself. The /Kung have developed no internal political organization to unite their bands. The unity of the region exists, in so far as we know, only in the minds of its /Kung population and in the fact of their intermarrying and being held together in a net of kinship and affinity.

648 About 1,000 /Kung live in the region. Roughly three-quarters of them live in 28
162 bands and are nomadic hunters and gatherers with no agriculture, herds, or beasts of
[621] burden. Approximately another fourth work for Chwana and Herero on their cattle posts on the periphery of the region. Most of these still have connexions with the interior bands and intermarry among them. In the interior there are no inhabitants
[177] other than /Kung, and no European or Bantu institutions modify the old /Kung way of life.

621 My study of /Kung marriage regulations is based on data derived during the
[114] years 1952–3 specifically from 14 bands with which we had the most contact and on which we gathered considerable genealogical material. These bands varied in size from 8 to 57 persons, averaging 25, with a total of 353. The marriage status of these persons as of 1952–3 is given in Fig. 1.

[162] FIG. 1. *The Marriage status of a sample of 353 persons*

Married men (9 of them had 2 wives)	88
Wives of above men	97
Old widowers	3
Old bachelors	1
Old widows	24
Young widows	2
Young divorced women	2
Unmarried boys, adolescent and younger	78
Unmarried girls, adolescent and younger	58
Total	353

601 /Kung social organization is of the 'Eskimo' type, as defined by Murdock.[1]
[595] Theirs is the sub-type, which varies from normal Eskimo in that polygyny occurs and
[590] extended families are common instead of independent nuclear families in neolocal residence. Other characteristics are normal Eskimo. Descent is reckoned bilaterally,
[611] There are no exogamous unilinear kin groups. There is bilateral extension of the
[614] incest taboo. Cousin terms[2] are the same for cross and parallel cousins and cousins
[835] are differentiated terminologically from siblings. One term is applied to both FaBr and MoBr, another to both FaSi and MoSi, and these terms differ from the terms for parents.

621 As we examine their rules of exogamy we find that the band is not an exogamous
582 unit as such. Actually most members of the band are so interrelated by consanguinity or affinity that the marriage regulations strictly prohibit their intermarrying,

[113] [1] G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, Macmillan Co., 1949, pp. 223, 226–8.

[2] For the terms and for special features of the system see Lorna Marshall: 'The Kin Terminology System of the /Kung Bushmen', *Africa*, vol. xxvii, No. 1, Jan. 1957.

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571 we were unable to find a precise translation of */ōassi* but think it connotes the *we* as
619 distinct from the *they* and has an overtone of something good and safe. The phrase is
621 an opposite of *ju dole*. *Dole* means strange or harmful or bad—evidently synonyms to the /Kung.

602 Because there were so many kinship ties among the people and because they have
621 a system (the name relationship—to be mentioned later) by which they apply kin
[608] terms to persons who are not consanguineous relatives or affines, I wondered for a time if we should find that the people who call themselves *ju /ōassi* comprised a kin group of the type which Murdock calls a deme.[1] A deme is bilateral and endogamous, Murdock says, 'comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite the members'. Though the Nyae Nyae region has the elements of a deme, I am convinced that it does not constitute, strictly speaking, an organized kin group of this type, of which the people are conscious as a social form. The endogamy of the region is customary and preferred, but not required by a social rule, and it is not from the group of people as a whole who are *ju /ōassi* that social regulation derives.

Marriage regulations: the incest taboo and its expression in avoidances

582 Marriages are forbidden in /Kung social organization on one basis only. That
835 basis is incest. In common with nearly all mankind (excepting, of course, the Pharaohs and a few other rare examples), the /Kung incest taboo prohibits marriage or sexual relations between Fa and Da, Mo and So, Br and Si. The incest taboo is extended beyond the nuclear family to certain additional categories of persons, and marriage with them is also rigorously forbidden by /Kung social law.

[842] The /Kung did not express the belief that in-breeding *per se* produces inferior offspring and must for that reason be avoided. Although they believe that in conception the semen unites with menstrual blood, their language does not use the image of blood as ours does. They do not think of relatives as having the same blood or any
[827] physical substance in common, actually or by way of figure of speech to represent inheritable characteristics, in so far as we know, and do not think that common inheritance is somehow what makes it wrong to marry close kin.

The thought that incest has been avoided by mankind because it would be exceedingly disruptive to the internal cohesion of the nuclear family comes to the mind of the analyst of social forms but not to the minds of /Kung informants. And no mention was made of the obvious social advantage of marrying outside the nuclear family and thereby weaving a supporting web of kinship with many other families and bands.

The /Kung feel a deep, internalized, pervading horror of incest which they do not try to explain. Incest with parent, offspring, or sibling is unthinkable. 'Only dogs do that—not men.' 'It would be madness (*dī*).' 'It would be dangerous, like going up to a lion.' Many refused to speak with me about such 'bad things'.

571 the Bushmen were saying of themselves, in effect,
619 'We are not animals, we are human beings', a con-
621 notation we did not discover in the thinking of the /Kung themselves. Ledimo, our chief interpreter, also a Chwana, said the phrase had the connotation of 'perfect persons' and that 'clean' and 'empty' were aspects of the word */ōassi*, he thought. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas paraphrased it in the title of her book, *The Harmless People* (Knopf, New York; Martin Secker & Warburg, London, 1959).

[1] Murdock, op. cit., pp. 62–63.

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The /Kung extend the incest taboo to certain categories of persons outside the nuclear family because they hold that the relationships resemble the relationships of the nuclear family and that it would therefore be incestuous to unite them in marriage. A man will say explicitly that he must not marry this or that woman because it would be 'like' marrying his mother, daughter, or sister. 582 835

The sexual constraints required between persons to whom the immediate or the extended incest taboo applies find expression in the marriage regulations and, in a secondary way, I believe, in certain avoidances which express constraint, namely: (1) Sexual joking and sexual insults, which are permitted between persons who have the joking relationship and must be avoided by others. (2) A sitting taboo. The same persons who must avoid sexual joking must also avoid sitting close to each other or to each other's family fires—with two exceptions, namely: (*a*) parents and offspring, who must never make sexual jokes but who do not at any age observe the sitting taboo; and (*b*) all young children, including siblings. The /Kung believe that the persons who must observe the sitting taboo should not allow their genital organs to touch the same spot. No great distance need separate these persons when they sit. About 18 inches is a minimum but is sufficient. The taboo is applied without sex differentiation: men must not sit near men or women, or women near women or men if they do not have the joking relationship. (3) With the exception of siblings of any age, the same persons who avoid joking avoid using each other's names in direct address. They use a kin term instead or the men may use a respect term for each other—*!nau*, 'old man'. (4) Brothers and sisters do not sit near each other when they reach adolescence and, after marriage, when they have dwelling-places of their own, do not enter each other's scherms (shelters). (5) Parents and SoWi and DaHu, in addition to observing the joking, sitting, and name avoidances, do not enter each other's scherms and do not speak to each other in the first few years of their affinal relationship. They are the only persons in /Kung society who must avoid speaking together. After three children have been born, this avoidance is eased somewhat. In-laws may then speak occasionally; once in two or three days would be considered permissible. This interesting avoidance, so varied in intensity and so widely spread in human societies, appears in /Kung society to afford whatever benefits it has without imposing great hardship at any time. A daughter-in-law may lean her scherm upon her husband's parents' scherm and build her fire only about four or five feet away, and what she wants to say to her parents-in-law she says aloud to her husband or child and her parents-in-law overhear and respond in like manner. A son-in-law also could communicate in this way. I think only a /Kung or an informed observer would know that the in-laws were not speaking directly to each other. 602 835 [593] [593] 606

The symbolism or expression of sexual constraint which underlies the joking and sitting avoidances is also observable in the modesty of these people. I believe that their modesty is not obedience to a specific taboo, like the sitting taboo, but is a more general response to being constantly in the presence of persons to whom the incest taboo applies, before whom any expression of sex would be improper. The general demeanour of the /Kung is modest. The dancing, if it gives any expression at all to sexuality or eroticism, conveys it with such restraint and delicacy as to be in extreme contrast to the dancing of the neighbouring Bantu tribes. Both men and women among the /Kung are exceedingly modest about exposing their genital 834 [831]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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834 organs and, though the women's breasts are naked (breasts are associated with
[831] nursing, not sex), the women would not expose their buttocks, which are definitely associated with sex, as the position for sexual intercourse is for the man to be at the back of the woman. When they urinate or defecate, men, women, and all but young
[514] children who are not yet toilet trained go away from the werf and squat behind bushes or in the tall grass out of sight.

The persons who express in the avoidances the sexual constraint required by the
602 incest taboo are none the less free to engage in other activities of life together.
835 Whether or not they must avoid joking and sitting near each other, whether or not they may marry, they may talk (except with SoWi or DaHu), hunt, share meat, share the water-hole, gather plant foods, cook, eat, make journeys, visit, exchange gifts, and, if they wish, huddle their scherms and fires together. And, although they must not direct sexual jokes or insults to each other, they may laugh as heartily when they overhear the jokes as relatives do who have the joking relationship together.

Because it is interesting to compare the pattern of the joking relationship with the pattern of marriage regulation, I have indicated it when I list the various categories of persons with whom marriage is forbidden or allowed.

Extension of the incest taboo to four categories

Marriage regulations, patterned upon the incest taboo as it applies in the relation-
582 ships of the nuclear family, and extended to certain other relationships because they
835 are considered to be like those of the nuclear family, forbid ego's marriage with four categories of persons, as follows: (1) members of the nuclear family and certain other consanguineous relatives; (2) certain affines; (3) step-parents, stepchildren, stepbrothers, stepsisters, and the close kin of ego's father's wife other than his mother (for example, ego's mother's co-wife's sister, who is 'like' his MoSi; (4) certain name relatives.

Category 1: ego's consanguineous relatives with whom marriage is forbidden

582 In Fig. 2 are listed the consanguineous relatives whom a /Kung must not marry.
602 The terms applied to them are given in their basic form only, all complicating
835 factors being omitted as they have no bearing on marriage regulations. The term which ego applies to the male in a given category appears first; the term applied to females follows. The joking status is indicated by 'yes' if ego has the joking relationship with the given category of relatives, 'no' if he has not.

The /Kung use the expression 'We are one people' when they refer to certain consanguineous relatives—e.g. any lineal kin and the close collaterals listed in Fig. 2 —but they do not consider siblings of grandparents, fourth cousins or still more remote collaterals as being of 'one people' with themselves. The /Kung, who are capable of being pushed to logical conclusions by an interrogator, say that they recognize a degree of consanguinity among such collaterals but spoke of them as
[553] 'those people'. 'Those people would name their children for their own people', they said, for example. 'We name our children for our people.'

I made considerable effort to determine whether or not I should include third
[605] cousins as within 'one people'. Many of the informants from whom we gathered genealogical data did not know the names of their third cousins, but, when we estab-

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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lished the definition, with sticks and diagrams in the sand and the names of some actual people, ≠Toma, the leader of the band we lived with, insisted that third cousins were ' one's own people '. We ' red people ' might marry our own third cousins, he said, but Bushmen would know that they were one people and should not marry. 582 602 835 [605]

FIG. 2. *Consanguineous relatives whom ego must not marry* [601]

	Male	*Female*	*Joking*
Great-grandparents	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Grandparents	*/gu/na*	*tŭn*	yes
Parents	*ba*	*dai*	no
Siblings of parents	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Siblings	*/go*	*/kwi*	yes, same sex no, opp. sex
Cousins, 1st, 2nd, 3rd	*/gu/na*	*tŭn*	yes
Offspring	*/ha*	*≠ khai*	no
Nephews, nieces	*tsu*	*//ga*	no
Grandchildren	*/gu/na*	*tŭn*	yes
Great-grandchildren	*tsu*	*//ga*	no

The kin who are likened, by being of the same generation, to his parents, to his offspring, and to his siblings, are those to whom a /Kung feels the marriage regulations are particularly directed. Siblings of parents are ' like ' parents, cousins are ' like ' siblings, nephews and nieces are ' like ' offspring. Marriage with all these is rigorously forbidden.

Ego's marriage with great-grandparents, grandparents, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren is also forbidden but is not a concern. Age and consanguinity combine to push the very thought virtually out of mind. To the /Kung it seemed utterly ridiculous of me to inquire even about the collaterals in these generations. ' Those old people are already dead ', said someone. ' It will be for my grandson to mind the rules when the young children grow up ', said ≠Toma in effect. ' It is not my wish to marry a baby.'

Category 2: affines

The second category of persons to whom the incest taboo is extended is composed of certain affines. Their affinal relationship is considered to be indissoluble once it is established, and ego's marriage with them is prohibited, even though the person through whom the affinal relationship with ego is brought about be dead or divorced. The thought of incestuous relations with at least some of these affines (especially parents of spouse and spouses of offspring) is as horrifying to a /Kung as if they were members of his nuclear family. We learned of no instances of the taboo being broken among them.

The affines with whom marriage is forbidden, who correspond terminologically with ego's parents' generation, ego's own and that of his offspring, are listed in Fig. 3. Joking is allowed or not as it is with ego's kin in these generations.

Parents of ego's SoWi and DaHu are terminologically of ego's generation and he may joke with them but he must not marry them, for that would make his So and SoWi or Da and DaHu stepbrother and stepsister to each other, which would be most awkward.

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582 Why marriage is prohibited with HuBrSo and WiSiDa was explained by ≠Toma.
602 Marriages with HuBr or WiSi are highly preferred marriages. This makes ≠Toma
835 'feel like' his WiSiHu, he said, even though he is not married to her, and, as a result, his WiSiDa seems to him like his own daughter.

FIG. 3. *Affines*

[601]

Marriage forbidden	*Male*	*Female*	*Joking*
Parents of ego's spouse	*≠tum*	*|utzu*	no
Spouses of FaBr, FaSi, MoBr, MoSi	*tru*	*||ga*	
SiHuFa w.s., BrWiMo m.s.	*tru*	*||ga*	
(Ego's generation terminologically)			
Parents of SoWi, DaHu	*|umba*	*|undai*	yes
Spouses of So and Da	*≠tum*	*|utzu*	no
HuBrSo, WiSiDa	*tru*	*||ga*	

Marriage with a BrWiMo or SiHuFa seems improper to the /Kung because a
[587] man's marriage with his BrWi is highly preferred, as is a woman's with a SiHu (should the death of the spouse or divorce make their marriage possible), and the parents of these affines therefore seem 'like' parents of the spouse.

In the sibling category among affines ego is prohibited from marrying only WiBrWi or HuSiHu. The reason for this prohibition appears to lie in the consistency of the joking pattern, about which three more points must be made. First, throughout

FIG. 4. *Marriage forbidden with WiBrWi, HuSiHu*

Male ego	*Joking*	*Female ego*	*Joking*
Br and BrWi	yes	Br and BrWi	no
Si and SiHu	no	Si and SiHu	yes
WiSi and WiSiHu	yes	HuBr and HuBrWi	yes
WiBr and WiBrWi	no	HuSi and HuSiHu	no

the whole system (except among remote name relatives), ego maintains the same joking status with *both* members of a married couple, for example, with FaBr and FaBrWi, WiSi and WiSiHu, &c. Secondly, in the differentiation of sex between siblings among ego's affines with respect to the joking relationship, the point of reference is the spouse. Ego has the joking relationship with his own spouse and with the sibling of his spouse who is the same sex as his spouse. He avoids joking with his spouse's sibling whose sex is opposite to his spouse. Thirdly, among affines in the sibling category the extended incest taboo and the avoidances coincide. Sex permitting, if ego may joke he may marry, and if he avoids joking he is prohibited from marrying. As we list ego's siblings and affines in Fig. 4 we see that WiBrWi and HuSiHu are the only ones whose sex is opposite to ego's, making marriage possible, but with whom ego is constrained from joking because he does not joke with his WiBr or HuSi, according the same joking status to both members of a married couple.

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Categories 3 and 4: step-parents, &c; name relatives 582

The third category to which the incest taboo is extended, step-parents, &c., needs 835 no elucidation.

The fourth category, certain name relatives, should be further described. The 553 name relationship, described in the paper on kin terminology,[1] is connected with a 608 system of naming children. The /Kung have no surnames. A /Kung father invariably names his first-born son or daughter for his parent of the same sex; usually the second-born for the parent of the child's mother; subsequent children for his own sibling or the sibling of the child's mother or the spouses of those siblings. He never names a child for himself or for the child's mother. Because this pattern of naming exists, the /Kung feel that if two non-consanguineous persons have the same name, they are likely to have had consanguineous connexions in the forgotten past, and from this concept the /Kung have developed what we called their name relationship. In a system too complex to summarize here they apply kin terms to persons on the basis of their names.

The names have passed from family to family, through intermarriage in the [619] region, and from generation to generation, to such an extent that every /Kung of the region whom we interrogated on the subject had a kin term for every other /Kung, except for one man who had once met four /Kung from afar for whom he had no terms. This had made him uneasy.

The /Kung welcome the sense of belonging to an in-group which the name rela- 553 tionship affords them. They welcome also the fact that they know how to behave with 602 people with respect to the avoidances. They fear (*koa*) to make a mistake about joking 608 and sitting, they say, and feel secure in righteousness and propriety when they know what behaviour is correct and conform to it. The kin terms sort out the whole /Kung population of the region for them. They avoid joking with name relatives whose names classify them with kin or affines of the generation of parents, or with offspring or with a sibling of opposite sex or with great-grandparents. They may joke with name relatives whose names classify them with grandparents, a sibling of the same sex, or the spouse. (Cf. Figs. 2 and 3.)

The incest taboo is extended to name relatives. If ego is forbidden to marry them 553 because of the way their names classify them, he also does not joke with them. But, 582 as we shall see when we consider approved marriages, the system does not maintain 608 perfect consistency between joking and marriage among name relatives, and it does 835 not follow that if ego must not joke he therefore must not marry. The incest taboo is extended specifically to the following name relatives: (1) anyone who has the name of ego's parent or offspring; (2) the parent, offspring or sibling of opposite sex of anyone who has the same name as ego, (3) anyone who has the same name as ego's spouse's parent or his offspring's spouse. ≠Toma explained that it would 'sound as though' one had married his parent, child, or one of these close affines.

Deviations from the rules 183

The /Kung conform strictly to their marriage regulations in the first two cate- 582 gories, kindred and affines. None of the persons whose genealogical records we 835 605

[1] Marshall, op. cit., pp. 13–15, 22–23.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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183 gathered (about 175) had married lineal kin or collaterals, at least through first cousins.
582 However, informants told about two /Kung men in B.P. who had married their
835 cousins: we could not find out which type of cousins. What was interesting was the
605 attitude of the informants. They said the men should not have done this, but there was no talk of madness or danger or expressions of horror such as we had observed when incest was spoken of at other times. No punishments, social or divine, had been meted out, according to the informants. Some said they thought it was not too bad a thing for a man to do, especially if the woman were a FaSiDa, who is not, they said, so much like your sister as a MoSiDa. I believe that the anomaly of the system's allowing joking with cousins, although it prohibits marriage, mitigates, in all probability, the force of the incest taboo and accounts to some extent for the tolerance towards the breakers of this rule.

How much deviation there is in marrying second and third cousins we do not
[124] know. We soon gave up trying to gather data on relatives more remote than first cousins because informants so often did not know the names and we could not rely on the information.

582 One account came to our ears of a man who had violated the incest taboo with his
627 stepdaughter. He was /Gunda Legs, the MoBr of old Gau of Band 1, and he lived
684 with Band 9. He is dead now. What he did was so outside the good and the normal
835 that it could be accounted for only by madness. He had drunk the milk of a young gemsbok doe, the people told us, and this is what had made him mad. Something
159 came from his forehead and went in and out, a sort of swelling. After that he fell in love with his stepdaughter, ≠Nisa, and married her, and both she and her mother
[753] were his wives at the same time. The people 'laughed at him' so much because he had made such a horrifying 'mistake' that he took his stepdaughter and lived apart from his band—the only instance we know of a man and woman living alone. They had a son, ≠Toma, who died young. When /Gunda's madness waned he sometimes came back to his people; he would go again when his madness returned. People said they did not understand why ≠Nisa went with him. They mocked at her, said that she was *dole*, 'bad', and that it was 'nonsense' to fall in love with one's stepfather. Our informants laughed uneasily when they told about it as they laugh when they
[154] tell of vultures eating their meat or of being chased by fierce bees when they try to take a honeycomb. There came to my mind a penetrating remark made by //Kushay, the wife of /Qui in Band 1, which might, I thought, be applied to ≠Nisa. //Kushay had said, 'When a Bushman girl goes against the customs of her people and people talk about her and say she is bad, she is very unhappy. She would hear the people talking and be ashamed and would come to them angry—angry because she is ashamed', or, I thought, go away because she is ashamed.

Deviations occur in the fourth category. Two men we met had married women
183 with the same names as their mothers. A man named /Ti/kay married the daughter of
553 another /Ti/kay, and there were other such instances. /Qui, the husband of the above
582 //Kushay in Band 1, said he proposed to do this himself. The girl's family had flatly
608 refused, but he was going to keep on trying. ≠Toma said he would not do this but
835 he sees some people doing these things. There are not enough women whom a man may properly marry, he said, and he would be in favour of changing the marriage prohibitions among name relatives so that a man need avoid only ugly women.

602 ugly, slovenly, or wanton. The women retaliate, perhaps accusing the men of being worthy only of castration or of unfaithful wives. We noticed that the /Kung do not call each other sons of bitches. They are not concerned with lineage.

602 It is not thought proper to make blatant or insulting sexual jokes with old persons. The deference which is shown to aged persons is expressed by moderation, and 888 the joking relationship between an old person and a considerably younger person, [603] especially between grandparents and grandchildren, becomes a cosy friendly intimacy without the sexual emphasis.

Though the /Kung enjoy the joking relationship, it was our impression that their 602 primary concern lay in the prohibition against joking. They said it would be 'madness' to joke with persons they should not joke with. When they meet strangers they do not dare to joke until they find out whether or not it is proper for them to do so. They gave us /Kung names. This placed us in the scheme of things and people could know what their status was with us.

The /Kung say they 'fear' (*koa*) to joke when they should not and they 'fear' (*koa*) the persons with whom joking is forbidden. The word *koa* is the same word that they use when they say they fear a lion or a mamba. They also use it to mean avoid. We think it holds the same combination of fear and respect that our word holds when we say we fear the Lord.

[828 A /Kung told us that joking was not only amusing but that it served a good pur- 865] pose in teaching people, young men especially, to hold their tempers and to have poise in their social relations. We thought that joking served a good purpose in [182 providing an outlet in laughter for aggression and various social restraints, but we 154] wondered if it had not primarily been developed as a response to restraints upon sexual intercourse. Incest must be a concern among a people who live in small bands ● 835] of consanguineous kin and close affines, bands which are isolated for the most part within their own territories except for more or less infrequent visits to other bands. The restraints which are considered to be good and necessary may be strengthened by the symbol of avoidance of sexual joking. Respect due to a parent has perhaps come to be associated with this symbol and this may account for joking being restricted with parents of both sexes. It seems that respect in general is not required between siblings; only sexual restraint is required and this is symbolized by the restriction in joking imposed on siblings of opposite sex, whereas ego may joke with a sibling of the same sex. It is possible that the culture allows joking between grandparents and grandchildren (with the rather few exceptions when the factor of the name intervenes to classify them in the non-joking category) because joking is associated with a welcome ease and intimacy of relationship and the great difference in age removes the necessity of symbolizing sexual restraint between them.

The Name-Relationship as a Factor in Social Consolidation

553 The /Kung believe that the name is somehow a part of the entity of a person and 601 that when one is named for a person one partakes of that person's entity in some way and in some degree. Informants could give us no further elucidation of this belief.

It seems evident that, when incorporated into the system of kinship terminology, [174] the belief has produced the homonymous method of applying terms. It is our conjecture that the homonymous method was added to the system after the generational method had been established.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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everyone was thankful that she had not been hurt. The people 731
remarked at the size and the intensity of the fire and shook their heads at the destruction, each one telling someone else where he had been when he first had seen the blaze. They asked each other why no one put the fire out, as no one did, and soon the scherm was a heap of white ash and the old couple who owned it ruined materially, too old to start again.

A few weeks after that, two children were married. The 582
groom was about sixteen and the bride was eight. It was con- 835
sidered to be an excellent match, as the bride was pretty and the groom was already becoming famous as a hunter. But even in these auspicious circumstances complications and involved negotiations arose, until, for a while, people began to think that no wedding would take place. The bride's aunt [578]
disliked the groom's mother, and recalled an old scandal that had shadowed the family for years. The groom's mother had divorced the groom's father long ago to marry her present husband, which in itself was altogether usual, but it came out that the man and woman had maintained an adulterous relationship before the divorce and furthermore were tabu relatives, which made their union incestuous—not as severely so as marriage between parent and child or brother and sister, but incestuous nevertheless—and it caused a scandal that reverberated throughout all of Nyae Nyae. The two were middle-aged when they married, and they had clung sol- [593]
idly together through the storm of scandal and disapproval, for it was truly a marriage of love.

The little girl did not want to be a bride. When we asked 584
her how she felt about her wedding she hid her face in her hands and said that she was still a young child, too young to get married.

All in all, only the groom's family behaved well, showing patience and forbearance until at last the wedding took place.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
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Both the father and mother expect and receive respect and obedience 593
from their children. Although the mother's influence is always felt, I believe that the father's authority is greater. It is not formalized or expressed in a harsh or domineering way. As long as the father lives, he is the head of the family, symbolically. Even when too old to hunt, if he is still a forceful [882]
person, he remains the one in authority, the leader of the sons-in-law and his daughters, of his sons and their wives. Gradually, however, when he becomes very old, the younger men make their own plans without necessarily consulting him.

!Kung families are responsible for dependents. Thus, old, dependent 737
parents are unfailingly supported by their offspring and may choose with which one of their offspring they will live. Orphaned children are taken 736
by their grandparents or by a sibling of their parents. It happens occasionally that a person has no living parent, offspring, or sibling. In that case, other relatives assume the responsibility.

THE NAME RELATIONSHIP • Although !Kung society has developed no 571
formal political structure under which the bands are united, and there are 602
no organizations outside the bands, these people have a means of extending 553
the concept of kinship beyond close consanguineous relatives and affines 619
and of recognizing, in what we call the name relationship, the web of remote interrelationship that long intermarriage within the region has established.

Invariably the first son and the first daughter are named by their father for their paternal grandparents. Other children are usually named for their mother's parents, the siblings of their parents, and the spouses of those siblings, and may occasionally be named for other relatives. Thus, a few names are used over and over through the generations. We recorded only [551]
forty-six men's names and forty-one women's names in the region. The !Kung assume that persons who have the same name are related, though the exact nature of the relationship is forgotten. They believe, also, that people with the same name somehow have a common entity. They bestow [601]
upon each other kin terms that are appropriate to the name, according to a system. The !Kung have intermarried within the Nyae Nyae region to [582]
such an extent that everyone has a kin term he associates with each one of the names. This means that the people of the whole region are what we call name relatives, all applying kin terms to each other.

From the !Kung point of view the custom has two values. It regulates 553
the incest taboo in its furthermost extension, especially the joking relation- 602
ship that symbolizes the taboo. (For example, a man should not marry or 835
make sexual jokes with a woman who has the same name as his mother.) The !Kung feel secure in righteousness when they know they are behaving

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

553 602 properly in these matters, and the kin term they apply guides their behavior 835 with everyone they meet.

[601] The other value is obvious. The !Kung of the whole Nyae Nyae region, 619 in their thirty-six separate bands or groups, are drawn together by a feeling 553 of belonging to an in-group. The familiar names and the use of the kin 601 terms make them expect from each other behavior suitable to kinsmen— 602 sharing food, gift giving, restraint from expressing jealousy or other hostilities, conforming to group opinion, all the things they do that are conducive to peaceful living together. This sense of belonging gives security and comfort to these people in whose language the word *dole*, which means "strange," [10] means also "harmful" and "bad." They call themselves *ju /ǒassi*. *Ju* means "people"; */ǒassi* connotes something like "true" or "pure" and can be paraphrased as "just ourselves."[7]

428 INHERITANCE PATTERN • The !Kung have no named, structured patrilineages, but they have a patrilineal emphasis. Inheritance passes from father [613] [622] to eldest son, as does the succession in headmanship.

[423] There is not much property to inherit. Land and the resources of food and water are owned by the band, not privately by individuals. A consider- 768 able amount of an individual's personal property is destroyed at the time of his death. This is not done to provide implements for the spirits in the [775] after-life. The !Kung believe that the spirits of the dead have their own heavenly objects and need nothing from earth. It is done because no member of the family wants to use the common objects of the dead, which too vividly remind them of their loss. Only the more rare and important possessions are kept, such as assegais and fine ornaments. These are inherited by the eldest son. Failing a son, the spouse or a daughter or sibling or, failing these, some other close relative who was present would take the things. Whoever took them would be expected to give some of them to other relatives.

582 MARRIAGE • As I mentioned, the Nyae Nyae !Kung rarely marry outside 648 the region, although !Kung women not infrequently marry Tswana or Herero men in the border settlements.

584 First marriages are arranged by parents while the children are still young. Either the parents of the boy or those of the girl may first ask for the betrothal. Parents of boys have their eyes on every girl baby and may say to parents of an unborn infant, "If it is a girl, let us have her for our son."

581 No property settlements enter into the marriage choices or marriage arrangements among the !Kung. Rather, they say about the basis of their choice that they seek an upstanding family for their child to marry into, people who are not lazy and not "far-hearted" but who are dependable and generous and behave with propriety, obeying the social rules and the

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

595 they are jealous of each other, as they so often are, !Kung society demands of them that they preserve a decent semblance of harmony and, by self-control and silence, avoid disturbing other people with jealous wrangling.

582 621 The band itself, as a structured unit, is not a factor in regulating marriage. Persons may marry either within their bands or outside them if 587 relationships and marriage regulations permit. Neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory, but marriage with a brother's wife or a sister's husband is considered to be good and suitable, particularly as a second marriage, should death or divorce make it possible for these affines to marry again 582 These relationships are not especially preferred in first marriages.

Marriages are forbidden in !Kung society only on the basis of the incest taboo, which is very strongly felt. It rigorously prohibits the !Kung from marriage with members of the nuclear family. It also extends to step-parents, stepbrothers and stepsisters, stepchildren, and to three additional categories of persons: certain kin, certain affines, and certain name relatives, whose relationships are considered to resemble those of the nuclear family.[8]

582 183 The !Kung conform strictly to the marriage regulations where they feel the internal sanction strongly, as they do with close kin and affines. But with the more remote relatives, third cousins, and even second cousins, and with name relatives, they deviate without any apparent sense of guilt and without incurring the grave disapproval of society.

587 Widowers may marry again without restriction. A widow is supposed to wait until one rainy season has passed so that "the rain may wash the death away," but often she does not.

586 A couple may divorce without formality. This may be by mutual consent, or one spouse may simply leave the other. No religious or legal dispensation is involved and parental consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties for there is no dowry or bride-[587] price to be resolved. Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way, and they are free to remarry without restrictions. Although the !Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it because it is untoward and can cause trouble. Divorces are not uncommon among young people of about the age at which young people in our society would be getting married, but, once a compatible mate is found, there is a notable stability in the marriages.

837 !Kung society forbids any sexual relations outside marriage, with one exception, called */kamheri*. */Kamheri* means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided the wives consent. When deviations from the sexual regulations do occur, the usual form is adultery, since almost all Bushman women are in the married state from early youth. [835] But adultery meets with deterrents in this society. The strongly felt incest taboo prevents extramarital sexual relations as well as marriage with close relatives. Ease of divorce enables persons who really wish to change mates

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen FX10

patriarch of any small group, though his authority is very limited." 621
This latter observation is also made by Seydel of the Namib Bushmen. [888]

The bands of these Bushmen may therefore be regarded as consisting of small groups of families all related by consanguinity or through marriage. Membership of the group is apparently not based on descent traced exclusively through either the male or the female line, since both married sons and married daughters with their spouses and children may belong to the same group. There is no definite statement as to whether marriage between members of the same 582
group is permitted or not. Generally it would seem that a wife is sought outside the group. Among the Cape Bushmen the only girl a man may not marry is his own sister. Marriage with first cousins (both ortho-cousins and cross-cousins) is sometimes found, but more often marriage takes place with "someone else", to quote Miss Bleek's words.[1] The same applies to the Namib Bushmen,[2] and similarly, among the !O Kung, "some of the married couples we met were cousins, but the majority were unrelated, as far as they knew. Some young married people stay with the man's family, others with the [591]
woman's."[3]

Among the North-Western Bushmen the bands, which here are 621
proportionately much larger, definitely tend to be exogamous. Fourie 184
says of the Heikum: "Marriage within the group is forbidden and 582
is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. [591]
As a rule men do not go far for wives, and intermarriage takes place between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated [835]
very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women."[4] Among the Auen the only absolute prohibition on marriage is said to be between brother and sister, parent and child, but as a rule marriage does not take place between close relatives, and if possible also not between members of the same band. Wives are procured from a distance; often even [619]
from other tribes.[5] The Kung also marry outside their own band[6];

[1] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 59.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112.
[3] Trenk, op. cit., 168.
[4] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 92.
[5] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 156: "Die eigene Schwester darf nicht geheiratet werden, ebenso natürlich nicht Mutter und Tochter. Andere Verwandtschaft bilden kein absolutes Hindernis. Es ist aber die Regel, dass nicht innerhalb der eigenen Familie, auch möglichst nicht innerhalb der eigenen Horde geheiratet wird. Frauen werden mit Vorliebe weit hergeholt, oft von Stämmen anderer Sprache."
[6] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Kû-Buschmannsprache," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910), 8.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

tion is not necessary. 'A wife can get tired of loving her husband', we were told, 586
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We learned about seven divorces only in our sample. The middle-aged Khuan//a, the mother of the bridegroom, /Gunda, had left her first husband to marry her lover. Another middle-aged woman left her husband because he was on the point of marrying a second wife. Jealousy between the two young wives at Gam, lamented in song by the young husband, had been the cause of the third. The whims of young girls caused others. A girl named /Ungka, married to a considerably older man, hated him though he was good to her and gave her oil and ornaments for her hair. She cut off her hair and threw it, ornaments and all, into the fire. She thrust her head into the ashes and made herself filthy. In another instance, the girl took offence the first night of her marriage and left her young husband next day, to his painful chagrin. The lenient and patient parents of these girls arranged other marriages. Di/ai, the mother of [587] the bride /Nai, and now the wife of Gao, the medicine man in Band 1, was divorced from two former husbands in her youth. And /U, her sister, while still very young had been persuaded by ≠Toma to leave her tall young husband from Gam and to marry him.

Our data on frequency of divorce are too scant to be significant. We have merely the impression that there seems to be some tendency for couples to separate while they are young and in whatever adolescent turbulence the /Kung experience, but that, on the other hand, there is considerable stability in marriage once a compatible mate is found. At least, no divorces occurred between 1952 and 1959 in eight of the bands of our sample. We lack data on the others.

Young children of divorced parents remain with the mother. As they grow to adolescence the girls usually stay with their mothers, the boys may go to their fathers or stay with their mothers or spend some time with each.

Although the /Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it. Divorce is untoward, disruptive; it can cause trouble. Anything other than peace and [181] harmony in human relations makes the /Kung uneasy.

Extra-marital sexual relations

Murdock points out that 'Our own culture includes a blanket taboo against 171
fornication, an over-all prohibition of all sexual intercourse outside of the marital relationship.'[1] He goes on to say that our society is highly aberrant in this and that 'from available evidence [however] it seems unlikely that a general prohibition of sex relations outside of marriage occurs in as many as five per cent of the peoples of the earth'.[2]

/Kung society has an over-all prohibition against any sexual relations outside of 837
marriage with one exception. It makes no requirements such as sexual hospitality or *jus primae noctis*. It makes no provision for sexual access to certain categories of kin or affines outside of marriage, such as BrWi. Premarital unchastity, unchastity of [836] widows, and prostitution are not among their social conventions. But */kamheri*, though not required, is either fully permitted or tolerated as not a very bad thing; I never reached certainty as to which of these attitudes the society adopted.

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[1] Murdock, op. cit., p. 263. [2] Ibid., p. 264.

/156 cont./

584 The betrothal, which takes place immediately before the couple move into the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl's wrist, as can be seen in Photograph 44. Since, however, "betrothal" and "marriage" are separated only by the walk to the hut, the seizing of the bride's forearm may be regarded as concluding the marriage.

The seizing of the forearm is a fairly violent gesture, and on the way to the hut the bride allows herself in a certain sense to be dragged along. Could it be that this perhaps represents a vestige of an earlier custom of abducting the woman?

606 It is curious how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit down with her. If, for instance, he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law will go away. If he is absolutely forced to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

● 836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.

163 I noted that most women had two or three children who were about two to three years apart (see p. 5).

591 The woman goes to the family or settlement of her husband, not the other way around. The fact that the young couple stays for some time in the settlement of the wife's parents, roughly until the first child is born, may have given rise to error. Later on, the couple always returns to the man's horde.

582 A man may not marry his own sister and likewise, naturally, neither his mother nor daughter. Other degrees of relationship constitute no absolute obstacle to marriage.

As a rule, however, one does not marry within his own family and, if possible, not even within his own horde. Preferably women are brought in from far away, often from groups speaking another language (Naroon, Genkuin, Hei-um [Heikum]).

851 The birth of a child does not necessitate a temporary separation of the marriage partners.

684 837 Marital fidelity seems to be observed to a fair extent. The adulterer is killed, and the wife is treated according to the temperament of the deceived husband, that is, she is given a more or less violent beating.

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

532 Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
535 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
323 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
302 customary.

304 A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
(751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
681 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

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[72 cont.] THE SUITOR

584 brings his future parents-in-law presents in the form of game and
[583] veldkost, sometimes for more than a year. If matters go smoothly,
[585] he takes the girl to his hut after a while, and the marriage is regarded as concluded. If, in spite of her parents' consent, the girl refuses to marry the man (she is entitled to state her wishes and by no means always follows her parents' desires), the young man finally takes the girl forcibly into his hut. Should a man do vio-
684 lence to a girl without the consent of her parents, he would be

301

Fig. 26. Nagau Girl in Festive Finery of Ostrich Egg Beads (Girls' Initiation).

killed. There are no special ceremonies when the marriage is
585 concluded. The engagement, undertaken before the couple settles in the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl around her wrist. Since, however, the "engagement" and "wedding" are separated in time only by the walk to the hut, the grasping of the bride's lower arm may be regarded as concluding the marriage. [Fig. 26 appears here.] The seizing of the lower arm is done rather violently, and on the walk to the hut the bride allows herself to be dragged along to a certain extent.
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163 Kaufmann observed that most of the women had two or three

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

276 smoke sucked through the water by deep breaths into the lungs. A somewhat similar form of pipe is found among the Heikum and the Kung, but apparently water is not used here in smoking. Further [171] east, among the Hiechware, a method of ground-smoking is found similar to that obtaining among the neighbouring Bantu peoples. A small hole is made in the ground, into which the man puts the tobacco; he then inserts his pipe-stick through a small tunnel and smokes.[1]

Dagga is mixed with tobacco or smoked by itself whenever obtainable. The habit is said seriously to affect those addicted to it, both physically and morally. When taken in slight quantities the [164] herb has no visible ill-effects, but excessive indulgence is most deleterious to the health, and if persisted in sometimes causes mental aberration and frenzy.

273 Few of the Bushmen know how to make any kind of liquor themselves. The only exception, perhaps, are the Namib Bushmen, who, [171] after the manner of their Hottentot neighbours, brew a kind of mead out of honey. They are very partial to this drink, which plays an essential part in all their festivities.[2] The other Bushmen in general also do not seem to trade for any liquor, although they all appreciate alcohol and native beer when it is given to them. The Hiechware, [439] however, are said to be excessively fond of native beer, which they obtain by barter from the BeChwana; and, according to Dornan, they contrive to get drunk whenever they can.[3] Drunkenness as a rule is very exceptional among the rest of the Bushmen.

Sexual Life and Marriage

Conditions and Forms of Marriage

114 There is very little information about the relations of the sexes before marriage. Either the subject is not mentioned at all by our ● 836 authorities, or it is curtly dismissed in a short sentence. Kaufmann, for instance, reports of the Auen merely that prenuptial intercourse hardly ever seems to occur[4]; Lebzelter writes of the Kung that chastity is insisted upon before marriage[5]; while, on the other hand, all Miss Bleek has to say in this connection about the Naron is that

[1] Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope*, i, 164 sq.; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 32; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 257; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 122–3.
[2] Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 168; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.
[3] Op. cit., 121. [4] Op. cit., 156. [5] Op. cit., (16).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

the women told her "a girl may do as she pleases, but a married woman may not".[1] And again Dorman writes of the Hiechware: "Sexual intercourse by the lovers before marriage, though looked upon as wrong, is very often indulged in."[2] Vague generalizations such as these really tell us next to nothing about the nature of sexual life before marriage; they simply ignore the many important sociological problems connected with the whole question of courtship and selection, social attitude towards prenuptial unchastity, legitimacy, and marriage. 114 836

Similarly Trenk says that the girls among the Namib Bushmen are generally virgins when they enter into marriage, because most of them marry soon after puberty.[3] But that premarital unchastity does actually occur is shown by his statement in another context that the children born to an unmarried woman are taken over and looked after by the man she subsequently marries, although as soon as they grow up they must be returned to their real father.[4] This implies that physiological paternity is acknowledged by these Bushmen, and that marriage is not necessary to legalize the status of children. The latter implication at least is at variance with what is known of other Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed. Among the Heikum, for example, abortion is sometimes practised by unmarried women who are pregnant, or, when "illegitimate" (i.e. prenuptial) births occur, the children are usually buried alive.[5] Here, therefore, marriage would seem to be an essential preliminary to the right to procreate and rear children, and therefore to the foundation of the family. [582] 848 [842] [847] [581]

A family is constituted by a union between one man and one or more women, this union being legalized by marriage. The Cape Bushmen are now said to be monogamous,[6] but polygynous marriages also have been recorded by earlier writers.[7] The Namib Bushmen, according to Trenk, are monogamous; Seydel, on the other hand, curtly remarks that both polygyny and polyandry occur![8] There is no other mention of polyandry among any of the Bushmen, and the statement can hardly be accepted as accurate without full confirmation. The more northerly tribes all permit polygyny, although the frequency of such marriages varies. Among the Naron at Sandfontein monogamy 595 [114]

[1] Op. cit., 32. [2] Op. cit., 128. [3] Op. cit., 169. [4] Ibid., 168.
[5] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.
[6] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, ix; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 62.
[7] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, i, 30; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 95.
[8] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505: "Vielmännerei und Vielweiberei wird beobachtet."

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[1] Murdock, op. cit., p. 263. [2] Ibid., p. 264.

837 the wives consent. This is regarded as a concern of the couples involved rather than a concern of society as a whole. One man said, 'If you want to sleep with someone's wife, you get him to sleep with yours, then neither of you goes after the other with poisoned arrows.'

[572] The word */kamheri* was used by //Ao, one of the young hunters, to express his deep feeling of friendship for John Marshall. 'We are such friends that we are */kamheri*', he said, but, as John had no wife to exchange, this remark had its funny side which delighted the men.

No actual instance of */kamheri* came to our attention and we failed in finding out if it is now practised. One man in Gam lent his first wife to a unmarried friend, one of the gossips told us, because he was in love with his second and did not care any longer for the first, but this was a mere deviation from the rules, not an instance of */kamheri*.

We heard of several irregular sexual unions in addition to the above. Rape did not appear in stories or gossip. Fornication must be very rare because there is practically no one to fornicate with. Almost all females are married except very young girls and leathery old grandmothers. Adultery is the usual form for irregular unions
684 to take. Adultery, however, is sharply limited by several deterrents. One deterrent is
837 the incest taboo, of course, which forbids extra-marital sexual relations as rigorously as it does marriage with persons to whom the taboo is extended. The same internalized sanctions induce obedience to this rule as to the marriage regulations. The same gradation of feeling probably exists, and we expect that people comply strictly within the kindred and among close affines and are no doubt less strict with name relatives.

Ease of divorce must exert a modifying influence on adulterous unions. If a [586] married couple really want to change mates, nothing need deter them but the general difficulty of extricating themselves from the web of responsibilities which marriage entails.

In a sense, the impossibility of maintaining secrecy exerts a control over extra-
151 marital relations. There is no privacy in a /Kung werf and the vast veld is not a cover.
153 The very life of these people depends on their being trained from childhood to
182 look sharply at things and to take into their attention what they see, for they must observe the most minute marks on vegetation to distinguish from the matted grasses the almost hair-thin brown vine stems that come up from the edible roots. Hunters memorize visual impressions and are able to follow the tracks of an individual animal in the midst of a large herd in a way that seems to us miraculous. It may be a week after a hunt that they return to recover an arrow that missed, miles from the werf, remembering where it lay in the vast monotonous sameness of grass and bush. They register every person's footprints in their minds, more vividly I am sure than we do faces, and read in the sand who walked where and how long ago.

The /Kung value control of anger, upholding self-control as an ideal, giving it
185 group and individual approval and training for it. Despite this, volatile tempers
578 sometimes flare and burst out of all control. And always at hand are the little poisoned
[411] arrows. They are formidable weapons. There is no antidote for the poison; at least our /Kung informants said they know none and told us of tragic deaths from the poison which would have been averted had they had an antidote.

684 Adultery, so exceedingly provocative of anger and vengeance, could be very

/156 cont./

584 The betrothal, which takes place immediately before the couple move into the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl's wrist, as can be seen in Photograph 44. Since, however, "betrothal" and "marriage" are separated only by the walk to the hut, the seizing of the bride's forearm may be regarded as concluding the marriage.

The seizing of the forearm is a fairly violent gesture, and on the way to the hut the bride allows herself in a certain sense to be dragged along. Could it be that this perhaps represents a vestige of an earlier custom of abducting the woman?

It is curious how the relationship of the son-in-law to his
606 mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit down with her. If, for instance, he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law will go away. If he is absolutely forced to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.

I noted that most women had two or three children who
163 were about two to three years apart (see p. 5).

The woman goes to the family or settlement of her husband,
591 not the other way around. The fact that the young couple stays for some time in the settlement of the wife's parents, roughly until the first child is born, may have given rise to error. Later on, the couple always returns to the man's horde.

582 A man may not marry his own sister and likewise, naturally, neither his mother nor daughter. Other degrees of relationship constitute no absolute obstacle to marriage.

As a rule, however, one does not marry within his own family and, if possible, not even within his own horde. Preferably women are brought in from far away, often from groups speaking another language (Naroon, Genkuin, Hei-um [Heikum]).

851 The birth of a child does not necessitate a temporary separation of the marriage partners.

Marital fidelity seems to be observed to a fair extent. The
684 adulterer is killed, and the wife is treated according to the
837 temperament of the deceived husband, that is, she is given a more or less violent beating.

daughter at the same time. Although he had blood ties with neither, this was analogous to marrying a daughter and it was thought the man must be mad to do so. Informants said specifically that /Kung do not marry uncles or aunts because they are 'like' parents. Cousins, they say, are 'like' siblings and nephews and nieces 'like' offspring. Marriage with any of these would be shocking. 582 684

In the genealogies of about 175 /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region there is no instance of marriage among any of the above-mentioned relatives. However, we heard of two first-cousin marriages among some distant /Kung. 582 [183]

A /Kung must not marry a person who has the same name as his parent. In the two instances we know where this rule was broken the people lied, admitting it only after someone else told us about it. A man must not marry a woman to whom he applies the term */utsu* (this seems to be regarded as a particularly stringent prohibition), nor may a woman marry a man she terms *≠tum*. We know a man who broke this rule. His marriage with his */utsu* caused a scandal which was still reverberating after two years. [553 183] [684]

The preferred marriage among /Kung is with a non-consanguineous name-relative whom ego terms */gu/na* (or *tun/ga* w.s.) or *tũn* m.s. SiHu and HuBr are both termed *tun/ga* w.s. and BrWi and WiSi are termed *tũn* m.s. These are considered desirable marriages, especially the sororate, but neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory. [587]

Marriages with persons termed */umba* or */undai* are not forbidden. Persons who use the terms *tsu* and *//ga* for each other may marry unless one has the name of the other's parent. Persons who use the sibling terms may marry. These marriages, though not forbidden, are not preferred.

There is no category of persons with whom sexual intercourse is permitted by /Kung custom except the spouse. If illicit sexual intercourse is indulged in, it is carefully concealed. 837 ●

The Joking Relationship

The joking relationship is an important element in /Kung culture. It is in the foreground of people's minds. The /Kung never once mentioned the generational aspect of their kin terminology system but whenever kinship matters were discussed they spoke of the joking relationship. The /Kung do not train their children to know the precise genealogical position of collaterals,[1] but they teach them the term to use and the joking status of the term. Sometimes an informant would not know whether, for instance, a relative he termed *tsu* was his FaBr, his MoBr or who, but would say that his parents taught him to use that term for the relative and that he must not joke with him. 602 [867] 601 602

The joking relationship creates a dichotomy which divides consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives into two groups. Every kinship term is associated with a joking status and the culture either allows ego to joke or prohibits him from joking with every person to whom he applies a kinship term.

[1] As to lineal kin, all our informants knew the precise genealogical position and names of their grandparents and grandchildren but many did not know the names of their great-grandparents. (We did not meet any /Kung who had a great-grandchild.)

Exchange of wives is practised among some of the Kalahari groups but not by the *Hei-||om*. 184 837

Among the *Hei-||om* a young man eligible for marriage is known as a *!gari-khoib*. When he desires to marry he first speaks about the matter to his best friend (*|hosab*) who then approaches the parents of the prospective bride. The latter will reply, "We are poor, we cannot afford to give our daughter away." Thereupon the *|hosab* returns to the suitor and tells him to go and speak to the mother himself. The suitor then proceeds to the *||gāus* of the girl's mother, taking his bow and arrows with him. On arrival at her hut he sits down some distance away and says, "I want your daughter." The mother replies, "We are too poor to give our daughter away," to which the suitor responds, "I have come myself to speak to you. If you die, I will bury you, if your husband dies I will bury him," thereby implying that he has become one of the family and prepared to share their sorrows and sufferings. The mother then replies, "You are right, you may take her. I will do as you say and see whether you will carry out your promises," and taking his bow and arrows, proceeds to her daughter's hut (*!gari-khois oms*) and places them in the hut. Then, without speaking to her daughter, she returns to her own hut. The daughter knows to whom the bow and arrows belong. The suitor goes to the girl's hut towards dusk but does not speak to her. Being still shy and afraid of men, she may run away but does not go to her mother's hut as she is afraid of being punished. He remains in the *!gari-khois oms*, sleeping in it at night and hunting during the day. If, after two or three days, she does not come back he returns to his *||gāus* and, after obtaining some beadwork from his mother and sister, presents it to his mother-in-law through his sister. He returns to his bride's hut in the meantime. The mother-in-law must accept the present (*||ama-xun*) as the marriage was completed when she took his bow and arrows and placed them in her daughter's hut. Towards midnight the mother takes her daughter to the *!gari-khois oms* and, if necessary, removes her there by force. The bride and bridegroom do not speak to each other nor, under normal circumstances, are the presents sent to her mother by the bridegroom until they have slept together. After the marriage has been consummated the husband goes out hunting to obtain meat for the *!gu-ǂa-ǂnab* or the dance after an animal was killed for the purpose of making a wife's leather skirt. The young couple continue to live in the *!gari-khois oms* for some months before taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own *||gāus* his mother builds a hut for them. 584 584 585

Parent-in-law taboo is met with among all the tribes. The son-in-law neither looks at nor speaks to his mother-in-law, nor will he mention her name or enter her hut even in case of sickness or during her absence. When, in the absence of 606

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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cause his wife's mother was born there, as well as at his own 423
birthplace, the Okwa Omaramba, where we had found the 621
eighteen Bushmen, who after all were not strangers but 602
closely related to Gai and Ukwane and an extension of Uk- 159
wane's band.

Ukwane himself had had three wives, and he and his first 586
wife had been divorced, which Bushmen do by announcing 587
the divorce and separating. There is no ceremony connected 159
with divorce, and no difficulty, as there is no ceremony connected with any marriage but the first. After a divorce a Bushman man may take up residence with another woman whom he prefers.

Without the visible evidence of ceremonies, however, it 837
is hard for non-Bushmen to recognize what is happening, as 159
occasionally Bushmen live together for short periods without being married, or commit adultery. But in cases such as these there is someone who does not want the union to be permanent, either the man or the woman, or perhaps his or her children; perhaps even the man and woman are tabu relatives, and unless everyone concerned is more or less in accord, the union does not take place. Among Bushmen, incest and [684]
adultery are strongly condemned.

Once, among Kung Bushmen we lived with, a woman ran 837
away from her husband to take up with another man. She 593
had considered marrying him, and they ran off one night to his family to live permanently. When her husband found out, he got so wildly angry, taking up his spear and sharpening it, [578]
that the headman of the band set off after the elopers to preserve the peace. My brother and I went with him, and at noon we found the lovers resting in the shade.

The headman talked with the elopers and told them how they were bringing shame on both their families, and how the woman's husband was violently upset. By this time the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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837 woman had begun to regret her act, and as her children,
593 whom she had brought with her, were crying for their father, she agreed to return. She then explained her reason for leaving; her husband, who had until recently been a serf Bushman, could not hunt well and was not able to clothe her. She was a handsome woman, but her kaross showed that what she said was true—the only garment that she had had to wear on the day of her elopement was tattered and old. She also explained how she and her lover had passed the night, she sleeping on one side of the fire, he on the other, with the children between. She put straws on the ground, a straw for each person, to show how it was, and we believed her.

The whole affair seemed to center itself around raiment, for though the woman was poorly dressed with what her husband had given her, the beads and ornaments that she had made for herself were fine and white. Her children, too, were poorly clothed with leather, but they also wore white beads, and her lover, the man who had attracted her so much that she committed an unconscionable act, was dressed beautifully in a soft new leather loincloth, sewed finely and worked with white beads. I myself was adorned with the story, for when we came upon the spot where the lovers were resting I found that I had a pen but no paper and so wrote everything that happened on my arms and legs.

When we got home, the woman's husband took her back and was very glad to have her. No one ever mentioned the affair again.

586 In the same band there was another man, about forty years
595 old, who took a beautiful young girl not yet twenty as his second wife. His first wife, also forty and the mother of three, was very jealous and bothered the beautiful girl until the girl, who did not love the husband anyway, ran away from

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

him and back to her parents. The husband was enraged and 586 set off after her, but when he finally found her his anger had 595 been replaced by longing and he pleaded with her, reasoned with her parents, and plied them with the meat of an entire eland he had shot, asking for her to return. But she would not, her parents would not make her, and finally she drove him away with these words: "I don't want an old husband like you, you man with a big black belly."

Thereafter, the marriage was recognized by everyone as dissolved. The husband was sadly disappointed, but the two women, at least, were pleased.

Both Kung and Gikwe Bushmen permit divorce, condemn 593 adultery. We saw very little marital strife among the Kung 586 with whom we lived for over a year, and none among the 837 Gikwe. Even so, many Bushmen over thirty years old in both groups had previously been widowed or divorced. Death and strife take too many people; a Bushman cannot really expect his first marriage to last him all his life.

Ukwane's second wife had been a widow, the mother of 159 Twikwe, and when that woman had died Twikwe had lived 587 on with Ukwane. His third wife was Kutera, and their only living child was Gaiamakwe. Ukwane had another son still living at Chukudu, the Bakalahari settlement, who was surely one of the Bushmen servants in that long procession of Bakalahari villagers we had seen moving to winter quarters. We told Ukwane about this migration and Ukwane said he was sorry to hear it because he had hoped very much to see his son again before he died and many seasons might pass now before the son would come.

Kutera herself had been married twice before, once to a Bakalahari, once to a Bushman named Gainaho, and last to Ukwane, to whom she had been married about fifteen years.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

595 they are jealous of each other, as they so often are, !Kung society demands of them that they preserve a decent semblance of harmony and, by self-control and silence, avoid disturbing other people with jealous wrangling.

582 621 587 The band itself, as a structured unit, is not a factor in regulating marriage. Persons may marry either within their bands or outside them if relationships and marriage regulations permit. Neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory, but marriage with a brother's wife or a sister's husband is considered to be good and suitable, particularly as a second marriage, should death or divorce make it possible for these affines to marry again 582 These relationships are not especially preferred in first marriages.

Marriages are forbidden in !Kung society only on the basis of the incest taboo, which is very strongly felt. It rigorously prohibits the !Kung from marriage with members of the nuclear family. It also extends to stepparents, stepbrothers and stepsisters, stepchildren, and to three additional categories of persons: certain kin, certain affines, and certain name relatives, whose relationships are considered to resemble those of the nuclear family.[8]

582 183 The !Kung conform strictly to the marriage regulations where they feel the internal sanction strongly, as they do with close kin and affines. But with the more remote relatives, third cousins, and even second cousins, and with name relatives, they deviate without any apparent sense of guilt and without incurring the grave disapproval of society.

587 Widowers may marry again without restriction. A widow is supposed to wait until one rainy season has passed so that "the rain may wash the death away," but often she does not.

586 A couple may divorce without formality. This may be by mutual consent, or one spouse may simply leave the other. No religious or legal dispensation is involved and parental consent is not a requirement. No property entanglements present difficulties for there is no dowry or bride-[587] price to be resolved. Divorce does not change people's status in the community in any way, and they are free to remarry without restrictions. Although the !Kung do not consider divorce reprehensible, they deplore it because it is untoward and can cause trouble. Divorces are not uncommon among young people of about the age at which young people in our society would be getting married, but, once a compatible mate is found, there is a notable stability in the marriages.

837 !Kung society forbids any sexual relations outside marriage, with one exception, called */kamheri*. */Kamheri* means that two men may agree to exchange wives temporarily, provided the wives consent. When deviations from the sexual regulations do occur, the usual form is adultery, since almost all Bushman women are in the married state from early youth. [835] But adultery meets with deterrents in this society. The strongly felt incest taboo prevents extramarital sexual relations as well as marriage with close relatives. Ease of divorce enables persons who really wish to change mates

to do so. Lack of privacy makes it almost impossible to keep an affair secret, 837
and violent jealousy and anger can be aroused. Fearing any disruptive force, [152]
the !Kung disapprove.

LIFE CYCLE

CHILD TRAINING • !Kung parents are gentle, 854
protective, and permissive with all their children and express their affection especially with babies. It is a most common sight to see fathers fondly kissing them with pursed lips and smacks. The mother, wherever she goes, carries [153]
her infant tied to her left side, skin to skin, in a little leather sling where it can reach her breast. When she sits, she takes the infant out of its sling, holds it, lets it nurse the other breast.

The !Kung believe that long nursing is essential to the survival and 853
development of their children and encourage them to continue until they 862
are three or four or older. These people practice infanticide and, in explain- [147]
ing it, say that they must space their babies so that each will be able to nurse long enough to ensure his having strong legs. An infant cannot thrive on their harsh foods, they say, even though they chew the food and put it into the infants' mouths, and the mother cannot support two entirely with her milk, excellent though !Kung lactation appears to be. They supplement the milk with adult food as soon as the child can eat it, so that a child is accustomed to it and ready to be weaned at three or four when the next baby comes. But, even so, the mother weans gradually, letting the older child have a drink of milk occasionally through the day. If the mother does not have or keep another baby but still has milk, she will allow or encourage her child to continue nursing. Other children tend to make fun of a child who nurses until he is six or so, and, in response to their teasing, a child may wean himself quite abruptly.

Babies are naked and, since there are no floors but the desert sand, 854
not much is made of their urinating wherever they are. When they defecate, they are wiped with grass and the fecal matter is cleaned up at once by some older child or adult and carried off. As soon as children can walk fairly 863
well they are led by the hand and encouraged to go out of the werf for their toilet needs, at first for the sake of cleanliness and, as they grow older, for the sake of modesty as well. (!Kung adults are exceedingly modest about [291]
uncovering their genitalia. Their incest taboo influences this behavior, I think, very strongly.)

Infants sleep in their mothers' arms. Young children sleep wrapped 513
in karosses beside their parents' fire. Boys from the age of about eleven or 882
twelve sleep at a boys' fire, not far from the family of one of them. Girls at [157]
that age go to sleep with a grandmother or some widow, or several of them

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

taking up residence with the husband's group. On arrival in his own 591
//gaus his mother builds a hut for them."

A different form of marriage ceremony has been recorded for the 585
now extinct inhabitants of Basutoland and Orange Free State. Here, [184]
the consent of the bride having been obtained and also the approval of her parents, who received some kind of present, a day was fixed for the event. All the neighbours round about were invited to a feast. When they had all begun to make merry, the young man took the opportunity to seize the bride. This was the signal for her relatives to set upon him with their digging-sticks; they gave him a sound thrashing, and a general fight ensued. If the bridegroom managed to keep a tight hold through all this, the issue was decided, and he was a married man. If not, he would have to undergo a second ordeal some other time before he could again claim his bride.[1]

Among the North-Western Bushmen girls taken in war or found [727]
trespassing are also often held as wives by their captors.[2] Miss Bleek 583
indeed, says of the Naron that marriage is nominally by capture.[3] A young man wishing to marry comes with an older man to another village, ostensibly to pay a visit, and sits chatting, without mentioning his purpose. They look out for a good opportunity, and then carry off the girl to their own village. By this act she is married, whether she likes it or not. It seems, however, that talk about the marriage mostly precedes the "capture". "The mother thinks it proper to make a fuss, but if her objections are only for show, the men take no part in the matter, and the girl is led away, probably quite willingly, though etiquette demands some coyness. If, however, the mother really objects, thinks her daughter too young, or does not like the suitor, she rouses the men to action, and the would-be bridegroom and his friend have to depart." During Miss Bleek's stay at Sandfontein an attempt at real capture did occur, but the assailants were driven off in this way. In the old days, she adds, much fighting seems to have [721]
been caused by attempted capture; now fear of the white man tames [177]
down the affair.

Married Life

The relation between husband and wife in one of its aspects is [581]
sexual. By marriage a man acquires the sole right to sexual intercourse 837

[1] Stow, op. cit., 96, quoting Miss L. C. Lemue; cf. Arbousset, *Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope* (English trans., 1842), p. 351; Dornan, "Bushmen of Basutoland," 442.
[2] Kaufmann, op. cit., 154; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 85.
[3] *Naron*, 33.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

837 with the woman who becomes his wife; at the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with women, whether 684 married or unmarried, other than his wife or wives. Marital infidelity appears to be severely condemned by all the Bushmen. Among the Naron, for example, a man who catches his wife misconducting herself tries to kill her lover and beats her, but he generally does not drive her away if she has children.[1] Marital fidelity among the Auen is said to be fairly well maintained. When adultery does occur, the adulterer is, if possible, killed, while the wife is more or less severely beaten, according to the temper of the husband; she is apparently never killed. Kauffman adds that there nevertheless appears to [548] exist a form of prostitution in which a married woman offers herself to different men for gifts, although if this comes to the notice of the husband he will drive her away. Our author finds it difficult to reconcile this with the blood vengeance exercised in case of adultery, but adds the explanation given him by the people, that "if a woman is intimate with many men, the husband can hardly wage 'war' with them all".[2] Of the Kung Lebzelter says merely that the adulterer is killed, and the guilty wife thrashed.[3] Among the Namib Bushmen, again, an adulterer can either be killed or forced to pay compensation. We are not told, however, the circumstances under which one alternative is exercised rather than the other, nor in what the compensation consists. The wife is sent away, and the adulterer, if unmarried, is then expected to marry her. If she is pregnant the child [848] must be reared by him, and sent back when grown up to the original husband.[4]

114 684 In all these cases, it will be noticed, we have to deal with generalized statements. In no instance is any concrete illustration given of what actually took place in such cases of adultery as may have come under the observation of our authorities. It is not possible, therefore, to decide how much truth really underlies the statements that the adulterer is generally killed. It is evident, however, that the sexual prerogatives conferred by marriage are jealously guarded. Unfortunately almost all the information bearing on this point refers

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 34; cf. Passarge, op. cit., 106.
[2] Op. cit., 156, 157.
[3] Op. cit., 14.
[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168. Seydel (op. cit., 305) states that while formerly blood vengeance was invariably exercised in case of adultery, nowadays the reaction has been toned down, and the guilty party ("der schuldige Teil") is merely thrashed very severely ("halbtot") with a stick!

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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thought that he would have to wait at least four years more 562
for her, he would get into such a passion of desire that he
would have to send his wife away for a time, lest he forget
himself and break one of the most stringent rules. Bushmen [833
believe that it harms a girl terribly to be possessed before she 834]
is mature. It might even drive her mad.

Bushmen have no real solution for this problem, as there 548
are no prostitutes and only in a few bands are there promiscu- 588
ous women. Homosexuality is not permitted either; the 838
young men just have to get used to being tempted constantly
but never gratified.

Gai had raised his young wife, and when she reached pu- 593
berty he had possessed her and she had borne him a son. This 587
was the young man Gai had found at Okwa. Shortly after
that his young wife had died and Gai then had married Tse-
tchwe, whose young fiancé had been taken away by a farmer
to work on a farm. Gai and Tsetchwe had borne two chil-
dren. Only one was still alive; this was Nhwakwe.

When we asked about the residence and about the parents 159
of Gai, an argument arose. Gai lived with Ukwane because
his wife wanted to live with her mother, Dasina, and Dasina
lived with Ukwane because she and Ukwane were relatives,
sharing a common grandparent. Gai himself, said Ukwane,
was conceived by a Bushman mother and a Bushman father
named Gwena, but Gwena had died while Gai was still in
the womb. When that had happened, Gai's mother had gone [582]
to Chukudu to marry a Bakalahari man. She and the Bakala-
hari had then moved to the big rock in the Okwa Omaramba,
where Gai was born. This was Ukwane's side of the story.

Gai had been listening, and when Ukwane had finished,
Gai raised himself up on his elbow to say that Ukwane was 159
quite mistaken, for the Bakalahari was his real father. An ar-
gument dragged on, the old people insisting that Ukwane was

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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159 Band 2. She was /Nai's second cousin (MoFaBrSoDa) and the first cousin once
585 removed of the groom (MoSiDaDa). The attendants were not selected for their precise relationship to the bride. They were the only young kinswomen present in the two bands. The girls sat down and chatted with /Nai for a moment and then stood up and, giggling and chattering, took /Nai by the arms. /Nai drew back. Then Xama pulled /Nai's arms over her shoulders, bent and took /Nai on to her back so that her feet did not touch the ground. Xama carried /Nai in this position to the wedding scherm, laid her down inside, to the left of the opening as one entered, in the dark shadow, and covered her over with the kaross. There /Nai remained. We did not see her again that night.

It is the custom for the parents to take brands from their own fires to light the wedding fire of the bride and groom. Presumably this was done, though I did not see it. When the girls arrived the fire was burning and a young man, a cousin of the groom, was tending it. The two girls sat down by the fire on the women's side.

562 /Kung men and women must sit on opposite sides of the fire.[1] They believe that if
834 male and female genital organs should touch the same spot on the ground the man's
352 hunting powers would be vitiated and the woman would get a sickness in her genito-urinary tract, not an ordinary, human, communicable disease but a magical one. The woman's side is to the left as one faces the entrance to the scherm, the men's to the right. The fire is always in front of the entrance if the scherm is built; but, more often than not, if the weather is good, or the people are travelling and staying
[342] only one night, or the wife is lazy, she hangs the family belongings in a bush and does not build a scherm. Then it is the custom to thrust two upright sticks into the ground to represent the entrance, so that the family may orient itself.

In the werf of Band 2, about twenty or thirty yards to the west, a group of boys had
159 come to /Gunda to attend him. They were all the young boys of the werf who
585 were approximately his age, two cousins (MoSiSo) and four of the sons of /Gunda's stepfather by his first wife. The boys made a show of catching /Gunda and held him by the arms for a moment, laughing and talking. Then they formed a line with /Gunda following at the end, walked to the wedding fire, and sat down on the men's

[1] This taboo reveals the association which, I
224 believe, the /Kung make between the hunting power
833 of men and the male sexual principle. Both must be protected, and sexual activity must be controlled and constrained lest the life-giving and food-producing force of men be weakened or drained away. During the period of a hunt a man must not have sexual intercourse—that is, while the man is looking for game and, after he has shot his little poisoned arrow into the animal, while he is tracking it for miles and waiting and watching for days till it dies of the poison. A hunt usually demands many days and nights of effort and privation.

[783] Too frequent indulgence in sexual intercourse with one's wife, even when no hunt is in progress, is believed to diminish a man's hunting power. Some
[841] men believed that once in five nights was best; others thought once in three nights was all right. Men who have the joking relationship constantly play upon the theme of excess, taunting each other: 'You do not know hunting, you know women', 'You cannot leave your wife long enough to hunt.'

The /Kung are less strict about another taboo. A woman is supposed not to touch a man's hunting gear at any time, because this would lessen his power to hunt. But I have often seen women touch assegais and quivers. Indeed it has sometimes been urgently necessary to do so when the children got hold of them, as, for instance, when the three-year-old ≠Gao, agile as a flea, took after us with his father's assegai, infuriated with us for some sudden notion of his own. There is a medicine called *gow gowna*, made from a plant, which may be rubbed on the weapons to purify them if they are touched by women, but I never saw this done and doubted if anyone bothered with it. The effect of a woman's touching the hunting gear is much stronger if she is menstruating. I assume they are more careful then.

/157 cont./

The water and food collected by menstruating women are
●841 consumed only by the women themselves and old people; the younger ones "it makes weak."

593 The authority of the parents practically ceases as soon as
858 the children are in a position to provide food for themselves.

A child is named soon after birth by the grandfather or grand-
553 mother (whether on the paternal or the maternal side was not determined).

Boys reach puberty between 14 and 16 years of age and girls
145 between 13 and 15 years of age (estimates).

The declaration of a boy's maturity is a special event in the
881 life of the Bushman. Under the leadership of the "doctor," several youths from neighboring settlements march into the bush and live together there for some weeks on the veld crop. During this time they receive some sort of instruction in secret affairs. Young and old Auin alike, whom I interrogated separately, denied that this instruction pertains to sexual matters. To the question of what they did during their stay in the bush, I always received the answer: "They dance." They did, indeed, describe for me a kind of dance which decidedly has something childishly mysteri-
[535] ous about it. A boy seats himself "piggyback" on the back of another, and both wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier tramping with his feet as rapidly as possible without moving forward, while both of them utter a low "hu, hu" in as horrifying a manner as possible.

It is indeed difficult to imagine that this interesting occupation should last for weeks, interrupted only by sleeping and eating.

In addition, the young people seem to be treated quite badly in the course of this preparation and to receive little to eat; all of them concurred in the opinion that it is "miserable."

I learned through hints that the candidates for manhood play all kinds of tricks on neighboring villages during the night and play as "ghosts" a bit, as well as stealing food.

The actual attainment of manhood, after which the boys are
[884] warriors and are allowed to marry, is not solely dependent on attending the preparation, but also on the killing of the first piece of big game.

Tattooing is not connected with the official attainment of
[304] manhood

164 [45 cont.]
[753] Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The
[192] terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no
[302] means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is
[593] usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin
842 hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy
[757] is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine
[278] for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is
●841 done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband
[757] and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on
853 the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least
~~[826]~~ until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished
164 by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care.
[515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky
[278] sap of a plant called timba.
[757]

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams
[145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long;
302 the toenails are often fissured.

the *|hawa-omi* in a similar manner. The same procedure is gone through for three or four days in succession. On the last day, after the dancing has ceased, she is presented with various trinkets by the women who took part in the ceremony and, after she has been returned to the *|hawa-omi*, the *axarogu*, who are required to remain in the *||gāus* for the occasion, are summoned to pass in Indian file behind her hut. As they pass each presses his scrotum against her hand which is protruded through a very small opening made by her mother in the back of the hut and she touches it with forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the *axarogu* against [841] sexual disease (swelling of the testicles) which is caused by [751] treading on the place where a menstruating *!gari-khois* has urinated. If she does not touch the scrotum and such a lad should pass behind her while she has her periods, his testicles will become swollen. The same will happen if she were to tread on the urine of such a boy. When this happens the youth is said to be *!gou*. After all the *axarogu* have filed past and returned to their hut, an old woman enters the *|hawa-omi* and rubs her body down (*|u*) with a preparation of roots, the name and source of which could not be ascertained. Now two of the *‡kham-khoidi* come forward and take her to fetch water. This is done at a run, the water being brought quickly and placed at the hut of the old woman who rubbed her down. Then two other *‡kham-khoidi* take her to fetch wood. This is likewise done at a run and after the wood has been deposited the ceremony is over. She is now a woman and known as a *!gari-khois*. While the ceremony was in progress a new hut, which is known as the *!gari-khois* [882] *oms*, was built for her by her mother. In this she now takes up her residence until she marries.

The *‡gari-khois* is now eligible to marry and she accompanies 883 the married women on their various excursions for food, wood, etc., and associates with them. The food collected during the four or five days following her transition to womanhood is eaten only by very old women, *e.g.*, the one who rubbed her down. After that any food gathered by her is shared with her mother. She may subsequently not go to the veld to [844] gather veldkos while she is menstruating, but must remain in the *||gāus*. On such occasions she is fed by her mother.

Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after 881 reaching the age of puberty and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in the pursuit of game, especially big game. The ceremony is in reality a test of their powers of endurance and of their skill in the chase. It is always [221] carried out during the rainy season when food is plentiful. All the eligible lads are removed to a spot some distance away from the werft and placed under the charge of one or more of the elders of the group. An enclosure is made round a big tree and in this they are required to live for the time being. They sleep in the enclosure and the elders around the fire which is made at its entrance. Women are not permitted to approach or communicate with them during the course of the

hind quarters, the entrails and the trotters (*ǂei-ti*). Her 224 262
portion is known as the *ǂnoe-di* and is the only meat which may be partaken of by women. The *ǂnoe-di* is shared by her with the other women, including the *ǂkham-khoidi* (adolescent girls) and with the young children. The *ǂnoe-di*, however, may not be eaten until the *gei-khoib* has tasted the meat. It is cut on the spot where the carcass was found by the person who shot the animal and handed over to the latter's wife after arrival at the *||gāus*. It is not brought under the *!heis*. It is cooked by the wife of the hunter on the fire in front of her hut after which the other women come and get their portions and eat it in their own huts. The *ǂkham-khoidi* obtain their meat from their respective mothers, as also do young children still living with their parents. If women [78H] partake of any other meat than the *ǂnoe-di*, the poison of the arrow will not act when an animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu* (youths) is known as *!om-||gani* and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles, etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at the *axarogudi ǂgaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the *!heis* [252] or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *so.xu* to him and if he [78H] eats any other part, *e.g.*, the *ǂkoms* he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions about two finger breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis* may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *ǂnoe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-||gani*, under which is included the *ǂkoms*. The latter may be eaten only under the *!heis*. After it has [264] been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is [84H] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *ǂkoms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib* and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat 224 622
killed by the members of an outlying *||gāus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the *||gāus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *||gāus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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584 One day the young man killed a little buck and, according to custom, gave most of it to his bride's parents, thus proving that he hunted well and would provide for them and their daughter. With this the engagement was sealed. Shortly after-
585 ward the mothers of the bride and groom built a scherm for the young couple which they furnished with wood and water and enlivened with a fire, kindled by brands from their own fires. Very early the following day the bride's mother adorned
[301 822 831] the bride, washing her, hanging white bead ornaments from her hair, rubbing her clothing with red, sweet-smelling powder, a symbol to Bushmen of beauty. Then, sitting her upon one large kaross, they covered her with another and left her to spend the day motionless, waiting for evening, when the union would take place.

788 It is common in Bushman ceremonies for a person at a transitional moment of life to be raised from the ground and hidden from the sun, as though suspended between earth and sky. Young people on the day of their first marriage are protected in this way; so are newborn babies, and so are girls
[841] on the day of their first menstruation. At a funeral, too, the body before burial is covered and raised from the ground, and perhaps all this is because a person is especially susceptible to damage at times of life when change is taking place, when, perhaps, a person is as delicate and fragile as a new moth emerged from a cocoon.

585 Because the sun brings death, no ceremony or part of any
[821 761] ceremony is performed when the sun is strong; but when evening came and the sun itself was dying, the groom was led to his new home by his three brothers, who took him by the hands and pulled him there, forced him, for custom demanded that he show reluctance. The bride, according to custom, refused to go to her husband and had to be picked up by another little girl and carried to him. In the drama of re-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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164 Short Kwi's wife, who looked around at them all gravely, listening, and when they had finished she nodded her head. "A medicine man of Europeans," they said.

"So," said she.

We talked about the foot for a while, for although he had covered it we could still see the toes. The people of the werf described how Short Kwi was bitten and everyone claimed credit for his part in saving Short Kwi's life. One man had killed the snake, another had cut the fang punctures, and others had given advice at the time and later. The leg had [752] swelled enormously and the medicine men had cut the swollen skin to let blood; the scars of this still showed on the healthy thigh above the blanket. All the people seemed very depressed when talking about it, though; for one reason, they ate meat less often, but also they truly admired him and did not seem to enjoy watching the disaster. Toma asked Short Kwi how he felt and Short Kwi said he thought that his leg had seemed to be getting a little better during the last few days.

582 It was almost evening, and we heard voices singing in the veld. Two women and a young girl were coming home from a trip for veld food. These three were also very happy to see us and the little girl kissed me but not the men, then asked for her mother, who lived at Nama and whom she had not seen for seasons, and we told her that her mother was well. The girl had been newly married and she was as pretty as she could be, with lots of beads, and with long ornaments of tsi nuts hanging beside her face. She wore a fine kaross which she had rubbed with red powder, often a sign to men that a [291 822 224 841] girl is menstruating, as perhaps she was, that men may be careful not to touch her and endanger their powers to hunt. [784] Marriage seemed to have agreed with her. She looked very

237 and bowstrings, horn makes spoons and small containers: most needed of all are the skins—converted into bags and nets for carrying, and into clothes. Men wear only a breech-
291 clout. Women wear modesty aprons,
281 often one in front and one behind, as well as a piece of soft skin, clasped
[841] between their buttocks and thighs, when menstruating. Both men and women wear *kaross's*. The *kaross*, or skin cloak, is the most important garment and everyone tries to have one. If a man has only one *kaross*, and he is a good man, he will give it to his wife and do without—for, to a woman, a *kaross* is essential. In it, she is modest. In it, she carries the
[482] roots she has gathered in the day and the baby who must go where she goes. Her *kaross* is her warmth at night, her softness on the cold ground. It breaks the blind wind and roofs away the narrow rain.

[p. 57]

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The *Choa* Ceremony The mother takes the girl's hands to scrape the tsi out of the ashes.

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[224]

choa-ed. The old woman who attends her performs this part of the ceremony (or her mother may do so). She scrapes a root called *sha sha* into the water hole. To *choa* the veldkos, the old woman takes the girl's hands in hers and together they place the veldkos in the fire. When it is cooked, they scrape it out together and the old woman puts *sha sha* in her mouth, chews it, and blows on the girl's hands and on the veldkos. This protects the girl from having an upset stomach. Each veldkos must be *choa*-ed the first time the girl eats it after the First Menstruation ceremony.

●841

[224]

No ceremonials mark subsequent menstruation periods, and the women do not seclude themselves during the flow or avoid gathering veldkos or dipping water from the water hole. They continue only to practice certain avoidances that in general have to do with men's hunting. The menstruating woman must not touch hunting gear; it would be very bad, for the arrows would be useless. She must not have sexual intercourse with her husband; it would make him tired and thin. Men in the years of their hunting prime should not talk or listen to talk about menstruation, for to do so might make them lazy in hunting.

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The girls who are married before their first menstruation have the same menstruation ceremony when the time comes as do the unmarried girls.

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[252]

There is no genital mutilation practiced among the girls and women of the !Kung. Girls are scarified, but not at the time of the menstruation ceremony. The scarification is begun when the girl is about seven or eight and is continued little by little over several years. Stripes are made on the legs,

[p. 266]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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lighting a new fire at the next encampment, although this is a practice which, as we have just seen, Fourie explicitly denies for the Heikum. 372 622 [114]

There is no indication at all in the available literature that similar usages relating to fire are found among the rest of the Bushmen, nor is there any further evidence of their occurrence among the tribes mentioned above. On the other hand the sacred fire also plays a very conspicuous part in the social and ritual life of the OvaHerero, OvaMbo, and Bergdama, all of them close neighbours of the Bushmen tribes among whom it is found, and with the last two of whom the Heikum at least have intermixed considerably. It is probable therefore that the special observances relating to fire among the Heikum and the Kung may represent borrowed elements of culture; but much fuller information is needed about them before this can be definitely asserted. Whatever their origin, however, these usages now obviously play an important part in the social life of the people. In particular, the fact that at the present time the chief of the band has certain exclusive functions in connection with fire is of outstanding significance in the whole sphere of public life, and one which cannot be dismissed merely because it may be due to the effects of contact with other peoples. To this point we shall have to return when discussing the political institutions of the Bushmen. [184] 171 372 [177] [622]

Special Usages relating to Food

There is not much information available about food taboos, but it appears that, in some of the tribes at least, certain foods are forbidden to persons at different stages of life. In the texts obtained by Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen there are preserved the details of some of the food taboos prevalent among this people. Thus little children were not allowed to eat the heart of the jackal (on account of this animal's great timidity), certain portions of the ostrich, or the tip of the springbok's tail; a menstruating girl might not eat game killed by the young men, lest she bring them ill luck—she had to eat only game taken by her father; a certain kind of tortoise was forbidden to young unmarried men and women, for fear of arousing the wrath of the rain; women were not allowed to eat the flesh of the lynx; the tail of the porcupine was forbidden to certain (unspecified) persons; while all refrained from eating a certain small portion of the flesh of the hare.[1] The published information relating 262 825 [841] [821] 262 [114]

[1] L. C. Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 23; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, cf. references in Index, s.v. "Food—not to be eaten."

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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262 to these taboos is unfortunately so fragmentary that little can be
[114] gathered of the ideas underlying them. Several of them are
undoubtedly connected with wider ritual observances, e.g. the taboo
[821] imposed on menstruating girls, and again that associated with a
[821] certain belief about the rain; but of the others no full explanation is
available, although the taboo on the portion of the hare may possibly
[773] be linked up with the Bushman myth of the origin of death, in which
[761] the hare plays the part of the fateful messenger who distorts the
[825] promise of immortality sent to mankind by the moon.

Among the Naron, again, "It does not seem," says Miss Bleek,[1] "as if many taboos in the food line still existed. Paauw meat and ostrich eggs are chiefly given to old men as the greatest delicacies. Some say young children, or girls till they have had their first baby, are not to eat steenbok, lest they remain small, but others tell me that all meat is eaten by everyone. Honey touched by a baboon must not be eaten, or you will die." Among the Auen, young girls and boys apparently may not eat game at all, otherwise they will remain thin; while water
●[841] and food collected by a menstruating woman may be partaken of only by herself and old people—it "makes others weak".[2]

About the Heikum we have far more information on this point,
224 thanks to the excellent description given by Fourie of certain
[114] of their hunting observances.[3] The details he gives throw such a wealth of new light upon this aspect of Bushman life that they may be quoted in full. "After an animal has been shot it is followed by the hunter until it expires or until nightfall when he returns to the *//gaus* (camp). The following morning the whole community takes part in the search for the carcass, as the previous day's tracks had in all probability been effaced during the night by other animals.
224 The searchers spread out on a wide front and keep a very sharp lookout
252 for the presence of vultures. After the carcass has been found it is
[462] skinned by the men. The belly is then opened and the entrails removed and cleaned. Bags are made from the stomach and into these the blood is collected. The animal is next cut up and, after this has been done, the liver is roasted and eaten by the men. The skin, if suitable for the
[281] purpose, is cut into sandals, bowstrings, etc., on the spot. The meat is
then removed to the *//gaus* by the men who may occasionally be
[462] assisted by the women. On arrival at the *//gaus* all the meat is laid

[1] *The Naron*, 7. [2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140, 157.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 100–2; cf. *idem*, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 54–6.

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224 animal has been shot. The meat which may be eaten by the *axarogu*
262 (youths) is known as */om-//gani*, and includes the flesh of the abdominal wall, kidneys, etc., and the genital organs such as udder, testicles,
224 etc. It is prepared by the *axarogu* themselves over their own fire at
252 the *axarogudi ǂgaos* (young men's hut). The person who shot the
262 animal receives the ribs and shoulder blade of one side. He may prepare his portion either under the */heis* or over his own fire. The ribs must be cooked and the shoulder blade roasted because they taste better when done in this manner. The rest of the meat is *soxa* to him, and if he eats any other part, e.g. the *ǂkoms*, he will not meet with success in hunting because the poison will weaken and refuse to act. The parts of the animal which go to the *gei-khoib* are known as the *so-eis* and include portions of about two finger-breadths in size from each quarter, from each side of the back and one rib from each side. These are strung on a thong or cord and hung up for his sole use. *So-eis*
[574] may, however, be shared by him with a visiting *gei-khoib*. The *gei-khois* receives her share from the *ǂnoe-di*. The *gei-khoib* may also partake of the meat for the remainder of the men called the *so-//gani*,
[264] under which is included the *ǂkoms*. The latter may be eaten only under the */heis*. After it has been prepared each man brings his wooden bowl or other receptacle and helps himself. Any man whose wife is
[841] menstruating will, however, not partake of the *ǂkoms* as it contains blood. The rest of the meat is divided among the men by the *gei-khoib*, and is prepared and eaten at their huts.

"A similar procedure is adopted in connection with meat killed by
224 the members of an outlying *//gaus*, the *gei-khoib* likewise having to
262 taste it before it may be partaken of. He may either proceed to the
622 *//gaus* concerned, or if the distance to be travelled is considerable, all the meat will be brought to his *//gaus*. In all such cases the *so-eis* is brought to him by the messenger sent to notify him of the kill. When he visits a *//gaus* for this purpose he kindles the */hei-/ais* with
[372] fire from one of the huts, and, after having tasted the meat, returns to his own."

Apart from the light it throws upon certain functions of the chief,
114 this account illustrates admirably both the existence of special ritual
224 observances in regard to game killed in the chase, and the fact that
[622] food obtained in this way is shared among all the people present at the encampment. This latter feature has also been noted by other writers on the different Bushman tribes,[1] and it can safely be asserted

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 55; Kaufmann, op. cit., 155–6 D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, pp. viii–ix; *idem*, *The Naron*, 16.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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adolescent boys, who remain in the camp for the occasion, are 881
summoned to pass in single file behind her hut. As they pass, each
presses his scrotum against her hand, passed through a small opening [751]
made by her mother in the back of the hut, and she touches it with
forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the boys against
swelling of the testicles, which is believed to result from contact, [841]
direct or indirect, with a menstruating woman or anything associated
with her. After all the boys have filed past and returned to their hut,
an old woman enters the girl's hut and rubs down her body with a
preparation of roots. The girl is then ceremonially taken to fetch
first water and then wood, which she brings at a run and places at
the hut of the old woman who cleansed her. After these have been
deposited the ceremony is over. This fetching of water and wood,
together with the cleansing, no doubt symbolizes the return of the
girl to the normal occupations of her daily life.

She is now a woman eligible for marriage, she lives in a new hut 882
built for her by her mother, accompanies the married women in their
daily occupations, and associates with them. The food collected 883
by her during the four or five days following the ceremony is
eaten only by very old women, e.g. the one who rubbed her down.
After that any food she gathers is shared with her mother. On
subsequent menstrual periods she may not go into the veld to gather [841]
veldkos, but must remain in the camp, and is fed by her mother.

In many of its details this ceremony closely resembles the puberty 171
ceremony for girls among the Hottentots. There is a strong probability 881
that it may even have been taken over from the latter, by whom the
Heikum have unquestionably been influenced to a considerable
extent. At the same time, in the seclusion of the girl in a separate
hut, the avoidance of contact with men, and the performance of a
special dance, this ceremony also presents features noted in the
corresponding ceremonies of other Bushman tribes. The differences
apparent between it and the others may therefore be due merely to
the fact that it has been studied and recorded in much fuller detail.
Without further study of the other Bushman tribes no definite
assertion can be made on this point.

The puberty ceremony for girls among the !O Kung of Angola 184
differs in several important respects from those already noted. Every 304
girl, at her first menstruation, is placed in a separate hut, and kept 881
there until the new moon is seen. A dance is held in her honour on
the first nights; both sexes take part in this, but not the girl herself.

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224 returning to the camp, sleep under the central tree and avoid sexual intercourse with his wife, lest the poison prove ineffective and the animal escape. The meat of an animal killed by a dog may not be [841] eaten by women or by any men whose wives are menstruating; this is to prevent bad luck befalling the dog in the pursuit of game. Any want of success is generally attributed to some chance accident; for example, a man who has had bad luck in hunting while his wife was menstruating will not hunt again while she is in that condition, nor will she eat any of the *ʃnoe-di* at such times.[1]

These practices and beliefs obviously represent only a small portion of what must be an elaborate series of usages relating to hunting, but they suffice to indicate how the Bushmen, fully aware of the uncertainty attendant upon their efforts, seek to relieve their apprehensions and to obtain confidence by the aid of magic and taboo.

Collecting

224 Hunting in the old days was unquestionably the principal source
136 of subsistence in Bushman life. But with the decrease of the game
648 in their region and with the enforcement against them of the game
222 laws framed by the white man, its importance is diminishing, and at the present time the Bushmen depend very largely for the means of existence on the wild vegetable foods growing in the veld.

[241] Agriculture in any form is altogether unknown to them in their
222 traditional mode of life. The nearest they have got to it is found
224 in the practice observed by the North-Western tribes of burning the
311 veld at the end of the dry season.[2] This, it is said, is done primarily in order that the edible bulbs, roots, etc., should come up better during the approaching rainy season. It is also used, however, as a means of hunting, for the men spread round the fire in a semicircle and drive all the game rushing from it before them in a certain direction where some hunters are lying in wait; moreover, the new grass growing soon after the burning attracts the game, which returns to the area, and thus makes it good hunting ground. Incidentally the burning serves to kill off snakes, scorpions, and other noxious creatures. Men may only [423] burn in their own territory; to do so across the border, or to gather wood where others have burned, is a great offence. In former times, [622] among the Naron, the chiefs are said to have regulated the burning;

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 56; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 102.
[2] Jodtka, "Reise nach dem Okavango," *D. KolBl.*, xiii (1902), 491; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 147, 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 17.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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571 we were unable to find a precise translation of */ōassi* but think it connotes the *we* as
619 distinct from the *they* and has an overtone of something good and safe. The phrase is
621 an opposite of *ju dole*. *Dole* means strange or harmful or bad—evidently synonyms to the /Kung.

602 Because there were so many kinship ties among the people and because they have
621 a system (the name relationship—to be mentioned later) by which they apply kin
[608] terms to persons who are not consanguineous relatives or affines, I wondered for a time if we should find that the people who call themselves *ju /ōassi* comprised a kin group of the type which Murdock calls a deme.[1] A deme is bilateral and endogamous, Murdock says, 'comparable to the sib both in size and in the traditional rather than demonstrable bonds of kinship which unite the members'. Though the Nyae Nyae region has the elements of a deme, I am convinced that it does not constitute, strictly speaking, an organized kin group of this type, of which the people are conscious as a social form. The endogamy of the region is customary and preferred, but not required by a social rule, and it is not from the group of people as a whole who are *ju /ōassi* that social regulation derives.

Marriage regulations: the incest taboo and its expression in avoidances

582 Marriages are forbidden in /Kung social organization on one basis only. That
835 basis is incest. In common with nearly all mankind (excepting, of course, the Pharaohs and a few other rare examples), the /Kung incest taboo prohibits marriage or sexual relations between Fa and Da, Mo and So, Br and Si. The incest taboo is extended beyond the nuclear family to certain additional categories of persons, and marriage with them is also rigorously forbidden by /Kung social law.

[842] The /Kung did not express the belief that in-breeding *per se* produces inferior off-
spring and must for that reason be avoided. Although they believe that in conception the semen unites with menstrual blood, their language does not use the image of blood as ours does. They do not think of relatives as having the same blood or any
[827] physical substance in common, actually or by way of figure of speech to represent inheritable characteristics, in so far as we know, and do not think that common inheritance is somehow what makes it wrong to marry close kin.

The thought that incest has been avoided by mankind because it would be exceedingly disruptive to the internal cohesion of the nuclear family comes to the mind of the analyst of social forms but not to the minds of /Kung informants. And no mention was made of the obvious social advantage of marrying outside the nuclear family and thereby weaving a supporting web of kinship with many other families and bands.

The /Kung feel a deep, internalized, pervading horror of incest which they do not try to explain. Incest with parent, offspring, or sibling is unthinkable. 'Only dogs do that—not men.' 'It would be madness (*di*).' 'It would be dangerous, like going up to a lion.' Many refused to speak with me about such 'bad things'.

571 the Bushmen were saying of themselves, in effect,
619 'We are not animals, we are human beings', a con-
621 notation we did not discover in the thinking of the /Kung themselves. Ledimo, our chief interpreter, also a Chwana, said the phrase had the connotation of 'perfect persons' and that 'clean' and 'empty' were aspects of the word */ōassi*, he thought. Elizabeth Marshall Thomas paraphrased it in the title of her book, *The Harmless People* (Knopf, New York; Martin Secker & Warburg, London, 1959).

[1] Murdock, op. cit., pp. 62–63.

/156 cont./

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

/157/ Divorce rarely occurs, and then only when the woman
586 has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

In most cases, however, the woman remains with her hus-
[595] band even in old age, while he provides himself with one or two younger and stronger women.

The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

587 Widows are permitted to marry again after a certain time, as is also the case for divorced women.

589 There is no special dress for widows.

The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to
562 that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-
264 pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

[184] The Rietfontein Auin always have just one wife. The reason
595 for this is said to be that "little food" is available. The Auin from Gam, on the average, have two, sometimes five wives.

Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto de-
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684 women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auin declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by
847 stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

[19 cont.]

approximate ages of the members:

162

	Horde I	Horde II	Horde III	Horde IV
Men	9	7	4	10
Old men	--	--	4	1
Women of child-bearing age	10	12	13	9
Matrons	4	8	7	6
Infants	6	6	7	2
Small children:				
Boys 1-4 years old	2	3	8	3
Girls 1-4 years old	3	4	6	1
Children:				
Boys 5-10 years old	4	4	?	?
Girls 5-10 years old	3	2	?	?
Young men	5	--	?	?
Young women	5	3	?	?

The above table thus has reference to 44 women capable of bearing children and to 38 marriages, of which two are polygamous. Four are widows. In these 38 marriages, there are 15 infants, mostly under one year old. To the extent it could be determined, 12 women were pregnant, and about five of them had [842] older infants. It would seem, then, that nursing beyond one year [853] affords no practical protection against a new conception.

833 183 The rule among the Nog-au that cohabitation with the mother may be renewed only when the baby is able to sit is well known, but it is not particularly observed.

165 With these 15 infants there should accordingly be 45 small children from one to four years old; in actual fact, however, there are only 30 small children, which gives an infant mortality rate of 33 per cent. This rate is no higher than is to be expected among primitive tribes in malaria regions; in fact, it is lower than in some native locations, such as East London.

[29 cont.]

593 men are strongly influenced by their wives. It practically never
[562] happens that a man beats his wife. Monogamy [30] is the rule.
595 I know of one single case of a man having two sisters as wives. It is true that certain marriage laws frequently force the men to marry considerably older girls. It is therefore understandable that in such circumstances the desire for a younger life's companion frequently arises, but the consent of the first wife is absolutely necessary. It is said: "He who has a good wife may have several; he who has a bad one must be content with her alone." The Bush-
●842 men do not know any means of preventing pregnancy, and, accordingly, very soon after marriage the young wife will find herself
843 with child. The husband and his sisters-in-law must see to it that she eats no sour veld fruit, nothing sweet, and no fat meat. No one is allowed to walk behind the pregnant woman's back; no pot is supposed to be put on the fire until the woman has been rubbed with the soot of the pot; she is not supposed to sit where the other
844 people are, but must stay to one side. When the time for delivery approaches, she must step over the legs of her husband, who has rubbed medicine into incisions in his calves. When the woman feels that the birth pangs are beginning, she goes into the bush by herself and looks for veldkost. She is not supposed to sit down while doing so, because that would have harmful effects on the birth. Then she picks grass, prepares a place under a tree, puts her bag of veldkost to one side, and gives birth to the child in a squatting position, grasping a branch with her hands. Then she takes the child, severs the umbilical cord herself, puts it in her veldkost bag, and goes home with it. The cord is always severed with a quartz knife (as among the Dama). The umbilical cord (!nm) is buried. Only women who are unafraid and who have already given birth to one child follow this procedure. A woman who is giving birth for the first time and is afraid does not go into the veld, but stays at home. As soon as the pains begin, she weeps and goes out, sits down, and stands up again. Older women of the kin group accompany her, and in their presence the child is finally born inside the hut. The men may not be present. Children, too, may not look on, and if they creep up out of curiosity, they are soundly thrashed.
[845] If there are difficulties, the abdomen is massaged. Von Zastrow
000

[41 cont.]

582 girl to marry him. Naturally, these sisters ordinarily do not remember their prerogative until they have failed to get another man whom they desire. Thus the young men are often forced to marry girls who are much older than themselves. If the wife 587 dies, the widower must marry a sister of his wife in case she agrees. [42] If, on the other hand, the man dies, the widow (589) must stay with the parents-in-law for about a year. It is illegal to marry the wife or the children of a deceased brother. The widow must marry a man from another kin group and move to his village (1). The boys belong to the father's kin group, the girls to 611 THE MOTHER'S KIN GROUP.

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842
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732
627

1. "The fate of many a young childless widow is much worse, however. A Bushman communicated the following concerning this matter: 'When a man dies and leaves behind a wife without children, and the brother-in-law refuses to accept his brother's bow and thereby his sister-in-law, she may return to her father's village. But this does not by any means always happen. As a woman who did not bear children she is not highly regarded. Her life has no significance. The men of the village talk about her case and designate one from their midst to destroy the useless life. This man will come to the widow's hut in the evening and will sit down across from her at her fire. He has a bow and arrow with him. The widow knows what is in store for her, but gives no sign. The two talk about trivial matters. After a while the man takes the bow in his hand and shoots an arrow through the heart of the woman sitting across from him. The unfortunate woman dies and is buried as inconspicuously and as quickly as possible. Blood vengeance on the part of the woman's kin group is not to be feared. After all, she did not bear any children.'" (Zastrow and Vedder, op. cit., p. 419.)

164 [45 cont.]
[753] Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The
[192] terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no
[302] means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is
[593] usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin
842 hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy
[757] is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine
[278] for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is
841 done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband
[757] and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on
853 the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least
[826] until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished
164 by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care.
[515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky
[278] sap of a plant called timba.
[757]

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams
[145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long;
302 the toenails are often fissured.

NARON
!AUIN
NOGAU

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
[842] spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
843 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
845 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

[301 789 303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

!Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course, are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she
584 is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

601 and most of the persons who eventually become his secondary affines would be name-relatives. They keep whatever term they had and add *!umba* or *!undai*. Theoretically, if they should not have a name-relationship they would fall back on the generational method.

When terms are applied to secondary affines by the generational method, the primary affine is the point of reference. Ego applies a term to the parent or child of the primary affine which is in the alternate generation terminologically to that of the primary affine. A term in the same generation terminologically as that of the primary affine is applied to the sibling of the primary affine. The list of terms on p. 16 shows the correspondence of the generational terms with the affinal terms. Diagram 8 (p. 17) illustrates this situation.

Consanguineous relatives of ego's may be named for secondary affines as well as primary affines. When they are, ego applies to them the same term which he applies to the secondary affine but drops *!umba* and *!undai*.

All relatives to whom the generational and sibling terms are applied, except name-relatives (see p. 15), have terms applied to their spouses by ego which are paired with the generational and sibling terms as listed below.

Generational or sibling term for males	*Spouse*	*Generational or sibling term for females*	*Spouse*
tsu	//ga or /utsu (//ga is preferred for FaBrWi or MoBrWi; /utsu is preferred in other relationships)	//ga or di/guma	tsu or tun/ga m.s. (tsu is preferred for FaSiHu and MoSiHu; tun/ga is preferred in other relationships)
/gu/na	tûn	tûn	/gu/na or tun/ga w.s.
tun/ga w.s. when collateral when affine	tûn w.s. /kwi w.s.	/gu/na w.s.	tun/ga w.s.
/go or tsi	tûn m.s. /utsu w.s.	/kwi or tsi	tun/ga

Part II: Some Aspects of Behaviour as Related to Categories of Kin

Marriage

842 The /Kung know that biological descent is from the father and mother, believing that the father's semen unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form the child. But their language does not emphasize the concept of blood as ours does. A 602 /Kung speaks of a person who has blood ties with himself as being of his own people, emphasizing the phrase in some way, as when we say ' very own '.

582 Marriage with any consanguineous kin is forbidden in /Kung culture. This prohibition is quite strictly obeyed. The very thought of marriage with a parent, off-684 spring or sibling is horrifying to the /Kung. They could hardly be brought to talk about such ' bad things '. They told us about a man who married a woman and her

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GIKwe

could have found his shallow pit at any time of the day or night.

Nobody was there; everyone had run away. We sat down and waited while Gai put his hands to his mouth and shouted, trying to summon the people back again. When nobody came or even answered him, he flung his pipe to the ground and marched off to find them among the bushes, alternately shouting to his hidden relatives and muttering to himself, for they might be far away and the day was getting warm.

We sat in the middle ground between the depressions so that we wouldn't risk stepping on or crushing anybody's hidden things, for, without knowing it, a European can in a moment trample through a Bushman's cache, breaking the delicate bone or wooden objects, bending the reed arrows, or crushing eggshell beads. Also, among certain groups of Bushmen, every fire has a man's side and a woman's side, determined by the position of the fire as you face the doorway of the scherm, the man's side being on the right, the woman's on the left. If a man sits on the woman's side, or where a woman has been sitting, he will become impotent and will also lose his power to hunt, and if a woman sits where a man has been sitting, she will get a disease in her vagina. Something intangible, invisible, but dangerously powerful, remains on the ground. We did not know which side was which of this werf's fires, or even for sure where the fires were; we did not even know that the Gikwe had this custom, for we had learned it from Kung Bushmen, but we knew that if they did they would not welcome our contaminating their ground. We would have liked to look around, but the best thing we could do was to keep our big boots and our bodies away from their delicate, fragile, almost invisible community.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

know, but Gai became embarassed and said gravely that 124 825
Pishiboro put that system there for reproduction and he alone knew how it worked.

Ukwane then said that he would explain instead, because 221
he was an old man. Gai could not speak of sex in front of 831 784
women because it was both improper and dangerous and 826
would weaken his power to hunt, but Ukwane was too old 888
for hunting and, besides, was past the age when many of the 124
tabus concerning sex applied to him. Old Bushmen understand everything better anyway, young Bushmen say.

Ukwane knew a great deal. He named every major part, 124 825
inside and out, of the animal, even naming the major veins and arteries that lead to and from the heart. We were not surprised to find that Bushmen, who prefer to be specific rather than general when dealing with minute things, distinguish more exterior parts of the body then we do. They have names, for example, for the inside of the elbow and the back of the knee. The *leg* of an animal means the hind leg, the front leg is the *arm*, and these are called by the same names as the arm and leg of human beings. Birds, too, fly with their arms and land on their legs, but I never could discover what insects do.

Ukwane went on to explain the various systems of the body, saying in the case of the urogenital system that liquid, which was "the little springboks," ran from the testicles into the kidneys, then down again and out the penis. He stuck to this version, too, even when Bill suggested that it might be otherwise. This does not mean that Bushmen think that urine [942] causes conception, for they recognize the role of semen, believing that it unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form a child.

Ukwane understood the course of food and water through 124 827
the digestive system, but said that food and water spread out

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

green-leafed vegetables, and sometimes many of the people 361
of the large extended bands come together to live, to hold 621
important ceremonies which require many people, and to enjoy each other's company. Sometimes they separate into very small bands because they can now go anywhere they wish, each family going to the part of the veld where the type of food grows that the family most enjoys. There is water every- 312
where, in small seasonal waterholes, in shallow salt pans, in hollow trees, and the people thrive and grow quite fat. One 222
of their favorite foods, one that grows in great abundance at 262
this season, is a ground nut called *tsi*, which grows on a trailing vine and is so fat that if you leave a kernel of it on a piece of paper it will leave a greasy stain. Tsi is regarded by the Kung Bushmen as a very powerful food, one of the pow- [778]
erful veld foods in which there is a special essence, something mysterious and magic which gives them a life force all their own so that it would be dangerous to eat them during the year if this life force were not first subdued or not first integrated with the life force of the people. These foods are 778
the mainstays of the Bushmen's diet, and are fat; and every 789
year people in their child-bearing years, when they consider themselves subject to harm, protect themselves against these foods by a ritual act.

The act of protection is called *choa*, and it is interesting because it differs from the protective rituals performed by agricultural peoples to save their crops or animals from harm, or to cause their increase. The Bushmen choa themselves not [842]
to protect their fertility, for decrease in the number of children is not a problem to them, but to make sure that they, the young adults and mainstays of the community, will not get thin and starve.

Those whom Bushmen call "old people," adults who have 789
had three children, are expected to protect themselves and 885
also to protect young people of the same sex.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

and wipes it clean with grass. Then the mother collects the 844
stained grass, the placenta, and the bloody sand and covers
them all with stones or branches, marking the spot with a
tuft of grass stuck up in a bush so that no man will step on [784
or over the place, for the ground where a child has been born 778]
is tainted with a power so strong that any man infected with
it would lose an aspect of his masculinity, would lose his
power to hunt. The woman does not bury the placenta, for if [842]
she did she would lose her ability to bear more children.

The moment of birth is a very important one for the child and for the mother; it is at this moment that the child acquires a power, or an essence, over which he has no control, although he can make use of it. It will last him all his life; it is a supernatural essence that forever after connects the person born with certain forces in the world around him: with weather, with childbearing, with the great game ante- 778
lope, and with death, and this essence is called the *now*.

There are two kinds of *now*, a rainy or cold one and a hot or dry one. If a person has a wet *now* and burns his hair in a fire or urinates in a fire, the person's *now* is said to make the weather turn cold (if it is the dry season) or bring rain (if it is the rainy season). If a person has a dry *now* and burns hair or urinates in a fire, the *now* is said to stop a cold spell or a bad storm. When a person dies, too, the weather changes violently according to the person's *now*. After a [761]
death, scorching droughts or devastating storms are sure to follow.

We knew a Bushman woman at Gautscha whose young 778
son was living not with her but far away with the family of 821
his infant wife, and once, when a rainstorm came so violently that branches were splintered from the trees and water ran in torrents like waterfalls over the rocks beside the pan, the woman began to pine and grieve for her son, who, she felt

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

wishes uppermost in their minds. Orphans are eagerly adopted 844 by their aunts or grandparents, and a newborn baby is wel- [736] comed as though it were the first baby the werf had ever seen. Sometimes, though, a baby is born that cannot be supported, and if this happens the baby is destroyed. If a woman bears a child that is crippled or badly deformed, she is expected to destroy it, and if the season is very hard and she already has a baby under a year old depending on her milk, she is forced to kill her newborn child. Bushman women can hardly bear this, but they do.

If a woman knows that she must kill her baby, she braces herself for this as best she can, and when the time comes to do it she must act immediately, must take advantage of the moment after birth before the infant has "come to life," that moment between the time the baby is born and the time her love for the baby wells up in her so that the act would be impossible forever after. She must think of the child she has already and act quickly, before she hears her infant's voice, before the baby moves or waves its feet; she must not look at it for long or hold it, but must have a shallow grave ready for it and must put it in at once and cover it and never think of it again. In times of extreme deprivation she can do this, or she can wait to watch both her children die. All this is very hard, and Bushmen, who have no mechanical form of con- [842 833] traception and know no way to cause miscarriage or abortion, prefer to abstain from intercourse for long periods rather than to suffer such pain.

We knew one woman who had been forced to destroy a baby to save an older child, and we knew one woman who had borne a crippled child and had been persuaded to destroy it by her mother, who had been present at the birth. Such things are very rare, though, and this is fortunate.

. . .

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

the women told her "a girl may do as she pleases, but a married woman may not".[1] And again Dornan writes of the Hlechware: "Sexual intercourse by the lovers before marriage, though looked upon as wrong, is very often indulged in."[2] Vague generalizations such as these really tell us next to nothing about the nature of sexual life before marriage; they simply ignore the many important sociological problems connected with the whole question of courtship and selection, social attitude towards prenuptial unchastity, legitimacy, and marriage. 114 836

Similarly Trenk says that the girls among the Namib Bushmen are generally virgins when they enter into marriage, because most of them marry soon after puberty.[3] But that premarital unchastity does actually occur is shown by his statement in another context that the children born to an unmarried woman are taken over and looked after by the man she subsequently marries, although as soon as they grow up they must be returned to their real father.[4] This implies that physiological paternity is acknowledged by these Bushmen, and that marriage is not necessary to legalize the status of children. The latter implication at least is at variance with what is known of other Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed. Among the Heikum, for example, abortion is sometimes practised by unmarried women who are pregnant, or, when "illegitimate" (i.e. prenuptial) births occur, the children are usually buried alive.[5] Here, therefore, marriage would seem to be an essential preliminary to the right to procreate and rear children, and therefore to the foundation of the family. [582] 848 [842] [847] [581]

A family is constituted by a union between one man and one or more women, this union being legalized by marriage. The Cape Bushmen are now said to be monogamous,[6] but polygynous marriages also have been recorded by earlier writers.[7] The Namib Bushmen, according to Trenk, are monogamous; Seydel, on the other hand, curtly remarks that both polygyny and polyandry occur![8] There is no other mention of polyandry among any of the Bushmen, and the statement can hardly be accepted as accurate without full confirmation. The more northerly tribes all permit polygyny, although the frequency of such marriages varies. Among the Naron at Sandfontein monogamy 595 [114]

[1] Op. cit., 32. [2] Op. cit., 128. [3] Op. cit., 169. [4] Ibid., 168.
[5] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.
[6] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, ix; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 62.
[7] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, i, 30; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 95.
[8] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505: "Vielmännerei und Vielweiberei wird beobachtet."

/156 cont./

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

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586 has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

In most cases, however, the woman remains with her hus-
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The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

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The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to
562 that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-
264 pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

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Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto de-
548 scribed, there are supposed to be prostitutes among the married
684 women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auin declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by
847 stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

[12 cont.]

843 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-
262 buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut.
[553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are
[177] performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:
[539] //am ≠haiba, //am ≠haiba (?)
[782] The leader answers:
!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower
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NAROON
!AUIN
NOGAU

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
[842] spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
843 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
845 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.

611 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
596 long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
601 tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu; the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage is forbidden even with the children of the mother's brothers and mother's sisters; within the individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy is the rule, but, as among the !Kung, a man may take a second wife provided he has the consent of the first.

[301
789
303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklage with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-in-law or to support her.

!Auin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course, are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she
584 is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

N/ow of the /Kung is something which influences weather, bringing rain if it is 821
'good' *n/ow*, or cold if it is 'bad' *n/ow*. Precisely what *n/ow* consists of was never made explicit. Nothing about it can be seen. One knows of its existence, the /Kung say, by observing its effects upon the weather.

N/ow exists in all human beings, the /Kung believe, and in certain big animals, 821
namely: giraffe, eland, gemsbok, kudu, hartebeest, and wildebeest. For the sake of 825
brevity I shall refer to these animals as the *n/ow* animals. Small animals do not have *n/ow*, according to the /Kung. We wanted to learn why, but the /Kung could only tell us that they were so created. Steenbok have positively no *n/ow* at all. Some informants claimed that duikers had none, others said that duikers' *n/ow* was undeveloped. Informants were also uncertain about springbok. There are very few springbok in the region and informants said they killed them so seldom that they had not observed whether or not they had *n/ow*. Possibly other large animals would be found to have *n/ow* if the question were further pursued.[1] There was no disagreement among /Kung 821
informants about other things; no other things have *n/ow*—not earth itself, nor vegetation nor other objects on earth; not water, clouds, rain, thunder or lightning, nor heavenly bodies. Not even the two Gods themselves have *n/ow* in them, neither [776]
the great one who lives in the eastern sky, nor his namesake (his */gwna*) who lives in the western sky, both of whom bear the names Huwe, Hishi, and ≠Gao/na, our informants told us.

N/ow gets into a human being in the womb. Exactly how this happens informants 821
could not tell us. It was our impression that they were not hiding information, for 843 ●
they seemed willing enough to talk about *n/ow* and said it was not dangerous or 827
harmful in any way to speak freely about it. We think they simply did not know. One informant said, 'The child gets the *n/ow* in the womb and is born with it.' Another said, 'The *n/ow* is created in the womb.' Another said, 'The great Creator gives the [776]
n/ow and taught the people to do the things they do about it. He made all things and made all things to be known.' The *n/ow* acquired in the womb remains in a person all his life.

Some persons get a 'good' rain-bringing *n/ow*, others get a 'bad' cold-bringing *n/ow*. When we wanted to learn how this happened we were told that 'When the mother's uterine fluid flows into the ground, it makes a *n/ow* in the child which brings rain or a *n/ow* which does not bring rain'.

The mother has no voluntary control over this, nor has anyone else; and there is nothing, like medicine or magic, spell or ceremony, which can be used to cause the *n/ow* to be one kind or the other. Furthermore, the child does not inherit a good or bad *n/ow* from his mother or father or any ancestors. The philosophy, lore, or belief about the question of what causes the *n/ow* to be one or the other kind, whatever it may have been in the past, seems not to be known now with clarity or detail.

Two verbs were used in connexion with *n/ow*: to *≠gani* and to *//ghui*. The /Kung 192
say that the mother has *≠gani*(ed) the child if it gets a good *n/ow* and has *//ghui*(ed) it if 827

[1] Miss Lucy Lloyd (*A Short Account of Further Bushman Material, Third Report*, London, 1889, p. 19) mentions that a Bushman informant, Dia/-kwain by name, who worked with her and with Dr. Bleek before his death, and who came from the Katkop Mountains, south of the Orange River, told her that 'A baboon, when killed, resembles a man, in "making cloud"'. No more information was given in the report, but the concept of 'making cloud' suggests that possibly the now extinct or almost extinct Cape Bushmen had a belief which may have resembled in some ways the concept of *n/ow*. [171]

192 it gets a bad *n/ow*. We heard the words used constantly in connexion with *n/ow* and
827 rain and cold, but know of the use of only one of them in another connexion. The /Kung say that a child '*//ghui*(s) its name' if its teeth come late. We do not know precisely how to translate the words and hope that a linguist will some time throw more light on them.

821 ≠Toma, one of our informants, pondering on the question of how the *n/ow*
827 comes to be of one kind or the other in a person, said he thought the child's position
843 in the womb and whether the child had long or short legs might have something to do with it, but he was not sure of this, and knew no more to tell us. A caul or a breech-birth does not make the *n/ow* good or bad, he thought. Other informants
[845 thought that severely deformed infants or twins might possibly be more likely than
847] others to get a bad *n/ow*, but they too were uncertain. (Possibly this is because deformed infants and the weaker one of twins are killed at birth by /Kung mothers, so there is little occasion to think about the *n/ow* of such children.)

821 It is discovered what kind of *n/ow* a child has by observing the weather at the time
787 of its birth or soon after. If it rains the people believe the *n/ow* of the child has brought the rain and are sure the *n/ow* is good. If water should freeze when the child was born or soon after, the child's *n/ow* would be known to be bad. Should the weather continue in its normal seasonal course and no great extreme or notable change occur, the child's *n/ow* will be thought to be probably of the rain-bringing or cold-bringing kind according to the type of weather which prevailed; but if the weather is extreme at the time of the birth there is a feeling of certainty about the kind of *n/ow* the child has acquired, as the /Kung believe the effect of the *n/ow* was clearly observable.

At death as well as at birth the *n/ow* of a human being influences the weather. A /Kung told us that his *n/ow* had brought heavy rain when he was born and that everyone knew he had a rain-bringing *n/ow*. He said his mother, who lived at some distance from where he lived, noticed the weather and, if rain came at an unusual time or was unusually heavy, she feared he had died and that his *n/ow* was causing the rain to come.

821 *N/ow* is said to exist in the bodies of human beings (presumably everywhere in
826 them). Informants mentioned it particularly as associated with uterine fluid at the
[827] time of birth and with the urine and hair of humans.

Hair is associated with clouds by the /Giwke Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with whom we worked in 1955. They have a myth, told to us by the
[773] old headman, Oukwane, which says that God, whose name there is Pisiboro, and who is their one God, tore the black, black hair from his head and threw it into the sky to make the rain clouds.

775 In *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*,[1] Dr. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd record a belief about
821 death, collected in 1875 in the Katkop dialect from the informant Dia/kwain, which
826 refers to hair and clouds. We quote the statement:

> The hair of our head will resemble clouds, when we die, when we in this manner make clouds. These things are those which resemble clouds; and we think that (they) are clouds. We, who do not know, we are those who think in this manner, that (they) are clouds. We, who know, when we see that they are like this, we know that (they) are a person's clouds; (that they) are the hair of his head. We, who know, we are those who think thus, while we feel that we seeing recognize the clouds, how the clouds do in this manner form themselves.

[1] Bleek, W. H. I., and Lloyd, L. C., *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911, pp. 399–401.

312 824 222 The net effect of this effort is that an individual must drink much more than the minimum daily requirement of 72 ounces of water. In fact, men who were living on Fockea roots, were observed to dig out between 15 and 20 of the roots per day. The quantity of water provided by these roots is estimated at 150-300 ounces, part of which went to provide water for the children of the camp.

222 484 312 A description of one Fockea trip, in which the author participated, will serve to illustrate some of the difficulties of living away from standing water.

[123] This trip began on 6 November and ended on 16 November, 1964. The group consisted of 12 Bushmen (plus the author); there were three men, four women, and five children. One of the young women gave birth during her stay so the returning group consisted of 13 Bushmen.

November 6 - This group (minus one of the men who came out the following day) set out from the Dobe waterhole at 10:00 [103] a.m. They spent the day walking to a nut forest named !wi/wama which was situated eleven miles west of Dobe. The original plan was to remain there for five days.

[481] The pace was leisurely to suit the three older children [855] (ages 12, 8, 6 respectively) who went on foot and the young [843] woman who was in the terminal month of her pregnancy. On the way we stopped at intervals to eat seven different species of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

587 "after a certain length of time", and, as among the Naron, there is no
[736] levirate. We are not told whose duty it is to look after the children of a widow, but in the case of a widower his children remain with him, and if he marries again are brought up by his new wife.[1]

The survivor of a marriage among the Namib Bushmen is not
[768] allowed to remarry until a full season has elapsed since the death of his or her partner. The belief is that if, for example, a woman marries
[761] a widower immediately after the death of his first wife, she also will soon die. A widow returns to her own people on the death of her husband, taking with her the unweaned children, who must, however, later return to their father's relatives. If she marries again the new husband must look after the children until they are old enough. There is no mention of the levirate, but the existence of the sororate is implied in Trenk's statement that a widower is expected to marry an eligible sister of his dead wife.[2] This is also noted of the Kung by Lebzelter.[3]

Birth and Infancy

581 A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth
586 of a child. This is clearly indicated in the fact, already mentioned, that among both the Namib Bushmen and the Heikum barrenness is regarded as one of the main grounds for divorce. It is customary
844 among the Naron and the Heikum for a woman to return to her
591 mother's home for her first confinement, if she has already left with her husband to settle among his people; while among the Kung a newly-married couple remain with the wife's parents until after the birth of a child. It is probable therefore that among all the North-Western tribes a woman's first child is born at the home of her parents; about the other Bushman tribes there is no definite statement on this point.

●843 Pregnant women carry on their normal daily occupations until the last moment, collecting veldkos and water, walking as far as the rest do, and so on, although they are apparently treated with some consideration in the way of food. Among the Kung a pregnant woman may not eat sour veldkos, nor anything sweet, nor any fat meat. No one may pass behind her back, nor may a pot be put on the fire before she has smeared herself with the soot clinging to it.[4] There

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 157.
[2] Op. cit., 14.
[3] Op. cit., 168.
[4] Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 14.

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is no information about special pregnancy observances in any of the other tribes. 843

Among the North-Western tribes, the only ones of whom we have adequate information on this point, the labour is sometimes conducted in the camp, but generally, as soon as the first symptoms appear, the woman leaves the huts, and the birth takes place in the open, some distance away.[1] Lebzelter says of the Kung that only women giving birth for the first time are confined in the camp; the others go out into the open veld. Whether this also applies to the other tribes is not clearly indicated. Wherever delivery may take place, a little soft grass is collected, on which the woman rests. Assistance is given by her mother and some other old women. There do not appear to be any special midwives. Men may not be present at delivery. Among the Heikum tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on a tree as a warning to them that labour is in progress. Among the Auen the husband of the woman fastens his bowstring round her body; then he goes away and remains in his hut until the birth has taken place. There does not seem to be any determinate symbolic meaning attaching to this act; the explanation given to Kaufmann was that it facilitated the birth. There is no record from any of the other tribes of a similar act in which the husband is ritually linked up with the birth, except among the Kung, where, according to Lebzelter, the woman as soon as delivery is imminent must step over the legs of her husband, who has previously rubbed "medicine" into cuts made in his calves. 844

A different usage is mentioned incidentally by Seydel in connection with birth-giving among the Namib Bushmen.[2] When labour is far advanced the woman's husband makes a small fire outside the hut in which she is confined, and carefully keeps it going. No pot may be placed on this fire, nor may anything be cooked or roasted over it. It is believed that if this custom is neglected both mother and new-born child will go blind. After the birth another larger fire is kindled alongside the previous one as a sign of rejoicing, irrespective of the sex of the child. [753] [846

During labour the woman sits on the ground with knees upraised and her back supported, and is roughly massaged by the attendant women. For the act of birth itself, which generally is not prolonged,

[1] The principal descriptions of birth customs are given by Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 98–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 158; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 292; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94; Lebzelter, loc. cit.

[2] Seydel, op. cit., 504.

/157 cont./

881 manhood. In the case of girls no special preparation occurs. As soon as a girl has her first menstrual period, people from neighboring and friendly settlements assemble for a great celebration. The girl lies prone on the ground while old women form the orchestra near her, singing and clapping their hands. The younger [535] women stamp /158/ along in goose step, their buttocks exposed. Individual men from time to time enter the circle and all of them imitate the movements and sounds of rutting animals. I believe that this is the eland bull dance. A girl may marry [582] only after the onset of the first menses.

S. Birth and Death

The birth takes place in the open air outside the settlement. ●844 The woman sits on the ground with the upper part of her body propped up and her knees drawn up.

Reviving apparently stillborn children by rubbing their limbs [845] and bodies is practiced.

Old women assist at the birth. In difficult cases, for instance, when the woman is ill at the time of the birth, the "doctor" is called in.

The doctor, among other means that he employs, is supposed to relieve a difficult birth by performing a kind of sucking with his mouth at the vagina.

When he assists at a birth, the doctor murmurs magical formulas.

The umbilical cord is severed with the sharp edge of a reed splinter, never with any other object. Practical reasons for this could not be given: "It has always been so."

The man slings his bowstring around the body of the woman in labor. Then he goes away and during the birth stays in his hut.

I was unable to determine any symbolic significance in the use of the bowstring. The explanation was: "The birth is easier."

The woman who has given birth is spared as long as a month [846] after delivery and does not need to work.

The newborn child is wiped off with the nest of the weaver bird (?). In no case is water used.

[12 cont.]

843 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-
262 buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut.
[553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are
[177] performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:
[539] //am ≠haiba, //am ≠haiba (?)
[782] The leader answers:
!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

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[46 cont.]

Infectious Diseases

164 The Bushmen are plagued by the two most dangerous chronic infectious diseases, tuberculosis and malaria. Leprosy is absent.

Malaria appears every year during the rainy season. Bisob [757] roots are then thrown in the fire, and the smoke is inhaled. Small [278] children more commonly die of it. I did not see any cases of black water fever or malarial cachexia.

Tuberculosis is the common cause of death among the [165] Bushmen. I saw bone tuberculosis and swellings of the glands, as well as advanced cases of lung and throat tuberculosis. The poor people are helpless, and the frequent colds further the process in a dangerous fashion. As nomads living in small groups, they are generally spared the epidemics of the Whites and Blacks. Once an epidemic has made its appearance among them, however, they die in great numbers. It is interesting to note that the Bushmen are aware that contagious diseases exist. As such, however, they only know the above-mentioned skin disease (gari).

753 The other infectious general diseases are explained as an attack by many spirits of sickness upon the horde.

Assistance at Birth

● 844 When a young woman anticipates her first confinement, she remains near the huts because she is afraid. The older women cheer her up, and then a resting place is made of dried grass. The woman gives birth in a squatting position. In case of difficulties [845] during delivery, the lower part of the body is massaged. Medicine or manual assistance to expedite the delivery is not given. The umbilical cord is cut off with a quartz knife and buried.

[47] Wounds and Injuries

752 The most dangerous injury a Bushman can receive is through a poisoned arrow. The poisoned arrow is cut out, a piece of wood is held in the fire until it glows, and then it is used to

[68 cont.]

1. Birth and Childhood

844 Among the ≠Auin, the husband of a woman in childbed slings the string of his bow around her stomach, but he is not present at the birth itself. The cord is severed with the tip of a reed splinter.

Among the Naron and Nogau, the delivery proceeds as it does
844 among the !Kung; an old woman usually provides assistance, however.

Twins (Hoi-holi) are not desired; among the Nogau one of
845 them is killed.

Among the Nogau, the father gives the child its name.
[553] There the child has its umbilical cord severed by means of a
844 sharp quartz splinter. A woman in childbed may not eat blood and head meat. Until the child is able to sit up, the husband
[833] may not cohabit with the mother. The latter custom is also found among the Betschuana. Nogau children are not allowed to eat
262 the flesh of the wildcat and of two birds (tsugnussi and /gui).
[114] Kaufmann has made some observations concerning children's
524 games; Bleek also provides some data:

Among the ≠Auin little bows and arrows serve as children's toys. The same applies to the Naron and Nagau [sic]. Stilts
[481] are known among the Auin and are used by men and boys. Con-
524 cerning children's games among the Naron, Miss Bleek reports:

The Game of the Big Water Snake

A boy crawls on his stomach to a small pile of sand which is supposed to represent the waterhole. At some distance from it, the children sit in a row, one behind the other, in such a way that each one sits between the legs of the one behind him; he puts his hands on the shoulder of the person in front of him. The biggest child [69] always sits at the front, the smallest at the back. They sing a song that in part is no longer intelligible. (Probably in the children's language.) This big "snake" now moves very slowly around the waterhole, while the water snake from time to time throws sand on it; then the others withdraw. At the end the snake catches one from the row and "eats it." I

606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as "my son-in-law" or "my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidently they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

847 Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.

844 A pregnant woman is generally treated with great consideration. For the first confinement it is customary for her to [849] return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-||om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the 846 infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner 848 it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies 165 follow in rapid succession during the course of married life 847 but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. [845] It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five [162] or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood. Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance [593] is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among 553 the *Hei-||om* each child is generally given three names, [55] namely a first name, a second name and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother and the second name by the

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luctance the bride struggled while the other girl caught her. 585
She lifted the bride and carried her on her shoulders, not upright as a figure of triumph but wrapped in the kaross and motionless, like a dead little animal, then put her shrouded body on the floor of the new scherm and left her there to lie quietly while the wedding guests arrived. Again according to custom, the groom seemed to take no notice of his new bride; the people in the werf paid no attention, and, in fact, all the people went about their business in such a matter-of-fact way that an observer would think that nothing had happened although the young people were now married, the wedding had taken place.

The parents of the couple could not attend the wedding, [551
for the young bride and groom were so tabu to them at this 784]
time that they could not even mention their names. In fact, no older person could attend, and the guests who came were all children, three-year-olds to teen-agers, who sat by the young couple's fire decorously, the boys on the man's side, the girls on the woman's, and talked quietly for twenty minutes or so, the youngest guests leaving when their bedtimes came. That was all. In the morning the little girl and her young husband were anointed with fat by their mothers, and they lived together from that day on.

A month later the bride's mother, who was herself a young 844
woman, bore another child, her second daughter. We were at her werf at the time, sitting in the shade. That day the young woman had not gone out for veld food, but was lying propped up on her elbow in front of her scherm when suddenly, without telling anyone what was happening, she stood up and walked into the bushes, only to come back some time later with her baby in the fold of her kaross. We might not [854]
have known what had happened except that she was smiling a sure, sweet smile because she was pleased with herself. Her

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844belly was flatter, and a tiny foot with a pink sole and curled toes stuck out from her kaross.

Day or night, whether or not the bush is dangerous with lions or with spirits of the dead, Bushman women give birth alone, crouching out in the veld somewhere. A woman will not tell anybody where she is going or ask anybody's help because it is the law of Bushmen never to do so, unless a girl is bearing her first child, in which case her mother may help her, or unless the birth is extremely difficult, in which case a woman may ask the help of her mother or another woman. The young woman was only fifty feet from the werf when she bore her daughter, but no one heard her because it is their law that a woman in labor may clench her teeth, may let her tears come or bite her hands until blood flows, but she may never cry out to show her agony. Bushmen say a woman must never show that she is afriad of pain or childbirth, and that is why a woman goes alone, or why a young girl goes only with her mother, for then if she shows her pain and fear, only her mother will know.

When labor starts, the woman does not say what is happening, but lies down quietly in the werf, her face arranged to show nothing, and waits until the pains are very strong and very close together, though not so strong that she will be unable to walk, and then she goes by herself to the veld, to a place she may have chosen ahead of time and perhaps prepared with a bed of grass. If she has not prepared a place, she gathers what grass she can find and, making a little mound of it, crouches above it so that the baby is born onto something soft. Unless the birth is very arduous and someone else is with the woman, the baby is not helped out or pulled, and when it comes the woman saws its cord off with a stick

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and wipes it clean with grass. Then the mother collects the 844 stained grass, the placenta, and the bloody sand and covers them all with stones or branches, marking the spot with a tuft of grass stuck up in a bush so that no man will step on [784 or over the place, for the ground where a child has been born 778] is tainted with a power so strong that any man infected with it would lose an aspect of his masculinity, would lose his power to hunt. The woman does not bury the placenta, for if [842] she did she would lose her ability to bear more children.

The moment of birth is a very important one for the child and for the mother; it is at this moment that the child acquires a power, or an essence, over which he has no control, although he can make use of it. It will last him all his life; it is a supernatural essence that forever after connects the person born with certain forces in the world around him: with weather, with childbearing, with the great game ante- 778 lope, and with death, and this essence is called the *now*.

There are two kinds of *now*, a rainy or cold one and a hot or dry one. If a person has a wet *now* and burns his hair in a fire or urinates in a fire, the person's *now* is said to make the weather turn cold (if it is the dry season) or bring rain (if it is the rainy season). If a person has a dry *now* and burns hair or urinates in a fire, the *now* is said to stop a cold spell or a bad storm. When a person dies, too, the weather changes violently according to the person's *now*. After a [761] death, scorching droughts or devastating storms are sure to follow.

We knew a Bushman woman at Gautscha whose young 778 son was living not with her but far away with the family of 821 his infant wife, and once, when a rainstorm came so violently that branches were splintered from the trees and water ran in torrents like waterfalls over the rocks beside the pan, the woman began to pine and grieve for her son, who, she felt

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778 sure, was dead. At last a visitor came from her son's band
821 who assured her that her son was safe and well, and she knew then that the storm was not for his *now*, loose in the air, but possibly for the *now* of someone else, though when she heard the news it did not matter to her who might have died, for she was happy.

The effect of *now* is simple when a person dies, or when a person burns his hair or urinates to change the weather. With childbearing for women and with killing the great antelope
[825] for men (as the great antelope also have *now*, although the small ones do not) the *now* has a larger, more complex effect. In these cases the *now* of the hunter interacts with the *now* of the antelope, the *now* of the woman interacts with the *now* of the child newly born, and when the blood of the antelope falls upon the ground as the antelope is killed, when the fluid of the womb falls upon the ground at the child's birth, the interaction of *nows* takes place, and this brings a change in the weather. In this way a mother may bring rain or drought when she bears a child, a hunter may bring rain or drought when he kills an antelope, no matter what kind of *now* the mother or the hunter may have. The mother or the hunter can only watch the weather to see what has taken place.

Now is intangible, mystic, and diffuse, and Bushmen themselves do not fully understand its workings. They do not know how or why *now* changes weather but only that it does. They watch the changes carefully, though, and by observing have discovered the limits of their own *nows*. When the fluid from a mother's womb falls upon the ground the child's *now* is determined, and it is partly for this reason that birth is such a mighty thing.

844 Birth is usually joyous. Bushmen of all ages adore their children and grandchildren, placing a child's health and

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wishes uppermost in their minds. Orphans are eagerly adopted 844
by their aunts or grandparents, and a newborn baby is wel- [736]
comed as though it were the first baby the werf had ever seen. Sometimes, though, a baby is born that cannot be supported, and if this happens the baby is destroyed. If a woman bears a child that is crippled or badly deformed, she is expected to destroy it, and if the season is very hard and she already has a baby under a year old depending on her milk, she is forced to kill her newborn child. Bushman women can hardly bear this, but they do.

If a woman knows that she must kill her baby, she braces herself for this as best she can, and when the time comes to do it she must act immediately, must take advantage of the moment after birth before the infant has "come to life," that moment between the time the baby is born and the time her love for the baby wells up in her so that the act would be impossible forever after. She must think of the child she has already and act quickly, before she hears her infant's voice, before the baby moves or waves its feet; she must not look at it for long or hold it, but must have a shallow grave ready for it and must put it in at once and cover it and never think of it again. In times of extreme deprivation she can do this, or she can wait to watch both her children die. All this is very hard, and Bushmen, who have no mechanical form of con- [842
traception and know no way to cause miscarriage or abortion, 833]
prefer to abstain from intercourse for long periods rather than to suffer such pain.

We knew one woman who had been forced to destroy a baby to save an older child, and we knew one woman who had borne a crippled child and had been persuaded to destroy it by her mother, who had been present at the birth. Such things are very rare, though, and this is fortunate.

. . .

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844 When the young woman came back to the werf with her baby she sat down and calmly washed the blood from her legs with water from an ostrich eggshell. Then she lay on her side to rest with her baby beside her, and covered the baby from the sun with a corner of her kaross. She put her nipple in the baby's mouth and let her try to nurse. The young woman still said nothing to anyone, but she did open her kaross to show the baby, and one by one we all came by to [142] look at her, and she was not brown, not gold, but pink as a pink rose, and her head was shaped perfectly. At the bottom of her spine was a Mongolian Spot, dark and triangular, and her hair, which she shed later, was finely curled and soft as eider down.

The father had been away, but he came home a little later and sat stolidly down on the man's side of the fire, his hands on his knees. He pronounced the baby's name softly to himself. Later, when he had no audience, he slipped his finger into the baby's hand. Of course the baby grasped it strongly, and the father smiled.

484 until 8:00 p.m. Before making camp we ate wild oranges along
123 the way (Strychnos [illegible]inosa) but these did not contain much
312 moisture. We camped at a point halfway between !wi/wama and Dobe and there shared out the last of the family's drinking water, which amounted to one quart for four adults and three children, that is c. 4-1/2 oz. for each of us.

484 November 8 - The camp awoke at 4:50 a.m. By 5:20 we had
123 packed and were under way, arriving home without incident at 7:30 a.m.

484 November 8-16 - This ended the author's participation in
312 the Fockea trip. Six members of the original group remained
361 at !wi/wama eating nuts and drinking the juice of Fockea. On the eleventh of November there was a heavy fall of rain at !wi/wama which created a temporary pool of water near their camp. This enabled them to extend their stay beyond the original plan of five days.

484 The same week that the rain fell, the pregnant woman of
361 the camp gave birth to a baby boy. The group remained at the
• 844 nut camp until the mother was strong enough to walk. Then they broke camp and returned to Dobe on November 16. Both mother and child appeared to be in fine condition.

132 The rain of November 11 was the first substantial fall
221 of the 1964-65 rainy season and initiated the subsistence activities associated with the late spring (see above). Thus

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587 "after a certain length of time", and, as among the Naron, there is no levirate. We are not told whose duty it is to look after the children of [736] a widow, but in the case of a widower his children remain with him, and if he marries again are brought up by his new wife.[1]

The survivor of a marriage among the Namib Bushmen is not [768] allowed to remarry until a full season has elapsed since the death of his or her partner. The belief is that if, for example, a woman marries [761] a widower immediately after the death of his first wife, she also will soon die. A widow returns to her own people on the death of her husband, taking with her the unweaned children, who must, however, later return to their father's relatives. If she marries again the new husband must look after the children until they are old enough. There is no mention of the levirate, but the existence of the sororate is implied in Trenk's statement that a widower is expected to marry an eligible sister of his dead wife.[2] This is also noted of the Kung by Lebzelter.[3]

Birth and Infancy

581 A marriage is not regarded as fully consummated until the birth 586 of a child. This is clearly indicated in the fact, already mentioned, that among both the Namib Bushmen and the Heikum barrenness is regarded as one of the main grounds for divorce. It is customary 844 among the Naron and the Heikum for a woman to return to her 591 mother's home for her first confinement, if she has already left with her husband to settle among his people; while among the Kung a newly-married couple remain with the wife's parents until after the birth of a child. It is probable therefore that among all the North-Western tribes a woman's first child is born at the home of her parents; about the other Bushman tribes there is no definite statement on this point.

843 Pregnant women carry on their normal daily occupations until the last moment, collecting veldkos and water, walking as far as the rest do, and so on, although they are apparently treated with some consideration in the way of food. Among the Kung a pregnant woman may not eat sour veldkos, nor anything sweet, nor any fat meat. No one may pass behind her back, nor may a pot be put on the fire before she has smeared herself with the soot clinging to it.[4] There

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 137.
[2] Op. cit., 14.
[3] Op. cit., 168.
[4] Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 14.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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is no information about special pregnancy observances in any of the other tribes. 843

Among the North-Western tribes, the only ones of whom we have adequate information on this point, the labour is sometimes conducted in the camp, but generally, as soon as the first symptoms appear, the woman leaves the huts, and the birth takes place in the open, some distance away.[1] Lebzelter says of the Kung that only women giving birth for the first time are confined in the camp; the others go out into the open veld. Whether this also applies to the other tribes is not clearly indicated. Wherever delivery may take place, a little soft grass is collected, on which the woman rests. Assistance is given by her mother and some other old women. There do not appear to be any special midwives. Men may not be present at delivery. Among the Heikum tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on a tree as a warning to them that labour is in progress. Among the Auen the husband of the woman fastens his bowstring round her body; then he goes away and remains in his hut until the birth has taken place. There does not seem to be any determinate symbolic meaning attaching to this act; the explanation given to Kaufmann was that it facilitated the birth. There is no record from any of the other tribes of a similar act in which the husband is ritually linked up with the birth, except among the Kung, where, according to Lebzelter, the woman as soon as delivery is imminent must step over the legs of her husband, who has previously rubbed "medicine" into cuts made in his calves. 844

A different usage is mentioned incidentally by Seydel in connection with birth-giving among the Namib Bushmen.[2] When labour is far advanced the woman's husband makes a small fire outside the hut in which she is confined, and carefully keeps it going. No pot may be placed on this fire, nor may anything be cooked or roasted over it. It is believed that if this custom is neglected both mother and new-born child will go blind. After the birth another larger fire is kindled alongside the previous one as a sign of rejoicing, irrespective of the sex of the child. [753] [846

During labour the woman sits on the ground with knees upraised and her back supported, and is roughly massaged by the attendant women. For the act of birth itself, which generally is not prolonged,

[1] The principal descriptions of birth customs are given by Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 98–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 158; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 292; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94; Lebzelter, loc. cit.

[2] Seydel, op. cit., 504.

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844 she lies on her side. The umbilical cord is not tied, but cut with a knife; the Auen use the sharp edge of a reed for this purpose, never anything else. A plaster of mud and leaves is put on the baby's abdomen, if there is much bleeding. Before, during, and immediately after the birth the mother may not be washed with water, nor may the child, which is simply wiped off with the soft grass and put into its mother's kaross. Among the Auen, when birth is difficult or when, [845] e.g., the woman is ill at the time of delivery, the magician is called in [755] to lighten the process, which he attempts to do by sucking with his mouth at the vagina and by "murmuring spells". This is the only instance recorded of any magical assistance being given at birth.

Immediately after the child is born and wiped clean it is simply 846 put into the kaross of its mother, who then returns to the camp. Among the Heikum and the Auen she is now for a week or more relieved of her normal daily duties, such as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. Among the Naron, however, she is said to resume her ordinary avocations immediately. Occasionally [845] harder births occur, and then the woman may be quiet for a few days, if she pulls through; but a really difficult birth means the death of both mother and child, as no method of helping is known save massage. In the event of the mother dying during or shortly after childbirth, [853] some other woman may suckle the child and rear it, if it lives; but [847] more often than not it is buried alive with its mother, especially among the wilder bands.

In this connection reference may be made to a practice recorded 853 by Seiner of the Kung, but not reported by any of the other writers on this or other tribes. He states the belief exists that if a child is placed too soon at its mother's breast both will die. Immediately after it is born the infant is therefore handed over to another woman to be suckled. Often enough, however, there is no suitable woman in the small band, and so the hungry infant makes futile attempts at several different dry breasts, to be returned finally, strengthless and dying, to the arms of its mother. He attributes the great infant [165] mortality chiefly to this practice, which often results in the infant's not receiving its mother's breast until too late.

845 Twin births are said to be very rare. Among the Auen and the Heikum one of twins is invariably killed by being buried alive by the 847 mother or one of her attendants immediately after the birth. If the children are of opposite sexes, it is always the boy who is killed in this way. Among the Kung, again, both are buried alive at birth, for it is

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171 They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for
551 example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face, and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life."

853 Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable
[862] food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

847 This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide found among the North-Western tribes.[1] Sexual intercourse between the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save
[163] abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession during the course of married life, and it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the
[844] bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children of different ages, both needing the shelter of their kaross, and to be carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second or third child is usually weaned, the one or two born in the interval being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among
[184] the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality
[165] caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore
162 small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; Kaufmann, op. cit., 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31–2; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

/157 cont./

881 manhood. In the case of girls no special preparation occurs. As soon as a girl has her first menstrual period, people from neighboring and friendly settlements assemble for a great celebration. The girl lies prone on the ground while old women form the orchestra near her, singing and clapping their hands. The younger [535] women stamp /158/ along in goose step, their buttocks exposed. Individual men from time to time enter the circle and all of them imitate the movements and sounds of rutting animals. I believe that this is the eland bull dance. A girl may marry [582] only after the onset of the first menses.

S. Birth and Death

The birth takes place in the open air outside the settlement. 844 The woman sits on the ground with the upper part of her body propped up and her knees drawn up.

Reviving apparently stillborn children by rubbing their limbs [845] and bodies is practiced.

Old women assist at the birth. In difficult cases, for instance, when the woman is ill at the time of the birth, the "doctor" is called in.

The doctor, among other means that he employs, is supposed to relieve a difficult birth by performing a kind of sucking with his mouth at the vagina.

When he assists at a birth, the doctor murmurs magical formulas.

The umbilical cord is severed with the sharp edge of a reed splinter, never with any other object. Practical reasons for this could not be given: "It has always been so."

The man slings his bowstring around the body of the woman in labor. Then he goes away and during the birth stays in his hut.

I was unable to determine any symbolic significance in the use of the bowstring. The explanation was: "The birth is easier."

The woman who has given birth is spared as long as a month [846] after delivery and does not need to work.

The newborn child is wiped off with the nest of the weaver bird (?). In no case is water used.

/158 cont./

845 If twins are born, which apparently is very rare, one child
847 is killed. When the twins are a boy and a girl, curiously enough it is the boy who is killed. The killing is done by the midwife or mother by burial immediately after birth.

852 A birth is celebrated by dancing, but only if enough food is on hand.

853 Nursing continues for two to three years.

A distinction is made between people who have died "well,"
764 that is, easily and without a painful illness, and those who die
[766] in great pain.

The former are buried in the bush near the surface in the vicinity of the settlement, and the settlement is moved.

766 The latter, whom the Bushman probably regards as possessed and fears even after death, are not buried at all since they are abandoned even before death, and the entire settlement flees.

In the case of a burial, it takes place immediately after
764 death.

The corpse is tied up in a crouched position, with the hands placed crosswise on the shoulders; the clothing is not removed.

The grave is not oriented with regard to any special direction; it is made as shallow and small as possible and is not provided with protective measures against predators.

The bow and the quiver with its contents are supposed to be hung on a stick planted into the ground over the head of the corpse. I present this with reservations, since I have never seen a grave marker of this kind.

People who have had a "good" death have died naturally;
761 the others were bewitched. I use this expression, since it seems to me to come closest to the conception of the Auin.

If an Auin has murdered another Bushman, he drags him
766 under a rosinkis bush and places him face downward on the ground.

The women of the settlement participate in the widow's
765 lament, which consists of howling and screaming. External signs of mourning are not worn.

[28 cont.]

535 makes his appearance as the bull of some animal species that the
585 two kin groups especially prize. He takes his place in the row of dancing men. Across from them the women have taken up their position in a long row and accompany the dance by stamping, singing, and clapping their hands. The bride stands among them. She is in no way distinguished from the other women and girls. After a few turns, the bridegroom steps out of the row of men, goes dancing toward the bride, seizes her, and dances back again. The bride then comes from the row of women, clapping her hands, stamping, and singing as she moves toward the bridegroom; without touching him, she turns back, keeping her face turned toward the bridegroom, and rejoins the row of female dancers. With this, the external formality of concluding the marriage in front of many witnesses is over.

583 "It is the young man's duty, however, to leave his paternal
591 kin group for a year and to work for his parents-in-law. This means that any spoils he gets from hunting must be left in his mother-in-law's hut. He, of course, gets his piece during the distribution of the meat, but he is not yet regarded as the actual provider for his young wife, who, as before, receives her share of the meat from her mother, although she searches for veldkost for herself and her husband.

(224) "As a hunter, the man eats only the flesh of the rump.
262 The women and children receive the legs and intestines. Children are not allowed to eat certain parts; for example, a child may not eat the heart of a jackal. The child would not become sick
(825) by doing so, but since the jackal is very cowardly, the child would
(828) also become cowardly.

591 [29] "After the first year of marriage with its obligatory service, the young wife follows her husband to the encampment where the man's father or his kin group resides.

845 "If the child is so weak that it probably will not live,
847 or if it has a physical defect, it is buried alive on the same day, with or without the consent of the father and mother.

553 "The name of the child is given by the father. This is
852 done a few days after birth. The father spits on the child's chest and calls it by name. Others sprinkle it with water from a well.

[29 cont.]

553 The custom of spitting is undoubtedly original, not a substitute
852 for well water."

551 The father gives his newborn child a name. The boys usually receive animal names, commonly that of the grandfather, and the girls, plant names. Albinos are unknown among the !Kung
[142] tribes visited by me, but a horde of Bushmen with red eyes is supposed to live in the eastern Sand Veld in the region of the
[845] Dussidum. I have never seen twins; they are probably done away
853 with. The children are breast fed for a long time; older infants learn to squeeze the milk out of the breast with their fingers or pull with their teeth on the leathery nipples. The assertion of
847 other travelers that the women kill their children if they are born
[114] before the previous child has been weaned is allegedly not true of the kin groups visited by me. On the other hand, Vedder (1)

[113]

1. "Zur Vorgeschichte der eingeborenen Völkerschaften von Südwestafrika. I. Die Buschmänner [On the Prehistory of the Native Tribes of Southwest Africa]," by V. Vedder, Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society, Vol. I, p. 10, 1925-1926, Windhoek, 1927. -- Cf. also Von Zastrow and H. Vedder, op. cit., p. 414.

reports:

"I must mention one other custom which likewise considerably contributes, and may have contributed in prehistoric times, to the Bushmen being so few in number. Custom demands that a child born when the older child of the same mother is not yet three years old be buried alive. This is a gruesome custom. I spoke about it with a racially pure Bushman. My remonstrances did not convince him at all. He explained: 'We Bushmen are poor people. We have no goats and no cows to give our children milk. If the woman brings two children into the world within a period of three years, we don't know what the older child is supposed to live on if the newborn child uses up the mother's milk. It cannot live on the hard veldkost or on tough meat. The teeth are not yet strong enough. If we let the newborn

[29 cont.]

593 men are strongly influenced by their wives. It practically never
[562] happens that a man beats his wife. Monogamy [30] is the rule.
595 I know of one single case of a man having two sisters as wives. It is true that certain marriage laws frequently force the men to marry considerably older girls. It is therefore understandable that in such circumstances the desire for a younger life's companion frequently arises, but the consent of the first wife is absolutely necessary. It is said: "He who has a good wife may have several; he who has a bad one must be content with her alone." The Bush-
842 men do not know any means of preventing pregnancy, and, accordingly, very soon after marriage the young wife will find herself
843 with child. The husband and his sisters-in-law must see to it that she eats no sour veld fruit, nothing sweet, and no fat meat. No one is allowed to walk behind the pregnant woman's back; no pot is supposed to be put on the fire until the woman has been rubbed with the soot of the pot; she is not supposed to sit where the other
844 people are, but must stay to one side. When the time for delivery approaches, she must step over the legs of her husband, who has rubbed medicine into incisions in his calves. When the woman feels that the birth pangs are beginning, she goes into the bush by herself and looks for veldkost. She is not supposed to sit down while doing so, because that would have harmful effects on the birth. Then she picks grass, prepares a place under a tree, puts her bag of veldkost to one side, and gives birth to the child in a squatting position, grasping a branch with her hands. Then she takes the child, severs the umbilical cord herself, puts it in her veldkost bag, and goes home with it. The cord is always severed with a quartz knife (as among the Dama). The umbilical cord (!nm) is buried. Only women who are unafraid and who have already given birth to one child follow this procedure. A woman who is giving birth for the first time and is afraid does not go into the veld, but stays at home. As soon as the pains begin, she weeps and goes out, sits down, and stands up again. Older women of the kin group accompany her, and in their presence the child is finally born inside the hut. The men may not be present. Children, too, may not look on, and if they creep up out of curiosity, they are soundly thrashed.
●[845] If there are difficulties, the abdomen is massaged. Von Zastrow
002

[46 cont.]

Infectious Diseases

164 The Bushmen are plagued by the two most dangerous chronic infectious diseases, tuberculosis and malaria. Leprosy is absent.

Malaria appears every year during the rainy season. Bisob [757] roots are then thrown in the fire, and the smoke is inhaled. Small [278] children more commonly die of it. I did not see any cases of black water fever or malarial cachexia.

Tuberculosis is the common cause of death among the [165] Bushmen. I saw bone tuberculosis and swellings of the glands, as well as advanced cases of lung and throat tuberculosis. The poor people are helpless, and the frequent colds further the process in a dangerous fashion. As nomads living in small groups, they are generally spared the epidemics of the Whites and Blacks. Once an epidemic has made its appearance among them, however, they die in great numbers. It is interesting to note that the Bushmen are aware that contagious diseases exist. As such, however, they only know the above-mentioned skin disease (gari).

753 The other infectious general diseases are explained as an attack by many spirits of sickness upon the horde.

Assistance at Birth

844 When a young woman anticipates her first confinement, she remains near the huts because she is afraid. The older women cheer her up, and then a resting place is made of dried grass. The woman gives birth in a squatting position. In case of difficulties [845] during delivery, the lower part of the body is massaged. Medicine or manual assistance to expedite the delivery is not given. The umbilical cord is cut off with a quartz knife and buried.

[47] Wounds and Injuries

752 The most dangerous injury a Bushman can receive is through a poisoned arrow. The poisoned arrow is cut out, a piece of wood is held in the fire until it glows, and then it is used to

[68 cont.]

1. Birth and Childhood

844 Among the ≠Auin, the husband of a woman in childbed slings the string of his bow around her stomach, but he is not present at the birth itself. The cord is severed with the tip of a reed splinter.

844 Among the Naron and Nogau, the delivery proceeds as it does among the !Kung; an old woman usually provides assistance, however.

Twins (Hoi-holi) are not desired; among the Nogau one of
● 845 them is killed.

Among the Nogau, the father gives the child its name.
[553] 844 There the child has its umbilical cord severed by means of a sharp quartz splinter. A woman in childbed may not eat blood and head meat. Until the child is able to sit up, the husband
[833] may not cohabit with the mother. The latter custom is also found among the Betschuana. Nogau children are not allowed to eat
262 the flesh of the wildcat and of two birds (tsugnussi and /gui).
[114] Kaufmann has made some observations concerning children's
524 games; Bleek also provides some data:

Among the ≠Auin little bows and arrows serve as children's toys. The same applies to the Naron and Nagau [sic]. Stilts
[481] are known among the Auin and are used by men and boys. Con-
524 cerning children's games among the Naron, Miss Bleek reports:

The Game of the Big Water Snake

A boy crawls on his stomach to a small pile of sand which is supposed to represent the waterhole. At some distance from it, the children sit in a row, one behind the other, in such a way that each one sits between the legs of the one behind him; he puts his hands on the shoulder of the person in front of him. The biggest child [69] always sits at the front, the smallest at the back. They sing a song that in part is no longer intelligible. (Probably in the children's language.) This big "snake" now moves very slowly around the waterhole, while the water snake from time to time throws sand on it; then the others withdraw. At the end the snake catches one from the row and "eats it." I

NARON
ǂAUIN
NOGAU

[71 cont.]

581 becomes pregnant before marriage," at least so the chief of the
[842] horde assured me. Similarly, great importance is attached to off-
843 spring in marriage. There are no food prohibitions during preg-
845 nancy. When the confinement is near, all the women of the horde
611 gather. In case of difficulties, no help is given except a medicine.
596 The father's eldest brother is the family head. The boys be-
long to the father, the girls to the mother, and they also belong
601 to the families concerned. The kinship terms for the closest rela-
tives are: father, mba; father's brother and family head, mzu;
the latter's wife, mama (the children of father's brothers and
father's sisters are called siblings, and marriage between them is
forbidden); mother, aje; mother's brother, mko; the latter's wife,
582 tsoo. Unlike the !Kung, marriage
is forbidden even with the children
of the mother's brothers and
mother's sisters; within the
individual kin groups strict
595 exogamy prevails. Monogamy
is the rule, but, as among
the !Kung, a man may
take a second wife provided
he has the consent of the first.

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303]

Fig. 25. Girl's Necklace with Magic Sticks and Perfume Box (Nogau).

586 Marriage is indissoluble. The woman's family cares for the widow,
736 who, with her children, goes to her relatives. There is no obliga-
587 tion on the part of the brother-in-law to marry his widowed sister-
in-law or to support her.

ǂAuin: Men marry when they are about 16 to 18 years old,
582 girls between 13 and 16 years of age. Both statements, of course,
584 are estimates. The suitor goes [72] to the girl's mother. If she
is no longer living, the nearest relatives (father, uncle, aunt) take
her place. The father is only the second to be asked. The suitor

it gets a bad *n/ow*. We heard the words used constantly in connexion with *n/ow* and rain and cold, but know of the use of only one of them in another connexion. The /Kung say that a child '*//ghui*(s) its name' if its teeth come late. We do not know precisely how to translate the words and hope that a linguist will some time throw more light on them.

≠Toma, one of our informants, pondering on the question of how the *n/ow* comes to be of one kind or the other in a person, said he thought the child's position in the womb and whether the child had long or short legs might have something to do with it, but he was not sure of this, and knew no more to tell us. A caul or a breech-birth does not make the *n/ow* good or bad, he thought. Other informants thought that severely deformed infants or twins might possibly be more likely than others to get a bad *n/ow*, but they too were uncertain. (Possibly this is because deformed infants and the weaker one of twins are killed at birth by /Kung mothers, so there is little occasion to think about the *n/ow* of such children.)

It is discovered what kind of *n/ow* a child has by observing the weather at the time of its birth or soon after. If it rains the people believe the *n/ow* of the child has brought the rain and are sure the *n/ow* is good. If water should freeze when the child was born or soon after, the child's *n/ow* would be known to be bad. Should the weather continue in its normal seasonal course and no great extreme or notable change occur, the child's *n/ow* will be thought to be probably of the rain-bringing or cold-bringing kind according to the type of weather which prevailed; but if the weather is extreme at the time of the birth there is a feeling of certainty about the kind of *n/ow* the child has acquired, as the /Kung believe the effect of the *n/ow* was clearly observable.

At death as well as at birth the *n/ow* of a human being influences the weather. A /Kung told us that his *n/ow* had brought heavy rain when he was born and that everyone knew he had a rain-bringing *n/ow*. He said his mother, who lived at some distance from where he lived, noticed the weather and, if rain came at an unusual time or was unusually heavy, she feared he had died and that his *n/ow* was causing the rain to come.

N/ow is said to exist in the bodies of human beings (presumably everywhere in them). Informants mentioned it particularly as associated with uterine fluid at the time of birth and with the urine and hair of humans.

Hair is associated with clouds by the /Giwke Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with whom we worked in 1955. They have a myth, told to us by the old headman, Oukwane, which says that God, whose name there is Pisiboro, and who is their one God, tore the black, black hair from his head and threw it into the sky to make the rain clouds.

In *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*,[1] Dr. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd record a belief about death, collected in 1875 in the Katkop dialect from the informant Dia/kwain, which refers to hair and clouds. We quote the statement:

> The hair of our head will resemble clouds, when we die, when we in this manner make clouds. These things are those which resemble clouds; and we think that (they) are clouds. We, who do not know, we are those who think in this manner, that (they) are clouds. We, who know, when we see that they are like this, we know that (they) are a person's clouds; (that they) are the hair of his head. We, who know, we are those who think thus, while we feel that we seeing recognize the clouds, how the clouds do in this manner form themselves.

[1] Bleek, W. H. I., and Lloyd, L. C., *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911, pp. 399–401.

606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as " my son-in-law " or " my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidently they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

847 Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.

844 A pregnant woman is generally treated with great consideration. For the first confinement it is customary for her to [84] return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-//om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the 846 infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner 848 it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies 165 follow in rapid succession during the course of married life 847 but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted [845] the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five [162] or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood. Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance [593] is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among 553 the *Hei-//om* each child is generally given three names, [55] namely a first name, a second name and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother and the second name by the

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844 she lies on her side. The umbilical cord is not tied, but cut with a knife; the Auen use the sharp edge of a reed for this purpose, never anything else. A plaster of mud and leaves is put on the baby's abdomen, if there is much bleeding. Before, during, and immediately after the birth the mother may not be washed with water, nor may the child, which is simply wiped off with the soft grass and put into its mother's kaross. Among the Auen, when birth is difficult or when, [845] e.g., the woman is ill at the time of delivery, the magician is called in [755] to lighten the process, which he attempts to do by sucking with his mouth at the vagina and by "murmuring spells". This is the only instance recorded of any magical assistance being given at birth.

Immediately after the child is born and wiped clean it is simply 846 put into the kaross of its mother, who then returns to the camp. Among the Heikum and the Auen she is now for a week or more relieved of her normal daily duties, such as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. Among the Naron, however, she is said to resume her ordinary avocations immediately. Occasionally [845] harder births occur, and then the woman may be quiet for a few days, if she pulls through; but a really difficult birth means the death of both mother and child, as no method of helping is known save massage. In the event of the mother dying during or shortly after childbirth, [853] some other woman may suckle the child and rear it, if it lives; but [847] more often than not it is buried alive with its mother, especially among the wilder bands.

In this connection reference may be made to a practice recorded 853 by Seiner of the Kung, but not reported by any of the other writers on this or other tribes. He states the belief exists that if a child is placed too soon at its mother's breast both will die. Immediately after it is born the infant is therefore handed over to another woman to be suckled. Often enough, however, there is no suitable woman in the small band, and so the hungry infant makes futile attempts at several different dry breasts, to be returned finally, strengthless and dying, to the arms of its mother. He attributes the great infant [165] mortality chiefly to this practice, which often results in the infant's not receiving its mother's breast until too late.

845 Twin births are said to be very rare. Among the Auen and the Heikum one of twins is invariably killed by being buried alive by the 847 mother or one of her attendants immediately after the birth. If the children are of opposite sexes, it is always the boy who is killed in this way. Among the Kung, again, both are buried alive at birth, for it is

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believed that they bring ill-luck on the parents. What treatment is 845
adopted in the other tribes is not definitely stated; among the Naron 847
it appears that they are both allowed to live.

The exposure or killing of deformed children does not seem to occur 847
in any of the tribes. Abortion, however, is often induced by treading on the body of the pregnant woman. It appears to be practised mainly when she is unmarried, and therefore to imply that only married women have the right to bear and rear children.

There is no account of any special ceremony held in connection 852
with birth, although if there is enough food—but only then—a feast followed by a dance may be given by the parents. The child is 553
usually named shortly after birth, without special ceremony. The name is given by the parents in consultation with the grandparents and other relatives, and among most of the North-Western tribes is generally that of some near relative. Boys, for instance, may receive the name of a paternal grandfather or uncle, girls that of a maternal grandmother or aunt. Often there is a squabble about the name [578]
between the father's people and those of the mother; whichever party is in force generally succeeds in having its wishes adopted, and the child is named after a member on that side of the family.[1]

The Heikum system of naming closely resembles that of the 171
Hottentots, and has in all probability been taken over from them. 553
"Each child," says Fourie,[2] "is generally given three names, namely a first name, a second name, and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother, and the second name by the old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the surname of the mother and girls that of the father.[3] Thus */Uirob Geirob /Geibeb* married a woman */Kao-tamas* 171
Gamanis /Garus and begot two sons, namely *//Otoab /Gonab /Garub* 551
and *Gogob Gomob /Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras /Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *//Otoab* become *//Otoab /Gonab /Garub /Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose. A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nicknames are common, and are given to children when quite young.

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 30–1; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66.
[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 61.
[3] This feature is specially characteristic of the Hottentot system of name-giving. V. below, p. 267.

/157 cont./

881 manhood. In the case of girls no special preparation occurs. As soon as a girl has her first menstrual period, people from neighboring and friendly settlements assemble for a great celebration. The girl lies prone on the ground while old women form the orchestra near her, singing and clapping their hands. The younger [535] women stamp /158/ along in goose step, their buttocks exposed. Individual men from time to time enter the circle and all of them imitate the movements and sounds of rutting animals. I believe that this is the eland bull dance. A girl may marry [582] only after the onset of the first menses.

S. Birth and Death

The birth takes place in the open air outside the settlement. 844 The woman sits on the ground with the upper part of her body propped up and her knees drawn up.

Reviving apparently stillborn children by rubbing their limbs [845] and bodies is practiced.

Old women assist at the birth. In difficult cases, for instance, when the woman is ill at the time of the birth, the "doctor" is called in.

The doctor, among other means that he employs, is supposed to relieve a difficult birth by performing a kind of sucking with his mouth at the vagina.

When he assists at a birth, the doctor murmurs magical formulas.

The umbilical cord is severed with the sharp edge of a reed splinter, never with any other object. Practical reasons for this could not be given: "It has always been so."

The man slings his bowstring around the body of the woman in labor. Then he goes away and during the birth stays in his hut.

I was unable to determine any symbolic significance in the use of the bowstring. The explanation was: "The birth is easier."

The woman who has given birth is spared as long as a month [846] after delivery and does not need to work.

The newborn child is wiped off with the nest of the weaver bird (?). In no case is water used.

606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as " my son-in-law " or " my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidently they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

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is no information about special pregnancy observances in any of the other tribes. 843

Among the North-Western tribes, the only ones of whom we have adequate information on this point, the labour is sometimes conducted in the camp, but generally, as soon as the first symptoms appear, the woman leaves the huts, and the birth takes place in the open, some distance away.[1] Lebzelter says of the Kung that only women giving birth for the first time are confined in the camp; the others go out into the open veld. Whether this also applies to the other tribes is not clearly indicated. Wherever delivery may take place, a little soft grass is collected, on which the woman rests. Assistance is given by her mother and some other old women. There do not appear to be any special midwives. Men may not be present at delivery. Among the Heikum tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on a tree as a warning to them that labour is in progress. Among the Auen the husband of the woman fastens his bowstring round her body; then he goes away and remains in his hut until the birth has taken place. There does not seem to be any determinate symbolic meaning attaching to this act; the explanation given to Kaufmann was that it facilitated the birth. There is no record from any of the other tribes of a similar act in which the husband is ritually linked up with the birth, except among the Kung, where, according to Lebzelter, the woman as soon as delivery is imminent must step over the legs of her husband, who has previously rubbed "medicine" into cuts made in his calves. 844

A different usage is mentioned incidentally by Seydel in connection with birth-giving among the Namib Bushmen.[2] When labour is far advanced the woman's husband makes a small fire outside the hut in which she is confined, and carefully keeps it going. No pot may be placed on this fire, nor may anything be cooked or roasted over it. It is believed that if this custom is neglected both mother and new-born child will go blind. After the birth another larger fire is kindled alongside the previous one as a sign of rejoicing, irrespective of the sex of the child. [753] [846

During labour the woman sits on the ground with knees upraised and her back supported, and is roughly massaged by the attendant women. For the act of birth itself, which generally is not prolonged,

[1] The principal descriptions of birth customs are given by Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 98–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 158; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 292; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 30; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94; Lebzelter, loc. cit.
[2] Seydel, op. cit., 504.

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In this connection reference may be made to a practice recorded 853 by Seiner of the Kung, but not reported by any of the other writers on this or other tribes. He states the belief exists that if a child is placed too soon at its mother's breast both will die. Immediately after it is born the infant is therefore handed over to another woman to be suckled. Often enough, however, there is no suitable woman in the small band, and so the hungry infant makes futile attempts at several different dry breasts, to be returned finally, strengthless and dying, to the arms of its mother. He attributes the great infant [165] mortality chiefly to this practice, which often results in the infant's not receiving its mother's breast until too late.

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/136 cont./

142 The tribe at Gam in particular consists almost exclusively of comparatively large people who, even after a thorough washing, display a decidedly darker coloration than the other Auin.

162 According to my observations, there is something like one to two women for each man, and from two to three children for each woman.

162 In this connection I would like to mention that newborn chil-
●847 dren are always killed if the mother is still nursing a child, which
[862] continues until about the third year of life. The killing is done immediately after birth by the mother, who buries the newborn child alive. The father has nothing to do with it. Since marital
[853] intercourse continues during the nursing period and since this period lasts for about three years, it follows that approximately every third child is reared while those born in the meantime are killed without exception. This might well be a principal factor in the unquestionable decline in the population.

Since each woman has her special windscreen (hut), the
592 man lives alternately with one and then another of his wives;
595 the latter in turn have their children living with them, and it therefore follows that about three to four persons occupy each hut.

221 The size of the settlements (villages) is quite indefinite and
361 changes according to the circumstances. During the dry season a settlement is formed usually by one to two families, whereas during the period of ample veld food, in other words, toward the end and shortly after /137/ [map appears here] /138/ the rainy season, sometimes up to 30 families join together to form a "village." In April, 1908, about 400 men were living in a settlement near Sidonitzaub. If their dependents are included, one will arrive at a figure of at least 1,000 persons.

[701] All the men are armed warriors.

As has already been noted, one can clearly observe a decrease
161 in the population, which, judging by its rapid progress, can be designated as swiftly approaching extinction. Aside from infanti-
[136] cide and malaria, the decrease of wild game may also be given as a reason for the population decline, since this decrease makes food more difficult to obtain. Older Auin state that in former times attacks by lions caused heavy losses.

[Text continues on page 7]

/156 cont./

684 Supposedly women are not killed for adultery.

/157/ Divorce rarely occurs, and then only when the woman
586 has become too old. The man then simply sends her away.

In most cases, however, the woman remains with her hus-
[595] band even in old age, while he provides himself with one or two younger and stronger women.

The children of the divorced or deceased woman stay with their father and are raised by the new wife.

587 Widows are permitted to marry again after a certain time, as is also the case for divorced women.

589 There is no special dress for widows.

The widows live in a special hut with the young girls.

The woman definitely occupies a position fairly equal to
562 that of the man. Also she quite frequently and energetically hen-
264 pecks him. Meals are consumed by the whole family together.

Concerning the division of labor, see page 29.

[184] The Rietfontein Auin always have just one wife. The reason
595 for this is said to be that "little food" is available. The Auin from Gam, on the average, have two, sometimes five wives.

Every wife has her own household.

The first wife seems to occupy a preferential position. It may be, however, that this is only because she is older.

As improbable as it may sound after what I have hitherto de-
548 scribed, there are supposed to be prostitutes among the married
684 women, who are willing to oblige for presents. When the husband finds out about it, he chases the woman away. It is not quite clear to me how this fits in with blood vengeance which is practiced in other cases. The Auin declared to me, "If a woman has affairs with many men, the man cannot after all wage 'orlog' with all these men."

Such a situation seems to be judged differently than one when a woman commits adultery in a special case.

842 Means for preventing conception are unknown.

Artificial abortion is sometimes supposed to be induced by
847 stepping on the abdomen of the pregnant woman.

Concerning infanticide, see page 5.

843 Sexual intercourse is not suspended until pregnancy has reached an advanced stage.

/158 cont./

845 If twins are born, which apparently is very rare, one child
847 is killed. When the twins are a boy and a girl, curiously enough it is the boy who is killed. The killing is done by the midwife or mother by burial immediately after birth.

852 A birth is celebrated by dancing, but only if enough food is on hand.

853 Nursing continues for two to three years.

A distinction is made between people who have died "well,"
764 that is, easily and without a painful illness, and those who die
[766] in great pain.

The former are buried in the bush near the surface in the vicinity of the settlement, and the settlement is moved.

766 The latter, whom the Bushman probably regards as possessed and fears even after death, are not buried at all since they are abandoned even before death, and the entire settlement flees.

In the case of a burial, it takes place immediately after
764 death.

The corpse is tied up in a crouched position, with the hands placed crosswise on the shoulders; the clothing is not removed.

The grave is not oriented with regard to any special direction; it is made as shallow and small as possible and is not provided with protective measures against predators.

The bow and the quiver with its contents are supposed to be hung on a stick planted into the ground over the head of the corpse. I present this with reservations, since I have never seen a grave marker of this kind.

People who have had a "good" death have died naturally;
761 the others were bewitched. I use this expression, since it seems to me to come closest to the conception of the Auin.

If an Auin has murdered another Bushman, he drags him
766 under a rosinkis bush and places him face downward on the ground.

The women of the settlement participate in the widow's
765 lament, which consists of howling and screaming. External signs of mourning are not worn.

[28 cont.]

535 makes his appearance as the bull of some animal species that the
585 two kin groups especially prize. He takes his place in the row of dancing men. Across from them the women have taken up their position in a long row and accompany the dance by stamping, singing, and clapping their hands. The bride stands among them. She is in no way distinguished from the other women and girls. After a few turns, the bridegroom steps out of the row of men, goes dancing toward the bride, seizes her, and dances back again. The bride then comes from the row of women, clapping her hands, stamping, and singing as she moves toward the bridegroom; without touching him, she turns back, keeping her face turned toward the bridegroom, and rejoins the row of female dancers. With this, the external formality of concluding the marriage in front of many witnesses is over.

583 "It is the young man's duty, however, to leave his paternal
591 kin group for a year and to work for his parents-in-law. This means that any spoils he gets from hunting must be left in his mother-in-law's hut. He, of course, gets his piece during the distribution of the meat, but he is not yet regarded as the actual provider for his young wife, who, as before, receives her share of the meat from her mother, although she searches for veldkost for herself and her husband.

(224) "As a hunter, the man eats only the flesh of the rump.
262 The women and children receive the legs and intestines. Children are not allowed to eat certain parts; for example, a child may
(825) not eat the heart of a jackal. The child would not become sick
(828) by doing so, but since the jackal is very cowardly, the child would also become cowardly.

591 [29] "After the first year of marriage with its obligatory service, the young wife follows her husband to the encampment where the man's father or his kin group resides.

845 "If the child is so weak that it probably will not live,
● 847 or if it has a physical defect, it is buried alive on the same day, with or without the consent of the father and mother.

553 "The name of the child is given by the father. This is
852 done a few days after birth. The father spits on the child's chest and calls it by name. Others sprinkle it with water from a well.

[29 cont.]

553 The custom of spitting is undoubtedly original, not a substitute
852 for well water."

551 The father gives his newborn child a name. The boys usually receive animal names, commonly that of the grandfather, and the girls, plant names. Albinos are unknown among the !Kung
[142] tribes visited by me, but a horde of Bushmen with red eyes is supposed to live in the eastern Sand Veld in the region of the
[845] Dussidum. I have never seen twins; they are probably done away
853 with. The children are breast fed for a long time; older infants learn to squeeze the milk out of the breast with their fingers or pull with their teeth on the leathery nipples. The assertion of
847 other travelers that the women kill their children if they are born
[114] before the previous child has been weaned is allegedly not true of the kin groups visited by me. On the other hand, Vedder (1)

[113] 1. "Zur Vorgeschichte der eingeborenen Völkerschaften von Südwestafrika. I. Die Buschmänner [On the Prehistory of the Native Tribes of Southwest Africa]," by V. Vedder, Journal of the South West Africa Scientific Society, Vol. I, p. 10, 1925-1926, Windhoek, 1927. -- Cf. also Von Zastrow and H. Vedder, op. cit., p. 414.

reports:

"I must mention one other custom which likewise considerably contributes, and may have contributed in prehistoric times, to the Bushmen being so few in number. Custom demands that a child born when the older child of the same mother is not yet three years old be buried alive. This is a gruesome custom. I spoke about it with a racially pure Bushman. My remonstrances did not convince him at all. He explained: 'We Bushmen are poor people. We have no goats and no cows to give our children milk. If the woman brings two children into the world within a period of three years, we don't know what the older child is supposed to live on if the newborn child uses up the mother's milk. It cannot live on the hard veldkost or on tough meat. The teeth are not yet strong enough. If we let the newborn

[29 cont.]

847 child live, the older child would have to die. We are left with the choice of killing one of the children so that one can stay alive.' The explanation is absolutely convincing. There is the [593] added consideration that the Bushman mothers lose their maternal instincts when they see that a child is not thriving. I saw a six-month-old Bushman child, a really pitiful figure. The mother did not have sufficient food for her child. My wife offered to give the child the bottle. The proposal was joyfully accepted. For a few days, the child was brought at the specified times. It gladly took the bottle. But then the mother felt that her freedom was restricted. After all, she had to remain in the vicinity of the house for the sake of the child. She did not lack food at all. I provided for her. The desire for veldkost was too great, however, and the child was brought only in the morning and evening and received his meal. Naturally, no noticeable improvement could be observed. Hence, at an opportune occasion the mother disappeared, and when she reappeared, she was without the child. She and her friends had buried it alive."

853 Matters are certainly not always as hopeless as Vedder describes them. First of all, at a very early age the children are given pre-chewed veldkost, and, secondly, the women of the kin group help one another out with the breast feeding. During 854 the day the infant stays in a hide sack on the mother's back, and at night the children sleep at the mother's breast; the smallest lies directly at the breast, while during the cold season the others cuddle around the mother's legs. From earliest childhood, the 867 children are taught to honor the old people and not to take anything away from anyone. For the boys, the father soon carves a bow and arrow, for the girls a little digging stick. Nothing is said to little children when they take things, but once the boy has been given a bow, he may not touch anyone else's bow and arrow; otherwise he gets a beating. The boys greatly fear the women. 868 The bigger boys stay together by themselves and go hunting for 857 small game or accompany adults on the hunt for large game.

586 Marriage is absolutely indissoluble. Separation is also impossible, for outside the kin group the woman would perish in the wilderness. So far as I have observed, the relationship between 593 marriage partners is in general very good, and not uncommonly the

≠Auin
Naron
Nogau

[72 cont.]

163 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
591 couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
● 847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker. Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least nominally.

Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
422 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is
685 punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand, a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the individual's private property.

The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
628 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively
721 against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

128 Diagrams will be given to illustrate the homonymous method of applying terms,
601 but they do not illustrate a typical family. No Bushman family we know has as many
162 living children as in Diagram 4. Bushmen are completely nomadic and must carry
105 their young children and all their possessions, walking seventy or eighty miles or
847 more as they move from one wild crop of roots or nuts to another. They limit, by infanticide, the number of infants to those they can carry and care for. ≠Toma, one of our informants, helping me one day to construct one of these hypothetical illustrations, laughed and said, 'Who is this who has so many children? Is it an ostrich?'

Diagram 2

601 In this illustration ego's */gu/na* is his FaFa. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the So and Da of his */gu/na*. They and ego use the adjacent generational terms, *tsu* and *//ga*, for each other.

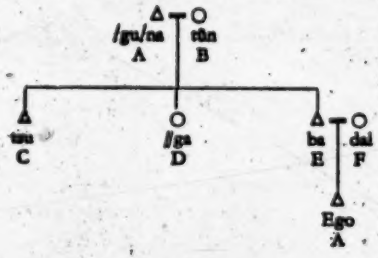
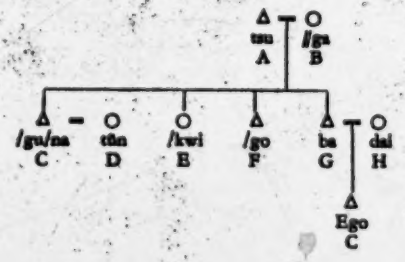


Diagram 3

Here ego is named for his FaBr. In this case ego's FaFa is ego's */gu/na*'s Fa and ego's FaMo is his */gu/na*'s Mo; *tsu* and *//ga* are the terms used. Ego's FaBr and FaSi are the Br and Si of ego's */gu/na*; the sibling terms are used. Ego applies the term *tŧn* to the wife of his */gu/na*.



Diagrams 2 and 3 illustrate ego's application of terms to members of his */gu/na*'s family. Letters represent names. A person who is designated by the same letter as a person in a generation above him has been named for that person. The naming is customary and correct as far as it goes. Some of the children would be named for their mother's parents or siblings, but, as those persons would be ego's affines, until the affinal terms are given this aspect of the illustrations will be postponed.

There is a secondary application of the terms originally applied by ego to members of his */gu/na*'s nuclear family and spouse. Ego applies terms to persons who are named for the latter, and continues during his lifetime applying to persons descending from

it gets a bad *n/ow*. We heard the words used constantly in connexion with *n/ow* and rain and cold, but know of the use of only one of them in another connexion. The /Kung say that a child '*//ghui*(s) its name' if its teeth come late. We do not know precisely how to translate the words and hope that a linguist will some time throw more light on them.

≠Toma, one of our informants, pondering on the question of how the *n/ow* comes to be of one kind or the other in a person, said he thought the child's position in the womb and whether the child had long or short legs might have something to do with it, but he was not sure of this, and knew no more to tell us. A caul or a breech-birth does not make the *n/ow* good or bad, he thought. Other informants thought that severely deformed infants or twins might possibly be more likely than others to get a bad *n/ow*, but they too were uncertain. (Possibly this is because deformed infants and the weaker one of twins are killed at birth by /Kung mothers, so there is little occasion to think about the *n/ow* of such children.)

It is discovered what kind of *n/ow* a child has by observing the weather at the time of its birth or soon after. If it rains the people believe the *n/ow* of the child has brought the rain and are sure the *n/ow* is good. If water should freeze when the child was born or soon after, the child's *n/ow* would be known to be bad. Should the weather continue in its normal seasonal course and no great extreme or notable change occur, the child's *n/ow* will be thought to be probably of the rain-bringing or cold-bringing kind according to the type of weather which prevailed; but if the weather is extreme at the time of the birth there is a feeling of certainty about the kind of *n/ow* the child has acquired, as the /Kung believe the effect of the *n/ow* was clearly observable.

At death as well as at birth the *n/ow* of a human being influences the weather. A /Kung told us that his *n/ow* had brought heavy rain when he was born and that everyone knew he had a rain-bringing *n/ow*. He said his mother, who lived at some distance from where he lived, noticed the weather and, if rain came at an unusual time or was unusually heavy, she feared he had died and that his *n/ow* was causing the rain to come.

N/ow is said to exist in the bodies of human beings (presumably everywhere in them). Informants mentioned it particularly as associated with uterine fluid at the time of birth and with the urine and hair of humans.

Hair is associated with clouds by the /Giwke Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with whom we worked in 1955. They have a myth, told to us by the old headman, Oukwane, which says that God, whose name there is Pisiboro, and who is their one God, tore the black, black hair from his head and threw it into the sky to make the rain clouds.

In *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*,[1] Dr. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd record a belief about death, collected in 1875 in the Katkop dialect from the informant Dia/kwain, which refers to hair and clouds. We quote the statement:

> The hair of our head will resemble clouds, when we die, when we in this manner make clouds. These things are those which resemble clouds; and we think that (they) are clouds. We, who do not know, we are those who think in this manner, that (they) are clouds. We, who know, when we see that they are like this, we know that (they) are a person's clouds; (that they) are the hair of his head. We, who know, we are those who think thus, while we feel that we seeing recognize the clouds, how the clouds do in this manner form themselves.

[1] Bleek, W. H. I., and Lloyd, L. C., *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911, pp. 399–401.

606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as " my son-in-law " or " my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidently they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

847 Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.

844 A pregnant woman is generally treated with great considera-
[84] tion. For the first confinement it is customary for her to return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-//om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the
846 infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner
848 it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies
165 follow in rapid succession during the course of married life
847 but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted
[845] the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five
[62] or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood. Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance
[593] is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among
[55] the *Hei-//om* each child is generally given three names,
[65] namely a first name, a second name and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother and the second name by the

182 With considerable empirical knowledge, the !Kung have arrived at workable solutions to the problems of subsistence. By means of their technology, they have managed to satisfy their basic needs and their many wants of life (at least, they satisfied them until they were exposed to the wealth of white men). The fact that their population is limited because of their technology is one result of this adaptation—of which infanticide is an occasional expression. That they live to all intents and purposes from day to day—having no real measure of surplus in the form of stored crops and

[847]

[p.35]

11:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

221
415 of ostrich eggshells for carrying water and skin bags for food—is evident. With carrying bags and ostrich eggshells, the people can bring water to food and food to water. Partly because of their life of motion, the !Kung do not accumulate heavy wealth.

●847 Infanticide is uncommon among the !Kung, but one of the various reasons for the practice is that a woman may feel she cannot carry another child when the band moves. Then, the baby is born into a tiny grave near the *werft*, and the grave is closed.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

to do so. Lack of privacy makes it almost impossible to keep an affair secret, 837
and violent jealousy and anger can be aroused. Fearing any disruptive force, [852]
the !Kung disapprove.

LIFE CYCLE

CHILD TRAINING • !Kung parents are gentle, 854
protective, and permissive with all their children and express their affection
especially with babies. It is a most common sight to see fathers fondly kissing
them with pursed lips and smacks. The mother, wherever she goes, carries [853]
her infant tied to her left side, skin to skin, in a little leather sling where
it can reach her breast. When she sits, she takes the infant out of its sling,
holds it, lets it nurse the other breast.

The !Kung believe that long nursing is essential to the survival and 853
development of their children and encourage them to continue until they 862
are three or four or older. These people practice infanticide and, in explain- [847]
ing it, say that they must space their babies so that each will be able to
nurse long enough to ensure his having strong legs. An infant cannot thrive
on their harsh foods, they say, even though they chew the food and put it
into the infants' mouths, and the mother cannot support two entirely with
her milk, excellent though !Kung lactation appears to be. They supplement
the milk with adult food as soon as the child can eat it, so that a child is
accustomed to it and ready to be weaned at three or four when the next
baby comes. But, even so, the mother weans gradually, letting the older
child have a drink of milk occasionally through the day. If the mother does
not have or keep another baby but still has milk, she will allow or encourage
her child to continue nursing. Other children tend to make fun of a child
who nurses until he is six or so, and, in response to their teasing, a child
may wean himself quite abruptly.

Babies are naked and, since there are no floors but the desert sand, 854
not much is made of their urinating wherever they are. When they defecate,
they are wiped with grass and the fecal matter is cleaned up at once by
some older child or adult and carried off. As soon as children can walk fairly 863
well they are led by the hand and encouraged to go out of the werf for their
toilet needs, at first for the sake of cleanliness and, as they grow older, for
the sake of modesty as well. (!Kung adults are exceedingly modest about [291]
uncovering their genitalia. Their incest taboo influences this behavior,
I think, very strongly.)

Infants sleep in their mothers' arms. Young children sleep wrapped 513
in karosses beside their parents' fire. Boys from the age of about eleven or 882
twelve sleep at a boys' fire, not far from the family of one of them. Girls at [857]
that age go to sleep with a grandmother or some widow, or several of them

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Bushmen FX10

B 161 727

before these destructive raids as being in any way excessive.[1] In Orange Free State and Basutoland, too, where at one time the Bushmen were also very numerous, there are now apparently no more than a few stray individuals.

B 161 164

Even in South-West Africa their numbers seem to have declined a good deal within recent years. The German official estimate for 1913 gave the Bushman population of this territory as 8,098,[2] which may be contrasted with the 1926 figure of 3,600. Allowing for probable inaccuracies in the two estimates, there does nevertheless appear to be an undeniable decrease. This may be attributed largely to the ravages of disease, especially malaria, although other factors also must be considered. The present area of Bushman occupation in the North-West Kalahari is largely infested with malaria, and all observers agree that the Bushmen suffer heavily from this disease. Thus Kaufmann put the numbers of the Auen in 1908 at approximately 3,000, but adds that in the following year more than half the tribe was swept away by malaria, while in 1917, 1923, and 1925 the same disease was again attended by a considerable mortality among all the Bushman tribes in this area.[3] Infanticide, a practice definitely recorded among the North-Western tribes, also tends to keep the numbers down; while the disappearance of game and the enforcement against the Bushmen of the game laws serve the same end by making their mode of subsistence even more precarious than it was at the best of times.

B [847]

B 161

There seems little doubt that the Bushmen are steadily dying out as a race. What relentless persecution at the hands of other peoples has not achieved is being slowly accomplished by disease and racial intermixture. Racially pure Bushmen are already in a minority, and their ultimate absorption by their neighbours is probably inevitable.

HOTTENTOTS

B H 144

Racial History

By the time when European contact with South Africa was first established, the Bushmen in the Cape had already been reduced to living in isolated groups scattered about among the more numerous

[1] Fritsch, op. cit., 395.
[2] *Die deutschen Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee* 1912/1913: *Amtliche Jahresberichte*, p. 395.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 136, 159; *Official Year Book of the Union of South Africa*, No. 9, 1928, p. 990.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

the women told her "a girl may do as she pleases, but a married woman may not".[1] And again Dornan writes of the Hiechware: "Sexual intercourse by the lovers before marriage, though looked upon as wrong, is very often indulged in."[2] Vague generalizations such as these really tell us next to nothing about the nature of sexual life before marriage; they simply ignore the many important sociological problems connected with the whole question of courtship and selection, social attitude towards prenuptial unchastity, legitimacy, and marriage. 114 836

Similarly Trenk says that the girls among the Namib Bushmen are generally virgins when they enter into marriage, because most of them marry soon after puberty.[3] But that premarital unchastity does actually occur is shown by his statement in another context that the children born to an unmarried woman are taken over and looked after by the man she subsequently marries, although as soon as they grow up they must be returned to their real father.[4] This implies that physiological paternity is acknowledged by these Bushmen, and that marriage is not necessary to legalize the status of children. The latter implication at least is at variance with what is known of other Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed. Among the Heikum, for example, abortion is sometimes practised by unmarried women who are pregnant, or, when "illegitimate" (i.e. prenuptial) births occur, the children are usually buried alive.[5] Here, therefore, marriage would seem to be an essential preliminary to the right to procreate and rear children, and therefore to the foundation of the family. [582] 848 [842] [847] [581]

A family is constituted by a union between one man and one or more women, this union being legalized by marriage. The Cape Bushmen are now said to be monogamous,[6] but polygynous marriages also have been recorded by earlier writers.[7] The Namib Bushmen, according to Trenk, are monogamous; Seydel, on the other hand, curtly remarks that both polygyny and polyandry occur![8] There is no other mention of polyandry among any of the Bushmen, and the statement can hardly be accepted as accurate without full confirmation. The more northerly tribes all permit polygyny, although the frequency of such marriages varies. Among the Naron at Sandfontein monogamy 595 [114]

[1] Op. cit., 32. [2] Op. cit., 128. [3] Op. cit., 169. [4] Ibid., 168.
[5] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.
[6] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, ix; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 62.
[7] Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 275; Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, i, 30; Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 95.
[8] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 505: "Vielmännerei und Vielweiberei wird beobachtet."

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844 she lies on her side. The umbilical cord is not tied, but cut with a knife; the Auen use the sharp edge of a reed for this purpose, never anything else. A plaster of mud and leaves is put on the baby's abdomen, if there is much bleeding. Before, during, and immediately after the birth the mother may not be washed with water, nor may the child, which is simply wiped off with the soft grass and put into its mother's kaross. Among the Auen, when birth is difficult or when, [845] e.g., the woman is ill at the time of delivery, the magician is called in [755] to lighten the process, which he attempts to do by sucking with his mouth at the vagina and by "murmuring spells". This is the only instance recorded of any magical assistance being given at birth.

Immediately after the child is born and wiped clean it is simply 846 put into the kaross of its mother, who then returns to the camp. Among the Heikum and the Auen she is now for a week or more relieved of her normal daily duties, such as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. Among the Naron, however, she is said to resume her ordinary avocations immediately. Occasionally harder births occur, and then the woman may be quiet for a few days, [845] if she pulls through; but a really difficult birth means the death of both mother and child, as no method of helping is known save massage. In the event of the mother dying during or shortly after childbirth, [853] some other woman may suckle the child and rear it, if it lives; but [847] more often than not it is buried alive with its mother, especially among the wilder bands.

In this connection reference may be made to a practice recorded 853 by Seiner of the Kung, but not reported by any of the other writers on this or other tribes. He states the belief exists that if a child is placed too soon at its mother's breast both will die. Immediately after it is born the infant is therefore handed over to another woman to be suckled. Often enough, however, there is no suitable woman in the small band, and so the hungry infant makes futile attempts at several different dry breasts, to be returned finally, strengthless and dying, to the arms of its mother. He attributes the great infant [165] mortality chiefly to this practice, which often results in the infant's not receiving its mother's breast until too late.

845 Twin births are said to be very rare. Among the Auen and the Heikum one of twins is invariably killed by being buried alive by the 847 mother or one of her attendants immediately after the birth. If the children are of opposite sexes, it is always the boy who is killed in this way. Among the Kung, again, both are buried alive at birth, for it is

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believed that they bring ill-luck on the parents. What treatment is 845
adopted in the other tribes is not definitely stated; among the Naron 847
it appears that they are both allowed to live.

The exposure or killing of deformed children does not seem to occur 847
in any of the tribes. Abortion, however, is often induced by treading on the body of the pregnant woman. It appears to be practised mainly when she is unmarried, and therefore to imply that only married women have the right to bear and rear children.

There is no account of any special ceremony held in connection 852
with birth, although if there is enough food—but only then—a feast followed by a dance may be given by the parents. The child is 553
usually named shortly after birth, without special ceremony. The name is given by the parents in consultation with the grandparents and other relatives, and among most of the North-Western tribes is generally that of some near relative. Boys, for instance, may receive the name of a paternal grandfather or uncle, girls that of a maternal grandmother or aunt. Often there is a squabble about the name 578
between the father's people and those of the mother; whichever party is in force generally succeeds in having its wishes adopted, and the child is named after a member on that side of the family.[1]

The Heikum system of naming closely resembles that of the 171
Hottentots, and has in all probability been taken over from them. 553
"Each child," says Fourie,[2] "is generally given three names, namely a first name, a second name, and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother, and the second name by the old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the surname of the mother and girls that of the father.[3] Thus *|Uirob Geirob |Geibeb* married a woman *|Kao-tamas* 171
Gamanis |Garus and begot two sons, namely *||Otoab |Gonab |Garub* 551
and *Gogob Gomob |Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras |Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *||Otoab* become *||Otoab |Gonab |Garub |Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose. A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nicknames are common, and are given to children when quite young.

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 30–1; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66.
[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 61.
[3] This feature is specially characteristic of the Hottentot system of name-giving. V. below, p. 267.

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171 They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for
551 example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face, and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life."

853 Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable
[862] food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

847 This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide found among the North-Western tribes.[1] Sexual intercourse between the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save
[163] abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession during the course of married life, and it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the
[844] bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children of different ages, both needing the shelter of their kaross, and to be carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second or third child is usually weaned, the one or two born in the interval being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among
[184] the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality
[165] caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore
162 small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; Kaufmann, op. cit., 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31–2; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

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Kung

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In some societies it would be incumbent upon kin such as MoBr or SiHu to feign anger and make a show of fighting to satisfy the conventions of honour. We observed no episodes which raised this question other than the above. John was strongly of the opinion that the emotions were genuine and that /Ti/kay's temper, which we had all experienced two or three times before, had released itself once more, but that once more a fight had been averted because people wanted peace and harmony most of all.

Illegitimacy

848 There were no illegitimate children in our sample in the years 1952–3 and we
851 discovered no social norms established with respect to illegitimacy. Girls are usually married before they are old enough to have children. But, we asked, what would happen if a girl had a baby before she was married? People said the parents would go to the father of the child and say he must marry their daughter. Did they know anyone who had done this? No.

Suppose that a child were conceived in adultery and it were known with certainty that the father was not the woman's husband, what would happen to that child? we asked. The baby would be kept by its mother, of course. After they had talked things over among themselves, one informant said, and others agreed, that they thought, if the woman's husband fed the child for years while it grew, he would be justified in keeping the child and the biological father should not try to take the child away.

159 There is such a child now in Band 9. In 1955 or 1956 white farmers came
848 into the Nyae Nyae region and illegally recruited some /Kung families. These families tried to run away from the farms some time later. They told us that they were followed by two white men and a white woman on horseback with guns, led by a 'tame' Bushman tracker. These people forced the /Kung to return to the farm by threats and pointed guns. In the fracas some of the /Kung got away. Husbands and wives were separated. When the S.W.A. authorities learned on which farm these /Kung families were, they acted promptly to restore them to their bands, and fined the farmer, but two years had passed. One girl had had a child by one of the /Kung men. Once they were all restored to Nyae Nyae, the girl went back to her own husband with her baby boy, and was with him in 1958. The people said the baby's bio-

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logical father, as well as his mother's husband, should do something nice for him. 159
Perhaps when he receives his first assegai his begetter will give it, for that is a very 848
proud thing—but we do not know what the future holds for these people or where they will be by then.

The dominance of men

Wives are much desired by the young men, who usually wait for years for their 562
infant fiancées to grow up, and by men who want second wives, and by widowers. [581]
/Kung women are not only precious as mates, they are the food-gatherers and supply [222]
more of the daily food than the men do. Hunting[1] is very arduous in the Kalahari and [462]
the hunters succeed in bringing a big meat animal to the werf only about once or [224]
twice a month. Meanwhile women have dug roots and gathered berries and the other wild plant foods to feed their families every day. /Kung women in their two roles make a very great contribution.

In /Kung society, however, the magnitude of their contribution does not make women dominant. There are factors which bring the men forward clearly into dominance and leadership.

The primary factor is undoubtedly strength. /Kung men are small and slender, [142] 147
but they are wiry and vigorous. With their strength they carry and protect the very life of their people. When they swing their weapons and implements and their small children on to their shoulders and stride out in front of the women, the image seems to reveal, as vividly as if a great artist had painted it, how the laden following women are borne up by the strength of their men and take heart from them.

Another factor which brings men clearly forward is the character of hunting and 462
its reward. Women bring the daily food, but there is only drudgery in digging and 562
picking in the hot sun and trudging back in the early evening to the werf with heavy [222]
roots and berries and babies all sagging in the pouches of their karosses, a small dead tree or two on one shoulder for the night fire, possibly another child astride the other shoulder. Many of the vegetable foods, furthermore, are rather tasteless and harsh [262]
and are not very satisfying. There is nothing splendid about returning with vegetables and wood. The return of the hunters is vastly different. The intense craving [262]
for meat, the anxiety that goes with the hunt, the deep excitement of the kill, finally [224]
the eating and the satisfaction reach to the very core of the people, engaging powerful emotions. Once, when an eland had been killed and the hunters were sighted [152]
with the meat on their backs, moving in a dark, lumpy, bobbing line in the golden grass, we heard the sound of voices in the werf rising in volume and pitch like the hum of excited bees. Some people ran toward the hunters, others crowded together at the edge of the werf, some danced up and down, the children squealed and ran about, the boys grappled and tussled together. The motion and sound had the effect of a vibration. Another time a young man who was said to be the best hunter in 462
the region (/Qui Hunter we called him, his people called him Short /Qui), had been 562
charged by a magnificent cock ostrich on a big open pan where there was no refuge. 224
He knelt facing the creature till it was within close range and shot an arrow straight

[1] John Marshall has described /Kung hunting in his film, *The Hunters*, Peabody Museum Film Study Center, Harvard University, and in 'Man as Hunter', *Natural History*, the magazine of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, [113] vol. lxvii, No. 6, June, and No. 7, August, 1958.

606 his mother-law, it is necessary to speak to anybody in her hut, he will keep at a distance and depart as soon as he sees her approaching. They never refer to each other by name but always as " my son-in-law " or " my mother-in-law." The son-in-law does not associate with his father-in-law but similarly avoids him and should they meet accidently they may exchange greetings but no general conversation will take place nor will they look each other in the face.

847 Abortion is sometimes practised early in pregnancy in the case of both married and unmarried women. It is procured by external manipulation of the uterus and not through the agency of drugs.

844 A pregnant woman is generally treated with great considera-
[84] tion. For the first confinement it is customary for her to return to her mother's group. Among the *Hei-||om* the labour is conducted in the camp. Among the more primitive Kalahari Bushmen the woman leaves the camp as soon as the first symptoms appear and is attended to by her mother or some other old woman underneath a tree some distance away. Tufts of grass are uprooted and placed upside down on the tree as a warning to men that a labour is in progress. The mother returns to the camp immediately after the birth of the child and for a week or more subsequently is relieved of such duties as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. In the event of a mother dying during childbirth the
846 infant is reared by the grandmother or by some friend who desires a child. When it cannot be disposed of in this manner
848 it is buried alive with the mother. Illegitimate births are not common among the primitive communities. When they do occur the children are usually put to death. Pregnancies
165 follow in rapid succession during the course of married life
847 but owing to the high mortality among infants caused by the strenuous conditions of life very few children survive. Further, among the Bushmen of the Kalahari child murder is practised. Children are suckled until they are able to walk well. If a new child is born while the last one is still on the breast it is buried alive in the nearest burrow or in a hole made for the purpose by the old woman who conducted
[845] the labour. When twins are born one is invariably killed. It is for these reasons that it is rare to find families of five
[162] or more children in the Kalahari. On an average only two or three children survive infancy and early childhood. Among the Bushmen of the Oschimpoloveld and Ovamboland larger families are met with. Brother and sister avoidance
[593] is met with in some but not in all tribes. There is no special ceremony in connection with the naming of children. Among
[55] the *Hei-||om* each child is generally given three names,
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the women told her "a girl may do as she pleases, but a married woman may not".[1] And again Dornan writes of the Hiechware: "Sexual intercourse by the lovers before marriage, though looked upon as wrong, is very often indulged in."[2] Vague generalizations such as these really tell us next to nothing about the nature of sexual life before marriage; they simply ignore the many important sociological problems connected with the whole question of courtship and selection, social attitude towards prenuptial unchastity, legitimacy, and marriage. 114 836

Similarly Trenk says that the girls among the Namib Bushmen are generally virgins when they enter into marriage, because most of them marry soon after puberty.[3] But that premarital unchastity does actually occur is shown by his statement in another context that the children born to an unmarried woman are taken over and looked after by the man she subsequently marries, although as soon as they grow up they must be returned to their real father.[4] This implies that physiological paternity is acknowledged by these Bushmen, and that marriage is not necessary to legalize the status of children. The latter implication at least is at variance with what is known of other Bushmen, and needs to be confirmed. Among the Heikum, for example, abortion is sometimes practised by unmarried women who are pregnant, or, when "illegitimate" (i.e. prenuptial) births occur, the children are usually buried alive.[5] Here, therefore, marriage would seem to be an essential preliminary to the right to procreate and rear children, and therefore to the foundation of the family. [582] 848 [842] [847] [581]

A family is constituted by a union between one man and one or more women, this union being legalized by marriage. The Cape Bushmen are now said to be monogamous,[6] but polygynous marriages also have been recorded by earlier writers.[7] The Namib Bushmen, according to Trenk, are monogamous; Seydel, on the other hand, curtly remarks that both polygyny and polyandry occur![8] There is no other mention of polyandry among any of the Bushmen, and the statement can hardly be accepted as accurate without full confirmation. The more northerly tribes all permit polygyny, although the frequency of such marriages varies. Among the Naron at Sandfontein monogamy 595 [114]

[1] Op. cit., 32. [2] Op. cit., 128. [3] Op. cit., 169. [4] Ibid., 168.
[5] Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.
[6] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, ix; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 62.
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837 with the woman who becomes his wife; at the same time it is the duty of a married man to avoid sexual relations with women, whether 684 married or unmarried, other than his wife or wives. Marital infidelity appears to be severely condemned by all the Bushmen. Among the Naron, for example, a man who catches his wife misconducting herself tries to kill her lover and beats her, but he generally does not drive her away if she has children.[1] Marital fidelity among the Auen is said to be fairly well maintained. When adultery does occur, the adulterer is, if possible, killed, while the wife is more or less severely beaten, according to the temper of the husband; she is apparently never killed. Kauffman adds that there nevertheless appears to [548] exist a form of prostitution in which a married woman offers herself to different men for gifts, although if this comes to the notice of the husband he will drive her away. Our author finds it difficult to reconcile this with the blood vengeance exercised in case of adultery, but adds the explanation given him by the people, that "if a woman is intimate with many men, the husband can hardly wage 'war' with them all".[2] Of the Kung Lebzelter says merely that the adulterer is killed, and the guilty wife thrashed.[3] Among the Namib Bushmen, again, an adulterer can either be killed or forced to pay compensation. We are not told, however, the circumstances under which one alternative is exercised rather than the other, nor in what the compensation consists. The wife is sent away, and the adulterer, if unmarried, is then expected to marry her. If she is pregnant the child [848] must be reared by him, and sent back when grown up to the original husband.[4]

114 684 In all these cases, it will be noticed, we have to deal with generalized statements. In no instance is any concrete illustration given of what actually took place in such cases of adultery as may have come under the observation of our authorities. It is not possible, therefore, to decide how much truth really underlies the statements that the adulterer is generally killed. It is evident, however, that the sexual prerogatives conferred by marriage are jealously guarded. Unfortunately almost all the information bearing on this point refers

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 34; cf. Passarge, op. cit., 106.
[2] Op. cit., 136, 137.
[3] Op. cit., 14.
[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168. Seydel (op. cit., 305) states that while formerly blood vengeance was invariably exercised in case of adultery, nowadays the reaction has been toned down, and the guilty party ("der schuldige Teil") is merely thrashed very severely ("halbtot") with a stick!

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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/156 cont./

584 The betrothal, which takes place immediately before the couple move into the man's pontok, is regarded as concluded when the man seizes the girl's wrist, as can be seen in Photograph 44. Since, however, "betrothal" and "marriage" are separated only by the walk to the hut, the seizing of the bride's forearm may be regarded as concluding the marriage.

The seizing of the forearm is a fairly violent gesture, and on the way to the hut the bride allows herself in a certain sense to be dragged along. Could it be that this perhaps represents a vestige of an earlier custom of abducting the woman?

606 It is curious how the relationship of the son-in-law to his mother-in-law changes after the marriage. The former avoids the company of his mother-in-law and does not sit down with her. If, for instance, he approaches the campfire with the obvious intention of sitting down in front of it, the mother-in-law will go away. If he is absolutely forced to discuss something with her, they yell at each other from a great distance.

836 Premarital sexual intercourse scarcely seems to occur.

163 I noted that most women had two or three children who were about two to three years apart (see p. 5).

591 The woman goes to the family or settlement of her husband, not the other way around. The fact that the young couple stays for some time in the settlement of the wife's parents, roughly until the first child is born, may have given rise to error. Later on, the couple always returns to the man's horde.

582 A man may not marry his own sister and likewise, naturally, neither his mother nor daughter. Other degrees of relationship constitute no absolute obstacle to marriage.

As a rule, however, one does not marry within his own family and, if possible, not even within his own horde. Preferably women are brought in from far away, often from groups speaking another language (Naroon, Genkuin, Hei-um [Heikum]).

851 The birth of a child does not necessitate a temporary separation of the marriage partners.

684 837 Marital fidelity seems to be observed to a fair extent. The adulterer is killed, and the wife is treated according to the temperament of the deceived husband, that is, she is given a more or less violent beating.

/158 cont./

845 If twins are born, which apparently is very rare, one child
847 is killed. When the twins are a boy and a girl, curiously enough it is the boy who is killed. The killing is done by the midwife or mother by burial immediately after birth.

● 852 A birth is celebrated by dancing, but only if enough food is on hand.

853 Nursing continues for two to three years.

A distinction is made between people who have died "well,"
764 that is, easily and without a painful illness, and those who die
[766] in great pain.

The former are buried in the bush near the surface in the vicinity of the settlement, and the settlement is moved.

766 The latter, whom the Bushman probably regards as possessed and fears even after death, are not buried at all since they are abandoned even before death, and the entire settlement flees.

In the case of a burial, it takes place immediately after
764 death.

The corpse is tied up in a crouched position, with the hands placed crosswise on the shoulders; the clothing is not removed.

The grave is not oriented with regard to any special direction; it is made as shallow and small as possible and is not provided with protective measures against predators.

The bow and the quiver with its contents are supposed to be hung on a stick planted into the ground over the head of the corpse. I present this with reservations, since I have never seen a grave marker of this kind.

People who have had a "good" death have died naturally;
761 the others were bewitched. I use this expression, since it seems to me to come closest to the conception of the Auin.

If an Auin has murdered another Bushman, he drags him
766 under a rosinkis bush and places him face downward on the ground.

The women of the settlement participate in the widow's
765 lament, which consists of howling and screaming. External signs of mourning are not worn.

[15 cont.]

881 the man's encampment and took up married life. Nowadays the
585 first menstruation and wedding no longer always coincide.

584 The consent of the girl is absolutely necessary for the conclusion of the marriage. People often are betrothed already in childhood. Once the girl has grown up, that is, once she has become sexually mature, the suitor goes to the girl's parents. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to enter the encampments of their prospective parents-in-law. If father and mother agree, then they go to the grandparents to obtain their consent. Then oxen, wethers, and goats are collected for the feast. Then the suitor goes to his parents, who in turn consult the grandparents. In the bridegroom's house also livestock is now collected, or, as the case may be, begged or purchased.
585 Then a great feast begins. There is dancing, and long trumpets are blown.

During the wedding dance the men sing:
[539] "Huwi é haa -- huwi é taa -- huwi áni taa." (The girl has grown up.)
The women clap their hands and sing:
"Jee jeee ja! jee jeee ja!"

881 A boys' initiation in the true sense of the term is no longer held. When the boy has grown up, however, a celebration
852 is held and livestock is killed. Similarly, when a child has been born, a celebration takes place, at which wethers or sheep are slaughtered. It is striking that among these Bushmen a sheep usually takes the place of the goat.

551 The boy receives the father's name; the daughter, the mother's name. The children belong to the family of the woman,
611 and the oldest uncle, or oldest brother of the woman, is the head
582 of the family. It is prohibited to marry the children of the mother's sisters.

The kinship terms are as follows:

601

German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
Father	//khum-khe	//gub, dadab, eib
Mother	//khums	//gus, is
Son	a χ'oron-khe	/gõab/gõb
Daughter	χ'ams-khe	/gõas/gõs
Brother	!gasab	!gasab
Sister	di !gas-khe	!gasas

[28 cont.]

535 makes his appearance as the bull of some animal species that the
585 two kin groups especially prize. He takes his place in the row of dancing men. Across from them the women have taken up their position in a long row and accompany the dance by stamping, singing, and clapping their hands. The bride stands among them. She is in no way distinguished from the other women and girls. After a few turns, the bridegroom steps out of the row of men, goes dancing toward the bride, seizes her, and dances back again. The bride then comes from the row of women, clapping her hands, stamping, and singing as she moves toward the bridegroom; without touching him, she turns back, keeping her face turned toward the bridegroom, and rejoins the row of female dancers. With this, the external formality of concluding the marriage in front of many witnesses is over.

583 "It is the young man's duty, however, to leave his paternal
591 kin group for a year and to work for his parents-in-law. This means that any spoils he gets from hunting must be left in his mother-in-law's hut. He, of course, gets his piece during the distribution of the meat, but he is not yet regarded as the actual provider for his young wife, who, as before, receives her share of the meat from her mother, although she searches for veldkost for herself and her husband.

(224) "As a hunter, the man eats only the flesh of the rump.
262 The women and children receive the legs and intestines. Children are not allowed to eat certain parts; for example, a child may
(825) not eat the heart of a jackal. The child would not become sick
(828) by doing so, but since the jackal is very cowardly, the child would also become cowardly.

591 [29] "After the first year of marriage with its obligatory service, the young wife follows her husband to the encampment where the man's father or his kin group resides.

845 "If the child is so weak that it probably will not live,
847 or if it has a physical defect, it is buried alive on the same day, with or without the consent of the father and mother.

553 "The name of the child is given by the father. This is
852 done a few days after birth. The father spits on the child's chest and calls it by name. Others sprinkle it with water from a well.

[29 cont.]

553 The custom of spitting is undoubtedly original, not a substitute
● 852 for well water."

551 The father gives his newborn child a name. The boys usually receive animal names, commonly that of the grandfather, and the girls, plant names. Albinos are unknown among the !Kung
[142] tribes visited by me, but a horde of Bushmen with red eyes is supposed to live in the eastern Sand Veld in the region of the
[845] Dussidum. I have never seen twins; they are probably done away
853 with. The children are breast fed for a long time; older infants learn to squeeze the milk out of the breast with their fingers or pull with their teeth on the leathery nipples. The assertion of
847 other travelers that the women kill their children if they are born
[114] before the previous child has been weaned is allegedly not true of the kin groups visited by me. On the other hand, Vedder (1)

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reports:

"I must mention one other custom which likewise considerably contributes, and may have contributed in prehistoric times, to the Bushmen being so few in number. Custom demands that a child born when the older child of the same mother is not yet three years old be buried alive. This is a gruesome custom. I spoke about it with a racially pure Bushman. My remonstrances did not convince him at all. He explained: 'We Bushmen are poor people. We have no goats and no cows to give our children milk. If the woman brings two children into the world within a period of three years, we don't know what the older child is supposed to live on if the newborn child uses up the mother's milk. It cannot live on the hard veldkost or on tough meat. The teeth are not yet strong enough. If we let the newborn

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

another through the seasons, always going back and forth between food and water, they carry their young children and their belongings. With plenty of most materials at hand to replace artifacts as required, the /Kung have not developed means of permanent storage and have not needed or wanted to encumber themselves with surpluses or duplicates. They do not even want to carry one of everything. They borrow what they do not own. With this ease, they have not hoarded, and the accumulation of objects has not become associated with status. Instead of keeping things, they use them to express generosity and friendly intent, and to put people under obligation to make return tokens of friendship. And, even more specifically, in my opinion, they mitigate jealousy and envy, to which they are prone, by passing things on to others. These are the objectives in gift-giving.

Except, as ≠Toma said, that it would be surprising to see a man give a present to a woman who was not related to him (and vice versa, I imagine), anyone may give to anyone. Degree or kind of kinship or affinity, having the joking relationship or lacking it, impose no requirements or restrictions, nor does status in the community in a conventional way. We did hear people say, however, that a headman may feel that he should lean well to the generous side in his giving, for his position as headman sets him out from the others a little and he wants whatever attention this attracts not to be envious. Someone remarked that this could keep a headman poor.

The times of giving are determined almost entirely by the individual's convenience. The /Kung do not know their birthdays or anniversaries and have no special days of the year which they mark by giving gifts. Gifts are required by convention on only three ceremonial occasions. The type or quantity of the gift is not patterned but it should be generous. The occasions are betrothals and weddings, when the parents exchange gifts and give to the young couple, and the ceremony of a baby's first haircut, when the */gu/na*, the person for whom the baby is named, should give him a fine present.

Relatives give to young people with the idea of setting them up in life. Gao Beard gave a spear and a kaross to his FaSiHuSo, saying it was his duty to see that the boy got some things because among the boy's relatives he was the most able to do so. The boy's father was very old, he explained. People expect to wait a long time for young people to make return gifts.

The two rigid requirements in gift-giving are that one must not refuse a proffered gift and that one must give in return. Demi said that, even if he might prefer not to be obligated to someone, he would accept and prepare to make his return gift. If a gift were to be refused, he continued, the giver would be terribly angry. He would say, 'Something is very wrong here.' This could involve whole groups in tensions, bad words, taking sides—even 'a talk' might occur—just what the /Kung do not want. Demi said it does not happen: a /Kung never refuses a gift. And a /Kung does not fail to give in return. ≠Toma said that would be 'neglecting friendship'. A person would know that others thought him 'far-hearted' and 'this would worry him'.

In reciprocating one does not give the same object back again but something of comparable value. The interval of time between receiving and reciprocating varied from a few weeks to a few years. Propriety requires that there be no unseemly haste. The giving must not look like trading.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance

The ceremonial curing dance is the one religious act which has form and in which the people are united. The purpose of the dance is to cure sickness and to drive away evil. If there is actual sickness among the people or if real misfortune has come upon them, the dance will be held especially to cure these ills. But the people dance often when no one is actually known to be sick, and when no particular misfortune has come, to drive away evil which might be there but which one cannot see, and to feel protected by goodness.

The protecting goodness is the ' medicine ', the magic power called *gaxa*, which the /Kung believe the great god puts into the bodies of the medicine men and into the medicine songs. The /Kung believe that the great god endowed the power with its own autonomous potency, but nevertheless account for its failing to cure sometimes by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work or not, according to his pleasure or displeasure. *Gaxa* is the power evoked and activated during the curing dance.

I believe the ceremonial curing dance to be a religious act, but, although very serious, especially in its final curing aspect, it is not piously solemn or constrained
[517 and it provides occasion for pleasure and aesthetic satisfaction. The music can be
533] sung at any time, for lullabies or just for singing. Music and dancing are the arts of the /Kung. The good young dancers, especially, feel the delight which is inherent in fine integration of movement and rhythm (one can see this clearly), and the people watch and admire good dancing and take pleasure in it, and in the music.

Furthermore, the dances are a socially unifying factor. All the people of the werf come together and participate, men and women, old and young. The men often
● [852] dance with their babies on their shoulders in the early part of the dance, and the children dance and play among them, until they fall fast asleep in their mothers' laps.
[883] Anyone who wants a dance may start it by going around to people and asking them to come and begin. Someone who was sick would ask for a dance, but young people who love to dance often start just for fun. Sometimes their dances do not turn into curing dances, but usually, once the music begins, the adults join in and the dance becomes a real one. The dances last all night oftener than not. There is a special potency in those which are danced at dawn. The /Kung dance, at irregular intervals, on an average of once in ten days, more or less. Almost invariably they dance at least once during the full moon.

Among the /Kung the women and girls always sit close together in a circle around a dance fire which may be built wherever there is convenient clear space. Their function is to clap and sing. The men dance in a line, one close behind the another, around the circle of women, in either direction, and cut through the circle past the fire. They sing as they dance. Occasionally a woman gets up and dances with them, though it is not her role, as though she could no longer resist the impulse. When a woman joins the line of dancers, the man behind her holds out his arms towards her but does not touch her. She dances with dignity, making tiny stamping steps, hardly moving, eyes cast down. If there is a delicate overtone of eroticism expressed in the dancing of the women, it is most subtle and constrained—in extreme contrast to the overt expression of many of the Bantu dances.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

535 consciousness or deep unconsciousness.[1] They may become stiff or froth at the mouth
796 or lie still as if in coma. Some of them habitually remain in trance only a short time,
[756 others for hours. One man used to remain in a semi-trance for most of the day fol-
787] lowing a dance.

[753] A Bushman curing cannot be fully described in words; it must be heard and I give only an outline here. The medicine man begins by dancing and singing with the others whatever medicine song is being sung. He then leaves the line of dancing men and leans, still singing, over the person he is going to cure. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The /Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. He grunts with shuddering, gurgling, gasping grunts which intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high, piercing, quavering yell. Finally the medicine man throws up his arms to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *||Gaowa* or the *||gaowasi*, with a sharp yelping cry of '*Kai Kai Kai*'. This shows that it is heavy work to draw the sickness out. The effect of the sound on one observer, myself, was striking—gooseflesh and a stopping of the breath which made it seem as though the heart stood still an instant. A medicine man goes to every person present, leaning over each to cure, even the babies, who, amazingly, [852] seldom cry, though he gurgles and gasps right into their ears. If someone is actually sick, he returns to him again and again through the night.

After the curing has been going on for some time, medicine men begin to reach their state of frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. Fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. They rush out into the darkness, where *||Gaowa* and the *||gaowasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. 'Filthy face! Take away the sickness you have brought.' 'Uncovered penis[2]! You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away.' '*Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die.' At this point they may fall into deep unconsciousness or sink down semi-conscious, eyes closed, unable to walk.

The medicine men who have not reached their full frenzy or who have passed through it attend those who are in it. The /Kung believe that at such a time the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *||Gaowa* and the *||gaowasi*. They call this 'half death'. It is a dangerous time and the man's body must be watched over and kept warm. The medicine men lean over the one who is in trance. They

[276] [1] The /Kung know about the drug called dagga. They told us that it grows in B.P. and that when they go to trade they sometimes get a little. They like to have some when they go hunting; it keeps one from feeling tired or discouraged, they say. They might take some at a dance if they had it, but they are not dependent on it or on any other substance to induce trance. The trances are psychologically induced.

[195 578] [2] /Kung men swear a great deal. The swearing plays always upon the themes of the genital organs, sexual intercourse, incest, and excrement. In deprecation they call each other genital organs or tell each other to go and commit incest with their mothers, sisters, wives' mothers, or sons' wives. We have not recorded their saying 'daughter'. Is that thought so terrible to them that its expression is beyond even these hardened swearers? They use the same themes in their blasphemy against the gods. 'Uncovered' or 'thrown-away penis' may mean 'circumcised'. This is a great insult among the /Kung who do not circumcise but know that the Bantu do. 'Filthy face' means 'covered with excrement'.

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The *Choa* Ceremony The mother takes the girl's hands to scrape the tsi out of the ashes.

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[224]

choa-ed. The old woman who attends her performs this part of the ceremony (or her mother may do so). She scrapes a root called *sha sha* into the water hole. To *choa* the veldkos, the old woman takes the girl's hands in hers and together they place the veldkos in the fire. When it is cooked, they scrape it out together and the old woman puts *sha sha* in her mouth, chews it, and blows on the girl's hands and on the veldkos. This protects the girl from having an upset stomach. Each veldkos must be *choa*-ed the first time the girl eats it after the First Menstruation ceremony.

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[224]

No ceremonials mark subsequent menstruation periods, and the women do not seclude themselves during the flow or avoid gathering veldkos or dipping water from the water hole. They continue only to practice certain avoidances that in general have to do with men's hunting. The menstruating woman must not touch hunting gear; it would be very bad, for the arrows would be useless. She must not have sexual intercourse with her husband; it would make him tired and thin. Men in the years of their hunting prime should not talk or listen to talk about menstruation, for to do so might make them lazy in hunting.

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The girls who are married before their first menstruation have the same menstruation ceremony when the time comes as do the unmarried girls.

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There is no genital mutilation practiced among the girls and women of the !Kung. Girls are scarified, but not at the time of the menstruation ceremony. The scarification is begun when the girl is about seven or eight and is continued little by little over several years. Stripes are made on the legs,

[p. 266]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

believed that they bring ill-luck on the parents. What treatment is 845
adopted in the other tribes is not definitely stated; among the Naron 847
it appears that they are both allowed to live.

The exposure or killing of deformed children does not seem to occur 847
in any of the tribes. Abortion, however, is often induced by treading on the body of the pregnant woman. It appears to be practised mainly when she is unmarried, and therefore to imply that only married women have the right to bear and rear children.

There is no account of any special ceremony held in connection 852
with birth, although if there is enough food—but only then—a feast followed by a dance may be given by the parents. The child is 553
usually named shortly after birth, without special ceremony. The name is given by the parents in consultation with the grandparents and other relatives, and among most of the North-Western tribes is generally that of some near relative. Boys, for instance, may receive the name of a paternal grandfather or uncle, girls that of a maternal grandmother or aunt. Often there is a squabble about the name [578]
between the father's people and those of the mother; whichever party is in force generally succeeds in having its wishes adopted, and the child is named after a member on that side of the family.[1]

The Heikum system of naming closely resembles that of the 171
Hottentots, and has in all probability been taken over from them. 553
"Each child," says Fourie,[2] "is generally given three names, namely a first name, a second name, and a surname. Names are not given by the parents. The first name may be given by the father's mother, and the second name by the old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the surname of the mother and girls that of the father.[3] Thus *|Uirob Geirob |Geibeb* married a woman *|Kao-tamas* 171
Gamanis |Garus and begot two sons, namely *||Otoab |Gonab |Garub* 551
and *Gogob Gomob |Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras |Geibes*. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is added to the surname. Hence the names of *||Otoab* become *||Otoab |Gonab |Garub |Geibemab*. This practice offers a means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose. A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nicknames are common, and are given to children when quite young.

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 30–1; *idem*, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 66.
[2] "Customs of the Hei-//om," 61.
[3] This feature is specially characteristic of the Hottentot system of name-giving. V. below, p. 267.

/136 cont./

142 The tribe at Gam in particular consists almost exclusively of comparatively large people who, even after a thorough washing, display a decidedly darker coloration than the other Auin.

162 According to my observations, there is something like one to two women for each man, and from two to three children for each woman.

162 847 [862] In this connection I would like to mention that newborn children are always killed if the mother is still nursing a child, which continues until about the third year of life. The killing is done immediately after birth by the mother, who buries the newborn child alive. The father has nothing to do with it. Since marital [853] intercourse continues during the nursing period and since this period lasts for about three years, it follows that approximately every third child is reared while those born in the meantime are killed without exception. This might well be a principal factor in the unquestionable decline in the population.

592 595 Since each woman has her special windscreen (hut), the man lives alternately with one and then another of his wives; the latter in turn have their children living with them, and it therefore follows that about three to four persons occupy each hut.

221 361 The size of the settlements (villages) is quite indefinite and changes according to the circumstances. During the dry season a settlement is formed usually by one to two families, whereas during the period of ample veld food, in other words, toward the end and shortly after /137/ [map appears here] /138/ the rainy season, sometimes up to 30 families join together to form a "village." In April, 1908, about 400 men were living in a settlement near Sidonitzaub. If their dependents are included, one will arrive at a figure of at least 1,000 persons.

[701] All the men are armed warriors.

161 As has already been noted, one can clearly observe a decrease in the population, which, judging by its rapid progress, can be designated as swiftly approaching extinction. Aside from infanti- [136] cide and malaria, the decrease of wild game may also be given as a reason for the population decline, since this decrease makes food more difficult to obtain. Older Auin state that in former times attacks by lions caused heavy losses.

[Text continues on page 7]

/158 cont./

845 If twins are born, which apparently is very rare, one child
847 is killed. When the twins are a boy and a girl, curiously enough it is the boy who is killed. The killing is done by the midwife or mother by burial immediately after birth.

852 A birth is celebrated by dancing, but only if enough food is on hand.

●853 Nursing continues for two to three years.

A distinction is made between people who have died "well,"
764 that is, easily and without a painful illness, and those who die
[766] in great pain.

The former are buried in the bush near the surface in the vicinity of the settlement, and the settlement is moved.

766 The latter, whom the Bushman probably regards as possessed and fears even after death, are not buried at all since they are abandoned even before death, and the entire settlement flees.

In the case of a burial, it takes place immediately after
764 death.

The corpse is tied up in a crouched position, with the hands placed crosswise on the shoulders; the clothing is not removed.

The grave is not oriented with regard to any special direction; it is made as shallow and small as possible and is not provided with protective measures against predators.

The bow and the quiver with its contents are supposed to be hung on a stick planted into the ground over the head of the corpse. I present this with reservations, since I have never seen a grave marker of this kind.

People who have had a "good" death have died naturally;
761 the others were bewitched. I use this expression, since it seems to me to come closest to the conception of the Auin.

If an Auin has murdered another Bushman, he drags him
766 under a rosinkis bush and places him face downward on the ground.

The women of the settlement participate in the widow's
765 lament, which consists of howling and screaming. External signs of mourning are not worn.

!KUNG

[19 cont.]

approximate ages of the members:

162

	Horde I	Horde II	Horde III	Horde IV
Men	9	7	4	10
Old men	--	--	4	1
Women of child-bearing age	10	12	13	9
Matrons	4	9	7	6
Infants	6	6	7	2
Small children:				
Boys 1-4 years old	2	3	8	3
Girls 1-4 years old	3	4	6	1
Children:				
Boys 5-10 years old	4	4	?	?
Girls 5-10 years old	3	2	?	?
Young men	5	--	?	?
Young women	5	3	?	?

The above table thus has reference to 44 women capable of bearing children and to 38 marriages, of which two are polygamous. Four are widows. In these 38 marriages, there are 15 infants, mostly under one year old. To the extent it could be determined, 12 women were pregnant, and about five of them had [842] older infants. It would seem, then, that nursing beyond one year [853] affords no practical protection against a new conception.

833 183 The rule among the Nog-au that cohabitation with the mother may be renewed only when the baby is able to sit is well known, but it is not particularly observed.

165 With these 15 infants there should accordingly be 45 small children from one to four years old; in actual fact, however, there are only 30 small children, which gives an infant mortality rate of 33 per cent. This rate is no higher than is to be expected among primitive tribes in malaria regions; in fact, it is lower than in some native locations, such as East London.

[29 cont.]

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[29 cont.]

847 child live, the older child would have to die. We are left with the choice of killing one of the children so that one can stay alive.' The explanation is absolutely convincing. There is the [593] added consideration that the Bushman mothers lose their maternal instincts when they see that a child is not thriving. I saw a six-month-old Bushman child, a really pitiful figure. The mother did not have sufficient food for her child. My wife offered to give the child the bottle. The proposal was joyfully accepted. For a few days, the child was brought at the specified times. It gladly took the bottle. But then the mother felt that her freedom was restricted. After all, she had to remain in the vicinity of the house for the sake of the child. She did not lack food at all. I provided for her. The desire for veldkost was too great, however, and the child was brought only in the morning and evening and received his meal. Naturally, no noticeable improvement could be observed. Hence, at an opportune occasion the mother disappeared, and when she reappeared, she was without the child. She and her friends had buried it alive."

853 Matters are certainly not always as hopeless as Vedder describes them. First of all, at a very early age the children are given pre-chewed veldkost, and, secondly, the women of the kin group help one another out with the breast feeding. During 854 the day the infant stays in a hide sack on the mother's back, and at night the children sleep at the mother's breast; the smallest lies directly at the breast, while during the cold season the others 867 cuddle around the mother's legs. From earliest childhood, the children are taught to honor the old people and not to take anything away from anyone. For the boys, the father soon carves a bow and arrow, for the girls a little digging stick. Nothing is said to little children when they take things, but once the boy has been given a bow, he may not touch anyone else's bow and arrow; otherwise he gets a beating. The boys greatly fear the women. 868 The bigger boys stay together by themselves and go hunting for 857 small game or accompany adults on the hunt for large game.

586 Marriage is absolutely indissoluble. Separation is also impossible, for outside the kin group the woman would perish in the wilderness. So far as I have observed, the relationship between 593 marriage partners is in general very good, and not uncommonly the

164 [45 cont.]
[753] Dr. Kasi. The people died. Very evil dsao were involved. The
[192] terminology for the description of the external genitalia is by no
[302] means as rich as among the Bantu. The women's pubic hair is
[593] usually plucked out by their husbands. Hence, it is called virgin
842 hair. The connection [46] between cohabitation and pregnancy
[757] is known. Impotence and sterility occur; there is no medicine
[278] for them. When menstruation fails to occur, nothing special is
841 done. The menstruating woman may only eat with her husband
[757] and may not go around tasting food. A warm stone is placed on
●853 the stomach for menstrual pains. Children are nursed at least
[826 until the birth of the next child. The nipples are distinguished
164 by a leathery firmness. Nevertheless, mastitis does occur.

The contention that venereal diseases are very widespread is incorrect; as such they are even unknown to the Bushmen. In isolated cases I have met Bushmen on the farms with vestigial gonorrhea. Syphilis is very rare among the wild Bushman.

Skin Diseases

The wild Bushman scarcely knows anything about skin care.
[515] Since there is a lack of both water and fat, the skin, which as a rule feels silky, soft, warm, and dry, becomes cracked, and infections easily occur. A chronic eczema (gari), evidently caused by a fungus, is very widespread. To combat it, they use the milky
[278] sap of a plant called timba.
[757]

Hair Diseases

A nonmalignant hair disease that is very widespread among all the Bantu, causing the hair to fall out in roughly circular spots, is also found among the Bushmen. In addition, as among the Bushmen of Naukluft, the so-called "porcelain head" occurs, a disease that destroys the entire hair base, and the head gleams
[145] like porcelain. The hair becomes gray relatively early. Loss of hair is rare; it usually occurs in the form of baldness characteristic of schizothymia. The rounded fingernails are worn fairly long;
302 the toenails are often fissured.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

asked Ukwane for some, which Ukwane gave him. Gishe said: 224
"I have been living among Europeans for a long time, but I 237 272
remember now who I am."

From the body of that gemsbok the Bushmen bailed out 251
several bucketfuls of liquid, enough to supply them for almost a week. They cut the meat into strips which they would dry in the sun and use as they needed them, also enough for a week or perhaps even longer, as there were only a few people and the gemsbok was almost as big as a cow.

Tsetchwe had built a tiny fire beneath a tsama melon, an 252
empty melon with the top cut away, and when she received [224
her share of the meat—for any animal is divided at once by a 422]
rigid system of rules, some meat given to each person rather than kept as a communal supply or portioned to families—she cut a small piece and stuffed it into the melon, where melon juice, heated through the rind, was boiling now. It cooked like meat in a stew, and when it was done Tsetchwe emptied the melon into a bowl, fanned it to cool it, and then 264
ate some, putting a strip of meat into her mouth and hacking off a bite with her husband's knife. She was ravenously hungry and she ate almost all, while her baby, lying in her [253]
lap, nursed from her breast. The last piece she saved for him; she put one end of it into his mouth and, as he bit down, flashed the great knife under his nose to cut him a small enough morsel.

The gemsbok had vanished. All that remained from the 224
butchering was the pile of squeezed, dry grass from the ru- 422
men and a few lumps of feces that the redheaded flies buzzed over. The meat, bones, head, hide, and brushlike tail all now [237]
belonged to people, and all the people had carried their portions away. Gai owned two hind legs and a front leg, Tsetchwe had meat from the back, Ukwane had the other front

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HUDDLING HABIT is noticeable again in this gathering of women and children at a !Kung werfi. Well-ornamented child, *foreground*, is still at breast.

[p. 24]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

to do so. Lack of privacy makes it almost impossible to keep an affair secret, 837 and violent jealousy and anger can be aroused. Fearing any disruptive force, 852 the !Kung disapprove.

LIFE CYCLE

CHILD TRAINING • !Kung parents are gentle, 854 protective, and permissive with all their children and express their affection especially with babies. It is a most common sight to see fathers fondly kissing them with pursed lips and smacks. The mother, wherever she goes, carries 853 her infant tied to her left side, skin to skin, in a little leather sling where it can reach her breast. When she sits, she takes the infant out of its sling, holds it, lets it nurse the other breast.

The !Kung believe that long nursing is essential to the survival and 853 development of their children and encourage them to continue until they 852 are three or four or older. These people practice infanticide and, in explain- 847 ing it, say that they must space their babies so that each will be able to nurse long enough to ensure his having strong legs. An infant cannot thrive on their harsh foods, they say, even though they chew the food and put it into the infants' mouths, and the mother cannot support two entirely with her milk, excellent though !Kung lactation appears to be. They supplement the milk with adult food as soon as the child can eat it, so that a child is accustomed to it and ready to be weaned at three or four when the next baby comes. But, even so, the mother weans gradually, letting the older child have a drink of milk occasionally through the day. If the mother does not have or keep another baby but still has milk, she will allow or encourage her child to continue nursing. Other children tend to make fun of a child who nurses until he is six or so, and, in response to their teasing, a child may wean himself quite abruptly.

Babies are naked and, since there are no floors but the desert sand, 854 not much is made of their urinating wherever they are. When they defecate, they are wiped with grass and the fecal matter is cleaned up at once by some older child or adult and carried off. As soon as children can walk fairly 853 well they are led by the hand and encouraged to go out of the werf for their toilet needs, at first for the sake of cleanliness and, as they grow older, for the sake of modesty as well. (!Kung adults are exceedingly modest about 891 uncovering their genitalia. Their incest taboo influences this behavior, I think, very strongly.)

Infants sleep in their mothers' arms. Young children sleep wrapped 513 in karosses beside their parents' fire. Boys from the age of about eleven or 852 twelve sleep at a boys' fire, not far from the family of one of them. Girls at 857 that age go to sleep with a grandmother or some widow, or several of them

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

844 she lies on her side. The umbilical cord is not tied, but cut with a knife; the Auen use the sharp edge of a reed for this purpose, never anything else. A plaster of mud and leaves is put on the baby's abdomen, if there is much bleeding. Before, during, and immediately after the birth the mother may not be washed with water, nor may the child, which is simply wiped off with the soft grass and put into its mother's kaross. Among the Auen, when birth is difficult or when, [845] e.g., the woman is ill at the time of delivery, the magician is called in [755] to lighten the process, which he attempts to do by sucking with his mouth at the vagina and by "murmuring spells". This is the only instance recorded of any magical assistance being given at birth.

Immediately after the child is born and wiped clean it is simply 846 put into the kaross of its mother, who then returns to the camp. Among the Heikum and the Auen she is now for a week or more relieved of her normal daily duties, such as gathering wood and veldkos, fetching water, etc. Among the Naron, however, she is said to resume her ordinary avocations immediately. Occasionally harder births occur, and then the woman may be quiet for a few days, [845] if she pulls through; but a really difficult birth means the death of both mother and child, as no method of helping is known save massage. In the event of the mother dying during or shortly after childbirth, [853] some other woman may suckle the child and rear it, if it lives; but [847] more often than not it is buried alive with its mother, especially among the wilder bands.

In this connection reference may be made to a practice recorded 853 by Seiner of the Kung, but not reported by any of the other writers on this or other tribes. He states the belief exists that if a child is placed too soon at its mother's breast both will die. Immediately after it is born the infant is therefore handed over to another woman to be suckled. Often enough, however, there is no suitable woman in the small band, and so the hungry infant makes futile attempts at several different dry breasts, to be returned finally, strengthless and dying, to the arms of its mother. He attributes the great infant [165] mortality chiefly to this practice, which often results in the infant's not receiving its mother's breast until too late.

845 Twin births are said to be very rare. Among the Auen and the Heikum one of twins is invariably killed by being buried alive by the 847 mother or one of her attendants immediately after the birth. If the children are of opposite sexes, it is always the boy who is killed in this way. Among the Kung, again, both are buried alive at birth, for it is

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

171 They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for
551 example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face, and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life."

853 Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable
[862] food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

847 This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide found among the North-Western tribes.[1] Sexual intercourse between the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save
[163] abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession during the course of married life, and it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the
[844] bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children of different ages, both needing the shelter of their kaross, and to be carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second or third child is usually weaned, the one or two born in the interval being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among
[184] the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality
[165] caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore
162 small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; Kaufmann, op. cit., 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31–2; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

[29 cont.]

847 child live, the older child would have to die. We are left with the choice of killing one of the children so that one can stay alive.' The explanation is absolutely convincing. There is the [593] added consideration that the Bushman mothers lose their maternal instincts when they see that a child is not thriving. I saw a six-month-old Bushman child, a really pitiful figure. The mother did not have sufficient food for her child. My wife offered to give the child the bottle. The proposal was joyfully accepted. For a few days, the child was brought at the specified times. It gladly took the bottle. But then the mother felt that her freedom was restricted. After all, she had to remain in the vicinity of the house for the sake of the child. She did not lack food at all. I provided for her. The desire for veldkost was too great, however, and the child was brought only in the morning and evening and received his meal. Naturally, no noticeable improvement could be observed. Hence, at an opportune occasion the mother disappeared, and when she reappeared, she was without the child. She and her friends had buried it alive."

853 Matters are certainly not always as hopeless as Vedder describes them. First of all, at a very early age the children are given pre-chewed veldkost, and, secondly, the women of the kin group help one another out with the breast feeding. During 854 the day the infant stays in a hide sack on the mother's back, and at night the children sleep at the mother's breast; the smallest lies directly at the breast, while during the cold season the others cuddle around the mother's legs. From earliest childhood, the 867 children are taught to honor the old people and not to take anything away from anyone. For the boys, the father soon carves a bow and arrow, for the girls a little digging stick. Nothing is said to little children when they take things, but once the boy has been given a bow, he may not touch anyone else's bow and arrow; otherwise he gets a beating. The boys greatly fear the women. 868 The bigger boys stay together by themselves and go hunting for 857 small game or accompany adults on the hunt for large game.

586 Marriage is absolutely indissoluble. Separation is also impossible, for outside the kin group the woman would perish in the wilderness. So far as I have observed, the relationship between 593 marriage partners is in general very good, and not uncommonly the

[36 cont.]

Cooking and Cooking Utensils

354 Lumps of surface limestone are generally used as hearthstones.
412 Here and there, as a great rarity, one finds a pounding stone of quartzite.

To pound the veldkost, small mortars, carved out of wood, with conical or hemispherical bottoms are used. In case the mortars become damaged, holes are made on either side of the crack, and the flaw is drawn together with bast strips and also smeared over with resin. The shape of the pestle, which is from 50 centimeters to one meter long, is shown in Figure 7.

415 Originally these !Kung had no pots and probably had no
[252] way of boiling anything. The usual manner of preparing food even today is to roast and grill it on and between hot stones. Nowadays,
[439] every horde owns a number of pots acquired from the Okawango.
[482] These pots have bast or tendon plaiting around them, by which they are fastened when carried on the march. The Okawango people
[439] gladly exchange these water pots, which they have carried with them on the waterless stretch, for food from the Bushmen in the area between Karakowisa and Nuragas.

416 Small cast-iron tripods are a very popular article. A
417 longish, crudely carved stirring stick, as well as a piece of hardwood for arranging the fire, completes the inventory of the Bushman kitchen. Spoons are unknown.

Clothing

291 The clothing of the woman, as has already been repeatedly described, consists of a front apron and a back apron, made of soft leather, and a leather cloak something like a pelerine. Usually she also has a carrying hide for the baby. Generally, the child does
[854] not sit on her back, as among the Blacks, but on the side of her hip.
[415] In addition, the woman has the large veld bag in which she keeps the
[412] finds from her collecting. On the march, the woman is equipped with the simple digging stick, pointed at the bottom.

The men are clothed only with the modesty apron and in addition

3: Lebzelter--163 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

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Plate V. !Kung Bushmen from the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, 142
and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff [48]
with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and consequently they often seem younger than they are. They [194]
are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man 291
wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at [854]
the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride, [482]
and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which [415 237]
are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people; they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though [515
they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair 302]
breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny [301]
bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several 609
months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and [342]
made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right 609
into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and 621
didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass until I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned, all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kgalagadi FV4

B 136 dangerous for us there, so we withdrew. We should have loved to see them, and we were sorry to leave their patch of bush.

K 131 361 We looked in the open ground near the lions' thicket for signs of Bushmen, but we found none, so we went on over the flat plains and the next day we came to a long dip in the country, forested with small trees, the last place, said Theunis, where anyone except Bushmen lived. It was the rainy-season village of a few Bakalaharis, a Bantu people who years ago K 221 lost all their cattle and went into the desert, where they live a life very much like the life of Bushmen except that they raise goats. During the rains they graze their goats at little posts of theirs, far away in the veld. We set off toward the village, planning to ask the people there if they knew of Bushmen farther on, but as we went over the ridge and down into the K 166 484 valley we came upon all the villagers walking toward us, driving donkeys and herds of goats, a surprising sight in that lonely country. There were about sixty people in all, tall, K [441 482] dark-skinned Bakalahari men carrying bows and arrows, followed by their women, who carried heavy bundles on their backs, supported by tumplines around their foreheads, which made their eyes bulge and their lower jaws stick out. Among B [357 482] 854 them walked their Bushman servants, old wrinkled men and women, young girls with their babies, lithe young hunters, small, light-skinned, all carrying great loads of household goods belonging to the Bakalaharis, with the youngest Bushman children riding on top of the loads. Some of the Bush- K [492] man boys were driving herds of goats, some of the older Bushman women drove herds of scrubby gray donkeys which were also heavily loaded with bundles of hides, sticks used to build K 484 houses, bags of belongings, and baby goats too young to walk. We were surprised to see them and we stopped. Some of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 In a short time we heard a rustle in the veld, and a young
854 woman who seemed to be in her early twenties stepped from the bushes. She was, Ukwane said, Gai's wife, and on her hip she carried a baby, a naked three-year-old who looked at us from his wide eyes fearlessly, then, realizing that we were strangers, buried his face in his mother's arm. His mother stroked him calmly and came toward us smiling and nodding her head graciously, although a little pulse was hammering in the V of her throat. We learned later that she had been sitting in the bushes very near us, and when she had seen her husband go by she had assumed that everything was all right and had come to greet us, not bothering to answer his cries.

142 She was a short, sturdy woman with round arms, long thighs, and short calves. She had a rather large belly and square, strong shoulders, and she wore a very tattered cape
291 or kaross over her back, with a small leather apron around her hips. She had no ornaments except a row of blue scars over
304 her eyes, a decoration, and she had allowed her hair to be-
302 come disheveled, long, and a little tangled, hanging down
184 over her ears in tight spirals, instead of having shaved it off as most Bushman women do. All this gave her a very matter-of-fact air, which was not deceiving, for she saw in a glance that we were harmless and, looking us over, sat down at once beside me.

304 Her baby pulled, twisted, and tugged at her, and from the way he behaved I judged that he kept her too busy to be for-
[854] ever cutting her hair or making bead ornaments. Besides, she told us later, if she wore ornaments, the baby pulled them off. She had her row of scars, though, delicate and arching over her brow, making her eyes seem wider; as well as a row of striped scars along her thighs. These, say Bushmen, are made to imitate the beauty of zebras, and many women wear them, having been decorated when they were still young. It

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

mediately down a hole. Gai continued treading in the half-522
hearted hope of another mouse, with a disappointed, intent 224
expression on his face because the first had escaped him. Witabe, on the jeep, suddenly thought the whole performance so funny that he burst into laughter and laughed until he didn't make a sound, until tears ran out of his eyes and onto his belly, until he could hardly breathe, all to see Gai, the sole support of eleven people, the great hunter and provider, treading on top of a straw pile to chase away a mouse.

Gai was a little abashed and he stopped treading, but he did put his hand into the nest and pulled out the mouse's bed, a little ball of finer grass mixed with the mouse's own fur. Gai pulled it apart to show how it was made. We saw the mouse again when Witabe poked it out of the hole with a stick, but it ran back in at once, this time for good, so we went on, leaving the mouse with his home in a shambles and his soft bed gone.

We got back to camp late in the afternoon, and Tsetchwe 854 ●
was so glad to see us that she threw her arms around me and held up her baby for me to kiss. She and I were the only young women for miles around, so there was a bond between us. She often gave me her baby to mind—not an easy job because Nhwakwe was as innocent as he was bold, and I had once taken him from under the wheels of a truck that was about to move. I had carried him to the werf for safety, but he hadn't stayed long; in a short time we had seen the grass moving at the edge of camp and Nhwakwe had appeared once more, this time dragging a toy, having walked the long distance all by himself and having navigated purely by a sense of direction, for the thick grass was high above his head.

Tsetchwe did not kiss her husband or even greet him, as 576
Bushmen are accustomed to short absences from each other 593
and it is not the custom for men and women to kiss. They

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

159 right, saying that Gai may have *thought* the Bakalahari was his real father, but that Ukwane knew better. I expect that Ukwane was right at that, for Gai certainly looked like a Bushman.

But whether father or stepfather, Gai said, the Bakalahari kept sending messages to Gai with Bushmen who might be passing through Ai a ha'o telling him to come back to Chukudu (probably to work), but Gai never did. Gai was too clever.

512 At noon the sun had warmed the air a little, although there was still an edge of frost, and the women got up and walked [313] off together into the veld to search for wood. In an hour or so they came back heavily loaded, Tsetchwe with her kaross [482] bulging with melons, perhaps twenty in all, a great load of 854 wood on top of them piled higher than her head, and Nhwakwe riding on top of it all. Even in the cold air she perspired, and as her load must have weighed almost a hundred pounds, she walked leaning forward.

By night the cold had deepened. The Bushman boys came [513] out of my tent and went home for dinner, then lay by the fires to sleep when the adults curled up in the shallow pits. The moon rose, a frosty circle, hard as a coin, and before we went to sleep that night we heard a jackal calling "tsa," out on the plains.

"Tsa," called one of the Bushmen, answering him.

"Tsa!" the jackal replied.

821 In the morning we were very pleased to find that the cold had broken. We woke up to find the sun just rising, and on the other edge the moon just sinking down, lustrous and pale in a current of balmy air coming warm from the equator. In the east, only the planets showed of all the stars; one of them,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

this did no good he endured the nuisance for a moment, then 222
flung himself down on his back, put up his long legs like a 137
fighting cock, and kicked the branches down.

He dug out a great deal of earth, throwing it behind him, and finally uncovered a *ga* root, big and dark with a warty surface all covered with lumps like a toad or a stone; a fascinating thing, for although it was large and nondescript, brownish gray in brown-gray sand, marked only by an old dry vine, it was life itself to Bushmen, bitter but quite moist even in the hottest season. Tsetchwe put the root in her kaross and we went off, Gai generously carrying the baby, taking him from Tsetchwe by the forearm and swinging him up to his shoul- [854]
der. The baby rode astride Gai's neck with the soft kaross he wore draped over Gai's head. From the rear they were an apparition, as this made the baby's head, not much higher than Gai's, look like a tiny head on a man's tall, slender body.

We wanted very much to find a bi root, and while Gai, the baby, and my brother went off to look for one I waited behind with the women. We rested in a small circle in the dim shade of the grass, which, when we were sitting, came high above our heads so that all we could see was a circle of sky and, in the circle, the ragged, waxing moon. It had risen luxuriously in the daytime and was a pale, large crescent, [821]
pearl-colored in the sun. The moon is a root with a climbing
stalk, a vine. It can be eaten.

Giamakwe began to urinate right in our midst, crouching 514
and pulling his loincloth aside. Although the adults are slightly inhibited about this, the children are not, sometimes simply turning aside to urinate as one might turn aside to cough. Presently the young boys got up and ran away, and when they did Tsetchwe herself got to her feet, stepped aside, and urinated also, standing up but leaning forward. Bushman

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Gai was afraid of us at first. He listened carefully to everything we said, but he would not speak.

Even among her own people Tsetchwe was lonely, for in her band there was no young woman but herself.

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[p. 112(B)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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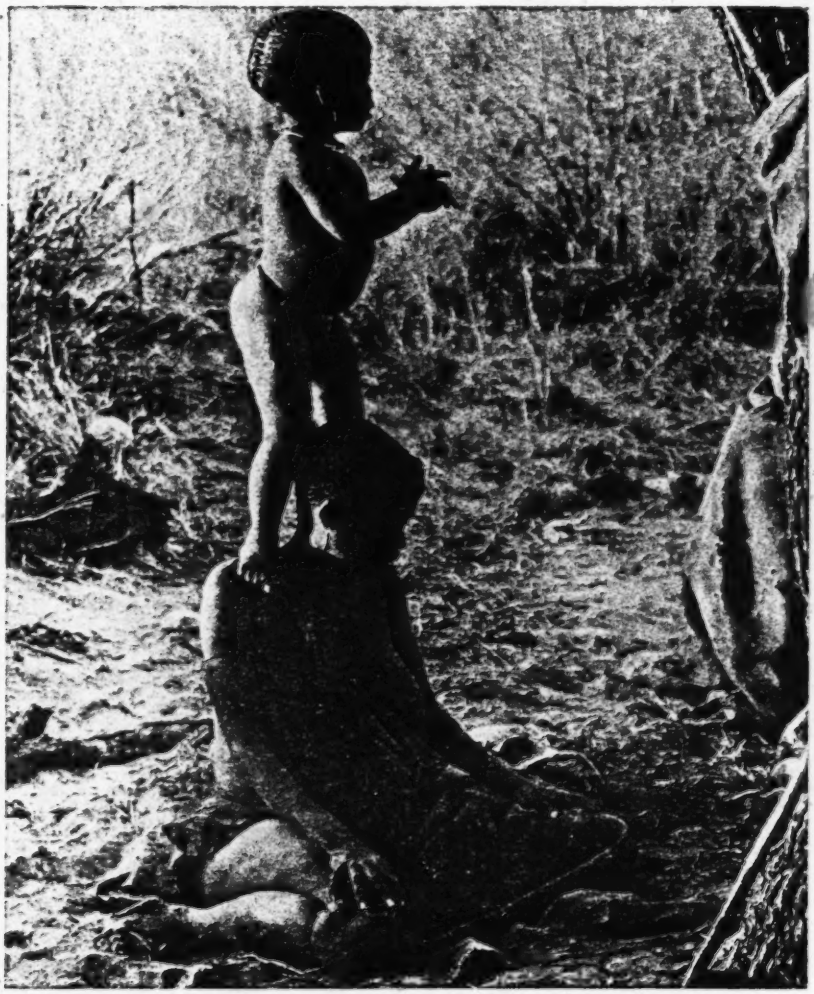

He climbed to her shoulder and stood there triumphantly without holding on, gazing around like a child on a hill.

[p. 112 (F)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

luctance the bride struggled while the other girl caught her. 585
She lifted the bride and carried her on her shoulders, not upright as a figure of triumph but wrapped in the kaross and motionless, like a dead little animal, then put her shrouded body on the floor of the new scherm and left her there to lie quietly while the wedding guests arrived. Again according to custom, the groom seemed to take no notice of his new bride; the people in the werf paid no attention, and, in fact, all the people went about their business in such a matter-of-fact way that an observer would think that nothing had happened although the young people were now married, the wedding had taken place.

The parents of the couple could not attend the wedding, [551
for the young bride and groom were so tabu to them at this 784]
time that they could not even mention their names. In fact, no older person could attend, and the guests who came were all children, three-year-olds to teen-agers, who sat by the young couple's fire decorously, the boys on the man's side, the girls on the woman's, and talked quietly for twenty minutes or so, the youngest guests leaving when their bedtimes came. That was all. In the morning the little girl and her young husband were anointed with fat by their mothers, and they lived together from that day on.

A month later the bride's mother, who was herself a young 844
woman, bore another child, her second daughter. We were at her werf at the time, sitting in the shade. That day the young woman had not gone out for veld food, but was lying propped up on her elbow in front of her scherm when suddenly, without telling anyone what was happening, she stood up and walked into the bushes, only to come back some time
later with her baby in the fold of her kaross. We might not [854]
have known what had happened except that she was smiling a sure, sweet smile because she was pleased with herself. Her

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Crooked Kwi and his wife, who once had run away from him.

Dikai made a bow from a branch, an arrow from a reed, and gave them to her younger son.

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[p. 176(C)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

535 Little
857 Dabe was evidently being minded by his brother, for he
857 arrived riding on Little Gashe's back, a heavy load, and Little Gashe danced in a circle behind the young girls carrying Little Dabe, then, perhaps getting tired, stopped dancing and shook Little Dabe off. When Little Dabe was standing Little Gashe climbed on Little Dabe's back to let Little Dabe do the dancing for a while. Soon these children were joined by some older boys and they all bobbed along happily, one behind the other, quite small and lit dimly in the big dance circle they were making for themselves.

The girls sang well. Their songs and the sharp rhythm of their clapping floated over the dark veld to us, mixed with the voices of the frogs. The frogs croaked so loudly by the pan, their croaking floated so clearly over the water, that for a while the girls just clapped their hands and let the frogs sing for them. The girls and the frogs kept time, and as the frog voices gradually faded the girls began to sing again themselves and presently, two or three at a time, our visitors went away from our fire to their scherms and later, a few at a time, appeared again at the dance fire with wood to burn or dance rattles to wear, some joining the singers and dancers, some others building small fires of their own in the veld a little apart from the dance fire. Before long, every werf was represented.

In the veld, where we were standing, the moonlight shone, making black shadows and pale, cool light. The air was still and warm and fragrant with the grasses of the veld and the voices came to us softly. At the fire the dancers wheeled slowly in their course around the circle, and the firelight shone in flickering beams through their stamping, naked legs, red on their naked backs. We could not see them plainly because they were far away, but we moved toward them and the sing-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ing got louder, we heard the low sound of stamping feet and 535
the low singing of the men's voices, no longer obscured by 857
the pure, high singing of the women, and when we were there we were inside the cloud of red, luminous dust, and the sounds of rattles and clapping rang in our ears.

More and more women joined the singing girls, each throwing some sticks on the dance fire as she came, then finding a place to squat in the circle, the others shuffling apart to make room, and soon the fire burned up brightly, lighting the dust stirred up by the dancers' feet and showing the huddled circle of women, who by now looked like a flock of birds [516] crouched on the ground, they were so tightly crowded, their karosses like hunched, folded wings and their heads up alertly; the bright dance fire showed too the oval faces of the visitors, the smallest ones near the ground, the larger ones a little higher, and as more and more men appeared from the darkness to join the dance the dust cloud rose higher and thicker until it seemed to shine of itself, like a veil or an illusion, and you couldn't be sure if what you saw was there before you or reflected.

Within an hour everyone was there. It behooves one to go [773] to a medicine dance because the spirits of the dead, waiting in the shadows around the dance fire and on their paths above the veld, might carry off a person if he stayed at home alone.

In the circle, one man was dancing with his child on his 535
shoulder, and the child, naked and golden-skinned on the naked brown shoulder, looked gravely down. Other children were dancing, Little Dabe and Little Gashe among them, Little Gashe carrying Little Dabe again, going slower and slower because he was tired. At last Beautiful Ungka picked 535 854
up both Little Gashe and his passenger, put them in her

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

535 854 kaross, and carried them to their mother; in this way, one by one, the dancing babies were eliminated and the circle was left to the men.

535 786 The dance went on all night, reaching a climax after midnight when the moon was high and sailing overhead. The medicine men were seized with trances that shook their bodies and rattled their teeth and sent them rushing headlong into the black shadows to curse at the spirits of the dead. Dust mounted, the sound of the high singing and the rattles was deafening, and even in the pauses between dances the medicine men screamed.

535 When hours had passed, when the moon was low and only its thick red glow showed on the horizon, the dance reached a lull and many people went home. Soon only a core of dancers and singers remained, perhaps twenty people in all. These were the strong young men, wiry enough to have withstood ten hours of dancing, and the old widows and middle-aged women, those who had no small children to worry them, women who were tougher than the young girls and did not mind that they felt tired. It is a strong thing to dance all night; it brings powerful, enduring medicine, and these few people, willing to withstand fatigue and cold, wore away the night to dance for the medicine of the rising sun.

When the moon was down and the dance fire had burned to embers, was almost out, I went to the veld to gather firewood. Just then the first stars began to dim in the soft, cold air, the eastern sky turned pale; faintly, the first birds began 535 533 to cry, and from where I stood in the veld I heard the song change to the sun-dance. The song lasted only for a moment, as the singers acknowledged the paleness, and a little later, as the light in the east became brighter and the colors of the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

481 hurrying because one of the little boys had found a millipede
825 and was trotting behind them carrying it. Bushman women do not like millipedes; millipedes make them very nervous. Someone persuaded the child to drop it, which he did reluctantly. It was a giant, shiny black and a foot long, and it ran away with the front of its body in the air, its head bent like a curbed horse. The little boy watched it go.

515 The women walked through the acacia trees and reached the pan, the shining lake, red now with sunset, and even though the air was getting cool the children ran in the shallow water, splashing, the women crouched on the rocks to bathe. They took off their karosses and bathed their arms and legs and faces, washing all the dust away, then brushed their teeth with their fingers. Beautiful Ungka called for Little Dabe and hung her ornaments on him while she bathed. He ran through the water playing, splashing with the other children, quite unconscious of his gorgeous array. Beautiful Ungka was so supple that as she sat bathing she could lay her body down on the rocks between her raised knees, which she did to reach the water, saving herself the trouble of moving forward.

292 After they had bathed, the young girls made aloe circlets for their heads, red in the red light of the sky, and they seemed very innocent and beautiful, fresh and clean; they dressed themselves slowly as the sun went down, then walked into the water, where they danced, slowly, idly, kicking to make a rhythmic splash.

854 Little Dabe, on the shore now, found the rocks hard on his feet and began to wail, and all alone on top of the rocks, picking his feet up one after the other, he was like a peacock in his ornaments, with his complaining, raucous cry. Beauti-
854 415 ful Ungka carried him then, although she too was barefoot, bouncing him up and down while the other women rinsed and filled their ostrich eggshells.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

and filled their ostrich eggshells. The air was soft and fragrant 854
with acacia and now the tiny, bright birds of the desert came out of the bushes where they had spent the day to fly over the pan and dip up water, and when it was almost dark the girls and women wandered home.

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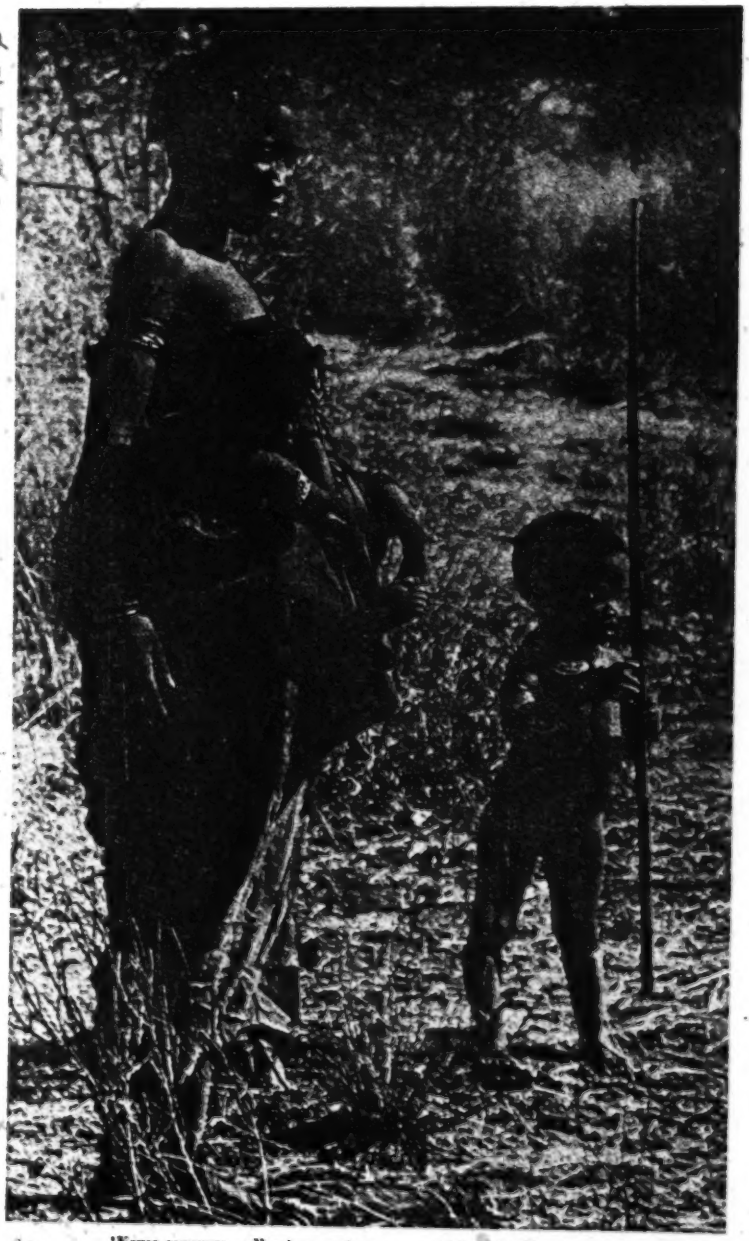

!KUNG MOTHER, collecting near camp, cradles a suckling daughter in a fold of her skin *kaross*, while her toddler son carries along a stick of his own.

[p. 11]

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

FIG. 9. With all space around them, they sit shoulder to shoulder, ankle across ankle. One of the boys plays a *//gwashi*

FIG. 10. A mother and child asleep. Babies are held and carried most of the time. When they play they are never far from their parents

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[534]

[854]

FIG. 11. Old Gau lends an arrow to his son-in-law, /Qui

FIG. 12. ≠Toma carrying his share of meat in a first distribution

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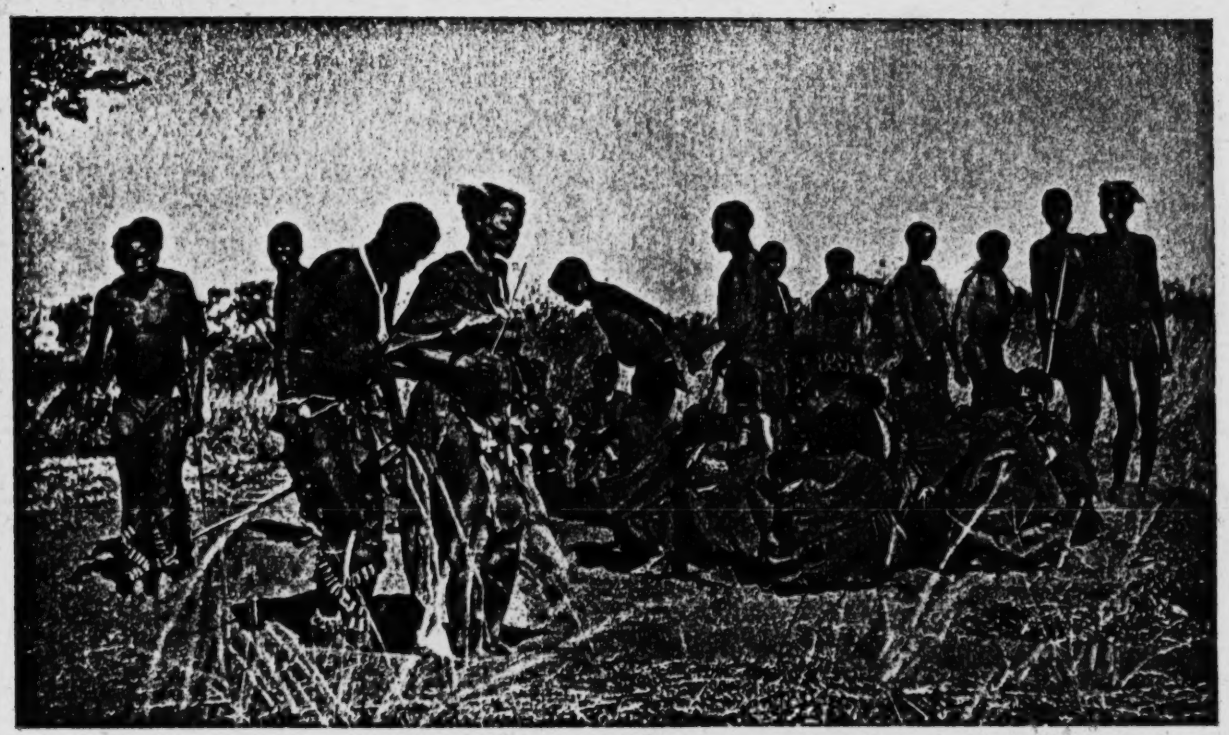
[p. 240-C]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung



8. Occasionally a woman dances with the men for a brief time. All the men who are dancing except two (fourth and sixth from right) are practising medicine men. The one at the farthest left and the one bending forward are beginning to go into trance. Others hold them. In this stage they cure the people, leaning over one and then another, laying on their hands, and making their 'medicine' gestures and sounds

[p.228 (E)]

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

222 When the people go to gather mangettis or tsī, the men always ac-
462 company the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with tsī and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater por-
222 tion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging imple-
[412] ment is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were
[101] living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some
[484] to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles
[361] to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back
[854] to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to
[482] them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the
[372] bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as
252 meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes,
264 pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

222 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the
433 impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food
731 is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

628 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families
166 therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—
[582]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

to do so. Lack of privacy makes it almost impossible to keep an affair secret, 837
and violent jealousy and anger can be aroused. Fearing any disruptive force, [852]
the !Kung disapprove.

LIFE CYCLE

CHILD TRAINING • !Kung parents are gentle, 854
protective, and permissive with all their children and express their affection especially with babies. It is a most common sight to see fathers fondly kissing them with pursed lips and smacks. The mother, wherever she goes, carries [853]
her infant tied to her left side, skin to skin, in a little leather sling where it can reach her breast. When she sits, she takes the infant out of its sling, holds it, lets it nurse the other breast.

The !Kung believe that long nursing is essential to the survival and 853
development of their children and encourage them to continue until they 862
are three or four or older. These people practice infanticide and, in explain- [847]
ing it, say that they must space their babies so that each will be able to nurse long enough to ensure his having strong legs. An infant cannot thrive on their harsh foods, they say, even though they chew the food and put it into the infants' mouths, and the mother cannot support two entirely with her milk, excellent though !Kung lactation appears to be. They supplement the milk with adult food as soon as the child can eat it, so that a child is accustomed to it and ready to be weaned at three or four when the next baby comes. But, even so, the mother weans gradually, letting the older child have a drink of milk occasionally through the day. If the mother does not have or keep another baby but still has milk, she will allow or encourage her child to continue nursing. Other children tend to make fun of a child who nurses until he is six or so, and, in response to their teasing, a child may wean himself quite abruptly.

Babies are naked and, since there are no floors but the desert sand, 854
not much is made of their urinating wherever they are. When they defecate, they are wiped with grass and the fecal matter is cleaned up at once by some older child or adult and carried off. As soon as children can walk fairly 863
well they are led by the hand and encouraged to go out of the werf for their toilet needs, at first for the sake of cleanliness and, as they grow older, for the sake of modesty as well. (!Kung adults are exceedingly modest about [291]
uncovering their genitalia. Their incest taboo influences this behavior, I think, very strongly.)

Infants sleep in their mothers' arms. Young children sleep wrapped 513
in karosses beside their parents' fire. Boys from the age of about eleven or 882
twelve sleep at a boys' fire, not far from the family of one of them. Girls at [857]
that age go to sleep with a grandmother or some widow, or several of them

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

281 also have a larger apron behind, sometimes hanging from the shoulders,
291 more often tied round the waist, and almost meeting over or under the apron in front. In the north-east a leather loin-cloth drawn through a belt in the same way as that of the men, only somewhat longer, is often seen instead. A large kaross is also worn by the married women. This hangs from the right shoulder, passing under the left arm, and is tied again at the waist; it thus forms a convenient pouch, in which are carried the baby as well as supplies for the day, such as ostrich eggshells filled with water, edible roots and fruit, grass or firewood.

[854 Babies go naked, save for a trifling ornament, till they are about a
855] year old. The boys are then given a tiny belt with a semi-circular flap of leather in front, the girls a small apron decorated with leather tassels and beads. Their mother's kaross, however, continues to be
[862] their sole protection from the cold till they are weaned, when about three or four years old. The little girls then receive a tiny kaross hanging from the shoulders, the boys a small loin-cloth similar to that of the men. They do not wear a cloak of any kind till they are in their teens and are taken out to learn hunting.

301 All women and children and the younger men also wear ornaments.
237 Chief among these are ostrich egg-shell beads, the making of which is
171 one of the oldest Bushmen industries. Such beads, whole and in fragments, and at all stages of making, are found all over South Africa, from the kitchen-middens on the south coast as far north as the Okavango, where they form a standard article of barter between the Bushmen and their Bantu neighbours. They are made by the women. The eggshell is broken into small pieces which are softened in water and pierced with a small stone or iron borer. They are then threaded on to a strip of sinew and the rough edges chipped off with a horn. Soft bark fibre is next twisted between the beads, making the chain very taut, and the edges are finally rubbed smooth with a soft stone. The beads thus made are used as single chains or worked into more complicated ornaments. Bands of them are worn on the hair, sometimes encircling the whole head, more often tied to the hair on either side, while a long narrow strip may hang down the forehead or on to the neck behind. Necklaces and bracelets of these beads are also seen, and very long chains are fastened three or four times round the waist (Plate XI).

301 Besides these beads any other ornaments obtainable are worn by the women. These include arm and leg bands made of leather and bark strips or twisted from the tail hairs of a wildebeest or gnu, as

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

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L. Fourie

GROUP OF AUEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN
Notice the clothing and ornaments, and the mode of carrying the babies

[see p. 118

[facing p. 118]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

584 Boys are always considerably older than girls before their parents betroth them.
[805] We never knew the precise age of a /Kung because they reckon time from one season to the next, not in years, and do not keep track of a person's age by any measurement. Boys appear to be usually around twelve to fourteen or fifteen before they are
[868] betrothed. At this age their fathers begin to take them on the long hard hunts for the
[883] big animals which supply the people's meat and begin their serious hunting training.

As to girls, wives are in such demand in this polygynous society that the parents of boys have their eyes upon every girl baby and may say to the parents of an unborn infant, 'If it is a girl, let us have her for our son.' It seems to be more usual, however, to betroth the girls when they are about two to five or six. The boys wait patiently for long years for their fiancées to grow up.

We wondered what would happen if, when the time at last came for the marriage, the boy or girl should refuse the parents' choice. It appears that they seldom do. A boy is usually too eager to get a wife. To refuse the betrothed might mean he would have to wait for years and years again for a girl baby to grow up. The girls are usually too young to protest but it sometimes happens that one does. /Kung
593 parents are exceedingly protective and permissive with their children, and delight
855 in them, especially in their infancy. I have sometimes seen an older child scolded or
861 snapped at by an impatient mother but I never saw a child severely punished. No hard work and few, if any, regular chores are demanded of dependent children. The same protectiveness and permissiveness were apparent in parents' lenience with respect to their girls' betrothals. They complied with the girls' wishes.

The marriage may take place when the parents agree. The age of the young people
582 varies greatly. For the girl, there are no definite age or other requirements. The girl need not, for instance, show physical signs of maturity. When the important Ceremony of First Menstruation is performed, the girl may have been married for years. Bau, who was married to Tsamgao in 1951, did not have her first child for six years. /Nai was married to /Gunda in May 1953. She menstruated for the first time in March 1959. To be married as young as that is not at all unusual, but we have known several girls to be somewhat older.

The parents explain that when the girls marry young they 'get used to' their
582 husbands. I am sure there is a great deal in this and I am sure it strongly affects the
593 relations of husbands and wives, but I had insufficient opportunity to observe eight- or nine-year-old brides with teen-age husbands, and insufficient means, through interpreters, to grasp the nature of their relationship. What is the young husband like to a girl child? The friendly, gentle old man, Demi, said to me, 'They enjoy their youth together.'

593 The young couples are expected not to have sexual intercourse till the girls are 'big'
834 enough', informants said, and the boys must not force the girls. If a girl complained to her parents and the parents took her back and sent the young husband away, he might have to wait for years again for another bride to grow up. The /Kung are
[123] prevented by their incest taboos and their modesty from speaking freely about sex and I learned nothing about the actual sexual practices of the young couples. /Nai and her young husband, /Gunda, had only one good kaross between them; they slept
513 together bundled in it, feet to feet. Bau and Tsamgao slept quite apart—at different
593 fires—when we observed them in 1952. In 1953 they slept at their own fire, apart, she

[72 cont.]

163 children, who are always approximately two or three years apart.

Among the Naron the bride is formally abducted; the word
585 for "to marry" is the same as "to catch." Actually, however,
[583] negotiations precede this abduction. Among the Naron exogamy
582 now applies only to actual siblings. After the wedding the young
couple moves to the village of the bride's parents and sometimes
591 stays there for years. There is also infanticide among the Naron.
847 Otherwise, however, the Bushmen are greatly attached to their
855 children.

5. State and Law

Among the ≠Auin, the chief's position is hereditary in the
622 man's tribe. The same is true among the Nogau. Among the
[178] Naron there are no actual chiefs any more. The last one lost his
authority by staying on the farms most of the time as a worker.
Bleek believes that formerly such a chief ruled 30 to 50 families.
[701] In most recent times all these tribes had a war chief, at least
nominally.

Among all three tribes the conception of private ownership
422 of utilitarian objects is very strongly developed, and theft is
685 punishable by death. Every kin group has a certain territorial
district. The boundary markers are not clearly defined everywhere
423 in this flat terrain, so that crossing them does not have the same
serious consequences as it does in the north. On the other hand,
a person who finds game that was killed by arrow poison but not
shot by him, may not take any of it. The gathering of veldkost
is permitted everywhere. A person who finds a stock of honey, on
the other hand, makes a sign there, and it is henceforth his private
[222] property. Among the ≠Auin individual Bushmen burn parts of the
[425] veld, and all the veldkost that grows there is regarded as the in-
dividual's private property.

The feuds between individual kin groups are designated as
628 wars, but since legal revenge is practiced almost exclusively
721 against members of other hordes, every [73] enforcement of
the law at the same time means war. Among the Nogau, war
is ceremoniously announced by messengers.

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

sticks pipes, etc., and occasionally assist the women in 462
fetching wood and water. The women build the huts, collect veldkos and prepare the food, make the fire and keep it going, gather wood, fetch water and manufacture ostrich eggshell beads for ornaments, etc. The latter are also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Infants and young children accompany their mothers on 857
their daily excursions in search of food until they are old enough to look after themselves. From that time onwards 855
the mothers take practically no share in their education which, 871
in the case of girls, is entrusted entirely to an old woman who lives in the hut with the young girls, and in the case of boys, to their fathers.

Little girls, while still with their mothers, are taught to 868
love and respect the old woman and to seek her company of 857
their own accord. After taking up residence with her they accompany her daily into the veld and thus gradually come to learn from her all the duties which will ultimately devolve upon them. Boys sleep under the tree in the centre of the camp at night or in a hut specially set apart for them. Each morning they accompany their fathers into the veld. At first they are given little bows and wooden arrows with which to amuse themselves. Towards the eighth or ninth year each is provided by his father with a proper bow and three arrows which, however, are not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbuck or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veld craft.

Initiation Ceremonies.

Both boys and girls, on reaching a marriageable age, are 881
subjected to certain ceremonies before being admitted to full membership of the group. These ceremonies vary consider- [184]
ably among the various tribes.

The following is an account of the girls' initiation ceremony as practised among the *Hei-||om* group around the Etosha Pan. As young girls (*ǂkham-khoidi*) approach the age of puberty they are placed in a hut called *ǂkham-khoidi* or *oa.ai-khoidi oms* in which they sleep at night. During the daytime they gather veldkos either by themselves or in company with the married women. Men, whether married or single, may not enter the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* nor may they speak to the *ǂkham-khoidi*. The latter may, however, speak and be spoken to by the *a.aurogu*, but only at a distance so that no conversation of an intimate nature is possible without being overheard by the grown-up people. A man may on occasion address a *ǂkham-khois* by saying, "you must grow up so that I may marry you," but she will not reply. When addressed by a man, say, in the veld, she runs away to her

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

361 with the wind, which made us think of the empty scherms, and still farther we found one more empty dwelling, the tiny grass nest of a mouse that hung on a bush, from a thorn.

We went around and around the pan in three huge circles, occasionally calling Toma's name, and when at last we were sure that no one was there we went back to the pan and sat in the shade of some bushes to think. Lazy Kwi sat with his chin in his hands, gazing into the sunlit veld. He was sure, he said, that no one lived at Gautscha Pan, so there was no use going there. Toma and his family had not lived at Nama for a whole season and since wind and rain had erased all traces of their passing we could not tell where they had gone. Lazy Kwi thought for a long time and at last he said that he had heard from the Bantu people at Gam that Toma had been indentured by Bantu people at another cattle post called Kai Kai, near Gam, and had been set to work minding a herd of goats. Lazy Kwi had not believed that this could have happened, but now he said that it was possible and in that case Toma would have to live not far from Kai Kai, somewhere in the veld but not too far from water. And there was such a place, said Lazy Kwi, but in the east and far from Nama Pan.

It was early afternoon, so hot that even the insects of the veld were silent. We decided to leave at once in order to reach the waterhole that Lazy Kwi had mentioned before night. We put a little meat, some water, and our blankets in the jeep, and my brother and I, Lazy Kwi and Ledimo, the interpreter, got ready to go, leaving the others to make a camp.

855 Before we left, Lazy Kwi took leave of his family, then got
593 his bag of tsi beans and baobab seeds from his wife and put a handful or two into another bag which he would take with him, leaving the larger share with her. When his little son saw what he was doing and realized that his father was preparing

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

to go, he began to cry, saying: "Father, Father," and when 855
Lazy Kwi hesitated a moment, then said he was going any- 593
way, the little boy picked up a handful of stones and threw one at him. This amused Lazy Kwi's wife, who smiled and tried halfheartedly to take the stones away, but it angered [861]
Lazy Kwi, who caught his son by the arm and boxed his ears. That made the little boy so furious that he had a tantrum; he screamed and cried and arched his back to draw away from his mother, who tried to pick him up, both mother and child doing exactly what they had done when the little boy was a baby and no doubt had been doing ever since. His mother al- [862]
ways did have a terrible time managing him, and he was still nursing although he was now five or six years old. Before his father left, his mother had managed to mollify him somewhat, and she sat on the ground, letting him sit on her leg to nurse. He drank from one breast and held the other in his hand as he glared over his mother's shoulder at his father, who was already in the jeep.

We drove all afternoon, going fast because the ground was 133
hard and not too bumpy, and the plains of Nyae Nyae seemed even longer, even wider than the plains of Ai a ha'o, being more slanted. We saw the Aha Mountains, a series of large rock outcrops quite separate from each other, blunt-ended like drumlins, which the Bushmen call "The Knife's Back." They appeared on the horizon shortly after we left Nama, distant and blue over the yellow veld, so surprising to see in that flat country that we stopped to look at them. They seemed so misty and far, so infinitely alluring, that we longed to go there. When we drove on, they stayed as relatively fixed as the moon would, which showed how far away they were. Lazy Kwi said that once on a clear day he had seen them from the top of the Gautscha baobab.

We reached the waterhole at the end of the afternoon, a

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 882 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the parents' fire.

855 857 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or [136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and [868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 857 [512] The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime, singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned 857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth 156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men, [173] the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another [171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation [562] ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they [535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from [534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony. [302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of [304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

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[426]

and may stay in constant use for years. It is curious therefore that each family possesses less than 10 shells and must borrow shells in order to make these hiking trips to the nuts. The limited number of containers is probably the reason why members of a camp go out to the nuts in shifts. When one family returns, the camp's ostrich egg shells are pooled, and then another family may go out.

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A second limitation is the weight of water that can be carried. The 756 ounces of water required for four days at the nut forest weigh 47 lbs. Each empty ostrich egg shell weighs eight ounces; so that the 14 shells themselves weigh an additional seven lbs. Furthermore it is necessary for the parents to carry the younger children on their shoulders. So, in effect, the parents must walk out to the nut forests fully loaded with water and children and also return fully loaded with nuts and children. On the return trip the weight of the water is replaced by an equivalent weight of collected nuts.

The third limitation is set by the volume that the ostrich egg shells occupy in the carrying space of the kaross. The volume occupied by 14 ostrich egg shells is roughly equivalent to the volume occupied by 14 quart-sized milk bottles. When the time comes for the trip home the adults must pack into each kaross 20 lbs. of nuts, as well as the empty ostrich egg

312 shells; this makes for a very bulky and unwieldy parcel. The
484 stomach sacs, by contrast to the egg shells, have the distinct
222 advantage of being weightless and occupying no space on the return trip, since when they are empty they dry and shrivel up.

221 The reader can now appreciate the complex logistics of
222 Bushman subsistence activities during the late winter dry
312 season. In view of the difficulty of collecting mongongo nuts during this season, it is not surprising that the people turn to an eclectic diet of roots, bulbs, and gums that are still available in the vicinity of permanent water.

222 Several variations in tactics were observed among the
484 Dobe area Bushmen. One such variation was to leave the older
855 children behind in the care of relatives while the parents
312 made the long trips to the nut forests. By leaving behind
482 two children at the main camp, the parents could effect savings of 30% in the weight of water that had to be carried out on a four day trip.

222 Another variation observed was the two-day-one-night
484 overnight hike. Such a trip lasted only 36 hours and required
312 only three ostrich egg shells of water per adult. By using
[482] this tactic, groups of ten or more people could make a rapid lightly loaded trip to the nut forests and return the following day heavily loaded with nuts. This was a difficult operation

312 824 222 The net effect of this effort is that an individual must drink much more than the minimum daily requirement of 72 ounces of water. In fact, men who were living on Fockea roots, were observed to dig out between 15 and 20 of the roots per day. The quantity of water provided by these roots is estimated at 150-300 ounces, part of which went to provide water for the children of the camp.

222 484 312 A description of one Fockea trip, in which the author participated, will serve to illustrate some of the difficulties of living away from standing water.

[123] This trip began on 6 November and ended on 16 November, 1964. The group consisted of 12 Bushmen (plus the author); there were three men, four women, and five children. One of the young women gave birth during her stay so the returning group consisted of 13 Bushmen.

November 6 - This group (minus one of the men who came out the following day) set out from the Dobe waterhole at 10:00 [103] a.m. They spent the day walking to a nut forest named !wi/wama which was situated eleven miles west of Dobe. The original plan was to remain there for five days.

[481] The pace was leisurely to suit the three older children [855] (ages 12, 8, 6 respectively) who went on foot and the young [843] woman who was in the terminal month of her pregnancy. On the way we stopped at intervals to eat seven different species of

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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middle-aged women who counted up to five children they had reared—the others were never mentioned. The eldest children were already married, the others quite small. 162

Childhood and Family Life

All Bushmen are very fond of their children, who receive love and care without stint.[1] Babies and young children are spoiled, and rarely corrected. The children begin to walk early, but long after a child can toddle it must still ride in its mother's kaross on food-gathering expeditions, giving her an additional burden to carry wherever she goes. When finally old enough to look after themselves, the youngsters go out with other children, trailing after the women or bigger girls. They have no special playthings; infants amuse themselves with sticks and stones and grasshoppers, playing about in the sand, while the young boys soon make themselves or are given little bows and wooden arrows, with which they shoot small birds and reptiles. 855 857 [524]

Both boys and girls go out with their elders on the daily excursions in search of food, even the babies go, riding in their mothers' karosses. The day is spent out in the open veld, and here the children receive most of their education. The girls accompany their mothers, from whom they learn to know the plants and animals, and their value as food, how to collect veldkos, and how to use the different implements and utensils. The bigger boys follow the men out hunting. Towards his eighth or ninth year each boy is provided by his father with a proper bow and arrows, which are, however, not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbok or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows, and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veldcraft. 868

In this way the children grow up in intimate contact with Nature, and acquire all the knowledge necessary for hunting and collecting. In the evening they run about near the huts, play various games, mostly denoting scenes of animal life, take part in the dances, or sit by the fire, listening to the talk of their elders, until they feel 857

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 18 sqq., 31–3; Passarge, op. cit., 100; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 133–4; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 89–90.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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281 also have a larger apron behind, sometimes hanging from the shoulders,
291 more often tied round the waist, and almost meeting over or under the apron in front. In the north-east a leather loin-cloth drawn through a belt in the same way as that of the men, only somewhat longer, is often seen instead. A large kaross is also worn by the married women. This hangs from the right shoulder, passing under the left arm, and is tied again at the waist; it thus forms a convenient pouch, in which are carried the baby as well as supplies for the day, such as ostrich eggshells filled with water, edible roots and fruit, grass or firewood.

[854 Babies go naked, save for a trifling ornament, till they are about a
855] year old. The boys are then given a tiny belt with a semi-circular flap of leather in front, the girls a small apron decorated with leather tassels and beads. Their mother's kaross, however, continues to be
[862] their sole protection from the cold till they are weaned, when about three or four years old. The little girls then receive a tiny kaross hanging from the shoulders, the boys a small loin-cloth similar to that of the men. They do not wear a cloak of any kind till they are in their teens and are taken out to learn hunting.

301 All women and children and the younger men also wear ornaments.
237 Chief among these are ostrich egg-shell beads, the making of which is
171 one of the oldest Bushmen industries. Such beads, whole and in fragments, and at all stages of making, are found all over South Africa, from the kitchen-middens on the south coast as far north as the Okavango, where they form a standard article of barter between the Bushmen and their Bantu neighbours. They are made by the women. The eggshell is broken into small pieces which are softened in water and pierced with a small stone or iron borer. They are then threaded on to a strip of sinew and the rough edges chipped off with a horn. Soft bark fibre is next twisted between the beads, making the chain very taut, and the edges are finally rubbed smooth with a soft stone. The beads thus made are used as single chains or worked into more complicated ornaments. Bands of them are worn on the hair, sometimes encircling the whole head, more often tied to the hair on either side, while a long narrow strip may hang down the forehead or on to the neck behind. Necklaces and bracelets of these beads are also seen, and very long chains are fastened three or four times round the waist (Plate XI).

301 Besides these beads any other ornaments obtainable are worn by the women. These include arm and leg bands made of leather and bark strips or twisted from the tail hairs of a wildebeest or gnu, as

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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and other odds and ends are also worn as finery or as charms. But formerly armlets of ivory and copper were found among the men, while the women wore iron and copper rings and armlets, as well as necklaces of ostrich eggshell beads, teeth, or shells. Frequently also they sewed strips of raw hide round their legs in the form of rings, which, when dry, rattled against each other and made a noise when they moved. Copper trinkets and rings were worn in the ears by people of both sexes, or were attached freely to the knots of their hair. All these have now given place to glass beads, glass or wire bangles, and similar objects obtained from European traders.

H 301 177 H [439]

Washing in water was rarely met with, and was certainly by no means customary. The toilet was performed with moist cow-dung rubbed plentifully all over the body, allowed to dry slightly, and then rolled off in lumps with the palm of the hand. To give the skin suppleness it was also generally rubbed with fat, kept in small receptacles of horn covered with leather and often carried about on the person. The women especially would smear the whole body with it, the men at least the face, scalp, hands, and arms. Both men and women also freely used *buchu*; the men powdered mainly the neck and the armpits, the women the whole body. The powder was kept in small tortoise-shell boxes, made by closing with resin the openings at the back of the shell and at the sides, so that a vessel remained with only one opening, that for the head. In Kolb's time the women would on festive occasions paint red spots on the forehead, cheek, and chin; and even to-day among the Naman the girls on such occasions still paint various patterns on their faces with a mixture of fat and the powder ground from a soft red stone such as haematite. There was no special style of dressing the hair, although occasionally part of the scalp was shaved clean and the remaining knots decorated with all sorts of small trinkets.

H 515 302 H [415] H [415 321] H [386]

Bodily Mutilations

Bushmen

Various forms of bodily mutilation are practised by the Bushmen. Perhaps the best known of these is the removal of a finger joint, as a rule that of one of the little fingers. The older writers on the Southern Bushmen frequently mention it as occurring in some men and women, as well as in children, but it is not universally found.[1] The

B 304 856

[1] E.g. Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, vol. i, 289; Arbousset, *Voyage d'Exploration au ... Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, 493; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 329; G. Thompson, *Travels ... in S. Africa*, i, 43.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Bushmen FX 10

304 joint is usually removed during childhood, and the custom appears
856 to be associated with some magical belief. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that the joint is cut off with a reed before the child sucks at all, and that the motive underlying the custom is that the child should live to grow up.[1] Other writers add that the operation is performed only on a child whose predecessor has died young, and is intended to protect it from a similar fate.[2] Various other interpretations have been given of the custom, but the one just mentioned appears to be the most probable. This form of mutilation does not
[184] seem to occur to any extent in the Northern tribes. Seiner found it in a few persons among the Kung, but states that it was exceptional,[3] and there is no other record of its occurrence in these tribes.

304 Barrow further mentions that in a large band of Bushmen seen by him in the midlands of the Cape all the men had a small piece of wood
301 or porcupine quill inserted through the perforated septum of the
136 nose.[4] This practice is not reported definitely by any of the other writers on the Southern Bushmen, although it is hinted at by Bleek and Lloyd.[5] Hahn, however, speaks of it as occurring in a Bushman tribe in the South-West Kalahari, whom he therefore names "Nasenstockträger",[6] and recently Pöch has published the photograph of a woman from the waterhole/kang in the Southern Kalahari, in which it is seen very clearly.[7]

184 In the majority of Northern Bushmen at the present time, and especially in the North-Western tribes, the most widespread form of
304 mutilation is scarification, which was quite unknown among the tribes
881 south of the Molopo.[8] Small cuts about an inch long are made in the
224 skin, and ash black or other colouring matter is rubbed into the wounds, producing a slight but noticeable scar. In the women they are said to be made mostly for ornament only, on the face, thighs, and buttocks, but among the !Ò Kung of Angola they are also made in connection with the puberty ceremony for girls. In the men some of the cuts may also be purely ornamental, but many of them are definitely related to social and hunting observances. Thus all Naron, Auen, and Kung have a vertical cut or cuts between the eyebrows,

[1] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, p. 17.
[2] Arbousset, loc. cit.; Thompson, loc. cit.
[3] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 290
[4] Op. cit., vol. i, 276.
[5] *Bushman Folklore*, 329.
[6] "Die Buschmänner," 66.
[7] "Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," pl. v, fig. 2.
[8] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101, 108–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 141–2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 245–6; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, *The Naron*, 10–11.

[12 cont.]

843 The pregnant woman may eat no "ongaka" and no bush-
262 buck (okapundja, //airibkhe); she is allowed to eat hares.

844 Birth takes place in the hut. Men may not be present. As soon as the umbilical cord (//náëba) has fallen off, the child's hair is cut and buried. Then the child is carried out of the hut.
[553] The father receives it and gives it a name, which is chosen quite arbitrarily.

764 As soon as death occurs, the corpse is unclothed, wrapped in hides or blankets, and is placed in the grave on its left side in an extended position with the head toward the west. Brushwood is placed on the covered grave. People come there to weep. Offerings are not brought.

224 At the beginning of the hunt, certain ceremonies are
[177] performed, which I believe have in part been taken over from the Ovambo.

The hunters meet at a certain place in the forest (Khoá !Khuásha). Every hunter brings a twig with omsati leaves; these are thrown together in one place (omsati-//khái-wa), and a circle is drawn around it in the sand. Each hunter steps into the circle and on the leaves and says:

[539] //am ≠haiba, //am ≠haiba (?)
[782] The leader answers:

!Khu !Khu /ao /ao /auschá Lord! Lord! We must now go hunting!

When a wild animal has been killed, the lucky marksman first cuts a piece of flesh from it, roasts and eats it, and then divides the meat among his fellow hunters. No offerings are made.

224 This procedure is of the greatest interest. In the lower
422 form of hunting practiced by primitive peoples, the individual huntsman is the undisputed owner of the game he has killed. In the case of the more highly organized hunting that these Bushmen practice today, the property right of the individual hunter is still stressed through these ceremonies, although ultimately the hunter receives no more meat than his companions.

222 The gathering of veldkost does not have the great signifi-
[184] cance here that it does in the east. After all, the women already
[462] commonly cultivate a little garden plot, and the youngsters herd
[957] a few goats, while the men still practice hunting as their main
[233] OCCUPATION.

[29 cont.]

847 child live, the older child would have to die. We are left with the choice of killing one of the children so that one can stay alive.' The explanation is absolutely convincing. There is the [593] added consideration that the Bushman mothers lose their maternal instincts when they see that a child is not thriving. I saw a six-month-old Bushman child, a really pitiful figure. The mother did not have sufficient food for her child. My wife offered to give the child the bottle. The proposal was joyfully accepted. For a few days, the child was brought at the specified times. It gladly took the bottle. But then the mother felt that her freedom was restricted. After all, she had to remain in the vicinity of the house for the sake of the child. She did not lack food at all. I provided for her. The desire for veldkost was too great, however, and the child was brought only in the morning and evening and received his meal. Naturally, no noticeable improvement could be observed. Hence, at an opportune occasion the mother disappeared, and when she reappeared, she was without the child. She and her friends had buried it alive."

853 Matters are certainly not always as hopeless as Vedder describes them. First of all, at a very early age the children are given pre-chewed veldkost, and, secondly, the women of the kin group help one another out with the breast feeding. During 854 the day the infant stays in a hide sack on the mother's back, and at night the children sleep at the mother's breast; the smallest lies directly at the breast, while during the cold season the others cuddle around the mother's legs. From earliest childhood, the 867 children are taught to honor the old people and not to take anything away from anyone. For the boys, the father soon carves a bow and arrow, for the girls a little digging stick. Nothing is said to little children when they take things, but once the boy has been given a bow, he may not touch anyone else's bow and arrow; otherwise he gets a beating. The boys greatly fear the women. 868 The bigger boys stay together by themselves and go hunting for ●857 small game or accompany adults on the hunt for large game.

586 Marriage is absolutely indissoluble. Separation is also impossible, for outside the kin group the woman would perish in the wilderness. So far as I have observed, the relationship between 593 marriage partners is in general very good, and not uncommonly the

[32 cont.]

224 423 go to the kin group to whom this territory belongs and take the men to the animal. Then it will be carefully divided down the middle; the hunter gets one half, and the owners get the other half. Nevertheless, quarrels are common, because there is only one of certain organs, such as the heart, liver, etc. These con-
[184] ditions, however, exist only among the eastern !Kung. A Hei//om or a northern !Kung who is found hunting in the territory
224 of another tribe is regarded as an enemy. Boys' hunting is con-
[857] fined to lizards, tree rats, and other rodents. They ordinarily
[411] use the bird arrow, which is carved out of a piece of wood, but in contrast to the Ovambo, the older boys here already have
[223] poisoned arrows. Young and old pursue the hunting of birds with great enthusiasm; in particular guinea fowl, sand hens, grouse, and the Pau [?] insofar as it occurs in this region. These fowl
[262] and small bushbucks are the chief sources of the meat in the
[136] native diet. The forest region of the eastern !Kung is poor in large game. Zebras are almost entirely absent, as is the wildebeest; the giraffe is very rare. The eland, kudu, hartebeest, and especially the gemsbok are relatively more common. Hunting drives are organized to hunt the elephant or rhinoceros. First, the elephant is separated from the herd. As soon as it has been cornered, one Bushman after another springs forward and throws his spear. It is also possible to hunt the elephant with poisoned arrows; there is a number of thinner spots in the skin at the front legs, and the marksman places as many arrows there as possible. The elephant does not die; it merely becomes sick. The hunter rushes home to get some other men, who then go to look for the elephant with spears. Pitfalls are made in the vicinity of the watering places, and a pointed pole is placed inside them. The Bushmen along the Okovanggo also hunt the hippopotamus with pitfalls. The eastern !Kung maintain that in ancient times the hippopotamus was also found in their land. The sling trap is made
[223] in various sizes. The ostrich in particular is usually caught in such sling traps, which are provided with a piece of bone bleached by the sun. Small cats and the like are also caught with this trap. It is likewise placed on the trails of the bushbuck. Jackals and the like are caught by lying in wait for them as they come out of their dens and then beating them to death with the kirri.

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

sticks, pipes, etc., and occasionally assist the women in 462
fetching wood and water. The women build the huts, collect veldkos and prepare the food, make the fire and keep it going, gather wood, fetch water and manufacture ostrich eggshell beads for ornaments, etc. The latter are also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Infants and young children accompany their mothers on 857
their daily excursions in search of food until they are old enough to look after themselves. From that time onwards 855
the mothers take practically no share in their education which, 871
in the case of girls, is entrusted entirely to an old woman who lives in the hut with the young girls, and in the case of boys, to their fathers.

Little girls, while still with their mothers, are taught to 868
love and respect the old woman and to seek her company of 857
their own accord. After taking up residence with her they accompany her daily into the veld and thus gradually come to learn from her all the duties which will ultimately devolve upon them. Boys sleep under the tree in the centre of the camp at night or in a hut specially set apart for them. Each morning they accompany their fathers into the veld. At first they are given little bows and wooden arrows with which to amuse themselves. Towards the eighth or ninth year each is provided by his father with a proper bow and three arrows which, however, are not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbuck or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veld craft.

Initiation Ceremonies.

Both boys and girls, on reaching a marriageable age, are 881
subjected to certain ceremonies before being admitted to full membership of the group. These ceremonies vary consider- [184]
ably among the various tribes.

The following is an account of the girls' initiation ceremony as practised among the *Hei-||om* group around the Etosha Pan. As young girls (*ǂkham-khoidi*) approach the age of puberty they are placed in a hut called *ǂkham-khoidi* or *oaxai-khoidi oms* in which they sleep at night. During the daytime they gather veldkos either by themselves or in company with the married women. Men, whether married or single, may not enter the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* nor may they speak to the *ǂkham-khoidi*. The latter may, however, speak and be spoken to by the *axurogu*, but only at a distance so that no conversation of an intimate nature is possible without being overheard by the grown-up people. A man may on occasion address a *ǂkham-khois* by saying, "you must grow up so that I may marry you," but she will not reply. When addressed by a man, say, in the veld, she runs away to her

524 thing. This they do one by one, each in turn beckoning to the others to come and see.

In the *surus-/hurub* (game of the ringhals snake) one woman acts as the snake, standing with her hand and forearm raised above the forehead. As the other women approach her she hisses and strikes with the raised hand after the manner of a snake, causing them to scream and retire. This game is said to be founded on the experience of a woman into whose eyes a snake spat while she was trying to drive mice out of a shrub by means of her stick.

The following are a few examples of the games played by the *‡Ao-//ein* and *//Aikwe* of the Kalahari, viz.: *Children's*: 857 a man bartering goods from a trader; cock ostriches fighting with elephants which have come to drink at waterhole; a fight between two opposing groups, small bows and wooden arrows being used; a python lying in wait for and capturing its prey at a waterhole. *Men's*, the ostrich game; throwing the *isani*, in which a thin, short-feathered stick, weighted at one end by means of a large bean (bauhinea esculenta), is flung into the air and kept going by catching it on a stick in its descent and flinging it up again; throwing the stick, in which each player has a thin stick, about three feet long, which he flings forcibly on to the ground in such manner as to make it rise into the air and shoot away from him. *Women's*, catching the ball in which a melon or round tuber is used for the purpose; the capture of brides by young men, etc.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS.

Food Supply, Etc.

137 The source of the food supply varies very considerably in 184 different localities. In some it is derived mainly from the 268 vegetable, in others from the animal, kingdom. The Kalahari and northern parts of the territory are rich in both plant and animal life and the Bushmen inhabiting those parts consequently have a fairly well-balanced dietary. In the central and southern Kalahari the most important among the vegetable foods are the *tsamma* (citrullus vulgaris), ōintjes (cyperis edulis Dtr.) and *//nōun* (Bauhinea esculenta). As one proceeds northwards various fruit-bearing trees appear, *e.g.*, the wild fig, palm, omungete nut, wild orange, omuandi, omuve, etc. In addition to the above numerous varieties of edible roots, bulbs, tubers, berries, etc., appear in great profusion during and after the rainy season.

222 Among the *Hei-//om* the following ceremony is observed in connection with the collection of veldkos by the women. It is practised when the fruit of the *‡huin* ripens, generally after the onset of the big rainy season in the month of February. On a certain day, appointed by the *gei-khoib*, all the women, under the guidance of the *gei-khois*, set out to collect the first fruit of the *‡huin*, the men in the meantime remaining in the *//gāus*. The trees from which the fruit is to be gathered

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

142 The third old woman was Ukwane's wife, and her name
621 was Kutera. She was the oldest of the four women by many years, and much the frailest; her arms and legs were spindly, and she was so thin that her slender bones stuck out. She moved slowly, feebly, and spoke in a high, thin voice like the piping of a little bird. She didn't even have the big belly that Bushmen usually have; instead, her belly clung to her backbone and she looked like a little, dry bird skeleton, ready to splinter or be blown away.

The other members of the group were the three young boys. One, Giamakwe, about eleven years old, was the son of Ukwane's old age, and the other two, Wite and Witabe, about ten and fourteen, were the sons of Twikwe and the man who ran away. All were extremely thin, with arms and legs like matchsticks, and each wore a tiny rag of a loincloth that had been cast off by someone else and cut down to their sizes—just tokens of modesty, as the boys were not covered
857 up at all. But they were very gay and active; their shyness of
621 us vanished immediately and was replaced by excitement; they whirled and spun like dervishes when they saw the gemsbok, played leapfrog, jounced each other, and ran circles around the werf, followed by the baby, Nhwakwe, who chased them like a puppy and could not keep up. He would tire from time to time, fall into his mother's lap to nurse, and then, refreshed, would rush headlong after the three boys again. He never did catch them, but this did not make him angry or make him cry.

224 When everyone was present, looking hungrily at the gemsbok on the jeep with a swarm of redheaded flies already at its mouth, Gai and Ukwane got their knives and rolled the gemsbok to the ground. She fell with a hard bounce, a thump as her legs or her long horns struck, and a huff as gas rushed from her open mouth. She lay stiffly, looking awkward with

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

224+ 422 leg, his wife had one of the feet and the stomach, the young boys had lengths of intestine. Twikwe had received the head and Dasina the udder.

It seems very unequal when you watch Bushmen divide a kill, yet it is their system, and in the end no person eats more than any other. That day Ukwane gave Gai still another piece because Gai was his relation, Gai gave meat to Dasina because she was his wife's mother. After the meat had been divided again in this way and cooked, the cooked food was shared. No one, of course, contested Gai's large share, because he had been the hunter and by their law that much belonged to him. No one doubted that he would share his large amount with others, and they were not wrong, of course; he did. It is not the amount eaten by any person but the formal ownership of every part that matters to Bushmen.

It was already evening and the sun sat on the flat veld like an enormous, flaming mountain. It sank, and its orange color was echoed in the three families' fires as the people warmed themselves and cooked their meat.

224 857 The following day the three young boys, feeling vigorous with all the meat they had eaten, went out to play in the veld and came back at noon with a tortoise, a lizard, and a tiny rabbit, a baby one that they had been able to run down. The young boys would have had to divide any substantial game with the adults, but since these animals were so small the boys were allowed to keep them. Small animals are divided among the children and cooked for them by one of their parents.

Wite carried in the rabbit, still alive, across his shoulders, pretending that it was very heavy and that he was tired and worn, as though he were a hunter carrying home a buck. When he threw the rabbit down, a soft ball of gray fur with

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

the innocent eyes of a baby and pretty, drop-shaped ears that 224 857
were pink inside, it rushed at him and bit his finger. A dire
fate awaited it; Ukwane caught it and pinched its throat.

The tortoise was given to Nhwakwe, the baby, as the spoils
of a hunt are always shared, and Gai, his father, took it to 252
roast it for him.

First, Gai scooped a shallow pit in the sand in front of his sleeping-place, which he filled with burning sticks. Beside him, old Twikwe held the tortoise on its back, but the tortoise urinated brown urine and Twikwe let it stand up. It stood looking at the flames, blinking its hard black eyes, then started to walk away. But Twikwe caught it again and held it, idly turning it over and over while she talked with Gai about other things, about smoke they had noticed on the southern horizon which Gai said was Bushmen's smoke. Gai said he planned to go to see the people some day soon, and as he spoke he took the tortoise from Twikwe and laid it on its back, where it rested with its feet out and its neck bent, in the position that would be correct, if it were standing. Gai took a burning stick from the fire and set it against the tortoise's belly. The tortoise kicked violently and jerked its head, urinating profuse amounts of the brown urine which ran over Gai's hand, but the heat had its effect, the two hard, central plates on the shell of the belly peeled back, and Gai thrust his hand inside. The smoldering shell reeked and the tortoise struggled violently, but Gai slit the belly with his knife and pulled out the intestine.

The tortoise by now had retreated part way into its shell, trying to hide there, gazing out from between its front knees. Gai reached the heart, which was still beating, and flipped it onto the ground, where it jerked violently for a moment, almost jumping, then relaxed to a more spasmodic beating, all by itself and dusty, now ignored. Gai pinched the gall away

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

124 like sweat to all the body.He did not understand what the
827 lungs did, or that air went into them, or that air went through the trachea. Breathing, said Ukwane, is air going down into the stomach, where it makes belches. Ukwane did not know about the circulation of the blood, believing that blood ebbs and flows, nor did he recognize pulses in the body except the pulse at the V of the throat, noticeable in people who wear little clothing, which is known as "the place of the heart."

124 The cold night had come, and Ukwane in the frosty grass
826 was shivering, yet he sat for an hour keeping his patience, putting his hands into the cold blood of the springbok to trace veins to their source, prefacing all his answers with positive, qualifying remarks. "I am an old man," he would say, "and I know that the diaphragm separates the heart and lungs from the stomach," or "I am Ukwane, and I know that when the heart is gone the animal cannot live, or a person either, because the heart is that animal's life."

857 As the dissection and the conversation went on, the three
526 young boys, joined occasionally by Nhwakwe, the baby, played games all the time, creeping in between the adults to warm themselves by the fire and by the heat of bodies when they could stand the cold no longer. If you wear no clothing your skin is sensitive to very slight changes of temperature, and even the warmth of someone sitting beside you or the heat radiated by a few coals makes a lot of difference. When the young boys were thawed they would again leap into the darkness to play some more. They played a game of horse and rider, in which one boy would leap astride another boy and ride without holding on while the other boy would stagger forward as fast as he could. In a moment, both would fall, jump up again, hitch up their loincloths, and resume the game, only this time the horse would jump on the back of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

the rider. Sometimes two boys would make the horse, one boy 857
holding the wrists of another boy in front of him while a 526
third boy would ride, and these horses, reinforced, were much more successful, traveling farther at faster speeds. Now and then, as we talked by the fire, one of these little phantom creatures would rush silently by us in the dark, its dark rider in silhouette against the sky.

As we talked, we heard music, very sweet, sad music, as 533
though a music box were playing, coming to us from a little distance away. It was Gai's older son, the boy who had come back with us, playing the te k'na to himself. Thus we discovered that Gai had not fared as badly as it had seemed he did in his meeting with the strange Bushmen, for the te k'na had belonged to the man who had laughed at him. All the Bushmen at the fire, who loved music, stopped their talk to listen, and even the young boys were charmed from their game, for they moved silently toward him and crouched in the cold grass to listen, too. Soon they stood up to dance, a usual Bushman dance of men, taking small, pounding steps, [535]
moving in a circle. They danced very well, with freedom and 857
with great precision, but they were too excited to dance for 526
long and instead began to play a dancing game called "Os- 535
trich," performed by two boys dancing forward to face each other. As one either crouches or bends double from the hips, the other, who in the game is called the ostrich, swings his leg over the first boy's back without missing a beat in the rhythm. The boy who bent jumps backward as another boy steps in to take his place. This is repeated again and again, accompanied by spoken, rhythmic sounds: he he *hi*, hehe he *hi*, and the whole game is very fast and vigorous, requiring great practice and co-ordination, as the body movements, which often include the slapping of the elbows against the ribs, are sometimes at counterpoint to the spoken rhythm.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

857 The game represents ostriches, perhaps ostriches fighting or
526 mating.
535

The game was intoxicating. The boys danced so fast, so perfectly, and made their rhythm so vigorous and free, that Gai, who had been sitting quietly listening to Ukwane, could stand it no longer. Throwing his great cape around himself, he suddenly leaped to his feet and sprang among the little boys, scattering them like a hawk among sparrows, towering over their heads as he began to dance. He stamped, bent, straightened, and swung his long leg over the little boys' backs, dancing with far more abandon, not as precisely as they, but madly; he took our breath away.

He wore his great kaross backward, flung across his chest, and when he stood still waiting for his turn to leap forward and crouch he was as motionless and dignified as a tribune standing, and when he danced the great wings of his kaross swung like the cape of a bullfighter, masculine, open, and free. He was a wonderful sight, and the old people watching him smiled, and the little boys dancing under his long legs and under the wings of his cape looked up at him and laughed with pleasure because he was playing their game.

Gai was a man of great dignity and for him the dance was not altogether a success, for when the young boys tried to swing their legs over his back they generally kicked him in the rear or in the face. Soon he tired of it and came back to the fire to sit by Ukwane, but he was too excited to stay
524 quiet long and in a moment he tore off his cape and, calling
593 Ukwane and his oldest son, he began another rhythmic game,
533 called "Kaross." This is played by several men or boys who rub the kaross between their hands in the way that they rub it to soften or cure it, only they rub more vigorously and accompany themselves with several very rhythmic, very gay, fast songs, sung in falsetto, to imitate the falsetto singing of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Gikwe

men whom we had met at Okwa had arrived and were planning to live beside us, as life at Okwa was getting very hard. The veld, said Ukwane, was beginning to dry, a condition that we had noticed, which was showing itself in the scarcity of roots and in the rotten, bitter melons. But we suspected that jealousy as much as anything else had brought the seventeen people to Ai a ha'o, the fear that Ukwane's band was feasting while they were being deprived.

578 621 574

At camp we found only three men of the visiting band, as the others were waiting somewhere in the veld, and the members of our expedition, who were trying to find a place for the visitors to camp. The three men were looking stonily around, seeing nothing that seemed agreeable. They had first been offered a grove of trees right by our camp, but they had refused this because of the mamba which they had heard about from Ukwane and which they believed might still be near. One spot after another failed to suit them, and finally they dropped their skin bags of belongings under a pair of small trees very close to Ukwane's werf. Ukwane welcomed them, of course, but I think he felt that difficulties would arise with them living so close and always watching.

One of the men went to summon the others of his band, who had been resting in a patch of heavy thorn bushes not far from our camp, and they came, carrying their youngest children and their bags of belongings, followed by their children old enough to walk by themselves. One of these was a toddling youngster who hadn't been walking long and who surely had been carried for most of the journey. The others were three young boys of about the same ages as the boys of Ukwane's band; when they saw where they were going to be living, they abandoned their parents with a great shout and, running to Ukwane's werf, started a game of horse and rider with the three boys of Ukwane's band. The Gikwe bands

621 857 574

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

574 do not meet very often, and when they do the children play
621 together day and night. All the young boys were extremely
857 happy to see each other and expressed their joy by starting their game at once, wasting neither time nor breath to say hello. Before the adults of the visiting band had set their bundles on the ground two little horses with their riders had run past, the riders trying to unseat each other.

574 They played all afternoon and into the evening while the
621 adults went about the business of setting up a camp. I went
361 to the new werf to watch and found that the women had stored away their belongings, stuffing some of their bundles among the tree roots, hanging others from the branches, and were now clearing grass, each woman clearing a small circle for her family. Soon five circles were formed, not quite touching, all sheltered by the branches and all in the space of a few square feet. I helped one woman pull grass, for she was clearing it tuft by tuft, pulling it up with her hands, and as I did this I felt something cold and firm in the grass I was holding, and, looking down, I saw that I was holding an asp. I dropped it, one of the Bushman men ran up to kill it, and one of the
[20] women lifted it between her fingers and placed it in her kaross. Later it would be cooked and eaten by a child.

224 That same afternoon, some of the members of our expedi-
574 tion went hunting and shot a gemsbok, which was brought back to camp and given to Ukwane to divide. This was, perhaps, a great mistake on our part, for Ukwane gave the entire carcass to the newcomers except for the head, one foot, and a little of the liquid from the rumen, which he kept for his own people. Twikwe dug a pit in the veld and roasted the head in it, and that night, while the newcomers were still butchering, drying, and cooking their larger share, the mem-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

him off the ground. Wite did not resist, but swung limp and 262 578 resigned, and when Gai released him he started to walk away. 152 Gai had eaten all the meat except one morsel, and this he tossed to Wite, who picked it up from the ground and ate it apathetically.

Only the baby set a good example. I had picked him up and 262 was carrying him when the three young boys of Ukwane's band noticed that he was mouthing something and holding something else in his hand. For a joke they extended their palms, telling him to share what he had in his hand, and he gave it readily. It was only the crackly skin that flakes off bones when they are roasted, quite flavorless, impossible to chew; Nhwakwe was only playing with it and the boys only pretended to take a bite, then threw it away. But either the baby didn't see them reject it or didn't care because in a moment he made them another present, the meat that he had been holding in his mouth. The young boys didn't see where he got it and they were about to eat it when Nhwakwe opened his mouth to smile and they noticed. They threw it down, but the baby spat some onto his finger and offered it to them anyway, and when they didn't take it he smeared it on their chests.

After the unhappy hour of eating, the people of Ukwane's band, their appetites dulled even though their bellies were not full, seemed more relaxed and the young boys went off to join the boys from the visiting band. The youngsters were 572 857 always friends. The tensions suffered by all the members of 152 both the bands did not affect their enjoyment of each other.

That evening the boys sat down near one of the fires to 578 talk, and they told each other all the things that had hap- 522 pened since they last had met, perhaps a year before. Most of 152 the incidents had happened fairly recently and most amounted to anecdotes about the other members of the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

224 Toma's son said that he, too, had shot a buck during the
866 last rainy season, but while the hunters were following it a
857 rainstorm had come up and had washed the tracks away, forcing them to abandon the hunt, although for days they had searched the sky for the column of vultures that would show where the buck had fallen. Lions must have got it, said Toma, and eaten it in one night, and this was a great shame, for younger boys than his son had already proven themselves. They boy shrugged his shoulders at these words. He had been the first person we had met when we first had come to Gautscha Pan, and we had seen him in the veld, a naked child hardly more than an infant, standing in grass that came over his head with a toy bow and a wooden arrow in his hand. He was far from home, all by himself, but he had stood up to talk with us so boldly that our interpreter, vastly amused, had asked him what he would do if he met a lion, and with great self-possession Toma's son had said: "If he let me alone, I would let him go, but if he came for me, then we would fight."

Young Bushman boys do not always seem anxious to become adults. Like his son, in Toma's opinion, they prefer to play at hunting because as soon as they know how to hunt they have to, and hunting, say adult Bushmen, is very hard work. We felt, though, that it wouldn't be long before his son did succeed in killing an animal. Besides playing at hunting as a child he used to hunt beetles, moths, and large caterpillars by shooting them with thorns; but he was twelve now and seemed to have left his childhood behind, for while we talked his younger brother and sister played in the sand but he sat quietly with the men and listened.

163 Gao Big Feet and his wife, Dikai, Tu's sister, had had a
164 second baby, a little boy named Dabe ma, Little Dabe. Their first child, Little Gashe, now four, was blind in one eye, pos-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

them with his moods and when he stopped playing and they 533
went away, they, too, were brooding.

Many young people had come to Nama, and together they 857
made Nama very gay. The boys played a game with wands, 526
throwing the wands at a hummock of ground and watching them bounce off and sail into the grass on the other side, the nearest that Bushmen come to a competitive game, for the young boys like to see whose wand goes the farthest.

The girls played a singing game with a melon. They would stand in a row that formed a half-circle dancing in place while the girl at one end would spring into the middle of the circle and toss a melon to the girl next to her in line. The game is accompanied by a rapid, intricate song of several parts sung [533] in falsetto voices, as pretty to hear as the game is pretty to see, for the girls dance with their arms and heads as well as with their feet, like the dancers of Bali.

At that time there were only two adolescent unmarried 882
girls at Nama. One of these was Beautiful Ungka, the other was her cousin, and they both lived with the cousin's parents at one of the werfs of the people from Gam. They were both extremely beautiful and they were lilies of the field. Since they were their parents' only children, they had no younger brothers or sisters to mind, and did nothing at all from one [572] day to the next but adorn and amuse themselves, and this they did together, for they were the best of friends. They were straight and slender, with pale-gold skin not yet darkened and [142] weathered by the sun of the veld, and they had flat bellies and high, small breasts. Beautiful Ungka had nipples like knobs, rounded like balls. Both girls wore ornamented aprons, soft leather capes—the best that there is. Many bead ornaments 302
hung from their hair and swung when they walked, and almost hid their handsome faces.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

572 A sound and a fragrance accompanied them wherever they
882 went; the sound was the sound of their ornaments clanking
574 like crockery, dry and dull, and the fragrance was heavy and
[303] sweet, the perfume of the leaves of *sa* and the wood of *tchambuti*, which Bushman women grind to powder and rub on their bodies. We would always hear these two girls coming, for they talked loudly, and a moment later we would see them appear around a bend in the path, one in front of the other, heads high and eyes cast downward, as light and long as two Egyptian sacred cats. Usually they were followed by a homely little girl years younger than they were, a forlorn little creature who would run errands for them and was content to trot after them and be their handmaiden, and usually they were on their way to visit a friend of theirs, a young married girl who was visiting at Toma's werf. When the two beauties would arrive to visit her, their married friend would stop whatever she was doing and the three of them would sit together in some shady spot to string beads or weave blossoms into crowns which they would wear, the blossoms fetched by the handmaiden, who searched the veld for aloes, the only flowers blooming in that season.

882 While they were stringing beads or weaving blossoms, a
572 group of young boys would gather to play the wand game, and
● 857 now and then, of course, a wand would land among the girls and the boys would jostle each other to retrieve it. The girl of Toma's werf treated these happenings with gaiety, for she was responsive and kind, but the other two wouldn't even turn their heads to see. Beautiful Ungka had been married, after all, and kidnapped, and widowed and divorced; grown men had fought over her and it was natural that the jostling of young boys would seem trivial. She would laugh behind her hand at them, though, then pull a long face when they would turn around to see.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Those were two willful girls, too beautiful, too proud, too 882 much admired, but the young boys couldn't do enough for 572 857 them. It was one of their admirers who cleared the grass for the werf that the cousin's parents were building, and though the two girls teased and ridiculed the boy all the while, snickering contemptuously at him from behind their swinging beads, he worked on happily until not a blade of grass remained.

But Beautiful Ungka and her cousin were not as sophisti- 883 cated as they thought they were, really, for when they would 526 hear the music of the melon game they would abandon their poise and decorum to run for the sound, arms waving, ornaments and clothing streaming out behind, and when they found the game they had been hearing they would jump into the middle of it and play with abandon, singing loudly and dancing fast for fun. Also, Beautiful Ungka could spit through her teeth like a man. She could draw back her head and spit ten feet and she did this often, smiling scornfully, an astonishing accomplishment for such a handsome girl. Her cousin used to try it too; she could spit a little way but not nearly as far as Beautiful Ungka.

After all, they were only sixteen. There is a Bushman mood 533 539 song with these words:

> *I am tired and old and without people,*
> *I wish I could marry a young girl.*

There were so many great fires around Nama that the sky 132 was dark with their smoke, and when the sun rose in the morning, one day shortly after we had got there, we could not even see it until it was far above the horizon and then it appeared red and enormous, murky. In the west two new fires had sprung up, perhaps lit by Bushmen to show where they were

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

three-legged dog. This morning, though, he did not look at 151
anyone and seemed more silent even than he had been before.

The men made a carriage of their arms and lifted Short 482
Kwi to the top of the truck, and in the process one of them 151
lost his footing so that Short Kwi was jounced, which must have hurt him although he did not show it, Bushmen being very good at concealing pain or despair. His wife climbed on to help make him comfortable and to receive their bundles, which were being handed up, and at the sight of this his baby 152
began to cry without a sound, slow tears rolling down her cheeks and dropping to the ground. I lifted the baby and tried to play with her, jumping a little and smiling to make her smile, although of course I could not cheer her, and when Short Kwi's wife looked over the truck's side the baby twisted away from me and held up her arms.

When Short Kwi was ready we asked who would come 224
with us, and most of his relatives decided to wait and join us 857
later because one of the young boys, a child of twelve or so, 866
had shot his first buck two days before and as the buck had still not been found, the people did not want to leave it. Toma's son himself wanted to remain because, it turned out, the buck had been shot with an arrow which he had given to another boy, who in turn had given it to the young hunter, and Toma's son, as original owner of the arrow, wanted his rightful share of the meat. When Toma said that his son could wait if he wanted but that we couldn't wait for him, his son turned to some other little boys who stood near him and began discussing the possibility of his joining the search for the animal. It was very interesting to see this conversation, these adult dealings beginning among the ten- and twelve-year-olds, these new, young hunters, these small figures of hope and strength, and we waited a long time while

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

224 857 866 Toma's son rubbed his head with his tough little fingers to make up his mind. Finally he left his friends and climbed on the truck. Home was too far to walk to, he said, and he was going to forfeit. As we drove away, his friends ran after us, shouting that they would bring him his share if they were able.

151 152 757 We reached Nama Pan late in the afternoon. Toma and Gao Feet cleared a werf for Short Kwi, and when he was settled comfortably with his back against a tree and with soft grass and blankets arranged all around him he said softly, just to himself and anyone else who might be listening, that during the night his leg had fallen off. After he said this he began to cry, and Gao Feet slowly crouched beside him, unwound the blanket slowly, and untied the bark, then gently lifted the knee away from the calf, which remained on the ground, just like the leg of a mummy. When the calf had fallen off, Short Kwi had pushed the two pieces back together again. Short Kwi was crying and biting his hand and his wife was crying, and Toma and Gao Feet stood beside him for a minute looking, the expression on their faces as dark as night. 766 Then they picked up the leg and carried it away to the veld, where they buried it in a hole, exactly as if it were a person, they were so sad.

152 Later, when we had dressed the stump, Toma and Gao Feet came back to sit with Short Kwi and talk with him. Gao Feet told about a Bantu man he had seen far in the north who had been injured in a mine accident and had been fitted with a false foot. Short Kwi could have one too, Gao said; but Toma said, almost too depressed to speak: "What does it matter? He is a cripple now."

521 758 Then the men went away and left Short Kwi to rest, and during the evening the children and young people were talk-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

very sleek and prosperous, for they were staggering under 574
loads of food, their bags and nets bulging with tsi and their 602
carrying-poles strung with the meat of the gemsbok. They put down their loads and the women began immediately to make a large and busy werf on the far side of Toma's. In a very short time the werf was built and strewn with food and objects, and the people sitting among their possessions looked so comfortable and settled that one would never have thought that they had just arrived.

The old woman, Short Kwi's mother-in-law, did cry when she found her daughter gone. She squatted sadly on the ground and wiped her tears from her wrinkled, dusty cheeks with her fingers. All her relatives, clustered around her, trying to comfort her, telling her that, after all, her daughter would return, that she herself would be looked after and not allowed to starve, and presently the old woman stopped crying, wiped [342] her eyes, and got up to build herself a tiny hut, a shade of grass and branches.

That night, when darkness fell, when the moon rose blood 857 ●
red among the trees and the frogs in the pan began their sing- 533
ing, we were again sitting by our fire, again hosts to a good many visitors, when we heard high voices singing a medicine song. We stood up to look over the grass and saw a fire where no werf was, with five young girls around it singing, clapping a rhythm, their faces lit red by the fire and their backs lit palely by the moon. They were all alone there, far from their homes.

We asked our visitors if there was going to be a dance, 857
which did not seem likely, everyone being in such low spirits, 535
and those who wanted to dance said yes while those who didn't said no. Soon some little children joined the dance, though, among them Little Gashe and Little Dabe. Little

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

535 Little
857 Dabe was evidently being minded by his brother, for he
[854] arrived riding on Little Gashe's back, a heavy load, and Little Gashe danced in a circle behind the young girls carrying Little Dabe, then, perhaps getting tired, stopped dancing and shook Little Dabe off. When Little Dabe was standing Little Gashe climbed on Little Dabe's back to let Little Dabe do the dancing for a while. Soon these children were joined by some older boys and they all bobbed along happily, one behind the other, quite small and lit dimly in the big dance circle they were making for themselves.

The girls sang well. Their songs and the sharp rhythm of their clapping floated over the dark veld to us, mixed with the voices of the frogs. The frogs croaked so loudly by the pan, their croaking floated so clearly over the water, that for a while the girls just clapped their hands and let the frogs sing for them. The girls and the frogs kept time, and as the frog voices gradually faded the girls began to sing again themselves and presently, two or three at a time, our visitors went away from our fire to their scherms and later, a few at a time, appeared again at the dance fire with wood to burn or dance rattles to wear, some joining the singers and dancers, some others building small fires of their own in the veld a little apart from the dance fire. Before long, every werf was represented.

In the veld, where we were standing, the moonlight shone, making black shadows and pale, cool light. The air was still and warm and fragrant with the grasses of the veld and the voices came to us softly. At the fire the dancers wheeled slowly in their course around the circle, and the firelight shone in flickering beams through their stamping, naked legs, red on their naked backs. We could not see them plainly because they were far away, but we moved toward them and the sing-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ing got louder, we heard the low sound of stamping feet and 535
the low singing of the men's voices, no longer obscured by 857
the pure, high singing of the women, and when we were there we were inside the cloud of red, luminous dust, and the sounds of rattles and clapping rang in our ears.

More and more women joined the singing girls, each throwing some sticks on the dance fire as she came, then finding a place to squat in the circle, the others shuffling apart to make room, and soon the fire burned up brightly, lighting the dust stirred up by the dancers' feet and showing the huddled circle of women, who by now looked like a flock of birds [516] crouched on the ground, they were so tightly crowded, their karosses like hunched, folded wings and their heads up alertly; the bright dance fire showed too the oval faces of the visitors, the smallest ones near the ground, the larger ones a little higher, and as more and more men appeared from the darkness to join the dance the dust cloud rose higher and thicker until it seemed to shine of itself, like a veil or an illusion, and you couldn't be sure if what you saw was there before you or reflected.

Within an hour everyone was there. It behooves one to go [775] to a medicine dance because the spirits of the dead, waiting in the shadows around the dance fire and on their paths above the veld, might carry off a person if he stayed at home alone.

In the circle, one man was dancing with his child on his 535
shoulder, and the child, naked and golden-skinned on the naked brown shoulder, looked gravely down. Other children were dancing, Little Dabe and Little Gashe among them, Little Gashe carrying Little Dabe again, going slower and slower because he was tired. At last Beautiful Ungka picked 535 854
up both Little Gashe and his passenger, put them in her

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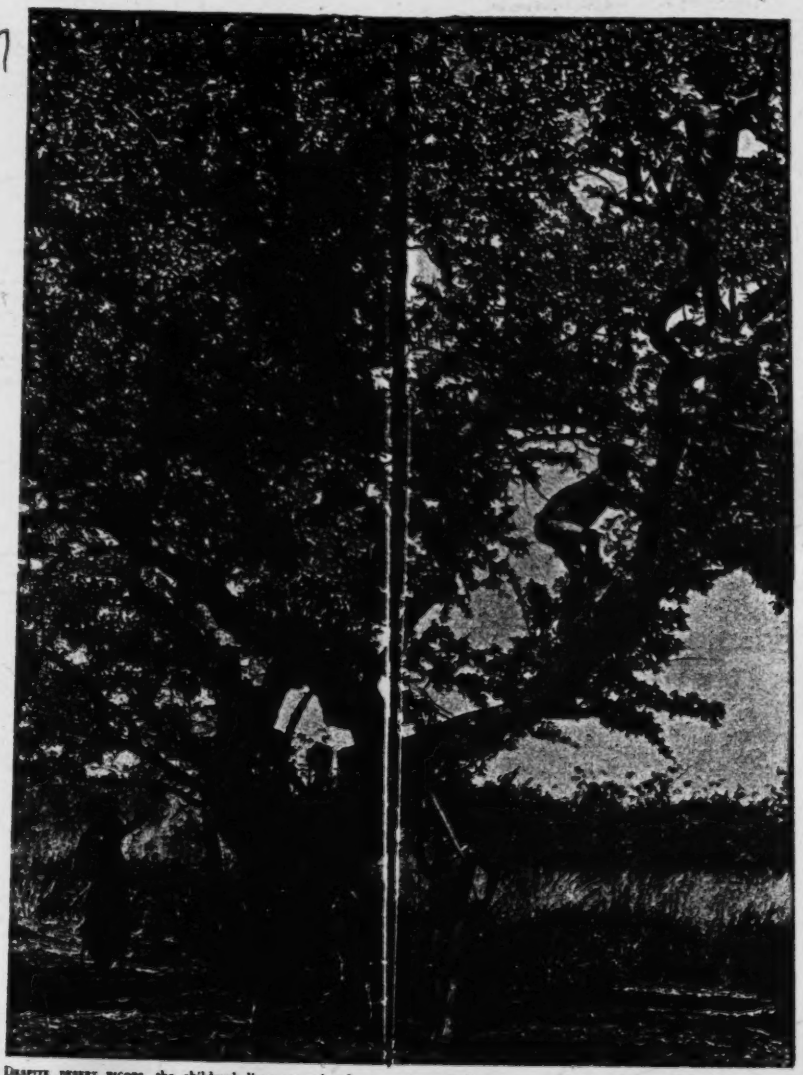

DESPITE DESERT RIGORS, the children's lives are relaxed ones, largely lacking in formal instruction and without organized pressure on the young to assume an adult role. Here, a gathering of children from one !Kung camp enjoy

[p.17]

857

organized pressure on the young to assume an adult role. Here, a gathering of children from one !Kung camp enjoy themselves in the shade of a tree—one swinging, others scampering, "follow-the-leader" fashion, in the branches.

[p. 18]

222 on the season. In the long days of wilt-
461 ing between the October spring and the January summer, food is scarce and the women may go out every day into the failing veld, leaving their *werft* early in the morning and returning late in the afternoon. All
222 that a woman gathers belongs to her
422 alone, and of course is shared with her
593 family. She feeds her husband, her children and often a visitor or two, at her own hearth. No formal instruction
222 is practiced among the !Kung, with
868 the possible exception of certain kinds of religious teaching and what might be called an occasional hunting school.
857 Learning to gather comes from the children's observation of the more experienced women. Girls soon learn to
[824] recognize more than a hundred kinds of edible plants that grow in *Nyae Nyae*, as well as the seasons and places in which these plants grow. They learn to see tiny, shriveled root vines coiled around thorns in the thickets and, in the process, develop fine powers of observation. Possibly complementary to this lack of formal instruction, no formal pressure is exerted on young people to take up adult roles. Girls, if they wish, accompany their mothers on gathering trips. If they do not, they rarely feel guilty. A girl usually be-
[582] gins to feel responsible soon after she marries, which is often before puberty. But only when she has children of her own does a woman see the world through the eyes of a provider.

II: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

524
868
●857

HUNTER'S TRAINING starts as childhood play, above, and !Kung youths will use anthills as targets and even stalk beetles as a game. Although their arrows are featherless.

[p.65]

●857

YOUTH'S PLAY is not all purposive. Here, a young !Kung boy is happily engaged in nothing more important to his future than giving his sister a sled ride on the trampled floor of his band's *werft*, using a scrap of hide, hitched

[p. 76]

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[301]

to a thong. When lived upon, the veld earth soon turns to dust, as seen here. In the rains of the coming year, the rank veld grass will have grown again across the floor of the deserted *werft*—to toss in the passing, desert winds.

[p.77]

SEATED YOUTH, above, enjoys a smoke as his companions make characteristic !Kung gesture—arm outstretched—to show they also wish a turn with the pipe. Because the !Kung crave tobacco, but grow none, they must trade for it—often disastrously—with the Bantu peoples on the borders of *Nyae Nyae*.

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[P. 78]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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12. Five medicine men at sunrise after they had danced and cured all night long. The women must still clap and sing the protective medicine music. The men in semi-trance care for those in deep trance, or 'half-death', as they call it

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13. The tradition is continued. Playing 'dance', a little girl claps and sings while two boys dance around her

[p. 228 (H)]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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14. The boys imitate a trance

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15. Gao, the medicine man who sees /Gamme as a grey mist

[p. 228 (I)]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

to do so. Lack of privacy makes it almost impossible to keep an affair secret, 837
and violent jealousy and anger can be aroused. Fearing any disruptive force, [852]
the !Kung disapprove.

LIFE CYCLE

CHILD TRAINING • !Kung parents are gentle, 854
protective, and permissive with all their children and express their affection especially with babies. It is a most common sight to see fathers fondly kissing them with pursed lips and smacks. The mother, wherever she goes, carries [853]
her infant tied to her left side, skin to skin, in a little leather sling where it can reach her breast. When she sits, she takes the infant out of its sling, holds it, lets it nurse the other breast.

The !Kung believe that long nursing is essential to the survival and 853
development of their children and encourage them to continue until they 862
are three or four or older. These people practice infanticide and, in explain- [847]
ing it, say that they must space their babies so that each will be able to nurse long enough to ensure his having strong legs. An infant cannot thrive on their harsh foods, they say, even though they chew the food and put it into the infants' mouths, and the mother cannot support two entirely with her milk, excellent though !Kung lactation appears to be. They supplement the milk with adult food as soon as the child can eat it, so that a child is accustomed to it and ready to be weaned at three or four when the next baby comes. But, even so, the mother weans gradually, letting the older child have a drink of milk occasionally through the day. If the mother does not have or keep another baby but still has milk, she will allow or encourage her child to continue nursing. Other children tend to make fun of a child who nurses until he is six or so, and, in response to their teasing, a child may wean himself quite abruptly.

Babies are naked and, since there are no floors but the desert sand, 854
not much is made of their urinating wherever they are. When they defecate, they are wiped with grass and the fecal matter is cleaned up at once by some older child or adult and carried off. As soon as children can walk fairly 863
well they are led by the hand and encouraged to go out of the werf for their toilet needs, at first for the sake of cleanliness and, as they grow older, for the sake of modesty as well. (!Kung adults are exceedingly modest about [291]
uncovering their genitalia. Their incest taboo influences this behavior, I think, very strongly.)

Infants sleep in their mothers' arms. Young children sleep wrapped 513
in karosses beside their parents' fire. Boys from the age of about eleven or 882
twelve sleep at a boys' fire, not far from the family of one of them. Girls at [857]
that age go to sleep with a grandmother or some widow, or several of them

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 882 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the parents' fire.

855 857 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or [136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and [868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 857 [512] The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime, singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned 857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth 156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men, [173] the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another [171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are [562] therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they [535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from [534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony. [302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of [304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

middle-aged women who counted up to five children they had reared—the others were never mentioned. The eldest children were already married, the others quite small. 162

Childhood and Family Life

All Bushmen are very fond of their children, who receive love and care without stint.[1] Babies and young children are spoiled, and rarely corrected. The children begin to walk early, but long after a child can toddle it must still ride in its mother's kaross on food-gathering expeditions, giving her an additional burden to carry wherever she goes. When finally old enough to look after themselves, the youngsters go out with other children, trailing after the women or bigger girls. They have no special playthings; infants amuse themselves with sticks and stones and grasshoppers, playing about in the sand, while the young boys soon make themselves or are given little bows and wooden arrows, with which they shoot small birds and reptiles. 855 857 [524]

Both boys and girls go out with their elders on the daily excursions in search of food, even the babies go, riding in their mothers' karosses. The day is spent out in the open veld, and here the children receive most of their education. The girls accompany their mothers, from whom they learn to know the plants and animals, and their value as food, how to collect veldkos, and how to use the different implements and utensils. The bigger boys follow the men out hunting. Towards his eighth or ninth year each boy is provided by his father with a proper bow and arrows, which are, however, not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbok or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows, and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veldcraft. 868

In this way the children grow up in intimate contact with Nature, and acquire all the knowledge necessary for hunting and collecting. In the evening they run about near the huts, play various games, mostly denoting scenes of animal life, take part in the dances, or sit by the fire, listening to the talk of their elders, until they feel 857

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 18 sqq., 31–2; Passarge, op. cit., 100; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 133–4; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 89–90.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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857 sleepy, and crawl on to the grass in the hut. No one sends them to bed.

593 So the children, during infancy and childhood, remain under the tutelage and in the care of their parents. Once they are grown up, no one really controls them. The tie between parents and mature children is simply one of respect and love, but there is no lack of family affection. Grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives
603 are also respected to some extent, according to character. Among the Naron, grandparents, especially on the mother's side, take a
[597] great interest in their grandchildren, and often adopt one which has been weaned, while among the Heikum orphans are generally adopted by the maternal grandparents. The grandmother is often
[868] the person who teaches a child to speak. Between two sisters there
593 is usually a close bond of affection, they are generally companions, and help each other with their babies. In certain Cape Bushman tales the wife's unmarried sister is shown staying with her, as helper and nurse of the baby. On the other hand, among some of the North-Western tribes at least, there is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister speaking or sitting together. Here too, as in the case of the mother-in-law, the sitting and not the speaking appears to be the important part, for Miss Bleek records having heard an adult brother and sister address each other, while passing at a good distance.[1]

Girls' Puberty Ceremonies

881 The attainment of puberty is marked among all the Bushmen by the performance of certain ceremonies, through which the young people have to pass before being admitted to full membership of the group. Puberty ceremonies for girls are definitely found in all the
[184] Bushman tribes, but corresponding ceremonies for boys appear to be restricted to the northern tribes. These ceremonies vary somewhat from tribe to tribe.

Among the Cape Bushmen a girl at the time of her first menstruation was in a state of taboo. "She is put into a tiny hut, made by her mother, with a very small aperture for the door, which her mother closes upon her. When she goes out, she looks down upon the ground; and when she returns to the hut, she sits and looks down. She does not go far, or walk about at this time. When presently she becomes a 'big girl', she is allowed to look about, and to look afar

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 59, 66–7; cf. *idem*, *Naron*, 32; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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222 622 [184] A somewhat different ceremony, also connected with the collection of veldkos, is held by the Kung.[1] Once a year, when the edible bulbs of the veld are beginning to ripen at the beginning of the rainy season, the head of the band on a morning fixed by him calls together all the inhabitants of the camp before sunrise. He then takes up some faggots mixed with dry grass and straw, and all squat down in a circle around him. On the ground near the firewood lies a piece of wood, in which is bored a hole. In this hole is placed a freshly-broken twig of the wild fig-tree. A lit pipe is handed to the headman. He takes it in both hands, held palm to palm, and twists it about over the wood until its burning content falls on to the grass, which becomes kindled into flames. During this performance he repeats the following prayer to [782] [539] Huwe, a supernatural being: "Father, I come to you, I pray to you, please give me food and all things, that I may live." When the fire has burned out the members of the band scatter to seek the new bulbs, which up till now they might not touch.

222 184 These two ceremonies are the only ones on record indicating the presence of a special cult among the Bushmen in connection with the gathering of veldkos; but, as will be shown later, in all the Bushman tribes there are numerous other ritual observances and beliefs which may be regarded as centring in the sources of food supply, although they are somewhat different in nature from the two just described.

312 Water must also be fetched every day from the waterhole. This is generally the task of the children, but if the distance is far the [462] [857] women go, and occasionally even the men. The water is stored in [415] ostrich egg-shells in one end of which is bored a hole which can be [237] plugged with grass. These are carried about in a net of woven fibre or in skin bags. The stomach of a buck is also sometimes used as a water-bottle.

312 182 The supply of water is one of the most acute problems facing the Bushmen in the Kalahari and Namib Deserts. It affects their mode of life to a very considerable extent, for it not only regulates the [221] migrations of the people, but also their cohesion, since, as we have [621] seen, in many cases the different families constituting a band live together only in the rainy season, to scatter apart as soon as the dry season returns. Moreover, upon the supply of water depends the growth both of the veldkos and also of the grass upon which the game lives, so that the whole subsistence of the Bushmen is intimately bound [823] up with it. This intimate dependence, as we shall subsequently see,

[1] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6–7.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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side, beckons and calls to the others to come and see the wonderful thing. This they do one by one, each in turn beckoning to the others to come and see."[1] 524 536

Men's games have mostly a competitive character. In one each player has a thin stick, which he flings forcibly on to the ground in such a manner as to make it rise into the air and shoot away from him. Each strives to make his stick go farthest. In another a thin short stick, with two or three feathers tied to its upper end and weighted at the lower end by means of a large berry or bean, is flung into the air and kept going by catching it on a stick in its descent and flinging it up again. In others, again, a small melon or some similar object is put up as a target at which, from a certain distance, the men shoot with their arrows or throw their spears, the successful marksman receiving some food or tobacco as a prize. Still another, described by some of the older writers on the Cape Bushmen under the name of "Bushman cards", is played with a stone or small piece of wood. The man who has the bit of wood rapidly changes it from one hand to the other, so as to bewilder his companions, and finally asks one of them to guess in which hand it is concealed. If the guess is wrong the player sings out, "You eat the dog, I eat the meat," but if the guess is correct he says, "I eat the dog, you eat the meat," and hands the wood over to his companion. The players, it is said, will sometimes keep up this game for hours at their evening fire. 526 524

Children's games among the Naron and Auen, again, have such motives as a snake lying in wait for and capturing its prey at a waterhole, a struggle for the ownership of cattle, a man bartering goods from a trader, cock ostriches fighting with elephants who have come to drink at a waterhole, and a fight between two opposing groups, who pretend to shoot each other. In the first of these, one boy is the water snake. "He crouches on knees and elbows close to a small heap of sand which represents the pool. Some ten yards off the other players sit flat on the ground, close behind one another; each one putting her legs on either side of the one before her, and locking her feet over the other's thighs, forming a chain with the biggest in front. They sway from side to side edging forwards as they go, meanwhile singing an old song of which some of the words are no longer understood . . . Now and then they interrupt their slow progress to dig up and eat in dumb show an imaginary water root. On reaching the 'pool', the chain breaks up, all gather round the water 524 857

[1] Fourie, loc. cit.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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Bushmen FX10

524 and pretend to dip it out. The 'snake' from time to time flicks
857 sand at them with his finger, he is supposed to be squirting water. The others start back and scream, then gather once more round the 'pool'. At last the 'snake' jumps up, seizes a victim and pretends to swallow it, which ends the game."[1]

533 Some of the children's games, as in the one just described, have songs or refrains attached to them, in which the words are occasionally
[535] obsolete. All the dances are also accompanied by singing, many of them having their own special tune, but here the tunes are often sung without words. Other songs, again, go with the playing of musical instruments. The tunes are as a rule very short, and are generally repeated over and over again without variation, so that the effect is rather monotonous. "All Bushmen sing," says Miss Bleek,[2] "but their tunes are not easy for a European to distinguish, much less to write down." And, referring to the dance tunes,
[535] she adds: "The time is perfect, but no two in a chorus seem to hit the same note, though the general burden of the tune is kept up. That is to say, they all go up together, but not from or to the same note, and they all go down together, each hitting any note they please."

Musical instruments are seldom used to accompany the dances,
534 although several different kinds are found.[3] Many of them are variations of the musical bow. The best known of these, the */goura*, was the favourite instrument in the south. It consists in an ordinary bow, in which one end of the string, instead of being fastened to the stave itself, is attached to a flexible piece of quill spliced to the end of the stave. This quill is held against the lips, and made to vibrate by strong expirations and inspirations of the breath, thus producing the effect of a stringed wind instrument. Another form of the musical bow, commonly known as the */gubo*, has a gourd or tortoise-shell attached to the stave of the bow so as to serve as a sounding-box. The instrument is played by picking at the string with a small piece of wood or bone. A development of this sometimes seen consists in playing it like a primitive sort of violin, with a small bow for sounding the string. This mode of playing was probably adopted
[177] from a European source, as the use of a bow after the manner of a

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 19. [2] Op. cit., 22.
[3] Stow, op. cit., 102–11; Passarge, op. cit., 95–8; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 111–12; Kaufmann, op. cit., 150–1; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 21–2; Balfour, "The Goura—A Stringed Wind Musical Instrument of the Bushmen and Hottentots," *J.R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxii (1902), 156–76.

/139 cont./

412 Mortars are made of wood and have a stone floor. Their
322 construction is extremely laborious. A block of wood is buried in the ground, stamped down, and then hollowed out with the iron point of the lance or a knife. For this purpose, the iron is sometimes heated. Fire is not used. The wooden pestle is furnished with a stone at one end. The stone on the floor of the
[381] mortar is cemented with tree resin.

[379] Burning branches are used as a kind of torch, but only briefly in the vicinity of the fire.

Photograph 18 illustrates the shape of the mortar and the pestle. The mortar is made of soft wood hollowed out with a lance point. Fire is not used to hollow it out (see above).

Household utensils. Two flat stones to pound hard veld
415 fruit. Spoons crudely carved out of wood. Wooden pot or empty ostrich eggs /140/ with a round hole as water containers. Fre-
[531] quently some kind of decoration is applied. Digging stick
[412] pointed at one end.

Ornamentation. Unfortunately I did not have time to ob-
301 tain more precise data concerning ornamentation. Ornaments
531 are attached to many objects and consist of such things as ostrich eggs and pipe plugs (which are worn on a string around the neck).

Generally speaking, the Auin has three meals a day (morn-
264 ing, afternoon, and evening). If he has enough food, however, he may eat all day long, with the necessary intervals, and, if it is not too cold, even during the night.

There is no special menu. Whatever is available is eaten.
262 The hyena is not eaten because it "devours corpses." The leopard is supposedly not eaten by all the people. The reason for this is unknown to me. The shabrack jackal is frequently spurned because it "is a dog." On the other hand, they like to eat the silver jackal, because it "does not eat vermin."

[858] Young girls who have not yet menstruated and boys before
[882] they have reached adulthood may not eat game meat because if they did, they would "remain skinny."

I have never observed any traces of cannibalism. Further-
266 more, I was told by old, experienced natives of other races (Klipp Kaffir) that they had never heard of Bushmen eating human flesh.

/142 cont./

527 ample food, they always "celebrate."

The tattoo artist receives no special fee; he is simply pro-
304 vided with food and shelter.

When the forehead tattoo is applied, the patient lies on his back with his head slightly raised. The skin of the forehead above the root of the nose is folded together and drawn up by a man using his thumbs and index fingers. The tattoo artist then makes the little transverse incisions in this fold of skin.

Among men, decorative scars take the place of a hunt record.
[224] For each piece of big game that a man has killed, he wears a horizontal decorative scar, on the right upper arm for male game and on the left upper arm for female game.

[858] Only boys, not men, have scars made for small game (duiker, ibex). Older successful hunters finally dispense altogether with having scars made, after they have enough of them to display.

These decorative scars are made in a manner similar to that used for the forehead tattoo. Sweat (blood) from the killed ani-
[237] mal is always rubbed into them, and usually also the green pigment. The hunting scars are made by any one of the older men. The length of the scars is approximately one-half to one centimeter, the breadth approximately one-quarter to one-half centimeter.

Decorative Scars (or Tattooing) among Women

Green decorative scars on the upper thigh and buttocks up to the waist are worn by all women. These scars can be seen in Photograph 14.

[887] The scars are made in the same way as the forehead tattoo, except that older women make them.

Further investigation was impossible since the Bushmen are very suspicious regarding their women. I am quite content to have succeeded in taking at least one photograph which illustrates these decorative scars tolerably well.

Men and women pierce their earlobes in precisely the same way as is customary among us.

Circumcision is not practiced.

According to statements of the Auin, the labia minora are sometimes clipped.

/157 cont./

841 The water and food collected by menstruating women are consumed only by the women themselves and old people; the younger ones "it makes weak."

593 858 The authority of the parents practically ceases as soon as the children are in a position to provide food for themselves.

553 A child is named soon after birth by the grandfather or grandmother (whether on the paternal or the maternal side was not determined).

145 Boys reach puberty between 14 and 16 years of age and girls between 13 and 15 years of age (estimates).

881 The declaration of a boy's maturity is a special event in the life of the Bushman. Under the leadership of the "doctor," several youths from neighboring settlements march into the bush and live together there for some weeks on the veld crop. During this time they receive some sort of instruction in secret affairs. Young and old Auin alike, whom I interrogated separately, denied that this instruction pertains to sexual matters. To the question of what they did during their stay in the bush, I always received the answer: "They dance." They did, indeed, describe for me a kind of dance which decidedly has something childishly mysterious about it. [535] A boy seats himself "piggyback" on the back of another, and both wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier tramping with his feet as rapidly as possible without moving forward, while both of them utter a low "hu, hu" in as horrifying a manner as possible.

It is indeed difficult to imagine that this interesting occupation should last for weeks, interrupted only by sleeping and eating.

In addition, the young people seem to be treated quite badly in the course of this preparation and to receive little to eat; all of them concurred in the opinion that it is "miserable."

I learned through hints that the candidates for manhood play all kinds of tricks on neighboring villages during the night and play as "ghosts" a bit, as well as stealing food.

The actual attainment of manhood, after which the boys are [884] warriors and are allowed to marry, is not solely dependent on attending the preparation, but also on the killing of the first piece of big game.

Tattooing is not connected with the official attainment of [304] manhood

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[301]

!Kung parents cherish the children their harsh environment permits them to raise. A mother, above, fits ornamental headband to her small daughter.

FATHERS TAKE PRIDE in their growing sons, to whom will pass both the task of hunting for the band and the many skills and traditions of !Kung hunters.

[p. 84]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

584 Boys are always considerably older than girls before their parents betroth them.
[805] We never knew the precise age of a /Kung because they reckon time from one season to the next, not in years, and do not keep track of a person's age by any measurement. Boys appear to be usually around twelve to fourteen or fifteen before they are
[868] betrothed. At this age their fathers begin to take them on the long hard hunts for the
[883] big animals which supply the people's meat and begin their serious hunting training.

As to girls, wives are in such demand in this polygynous society that the parents of boys have their eyes upon every girl baby and may say to the parents of an unborn infant, ' If it is a girl, let us have her for our son.' It seems to be more usual, however, to betroth the girls when they are about two to five or six. The boys wait patiently for long years for their fiancées to grow up.

We wondered what would happen if, when the time at last came for the marriage, the boy or girl should refuse the parents' choice. It appears that they seldom do. A boy is usually too eager to get a wife. To refuse the betrothed might mean he would have to wait for years and years again for a girl baby to grow up. The girls are usually too young to protest but it sometimes happens that one does. /Kung
593 parents are exceedingly protective and permissive with their children, and delight
855 in them, especially in their infancy. I have sometimes seen an older child scolded or
861 snapped at by an impatient mother but I never saw a child severely punished. No hard work and few, if any, regular chores are demanded of dependent children. The same protectiveness and permissiveness were apparent in parents' lenience with respect to their girls' betrothals. They complied with the girls' wishes.

The marriage may take place when the parents agree. The age of the young people
582 varies greatly. For the girl, there are no definite age or other requirements. The girl need not, for instance, show physical signs of maturity. When the important Ceremony of First Menstruation is performed, the girl may have been married for years. Bau, who was married to Tsamgao in 1951, did not have her first child for six years. /Nai was married to /Gunda in May 1953. She menstruated for the first time in March 1959. To be married as young as that is not at all unusual, but we have known several girls to be somewhat older.

The parents explain that when the girls marry young they ' get used to ' their
582 husbands. I am sure there is a great deal in this and I am sure it strongly affects the
593 relations of husbands and wives, but I had insufficient opportunity to observe eight- or nine-year-old brides with teen-age husbands, and insufficient means, through interpreters, to grasp the nature of their relationship. What is the young husband like to a girl child? The friendly, gentle old man, Demi, said to me, ' They enjoy their youth together .'

593 The young couples are expected not to have sexual intercourse till the girls are ' big
834 enough ', informants said, and the boys must not force the girls. If a girl complained to her parents and the parents took her back and sent the young husband away, he might have to wait for years again for another bride to grow up. The /Kung are
[123] prevented by their incest taboos and their modesty from speaking freely about sex and I learned nothing about the actual sexual practices of the young couples. /Nai and her young husband, /Gunda, had only one good kaross between them; they slept
513 together bundled in it, feet to feet. Bau and Tsamgao slept quite apart—at different
593 fires—when we observed them in 1952. In 1953 they slept at their own fire, apart, she

[24 cont.]

000 they had never seen any. A certain dry humor spiced their con-
522 versation. I once said to a Bushman: "If you tell me this, you
161 will get whatever you want." He answered: "Good, I shall speak
and you will give me your automobile." Their imagination is
157 very poor; in this respect they are much too accurate as observers
123 of nature. Once a young Bushman woman with two children came
to me and wanted to buy some sugar. I said to her: "I won't sell
you anything, but you will get the sugar if you tell me some
children's stories, for example, about animals." After some hesi-
[538] tation she began the story of Arri, the guinea hen. It was no
fairy tale, but a detailed account concerning this important food
bird. She even imitated the calls of the guinea hen, "for exam-
ple, when someone comes and there is danger, then they say,
'gannana he gannana he,' but when they are alone and enjoying
themselves, then they go 'gi gi gi.'" The children had to imi-
[861] tate this until they were able to mimic the sound accurately.
Then it was the turn of the sand hen, which says, "gi ganna gi
ganna"; then the ostrich, which goes, "hmm, hmm, hmm"; then
the gum bird [Harzvogel], which says, "hai-dschi, hai-dschi,"
and the owl, "mhm, m."

3. Posture, Movement, Stamina

516 As a result of his marked lordosis, the Bushman never as-
sumes a posture that would conform to our military ideal; he
almost always stands with his stomach somewhat protruding.

481 The way the Bushmen run is very peculiar and would
justify detailed study. [25] The run is really a continuous fast
walk, in which the legs are kicked forward, but the lower thighs
are never brought back high, as is the case with our runners. The
body is held as straight as possible, and the head up, not forward (1).

[113] 1. E. v. Eickstedt (Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit [Ethnology and History of Mankind], p. 556) states: "The foot is put in a peculiar transverse position, which makes the track in the sand easily

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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way, the little boy picked up a handful of stones and threw one at him. This amused Lazy Kwi's wife, who smiled and tried halfheartedly to take the stones away, but it angered Lazy Kwi, who caught his son by the arm and boxed his ears. [861]
That made the little boy so furious that he had a tantrum; he screamed and cried and arched his back to draw away from his mother, who tried to pick him up, both mother and child doing exactly what they had done when the little boy was a baby and no doubt had been doing ever since. His mother always did have a terrible time managing him, and he was still [862]
nursing although he was now five or six years old. Before his father left, his mother had managed to mollify him somewhat, and she sat on the ground, letting him sit on her leg to nurse. He drank from one breast and held the other in his hand as he glared over his mother's shoulder at his father, who was already in the jeep.

We drove all afternoon, going fast because the ground was 133
hard and not too bumpy, and the plains of Nyae Nyae seemed even longer, even wider than the plains of Ai a ha'o, being more slanted. We saw the Aha Mountains, a series of large rock outcrops quite separate from each other, blunt-ended like drumlins, which the Bushmen call "The Knife's Back." They appeared on the horizon shortly after we left Nama, distant and blue over the yellow veld, so surprising to see in that flat country that we stopped to look at them. They seemed so misty and far, so infinitely alluring, that we longed to go there. When we drove on, they stayed as relatively fixed as the moon would, which showed how far away they were. Lazy Kwi said that once on a clear day he had seen them from the top of the Gautscha baobab.

We reached the waterhole at the end of the afternoon, a

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 882 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the parents' fire.

855 857 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or [136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and [868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 857 [512] The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime, singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned 857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth 156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men, [173] the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another [171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are [562] therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they [535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from [534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony. [302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of [304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

/136 cont./

142 The tribe at Gam in particular consists almost exclusively of comparatively large people who, even after a thorough washing, display a decidedly darker coloration than the other Auin.

162 According to my observations, there is something like one to two women for each man, and from two to three children for each woman.

162 847 [862] In this connection I would like to mention that newborn children are always killed if the mother is still nursing a child, which continues until about the third year of life. The killing is done immediately after birth by the mother, who buries the newborn child alive. The father has nothing to do with it. Since marital [853] intercourse continues during the nursing period and since this period lasts for about three years, it follows that approximately every third child is reared while those born in the meantime are killed without exception. This might well be a principal factor in the unquestionable decline in the population.

592 595 Since each woman has her special windscreen (hut), the man lives alternately with one and then another of his wives; the latter in turn have their children living with them, and it therefore follows that about three to four persons occupy each hut.

221 361 The size of the settlements (villages) is quite indefinite and changes according to the circumstances. During the dry season a settlement is formed usually by one to two families, whereas during the period of ample veld food, in other words, toward the end and shortly after /137/ [map appears here] /138/ the rainy season, sometimes up to 30 families join together to form a "village." In April, 1908, about 400 men were living in a settlement near Sidonitzaub. If their dependents are included, one will arrive at a figure of at least 1,000 persons.

[701] All the men are armed warriors.

161 As has already been noted, one can clearly observe a decrease in the population, which, judging by its rapid progress, can be designated as swiftly approaching extinction. Aside from infanti- [136] cide and malaria, the decrease of wild game may also be given as a reason for the population decline, since this decrease makes food more difficult to obtain. Older Auin state that in former times attacks by lions caused heavy losses.

[Text continues on page 7]

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sibly as the result of a very prevalent eye disease. He had been 163
blind when we knew him as a baby; now his infected eye had 164
shrunk away, leaving a socket. As I watched him, I noticed that his good eye had become infected too and bothered him; he had developed a habit of turning his head from side to side, squinting with his good eye, trying to see depth or judge distance, and also a habit of rubbing both eyes with his knuckles. When Dikai saw me watching him she pointed to her own eyes, then to Dabe's, to show that she and Dabe, too, had the infection, and when I said that I would give her medicine when we got back to Nama she nodded. "I was waiting for you to come," she said.

Hearing me speak of medicine, Little Gashe glared at me 164
balefully. I had treated his eyes before and perhaps he remembered that the medicine was painful, or perhaps he was afraid that I would harm his eyes. He scrambled into his mother's lap to nurse and, facing toward her for safety, glared at me over her shoulder. Little Dabe, seeing this, climbed into Dikai's lap too and she had to nurse them both, one on [862] ●
each knee, at each breast. Her lap became a battlefield. They kicked and pushed and got in each other's way.

Dikai and her two boys were only half of Gao Feet's fam- 595
ily, for he had another wife, his first wife, who had a daughter and a grandchild. We were not surprised that these people were not with Gao Feet; his two wives did not get along well. Since Dikai was young and pretty, Gao Feet spent his time with her. We asked Gao Feet where his first wife was, and he told us that she was living with her daughter's family and with Dikai's mother in a dry forest not far away where tsi was growing. We asked for other people, the other members of 621
Toma's large band, and Toma told us that they were well, living far away in a mangetti forest. Naturally, Toma's family had not seen this group for some time because of the dis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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152 and again Tu slapped it away. This time Norna began to
578 cry, lonely and forlorn in front of all the people, turned on by her mother, and she looked very small and defenseless and bereft; she cried sadly, not angrily, big tears running down her face, her fist in her mouth, looking up at her mother with enormous eyes. This was Tu's chance. She snatched up Norna and carried her back to the werf.

It was a terrible incident for everyone. That evening Tu still felt her shame and when I went to the werf to visit for a moment she took the occasion to fix me with her eyes all the way across the werf and tell me loudly that in the morning I would have to help her clear grass for another werf, for she was not going to "live among these people any more." Tu's mother, a shameless old woman, came up to me to tell me a joke and Tu smoldered.

Not only the adults felt a sense of tension. That evening Dikai, looking rather worn and tired, was sitting by her fire rubbing her shoulders, which usually ached, she said, when
862 her two sons, also tired, threw themselves down each on one
152 side of her and began to nurse, each leaning heavily against
578 her, each at a breast. Perhaps because she was tired or per-
593 haps because she had been about to put some tsi nuts in her
775 fire but now could not because her sons were in the way, she looked down at them and mildly suggested to Little Gashe that perhaps he could bring himself to stop nursing altogether, being old enough now. Little Gashe did not take this kindly at all. He looked up at her, then took his mouth from her nipple and cursed her with a formal, deadly curse. "May the spirit of Nisa, who is dead," he said, "take you by the throat and choke you." He then took the nipple back in his mouth and sucked on, thoughtfully.

152 I could hardly believe my ears. Children are expected not
578 to curse their parents, but, worst of all, Little Gashe had in-
593
775

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
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to do so. Lack of privacy makes it almost impossible to keep an affair secret, 837
and violent jealousy and anger can be aroused. Fearing any disruptive force, [852]
the !Kung disapprove.

LIFE CYCLE

CHILD TRAINING • !Kung parents are gentle, 854
protective, and permissive with all their children and express their affection especially with babies. It is a most common sight to see fathers fondly kissing them with pursed lips and smacks. The mother, wherever she goes, carries [853]
her infant tied to her left side, skin to skin, in a little leather sling where it can reach her breast. When she sits, she takes the infant out of its sling, holds it, lets it nurse the other breast.

The !Kung believe that long nursing is essential to the survival and 853
development of their children and encourage them to continue until they 862
are three or four or older. These people practice infanticide and, in explaining it, say that they must space their babies so that each will be able to [847]
nurse long enough to ensure his having strong legs. An infant cannot thrive on their harsh foods, they say, even though they chew the food and put it into the infants' mouths, and the mother cannot support two entirely with her milk, excellent though !Kung lactation appears to be. They supplement the milk with adult food as soon as the child can eat it, so that a child is accustomed to it and ready to be weaned at three or four when the next baby comes. But, even so, the mother weans gradually, letting the older child have a drink of milk occasionally through the day. If the mother does not have or keep another baby but still has milk, she will allow or encourage her child to continue nursing. Other children tend to make fun of a child who nurses until he is six or so, and, in response to their teasing, a child may wean himself quite abruptly.

Babies are naked and, since there are no floors but the desert sand, 854
not much is made of their urinating wherever they are. When they defecate, they are wiped with grass and the fecal matter is cleaned up at once by some older child or adult and carried off. As soon as children can walk fairly 863
well they are led by the hand and encouraged to go out of the werf for their toilet needs, at first for the sake of cleanliness and, as they grow older, for the sake of modesty as well. (!Kung adults are exceedingly modest about [291]
uncovering their genitalia. Their incest taboo influences this behavior, I think, very strongly.)

Infants sleep in their mothers' arms. Young children sleep wrapped 513
in karosses beside their parents' fire. Boys from the age of about eleven or 882
twelve sleep at a boys' fire, not far from the family of one of them. Girls at [857]
that age go to sleep with a grandmother or some widow, or several of them

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX 10

also have a larger apron behind, sometimes hanging from the shoulders, more often tied round the waist, and almost meeting over or under the apron in front. In the north-east a leather loin-cloth drawn through a belt in the same way as that of the men, only somewhat longer, is often seen instead. A large kaross is also worn by the married women. This hangs from the right shoulder, passing under the left arm, and is tied again at the waist; it thus forms a convenient pouch, in which are carried the baby as well as supplies for the day, such as ostrich eggshells filled with water, edible roots and fruit, grass or firewood.

Babies go naked, save for a trifling ornament, till they are about a year old. The boys are then given a tiny belt with a semi-circular flap of leather in front, the girls a small apron decorated with leather tassels and beads. Their mother's kaross, however, continues to be their sole protection from the cold till they are weaned, when about three or four years old. The little girls then receive a tiny kaross hanging from the shoulders, the boys a small loin-cloth similar to that of the men. They do not wear a cloak of any kind till they are in their teens and are taken out to learn hunting.

All women and children and the younger men also wear ornaments. Chief among these are ostrich egg-shell beads, the making of which is one of the oldest Bushmen industries. Such beads, whole and in fragments, and at all stages of making, are found all over South Africa, from the kitchen-middens on the south coast as far north as the Okavango, where they form a standard article of barter between the Bushmen and their Bantu neighbours. They are made by the women. The eggshell is broken into small pieces which are softened in water and pierced with a small stone or iron borer. They are then threaded on to a strip of sinew and the rough edges chipped off with a horn. Soft bark fibre is next twisted between the beads, making the chain very taut, and the edges are finally rubbed smooth with a soft stone. The beads thus made are used as single chains or worked into more complicated ornaments. Bands of them are worn on the hair, sometimes encircling the whole head, more often tied to the hair on either side, while a long narrow strip may hang down the forehead or on to the neck behind. Necklaces and bracelets of these beads are also seen, and very long chains are fastened three or four times round the waist (Plate XI).

Besides these beads any other ornaments obtainable are worn by the women. These include arm and leg bands made of leather and bark strips or twisted from the tail hairs of a wildebeest or gnu, as

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

171 They are usually directed towards some physical peculiarity, for
551 example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face, and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often retained throughout life."

853 Children are nursed by their mothers till about three or even four years old. They cannot be weaned sooner, as there is no suitable
[862] food; they begin to taste vegetable foods quite soon, but in order to satisfy their hunger must still have recourse to their mother's breast.

847 This prolonged weaning is responsible for the custom of infanticide found among the North-Western tribes.[1] Sexual intercourse between the parents is not discontinued until pregnancy is far advanced, and is resumed shortly after the birth. As no preventive means save
[163] abortion are known, pregnancies therefore follow in rapid succession during the course of married life, and it often happens that another child, or even two, may be born while the first is still at the breast. In such a case the new child is, as the natives euphemistically put it, "thrown away." Care is taken that the birth takes place in the
[844] bush far away from home, and an attempt is made to force it on by massage. But whether alive or stillborn, the infant is buried in the nearest burrow or in a hole in the ground made for the purpose by the old woman who helps the mother.

This practice is generally carried out against the husband's wishes, but the women are adamant in their refusal to rear two children at the same time. They find it impracticable to provide for two children of different ages, both needing the shelter of their kaross, and to be carried on marches, and are determined not to have another child to rear until the first is able to do without their milk and care. In selecting which children shall live, they go merely by the convenient time, not by the health of the infant; several people have physical defects dating from birth, good evidence that deformed children are not necessarily done away with. It follows that only every second or third child is usually weaned, the one or two born in the interval being killed without exception. This practice is not heard of among
[184] the Southern or the Namib Bushmen.

In consequence of this custom, as well as of the high infant mortality
[165] caused by the natural hardships and strenuous conditions of Bushman life, relatively few children survive, and the families are therefore
162 small. On the average women do not rear more than two or three children, although among the Naron Miss Bleek found one or two

[1] Passarge, op. cit., 99; Kaufmann, op. cit., 136; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 31–2; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

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[22 cont.]

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appropriated a number of little trees and planted them in front of his house. On one occasion when he was in town with his Bushmen, the original owner of the trees declared that in the afternoon he was going to see about it. The Bushmen heard this and disappeared. When the two Whites came to the farm, the little trees had disappeared. The Bushmen had run ahead and had hurriedly removed them on their own initiative.

181 The Bushmen are at all times courageous and steadfast people, characteristics which, indeed, their very way of life would produce.

831 The Bushmen strictly avoid talking about sexual matters
[864] in the presence of women and children. Just as in general they are a people without imagination, they do not have any form of the more subtle erotic phantasies.

The endless obscene stories that one hears from the Blacks as soon as he has gained their confidence are unknown among the Bushmen.

The sexual element is absent in their religious cele-
[535] brations, but it finds expression in many of their dances, which imitate the love play of animals.

834 On the whole, their sense of modesty cannot be denied, even though, naturally, they do not have such decent forms of conduct as the genteel Bantu, among whom it is regarded as extremely improper to look at the breasts of the women. The
[516] girls and women never sit in the typical squatting position, but rather sit on the ground with the legs crossed.

[576] Although the life of the Bushmen within the encampment is openly in view, those principles that we regard as natural tact are nonetheless observed.

[514] The Bushman performs his necessities at all times out of sight of the others, and love scenes are never enacted in public.

114 It is naturally very difficult to learn anything more
124 precise concerning the more intimate details of sexual life

602 ugly, slovenly, or wanton. The women retaliate, perhaps accusing the men of being worthy only of castration or of unfaithful wives. We noticed that the /Kung do not call each other sons of bitches. They are not concerned with lineage.

602 It is not thought proper to make blatant or insulting sexual jokes with old persons. The deference which is shown to aged persons is expressed by moderation, and 888 the joking relationship between an old person and a considerably younger person, [603] especially between grandparents and grandchildren, becomes a cosy friendly intimacy without the sexual emphasis.

Though the /Kung enjoy the joking relationship, it was our impression that their 602 primary concern lay in the prohibition against joking. They said it would be 'madness' to joke with persons they should not joke with. When they meet strangers they do not dare to joke until they find out whether or not it is proper for them to do so. They gave us /Kung names. This placed us in the scheme of things and people could know what their status was with us.

The /Kung say they 'fear' (*koa*) to joke when they should not and they 'fear' (*koa*) the persons with whom joking is forbidden. The word *koa* is the same word that they use when they say they fear a lion or a mamba. They also use it to mean avoid. We think it holds the same combination of fear and respect that our word holds when we say we fear the Lord.

[828 A /Kung told us that joking was not only amusing but that it served a good pur- ● 865] pose in teaching people, young men especially, to hold their tempers and to have poise in their social relations. We thought that joking served a good purpose in [182 providing an outlet in laughter for aggression and various social restraints, but we [154 wondered if it had not primarily been developed as a response to restraints upon sexual intercourse. Incest must be a concern among a people who live in small bands 835] of consanguineous kin and close affines, bands which are isolated for the most part within their own territories except for more or less infrequent visits to other bands. The restraints which are considered to be good and necessary may be strengthened by the symbol of avoidance of sexual joking. Respect due to a parent has perhaps come to be associated with this symbol and this may account for joking being restricted with parents of both sexes. It seems that respect in general is not required between siblings; only sexual restraint is required and this is symbolized by the restriction in joking imposed on siblings of opposite sex, whereas ego may joke with a sibling of the same sex. It is possible that the culture allows joking between grandparents and grandchildren (with the rather few exceptions when the factor of the name intervenes to classify them in the non-joking category) because joking is associated with a welcome ease and intimacy of relationship and the great difference in age removes the necessity of symbolizing sexual restraint between them.

The Name-Relationship as a Factor in Social Consolidation

553 The /Kung believe that the name is somehow a part of the entity of a person and 601 that when one is named for a person one partakes of that person's entity in some way and in some degree. Informants could give us no further elucidation of this belief.

It seems evident that, when incorporated into the system of kinship terminology, [174] the belief has produced the homonymous method of applying terms. It is our conjecture that the homonymous method was added to the system after the generational method had been established.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

224 Toma's son said that he, too, had shot a buck during the
866 last rainy season, but while the hunters were following it a
857 rainstorm had come up and had washed the tracks away, forcing them to abandon the hunt, although for days they had searched the sky for the column of vultures that would show where the buck had fallen. Lions must have got it, said Toma, and eaten it in one night, and this was a great shame, for younger boys than his son had already proven themselves. They boy shrugged his shoulders at these words. He had been the first person we had met when we first had come to Gautscha Pan, and we had seen him in the veld, a naked child hardly more than an infant, standing in grass that came over his head with a toy bow and a wooden arrow in his hand. He was far from home, all by himself, but he had stood up to talk with us so boldly that our interpreter, vastly amused, had asked him what he would do if he met a lion, and with great self-possession Toma's son had said: "If he let me alone, I would let him go, but if he came for me, then we would fight."

Young Bushman boys do not always seem anxious to become adults. Like his son, in Toma's opinion, they prefer to play at hunting because as soon as they know how to hunt they have to, and hunting, say adult Bushmen, is very hard work. We felt, though, that it wouldn't be long before his son did succeed in killing an animal. Besides playing at hunting as a child he used to hunt beetles, moths, and large caterpillars by shooting them with thorns; but he was twelve now and seemed to have left his childhood behind, for while we talked his younger brother and sister played in the sand but he sat quietly with the men and listened.

163 Gao Big Feet and his wife, Dikai, Tu's sister, had had a
164 second baby, a little boy named Dabe ma, Little Dabe. Their first child, Little Gashe, now four, was blind in one eye, pos-

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three-legged dog. This morning, though, he did not look at 151
anyone and seemed more silent even than he had been before.

The men made a carriage of their arms and lifted Short 482
Kwi to the top of the truck, and in the process one of them 151
lost his footing so that Short Kwi was jounced, which must have hurt him although he did not show it, Bushmen being very good at concealing pain or despair. His wife climbed on to help make him comfortable and to receive their bundles, which were being handed up, and at the sight of this his baby 152
began to cry without a sound, slow tears rolling down her cheeks and dropping to the ground. I lifted the baby and tried to play with her, jumping a little and smiling to make her smile, although of course I could not cheer her, and when Short Kwi's wife looked over the truck's side the baby twisted away from me and held up her arms.

When Short Kwi was ready we asked who would come 224
with us, and most of his relatives decided to wait and join us 857
later because one of the young boys, a child of twelve or so, 866
had shot his first buck two days before and as the buck had still not been found, the people did not want to leave it. Toma's son himself wanted to remain because, it turned out, the buck had been shot with an arrow which he had given to another boy, who in turn had given it to the young hunter, and Toma's son, as original owner of the arrow, wanted his rightful share of the meat. When Toma said that his son could wait if he wanted but that we couldn't wait for him, his son turned to some other little boys who stood near him and began discussing the possibility of his joining the search for the animal. It was very interesting to see this conversation, these adult dealings beginning among the ten- and twelve-year-olds, these new, young hunters, these small figures of hope and strength, and we waited a long time while

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

224 Toma's son rubbed his head with his tough little fingers to
857 make up his mind. Finally he left his friends and climbed on
866 the truck. Home was too far to walk to, he said, and he was going to forfeit. As we drove away, his friends ran after us, shouting that they would bring him his share if they were able.

151 We reached Nama Pan late in the afternoon. Toma and
152 Gao Feet cleared a werf for Short Kwi, and when he was
757 settled comfortably with his back against a tree and with soft grass and blankets arranged all around him he said softly, just to himself and anyone else who might be listening, that during the night his leg had fallen off. After he said this he began to cry, and Gao Feet slowly crouched beside him, unwound the blanket slowly, and untied the bark, then gently lifted the knee away from the calf, which remained on the ground, just like the leg of a mummy. When the calf had fallen off, Short Kwi had pushed the two pieces back together again. Short Kwi was crying and biting his hand and his wife was crying, and Toma and Gao Feet stood beside him for a minute looking, the expression on their faces as dark as night.
766 Then they picked up the leg and carried it away to the veld, where they buried it in a hole, exactly as if it were a person, they were so sad.

152 Later, when we had dressed the stump, Toma and Gao Feet came back to sit with Short Kwi and talk with him. Gao Feet told about a Bantu man he had seen far in the north who had been injured in a mine accident and had been fitted with a false foot. Short Kwi could have one too, Gao said; but Toma said, almost too depressed to speak: "What does it matter? He is a cripple now."

521 Then the men went away and left Short Kwi to rest, and
758 during the evening the children and young people were talk-

/155 cont./

628 unable to learn whether these obligations also extend to more distant degrees of kinship.

If the murderer himself has died or cannot be reached, blood vengeance extends to his nearest male relatives.

The sons of a murdered man are obligated to take blood revenge as soon as they are grown.

The mother of the future avenger inculcates this duty in her
[867] son as she rears him. As soon as the young man has killed the
[884] first piece of game, his obligation goes into effect. He turns
[602] to his kinsmen for help, which is immediately granted him. Similarly, the one who has reason to fear blood vengeance finds armed support among his relatives and fellow villagers. One can imagine what a maze of obligations for blood vengeance can arise from this situation.

It can happen that two settlements are "saddled" with so
619 many obligations for vengeance that an encounter between mem-
628 bers of these settlements immediately leads to bloodshed. Perhaps this also helps to explain the fact that some villages within the Auin region have for many years been so hostile to one another that a boundary violation is punished by death on the spot.

Example: Auin from Rietfontein and Gam. It goes without saying that a mortal enmity more often exists between Bushmen of different languages, for instance, between Auin and Naroon, or Auin and Genkuin [Ginkwe]. An enmity of this kind evidently does not extend to the group as a whole; instead, it is doubtless always confined to a certain number of families and settlements.

The basis for the administration of justice is extensive and
628 energetic self-help. Any injustice inflicted is avenged by the injured party or his kinsmen with a beating or murder.

As an example of the kind of self-help and the complications resulting from it, I shall cite the following authenticated case. An old Auin from Olifantskluft was visiting his brother-in-law in Sidonitzaub. The host set a snare and caught a giant bustard which the guest found, took out of the snare, and began to consume. His host arrived on the scene and stabbed his brother-in-law in the stomach with his throwing spear. The murderer fled, but he was apprehended and shot by relatives of

[29 cont.]

847 child live, the older child would have to die. We are left with the choice of killing one of the children so that one can stay alive.' The explanation is absolutely convincing. There is the [593] added consideration that the Bushman mothers lose their maternal instincts when they see that a child is not thriving. I saw a six-month-old Bushman child, a really pitiful figure. The mother did not have sufficient food for her child. My wife offered to give the child the bottle. The proposal was joyfully accepted. For a few days, the child was brought at the specified times. It gladly took the bottle. But then the mother felt that her freedom was restricted. After all, she had to remain in the vicinity of the house for the sake of the child. She did not lack food at all. I provided for her. The desire for veldkost was too great, however, and the child was brought only in the morning and evening and received his meal. Naturally, no noticeable improvement could be observed. Hence, at an opportune occasion the mother disappeared, and when she reappeared, she was without the child. She and her friends had buried it alive."

853 Matters are certainly not always as hopeless as Vedder describes them. First of all, at a very early age the children are given pre-chewed veldkost, and, secondly, the women of the kin group help one another out with the breast feeding. During 854 the day the infant stays in a hide sack on the mother's back, and at night the children sleep at the mother's breast; the smallest lies directly at the breast, while during the cold season the others cuddle around the mother's legs. From earliest childhood, the 867 children are taught to honor the old people and not to take anything away from anyone. For the boys, the father soon carves a bow and arrow, for the girls a little digging stick. Nothing is said to little children when they take things, but once the boy has been given a bow, he may not touch anyone else's bow and arrow; otherwise he gets a beating. The boys greatly fear the women. 868 The bigger boys stay together by themselves and go hunting for 857 small game or accompany adults on the hunt for large game.

586 Marriage is absolutely indissoluble. Separation is also impossible, for outside the kin group the woman would perish in the wilderness. So far as I have observed, the relationship between 593 marriage partners is in general very good, and not uncommonly the

[30 cont.]

881 old people are seated. The young man may not eat any of the meat; he may only drink the soup, which is also rubbed on him. From now on he is regarded as an adult, a marriageable man; 582 584 his parents ask him whether he wants to be married. The boy commonly replies: "I am still weak and do not know whether I can take good care of her." Then the parents allow him to wait until he himself wants to marry. Von Zastrow and Vedder (p. 415) report the following concerning the boys' initiation:

[31] "On this occasion the boys are told how they must 881 conduct themselves when they go out to seek a wife, and how they [867] must behave towards a mother-in-law. To sit down by an evening [584] fire next to an adult girl is tantamount to a marriage proposal, even if not a word is spoken. Under no circumstances may one [606] look at the mother-in-law. They also practice animal dances in the bush, the kind that are performed by the men later at joyous celebrations, and also in times of distress. Finally, the young [304] Bushman receives the tribal marking, a number of skin incisions on the cheek below the temple. Each tribe has a certain number of skin incisions. In order to make them stand out clearly even [386] after healing, pulverized charcoal is put into the incisions. As a result, the tribal marking later looks like a black streak on the yellow skin.

224 "There is nothing against applying another mark on the 304 future huntsman during this celebration, namely, the hunting 881 inoculation. This must be done by a man who has special powers and knowledge at his disposal. In order to sharpen the future hunter's eye for game generally and certain game in particular, it is necessary to make a deep incision between the eyes over the root of the nose, into which the practiced hand of the surgeon sprinkles a powder of dried and pulverized parts of all kinds of game.

"The inoculation may later be repeated several times if the hunter has no luck in hunting.

881 "A person who has received the tribal marking is now re- 884 garded as a Bush 'man'; he can make his own bow and arrows, like those of the old people, and go hunting with them. Also, the way is now open for him to found a family."

582 It practically never happens that a Bushman remains

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

daughter at the same time. Although he had blood ties with neither, this was analogous to marrying a daughter and it was thought the man must be mad to do so. Informants said specifically that /Kung do not marry uncles or aunts because they are 'like' parents. Cousins, they say, are 'like' siblings and nephews and nieces 'like' offspring. Marriage with any of these would be shocking. 582 684

In the genealogies of about 175 /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region there is no instance of marriage among any of the above-mentioned relatives. However, we heard of two first-cousin marriages among some distant /Kung. 582 [183]

A /Kung must not marry a person who has the same name as his parent. In the two instances we know where this rule was broken the people lied, admitting it only after someone else told us about it. A man must not marry a woman to whom he applies the term */utsu* (this seems to be regarded as a particularly stringent prohibition), nor may a woman marry a man she terms *≠tum*. We know a man who broke this rule. His marriage with his */utsu* caused a scandal which was still reverberating after two years. [553 183] [684]

The preferred marriage among /Kung is with a non-consanguineous name-relative whom ego terms */gu!na* (or *tun!ga* w.s.) or *tũn* m.s. SiHu and HuBr are both termed *tun!ga* w.s. and BrWi and WiSi are termed *tũn* m.s. These are considered desirable marriages, especially the sororate, but neither the sororate nor the levirate is obligatory. [587]

Marriages with persons termed */umba* or */undai* are not forbidden. Persons who use the terms *tsu* and *||ga* for each other may marry unless one has the name of the other's parent. Persons who use the sibling terms may marry. These marriages, though not forbidden, are not preferred.

There is no category of persons with whom sexual intercourse is permitted by /Kung custom except the spouse. If illicit sexual intercourse is indulged in, it is carefully concealed. 837

The Joking Relationship

The joking relationship is an important element in /Kung culture. It is in the foreground of people's minds. The /Kung never once mentioned the generational aspect of their kin terminology system but whenever kinship matters were discussed they spoke of the joking relationship. The /Kung do not train their children to know the precise genealogical position of collaterals,[1] but they teach them the term to use and the joking status of the term. Sometimes an informant would not know whether, for instance, a relative he termed *tsu* was his FaBr, his MoBr or who, but would say that his parents taught him to use that term for the relative and that he must not joke with him. 602 [867] • 601 602

The joking relationship creates a dichotomy which divides consanguineous kin, affines, and name-relatives into two groups. Every kinship term is associated with a joking status and the culture either allows ego to joke or prohibits him from joking with every person to whom he applies a kinship term.

[1] As to lineal kin, all our informants knew the precise genealogical position and names of their grandparents and grandchildren but many did not know the names of their great-grandparents. (We did not meet any /Kung who had a great-grandchild.)

881 companions saying, "I dare not speak to you." The married
[867 women visit the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* and instruct the inmates
868] in various domestic matters, *e.g.*, the way to clean and tidy their huts, to remain quiet when their husbands are cross, to prepare their husbands' food separately from their own, to pick up and beat the kudu skin on returning home in the evening so that the husband does not sleep on the previous day's dirt, etc. They further teach them to gather wood, to make the fire, to take away the ashes and so forth. At the onset of the first menstruation the girl tells her mother or, in case she has no mother, her best friend (*!hosas*), who then reports to one of the married women, not necessarily to the *gei-khois*. She is then isolated in a small round hut which is
[343] completely closed in except for a small entrance. It is known as the *!hawa-omi* (hut for waiting) and is situated close to the *ǂkham-khoidi oms*. She is required to remain inside the *!hawa-omi* and dare not show herself outside. No fire is made in the hut. She is fed by her mother or, in the absence of the latter, by another married woman. She is not visited by anybody except the person who feeds her. No medicine is given to her. Daily applications of *!gub*, a red powder obtained by pulverising the bark of a tree, and of the roasted and powdered fat-containing seed of the *ǂerob* tree are made to her hair by the attendant. She may be given veldkos, but
[262] is not allowed to partake of meat. No man, not even the girl's father, may pass close to the *!hawa-omi* or attempt to speak to her. She remains in the *!hawa-omi* as long as the flow lasts. When it has ceased she informs her mother or the woman who has been attending her. The latter tells the
535 other married women and they all prepare to dance the
881 *!hawa-ǂnab* (menstruation dance). This dance takes place during the day and men may not take part in it. They may, however, remain in the *!!gāus* while it is going on or enter it when returning from the veld. The *ǂkham-khoidi* are also excluded from it. The *!hawa-ǂnab* may be continued for three or four days. When the dance is about to begin an old woman, generally the *gei-khois*, holding a jackal tail duster, takes up a position some distance in front of the *!hawa-omi*, and, dancing in one spot as if marking time, shouts *Ki-ri-ri-ri-ri-ri* to waken the initiate and to summon the other women. The latter then emerge from their huts and, dancing as they come along, take up position behind the *!hawa-omi*. Two of them dance forward, passing one on each side of the little hut, towards its entrance and, as they reach the latter, the initiate comes out and the old woman stops shouting. After covering her whole head and face with a duiker skin kaross (*!gan-tab*), leaving only the eyes visible, each of the women takes an arm and, the other women coming into line from behind the hut, all dance towards the old woman who leads the way to the *!huru-ǂgab*. Here they dance, the feet being thrown out sideways, always abreast of each other, with the old woman leading. Men are not permitted to watch the
881 dance. When the dance is about to end they return her to

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

self, on Gao Feet's side, was sitting propped on the blankets 578
we had given him to keep him warm in case of shock, feeling 431
better and obviously taking an interest, for the matter was clearly close to everybody's heart. In fact, everyone was so interested in the quarrel that no one looked up when we came, for the people all sat with their ears pricked, waiting for a chance to speak. They, too, were glaring, deadly earnest, as though the argument were for their lives. Now and then someone would contribute a word or two, but for the most part the old woman did the talking. She looked bitter as gall; her eyes were burning and she hissed like a goose; she was accusing Gao Feet of having failed to give her a present of tsi nuts when he had come to Nama. Gao Feet was rubbing his face and it began to look as if he were losing. He said, obviously having said it before, that he had brought only a few. The woman said, also not for the first time, that she had expected him to give her a present and now he was refusing to do so. It was her right, she said, her due. Toma edged himself forward until he was beside Gao Feet, his friend and brother-in-law, and together they tried to pacify her, telling her that really Gao Feet had none to give, but her eyes burned so fiercely and the people behind her glared so that Toma and Gao Feet lost conviction and before long they fell silent again, defeated by themselves, for what they had tried to say was true. Finally the argument centered itself at its probable source, a gift given to Gao Feet's father by the woman's father which had not completed itself in an exchange. The woman's father, now long dead, could not receive it, Gao Feet's father, living far away at another pan at the farthest end of Nyae Nyae, could not give it unless he moved to 431
Nama, so it was up to Gao Feet to assume responsibility. 867

Throughout the two crowds, children were sitting wide- 867
eyed and open-eared. Things like this are remembered and 578

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

431 talked about always; Bushman children listen for hours to
● 867 discussions of this kind and thereby know the history of every
869 object, every exchange between their families, before they are
578 ten or twelve years old. A debt unpaid is a sword against the debtor, to be used against him any time, for any reason. Jealousy and spite had surely preyed on the old woman's mind when she had started this discussion, for she had got up to seek out Gao Feet very early, just at dawn.

578 In the end, the argument was concluded and the crowd
609 scattered by us when we told Short Kwi that we were ready to take him to the hospital in Windhoek if he would go. He said he would, and the people, glaring bitterly at him, at each other, and at us, stood up and went to their scherms, saying to the other members of their families what they would have said to their opponents if they had had a chance.

Soon Short Kwi's werf was nearly empty. The only people who remained were Short Kwi, his family, ourselves, Toma, and Gao Feet. These two talked together, vindicating themselves, and then, before long and before we had a chance to discuss our plans to move Short Kwi, some of the people who had been on Gao Feet's side in the argument came back and crouched beside us stolidly, waiting to hear what might now be said. Jealousy had been aroused.

609 Because of the long journey and Short Kwi's condition, we thought that it would be best for him to leave at once, but his wife spoke out against this, saying that the rest of her family, probably at this moment on their way here, would be heartbroken to find them gone. She would like to wait for them, she said, to say good-by. Gao Feet agreed with her. He added that if her mother were to come and find her gone the old woman would cry and cry for days, but Toma shook his head. "Perhaps Short Kwi can be helped," he said. "Perhaps

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the bottom too, "with his head driven down between his 481
shoulders," said Toma laconically, hunching his own neck to 222
show how it was. 165

A third man whom Toma did not name climbed for honey in the Gura baobab, a tree somewhat north of Gautscha Pan, and he also fell; but, happily, he survived his experience. His sister and her husband were below him, watching, and when they saw him fall they held out their arms to catch him. He fell through their arms, of course, but his fall was broken and though he was unconscious for a long time he finally did recover.

The moral of these stories, Toma said, was to show that 867
young people should listen to older people and not act rashly. I believe that he thought I was going to try to climb the Gautscha baobab (which I had already done, though only to the lowest branch, fifteen feet from the ground), for he went on to say: "When Bushmen tell young people not to climb baobab trees they should listen. It is seldom that a person lives who falls from a baobab tree, they are so high. Even those good climbers I told you about, they all fell." I assured him that I did not even want to climb it and he said: "Good. When we who are experienced get the honey you can watch from below. Then you can see just as well."

The Gautscha baobab was somewhat east of the pan, and 137
we could see it rising from the plain when we were almost a mile away from it. It loomed up at the horizon, towering, its mass of upper branches hazy because we were so far. As we moved toward it, it seemed to move away from us like a distant mountain, but gradually, after a long time, it began slowly to get larger, looming higher, its top branches reaching up to the sky, where the clouds of spring were already forming as the desert got ready for the rains, three months [132]
away.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

[423] have seen, individual rights may occasionally be recognized. All
422 portable property is generally owned by individuals, and theft is
[685] severely punished. Huts, which are really of no value, belong to the families occupying them; a man's clothes, weapons, skins, ornaments, utensils, and indeed everything that he makes belong to him alone to do with as he likes, and in the same way anything that a woman makes, e.g. her ornaments, or receives from her husband, e.g. her clothing, is her own property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission. Lebzelter,
●867 indeed, goes so far as to assert that among the Kung the sense of private ownership is inculcated even into children. As soon as they are old enough, he says, their parents make for them small bows, digging-sticks, etc., and teach them that they themselves now own these objects and therefore must no longer take those of others.

422 Food, whether vegetable or animal, and water are also private
22 property, and belong to the person who has obtained them. Everyone who has food is, however, expected to give to those who have none. Thus a man who shoots a buck or bird will cut it up, and share with the other people present—but the dividing is done by him, and the skin, sinews, etc., belong to him to be done with as he pleases. In the same way all veldkos is also shared by the members of the band. The result is that practically all food obtained is evenly distributed through the whole camp. But, as we have seen, caches of ostrich egg-shells containing water may be stored away, and these belong to the person who hides them and may not be used without his
[685] permission; while private rights may also be acquired over wild honey or ostrich eggs, and theft in such cases is severely punished.

The question of inheritance rarely arises, as generally most of a
428 man's possessions, especially his weapons and clothing, are buried
[768] with him. But during her lifetime a woman will often hand over her
[431] ornaments to her daughter; while among the Auen such of a man's belongings as are not buried with him, e.g. utensils and skins, are inherited by his eldest son. The younger sons and daughters get nothing, nor does the widow, but she keeps her own property. So, too, among the Namib Bushmen, according to Seydel, a man's weapons, clothing, sandals, cooking utensils, and hunting dogs are inherited by the eldest son. At the same time, he adds, the usage
[425] exists that as soon as the eldest son thus becomes sole heir to his late father, all the property he has himself hitherto possessed, such as weapons, clothing, etc., must go to his next brother. Widows and

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

previously noted, plays an important part in the usages relating to game shot with the bow and arrow, as well as in the first-fruits ceremony; while among the Kung he is similarly responsible for the ceremony performed before the edible bulbs of the new season may be gathered. There is no record of similar religious and economic functions being vested in the chief in other Bushman tribes, so that, in the present light of our knowledge, such customs cannot be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture; but in the tribes where they do occur they obviously show that the chief may, in fact, exercise a considerable influence in the life of the community. 622 [184]

On the whole the chief appears to be essentially a leader rather than a ruler. His actual authority over the members of his band is very slight, and dependent to a considerable extent upon his personality. If, for example, he is a man of strong character, or possesses a gun, he will have a correspondingly greater influence; but the only special authority he has is over the members of his own family, and he has no power to enforce his will outside it. He has nothing in the way of judicial functions, nor does he exercise any organized control over the members of the band. Great freedom of action prevails within the band, and as a rule every adult man can do as he pleases, provided, of course, that he does not infringe against recognized law and custom. In general the head of each family has control over the movements of his wife or wives and children—and over the latter only while they are small. No one really controls grown-up sons and daughters. [157] [593]

This absence of any organized system of public control does not imply that the Bushmen have no laws. On the contrary all their institutions, manners and customs serve to regulate the relations between the members of the band, and thus to maintain law and order. The child at birth comes into a world where there already exist definite forms of organization and behaviour, of ceremonial, of manners and fashions, and as he grows up he falls more or less unconsciously into acting and thinking like those around him, and in this way comes to conform to social norms. There are moreover more or less deliberate means of impressing upon young people the social sentiments necessary for the maintenance of the law and order of the community. The education they receive in the households of their parents and out in the veld, and above all the highly-important teachings at the puberty ceremonies for boys, instruct them in tribal lore and tradition, inculcate social norms, and determine their activities accordingly. 183 867 [881]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

584 Boys are always considerably older than girls before their parents betroth them.
[805] We never knew the precise age of a /Kung because they reckon time from one season to the next, not in years, and do not keep track of a person's age by any measurement. Boys appear to be usually around twelve to fourteen or fifteen before they are
[868] betrothed. At this age their fathers begin to take them on the long hard hunts for the
[883] big animals which supply the people's meat and begin their serious hunting training.

As to girls, wives are in such demand in this polygynous society that the parents of boys have their eyes upon every girl baby and may say to the parents of an unborn infant, 'If it is a girl, let us have her for our son.' It seems to be more usual, however, to betroth the girls when they are about two to five or six. The boys wait patiently for long years for their fiancées to grow up.

We wondered what would happen if, when the time at last came for the marriage, the boy or girl should refuse the parents' choice. It appears that they seldom do. A boy is usually too eager to get a wife. To refuse the betrothed might mean he would have to wait for years and years again for a girl baby to grow up. The girls are usually too young to protest but it sometimes happens that one does. /Kung
593 parents are exceedingly protective and permissive with their children, and delight
855 in them, especially in their infancy. I have sometimes seen an older child scolded or
861 snapped at by an impatient mother but I never saw a child severely punished. No hard work and few, if any, regular chores are demanded of dependent children. The same protectiveness and permissiveness were apparent in parents' lenience with respect to their girls' betrothals. They complied with the girls' wishes.

The marriage may take place when the parents agree. The age of the young people
582 varies greatly. For the girl, there are no definite age or other requirements. The girl need not, for instance, show physical signs of maturity. When the important Ceremony of First Menstruation is performed, the girl may have been married for years. Bau, who was married to Tsamgao in 1951, did not have her first child for six years. /Nai was married to /Gunda in May 1953. She menstruated for the first time in March 1959. To be married as young as that is not at all unusual, but we have known several girls to be somewhat older.

The parents explain that when the girls marry young they 'get used to' their
582 husbands. I am sure there is a great deal in this and I am sure it strongly affects the
593 relations of husbands and wives, but I had insufficient opportunity to observe eight- or nine-year-old brides with teen-age husbands, and insufficient means, through interpreters, to grasp the nature of their relationship. What is the young husband like to a girl child? The friendly, gentle old man, Demi, said to me, 'They enjoy their youth together.'

The young couples are expected not to have sexual intercourse till the girls are 'big
593 enough', informants said, and the boys must not force the girls. If a girl complained
834 to her parents and the parents took her back and sent the young husband away, he might have to wait for years again for another bride to grow up. The /Kung are
[123] prevented by their incest taboos and their modesty from speaking freely about sex and I learned nothing about the actual sexual practices of the young couples. /Nai and her young husband, /Gunda, had only one good kaross between them; they slept
513 together bundled in it, feet to feet. Bau and Tsamgao slept quite apart—at different
593 fires—when we observed them in 1952. In 1953 they slept at their own fire, apart, she

[29 cont.]

847 child live, the older child would have to die. We are left with the choice of killing one of the children so that one can stay alive.' The explanation is absolutely convincing. There is the [593] added consideration that the Bushman mothers lose their maternal instincts when they see that a child is not thriving. I saw a six-month-old Bushman child, a really pitiful figure. The mother did not have sufficient food for her child. My wife offered to give the child the bottle. The proposal was joyfully accepted. For a few days, the child was brought at the specified times. It gladly took the bottle. But then the mother felt that her freedom was restricted. After all, she had to remain in the vicinity of the house for the sake of the child. She did not lack food at all. I provided for her. The desire for veldkost was too great, however, and the child was brought only in the morning and evening and received his meal. Naturally, no noticeable improvement could be observed. Hence, at an opportune occasion the mother disappeared, and when she reappeared, she was without the child. She and her friends had buried it alive."

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8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

sticks, pipes, etc., and occasionally assist the women in fetching wood and water. The women build the huts, collect veldkos and prepare the food, make the fire and keep it going, gather wood, fetch water and manufacture ostrich eggshell beads for ornaments, etc. The latter are also responsible for keeping the camp clean. 462

Infants and young children accompany their mothers on their daily excursions in search of food until they are old enough to look after themselves. From that time onwards the mothers take practically no share in their education which, in the case of girls, is entrusted entirely to an old woman who lives in the hut with the young girls, and in the case of boys, to their fathers. 357 355 871

Little girls, while still with their mothers, are taught to love and respect the old woman and to seek her company of their own accord. After taking up residence with her they accompany her daily into the veld and thus gradually come to learn from her all the duties which will ultimately devolve upon them. Boys sleep under the tree in the centre of the camp at night or in a hut specially set apart for them. Each morning they accompany their fathers into the veld. At first they are given little bows and wooden arrows with which to amuse themselves. Towards the eighth or ninth year each is provided by his father with a proper bow and three arrows which, however, are not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbuck or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veld craft. 868 357

Initiation Ceremonies.

Both boys and girls, on reaching a marriageable age, are subjected to certain ceremonies before being admitted to full membership of the group. These ceremonies vary considerably among the various tribes. 881 [134]

The following is an account of the girls' initiation ceremony as practised among the *Hei-||om* group around the Etosha Pan. As young girls (*ǂkham-khoidi*) approach the age of puberty they are placed in a hut called *ǂkham-khoidi* or *oazai-khoidi oms* in which they sleep at night. During the daytime they gather veldkos either by themselves or in company with the married women. Men, whether married or single, may not enter the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* nor may they speak to the *ǂkham-khoidi*. The latter may, however, speak and be spoken to by the *aaraogu*, but only at a distance so that no conversation of an intimate nature is possible without being overheard by the grown-up people. A man may on occasion address a *ǂkham-khois* by saying, "you must grow up so that I may marry you," but she will not reply. When addressed by a man, say, in the veld, she runs away to her

881 companions saying, "I dare not speak to you." The married
867 women visit the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* and instruct the inmates
868 in various domestic matters, *e.g.*, the way to clean and tidy their huts, to remain quiet when their husbands are cross, to prepare their husbands' food separately from their own, to pick up and beat the kudu skin on returning home in the evening so that the husband does not sleep on the previous day's dirt, etc. They further teach them to gather wood, to make the fire, to take away the ashes and so forth. At the onset of the first menstruation the girl tells her mother or, in case she has no mother, her best friend (*!hosas*), who then reports to one of the married women, not necessarily to the *gei-khois*. She is then isolated in a small round hut which is
[343] completely closed in except for a small entrance. It is known as the *!hawa-omi* (hut for waiting) and is situated close to the *ǂkham-khoidi oms*. She is required to remain inside the *!hawa-omi* and dare not show herself outside. No fire is made in the hut. She is fed by her mother or, in the absence of the latter, by another married woman. She is not visited by anybody except the person who feeds her. No medicine is given to her. Daily applications of *!gub*, a red powder obtained by pulverising the bark of a tree, and of the roasted and powdered fat-containing seed of the *ǂerob* tree are made to her hair by the attendant. She may be given veldkos, but
[262] is not allowed to partake of meat. No man, not even the girl's father, may pass close to the *!hawa-omi* or attempt to speak to her. She remains in the *!hawa-omi* as long as the flow lasts. When it has ceased she informs her mother or the woman who has been attending her. The latter tells the
535 other married women and they all prepare to dance the
881 *!hawa-ǂnab* (menstruation dance). This dance takes place during the day and men may not take part in it. They may, however, remain in the *!!gāus* while it is going on or enter it when returning from the veld. The *ǂkham-khoidi* are also excluded from it. The *!hawa-ǂnab* may be continued for three or four days. When the dance is about to begin an old woman, generally the *gei-khois*, holding a jackal tail duster, takes up a position some distance in front of the *!hawa-omi*, and, dancing in one spot as if marking time, shouts *Ki-ri-ri-ri-ri-ri* to waken the initiate and to summon the other women. The latter then emerge from their huts and, dancing as they come along, take up position behind the *!hawa-omi*. Two of them dance forward, passing one on each side of the little hut, towards its entrance and, as they reach the latter, the initiate comes out and the old woman stops shouting. After covering her whole head and face with a duiker skin kaross (*!gan-tab*), leaving only the eyes visible, each of the women takes an arm and, the other women coming into line from behind the hut, all dance towards the old woman who leads the way to the *!huru-ǂgab*. Here they dance, the feet being thrown out sideways, always abreast of each other, with the old woman leading. Men are not permitted to watch the
881 dance. When the dance is about to end they return her to

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Crooked Kwi and his wife, who once had run away from him.

Dikai made a bow from a branch, an arrow from a reed, and gave them to her younger son.

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[p. 176(C)]

10: Bleek E-5 (no date) 1924
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Naron

Brother and sister are the only relations who are forbidden to marry, and by this, real brother and sister are meant, the children of one father and mother, not cousins. I never heard a title for any cousin, however related, though several were present Cousins sometimes marry, but more often a bride from a distance is procured. 582

A pair of sisters have a very close relationship. They are generally chums, and help each other with their babies. A child calls its mother's sister its "little mother". In speaking of the occasional bigamy found among the Naron in contrast to other Bushman tribes, an old man said to me: 593 [601] [604] 595

"A man may take a second wife, if he wishes. If they agree well, they live in one hut; if not, each makes herself a hut. A man had better take his wife's younger sister as his second wife; then they do not quarrel, but live in one hut."

ǂka in ǂkasho "maternal aunt" may be derived from ǂkai "together". Ho used as a verb means "to marry", also "to give birth to children". Ti kweba and ti kwesa mean simply "my man", "my woman"; they are more often used than hoba and hosha. 196 601

A widow may marry her late husband's brother, but need not do so. She is quite at liberty to marry any other man. If she remarries, her husband is expected to look after her children; otherwise the duty falls upon their father's brother. The widow may stay near her husband's people, or return to her own people, as she pleases. 587 [604]

Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, are very fond of adopting a grandchild. They will half adopt one, even during both parents' lifetime. The grandmother is generally the person who teaches a child to speak. 597 603 [868]

In concluding these notes on the tables of relationship, I should like to say that I know they are very incomplete. At the time of my stay among the ǂkau ǂen and Naron I had not realized the importance of this side of native life; nor apparently had my aunt, Dr. Lloyd, whose work I rely on for the ǂxam and ǂkuŋ tables. Still, I think sufficient has been collected to show the general trend of Bushman family ties. 114

One must always remember, that people depending on nature for their entire food supply, can only exist in very small, widely scattered groups. Families cannot be large. Drought and famine 105 161

[Text continues on page 70]

222 on the season. In the long days of wilt-
461 ing between the October spring and the January summer, food is scarce and the women may go out every day into the failing veld, leaving their *werft* early in the morning and returning late in the afternoon. All
222 that a woman gathers belongs to her
422 alone, and of course is shared with her
593 family. She feeds her husband, her children and often a visitor or two, at her own hearth. No formal instruction
222 is practiced among the !Kung, with
868 the possible exception of certain kinds of religious teaching and what might be called an occasional hunting school.
857 Learning to gather comes from the children's observation of the more experienced women. Girls soon learn to
[824] recognize more than a hundred kinds of edible plants that grow in *Nyae Nyae*, as well as the seasons and places in which these plants grow. They learn to see tiny, shriveled root vines coiled around thorns in the thickets and, in the process, develop fine powers of observation. Possibly complementary to this lack of formal instruction, no formal pressure is exerted on young people to take up adult roles. Girls, if they wish, accompany their mothers on gathering trips. If they do not, they rarely feel guilty. A girl usually be-
[582] gins to feel responsible soon after she marries, which is often before puberty. But only when she has children of her own does a woman see the world through the eyes of a provider.

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10 Kung

HUNTSMEN OF NYAE NYAE

The !Kung still practice man's oldest craft

By John Marshall

224 481 151

HUNTING is the work of men. !Kung hunters range the land, seeking the agile game. The men walk rapidly, never lowering their eyes, making sure of the awkward ground with their dextrous feet. They glance swiftly over the distances of the country and, with their good vision and knowledge of what to look for, see any moving thing. As girls learn gathering, boys learn most of hunting on their own. They hunt little birds in the grass around the *werft* houses. They impale beetles with tiny arrows shot from toy bows. Tracking, which is the most difficult part

224 868

[411 482 415]

Chief weapons of !Kung are bow and poisoned arrows (in quiver, above).

[p. 45]

224 of hunting, is learned last of all.
868 Hunters must be able to recognize the spoor of one wounded wildebeest out of a herd of fifty, and follow that track across desert ground which is almost as hard as stone.

224 The usual techniques of hunting are well adapted to the Kalahari terrain and, except on rare occasions, do not change—no matter what the animal may be. The !Kung hunt an eland and a duiker in the same manner; the idea is to get to the animal just as quickly as possible. The hunters feel that the longer they creep and wait, the more time the

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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HUNTER'S TRAINING starts as childhood play, above, and !Kung youths will use anthills as targets and even stalk beetles as a game. Although their arrows are featherless,

[p.65]

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 882 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the parents' fire.

855 857 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or [136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and [868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 857 [512] The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime, singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth 857 156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men, [173] the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another [171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are [562] therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they [535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from [534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony. [302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of [304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

middle-aged women who counted up to five children they had reared—the others were never mentioned. The eldest children were already married, the others quite small. 162

Childhood and Family Life

All Bushmen are very fond of their children, who receive love and care without stint.[1] Babies and young children are spoiled, and rarely corrected. The children begin to walk early, but long after a child can toddle it must still ride in its mother's kaross on food-gathering expeditions, giving her an additional burden to carry wherever she goes. When finally old enough to look after themselves, the youngsters go out with other children, trailing after the women or bigger girls. They have no special playthings; infants amuse themselves with sticks and stones and grasshoppers, playing about in the sand, while the young boys soon make themselves or are given little bows and wooden arrows, with which they shoot small birds and reptiles. 855 857 [524]

Both boys and girls go out with their elders on the daily excursions in search of food, even the babies go, riding in their mothers' karosses. The day is spent out in the open veld, and here the children receive most of their education. The girls accompany their mothers, from whom they learn to know the plants and animals, and their value as food, how to collect veldkos, and how to use the different implements and utensils. The bigger boys follow the men out hunting. Towards his eighth or ninth year each boy is provided by his father with a proper bow and arrows, which are, however, not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbok or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows, and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veldcraft. 868

In this way the children grow up in intimate contact with Nature, and acquire all the knowledge necessary for hunting and collecting. In the evening they run about near the huts, play various games, mostly denoting scenes of animal life, take part in the dances, or sit by the fire, listening to the talk of their elders, until they feel 857

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 18 sqq., 31–3; Passarge, op. cit., 100; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 133–4; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 89–90.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

857 sleepy, and crawl on to the grass in the hut. No one sends them to bed.

So the children, during infancy and childhood, remain under the 593 tutelage and in the care of their parents. Once they are grown up, no one really controls them. The tie between parents and mature children is simply one of respect and love, but there is no lack of family affection. Grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives 603 are also respected to some extent, according to character. Among the Naron, grandparents, especially on the mother's side, take a [597] great interest in their grandchildren, and often adopt one which has been weaned, while among the Heikum orphans are generally adopted by the maternal grandparents. The grandmother is often [868] the person who teaches a child to speak. Between two sisters there 593 is usually a close bond of affection, they are generally companions, and help each other with their babies. In certain Cape Bushman tales the wife's unmarried sister is shown staying with her, as helper and nurse of the baby. On the other hand, among some of the North-Western tribes at least, there is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister speaking or sitting together. Here too, as in the case of the mother-in-law, the sitting and not the speaking appears to be the important part, for Miss Bleek records having heard an adult brother and sister address each other, while passing at a good distance.[1]

Girls' Puberty Ceremonies

881 The attainment of puberty is marked among all the Bushmen by the performance of certain ceremonies, through which the young people have to pass before being admitted to full membership of the group. Puberty ceremonies for girls are definitely found in all the [184] Bushman tribes, but corresponding ceremonies for boys appear to be restricted to the northern tribes. These ceremonies vary somewhat from tribe to tribe.

Among the Cape Bushmen a girl at the time of her first menstruation was in a state of taboo. "She is put into a tiny hut, made by her mother, with a very small aperture for the door, which her mother closes upon her. When she goes out, she looks down upon the ground; and when she returns to the hut, she sits and looks down. She does not go far, or walk about at this time. When presently she becomes a 'big girl', she is allowed to look about, and to look afar

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 59, 66–7; cf. *idem*, *Naron*, 32; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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also the doctors of the community. The millipede, said to belong to *Hishe*, is only touched by them; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine. 756 [825]

Naron magicians (*tsho k'auba* or */nu k'auba*) do not dress or live differently from the rest of the community. "No one would know them apart," says Miss Bleek, "nor do they seem to have much influence to-day." The Auen seem to have many more magicians than the Naron, by whom they are looked up to in magic matters. Here, [184] according to Kaufmann, the magicians, (*tsho k'au*, */nu k'au* or */geixa*) have their skulls shaved clean, and also carry a few ornaments which may not be worn by other people. The magic art in both tribes is learned by apprenticeship. During the month of the puberty ceremony one or two boys are taught their trade by the old magicians. [868] At the next ceremony they return and are taught more; and boys who have been with a magician for many years can when they become older succeed their master.[1]

Magicians among the Kung are of two kinds, and both are called in especially for illness. The */u k'au*, who sucks out the disease [184] from the body of the patient, is "an evil person, who speaks to no one and always looks black"; while the */ue k'au*, according to [755] Vedder, is the ordinary worker in magic and the poison-mixer, and also prepares medicines from herbs and roots by cooking.[2] Lebzelter [278] gives further information about the magicians. Both men and women can be summoned by the "great captain" to exercise this [787] calling. The power they receive from him is greater than that of all the spirits with the exception of */nawa*, and is equal to that of the latter. Magicians are thus "born and not made", to use Lebzelter's expression, but nevertheless it appears that they have to learn the secrets of their calling by apprenticeship. They accompany the old magicians at least once in the search for medicine plants, and are then subjected to a test. The old magicians in the customary manner attempt to cure a sick person by sucking out the "disease poison" ("Krankheitsgift") or the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient; then they administer all the "disease poison" extracted by them to the initiates. If the latter do not die from this treatment, they have satisfactorily passed the test!

The magicians, apart from being able to cure illnesses by banishing the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient, also have the [787]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 159.
[2] "Grammatik der !kû-Buschmannsprache," 8-9.

The same informant gave more information about ' making cloud '. He said:[1] 821
'And, our gall, when we die, sits in the sky; it sits green in the sky, when we are 826
dead.' His mother told him, Dia/kwain continued, ' that it (thus) happens to us if we [775]
sit in the shade when the place is not particularly warm, when it is (only) moderately warm, (and) we feel that the summer seems as if it would be hot. We think: "Allow me to sit for a little in the shade under the bush; for the sun's eye is not a little hot; I will sit a little while in the shade "; (then) we make clouds; our liver goes out from the place where we are sitting in the shade, if the place is not hot. Therefore, we make clouds on account of it. For, when it is really summer, then we (may) sit in the shade.'

We do not know what connexion there may be between the concept of *n/ow* held at present by the /Kung of Nyae Nyae and the /Gikwe myth of Pisiboro's hair making the rain clouds, or the hair of the dead resembling clouds and becoming the dead person's clouds, as Dia/kwain told Dr. Bleek, or a person's gall ' sitting green in the sky ', or a person making clouds because his liver goes out from the place where he is sitting in the shade if the place is not hot. We hope someone else may be able to throw more light on this. The /Kung of Nyae Nyae make so little point of teaching [869] old stories or lore to their children that much must be lost.

What the /Kung believe now, Demi told us, is that there is nothing about hair itself which affects the weather. It is the *n/ow* of the person which the hair ' gives '. As we understand it, some of the *n/ow* which is in a person is in the hair. When hair is burned in the fire, the *n/ow* is released into the air in the smell.[2] It goes into the sky and, Demi said, the rain ' fears ' it. (*Koa*, the word ' to fear ', means to respect, to avoid, as when something is taboo, and to be afraid of.) When a person's urine is burned, it also carries the *n/ow* of the person into the sky.

/Kung informants told us that it would be possible to use the *n/ow* of persons to 789
control the weather, should there be need. If the big rains were unusually late and the 791
people were suffering from the dryness, or if the rain storms were so frequent and 821
heavy that the people had much trouble hunting and gathering veldkos, or if a storm were especially frightening, they might try to start or stop the rain. A person known with certainty to have a rain-bringing *n/ow*, because the weather at his birth had given evidence of it, could be asked either to urinate in the fire or to burn some of his hair. The smell of his urine or hair would go up into the sky and influence the rain to come. A person with a cold-bringing *n/ow* could be asked to do the same to stop the rain, if this were wanted.

We have no observations on who would instigate the burning of urine or hair to 821
control the weather. We did not see it done. No one in a /Kung community is a 791
specialist in rain-making, nor has anyone special authority in making a decision about [23]
the control of weather. The medicine men (*shamen*) have as their function the curing of the people, not the control of weather. It would be in keeping with the practice of the /Kung of this region, as we observed it in other connexions, for the group to 623
come to a consensus by talking the matter over informally as they sat by their fires, 821
and then for the parents or someone else to bid a child urinate in the fire. It seems to 789
us unlikely that an individual would make the decision entirely alone, without speaking

[1] Ibid., p. 399.
[2] Cf. a myth about the Rain Bull, which refers to the smell of burning horns, p. 239.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

self, on Gao Feet's side, was sitting propped on the blankets 578
we had given him to keep him warm in case of shock, feeling 431
better and obviously taking an interest, for the matter was clearly close to everybody's heart. In fact, everyone was so interested in the quarrel that no one looked up when we came, for the people all sat with their ears pricked, waiting for a chance to speak. They, too, were glaring, deadly earnest, as though the argument were for their lives. Now and then someone would contribute a word or two, but for the most part the old woman did the talking. She looked bitter as gall; her eyes were burning and she hissed like a goose; she was accusing Gao Feet of having failed to give her a present of tsi nuts when he had come to Nama. Gao Feet was rubbing his face and it began to look as if he were losing. He said, obviously having said it before, that he had brought only a few. The woman said, also not for the first time, that she had expected him to give her a present and now he was refusing to do so. It was her right, she said, her due. Toma edged himself forward until he was beside Gao Feet, his friend and brother-in-law, and together they tried to pacify her, telling her that really Gao Feet had none to give, but her eyes burned so fiercely and the people behind her glared so that Toma and Gao Feet lost conviction and before long they fell silent again, defeated by themselves, for what they had tried to say was true. Finally the argument centered itself at its probable source, a gift given to Gao Feet's father by the woman's father which had not completed itself in an exchange. The woman's father, now long dead, could not receive it, Gao Feet's father, living far away at another pan at the farthest end of Nyae Nyae, could not give it unless he moved to 431
Nama, so it was up to Gao Feet to assume responsibility. 867

Throughout the two crowds, children were sitting wide- 869 ●
eyed and open-eared. Things like this are remembered and 578

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

431 talked about always; Bushman children listen for hours to
867 discussions of this kind and thereby know the history of every
869 object, every exchange between their families, before they are
578 ten or twelve years old. A debt unpaid is a sword against the debtor, to be used against him any time, for any reason. Jealousy and spite had surely preyed on the old woman's mind when she had started this discussion, for she had got up to seek out Gao Feet very early, just at dawn.

578 In the end, the argument was concluded and the crowd
609 scattered by us when we told Short Kwi that we were ready to take him to the hospital in Windhoek if he would go. He said he would, and the people, glaring bitterly at him, at each other, and at us, stood up and went to their scherms, saying to the other members of their families what they would have said to their opponents if they had had a chance.

Soon Short Kwi's werf was nearly empty. The only people who remained were Short Kwi, his family, ourselves, Toma, and Gao Feet. These two talked together, vindicating themselves, and then, before long and before we had a chance to discuss our plans to move Short Kwi, some of the people who had been on Gao Feet's side in the argument came back and crouched beside us stolidly, waiting to hear what might now be said. Jealousy had been aroused.

609 Because of the long journey and Short Kwi's condition, we thought that it would be best for him to leave at once, but his wife spoke out against this, saying that the rest of her family, probably at this moment on their way here, would be heartbroken to find them gone. She would like to wait for them, she said, to say good-by. Gao Feet agreed with her. He added that if her mother were to come and find her gone the old woman would cry and cry for days, but Toma shook his head. "Perhaps Short Kwi can be helped," he said. "Perhaps

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

they may have no fire, and eat no meat, but live only on a little water 881
and on raw roots and berries, which are sprinkled by the magicians with powdered bark "medicine". The greater part of this early 535
period is spent in the performance of sacred dances (*Jgi*, men's dance), 881
which are held all through the day and often continued at night.

These dances among the Naron and Auen are described as follows by Miss Bleek: "All gather in a circle, clap their hands, and sing a weird, solemn tune with the refrain 'honk a honk'. Then they stamp round in a circle waving their arms to another phase of the melody (no words are used); then they stand still and sing the first part again and so on." At this dance the boys often wear ostrich feathers, or the head and beak of the white stork, as head ornaments; otherwise there is no special costume. Anyone owning dancing rattles also wears them, as at the ordinary dances.

On one of the nights of this dance, a supernatural being called 535
Hishe approaches the dancers, circles round them, and is driven away 776
by the medicine men. The older men had seen this being. One said 881
that it was like a woman in appearance, another that it was not a person at all, but a creature about three feet high with a flat head, red eyes underneath the head, a black body, wings, and claws. Some old Auen said two beings came, male and female, looking like lions, but walking upright. They were followed by children like baboons. The male came first and called the others, they danced round and vanished to the east. Apparently medicine men of different times and places got up different bogies. Latterly their invention seems to have failed, for the middle-aged men told me Hishe came to the dance, but only the medicine men saw her and drove her away." Similarly, among the !O Kung of Angola, "the spirit Huwe occasionally appears and dances with them, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double form as man and woman. Huwe then retires without any particular demonstration."

As will be shown subsequently, Hishe and Huwe are beings who 776
figure prominently in the religious beliefs of the Naron and Kung 881
respectively. There can be little doubt, therefore, inadequate though our information is on this point, that these ceremonies serve in some [869]
way to introduce the initiates to the mysteries of tribal religion.

More light is thrown on the routine of these ceremonies by Fourie's 881
description of them as practised among the Auen.[1] "On the first day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the

[1] Loc. cit.

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

sticks pipes, etc., and occasionally assist the women in 462
fetching wood and water. The women build the huts, collect veldkos and prepare the food, make the fire and keep it going, gather wood, fetch water and manufacture ostrich eggshell beads for ornaments, etc. The latter are also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Infants and young children accompany their mothers on 857
their daily excursions in search of food until they are old enough to look after themselves. From that time onwards 855
the mothers take practically no share in their education which, 871
in the case of girls, is entrusted entirely to an old woman who lives in the hut with the young girls, and in the case of boys, to their fathers.

Little girls, while still with their mothers, are taught to 868
love and respect the old woman and to seek her company of 857
their own accord. After taking up residence with her they accompany her daily into the veld and thus gradually come to learn from her all the duties which will ultimately devolve upon them. Boys sleep under the tree in the centre of the camp at night or in a hut specially set apart for them. Each morning they accompany their fathers into the veld. At first they are given little bows and wooden arrows with which to amuse themselves. Towards the eighth or ninth year each is provided by his father with a proper bow and three arrows which, however, are not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbuck or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veld craft.

Initiation Ceremonies.

Both boys and girls, on reaching a marriageable age, are 881
subjected to certain ceremonies before being admitted to full membership of the group. These ceremonies vary consider- [134]
ably among the various tribes.

The following is an account of the girls' initiation ceremony as practised among the *Hei-||om* group around the Etosha Pan. As young girls (*ǂkham-khoidi*) approach the age of puberty they are placed in a hut called *ǂkham-khoidi* or *aaau-khoidi oms* in which they sleep at night. During the daytime they gather veldkos either by themselves or in company with the married women. Men, whether married or single, may not enter the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* nor may they speak to the *ǂkham-khoidi*. The latter may, however, speak and be spoken to by the *aarogu*, but only at a distance so that no conversation of an intimate nature is possible without being overheard by the grown-up people. A man may on occasion address a *ǂkham-khois* by saying, "you must grow up so that I may marry you," but she will not reply. When addressed by a man, say, in the veld, she runs away to her

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
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various ways. The affine who marries into the band, as long as he lives with the band, has a right to the water, to the hunting, and to the gathering of the wild foods, as members born to the band have. 423

I think that primarily the values and assets that parents seek in choosing mates for their children have to do with the kind of security which is attained through human responses and relations. Friends may want their children to marry because they know and trust each other. Or a family may want to increase its kinship bonds—and thereby its security—with certain bands for any number of reasons—among them could be food, water, or a desire to have supporting friends in a certain area—and, like the crowned heads of Europe, the /Kung may deliberately seek to establish alliances through marriages. 581 185

Merging with such desires and to be balanced with them are the characteristics of the families concerned. The /Kung want their boys and girls to marry into upstanding families, among people who are ' able to feed themselves ', who are ' not lazy and not thin '. They do not want ' far-hearted ' in-laws who are not generous in food-sharing and gift-giving. /U, ≠Toma's wife, said she would take particular note of their generosity in giving bead ornaments to their children. She would not want a daughter of hers to marry among people who were stingy in that. Proper observance of the avoidances and other social regulations is an asset in in-laws, for they can then be assumed to have taught their children how to behave properly. 185 577 581

The individual's characteristics are also a concern. Parents of boys hope the girls to whom their sons are engaged will grow up to be good-looking, because, they say, a man takes pride in a beautiful wife. Xama, the mother of Gao, the headman of Band 2, said she had wanted for her son a light-skinned girl with good teeth who was not too thin and not too tall. But most important of all is a sweet temper, she said. A mother hopes, she said, that the girl will not be lazy or wander about visiting at night at other people's fires ' like a bitch '. The girl should observe the avoidances and the menstruation and other taboos, and in every way behave as a well brought up girl should. However, since the girls are engaged when they are very young, I suppose the parents of the boys can only watch them grow and hope. 185 581 826

Girls would not want a man ' as tall as a giraffe ', we were told. They would seek a smaller husband. /U's first husband, from whom she was divorced, is so tall (almost six feet) that people laugh and say, ' Did his mother have a dream with a *//gaua* (a spirit)? '

The girls themselves, all twitters and giggles, told me what they admire in the boys. They like a good hunter like /Gunda; and they like handsome teeth and a wide smile like young Tsamgao's; and straight, slender legs like //Ao's; and a fluid, swift walk like /Gao's; and they hate a big black belly like Gao's—the middle-aged medicine man in a band distant from Gautscha, to whom the young /Doin was married.

The parents of a girl want the boy to be responsible, kind to their daughter and, above all, a good provider—which means a good hunter. They want him to make his arrows straight, to shoot swiftly and accurately, to be able to run down an eland, and, most of all, they want a son-in-law whose heart says to him, ' Why am I sitting lazily here in the werf? Why do I not get up and go hunting? ' and who, in obedience to his heart, and the group's desire, and the magic which has been rubbed into his scarifications in the Ceremony of the First Killing, gets up and goes. [304] [881]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

585 [159] [183] then come with us when we leave tomorrow to gather *tsi*. He will hunt from that place and get us some meat.'

The ritual elements in the wedding ceremony, in so far as we observed, were as follows: (1) carrying the bride so that her feet do not touch the ground; (2) covering her head so that the sun does not shine upon it; (3) waiting till the sun has set before taking her to the wedding scherm; (4) the fact that the scherm is specially built and set apart from the others; (5) anointing with fat; (6) painting a design on the forehead and cheeks with powdered red stone; (7) lighting the wedding fire with brands from the fires of the bride's and groom's parents.

585 881 [174] Apart from the third and seventh, all these elements occur also in the Ceremony of the First Menstruation, a more elaborate and prolonged ceremony from which the /Kung wedding ceremony undoubtedly derives. The design on the face is the same: the girl's feet must not touch the ground from the instant her first menstruation begins to the end of the period, when she is washed and anointed with both eland or other fat and the oil of the *tsi* (*Bauhinia esculenta* Burch).[1] When the girl is taken to her special scherm or moved out of it to urinate or defecate she is carried on the back of a kinswoman. A kaross over her head shields her from the sun whether she is sitting in the scherm or being carried out.

Our endeavour to bring to light the meaning of the ritual elements yielded little. The meaning or origin of the design on the face, I was convinced, was not withheld but lost to memory, lore or myth. 'It is our custom' was all the people could tell me.

[171] About the ritual of the feet not touching the ground, the custom frequently observed by divine kings and menstruating girls, the /Kung had no more illumination. They think that the carrying is the overcoming of the girl's symbolized modesty about going to the arms of her bridegroom, which she should properly feign even if she is eager to go, and her reluctance to separate from her own family: I think that when the attendants take hold of the bride and groom by the arm and pull them a little they symbolize the overcoming of reluctance and modesty and perhaps there is even a vestige of bride capture in that gesture, but of the feet not touching the ground the meaning is lost. Obviously, however, in this society the bride is equated to the [174] menstruating girl. In the past the girl's wedding and her first menstruation may have been celebrated at one time.

The /Kung say that the sun is death-giving. When the three months of life-585 giving rains are past, the sun dries up the water pools. It kills the fresh leaves and 821 fruits, dries the roots and berries, and would scorch the people if they did not find shade and dig shallow pits and lie in them covered lightly with sand which they have moistened with their urine for coolness. They pity the morning star, the *kuli |gaishay*, which crosses the sky all day ahead of the sun, has no branches to carry for shade and 593 cannot turn aside to rest under a tree. The sun is a 'death thing' and the bride 585 is shielded from it.

602 The most important element of behaviour with respect to kinship in the wedding

[113] [1] Robert Story, *Some Plants Used by the Bushmen in Obtaining Food and Water*, Department of Agriculture, Division of Botany, Union of South Africa, Botanical Survey, Memoir No. 30, 1958, p. 23. Dr. Story was a member of the 1955 and 1957 expeditions. We gratefully acknowledge whatever botanical identifications we mention as his.

/141 cont./

302 Men and boys do not use this cosmetic, nor do old women, but only young women and girls.

The mixture is applied in circles on the cheeks (see Photo. 20, woman farthest to the left), but it is also rubbed on the body in any other place possible, such as on the arms or belly. Frequently the entire body is greased with it.

Among men a kind of black grease is used. This has "a pleasant odor," at least according to Bushman notions. It is [756] manufactured by the "doctor." The men smear it under and on the nose. It is questionable whether it is more a means of beautification or of enjoyment.

All male Auin have a green line over the root of the nose, 304 and usually also a crossbar under and at right angles to it. The crossbar is usually not colored (cf. Fig. 4).

Both lines consist of innumerable small transverse cuts. There are almost always two to four deep, especially conspicuous scars in the longer line. The length of the longitudinal line is usually from 2.5 to 3.5 centimeters, and that of the crossbar from one to 1.5 centimeters. Sometimes the longitudinal line is considerably longer and extends to the hairline. In the case of one Auin about 20 years old, no forehead tattoo was observed. In answer to questioning he replied that "it would be done later." On the other hand, I found a forehead tattoo on a quite undeveloped girl who ●[881] was at most eight years old. Hence it would seem that the tattoo is not connected with sexual maturity, an impression which the Auin themselves confirmed. One woman had two parallel longitudinal lines; another had two lines on each cheek, which in size and execution were like the vertical forehead line. Both were Auin by birth; in other words, they had not married into the tribe.

[177] According to the statements of the Auin, the forehead tattoo was copied from the Betschuana.

The forehead tattoo is called gi. Evidently no special significance is attached to it. Incidentally, I have seen the same tattoo among all the other Bushmen tribes. [Fig. 4 appears here.]

As a tool for making the countless little transverse incisions [412] that constitute the forehead tattoo, any sharpened little piece of iron may be used. I was unable to determine the pigment used to produce the green color, which is indelible.

/157 cont./

The water and food collected by menstruating women are
841 consumed only by the women themselves and old people; the younger ones "it makes weak."

593 The authority of the parents practically ceases as soon as
858 the children are in a position to provide food for themselves.

A child is named soon after birth by the grandfather or grand-
553 mother (whether on the paternal or the maternal side was not determined).

Boys reach puberty between 14 and 16 years of age and girls
145 between 13 and 15 years of age (estimates).

The declaration of a boy's maturity is a special event in the
● 881 life of the Bushman. Under the leadership of the "doctor," several youths from neighboring settlements march into the bush and live together there for some weeks on the veld crop. During this time they receive some sort of instruction in secret affairs. Young and old Auin alike, whom I interrogated separately, denied that this instruction pertains to sexual matters. To the question of what they did during their stay in the bush, I always received the answer: "They dance." They did, indeed, describe for me a kind of dance which decidedly has something childishly mysterious about it. A boy seats himself "piggyback" on the back of
[535] another, and both wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier tramping with his feet as rapidly as possible without moving forward, while both of them utter a low "hu, hu" in as horrifying a manner as possible.

It is indeed difficult to imagine that this interesting occupation should last for weeks, interrupted only by sleeping and eating.

In addition, the young people seem to be treated quite badly in the course of this preparation and to receive little to eat; all of them concurred in the opinion that it is "miserable."

I learned through hints that the candidates for manhood play all kinds of tricks on neighboring villages during the night and play as "ghosts" a bit, as well as stealing food.

The actual attainment of manhood, after which the boys are
[884] warriors and are allowed to marry, is not solely dependent on attending the preparation, but also on the killing of the first piece of big game.

Tattooing is not connected with the official attainment of
[304] manhood

/157 cont./

881 manhood. In the case of girls no special preparation occurs. As soon as a girl has her first menstrual period, people from neighboring and friendly settlements assemble for a great celebration. The girl lies prone on the ground while old women form the orchestra near her, singing and clapping their hands. The younger [535] women stamp /158/ along in goose step, their buttocks exposed. Individual men from time to time enter the circle and all of them imitate the movements and sounds of rutting animals. I believe that this is the eland bull dance. A girl may marry [582] only after the onset of the first menses.

S. Birth and Death

The birth takes place in the open air outside the settlement. 844 The woman sits on the ground with the upper part of her body propped up and her knees drawn up.

[845] Reviving apparently stillborn children by rubbing their limbs and bodies is practiced.

Old women assist at the birth. In difficult cases, for instance, when the woman is ill at the time of the birth, the "doctor" is called in.

The doctor, among other means that he employs, is supposed to relieve a difficult birth by performing a kind of sucking with his mouth at the vagina.

When he assists at a birth, the doctor murmurs magical formulas.

The umbilical cord is severed with the sharp edge of a reed splinter, never with any other object. Practical reasons for this could not be given: "It has always been so."

The man slings his bowstring around the body of the woman in labor. Then he goes away and during the birth stays in his hut.

I was unable to determine any symbolic significance in the use of the bowstring. The explanation was: "The birth is easier."

[846] The woman who has given birth is spared as long as a month after delivery and does not need to work.

The newborn child is wiped off with the nest of the weaver bird (?). In no case is water used.

[8 cont.]

177 nothing can be done without Erob; we also pray to him whenever
776 somebody is ill, but we have no song for that, we do it in our
782 hearts." In these conceptions Christian influence is obvious.

881 They have no initiation for boys, but there is one for girls at the time of the first menstruation.

The girls' initiation is called "dorob."

At the onset of the menses, the girl becomes a "X'ábа X'ábesa"; a special hut (omba) is built for her, where she is guarded by older women who feed her. The girl is allowed to eat anything, but nothing with her hands. When the menses end, a two-day festival begins, which terminates with a concluding dance. The candidate is seated in the center. Men and women go around
[534] her in a circle. The men blow on wooden trumpets. (These trumpets are made by the !Kung at only one place.) At the same time the drum is beaten (!guruba). At the conclusion, the women make "music." They clap their hands and sing:

[539] e-e-e-e-a-eje a jeja ni u u e . . .

Between times the drums and wooden trumpets sound.
539 Then the choral song of the men begins.

881 boro ai /i-he ≠hasa	Daughter my has become tall (just)
≠hau ge	Stand erect (tall)
/gai /ka uta (?) /noro-re	Good be now our little sunshine (1)

1. Literally: "Shine, you."

/ari ni tessa	Dance (2), sing, sue for her hand (3)

2. Literally: "Jump."

3. Literally: "Ask for!"

!goasa hi bare	People, be glad
Ti Komi !gŏǎ Kŏŏ...Kŏŏ... Kŏŏŏ	So, in this way, people, you should do it.

Then the dance begins anew.

[582] The engagement usually takes place long before the
585 girl's initiation. Hence the rule is that the wedding and the girl's
881

[8 cont.] HENCE THE RULE IS THAT THE WEDDING AND THE GIRLS
585 initiation coincide, and usually the girl moves to the village of
581A her first husband immediately after the completion of the festivi-
[591] ties.

584 When a man is courting, he must first attempt to obtain the consent of the girl. Once he has succeeded, he goes to the girl's parents. If they also give their consent, the engagement is settled. At this point, all communication is interrupted until the bridegroom appears and says to the girl's parents: "I want to have the wedding now." If the parents agree, they go to their relatives to spread the happy news. If the relatives object, they can still prevent the marriage. If they do not, the date of the wedding feast is fixed. In the bush, the bridegroom must bring the bride's parents a piece of big game. Usually people make matters
439 simpler for themselves. Either they have already earned a head
584 of cattle from a black farmer, and this stands ready in the farmer's
648 herd to be fetched for the wedding feast, or -- and this is more
452 common -- the Bushman will begin a begging tour around the black farmyards until someone gives him a cow as an advance on hides to be supplied later or on work to be performed.

452 And miraculously, this always succeeds. It is to be ex-
648 plained on various grounds. A black farmer, whose worst character traits include avarice and greed, would never give another Black who possesses nothing one of his dearly beloved cows on the strength of uncertain promises. And not unjustly. The next day the cow would have disappeared into the stomachs of the borrower and his friends, and on the day after that the borrower would have disappeared beyond the tribal boundaries. Repeatedly the Bushmen came to my camp too late. But from the Ukuanjama I always received the assurance: "The Bushmen will keep their word; they will certainly come if they are alive." In addition to this, of course, there is the symbiosis. Each village has its
[437] Bushmen. During the period of the harvest they suddenly appear
437 and help with it. Between times they never miss a celebration, and at one time or another this one comes with hides and another with honey. And finally the chiefs of the Bushmen kin
[622] groups see to it that nothing happens to injure the reputation of
[674] the Bushmen. It is unheard of for these people to commit theft.

/11 cont./

775 "No spirits of the dead remain on the world; I have never yet seen any spirits, and I tell you only what I know. People talk a lot, but they know nothing." My informant thus concluded his statements concerning the beyond.

778 A sacred fire is unknown to the Dama Bushmen.

372 A youths' initiation is still performed by the !Kung in
881 the east. Among the Dama it is no longer held. On the other
184 hand, initiations for girls are still held, but they refused to give me any information about the details.

584 Marriage depends upon the free consent of the girl. To be sure, through the persuasion of the parents the girls always say yes. Once the girl has the initiation ceremonies behind her, a suitor soon approaches her to tell her that "she has now grown up and can become a wife." If the girl consents (after consultation with her parents), the suitor goes to his parents. He does not
585 consult his future parents-in-law. The bridegroom must bring a fat ox and a number of goats to the wedding. The parents of the bride likewise kill some animals. The actual ceremony consists of the bridegroom rubbing a thick layer of fat mixed with red ocher over the entire body of the bride, while the men sing:

[539] jejeje jejeje !hawawa !hawawa.

!hawawa means wedding. At the same time, the women and girls clap their hands.

177 Bantu influence is already strongly apparent in the mar-
582 riage laws. Thus, it is possible to "marry" even little girls, whom the man keeps with him until they are sexually mature. A
595 man may have as many wives as he wants. The first wife is not consulted when the husband wants to take more wives. My question concerning this matter was met with an outburst of laughter from the yellow-brown circle.

586 It is possible to send a wife away, but this is regarded as improper and indecent, and it is taken as an insult by the wife's relatives.

582 [12] A man can look for a wife wherever he wishes; only marriage with the children of the father's siblings, especially of his sister, is prohibited.

611 The daughter belongs to the family of the man, the son to the family of the wife.

[14 cont.]

000 chronic, good-natured imbiber . . .

776 In heaven there is one god, Erob. Lightning (dábara)
[821] and rain (!nanus) are sent by him. He calls heaven χ'ameiba.
This word is very interesting. It can mean both "place of the
[15] souls (χ'a) " or "place of the χ'amab." The souls
[775] (um-ské) go to heaven after death. "This is what they say,"
said the man, "I haven't been there yet."

He did not know Gauab and Heiseb. Concerning other spirits, he said that people had mentioned them, but he did not believe in them. The spirits are supposedly called "gangarob."
756 The old Bushmen had neither doctors nor medicines against ill-
753 nesses. To my question about what made people ill, he responded with philosophical equanimity: "If one becomes ill, he is ill like an animal." He knew nothing about the sun (soris)
[821] and moon (χ'ab). A sacred fire is unknown to him.
[778]

224 Of greatest interest is his report, undoubtedly based
782 upon autopsy, concerning an initial offering at the hunt. I give the report in literal translation:

"Before people go out to the hunt, they meet at an omsati tree (//Khaia-aib). There a fire is made. Each hunter rips off a number of leaves, spits on them, and throws them into the fire as he shouts:

[539] Érob, Érob, áu tere! God, God, help us!

"When the game has been killed, one first cuts a piece each from the lung, liver, and stomach and throws each piece singly to the side, saying all the while:

Érob úre, Érob úre! God take, God take!

[539] "Then they start to eat."

This function is performed by the one who has killed the game.

881 The following was communicated to me concerning the
585 social organization:

There are initiation ceremonies. The celebration of the first menstruation originally coincided with the wedding. On the first day of menstruation the girl went into a pontok especially constructed for this purpose. Then there was dancing for two or three days, and after the cessation of the menses the girl went to

[15 cont.]

881 the man's encampment and took up married life. Nowadays the
585 first menstruation and wedding no longer always coincide.

584 The consent of the girl is absolutely necessary for the conclusion of the marriage. People often are betrothed already in childhood. Once the girl has grown up, that is, once she has become sexually mature, the suitor goes to the girl's parents. Neither the bride nor the bridegroom is allowed to enter the encampments of their prospective parents-in-law. If father and mother agree, then they go to the grandparents to obtain their consent. Then oxen, wethers, and goats are collected for the feast. Then the suitor goes to his parents, who in turn consult the grandparents. In the bridegroom's house also livestock is now collected, or, as the case may be, begged or purchased.
585 Then a great feast begins. There is dancing, and long trumpets are blown.

During the wedding dance the men sing:
[539] "Huwi é haa -- huwi é taa -- huwi áni taa." (The girl has grown up.)

The women clap their hands and sing:
"Jee jeee ja! jee jeee ja!"

881 A boys' initiation in the true sense of the term is no longer held. When the boy has grown up, however, a celebration
852 is held and livestock is killed. Similarly, when a child has been born, a celebration takes place, at which wethers or sheep are slaughtered. It is striking that among these Bushmen a sheep usually takes the place of the goat.

551 The boy receives the father's name; the daughter, the mother's name. The children belong to the family of the woman,
611 and the oldest uncle, or oldest brother of the woman, is the head of the family. It is prohibited to marry the children of the
582 mother's sisters.

The kinship terms are as follows:

601

German	Uukualuithi Bushmen	Nama
Father	//khum-khe	//gub, dadab, eib
Mother	//khums	//gus, is
Son	a χ'oron-khe	/gōab/gōb
Daughter	χ'ams-khe	/gōas/gōs
Brother	!gasab	!gasab
Sister	di !gas-khe	!gasas

[30 cont.] VON ZASTROW
113 and Vedder (1) report further:
1

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Buschmänner, pp. 412-413.

843 "It is absolutely against the rules to do anything by word or
754 deed to the pregnant woman that might make her angry. Her evil eye in this period is especially dangerous; her angry word or her curse has an even worse effect. Sores, illness, protracted suffering, and death are the consequences of the evil eye or the curse of a pregnant woman.

844 "It is customary to sever the umbilical cord with an instrument only when the blood no longer pulsates. The umbilical cord is not tied off. The afterbirth must be carefully and secretly buried. The life of the child would be greatly endangered if an animal found it or if a feared sorcerer could appropriate a piece of it."

●861 As soon as the girls have their first menstruation (/n) (2),

2. Female genitalia (/n-i).

a celebration takes place, but in this tribe I was unable to learn any of the details. On this occasion, the women dance, clap their hands, and sing, "giriri, giriri, giriri, uhu, giriri uhu," and so forth.

Men may not be present at this celebration. In a Hei//om horde neighboring the !Kung, spirits are appealed to in all directions on the occasion of this celebration, so that the girl, as an adult, will find veldkost everywhere.

The existence of a true initiation for boys is denied (3).

[114] 3. On this point I was either misunderstood
[124] or told a falsehood.

There is merely a kind of testing; an older man goes with the candidate or candidates on a hunting expedition. Under the supervision of the older person, the candidate must kill a specimen of large game. The animal is then brought to the sacred fire, at which the

[30 cont.]

881 old people are seated. The young man may not eat any of the meat; he may only drink the soup, which is also rubbed on him. From now on he is regarded as an adult, a marriageable man;
582 584 his parents ask him whether he wants to be married. The boy commonly replies: "I am still weak and do not know whether I can take good care of her." Then the parents allow him to wait until he himself wants to marry. Von Zastrow and Vedder (p. 415) report the following concerning the boys' initiation:

[31] "On this occasion the boys are told how they must
881 conduct themselves when they go out to seek a wife, and how they
[867] must behave towards a mother-in-law. To sit down by an evening
[584] fire next to an adult girl is tantamount to a marriage proposal, even if not a word is spoken. Under no circumstances may one
[606] look at the mother-in-law. They also practice animal dances in the bush, the kind that are performed by the men later at joyous celebrations, and also in times of distress. Finally, the young
[304] Bushman receives the tribal marking, a number of skin incisions on the cheek below the temple. Each tribe has a certain number of skin incisions. In order to make them stand out clearly even
[386] after healing, pulverized charcoal is put into the incisions. As a result, the tribal marking later looks like a black streak on the yellow skin.

224 "There is nothing against applying another mark on the
304 future huntsman during this celebration, namely, the hunting
881 inoculation. This must be done by a man who has special powers and knowledge at his disposal. In order to sharpen the future hunter's eye for game generally and certain game in particular, it is necessary to make a deep incision between the eyes over the root of the nose, into which the practiced hand of the surgeon sprinkles a powder of dried and pulverized parts of all kinds of game.

"The inoculation may later be repeated several times if the hunter has no luck in hunting.

881 "A person who has received the tribal marking is now re-
884 garded as a Bush 'man'; he can make his own bow and arrows, like those of the old people, and go hunting with them. Also, the way is now open for him to found a family."

582 It practically never happens that a Bushman remains

3: Lebzelter--114 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

535
539 ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

χ'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

622 Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me
782 concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder
769 dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

782 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are
● 881 implored in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

"If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband
787 suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up
695 the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root
684 that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

[63 cont.]

252 hot, the ashes and fire are taken out, the melons are placed in the hot soil, and the glowing ashes are thrown on them. The next morning the tsama are ready.

301 The largest ostrich egg beads are produced by the Masarwa.

Their dance masks are made with pods and cocoons, and
532 sometimes also small hide balls filled with little rattle stones.
535 They still know the art of pottery. White or red body painting is
323 customary.
302

A Bushman tribe at Ngami Lake is supposed to have the
304 custom of removing the last joint of the little finger.

278 Dornan mentions the following medicines of the Masarwa: for black water fever, Anacampseros rhodesica; dysentery, Monsonia ovata and Euclea lanceolata. Other medicines: Cannabis sativa, Solanum nigrum, Lippia asperifolia, Crotalaria burkeana, Pterocarpus angolensis, Datura stramonium, Indigifera senegalensis, Bauhinia reticulata.

752 The Masarwa claim that they can only treat the bite of the puff adder. The body of the Lygosoma sundervalli is charred, and the powder is sprinkled into the wound. Every snake is killed, and
(751) its head crushed. Reportedly there are also inoculations against snakebite.

595 According to Dornan, monogamy prevails among the
836 Masarwa. Sexual intercourse before marriage is prohibited, and
684 incest and adultery are punishable by death. As a rule, the con-
584 sent of the girl is necessary for marriage; it is generally sufficient if the suitor presents his father-in-law with a head of big game. The hunting test is customary only among the Wankie Bushmen
582 and those of Bulalima. One may marry a girl from the same clan. Among those tribes that are totemistically influenced, one may
304 not marry a person of the same totem. Circumcision is practiced.
881 As soon as the boys and girls are about 12 years old, circumcision takes place, for which a stone knife is used. In the case of the girls, the clitoris is pierced with a stone point. Sexual intercourse
(836) between the uncircumcised is strictly prohibited. Occasionally the nasal septum is pierced at the boys' initiation. As among the
761 Bantu, every death is explained as sorcery by human enemies. In
764 olden times the dead were supposedly thrown into the bush;
178 nowadays they are sometimes buried in a crouching position in

[69 cont.]

The Bartering Game

524 It is exactly like analogous games in Europe.

The War Game

The boys stand in two rows facing each other and play at shooting arrows. The one shot at tries to protect himself. As soon as he becomes tired, he falls over as a "dead person." The game is played until only one is left.

The Bride-Stealing Game

Two young girls dance behind a bush. They are the brides. Two older girls with sticks follow their trail; they are the suitors who try to catch the two brides. When they have succeeded, two more girls representing the mothers appear, and they try to prevent the abduction of the brides. Finally, however, the brides are abducted anyway.

The Ball Game

The ball game is definitely a women's game, in which small girls and grandmothers alike participate. The players stand in two rows facing each other, and the ball, usually a round watermelon, is thrown from one row to the other.

2. The Boys' Initiation

881 Among the Nogau, the boys are initiated when they reach maturity. The boys' initiation is called Dschai-dschua.

The young man is not accepted into the community of men simply through marriage. He must first submit to the initiation, which proceeds as follows among the Nogau:

Under the leadership of an experienced elder and several

[69 cont.]
assistants, the boys go into the bush. On the first day two vertical incisions are made on the forehead; then they sing throughout the night and dance to the melody: "Ije, ije, aije, aije . . . oho, oho," etc.

● 881 [539]

On the morning of the second day, the incisions on the forehead are extended to the root of the nose and the hairline. On the afternoon of this day the elders call the youths together to look for veldkost. The elder loosens the roots with his digging stick, and as he does so the candidates place their hands on the arm doing the work. The boys must then dig the roots out of the ground with their hands, without the help of tools. "From now on they can look for veldkost themselves, for now they have been taught."

[304]

After this lesson they return to the place where the women are. [70] Food is prepared there for both the men and the candidates; the candidates are allowed to eat only veldkost, no meat. Then they dance, together with the women and girls, for a night and half a day.

In the afternoon the candidates go hunting. They must bag three animals: a small duiker, a guinea fowl, and a bullfrog. They take their prey and assemble with the older instructors at a remote place, the three kinds of meat are cooked together, the meat is eaten by the elders, and the bodies of the boys are washed all over with the soup. From now on they may eat the three animals, hitherto forbidden to them. Now they again dance and sing: "Oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu, oouu" (long drawn-out).

[262] [539]

ǂAuin: The candidates from neighboring villages go into the bush under the leadership of the doctor, and they live there on veldkost for a few weeks. During this time they receive instructions in secret matters. Kaufmann reports the following dance: A boy gets up on the back of another, and both of them wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier swinging from one leg to the other as rapidly as possible without moving forward, and both of them yell "hu, hu." They actually attain manhood, which gives them the right to marry, only through the hunting test. Tattooing is not connected with the declaration of manhood.

881 [535] [304]

[70 cont.]

881 Among the Naron, on the other hand, they must first pass the hunting test before they are admitted to the boys' initiation. Ten or 12 candidates are taken into the bush and must live for a month on veldkost, which is sprinkled with a medicine by the doctor before it is eaten. Women are not allowed to come near the camp.

During one of the nocturnal dances, Hise appears, dances [776] around the circle, and is then driven away by the medicine man. [787] Some say Hise looks like a woman; others describe him as a be- 535 ing three feet tall, with a flat head, large eyes, black body, 881 wings and claws (one is reminded of the spirit bird Engorori, which appears at the initiation of the Ovambo, or of the Neida Gamaseb of the Bergdama).

Some old ≠Auin saw two beings, one male and one female, 787 who looked like lions but walked upright; they were followed by children who looked like baboons.

Evidently masked dances, are involved here. The younger 535 men no longer see this Hise; the doctors explain to them that he 881 came, but could only be seen by the medicine men.

A special dance for Hise is an imitation of a bird's movements. In olden times the people also danced in pairs, while they sang in refrain: "Ostrich stomach, Hise stomach, hu, hu, hu."

The /Di dance is likewise dedicated to Hise. At this dance the men wear the dance rattles described above, as is also done for profane dances, but in addition they wear white or black ostrich feathers.

3. The Girls' Initiation

Among the Nogau when a girl has her first menstruation, 881 there is a celebration. Throughout the first day the girl must stay [343] in a closed, arbor-like pontok especially constructed for her. She is only given something to drink, nothing to eat. The women gather from far and near and perform dances around this arbor. These festivities last for five days, and only one man is present as a leader of the ceremony. During these five days the girl is regarded as "poisonous" and may not touch anything, not even

[70 cont.]

her food, which is given to her by an old woman. On the sixth day
881 the girl goes looking for veldkost with an old woman, and, when she has returned, she herself makes the fire and cooks the food in the circle of her guests, for the first time officially independent.
(582) Girls may marry even before this ceremony.

[71] Among the ≠Auin the initiation is held for each girl
881 at the time of the first menstruation. The same is true among the Naron. The eland bull dance is performed every night during
881 the girl's period. Two old men attach real or wooden eland
535 horns to their heads and wait in the bush. Then the menstruating girl comes and sits down or lies down surrounded by old women, in the center of a circle of younger women who stage a dance. The two eland bulls soon appear and then quickly disappear again. The dance is very indecent. Among the Nussan, men masked as birds (!) take the place of the eland bulls.

796 Once a year, in autumn when the veldkost is harvested, there is a great festival. The day is called: "//gam gna she (the great day)." On this occasion food is prepared, and the Bushmen come from all sides. They dance and sing, but they are supposed to stay at home; no one may hunt, look for veldkost, or do any kind of work. [Fig. 25 appears here.]

4. Courtship, Wedding, and Marriage

If a young Bushman wants to marry, he does not go to the girl, but instead must speak with her parents; at the same time
584 the girl's consent to the marriage is necessary. Once this consent is given, presents are exchanged between the parents of the engaged couple, or a gemsbok is shot and divided between the two families. Immediately after the presents have been exchanged, preparations for the wedding are begun. If enough game, above all, a gemsbok, is at hand, they dance through the
[539] entire night and sing: "Ueeõ, ueeeõ, õ, eee, gueeõ, guueeõ," etc.

Then the young man takes his wife and moves to the horde
581 of his father. Great importance is attached to virginity before
[591] marriage. "It simply does not happen among us that a girl

sticks pipes, etc., and occasionally assist the women in 462
fetching wood and water. The women build the huts, collect veldkos and prepare the food, make the fire and keep it going, gather wood, fetch water and manufacture ostrich eggshell beads for ornaments, etc. The latter are also responsible for keeping the camp clean.

Infants and young children accompany their mothers on 857
their daily excursions in search of food until they are old enough to look after themselves. From that time onwards 855
the mothers take practically no share in their education which, 871
in the case of girls, is entrusted entirely to an old woman who lives in the hut with the young girls, and in the case of boys, to their fathers.

Little girls, while still with their mothers, are taught to 868
love and respect the old woman and to seek her company of 857
their own accord. After taking up residence with her they accompany her daily into the veld and thus gradually come to learn from her all the duties which will ultimately devolve upon them. Boys sleep under the tree in the centre of the camp at night or in a hut specially set apart for them. Each morning they accompany their fathers into the veld. At first they are given little bows and wooden arrows with which to amuse themselves. Towards the eighth or ninth year each is provided by his father with a proper bow and three arrows which, however, are not poisoned. With these he is allowed to shoot hares, guinea fowl and other birds, wild cats, small buck, etc. After killing his first steenbuck or duiker he is given a few poisoned arrows and later, when he has become proficient in the use of these, he is taught to stalk and shoot big game. By the time he reaches the age of puberty he has, as a rule, gained a very good knowledge of veld craft.

Initiation Ceremonies.

Both boys and girls, on reaching a marriageable age, are 851
subjected to certain ceremonies before being admitted to full membership of the group. These ceremonies vary considerably among the various tribes. [134]

The following is an account of the girls' initiation ceremony as practised among the *Hei-||om* group around the Etosha Pan. As young girls (*ǂkham-khoidi*) approach the age of puberty they are placed in a hut called *ǂkham-khoidi* or *ouaai-khoidi oms* in which they sleep at night. During the daytime they gather veldkos either by themselves or in company with the married women. Men, whether married or single, may not enter the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* nor may they speak to the *ǂkham-khoidi*. The latter may, however, speak and be spoken to by the *aurogu*, but only at a distance so that no conversation of an intimate nature is possible without being overheard by the grown-up people. A man may on occasion address a *ǂkham-khois* by saying, "you must grow up so that I may marry you," but she will not reply. When addressed by a man, say, in the veld, she runs away to her

881 companions saying, "I dare not speak to you." The married
[867 women visit the *ǂkham-khoidi oms* and instruct the inmates
868] in various domestic matters, *e.g.*, the way to clean and tidy their huts, to remain quiet when their husbands are cross, to prepare their husbands' food separately from their own, to pick up and beat the kudu skin on returning home in the evening so that the husband does not sleep on the previous day's dirt, etc. They further teach them to gather wood, to make the fire, to take away the ashes and so forth. At the onset of the first menstruation the girl tells her mother or, in case she has no mother, her best friend (*/hosas*), who then reports to one of the married women, not necessarily to the *gei-khois*. She is then isolated in a small round hut which is
[343 completely closed in except for a small entrance. It is known as the */hawa-omi* (hut for waiting) and is situated close to the *ǂkham-khoidi oms*. She is required to remain inside the */hawa-omi* and dare not show herself outside. No fire is made in the hut. She is fed by her mother or, in the absence of the latter, by another married woman. She is not visited by anybody except the person who feeds her. No medicine is given to her. Daily applications of */gub*, a red powder obtained by pulverising the bark of a tree, and of the roasted and powdered fat-containing seed of the *ǂerob* tree are made to her hair by the attendant. She may be given veldkos, but
[262 is not allowed to partake of meat. No man, not even the girl's father, may pass close to the */hawa-omi* or attempt to speak to her. She remains in the */hawa-omi* as long as the flow lasts. When it has ceased she informs her mother or the woman who has been attending her. The latter tells the
535 other married women and they all prepare to dance the
881 */hawa-ǂnab* (menstruation dance). This dance takes place during the day and men may not take part in it. They may, however, remain in the *//gāus* while it is going on or enter it when returning from the veld. The *ǂkham-khoidi* are also excluded from it. The */hawa-ǂnab* may be continued for three or four days. When the dance is about to begin an old woman, generally the *gei-khois*, holding a jackal tail duster, takes up a position some distance in front of the */hawa-omi*, and, dancing in one spot as if marking time, shouts *Ki-ri-ri-ri-ri-ri* to waken the initiate and to summon the other women. The latter then emerge from their huts and, dancing as they come along, take up position behind the */hawa-oms*. Two of them dance forward, passing one on each side of the little hut, towards its entrance and, as they reach the latter, the initiate comes out and the old woman stops shouting. After covering her whole head and face with a duiker skin kaross (*/gan-tab*), leaving only the eyes visible, each of the women takes an arm and, the other women coming into line from behind the hut, all dance towards the old woman who leads the way to the */huru-ǂgab*. Here they dance, the feet being thrown out sideways, always abreast of each other, with the old woman leading. Men are not permitted to watch the
881 dance. When the dance is about to end they return her to

the *|hawa-omi* in a similar manner. The same procedure is gone through for three or four days in succession. On the last day, after the dancing has ceased, she is presented with various trinkets by the women who took part in the ceremony and, after she has been returned to the *|hawa-omi*, the *axarogu*, who are required to remain in the *||gāus* for the occasion, are summoned to pass in Indian file behind her hut. As they pass each presses his scrotum against her hand which is protruded through a very small opening made by her mother in the back of the hut and she touches it with fore-finger and thumb. This is done to protect the *axarogu* against [841 sexual disease (swelling of the testicles) which is caused by 751] treading on the place where a menstruating *!gari-khois* has urinated. If she does not touch the scrotum and such a lad should pass behind her while she has her periods, his testicles will become swollen. The same will happen if she were to tread on the urine of such a boy. When this happens the youth is said to be *!gou*. After all the *axarogu* have filed past and returned to their hut, an old woman enters the *|hawa-omi* and rubs her body down (*|u*) with a preparation of roots, the name and source of which could not be ascertained. Now two of the *ǂkham-khoidi* come forward and take her to fetch water. This is done at a run, the water being brought quickly and placed at the hut of the old woman who rubbed her down. Then two other *ǂkham-khoidi* take her to fetch wood. This is likewise done at a run and after the wood has been deposited the ceremony is over. She is now a woman and known as a *!gari-khois*. While the ceremony was in progress a new hut, which is known as the *!gari-khois* [882 *oms*, was built for her by her mother. In this she now takes up her residence until she marries.

The *ǂgari-khois* is now eligible to marry and she accompanies 883 the married women on their various excursions for food, wood, etc., and associates with them. The food collected during the four or five days following her transition to womanhood is eaten only by very old women, *e.g.*, the one who rubbed her down. After that any food gathered by her is shared with her mother. She may subsequently not go to the veld to [841 gather veldkos while she is menstruating, but must remain in the *||gāus*. On such occasions she is fed by her mother.

Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after 881 reaching the age of puberty and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in the pursuit of game, especially big game. The ceremony is in reality a test of their powers of endurance and of their skill in the chase. It is always [221 carried out during the rainy season when food is plentiful. All the eligible lads are removed to a spot some distance away from the werft and placed under the charge of one or more of the elders of the group. An enclosure is made round a big tree and in this they are required to live for the time being. They sleep in the enclosure and the elders around the fire which is made at its entrance. Women are not permitted to approach or communicate with them during the course of the

881 ceremony, which may last for a month or even longer. The latter, as practised among the *≠Ao-//ẽin*, consists of several stages. On the first day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the smoke of the "devil's" fire (*//gũua-da*) and are required to partake of the "devil's" urine (*//gũua-/kam*). The proceedings of the second day begin with dancing before daybreak. After sunrise and at sunset they are given a small quantity of *//nõun* (one of the staple vegetable foods of the Kalahari Bushmen) to eat and a little water to drink. During the day their bodies are blackened from head to foot with powdered roasted *//nõun*. After partaking of the evening meal they retire to rest without dancing. On the morning of the third day they start dancing at sunrise and dance without interruption and without food or water all day long until sunset, when they go to sleep. On the following morning before sunrise their hands are washed with water by the elders and they are given a little *//nõun* to eat. Thereafter they are taken to a pan of water and required to walk through it. The rest of the day is spent in collecting veldkos. In the evening they are introduced to the "Devil" and partake of honey brought by the latter. On the fifth day their bodies are cleansed with chewed roasted *//nõun* and they are permitted to move about the camp and partake of food. They may, however, not speak to young unmarried women. As they retire to rest at night their bows and arrows are handed to them by the elders. From now onwards each lad is taken separately and required to prove his skill in stalking and killing game with bow and arrow. [304] Each one who passes through the test in a satisfactory manner is tattooed with meat taken from the animals shot by him and then permitted to return to the werft.

Courtship and Marriage, Death, Etc.

582 Marriage within the group is forbidden and is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. As a rule men do not go far for wives and intermarriage takes place between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women. The southern groups among the Bushmen 184 595 of the Kalahari are monogamous but as one proceeds northwards polygamy is met with. Among the *Hei-//om*, for example, each man has two wives as a rule. The wives may or may not be related. The second wife is taken some time after the first. The wife taken first is looked upon as the principal wife and exercises a certain amount of authority over the second wife. Each wife has a hut of her own. The husband lives with the principal wife and visits the second only for purposes of cohabitation. Polygamy is rarely met with among the *≠Ao-//ẽin* and *Naron*. Exchange of wives

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

731 days, although not all were completely cured; and many, feeling that their luck was very bad at Gautscha, decided to take
361 their chances at other places in the veld where, although there was no water, there were watery roots that could be scraped for moisture. One day many of the people walked away in single file, taking their belongings and carrying on their backs their relatives still too sick to travel, leaving Gautscha Pan deserted except for the three small family bands who made their permanent home there.

764 One day when we were traveling in the veld about twenty
888 miles from Gautscha we came upon an old man lying on his face on the sand in an open place. He was a member of one of the bands at Gautscha that tried to escape bad luck, and, thinking he was hurt, we stopped at once. But he was not hurt; when we came near him he did not get up, but turned his face away from us and lay as if dazed, pressing one hand to his forehead. We knew him; he was the only Bushman of any nation we had ever met or even heard of who had never
[582 881] married, this because Bushman men must shoot a buck and
162 undergo initiation before they can marry, which he had never done. Instead he lived with his sister, who took care of him and provided him with food, and who had been very ill during the plague at Gautscha. As we looked at him the headman of that band stepped out of the bushes and told us that the old man was not ill but grieving for his sister, who lay dead in a grove of thorn trees a little way beyond. The old man, who had been alone with his sister when she died, had been too weak from the illness to bury her, and had only been able to hide her body under a pile of stones. When the other members of the band had returned to the grove after a day or so of veld food-gathering, it had been too late, to dangerous because of the now roaming spirit, for them to assist

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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the buffalo's horn had wounded him. Otherwise, he looked 609
very well. All the people seemed well, especially the children.
Toma's oldest son wore a crown of badger skin with the long 291
hair standing up on it, and two safety pins that we had given 177
him, which he wore as earrings in his pierced ears. With all 301
this he looked bold as a pirate. His brother was nearly as big
as he was, and his sister, Norna, now three, was a slender,
graceful child who regarded the world with dark, wondering
eyes.

Norna's sixteen-year-old uncle, Tu's brother, was there too. 481
He was a lame boy; he had been crippled in one leg since 732
childhood and could hobble only with the help of a long stick.
People had despaired of him, believing that he would never
be able to hunt and therefore never marry or inherit the head-
manship of Gautscha Pan, but when we saw him now and
looked at him closely we noticed a fine row of scars between 881
his eyes and on his arms and chest and we knew that he had 304
hunted and killed an antelope and had been scarified in his
initiation. We had planned on this trip to give him presents
of all kinds, to make him rich, so that he could marry whether
he could hunt or not, but we saw now that this would not be
necessary. When he knew that we had noticed his scars he
told us in great detail the story of the hunt. He told us how he
had gone out with a group of hunters, how he had first seen [224]
the two horns of a kudu above a clump of bushes, how he had
silently hobbled near it, propped himself on his crutch, and
shot it with a poisoned arrow. The arrow had penetrated
deeply and the lame boy had returned to tell the others. They
had followed it with him for a day and in the evening had
found it dead. It was the lame boy's kudu, though he shot it,
and to Bushmen that is the important thing. He was scarified [884]
with a paste made of the kudu's meat, and ever after that he
was a man.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the
882 parents' fire.

855 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive
857 and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or
[136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and
[868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime,
857 singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults
[512] together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned
857 sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth
156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

● 881 PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men,
[173] the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another
[171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are
[562] therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they
[535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from
[534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony.
[302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of
[304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and traditionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

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The *Choa* Ceremony The mother takes the girl's hands to scrape the tsi out of the ashes.

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choa-ed. The old woman who attends her performs this part of the ceremony (or her mother may do so). She scrapes a root called *sha sha* into the water hole. To *choa* the veldkos, the old woman takes the girl's hands in hers and together they place the veldkos in the fire. When it is cooked, they scrape it out together and the old woman puts *sha sha* in her mouth, chews it, and blows on the girl's hands and on the veldkos. This protects the girl from having an upset stomach. Each veldkos must be *choa*-ed the first time the girl eats it after the First Menstruation ceremony.

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No ceremonials mark subsequent menstruation periods, and the women do not seclude themselves during the flow or avoid gathering veldkos or dipping water from the water hole. They continue only to practice certain avoidances that in general have to do with men's hunting. The menstruating woman must not touch hunting gear; it would be very bad, for the arrows would be useless. She must not have sexual intercourse with her husband; it would make him tired and thin. Men in the years of their hunting prime should not talk or listen to talk about menstruation, for to do so might make them lazy in hunting.

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The girls who are married before their first menstruation have the same menstruation ceremony when the time comes as do the unmarried girls.

There is no genital mutilation practiced among the girls and women of the !Kung. Girls are scarified, but not at the time of the menstruation ceremony. The scarification is begun when the girl is about seven or eight and is continued little by little over several years. Stripes are made on the legs,

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304 joint is usually removed during childhood, and the custom appears
856 to be associated with some magical belief. One of Miss Lloyd's informants stated that the joint is cut off with a reed before the child sucks at all, and that the motive underlying the custom is that the child should live to grow up.[1] Other writers add that the operation is performed only on a child whose predecessor has died young, and is intended to protect it from a similar fate.[2] Various other interpretations have been given of the custom, but the one just mentioned appears to be the most probable. This form of mutilation does not
[184] seem to occur to any extent in the Northern tribes. Seiner found it in a few persons among the Kung, but states that it was exceptional,[3] and there is no other record of its occurrence in these tribes.

304 Barrow further mentions that in a large band of Bushmen seen by him in the midlands of the Cape all the men had a small piece of wood
[301] or porcupine quill inserted through the perforated septum of the
[136] nose.[4] This practice is not reported definitely by any of the other writers on the Southern Bushmen, although it is hinted at by Bleek and Lloyd.[5] Hahn, however, speaks of it as occurring in a Bushman tribe in the South-West Kalahari, whom he therefore names "Nasenstockträger",[6] and recently Pöch has published the photograph of a woman from the waterhole/kang in the Southern Kalahari, in which it is seen very clearly.[7]

184 In the majority of Northern Bushmen at the present time, and especially in the North-Western tribes, the most widespread form of
304 mutilation is scarification, which was quite unknown among the tribes
● 881 south of the Molopo.[8] Small cuts about an inch long are made in the
224 skin, and ash black or other colouring matter is rubbed into the wounds, producing a slight but noticeable scar. In the women they are said to be made mostly for ornament only, on the face, thighs, and buttocks, but among the !O Kung of Angola they are also made in connection with the puberty ceremony for girls. In the men some of the cuts may also be purely ornamental, but many of them are definitely related to social and hunting observances. Thus all Naron, Auen, and Kung have a vertical cut or cuts between the eyebrows,

[1] Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, p. 17.
[2] Arbousset, loc. cit.; Thompson, loc. cit.
[3] "Bereisung der Omaheke," 290
[4] Op. cit., vol. i, 276.
[5] *Bushman Folklore*, 329.
[6] "Die Buschmänner," 66.
[7] "Ergebnisse meiner Kalahari-Reisen," pl. v, fig. 2.
[8] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101, 108–9; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 141–2; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 245–6; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, *The Naron*, 10–11.

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given to boys at their puberty ceremonies; other cuts are made to ensure good luck in hunting, while still others are the marks of successful hunters. These special cuts will all be discussed below in more detail.

According to Dornan the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari practise circumcision of boys and what appears to be a form of cliterodectomy in girls, both in connection with puberty ceremonies. These mutilations he regards as common to most Bushmen and as being truly Bushman in origin, even going so far as to advance the opinion that the neighbouring Bantu who also practise them have taken them over from the Bushmen.[1] This view cannot be upheld. Actually none of the other Bushmen known to us have either form of mutilation, so that these practices can by no means be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture. It is far more probable that the Hiechware have adopted them from the BeChwana, to whose influence they have long been exposed, just as they have adopted from them other elements of Bantu culture, both in technology and in religion.

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Hottentots

H 304

Circumcision, as in the case of the Bushmen, was altogether unknown to the Hottentots. Kolb and several other early writers on the Cape Hottentots, however, state that at or before puberty the left testicle of every boy was excised.[2] It is difficult to decide how much truth there is in this statement, although Kolb gives a minute description of the rite and claims to have repeatedly made a personal examination of the victims themselves. Later writers all emphatically deny the existence of this practice, especially Fritsch, perhaps the most careful observer of the bodily characters of the Cape Hottentots. He maintains that Kolb may have been deceived by the well-known fact that in both Hottentots and Bushmen the scrotum is often drawn up close to and just under the root of the penis, and appears to contain only one testicle, the other not having descended into the scrotal sac.[3] Certainly in more recent times the custom of excision, if it ever did exist (and one is inclined to believe that the older writers may be trusted in this respect), has completely disappeared; and it has never

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[1] *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 158–60.
[2] Kolb, op. cit., 55 sqq.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 842; Wikar, "Berigt aan den Heer Joachim van Plettenberg," 98–9; other references summarized by Walk, "Initiationszeremonien . . . der südafrikanischen Stämme," 882 sqq.
[3] Fritsch, op. cit., 333–4.

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the Heikum, there is also a definite tendency towards band exogamy.[1] 582
This means that in general courtship and marriage take place between persons belonging to different bands, and therefore to different localities.

As a rule boys and girls are not permitted to marry until they have reached the age of puberty, and have passed through the [881] puberty ceremonies.[2] Marriage generally takes place shortly afterwards. Among the Naron and the Auen, for example, most people are married by the time they are twenty, many of them, indeed, when they are several years younger, and so, too, among the Kung marriage takes place at quite an early age.[3]

Marriage Ceremonies

From the sketchy descriptions available about the marriage customs 584
of the Bushmen, there does not appear to be any elaborate ceremonial attaching to the process of courtship and marriage. The actual [184] details recorded vary slightly from tribe to tribe, but in the main features there is a considerable degree of uniformity.[4] The initiative lies as a rule in the hands of the prospective bridegroom. When he has found a suitable girl, he either himself or through an intermediary such as his best friend has to win the consent of her parents, above all of her mother, to whom he brings gifts in the form of game and vegetable foods, blankets, skins, beadwork, and so on. This period of courtship may last for a considerable time, often over a year or so. If no objection is taken to him, and his gifts are accepted, he after a 585
while simply takes the girl to his hut, and the marriage is regarded as settled. As a rule, this step is accompanied by a feast, in which the families and friends of both bride and bridegroom participate. Among the Northern and Namib Bushmen, indeed, it is obligatory on the bridegroom that he should kill a head of big game and present it to either the bride or her mother for the marriage feast. After marriage he also has to present his wife with a full woman's kaross, as well as other articles of clothing and ornaments, while she brings with her all her own property, mainly in the form of domestic utensils.

[1] Lebzelter says of the Kung: "Die Kinder der Vaterschwestern gelten als Vettern, unter ihnen ist die Ehe verboten. Dagegen sind die Kinder der Vaterbruder Geschwister und man muss die Tochter des Vaterbruders heiraten, falls diese es verlangt" (op. cit., 14). This needs to be confirmed; it is at variance with the tendency to band exogamy noted among all the North-Western Bushmen, including the Kung.

[2] Passarge, op. cit., 101; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157, 158; Fourie, op. cit., 89, 91.

[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 33–4.

[4] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Seydel, op. cit., 504–5; Chapman, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 258; Passarge, op. cit., 105; Kaufmann, op. cit., 156; Vedder, op. cit., 8; Dornan, op. cit., 124–8.

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857 sleepy, and crawl on to the grass in the hut. No one sends them to bed.

So the children, during infancy and childhood, remain under the 593 tutelage and in the care of their parents. Once they are grown up, no one really controls them. The tie between parents and mature children is simply one of respect and love, but there is no lack of family affection. Grandparents, uncles, aunts, and other relatives 603 are also respected to some extent, according to character. Among the Naron, grandparents, especially on the mother's side, take a [571] great interest in their grandchildren, and often adopt one which has been weaned, while among the Heikum orphans are generally adopted by the maternal grandparents. The grandmother is often [868] the person who teaches a child to speak. Between two sisters there 593 is usually a close bond of affection, they are generally companions, and help each other with their babies. In certain Cape Bushman tales the wife's unmarried sister is shown staying with her, as helper and nurse of the baby. On the other hand, among some of the North-Western tribes at least, there is a prohibition against a grown-up brother and sister speaking or sitting together. Here too, as in the case of the mother-in-law, the sitting and not the speaking appears to be the important part, for Miss Bleek records having heard an adult brother and sister address each other, while passing at a good distance.[1]

Girls' Puberty Ceremonies

881 The attainment of puberty is marked among all the Bushmen by the performance of certain ceremonies, through which the young people have to pass before being admitted to full membership of the group. Puberty ceremonies for girls are definitely found in all the [184] Bushman tribes, but corresponding ceremonies for boys appear to be restricted to the northern tribes. These ceremonies vary somewhat from tribe to tribe.

Among the Cape Bushmen a girl at the time of her first menstruation was in a state of taboo. "She is put into a tiny hut, made by her mother, with a very small aperture for the door, which her mother closes upon her. When she goes out, she looks down upon the ground; and when she returns to the hut, she sits and looks down. She does not go far, or walk about at this time. When presently she becomes a 'big girl', she is allowed to look about, and to look afar

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 59, 66–7; cf. *idem*, *Naron*, 32; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 94.

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again; being, on the first occasion, allowed to look afar over her 881 ●
mother's hand. She leaves the small hut, when allowed to look
about and around again; and she then walks about like the other
women. During the time she is in retreat, she must not look at the [825]
springbok, lest they become wild."[1] She was not allowed to eat game
killed by the young men, but only that which her father had shot;
and, above all, she was not to look upon or be approached by men
lest harm come to both them and herself. There are several legends [773]
describing how men who were looked upon by a girl at this time
became fixed in whatever position they then occupied, or even became
transformed into stones, or stars in the sky, or trees which talked;
while girls who were disobedient became converted into frogs or
were carried off to death by the rain.[2]

Further north, in some of the North-Western tribes (Naron, Auen, Kung), the central feature of the girls' puberty ceremony is the eland bull dance, which is held in the girl's honour.[3] As soon as she has her first period, neighbours and friends assemble to a big feast given by her parents. By day she is kept in a special hut, tended by women only, and no man may come near her; while every night until her 535
period has passed the eland bull dance is performed. All the men 881
and boys leave the camp, save two old men, who tie elands' horns or wooden imitations thereof to their heads, and wait in the bushes. The older women stand in a line, singing and clapping their hands. The girl is brought from her hut, and sits or lies on the ground by them. The younger women then circle round before them, or make a figure of eight. They dance with their arms outstretched before them, and have a peculiar slow, swaying step. As they dance they lift their karosses and aprons to one side, and expose their buttocks, which they waggle from side to side. Then the two "bulls" stamp up, holding their karosses pulled well down over their shoulders, and presenting a hunched-up appearance. They join the line of dancers, sometimes leading it, sometimes in the middle of it, and dance with a slow, jogging step. The song accompanying their movements is full and low in tune, but without words. The motif of this dance clearly is the courtship of the eland bull, and although as seen by Passarge and Miss Bleek it was kept within bounds, they [831]
say that it can easily become indecent.

[1] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 76–7.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 10, 14, 18; Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 10.
[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 101–3; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 157–8; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23.

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881 The /nu //an hold a similar dance on this occasion, a man with a [535] bird's beak on his head taking the place of the "eland bull".[1]

The corresponding ceremony among the Heikum is a much more elaborate affair.[2] As young girls (*/kham-khoidi*) approach the age of puberty, they are placed in a special hut (*/kham-khoidi oms*), in which they sleep at night. During the day time they gather veldkos either by themselves or in company with the married women, who also visit the hut and instruct them in the various matters pertaining to domestic life, teach them how to prepare the food, to gather wood, to make the fire, and so on. Men may not enter the hut, nor may the girls speak to or be addressed by any man, whether married or single.

At the onset of her first menstruation, a girl is isolated in a small round hut (*/hawa omi*, hut for waiting), which is completely closed in except for a small entrance, and is situated close to the */kham-khoidi oms*. In this hut she remains as long as the flow lasts; she may not show herself outside, and above all no man may pass close to the hut or attempt to address her. She is fed by her mother, or, in the absence of the latter, by another married woman, and is not visited by anybody except the person who feeds her. She may be given veldkos, but is not allowed to partake of meat. Every day, too, her hair is smeared by the attendant woman with a mixture of red bark powder and powdered seed.

When the flow has ceased the girl informs her mother or attendant. 535 The latter tells the other married women, and they all prepare for the 881 */hawa-/nab* (menstruation dance). This takes place during the day on the central space of the camp. Men may not take part in it, nor even watch it. The girl is led out of her hut by two of the women, who cover her whole head and face with a duiker skin kaross, leaving only the eyes visible. Each of the women takes her by the arm, and they join the line of dancers. The women dance abreast of each other, the feet thrown out sideways, with an old woman leading. What their movements are intended to represent we are not told. When the dance is about to end, the girl is taken back to her hut by the two women who had led her out.

The same performance is repeated for three or four days in succession. On the last day, after the dancing has ceased, the girl is presented with various trinkets by the women who took part in 881 the ceremony. Then, after she has been returned to her hut, the

[1] D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.
[2] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om," 17–9; *idem*, "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 89–91.

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adolescent boys, who remain in the camp for the occasion, are 881
summoned to pass in single file behind her hut. As they pass, each
presses his scrotum against her hand, passed through a small opening [751]
made by her mother in the back of the hut, and she touches it with
forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the boys against
swelling of the testicles, which is believed to result from contact, [841]
direct or indirect, with a menstruating woman or anything associated
with her. After all the boys have filed past and returned to their hut,
an old woman enters the girl's hut and rubs down her body with a
preparation of roots. The girl is then ceremonially taken to fetch
first water and then wood, which she brings at a run and places at
the hut of the old woman who cleansed her. After these have been
deposited the ceremony is over. This fetching of water and wood,
together with the cleansing, no doubt symbolizes the return of the
girl to the normal occupations of her daily life.

She is now a woman eligible for marriage, she lives in a new hut 882
built for her by her mother, accompanies the married women in their
daily occupations, and associates with them. The food collected 883
by her during the four or five days following the ceremony is
eaten only by very old women, e.g. the one who rubbed her down.
After that any food she gathers is shared with her mother. On
subsequent menstrual periods she may not go into the veld to gather [841]
veldkos, but must remain in the camp, and is fed by her mother.

In many of its details this ceremony closely resembles the puberty 171
ceremony for girls among the Hottentots. There is a strong probability 881
that it may even have been taken over from the latter, by whom the
Heikum have unquestionably been influenced to a considerable
extent. At the same time, in the seclusion of the girl in a separate
hut, the avoidance of contact with men, and the performance of a
special dance, this ceremony also presents features noted in the
corresponding ceremonies of other Bushman tribes. The differences
apparent between it and the others may therefore be due merely to
the fact that it has been studied and recorded in much fuller detail.
Without further study of the other Bushman tribes no definite
assertion can be made on this point.

The puberty ceremony for girls among the !O Kung of Angola 184
differs in several important respects from those already noted. Every 304
girl, at her first menstruation, is placed in a separate hut, and kept 881
there until the new moon is seen. A dance is held in her honour on
the first nights; both sexes take part in this, but not the girl herself.

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184 304 881 During her seclusion a row of small parallel cuts, which are all blackened with ashes, is made on her face, or arms, or legs by her father or a male magician. Miss Bleek is convinced that these cuts are partly for ornament, but adds that there also appears to be a [776] religious element present, as one woman informant said that *//gãũa*, a supernatural personage, leads this dance, and that the cuts are made in his honour.[1] Both the scarifications and the presence of a supernatural being are foreign to the puberty ceremonies for girls in other Bushman tribes; but, as will be seen shortly, both occur (in somewhat different form) in the puberty ceremonies for boys among the North-Western tribes.

184 881 In all the ceremonies so far described, girls are required to pass through the rites individually as soon as they have their first period. Among the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari, however, it appears from the very fragmentary data supplied by Dornan that girls are initiated in groups. The central feature of the ceremony, as described [304] by him, is an operation performed on each of the girls, which consists in the "perforation of the clitoris" (*sic*) with a stone knife, the operators being the older women.[2] If this information be correct, [177] we have here a ceremony in every way distinct from those of the other Bushmen, and one which can only be regarded as having been borrowed from the neighbouring BeChwana, whose puberty ceremonies for girls are of a somewhat similar nature.

Boys' Puberty Ceremonies

881 Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after reaching the age of puberty, and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in hunting, especially in the pursuit of big game. Among the North-Western tribes this ceremony is carried out in a secluded spot in the bush, near which no woman may come.[3] Here all the eligible big boys from several neighbouring encampments are taken [756] by the old men, with a couple of magicians in charge; and here they remain for about a month, living together in a big hut or enclosure. During the first few days they are roughly handled and half-starved;

[1] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 51; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 122.
[2] Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 159.
[3] Passarge, op. cit., 100–1; Kaufmann, op. cit., 157; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 23–5; *idem*, [114] "Buschmänner von Angola," 122; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 51; Fourie, op. cit., 91–2. Passarge states that the ceremony takes place during the dry season, i.e. at the coldest time of the year; Fourie, on the other hand, that it is always held during the rainy season, when food is plentiful. The other writers do not mention the time of year.

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they may have no fire, and eat no meat, but live only on a little water 881
and on raw roots and berries, which are sprinkled by the magicians
with powdered bark "medicine". The greater part of this early 535
period is spent in the performance of sacred dances (/*gi*, men's dance), 881
which are held all through the day and often continued at night.

These dances among the Naron and Auen are described as follows by Miss Bleek: "All gather in a circle, clap their hands, and sing a weird, solemn tune with the refrain 'honk a honk'. Then they stamp round in a circle waving their arms to another phase of the melody (no words are used); then they stand still and sing the first part again and so on." At this dance the boys often wear ostrich feathers, or the head and beak of the white stork, as head ornaments; otherwise there is no special costume. Anyone owning dancing rattles also wears them, as at the ordinary dances.

On one of the nights of this dance, "a supernatural being called 535
Hishe approaches the dancers, circles round them, and is driven away 776
by the medicine men. The older men had seen this being. One said 881
that it was like a woman in appearance, another that it was not a person at all, but a creature about three feet high with a flat head, red eyes underneath the head, a black body, wings, and claws. Some old Auen said two beings came, male and female, looking like lions, but walking upright. They were followed by children like baboons. The male came first and called the others, they danced round and vanished to the east. Apparently medicine men of different times and places got up different bogies. Latterly their invention seems to have failed, for the middle-aged men told me Hishe came to the dance, but only the medicine men saw her and drove her away." Similarly, among the !O Kung of Angola, "the spirit Huwe occasionally appears and dances with them, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double form as man and woman. Huwe then retires without any particular demonstration."

As will be shown subsequently, Hishe and Huwe are beings who 776
figure prominently in the religious beliefs of the Naron and Kung 881
respectively. There can be little doubt, therefore, inadequate though
our information is on this point, that these ceremonies serve in some [869]
way to introduce the initiates to the mysteries of tribal religion.

More light is thrown on the routine of these ceremonies by Fourie's 881
description of them as practised among the Auen.[1] "On the first day they are given neither food nor water, but are subjected to the

[1] Loc. cit.

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881 smoke of the 'devil's' fire (*//gäŭa-da*) and are required to partake of the 'devil's' urine (*//gäŭa-/kam*). The proceedings of the second day begin with dancing before daybreak. After sunrise and at sunset they are given a small quantity of *//nŏun* (one of the staple vegetable foods of the Kalahari Bushmen) to eat and a little water to drink. During the day their bodies are blackened from head to foot with powdered roasted *//nŏun*. After partaking of the evening meal they retire to rest without dancing. On the morning of the third day they start dancing at sunrise and dance without interruption and without food or water all day long until sunset, when they go to sleep. On the following morning before sunrise, their hands are washed with water by the elders and they are given a little *//noun* to eat. Thereafter they are taken to a pan of water and required to walk through it. The rest of the day is spent in collecting veldkos. In the evening they are introduced to the 'Devil' and partake of honey brought by the latter. On the fifth day their bodies are cleansed with chewed roasted *//nŏun*, and they are permitted to move about the camp and partake of food. They may, however, not speak to young unmarried women. As they retire to rest at night their bows and arrows are handed to them by the elders. From now onwards, each lad is taken separately and required to prove his skill in stalking and killing game with bow and arrow. Each one who [304] passes through the test in a satisfactory manner is tattooed with meat taken from the animals shot by him and then permitted to return to the werft."

The introduction to the "Devil" mentioned in this account [535] obviously refers to the dance in which Hishe or Huwe, as the case may be, appears before the boys. The hunting test almost certainly forms an essential part of the ceremony in the other tribes as well, judging from a curt remark by Miss Bleek in another context that the boys' initiation rites "certainly have much to do with hunting",[1] but there is no concrete information on this point. The "tattooing", 881 304 or rather cicatrization, referred to by Fourie is confirmed by all the other writers on the puberty ceremonies of the North-Western Bushmen. Among the Kung the boys receive these cuts (*/gi* cuts) between the eyebrows, and, among the Naron and Auen, also on the back between the shoulder blades. They consist of from one to three vertical incisions, about half an inch to an inch long, and are made by the magicians in charge of the ceremonies. Among the Naron

[1] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123.

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at Sandfontein powdered acid roots are rubbed into the wounds to 304
keep them from closing as they heal, but no colouring matter is 881
applied; further east, however, according to Passarge, wood ash is [184]
rubbed in to make the wounds black. All men in the North-Western
tribes have these cuts (see Frontispiece), which are supposed to make [224]
them "see well", i.e. to bring them good luck in hunting. After
this operation the boys are permitted to return to the camp. They 882
are now regarded as men, they can marry, and they take part in the
councils of the men and associate with them.

The rites described above appear to exist only in the North-Western 84
tribes. There is no definite record of any puberty ceremonies for 881
boys among the Southern Bushmen, and according to Miss Bleek
the */nu//en*, one of the tribes falling in this division, distinctly denied
that such ceremonies were held by them,[1] while in the same way their
existence among the Namib Bushmen is emphatically denied by Trenk.[2]

It should be mentioned here, however, that from information 794
obtained by Orpen from a member of the now extinct tribe of Basuto- 535
land Bushmen it appears that there were certain dances connected with 776
religious beliefs, the secrets of which were known only to the men
initiated into them.[3] Campbell also records a dance of these Bushmen
as described to him by an informant: "When the Bushmen dance,
Ko (a deity) sometimes comes and informs them where game is to be
procured; and when any animals are killed, certain parts of them may
only be eaten by particular persons. She is a large, white figure,
and sheds such a brightness around, that they can hardly see the fire
for it; all see and hear her as she dances with them . . . They cannot
feel what she is, but should a man be permitted to touch her, which
seldom happens, she breathes hard upon his arm, and this makes him
shoot better . . . After Ko comes up from the ground and dances
a short time with them, she disappears, and is succeeded by her
nymphs, who likewise dance a while with them."[4] The description
of this dance at once reminds one of the puberty dances for boys [881]
among the North-Western Bushmen, where Huwe or Hishe also
comes and dances with them, and there is the same suggestion that
the ceremony is in some way connected with hunting; but there is
nothing definite either in Campbell's account or in Orpen's to indicate
that the dances referred to by them were in any way connected with
puberty ceremonies for boys.

[1] *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 10.
[2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.
[3] "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Folk-Lore*, xxx, 142.
[4] Campbell, *Second Journey into South Africa*, ii, 31–2.

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304 881 The only other Bushman people among whom the occurrence of initiation rites for boys is definitely recorded are the Hiechware of the Eastern Kalahari. Here the main element seems to be circumcision. "The boys," according to Dornan,[1] "are operated on at the age of twelve years, all those of the same age being taken together once a year, as with them puberty comes on at an early age . . . (Then follows a description of the operation: the foreskin of the boy is seized by the operator, who pulls it forward over the gland as far as it will stretch, and then cuts it off close with one slash of a stone knife.) . . . They 881 are treated with considerable care for two or three weeks afterwards, and are fed upon meat . . . They are instructed in the traditional lore of the people, the religious observances and into the mysteries of generation. They are carefully informed that intercourse of [834] uncircumcized people is that of the beasts of the field, that in short it is fornication, as well as a good deal that will not bear to be put into print."

114 Although, as already mentioned, Dornan regards circumcision as an original Bushman custom, there can be little doubt that the 304 Hiechware have taken it over from the BeChwana among whom they 177 live. They are the only Bushman people among whom this practice is 184 asserted to occur, while its absence from other Bushman tribes is explicitly affirmed by all writers. Consequently the puberty rites in the form described by Dornan must be regarded as introduced elements of culture. It is conceivable that the boys' puberty rites among the North-Western tribes should also be attributed to Bantu influence, since nothing similar to them appears to exist in the south. But in several of their details, especially in the introduction of the tribal deities and in the form of mutilation these rites differ considerably from the corresponding rites of the neighbouring South-Western and South-Central Bantu, while on the other hand they are intimately connected with both the economic activities and the religious beliefs of the Bushmen. It is difficult therefore to imagine their having been borrowed, unless it is conceded that they have undergone considerable modification in the process of adaptation. But whether borrowed or not—and the possibility of borrowing, although difficult to establish, is not entirely eliminated—these rites clearly separate the North-Western tribes from their Southern relatives in at least one important feature of culture.

[1] Op. cit., 158-60.

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previously noted, plays an important part in the usages relating to game shot with the bow and arrow, as well as in the first-fruits ceremony; while among the Kung he is similarly responsible for the ceremony performed before the edible bulbs of the new season may be gathered. There is no record of similar religious and economic functions being vested in the chief in other Bushman tribes, so that, in the present light of our knowledge, such customs cannot be regarded as common elements of Bushman culture; but in the tribes where they do occur they obviously show that the chief may, in fact, exercise a considerable influence in the life of the community. 622 [184]

On the whole the chief appears to be essentially a leader rather than a ruler. His actual authority over the members of his band is very slight, and dependent to a considerable extent upon his personality. If, for example, he is a man of strong character, or possesses a gun, he will have a correspondingly greater influence; but the only special authority he has is over the members of his own family, and he has no power to enforce his will outside it. He has nothing in the way of judicial functions, nor does he exercise any organized control over the members of the band. Great freedom of action prevails within the band, and as a rule every adult man can do as he pleases, provided, of course, that he does not infringe against recognized law and custom. In general the head of each family has control over the movements of his wife or wives and children—and over the latter only while they are small. No one really controls grown-up sons and daughters. [157] [593]

This absence of any organized system of public control does not imply that the Bushmen have no laws. On the contrary all their institutions, manners and customs serve to regulate the relations between the members of the band, and thus to maintain law and order. The child at birth comes into a world where there already exist definite forms of organization and behaviour, of ceremonial, of manners and fashions, and as he grows up he falls more or less unconsciously into acting and thinking like those around him, and in this way comes to conform to social norms. There are moreover more or less deliberate means of impressing upon young people the social sentiments necessary for the maintenance of the law and order of the community. The education they receive in the households of their parents and out in the veld, and above all the highly-important teachings at the puberty ceremonies for boys, instruct them in tribal lore and tradition, inculcate social norms, and determine their activities accordingly. 183 867 [881]

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619 621 Bushmen from all parts of the Ghansiveld, even from different tribes, owing to the abundance of animal food thus provided. And again [221] [423] Passarge states that in the Central Kalahari there are also common hunting grounds in which during the rainy season members not only of different bands but also of several different tribes may be found hunting together peacefully, although at other times of the year each band carefully avoids going beyond its own area.

114 619 621 All this suggests that there must be some sort of machinery, however imperfect or ill-organized, to regulate social contacts between different bands. Unfortunately the information bearing upon this most important point is so inadequate that it is extremely difficult to determine to what extent the bands are socially interrelated. There are indeed one or two hints of common meetings at special times for ceremonial purposes. Thus Kaufmann, in describing the boys' [881] puberty ceremonies among the Auen, states that the initiates are drawn together from several neighbouring villages,[1] while Lebzelter, in his [574] preliminary account of the Kung, makes the tantalizingly brief statement that in the months of March and April different bands come together for great feasts.[2] Occasionally, again, a weaker band may seek and 726 619 621 obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour. Thus the men of several Auen bands united with some Naron to attack another Auen band, although once the fight was over the alliance was dissolved.[3] Such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature, nor does it appear that the different bands of the same tribe are commonly organized together for political purposes. But the occurrence of such interrelations as have just been noted definitely indicates that there must be some form of regulated intercourse between neighbouring bands. Without further research in the field, however, no additional light can be thrown upon the nature and mechanisms of this intercourse.

578 619 621 628 On the other hand, the relations between neighbouring bands are not always friendly. Homicide, trespass, theft, adultery and wife-stealing give rise to quarrels and conflicts which generally assume the form of a blood feud and may even lead to war.[4] Trespass especially [685] is a frequent cause of dispute, as all the Bushmen readily attack those who 648 685 encroach on their land. This applies not only to other Bushmen,

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 137.
[2] Lebzelter, "Bei den 'Kun-Buschleuten," 13.
[3] Kaufmann, op. cit., 134.
[4] Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 154; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169, 170; Zastrow, "Ueber die Buschleute," 1; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 40; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 85.

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Ko (ngo), as

776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are
[787] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while
[224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is
[782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with
[756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant,
[791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians, who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded
[773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do
[184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his special protection.

Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis.
184 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to
776 Miss Lloyd several tales about */xwe*, a little personage not identified with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a variety of things. */xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about
776 *Hishe* or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys'
● [88] puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people, bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans.
[756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws
[114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the
177 idea of */khuba* or */xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba"). This is the
776

[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32–3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 301, 305–6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404–13.

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while those dying a "good death" go to *!khutse* (*!khuba*). "About the nature of these beings," he adds, "they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below "Magic and Magicians"), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1] 114 192 776 [773] [881]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say "*//gaua* thunders", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: "*//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndçambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for "God"); "we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, "but not to *//gaua*."[2] 184 192 776 [751] [821] [761] [775] [821] [881] [304] [782]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the "great captain" *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds. 114 184 776 [192] [821] [756] [787]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 14; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4.

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776 honoured with certain ritual observances connected with the chase;
[782] he is also prayed to for rain, before travel, and in case of illness;
[224] and finally it is from him that the magicians obtain their special
[756] powers. By the Eastern Kung he is said to have a wife and many children; among the other Kung and the Heikum he figures alone.

Few of these attributes are mentioned by Miss Bleek in her remarks
184 upon *Hishe* among the Naron and Auen, and upon *Huwe* among the
776 !O !Kung. But there are certain points of agreement. *Hishe* dwells in
[775] a house in the east, to which the ghosts of the dead repair by day;
[224] he is regarded as the creator, and as the protector of game and hunting. On the other hand *Hishe-Huwe*, sometimes alone, sometimes in double
[881] guise as man and woman, sometimes "followed by children like
[114] baboons", figures prominently in the boys' puberty ceremonies, which are not referred to at all by Lebzelter. At the same time, since these ceremonies certainly have much to do with hunting, their association with *Hishe-Huwe* is not inconsistent with his character as protector of the game and hunting, although of course it is hardly likely that this provides the only explanation for his figuring in them. Nor
[782] is he ever prayed to among these tribes, save where the name *Huwe* is substituted by the !O !Kung for *//nwa-se*, the New Moon, in the prayer for rain. Most of the prayers for food and rain, however, are directed to the heavenly bodies, especially the Moon.

A closer agreement with Lebzelter's account is provided by Dornan's
[114] discussion of *Thora-Huwe* among the North-Eastern Bushmen. *Thora* is here said to be the creator who is over all things, he sends
[821] rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting, certain
[224] hunting observances are directed towards him, he wards off disease,
[753] and protects the Bushmen from danger.

It is possible also to find a connection in certain respects between *Huwe* and the conception of the Mantis among the Southern Bushmen. Among the Cape Bushmen, it is true, the Mantis is primarily a mythological character, the central figure of an elaborate series of myths relating to him and his "family". He is never worshipped, but on
[782] the other hand, like *Huwe*, he has creative powers, and is also said to
[825] have made certain bucks and to protect them. Mention is further made by these Bushmen of an afterworld to which go the spirits
[775] of the dead, but there is nothing at all to link this up with the Mantis, just as there is nothing to link up the afterworld of the North-Eastern Bushmen with *Thora*. The resemblance between the Mantis and *Huwe* is far more noticeable among the Bushmen of Basutoland.

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makes thunder and lightning, the stars are his fire, and he kills people 184
by means of shooting stars. Finally, among the Eastern Kung, 776
/nawa or the chief of the *//gauab* figures as the creator, and, as the [821]
executive of *Xu*, he is the source of good luck in hunting and is [224]
honoured with the first-offerings of the chase and prayers for success; [782]
he is also, however, most frequently the cause of illness. It seems [753]
extremely probable that in all these cases the conceptions of *Huwe* [178]
on the one hand and of *//gaua* on the other have been blended or
confused; they are sufficiently distinct in other respects to make
this assumption appear not entirely groundless. The same explana- 114
tion may be advanced for the conflicting reports given by Miss Bleek 178
and by Fourie of one important feature in the Auen puberty ceremonies 776
for boys: according to the former, it is *Hishe* who figures in the 881
special dances, while the latter states that this function is fulfilled [184]
by *Gaua*. *//gaua*, it will be remembered, also presides at a girl's
puberty dance among the !O Kung. Whether we have here a similar
confusion is uncertain, since in none of the other Bushman tribes do
the supernatural beings figure in these ceremonies for girls. But a
suggestion that this may be the case is conveyed by the fact that
one of Miss Bleek's informants identified *//gaua* with *Ndzambi*,
the Mbunda (Bantu) word for deity, used by the missionaries for
"God", while another spoke of *//gaua* as the "father" of the
Bushmen.

We are left, therefore, with the conception of *Huwe*, *Thora*, or 184
the Mantis (among the Basutoland Bushmen) as the creator, the 776
source of the beneficent rain and of good luck in hunting and food [224]
gathering, and the protector of his people from illness and danger; [753]
and with the conception of *//gaua* first as the ghosts of the dead [821]
and then as a personified being, in both cases the source of illness [775]
and death, inflicted in the latter case through the medium of thunder,
lightning, shooting stars, etc. This analysis is not advanced as an
interpretation of the meaning of these beings, nor does it ignore the
possibility of elements having been borrowed from other peoples;
it is intended merely to summarize briefly what appear to be from
the accounts of our authorities the principal religious conceptions
common to most of the Bushmen of the present time.

Magic and Magicians

In all the Bushman tribes people are found who deal in the 756
mysterious or supernatural, who are regarded as endowed with

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756 supernatural powers, or who are able to control, either for social purposes or for their own ends, the spiritual forces upon which the social welfare depends. There is no English word which adequately describes them, but such persons may be loosely termed magicians.

Among the Cape Bushmen, these magicians, who might be of either sex, were called */gixa* (plural, */giten*). There is unfortunately [114] no information available as to how they acquired their powers, nor have we any clear description of the part they played in the life of the community. A few details about them may, however, be gathered from the texts collected by Bleek and Lloyd. Some magicians were [821] rainmakers, who went out to catch the rain bull and lead it over the land bringing rain. Others, again, had special powers over particular [825] game animals, such as the springbok or the ostrich. Some magicians were able to assume and go about in the form of animals such as the lion, springbok, jackal, or a little bird; others, even when asleep, knew what was going about at night, and took care of the people, defending them from evil magicians. For some magicians could [757] cause illness by shooting with invisible arrows, and the patients would die, even though doctored; while some were said to eat the flesh of the dead. When a magician died an earthquake took place, [823] and his heart fell, as a shooting star, out of the sky into a waterhole. His powers, however, he continued to possess even after death, [775] for there are mentioned several occasions on which a dead rainmaker was asked to send rain or a game magician to give success in hunting.[1]

These beliefs, fragmentary as they are, show definitely that the magicians were held to possess supernatural powers, which they might use for good or evil; but, apart perhaps from the making of rain, there is nothing to link them up with any cult or public ceremony, or to indicate that they ever played the part of priests.

[184] Among the Naron and Auen, however, the magicians, as we have seen, function at the puberty ceremonies. They introduce *Hishe* [881] into the dances, and make the cuts between the eyebrows of the boys. [793] Among the Naron they are also the priests, who pray to the New Moon for rain; while among the Auen they make rain by sprinkling [821] on the ground a kind of red earth, which they fetch from afar and carry about with them. The magicians, both male and female, are

[1] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 18; Lloyd, *Bushman Material Collected*, 22.

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756 faculty of seeing and speaking to the *//gauab*, and only they know
[787] and utter the real name, */nawa*, of the chief of the latter. The evening
[782] before a hunting expedition they pray to *//gauab* for help, and certain
of them also have the power of conjuring down rain. This they
756 achieve in the following manner. When rain is needed, all the
789 people of the camp take part in a dance, during which they sing over and over again a mournful song lamenting the condition of hunger and thirst to which they are reduced. "Finally the great captain in the sky hears the lamentation. The magician goes outside the camp and sees that a thin cord is being let down from the sky. He climbs a certain way up this, but the great captain comes down to meet him half-way. As soon as the magician sees the great captain, he throws a powder up to him; whereupon the great captain lifts him up high and takes him into his house. There the magician prays to him: 'Lord, help us, the children are dying, we thirst and hunger.'
[782] So long does he pray and plead that at last the captain says: 'It is
[776] well, I shall send water, that the children may have water and veldkos.'
[821] Then he again accompanies the magician half-way down the cord. As soon as the latter has reached the ground, he releases his hold upon the cord, which is at once drawn up again. The rain follows immediately."[1]

184 Among the !O Kung in Angola there are also two kinds of magicians.
756 The */num-k'au* officiates at puberty dances, makes scarifications,
791 sees spirits, and also conjures up *//gaua*, while the *tsho-k'au* heals the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's
[881] body through sucking. For this he receives a present. Both
[787] men and women apparently can become magicians of either kind,
[755] if taught by an older practitioner. There is said to be no ceremony of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.[2]

It will be noticed that both terms which distinguish the two classes of magician among the Kung and the !O Kung are also found among the Naron and Auen for magicians. This would suggest that there is a similar division of functions in these tribes also, but neither Miss Bleek nor Kaufmann definitely states this.

773 The origin of magic among the Naron and Auen is said by Fourie
[789] to be attributed to *//gaua*, and he gives the following myth in confirmation.[3] "The Bushman *Tji-Tji* is said to have been initiated

[1] Lebzelter, "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 408–9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 15.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124.
[3] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

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abundance, and above all the controller of the rain and its associated phenomena of clouds, thunder, and lightning. *Tsui ||Goab* appears to be essentially the personification of the natural forces producing the rain, and as the rain god he is the object of a special cult. In all this he resembles closely the being variously known as *Huwe*, *Hishe*, *Erob* or *Thora* by the Northern Bushmen, and as *Cagn*, the Mantis, by the Bushmen of Basutoland. *Huwe*, too, is the creator, he controls the rain, thunder, and lightning, he is the source of abundance and of good luck in hunting, the protector of his people from illness and danger, and to him are directed the ceremonies and prayers for rain, food, recovery from illness, etc.

But among certain of the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also dwells in a house in the sky where he receives the souls of the dead. This belief is apparently not found at all among the Hottentots, nor has it been recorded of the other Bushman tribes. It is also held, however, in what appears to be a far more elaborate form, by the Bergdama. Among this people we meet with the conception of *||Gamab*, whose name Vedder derives from the root *||gami*, "water," and whom he regards as "originally the god of the rising clouds and of thunder and fountains". *||Gamab* is the only supernatural being of whom the Bergdama speak. He is the source of life and death, abundance of food, etc., and he lives in "heaven" in a village where he gathers about him the souls of the departed. The Bergdama trace out in great detail the movements of the soul from the moment of death till its arrival in *||Gamab's* village, and the life led there is minutely described.[1] In view of the fact that this particular series of beliefs and its associated rites appear to be the central feature of Bergdama religion, are entirely absent from the Hottentots, and occur in a much-attenuated form only among certain North-Western Bushman tribes who have been much in contact with the Bergdama, one feels justified in assuming that the connection of *Huwe* with a "sky dwelling" to which go the souls of the deceased can be definitely attributed to Bergdama influence.

Among the North-Western Bushmen *Huwe* also figures in the boys' puberty ceremonies, whereas among the Hottentots neither *Tsui ||Goab* nor any other supernatural being is in any way connected with these ceremonies. Here we have an important distinction, and one which must further be correlated with the fact that the Southern Bushmen do not appear to have any puberty ceremonies at all for

[1] Vedder, *Die Bergdama*, i, 97 sqq.; *idem*, "The Berg Damara," 61 sqq.

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boys. This particular association, in other words, is peculiar to the North-Western Bushmen; but whether it has been borrowed or is simply a local development cannot be decided in the light of our present knowledge.

Finally, the Hottentots speak also of *Heitsi Eibib*, who seems to be a sort of ancestral hero, and who is worshipped at his "graves", where he is prayed to for success in hunting, etc. His mythological character in certain respects resembles that of the Mantis among the Cape Bushmen, but the latter is not the object of a grave cult, and this *Heitsi Eibib* primarily is. There is no being corresponding to him among the Northern Bushmen, although his name occurs, obviously as a borrowed element, in the *Heiseb* of the Heikum of Etosha Pan and of North-East Ondonga (among the former as that of a "bringer of blessings", among the latter as that of an "evil spirit" !), and possibly also in the *Hishe*, i.e. *Huwe*, of the Naron and Auen. Consequently this conception must be regarded as peculiar to the Hottentots.

The resemblances noted above are far-reaching, even when allowance is made for the by no means insignificant differences in detail. The Northern Bushmen especially seem to have many elements of religious belief virtually identical with those of the Hottentots. There has certainly been a good deal of mutual influence here, but the similarities not so much in detail as in general features are too numerous and too fundamental to be attributed solely to borrowing. Meticulous comparison must unfortunately be ruled out as at present inadvisable: we know far more about the religious system of the Hottentots than we do about that of the Bushmen, of which indeed the available information is so scanty that any elaborate discussion based on it can only be regarded as somewhat speculative. It can nevertheless be fairly confidently asserted that among both the Northern Bushmen and the Hottentots we find, in addition to the worship of the moon, the cult of mythical beings derived partly from animistic beliefs (*//Gaua*), and partly from the personification of the natural forces producing rain (*Tsui //Goab*, *Huwe*). It must be concluded therefore that both peoples have on the whole the same religious system, although there are obviously also considerable differences in detail which still have to be explained. The importance attaching to this community of beliefs is emphasized by the fact that this religious system differs essentially from that of the neighbouring Bantu.

The Southern Bushmen to some extent stand apart from the rest.

/138 cont./

342 bushes and dispense altogether with any construction.

Tree houses are unknown. In any case, they would be possible only in the Kaukau Veld (baobab), since in the Auin region proper the trees are too weak for this purpose.

Each woman has her own windscreen. If she does not have one, she will live under a special bush.

[882] Young girls and young unmarried men sometimes live in special "girls' houses" or "bachelors' houses," separated according to sex.

34 Any kind of special buildings, like meeting houses, storage rooms, and so forth, are unknown.

514 There is little neatness in the vicinity of the huts. Special toilets do not exist. The sole consideration with regard to evacuation is to be hidden from sight. One finds great accumulations of feces away from the main direction of the wind. The practice of burying excrement, common among the Herero, apparently does not occur.

768 The pontok (windscreen) is by no means a valuable possession. After the owner's death the entire horde leaves the locality. Hence any question about the inheritance of the hut is an empty one.

342 There is no door, and it would not be easy to attach one, considering the construction of the hut. In this connection it should be mentioned that things are left carelessly lying around in the settlements, even when all the people are absent. In any 685 case a theft would be paid for with the death of the thief. Since [151] the Bushman knows the footprints of every person in the region, the culprit would always be found. In this respect the Bushman operates as reliably as the best police dog.

352 They lie upon grass covered with a few tanned hides. There 513 are no other household furnishings.

/139/ C. Food

372 The doro (fire-making instrument) (Fig. 1) consists of two round sticks of the Burkea africana. Several round, flat hollows

[Text continues on page 10]

/139 cont./

412 Mortars are made of wood and have a stone floor. Their
322 construction is extremely laborious. A block of wood is buried in the ground, stamped down, and then hollowed out with the iron point of the lance or a knife. For this purpose, the iron is sometimes heated. Fire is not used. The wooden pestle is furnished with a stone at one end. The stone on the floor of the
[381] mortar is cemented with tree resin.

[379] Burning branches are used as a kind of torch, but only briefly in the vicinity of the fire.

Photograph 18 illustrates the shape of the mortar and the pestle. The mortar is made of soft wood hollowed out with a lance point. Fire is not used to hollow it out (see above).

Household utensils. Two flat stones to pound hard veld
415 fruit. Spoons crudely carved out of wood. Wooden pot or empty ostrich eggs /140/ with a round hole as water containers. Fre-
[531] quently some kind of decoration is applied. Digging stick
[412] pointed at one end.

Ornamentation. Unfortunately I did not have time to ob-
301 tain more precise data concerning ornamentation. Ornaments
531 are attached to many objects and consist of such things as ostrich eggs and pipe plugs (which are worn on a string around the neck).

Generally speaking, the Auin has three meals a day (morn-
264 ing, afternoon, and evening). If he has enough food, however, he may eat all day long, with the necessary intervals, and, if it is not too cold, even during the night.

There is no special menu. Whatever is available is eaten.
262 The hyena is not eaten because it "devours corpses." The leopard is supposedly not eaten by all the people. The reason for this is unknown to me. The shabrack jackal is frequently spurned because it "is a dog." On the other hand, they like to eat the silver jackal, because it "does not eat vermin."

[858] Young girls who have not yet menstruated and boys before
[882] they have reached adulthood may not eat game meat because if they did, they would "remain skinny."

I have never observed any traces of cannibalism. Further-
266 more, I was told by old, experienced natives of other races (Klipp Kaffir) that they had never heard of Bushmen eating human flesh.

/140 cont./

301 Earrings of Molentza chain; necklaces of glass beads. Rings on arms, wrists, and legs as among the men.

[756] The "Bushman doctor" wears special ornaments that other people are not permitted to wear. Unfortunately, I was not able to obtain any of these ornaments.

[882] Girls, it is said, do not start wearing ornaments until after their first menses.

[796] All the ornaments are worn for dances and ceremonies. The headdress of the women in Photograph 20 is worn only on special festive occasions.

302 The "doctor" has his head shaved smooth. I did not notice [756] a special hairdress. The men frequently stick individual loose ostrich feathers in the hair, while the women like to braid brass [301] or iron beads into the hair. In addition, the women use a kind of pomade made of various pulverized plant parts which are combined with fat from antelope skin.

Men sometimes cut their head-hair with a knife or a piece of glass.

There is no differentiation in hair style between girls and married women.

[386] The hair is frequently dyed with a mixture of fat and red clay. I am uncertain, however, whether or not this is a means of making the hair fall out in places. On the other hand, in that case there would probably have to be another ingredient /141/ in this mixture that I was unable to discover.

In case a beard is present, which does not occur often, it is neither cut nor removed in any other way.

[142] Pubic hair is sparse and is sometimes shaved off (with a piece of glass). It is said that women have no pubic hair at all.

E. Artificial Deformities

A kind of cosmetic of a reddish-brown color is used by the women.

It consists of a mixture of fat and red clay (see Section D above) and is manufactured by the women themselves.

[535] This cosmetic is regarded solely as a means of beautification and is used especially at festivals (dances).

622 At the head of each group is a big man or chief. Though usually considered to be a chief in name only and without any authority over the members of the group, he in fact does exercise considerable influence in the life of the community because in him are vested certain functions, the performance of which are of vital importance to the welfare of his people. [423] The family area with its food and water supply, as well as the fire, are all looked upon as belonging to him. Among the tribes of the Kalahari he is succeeded by a son or, failing such, 621 by the nearest male relative.) Among the *Hei-//om*, on the [582] other hand, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds to the 591 chieftainship. Marriage in the group being exogamous and patrilocal, the rest of the group consists of male relatives of the chief with their wives and families. The whole group lives in a common werft or encampment which is laid out on a definite plan. The huts of the married families are 361 placed about 15 to 20 feet apart and arranged in the form of an irregular circle 60 to 80 yards in diameter. Among the [184] *Hei-//om* the hut of the chief is always placed in the east, facing, but at some distance away from, the others. In the Kalahari it may occupy any part of the circle. At or near the middle of the werft is situated a large tree which is reserved as the meeting place for the men and for ceremonial [562] and other purposes. Among some tribes women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. Within the circle adolescent young girls and [882] boys are accommodated in separate huts some distance away 342 from each other. Among the more primitive groups the boys are not provided with a hut, but sleep under the tree in the centre. Mature nubile young women either remain in the young girls' hut or occupy huts next to those of their parents, but inside the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [583] visitors, live outside the circle of the married people. The dancing place is situated within the circle.

184 Huts vary considerably in size and shape among the various 342 tribes. In its most primitive form the hut is four to five feet in height and of very simple design, consisting merely of a semi-circular shelter of branches planted into the ground and covered with grass. Hut-making is the work of women, and a [462] husband does not interfere with his wife's building operations. When it becomes necessary to desert an old camp and establish 166 a new one the site for the latter is selected by the chief, who 342 deposits his household and other effects on the place on which [623] his own hut is to be erected. After the other members have done likewise he proceeds to light a new fire by means of firesticks. Brands from the fire of the old werft may not be used for this purpose. From the fire kindled by him each family then lights its own, after which the women may begin with the building of the huts.

361 In each group area the permanent encampment is situated [312] in the vicinity of the main water supply. When the area is of considerable extent the group, however, moves about from one place to another according to the season and the

the *|hawa-omi* in a similar manner. The same procedure is gone through for three or four days in succession. On the last day, after the dancing has ceased, she is presented with various trinkets by the women who took part in the ceremony and, after she has been returned to the *|hawa-omi*, the *axarogu*, who are required to remain in the *||gāus* for the occasion, are summoned to pass in Indian file behind her hut. As they pass each presses his scrotum against her hand which is protruded through a very small opening made by her mother in the back of the hut and she touches it with forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the *axarogu* against [841] sexual disease (swelling of the testicles) which is caused by [751] treading on the place where a menstruating *!gari-khois* has urinated. If she does not touch the scrotum and such a lad should pass behind her while she has her periods, his testicles will become swollen. The same will happen if she were to tread on the urine of such a boy. When this happens the youth is said to be *!gou*. After all the *axarogu* have filed past and returned to their hut, an old woman enters the *|hawa-omi* and rubs her body down (*|u*) with a preparation of roots, the name and source of which could not be ascertained. Now two of the *≠kham-khoidi* come forward and take her to fetch water. This is done at a run, the water being brought quickly and placed at the hut of the old woman who rubbed her down. Then two other *≠kham-khoidi* take her to fetch wood. This is likewise done at a run and after the wood has been deposited the ceremony is over. She is now a woman and known as a *!gari-khois*. While the ceremony was in progress a new hut, which is known as the *!gari-khois* [882] ● *oms*, was built for her by her mother. In this she now takes up her residence until she marries.

The *≠gari-khois* is now eligible to marry and she accompanies 883 the married women on their various excursions for food, wood, etc., and associates with them. The food collected during the four or five days following her transition to womanhood is eaten only by very old women, *e.g.*, the one who rubbed her down. After that any food gathered by her is shared with her mother. She may subsequently not go to the veld to [941] gather veldkos while she is menstruating, but must remain in the *||gāus*. On such occasions she is fed by her mother.

Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after 881 reaching the age of puberty and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in the pursuit of game, especially big game. The ceremony is in reality a test of their powers of endurance and of their skill in the chase. It is always [221] carried out during the rainy season when food is plentiful. All the eligible lads are removed to a spot some distance away from the werft and placed under the charge of one or more of the elders of the group. An enclosure is made round a big tree and in this they are required to live for the time being. They sleep in the enclosure and the elders around the fire which is made at its entrance. Women are not permitted to approach or communicate with them during the course of the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

them with his moods and when he stopped playing and they 533
went away, they, too, were brooding.

Many young people had come to Nama, and together they 857
made Nama very gay. The boys played a game with wands, 526
throwing the wands at a hummock of ground and watching them bounce off and sail into the grass on the other side, the nearest that Bushmen come to a competitive game, for the young boys like to see whose wand goes the farthest.

The girls played a singing game with a melon. They would stand in a row that formed a half-circle dancing in place while the girl at one end would spring into the middle of the circle and toss a melon to the girl next to her in line. The game is accompanied by a rapid, intricate song of several parts sung [533] in falsetto voices, as pretty to hear as the game is pretty to see, for the girls dance with their arms and heads as well as with their feet, like the dancers of Bali.

At that time there were only two adolescent unmarried 882 girls at Nama. One of these was Beautiful Ungka, the other was her cousin, and they both lived with the cousin's parents at one of the werfs of the people from Gam. They were both extremely beautiful and they were lilies of the field. Since they were their parents' only children, they had no younger brothers or sisters to mind, and did nothing at all from one [572] day to the next but adorn and amuse themselves, and this they did together, for they were the best of friends. They were straight and slender, with pale-gold skin not yet darkened and [142] weathered by the sun of the veld, and they had flat bellies and high, small breasts. Beautiful Ungka had nipples like knobs, rounded like balls. Both girls wore ornamented aprons, soft leather capes—the best that there is. Many bead ornaments 302 hung from their hair and swung when they walked, and almost hid their handsome faces.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

572 A sound and a fragrance accompanied them wherever they
882 went; the sound was the sound of their ornaments clanking
574 like crockery, dry and dull, and the fragrance was heavy and
[303] sweet, the perfume of the leaves of *sa* and the wood of *tchambuti*, which Bushman women grind to powder and rub on their bodies. We would always hear these two girls coming, for they talked loudly, and a moment later we would see them appear around a bend in the path, one in front of the other, heads high and eyes cast downward, as light and long as two Egyptian sacred cats. Usually they were followed by a homely little girl years younger than they were, a forlorn little creature who would run errands for them and was content to trot after them and be their handmaiden, and usually they were on their way to visit a friend of theirs, a young married girl who was visiting at Toma's werf. When the two beauties would arrive to visit her, their married friend would stop whatever she was doing and the three of them would sit together in some shady spot to string beads or weave blossoms into crowns which they would wear, the blossoms fetched by the handmaiden, who searched the veld for aloes, the only flowers blooming in that season.

882 While they were stringing beads or weaving blossoms, a
572 group of young boys would gather to play the wand game, and
857 now and then, of course, a wand would land among the girls and the boys would jostle each other to retrieve it. The girl of Toma's werf treated these happenings with gaiety, for she was responsive and kind, but the other two wouldn't even turn their heads to see. Beautiful Ungka had been married, after all, and kidnapped, and widowed and divorced; grown men had fought over her and it was natural that the jostling of young boys would seem trivial. She would laugh behind her hand at them, though, then pull a long face when they would turn around to see.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Those were two willful girls, too beautiful, too proud, too 882 much admired, but the young boys couldn't do enough for 572 857 them. It was one of their admirers who cleared the grass for the werf that the cousin's parents were building, and though the two girls teased and ridiculed the boy all the while, snickering contemptuously at him from behind their swinging beads, he worked on happily until not a blade of grass remained.

But Beautiful Ungka and her cousin were not as sophisti- 883 cated as they thought they were, really, for when they would 526 hear the music of the melon game they would abandon their poise and decorum to run for the sound, arms waving, ornaments and clothing streaming out behind, and when they found the game they had been hearing they would jump into the middle of it and play with abandon, singing loudly and dancing fast for fun. Also, Beautiful Ungka could spit through her teeth like a man. She could draw back her head and spit ten feet and she did this often, smiling scornfully, an astonishing accomplishment for such a handsome girl. Her cousin used to try it too; she could spit a little way but not nearly as far as Beautiful Ungka.

After all, they were only sixteen. There is a Bushman mood 533 539 song with these words:

> *I am tired and old and without people,*
> *I wish I could marry a young girl.*

There were so many great fires around Nama that the sky 132 was dark with their smoke, and when the sun rose in the morning, one day shortly after we had got there, we could not even see it until it was far above the horizon and then it appeared red and enormous, murky. In the west two new fires had sprung up, perhaps lit by Bushmen to show where they were

to do so. Lack of privacy makes it almost impossible to keep an affair secret, 837 and violent jealousy and anger can be aroused. Fearing any disruptive force, 852 the !Kung disapprove.

LIFE CYCLE

CHILD TRAINING • !Kung parents are gentle, 854 protective, and permissive with all their children and express their affection especially with babies. It is a most common sight to see fathers fondly kissing them with pursed lips and smacks. The mother, wherever she goes, carries 853 her infant tied to her left side, skin to skin, in a little leather sling where it can reach her breast. When she sits, she takes the infant out of its sling, holds it, lets it nurse the other breast.

The !Kung believe that long nursing is essential to the survival and 853 development of their children and encourage them to continue until they 862 are three or four or older. These people practice infanticide and, in explain- 847 ing it, say that they must space their babies so that each will be able to nurse long enough to ensure his having strong legs. An infant cannot thrive on their harsh foods, they say, even though they chew the food and put it into the infants' mouths, and the mother cannot support two entirely with her milk, excellent though !Kung lactation appears to be. They supplement the milk with adult food as soon as the child can eat it, so that a child is accustomed to it and ready to be weaned at three or four when the next baby comes. But, even so, the mother weans gradually, letting the older child have a drink of milk occasionally through the day. If the mother does not have or keep another baby but still has milk, she will allow or encourage her child to continue nursing. Other children tend to make fun of a child who nurses until he is six or so, and, in response to their teasing, a child may wean himself quite abruptly.

Babies are naked and, since there are no floors but the desert sand, 854 not much is made of their urinating wherever they are. When they defecate, they are wiped with grass and the fecal matter is cleaned up at once by some older child or adult and carried off. As soon as children can walk fairly 863 well they are led by the hand and encouraged to go out of the werf for their toilet needs, at first for the sake of cleanliness and, as they grow older, for the sake of modesty as well. (!Kung adults are exceedingly modest about 291 uncovering their genitalia. Their incest taboo influences this behavior, I think, very strongly.)

Infants sleep in their mothers' arms. Young children sleep wrapped 513 in karosses beside their parents' fire. Boys from the age of about eleven or 882 twelve sleep at a boys' fire, not far from the family of one of them. Girls at 857 that age go to sleep with a grandmother or some widow, or several of them

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

513 882 together may sleep near the parents of one of them, but not exactly at the parents' fire.

855 857 Within the frame of protectiveness the parents are very permissive and make few, if any, demands on their children. With no houses and few utensils, there are not many household tasks to assign. Children are not sent off alone to do any of the daily work of fetching water or wood or [136] gathering veldkos. Although lions, leopards, and hyenas tend to mind their own business, they are present in the country and share the water holes with the Bushmen. Poisonous snakes are a very real danger. Furthermore, as the hunters say, it takes a lifetime to learn the country well enough not to be easily lost in the featureless grass and brush. The adults do not let their children out of their sight. In their parents' presence the children imitate adult activities in vital, active play, very engaging to watch, and [868] participate in actual work as they are able. The adults pause to show them how to hold a digging stick, or a toy bow or drill, so that play and learning merge.

524 857 [512] The !Kung have a rich variety of lively group games, with pantomime, singing, dancing, and other rhythmic movements, that children and adults together enjoy playing in the werf when the heat of the day is over. In most of their games boys and girls play separately, but they dance and sing together.

861 !Kung children are never harshly punished. One father said that if he had a boy who was quarrelsome or who disobeyed the rules—for instance, the absolute rule of the !Kung against stealing food or possessions—what he would do about it would be to keep the boy right with him until he learned sense. The children on their part do not often do things that call forth 857 156 punishment. They usually fall in with group life and do what is expected of them without apparent uncertainty, frustration, or fear; and expressions of resistance or hostility toward their parents, the group, or each other are very much the exception.

881 PUBERTY • When the fathers of the present old men were young men, [173] the Nyae Nyae !Kung adopted the ceremony of the *Choma*, which they said was taught to them by a !Kung man who had married into another [171] language group in the south. The *Choma* resembles some Bantu initiation ceremonies at certain points. The men who have had the ceremony and are [562] therefore *Choma* owners take the boys to a place far enough from the werf to be out of hearing of the women, who, the !Kung claim, would die if they [535] heard some of the *Choma* sounds. The men and boys dance all night for several nights to special *Choma* songs with special rhythms that differ from [534] those of the other dances. A secret bull-roarer plays a part in the ceremony. [302] At the end the boys are scarified with a vertical line down the middle of [304] their foreheads and are given a special *Choma* haircut. Circumcision or other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

361 [606] exists among the *Hei-//om* in common with other Bushman tribes." Within the circle of huts towards the south is the hut of the adolescent [882] young girls, and towards the north that of the adolescent young men; mature marriageable young women occupy huts next to those of their parents in the circle. Old widows and widowers, as also [589] visitors from any neighbouring group, live outside the circle of married people. The dancing place is to the west within the circle.

"The large tree (*!heis*) in or near the centre of the *//gaus* is reserved 361 562 as a meeting place for men for ceremonial and other purposes. Women are entirely forbidden to approach it or to join the men when gathered underneath it. To this, however, there is one exception, namely, [622] the wife (*gei-khois*) of the *gei-khoib* may go to it to obtain fire for kindling the principal fire (*!ou-|ais*) or for other menial purposes when required by her husband. With the exception of the chief nobody is permitted to live in close proximity to this *!heis*. Under [372] it is made the first fire (*!hei-|ais*) on the establishment of a new [224] *//gaus* and underneath it is deposited, for distribution, all meat killed in the chase."[1]

Fourie speaks of this camp arrangement as being present among 114 all the Bushmen in the northern parts of South-West Africa,[2] but the 361 only confirmation for this statement is given by Vedder, who just hints at a similar arrangement of the camp among the Kung. "Where several families live together," he says, "the huts are ranged in a circle, the head of the group ("Dorfälteste") living in the east."[3]

Each family within the group has its own hut. Where the families 592 are polygynous, the wives may live together in the same hut if they [595] get on well; otherwise each will build herself a separate hut. Children sleep with their parents until strong enough to go about by themselves. The bigger boys and young bachelors sometimes share [882] a hut together, but generally they sleep out in the open under a tree, and only in very wet weather will their mothers in co-operation build them a hut. Unmarried girls too old to sleep with their parents also share a separate hut. An old widower may live alone, or with [589] a boy; a widow and her little children, where they do not live alone, are generally quartered with the girls.[4]

342 The huts themselves (Plate VI) are somewhat crude, consisting as a rule merely of a semicircular shelter of branches planted into

[1] Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 52. [2] "Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 86.
[3] "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," 6.
[4] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 4–5; Fourie, "Customs of the Hei-//om Bushmen," 51; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 138.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

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adolescent boys, who remain in the camp for the occasion, are 881
summoned to pass in single file behind her hut. As they pass, each
presses his scrotum against her hand, passed through a small opening [751]
made by her mother in the back of the hut, and she touches it with
forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the boys against
swelling of the testicles, which is believed to result from contact, [841]
direct or indirect, with a menstruating woman or anything associated
with her. After all the boys have filed past and returned to their hut,
an old woman enters the girl's hut and rubs down her body with a
preparation of roots. The girl is then ceremonially taken to fetch
first water and then wood, which she brings at a run and places at
the hut of the old woman who cleansed her. After these have been
deposited the ceremony is over. This fetching of water and wood,
together with the cleansing, no doubt symbolizes the return of the
girl to the normal occupations of her daily life.

She is now a woman eligible for marriage, she lives in a new hut 882
built for her by her mother, accompanies the married women in their
daily occupations, and associates with them. The food collected 883
by her during the four or five days following the ceremony is
eaten only by very old women, e.g. the one who rubbed her down.
After that any food she gathers is shared with her mother. On
subsequent menstrual periods she may not go into the veld to gather [841]
veldkos, but must remain in the camp, and is fed by her mother.

In many of its details this ceremony closely resembles the puberty 171
ceremony for girls among the Hottentots. There is a strong probability 881
that it may even have been taken over from the latter, by whom the
Heikum have unquestionably been influenced to a considerable
extent. At the same time, in the seclusion of the girl in a separate
hut, the avoidance of contact with men, and the performance of a
special dance, this ceremony also presents features noted in the
corresponding ceremonies of other Bushman tribes. The differences
apparent between it and the others may therefore be due merely to
the fact that it has been studied and recorded in much fuller detail.
Without further study of the other Bushman tribes no definite
assertion can be made on this point.

The puberty ceremony for girls among the !O Kung of Angola 184
differs in several important respects from those already noted. Every 304
girl, at her first menstruation, is placed in a separate hut, and kept 881
there until the new moon is seen. A dance is held in her honour on
the first nights; both sexes take part in this, but not the girl herself.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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at Sandfontein powdered acid roots are rubbed into the wounds to keep them from closing as they heal, but no colouring matter is applied; further east, however, according to Passarge, wood ash is rubbed in to make the wounds black. All men in the North-Western tribes have these cuts (see Frontispiece), which are supposed to make them "see well", i.e. to bring them good luck in hunting. After this operation the boys are permitted to return to the camp. They are now regarded as men, they can marry, and they take part in the councils of the men and associate with them. 304 881 [184] [224] 882

The rites described above appear to exist only in the North-Western tribes. There is no definite record of any puberty ceremonies for boys among the Southern Bushmen, and according to Miss Bleek the */nu//en*, one of the tribes falling in this division, distinctly denied that such ceremonies were held by them,[1] while in the same way their existence among the Namib Bushmen is emphatically denied by Trenk.[2] 84 881

It should be mentioned here, however, that from information obtained by Orpen from a member of the now extinct tribe of Basuto-land Bushmen it appears that there were certain dances connected with religious beliefs, the secrets of which were known only to the men initiated into them.[3] Campbell also records a dance of these Bushmen as described to him by an informant: "When the Bushmen dance, Ko (a deity) sometimes comes and informs them where game is to be procured; and when any animals are killed, certain parts of them may only be eaten by particular persons. She is a large, white figure, and sheds such a brightness around, that they can hardly see the fire for it; all see and hear her as she dances with them . . . They cannot feel what she is, but should a man be permitted to touch her, which seldom happens, she breathes hard upon his arm, and this makes him shoot better . . . After Ko comes up from the ground and dances a short time with them, she disappears, and is succeeded by her nymphs, who likewise dance a while with them."[4] The description of this dance at once reminds one of the puberty dances for boys among the North-Western Bushmen, where Huwe or Hishe also comes and dances with them, and there is the same suggestion that the ceremony is in some way connected with hunting; but there is nothing definite either in Campbell's account or in Orpen's to indicate that the dances referred to by them were in any way connected with puberty ceremonies for boys. 794 535 776 [881]

[1] *Comparative Vocabularies of Bushman Languages*, 10.
[2] "Buschleute der Namib," 169.
[3] "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *Folk-Lore*, xxx, 142.
[4] Campbell, *Second Journey into South Africa*, ii, 31–2.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

584 Boys are always considerably older than girls before their parents betroth them.
[805] We never knew the precise age of a /Kung because they reckon time from one season to the next, not in years, and do not keep track of a person's age by any measurement. Boys appear to be usually around twelve to fourteen or fifteen before they are
[868] betrothed. At this age their fathers begin to take them on the long hard hunts for the
[883] big animals which supply the people's meat and begin their serious hunting training.

As to girls, wives are in such demand in this polygynous society that the parents of boys have their eyes upon every girl baby and may say to the parents of an unborn infant, 'If it is a girl, let us have her for our son.' It seems to be more usual, however, to betroth the girls when they are about two to five or six. The boys wait patiently for long years for their fiancées to grow up.

We wondered what would happen if, when the time at last came for the marriage, the boy or girl should refuse the parents' choice. It appears that they seldom do. A boy is usually too eager to get a wife. To refuse the betrothed might mean he would have to wait for years and years again for a girl baby to grow up. The girls are usually too young to protest but it sometimes happens that one does. /Kung
593 parents are exceedingly protective and permissive with their children, and delight
855 in them, especially in their infancy. I have sometimes seen an older child scolded or
861 snapped at by an impatient mother but I never saw a child severely punished. No hard work and few, if any, regular chores are demanded of dependent children. The same protectiveness and permissiveness were apparent in parents' lenience with respect to their girls' betrothals. They complied with the girls' wishes.

The marriage may take place when the parents agree. The age of the young people
582 varies greatly. For the girl, there are no definite age or other requirements. The girl need not, for instance, show physical signs of maturity. When the important Ceremony of First Menstruation is performed, the girl may have been married for years. Bau, who was married to Tsamgao in 1951, did not have her first child for six years. /Nai was married to /Gunda in May 1953. She menstruated for the first time in March 1959. To be married as young as that is not at all unusual, but we have known several girls to be somewhat older.

The parents explain that when the girls marry young they 'get used to' their
582 husbands. I am sure there is a great deal in this and I am sure it strongly affects the
593 relations of husbands and wives, but I had insufficient opportunity to observe eight- or nine-year-old brides with teen-age husbands, and insufficient means, through interpreters, to grasp the nature of their relationship. What is the young husband like to a girl child? The friendly, gentle old man, Demi, said to me, 'They enjoy their youth together.'

The young couples are expected not to have sexual intercourse till the girls are 'big
593 enough', informants said, and the boys must not force the girls. If a girl complained
834 to her parents and the parents took her back and sent the young husband away, he might have to wait for years again for another bride to grow up. The /Kung are
[123] prevented by their incest taboos and their modesty from speaking freely about sex and I learned nothing about the actual sexual practices of the young couples. /Nai and her young husband, /Gunda, had only one good kaross between them; they slept
513 together bundled in it, feet to feet. Bau and Tsamgao slept quite apart—at different
593 fires—when we observed them in 1952. In 1953 they slept at their own fire, apart, she

the *|hawa-omi* in a similar manner. The same procedure is gone through for three or four days in succession. On the last day, after the dancing has ceased, she is presented with various trinkets by the women who took part in the ceremony and, after she has been returned to the *|hawa-omi*, the *axarogu*, who are required to remain in the *||gāus* for the occasion, are summoned to pass in Indian file behind her hut. As they pass each presses his scrotum against her hand which is protruded through a very small opening made by her mother in the back of the hut and she touches it with forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the *axarogu* against [84] sexual disease (swelling of the testicles) which is caused by [75] treading on the place where a menstruating *!gari-khois* has urinated. If she does not touch the scrotum and such a lad should pass behind her while she has her periods, his testicles will become swollen. The same will happen if she were to tread on the urine of such a boy. When this happens the youth is said to be *!gou*. After all the *axarogu* have filed past and returned to their hut, an old woman enters the *|hawa-omi* and rubs her body down (*|u*) with a preparation of roots, the name and source of which could not be ascertained. Now two of the *ǂkham-khoidi* come forward and take her to fetch water. This is done at a run, the water being brought quickly and placed at the hut of the old woman who rubbed her down. Then two other *ǂkham-khoidi* take her to fetch wood. This is likewise done at a run and after the wood has been deposited the ceremony is over. She is now a woman and known as a *!gari-khois*. While the ceremony was in progress a new hut, which is known as the *!gari-khois* [882] *oms*, was built for her by her mother. In this she now takes up her residence until she marries.

The *ǂgari-khois* is now eligible to marry and she accompanies 883 the married women on their various excursions for food, wood, etc., and associates with them. The food collected during the four or five days following her transition to womanhood is eaten only by very old women, *e.g.*, the one who rubbed her down. After that any food gathered by her is shared with her mother. She may subsequently not go to the veld to [94] gather veldkos while she is menstruating, but must remain in the *||gāus*. On such occasions she is fed by her mother.

Boys are subjected to the ceremony of initiation after 881 reaching the age of puberty and as soon as they are considered to have become proficient in the pursuit of game, especially big game. The ceremony is in reality a test of their powers of endurance and of their skill in the chase. It is always [22] carried out during the rainy season when food is plentiful. All the eligible lads are removed to a spot some distance away from the werft and placed under the charge of one or more of the elders of the group. An enclosure is made round a big tree and in this they are required to live for the time being. They sleep in the enclosure and the elders around the fire which is made at its entrance. Women are not permitted to approach or communicate with them during the course of the

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

Those were two willful girls, too beautiful, too proud, too 882
much admired, but the young boys couldn't do enough for 572 857
them. It was one of their admirers who cleared the grass for the werf that the cousin's parents were building, and though the two girls teased and ridiculed the boy all the while, snickering contemptuously at him from behind their swinging beads, he worked on happily until not a blade of grass remained.

But Beautiful Ungka and her cousin were not as sophisti- 883
cated as they thought they were, really, for when they would 526
hear the music of the melon game they would abandon their poise and decorum to run for the sound, arms waving, ornaments and clothing streaming out behind, and when they found the game they had been hearing they would jump into the middle of it and play with abandon, singing loudly and dancing fast for fun. Also, Beautiful Ungka could spit through her teeth like a man. She could draw back her head and spit ten feet and she did this often, smiling scornfully, an astonishing accomplishment for such a handsome girl. Her cousin used to try it too; she could spit a little way but not nearly as far as Beautiful Ungka.

After all, they were only sixteen. There is a Bushman mood 533
song with these words: 539

> *I am tired and old and without people,*
> *I wish I could marry a young girl.*

There were so many great fires around Nama that the sky 132
was dark with their smoke, and when the sun rose in the morning, one day shortly after we had got there, we could not even see it until it was far above the horizon and then it appeared red and enormous, murky. In the west two new fires had sprung up, perhaps lit by Bushmen to show where they were

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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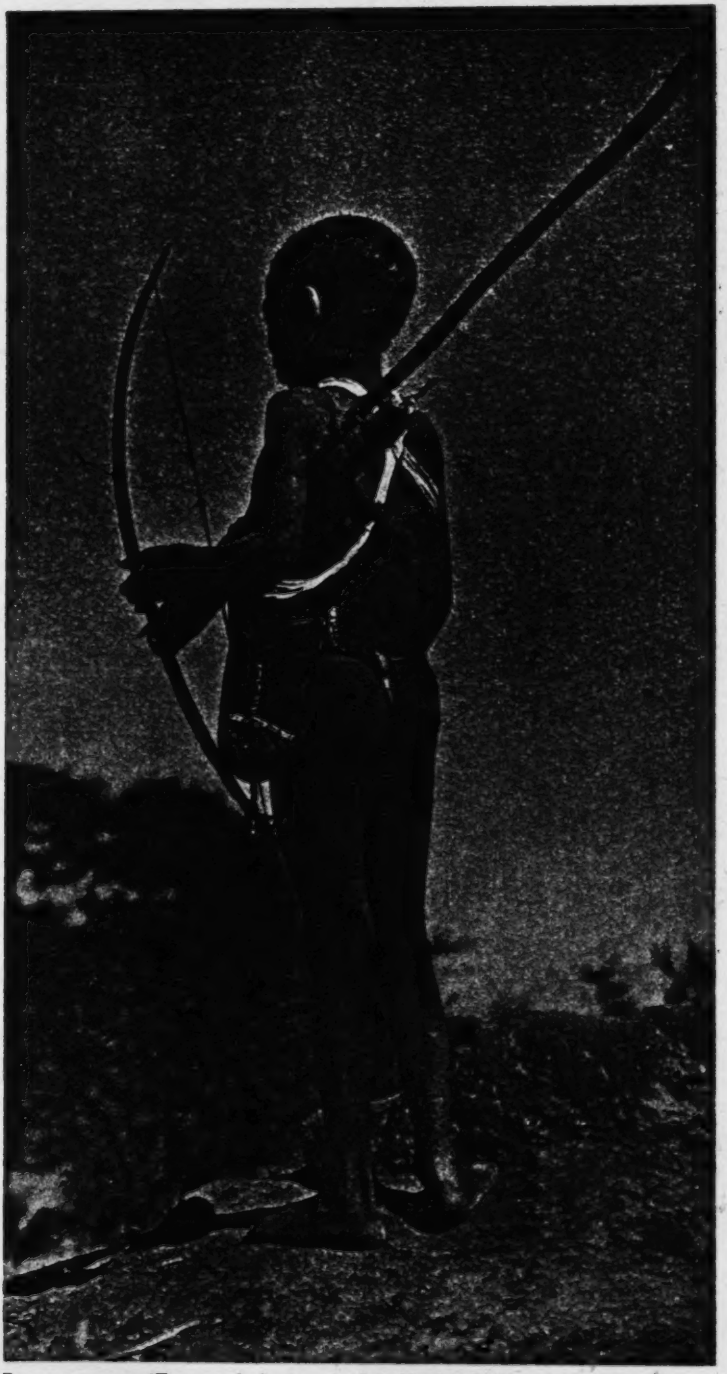

BEFORE MARRIAGE, !Kung youths have few responsibilities. But the hunt is in their blood and it is a proud boy who kills his first buck early in life.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance

The ceremonial curing dance is the one religious act which has form and in which the people are united. The purpose of the dance is to cure sickness and to drive away evil. If there is actual sickness among the people or if real misfortune has come upon them, the dance will be held especially to cure these ills. But the people dance often when no one is actually known to be sick, and when no particular misfortune has come, to drive away evil which might be there but which one cannot see, and to feel protected by goodness.

The protecting goodness is the ' medicine ', the magic power called *gaxa*, which the /Kung believe the great god puts into the bodies of the medicine men and into the medicine songs. The /Kung believe that the great god endowed the power with its own autonomous potency, but nevertheless account for its failing to cure sometimes by saying that the all-powerful god allows it to work or not, according to his pleasure or displeasure. *Gaxa* is the power evoked and activated during the curing dance.

I believe the ceremonial curing dance to be a religious act, but, although very serious, especially in its final curing aspect, it is not piously solemn or constrained
[517 and it provides occasion for pleasure and aesthetic satisfaction. The music can be
533] sung at any time, for lullabies or just for singing. Music and dancing are the arts of the /Kung. The good young dancers, especially, feel the delight which is inherent in fine integration of movement and rhythm (one can see this clearly), and the people watch and admire good dancing and take pleasure in it, and in the music.

Furthermore, the dances are a socially unifying factor. All the people of the werf
come together and participate, men and women, old and young. The men often
[852] dance with their babies on their shoulders in the early part of the dance, and the children dance and play among them, until they fall fast asleep in their mothers' laps.

[883] Anyone who wants a dance may start it by going around to people and asking them to come and begin. Someone who was sick would ask for a dance, but young people who love to dance often start just for fun. Sometimes their dances do not turn into curing dances, but usually, once the music begins, the adults join in and the dance becomes a real one. The dances last all night oftener than not. There is a special potency in those which are danced at dawn. The /Kung dance, at irregular intervals, on an average of once in ten days, more or less. Almost invariably they dance at least once during the full moon.

Among the /Kung the women and girls always sit close together in a circle around a dance fire which may be built wherever there is convenient clear space. Their function is to clap and sing. The men dance in a line, one close behind the another, around the circle of women, in either direction, and cut through the circle past the fire. They sing as they dance. Occasionally a woman gets up and dances with them, though it is not her role, as though she could no longer resist the impulse. When a woman joins the line of dancers, the man behind her holds out his arms towards her but does not touch her. She dances with dignity, making tiny stamping steps, hardly moving, eyes cast down. If there is a delicate overtone of eroticism expressed in the dancing of the women, it is most subtle and constrained—in extreme contrast to the overt expression of many of the Bantu dances.

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574 before she goes out to gather again. The hunters tend to
462 work more frequently than the gatherers. Typically a man will
[224] go out on two or three consecutive days and then spend two or three days in camp. Unlike the women, who maintained a consistent gathering routine throughout the year, the hunting activity of the men came in intermittent bursts. It was not unusual for a man to hunt avidly for a week and then do no hunting at all for two weeks. Since hunting was an unpredictable business, and subject to magical control, hunters would sometimes experience a run of bad luck and would stop hunting for a month or longer. For instance, Koma, the best hunter of the Dobe camp, did not hunt at all for a three-month period in 1963 because he said that his luck had left him. He remained in camp, apparently awaiting inspiration, while his wife patiently provided food for him. Most of the men of the Dobe camp went through similar periods of inactivity.

• 883 <u>Non-productive Camp Members</u> -- People who are under twenty
[887] years and over sixty-five years of age contribute very little to the food input of a camp. Young women are not expected to
[582] contribute food until they are married. Girls typically marry
[574] between the ages of fifteen and twenty, so it is not unusual to find healthy, active, teenagers visiting from camp to camp while their older relatives provide food for them. The assumption of adult responsibility by the boys is even more delayed.

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224 A boy does not begin to play-hunt until he is twelve years old, and seven or eight years may pass before he kills his first buck, an event which signals his entry into manhood.
[648] Nowadays many adolescent boys spend several years working on
[464] the Bantu cattle posts where they receive clothing and rations.
[682] This interval of work undoubtedly delays their attainment of social maturity and boys do not normally marry until they reach their middle twenties. It is significant that, upon marriage, practically all of the young men return to the camps and take up hunting as a full time occupation.

888 The aged hold a respected position in Bushman society. They are the effective as well as the titular leaders of the camps. The oldest people are fed and cared for by their children and grandchildren long after their productive years have
888 passed. The blind, the senile and the crippled are held in
734 awe and respect by the Bushmen, because they often possess special ritual and technical skills. For instance, /wan!a, the eighty year old female leader of the !gose camps, was senile and partially blind, but she was recognized as the leading exponent of the Women's Curing Dance. The two male elders of the !gose camps were both totally blind, but this did not prevent their active participation in decision-making and in ritual curing.

000 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social

121 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social
433 maturity by the young people and the support of the non-pro-
883 ductive elderly people are institutions which are possible
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182 only in a society with a relatively secure subsistence base.

433 <u>Water, Food, and Nomadism</u> -- The special subsistence problems
312 faced by the Dobe area Bushmen concern the scarcity of water.
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361 All of the eight natural permanent waterholes are situated in or near the beds of the main molapos. During the summer months, when temporary pools develop at a distance from permanent water, the Bushmen can move out to live at them. Except for a few weeks each year, the Bushmen spend their entire lives camped within an hour's walk of standing water. Only at the end of the dry season do some of the younger people undertake the long trips to the dry forests where they live by digging out the water-bearing roots. Since it is the custom of the Bushmen to return each evening to their main camps, it follows that areas within a single day's walk of standing water will be intensively utilized. Areas that lie beyond this radius will be rarely utilized even though they may be rich in food. The fact that the Bushmen can live well for most of the year within a six-mile radius of permanent water indicates that they do not lead a nomadic way of life. Each summer they move up-country to the seasonal waters and each winter they fall back on their permanent waterholes. In contrast to some Australian aboriginal groups, whose annual round consists of walking a circuit of many waterholes, the Dobe area Bushmen have a

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930

FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

adolescent boys, who remain in the camp for the occasion, are 881
summoned to pass in single file behind her hut. As they pass, each
presses his scrotum against her hand, passed through a small opening [751]
made by her mother in the back of the hut, and she touches it with
forefinger and thumb. This is done to protect the boys against
swelling of the testicles, which is believed to result from contact, [841]
direct or indirect, with a menstruating woman or anything associated
with her. After all the boys have filed past and returned to their hut,
an old woman enters the girl's hut and rubs down her body with a
preparation of roots. The girl is then ceremonially taken to fetch
first water and then wood, which she brings at a run and places at
the hut of the old woman who cleansed her. After these have been
deposited the ceremony is over. This fetching of water and wood,
together with the cleansing, no doubt symbolizes the return of the
girl to the normal occupations of her daily life.

She is now a woman eligible for marriage, she lives in a new hut 882
built for her by her mother, accompanies the married women in their
daily occupations, and associates with them. The food collected 883
by her during the four or five days following the ceremony is
eaten only by very old women, e.g. the one who rubbed her down.
After that any food she gathers is shared with her mother. On
subsequent menstrual periods she may not go into the veld to gather [841]
veldkos, but must remain in the camp, and is fed by her mother.

In many of its details this ceremony closely resembles the puberty 171
ceremony for girls among the Hottentots. There is a strong probability 881
that it may even have been taken over from the latter, by whom the
Heikum have unquestionably been influenced to a considerable
extent. At the same time, in the seclusion of the girl in a separate
hut, the avoidance of contact with men, and the performance of a
special dance, this ceremony also presents features noted in the
corresponding ceremonies of other Bushman tribes. The differences
apparent between it and the others may therefore be due merely to
the fact that it has been studied and recorded in much fuller detail.
Without further study of the other Bushman tribes no definite
assertion can be made on this point.

The puberty ceremony for girls among the !O Kung of Angola 184
differs in several important respects from those already noted. Every 304
girl, at her first menstruation, is placed in a separate hut, and kept 881
there until the new moon is seen. A dance is held in her honour on
the first nights; both sexes take part in this, but not the girl herself.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

222 way private rights can be indicated over honey in a nest, or by a woman
422 who has located a spot with a specially abundant supply of veldkos. Whoever removes anything from such places is regarded as a thief.[1] It must be emphasized, however, that rights of this nature are only acquired by chance, and that apart from them there appears to be no [423] restriction at all upon the free exploitation of the hunting territory and all its resources by any member of the band.

Hunting

224 Once they have passed through the puberty ceremonies, boys and
[883] girls participate in the full economic life of the band. All the men
[462] are hunters, and spend the greater part of their daily life in pursuing or ensnaring game. Their methods of hunting vary with the nature of the intended prey, and according to the season of the year.

Weapons

The principal method is by means of pursuit and the use of weapons.
411 The latter amongst all the Bushmen consist primarily of the bow and arrow.[2] The bows are small, and on the whole fairly crude and of simple make (Plate IXd). They are as a rule prepared from the wood [824] of the *Grewia flava*, a thin length of which is cut and roughly shaped is such a way as to taper gradually almost to a point at the ends. The [283] string is made either from two thin sinews twisted together or some- [237] times, among the Northern tribes, from wood fibre worked into a [284] strong cord. It is attached by a simple slip-knot and wound tightly several times round the basal end of the bow-stave, to which a small leather collar or sinew band is usually fixed to prevent the string from slipping when hitched over it. The stave is then bent and the string knotted to the other end, where it is kept in place by a leather band. The bow is kept permanently strung. Its stave is frequently strengthened with additional sinew bindings, especially round the centre, which prevent it from splitting and also form a convenient grip for the hand.

The arrows are complex in structure and vary considerably in

[1] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner," 120; *idem*, in *Trans. S. Afr. Phil. Soc.*, ix (1896), p. xvii; Vialls, "The Masarwa," 32; Kaufmann, loc. cit.; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13.

[2] Schapera, "Bows and Arrows of the Bushmen," *Man*, xxvii (1927), 113–17; cf. Stow, *Native Races of S. Africa*, 68–71; Kaufmann, op. cit., 143–4; van Rippen, "Notes on Some Bushman Implements," 80–5; Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," 94–6, 99–100.

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

inside the scherm, he outside. Apparently no social rules pattern their sleeping. 513 593
Individual adjustments are made.

The boys must before they marry have proved themselves to be hunters and must have had performed over them the most important ceremony in the life of a /Kung boy—the Ceremony of the First Killing. The killing of birds or small animals does not qualify him for the ceremony; the animal he kills must be one of the great antelopes or a giraffe or buffalo, any one of the large animals killed for meat. When the boy himself has killed one of these, he is ceremonially scarified by his father or by another kinsman if his father is dead. The ceremony is performed twice for each boy. For the first male animal he is scarified on his right side and for the first female on his left side. Charred meat and fat, turned to magic by the ceremony, are rubbed into the several lines of vertical cuts on his face, arms, back, and chest to give him the will to hunt, good sight, and accurate aim; also to enable him to find the animal and to protect him from being seen by the animal. The ceremony is both a solemn celebration and a magic force to increase and strengthen the boy's power to hunt. It also carries with it the right to marriage and attests the boy's readiness. 582 224 884 [304]

Marriage does not necessarily follow immediately upon this ceremony; years may elapse, but the way is prepared and readiness is proved. And once more the act of hunting is ceremonially linked with marriage. At the time of the wedding, the boy must bring to his bride's parents an animal that he himself has killed. The animal he brings must not be eaten by the bride. 585 224

A boy who never killed any large meat animal would not be given a wife, informants said. This was why the strange old deviant, /Gaishay, had remained a bachelor. For reasons no one understood he could not hunt; he gathered veldkos like a woman. Gossip had it that twice he had tried to drag a woman against her will into his scherm but had not succeeded. Informants remarked, 'Women like meat.' They do, but there is far more to it than that. 582 589 [462]

As John Marshall shows in his film, *The Hunters*, the primary sources of physical life, sex and food, are involved. In /Kung concept they are linked together, and, as they pertain to men, their duality is lifted to oneness in the being of the man, who is the sexually powerful male and the provider, the hunter. Power as a man and a male and worthiness and dignity are associated with hunting and not with the failure to hunt. 562 828 224

Since they are related, both the sexual and the hunting powers of the young man can be captured at once with a bride. For the first several years of marriage the boy goes to live with his bride's parents, or her people, should her parents be dead, to hunt for them. The parents of girls speak constantly of wanting their sons-in-law to provide them with food as though it were an obsession. 'We are old', they say, or 'We shall soon be old [whether this is actually true or not]; we need a young man to hunt for us'; 'our daughter's husband must get us something to eat'; 'we need karosses'; 'we want meat'—these are their refrains. 583 [591] [606]

Another value the /Kung place upon the boy's hunting during his bride-service appears in their belief that if the husband hunts for his wife and feeds her while she is still a growing child she becomes the more his. Food seems to be a main concern in bride-service, but the people also say that they want to be sure that the boy measures up in every way and will take good care of their daughter, and that the girl will have time to get used to her husband. [581] [593]

/155 cont./

628 unable to learn whether these obligations also extend to more distant degrees of kinship.

If the murderer himself has died or cannot be reached, blood vengeance extends to his nearest male relatives.

The sons of a murdered man are obligated to take blood revenge as soon as they are grown.

The mother of the future avenger inculcates this duty in her [867] son as she rears him. As soon as the young man has killed the [884] first piece of game, his obligation goes into effect. He turns [602] to his kinsmen for help, which is immediately granted him. Similarly, the one who has reason to fear blood vengeance finds armed support among his relatives and fellow villagers. One can imagine what a maze of obligations for blood vengeance can arise from this situation.

619 It can happen that two settlements are "saddled" with so many obligations for vengeance that an encounter between mem-
628 bers of these settlements immediately leads to bloodshed. Perhaps this also helps to explain the fact that some villages within the Auin region have for many years been so hostile to one another that a boundary violation is punished by death on the spot.

Example: Auin from Rietfontein and Gam. It goes without saying that a mortal enmity more often exists between Bushmen of different languages, for instance, between Auin and Naroon, or Auin and Genkuin [Ginkwe]. An enmity of this kind evidently does not extend to the group as a whole; instead, it is doubtless always confined to a certain number of families and settlements.

The basis for the administration of justice is extensive and
628 energetic self-help. Any injustice inflicted is avenged by the injured party or his kinsmen with a beating or murder.

As an example of the kind of self-help and the complications resulting from it, I shall cite the following authenticated case. An old Auin from Olifantskluft was visiting his brother-in-law in Sidonitzaub. The host set a snare and caught a giant bustard which the guest found, took out of the snare, and began to consume. His host arrived on the scene and stabbed his brother-in-law in the stomach with his throwing spear. The murderer fled, but he was apprehended and shot by relatives of

/157 cont./

The water and food collected by menstruating women are
841 consumed only by the women themselves and old people; the younger ones "it makes weak."

593 The authority of the parents practically ceases as soon as
858 the children are in a position to provide food for themselves.

A child is named soon after birth by the grandfather or grand-
553 mother (whether on the paternal or the maternal side was not determined).

Boys reach puberty between 14 and 16 years of age and girls
145 between 13 and 15 years of age (estimates).

The declaration of a boy's maturity is a special event in the
881 life of the Bushman. Under the leadership of the "doctor," several youths from neighboring settlements march into the bush and live together there for some weeks on the veld crop. During this time they receive some sort of instruction in secret affairs. Young and old Auin alike, whom I interrogated separately, denied that this instruction pertains to sexual matters. To the question of what they did during their stay in the bush, I always received the answer: "They dance." They did, indeed, describe for me a kind of dance which decidedly has something childishly mysteri-
[535] ous about it. A boy seats himself "piggyback" on the back of another, and both wrap themselves in a large hide mantle. The dance consists of the carrier tramping with his feet as rapidly as possible without moving forward, while both of them utter a low "hu, hu" in as horrifying a manner as possible.

It is indeed difficult to imagine that this interesting occupation should last for weeks, interrupted only by sleeping and eating.

In addition, the young people seem to be treated quite badly in the course of this preparation and to receive little to eat; all of them concurred in the opinion that it is "miserable."

I learned through hints that the candidates for manhood play all kinds of tricks on neighboring villages during the night and play as "ghosts" a bit, as well as stealing food.

The actual attainment of manhood, after which the boys are
[884] warriors and are allowed to marry, is not solely dependent on attending the preparation, but also on the killing of the first piece of big game.

Tattooing is not connected with the official attainment of
[304] manhood

[30 cont.]

881 old people are seated. The young man may not eat any of the meat; he may only drink the soup, which is also rubbed on him. From now on he is regarded as an adult, a marriageable man;
582 his parents ask him whether he wants to be married. The boy
584 commonly replies: "I am still weak and do not know whether I can take good care of her." Then the parents allow him to wait until he himself wants to marry. Von Zastrow and Vedder (p. 415) report the following concerning the boys' initiation:

[31] "On this occasion the boys are told how they must
881 conduct themselves when they go out to seek a wife, and how they
[867] must behave towards a mother-in-law. To sit down by an evening
[584] fire next to an adult girl is tantamount to a marriage proposal, even if not a word is spoken. Under no circumstances may one
[606] look at the mother-in-law. They also practice animal dances in the bush, the kind that are performed by the men later at joyous celebrations, and also in times of distress. Finally, the young
[304] Bushman receives the tribal marking, a number of skin incisions on the cheek below the temple. Each tribe has a certain number of skin incisions. In order to make them stand out clearly even
[386] after healing, pulverized charcoal is put into the incisions. As a result, the tribal marking later looks like a black streak on the yellow skin.

224 "There is nothing against applying another mark on the
304 future huntsman during this celebration, namely, the hunting
881 inoculation. This must be done by a man who has special powers and knowledge at his disposal. In order to sharpen the future hunter's eye for game generally and certain game in particular, it is necessary to make a deep incision between the eyes over the root of the nose, into which the practiced hand of the surgeon sprinkles a powder of dried and pulverized parts of all kinds of game.

"The inoculation may later be repeated several times if the hunter has no luck in hunting.

881 "A person who has received the tribal marking is now re-
884 garded as a Bush 'man'; he can make his own bow and arrows, like those of the old people, and go hunting with them. Also, the way is now open for him to found a family."

582 It practically never happens that a Bushman remains

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the buffalo's horn had wounded him. Otherwise, he looked 609
very well. All the people seemed well, especially the children.
Toma's oldest son wore a crown of badger skin with the long 291
hair standing up on it, and two safety pins that we had given 177
him, which he wore as earrings in his pierced ears. With all 301
this he looked bold as a pirate. His brother was nearly as big
as he was, and his sister, Norna, now three, was a slender,
graceful child who regarded the world with dark, wondering
eyes.

Norna's sixteen-year-old uncle, Tu's brother, was there too. 481
He was a lame boy; he had been crippled in one leg since 732
childhood and could hobble only with the help of a long stick.
People had despaired of him, believing that he would never
be able to hunt and therefore never marry or inherit the head-
manship of Gautscha Pan, but when we saw him now and
looked at him closely we noticed a fine row of scars between 881
his eyes and on his arms and chest and we knew that he had 304
hunted and killed an antelope and had been scarified in his
initiation. We had planned on this trip to give him presents
of all kinds, to make him rich, so that he could marry whether
he could hunt or not, but we saw now that this would not be
necessary. When he knew that we had noticed his scars he
told us in great detail the story of the hunt. He told us how he
had gone out with a group of hunters, how he had first seen [224]
the two horns of a kudu above a clump of bushes, how he had
silently hobbled near it, propped himself on his crutch, and
shot it with a poisoned arrow. The arrow had penetrated
deeply and the lame boy had returned to tell the others. They
had followed it with him for a day and in the evening had
found it dead. It was the lame boy's kudu, though; he shot it,
and to Bushmen that is the important thing. He was scarified [884]
with a paste made of the kudu's meat, and ever after that he
was a man.

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

other genital operations are not practiced by the !Kung. The *Choma* is not compulsory; most boys take part but a few refuse. *Choma* owners do not form a corporate sodality. !Kung society has no such units except kinship groups.

Another ceremony for boys, which is presumably ancient and traditionally Bushman, must be performed before a boy can marry. This ceremony is performed twice for each boy, individually, on the occasion of his first killing a large game animal, once for the first male, once for the first female. The meat is cooked at a special fire, which women must avoid, and is eaten ceremonially by the men. The boy is scarified, by his father or another male relative, on his right side for the first male animal, on his left side for the first female. Little vertical cuts are made in his skin in lines on his arms, chest, back, and forehead, and a paste of charred meat and fat is rubbed into them. This is to ensure his seeing well, shooting well, and having a heart that will say to him, "Why am I sitting here in the werf? Why am I not out hunting?"

The passage from childhood to adulthood is marked for a !Kung girl by a ceremony at her first menstruation. The girl is isolated in a special scherm for the duration of the flow only. She must be covered by a kaross because the sun must not shine upon her, and her feet must not touch the ground. When she must go out to urinate or defecate, she is carried on the back of the old woman (not her mother) who attends her. It is not the menstrual blood but the girl herself who must be kept from touching the ground. She would get thin if she disregarded this taboo. Men and boys must not look at the girl and she must not look at them lest the men become highly visible to animals and unable to get near enough to them to shoot.

Every day that the girl is in the menstruation scherm, the women who are present and one or two old men dance a special dance called the Eland Dance and sing a special cycle of First Menstruation music. The Eland Dance is full of sex symbolism. The two old men should be free from even the most attenuated, symbolic extension of the incest taboo with respect to the girl, and it follows that they should have what is called the joking relationship with her. The usual strict modesty of the women is set aside. They take off their karosses (leaving their aprons on, however) and hang strings of beads from their waists down over their bare buttocks. The old men, with forked sticks tied to their heads to represent eland horns, imitate the gait and carriage of elands, and dance among the women with subtly erotic gestures. The other men and boys of the werf must stay at a distance.

When the girl stops menstruating she is washed, rubbed with *tsi* and fat, and her face is painted with red lines. She then may go among the people again, but the first time she takes water from the water hole and the first time she cooks and eats veldkos, the water and veldkos must be

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

ceremony is the avoidance of the parents, which is symbolic of the incest taboo. Any (preferably young) kinswoman who is tall enough and strong enough, whether she herself is married or not, and whether or not she has the joking relation with the bride, may carry the bride; and any may attend her. Only the mother absolutely must not do so. Likewise the groom's father must not attend him. Neither pair of parents go to sit by the wedding fire, for they must not sit near their son's wife or daughter's husband, nor speak to them. Guests of mature years might go and sit by the wedding fire only if they have the joking relationship with both the bride and the groom. Very young guests, such as we saw at /Nai's and /Gunda's fire, may go, whether they joke or not with the bride and groom, because the avoidances are not stringently observed with young children.

Termination of marriage and remarriage

Widows and widowers are not avoided in any special way because of their widowhood.

If her husband dies, a young widow usually returns to her own parents or lives with one of her own siblings, but, if her people are dead, or if it is her preference, she may stay on with her deceased husband's people. It is the duty of her HuBr to hunt for her if she needs his support.

Several possibilities are open to a young widower: rarely he might stay with his deceased wife's parents or siblings; more likely he would return to his own parents or siblings; and, when he marries again, he goes into matrilocal residence with the new bride. In any case, a man is responsible for his wife's parents and young siblings, and, if they depended on him for support, he would take them with him. They would be likely to prefer, however, to live with an adult son, daughter, or sibling of their own if they had any.

Old widowers or widows whose own parents are dead usually live with either a son or daughter, or perhaps with their own sibling—as they wish.

The surviving spouse is free to marry again within the regulations of the extended incest taboo, which applies to all marriages.

Parents would arrange the subsequent marriage of a widowed boy or girl. Adults may make their own arrangements directly. My impression was that persons might be considered fully adult somewhere in their middle or late twenties.

An adult man takes the initiative and asks the woman to marry him. Robert Dyson in the 1951 expedition learned that one way for a man to ask a woman to marry him is to present her with a bow and arrow. If she accepts it she indicates her willingness to consider his suit.

No restriction of time is put upon the remarriage of a widower, but a widow should not remarry until one rainy season has passed. She is then considered 'clean' and may marry again. ≠Toma said, 'The rain washes (*//num*) the death away from the widow.' *//Num* is the gesture of wiping a dish with one finger and then licking the finger. /Ti/kay of Band 9 said that some men wait for a rainy season to pass, but that others would be pleased the husband was dead and, without waiting, say, 'This is my chance.' One interpreter understood that the widow had to take off her kaross and spend a night out, letting the rain fall on her, but ≠Toma said this was not what

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe
Kung

582 Even Gai had been married once before, when he was in his teens, to a wife not yet eleven, as most Bushmen marry at a very early age. A Bushman girl can be betrothed before she is weaned, while she still lies on her back and waves her tiny feet. When she is eight or nine she marries and her young husband, who is probably in his late teens, comes to live all or part of the time with her family. He will not have intercourse with her until she reaches puberty—she must pass her first menstruation and her breasts must show. They then [591] live together as man and wife, always with her family, as 585 Bushmen are matrilocal until the couple has borne three children, the sign of adulthood, or, if they are not so blessed, until they reach the age when most people have three children. Then, if they wish, they may live with the husband's family.

It is said that when a man raises his wife, feeds her, and cares for her, the two enjoy their youth together, she is the more his, and a more stable marriage results than if she were allowed to grow up wild and free and perhaps make a hasty choice of too young a husband (one of her own age) in the passion of her adolescence. An early marriage also ensures that the girl will be a first wife, a more desirable and authoritative position than that of a second, or co-wife. The girl's parents benefit from an early union as well, for the young man hunts for them and the meat he kills goes to their band.

This system may be good for women, but it is hard on young men, who often must endure desire for years and years, waiting all through their teens and early twenties before they can possess their wives. One young man among the Kung Bushmen had been thirty when his wife had died, and he had found no one else to marry except an infant girl. When we knew him he had been waiting five years for his wife to grow up, and at that time she was only about seven (younger than his son, who was about eleven); and when he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

green-leafed vegetables, and sometimes many of the people 361
of the large extended bands come together to live, to hold 621
important ceremonies which require many people, and to enjoy each other's company. Sometimes they separate into very small bands because they can now go anywhere they wish, each family going to the part of the veld where the type of food grows that the family most enjoys. There is water every- 312
where, in small seasonal waterholes, in shallow salt pans, in hollow trees, and the people thrive and grow quite fat. One 222
of their favorite foods, one that grows in great abundance at 262
this season, is a ground nut called *tsi*, which grows on a trailing vine and is so fat that if you leave a kernel of it on a piece of paper it will leave a greasy stain. Tsi is regarded by the Kung Bushmen as a very powerful food, one of the pow- [778]
erful veld foods in which there is a special essence, something mysterious and magic which gives them a life force all their own so that it would be dangerous to eat them during the year if this life force were not first subdued or not first integrated with the life force of the people. These foods are 778
the mainstays of the Bushmen's diet, and are fat; and every 789
year people in their child-bearing years, when they consider themselves subject to harm, protect themselves against these foods by a ritual act.

The act of protection is called *choa*, and it is interesting because it differs from the protective rituals performed by agricultural peoples to save their crops or animals from harm, or to cause their increase. The Bushmen choa themselves not [842]
to protect their fertility, for decrease in the number of children is not a problem to them, but to make sure that they, the young adults and mainstays of the community, will not get thin and starve.

Those whom Bushmen call "old people," adults who have 789
had three children, are expected to protect themselves and 885
also to protect young people of the same sex.

/142 cont./

527 ample food, they always "celebrate."

The tattoo artist receives no special fee; he is simply pro-
304 vided with food and shelter.

When the forehead tattoo is applied, the patient lies on his back with his head slightly raised. The skin of the forehead above the root of the nose is folded together and drawn up by a man using his thumbs and index fingers. The tattoo artist then makes the little transverse incisions in this fold of skin.

Among men, decorative scars take the place of a hunt record.
[224] For each piece of big game that a man has killed, he wears a horizontal decorative scar, on the right upper arm for male game and on the left upper arm for female game.
[858] Only boys, not men, have scars made for small game (duiker, ibex). Older successful hunters finally dispense altogether with having scars made, after they have enough of them to display.

These decorative scars are made in a manner similar to that used for the forehead tattoo. Sweat (blood) from the killed ani-
[237] mal is always rubbed into them, and usually also the green pigment. The hunting scars are made by any one of the older men. The length of the scars is approximately one-half to one centimeter, the breadth approximately one-quarter to one-half centimeter.

Decorative Scars (or Tattooing) among Women

Green decorative scars on the upper thigh and buttocks up to the waist are worn by all women. These scars can be seen in Photograph 14.

[887] The scars are made in the same way as the forehead tattoo, except that older women make them.

Further investigation was impossible since the Bushmen are very suspicious regarding their women. I am quite content to have succeeded in taking at least one photograph which illustrates these decorative scars tolerably well.

Men and women pierce their earlobes in precisely the same way as is customary among us.

Circumcision is not practiced.

According to statements of the Auin, the labia minora are sometimes clipped.

[36 cont.]

312 Dolichos seineri Harms (eona), and the Convolvulacea Ipomoea
824 seineri Pilger (eawa); the enormous tubers of the latter two may weigh up to 150 kilograms. Considerably more important for the natives than these 'water roots' is the Curcurbitacea Citrullus naudinianus Hook. (orura of the Herero; gab of the Hottentot); without their juicy gourds, which occur in great quantities and for the most part are edible, most of the central Kalahari would be impassable during the dry season, even for the Bushmen."

Further, F. Galton (1) reports:

[113] 1. F. Galton, Tropisches Südafrika, p. 101.

312 "In practice, the first hopeful sign when people are look-
825 ing around for water is a flight of guinea fowl; next, following the habits of the land, each tree is carefully examined until a parrot is sighted, an object visible even at a great distance because the bird likes to sit on the uppermost branches. A parrot is rarely more than half an hour away from water, and the same applies to baboons. If one proceeds with careful observation and takes a probable direction, he will see doves flying about; then little birds are found in all the bushes, and they are close to it."

10. The Veldkost

222 Just as //Gauab accompanies the hunter on the chase, he is
776 also the companion of the women who go to look for veldkost. If //Gauab takes delight in a woman, he will break the bones of an animal, killing it, and will lead the woman to it. If, however, //Gauab is angry at a woman and she finds no veldkost, then she becomes angry, gets up early in the morning, abuses //Gauab, and then takes medicine and washes her face so that //Gauab will not recognize her. Then she goes into the veld and finds something.
[782] //Gauab receives no offerings from the veldkost. The celebration
222 of the first fruits of the veld described by Vedder is no longer held.
[887] The oldest woman is brought to eat samples of each type of veldkost that is brought home for the first time in the year. Then the second oldest woman takes a taste, and so on down the line.

Both the father and mother expect and receive respect and obedience 593
from their children. Although the mother's influence is always felt, I believe that the father's authority is greater. It is not formalized or expressed in a harsh or domineering way. As long as the father lives, he is the head of the family, symbolically. Even when too old to hunt, if he is still a forceful [882]
person, he remains the one in authority, the leader of the sons-in-law and his daughters, of his sons and their wives. Gradually, however, when he becomes very old, the younger men make their own plans without necessarily consulting him.

!Kung families are responsible for dependents. Thus, old, dependent 737
parents are unfailingly supported by their offspring and may choose with which one of their offspring they will live. Orphaned children are taken 736
by their grandparents or by a sibling of their parents. It happens occasionally that a person has no living parent, offspring, or sibling. In that case, other relatives assume the responsibility.

THE NAME RELATIONSHIP • Although !Kung society has developed no 571
formal political structure under which the bands are united, and there are 602
no organizations outside the bands, these people have a means of extending 553
the concept of kinship beyond close consanguineous relatives and affines 619
and of recognizing, in what we call the name relationship, the web of remote interrelationship that long intermarriage within the region has established.

Invariably the first son and the first daughter are named by their father for their paternal grandparents. Other children are usually named for their mother's parents, the siblings of their parents, and the spouses of those siblings, and may occasionally be named for other relatives. Thus, a few names are used over and over through the generations. We recorded only [551]
forty-six men's names and forty-one women's names in the region. The !Kung assume that persons who have the same name are related, though the exact nature of the relationship is forgotten. They believe, also, that people with the same name somehow have a common entity. They bestow [601]
upon each other kin terms that are appropriate to the name, according to a system. The !Kung have intermarried within the Nyae Nyae region to [582]
such an extent that everyone has a kin term he associates with each one of the names. This means that the people of the whole region are what we call name relatives, all applying kin terms to each other.

From the !Kung point of view the custom has two values. It regulates 553
the incest taboo in its furthermost extension, especially the joking relation- 602
ship that symbolizes the taboo. (For example, a man should not marry or 835
make sexual jokes with a woman who has the same name as his mother.) The !Kung feel secure in righteousness when they know they are behaving

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222 before she goes out to gather again. The hunters tend to
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462 work more frequently than the gatherers. Typically a man will
[224] go out on two or three consecutive days and then spend two or three days in camp. Unlike the women, who maintained a consistent gathering routine throughout the year, the hunting activity of the men came in intermittent bursts. It was not unusual for a man to hunt avidly for a week and then do no hunting at all for two weeks. Since hunting was an unpredictable business, and subject to magical control, hunters would sometimes experience a run of bad luck and would stop hunting for a month or longer. For instance, ≠oma, the best hunter of the Dobe camp, did not hunt at all for a three-month period in 1963 because he said that his luck had left him. He remained in camp, apparently awaiting inspiration, while his wife patiently provided food for him. Most of the men of the Dobe camp went through similar periods of inactivity.

883 <u>Non-productive Camp Members</u> -- People who are under twenty
[887] years and over sixty-five years of age contribute very little to the food input of a camp. Young women are not expected to
[582] contribute food until they are married. Girls typically marry
[574] between the ages of fifteen and twenty, so it is not unusual to find healthy, active, teenagers visiting from camp to camp while their older relatives provide food for them. The assumption of adult responsibility by the boys is even more delayed.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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daughters are competely excluded from the inheritance. The eldest 428
son also becomes the head of the family after the death of his father, [768]
and must care for the widow and give her food.[1]

Regulation of Public Life

In spite of the loose cohesion of the band, and the facility with 648
which the family groups composing it may wander about separately, the Bushmen are by no means devoid of government and law. Where they are subject to the Bantu or other peoples there is of course not much possibility of an independent political life. In the Okavango marshes, for example, they are in the position of serfs to the BaTawana, by whom they are required to pay an annual tribute of skins, ostrich feathers, and egg-shell beads. The territory occupied by the BaTawana is divided into local districts, each under control of a minor chief (*kxosani*), to whom all the Bushmen in the district have to pay their tribute, and for whom they often have to perform such services as herding his cattle and hunting for him. In the Oschimpoloveld again the Bushmen pay tribute to the OvaKwangari; in the Southern Kalahari they are the serfs and herdsmen of the BaTlaro and other BeChwana tribes among whom they live, and so, too, in the North-East Kalahari, where they are subject to the BaMangwato.[2]

But where the Bushmen are still to some extent independent, each 621
band, as we have seen, is a separate political unit and regulates its own affairs. There is no well-developed system of organized government. In the small family groups of the Cape and Namib Bushmen [622]
and of the !O Kung deference is paid to the head of the group, but 554
his authority in general is very limited. The common affairs of the 887

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 10, 35; Kaufmann, op. cit., 159; Seydel, op. cit., 504; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 169.

[2] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 121–2; Dornan, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 65–6; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 296 sqq.; D. F. Bleek, "Bushman Languages," 56. In August, 1926, the High Commissioner for S. Africa (H.E. the Earl of Athlone), addressing an assembly of BaMangwato at their chief town Serowe, made the following important declaration with reference to this servitude: "It has been stated that the Masarwa are the slaves of the Mangwato. The Government does not regard them as slaves, but realizes that they are a backward people who serve the Mangwato in return for the food and shelter they receive. I understand that for the most part they are contented and that they do not wish to change. But the Government will not allow any tribe to demand compulsory service from another, and wants to encourage the Masarwa to support themselves. Any Masarwa who wish to leave their masters and live independently of them should understand that they are at liberty to do so, and that if the Mangwato attempt to retain them against their will the Government will not allow it. It is the duty of the Chiefs and Headmen to help these people to stand on their own feet, and I expect the missionaries and the Chief and his Councillors to join the Government in preventing anything in the nature of compulsory service in Bechuanaland" (*Report on Bechuanaland Protectorate*, 1926–7, Colonial Reports No. 1379, p. 6). What effect this pronouncement has had upon the status of the Bushmen it is still too early to determine.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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554 887 band, such as migrations and hunting parties, appear rather to be regulated by the skilled hunters and the older, more experienced men generally.[1]

Among the North-Western tribes, on the other hand, where the 622 bands are on the whole more considerable in size, each band has a [184] recognized chief (*//exa* or *//exuba*, *gao-aob* or *gei-khoib*; the last two [192] words are of Hottentot origin).[2] The office is as a rule hereditary in the male line, descending from father to son, or, failing such, to the nearest male relative. The heir succeeds only when he attains maturity, i.e. when he has passed through the puberty ceremonies and has killed his first head of big game. During his minority there is no regency—things just go on, as Kaufmann says. Among the Heikum and the Kung, however, the eldest sister's eldest son succeeds. This [184] rule of succession is so much at variance with what we know of the [171] other North-Western Bushmen, and even of the structure of the band in the two tribes mentioned, that, if the information be correct, the practice can only be regarded as due to the influence of the neighbouring OvaMbo, who are definitely organized on a matrilineal [611] basis. There is no other instance of matrilineal succession among the Bushmen.

No tribute or services are rendered to the chief, nor are there any special signs of chieftainship, such as a particular dress or mode of [595] life. We are told by Miss Bleek that Naron chiefs mostly have two wives, but whether this is in any way associated with their status is not made clear. The main functions of the chief apparently are to direct the movements of the people from place to place and to allocate the work for the day, to order the burning of the veld, and, in particular, to lead in war. Among the Heikum we also know that in him are vested certain other functions the performance of which is of vital importance to the welfare of the community. He alone, as we have seen, "is able to bring forth from fire the magic properties which bring health and happiness and ward off evil and misfortune." The various beliefs and practices centring in the first fire kindled by him at every new encampment, while fully demonstrating the importance of this fire in the social life of the people, at the same time also reflect his religious significance and emphasize the dependence of the community upon him in this aspect of their life. He also, as we have

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Mantis*, p. viii; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109; Trenk, op. cit., 170; Seydel, op. cit., 504.

[2] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 154; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36–7; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 86–8; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuh-Buschleuten," 14.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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628 Naron, or the Auen and the |Ginkwe. This does not extend to the whole tribe, but only to the bands concerned. The Naron at Sandfontein, in the same way, were also hostile to the /nu//en in the south as well as to the Auen in the north; trespass and wife-stealing led to many fights between them.

628 726 701 [622] [887] [411] Fights between opposing bands are therefore by no means unusual, but the extent of each campaign is small.[1] The chiefs have general command in war, but their authority is scarcely greater than in peace, where, as we have seen, it is but slight. The older men with experience naturally have an influence corresponding to their knowledge and ability. Every man and youth takes part in a campaign, the weapons used being the ordinary hunting bow and arrow as well as the spear. The magician also fights, but without any special authority or functions. We have no eyewitness account of any such campaigns, but Kaufmann gives a description, obtained from a "trustworthy Kafir informant", which may serve to convey some idea of their nature. Among the Auen there is no formal declaration of war, but when a man wears a cap of aardwolf (*Proteles cristatus*) skin, then he is on the warpath. Several friendly villages came together and decided to attack another village. The war caps were put on, and after sunset the men marched in the direction of the enemy village. In the neighbourhood of the latter a halt was made and without lighting a fire, although it was the cold time of the year, they waited until the morning. After sunrise, when it was somewhat warmer, the village was surrounded and attacked from all sides, the spear being chiefly used. There was loud shouting and calling, but no special war cry; and in general everybody fought as he pleased.

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628 727 If possible, all men are killed, and also boys, for fear of the blood feud. Women are never killed intentionally, but it not infrequently happens that when one group overwhelms another the women and girls are made captive and taken in marriage. All objects that can be used are also taken away, but the huts are not regarded as worth the burning. Among the Heikum, according to Fourie, the victors will under no circumstances deprive the vanquished of their territory or even occupy it, lest harm and disaster overtake them; on the other hand among the Kung, as already mentioned, disputes over the possession of land are among the prime causes of war. What happens to the land of the defeated group in other tribes is not stated. The

[184] [721]

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 134; Fourie, op. cit., 85.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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Chapter VIII

ART AND KNOWLEDGE

Dancing and Music

535 Dances and games of various kinds enter very largely into the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first place among their social recreations. Some dances are definitely of a ritual character, being held only on ceremonial occasions, e.g. the eland bull dance at a girl's puberty ceremony, the /*gi* dance at the boys' puberty ceremony, and the *mo'koma* or "dance of blood" among the Bushmen of Basutoland. On the other hand, dancing is often indulged in purely for pleasure, especially in times of plenty, and may take place any fine moonlit night, when the people have had a good meal, and there are enough of them to make it festive. "The girls begin clapping their hands and singing, standing near the huts. Soon a couple of youths turn up and start dancing round in front of them. Then more join, older men and women take part, till [887] the whole crowd, save a few grandfathers, are singing and dancing."[1] On these occasions the young women and girls frequently stripe [302] their faces with black and red paint, occasionally the young men do [534] so too, and most of the dancers tie round their legs strings of dry cocoons which give out a peculiar rattling sound. They may dance half the night through or even go right on till morning.

The dances are on the whole fairly simple in character and are all of more or less the same nature (Plate XII).[2] The dancers, generally men only, go round and round in a circle in single file, stamping rather than dancing in time with the tune; the women form the band and stand at one side, clapping their hands and singing, while the men who are dancing also sing. "In some dances a woman occasionally leaves the line of singers and dances round beside some man, who pays her attention in gesture, either holding a reed over her

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 22.
[2] Stow, *Native Races*, 111–24; Werner, "Ueber die Heikum- und Kungbuschleute," 249–53; Passarge, *Buschmänner*, 103–5; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 150–1; D. F. Bleek, loc. cit.; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95–7; Gentz, "Die südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften," 156–7.

/154 cont./

722 Women were not taken along on the expedition; the women of the settlement attacked immediately ran away.

[622] 701 In time of war the chiefs have general powers of command. Their authority is apparently no greater than in peacetime, when it is insignificant. Indeed, it is scarcely intelligible to us how a war can be carried on effectively under such circumstances.

[888] [756] Old people naturally have greater influence. The "doctor" is merely an accompanying warrior without special authority. Generally speaking, everyone for the most part does what he considers should be done; some co-operation is nevertheless apparent.

There is no fighting at night; at most they will march then.

726 619 Alliances are concluded, even between groups speaking different languages. For instance, men of different Auin settlements will ally themselves with a Naroon [Naron] settlement to attack another Auin settlement.

There is no political connection between all the Auin settlements. They form a single community only by virtue of their common language. For example, bitter hostility exists between the Auin of Gam and the Auin of Rietfontein, while the relations between the Rietfontein Auin and the Naroon settlements south of them are amicable. The two can communicate only through interpreters.

701 Young people who are staying in a given village for courtship participate without ado in the warlike undertakings of this village. I am unable to say what happens in case the undertaking is directed at the home settlement of the candidate for marriage.

Concerning the war dance and the accompanying song, see page 37.

727 Captured men are killed, and usually boys as well (because of the danger of blood vengeance).

Women and children are taken away, married, and completely assimilated into the group. Old women are killed. Objects that are useful are taken away; the rest is destroyed.

It is not worth the trouble to set fire to the windscreens.

728 Hostilities are officially concluded; unarmed negotiators appear to have safe conduct. War damages are paid in the form of food, tools, and women.

The description of the form of government is the most difficult chapter of this account.

[10 cont.]

539 χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe χ'ámabe God, God, God, God
782 /gami tara ái Water we can drink!
[821]
271 [11] In the waterless wilderness of the palm bush and
731 the Otjimpolo Veld death from thirst often enough overtakes even the Bushmen, accustomed as they are to privation. They
[488] do not deny that at times they are forced to leave the old and
[758] the sick behind in the wilderness. But such an occurrence stays in the people's memory for a long time as a serious misfortune. Anyone who is acquainted with the Bushmen's love of children and veneration of parents and old people can understand what it means to them to be forced to leave behind one of their own.
271 One must have experienced personally the feeling that overcomes one when due to thirst and heat the body no longer gives off perspiration, the dry forehead feels burning hot, and a slight chill passes through the body, in order to understand this song of joy which seems so naïve, whose content is: We can drink again!

539 3. Short and fervent prayer at the beginning of a
782 journey:
[484] χ'ámaba !Khu gai teve God, let me travel well.

[755] 4. Choral prayer for a sick person: When someone is gravely ill, the relatives sing in chorus, while the doctor performs his ceremonies.

χ'ámaba !khoé-wa ≠khai kháira téve God, let our people rise again.

789 5. Not a real prayer, but rather a formula of exorcism is said to oneself when meeting a stranger regarded as evil: Tshuai Kwewa /Nawa!

821 They do not know anything to say about the sun (sorésa). The moon (χ'áwa) dies every month and wakes up again.

753 Illnesses are sent by χ'amaba. He sends them to those
776 persons with whom he is angry. Other spirits have no role in this, and there is no spirit of sickness.

776 There is a host of little spirits, the /ga /ga hú, in the bush. They play tricks.

775 A human being has only one soul, !gaoba. This soul goes to heaven after death. (!nanu-aiba, rain house?) The house of χ'amaba (≠khauba) is there. Only the doctors know
[756] what it looks like up there. They speak with χ'amaba.

[31 cont.]

582 unmarried. Marriage is concluded at an early age. The age that
165 Bushmen attain is not great. There are relatively few old people among them, although some of them, it is true, attain a very
593 high age. The children must obey their parents even when they are grown up and married.

888 The Bushmen indignantly denied that they kill the old people or expose them in the bush. If someone is old, weak, or ill, then they simply walk more slowly or leave the sick person behind with a companion. My informants did report to me that dur-
[731] ing periods of extreme thirst not only old people, but also women and children who were unable to move on were left behind. This happened only in desperate circumstances, when those who were half-dead from thirst could not be helped in any case and a stay would have resulted in death for the whole kin group. As soon
764 as someone has died, all the women and girls sit around the corpse and weep. There is no singing on this occasion. Then some of the men go and dig a grave in the bush, cut off medium-sized pieces of wood, and place these in the bottom of the grave as a foundation, over which is spread the hay that the deceased was lying on. Then all take the body to the grave and bury it in a crouched position with the back toward the sunrise. Every relative must give a few glass beads and ornaments if the deceased is a woman. This finery is placed around the neck of the deceased. The corpse is rubbed down with green aromatic powder and ocher and is wrapped in its hides and blankets. They either throw thorn on the covered grave or make a four-cornered gutter in the sand around the grave and posts are pounded into the gutter to make a fence. The grave is now in the center of the fence, like the living person in the center of his hut. A cup of water and some food are put near the head area. Deceased men have bows, arrows, and their hunting bag placed on the chest. Children are given their miniature bows. The Bushmen say that they give the bows and arrows not because the deceased needs them for hunting in the beyond, but because they do not want to use the effects of the deceased, whom they loved. According to Vedder (1), the dead

1. Von Zastrow and Vedder, Die Bushleute, pp. 420-421.

[35 cont.]

222 When all the old women have made their tests, then the children also get some, and the veldkost is, so to speak, made available for general consumption. When a woman has found a spot where
(423) there is a great deal of veldkost, she makes a sign at this spot, and then everything growing there belongs to her. No one will take any of it.

(262) There were and still are a whole assortment of types of
(888) socha veldkost reserved for the old people. [Fig. 3 appears here.]

11. Ergology

Fire

372 The Bushmen believe that there was a time when they had
773 no fire. The following legend tells how they obtained it: "The ostrich had a firebrand under his wing. He, the owl, and Heiseb played together. Then the ostrich took fright at the owl because he thought the owl had horns. He advised all of them to sleep for a little while. When the owl was asleep, he blew at it and saw that it merely had little tufts of feathers and no horns on its head. Thereupon he awakened the two others again and invited them to go on playing. Then Heiseb said: 'Dear ostrich, please wave your wings.' The ostrich did so, and as a result its firebrand fell to the ground. Heiseb picked it up and threw it to the fig tree, and since then man has had fire." -- The narrative probably comes from the legend-circle of the Hei//om Hottentot. Otherwise, Heiseb never appears in !Kung stories. Two pieces of wood from the
372 fig tree are still used occasionally to make fire. For the most part, the most popular devices for making fire are a striking iron and flint; matches are less [36] prized. A pair of fire sticks, the sucking reeds, a few poisoned arrows, and a bird arrow make up the permanent inventory of the quiver.

[39 cont.]

411 The head is made of a quadrangular piece of iron 30 to 40 centimeters long and set into the shaft with a short connective piece. The shaft is reinforced at this point by a winding of iron wire. [40] [Fig. 12 appears here.]

[41] Musical Instruments

534 Large dance drums are very popular, but are not made by
[439] the !Kung themselves; they are obtained in trade from the Okawango. Once, when I purchased such a drum from a trader of ostrich egg beads in the region of Kuntsas (the drum always be-
[422] longs to a specific person; collective ownership of utilitarian objects is unknown among the Bushmen), he asked me to let him keep the drum until evening so that each man would be able to drum once more. The dance rattles made of fruit are no longer to be found except in very small numbers. The !Kung are also supposed to possess wooden trumpets used on special occasions. I have never seen them.

413 Finally a small number of special utilitarian objects should
[304] be mentioned. In practicing their calling, the doctors use cupping glasses, made of antelope horn, and blunt little sticks to knock out
177 teeth. Poisons and medicines are now manufactured and cooked
415 in empty tin cans; in fact, tin cans and tin gasoline containers are
278 gradually becoming universal objects even among the Bushmen.
805 Messenger sticks or calendar sticks are made on special occasions;
211 these are little staffs or little boards with one or two rows of holes. For example, if I tell the Bushman that I will return in five months, he will draw a string through five of the holes and knot it. At each full moon, the string is drawn back one hole.

12. Social Organization

622 Each kin group has a chief, whose position is hereditary.
[614] To be sure, his powers are insignificant because one's whole life
●[888] is public, so to speak, and the authority of the old men is so great that the decisions arrived at are essentially agreements
[623] between the chief and the other old men.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON p. 25]

NARON
NOGAU
ǂAUIN

[75 cont.]

754 Among the Naron, according to Miss Bleek, the Bushman
411 revolver is also in use. The doctors fight one another with it. Such an arrow is secretly shot at the opponent's kaross, and through the magic emanating from the arrow, the enemy falls sick and dies.

8. Death and Burial

761 The Nogau have the following conceptions: Death is caused by Gauab, who steals the soul and makes a little Gauab of it. The dead person is buried immediately; there is no
764 dancing, only weeping. The corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on its side with the head toward the east. Only the sleeping blanket is placed in the grave; the weapons that were left behind are kept by the brothers. The food that the deceased was carrying with him is thrown on the grave. Then bushes are placed on it.

[775] In their opinion the soul of the deceased, which has been
769 transformed into a Gauab, wanders around near the grave; therefore they detour around it. When a Nogau Bushman passes the grave of a tribal member, he prays to him for help in hunting so that the children will grow fast and become fat. He says:

[539] "I do not know how it will go with me
With the food, how it will go with me with the food;
I do not know what I should do to get something to eat,
Let us eat and become big."

775 On the other hand, there is also the belief that the great Gauab who kills a human being eats the heart or keeps it in cold water and finally makes a new Bushman of it. Among the Naron
764 the corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on his side with the face toward the east. These customs are by no means always observed, however, especially when the ground is hard. The Naron do not fear the spirits of the dead, although the doctors
769 see them, as do those men "who have incisions between the eye-
787 brows." As we know from the Nogau, this includes all who have taken part in the boys' initiation. Women can never see such spirits.

Among all three tribes, old people are exposed to die.

●888

5:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

602 ugly, slovenly, or wanton. The women retaliate, perhaps accusing the men of being worthy only of castration or of unfaithful wives. We noticed that the /Kung do not call each other sons of bitches. They are not concerned with lineage.

602 It is not thought proper to make blatant or insulting sexual jokes with old persons. ●888 The deference which is shown to aged persons is expressed by moderation, and the joking relationship between an old person and a considerably younger person, [603] especially between grandparents and grandchildren, becomes a cosy friendly intimacy without the sexual emphasis.

Though the /Kung enjoy the joking relationship, it was our impression that their 602 primary concern lay in the prohibition against joking. They said it would be 'madness' to joke with persons they should not joke with. When they meet strangers they do not dare to joke until they find out whether or not it is proper for them to do so. They gave us /Kung names. This placed us in the scheme of things and people could know what their status was with us.

The /Kung say they 'fear' (*koa*) to joke when they should not and they 'fear' (*koa*) the persons with whom joking is forbidden. The word *koa* is the same word that they use when they say they fear a lion or a mamba. They also use it to mean avoid. We think it holds the same combination of fear and respect that our word holds when we say we fear the Lord.

[828 A /Kung told us that joking was not only amusing but that it served a good pur- 865] pose in teaching people, young men especially, to hold their tempers and to have poise in their social relations. We thought that joking served a good purpose in [182 providing an outlet in laughter for aggression and various social restraints, but we 154] wondered if it had not primarily been developed as a response to restraints upon sexual intercourse. Incest must be a concern among a people who live in small bands 835] of consanguineous kin and close affines, bands which are isolated for the most part within their own territories except for more or less infrequent visits to other bands. The restraints which are considered to be good and necessary may be strengthened by the symbol of avoidance of sexual joking. Respect due to a parent has perhaps come to be associated with this symbol and this may account for joking being restricted with parents of both sexes. It seems that respect in general is not required between siblings; only sexual restraint is required and this is symbolized by the restriction in joking imposed on siblings of opposite sex, whereas ego may joke with a sibling of the same sex. It is possible that the culture allows joking between grandparents and grandchildren (with the rather few exceptions when the factor of the name intervenes to classify them in the non-joking category) because joking is associated with a welcome ease and intimacy of relationship and the great difference in age removes the necessity of symbolizing sexual restraint between them.

The Name-Relationship as a Factor in Social Consolidation

553 The /Kung believe that the name is somehow a part of the entity of a person and 601 that when one is named for a person one partakes of that person's entity in some way and in some degree. Informants could give us no further elucidation of this belief.

It seems evident that, when incorporated into the system of kinship terminology, [174] the belief has produced the homonymous method of applying terms. It is our conjecture that the homonymous method was added to the system after the generational method had been established.

old woman who assisted at the confinement. Boys take the 553
surname of the mother and girls that of the father. Thus
|Uirob Geirob |Geibeb married a woman *|Kao-tamas*
Gamanis |Harus and begot two sons, namely *||Otoab ǂGonab*
|Garub and *Gogob Gomob |Garub*, and one daughter *Hoaras*
|Geibes. Not uncommonly, in the case of boys only, the
father's surname with the suffix *mab*, meaning son of, is
added to the surname. Hence the names of *||Otoab* become
||Otoab ǂGonab |Garub |Geibemab. This practice offers a
means of identifying relationship and is used for this purpose.
A person is as a rule called by the first name only. Nick- 551
names are common and are given to children when quite
young. They are usually directed towards some physical
peculiarity, for example, *Eibarab*, the lad with the long face
and *Amgoseb*, the one with the pointed lips. They are often
retained throughout life.

The communities which have not been in contact with 164
civilization are remarkably free from infectious, contagious
and other diseases. Except during heavy rainy seasons when
malaria becomes unduly prevalent the incidence of disease is
very small among them. Sickness is in most instances 753
attributed to the non-observance of customary practices on
the part of the affected person, to magical influences exercised
by other persons or, when unduly prevalent, to something
going wrong with the perpetual fire. Treatment is adminis- 757
tered by relatives and friends or in cases of acute or prolonged
illness by an elder or doctor who is well versed in magical
practice. Herbs of various descriptions are employed both
internally and externally through incisions in the skin.
Inunction with medicated ointments is also extensively resorted
to. Surgical procedures are limited to incisions into the skin.
Burial of the dead is carried out almost universally at present. 764
Among the more primitive groups, however, the corpse is left [84]
in the hut which is simply pressed down so as to cover it.
After a death has taken place the camp is deserted and not 768
occupied again. Old people who are no longer able to help 888
themselves are left in the werft with a supply of food and
water. The rest of the group then move off and do not
return to it again.

Dances and Games.

Dancing and games of various kinds enter very largely into 535
the lives of the Bushmen. Of these the dance takes the first
place among their social recreations. Some of the dances
such as the *tsei*, *hãigi-ho*, and *ge-!ni* among the *ǂAo-||ẽin*
and *Aikwe* and the *|hawa-ǂnab* among the *Hei-||om* would
appear to be of a religious nature, being danced only on
ceremonial occasions, for example, during the initiation cere-
monies. On the other hand dancing is often indulged in at
night for pure pleasure, especially in times of plenty. The

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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609 they must smoke, or when they are dying of thirst and must
648 come in to beg for water.

159 Once I talked with a young Bushman who had visited one
563 of our camps in Bechuanaland many times, who spoke Afri-
kaans, and whom I shall call Tami. I could speak a little
[191] Afrikaans, so he and I could talk together. He was in his early thirties and had been working for some time for European farmers. When I met him he was married, and as his wife had
[465] just had a baby, he felt that his ten-shilling-a-month wage was inadequate and he planned to move to another part of the country where he hoped to be paid more. As it is rather unusual for a Bushman to uproot himself from his own country, no matter how long he has been on a farm and away from his own people, I asked him where he had come from and how he had learned Afrikaans.

[153] "Oh," he said, "I learned Afrikaans in the places I have been. I have worked for white men since I was a young boy
[191] and I have always been fast to learn their languages. In the same way I have learned the languages of the black people."

"Where did you live before you worked for white people?" I asked.

"We lived not far from Nurigaas, at the edge of the police zone. I am a young person still, but I remember that Nurigaas was all wild then. We always lived there."

"With your parents?"

"Yes, until the police boys [1] took the old man my father."

I asked him what had happened, and he said: "We lived at the edge of the police zone, you know. We lived with
888 other Bushmen there, and my sister, she was there. My
159 mother's father was still alive then, but he was too old, he
563 couldn't even carry water, and my mother had to do every-

[1] Police boys are native policemen, usually Bantu.

thing for him. She was his daughter, so she was glad to do it, [888] but my sister and I thought he was just an old man who sat 159 and coughed and spit. He didn't like the Europeans or the 563 black people either, and my father didn't either, and that is why we lived on the other side of the police zone. On one side were the police boys with camels—that was in the old days with the camel patrol [2]—and on the other side the lions and the Bushmen asked for your pass.

"One day my father went hunting and he was gone two [224] days. Then my sister said: 'He must have shot a giraffe.' A giraffe is royal game, you know, and you can go to jail if you kill one, only my father didn't know it then.

"Yes, and that day two police boys came on camels and a 159 white man on a camel. The police boys had a rifle and the 563 white policeman had a rifle and a little gun in his hand. They 625 had a Nurigaas Bushman walking with them, but he didn't come near us because he was ashamed. One police boy spoke the language of the Bushmen, and he said: 'Where is the old man who lives here?' and my mother pointed to my grandfather and she said: 'This is the one,' but the police boy said: 'Not that one, I want your husband. Where is he?' 'I don't know,' said my mother, but the police boy said: 'How can an old woman like you lie to me?' and my mother just covered up her face and said nothing. Then the police boy and the Nurigaas Bushman found my father's spoor off in the veld, and they all followed him with the police boy and the Nurigaas Bushman walking and the white man and the other police boy on the camels. Next morning they came back with my father, they had his hands tied behind and a rope around his neck and he was running behind the camel. His face was

[2] Until quite recently, the police who had occasion to go into the desert rode on camels because camels could endure desert conditions far better than horses, and could go through soft sand where trucks could not.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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GiKwe

know, but Gai became embarassed and said gravely that 124 825
Pishiboro put that system there for reproduction and he alone knew how it worked.

Ukwane then said that he would explain instead, because 221
he was an old man. Gai could not speak of sex in front of 831
women because it was both improper and dangerous and 784 826
would weaken his power to hunt, but Ukwane was too old 888
for hunting and, besides, was past the age when many of the 124
tabus concerning sex applied to him. Old Bushmen understand everything better anyway, young Bushmen say.

Ukwane knew a great deal. He named every major part, 124
inside and out, of the animal, even naming the major veins 825
and arteries that lead to and from the heart. We were not surprised to find that Bushmen, who prefer to be specific rather than general when dealing with minute things, distinguish more exterior parts of the body then we do. They have names, for example, for the inside of the elbow and the back of the knee. The *leg* of an animal means the hind leg, the front leg is the *arm*, and these are called by the same names as the arm and leg of human beings. Birds, too, fly with their arms and land on their legs, but I never could discover what insects do.

Ukwane went on to explain the various systems of the body, saying in the case of the urogenital system that liquid, which was "the little springboks," ran from the testicles into the kidneys, then down again and out the penis. He stuck to this version, too, even when Bill suggested that it might be otherwise. This does not mean that Bushmen think that urine [842]
causes conception, for they recognize the role of semen, believing that it unites with the menstrual blood of the mother to form a child.

Ukwane understood the course of food and water through 124
the digestive system, but said that food and water spread out 827

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GiKwe

Ukane had asked his wife if her brother had returned. She 533
had answered "Yes," and Ukwane had composed the song about it out of guilt and sorrow.

"A Song of Shouting" was beautiful, too. When Ukwane had explained it to us and we had asked him to sing some more, he smiled at us and said that he was tired. But the day of jealousies, the fact that he had not found his piece of string, and the subject of his songs had put him in a mood, and presently he began to tell us what was in his heart.

He said that he was old and blind, and that he and his 533
wife could no longer support one another but had to depend 888
on Tsetchwe and Gai. Even Twikwe and Dasina were old and would not be strong much longer, and if Gai should leave them, perhaps to go to his Bakalahari father, the old people would perish surely.

Hearing Ukwane's cracked voice saying these sad things, his wife got up from her bed and sat beside him in silence. Soon Twikwe and Dasina joined him, too, so all the old people were there, crouching near the fire, their eyes gazing over its light out into the darkness.

Presently Dasina said: "It is bad to die because when you die you are all alone," and after being silent for a moment Ukwane told us how various members of his band, once a large one, had died, reducing their number to the hardy few who lived with him now. Both his father and his mother had died of thirst, and his children, his young nieces and nephews, [731
and his grandchildren had all died in an epidemic of smallpox 165]
three years before. That had been a horrifying season, and in the hottest time, when the sun was drying them all and the ground was too hot to walk on, the smallpox had come, and pox had got into people's mouths so that they could not eat, and the children had all died one morning and their young mothers had died before night.

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GiKwe

888 The old people, the survivors, had not expected to outlive
764 their children and grandchildren, and then they had to bury
731 them; they had scooped shallow graves for them and had placed their bodies inside, then had covered the graves with branches. The old people had then lived by the graves for months to mourn and to protect the corpses from marauding animals. It had been a ghastly season, a season of carnage, and the old people did not like to think about it even now. We watched their sad faces when they spoke of it and saw that these old people themselves felt death very near, foreseeing the day when Gai would leave them, when the melons would dry, when they would starve.

Suddenly, unnoticed into the midst of this discussion came the baby Nhwakwe, having been awakened by the voices, his eyes still filled with sleep, to put an empty vegetable husk on the head of his grandmother, Dasina. She was too de-
[158] pressed to notice, though, and presently the husk fell off and Nhwakwe stumbled back to his sleeping-place, secure between his father and his mother, as though perhaps he had not fully awakened at all.

888 Dasina was speaking. She said again: "To die is bad, but
761 in the end we all die anyway," and Ukwane said he did not expect to live another season. Then he asked us when we would have to leave. We told him that we were leaving in a very few days, and he said he was sorry to hear it, but if we liked he would come back to our country with us to tell us everything he knew about the customs of the Gikwe. We told
609 him sadly that this would not be possible, and he said that in that case he would live out his life beside our track, waiting for the day when we would return. We told him not to do even that, for European farmers would surely follow our tracks into the desert looking for Bushmen to take as servants.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

731 days, although not all were completely cured; and many, feeling that their luck was very bad at Gautscha, decided to take
361 their chances at other places in the veld where, although there was no water, there were watery roots that could be scraped for moisture. One day many of the people walked away in single file, taking their belongings and carrying on their backs their relatives still too sick to travel, leaving Gautscha Pan deserted except for the three small family bands who made their permanent home there.

764 One day when we were traveling in the veld about twenty
888 miles from Gautscha we came upon an old man lying on his face on the sand in an open place. He was a member of one of the bands at Gautscha that tried to escape bad luck, and, thinking he was hurt, we stopped at once. But he was not hurt; when we came near him he did not get up, but turned his face away from us and lay as if dazed, pressing one hand to his forehead. We knew him; he was the only Bushman of any nation we had ever met or even heard of who had never
[582 881] married, this because Bushman men must shoot a buck and
162 undergo initiation before they can marry, which he had never done. Instead he lived with his sister, who took care of him and provided him with food, and who had been very ill during the plague at Gautscha. As we looked at him the headman of that band stepped out of the bushes and told us that the old man was not ill but grieving for his sister, who lay dead in a grove of thorn trees a little way beyond. The old man, who had been alone with his sister when she died, had been too weak from the illness to bury her, and had only been able to hide her body under a pile of stones. When the other members of the band had returned to the grove after a day or so of veld food-gathering, it had been too late, to dangerous because of the now roaming spirit, for them to assist

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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Kung

the old man with a funeral, and they had had to abandon his 764+ 888
sister's body as it was.

The headman lifted the old man from the ground and we saw that he had not been weeping but had only been lying inert and helpless, powerless now to keep himself erect. On our truck he lay just where we put him, motionless, prone, all the way back. We passed the grove where his sister lay, a grove of high white trees with red beans on their branches, and the old man did not turn his head to look.

After that, the situation for the people who remained at 361
Gautscha got better because the summer came. Great cloud- 132
banks like mountains formed at the horizon, dispersed themselves in brown haze, and formed again, getting larger day by day. Some of the bands who had left Gautscha began to return and once again the countryside was populous, the air filled with the murmur of voices and the smell of smoke from the many fires. Some of the men went hunting and shot a giraffe, so there was lots of meat for a while.

One day some of us went to a place called Kubi Pan to see a cheetah that was supposed to live there, but instead we saw a flock of guinea fowl walking along in single file as people do, raising a cloud of dust. Two of them began to fight because it was their mating season. When we got to Kubi it was evening and the clouds on the horizon were very thick, and just when the sun set into them the full moon rose on the other side, causing a balance of the two great bodies over the earth.

It seemed to be an auspicious night. On the way home we 789
felt something electric in the air and when we got to Gau- 535
tscha the moon had risen high and pale in the clouds and we found that the Bushmen were dancing the rain dance. Everyone was there, the women all singing and the men wheeling

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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chance to look at everyone else and see who was there, we 621
found among the Bushmen one entire band, six people, who once had lived at Gautscha. These were an old man, his two daughters, his son, his grandson, and his son-in-law, a man 551
named Lazy Kwi. Because Kung Bushmen have relatively few names in use, resulting in the fact that many, many people have the same name—one man we knew had two wives named Kushe and two daughters named Xama, called after his mother, whose name was also Xama—they distinguish their various Xamas and Kwis with nicknames.

Lazy Kwi was a kind, warmhearted man, devoted to his family, and was named Lazy, an insulting name, only because he was not a good hunter. He was heavy-footed, there- 224
fore noisy, and not an excellent shot; but he was a good trap- 262
per and got meat for his family by snaring birds and lizards. But because he did not hunt he never owned large shares of meat and ate only what came to him by the Bushmen's system of dividing, which put him in the role of poor relation and sometimes forced him to eat what others would not touch. Once he had suppressed his pride and eaten a badger. Although the other Bushmen had turned up their noses at this rank meat, he had said: "I am the badger-eating man," laughing off their scorn to hide his shame. He had eaten it sadly, and the sweet taste of it had sickened him and had made him vomit and retch for the rest of the day. Luckily for 224 [411]
his family, his father-in-law made beautiful arrows and in the hunting system of Bushmen the man who gives or lends the arrow with which a buck is shot is automatically the owner of a large share of the meat. His father-in-law often lent arrows and often got meat. In fact, the old man had a domi- 888
nant voice in the running of the family, for though old men 621
may be aged and consumptive, those younger than they do what they say. Far from being derogatory, "Old" is a term of

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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888 621 respect. In his family, the old man decided where the band would live.

157 Lazy Kwi's sister-in-law was called "the old woman." Her name referred not to her age but to her bearing and her personality, for she was outspoken, positive, and sure, qualities that are seldom found in young Bushmen.

609 She was not at all surprised to see us. She took my ear to turn my head, and kissed me on the cheek. Lazy Kwi laughed when he greeted us, showing a gap in his mouth where a tooth was missing, and called me his wife, a joke among Bushman men, who pretend they will marry any woman who is not a tabu relative. His baby hugged my legs and showed a huge white smile, then held up his arms to be lifted. He had grown so that I could hardly get him off the ground.

586 159 Many Bushmen who greeted us had been at Gam when we had lived there, and among them was a young girl whose name was Ungka, a very common name; as she had no distinguishing nickname, we called her Beautiful Ungka, for so she was. She was probably the most beautiful girl in all Nyae Nyae, and even though she was only sixteen years old she already had a flaming past. When she was ten she was married to a man much older than herself, but, young as she was, she knew what she wanted, and because the old man filled her with loathing she cut off all her hair and all her ornaments, rubbed ashes on her face until she was filthy, and swore she would stay that way until her marriage was dissolved. Of course it wasn't long before her husband and her parents complied with her wishes and she became single once again.

583 159 When she was about thirteen she attracted the attention of another much older man who was already married but who became so inflamed by her beauty that he begged her parents to give her to him as a second wife. This time her parents consulted with her, entreating her to marry him as

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
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The old man who had never shot a buck, who had never married, now almost blind, too thin, and without people.

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Tu made Norna clothes of ostrich-eggshell beads, an art taught to Bushmen by the gemsbok people.

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ing happily, but all the adults in all the werfs were too de- 521 758
pressed and sad. Finally, one by one, the men went back again to Short Kwi, who by now had rallied and was sitting up, surely having been through the worst of it the night before, and talked to him about the antelopes he had killed and about the time he killed a wildebeest, an eland, and a wild pig all in one day.

It has been said that Bushmen abandon cripples or people 888 734
who are old or sick and cannot travel. This is not true.

Far into the night, people who could not sleep sat up and talked at each other's fires. We heard the guashi being played, 521 533
its long strings sounding in repetitious little songs of four or five notes which themselves were played over and over, for the guashi was being passed from hand to hand, played idly by people who just wanted something to do.

It was a warm night. The frogs in the pan were croaking 521 574
and the north wind blew the cooking-fires around. Later, when the moon rose and made a blood-red fire all its own, the people began to go home. Toma and Gao Feet and their sons stopping to visit us on their way; they walked silently up to our fire from the darkness and dropped to their haunches one after the other, and sat quietly, their grave faces tilted back, hands shading their eyes. Toma's son wore the crown of badger hair, which moved in the wind a little. Presently the men and their sons stood up again one at a time and walked on, as silently on their bare feet as they had come. We heard the low voices of other people who were passing, then saw fires flare up at the werfs, and much later, when the wind had died and even the frogs were silent, we knew that some of the people were dreaming, for they groaned in their sleep.

of the hunting party is not a matter of convention or of anxious concern. Hunting parties are freely organized by men who like to hunt with each other. No categories of kin or affines are prohibited from hunting together, whether they have a joking relationship or not or practise the sitting and speaking taboo. Men from different bands may hunt together. 224

A father has authority over his sons and sons-in-law and could tell them to go hunting or to accompany him and would expect them to obey. In other relationships participation in a hunting party is voluntary. Any man may instigate a hunt and may ask others to join. No one is formally in command of a party, unless he is the father with his sons or sons-in-law, but often an informal kind of leadership develops out of skill and judgement and the men fall in with the plans and suggestions of the best hunter or reach agreement among themselves somehow. [543]

Hunting parties are usually composed of from two to four or five men. One hunter alone is at a disadvantage. A man cannot leave the meat unguarded from lions, hyaenas, jackals, and vultures while he goes to bring help from the band to carry it nor can he carry it alone. Only occasionally are parties larger than four or five. For two parties to hunt in different directions would be more advantageous than to form a larger single party.

When the kill is made the hunters have the prerogative of eating the liver on the spot and may eat more of the meat until their hunger is satisfied. If they are far from the band, they may eat the parts that are especially perishable or most awkward to carry, like the head, and they sometimes eat the cherished marrow. They then carry the animal to the band, either in its parts, bones and all, or, if the animal is very big, leaving most of the bones and cutting the meat into strips which dry in the sun to biltong and are more easily carried on the carrying-sticks. The blood is carried in bags made of the stomach, rumen, and bladder. [851] [415]

The gall bladder and testicles are discarded at the kill. Eventually the hooves are thrown away and usually the picked bones and horns. (The /Kung make only a few artifacts of bone and horn which last a long time and seldom need replacing.) Sinews are kept for making cord. The hide would be skinned off whole and tanned if it were suitable for a kaross and someone wanted a new kaross at the time. Otherwise, the hide is dried, pounded up, and eaten. Hides are quite tasty. Feet are picked of every tissue; gristle is dried and pounded. Soft parts, such as the foetus, udder, heart, lungs, brains, and blood, are often given to old people with poor teeth. Intestines are enjoyed and desired by all. The meat of the rump, back, chest, and neck is highly appreciated. Nothing is wasted; all is distributed. [331] [283] [281] [886]

The owner of the animal is the owner of the first arrow to be effectively shot into the animal so that it penetrates enough for its poison to work. That person is responsible for the distribution. The headman of the band is not the one to distribute the meat by virtue of his headmanship, unless he happens to be at the same time the owner of the arrow. The owner may or may not be one of the hunters. [400] [624]

Hunters have arrows which they acquire in three different ways. Each man makes arrows for himself, shaping the points (usually now of metal, but still possibly of bone or wood) with some slight distinction so that he will know them from the arrows of other men. Secondly, arrows are given as gifts. The man who made the arrow or who himself acquired it as a gift, may give it to someone else, either a man or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend. 222 224 411 [93]

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114 but little light on the social organization of the people, since the
602 information given about the rights and duties regulating the conduct towards one another of people related either by consanguinity or through marriage is somewhat meagre. But they suggest at least that there is much in the social life of the Bushmen which could be revealed by a careful study of the usages connected with kinship.

There is some evidence, however, to show that among the Cape
621 and Namib Bushmen, who as we have seen live in very small groups, the members of such a group are as a rule all related either by consanguinity or through marriage. Of the Cape Bushmen, for example, Miss Bleek says elsewhere: "They live in small family groups, and have no chiefs. . . . Three or four huts stand together. In one is the father, in others his married children. At most eight or ten huts of connections were dotted about within a radius of a few miles from the water, but this is an institution of later days . . . (at marriage)
[591] sometimes the young couple build their hut near the bridegroom's father, sometimes near the bride's. They seem to keep the family groups fairly even."[1] The accounts given by Trenk and especially
[114] by Seydel of the social structure of the band among the Namib Bushmen are not nearly so definite, but on the whole seem to indicate a similar principle of grouping.[2]

This is also found among the !O Kung of Angola, where again the local groups are very small. The details given by Miss Bleek bring out very clearly the structure of these groups[3]: "The families living together are nearly always related; in two cases the men were brothers-in-law, in the first the sister of one man was the wife of the other, in the second the wives were half-sisters. A cousin of the wives and an aunt resided with them. At another place I found a father with his second wife and small children, a grown-up son with wife and children, and a grown-up daughter whose husband was temporarily absent. The next lot were uncle and nephews, then a mother with married daughter, with a nephew and step-son of the mother's. The last lot encountered, the horde on the Mushumbo, consisted of an old man with two sons, several grandsons both in the male and female line, a son-in-law and nephews and great-nephews, mostly brother's descendants. He introduced himself as the 'father'
[888] of them all. Chiefs are non-existent, but deference is paid to the

[1] *The Mantis and his Friends*, pp. viii, ix.
[2] Trenk, "Die Buschleute der Namib," 168, 170; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304.
[3] "Bushmen of Central Angola," 109.

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224 A boy does not begin to play-hunt until he is twelve years old, and seven or eight years may pass before he kills his first buck, an event which signals his entry into manhood.

[648] Nowadays many adolescent boys spend several years working on
[464] the Bantu cattle posts where they receive clothing and rations.

[682] This interval of work undoubtedly delays their attainment of social maturity and boys do not normally marry until they reach their middle twenties. It is significant that, upon marriage, practically all of the young men return to the camps and take up hunting as a full time occupation.

888 The aged hold a respected position in Bushman society. They are the effective as well as the titular leaders of the camps. The oldest people are fed and cared for by their children and grandchildren long after their productive years have
888 passed. The blind, the senile and the crippled are held in
734 awe and respect by the Bushmen, because they often possess special ritual and technical skills. For instance, /wan!a, the eighty year old female leader of the !gose camps, was senile and partially blind, but she was recognized as the leading exponent of the Women's Curing Dance. The two male elders of the !gose camps were both totally blind, but this did not prevent their active participation in decision-making and in ritual curing.

∞O It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social

121 It is suggested that the delayed assumption of social
433 maturity by the young people and the support of the non-pro-
883 ductive elderly people are institutions which are possible
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182 only in a society with a relatively secure subsistence base.

433 Water, Food, and Nomadism -- The special subsistence problems
312 faced by the Dobe area Bushmen concern the scarcity of water.
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361 All of the eight natural permanent waterholes are situated in or near the beds of the main molapos. During the summer months, when temporary pools develop at a distance from permanent water, the Bushmen can move out to live at them. Except for a few weeks each year, the Bushmen spend their entire lives camped within an hour's walk of standing water. Only at the end of the dry season do some of the younger people undertake the long trips to the dry forests where they live by digging out the water-bearing roots. Since it is the custom of the Bushmen to return each evening to their main camps, it follows that areas within a single day's walk of standing water will be intensively utilized. Areas that lie beyond this radius will be rarely utilized even though they may be rich in food. The fact that the Bushmen can live well for most of the year within a six-mile radius of permanent water indicates that they do not lead a nomadic way of life. Each summer they move up-country to the seasonal waters and each winter they fall back on their permanent waterholes. In contrast to some Australian aboriginal groups, whose annual round consists of walking a circuit of many waterholes, the Dobe area Bushmen have a

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patriarch of any small group, though his authority is very limited." 621
This latter observation is also made by Seydel of the Namib Bushmen. [888]

The bands of these Bushmen may therefore be regarded as consisting of small groups of families all related by consanguinity or through marriage. Membership of the group is apparently not based on descent traced exclusively through either the male or the female line, since both married sons and married daughters with their spouses and children may belong to the same group. There is no definite statement as to whether marriage between members of the same 582
group is permitted or not. Generally it would seem that a wife is sought outside the group. Among the Cape Bushmen the only girl a man may not marry is his own sister. Marriage with first cousins (both ortho-cousins and cross-cousins) is sometimes found, but more often marriage takes place with "someone else", to quote Miss Bleek's words.[1] The same applies to the Namib Bushmen,[2] and similarly, among the !O Kung, "some of the married couples we met were cousins, but the majority were unrelated, as far as they knew. Some young married people stay with the man's family, others with the [591]
woman's."[3]

Among the North-Western Bushmen the bands, which here are 621
proportionately much larger, definitely tend to be exogamous. Fourie 184
says of the Heikum: "Marriage within the group is forbidden and 582
is patrilocal. There are no group restrictions with regard to marriage. [591]
As a rule men do not go far for wives, and intermarriage takes place [835]
between contiguous groups or between those which are not separated very far from each other. A man may, however, not marry his own sister, his cousins on either side or his brother's or sister's daughter. The same prohibition applies to women."[4] Among the Auen the only absolute prohibition on marriage is said to be between brother and sister, parent and child, but as a rule marriage does not take place between close relatives, and if possible also not between members of the same band. Wives are procured from a distance; often even [619]
from other tribes.[5] The Kung also marry outside their own band[6];

[1] "Bushman Terms of Relationship," 59.
[2] D. F. Bleek, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 112.
[3] "The Bushmen of S.W. Africa," 92.
[4] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 156: "Die eigene Schwester darf nicht geheiratet werden, ebenso natürlich nicht Mutter und Tochter. Andere Verwandtschaft bilden kein absolutes Hindernis. Es ist aber die Regel, dass nicht innerhalb der eigenen Familie, auch möglichst nicht innerhalb der eigenen Horde geheiratet wird. Frauen werden mit Vorliebe weit hergeholt, oft von Stämmen anderer Sprache."
[5] Vedder, "Grammatik der !Ku-Buschmannsprache," *Z. KolSpr.*, i (1910), 8.
[6] Trenk, op. cit., 168.

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766 others are usually abandoned before they die, and the whole camp wanders in the bush.[1]

There is also the well-authenticated fact that old people are sometimes deliberately abandoned. When drought and scarcity force the Bushmen to a long hurried march, some old man or woman may be too feeble to keep up with them. They then make a screen of bushes all round the old person, provide a good supply of firewood and a little food and water if possible, and push on, leaving him behind. Should game and water be found within a couple of days' march, some young fellow is sent hurrying back with supplies. Otherwise they do not come near the place again, knowing that the end must have come and hyenas dealt with the remains. This abandonment of the aged has often been characterized as an inhuman trait in the Bushmen; but when the life of the whole band depends upon rapid movement it is difficult to see how they could act otherwise. Anyone who falls out and dies on such a march will have to go unburied too, and probably the same fate overtakes those killed in war.[2]

Where burial does take place it follows almost immediately after the death. The descriptions available of the actual funeral ceremonies of the Bushmen are far from being exhaustive, and naturally vary somewhat in detail, but a certain degree of uniformity may be noted. The information relating to the Southern tribes is fragmentary. Skeletons of these Bushmen are found buried both in caves and in graves out in the open, but of the customs associated with burial we have very little record. The fullest description is that given by Arbousset of the Basutoland Bushmen. He states that a dead person first has his head anointed with red powder (*buchu*), mixed with melted fat. The corpse is then rudely perfumed (*grossièrement parfumée*), and laid on its side in an oblong grave, to which all the relatives and friends hasten to make their lamentations. They come even from the neighbouring villages to see and examine the body, which is then taken out of the grave; and everybody redoubles his cries and lamentations. At last they throw into the grave the hut of the dead person, and burn it above him. The grave is then filled in with earth to the level of the ground, but no heap of stones is piled above it. The funeral over, the band leaves the place for a

[1] Kaufmann, op. cit., 158.
[2] Hahn, "Die Buschmänner, 122; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, 110–11; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 35; Fourie, "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 95; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 14.